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S T U D I A
TURCOLOGICA
CRACOVIENSIA

EWA SIEMIENIEC-GOŁAŚ

KARACHAY-BALKAR
VOCABULARY
OF PROTO-TURKIC ORIGIN

KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA

STUDIA
TURCOLOGICA
CRACOVIENSIA

7

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL PHILOLOGY

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CRACOVIENSIA**

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**Edited by
Stanisław Stachowski**

KRAKÓW 2000

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL PHILOLOGY
FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY

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- 1.20. Illnesses
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I. INTRODUCTION

1. FOREWORD

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

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

2. SOCIO-LINGUISTIC DATA

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

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

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

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

3. A BRIEF SKETCH OF RESEARCH ON KARACHAY-BALKAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. SOURCES

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

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

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

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

5. TRANSCRIPTION REMARKS

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

sources we have introduced a phonological or rather half-phonological transcription¹ since not for all of the languages cited in this work phonological transcription is possible.

Hence:

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

In the case of [e] we use two signs: [e] and [ä] (open [e]).

In Chuvash there are two signs for reduced vowels i.e.: [ǣ] and [ĕ]. They cannot be substituted by other signs. In Salar and Yellow Uighur the aspirates are used in some forms.

As was mentioned above in Pröhle's work there are some additional signs. He introduced the [˘] sign above the following letters: a, e, i, î, o, u, ü. Above [i] he introduced a small circle that stands for [i̯]. For: č, k, p, q, t he gave aspirate signs. Therefore, citing the material from Pröhle's sources we give in brackets the original orthography he used but we transcribe it phonologically.

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

a, ā, ā, a', á, ā, â, ä, ä, ā, b, b, β, c, c^c, c', č, č^c, č', d, d', δ, e, ě, e', ē, é, ě, ê, f, g, ġ, g', ġ, g', γ, x, x', h, i, i', î, î, í, í, î, î, j, j, k, k', k', l, l', m, m', n, n', ŋ, ŋ, o, o', ō, ó, ō, ō, ō, ō, p, p^c, p', q, q^c, r, r', s, s^c, s', s', θ, t, t', t', u, ũ, u', ú, ũ, ũ, ũ, ũ, ũ, ũ, ũ, v, v', w, z, z', z, z^c, z', ž.

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

II. ABBREVIATIONS

1. SOURCES AND CITED LITERATURE

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

- Chadž. KBVS** Chadžilajev, H-M. I.: Karačajevo-balkarskije i vengerskije schoždenija, in: *Aktual'nyje problemy karačajevo-balkarskogo i nogajnskogo jazykov*, Stavropol' 1981.
- Clauson** Clauson, G.: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.
- ČRS** Skvorcov, M. I. (Red.): *Čuvaško-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1985.
- Doerfer LSCh** Doerfer, G.: *Lexik und Sprachgeographie des Chaladsch. Textband*, Wiesbaden 1987.
- DS** *Türkiye 'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*, I A, Ankara 1963.
- DTS** Nadeljajev, V. M. et al. (Red.): *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, Leningrad 1969.
- Dybo AE** Dybo, A. V.: *Semantičeskaja rekonstrukcija v altajskoj etimologii. Somatičeskije terminy (plečevoj pojas)*, Moskva 1996.
- Eg.** Egorov, V. G.: *Etimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka*, Čeboksary 1964.
- Eren CTE** Eren, H.: Caucasian-Turkic Elements in the Anatolian Dialects, *Studia Caucaica* 1 (1963), pp. 94-126.
- ÈSTJa** Sevortjan, E. V., *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov*, Vol. I: *Obščetjurkskije i mežtjurkskije osnovy na glasnyje*, Moskva 1974; Vol. II: (...) *na bukvu "b"*, Moskva 1978; Vol. III: (...) *na bukvy "v", "g", "d"*, Moskva 1980; Vol. IV: [& Levitskaja, L. S.]: (...) *na bukvy "ğ", "ž", "j"*, Moskva 1989; Vol. V: [& Levitskaja, L. S., Dybo, A. V., Rassadin, V. I.]: (...) *na bukvy "k" (~"g") i "ķ" (~"ğ" ~"k")*, Moskva 1997.
- Frankle WFTL** Frankle, E.: *Word Formation in the Turkic Languages*, Columbia University Press 1948.
- Gab.** Gabain, A. von: *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950.
- Hebert KPh.** Hebert, R. J.: Karačay Phonology, *UAS*, vol. 13 (1962), pp. 97-113.
- Jaz. M** *Jazyki mira. Tjurkskije jazyki*, Moskva 1997.
- JUFD** Sadvakasov, T. S.: *Jazyk ujugurov Ferganskoj doliny. Očerki fonetiki, teksty i slovar'*, Alma-Ata 1970.
- Kakuk** Kakuk, Z., *Mai török nyelvek*, I, Budapest 1976.

- KBRS** Tenišev, E. R., Sujunčev, Ch. I. (Red.): *Karačajevo-balkarsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1989.
- Kononov RT** Kononov, A. N., *Rodoslovnaja Turkmen*, Moskva- Leningrad 1958.
- KRPS** *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*, Moskva 1974.
- Malov** Malov, S. E.: *Lobnorskij jazyk. Teksty, perevody, slovar'*, Frunze 1956.
- Musajev LTJ** Musajev, K. M.: *Leksika tjurkskich jazykov v sravnitel'nom osveščanii (Zapadnokipčakskaja grupa)*, Moskva 1975.
- Otarov LKBJ** Otarov, I. M.: K izučeniju professional'noj leksiki karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka, *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 3 (1977), pp. 45-50.
- ÖjHa.** Németh, G.: Az ösjakut hangtan alapjai. *NyK XLIII* (1914), 3-81.
- Podolsky** Podolsky, B., *A Greek Tatar-English Glossary*, Wiesbaden 1985.
- Pr.** Pritsak, O.: Das Karatschaische und Balkarische, *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, t. I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 340-368.
- Pr B** Pröhle, W.: Balkarische Studien, *Keleti Szemle*, XV (1914/ 15), pp. 165-276.
- Pr K** Pröhle, W.: Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis, *Keleti Szemle*, t. X (1909), pp. 83-150.
- Rass.** Rassadin, V. I.: *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan-Ude 1971.
- Räs. VEWT** Räsänen, M.: Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen (*Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae* XVII/1), Helsinki 1969.
- Schmidt K** Schmidt, G., Über die kaukasischen Lehnwörter des Karatschajischen, *Mémoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne* 67, Helsinki 1933, pp. 465-471.
- Schmidt O** Schmidt, G.: Über die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Karatschajischen, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* 27, Helsinki 1932, pp. 364-395.

- Seegmiller** Seegmiller, S.: *Karachay. Languages of the World*, München-Newcastle 1996.
- Sev. STJ** Sevortjan E. V. et al. (Red.): *Struktura i istorija tjurkskich jazykov*, Moskva 1971.
- SKT** Baskakov, N. A.: Ob osobennostjach govora severo-kavkazskich turkmenov (truchmenov). *Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana. Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, vyp. 2, Moskva-Leningrad 1949, pp. 140-182.
- StachM GJV** Stachowski, M.: *Geschichte des jakutischen Vokalismus*, Kraków 1993.
- Sul. Kkar.** Sulimowicz, J., Materiał leksykalny krymskokaraimskiego zabytku językowego (druk z 1734), *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, T. XXXVI (1973), z. 1, pp. 47-107.
- Šč. SF** Ščerbak, A. M.: *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tjurkskich jazykov*, Leningrad 1970.
- Šč. NŽTJ** Ščerbak, A. M.: Nazvanija domašnich i dikich životnych v tjurkskich jazykach, pp. 82-172, *Istoričeskoje razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov*, Moskva 1961.
- TDAA** Yong Song Li: *Türk dillerinde akrabalık adları*, İstanbul 1999.
- Tenišev** Tenišev, E. R.: *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1976.
- Tenišev SJ** Tenišev, E. R.: *Stroj sary-jugurskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1976.
- Ul.** Ulakov, M. Z.: Problemy soveršenstvovanija i unifikacii knižnych terminov sovremennogo karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka, *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 2 (1990), pp. 95-97.
- YRh.** *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, İstanbul 1981.

2. LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

2.1. Turkic languages and dialects

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

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

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

2.2. Other languages

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

3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

2.2. Other languages

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

3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

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

III. KARACHAY-BALKAR VOCABULARY

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

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

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

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

1. NOUNS

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

1.1. Kindred terms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kajin (K-B) ‘1. šurin; dever; 2. rodstvennik po mužu (žene)’ (KBRS 379); *kajin* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘šurin’ (Boz. 177); *kajin* (*qajin*; K) ‘Schwager, der Bruder des Mannes’ (Pr K 113); *kajin* (*qajin*; B) ‘Schwager, Schwieger-; (Pr B 233) < PT **kādin*; cf.: OT *kašin*, *kadin*, *kajin*, *kazin*; Kum. *kajin*, *kajin*; Az. *gajin*; Khal. *gādin*; Tur. *kajin*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kajin*; Tat. *kajin*; Čuv. *xuñ*: *xuñām*; Bašk. *kajni*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajin*; Trkm. *gajin*; Uz. *kajin*; Uig. *kejin*; Lob. *kain*; Sal. *kajna*; Y. Uig. *kazin*; Alt. *kajin*; Khak. *xazin*, *xastin*; Tuv. *katin*; Tof. *xattin*; Šor. *kazin*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 41, 288; DTS 402, 404, 407, 439; Eg. 304; ÈSTJa V 215; KRPS 283, 358; Malov 124; Räs. VEWT 218 a; Tenišev 374.

In K-B the word *kajin* denotes ‘brother-in-law; relative of husband (wife)’. In OT there were several forms confirmed: *kašin*, *kadin*, *kajin*, *kazin* – all with the meaning ‘father-in-law’. At present, in other Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. Generally, in all Turkic languages, where this term is confirmed, it denotes relatives, either from the husband or from the wife’s side.

In Čuv. the form *xuñ* appears only with the possessive suffix 1 sg i.e.: *xuñām* ‘my father-in-law’. As for the etymology, according to ÈSTJa V 216, yet to be established.

karnaš (K-B) ‘brat’ (KBRS 395); *karindaš* (B) ‘id.’ (ibid. 397); *karindaš*, *karnaš* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘brat’ (Boz. 177); *karindaš* (*qarindaš*; B) ‘Bruder’ (Pr B 235) < PT **karindaš*; cf.: OT *karindaš*, *karundaš*; Kum. *kardaš*; Az. *gardaš*; Tur. *kardaš* ~ *kardeş*; Gag. *kardaš*; Kar. (Cr.) *kardaš*, (H) *karandas*, *karindas* (T) *kardaš*, *karandas*, *karindaš*; Tat. (Ur.) *xardaš*; Tat. *kārdāš*; Čuv. *xurāntaš*; Bašk. *karindaš*, *kärzäš*; Kaz. *karindas*; Nog. *kardaš*; Kir. *karindaš*; Trkm. *garindaš*; Uz. *kardos*, *karindoš*; Uig. *kerindaš*; Sal. *kārintaš*, *kārīntaš*; Alt. *karindaš*; Khak. *xarindas*; Šor. *karindaš*. – Lit.: DTS 427, 430; Eg. 308; ÈSTJa V 322-323; KRPS 292, 293, 295; Podolsky 28; Sul. Kkar. 88; Tenišev 462.

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

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

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

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

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

öge (K-B) 'nerodnoj, svodnyj' (KBRS 274); *öge*: *öge-ana* (*öge-anā*; K) 'Stiefmutter' (Pr K 127), *öge-ata* (*öge-atā*; K) 'Stiefvater' (ibid. 127), *öge-kiz* (*öge-q'iz*; K) 'Stieftochter' (ibid. 127), *öge-ğas* (*öge-žas*; K) 'stiefsohn' (ibid. 127) < PT **ögej* (ESG); cf.: OT *ögä*; Kum. *ögej*; Az. *ögä*; Tur. *üvej*; Gag. *jüvä*; Kar. (Cr.) *ögej*, *ögej*, (H) *egej*; Tat. (Cr.) *ögej*; Tat. *ügi*; Bašk. *ügä*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ögej*; Kir. *ögej*, *ögä*; Trkm. *övej* (*öwe*); Uz. *ögej*, *ögä*; Lob. *ügej*; Alt. *öj*; Khak. *öj*; Šor. *öj*. – Lit.: DTS 379; ĖSTJa I 495; KRPS 424, 437, 653; Räs. VEWT 369 a.

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. Other terms referring to man

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

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

batır (K-B) I '1. otvažnyj, xrabryj, mužestvennyj, besstrašnyj; 2. lixoj, bedovyj'; II (K) 'geroj' (KBRS 122); *batır* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'xrabryj, geroj, bogatyj' (Boz. 167); *batır* (*bat^uır*; K) 'tapfer, wacker' (Pr K 92); *batır* (*batır*; B) 'tapfer, wacker; ein Held' (Pr B 207) < PT **bātur* (ESG); OT *batur*, *bagatur*; Kum. *batır*; Az., Tur. *bahadır*; Kar. (Cr., T) *batır*, (Cr., T. H) *bagatır*; Tat. *batır*, *bahadır*; Čuv. *pattār*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *batır*; Kir.,

Trkm. *bātir*; Uz. *bahodir*; Uig. *bahidur*, *batur*; Lob. *batuj*; Y. Uig. *patir*; Alt. *bātir*; Khak. *matir*; Tuv. *mādir*; Yak. *bātir*. – Lit.: DTS 77, 89; Eg. 144; ÈSTJa II 82; KRPS 95, 107.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

obur (K-B) 1. 'kolduńja, ved'ma; oboroteń; 2. 'per. umnyj, soobrazitel'nyj' (KBRS 487); *obur* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'koldun' (Boz. 181); *obur* (*obúr*; K) 'Hexe' (Pr K 125); *obur* (*obúr*; B) 'Zauberer' (Pr B 246) < PT **obur* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *obur*; Tur. *obur*; Kar. (Cr.) *obur*, *obir*, (H, T) *obur*; Tat. *ubir*; Čuv. *vupār*, dial. *vāpār*; Bašk. *ubir*; Kaz., Nog. *obir*; Kir. *obur*. – Lit.: Eg. 57; KRPS 423; Räs. VEW 363 a; YRh. 896.

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

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

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

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

uru (K-B) ‘vor’ (KBR 685) < PT **ogur* (? ~ **ogür*; StachM GJV 77); cf.: OT *ogrī*; Kum. *oru*, *uru*; Az. *ogru*; Tur. *ugru*; Kar. (Cr.) *ogrī*, (H) *ogri*, *uru*, (T) *uru*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogrī*; Tat. *ugri*; Čuv. *vără*; Bašk. *bur*, *ogro*; Kaz. *ürī*; Kklp., Nog. *urī*; Kir. *ūru*; Trkm. *ogrī*; Uz. *ogrī*; *ugri* (Eg. 49); Uig. *ogrī*, *ogur*; Lob. *ogjī*; Sal. *ogrī*, *ugru*; Y. Uig. *ogur*; Alt. (V) *ogur*, *ogru*, *ogra*, *ūr*; Khak. *ogir*; Tuv. *ōr*; Tof. *ōrī*; Šor. *ogru*; Yak. *uor*. – Lit.: DTS 363; Eg. 49; ÈSTJa I 412; Gab. 320; KRPS 423, 424, 581; Malov 149; Rass. 213; Räs. VEW 357 b; StachM GJV 77; Tenišev 423, 531; Tenišev SJ 193; YRh. 1196.

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

1.3. Parts of the body and body fluids

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bawur (K-B) ‘1. pečeń; 2. grudʹ; život’ (KBRS 122); *baūr* (B. dial.: Baks.) ‘pečeń’ (Boz. 167); *bawur*, *baʼur* (*bawūr*, *baʼur*; K) ‘Leber’ (Pr K 92); *baʼur* (*baʼur*; B) ‘id’ (Pr B 207) < PT **bagir*; cf.: OT *bagir*; Az. *bagir*; Khal. *bāgīr-gara*; Tur. *bagir*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bawur*, *bagir* (T), *bagir* (Cr.); Tat. (Cr.) *bagir*; Tat. *bāgīr*, *bawir*; Čuv. *pěver*; Bašk. *bāgīr*, *bawir*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bawir*; Kir. *bōr*; Trkm., Trukh. *bagir*; Uz. *bagir*; Uig. *begir*; Lob. *bagir*, *bagij* ~ *bagij*; Sal. *pagir*; Y. Uig. *pegir* ~ *pagir*; Alt. *būr*, *pūr*; Khak. *pār*; Tuv., Tof. *bār*; Šor. *pār*; Yak. *biar*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 278; DTS 78; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 17; KRPS 94, 96; Malov 90; Rass. 160; SKT 177; StachM GJV 21; Tenišev 434.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ğajak (K-B) ‘1. čeljust; 2. ščeka’ (KBRS 239), *ğijak* (B) ‘id.’ (ibid. 269); *ğajak* (*žajáq*; K) ‘Wange’ (Pr K 145) < PT **janak*; cf.: OT *jañak*; Kum. *jajak*; Az. *janak*; Tur., Gag. *janak*; Kar. (Cr.) *janak*, *jagak*, (T) *janax*; Tat. (Ur.) *janax*; Tat. *jañak*; Čuv. *janax* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jañak*; Kaz., Kklp. *žak*; Kir. *ğāk*; Trkm. *jañak*; Uz. *ğag*, *jonok*; Uig. *jañak*, *ğag*; Sal. *jañax*; Y. Uig. *jinak*, *jīnak*, *ğigak*; Alt. *dāk*; Khak. *nāx*; Tuv. *čak*; Tof. *nāk*; Šor. *nāk*; Yak. *šijāx*. – Lit.: DTS 233;

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

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

ğamiz (K-B) '1. pax; 2. naručnyje polovyje organy ženščiny' (KBRS 222); *zammiz* (*zammiz*; B) 'die Weichen' (Pr B 268) < PT **jamiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *jam(u)z*, *jomuz* (Gab. 351); *jamiz*, *jamuz* (DTS 231, 272); Az. *janbiz*; Tat. dial.: *jamuz*, *jamis*, *jambuz*, *janbuz*, *jambiz*, *ğamiz*; Nog. *jamiz*; Trkm. *jamiz*; Yak. *simis*. – DTS 231, 272; Gab. 351; ÈSTJa IV 110; Räs. VEW 184 b.

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

ğawrun (K-B) 'lopatka, lopatočnaja kost' (KBRS 236); *žaurun* (B. dial.: Kaš., Čeg.) 'plečnaja lopatka' (Boz. 171); *zaurun* (Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (ibid. 173); *ğaurun* (*žaurun*; K) 'Schulterblätter' (Pr K 147); *zaurun* (*zaurun*; B) 'Schulterblatt' (Pr B 271) < PT **jarin* (ESG); cf.: OT *jarin*; Kum. *jawrun*; Tur. *jagir*; Kar. (Cr.) *jagirin*, *janjirin*, (H) *javrun*, (T) *javrun*, *juvrun*; Tat. *jawirin*; Čuv. *šurām*; Bašk. *javrin*; Kaz. *žawrin*; Kklp. *žawirin*; Nog. *jawirin*; Kir. *ğōrun*; Trkm. *jagirin*; Uz. *jagrin*; Uig. *jarin*; Sal. *jagri*; Y. Uig. *jarin*; Alt. *jarin*, *darin*; Khak. *čarin*; Tuv. *čarin*; Šor. *čarin*; Yak. *sarin*. – Lit.: DTS 241; Eg. 220; ÈSTJa IV 65; KRPS 215, 216, 229, 252.

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

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

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

ğilik (K-B) '1. kostnyj mozg; 2. mosol, mozgovaja kost' (KBRs 247); *žilik* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'spinnoj mozg' (Boz. 171); *ğilik* (Baks.) 'mozg, kostnyj mozg' (ibid. 172); *ğilik* (*žilik*; K) 'Mark' (Pr K 148); *zilik*, *zilih*, *zilig* (B) 'Mark, Knochenmark' (Pr B 272) < PT **(j)ilik* (ESG); cf.: OT *ilik*, *jilig*; Kum. *jilik*; Az. *ilik*; Khal. *jilk*, *gilk*, *nilk*, *nıl*; Tur. *ilik*; Kar. (H, T) *ilik*; Tat. *ğilik*, *jılık*; Bašk. *jılık*; Kklp. *žilik*; Nog. *jilik*; Kir. *ğilik*; Trkm. *jülük*, *jilik*; Uz. *ilik*; Uig. *jilik*, *žilik*; Sal. *ilek*; Y. Uig. *ilig*; Alt. *d'ilik*, *d'uluk*; Khak. *čilij*; Tuv. *čilig*, *čuluk*; Šor. *šülünj*; Yak. *silik*, *sili*, *sālī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 289, 302, 318; DTS 208, 261; ÈSTJa IV 265; KRPS 198; Räs. VEWT 203 a; Tenišev 336; Tenišev SJ 220.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

karin (K-B) '1. život; utroba, črevo, brjuxo; 2. želudok; 3. syčug; 4. per. jedok, rot; 5. jeda, prodovol'stviye; 6. mexi' (KBRS 397); *karin* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'život, želudok' (Boz. 177); *karin* (*qarín*; K) 'Bauch, Leib, Magen' (Pr K 116); *karin* (*qarín*; B) 'Bauch, Magen' (Pr B 235) < PT **karin* (ESG); cf.: OT *karin*; Kum. *karin*; Az. *garin*; Khal. *kārinäk*, *ka'run*; Tur., Gag. *karin*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *karin*; Tat. *karin*; Čuv. *xirām*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *karin*; Trkm. *garin*; Uz. *korin*; Uig. *kerin*; *karin* (JUFD 207); Lob. *kain*; Sal. *karin*, *kārin*, *k'arin*; Y. Uig. *karin*; Alt. *karin*; Khak. *xarin*; Tuv. *xirin*; Tof. *hirin*; Šor. *karin*; Yak. *xarin*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 50, 306; DTS 427; Eg. 314; ÈSTJa V 321; JUFD 207; KRPS 295, 365; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 193; Tenišev 376, 467.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kirpik (K-B) 'resnica' (KBRS 349); *kirfik*, *kirfix*, *kerfig* (*kirfik*, *kirfix*, *kerfig*; B) 'Augenwimper' (Pr B 229) < PT **kirpik* (ESG); cf.: OT *kirpik*; Kum., Az. *kirpik*; Khal. *kirpük*, *kiprük*, *kirprük*, *kigirpük*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kirpik*; Tat. *kīrfik*; *kerfek* (Eg. 294); Čuv. *xārpāk*; Bašk. *kīrpik*; *kerpek* (Eg. 294); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kirpik*; Uz. *kiprik*; Uig. *kī(r)pik*, *kižpik*; Lob. *kipik*; Y. Uig. *kirmik*, *kīrmik*, *kīrmik*, *kermik*; Alt. *kirbik*; Khak. *kīrbik*; Tuv. *kirbik*.

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

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

kojun (K-B) 1. ‘1. pazuxa; 2. grud’. 2. ‘1. izgib, okruglenie, vognutost’; 2. ruslo, pojma’ (KBRS 419); *kojun* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) ‘pazuxa, lono, ruslo, mesto pod myškami, zaliv, objatie’ (Boz. 179); *kojun* (*q’ojún*; K) ‘Schooss’ (Pr K 119) < PT **kōj*; cf.: OT *kojun*, *kojīn*, *koj*, *kon*; Kum. *kojun*; Az. *gojun*; Tur. *kojūn*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kojun*, (T) *kojun*, *kojīn*; Tat. (Ur.) *xojun*; Tat. *kujen*; Čuv. *xěv*, *xū*; Bašk. *kujīn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kojīn*; Kir. *kojun*; Trkm. *gojun*; Uz. *kūjin*; Uig. *kojun*; Lob. *kojnī*; Sal. *kojn*, *kōn*; Y. Uig. *kojīn*, *kojen*; Alt. (V) *kojīn*; Khak. *xojīn*, *xojun*; Tuv. *xoj*; Tof. *hoj*; Yak. *xōj*, *xōjīn*. – Lit.: DTS 453, 455; Eg. 297; KRPS 329, 369; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Rass. 189; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 386, 388, 464; Tenišev SJ 200.

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

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

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

kökürek (K-B) ‘1. grud’; 2. grud’ (ženskaja), moločnaja železa; 3. *per. samouverennost’, samomnenie*’ (KBRS 339); *kökürek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘grud’ (Boz. 176); *kökrek* (*k’ökrek*; K) ‘Brust’ (Pr K 111); *kökrek*, *kökrex*, *kökreg* (*kökrék*, *kökréx*, *kökrég*; B) ‘Brust, Busen’ (Pr B 230) < PT **kökürek* (ESG) < **kökiz*; cf.: OT *köküz*; Kum. *kokurek*, *kökürek*; Tur. *gögüs*, *kökrek* (DS); Gag. *güs*; Kar. (Cr.) *kökrek*, (H) *kekrek*, (T) *ko’kräk*; Tat. *kükräk*; Čuv. *kākār*; Bašk. *kükräk*; Kaz. *kökrek*, *kökirek*; Kklp. *kokrek*, *kökirek*; Nog. *kokirek*, *kökirek*; Kir. *kökürök*; Trkm. *kükräk*; Uz. *kokrāk*; *kukrak* (Eg. 98); Uig. *kökräk*; Lob. *köküz*, *köküs*; Sal. *küprāk*, *köp’frix*; Y. Uig. *gös*; Alt. (V) *kögüs*; Khak. *kögis*; Tuv. *xörek*;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

mijik (K-B) '1. usy; 2. redko ost' (KBRS 475); *mijik* (*mijīq*; K) 'Schnurrbart' (Pr K 123); *mijik*, *mijix*, *mijig* (*mijīq*, *mijīx*, *mijīy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **bīdik*; cf.: OT *bīdik*; Kum. *mijik*; Az. *bīg*; Tur., Gag. *bijik*; Kar. (Cr.) *mijik*, (H) *mijuk*, (T) *mijix*; Tat. (Cr.) *mijik*, *bijik*; Tat. *mijik*; *mijek* (Eg. 130); Čuv. *mājāx*; Bašk., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *mijik*; Uz. *mijik*; Lob. *mujut*, *murut*, *bujut*, *burut*; Alt. *mijik*; Yak. *bītik*. – Lit.: DTS 105; Eg. 130; ĖSTJa II 304; KRPS 407, 413; Malov 96, 145; Räs. VEWT 73 b; StachM GJV 93.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OT *siñir*; Kum. *singir*; Tur. *sinir*; Tat. *señer*; Čuv. *šānār*; Bašk. *heñer*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *siñir*; Trkm. *siñir*; Uz. *singir*; Uig. *siñir*; Alt. (V) *siñir*; Khak. *sīr*; Tuv. *sir*; Tof. *šīr*; Yak. *iñīr*. – Lit.: DTS 500; Eg. 334; ÖjHa. 33; Rass. 227; Räs. VEWT 423 a.

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

süjek (K-B) '1. kost. 2. stat, telosloženiye' (KBRS 587); *süjek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kost' (Boz. 184); *süjek* (*süjék*; K) 'Knochen' (Pr K 133); *süjek*, *süjex*, *süjeg* (*süjék*, *süjéx*, *süjég*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 254) < PT **sōñgāk*; cf.: OT *sōñük*; *sūñük* (Gab.); Kum. *süjek*; Az. *sümük*; Tur. *sümük*; Kar. (Cr.) *süjek*, *sujak*, *süvek*, (H) *sivek*, (T) *śuvak*; Tat. (Ur.) *süjek*; Tat. *söjak*; Čuv. *šāmā*, dial.: *šānā*; Bašk. *höjak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *süjek*; Kir. *sōk*; Trkm. *sūñk*; Uz. *sujak*; Uig. *sōñāk*, *sūñāk*, *süjāk*; Lob. *sönök*; Sal. *senix*, *sēnīx*, *sinex*, *sinix*, *sinīx*; Y. Uig. *sumik*, *sumuk*; Alt. *sōk*; Khak. *sōk*; Tuv. *sōk*; Tof. *sōk*; Yak. *uñuox*, *umuox*. – Lit.: DTS 511; Eg. 333; Gab. 335; KRPS 472, 483, 485, 486, 501; Malov 163; Podolsky 21; Rass. 228; Räs. VEWT 437 a; Sul. Kkar. 97; Tenišev 479, 480, 482, 492; Tenišev SJ 207; YRh. 1039.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

teri (K-B) '1. koža, škura; 2. mex' (KBRS 623); *teri* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *teri* (*t'eri*; K) 'Haut' (Pr K 138) < PT **tārig*; cf.: *teri*

(MK); Kum. *teri*; Az. *däri*; Khal. *täri*; Tur., Gag. *deri*; Kar. (Cr., H) *teri*, (T) *feri*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *teri*; Tat. *tirī*; *tire* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tir*; Bašk. *tirī*; *tire* (Eg. 252); Kaz., Nog., Kklp., Kir. *teri*; Trkm. *deri*; Uz. *teri*; Uig. *teri*, *terä*; Lob. *terä*, *tejä*, *tej*; Sal. *tir*; Y. Uig. *t'er*, *tere*, *terä*; Alt. *tere*; Khak. *tēr*, *tirī*; Tof. *te're*; Šor. *tere*; Yak. *tārī* ~ *tirī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 73, 313; DTS 554; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 207; KRPS 522, 566; Malov 170, 172; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 23; Rass. 234; StachM GJV 62; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 216.

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

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

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

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

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

tobuk (K-B) '1. koleno; 2. izgib, povorot, izlučina' (KBRS 639); *tobuk* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'koleno' (Boz. 186); *tobuk*, (*t'obuq*; K) 'Knie' (Pr K 139); *tobuk*, *tobux*, *tobug* (*tobúq*, *tobúx*, *tobúy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tōpik*; cf.: OT *tobik*; Kum. *tobuk*; Khal. *topuk*; Tur. *topuk*; Tat., Bašk. *tubik*; Kaz. *tobik*; Kir. *tomuk*; Trkm. *topuk*; Uz. *tupik*; Uig. *tovuk*; Y. Uig. *tōk*; Alt. *tomuk*; Khak. *tomix*;

Tuv. *dovuk*; Tof. *top'ok*; Yak. *tobuk* ~ *tabik* ~ *tamik*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 57, 314; DTS 569; Rass. 234; Räs. VEWT 489 a; StachM GJV 83, 100.

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

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

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

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

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

uwuč (K-B) 'gorst' (KBRS 689); *u'uč* (*u'úč*; K) 'die innere Handfläche' (Pr K 143) < PT *(h)*abuč* (Räs. VEWT 3 a); cf.: *avuč* (KB); Kum. *uvuč*; Az. *ovuč*, *avuğ*; Tur., Gag. *avuč*; Kar. (Cr.) *avuč*, (H) *uvuc*, *uvuč*, (T) *uvuč*; Tat. (Cr.) *awuč*; Tat. *uč*; Čuv. *iváš*; Bašk. *us*; Kaz., Kklp. *uwis*, *uis*; Nog. *uwis*; Kir. *uč*; Trkm. *owuč*; Uz. *hawuč*; Uig. *oč*, *awuš*; Y. Uig. *oš*; Alt. *oš*, *uš*, *oš*; Khak. *oš*; Tuv. *adiš*; Yak. *itis*. – Lit.: DTS 70; Eg. 342; ÈSTJa I 409; KRPS 42, 573; Räs. VEWT 3 a; Sul. Kkar. 52; Tenišev SJ 194.

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

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

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

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

ajīw (K-B) 'medved' (KBRS 40); *ajīw* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'medved' (Boz. 164); *aju*, *ajū* (K) 'Bär' (Pr K 86); *ajū* (*ajū*; B) 'Bär' (Pr B 200) < PT **adīg* (ESG); cf.: OT *adīg*, *azīg*, *ajīg*; Kum. *ajuw*; Az. *ajī*; Tur., Gag. *ajī*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajuv*; Tat. (Cr.) *ajuv*; Tat. (Ur.) *aju*; Tat. *aju*; Bašk. *ajīw*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ajuw*; Kir. *ajū*; Trkm. *ajī*; Uz. *ajik*, Uz. dial.: *ajuw*, *ajū*; Uig. *ejik*; Lob. *ajik*; Sal. *acix*, *atix*, *ātix*, *aṣix*; Alt. *aju*; Khak. (dial.) *azīg*; Tuv. *adīg*. – Lit.: DTS 10, 14, 29; ÈSTJa I 112; KRPS 55; Malov 82; Podolsky 3; Tenišev 280, 296, 297, 300.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kadīr (K-B) '1. mul; 2. lošak; 2. per. kljača' (KBRS 374); *kadīr* (*q^cadīr*; K) 'Maultier' (Pr K 113) < PT **katīr* (ESG); cf.: OT *katīr, kagatīr*; Az. *gatīr*; Tur., Gag. *katīr*; Kar. (Cr.) *katīr*, (H, T) *katīr*; Nog. *katīr*; Trkm. *gatīr*; Y. Uig. *katīr, kadīr*. Cf. also: Kum. *kačīr*; Khal. *gātūr, gātīr, gatīr*; Tat. *kačīr*; Bašk. *kašīr*; Kaz. *kašīr*; Kklp. *kašīr ~ gašīr*; Kir. *kačīr*; Uig. *kečīr, xačīr, xečī(r)*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 64, 288; DTS 405, 435; ÈSTJa V 339; KRPS 297, 367.

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

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

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

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

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

kartčiga (K) 'jastreb' (KBRS 396); *kartčiga* (*q'artčiyá*; K) 'Habicht' (Pr K 116) < PT **kartiga* < **kartigan* < **kartikan*; cf.: *karčiga* (Zamahš.) Kum. *karčiga*; Tur. dial. *kartčiga* (DS); Tat. *karčiga*; Čuv. *xurčaka*; Bašk. *karsiga*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *karšiga*; Kir. *karčiga*; Trkm. *garčigaj*; Uz. *karčigaj*; Uz. (S) *karčagaj* (Eg. 309); Uig. *ka(r)čigu*; Lob. *kajčiga, kačiga*; Alt. *karčiga, karčaga*; Khak. *xartiga, xartxa*; Tuv., Tof. *xartiga*; Šor. *kartaga*; Yak. *xardāčī*, (?) *kīrt, kīt*. – Lit.: Eg. 309; ĖSTJa V 317; Malov 126; Räs. VEWT 237 a.

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

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

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

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

kijik (K-B) 1 ‘1. dikij; 2. *per.* neobuzdannij, dikij, varvaskij; 2. ‘zveř; dič’ (KBRS 346); *kijik* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘laň, kozulja, dič, dikij’ (Boz. 175); *kijik* (*k’ijik*; K) ‘Wild’ (Pr K 110); *kijik, kijix, kijig* (*kijik, kijix, kijig*; B) ‘Reh’ (Pr B 229) < PT **kājik*; cf.: OT *kejik, keđik, kik*; Kum. *gijik*; Tur. *gejik*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kijik*; Tat. (Ur.) *fijik*; Tat. *kiik, kijek* (Eg. 85); Čuv. *kajāk*; Bašk. *kejek*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kijik*; Trkm., Trukh. *kejik*; Uz. *kijik*; Uig. *kijik, kīsik*; Lob. *kejik, keik, kiik*; Sal. *kijix*; Y. Uig. *kejik, keik, k’ik*; Alt. *kijik*; Khak. *kīk*; Šor. *kīk*. – Lit.: DTS 294, 307; Eg. 85; ÈSTJa V 21; KRPS 318; Malov 133, 134, 135; Podolsky 26; SKT 179; Tenišev 382.

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

kirpi (K-B) ‘jož’ (KBRS 349); *kirfi, kirpi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘jož’ (Boz. 175); *kirpi* (*k’irp’i*; K) ‘Igel’ (Pr K 110); *kirfi* (*kirfi*; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 229) < PT **kirpi* (ESG); cf.: OT *kirpi*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *kirpi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kirpi*, (H) *kīrpī*; Tat. *kīrpī*; *kerpe* (Eg. 325); Tat. (Ur.) *tīrpi*; Čuv. *čērēp*; Bašk. *īrpī*; *terpe* (Eg. 325); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *kirpi*; Uig. *kirpā, kī(r)pi, kīžpi*; Šor. *kirbi*. – Lit.: DTS 309; Eg. 325; ÈSTJa V 72; KRPS 323, 387; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 272 b.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kögürčün (K-B) 'golub' (KBRS 335); *kögürčün* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *kögürčün* (*k^oögürčün*; K) 'Taube' (Pr K 110); *kögürčün* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 230) < PT **kökärčün*; cf.: OT *kökürčün*, *kökürčün*; Kum. *gogurčün*, *gögürčün*; Az. *göjärčün*; Khal. *gövärčün*, *gögürčün*, *kökärčün*; Tur., Gag. *güvercin*; Kar. (Cr.) *kögürčün*, *kögürčün*, *kögürčün*, *kürgüčün*, (H) *kigircin*, *tigircin*, (T) *kuğurčün*, *koğurčün*; Tat. (Ur.) *gögürčün*; Tat. *kügärčün*, *kügärčün* (Eg. 97); Čuv. *kāvakarčün*; Bašk. *kügärsün*, *kügärsün* (Eg. 97); Kaz. *kögeršin*; Kklp., Nog. *kögeršin*; Kir. *kögürčün*; Trkm. *gögerčün*; Uz. dial. *gävärčün*; Uig. *köküškün*; Sal. *körgünzux*, *kurgunzux*, *kurgunzix*; Y. Uig. *k^oükiškin*, *kükiškin*, *köküšken*, *kükišxin*; Alt. (V) *gogorčün*; Tuv. *kögēzin*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 152, 290, 298; DTS 313; Eg. 97; ESTJa III 57; KRPS 312, 317, 336, 354, 396, 525; Podolsky 11; Räs. VEW 287 b; Tenišev 393, 396, 397; Tenišev SJ 188, 189.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tartar (K) '1. korostel', *dergač*; 2. *per. zamoryš*' (KBRS 606); *tartar* (*t'art'ár*; K) 'Wachtel' (Pr K 137) < PT **tartar*; cf.: OT *tartar*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tartar*; Kaz. *tartar*; Šor. *tartal*. – Lit.: DTS 539; Räs. VEWT 465 b.

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

tawuk (K-B) '1. kurica; 2. v nazvanijax ptic' (KBRS 611); *taūk* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kurica, ptica' (Boz. 185); *ta'uk* (*t'a'uq*; K) 'Huhn' (Pr K 137); *ta'uk*, *ta'ux*, *ta'ug* (*ta'úq*, *ta'ux*, *ta'úy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 258) < PT **taguk* (ESG); cf.: OT *taguk*, *takuk*, *takagu*, *takigu*; Kum. *tavuk*; Az. *tojug*; Tur. *tavuk*; Kar. (Cr.) *tavuk*, (H) *tawuk*, (T) *tavux*; Tat. *tavik*; Tat. (Ur.) *taux*; Čuv. *čāxā*, *čāx*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp. *tauik*; Nog. *tavik*; Kir. *tōk*; Trkm. *tavik*; *tovuk* (Eg. 321); Uz. *tovuk*; Uig. *toxu*, *tavuk*, *toxa*; Sal. *tōgo*, *tox*, *tux*; Y. Uig. *takakī*; Alt. *takā*; Khak. *tagax*; Tuv. *dagā*; Tof. *takiñak*; Šor. *tañak*. – Lit.: DTS 527, 536; Eg. 321; JUFD 234, 241; KRPS 504, 505; Podolsky 23; Rass. 233; Räs. VEWT 457 a; Tenišev 512, 518, 525.

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

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

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

tijin (*t'ijīn*; K) 'eine Art Marder' (Pr K 139) < PT < **tāgin*; cf.: OT *tejin*, *tegin* (MK); Tur. dial. *dejin* (DS); Kar. (T) *dīn*, *dijin*, (H) *dijik*; Tat. *tijīn*; *tijen* (Rass. 173); Bašk. *tin*, *tijīn*; *tejen* (Rass. 173); Kaz. *tijīn*; *tiin* (Rass. 173), *tijīn*; Kklp., Kir. *tijīn*; Uz., Uig. *tijin*; Lob. *tīn*; Alt. *tijij*, *tijin*; Khak. *tīn*, *tīj*; Tuv. *dīj*; Tof. *dīj*; Šor. *tij*; Yak. *tīj*; – Lit.: DTS 548, 549; ÈSTJa III 180; KRPS 177; Rass. 173; StachM GJV 61.

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

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

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

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

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

turna (K-B) 'žuravl' (KBRS 652); *turna* (*t'urna*; K) 'Kranich' (Pr K 140) < PT **turuŋa*; cf.: OT *turna* (MK), *turuŋaja*; *turuŋaja* (Gab.); Kum. *turna*; Az. *durna*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *turna*; Tat. *tūrna*; *torna* (Eg. 239); Čuv. *tārna*; Bašk. *tūrna*; *torna* (Eg. 239); Kaz., Kklp. *tīrna*; Nog. *turna*; Kir. *turna*, *turuna*; Trkm. *durna*; Uz., Uig. *turna*; Lob. *tujna*; Sal. *tīrna*; Alt., Khak. *turna*; Tuv. *duruja*; Tof. *duruja*; Šor. *turna*; Yak. *turuja*. – Lit.: DTS 588; Eg. 239; ÈSTJa III 301; Gab. 344; KRPS 548; Malov 176; Rass. 176; Räs. VEW 501 a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.5. Insects

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kumursxa (K-B) 'muravej' (KBRS 422); *kumurčxa*, *kumursxa* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 179); *kumursxa* (*q^cumursxa*; K) 'Ameise' (Pr K 121); *kumurexa* (*kumurexá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 240) < PT **kumirtkač*; cf.: OT *kumursga*, *komursga*; Kar. (Cr.) *kimirsak*, *kumuska*, *kirmiška*, *kimska*, (H) *kumurstka*, (T) *kumurstka*, *kumurstxu*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kirmiška*; Kaz. *komurska*; Nog. *kurimiska*, *kumiriska*; Kir. *kumurska*; Khak. *ximışxa*; Tuv. *kimiskajak*; Šor. *kimirtaš*; Yak. *kimirdayas* ~ *kimindayas*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 455; KRPS 346, 374, 380, 381; Räs. VEWT 300 b; StachM GJV 119; Sul. Kkar. 91.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6. Some terms referring to animals

ağır (K-B) '1. žerebec; 2. zloj' (KBRS 25); *ažir*, *azir* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg. (*ažir*) 'žerebec' (Boz. 164); *ağır* (*ažir*; K) 'Hengst' (Pr K 90); *azir* (*ažir*; B) 'Hengst' (Pr B 205) < PT **aδgür*; cf.: OT *adgür*; Az. *ajgür*; Tur. *ajgür*; Kar. (H., Cr.) *ajgür*; Tat. (Cr.) *ajgür*; Čuv. *ājār*; Bašk. *ajgür*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. Kir., Trkm. *ajgür*; Uz., Uig. *ajgir*; Uig. *argij*; Lob. *ajgij*; Y. Uig. *azgür*; Alt. *ajgür*; Khak. *asxir*; Tuv. *askir*; Tof. *asker*; Yak. *atir*. – Lit.: DTS 10; Bask. JpU 40; Eg. 39; ÈSTJa I 107; KRPS 52; Malov 81; ÖjHa. 10, 67; StachM GJV 99; Tenišev SJ 174.

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

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

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

buzow (K-B) 'teljonok' (KBRS 166); *buzou* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'telenok' (Boz. 168); *buzou* (*buzóu*; K) 'Kalb' (Pr K 96); *buzou* (*buzóu*; B) 'kleines Kalb, Sangkalb' (Pr B 212) < PT **büzayu* (Räs. VEW 74b); cf.: OT *buzagu*; Kum. *buzaw*; Az. *buzov*; Tur. *buzagı*; Gag. *buza*; Kar.(Cr.) *büzaw*, *büzuv*, (H, T) *buzov*; Tat. (Cr.) *buzav*; Tat. (Ur.) *buzov*; Tat. *büzaw*; Čuv. *pāru*; Bašk. *büzaw*; Kaz. *büzaw*; Kklp., Nog. *buzaw*; Kir. *mužō*; Uz. *buzok*; Uig. *mozaj*, *bozō*; Lob. *mužaj*, *buzu*; Sal. *puzo*, *pūzī*; Alt. *puza*, *biza*, *piza*, *pozu*, *bozu*; Khak. *pīzo*; Tuv. *bizā*; Šor. *puza*; cf. Yak.: *burgunas* 'eine junge Kuh, eine dreijährige Kuh, die noch nicht gekalbt hat' (ÖjHa. 38); also cf. *boruosku*, *torbos* 'teljonok' (Eg. 149). – Lit.: DTS 130; Eg. 149; ÈSTJa II 239; KRPS 137, 145; Malov 95, 145; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 6; Tenišev 457.

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

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

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

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

ğarī (K-B) 'koža; ovčina bez šersti' (KBRs 233) < PT **jag(i)r-ī*; cf.: Kum. *jari*; Tat., Bašk., Trkm. *jarī*; Alt. *jarā*; Šor. *čarig*; Yak. *sar*; cf. also Tur. *jagir* 'withers of a horse'. – Lit.: ÈSTJa IV 146; StachM GJV 20; YRh. 1235.

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

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

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

ğilkī (K-B) 'tabun' (KRPS 266); *zilkī* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš.), *zilkī*, *žilkī* (Baks.) 'tabun' (Boz. 173); *ğilkī* (*žilq'ī*; K) 'Pferdenherde' (Pr K 148); *zilkī* (*žilq'ī*; B) 'Pferdeherde' (Pr B 273) < PT **jilkī* (< **jil*) (StachM GJV 93); cf.: OT *jilkī*; Kum. *jilki*, *jilkī*; Khal. *jilki*; Tur. *jilkī*; Kar. (Cr.) *jilkī*; Tat. *jālkī*; Bašk. *jilkī*; Kaz., Kklp. *žilkī*; Nog. *jilkī*; Kir. *ğilkī*; Trkm. *jilkī*; Uz. *jil'ki*; Uig. *jilkī*, *ği(l)ka*; Lob. *ilkī*, *ilki*; Alt. *đilkī*; Khak., Tuv., Šor. *čilgī*; Yak. *silgī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 67, 318; DTS 267; JUFD 199; KRPS 264; Räs.VEWT 200b–201 a; StachM GJV 93; YRh. 1258.

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

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

**jumurtga*; cf.: OT *jumurtga*, *jumurka*; Kum. *jimirtka*, *jimurtka*; Az. *jumurta*; Khal. *jumurka*, *jumurta*, *numurka*, *numurta*, *numurtga*, *numurxta*; Tur. *jumurta*; Gag. *jimmirta*; Kar. (Cr.) *jumurta*, *jumirta*, *jimirta*, *imirtka*, (H) *jimirtka*, *jimertka*, *jemertka*; (T) *imirtxa*, *jumurtxa*, *jimirtxa*; Tat. (Ur.) *jimirta*; Tat. *jumirka*, *jomirka* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *šamarta*; Bašk. *jumürtka*, *jomortka* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp. *žumirtka*; Kir. *ğumurtka*, *žumurtka* (Eg. 207); Trkm. *jumurtga*; Uz. *jumurtka*; Sal. *jomurta*, *jumurta*, *jumuta*, *jumōtā*, *jumitta*; Alt. *jimirtka*, *d'imirtka*; Khak. *nimirtxa*; Tuv. *čürga*; Tof. *numurxa*; Yak. *šimřt*. – Lit.: Doerfer 82, 319; DTS 280; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa IV 250; KRPS 200, 258, 259, 266, 267, 271, 650; ŐjHa. 40; Podolsky 33; Rass. 210; Tenišev 362, 366, 367.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kančik (K-B) ‘samka, suka’ (KBRS 388); *kančik* (*qʼančiq*; K) ‘Leierkasten’ (Pr K 115) < PT **kančik* (ESG); cf.: OT *kančik*; Kum. *kančik*; Az. *ganğig*; Tur. *kanğik*; Gag. *kanğik*; Tat. dial. *kančik*; Bašk. *kansik, kansaj*; Kaz., Kklp. *kanšik*; Nog. *kanžik*; Kir. *kančik*; Trkm. *ganğik*; Uz. *kanğik*; Uig. *kanğik*. – Lit.: DTS 418; ÈSTJa V 255.

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

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

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

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

The lexeme *kozu* ‘lamb’ has its counterparts in a few other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms *kozi, kuzi* were registered.

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

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

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

müjüz (K-B) 'rog' (KBRS 478); *müjüz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *mügüz*, *müjüz* (*mügüz*, *müjüz*; K) 'Horn' (Pr K 124); *müjüz* (*müjüz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 244) < PT **müjüz*; cf.: OT *müjüz*, *miñiz*, *mügüz*, *müjüz*; Kum. *mujuz*; Az. *bujnuz*; Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.) *bojnuz*; Kar. (Cr.) *müjüz*, *muñuz*, (H) *miviz*, (T) *muvuž*, *muvuš*, *mujuš*; Tat. *mügiz*; *mögez* (Eg. 130); Čuv. *măjraka*; Bašk. *mügüz*; *mögöz* (Eg. 130); Kaz. *müjiz*; Kklp., Nog. *müjüz*, *müjiz*; Kir. *müjüz*; Trkm. *bujnuz*; Trukh. *bujunuz*; Uz. *muguz*; *mugiz* (Eg. 130); Uig. *müñüz*, *müñgüz*; *müñgüs* (Eg. 130); Lob. *mügüs*, *müjüs*, *müjs*, *müs*, *müz*; Sal. *moñas*, *moñus*, *muñas*, *muñaz*; Y. Uig. *moñus*; Alt. *müs*, *müs*; Khak. *müs*; Tuv. *mijis*; Tof. *ñis*; Šor. *müs*; Yak. *muos*, *mojuos*, *müös*. – Lit.: DTS 345, 352, 354; Eg. 130; ĖSTJa II 243; KRPS 406, 411, 412, 416, 417; Malov 146; Rass. 207; Räs. VEW 347 b; SKT 178; Tenišev 412, 413; Tenišev SJ 192.

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

taj (K-B) 'žerebionok' (KBRS 597); *taj* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'žerebenok' (Boz. 184); *taj* (*t'aj*; K) 'Füllen' (Pr K 135); *taj* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 256) < PT **taj*; cf.: OT *taj*; Az. *dajča*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *taj*; Čuv. *tixa*; Bašk. *taj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *taj*; Uz. *toj*, *tojča*, *tojčik*; Uig. *taj*, *tajčak*; Lob., Alt. (V) *taj*; Yak. *tij*. – Lit.: DTS 527; Eg. 254; KRPS 505; Malov 166; Podolsky 23; Räs. VEW 455 a; StachM GJV 20; Šč. SF 197.

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

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

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

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

tīrnak (K-B) '1. ногоť; 2. kogoť; 3. *ist.* železnýj sošnik; 4. *tex.* capfa, šip, vystup; 5. *ust.* kavyčki' (KBRS 663); *tīrnak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'kogoť, ногоť' (Boz. 186); *tīrnak*, *tīrnax*, *tīrnag* (*tīrnáq*, *tīrnáx*, *tīrnáy*; B) 'Nagel, Klaue' (Pr B 260); *tīrnak* (*tīrnáq*; K) 'id.' (Pr K 138) < PT **tīrñjak* < **tīr-ñj-ak* (StachM GJV 95); cf.: OT *tīrñak*, *tīrñrak*, *tīrñajak*; Kum. *tīrnak*; Az. *dīrnag*; Khal. *tīrnak*; Tur., Gag. *tīrnak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tīrnak*, (T) *tīrnax*; Tat. (Cr.) *tīrnak*; Tat. (Ur.) *tīrnax*; Tat. *tīrnak*; Čuv. *černe*; Bašk. *tīrnak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tīrnak*; Kir. *tīrmak*, *tīrnak*; Trkm. *dīrnak*; Uz. *tīrnok*; Uig. *tujnak*, *tī(r)nak*, *timak*, *tirmak*; Lob. *tīrmak*, *tijmak*; Sal. *tīrnax*, *čīrnax*; Alt. *tīrmak*; Tuv. *dīrgak*, *tīrgak*; Khak. *tīrgax*; Tof. *dīrkak*; Yak. *tīñirax*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 54, 55, 74, 313; DTS 568, 569; Eg. 325; ĚSTJa III 348; KRPS 558; Malov 179; Podolsky 24; Rass. 179; StachM GJV 95; Tenišev 305, 529.

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

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

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

tujak (K-B) 'kopyto' (KBRS 658); *tujak*, *tūjak*, *tūjax* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kopyto' (Boz. 187); *tujak* (*tūjāq*; K) 'Huf' (Pr K 140); *tūjak*, *tūjax*, *tūjag* (*tūjāq*, *tūjāx*, *tūjāy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tuñak* (Räs. VEWT 499 b); cf.: OT *tujag* (MK); Tur. *dujnak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tujak*, (T) *tujax*; Tat. (Ur.) *tujax*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tōjak*; Bašk. *tōjak*; Kaz. *tujak*; Trkm. *tojnak*; Y. Uig. *tījig*; Oir. *tīgak*, *tujgak*; Šor. *tīgak*; Yak. *tūjax*. – Lit.: DTS 585; KRPS 545; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 499 b; StachM GJV 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.7. Plants and words referring to them

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

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

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

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

andiz, indiz (K) 'devjasil' (KBRS 65, 758) < PT **aŋdiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *aŋduz*; Tur. *andiz*; Tur. dial. *anduz*; Tat. (Cr.) *andiz*; Bašk. *andiz*; Kaz. *andiz*, *anži*; Kklp. *andiz*; Nog. *andiz*. – Lit.: DTS 47; ĖSTJa I 150; Räs. VEWT 21a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

čapīrak (K-B) 'list' (KBRS 726); *čaprak* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 190); *ğaparak* (*žapráq*; K) 'Blatt' (Pr K 146); *caprak*, *caprax*, *caprag*, *cafrak*, *cafirak* (*capráq*, *capráx*, *capráy*, *cafráq*, *cafiráq*; B) 'Blatt, Baumblatt' (Pr B 213) < PT **japīrak* ~ **japīrgak* (ESG); cf.: OT *japīrgak*, *jalbīrgak*, *japurgak*; Kum. *japarak*, *japīrak*; Az. *jarpak*; Khal. *jarpak*; Tur., Gag. *japarak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *japarak*, (T) *japrax*; Tat. (Ur.) *japrax*; Tat. *jafrak*; Čuv. *šulśā*, *šāvālcā*; Bašk. *japarak*; Kaz. *žapīrak*; Kklp. *žapīrak*; Nog. *japīrak*; Kir. *ğalbīrak*; Trkm., Trukh. *japarak*; Uz. *japrok*; Uig. *jopu(r)mak*; Sal. *jarfax*, *jaxpax*; Alt. *dālbīrak*; Yak. *sābirdāx*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 87, 317; DTS 228, 236, 237; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 130; KRPS 229; ÖjHa. 19; Podolsky 32; Räs. VEWT 188 a; SKT 179; Tenišev 347, 348, 350.

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

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

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

ġerk (K-B) 'ol'xa' (KBRS 243); *ġerk* (*žerk*; K) 'Erlenbaum' (Pr K 148); *zerk* (B) 'die Erle, Erlenbaum' (Pr B 271) < PT **jizik* (Räs.VEWT 204b); **jerik*, **ġerik* (ÈSTJa IV 206); cf.: Tat. *zirik*; *zirek* (Eg. 214); Čuv. *širēk*; Bašk. *jirik*; *jerek* (Eg. 214); Uz. *zirk*; Yak. *sihik*, *sisik*. – Lit.: Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 206; Räs. VEWT 204 b.

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

ġilek (K-B) 'zemljanika' (KBRS 249); *ġilek* (*žilék*; K); 'Beere' (Pr K 148) < PT **jiðlāk*, **jiglāk* (Räs.VEWT 202b); **ed-lek* (Eg. 226); cf.: Tur. *čilek*; Tat. *žilek*; Čuv. *širla*; Bašk. *jelek*; Nog. *čiglāk*; Trkm. *čigelek*; Khak., Tuv. *čistek*; Šor. *čästāk*. – Lit.: Eg. 226; Räs. VEWT 202 b.

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

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

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

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

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

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

176); *kabuk* (*qʻabúq*; K) ‘Rinde’ (Pr K 113); *kabuk*, *kabux*, *kabug* (*qabúq*, *qabúx*, *qabúy*; B) ‘Rinde, Schale’ (Pr B 232) < PT **kāpuk*; cf.: OT *kabík*, *kabuk*; Kum. *kabuk*; Az. *gabīg*; Tur. *kabuk*; Gag. *kabuk*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kabuk*, (T) *kabux*; Tat. *kabík*; Čuv. *xupā*; Bašk. *kabík*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kabík*; Trkm. *gābík*; Uz. *kobík*; Alt. *kabík*; Khak. *xabīx*; Tuv. *xavīk*. – Lit.: Eg. 305; ÈSTJa V 168; KRPS 279, 280, 356; Räs. VEWT 234 b.

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

kajin (K-B) ‘berioza’ (KBRS 379); *kajin* (B. dial.: Baks.) ‘berezka’ (Boz. 177); *kajin* (*qʻajín*; K) ‘Birke’ (Pr K 113) < PT **kađin*; cf.: OT *kađin*, *kajin*; Az. *gajin*; Tur. *kajin*; Kar. (T) *kajin*; Tat. *kajin*; *kajen* (Eg. 308); Čuv. *xurān*; Bašk. *kajin*; Kaz., Kklp. *kajin*; Nog. *kajin*; Kir. *kajin*; Trkm. *gajin*; Uz. *kajin*; Uig. *kejin*; Lob. *kain*; Sal. *kajin*; Alt. *kajin*; Khak. *xazin*; Tuv. *xadin*; Tof. *kađin*; Šor. *kazin*; Yak. *xatin*. – Lit.: DTS 404, 407; Eg. 308; ÈSTJa V 213; KRPS 285; Malov 124; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 216; Räs. VEWT 218 b; YRh. 624.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tarī (K-B) 'proso' (KBRS 607); *tarī* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *tarī* (*t'arī*; K) 'Hirse' (Pr K 136); *tarī* (*tarī*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 257) < PT **tarīg* (ESG); cf.: OT *tarīg*, *tarik*; Kum. *tarī*, *tari*; Az. *darī*; Tur., Gag. *darī*; Kar. (Cr.) *darī* ~ *tarī*; Tat. (Ur.) *tarī*; Tat. (Cr.) *darī*; Tat. *tarī*; Čuv. *tirā*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tarī*; Kir. *taru*; Trkm. *darī*; Uz. *tarik*; Uig. *terik*; Lob. *tajik*, *taik*; Y. Uig. *tarīg*; Alt. *tarān*; Khak. *tarīg*; Tuv. *tarā*; Tof. *darā* (< Mong.) – Lit.: DTS 537; Eg. 268; ÈSTJa III 157; KRPS 516, 169; Malov 166, 167; Podolsky 22; Rass. 169; Räs. VEWT 464 b.

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

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

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

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

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

1.8. Minerals

altın (K-B) 'zoloto' (KBRS 55); *altın* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'zoloto' (Boz. 164); *altın* (*alt'ın*; K) 'Gold' (Pr K 87) < PT < **āl* + Chin. *ton* (Räs.VEWT 18b); cf.: OT *altun*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *altın*; Čuv. *iltān*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *altın*; Uz. *oltin*; Uig. *altun*; Lob. *altun*; Sal. *altun*, *alt'un*, *altin*, *alton*; Y. Uig. *ał'tin*, *ał'tin*; Alt., Khak. *altin*; Tuv. *aldin*; Tof. *aldan*; Yak. *altan*; cf. Az. *gizil* 'zoloto' (Eg. 343). – Lit.: DTS 40; Eg. 343; ËSTJa I 142; KRPS 65; Malov 84; Rass. 153; Räs. VEW 18b; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 172.

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

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

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

kümüš (K-B) 'srebro' (KBRS 363); *kümüš* (B. dial.: Baks., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *kümüš* (*k'ümüş*; K) 'Silber' (Pr K 112); *kümüš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kömüş*; cf.: OT *kümüš*; Kum. *gumuš*, *gümüš*; Az., Tur., Gag. *gümüš*; Kar. (Cr.) *kümüš*, *gumuš*, *kümüš*, (H) *kimis*, (T) *kumuš*; Tat. *kümüš*; *kömeš* (Eg. 105); Čuv. *kēmēl*; Bašk. *kümüš*, *kömös* (Eg.); Kaz., Nog. *kumis*; Kklp. *gumis*; Kir. *hümüš*; Trkm. *kümüš*, Trukh. *kümüš*; Uz. *kumuš*; Uig. *kümüš*, *kümüč*; Lob. *kümüš*, *kömüş*, *gömüş*; Sal. *komuš*, *kumuš*, *kümüš*, *k'ümüš*, *kumuč*, *k'umuš*; Y. Uig. *kumis*, *kumos*, *kumis*, *kümüs*, *kümös*; Alt. *kümüš*; Khak. *kümüš*; Yak. *kömüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 326; Eg. 105; ËSTJa V 141; KRPS 162, 353, 396; Malov 100, 137, 138; SKT 179; StachM GJV 88, 135; Tenišev 388, 395, 401; Tenišev SJ 188, 201.

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

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

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

1.9. Nature, weather

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

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

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

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

balčik (K-B) 'grjaž, stjakost' (KBRS 116); *balčik* (*balčiq*; K) 'Erde, Koth' (Pr K 91); *balčik* (*balčiq*; B) 'Erde, Koth, Lehm' (Pr B 206) < PT **palčik* (ESG); cf.: OT *balčik*; Az. *palčik*; Khal. *palčuk*; Tur. *balčik*; Kar. (Cr.) *balčik*, (H) *balčik*, (T) *balčix*; Tat. *balčik*; Tat. (Ur.) *balčix*; Čuv. *pilčäk*; Bašk. *balsik*; Kaz. *balkaš*, *balsik*; Kklp., Nog. *balšik*; Kir. *balčik*; Trkm. *palčik*; Uz. *balčik*; Uig. *balčuk*; Sal. *palčex*, *palčix*, *palčix*, *palğex*; Alt. *balkaš*, *palčak*, *pulgač*; Khak. *palčax*, *palgas*; Tuv. *malgaš*, *balhaš*; Šor. *mulčak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bulut (K-B) '1. oblako, tuča' (KBRS 168); *bulut* (B. dial.: Balk., Baks., Čeg.) 'oblako' (Boz. 168); *bulut* (K) 'Wolke' (Pr K 95); *bulut* (*bulūt*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **bulūt*; cf.: OT *bulūt*, *bulut*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *bulut*; Tat. *būlūt*; Čuv. *pělēt*; Bašk. *būlūt*; Kaz. *būlt*, *bulut*; Kklp., Nog. *bulūt*; Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *bulut*; Sal. *pulāt*, *pūlet*, *bulut*, *pulut*, *pulūt*, *polut*, *polūt*; Y. Uig. *pīlūt*, *pīlt*; Alt. *bulut*, *pulut*; Khak. *pulut*; Tuv. *bulut*; Tof.

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

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

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

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

čik (K-B) ‘rosa’ (KBRs 742); *čik* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘rosa’ (Boz. 191); *čik* (č[“]iq; K) ‘Tan’ (Pr K 98) < PT **čī* (Šč. SF 198); **čīg*; **čīg*, **cīg*, **čik* (Räs. VEWT 107a.); cf.: *čik* (AH); Kum. *čik*; Tur. *čij*; Kar. (Cr.) *čij*, (H) *cij*, *cij*, (T) *čij*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čik*; Trkm. *čik*; Khak. *six*; Yak. *sik*. – Lit.: KRPS 613, 616, 628, 636; ÖjHa. 31; Räs. VEWT 107 a; Šč. SF 198.

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

čugur (K-B) ‘uglublenie, uxab, rytvina; jama; vpadina’ (KBRs 738); *čugur* (B. dial.: Baks.) ‘dolina, loščina, uglublenie’ (Boz. 191); *čugur* (č[“]uḡur; K) ‘Grube’ (Pr K 99) < PT **čugur* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *čonḡur*, *čungur*; Tur. *čukur*; Kar. (Cr.) *čukur*, *čukir*, (H) *cugur*, (T) *čugur*, *ḡugur*; Tat. (Ur.) *čuxur*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čökör*; Kaz. *šunḡur*, *šukur*; Kklp. *šunḡir*; Nog. *šokur*; Kir. *čunḡur*; Trkm. *čukur*, *čunḡir*; Uig. *čukur*, *čikku*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 268; Eg. 320; JUFD 254; KRPS 173, 615, 633; Podolsky 8; Räs. VEWT 120 a.

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

ḡalīn (K-B) ‘kopot’ (KBRs 221); *ḡalīn* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) ‘plamja, dym, saža’ (Boz. 172); *ḡalīn* (*žalīn*; K) ‘Flamme’ (Pr K 145); *zalīn* (*zalīn*; B) ‘Flamme, Flamme und Rauch’ (Pr B 268) < PT **jalīn*; cf.: OT *jalīn*; Kum., Tur.,

Gag., Kar. *jalın*; Tat. (Ur.) *jalın*; Čuv. *śulām*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalın*; Nog. *jalın*; Kir. *ğalın*; Trkm. *jalın*; Y. Uig. *jalın*; Khak. *čalın*; cf. also Tat., Bašk. *jalkın*; Uz. *jol'kin*; Uig. *jalkun*; Alt. *ďalkın*. – Lit.: DTS 229; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 106; KRPS 223; Podolsky 31; StachM GJV 121; Sul. Kkar. 69.

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

ğañur (K) '1. dožd' (KBRS 226); *ğaūn* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'dožd' (Boz. 172); *zaūn* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 173); *ğañjur* (*žañjur*; K) 'Regen' (Pr K 146) < PT **jagmur*; cf.: OT *jagmur*, *jamgur*; Kum. *jañur*, *jañgur*; Az. *jagmur*; Tur. *jagmur*; Gag. *jāmur*; Kar. (Cr.) *jagmur*, (H) *jamgur*, (T) *jamgur*, *jangur*, *jañgur*; Tat. *jañgür*; Tat. (Ur.) *javun*; Čuv. *śumār*; Bašk. *jamgür*; Kaz. *žañbür*; Kklp. *žamgür*; Nog. *jamgür*; Kir. *ğamgür*; Trkm. *jagmür*; Uz. *jomgür*; Uig. *jañmur*; *jamgur* (Eg. 218); Lob. *jamgüj*; Sal. *jagmur*, *jamgur*; Y. Uig. *jagmür*; Alt. *nagbür*, *dañmür*; Khak. *nañmür*; Šor. *namur*, *nagūr*; Yak. *samūr*. – Lit.: DTS 225, 231; Eg. 218; ÈSTJa IV 57; KRPS 215, 224, 225, 228; Malov 118; Podolsky 32; StachM GJV 17, 124; Tenišev 343.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kīraw (K-B) '1. inej; 2. izmorož; zamorozki' (KBRS 445); *kīrau* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'inej' (Boz. 178); *kīrau* (*qīrau*; B) 'Reif' (Pr B 237) < PT **kīragu*; cf. OT: *kīragu*; Tur. *kīragu*, *kīragi*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kīrau*; Kar. (Cr.) *kīrav*, *koruv*, (T) *kīrav*; Kir. *kīrō*; Oir. *kurū*; Khak. *xro*; Šor. *kīrā*; Yak. *kīriā*. – Lit.: DTS 445; KRPS 371, 381, 387; ÖjHa. 29; Räs. VEWT 265 b; StachM GJV 37; YRh. 653.

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

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

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

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

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

kōl (K-B) I '1. ozero, prud; 2. luža'. II 'duša, dux, nastroyenie, moraľnoje sostojanie' (KBRS 339); *kōl* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'ozero, prud' (Boz. 176); *kōl* (*k^cōl*; K) 'Teich', *kōl* (*k^cōl* [aus *k^cōjūl*]) 'Seele, Sinn' (Pr K 111); *kōl* (B) 'Teich' (Pr B 230) < PT **kōl*; cf.: OT *kōl*; Az. *kōl*; Kum. *kōl*, *kol*; Khal. *gōl*; Tur., Gag. *gōl*; Kar. (Cr.) *gōl*, (H) *gel*, (T) *gol*; Tat. *kūl*; Čuv. *kūlē*; Bašk. *kūl*; Kaz., Kklp.,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

teñiz (K-B) 'more' (KBRS 621); *teñiz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'more' (Boz. 185); *teñiz* (*tʰeñiz*; K) 'Meer' (Pr K 137); *teñiz* (*teñiz*; B) 'Meer' (Pr B 258) < PT **tāñiz*; cf. Old Bulgar **tāñgir* (Räs. VEW 474 a); cf. *teñiz* (MK); Kum. *dengiz*; Az. *dāniz*; Tur., Gag. *deniz*; Kar. (Cr.) *deñiz*, *deniz*, *teñiz*, *teniz*, (H) *tengiz*, (T) *teñgiž*, *tengiz*, *teñgiž*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *deñiz*; Tat. *dingiz*, *dingez* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tinēs*; Bašk. *diñgiž*, *dingez* (Eg. 252); Kaz. *teñiz*; Kklp., Nog. *teñiz*; Kir. *teñiz*, *deñiz*; Trkm., Trukh. *deñiz*; Uz. *dengiz*, *deñiz*; Uig. *deñiz*; Alt. *teñis*; Khak. *tiñis*. – Lit.: DTS 552; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 194; KRPS 184, 521, 564, 565; Podolsky 9; Räs. VEW 474 a; SKT 178.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tütün (K-B) '1. dym; 2. tabak, kurevo; 3. *redko* par; 4. *ust.* dom, semja' (KBRS 675); *tütün* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš.) 'dym, tabak' (Boz. 188); *tütün* (*t^eüt^eün*; K) 'Rauch' (Pr K 141); *tütün* (B) 'Rauch, Tabak' (Pr B 264) < PT **tütün* (ESG) < **tüt-* (Šč. SF 198); cf.: OT *tütün*; Kum. *tütün*; cf. also Az. *tüssü*; Khal. *tütün*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *tütün*; Tat. *töten*; Čuv. *tětēm*; Bašk. *tötön*; Kaz., Kklp., *tütin*; Nog. *tütün*, *tütin*; Kir. *tütün*; Trkm. *tütün*; cf. also: *tüsse* 'smoke'; Uz. *tutun*; Uig., Lob. *tütün*; Sal. *cücün*, *c^eüten*, *tüten*, *tütün*, *zücün*, *z^eüzün*; Oir., Khak. *tüdün*; Yak. *tütüm*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; Doerfer LSCh 138, 315; DTS 601; Eg. 248; KRPS 555; Gab. 346; Malov 178; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEW 507 b; Šč. SF 198.

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

1.10. Some tools and elements used in human activity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

beşik (K-B) 'ljulka, kolybel' (KBRS 137); *beşik* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'kolybel' (Boz. 167); *beşik*, *bešix*, *bešig* (*beşik*, *bešix*, *bešig*) 'Wiege' (Pr B 208) < PT **beşik* (ESG); cf.: OT *beşik*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *beşik*; Kar. (Cr.) *bäşik*, (H) *bäşik*; Tat. (Cr.) *beşik*, Tat. *bişik*, *bišek*; Čuv. *pelče*; Bašk. *bişik*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *besik*; Kir. *beşik*; Trkm. *bīşik*; Uz. *beşik*; Uig. *böšük*, *bişik*; Lob. *beşik*, *bešük*; Khak. *pizik*; Tof. *beşik*; Y. Uig. *pelek*; Yak. *bisik*, *bihik*, *bičik*. – Lit.: DTS 97; Eg. 154; ĚSTJa II 123; KRPS 152, 153; Malov 93; ÖjHa. 27; Rass. 161.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ġib (K-B) '1. remeň, arkan iz remnja; 2. nit, nitka' (KBRS 247); *ġib* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'remennyj arkan' (Boz. 172); *ġib* (*ġip*; K) 'Riemen' (Pr K 148); *zip*, *zif*, *zib* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 272) < PT **θip* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jip*, *jip*; Kum. *jip*; Az. *ip*; *sap* (Eg. 214); *Khal. jip*; Tur. *ip*; Gag. *jip*; Kar. (Cr.) *jip*, (H) *ip*, *jip*, (T) *ip*; Tat. (Ur.) *jip*; Tat. *ġip*; *žep* (Eg. 214); Čuv. *šip*; Bašk. *jip*; *jep* (Eg. 214); Kaz., Kklp. *žip*; Nog. *ġip*; *jip*; Kir. *ġip*; *žip* (Eg. 214); Trkm. *jüp*; Uz. *ip*; Uig. *jip*; *žip* (Eg. 214); Lob. *ip*; Sal. *jip*; Y. Uig. *jip*, *čip*, *sep*, *sip*, *sip*, *jep*; Alt. *dip*; Khak. *čip*; Šor. *čip*; Yak. *sap*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 240, 246; Doerfer LSCh 158, 318; DTS 262, 267; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 268; KRPS 204, 245; Malov 115; Podolsky 33; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev SJ 175, 210.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kajik (K-B) 'lodka, šljupka' (KBRS 379); *kajik* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'lodka' (Boz. 177); *kajik* (*q'ajiq*; K) 'Kahn' (Pr K 113); *kajik*, *kajix*, *kajig* (*qajiq*, *qajix*, *qajiy*; B) 'Boot; Kahn' (Pr B 233) < PT **kajguk* (ÈSTJa V 212); **kajuk* (Räs. VEWT 233 a); cf.: OT *kajguk*, *kajgik*; Kum. *kajik*; Az. *gajik*; Tur., Gag. *kajik*; Kar. (H, T) *kajik*; Tat. (Cr.) *kajik*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajik*; Trkm. *gajik*; Uz. *kajik*; Uig. *kejik*; Alt. *kajik*; Yak. *xojūk* ~ *xojuk* ~ *xajīk* ~ *xajik*. – Lit.: DTS 407; ÈSTJa V 212; KRPS 285; Räs. VEWT 233 a; StachM GJV 131.

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

kalaj (K-B) '1. žest; 2. bidon' (KBRS 381); *kalaj* (*q'alaj*; K) 'Blech' (Pr K 114) < PT **kalaj* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *kalaj*; Az. *galaj*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.), Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *kalaj*; Kaz. *kalajī*; Kklp. *kalaj*, *kalajī*; Nog., Kir. *kalaj*; Trkm. *galājī*; Uz. *kal'āji*; Uig. *kälāj*; Alt. *kalaj*; Tuv. *xilā*; Yak. *xalai*; *kilai* – *xalai*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 230; Eg. 86; KRPS 359; Räs. VEWT 225 a.

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

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

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

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

keli (K-B) ‘stupa, stupka’ (KBRS 319); *keli* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘stupka’ (Boz. 175); *keli* (*k'eli*; K) ‘Mörser’ (Pr K 108); *keli* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 227) < PT **kālig*; cf.: Kum. *keli*; Kar. (Cr.) *keli*; Tat. *kile* (Eg. 112); *kili*; Čuv. *kilē*; Bašk. *kile* (Eg. 112); *kili*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Uz. *keli*; Yak. *kelī*. – Lit.: Eg. 112; ĖSTJa V 33; KRPS 390; Räs. VEW 249 b; StachM GJV 59.

