



McDONALD INSTITUTE FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Nostratic Dictionary

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Preface

Colin Renfrew

Aharon Dolgopolsky is today the leading authority on the Nostratic macrofamily, and it is a privilege to be invited to write some words by way of introduction to his monumental *Nostratic Dictionary*. For it is, of course, something very much more than a dictionary. It is the most thorough and extensive demonstration and documentation so far of what may be termed the 'Nostratic hypothesis': that several of the world's best-known language families are related in their origin, their grammar and their lexicon, and that they belong together in a larger unit, of earlier origin, the Nostratic macrofamily.

It should at once be noted that several elements of this enterprise are controversial. For while the Nostratic hypothesis has many supporters, it has been criticized on rather fundamental grounds by a number of distinguished linguists. The matter was reviewed some years ago in a symposium held at the McDonald Institute (Renfrew & Nettle 1999), and positions remain very much polarized. It was a result of that meeting that the decision was taken to invite Aharon Dolgopolsky to publish his *Dictionary* — a much more substantial treatise than any work hitherto undertaken on the subject — at the McDonald Institute. For it became clear that the diversities of view expressed at that symposium were not likely to be resolved by further polemical exchanges. Instead, a substantial body of data was required, whose examination and evaluation could subsequently lead to more mature judgments. Those data are presented here, and that more mature evaluation can now proceed.

First, however, it may be worth clarifying why these issues are of such potential interest to archaeologists and to historians of culture as well as to historical linguists — which is why this work finds publication under the aegis of an institute for archaeological research. In recent years there have been attempts towards some rapprochement between the fields of prehistoric archaeology and historical linguistics (Renfrew 1987; Blench & Spriggs 1997–9; McConvell & Evans 1997; Kirch 2001), and the once rather neglected relationships between archaeology and language have again been vigorously debated.

That the widespread distributions over space of languages and of language families are likely to be amenable to historical explanation has been evident since the time of Sir William Jones (1786), and is widely accepted today (Nettle 1999; Dixon 1997). And the processes involved, which may include dispersals of population and other demographic effects, must in many cases go back before the time that written records are available, and therefore into prehistory. Such distributions demand some explanation in archaeological terms, and the archaeological record has much to offer about social and economic processes in early times. Indeed the developments of molecular genetics offer the possibility that archaeogenetics may have something to offer to the understanding of population histories. So the possibility arises of an 'emerging synthesis' (Renfrew 1991; 2000b) between the fields of historical linguistics, prehistoric archaeology and molecular genetics. The possibility exists, at least in theory, of writing an integrated history that will bring into play data from all three intersecting fields.

In this context the challenging claims implied by the Nostratic hypothesis are of considerable interest, carrying as they do, widespread implications if those claims be accepted. For the Nostratic hypothesis as first set out by Illich-Svitych (1989; 1990; see Bulatova 1989) and by Dolgopolsky (1973; 1998; 1999) proposes a relationship between several of the principal language families of Europe, Asia and Africa. The relationship implies a common origin for these families and their constituent languages, and presumably a Nostratic or Proto-Nostratic homeland, occupied by the speakers of the notional ancestral language at a date well prior to the formation of the daughter families and their languages.

The language families in question (see Fig. 1) are the Altaic family, the Afroasiatic family, the Indo-European family, the Kartvelian family (i.e. the South Caucasian languages) and the Dravidian family. The matter has already been set out clearly by Dolgopolsky (e.g. Dolgopolsky 1999; see also Kaiser & Shevoroshkin 1988) and is, of course, further discussed in the pages which follow here. Broadly

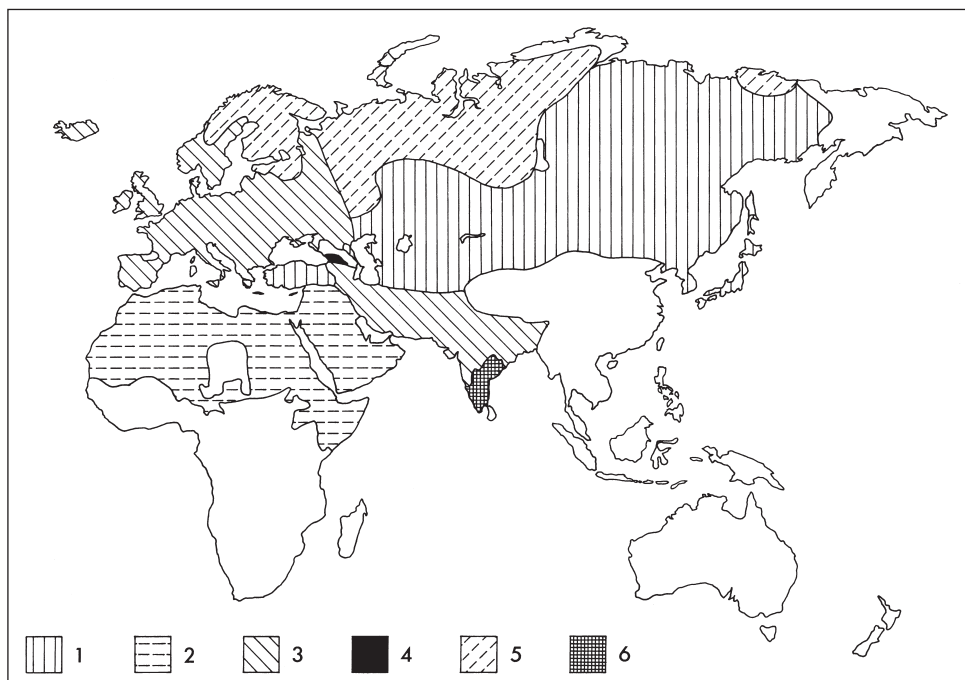


Figure 1. *The Nostratic macrofamily. The present-day distribution of the language groups within the Nostratic macrofamily. The constituent language families are: (1) Altaic; (2) Afroasiatic; (3) Indo-European; (4) South Caucasian (Kartvelian); (5) Uralic; (6) Dravidian. (After Renfrew & Nettle 1999, 6, fig. 1.)*

similar conclusions have been set out by Bomhard (1984; 1996). The Nostratic macrofamily may be compared with the Eurasiatic family, formulated by the American linguist Joseph Greenberg (2000; see Ruhlen 1991, 383). Nostratic and Eurasiatic, as so defined, share the Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic families and Gilyak, as well as Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Eskimo-Aleut (belonging to Nostratic according to Dolgopolsky, although not discussed in his dictionary). But Greenberg includes Ainu in his Eurasiatic macrofamily, while excluding the Afroasiatic, Kartvelian and Dravidian families.

The very validity of the concept of 'macrofamily' has been challenged by many mainstream linguists (e.g. Campbell 1999; Dixon 1997; see also Renfrew 2000a), where it is Greenberg's concept of 'Amerind' (Greenberg 1987) which has come in for the strongest criticism, although his earlier classification of the languages of Africa (Greenberg 1963) was more positively received. However it has been systematically applied in other areas, not least by Starostin (2000).

These debates make the publication of Dolgopolsky's *Nostratic Dictionary* all the more significant. For the matter can hardly be judged by the proposal of just one or two words in the reconstructed Nostratic language which find a number of descendents in the daughter languages. Individual cases may be open to discussion and doubt, and it is on the basis of a significant number of proposed roots and of

their descendent counterparts that the matter must be judged. That sufficient sample is presented in the pages that follow.

The matter might relate in a number of ways to other current work. In the first place the Nostratic hypothesis as presented here could harmonize with the homeland for Proto-Indo-European proposed by the present author (Renfrew 1987), which finds many points of agreement with the important work of Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1995), as Dolgopolsky himself (1987; 1993) has discussed. Moreover the early dates which Dolgopolsky (1998) has proposed for Nostratic would harmonize with the earlier chronology now emerging, notably for Proto-Indo-European, from the application of phylogenetic methods (Gray & Atkinson 2003; Forster & Renfrew 2006). The question of time depth in historical linguistics is under review at present (Dixon 1997; Renfrew, McMahon & Trask 2000; Forster & Renfrew 2006) and the implied chronology for Nostratic no longer looks so problematic in itself.

It is even possible to suggest a processual mechanism for the putative dispersal of at least some of the families which make up the Nostratic macrofamily. The farming/language dispersal hypothesis, first proposed for Indo-European (Renfrew 1987), has now been much more widely applied (Bellwood 1991; Bellwood & Renfrew 2002; Bellwood 2005). In particular it has been used to account for the dispersal of the Afroasiatic language family from a

'homeland' in the southern Levant (Renfrew 1991, 13 fig. 5; see Diakonoff 1990), and could thus be employed to account for the dispersal from a Nostratic homeland in western Asia of at least two of the constituent language families. Its application to the Dravidian family, however, looks more doubtful in the light of recent work on the origins and domestication of food plants in central and southern India (Fuller 2002).

In the last analysis, however, the matter is a linguistic one, and it is by historical linguists that it must be judged. The present work by Dolgopolsky represents a significant step in the further documentation of the case, which has now been set out with sufficient thoroughness to allow of systematic consideration and assessment by linguists. That process can now begin. We look forward to further discussion and debate on this important theme, of interest to prehistoric archaeology as well as to linguistics.

Acknowledgements

The symposium on the Nostratic hypothesis, held at the McDonald Institute in July 1988 (see Renfrew & Nettle 1999) was supported by a generous grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation of New York. As a result of their support the Institute was able to initiate and continue its symposia, which have resulted in the series *Papers in the Prehistory of Languages* (including also Dolgopolsky 1998; Renfrew *et al.* 2000; Renfrew 2000a; Bellwood & Renfrew 2002; Forster & Renfrew 2006). We are grateful to them and also to the support which the McDonald Institute has given to the project.

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NOSTRATIC DICTIONARY

by Aharon Dolgopolsky

*To the blessed memory
of the great scholars and my dear friends
Vladislav Illich-Svitych (1934–1966)
and Sergey Starostin (1953–2005)*

Foreword

Aharon Dolgopolsky

This dictionary is a preliminary one. Critical remarks of scholars and further research will bring about modifications and more exact etymologies. Therefore I appeal to my colleagues and experts in different fields of comparative linguistics to submit their critical remarks (both in their papers and in personal messages) that will be helpful in checking and improving the etymologies.

Today the pace of development in our field of science is rapid; therefore at the very moment of its publication this dictionary (like any other study of this kind) is already out of date. Thus is due to several reasons:

1. Some extremely important studies in etymology are still in preparation or in print. The recently published Altaic etymological dictionary by S. Starostin, A. Dybo and O. Mudrak was not available to me (I could only use its preliminary versions). This drawback has brought about another one: I could not pay due attention to the very complicated and controversial proto-Altaic vocalism of roots, so that my reconstruction of Nostratic vowels still needs checking and revision. Nor have I been able to use the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (vols. IIIff.) by G. Takács.
2. Some important papers were published shortly before the submission of this dictionary (e.g. the second Georgian edition of the Kartvelian etymological dictionary by H. Fähnrich and Z. Sarjveladze; the Laz-Turkish dictionary by İ.A. Bucaklışı and H. Uzunhasanoğlu; the latest fascicles of the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* by D. Cohen; the new Tuareg-French dictionary by K.-G. Prasse, Ghoubéïd Alojaly and Ghabdouane Mohamed; the French-Berber dictionary by M. Dray; the *Rendille Dictionary* by S. Pillinger and L. Galboran; *The Dhaasanac Language* by M. Tosco; the *Iraqw-English Dictionary* by M. Mous a. o. (MQK); the *Grammar of Miya* by R. Schuh; *The Maale Language* by Azeb Ahma" *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère* by M. Kossmann; *Comparative Dravidian Linguistics* by Bh. Krishnamurti; the second volume of the above-mentioned Takács"s *Dictionary*), so that I have not been able to use them to the full extent. The same applies to the *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, edited by J.P. Mallory & D.Q. Adams (L./Chic. 1997), which is extremely valuable for its lexical and grammatical entries (which are not connected with Mallory"s incorrect conception about the homeland and early migrations of the Indo-Europeans [Gimbutas"s theory of Ponto-Caspian steppes as the homeland that is at variance with obvious linguistic facts: cf. AD IEH, AD CCIE and AD MAIEH; on the archaeological aspects of the problem see Rnf. AL]). The second volume of *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* by J. Greenberg reached me in July 2002, when the text of my dictionary was ready. Nevertheless, in the reference notes of my entries (after the signs \diamond and \blacklozenge) I have mentioned those comparisons of Gr. that are (at least partially) acceptable. I have paid no attention to those (too numerous!) among Gr."s comparisons that are untenable or unjustified.
3. Some important dictionaries remained inaccessible to me. Among them the manuscripts of the two unedited Goemay dictionaries by E. Sirlinger (Jos, Nigeria, 1937 and 1946); the Russian-Türkmen dictionary by Alijev and Borijev (Ashkhabad, 1929); the Chinese dictionaries of the Mongolian languages Baoan, Dongxiang and Dagur (Beijing, 1981-2); the etymological dictionaries of Erzya, Moksha and Cheremis that were published in Saransk and Yoshkar-Ola (see Sr. and Srl EG, AB, BuL, LiuZh, Zhong, CygM, KMC and Gord. in the bibliography). I regret not being able to use the Gothic etymological dictionary by W. Lehmann and the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1983).
4. Some earlier papers on Nostratic (among them those by A. Bomhard) have not been analysed although they are likely to contain useful comparisons (in spite of methodological drawbacks [cf. AD rTPN] and partially untenable hypotheses of sound correspondences). Analysing them is a lengthy and inefficient procedure that I could not undertake owing to time constraints.

5. I have not included in my comparison Eskimo-Aleut, Chukchee-Kamchadal, Etruscan and (almost entirely) Gilyak and Elamite, although these languages do belong (in my opinion) to the Nostratic macrofamily. The reason is that the comparative study of these languages is in its initial stage. At the time of writing there was no comparative dictionary of Eskimo-Aleut (but now see Fortescue, M., S. Jacobsen & L. Kaplan, 1994, *Comparative Eskimo Dictionary*, Fairbanks (AL): Alaska Native Language Center; and Fortescue, M., 2005, *Comparative Chukoto-Kamchatkan Dictionary*, Berlin & New York (NY): Mouton de Gruyter). The only comparative dictionary of Chukchee-Kamchadal (by O. Mudrak) was only published shortly before the present dictionary was submitted, and hence could not be used. Therefore for the time being I cannot evaluate Greenberg's interesting comparisons concerning EA, CK, Gil and Ai.

For all these and other reasons this dictionary does not claim to be an exhaustive list of all Nostratic words. I am already aware of some possibly reconstructible words that need further investigation. Other Nostratic words may be found in recently published and forthcoming papers on descendant languages. I hope to mention them in future papers.

The greatest practical drawback of the present dictionary is lack of indexes. Their preliminary version does exist, but could not be included in this dictionary because it would have increased its volume immensely. I am planning to publish them separately as soon as possible.

One of the weakest points in the dictionary is the supposed Chadic cognates. Unfortunately, they had to be adduced without previous detailed analysis of the phonological prehistory and history of the Chadic languages (beyond the precious results achieved by O. Stolbova in her recent papers). Actually Chadic historical phonology, morphology and etymology are in their infancy. I have adduced Chadic cognates hesitantly and tentatively. They may serve as raw material for establishing sound laws in the prehistory and history of the Chadic languages.

Probably an additional inconvenience for some readers will be my approach to semantic definitions of the lexical items. In many cases I prefer to preserve the German, French, Italian, Spanish and Latin definitions from the sources in order to avoid inaccuracy in semantic interpretation of the data (due to polysemy of words in the sources and the inevitable arbitrariness in my English translation of these). In some cases I had to achieve accuracy by quoting the sources in Russian, Swedish or other 'exotic' languages (accompanied by an English translation). If the name of an endemic plant or animal, of an object or phenomenon of some ethnic

culture has no exact English equivalent, I have had to present an approximate interpretation (sometimes with the symbols \in 'a kind of' or \approx 'approximately'). If the English word is polysemic, I have sometimes preferred to use a more convenient Latin, French or German equivalent (Latin 'dorsum' or French 'dos' instead of English 'back').

I hope very much to make use of critical remarks of scholars in order to improve the etymologies of this dictionary. New comparative material and modifications of Nostratic etymologies will later be published as *Addenda and Corrigenenda to the Nostratic Dictionary*. Therefore critical remarks by experts in different fields of comparative linguistics and related fields are most welcome.

Acknowledgements

No words can express my gratitude to Professor Colin Renfrew who encouraged my research, to the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation who made possible the publication of this *opus vitae meae*.

I am greatly indebted to my dear friend, the founder of modern Nostratic linguistics Vladislav Illich-Svitych (1932–64), from whom I learned the basic methodology of long-range comparative linguistic research. He discovered the main sound correspondences between Nostratic languages and the phonetic laws that underlie these correspondences. In his *Essay of Comparison of the Nostratic Languages* (IS I, II, III) and his earlier paper 'Material for comparison of the Nostratic languages' (IS MS), he proposed more than 600 Nostratic etymologies. Almost all of them (in a revised form) have been incorporated in the present dictionary (with reference notes 'IS' and 'IS MS').

Among other linguists who contributed much to the crystallization of mature Nostratic studies, I must gratefully mention Vladimir Dybo, Igor Diakonoff and my predecessors and friends Björn Collinder and Karl-Heinrich Menges.

I am grateful to those colleagues who helped me to interpret material of the Altaic and Samoyedic languages, Greek, Egyptian, etc.: Sergey Starostin, Anna Dybo, Eugen Helimski, Juho Janhunen, Yulia Krivoruchko, Gábor Takács.

My deep gratitude and homage to those many scholars who dedicated their life, talent and energy to record and register the lexical stock of ancient, living and dying-out languages, to preserve their precious Wortschatz, to establish etymologies and to discover laws of their historical phonology and morphology. This dictionary is built on their shoulders.

No research in comparative linguistics is possible without access to professional literature. Therefore the present study would have not been feasible

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INTRODUCTION:

THE NOSTRATIC MACROFAMILY

§ 1. **The Nostratic macrofamily.** This is a hypothetical macrofamily of languages, including Indo-European (**IE**), Hamito-Semitic (**HS**) (= Afroasiatic) (comprising Semitic [S], Egyptian [Eg], Berber [B], Cushitic [C], Omotic [Om] and Chadic [Ch]), Kartvelian (**K**), Uralic (**U**) (= Finno-Ugric [FU], Samoyed [Sm] and Yukaghir [Y]), Altaic (**A**) (= Turkic [T], Mongolic [M], Tungusic [Tg], Korean [Ko], and Japanese [J]), and Dravidian (**D**). The hypothesis is based on a large amount of common roots (more than 2,800) and many common grammatical morphemes, in which regular sound correspondences have been established (cf. IS MS, IS SS, IS I-III, AD LRC, AD SShS, AD LZL, AD PP, AD NGIE, AD NVIE, AD NM). Among the most important resemblances is that of personal pronouns and inflectional person-markers of the 1st and 2nd persons (***mi** for 'I' in IE, U, A and K, ***t'ú'** (> ***ti**) ~ ***s'ú'** (> ****sí**) for 'thou' in IE, HS, U and M, etc.), that of interrogative pronouns (originally ***K̥o** for 'who?' and ***mi** for 'what?', surviving entirely or partially in IE, HS, K, U and A), basic lexical words (roots in descendant languages) such as ***ʔá's'o'** 'stay' (> 'be') preserved in IE (***es-**), HS, U and K, ***ʔitê** 'to eat' (IE, HS, M), ***ba'ʔeri** 'to hold, take' (all branches except U), ***wētê** 'water' (all branches except K), ***nimʔ∇** 'name, word' (IE, HS, U, A), as well as words connected with culture of the final paleolithic age (cf. AD NM), such as ***kälû** 'woman of another moiety' > words for 'daughter-in-law', 'sister-in-law' and 'bride' in IE (Latin *glōs*, Greek *γύλως*, Slavic **z̥l̥t̥ / *z̥l̥bve*), S, U, A and D. The original Nostratic phonology (as reconstructed by V. Illich-Svitych and A. Dolgopolsky) had a rich consonant system (see below) and 7 vowels. The grammatical structure was, most probably, analytic with a rigid word order (a sentence-final verb, attributive precedes its head, pronominal subject follows its verb) and with grammatical meanings expressed by word order, postpositions (***nu** for genitive, ***mA** for marked accusative, and others) and grammatical pronouns.

It is very plausible that there are other members of the Nostratic macrofamily: Chukchee-Kamchadal, Eskimo-Aleut, Gilyak, Elamic (possibly connected with Dravidian) and possibly also Etruscan. But the comparativistic and etymological investigation of these languages is still at its very beginning, therefore at the present stage of Nostratic research they have not yet been included in the framework of comparison.

§ 2. Phonology.

§ 2.1. **Consonants.** According to the extant comparative evidence, proto-Nostratic had a rich consonant system and 7 vowels.

Nostratic consonant chart

Stops and affricates			Fricatives		Central approximants	Nasals	Lateral sonants	Vibrants
Voiced	Voiceless	Emph.	Voiced	Voiceless				
b	p	p̣			w	m		
d	t	ṭ				n	l	
ʒ	c	c̣	z	s		ɳ = ɲ		r
ʒ̣	c̣	c̣̣	ẓ	ṣ	y	ɳ̣ = ɲ̣	ḷ	ṛ
ʒ̂	ĉ	ĉ̣	ẑ	ŝ		ɳ̂ = ɲ̂		
g	k	ḳ				ŋ		
g̣	ḳ	ḳ̣	ʁ	χ				
				ħ (= ʁ)	ɣ			
				h				

Symbols in the chart: affricates: ʒ = ḍz̄, c = ṭs̄, ʒ̣ = ḍẓ̄, c̣ = ṭṣ̄; lateralobstruents: ʒ̣, c̣̣, c̣̣̣, ʒ̂, ṣ̂ - lateralized ʒ, c, c̣, z, s; palatalized consonants: ʒ̣, c̣̣, c̣̣̣, ʒ̂, ṣ̂, ɳ̣, ḷ, ṛ = palatalized ʒ, c, c̣, z, s, n, l, r; ɳ̣ and ɳ̣̣ (= ɳ̣) = cacuminal or retroflex n and l; uvular stops: g (voiced), q (voiceless), q̣ ("emphatic"); uvular fricatives: χ = Spanish j, ʁ = Arabic ɣ; epiglottal (pharyngeal) consonant: voiceless ħ (= ʁ = Arabic ɣ), voiced ɣ (= Arabic ɣ).

In proto-Nostratic, as it is reconstructed on the basis of extant data, there are three series of stops and affricates: voiced (*d, *g, *ʒ, etc.), voiceless (*t, *k, *c, etc.), and "emphatic" (*ṭ, *ḳ, *c̣, etc.). The exact phonetic realization of the "emphatic" consonants is not yet clear. Illich-Svitych and myself (up to the recent years) interpreted them as glottalized ejectives. But to-day I do not insist on this particular interpretation. In fact, the emphatic stops are represented in K as glottalized, in HS as glottalized or plain voiceless (the distribution being probably due to prosodic factors), in U (in the intervocalic position) as geminated voiceless stops, in A as fortes, in IE (in its traditional interpretation) as voiceless. The common denominator of their K, HS, U and A reflexes is an additional effort (if compared to the reflexes of N plain voiceless stops). One cannot determine the original phonetic realization of this additional effort (glottalization, aspiration, fortis articulation?). I prefer to denote them as "emphatic" and to use the traditional Orientlistic underdot as their symbol.

Recently Starostin proposed to interpret the emphatic stops as voiceless fortes (out *ṭ = his *ṭ'), see S NSR 306.

In the following table of sound correspondences the symbol "-" denotes zero. The sign ":" symbolizes the lengthening of the preceding vowel, "⊥:" denoted lengthening of the consonant. The sign "·" denotes glottalization (emphaization) of an adjacent consonant, "◌̣" is its uvularization, "◌̥" is its tensification (transformation of a lax consonant into a tense one [fortis]), "⊥_" is its devoicing, "◌̣̣" is its retroflexivization, "◌̣̣̣" is its palatalization. The symbol "◌̣̣̣̣" denotes here labialization of the adjacent vowel, the sign "◌̣̣̣̣" denotes its palatalization. Within conditioning formulas, "_U" means "before a labialized vowel", "_E" means "before a palatal vowel". IE +*(S)- denotes the addition of the initial IE *S mobile (as a reflex of N word-middle palatal elements). The symbol "***" is used for working hypotheses: in cases when we have sufficient factual confirmation for a class of N phonemes only rather than for each individual N phoneme, e.g. in the case of *n̄ and *ṇ̄, where a distinction is possible only if the phoneme is represented in Ostyak, so that in daughter languages where there are no *n̄|ṇ̄-words common with Ostyak we cannot find formal proof of representation of N *n̄ and N *ṇ̄ separately, but only representation of unspecified *n̄|ṇ̄. In such cases we suppose (as a working hypotheses) that both phonemes (in the case described *n̄ and *ṇ̄) are reflected in the same way, which is symbolized by "***". The letter "N" symbolizes an unspecified non-labial nasal consonant. IE *G^h = *g^h|g^h◌̣̣̣̣|g^h, *K = *k|ḳ̣̣̣|k◌̣̣̣̣; M *G = *g|*g, *K = *k|q; ⊥_/ means "after a cns.", _⊥/ is to be read "before a cns.". The query ? denotes our doubts (because the reflex in question is represented in very few roots). The cover symbol X for IE means *x, *x̣̣̣̣, or *x◌̣̣̣̣ (depending on the adjacent N vw.). The cover symbol H (in IE) means *h, *ḥ̣̣̣, or h◌̣̣̣̣ (here also the choice depends on the adjacent N vw.). IE H is a cover symbol for all laryngeals (except for *ʔ).

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*b-	*b	b	*b	*b	*b ^h	*p	*b	*b	*b	*p
*-b-	*b	b	*b, *β	*b	*b ^h	*w, ⊥_/ *p	*b	*b	*b	*v
*p-	*p	f	*f	*p	*p, *b	*p	*b, *p ^ʰ	*φ, ?*b	*p	*p

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-p-	*p	f	*f	*p, ?*b	*p, *b	*p, ?*w	*p, *b, *∅	*b, *β > *ɣ	*p, *b	*v
*p-	*p	p	*f	*p, *p̄	*p	*p	*h > *e	*p	*p	*p
*-p-	*p	p	*f	*p, *p̄	*p	*pp	*p, *b, *∅	*b, *β > *ɣ	*p	*pp
*d-	*d	d	*d	*d	*dh	*t	*j	*d, _i/ *ɜ̃	*d	*t
*-d-	*d	d	*d	*d	*dh	*ð	*ð	*d	*d	*t̥/t̥t̥
*t-	*t	t	*t	*t	*d	*t	*t'	*d, _i/ *ɜ̃	*d	*t
*-t-	*t	t	*t	*t	*d	*t	*t	*d	*d	*t̥ /t̥t̥, *⊥t
*t̥-	*t̥, *t	d	*d̥	*t̥	*t	*t	*t'̥	*t, -i/ *c̥	*t	*t
*-t̥-	*t̥, *t	d, t	*d̥, *t	*t̥	*t	*tt	*t'̥	*t	*t	*tt̥ /t̥
*g-	*g	g, ɜ̃	*g	*g	*g ^h , *g̃ ^h , *g ^w	*k	*k'	*g, *g	*g	*k
*-g-	*g	g, ɜ̃	*g	*g	*g ^h , *g̃ ^h , *g ^w	*ɣ	*g	*g, *g, *ɣ, *ɣ	*g	*:
*k-	*k	k, c	*k, *g?	*k	*g, *g̃, *g ^w	*k	*k'	*k, *q	*k	*k
*-k-	*k	k, c		*k	*g, *g̃, *g ^w	*k	*g, *k	*g, *g, *ɣ, *ɣ -i/? *y	*g	*k
*k̥-	*k̥, *k	q, k	*ɣ	*k̥	*k, *k̃, *k ^w	*k	*k'̥, *k'	*k, *q	*x	*k
*-k̥-	*k̥	q	*ɣ, *k	*k̥	*k, *k̃, *k ^w	*kk	*k	*k, *q	*k	*kk
*g-	*ɣ	ɣ?		*ɣ	*x, *x ^w , [*x̃?]	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅, ?*g	*∅

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-q-	*ʕ	Ḥ		*ʕ	*X, ?*H̄	*∅, ?*ɣ	*∅	*∅	*∅, ?*g	*∅
*q-	*χ	χ, 𐤒 (ḫ)	*H	*q	*χ, *χʷ, [*χ̄?]	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-q-	*χ	χ, 𐤒 (ḫ)	*H	*q	*H	*∅	*∅	*∅,*g, ?*g	*∅, ?*g	*∅
*q-	*k,*χ	q, χ	*ʕ	*q	*k,*k̄, *kʷ	*k	*k*,*k'	*k,*q	*x	*k
*-q-	*k̄	q	*ʕ	*q	*k,*k̄, *kʷ	*k, *kk	*k	*k,*q	*k	*k, *kk
*-ʒ-	*z	ʒ?		*ʒ =*ʒ ₁	*s	*s	*j	*ʒ?	*j	*c̣
*-ʒ-	*z	ʒ?		*ʒ =*ʒ ₁	*s	*s	*s??	*ʒ?	*j?	*ṭ?
*-c-	*s (=*c)	s?		*c̣ =*c ₁	*s ?_ ⊥ /*s	*c̣	*ç	*c̣?	*ç	*c̣
*-c-	*s	?c	*s	*c̣ =*c ₁	*s	*c̣	*ç?	*c̣?		
*-ç-	*ç	???ʒ		*ç̣ =*ç ₁	*s ?*K ^h	*c̣	*ç	*c̣	*ç	*c̣
*-ç-	*ç,*s	?ʒ		*ç̣ =*ç ₁	*s	*c̣	*ç	*c̣??	*ç?	*c̣
*-s-	*š	s	*s	*š =*s ₁	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*c̣
*-s-	*š	s	*s	*š =*s ₁	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*c̣
*-z-	*z			*ẓ =*z ₁	*H	*s	*j	*s	*s?	*c̣
*-z-	*z	z?	*z	*ẓ =*z ₁	*H	*s		*s,*ḷ		
*-ʒ-	*z	z?		*ʒ =*ʒ ₁	*s	*c̣,*š	*j	*ʒ?	*j?	
*-ʒ-	*z			*ʒ,*z	*s	*c̣		*ʒ		*c̣
*-c̣-	*s	s?	*s	*c̣	*s *_ ⊥ /*s	*c̣	*ç		*ç	*c̣

