NOSTRATIC AND SINO-CAUCASIAN

After the appearance of Vladislav Illich-Svitych's *Nostratic Dictionary* [ОСНЯ] — a decisive step in proving the genetic relationship of the Nostratic languages — several crucial questions still have to be answered. They can be formulated as follows:

a) How, precisely, should the Nostratic languages be classified? (For example, does there exist a distinct Altaic branch of Nostratic? Can the Nostratic languages be subdivided into "Eastern" and "Western" Nostratic? What are the exact boundaries of the Afro-Asiatic branch within Nostratic?)

b) Are there any other linguistic families that can be included in Nostratic?

c) Can we locate the hypothetical disintegration of Proto-Nostratic in space and time?

d) If there are other macrofamilies besides Nostratic (which now seems to be obvious), is Nostratic genetically related to them?

Any progress in answering any of these questions could be of great importance for our understanding of linguistic prehistory. In this paper I shall express my present views on some of them.

A. Although there has been much debate about the problem of Altaic as a branch of Nostratic, I think that the Altaic family (which includes Turkic, Mongol, and Tungus, as well as Korean and Japanese), can be documented as a distinct entity, and the date of Proto-Altaic split can be placed somewhere on the border of the 6th and 5th millennia B. C.

The problem of Afro-Asiatic is much more complicated. In fact, even among the advocates of the Nostratic theory there is no consensus on the

place of Afro-Asiatic within Nostratic. Recent research, both comparative-lexicographic and lexicostatisitic, has revealed a great degree of diversity within Afro-Asiatic itself. Preliminary glottochronological analysis (more positive results could be obtained only after compiling the new Afro-Asiatic etymological dictionary) seems to indicate the possible date of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic split as somewhere in the 11t th–10th millennium B. C. — which means that Afro-Asiatic must be as old as Nostratic itself (all other subgroups of Nostratic reveal a much higher rate of coincidences within the basic vocabulary). I think that the final solution to this problem should be postponed until we obtain an improved reconstruction of Proto-Afro-Asiatic and its complete volume of etymologies.

One consequence of this "cautious approach" to Afro-Asiatic is that I prefer presently to exclude Afro-Asiatic material from the Nostratic comparisons. This does not mean, of course, that Afro-Asiatic parallels for Nostratic roots presented in Illich-Svitych's dictionary and elsewhere (notably in Aron Dolgopolsky's works) are all accidental "look-alikes": they may purely reflect a relationship between Afro-Asiatic and Nostratic at some deeper level. I shall return to this point later in this paper.

As for the division of Nostratic into "Eastern" and "Western", I think that it certainly exists (Indo-European and Kartvelian have a lot of individual common features), but is areal rather than genetic by nature (lexically Indo-European seems to be even closer to Uralic than to Kartvelian). Again, the position of Afro-Asiatic relative to Nostratic seems to speak against the Western Nostratic unity (features that Proto-Afro-Asiatic shares with Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian can be explained as a result of a secondary "linguistic alliance").

B. Several attempts have been made to relate some other linguistic families (Eskimo-Aleut, some American languages, Yeniseian, Nivkh, Sino-Tibetan, North Caucasian) to Nostratic. The only probable theory by now seems to be that of including Eskimo-Aleut in Nostratic (Oleg Mudrak). On the other hand, I have tried to demonstrate the special relationship between Sino-Tibetan, North Caucasian and Yeniseian. ("Sino-Caucasian", which must be dated approximately to the 9th and 8th millennia B. C.; rather probable is also the inclusion of Na-Dene languages into Sino-Caucasian, proposed by S. L. Nikolaev). There is also a good critical survey of this problem, by Eugene Helimsky [Хелимский 1984]. I will therefore in this paper confine Nostratic to Indo-European, Kartvelian, Uralic, Altaic, Dravidian, and probably Eskimo-Aleut.

Since I am a supporter of giottochronology (although I believe that some of its principles are to be modified), I believe in the possibility of absolute linguistic dating (although, of course, highly approximate). One point, however, must be especially stressed: we can obtain satisfying glottochronological results only for language families with a well-developed comparative phonology and lexicography. Nothing has done more harm to glottochronology than its uncritical application to poorly studied linguistic data. Since we cannot yet claim to have full knowledge of Nostratic comparative phonology (and what is perhaps even more important — of Nostratic comparative vocabulary; I am sure that the bulk of existing common Nostratic roots can be substantially increased), any attempts to date the Proto-Nostratic split by means of glottochronology are in fact premature. Still, a very approximate guess is 10th-12th millennium B. C. (This dating is of course liable to future verification; it seems however to be probable as well for some reasons other than glottochronology). As to the possible Nostratic homeland, I can only say that it deserves further joint investigation by linguists, archaeologists and other specialists, and depends largely on improving our knowledge of Proto-Nostratic vocabulary.

Recent decades have witnessed substantial progress in long range linguistic comparison. Besides Nostratic, we can now more or less positively speak of the existence of several other macrofamilies: Austro-Tai (and probably even broader: Austric), Afro-Asiatic (if excluded from Nostratic), Sino-Caucasian, Amerind. Comparative research within most of these macrofamilies is only beginning (exceptions are, of course, Afro-Asiatic and Nostratic itself, which are somewhat better explored). Still I think that the question about mutual relationship of macrofamilies is wholly justified — even if the answer by now must be but preliminary.

The rest of this paper will present an attempt to make a genetic link between Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian. To do that, I shall first put forward some phonological observations, since any comparison is futile without at least rough phonetic correspondences.

1. **Nostratic**. I will in general preserve the phonological system of Proto-Nostratic as outlined in the Nostratic Dictionary. But there are some points I would like to dwell upon:

a) The system of Nostratic affricates and sibilants probably needs a revision [Долгопольский 1974]. But recently, some work has been done on reinterpreting the affricate systems of Proto-Kartvelian (Y. Testelets) and Proto-Altaic (myself), and until the results of these studies are checked with

Illich-Svitych's and Dolgopolsky's reconstructions, I would prefer to hold onto the original notation.

b) The reconstruction of the set of uvular consonants for Proto-Nostratic by Illich-Svitych was based only on Kartvelian evidence. However, all other Nostratic languages lack this series of stops and it is quite probable that in Kartvelian they are secondary, acquired under the influence of neighboring North Caucasian languages. External evidence shows that PN *q῾ has exactly the same counterparts as PN *k῾, and we will treat them as one and the same phoneme (reflexes of *k῾ and *q῾ coincide in all Nostratic languages except Kartvelian). As for Nostratic uvulars *q and *ɢ, they can be treated in most cases as velar fricatives *x and *ɣ (although in some cases Kartvelian *q seems to be a result of a secondary shift *k > *q analogous to *k῾ > *q῾).

c) There has been a recent attempt to reinterpret the Nostratic system of stops [Bomhard 1987], stimulated mainly by the so-called glottalic theory of Indo-European stops. According to Allan Bomhard, Indo-European voiced (aspirated) stops correspond to Kartvelian voiced stops (in this point his theory coincides with that of Illich-Svitych); Indo-European glottalised (traditionally, voiced unaspirated) stops correspond to Kartvelian glottalised stops, and Indo-European voiceless (aspirated) stops correspond to Kartvelian voiceless stops. The two latter correspondences are strongly opposed to Illich-Svitych's rules (according to which PIE *d, *g = PK *t, *k, while PIE *t, *k = PK *t̯, *k̯).