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

keme (K-B) ‘sudno, korabl’ (KBRS 322); *keme* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘korabl’ (Boz. 175); *keme* (*k'emé*; K) ‘Schiff’ (Pr K 108); *keme* (B) ‘Schiff’ (Pr B 227) < PT **kāmi*; cf.: OT *kāmi*, *kemi*, *kemä*, *kimi*; Kum. *geme*; Az. *gāmi*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *gemi*; Tat. *kōjmā*; Čuv. *kimē*; Bašk. *kāmā*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keme*; Trkm. *gāmi*; Uz. *kema*; Uig. *kāme*, *kime*; Lob. *keme*, *kemä*; Sal. *kimu*, *k'imu*; Alt. *keme*; Khak. *kime*; Tuv. *xeme*; Šor. *kābā*. – Lit.: DTS 297; Eg. 113; ĖSTJa III 38; Gab. 313; KRPS 159, 166; Malov 134; Räs. VEW 251 a; Tenišev 383, 400.

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

kilič (K-B) 1. ‘meč, sablja, šaška’; 2. ‘zasov, zadvižka; perekladina, žerd’; 3. ‘raduga’ (KBRS 443); *kilič* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘sablja, koromyslo, perekladina’ (Boz. 178); *kilič* (*q'ilīč*; K) ‘Regenbogen’ (Pr K 118); *kilič* (*q'ilīč*; B) ‘Rand, Geländer; Querholz’ (Pr B 237) < PT **kilič*; cf.: OT *kilič*; Kum. *kilič*; Az. *gīlīnč*; Tur. *kilič*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kilič*, (H) *kilič*; Čuv. *xēš*; Bašk. *kiliš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kiliš*; Kir. *kilič*; Trkm. *gīlīč*; Trukh. *kiliš*; Uz. *kilič*; Sal. *kiliš*, *kileš*, *kiliš*; Oir. *kiliš*; Khak. *xiliš*; Tuv. *xiliš*; Šor. *kiliš*; Yak. *kiliš*. – Lit.: DTS 442; Eg. 301; KRPS 380, 385; Räs. VEW 263 b; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Tenišev 463, 466.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

özeŋi (K-B) 'stremja' (KBRS 275); *özeŋi* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *özeŋi* (K) 'Steigbügel' (Pr K 128); *özeŋi* (*özeŋi*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 249) < PT **izāŋgö* (StachM GJV 88); cf.: OT *üzāŋü*; Kum. *özengi*; Az. *üzāŋgi*; Tur. *özengi*, *üzengi*; Gag. *jözeŋgi*; Kar. (Cr.) *özengi*, (H) *eziŋe*; Tat. *üzāŋgī*, *özāŋge* (Eg. 66); Čuv. dial. *ěsenkě* (< Tat.); *jārana*; Bašk. *üzāŋgī*, *özāŋge* (Eg. 66); Kaz.

üzengī; Kklp. *üzengi*; Nog. *zöŋgi*; Kir. *üzöŋgü*; Trkm. *üzengi*; Uz. *üzäŋi*; *uzangi* (Eg. 66); Uig. *üzäŋgü*, *üzäŋgi*; Lob. *üzöŋgü*; Sal. *uzungu*, *ozeŋgu*; Y. Uig. *ezenki*, *ezenģi*; Alt. *üzengi*; Khak. *izeŋe*; Tuv. *äzeŋgi*, *ezeŋgi*; Tof. *ežeŋge*; Šor. *üzähä*; Yak. *ihähä*, *ihähä*, *isähä* (ÖjHa. 45). – Lit.: DTS 630; Eg. 66, 76; ĖSTJa I 623; KRPS 438, 655; Malov 182; ÖjHa. 45; Rass. 183; StachM GJV 88, 106; Tenišev 431; Tenišev SJ 179; YRh. 1212.

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

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

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

sagiz (K-B) ‘smola, mastika’ (KBRS 532) < PT **sagiz*; cf.: OT *sagiz*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *sakiz*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sagiz*; Čuv. *suxār*; Bašk. *hagiz*; Kaz., Kklp. (dial.), Kir. *sagiz*; Uig. *segiz*; Khak. *sagīs*, *sās*; Tuv. *sāt*; Yak. *jas*. – Lit.: DTS 481; Eg. 198; KRPS 462; Podolsky 19; Räs. VEWT 396 b; StachM GJV 21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The lexeme *tış* ‘outside, exterior, outer’ in OT sources registered in *taš*, *taš* forms has also equivalents in other Turkic languages.

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

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

tokmak (K-B) I '1. kolotuška, derevjannyj molotok; 2. palica, dubina; kisteń; 3. nabaldašnik; 4. *per.* golova'. II 'bubenec, šarik, kolokolčik, busina' (KBRS 642); *tokmak* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'derevjannyj molotok, kolotuška, kisteń, dubina' (Boz. 186); *tokmak* (*t'oqmáq*; K) 'Keule' (Pr K 139); *tokmak*, *tokmax*, *tokmag* (*toqmáq*, *toqmáx*, *toqmáy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 261) < PT **tokmak* (ESG); cf.: Az. *toxmag*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.) *tokmak*; Tat. (Ur.) *toxmax*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tukmak*; Kaz., Kklp. *tokpak*; Kir. *tokmok*; Trkm. *tokmak*; Uz. *tukmok*; Uig. *tokmak*; Lob. *tokmak*, *tokmok*; Sal. *toxmax*; Alt. (V) *tokpak*, *topkok*; Khak. *toxpay*; Tuv. *dokpak*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Eg. 255; KRPS 535; Malov 173; Podolsky 24; Tenišev 518.

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

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

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

tüjme (K-B) '1. pugovica; 2. nagrudnik' (KBRS 670); *tüjme* (*t'üjme*; K) 'Knopf' (Pr K 141); *tüjme* (*tüjmé*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tügmä* (ESG) < **tüj-* (Šč. SF 198); cf. OT *tügmä*; Az. *düjmä*; Tur. *dügme*; Kum. *tüjme*; Gag. *düme*; Tat. *tüjmä*; *töjmä* (Eg. 264); Čuv. *tüme*; Bašk. *tüjmä*; *töjmä* (Eg. 264); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüjme*; Kir. *tüjmö*; Uz. *tugmä*; Uig. *tügmä*; Lob. *tüjmä*; Sal. *tügme*; Yak. *timäx*, *tämäx*. – Lit.: DTS 595; Eg. 264; ÈSTJa III 307-308; Räs. VEW 503 b; Šč. SF 198.

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

1.11. Names of some human activities and their results

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

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

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

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

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

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

ğumuş (K-B) '1. rabota, služba; 2. zadanie, poručenie; 3. usluga, usluga' (KBRS 258); *ğumuş* (*žumús*; K) 'Dienst' (Pr K 149); *zumuş* (*zumús*; B) 'Auftrag, Angelegenheit, Dienst' (Pr B 275) < PT **jumuş* (ESG); cf.: OT *jumuş*; Tur. (dial.) *jumuş*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jumuş*, (H) *jumus*; Tat. *jümüš*, *jomiš* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *šāmāl*; Bašk. *jümüš*, *jomoš* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp. *žumīs*; Kir. *ğumuš*, *žumuš* (Eg. 207); Trkm. *jumuš*; Uz. *jumuš*; Lob. *jumuš*; Khak. *nīmīs*; Tuv. *čīmīs*. – Lit.: DTS 280; Eg. 207; ESTJa IV 251; Gab. 357; KRPS 258, 259; YRh. 1263.

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

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

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

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

kijin (K-B) 1. '1. trud, rabota; 2. xlopoty; 3. zarabotok'; 2. 'trudnyj, složnyj, tiažioljy' (KBRS 441); *kijin* (*q'ijin*; K) 'schwer, schwierig, übel, beschwerlich' (Pr K 117); *kijin* (*qijin*; B) 'schwer, beschwerlich; Beschwerde, Not' (Pr B 237) < PT **kīn*; cf.: OT *kijin*, *kīn* ~ *kūn*; Kum. *kijin*; Tur. *kīn*; Kar. (Cr.) *kijin*, (H) *kijin*, *kejīn*, (T) *kijin*; Tat. *kijen*; Čuv. *xēn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kijin*; Trkm. *kīn*; Uz., Uig. *kijin*; Alt. (V.) *kijin*; Oir. *kijin*. – Lit.: DTS 440, 441; Eg. 298; Gab. 328; KRPS 379, 301, 385; Räs. VEWT 264 b.

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

kūj (B), **kūw** (K) 'pesnja, plač' (KBRS 361, 366); *kuj*, *kūj* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'golos, zvuk, melodija, napev, motiv' (Boz. 176); *kūj* (*k'ūj*; K) '[oft fast *k'ū* gesprochen] Lied (besonders Trauerlied' (Pr K 112) < PT **kōg*; cf.: OT *kōg* (DTS 311); *kūg* (Gab. 317); Kum. *kūj*; Az. *kōk*; *kūj* (Räs. VEWT 286 b); Tat. *kūj*; *kōj* (Eg. 104); Čuv. *kēvē*; Bašk. *kūj*; *kōj* (Eg. 104); Kaz., Nog. *kūj*; Kir. *kūj*, *kū*; Trkm. *xen*; Uz. *koj*, *kuj*; Uig. *kūj*; Alt. (V), Khak. *kōg*; Šor. *kūg*. – Lit.: DTS 311; Eg. 104; ÈSTJa V 82; Gab. 317; Räs. VEWT 286 b, 307 a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.12. Seasons

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.13. Time units and time of day

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ijik (K-B) 'nedelja' (KBRS 758); *ijix* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 174); *ijik* (*ijiq*; K) 'Woche' (Pr K 106); *ijik*, *ijix*, *ijig* (*ijiq*, *ijix*, *ijig*; B) 'id' (Pr B 226) < PT *īduk < *īd- (StachM GJV 103); cf.: OT *iduk*, *idug*, *iduk*, *idduk*; cf. Kar. (Cr.) *juxkün*, (H) *jixkin*, (T) *jexkuñ*; Kir. *ijik*; Alt. *ijik*, *ijik*; Khak. *izix*; Tuv. *idik*; Yak. *itik*. – Lit.: DTS 217, 218; ÈSTJa I 649; KRPS 246, 260, 278; StachM GJV 103.

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

ijir (K-B) 'večer' (KBRS 304); *ijir* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'večer, vremena zaxoda solnca' (Boz. 174) < PT *ijir ~ *ijir (ESG); cf.: OT *ijir*; Az. *ingiraz*; Kar. (Cr.) *ijgir*, *ijir*, (H) *ingir*, (T) *ingir*, *ingir*, *ijgir*, *enigir*; Tat. *ejer*, *ijgir*; Čuv. *eněřek*, *ěntěřek*; Bašk. *ijir*; *ejer* (Eg. 65); Kaz. *imirt*, *ijir*; Kklp. *ijin*, *ijir*, *imirt*; Kir. *ijirt*, *imirt*; Trkm. *ijrik*; Alt. *ijin*, *enir*, *ijir*; Y. Uig. *inger*, *ijir*, *jeñir*, *jünir*, *gijer*; Tuv. *imir*; Šor. *inar*. – Lit.: DTS 211; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 354; KRPS 202, 204, 651, 663.

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

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

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

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

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

tün (K-B) '1. jav; 2. redko noč' (KBRS 672) < PT **tün*; cf.: OT *tün*; Tur. (arch.) *dün*; Kar. (Cr.) *tün*; Tat., Bašk. *tön*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *tün*; Uz. *tun*; Uig. *tün*; Y. Uig. *t'üne*; Alt., Khak. *tün*; Tuv. *dün*; Tof. *dün*; Yak. *tün*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; DTS 597; KRPS 553; ÖjHa. 44; Rass. 177; Räs. VEW 505 a; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 216; YRh. 318.

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

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

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

1.14. Astronomical terminology

ğulduz (K-B) 'zvezda' (KBRS 257); *žulduz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zvezda' (Boz. 172), *zulduz* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 174) < PT **jilduz*; cf.: OT *jültus*, *julduz*, *jultuz*; Kum. *julduz*; Az. *ulduz*; Khal. *julduz*; Tur., Gag. *jıldız*; Kar. (Cr.) *jıldız*, (H) *jolduz*, *julduz*, *julduz*, (T) *julduz*; Tat. *jıldız*; *joldız* (Eg. 206); Čuv. *šältär*; Bašk. *jündüz*; *jondoz* (Eg. 206); Kaz., Kklp. *žulduz*; Nog. *julduz*; Kir. *ğıldız*; *žıldız* (Eg. 206); Trkm. *jıldız*; Uz. *julduz*; Uig. *jolduz*, *julduz*, *jultuz*; Lob. *julduz*, *julduz*; Sal. *jiltis*, *jultus*, *jıldis*; Y. Uig. *jiltis*, *jil'tis*, *jiltus*; Alt. *dıldis*, *jıldis*; Khak. *čiltis*; Tuv., Tof. *sıldis*; Šor. *čiltis*; Yak. *sulus*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 115, 319; DTS 278; Eg. 206; ÈSTJa IV 279; KRPS 248, 256, 264; Malov 121; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 121; Tenišev 358, 365; Tenišev SJ 184, 186.

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

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

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

1.15. Units of measure

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

The word *el* or *eli* denotes 'finger' as a unit of measure. With the same meaning the word has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. As far as the structure is concerned this is a deverbal derivative formed with the suffix *-ig²*, *-i²*, cf. ÈSTJa I 264.

1.16. Terms referring to space

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

togaj (K-B) '1. okružnost'; koľco; 2. krug' (KBRS 640); *togaj* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'koľco' (Boz. 186); *togaj* (*t'oyáj*; K) 'Glieder einer Kette' (Pr K 139) < PT **toka* (ESG); cf.: OT *toku* (MK), *toka*; Az. *togga*; Tur. *toka*; Čuv. *tāxa*; Kaz. *toga*; Kir. *togō*; Uz. *tuka*; – Lit.: DTS 577; Eg. 240; Räs. VEW 485 a; YRh. I 180.

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

toxun (K-B) 'obod' (KBRS 648); *toxun* (*t'oxun*; K) 'Radkranz' (Pr K 139) < PT **tokin*; cf.: Kum. *togan*; Tat. *tugim*; Čuv. *tukun*; Bašk. *tugin*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *togin*; Kir. *togun*; Uz. (S) *togun*; Tuv. *duguj*. – Lit.: Eg. 256; Räs. VEW 485 a.

The word *toxun* 'circle, ring, girdle' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. The OT sources do not register the word.

tüb, tüp (K-B) '1. niz; dno, osnovanie, podnožie; 2. prostranstvo; 3. koreň, klubeň; 4. opora; 5. podošva; stupnja; 6 a. zad; 6 b. podol, pola; 7. nasledstvo, imuščestvo umeršego; 8. *per.* taina, sekret; zaduševnoje, sokrovennoje; 9. *per.* suť, osnova' (KBRS 665); *tüb, tub, tüf, tüp* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'osnova, počva, pol, dno, pod' (Boz. 187); *tüp* (*t'üp*; K) 'Boden, Diele' (Pr K 141); *tüp, tüf, түb* (B) 'Grund, Boden, Diele' (Pr B 263) < PT **tũp* (~ **tĩp*) (Šč. SF 198); cf.: OT *tüp*; Kum. *tüb*; Az. *dip*; Khal. *dīb*; Tur., Gag. *dip*; Kar. (Cr.) *tib, tüp*, (H) *tip, kip*, (T) *tup*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüp*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüb*; Tat. *tűp; töp* (Eg. 246); Čuv. *těp*; Bašk. *tűp; töp* (Eg. 246); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tüp*; Trkm. *düjp*; Uz. *tub*; Uig. *tüp, tüv, tub*; Lob. *düp, түp*; Y. Uig. *tüp, түp, top*; Alt., Khak. *tüp*; Tuv. *düp, tub*; Tof. *düp*; Šor. *tüp*; cf. Yak. *tügäx*. Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 174, 285; DTS 598; Eg. 246; ÈSTJa III 317; KRPS 321, 524, 529, 554, 570; Malov 105, 178; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; StachM GJV 140; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 215.

The lexeme *tüb, түp* '1. bottom; foot (of a hill etc.); 2. fundament; 3. root' has equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages with these same meanings. In OT the form *tüp* is registered.

uč (K-B) 'konec, končik; kraj' (KBRS 689); *uč* (K) 'Ende' (Pr K 142) < PT **ũč*; cf. OT *uč*; Az. *uğ, uç*; Tur., Gag. *uç*; Kar. (Cr.) *uğ*, (H) *uc, uç*, (T) *uč*; Tat. (Cr.) *uč*; Tat. *űč; oč* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *věš*; Bašk. *ūs; os* (Eg. 52); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *uš*; Kir. *uč*; Trkm. *ũč*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *uč*; Sal. *uğ, ũğ, içi*; Y. Uig. *uğ, uç*; Alt. *uč*; Tuv. *uš*; Khak. *us*; Tof. *uš*; Šor. *uč*; Yak. *uhuk*. – Lit.: DTS 603; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 611; KRPS 573, 585, 586; Malov 181; Rass. 237; StachM GJV 130; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 532, 535, 536; Tenišev SJ 217.

The lexeme *uč* 'end, edge' registered in OT has at present counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

üs (K-B) '1. poverxnosť; verx, verxnaja časť; 2. oblik; vnešnosť; 3. odežda, odejanie' (KBRS 785); *üs* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'verxnaja časť, poverxnosť' (Boz. 189); *üs* (K) 'auf, an' (Pr K 144); *üs* (B) 'ober, Oberteil, Oberfläche' (Pr B 267) < PT **üst*; cf.: OT *üst*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *üst*; Kar. (Cr.) *üst*, (H) *ist*, (T) *űst*; Tat. (Cr.) *üst, ušt*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *üst*; Uz. *ust*; Uig., Lob. *üst*; Sal. *ičci, isci*; Alt., Šor. *üst*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 218, 315; ÈSTJa I 638; Gab. 349; KRPS 208, 591; Malov 183; SKT 182; Sul. Kkar. 106; Šč. SF 198.

The K-B *üs* denotes '1. upper part of sth; 2. top; 3. clothing'. The word also functions as a postposition with the meaning 'on'. In many other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word with the similar meanings and functions. In OT there was the form *üst*.

1.17. Terms referring to house and places for living

awul (K-B) 'aul, selo' (KBRS 95) < PT **agil* (~ **āḡil*); cf.: OT *agil*; Az. *agil*; Tur. *agil*; Gag. *aul, avul*; Kar. (Cr. H, T) *avul*; Tat. *avil*; Čuv. *jal*; Bašk.,

Kklp. *auil*; Kaz. *auil*; Nog. *awil*; Kir. *ajil*, Trkm. *āgil*, Trukh. *agil*; Uz. *ogil*, *ovul*; Uig. *egil*, *avul*; Lob. *agil*, *avul*; Sal. *agil*, *āgil*; Y. Uig. *agil*; Alt. *ajil* (Rass. 157); *al*, *āl* (Eg. 352); Khak., Tuv., Tof. *āl*; Yak. *īal*. – Lit.: DTS 18; Eg. 352; ÈSTJa I 83; KRPS 42; Malov 80; Rass. 157; SKT 177; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev 281, 282, 283; Tenišev SJ 171.

Historically this word meant 'stockyard'. With such the meaning the form *agil* was registered in OT. At present, in almost all modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word denoting 'house, place for living; a group of yurts; also stockyard'.

el (K-B) '1. selo, selenie, derevnja, nasekonnyj punkt; 2. narod, ljudi, obščestvo' (KBRS 765); *el* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'selo' (Boz. 170); *el*, *jel* (K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung, Gegend, Leute' (Pr K 101); *el* (B) 'Dorf, Gemeinde, Ansiedelung, Land, Heimat; bewohnte Gegend' (Pr B 218) < PT **āl*; cf.: OT *el*, *il*; Kum., Az. *el*; Khal. *ēl*; Tur. *il*, *el*; Gag. *jel*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *el*, (Cr., T) *el'*; Tat. *il*; Tat. (Cr.) *ēl*; Čuv. *jal*; Bašk. *il*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *el*; Trkm. *il*; Uz., *el*; Uig. *el*, *il*; Lob. *el*, *il*; Alt. *el*; Khak. *il*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh. 286; DTS 169, 207; Eg. 352; ÈSTJa I 339; KRPS 658, 659; Malov 107, 114; Šč. SF 193.

The word *el* '1. country; 2. nation, people' is registered in OT in two forms *el*, *il* and has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Gag. (*jel*) and Čuv. (*jal*) the prenotation is noticed in the forms of this word.

ešik (K-B) '1. dver'; 2. vxod; 3. letok (*dlja pčiol*); 4. dvor, ulica' (KBRS 779); *ešik* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'dver', porog' (Boz. 171); *ešik*, *ješik* (K) 'Tür' (Pr K 102); *ešik*, *ešix*, *ešig* (*ešik*, *ešix*, *ešig*; B) 'Tür, Schwelle' (Pr B 220) < PT **ēšik*; cf.: OT *išik*, *ešik*; Kum., Az. *ešik*; Khal. *ēšük*; Tur. *ešik*; Gag. *ješik*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ešik*, (H) *esik*; Tat. (Cr.) *ešik*; Tat. *išik*; *išek* (Eg.24); Čuv. *alāk*; Bašk. *išik*; *išek* (Eg.24); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *esik*; Kir. *ešik*; Trkm. *išik*; Uz. *ešik*; Uig. *išik*; Lob. *išik*, *ešik*; Alt. *ežik*; Khak. *izik*, *izik*; Tuv. *ežik*; Tof. *ežik*; Šor. *ežik*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 124, 287; DTS 185, 214; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 396; KRPS 669, 673; Rass. 180; Räs. VEWT 51 b.

The word *ešik* 'door; entrance' is registered in OT in the forms: *ešik*, *išik* and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 24) the origin of this word is vague.

ğurt (K-B) '1. rodina; 2. kraj, storona, mestnost', mesto; 3. dom, žilišče, selo' (KBRS 259); *dzurt* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'dom, rodina, selo, aul, jurt' (Boz. 169); *ğurt* (Khul.-Bez.) 'mestožitelstvo, stojanka, strana, žilišče, narod' (ibid. 172); *ğurt* (*žurt*; K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung' (Pr K 150) < PT **jürt*; cf.: OT *jurt*; Kum. *jurt*; Az. *jurd*; Khal. *jürt*; Tur. *jurt*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *jurt*; Tat. *jürt*; *jort* (Eg.221); Čuv. *šurt*; Bašk. *jürt*; *jort* (Eg. 221); Kaz., Kklp. *žurt*; Nog. *jurt*; Kir. *ğurt*; *žurt* (Eg. 221); Trkm. *jürt*; Uz. *jurt*; Uig. *žu(r)t*, *jurt*; Lob. *jujt*, *jut*; Y. Uig. *jurt*, *gört*; Alt. *jurt*, *dürt*; Khak., Tuv. *čurt*; Šor. *čurt*; Tof. *čurt*; Yak. *sürt*. – Lit.: Doerfer

LSCh 123, 319; DTS 282; Eg. 221; ÈSTJa IV 254; KRPS 260; Malov 121; Podolsky 34; Rass. 198; Räs. VEWT 211 b; StachM GJV 129; Tenišev SJ 185, 186; YRh. 1263.

The word *ğurt* in K-B denotes '1. country; 2. native country; 3. home; 4. habitation; 5. place; 6. place of stay for nomads'. Similarly to K-B the equivalents in other Turkic languages also have very wide semantic range. Which is justifiable since historically for the nomadic ancestors of contemporary Turkic peoples the notion of home, homeland was connected with the place they stopped for encampment. Kononov (Kononov RT 79) trying to establish the etymology of the analysed lexeme as the derivative from *jürü-* 'to wander' takes into account the above mentioned factor. The word was confirmed in OT.

indir (K-B) 'tok, gumno' (KBRS 758); *indir* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'tok' (Boz. 174); *indir* (*indir*; K) 'Tenne' (Pr K 106); *indir* (*indir*; B) 'Tenne, Dreschtenne' (Pr B 226) < PT **indir* (ESG); Kum. *indir*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *indir*, *indir*; Tat. *indir*; cf. Čuv. *jětem*, *item*; Bašk. *irzın*; Nog., Kir. *indir*; Alt. *ediren*; Khak. *ürdün*, *ürtün*; Šor. *ürtün*; *irtin* (Räs. VEWT 167 a). – Lit.: Eg. 80; ÈSTJa I 656; KRPS 202, 651; Räs. VEWT 165 b, 167 a.

The word *indir* 'barn; treshing – yard' has its equivalents in a few Turkic languages with the same meaning. There is no record of this word in OT. The etymology is vague.

kabak (K-B) '1. selenie, selo; žilišče, dvor; 2. vorota; stvorka; stavnja, staveň; 3. veko' (KBRS 368); *kabak* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'aul, selenie' (Boz. 176); *kabak* (Čeg.) 'vorota, pregrada' (ibid. 176); *kabak* (*q'abáq*; K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung' (Pr K 113); *kabak*, *kakax*, *kabag* (*qabáq*, *qaqáx*, *qabáy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **kapak* (ESG); cf.: OT *kapag*, *kapak*; Kum. *kabak*; Kar. (Cr.) *kabak*, *kapak*, (H) *kabak*, (T) *kabax*; Tat. (Ur.) *xapax*; cf. also Uig. *kapkak*. – Lit.: DTS 420; ÈSTJa V 160; JUFd 207; KRPS 279, 355, 362; Podolsky 28.

The word *kabak* is registered in K-B with the following meanings: '1. place to live; 2. country; 3. gate; 4. cover, lid'. It is hard to establish the etymology for the analysed word, however there are some parallels to the counterparts in other languages, cf. Kar. (Cr.) *kabak* '1. gate; 2. town' but in the same Kar. (Cr.) *kapak* 'lid.' Besides, it is hard to explain the wide semantic scale for the word *kabak*, e.g.: 'country' and 'cover'. In OT sources there are two words registered: *kapag* 'gate' and *kapak* 'cover, lid'.

oğak (K-B) '1. [dymovaja] truba, dymoxod; 2. očajdom' (KBRS 489); *ožak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'pečnaja truba' (Boz. 181); *oğak* (*ožáq*; K) 'Herd' (Pr K 127); *ozak*, *ozax*, *ozag* (*ozág*, *ozáx*, *ozáy*; B) 'Herd; Ofen' (Pr B 247) < PT **očak* (Räs. VEWT 356 b); **ōtčak* (StachM GJV 82); cf.: OT *očak*, *očuk*, *otčuk*, *otču*; Kum. *očak*; Az. *oğag*; Khal. *hōča'k*, *očak*, *oğak*; Tur. *oğak*; Gag. *oğāk*; Kar. (Cr.) *oğak*, *učak*, *očak*, (H) *odzak*, *ocak*, (T) *očax*, *očak*; Tat. (Cr.) *oğak*; Tat. (Ur.) *oğax*; Tat. *učak*; Čuv. *vučax*; Bašk. *usak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog.

ošak; Kir. *očok*; Trkm. *ōgak*; Uz. *očok*; Uig. *očak*, *učag*; Lob. *očok*; Sal. *očax*, *očux*, *očix*, *otčax*, *o'tčix*, *o'tzax*, *o'z'ux*, *učax*; Alt. *očok*; Khak. *očix*; Tuv. *ožuk*; *odag* (Eg. 58); Tof. *ožuk*; Šor. *očak*; Yak. *ohox*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 136, 293, 303; DTS 362, 373; Eg. 58; ÈSTJa I 423; KRPS 424, 436; Malov 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 211; Räs. VEW 356 b; StachM GJV 82; Tenišev 422, 428, 429, 431, 531.

The word *očak* in K-B denoting 'chimney, fire-place, stove' and also 'place to live, home' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the similar meaning. Some specialists etymologize the word from *ot* 'fire', cf.: Eg. 58; ÈSTJa I 424-425; StachM GJV 82.

otow (K-B) 'komnata dlja novobračnyx (v dome ženixa)' (KBRS 506); *otou* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'komnata' (Boz. 182); *otou* (*otóu*; B) 'Zimmer' (Pr B 247) < PT **ōtag*; cf.: OT *otag*, *otak*; Kum. *otaw*; Az. *otag*; Khal. *otāg*; Tur. *otak*, *oda*; Gag. *oda*; Kar. (Cr., H) *oda*; Tat. (Cr.) *odak*, *oda*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *otaw*; Kir. *otō*; Trkm. *otag*; Uz. *otow*; Uig. *otak*, *oda*; Lob. *otok*; Y. Uig. *otag*, *otax*; Alt. *odag*; Khak. *otax*; Tuv. *odag*; Tof. *odag*; Šor. *odag*; Yak. *otū*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 124, 303; DTS 373; ÈSTJa I 484; KRPS 424; Malov 151; Rass. 210; Räs. VEW 366 b.

The word *otow* in K-B denotes 'a room for a couple just married', in the B. dial. only 'room'. In OT there were two forms registered: *otag*, *otak*. At present there are some equivalents in other Turkic languages with a wide semantic range from 'house, home' to 'tent'.

ūj (K-B) '1. dom; žilišče; 2. komnata; 3. dvor, usadba; 4. seňja, semejstvo' (KBRS 781); *ūj* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'dom' (Boz. 188); *ūj* (K) 'Haus' (Pr K 143); *ūj* (B) 'Haus, Zimmer, Stube, Familie' (Pr B 266) < PT **āβ* (~ *ōγ*) (Šč. SF 193); cf.: OT *eb*, *ef*, *ev*, *ūj*, *ūv*; Kum. *ūj*; Az. *ev*; Tur. *ev*; Gag. *jev*; Kar. (Cr.) *ev*, *ūj*, (H) *iv*, *jiv*, (T) *juv*, *jūv*, *ūv*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ev*; Tat. *ūj*; *ōj* (Rass. 213); Bašk. *ūj*; *ōj* (Rass. 213); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ūj*; Trkm., Trukh. *ōj*; Uz. *ūj*; Uig. *ōj*, *uj*; Lob. *ūj*, *ōj*; Sal. *oj*, *ōj*, *ōj uj*, *ūj*; Y. Uig. *jū*, *gū*, *ju*, *ū*, *ūj*; Alt. *ūj*; Khak. *ib*; Tuv. *ōg*; Tof. *ōg*; Šor. *ū*, *ūg*, *ug*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 162, 165, 189, 623, 629; ÈSTJa I 513; KRPS 192, 244, 254, 260, 588, 589, 653; Podolsky 10; Rass. 213; Räs. VEW 34 a; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 63; Šč. SF 193; Tenišev 424, 431, 432, 532, 539.

The K-B lexeme *ūj* denotes '1. house; 2. room; 3. family'. In most of the modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *eb*, *ef*, *ev*, *ūj*, *ūv*.

1.18. Food

ajran (K-B) 'ajran (kisloje moloko osoboj zakvaski)' (KBRS 34); *ajran* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'kisloje moloko, ajran' (Boz. 164); *ajran* (K) 'saure Milch' (Pr K 85); *ajran* (*ajrán*; B) 'eine Art gegorner Milch' (Pr B 199) < PT **ajran* (ESG); cf.: OT *ajran*; Kum., Az. *ajran*; Khal., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.)

ajran; Tat. *äjrän*; Čuv. *ujran*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ajran*; Uz. *ojron*; Uig. *ajran*; Alt., Khak. *ajran*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 146, 278; DTS 30; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 111; KRPS 54; Räs. VEWT 12b.

This verbal noun meaning ‘milk drink made of sour milk’ is common in most Turkic languages. This word was also known in OT.

aš (K-B) ‘1. pišča, jeda; obed; 2. furaž, korm; 3. pominki, trizna’ (KBRS 102); *aš* (B. dial.; Baks., Balk.) ‘jeda, kušanie’ (Boz. 166); *aš* (K) ‘Nahrung, Futter’ (Pr K 89); *aš* (B) ‘Nahrung, Speise, Futter’ (Pr B 203) < PT: **aš* ~ (?) **āš*; cf.: OT *aš*; *āš* (MK); Kum., Az. *aš*; Khal. *āš*; Tur. *aš*; Gag. *aš*, *āš*; Kar. (H) *as*; (Cr., T) *aš*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *aš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *as*; Kir., Trkm. *aš*; Uz. *oš*; Uig., Lob. *aš*; Sal. *aš*, *ās*, *as*; Y. Uig. *as*, *aš*; Alt. *aš*; Khak. *as*; Tuv. *āš*; Tof. *aš*; Yak. *as*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 144, 277; DTS 61, 62; Eg. 38; ÈSTJa I 210; Gab. 296; KRPS 78; Malov 88; Podolsky 2; StachM GJV 62; Tenišev 295; Tenišev SJ 173.

This lexeme is widely known in modern Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT sources. Its basic meaning refers to food, products for eating, however we can observe semantic differentiation among particular languages. Cf. some languages: Čuv. *aš* ‘meat’ (Eg. 38); Sal. *aš* ‘dough’; *ās* ‘1. food; 2. dough’ (Tenišev 295); Kum. *aš* ‘grain’ (ÈSTJa I 211); Khal. *āš* ‘soup’ (Doerfer LSCh 144, 277).

bal (K-B) ‘miod’ (KBRS 115); *bal* (B. dial.; Čeg.) ‘med’ (Boz. 166); *bal* (K) ‘Honig’ (Pr K 91); *bal* (B) ‘Honig’ (Pr B 205) < PT **bal* (ESG); cf.: OT *bal*; *bāl* (MK); Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bal*; Čuv. *pāl*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bal*; Uz. *bol*; Uig. *bal*; Sal. *pal*; Alt. *pal*. – Lit.: DTS 79, 80; Eg. 173; ÈSTJa II 47; KRPS 100; Podolsky 4; Sul. Kkar. 53; Tenišev 435.

The word *bal* meaning ‘honey’ is known in most modern Turkic languages. It is also confirmed in OT sources. However, its Turkic origin is dubious since some scholars claim that this is an old Indoeuropean loan word; cf. Räs. VEWT 59 a and ÈSTJa II 47.

čagır (K-B) ‘vino’ (KBRS 721); *čagır* (B. dial.; Balk.) ‘vino’ (Boz. 190); *čagır* (č^o*ayır*; K) ‘Wein’ (Pr K 96); *cagır* (cayır; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 213) < PT **čagır* (ESG); cf.: OT *čagır*; Kum. *čakır*; Tur. *čagır*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čagır*, (H) *cagır*; Kaz. *šigır*; Trkm., Y. Uig. *čakır*. – Lit.: DTS 136; KRPS 610, 620; Räs. VEWT 96 b; YRh. 236.

The word *čagır* ‘wine’ is registered by MK and at present it is confirmed only in a few Turkic languages. In Karaim it denotes ‘vodka’ (in Cr. and T also ‘wine’) and in other Turkic languages the meaning is the same as in K-B.

et (K-B) ‘1. mjaso; 2. telo; tkań; 3. myšca, muskul; 4. rodstvennik; 5. (u ploda) ‘mjakot’ (KBRS 777); *et* (B. dial.; Balk., Čeg., Kħul.-Bez.) ‘mjaso’ (Boz.

171); *et* (K) 'Fleisch' (Pr K 102); *et* (B) 'Fleisch, Leib, Körper' (Pr B 220) < PT **ät*; cf.: OT *et*; Kum. *et*; Az. *ät*; Khal. *ät*; Tur. *et*; Gag. *jet*; Kar. (Cr. H) *et*, (T) *et*, *eť*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *et*; Tat. *it*; Čuv. *üt*; Bašk. *it*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *et*; Uig. *ät*; Lob. *et*, *it*; Sal. *e't*, *et*; Y. Uig. *e't*, *šit*, *sit*; Alt. *et*; Khak. *it*; Tuv. *et*; Tof. *et*; Yak. *ät*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 58, 287; DTS 186; Eg. 282; ÈSTJa I 311; KRPS 671, 672; Podolsky 10; Rass. 183; SKT 182; StachM GJV 57; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 328; Tenišev SJ 179, 209, 210.

The word *et* denotes 'meat; body'. It is very common in other Turkic languages with also the same meaning. In some other Turkic languages there are its phonetic variants. It was also registered in OT.

ğaw (K-B) '1. maslo; žir, salo; 2. *per.* poť (KRBS 235); *žau* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'žir, salo, maslo' (Boz. 171); *ğau* (*ğau*; K) 'Talg, Fett, Öhl' (Pr K 147); *zau* (B) 'Fett, Talg, Butter' (Pr B 270 < PT **jāg*; **θāγ* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jag*; Kum. *jaw*; Az. *jag*; Khal. *jāg*; Tur. *jag*; Gag. *jā*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaw*, *jag*, (H, T) *jaw*; Čuv. *šu*, *šāv* (< *jag*); Kir. (south.) *žov*; Trkm. *jāg*; Uz. *jog*; Uig. *jag*; Lob. *jag*, *jak*; Sal. *jag*, *jeg*; Y. Uig. *jag*; Alt. *jag*; Alt. (V) *dū*, *dāg*; *dū*; *jū* (Rass. 193); Khak. *čag*; Tuv. *čag*; Tof. *čag*; Yak. *sia*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 59, 146, 317; DTS 223; Eg. 215; ÈSTJa IV 58; KRPS 214, 215; Malov 116, 117; Rass. 193; StachM GJV 46; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 343, 353; Tenišev SJ 181.

The word *ğaw* 'fat; butter; oil' is known both in OT and at present in most Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ğem (K-B) 'korm, pišča, jeda' (KBRS 241); *žem* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'korm, pišča' (Boz. 171) < PT **jem* (ESG); cf.: OT *jem*; Az. *jem*; Khal. *jēm*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *jem*; Tat. *žim*; Kaz. *žem*; Kir. *žem*; Trkm. *ijm*, *ot-ijm*, *ijmit*; Uz. *jem*; Uig. *jām*; Alt. *dēm*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 163; 317; DTS 255; Eg. 214; JUFD 198; KRPS 271; Podolsky 32; YRh. 1252.

The lexeme *ğem* in K-B denoting 'fodder, food' was registered by MK in form the *jem*. At present it is known in some Turkic languages, where there are various phonetic forms denoting this notion. Structurally and semantically the word is probably a derivative from the verbal basis *je-* 'to eat'.

ğuwurt (K-B) 'varenec, celnoje kisloje moloko' (KBRS 262); *zu'urt* (B) '...wenn man die Milch aufhocht und ohne die Sahne zu entfernen gerinnen lässt, das ist 'zu'urt' (Pr B 275) < PT **jogurat* ~ **jogurut* < **jogur-* (StachM GJV 76); cf.: OT *jogurt*, *jogrut*; Kum. *juwurt*; Tur., Az. *jogurt*; Gag. *jürt*; Nog. *juvürt*; Kir. *ğūrat*; Y. Uig. *jogürt*, *jugurt*; Yak. *suorat*. – Lit.: DTS 270; ÈSTJa IV 207; StachM GJV 76; Tenišev SJ 184.

The word *ğuwurt* 'sour milk' has its equivalents in a few other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT sources two forms were registered: *jogurt* ~ *jogrut*. Judging by the structure of the word it is a derivative, however its etymology is still debated, cf. ÈSTJa IV 207-208.

kajmak (K-B) ‘penka’ (KBRS 378); *kajmak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) ‘slivki’ (Boz. 176); *kajmak* (*qajmaq*; K) ‘Sahne’ (Pr K 114); *kajmak*, *kajmax*, *kajmag* (*qajmaq*, *qajmáx*, *qajmáq*; B) ‘Sahne, Rahm’ (Pr B 233) < PT **kañ-ak* (Räs. VEWT 231 b); cf.: OT *kajak*, *kanak*, *kijak*; Kum. *kajmak*; Az. *gajmag*; Khal. *kānak*; Tur., Gag. *kajmak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kajmak*, (T) *kajmax*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *kajmak*; Čuv. *xājma*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajmak*; Trkm. *gajmak*; Uz. *kajmok*; Uig. *kajmak*; Y. Uig. *kajak*; Alt. *kajmak*; Khak. *xajax*, *xajmax*; Šor. *kajmak*; Yak. *xajax*, *xajax*; *xojmox* (StachM GJV 126). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 145, 305; DTS 406, 417, 441; Eg. 289; ÈSTJa V 200; KRPS 283, 358; Räs. VEWT 231 b; StachM GJV 126.

The word *kajmak* ‘cream’ has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. Those forms in other Turkic languages also denote ‘cream’ except Khak., and Yak., where they denote ‘butter’. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *kajak*, *kanak*, *kijak*. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, which is also suggested by Räsänen in his reconstructed form: **kañ-ak*, cf. Räs. VEWT 231 b.

ötmek (K-B) ‘xleb’ (KBRS 281); *ötmek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘xleb’ (Boz. 182); *ötmek* (K) ‘Brot’ (Pr K 127); *ötmek* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 248) < PT **etmāk* (ESG); cf.: OT *etmāk*; Kum. *ekmek*; Az. *äppäk*; Tur. *ekmek*; Gag. *jekmek*; Kar. (Cr.) *ötmek*, (H) *etmek*, *ekmek*, (T) *ötīnak*, *etīnak*; Tat. (Cr.) *ötmek*, *ekmek*; Tat. (Ur.) *ekmek*, *ökmeq*; Tat. *ikmāk*; Bašk. *ikmāk*; Nog. *ötpek*; Sal. *egimex*, *e^hmex*, *e^hmex*, *emex*, *emix*; Alt. *ötpök*; Khak. *ipek*, *ipek*; Šor. *itpāk*. – Lit.: DTS 188; ÈSTJa I 254; KRPS 444, 657, 671, 672; Podolsky 9; Tenišev 321, 323, 324, 325.

There are various equivalents in other Turkic languages for the K-B *ötmek* ‘bread’. In OT the form *etmāk* was registered. The etymology is not clear.

tuz (K-B) ‘1. sol; 2. per. suť, sol’, sokrovennoje’ (KBRS 649); *tuz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘sol’ (Boz. 187); *tuz* (*t^huz*; K) ‘Salz’ (Pr K 140); *tuz* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 263) < PT **tūs* (Šč. SF 198); **tūz* (StachM GJV 129); cf.: *tuz* (MK); Kum. *tuz*; Az. *duz*; Khal. *tūz*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tuz*; Tat. *tūz*; *toz* (Eg. 234); cf. Čuv. *tāvar*; Bašk. *tuz*; *toz* (Eg. 234); Kaz. *tūz*; Kklp. *duz*; Nog., Kir. *tuz*; Trkm. *dūz*; Trukh. *duz*; Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *tuz*; Alt., Khak. *tus*; Tuv. *dus*; Tof. *dus*; Šor. *tus*; Yak. *tūs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 144, 314; DTS 594; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 288; KRPS 544; Malov 176; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 25; Rass. 176; SKT 178; StachM GJV 129; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 214.

The lexeme *tuz* ‘salt’ has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was also registered by MK.

un (K-B) ‘muka’ (KBRS 682); *un* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘id.’ (Boz. 188); *un* (K) ‘Mehl’ (Pr K 142); *un* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 265) < PT **ūn*; cf.: OT *un*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur., Cr.) *un*; Tat. *ūn*; *on* (Eg. 207); cf. also Čuv. *šānāx*; Bašk. *ūn*; *on* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *un*; Trkm. *ūn*;

Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal., Khak. *un*. – Lit.: DTS 612; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa I 597; KRPS 578; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 514 a; Tenišev 534.

The lexeme *un* 'flour' registered by MK, at present exists in other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

1.19. Clothes

aw (K-B) 'motnja, klin v šagu brjuk' (KBRS 90); *au* (K) 'der weite Hosenboden' (Pr K 89) < PT **āg* ~ **ag*; cf.: OT *āg*; Kum. *aw*; Az. *ag*; Tur. *ag*; Gag. *ā*; Kar. (Cr.) *av*; Kaz., Nog. *aw*; Uz. *og*, dial.: *āg*; Uig. *ag*. – Lit.: DTS 16; ÈSTJa I 67; KRPS 39.

It is difficult to establish the origin of this word denoting 'gusset'. Some scholars see the relation with Mongolian, some others link it to the homonym *aw* 'net', cf. ÈSTJa I 67. However, it has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. The form *āg* was registered in OT.

bašmak (K-B) 'bašmak; bašmaki (čašče o ponošennyx tufljax, botinkax)' (KBRS 125); *bašmak*, *bašmax*, *bašmag* (*bašmaq*, *bašmáx*, *bašmáý*; B) 'Shuh, Pantoffel' (Pr B 207) < PT **pašmak* (ESG); cf.: OT *bašmak*; Az., Tur., Tat. (Ur.) *bašmak*; Čuv. *pušmak*. – Lit.: ČRS 321; DTS 88; ÈSTJa II 93; Podolsky 4.

The word *bašmak* denoting 'shoe; slipper' is not common in modern Turkic languages. It was confirmed the earliest by MK. Its origin both formally and semantically is still obscure, cf. ÈSTJa II 92.

baw (K-B) '1. zavjazka; 2. povodok, ošejnik, privjaz' (KBRS 122); *bau* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'bint, lenta, povjazka' (Boz. 167); *bau* (*báu*; K) 'Binde, Gurt, Gürtel' (Pr K 92); *bau* (B) 'Binde, Band, Strick, Kette' (Pr B 207) < PT **bāg*; OT *bag*; Kum. *baw*; Az. *bag*; Tur. *bag*; Kar. (H, T) *bav*, (Cr.) *bav*, *bag*; Tat. (Cr.) *bag*, *baw*, *bav*; Tat. *baw*; Čuv. *pājav*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *baw*; Kir. *bō*; Trkm. *bāg*; Trukh. *bag*; Uz. *bog*; Uig. *bag*; Lob. *bak*, Sal. *pax*; Y. Uig. *pag*; Alt. *bū*, *pū*; Tof. *bag*; Šor. *pag*; Yak. *bīa*. – Lit.: DTS 77; Eg. 152; ÈSTJa II 13; Gab. 300; KRPS 93, 94; Malov 90; Rass. 74; SKT 177; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev SJ 194.

Baw meaning '1. tie, bond, string, lace; 2. connection, link' has its counterparts in most Turkic languages. The form *bag* was registered in OT.

börk (K-B) 'šapka, šljapa' (KBRS 139); *börk* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš.) 'mexovaja šapka' (Boz. 168); *börk* (K) 'Pelzmütze' (Pr K 95); *börk*, *börx*, *börg* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **börk* (ESG); cf.: OT *börk*; Az. *börk*; Khal. *börk*; Tur. *börk*; Kar. (Cr.) *börk*, (H) *bārik*, *bärk*; (T) *börk*; Tat. *bürük*; Bašk. *bürk*; Kaz. *börük*; Kklp. *börük*; Nog. *börk*; Kir. *börük*; Trkm. *börük*; *börük* (Rass. 164); Uz. *börk*; Uig. *bök*, *bok*; Y. Uig. *perik*, *pörük*, *perük*, *perk*; Alt. *börük*, *pörük*, *pirük*; Khak. *pörük*; Tuv. *bört*; Tof. *bört*; Šor. *pörük*; cf. Yak. *bergehe*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 154, 281; DTS 118; ÈSTJa II 221; KRPS 114, 135, 151; Rass. 164; YRh. 196.

The word *börk* 'hat, cap' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some languages it may slightly differ semantically depending on the geographic and cultural background. The word was also registered in Old Turkic.

etek (K-B) '1. pola; podol; falda; 2. *geogr.* podnožie; 3. konec; kraj; 4. B. jubka' (KBRS 777); *etek* (*et'ék*; K) 'Saum, Schoss' (Pr K 102); *etek*, *etex*, *eteg* (*eték*, *etéx*, *etéğ*; B) 'Schoss, Saum eines Kleides, Fuss eines Berges' (Pr B 220) < PT **ätäk* (ESG); cf.: OT *etäk*; Kum. *etek*; Az., Khal. *ätäk*; Tur. *etek*; Gag. *jetek*; Kar. (Cr., H) *etek*, (T) *etäk*; Tat. (Cr.) *etek*; Tat. *itäk*; cf.: Čuv. *arāk*, *arkā*; Bašk. *itäk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *etek*; Uz. *etäk*; Uig. *etäk*; *ötök* (Rass. 183); Y. Uig. *etek*, *hetek*, *hitik*; Alt. *edek*; Khak. *idek*; Tuv. *edek*; Tof. *etek*; Šor. *edek*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 156, 287; DTS 187; Eg. 30; ÈSTJa I 313; KRPS 672; Rass. 183; SKT 182; Tenišev SJ 179, 180.

The word *etek* '1. tail; 2. lap; 3. tuck; 4. foot of a hill' is known in other Turkic languages, generally with the same meanings as in K-B, however in some of them the meaning is different, e.g.: Nog. *etek* 'sole'; Uz. *etäk* 'apron'. The word is also registered in OT.

ğeñ (K-B) 'rukav' (KBRS 241); *žeñ* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 171); *ğeñ* (*žeñ*; K) 'Ärmel' (Pr K 147); *zeñ* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **jäñ* (StachM GJV 65), **θäñ* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jeñ*; Kum. *jeñg*, *jeñ*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jen*; Kar. (Cr.) *jiñ*, (H) *jeng*, (T) *jeng*, *jeñğ*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeñ*; Tat. *gin*, *ziñ* (Eg. 202); Čuv. *šanā*; Bašk. *jij*; *jeñ* (Eg. 202); Kaz., Kklp. *žeñ*; Kir. *ğeñ*; *žeñ* (Eg. 202); Nog. *jeñ*; *jen* (Eg. 202); Trkm. *jeñ*; Lob. *jeñ*; Sal. *jiñ*; Y. Uig. *jiñ*, *giñ*; Alt. *dēn*; Khak. *niñ*; Tuv. *čeñ*; Tof. *héñ*; Šor. *näñ*; Yak. *siex*. – Lit.: DTS 256; Eg. 202; ÈSTJa IV 186; KRPS 245, 271, 272; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 25; Podolsky 33; Rass. 74; StachM GJV 65; Tenišev 359; Tenišev SJ 184, 221.

The word *ğeñ* 'sleeve' was known in OT in the form *jeñ* and it at present has its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

ğuwurgan (K-B) 'odejalo' (KBRS 262); *ğururgan* (*žururán*; K) 'Decke' (Pr K 150); *zuururgan* (*zuururán*; B) 'Decke, Bettdecke' (Pr B 275) < PT **jogurkan*; cf.: OT *jogurkan*; Kum. *jowurgan*, *jürgan*; Az. *jorgan*; Khal. *jorga'n*; Tur., Gag. *jorgan*; Kar. (Cr.) *jorgan*, (H, T) *juvurgan*; Tat. (Ur.) *jorgan*; Tat., Bašk. *jurgan*; Kaz. *žurgan*; Nog. *jurkan*; Kir. *ğürkän*; Trkm. *jorgan*; Uig. *jotkan*, *jo(r)tkan*; Lob. *jojgon*, *jojgun*; Sal. *jorgan*; Alt. *jürkän*, *dürkän*; Khak. *čorgan*; Tuv. *čörgan*; Tof. *čörhan*; Šor. *čörgan*; Yak. *suoryan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 140, 318; DTS 270; ÈSTJa IV 226; Gab. 356; KRPS 250, 253; Malov 121; Podolsky 33; Rass. 197; StachM GJV 32.

K-B *ğuwurgan* 'cover(ing)' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *jogurkan* was registered.

kübe (K-B) '1. [ženski] kaftančik; 2. kolčuga, pancir, laty' (KBRS 360); *kübe* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'pancir, kolčuga' (Boz. 176); *kübe* (*k'übé*; K) 'Panzer' (Pr K

112) < PT *küpä; cf.: OT kübä: kübä jarik; Kum. gübe; Tur. küpe; Gag. küpä; Kar. (Cr.) kübe, köbe, (H) kibe, koba, (T) koba, koba, kuġa, kuġa; Tat. köbä: köbä külmäk (Eg. 106); Čuv. kēpe 'shirt'; Nog. kübe; Kir. kübö; cf. Lob. gülme; Šor. kübä. – Lit.: DTS 322; Eg. 105–106; ÈSTJa V 129; KRPS 312, 316, 336, 351, 395; Malov 101.

The lexeme *kübe* '1. shirt; 2. cuirass; 3. armour' was registered in OT in: *kübe jarik*. In other Turkic languages there are some variants of this word, however in some languages with another meaning, cf.: Tur. *küpe* 'earring'; Kar. (T) *koba*, *kuġa* 'shield'; Lob. *gülme* 'earring'. ÈSTJa V 129 after Doerfer gives the archetype for this word: *küpä.

ton (K-B) 'šuba' (KBRS 644); *ton* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'šuba, verxnaja odežda, palto' (Boz. 186); *ton* (t^{on}; K) 'Pelz, Pelzmantel' (Pr K 139); *ton* (B) 'Pelz, Mantel' (Pr B 261) < PT *tōn; cf.: OT *ton*, *tōn*; Kum. *ton*; Az. *don*; Khal. *tōn*; Tur., Gag. *don*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ton*; Tat. *tun*; Čuv. *tum*, *tumtir*; Bašk. *tun*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ton*; Trkm. *dōn*; Uz. *ton*; *tun* (Eg. 257); Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ton*; Tof. *don*; Šor. *ton*; Yak. *son*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 153, 314; DTS 574; Eg. 257; ÈSTJa III 262; KRPS 537; Malov 174; Podolsky 24; Rass. 174; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 514; Tenišev SJ 213.

Ton 'fur-coat; coat' is widely known in other Turkic languages in some phonetic variants. Apart from the meaning given above in some languages (i.e. Tat. (Cr.), Tur., Gag., Az.) the word (or its variant) denotes 'trousers'. OT sources registered two forms: *ton*, *tōn*.

1.20. Illnesses

bezgek (K-B) 'malarija, lixoradka' (KBRS 130); *bezgek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'lixoradka, oznob' (Boz. 167); *bezgek* (*bežgék*; K) 'Fieber' (Pr K 93); *bezgek*, *bežgex*, *bežgeg* (*bežgék*, *bežgék*, *bežgeg*; B) 'Fieber, Schüttelfrost' (Pr B 208) < PT *bezgek; OT *bezgek*; Kum. *bez:ek*; Kar. (T) *bežgak*, *bežgak*; (H) *bážgek*; Tat. *bizgak*; Bašk. *bizgak*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *bezgek*; Kklp. *bezgek*, *beskek*; Uig. *bežgak*, *bážgak*. – Lit.: DTS 97; ÈSTJa II 104; KRPS 111, 147.

Although the word *bezgek* 'malaria' is a derivative (cf. ÈSTJa II 105) it is an old formation registered the earliest by MK. At present it is registered in some other Turkic language.

1.21. Customs

kalin, **kalim** (K-B) 'kalym, vykup za nevestu' (KBRS 384); *kalin* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'kalym, pokupnaja cena, kotoruju vyplačivajet ženix ili otec ženixa za nevestu' (Boz. 177); *kalin* (q^{alín}; K) 'der Kaufpreis den der Bräutigam dem Vater der Braut gibt und dessen Betrag bei der Verlobung bestimmt wird' (Pr K 114); *kalin* (q^{alín}; B) 'der Kaufpreis, den der Bräutigam oder dessen Vater

der Braut zu geben sich verpflichtet; derselbe wird bei der Verlobung bestimmt' (Pr B 234) < PT **kalij* (ESG); cf.: OT *kalij*; Kum. *kalin*; Az. *kalim*; Tur. *kalin*; Kar. (Cr.) *kalin*, (T) *kalin*, *kalim*; Tat. *kalim*; Čuv. *xulām*, *xulān*; Bašk. *kalim*; Kaz., Kklp. *kalij*; Nog. *kalim*; Kir. *kalij*; Trkm. *galij*; Uz. *kalin*; Lob. *kaluŋ*; Y. Uig. *kalin*, *kalij*, *k'alij*, *kalim*; Alt. *kalim*; Khak. *xalij*; *xalim* (Eg. 303); Tuv. *kalim*; Tof. *hilim*; Šor. *kalij*; Yak. *xalīm*. – Lit.: DTS 412; Eg. 303; ESTJa V 239; KRPS 287, 360; Malov 125; Rass. 193; Tenišev SJ 199.

Kalın ~ *kalim* is a word denoting 'a price given by a bridegroom or his father for his future wife'. The word has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT it was registered in the form *kalij*. The etymology of the word is still debated; however it is difficult to establish it explicitly, cf. ESTJa V 239.

sın (K-B) 'nagrobie' (KBRS 384); *sın* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'grobnica, nagrobnyj kameň, pamjatnik, figura, idol, izobraženie' (Boz. 183); *sın* (*sın*; K) 'Grabmal, Grabstein' (Pr K 131) < PT **sın*; cf.: OT *sın*; Kum. *sın*; Tur. *sın*. – Lit.: DTS 503; Räs. VEW 422 b; YRh. 1020.

The word *sın* 'tomb' registered in OT is only confirmed in two other modern Turkic languages (Kum., Tur.) with the same meaning.

toj (K-B) '1. svadba, svadebnyj pir; 2. tancy, pir, veselje' (KBRS 641); *toj* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'ugošćenie, pir, prazdnik, tanec, svadba' (Boz. 186); *toj* (*t'oj*; K) 'Hochzeit' (Pr K 139); *toj* (B) 'Gastmahl, Festgelage, Hochzeit' (Pr B 261) < PT **toj*; cf.: OT *toj*; Tur. *dügün*; (arch.) *toj*; Kar. (Cr.) *dügün*, *toj*, (H, T) *toj*; Tat. (Ur.) *toj*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tuj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *toj*; Uz. *tuj*; Uig. *toj*; Lob. *toj*; Sal. *töj*; Y. Uig. *toj*; Oir., Khak. *toj*; Tuv. *doj*. – Lit.: DTS 572; Eg. 255; KRPS 182, 534; Malov 173; Podolsky 24; SKT 181; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 519; Tenišev SJ 213; YRh. 317, 1183.

The lexeme *toj* 'feast; banquet; wedding feast' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In Kar. (Cr.) and Tur. there are parallelly two forms *dügün* and *toj*, where *toj* has the meaning 'feast', whereas *dügün* 'wedding feast'. The lexeme was registered in OT.

1.22. Religious terminology

tejri (K-B) '1. bog, tejri; 2. nebo' (KBRS 617); *tejri* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bog, božestvo' (Boz. 185); *tejri* (*t'ejri*; K) 'Gott, bei Gott' (Pr K 137) < PT **täjri* (ESG); cf.: OT *täjri*; Kum. *teŋjiri*; Az. *tanrı*; *tori* (Eg. 259); Tur. *tanrı*; Kar. (Cr.) *taŋrı*, *tanrı*, *teŋrı*, (H) *tenri*, *tendri*, (T) *teńrı*; Tat. *täjre*; Čuv. *turǎ*; Bašk. *tänre*; Kklp. *tangrı*; Kir. *teŋir*, *teŋiri*, *teŋri*; Trkm. *taŋrı*; Uig. *täjri*; Lob. *teŋji*; Sal. *Tanru*; Alt. *teŋeri*; Khak. *tigir*; Tuv. *dēr*; Tof. *dēre*; Šor. *tägrä*, *tägrı*; Yak. *taŋara*. – Lit.: DTS 544; Eg. 259; KRPS 511, 512, 521, 564, 565; Malov 171; ÖjHa. 20; Rass. 172; Räs. VEW 474 a; Sul. Kkar. 100; Tenišev 501.

The K-B word *tejri* '1. God; 2. divinity; 3. Heaven' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Orkhon runic texts the form *tājri* was registered. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 474 a) points out its similarity with Mongolian *tejri*, *tejgeri* and probable an origin from Sino-Korean languages.

1.23. Abstract nouns

ač (K-B) '1. golod; 2. golodnyj' (KBRS 98); *ac* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'golodnyj, golod' (Boz. 166); *ač* (K) 'hungrig' (Pr K 84); *ac* (B) 'hungrig, der Hunger' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf.: OT *ač*; *āč* (MK); Az. *ağ*; Khal. *āč*; Tur. *ač*; Gag. *āč*; Kar. (H) *ac*; Tat. (Cr.) *ač*; Čuv. *višā*; Bašk. *as*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aš*; Kir. *ač*; Trkm. *āč*; Uz. *oč*; Uig. *ač*; cf. Lob. *ač*- 'to be hungry'; Alt. *ač*; Khak. *as*; Tuv. *aš*; Tof. *aš*; Šor. *aš*; Yak. *ās*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 208; Eg. 59; DTS 3; Doerfer LSCh 191, 276; KRPS 87; Malov 88; ÖjHa. 12; Rass. 156.

The word known in Old Turkic has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It functions both with an adjectival meaning 'hungry' and with the substantival denotation 'hunger'.

ačī (K-B) 'goreč' (KBRS 100); *ačū* (*ačū*; K) 'Kummer, Zorn' (Pr K 84); *acū* (*acū*; B) 'Erbitterung, Zorn' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf.: OT *ačīg*; Az. *ağī*; Tur. *ağī*; Kar. (Cr.) *aččī*, *ačuv*, (H) *acuv*; Uig. *aččik*. – Lit.: DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 90; JUFD 171; KRPS 87; Sul. Kkar. 47.

Although the word in the form *ačīg* was already known in Old Turkic with the meaning 'bitterness, anger' at present this word is not common in modern Turkic languages.

aŋ (K-B) '1. soznanie; 2. soobraženie; rassudok; razum' (KBRS 67); *aŋ* (K) 'Aufmerksamkeit, Achtgeben, Sorge, Erinnerung; Bedacht' (Pr K 87) < PT **āŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT only: *aŋla*- (DTS 47); *aŋlag* (Gab. 294); Tur. *an*; Kar. (T) *an*; in Kar. (Cr.) only in verbal form *aŋ*- (Sul. Kkar. 51); Tat. *aŋ*; Čuv. *ān*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aŋ*; Trkm. *āŋ*; Uz. *oŋ*; Uig. *aŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 47; Eg. 40; ÈSTJa I 153; Gab. 294; KRPS 67.

The lexeme denoting 'mind, perception, memory; ratio' is known in several other Turkic languages. In OT it is not registered in such a form.

ant (K-B) 'kljatva, obet, zarok; prisjaga' (KBRS 66); *ant* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kljatva, prisjaga' (Boz. 165); *ant* (K) 'Schwur, Eid' (Pr K 87); *ant* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 202) < PT **ant* (ESG); cf.: OT *and*, *ant*; Kum., Az. *and*; Khal. only in compound verb: *a'nd ič*-; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *ant*; Čuv., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ant*; Uz. *ont*; Uig. *ant*; Lob. *an*; Sal. *at*; Y. Uig. *at*; Yak. *andār* ~ *andayar*. – Lit.: ČRS 36; Doerfer LSCh 277; DTS 44, 45; Eg. 28; ÈSTJa I 151; KRPS 69; StachM GJV 37; Sul. Kkar. 50; Tenišev SJ 173.

This word is confirmed both in Old Turkic and some modern Turkic languages with the meaning 'oath'.

at (K-B) '1. imja, nazvanie, klička, prozvišče; 2. slava, izvestnosť, reputacija; 3. zvanie; 4. imja suščestvitel'noje' (KBRS 85); *at* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'imja' (Boz. 165); *at* (K) 'Name' (Pr K 89); *at* (B) 'der Name, der Vorname der im Balkarischen wie in den übrigen verwandten Dialekten, immer hinter dem Familien, oder Geschlechtsnamen steht' (Pr B 203) < PT **āt*; cf.: OT *at*; Az. *ad*; Tur. *ad*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *at*; Tat. (Ur.) *ad*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *at*; Čuv. *jat*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *at*; Trkm. *āt*; Uz. *ot*; Uig., Lob. *at*; Sal. *at*, *āt*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *at*; Tof. *at*; Yak. *āt*. – Lit.: DTS 64; Eg. 354; ÈSTJa I 198; KRPS 82; Malov 87; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 1; Rass. 157; Sul. Kkar. 52; Tenišev 296; Tenišev SJ 173.

At with the meaning 'name' is widely known in modern Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT sources.

belgi (K-B) '1. znak, uslovnoje oboznačenie; 2. priznak, primeta; 3. čerta; 4. signal; 5. *etn.* podarok devuški parnju' (KBRS 132); *belgi* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'znak, primeta' (Boz. 167); *belgi* (K) 'Zeichen, Grenze' (Pr K 92); *belgi* (*belgi*; B) 'Zeichen, Merkmal, Grenzzeichen' (Pr B 207) < PT **bālgö*; cf.: OT *belgü*; Kum., Tur. *belgi*; Kar. (Cr., H) *bālgı*, (T) *bel'gi*, (Cr.) *bil'gi*; Tat. *bilge*, *bilgi*; Čuv. *palkā*; Bašk. *bilde*, *bilge*, *bilgi*; Kaz. *belgi*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *belgi*; Uig. *bālgü*; Lob. *belgü*; Alt. *pilgi*, *pilek*, *pölgü*; Tuv. *belgi*; Tof. *belge*; Šor. *pūlgü*; Yak. *bāliä*. – Lit.: DTS 93; ÈSTJa II 108; KRPS 113, 118, 149; Eg. 142; Rass. 161; Sul. Kkar. 54; StachM GJV 58.

Belgi meaning 'sign, feature' has equivalents in other Turkic languages; also known in OT.

boj (K-B) 'rost; telosloženie' (KBRS 154); *boj* (K) 'Länge, Wuchs' (Pr K 94) < PT **bōd* (Räs. VEWT 77a); **pōd* (Šč. SF 196); OT *bod*, *boj*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *boj*; Tat. *buj*; Čuv. *pü*, dial. *pěv*; Bašk. *buj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *boj*; Uz. *boj*; Uig., Lob. *boj*; Sal. *buji*, *poj*; Y. Uig. *poz*; Alt. *boj*, *poj*; Khak. *pos*; Tuv. *bot*; Tof. *bot*. – Lit.: DTS 106/7, 110; Eg. 170; ÈSTJa II 176; Gab. 304; KRPS 126; Malov 94; Podolsky 6 Rass. 164; Räs. VEWT 77 a; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 303, 452.

The word *boj* was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages. As far as its meaning is concerned in K-B *boj* '1. height; stature. 2. length', whereas in other Turkic languages (together with OT) the semantic scale is wider. Cf.: *bod* I '1. stature; 2. height'. II 'clan, branch of a tribe' (DTS 106/7), *boj* 'tribe, clan' (ibid. 110); cf. also Tat. (Ur.) *boj* 'river' (Podolsky 6).

čal (K-B) '1. sedina; 2. starik, stareč'; 'sedoj' (KBRS 723); *čal* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'sedoj' (Boz. 190); *čal* (*č'al*; K) 'grau' (Pr K 97); *cal* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 213) < PT **čāl*; cf.: OT *čal*; Az., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Čuv. *čal*; Bašk. *sal*; Kaz. *šal*; Kklp. *šaj*; Trkm. *čal*; Uz. (S), Uig. *čal*; Khak. *čal*; Šor. *šal*. – Lit.: DTS 137; Eg. 316; KRPS 622; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 96 b; Šč. SF 198.

The word *čal* in KBRS given with both substantival and adjectival meanings: 1. 'the grey; old man'; 2. 'grey (colour)' is registered by MK with the meaning 'grey'. At present it is confirmed in some other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants) with the same meaning as in OT, however Uig. *čal* and Kklp. *šaj* function both as substantives and adjectives.

es (K-B) '1. pamjat'; 2. vnimanie; 3. um; soobrazitel'nost', dogadka; 4. čuvstvo, soznanie, rozum' (KBRS 774); *es* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'um, rozum, pamjat' (Boz. 170); *es, jes* (K) 'Gedächtnis, Erinnerung, Gedanke, Sinn' (Pr K 102); *es* (B) 'Verstand, Vernunft, Bewusstsein' (Pr B 220) < PT **ās*; cf.: Kum., Kar., Tat. (Cr.) *es*; Tat. *is*; Čuv. *as*; Bašk. *is*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *es*; Uz. *es*; Uig. *ās, es*; Lob. *es*; Alt. *es*. – Lit.: Eg. 33; ÈSTJa I 306; KRPS 668; Šč. SF 194.

The word *es* '1. mind; 2. reason; 3. feeling; 4. consciousness' has also its counterparts in a few other Turkic languages with the same meanings, but the OT sources do not register this lexeme.

iz (K-B) '1. sled; 2. ruslo, pojma; 3. ottisk, otpečatok; 4. čertočka' (KBRS 757); *iz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'sled, puť, rod, sposob' (Boz. 174); *iz* (*iz*; K) 'Spur' (Pr K 106); *iz* (*iz*; B) 'Spur; Art und Weise; Weg, Umstände, Einzelheiten' (Pr B 226) < PT **īs*; cf.: OT *iz, iz*; Kum. *gīz*; Az., Tur. *iz*; Gag. *jiz*; Kar. (Cr.) *iz, iz*, (H) *iz, iz*, (T) *jiz, iz, jīz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *iz*; Tat. *iz*; *ez* (Eg. 79); Čuv. *jēr*; Bašk. *iz*; *ez* (Eg. 79); Kaz. *iz*; Kklp. *iz*; Nog. *iz*; Kir. *iz*; Trkh. *iz*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *iz*; Y. Uig. *is, jāz*; Alt. *is*; Khak. *is*; Tuv. *is*; Tof. *is*. – Lit.: DTS 216, 221; Eg. 79; ÈSTJa I 646; KRPS 193, 244, 263, 650; Malov 113; Podolsky 11; Rass. 201; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194.

The word *iz* '1. footprint; 2. way; 3. method' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages and it was known in OT in the forms: *iz, iz*.

ijis (K-B) 'zapax' (KBRS 297); *ijis* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'zapax, aromat' (Boz. 174); *ijis* (*ijis*; K) 'Geruch' (Pr K 107); *ijis* (*ijis*; B) 'Geruch, Duft' (Pr B 224) < PT **īs* (Šč. SF 194); **jīd* (StachM 93); cf.: OT *jīd, jīd*; Az. *ij*; Kum. *īs*; Kar. (Cr.) *ij, is*; (H) *iis ~ ijs*, (T) *ijis*; Tat. *is*; Bašk. *jīs*; Kaz. *īs*; Turkm. *īs*; Trkh. *ijis*; Sal. *is*; Alt. *hīt, jīt*; Khak. *čīs*; Tof. *fāt ~ fās*; Yak. *sīt*. – Lit.: DTS 264, 265; ÈSTJa I 380; KRPS 195, 196, 206; Räs. VEWT 170 a; SKT 179; StachM GJV 93; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 339.

The word *ijis* 'smell, fragrance' had equivalents in OT in the forms: *jīd, jīd*. At present the word has also equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kajgī (K-B) '1. trevoga, volnenie, pereživanje, bespokoјstvo; 2. duma, zabota, xlopoty; pečal'; 3. intrigi, spletni; 4. beda, nesčastie, gore; 5. šum, ssora, skandal, draka' (KBRS 376); *kajgī* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'zabota, gore, beda, pečal' (Boz. 176); *kajgī* (*q'ajjī*; K) 'Sorge, Kummer' (Pr K 113) < PT **kajgī* < **kadgī* (ESG); cf.: OT *kajgu, kadgu, kaδgu*; Kum. *kajgī*; Az. *gajgī*; Tur. *kajgī*; Kar. (Cr.) *kajgī ~ kajgu*, (T, H) *kajgī*; Tat. (Cr.) *kajgī*, Tat. *kajgī*; Čuv. *xujxā*;

Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajgī*; Trkm. *gajgī*; Uz., Uig. *kajgu*; Lob. *kajga*. – Lit.: DTS 402, 404, 407; Eg. 302; ÈSTJa V 201; KRPS 282, 357.

The lexeme *kajgī* ‘sorrow; troubles; sadness’ was registered in OT in the following forms: *kajgu*, *kadgu*, *kaδgu*. In modern Turkic languages the equivalents of this word are registered. The etymology of this lexeme is still vague, cf. ÈSTJa V 202.

kerek (K-B) ‘nužda, nadobnosť, neobxodimosť; nužnyj, neobxodimyj; nužno, neobxodimo’ (KBRS 325); *kerek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) ‘neobxodimo, nužno, sledujet, neobxodimoje, vešč’ (Boz. 175); *kerek* (*k'erek*; K) ‘nötig, nötige Sachen, Einrichtung’ (Pr K 109); *kerek*, *kerex*, *kereg* (*kerék*, *keréx*, *kerég*; B) ‘nötig, das Nötige; Gerät, Werkzeug, Einrichtung, Zugehör’ (Pr B 227) < PT **käräk*; cf.: OT *keräk*, *keräk*; Kum. *gerek*; Az. *gäräk*; Tur. *gerek*; Kar. (Cr.) *kerak*, *kerek*, (H) *kerek*, (T) *keřak*; Tat. (Ur.) *terek*; Tat. (Cr.) *kerek*; cf.: Čuv. *kirlē*; Bašk. *käräk*; Tat. *kiräk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kerek*; Uz. *kerak*; Uig. *kiräk*, *keräk*; Lob. *kejek*, *kejäk*; Sal. *kerex*; Trkm., Trukh. *gerek*; Y. Uig., Alt. *kerek*; Khak. *kirek*; Tuv. *xerek*; Yak. *käräx*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 300; Eg. 114; ÈSTJa III 25; KRPS 307, 392, 393; Malov 134; Podolsky 26; SKT 178; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 380.

The word *kerek* ‘necessary; necessity’ is registered in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. In OT sources there were the following forms registered: *keräk*, *keräk*. As we can see, judging by the meaning given along with the K-B entries, the word *kerek* functions both as a noun and as a modal word and an adjective.

kut (K-B) ‘1. obojanie, simpatja, privlekatel'nosť; 2. radost', sčast'je, duševnoje udovletvorenije’ (KBRS 428) < PT **kut*; cf.: OT *kut*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kut*; Tat. *kot*; Čuv. *xāt*; Bašk. *kot*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Uz. *kut*; Alt. (V.) *kōt*, *kut*; Khak. *xut*; Yak. *kut*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 471; Eg. 295; KRPS 350, 376; Räs. VEWT 305 a; Šč. SF 194.

The K-B lexeme *kut* has several meanings: ‘luck; good luck; happiness; prosperity’. In OT sources the word was registered. There are some equivalents of that word in several other Turkic languages, in some languages however, the meaning is different than in K-B, cf. Yak. *kut* ‘soul’.

küč (K-B) ‘sila, mošč; moguščestvo, energija’ (KBRS 367); *küč* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘sila’, *küč* (Balk.) ‘sila, nasilie’ (Boz. 176); *küč* (*k'üč*; K) ‘Kraft, schwierig’ (Pr K 112); *küč*, *küš* (B) ‘Stärke, Kraft, Gewalt’ (Pr B 231) < PT **küč*; cf.: OT *küč*; Kum. *güč*; Az. dial. *güž*, *güg*, *küč*; Khal. *kīč*; Tur., Gag. *güč*; Kar. (Cr.) *küč*, (H) *kic*, (T) *kuč*; Tat. (Ur.) *küč*; Tat. *küč*; Tat. (Cr.) *kuč*; Bašk. *küs*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *küs*; Kir. *küč*; Trkm. *güjč*; Uz. *kuč*; Uig. *küč*; Lob. *küč*; Sal. *kuš*; Y. Uig. *kuš*; Alt. *küč*; Khak. *küs*; Tuv. *küs*; Tof. *küs*; Šor. *küs*; Yak. *küs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 297; DTS 322; ÈSTJa III 96; KRPS 325, 355, 397; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 13; Rass. 205; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 466.