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-č-	*š			*č	*š	*č	*ç?	*č?		*č
*č-	*ç	ʕ		*č	*(s)K, ??*K ^h	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*-č-	*č, *š	?ʕ	?*š	*č	*š	*č(č)	*ç	*č?		?*č (č)
*ś-	*š	š	*š	*š	*š	*ś	*š	*š	*š	*č
*-ś-	*š	š	*š	*š	*š	*ś	?*š	*š	*š	*č
*ž-	*ž			*ž	*H, *ʕ	*ś	*ʝ	*š	*š	*č
*-ž-	*ž	ž?, š?	*ž?	*ž	*H	*ś		*ž?		*č
*ž-	*ð	ž?		*ž, ?*ž	*š	*č,?*č, ?*š	*ʝ	*ž	*ʝ	*č, ?*č
*-ž-	*ð	ʕ, d		*ž	*š, *d, *sd?	*č, *ð	*ð, ?*ʝ	*ž	*ʝ	
*č-	*θ	š		*č	*(s)t-	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*-č-	*θ	š, ??č	*š	*č	*š	*č	*ç	*č	*ç?	*č
*č-	*θ	ʕ		*č	*(s)t	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*-č-	*θ	ʕ		*č	*t ^h , *t *st, ??*sd	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*š-	*š	š	?*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*č
*-š-	*š	š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*č
*ž-	*š	?ž		*ž	*H	*š	?*ʝ	*š	*ʝ, *š?	
*-ž-	*š, ?*ž	??ʕ	*ž	*ž, *ž	*H	*š		*ž		
*ž-	*š	?š, š		*ž	*ʝ, _V1/*	*λ	?*ʝ	*ž	*ʝ?	*č
*-ž-	*š?		*š	*ž	*ʝ	*ž	*ʝ		*ʝ?	*č, *čč
*č-	*š	š	?*š	*č	*š	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, ?*č-
*-č-	*š	š		?*č	*š	??*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*ĉ-	*š	? ʕ	?*š	*č		*š	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, *č̣-
*-ĉ-	*š	ʕ		*č	*s	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, ?*ṭ /ṭṭ
*š-	*š	š	*š ?	*š=*s and ?? *s	*s, *ks	*š	*s	*s	*s	*č, ?*č̣-
*-š-	*š	š		*š	*s	*š	*s	*s	*s, ?*l	*č
*ž-	*š	ž	?*z	*l	*l, ?*s-	*l, *š	*j	*s	*s	*n
*-ž-	*š	??n	*s	*l	*l, _ ⊥ / *s?	*ž	*l, ?*ḷ	*l	*l	*l, *ḷ
*y-	*ç	ç		*y	*X	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-y-	*ç	?ç	*H	*y, ⊥_/*χ	*X,	*∅,	*∅	*∅,	*∅,	*∅,
*χ-	*h	h, x (h)	*H	*χ	*X	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-χ-	*h	h, ? x (h)	*H ∅	*χ	*X	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅,	*∅
*ç-	*ç	ç	*H p	*∅	*H	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-ç-	*ç	ç	*H ∅	*∅	*H	*∅, *:	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅,	*∅
*h-	*h	h, x (h)	*H	*∅	*H	?*∅	*∅	*∅		*∅
*-h-	*h	h, x (h)	*H ∅	*∅	*H	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅		*∅
*h-	*h	?h		*∅	*X	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-h-	*h, *e	h, x (h), e	?*∅	*∅	*X	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅	*∅,
*ɣ-	*ɣ	?i, ʕ	*ɣ-, *H	*∅	*ɣ=*ç	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-ɣ-	*ɣ	ʕ, y, ∅	*∅, *ɣ	*∅, *⊥	*∅, *:	*ɣ=*ç	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅,	*∅

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*m-	*m		*m	*m	*m	*m	*b m	*m, _#/*b	*m, _#/	*m
*-m	*m	m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m
*n-	*n	n	**n	**n	*n	*n	**j	*n	**n	*n
*-n-	*n	n	**n	*n	*n	*n	**n	*n	*n	*-n-, _t/*n
*ñ-	*n	n	**n	**n	*n	*ñ	*j	*n	**n, ??	*n
*-ñ-	*n	n	*n	**n	*n	*ñ	*n	*n	**n	*-ñ-, _t/*n, _#/*n
*ń-	*n	n		*n	*y	*ń	*j(<*i	*n, *ʒ	*ń	*n, *ń
*-ń-	*n			*n	*j, ?*n	*ń	*ń>*j	?*n	*N	*-ń-
*ŋ-	*ɣ, *ʕ *n, *ɣn				*kn, *n, *ʕ	*n, *ñ	*∅-, *	*∅-, *r	*ŋ, ?*∅	?*n, ?*∅-
*-ŋ-	*n, *n	n	*n	*n	*n, *nG ^h	*ŋ, *-ŋ ~ ?*n	*ŋ	*ŋ, *ŋG, *ŋK, *ʕ, *ʕ	*ŋ	*m(m), *n, ??*-ñ-
*l-	*l	?i	*l		*l	*l	*j	*n	?*l	??*t
*-l-	*l	r ?, ʒ	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l
*l-	*l	?n	*l	*l	*l	*l	*j	*n	*l	*n
*-l-	*l		*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l	*l
*l̥-	*l		?*l	*l	*l	*l̥	?*j	?*l, ?*n	?*l	*l̥, **n
*-l̥-	*l	r, ʒ	*l	*l	*l	*l̥	*l̥	*l	*l	*l
*r-	*r	r	?*r	*r	*r	*r	*j	?*n	*l, *n	*n
*-r-	*r	r, ʒ	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r *r (<*r⊥)
*-r̥-	*r	r, ʒ	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r̥; _⊥/*l	*r	*r	*r̥

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*w-	*w	w	*w	*w	*w (*u)	*w	*b,* ^o	*b	*b, ?* ^o _U/	*v, * ^o
*-w- /V_V	*w	w,ʒ	?*w	*w, * ^o	*u	*w	*b,* ^o	*β,*b	*b	*v
*-w- /⊥_V	*w, * ^o	?? ^o , y	??*w	*w, * ^o	*u,* ^o	*w, * ^o		*b,* ^o	*b, * ^o	* ^o
*-w- /a,E _⊥	*w, * ^o			*w	*u	*w,* ^c	?* ^o	* ^o ,* ^c	* ^o	* ^o , ?*v
*-w- /u_⊥	*:		?*:	* ^o , *w	*:,* ^o	* ^o	*:	* ^o		*:
*y-	*y	i	?*y,*	* ^o , ?*y	*y,*e _j	*y	*j	*y	?*y	*y,* ^o , *..
*-y- /V_V	*y	y, ^o	*y	* ^o	*i/*i	*y	*y	*y	*y, *y,* ^o	* ^o
*-y- /⊥_V	*y,* ^o	? ^o	* ^o	* ^o	* ^o ,*i +*(s)	*y,*⊥!	*⊥ ^y , * ^o ,*..	* ^o ,*y	* ^o ,* ^o ,*i	*⊥ ^y , *i
*-y- /V_⊥	*y,* ^o	y, ^o	?*y	* ^o	*i,* ^o	*y,*⊥!	* ^o , *⊥ ^y	* ^o ,*y	* ^o ,* ^o ,*y	*i

Remarks:

1. The formula $*-b- > U *w, \perp_/_/*p$ is to be read: in the word-medial position N $*b$ yields U $*-w-$, but after a cns. it is reflected as $*p$.

2. $*-p- > M *b, *β > *ϕ$ means that N $*-p-$ yields M $*-b-$ or early pM $*-β-$ $>$ pM $*-ϕ-$.

3. The formulae $*d- > M *d, _i / *ʒ, *t- > M *d, _i / *ʒ$ and $*t- > M *t, _i / *č$ reflect the pM affricatization $*di > *ʒi$ and $*ti > *či$.

4. The formula $*ʒ- > IE *l, _V / *s-$ means: in the presence of $*l$ in the IE root the N affricate $*ʒ-$ yields IE $*s-$, otherwise $*ʒ-$ yields IE $*l-$.

5. The formula $*-y- > IE *^o, *i, +*(s)-$ is to be read: N $*-y-$ yields IE zero or $*-i-$ and causes the appearance of $*s-$ mobile in the word-initial position.

6. The formulae $*-y- / \perp_V > U *y, *⊥^y$ and $*-y- / V_\perp > U *y, *⊥^y$ mean: in the positions \perp_V (after a cns. and before a vw.) and V_\perp (after a vw, and before a cns.) N $*-y-$ remains in U as $*y$ or palatalizes

the adjacent U cns. N ***ya-** yields D ***ya(:)-** and ***e-**, N ***yä-** is represented by D ***e- ~ *a-**, and N ***ye-** yields D ***ī-** and ***e-**. N ***yi-** yields M ***i-**.

7. N ***ǰ** followed by a voiceless cns. yields T ***ç**.

8. N ***ǰ** adjacent to a voiceless cns. is likely to yield Tg ***s**.

9. The controversial IE cns. cluster ***ǵʰd̥** is still to be investigated. In one root (***ǵʰd̥em-/ *ǵʰd̥om- {IE} *dʰǵʰom-** 'earth') it may result from metathesis (IE **{IE} *dʰǵʰom- > *ǵʰd̥em-/ *ǵʰd̥om-**). In another case (***ǵʰd̥yes / ? *ǵʰd̥is** 'yesterday') ****ǵʰd̥-** is likely to go back to N ***geʳdʳ-** (cf. item 603a ***geʳdʳ üſ∇** 'late, evening').

10. According to AD LZL 364-5, one of the sources of U ***ǰ** is the N clusters ***-l̥-**, ***-l̥-**, and probably ***-l̥ʷ-** (cf. entries 131, 871, 1042, 1044, 1698b, 2197, 2475, and 2725 [in the latter U ***ǰ < N *-l̥ʷ-**]; in the entry 1698b the post-N cluster ***-l̥-** goes back to N ***-l̥iʳ|ʷ-**).

11. Sometimes (under some still unknown conditions) a K preconsonantal ***-r-** goes back to a N lateral cns. (***í** or what is denoted as ***í|l**) (cf. K ***ç̥gr̥ta** 'elbow', GZ ***pr̥t̥q̥-el-** 'flat', G **perpl-i** 'ashes' and **χvirtli** 'Winterhaar, Winterpelz [der Tiere]', and GZ ***t̥q̥ir̥p-** 'spleen' - in the entries 355, 1719, 1723, 1866, and 2355).

12. As indicated in the chart, in IE in the word-initial preconsonantal position the N voiceless affricate ***č** yields ***s**. The same may be (but not necessarily is) true about N ***c**.

13. The difference between N ***p-** and ***p̥-** is likely to be reflected in Chadic. In this paper I tentatively suggest that N ***p-** yields Ch {Stl.} ***f-** (> Hs **f-**, Su **f-**, **v-**, Bl, Wrj, Ron lgs., Tr, Bu, Mtk **f-**, Gzg **f-**, **v-**, Lgn **f-**, **p-**. Msg, Ms **f-**, Ke **f-**, **w-**, Mu **f-**), while N ***p̥-** is represented in Ch {Stl.} ***p̥-** (Hs **f-**, **h-**, Su, Bl **p-**, Sha **p-**, other Ron lgs. **f-**, Ngz **p-**, Tr & Bu (mostly) **p̥-**, Gzg **p̥-**, Lgn **v-**, Ms, Ke, Mu **p̥-**), as reconstructed in Stolbova's thesis (Stl. IF 23-34). Further research in the historical phonology of Ch and HS will correct my highly tentative reconstructions in this field.

14. N ***ŋ-** yields S ***n-** (rather than ***ɸ** or ***ʷ**) in the presence of a laryngeal or ***m** in the same N word.

15. The sign ***̣** denotes here palatalizing effect (e.g. N ***ya-** > D ***e-**).

On the alphabetical order of letters in the present dictionary see below § 9.

§ 2.2. **Comment and additional explanations.** This chart needs comment and additional explanations. But in this short introduction I cannot afford entering into details. Some of the problems have been

discussed by V. Dybo in his "Editor's Introduction" ("Ot redaktora") of IS I, in IS SS, AD NGIE and Ad NVIE.

§ 2.2.1. I may add here a short remark about the origin of the Dravidian intervocalic *r*-consonants. According to the extant data, D **ɾ̥*- (= **ɾ̥*- of the traditional notation, retroflex vibrant/fricative) goes back to N **-r̥*- or **-ry*-, D **ɾ̥*- (= **ɾ̥*- or **-t̥*- of the traditional notation, a trill, becoming a stop if geminated) goes back to intervocalic N **-r*-, while D **-r*- goes back to N consonant clusters with **r*.

§ 2.2.2. In HS the N emphatic consonants yield both emphatic and plain voiceless cns. The distribution seems to be conditioned by prosody. This is suggested by the fact that in grammatical words and pronouns the HS de-emphatization is a rule. Therefore we do not find emphatic cns. in HS affixes, pronouns and aux. words.

NB: In the following notes I use not only the above mentioned transcription signs, but also cover signs for unspecified N phonemes (such as *P̣* for N *p|p*, *û* for *u|ü*, etc. For the meaning of such cover signs cf. below the chapter "Transcription".

§ 2.2.3. On the basis of very scarce extant data I have proposed a highly tentative working hypothesis about the origin of the opposition *ɕ*- ↔ *š*- in Manchu:

N **ś*-, **š*- and **s*- yield pTg **s*- > LMc *ɕ*-, as well as *s*- in other Tg languages (but *h*- in Lm). Cf. N **śilK*∇ 'to let out' > LMc *ɕilgi*- ~ *ɕilki*- 'get through (a narrow opening), crawl (kriechen)', N **śü|žü*(-*kê*) ~ **śil|žü*(-*kê*) 'mucus, slime, saliva' > LMc *ɕilerŋi* 'saliva, drivel', N **ś|šEHm*∇ 'to swallow' > LMc *ɕimi*- 'to suck, swallow', N **śäm*∇*g*∇ 'hair, fine hair' > Tg **seŋe*(n) 'beard, fin, gill' > LMc *ɕeŋele* 'cock's comb, gill', N **šuby*∇ 'spike, spear, to pierce' > LMc *ɕuyfun* 'awl', N **šünigo* or **šüŋo* 'snow' > LMc *ɕu*(ŋ)- v. 'become covered with hoar-frost', N **šinger*∇ 'mouse' > LMc *ɕingeri* id., N **šehŋE* 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > LMc *ɕere*- 'be awake, feel, guess, understand', N **saP̣'ü*¹-*ś*∇ 'pointed stake' > CIMc *ɕabsi*- 'stitch', N **son*¹∇*q*¹*ü*¹ 'sinew, tendon' > Mc *ɕuna* ~ *ɕūna* 'rein of draught-dogs', N **säR*¹*U*¹ 'sinew, fibre' > CIMc *ɕiren* id., 'bow-string'.

But sometimes we find pTg **š*- > LMc *š*-, as well as probably *ç*-, *č*-, and *ć*- in other Tg languages. It is likely to go back to **ɕ̥*- (that appears

due to contraction of syllables: N ***Si|ü|E...∇** > ***sᵢ∇**. For instance, N ***sʳŭʳwɔl∇** 'liquid, moisture' > LMc **š ul a** 'juice', N ***ʳśʳEXar∇** 'bright, daybreak' > ***sᵢaᵣr∇** > LMc **š a r i** 'white, clean', N ***Siʰʳw∇** 'sun' > LMc **š u r n** 'sun' (÷ Pre-Classical Manchu **siyur**), Ul **siu(n-)**, Nn **siũ** & **siu(n-)**, Neg **siyun** ~ **siwun**.

The Manchu reflexes of N ***š-** are not yet clear. There are cases of both Mc **ɕ-** and **š-**, but the rule of distribution is still unknown.

§ 2.2.4. Another tentative hypothesis concerns a curious pD phoneme, reconstructed by G. Starostin as ***k̑-** (GS RVP) and later as ***ky-** (GS 203-7). This is a phoneme that yields ***č²-** (and its regular reflexes) in most Dravidian languages (SD, SCD adn CD), but **k-** in Kurux, Malto and Brahui. Earlier Emeneau (Em. NDV) tried to explain this sound correspondence as a special treatment of pD ***č²-** preceding ***u**, but later gave up this hypothesis (due to counter-examples). Pfeifer (Pf. 66) supposed that this is a cluster ***ky-** resulting from reduction of earlier ***key-** or ***kiy-**. In the light of external comparison I am inclined to suppose that pD ***k̑-** goes back to N lateral obstruents (see N ***šeᵣaᵣr∇** 'reach, approach, enter' and N ***čAᵣ∇** 'perish, die').

§ 2.2.5. Vladislav Illich-Svitych advanced a hypothesis about the origin of IE ***s-** mobile ("movable ***s-**"). In his opinion it developed only in N words with an inherited internal palatal element (***y**, ***ń**, ***í**, and the like). My interpretation of his hyp. is as follows. The N emphatic consonants in the word-initial position were pronounced in IE with an initial preaspiration. Usually this preaspiration left no traces. But in roots with an inherited internal palatal element the whole root was palatalized (non-phonemic supersegmental palatalization). The preaspiration was transformed into a kind of ***h** that later yielded a movable ***s-**.

It means that the presence of a "movable ***s-**" in an IE root suggests that the N initial cns. was emphatic (glottalized?). This is important for roots with an initial labial cns., suggesting that this N cns. was ***p-**.

This apparently strange phenomenon has a typological parallel (that was unknown to Illich-Svitych). In Salar (as described by Tenishev) the vowel **i** before voiceless (preaspirated?) **p**, **t** and **k** (fortes) was transformed into **i** + a preconsonantic sibilant (transcribed by Tenishev in IPA as **š**, **ʃ**, **ç**: [išk̑i // iʃki // içki] (i.e. išk̑i ~ iʃki) 'two' (< iʰti), [iʃpax] 'silk thread', [iʃt // içt] (i.e. išt̑ ~ iʃt) 'dog', [pišt̑i//pište-

//piçti-] (i.e. pišti ← piçti) 'write' (cf. Tn. SJ 77). In his formulation, the phoneme i had an allophone iš (Tn. SJ 8).

§ 2.2.6. According to a preliminary working hyp. of mine, in the earliest pIE there was a phenomenon that may be interpreted as a word-initial prelaryngealization (preaspiration?). It existed in some roots and brought about a prothetic vowel before sonorants in Greek (sometimes in Arm and other lgs.) and an initial aspiration (h-) in Greek (in some words with etymological *w- and y-). I suppose that this prelaryngealization may go back to a prosodic phenomenon in pN, e.g. partial devoicing of word-initial sonorants or a kind of breathed voice (to use Ladefoged's terminology). In the present dictionary I denote this prosodic phenomenon by an initial *'- in pIE and pN reconstructions. We shall call this *'- "a laryngoid" (like "vocoid"). Its distribution proves that it was a phonologically relevant phenomenon.

It is also possible, that the NaIE *s- mobile before root-initial sonorants belongs here as well: in roots with an inherited internal palatal element and an initial *'- this laryngoid underwent palatalization (*'- > *ś-) and became a movable *s- (e.g. NaIE *(s)nēbh- 'narrow, thin' < *śnēj̥b̥ < N *'ñXib̥).

§ 2.2.7. In several N words (U roots) one can observe what may be considered Uralic prosthetic *w- (preceding a N initial rounded vw.) or a kind of "labial fission" (an initial labialized vw. > U *w + non-labialized vw.):

N *gok̥s̥l̥ç̥(-R̥) '€ canine' > FU (in ObU only) *^oʷok̥s̥r̥ 'fox'

N *çuk̥a 'see', 'eye' > FU (in Ugr only) *wok̥ (or *wɔç̥) v. 'see, look'

N *q̥ur̥ 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit' > FU (att. in ObU) *^owur̥ > ObU *wūr̥ɜy̥ 'river-bed'

N *çul̥ç̥ 'recent' > U {UEW} *wuz̥e 'new'.

I wonder if there is any regularity in this phenomenon. The matter needs investigation.

§ 2.2.8. The pN consonantism is rich (50 phonemes), but rather economic (19 distinctive features), most phonemes being well integrated (in Martinet's terms, see Mart. EChPh 79-106), and none being isolated. The distinctive features include 10 orders (places of articulation), 3 glottal series (voiced ↔ voiceless ↔ emphatic), and 6 manners of articulation (stop\affricate ↔ fricative ↔ central approximant ↔ nasal ↔ lateral ↔ trill). Cp. Kartvelian: 18 phonemic

features (for 32 consonants), Semitic: 18 features (for 29 consonants), or Finno-Ugric: 17 (or 16) features (for 26 consonants).

§ 2.2.9. In the overwhelming majority of registered cases N *g- yields T *k̄-. But there are three apparent exceptions: [1] 621. ?₂ *gū|u₁?₁∇ '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > NaT *k'ūlmiz 'roe deer'; [2] 638. *g'o'p'iñ∇ 'beat, strike' > T *k'iyna- 'beat (so.), cause suffering', [3] 704. *g'a'ž∇ 'to go; way, path' > ? NaT *k'ay- > Tv xay- v. 'make the round'. In the first two cases it may be tentatively supposed a contraction *g...? > **k̄- > T *k'-. and the N etymology of Tv xay- remains semantically doubtful.

§ 2.2.10. In the IE clusters *s + stops the opposition between the N vd., vl., and emphatic cns. was neutralized, so that all N stops yielded IE vl. consonants: N *S∇d- > IE *st-, N *S∇t- > IE *st-, N *S∇b- > IE *sp-, N *S∇g- > IE *sk- (or *s̄k̄-, *sk^ω-) (cf. items ## 2014, 2020, 2132, 2186).

§ 2.3. **Structure of N words.** The words have the structure CV (auxiliary words and pronouns only), CVCV, CVCCV, CV(C)CVCV, and CVCVCCV.

§ 2.4. **Vowels.** The original system of vowels, as reconstructed by Illich-Svitych and accepted by the present author, is as follows:

*i	*u *ü
*e	*o
*ä	*a

The original vowels of the first syllable survive in proto-Uralic, partially in proto-Dravidian (where both *a and *ä yield *a) and partially in the Altaic languages (with mutual assimilation of the vowels within a word). The vowels in those languages are stable, i.e. do not undergo alternation (except for quantitative alternation of short and long vowels in Dravidian). In Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic and Kartvelian there is apophony, i.e. a morphologized alternation of vowels (as well as of simple and geminated consonants) that diminishes the importance of vowels for lexical distinction. This apophony is based on phonologization of former allophones (of accentual origin) and subsequent morphologization of the phonemic alternation. Another source of apophony (especially in Hamito-Semitic) is the incorporation of affixes (prefixes → infixes) into word stems, e.g. the prefix *w (of

passive and non-active verbs) turned into Semitic *u ~ *ū as marker of the passive voice within (or before) the stem, the prefix *-an- (< auxiliary verb used in periphrastic constructions of imperfect) turned into the infixes *-n-, *-a- and into gemination of the stem-internal consonant in Semitic, Berber, branches of Cushitic and possibly Chadic. Due to the apophony the vocalic distinction between roots has been partially lost in IE, HS and K, but indirectly preserved in the prevocalic velar and laryngeal consonants. Thus, the N consonants *g, *k, *k̥ and *g̊, when followed by N *o, yield IE *g^{ωh}, *g^ω and *k^ω; if followed by N *e and *ä, they yield IE palatalized consonants *g̃^h, *g̃ and *k̃; if followed by *a or a consonant, they yield plain velar *g^h, *g and *k. But the N vowels *i, *u and *ü have been preserved better - as IE "sonants" (i.e. high vowels and glides) *i/*i̯ and *u/*u̯ (see examples in AD NVIE, AD NGIE, AD NM, IS I-III and in the present dictionary).

The basic representation of the pN vowels of the initial syllable in the descended languages may be tentatively formulated as follows:

pN *a yields U, T, M, Tg and D *a, K *a/zero and *e(/zero/*a), IE *e/o/zero (with preservation of the preceding velar consonants as *g^h, *g, and *k) and possibly *a;

pN *ä yields U and T *ä, M and Tg *e, D *a (and sometimes *ē), IE *e/*o/zero (with representation of the preceding velar consonants as *g̃^h, *g̃, and *k̃), K *a/zero, *e, and (seldom) *i; in open syllables pN *ä sometimes yields D *ē (the exact rules have not yet been sidcovered);

pN *e yields U, T, M, Tg, and D *e, IE *e/o/zero (with representation of the preceding velar consonants as *g̃^h, *g̃, and *k̃), K *e/a/zero and *i/*e;

pN *i yields U, M, and D *i, T *i and *i̯, Tg *i̯ and *i̯, IE *e i̯/*o i̯/*i (and, with loss of the glide, *e/*o), K *i and *e, as well as *i/*y in the HS languages. Sometimes (under still unknown consitions) N *i yields D *e and *ē. It is not yet clear if in the word-fonal position pN *i yields IE *i/i̯ or disappears. In the latter case the word-final N *æ in our pN reconstructions (based on IE evidence) should be replaced by a less specific *E.

pN *o yields mainly U, T, M, and D *o, Tg *o, *u̯, and *u̯, IE *e/o/zero (with representation of the preceding velar and lr. consonants as *g^{ωh}, *g^ω, *k^ω, and *x^ω), and K *ω∇/*ω/*u, *o, *a, zero (and sometimes *i and *e under still unknown conditions); in several N words pN *o yields D and M *u (probably due to some special developement under still

unknown conditions); in HS it is sometimes preserved as a C rounded vowel, as labialization of preceding velar consonants in some C languages, especially Bj and Ag (resulting in g^w , k^w , and k^w), and (mainly in primary nouns and in biconsonantic verbs) as S *u and *ū; in the prehistory of IE there is as. *o...u|ū > pre-IE *u...u and later reg. development of this new *u (e.g. > *we/*w0) (cf. AD NVIE and AD NGIE); in N words with a front vw. of the second or third syllable N *o of the initial syll. often (but not always) yields T and M *ö.

pN *u yields U, M, and D *u, T *u (and *I), Tg *u and *u (as well as sometimes *o and *ue), IE *eu/*ou/*u (and, with loss of the glide, *e/*o, as well as forming with preceding velar and laryngeal consonants groups *g^hw/*g^ho, *g^we/*g^wo, *k^we/*k^wo, *x^we/*x^wo, and a cluster *g^w) and *w∇, K *u, *w-diphthongs, and sometimes *o, as well as often S *u and *-ū- (in primary nouns and biconsonantic verbs) and other reflexes of HS *u, as well as labialization of preceding velar consonants in some C languages. The delabialization *u > T *I is a rather frequent phenomenon, but its rules and conditions have not yet been investigated. A similar phenomenon of delabialization (N *u > Tg *i, *i) is found in a few Tg roots (N *b'u'Xra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *bira 'river, brook', N *Kum∇ 'sand' > Tg *ximana- v. 'snow', N *ku|od'a'h∇ 'pierce' > ?σ Tg *xidar- v. 'hurt by pricking', N *pu|u [or *pu|ü?] 'to spring forth' > Tg *bilku- vt. 'moisten, wet' [side by side with Tg *bulku- v. 'wash; spout, jet'], N *Suři '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain' > Tg *siri- 'squeeze out [a liquid]'). In T, M, and U there is optional regr. as. (leading to "harmony of vowels"): in N words with a front vw. of the second or third syllable N *u yields T, M, and U *ü (or sometimes [under still unknown conditions] T and M *ö). N *uy yields NTg *ī (items ##332, 592).

pN *ü yields U, T, and M *ü, Tg *u, *ü ({Ci.} *yⁿ > Ewk, Lm, Ngd, Sln, Orc, Ud i, Ork, Ul, Nn, Mc u) and *u, D *u, IE *eu/*ou/*u (and, with loss of the glide, *e/*o) and *w∇ (in both vases the preceding velar consonants was palatalized, which brought about palatalized consonants *ġ^h, *ġ, and *ġ, and clusters *ġ^hw, *ġw, and *ġw), K *u, *w-diphthongs, zero (and sometimes *i under still unknown conditions), as well as HS *u (> S *-ū-, etc.) and labialization of preceding velar consonants in some C and Ch languages; *ü is sometimes delabialized to *i in T, M, Tg, D, and possibly pre-IE (whence

IE $*e_{\text{̥}}/*o_{\text{̥}}/*i$), the rules and conditions of this delabialization still need investigating; sometimes (under still unknown conditions) $*ū$ is represented by M $*ö$.

In non-initial syllables in late PU and pFU the N phonemes $*e$, $*i$, and $*ū$ (unless changed to $*u$ by vw. harmony) yielded $*e$. If the word-final vw. is attested in U only (by U $*-e$), the final vw. of the N word will be denoted as $*ê$ (a cover sign for $*e|i$).

In N and Tg the initial N $*wa-$ yields, beside the expected $*ba-$, also (under still unknown [prosodic?] conditions) Tg $*u-$ and $*o-$, M $*bu-$, $bo-$, and $*o-$.

N $*we-$ yields T $*ö-$ (cf. items Nos. 2457, 2489, 2550) and Tg $*u$ ($*u$ and $*ụ$) (items Nos. 2489, 2544, 2550), as well as possibly M $*ö-$ (item No. 2550).

N $*wi-$ (unless influenced by regr. as.) yields T $*ö-$ and M $*ö-$ ~ $*bö-$ (cf. items Nos. 2467, 2479, 2539)

The N initial sequence $*ya-$ is likely to yield D $*e-$ and probably (under still unknown conditions) M $*i-$ (item No. 2620). D $*i-$ from N $*y∇-$ (as in items Nos. 2622 and 2646) needs investigating.

Several items (Nos. 173 and 182) suggest that probably N $*bo-$ could yield (under still unknown conditions) IE $*b^he_{\text{̥}}/*b^ho_{\text{̥}}/*b^hu-$.

N $*co-$, $*ćo-$, $*ço-$, $*ċo-$, $*Ḳo-$ and $*Ḳu-$ + word-internal $*y$ yield IE $*sk-$ rather than $*sk^{\omega}$ -. Therefore IE $*sk^{\omega}$ - is extremely rare (Pokorny's dictionary mentions only one root: $*(s)k^{\omega}a_{\text{̥}}o-s$, which is also doubtful: $''*(s)k^{\omega}a_{\text{̥}}o-s$ oder vielmehr $*k^{\omega}a_{\text{̥}}o-s$ 'eine größere Fischart'').

Several N etymons (Nos. 840a, 2104, 2151, 2235a) suggests that N $*-EHi-$ ($*-äHi-$, $-eHi-$, and possibly $-üHi-$) may yield M $*ī$ (and $*i_{\text{̥}}$) and Tg $*ī$.

According to AD AVD, the Tg ascending diphthongs go back to three sources: [1] a contraction $*-aya-$ > Tg $*-j̥a-$ ~ $*ay-$ ~ $*-a-$, [2] a reversal $*-ay-$ > Tg $*-j̥a-$, and [3] a vocal breaking (Vokalbrechung) N $*V_1C(C)V_2$ > Tg $*V_1V_2C(C)V_2$. It may be added to this hypothesis that Tg $*-j̥a-$ may go back to N $*-æya-$ as well.

On the alphabetical order of items in the present dictionary see below § 9.