If one excludes Afro-Asiatic data (as we proposed to do above), the weakness of Bomhard's theory immediately becomes apparent. Searching through the material adduced in [Bomhard 1987], I could not find a single example of PIE *t (or *tʰ in the "glottalic" notation) = PK *t or PIE *k (*kʰ) — PK *k. On the other hand, in one of Illich-Svitych's basic works [Иллич-Свитыч 1968] we find several good examples of PIE *d (or *ṭ in the "glottalic" notation) = PK *t and PIE *g (*k̯) — PK *k (cf. PIE *del(H)- 'split, trim' = PK *tal- 'trim, plane'; PIE *deH- 'drip, flow' = PK *tx- 'pour'; PIE *skeid- 'split' = PK *c₁it- 'hew', PIE *ǵal(ō)u- 'husband's sister' = PK *kal- 'woman'), and more examples can be added. As to the correspondence PIE *d (*ṭ) = PK *t̯, PIE *g (*k̯) = PK *k̯ (or *q̇), in [Bomhard 1987] we find four examples of it: PIE *deH- 'cleave asunder, divide' = PK *t̯ex- 'to break'; PIE *gel/*gol-/*gl̥- 'neck, throat' = PK *q̇eli id. (but cf. PIE *kol- id.); PIE *gʷer- 'to swallow; neck, throat' = PK *q̇war- 'pharynx, throat, gullet' (probably PK *q̇orq̇- is meant [ЭСКЯ: 213]); PIE *gʷel- 'strike, kill' = PK *q̇wel- 'slay, kill'. Only the last example is satisfactory (in fact, Illich-Svitych lists it [МССНЯ: 370] in spite of its irregularity). On the other hand, Bomhard completely disregards a very considerable number of correspondences

like PIE *t, *k = PK *ṭ, *ḳ (*q̇), cf. [Иллич-Свитыч 1968]: PIE *terp- 'be sati-
ated, satisfied' = PK *ṭrp- 'enjoy'; PIE *lat- 'wet, liquid' = PK *lṭw- 'soak'; PIE
*mat- 'worm, grub' = PK *maṭl- 'worm'; PIE *kʷel- 'turn round' = PK *ḳwer-
'round'; PIE *k̂er- 'bind' = PK *ḳ(a)r- id.; PIE *ket- 'building, room' = PK *ḳed-
'build'; PIE *kel- 'rise, high' = PK *ḳlatx- 'high'; PIE *kerd- 'heart' = PK
*mḳerd- 'breast'; PIE *luk̂- 'lynx' = PK *laḳ(w)- 'dog'; PIE *k̂leu- 'hear' = PK
*q̇ur- 'ear'; PIE *(e)lek- 'elbow' = PK *d(l)aq̇w- id., etc. That is why I now
deem it impossible to justify Bomhard's revision of the Nostratic phono-
logical system and think that the original system of correspondences estab-
lished by Illich-Svitych is to be preserved (although its phonetic interpreta-
tion may be different; see below).

   2. **Sino-Caucasian**. In 1984 I presented a rather complicated system of
correspondences between North Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan and Yeniseian
[Старостин 1984]. However, recent developments in the field of North
Caucasian comparative phonology (connected with my joint work with
Sergei Nikolayev on the Etymological Dictionary of North Caucasian lan-
guages) have now made it possible to modify and simplify this system
considerably.

   It appears now that Proto-NC had no opposition between voiced and
tense voiceless stops (*k̲-g, *t̲-d etc.) as we originally thought. This opposi-
tion can be shown to have arisen secondarily only in Eastern Daghestan
languages due to a split of a single Proto-Daghestanian voiced stop series.
Now the so-called geminates in Proto-NC (e. g. *cc, *ƛƛ) appear to have had
a specific distribution: within one root there could only co-exist only either
"geminated" consonants (e. g. *qqaqqa 'seed, grain') or "non-geminated"
(e. g. čäčwV 'stone') ones, the only obligatory exception being the roots with
an inlaut resonant (e. g. *cwarggwV 'weasel, martin', not *ccwarggwV). Thus
it is possible to regard Proto-NC "geminates" as allophones of simple
(non-geminated) consonants arising under special conditions (probably
prosodic, something like "tense voice"). Below we shall mark such cases by
underlining the neighboring vowel (e. g. *čä̲čwV as opposed to *qaqa and
*cwa̲rgwV). It is necessary to note also that the sounds that we originally
interpreted as "strong" ("tense") fricatives (*s̲, *x̲, etc.) reveal the same kind
of distribution as "geminates" and thus can also be treated as allophones of
simple ("lax") fricatives (*s, *x, etc.).

   After these (and some other) modifications have been introduced, the
reinterpreted set of correspondences between Sino-Caucasian languages
looks as follows:

SC	NC	ST	PY
*p	p	ph / bh, -p	p
*b	b	p(h), -p	p/b
*ṗ	ṗ	b, -p	b
*t	t	th / dh, -t	d
*d	d	t(h), -t	t
*ṭ	ṭ	t / d, -t	d
*k	k	k / gh, -k	g
*g	g	k(h), -k	k
*ḳ	ḳ	k(h) / g, -k	g, -k
*s	s	s, -Ø	s (/d)
*c	c	c(h), -t	č/s
*ʒ	ʒ	s / ʒh, -t	ǯ/s
*ç	ç	s / ch, -t	c/s
*st	c	?	t
*sd	z	ch-	t
*sṭ	ç	s-	t
*š	š	š-, -Ø	s (/d)
*č	č	č / ǯ, -t	č-/ǯ-, s
*ǯ	ǯ	č-	č-, s/ǯ
*ç̌	č̌	č- / ǯh-, -t	č-/ǯ-, s/ǯ
*št	č	-t	t
*šd	ǯ	č (h)-	t
*šṭ	č̌	?	t
*ś	ś	s-, -Ø	s (/d)
*ć	ć	č, -t	ǯ-, s
*ʒ́	ʒ́	č, -t	ǯ-, s
*ć̣	ć̣	č / š, -t	c/s
*λ	λ	l	Ø-, l/ĺ
*ƛ	ƛ	l / ƛ, -k	ʔ-, r
*Ł	Ł	l / ƛ, -k	k-, r
*ƛ̣	ƛ̣	l / ƛ, -k	j-, k-. l/ĺ
*xk	ƛ	-k	-χ-
*xg	g	gh-, -k	q-, -χ-/-x-
*xḳ	ḳ	-k	q-, -G- (?)
*x	x	χ/q (h)-, -Ø/-k	χ/x
*χ	χ	k(h)/qh (ʷ), -Ø/-k	χ/q
*q	q	q ~ G, -k	χ-, q/G
*q̇	q̇	Q(ʷ)/K, -k	χ/q
*xq	q	k	x (/k)
*xG	G	k	k
*xq̇	q̇	k	g/x

For other consonants (resonants, voiced fricatives, laryngeals and pharyngeals), see [Старостин 1984: 22].

3. **Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian**. At present, the lexical evidence presented below can be regarded only as a preliminary list. I have confined the Nostratic vocabulary strictly to the set of roots presented in [ОСНЯ] and [МССНЯ] (only a few roots quoted in several of Dolgopolsky's papers have been added) and have completely ignored parallels where only one of the Nostratic subgroups is present (such as Altaic-Sino-Caucasian). It is thus evident that the list can be substantially enlarged, but that is a matter for future studies.

For a considerable amount of roots in the list parallels from other macrofamilies (at least from Afro-Asiatic and Austric) can be found; in fact, a great number of Afro-Asiatic parallels are already published in the works of Illich-Svitych, Dolgopolsky, and others. I have no reason at all to suppose a closer genetic link between Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian than, say, between Nostratic and Afro-Asiatic or between Afro-Asiatic and Sino-Caucasian. (In fact, a preliminary study together with A. Militarev and V. Orel has revealed quite a lot of probable isoglosses between Afro-Asiatic and Sino-Caucasian.) That is why no attempt has been made to reconstruct "Proto-Nostratic-Sino-Caucasian" — one should rather postpone it until we know more about the interrelationship of the world's several macrofamilies (phyla).