The lexeme *küč* 'strength, energy' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in numerous languages, however in some of them the meaning is different, e.g. Tat. (Ur.) *küč* 'hard, difficult'; Khal. *kčč* 'tyranny; oppression'.

ogur (K-B) '1. dobrota; 2. šťastie' (KBRS 489); *ogur* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'šťastlivý, udačný' (Boz. 181); *ogur*: *ogurlu* (*oγur*, in *oγurlú*; B) 'glücklich, wohlgeraten, gesegnet' (Pr B 246) < PT **ogur* (ESG); cf.: OT *ogur*; Kum. *ogur*; Az. *ogur*, *ugur*; Tur. *ogur*, *ugur*; Gag. *ūr*; Kar. (Cr.) *ogir*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogur*; Nog. *ogir*; Trkm. *ugur*. – Lit.: DTS 364; ĚSTJa I 564; KRPS 424; Räs. VEW 358 a; YRh. 897, 1196.

The word *ogur* in the K-B literary language denoting 'good luck, luckiness' and in Balkar dialects 'lucky' has equivalents in a few other Turkic languages, however in some languages with another meaning, cf. ĚSTJa I 564-565. In OT sources the form *ogur* 'lucky' was registered.

oj (K-B) '1. soznanie, myšlenie; 2. mnenie, mysl', točka zrenija' (KBRS 491); *oj* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'um, rozum, pamjat' (Boz. 181) < PT **ōj* (Šč. SF 195); **ōd* (Räs. VEW 357 a); cf.: OT *ōg*; Kum., Tur., Tat. (Cr.) *oj*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *uj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *oj*; Trkm. *ōj*; Uz. *oj*; *uj* (Eg. 269); Uig., Alt., Šor. *oj*; Yak. *oj* (Eg. 269); *ōj* (ÖjHa. 37). – Lit.: DTS 378; Eg. 269; ĚSTJa I 428; ÖjHa. 37; Räs. VEW 357 a; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 904.

Oj 'thought; opinion; reason; memory' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 269) the Old Turkic form for this lexeme was *ōg*.

öč (K-B) I '1. premja, priz; 2. pari, zaklad'. II 'zlost'-uloba' (KBRS 282); *öč* (K) 'Streit' (Pr K 127) < PT **ōč*; cf.: OT *ōč*; Kum. *öč*; Az. *öğ*; *öč* (Eg. 53); Tur. *öç*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öč*, (H) *ec*; Tat. (Cr.) *oč*; Tat. *üč*; Čuv. *věčě*; Bašk. *üs*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *oš*; Kir. *öč*; Trkm. *ōč*; Uz. *oč*; *uč* (Eg. 53); Uig. *öč*; Lob. *öč*, *oč*; Alt. *öč*; Khak. *ös*; Tuv. *oš*; Tof. *oš*; Šor. *oš*; Yak. *ös*. – Lit.: DTS 376; Eg. 53; ĚSTJa I 558; KRPS 444; Malov 152, 153; ÖjHa. 41; Rass. 214; Šč. SF 195.

The K-B lexeme *öč* has a wide semantic range. It denotes: I 'bet; premium, prize'. II 'hatred, anger'. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word mostly with the meaning 'anger, hatred'. In OT the form *ōč* was also registered.

san (K-B) '1. čislo, cifra; 2. čislennost', količestvo' (KBRS 538); *san* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'čislo, količestvo, sčet' (Boz. 183); *san* (K) 'Zahl' (Pr K 130); *san* (B) 'Zahl, Anzahl' (Pr B 250) < PT **sān*; cf.: OT *san*; Az. *saj*; cf. Khal. *sāj*- 'to count'; cf. Tur. *san* 'esteem, reputation'; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *san*; Tat. *san*; Čuv. *sum*; Bašk. *han*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *san*; Trkm. *sān*; Uz. *son*; Uig., Y. Uig., Alt. (V.), Khak., Tuv., Tof. *san*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 271, 308; DTS 483; Eg. 194; KRPS 463; Rass. 225; Räs. VEW 400 a; Tenišev SJ 205.

The lexeme *san* 'number, cipher' was registered in OT. At present there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages. However, in some of them the meaning is different, cf. Tur. *san* 'esteem, reputation'.

ses (K) '1. golos; 2. zvuk, šum' (KBRS 554) < PT **ses* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *ses*; Az. *sās*; Khal. *sās*; Tur. *ses*; Gag. *ses*; Tat. (Ur.) *ses*; Čuv. *sasā*, *sas*; Kaz., Kklp., Trkm. *ses*; Uz. *sas*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 168, 309; Eg. 179; Podolsky 20; Räs. VEWT 413 a.

The lexeme *ses* 'voice' is not registered in OT sources. There are its equivalents in several modern Turkic languages.

söz (K-B) '1. slovo; 2. reč; 3. slovo, obeščanije; 4. spletnja' (KBRS 556); *söz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'slovo' (Boz. 184); *söz* (K) 'Wort, Sprichwort' (Pr K 132); *söz* (B) 'Wort' (Pr B 253) < PT **sōs*; cf.: OT *söz*; Tur. *söz*; Kar. (Cr.) *söz*, *soz*, (H) *sez*, (T) *soz*; Tat. (Kaz.) *süz*; Tat. (Ur.), Nog., Trkm. *söz*; Uig. *söz*; Lob. *söz*, *söt*, *süs*; Sal. *sözar*, *s'us*, *süz*, *s'o*; Y. Uig. *söz*, *soz*; Yak. *ös*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 511; JUFD 233; KRPS 470, 480, 496; Malov 163, 165; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 430 b; StachM GJV 87; Sul. Kkar. 96; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 487, 489, 490, 493; Tenišev SJ 207, 210.

The lexeme *söz* 'word; speech' confirmed in OT has also equivalents at present in some Turkic languages.

tin (B) 'pokoј' (KBRS 660) < PT **tīn*; cf.: OT *tīn*; Tur. dial. *din*; Tat., Bašk., Kklp., Kir. *tīn*; Uz. *tin*; cf. also Uig. *tinik*; Sal. *tin*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tīn*; Tof. *dīn*; Yak. *tīn*; – Lit.: DTS 567; ÈSTJa III 341; Rass. 179; Räs. VEWT 478 a; StachM GJV 103.

The lexeme *tīn* in the Balkar dialect of K-B denotes 'peace'. In a few other Turkic languages there are counterparts of the word, however mostly with different meaning, though their semantic relations with Balkar *tīn* can be seen, e.g.: Tur. dial. *din* 'rest'; Yak. *tīn* 'Atem' (StachM GJV 103). In OT the form *tīn* was registered with two meanings: '1. soul'; '2. breath'.

tüs (K-B) 'obraz, vid, oblik' (KBRS 675) < PT **tūs*; cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *tüs*; Tat. *tös*; Čuv. *tēs*; Bašk. *tös*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tüs*; Trkm. *tüjs*; Uz. *tus*; Uig. *tüs*; cf. also Yak. *tus*. – Lit.: Eg. 248; KRPS 554; ÖjHa. 38; Räs. VEWT 507 a; Šč. SF 198.

Tüs 'image, picture; face, physiognomy' has its equivalents only in several other Turkic languages, also with a different meaning than in K-B, cf. Yak. *tus* 'die vor einem biegende Seite; Angelegenheit; Bezug' (ÖjHa. 38). Räsänen notices that the form *tüs* was registered in KB, however neither DTS nor other OT sources confirm it, cf. Räs. VEWT 507 a.

tüş (K-B) I '1. son, snovidenije; 2. mečta' (KBRS 675); *tüş* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'son' (Boz. 188); *tüş* (*t'üş*; K) 'Traum' (Pr K 141); *tüş* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **tūs*; cf.: OT *tüs* (MK), *tül* (Gab., DTS); Kum. *tüş*; Tur., Gag. *düş*; Kar.

(Cr.) *tüš*, *čüš*, (H) *tis*, *kis*, *tiš*, (T) *tuš*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüš*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüš*; Tat. *tüš*; *töš* (Rass. 178); Čuv. *tělěk*; Bašk. *tüš*; *töš* (Rass. 178, Eg. 245); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüs*; Kir. *tüš*; Trkm. *düjš*; Uz. *tuš*; Uig. *čüš*, *tüš*; Lob. *tüš*; Sal. *tiš*; Y.Uig. *tül*, *tel*, *tıl*; Alt. *tüš*; Khak. *tüs*; Tuv. *düs*; Tof. *düs*; Šor. *tüs*; Yak. *tıl*; – Lit.: DTS 596, 599; Eg. 245; ÈSTJa III 323; Gab. 345; KRPS 323, 531, 532, 555, 571, 634; Malov 178; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 507 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 214.

The word *tüš* ‘dream’ has at present its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms *tül*, *tüš* were registered.

tüz (K-B) 1. ‘1. pravda, istina; 2. ravnina, step; pole’. 2. ‘1. pravilnyj, verryj, točnyj; 2. rovnyj, prjamoj; ravninnyj; 3. pravýj, nevinnyj, nevinovnyj; 4. spravedlivyj, bespristrastnyj; 5. čestnyj; beskorystnyj’ (KBRs 668); *tüz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘verno, pravilno, prjamo, prjamoj, rovnyj, ravnýj, kak raz, imenno, cel’ (Boz. 187), *tüz* (Khul.-Bez.) ‘pole’ (ibid. 187); *tüz* (*t’üz*; K) ‘wahr, wirklich, richtig, rechtschaffen, Wahrheit, Ebene, Steppe’ (Pr K 141); *tüz* (B) ‘gerade, eben, richtig, wahr, rechtschaffen, ehrlich; Ebene, Recht, Wahrheit, Richtigkeit, Rechtschaffenheit’ (Pr B 264) < PT **tūs*; cf.: OT *tüz*; Kum. *tüz*; Az., Tur., Gag. *düz*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüz*, (H) *tiz*, (T) *tuž*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüz*; Tat. *tüz*; *töz* (Rass. 178); Čuv. *türě*; Bašk. *töz*; Kaz. *tüzü*; Kklp. *düz*; Nog. *tus*, *tüz*; Kir. *tüz*; Trkm. *düz*; Uig. *tüz*; Lob. *tüz*, *tüš*, *tuš*, *tözü*; Sal. *tiz*, *tös*, *töz*, *tüs*, *tüz*; Y. Uig. *tuz*, *tüz*, *tüs*, *toz*; Alt. *tüs*; Khak. *tüs*; Tof. *düs*; Šor. *tus*; cf.: Yak. *tüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Bask. NJa. 264; DTS 602; Eg. 266; ÈSTJa III 309; KRPS 525, 552, 569; Malov 175, 177; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 508 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 512, 521, 522, 527, 528; Tenišev SJ 214.

The word *tüz* in K-B functions both with adjectival and substantival meaning. As an adjective it denotes ‘1. flat; 2. right; 3. proper; 4. straight’. As a substantive it means ‘truth’ but also ‘1. plain; 2. steppe’. In OT the word *tüz* had the meaning ‘flat, smooth’. At present in most Turkic languages the equivalents of the word have both adjectival and substantival meanings the same as in K-B. As an exception the Yak. *tüs* can be mentioned. It denotes ‘calm, quiet; serious’, cf. Rass. 178.

uw (K-B) ‘1. jad, otrava; 2. zlo, vred; vrednoje vozdejstvie’ (KBRs 687); *aw* ‘jad’ (ibid. 90); *ū* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘id.’ (Boz. 188); *wū*, *ū* (*wū*, *ū*; K) ‘Gift, Stachel’ (Pr K 144); *ū* (B) ‘Gift’ (Pr B 264) < PT **ābo* (StachM GJV 80); **āyu* (Räs. VEWT 9 a); cf.: OT *agu*; Kum. *aguw*, *agu*, *uw*; Az. *agī*; Tur. *agī*, *agu*; Kar. (Cr.) *avgu*, *agu*, (H, T) *uv*; Tat. (Cr.) *aguw*; Tat. *agu*; Bašk. *agīw*; Kaz. *u*; Kklp. *uw*; Nog. *uw*, *aguw*; Kir. *ū*; Trkm. *āwī*; Uz. *ogu*; Uig. *agi*, *oga*; Lob. *agu*; Sal. *agu*; Y. Uig. *agī*; Khak., Tuv. *ō*; Šor. *ō*; Yak. *aba*. – Lit.: DTS 24; ÈSTJa I 67; KRPS 40, 44, 572; Malov 80; Podolsky 1; Räs. VEWT 9a; StachM GJV 80; Tenišev 281; Tenišev SJ 171; YRh. 19, 24.

The K-B the word *aw* ~ *ū* ~ *ʷū* ~ *uw* ~ *wū* 'poison, venom' has numerous equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some of them (Kar. (Cr.), Tuv., Trkm., Bašk., Nog., Kum.) with a different meaning than in K-B. In OT sources the form *agu* was registered.

2. ADJECTIVES

The K-B material representing this part of speech was divided into two groups of adjectives according to some features they describe. The first group represents the exterior, physical features. The other one names inner, chemical and more abstract features.

In the case of the words *arik*, *kerti*, *teren* the question of their categorization appears, since in K-B sources they are presented both as adjectives and substantives. However, we place them among adjectives when taking into account the comparative material from other Turkic languages.

2.1. Adjectives describing physical, exterior features

ak (K-B) '1. belyj; svetlyj; 2. blednyj, matovyj; 3. belyj, belongvardejec' (KBRS 42); *ak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'belyj' (Boz. 164); *ak* (*aq*; K) 'weiss' (Pr K 86); *ak*, *ax*, *ag* (*aq*, *ax*, *ay*; B) 'weiss' (Pr B 200) < PT **āk*; cf. OT *ak*; Az. *ag*; Tur. *ak*; Gag. *ak*; Kar. (H) *ak*; *ax*, *ak* (T); Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ak*; Trkm. *āk*; Uz. *ok*; Uig., Lob. *ak*; Sal. *aʷ*, *axur*; Y. Uig., Alt. *ak*; Khak. *ax*; Tuv. *ak*; Tof. *ak*. – Lit.: DTS 48; ÈSTJa I 116; KRPS 57, 85; Rass. 154; Räs. VEWT 12 b; Tenišev 298, 299.

This adjective with the meaning 'white, pale' is known both in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

ala (K-B) '1. piostryj, raznocvetnyj; pjatnistyj; 2. svetlyj' (KBRS 47); *ala* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'pestryj, pegij, polosatyj' (Boz. 164); *ala* (*alá*; B) 'bunt; das Bunte' (Pr B 200) < PT **āla*; cf. OT *ala*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr. H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *ala*; Čuv. *ula*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ala*; Trkm. *āla*; Uz. *ola*; Uig., Lob. *ala*; Sal. *ala*, *allā*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Yak. *ala*. – Lit.: DTS 31; Eg. 271; ÈSTJa I 129; KRPS 61; Malov 83; Rass. 152; Räs. VEWT 15 a; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 171.

This word was known in OT and it is popular among modern Turkic languages. In some of them it appears in phonetic variants. It means in most of the languages 'colourful; spotted'.

arik (K-B) I '1. xudoj, toščij; 2. postnyj, nežirnyj, toščij; 3. iznuriannyj, istoščionnyj; 4. bednyj, nesostojatelnyj' (KBRS 79); *arik* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'xudoj, čaxlyj' (Boz. 165); *arik* (*ariq*; K) 'mager' (Pr K 88). *arik*, *arix*, *arig* (*ariq*, *arix*, *ariy*; B) 'mager' (Pr B 202) < PT **arik* (ESG); cf.: OT *arik*; Az. *arig*; Khal.

hāruk; Tur., Kar. (H), Tat. *arīk*; Tat. (Ur.) *arīx*; Čuv. *irxan*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *arīk*; Trkm. *arrik*; Uz. (S) *arīg*; Uz. *orik*; Uig. *oruk*; *arīk* (JUFD 169); Khak. *arīx*; Tuv. *argan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 199, 291; DTS 52; Eg. 344; JUFD 169; KRPS 77; Podolsky 2.

The word *arīk* with the meaning 'lean, thin; poor' has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

awur (K-B) '1. tjažiolyj; 2. trudnyj; tjažiolyj; 3. medlительnyj, lenivyy; 4. tjažiolyj, neprijatnyj; 5. ugrožajuščij, serioznyj, opasnyj; 6. obidnyj' (KBRS 95); *aūr* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'tjažiolyj' (Boz. 165); *a'ur* (*a'úr*; K) 'schwer, mühselig' (Pr K 89); *a'ur* (*a'úr*; B) 'schwer, lästig, hart, ermüdend' (Pr B 204) < PT **āyir* ~ **āḡir*; cf.: OT *agir*; Kum. *awir*; Az. *agir*; Khal. *agir*; Tur. *agir*, *aır*, dial.: *ār*; Gag. *ār*; Kar. (Cr.) *agir*, *avur*, (H, T) *avur*; Tat. (Cr.) *agir*; Tat. *awir*; Čuv. *yivār*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., *awir*; Kir. *ōr*; Trkm. *āgir*; Uz. *ogir*; Uig. *egir*; Y. Uig. *agir*; Alt. *ūr*; Khak., Tuv., Šor. *ār*; Tof. *ār*; Yak. *īar*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 184, 277; DTS 18; Eg. 82; ĖSTJa I 85; KRPS 45; Rass. 157; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev SJ 171.

This word *awur* with a meaning 'heavy, hard, strong' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In Old Turkic the word *agir* was registered.

az (K-B) I '1. malyj, maločislennyj; nedostatočnyj; 2. meńšij'. II '1. malo, nemnogo; nedostatočno; 2. slegka; 3. meńše; 4. nemalo, neredko' (KBRS 25); *az* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'malo' (Boz. 164); *az* (K) 'wenig' (Pr K 90); *az* (B) 'wenig' (Pr B 204) < PT **ās*; cf.: OT *az*, *as*, *āz*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *az*; Tat. *az*, *āz*; Bašk. *āz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *az*; Trkm., Trukh. *āz*; Uz. *oz*; Uig. *az*; cf. Lob. *azjak*; Y. Uig. *az*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *as*. – Lit.: DTS 71, 72; ĖSTJa I 93; Gab. 297; Malov 80; Podolsky 3; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 52.

Az meaning 'small, little; not much' both in an adjectival and adverbial sense is common among Turkic languages. It was also confirmed in OT in the forms: *az*, *as*, *āz*.

bijik (B), **mijik** (K) '1. vysokij; 2. roslyj' (KBRS 141, 467); *bijik* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vysokij, vysota, vysoko, vozvyšennost' (Boz. 167), *mijik* (Khul.-Bez.) 'vysokij' (ibid. 180); *mijik* (K) 'hoch' (Pr K 123); *bijik*, *bijix*, *bijig* (*bijik*, *bijix*, *bijig*; B) 'hoch, Höhe, Anhöhe, Gipfel' (Pr B 208) < PT **bādūk*; cf.: OT *bedūk*, *bādūk*; Kum. *bijik*; Az. *bōjūk*; Tur. *būjūk*; Gag. *būk*; Kar. (Cr.) *bijik*, *būjūk*; (H, T) *bijik*; Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *būjūk*; Tat. *bijik*, *būjik*; Čuv. *pāsāk*; Bašk. *bijik*, *būjūk*; Kaz. *bijik*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bijik*; Trkm. *bejik*; Uz. *bujuk*; Uig. *būjūk*; Sal. *pixi*, *pihi*, *pēxe*, *pexi*; Y. Uig. *perik* ~ *pejik*, *pezik*, *pezek*; Alt. *bijik*, *pijik*; Khak. *mūzik*, *pōzik*; Tuv. *bedik*; Tof. *bedik*. – Lit.: DTS 91; ĖSTJa II 288, 289; Gab. 302; KRPS 115, 144; Podolsky 6; Rass. 75; Tenišev SJ 196.

The adjective *bijik* ~ *mijik* 'high, tall' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT there were registered the following forms: *bedūk*, *bādūk*.

boz (K-B) 'seryj, svetlo-pepel'nyj' (KBRS 154); *boz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'seryj' (Boz. 168); *boz* (K) 'fahl' (Pr K 95) < PT **pōs*; cf.: OT *boz*; Az., Tur. *boz*; Gag. *boz*, *bōz*; Tat. (Cr.) *boz*; Tat. *büz*; Bašk. *buz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *boz*; Uz. *boz*; Uig. *boz*, *bos*; Lob. *boz*, *bot*, *bos*; Y. Uig. *poz*; Alt. *pos*, *bos*, *boro*; Khak. *pora*, *poraŋ*; Tuv. *bora*; Tof. *bora*; Yak. *boron*; – Lit.: DTS 115; ÈSTJa II 171/172; Malov 94; Rass. 164; StachM GJV 82; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 197.

The adjective *boz* 'grey' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally this same meaning. According to ÈSTJa II 171-172 Tuv. form *bora* < Mong. *bora* and Khak. *poraŋ* < *bora-*. Old Turkic also registers this word.

buwaz (K-B) 'beremennaja' (KBRS 171); *būaz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'beremennyj' (Boz. 168); *bu'az* (*bu'áz*; K) 'schwanger' (Pr K 95); *bu'az* (*bu'áz*; B) 'schwanger, trāchtig' (Pr B 211) < PT **bugaz* (ESG); cf.: OT *bogaz*; *tōl bogaz* (DTS 579); Khal. *bogaz*; Tat. (Ur.) *bugaz*; Tat. *buaz*; cf. Čuv. *pētē*; Bašk. *bīwaz*; Kaz. *buaz*; Kklp., Nog. *buwaz*; Kir. *bōz*; Trkm. *bogaz*; Uz. *bogoz*; Uig. *bogaz*; Lob. *bogus*; Alt. *bōs*, *pōs*; Khak. *pōs*; Tuv. *bōs*; Šor. *pōs*; Yak. *buos*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer 200, 281; DTS 579; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 169; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 78 b.

Buwaz 'gravid; with young'. At present it has counterparts in only some Turkic languages. DTS registers: *tōl bogaz*.

čolak (K-B) 'odnorukij, bezrukij; s pokalečennoj rukoj' (KBRS 736); *čolak* (*č'olāq*; K) 'einer der nur eines Armes mächtig ist' (Pr K 99) < PT **čolak* (ESG); cf.: OT *čolak*; Az. *čolag*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *čolak*; Tat. *čulak*; Čuv. *čālux*; Bašk. *sulak*; Kaz., Kklp. *šolak*; Kir. *čolok*; Trkm. *čolak*; Uz. *čulok*; Uig. *čolak*. – Lit.: DTS 152; Eg. 319; KRPS 630; Räs. VEWT 114 a.

The word *čolak* 'having one arm missing or paralyzed; crippled in one hand' was registered in OT. In some modern Turkic languages it has its equivalents.

gitče (K-B) '1. maleńkij; 2. mladšij, molodoj; 3. nemnogočislennyj; nebolšoj; 4. tesnyj, maleńkij' (KBRS 186); *gitče*, *gičče* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'maleńkij' (Boz. 169); *kiče*, *kičče* (*kīčē*, *kīččē*; K) 'klein, der kleinste, der jüngste (von Kindern, Geschwistern)' (Pr K 110); *gicce*, *gicci* (*giccé*, *giccí*; B) 'klein' (Pr B 221); *kici* (*kici*; B) 'der, die kleinste unter Geschwistern' (ibid. 229) < PT **kičig* (ESG); cf.: OT *kičig*, *kičüg*, *kičük*; Kum. *gičči*; Az. *kičik*; Tur. *küçük*; Gag. *küçük*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kiči*, (H) *kici*, (Cr.) *kičik*; Tat. (Ur.) *kičik*; Tat. *kīči*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp. *kīši*; Nog. *kiškej*; Kir. *kičü*, *küčü*; Trkm. *kiči*; Uig., Lob. *kičik*; Y. Uig. *kizig*, *kizig*; Sal. *kiči*; Alt. *kiči*, *kičü*; Khak. *kīčig*; Šor. *kicig*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 248; DTS 306; ÈSTJa V 75; KRPS 325; Malov 136; Podolsky 13; Tenišev SJ 190.

The adjective *gitče* 'little, small' is common in other Turkic languages, where it appears in different phonetic variants. In OT the forms: *kičig*, *kičüg*,

kičük were registered. The etymology of this word is still under discussion, cf. ÈSTJa V 76-77.

ġalan (K-B) ‘golyj’ (KBRS 219); *zalan* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘golyj, nagoj’ (Boz. 173); *ġalan* (ġalán; K) ‘nackt’ (Pr K 145); *zalan* (zalán; B) ‘bloss, nackt’ (Pr B 268) < PT **jalan* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalaŋ* (DTS), *jaliŋ* (Gab.); Kum. *jalan*; Az. *jalín*; Khal. *jālín*; Tur., Gag. *jalín*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jalan*, (Cr.) *jalín*; Tat. dial. *ġalan*; Tat. *jalan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalaŋ*; Nog. *jalaŋ*; Kir. *ġalaŋ*; cf. also Trkm. *jalaŋač*; Uz. *jalāŋ*; Uig. *jalín*, *jalaŋ*; Lob. *jalan*, *jalaŋ*; Sal. *jalaŋgaš*; Y. Uig. *jaliŋ*; Alt. *daŋašaš*, *jilaŋšaš*, *d’ilaŋšaš*; Khak. *čalaŋ*; Šor. *čalaŋ*; also Yak. *sīgīnjax*, *sīnjīnjax*, *sīnax*, *sīgījxax*, *sījījxax*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 317; DTS 227; ÈSTJa IV 104; Gab. 351; JUFD 196; KRPS 220, 223; Malov 117; Räs. VEWT 182 a; Tenišev 344; Tenišev SJ 182.

The word *ġalan* in K-B denotes ‘naked’. In OT two forms: *jaliŋ*, *jalaŋ* were registered. At present it has its equivalents in other languages sometimes with more meanings, e.g. in Kar. (Cr.), Gag., Lob. it means ‘barefoot’; in Kir., Kaz., Nog., Uig. it means ‘only one, single; exclusive’. In some languages (Trkm., Sal., Alt., Yak.) there are structurally more compound forms. According to some specialists they are derivatives, cf. ÈSTJa IV 106.

ġašil (K-B) ‘zelionyj’ (KBRS 238); *ġašil* (ġašıl; K) ‘grün’ (Pr K 147), *ġešil* (ġešıl; K) ‘id.’ (ibid. 148); *zašil* (zašıl; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 270) < PT **jāšil* < **jāš*; cf.: OT *jašil*; Kum., Az. *jašil*; Khal. *jāšil*, *jāšul*; Tur., Gag. *ješil*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ješil*, (H) *jesil*, *isil*; Tat. (Ur.) *ješil*; Tat. *jāšil*; Čuv. *ješēl* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jāšil*; Kaz., Kklp. *žasil*; Nog. *jasil*; Kir. *ġašil*; Trkm. *jāšil*; Uz. *jašil*; Uig. *ješil*; Lob. *jāšil*; Y. Uig. *jasil*; Alt. *dažil*; Khak. *čazil*; Šor. *čažil*; Yak. *sahil*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 205, 317; DTS 246; Eg. 62; ÈSTJa IV 164; KRPS 207, 275, 278; Malov 119; Podolsky 33; StachM GJV 43.

The adjective *ġašil* ‘green’ has its equivalents in other Turkic languages generally with the same meaning as in K-B. The semantic exception appears in Yak. *sahil*, which means ‘1. yellow; 2. fox’ (cf. StachM GJV 43). The form *jašil* was registered in OT.

ġeŋil (K-B) ‘1. liogkij; 2. bystryj; 3. per. goriačij, vspylčivij’ (KBRS 241); *žeŋil* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘bystro, skoro, legkij’ (Boz. 171); *ġeŋil* (ġeŋil; K) ‘leicht, flink, jähzornig’ (Pr K 147); *zeŋil* (B) ‘schnell, flink, leicht’ (Pr B 271) < PT **jāŋil*; cf.: OT *jeŋil*; Kum. *jeŋil*; Az. *jüngül*; Khal. *iŋgil*, *jeŋgil*, *jingül*, *jüngül*, *jöŋgil*; Tur. *jegni*, *jejni*, *jünül*; Gag. *jilin*; Kar. (Cr.) *engil*, *jenil*, *jengil*, *jeŋil* (H) *jengil*, (T) *jengil*, *iŋgil*, *jeŋgil*, *jeŋil*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeŋil*; Tat. (Cr.) *jeŋgil*; Tat. *ġinil*; *ġiŋel* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *šāmāl*; Bašk. *jeŋel* (Eg. 207), *jīŋil*; Kaz., Kklp. *žeŋil*; Nog. *jeŋil*; Kir. *ġeŋil*; Trkm. *jeŋil*; Uz. *jängil*; Uig. *jeŋil*; Alt. *deŋil*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 184, 294, 317, 318, 319; DTS 256; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa IV 188; KRPS 204, 271, 272, 273, 662; Räs. VEWT 198 a; Sul. Kkar. 73; YRh. 1250, 1256, 1265.

The adjective *geñil* '1. light; 2. easy' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. As far as the etymology is concerned Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEW 198 a) analyzes **jäñil* as a derivative formed from **jän* with the suffix *-gil*. There are also other conceptions referring to this problem, cf. ÈSTJa IV 189. In OT the form *jeñil* was registered.

ğili (K-B) 'tioplyj' (KBR 267); **ğili** (ğili; K) 'warm' (Pr K 148); **zili** (zili; B) 'id.' (Pr B 273) < PT **jilig* (ESG); cf.: OT *jilig*; Kum. *jili*; Az. *ilik*; Tur. *ilî*; Kar. (Cr.) *jillî*; (H) *ilî*, (T) *ilî*, *jilî*; Tat. *ğilî*; Bašk. *jilî*; Kaz. *žilî*; Kklp. *žillî*; Kir. *ğilû*; Trkm. *jilî*; Uz. *jilik*, *ilik*; Uig. *jilik*; Y. Uig. *jilig*; Alt. *d'ilu*; Khak. *čilig*; Tuv. *čilig*. – Lit.: DTS 266; ÈSTJa IV 276; KRPS 199, 264, 266; Räs. VEW 200 b.

The adjective **ğili** 'warm' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *jilig* was registered. The structure of the OT form and some forms in modern Turkic languages show the derivational character of the word.

ğiti (K), **ğütü** (B) '1. ostryj, ottočennyj; 2. pristal'nyj, vnimatel'nyj; 3. ostryj, zorkij, pronicateľnyj; 4. per. bojkiy, šustryj; jazykastyj' (KBR 249); **zütü** (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'ostryj, šustryj, lovkij' (Boz. 174); **zütü** (*zütü*; B) 'scharf; flink, gewandt, jugendlich' (Pr B 276); **ğiti** (*ğiti*; K) 'scharf, spitzig' (Pr K 148) < PT **jitü(g)*, **jiti(g)*; cf.: OT *jiti*, *jitig*, *jitti*; Kum. *itti*; Az. *iti*; Khal. *jitti*, *jittig*; Tur. *iti*; Kar. (Cr.) *jiti*, *iti*, (H, T) *iti*; Tat. *ğitî*; Kaz. *žitî*; Trkm. *jiti*; Uig. *istik*; Lob. *itik*; Alt. *jidû*; Khak. *čitig*; Tuv. *čidig*; Tof. *čiti*; Šor. *čidig*; Yak. *sitî*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 318; DTS 263, 264; ÈSTJa IV 205; KRPS 209, 246, ÖjHa. 31; Rass. 197; Räs. VEW 204 b; YRh. 564.

The adjective **ğiti** 'sharp' has its equivalents in several Turkic languages. As far as its etymology is concerned it is a derivative from a verbal basis denoting 'to be sharp'. The following forms: *jiti*, *jitig*, *jitti* were registered in OT.

ğuka (K-B) '1. tonkij; 2. xudoj; xudoščavyj; 3. liogkij; 4. židkij; redkij; 5. per. nervnyj' (KBR 255); **zuka** (*zuqá*; B) 'flüssig, dünn, dünnflüssig' (Pr B 274) < PT **jub-ka* (Räs. VEW 209 b); cf.: OT *juvga*, *juvka*; Kum. *jukka*; Az. *juka*; Tur. *jufka*; Gag. *jufka*, *jifka*; Kar. (Cr.) *jufka*; Tat. (Ur.) *juxa*; Tat. *juka*; Čuv. *šuxe*; Bašk. *juka*, *joka* (Eg. 224); Kaz., Kklp. *žuka*; Nog. *juka*; Kir. *ğupka*; *žuka* (Eg. 224), *ğuka*; Trkm. *juka* (*juwka*); Uz. *juka*, *jupka*; Uig. *jupka*, *župka*, *juka*; Sal. *joxra*; Y. Uig. *juka*; Alt. *juka* (Rass. 198); *duka*; Khak. *čuga*; Tuv. *čuga*; Tof. *čuka*; Šor. *čoga*. – Lit.: DTS 282, 283; Eg. 224; ÈSTJa IV 241; KRPS 260; Podolsky 49; Rass. 198; Räs. VEW 209 b.

The adjective **ğuka** '1. thin; 2. slim; 3. light' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The etymology of this word is not clear, however from the structural point of view the word seems to be a derivative. The forms; *juvga*, *juvka* were confirmed in OT.

ġumušak (K-B) '1. mjagkij; 2. *per.* miagkij, dobryj; 3. *per.* bezvol'nyj, mjagkotelnyj, besxarakternyj; 4. *ling.* palatal'nyj, mjagkij' (KBRS 258); *ġumušak* (*žumušaq*; K) 'weich, biegsam' (Pr K 150); *zumušak* (*zumušaq*; B) 'weich, sanft anzufühlen' (Pr B 275) < PT **jum(u)šak* (ESG); cf.: OT *jumšak*, *jimšak*; Kum. *jimišak*; Az. *jumšak*; Khal. *jumušak*; Tur. *jumšak*, *jumušak*; Gag. *jimišak*; Kar. (Cr.) *jimšak*, *jimšak*, (H) *imsak*, *jimsak*, (T) *jimšax*, *imšax*; Tat. (Cr.) *jimšak*; Tat. (Ur.) *jimšax*; Tat. *jümšak*, *jomšak* (Eg. 75); Čuv. *jämšak* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jümšak*, *jomšak*; Kaz., Kklp. *žumsak*; Nog. *jumsak*; Kir. *ġumšak*, *žumšak*; Trkm. *jumšak*; Uz. *jumšok*; Uig. *jumšak*, *žumšak*; Lob. *jumšak*, *umšak*; Y. Uig. *jemsak*, *emsak*, *jimsak*; Alt. *d'imžak*, *d'imčak*, *d'imžak*; Khak. *nimzax*, *čimğ'ak*; Tuv. *čimčak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 199, 319; DTS 279, 267; KRPS 200, 244, 266; Malov 122; Eg. 75; ÈSTJa IV 253; Podolsky 33; Tenišev SJ 178, 183, 184.

The adjective *ġumušak* 'soft' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning; only in Kum. it denotes 'kind of pancake'. In OT the forms: *jumšak*, *jimšak* were registered.

iñičge (K) '1. tonkij; 2. vysokij (*o zvukax*)' (KBRS 304); *inčge* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'tonkij' (Boz. 174); *inčxe* (*inčxé*; K) 'dünn, schmal, fein' (Pr K 107); *iničxe* (*iničxé*; B) 'dünn' (Pr B 225) < PT **jijčkä* (Räs. VEWT 203); **jinčä* (< **jinč*) (StachM GJV 64); cf.: OT *jinčkä*, *inčkä*; Kum. *inče*; Az. *iŋga*; Khal. *inčä*; Tur. *iŋge*; Gag. *iŋğä*; Kar. (Cr.) *iŋge*, (H) *incke*, (T) *inčke*, *iñčka*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *iŋge*; Tat. *níčkä*; Čuv. *šinše*; Bašk. *niskä*; Kaz. *žiniške*, *ženiške* (Eg. 214); Kklp. *žijiške*, *ženiške* (Eg. 214); Nog. *jijiške*; Kir. *ičke*; Trkm. *iŋge*; Uz. *ingičkä*, *ingička*; Uig. *inčikä*, *inčik*, *iñičkä*; Lob. *ičke*; Sal. *laški*, *laški*, *leški*, *niške*; Alt. *čičke*; Khak. *niske*; Tuv. *čijge*; Tof. *niŋge*; Yak. *sinnigäs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 294; DTS 261; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa I 364; Gab. 311; KRPS 202, 203, 204; Podolsky 11; Rass. 209; Räs. VEWT 203 b; StachM GJV 64; Tenišev 403, 420.

The K-B adjective *iñičge* 'thin, lean' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms: *jinčkä*, *inčkä*.

kak (K-B) 'vjalenyj, sušenyj' (KBRS 380); *kak* (*q'āq*; K) 'gedörrtes und geräuchertes Fleisch' (Pr K 114) < PT **kāk*; cf.: OT *kak*; Kum. *kak*; Az. *gax*; Tur. dial., Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kak*; Uz. *kok*; Uig. *kak*; Lob. *kak*; Y. Uig. *kak*; Alt. *kak*. – Lit.: DTS 421; ÈSTJa V 218; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 202.

The word *kak* 'dry'; also 'dried meat' is registered both in OT and in some modern Turkic languages.

kalin (K-B) '1. gusto; plotnyj, žirnyj; 2. tolstyj, tučnyj; 3. krepkij, nasyščennyj' (KBRS 384); *kalin* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'tolstyj, gusto' (Boz. 177); *kalin* (*q'alīn*; K) 'dick, dicht' (Pr K 114); *kalin* (*qalīn*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 234) < PT **kalin*; cf.: OT *kalin*; Kum. *kalin*; Az. *galin*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kalin*; Tat. (Ur.) *xalin*; Čuv. *xulān*; Bašk. *kalin*; Kaz., Kklp. *kalij*; Nog. *kalin*; Kir., Trkm. *kalij*; Uz. *kalin*; Uig. *kelin*; Lob. *kaluj*; Y. Uig. *k'alīn*; Alt. *kalin*; Khak. *xalīn*; Tuv. *kilīn*; Tof. *xilīn*; Yak. *xalij*. – Lit.: DTS 411; Eg. 303; ÈSTJa V

238; KRPS 287, 360; Malov; Podolsky 27; Rass. 193; Räs. VEWT 226 b; Tenišev SJ 202.

The adjective *kalin* 'fat; thick' is registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants).

kara (K-B) '1. čionnyj, tiomnyj; 2. voronoj; 3. tiomnyj; 4. karij; 5. nezabelionnyj, nezapravlennyj; 6. fizičeskij' (KBRS 389); *kara* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'černyj' (Boz. 177); *kara* (*q'arā*; K) '1. schwarz; 2. Zielscheibe; das Schwarze and der Zielscheibe' (Pr K 116); *kara* (*qarā*; B) 'schwarz, Trauer, Trauerkleid' (Pr B 235) < PT **kara* (ESG); cf.: OT *kara*; Kum. *kara*; Az. *gara*; Khal. *kara*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *kara*; Tat. (Ur.) *xara*; Tat. *kara*; Čuv. *xura*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kara*; Trkm. *gara*; Trukh. *kara*; Uz. *kora*; Uig. *kara*; Lob. *kara*, *kaja*; Sal. *kara*; Y. Uig. *kara*; Alt. *kara*; Kak. *xara*; Tuv. *kara*; Tof. *kara*; Yak *xara*. – Lit.: Doerfer 205, 306; DTS 422; Eg. 306; ÈSTJa V 286; KRPS 290, 363; Malov 124, 126; Podolsky 28; Rass. 218; SKT 180; Tenišev 376, 460, 462, 467; Tenišev SJ 199.

The adjective *kara* in K-B denotes 'black'. However some sources give also its substantival meaning, cf. Pr K, Pr B. The word is widely known in other modern languages (appearing in some phonetic variants); also registered by OT sources.

keñ (K-B) '1. širokij; 2. razdol'nyj, privol'nyj; 3. čuždyj, čužoj' (KBRS 323); *keñ* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'obširnyj, dalekij, dal' (Boz. 175); *keñ* (*k'ēñ*; K) 'geränmig' (Pr K 109); *keñ* (B) 'weit, geränmig, ansgedehnt' (Pr B 227) < PT **kāñ* (Šč. SF 195); **kēñ*, **kiñ* (Räs. VEWT 253 a); cf.: OT *keñ*; Kum. *geñ*; Az. *gen*; Khal. *kēñ*; Tur. *gen*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ken*, (Cr.) *keñ*, (T) *keñ*; Tat., Bašk. *kiñ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keñ*; Trkm. *gīñ*; Uz. *keñ*; Uig. *kāñ*; Lob. *keñ*; Y. Uig. *k'ēñ*, *k'in*; Alt. *keñ*; Yak. *kiñ*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 296; DTS 298; ÈSTJa III 46; KRPS 304, 391; Malov 134; ÖjHa. 23; Räs. VEWT 253 a; StachM GJV 70; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 189.

The adjective *keñ* 'wide, spacious; remote' was confirmed in OT sources and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

küñir (K-B) 'krivoj, per. kosoj' (KBRS 445); *küñir* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'krivoj, kosoj' (Boz. 178); *küñir* (*q'üñir*; K) 'krumm, schief' (Pr K 118); *küñir* (*q'üñir*; B) 'schief, krumm' (Pr B 237) < PT **küñ*; cf.: OT *küñir* (MK), *küñ* (Gab.); Kum. *küñir*; Kar. (Cr.) *küñir*, (H) *küñir*, (T) *küñir*, *küñir*, *küñir*; Tat. (Kaz.) *küñir*; Kaz. *küñir*. – Lit.: DTS 445; Gab. 328; KRPS 380, 386; Räs. VEWT 264 b.

The adjective *küñir* 'crooked; fig. disapproving; slanting' is registered by MK and also in a few modern languages (in some phonetic variants). In the earliest sources there was the form *küñ* 'squinting, squint-eyed', cf. Gab. 328.

kisxa (K-B) '1. korotkij; 2. častyj; 3. blizkij; 4. bystryj, skoryj; 5. krutoj' (KBRS 448); *kisxa* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'korotkij, skoro' (Boz. 178); *kisxa* (*q'isxá*; K) 'kurz' (Pr K 118) < PT **kisxa* (ESG); cf.: OT *kisga*, *kiska*; Kum. *kisga*; Az. *gisa*; Khal. *kisga*; Tur. *kisa*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kiska*, (T) *kisxa*; Tat. *kiska*; Tat. (Ur.) *xisxa*; Čuv. *kěske*; Bašk. *kiska*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kiska*; Trkm. *gışga*; Uz., Uig. *kiska*; Lob. *kiska*; Y. Uig. *kiska*; Alt. *kiska*; Khak. *xisxa*; Tuv., Tof. *kiska*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Doerfer 186, 306; DTS 447, 448; Eg. 109; KRPS 381, 388, 389; Malov 133; Podolsky 29; Rass. 224; Räs. VEW 267 b; Tenišev SJ 201.

The adjective *kisxa* 'short' has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. In OT there were two forms registered: *kisga*, *kiska*. The structure of the word shows its derivational character. Egorov points out its origin from the verb *kis-* 'to press', cf. Eg. 109.

kizil (K-B) '1. krasnyj; 2. rumjanyj; 3. ryžij, kaurij (o masti lošadi)' (KBRS 438); *kizil* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'krasnyj' (Boz. 178); *kizil* (*q'izil*; K) 'rot' (Pr K 119); *kizil* (*qizil*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **kizil*; cf.: OT *kizil*; Az. *gizil*; Khal., Tur. *kizil*; Kar. (H) *kizil*, *kizil*, (T) *kizil*; Tat. *kizil*; Tat. (Ur.) *xizil*; Čuv. *xěrlě*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kizil*; Trkm. *gizil*; Uz., Uig. *kizil*; Lob. *kizil*, *kizil*; Sal. *kizil*, *kisil*, *xizil*; Y. Uig. *kizil*; Alt. *kizil*; Khak. *xizil*; Tuv., Tof. *kizil*; Yak. *kihil*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 306; DTS 450; Eg. 299; KRPS 383, 317; Malov 132; Podolsky 30; Rass. 224; StachM GJV 94; Tenišev 399, 466, 467, 553; Tenišev SJ 201.

The adjective *kizil* 'red' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Rassadin it comes from the verb *kiz-* 'to get red', cf. Rass. 224.

kök (K-B) 'goluboj; sinij' (KBRS 338); *kök* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sinij, goluboj' (Boz. 176); *kök* (*k'ök*; K) 'blau, grau' (Pr K 111); *kök*, *köx*, *kög* (*kök*, *köx*, *kög*; B) 'grün, blau, himmelblau, bläulichgrau' (Pr B 230) < PT **kök*; cf.: OT *kök*; Kum. *gök*, *gok*, *kok*; Az. *göj*; Khal. *göj*, *kök*; Tur., Gag. *gök*; Kar. (Cr.) *kök*, (H) *kek*, (T) *kok*; Tat. (Cr.) *kok*; Tat. *kük*; Čuv. *kāvak*; Bašk. *kük*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kök*; Trkm. *gök*; Uz. *kok*; *kuk* (Eg. 96); Uig. *kök*; Lob. *kök*; Sal. *köx*, *k'öx*, *k'u*; Y. Uig. *k'ük*, *kuk*, *kök*, *kek*; Alt. *kök*; Khak. *kök*; Tuv. *kök*; Tof. *kök*; Yak. *küöx*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 205, 206, 290, 298; DTS 312; Eg. 96; ÈSTJa III 66; KRPS 301, 313, 337; Malov 136; ÖjHa. 42; Rass. 204; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 394, 401; Tenišev SJ 189.

The adjective *kök* 'blue, grey, green' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages (Tof., Tuv., Khak., Yak.) it also denotes 'green, fresh grass'.

sarī (K-B) '1. žioltyj; 2. ryžij' (KBRS 542); *sarī* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'želtyj' (Boz. 183); *sar*, *sarī* (*sar*, *sarī*; K) 'gelb, blond' (Pr K

130); *sarī* (*sarī*; B) 'gelb, rötlich, fuchsfarbig' (Pr B 250) < PT **sārīg*; cf.: OT *sarīg*; Az. *sarī*; Khal. *sārug*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *sarī*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sarī*; Čuv. *šurā*, *šur*; *sarā* (< Tat. ?); Bašk. *harī*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sarī*; Uz. *sarik*; Uig. *sarīk*, *sarīg*, *serig*, *serik*; Lob. *saik*, *sajīg*, *sajīk*; Sal. *sarī*, *sārī*; Y. Uig. *sarīg*; Alt. *sarī(g)*; Oir. *sar*; Khak. *sarīg*; Tuv., Tof. *sarīg*; Šor. *sarīg*; Yak. *arī* 'butter' (StachM GJV 99); *aragas* 'yellow' (ÖjHa. 9). – Lit.; Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 205, 308; DTS 488; Eg. 339; KRPS 467; Malov 158; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 19; Rass. 226; Räs. VEW 403 b – 404 a; StachM GJV 99; Tenišev 475; Tenišev SJ 205.

The word *sarī* 'yellow, blonde, foxy' is widely known among Turkic languages, where it appears in different forms. However, in some languages the meaning is different than in K-B, cf. Čuv. *šur(ā)* 'white'; *sarā* 'yellow' (probably < Tat.); Yak. *arī* 'butter', but Yak. *aragas* 'yellow'. In OT there was registered the form *sarīg*.

semiz (K-B) 1. 'žir, žirnyj'; 2. 'polnyj, upitannyj, tučnyj' (KBRS 551); *semiz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'žirnyj' (Boz. 183); *semiz* (K) 'Fett, fett' (Pr K 131); *semiz* (*semiz*; B) 'fett' (Pr B 251) < PT **sämiz*; cf.: OT *semiz*; Kum., Az., Tur. *semiz*; Kar. (Cr., H) *semiz*, (T) *semiž*; Tat. (Ur.) *semiz*; Tat. *simez*; Čuv. *samār*; Bašk. *himez*; Kaz., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *semiz*; Uig. *sämiz*; Lob. *semiz*; Sal. *semus*, *simus*; Khak. *simis*; Tuv. *semis*; Yak. *ämis*. – Lit.: DTS 495; Eg. 177; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 161; Podolsky 19; Räs. VEW 409 b; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 479, 482.

The word *semiz* 'fat' is registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents among other Turkic languages.

tar (K-B) 1. 'uzkij, tesnyj'; 2. '1. tesnina, uščelje; 2. per. trudnoje (stesnionnoje) položenie' (KBRS 604); *tar* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'uzkij, tesnyj' (Boz. 185); *tar* (B) 'eng, knapp' (Pr B 257) < PT **tār*; cf.: OT *tar*; Kum. *tar*; Az. *dar*; Khal. *tār*; Tur., Gag. *dar*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tar*; Trkm. *dār*; Uz. *tor*; Uig. *tar*; Lob. *taj*, *tar*; Sal. *tar*; Y. Uig. *tar*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tar*; Tof. *dar*; Yak. *tār*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 312; ÈSTJa III 146; KRPS 514; Malov 166; Podolsky 22; Rass. 169; StachM GJV 41; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 503.

The adjective *tar* 'narrow' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

teren (K-B) 'glubina, glubokij' (KBRS 623); *teren* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gluboko, glubina' (Boz. 185); *teren* (*t'ereñ*; K) 'tief' (Pr K 138); *teren* (*terén*; B) 'tief, Tiefe' (Pr B 258) < PT **terāñ* (ESG); cf.: OT *terāñ*, *teriñ*; Kum. *teren*; Az. *dārin*; Tur., Gag. *derin*; Kar. (Cr.) *teren*, *teran*, (H) *teren*, (T) *teřen*, *teřaň*; Tat. (Cr.) *tereñ*; Tat. (Ur.) *teren*; Tat. *tirān*; Čuv. *tarān*; Bašk. *tārān*; *tirān* (Rass. 172); Kaz., Kklp. *tereñ*; Nog. *teren*; Kir. *tereñ*; Trkm. *deriñ*; Uz. *teran*, *tiriñ*; Uig. *tirān*; Sal. *teruñ*, *tiroñ*; Alt. *tereñ*; Khak. *tireñ*; Tuv. *tereñ*; Tof. *dereñ*; Šor. *tereñ*;

Yak. *diriŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 553, 554; Eg. 232; ÈSTJa III 208; KRPS 522, 565, 566, 567; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 23; Rass. 172; Räs. VEW 475 b; Tenišev 509, 511.

In K-B the word *teren* denotes both 'depth' and 'deep'. In most other Turkic languages the word (or its equivalents) has the adjectival meaning, however in a few (Gag., Kar. (Cr., H), Alt., Yak.) also the substantival meaning is used. In OT the forms *teräŋ* and *teriŋ* were confirmed.

tik (K-B) '1. krutoj, obryvistyj; 2. *per.* naprjažionnyj, natjanutyj, obostrionnyj; 3. *per.* grubyj, rezkij; 4. pristaľnyj' (KBR 633); *tik* (*t'ik*; K) 'steil' (Pr K 139); *tik*, *tix*, *tig* (B) 'steil, schroff, steiler Abhang' (Pr B 259) < PT **tik* < **tiŋ*; cf.: OT *dik*: *dik tur-*, *tiŋ*: *tiŋ tur-*; Kum. *tik*; Az. *dik*; Tur., Gag. *dik*; Kar. (Cr.) *tik*, *tik*; Tat. (Cr.) *tik*; Kaz. *tik*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tik*; Trkm. *dik*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *tik*; Lob. *tek*; Šor. *tigä*. – Lit.: DTS 160, 561; ÈSTJa III 224; KRPS 527, 556; Räs. VEW 479 b.

The adjective *tik* '1. straight; 2. steep, abrupt; 3. precipitous' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT two forms of compound verbs including the forms: *dik*, *tiŋ* were registered: *dik tur-*, *tiŋ tur-* 'to stand straight (upright)'. The *tiŋ* was probably the older form of *tik* ~ *dik*; cf. ÈSTJa III 225.

toru (K-B) 'gnedoj' (KBR 646); *tor* (*tori*) (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'koričnevij' (Boz. 186); *toru* (*t'oru*; K) 'rötlichbraun (Pferd)' (Pr K 140); *tor*, *tori* (*tor*, *tori*; B) 'braun' (Pr B 261) < PT **tör*; cf.: OT *torig*, *torug*; Kum. *toru*; Tur. *doru*; Tat. *turü*; Čuv. *turä*; Bašk. *turü*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tori*; Kir. *toru*; Trkm. *dör*; Uz. *torik*; *turik* (Eg. 259); Uig. *toruk*; Lob. *tojok*; Sal. *toru*, *tori*; Alt. *toru*; Khak. *torig*; Tuv. *dorug*; Tof. *dorug*; Yak. *turayas*. – Lit.: DTS 578; Eg. 259; ÈSTJa III 268; Rass. 174; StachM GJV 83; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 514, 530.

The adjective *toru* 'bay (horse)' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT there were two forms registered: *torig*, *torug*.

ullu (K-B) 1 '1. bolšoj, krupnyj; 2. vzroslyj; 3. staršij; 4. roslyj; vysokogo rosta; krupnyj; 5. velikij, vydajuščijsja; nezaŋradnyj; 6. vysšij'. 2. '1. očē; 2. mnogo' (KBR 681); *ullu* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'bolšoj' (Boz. 188); *ullu* (*ullü*; K) 'gross, ungeheuer, laut' (Pr K 142); *ullu* (*ullü*; B) 'gross' (Pr B 265) < PT **ullu* < **ullug* (ESG); cf.: OT *ulug*; Kum. dial. *ullu*; Az. *ulu*; Tur., Gag. *ulu*; Kar. (Cr.) *ulu*, (H) *ullu*, (T) *ullu*, *ullux*, *uŋlu*; Tat. (Cr.) *ulu*; Tat. *oli*, *olug* (Rass. 237); *ülü*; Bašk. *olo* (Rass. 237); *ülü*; Kaz. *ülü*, *ülig*; Kklp. *ullü*, *ulig*; Nog. *ullü*; Kir. *uluk*, *ulü*; Trkm. *ulü*; Uz. *ulug*; Uig. *ulug*, *uluk*; Lob. *ulug*; Sal. *uli*, *ulli*, *ullü*, *ullu*; Y. Uig. *ulug*; Alt. *ulu*; Khak. *ulug*; Tuv., Tof. *ulug*; Šor. *ulu*; Yak. *ulü*. – Lit.: DTS 610; ÈSTJa I 593; KRPS 577, 579; Rass. 237; StachM GJV 123; Tenišev 532, 533; Tenišev SJ 217.

The adjective *ullu* 'big, great; high' has its equivalents in most Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *ulug*.

uwak (K-B) '1. melkij; nekrupnyj; 2. malyj, maloletnij' (KBRS 688); *ūak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kash., Khul.-Bez.) 'maleńkij, melkij' (Boz. 188); *uʔak* (*uʔāq*; K) 'klein' (Pr K 141); *uʔak*, *uʔax*, *uʔag* (*uʔāq*, *uʔāx*, *uʔāy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **uwak*, *uwak* (ESG); cf.: OT: *uvšak*, *ušak*; Kum. *uwak*; Tur., Gag. *ufak*; Kar. (Cr.) *ufak*, (H) *uwak*, (T) *uwax*; Tat. *uwak*; Tat. (Cr.) *ufak*; Čuv. *vak* (< Tat.); Bašk. *uak*; Kaz. *uak*; Kklp., Nog. *uwak*; Kir. *ubak*; Trukh. *uwak*; Uz. *uwok*; Uig. *uvak*; Lob. *ugak*; Alt. *ōk*; Khak. *ōx*; cf. Tuv. *ōndak*; Tof. *ūnak*. – Lit.: DTS 617, 619; Eg. 45; ÈSTJa I 560; Gab. 348; KRPS 572, 584; Malov 179; Rass. 238; SKT 181.

The adjective *uwak* 'small' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages, however in some of them the forms registered (e.g. Tuv. *ōndak*; Tof. *ūnak*) are the results of contamination, cf. ÈSTJa I 561. The OT sources confirm only the forms *uvšak*, *ušak* 'small' (cf.: Gab. 348; DTS 617, 619).

uzun (K-B) '1. dlinnyj; 2. vysokij; 3. dlinnyj, dolgij; zatjažnoj, zatjanuvšijsja' (KBRS 679); *uzun* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'dlinnyj' (Boz. 188); *uzun* (*uzún*; K) 'lang' (Pr K 143); *uzun* (*uzún*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **uzun*; cf.: OT *uzun*; Kum., Az. *uzun*; Khal. *uzūn*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uzun*; Tat. *üzün*; *ozün* (Eg. 50); Čuv. *vārām*; Bašk. *üzün*; *ozon* (Eg. 50); Kaz. *üzün*; Kklp., Nog. *uzün*; Kir. *uzun*; Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *uzun*; Sal. *uzün*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *uzun*; Yak. *uhin*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 185, 315; DTS 621; Eg. 50; ÈSTJa I 571; KRPS 574; Malov 179; Podolsky 27; Rass. 238; StachM GJV 194; Sul. Kkar. 105; Tenišev 536.

The adjective *uzun* 'long' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

2.2. Adjectives describing inner, chemical, abstract features

ačī (K-B) '1. gořkij, kislyj; 2. žučij, jedkij, nesterpimyj; 3. gořkij, obidnyj; 4. rezkij, prouzitel'nyj; 5. zloj. žestokij' (KBRS 99); *ačī* (*ačī*; K) 'sauer, herbe, schmerzlich' (Pr K 84); *ačī* (*ačī*; B) 'bitter, herbe, schmerzlich' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf. OT *ačīg*; Kum. *aččī*; Az. *ağī*; Khal. *hāčug*; Tur. *ağī*; Gag. *ağī*; Kar. (Cr.) *ağī*; Tat. (U) *ačī*; Tat. (Cr.) *ağī*; Čuv. *jūsē*; Bašk. *asī*, *āsī*; Kaz. *aščī*; Kklp. *aššī*; Nog. *aššī*; Kir. *ačū*; Trkm. *āğī*; Uz. *ači*; Uig. *aččik*; Sal. *ači*, *āzī*; Y. Uig. *ažīg*; Alt. *aču*; Yak. *ahī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 195, 290; DTS 4; Eg. 82; ÈSTJa I 89; Räs. VEWT 4 a; Tenišev 285, 300.

The word has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages with the meaning 'bitter', 'sour'. In OT the form *ačī* registered.

al (K-B) '1. perednij; 2. načal'nyj, pervičnyj, pervyj; 3. vstupitel'nyj, vvodnyj'; 'period' (KBRS 46); *al* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'perednaja storona, načalo, pered' (Boz. 164); *al*, *all* (K) 'Vorderteil, Vorderseite, Beginn, Anführer, Quelle' (Pr K 86); *al*, *all*, *ald* (B) 'Vorderseite, Vorderteil; Anfang, Beginn, früherer Zustand' (PrB 200). < PT **āl*; cf. OT *al*; Kum. *al*; Khal. *hāl*;

Tur. dial. *al*; Kar. (Cr.) *ald*; Tat., Bašk. *al*; Kaz. *alt*; Uig. *alın*; Y. Uig. *al*; Yak. *alın*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 46, 290; DTS 32; ĖSTJa 124; KRPS 64; Räs. VEW 14 ab.

Although the word was known in Old Turkic it has equivalents only in a few modern Turkic languages. It means 'front, forepart; beginning'. In some languages (Kum., Y. Uig., Khal.) its equivalents have the meaning 'forehead' and in Yak. and Kaz. 'underside'.

aman, ġaman (K-B) 'ploxoј, durnoj, skvernij'; 'ploxo'; 'ploxoje'; 'očeń'; 'sil'no' (KBRS 59); *ġaman* '1. ploxoј, skvernij; 2. prokaznik, šalun; 3. očeń' (ibid. 222); *aman* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ploxoј, durnoj, zloј' (Boz. 165); *aman* (K) 'schlecht' (Pr K 87); *aman* (*amán*; B) 'schlecht, böse, bösertig' (Pr B 201) < PT **jaman* (ESG); cf. OT *jaman*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Bašk. *jaman*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaman*; Nog. *jaman*; Kir. *ġaman*; Trkm., Trukh. *jaman*; Uz. *jomon*; Uig., Lob. *jaman*; Sal. *jaman*, *jāman*, *jamen*, *jāmān*, *jēmen*, *jemen*; Y. Uig. *jaman*; Alt. *đaman*. – Lit.: DTS 231; ĖSTJa IV 109; KRPS 224; Malov 118; Podolsky 31; Sul. Kkar. 69; Tenišev 344, 345, 352, 354; YRh. 1239.

The word *aman* ~ *ġaman* with the meaning 'bad, foolish, evil' has equivalents in most modern Turkic languages. In Sal. *jaman* 'very'; 'calm'; 'willing for sth'. OT registered the form: *jaman*.

ariw (K-B) I '1. krasivij, xorošij; 2. laskovij; vežlivij'. II 'daže, xof. III 'slovno, točno' (KBRS 72); *ariu*, *ariū* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'krasivij, čistij, milovidnij' (Boz. 165); *ariū*, *arū* (*ariū*, *arū*; K) 'rein, schön' (Pr K 88) < PT **ariy*; cf.: OT *arig*; Az. dial. *ari*; Khal. *arug*; Tur. *arī*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *aruy*; Tat. *aru*; Tat. (Cr.) *aruy*; Bašk. *ariw*; Kaz. *aru*; Kklp. *aruw*; Kir. *arū*; Uig. *arig*; Sal. *ārī*; Y. Uig. *arig*, *ar'k*; Khak., Tuv. *arig*; Tof. *ariy*, *arèg*; Šor. *ariy*; Yak. *irās*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 180, 277; DTS 51; ĖSTJa I 184; KRPS 76; Räs. VEW 25 b; StachM GJV 45; Sul. Kkar. 51; Tenišev 294; Tenišev SJ 173.

This adjective *ariw* denoting 'clean, pure; good; beautiful' has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the word *arig* was registered.

axši, ašxi, ġaxši, jaxši (K-B) 'xorošij, dobryj, xorošo; otlično, očeń xorošo' (KBRS 104); *ġaxši* 'xorošij, xorošo' (ibid. 237); *axši* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khal.-Bez.) 'xorošo, xorošij' (Boz. 166); *axši*, *ašxi*, *jaxši* (*axši*, *ašxi*, *jaxši*; K) 'gut' (Pr K 85); *axši*, *ašxi* (*axši*, *ašxi*; B) 'gut, schön' (Pr B 198) < PT **jakši* (ESG); cf.: OT *jaxši*, *jakši*; Kum. *jaxši*; Az. *jaxši*; Tur. *jakši*; Tur. dial. *jaxši*; Kar. (T) *jakši*, (Cr., T) *jaxši*, (H) *jaxši*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *jaxši*; Bašk. *jakši*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaksī*; Nog. *jaxši*; Kir. *ġakši*; Trkm. *jagši*; Trukh. *jaxši*; Uz. *jaxši*; Uig. *jakši*, *jakši*, *jaxši*, *jaxši*; Lob. *jakši*, *jaxši*; Sal. *jaxša*, *jaxšar*, *jaxši*, *jaxsi*; Y. Uig. *jahši*, *jaxši*, *jaš*; Alt. *jakši*, *đakši*; Khak. *čaxši*; Šor. *čakši*. – Lit.: DTS 238, 250; ĖSTJa IV 63; KRPS 219, 241; Malov 117, 119; SKT 179; Tenišev 351; Tenišev SJ 182.

This word with the meaning 'good; well' has counterparts in other modern Turkic languages. In K-B we can observe the dropping of the initial *j*-, that does not occur in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *jaxši*, *jakši* were registered.

bašxa (K-B) I '1. drugoj, inoj, pročij; 2. drugoj, osobyj, otličnyj, neobyčnyj; raznyj; 3. obosoblennyj; otdelnyj'; 4. čužoj, inorodnyj'. II 'krome' (KBRS 126); *bašxa* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'drugoj, osobennyj, raznyj, krome' (Boz. 167); *bašxa* (*bašxá*; K) 'ein anderer, Unterschied, Verschiedenheit. Mit dem Abl.: ausser' (Pr K 91); *bašxa* (*bašxá*; B) 'ein anderer, ein besonderer; getrennt; Unterschied, Verschiedenheit' (Pr B 206) < PT **baška* (ESG); OT *baška*; Az. *baška*; *bašga* (Rass. 160); Khal. *bašxa*; Tur., Gag. *baška*; Kar. (Cr., T) *baška*, (H) *baska*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *baška*; Čuv. *pušne*; Bašk. *baška*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *baska*; Kir. *baška*; Trkm. *bašga*; Trukh. *baška*; Uz. *boška*; Uig., Lob. *baška*; Sal. *paška*, *paska*; Alt. *baška*; Khak. *pasxa*; Tuv. *baška*; Tof. *baška*; Šor. *paška*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 279; Eg. 169; ÈSTJa II 92; Gab. 301; KRPS 105, 109; Malov 92; Rass. 160; SKT 177; Tenišev 438, 439.

The word *bašxa* functions with two meanings: as an adjective 'different, another'; and as a postposition 'besides, apart from'. The form *baška* was registered in OT. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word.

boš (K-B) '1. svobodnyj, nezanjatyj; vakantnyj; 2. slabyj, nepročnyj, ne tugo; 3. pustoj, porožnij; 4. pustoj, pustejšij; 5. gram. prostoj' (KBRS 161); *boš* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'pustoj, xolostoj, svobodnyj' (Boz. 168); *boš* (K) 'leer, frei' (Pr K 95); *boš* (B) 'leer, ledig, frei, müssig; umsonst, nur' (Pr B 210) < PT **poš*; cf.: OT *boš*, *bōš*; Kum., Az. *boš*; Khal. *boš*; Tur., Kar. (Cr. T) *boš*, (H) *bos*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *boš*; Tat. *buš*; Čuv. *puš*, *puša*; Bašk. *buš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bos*; Kir. *boš*; Trkm. *boš*; Uz. *boš*; Uig. *boš*; Y. Uig. *bos*; Alt. *boš*, *poš*; Khak. *pos*; Tuv. *boš*; Tof. *boš*; Yak. *bosxo*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 198, 281; DTS 113; Eg. 170; ÈSTJa II 203; KRPS 132, 133; ÖjHa. 35; Podolsky 5; Rass. 164; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 175.

The adjective *boš* 'empty; free' is known in other modern Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants). In OT *boš* and *bōš* registered.

bütew (K-B) '1. veš; celyj; polnyj; 2. obščij, obščevseobščij' (KBRS 177); *büteu* (B. dial.: Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'veš, celyj' (Boz. 169); *bütün* (B) 'noch mehr, noch' (Pr B 212) < PT * *bütün* (ESG); OT *bütün*; Kum. *bütün*; Az. *bütün*, *bütöv*; Tur. *bütün*; Gag. *bütün*; Kar. (Cr.) *bitüw*, *butun*, *bütün*; (H) *bitin*, (T) *bituñ*, *bituñ*; Tat. (Cr.) *butün*; Tat. (Ur.) *bütün*; Tat. *bütin*, *bütäü*; Čuv. *pětēm*; Bašk. *bütäü*, *bütin*; Kaz. *bütin*; Kklp. *pütin*; Kir. *bütün*; Trkm. *bütin*, *bitew*; Uz. *butun*; Uig. *pütün*; Lob. *pütün*; Alt. *büdün*, *püdün*; Khak. *püdün*; Tuv. *büdün*; Tof. *bütün*; Šor. *püdün*; Yak. *bütün*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 134; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 302; KRPS 124, 125, 143, 145, 154; Podolsky 6; Rass. 167; Räs. VEWT 93 b.

The word *bütew* 'whole, entire, complete' in certain phonetic variants is known in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *bütün* was registered.

čij (K-B) '1. syroj; nedovarennyj; 2. syroj, neobrabotannyj, nevydelannyj; 3. vlažnyj; 4. zelionyj, nezrelyj, nespelyj; 5. svežij' (KBRS 734); *čij* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'syroj, svežij, sočnyj' (Boz. 191); *čij* (*č'ij*; K) 'roh, unreif' (Pr K 98); *cij* (B) 'roh, frisch, saftig, nass, zart' (Pr B 214) < PT **čīg*; **čīg*, **čīg*, **čīk*; cf.: OT *čig*, *čik*; Tur. *çig*; Kar. (Cr.) *čij*, (H) *cij*, *cij*, (T) *čij*; Trkm. *čik*; Khak. *six*; Yak. *sīk*. – Lit.: KRPS 613, 616, 628, 636; ÖjHa. 31; Räs. VEW 107 a; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 254.

The adjective *čij* '1. raw, uncooked; 2. green, fresh; 3. unripe' has equivalents in a few modern Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms *čig*, *čik*. In Yak. the word *sīk* has two substantival meanings; 1. 'humidity'; 2. 'dew'.

eski (K-B) '1. staryj, vetxij; 2. staryj, starinnyj; drevnij; ustarelyj; 3. staryj, davnišnij; 4. staryj, byvšij, prežnij; 5. per. byvalyj, zakalionnyj; 6. izbytyj, šablonnyj, trafaretnyj' (KBRS 776); *eski* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'staryj' (Boz. 170); *eski*, *jeski* (*esk'i*, *jesk'i*; K) 'alt' (Pr K 102); *eski* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **eski* (ESG); cf.: OT *eski*; Kum. *eski*, *esgi*; Az. *äski*; Tur. *eski*; Gag. *jeski*; Kar. (Cr.) *eski*, (H, T) *eski*; Tat. (Cr.) *eski*, Tat. (Ur.) *esfi*; Tat. *iskī*; Bašk. *iskī*; Kaz. *eskī*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eski*; Trkm. *esgi*; Uz., Uig. *eski*; Lob. *äski*; Sal. *eski*, *eske*; Alt. *eski*. – Lit.: DTS 184; ÈSTJa I 306; KRPS 669, 670; Podolsky 10; Tenišev 326.

The adjective *eski* 'old; worn out' is known both in OT and at present in some other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants). As far as the meaning is concerned in most of the mentioned Turkic languages the meaning is the same; however in a few ones the word denotes something else, e.g. in Uig., Lob. it may mean 'silly, bad' and in Kar. (Cr.) apart from the meaning 'old' it also denotes 'cloth; dish-cloth'.

ğalgan (K-B) '1. ložnyj; falšivij; fiktyvnyj; 2. pobočnyj, vtorostepennyj, nadstavlennyj, nadstavnoj' (KBRS 220); *žalgan* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'lož, lživij' (Boz. 171); *ğalgan* (*žalyán*; K) 'Lüge' (Pr K 145) < PT **jalgan* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalgan*; Kum. *jalgan*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jalan*; Khal. *jalan*; Kar. (Cr.) *jalan*, *jalgan*, (H, T) *jalgan*; Tat. *jalgan*; Tat. (Ur.) *jalan*; Bašk. *jalgan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalgan*; Nog. *jalgan*; Kir. *ğalgan*; Trkm., Trukh. *jalan*; Uz. *jolgon*; Uig. *jalgan*; Lob. *jalgan*; Sal. *jalgan*, *jelgan*. – Lit.: DTS 228; ÈSTJa IV 91; Bask. JpU 42; KRPS 220, 221; Malov 117; Podolsky 31; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 68; Tenišev 344, 353.

The word *ğalgan* '1. lie; 2. lying; 3. false' has equivalents at present in some Turkic languages with these both substantival and adjectival meanings. The etymology of this lexeme is still debated by some specialists, cf. ÈSTJa IV 92. In OT the form *jalgan* registered.

ğañı (K-B) 1. '1. novyj. 2. svežij'; 2. 'nedavno, vnov', tolko, tolko čto' (KBRS 227); *žañı* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'novyj, molodoj' (Boz. 171); *ğañı* (Žañı; K) 'neu' (Pr K 146); *zańı* (zańı; B) 'neu, frisch' (Pr B 269) < PT **janki*; cf.: OT *jañı*, *jeñı*; Kum. *jañı*; Az. *jeni*; Khal. *jeñgi*; Tur., Gag. *jeni*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jañgi*, *jangı*, (H) *jangı*; Tat. (Cr.) *jañı*, Tat. (Ur.) *jañı*, *jeni*; Tat. *jaña*; Čuv. *šěňě*; Bašk. *jeñı*; Kaz., Kklp. *žęña*; Nog. *jañı*; Kir. *ğañı*; Trkm. *jañı*; Uz. *jañı*; Uig. *jeñı*; Lob. *jeñı*, *jañı*; Sal. *jaña*; Y. Uig. *jaña*, *jañı*; Alt. *dāñı*; *jañı* (Rass. 209); Khak. *nā*; Tuv. *čā*; Tof. *nā*; Šor. *nā*; Yak. *saña*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 193, 317; DTS 234, 256; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 124; KRPS 225, 228; Malov 118, 120; Podolsky 31, 33; Rass. 209; Räs. VEWT 185 b; Sul. Kkar. 70.

The word *ğañı* '1. new, fresh; 2. again' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some cases we can notice phonetic differentiation together with a semantic one, e.g. in Tat. (Ur.) *jeni* 'again' but *jañı* 'new'. In OT the forms: *jañı*, *jeñı* were registered.

ğañız (K-B) 1. 'odin, jedinstvennyj, odinokij'; 2. 'tolko, liš', vsego, vsego-novsego' (KBRS 227); *žañız* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'odinokij, odin, tolko' (Boz. 171); *ğañız* (Čeg.) 'odinstvennyj' (ibid. 172); *zańız* (Balk.) 'jedinstvennyj, odin, tolko' (ibid. 173); *ğañız* (Žañız; K) 'einzig, allein, nur' (Pr K 146); *zańız* (zańız; B) 'allein, einsam, einzig; nur' (Pr B 269) < PT **jalanız* ~ **jaliñız* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalyus* ~ *jalyuz*, *jaliñus* ~ *jaliñuz*, *jalanuz*, *jalguz*, *jañus*, *ğalguz*; Kum. *jañız*; Az. *jalnız*; Khal. *jalguz*, *jagluz*, *jalgoz*; Tur., Gag. *jalnız*; Kar. (Cr.) *jalgız*, *jaliñız*, *jaliñgız*, (H, T) *jalgız*; Tat. *jalgız*; Bašk. *jangız*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalgız*; Nog. *jalgız*; Kir. *ğangız*; Trkm. *jaliñız*; Uz. *jolgız*; Uig. *jalguz*; Lob. *jalguz* ~ *jalgus*, *jalus*; Sal. *jalgus*, *jālgus*, *jelgus*; Y. Uig. *jañgis*; Alt. *jañıs*, *dāñıs*; Khak. *čalgıs*; *nagıs*; Tuv. *čangıs*; Tof. *nūs*; Šor. *čagıs*, *nagıs*; Yak. *soyotox*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 200, 317; DTS 227, 228, 229, 235, 640; ÈSTJa IV 97; KRPS 222, 223, 224; Malov 117, 118; Rass. 210; StachM GJV 127; Sul. Kkar. 69; Tenišev 344, 359.