§ 2.4.1. I can propose a tentative hypothesis about the prosodic origin of pT ascending diphthongs (in many vases, but not in all of them). These diphthongs are reconstructed on the ev. of the Chv reflexes of initial cnss.: Chv $j-$ ÷ NaT $*k^{\text{̥}}-$ & $*k^{\text{̥}}-$ < pT $*k^{\text{̥}}j̥-$ & $*k^{\text{̥}}j̥-$; Chv $č-$

÷ NaT *t̄- & *t̄'- < pT *t̄j̄- & *t̄'j̄-; Chv š̄- ÷ NaT *s- < pT *sj̄-. In my hypothesis, the diphthongs go back to pre-T long vowels with a special (broken?) tone (that I denote with the symbol \checkmark). These long vowels may result from compensatory lengthening before simplified cns. clusters, e.g. N * \checkmark ǖʳ̄' (part of) leg' ('calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee?') > pre-T *t̄'ǖ:ʳ̄ > **t̄'Eǖr̄ > pT *t̄'j̄ǖr̄ > NaT *t̄'ū̄z and Chv чěр̄ č̄br̄ 'knee', N * \checkmark ā̄ʳ̄a 'throw, leave' > pre-T *k̄'ā̄:l̄ > **k̄'Eāl̄ > T *k̄j̄ā̄l̄- > NaT *k̄ā̄l̄- and Chv j̄ul̄-; N * \checkmark íhār̄u 'dirt' > pre-T *sEār̄ > T *sj̄ā̄r̄ > NaT *sā̄z 'swamp' and Chv š̄ur̄ 'swamp, quagmire'.

§ 3. **Grammar.** The proto-Nostratic language was analytic. Its grammar was based on a rigid word order, auxiliary words and pronouns.

All words belonged to one of the three classes: [1] lexical words, [2] pronouns, [3] auxiliary words. These classes differ in their syntactical functioning. But some pronouns may follow syntactical rules of lexical words, too.

A. The word order may be described by the following rules:

1. The predicate is the final lexical word of a sentence. It may be followed by personal and demonstrative pronouns (* \checkmark itê̄ mi 'I eat'), but not by other lexical words.

2. Attributive (expressed by a lexical word) precedes its head.

3. Direct object immediately precedes its verb. Other objects precede the verb, too.

4. Pronominal subject follows the predicate.

5. Pronominal attributive ('my', 'this') may follow the noun.

6. Case markers follow the noun.

The only place left for the (non-pronominal) subject (and for adverbial modifiers) is before the verb with its objects.

This word order survives in U, T, M, Tg, Ko, J, D, K, C as word order and in all daughter-languages as the order of morphemes within words. It was preserved in proto-IE (and its most ancient descendants) as the unmarked word-order, but when the IE words became syntactically autonomous (marking their syntactic function by their morphological form [obligatory cases, etc.]), the former rigid word order disappeared, so that the word order began functioning as a means of focalization. In S, B and Eg the old word order was displaced by a new one (originally emphatic, e.g. attributives following their head).

B. There was a very rich system of pronouns, among them:

[1] personal pronouns: *mi 'I' and * \checkmark ǖ' ~ * \checkmark ǖ' 'thou' in the direct case, other pronouns in oblique cases (* \checkmark ₂ōȳ' 'by me, my', *k̄' ~ *ḡ' 'thee, thy'), as well as pronominals (i.e. lexical words replacing the pronouns, e.g. * \checkmark ō'kE 'self' functioning as a lexical replacement for

***mi** 'I', whence IE $*e\hat{g}oH \sim *e\hat{g}H-$, Semitic $*-\bar{a}ku$, etc.), pers. pronouns of 1 pl. excl. ($*\bar{n}\nabla$) and of 1 pl. incl. ($*g^rU^1$), as well as compound pronouns: $*mi \text{ } \text{?a}$ 'we', $*mi \text{ } \text{?a}$ 'ye' (with the plurality marker $*\text{?a}$), $*mi \text{ } \text{t}^r\text{u}^1$ 'we' incl.;

[2] interrogative pronouns: $*\text{K}o$ 'who?', $*mi$ 'what?', $*ya$ 'which?', as well as $*w\nabla$ 'who?' and $*\eta^rU^1$ [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from $*ya \eta^rU^1$ or $*\text{?}\ddot{a}y\nabla \eta^rU^1$ 'which thing?');

[3] deictic particles $*ha$, $*h^re^1$, $*h^ri$, $*h^ru$ indicating the degree of proximity to the interlocutors (hic-deixis, iste-deixis, ille-deixis, etc.), demonstrative pronouns: for active (animate and the like) beings\objects and for inanimate objects ($*sE$ 'he, she' for animate [active], $*\text{K}^r\text{u}^1$ id., and $*\text{t}\ddot{a}$ 'it' for inanimate, as well as $*p^ra^1$ 'ille, another [animate]', $*yi$ 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric], and $*r\nabla$ [$*\text{?}\nabla^r^1\nabla^1$] [theme-focalizing particle]), for distal deixis: $*\check{c}a$ 'that', for distal or intermediate deixis: $*\acute{c}E$ 'that'; demonstrative pronouns for collectivity ($*\text{?a}h^ra$, $*h^ra$, $*\text{?E}\text{I}A$, $*\text{I}A$, $*q\nabla$), for collectivity-plurality ($*\bar{n}^ra^1$, $*r\nabla yE$), for plurality ($*t\nabla$ of plurality, $*\text{?}^1\nabla\acute{s}\nabla$ 'they' and $*yE$ [= y^ri^1 ?] 'these, they' for animate beings, $*\text{?a}$, pc. of plurality, $*kU$, pc. of plurality [used mostly with pronouns], as well as $*\text{?}\nabla q\nabla$ ['thing, things' and prn.\n. of plurality]), for duality ($*nE$ 'they [two]', $*h^rae \sim *o^rhu$ for animate beings, $*yi$ for inanimate objects), for individualization ($*y^riyo$ 'which' [relative], 'that which, related to', $*r\nabla$ = a theme-focalizing pc.), etc. In the descendant languages these pronouns and particles were transformed into personal endings of the verb (1st and 2nd persons from personal pronouns, 3rd person from demonstratives), into pronominal possessive suffixes, into markers of the nominative case (e.g., IE nominative $*-s$ [for nouns of the active gender] from the N demonstrative active $*sE$), into affixes of plural, dual and collectivity. In some languages (IE, K, and probably S) the genitive case, too, is based on pronouns (e.g., the genitive case endings: IE $*-o\grave{i}os$, K $*-i\grave{s} < *y^riyo sE$ 'which is' [\times N $*ya sE$ id.], originally 'that which is X', as well as probably the S genitive ending $*-i < N *y^riyo$ [and/or $\text{? } *ya$ 'which']).

C. Auxiliary words: [1] postpositions and locative adverbs (in many cases functioning also as preverbs): $*nu$ 'of, from', $*mA$ and $*\text{t}\nabla$ (particles of marked accusative), $*\text{K}\nabla$ (= $*k\nabla$?) 'towards' (\rightarrow 'to'), $*k\nabla$ 'out of, from', $*\acute{s}\nabla$ 'to, towards', $*\text{t}^ra^1$ 'away (from), from', $*\acute{c}ae$

'away, downward', *ɭA (locative pc.), as well as lexical words transformed into postpositions/preverbs: *ʔiŋʼAʼ 'place' (→ 'in'), *d₁oy₁a 'place (within, below)' (→ locative particle *da 'in'); [2] negations: *ŋi 'not', *ʔe (~ ? *ʔä) 'not', *mä ¬ *mähʼoʼ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative); [3] auxiliary words with meaning of tenses and aspects: *dʼiʼ, marker of imperfective (< an auxiliary verb?), *H₂i, pc. of past (preterite), *ç|çi or *ç|çi, a marker of verbal frequentativity/iterativity, ; [4] auxiliary words of other meanings: *ʔa 'to become, be', *ʔA, a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??), *bA, adjectival pc. forming compound (→ derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, animal names, *b∇, pc. forming compound (→ derived) nomina abstracta, *ç̣a or *ç̣a (= *Hiç|ç̣a?), a marker of relative constructions, *çʼüʼ 'that of..., that which', *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction), *Ka (a pc. of request, *ɭ∇ (a pc. with diminutive meaning, *í∇ (< *ʔâí∇?) (pc. in deverbal nominal constructions, nominalizing the verbal action), *mA (marker of nominalized syntactic constructions [= subordinate sentences], nominalizer [originally a prn.] that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis and other derived nouns), *ñ∇ (a marker [pronoun] that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles), ɭi (syntactic pc. that builds analytical nomina actionis), *ɭ∇ (a marker of passive participial constructions), *wa 'also, same', *y∇ (particle of hypocoristic [?] address [vocative]).

§ 4. **Grammatical typology.** As we can see, proto-Nostratic was a highly analytic language. In this point there is a certain disagreement between Illich-Svitych and myself. Illich-Svitych, albeit recognizing the analytical status of many grammatical elements in N, still believed that some grammatical elements were agglutinated affixes: the marker of oblique cases *-n (= my *nu 'of, from'), the formative of marked accusative *-m (= my *mA), the plural marker *-NA (= my *ñʼäʼ of collectiveness and plurality), and several others. This interpretation is hardly acceptable because the N etyma in question still preserve traces of their former analytic status: [1] they preserve some mobility within the sentence (a feature of separate words rather than affixes), [2] several pN particles are still analytic in some descendant languages, [3] N etyma with grammatical and derivational function are sometimes identical with autosemantic words. Thus, the element *nu 'of, from' functions in the daughter-languages not only as a case suffix (genitive

in U, T, M, Tg, formative of the stem of oblique case in the **IE** heteroclitic nouns, part of the ablative case ending in T, K and in **IE** adverbs), but also as a preverb of separation/withdrawal in **IE** (Baltic), as an analytic marker of separation/withdrawal (ablative) in B (functioning in postverbal and other positions). The element ***mA** is still analytic in Manchu (bɛ, postposition of the direct object, cf. Hrl. 35, 74-5) and Japanese (OJ わる > J る). On the analytical status of J る (< N ***mA**), る (< N ***nu**) cf. Vrd.JG 278-82. The element ***n̄'ā'** functions not only as a postnominal and postverbal marker of pl. (> pl. suffix of nouns in K, HS and A, ending of 3 pl. of verbs in K, part of the **IE** ending ***-nti** ~ ***-nt** of 3 pl.), but also as the **initial** marker of pl. or abstractness (← 'collectiveness) in U and Eg pronouns: F r̄uō pl. 'those' ↔ t̄uō sg. 'that', r̄e pl. 'those' ↔ s̄e sg. 'that', Eg r̄ñ abstract 'this' and 'these (things)' ↔ p̄ñ 'this' m. ↔ t̄ñ f. The animate plural deictic element (?) ***yE** 'these, they' functions not only as the postnominal marker of plural (> plural ending in **IE**, U, A and C), but also as a prenominal and prepronominal plural marker (in B, Bj and OEg). The affix forming causative verbs in HS may both precede the verbal root and follow it (e.g. in deverbal nouns), which points to an original analytic status of the corresponding N etymon. HS ***t̄w-** [prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs > B ***t̄w-** → t̄- id., S prefix and infix ***(-)t̄-**, etc.] and the AnIE reflexive particle ***-ti** (> HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht z-, -zā id.) are etymologically identical with N ***t̄w̄w̄** 'head' (preserved with this meaning in K and Om), which proves the analytic origin of the marker of reflexivization.

In the descendant languages most of these grammatical auxiliary words and some pronouns turned into synthetic affixes (agglutinative in Early U and A, inflectional [fusional] in **IE** and to a certain extent in HS and K).

One remark about the opposition of tenses in Arabic: the traditional view is that the opposition kataba vs. yaktubu is that of aspects: kataba is perfective, yaktubu is imperfective (cf. Rdr. EVS). But there is another theory that treats this opposition as temporal (Xrak. OKY). Without trying to solve the problem, I preserve the terminology that refers to kataba as perfective (pf.) and to yaktubu as imperfective (ip.).

§ 5. Derivation. The original status of the N etyma underlying derivational affixes of the daughter-languages is less clear than that of grammatical morphemes. For some of derivational affixes the analytic origin is obvious. Thus, the etymon ***mA** (that underlies affixes of nomina actionis and nomina agentis in the descendant languages) was a

separate word, which is evidenced by its position: in HS and K it is found both in front of the verb and after it (while in IE, U, D and A its position in the word is always final). The same is true of the etymon ***t̥i** (> suffixes and prefixes of verb; nomina actionis and other deverbal nouns, infinitives, etc. in the daughter-languages). The adjectival particle ***bA** forming animal names and other names of quality bearers (IE **el̥h₂-bʰo-s* 'deer', S **θaʃla-b-* 'fox', U **ora-pa* 'squirrel', Tg **kōr-be* 'mail reindeer', Manchu *oŋgo-ba* 'forgetful') is interpreted as analytic on the evidence of its phonetic behaviour: the regular reflex of the N intervocal ***-b-** in U is ***-w-**, but in the word **orapa* 'squirrel' (> F *орава*) we find ***p**, which is regular in the word-initial position only. But for many other etyma of this sort we are not yet able to draw conclusions. Of course, we cannot rule out an ancient synthetic origin of some enigmatic "root extensions" ("Wurzeldeterminative", "élargissements des racines") that have lost their former meaning in IE, HS and other lgs. and are represented by an additional consonant at the end of roots or by synonymous roots (N words) that differ by their final (usually third) consonant. These "root extensions" need serious investigation.

In proto-Nostratic there are groups of phonetically and semantically words, e.g. (1) ***wɔd̥l̥ɔ̥ɔ̥** 'walk, go, set out for' and ***wedhA** 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)', (2) ***w'o'n̥t̥ɔ̥** 'belly' and ***wañɔ̥ʒ'a'** 'belly', (3) ***çiryâ** 'to scratch\chisel, to shape (an object), to fashion' and ***çâr̥l̥i,p̥ɔ̥** (~ ***-b-**?) 'scratch\chisel, hew, cut', (4) ***t̥ûíE** (or ***t̥æwûíE**?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long' and ***t̥aLPɔ̥** (= ***t̥aLbɔ̥**?) 'vast; room', (5) ***čEgɔ̥** 'to prick' (→ 'to butt'), ***čika** 'to prick, to split', and ***čAk̥'U'** 'to prick (stechen), to gouge', (6) ***čodhɔ̥** 'break (esp. a body part), strike' and ***č̥ɔ̥d̥l̥ɔ̥ɔ̥ɔ̥** ⇨ ***č̥ɔ̥ɔ̥ɔ̥d̥ɔ̥** 'to tear, to split', (7) ***wûrû** 'to scrape', ***waHrɔ̥** ⇨ ***warHɔ̥** 'to scratch, to scrape', and ***wAr̥ç̥ɔ̥** 'rub, scrape'. The origin of this similarity is not yet known. Three sources of the similarity may be suggested: (1) ancient (pre-Nostratic) derivation, (2) lexical attraction: phonetically similar words influence the meaning of each other, (3) ideophony. The problem is still to be investigated. By the way, similarity of this kind exists in many languages (if not in all of them). Compare, for instance, English *scratch*, *scrape*, *scrub*, or Russian *прыскать* 'to sprinkle' and *брызгать* 'to splash, to sprinkle', or Russian *скрипеть* 'to squeak, to creak' and *скрежетать* 'to grind'.

§ 6. The place of Hamito-Semitic. In modern long-range comparative linguistics there are two opinions as to the place of Hamito-Semitic

(Afro-Asiatic) among the languages of the world: (1) the traditional view among the long-range-comparativists (H. Pedersen, V. Illich-Svitych, the present author, etc.) is that HS belongs to the Nostratic macrofamily as its branch, (2) recently several scholars have expressed a different opinion: HS is coordinate with N rather than subordinate to it. Joseph Greenberg believes that HS, Kartvelian and Dravidian do not belong to "Eurasianic" (his term for Nostratic) as its branches but are coordinate with it. Recently Sergei Starostin has also expressed an opinion about the coordinate relationship between HS and "N proper".

J. Greenberg's opinion is based on comparison of words of different families within a list of arbitrarily chosen items. Before receiving the lexical volume of his book *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* (Stanford, 2002) I had to judge upon Gr.'s theory from a short list of these items and words for the "Eurasianic" languages that were published by Ruhlen (Ruhlen OLs 16-17). It is a list of 30 lexical items. It is not free from mistakes and very subjective conjectures. The main IE word for 'eat' is not **tap* (found in Tokharian only, but registered as the representative of IE in Greenberg-Ruhlen's list), but **ed-* (found in almost all branches of IE: Latin *edo*, Germanic **it-*, Sanscrit *at-*, Hittite *it-*, etc.), which is related both to Altaic (Mongolian *ide* 'eat') and to HS **ʔit-* 'to eat' (in East Cushitic and West Chadic). The ancient word for 'what?' is not that represented by IE **yo-~*ye-*, Uralic **yo-*, etc. (which is an ancient N word, but it means 'which'), but **mi*, which is represented not only in Uralic, Altaic (Chuvash), but also in HS (all branches), Kartvelian and probably in Dravidian (cf. IS II 66-68). IE **tek-* 'to touch' (adduced in the list in the item 'arrive') corresponds exactly to HS **ʃtk* (cf. here s.v. N **ʃakalæ* 'to touch'). If this list is corrected, enlarged and compared with roots of different branches of HS (as well as Kartvelian and Dravidian), we will see that all these languages are much nearer to "Eurasianic" than believed by Greenberg and Ruhlen (see Table I):

Table I. "Eurasianic cognates" (Ruhlen OLs 16-7) and their cognates in Hamito-Semitic, Kartvelian, and Dravidian

Mean	"Eurasianic cognate"	Ham. -Sem.	Kartv.	Drav.
I	IE * <i>mē-</i> , U * <i>m</i> , etc.	Highland East Cush. * <i>-m</i>	* <i>me</i>	
I thou	IE * <i>-ʒ</i> 1 sg. marker in verbs [1] IE * <i>tu-~te</i> , Ur. * <i>t-</i> , etc., [2] IE * <i>-s</i> , Turk. * <i>sän</i>	? * <i>ʔ-</i> id. * <i>t-</i>	* <i>χw-</i> id. * <i>si-</i>	

Mean	"Eurasianic cognate"	Ham. -Sem.	Kartv.	Drav.
pronoun (actually 'I', 'ego')	IE *eǵʰo-m 'ego'	S *-āku 'I' & cognates in B, Eg.		
who?	IE *kʷo-, Ur. *ku, etc.	preserved in Om, Beja, and Ch, but replaced by *m-		replaced by *y∇ 'which?'
what?	Ur. *mi, Chv. mān, etc.	'what?' elsewhere *m-	*min 'who?' (< N *mi 'what?')	replaced by *y∇ 'which?'
which?	IE *yo-/*ye-, Ur. *yo-, etc.	? S *ṛayy- Cush. *k-		*y∇
this	IE *k̑-, etc.	*t, fem. & inanim. demonstr.		*-t
that	IE *to-, etc.			inanim.
not	IE *ne-, etc.	Eg. n	*nu 'do not!'	
not, do not	Ur. *āla 'do not'	S *ṛal 'do not'		*all- 'not to be'
plural	Ur., Turk. *-t, etc.	S *-āt pl.	*-ta	
two	IE *dʷō-, etc.	S *tuṛm- 'twin'	*ṭgu-m- 'twin', ṭgu-ṭ- 'double'	
eye	IE *okʷ-	Agaw *✓ṣkʷ- 'see', Geez *ṣuk- id.		
see (not 'eye')	Yukaghir nugie 'have seen', etc.			*nik- 'be seen'
bark	Ur. *kopa, Turkic *kāp-, etc.	Cush. *ṣapp, Ch. *✓ṣHp	Georgian ṣep- 'sheet of paper'	
bark, skin	IE *ker-, FU *kere-, Tung. *xere-	S *✓ṣrm	Georg. kerk-	
feather	Ur. *tuṭka, Turk. **dāṭk̑- > *jäläk̑-	Glavda (Ch.) dṭāk̑à	*bur-ṭṭṭṭ- 'feather'	
star	IE *Hastēr	*ṣaθtar- 'Venus'		
moon	Korean tal (-l < *-r)	Ch. *✓tr		
fish	Ur. *kala, Tung. *xol-sa, etc.	Ch. ✓kṭp	Svan ṣalmax	*kol(1)-

Mean	"Eurasianic cognate"	Ham. -Sem.	Kartv.	Drav.
wolf	Ur. *lōka 'fox', Mong. *noqa 'dog'		*lɛkʷ- 'dog'	*nakka 'jackal, fox'
elder brother	Turkic *āka, etc.	S *ʔaχ- < **ʔaɢ-		
edge	Ur. *kǎćǎ, etc.	S *kǎiçç-	Svan kǎcχ	
wet	Ur. *ńōre, etc.	?S *√nhr 'river'		*ńīr 'water'
dark	[1] Ur. *pōl∇, etc. [2] FU *rūm∇			*pul(1)- 'brown'
speak	IE *kel-, etc.	Ch. *rim- Ar qāla 'say', etc.	*rum- Sv. gul- 'say'	
sleep	Ur *uni-, etc.	S *ʕūn-		
eat	IE *ed-, Mong. ide-	Cush. *ʔit-, Ron *ʔet-		
arrive	FUr. *tule	S *√dχl, Ch. *d∇l		
take, grasp	IE *kap-, etc.	Cush. *kǎb-		*kap(p)-
wash	Ht. arra-	Arab. √ʔry 'pour'		? *ur-
wash		S *rḥṣ̣	*rc₁χ-	

The lexical volume of Greenberg book *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* (that reached me after the text of this dictionary was already written) did not change anything in my opinion about Gr.'s Eurasianic theory. Most of his valid comparisons between IE, U and A have exact cognates in HS and/or K and/or D. This can be easily seen from my etymological entries that include references to Gr.'s book (after the sign \diamond or \blacklozenge). For instance, he compares IE *k^wasjō- 'basket' with U *koća-~*kuća- 'drinking vessel' and OJ kasipa 'container for food\drink'. But reflexes of the same N word are found in Semitic *kaʔas- 'vessel', Berber *k^uss- 'pot, drinking vessel', Cushitic (Xamir kũskũsā 'Wasserkrug'), Kartvelian (Georgian kvaçia 'small earthen pot') and South Dravidian *kuḷoç-a- (+ suffixes) 'potter' (see my entry #993 [***kōʔač∇** 'basket'] and Gr.'s entry #75 of the second volume).

In the first (grammatical) volume of the same book J. Greenberg enumerates the grammatical morphemes that are common to several branches of the Eurasianic macrofamily. Most of these morphemic parallels are real. But here again we see that the arbitrary exclusion of Hamito-Semitic, Kartvelian and Dravidian is not justified. Almost all "Eurasianic" morphemes mentioned by Greenberg are shared by Hamito-Semitic and/or Kartvelian and partially by Elamo-Dravidian. For

instance, the "second-person T" (to use Greenberg's notation) is found not only in IE, Uralic, Mongolian and Gilyak, but also in all branches of Hamito-Semitic (e.g. Semitic *tā-), in Kartvelian *tkwɛn 'ye', 'vester', in proto-Elamic *-ti of the 2nd person and in Drav. *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs (see Gr. I 71-4 and the entry *t'ü' 'thou' of the present dictionary). The "interrogative M" (Grb. I 229-31) is found not only in Uralic, Altaic and some Indo-European languages (Brythonic, Tocharian, Hittite), but also in five branches of Hamito-Semitic (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Chadic), in Kartvelian and Dravidian (see here s.v. *mi 'what?'). Greenberg's "Eurasianic" negation ELE (my *ʔäla) is typical of HS (much more than of IE, where its presence is extremely problematic). To judge by these two last examples, Hamito-Semitic looks more "Eurasianic" than even Indo-European! Greenberg's book is entitled "Indo-European and its Closest Relatives". To judge from the above examples, Hamito-Semitic is closer to IE than IE itself! Greenberg's book actually proves that in this respect (excluding HS from Nostratic) he is wrong.

Starostin's hypothesis on HS as a sister-language rather than a daughter-language of N is based on his measurement of shared and replaced vocabulary (of Semitic, IE, Uralic, Turkic, etc.) within Swadesh's list of 100 words (the so-called "basic vocabulary"). Starostin concluded that Semitic (taken as a representative of HS) diverged from N earlier than the "Strictly-N" daughter-families from one another. As it is known, the glottochronological method of measuring linguistic relationship is based on the unproved assumption that languages replace words of the "basic vocabulary" at a constant rate. But glottochronology cannot serve as a reliable instrument of genetic classification of related languages at least for two reasons: (1) it fails to distinguish between cladistic proximity (German and Swedish are nearer to each other than to Italian and Spanish, because the former go back to Proto-Germanic, while the latter are descendants of Latin, hence German is a "sister-language" of Swedish, but a "cousin-language" of Italian) and dialectal areal proximity (adjacent dialects of a language share innovations without going back to a special intermediate proto-language, e.g. Czech is nearer to Polish than to Bulgarian, but there was no Proto-West-Slavic, i.e. it cannot be claimed that Polish diverged from Czech **later** than from Russian, Bulgarian or Slovene and that it is **genetically nearer** to Czech than to Bulgarian; on the other hand, Russian is nearer to Polish than to Czech, but there was no Proto-Russian-Polish), (2) it fails to take account of major structural (phonological & morphological) factors encouraging word replacement in some languages (in contrast to other lgs. where these factors do not exist). For instance, in French some phonological factors (loss of many intervocalic consonants and of the posttonic syllables) encouraged

homonymy and replacement of lexical unites (even belonging to the sacro-saint "basic vocabulary" of 100 words): N *ʔ'e'y▽ 'come, go' is preserved in Proto-IE *ei- 'to go' and in Latin ī- 'to go', but is lost in French, because the phonetic laws in the history of French do not allow this verb to exist: it would have yielded *oi [wa] 'goes' undistinguishable from many other ancient verbs which would have merged in *oi [wa] unless the language had expelled these potential homonyms. The same is true of N *ʔitê 'eat' > IE *ed- > Latin ed-, which would have yielded the same *oi [wa], unless it had been lost in the prehistory of French. Now, let us take just the same N words and see what happened to them in HS and in Semitic: N *ʔ'e'y▽ 'come, go' yielded HS *ʔiy- 'come' (preserved in Egyptian and Cushitic), but could not survive in Semitic: due to Semitic historical phonology and morphology, 'he went' would have been *ʔā in Arabic and *ʔā in Hebrew (because Semitic verbal roots were devocalized and the intervocalic *-y- was lost); N *ʔitê 'eat' survives in HS (namely in Cushitic and Chadic), but because of the devocalization of verbal roots it was lost in Semitic (otherwise it would have been undistinguishable from other verbs with the same historical consonants, such as *ʔat,ʔ,▽ 'come'). The alleged constant rate of lexical replacement is a hypothesis at variance with the structure of languages. If in Swadesh's list the percentage of words shared by Semitic and IE, Semitic and Uralic, Semitic and Turkic, etc. is indeed lower than that shared by IE and Uralic, IE and Turkic, etc. (as Starostin claims), it may be due to the structural history of Semitic rather than to the date of separation of HS from other daughter-families of Nostratic.

The present author shares the opinion of those who are sceptical about the reliability of lexicostatistics as a source of chronology. For more details see my paper "Sources of linguistic chronology" (AD SLC) in *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics* (TDHL [2000]: 401-9).

If Proto-"Nostratic proper" (without HS) had ever existed, it would have lead to creation of a specific "Strictly-N" word stock, not found in HS (just as there is a Proto-Germanic word stock that includes roots not found in other branches of IE). But among the 2998 N words registered in this "Nostratic Dictionary" the overwhelming majority (more than 2700) do appear in HS (including cases with a query). The N words found in several daughter-families but not in HS (which could have justified a hypothesis of "N proper") are even fewer than those found in several branches but not in IE, but nobody will exclude IE from N! *Therefore the traditional Nostraticist view considering HS as a branch of N is still valid.*

§ 7. Using etymological dictionaries. The etymological dictionaries of daughter families (such as UEW for Uraluc, DQA for Altaic, OS for Hamito-Semitic, P and WP for Indo-European, D for Dravidian, etc.) have proved to be extremely useful in our research. This does not mean that the present author agrees with all etymological proposals and hypotheses of the quoted colleagues. If I want to indicate that only a part of the proposed comparisons is acceptable, I use the symbol "≈" before the abbreviated name of the source. In quoting DQA, I use the abbreviation "incl." to indicate the acceptable comparisons between sub-branches. For instance, in the entry *ṭ₁E'g¹,umê 'wet\cold weather, dew' (→ 'wet snowfall' → 'snow') I quote DQA #1232 in the following way: "≈ DQA #1232 (A *íũńí; incl. Tg, Ko)", which means that I agree with the comparison (found in DQA) between NTg *lũńe 'wet snow' and pKo *nũn 'snow', but not with another comparison in the same entry of DQA, namely that with the erroneously reconstructed M *dũn in HIM дҮН(Г) хҮЙТЭН 'extreme cold' - in fact, literally 'full cold' with дҮҢ 'full'. I usually do not quote the untenable or unconvincing comparisons of my colleagues and do not explain the reasons of my doubts, because this is beyond the scope of the present dictionary.

§ 8. The Nostratic symposium. Remarks of my colleagues and methodology. The Nostratic Symposium (Cambridge, the McDonald Institute, July 1998), the discussion and the remarks of my colleagues have been very helpful in improving the quality and the exact formulation of the etymologies in this Nostratic Dictionary. This is true not only about the remarks with which I agree (and which are taken into account), but also about those with which I disagree. They are important because they suggest the necessity of explicit and more precise formulation of the ideas concerning etymologies. One example: in AD NM 28 I state that "milk as food exists only in societies with husbandry". I meant there milk as food for adults rather than mother's milk for babies. I supposed that this is obvious. But now I see (from D. Sinor's reaction) that there may be misunderstanding, so that a more explicit statement is needed. A further example is the use of capital letters to denote unspecified phonemes of a certain class. They are used not in order to conceal conflicting evidence in daughter languages (as one of the colleagues suggested), but first of all to refer to cases when the extant evidence is not enough for identifying a phoneme (see below) or when details of positional representation of phonemes are not yet known. Here also explicit formulation of the usage will help to avoid misunderstanding.

Therefore it will be useful now to dwell on some questions of methodology:

§ 8.1. The purpose of the book "The Nostratic Macrofamily and Linguistic Palaeontology". The book was not intended to be a proof of the relationship between the Nostratic languages. Alexander Vovin is quite right in stressing that "Dolgopolsky's goal in the book is to reconstruct Nostratic homeland and habitat and not to prove the hypothesis itself". The hypothesis was proved more than 30 years ago by V. Illich-Svitych in his "Essay of Comparison of the Nostratic Languages".