However, some observations of phonological nature certainly can be done. They concern primarily the system of stops, where the correspondences are as follows:

Nostratic	Sino-Caucasian
*p-, -p- / -pʼ-	*b-, -ṗ-
*pʼ	*p
*b	*b
*t	*tw, *ṭw
*tʼ	*t, *tʼ, *dw
*d	*d
*k	*kw, *ḳw, *qw, *q̇w
*kʼ	*k, *ḳ, *q, *q̇, *gw
*g	*g, *G

Notes:
1) The distinction between intervocalic *-p- and *-pʼ- in Nostratic is rather vague, and in many cases we are not able to draw it. On the other

hand, word-initial *ṗ is extremely rare in Sino-Caucasian. Therefore I thought it possible to unite the correspondence rows PN *p : SC *b- and PN *-p-/-pʻ- : SC *-ṗ-.

2) There are three cases when SC *g(w) or *G(w) correspond to PN *k (48, 51, 52): in all of these cases there appears a postvocalic *-j-.

The above correspondences are hard to explain if we presume that PN glottalised consonants were really glottalised. However, if we keep in mind that the reconstruction of PN glottalised (as well as uvular) stops is based only on Kartvelian evidence, and suppose that the Kartvelian glottalisation may have substituted (probably under a substratum influence) some other earlier laryngeal feature, things become much easier. All of the above correspondences can be explained by assuming that:

a) in the dental and velar series original glottalised (non-labialised) stops were preserved in SC but merged with plain stops in PN, yielding probably aspirates (in fact, reflexes of these consonants are aspirated in Indo-European and Altaic; the Kartvelian shift of aspirated to glottalised stops, as already mentioned, must be due to substratum);

b) the additional feature of labialisation vanished in PN, but conditioned a specific shift of laryngeal features: original aspirated labialised stops (going back to voiceless and glottalised labialised stops) must have lost their aspiration and become PN *t, *k (reflexes of these consonants are unaspirated in Indo-European and Altaic); while original voiced labialised stops must have inversely acquired aspiration and merged with voiceless aspirated stops;

c) labial stops could not have been labialised, and therefore in this series we observe straightforward correspondences (SC *b = PN *b, SC *p = PN *pʻ [= *pʰ]). However, original labial glottalised consonants did not merge with plain voiceless stops in Nostratic, being reflected as the combination *pw (i. e. resulting in PN voiceless *p).

Thus the external evidence seems to indicate that consonants traditionally reconstructed in Nostratic as glottalised (emphatic) had, in fact, been voiceless aspirates — and this also may better explain some of their reflexes in Nostratic daughter languages.

Another observation can be made concerning the fate of lateral consonants in Nostratic. In most cases the Sino-Caucasian laterals correspond to Nostratic *l (or *l + velar in the intervocalic position, see examples 40, 45, 96, 100, 103, 106, 108, 120, 138, 142, 200, 202, 204; this *l gets lost after a preceding *-r-, cf. examples 114, 122). However, if a liquid *l follows a lateral affricate, the latter by dissimilation becomes a stop:

a) a dental stop if the original lateral had no labialisation (cf. examples 196, 197), and

b) a velar stop if the original lateral was labialised (cf. examples 61, 89, 199).

Of course, this is only a beginning: there are still many gaps both in the Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian reconstructions, and the data of other macro-families are yet to be investigated. No correspondences are as yet available for the complicated systems of Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian affricates, fricatives and postvelar consonants, as well as for vowels. Still I think that the existing evidence is already enough for assuming a distant genetic relationship between the two macrofamilies of the Old World.

LEXICAL PARALLELS BETWEEN NOSTRATIC AND SINO-CAUCASIAN

1. PN *balkʿa ʿshine, gleamʾ [ОСНЯ №5]: ST *Pɔ̄k ʿwhiteʾ.

2. PN *bongä (*~ -pʿ-) ʿthick, swellʾ [ОСНЯ №17]: SC *pVnKV ʿswellʾ (ST *phōŋ / *phuŋ ʿswell, blow upʾ, PY *pɨʔŋ ʿswell, swellingʾ).

3. PN *boŕa ʿgrayish-brownʾ [ОСНЯ №18]: NC *bHūrV id.

4. PN *bulV ʿto mix, stir upʾ [ОСНЯ №20]: ST *puał.

5. PN *baɣV ʿmuch, enoughʾ [ОСНЯ №28]: Alt. *bājV ʿrich, plentifulʾ should be added): SC *bVHV ʿbig, manyʾ (ST *pā ʿbig, greatʾ, PY *bəj- ʿmanyʾ, NC > WC *bHV ʿthick, bigʾ).

6. PN *bara ʿbig, goodʾ [ОСНЯ №7]: ST *p(h)Vr ʿbig, great, increasedʾ.

7. PN *biĆa ʿsmallʾ [ОСНЯ №11]: NC *bi(n)çV id.

8. PN *calu ʿsplit, cutʾ (also ʿmowʾ) [ОСНЯ №33]: SC *cVłHV ʿmow, reapʾ (NC *ʔo-cV/l/- ʿmowʾ, *cōłV ʿscytheʾ, ST *chāH (~ *chāH) ʿreapʾ).

9. PN *cujḥa ʿthornʾ [ОСНЯ №34]: ST *cūH id.

10. PN *çäjḥa ʿshine, shimmerʾ [ОСНЯ №37]: SC *çAjV ʿshine, light; fireʾ (ST *ziāj ʿshine, lightʾ, NC *çajɨ ʿfire; glitterʾ).

11. PN *curV / *corV ʿdrip, oozeʾ [ОСНЯ №35]: SC *ʒwVrV (~ sdw-) ʿstrain, pourʾ (ST */ch/ōr, NC *ʔi-ʒwV̄r-).

12. PN *caṗa ʿbeat, chopʾ [ОСНЯ №41]: ST */č/Vp ʿbreak, tear upʾ.

13. PN */ćaj/rV ʿpale, white, yellowʾ [МССНЯ: 363]; roots with the meaning ʿmoonʾ should be kept apart, see below: SC *çArV (~ sṭ-) id. (ST *sV̄r /~*ch-?/ ʿyellow, goldʾ; NC *H-çarV̄ ʿgray, paleʾ.

14. PN *ćarV (~ c̣-) ʿrind, crustʾ [ОСНЯ №47]: SC *štArV id. (PY *tər-ap, NC *čHə̄rV).

15. PN *ćʿabV ʿclay, glueʾ [МССНЯ: 344]: SC *čebV ʿclay, modelʾ (ST *Ćap ʿto stick, adhereʾ, NC *čebV ʿclay, modelʾ).

16. PN */č/ämV ʿastringent, sourʾ [ОСНЯ №54; МССНЯ: 368] with irregular correspondences between PIE and PU: SC *çwE/m/HV ʿsaltʾ (ST *čum (~ c-), NC *çweṇHV).

17. PN *č'ik'V 'cut' [ОСНЯ №55]: SC *č̣wVḳ(w)V 'a cutting tool' (ST *ǯh/āk^w 'chisel', PY *čok 'axe', NC *č̣wi̧ḳwV 'knife').

18. PN *č'VʕmV 'eat' [ОСНЯ №57] (only Kartvelian): SC *č̣wVmV 'chew, hold in mouth' (ST *ǯhī(a)m (~ -ē-), NC *He-č̣wVm-).