The word *ğañız* functions in K-B with two meanings: '1. one, single; 2. only'. Several phonetic variants were registered in OT, cf. above. The word has numerous equivalents in modern Turkic languages.

ğarlı (K-B) '1. bednyj, nejmuščij; 2. neščastnyj, goremyka' (KBRS 231); *žarlı* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bednjak, bednyj' (Boz. 171); *ğarlı* (Žarlı; K) 'arm' (Pr K 146); *zarlı* (zarlı; B) 'id.' (Pr B 269) < PT **jarlıg* (ESG); cf.: OT *jarlıg*; Kum. *jarlı*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jarlı*; Tat. *jarlı*; Čuv. *jurlā*; Bašk. *jarlı*; Kaz., Kklp. *žarlı*; Nog. *jarlı*; Kir. *ğardı*; Trkm. dial. *jarlı*. – Lit.: DTS 242; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 143; KRPS 233; Räs. VEWT 190 b; Sul. Kkar. 71.

The adjective *ğarlı* means 'poor; unhappy'. The word has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, however the etymology is vague. Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEWT 190 b) suggests its origin from **jar* 'emptiness', but

without any arguments supporting his hypothesis. According to ÈSTJa IV 143 the OT form *jarlig* was already registered between 8th-9th cc.

igi (K-B) '1. xorošij; 2. kak sledujeť, xorošeńko' (KBRS 293); *igi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'xorošij, xorošo' (Boz. 174); *igi, iji* (*igí, iji*; K) 'gut, sehr, tüchtig' (Pr K 107); *igi* (B) 'gut, wohl' (Pr B 224) < PT **ädgü*; cf.: OT *eðgü, edgü, ejgü*; Tur. *ejí, iji*; Gag. *ĩ*; Kar. (H) *egi, eji*, (T) *iji*; Tat. *igĩ*; Tat. (Cr.) *ejí*; Čuv. *irã*; Bašk. *izge*; Kaz. *ĩgĩ, ĩgĩ*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ijgi*; Trkm. *ejgi*; Uz. *egi, ezgĩ*; ; Uig. *äzgü*; Sal. *ĩ*; Tuv. *eki*; Tof. *eki*; Yak. *ötüö ~ ütüö*. – Lit.: DTS 163, 164, 167; Eg. 344; ÈSTJa I 245; KRPS 195, 653, 656; Rass. 180; StachM GJV 63.

The adjective *igi* 'good' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B, however in Tat. and Uig. it denotes 'holy'. In OT there were the following forms: *eðgü, edgü, ejgü*.

kajir (K) 'zloj, serdityj' (KBRS 379) < PT **kajir ~ *kadir* (ESG); cf.: OT *kajir, kadir*; Bašk. dial. *kajir*; Uig. *kadir*; Alt. *kajir*; Khak. *xazir*; Tuv. *xadir*. – Lit.: DTS 403, 407; ÈSTJa V 216; Räs. VEW 218 b.

The word *kajir* 'angry, viscious' is also confirmed in other Turkic languages (in some variants), however only in a few languages is the word known. In OT the forms *kajir, kadir* were registered.

keč (K-B) 1. 'pozdnij; zapozdalyj'; 2. 'večer, sumerki' (KBRS 332); *keč* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'pozдно' (Boz. 175); *keč* (*k'eč*; K) 'spät' (Pr K 108); *kec* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 227) < PT **kāč* (Šč. SF 195); **kāč*, **kēč* (Räs. VEW 245 b); cf.: OT *keč, kič*; Kum. *geč*; Az. *geč*; Tur., Gag. *geč*; Kar. (Cr.) *keč*, (H) *kec*, (T) *keč*; Tat. (Cr.) *keč*, Tat. (Ur.) *čeč, teč*; Tat. *kič*; Čuv. *kaś*; Bašk. *kis*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *keš*; Kir. *keč*; Trkm. *gĩč*; Uz. *keč*; Uig. *keč, kāč*; Lob. *keč*; Sal. *keš*; Alt. *keč*. – Lit.: DTS 290, 306; Eg. 93; ÈSTJa III 50; KRPS 310, 311, 394; Malov 135; Podolsky 7; Räs. VEW 245; Šč. SF 195.

The word *keč* has in K-B two meanings: 1. 'late'; 2. 'evening'. Such a situation is also observed in other Turkic languages where the word *keč* (or its variants) denotes paralelly 'late' and 'evening' or even 'night', cf. Čuv. *kaś* (Eg. 93). In OT the words *keč, kič* are registered with the meaning 'long; late' (DTS 290).

kerti (K-B) 1. 'pravda'; 2. '1. pravdivyj; pravil'nyj; 2. dejstviteľnyj' (KBRS 327); *kerti* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'praviľno, dejstviteľno, verno, pravda' (Boz. 175); *kerti, kerti* (*k'ertĩ, k'ertti*; K) 'wahr, richtig' (Pr K 109); *kerti* (*kertĩ*; B) 'wahr, richtig, wirklich' (Pr B 228) < PT **kertü*; cf.: OT *kertü; kirtü, kertö* (Gab.); Kum. *gerti*; Kar. (Cr.) *kerti*; Nog. *kerti*. – Lit.: DTS 302; ÈSTJa III 28; Gab. 315; KRPS 392.

The word *kerti* is registered in K-B sources with both substantival and adjectival as well as adverbial meanings: 'truth; true; really'. Also other Turkic languages (only a few) give meanings differentiated in terms of grammatical

category. OT sources registered the following forms: *kertü*, *kirtü*, *kertö*. The structure shows the derivational character of the word, however its etymology is vague.

kīsīr (K-B) '1. jalovyj, besplodnyj; 2. razvedionnaja (o ženščine); 3. cel'nyj, splošnoj; 4. xolostoj' (KBRS 449); *kīsīr* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'besplodnyj, jalovyj' (Boz. 178) < PT **kīsīr*; cf.: OT *kīsīr*; Kum. *kīsīr*; Az. *gīsīr*; Khal. *kīs(s)īr*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. *kīsīr*; Čuv. *xěšēr*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kīsīr*; Trkm. *gīsīr*; Uz., Uig. *kīsīr*; Alt. *kizīr*; Khak. *xizīr*; Tuv. *kizīr*; Tof. *kīsīr*; Yak. *kītarax*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Doerfer LSCh 201, 306; DTS 448; Eg. 300; KRPS 382; Rass. 224; Räs. VEWT 267 b -268 a.

The adjective *kīsīr* 'sterile, fruitless, barren' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. It was also confirmed in OT.

oŋ (K-B) 'pravyj' (KBRS 497); *oŋ* (B. dial.; Čeg.) 'pravyj' (Boz. 181); *oŋ* (K) 'recht' (Pr K 126); *oŋ* (B) 'recht, dexter' (Pr B 247) < PT **oŋ*; cf.: OT *oŋ*; Kum. *oŋ*; Tur. dial. (DS) *oŋ*; Kar. (Cr.) *on*, *oŋ*, (H,T) *on*; Tat. (Cr.) *oŋ*; Tat. *uŋ*; Bašk. *uŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oŋ*; Uz. *oŋ*; ūŋ (Rass. 212); Uig. *oŋ*; Lob. *on*, *oŋ*; Y. Uig. *oŋ*, *un*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *oŋ*; Yak. *uŋa*. – Lit.: DTS 367; ÈSTJa I 456; KRPS 428, 429; Malov 151; Rass. 212; StachM GJV 76; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 193.

The adjective *oŋ* 'right, right side of sth' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

osal (K-B) '1. ploxoj, drjannoj; 2. nekačestvennyj, nevažnyj' (KBRS 504) < PT **osal* (ESG); cf.: OT *usal*; Kum., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *osal*; Tat. *usal*; Čuv. *usal*, dial. *osal*; Bašk. *usal*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *osal*; Kir. *osol*; Trkm. *osal*; Uz. *osal*; *usal* (Eg. 277); Uig. *osal*; Tuv. *ozal*; Yak. *ohol*. – Lit.: DTS 616; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 479; KRPS 433; Räs. VEWT 365 b – 366 a; StachM GJV 126-127.

The adjective *osal* in K-B denotes 'bad, poor; unimportant'. In OT sources there was registered the form *usal*. The word has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages, however also with different meanings, e.g.: Tuv. *ozal* 'slow, phlegmatic'; Kaz. *osal* 'weak'; Yak. *ohol* 'laziness, carelessness'.

sak (K-B) 'ostorožnyj, osmotritel'nyj, čutkij, bditel'nyj' (KBRS 534) < PT **sak*; cf.: OT *sak*; Tat. *sak*; Čuv. *six*, *sixā*; Bašk. *hak*; Kaz., Kir. *sak*; Trkm., Uig. *sak*; Alt. (V) *sak*. – Lit.: DTS 485; Eg. 201; Gab. 332; Räs. VEWT 395 b; Šč. SF 196.

The adjective *sak* 'careful, delicate' was registered in OT and at present it has its counterparts in a few Turkic languages.

saŋīraw (K-B) 'gluxoj' (KBRS 541); *saŋrau* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *saŋrau* (*saŋráu*; K) 'taub' (Pr K 130); *saŋrau* (*saŋráu*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 250) < PT **saŋīr* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *saŋīrau*; Tur. *sagīr*; Kar. (H) *sandraw*, (T)

sandraw, sondrav; Tat. (Kaz.) *sañrau*; Bašk. *hañrau*; Trkm. *sagır*; Sal. *sāgır*. – Lit.: KRPS 464, 478; Räs. VEW 393 b; Tenišev 470.

The adjective *sañıraw* ‘deaf’ has its equivalents only in a few other Turkic languages. The OT sources do not confirm the existence of the word.

saw (K-B) I ‘1. celyj; nenačatyj, nerazdel’nyj; 2. veś, celyj; polnyj’. II ‘živoj, nevredimyj, zdorovyj’ (KBRS 544); *sau* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘zdorovyj, nevredimyj’ (Boz. 183); *sau* (K) ‘gesund, lebendig, ganz’ (Pr K 130); *sau* (B) ‘gesund, unbeschädigt, lebendig’ (Pr B 251) < PT **sag*; cf.: OT *sag*; Kum. *sav*; Az. *sag*; Khal. *sa’g*; Tur. *sag*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *sav*; Tat. (Ur.) *sav*; Tat. *sau*; Čuv. *sivā*; Bašk. *hau*; Kaz., Kklp. *sau*; Nog. *sav*; Kir. *sō*; Trkm., Trukh. *sag*; Uz. *sog*; Uig. *sag*; Lob. *sak, sag*; Sal. *sax, sīx*; Alt. (V) *su*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 178, 307; DTS 480; Eg. 199; KRPS 454; Malov 158; Podolsky 19; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 476, 492.

The adjective *saw* ‘healthy; whole; alive’ has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, with the same meaning as in K-B. However in Salar *sax* ‘right’ (? < Per. *sāg*). In OT the form *sag* was registered.

sol (K-B) ‘levyj’ (KBRS 565); *sol* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘id.’ (Boz. 184); *sol* (K) ‘link’ (Pr K 132); *sol* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 253) < PT **sōl*; cf.: OT *sol*; Az. *sol*; Khal. *sol*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), *sol*; Tat. *sul*; Čuv. *sulaxaj* (< Mong.); Bašk. *hul*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sol*; Uig. *sol, soñ*; Lob., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *sol*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 508; Eg. 193; KRPS 478; Malov 162; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 207.

The K-B *sol* ‘left’ has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 193) Čuv. *sulaxaj* ‘left’ is borrowed from Mongolian. In OT there was registered the form *sol*.

teli (K-B) ‘1. sumasšedšij, nenormal’nyj; 2. durak, glupec, glupyj; ‘isključitel’nyj; čezmernyj’ (KBRS 618); *teli* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘bezumnyj, durak’ (Boz. 185); *teli* (t^e*eli*; K) ‘verrückt, unverständlich’ (Pr K 137); *teli* (teli; B) ‘verrückt, närrisch, Narr’ (Pr B 258) < PT **tālig*; cf.: OT *telū*; Kum., *deli*; Az. *deli, dāli*; Tur., Gag., *deli*; Kar. (Cr.) *deli*, (H) *teli*, (T) *teli, teli*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *deli*; Tat., Bašk. *tili*; Nog. *deli, teli*; Kir. *teli*; Trkm. *dāli*; Lob. *teli*; Sal. *telli*; Šor. *tālig*. – Lit.: DTS 551; ÈSTJa III 214; KRPS 184, 520, 562; Podolsky 8; Räs. VEW 472 a; Tenišev 507.

The adjective *teli* ‘crazy, mad’ has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was registered the form *telū*. Judging by the structure of the word we may presume that this is a derivative, probably from **tel-* ~ **del-* ‘to get mad’, cf. ÈSTJa III 216.

tiri (K-B) ‘1. energičnyj, podvižnyj, živoj, provornyj, aktivnyj’ (KBRS 636); *tiri* (t^e*iri*; K) ‘lebendig’ (Pr K 139) < PT **tiri*, **tirig* (ESG); cf.: OT *tirig*; Kum. *tiri*; Az. *diri*; Khal. *türri*; Tur., Gag. *diri*; Kar. (Cr., T) *tiri*, (H) *kiri, tiri*;

Tat. (Cr.) *tiri*; Tat. (Ur.) *tiri*; Tat. *tiri*; *tere* (Eg. 324); Čuv. *čērē*; Bašk. *tiri*; *tere* (Eg. 324); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tiri*; Kir. *tiri*, *tirü*, *türü*; *tirü* (Eg. 324); Trkm. *diri*; Uz. *tirik*; Uig. *tirik*; Lob. *tijik*, *terik*, *tik*; Sal. *tirar*; Y. Uig. *tirig*, *terik*; Alt. *tirig*, *tirü*, *türü*, *tirüge*; Khak. *tirig*, *tirige*; Tuv. *dirig*, *dirigge*; Šor. *tirig*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 315; DTS 562; Eg. 324; ÈSTJa III 240; KRPS 322, 529; Malov 172; Podolsky 24; Sul. Kkar. 102; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 215.

The adjective *tiri* 'alive' has its equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. As far as the structure of the word is concerned this is a derivative. In OT there was confirmed the form *tirig*.

tok (K-B) '1. polnyj, tolstyj, tučnyj; korenastyj; 2. sytyj' (KBRS 641); *tok* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'polnyj, sytyj, dovolnyj' (Boz. 186); *tok* (*t'oq*; K) 'ganz satt' (Pr K 139) < PT **tok*; cf.: OT *tok*; Az. *tox*; Khal. *tok*; Tur., Gag. *tok*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tok*, (T) *tox*; Tat. (Cr.) *tok*; Tat. (Ur.) *tox*; Tat. *tuk*; Čuv. *tutā*; Bašk. *tuk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tok*; Trkm. *dok*; Uz. *tok*; *tuk* (Eg. 263); Uig. *tok*; Sal. *tox*; Alt. *toju*, *tok*; Khak. *tox*; Tuv. *todug*; Tof. *tok*; Šor. *tok*; Yak. *tot*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 191, 192, 314; DTS 576; Eg. 263; ÈSTJa III 252; KRPS 535, 539; ÖjHa. 34; Podolsky 24; Rass. 235.

The word *tok* 'satiated' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, where in some of them the meaning is slightly different, e.g.: Tof. *tok* 'thick (about a round device)'; Khal. *tok* '1. satiated; 2. drunken'; Tat. (Ur.) *tox* 'thick, fat'. *Tok* was also registered in OT.

türlü (K-B) '1. raznyj, različnyj, raznoobraznyj; vsevozmožnyj; 2. poxožij, obraznyj; 3. interesnyj, zanimatelnyj; zatejlivyj; 4. strannyj, čudnoj' (KBRS 674); *türlü* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'različnyj, raznorodnyj' (Boz. 188); *türlü* (*t'ürlü*; K) 'verschieden' (Pr K 141); *türlü* (*türlü*; B) 'verschieden, verschiedenartig, varius' (Pr B 264) < PT **türlüg* (ESG); cf.: OT *türlüg*; Kum. *türlü*; Az. *dürlü*; Tur., Gag. *türlü*; Kar. (Cr.) *türlü*, *türli*, (H) *tirli*, *kirli*, (T) *turlur*; Tat. (Cr.) *türlü*; Tat. *türlü*; *törle* (Eg. 247); Čuv. *těrlě*; Bašk. *türlü*, *törlö-törlö*; Kaz. *türlü*, *türli-türli*; Kklp., Nog. *türli*, *türli-türli*; Kir. *bir türdū*; Trkm., Trukh. *dürli*; Uz. *turli*; Uig. *türlük*; Sal. *türlük*; Alt. *türlü*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; DTS 599; Eg. 247; ÈSTJa III 327; KRPS 323, 530, 554; SKT 178; Tenišev 526.

The word *türlü* 'various' is known in other Turkic languages, where it appears in different forms. The structure shows its derivational character, however the etymology is still debated, cf. ÈSTJa III 328. In OT the form *türlüg* was registered.

učuz (K-B) '1. dešiovyj; 2. neporjadočnyj, nizkij' (KBRS 690); *učuz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'deševo, sxodno, ploxo' (Boz. 188); *učuz* (*učúz*; K) 'billig, wohlfeil' (Pr K 142); *ucuz* (*učúz*; B) 'billig, wohlfeil; schlecht' (Pr B 264) < PT **učuz* (ESG); cf.: OT *učuz*, *užuz*; Kum. *učuz*; Az. *uğuz*; Tur. *uğuz*; Gag. *uğüs*; Kar. (Cr.) *uğuz*, *uğiz*, (H) *ucuz*, (T) *učuz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uğuz*; Tat. dial. *učiz*, *učiz*. – Lit.: DTS 604, 621; ÈSTJa I 567; KRPS 573, 585, 587; Podolsky 26.

The adjective *učuz* 'cheap' has its counterparts only in a few other Turkic languages (mostly representing the southern and north-western groups). In OT sources the following forms were registered: *učuz*, *užuz*.

uzak (K-B) '1. daliokij, daľnyj; 2. dolgij, prodolžitel'nyj' (KBRS 678); *uzak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'daleko, dalekij, dolgij' (Boz. 188); *uzak* (*uzáq*; K) 'lang, weit, ferne, auf lange Zeit' (Pr K 143); *uzak*, *uzax*, *uzag* (*uzáq*, *uzax*, *uzay*; B) 'fern' (Pr B 266) < PT **uzak* (ESG); cf.: OT *uzak*; Khal. *uzāk*; Tur. *uzak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *uzak*, (T) *uzax*; Tat. *ozak*; Čuv. *vārax*; Bašk. *ozak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *uzak*; Uz. *uzok*; Uig., Trkm. *uzak*; Lob. *uzak*; Y. Uig. *uzak*, *uzak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 315; DTS 620; Eg. 49; KRPS 573, 574; Malov 179; Tenišev SJ 218.

The adjective *uzak* 'long; remote' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Its structure shows its derivational character from the verb *uza-* 'to last'. It was also registered in OT.

3. NUMERALS

altı (K-B) 'šest, šestiorka' (KBRS 55); *altı* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'šest' (Boz. 164); *altı* (*alťi*; K) 'sechs' (Pr K 87) *altı* (*altı*; B) 'sechs' (Pr B 201) < PT **altı*; OT *altı*; Kum., Az. *altı*; Khal. *alta*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur., Cr.) *altı*; Čuv. *ult*, *ultā*, *ultā*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *altı*; Uz. *olti*; Uig. *altā*; Lob. *altı*, *alto*; Sal. *altı*, *alci*, *alcı*; Y. Uig. *alťı*; *haltı* (Tenišev SJ 172, 180); *alta* (ĖSTJa I 142); Alt., Khak. *altı*; Tuv. *aldı*; Tof. *altı*; Yak. *alta*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 277; DTS 39; Eg. 274; ĖSTJa I 141; KRPS 65; Malov 84; Podolsky I; Rass. 153; StachM GJV 27; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 172, 180.

This word denoting 'six' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

altmıř (K-B) 'šesťdesjat' (KBRS 55) < PT **altmıl*; OT *altmıř*, *altmıs*; Kum., Az. *altmıř*; Khal. *altmıř*; Tur., Gag. *altmıř*; Kar. (H) *altımıs*, (T) *altımıř*; Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *altmıř*; Čuv. *utmāl*; Bašk. *altmıř*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *alpıs*; Kir. *altımıř*; Trkm. *altmıř*; Uz. *oltmıř*; Uig. *a(l)tımıř*; Lob. *atmıř*; Sal. *a'mmus*; Alt. *altan*; Khak. *alton*; Tuv. *aldan*; Šor. *alton*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 215, 277; DTS 40; Eg. 279; ĖSTJa I 141; KRPS 65; Malov 87; Podolsky I; Tenišev 288.

The word denoting the numeral 'sixty' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *altmıř*, *altmıs*.

beř (K-B) 'pjat' (KBRS 137); *beř* (B. dial.: Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'pjat' (Boz. 167); *beř* (K) 'fünf' (Pr K 92); *beř* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 207) < PT **bāř*; **pāř* (Šč SF 195); OT *beř*; Kum., Az. *beř*; Khal. *bēř*; Tur., Gag. *beř*; Kar. (Cr.) *bāř*, (H) *bāř*, (T) *beř*; Tat. *biř*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *beř*; Čuv. *pillēk*, *pilēk*; Bašk. *biř*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bes*; Kir. *beř*; Trkm. *bāř*; Trukh. *beř*; Uz. *beř*; Uig. *bāř*; Lob. *beř*;

Sal. *beš*, *bes*, *peš*, *pes*; Y. Uig. *peš*, *pes*, *pis*; Alt. *beš*; Khak. *pis*; Tuv. *beš*; Tof. *beš*; Šor. *peš*; Yak. *biäs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 280; DTS 96; Eg. 160; ÈSTJa II 126; KRPS 114, 152, 153; Malov 93; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; SKT 178; StachM GJV 70; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 196.

The numeral *beš* 'five' has equivalents in numerous other modern Turkic languages; also registered in OT.

bir (K-B) '1. odin; 2. takoj, tak; 3. to; 4. kakoj-nibuť, kto nibuť, čto-nibuť; kakoj-to, nekij; 5. odinakovyj, obščij, jedinyj' (KBRS 145); *bir* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'odin, odnaždy, priblizitel'no, jedva' (Boz. 167); *bir* (K) 'ein, einmal, anf einmal' (Pr K 93); *bir* (B) 'ein, einmal; ungefähr; etwa; oft als unbestimmter Artikel gebraucht' (Pr B 208) < PT **bīr*, **bir*; OT *bir*; Kum., Az., Tur. *bir*; Khal. *bī*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H,T), Tat. (Ur.) *bir*; Tat. *ber*; Tat. (Cr.) *bīr*; Čuv. *pēr*, *pērre*; Bašk. *bīr*; *ber* (Eg. 157); Kaz. *bīr*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bir*; Trkm. *bir*, *bīr* (in *onbīr* 'eleven'); Trukh. *bir*; Uz., Uig. *bīr*; Lob. *bej*, *vej*, *bir*, *bij*, *bi*; Sal. *bir*, *ber*, *bir*, *pir*, *per*, *pe*, *pīr*; Y. Uig. *per*, *pīr*, *vīr*; Alt. *bir*, *pīr*; Khak. *pīr*; Tuv. *bir*; Tof. *bir*; Šor. *pīr*; Yak. *bīr*. – Lit. Bask JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 211, 280; DTS 101; Eg. 157; ÈSTJa II 146; KRPS 120; Malov 93, 97; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; StachM GJV 112; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev; Tenišev SJ 196, 197, 219.

The numeral *bir* 'one' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

eki (K-B) '1. dva; 2. oba' (KBRS 764); *eki* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'dva' (Boz. 170); *eki*, *jeki* (*ek'i*, *jek'i*; K) 'zwei' (Pr K 100); *eki* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 218) < PT **iki* (ESG); cf.: OT *iki*; Kum. *eki*; Az. *iki*; Khal. *äkki*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (H) *iki*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *eki*; Tat. *ikī*; *ike* (Eg. 67); Tat. (Ur.) *efī*; Čuv. *ikkē*, *ikē*, *ik*; Bašk. *ikī*; *ike* (Eg. 67); Kaz. *ekī*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eki*; Trkm., Trukh. *iki*; Uz., Uig. *ikki*; Lob. *iki*, *ikke*, *ike*, *iške*; Sal. *ički*, *ičk'i*, *iški*, *iškī*, *iske*, *iskī*; Y. Uig. *iški*, *iške*, *iškī*, *šike*, *šikī*, *šikī*, *ški*; Alt. *eki*, *ekki*; Khak. *ikī*; Tuv. *iji*; Yak. *ikki*, *ekki*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 212, 286; DTS 206; Eg. 67; ÈSTJa I 337; KRPS 197, 656; Malov 113, 116; Podolsky 10; SKT 179; Tenišev 335, 340, 341; Tenišev SJ 181, 209.

The numeral *eki* 'two' has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages, where it appears (especially in Lob., Sal., Y. Uig.) in different phonetic variants. In OT the form *iki* was registered.

elli (K-B) 'p'jatdesjat' (KBRS 767) < PT **älig* (ESG); cf.: OT *elig*; Kum. *elli*; Az. *älli*; Khal. *ällig*; Tur. *elli*; Gag. *jelli*; Kar. (T) *ejlī*, (H) *ejlī*, *enlī*; (Cr.) *elli*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *elli*; Tat. *älle* (Eg. 24); *illī*; Čuv. *allā*; Bašk. *älle* (Eg. 24); *illī*; Kaz. *elū*; *elūw* (ÈSTJa I 266); Kklp., Nog. *elli*; Kir. *elū*; Trkm., Trukh. *elli*; Uz. *ellik*; Uig. *ällik*; Lob. *ellik*; Sal. *elli*; Alt. *ölū*, *elū*; Khak. *ilig*; Šor. *elig*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 215, 286; DTS 170; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 266; KRPS 204, 663, 664; Malov 107; Podolsky 9; SKT 182; Tenišev 324.

The numeral *elli* 'fifty' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. Some specialists relate this numeral to the word *el* ~ *elig* 'hand'; cf. Eg. 24, ÈSTJa I 267. In OT the form *elig* was registered.

ġeti (K-B) 'sem' (KBRs 245); *žeti* (B. dial.: Čeg.), *ġeti* (Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 171); *ġeti* (žet'i; K) 'sieben' (Pr K 148); *žeti* (*žeti*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 276) < PT **θäti*, **dëttë*; cf.: OT *jedi*, *jeti*, *jetti*; Kum. *jetti*; Az. *jeddi*; Khal. *jëtti*; Tur., Gag. *jedi*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jedi*, (H) *jedi*, *jegi*; Tat. (Ur.) *jedi*; Tat. *ġidī*; *žide* (Eg. 215); Čuv. *šiččë*, *šič*, *šičë*; Bašk. *jiti*; *jete* (Eg. 215); Kaz., Kklp. *žeti*; Nog. *jeti*; Kir. *ġeti*; *žeti* (Eg. 215); Trkm. *jedi*; Uz. *jetti*; Trukh. *jeti*; Uig. *jättä*; Lob. *jetti*, *jeti*; Sal. *ječ'i*, *jeti*, *jiti*, *jic'i*; Y. Uig. *ġetä*, *jiti*, *jite*, *jiti*, *ġiti*, *jeti*; Alt. *jeti*, *deti*; Khak. *čiti*; Tuv. *čedi*; Tof. *čedi*; Šor. *čätti*; Yak. *sättä*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 318; DTS 252, 259; Eg. 215; ÈSTJa IV 167; KRPS 269; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; SKT 179; StachM GJV 108; Tenišev 353, 355, 356, 361; Tenišev SJ 184, 186, 221.

The K-B numeral *ġeti* 'seven' has equivalents in all Turkic languages (in different semantic variants). In OT there were the forms: *jedi*, *jetti*, *jeti* registered.

ġijirma (K-B) 'dvadcat' (KBRs 264); *žijirma* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 172); *ġijirma*, *ġigirma*, *ġijirma* (*žijirma*, *žijirma*, *žijirma*; K) 'zwanzig' (Pr K 148); *zijirma* (*zijirma*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 72) < PT **θigirmä* ~ **θägirmä*; **jigürmä* (~ **jigürmi*) (StachM GJV 107); cf.: OT *jigirmä*, *jigirmi*, *jegirmi*; Kum. *jigirma*; Az. *ijirmi*; Khal. *jigirmi*; Tur. *jirmi*, *jirmi*; Kar. (Cr.) *jigirmi*, (H) *egirmi*, (T) *igirme*, *egirmi*; Tat. (Ur.) *jirim(i)*; Tat. *jigirmi*; Čuv. *širēm*; Bašk. *jigirmi*; Kaz. *žijirma*; *žijirmi* (Eg. 214); Kklp. *žigirma*; Nog. *jirma*; Kir. *ġijirma*, *žijirmi* (Eg. 214); Trkm. *jigirmi*; Trukh. *jigirmi*; Uz. *jigirma*; Uig. *jigi(r)mä*, *žigi(r)mä*; Lob. *jigijmä*, *ġigijmä*; Sal. *jigirme*; Y. Uig. *jigirma*, *igirmi*, *jigirmi*, *zigirmo*; Alt. *dirme*; Khak. *čibirgi*; Tuv. *čērbi*; Yak. *sūrbe*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 214, 318; DTS 253, 260; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 201; KRPS 193, 244, 654; Malov 110, 120; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 33; SKT 179; StachM GJV 107; Tenišev 357; Tenišev SJ 221.

The numeral *ġijirma* 'twenty' has its equivalents in most Turkic languages in many phonetic variants. In OT the forms *jigirmä*, *jigirmi*, *jegirmi* were registered.

ġüz (K-B) 'sto, sotnja' (KBRs 270); *ġüz* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'sto' (Boz. 172), *žüz* (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 172), *züz* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *ġüz* (*žüz*; K) 'hundert' (Pr K 150) < PT **θūs* (Šč. SF 197); **jüz* (StachM GJV 139); cf.: OT *jüz*; Kum., Az. *jüz*; Kum. *juz*; Khal. *jüz*; Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *üz*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüz*, (H) *jiz*, *iz*, (T) *juž*, *jüz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *jüz*; Tat. *jüz*; *jöz* (Eg. 211); Čuv. *šēr*; Bašk. *jüz*; *jöz* (Eg. 211); Kaz. *žüz*; Kklp. *žüz*, *žuž*; Nog. *jüz*; Kir. *ġüz*; Trkm., Trukh. *jüz*; Uz., Uig. *juz*; Lob. *jüz*, *jüt*; Sal. *jüz*; Y. Uig. *jüs*, *jüz*, *juz*; Alt. *düs*, *jüs*; Khak. *čüs*; Tuv. *čüs*; Tof. *čüs*; Šor. *čüs*; Yak. *sūs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 216, 319; DTS 288; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 260; KRPS 193, 244, 255, 261; Malov 122; ÖjHa. 44;

Podolsky 34; Rass. 199; SKT 179; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 369; Tenišev SJ 186.

The K-B numeral *güz* 'hundred' has its counterparts in almost all Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). In OT there was the form *jüz*.

kürk (K-B) 'sorok' (KBRS 446); *kürk* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 178) < PT **kirk*; cf.: OT *kirk*, *kirik*; Az. *gırx*; Tur. *kürk*; Kar. (H) *kürk*, (T) *kırx*; Tat. (Ur.) *xırx*; Tat. *kirik*; Čuv. *xěřěx*; Bašk. *kirik*; Kaz. *kirik*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kirk*; Trukh. *xırx*; Uz. *kirk*; Uig. *kirk*, *kirik*; Lob. *kik*; Sal. *kirix*; Khak. *xirix*. – Lit. Bask. JpU 44; DTS 446; Eg. 299; KRPS 387; Malov 132; Podolsky 29; Räs. VEWT 266 b; SKT 182; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 466.

The word *kürk* 'forty' is known in many other Turkic languages (in some of them it appears in phonetic variants). In OT it was registered in two forms: *kirk*, *kirik*.

on (K-B) 'desjat' (KBRS 496); *on* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 181); *on* (K) 'zehn' (Pr K 126); *on* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 246) < PT **ōn*; cf.: OT *on*; Kum., Az. *on*; Khal. *ōn*; Tur. *on*; Gag. *on*, *uon*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *on*; Tat. *un*; Čuv. *vunnā*, *vunā*, *vun*; Bašk. *un*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *on*; Trkm. *ōn*; Trukh. *on*; Uz. *on*; *un* (Eg. 57); Uig. *on*, *un*; Lob. *on*, *un*; Sal. *on*, *un*; Y. Uig. *on*, *un*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *on*; Yak. *uon*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer 213, 303; DTS 367; Eg. 57; ÈSTJa I 455; KRPS 428; Malov 151, 181; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 425, 534; Tenišev SJ 193.

The K-B numeral *on* 'ten' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

otuz (K-B) 'tridcat' (KBRS 506); *otuz* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 182) < PT **ot(t)uz*; cf.: OT *ottuz*, *otuz*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *otuz*; Tat. *utiz*; Čuv. *vātār*; Bašk. *utiz*; Kaz. *otiz*; Kklp., Nog. *otiz*; Kir. *otuz*, *oltus*; Trkm. *otuz*; Trukh. *otus*; Uz. *ottiz*, *uttiz* (Eg. 51); Uig. *ottuz*, *ottus*; Lob. *otuz*, *ottus*, Sal. *otos*, *otus*, *otuz*, *otis*; Y. Uig. *otis*, *otus*; Alt. *odus*, *oduz*; Khak. *otis*; Šor. *otus*; Yak. *otut*. – Lit.: DTS 374; Eg. 51; ÈSTJa I 489; Gab. 322; JUFD 222; KRPS 435; Malov 152; ÖjHa. 36, 68; Podolsky 16; SKT 180; StachM GJV 77, 121; Tenišev 428, 429; Tenišev SJ 194.

The numeral *otuz* 'thirty' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. It was registered in OT in the forms: *ottuz*, *otuz*.

miŋ (K-B) 'tysjača' (KBRS 468); *miŋ* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *miŋ* (K) 'tausend' (Pr K 123); *miŋ* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **püŋ*; cf.: OT *biŋ*, *büŋ*, *miŋ*, *miŋg*, *miŋj*; Az. *min*; Khal. *miŋ(g)*; Tur. *bin*; Kar. (Cr.) *bin*, *min*, (H) *min*, (T) *miñ*; Tat. (Ur.) *biŋ*; Tat. *meŋ*; Čuv. *pin*; Bašk. *meŋ*; Kaz. *miŋ*; Kklp. *müŋ*; Nog. *miŋ*; Kir. *miŋ*; Trkm. *müŋ*; Trukh. *miŋ*; Uz. *miŋ*; Uig. *miŋ*; Lob. *miŋ*, *miŋ*; Sal. *meŋ*, *miŋ*; Y. Uig. *miŋ*; Alt. *muŋ*; Khak. *muŋ*; Tuv. *muŋ*; Yak.

muŋ. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 216, 300; DTS 101, 105, 344, 345; Eg. 161; KRPS 119, 407; Malov 144, 146; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 49; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 409, 412; Tenišev SJ 192.

The numeral *miŋ* 'thousand' is common in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. In OT it was registered in several forms, cf. above.

segiz (K-B) 'vosem' (KBRS 548); *segiz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'vosem' (Boz. 183); *segiz* (K) 'acht' (Pr K 131); *segiz* (*segiz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sekiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *sekiz*, *sekkiz*; Kum. *segiz*; Az. *säkkiz*; Khal. *säkkiz*; Tur. *sekiz*; Kar. (Cr.) *sekiz*, (H) *segiz*, (T) *šegiz*; Tat. (Ur.) *sefiz*; Tat. *sigez*; Čuv. *sakkār*, *sakār*; Bašk. *higez*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *segiz*; Trkm. *sekiz*; Trukh. *seki*; Uz. *sakkiz*; Uig. *säkkiz*; Lob. *sekiz*, *sekkiz*; Sal. *sēkes*, *sēkīs*, *seki*; Y. Uig. *sekes*, *sakīs*; Alt. *segis*; Khak. *sigiz*; Tuv. *ses*; Tof. *šeh'es*; Yak. *agīs*. – Lit.: Doerfer 213, 308; DTS 494; Eg. 175; KRPS 470, 496, 497; Malov 161; ÖjHa. 24; Podolsky 20; Rass. 226; SKT 181; Tenišev 478; Tenišev SJ 206.

The numeral *segiz* 'eight' has counterparts in other Turkic languages and in OT.

seksan, seksen (K-B) 'vosemdesjat' (KBRS 550, 551) < PT **seks-on* (ESG); cf.: *seksün* (MK); Az. *säksän*; Tur. *seksen*; Gag. *säksän*; Kar. (Cr.) *seksan*, (H) *seksen*, (T) *šeksän*; Tat. (Ur.) *seksen*; Tat. *siksän*; Čuv. *sakār vunnā*; Bašk. *hikhän*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *seksen*; Trkm. *seksen*; Trukh. *seksen*; Uz. *sakson*; Uig. *säksän*; Lob. *seksän*; Sal. *sehzen*; Khak. *segizon*; Tuv. *sezen*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 259; DTS 494; Eg. 175; JUFD 231; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 161; Podolsky 19; SKT 181; Tenišev 477.

The numeral *seksan* ~ *seksen* 'eighty' has counterparts in some other Turkic languages; it was also registered by MK in the form *seksün*.

toguz (K-B) '1. devjat'; 2. devjatka' (KBRS 640); *toguz* (*t'oyuz*; K) 'neun' (Pr K 139); *toguz* (*toyüz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tokkaz*; cf.: OT *tokuz*; Kum. *togus*; Az. *dogguz*; Khal. *tokkuz*; Tur., Gag. *dokuz*; Kar. (H, T) *toguz*; Tat. (Ur.) *toxuz*; Tat. *tugiz*; Čuv. *tāxār*, *tāxxār*; Bašk. *tugiz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *togiz*; Kir. *toguz*; Trkm. *dokuz*; Trukh. *tokus*; Uz. *tokkiz*; *tukkiz* (Eg. 241); Uig. *tokkuz*; Lob. *tokkuz*, *tokkus*, *tokus*; Sal. *tokos*; Y. Uig. *tokus*, *tokīs*; Alt. *togus*; Khak. *togīs*; Tuv. *tos*; Tof. *dohos*; Šor. *togus*; Yak. *togus*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 213, 314; DTS 578; Eg. 241; ÈSTJa III 255; KRPS 533; Malov 173, 174; ÖjHa. 24, 36; Podolsky 24; Rass. 173; SKT 181; Tenišev 514; Tenišev SJ 213.

The numeral *toguz* 'nine' is common among other Turkic languages, where it appears in different variants. In OT it was registered in the form *tokuz*.

toxsan (K-B) 'devjanosto' (KBRS 647) < PT **toksun*; **toks-on* (ESG); cf.: OT *toksun* (MK); Az. *doxsan*; Tur. *doksan*; Kar. (H) *toksan*, (T) *toxsan*; Tat. (Ur.) *doxsan*; Tat. *tukšan*; Čuv. *tāxār vunnā*; Bašk. *tukhan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *toksan*; Kir. *tokson*; Trkm. *togsan*; Trukh. *toksīn*; Uz. *tukson*; Uig. *toksan*; Lob. *tokson*; Sal.

tohsän; Alt. *toguzon*; Khak. *togizon*. – Lit.: DTS 577; Eg. 241; KRPS 535, 539; Malov 173; Podolsky 9; SKT 181; Tenišev 512.

The numeral *toxsan* ‘ninety’ is known both in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants) and was registered in OT.

tört (K-B) ‘1. četyre; 2. (ocenka) četyre, četviorka’ (KBRS 630); *tört* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘četyre’ (Boz. 187); *tört* (*t^eört*; K) ‘vier’ (Pr K 140); *tört* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 262) < PT **tört*; cf.: OT *tört*; Kum. *dört*; Az. *dörd*; Khal. *tört*; Tur., Gag. *dört*; Kar. (Cr.) *dort*, (H) *dert*, (T) *dört*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *dört*; Tat. *dürt*; Čuv. *tāvata*, *tāvattā*; Bašk. *dürt*; Kaz., Kklp. *tört*; Nog. *dört*; Kir. *tört*; Trkm. *dört*; Trukh. *dört*; Uz. *tort*; *turt*, *turtta* (Eg. 234); Uig. *tö(r)t*; Lob. *töjt*, *töt*, *döjt*, *döt*; Sal. *te²t*, *tö²t*, *t^eöt*, *töt*; Y. Uig. *dürt*, *t^eört*, *t^eort*, *türt*; Alt. *tört*; Khak. *tört*; Tuv. *dört*; Tof. *dört*; Šor. *tört*; Yak. *tüört*. – Lit.: Doerfer 212, 314; DTS 581; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 284; KRPS 170, 180, 184; Malov 104, 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 9; Rass. 175; SKT 178; StachM GJV 91; Sul. Kkar. 61; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 509, 521, 530; Tenišev SJ 214.

The numeral *tört* ‘four’ is widely known among Turkic languages. It appears there in some phonetic variants. OT sources register the form *tört*.

üč (K-B) ‘1. tri; 2. ‘trojka’ (KBRS 786); *üč* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘tri’ (Boz. 189); *üč* (Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘id.’ (ibid. 189); *üč*, *jüč* (K) ‘drei’ (Pr K 143); *üč* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 266) < PT **üč* (**üč* ?); cf.: OT *üč*; Kum., Az. *üč*; Khal. *ü²č*, *üč*; Tur., Gag. *üč*; Kar. (H) *ic*, *jic*, *oc*, (T) *üč*; Tat. (Cr.) *uč*; Tat. (Ur.) *üč*; Tat. *üč*, *öč* (Eg. 55); Čuv. *viššē*, *višē*, *viš*; Bašk. *üş*; *ös* (Eg. 55); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *üş*; Kir. *üč*; Trkm., Trukh. *üč*; Uz. *uč*; Uig. *üč*; Lob. *üs*, *üč*, *üş*; Sal. *ü*, *uš*; Y. Uig. *uš*, *üş*, *üč*. Alt. *üč*; Khak. *üs*; Tuv. *üş*; Tof. *üş*; Šor. *üş*; Yak. *üş*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 315; DTS 621; Eg. 55; ÈSTJa I 641; KRPS 210, 246, 436, 592; Malov 183; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 27; Rass. 239; SKT 182; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 530, 535.

The numeral *üč* ‘three’ is common in most Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants). It was also registered in OT.

4. PRONOUNS

4.1. Personal

ala (K-B) ‘oni’ (KBRS 47); *alar*, *ala* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) ‘oni’ (Boz. 164); *ala*, *alar* (*alá*, *alár*; K) ‘sie. Plur. von ol’ (Pr K 86); *ala*, *alar* (*alá*, *alár*; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 200) < PT **ōlar* (ESG); cf.: OT *olar*; Tur. *onlar*; Čuv. *věšem* < *vālsam*; Sal. *vuler*, *vuller*, *vullar*. – Lit.: DTS 366; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 444; Tenišev 544.

This is a personal pronoun 3 p. pl. In the form *olar* it was registered in OT. This pronoun exists in all modern Turkic languages, however, since in all vocabulary sources mostly the form of 3 p. sg. is indicated, therefore only a few (as we see above) sources register the plural form.

biz (K-B) 'my' (KBRS 140); *biz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'my' (Boz. 167); *biz* (K) 'wir' (Pr K 94); *biz* (B) 'wir' (Pr B 209) < PT **pis*; OT *biz*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *biz*; Kar. (Cr.) *biz*, (H) *biz*, *bis*, (T) *biž*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *biz*; Tat. *bīz*; Čuv. *epir*; Bašk. *bīz*; Kaz. *bīz*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *biz*; Uz. *bīz*; Uig. *biz*; Lob. *bez*, *biz*, *bis*; Sal. *pisä*, *piser*, *pisī*, *peser*; Y. Uig. *pīz*, *pīž*, *müz*; Alt. *bis*, *pis*; Khak. *pīs*; Tuv. *bis*; Tof. *bis*; Šor. *pis*; Yak. *bisigi*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 117, 281; DTS 104; Eg. 345; ÈSTJa II 129; KRPS 115, 123; Malov 92, 93, 94; Podolsky 5; Rass 163; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 444, 449.

The pronoun *biz* 'we' was registered in OT. At present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

men (K-B) 'ja' (KBRS 465); *men* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *men* (K) 'ich' (Pr K 123); *men* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **pān* (**pān* ?) (Šč. SF 195); **bān* (StachM GJV 60) cf.: OT *ben*, *men*; Kum. *men*; Az. *mān*; Khal. *mān*; Tur. *ben*; Kar. (Cr., H) *men*, (T) *mēn*; Tat. (Ur.) *men*; Tat. *min*; Čuv. *epē*; Bašk. *min*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *men*; Uz. *men*, *man*; Uig. *mān*; Lob. *men*; Sal. *mān*, *mēn*, *me*, *mē*, *mī*, *mī*; Y. Uig. *men*; Alt. *men*; Khak. *min*; Tuv., Tof. *men*; Yak. *min*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 300; DTS 94, 340; Eg. 345; KRPS 406, 415; Malov 143; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 14; Rass. 206; SKT 180; StachM GJV 60; Sul. Kkar. 81; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 408, 409, 410.

The pronoun *men* 'I' registered in OT sources in the forms *ben*, *men* is very common in other Turkic languages. It appears in some phonetic variants.

o, ol (K-B): *o* 'tot (ta, to)' (KBRS 486); *ol* '1. on, ona, ono; 2. to, ta, tot; eto, eta, etot' (ibid. 494); *ol* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'on, ona, ono, tot, ta, to' (Boz. 181); *ol, o* (K) 'er, sie, es' (Pr K 126); *ol, o* (B) 'er, sie, es; der, die, das; jener, jene, jenes' (Pr B 246) < PT **öl*; cf.: OT *ol*; Kum. *ol*; Az. *o*; Khal. *ō*; Tur., Gag. *o*; Kar. (Cr.) *o*, (H, T) *ol*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *o*; Tat. *ul*; Čuv. *vāl*, dial. *u*; Bašk. *u*, *ul*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ol*; Kir. *ol*, *al*; Trkm., Trukh. *ol*; Uz. *ul*, *u*; Uig. *ol*, *u*, *ul*; Lob. *ol*, *o*, *u*, *ul*; Sal. *o*, *u*, *ū*, *vu*; Y. Uig. *ol*, *o*, *ö*, *vol*, *vu*; *kol*, *ko*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor. *ol*; Yak. *öl*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 202, 220, 303; DTS 366; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 444; KRPS 423, 426; Malov 150, 179, 180; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 15; Rass. 211; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 83; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 422, 530, 537, 544; Tenišev SJ 187.

The pronoun *o, ol* 'he, she, it; that' is widely known in other Turkic languages. It appears there in some phonetic variants. OT sources register the *ol* form.

sen (K-B) 'ty' (KBRS 552); *sen* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *sen* (K) 'du' (Pr K 131); *sen* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sān* (**sān* ?) (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *sen*; Kum. *sen*; Az. *sān*; Khal. *sān*; Tur. *sen*; Kar. (Cr., H) *sen*, (T) *señ*; Tat. (Ur.) *sen*; Tat. *sin*; Čuv. *esē*; Bašk. *hin*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sen*; Trkm., Uz. *sen*; Uig. *sān*; Lob. *sen*, *sān*; Sal. *sān*, *sen*, *se*, *sej*, *sē*;

Y. Uig. *sen*; Alt. *sen*; Khak. *sin*; Tuv. *sen*; Tof. *sen*; Yak. *än*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 308; DTS 495; Eg. 346; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 160, 161; ÖjHa. 22; Podolsky 20; Rass. 226; Sul. Kkar. 95; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 477, 479; Tenišev SJ 206.

The pronoun *sen* 'you' is both mentioned in OT sources and in modern Turkic languages, where it is registered in some phonetic variants.

siz (K-B) 'vy' (KBRS 559); *siz* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *siz* (K) 'ihr' (Pr K 132); *siz* (B) 'ihr' (Pr B 252) < PT **sis* (**sīs* ?) (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *siz*, *silär*, *sizlär*; Az. *siz*; Khal. *siz*, *sizlär*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H), Tat. (Ur.) *siz*; Tat. *sez*; Čuv. *esir*; Bašk. *hez*; Kaz. *sizder*; Nog. *siz*; Kir. *siz*; Trkm. *siz*, *sizler*; Trukh. *siz*; Uz. *siz*; Uig. *silär*; Lob., Y. Uig. *sez*; Alt. *sler*; Khak. *sirer*; Tuv. *siler*; Tof. *sler*; Yak. *ähigi*, *äsigi* (ÖjHa. 33). – Lit.: Doerfer 208, 310; DTS 500, 501; Eg. 346; KRPS 473; Malov 160; ÖjHa. 33; Podolsky 20; Rass. 227; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 96; Šč. SF 196.

The pronoun *siz* 'you (pl.)' is registered in OT in several forms (*siz*, *silär*, *sizlär*). At present the pronoun has different forms in other Turkic languages.

4.2. Demonstrativa, interrogativa and others

bu (K-B) '1. etot, eta, eto; 2. dannyj, nynešnj, nastojaščij; takoj; 3. on, ona, ono' (KBRS 165); *bu* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'etot' (Boz. 168); *bu* (K) 'dieser' (Pr K 95); *bu* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **pū* (Šč. SF 196); OT *bu*; Kum., Az. *bu*; Khal. *bō*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *bu*; Kar. (H) *bo*; Kar. (Cr.) *mu*; Čuv. *ku*; Bašk. *bil*; Kaz. *bū*, *bül*; Kklp. *bul*; Nog. *bu*; Kir. *bu*, *bul*; Trkm. *bū*, Trukh. *bu*, *büj*; Uz. *bu*; Uig. *bu*, *bu(l)*; Lob. *bu*; Sal. *bu*, *mo*, *po*, *pu*; Y. Uig. *pu*, *po*, *mu*, *ko*; Alt. *bu*, *pu*; Khak. *pu*; Tuv. *bo*; Tof. *bo*; Šor. *pu*; Yak. *bu*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 239; Doerfer LSCh 220, 281; DTS 119; Eg. 114; ĖSTJa II 225; KRPS 126, 135, 410; Podolsky 6; Rass. 80, 163; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 56; Tenišev 303, 412, 450, 456; Tenišev SJ 197.

The pronoun *bu* 'this; he, she, it' is widely known in all Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). Similarly to K-B in some languages (Uz., Uig. dial., Kum.) this pronoun is used as a personal pronoun of 3 p. sg. with the meaning 'he, she, it'. The word was also known in OT.

kačan (K-B) 'kogda, v kakoje vremja' (KBRS 404); *kačan* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'kogda' (Boz. 178); *kačan* (*qʼačʼan*; K) 'wann' (Pr K 113); *kacan* (*qʼacan*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **kačan* (ESG); cf.: OT *kačan*; Kum. *kajčan*; Az. *hačan*; Tur. *kačan*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kačan*, (H) *kacan*; Tat. (Ur.) *xačan*; Tat. *kajčan*; Čuv. *xášan*; Bašk. *kasan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kašan*; Kir. *kačan*; Trkm. *xačan*; Uz. *kačon*; Uig., Lob. *kačan*; Y. Uig. *kačan*, *kčan*, *kazan*; Alt. *kačan*; Khak. *xačan*; Tuv. *kazan*; Tof. *kahin*; Yak. *xahan*. – Lit.: DTS 400; Eg. 295; KRPS 299, 367; Malov 127; Podolsky 27; Rass. 217; Sul. Kkar. 87; Tenišev SJ 201.

The pronoun *kačan* 'when' was registered in OT sources. In other modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word.

kajda (K-B) '1. gde; 2. nu!, nu-ka!; 3. vsjakij, vsemožnyj' (KBRs 377); *kajda* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'gde' (Boz. 177); *kajda* (q'ajdá; K) 'wo' (Pr K 113); *kajda* (qajdá; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233); *kaj* (qaj; K) 'Pronominalstamm' (Pr K 113); *kaj* (qaj; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233) < PT **kaj* (Šč. SF 194); cf.: OT *kajda*, *kanda*, *xanda*; Tur. *kajda*; Kar. (Cr., T, H) *kajda*, (H) *kaa*; Tat. (Ur.) *xajda*; Tat. *kajda*; Čuv. *ášta*, *xášta*, *kášta*; Bašk. *kajza*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajda*; Trkm. *xanda*; Uz., Uig. *kajda*; Alt. *kajda*; Khak. *xajda*; Tuv. *kajda*; Tof. *kajda*; Yak. *xanna*. – Lit.: DTS 406, 407, 418, 636; Eg. 44; KRPS 279; 282; Podolsky 29; Rass. 217; Sul. Kkar. 87; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 623.

The pronoun *kajda* 'where' was registered in OT in several forms (cf. above). It has counterparts in other Turkic languages at present. We can notice its compound structure *kaj* + *da*. The root *kaj* is reconstructed by Ščerbak (Šč. SF 194) with the meaning 'what sort, which'. K-B sources also point out the root *kaj*, cf. Pr K 113, Pr B 233.

kesi (K-B) 1. 'sam'; 2. 'svoj, sobstvennyj'; 3. 'odin' (KBRs 329); *kesi* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sam, on' (Boz. 175); *kesi* (k'esi; K) 'selbst' (Pr K 109); *kesi* (kesi; B) 'er (sie, es) selber' (Pr B 228) < PT **kān* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *kendü*, *kentü*; Tur., Gag. *kendi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kendi*, *gendi*, *kense*, (H, T) *kensi* (T) *keñsi*; Uig. *kändü*; Yak. *kini*. – Lit.: DTS 298; ÈSTJa V 38; KRPS 304, 391; Räs. VEWt 252 b; Sul. Kkar. 64, 77; Šč. SF 195.

The pronoun *kesi* '-self (himself, herself, itself); he, himself' probably comes from the basis **ken* (< **kān*). In OT this pronoun had the forms: *kendü*, *kentü*. It also has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. In Kar. (T) the form *keñsi* denotes 'in the period of time' and in Yak. *kini* 'er' (Räs. VEWt 252 b).

kim (K-B) 'kto' (KBRs 347); *kim* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 175); *kim* (k'im; K) 'wer' (Pr K 110); *kim* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kim*; cf.: OT *kim*; Kum., Az. *kim*; Khal. *kim*, *kēm*, *kūm*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T) *kim*; Tat. (Ur.) *tīm*; Tat. *kīm*; *kem* (Eg. 87); Čuv. *kam*; Bašk. *kīm*; *kem* (Eg. 87); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *kim*; Lob. *kim*, *kem*; Sal. *k'em*, *kem*; Y. Uig. *k'im*, *k'im*, *k'em*; Alt. *kem*; Khak. *kem*; Tuv. *kīm*; Tof. *kum*; Yak. *kim*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 220, 296, 297, 298; DTS 307; Eg. 87; ÈSTJa V 68; KRPS 320; Malov 134, 135; ÖjHa. 33; Podolsky 26; Rass. 222; SKT 179; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 379, 400; Tenišev SJ 189, 190.

The pronoun *kim* 'who' is both registered in OT and at present in most Turkic languages, however in some phonetic variants.

ne (K-B) '1. čto; 2. kakoj; 3. vsjakij, ljuboj; 4. kak, skol'ko' (KBRs 482); *ne* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 181); *ne* (né; K) 'was' (Pr K 125); *ne* (né; B) 'was?, was für ein?, was für?' (Pr B 245) < PT **nā*; cf.: OT *ne*, *nū*; Kum. *ne*; Az. *nā*; Khal. *nā*; Tur. *ne*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ne*, (T) *né*; Tat. (Ur.) *ne*; Tat. *nī*; Čuv. *měñ*; Bašk. *nī*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ne*; Kir. *emne*, *ne*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *ne*; Uig. *nā*; Sal. *ne*, *nā*, *nī*; Y. Uig. *ne*, *nī*; Alt. *ne*; Khak. *nime*; Tuv.

čũ; Tof. *čũ*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 301; DTS 356, 361; Eg. 133; KRPS 418, 420; Podolsky 15; Sul. Kkar. 82; Rass. 198; SKT 180; Tenišev 416, 420; Tenišev SJ 193.

The pronoun *ne* 'what' registered in OT sources in the forms: *ne*, *nũ* has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, in some cases, however, with also the meaning 'thing', cf. Khak. *nime* 'thing; what' (Eg. 133).

öz (K) 'selber (selten!)' (Pr K 127) < PT **ōz* (Räs.VEWT 376 b); **ōs* (Šč. SF 195); cf. OT *öz*, *öđ*; Kum., Az. *öz*; Khal. *ōz*; Tur. *öz*; Gag. *jöz*; Kar. (Cr.) *óz*, *öz*, (H) *ez*, (T) *öz*; Tat. (Cr.) *oź*; Tat. (Ur.) *öz*; Tat. *üz*; Čuv. *var*, *varā*; Bašk. *üz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *öz*; Trkm. *ōz*; Trukh. *öz*; Lob. *öz*, *üz*; Sal. *ezī*; Y. Uig. *üz*, *uz*, *uzu*; Uz. *oz*; Uig. *öz*; Alt. *ūs*; Yak. *ūös*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 208-210, 304; DTS 377, 394-395 (*öz* I, *öz* II, *öz* III); Eg. 47; ÈSTJa I 506; KRPS 437, 438, 655; Malov 152, 182; Podolsky 17; Räs. VEWT 376 b; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 86; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 328; Tenišev SJ 218.

The pronoun *öz* 'self' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some cases with also another meaning, cf. Čuv. *var*, *varā* '1. seredina, centr; 2. serdcevina; 3. želudok, život' (Eg. 47). The lexeme *öz* was also registered in OT sources, but besides the meaning 'self' it had other meanings, cf. DTS 394-395.

5. ADVERBS

arī (K-B) '1. tuda; na tu storonu; 2. daľše' (KBRS 78); *arī* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tuda, daľše' (Boz. 165); *arī* (*arī*; K) 'dorthin, auf die andere seite' (Pr K 88); *arī* (*arī*; B) 'dahin, dorthin, weiter' (Pr B 202) < PT **ārī*, **aṇarī*; cf.: OT *aṇaru*; Az. *anarī*, *anri*; Kar. (Cr., T) *arī*, (H) *arī*, *ari*; Tat. *arī*; Kaz. *ārī*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *arī*; Trkm. *aṇrī*, *ār*; Y. Uig., Alt. *arī*; Khak., Tuv. *ār*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 157; KRPS 73, 77; Räs. VEWT 25 b.

The word with the meaning 'that side; over there; farther' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *aṇaru* was registered.

bek (K-B) '1. očeń; 2. tviordyj, krepkij, pročnyj' (KBRS 130); *bek* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'očeń, siľno' (Boz. 167); *bek* (K) 'sehr' (Pr K 92); *bek*, *bex*, *beg* (*bek*, *beć*, *beg*; B) 'sehr, stark' (Pr B 207) < PT **päk*; OT *bek*; Kum. *bek*; Khal. *bäk*; Tur. *pek*, Tur. dial.: *bek*; Gag. *pek*; Kar. (T) *bek*, (Cr.) *bäk*, *päk*, (H) *bäk*; Tat. *bik*; Bašk. *bik*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *bek*; Uig. *bäk*; Lob. *bek*; Y. Uig. *pik*, *pok*; Alt. *bek*, *bök*; Khak. *pik*; Tuv. *bek*; Tof. *bek*; Šor. *pek*; Yak. *bige*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 197, 279; DTS 92; ÈSTJa II 117; KRPS 111, 148, 450; Rass. 161; Šč. SF 195.

The word *bek* meaning '1. very; 2. strong, hard' has counterparts in numerous Turkic languages. It was registered in OT sources.

endi (K-B) '1. tepeř, nyne, v nastojařeje vremja, sejčas; 2. jeřcio; 3. v daľnejšem, v buduřem, daľše; 4. nedavno' (KBRS 768); *endi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kař., Khul.-Bez.) 'tepeř, nyne, i tak' (Boz. 170); *endi, jendi* (*endi, jendi*; K) 'jetzt' (Pr K 101); *endi* (*endi*; B) 'nun, jetzt; nun denn' (Pr B 219) < PT **emdi* (ESG); cf.: OT *amtĩ, emdi, emti*; Az. *indi*; cf. Tur. *řimdi*; Kar. (Cr.) *řindi, řindĩ*; Kar. (Cr., H) *endi*, (T) *eńdi*; Tat. *andı, inde* (Rass. 154); Tat. (Ur.) *řin, řinde*; Čuv. *ěntě*; Bařk. *inde*; Kaz., Nog., *endi*; Kir. *emdi, emi*; Trkm., Trukh. *indi*; Uz. *endi*; Uig. *ămdi*; Lob. *emdi, emde*; Sal. *inži, inzi*; Alt. *amdi*; Khak., Y. Uig. *am*; Tuv. *am, amdi*; Tof. *amdi*; Yak. *anı*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 242; DTS 42, 172, 173; Eg. 65; KRPS 646, 648, 662, 664; Malov 107; Podolsky 22; Rass. 154; SKT 179; Teniřev 338.

The word *endi* 'now' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. As for its structure Egorov (Eg. 65) claims that the word is compound, built from two elements; *en-*, *am-* + suf. *-di* ~ *-ti*. In OT the following forms: *amtĩ, emdi, emti* were registered.

keri (K-B) '1. proć; 2. daleko; 3. řiroko' (KBRS 326); *keri* (*k'eri*; K) 'zurück' (Pr K 109) < PT **keri* (ESG); cf.: OT *kerũ*; Kum., Az., Tur. *geri*; Gag. *gěri*; Kar. (Cr.) *keri*; Tat. (Cr.) *geri*; Tat. *kirĩ*; Bařk. *kirĩ*; Kaz. *kerĩ*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keri*. – Lit.: DTS 302; ĚSTJa III 27; KRPS 392.

The adverb *keri* 'back' also having the adjectival meaning 'far, wide' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages, where there is in some cases a wider meaning (not only adverbial but also adjectival and substantival, cf. ĚSTJa III 27). In OT there was the form *kerũ* registered.

köb, köp (K-B) '1. mnogo; 2. mnogo-; 3. dolgo' (KBRS 334); *köp* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'mnogo, oćeń', *köb, köp* (Baks., Čeg., Kař.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *köp* (*k'öp*; K) 'viel, lange' (Pr K 111); *köp, köf, köb* (B) 'viel' (Pr B 231) < PT **köp*; cf.: OT *köp, kop*; Kum. *köp, kop*; Tur. dial. *köp* (DS); Kar. (Cr.) *kop, köp*, (H) *kep*, (T) *kop*; Tat. (Ur.) *kap*; Tat., Bařk. *küp*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *köp*; Uz. *kop*; *küp* (Rass. 204); Uig. *köp*; Sal., Y. Uig. *kep, ke'p*; Alt., Khak. *köp*; Tuv. *xöj, köp*; Tof. *köp*; řor. *köp*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 317, 456; ĚSTJa V 107; KRPS 305, 314, 338; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; Sul. Kkar. 79.

The adverb *köp* ~ *köb* 'much' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

kündüz (K-B) 1. 'deń; 2. dniom' (KBRS 364); *kündüz, kunduz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'jasnyj deń, dnem' (Boz. 176); *kündüz* (*k'ündüz*; K) 'bei Tage' (Pr K 112); *kündüz* (B) 'der helle Tag; bei Tage' (Pr B 231) < PT **kündiz*; cf.: OT *kündüz, küntüz*; Kum. *gündüz*; Az. *gündüz*; *kündüz* (Rass. 192); Khal. *kü'ndüz*; Tur. *gündüz*; *kündüz* (Rass. 192); Gag. *gündüz*; Kar. (Cr.) *kündüz*, (H)

kündüz, kingiz, (T) *kündüz, kuñdüz*; Tat. (Cr.) *gündüz*; Tat. *kündiz*; *köndez* (Eg. 99, Rass. 192); Čuv. *kāntār*; Bašk. *kündiz, kündüz, köndöz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kündiz*; Kir. *kündüz*; Trkm. *gündiz*; Uz. *kunduz*; Uig. *kündüz, kündüzi*; Lob. *kündüz, kündüs*; Sal. *kuntiz*; Y. Uig. *k'undiz, k'untis, kuntus, kündüs, kundes*; Tuv. *xündüs*; Tof. *hündüs*; Yak. *künüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 115, 298; DTS 327, 328; Eg. 99-100; ÈSTJa III 102; KRPS 320, 353, 396; Malov 138; Rass. 192; StachM GJV 110; Sul. Kkar. 80; Tenišev 396; Tenišev SJ 189.

The word *kündüz* '1. day; 2. during a day' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. Its structure shows the compound character with the formative element: *kün-düz*, cf. ÈSTJa III 103. In OT the forms: *kündüz ~ küntüz* are registered.

6. CONJUNCTIONS

da (K-B) 1. i, takže, tože; 2. že, i; daže i, ved'; 3. nu, že, ved'; 4. ni'; '1. a; 2. xotja i, daže jesli(i)' (KBRs 196); *da* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'takže, xotja, kak i' (Boz. 169); *da, ta* (K) 'und, auch' (Pr K 99); *da, ta, dā, de* (B) '(immer enklitisch): auch; nach dem Conditional: obzwar, wie auch' (Pr B 217) < PT **tā*; cf.: OT *da, ta*; Kum. *da ~ de, ta, te*; Az. *da ~ dā*; Tur. *da ~ de, ta, te*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *da*; Tat. (Cr.) *ta ~ te, da ~ de*; Tat. *da ~ dā, ta ~ tā*; Čuv. *ta*; Bašk. *da ~ dā, za, zā, ta ~ tā*; Kaz., Kklp. *ta ~ te*; Nog. *da*; Kir. *da*; Trkm. *da ~ de, dā ~ de, ta ~ te, tā ~ te*; Uz. *da, ta*; Y. Uig. *ta, da ~ ta*; Sal. *tā ~ te*; Alt. *dā ~ dē*; Khak. *tā ~ tē*; Tuv. *dā*; Yak. *da, +dō, +tō*; Šor. *dā ~ dē*. – Lit.: DTS 158, 525; ÈSTJa III 109; KRPS 167; ÖjHa. 8; Sul. Kkar. 59; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 506; Tenišev SJ 211.

The lexeme *da* functions in K-B as a conjunction with the meanings 'and, also' and is registered in both OT and modern Turkic languages mostly in the variants *da ~ de, ta ~ te*.

dagī: dagīda (K-B) '1. ješčio, krome togo; i; 2. opjať, snova, ješčio raz' (KBRs 197); *dagī, dagīda* (*dayī, dayīda*; B) 'wieder, abermals' (Pr B 217) < PT **takī, tagī* (ESG); cf.: OT *dakī, tagī, takī*; Kum. *dagī*; Az. *dāxi*; Tur. *daha, dahi*; Kar. (Cr.) *dagīn, daxī, daxa*, (H) *dagīn, dagī*, (T) *dagī*; Tat. (Cr.) *dā*; Tat. *tagī*; Bašk. *tagī*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tagī*; Kklp. *dagī*; Kir. *dagī, dāgī*; Trkm. *dagī*; Uz. dial. *tagī*; Uig. *dagī, tagī*; Lob. *takī, tagī, tagīga*; Y. Uig. *tage, ta'ki*; Sal. *taxi, tāgī*; Alt. *dā*; Yak. *daganī*. – Lit.: DTS 158, 527, 536; ÈSTJa III 122; JUFD 234; KRPS 168, 170; Malov 166, 167; ÖjHa. 57; Sul. Kkar. 59; Tenišev 499; Tenišev SJ 211.

The word *dagī* '1. again; once more; 2. apart from sth' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. Probably the form *dagīda* is a combination of two conjunctions: *dagī + da*. In OT: *dakī, tagī, takī* were registered.

7. PARTICLES

em (K) ‘samyj, naj-’ (KBRS 767) < PT **eŋ, aŋ*; cf.: OT *eŋ, iŋ*; Kum. *iŋ*; Az. *än*; Tur. *en*; Gag. *en, hen*; Kar. (Cr.) *en, eŋ, enke*, (H) *enk*, (T) *eŋk, enk*; Tat. *iŋ*; Čuv. *ëm*; Bašk. *iŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eŋ*; Trkm. *iŋ*; Uz. *eŋ*; Uig. *än*; Y. Uig. *jeŋ, jiŋ*; Alt. *eŋ*; Khak. *iŋ*; Tuv., Šor. *eŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 174, 211; Eg. 63; ÈSTJa I 365; KRPS 662, 663; Räs. VEW 45 a.

The particle *em* ‘the most’ used to form *gradus superlativus* has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms *eŋ, iŋ* were registered.

hajda (K-B) ‘nu; skorej, toropiš’; 2. nu i, davaj’ (KBRS 700); *hajda* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘vosklicanie, vozbuždenie: ej, skoreje, nu!’ (Boz. 189); *hajda* (*hajdá*; K) ‘hernach, nun los drauf!’ (Pr K 104); *hej* (B) ‘he da!’ (Pr B 222) < PT **hajda* < **ā* (Šč. SF 193) + *da*; cf.: OT *aj, haj*; Tur. *hajdı*; Tat. *äjdä*; Čuv. *ajta* > *ata*; Bašk. *äzä*; Kaz., Kir. *ajda*; Trkm. *hajda*; Y. Uig. *ajde*; Alt. *ajda*. – Lit.: DTS 25, 197; Eg. 22; Šč. SF 193.

This is an exclamatory particle, which judging by its structure is compound. Egorov (Eg. 22) presents the etymology given by other specialists, where Čuv. *ajta* < *ajde* < *aj* + *de* ‘saying *aj*’ and *aj* is an exclamation. Ščerbak (Šč. SF 193) gives the prototype for *aj* in the form **ā*. OT sources register two forms *aj, haj* for exclamation. Some modern Turkic languages also register the equivalents of K-B *hajda*.

tüjül, tül (K-B) ‘ne’ (KBRS 670, 672); *tügül, tüjül, tül* (*t‘ügül, t‘üjül, t‘ül*; K) ‘nicht, zur Verneinung des Verb. sunst.’ (Pr K 141); *tüjül* (*tüjül*; B) ‘nicht’ (Pr B 263) < PT **tägül* (ESG); cf.: OT *tegül*; Kum. *tügül*; Az. *döjü, deji*; Tur. *degil*; Gag. *dıl*; Kar. (Cr.) *dugul, dügül*, (H) *divil, tivil, kivil*, (T) *tuvul*; Tat. (Cr.) *degil, dugul*; Tat. (Ur.) *dügül*; Tat., Bašk. *tügıl*; Kaz. *tügıl*; Kklp. *tüwe*; Nog. *tuwıl*; Kir. *tügül*; Trkm. *däl*; Trukh. *dēl, del*. – Lit.: DTS 549; ÈSTJa III 213; KRPS 177, 181, 182, 316, 524, 568; Podolsky 9; Räs VEW 469 b; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 61.

The negative particle *tüjül, tül* ‘no, not’ has its equivalents in some other languages. In OT there was registered the form *tegül*. There are several ideas concerning the etymology of this particle, cf. ÈSTJa III 214.

8. POSTPOSITIONS

beri (K-B) I ‘sjuda, v etu storonu, v etom napravlenii’. II ‘s, s tex por [kak ..., načinaja s ...]’ (KBRS 134); *beri* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) ‘siuda, s tex por kak’ (Boz. 167); *beri* (K) ‘hieher’ (Pr K 92); *beri* (*berı*; B) ‘hierher’ (Pr B 207) < PT **beri* (ESG); OT *berü, beri*; Kum. *beri*; Az. *bäri*; Tur. *beri*; Gag. *bēri*; Kar. (Cr., H) *bäri, beri*; Tat. *bire, birı, birlı*; Bašk.

birli, bire; Kaz. *beri*; Kklp. *berli, beri*; Nog., Kir., *beri*; Trkm. *bāri*; Uz., Uig. *beri*; Lob. *beje, beji*; Y. Uig. *ver, beri, peri, beru, piri*; Alt. *beri, peri*; Khak. *pēr*; Tuv. *bēr*; Tof. *bēri*; Šor. *peri*. – Lit.: DTS 95, 96; ĖSTJa II 124; KRPS 151; Rass. 162.

Beri '1. here, hither; 2. since' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *beri, berü*.

bla (K-B) '1. *poslelog s kem-čem*; 2. *po čemu, čerez čto*; 3. *blagodarja, iz-za kogo-čego*; 4. *soglasno čemu ili s čem, po čemu*; 5. *i*; 6. *to li ... to li ... ili net'* (KBRS 153); *bila* (*bla*) (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 's, vdol, i' (Boz. 168); *bila* (*bilá*; K) 'mit, entlang, und' (Pr K 93); *bila, bilan, bile* (*bilá, bilán, bilé*; B) 'id' (Pr B 209). < PT **bilä(n)*; OT: *bilä, bilän*; Tur., Gag. *bile*; Kar. (Cr.) *bile, bilen, bil'an*; Tat. (Cr.) *bilen*; Tat. *bilän*; Trkm. *bilen*; Trukh. *bile(n)*; Uz. *bilän*; Uig. *bilän, bilä, bilän*; Lob. *vilän, belen*; Sal. *pile*; Y. Uig. *pil'in, plī, pul'in*; welin, wul'in; Tuv. *bile*. – Lit.: DTS 98, 99; ĖSTJa II 140; KRPS 117, 119; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 447.

The word *bla ~ bila ~ bila(n)* 'together, with; and' functions as a postposition, conjunction or adverb. According to information given by ĖSTJa II 141–142 it is formed from two elements *bir* + *-lä*. The forms *bilä, bilän* were known in OT. There are also counterparts of this word in other Turkic languages.

burun (K-B) 'prežde, ranše; v davne vremena' (KBRS 170); *burun* (B. dial. ?) 'drevnij, kogda-to' (Boz. 168); *burun* (*búrun*; K) 'früher, ehemals' (Pr K 96); *burun* (*burún* adv.; B) 'einst, ehemals; vor Zeiten' (Pr B 212) < PT **burun* (ESG); OT *burun*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *burun*; Tat. *bürin*; Bašk. *bürün*; Kaz. *bürin*; Kklp., Nog. *burin*; Kir. *murun*; Trkm., Uz., Uig. *burun*; Lob. *mujun*; Y. Uig. *pürin*; Alt. *burun*; Khak. *purun*; Tuv., Tof. *burun*; Yak. *murun*. – Lit.: DTS 126; ĖSTJa II 271; KRPS 141; Rass. 166; Sul. Kkar. 57.