In order to prove genetic relationship, one must compare words of the basic vocabulary and grammatical morphemes. That is what Illich-Svitych did (IS I 3-37). But in a paper concerning linguistic palaeontology the basic vocabulary and the grammatical morphemes are of no use. If I find that IE *ed- 'to eat' is cognate with Mongolian *idɛ* 'to eat', East Cushitic *ʔit- and Ron Chadic *ʔɛt 'to eat' and I reconstruct N *ʔitê 'eat', this will add nothing to the study of the life, habitat, homeland and culture of the speakers of proto-Nostratic. The same is true of reconstructing proto-Nostratic pronouns for 'I', 'thou', 'who?', 'this' and the Nostratic markers of genitive and accusative. Even without comparative linguistics one expects that the speakers of that ancient language had concepts for 'to eat', for 'I', 'thou', 'what?', etc., and had syntactic means to build a sentence. In linguistic palaeontology we work with words and roots belonging to culture and to geographically bound natural phenomena, which is not a basis for proving genetical connections between languages. Usually what is important for the demonstration of genetic relationship of languages is often irrelevant for linguistic palaeontology, and viceversa.

Unfortunately, some of my colleagues ignored the goal of NM and tried to draw conclusions about the validity of the Nostratic theory on the basis of the etymologies quoted in NM. This is like trying to check the existence of the Indo-European linguistic family by analyzing the etymologies found in Bn. VIII (*Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*), which is a study in IE linguistic palaeontology.

§ 8.2. Morphology as a criterion of genetic relationship. Some of my distinguished colleagues stressed the crucial importance of morphology for the demonstration of genetic kinship of languages. This is an old idea, expressed already by Antoine Meillet. This idea is acceptable if the concept "morphology" includes both synthetical and analytical grammatical morphemes. Actually, the same morpheme may be analytical earlier and synthetical later. One of the essential parts of IE morphology is the personal conjugation of verbs such as Old Indian 1 sg. *bharāmi* - 2 sg. *bharasi* - 3 sg. *bharati* and Greek 1 sg. *ἴδομι* - 2 sg. *ἴδῃς* - 3 sg. *ἴδουσι*. But already Franz Bopp, one of the founders of IE comparative linguistics, paid attention to the fact that the

marker of 1 sg. *-mi in the IE verbs is etymologically identical with the stem of the 1 sg. pronoun (in the oblique cases: cp. Latin *mē*, Sanskrit *mā*, English *me*). It is obvious that the IE personal endings go back to personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person and to a demonstrative pronoun (for 3 sg.). What happened in the prehistory of IE, happened also in some Mongolic languages - but not in the prehistory, but almost before our eyes, in the recent centuries: in proto-Mongolic and in Classical Mongolian there is no synthetic personal conjugation, but in Buryat, Kalmuck, Dagur and Moghol it has been formed from a predicative word + personal pronoun (Buryat *yerexe-b* 'I shall come', Kalmuck *yoβ-na-β* 'I go', Dagur *ičim-bē* 'ich fahre, werde fahren', Moghol *rā-nān-bi* 'I come, am coming' with -b, -β, -bē and -bi < proto-Mongolic *bi 'I'; Kalmuck *garβ-č*, Buryat *garba-š* 'you [sg.] went out', Moghol *irān-či* 'you come', Dagur *yawbeḷ-ši* 'you will go' with -č, -š, -či and -ši < proto-Mongolic *či 'thou').

But if we define morphology as a system of synthetic morphemes only, it will be wrong to claim that "morphological correspondences provide the key to the reconstruction of any proto-language" (to quote D. Sinor). Shall we exclude Sino-Tibetan and other languages without synthetic morphology from comparative linguistics? Prof. Sinor believes that "a comparative dictionary of Nostratic languages will never bring proof of their genetic relationship, a task that only comparative morphology could accomplish" (D. Sin. NT 8). In the case of Nostratic (an analytic language with grammatical particles and pronouns changing into synthetic morphemes in daughter-languages) the term "comparative morphology" is valid only if it means analysis of the system of grammatical particles and pronouns with their subsequent transformation into synthetic morphemes. Such comparative morphological analysis was begun by Illich-Svitych, especially in the introductory part of his "Essay of Comparison" (IS I 10-18), although his position as to the status of the grammatical morphemes was different from mine (see above § 4).

§ 8.3. Capital letters. Prof. Comrie suspects that the capital letters (used in Nostratic reconstructions as signs of unspecified phonemes of certain classes) are a refuge for cases with conflicting evidence provided by different daughter languages. He quotes (with indignation) the Nostratic etymon ***ḶERṼ** for leguminous plants (AD NM 54), where all letters are capital! In fact what stands behind the capital letters is lack of specific information indispensable for distinguishing between certain phonemes. The symbol ***Ḷ** means "***ḷ** or ***ḷ̥**". The distinction between the velar ***ḷ** and the uvular ***ḷ̥** has survived in Kartvelian only and has been lost in all other branches of Nostratic. Hence, if a word is

not attested in Kartvelian, we have to use the capital letter **Ი** (or to write explicitly "***Ი** or ***Კ**"). In the entry in question the Kartvelian reflex is unknown, therefore we use ***Ი**. The unspecified **R** means "***r** or ***r̥**" (and not "all kinds of r-sounds", as Comrie erroneously believes). The distinction between the reflexes of ***r** or ***r̥** has survived in Turkic and Dravidian only. If the word (as ***ᲘERᲗ**) is not attested in Turkic and Dravidian, we have to use the capital letter ***R**. The symbol ***E** is used here instead of ***e|ä** because both Indo-European and Hamito-Semitic (the only languages where this word is attested) have lost the former phonological distinction between **N *e** and ***ä**. Here I admit that it would have been more accurate to symbolize the reconstruction as ***Იe|äRᲗ** (in order to rule out ***i** and ***ü**). Therefore in the present dictionary I have used a more accurate notation (with the sign **æ** for ***e|ä**): **N *ᲘæRᲗ** '≈ ∈ pod, fruit of a leguminous plant'. The symbol ***Თ** (for unspecified vowel) is used here because no information for indentifying the final vowel is available. The use of capital letters is not a refuge but rather a convenient method for distinguishing between the known and the unknown. Of course, the unknown includes also cases in which the extant data do not allow us to identify certain phonemes of the word or of the morpheme.

§ 8.4. Merger of homonyms. One of my colleagues has indicated cases of overlapping etymologies and has even considered them "a common error in purposes of distinct linguistic relationships" (Campbell IB 11). The distinguished scholar has not paid attention to the extremely typical phenomenon of homonymic merger in the history of languages. Every new speaker of a language reconstitutes the language on the basis of utterances he heard (and read). It is true of any speaker and of any generation of speakers of any language. If a language has inherited (or borrowed, derived) several homonyms and if it is possible to bridge between their meanings (according to the typical patterns of polysemy - like metonymy, metaphore, ellipsis, broadening or narrowing of meanings, etc.), the homonyms will inevitably merge into one word. I shall cite only several examples (from hundreds and thousands found in the history of languages).

In Russian there is a word сало 'lard, tallow, animal fat' and a corresponding adjective салньный 'made of tallow, of animal fat'. In the 19th century Russian borrowed from French the adjective sale 'dirty', that according to the laws of Russian morphology turned into салньный (souris sale 'dirty smile' → салньная улыбка). But for any speakers of Russian (including those knowing French, like myself) салньный in both meanings is the same word. If in Russian we

hear сальная улыбка (as of a man looking at a woman with indecent thoughts), we imagine a face stained with dirty fat.

In Georgian there is a word *quli* 'slave' (an old loan from Turkic *qul*; -*i* is a suffix of nominative). In the 19th century Russian borrowed the word *кули* from English *coolie* (of Dravidian origin). The word won popularity in Russia (probably due to the translation of the English novel "Coolie" by the Indian writer Mulk Raj Anand, preceded by occasional mentioning of this word in "Fregat Pallada" by Goncharov and in short stories by other Russian authors), and in the famous song "От края до края" ("From border to border", by the poet Lebedev-Kumach) there are words: *Поют эту песню и рикши и кули, поёт эту песню китайский солдат* 'This song (about Stalin) is sung by rikshas and coolies, this song is sung by a Chinese soldier'. From Russian the word penetrated Georgian. But in Georgian it coalesced with *quli* 'slave'. For speakers of Georgian this is obviously the same word, because the meanings 'slave' and 'coolie' are very near. A formal proof of this coalescence is the uvular consonant *q̣-* in *quli* 'coolie' (rather than the velar *q̣-* that usually renders Russian *к-*).

The Spanish subjunctive *se a* (of the verb for 'be') goes back both to *sia t* and *se de a t* (subjunctive forms of the Latin verbs for 'to be' and 'to sit'), while the Spanish infinitive *ser* 'to be' is from Latin *sedere* 'to sit' without homonymic merger.

In IE there is a verb **b^her-* that means both 'carry, take, bring' (> Latin *fer-**ō*, Greek *φέρ-ω*, Old Indian *bharā-mi* 'I carry', Slavonic *ber-q* 'I take', Armenian *berem* 'I carry, bring') and 'give birth to' (Gothic *baíran*, English *bear* 'to give birth to', Albanian *mberat* 'pregnant'). It goes back to two or three different Nostratic words: [1] **baʔ^reri* 'hold, take' (> Mongolian *bari-* 'hold'), [2] **berEʔa* 'give birth to; child' (> Dravidian **peɻ-* v. 'beget, bear (a young)'), as well as possibly to [3] **bärʔ∇* 'give' (> Turkic *bēr-* 'give', proto-Tamil **paric-* 'gift'). In IE, due to the apophony, the vocalic distinction between N words with **a*, **ä*, and **e* was lost (see above § 2.3), the laryngeal **ʔ* was also lost, so that the two or three Nostratic etyma became homonyms. The semantic distance between 'hold, take' and 'give' was small ('give' can be interpreted as metonymy from 'hold' → 'bring'), but even 'give birth to' could be understood as metonymy from 'hold, carry', so that the three (or two) Nostratic words merged into one root. In many Indo-European languages the root preserved the original meanings as polysemic variants (such as Gothic *baíran* 'carry, bring,

give birth', Old Irish *brēth* 'fait de porter/emporter, fait de porter un enfant').

Dravidian **ci∇∇ŋki* 'leopard' (or sim.) goes back to N **ʒi∇m,∇,gE* 'leopard', but N **ç'i' b∇ʏ∇* 'hyena' merged with it (because in Dravidian in the word-initial position the voiceless and emphatic affricates coalesced, and so did the intervocalic *-w- and *-b-), and as a result Dravidian **ci∇∇ŋki* means both 'leopard' and 'hyena, tiger-wolf'.

Hence overlapping etymologies is not an error but an inevitable result of the merger of homonyms - which is a universal law.

§ 8.5. "Isolated cognates" and the amount of preserved phonological information. Sergey Starostin's comments on my book (S SNM) are a brilliant contribution to long-range comparative linguistics. In these comments, together with some other papers, he found Sino-Caucasian parallels to Nostratic etyma, which are the first step for establishing a Macro-Eurasian super-family covering both Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian (as well as probably some other families). But I have some methodological reservations as to his approach and results.

One reservation (shared by A. Vovin [Vv. AEN 376-8]) concerns "isolated cognates", i.e. words represented in only one of many (three or more) branches of a family. According to Starostin, "in families like this the probability of a common root being preserved in only one branch is quite small, so that a root present only in Turkic or Japanese has a very little chance to be actually Common Altaic (i.e. going back to proto-Altaic - A.D.)" (S SNM 1). Practical application of this principle (not applied by Starostin himself - e.g. in his book on Altaic and Japanese [S AJ]) will bring about disaster to etymological research. One would have to reject all Gothic reflexes of IE words unless they are found in other Germanic languages, and all Lithuanian reflexes of IE words and roots unless they are represented in Latvian and/or Prussian.

The Nostratic etymon **kālu|ü* 'woman of the other exogamous moiety (of the same age or younger than ego)' is represented in Semitic **kall-at-* 'bride, daughter-in-law' (AD NM 84-87), but is not attested by certain cognates elsewhere in Hamito-Semitic. Shall we dismiss this Semitic cognate or find it unreliable only because it is not known in Omotic or Chadic? Shall we share Starostin's strange opinion that such a root "has a very little chance to be" proto-Hamito-Semitic? Let us not forget that all other branches of HS (except Egyptian) are represented by modern languages only, so that a word which might have existed in proto-Omotic or proto-Libyan-Berber was lost several thousand years ago (just as it has been lost in all modern Indo-European languages outside the Slavic subbranch). By the way, recently possible (but not

certain) cognates of this word have been found in Chadic and East Cushitic (cf. the entry ***kälû** in the present dictionary).

The Nostratic word ***qan̥ʷ** 'forehead, front' was reconstructed by Illich-Svitych (IS MS 354, IS SS 336) on the basis of IE, Altaic and Egyptian. The Semitic reflex of the word was not known to Illich-Svitych because the languages preserving it were not yet described in 1960's (when IS MS and IS SS were written). But according to the laws of Nostratic comparative phonology (discovered by Illich-Svitych) the Semitic reflex has to be ***χan̥ʷ-**. To-day, due to the late Prof. Johnstone's research, we know that in Jibbali (a Semitic language in Southwestern Oman) there is a word χan̥ʷi 'front, front part of anything' (Jo. J 303). Both the phonetic shape and the meaning of the word correspond exactly to what was predicted by Illich-Svitych. Actually this story resembles Leverrier's prediction of the existence of Neptune long before it was actually discovered, or Saussure's hypothesis of the proto-IE "sonantic coefficients" predicting the laryngeals long before they were discovered in Hittite. Shall we neglect or underestimate ***qan̥ʷ** (an extremely important cognate) and deny its proto-Semitic origin only because it is absent in the Semitic languages outside the Southeastern branch (Jibbali, Mehri and Harsusi)?

The IE word ***memsō-** 'meat' is known to have survived in Gothic **mimz** 'meat', but not in any other Germanic languages. Shall we deny the proto-Germanic origin of this Gothic word (that in fact goes back to NaIE ***mēm̥s-** 'meat' and to N ***r̥ʷom̥s̥a** 'flesh, meat')? Shall we deny the proto-Germanic antiquity of the Gothic verb **hlifan** 'to steal' (obviously from IE ***klep-** 'steal, hide') only because it has been lost by all other Germanic languages?

"A root present only in Turkic and Japanese has a very little chance to be actually Common Altaic" (Starostin). By "Common Altaic" Starostin means "proto-Altaic". Is this statement true? When he speaks about Japanese, I can understand it, but for other reasons: the Japanese language has lost very much of the proto-Altaic phonological information, so that the probability of chance coincidence in Japanese is rather high. With Turkic the situation is different: Turkic preserves much of the phonological information of proto-Altaic, so that proto-Turkic ***tōlu** 'hail' is a legitimate cognate of IE ***deḷ-** 'rain, dew' and probably of FU ***tälwä** 'winter', in spite of its absence in all other branches of Altaic, and hence it must have existed in proto-Altaic. If a root is preserved in Tungusian (a phonologically conservative branch with ***ɣ-** going back to N ***k̥-** and ***q̥-** only) and has extra-Altaic cognates in other Nostratic languages, it has much more than "a very little chance" of being proto-Altaic: Tungusian ***ɣodi-** 'to finish, stop' (a

cognate of Dravidian *kōṭṭ/*koṭṭ- 'end, summit, top', IE *kʷe(:)d-/*kʷo(:)d- 'sharp point', Semitic *o/ḳtʷ|y ~ *ḳutt- > Geez ḳʷaṭṭ, ḳʷaṭṭa 'butt end of spear', etc.) is very likely to have existed in proto-Altaic, though we find no traces of this root in the other branches of Altaic.

Of course, at the initial stage of research of a possible genetic connection between some languages we are justifiably recommended to be careful with such "isolates" as the only argument of the common origin of language families. But later, when the genetic connection has been proved beyond reasonable doubt and we know the basic phonological correspondences between the languages in question, we may and must use the isolates (especially if they are rich enough in phonological information) to elucidate etymology of words.

I have already mentioned the preservation of phonological information as an important factor in evaluating attested words as sources of etymology. Words that preserve much phonological information (Spanish *tiempo* 'time' - with **all** information of phonemes of Latin *tēmpus*, except for the final -us) are more important than those with little information (as French [tɛ̃] spelled as *temps*). Words with loss of phonological information may go back to different alternative etymons (as French [tɛ̃] going back to several Latin words: *tempus* 'time', *tantum* 'so much', *tendit* '[he] stretches', etc.) and hence cannot prove much. This linguistic factor is much more important than the mechanical factor of "isolatedness".

Starostin's statistical conclusion based on the principle of "isolatedness" and aimed at determining the taxonomic place of Hamito-Semitic (S SNM 14-15) has no real value, because the principle of "isolatedness" is wrong.

§ 8.6. Etymological doublets. In very interesting remarks of Alexander Vovin there is one theoretical postulate that cannot be accepted. For Vovin it is methodologically impossible that two different roots of a language go back to the same Nostratic etymon (cf. Vv. AEN 369). In my opinion, the postulate is wrong. Etymological doublets do exist in languages, if a root is found in different phonetic conditions (incl. phonetic influence of adjacent morphemes or different levels of stress), undergoes lexical attraction, analogy, etc. - cf. English *off* and *of*, *life* [laɪf] and *live* [lɪv], *wife* [waɪf] and *woman* [ˈwʊ-mən] / pl. *women* [ˈwʊ-mɪn], French *homme* and *on*, Hebrew *leb* 'heart' and *leb* id. - both from *libab-um.

§ 8.7. External comparative evidence and "teleological reconstruction". On several occasions A. Vovin mentions "teleological

reconstruction" as an illegitimate procedure (Vv. AEN 378, 382-3). By "teleological reconstruction" he means reconstruction of elements (in an intermediate proto-language) that cannot be proved by direct evidence of the descendant languages, but are suggested by external comparison. An example: in M *qoruβ|γu 'film, cataract' I prefer the variant *qoruβu which is in regular correspondence with Tungusian, Kartvelian, HS and IE, though the attested M languages have lost the phonetic distinction between earlier *-β- and *-γ-. Another example is *K in proto-Tungusian *ji₁K₁-kte 'berries'. The element *-kta/e is a suffix of nomina collectiva, but there is no direct evidence for the preceding *K. If the Altaic word goes back to N *dik₁∇ 'edible cereals or fruit' (reflected in K *dik₁- and in HS *d₁∇k₁-), we have to expect in Tungusian *ji₁K₁-kte > *jikte. I cannot share his attitude to external comparative evidence. The procedure labeled by him "teleological reconstruction" is known well in comparative linguistics and is quite legitimate. In the proto-Slavic noun *sъnъ n. 'sleep, dream' there is no *p before *n, but we must suppose its existence in the pre-history of Slavic (and its subsequent loss due to the Slavic law of open syllables) on the external comparative evidence of other Indo-European languages: Greek ὕπνος, Old Indian svaṇnaḥ, etc. In proto-Italic we reconstruct *pes-ni-s (> Latin pēnis 'tail, penis'), though the preconsonantic *s has not been attested in any Italic language, but its presence (and subsequent loss due to phonetic laws) is suggested by the external comparative evidence of Old Indian pasas-, Greek πέος 'penis'. If a proto-language lost phonemes in certain environments (e.g. in consonant clusters) without leaving traces in descendant languages, we sometimes may suppose their former existence by analyzing other cognate (especially ancient) languages ("sisters" of the proto-language). In reconstructing the history of languages we cannot afford neglecting evidence of any source.

§ 8.8. **Trisyllabic etymons.** In IS's reconstruction most lexical etymons (but not pronouns or grammatical morphemes) are dysyllabic. But even IS recognized the existence of some N trisyllabic words: *Kawing₁∇ 'arm-pit' (IS I 344), *p'aliHma 'palm of hand' (IS III 93-5) and probably *purč₁∇(g₁∇) ~ *pülč₁∇(g₁∇) 'flea' (IS II 99-100). In the present dictionary trisyllabic etyma are numerous. In my opinion, trisyllabic and even quadrisyllabic words (> roots) are not an exception, but one of the existing types of syllabic structure (⇔ DbT NJ 339). Hence I cannot accept the rejection of trisyllabic words as an argument against some of my reconstructions (cf. MichM #13 about *d¹oT¹giHU 'fish' [= *doTgi¹?û in the present dictionary]). I suppose

that contraction of trisyllabic words into dysyllabic is a common phenomenon in the later history (daughter-families of Nostratic), which explains the loss of ***-¹oT¹-** of that N word (originally in an unstressed syllable?) in HS, IE and A. Compare similar phenomena in the history of many languages, such as the fate of Latin *digitus*, *cubitus*, *calidus* and *frigidus* in the Romance languages.

§ 9. Alphabetical order of entries. The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: ***ʔ** (incl. ***ʔ**), ***ɸ** (incl. ***ɸ**), ***b**, ***c** (incl. ***ć**, ***ċ**, ***ċ'**, ***C**), ***ç** (incl. ***ć**, ***ċ**, ***ċ'**, ***C**), ***č**, ***č'**, ***ĉ**, ***ĉ'**, ***g**, ***g'**, ***ɣ** (incl. ***Γ**), ***h**, ***H** (incl. ***H**, ***H₁**, ***H₂**), ***h'**, ***k** (incl. ***K**, ***k**), ***k'** (incl. ***K**), ***l** (incl. ***l**, ***l'**, ***L**), ***l'**, ***m**, ***n** (incl. ***n̄**, ***n̄'**, ***n**, ***N**), ***n'**, ***ŋ**, ***p** (incl. ***p**, ***P**, ***P'**), ***q** (incl. ***Q**), ***q'**, ***r** (incl. ***R**), ***r'**, ***s** (incl. ***ś**, ***ś'**, ***ś**, ***ś'**, ***S**), ***š**, ***š'**, ***t** (incl. ***T**), ***t'**, ***w**, ***χ** (incl. ***X**), ***y**, ***z** (incl. ***ž**, ***ž'**, ***ž**, ***ž'**), ***z**, ***ž**, ***ž'**, ***z** (incl. ***ž**, ***ž'**, ***ž**, ***ž'**), ***ž**, ***ž'**.

On details of the alphabetic arrangement of entries see our *List of Nostratic entries and of Indo-European roots*.

§ 10. Nostratic etyma and cross-references. The reconstructed Nostratic etyma (including in cross-references) are printed in bold script. It refers only to reconstructions either proposed or accepted by the present author in this paper (rather than to those quoted from other scholars).

If in same entry there are several cross-references to the same Nostratic etymon, its meaning is often defined only once. It means that if in a cross-reference a Nostratic etymon is mentioned without semantic definition, it must be understood that it has the same meaning as mentioned earlier (within the same entry). Whenever necessary, such a meaning is denoted by an anaphoric sign '↑'.

§ 11. A note on reconstructions. If in a reconstruction of descending proto-languages the name of a family is followed by a name of a branch (e.g. **D**: SD) or a name of a branch is followed by that of a sub-branch (e.g.: "S: CS", "FU [in FP]", etc., e.g., **D**: SD ***toŋt̥o** 'point, nipple', FU: FP ***kōč̣e** v. 'crawl, clime, run'), it means that the word is attested in one branch of the family or in one sub-branch of the primary branch only, but it is reconstructed on the pD, pS, and pFU level (using formulas of sound changes for the respective family or primary branch as a whole). But if the reconstructed form is preceded by the name of a (sub)branch only (e.g. S ***¹yad-** 'hand'), the

reconstruction is based on rules and formulas of the respective (sub)branch only. For instance, EC * $\text{ḳadḥ-} \sim * ḳudḥ- 'thorn' is not reconstructed on a pHS or a pC level, but rather on the East Cushitic one. This is true of all cases except the branches of S and FU: the reconstruction preceded by the abbreviations WS, CS, SS, SES, EthS, Ḥ and FV are reconstructed on the pS or pFU (= pU) level.$

§ 12. Was Nostratic a root-isolating or a stem-isolating language?

There remains a question: were all Nostratic words monomorphemic, or some of them consisted of two (or even more) morphemes?

We have no ready answer to that question. Here we can discuss two structural problems.

First, we can see that Nostratic words (except for monosyllabic grammatical particles and some pronouns) are polysyllabic. They consist of two, three and sometimes four syllables. In this respect they do not resemble the known root-isolating languages, which are usually monosyllabic (as Chinese) or mono- and bi-syllabic (as Vietnamese). This fact seems to suggest that Nostratic is more likely to have been a stem-isolating language (with some bi-morphemic words), either at the final stage of its existence (that we are reconstructing) or more probably at an earlier stage of its history. But we cannot be sure about this, because we have not succeeded (so far) to identify the constituent morphemes of Nostratic words. A very rare case of a presumably derived (or compound?) word is Nostratic * $\text{mat}^{\text{r}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{ʔR}^{\text{r}}$ 'rainy season' (item no. 1496), that is likely to be derived from (or compound with?) N * $\text{mat}^{\text{r}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}$ 'moisture'.

Secondly, in many cases we reconstruct Nostratic words with optional root extensions (denoted as "+ext."). These words with extensions may be interpreted as bi-morphemic. But this is not the only possible interpretation. Such words with extensions may have been syntactic combinations of words. What we denote as extensions may actually have been unstressed words (bi- or even tri-syllabic words?) functioning as the second member of word-combinations. These unstressed words have been reduced to one syllable (or even consonants without vowels) in the descendant lgs., which caused widespread homonymy among these "extensions" with obliteration of their original meaning. Such phenomena are well known in many languages, especially in the history of Germanic languages, as well as in Slavic, Hungarian, etc. Unfortunately we have no means of proper reconstruction of these unstressed words and their original meaning. If the extensions were unstressed words, our reconstructions of Nostratic words with extensions do not prove that there were bi-morphemic words in Nostratic.

§ 13. On transcription

H. Fleming wrote in his review of AD NM (*AL* XLI/3: 422): "The presentation of the ... etymologies is not user-friendly. An incredible blizzard of idiosyncratic symbols buries the basic data. ... One must fight one's way through several pages of explanatory notes for symbols that one forgets soon after... The reader is presumed to be as erudite as the author, and so one is confronted with forms written in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Russian, Old Church Slavonic, etc. - but not in IPA".

I am going to justify my use of symbols and scripts. One cannot be equally friendly with all kinds of readers. Both NM and this dictionary are written mainly for those linguists who are interested in *languages* (shall we call them "Sprachforscher?") rather than for "general linguists" who deal with the human language as a whole and not with particular languages and language families. More specifically, I write for historical linguists rather than for those who describe modern languages without reference to their history. It is easier for the Sprachforscher (Orientalists, Slavicists) to recognize an Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, Slavonic or Russian word written in their usual spelling than in IPA. Besides, the traditional spelling often provides us with etymological information lost in the actual pronunciation of the words. The Arabic verb *banā* 'he built', if written phonetically, gives us no information of the root-final etymological consonant, which is preserved in traditional spelling (letters *b*, *n* and *y*). But, taking into account the interest of those readers who are not Slavicists or Orientalists, I always accompany every non-Latin-based national spelling (other than Greek and modern Cyrillic) with its transcription or transliteration. As to Greek and modern Cyrillic scripts (for Russian, etc.), any professional philologist is expected to know these two alphabets. If he does not, let him consult the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on his book-shelf (s.v. "Greek Language" and "Slavic Languages").

Now about IPA. This transcription system is almost never used in comparative and historical linguistics, it is usually absent in etymological and comparative dictionaries of any language families of Europe, Asia and Africa. This is not by chance. IPA has intrinsic drawbacks making its use unpractical and even impossible in reconstruction of the history of language families:

[1] Its basic principle: "one symbol for every phoneme (as far is possible)" - is wrong and practically Europocentric (or, better to say, French-English-Germano-centric). The above principle is the only reason to prefer *ʃ* to the analytical symbol *š̥*, which is found in the spelling of Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Slovene, Lithuanian, Latvian, and which is the usual traditional symbol in Semitic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Mongolian, Caucasian, etc. linguistics. It is often used in Cushitic and Chadic linguistics, including in Fleming's own papers. For the affricate *č* IPA uses either the digraph *tʃ* (which is misleading,

because \check{c} is one consonant rather a consonant cluster and because in many languages [such as Russian and Polish] there is phonemic opposition $\check{c} \leftrightarrow t\check{s}$) or the clumsy sign $\text{t}\check{s}$, instead of the generally understood \check{c} (which is used both in practical spelling of many languages and in many kinds of traditional transcription). The principle "one symbol for every phoneme" is counter-productive because it ignores the systemic structure of phonology. In many parts of consonantism the analytic principle ("one symbol for one distinctive feature") is much more practical. Cp. my system of sibilant consonants:

	F r i c a t i v e s		A f f r i c a t e s		
	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Glottalized
Hissing	z	s	ʒ	ç	ç̚
Hissing-hushing (like in Kartvelian)	ẓ	ṣ	ʒ̣	ç̣	ç̣̚
Palatal	ʒ̣	ṣ̣	ʒ̣̣	ç̣̣	ç̣̣̚
Hushing	ẓ̣	ṣ̣	ʒ̣̣̣	ç̣̣̣	ç̣̣̣̚
Lateral	ẓ̣̣	ṣ̣̣	ʒ̣̣̣̣	ç̣̣̣̣	ç̣̣̣̣̚

It has only 9 symbols for the whole system, it is easily learned and understood. IPA will have to use 20 or more different symbols: z, s, dz, ts, ʒ, ʒ̣, ʒ̣̣, ʒ̣̣̣, ʒ̣̣̣̣, ʃ, ʃ̣, ʃ̣̣, ʃ̣̣̣, ʃ̣̣̣̣, etc. Where do we see more "incredible blizzard"? What is more "idiosyncratic"?

IPA is unable to denote many phonemes existing in languages without inventing new symbols. In Twi there is a voiceless domal infradental infralabialized sibilant, which is denoted in IPA by the symbol ɬ . But how shall one denote the corresponding voiced sibilant (as in Jibbali)? In my system ɬ is denoted as ṣ̣̣̣̣ , and its voiced counterpart as ẓ̣̣̣̣ , without necessity of any special explanation of the symbol ẓ̣̣̣̣ . If necessary, the corresponding affricates will be naturally denoted as ç̣̣̣̣ and ʒ̣̣̣̣ .

[2] IPA may be used only if we know (or claim to know) the exact pronunciation of phonemes in a language. This is possible for modern languages. But what shall we do with ancient languages, with reconstructed proto-languages, where the exact pronunciation is unknown? We do not know if Classical Greek τ was pronounced as s, or \check{s} , or an apico-alveolar \check{s} (like in New Greek). What shall we do if one language has different dialectal variants? How shall we transcribe the Arabic phoneme ç ? In Cairo it is pronounced [ç], in Bedouin and Iraqi Arabic [ç̣], in Urban Syro-Palestinian and Maghrebine Arabic [ç̣̣], in Sudanese Arabic as palatal [ç̣̣̣], etc. (to use the IPA transcription). In this

particular case of 𐤀 I have chosen to use a special super-dialectal transliteration symbol ǵ (and the symbol ǵ in super-dialectal transcription of Arabic). What shall we do with reconstructed words if we cannot be sure about some phonetic feature of the phoneme in question (e.g., we know that IE *s is a voiceless sibilant, but we cannot specify it as [s], [ʃ], [ʂ], [ç] or some other voiceless sibilant)? Historical and comparative linguistics has to cope with three kinds of uncertainties: (1) the phoneme is known, but its exact phonetic realization cannot be or has not been established, (2) there are different realizations of the same phoneme in different dialects of a language, so that we need a super-dialectal transcription (such as exists in traditional spelling of languages), (3) in some words or roots we cannot reconstruct some distinctive feature for a class of phonemes, so that we need symbols for unspecified phonemes (e.g. unspecified voiced sibilant, unspecified laryngeal, etc.).