19. PN *č'alHa (~ č-) 'spread out, broad, plain': SC *ʒVlHV id. (ST *čel (~ ł) 'spread out', NC *ʒəlHV 'plain').

20. PN *č'ok'V (~ č-) 'big, many' [МССНЯ: 331]: SC *č̣VqwV id. (ST *čok 'enough, plenty', (?) PY *suK- 'thick', NC *(HV)-č̣əqwV 'big'). We should expect *-k- in PN: -k'- is probably due to assimilation.

21. PN *dikV 'earth, clay' [ОСНЯ №69]: SC *dVQV 'clay' (ST */t/iak, PY *təq-).

22. PN *ga(HV) 'take, obtain' [ОСНЯ №77]: SC *(a)GV 'take, hold' (PY *-aq-, NC *ʔa̧-GV-).

23. PN *gändu 'male' [ОСНЯ №79]: SC *KenTwV 'man, male' (PY *keʔt 'man', NC *kwVn(V)ṭV '(young) man, male'). Due to dis- or assimilations it is hard to reconstruct precise laryngeal features for SC.

24. PN *gUjra 'antelope, deer' [ОСНЯ №90, 93] (90 and 93 are probably one and the same root): SC *xgVjV 'deer' (ST *ghij '(barking) deer', PY */q/Vja 'deer').

25. PN *güpA 'to bend, bow' [ОСНЯ №92]: ST *g(h)ūp id.

26. PN *γarḳ'u (< *γaḳ'ru?) 'bend' [ОСНЯ №97]: SC *-gwVrV id. (ST *kuar, NC *ʔi-gwVr-).

27. PN *γuru 'flow, flood' [ОСНЯ №98]: SC *HwVrHV 'flow; pool, water body' (ST *Hor 'flow, soak'; NC *ʔwirHɨ 'water pool').

28. PN *γVmV 'darkness, night' [ОСНЯ №99] (only Kartvelian): SC *χVmHV 'dark, evening' (ST *γVm 'dark, shadow', PL *χIam̰ 'evening, darkness').

29. PN *Hanga 'open (the mouth), opening' [ОСНЯ №105]: SC *HamgV 'hole, opening' (ST *khāH 'opening', PY: Ket ag-di 'mouth cavity', NC *ħə̄mgV 'hole, window').

30. PN *Henka (~ Hekna) 'to burn' [ОСНЯ №106]: SC *-χAnV 'to warm up' (ST *kaŋ 'roast, fry', PY *(h)əqan- 'boil', NC *He-χVn- 'warm up').

31. PN *H/E/mi 'suck, swallow' [ОСНЯ №109]: ST *ʔVm 'drink, suck, hold in mouth'.

32. PN *Hok'i 'sharp edge' [ОСНЯ №113]: SC *-xḳV 'sharp, sharpen' (PY: Ket i:- 'to sharpen', NC *ʔV̧-ḳV 'sharp(en)').

33. PN *Homsa 'meat' [ОСНЯ №114]: SC *jVmcV 'ox; meat' (ST *chu (~ -o) 'a kind of ox', PY *ʔise 'meat', NC *jəmco 'ox'.

34. PN *Ho(k)sV 'ash-tree' [ОСНЯ №117]: PY *ʔoksi 'tree'.

35. PN *Huk'a 'eye, see' [ОСНЯ №118]: SC *-gwV 'see' (? ST *k^wē-n (~ g^w-) 'look' — can be related here if -n is a suffix; NC *ʔagwV 'see').

36. PN *Huwa 'flood, stream' [ОСНЯ №119] (cf. also IE: Hitt. ḫeu-ʿrain'): SC *-ɣwV 'rain, to rain' (ST *(r)-qhʷaH, PY *xu-r, NC *ʔV-ɣwV).

37. PN *ʔanχV 'breathe' [ОСНЯ №125] (perhaps it would be better to add Alt. *ʔinV 'live, life' and reconstruct PN *HinχV): SC *HwEnHV 'blood; breath, soul' (ST *(s)-ɣʷīj 'blood; breath', NC *hwenHV 'blood'). The semantic shift 'blood ⟷ soul, breath' is fairly common.

38. PN *ʔaSa 'fire, be hot' [ОСНЯ №127]: SC *-cV 'burn, heat' (ST *ca / *cha 'hot, heat', NC *ʕe̬-cV 'hot, heat, roast').

39. PN *Ha- 'be, become' [ОСНЯ №102]: SC *ʔa(HV) id. (ST *ʔa, NC *ʔa(hHV)-).

40. PN *ʔelA 'live' [ОСНЯ №131]: SC *-ХV 'be; stay' (ST *ХV 'stay', NC *ʔō̬-ХV 'be, become').

41. PN *ʔesA 'be, settle down' [ОСНЯ №132]: SC *-swV 'sit' (PY *VsV, NC *ʔo-swV).

42. PN *ʔilV 'deer': ST *la 'musk-deer'.

43. PN *ʕEkʼu 'water, drink' [ОСНЯ №139] (Alt. *āk- 'flow' should be added): SC *-qV 'fluid, drink' (ST *Ku 'fluid, to spill': PY: Ar. -ag- 'drink', NC *ʔV-qV 'drink').

44. PN *jela 'bright' [ОСНЯ №148]: ST *liaj (~ Х-) 'gleam, glitter'.

45. PN *kʼaĺV 'peel; bark, skin' [ОСНЯ №156] (initial kʼ- because of Alt. *kʼaĺi-; forms with the meaning 'naked' should be kept apart): NC *qa̬ХV 'bark, skin'.

46. PN *kanpV 'soft excrescence (mushroom; lip)' [ОСНЯ №158]: SC *ḳwVm(P)V 'lip' (ST *k(h)am, NC *ḳwēm(ṗ)-ṭī).

47. PN *karV / *kurV 'crane' [ОСНЯ №159]: SC *q̇(w)Vrq̇wV id. (OC *g(h)ākʷ, NC *q̇(w)ə̬rq̇wə).

48. PN *käjwV 'chew' [ОСНЯ №160]: SC *xGVjV 'bite' (ST *k(h)aj, NC *ʔV̬-GV-).

49. PN *kENV 'know' [ОСНЯ №163]: ST *qēn 'see, know'.

50. PN *kirHV 'old' [ОСНЯ №165]: ST *Kri 'old'.

51. PN *koja 'moth, grub, worm' [ОСНЯ №167]: SC *gwVjV 'worm' (ST *ghʷə (~ khʷə), PY *kVj).

52. PN *kojHa 'fat; healthy, alive' [ОСНЯ №168]: SC *GwVjV 'thick' (PY: Ket qōj, NC *ʔV̬-Gw-).

53. PN *kojw/a/ 'birch' [ОСНЯ №170]: PY *χɨʔw- 'birch bark'.

54. PN *koλV 'peel, bark' [ОСНЯ №171] (*kol-ɣV in [Долгопольский 1972: 363]): SC *q̇wAłHV 'bark, skin' (ST *qhrōw (~ kh-), PY: Ket qōĺ 'dandruff', NC *q̇wałHV 'bark').

55. PN *kOŕi 'lamb, sheep' [ОСНЯ №174]: SC *ḳwAr-NV 'young (of animals), shoot (of plants)' (ST *kruŋ (- q-) 'be born; shoot (of a plant)'; NC *ḳwarnV 'young (of animals)'.

56. PN *küjñA 'knee/elbow' [ОСНЯ №175]: SC *HgVNV 'knee, leg' (ST *Koŋ 'thigh, leg', NC *HgenV̄ 'knee, leg').

57. PN *küła 'lake' [ОСНЯ №177]: SC *ḳ(w)AlHV 'lake, river' (ST *klū-ŋ 'river', PY *χɔʔl (~ q-, -r) 'bay, creek', NC *ḳ(w)alHV 'lake').