Burun denotes 'this, which was earlier, before; at the beginning'. It has a certain semantic correlation with the noun *burun* 'nose; front part'. With such the meaning the word was registered in the 11th century (MK). The word has equivalents in other Turkic languages at present.

kibik (K-B) 1. '1. *kak, podobno, podobno tomu, kak..., napodobie, vrobe kogo-čego*'. 2. '1. *podobnyj, takoj kak, ravnyj*; 2. *podobie čego*' (KBRS 345); *kibik, kibix* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'kak, tak čto, podobno' (Boz. 175); *kibik* (*kibík*; K) 'wie; so dass' (Pr K 110); *kibik, kibix, kibig* (*kibík, kibíx, kibíg*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 228–229) < PT **kābik(k)*, **kēbi(k)*; cf.: OT *kep, kip*; Kum. *gimik, jimik*; Az. *guni* (Räs.VEWT 244 b); *kimi*; Tur. *gibi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kibik, kübik, kübük*, (H, T) *kibik*; Tat. (Ur.) *tibi*; Tat. *kebek*; cf. Čuv. *pek, pekki*, dial. *kap*; Bašk. *keüek*; Uz. *kabi*; Uig. *käbi*; Trkm. *kimi*. – Lit.: DTS 299, 308; Eg. 153; JUFD 200; KRPS 316, 351; Podolsky 26; Räs VEWT 244 b; Sul. Kkar. 78.

The K-B *kibik* 'as, like' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Egorov (Eg. 153) suggests its origin from the word *kep, kap* 'model, form'. In OT sources only *kep, kip* 'form' were registered.

sora (K-B) '1. *posle, posle togo kak*; 2. *krome; pomimo, ne tolko, no i*; 3. *potom*; 4. *značit, stalo byt'; v takom slučaje*' (KBRS 566); *sora (soŋra)* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zatem, potom, posle' (Boz. 184); *soŋra, soŋgura, sora, sora (soŋrá, soŋjurá, sorá, sóra*; K) 'nachher, nach' (Pr K 132); *soŋra, sora (soŋrá, sorá*; B) '(mit dem Abl.) nach; ausser; (als adv.): nachher, hernach, dann' (Pr B 253) < PT **soŋra* (ESG); cf.: OT *soŋ*; Kum. *soŋ*; Khal. *sēra, sejrā, sōn, sōŋ*; Tur. *sonra*; Kar. (Cr.) *sonra, soŋra*, (H) *sondra*, (T) *sondra, sondrax, sonra*; Tat. (Ur.) *son, sora*; Kaz. *sō*; Nog. *soŋ*; Trkm. *soŋ*; Y. Uig. *soŋ*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; Doerfer LSCh 308, 309, 310; DTS 508; KRPS 478, 479; Podolsky 20, 21; Räs. VEW 428 a; Sul. Kkar. 96; Tenišev SJ 207; YRh. 1027.

The K-B sources classify the word *sora* 'after; then' as both postposition and adverb. Its structure shows its compound character: *soŋ-ra, so-ra*. The form *soŋ* was registered in OT. At present the word has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages.

üčün (K-B) '1. *poslelog za kogo-čto, iz-za kogo-čto*; *dlia, radi kogo-čto*; 2. *čto*; 3. *za to, čto*' (KBRS 787); *üčü, üčün* (B. dial.: Balk. Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'iz-za, dlia, za' (Boz. 189); *üčü, üčün, jüčü, jüčün (üčü, üčün, jüčü, jüčün*; K) 'wegen, für' (Pr K 143); *üčü, üčün, üčün (üčü, üčün, üčün*; B) 'wegen, für, trotz' (Pr B 266) < **üčün* (ESG); cf.: OT *üčün*; Kum., Az. *üčün*; Tur., Gag. *ičün*; Kar. (Cr.) *učün, üčün*, (H) *ičün*, (T) *üčün*; Tat. *üčün*; *öčen* (Eg. 333); Tat. (Cr.) *ičün*; Čuv. *šan, šēn*; Bašk. *üčün*; *ösön* (Eg. 333); Kaz. *üşün, üšin*; Kklp. *üşin, ušin*; Nog. *üşin, ušin*; Kir. *üčün*; Trkm. *üčün*; Trukh. *üčün*; Uz. *üčün*; Uig. *üčün*; Lob. *üčün, ečin*; Alt (V) *üčün*; Khak. *üčün*; Tuv. *üžün*; Yak. *isin*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa.; DTS 622; Eg. 333; ÈSTJa I 642; KRPS 210, 587, 592; Räs. VEW 169a; SKT 182.

The postposition *üčün* 'for' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT. Egorov claims that Turkic *üčün* is an old form of Instrumentalis from *uč* 'end', cf. Eg. 333.

9. VERBS

A division into semantic groups within this category is also not easy since there are numerous verbs that have several meanings which can be adopted in a semantic classification. This refers mostly to verbs that refer to sense or those with an abstract denotation.

Another question that can be mentioned here is the structure of collected verbs. Mostly these are one syllable verbs, however there are also verbs whose structure shows their derivational character. They are in most cases unmotivated. There are the following semantic groups selected within the group of verbs:

9.1. Verbs of action

ač-⁴ (K-B) '1. otkryvat', raskryvat'; 2. otkryvat', osnovyvat', učreñivat', raskryvat', razoblačat' (KBRS 98); *ac-* (B dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.,) 'otkryvat' (Boz. 166); *ač-* (K) 'öffnen, aufmachen; aushülsen' (Pr K 84); *ac-* (B) 'öffnen, aufmachen, endigen, zu Ende gehen, zu Ende sein' (Pr B 197) < PT **ač-*; cf.: OT *ač-*; Kum. *ač-*; Az. *ač*; Khal. *hač-*; Tur., Gag. *ač-*; Kar. (H) *ac-*; Tat. (U) *ač-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ač-*; Čuv. *uś-*; Bašk. *as-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aś-*; Kir. *ač-*; Trkm. *ač-*; Uz. *oč-*; Uig. *ač-*; Lob. *ač-*; Sal. *ač-*, *aś-*, *as-*; Y. Uig. *haǵ-*, *haś-*; Alt. *ač-*; Khak. *as-*; Tuv. *aś-*; Tof. *aś-*; Yak. *as-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSC 251, 290; DTS 3; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 209; KRPS 87; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky I; Rass. 156.

This verb denoting 'to open' was registered in OT. It is also known in modern Turkic languages (where it appears in various forms).

axsa-, asxa- (K-B) 'xromat' (KBRS 82, 97); *asxa-* (K) 'hinken' (Pr K 88); *axsa-* (B) 'hinken' (Kr B 198) < PT **axsa-* (ESG); OT *axsa-*; Kum. *aksa-*; Az. *axsa-*; Tur. *aksa-*; Kar. (H) *aksa-*; Kar. (Cr.) *aksa-*; Tat. (Cr.) *aksa-*; Čuv. *uksaxla-*; Bašk. *akha-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aksa-*; Trkm. *agsa-*; Uz. *oksa-*; Uig. *aksu-*; Sal. *xasa-*; Y. Uig. *axsa-*; *kesa-* (Tenišev SJ 203); Alt. *aksa-*; Khak. *axsa-*; Tuv. *aska-*; Šor. *aska-*; Yak. *axsā-*. – Lit.: DTS 71; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 76; KRPS 59; Räs. VEWT 9 b; Tenišev 547; Tenišev SJ 203.

The verb was registered in OT and at present in some modern Turkic languages there are its equivalents. It has a single meaning 'to lame'. In several languages (Tuv., Šor., Sal.) we can observe the phenomenon of methethesis as in K-B.

aja- (K-B) '1. žalet', ščadiť; 2. bereč', ekonomit' (KBRS 108); *aja-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'ščadiť, žalet' (Boz. 164); *aja-* (B) 'nicht gönnen, schonen' (Pr B 198) < PT **aja-* (ESG); cf.: OT *aja-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *aja-*; Čuv. *uja-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *aja-*; Uig. *aji-*; Lob., Alt., Khak. *aja-*. – Lit.: DTS 25; Eg. 280; ÈSTJa I 101; Gab. 297; KRPS 51; YRh. 99.

This verb was registered in OT. It has the meaning '1. to grudge; 2. to protect, to care'. It is known in other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

⁴ All the verbs from KBRS source we present similarly to Pröhle and Boziyev in stem forms giving the infinitival meaning, e.g.: *ač-* 'to open', whereas the real infinitive form of this verb is *ačarga*.

ajir- (K-B) '1. razdeljať, razedinjať, otdeljať, vydelať, obosobljať, rasčlenjať; 2. različať, otličať, differencirovať; 3. ponimať, soznavať, razbiraťsja; 4. izbirať, vybirať; 5. perebirať, sortirovať; 6. razvodiť; 7. razlagať, rassčepljať' (KBRS 40); *ajir-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'otdeliť, razdeliť, vybirať, ponjať' (Boz. 164); *ajir-* (*ajir-*; K) 'abteilen, absondern, trennen, scheiden, verstehen, verwalten, lenken' (Pr K 85) < PT **ajir-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ađir-*, *ađir-*; Kum, Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajir-*; Tat. *ajir-*; *ajer-* (Eg. 269); Tat. (Cr) *ajir-*; Čuv. *ujār-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm *ajir-*; Uz. *ajir-*; Uig. *ajri-*; Lob. *aj-*, *ār-*; Y. Uig. *azir-*; Alt. *ajir-*; Khak. *azir-*; Tuv. *ađir-*; Tof. *ađir-*. – Lit.: DTS 15; Eg. 269; ĚSTJa 114; Gab. 292; KRPS 56; Malov 81; Rass. 151.

The verb *ajir-* '1. to separate, to split; 2. to choose, select; 3. to distinguish' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *ađir-*, *ađir-* were registered.

ajt- (K-B) '1. govoriť, skazať; 2. ispolnjať, rasskazyvať; 3. soobščat'; 4. vydavať, razoblačať; 5. nazyvať; 6. obeščat'; 7. izlagať; 8. proiznosiť, vygovarivať; 9. skašem, naprimer, voobščę govorja, mešdu pročim' (KBRS 35); *ajt-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'govoriť, razgovarivať, skazať' (Boz. 164); *ajt-* (K) 'reden, sprechen, sagen' (Pr K 86); *ajt-* (B) 'reden, sprechen, sagen, versprechen, sein Wort geben, bestimmen' (Pr B 199) < PT **aj(i)t-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ajit-*; Kum. *ajt-*; Khal. *ha'j-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajt-*, Kar. (Cr.) *ejt-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ajt-*, Tat. *ajt-*; Čuv. *ijt-*; Bašk. *ajt-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ajt-*; Uz. *ajt-*, *aj-*; Uig. *ajt-*; Lob. *ajt-*, *at-*; Y. Uig. *ajt-*, *aj-*; Alt. *ajt-*; Khak. *ajt-*; Tuv. *ajtir-*; Tof. *etir-*; Yak. *ät-*; *ijit-* (Eg. 342). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 228, 291; DTS 29; Eg. 342; ĚSTJa I 111; Gab. 297; KRPS 55, 656; Malov 82, 87; Podolsky 3; Rass. 184; Sul. Kkar. 49; Tenišev SJ 171, 174.

The verb *ajt-* with the meaning 'to say, to speak, to tell' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. In OT there was *ajit-* 'to ask' (Gab. 297). This meaning is also known at present in some languages (Yak., Tof., Tuv., Uig.).

ak- (K-B) '1. tečť, liťsja, vytekať, vylivaťsja, prolivaťsja; 2. protekať, davať tečť; 3. padať, osypaťsja; 4. vpađať; 5. spuskaťsja; 6. proxodiť, protekať' (KBRS 18); *ak-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tečť, padať' (Boz. 164); *ak-* (*aq-*; K) 'fliessen, fallen' (Pr K 86); *ak-*, *ax-*, *ag-* (*aq-*, *ax-*, *ay-*) 'fliessen, fallen (in Massen)' (Pr B 200) < PT **ak-*; cf.: OT *ak-*; Kum. *ak-*; Az. *ax-*; Tur. *ak-*; Gag. *ak-*; Kar. (T) *ax-*, (H) *ak-* (Cr) *ak-*; Tat. (U) *ax-*, Tat. (Cr.) *ak-*; Čuv. *yux-*; Baš., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ak-*; Uz. *ok-*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig., Alt. *ak-*; Khak. *ax-*; Tuv. *ak-*; Tof. *ak-*. – Lit.: DTS 48; Eg. 352; ĚSTJa 118; KRPS 57, 85; Podolsky 3; Rass. 154; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 61; Šč. SF 193.

As we see this verb is common among modern Turkic languages and it was known in OT. Its main meaning is 'to leak, to flow'.

al- (K-B) '1. brať, vzjať; 2. polučať v polzovanie; 3. dostavať, snimať, izvlekať; 4. pokupeť, priobretať; 5. polučať; 6. vyčitať; 7. otnimať, lišať; 8.

zaxvatyvat', ovladevat'; 9. ženitsja; 10. prinimat'; 11. vosprinimat', usvaivat' (KBRS 56); *al-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'brat' (Boz. 164); *al-* (K) 'nehmen, können' (Pr K 86); *al-* (B) 'nehmen, erobern' (Pr B 200) < PT **al-*; cf.: OT *al-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *al-*; Čuv. *il-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *al-*; Uz. *ol-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *al-*; Tof. *al-*; Šor. *al-*; Yak. *il-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 245, 265; DTS 32; Eg. 68; ÈSTJa I 127; KRPS 61; Podolsky 1; Rass. 152; SKT 177; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 286, 287.

The verb is known in modern Turkic languages with the chief meaning 'to take'. In all languages except Čuv., Yak. and Uz. it has the form *al-*. It was registered in OT.

as- (K-B) '1. vešať, podvešivat'; 2. vešať *kogo*, kaznit' (KBRS 80); *as-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'vešať, povestit' (Boz. 165); *as-* (K) 'aufhängen' (Pr K 88); *as-* (B) 'hängen, aufhängen' (Pr B 203) < PT **as-*; cf.: OT *as-*, *ās-* (MK); Kum., Az. *as-*; Khal. *has-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *as-*; Čuv. *us-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm. *as-*; Uz. *os-*; Uig., Lob., Sal. *as-*, *ās-*; Y. Uig. *has-*, *as-*; Alt. *as-*; Tuv. *as-*; Tof. *as-*; Šor. *ās-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 263, 291; DTS 59; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 193; KRPS 79; Malov 86; Podolsky 2; Rass. 156; Tenišev 294; Tenišev SJ 180.

The verb was registered in OT and it has equivalents in Turkic languages. Its basic meaning is 'to hang', however, in some languages it has different meaning, cf.: Alt. *as-* 'to prepare food'; Čuv. *us-* 'to let sth down'.

at- (K-B) '1. brosať; 2. ostavljať, brosať; 3. streljať; biť; rasstrelivat'; 4. uvolnjať; 5. sejať; 6. vrať, privirať; 7. ispuskať vetry' (KBRS 87); *at-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'brosať, svyrjať, streljať, sypať' (Boz. 165); *at-* (K) 'werfen, wegwerfen, hinauswerfen' (Pr K 89); *at-* (B) 'werfen, schlendern, strengen, säen; schießen, mit einem Schusse treffen oder töten' (Pr B 203) < PT **at-*; cf.: OT *āt-* 'to beat (about heart)', *at*; Kum., Az. *at-*; Khal. *hat-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *at-*; Čuv. *ivāt-*, dial.: *it-*, *ut-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., *at-*; Uz. *ot-*; Uig., Lob. *at-*; Sal. *at-*, *a'-*; Y. Uig. *a't-*, *at-*, *hat-*; Alt., Khak. *at-*; Tuv. *at-*; Tof. *at-*; Yak. *it-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 254, 291; DTS 65; Eg. 342; ÈSTJa I 199; KRPS 83; Malov 87; Podolsky 2; Rass. 157; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 296, 297; Tenišev SJ 173, 180.

This verb with the meaning 'to throw, to shoot' was registered in OT and it has equivalents in modern Turkic languages.

aw- (K-B) '1. valitsja, padať, oprokidyvatsja; 2. perevalit', perejti, perejexat; 3. sklonjatsja' (KBRS 92); *au-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'povalit', povernuť (Boz. 165), *au-* (Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'perejti čerez, perešagnuť' (ibid. 165); *au-* (K) '1. fallen, umfallen; zusammenstürzen; 2. über etwas schreiten' (Pr K 89); *au-* (B) 'übersteigen, überschreiten' (Pr B 204) < PT **āḡ-*; cf.: Kum. *aw-*; Az. dial. *ag-*; Tur. dial. *ag-* (DS I 102-103); Tat. *aw-*; Čuv. *jāvan-*; Bašk., Kaz.,

Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aw-*; Trkm. *āg-*; Uz. *og-*; Khak. *ayılan-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 69, Räs. VEWT 7 b.

The basic denotation of this verb is 'to fall down, to fall to once side; to go over sth; to cross sth'. It has counterparts in some Turkic languages.

bajla- (K-B) 'svjazyvat', zavjazyvat', obvjazyvat', privjazyvat', perevjazyvat' (KBRS 113); *bajla-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'svjazyvat', privjazyvat' (Boz. 166); *bajla-* (K) 'binden, anbinden' (Pr K 90); *bajla-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 205) < PT **bā-* (ÈSTJa II 16); **bāj-u-* (Räs. VEWT 53 a); **pā-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bagla-*; Kum. *bajla-*; Az. *bagla-*; Tur. *bagla-*; Gag. *bāla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bagla-*, (T, H) *bajla-*; Tat. *bājlā-*; Tat. (Ur.) *bajla-*; Kaz., Kir. *bajla-*; Trkm. *bāgla-*; Yak. *bāj-*. – Lit.: DTS 78; ÈSTJa II 16; KRPS 95, 98; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 4.

Bajla- 'to tie' is a verb formed with the suffix *-la-* from the nominal basis *bag* ~ *baj* 'string, lace, bond'. When analysing this verb semantically we may assume that it is a variant of the form *bagla-* 'to tie' (registered in OT sources). The question of the form *bajla-* was discussed by Bang and Ramstedt, cf. ÈSTJa II 17.

bak- (K-B) '1. lečit', vračevat'; 2. otkarmlivat'; 3. uxaživat', smotret', xolit'; 4. smotret' na k-č.' (KBRS 110); *bak-* (B. dial.; Balk.) 'smotret' za k.-l. zabotit'sja, xodit' za k.-l.' (Boz. 166); *bak-* (*baq-*; K) 'kurieren' (Pr K 91) < PT **pak-*; cf.: OT *bag-* *bak-*; Kum. *bak-*; Az. *bax-*; Tur., Gag. *bak-*; Kar. (H, T) *bak-*, (Cr.) *bak-*; Tat., Tat (Cr.) *bak-*, *bax-*; Čuv. *pāx-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bak-*; Uz. *bok-*; Uig. *bak-* Lob. *bak-*, *vak-*; Sal. *pax-*, *vax-*, *pa'-*; Alt. *pak-*, *bak-*; Khak. *paxla-*; Tuv. *bakila-*; Tof. *bak-*. – Lit. DTS 77, 81; Eg. 150; ÈSTJa II 38; KRPS 99; Malov 90; Rass. 159; Sul. Kkar. 53; Tenišev 440, 542.

The verb *bak-* denoting 'to see; watch; look after; take care of sb' was registered in OT. In K-B it also means 'to cure'. It has equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

bar- (K-B) 'idti, jexat', dvigaťsja, uxodit', ujezsať, otpravljat'sja; 2. idti, dliťsja, prodolžaťsja; 3. teč, protekať; vpadat'; 4. naveščať' (KBRS 118); *bar-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'idti, otpravljat'sja' (Boz. 166); *bar-* (K) 'gehen' (Pr K 91); *bar-* (B) 'gehen, sich irgendwohin begeben' (Pr B 206) < PT **bar-* (~ **bār-*); cf.: OT *bar-*; Kum. *bar-*; Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *var-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat (Cr., Ur.), *bar-*; Čuv. *pīr-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *bar-*; Uz. *bor-*; Uig. *bar-*, *ba(r)-*; Lob. *bar-*, *baj-*; Sal. *vār-*, *var-*, *vā-*, *bar-*, *par-*, *pa-*; Y. Uig. *bar-*, *par-*; Alt. *bar-*; Khak. *par-*; Tuv. *bar-*; Tof. *bar-*; Yak. *bar-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 40; Doerfer LSCh 240, 315; DTS 83; Eg. 173; ÈSTJa II 64; KRPS 102; Malov 90, 91; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; SKT 177; Tenišev 301, 433, 437, 539, 540, 541; Tenišev SJ 174, 195.

Bar- 'to go, to approach, to set on; to last' has equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

bas- (K-B) '1. stupat', nastupat'; 2. davit', žat', pridavlivat', prižimat'; 3. ugnetat'; 4. pokryvat'; 5. unimat', uspokoiwat', ukroščat'; 6. valjat', kataf'; 7. mjať, mesit', mololit'; 8. upletat' (KBRS 119); *bas-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'žat', davit', pressovat' (Boz. 166); *bas-* (K) 'drücken, pressen, heraus pressen, drauftreten [Mit dem Dativ hat dieses Zeitwort auch die Bedeutung von 'coire'] (Pr K 91); *bas-* (B) 'drauftreten, treten, drücken, pressen' (Pr B 206) < PT **bās-*; **pas-* (Ščerb. SF 195); cf.: OT *bas-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bas-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bas-*; Čuv. *pus-*; Bašk. *bas-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bas-*; Uz. *bos-*; Uig. *bas-*; Lob. *bas-*, *vas-*; Sal. *bas-*, *pas-*, *pās-*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak. *pas-*; Tuv. *bas-*; Tof. *bas-*; Yak. *battā-*. – Lit. DTS 85; Eg. 166; ÈSTJa II 74; KRPS 104; Malov 91, 97; ÖjHa. 10; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; Tenišev 301, 438; Tenišev SJ 195.

The verb *bas-* '1. to press; to print; 2. to step' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

bat- (K-B) '1. tonut', pogružaťsja; 2. zaxodit', zakatyvaťsja; 3. vjaznut', zastrevat'; 4. mjaťsja, vdavlivat'sja; 5. peren. pogruzit'sja; otdat'sja, uvleč'sja' (KBRS 121); *bat-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tonut', pogružaťsja, pogibat' (Boz. 166); *bat-* (K) 'sinken, versinken, untergehen' (Pr K 92); *bat-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 207) < PT **bat-* (StachM GJV 97); **pat-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bat-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), *bat-*; Čuv. *put-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bat-*; Uz. *bot-*; Uig. *pat-*; Lob. *pat-*; Sal. *pat-*; Y. Uig. *pat-*; Alt. *bat-*; Khak. *pat-*; Tuv. *bat-*; Tof. *bat-*; Šor. *pat-*; Yak. *bat-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 120, 121, 297; DTS 89; Eg. 169; ÈSTJa II 78; KRPS 107; Malov 154; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 4; Rass. 160; StachM GJV 97; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 439.

This verb denoting 'to sink, to plunge, to go under' was registered in OT and has counterparts in many modern Turkic languages.

ber- (K-B) '1. davat'; 2. vručat, prepodnosit'; 3. prisvaivat'; 4. prodavat'; 5. nadeljat', odarivat'; 6. platit', vyplačivat'; 7. peredavat, pokazivat, translirovat'; 8. bit', udarjat' (KBRS 135); *ber-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'dat', davat' (Boz. 167); *ber-* (K) 'geben, schenken' (Pr K 92); *ber-* (B) 'geben' (Pr B 207) < PT **bēr-* (Räs. VEWT 70 b); **pār-* (Šč SF 195); OT *ber-*; Kum. *ber-*; Az. *ver-*; Khal. *bār-*; Tur., Gag. *ver-*; Kar. (T) *ber-*, (Cr.) *vār-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ber-*, Tat. *bir-*; Čuv. *par-*; Bašk. *bir-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *ber-*; Uig. *bā(r)-*, *ber-*; Lob. *ber-*, *bej-*, *bij*; Sal. *ver-*, *vi-*, *vī-*, *viī-*, *veī-*, *vēī-*, *ve-*, *vē*, *per-*, *pe-*, *pi-*, *pī-*, *pīī-*, *ber-*, *beī-*, *bē-*, *be-*, *peī-*, *pē-*; Y. Uig. *per-*, *peʳ-*, *pīr-*, *ver-*, *ber-*; Alt. *ber-*; Khak. *pir-*; Tuv. *bēr-*; Tof. *ber-*; Šor. *per-*; Yak. *biār-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 245, 279; DTS 95; Eg. 143; ÈSTJa II 115; KRPS 113, 158; Malov 92, 93; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 5; Rass. 161; StachM GJV 69; Sul. Kkar. 54; Tenišev 301, 441, 444, 445, 447, 542, 543; Tenišev SJ 196, 197.

The verb *ber-* 'to give' has equivalents in all Turkic languages and was registered in OT.

bič- (K-B) '1. kroit; 2. *per.* planirovať, rešať; 3. xolostiť, kastrirovať' (KBRS 151); *bič-* (K) 'schneiden, kastrieren' (Pr K 93); *bic-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 208) < PT **bič-* ~ **bič-* (StachM GJV 66); **pič-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bič-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *bič-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bič-*, (H) *bic-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bič-*; Tat. *pič-*; Bašk. *bis-*; *bis-*; Kaz. *piš-*; Kklp *piš-*; Nog. *piš-*, *bis-*; Kir., Trkm, Uz. *bič-*; Uig., Lob. *pič-*; Y. Uig. *piš-*; Alt. *bič-*, *bič-*; Khak. *piš-*; Tuv. *bis-*; Tof. *bis-*; Šor *piš-*; Yak. *bis-*. – Lit.: DTS 98; ĖSTJa 158; KRPS 125; ÖjHa. 28; Rass. 77; StachM GJV 66.

The verb *bič-* 'to cut; to castrate' was known in Old Turkic and it has counterparts in modern Turkic languages.

bile- (K-B) '1. točit, zatačivať, ottačivať; 2. *per.* natravlivať, nastraivať' (KBRS 142); *bile-* (B. dial.; Khul.-Bez.) 'točit, zaostrit' (Boz. 167); *bile-* (K) 'schärfen, schleifen' (Pr K 93); *bile-* (B) 'schleifen, schärfen' (Pr B 208) < PT **bilä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bilä-*; Kum., Tur., Gag. *bile-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bile-*, *bil'a-*, (H) *bile-*, *bilä-*, (T) *bil'a-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bile-*; Nog. *bile-*; Uig. (dial.) *bilä-*; Sal. *bili-*, *pili-*; Khak. *piže-*. – Lit.: DTS 99; Eg. 155; ĖSTJa II 142; KRPS 117, 119; Tenišev 302, 447.

The verb *bile-* 'to sharpen' was known in OT. At present this verb is not common in other Turkic languages, however in some of them there are its equivalents.

biš- (K-B) '1. varit'sja, peč'sja, žarit'sja; 2. speť, pospevať, zreť, sozrevat' (KBRS 152); *biš-* (K) 'gar gekocht werden, gar gebacken werden, reif werden, reifen' (Pr K 93); *biš-* (B) 'gekocht werden, gar gekocht werden, reifen, reif werden (das Obst)' (Pr B 209) < **biš-* ~ **bis-*; **piš-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bis-*, *bis-*; Kum., Az., Khal. *bis-*; Tur., Gag. *piš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *piš-*, (H) *bis-*, (T) *bis-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *piš-*; Tat. *piš-*; Čuv. *piš-*; Bašk. *bis-*; Kaz. *piš-*; Kklp., Nog. *piš-*; Kir. *bis-*; Trkm. *bis-*; Uz., Uig. *piš-*; Lob. *peš-*, *piš-*; Y. Uig. *piš-*; Alt. *piš-*, *piš-*, *bis-*; Khak. *piš-*; Tuv. *bis-*; Tof. *bis-*; Šor. *piš-*; Yak. *bus-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 260, 281; DTS 103, 105; Eg. 162; ĖSTJa II 161; KRPS 123, 125, 448; Malov 156; Podolsky 18; Tenišev SJ 199.

The verb *biš-* '1. to get cooked; 2. to ripe' with *b-* ~ *p-* allophones in anlaut is common among Turkic languages; also registered in OT.

bit- (K-B) I '1. zaveršaťsja, zakončivaťsja; 2. *per.* umeret', skončaťsja; podoxnuť, pať; 3. zakryvať, zakuporivať, zabivať'. II *bit-* '1. rasti, proizrastať, vozdeľyvaťsja; 2. urodit', byť urožajnym' (KBRS 150); *bit-* (B. dial.; Čeg.) 'rasti, proizrastať, končať, zakončit' (Boz. 168); *bit-* (K) 'endigen; spriessen, wachsen' (Pr K 93); *bit-* (B) 'wachsen, spriessen, endigen, fertig werden' (Pr B 209).

Analysing the Karachay-Balkar material we can notice that the verb *bit-* has two different meanings: 1. 'to end, finish; to be ready'. 2. 'to grow; to be fertile'. Therefore, we may assume that the authors of those sources combined two homonymic verbs into one. According to the semantic criterion all comparative sources present these verbs separately. Therefore, in showing the

comparative material from other Turkic languages we will also present these two verbs apart.

I bit- 'to end' < PT **büt- ~ *bit-; *pit- ~ *püt-* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *büt-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., T, H) *bit-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bit-*; Tat. *bīt-*; Čuv. *pēt-*; Bašk. *būt-*; Kaz. *bīt-*; Kklp. *pit-*; Nog. *bit-*; Kir. *büt-*; Trkm. *bit-*; Uz. *bīt-*; Uig. *büt-*; Y. Uig. *püt-*, *p^ut-*, *p^ut-*; Alt. *büt- püt-*; Khak. *püt-*; Tuv. *büt-*; Tof. *büt-*; Šor. *püt-*; Yak. *büt-*.

II bit- 'to grow; to be fertile'; cf.: OT *büt-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *bit-*; Kaz. *bīt-*; Kklp. *pit-*; Nog. *bit-*; Kir. *büt-*; Trkm. *bit-*; Uz. *bit-*; Alt. *büt-*, *püt-*; Khak. *püt-*; Tuv. *büt-*; Yak. *büt-*. – Lit.: DTS 133; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 152, 154; KRPS 123; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 5; Rass. 167; Šč SF 196; Tenišev SJ 179, 198.

Both verbs with these two meanings were known in OT and their modern equivalents are registered in some Turkic languages.

boja- (K-B) '1. krasit', okrašivat; 2. *per.* mazať, pačkat' (KBRS 163); *boja-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'krasit' (Boz. 168); *boja-* (K) 'färben, schmieren' (Pr K 94); *boja-* (B) 'färben' (Pr B 210) < PT **bod-, *boz-*; cf.: OT *boda-, bodu-, bođu-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr.) *boja-*; Tat. *buja-*; Čuv. *pěve-*; Bašk. *buja-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *boja-*; Kir. *bojo-*; Trkm. *boja-*; Uz. *buja-*; Uig. *boja-, boju-*; Alt. *budu-, pojo-, poja-*; Tuv. *budu-*; Tof. *bodu-*; Yak. *butuj-*. – Lit.: DTS 107, 109; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 178; KRPS 126; Rass. 163.

The verb *boja-* 'to paint, to dye' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants; also registered in OT.

boša- (K-B) '1. končat', zaveršat', dovodit' do konca; 2. *per.* izmatyvat', izvodit'. (KBRS 162); *boša-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zakončivat', sjedať (Boz. 168); *boša-* (K) 'beendigen, verzehren' (Pr K 95); *boša-* (B) 'id' (Pr B 210) < PT **boša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *boša-, bošu-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (T) *boša-*; Tat. *buša-*; Baš. *buša-*; Kaz., Kklp. *bosa-*; Kir. *bošo-*; Alt. *božo-*; Khak. *pozī-*; Tuv. *božu-*. – Lit.: DTS 113; ÈSTJa II 205; Gab. 304; KRPS 133.

The verb *boša-* from a formative point of view is a derivative formed from the nominal basis *boš* 'empty' with the suffix *-a*. This is an old formation since the earliest OT sources register it (cf. DTS 113, Gab. 331). In K-B it has slightly different meaning than in other languages i.e. it means '1. to finish; 2. to consume'. In other languages *boša-* '1. to get empty; 2. to get free'; Tuv. *božu-*, Khak. *pozī-* '1. to become empty; 2. to become free'.

böl- (K-B) '1. delit', 2. vydeltat', 3. ovtlekat', perebivat', preryvat' (KBRS 139); *böl-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'delit', razdelit' (Boz. 168); *böl-* (K) 'teilen' (Pr K 95); *böl-* (B) 'teilen, einteilen' (Pr B 211) < PT **böl-, *pöl-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: OT *böl-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *böl-*; Kar. (Cr.) *böl-, bol'-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bol'-*; Tat. (Ur.) *böl-*; Tat. *bül-*; Čuv. *pül-*; Bašk. *bül-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Turk. *böl-*; Trukh. *böliš-*; Uz. *bol-*; Uig. *böl(l)-*; Lob. *bel-, böl-*; Alt. *pöl-, böl-*; Khak. *pöl-*; Tof. *böl-*; Šor. *pöl-*;

cf. Yak. *bölöx*. – Lit.: DTS 117; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 214; KRPS 130, 134; Podolsky 6; Rass. 77; SKT 178; StachM GJV 65; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *böl-* 'to divide' has counterparts in most modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

böle- (K-B) '1. pelenat', zavortyvaf, kutaf; 2. okunaf, pogrušaf' (KBRS 138) < PT **bälä-*; cf.: OT *belä-*; Az. *bälä-*; Tur. *bele-*; Kar. (T) *bel'a-*; Tat. *bilä-*; Čuv. *pijele-*; Bašk. *bilä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *böle-*; Kir. *bölö-*; Uz. *bela-*; Uig. *böli-*; Khak. *pöle-*. – Lit.: DTS 93; Eg. 159; ÈSTJa II 111; KRPS 112; Räs. VEW 69 a.

The verb *böle-* 'to swaddle' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It is also registered by Mahmud Kašgari. According to Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEW 69 a) the verb is related to the words **bäl*, ? **bäl* 'belt', which is semantically and phonetically convincing.

bujur- (K-B) '1. veleť, prikazyvat', povelevaf rasporyžaťsja; 2. napravljaf; 3. prednaznačaf, predpisyvat' (KBRS 173); *büjür-* (*bujur-*) (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'prikazyvat' (Boz. 169); *bujur-*, *büjür-* (K) 'befehlen, bestellen' (Pr K 95) < PT **bujur-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bujur-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bujur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bujur-*; Tat. *büjür-*; Čuv. *pür-*; Bašk. *büjür-*; Kaz. *büjür-*; Kklp., Nog. *büjür-*; Kir., Trkm., Uz. *bujur-*; Uig. *bur-*; Lob. *bujur-*, *buj-*; Alt. *bujur-*, *pujur-*. – Lit.: DTS 121; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 245; KRPS 138; Malov 95, 96; Räs. VEW 87 a; Sul. Kkar. 57.

Bujur- 'to order; to command' was known in OT and in modern Turkic languages there are its equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B.

buk- (K-B) 'prjataťsja, skryvat'sja' (KBRS 165); *buk-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'prjataťsja, skryvat'sja' (Boz. 168); *buk-* (*buq-*; K) 'sich verstecken' (Pr K 95); *buk-*, *bux-*, *bug-* (*buq-*, *bux-*, *buq-*; B) 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' (Pr B 211) < PT **buk-* (ESG); cf.: Kaz. *bok-*, *bük-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *buk-*; Uz. *bik-*; Yak. *bük-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa II 248.

The verb *buk-* 'to hide, to be hidden, to get hidden' functions in only a few modern Turkic languages (in different variants) with the same meaning as in K-B. Not one source gives records concerning its historical age. However, there is the comment to the word claiming that *buk-* belongs to the old lexical substratum of Turkic languages, cf. ÈSTJa II 248.

bulga- (K-B) '1. mešaf, pomešivat; 2. maxaf, kačaf' (KBRS 168); *bulga-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'maxaf, kivať, boltaf' (Boz. 168); *bulga-* (*bulya-*; K) 'wedeln' (Pr K 95); *bulga-* (*bulya-*; B) 'schütteln, aufmischen, umrühren, wedeln mit (Acc.)' (Pr B 211) < PT **bulgā-*; cf.: OT *bulga-*; Kum. *bulga-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *bula-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bulga-*, *bolga-*, (H, T) *bulga-*; Tat. *bülga-*; Bašk. *bülga-*; Kaz., Kklp., *bilga-*; Nog. *bulga-*; *bilga-*; Kir. *bulga-*; Trkm. *bula-*; Uz. *bula-*, *bulga-*, *bela-*; Uig. *bulgi-*, *bula-*, *bolgu-*; Lob. *bula-*; Y. Uig. *pula-*, *polga-*; Alt. *bulga-*, *pulga-*; Khak. *pulga-*; Tuv. *bilga-*; Tof. *bulha-*; Šor. *pilā-*; Yak. *bulā-*. – Lit.: DTS

122; ÈSTJa II 253; KRPS 128, 138; Malov 96; ÖjHa. 38; Rass. 165; StachM GJV 49.

The verb *bulga-* 'to stir, mix' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning as in K-B. It was registered in Old Turkic.

bur- (K-B) '1. krutiť, vraščať; vvinčivať, vkručivať; 2. povoračivať; 3. *per.* nastraivať, nataalkivať, sklonjať; 4. viť, sučiť; 5. krutiť, kolof' (KBRS 170); *bur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'verteť, perevoračivať, otvoračivať, skručivať' (Boz. 168); *bur-* (K) 'drehen, bohren' (Pr K 95); *bur-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **pur-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: *bür-* (MK, KB); Kum., Az., Gag., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bur-*; Tat. *bür-*; Čuv. *pār-*; Bašk. *būr-*; Kaz. *būr-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *bur-*; Lob. *buj-*; Alt. *pur-*; Šor. *pur-*. – Lit.: Clauson 355; Eg. 147; ÈSTJa II 264; KRPS 140; Malov 95; Podolsky 6; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *bur-* '1. to twist, to screw; to wring; 2. to wind' is an old Turkic verb however at the earliest the verb in the form *bür-* was registered by MK, KB, cf. Clauson 355. The verb has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages with generally a similar meaning as in K-B.

buw- (K-B) '1. žať, daviť; 2. dušiť, daviť; 3. svjazyvaf, obtjagivať; 4. *per.* pristavať, nasedať, nažimať' (KBRS 171); *bū-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'daviť, dušiť' (Boz. 169); *bū-* (K) 'erwürgen' (Pr K 95); *bū-* (B) 'würgen, erwürgen' (Pr B 211) < PT **poγ-*; cf.: OT *bog-*; Kum. *buw-*; Az. *bog-*; Tur. *bog-*; Gag. *bū-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bog-*, (H) *buw-*, (T) *bu-*, *buw-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bog-*; Tat. (Ur.) *bug-*; Tat. *bu-*; Čuv. *pāv-*; Bašk. *bīw-*; Kaz. *bū-*; Kklp., Nog. *buw-*; Kir. *bū-*; Trkm. *bog-*; Uz. *bog-*; Uig., Lob. *bog-*; Sal. *pog-*; Y. Uig. *poγ-*; Alt. *bū-*, *pū-*, *pu-*; Khak. *pog-*; Tuv. *bog-*; Tof. *bog-*; cf. Yak. *muomax* 'das Erwürgen' (ÖjHa. 36). – Lit.: DTS 109; Eg. 146; ÈSTJa II 164; KRPS 126, 135; Malov 94; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 6; Rass. 163; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 451.

The verb *buw-* 'to choke, strangle' has counterparts in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *bog-* was registered.

buz- (K-B) '1. portiť, lomať, vzvodiť iz stroja; 2. rasstraivať, razlaživať; 3. otmenjať, pastorgať; 4. narušať; 5. začjorkivať; 6. razvraščať, otricateľno vlijať; 7. menjať, razmenivať' (KBRS 166); *buz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'lomať, isportiť' (Boz. 168); *buz-* (B) 'verderben, zerbrechen, zerreißen' (Pr B 212) < PT **pōs-*; cf.: OT *buz-*; Kum. *buz-*; Az. *poz-*; Tur. *boz-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *buz-*; Tat. *boz-*; Čuv. *pās-*; Bašk. *boz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *buz-*; Trkm. *boz-*; Uz., Uig. *buz-*; Lob. *buz-*; Alt. *pus-*, *bus-*; Khak. *pus-*; Tuv. *bus-*; Tof. *bus-*. – Lit.: DTS 130; Eg. 150; Gab. 306; KRPS 136; Malov 95; Rass. 166; Sul. Kkar. 57; Šč SF 196.

The verb *buz-* 'to break; to destroy' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. Registered by OT sources.

bük- (K-B) '1. gnuť, sgibať; 2. sklonjať, ugovarivať, ubeždať; 3. prelomľajť' (KBRS 175); *bük-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gnuť, kriviť' (Boz. 169); *bük-* (K) 'biegen, beugen' (Pr K 96); *bük-, büx-, büg-* (*bük-, büx-, büg-*; B) 'biegen, krümmen' (Pr B 212) < **bük-*; **pük-* (Šč. SF 196); cf. OT: *bük-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *bük-*; Kar. (T) *buk-*, (H) *bik-*, Tat. (Cr.) *buk-*; Tat. *bük-*; Čuv. *pük-*; Bašk. *bük-*; Kaz. *bük-, bük-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bük*; Uz. *buk-*; Uig. *pük-*; Lob. *bök-, pük-*; Sal. *pöx-*; Y. Uig. *pek-*; Alt. *bük-, pük-*; Khak. *pix-*; Tof. *bük-*; Yak. *bük-*. – Lit.: DTS 132; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 290; KRPS 117, 154; ÖjHa. 43; Rass. 77; Tenišev 454.

The verb *bük-* '1. to bend; 2. to fold; 3. to twist' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

čać- (K-B) '1. razdavať; 2. razbrasyvať, raskidyvať; 3. sejať; 4. razognať; 5. razbazarivať; 6. razrušať, lošať, razbirať; 7. bryzgať; 8. rasprostranjať' (KBRS 729); *čać-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'razbrasyvať, sejať' (Boz. 190); *čać* (*č^eač-*; K) 'zersträuen, säen' (Pr K 96); *cac-* (B) 'streuen, zerstreuen, säen' (Pr B 213) < PT **sač-*; cf.: OT: *sač-*; Az., Khal., Tur. *sač-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sač-, säč-*, (H) *cac-*, (T) *čać-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sač-*; Tat. *čäč-*; Bašk. *säs-*; Kaz. *šaš-*; Kir. *čać-*; Trkm. *sač-*; Uz. *soč-*; Uig. *sač-*; Lob. *čać-, čäč-*; Sal. *sāč-*; Alt. *čać-*; Khak. *sas-*; Tuv. *čas-*; Tof. *čäs-*; Yak. *is-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 247, 307; DTS 479; KRPS 470, 500, 613, 625; Malov 189; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 19; Rass. 196; StachM GJV 19; Sul. Kkar. 93; Tenišev 470.

The verb *čać-* 'to scatter, to sprinkle' in several phonetic variants functions in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *sač-* registered.

čajna- (K-B) '1. ževať, perežiovyvať; 2. *per.* mnoho govoriť; boltať; 3. ispytyvať neprijatnoje; perenosiť, pereživať' (KBRS 721); *čajna-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ževať' (Boz. 190); *čajna* (*č^eajna-*; K) 'kauen' (Pr K 97); *cajna-* (B) 'kauen' (Pr B 213) < PT **čajna-* (ESG); cf.: Az. *čejnä-*; Khal. *čäjnä-*; Tur. *čigne-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čäjnä-*, (H) *cajna-*, *cäjna-*, (T) *čajna-*, *čejna-*; Tat. *čäjnä-*; Bašk. *säjnä-*; Kaz. *šajna-*; Kir. *čajna-*; Trkm. *čejne-*; Uz. *čajna-*; Uig. *čajni-*; Sal. *čäinä-*, *čēnē-*, *čeni-*; Alt. *čajna-*; Khak. *tajna-*; Tuv. *dajna-*; Tof. *dajna-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 231, 283; KRPS 621; Rass. 168; Tenišev 308, 309.

There are equivalents of the verb *čajna-* 'to chew' in other Turkic languages.

čakir- (K-B) 'zvať, priglašať; 2. vyzyvať, prizyvať; 3. *per.* maniť, zamanivať, privlekať, soblaznjať' (KBRS 723); *čakir-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'zvať' (Boz. 190); *čakir-* (*č^eaqⁱr-*; K) 'rufen, heraussrufen' (Pr K 97); *cakir-* (*caqir-*; B) 'rufen, schreien' (Pr B 213) < PT **čākir-*; cf.: OT *čagur-*; Az. *čagir-*; Tur.: *čagir-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čagir-*, *čakir-*, (H) *čagir-*; *cakirna-*, (T) *čagir-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čagir-*; Tat. *čakir-*; Čuv. *šuxār-*, *yixār-*; Bašk. *sakir-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *šakir-*; Kir. *čakir-*; Trkm. *čāgir-*; Trukh. *čagir-*; Uz., Uig. *čakir-*; Lob. *čakir-*; Sal.: *čixar-*, *čixra-*, *čixrā-*,

čixira-, *sakara-*, *sikara-*, *sikira-*, *zikira-*; Alt. *kijgür-*; Khak. *xigür-*; Yak. *igür-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 267; Eg. 83, 222; Gab. 306; KRPS 610, 611, 620, 622; Malov 188; Podolsky 6; SKT 182; Tenišev 311, 312, 474, 491, 563.

Čakir- ‘1. to call; to invite; 2. to shout, to call out’ has equivalents in Turkic languages, however in some of them with slight semantic differences compared to K-B. Cf. also in OT *čagur-* ‘verleumden’ (Gab. 306).

čal- (K-B) I ‘1. kosit’; 2. delať dvíženie nogoj nad drugoj nogoj’. II ‘plesti, zapletať’ (KBRS 725); *čal-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘kosit’ (Boz. 191); *čal-* (K) ‘mähen, stottern’ (Pr K 97); *cal-* (B) ‘mähen, schneiden’ (Pr B 213) < PT **čal-*; cf.: OT *čal-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *čal-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čal-*, (H) *cal*; Tat. (Ur.) *čal-*; Čuv. *šäl-*, *šul-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *čal-*; Khak. *čul-*. – Lit.: DTS 137; Eg. 206; JUFD 251; KRPS 611, 622; Malov 188; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 97 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 307; YRh. 237.

The verb *čal-* in K-B means ‘1. to mow; 2. to cut’. Also two sources i.e. KBRS and Pr K give completely semantically different meanings: ‘to weave’ (KBRS) and ‘to stutter’ (Pr K). It has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with various meanings however semantically related to the meanings already presented. In Sal., Lob., Uig., Tur., Tat. (Ur.) it also means ‘to play any musical instrument’. The verb *čal-* is registered in OT with the meaning ‘to strike; to throw’

ček- (K-B) ‘1. vzvešivať; 2. tjanuť; vesit’; 3. terpeť’ (KBRS 730); *ček-* (*č^eek-*; K) ‘wägen’ (Pr K 97) < **čäk-*; cf.: Az. *čäk*; Khal: *čäk-*, *ček-*; Tur.; *ček-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čäk-*, (H) *cäk-*, (T) *čäk-*, *ček-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ček-*; Čuv. *šak-*; Trkm., Trukh. *ček-*; Kaz. *šek-*; Sal.: *čex-* *čih-*, *čix-*; Khak. *sig-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 266, 283; Eg. 202; KRPS 626, 617, 640; Podolsky 7; Räs. VEWT 102 b- 103 a; SKT. 182; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 309, 310, 312.

The verb *ček-* ‘1. to weigh; 2. to stand (e.g. pain)’ has its equivalents in several Turkic languages, however with different meanings, cf.: Čuv. *šak-* ‘vešať, povesiť’ (Eg. 202); Kaz. *čik-* ‘belegen, sticken’ (Räs. VEWT 103 a); Khak. *sig* ‘provodiť čertu, liniju’ (ibid.).

čik- (K-B) ‘1. vyxodiť; 2. uxodiť, uvolnjaťsja, ostavljať zanjatie; pokidať; 3. otpravljaťsja, vyjezžať; 4. pojavljaťsja; vznikať; 5. vyxodiť iz pečati, izdavaťsja; byť opublikovannym; 6. načinaťsja, brať načalo; isxodiť; 7. najtiš, otyskaťsja; 8. pojavaťsja, vznikuť; 9. vyxodiť, polučaťsja; xvatať; 10. vsxodiť, pojavljaťsja, pokazyvaťsja; 11. vsxodiť, prorastať, vyrastať’ (KBRS 739); *čik-*, *čix-* (B. dial.: Balk., Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘vyxodiť, vystupať, pokazyvaťsja’ (Boz. 191); *čik-* (*č^eiq-*; K) ‘hinausgehen, herauskommen, hinreichen, aufgehen (von Himmelskörpern)’ (Pr K 98); *čik-*, *cix-*, *cig-* (*ciq-*, *cix-*, *ciγ-*; B) ‘herauskommen, hinausgehen, hervorkommen, zum Vorschein kommen; aufgehen, aufkeimen (die Saat)’ (Pr B 215) < PT **čik-*; cf.: OT *čik-*; Az. *čix-*; Tur. *čik-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čik-*, (H) *cik-*,

(T) *čix-*; Tat. *čik-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čix-*; Čuv. *tux-*; Bašk. *sik-*; Kaz., Nog. *šik-*; Trukh. *čik-*; Uz., Uig. *čik-*; Sal. *čix-*, *čix-*, cf. Yak. *tayis-* 'herauskommen, hinausgehen' (StachM GJV 18). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 267; DTS 150; Eg. 263; KRPS 616, 636, 638; Podolsky 7; SKT 182; StachM GJV 18; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 311, 312, 316.

The verb *čik-* '1. to go out, to move out, to come up, to go up, etc' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with a similar meaning to K-B. It was registered in OT.

čiri- (K-B) 'gnit', pref, tuxnut', razlagat'sja' (KBRS 735); *čiri-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gnit', sgnit', istlet' (Boz. 191); *čiri-* (*č'iri-*; K) 'faulen, vermodern' (Pr K 98); *ciri-* (B) 'faulen, verfaulen, vermodern' (Pr B 215) < PT **čürü-* (ESG); cf.: *čür-* (Zamahšari); Az. *čürü-*; Khal. *čirrü-*; Tur. *čürü-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čiri-*, (H) *ciri-*, *čiri-*; Tat. *čer-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čür-*; Čuv. *šer-*; Bašk. *sere-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *šir-*; Kir. *čir-*, *iri-*; Trkm. *čüjre-*; Uz. *čiri-*, *iri-*; Uig. *čiri-*; Sal. *čür-*; Alt. *čiri-*, *iri-*; Tuv. *iri-*; Tof. *iri-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 269, 283; Eg. 211; KRPS 614, 629; Podolsky 8; Rass. 201; Tenišev 315.

The verb *čiri-* 'to rot, decay, to go bad' with such the meaning has counterparts in other Turkic languages.

čök- (K-B) '1. sadit'sja, sideť; 2. prisest', sest' na kortočki; 3. osedať; 4. otpravljat' jestestvennuju nadobnost'; 5. spadať; umeňšivat'sja' (KBRS 732); *čök-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'sest' na kortočki' (Boz. 191); *čök-* (*č'ök-*; K) 'untersinken' (Pr K 99) < PT **čök-*; cf.: OT *čök-*; Tur.: *čök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čök-*, *čok-*, (H) *cok-*, *cäk-*, (T) *čök-*, *čok-*, *čok-*; Lob. *čök-*; cf. Yak. *sügüj-* 'sich auf die Knie stellen' (ÖjHa. 44). – Lit.: DTS 154; KRPS 617, 614, 627, 630, 631; Malov 192; ÖjHa. 44; Räs. VEWT 117 a; YRh. 260.

The verb *čök-* 'to fall down, collapse; to kneel down' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

de- (K-B) '1. govorit', skazať; 2. dumať, predpologať; 3. sčitať, prinimať; 4. nazyvat', nazyvat'sja' (KBRS 202); *de-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'skazať, govorit', nazvat', dumať' (Boz. 160); *de-* (K) 'sagen, denken, meinen' (Pr K 100); *de-*, *te-* (B) 'sagen, nennen, denken, meinen' (Pr B 217) < PT **tā-*; OT *te-* (DTS 545); *ti-*, *te-* (Gab. 341); Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *de-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *de-*; Tat. *di-*; Čuv. *te-*; Bašk. *ti-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *de-*; Trkm., Trukh. *dij-*; Uz. *de-*; Uig. *dä-*; Lob. *dä-*, *de-*, *di-*; Sal. *de-*, *di-*; Y. Uig. *de-*, *di-*, *ti-*, *t'i-*, *tī-*; Alt. *de-*, *te-*; Khak. *tī-*; Tuv. *de-*, *di-*; Tof. *de-*; Šor. *te-*; Yak. *diä-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; DTS 545; Eg. 241; ESTJa III 221; Gab. 341; KRPS 183; Malov 102, 103; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 8; Rass. 170; SKT 178; StachM GJV 52, 73; Sul. Kkar. 60; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 320, 498, 506, 509, 510; Tenišev SJ 178, 216.

The verb *de-* 'to say, to speak; to think' has counterparts in numerous Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the forms: *te-*, *ti-* were registered.

ege- (K-B) 'pilit', točit', stačivat' (KBRS 76'); *ege-* (B) 'feilen, raspeln' (Pr B 218) < PT **ākā-*; cf.: OT *egā-*, *igā-*; Tat. *igā-*; Bašk. *igā-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ege-*; Kir. *ege-* ~ *ögö-*; Alt. *ege-*; Khak. *ige-*; Tuv. *öge-* ~ *ege-*. – Lit.: DTS 165, 204; ÈSTJa I 326; Räs.VEWT 38 b.

The verb *ege-* 'to file' does not occur often in other Turkic languages. The more common is the nominal form denoting the tool *ege*. In OT sources were registered the forms: *egā-*, *igā-*.

ele- (K-B) 'proseivat'; 2. sudačit', zanimat'sja peresudami, spletničat' (KBRS 766) < PT **elgā-* (ESG); cf.: OT *elgā-*; Kum. *ele-*; Az. *älä-*; Tur. *ele-*; Gag. *jele-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ele-*, *öle-*, (H) *ele-*, *elä-*, (T) *öl'a-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ele-*; Tat. *ilä-*; Čuv. *ala-*; Bašk. *ilä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., *ele-*; Kir. *elge-*; Trkm. *ele-*; Uz. *elä-*; Uig. *ägli-*; Alt. *elge-*; Khak. *ilge-*; Tuv. *eğle-*; Šor. *ele-*. – Lit.: DTS 170; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 261; KRPS 439, 440, 658, 660; Podolsky 9; Räs. VEWT 40 a.

The verb *ele-* 'to sift, to sieve' also 'to gossip' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the meaning 'to sieve, sift'. In some languages (cf. Uig. *ägli-*, Tuv. *eğle-*) the verb appears in the form with methathesis. Old Turkic sources registered the form *elgā-*.

em- (K-B) '1. sosat'; 2. obirat'; ugnetat', ekspluatirovat' (KBRS 767); *em-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'sosat' (Boz. 170); *em-* (K) 'saugen' (Pr K 101); *em-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 219) < PT **ām-*; cf.: OT *em-*; Kum. *em-*; Az. *äm-*; Khal. *äm-*; Tur. *em-*; Gag. *jem-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *em-*, (T) *öm-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *em-*; Tat. *im-*; Čuv. *ēm-*; Bašk. *im-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *em-*; Uz. *em-*; Uig. *äm-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *em-*; Tof. *em-*; Šor. *äp-*; Yak. *em-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 232, 286; DTS 172; Eg. 63; ÈSTJa I 271; KRPS 440, 660; Podolsky 10; StachM GJV 58; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *em-* 'to suck' has equivalents in other Turkic languages and it was registered in OT.

en- (K-B) 'spuskat'sja, sxodit', idti vniz' (KBRS 768); *en-* (K) 'sich herunterlassen' (Pr K 101) < PT **ān-*; cf.: OT *en-*; Kum. *in-*; Az. *en-*; Tur. *in-*; Gag. *jīn-*; Kar. (Cr. H) *en-*, (T) *en-*, *eñ-*; Tat. (Cr.) *en-*; Tat. *iñ-*; Čuv. *an-*; Bašk. *in-*; Kaz., Kklp. Nog., Kir. *en-*; Trkm *īn-*; Uz. *in-*; Uig. *en-*; Khak. *in-*; Tof. *en-*; Šor. *en-*. – Lit.: DTS 173; Eg. 26; ÈSTJa I 353; KRPS 662, 664; Rass. 181; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *en-* 'to go down, to descend' with the same meaning is confirmed in OT. There are also its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

eri- (K-B) '1. tajať; 2. topit'sja; rastvorjat'sja; plavit'sja; 3. perevarivat'sja, usvaivat'sja; 4. smilostivit'sja, perestat' serdit'sja; 5. tajať, čaxnuť, soxnuť' (KBRS 771); *eri-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'tajať, plaviť, privesti v šidkoje sostojanie' (Boz. 170); *eri-* (K) 'schmelzen, tauen' (Pr K 101); *eri-* (B) 'schmelzen, auftauen' (Pr B 219) < PT **ār-*; cf.: OT *eri-*; Kum. *iri-*; Az. *āri-*; Tur. *eri-*; Gag. *jeri-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *iri-*; Tat. (Cr.) *eri-*; Tat. *er-*, *ere-*; Čuv. *irēl-*; Bašk. *irī-*; Kaz. *erī-*, *er-*; Nog.

eri-, *ir-*; Kklp., Kir. *eri-*; Trkm. *ere-*; Uz. *eri-*; Uig. *iri-*; *eri-*; Lob. *ej-*; Alt. *eri-*; Khak. *iri-*; Tuv. *eri-*; Tof. *eri-*; Yak. *ir-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 242; DTS 177; Eg. 71; ÈSTJa I 289; KRPS 205; Malov 107; Rass. 182; StachM GJV 60; Sul. Kkar. 67.

The K-B verb *eri-* ‘to melt’ has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT. In some languages (Nog., Yak.) the verb has an open syllable structure, what may lead to the assumption that originally the verb had an open syllable form **är-*, cf. ÈSTJa I 290.

esne- (K-B) ‘zevat’ (KBRS 777); *esne-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘zevat’ (Boz. 171); *esne-* (K) ‘gähnen’ (Pr K 102); *esne-* (*esné-*; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 220) < PT **äsnä-*; cf.: OT *esnä-*; Kum. *esne-*; Az. *äsnä-*; Tur. *esne-*; Gag. *jesne-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *esne-*; Tat. (Cr.) *esne-*; Tat. *isnä-*; Čuv. *anasla-*; Bašk. *isnä-*; Kaz. *esīne-*; Kklp., Nog. *esine-*; Kir. *este-*; Uz. *esna-*; Uig. *äsni-*; Sal. *esinä-*; Alt. *este-*; Khak. *ize-*. – Lit.: DTS 184; Eg. 27; ÈSTJa I 310; Tenišev 326.

The verb *esne-* ‘to yawn’ has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also registered in OT. As far as its etymology is concerned Bang claims (cf. ÈSTJa I 311) that the verb comes from *es-* ‘to blow’. Egorov presents another idea, pointing out its onomatopoeic character, cf. Eg. 27.

eš- (K-B) ‘plesti, zapletať, vit’ (KBRS 779); *eš-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘plesti’ (Boz. 171); *eš-*; *ješ-* (K) ‘flechten’ (Pr K 102); *eš-* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 220) < PT **äš-*; cf.: OT only *išin*; Kum. *eš-*; Kar. (T) *eš-*; Tat., Bašk. *iš-*; Kaz., Kklp. *es-*; Kir. *eš-*; Trkm. *īš-*; Uz. *eš-*; Uig. *äš-*; Lob. *eš-*; Tuv. *eš-*. – Lit.: DTS 215; ÈSTJa I 396; Gab. 312; KRPS 673; Räs. VEWT 51 a; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *eš-* ‘to plait, to weave’ in similar phonetic forms and with the same meaning is known only in some modern Turkic languages. In OT sources only the form *išin* was registered, cf.: DTS 215; Gab. 312.

et- (K-B) ‘1. delať, izgolovljať, proizvodit’; soveršať; zaniমাt’sja; 2. postupať, vesti sebja, dejstvovať; 3. deť, pološit’, zasunut’; 4. zakryvať; 5. *mat.* rešať; 6. sovkupljať’sja’ (KBRS 777); *et-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘detať, izgolovljať’; *et-* (K) ‘tun, machen, auch “zumachen”’ (Pr K 102); *et-* (B) ‘tun, machen, verfertigen’ (Pr B 220) < PT **ät-*; cf.: OT *et-*, *ät-*, *it-*; Kum., Az. *et-*; Khal. *ēt-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *et-*; Kar. (T) *eť-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *et-*; Tat. *it-*; Čuv. dial. *at-*; Bašk. *it-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *et-*; Sal. *eʔt-*, *eʔ-*, *ec-*, *eʔc-*, *eʒ-*, *eĩ-*, *ic-*, *iʒ-*; Y. Uig. *et-*, *eʔt-*; Alt., Tuv. *et-*. – Lit.: ČRS 46, Doerfer LSCh 227, 287; DTS 186, 215; ÈSTJa I 312; Gab. 312; KRPS 671, 672; Podolsky 10; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 321, 322, 328, 334, 335, 342; Tenišev SJ 179.

The common verb *et-* ‘to do’ is known in most modern Turkic languages, in some of them in phonetic variants. In OT the following forms were registered: *ät-*, *et-*, *it-*.

ez- (K-B) '1. davit', mjať; 2. peretirať, rastirať, toloč; 3. *per.* ugnetať, mučiť, pritesnjať; 4. kušať, est' (KBRs 763); *ez-* (B.dial.: Balk.) 'razdaviť, razdrobiť' (Boz. 170); *ez-* (B.) 'zermalmen, zerschmettern' (Pr B 220) < PT **ās-*; cf.: OT *ez-* (MK); Kum. *ez-*; Az., Khal. *āz-*; Tur., Gag. *eg-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ez-*, (T) *ež-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ez-*; Tat., *iz-*; Čuv. *ir-*; Bašk. *iz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *ez-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 258, 287; DTS 192; Eg. 71; ĚSTJa I 236; KRPS 655; Šč. SF 194.

Ez- '1. to crush; 2. to suppress' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages generally with the same meaning as in K-B. MK registered *ez-* 'to peel off'.

ġabış- (K-B) '1. lipnuť, prilipať, prikleivaťsja; 2. braťsja, xvataťsja, der-žaťsja' (KBRs 214); *žabiš-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'prikleitiť, kleitiť' (Boz. 171); *ġabış-* (*žabiš-*; K) 'kleben' (Pr K 145); *zabiš-* (*zabiš-*; B) 'ankleben, kleben, packen, ergreifen, festhalten' (Pr B 267) < PT **jap-iš-*; cf.: OT *japiš-*, *japič-*; Kum. *jabiš-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *japiš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *japiš-*, *japuš-*, *jabuš-*; (H) *jabus-*, (T) *jabuš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *japuš-*; Tat. *jabiš-*; Čuv. *šipāš-* ~ *šipsān-*; Bašk. *jābiš-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žabiš-*; Nog. *jabiš-*; Kir. *ġabış-*; Trkm. *japiš-*; Uz. *jopiš-*; Uig. *jepiš-* ~ *jopuš-*; Alt. *dapsin-*; Tuv. *čipšin-*. – Lit.: DTS 235, 236; Eg. 225; ĚSTJa IV 132; KRPS 214, 230; Podolsky 32; StachM GJV 19.

The verb *ġabış-* 'to stick, to adhere' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *japiš-*, *japič-* were confirmed.

ġaj- (*zaj-*; K) 'ausbreiten' (Pr K 145); *zaj-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.), *žaj-* (Baks.) 'rassteliť, tjanuť, rastjagivať, položit na mesto' (Boz. 173); *zaj-* (B) 'ausbreiten, dehnen, strecken, niederstrecken' (Pr B 268) < PT **θaδ-* (Šč. SF 196); **jaj-* (StachM 97); cf.: OT *jad-*, *jaδ-* *jaj-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *jaj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaj-*, *ġaj-*, (H, T) *jaj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jajdir-*; Tat. *ġāj-*; Bašk. *jāj-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaj-*; Nog. *jaj-*; Kir. *ġaj-*; *žaj-* (Rass. 195); Trkm. *jāj-*, *jaj-*; *jaz-* (Rass. 195); Uz. *joj-*; Uig. *jaj-*; Alt. *dāj-*, *jaj-*; Khak. *čas-*; Tuv. *čat-*; Tof. *čat-*; Šor. *čas-*; Yak. *sajin-*. – Lit.: DTS 222, 223, 226; ĚSTJa IV 76; KRPS 171, 218; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; StachM GJV 97; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *ġaj-* ~ *zaj-* ~ *žaj-* 'to spread; to stretch out' has its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the forms: *jad-*, *jaδ-*, *jaj-*.

I ġak- (K-B) 'smazyvať; mazať' (KBRs 215); *ġak-* (*žaq-*; K) 'schmieren' (Pr K 145) < PT **jak-*; cf.: OT *jak-*; Kum. *jak-*; Az. *jax-*; Tur. *jagla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jag-* ~ *jak-*, (H) *jak-*, (T) *jax-*; Tat. *jak-*; Bašk. *jak-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žak-*; Nog. *jak-*; Kir. *ġak-*; Trkm. *jagla-*; Sal. *jax-*; Y. Uig. *jak-*; Khak. *čagla-*; Tuv. *čag-*; Tof. *čag-*. – Lit.: DTS 237; ĚSTJa IV 58; KRPS 215, 219, 240; Rass. 194.

The verb *ġak-* 'to oil; to grease; to smear' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the form *jak-* was registered.

II ġak- (K-B) 'žeč', sžigať' (KBRS 215) < PT **θak-* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: Kum. *jak-*; Az. *jax-*; Khal. *ja'k-*; Tur., Gag. *jak-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jak-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jax-*; Tat. *jak-*; Čuv. *šut-*; Bašk. *jak-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ġak-*; Nog. *jak-*; Kir. *žak-*; Trkm. *jak-*; Uz. *jok-*; Uig., Lob. *jak-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 270, 317; Eg. 222; ÈSTJa IV 82; Podolsky 32.

The verb *ġak-* 'to flame, to burn' is a homonymous form to I *ġak-* (cf. above). It has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ġala- (K-B) '1. lizať, obližyvať; 2. per. brať vzjatki' (KBRS 220); *žala-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'lizať' (Boz. 171); *ġala-* (*žala-*; K) 'lecken' (Pr K 145) < PT **jalgā-*; OT: *jalga-* ~ *jalva-*, *jalka-*; Kum., Az. *jala-*; Khal. *jalga-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat. *jala-*; Čuv. *šula-*; Bašk. *jala-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žala-*; Nog. *jala-*; Kir. *ġala-*; Trkm. *jala-*; Uz. *jalā-*; Uig. *jala-*, Lob. *ja(i)la-*; Y. Uig. *jalga-* ~ *jagla-*; Alt. *dala-*; Khak. *čalga-*; Tuv. *čilga-*; Tof. *čilka-*; Šor. *čalga-*; Yak. *salā-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 231, 317; DTS 228, 230; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 87; Malov 117; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 199-200; StachM GJV 49.

The verb *ġala-* 'to lick' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *jalga-* ~ *jalva-* ~ *jalka-*.

ġama- (K-B) '1. činiť, remontirovať; 2. per. ženiť kogo' (KBRS 222); *žama-*, *zama-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'činiť, latať' (Boz. 171); *ġama-* (*žama-*; K) 'flicker' (Pr K 145); *zama-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 268) < PT **jamā-*; cf.: OT *jama-*; Kum., Az., Tur. Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Bašk. *jama-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žama-*; Nog. *jama-*; Kir. *ġama-*; Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *jama-*; Sal., Y. Uig. *jama-*; Alt. *dama-*; Khak. *nama-*; Tuv. *čama-*; Šor. *naba-*; Yak. *samā-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; DTS 231; ÈSTJa IV 108; KRPS 224; StachM GJV 17; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ġama-* '1. to patch, 2. to stitch on' has counterparts in other Turkic languages, in some of them with a slightly different meaning, cf. Yak. *samā-* 'die Naht umsäumen' (StachM GJV 17). OT sources registered the form *jama-*.

ġan- (K-B) '1. zagoraťsja, vosplamenjaťsja, goreť; 2. blesteť, goreť; 3. per. rugať, nabrasyvaťsja na kogo s rugaňju' (KBRS 224); *žan-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'goreť' (Boz. 171); *zan-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *ġan-* (*žan-*; K) 'brennen' (Pr K 145); *zan-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 268) < PT **ja-n-*; cf.: OT: *jan-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *jan-*; Čuv. *šun-*; Bašk. *jan-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žan-*; Nog. *jan-*; Kir. *ġan-*; Trkm. *jan-*; Uz. *jon-*; Uig. *jan-*; Lob. *jan-*; Tuv. *šon-*. – Lit.: DTS 231; ÈSTJa IV 112; KRPS 225; Podolsky 31; Sul. Kkar. 69.

The verb *ġan-* 'to burn; to catch fire' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *jan-* was confirmed.

ġanša- (K-B) 'boltať, govorit' (nesti) vzdor' (KBRS 225); *zanša-* (B. dial.: Balk.) boltať, mnoho govorit' (Boz. 172); *ġanša-* (*žanša-*; K) 'plaudern, klatschen' (Pr K 146); *zanša-* (B) 'schwätzen, viel reden' (Pr B 268) < PT **janša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *janša-*; Tur. *janša-*; Kir. *ġanša-*; Tuv. *čaŋča-*; Yak. *daŋsaj-*, *naŋsaj-* – Lit.: DTS 235; ÈSTJa IV 119.

The verb *ġanša-* 'to babble; to talk nonsense; to chat' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. As far as the origin of this verb is concerned there are several conceptions, one pointing out the Mongolian origin, another underlying the onomatopoeic character, cf. ÈSTJa IV 119-120. Since the 11th century (MK) the form *janša-* has been confirmed.

ġap- (K-B) 'zakryvať (KBRS 213); *žap-* (b-) (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'kryť, zakryvať' (Boz. 171); *ġap-* (*žap-*; K) 'zudecken, bedecken' (Pr K 146); *zap-* (B) 'bedecken, zudecken, zumachen' (Pr B 269) < PT **θap-* (Šč. SF 196); **jap-* (StachM GJV 99); cf.: OT *jap-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk. *jap-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žap-*; Nog. *jap-*; Kir. *ġap-*; Trkm. *jap-*; Uz. *jop-*; Uig. *jap-*; Alt. *dap-*; Khak. *čap-*; Tuv. *šip-*; Tof. *čip-*; Šor. *čap-*; Yak. *sap-* ~ *sab-*. – Lit.: DTS 235; ÈSTJa IV 127; KRPS 229; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 32; Rass. 200; StachM GJV 99; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *ġap-* 'to close, to shut' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jap-* was registered.

ġar- (K-B) '1. razkalyvať, delať treščinu; 2. koloť, rubit'; 3. razrezať, raspilivať; 4. operirovať; vskryvať, anatomirovať; 5. zlit', besit' (KBRS 234); *zar-* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'koloť, razrubit' (Boz. 173); *ġar-* (*žar-*; K) 'zerspalten, zerhauen, zerschneiden' (Pr K 146); *zar-* (B) 'spalten, entzweihauen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jār-*; cf.: OT *jar-*; Kum., Az., *jar-*; Khal. *jār-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *jar-*; Čuv. *šur-*; Bašk. *jar-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žar-*; Nog. *jar-*; Kir. *ġar-*; Trkm. *jār-*; Uz. *jor-*; Uig. *jar-*, *ja(r)-*; Lob. *jar-*; Sal. *jar-*; *jār-*, *žār*; Alt. *dār-*, *jar-*; Y. Uig. *jar-*; Khak. *čar-*; Tuv. *čar-*; Tof. *čar-*; Šor. *čar-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 317; DTS 239; ÈSTJa IV 135; KRPS 230; Malov 119; Rass. 194; Tenišev 347, 371, 564.

There are equivalents of the verb *ġar-* 'to split, cut through' in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jar-* was registered.

ġasa- (K-B) '1. ukrašať; 2. delať, masterit' (KBRS 234); *ġasa-* (*žasa-*; K) 'machen' (Pr K 146) < PT **jasa-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jasa-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *jasa-*; Čuv. *jusa-*; Bašk. *jaha-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žasa-*; Nog. *jasa-*; Kir. *ġasa-*; Trkm., Uz. *jasa-*; Uig. *jasa-* ~ *jasi-*; Lob., Sal. *jasa-*; Alt. *dāza-*; Khak. *čaza-*; Tuv. *čaza-*; Tof. *časa-*; Šor. *čaza-*; Yak. *dahaj-*. – Lit.: DTS 245; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 150; KRPS 237; Malov 119; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; Tenišev 348.

The verb *ġasa-* '1. to make, to prepare; 2. to arrange, to put straight; 3. to govern' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT there was the form *jasa-* registered.

ġat- (K-B) '1. ložiťsja (spať); 2. ležať; boleť; valjaťsja (lodyrničat); bezdelničat'; 3. spať; 4. sovokupljaťsja' (KBRS 235); **zat-** (Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.), **žat-** (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.), **ġat-** (Baks.) 'ležať, ložiťsja, klasť' (Boz. 173); **ġat-** (žat-; K) 'liegen, sich legen, sich niederlegen' (Pr K 147); **zat-** (B) 'id.' (Pr B 270) < PT *jat-; cf.: OT jat-; Kum., Az. jat-; Khal. ja't-; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk. jat-; Kaz., Kklp. žat-; Nog. jat-; Kir. ġat-; Trkm. jat-; Uz. jot-; Uig., Lob. jat-; Sal. jac- ~ jat- ~ jaʒʰ, - ~ jeʰ ~ jeʰt- jaʰ-; Y. Uig. jaʰt-; Alt. dat-; Khak. čat-; Tuv., Tof. čit-; Šor. čat-; Yak. sīt-. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 273, 317; DTS 247; ÈSTJa IV 156; KRPS 240; Malov 87, 119; ÖjHa. 14; Podolsky 32; Rass. 200; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 342, 350, 352, 355; Tenišev SJ 183.

The verb **ġat-** 'to lay, to lie down' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form **jat-** was registered.

ġaw- (K-B) 'idti, vypadať (ob osadkax)' (KBRS 236); **žau-** (zau-) (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'padať, idti (ob atmosferných osadkax)' (Boz. 171); **ġau-** (žau-; K) 'fallen (von atmosphärischen Niederschlägen)' (Pr K 147); **zau-** (B) 'regnen, fallen (von atmosphärischen Niederschlägen)' (Pr B 270) < PT *thag-; cf.: OT jag-; Kum. jaw-; Az. jag-; Tur., Gag. jag-; Kar. (Cr., H, T) jaw-; Tat. jaw-; Čuv. šu-, dial. šáv-; Bašk. jaw-; Kaz., Kklp. žau-; Nog. jaw; Kir. ġā-, žau-; Trkm. jag-; Uz. jog-; Uig. jag-; Sal. jag-; Y. Uig. jag-; Alt. da- ~ jā-; Khak. čag-; Tuv. čag-; Tof. čag-; Šor. čā-. – Lit.: DTS 223; ÈSTJa IV 57; Eg. 216; KRPS 214; Rass. 193; Tenišev 343; Tenišev SJ 181.