I have tried to create a system of transcription which copes with all these problems. Since this is a unified transcription for several hundred languages (including those with highly complicated system of sounds), it cannot be very simple. Therefore some users will find it not friendly enough. I am sorry about it, but nothing better can be done.

I have done my best in using basic elements of traditional transcriptions: the Orientalistic Transcription, Finno-Ugric Transcription, traditions of transcription of Altaic, Caucasian, Slavic and African languages, as well as IPA. Yes, I have used IPA in those parts of it which are good - especially in denoting vowels (symbols ɔ, ɛ, ɜ, ɔ, ʌ). *Feci quod potui, faciant meliora potentes.*

§ 13.1. On transliteration and traditional spelling. Data from written languages that use traditional script (other than Latin) are quoted in transliteration (except for Greek and some languages using modern Cyrillic script). Data from languages with traditional Romanized spelling are quoted as in the sources. If a language has rival spelling systems, I have tried to use that of the most authoritative sources or that of standard dictionaries. For instance, for Anglo-Saxon ("Old English") I have used the spelling of Holthausen's dictionary. In quoting Serbo-Croatian the Cyrillic and Roman national scripts indicate the Serbian vs. Croatian variants of their common language; if both variants are identical, the Roman script is used.

§ 14. On references. In the present dictionary the references are indicated by abbreviations (explained in Bibliography). I have preferred this system to the popular American system of referring to the used literature by names of scholars and data. I did it because my system spares more space: "P" (for the *Indoeuropäisches etymologisches*

Wörterbuch by Pokorny) is shorter than "Pokorny 1959", "BK" is shorter than "Biberstein-Kazimirsky 1860", "Kln. SAH" is preferable to "Klingenheben 1927-1928". The more so for papers of collective authorship: "KRPS" is shorter than "Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar' 1974" or "Baskakov, Zajączkowski, Szaptał (eds.) 1974". I have used this system also for articles in reviews (though in some very rare cases, when the article is unaccessible to me at the moment of submitting this dictionary, I had to use the commonly used practice of quoting by the author's name and abbreviation of the periodical).

§ 15. On epochs and dialects of languages. One of serious problems in compiling a comparative dictionary is ascribing words to particular periods in the history of some languages and to particular dialects. For instance, J. Vendryes and J. Pokorny differ in periodization of the history of Irish. J. Vendryes's "irlandais ancien" includes both Old Irish *stricto sensu* (his "vieil irlandais") and Middle Irish (cf. Vn. A, p. IX), while other scholars (e.g. Pokorny) distinguish between these two stages. Many words included by Vendryes in his "Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien" are labeled by Pokorny as Middle Irish. I have preferred to use Vendryes's (and Thurneysen's) periodization and label both "vieil irlandais" and Middle Irish as OIr (Old Irish). Among words that are usually characterized as Old High German there are those belonging to the Upper German dialects ("oberdeutsch") rather than to High German ("hochdeutsch") *stricto sensu*. I have to follow this practice (in spite of its deficiency) except for cases when the difference between dialects is essential for the etymology, so that I sometimes have to use the abbreviation "OHG U" (i.e. Upper German dialects of OHG = "altoberdeutsch"). Let us hope that these problems will not jeopardize the understanding of the etymology and the history of words and roots. Another difficult case is that the so-called "Chagatay language", a term used by different authors in different senses. When quoting Radloff, I used the label "Chg {Rl.}" wherever Radloff uses the language name "Dsch.", though in fact it is often applied to a later literary lge. of Turks (probably better named as East Turki).

§ 16. On infinitives and "pseudo-infinitives" in our vocabulary entries. The pN etyma with verbal meaning are often written with the infinitive particle 'to'. It does not mean that the etyma in question are infinitives or verbal nouns. It is merely an artificial way of indicating that their lexical meaning is verbal.

But in registering the lexical items of the descending languages the same infinitive particle 'to' has its usual meaning. It is used with infinitives and similar verbal nominals (masdar, verbal noun, etc.) only. With the Nenets verbs it is used for the indefinite gerund (неопределенно-деепричастная форма with the suffix -ś ~ -ž ~ -ć) that has, among its functions, that similar to the infinitive.

"Quasi-infinitives" appear also when the verbal meaning is discussed in general terms, without reference to a particular language (e.g. "valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick'", cf. entry no. 453a), as well as sometimes when we mention pIE (and pWIE) roots and pHS, pS or pB consonantic roots, while the English homonymy prevents us from describing the meaning without 'to' (as in the case of 'to fly', that has to be distinguished from 'fly' ['musca']). Similar quasi-infinitives appear also in quotations of etymological hypotheses of other scholars.

§ 17. **On indicating the meaning of words and forms.** If in an etymological entry the meaning of items in a branch or sub-branch is indicated with the etymon (pCh, pB, pT, etc.) only and not indicated with every one of the descending languages, it means that the descending languages have preserved the meaning of the proto-form. Cf., for instance, the entry no. 2141 (* s_2w_h 'drink'), in which the meaning of the word in the Chadic languages is indicated for pCh only (Ch * \check{s}_2w_h v. 'drink') and not for every lge. of the Ch sub-family, which means that the members of the Ch sub-family have preserved the meaning of pCh * \check{s}_2w_h .

CLASSIFICATION OF THE NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES

This is not a comprehensive classification of *all* Nostratic languages. For obvious reasons I have not find it necessary to include many of those modern or young languages which are irrelevant for long-range comparison because their stock of roots and affixes goes back entirely to well known and well described ancient or reconstructed langages. It was not necessary to include here such languages as Afrikaans, Sinhalese, Farsi-Kabuli or to give a comprehensive classification of all modern Indo-Aryan and West Iranian languages. On the other hand, even minor languages in families and sub-families without sufficient ancient linguistic documentaton are relevant for deep etymology and have been used in our etymological research. They are represented in this classification.

Names of primary families of languages (Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic, Uralic, etc.) are printed in bold type italics. Names of secondary families of languages (such as Semitic, Berber, Finno-Ugrian, Anatolian Indo-European) are printed in italics.

1. IE = Indo-European:

ppIE = Early proto-Indo-European

I.1. NaIE = *Narrow IE* ("IE proper", subfamily including all IE languages except Hittite-Luwian):

I.1.1. Ary (= Iir) = Aryan (Indo-Iranian):

I.1.1.1. MtA = Mitannian Aryan (↳ hippological words and theonyms in Ht and Hurrite)

I.1.1.2. PAry = Pontic (Tauro-Pontic) Aryan (an branch of Aryan that remained in the region north of the Black Sea and preserved in place names; discovered by Trubachev, but misinterpreted by him as part of InA)

I.1.1.3. InA = Indo-Aryan:

Ass = Assamese

Bhr = Bihari

Bngl = Bengali

Gp = Gipsy; Gp A = Asiatic dls. of Gp; Gp Eu = European dls. of Gp

Hnd = Hindi; Hnd Bhj = Bhojpuri Hindi

Lhn = Lahnda

Mld = Maldivian

Mrt = Marathi

NInA = New Indo-Aryan lgs.

Npl = Nepali

OI = Old Indian: Sk (= OI Sk) = Sanskrit, OI BdSk = Buddhistic Sanskrit, OI BHS = Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit, OI ClSk = Classical Sanskrit, OI EpSk = Epic Sanskrit, OI ItSk = Late Sanskrit, OI Vd = Vedic

Ori = Oriya

Pali

pInA = proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructed from InA lgs.)

Prkr = Prakrit (Middle Indian)

Sin = Sindhi; dl.: Sin J = Jatki dialect

Vd = Vedic (= OI Vd)

I.1.1.3.1. Drd = Dardic lgs.:

Khw = Khowar

Kls = Kalasha

Kshm = Kashmiri

Shina

Shm = Shumashti

I.1.1.4. Irn = Iranian:

Alan

Av = Avestan; variants: Av G = Gatha Avestan, YAv = Young Avestan

Awr = Awroman

Bct = Bactrian

Blc = Balochi (Beluji)

CINPrs = Classical New Persian

EIrn = East Iranian (branch of the Irn family)

GAv = Gatha Avestan

Ish = Ishkashimi

KhS = Khotan Saka

Krd = Kurdish; dls.: Krd K = Kurmanji (= Northern Kurmanji), Krd Sr = Sorani (Southern Kurmanji)
 Luri
 Med = Median
 MIrn = Middle Iranian (cover name for several Irn lgs.)
 MPrs = Middle Persian; MPrs T = Middle Persian of Turfan, MncMPrs = Manichaean Middle Persian
 NPrs = New Persian, NPrs B = Bakhtiyar dl. of NPrs
 MPrt T = Middle Parthian of Turfan
 OPrs = Old Persian
 Orm = Ormuri
 Oss = Ossetic; dls.: Oss D = Digor dl., Oss I = Iron dl.
 Phl = Pehlevi, Pahlavi (Middle Persian)
 Pmr = Pamir Iranian (common name of Ish, Shgn, Srk, Wx, Yzg, Oroshori, Bartangi, Rushani, and Khufi)
 Prc = Parachi
 Psh = Pashto, Afghani
 Prs = Persian; MPrs Trf = Middle Persian of Turfan
 Prt = Parthian
 Psh = Pushtu, Pashto, Afghani
 Saka
 Sct = Scythian
 Sgd = Sogdian; variants: BdhSgd = Sgd of the Buddhist texts, ChrSgd = Sgd of the Christian texts, Sgd M = Sgd of the texts of Mug, MncSgd = Sgd of the Manichaean texts, Sgd OL = Sgd of the Old Letters
 Shgn = Shugnani
 Srk = Sarikoli, Sariqoli (сарыкольский язык)
 Tati
 Tjk = Tajik
 Xuri (Khuri, Chur) (a WIr dialect)
 Xwr = Xwarezmic (Iranian)
 Wx = Wakhi (ваханский яз.)
 Ydg = Yidga
 Ygn = Yaghnobi
 Yzg = Yazgulami
 ZPhl = Zoroastrian Pehlevi
 I.1.1.5. Nrs = Nuristani (Kafir) subgr.:
 Ash = Ashkun
 Kati
 Pra = Prasun
 Wgl = Waigali
 WIrn = West Iranian (branch of the Irn family)
 I.1.2. Gk = Greek; Gk Hl = Hellenistic Greek; dls.: Gk A = Attic, Gk AC = Arcado-Cypriote, Gk Ae = Aeolic, Gk Ar = Arcadian sdl., Gk Arg = sdl. of Argos, Gk B = Bœothian sdl., Gk Cp = Cyprian, Gk Cr = Cretan sdl., Gk Crc = Corcyrian (Cercyrian) sdl., Gk Crn = Corinthian sdl., Gk D =

Doric, Gk Dl = Delphian sdl., Gk El = Elian sdl. of Gk D (Gk of Elis), Gk Ep = Epic Greek, Gk Epr = Epirotic sdl., Gk Hm = Homeric Gk, Gk I = Ionic, Gk L = Lesbian sdl., Gk Lc = Laconian sdl., Gk Lr = Locrian sdl., Gk Mc = Mycenæan, Gk OA = Old Attic, Gk P = Pamphilian sdl., Gk Ph = Phocæan sdl., Gk R = Rhodian sdl. (sdl. of Rhodes), Gk Sr = Syracusan sdl., Gk Th = Thessalian sdl.

MGk = Middle Greek (of the Roman and Byzantine periods)

NGk = New Greek; variants: NGk D = Dhimotiki, NGk K = Katharevusa

I.1.3. Itc = Italic:

I.1.3.1. Latin-Faliscan:

Fls = Faliscan

L = Latin; dls.: L Prn = Praenestian dl., L Ln = Lanuvian, L Sc = Sicilian L;

EpL = Epigraphic Latin

ItL = Late Latin (= proto-Romance)

MdL = Medieval Latin

OL = Old Latin (= ArcL, Archaic Latin), dl.: OL Pr = Old Latin of Praenesta

VL = Vulgar Latin; dl.: VL Gl = Gaulish Latin

I.1.3.1.1 Rom = Romance languages:

AfR = Afro-Romance (a lge of L origin, surviving in North Africa up to the 10th-11th c., according to Lewicki LRA)

Ctl = Catalan

Dlm = Dalmatian

Fr = French; dl.: Fr Lr = Lorraine dl.

Frl. = Friulan (= RhR F)

Gsc = Gascon

It = Italian; dls. and subdialects: Ab = It of Abruzzi, Cl = Calabrian, Lm = Lombardian dls., Mdn = sdl. of Modena, Ml = Milanese, Np = Neapolitan, P = Piemontese, Pv = sdl. of Piverone (Piemonte), Sr = sdl. of Sora, STs = South Toscanian, Tr = Trentine (d. of Trento), V = Venetian

McdRm = Macedo-Rumanian

Occ = Occitanian (Modern Provençal); dl.: Occ Lm = Limousin dial. (incl. Occ Cr = sdl. of the département de Creuse)

OIt = Old (Medieval) Italian; sdls.: OIt Ml = Old Milanese, OIt Pv = Old Pavian (dialetto antico pavese), OIt V = Old (Medieval) Venetian

OFr = Old French

Port = Portuguese; Port Mrn = subd. of Miranda

Prv = Provençal (Classical Provençal)

RhR = Rhaeto-Romance; dls.: RhR F = Friulan, LE = Lower Engadin, RhR Srm = Surmiran, RhR Srs = Sursilvan, RhR Sts = Sutsilvan, RhR TL = South Tirol Ladin, RhR UE = Upper Engadin

Rm = Rumanian

Sp = Spanish; Sp Mrg = Spanish of Maragateria

Srd = Sardinian; dls.: Srd Cm = Campidanian, Srd L = Logudorian

I.1.3.2. OsUm = Osco-Umbrian:

Mrc = Marrucinian

Mrs = Marsian

Osc = Oscan

Pæl = Paelignian

Sbn = Sabine

Um = Umbrian

Vls = Volscan

I.1.4. Clt = Celtic:

Gl = Gaulish

CnC = Continental Celtic (cover name for Gl, CltI, and some other Clt lgs.)

CltI = Celtiberian

I.1.4.1 Goidelic:

Ir = Irish

MIr = Middle Irish

Mx = Manx

NIr = New Irish

OgIr = Ogam Irish (archaic Irish in Ogam inscriptions)

OIr = Old Irish (= Vendryes's "irlandais ancien", i.e. including Middle Irish)

ScGl = Scottish Gaelic

I.1.4.2. Brtt = Brittonic (Brythonic) Celtic:

Br = Breton; dl.: Cr = dl. of the diocese of Cornouaille, L = dl. of Léon, T = Trégorrois (diocese of Tréguier), V = dl. of Vannes

Crn = Cornish

MBr = Middle Breton

MW = Middle Welsh

OBrth = Old Brythonic

OBr = Old Breton

OCrn = Old Cornish

OW = Old Welsh

W = Welsh

I.1.5. Gmc = Germanic:

ORu = the language of the oldest Runic inscriptions

I.1.5.1. NrGmc (= Scn) = Scandinavian, North Germanic:

Dn = Danish

Far = Faroese

Gtl = Gotlandic (a dl. intermediate between Swedish and Danish)

Ic = Icelandic

Nic = New Icelandic

NNr = New Norwegian (nynorsk)

Nr = Norwegian (BNr = bokmål; NNr = New Nr, i.e. nynorsk; Nr Δ = Norwegian dls.)

ODn = Old Danish

OGtn = Old Gutnish

ON = Old Norse; ON R = ON of the Runic inscriptions

ONr = Old Norwegian

OScn = Old Scandinavian

OSw = Old Swedish; OSw Ru = Old Swedish of Runic inscriptions

OWN = Old West Norse

pScn = proto-Scandinavian (proto-North-Germanic)

Sw = Swedish

I.1.5.2. East Germanic:

Brgn = Burgundian

Gt = Gothic; dialect: Gt Cr = Crimean Gothic

I.1.5.3. WGmc = West Germanic:

AS = Anglo-Saxon (= Old English); dl.: AS A = Anglian

Dt = Dutch (= Netherlandic, Dutch-Flemish); variants: Dt Fl = Flemish,

Dt. N = Dutch of the Netherlands; dls.: Dt G = Dutch dl. of Gelderland,

Dt H = Dutch of Holland, Dt Lm = dl. of Limburg.

Frs = Frisian

...HG = ... High German (e.g., OHG, MHG, NHG)

LG = Low German (cp. MLG)

Lngb = Langobardian

MDt = Middle Dutch

ME = Middle English

MHG = Middle High German; MHG U = Upper German dialects of MHG

MLG = Middle Low German

MMG = Middle Middle German (Middel German dialects of MHG)

NE = New English, dls.: NE Ork = Orkney English, NE Sc = Scottish English, NE Shetl = Shetland English

NGr = New German (ds.): NGr Al = Alemannic, NGr Als = Alsatian German (elsässisch), NGr B = Bavarian (Bayrisch), NGr EP = dls. of East Prussia, NGr Gtn = dl. of Göttingen; NGr Hs = Hessisch (d. of Hessen), NGr HsN = dl. of Hessen-Nassau, NGr M = Middle German dls., NGr NrF = North Franconian German, NGr Ö = Austrian sdls., NGr OP = NGr of East Prussia, NGr S = NUG = Southern (Upper) German dls. (oberdeutsch), NGr Sb = Swabian German, NGr Sw = Swiss German, NGr Trl = Tirolean German, NGr WF = West Franconian German, NGr Wph = Westphalian German

NHG = New High German

OFrk = Old Franconian (= OHG F)

OHG = Old High German; OHG Al = Alemannic dl., OHG F = Franconian dl. (= OFrk), OHG U = Upper German dl. (oberdeutsch); OHG R = OHG of the Runic inscriptions

OLF = Old Low Franconian (altniederfränkisch)

OMG = Old Middle German (in OsS's terminology)

OSx = Old Saxon

OWGmc = Old West Germanic (preserved in proper names in L sources)

Yid = Yiddish; dls.: Yid C = Central Yiddish (Poland), Yid NB = West Yiddish of the Netherlands and Belgium, Yid N = Northern Yiddish (Lithuania, Belorussia), Yid S = Southern Yiddish (the Ukraine, Rumania)

I.1.6.1. Blt = Baltic:

I.1.6.1.1. EBlT = East Baltic

Cur = Curonian

Lt = Lithuanian; dls.: Lt A = Aukshtaitian (High Lt, Aukshtaitish) (with sbds.: EA = East Aukštaitis, WA = West Aukštaitis; subsubdialect of EA: Lt U = sbd. of Ukmergė), Lt D = Dzuki, Lt P = dts. of former Prussian Lithuania, Lt Z = Zhemaitian (Low Lt, Shamaitish, Samogitian; sdl.: Lt K = sdls. of the area of Klaipėda [former Memel-Gebiet])

Ltv = Latvian; dls.: Ltv Ltg = Latgalian, Ltv H = hochlettisch

I.1.6.2. Pru = Prussian

Ytv = Yatvingian (ятвяжский), incl. the language of the supposedly Yatvigian glossarium described by Zinkievičius (Zink. LJZ).

I.1.6.2. Sl = Slavic:

BChS = Bulgarian Church Slavonic

Blg = Bulgarian

Blr = Belorussian

ChS = Church Slavonic

Cz = Czech; dls.: Cz L = Lakh (lašský), Cz M = Moravian, Cz MS = Moravian-Slovak, Cz SEB = Southeast Bohemian (= Czech-Moravian) dl.

HLs = High Lusatian (High Sorbian)

Kshb = Kashubian

LLs = Low Lusatian (Low Sorbian)

McdS = Macedonian (a Slavic language)

MR = Middle Russian

OCrt = Old Croatian (a dialect of OSCr), OCrt K = Kajkav dls. of OCr

OCS = Old Church Slavonic

OP = Old Polish

OR = Old Russian

OSCr = Old Serbo-Croatian

P = Polish

Plb = Polabian

R = Russian; dls.: R Ar = dls. of the Arkhangelsk province (gubernija), R Dn = dls. of the Don region, R Kl = dls. of the Kaluga province (gubernija), R Ks = Kostroma dl., R Ng = Novgorod dl., R Ol = R of the former Olonets province, R Prm = dialect(s) of the Perm province, R Psk = Pskov dl., R Rz = R of the Ryazan region \ province, R Rzh = Rzhev dl., R S = Southern dls., R Sib = Siberian dls., R Sml = dls. of the Smolensk region, R Tv = dls. of the Tver province, R Vlg = dls. of the Vologda region, R Vt = R of the Vyatka region, R W = Western dls.

RChS = Russian Church Slavonic

SCr = Serbo-Croatian; variants: SCr Ch = Chakav dls., SCr Cr = Croatian, SCr K = Kajkav dls., SCr MN = Montenegro dls., SCr Sr = Serbian

Slk = Slovak; dialect: Slk MS = Moravian-Slovak (moravsko-slovenské nářečí)

Slv = Slovene

Slvzn = Slovinzian (Slowinzisch, słowiński język, словинский язык)

SrChS = Serbian Church Slavonic

Uk = Ukrainian; dl.: Uk B = Bukovina dl., Uk P = Polesye (Полесье) dls.

I.1.7. Thracian branch:

Al = Albanian; pAl = pOpto-Albanian; Al G = Geg, Al T = Tosk; subdialects: A = Arbanasi Geg (Dalmazia), Ba = Barile Tosk, Be = Berat Tosk, Ç = Çamërian Tosk (Çamërisht), D = Geg of Dushman, Db = Geg of Dibër, Dr = Southern Geg of Durrës, Elb = South Geg of Elbasan, F = Falconara Tosk (Italy), Fr = Tosk of Frashër, Gj = Labërian Tosk of Gjirokastër, Hm = Tosk of Himarë, Kr = Southern Geg of Krujë; Lb = Labërian Tosk (Labërisht), M = Malësian Geg, Mn = Mandres Tosk, Mt = Geg of Mat, Mz = Tosk of Myzeqe, OT = Southern Geg of Old Tiranë, P = Prishtinë Geg (Kosovo), Prm = Tosk of Përmet, SG = Southern Geg, Sf = Sofiko Tosk, Sh = Shkodër Geg, Sl = Salamis Tosk (Greece), SM = San Marzano Tosk (Italy), U = Ukrainian Tosk, V = Vaccarizzo Tosk (Italy), Z = Zadrinë Geg

MAI = Middle Albanian (up to the 17th cent.)

DM = Daco-Moesian (= Dacian)

StAl, StAl T = Modern Standard Al (based mainly on Tosk)

StAl G = Standard Geg Al

Thrc = Thracian

I.1.8. Arm = Armenian (= Old Armenian, Grabar)

CIArm = Classical Old Armenian

eOArm = Early Old Armenian

NArm = New Armenian

NEArm = New East Armenian

NWArm = New West Armenian

I.1.9. Mcd = Macedonian (an ancient IE language)

I.1.10. Ilr = Illyrian (lge. or lgs.)

I.1.11. Msp = Messapic

I.1.12. Pnn = Pannonian

I.1.13. Phr = Phrygian

NPhr = New Phrygian

OPhr = Old Phrygian (= {BajO} старофригийский)

I.1.14. Tc = Tocharian lgs.: Tc A, Tc B

I.1. 15. Vn = Venetic

I.2. AnIE = *Anatolian Indo-European*:

Car = Carian

Ht = Hittite

Ld = Lydian

LycIs = Lycaonic-Isaurian

Pal = Palaic

I.2.1 SAn = South Anatolian Indo-European:

HrLw = Hieroglyphic Luwian (= Hieroglyphic Hittite)

Lc = Lycian (= Lycian A); dl.: Lc M = Milyan (= Lycian B)

Lw = Luwian (= Cuneiform Luwian)

1.2 or 1.1. Pls = "Pelasgian" (Pelastian) of IE origin (pre-Greek IE language[s] of Greece) = Philistine

II. HS = Hamito-Semitic (Afroasiatic):

II.1.S = *Semitic*:

II.1.1.WS = West Semitic:

II.1.1.1.CS = Central Semitic:

II.1.1.1.1. NWS = Northwest Semitic (a controversial taxonomic unity)

II.1.1.1.1.1. Cn = Canaanite (Macro-Canaanite):

II.1.1.1.1.1.1. SCn = Canaanite proper (South Cn):

Amn = Ammonite

BHb = Biblical Hebrew; variants: BHb B = BHb with Babylonian vocalization; BHb T = BHb with Tiberian traditional (masoretic) vocalization

Ed = Edomite

Hb = Hebrew

ltHb = Late Hebrew (second half of the 1st mill. A.D.); ltHb B = Babylonian ltHb, ltHb J = Jerusalemite ("Palestinian") ltHb, ltHb T = Tiberian (Northern) ltHb

M'b = Moabite

MdHb = Medieval Hebrew

NHb = New Hebrew (19th - 20th c.)

OHb = Old Hebrew (the language of the 2nd and the 1st mill. BCE, underlying BHb and EpHb)

OCn (= OSCn) = Old South Canaanite; OCn Sn = Cn of the Old Sinaitic inscriptions, OCn TA = Cn of the Tell-el-Amarna letters

PBHb = Post-Biblical Hebrew (e.g. Ben-Sirah, apocryphical literature of the 2nd and the 1st cent. BCE)

Ph = Phoenician; dls.: Ph By = Byblian, Ph OBy = Old Byblian, OPh = Old Phoenician

Pun = Punic

SmH = Samaritan Hebrew

II.1.1.1.1.1.2. Ug = Ugaritic

II.1.1.1.1.1.3. Amr = Amorite

II.1.1.1.1.2. McAram = Macro-Aramaic:

II.1.1.1.1.2.1. Aram = Aramaic:

BA = Biblical Aramaic

BzJPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period

ChrPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic ("Syro-Palestinian")

DSA = Aramaic in Demotic script

Htr = Hatra (an ancient Aramaic dialect)

IA = Imperial Aramaic, Official Aramaic; IA F = Aramaic words in Frahang-i-Pahlavik (glossaries of Aramaic heterograms in Phl)

JA = Jewish Aramaic (common name for JEA and JPA)

JEA = Jewish East Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic)

JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Kutscher's "Galilean Aramaic"); JPA B = JPA of the Byzantine period

Md = Mandaic (incl. CIMd [= Classical Mandaic] and NMd [New Mandaic, Modern spoken Mandaic])

MNA = Mlahso Neo-Aramaic

Nbt = Nabataean

NNEA = Northeastern Neo-Aramaic ("Modern Assyrian"); dls.: H = Hertevin, JIA = Jewish NNEA of Iranian Azerbaijan, JZ = Jewish NENAr of Zakho, U = Urmiya dial.

NSr = Neo-Syriac

OA = Old Aramaic

PA = Palestinian Aramaic (incl. JPA, JPA B, ChrPA)

Plm = Palmyrene

SmA = Samaritan Aramaic

Sr = Syriac

TA = Turoyo Neo-Aramaic; dls.: TA M = TAr of Mîdin, TA Mt = TAr of Midyat

Ww = the dialect of the "Waw" inscription (belonging to Aramaic?)

II.1.1.1.1.2.2. DA = the language of the Deir-Alla inscription

II.1.1.1.1.2.3. Yd = Ya'udic, Samalian

II.1.1.1.2. Macro-Arabic:

Ar = Arabic; dls.: Ar AT = Arabic of Algeria and Tunisia, Ar CA = Central African dl., Ar CB = dl. of the coastal part of Batina (Northern Oman), Ar ChCS = Arabic dl. of Chad and Central Sudan, Ar ChrNG = Christian fallah dl. of northern Galilea, Ar Cr = Cairo Arabic, Ar D = Dathina dl., Ar Df = Dofar (Zfar) dl., Ar Eg = Egyptian dl., Ar G = Gulf Arabic (the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Bahrain), Ar Hdr = Hadramauti dl., Ar Hm = Hamata Arabic, Ar IB = dl. of the inland part of Batina, , Ar Ir = Iraqi Arabic, Ar Lb = Arabic of Libya, Ar Mgr = Maghrib Arabic (North Africa), Ar Mrc = Moroccan dls., Ar. Ng = Ar. of Nigeria, Ar NY = North Yemenite dls. (including sds.: Ar NY K = k-subdialect, Ar NY SE - Southeastern sdl., Ar NY S = Southern sds., Ar NY T = Tihamah sdl.), Ar O = Oman Arabic, Ar OY = Old Yemenite Arabic of 10-11 c. A.D. ([in al-Hamdânî's & Nashwân's works], incl. Himyarite loans), Ar P = Palestinian Arabic dls., Ar SA = South Arabian dls. (Yemen, southern Oman), Ar Sd = Sudanese dls., Ar SL = Syro-Libanese dl., Ar Sp = Arabic of Spain (8th through 15th c.), Ar Y = Yemenite dls. of Ar, Ar Zhl = Arabic of Zahle (Lebanon); dialect groups: Ar B = Bedouin Arabic, Ar F = Fallah (rural) Arabic, Ar Ur = Urban Arabic; PsClAr = Post-Classical Literary Arabic

Lh = Lihyanic

Malt = Maltese

OAr = Old Arabic; dialect areas: OWA_r = OAr H = Old West Arabic (Hijaz dls.), OEAr = Old East Arabic; dls.: A = Asad, 'A = Al-'Aliyah, An = Ansar, Hd = Hudhail, Hm = Himyarite OAr, Hr = dl. of Hauran, Hz = Hawazin, Md = dl. of Medinah, Mk = dl. of Mekka, Nj = Nejd dls., O = 'Oman, Q = Qais, Qd = Quda'ah, Qr = Quraysh, R = Rabi'ah, Sl = Sulaim, T = Tamim, Tj = Tajji', TR = Taim ar-Ribab, Y = Yemenite

ONA = Old North Arabian, Frühnordarabisch (Lh, Sf, Tmd, Hs')

Sf = Safaitic

Tmd = Thamudic

II.1.1.2. SS = South Semitic:

II.1.1.2.1. SWS = Southwestern Semitic:

II.1.1.2.1.1. ESA = Epigraphic South Arabian (= OSA)

OSA = Old South Arabian (= ESA); ds. (labeled as separate languages):
Hdr = Hadrami, Mn = Minaean, Qtb = Qatabanian, Sb = Sabaic, Sabaean.