58. PN *kä/lH/V 'to step, ford' [ОСНЯ №161]: SC *gAłHV 'step; ford' (ST *Ghāl (~ qh-, kh-, gh-) 'ford', NC *gałHV 'step').

59. PN *kurV 'swallow, throat' [ОСНЯ №91] (*k- because of IE *gʷ-): SC *ḳwVrV 'throat, crop' (ST *khrōw (~ gh-), PY *gǝr-Vʒ (~ k-), NC *ḳwirV (~ -i-)).

60. PN *küni 'wife, woman' [ОСНЯ №178]: SC *qwEnV 'woman' (PY *qVm- (~χ-), NC *q(w)änV).

61. PN *kUłV 'snake, worm' [ОСНЯ №179]: SC *(wHVr)-X̌wVłV 'snake, worm; leech' (ST *p-rūl 'snake', PY *(h)urɪol 'leech', NC *wHVr-X̌wVłV 'snake, worm').

62. PN *komtʼV 'lid (of a receptacle)' [МССНЯ: 356]: SC *gVmtV 'a cover, pillow' (ST *g(h)um, PY *χot- (~ q-), NC *gVmtV).

63. PN *kun-če 'nail, peg' [Долгопольский 1965: 263] (-če is probably a suffix as in *pArÄ, *pAr-čV 'finger, nail', q. v.): SC *xq̇winV id. (PY *(x)īne 'nail, claw', NC *Hq̇winā 'nail, peg').

64. PN *KümTä 'fog, mist' [ОСНЯ №187]: SC *ḳwVmHV id. (also metathesised *mHVḳwV: ST *mūk 'fog', PY: Yugh xoaŋ 'fog', NC *ḳwi̟mHV / *mH̟i̟ḳwV 'cloud, rain').

65. PN *KütʼV 'bind, tie' [ОСНЯ №188]: SC *ḳwEtV 'tie, bind; reel' (ST *kʷāt (~ gʷ-) 'tie, bind' — here rather than to NC *q̇wHarṭV-łV 'belt' as in [Старостин 1984: 32]; NC *ḳwetV 'reel').

66. PN *kʼaćV 'man, young man' [ОСНЯ №191]: WC *qaça 'man'.

67. PN *kʼadV 'interweave (twigs), build' [ОСНЯ №192]: SC *q̇VmdV 'fence, wall' (ST *Kat 'fence; room', NC *q̇ēmdǝ 'wall').

68. PN *kʼaλa 'leave, stay' [ОСНЯ №194] (*kʼal-γa in [Долгопольский 1972: 358]): NC *ʔi-lgwVn- (~ *ʔi-gwVl-) 'stay'.

69. PN *kʼapʼV 'vessel, pot; scull' [ОСНЯ №195]: SC *qApV̇ 'vessel' (OC *khāp, PY *qä(ʔ)p (~ -b) 'boat', NC *qāṗā 'vessel; boat').

70. PN *kʼäćä 'cut' [ОСНЯ №196]: SC *q̇açV 'cut, divide' (ST *qāt 'cut, divide', NC *q̇açi̟ 'piece, part').

71. PN *kʼärV 'bind (tightly)' [ОСНЯ №197]: SC *-qVrV 'plait, weave' (ST [with metathesis] *rāk 'plait, weave', NC *ʔV-qVr 'weave').

72. PN *kʼErdV 'heart, breast' [ОСНЯ №200]: NC *kīrV 'breast; belly'.

73. PN *kʼoĺV 'round, roll' [ОСНЯ №202]: SC *gwVl(g)V id. (ST *kʷ̄(r)eł 'roll, wind', NC *gwēlgV 'round').

74. PN *kʼuλa 'secret, steal' [ОСНЯ №204] (*kʼul/-γ/V in [Долгополь-ский 1972: 364]): SC *-gwVlV 'hide, steal' (ST *kol (~ q-, -j) 'hide', NC *ʔi-gwVl- 'loose, steal').

75. PN *k῾Ut῾V 'small' [ОСНЯ №205]: NC *koṭV 'short'.

76. PN *k῾ajwV 'dig' [ОСНЯ №209]: SC *-xqVwV id. (ST *gǝw, PY *ʔuk-
(~ -g-), NC *HV̯-qwV-).

77. PN *k῾aLi 'rise, high' [ОСНЯ №210]: NC *ʔǝ-lqV (ʔǝ-qVlV) id.

78. PN *k῾ap῾a 'cover, close' [ОСНЯ №212]: ST *Gāp 'cover'.

79. PN *k῾ar/ä/ 'black, dark' [ОСНЯ №213]: NC *ḳǝrV 'black, coal'.

80. PN *k῾arV 'rock' [ОСНЯ №216]: SC *GwVrV 'stone' (ST *Kor, NC
*GwērV).

81. PN *k῾aŕä 'bark' [ОСНЯ №217]: NC *ḳǝrī 'bark, shell'.

82. PN *k῾awingV 'armpit' [ОСНЯ №220]: ST *qhōŋ 'hole, gap'.

83. PN *k῾ä/lH/ä 'tongue, speak' [ОСНЯ №221]: NC *ʔV-gwVl- 'speak'.

84. PN *k῾äp῾ä 'paw, hoof' [ОСНЯ №222]: SC *χwHabV 'paw, leg' (ST
*k(h)ap 'crotch', PY: Ket qǝp-ku 'calf (of leg)', NC *χwHabV 'paw').

85. PN *k῾EñU 'empty, light' [ОСНЯ №226]: ST *khiaŋ (~ gh-) 'light,
thin'.

86. PN *kErV 'horn' [ОСНЯ №227] (*k- rather than *k῾- because of PK
*kr-): SC *qwVrHV 'horn' (ST *Kruā (~ -ŋ, -k), PY *χɔʔ, NC *qwā̄(r)HV).

87. PN *k῾urV 'plait, weave, knit' [ОСНЯ №236]: NC *ʔi̯-mχwVr- 'knit,
weave, spin'.

88. PN *k῾üjnA 'wolf, dog' [ОСНЯ №238]: SC *χwEjV 'dog' (ST *qhʷīj,
NC *χwḙ(H)jV).

89. PN *k῾ülä 'kin, community' [ОСНЯ №239]: SC *(H)X̌i̯wVłV 'root; kin,
tribe' (ST *t-ruał 'village, kin', NC *HX̌i̯witłV 'root; kin').

90. PN *k῾üp῾ä 'boil, foam' [ОСНЯ №240]: PY *χopVr 'foam'.

91. PN *k῾UmV 'swallow, devour' [ОСНЯ №242]: SC *q̇VmV (~*G-) 'eat,
hold in mouth' (ST *Kuam 'hold in mouth', NC *ʔV̯-q̇Vm- [-G-] 'eat').

92. PN *k῾U/p/a 'heap' [ОСНЯ №243]: NC *gwǝ̄p̣V 'group, heap'.

93. PN *kama (~ k῾-) 'husk, shell' [МССНЯ: 372]: SC *kOnmV 'skin, husk'
(ST *kuam 'husk, shell', NC *konmo 'skin').

94. PN *k῾ulV 'fall' [ОСНЯ №235]: ST *klaH 'fall'.

95. PN *kopV 'bark, rind' [МССНЯ: 344]: ST *q(r)uap 'rind, shell,
scale'.

96. PN *k῾iwlV (~ -lw-) 'hear, ear' [ОСНЯ: 18; МССНЯ: 366]: NC *ʔi-lkV
(~ *ʔi-kVl-) 'hear'.

97. PN *ko(H)lV 'kill, die' [МССНЯ: 370] (*k- on the basis of PIE *gʷ-;
q̇- in PK *q̇wil- is highly irregular): SC *-lqwV (< *qwVlV) 'die, kill' (PY
*qo- 'die', *-VqV- 'kill'; NC *ʔi-lqwV 'die', *ʔi̯-lqwV 'kill').