The verb **ġaw-** 'to rain; to be poured out' has counterparts at present in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form **jag-** registered.

ġaz- (K-B) '1. pisať; 2. predpisovať, naznačať' (KBRS 216); **žas-** (B. dial.: Baks.) 'pisať' (Boz. 171); **ġaz-** (žaz-; K) 'schreiben' (Pr K 147); **zaz-** (B) 'schreiben' (Pr B 271) < PT *thās-; cf.: OT jaz-; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. jaz-; Čuv. šir-; Bašk. jaz-; Kaz., Kklp. žaz-; Nog. jaz-; Kir. ġaz-; Trkm. jaz-; Trukh. jaz-; Uz. joz-; Uig. jaz-; Lob. jaz-; Yak. suruj-. – Lit.: DTS 250; Eg. 225; ÈSTJa IV 70; KRPS 216; Malov 116; Podolsky 32; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 72; Šč. SF 196.

The verb **ġaz-** 'to write' has counterparts in most other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form **jaz-** was registered.

ġe- (K-B) 'ješť, kušať' (KBRS 240) < PT *jā-; cf.: OT je-; Az. je-; Khal. jē-; Tur. je-; Gag. ji-; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) je-; Čuv. ši-; Kaz., Kklp. že-; Nog. je-; Kir. ġe-; Trkm. ij-; Trukh. ij-; Uz. je-; Uig. jā-; Lob. je-; Sal. je- ~ ji- ~ jī- ~ jej- ~ jij-; Y. Uig. ji- ~ zi- ~ si- je- ġi-; Alt. dī-, jī-, dē-; Tuv. čī-; Tof. čī-; Yak. siā-. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 230, 317; DTS 252; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa I 333; KRPS 268; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 33; Rass. 196; SKT 179; StachM GJV 70; Tenišev 353, 356, 357, 369; Tenišev SJ 184, 186, 210.

The verb **ġe-** 'to eat' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT there was the form **je-** registered.

ğij- (K-B) '1. sobirať; 2. komplektovať; 3. ubirať; 4. pomeščať; 5. zago-tovlivať; 6. nabirať; 7. prigonjať; 8. dovodiť, dovoziť' (KBRS 270); **žij-** (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sobirať' (Boz. 172); **ğij-** (*žij-*; K) 'sammeln' (Pr K 148); **zij-** (*zij-*; B) 'sammeln, versammeln' (Pr B 273) < PT **θij-*; OT: *jig-*; Kum. *ğij*; Az. *jig-*; Khal. *jig-*; Tur. *jig-*; Gag. *jw-*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. *ğij-*; Bašk. *jij-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žij-*; Nog. *jij-*; Kir. *ğij-*; Trkm. *jig-*; Uz. *jig-*; Uig. *jig-* ~ *žig-*; Lob. *jig-*; Y. Uig. *jig-*; Alt. *đu-*, *ju-*, *jū-*; Khak. *čig-*; Tuv. *čig-*; Tof. *čig-*; Šor. *čig-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 264, 318; DTS 265; ĖSTJa IV 271; KRPS 174; Rass. 199; Tenišev SJ 186.

The verb *ğij-* 'to collect; to pile up' has equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *jig-* was registered.

ğik- (K-B) '1. valiť, oprokidyvať; 2. svergať' (KBRS 262); *ğik-* (*žiq-*; K) 'zusammenstürzen' (Pr K 148); *zīgīl-* (*ziyl-*; B) 'fallen, zusammenstürzen' (Pr B 273) < PT **θik-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jik-*; Kum. *jik-*; Az. *jix-*; Khal. *jukul-*; Tur., Gag. *jik-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jik-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jix-*; Tat. *jik-*, *jek-*; Čuv. *šak-*; Bašk. *jik-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žik-*; Nog. *jik-*; Kir. *ğik-*; Trkm. *jik-*; Uz., Uig. *jik-*; Lob. *jikit-*, *jikit-*; Alt. *d'ik-*, *jik-*; Tuv. *čug-*; Tof. *čug-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 255, 319; DTS 268; Eg. 205; ĖSTJa IV 273; KRPS 263; Malov 120; Podolsky 33; Rass. 198; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *ğik-* 'to pull down, to knock down; to demolish' has equivalents with such the meaning in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *jik-*.

ğila- (K-B) 'plakať' (KBRS 266); *žila-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'plakať' (Boz. 172), *ğila-* (Čeg.) 'id' (ibid. 172), *žila-* (Balk.) 'id' (ibid. 173); *ğila-* (*žila-*; K) 'weinen' (Pr K 148); *žila-* (*zila-*; B) 'id' (Pr B 273) < PT **ug-la-*, **jug-la-*; cf.: OT: *jigla-*, *agila-*, *ulī-*; Kum. *jila-*, Az., Tur. *agla-*; Gag. *āla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jila-*, *agla-*, (H) *jila-*, *ila-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ğila-*; Tat. *jila-*; Čuv. *uxla-*; Bašk. *ila-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žila-*; Kir. *ijla-*; Trkm. *āgla-*; Uz. *jiglā-*; Uig. *jigli-*; Lob. *jijla-*, *jijla-*, *jigla-*; Y. Uig. *jigla-*; Alt. *ijla-*, *ugla-*, *ujla-*; Khak. *ilga-*; Tuv. *āla-*; Šor. *ulga-*, *ilga-*. – Lit.: ČRS 520; DTS 18, 266, 609; ĖSTJa I 80; KRPS 44, 197, 264; Malov 120; Räs. VEWT 8 b; Tenišev SJ 184.

There are equivalents of the verb *ğila-* 'to cry, to weep' in other Turkic languages however with some phonetic variants in anlaut. OT sources registered several forms, cf. above. As far as the structure of this verb is concerned Räsänen claims that the verb has an onomatopoeic origin formed from onomatopoeic basis with the suffix *-la*, cf. Räs. VEWT 8 b.

ğir- (K-B) 'razrezať, rassekať; vsparývať' (KBRS 269); *ğirt-* (*žirt-*; K) 'reissen, ausreissen, zupfen' (Pr K 148); *zirt-* (*zirt-*; B) 'zerreissen (trans.)' (Pr B 273) < PT **θir-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jer-*, *jir-*; Kum. *jir-*; Khal. *jirt-*; Tur. *jir-*; Gag. *jir-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jirt-*; Tat. *jir-*; Čuv. *čēr-*; Bašk. *jir-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žir-*; Nog. *jir-*; Kir. *ğir-*; Trkm. *jir-*; Uz. *jir-*; Uig. *jir-*, *žir-*; Sal. *čit-*; Khak. *čir-*; Tuv. *čir-*; Yak.

sīr-. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 318; DTS 257; Eg. 324; ÈSTJa IV 203; Podolsky 33; Tenišev 311.

The equivalents of the verb *gīr-* 'to tear, to rend, to split' are registered in other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *jer-*, *jir-*.

gīrla- (K-B) '1. peť; 2. ščebetat' (KBRS 268); *žirla-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'peť' (Boz. 172); *gīrla-* (*žirla-*; K) 'singen' (Pr K 148); *zirla-* (*zirla-*; B) 'singen, ein Lied singen' (Pr B 273) < PT **θir* (~ **ir*) + *-la-*; cf.: OT *irla-*, *jīrla-*; *jurla-*; Tur. *irla-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *jīrla-*, (T) *irla-*, *jīrla-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jīrla-*; Tat. *jīrla-*; *žīrla-*; Čuv. *jurla-*; Kaz. *žīrla-*; Nog. *jīrla-*; Kir. *irda-*; Uz. *žirlä-*; Sal. *jürlä-*; Y. Uig. *jerla-*, *jīrla-*; Khak. *irla-*; Tuv. *irla-*; Yak. *illä-*. – Lit.: DTS 220, 268, 282; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 286; KRPS 205, 267; Podolsky 33; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 368; Tenišev SJ 183.

The verb *gīrla-* 'to sing' formed from the nominal basis *gīr* 'song' + suffix *-la* has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *irla-*, *jīrla-* were registered.

gīber- (K-B) '1. posylat', *otpravljat'*, *napravljat'*; 2. *otpuskat'*, *osvoboždat'*; 3. *upuskat'*, *vypuskat'*; 4. *opuskat'*; 5. *provodit'* (*vremja*); 6. (K) 'lopat', *uminat'*, *žrat'*; 7. *otraščivat'*, *otpuskat'*' (KBRS 247); *žiber-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'posylat', *vypustit'*, *osvobodit'*' (Boz. 171); *ziber-* (Balk.) 'posylat', *ostavit'*, *vypustit'*, *osvovodit'*' (ibid. 173); *gīber-* (*žiber-*; K) 'lassen, schicken' (Pr K 148); *ziber-* (B) 'senden, schicken, lassen, gehen lassen, auslassen, freilassen' (Pr B 272) < PT **ijber-* > **jiber-*; cf.: OT *jibär-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jeber-* ~ *jibir-*, (H) *jeber-*, (T) *jeber-*; Tat. (Cr.) *gīber-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jiber-*; Tat. *žibär-*; Bašk. *jībär-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žiber-*; Nog. *jiber-*; Kir. *gīber-*; Trkm. *iber-*; Uz. *jubor-*; Uig. (dial.) *jibär-*. – Lit.: DTS 260; ÈSTJa I 322; KRPS 268, 269, 243; Podolsky 33.

Gīber- 'to send, to let go' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT sources the form *jibär-* was registered.

gōj- (K-B) '1. *rasxodovat'*, *tratit'*; *nesti rasxody*; 2. *prodavat'*; 3. *razvraščat'*, *raspuskat'*, *razlagat'*; 4. *upeč*, *zasudit'*; 5. *ubit'*, *pogubit'*' (KBRS 254); *gōj-* (*žoj-*; K) 'verlieren' (Pr K 148) < PT **jod-*; cf.: OT: *jod-*, *jod-*; Kum. *joj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *gōj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *gōj-*; Tat. *gūj-*; Bašk. *jūj-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žoj-*; Nog. *joj-*; Kir. *gōj-*; Trkm. *joj-*; Tuv. *čot-*; Tof. *čot-*; Šor. *čos-*; Yak. *sot-*. – Lit.: DTS 269; ÈSTJa IV 210; KRPS 172; Podolsky 12; Rass. 197; StachM GJV 75.

The verb *gōj-* 'to lose' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. However, the meaning in some Turkic languages (Bašk., Tuv., Tof., Šor., Yak.) is different than in K-B, cf. ÈSTJa IV 210.

gōn- (K-B) '1. *tesat'*, *strogat'*; 2. *čistit'*' (KBRS 252); *zon-* (B) 'schnitzeln' (Pr B 274) < PT **jōn-*; cf.: OT *jon-*; Kum., Az. *jon-*; Khal. *jōn-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), *jon-*; Tat. *jun-*; Čuv. *šun-*; Bašk. *jun-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žon-*; Nog. *jon-*; Kir. *gōn-*; Trkm. *jōn-*; Uz. *jun-*; Uig. *jon-*, *jonu-*; Lob. *jon-*; Y. Uig. *jon-*; Alt.

don-, jon-; Tuv. *čon-*; Tof. *non-*; Šor *non-*; Yak. *suor-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 318; DTS 272; Eg. 218; ÈSTJa IV 221; KRPS 249; Malov 121; Rass. 210; StachM GJV 81; Tenišev SJ 185.

There are equivalents of the verb *gon-* ‘to cut, chip into shape; to sharpen’ in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jon-* was registered.

ğort- (K-B) ‘1. iditi ryšju; 2. spešit', bežať’ (KBRS 253); *ğort-*, *žort-* (B. dial. Čeg.) ‘begať ryšju’ (Boz. 172) < PT **jort-* (ESG) < **θor-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jor-*, *jorit-* *jort-*; Kum., Az. Tur. *jort-*; Tat. *juirt-*; Čuv. *jurt-* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jurt-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žort-*; Nog. *jort-*; Kir. *ğort-*; cf.: Trkm. *jortma*; Uz. *jurt-*; Uig. *jorut-*; cf. Lob. *jorga*, *jogu* ‘ambling horse’; Alt. *đort-*; Khak. *čort-*; Šor *čort-*. – Lit.: DTS 274, 275; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 226; Gab. 356; malov 120, 121; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *ğort-* ‘to travel about on horseback’ has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the forms: *jor-*, *jort-*, *jorit-* registered.

ğuk- (K-B) ‘perexodit', peredavaťsja, poražať’ (KBRS 255); *ğuk-* (*žuq-*; K) ‘übergehen, anhaften’ (Pr K 149) < PT **θuk-*; cf.: OT: *juk-*; Kum. *juk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *juk-*, (H) *jak-*, (T) *jux-*; Tat., Bašk. *jük-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žük-*; Nog. *juk-*; Kir. *ğuk-*; Trkm. *jok-*; Uz., Uig. *juk-*; Alt. *đuk-*, *juk-*; Khak. *čux-*; Tof. *čok-*. – Lit.: DTS 281; ÈSTJa IV 211; KRPS 255, 256, 260; Rass. 197.

There are counterparts of the verb *ğuk-* ‘1. to undergo (an illness); to become infected; 2. to adhere’ in some of Turkic languages. In OT sources there is the form *juk-*.

ğum- (K-B) ‘1. zakryvať, žmurit'; 2. sžimať; prižimať’ (KBRS 258); *ğum-* (*žum-*; K) ‘zumachen, zudrücken (die Augen)’ (Pr K 149) < PT **θum-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jum-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jum-*; Khal. *jim-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jum-*; Tat. *jüm-*; Čuv. *jāmāx*; Bašk. *jüm-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žüm-*; Nog. *jum-*, *gim-*; Kir. *ğum-*; Trkm. *jum-*; Uz. *jum-*; Uig. *jum-* ~ *žum-*; Lob., Sal. *jum-*; Y. Uig. *jum-*; Alt. *đum-*; Khak. *nug-*; Yak. *sim-*. – Lit. Bask. NJa. 241; DTS 279; Eg. 74; KRPS 257; Podolsky 34; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 365.

The verb *ğum-* ‘to close ones eyes’ has equivalents in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *jum-*.

ğut- (K-B) ‘1. glotať; 2. vpityvať’ (KBRS 260); *ğut-* (*žut-*; K) ‘schlucken’ (Pr K 150); *zut-* (B) ‘schlucken, verschlingen’ (Pr B 275) < PT **θūt-*; cf.: OT *jut-*; Kum. *jut-*; Az. *ut-*, *ud-*; Khal. *jūt-*; Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *jut-*; Tat. *jūt-*; Čuv. *sāt-*; Bašk. *jūt-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žūt-*; Nog. *jut-* *ğut-*; Kir. *ğut-*; Trkm. *juwut-*; Uz., Lob. *jut-*; Uig. *jut-* ~ *žut-*; Alt. *đut-*. – Lit. Bask. NJa. 240; Doerfer LSCh 231, 319; DTS 282; Eg. 208; ÈSTJa IV 242; KRPS 260.

The verb *ğut-* ‘to swallow’ has equivalents with the same meaning in other Turkic languages and OT.

ğuw- (K-B) '1. myt', smyvat', kupat'; 2. stirať' (KBRS 260); *žū-*, *ğū-* (B. dial. Baks., Čeg.) 'stirať, myt' (Boz. 172); *ğū-* (*zū-*; K) 'waschen' (Pr K 149); *zū-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 274) < PT **jū-* ~ **juv-* (Räs. VEWT 209 a); **θū-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *ju-*; Kum. *ğuw-*; Az. *ju-*; Khal. *jū-*; Tat. (Ur.) *juv-*; Tat. *ju-*; Čuv. *śu-*, dial. *śāv-*; Bašk. *jūw-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žuw-*; Nog. *juw-*, *ğuw-*; Kir. *ğū-*; Trkm. *juw-*; Uz. *juw-*; Uig. *juw-*, *žuj-*, *juj-*; Lob. *ju-*; Sal. *ju-*, *juw-*, *jū-*, *ğū-*; Y. Uig. *juw-*; Alt. *dug-*; Khak. *čug-*; Tuv. *čug-*; Tof. *ču-*; Yak. *sūj-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 260, 319; DTS 277; Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 238; KRPS 251; Malov 121; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 34; Rass. 198; Räs. VEWT 209 a; StachM GJV 140; Sul Kkar. 74; Tenišev 365, 367, 368, 373.

The verb *ğuw-* 'to wash' has counterparts in other modern Turkic languages and OT with the same meaning.

ğülü- (K-B) 'brit' (KBRS 271); *ğülü-* (*žülü-*; K) 'abrasieren, rasieren' (Pr K 150); *zülü-* (B) 'rasieren' (Pr B 275) < PT **jüli-*; cf.: OT *jüli-*; Kum. *julu-*; Az. *jol-*; Khal. *jili-*; Tur. *jülü-*; Gag. *jol-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ül-*, *julu-*, (H) *ili-*, *julu-*; (T) *ülü-*, *julu-*; Tat. *jüli-*; Čuv. *śāl-*; Bašk. *jülü-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žul-*; Trkm. *jol-*; Uz. *jul-*; Uig. *jul-*, *žul-*; Lob. *jul-*; Sal. *jil-*; Y. Uig. *jul-*; Alt. *dül-*; Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor *čul-*; Yak. *sül-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 318; DTS 285; Eg. 206; ÈSTJa IV 215; KRPS 198, 256, 589; Rass. 198; StachM GJV 132; Tenišev 358; YRh. 1260, 1265.

There are equivalents of the verb *ğülü-* 'to shave' in other Turkic languages however in some of them (Az., Gag., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Čuv.) with the meaning 'to tear out'; cf also in Yak. *sül-* 'Fell/Rinde abziehen' (StachM GJV 132). In OT there was registered the form: *jüli-*.

ğürü- (K-B) '1. xodit', jezdit', dvigaťsja; 2. byť v xodu; 3. vodiťsja, imeťsja; 4. flirtovat'; 5. dejstvovat', imeť silu' (KBRS 273); *žürü-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'xodit', putešestvovat' (Boz. 172); *ğürü-* (*žürü-*; K) 'gehen' (Pr K 150); *zürü-* (B) 'gehen, wandern, verfahren' (Pr B 276) < PT **jüri-* *jori-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jori-*, *jüri-* ~ *jürü-*; Kum. *juru-*; Az. *jeri-*, *jürü-*; Khal. *jōri-*; Tur. *jürü-*; Gag. *jörü-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ju'ru-*, (H) *iri-*, *jiri-*, (T) *ju'ru-*, *jürü-*, *ürü-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jürü-*; Tat. *jür-*; *jöre-* (Eg. 223); Čuv. *śüre-*; Bašk. *jürü-*, *jörö-* (Eg. 223); Kaz., Kklp. *žür-*; Nog. *jür-*; Kir. *ğür-*; Trkm. *jöre-* Trukh. *jör-*; Uz. *jur-*; Uig. *žü(r)-* *ğur-*; Lob. *jüjü-*, *jüj-*, *jū-*; Sal. *jir-*, *jör-*, *jur-*, *jür-*, *jür-*; Y. Uig. *jor-*, *gör-*, *gor-*; Alt. *dör-*, *dür-jür-*; Khak. *čör-*; Tuv. *čor(u)-*; Tof. *čoru-* ~ *čori-*; Šor. *čür-*; Yak. *sirüt-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 243, 318; DTS 274, 286; Eg. 223; ÈSTJa IV 229; KRPS 205, 245, 260, 262, 590; Malov 122; Podolsky 34; Rass. 197; SKT 179; Sul Kkar. 75; Tenišev 359, 360, 367, 368; Tenišev SJ 177, 185.

The verb *ğürü-* 'to go, to wander' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the following forms were registered: *jori-*, *jüri-*, *jürü-*.

ğüz- (K-B) '1. plavať; 2. šmygnuť, bystro proiti; 3. krasť, vorovať' (KBRS 270); **žüz-** (B. dial.: Baks.) 'plavať' (Boz. 172); **ğüz-** (**žüz-**; K) 'schwimmen' (Pr K 150); **züz-** (B) 'id.' (Pr B 276) < PT **θūs-*; cf.: OT *jüz-*; Kum. *jüz-*; Az. *üz-*; Tur., Gag. *jüz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüz-üz-*; Tat. *jüz-*; *joz-* (Eg. 72); Čuv. *iš-*; Bašk. *joz-* (Eg. 72); *jüş-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žüz-*; Nog. *jüz-*; *juz-* (Eg. 72); Kir. *ğüz-*; Trkm. *jüz-*; Uz. *juz-*, *suz-*; Uig. *üz-*; Alt. *dūs-*; Khak. *čüs-*; Tuv. *ežin-* (Eg. 72); *süs-*; Šor. *čüs-*. – Lit.: DTS 288; Eg. 72; ÈSTJa IV 261; KRPS 261, 588; Šč. SF 197.

There are numerous equivalents of the verb *ğüz-* 'to swim' in other modern Turkic languages and in OT. Only in Tuv. the verb means 'to walk in the water', cf. ÈSTJa IV 261.

iši- (K-B) '1. tereť, natirať, masažirovať; 2. vtirať, smazyvať; 3. vytirať' (KBRS 762); **iši-** (*iši-*; K) 'reiben' (Pr K 106) < PT **iši-*; cf.: Kum. *iši-*; Tat., Bašk. *iškī-*; Kaz., Kklp. *is-*; Kir. *ğiši-*, *iškī-*; Uz. *iška*; Uig. *iški*; Alt. *jiš-*, *dīš-*; Khak. *čīs-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 667; Räs. VEWT 167 b.

The verb *iši-* '1. to rub; 2. to massage' has counterparts only in a few Turkic languages, where in some of them the forms are somewhat modified, cf.: Tat., Bašk., Kir., Uz. and others.

ič- (K-B) '1. piť; 2. vpityvať' (KBRS 308); *ič-* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'piť' (Boz. 174), *ic-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 174); *ič-* (K) 'trinken' (Pr K 107); *ic-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 224) < PT **ič-*; cf.: OT *ič-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. *ič-*; Gag. *jič-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ič-*, (H) *ic- ~ jic-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ič-*; Tat. *ič-*; Čuv. *ěš-*; Bašk. *īs-*; *es-* (Eg. 66); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *iš-*; Kir. *ič-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *ič-*; Lob. *ič*, *üč-*; Sal. *ič-*, *is-*; Y. Uig. *ič-*, *ič-*, *hiž-* *hiž-*, *eč-*, *išt-*; Alt. *ič-*; Khak. *īs-*, *is-*; Tuv. *ič-*; Tof. *iš-*; Shor. *iš-*; Yak. *is-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 231, 293; DTS 201; Eg. 66; ÈSTJa I 391; KRPS 210, 246; Malov 116; ÖjHa. 30; Podolsky 11; Rass. 202; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 335, 340; Tenišev SJ 181, 209, 220.

The verb *ič-* 'to drink' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

je- (K-B) '1. posylať, opravlať; 2. otpuskať, osvoboždať; 3. opuskať; 4. upustiť, uroniť; 5. dopuskať, razrešať; 6. zapuskať, vključať' (KBRS 295); *ij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'posylať' (Boz. 174); *ij-* (K) 'hinauslassen, hereinlassen, zulassen, schicken, verlassen' (Pr K 107) < PT **iđ-* (Šč. SF 194); OT *iđ-*, *iđ-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ij-*; Čuv. *jar-*; Kir. *ij-*, *ir-*; Alt. *ij-*, *is-*; Khak. *īs-*; Tuv. *it-*; Šor. *īs-*; Yak. *it-*. – Lit.: DTS 217; Eg. 354; ÈSTJa I 332; Gab. 309; KRPS 195; Šč. SF 194.

The verb denoting '1. to send; 2. to let' is registered in two forms *ij-* (B, K) and *je-* (K-B). Perhaps the latter form is a result of metathesis. The verb has equivalents in a few other Turkic languages and in OT.

kač- (K-B) '1. bežať, ubegať, obraščaťsja v begstvo; 2. izbegať, uklonjaťsja; 3. vyjti zamuž, sbežat k ženixu' (KBRS 404); *kac-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'ubegať,

udirat', spastit' begstvom' (Boz. 178); *kač-* (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 178); *kač-* (*q'ac-*; K) 'fliehen, entlaufen, einen Mann heiraten' (Pr K 113); *kac-* (*qac-*; B) 'entlaufen, durchgehen, flüchten; jemandes (Dat.) Frau werden' (Pr B 232) < PT **kač-*; cf.: OT *kač-*; Kum. *kač-*; Az. *gač-*; Tur. *kač-*; Gag. *kač-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kač-*, (H) *kac-*, (T) *kač-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xač-*, Tat. *kač-*; Bašk. *kas-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kaš-*; Kir. *kač-*; Trkm. *gač-*; Uz. *koč-*; Uig. *kač-* *kaš-*; Lob. *kač-*; Sal. *kač-*, *kas-*, *kāš-*, *k'ac-*; Alt. *kač-*; Khak. *xas-*; Tuv. *kaš-*; Šor. *kaš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 400; ÈSTJa V 340; KRPS 299, 367; Malov 127; Podolsky 27; Sul. Kkar. 87; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 373, 376, 458, 462.

The verb *kač-* '1. to run; 2. to get married' has equivalents in most Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kada- (K-B) '1. stiskivat', sžimat', 2. prikalyvat' (KBRS 373) < PT **kada-*; cf.: Kum. *kada-*; cf. Az. *gadag* (Rass. 216); Kar. (H, T) *kada-*; Tat. *kada-*; Bašk. *kaza-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kada-*; Uz., *kada-*; Uig. *kada-*; *kadi-* (Rass. 216); Lob. *kada-*; Alt. *kada-*; Khak. *xaza-*; Tuv. *kada-*; Tof. *kada-*; Yak. *xatā-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 180; KRPS 281; Malov 123; Rass. 216.

The verb *kada-* '1. to squeeze; 2. to prick' with the same meaning has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

kajna- (K-B) '1. kipeť; 2. varit'sja; 3. brodit', naxodit'sja v sostojanii broženija; 4. buševat', burliť; 5. zlit'sja; 6. burno rasti' (KBRS 378); *kajna-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kipjatit', varit' (Boz. 176); *kajna-* (*q'ajna-*; K) 'sieden, kochen' (Pr K 114); *kajna-* (*qajna-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233) < PT **kajna-* (ESG); OT *kajin-*, *kajna-*; Kum. *kajna-*; Az. *gajna-*; Khal., Tur., Gag. *kajna-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kajna-*, (H, T) *kajna-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xajna-*; Tat. *kajna-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajna-*; Trkm. *gajna-*; Uz. *kajna-*; Uig. *kajna-*; *kajni-* (Rass. 188); Lob., Sal. *kajna-*; Y. Uig. *kajnat-*; Alt. *kajna-*; Khak. *xajna-*; Tuv. *xajin-*; Tof. *lie'n-*; Šor. *kajna-*; Yak. *kijin-*, *kijin-*; *kinnā-* (Rass. 188). – Lit.: DTS 407; ÈSTJa V 203; Malov 124; KRPS 283, 358; ÖjHa. 13; Podolsky 29; Rass. 188; Tenišev 459; Tenišev SJ 200.

The verb *kajna-* 'to boil' also 'to be angry' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages and OT. Semantically in other languages it denotes 'to boil'.

kak- (K-B) 'stučat', bit', udarjat'; 2. trjasti, strjaxivat', vytrjaxivat'; trusit'; 3. maxat'; 4. pečatat'; 5. ubivat'; 6. udarit', uprekat', kritikovat' (KBRS 372); *kak-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'bit', udarjat', stučat' (Boz. 177); *kak-* (*q'aq-*; K) 'klopfen, anklopfen, abschütteln, (Früchte) ergreifen, packen' (Pr K 114); *kak-*, *kax-*, *kag-* (*qaq-*, *qax-*, *qay-*; B) 'klopfen, anklopfen, schütteln (z.B. Früchte von einem Baume), mit dem Schnabel picken' (Pr B 233) < PT **kak-*; OT *kak-*; Kum. *kak-*; Az. *gax-*; Tur., Gag. *kak-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kak-*, (H) *kax-*, (T) *kak-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kak-*; Tat. *kak-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kak-*; Trukh. *gak-*; Uz. *kok-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *kak-*; Khak. *xax-*; Tuv. *xak-* *kak-*; Tof. *kak-*; Šor. *kak-*. – Lit.: DTS 422; ÈSTJa V 221; KRPS 285, 298, 359; Rass. 218; SKT; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kak-* '1. to beat, to strike; 2. to knock' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also confirmed in OT.

kal- (K-B) '1. ostavaťsja; 2. propuskať; 3. popadať; 4. otživať, uxodiť v prošloje; 5. proigryvať, ostavaťsja v proigryše; 6. dostavaťsja, ostavaťsja v nasledstvo; 7. ograničivaťsja, ostanavlivaťsja; 8. otstavať; opazdyvať (KBRS 384); *kal-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ostavaťsja' (Boz. 177); *kal-* (*q'al-*; K) 'bleiben' (Pr K 114); *kal-* (*qal-*; B) 'bleiben, übrigbleiben' (Pr B 233) < PT **kāl-*; cf.: OT *kal-*; Kum. *kal-*; Az. *gal-*; Khal. *kāl-*; Tur. *kal-*; Gag. *kal-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kal-*, (H, T) *kal-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xal-*; Tat. *kal-*; Čuv. *jul-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kal-*; Trkm. *gāl-*; Trukh. *kal-*; Uz. *kol-*; Uig. *kal-*; Lob. *kal-*; Sal. *gal-*, *ga-*, *kal-*; Y. Uig. *kal-*, *k'al-*, *xal-*; Alt. *kal-*; Khak. *xal-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *kal-*; Yak. *xāl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 236, 305; DTS 410; Eg. 347; ÈSTJa V 226; KRPS 285, 359; Malov 125; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 28; Rass. 217; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 88; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 199.

The verb *kal-* in K-B has several meanings, where the main one is 'to stay, remain'. It has counterparts in other Turkic languages and it is registered in OT.

kala- (K-B) '1. valit', *peren.* skladyvať, navalivať, nagromoždať; 2. okučivať; 3. gruzit' (KBRS 382); *kala-* (*q'ala-*; K) 'legen, drauflegen, hineinlegen' (Pr K 114) < PT **kala-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kala-*; Az. *gala-*; Tur., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kala-*; Uz. *kal'a-*; Uig., Lob., Sal. *kala-*; Y. Uig. *k'ala-*; Alt. *kala-*; Yak. *xāla-*; cf. also Tof. *kag-* and Tuv. *xag-* (Rass. 216-217). – Lit.: DTS 410; ÈSTJa V 228; Rass. 216-217; Tenišev 459; YRh. 583.

The verb *kala-* 'to put; to pile up' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. However in some of the other Turkic languages (Kir., Lob., Sal. Alt.) the verb has the meaning. '1. to burn; 2. to set on fire'. According to ÈSTJa V 228 we cannot exclude that in some languages the meaning of *kala-* 'to pile up' was combined with the meaning of the Mongolian origin verb *kala-* 'to become warm, to burn' and finally it gave the meaning 'to pile up wood in order to burn it'. On the other hand in Tuv. and Tof. there are the verbs *xag-* and *kag-* (respectively) whose meanings are very close to *kala-*, but their morphological relation with the latter is obscure. The verb is confirmed in OT.

kalki- (K-B) 'zasnuť, usnuť' (KBRS 383); *kalki-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'dremat' (Boz. 177); *kalki-* (*qalqi-*; B) 'schlummern, einschlummern' (Pr B 234) < PT **kalki-*; cf.: Kum. *kalki-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kalgi-*, (H) *kalgi-*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Tuv. *kalgi-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 232-233; KRPS 359.

The verb *kalki-* in K-B means 'to nap; to fall asleep', whereas in other Turkic languages apart from this meaning it also means 'to move very slowly; to go very slowly'. One cannot exclude relations with the Mongolian verb *galgi-* 'to step very slowly', which might affect the meaning of the verb in Turkic languages, cf. ÈSTJa V 232-233.

kap- (K-B) '1. kusaf, žaliť, klevat; 2. (K) vyigryvať; pobediť; 3. tratiť; 4. terjať; 5. jest, kušať; 6. sideť, oblegať, privilegať (*ob odežde*); 7. jazviť, govoriť kolkosti' (KBRS 369); *kap-*, *kab-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kušať, žaliť' (Boz. 177); *kap-* (*q^hap-*; K) 'beissen, ergreifen, erhaschen' (Pr K 115); *kap-*, *kaf-*, *kab-* (*qap-*, *qaf-*, *qab-*; B) 'beissen, stechen (wie die Mücke etc.)' (Pr B 234) < PT **kap-*; cf.: OT *kap-*; Kum. *xap-*; Az. *gap-*; Tur., Gag. *kap-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kap-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xap-*; Čuv. *xip-*; Bašk., Kaz. Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kap-*; Trkm. *gap-*; Uz. *kop-*; Uig., Lob. *kap-*; Y. Uig. *k^hap-*; Alt. *kap-*; Khak. *xap-*; Tuv. *kap-*; Tof. *kap-*; Šor. *kap-*; Yak. *xap-*, *xab-* (ÖjHa. 8). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 420; Eg. 314; ÈSTJa V 264; KRPS 290, 362; Malov 126; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 28; Rass. 218; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 202.

The verb *kab-*, *kap-* '1. to snap; 2. to bite; 3. to eat' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In other languages the meaning is the same; in Kar. (H, T) it also means 'to understand', cf. KRPS 290. It was registered in OT.

kara- (K-B) '1. smotreť, gljadet'; 2. uxaživať, slediť, prismatřivať; 3. obespečivať; 4. obraščaťsja, sčitaťsja; 5. rassmatřivať; 6. iskať; 7. skušať; 8. skušaťsja; 9. nabljudat', storožić; 10. vygladyvat', pokazyvat'sja, vysovyvat'sja; torčať; 11. smotreťsja; 12. ždat'; 13. byť obraščionnym, vychodit'; 14. upravljat'sja, spravljat'sja; 15. proverjat'; 16. prinadležat', odnosit'sja, imeť otnošenje' (KBRS 392); *kara-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'smotreť, rassmatřivať, nabljudat' (Boz. 177); *kara-* (*qara-*; K) 'sehen, schauen, auch: bewachen, belauern' (Pr K 116); *kara-* (*qara-*; B) 'schauen, anschauen, zuschauen, beaobachten' (Pr B 235) < PT **kara-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kara-*, *karagu*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (H, T), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kara-*; Trkm. *gara-*; Uz. *kara-*; Uig. *kara-*; *kari-* (Rass. 186); Lob. *kara-*; *kaja-* (ÈSTJa V 228); Y. Uig. *kara-*; Alt. *kara-*; Khak. *xara-*; Tuv. *xara-*; Tof. *hara-*; Yak. *xaraj-*. – Lit.: DTS 424; ÈSTJa V 288; KRPS 291; Malov 126; Rass. 186.

The verb *kara-* '1. to watch, observe; 2. to look on' is known in some other Turkic languages (in some of them appearing in variants). However, specialists (Sevortjan, Clauson) underline that the verb was not known before the Chagatay period, and the record given in DTS is probably a result of incorrect interpretation. On the other hand academics mention the form *karagu* registered in OT sources, which probably comes from the verb *kara-*, cf. ÈSTJa V 288.

karga- (K-B) 'proklinat', naklinat' bedu' (KBRS 394); *karga-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'braniť, rugat', proklinat' (Boz. 177); *karga-* (*q^haryá-*; K) 'schimfen, schelten, anschelten' (Pr K 116); *karga-* (*qarya-*; B) 'schimpfen, schelten, fluchen' (Pr B 235) < PT **karga-*; OT: *karga-*; Kum. *karga-*; Az. *gargi-*; Tur. *kargi-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *karga-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xarga-*; Tat. *karga-*; Čuv. *xarkaš-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *karga-*; Trkm. *garga-*; Uz. *karga-*; Uig. *ka(r)ga-*; *kargi-* (Eg. 286); Sal. *karga-*; Alt. *karga-*; Khak. *xarga-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *karga-*. – Lit.: DTS 426; Eg. 286; ÈSTJa V 304; KRPS 293, 363; Podolsky 28.

There are equivalents of the verb *karga-* 'to scold; to swear' in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. The verb was registered in OT.

kaši- (K-B) 'česať, skresti' (KBRS 405); *kaši-* (*qaši-*; K) 'kratzen' (Pr K 116) < PT **kaši-*; cf.: OT: *kaši-*; Az. *gaši-*; Khal., Tur., Gag. *kaši-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kaši-* (H) *kaši-*, (T) *kaši-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kaši-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xaši-*; Tat. *kaši-*; Čuv. *xiš-*; Bašk. *kaši-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kaši-*; Kir. *kaši-*; Trkm. *gaša-*; Uz. *kaši-*; Yak. *kihij-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; Doerfer 250, 306; DTS 431; Eg. 315; ÈSTJa V 347; KRPS 296, 300, 367; Podolsky 28; StachM GJV 19.

The verb *kaši-* '1. to scratch; 2. to comb' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It was registered in OT.

kaz- (K-B) '1. kopat', ryt', dolbit'; 2. dobyvat'; 3. kopat'sja, ryt'sja' (KBRS 375); *kaz-* (B. dial.; Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kopat' (Boz. 176); *kaz-* (*q'az-*; K) 'graben, ausgraben, aufgraben' (Pr K 117); *kaz-* (*qaz-*; B) 'graben' (Pr B 236) < PT **kās-*; cf.: OT *kaz-*; *kazī-*; Kum. *kaz-*; Az. *gaz-*, *gazi-*; Khal. *kaz-*; Tur., *kaz-*; Gag. *kazī-*, *kaz-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *kaz-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xaz-*; Tat. *kazī-*; Bašk. *kazī-*; *kaz-*; Kaz., Kklp. *kaz-*; Nog. *kazī-*; Kir. *kaz-*; Trkm. *gaz-*, *gaza-*; Uz. *kazī-*, *kaz-*; Uig. *kaz-*; Sal. *kaz-*, *kazī-*, *kāzī-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *kaz-*; Khak. *xas-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *kas-*; Yak. *xas-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 256, 306; DTS 439; ÈSTJa V 185; KRPS 281, 357; Podolsky 29; Rass. 219; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 377, 463.

The verb *kaz-* 'to dig' is confirmed in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kekir- (K-B) 'rygat' (KBRS 318); *kekir-* (*k'ek'ir-*; K) 'Brechreiz haben' (Pr K 108) < PT **kākir-*; cf.: OT *kekir-*; Kum. *kekir-*; Az. *gājir-*, *xajgīr-*, *kājir-* (Eg. 85); Tur. *gegir-*; Gag. *gir-*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.) *kekir-*; Tat. *kikīr-*; Čuv. *kakār-*; Bašk. *kikīr-*; Kaz. *kekir-*; *kakīr-* (Eg. 85); Kklp., Nog. *kekir-*; Kir. *kekir-*; *kakīr-* (Eg. 85); Trkm. *gājir-*; Uz. *kekir-*; Uig. *kekī(r)-*, *kekij-* Y. Uig. *kekirt-* Alt. *kegir-*, *kagīr-*; Khak. *kigīr-*; Tuv. *kegir-*; Yak. *kāyārt-*. – Lit.: DTS 295; Eg. 85; ÈSTJa III 37; KRPS 390; Räs. VEWT 248 a; StachM GJV 71; YRh. 392.

Kekir- 'to nauseate' has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages; in some of them (Tur., Az., Alt.) it means 'to belch'. Probably the verb has an onomatopoeic origin, cf. Eg. 85.

kel- (K-B) '1. pribyvat', prixodit', prijezžat'; 2. nastavat', nastupať; prixodit'; 3. doxodit', približat'sja; 4. donosit'sja, razdavat'sja; 5. postupat', dostavlat'sja, pribyvat'; 6. vyxodit' замуž; 7. teč, liťsja; 8. xotet'sja' (KBRS 319); *kel-* (B.dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'prixodit' (Boz. 175); *kel-* (*k'el-*; K) 'kommen' (Pr K 108); *kel-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 227) < PT **kāl-*; cf.: OT *kel-*; Kum. *gel-*; Az. *gāl-*; Khal. *kāl-*; Tur., Gag. *gel-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kel-*, (T) *kel-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kel-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tēl-*; Tat. *kil-*; Čuv. *kil-*; Bašk. *kil-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kel-*; Trkm. *gel-*; Uz. *kel-*; Uig. *kel-*, *kā(l)-*; Lob. *kil-*, *kel-*; Sal. *gel-*, *ge-*, *gij-*, *kel-*, *ke-*, *kē-*, *kej-*, *ki-*, *kī-*, *kij-*, *kil-*; Y. Uig. *kel-*, *gel-*, *kil-*, *ki-*; Alt. *kel-*; Khak. *kil-*; Tuv. *kel-*; Tof. *kel-*; Šor.

kel-; Yak. *käl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 241, 296; DTS 295-6; Eg. 112; ÈSTJa III 14; JUFD 202; KRPS 301, 302, 390; Malov 134, 135; ÖjHa. 22; Podolsky 25; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Sul. Kkar. 76; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 331, 377, 378, 379, 381-383; Tenišev SJ 179, 187.

There are equivalents of the verb *kel-* 'to come' in most other Turkic languages (the same meaning). In OT the verb was registered.

kemir- (K-B) '1. gryzt', glodať; 2. *per.* mučit, terzať; 3. myť, ščemiť, bolet' (KBRS 322); *kemir-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'gryzt' (Boz. 175); *kemir-* (B) 'nagen, kauen' (Pr B 227) < PT **kāmī-*; cf.: OT *kemür-*; Kum. *gemir-*; Az. *gämīr-*; Tur. *gemir-*; *kemir-*; Gag. *kemir-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kemir-*, (T) *kemir-*; Tat. (Cr.) *gemir-*; Tat. *kimīr-*; Bašk. *kimīr-*; Kaz. *kemīr-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kemir-*; Trkm. *gemir-*; Uz. *kemīr-*; Uig. *kemī(r)-*; Alt. *kemir-*; Khak. *kimīr-*; Yak. *käbij-*. – Lit.: DTS 297; ÈSTJa III 18; KRPS 303, 391; StachM GJV 59.

The verb *kemir-* 'to bite; to gnaw' is confirmed also in OT and it has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages.

ker- (K-B) '1. rastjagivať, vytjagivať; raspravljať; rasširať, razdvigať; 2. raskryvať, raspaxivať' (KBRS 327); *ker-* (B. dial.) 'rastilať, rastjanuť' (Boz. 175); *ker-* (*k'er-*; K) 'ausdehnen, austrecken' (Pr K 109); *ker-* (B) 'ansbreiten, vorbreiten, vorlegen' (Pr B 227) < PT **kär-*; cf.: OT *ker-*; Kum. *ger-*; Az. *gär-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *ger-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ker-*; Čuv. *kar-*; Tat. *kier-*; Bašk. *kir-*; Kaz., Nog. Kklp., Kir. *ker-*; Trkm. *ger-*; Uz., Uig., Alt. *ker-*; Lob. *kij-*; Tuv. *xer-*; Khak. *kir-*. – Lit.: DTS 300; Eg. 90; ÈSTJa 23; KRPS 167; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ker-* 'to stretch, tighten' is confirmed in OT and it has some equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kes- (K-B) '1. rezať, razrevať, otrezať; 2. peresekať; 3. opredeljať, ustanavlivať; 4. preryvať, prekraščať; 5. razjedať; zabivať, zaglušať' (KBRS 328); *kes-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'rezať, otrezať' (Boz. 175); *kes-* (K) 'schneiden, abschneiden, aushauen, abhauen, abschneiden' (Pr K 109); *kes-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 228) < PT **käs-*; cf.: OT *kes-*; Kum. *ges-*; Az. *käs-*; Khal. *käs-*; Tur., Gag. *kes-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kes-*, (H) *keš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tes-*; Tat. *kis-*; Čuv. *kas-*; Bašk. *kis-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *kes-*; Uig. *käs-*; Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt. *kes-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv., Tof. *kes-*; Šor. *käs-*; Yak. *kīs-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 257, 296; DTS 302; KRPS 308, 393; Malov 135; Podolsky 26; Rass. 203; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 380.

The verb *kes-* 'to cut, to cut off' has counterparts in most the other Turkic languages. It was confirmed in OT.

ket- (K-B) '1. uxodiť, nezžať, otpravljaťsja; 2. sxodiť, isčezať; 3. proxodiť, unimaťsja; prekraščaťsja, končaťsja; 4. projti, okončit'sja, minovať; 5. ujti, ubežať; 6. sryvaťsja, provalivaťsja; 7. pojti, byť potračennym' (KBRS 331); *ket-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'idti, uxodiť' (Boz. 175); *ket-* (*k'et-*; K) 'gehen,

weggehen, vergehen' (Pr K 109); *ket-* (B) 'gehen, fortgehen' (Pr B 228) < PT **kāt-* (Šč. SF 195); **kit-* (Räs. VEWT 258 b); cf.: OT *ket-*; Kum. *get-*; Az. *ġet-*; Tur., Gag. *git-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ket-*, (T) *kēt-*, *ket-*; (Tat. Cr.) *ket-*; Tat. (Ur.) *fet-*; Tat. *kit-*; Bašk. *kit-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ket-*; Trkm., Trukh. *git-*; Uz. *ket-*; Uig. *kāt-*, *ket-*; Lob. *ket-*; Sal. *gī-*, *gi-*, *ġi-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 303; KRPS 309, 394; Malov 135; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 258 b; SKT 178; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ket-* 'to go away, to go' has counterparts in most other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kij- (K-B) '1. točit', zatačivať, zaostřať; 2. vyrezať, kroit'; 3. *per.* stročit', písat'; 4. *per.* ranit, lišať *kogo* sil' (KBRS 451); *kij-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'stročit' po kraju, šit' po kraju' (Boz. 178); *kij-* (*q'ij-*; K) 'zuspitzen, verrichten, erledigen, verwirklichen' (Pr K 117); *kij-* (*qij-*; B) 'verrichten, zubereiten, sich entschliessen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kij-*; cf.: OT *kij-*; Az., Tur. *kij-*; cf. Čuv. *xājā* 'lučina' (Eg. 289); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kij-*; Trkm. *gij-*; Uz. *kij-*; Uig. *kij-*; Alt. *kij-*; Khak. *xij-*; Yak. *kij-*. – Lit.: DTS 441; Eg. 289; StachM GJV 93; YRh. 659.

The verb *kij-* in K-B has several meanings: '1. to shape; to sharpen'; '2. to cut'; also 'to decide'; 'to make sth' etc. In several Turkic languages and in OT its equivalents function also with different meanings, e.g.: Yak. *kij-* 'um etw. Herumgehen'; Trkm. *gij-* 'schneiden' (StachM GJV 93); Tur. *kij-* '1. to chop up fine; 2. not to spare, to sacrifice; 3. to massacre' (YRh. 659).

kil- (K-B) 'delat', soveršit', ispolnjať (KBRS 443); *kil-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'delat' (Boz. 178); *kil-* (*q'il-*; K) 'tun, verrichten (ein Gebet)' (Pr K 118); *kil-* (*qil-*; B) 'tun, machen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kil-*; cf.: OT *kil-*; Az. *gil-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Bašk., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uzb. *kil-*; Uig. *kil-* *kil-*; Lob. *kil-*; Alt. *kilin-*; Tuv. *kil-*; Khak. *xilin-*; Tof. *kil-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Bask. JpU 43; DTS 442; JUFD 212; KRPS 379, 385; Malov 132; Sul. Kkar. 91; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kil-* 'to do' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the verb was confirmed.

kir- (K-B) '1. uničtožať, istrebljať, ubivať, morit', razbivať; 2. valiť, rubit'; 3. skoblit', čistiť, tereť; 4. začiorivať' (KBRS 447); *kir-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'razbit', ubivať, razdrobit', skoblit' (Boz. 178); *kir-* (*qir-*; K) 'abschauen, niedermachen' (Pr K 118); *kir-* (*qir-*; B) 'zerbrechen, zerschmettern, niedermachen, niedermetzeln' (Pr B 237) < PT **kir-*; cf.: OT *kir-*; Az. *gir-*; Khal. *kīr-*; Tur. *kir-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kīr-*, (H, T) *kīr-*, (H) *tīr-*; Tat. *kīr-*; Čuv. *xir-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog. Kir. *kīr-*; Trkm. *gīr-*; Uz., Uig. *kir-*; Lob. *kīr-*, *kij-*; Y. Uig. *k'iril-*; Khak. *xīr-*; Tuv. *kīr-*; Tof. *kīr-*; Yak. *kīr-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 306; DTS 445; KRPS 558, 381, 387; Malov 132, 133; Podolsky 29; Rass. 223; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 204.

The verb *kir-* has several meanings '1. to break; to destroy; 2. to scratch; to clean'. It has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. Only in Khal. the

verb *kīr-* 'zerreißen' is registered with a long vowel (Doerfer LSCh 252). In OT the verb was confirmed.

kīrk- (K-B) '1. strič; 2. lomať; 3. biť, poroť; 4. (K) perekusiť, pojest; poščipať; 5. peresekať' (KBRS 446); *kīrk-* (*q'īrq-*; K) 'brechen, scheeren' (Pr K 118); *kīrk-* (*qīrq-*; B) 'schneiden, scheren' (Pr B 237) < PT **kīrk-*; cf.: OT *kīrk-*; Az. *gīrx-*; Khal. *kīrk-*; Tur. *kīrk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kīrk-*, (H) *kīrk-*, (T) *kīrx-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xīrx-*; Tat. *kīrk-*; Trkm. *gīrk-*; Tuv. *kīrgī*; Yak. *kīrt-* (StachM GJV 94); *kīrij-* (Räs. VEWT 266 b). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 306; DTS 446; KRPS 381, 387; Podolsky 29; Räs. VEWT 266 b; StachM GJV 94; YRh. 655.

The verb *kīrk-* 'to shear; to clip' was known in OT. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of this verb.

kīs- (K-B) '1. žať, davit; šžimať, přižimať; 2. zakryvať; 3. vjazať, privjazyvať, zavjazyvať; svjazyvať; 4. silno prosiť, trebovať; 5. nadevať; 6. pridvigať; stavať vplotnuju *k čemu*; 7. *per.* pritesnjať; zastavljať, prinuždať; 8. bojaťsja, osteregaf'sja' (KBRS 447); *kīs-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'davit, pressovať, objazyvať, opojasyvať' (Boz. 178); *kīs-* (*q'īs-*; K) 'drücken, pressen, auspressen, umgürten' (Pr K 118); *kīs-* (*qīs-*; B) 'drücken, pressen, umbinden, fest anbinden, zureden, nötigen, drängen, bedrängen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kīs-*; cf.: OT *kīs-*; Kum. *kīs-*; Az. *gīs-*; Tur. *kīs-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kīs-*; Čuv. *xēs-*; Bašk. *kīs-*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *kīs-*; Trkm. *gīs-*; Uz., Uig. *kīs-*; Lob. *kīs-*, *kīs-*; Sal. *kīs-*, *xīs-*; Alt. *kīs-*; Khak. *xīs-*; Tuv. *kīs-*; Tof. *kīs-*; Yak. *kīhaj-*. – Lit.: DTS 447; Eg. 300; KRPS 381, 388; Malov 133; Rass. 224; Sul. Kkar. 92; Tenišev 466, 553.

The verb *kīs-* '1. to press; to squeeze; 2. to bind' was registered in OT. At present it has counterparts in other Turkic languages.

kīz- (K-B) '1. greťsja, nagrevaťsja; 2. razgonjaťsja, nabirať skorost'; 3. zavodiťsja, načinať rabotať; 4. temperaturiť; 5. preť, gniť, peregorať; 6. podnimaťsja (*o solnce*); 7. goreť, razgoraťsja; 8. gorjačitsja, vspyxnuť, vspyliť; 9. razoxodiťsja; pristrastiťsja; vojti v azart; 10. nalivaťsja; 11. *per.* prel'sčaťsja, soblaznjaťsja' (KBRS 436); *kīz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'byť, stať gorjačim; serdiťsja' (Boz. 178); *kīz-* (*q'īz-*; K) 'glühen, glühend, heiss werden' (Pr K 119); *kīz-* (*qīz-*; B) 'glühend, heiss sein, heiss werden' (Pr B 238) < PT **kīs-*; cf.: OT *kīz-*; Az. *gīz-*; Khal. *kizārt-*; Tur. *kīz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kīz-*, *kūs-*, (H, T) *kīz-*; Tat. *kīz-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xīzdir-*; Čuv. *xēr-*; Bašk. *kīz-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kīz-*; Trkm. *gīz-*; Trukh. *kīz-*; Uz. *kizi-*; *kizar-* (Rass. 224); Uig. *kizi-*, *kiza(r)-* (Rass. 224); Sal. *kīzi-*; Alt. *kizar-*; Khak. *xīzar-*; Tuv. *kīs-*; Tof. *kīs-*; Yak. *kītar-*; *kīs-* (Rass. 224). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 259, 306; DTS 450; KRPS 354, 378, 383; ÖjHa. 29; Podolsky 30; Rass. 223; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Sul. Kkar. 92; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 467.

The verb *kīz-* has several meaning in K-B, however the basic are '1. to become hot, to be hot; 2. to get angry'. The verb has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, sometimes however with different meaning, cf.: Khal. *kizārt-* 'rotbraun braten' (Doerfer LSCh 259, 306); Yak. *kītar-* 'rot werden' (ÖjHa. 29,

StachM GJV 94); Kar. (Cr.) *küz-* 'to conceive' (Sul. Kkar. 92), also Kar. (Cr.) *küs-* 'to irritate' (KRPS 354). The verb is also registered in OT.

kiči- (K-B) 'česaťsja; zudeť' (KBRS 350); *kiči-* (*k'iči-*; K) 'jucken' (Pr K 110); cf. *kicū* (*kicū*; B) 'Krätze' (Pr B 229) < PT **kič-i-*, **kič-i-*; cf.: OT *kiči-*; Tur. *gici-*; Kar. (H) *kici-*, (T) *kiči-*; Tat. *kiču-*; Čuv. *kěšet-*; *xış-*; Bašk. *kışi-*; Kaz. *kışi-*; Kir. *kičū*; Trkm. *giğe-*; Uz. *kiči-*; Uig. *kičiš-*; Khak. *xiči-*; Tuv. *kiži-*; Tof. *kiži-*; Yak. *kihij-*. – Lit.: DTS 306; Eg. 110, 315, ÈSTJa III 42; KRPS 325; Rass. 203; Räs. VEW 269 b; StachM GJV 19; YRh. 401.

The verb *kiči-* has in K-B two meanings: '1. to itch' and '2. to scratch, comb'. The verb has its equivalents in other languages, however in some of them the given etymology is not clear. Egorov presents two Chuvash verbs: *kěšet-* and *xış-* 'to comb'. In the case of *xış-* he compares this form with other Turkic languages giving examples coming from both **kaši-* and **kič-i* ~ **kič-i-* forms, cf. Eg. 315. Rassadin, however, among the comparative examples gives Yak. form *kihij-* (cf. Rass. 203), which is according to Stachowski derived from **kaš-*, cf. StachM GJV 19.

kij- (K-B) 'nadevať; nosit' (KBRS 46); *kij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'odevať (Bez. 175); *kij-* (*k'ij-*; K) 'anziehen, anlegen (ein Kleidungsstück)' (Pr K 110); *kij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kāδ-*; cf.: OT *keδ-*, *ked-*, *ket-*, *kej-*; Kum. *gij-*; Az. *gij-*, *gej-*; *kej-* (Rass. 203); Khal. *kāt-*; Tur. *gij-*; Gag. *gī-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kij-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tij-*; Bašk. *kīj-*; Kaz. *kīj-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kij-*; Trkm. *gej-*; Uz., Uig. *kij-*; Lob. *kej-*; Sal. *kī-*, *kij-*, *kī-*, *kīj-*; Y. Uig. *kez-*; Alt. *kij-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv. *ket-*, Tof. *ket-*; Šor. *kes-*; Yak. *kāt-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 292, 294, 303; Doerfer LSCh 266, 297; ÈSTJa III 12; KRPS 317; Malov 133; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 381, 382, 400; Tenišev SJ 187.

The verb *kij-* 'to put on' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. It was registered in OT.

kir- (K-B) '1. vxodit', *per.* pronikať; 2. zaxodit'; 3. vstupat'; 4. sadit'sja (*o tkani*); 5. uglubit'sja; 6. pristupať; načinať; 7. vpityvat'sja, vsadyvat'sja; 8. idti, trebuvaťsja; 9. vxodit' v sostav; otnosit'sja; 10. pomeščat'sja; podxodit' (*po razmeru*)' (KBRS 348); *kir-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vxodit', *vojti*' (Boz. 175); *kir-* (*k'ir-*; K) 'hineingehen, eintreten' (Pr K 110); *kir-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kīr-*; cf.: OT *kir-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *gir-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kir-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kir-*; Tat. *kīr-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tīr-*; Čuv. *kēr-*; Bašk. *kir-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kir-*; Trkm. *gīr-*; Trukh. *gijr-*; Uz., Uig. *kir-*; Lob. *kij-*, *kej-*; Sal. *kir-*; Y. Uig. *k'er-*, *kīr-*, *k'īr-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv, Tof., Šor. *kir-*; Yak. *kīr-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 308; Eg. 107; ÈSTJa III 47; KRPS 322; Malov 133, 135; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 26; Rass. 203; SKT 178; StachM GJV 113; Sul. Kkar. 78; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 383; Tenišev SJ 189, 190, 204.

The verb *kir-* 'to enter' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kišne- (K-B) 'ržat' (KBRS 351); *kišne-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ržat' (Boz. 175); *kišne-* (*k'išne-*; K) 'wiehern' (Pr K 110); *kišne-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 230) < PT **kišnā-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kišnā-*; Kum. *kišne-*; Az. *kišnā-*; Tur., Gag. *kišne-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kišne-*; (T) *kišine-*, *kišna-*; (H) *kisne-*, *tisne-*; Tat. *kišnā-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kišne-*; Čuv. *kěsen-*; Bašk. *kišnā-*; Kaz. *kışine-*; Kklp. *kisne-*; Nog. *kisine-*; Kir. *kišene-*; Trkm. *kišje-*; Uz., Uig. *kišnā-*; Y. Uig. *kiste-*; Alt. *kište-*; Khak. *kiste-*; Tuv. *kište-*; Yak. *kistē-*. – Lit.: DTS 310; Eg. 110; ĖSTJa V 79; KRPS 324, 326, 532; Podolsky 13.

The verb *kišne-* 'to neigh' was confirmed in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic language.

koj- (K-B) '1. ostavljať; 2. davať, razrešať, pozvoljať; 3. perestavať, prekrašať; 4. zavešať, odkazyvať; 5. otkladyvať' (KBRS 419); *koj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'ostaviť, ne trogať' (Boz. 179); *koj-* (*q'oj-*; K) 'lassen, legen' (Pr K 119); *koj-* (*qoj-*; B) 'lassen, legen, überlassen, in Ruhe lassen' (Pr B 238) < PT **kođ-*; cf.: OT *kod-*, *kođ-*, *koj-*, *kot-*; Az. *goj-*; Khal. *kōj-*; Tur. *koj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *koj-*; Tat. *kuj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xoj-*; Čuv. *xur-*; Bašk. *kuj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *koj-*; Trkm. *goj-*; Uz. *kuj-*; Uig., Lob. *koj-*; Sal. *koj-*, *kuj-*; Y. Uig. *kuz-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; Bask. JpU 44; DTS 451-453, 461; Doerfer LSCh 244, 307; KRPS 329, 368; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Räs. VEW 274 b; Sul. Kkar. 89; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 386, 395, 463, 464.

The verb *koj-* '1. to put; 2. to allow' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *kod-*, *kođ-*, *koj-*, *kot-*.

kon- (K-B) '1. prizemljaťsja, sadiťsja, opuskaťsja; 2. osedať; 3. seliťsja; 4. *per.* nočevať; 5. *per.* otkladyvaťsja, nakaplivaťsja, zavodiťsja' (KBRS 412); *kon-* (B. dial. Baks.) 'spustiťsja, sest', poseliťsja' (Boz. 179); *kon-* (*q'on-*; K) 'sich niederlassen, sich auf etwas setzen' (Pr K 119); *kon-* (*qon-*; B) 'sich niederlassen, sich wohin setzen (wie die Vögel)' (Pr B 239) < PT **kon-* (StachM GJV 100), **kōn-* (Šč SF 194); cf.: OT *kon-*; Az. *gon-*; Tur. *kon-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kon-*; Tat. *kun-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xon-*; Bašk. *kun-*; Kaz., Kklp. Nog. *kon-*; Kir. *kon-*; Trkm. *gon-*; Trukh. *kon-*; Uzb. *kūn-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Alt. *kon-*; Khak. *xon-*; Tuv. *xon-*; Tof. *kon-*; Yak. *xon-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 445; KRPS 331, 370; Malov 129; ÖjHa. 34; Podolsky 30; Rass. 220; SKT 180; StachM GJV 100; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 388.

The verb *kon-* '1. to make a halt; 2. to stay for a night; 3. to settle' is registered in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants) with similar meanings, however in Tat. (Ur.) the verb *xon-* means 'to fly', cf. Podolsky 30. As far as the archetype is concerned Ščerbak gives the form: **kōn-* (Šč. SF 194) and Stachowski with a short vowel: **kon-* (StachM GJV 100).

kop- (K-B) '1. vstavať; podnimaťsja; 2. otslaivaťsja, oblezať, lupiťsja; otkleivaťsja, otstavať; 3. (K) razlivaťsja (*o reke*); 4. (K) *per.* razozliťsja' (KBRS 406); *kob-*, *kop-*, *kof-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vstavať, podnimaťsja'

(Boz. 179); *kop-* (*q'op-*; K) 'abreissen, sich lostrennen, sich erheben' (Pr K 119); *kop-*, *kof-*, *kob-* (*qop-*, *qof-*, *qob-*; B) 'sich lostrennen, aufstehen' (Pr B 239) < PT **kop-*; cf.: OT *kop-*; Az. *gop-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kop-*; Čuv. *xăp-*; Bašk. *kop-*; Kir. *kop-*; Trkm. *gop-*; Uig. *kop-*; Sal. *xop-*, *xo'p-*, *xup-*, *xu-*, *xut-*, *xot-*, *xuz'*; Y. Uig. *kop-*, *ko'p-*. – Lit.: DTS 456; Eg. 293; KRPS 333, 370; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 550, 551, 552, 558-559.

The verb *kop-* '1. to get up, to raise; 2. to get detached, to have come off' was known in OT. At present it has counterparts in some other Turkic languages.

koru- (K-B) '1. oxranjať, stereč, storožit'; oboronjať; 2. zaščičať, zastupaťsja. 3. otgonjať' (KBRS 415); *koru-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zaderžať, uderžať' (Boz. 179); *koru-* (*qoru-*; B) 'abhalten, zurückhalten, halten' (Pr B 239) < PT **kōrī-*; cf.: OT *korī-*, *koru-*; Az., Tur. *koru-*; Kar. (Cr.) *koru-*, *korī-*, (H, T) *koru-*; Kaz. *koru-*; Trkm. *kōrī-*; Y. Uig. *k'orī-*. – Lit.: DTS 458, 460; KRPS 334, 371; Räs. VEWT 282; Tenišev SJ 203; YRh. 675.

The verb *koru-* '1. to protect, defend; to watch over'; 2. 'to stop' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT two forms were registered: *korī-*, *koru-*.

koš- (K-B) '1. pribavljať; dobavlať; 2. naraščivať; nadstavljať; nadstraivať; 3. slučať, skreščivať; 4. priobščať, privlekať; vključať; 5. obedinjať; 6. *per.* wputyvať; 7. *per.* preuveličivať' (KBRS 417); *koš-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'pridať, pribaviť, prisčitať' (Boz. 179); *koš-* (*q'oš-*; K) 'vereinigen, hinzufügen' (Pr K 120); *koš-* (*qoš-*; B) 'hinzugeben, hinzufügen, hinzurechnen' (Pr B 239) < PT **kōš-*; cf.: OT *koš-*; Kum. *koš-*; Az. *goš-*; Tur. *koš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *koš-*, (H) *kos-*, (T) *koš-*; Tat. *kuš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xoš-*; Čuv. *xuš-*; Bašk. *kuš-*; Kaz., Kklp. *kos-*; Nog. *kos-*; Kir. *koš-*; Trkm. *goš-*; Trukh. *koš-*; Uz. *kuš-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *qoš-*; Khak. *xos-*; Tuv. *koš-*; Tof. *koš-*; Šor. *koš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 460; Eg. 312; KRPS 334, 335, 372; Malov 129; Podolsky 30; Rass. 221; Räs. VEWT 283 a-b; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 90; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *koš-* '1. to add, to mix; 2. to join, to unite' has equivalents in other Turkic languages sometimes with a wider semantic scale or another meaning, cf. Tof. *koš-* 'sšit' verx untov (bez podošvy)' (Rass. 221). The verb was registered in OT.

köč- (K-B) '1. perejezžať, pereseljaťsja; 2. peredvigaťsja; otodvigaťsja; 3. perexodiť, pereključaťsja; 4. prevraščaťsja; 5. perexodiť, peredavaťsja; 6. perexodiť' (KBRS 345); *köč-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kočevať' (Boz. 176); *köč-* (*k'öč-*; K) 'nomadisieren' (Pr K 110); *köč-* (B) 'nomadisieren, herumwandern, umziehen' (Pr B 230) < PT **köč-*; cf.: OT *köč-*; Kum. *göč-*; Az., Khal. *köč-*; Tur. *göč-*; Kar. (Cr.) *köč-* (T) *koč-*; Tat. *küč-*; Čuv. *kuš-*; Bašk. *küs-*; Kaz. *köš-*; Kklp., Nog. *köš-*; Kir. *köč-*; Trkm. *göč-*; Uz. *koč-*; Uig. *köč-*; Lob. *koč-*; *köč-*; Sal. *köč-*; Y. Uig. *k'öš-*, *küş-*; Alt. *köč-*; Khak. *kös-*; Tuv. *köš-*; Tof. *köš-*; Šor. *köš-*; Yak. *kös-*. – Lit.:

Doerfer LSCh 244, 298; DTS 311; Eg. 120; ÈSTJa III 88; KRPS 315, 341; ÖjHa. 41; Rass. 204; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 391.

There are equivalents of the verb *köč-* 'to migrate, to move off' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

köm- (K-B) '1. zaryvať, zakapyvať; 2. topit' (v vode)' (KBRS 341) < PT **köm-*; cf.: OT *köm-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *göm-*; Kar. (Cr.) *köm-*, (H) *kem-*, (T) *kom-*; Tat. *küm-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kom-*, *göm-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *köm-*; Trkm. *göm-*; Uig. *köm-*; Lob. *köm-*, *göm-*; Sal. *kom-*, *köm-*; Y. Uig. *k'öm-*, *köm-*; Alt. *köm-*; Khak. *köm-*; Tuv. *xöm-*; Uz. *kom-*; Tof. *xöm-*; Yak. *köm-*; – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 314; KRPS 303, 313, 337; Malov 137; ÖjHa. 41, Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 189; Tenišev 387, 391, 392.

The verb *köm-* 'to bury' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT it was registered.

kuj- (K-B) '1. lit', nalivat'; 2. lit', valit', idti; 3. sypat', nasypat'; 4. privodit', sobirat'; 5. *tex.* plavit', lit'; 6. valit', oprokidyvat'; 7. *per.* delat' čto v bolšom količestve' (KBRS 434); *kuj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'lit', nalivat', sypat' (Boz. 179); *kuj-* (*q'uj-*; K) 'giessen, einschenken' (Pr K 120); *kuj-* (*quj-*; B) 'einschenken, eingiessen, giessen, schütten, streuen' (Pr B 240) < PT **kuδ-*; cf.: OT *kud-*, *kuj-*; Tur. *koj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kuj-*; Kaz. *köj-*; Y. Uig. *kuz-*, *koz-*; Khak. *xus-* (Räs. VEWT 296 a), *kus-*; Yak. *kut-*; – Lit.: DTS 463, 464; KRPS 344, 373; ÖjHa. 38; Räs. VEWT 296 a; StachM GJV 117.

The verb *kuj-* 'to pour' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the forms *kud-*, *kuj-* were registered.

kur- (K-B) '1. ustanavlivat', stavit'; 2. obrazovyvat', ustraivat'; 3. nastraivat' (*instrument*)' (KBRS 426); *kur-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'postavit', sooružat', ustroit', prigotovit' (Boz. 179); *kur-* (*q'ur-*; K) 'aufstellen, machen' (Pr K 121); *kur-* (*qur-*; B) 'aufstellen, aufwinden' (Pr B 240) < PT **kur-*; cf.: OT *kur-*; Kum. *kur-*; Tur. *kur-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kur-*; Čuv. *xur-*; Kaz. *kör-*; – Lit.: DTS 467; Eg. 306; KRPS 347, 374; Räs. VEWT 302 a; StachM GJV 117; YRh. 684.

The verb *kur-* '1. to set up, establish; 2. to tune (an instrument)' has equivalents in a few Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kus- (K-B) I 'rvat'; tošnit'. II 'okisljat' (KBRS 428); *kus-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'rvat', blevat' (Boz. 180); *kus-* (*q'us-*; K) 'sich erbrechen' (Pr K 121); *kus-* (*qus-*; B) 'speien, sich erbrechen' (Pr B 241) < PT **kus-*; cf.: OT *kus-*; Kum. *kus-*; Az. *gus-*; cf. Khal. *kusma* 'Erbrechen' (Doerfer LSCh 60, 307); Tur. *kus-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kus-*; Tat. *kos-*; Čuv. *xās-*; Bašk. *kos-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kus-*; Trkm. *gus-*; Trukh., Uz., Uig., Oir., Tuv. *kus-*, Khak. *xus-*; cf. also: N Yak. *xotuo* 'Erbrechen, Vomieren' (StachM GJV 38). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 60, 307; DTS 470; Eg. 295; KRPS 349, 376; SKT 180; StachM GJV 38; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 689.

There are equivalents of the verb *kus-* 'to vomit, to throw up' in some Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kuw- (K-B) '1. gnať; 2. gnaťsja, stremit'sja, dobivaťsja' (KBRS 431); *kū-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš.) 'gnať, travit', gnaťsja za kem' (Boz. 179); *ku-* (*q^u-*; K) 'treiben, jagen' (Pr K 120); *ku-* (*qu-*; B) 'treiben, jagen, nacheilen, nachrennen, nachjagen' (Pr B 240) < PT **koy-*; cf.: OT *kov-*; Kum. *kuv-*; Az. *gov-*; Tur. *kov-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kuv-*; Tat. *ku-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xuv-*; Čuv. *xu-*, *xāv-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ku-*; Nog. *kov-*, *kuv-*; Kir. *ku-*; Trkm. *kov-*; Uz. *kuv-*; Uig. *kogli-*; Khak. *xog-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; DTS 461; Eg. 288; KRPS 342, 372; Podolsky 31; Räs. VEWT 275 a; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kuw-* 'to drive away' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the form *kov-* was registered.

küj- (K-B) '1. goreť; 2. obvarit'sja, obžeč'sja; 3. propadat' z'rja, idti praxom; 4. pereživat', gorevat' (KBRS 361); *küj-* (*k^üj-*; K) 'brennen, gebrannt werden' (Pr K 112); *küj-* (B) 'brennen' (Pr B 231) < PT **kōj-* (Šč. SF 195); **kūn-*, **kōn-* (Räs. VEWT 307 b); cf.: OT *kōj-*, *küj-*, *kōn-*; Kum. *gūj-*; Khal. *kiⁿ-*; Tur. *gōj-*, *kōj-* (dial.); Kar. (H) *kiv-*, *tiw-*, (T) *kuv*; Tat. *küj-*; Čuv. *ku^lan-*, dial.: *kujlan-*, *kull'an-*; Bašk. *küj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *küj-*; Trkm. *kōj-*; Uz. *kuj-*; Uig. *kōj-*; Lob. *kōj-*, *küj-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *küj-*; Khak. *kōj-*; Yak. *kōj-*. – Lit.: DTS 312, 314, 325; Eg. 116; ĖSTJa V 88; KRPS 316, 395, 524; Räs. VEWT 307 b; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 410.

The verb *küj-* 'to burn, to be on fire' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *kōj-*, *küj-*, *kōn-*.

kül- (K-B) 'smejaťsja' (KBRS 363); *kül-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'smejaťsja' (Boz. 176); *kül-* (K) 'lachen' (Pr K 112); *kül-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kül-*; cf.: OT *kül-*; Kum., Az. *gül-*; Khal. *kül-*; Tur., Gag. *gül-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kül-*, *ku^l-*, (H) *kil-*, (T) *ku^l-*; Tat. *kül-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kül-*; Čuv. *ku^l-*; Bašk. *kül-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kül-*; Trkm., Trukh. *gül-*; Uz. *ku^l-*; Uig. *ku^l-*, *kül-*; Lob. *kül-*; Sal. *ku^l-*, *kuli-*, *kuli-*, *ku^l-*; Y. Uig. *k^ul-*; Alt., Khak. *kül-*; Šor. *külü-*; Yak. *kül-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 232, 298; DTS 325; Eg. 115; KRPS 318, 346, 352, 396; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 13; SKT 178; StachM GJV 132; Tenišev 395, 401; Tenišev SJ 189.

The verb *kül-* 'to laugh' has equivalents in most other Turkic languages. The verb was registered in OT.

küre- (K-B) 'sgrebat' čto v kuču' (KBRS 365); *küre-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'gresti lopatoj, čistit' (Boz. 176); *küre-* (*k^üre-*; K) 'schaufeln' (Pr K 112) < PT **körü-*; cf.: OT *kürä-*, *küri-*; Kum. *küre-*; Az. *kürä-*; Tur. *kürü-*, *küre-*; Gag. *kürü-*; Tat. *kürä-*; Bašk. *gürü-*, *kürä-*; Kaz., Nog. *küre-*; Kir. *kürö-*; Kklp. *güre-*; Uz. *kurä-*; Uig. *kürä-*; Alt., Khak. *küre-*; Yak. *kürt-*. – Lit.: DTS 328, 329; ĖSTJa V 150; ÖjHa. 43; Räs. VEWT 310 a-b.

The verb *küre-* 'to shovel up, to clear away (with a shovel)' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *kürä-*, *küri-* were registered.

küreš- (K-B) '1. borot'sja; 2. starat'sja, delat' čto so staraniem; 3. starat'sja čto-l. sdelat'; 4. ssorit'sja, skandalit'; draf'sja; 5. zanimat'sja' (KBRS 365); *kureš-*, *küreš-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'naprjagat'sja, mučit'sja, borot'sja, sporit' (Boz. 176); *küreš-* (*k'üreš-*; K) 'ringen' (Pr K 112); *küreš-* (B) 'sich anstrengen, sich abquälen, ringen, streiten, zureden, eindringlich bitten; sich weigern, sich widersetzen' (Pr B 232) < PT **küräš-*; OT *küräš-*; Kum. *kureš-*; Az. *güläš-*; Tur., Gag. *güreš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *küräš-*; *kuraš-*; Tat. *küräš-*; Tat. (Cr.) *göreš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *küreš-*; Čuv. *kěreš-*; Bašk. *küräš-*; Kaz., Nog. *küres-*; Kklp. *güres-*; Kir. *kürös-*, *küröš-*; Trkm. *göreš-*; Uz. *kuraš-*; Uig. *küräš-*; Alt. *küreš-*; Khak. *küres-*; Tuv. *xüreš-*; Tof. *hüreš-*; Šor. *küreš-*. – Lit.: DTS 328; Eg. 107; ĖSTJa III 80; KRPS 354, 374; Podolsky 13; Rass. 192.