Hdr - Hadrami

Hmr = Himyarite (Himyarite [up to the X-XI c. CE])

Mn = Minaean, Minaic (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬), Madhabian

Qtb - Qatabanian

Sb = Sabaean, Sabaic (dialect of OSA)

II.1.1.2.1.1 or II.1.1.1.2. OYmn = Old Yemenite, common name for words of Himyarite and of the Old West Arabic dialect of Yemen (10th and early 11th cent.), the distinction between them being unfeasible today

II.1.1.2.1.2. EthS = Ethiosemitic:

Eth = Ethiopian (= EthS)

Amh = Amharic

Arg = Argobba

Gft = Gafat

Grg = Gurage; Gurage languages: Grg Ch = Chaha, Grg Ez = Ezha, Grg Ed = Endegeñ, Grg En = Ennemor, Grg Go = Gogot, Grg Gt = Gyeto, Grg Mh = Muher, Grg Ms = Masqan, Grg Sl = Selti, Grg So = Soddo, Grg Wl = Wolane, Grg Z = Zway

Gz = Ge'ez

Har = Harari

OEth = Old Ethiopian (a spoken lge., which was the basis of Ge'ez)

Tgr = Tigre

Tgy = Tigray, Tigrinya; dl.: Tgy H = Hamasien Tigray

II.1.1.2.2. SES = Southeast Semitic (= the ancestor of the Modern South Arabian languages: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Hbt, Bth, Sq):

SEA = Southeast Arabian (common name for Modern South Arabian: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Hbt, Bth, Sq)

Bth = Bathari (Baṭḥari)

Hbt = Hobyot

Hrs = Harsusi

Jb = Jibbali, Gəblīēt, Šaḥri, Šḥawri, dls.: C = Central, E = Eastern, EM = Mehrizing subd. of Jb E

Mh = Mehri (Mahri); dls.: Mh D = Mh of Dhofar, Mh J = Eastern Mh of Jadib and Hawf, Mh Ng = Nagd Mehri, Mh Q = Qishn Mehri, Mh QB = dl. of Qishn bedouins, Mh SW = Southwestern Mehri

Sq = Soqotri; dls.: Sq M = Mountain (Central) dl., Sq N = Northern dl. (incl. Sq HS = Ḥadiboh-Suq), Sq S = Southern dl.

II.1.2. ES = East Semitic:

Ak = Akkadian; dls. : Ak A = Assyrian, Ak B = Babylonian, Ak LB = Late Babylonian (spB}, Ak MA = Middle Assyrian (nA), Ak MB = Middle Babylonian (nB}, Ak NA = Neo-Assyrian (nA), Ak NB = Neo-Babylonian (nB), Ak OA = Old Assyrian (aA), Ak OB = Old Babylonian (aB}, Ak StB = Standard Babylonian (used in Assyria of the Neo-Assyrian period), Ak YB = Young Babylonian (jB), OAk = Old Akkadian (aAK), Ak Bg = Ak of the Boghazköy texts, Ak M = Ak of Mari, Ak Nz = Ak of Nuzi, Ak RS = Ak of Ras-Shamra tablets.

Ebl = Eblaic, Eblaite

II.2. LbB = *Libyco-Berber* (Old Libyan + Berber + Guanche) (= ЛИВИЙСКО-ГУАНЧСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ):

II.2.1. B = Berber:

II.2.1.1. NrB = North Berber:

ASgr = Ayt-Seghrushen (a dl. of Tmz, treated here as a separate lge.)

Assh = Ashasha (a B dialect)

Awj = Awjila

BHlm = Ben-H_alima (dialect of Ulad-Ben-H_alima, a B "Zenatian" dialect of Central Morocco)

BMn = Beni-Menacer

BMs = Beni-Messaud

BSlh = Beni-Salah

BSn = Beni-Snus

Btw = Bettiwa

CA = Berber of Central Algeria

CM = Berber of Central Morocco

Dbl = Dyebayli (a dl. of Nfs?)

Dmn = Demnat

Fgg = Figuig, Figig

Gd = Ghadamsi

Grr = Gurara (Berber dls. of the "ksurs" [villages near Timinun and Badrian])

Hlm = Halima (a B dialect)

Hrw = Harawa (a B dialect)

Iz = Izayan (a B dialect)

Izd = Ayt-Izdeg (a dialect of Tmz, treated here as a separate lge.)

Izn = Beni-Iznacen

Jrb = Berber of Jerba

Kb = Kabyle; dls.: Kb AX = Ayt-Khalfun, Kb AZ = Ayt-Ziyan, Kb Ir = Irjen, Kb GK = dls. of Grande Kabylie, Kb M = At Mangellat (= Kb {Dl.}), Kb PK = dls. of Petite Kabylie, Kb Z = Zwawa

Mtm = Matmata (maṭmāṭa)

Mz = Mzab, Mozabite

NdA = Ndir-Abes

Nfs = Nefusi

Ntf = Ntifa (a B dialect)

Rf = Rif Berber dls.; dls.: Rf A = Beni-Amret, Rf B = Boqqoya (Iboqqoyen), Rf Bt = Bettiwa, Rf K = Kebdana (Ikhbdhanen), Rf Q = Gela'ia (Iqr'ien), Rf S' = Beni-S'id (Aith-Sghidh), Rf T = Beni-Tuzin (Aith-Thuzin), Rf Tf = Beni-Itteft (Aith-Itteftth), Rf Tm = Beni-Temsanan (Aith-Themsanan), Rf U = Beni-Uriaghel (Aith-Uriaghen), Rf Wr = Rif Beni-Waryaghel

Shl = Tashelhit, Shl T = Tashelhit of Tazerwalt (Tashelhit of Semlal [Destaing's "Tachelhit du Sous"] are treated here as a separate lge., see below Sll)

Shnw = Shenua, Shenwa

Shw = Shawiya

Si = Siwa

Skn = Sokna

Sll (= Shl Sm) = Tashelhit of Semlal (Destaing's "Tachelhit du Sous")

Snd = Sened (= Zenatia de Qalaât es-Sened, a B dialect)

SrSn = Srair Senhazha (Senhaja de Sraïr); dl.: SrSn Gz = Taghzut, SrSn

AA = Aït-Ahmad

Tgn = Tuggana

Tmm = Timimun (Gurara of Timimun, a Zenetic Berber language)

Tmz = Tamazight; dls.: AA = Ayt-'Ayyash, AH = Ayt-Hadiddu, AM = Ayt Myill, AN = Ayt-Ndhir, AS = Ayt-Sadden, Iz = Iziyan; ASgr (Ayt Seghrushen) and AIzd (Ayt-Izdeg) are treated as separate lgs.

Wrg = Wargla, Wargli

Wrs = Warsenis (le Zenatia de l'Ouarsenis)

ZAS = Berber dialect of Zayan and Ayt-Sgugu

Zgw = Zaghawa

Zkara

Zkr = Ida-u-Zikri

Zmr = Zemmur (a B dialect)

Zn = Zayan

Zwr = Zwara (a B dialect)

II.2.1.2. SB = South Berber:

Adgg = Twareg of Adghagh

Ah = Twareg of Ahaggar

ETwl = Eastern Tawellemmet

Gh = Ghat

Tdq = Tadghaq (a B dialect of Adghagh of Ifoghas)

Tnsl = Taneslemt

Ttq = Taïtoq

Tw = Twareg; dls.: Tw D = Tadraq, Tw M = dislects of Mali, Tw Ng = dialects of Niger (Twl, Ty), Tw U = Tudalt, Tw Ud = dls. spoken in

Udalan (NE Burkina-Faso, i.e. Tw D and Tw U); Ah, ETwl, Ty and Tnsl are treated here as separate lgs.

Twl = Tawellemet (common name of ETwl and WTwl)

Ty = Tayert, Tayrt, Twareg of Air (Ayr); subd.: Ty KU = Kel-Ui

WTwl = Western Tawellemet

II.2.1.3. WB = West Berber:

Zng = Zenaga (tuḡḡũḡiya)

II.2.2. Lb = Libyan:

ONum = Old Numidian (= Old East Numidian, Old Libyan)

II.2.3. Gnc = Guanche (dialect cluster); dls.: Fv = Fuenteventura, G = La Gomera, GC = Gran Canaria, Hr = Hierro (Ferro), L = Lanzarote, P = La Palma, T = Tenerife

II.3. *Egyptian* branch:

Cpt = Coptic; OCpt = Old Coptic, dls.: Cpt A = Akhmimic; Cpt F = Fayumic; Cpt B = Bohairic; Cpt L = Lycopolitan (Sub-Akhmimic), Cpt P = the dialect of the *Books of Proverbs*, Cpt S = Sahidic;

DEg = Demotic Egyptian

Eg = Egyptian; stages and variants: Am = Eg of Amarna Texts, BD = Eg of the Book of the Dead ("Totb."), CT = Coffin Texts (Sargtexte), D = Demotic, Eth = Eg of Ethiopian Inscriptions, G = Eg of the Greek-Roman times, LL = Eg of the late and latest (mostly religious) literature (EG's "Lit. Sp."); Md = Eg of Medical Texts, MK = Middle Kingdom Eg, MKL = Eg of Middle Kingdom literature, MP = Eg of the Mathematical papyri, NK = Eg of the New Kingdom, NKL = New Kingdom literature, OK = Old Kingdom Eg, P = Pyramid Texts, RNK = Eg of the ritual texts of the New Kingdom, RT = Eg of the Royal Tombs of Thebae, St = Saite Dynasty (26th Dynasty), Wc = Eg of the Westcar papyrus (spoken Middle Eg), XVIII = 18th Dynasty, XIX = 19th Dynasty, XX = 20th Dynasty, XXII = 22nd Dynasty; L = Late Egyptian (EG's "Sp."), M = Middle Eg, N = New Egyptian (EG's "Nä."), O = Old Eg, fOK = from Old Kingdom on, fP = from the Pyramid Texts on, fMK = from Middle Kingdom on, fNK = from New Kingdom on, fO = from Eg O on, fM = from Eg M on, fMd = from Eg Md on, fN = from Eg N on, fXVIII = from the 18th Dynasty on (in other cases, if a word is present in different periods of the history, the most ancient is mentioned)

II.4. C = *Cushitic*:

II.4.1. Bj = Beja; dls.: Bj A = Amar'ar, Bj B = Bishari, Bj Br = Bj of Barka, Bj Hd = Hadendawa, Bj N = the northern dialect (acc. to Reinisch), Bj R = the dialect described by Reinisch (Halanga?), Bj Rp = the dialect described by Roper

II.4.2. Ag = Agaw (Central Cushitic):

Aw = Awngi; dls.: Aw D = Dangela, Aw K = Kwakera

Bln = Bilin

Dmb = Dembiya

Dmt = Damot

Km = Kemant

Knfl = Kunfāl (a language of the Agaw subgroup)

Q = Qwara, Kwara; dialect: Q F = {Flad} 'Falashan'

Xm = Xamir (Hamir, Xamtanga, Khamtanga); dls.: Xm {R} = Hamir, Xm {Ap.} = Khamtanga, Xm T = CR's Hamta, Xm K = Kailiña, Xm Wg = Xamir of Wag

II.4.3. EC = East Cushitic:

II.4.3.1. LEC = Lowland East Cushitic:

II.4.3.1.1. AfS = Afar-Saho lgs.

Af = Afar; dialect: Af N = Northern dl., Af S = Southern dl., Af Tjr = Tajurah dl.

Sa = Saho; dls.: Sa HA = Sa of High Assaorta, Sa I = Irob

II.4.3.1.2. SLEC = Southern Lowland East Cushitic (= Omo-Tana):

II.4.3.1.2.1.

Arr = Arbore

Dsn = Dasenech (= Geleba)

Elm = Elmolo

II.4.3.1.2.2. Sam = Sam, Macro-Somali (subfamily of LEC):

pSam = proto-Sam {Heine}

Bn = Boni; dls.: Bn Ba = Baddey, Bn Bi = Bireri, Bn Bl = Bala; Bn Bu = Bura, Bn J = Jara, Bn K = Kili, Bn Kj = Kije, Bn Sa = Safare

Rn = Rendille

pSml = proto-Somali {Lamberti}

Sml = Somali; dls. and sds.: Ab = Af-Abgaal, Aj = Af-Ajuraan, Ash = Ashraaf dls., 'Aw = Af-'Awramale', B = Benaadir, Bi = Af-Bimaal, C = Central, D = Darood, Db = Af-Dabarre (Doborre), Dg = Af-Degodiya, Dgl = Digil, Dl = Af-Dolbohaante, Dx = Af-Daakhteri, E = Eastern, Ga = Af-Galja'aal, Ge = Af-Geedabuursi, Gn = Af-Gendershi, Gr = Af-Garre, He = Af-Helleedi, Hw = Hawiyya {after R and C}, I = Isaaq, Af-Isaaq (= Sml N), 'I = Af-'Iise, J = Jabarti, Ji = Af-Jiidu, Md = Mudug, Me = Af-Merka, Mj = Af-Majerteen, Mr = Af-Marrehaan, Mt = Max-aad-tiri, My = Af-May, N = Northern dls., NC = North-Central, NE = North-Eastern, Og = Ogaden (Af-Ogaadeen), Oj = Af-Oojji, Or = Af-Oroole, S = Southern, Sha = Af-Shabelle, Shi = Af-Shingaani, T = Af-Tunni, UJ = Upper Jubba, Wr = Af-Wardeyg, X = Af-Xamari

II.4.3.1.2.3. Bs = Baiso

II.4.3.1.3. McOr = Macro-Oromo (Oromoid):

II.4.3.1.3.1. Or = Oromo; dls.: Or B = Borana, Or BI = Isiolo sdl. of Or B, Or Brr = Barareta, Or Gj = Guji dl., Or H = Harar dl., Or O = Orma, Or M = Macha, Or S = Southern dls., Or T = Tulama, Or Wt = Wata, Or Wl = Wälläga; Or AM = Afan Monyo (Karakara) sdl. of Or O

II.4.3.1.3.2. KG = Konso-Gidole:

Bss = Bussa

Di = Dirasha (ḍirāš_a)

Gato

Gdl = Gidole (Dirayta)

Kns = Konso

Mos = Mossiya

Msl = Mashile (a dialect of the Konso-Geleba subgr.)

Turo

II.4.3.2. Dl = Dullay dialect cluster (= "Werizoid"):

Cm = Tsamako, Tsamay, Sāmakko

DbS = Dobase

Dihina

Gaba

Gln = Gollango

Grs = Gorrose (a dialect of the Dullay dialect continuum)

Gwd = Gawwada, dial.: Gwd D = Gawwada Dalpena

Hr = Harso

II.4.3.3. Ya = Yaku (= Yaaku, Mogogodo)

II.4.3.4. HEC = Highland East Cushitic:

Alb = Alaba

Brj = Burji

Ged = Gede'o (= Darasa)

Hd = Hadiy(y)a; dialects: Hd Lb = Libido

Kmb = Kambatta

Qbn = Qabenna

Sd = Sidamo; dialect: Sd Hb = Sidamo of Habiela

Tmbr = Tembaro

II.4.3.5. Dhl = Dahalo (belongs either to EC or to SC)

II.4.4. SC = South Cushitic

II.4.4.1. Rt = Rift (subgr. of South Cushitic)

II.4.4.1.1. WRt = West Rift (subgr. of Rift within South Cushitic)

Alg = Alagwa

Brn = Burunge

Grw = Gorowa

Irq = Iraqw

II.4.4.1.2. ERt = East Rift

Asa

Kz = Kwadza, Ngomvia

II.4.4.1.3. Mb = Mbugu, Ma'a (a Bantu language with many SC loans)

II.4.5. ? Klk = the Kuliak languages:

Ik = Ik (= Teuso), a Kuliak language

Ny = Nyang'i (= Nyangiya), a Kuliak language

So = So (= Tepeth, Tepes), a Kuliak language

II.5. Om = *Omoti*c:

II.5.1. NrOm = North Omotic (= Kefa-Gimojian subgr. of WOm in FIB
NSL 47)

II.5.1.1. Gng = Gonga (a subsubgr. of NOm):

Amuru = Amuru, Amurru

Anf = Anfillo (Southern Mao, after Grotanelli)

Gjb = Gojjebi

Kf = Kaffa

Mch = Mocha (Shekko)

Mnj (one of the sources/components of Kf, according to Fl. MEH)

Shn = Shinashsha (Bworo), dl.: Shn D = Dangur Shinashsha

II.5.1.2. Omt = Omoto (a cluster of dls.\languages) (when unspecified [Zs, Wlt, etc.], Omt {Moreno} is meant)

Bdt = Badditu, Baddito, Koyra

Bsk = Basketo (an Omotic language)

Cha = Chara

Cnc = C'ancha Omoto

COmt = Central Omoto (cover name for several dialects, incl. Gf)

Dc = Dache (an Omoto dialect)

Dk = Doka (an Omoto dialect)

Drz = Dorze-Jo, Dorze (a dialect of the Omoto cluster)

Dwr = Dawro (Kullo), a dialect of the Omoto cluster

Dz = Doze (an Omotic dialect within the Omoto dialect cluster)

Gm = Gamo, Gamu (a dialect of the Omoto cluster)

Gdc = Gidicho (NOmt)

Gemu (an Omoto lge., related to Gf)

Gf = Gofa (an Omoto language)

Gnj = Ganjule (= Ganjawle, a dialect of East Omoto)

Hrr = Haruro

Kcm = Kachama (= Gatsama, a dialect of Omoto)

Krt = Koorete (= Amarro)

Male

Malo

Oyda

Wl = Wolaytta (an Omoto lge.), Wolamo

Zl = Zala

Zrg = Zergulla (a dialect of Omoto)

Zs = Zayse (a dialect of Omoto)

II.5.1.3. Ym = Yemsa (Janjero)

II.5.1.4. Gmr = Gimirra:

Bnc = Bench (Gimirra-Bench, Benesho)

She

II.5.1.5. Ma = Mao (a NrOm dialect cluster) (when it is not specified [BMa, HzMa, etc.], Mao {Grotanelli} is meant)

BMa = Bambes(h)i Mao (= Bambassi)

DMA = Diddesa Mao

GaMa = Ganza Mao

GeMa = Gebsi Mao

HzMa = Hozo Mao

MdMa = Madegi Mao

NrMa = Northern Mao

Sz = Sezo Mao (Seze), Sz1 & Sz 2 = two subdialects of Sezo

II.5.2. Dzd = Dizoid (a subgroup of NOm languages = Maji subgr. of WOm in FIB NSE 47):

Mj = Maji (= Dizi, an Omotic language), d: DJ = Dizi-Jeba

Na = Na'ò (Nayi) (a Dizoid language)

Shk = Shako (a Dizoid language, = AY's and Fl's Sheko)

II.5.3. SOm = South Omotic, Aroid (= Ari-Banna, = EOm of FIB NSL 47):

Ari = Ari (a SOm language); dls.: Ari B = Bako (Baka), Ari G = Galila, Ari J = Ari-Jinka, Ari U = Ubamer

ArJ = Ari-Jinka (dialect of Ari)

Bk = Bako (= Ari B)

Dm = Dime

Hm = Hamer (Hamar); dls.: Hm B = Hamar-Ban(n)a, Hm K = Karo (Kara)

II.6. Ch = *Chadic*:

II.6.1. WCh = West Chadic:

II.6.1.1. HAB = Hausa-Angas-Bolewa (Hangbole):

II.6.1.1.1. Hausa gr.:

Gw = Gwandara; dls.: Gw Cn = Chanchara dl. (Arabishi), Gw G = Gitata dl., Gw K = Karshi dl., Gw Kr = Koro dl. (Gwagwa), Gw Nm = Nimbia dl., Gw T = Toni dl. (Garaku)

Hs = Hausa; StHs = Standard Hausa; dls.: Hs B = Bausanchi (Bauchi dl.), Hs D = Dauranchi (Daura dl.), Hs Dm = Damagaranchi (Damagaram dl.), Hs G = Gobiranchi (Gobir dl.), Hs Hd = Hadejia, Hs K = Kananchi (Kano dl.), Hs Kc = Katsinanchi (Katsina dl.), Hs Kt = Katagum, Hs Skt = Sakkwatanchi (Sokoto dl.), Hs Z = Zazzaganchi (Zaria dl.)

II.6.1.1.2. AG = Angas-Goemay (Angas-Sura):

Ang = Angas; dls.: Ang H = High Angas, Ang K = Kabwir dl.

Cp = Chip

Gmy = Goemay, Ankwe

Kfr = Kofyar; dialect: Kfr M = Mernyang (= Merniang, Mirriam)

Mnt = Montol

Mpn = Mupun

Su = Sura

Tal

Ywm = Yiwom (= Gerka)

II.6.1.1.3. BT = Bole-Tangale gr.:

Bele

Bl = Bolewa, Bolanchi, Bole; dialect: BlF = Bolewa of Fika {Meek}

Dr = Dera, Kanakuru

Gera

Glm = Galambu

Grm = Geruma

Kpt = Kupto

Krf = Kirfi, Kirifi

Krkr = Karekare

Kwm = Kwami

Maha

Ngm = Ngamo

Pr = Pero

Tng = Tangale; dialect: Tng B = Biliri dl.

II.6.1.2. Ron lgs.:

Bks = Bokkos

Btr = Butura

Df = Daffo, DfB = Daffo and Butura

Fy = Fyer

Klr = Kulere

Sha

Tmbs = Tambas

II.6.1.3. NrBc = North Bauchi:

Cg = Tsagu

Dir = Diri

Jmb = Jimbin

Kry = Kariya, Kariyanchi

Mbr = Mburku, Mburkanchi

My = Miya, Miyanchi

P' = Pa'a, Pa'anchi

Sir = Siryanchi, Siri

Wrj = Warji

II.6.1.4. SBc = South Bauchi:

Bbr = Bubburè

Bg = Boghom (Burrum)

BG = Bu-gàlàmbu

Bot = Bot, Boot (a South Bauchi language)

Brw = Barawa

Buli

Ds = Dass; dls.: Ds B = Bodli (Zumbul), Ds Bn = Bandas (Dur), Ds D = Dikshi; Dwat and Wangday are treated as languages

Dw = Dwat (Dwot, Zodi), a dialect of Dass treated as a language

Gj = Geji; dls.: Gj B = Bu (Zaranda), Gj G = Geji proper (Gyanzi), Gj Mg = Migang (Bolu, Pelu)

Grn = Guruntum; dls.: Grn G = Guruntum proper, Grn Mb = Mbaru

Jm = Jimi

Kir = Kir; dls.: Kir K = Kir (Kiir), Kir L = Lar (Balar), Kir Mn = Mansi (Mangas)

Plc = Polchi; dls.: Plc B = Barang (Baram, Dir = Baram Dutse), Plc Ny = Nyamzax (Langas) and Lundur, Plc P = Polchi proper (Posi)

Sy = Saya (Seya, Sayanchi) dialect cluster; dls.: Sy B = Bot (Boot), Sy Zk = Zakshi, Sy Z = Zari

Tala; dls.: Tala L = Lungu (Tala), Tala Sh = Sho (Ju), Tala Z = Zangwal (Sor, Zangwal of Zungur)

Tule

Wnd = Wangday (a dialect of Dass)

Zar = Zar (Zaar, Sigidi); dls.: Zar GL = Zar of Gambar-Lere, Zar K = Zar of Kal, Zar L = Zar of Lusa

Zem = Zem (Zeem); dls.: Zem Ch = Chari, Zem D = Dokshi (Lushi), Zem Z = Zem proper; Tule is treated as a language

Zul (Dira, Diri)

II.6.1.5. NgzB = Ngizim-Bade gr. of languages:

Bd = Bade

Du = Duwai

Ngz = Ngizim

II.6.2. CCh = Central Chadic:

II.6.2.1. McTr = Macro-Tera (subbranch):

Bk = Boka

G'nd = Ga'anda

Gbn = Gabin

Hw = Hwona (Hona)

Jr = Jara

Pdl = Pidlimti

Tr = Tera

II.6.2.2. BM = Bura-Margi subbranch:

Bu = Bura, BuP = Bura Pele

Cb = Chibak

Hld = Hildi

Klb = Kilba (H_ba)

Mrg = Margi; Mrg L = Margi of Lasa {Meek}, Mrg M = Margi of Minthla {Meek}; Mrg P = Margi Putai; Mrg Pl = Plain Margi {Meek}

Ngx = Ngwaxi (Ngwakhi, Ngwahyi)

Wmd = Wamdiu, Wamdiu Margi

WMrg = West Margi

II.6.2.3. McHigi = Macro-Higi (Higi subbranch of CCh):

FIG = Fali Gili

FIK = Fali Kiria, Fali of Kiria

Higi (cluster of dls.)

Hg... = Higi ... (dialect cluster); dls.: HgB = Higi Baza, HgF = Higi Futu; HgG = Higi Ghye; HgHm = Higi Humsi {Meek}; HgK = Higi Kamale (= Kps); HgMd = Higi Moda {Meek}; HgMk = Higi Makulu {Meek}; HgNk = Higi Nkafa; HgSn = Higi Sinna {Meek}; HgWl = Higi Wula {Meek}

Kps = Kapsiki (= Higi Kamale)

II.6.2.4. BB = Bata-Bachama subbranch:

Bcm = Bachama

Bt = Bata

BtG = Bata-Garua

BtD = Bata-Demsa

BtM = Bata Malabu

BtZ = Bata Zumo

FIB = Fali of Bwagira

FIJ = Fali of Jilbu

- FIM = Fali of Muchella
 Gude (Cheke)
 Gudu
 Mln = Mwulyen
 Nz = Nzangi
 II.6.2.5. Lmn = Lamang; dls.: Lmn Hd = Hidkala, Hitkalanchi, Lm Vz = Vizik, Lmn A = Alataghwa
 II.6.2.6. McMdr = Macro-Mandara (Mandara subbranch):
 Dgh = Dghwede, Duxwide, Zeghvana
 Gdf = Guduf
 Glv = Glavda
 Gmrg = Gamergu
 Gv = Gava
 Mdr = Mandara (Wandala); dialect: Mdr Mr = Mora
 Ngs = Ngweshe (= Gvoko, Gboko, Glanda?)
 Nkc = Nakatsa
 Pdk = Padokwo, Paduko
 II.6.2.7. Suk = Sukur
 II.6.2.8. McMtk = Macro-Matakam = Matakam subbranch:
 Gzg = Giziga; dls.: Gzg D = Giziga Dogba, Gzg Mj = Giziga Mijivin, Gzg Mt = Maturua
 Hrz = Hurza
 Mada
 MbK = Mboku
 Mf = Mafa
 MfG = Mofu-Gudur; dialect: MfG M = Mokong
 MfM = Mofu-Meri
 Mkt = Muktile, Muktele
 Milk = Moloko
 Mofu
 Mtk = Matakam
 Myn = Muyang
 pMM = proto-Mafa-Mada
 Vm = Vame
 Zlg = Zulgo
 II.6.2.9. McDb = Macro-Daba, Daba subbranch:
 Db = Daba; d: Db H = Daba-Hina, Db K = Kola (treated as a separate lge.)
 Kola
 Msy = Musgoy
 II.6.2.10. Gdr = Gidar
 II.6.2.11. McKtk = Macro-Kotoko = Kotoko subbranch:
 Bdm = Buduma (Yedina)
 Glf = Gulfei
 Ktk = Kotoko; dls.: Ktk Af = Affade, Ktk Kl = Klesem, Ktk Ks = Kuseri, Ktk Mk = Makeri

Lgn = Logone; dialect: Lgn M = Mandague

Ngl = Ngala

II.6.2.12. McMsg = Macro-Musgu = Musgu subbranch:

Bld = Baldamu

Mbara

Msg = Musgu; Msg G = Musgu Girvidik (= Munjuk), Msg Ng = Musgu Ngilemong, Msg P = Musgum-Pus (= Munjuk de Pouss); Mulwi is treated as a separate language

Msk = Muskum; Msk {Lk.} = Lukas's "Muzgum-Stadt" (Lk. ZSS 142-4)

Mlw = Mulwi (= Vulum, Mogram, a dl. of Msg)

II.6.2.13 McMs = Macro-Masa = Masa subbranch:

Azm = Azumeyna (Banana-Marba)

Bana {Lukas ZSS}

Bnn = Banana

BnnM = Banana-Mouseye {ChL, Lk. ZSS}

Lame

LamP = Lame-Peve

Ms = Masa

Msm = Misme

Zm = Zime

ZmB = Zime-Batna

ZmD = Zime-Dari

II.6.3. ECh = East Chadic:

II.6.3.1. KwK = Kwang-Kera subbranch:

Kwn = Kwang (Modgel); dial.: Kwn M = Mobu

Ke = Kera

II.6.3.2. Lai = Lele-Kabalay subbranch.:

Dormo = Lukas's "Dormo"

Gabri = Lukas's "Gabri", Bentons "Gabri = Chire"

Kbl = Kabalay (Lukas's "Kaba")

Ll = Lele

Nng = Lukas's "Nangire"

Tbn = Tobanga

II.6.3.3. McSmr = Macro-Sumray = Sumray subbranch.:

Nd = Ndam; dialect: Nd D = Ndam Dik

Smr = Sumray, Somray (Sibine); dls.: Smr G = Gabri, Gaberi (recorded by GD [DLouCh 292-301] and by AF and Nacht. [Lk. ZSS 86-8])

Tmk = Tumak

II.6.3.4. McSkr = Macro-Sokoro, Sokoro subbranch:

Skr = Sokoro

Mw = Mawa

Bar = Barein

II.6.3.5. McDng = Macro-Dangla (Dangla gr., Dangla-Migama)

Dng = Dangla, Dangaleat (a common denomination for West Dangla & EDng)

EDng = East Dangla (treated here as a separate lge)

Bdy = Bidiya

Mgm = Migama (Jonkor)

II.6.3.6. Mkl = Mokilko, Mokulo

II.6.3.7. McMu = Macro-Mubi (Mubi subbranch):

Brg = Birgit

Jg = Jegu

Kjk = Kajakse

Kjr = Kujarke

Mjl = Minjile

Mu = Mubi

III. K = Kartvelian:

III.1. GZ = Georgian-Zan:

III.1.1. OG = Old Georgian; dls.: OG H = the dialect represented in the Haemeti texts, OG X = the dialect of the Xanmeti texts

MG = Middle Georgian (XII-XVI centuries) (Shota Rustaveli, *Kartulis cxovreba*, etc.)

eNG = Early New Georgian (XVII-XVIII c.) (Sulhan-Saba Orbeliani's dictionary)

G = NG = (New) Georgian; dls.: G A = Acharuli (= Ajar) G, G F = Pereidnuli (Fereydan) G, G Gm = Gudamaqruli G, G Gr (and G G) = Guruli G, G HA = High Ajar G, G I = Imeruli G (sdl.: HI = High Imeruli, LI = Low Imeruli), G Imx = Imerxeuli G, G Ing = Inglouri G, G J = Javaxuri G, G K = Kartluri G (incl. G ArX = Aragva Gorge sdl. [Aragvis xeobis kartluri]), G Kx = Kaxuri G, G Kzq = Kiziquri subd. of G Kx, G Lch = Lechxumuri G, G M = Moxeuri G, G Ms = Mesxuri G, G Mt = Mtiuluri G, G P = Pshauri G, G R = Rachuli G, G T = Tushuri G, G Ti = Tianuri G, G UA = Upper Ajar, G X = Xevsuruli; a period: eNG = Early New Georgian (17th c., as registered by Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani)

III.1.2. Zan languages:

Lz = Laz (Chan); dls.: Lz A = Atinuri, Lz Ar = Arxaburi, Arkaburi (архавский), Lz Art = Artashenian, Lz Ch = Chxaletian (чхалъский говор), Lz V = Vicuri, Lz VAr = Vicur-Arxaburi, Lz X = Xopuri

Mg = Megrelian; dls.: Mg SmZ = Samurzakan-Zugdidian, Mg Sn = Senakian; Mg BM = Bandza-Martvil sdl. of Mg Sn, Mg Z = Zugdidian sdl. of Mg SmZ

III.2. Sv = Svan; Sv L = Lashxuri dl., Sv LB = Lower Bal dl., Sv Ln = Lentexuri dl., Sv UB = Upper Bal; sdls. of LB: Sv Bc = Becho, Sv Ch = Chubexuri, Sv Ec = Etseruli, Sv P = Pari, Sv T = Tavrari, Sv Lx = Laxamuluri; sdl. of Sv L: Sv Chl = Choluri; sdls. of UB: Sv I = Ipari, Sv U = Ushguluri (= Ushkuli), Sv Lt = Lat'aluri, Sv M = Mulaxi-Mestia (= Muzhali-Mulaxi, Central UB); dialect areas: LSv = Lower Svan (incl. Sv L and Sv Ln), USv = Upper Svan (incl. Sv LB and Sv UB).