98. PN *lak῾V 'lick' [ОСНЯ №247]: ST *X̌iak 'tongue, lick'.

99. PN *lulV 'sleep' [МССНЯ: 367] (only Kartvelian with HS parallels):
NC *ʔlēX̌a 'night'.

100. PN *luńge (*luŋe) 'snow' [ОСНЯ №354]: NC *Hx̣wi̯nī 'winter'.

101. PN *ĺama 'soften, knead' [ОСНЯ №254]: ST *luam 'mild, soft'.

102. PN *ƛ/a/kʹa 'leg' [ОСНЯ №255]: SC *ƛEkV 'leg' (ST *lVŋ 'leg, thigh, bone', NC *ƛǎ̆kā 'leg bone').

103. PN *ƛapʹa 'flat' [ОСНЯ №256] (Altaic forms with the meaning 'leaf' should be kept apart, see below): SC *X̣Aṗ̇V 'flat' (ST *lēp 'flat, plate, slab', NC *X̣aṗ̇V (~ -e-, -i-) id.).

104. PN *ƛejna 'soft, weak' [ОСНЯ №258]: ST *neł id.

105. PN *ƛiwa 'mud, silt' [ОСНЯ №259]: ST *ləj 'mud, slime'.

106. PN *LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' [ОСНЯ №263]: SC *X̣wHEmV 'wet, liquid' (ST *li(a)m (~ X̣-), NC *X̣wHe̤mV).

107. PN *ƛǎ̆pʹV 'to cover' [МССНЯ: 356]: ST *lup id.

108. PN *ƛokV 'count, collect' [МССНЯ: 366]: SC *-lVk̇wV 'recite, read' (ST *lōk 'read, tell', NC *ʔi-lk̇wV(n)- 'read, write').

109. PN *Lam-d/i/ 'low, lowland' [ОСНЯ №264]: SC * λaŋV (ST *laŋ 'lower, down', NC *λa̤nā 'lower part, bottom').

110. PN *L/a/tʹV- 'wet, soak' [ОСНЯ №265]: NC *ʔV-ṭVl- (~ *ʔV-lṭV-) 'to drip, soak'.

111. PN *L/ä/jV 'water, pour' [ОСНЯ №267]: ST *lāj 'pour, flow'.

112. PN *lajpʹV 'leaf' (this root is to be strictly kept apart from PN *ƛapʹa 'flat' and *LopʹV 'to peel'): SC *X̣ApE 'leaf' (ST *X̣ēp (/ *lap), PY *jōpe, NC *X̣api).

113. PN *LopʹV 'peel, peeled bark' [ОСНЯ №268]: ST *lep (~ X̣-) 'to peel, to slice'.

114. PN *majrV 'young male' [ОСНЯ №277]: NC *mīrX̣V 'male, man'.

115. PN *manV 'stay, stand still' [ОСНЯ №287]: NC *ʔi-ma(n)- 'stay, be' (PL *ʔi-ma-, HU *mann-).

116. PN *m/o/nV, *m/o/ngV 'many, big' [МССНЯ: 348, ОСНЯ 280]: ST *māŋ 'many, big'.

117. PN *manu 'think' [ОСНЯ №281]: SC *nVmHV id. (ST *ńVm 'think', PY *ʔa-n/i/ŋ 'think, mind').

118. PN *marja 'berry' [ОСНЯ №282]: NC *merHV id.

119. PN *mALV 'mountain' [ОСНЯ №286]: SC *mUHAlV 'mountain, hill' (ST: KC *mual; NC *muʕalV).

120. PN *mälgi 'breast, milk' [ОСНЯ №291]: NC *nhe̤X̣V 'milk'.

121. PN *mänV 'man, male' [ОСНЯ №292]: SC *mVn-xV id. (ST *nām 'man, person', PY *pix- 'man', NC *mVnxV 'man, male').

122. PN *märä 'moisture, liquid' [ОСНЯ №294]; SC *marX̣wV 'rain, cloud' (PY *pVr 'cloud', NC *marX̣wV 'rain').

123. PN *meŕV 'fat, smear' [ОСНЯ №296]: ST *mar 'fat'.

124. PN *mEwV 'water, moisture' (only IE; Altaic forms should be kept apart. See OS 298): SC *HmEHwV id. (ST *moj, NC *ħmēħwā 'moisture, liquid, pool').

125. PN *mińä 'woman, female relative' [ОСНЯ №301]: ST *nam 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'.

126. PN *moLV 'break, crush' [ОСНЯ №302]: ST *mial id.

127. PN *murV 'crush, pound, break' [ОСНЯ №310]: ST *muar 'bite, gnaw'.

128. PN *mVtˊV 'worm' [ОСНЯ №312]: NC *beṭV (*bemṭV?) 'worm'.

129. PN *mVnźV 'luminary' [ОСНЯ №313] (only Kartvelian *mzɪe 'sun' is listed (together with HS forms), although it seems highly probable that PIE *mēn(ə)s- 'moon' also belongs here): SC *wVmçV 'moon' (OC *ŋʷat, PY *ʔVsuj, NC *wəmço).

130. PN *nojmV 'name' [ОСНЯ №317] (Altaic *nɪomV- 'name; spell, tale' should be added): ST *maiŋ 'name'.

131. PN *ńamV 'grab, take' [ОСНЯ №319]: ST *nV̄m id.

132. PN *ńämV 'soft' [ОСНЯ №195]: ST *nə̄m id.

133. PN *ńä/wH/ä 'hair' [ОСНЯ №322]: ST *nVj id.

134. PN *ńila 'wet, slippery' [ОСНЯ №325] (cf. also *ńo/H/LV 'slime' in [МССНЯ: 365]): ST *nəl (- ń-) 'mud, slime'.

135. PN *nika 'neck, back of head, vertebra' [ОСНЯ №330] (*-k- and not *-kˊ- on the basis of both Uralic and Altaic reflexes): SC *nVqwV 'back' (ST *nuk / -ŋ 'back, spinal vertebra', NC *nạqwV 'back, behind').

136. PN *purčV / *pülčV 'flea' [ОСНЯ №338] (with several irregularities): NC *bēlǯwi 'gadfly, wasp'.

137. PN *mVnV 'miss; be vain, false' [ОСНЯ №357]: ST *mōn 'dull, blinded, confused'.

138. PN *palɣV 'a fortified dwelling' [ОСНЯ №368] (*p- on the basis of Altaic forms). SC *bU̯X̣V 'house, home' (ST */p/ūk, NC *bul̯X̣V).

139. PN */Pa/se 'membrum virile' [ОСНЯ №371] (according to O. Mudrak, the Eskaleut reflex of this root speaks in favor of *p-): SC *bVçV (PY *biʔs 'penis', PL *piç 'Schamteile').

140. PN *palˊk̄V 'foot' [ОСНЯ №361] (*-q- in PK is probably secondary): SC *bol(V)ḳwV 'leg, leg bone' (ST *phol 'ankle, calf (of leg)', PY *bul 'foot, leg', NC *bolVḳwo). This comparison seems more likely than that in [Старостин 1984: 28].

141. PN *pArä, *pAr/č/V 'nail, claw, finger' [ОСНЯ №362]: SC *bArV (~ p-) 'claws, paw, cupped hand' (ST *Par, PY *pər).

142. PN *pälgi 'belly, intestines' (reconstructed on the basis of Alt. *pāl(V)gi 'belly, intestines' and PIE *bhelĝh-): SC *bHeX̣V 'intestines' (ST *Pik, PY *piʔił, NC *bheX̣V).