The verb *küreš-* 'to fight' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It is also registered in OT.

küt- (K-B) 'pasti' (KBRS 366); *kut-*, *küt-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'bereč', *pasti* (Boz. 176); *küt-* (*k'üt-*; K) 'hüten, weiden lassen' (Pr K 112); *küt-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **küđ-*, **kūt-* (StachM GJV 140); **kū-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *küd-*, *küđ-*; Kum. *küt-*, *gut-*; Az. *güd-*; Tur., Gag. *güt-*; Kar. (Cr.) *küt-*, *kütü*, (H) *kit-*, (T) *kut-*; Čuv. *kět-*; Tat., Bašk., *kūt-*; Kklp., Kir. *küt-*; Uz. *kut-*; Uig. *küt-*; Lob. *küt-*; Sal. *küc-*, *küt-*, *k'o-*, *k'ö-* *k'u-*; Alt. *küt-*; Yak. *kūt-*. – Lit.: DTS 324; Eg. 110; ĖSTJa III 107; KRPS 324, 354, 307; ÖjHa. 44; StachM GJV 140; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 398, 401, 402.

The verb *küt-* 'to pasture; to watch over' is registered in OT and has equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages the verb means 'to wait' in others 'to pasture', cf. Yak., Kir., Tat. Some authors claim that probably the contamination of two verbs occurred, cf.: Eg. 111; StachM GJV 140.

makir- (K-B) '1. blejat; myčat; mjaukat; 2. per. plakat' (KBRS 457); *makir-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'mjaukat, blejat' (Boz. 180); *makir-* (*maq'ir-*; K) 'miauen' (Pr K 122); *makir-* (*maq'ir-*; B) 'miauen, blöken, meckern' (Pr B 242) < PT **bakir-*; cf.: OT *bakir-*; Az. *bagir-*; Tur. *bagir-*; Gag. *ba'ir-* ~ *bār-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bagir-*, (H, T) *makir-*; Tat. *bakir-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bagir-*; Čuv. *makār-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bakir-*; Trkm. *bāgir-*; Uz. *bokir-*; Uig. *wakiri*, *böküri-*; Alt. *bagir-*; Yak. *bakkirā-*, *magirā-*. – Lit.: DTS 82; Eg. 128; ĖSTJa II 20; KRPS 96, 402; Räs. VEW 58 b.

There are equivalents of K-B verb *makir-* 'to shout; to bleat' in other Turkic languages. We cannot exclude that this is an onomatopoeic word.

min- (K-B) '1. vlezat, zabirat'sja; podnimat'sja; 2. kudit'sja; 3. rasti; 4. jezdit; 5. staf, vstaf' (KBRS 468); *min-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-

Bez.) 'sadiťsja, vlezat' (Boz. 180); *min-* (K) 'aufsteigen, sich auf etwas setzen' (Pr K 123); *min-* (B) 'sich setzen auf, besteigen (Dat.)' (Pr B 243) < PT **pīn-*; cf.: OT *bin-*, *min-*, *mūn-*; Az. *min-*; Tur. *bin-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *min-*; Tat., Bašk. *men-*; Kaz. *mīn-*; Nog. *mingiz-*; Kir. *min-*; Trkm. *bin-*; Uz., Uig. *min-*; Lob. *min-*, *men-*; Sal. *mim-*, *min-*, *miḡ-*; Y. Uig. *men-*, *mīn-*; Alt. *min-*; Khak. *mūn-*; Tuv. *mun-*; Tof. *mun-*; Yak. *mīn-*. – Lit.: DTS 100, 344, 353; KRPS 407; Malov 143, 144; ÖjHa. 30; Rass. 208; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 191, 192; Tenišev 411, 412.

The verb *min-* '1. mount; 2. to ride' has equivalents in other Turkic languages and in OT.

oj- (K-B) '1. razrušat'; valit', razvalivat'; 2. sryvat', rasstraivat'; 3. vyrezat' vyjem' (KBRS 508); *oj-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'razrušit' (Boz. 181) < PT **ōj-*; cf.: OT *oj-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.) *oj-*; Tat., Bašk. *uj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *oj-*; Trkm. *ōj-*; Uz. *oj-*; Uig., Lob., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Šor. *oj-*. – Lit.: DTS 365; ÈSTJa I 425; KRPS 424; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *oj-* 'to carve; to excavate; to dig; to scoop out' is known both in OT and in some other Turkic languages, where in some of them there are different phonetic variants of this verb.

ojna- (K-B) '1. igrat', zabavljaťsa, razvlekaťsja; 2. vyigryvat'; 3. šutiť, zaigryvat' (KBRS 492); *ojna-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'igrat', tancevat' (Boz. 181); *ojna-* (K) 'spielen' (Pr K 125); *ojna-* (B) 'hüpfen, tanzen, spielen, scherzen' (Pr B 246) < PT **ojnā-*; OT *ojna-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ojna-*; Tat., Bašk. *ujna-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ojna-*; Kir. *ojno-*; Trkm. *ojna-*; Uz. *ojna-*; Uig. *ojni-*, *ojna-*, *ojnu-*; Sal. *ojna-*, *ojnā-*, *ojnā-*; Alt. *ojno-*; Khak. *ojna-*; Tuv. *ojna-*; Tof. *ojna-*; Yak. *ojnō-*, *ōjno-*, *ōñō-*, *ojño-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 256; Doerfer LSCh 170, 304; DTS 365; ÈSTJa I 436; KRPS 425; Podolsky 16; Rass. 211; StachM GJV 50; Tenišev 424.

There are counterparts of the verb *ojna-* 'to play' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

oltur- (K-B) '1. sadiťsja, usažat'sja; 2. poseliťsja, oset'; 3. poterpet' neudaču; provaliťsja; 4. sideť, naxodiťsja' (KBRS 405); *oltur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sideť, zaderživat'sja' (Boz. 181); *oltur-* (*ol'tur-*; K) 'sitzen, sich setzen' (Pr K 126); *oltur-* (B) 'sitzen; sich aufhalten, verweilen' (Pr B 246) < PT **ol-tur-*; **ol-ar-* (StachM GJV 125); cf.: OT *oltur-*, *oldur-*, *olur-*; Kum. *oltur-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *otur-*; Kar. (Cr.) *otur-*, *otir-*, (H, T) *oltur-*; Tat. *utir-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *otur-*; Čuv. *lar-*; Bašk. *utir-*, *ultir-*; Kaz., Kklp. *otir-*; Nog. *oltir-*; Kir. *otur-*; Trkm., Trukh. *otur-*; Uz. *otir-*; Uig. *o(l)tu(r)-*, *otur-*; Lob. *ottur-*, *oltuj*, *ol'tuj-*, *ottu-*; Y. Uig. *olir*, *olur-*, *oltur-*, *ulir-*; Alt. *otur-*, *ottur-*; Khak. *odir-*; Tuv. *olur-*; Tof. *olir-*; Šor. *ottur-*; Yak. *olor-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 366, 367; Eg. 125; ÈSTJa I 489; KRPS 427, 435; Malov 151, 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; SKT 180; StachM GJV 125; Tenišev SJ 193, 217.

The verb *oltur-* 'to sit' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. The forms: *oltur-*, *oldur-*, *olur-* were registered in OT.

or- (K-B) 'žat' (KBRS 503); *or-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'polučat' urožaj, snimat' urožaj, kosit', žat' (Boz. 181); *or-* (K) 'ernten, mähen' (Pr K 126); *or-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 247) < PT **or-*; cf.: OT *or-*; Kum. *or-*; Tur. *ora-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *or-*, (Cr.) *ora-*; Tat. *ur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ora-*; Čuv. *vır-*; Bašk. *ur-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *or-*; Uz. *or-*; Uig. *o(r)-*; Lob. *oj-*; Sal. *or-*, *ur-*; Y. Uig. *ur-*; Alt. *or-*. – Lit.: DTS 370; Eg. 59; ÈSTJa I 468; KRPS 430; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 426, 427, 534, 535.

The verb *or-* 'to reap' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

oz- (K-B) '1. obgonjat'; operažat'; 2. proxodit', projezžat'; 3. minovat'; 4. *per.* perexodit' meru, granicu, perebarščivat'; 5. dostavatsja, prixoditsja. 6. prevosxodit', pereščegoljat' (KBRS 490); *oz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'idti vpered, operedit', peregnat'; (Balk., Kaš.) 'proxodit' mimo' (Boz. 181); *oz-* (K) 'vorübergehen, vergehen' (Pr K 127); *oz-* (B) 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen an (Abl.)' (Pr B 247) < PT **ös-*; cf.: OT *oz-*; Kum. *oz-*, Khal. *o'z-*; Tur. dial., Kar. (Cr., T), Tat. (Cr.) *oz-*; Tat., Bašk. *uz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oz-*; Uz. *oz-*; Uig. *oz-*; Lob. *oz-*; Y. Uig. *jöz-*, *juz-*, *jöz-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 244, 304; DTS 375; ÈSTJa I 425; KRPS 424; Malov 149; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *oz-* 'to get ahead, to overtake' is registered in OT and it has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In Khal. the verb has another meaning, cf. *o'z-* 'verlassen' (Doerfer LSCh 304).

ökür- (K-B) '1. myčat'; revet'; 2. gromko plakat' (KBRS 276); *ökür-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'revet' (Boz. 182); *ökür-* (*ök'ür-*; K) 'brüllen' (Pr K 127); *ökür-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **öḡ-*; cf.: OT *eḡrā-*; Tur. *ögür-*; Gag. *ūr-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ökür-*, *akir-*, (H) *ekir-*, (T) *ökür-*; Tat. *ükir-*; Čuv. *ēnēr-*; Bašk. *ükir-*; Kaz. *ökir-*; Kklp., Nog. *ökir-*; Kir. *ökür-*; Uz. *okir-*; Uig. *öḡkü(r)-*, *hökiri-*. – Lit.: DTS 175; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 517; KRPS 59, 439, 657; YRh. 907.

The verb *ökür-* 'to low, bellow; to retch' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. In MK there was the verb *eḡrā-* with the same meaning, cf. DTS 175. Egorov underlines the onomatopoeic character of this verb, cf. Eg. 65.

ös- (K-B) '1. rasti; vospityvatsja; 2. proizrastat'; 3. razvivatsja, zref, krepnuť; 4. uveličivatsja; 5. usilivatsja' (KBRS 280); *ös-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'rasti' (Boz. 182); *ös-* (K) 'wachsen, gedeihen, zunehmen' (Pr K 127); *ös-* (B) 'wachsen, gedeihen' (Pr B 248) < PT **ös-*; cf.: OT *ös-*; Kum., Tur. dial. (DS) *ös-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ös-* (H) *es-*, (T) *ös-*, *ös-*; Tat. (Cr.) *oś-*; Tat. *ūs-*; Čuv. *ūs-*; Bašk. *ūs-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ös-*; Uz. *os-*; *us-* (Eg. 281); Uig. *ös-*; Lob. *ös-*, *ūs-*, *us-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor. *ös-*. Lit.: DTS 391; Eg. 281; ÈSTJa I 552; KRPS 443, 668; Malov 153, 181; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ös-* 'to grow; to develop' was registered in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

öt- (K-B) '1. proxodit'; 2. projezžat'; 3. perexodit', perejezžat', perepravljat'sja; 4. proxodit' (*o toke*); 5. zliťsja; 6. dejstvovat', vlijat' (KBRS 281); *öt-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'perejti na storonu, perexodit' (Boz. 182); *öt-, jöt-* (K) 'hinübergehen' (Pr K 127); *öt-* (B) 'hinübergehen; über, oder durch etwas gehen, vorbeigehen, vorübergehen, durchdringen' (Pr B 248); < PT **öt-*; cf.: OT *öt-*; Kum., Az. Tur. (arch.) *öt-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öt-*; (H) *et-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ot-*; Tat. *üt-*; Čuv. *vit-*; Bašk. *üt-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *öt-*; Uz. *ot-*; *ut-* (Eg. 55); Uig., Sal. *öt-*; Lob. *öt-, üt-*; Y. Uig. *jüt-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Yak. *öt-*. – Lit.: DTS 391; Eg. 55; ÈSTJa I 554; KRPS 444, 671; YRh. 911.

The verb *öt-* 'to pass, to pass on' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

sal- (K-B) '1. stavit', klast'; 2. stlat', postilat', rasstilat'; 3. nasaživat'; 4. ustraivat'; 5. stroit', sooružat'; 6. bit', udarjat'; 7. vselit'; 8. navodit', napravljat'; 9. vešať; 10. sažat'; 11. dybit'sja, vstavat' na dyby' (KBRS 537); *sal-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'klast', stavit', naznačat', opredelit' (Boz. 183); *sal-* (K) 'werfen, schlendern, legen, setzen' (Pr K 129); *sal-* (B) 'werfen, schlendern, legen, setzen, stellen, aufstellen, erbauen, sich rasch in einer Richtung bewegen' (Pr B 250) < PT **sal-*; cf.: OT *sal-*; Az., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sal-*; Čuv. *sul-*; Bašk. *hal-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sal-*; Uz. *sol-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Khak., Tuv. *sal-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Bask. NJa. 259; ČRS 380; DTS 482; KRPS 462; Malov 159; Rass. 225; Šc. SF 196; Tenišev 471; Tenišev SJ 205.

The verb *sal-* 'to lay, to put; to hang down' etc. is registered in OT. It has also its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sana- (K-B) '1. sčitat', podčityvat'; podvergať sčiotu; 2. priznavat', sčitat' *k-č, za kogo-č.*; 3. *per.* boltat', trepat' jazykom, nesti okelesicu' (KBRS 539); *sana-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sčitat', cenit', dumat' (Boz. 183); *sana-* (K) 'zählen' (Pr K 130); *sana-* (B) 'zählen, rechnen' (Pr B 250) < PT **sā-*; cf.: OT *sa-*; Az. *saj-*; Khal. *sāj-*; *sāna-*; Tur. *saj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *saj-*, *sana-*, (H, T) *sana-*; Tat. (Ur.) *saj-*; Tat. *sana-*, *saŋa-*; Čuv. *su-*, dial. *sāv*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sana-*; Uig. *sana-*; Lob., Y. Uig. *sana-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 271, 308; DTS 478; Eg. 192; JUFD 230; KRPS 459, 464; Podolsky 19; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 205.

The verb *sana-* '1. to count; 2. to esteem, to respect; 3. to think' is registered in OT in the form *sa-*; it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sat- (K-B) '1. prodavat'; 2. *per.* predavat' (KBRS 543); *sat-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'prodavat' (Boz. 183); *sat-* (K) 'verkaufen, kaufen' (Pr K 130); *sat-* (B) 'verkaufen' (Pr B 251) < PT **sat-*; cf.: OT *sat-*; Az. *sat-*; Khal. *sa't-*; Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sat-*; Čuv. *sut-*; Bašk. *hat-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sat-*; Uz. *sot-*; Uig., Lob. *sat-*; Sal. *sa-*, *sac-*, *sä²-*, *sat-*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak.,

Tuv. *sat-*; Tof. *sat-*; cf. Yak. *atī* 'Ware' (StachM GJV 99). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 265, 308; DTS 490; Eg. 197; KRPS 468; Malov 160; Podolsky 19; Rass. 226; StachM GJV 99; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 469, 471, 475; Tenišev SJ 205.

There are many equivalents of the verb *sat-* 'to sell' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

saw- (K-B) '1. doit; 2. *per.* vymogať, doit' (KBRS 544); *sau-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'doit' (Boz. 183); *sau-* (K) 'melken' (Pr K 131); *sau-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sag-*; cf.: OT *sag*; Kum. *sav-*; Az., Tur. *sag-*; Kar. *sav-*; Tat. *sav-*; Čuv. *su-*, dial.: *sāv-*; Bašk. *hau-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sau-*; Nog. *sav-*; Kir. *sā-*; Trkm. *sag-*; Uz. *sog-*; Uig. *sag-*; Lob. *sag-*, *sak-*; Sal. *sax-*; Y. Uig. *sag-*; Alt. *sā-*; Khak., Tuv. *sag-*; Yak. *sā-* (Eg. 192); *ia-* (ÖjHa. 21, StachM GJV 21). – Lit.: DTS 480; Eg. 192; KRPS 454; Malov 158; ÖjHa. 21; StachM GJV 21; Tenišev SJ 205; Tenišev 476.

The verb *saw-* 'to milk' has its equivalents both in other modern Turkic languages and in OT.

seb-, sep- (K-B) '1. sypať; 2. sejať; 3. bryzgať' (KBRS 548); *sep-* (K) 'zerstreuen' (Pr K 131); *sep-*, *sef-*, *seb-* (B) 'streuen, zerstren, besprengen, bespritzen' (Pr B 251) < PT **sāp-*; cf.: *sep-* (Zamahš.); Az., Khal. *sāp-*; Tur. *sep-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sep-*, *serp-*, (H) *sep-*, (T) *šop-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sep-*; Čuv. *sap-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sep-*; Nog. *sep-*, *sip-*; Kir., Uz. *sep-*; Uig. *sāp-*; Alt. (V.) *sep-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Bask. NJa. 259; Doerfer LSCh 247, 308; Eg. 178; KRPS 471, 499; Podolsky 20; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1000.

The verb *sep-* 'to sprinkle, scatter; to powder' has its equivalents also in other languages. At the earliest it was registered by Zamahšari.

sekir- (K-B) '1. prygnuť, podprygnuť, podskočit; 2. brosaťsja, kidaťsja' (KBRS 550); *sekir-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'prygať' (Boz. 183); *sekir-* (*sek'ir-*; K) 'springen' (Pr K 131); *sekir-* (B) 'springen, aufspringen' (Pr B 251) < PT **sākir-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sekri-*, *sikri-*; Az. *sek-*; Tur. *sek-*; Kar. *sekir-*; Tat. *siker-*; Čuv. *sik-*; Bašk. *hiker-*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *sekir-*; Uz. *sakra-*, Uz. (S) *sikir-*; Uig. *sākir-*; Alt. *sekir-*; Khak. *segir-*; cf. Yak. *ākkiriä-* 'springen' (ÖjHa. 22). – Lit.: DTS 494, 499; Eg. 190; KRPS 470, 498; ÖjHa. 22; YRh. 995.

The verb *sekir-* 'to hop; to run in a series of jumps' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In the forms: *sekri-* *sikri-* it is registered in OT.

sīdīr- (K-B) '1. carapať, sdirať; delať ssadinu; 2. snimať, staskivať' (KBRS 579); *sīdīr-* (*sīdīr-*; K) '(ringsum) abschälen' (Pr K 131); *sīdīr-* (*sīdīr-*; B) 'abschälen, schinden, das Fell abziehen' (Pr B 252) < PT **sīdīr-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sīdīr-*; Az. *sījīr-*; Tur. *sījīr-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sīdīr-*; Tat. *sīdīr-*; Čuv. *šājār-*; Bašk. *hīzīr-*; Kaz. *sīdīr-*; Kklp. *siir-*; Kir. *sīdīr-*, *sījīr-*; Y. Uig. *sīzīr-*; Alt. *sījīr-*; Khak., Šor. *sīzīr-*. – Lit.: DTS 502; Eg. 332; KRPS 488; Räs. VEWT 414 b; YRh. 1015.

The verb *sīdir-* ‘to tear, peel off; to strip off’ has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. The form *sīdir-* was confirmed in OT.

sīk- (K-B) ‘1. vyžimať, otžimať; 2. *per.* žať, zastavljat’ *kogo* userdno rabotat’ (KBRS 578) < PT **sik-*; cf.: OT *sik-*; Az. *six-*; Tur. *sik-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sik-*, (T) *six-*; Tat. *sik-*; Čuv. *sāx-*; Bašk. *hik-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sik-*; Uz. *sik-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *sik-*; cf.: Khak. *siga tut-*; Tuv. *sik-*; Tof. *sik-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; DTS 504; Eg. 185; KRPS 491, 495; Malov 165; Rass. 230; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sīk-* ‘to squeeze, to press; to wring out’ was known in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sīn- (K-B) ‘1. lomaťsja, slomaťsja; 2. stixať, utixať; 3. *per.* slomit’sja; perežit’ duševnyj podlom’ (KBRS 584); *sīn-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) ‘slomať’ (Boz. 183); *sīn-* (*sīn-*; K) ‘zerbrochen werden’ (Pr K 131); *sīn-* (*sīn-*; B) ‘zerbrechen (intr.)’ (Pr B 252) < PT **sī-*; cf.: OT *sīn-*; Khal. *sīn-*; Tur. (arch.) *sīn-*; Kar. *sīn-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sīn-*; Lob. *sīn-*; Y. Uig. *sī-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 249, 309; DTS 503; KRPS 492; Malov 165; Sul. Kkar. 97; Podolsky 20; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sīn-* ‘to break, to become broken’ was known in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some modern Turkic languages.

sīna- (K-B) ‘1. ispytyvat’, probovat’; 2. perežit’, vystradat’; 3. prigladyvat’sja, nabljudat’ (KBRS 584); *sīna-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘isprobovat’, ispytat’ (Boz. 183); *sīna-* (*sīna-*; K) ‘erproben, prüfen’ (Pr K 131); *sīna-* (*sīna-*; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 252) < PT **sīna-* (ESG); OT *sīna-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sīna-*; Čuv. *sāna-*; Bašk. *hīna-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sīna-*; Uz., Uig. *sīna-*; Khak. *sīna-*. – Lit.: DTS 504; Eg. 181; KRPS 492.

The verb *sīna-* ‘to try, to test’ was known in OT. There are equivalents of the verb in other Turkic languages.

sīr- (K-B) ‘stegať’ (KBRS 587); *sīr-* (*sīr-*; B) ‘umgeben, umringen’ (Pr B 252) < PT **sīr-*; cf.: OT *sīrī-*; cf. Kum. *sīrma* ‘gesteppt’ (Räs. VEWT 418 b); Khal. *sīrī-*; Tat. *sīr-*; Khak. *sīrī-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 257, 309; DTS 505; Räs. VEWT 418 b; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sīr-* in K-B means ‘to quilt’ whereas in B. dial. it has the meaning ‘to surround’. In OT and in a few other Turkic languages the verb has equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B.

sibir- (K-B) ‘1. mesti, podmetať; 2. *per.* krasť’ (KBRS 558); *sīpīr-* (K-B) ‘1. vymetať, sgrebať; 2. stibriť, utaščit’ (ibid. 586); *sibir-* (K) ‘fegen’ (Pr K 132) < PT **sibir-*, **sūpūr-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sīpīr-*, *sūpūr-*; Kum. *sibir-*; Az., Tur. *sūpūr-*; Kar. *sibir-*; Tat. *seber-*; Bašk. *hāpār-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sīpīr-*; Nog. *sīpīr-*; Kir. *šīpīr-*; Uz. *supūr-*, *sūpūr-*; Uig. *sūpūr-*, *sūpūr-*; Y. Uig. *sūr-*; Oir. *sibir-*; Khak. *sībīr-*; Yak. *sīpīr-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; DTS 501, 517; Eg. 335; JUFD 257; KRPS 472; Räs. VEWT 437 a; Tenišev SJ 210.

The verb *sibir-* 'to sweep; to brush' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *sipir-*, *süpür-* were registered.

sij- (K-B) 'močiti'sja, ispuskat' moču' (KBRS 559); *sij-* (K) 'pissen, urinieren' (Pr K 132); *sij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 252) < PT **sið-*, **sigð-* (Räs. VEWT 421 a); **sig-* (StachM GJV 107); **sī* 'moča' (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *sid-*, *sið-*, *sit-*; Kum., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sij-*; Čuv. *šār-*; Bašk. *hej-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sij-*; Kaz. *šora-sar-*; Trkm. *sī-*; Uig., Uz. *sij-*; Y. Uig. *sez-*, *siz-*; Alt. *sij-*; Khak. *šīd-e-*; Yak. *īk-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 499, 501; Eg. 335; KRPS 473; Räs. VEWT 421 a; StachM GJV 107; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sij-* 'to urinate' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms *sid-*, *sit-*, *sið-* were registered.

siŋ- (K-B) '1. vpityvať'sja; 2. proniknuť, probrať, proxvaliť; 3. priživať'sja, privivať'sja, ukorenjať'sja; 4. *per.* uglubljať'sja, okunať'sja' (KBRS 560) < PT **siŋ-*; cf.: OT *siŋ-*; Tur. *sin-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *sin-*; Tat. *seŋ-*; Bašk. *heŋ-*; Kaz. *sīŋ-*; Nog. *siŋ-*; Kir., Trkm. *siŋ-*; Uz. *singi-*; Uig. *siŋ-*; Y. Uig. *sīŋ-*; Tuv. *siŋ-*; Tof. *sīŋ-*; Yak. *iŋ-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 500; KRPS 474; Rass. 227; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 208; YRh. 1020.

The verb *siŋ-* '1. to crouch down; to be hidden; 2. to sink (into), to penetrate' was registered in OT. There are also its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

soj- (K-B) '1. snimať škuru (koru); 2. rezať, zabivať; 3. sveževať. 4. *per.* mučit', terzať; silno rugať; 5. carapať; 6. ubit' (KBRS 569); *soj-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'snjať škuru, obodrať' (Boz. 183); *soj-* (K) 'schinden, plündern, berauben' (Pr K 132) < PT **soj-*; cf.: OT *soj-*; Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. *soj-*; Tat. *suŋ-*; Tat. (Ur.) *soj-*; Čuv. *sū-*, dial. *sěv-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uig., Lob. *soj-*; Y. Uig. *soj-*, *so-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *soj-*. – Lit.: DTS 507; Eg. 198; KRPS 477; Malov 162; Podolsky 21; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 206.

The verb *soj-* '1. to peel; 2. to strip' was registered in OT and has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

sok- (K-B) I 'igrať, akkompanirovať'. II 'tkat'. III '1. biť, udarjať, stukať; 2. rugať; 3. podstreliť' (KBRS 563); *sok-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'biť, tkať' (Boz. 183); *sok-* (*soq-*; K) 'weben' (Pr K 132), *sok-* (*soq-*; K) 'schlagen, hauen' (ibid. 132); *sok-* (*soq-*; B) 'schlagen, prügeln, weben' (Pr B 253) < PT **sok-*; OT: *sok-*; Tur. *sok-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sok-*; Tat. *suk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sox-*; Čuv. *sāx-*; Bašk. *huk-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sok-*; Uz. *sūk-*; Uig. *sok-*; Lob., Y. Uig., Alt. *sok-*; Khak. *sox-*; Tuv. *sok-*; Tof. *sok-*; Yak. *uk-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 508; Eg. 185; KRPS 477; Malov 162; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 21; Rass. 227; StachM GJV 75; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 207.

The verb *sok-* in K-B has several meanings, where the most frequent are 1 'to beat'; 2. 'to weave'. There are also the less frequent 'to scold' and even 'to

play an instrument'. In OT the verb *sok-* was registered with three meanings: 1. 'to beat'; 2. 'to put, to insert'; 3. 'to bite'. At present in some languages (Tof., Tuv., Tat., Bašk., Uz., Uig.) the equivalents of the verb mean 'to beat', in some others (Tat. (Ur.), Yak., Lob.) 'to insert, shove', also in Tur., Trkm., Čuv. 'to bite'.

solu- (K-B) '1. dyšat'; 2. otdyxat' (KBRS 565); *solu-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'dyšat, otdyxat' (Boz. 184); *solu-* (K) 'atmen, sich ausruhen' (Pr K 132); *solu-* (B) 'atmen, Atem holen, sich ausruhen' (Pr B 253) < PT **solu-* (ESG); cf.: Tur. *solu-*; Tat. *sula-*; Čuv. *sivla-*. – Lit.: Eg. 200.

The verb *solu-* 'to breathe; to breathe heavily' has its equivalents only in three other Turkic languages. Comparative material is given only by Egorov.

sor- (K-B) '1. sprašivat'; 2. osvedomljat'sja; 3. doprašivat' (KBRS 567); *sor-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sprašivat' (Boz. 184); *sor-* (K) 'fragen, ausfragen' (Pr K 132); *sor-* (B) 'fragen' (Pr B 253) < PT **sor-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sor-*; Kum. *sora-*; Khal. *so'r-*; Tur., Kar., Tat. (Ur.) *sor-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sōra-*; cf. Čuv. *šira-* 'iskat' (ČRS 626); Nog. *sora-*; Trkm. *sōra-*; Trukh. *sōra-*, *sora-*; Uig. *sora-*; Lob. *soj-*; Y. Uig. *sura-*; Sal. *sor-*, *sur-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; ČRS 626; Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 509; KRPS 479; Malov 162; Podolsky 21; SKT 181; Räs. VEWT 433 a-b; Tenišev 485, 486, 489; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sor-* 'to ask' was registered in OT. There are some equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

I sök- (K-B) '1. rasparyvat', otparyvat'; 2. razmatyvat', raspuskat' (KBRS 555); *sök-* (B) 'auftrennen, auflösen; ausspannen, abwickeln' (Pr B 253) < PT **sök-*; cf.: OT *sök-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. *sök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sök-*, (H) *sek-*; Tat. *süt-*; Čuv. *süt-*, dial.: *sěvēt-*; Bašk. *hūt-*; Kaz. *söt-*; Kklp. *set-*, *söt-*; Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sök-*; Uz. (S) *sok-*; Uig. *sök-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *sök-*; Tof. *sök-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 310; DTS 510; Eg. 199; KRPS 481, 497; Rass. 228; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sök-* '1. to tear down; 2. to rip open; 3. to unplat' was known in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some modern Turkic languages.

II sök- (K-B) '1. kritikovat', osužat'; 2. poročit', xulit', černit' (KBRS 555); *sök-* (K) 'schelten, verleumden' (Pr K 132); *sök-*, *söx-*, *sög-* (B) 'Übles nachreden, verachten' (Pr B 251) < PT **sök-*; cf.: OT *sök-*; Khal. *sög-*, *söj-*; Tur. *sög-* = *söv-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sök-*, *sögin-*, (H) *sek-*; Tat. *suk-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sük-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sög(ün)-*; Čuv. *sěk-*; Bašk. *hük-*; Kklp. *sok-*; Trkm. *sök-*; *sök-* (Räs. VEWT 429 b-430 a); Uig. *sök-*; Lob. *sök-*; Alt. (V) *sök-*; Yak. *üöx-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 510; Eg. 187; KRPS 480, 481, 497; Malov 163; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 429 b-430 a; Šč SF 196; YRh. 1029.

The verb *sök-* '1. to criticize; to judge; 2. to scold' was registered in OT. There are its counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. However, in some

languages the meaning is different, cf.: Tur. *sög-* = *söv-* 'to curse, swear'; Kar. (H) *sek-* 'to slander'; Kklp. *sok-* and Tat. *suk-* 'to hit'; Čuv. *sěk-* 'to gore, horn'.

söleš- (K-B) '1. govorit', razgovarivat'; 2. pogovorit', peregovorit'; 3. vystupat' (KBRS 557); *söleš-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'govorit', besedovat' (Boz. 184); *söjle-* (K) 'sagen, sprechen' (Pr K 132); *söjleš-*, *söjlöš-* (B) 'sprechen, sagen, rufen, anreden, sich (im Gespräch) unterhalten, sich in ein Gespräch einlassen' (Pr B 253) < PT **sö(z)-lä-š-* (ESG); cf: OT *sözlä-*; Kum. *söjle-*; Az. *söjlen-*; Tur. *söjle-*; Gag. *sülen-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sözl'a-*, *sozla-*, (H) *sezle-*, (T) *sozl'a-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *söjlä-*; Čuv. *sujlan-*, dial.: *sul'an-*, *sol'an-*; Kaz. *söjlö-*, *sülö-*; Nog. *söjle-*, *söjlö-*; Kir. *süjlön-*; Khak. *söle-*; Šor. *süjlä-*; Yak. *üläs-* 'uslovit'sja' (Räs. VEWT 429 b); *sulan-* 'pričityvat', setovat', roptat' (Eg. 193). – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 512; Eg. 193; KRPS 471, 481, 497; Räs. VEWT 429 b; Sul. Kkar. 96.

The verb *söleš-*, *söjle-*, *söjleš-* 'to speak, to talk' has in other Turkic languages its equivalents, however in some of them with different meaning, cf.: Kum., Gag., Kir. 'to rave, to talk nonsense'; in Az. 'to growl'. Cf. also the meanings given by Räsänen and Egorov in the case of Yakut. The form *sözlä-* was registered in OT.

sugar- (K-B) 'polivat', orošat' (KBRS 572) < PT **suv-*(~ **sug-*)-*gar-*; cf.: OT *suvgar-*; Kum., *sugar-*; Az., Tur. *suvar-*; Kar. (Cr.) *suvar-*, (H) *sugar-*, (T) *suvgar-*; Tat. *sugar-*; Čuv. *šavar-*; Bašk. *hugar-*; Kaz. *suar-*; Kklp. *sugar-*; Nog. *suvgar-*; Kir. *sugar-*; Trkm. *suvar-*; Uz. *sugor-*; Uig. *suvar-*, *sugar-*; Oir., Khak. *sugar-*; Tuv. *suggar-*. – Lit.: DTS 515; Eg. 332; KRPS 482, 483.

The verb *sugar-* '1. to pour; to water; 2. to sprinkle' has its equivalents in other languages, in some cases with different meaning, cf. in Tat. *sugar-*; Bašk. *hugar-* 'to steel'. The form *suvgar-* registered in OT.

suk- (K-B) '1. vtykat', vonzat'; 2. sovat'; 3. pogruzit', opustit', maknut' (KBRS 572); *suk-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'vsunut', prosunut' (Boz. 184); *suk-* (*suq-*; K) 'hineinstecken' (Pr K 133); *suk-*, *sux-*, *sug-* (*suq-*, *sux-*, *suq-*; B) 'hineinstecken, eintauchen' (Pr B 253) < PT **suk-*; cf.: OT *suk-*, *sok-*; Kum. *sök-*; Tur. *sok-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sok-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sök-*, Tat. (Ur.) *sox-*; Kaz. *suk-*; Trkm. *sok-*; Kir. *suk-*; Khak. *sux-*; Yak. *uk-*. – Lit.: DTS 508, 514; KRPS 477; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 432 a; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1026.

There are equivalents of the verb *suk-* 'to thrust into; to insert' in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms *sok-*, *suk-* were registered.

süje- (K-B) '1. stavit'; 2. vozvodit' (KBRS 588); *süje-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'stavit', postavit' (Boz. 184); *süje-* (K) 'stützen, anlehnen, bauen' (Pr K 133); *süje-* (B) 'aufstellen, anlehnen, bauen' (Pr B 254) < PT **söj-ä-*; cf.: Kaz. *süö-*; Kir. *süjö-*; Trkm. *söje-*, *söjö-*; Tuv. *söjö-*; Yak. *öjüö* ~ *öjō-*. – Lit.: Räs. VEWT 435 a; StachM GJV 66, 73.

There are equivalents of the verb *süje-* 'to put, to put up; to place' only in a few modern Turkic languages, in Trkm. with the meaning 'to support' and in Yak. 'to help'.

süjre- (K-B) '1. tjanuť, voločit'; 2. *per.* soderžať, tjanuť, pomagat' (KBRS 590); *süjre-*, *süre-* (K) 'ziehen, schleppen' (Pr K 133) < PT **südrä-*, **södrä-*; cf. Tur. *sürü-*; Tat. *österä-* (Eg. 190); Tat. (Kaz.) *söjrä-*; Čuv. *sětěr-*; Kaz. *süjrö-*; Trkm. *süjre-*; Uz. *sudra-*; Alt. (V) *süzür-*; Khak. *sözir-*; Tuv. *sört-*; Šor. *süzür-*. – Lit.: Eg. 190; Räs. VEWT 435 a.

The verb *süjre-* 'to drag along the ground' has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

sür- (K-B) '1. gnať, vygonjať; 2. gnaťsja, dogonjať; 3. ugonjať; 4. gonjaťsja; 5. pristrastiťsja, proxotiťsja; 6. prinjať, priznať; 7. paxať, vspaxivať; 8. vyraščivať, proizvodit' (KBRS. 592); *sür-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'gnať, prognat', gnať pered soboj' (Boz. 184); *sür-* (K) 'treiben, jagen, vertreiben' (Pr K 133); *sür-* (B) 'treiben, wegtreiben, vor sich hintreiben; ackern, pflügen' (Pr B 254) < PT **sür-*; **sūr-* (StachM GJV 135.); cf.: OT *sür-*; Kum., Az. *sür-*; Khal. **sūr-*, *sīr-*; Tur. *sür-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sür-*, *sur-*, (H) *sir-*, (T) *śur-*; Tat. *sör-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sür-*; Čuv. *süre-*, dial. *süvre-*, *sür-*, *sürele-*; Bašk. *hür-*; Kaz. *süjre-*; Nog. *sür-*; cf.: Kir. *sürgün* 'gonenje, ssylka' (Rass. 229); Trkm. *sür-*; Uz. *sur-*; Uig., Sal. *sür-*; Y. Uig. *sur-*; Alt. (V) *süre-*; Khak., Tuv. *sür-*; Tof. *sür-*; Yak. *ür-*, *ūr-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261.; Doerfer LSCh 262, 310; DTS 517; Eg. 198; KRPS 475, 486, 501; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 21; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 135; Sul. Kkar. 97; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 490; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sür-* '1. to drive (cattle); 2. to plough' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages as Tat. (Ur.), Čuv. with a meaning 'to plough'. In Uz. *sur-* 'to carry'.

süz- (K-B) '1. cedit', proceživať; 2. obsudit', razobraťsja' (KBRS 589); *süz-* (B. dial.) 'cedit', fil'trovat' (Boz. 184); *süz-* (B) 'seihen, filtrieren' (Pr B 254) < PT **sūs-*; cf.: OT *süz-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *süz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *süz-*, (H) *siz-*, *ses-*, *sus-*, (T) *śuz-*, *sus-*; Tat. *söz-*; Tat. (Ur.) *süz-*; Čuv. *sēr-*; Bašk. *hüz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kirg., Trkm., Uig. *süz-*; Kklp., Uz. *suz-*; Alt. *śü-*; Tuv. *śūr-*. – Lit.: DTS 519; Eg. 188; KRPS 473, 485, 486, 500, 501; Podolsky 21; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *süz-* 'to filter, to strain' was registered in OT; it also has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning. However in dialects of Karaim (i.e. H and T) it has also different meanings, cf. *sus-* (H, T) '1. to draw; 2. to steal'; *ses-* (H) 'to feel, realize; to feel pain'.

taj- (K-B) '1. skolziť, sezžať, sdvigaťsja; 2. *per.* otxodiť, otklonjaťsja, otrekaťsja; 3. *per.* uxodiť, pokidať' (KBRS 614); *taj-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'poskol'znuťsja, vyskol'znuťsja' (Boz. 184); *taj-* (*t'aj-*; K) 'ausgleiten' (Pr K 135); *taj-* (B) 'ausgleiten, entschlüpfen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāj-*; cf.: OT *taj-*; Kar. (Cr.,

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The verb *süjre-* 'to drag along the ground' has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

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The verb *süz-* 'to filter, to strain' was registered in OT; it also has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning. However in dialects of Karaim (i.e. H and T) it has also different meanings, cf. *sus-* (H, T) '1. to draw; 2. to steal'; *ses-* (H) 'to feel, realize; to feel pain'.

taj- (K-B) '1. skol'zit', sezžať, sdvigaťsja; 2. *per.* otxodit', otklonjaťsja, otrekaťsja; 3. *per.* uxodit', pokidať' (KBRS 614); *taj-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'poskol'znuťsja, vyskol'znuťsja' (Boz. 184); *taj-* (*t^caj-*; K) 'ausgleiten' (Pr K 135); *taj-* (B) 'ausgleiten, entschlüpfen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāj-*; cf.: OT *taj-*; Kar. (Cr.,

H, T), Tat., Tat. (Ur.), Bašk., Kaz. *taj-*; Trkm. *taj-*; Uz. *toj-*; Uig. *taj-*; Alt. *tajkila-*; Khak. *tajlīx-*; Tuv. *taj-*; Tof. *taj-*. – Lit.: DTS 527; KRPS 505; Podolsky 23; Rass. 232; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *taj-* ‘to slide’ was registered in OT and has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tajan- (K-B) ‘1. prislonjaťsja, privalivaťsja; 2. ložiťsja; 3. podnimaťsja, vosxodiť; 4. opiraťsja, osnovyvaťsja’ (KBRS 614); *tajan-* (*t^aajan-*; K) ‘sich anlehnen, sich stützen an’ (Pr K 135) < PT **tajan-* (ESG); cf.: OT *taja-*, *tajan-*; Kum. *tajan-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *dajan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tajan-*; Čuv. *tajan-* (prob. < Tat.); Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tajan-*; Trkm. *dajan-*; Uz. *tajan-*; Uig. *tajan-*, *tājin-*; Sal. *zija-*; Y. Uig. *tejan-*, *tajan-*; Alt., Khak. *tajan-*; Tuv. *dajan-*; Šor. *tajan-*; Yak. *tajan-*. – Lit.: DTS 527; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 125; KRPS 506; Podolsky 23; Tenišev 565.

The verb *tajan-* ‘1. to lean against sth; 2. to resist’ is known in OT in the form *taja-* and a reflexive one *tajan-*. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning, however in Tat (Ur.) *tajan-* ‘to endure’.

tak- (K-B) ‘1. privjazjyvať, pricepljať; 2. vešať, podvešivať; 3. nadevať; 4. brať’ (KBRS 596); *tak-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘vešať, povesiť’ (Boz. 184); *tak-* (*t^aaq-*; K) ‘hängen, aufhängen, anbinden, sich etwas umhängen’ (Pr K 135); *tak-*, *tax-*, *tag-* (*taq-*, *tax-*, *taγ-*; B) ‘hängen, anfhängen, daranhängen, anbinden’ (Pr B 256) < PT **tak-*, **tāk-*; cf.: OT *tak-*; Kum. *tak-*; Az. *tax-*, *tag-*; Tur. *tak-*; Gag. *dak-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tak-*, (T) *tax-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tak-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tax-*; Čuv. *tāx-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *tak-*; Trkm. *dak-*; Uz. *tak-*; Sal. *tax-*, *tāx-*; Alt. (V) *tag-*, *tak-*. – Lit.: DTS 536; Eg. 240; ÈSTJa III 129; KRPS 506, 518; Podolsky 23; StachM GJV 54; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 505, 506.

The verb *tak-* ‘1. to bind; 2. to hang; 3. to attach’ was known in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tala- (K-B) ‘1. kusať; 2. razmyvať, rozrušať; 3. *per.* izvodiť, gryzť; 4. *per.* obirať, opustošať, grabiť’ (KBRS 599); *tala-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) ‘rasterzať’ (Boz. 184); *tala-* (B) ‘zerschmettern, zerstückeln, zermalmen’ (Pr B 256) < PT **tala-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tala-*; Az. *dala-*, *tala-*; Tur., Gag. *dala-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tala-*; Tat. *tala-*; Čuv. *tula-*, dial.: *tāvla-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *tala-*; Uig. *tali-*; Alt. (V) *tada-*; Oir. *tala-*; Yak. *talā-*. – Lit.: DTS 528; Eg. 256; ÈSTJa III 134; KRPS 507.

The verb *tala-* ‘1. to bite; 2. to tear, to rip; 3. to destroy; 4. to rob’ was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tam- (K-B) ‘kapať, tečť kapljami’ (KBRS 601); *tam-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘kapať’ (Boz. 184); *tam-* (*t^aam-*; K) ‘tropfen, tröpfeln’ (Pr K 136); *tam-* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 256) < PT **tam-*; cf.: OT *tam-*; Kum. *tam-*; Az., Tur. *dam-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tam-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.), Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tam-*; Trkm. *dam-*; Uz. *tom-*;

Uig., Sal., Alt., Šor. *tam-*; cf. also Yak. *tammalā-*. – Lit.: DTS 529; ÈSTJa III 139; KRPS 509; ÖjHa. 11; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tam-* ‘to drop; to drip’ was known in OT. In some modern Turkic languages there are some phonetic variants of this verb.

tap- (K-B) ‘1. naxoditʹ; obnaruživatʹ; 2. polučatʹ; 3. rožatʹ; 4. nestiš, klastʹ jajca (o pticax); 5. *mat.* vyvoditʹ, dokazyvatʹ’ (KBRS 594); *tab-*, *taf-*, *tap-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘naxoditʹ, roditʹ’ (Boz. 184); *tap-* (*tʹap-*; K) ‘finden, erlangen, erwerben’ (Pr K 136); *tap-*, *taf-*, *tab-* (B) ‘finden, gebären; sich etwas anschaffen’ (Pr B 257) < PT **tap-*; cf.: OT *tap-*; Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tap-*; Čuv. *tup-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *tap-*; Uz. *top-*; Uig. *tap-*; Y. Uig. *tap-*, *taʹp-*, *taʹ-*; Alt., Khak. *tap-*; Tuv. *tip-*; Tof. *tup-*. – Lit.: DTS 533; Eg. 258; KRPS 513; Podolsky 22; Rass. 235; Sul. Kkar. 100; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tap-* ‘to find’ also ‘to give a birth’ was registered in OT and there are its phonetic variants in some other Turkic languages.

tara- (K-B) ‘1. pričesyvatʹ, česatʹ; 2. razvevatʹ, kolyxatʹ; 3. rozmyvatʹ’ (KBRS 604); *tara-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘pričesyvatʹ’ (Boz. 185); *tara-* (*tʹara-*; K) ‘kämmen’ (Pr K 136); *tara-* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 257) < PT **targa-*; cf.: OT *tara-*; Kum. *tara-*; Az. *dara-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tara-*; Čuv. *tura-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tara-*; Trkm. *dara-*; Uz., Uig. *tara-*; Lob. *taja-*; Sal. *tara-*, *tarā-*, *tarī-*, *tārī-*; Y. Uig. *tara-* ~ *dara-*; Alt., Khak. *tara-*; Tuv. *đira-*; Yak. *tarā-*. – Lit.: DTS 536; Eg. 259; ÈSTJa III 147; KRPS 514; Malov 167; ÖjHa. 11; Räs. VEW 464 a; Tenišev 502; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tara-* ‘to comb’ was known in OT and has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

tart- (K-B) ‘1. tjanutʹ, taščitʹ, natjagivatʹ; diorgatʹ; 2. gresti, idti, na vioslax; 3. pitʹ, vypivatʹ; 4. privlekatʹ; vovlekatʹ; 5. vesitʹ; 6. čertitʹ; 7. moloť, razmelčatʹ; 8. bitʹ; 9. razdavatʹ; 10. kositʹ; 11. pritjagivatʹ; 12. uvlekaťsja; 13. nesti, vezti’ (KBRS 606) *tart-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) ‘tjanutʹ, taščitʹ, sosať, pitʹ’ (Boz. 185); *tart-* (*tʹart-*; K) ‘ziehen’ (Pr K 136); *tart-* (B) ‘ziehen, leiten, führen; saugen, schlürfen, trinken, wiegen, ein Gewicht haben’ (Pr B 257) < PT **tart-*; cf.: OT *tart-*; Kum. *tart-*; Az. *dart-*; Tur. *tart-*; Gag. *dart-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tart-*; Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tart-*; Čuv. *turt-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tart-*; Trkm. *dart-*, *tart-*; Uz. *tort-*; Uig. *ta(r)t-*, *tart-*; Lob. *tajt-*; Y. Uig. *tajt-*, *tart-*, *teat-*, *tät-*; Alt., Khak. *tart-*; Tuv. *tirt-*; Tof. *tirt-*; Yak. *tart-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; DTS 538; Eg. 260; ÈSTJa III 154; KRPS 515; Malov 166; Podolsky 22; Rass. 236; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tart-* ‘1. to pull; 2. to carry; 3. to lead etc.’ is known in OT. At present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages with numerous meanings similarly to K-B.

taši- (K-B) 'nosiť, vozit', perenosiť, peretaskivat' (KBRS 614); *taši-* (*t'aši-*; K) 'tragen, forttragen, fortschleppen' (Pr K 137); *taši-* (*taši-*; B) 'bringen, tragen, schleppen' (Pr B 257) < PT **taši-*; cf.: OT *tašu-*; Kum. *taši-*, *taši-*; Az. *daši-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Bašk. *taši-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *taši-*; Kir. *taši-*; Trkm. *daša-*, (dial.) *daši-*; Uz. *taši-*; Uig. *tošu-*; Lob. *tošu-*; Sal. *tāši-*; *tāši-*; Alt. *taži-*; Khak. *tazi-*; Tuv. *daži-*; Šor. *taži-*; Yak. *tas-*. – Lit.: DTS 541; ÈSTJa III 170; KRPS 519; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 22; Tenišev 504.

The verb denoting 'to carry' is registered in OT in the form *tašu-*. It has also its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

tat- (K-B) '1. probovať na vkus, otvedyvať; 2. *per.* poznať, ispytyvať, vkušať' (KBRS 608); *tat-* (B) 'kosten' (Pr B 257) < PT **tāt-*; cf.: OT *tat-*; Az. *dad-*; Tur. *tat-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tat-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tat-*; Čuv. *tutan-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *tat-*; Trkm. *dāt-*; Uz. *tot-*; Uig. *tat-*. – Lit.: DTS 541; Eg. 262; ÈSTJa III 162; KRPS 517; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tat-* 'to taste' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages.

tebre- (K-B) '1. trogaťsja, opravljat'sja, napravljat'sja; 2. načinaťsja, nastupať; 3. sobiraťsja, namerevaťsja, xoteť (*čto-l, sdelat'*); 4. polučaťsja, vyxodiť' (KBRS 616); *tebre-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'načinať, prinimaťsja za delo, prigotoviťsja v puť, vzjať napravlenie' (Boz. 185); *tebre-*, *terbe-* (*t'ebre-*, *t'erbe-*; K) sich an etwas machen, sich anschicken etwas zu tun, aufrechen, sich auf den Weg machen' (Pr K 137); *tebre-* (B) 'anfangen; sich anschicken etwas zu tun; sich daran machen; eine Richtung einschlagen, sich irgendwohin auf den Weg machen' (Pr B 258) < PT **täprä-* (ESG) < **täp-*; cf.: OT *tebrä-*; Kum. *terben-*; Az. *terpe-*; Tur., Gag. *tepre-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tepren-*, (T) *tebren-*, *tebran-*, *tobran-*; Tat. (Cr.) *tepre-*; Tat. *tibrän-*; Čuv. *tapran-*; Bašk. *tibräle-* ~ *tirbäle-*; Kklp. *terbe-*; Trkm. *depre-*; Uz. *tebrä-*; Uig. *täwrä-*; Y. Uig. *terwe-*; Khak. *tibire-*. – Lit.: DTS 546; Eg. 230; ÈSTJa 200; KRPS 519, 522, 565; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tebre-*, *terbe-* (the form with metathesis) has equivalents in some Turkic languages, where it appears in some languages (Kklp., Y. Uig., Az.) with metathesis and in some others (Kar., Tat., Čuv., Kum.) in only reflexive forms. The basic meaning for this verb is 'to move; to move in order to do sth'. In OT the form *tebrä-* was confirmed.

teb-, tef- (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'dvigaťsja' (Boz. 185); *tep-*, *tef-*, *teb-* (B) 'böse werden, aufbrausen' (Pr B 258) < PT **täp-*; cf.: OT *tep-*; Kum. *tep-*; Az. *täp-*; Tur., Gag. *tep-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tep-*, (T) *töp-*; Tat. *tib-*, *tip-*; Čuv. *tap-*; Bašk. *tib-*, *tip-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tep-*; Trkm. *dep-*; Uz. *tep-*; Uig., Lob. *täp-*; Y. Uig. *tep-*; Alt. *tep-*; Khak. *tep-*, *tip-*; Tuv. *tep-*, *tëp-*; Tof. *tep-*; Šor., Yak. *tep-*. – Lit.: DTS 552; Eg. 230; ÈSTJa III 195; KRPS 523, 565; Rass. 234; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tep-* ~ *teb-* ~ *tef-* has several meanings, i.e. '1. to move; 2. to kick (in reference to a horse); to fling out; 3. to seethe' etc. The form *tep-* is registered in OT and has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

teš- (K-B) '1. probivat'; 2. razbivat'; 3. prodyriavlivať, progryzat' (KBRS 625); *teš-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'progryzt', prodyriavit' (Boz. 185); *teš-* (*t^eš-*; K) 'löchern, durchlöchern' (Pr K 138); *teš-* (B) 'durchlöchern, ein Loch machen' (Pr B 259) < PT **tāš-*; cf.: OT *teš-*; Kum. *teš-*; Az. *deš-*; Tur., Gag. *deš-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *teš-*, (H) *tes-*, *teš-*; Bašk., Tat. *tiš-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tes-*; Kir. *teš-*; Trkm. *deš-*; Uz. *teš-*; Uig. *tāš*, *tōš-*; Lob. *teš-*; Sal. *tās-*; Alt. *teš-*; Khak. *tis-*; Tuv. *deš-*; Tof. *deš-*; Yak. *tes-*. – Lit.: DTS 555; ÈSTJa III 210; KRPS 522, 567, 568; Rass. 172; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 506.

The verb *teš-* 'to make a hole; to jab' is known both in OT and in some Turkic languages, where there are different phonetic forms.

tirna- (K-B) 'carapať, carapaťsja' (KBRS 663); *tirna-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'carapať' (Boz. 186); *tirna-* (*tⁱirna-*; K) 'scharren, kratzen' (Pr K 138); *tirna-* (*tirna-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tirna-* ~ **tirja-*; cf.: OT *tirmal-*, *tirmaš-*; Kum. *tirna-*, *tirpa-*; Az. *dirma-*; Tur. *tirmala-*, *tirna-*; Gag. *tirmala-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tirna-*; Tat. *tirna-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tirmala-*; Čuv. *tārmala-*, *čārmala-*, *čērmele-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tirna-*; Kir. *tirma-*, *tirmala-*; Trkm. *dirma-*, *dirma-*; Uz. *tirma-*, *tirmalā-*; Uig. *ta(r)mala-*; Y. Uig. *tirna-*; Alt. *tirma-*; Khak. *tirba-*; Tuv. *dirba-*; Yak. *tarbā-*. Lit.: DTS 569; Eg. 239; ÈSTJa III 345; KRPS 558; Podolsky 24; Räs. VEWT 479 a; StachM GJV 95.

The verb *tirna-* 'to scratch' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages (also in various phonetic forms, cf.: above). In OT the forms: *tirmal-* *tirmaš-* were registered.

tij- (K-B) '1. trogať; dotragivaťsja; 2. kasaťsja; zatragivať; 3. biť, stegať, xlestať; 4. popadať v kogo-čto; poražať; 5. udariťsja; 6. vsxodit' (o nebesnyx svetilax) (KBRS 631); *tij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tronuť, trogať, kasaťsja' (Boz. 185); *tij-* (*tⁱij-*; K) 'berühren, anrühren' (Pr K 138); *tij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 259) < PT **teŋ-* (ÈSTJa III 175); **täγ-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *teg-*; Kum. *tij-*; Az. *dāj-*; Tur. *deg-*; Gag. *di-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *tij-*; Čuv. *tiv-*, *těk-*; Bašk. *tij-*; *tej-* (Eg. 250); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tij-*; Trkm. *deg-*; Uz. *teg-*; Uig. *täg-*; Lob. *teŋ-*, *teg-*, *tij-*; Y. Uig. *teg-*; Alt. *tij-*; Khak. *teŋ-*, *tig-*; Tuv., Tof. *deg-*; Yak. *tij-*, *tij-*. – Lit.: DTS 546-547; Eg. 244, 249; ÈSTJa III 173; KRPS 526; Malov 170, 171, 172; Podolsky 23; StachM GJV 61; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tij-* '1. to touch; 2. to concern' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages in various phonetic forms. In OT the form *teg-* was registered.

tik- (K-B) 'šit' (KBRS 634); *tik-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'šit' (Boz. 186); *tik-* (*tⁱik-*; K) 'nähen' (Pr K 139); *tik-*, *tix-*, *tig-* (B) 'nähen; aufstecken' (Pr B 259) < PT **tik-*; cf.: OT *tik-*; Kum. *tik-*, *tig-*; Az., Khal. *tik-*; Tur., Gag. *dik-*; Kar. (Cr.,

H, T) *tik-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dik-*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *tīk-*; Bašk., Kaz. *tīk-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *tik-*; Lob. *tüg-, tek-*; Sal. *tix-*; Y. Uig. *tek-, tik-*; Khak. *tīk-*; Šor. *tik-*; Yak. *tik-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 257, 313; DTS 558; Eg. 325; ÈSTJa III 227; KRPS 527; Malov 171; ÖjHa. 30; Podolsky 23; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 511, 512; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tik-* ‘to sew’ was registered in OT. There are its counterparts in some modern Turkic languages.

til- (K) ‘rezať čto na polosy, razrezať’ (KBRS 635) < PT **til-*; cf.: OT *til-*; Kum. *til-*; cf. Az. *dilik* ‘poloska’, *dilim* ‘lomot, lomtik’ (Rass. 173); Tur., Gag. *dil-*; Tat. *tīl-*; Čuv. *čěl-*; Bašk., Kaz. *těl-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *til-*; Trkm. *dil-*; Uz., Uig. *tīl-*; Lob. *til-*; Alt. *til-*; Khak. *tīl-*; Tuv., Tof. *dil-*; Šor. *til-*; Yak. *tel-*. – Lit.: DTS 560; Eg. 322; ÈSTJa III 230; Malov 172; Rass. 173; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *til-* ‘to tear; to tear into pieces’ is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tile- (K-B) ‘1. prosit', xodatajstvovat'; 2. svatať, svataťsja’ (KBRS 634); *tile-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘prosit', domagaťsja’ (Boz. 186); *tile-* (*t'ile-*; K) ‘bitten, um die Hand anhalten, um die Hand werben’ (Pr K 139); *tile-* (B) ‘bitten; werben um...’ (Pr B 259) < PT **tile-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tilä-*; Kum. *tile-*; Az. *dilä-*; Tur. *dile-*; cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *dilek* ‘1. želanie; 2. prošba’ (KRPS 177); Tat., Bašk. *tile-, telä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tile-*; Trkm. *dile-*; Trukh. *tile-*; Uz. *tile-, tila-*; Uig. *tīli-*; Lob. *telä-, tile-, tilä-, tele-*; Y. Uig. *tela-*; Alt. *tile-*; Khak. *tīle-*; Tuv. *dile-*; Tof. *dil'e-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 263; DTS 560; ÈSTJa III 231; Malov 171, 172; Rass. 173; SKT 181.

The verb *tile-* ‘to request’ is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tire- (K-B) ‘1. podpirat', stavit' podporku; 2. prislonjat', pristavljat'; 3. upirat'; 4. nastavljat', nacelivat’ (KBRS 636); *tire-* (*t'ire-*; K) ‘stützen, eine Stütze unterlegen’ (Pr K 139) < PT **tīra-*; cf.: OT *tirä-*; Kum. *tire-*; Az. *dirä-*; Tur. *dire-*; Tat. *tīrä-*; Bašk. *tīrä-*; Kaz. *tīre-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tire-*; Trkm. *dīre-*; Uz. *tira-*; Khak. *tīrä-*; Šor. *tire-*; Yak. *tirē-, tirie-*. – Lit.: DTS 561; ÈSTJa III 237 Räs. VEWT 481 a-b.

The verb *tire-* ‘to support’ is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tit- (K-B) ‘1. pušit', trepat', terebit'; 2. rvat’ (KBRS 637) < PT **tīt-*; cf.: OT *tīt-*; Kum. *tūt-*; Az. *did-*; Khal. *tit-*; Tur. *dīt-*; Gag. *did-, dīt-*; Tat. *tīt-*; *tet-* (Rass. 179); Čuv. *tat-*; Bašk. *tīt-, tūt-* (ÈSTJa III 321); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tūt-*; Kir. *tūt-*; *tīt-* (Eg. 233); Trkm. *dūjt-, tūjt-*; Uz. *tit-*; Uig. *tīt-*; Tuv., Tof. *dīt-*; Khak. *tīt-*; Yak. *tīt-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 313; DTS 564; Eg. 233; ÈSTJa III 321; ÖjHa. 29; Rass. 179; Šč. SF 197.

There are equivalents of the verb *tit-* 'to scutch; to tear' in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *tīt-* confirmed.

titire- (K-B) '1. drožať, trjastiť; sotrjasat'sja; 2. prixodiť v užas, užasat'sja' (KBRS 637); *titre-* (*t'itre-*; K) 'zittern, beben' (Pr K 139) < PT **titrä-*; cf.: OT *titirä-*, *titrä-*; Khal. *titrä-*; Tur. *titre-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *titre-*, (T) *titre-*, *tit'ra-*, cf. also Kar. (Cr.) *titrámák*; Tat. *teträ-*; Čuv. *čētre-*; Bašk. *teträ-*; Kaz., Kklp. *titre-*; Kir. *titire-*; Trkm. *titre-*; Uz. *titra-*; Uig. *titri-*; Khak. *titre-*; Tuv. *didire-*; Yak. *titirie-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 253, 313; DTS 564; Eg. 325; KRPS 532; Sul Kkar. 102.

The verb *titire-* 'to tremble' was known in OT and it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. According to Egorov it is an onomatopoeic verb (cf. Eg. 325).

tiz- (K-B) '1. stavit' v rjad; 2. rasstavljat', raspolagat'; 3. sostavljat', namečat'; 4. nizať, nanizyvaf'; 5. rasskazyvat'; 6. perečisljat'; 7. obstavljat', ubirať, ukrašat'' (KBRS 632); *tiz-* (*t'iz-*; K) 'ordnen, in die Reihe Stellen' (Pr K 139) < PT **tīs-*; cf.: OT *tiz-*; Kum. *tüz-*, *tiz-*; Az. *düz-*; Tur. *diz-*; Gag. *diz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüz-*, (H) *tiz-*; Tat. (Cr.) *tiz-*; Tat. *tiz-*; *tez-* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tir-*; Bašk. *tīs-*; *tez-* (Eg. 252); Kaz. *tiz-*; Kklp. *diz-*; Nog., Kir. *tiz-*; Trkm. *düz-*; Uz., Uig. *tiz-*; Lob. *tez-*, *tüz-*; Alt. *tis-*; Khak. *čīs-*, *tīs-*; Tuv. *dis-*; Tof. *dis-*; Šor. *tis-*; Yak. *tis-*. – Lit.: DTS 564; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 218; KRPS 526, 552; Malov 170; Rass. 173; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tiz-* '1. to put in order; 2. to string' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tol- (K-B) '1. napolnjaťsja, zapolnjaťsja; 2. vypolnjaťsja; byť vypolnennym; 3. sbyvat'sja, osuščestvľjaťsja; 4. ispolnjaťsja (*o vozraste*)' (KBRS 643); *tol-* (*t'ol-*; K) 'sich anfüllen' (Pr K 139); *tol-* (B) 'voll werden, sich füllen' (Pr B 261) < PT **tōl-*; cf.: OT *tol-*; Az. *dol-*; Khal. *tōldar-*; Tur., Gag. *dol-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tol-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tol-*; Tat. *tul-*; Čuv., Bašk. *tul-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tol-*; Trkm. *dōl-*; Uz. *tul-*; *tol-* (ÈSTJa III 257); Uig., Lob. *tol-*; Sal. *tōl-*, *tol-*; Y. Uig. *tol-*, *t'ol-*, *tul-*; Alt., Khak. *tol-*; Tuv., Tof. *dol-*; Šor. *tol-*; Yak. *tuol-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 264, 314; DTS 572; Eg. 256; ÈSTJa III 257; KRPS 535; Malov 174; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 24; Rass. 173; StachM GJV 82; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 513; Tenišev SJ 213, 216.

The verb *tol-* 'to fill' is known in OT and in some variants there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tök- (K-B) '1. lit'; vyľivať, prolivať, razľivať; 2. vysypat', vyľalivať, ronjat'' (KBRS 627); *tök-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'syľat', vyľivať, vysypat'' (Boz. 187); *tök-* (*t'ök-*; K) 'giessen, ausgiessen, ausschütten' (Pr K 140); *tök-*, *tōx-*, *tōg-* (B) 'schütten, ausgiessen, ausschütten' (Pr B 262) < PT **tök-*; cf.: OT *tök-*; Kum. *tök-*, *tok-*; Az., Khal. *tök-*; Tur., Gag. *dök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tök-*, (H) *tek-*; (T) *tök-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dök-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tök-*; Tat. *tük-*; Čuv. *tāk-*; Bašk. *tük-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tök-*;

Trkm. *dök-*; Uz. *tok-*, *tük-*, *tuk-*; Uig. *tök-*; Lob. *tök-*; Sal. *tö²-*, *tü²-*; Y. Uig. *tök-*; Alt., Khak. *tök-*; Tuv. *tök-*; Tof. *tök-*; Šor. *tök-*; Yak. *tox-*; *tök-* (Rass. 235) – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 247, 314; DTS 579; Eg. 235; ÈSTJa III 273; KRPS 523, 541, 561; Malov 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 24; Rass. 235; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 522, 528.

The verb *tök-* ‘to pour’ was known in OT. In most modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this verb.

töše- (K-B) ‘1. stlať, mostiť; 2. valiť, klast'; 3. biť, izbivat' (KBRS 631) < PT **töšä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *töšä-*; Az. *döšä-*; Tur. *döše-*; Gag. *döše-*; Kar. (Cr.) *töše-*, (H) *tese-*, (T) *toša-*; Tat. (Cr.) *düşe-*, *döše-*; Tat., Bašk. *tüşä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *töse-*, *toše-*; Kir. *töšö-*; Trkm. *düşe-*; Uz. *tuša-*; Alt. *töžö-*; Khak. *töze-*; Tuv. *döže-*. – Lit.: DTS 582; Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 333.

The verb *töše-* ‘to make a bed; to spread sth’ is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tunčuk- (K-B) ‘1. zadyxaťsja, ispytyvať uduše; 2. tonuť; 3. čaxnuť; 4. *per.* byť podavlenym, ugnetonnym’ (KBRS 652); *tunčuk-* (*t'unčuq-*; K) ‘ersauf-en, ertrinken’ (Pr K 140) < PT **tunčuk-* (ESG); cf.: *tunčuk-* (MK); Tur. dial. *dunğuk-* (DS); Tat. *tončik-*; Bašk. *tonsok-*; Kaz. *tunšik-*; Kklp., Nog. *tunšik-*; Uig. *tunğuk-*; Šor. *tunčuk-*; Tof. *duñžuk-*. – Lit. DTS 586; Rass. 176; Räs. VEWT 499 b.

The verb *tunčuk-* ‘1. to suffocate; 2. to drown’ was the earliest registered by MK, however at present the verb has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages.

tur- (K-B) ‘1. vstavat', podnimaťsja; 2. žit', proživat'; poživat'; 3. naxodiťsja, byť; 4. ostavaťsja; 5. otxodiť; 6. byť, stanoviťsja; 7. stojat', deržaťsja; naxodiťsja; 8. medlit' (KBRS 653); *tur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘stojat', vstavat', ostanavlivaťsja’ (Boz. 187); *tur-* (*t'ur-*; K) ‘stehen, aufstehen, aufhören, sich aufhalten, wohnen’ (Pr K 140); *tur-* (B) ‘stehen, aufstehen, stehen bleiben, bleiben, verweilen, wohnen’ (Pr B 262) < PT **tur-*; cf.: OT *tur-*; Kum. *tur-*; Az. *dur-*; Khal. *tur-*; Tur., Gag. *dur-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dur-*, *tur-*, (H, T) *tur-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tur-*; Tat. *tür-*; *tor-* (Eg. 238); Čuv. *tār-*; Bašk. *tür-*; *tor-* (Eg. 238); Kaz. *tür-*, *tur-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tur-*; Trkm., Trukh. *tur-*, *dur-*; Uz. *tur-*; Uig. *tu(r)-*; Lob. *tuj-*, *toj-*; Y. Uig. *tur-*; Alt., Khak. *tur-*; Tuv. *tur-*; Tof. *dur-*; Šor. *tur-*; Yak. *tur-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 236, 239, 240, 314; DTS 586; Eg. 238; ÈSTJa III 296; KRPS 181, 547; Malov 173, 176; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 25; Rass. 176; SKT 178, 181; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tur-* ‘1. to stand up; 2. to stay; 3. to live; 4. to become’ was registered in OT and it is very common in other Turkic languages, where there are some phonetic variants of this verb.

tut- (K-B) ‘1. deržať, uderživat', brať; 2. deržaťsja, braťsja; 3. zaderživat'; 4. deržať, razvodiť; 5. sobljudať, bljusti; 6. vesti sebja, deržaťsja; 7. *per.* xranit',

deržať, soderžať; 8. naniť, sniť, arendovať, brať vnajom; 9. vedať, zaniť; 10. vladať, imieť; 11. zestigať, loviť; 12. ispovedovať; 13. oblegať, prilegať; 14. nosiťsja; 15. polzovaťsja, obraščaťsja; 16. zatmevať; 17. sxvatiť, ukusiť; 18. načinaťsja, zabolet; 19. *sport*. borot'sja; 20. podvergáť, predavať; 21. iznasilovať; 22. sootvetstvovať" (KBRS 654); *tut-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sxvatiť, pojmať, deržať' (Boz. 187); *tut-* (*t^eut-*; K) 'fangen, ergreifen, halten, unterstützen' (Pr K 140); *tut-* (B) 'fassen, ergreifen, fangen, halten (Haustiere); bewachen' (Pr B 263) < PT **tut-*; cf.: OT *tut-*; Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.) *tut-*; Tat. *tot-*; Čuv. *tīt-*; Bašk. *tot-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *tut-*; Lob. *tut-*, *tot-*; Sal. *tut-*, *tuc-*, *tus-*; Y. Uig. *tut-*, *t^eut-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tut-*; Tof. *tut-*; Yak. *tut-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 245, 314; DTS 591; Eg. 268; KRPS 549 Malov 174, 177; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 25; Rass. 235; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 522, 525; Tenišev SJ 214, 217.

The basic meanings of the K-B verb *tut-* are: '1. to hold, to keep; 2. to take; 3. to catch'. The verb was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in most other Turkic languages.

tuw- (K-B) '1. roždaťsja; 2. zaroždaťsja, vznikať, pojavljaťsja; 3. vsxodit' (KBRS 656); *tū-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'byt roždennym, rodit' (Boz. 187); *tu-* (*t^eu-*; K) 'geboren werden' (Pr K 140); *tū-* (B) 'geboren werden' (Pr B 262) < PT **tog-*; cf.: OT *tog-*; Kum. *tuw-*; Az. *dog-*; Khal. *tog-*; Tur. *dog-*; Gag. *dū-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dog-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tuv-*; Tat. (Ur.) *dog-*; Tat. *tu-*; Čuv. arch. *tu-* (< *tāv-*); Bašk. *tiv-*; Kaz. *tu-*, *tū-*; Kklp. *tu-*, *tuv-*; Nog. *tuv-*; Kir. *tū-*; Trkm., Trukh. *dog-*; Uz., Uig. *tug-*; Lob. *tux-*, *tug-*, *tuk-*; Sal. *tog-*, *tug-*, *tux-*; Y. Uig. *tug-*, *tuk-*, *tog-*; Alt. *tū-*; *tu-* (Eg. 255); Khak. *tug-*; Šor. *tū-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 238, 313; DTS 570; Eg. 254; ESTJa III 245; KRPS 178, 542; Malov 176, 177; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 60; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 512, 520, 525; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tuw-* '1. to be born; 2. to appear; 3. to rise' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In Chuvash in the past the verb *tu-* (< *tāv-*) denoted 'to be born', however at present it means 'to do'. In Khakas, Altai and Kumyk the verb has also another meaning 'to lay eggs'. In OT the form *tog-* was registered.

tuwra- (K-B) 'rubiť, rezať, šinkovať, seč' (KBRS 657); *tūra-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'rubiť, razdrobiť, krošiť' (Boz. 187) < PT **togra-* (ESG); cf.: OT *togra-*; Kum. *tuwra-*; Az. *dogra-*; Tur. *dogra-*; Gag. *dora-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dogra-*, (H, T) *tuwra-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *dogra-*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tura-*; Kaz. *tura-*; Kklp. *tūra-*, *tuwra-*; Nog. *tuwra-*; Kir. *tūra-*; Trkm. *dogra-*; Uz. *togra-*; *tugra-* (Eg. 259); Uig. *togri-*, *togra-*; Lob. *tojo-*; Y. Uig. *torga-*; Alt. (V) *tugra-*; Khak. *togira-*; Šor. *togra-*. – Lit.: DTS 571; Eg. 259; ESTJa III 248; KRPS 178, 543; Podolsky 9.

The verb *tuwra-* 'to chop' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *togra-* was registered.

I tñj- (K-B) 'vjazať, zavjazyvať, svjazyvať' (KBRs 668) < PT **tñg-*; cf.: OT *tñg-*; Kum. *tñj-*; Az. *dñj-*; Tur. *dñg-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tñj-*; Trkm. *dñv-*; Uz. *tug-*; Uig. *tñg-*; Lob. *tñg-*, *tñj-*; Alt. *tñj-*, *tñ-*; Tuv. *dñg-*, *dñj-*; Šor. *tñ-*. – Lit.: DTS 595; ÈSTJa III 307; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 316.

The verb *tñj-* 'to knot' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the form *tñg-* was registered.

II tñj- (K-B) '1. biť, izbivať; kololit'; 2. kovať; 3. molotit', toloč', rušit' (KBRs 667); *tñj-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'biť, kolotit' (Boz. 187); *tñj-*, *tñ-* (*tñj-*, *tñ-*; K) 'schlagen' (Pr K 141); *tñj-* (B) 'schlagen, prügeln, treten' (Pr B 263) < PT **tñb-*, **tñg-*; cf.: OT *tñg-*; Kum. *tñj-*; Az. *dñg-*, *dñj-*; Tur. *dñv-*; Gag. *dñ-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tñj-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dñg-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tñj-*; Tat. *tñj-*, *tñj-* (Eg. 264); Čuv. *tñ-*; Bašk. *tñj-*, *tñj-* (Eg. 264); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tñj-*; Trkm. *dñv-*; Uz. *tuj-*; Uig. *tñg-*; Sal. *tej-*. – Lit.: DTS 579; Eg. 264; ÈSTJa III 270; KRPS 553; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 492 a-b; Tenišev 507.