IV. U = Uralic:

IV.1. FU = *Finno-Ugrian* (= Fenno-Ugrian)

IV.1.1. FP = Finno-Permian,

IV.1.1.1. FV = Finno-Volgaic

IV.1.1.1.1. FL = Finno-Lappish

IV.1.1.1.1.1. BF = Balto-Finnic

Es = Estonian; dilects: Es N = Northern dl., Es S = Southern dl., Es SVI = sdl. of Southern Viljandimaa, Es V = Võru dl.

F = Finnish; dls.: F H = Häme dl., F MNB = Middle- and North-Bothnian dls. (keski- ja pohjoispohjalaiset murteet), F N = Northern dls. (Peräpohjolan murteet, hinterbottnische Dialekte), F SB = South Bothnian (eteläpohjalainen), F SE = Southeastern dls., F Sv = Savo dls., F SW = Southwestern, F U = dls. of Nyland (Uusimaa) (incl. FI = Iitti sdl.); eF = Early Finnish (16th - 18th c.)

Ing = Ingrian (ИЖОРСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); dls.: Ing Hv = Hevaha dl., Ing O = Oredezh dl., Ing Sk = Soikkola dl.

Krl = Karelian; dls.: Krl A = Aunus (Olonets Krl, livvin kieli), Krl K = Karjala(inen), Krl KA = {SKES} karjala-aunus; Krl Ld = Lude (lyydiläismurteet), Krl Tv = Tver Karelian (sd. of Krl K}

Lv = Livonian; dls.: Lv E = Eastern, Lv W = Western, Lv I = Ira sdl., Lv Slc = Salaca sdl.

Vo = Vote, ВОДСКИЙ ЯЗЫК, vatja, wotisch

Vp = Veps

IV.1.1.1.1.2. Lp = Lapp, Lappish; dls. & dialect areas: Lp A = Akkala Lp (= БАБИНСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ) (belongs to Lp E), Lp Å = Åsele Lp (belongs to Lp S), Lp E = Eastern dls. of Lp (Lp Klt, Lp Kld, Lp T), Lp I = Inari Lp (belongs to Lp E), Lp K = Kola Lp (dialect area of Lp E, including Lp Kld and Lp T), Lp Kld = Kildin dl. (of Lp E), Lp Klt = Koltta Lp (= Kolta Lp, Skolt Lp, belongs to Lp E), Lp L = Lule Lp, Lp N = Norwegian Lp, Lp OSw = Old Swedish dls. of Lp (XVIII c.) (incl. Northern Lp L & Northern Lp S) (after {LÖ}), Lp P = Pite Lp, Lp S = Southern Lp, Lp Sw = Swedish dialect area of Lp (= {SKES} lp R), Lp T = Ter (Turja) Lp (= Kert's ЙОКАНЬГСКИЙ ДИАЛ.) (belongs to Lp E), Lp U = Uume Lp; subdialects: Lp Fi = Finnmarken sdl. (of Lp N, = Ruijanlappi), Lp J = Jemtland sdl. (of Lp S), Lp M = Maritime sdl. (of Lp N), Lp Nd = Neiden (Näätämö) sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Nt = Notozero sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Pa = Paatsjoki (Boris-Gleb) sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Sn = Snåsa sdl. (of Lp S), Lp Snk = Suonikylä sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp To = Tornio sdl. (of Lp N); sub-subdialects: Lp Ar = Arjeplog ssd. (of Lp P), Lp En = Enontekiö ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Fr = Frostviken ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp Gr = Gratangen ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Hr = Härjedalen ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Jk = Jokan'g (Yokostrov) ssd. (of Lp T), Lp Krs = Karasjok ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Krsv = Kaaresuvanto ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Kt = Koutokeino ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Ml = Malå ssd. (of Lp U), Lp Mr = Meråker ssd. (of Lp J), Lp O = Offerdal ssd. (of Lp J), Lp P = Polmak (Pulmanki) ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Pr = Parkalompolo ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Rr = Røros ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Tf = Tysfjord ssd. (of Lp L), Lp Tn = Tännäs ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Ut = Utsjoki

ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Vfs = Vefsen ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp VI = Vilhelmina ssd. (of Lp Å).

IV.1.1.1.2. Chr = Cheremis; dls.: Chr B = Chr of Birsk; Chr Ch = Chr of Cheboksari; Chr E = Eastern Chr dls.; Chr H = High Chr (= Hill Chr, горно-марийский); Chr K = Chr of Kosmodemyansk (subd. of Chr H); Chr L = Low Chr (= Meadow Chr, лугово-марийский) (to-day StChr L is officially labelled "Meadow-Eastern, лугово-восточный марийский", but is actually based on Chr L); Chr M = Chr of Malmizh; Chr NW = Northwestern Chr.; Chr P = Cheremis of the former Perm province; Chr U = Cheremis of Urzhum; Chr Uf (= Chr E Uf) = Cheremis of the former Ufa province; Chr V = Chr of Vetluga; Chr Y = Chr of Yaransk; Chr YO = Cheremis of Yoshkar-Ola (Carevokokshaysk); Chr YU = Chr of Yaransk & Urzhum

IV.1.1.1.3. Mr = Mordvin languages:

eMr = Early Mordvin (18th c., according to SJRN)

Er = Erzya Mordvin; sdls.: A = Alatir sdl. (the area of the river Алатырь), BI = sdl. of Bolshoye Ignatovo, Iv = Ivancevo sdl., Kal = Kalyayevo sdl., LP = Lower Pyana sdl., Trb = Torbeyevo (former Kazhkita) sdl.

Mk = Moksha Mordvin; dls.: P = Mk of the former Penza province

pMr = proto-Mordvin

IV.1.1.2. Prm = Permian

OPrm = Old Permian (древнепермский язык)

Prmk = Permyak; Prmk In = Inva dl. (иньвенский говор), Prmk K = Kochevo dl. (кочёвский говор), Prmk N = Northern dl., Prmk Zz = dl. of the Zyuzdinci (зюздинский диалект)

pZ = proto-Ziryene (proto-Komi) (ancestor of Z, Prmk, and Yz)

Vt = Votyak; dls.: Vt C = Central Votyak (средний диалект), Vt N = Northern Votyak, Vt S = Southern Votyak, Vt SW = Southwestern Votyak; subdialects: Vt B = Beserman Vt, Vt G = Glazov sdl., Vt Ks = Kosa sdl. (of Vt N), Vt Kz = Vt of the former Kazan province, Vt M = Malmizh sdl., Vt MU = Malmizh-Urzhum sdl., Vt Sh = Shoshma subdialect of Vt SW, Vt Sl = Slobodskoy sdl. (district of Slobodskoy, Vyatka oblast), Vt Sr = Sarapul subd., Vt Sm = Vt. of the former Samara province, Vt Tl = Tilovay subd. of Vt C, Vt Uf = Vt. of the former Ufa province, Vt Ur = Ursigurt subdialect of Vt SW, Vt Y = Yelabuga sdl.

Yz = Yazvian, Yaz'va dialect (in the Prm subbranch of FU) = коми-язьвинский диалект

Z = Ziryene; dls.: Z EV = Eastern Vichegda sdl. (of Z UV), Z I = Izhma dl., Z K = Kerchemya dl. (керчемский говор), Z Le = Letka dl., Z LI = Lower Izhma dl., Z IL = Luza & Letka dl., Z Lu = Luza dl., Z LV = Lower Vichegda dl., Z MS = Middle Sisola dl., Z MV = Middle Vichegda dl., Z Mz = Mezen' dl., Z N = Northern dls., Z P = Pechora dl., Z Pr = Prupt dl., Z Sk = Siktivkar dl., Z Ss = Sisola dl., Z Ud = Udora dl., Z US = Upper Sisola dl., Z UV = Upper Vichegda dl., Z V = Vichegda dl., Z Vm = Vim dl., Z Vsh = Vishera sdl. (of Z UV).

IV 1.2. Ur = Ugric

IV.1.2.1. ObU = Ob-Ugric

Os = Ostyak; dls. & dialect areas: Os Ag = Agan sdl. (of Os Sr), Os B = Beryozovo sdl. (of Os O), Os Cng = Cingala sdl. (of Os I), Os D = Demyanka dl., Os E = Eastern dialect area, Os I = Irtish dls. (collective denomination), Os K = Konda dl., Os Km = dl. of Kaminskoye, Os Kr = dl. of Krasnoyarskie, Os Ks = Koshelevsk sdl. (of Os I), Os Kz = Kazim dl., Os LD = Lower Demyanka dl. (= DT), Os Lk = Likrisovskoye dl., Os LK = Lower Konda sdl., Os MY = Maliy Yugan dl., Os N = northern dialect area, Os Nz = Nizyam dl., Os O = Obdorsk (Salehard) dl., Os Pim = Pim (Pim) dl. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Pt = Pitlyar dl. (sd. of Os N), Os Sh = Sherkali dl. (= Middle Ob dl.), Os Shr = Shuryshkar dl., Os Sl = Salim dl., Os Sn = Sinya dl., Os Sr = Surgut dl., Os Ty = Tremyugan dl., Os UA = Ust-Agan dl., Os UD = Upper Demyanka dl. (= DN), Os Uy = Ust-Yugan dl., Os V = Vakh dl., Os VK = Verkhne-Kalimsk dl., Os Vrt = Vartovskoye dl., Os Vy = Vasyugan dl., Os Y = Yugan dl. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Z = Zavodniye (Zavodinskiye) dl.

OVg = Old Vogul (18th cent.); dls.: OVg E = Eastern, OVg N = Northern, OVg S = Southern, OVg W = Western; sdls.: OVg ETM = a sdl. (of OVg E) labelled by Honti as "TM", OVg I = Is sdl. (of OVg W [?]), OVg L = Lyalya sdl. (of OVg W [?]), OVg N Ber = Berezovo (OVg N; three variants: OVg N BerG, OVg N BerO and OVg BerK), OVg NB and OVg N Chd = sdls. (of OVg N) labelled by L. Honti as "B" and "Čd", OVg N NSs = Northern Sosva sdl. (OVg N), OVg N SoG = a sdl. of OVg N labelled by Honti as "SoG", OVg N SoO = a sdl. of OVg N labelled by Honti as "SoO", OVg S Chus = Chusovaya sdl. (of OVg N; two variants: OVg S ChusO and OVg S ChusM), OVg S Kg = Kungur sdl. (of OVg S), OVg S SSs = Southern Sosva sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Tg = Tagil sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Tr = Tura sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Vt = Verxotur'ye (Верхотурье) sdl. (OVg S), OVg Str = a sdl. (of OVg W [?]) labelled by Honti as "Str", OVg Tb = a sdl. (of OVg E or [less plausibly] OVg S?) labelled by Honti as "Tob" (= Tobol?), OVg W P = Pelimskoye sdl. (OVg W), OVg W Sol = Solikamsk sdl. (OVg W), OVg W UsU = Ust-Ulsuy (Усть-Ульсуй) sdl. (OVg W) of the 19th cent. (cf. Kann AWD); the sigilla "B", "SoG", "SoO", "Str", "Tob" and "TM" (used by Honti after J. Gulya) remain enigmatic because their source (Gulya's manuscript paper "Altvogulische Dialekte") has not yet been published and is not available to the present writer; the queries "[?]" belong to Honti

Vg = Vogul; dialectal areas: Vg E (= Vg K) = Eastern (Konda) Vogul (incl. dls.: Vg LK = Lower Konda dl., Vg MK = Middle Konda dl., Vg UK = Upper Konda dl., Vg MO = Middle Ob [Sherkal] dl., Vg Yk = Yukonda dl.), Vg N = Northern Vogul dialect area (incl. Vg UL = Upper Lozva dl., Vg Ss = Sosva dl., Vg Sg = Sigva dl.), Vg S = Southern Vogul (Vg T = Tavda dl., Vg TCh = sd. Chandiri of the Tavda dl., Vg TG = sd. Gorodok of the Tavda dl., Vg TY = sd. Yanichkova of the Tavda dl.), Vg W = Western Vogul (incl. Vg LL = Lower Lozva dl., Vg ML = Middle Lozva dl.,

Vg NV = North Vagilsk dl. [sds: Vg NVK = sdl. of the village Kama, Vg NVZ = Zaozërnaja sdl.], Vg P = Pelimka dl., Vg SV = South Vagilsk dl.; Vg V = Vagilsk dls.]

IV 1.2.2. Hg = Hungarian; d: Hg S = South Hungarian (sd.: Hg O = Ormányság sdl.)

OHg = Old Hungarian

IV.2. Sm = *Samoyed*

IV.2.1. NrSm = North Samoyed subgr.

Ne = Nenets; dls.: Ne F = Forest Nenets (sds.: Ne F K = Konda, Ne F Ks = Kiselevskaya, Ne F L = Lyamin, Ne F Ny = Nyalina), Ne T = Tundra Nenets (sd.: Ne BZ = Bol'shaja Zemlja (ssd: Ne Sd = Ne BZ registered in the area of†the Syaida river), Ne Kn = Kanin sdl., Ne O = Obdorsk (Salehard) sdl., Ne Ym = Yamal sdl.)

Ng = Nganasan (Tavgi)

En = Enets; dls. : En B = Baikha dl. (Bay); En K = Karasino dl.; En M = the dl. of Mangazeya (XVIII c.); En T = Enets of Turukhan region; En Tn = Tundra dl. ({Hl.}); En X = Khantaika (ХАНТАЙКА) dl. (Somatu, Madu)

Yr = Yurak (an extinct lge. akin to Ne and En)

IV.2.2. Slq = Sölpup (Selkup); dls.: Slq B = Baikha dl., Slq Ch = Chaya dl., Slq Chl = Chulim dl., Slq F = Farkovo sdl. (of Slq Yn), Slq Kar = Karasino dl., Slq Ke = Ket' dl., Slq LKe = Lower Ket' dl., Slq LO = Lower Ob dl., Slq LTz = Lower Taz dl., Slq MKe = Middle Ket' dl., Slq MO = Middle Ob dl., Slq MTm = Middle Tim dl., Slq MTz = Middle Taz dl., Slq NP = Nat-Pumpokolsk dl., Slq Nr = Narim dl., Slq O = Ob dls., Slq Tm = Tim dl., Slq Tur = Turukhan dl., Slq Tz = Taz dl., Slq UKe = Upper Ket' dl., Slq UO = Upper Ob dl., Slq UTz = Upper Taz dl., Slq V = Vakh dl., Slq Vy = Vasyugan dl., Slq Yel = Yeloguy dl., Slq Yn = Yenisey dl.

IV.2.3. Kms = Kamassian

Koyb = Koybal (a Samoyed language, actually a dialect of Kms)

IV.2.4. Mt = Mator (= Mator-Taygi-Karagas); dls.: Mt T = Taigi, Mt M = Mator (Motor) proper, Mt K = Karagas; Mt A = Abakan (a Sayan Samoyed dialect or a conglomerate of data mostly of Mt origin, after Msr. and Strl.)

IV.3. Y = *Yukagir*; Y = Yukagir language group

OY = Old Yukagir; dls.: Ch = Chuvan, K = Kolima, O = Omok, NW = Northwestern Y (Ust-Yansk)

Y = Yukagir; dls.: Y K = Kolima Yukagir (Jochelson's Upper Kolima Y), Y T = Tundra Yukagir

U. A = Altaic

Hun = Hunnic (Hsiung-nu)

V.1. T = *Turkic*

ppT = Early proto-Turkic

V.1.1. NaT = Narrow Turkic, Common Turkic (the proto-language of all T languages except Bulghar and Chuvash)

V.1.1.0. OT = Old Turkic; dls. (after Clauson and other authors): OT O = Orkhon dl., OT Og = Old Oghuz, OT OY = Orkhon and Yenisey dialect(s) (Kök-Türkisch), OT Qp = Old Qipchaq, OT QU = Qarakhanid Uyghur (Xakani), OT Tü = Türkü, OT U = Old Uyghur, OT Y = Yenisey dialect

MT = Middle Turkic

MU = Middle Uyghur (d. of MT)

V.1.1.1. Og = Oghuz (= Southwest Turkic)

‘AQ = ‘Ali-Qurchi Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the south of Arak, Iran)

Az = Azeri; dls.: Az Erz = Erzerum dl., Az Mgn = Mughan sdl., Az Nx = Nukha dl., Az Qb = Quba dl., Az Qz = Qazakh dl., Az Shm = Shamakhī dl., Az Sl = Salyan dl. (сальянский диалект), Az Tbr = Tebriz dl.

Afsh = Afshar

AfshN = SOg of Afshar-e Nanakchi (near Kabul)

FA = Firuz-Abad Turkic (a SOg dialect, Iran)

FX = SOg of Qal‘aye Farhad-Xan (to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)

Ggz = Gagauz

HAS = SOg of Hoseyn-Abad-e Sarmashad (near Kazerun, Iran)

MOg = Middle Oghuz; dl.: MOg Tkm = Türkmen dl. of MOg ("Old Türkmen")

MOsm = Middle Osman Turkic

MT Tkm = Türkmeni Middle Turkic (a dl. of MOg)

NEXT = Northeastern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dls.: G = Gujgi, J = Jonk, L = Langar, M = Mareshk

NWXT = Northwestern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dls.: A = Asadli, B = Bojnurd, ShT = Sheykh-Teymur

NXT = Northern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dls.: D1 = Dara-Gaz 1, D2 = Dara-Gaz 2, Dg = Dougha’i, L = Lotf-abad, Q = Quchan, Shi = Shirwan, Shu = Shurak, Ze = Zeyarat, Zo = Zourum

OOsm = Old Osman Turkic

Osm = Osman Turkic

Prdm = Paradomba Turkic (a SOg dial., to the west of Borujin, Iran)

Qrw = Qorwa Turkic, SOg of Qorwa (to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)

SA = Soleyman-Abad Turkic (a SOg dialect, Iran)

SEXT = Southeastern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dls.: ChS = Charam-Sarjam, K = Kalat, R = Ruh-abad, XO = Kharwe-‘Olya

Shhr = Shahrak Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the east of Shahre-e Kord, Iran)

Slr = Salar; dls.: Slr A = Slr of Altiyuli, Slr X = Slr of Khanbakh, Slr U = Slr of Ujirem, Slr Ul = Slr of Ullaghil

Snqr = Sonqor Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)

SOg = Southern Oghuz dls.

SWXT = Southwestern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dls.: H = Hokm-abad, J = Joghatay, PK = Pir-Komaj, QB = Qara-Bagh, SA = Soltan-abad

Tk = Turkish; dls. and sdls.: Tk An = Anatolian dls., Tk Çr = Çorum sdl., Tk Er = Erzurum sdl., Tk İç = İçel sdl., Tk Ist = Istanbul sdl., Tk Kn = Konya sdl., Tk Qrpp = Qarapaq (Karapapak) dl., Tk Rh = Tk of the Rhodope Mountains, Tk WAn = Tk of Western Anatolia

Tkm = Turkoman (Türkmen); dls.: Tkm NC = North Caucasian Turkoman (туркменский говор Ставрополя), NY = North Yomud dl.

XТ = Khorasan Turkic (a collective name for NEXT, NWXT, NXT, SEXT, and SWXT)

XwT = Xwarezmic Turkic

V.1.1.2. Qipchaq (= Northwest Turkic) lgs.:

Blq = Balqar

Brb = Baraba (= STt B); sdl.: Brb Tk Tarmakül sdl.

Bsh = Bashkir (Bashqort)

Cmn = Cumanic (= MQp Cm)

CrTt = Crimean Tatar

Kr = Karaite (Karaim); dls.: Kr Cr = Crimean dl., Kr G = Galich dl., Kr L = Luck (Луцк) дл., Kr T = Trakai (Troki) dl.

MQp = Middle Qipchaq; variations: MQp A = Armeno-Qypchaq, MQp Cm = Cumanic (of the Codex Cumanicus), MQp Mm = Mamluq-Qypchaq (Egyptian Qypchaq)

MsTt = Mishär Tatar

Nog = Noghay; dls.: Nog A = Aqnoghay, Nog P = Noghay proper, Nog Q = Qaranoghay

Qmq = Qumiq

Qp = Qipchaq

Qq = Qaraqalpaq; Qq X = Ramstedt's "Chagatay of Xiwa (Хива)"

QrB = Qarachay-Balqar

Qzq = Qazaq

SbTt = Siberian Tatar; dls.: SbTt B = Baraba (= Brb), SbTt Ichk = Ichkina dialect (d. of the Ichkina river, SW-Siberia), SbTt TI = Tobol-Irtysh dialect (incl: SbTt Tb = Tobol Tatar [= TbTt], SbTt Bkl = Baykalovo subsubd., SbTt Kk = Kükrände subsubd. [= Cheburga subsubd. of TbTt], SbTt Ltm = Laytamak subsubd., SbTt Tr = Tara sdl., SbTt Tv = Tevriz Tt, TbTt = Tobol Tatar [= SbTt Tb]), SbTt Tö = Tömen Tt (түменский дл.), SbTt Tom = Tomsk dialect (incl.: SbTt EuCh = Eushta-Chat subd., SbTt Ql = Qalmaq, SbTt OCh = Orsk Chat, орский подговор чатов)

VTt = Volga Tatar (= Kazan Tatar); dialects: VTt K = Christian Tatar (кряшенский), VTt Ks = Kasymov dl. (касымовский), VTt W = Western dl., VTt M = Middle Tatar dl., VTt E = Eastern dl.; subdialects: VTt H = Highland sdl. of VTt M (= тау ягы сөйләшләре, говоры нагорной стороны Татарстана), VTt I = Ichkina sdl. of VTt M (ичкинский говор) in West Siberia, VTt Mn = Menzelya sdl. of VTt M (мензелинский говор), VTt Smb = Simbirsk sdl., VTt TУК = Christian Highland Tatar sdl. (тау ягы керәшеннәре сөйләше =

подберезинский говор), VTt TYT = Tarkhan sdl. of Highland Tatar (тау ягы, тархан сөйләше = тарханский говор), VTt U = Ural Tatar (говор уральских татар)

V.1.1.3. QrgA = Qirgiz-Altay languages (Central-Eastern Turkic):

Alt = Altay-Kizhi; StAlt = горно-алтайский, ойротский

Ln = Lobnor Turkic

Qmn = Qumanda, Kumanda Tatar

QK = Lebed' Tatar, Quu-Kizhi (Chalkan, язык лебединских татар)

Qrg = Qirgiz; Qrg S = Southern dls. of Qrg; Qrg T = Talas dl.

StAlt = горно-алтайский, ойротский

Tb = Tuba (диалект черневых татар, туба-кижи)

Tln = Telengit (Tälängit)

Tlt = Teleut (Tälängät)

V.1.1.4. SET = Southeast Turkic (Baskakov's "Qarluq Turkic"):

ET = East Turkic (= New Uygur); dls.: ET G = Guma dl., ET H = Hami dl., ET K = Kashghar dl., ET Kc = Kucha dl., ET Ta = Tashmaliq dl., ET Tr = Taranchi, ET X = Khotan dl., ET Y = Yarkand dl.V.

Chg = Chagatay (West Türkistan Islamic literary lge, late XIV-XX); Chg Xw = Chagatay of Xwarezm

QT = Qaraxanid Turkic (West Türkistan, XII-XIV) (the tafsirs, Rabghuzi, Ibn-Muhanna)

Tki = Türki (traditional literary language of East Turkistan)

Uz = Uzbek; dls.: Uz Af = Uz dls. in Afganistan, Uz Nm = Namangan dl., Uz NmA = Namangan-Andizhan dls., Uz Qp = Qipchaq dls., Uz Srt = dls. labelled "Sart" in the old literature (\approx Uz NmA), Uz U = urban (Iranized) dls., Uz XrOg = Xwarezmic-Oghuz dls.

V.1.1.5. NET = Northeast Turkic:

Bltr = Beltir (today turned to a dialect of Xk)

Chl = Chulim (чулымский); dls.: Kü = Küarik (treated as a separate lge), Chl U = Upper Chulim, Chl M = Middle Chulim

SY = Sarig-Yugur (= Western Yugur)

Kü = Küarik or Küarük (dialect of Chulim)

Qb = Qoybal (= Koibal Turkic); dl.: Qb Sl = Salbin dl.

Qc = Qacha (качинский диалект «хакасского» языка)

Qzl = Qizil (кызыльский диалект т. н. «хакасского» языка)

Sg = Saghay (сагайский диалект «хакасского» языка)

Shor (шорский язык + шорский диал. «хакасского» языка)

Xk = Khakas (Xakas, хакасский яз., Abakan Turkic) (dialect cluster; StXk is based on Sg & Qc)

V.1.1.6. Tuva-Tofalar (Sayan Turkic)

Tf = Tofalar

Tv = Tuva; Tv NE = Northeastern dl. (Тоju dl., тоджинский диал.)

V.1.1.7. Xlj = Xalaj, Khalaj

V.1.1.8. Yakut sg.

Yk = Yakut

Dlg = Dolgan

V.1.2. pBlgh = proto-Bulghar

Blgh = Bulghar

Chv = Chuvash; dls.: Chv H = High Chuvash (верховой [вирьял] диалект; Chr K = Kurmish sdl. of Chv H; Chv KA = Krasnoarmeysk sdl. of Chv H; Chv Mr = Morgaush sdl. of Chv H; Chv L = Low Chuvash (низовой [анатри] диалект); Chv M = Morgaush sdl. of Chv H; Chv МК = Malo-Karachkino dl. of Chv; Chv V = Vurnar sdl. of Chv H

V.1.3 (non yet classified): Xzr = Xazar (Khazar, хазарский яз.)

V.2. M = *Mongolic*

Ba = Bao'an (Бао'ан, баоаньский)

Brt = Buryat; dls.: Brt A = Alar dl., Brt Ag = Aga dl. (агинский говор), Brt E = Eastern dls. of Brt, Brt NU = Nizhneudinsk dl.

WrM = Written Mongolian (Script Mongolian, Schriftmongolisch, Classical Mongolian)

WrO = Written Oyrat

Dg = Dagur; dls.: Dg B = Butha D, Dg Cc = Cicikar Dg, Dg Hl = Hailar Dg

Dx = Dongxiang, Tunghsiang, Santa, дунсянский язык

HIM = Halha-Mongolian

IM = Mongolian dialects of Inner Mongolia; IM H = Hejing dialect

Kl = Kalmuck; dls.: D = Dörböt, Ö = Ölöt, T = Torgut

Mgl = Moghol; dialect: Mgl Mr = Marda

MM = Middle Mongolian; dls. (variants): MM E = Eastern MM, MM W = Western MM

MMgl = Middle Moghol

Mnr = Monguor; dls.: Mnr E = Eastern Monguor (Dongbuyuguyu), Mnr M = Minhe Monguor (= Sanch'uang, Potanin's сань-чуан), Mnr H = Huzu Monguor (Uyangpu, Potanin's у-ян-бу, Tuzuyu), Mnr Nr = Naringol sdl. of Mnr H (SM's Monguor)

Oyr = Oyrat; dls.: Oyr B = Bayit (Bayat), Oyr T = Torgut, Oyr ET = East Torgut (in Sinkiang, Rm's "Osttorgutisch")

OM = Old Mongolian

Ord = Ordos Mongolian (a dialect treated here as a separate lge.)

PCIWrM = Pre-Classic Written Mongolian

Shrn = Shirongol (a collective name for Monguor, Dongxiang, and Baoan)

ShY = Shira-Yughur (= Shera-Yöghur, Jegün Yogur, Eastern Yugur)

Trgt = Torgut (a dialect of Kalmuck and Oyrat)

V.3. Tg = *Tungusic* (= *Tungusian*), *Tungus-Manchu*

V.3.1. NrTg = North Tungusian (subgroup of the Tungusian language family)

Ewk = Ewenki; dls.: Ewk E = Eastern, Ewk N = Northern, Ewk S = Southern; subdialects: Ewk A = Ayan subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ag = Agata & Bolshoy Porog subd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Ald = Aldan subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk B = Baykit subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Bnt = Baunt subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Brg = Barguzin subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Chlm = Chulman subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk

Chmk = Chumikan subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk D = Dudinka subd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Hng = Hingan (ХИНГАН) subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk I = Ilimpeya subd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Kch = Kachug subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk M = Maya subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk NB = Northern Baykal subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nk = Nakanna subd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Np = Nepa subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nr = Nercha subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk O = Olekma subdialects (of Ewk E), Ewk PT = Podkamennaya-Tunguska subdialects (of Ewk S), Ewk Skh = Sakhalin subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Sm = Sim subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tk = Tokko subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tkm = Tokma subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tmt = Tommot subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tng = Tungir subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tp = Tipton subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tt = Totta subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk U = Uchami subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk UA = Upper Amur subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ucr = Uchur subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk UL = Upper Lena subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Urm = Urmi subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk V = Vanavar subd. (of Ewk S), Ewk VI = Vilyuy subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Vtm = Vitim subd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Y = Yerbogachen subd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Z = Zeya subd. (of Ewk E)

Lm = Lamut (Ewen, ЭВЕНСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); dls.: Lm A = Arman d., Lm C = Central Lamut, Lm E = Eastern Lamut, Lm W = Western Lamut; sds.: Lm An = Anyuy subd. (of Lm C), Lm And = Anadir subd. (of Lm E), Lm B = Bistraya subd. (of Lm E), Lm KO = Kolima-Omolon subd. (of Lm E), Lm M = Moma subd. (of Lm C), Lm N = Northern Lm (a subd. of Lm E), Lm O = Okhotsk subd. (of Lm E), Lm Ol = Ola subd. (of Lm E), Lm P = Penzhina subd. (of Lm E), Lm Sk = Sakkirir subd. (of Lm W), Lm T = Tompon subd. (of Lm C), Lm Tg = Tugesir subd. (of Lm W) Lm Y = Yukagir subd. (of Lm W)

Neg = Negidal; dls.: H = High Amgun (верхнеамгуньский), L = Low Amgun (нижнеамгуньский),

V.3.2. AmTg = Amur Tungusian (subgroup of the Tungusian language family)

Nn = Nanay (Gold); dls.: Nn A = Amur dialect gr. (Nn Nh, Nn SA & Nn G), Nn B = Bikin dl., Nn G = Garin dl. (= Samar dl.), Nn K = Kili (a dial. area, incl. Nn KU, Nn Sn & Nn UU [Doerfer considers Kili a separate language]), Nn KU = Kur & Urmi dl., Nn Nh = Naykhin dl., Nn SA = Sakachi-Alan, Nn Sn = Sungari dialect gr. (incl. Nn B), Nn UU = Upper Ussuri dl.