143. PN *p̒ä́ŕ/a/ 'split, break' [ОСНЯ №339]: ST *phraj 'split, divide'.

144. PN *p̒iɣwV 'fire, heat' [МССНЯ: 352]: SC *-pVHV (~ b-) 'heat, burn' (ST *pū (~ b(h)-) 'burn, roast, boil', PY *(ʔa)pV- 'heat, hot').

145. PN *p̒erV 'bear, produce' [МССНЯ: 361]: ST *p(h)ria-ŋ id.

146. PN *p̒unčE '(body) hair' [ОСНЯ №365]: NC *pen/ç/V 'eyebrows, eyelashes'.

147. PN *p̒AtV 'vessel, receptacle' [МССНЯ: 366]: SC *pAṭwV id. (ST *PUt 'a big basket', NC *paṭV 'vessel').

148. PN *p̒ulV 'aspen, poplar' [МССНЯ: 369]: SC *pHVɫV id. (PY *(h)ɨpVl 'aspen', NC *pHīɫV 'aspen, poplar').

149. PN *p̒ut́V 'hole, vulva' [МССНЯ: 340]: SC *pVṭV id. (ST : LB *pytx, NC *paṭi).

150. PN *p̒ojV 'child' [МССНЯ: 360]: SC *pUjV (ST *Poj 'be born, child', PY *puʔ- 'child', WC *pV 'son, daughter').

151. PN *Pe(n)č́V 'pine-tree' [Терентьев 1979: 160]: SC */p/insṭwV 'resin' (PY *piʔt 'glue', NC */p/ịnçwV 'resin').

152. PN *p̒arV 'fly' [МССНЯ: 346]: SC *pUrV id. (ST *phur (~ bh-), NC *purV).

153. PN *p̒uɣV 'blow' [МССНЯ: 339]: SC *pOHwV̄ id. (ST *bhu(H), PY *-pV, NC *pohwV).

154. PN *p̒enV 'bitch, female' [МССНЯ: 366]: SC *pEnHV (~ b-) 'female' (ST *p(h)ij 'female', *p(h)in 'woman', PY *päŋ 'female').

155. PN *p̒ar(H)V 'bee' [МССНЯ: 358]: SC *pVrV id. (ST *P/r/aH 'bee', NC *porV 'bee; butterfly').

156. PN *p̒a/rj/V 'spread, scatter' [МССНЯ: 369]: ST *phra id.

157. PN *p̒äk̒V 'hot, heat' [МССНЯ: 337]: SC *PVgwV id. (OC *bhākʷ 'expose to the sun', PY *boʔk 'fire').

158. PN *p̒e/H/jV 'sickness, sore' [МССНЯ: 331]: ST *PijH 'scab, head sickness'.

159. PN *p̒alV 'many; full' [МССНЯ: 348]: ST *p-lai-ŋ 'full'.

160. PN *rúćV (~ -ć-) 'destroy, tear, break' [МССНЯ: 358]: SC *rVč̌wV id. (ST *r/a/t, NC *ʔa-rč̌wV-).

161. PN *rV(h)bV 'emotion, agitation' [МССНЯ: 334] (only IE with HS parallels): ST *rap 'afraid, frighten'.

162. PN *rowV 'dig, gouge, chop' [МССНЯ: 362]: ST *rəw 'dig'.

163. PN *Sa(w)k̒U 'sap, resin' [МССНЯ: 366]: SC *śwVnᶁ̇V 'ink, dye-stuff' (ST *smāk /-ŋ/ 'ink', PY *suK 'dye, paint', NC *św̥̄ạnᶁ̇i 'ink, gum').

164. PN *sVwV 'liquid, drink' [МССНЯ: 341]: SC *-sdwV 'drink' (PY *ut-, NC *ʔV̠-ʒwV-).

165. PN *sun(g)V 'smell' [МССНЯ: 342]: SC *sunV id. (ST *sun, NC *su̯nV, *su̯n-ṭV).

166. PN *säjV 'bile, pus' [МССНЯ: 336]: ST *chij 'thick liquid'.

167. PN *śalV 'willow' [МССНЯ: 343] (it would be better to reconstruct *ča(w)lV on the basis of PA *čual/i/ 'willow, branch'): NC *čwHeli 'willow'.

168. PN *śuλV 'glowing coals' [МССНЯ: 370] (*ǯulɣ̄V in [Долгополь-ский 1972: 361]): ST *s-ɣūl id.

169. PN *sVχV / *ʔVsχV 'blood' [МССНЯ: 345] (PIE-PK; one should probably add Alt. *sagV 'blood; health'): SC *sVHwV 'soul, breath' (ST *suā 'breathe, live', PY *duʔ(χ) 'smoke', NC *si̯ʔwV 'soul, breath').

170. PN *šarV 'flow, stream, lake' [МССНЯ: 369]: SC *šOrV id. (ST *šur 'flow, pour', NC *šorV 'lake, river').

171. PN *š/E/wV 'bear, produce' [МССНЯ: 361]: SC *š(V)wV 'bear; son, offspring' (ST *šū 'grandchild, descendant', NC *-išwV 'bear; son, daughter').

172. PN *šingV 'snow' [МССНЯ: 366]: ST *šəŋ 'hoar-frost, cold'.

173. PN *šVλmV 'heart' [МССНЯ: 364]: SC *SiMV id. (ST *siam, PY *sin(V)b-).

174. PN */ś/ajrV 'nit, louse' [МССНЯ: 336]: SC *šErV 'louse; worm, helminth' (ST *šar 'louse', NC *š/ī̠/rV 'worm, helminth'). There exists also a variant with a suffixed velar both in Nostratic (cf. Alt. *sir-kä, PU *śa(j)r-kV) and Sino-Caucasian (cf. ST *šrik, NC *ši̠r-kV).

175. PN *täkV 'touch' [МССНЯ: 369]: ST *t(h)ok id.

176. PN *tel(ḥ)V 'long, stretch' [МССНЯ: 339]: ST *dhel 'spread, stretch'.

177. PN *ter(H)V 'tear' [МССНЯ: 360]: NC *ʔV-ṭwVr- id.

178. PN *talV 'shake' [МССНЯ: 369]: ST *tōl id.

179. PN *to/H/V 'give' [МССНЯ: 338]: NC *ʔV-t(w)V- id.

180. PN *tuʔV 'two' [МССНЯ: 338]: SC *(ṭ)q̇wE id. (NC *(ṭ)q̇wE. In ST and PY the original root obtained a nasal suffix and lost the dental element of the initial cluster: ST *k-nij(s), PY *xi-na).

181. PN *t́anV, *t́angV 'stretch, extend' [МССНЯ: 370]: ST *taŋ (~ d-) id.

182. PN *t́anV 'chop, cut off' [МССНЯ: 352]: ST *tan id.

183. PN *t́arV 'bald' [МССНЯ: 347]: ST *ter (~ d-) 'bald, bare'.

184. PN *t́apˈḥ/a/ 'beat' [ОСНЯ №349]: ST *dhVp id.

185. PN *t́äjV 'louse' [МССНЯ: 335]: NC *ṭah-nā 'nit'.

186. PN *t́äpV 'warm, heat' [МССНЯ: 338]: ST *tap 'fire-place, stove'.

187. PN *t́umV 'dark' [МССНЯ: 368]: SC *dwVmV 'dark, black' (ST *tV̄m 'dark', PY *tum- 'black').

188. PN *t́unKV 'lower part of trunk, stump' [МССНЯ: 344]: SC *dwV(n)q̇V 'trunk, beam, piece of timber' (ST *tūŋ (~ d-); NC *dwi̇q̇V̄).