There are equivalents of the verb *tñj-* '1. to beat; to pound; 2. to break; 3. to stab, prick' in several modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *tñg-* was registered.

tñkür- (K-B) '1. plevať, plevaťsja; 2. zagovarivať (bolezn'); zaklinať' (KBRs 671); *tñkür-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'plevať' (Boz. 187); *tñkür-* (*tñkür-*; K) 'spucken' (Pr K 141); *tñkür-* (B) 'spucken, speien' (Pr B 263) < PT **tñkir-*; cf.: *tñpür-*, *tñpir-* (MK); Tur. *tñkür-*; Tat. *tñgür-*; Trkm. *tñjkir-*; Y. Uig. *tñpür-*. – Lit.: DTS 598; Räs. VEWT 504 a; YRh. 1190.

The verb *tñkür-* 'to spit' is registered by Räsänen (in some phonetic variants) only in a few modern languages. According to Räsänen the verb has an onomatopoeic character, cf. Räs. VEWT 504 a. We do not know if there is any relation between the verb *tñkür-* and the forms *tñpür-*, *tñpir-* 'to blow (about the wind)' registered in MK, cf. DTS 598.

tñrt- (K-B) '1. tolkať, pixať; nataalkivať; 2. tormošit', podganjať; 3. dvigať, peremeščať; 4. *per.* ottalkivať, otdaljať' (KBRs 674); *tñrt-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'tolkať' (Boz. 188); *tñrt-* (*tñrt-*; K) 'stossen' (Pr K 141); *tñrt-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **tñrt-*; cf.: OT *tñrt-*; Az. *dñrt-*; Khal. *durt-*; Tur., Gag. *dñrt-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tñrt-*, (H) *tirt-*; Tat. (Cr.) *tñrt-*; Tat. *tñrt-*, *tñrt-* (Eg. 248); Čuv. *tñrt-*; Bašk. *tñrt-*, *tñrt-* (Eg. 248); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tñrt-*; Trkm. *dñrt-*; Uz. *turt-*; Uig. *tñ(r)t-*; Alt. *tñrt-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 285; DTS 599; Eg. 248; ÈSTJa 328; KRPS 531, 554; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *tñrt-* '1. to push; to ill-treat; 2. to beat; to jostle' is registered in OT (MK), where it meant 'to rub, to smear with sth'. At present the verb has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tñš- (K-B) '1. padať; 2. vyxodit', sxodit', slezať, spuskaťsja; 3. prizemljaťsja, sadiťsja; 4. vypadať; 5. nastupať, nastavat'; 6. popadaťsja; 7. *per.* napadať,

obrušivaťsja; 8. okazaťsja; očutiťsja; 9. vseljaťsja; poseljaťsja; 10. ustupať; 11. popadať; 12. postupať; vstupať; 13. predstaviťsja; 14. vznikať, pojavlajťsja; 15. polučaťsja; 16. otpečatyvaťsja; nanosiťsja; 17. sbivaťsja' (KBRS 675); *tüş-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'padať' (Boz. 188); *tüş-* (*t'üş-*; K) 'herabsteigen, hinuntersteigen' (Pr K 141); *tüş-* (B) 'fallen, niederfallen, sich niederlassen, absteigen, einkehren' (Pr B 264) < PT **tüş-*; cf.: OT *tüş-*; Kum. *tüş-*, *tuš-*; Az. *düş-*; Khal. *tüş-*, *tuš-*; Tur., Gag. *düş-*; Kar. (Cr.) *duš-*, *tüş-*, *čüş-*, (H) *kis-*, *tis-*, (T) *tüş-*; Tat. (Cr.) *düş-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüş-*; Tat. *tüş-*, *töš-* (Rass. 178); Bašk. *tüş-*, *töš-* (Rass. 178); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüş-*; Kir. *tüş-*; Trkm., Trukh. *düş-*; Uz. *tuš-*; Uig. *tüş-*, *čüş-*; Lob. *tüş-*, *töš-*; Y. Uig. *t'üş-*, *t'us-*, *tuš-*; Alt. *tüş-*; Khak. *tüş-*; Tuv. *düş-*; Tof. *düş-*; Šor. *tüş-*; Yak. *tüş-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 255, 315; DTS 600; ÈSTJa III 330; KRPS 182, 323, 531, 555, 571, 634; Malov 178; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; SKT 178; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 217.

The verb *tüş-* '1. to fall; 2. to go down; to climb down' is registered in OT and in other Turkic languages at present there are numerous equivalents of this verb.

uč- (K-B) '1. letať; 2. kataťsja; 3. propadať, isčezat'; 4. nabrasyvaťsja, nakidyvaťsja; 5. krasť, vorovať' (KBRS 689); *uč-* (Čeg.), *uc-* (Balk.) 'letať' (Boz. 188); *uč-* (K) 'fliegen' (Pr K 142); *uc-*, *uš-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **uč-*; cf.: OT *uč-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., T) *uč-*, (H) *uc-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uč-*; Tat. *uč-*; oč- (Eg. 53); Čuv. *věš-*; Bašk. *os-* (Eg. 53); *üş-*; Kaz. *üş-*; Kklp., Nog. *uš-*; Kir. *uč-*; Trkm., Uz., Uig. *uč-*; Lob. *uč-*, *uš-*; Sal. *uč-*, *us-*; Y. Uig. *uč-*, *uš-*; Alt. *uč-*, *uš-*; Khak. *us-*, *učux-*; Tuv. *uš-*; Tof. *uš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; DTS 603-604; Eg. 53; ÈSTJa I 612; KRPS 585, 586; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Rass. 238; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 531, 535, 537.

The verb *uč-* 'to fly' was registered in OT. At present it is common in most Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants). Similarly to K-B, where apart from the basic meaning the verb means also '1. to disappear; 2. to slide' even 3. 'to steal' in other languages it has more meanings as well. In Trkm., Tur., Khak., Tuv., Tat. (Ur.) this verb is known with the meaning 'to fall'.

ujan- (K-B) '1. prosypaťsja, probuždaťsja; 2. per. očnuťsja, opomniťsja' (KBRS 693); *ujan-* (K) 'erwachen' (Pr K 142) < PT **odun-*, **odan-* (ESG); cf.: OT *odun-*, *ođun-*; Kum. *ujan-*; Az. *ojan-*; Tur., Gag. *ujan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ojan-*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *ujan-*; Čuv. *vāran-*; Bašk. *ujan-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ojan-*; Nog. *ujan-*; Kir. *ojgon-*; Trkm. *ojan-*; Uz. *ujgon-*; Uig. *o(j)gan-*; Lob. *ujgan-*, *ojgon-*; Sal. *ujan-*, *ujän-*; Y. Uig. *ozgan-*; Alt. *ojgon-*, *ujgun-*, *ojan-*; Khak. *usxun-*; Tuv. *odun-*; Yak. *usugun-*. – Lit.: DTS 362, 363; Eg. 49; ÈSTJa II 430; KRPS 424; Malov 180; Sul. Kkar. 83; Tenišev 532.

The verb *ujan-* 'to wake up, to awake' at present has equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT two forms: *odun-*, *ođun-* were registered.

uju- (K) 'schlafen, einschlafen (auch von den Gliedern)' (Pr K 142) < PT **ūju-*, **ūdī-* (ESG); cf.: OT *udī-*, *udī-*, *uju-*; Kum. *uju-*; Khal. *ūdi-*; Tur., Gag. *uju-*; Tat. (Cr.) *uju-*; Tat. *oje-*; Bašk. *oyo-*; Kaz., Kir. *uju-*; Y. Uig. *uzu-*, *ucu-*, *ozī-*; Khak. *uzu-*; Tuv. *udu-*; Tof. *udu-*; Šor. *uzu-*; Yak. *utuj-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 238, 273, 315; DTS 605, 606, 607; ÈSTJa I 579; ÖjHa. 40; Rass. 236; Tenišev SJ 217, 218.

There are equivalents of the verb *uju-* 'to sleep; to fall asleep' in other Turkic languages. The following forms: *udī-*, *udī-*, *uju-* were registered in OT.

ulu- (K-B) 'vyt' (KBRS 682); *ulu-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'revet, vyt' (Boz. 188); *ulu-* (K) 'heulen' (Pr K 142); *ulu-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **ūli-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ulī-*; Kum. *ulu-*; Az. *ula-*; Tur., Gag. *ulu-*; Kar. (H) *ulu-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ulu-*; Tat. *olī-*, *ula-*; Čuv. *ula-*; Bašk. *ūlī-*, *olo-* (Eg. 271); Kaz. *ūlī-*, *ulu-*; Kklp., Nog. *ulī-*; Kir. *ulu-*; Trkm. *ūli-*; Uz. *uvla-*; *uli-* (Rass. 237); Uig. *ulu-*; Lob. *ulu-*; Alt. *ulu-*, *ulī-*; Khak., Tuv. *ulu-*; Tof. *ulu-*; Yak. *uluj-*. – Lit.: DTS 609; Eg. 271; ÈSTJa I 595; KRPS 577; Rass. 237.

The verb *ulu-* 'to howl; to yell' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. MK registered the form *ulī-*.

ur- (K-B) '1. bit', *udarjat'*; 2. *zabivat'*; 3. *streljat'*; 4. *obivat'*; 5. *vejat'*, *duť*, *otdavat'*, *donosit'sja*; 6. *pokryvat'sja*, *vystupat'*; *probivat'sja*; 7. *katať*, *valjat'*; 8. *obvalivat'*; 9. *biťsja*; 10. *bodat'[sja]*, *brykat'[sja]*; 11. *kušať*, *žaliť*; 12. *žrať*; *navoračivat'* (KBRS 685); *ur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bit', *streljat'*, *gnať* (Boz. 188); *ur-* (K) 'schlagen, hauen, drucken' (Pr K 142); *ur-* (B) 'schlagen, schießen, treffen (mit einer schiesswaffe), erschießen, erlegen, töten; treiben' (Pr B 265) < PT **ūr-*; cf.: OT *ur-*; Kum. *ur-*; Az., Khal., Tur. *vur-*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *vur-*; Tat. *ūr-*; *or-* (Eg. 48); Čuv. *vār-*; Bašk. *ūr-*; *or-* (Eg. 48); Kaz. *ūr-*, *ur-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ur-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *ur-*; Lob. *ur-*, *uj-*; Sal. *vur-*, *var-*, *ur-*; Y. Uig. *p'er-*, *per-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ur-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 248, 316; DTS 614; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 599; KRPS 580; Malov 180, 181; Podolsky 26; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 534, 540, 545; Tenišev SJ 198.

The verb *ur-* '1. to beat; 2. to blow; 3. to shoot; 4. to drive' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages also with numerous meanings.

ut- (K-B) 'vyigryvat' (KBRS 687) < PT **ūt-*; cf.: OT *ut-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ut-*; Tat. *ūt-*; *ot-* (Eg. 44); Čuv. *āt-*; Bašk. *ūt-*; *ot-* (Eg. 44); Kaz. *ūt-*; *ut-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ut-*; Uz. *jut-*; Uig. *ut-*; Alt. (V) *ūt-*; Khak. *ut-*; Tuv. *ut-*. – Lit.: DTS 617; Eg. 44; ÈSTJa I 609; KRPS 583; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ut-* 'to win' registered in OT has at present its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In some of them (Čuv., Tat., Bašk., Nog.) the verb has more meanings than the one known in K-B.

uw- (K-B) '1. mjať, razminat'; 2. tereť; 3. krošit', rušit' (KBRs 688); *ū-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'mjať, rasteret' (Boz. 188) < PT **ov-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ov-*; Kum. *uv-*; Az., Tur. *og-* (Eg. 39); *ov-*; Gag. *ū-*; Kar. (T) *uv-*; Tat. *u-*; Čuv. *āv-*, *ux-*; Bašk. *iw-*; Tat. (Cr.) *og-*; Trkm. *ov-*; *ovnut-* (Eg. 39); Nog. *uv-*; Y. Uig. *ug-*; Khak. *ug-*; Tuv. *ug-* (Eg. 39); *ū-*. – Lit.: DTS 374; Eg. 39, 279; ÈSTJa I 401; KRPS 572.

The verb *uw-* '1. to crush; to wrinkle; 2. to rub' has at present its equivalents only in some of the other Turkic languages. MK registered the form *ov-*.

I ür- (K) 'duť' (KBRs 785); *ür-*, *jür-* (K) 'blasen (mit dem Munde)' (Pr K 143) < PT **ür-*; cf.: OT *ür-*; Kum. *uvfür-*; Az. *üfür-*; Tur. *ür-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ür-*, (H) *ir-*, *jir-*; Tat. *ür-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *věr-*; Bašk. *ür-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Kaz. *ürle-*, *ür-*; Kklp. *urle-*, *uple-*, *ür-*; Nog. *ür-*; Kir. *üjlö-*; Trkm. *üfle-*; Uz. (S) *üfür-*, *pufla-*; Uig. *püli-*; Alt., Khak., *ür-*; Tuv. *ür-*, *ēr-*; Tof. *ür-*; Yak. *ür-*. – Lit.: DTS 626; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 635; KRPS 205, 245, 590; StachM GJV 134; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 1209.

The verb *ür-* 'to blow' has equivalents in many Turkic languages. Egorov (Eg. 52) points out the onomatopoeic character of the verb. The verb was confirmed in OT.

II ür- (K-B) 'lajať' (KBRs 785); *ür-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'lajať' (Boz. 189); *ür-* (K) 'bellen' (Pr K 143); *ür-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 267) < PT **ür-*; cf.: OT *ür-*; Az. *hür-*; Khak. *hül-*; Tur. *ürü-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ür-*; Tat. *ür-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *věr-*; Bašk. *ür-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ür-*; Trkm. *üjr-*, *ür-*; Alt., Khak. *ür-*; Tuv. *ēr-*; Šor. *ür-*; *übür-* (Eg. 52); Yak. *ür-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 293; DTS 626; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 626; KRPS 590; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ür-* 'to bark; to howl' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. ÈSTJa I 627 underlines its onomatopoeic character.

üren- (K-B) '1. učit'sja; 2. privykat'; vtjagivaťsja; 3. trenirovaťsja; upražnjaťsja' (KBRs 784); *üjren-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'učit'sja, privykat' (Boz. 189); *üren-*, *üren-* (K) 'lernen, sich angewöhnen, sich gewöhnen an' (Pr K 143); *üjren-*, *üjrön-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **ögrän-*; cf.: OT *ögrän-*; Kum. *üjren-*, *ujren-*; Az. *öjran-*; Khal. *öjran-*; Tur. *ögren-*; Gag. *jüren-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ügren-*, *ören-*, (H) *ivren-*, (T) *üvrän-*, *ürän-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogren-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ögren-*; Tat. *üjran-*; *öjran-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Čuv. *věren-*; Bašk. *üjran-*; *öjran-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *üjren-*; Kir. *üjrön-*; Trkm. *övren-*; Uz. *orgän-*; *urgan-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Uig. *ügän-*; *ö(r)gän-* (ÈSTJa I 496); Lob. *öjgen-*, *öjgön-*, *ögön-*; Sal. *örgen-*; Y. Uig. *jörgen-*, *ürgen-*, *jürgen-*; Alt. *üren-*; Khak. *ügren-*; Tuv. *ören-*; Tof. *ören-*; Yak. *üörän-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 234, 304; DTS 380; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 496; KRPS 192, 443, 588, 591; Malov 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 215; StachM GJV 65; Tenišev 432; Tenišev SJ 185.

The verb *üren-* 'to learn' has its equivalents (in various phonetic forms) in many other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *ögrän-*.

üz- (K-B) '1. rvať, otryvať; 2. razedinit' (KBRS 781); *üz-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'porvať, razorvať' (Boz. 188); *üz-* (K) 'zerreissen, abreissen' (Pr K 144); *üz-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 267) < PT **ūs-*; cf.: OT *üz-*; Kum. *uz-*, *üz-*; Az., Tur. *üz-*; Kar. (H) *iz-*; Kar. (T) *už-*; Tat. *üz-*; *öz-* (Rass. 239); Bašk. *üz-*; *öz-* (Rass. 239); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *üz-*; Uz. *uz-*; Uig. *üz-*; Lob. *üz-*, *üs-*; Y. Uig. *jüz-*, *juz-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *üs-*; Tof. *üs-*. – Lit.: DTS 629; ÈSTJa I 621; KRPS 194; Malov 182, 183; Rass. 239; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 1212.

The verb *üz-* 'to tear; to detach' was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Y. Uighur the verb appears with the prenotation: *jüz-* *juz-*.

zanī- (B. dial.: Balk.) 'groziť, ugrožat' (Boz. 173); *zanī-* (*zanī-*; B) 'drohen, bedrohen' (Pr B 268) < PT **jān(-i)-*; cf.: OT *jan-*; Gag. *jān-*; Tat. *jana-*; Čuv. *juna-*; Bašk. *janī-*; Trkm. *jana-*; Uz. *jan-*; Uig. *gonu-*; Lob. *ganu-*; Yak. *sān-*. – Lit.: DTS 231; Eg. 349; ÈSTJa IV 114; Räs. VEWT 184 b.

The verb *zanī-* (the dialectal form) means 'to scare, to threaten'. The verb has its equivalents only in some of the other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jan-* was registered.

9.2. Verbs of state

ačī- (K-B) '1. skvašivaťsja; 2. kisnuť, gorknuť; 3. vzojti, podnjaťsja' (KBRS 101); *ačī-* (B dial.: Baks.) 'stať terpkim, stať gořkim, kislym' (Boz. 166); *ačī-* (*ačī-*; K) 'sauer werden' (Pr K 84); *ačī-* (*ačī-*; B) 'herbe werden, bitter werden, gerinnen' (Pr K 197) < PT **āč-*; cf.: OT *ačī-*; Az. *ağī-*; Tur. *ağī-*; Gag. *ağī-*; Kar. (T) *ağī-*; Tat (Cr) *ağī-*; Čuv. *jūs-*; Bašk. *äse-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aši-*; Kir. *ačī-*; Trkm. *āga-*; Uz. *ačī-*; Uig. *eči-*; Y. Uig. *ačī-*; Alt. *ačī-*; Khak. *ačī-*; Tuv. *aži-*; Tof. *aži-*; Yak. *asij-*; *ahij-* (Rass. 152). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 195, 290; DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 92; Eg 82; Rass. 152.

The verb was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in various Turkic languages.

esir- (K-B) '1. pjanet'; 2. zaznaťsja, zagordiťsja, stať vysokomernym' (KBRS 775); *esir-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'napiťsja pjanym' (Boz. 170); *esir-* (K) 'berauscht werden' (Pr K 102); *esir-* (B) 'sich berauschen' (Pr B 220) < PT **äsir-* ~ **äsür-*; cf.: OT *esir-*, *esür-*, *isür-* (Gab. 299); Kum. *esir-*; Tur. *esri-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *esir-*; Tat. *isür-*; Bašk. *isür-*; Kaz. *esür-*; Kklp., Nog. Kir. *esir-*; Alt. *ezir-*; Khak. *izür-*; Tuv. *eziri-*, *ezir-*; Tof. *esiri-*; Yak. *itir-*. – Lit.: DTS 184; ÈSTJa I 309; Gab. 299; KRPS 669; Rass. 183; StachM GJV 62; YRh. 349.

The verb *esir-* 'to get drunk' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *esir-*, *esür-* were registered.

kama- (K-B) '1. tupiťsja, zatupljaťsja; 2. nabivaťsja. (*ob oskomine*); 3. slepiť; 4. *per.* sniknuť, stať bezvolnym, poterjať interes' (KBRS 385) < PT

**kāma-*; cf.: OT *kama-*; Kum. *kama-*; Az. *gamaš-*; Khal. *gōmaš-*; Tur. *kamaš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kamaš-*, (H) *kamas-*, (T) *kamaš-*; Tat., Bašk. *kamaš-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kama-*; Kklp. *kamas-*; Trkm. *gāmaš-*; Uz., Uig. *kamaš-*. – Lit.: DTS 414; ÈSTJa V 242; KRPS 288; 360; Räs. VEWT 228 b; YRh. 590.

The verb *kama-* ‘1. to set sb’s teeth on edge; 2. to be dazzled; 3. to grow dull’ has in other languages equivalents. The verb was registered in OT.

kat- (K-B) ‘1. tverdeť, krepnuť; stanovitsja tviordym (krepkim); 2. zasyxať, soxnuť; vjalitsja; 3. zakalivaťsja; 4. vpitsja glazami, ustaviťsja, vperit’ vzor; 5. zastyť kak vkopannyj; zamereť, ocepeneť; 6. umereť; 7. okočeneť; 8. krutiťsja, vraščaťsja; 9. ožestočit’sja’ (KBRS 399); *katī-* (B. dial.: Baks.) ‘stať tverdym, žestkim, krepkim’ (Boz. 178); *kat-* (*q’at-*; K) ‘trocknen, gedört werden’ (Pr K 117); *katī-* (*qatī-*; B) ‘hart werden, erstarren’ (Pr B 236) < PT **kat-*; cf.: OT *kat-*; Kum. *gat-*; Khal. *gat-*; Tur. (arch.) *katī-* = *katīlaš-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kat-*; Čuv. *xit-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kat-*; Trkm. *gat-*, *gata-*; Uz. *kot-*; Uig., Alt., Tuv. *kat-*, Khak. *xat-*; Tof. *kat-*; Yak. *xat-*; Šor. *kat-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 288; DTS 432; Eg. 315; ÈSTJa V 334; KRPS 296, 366; Rass. 219; StachM GJV 19; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 618.

There are equivalents of the verb *kat-* ‘1. to become hard; 2. to dry’ in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the verb was registered.

köp- (K-B) ‘1. opuxať, vzduvaťsja; 2. per. duťsja, obižaťsja, pyžit’sja’ (KBRS 335); *köp-*, *köb-*, *köf-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘vspuxať, stať nadutym’ (Boz. 176); *köp-* (*k’öp-*; K) anschwellen, aufgeblasen werden, sich aufblasen’ (Pr K 111); *köp-*, *köf-*, *köb-* (B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 231) < PT **köp-*; cf.: Kum. *göp-*; *köp-* (Eg. 124); Az. *köp-*; Tur. dial. (DS) *köp-*; Tat. *küp-*, *küben-*; Čuv. *küp-*, *küpēn-*; Bašk. *küp-*; Kaz. *keb-*; Kklp. *kep-*; Nog., Kir. *köp-*; Uig. *köp-*; Alt., Khak., Šor., Yak. *köp-*. – Lit.: Eg. 124; ÈSTJa V 109; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *köp-* ‘to swell’ has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

kuru- (K-B) ‘1. soxnuť, isparjaťsja; 2. otmirať, isčezat’ (KBRS 426); *kuru-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) ‘stať suxim (Boz. 179); *kuru-* (*quru-*; B) ‘trocken werden, dürr werden’ (Pr B 241) < PT **kūr-*; cf.: OT *kurī-*, *kuru-*; Kum. *kuru-*; Az. *guru-*; cf. Khal. *kurrug*; Tur. *kuru-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kuru-*, *kurī-*; (H, T) *kuru-*; Tat. *kor-*, *korī-*; Čuv. *xār-*; Bašk. *koro-*, *kor-*; Kaz. *kūrī-*; Kir. *kurga-*, *kuru-*; Trkm. *gurī-*, *gura-*; Uz. *kuri-*; Uig. *kuru-*; Sal. *kurī-*; Alt. *kurga-*, *kuru-*; Khak. *xuru-*; Tuv. *kurga-*; Tof. *kuru-*; Yak. *kūr-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 307; DTS 468, 469; Eg. 293; KRPS 348, 375; ÖjHa. 40; Rass. 222; StachM GJV 129; Tenišev 397.

The verb *kuru-* ‘to dry’ has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *kurī-*, *kuru-* were registered.

oŋ- (K-B) ‘1. linjať, vygorať; 2. per. vjanuť, blioknuť, vnešne stanovitsja xuže, terjať vid; podurneť’ (KBRS 498); *oŋ-* (K) ‘verbleichen, verschiessen’ (Pr

K 126) < PT *oŋ-; cf.: OT oŋ-; Kum. oŋ-; Tat., Bašk. uŋ-; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. oŋ-; Nog. oŋ, aw-; Uz. oŋ-; Uig. oŋ-; Alt., Khak., Tuv. oŋ-; Yak. uŋ-. – Lit.: DTS 367; ÈSTJa I 460; StachM GJV 76; Šč. SF 195.

The verb oŋ- ‘1. to become pale, to fade; 2. to moult’ is registered in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages, however in some of them the meaning is different, cf. Yak. uŋ- ‘ohnmächtig werden’ (StachM GJV 76).

semir- (K-B) ‘1. žireť, tučneť, nabirať žir; 2. polneť, tolstať’ (KBRS 552); *semir-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘stať žirným, tolstým’ (Boz. 183); *semir-* (B) ‘fett werden, dick werden’ (Pr B 251) < PT *semir- (ESG); cf.: OT *semri-*; Kum. *semri-*, *semi(r)-*; Tur. *semir-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *semir-*, (T) *šemir-*; Tat. *šimer-*; Čuv. *samārāl-*, *samārlan-*; Bašk. *himer-*; Kaz., Kir. *semri-*, *semi(r)-*; Trkm. *semre-*; Uz., Uig., *semri-* *semi(r)-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 495; Eg. 177; KRPS 470, 498; Sul. Kkar. 95; YRh. 998.

The verb *semir-* ‘to grow fat’ has its equivalents in other languages. In OT the form *semri-* was registered.

suw- (K-B) ‘1. ostyť; 2. per. razočarovaf’sja, oxladeť, poterjať nadeždu’ (KBRS 577); *sūu-* (*sūu-*; K) ‘sich abkühlen, kalt werden’ (Pr K 133); *suʷu-* (*suʷu-*; B) ‘id.’ (Pr B 254) < PT *sogī-; cf.: OT *sogī-*; Az. *soju-*; Tur. *sogu-*; Kar. *suvu-*; Tat. *suin-*; Čuv. *sivēn-*; Bašk. *hīwīn-*; Kaz., Kklp. *suin-*; Nog. *suvun-* Kir. *suun-*; Trkm. *sova-*; Uz., Uig. *sovun-*; Alt. (V) *suu-*; Khak. *soo-*; Yak. *soj-*. – Lit.: DTS 507; Eg. 190; KRPS 482; Räs. VEWT 425 a.

The verb *suw-* ‘to become cold, to cool’ has equivalents in some other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *sogī-* was registered.

üşü- (K-B) ‘1. miorznuf; 2. zamiorznuf; vymerznuf’ (KBRS 787); *üşü-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) ‘merznuf, zamerznuf’ (Boz. 189); *üşü-* (K) ‘ausfrieren, erfrieren’ (Pr K 144); *üşü-* ‘frieren, gefrieren’ (Pr B 267) < PT *üşü-, *üşi- (ESG); cf.: OT *üşi-*, *üşü-*; Kum. *ušu-*, *üşü-*; Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (T) *üşü-*; Kar. (Cr.) *üşü-*, *ušu-*; Kar. (H) *isi-*; Tat. *üşī-*; Čuv. *šan-*; Bašk. *üşū-*; Kaz. *üşī-*; Kklp., Nog. *üşi-*; Kir. *üşü-*; Trkm. *üşe-*; Uig. *üşü-*; Alt. *üzü-*; Khak. *üzü-*, *uču-*; Tuv. *üzü-*; Uz. *ušu-*; Šor. *üzü-*. – Lit.: DTS 628; Eg. 334; ÈSTJa I 644; KRPS 207, 588, 592.

There are equivalents of the verb *üşü-* ‘to freeze; to be frozen’ in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms *üşi-*, *üşü-* were registered.

9.3. Verbs referring to sense and expressing an abstract denotation

ačī- (K-B) ‘1. boleť, ispytyvať bol’ (KBRS 101); *acit-* (B) ‘sauer machen, eisäuern, kränken, beleidigen’ (Pr B 197) < PT *āč-; cf.: OT *ačī-*; Az. *ağī-*; Tur. *ağī-*; Gag. *ağī-*; Kar. (H) *aci-*, (T) *ağī-*; Tat (Cr) *ağī-*; Kir. *ačī-*; Y. Uig. *ačī-*; Khak. *ačī-*; Tuv. *ažī-*; Tof. *ažī-*; Yak. *asij-*, *ahij-* (Rass. 152). – Lit.: DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 91; Rass 152.

In several modern Turkic languages this verb (or its phonetic equivalents) has the meaning 'to feel pain'. This verb was also confirmed in OT.

arī- (K-B) '1. ustavat, utomljatsja; 2. obednet, razorit'sja; 3. istoščit'sja' (KBRS 79); *arī-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ustat' (Boz. 165); *arī-* (*arī-*; K) 'müde werden' (Pr K 88); *arī-*, *ar-* (*arī-*, *ar-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 202) < PT **ar(i)-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ar-*; Kum. *arī-*; Khal. *hār-*; Tur. *arī-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *arī*; Tat. *ar-*; Čuv. *ir-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir. *arī-*; Kklp. *harī-*, *arī-*; Trkm. *ār-*; Uz. *hori-*; *hor-*, dial. *har-* (Eg. 343); Uig. *har-*; Alt. *arī-*, *arīn-*; Khal. *ar-*; Tuv. *ar-*; Šor. *arī-*; Yak. *ir-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 269, 291; DTS 50; Eg. 343; ÈSTJa I 160; KRPS 77; StachM GJV 23.

The verb has the meaning 'to get tired; to weaken'. There are equivalents of this verb in modern Turkic languages and OT.

awru- (K-B) 'bolet', 'zabolet' (KBRS 93); *auru-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'bolet', 'zabolet' (Boz. 165); *auru-* (K) 'weh tun, krank sein, krank werden, erkranken' (Pr K 89); *auru-* (B) 'weh tun, schmerzen, krank werden, bettlägerig werden; niederkommen' (Pr B 204) < PT **āyir-* ~ *āyar-* ~ *uwur-* ~ *awir-*; cf.: OT *agri-*; Az. *agri-*; Tur. *agri-*; Kar. (Cr.) *auru-*, *avru-*, (H, T) *avru-*; Tat. *awiri-*, *awir-*; Bašk. *awiri-*, *awir-*; Kaz., Kklp. *awir-*; Kir. *ōru-*; Trkm. *āgīr-*; Uz. *ogri-*; Uig. *agri-*; Lob. *agij-*, *aguj-*; Sal. *agri-*, *agiri-*, *āgīr-*; Y. Uig. *agīr-*, *agur-*; Alt. *ōru-*; Khak. *agīr-*; Tuv. *ārī-*; Tof. *ārī-*; Yak. *īarīj-* (Rass. 158); *īarī* 'Schmerz, Krankheit' (StachM GJV 45). – Lit.: DTS 22; ÈSTJa I 86; Gab. 293; KRPS 41, 85; Malov 80; Rass. 158; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev 281, 282, 283.

The verb with the meaning 'to be ill, to become ill' has in other modern Turkic languages some equivalents. In OT there was the form *agri-*.

az- (K-B) 'xudeť, toščat'; *osunuf'sja*; *oslabnuť* (KBRS 27); *az-* (K) 'magern, herabkommen' (PrK 90); *az-* (B) 'irre gehen, fehlgehen' (Pr B 204) < PT **ās-*; cf.: OT *az-*; Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *az-*; Čuv. *as-*; Bašk. *az-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *az-*; Trkm. *āz-*; Uz. *oz-*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig. *az-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *as-*; Tof. *as-*. – Lit.: DTS 72; Eg. 33; ÈSTJa I 94; Gab. 297; KRPS 47; Podolsky 3; Rass. 156; Sul. Kkar. 52.

The verb *az-* is known in some other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT. Generally it means '1. to get lost; 2. to be mistaken'. It has also a metaphorical meaning '1. to go to the bad; 2. to misbehave'. Only in K-B and Tat. (Ur) does this verb denote 'to grow thin'.

bez- (K-B) 'izmučit'sja, presytit'sja' (KBRS 130); *bezi-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'skučat', *pitať otvraščenie* (Boz. 167) < PT **bāz-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bez-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), *bez-*; Tat. *biz-*; Čuv. *pis-*; Bašk. *biz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bez-*; Uig. *bāz-*, Uz. *bez-*. – Lit.: DTS 97; Eg. 161; ÈSTJa II 103; Gab. 302; KRPS 111; Podolsky 5.

Bez- 'to get tired; to become disgusted; to be fed up with sth' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages, however in Čuv. there is *pis-* 'to become cold for sb'. The OT sources register only the verb *bez-* 'to tremble'.

bil- (K-B) '1. znať, uznavat'; byť sveduščim, byť osvedomlennym; 2. dogadyvat'sja, razgadyvat'; 3. umet', znať; 4. imet' predstavlenie; ponimat', znať; 5. cenit' po dostoinstvu; 6. poznať; opredelit', uznať *kogo*' (KBRS 143); *bil-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul-Bez.) 'znať, uznať, zamečat' (Boz. 167); *bil-* (K) 'wissen, kennen, können, raten, erraten' (Pr K 93); *bil-* (B) 'wissen, bemerken, erfahren, empfinden' (Pr B 208). < PT **pil-*; cf.: OT *bil-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bil-*; Tat. *bil-*; *bel-* (Eg. 155); Čuv. *pěl-*; Bašk. *bil-*; *bel-* (Eg. 155); Kaz. *bil-*, Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *bil-*; Uz. *bil-*; Uig. *bil-*; Lob. *bil-*; Sal. *bil-*, *bel-*, *pil-*; Y. Uig. *bel-*, *bil-*, *pil-*, *pel-*; Alt. *bil-*, *pil-*; Khak. *pil-*; Tuv. *bil-*; Tof. *bil-*; Yak. *bil-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 234, 280; DTS 98; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 137; KRPS 117; Malov 94; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 301, 302, 447, Tenišev SJ 175, 197.

The verb *bil-* 'to know' is common in other Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants. It was registered in OT.

bol- (K-B) '1. byť, proisxodit', soveršat'sja, skučat'sja. 2; byť, javlat'sja; dovodit'sja; 3. byť; prebyvat', naxodit'sja; 4. byť v naličii, imet'sja; 5. byť podxodjaščim, godit'sja; byť vporu; 6. polučat'sja, udavat'sja; 7. proxodit'; 8. nastavat', nastupať, prixodit'; 9. ispolnit'sja; 10. xvatat', byť dostatočnym; 11. byť, stanovit'sja' (KBRS 157); *bol-* (B. dial.; Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul-Bez.) 'byť, stat' (Boz. 168); *bol-* (K) 'sein, werden, reifen, sich ereignen' (Pr K 94) < PT **böl-*; **pöl-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: OT *bol-*; Kum. *bol-*; Az. *ol-*; Khal. *o'l-*; Tur., Gag. *ol-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bol-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ol-*; Tat. *bul-*; Čuv. *pul-*; Bašk. *bul-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bol-*; Uz. *bol-*; Uig. *bul-*, *bol-*; Lob. *ol-*; *bol-*; Sal. *bō*, *o-*, *pō-*, *pu-*, *pū-*, *ü-*, *vo-*, *vō-*, *vol-*, *vu-*, *vul-*; Y. Uig. *pol-*, *bol-*, *vol-*, *vo-*, *o-*, *vu-*; Alt. *pol-*, *bol-*; Khak. *pol-*; Tuv. *bol-*; Tof. *bol-*; Šor. *pol-*; Yak. *buol-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 236, 303, 271; DTS 111; Eg. 164; ÈSTJa II 185; KRPS 128; Malov 94, 150; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 16; Rass. 163; SKT 177; StachM GJV 81; Sul. Kkar. 56; Šč SF 196; Tenišev 303, 422, 450, 453-54, 455, 537, 543, 544; Tenišev SJ 175, 193, 196, 219.

The verb *bol-* 'to be, to become' is very common in all Turkic languages (appearing there in some phonetic variants). It was registered in OT.

dön- (K) 'razočarovat'sja, poterjat' interes; rasxotet' (KBRS 204); *dön-* (K) 'sich abwenden' (Pr K 100) < PT **tön-*; cf.: OT *tön-*; Kum. Az., Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.) *dön-*; Tat. *dün-*, Kar. (Cr.) *don-*, *tün-*; Čuv. *tün-*; Bašk. *dün-*; Nog. *dön-*; Yak. *tönün-*. – Lit.: ČRS 502; DTS 580; Eg. 265; ÈSTJa III 276; KRPS 179; ÖjHa. 42; Räs. VEW 493 b; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *dön-* in Karachay has the meaning '1. to turn round' but also in a figurative sense '1. to become disappointed; 2. to prevent'. It has equivalents

also in other Turkic languages, where the basic meaning is 'to come back, to be back'. However, there are some Turkic languages (e.g. Čuv., Az., Tat., where this verb means 'to fall down; to turn round, to turn over', cf. ÈSTJa III 276-277; Eg. 265. The OT sources registered the form *tön-* 'to be back, to come back'.

ešit- (K-B) '1. slyšať; 2. slušať, vnímať; 3. čuvstvovať-oščušať, slyšať' (KBRS 780); *ešit-*, (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'slušať' (Boz. 717); *ešit-*, *ješit-* (K) 'hören' (Pr K 102); *ešit-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **äšit-*; cf.: OT *ešit-*, *ešid-*, *išit-*; Kum., Az. *ešit-*; Khal. *äšit-*, *ešit-*; Tur. *išit-*; Gag. *išit-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ešit-*, (H) *esit-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ešit-*; Tat. *išit-*; Čuv. *ilt-*; Bašk. *išit-*; Kaz. *ešit-*; Kklp., Nog. *esit-*; Trkm. *ešit-*; Trukh. *ěšit-*; Uz. *ešit-*; Uig. *išit-*; Lob. *ešit-ešet-*; Sal. *isti-*; Yak. *ihit-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 229, 287; DTS 185, 215; Eg. 69; ÈSTJa I 318; KRPS 669, 673; Malov 116; SKT 182; StachM GJV 63; Sul. Kkar. 63; Tenišev 341.

The verb *ešit-* 'to hear' with the same meaning has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *ešit-*, *ešid-*, *išit-* were registered.

ğañil- (K-B) 'ošibatsja, dopuskať ošibki, zabluždat'sja' (KBRS 227); *ğañil-* (*žañil-*; K) 'sich irren' (Pr K 146) < PT **jañ-il-*; cf.: OT *jañil-*; Kum. *jañil-*; Tur., Gag. *janil-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jañil- ~ janil-*, (H) *jangil-*, (T) *jangil- ~ jañgil-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žañil-*; Kir. *ğañil-*; Uig. *jeñil-*; Y. Uig. *janil-*; Alt. *dañil-*; Šor. *nāl-*. – Lit.: DTS 234; ÈSTJa IV 120; KRPS 226, 228, 229; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ğañil-* 'to err, to make a mistake' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning, however in Y. Uig. there is only the nominal form *janil* meaning 'mistake'. In OT sources the form *jañil-* was confirmed.

ğara- (K-B) '1. godit'sja; 2. vlijať, vozdejstvovať, otrazit'sja' (KBRS 220); *žara-* (Baks.), *ğara-* (Čeg.) 'godit'sja, byť godnym, podxodit' (Boz. 171); *zara-* (Balk.) 'podxodit' kstatu, byť sootvetsvuščim, podxodjaščim' (ibid. 173); *ğara-* (*žara-*; K) 'gefallen, tangen, sich schicken' (Pr K 146); *zara-* (B) 'passen, entsprechen, passen sein, entsprechen sein, gemäss sein, geziemen, tauglich sein, taugen, helfen, unterstützen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jara-* ~ **jayra-*; cf.: OT *jara-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat (Ur.) *jara-*; Čuv. *jura-* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jara-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žara-*; Nog. *jara-*; Kir. *ğara-*; Trkm. *jara-*; Uz., *jara-*; Uig. *jara- ~ jari-*; Lob. *jaja-*; Sal. *jara- ~ jari-*; Y. Uig. *jaras-*; Alt. *dāra-*; Khak. *čara-*; Šor. *čara-*. – Lit.: DTS 239; Eg. 350; ÈSTJa IV 137; KRPS 230; Malov 117; Podolsky 32; Tenišev 347, 348; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ğara-* 'to be suitable; to fit; to be useful' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jara-* was registered.

ğarsī- (K-B) '1. zabotit'sja, bespokoiťsja; 2. stradať, nesti uščerb' (KBRS 232); *zarsī-* (*zarsī-*; B) 'entbehren, vermissen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jarsī-* (ESG); cf.:

OT *jarsī-*; Tat. *jarsī-*; Bašk. *jarhī-*; Nog. *jarsī-*; cf. also Kar. (T) *jarsit-*; Khak. *čarsin-* – Lit.: DTS 243; ÈSTJa IV 144; KRPS 234.

There are several conceptions concerning the etymology and structure of this verb, cf. ÈSTJa IV 144. As we see the verb *ğarsī-* ‘to worry; to suffer’ has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages, however with a different meaning than in K-B, e.g. in Khak. ‘to feel disgust’. The OT sources registered *jarsī-* with the meaning ‘to feel disgust’.

ğāša- (K-B) ‘1. žit', suščestvovat'; 2. vodiťsja, obitat' (KBRS 237); *žaša-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘žit' (Boz. 171); *ğasa-* (*žaša-*; K) ‘leben’ (Pr K 147); *zaša-* (B) ‘leben, wohnen’ (Pr B 270) < PT **jaša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jaša-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *jaša-*; Trukh. *jāša-*; Uig. *jaša-*; Sal. *jaša-* ~ *jasa-*. – Lit.: DTS 246; JUFD 197; KRPS 242; Podolsky 32; SKT 179; Tenišev 348, 349; YRh. 1245.

The verb *ğāša-* ‘to live’ has equivalents in a few Turkic languages. At the earliest MK registered the form *jaša-*.

ğeŋ- (K-B) ‘1. pobeždat', brať verx *nad kem*, peresilivat'; 2. svešivat'sja; sklonjaťsja; 3. xmeleť, pjanet' (KBRS 241); *ğen-* (*žen-*; K) ‘im Streite siegen, einen Prozess gewinnen’ (Pr K 147) < PT **jāgn(i)-*; OT *jeŋ-*; Kum. *jeŋ-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jen-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jeng-*, (T) *jen-* ~ *jeñ-*, (H) *jen-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeŋ-*; Tat. *žin-*; Čuv. *šen-*; Bašk. *jīŋ-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žen-*; Nog. *jeŋ-*; Kir. *ğeŋ-*; Trkm. *jeŋ-*; Uz. *jeŋ-*; Uig. *jāŋ-*; Alt. *den-*; Khak. *čīŋ-*; Šor *nāŋ-*; *nāg-*. – Lit.: DTS 256; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 187; KRPS 271, 272, 273; Podolsky 33; Räs. VEW 197 b.

Ğeŋ- ‘1. to overcome, to conquer; 2. to win’ has equivalents in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *jeŋ-* was registered.

ğet- (K-B) ‘1. doxodiť, dobirat'sja; 2. doxodit, dostigať; 3. *per.* doxodit; 4. xvatať, byť dostatočnym; 5. otrasti; 6. uspevat'; 7. dogonjať, nastigať; naviorstvyat'; 8. nastavat', nastupať, bliziťsja, približaťsja; 9. sozrevat', pospevat'; vyrastať; 10. sbyvat'sja; 11. vypadať, prijtis na dolju, skučit'sja, proizjti; 12. dovodiťsja, prixodiťsja; 13. ispolnjaťsja; 14. poražať; 15. dožit', doždat'sja’ (KBRS 244); *žet-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘doxodiť, dostigať’ (Boz. 171), *zet-* (Balk., Khul.-Bez.) ‘dostignuť, doxodiť’ (ibid. 173); *ğet-* (*žet-*; K) ‘reichen, erreichen, gelangen, reif werden’ (Pr K 148); *zet-* (B) ‘reichen, erreichen, einholen, gelangen, genügen, reif werden’ (Pr B 272) < PT **jät-* (StachM GJV 61); **θät-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jet-*; Kum., Az., Khul., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *jet-*; Kar. (T) *jet-*; Tat. *ğit-*; Čuv. *šit-*; Bašk. *jet-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žet-*; Nog. *jet-*; Kir. *ğet-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *jet-*; Uig. *jät-*; Lob. *jet-*; Sal. *jec-*, *je²-*, *jet-*, *je²t-*, *je³-*, *je³z-*, *jit-*, *jig-*; Y. Uig. *je²t-*, *e²t-*, *het-*, *hit-*; Alt. *det-*, ~ *jet-*; Khak. *čit-*; Tuv. *čet-*; Tof. *čet-*; Šor *čät-*; Yak. *sit-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 245, 318; DTS 258; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 193; KRPS 276, 277; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 27; Rass. 196;

SKT 179; StachM GJV 61; Sul. Kkar. 73; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 353, 355, 356, 361; Tenišev SJ 179, 180, 184.

The verb *ġet-* '1. to suffice, to be enough; 2. to reach, to attain' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT sources there was the form *jet-*.

išan- (K-B) 'nadejaťsja, polagaťsja, rassčityvať, doverjať' (KBRS 761); *išan-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'doverjať' (Boz. 174) < PT **išän-* (< **išān-*); cf.: OT: *išan-*, *išän-*; Kar. (Cr.) *išan-* ~ *išan-*, (H) *isan-* ~ *išan-*, (T) *išan-*; Tat. *išan-*; Čuv. *šan-*; Bašk. *išan-*; Kaz. *sen-*; Kklp. *isen-*; Nog. *sen-*; Kir. *išen-*; Trkm. *išan-*; Uz. *išon-*; Uig. *išan-*, *išän-*; Lob. *išen-*; Y. Uig. *isen-*; *isan-* (Eg. 330); Alt. *ižen-*; Khak. *izen-*; *zen-*; Yak. *ihän-*. – Lit.: DTS 214, 220; Eg. 330; ÈSTJa I 673; KRPS 206, 211, 651, 652; StachM GJV 64, 106; Sul. Kkar. 107.

The verb *išan-* '1. to hope; 2. to believe' has counterparts in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also registered in OT.

inan- (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'verit', byť, ubeždennym' (Boz. 174); *inan-* (*inan-*; K) 'glauben' (Pr K 106); *inan-* (B) 'glauben, überzeugt sein' (Pr B 225) < PT **inan-*; cf.: OT *inan-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *inan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *inan-* ~ *inan-*; Tat. (Cr.) *inan-* ~ *inan-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jīnan-*; Tat. *inan-*; Čuv. *ēnen-*; Bašk. *inan-*; Kaz. *nan-*; Kklp. *inan-*, *nan-*; Nog. *inan-*; Kir. *inal-*, *inan-*; Trkm. *inan-*; Uz. *inon-*; Uig. *inan-*, *inäl-*; Tuv. *inan-*. – Lit.: DTS 218; Eg. 64; ÈSTJa I 655; JUFD 194; KRPS 201, 650; Podolsky 33.

The verb *inan-* 'to believe' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *inan-*.

kan- (K-B) '1. utoljaťsja, udovletvorjaťsja, nasyščat'sja; 2. uspokaivaťsja, unimaťsja; 3. oxladevať, ostyvať' (KBRS 386); *kan-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'uspokoit'sja, byť dovol'nym, utolit' žaždu' (Boz. 177); *kan-* (*qan-*; B) 'gestillt werden, sich beruhigen, zufrieden sein' (Pr B 234) < PT **kān-*; cf. OT *kan-*; Kum. *kan-*; Az. *gan-*; Tur., Gag. *kan-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kan-*, *kam-*, *kaŋ-*, (T) *kan-*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kan-*; Trkm. *kān-*; Uz. *kon-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *kan-*; Khak. *xan-*; Tuv. *xan-*; Yak. *xan-*. – Lit.: DTS 417; ÈSTJa V 251; KRPS 289, 360, 361, 362; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kan-* '1. to calm down; 2. to satiate' was known in OT. There are its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

keč- (K-B) 'proščat' (KBRS 333); *keč-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'prosti' (Boz. 175); *keč-* (*k'eč-*; K) 'verzeihen, erlassen' (Pr K 108); *kec-* (B) 'verzeihen' (Pr B 227) < PT **käč-*; cf.: OT *keč-*; Kum. *geč-*; Az. *keč-*; Khal. *gäč-*; Tur. *geč-*; Gag. *geč-*; Kar. (Cr.) *käč-*, (H) *keč-*; Tat. (Cr.) *keč-*; Tat. *kič-*; Čuv. *kaš-*; Bašk. *kič-* *kis-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *keš-*; Kir. *keč-*; Trkm. *geč-*; Uz. *keč-*; Uig. *keč-*, *käč-*; Lob. *keč-*, *keš-*; Y. Uig. *keš-*; Alt. *keč-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv. *keš-*; Tof. *keš-*; Šor. *keš-*; Yak. *kes-*, *käs-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 243, 288; DTS 290; Eg. 93;

ÈSTJa III 32; KRPS 310, 394; Malov 135; ÖjHa. 22; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *keč-* has in K-B the meaning 'to 'forgive' whereas both in OT and in most other Turkic languages its equivalents mean 'to pass; to go across'. The meaning known in K-B, which refers to debts is also registered in the following languages: Trkm., Kum., Kaz., Nog., Uz., Uig., Šor., Čuv.

kork- (K-B) '1. bojaťsja, trusiť, pugaťsja, strašit'sja; 2. bojaťsja, bespoko-it'sja, opasaťsja, trevožit'sja' (KBRS 414); *kork-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bojaťsja' (Boz. 179); *kork-* (*q'orq-*; K) 'sich fürchten' (Pr K 119); *kork-* (*qorq-*; B) 'sich fürchten, erschrecken' (Pr B 239) < PT **kork-*; OT *kork-*; Kum. *kork-*; Az. *gorx-*; Tur. *kork-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kork-*, (T) *korx-*; Tat. *kurk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xorx-*; Čuv. *xāra-*; Bašk. *kurk-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kork-*; Trkm. *gork-*; Trukh. *xorg-*; Uz. *kurk-*; Uig. *ko(r)x-*; Lob. *kajk-*; Sal. *xorx-*, *xorga-*, *xorgu-*, *xorgi-*, *xurgo-*; Y. Uig. *k'urk-*, *korx-*; Alt. *korki-*; Khak. *xorix-*; Tuv. *kort-* (*korgar*); Tof. *kort-*; Yak. *xort-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; DTS 458; Eg. 293; KRPS 333, 334, 371; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Rass. 221; SKT 182; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 550, 551; Tenišev SJ 200, 204.

The verb *kork-* 'to fear' was registered in OT. In other Turkic languages there are some counterparts of the verb.

kör- (K-B) '1. videt'; smotret'; 2. uvažat', počitat', ljubit', nenavidet'; 3. probovat' [na vkus]; 4. smeť, probovat', pytat'sja; 5. naveščat', provedyvat'; 6. sčitat', prinimat'; 7. ispytat', perežit', preterpet'; 8. osmatrivat' (KBRS 343); *kör-* (B. dial., Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'videt' (Boz. 176), *kör-*, *kor-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 176); *kör-* (*k'ör-*; K) 'sehen' (Pr K 111); *kör-* (B) 'sehen; erleben, erdulgen' (Pr B 231) < PT **kör-*, **kōr-* (? Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *kör-*; Kum. *gör-*, *gor-*; Az. *gör-*; *kör-* (Eg. 118); Khal. *kör-*; Tur., Gag. *gör-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kör-* (H) *ker-* (T) *kor-*; Tat. *kür-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kor-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kör-*; Čuv. *kur-*; Bašk. *kür-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kör-*; Trkm., Trukh., *gör-*; Uz. *kor-*; Uig. *kör-*; Lob. *kōj-*; Sal. *kor-*, *kör-*, *kur-*; Y. Uig. *kör-*; Alt. *kör-*; Khak. *kör-*; Tuv. *kör-*; Tof. *kör-*; Yak. *kör-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 229, 298; DTS 317; Eg. 118; ÈSTJa III 77; KRPS 306, 314, 339; Malov 136; ÖjHa. 41; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; SKT 178; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 389, 392, 396.

The verb *kör-* 'to see' is widely common and has equivalents in most Turkic languages. It was known in OT.

oŋ- (K-B) 'imeť udaču, preuspevat' (KBRS 498); *oŋ-* (B. dial., Balk., Kaš.) 'vyzdorovlivat', ulučit'sja' (Boz. 181), (Čeg.) 'udavat'sja, podxodit', byť poleznym' (ibid. 181) < PT **oŋ-*; cf.: OT *oŋ-*; Tur. *on-*; Kar. (Cr.) *oŋ-*, (H) *on-*; Tat. *uŋ-*; Čuv. *ān-*; Bašk. *uŋ-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oŋ-*; Uz. *oŋ-*; Uig. *oŋ-*; cf. Khak. *oŋ* 'udača' (Eg. 41). – Lit.: DTS 367; Eg. 40; ÈSTJa I 457; KRPS 428; Sul. Kkar. 84; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 900.

The verb *oŋ-* '1. to heal up; 2. to improve; 3. to succeed' was registered in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some other Turkic languages.

öl- (K-B) '1. umirat'; 2. mertveť; 3. pogibat; pomirat' (KBRS 278); *öl-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'umirat' (Boz. 182); *öl-* (K) 'sterben' (Pr K 127); *öl-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **öl-*; cf.: OT *öl-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *öl-*; Gag. *jöl-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öl-*, (H) *el-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ol-*; Tat. (Ur.) *öl-*; Tat. *ül-*; Čuv. *vil-*; Bašk. *ül-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *öl-*; Uz. *ol-*; *ül-* (Eg. 54); Uig. *öl-*; Lob. *öl-*; Sal. *ol-*, *öl-*, *ul-*, *ül-*; Y. Uig. *öl-*, *jul-*, *jül-*, *jol-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *öl-*; Tof. *öl-*; Yak. *öl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 383; Eg. 53; ÈSTJa I 525; KRPS 440, 658; Malov 153; ÖjHa. 41; Podolsky 17; Rass. 214; SKT 181; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 424, 432, 532, 539; Tenišev SJ 184, 185.

There are equivalents of the verb *öl-* 'to die' in many Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

sez- (K-B) '1. počuvstvovat', oščutiť; 2. osoznať, ponjať' (KBRS 549); *sez-* (B) 'erraten, gewahr werden' (Pr B 252) < PT **sās-*; cf.: OT *sez-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *sez-*; Kar. (H) *ses-*, *sis-*; Tat. *siz-*; Čuv. *sis-*; Bašk. *hiz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sez-*; Trkm. *siz-*; Uz. *sez-*; Uig. *sāz-*; Alt. *ses-*; Khak. *sis-*. – Lit.: DTS 498; Eg. 192; KRPS 473, 500; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1009.

The verb *sez-* 'to perceive, feel, discern' is registered in OT. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

söŋ- (K-B) '1. unjaťsja, utixnuť, uspokoiťsja; 2. ubaviťsja, umenšićsja' (KBRS 558) < PT **sön-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sön-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *sön-*; Gag. *sun-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sön-*, *son-*, (H) *sen-*, (T) *šoň-*; Tat. *sün-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sön-*; Čuv. *sün-*; Bašk. *hün-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Trkm. *sön-*; Uz. *sun-*. – Lit.: DTS 511; Eg. 198; KRPS 471, 478, 481, 498; Podolsky 21; Sul. Kkar. 96.

The verb *söŋ-* '1. to go out; 2. to calm down; 3. to still' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *sön-* was confirmed.

süj- (K-B) '1. ljubić; 2. xotet', želat' (KBRS 588); *süj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'ljubiť, želat', xotet', domogaťsja' (Boz. 184); *süj-* (K) 'lieben, wünschen' (Pr K 133); *süj-* (B) 'lieben, wünschen, begehren, wollen' (Pr B 254) < PT **sāβ-* (~ **sög-*); cf.: OT *seb-*, *sev-*; Kum. *süj-*; Az., Tur. *sev-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sev-*, *süv-*, *süj-*, (H) *siv-*, (T) *śuv-*; Tat. *söj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sev-*; Čuv. *sav-*; Baš. *höj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *süj-*; Trkm., Trukh. *söj-*; Uz. *sev-*, Uig. *söj-*; Lob. *söj-*, *süj-*; Alt. (V) *sü-*; Oir. *sü-*. – Lit.: DTS 493, 497; Eg. 173; KRPS 472, 485, 486, 496, 500; Malov 163, 165; Podolsky 20; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196.

There are equivalents of the verb *süj-* 'to love; to like' in other Turkic languages. In OT there were registered the forms: *seb-*, *sev-*.

tal- (K-B) 'ustavat', utomljaťsja' (KBRS 600); *tal-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'ustavat', byť slabym' (Boz. 184); *tal-* (*t'al-*; K) 'müde werden' (Pr K 135) < PT **tāl-*; cf.: OT *tal-*; Kum. *tal-*; Az. *dal-*; Tur., Gag. *dal-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dal-*; Tat. *tal-*;

Tat. (Cr.) *dal-*; Tat. (Ur.) *dal-*; Bašk. *tal-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tal-*; Trkm. *dāl-*; Trukh. *dāl-*; Uz. *tol-*; Uig., Lob., Alt., Khak. *tal-*; Tuv. *dal-*; Tof. *dal-*; Šor. *tal-*; Yak. *tal-*. – Lit.: DTS 528; ÈSTJa III 133; KRPS 169; Podolsky 8; Rass. 168; SKT 178; Šč SF 197.

The verb *tal-* ‘1. to weaken, to become weak’ is registered in OT and it has counterparts in other Turkic languages, where it has a wider semantic scale, e.g.: Tat. (Ur.) *dal-* ‘to dive, to dip’; in Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.), Kar. *dal-* ‘to plunge’.

tanī- (K-B) ‘1. znať; 2. uznavať; rozpoznavať; opoznavať; 3. znakomiťsja; 4. ponímať, vidieť, zamečať, čuvstvovať’ (KBRS 603); *tanī-* (*tʰanī-*; K) ‘erkennen, empfinden, fühlen’ (Pr K 136); *tanī-* (*tanī-*; B) ‘kennen, erkennen’ (Pr B 256) < PT **tanī-*; cf.: OT *tanī-*; Az., Tur., Kar., Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tanī-*; cf. Čuv. *tīnā*, *tīn* ‘svidetel’ (Eg. 268); Bašk., Kaz., Trkm. *tanī-*; Uz. *tani-*; Uig. *tonu-*; Lob. *tunu*, *tanī-*; Sal. *tanī-* ~ *tānī-*; Y. Uig. *tanīs-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *tanī-*. – Lit.: DTS 531; Eg. 268; KRPS 512; Podolsky 22; Rass. 232; Malov 168, 177; Tenišev 501; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tanī-* ‘1. to know; 2. to know each other; 3. to acquaint oneself’ was registered in OT. In the same form or in some phonetic variants it is known in some modern Turkic languages, however sometimes with a different meaning, cf. Sal. *tanī-* ~ *tānī-* ‘to choose’; Tat. (Ur.) *tanī-* ‘to recognize’.

tīn- (K-B) ‘1. byť sdelannym, vypoľnjaťsja; zaveršaťsja; 2. issjakať; končaťsja; 3. slabeť, drjaxleť, sdavať; 4. uspokaivaťsja, utixať, prekraščaťsja’ (KBRS 660); *tīn-* (B. dial.: Balk.) ‘perestavať’ (Boz. 186); *tīn-* (*tīn-*; B) ‘aufhören, sich legen’ (Pr B 260) < PT **tīn-*; cf.: OT *tīn-*, *tun-*; Kum. *tīn-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *dīn-*; Tur. *tīn-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tīn-*; Tat. *tīn-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tīn-*; Čuv. *tān-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tīn-*; Trkm. *dīn-*, *diñ-*; Uz. *tīn-*; Uig. *tīn-*; Lob. *tīn-*; Sal. *tīn-*; Alt. *tīn-*; Tuv. *tīn*, *dīn-*; Tof. *dīn-*; Šor. *tīn-*; Yak. *tīn-*. – Lit.: DTS 567, 586; ÈSTJa III 341; KRPS 557; Podolsky 24; Rass. 179; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tīn-* in K-B means ‘1. to calm down; to weaken; 2. to stop.’ In OT two forms were registered: *tīn-* ‘to breathe’ and *tun-* ‘to calm down’. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages also with numerous meanings, e.g.: in Tat. (Ur.) *tīn-* ‘to calm down’ but in Tof. *dīn-* ‘to breathe’ etc.

tīñla- (K-B) ‘1. slušať; proslušivať, vyslušivať; prislušivaťsja’ (KBRS 662); *tīñla-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) ‘slušať, podslušivať’ (Boz. 186); *tīñla-* (*tʰīñla-*; K) ‘hören, horchen, gehorchen’ (Pr K 138); *tīñla-* (*tīñla-*; B) ‘zuhören, anhören, horchen’ (Pr B 260) < PT **tīñla-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tīñla-*; Kum. *tīñla-*; Az. *dīnlä-*; Tur. *dīnle-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tīnla-*, (Cr.) *dīnl’a-*, *dīñle-*, *dīnle-*, *dīñla-*, *dīñle-*, (Cr., T) *tīñla-*; Tat. *tīñla-*; Tat. (Ur.) *dīñle-*; Čuv. *tānla-*; Bašk. *tīñla-*; Kaz. *tīñda-*; Nog. *tīnla-*, *tījna-*, *tīñna-*; Kir. *tīñša-*; Trkm. *dīñle-*; Uz. *tīñla-*; Uig. *tīñši-*; Oir. *tīñda-*; Khak. *tīñna-*; Y. Uig. *tīñna-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; DTS 568; Eg. 237; KRPS 178, 182, 557, 558; Podolsky 9.

The verb *tüpla-* 'to listen' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

toj- (K-B) '1. nasyščat'sja; 2. *per.* bogateť, stanovit'sja bogatym' (KBRS 648); *toj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'nasytit'sja, stat' sytym' (Boz. 186); *toj-* (*t'oj-*; K) 'sich satt essen, überdrüssig werden' (Pr K 139); *toj-* (B) 'sich sättigen, satt werden' (Pr B 261) < PT **toδ-*; cf.: OT *tod-*, *toδ-*, *toj-*, *toz-*; Az., Tur. Gag. *doj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *toj-*; Tat. (Cr.) *doj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *toj-*; Tat. *tuj-*; Čuv. *tāran-*; Bašk. *tujin-*, *tuj-*; Kaz. *toj-*, *tojdır-*; Kklp. *toj-*, *tojın-*, *tojdır-*; Nog. *toj-*, *tojın-*, *tojdır-*; Kir. *toj-*; Trkm., Trukh. *doj-*; Uz. *toj-*, *tuj-*; Uig. *toj-*; Lob. *toj-*; Sal. *toj-*, *tuj-*, *tüj-*; Y. Uig. *toz-*, *tuz-*; Alt. *toj-*; Khak. *tos-*; Tuv. *tot-*, *töt-*; Tof. *dot-*; Šor. *tos-*; Yak. *tot-*. – Lit.: DTS 569, 570, 572, 579; Eg. 238; ÈSTJa III 251; KRPS 534; Malov 173; ÖjHa. 70; Podolsky 24; Rass. 174; SKT; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 513, 522, 526.

The verb *toj-* 'to eat one's fill' has its equivalents both in OT and in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

töz- (K-B) '1. terpeť, vynosit', sderživat'sja; 2. vyderživat', perenosit', pereživat'; 3. *per.* mirit'sja' (KBRS 628); *töz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'terpeť, vynosit' (Boz. 186) < PT **tōs-*; cf.: OT *dōj-* (YE), *tōz-*; Az. *dōz-*; Tur. dial. *dōj-*, *dōz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tōz-*, *toz-*, (H) *tez-*, (T) *tōz-*, *tōz-*; Tat. *tüz-*; Čuv. *tūs-*; Bašk. *tūs-*; Kaz., Nog. *töz-*; Trkm. *dōz-*; Lob. *töz-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *tüz-*. – Lit.: Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 272; KRPS 523, 533, 541, 561.

The verb *töz-* 'to suffer' has been registered in Turkish since the 13th c. (YE). It has its equivalents only in some other Turkic languages, where sometimes it has a different meaning, cf. Kar. where only in the Crimean dialect it means 'to suffer'; in (H, T) it has the meaning 'to expect; to hope'.

unut- (K-B) 'zabyvat', ne pomnit', otvyknut', razučit'sja' (KBRS 683); *unut-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'zabivat' (Boz. 188); *unut-* (K) 'vergessen' (Pr K 142); *unut-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 265) < PT **unt-*, **umt-*; cf.: OT *unīt-*, *unut-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *unut-*; Tat. *ünūt-*, *onīt-* (Rass. 238); Čuv. *man-*; Bašk. *ünūt-*, *onot-* (Rass. 238); Kaz. *ümīt-*, *ünīt-*; Kklp., Nog. *umīt-*; Kir. *unut-*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *unut-*; Sal. *onut-*; Y. Uig. *unut-*, *unīt-*; Alt., Khak. *undu-*; Tuv. *ut-*; Tof. *ut-*; Yak. *umun-*. – Lit.: DTS 612; Eg. 128; ÈSTJa I 597; KRPS 579; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Rass. 238; Tenišev 426; Tenišev SJ 218.

There are counterparts of the verb *unut-* 'to forget' in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the following forms: *unīt-* ~ *unut-*.

ürk- (K-B) 'pugaťsja, šaraxat'sja' (KBRS 785) < PT **ürk-*; cf.: OT *ürk-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *ürk-*; Gag. *jürük-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ürk-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ürk-*; Tat. *ürk-*, *örk-* (Eg. 65); Čuv. *ērēx-*; Bašk. *ürk-*, *örk-* (Eg. 65); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ürk-*; Kaz. *ürkī-*; Trkm. *ürk-*; Uz. *hürk-*, *hurk-*; Uig. *ürkü-*, *ürk-* (Eg. 65); Sal. *ürgi-*, *ürke-*; Y.

Uig. *örk-*; Alt. *ürkü-*, *ürük-*; Khak. *ürük-*, *ürgü-*. – Lit.: DTS 626; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 635; KRPS 590; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ürk-* ‘to be afraid’ was registered in OT and it also has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

9.4. The words *bar*, *gok*

These words are placed apart but just after the group of verbs since the function they have in a sentence is more verbal than nominal in character.

bar (K-B) I ‘jest, imejetsja, suščestvujet’. II ‘imejuščijsja; 2. suščestvujuščij, realnyj, dejstvitelnyj, faktičeskij, podlinnyj, ne voobražajemyj; 3. per. bogatyj, izobilnyj’ (KBRS 117); *bar* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) ‘imejetsja, jest, čto jest, čto; imejetsja, vse’; *bar*, *bardī* (K; *bar*, *bárdī*) ‘es gibt, man hat’ (PrK 91) < PT **bār*, **pār*; cf.: OT *bar*, *pār*; Kum. *bar*; Az. *var*; Khal. *vār*; Tur., Gag. *var*; Kar. (Cr.) *bar*, *var*, (H, T) *bar*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bar*, *var*; Tat. *bar*; Čuv. *pur*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bar*; Trkm. *bār*; Uz. *bor*; Uig. *bar*; Lob. *baj*, *vaj*; Sal. *var*, *vār*, *bār*, *par*, *pā*; Y.Uig., Alt., Khak. *par*; Tuv. *bar*; Tof. *bar*; Šor. *par*; Yak. *bār*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 236, 271, 315; DTS 83; Eg. 165; ÈSTJa II 61; Gab. 301; KRPS 102, 156; Malov 90, 96; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; Sul. Kkar. 53; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 300, 433, 437, 540; Tenišev SJ 195.

The word denoting ‘1. there is; 2. existing; 3. existence’ and also ‘all’ has counterparts in most other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *bar*, *pār* were registered.

gok (K-B) ‘1. nerealnost, nerealnyj; 2. otsutstvie, otsutstvujuščij’ (KBRS 250); *žok* (B. dial. Khul.-Bez.), *gok* (Čeg.) ‘net, ne’ (Boz. 172), *zox* (Kaš.) ‘id.’ (ibid. 17’); *gok* (žog; K) ‘es gibt nicht’ (Pr K 149); *zok*, *zox*, *zog* (*zoq*, *zox*, *zoy*; B) ‘es gibt nicht, es ist nicht vorhanden’ (Pr B 273) < PT **jōk*, **θōk* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jok*, *jōk*; Kum. *jok*; Az. *jox*; Khal. *jūk*; Tur., Gag. *jok*; Kar. (Cr.) *jok*, (H) *jok*, *jo*, *jox*, (T) *jok*, *jo*, *jox*, *jox*; Tat. (Ur.) *jox*; Tat. *juk*; Čuv. *śuk*; Bašk. *juk*; Kaz. *žok*; Kklp. *žok*, *žak*; Nog. *jok*; Kir. *gok*; *žok* (Eg. 216); Trkm. *jōk*; Trukh. *jok*; Uz. *jok*; *juk* (Eg. 216); Uig. *jok*, *jak*; Lob. *jok*, *jox*; Sal. *jox*; Y. Uig. *jak*, *jok*, *gok*; Alt. *dok*; Khak. *čox*; Tuv. *čok*; Šor. *čok*; Yak. *suox*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; DTS 272; Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 211; KRPS 246, 247, 250, 251; Malov 121; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 33; SKT 179; StachM GJV 81; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 363; Tenišev SJ 185.

The word *gok* ‘no; there is no’ has equivalents in many other Turkic languages with the same meaning. However, in several of them there is an additional meaning, cf.: in Khak. the word means ‘poverty’, in Kir. and Kklp. ‘loss’ etc. In OT there were two forms registered: *jok*, *jōk*.

IV. CONCLUSION

The whole analysed material comprises about 771 words which are presented divided into parts of speech as nouns (401), adjectives (68), numerals (19), pronouns (13), adverbs (5), conjunctions (2), particles (3), postpositions (6), verbs (254).

The nouns, adjectives, verbs undergo a further division into semantic groups. Thus, within nouns one can select the following groups:

1. Kindred terms.
2. Other terms referring to man.
3. Parts of the body and body fluids.
4. Animals (mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians).
5. Insects.
6. Some terms referring to animals.
7. Plants and words referring to them.
8. Minerals.
9. Nature, weather.
10. Some tools and elements used in human activity.
11. Names of some human activities and their results.
12. Seasons.
13. Time units and time of day.
14. Astronomical terminology.
15. Units of measure.
16. Terms referring to space.
17. Terms referring to house and places for living.
18. Food.
19. Clothes.
20. Illnesses.
21. Customs.

22. Religious terminology.

23. Abstract nouns.

The adjectives are divided into those:

- describing physical, exterior features;
- describing inner, chemical, abstract features.

Within verbs one can select three groups:

1. Verbs of action.
2. Verbs of state.
3. Verbs referring to sense and expressing an abstract denotation.

Each Karachay-Balkar word is compared with its counterparts from other Turkic languages. The list of about 30 Turkic languages, which are involved in the comparative analysis is to be found in the chapter: “Abbreviations (2.1. Turkic languages and dialects)”.

The aim of such an analysis is to show what Karachay-Balkar has in common with other Turkic languages and thereby with the oldest lexical stratum of the whole Turkic group. Since the Karachay-Balkar has not been studied yet either in terms of its historical settlement among other Turkic languages or its age therefore our task is to pay attention to this very aspect.

Alijev in his work (Al. SKB 13) even claims that Karachay-Balkar in reference to its grammatical forms, vocabulary and phonetics is older than other Turkic languages since in the past it was isolated from them and therefore it preserved some old features.

To show the real attachment of Karachay-Balkar to the rest of Turkic languages we have to show how often the particular word has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Since we have in our comparative analysis about 30 languages to compare with, to make our study clearer we decide to compare the Karachay-Balkar material with particular groups of Turkic languages not with particular languages. We have used the division of Turkic languages into groups done by Kakuk in her classification (cf. Kakuk 8).

Karachay-Balkar represents the Kipchak group of Turkic languages, therefore in comparison we have taken into account other groups i.e.: the Oghuz group (Turkish, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Gagauz); the south-eastern group (Uzbek, Y. Uighur, Salar, Lobnor); the north-eastern group (Altai, Khakas, Tuvian, Tofalar, Shor). Yakut and Chuvash are the only representatives of their groups. A slight classification problem appears in reference to Khalaj since some specialists (Doerfer) claim that this language represents a separate group, the others claim that according to its feature it can be placed among Oghuz languages (cf.: Jaz. M. 471). For our purpose we accept the latter conception.

There is no doubt that within each group of Turkic languages the distribution of equivalents for Karachay-Balkar material is various. That means that not each language within the particular group has its counterpart for a

particular Karachay-Balkar word. In many cases it happens that only one language within a group registers a particular form equivalent for the analysed word. Nevertheless, for our purpose we accept even a single word as representative of the whole group.

Thus:

1. In the Oghuz group there are 723 equivalents that in comparison with the whole Karachay-Balkar material is 94%. The distribution of grammatical categories is as follows: 374 nouns, 242 verbs, 62 adjectives, 19 numerals, 13 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 3 particles, 3 postpositions.
2. In the south-eastern group there are 708 equivalents that constitutes about 92%. The distribution of categories is as follows: 365 nouns, 239 verbs, 62 adjectives, 19 numerals, 12 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 2 particles, 2 postpositions.
3. In the north-eastern group there are 665 counterparts that makes about 86,5 %. The number of particular representatives of grammatical categories is as follows: 339 nouns, 227 verbs, 59 adjectives, 19 numerals, 11 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 2 particles, 1 postposition.
4. In the Yakut language there are 433 equivalents that constitutes about 56 %. The distribution of categories: 230 nouns, 140 verbs, 32 adjectives, 14 numerals, 12 pronouns, 3 adverbs, 2 conjunctions.
5. In the Chuvash language there are 414 counterparts that constitutes 53,8%. The distribution of grammatical categories is as follows: 180 nouns, 160 verbs, 40 adjectives, 18 numerals, 11 pronouns, 1 adverb, 1 conjunction, 2 particles, 1 postposition.

The presented above data are tabulated in this table:

| | | Distribution of Karachay-Balkar equivalents in particular Turkic groups | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| Part of speech | Karachay-Balkar vocabulary | Oghuz group | South-eastern group | North-eastern group | Yakut language group | Chuvash language group |
| Nouns | 401 | 374 | 365 | 339 | 230 | 180 |
| Verbs | 254 | 242 | 239 | 227 | 140 | 160 |
| Adjectives | 68 | 62 | 62 | 59 | 32 | 40 |
| Numerals | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 14 | 18 |
| Pronouns | 13 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 12 | 11 |
| Adverbs | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Conjunctions | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Particles | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | — | 2 |
| Postpositions | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Total | 771 | 723 | 708 | 665 | 433 | 414 |

As we can see in Yakut and Chuvash there are less equivalents for Karachay-Balkar material than in other groups. On the other hand the development of parts of speech is similar to Karachay-Balkar within all groups.

The data presented above allow us to come to the conclusion that the Karachay-Balkar language is firmly settled within the group of Turkic languages, however we can notice some tendencies for a stronger and weaker relationship which can be justified by geographic and historic factors. On the other hand the above data convince us that the Karachay-Balkar language belongs to that group of Turkic languages whose development began a very long time before now, which can be seen in comparison with the Yakut and Chuvash material.

V. INDICES

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‘to blow’

‘to bark’

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