189. PN *tʹurV ʻswift, hurryʼ [МССНЯ: 332]: SC *ṭUrV ʻrun, hurryʼ (ST *t(h)ur, NC *ʔV-ṭVr-).

190. PN *tʹ/o/gV ʻfireʼ [МССНЯ: 337] (Turk. *toga — Ural. *tä/γ/V(t) ʻfireʼ; PIE *dhegʷh- ʻburnʼ should rather be compared with Alt. *dakV- ʻburnʼ): SC *tVKwV ʻburn, glow, kindleʼ (ST */dh/ekʷ id., PY *dVk- (~ -g-) ʻlight, candleʼ).

191. PN *tʹVkʹU ʻflow, pourʼ [МССНЯ: 347]: SC *ṭHEḳV ʻdrop, dripʼ (ST *tēk (~ d-), NC *ṭHänḳV ~ *ṭHäḳV-nV ʻdropʼ).

192. PN *tʹVkʹV ʻplait, weaveʼ [МССНЯ: 354]: ST *tak ʻweaveʼ.

193. PN *tʹVrpV ʻbe satiatedʼ [Иллич-Свитыч 1968: 317]: SC *tV(r)ṗV (~ b-) ʻeat, tasteʼ (ST *thV̄p, PY *dVbV).

194. PN *tʹapʹV ʻhit (an aim), pass; guessʼ [МССНЯ: 356]: SC *dwVṗV (~ -b-) (ST *tuap ʻpass, fit; answerʼ; PY *-tVb- ʻaskʼ).

195. PN *tʹal/H/V ʻflat, levelʼ [МССНЯ: 355]: ST *thāɫ (~ d-) id.

196. PN */tʹ/ajlV ʻstoneʼ [МССНЯ: 343]: NC *X̣aɫV ʻstone, rockʼ.

197. PN *tʹälV ʻyoung (of animals)ʼ [МССНЯ: 359]: NC *X̣a̰ɫhə ʻlambʼ.

198. PN *TuHlV ʻnet, catch with a netʼ: ST *t(h)ol (~ -ɫ) ʻnetʼ.

199. PN *gülV ʻhouse, dwellingʼ [МССНЯ: 341]: SC *X̣wVɫV ʻhedge, fenceʼ (ST *ral, NC *X̣wəɫV).

200. PN *l/a/pV ʻlickʼ [МССНЯ: 347] (only PIE with HS parallels): SC *X̣VpV (~ -b-) ʻtongueʼ (ST *X̣ep; PY *ʔalVp; Hatt. alip).

201. PN *warV ʻburnʼ [МССНЯ: 341]: ST *war id.

202. PN *welV ʻkill, dieʼ [МССНЯ: 367]: SC *(wV)X̣V- id. (OC *X̣ij ʻcorpseʼ, NC *ʔi-wX̣V- ʻkill, dieʼ).

203. PN *wetV ʻwaterʼ [МССНЯ: 334]: SC *-ṭwV ʻwater, pourʼ (ST *tuj ʻwaterʼ, NC *ʔV-ṭwV ʻbe wet, soak, pourʼ).

204. PN *wiɫV ʻwet, soakʼ [МССНЯ: 333]: SC *X̣wV ʻflow; drinkʼ (ST *luj ʻflow, waterʼ, NC *ʔV-X̣wV ʻdrinkʼ).

205. PN *wojV ʻswimʼ [МССНЯ: 355]: ST *jəw / *wəw ʻfloat, swimʼ.

206. PN *χantʹV ʻfrontʼ [МССНЯ: 354]: SC *HendwV ʻforeheadʼ (ST [with metathesis] *thjīn, NC *ʔendū).

207. PN *χotʹi ʻburn, fireʼ [ОСНЯ №343]: PY *χot- id.

208. PN *śVnV (~ š-) ʻyear; oldʼ [МССНЯ: 337] (*ʒUnE in [Долгопольский 1974: 167]): SC *swEnV id. (ST *s-nī-ŋ id., PY *sin- ʻoldʼ, *sɨ(n)-Ga ʻyearʼ, NC *swän(H)ɨ ʻyearʼ).

209. PN *zeγV ʻeatʼ [МССНЯ: 340]: SC *ʒVHV (~ ç-) ʻeat, drinkʼ (ST *ʒhaH ʻeatʼ, PY *siG- id., NC *ʒa̰HV (~ ç-) ʻdrinkʼ).

210. PN *zalV ʻconceal; cunning, treacherousʼ [МССНЯ: 368]: SC *ǯVɫV (~ *ç̌-) ʻbad, mischiefʼ (ST *cuaɫ (~ č-) ʻto plan mischiefʼ, PY *sel- (~ -r-) ʻbadʼ).

211. PN *ʒAhrV 'moon' [Долгопольский 1974: 167] (PIE *(Ha)ster- 'star' probably should be added): SC *ʒwArHV 'star' (OC *sēŋ, NC *ʒwHarʕi).

212. PN *ʒiNV 'night, spend a night' [Долгопольский 1974: 167]: SC *HćwInV 'night' (ST *chen (- s-) 'night, darkness', PY *si(n)-G 'night', NC *HćwinV (/*HniͅćwV) 'night, dream').

213. PN *ʒULE 'trunk, tree' [Долгопольский 1974: 170]: SC *ç(w)VłV 'tree' (ST *Cəl 'wood, forest', NC *çəłV 'tree, stick' /or *çwɨłhV id./).

PRONOUNS AND PARTICLES

1. PN *mi (*mV) 'I': SC *ŋV (ST *ŋā (*ŋV), PY *b-, NC *nV (/*mV)).

2. PN *mä 'prohibitive particle': SC *mV id. (ST *ma, PY *wə-, NC *mV).

3. PN *mu 'this, that': SC *mV id. (PY *wV, NC *mV).

4. PN *mi 'what': SC *mI id. (PY *wi / *we-, NC *mV).

5. PN *tˊä 'this, that': SC *tV id. (PY *dV, NC *tV). Cf. also SC *dV 'demonstrative pronoun' (ST *t, *te, PY *t/u/-, NC *dV-ʕV).

6. PN *ʔi / *ʔe 'this': SC *ʔi (ST *ʔi, NC *ʔi).

7. PN *ʔa 'that': SC *ʔa (ST *ʔa, NC *ʔa).

8. PN *sa 'a demonstrative pronoun': SC *šV id. (ST *še, *ši-ŋ, PY: Ket śī-ŋ, śū-ŋ, NC *šV).

9. PN *kˊa / *kˊo 'who': SC *xV 'who, what' (ST *qhā, NC *xV̱).

10. PN *da 'a locative particle': NC *-dV id.

11. PN *ʔe 'a negative particle': NC *ʔ(w)V id.

12. PN *ja 'which, what': SC *jV 'an interrogative particle' (PY: Ket aj 'what', NC *jV 'interrogative particle').

13. PN *-jV 'a diminutive suffix': NC *-jV id.

14. PN *-j(V) 'a plural particle': NC *-jV id.

15. PN *-kˊa 'a diminutive suffix': NC *-kˊV id.

16. PN *kˊ/o/ 'a postpositive emphatic particle': NC *kV̄j id.

17. PN *kˊV 'a directive particle': SC *-kV id. (PY *-ga, NC *-kV̄).

18. PN *-l/a/ 'a collective suffix': NC *-łV 'a plural suffix'.

19. PN *łA 'a locative particle': NC *-ʎ̄V̄ id.

20. PN *-nV 'oblique noun-form suffix': SC *-nV id. (PY *-n-, NC *-nV).

21. PN *NA 'a demonstrative pronoun': NC *nV 'this, that'.

22. PN *-NA 'a plural suffix': SC *-nV id. (ST *-n 'a collective suffix', PY *-n(V), NC *nV).