Orc = Orochi

Ork = Orok

Sln = Solon

Ud = Udihe (Ude, удыхейский, удэйский, удэгейский); sds.: Ud A = Anyuy sdl., Ud B = Bikin sdl., Ud I = Iman sdl., Ud K = Koppi sdl., Ud X = Khor (Xor) sdl., Ud Sm = Samarga sdl.

Ul = Ulcha, Olcha

V.3.3. STg = South Tungusian

Jrc = Jurchen

WrMc = Written Manchu (Script Manchu, Classical Manchu)

Mc = Manchu; dls.: Mc N = Modern Northern Manchu, Mc Sb = Sibe Manchu

PCIWrMc = Pre-Classical Written Manchu (according to *TF*)

V.4. Ko = *Korean*; dls.: Ko Chs = Chǒngsando, Ko Chj = Chejudo, Ko Chl = Chenla, Ko Hm = Hamgyǒngdo, Ko Ks = Kyǒngsangdo (incl. Ko Ks S = South Kyo_ngsangdo), Ko Kw = Kangwǒndo, Ko N = Northern dls., Ko NW = Northwestern dls., Ko Ph = Phyǒngyang, Ko PhN = Phyǒngyang-Namdo, Ko Sl = Seoul (Sǒul)

CIKo = Classical Korean (Korean in Rm. SKE) (early NKo that still distinguishes between *a* and *ʌ*)

MKo = Middle Korean

NKo = New Korean, Modern Standard Korean

OKg = Old Koguryo

OKo = Old Korean (Silla)

V.5. JK = *Japanese-Kogurō* family

CIJ = Classical (Literary) Japanese (Bungo, based on ItOJ)

J = Japanese; dls.: J Ak = Akida, J Ht = Hateruma, J Ik = Ikema, J Is = Ishigaki, J Kg = Kagoshima, J Km = Kameyama, JK = Kyoto, J Kt = Keto, J Nk = Nakasuji, J Ns = Nase, J Rk = Ryukyu dls., pRk = proto-Ryukyu, J Sh = Shuri, J Sz = Sudzu, J Tk = Tokyo (= StJ), J Ty = Toyama, J Y = Yonakuni

Kgr = Kogurō, Kokuryo_

ItOJ = Late Old Japanese (9th-11th c.)

MJ = Middle Japanese (12th-16th c.)

OJ = Old Japanese (to the 8th c.); OJ E = Eastern Old Japanese

pJ = proto-Japanese

VI. D = Dravidian

VI.1. SD = South Dravidian

AlK = Alu-Kurumba [*Ālu Kurumba*] (a Dravidian dialect of the Nilgiri area)

Bel = Belari

Brgd = Burgandi

Irl = Irula

JKr = Jenu-Kurumba [*Jēnu Kurumba*] (a Dravidian dialect of the Nilgiri area)

Kdg = Kodagu; dls.: K = Karaḍa, MV = Merchara-Virajpet, Nl = Nalknad

Kkd = Kaikadi

Kn = Kannada; dls.: B = Barkur, Bd = Badaga, Bl = Bellary, Cr = Coorg Kn (Jenu Kuruba), G = Gowda, Gl = Gulbarga, Hl = Halakki, Hv = Havyaka, K = Kurumba, Km = Kumta, Nn = Nanjangud, O = Ola, R = Rabakavi, Sh = Sholiga, T = Tiptur

Krb = Kuruba (Betta-Kuruba)

Krmb = Alu-Kurumba, Jenu-Kurumba, and Pal-Kurumba (Dravidian dialects of the Nilgiri area)

Krg = Koraga; dls.: Krg M = Mudu, Krg O = Onti, T = Tappu

Ksb = Kasaba (= Kasava), a D language (or dial. of Irula)

Kt = Kota

McTm = Macro-Tamil (= Tamil and Malayalam)

Ml = Malayalam

OKn = Old Kannada

OTm = Old Tamil

PaK = Palu-Kurumba [Pālu Kurumba] (a Dravidian dialect of the Nilgiri area)

Td = Toda

Tm = Tamil; dls. and variants: CITm = Classical (Literary) Tamil, B = Brahmani Tm, K = Kollimalai Tm, LP = Tm of Lower Perak, NA = North Arcot, T = Tirunelvali Tm, W = Western Tm

TmM = Tamil and Malayalam

Tu = Tulu; Tu Br = Brahmin dl. of Tulu

VI. 2. SCD = South-Central Dravidian (Telugu-Kui) {Km., Zv.}:

VI. 2.1: Telugu:

OTl - Old Telugu

Svr = Savara

Tl = Telugu; Tl Brh = Brahman Telugu; dls.: Tl G = Guntur dl., Tl Mrl = Merolu dl.

VI.2.2. GnD = Gondvana Dravidian {An.}:

Gnd = Gondi; dls.: Gnd A = Adilabad Gnd, Gnd B = Gnd of the Betul district, Gnd Ch = Chhindwara dl., Gnd ChM = Maria Gondi of the Chanda district, Gnd D = Gnd of Durg, Gnd DM = Gnd of the Dandami Marias, Gnd G = Gnd of Gadchiroli tahsil (Chanda district), Gnd HM = Gnd of the Hill Marias (incl. Gnd HMB, HMD, HMO, HMS = Gnd HM of the areas of Bogan Pallahor, Dhobi, Orcha village, and Sironcha tahsil respectively), Gnd K = Koya Gondi (= Koya, considered a separate lge by some scholars), Gnd KB = Gnd of Bhadrachalam and Rekapalli, Gnd KD = Gnd of the Koyas of Dorlas, Gnd KM = Gnd of the Koyas of Malkangiri tahsil, Gnd KS = Gnd of Koyas and Dorlas of South Bastar, Gnd MB = Gondi of the Bison Horn and Dandami Marias (Bastar), Gnd Mn = Gondi of Mandla, Gnd Mrd = Mardia Gondi, Gnd Mu = Gnd of the Murias of North Bastar, Gnd Nr = Gnd of the Murias of Naraipur (NW. Bastar), Gnd RCh = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Chanda district, Gnd RSr = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Sironcha tahsil; Gnd Sn = Gnd of Seoni, Gnd Y = Gnd of Yeotmal

Knd = Konda; dl.: Knd P = Pulgura dl.

KK = Kui-Kuwi lgs (Kui and Kuwi)

Kui; dl.: Kui KK = Kui of Kuttia Kandhs

Ku = Kuwi; dls.: Ku D = dl. of Dongriya Kondhs, Ku K = Kubi dialect (labelled so by DEDR xxx), Ku Kt = Kuttia Kuwi, Ku P = dl. of the Parja Kondhs of Bisamkatak, Ku Su = Sunkarametta, Ku T = Tēkriya Kondh

Mnd = Manda

Png = Pengo

VI.3. CD = Central Dravidian

Gdb = Gadba; dls.: Gdb K = Koṇḍēkor Gadba, Gdb O = Ollari, Gdb P = Gdb of Pottangi (Koraput distr.), Gdb Sl = Salur

Klm = Kolami

Nk = Naiki of Chanda (= Nk. [Ch.] of DEDR)

Nkr = Naikri (dialect of Kolami) (= Nk. of DEDR)

Prj = Parji

VI.4. NED = Northeastern Dravidian

Krx = Kurux, Kurukh, Oraon

Mlt = Malto

VI.5. Brh = Brahui

III. E = Elamite (family)

AchEl = Achaemenian Elamite (from the 6th cent. B.C.)

El = Elamite (language)

MEl = Middle Elamite (13th through 11th cent. B.C.)

NEl = New Elamite (8th through 7th cent. B.C.)

OEI = Old Elamite (23rd through 14th cent. B.C.)

VIII. Gil = Gilyak (Nivkh); dls.: Gil A = Amur dl., Gil ES = East Sakhalin dl.

IX. CK = Chukchee-Kamchadal, Камчукче

IX.1. ChK = Chukchee-Koryak (proto-Chukchee)

Chk = Chukchee

Aly = Alyutor, аlyutorский

Kor = Koryak (Chawchuwen Koryak, "нымыланский")

Pln = Palana Koryak

IX.2. Im = Itelmen (= Kamchadal); dls.: Im W, Im E, Im S

X. EA = Eskimo-Aleut

X.1. Esk = Eskimo; dls.: Esk I = Inupiaq-Inuit, Esk Y = Yupik; subdialects: Esk AY = Alaskan Yupik (incl.: PY = Pacific Y [PY K = Konyak, PY Ch = Chugach], CAY = Central AY [CAY BB = Bristol Bay, CAY K = Kuskokwim, CAY Nun = Ninivak Island, CAY NI = Nelson Island, CAY HBC = Hooper Bay & Chevak, CAY Y = Yukon, CAY NS = Norton Sound with CAY NSU = Unalik]), SbY = Siberian Yupik (incl.: SbY Na = Naukan, CSbY = Central SbY [= Chaplino], SbY Sr = Sireniki), Esk WII = Wales I, Esk AI = North Alaska I, Esk CI = Canada I (incl. Esk MkI = Mackenzie Bay I), Esk LI = Labrador I, Esk WGI = West Greenlandic Esk I.

X.2. Ale = Aleut, dls.: Ale E = Eastern Ale, Ale W = Western Ale (incl. Ale A = Atkan, Ale Au = Attuan

NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

General remarks:

The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: *ʔ (incl. *ʔ), *ɸ (incl. *ɸ), *b, *c (incl. *ć, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *ç (incl. *ć, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *č, *č', *ĉ, *ĉ', *g, *g, *ɣ (incl. *Γ), *h, *H (incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂), *ħ, *k (incl. *K, *K̲), *k̲ (incl. *K̲), *l (incl. *l̲, *l̲, *L), *í, *m, *n (incl. *n̲, *n̲, *n̲), *N, *N, *N̲), *ń, *ŋ, *p (incl. *p̲, *P, *P̲), *q (incl. *Q), *q̲, *r (incl. *R), *r̲, *s (incl. *ś, *ś, *ś', *S), *š, *š', *t (incl. *T), *t̲, *w, *χ (incl. *X), *y, *z (incl. *z̲, *z̲, *z̲, *Z), *ž, *ž', *z̲ (incl. *z̲, *z̲, *z̲), *ž, *ž', *z̲.

The letter *h precedes *H (incl. *H, *H₂) in the word-initial position only. In the word-internal position the letters h, H, H, and H₂ occupy the same place in the order of entries.

Among the word-medial consonants we shall distinguish between "weak consonants" (laryngeal and epiglottal consonants, *g, *q, *w, and *y) and "strong consonants" (all others).

The entries are arranged as follows:

[1] The basic arrangement: according to the initial consonants and the first word-medial strong consonants. If there are no strong Inlaut-consonants, the weak consonants (according to their place in the alphabet) are taken into account instead.

[2] Within each group of entries with the same initial cns. and the same medial strong consonants the entries are arranged as follows:

- (a) those without any third consonant,
- (b) those without second strong Inlaut-cns. that have a weak cns. before the word-medial strong one,
- (c) those without second strong Inlaut-cns. that have a weak cns. after the word-medial strong one,
- (d) those with a second strong Inlaut-cns.

If in a N etymon in the medial position (Inlaut) there are two weak consonants and no strong one, the priority of one weak consonant over the other (as criteria for alphabetical order) has been established according to the fate of these consonants in daughter languages. For instance, in the N word *k̲Aħw∇ 'to seize, to grasp, to hold' the consonant *w has survived in Kartvelian and Dravidian, while the laryngeal was lost in those lgs., therefore the entry was placed among the *k̲-w-entries.

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. Order of vowels: *a (incl.

***A**), ***ä** (incl. ***æ**), ***e** (incl. ***E** and ***ê**), ***i**, ***o** (incl. ***ô**), ***u** (incl. ***U**, ***û**, ***â**, ***î**), ***ü**, ***∇**.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (with brackets $\text{ }^{\text{r}} \text{ }^{\text{l}}$) and of doubtful presence (with brackets $\text{ }_{\text{l}} \text{ }_{\text{r}}$) are treated (concerning the alphabetical order) as those with regular consonants. The optional second element of a N compound word (that within plain brackets ()) is not taken into account in the order of the entries.

See Introduction, §§ 9-14.

As indicated in the Introduction (§ 2.4), if it is found that pN ***i** in the Auslaut regularly disappears in pIE, the word-final N ***æ** in our pN reconstructions (based on IE evidence) may be (or should be) replaced by a less specific ***E**.

If a N etymon is represented in two daughter-families only, this is denoted by a sign _2 preceding the N reconstruction. The doubtful cognates are denoted by signs of query (? , _{ϕ} , or _{σ}). The sign _{μ} (indicating that the derivation is not clear) does not mean that the cognate is doubtful. If among the words (or roots) of daughter-families only two are certain as belonging to the N etymon in question (having no signs ?, _{ϕ} , or _{σ}), this is denoted by a sign ($\text{ }_2?$) preceding the N reconstruction, and if only one is certain, the sign is ($\text{ }_1?$).

Two important uncertainty signs:

$\text{ }^{\text{r}} \text{ }^{\text{l}}$ - uncertainty brackets: $\text{ }^{\text{r}} \text{ }^{\text{l}} \text{ }^{\text{a}}$ = a or similar,

$\text{ }_{\text{l}} \text{ }_{\text{r}}$ - uncertainty brackets: $\text{ }_{\text{l}} \text{ }_{\text{r}} \text{ }^{\text{a}}$ = a or nothing.

The sign '↑' (= 'the same meaning as above') refers to the first appearance of the word or morpheme in the same entry.

The position of Dahalo within Cushitic is still controversial (it belongs either to EC or to SC). In this dictionary the words of Dahalo are registered as belonging to a separate branch of Cushitic.

1. ***ʔa**, pc. of plurality: it is found in the N cds. ***m i ʔa** 'we' (q.v. ffd.) (***m i** 'I' + ***ʔa** of plurality) and ***ṭ'ü' ʔa** ~ ***s'ü' ʔa** 'ye (vos)' (q.v. ffd.) (N ***ṭ'ü'** ~ ***s'ü'** 'thou' + ***ʔa**), as well as in HS: S nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix ***ʔa-** (× N ***h'a**, pc. of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > Ar رِجْلٌ **ʔa-rǧul-un** 'feet' (← rǧl-un 'foot'), **ʔa-yūām-un** 'days' (← yawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки), **ʔamtār-un** 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ʔbʕl 'owners' (← bʕl 'owner'), ʔhgr

'towns' (<𐌆𐌿 hgr 'town'), Gz 𐌹a-znāb 'tails' (<𐌆𐌿 zanab 'tail'), 𐌹adbār 'mountains' (<𐌆𐌿 dabr 'mountain'), 𐌹aṣṣār 'enemies' (<𐌆𐌿 ṣarr 'enemy'), 𐌹abyāt 'houses' (<𐌆𐌿 bēt 'house'), 𐌹aḥḥūl 'fields' (<𐌆𐌿 ḥaḥl 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. | S *-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-ā, nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. *-ā > Ak -ā (marṣ -ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": *maʷit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar māṭ-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar bānātun nom. 𐌹banātin accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōt 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* || C: Bj 𐌹a, article of m. pl. (nom.-voc. case) ¶ AD KJ 106, Rop. 9 ◇ The initial lr. of the pc. (as suffix) is tentatively identified as N *ʔ because this is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening in NaIE (*me-s 'we' ather than *mē-s, the "secondary" ending of 2p *-te rather than *-tē). The original bisyllabic form of the prn. for 'we' has left traces in Tg *būe 'we' (excl.) and possibly in OHg mī v [mīū]. But the Krl Ld diphthong in mūō 'we' is likely to result from a secondary development (*mē > *mō > *mūō).

2. *ʔa 'to become, to be' > HS: S *-a 'is', ending of the predicative case (m. sg.) > Ak zero ending of the predicative case ("stative" of nouns and adjectives, "permansive" of verbs), WS *-a, ending of the 3 m. sg. of the new perfect (developed from the predicative case of deverbal adjectives: pS *maʷit-a 'is dead' > WS *maʷit-a 'has died' > Ar māṭ-a, Hb 𐌹meṭ, Gz mōt-a 'died') ¶ Dk. JDPa 213, 241-6 || ? C: the final component of the EC, Bj, and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs that go back to prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs) (which may have been either *-Ha- [belonging to the N etymon in question], or *-hay- 'be' [akin to S *✓hyw 'be', FN *how'ri 'become, appear'], or both): cf. the paradigms of suffixal conjugation: Bj (past) 2m -t-ā, 2f -t-ā-y, 3m -y-ā, 3f -t-ā, 1p -n-ā, etc., Aw (past) 1s *-ʔa (> glottalization of the stem-final cns. + -a), 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, (prs.-ft.) 1s *-ʔé (glottalization + -é), 2s -té, 3m -é, 3f -té, 1p -né, Sml (past) 1s -à yʔ, 2s -

tàyʔ, 3m -àyʔ, 3f -tàyʔ, 1p -nàyʔ, Or S {Sr.} (prs.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ti, 1p -na, Sa (prs.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, Or S, Sa (prs.) 1s -e, 2s -te, 3m -e, 3f -te, 1p -ne ¶ AD KJ 119 (table 45), 126-9 (tables 56, 58, 62), 140 (table 76), Sr. 130 || ? B: Zng {TC} 3m aor. yìʔ, 3m pf. yaʔ 'be, exist' ¶ DCTC 293 || A: M *a₁- 'be' (× N *ʔ|Γaʔ▽ [= *ʔ|g|ʔaʔ▽] 'grow, become') > MM [S] a- 'dasein, sich aufhalten, wohnen, leben', [HI] a- 'être, demeurer, exister, passer ses jours de quelque façon', [PP] a- v. 'be', WrM a-, Dg ā- id. ¶ Pp. IM 74, MED 1, H 4, Ms. H 33 || D {Km.} *ā- 'be, become' (× N *ʔ|Γaʔ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 243 [#102] (D, A: M + unc. (with a query) Tg *-ō, which actually belongs to N *how^r'i' 'become, appear' [q.v.]).

2a. (₂?) *ʔA, a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??) > HS: C: BjA {AD} -a, sx. of masculine in verbal forms of the 2nd person: pret.: 2m ti-dir-a 'you (sg. m.) killed' (↔ 2f ti-dir-i. cp. 1st person a-dir, 3m i-dir, 3f ti-dir) || S *-a in *ʔant-a 'thou' m. (↔ *ʔant-i 'thou' f., cp. C *anti 'thou' without gender distinction) (see s.v. N *t^r'ū' 'thou') |Ar ʔa- in the nominal pattern ʔa-CCaCu for the masc. gender of adjectives (comparative, adjectives of colours, etc.: ʔaʂʔaru 'smaller' m., ʔaʂfaru 'yellow' m., ʔabyaōu 'white' m.) ↔ fem. C▽CCāʔu (ʂaʔrāʔu 'smaller' f., ʂafrāʔu 'yellow' f., bayōāʔu 'white' f.) || D *-an ([ʔ] ~ *-a), marker of masc. > Tm mak-an 'son', man_n-an 'king', kātāl-an 'lover', i_lai_y-an 'young man', muti-ya-an 'old man', Ml mak-an 'son', tacc-an 'carpenter', ta_tt_t-ān 'goldsmith', va_nn_n-ān 'washerman', Kt kurḍ-n 'blind man', ka_lḥ (< *ka_l-n) 'male thief', Td ko_lḥ (< *ko_l-n) id., to_txī-n 'goldsmith', konod_y-n 'Canarese man', Kdg ka_l]-ā₁ 'male thief', obb-ā₁ 'one man', ki_vd-ā₁ 'dumb man', Kn O mag-an 'son', aras-an 'king', Kn Bd ka_l]-a(n) 'thief', aḥḥ-a(n) 'elder brother', Tl -an (marker of masc.), Knd -a (e.g. kaḥ-a 'blind man', dan_r-a 'young man', dokr-a 'old man'), Png -en, -an (ḥonḍ-en 'brother', potl-en 'father-in-law', dūt-en 'old man', nāḥak-an 'villager', haruk-an 'a small man'), Klm -an / -en / -on (mar-an 'spouse's brother', mal-an 'man of barber caste', ko_llav-an 'Kolam man', tōr-en 'younger brother', okk-on 'one man'), Nkr -en ~ -an (tōl-en 'brother', kīk-en 'son', kaym-an 'spouse's younger brother'), Prj -ed / (before case sxs.) -en- (tol-ed / tol-en- 'brother', bert-ed / bert-en- 'big man'), Gdb to_r-on 'brother', Mlt -e (maq-e 'son', qad-e 'son') ¶¶ The final *-n in the sx. *-an is due to the generalization in the paradigm of

cases, where *-n- (from the N genitive pc. *nu) was originally present in obl. cases || IE: possibly one of the sources of NaIE *-o- / -e (nom. *-o-s, voc. *-e), sx. of derived adjectives in the masc. gender (↔ *-ā fem.), e.g. *deiwos 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vaha 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēva- 'demon, false deity', OL deivos, L deus 'god', OIr dia 'god', Germanic *teiwaz > ON Týr 'war god', OHG Ziu, Zio 'Mars', Lt diēwas 'god' (cp. *deiw-ā > L dea 'goddess', Osc deivaí 'dea'), derived from NaIE noun *dyēus ~ diyēus 'heaven, sky, day' > OI 'dyāuh id., Gk Ζεύς 'Zeus', L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, Διου/ελ 'to Jupiter', OIr die 'day', Arm տիւ տիւ 'day' ||| The autosemantic word underlying this marker of masc. may be tentatively discerned in Eg MK i'w 'Junge' ◇ The fact that in the Bj verbal conjugation the marker of masc. -ā is separated from the 2nd person morpheme ti- suggests that the marker of masc. goes back to an address word: Bj ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' goes back to N *t'ú' 'thou' + verb + the N address word *ʔA ('[?] man', marker of the male sex) (cp. the similar situation with the marker of fem. in HS, see s. v. N *ʔ'a' y ▽ 'mother').

3. *ʔe (~ ? *ʔä) 'not' > U *e- (~ ? FU *ä-) 'do(es) not', negative verb > F e- id. (1s en 'I do not', 2s et, 3s ei, 1p emme, 2p ette, 3p eivät), Vp e- id., Es ei 'do\does not' (negative pc.), Es S e-s~i-s 'did not' (negation in the past tense), Es Δ negative verb: 1s e-si-n, 2s e-si-d, Lv neg. copulative verb ä- (1s, 3s, 1p, 3p ä'b, 2s äd, 2p ät), Lp N i- / æ- / ē- id. (1s im~in, 2s ik~ih, 3s ī~ii, 1d æm~æm, 2d æp'pe, 3d æba~æbā, 1p æp~æp, 2p ēppit, 3p æi), Lp L i-/ī-/ä-/ā-/e-, Lp S {Hs.} eä-/i-/ie-, Er stem e- of the neg. verb in the past tense (1s e-žirí, 2s e-žit, 3s e-ś, etc.), Mk i- id. (past 1s i-žerí, 2s i-žet, 3s i-ž, etc.), Chr L ы- ъ- id. (past 3s ъ-š, 1p ъ-š-na, 2p ъ-š-ба, 3p ъ-š-t, etc.), Chr H ə- (ĕ-) id. (past 3s, 3p əš, in other personal forms ə is reduced to zero: 1s šam, 2s šac, etc.), Prm *e- (neg. verb in p.) > OPrm i-, Yz 'i- (1s 'i-g 'I did not', 2s 'i-n, 3s 'i-z, etc.), Z e- (1s e-g, 2s e-n, 3s e-z), Vt 3- (1s öñ 3-y, 2s öd 3-d, 3s öз 3-z), Vt SW oʔ- (= {LG} ə-) (oʔ-y, oʔ-n, oʔ-z), ? pPrm *en prohibitive > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in; as to the Chr neg. verbal stem of the present tense: Chr L o-, Chr H a-, it is most probably of different origin, since these vowels are not reg. reflexes of FU *e- ||| pVg *ā(-) > Vg: T ā, äk 'nein', K ät, äti, P ätam, Ss äti 'is not'; ? pOs {Ht.} *antə ({HL.} *intə) 'not' (negative pc. before the verb in indicative) >

Os: V/Vy *antĕ* ~ *antā* before cns., *ant* before vowels, Ty *antε*, *ant*, Y *antā*, D *antā*, *ant*, *an*, Nz *ānt*, *ān*°, Sh *ānt*, *ān*°, *ān*, Sn *āt*, O *ān*°, ? pOs **ant*∇m 'is not' > Os: V/Vy *antim*, etc., ?pOs {Ht.} **ant*'ā' ({HL.} **int*'ā') 'nein' > Os: D *antā*, Nz/Kz/Sh/Sn *āntā* || Sm {Jn.} **i-* ~ **e-* ~ ∇-, {HL.} **i-*, neg. verb > Ng {Ter.} *ńi-* (aor. 1s *ńi-ndym*, p. 1s *ńi-sə-mə*), proh. 2s {Prk.} *ńi?*, {Cs.} *ńe?*, En (aor. sg. 1) {Cs.} *i-*, {Ter.} *ńe-*, (proh. 2s) {Cs.} *i?*, Ne T {Ter.} *ни-*, {Lh.} *ńī-* (aor. 1s *ни-дм'*, 2s *ни-н*, 3s *ни*, proh. 2s *нĕн* *ńōn*), Ne F *ńī-* (neg. verb), Kms {KD} *ε-* (neg. verb: prs. 1s *ε-м* ~ *ə-м*, p. *εj*), *i?* ~ *ī* ~ *ĕ* 'do not' (proh.), Mt {HL.} **i-* 'do not' (neg. verb) (Nh, En, Nn *ń-* is a reg. prosthetic cns. before **i-*) || Y {Rd.} **e-*: {Jc} *e**e* 'nicht, nein', *e**l* 'not', *oi-*, *ei-*: *oile* 'nicht dasein, nicht dagewesen sein; nein', Y {Schf.} *e**i* 'not' ¶¶ UEW 68-70, SK 32-4, Hs. 145-6, LG 331, RMarS 366-7, Ht. 198 [#725], Stn. D 121-3, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 26, KD 164-5, Hl. M 172-3, #331, JN III 187, 231-3, 248-9, 388-9, 431-2, 45, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#7] (Y ← U) || A {SDM95} **e*, {AD} **e*'ā 'not' > Tg **e-*, neg. aux. verb (like in FU) > Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork *з-* id. (Ewk *з-si-m sārз* 'I do not know', *з-sīn sārз* 'he does not know'); in Nn there are only relics of this verb: prtcs. *з-śi* and *з-čīn* following the main verb have become morphemes of negation of verbs ¶ Mng. TS 236-7, STM 432-3, Bz. 124 || M **e-se-*, neg. verb > MM *ese*, preverbal negation ([S] *e-se*, [MA] *ﻋﺴﻪ*, and [IM] *ﻋﺴﻪ* 'not' (acc. to Ligeti, this form preserves M *ę* contrasting *e* [from **ä*]), WrM *ese-* (past *ese-be*, nomen futuri *ese-kü*, nomen perfecti *eseg-sen*, etc.), HIM *es*, Ord *ese*, Mnr H *sз* 'not'; the final element **-se* was explained by Illich-Svitych (IS I 265) as going back to a desiderative *sx*. ¶ Pp. IM 286-90, Pp. MA 165, 437, Lg. NVMI 119, SM 341 ¶¶ Pp. IAL 65, KW 128, IS I 265, DQA #407 (A **e* 'not') || HS: S **?ī* (= **?iy*) ~ **?ay* 'not' > Hb *ʔī*, Ph *ʔy* 'not', Ar Δ *ʔa-*, Sq {L} *ʔē* 'not', Gz *ʔī-* 'not' (preverb: *ʔī-rəkl* *ħawīra* 'we cannot go'), Tgr *ʔi* 'not', *-ey* (as in *ʔandey* 'while not' < *ʔando-ay*), Amh *y-* (< **?ī-*) in *y-ellē-m* 'there is not' (cp. *allē* 'there is'), OAk {G} *ē* (before a cns.) / *ay* (before a vowel) (< **ay-*) 'do not!', 'may not' (prohibitive pc.), Ak *ay* ~ *ya* (written *a-*, *a-i*, *a-IA*, *IA*) (< **?ayya*, intensified variant of **?ay*) 'do not' (proh.), *ē* 'no' ('nein'), *ē... ē* 'not... lest' ¶ KB 37, JH 11, HJ 43-4, LLS 47-8, LG 1, G OA 1-2, CAD I/1 218-20 and IV 1 || ?? Eg fOK *īw.ī* 'welcher nicht' ¶ EG I 45 || ? EC: Brj *-ay?*, Hd *-yyo*, suffixes of negative forms of verbs ¶ Hd. 266 || ???φ (ι)-WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} *ħai* 'no!' (a decisive negative), Mpn {Frz.} *háyí* 'no!' (may

occur at the end of interr. sentences) ¶ Frz. GM 21, Flk. s.v. hai ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (AG, S, Eg; err.: pHS *h-) || D *-ā, negative affix (→ infix) of verbs > Klm -e- (sī-e-n 'I do not give, shall not give'), Nk -e- (ār-e-n 'he does not play'), Prj -a- (cūr-a-ta 'non vides, non videris'), Gdb -a- (var-a-n 'I do\did\shall not come'), Tl -z- (1s cεpp-z-ηu 'I do\did\shall not say', 2s cεpp-z-ωu, 3m cεpp-z-řu, 3f3n cεpp-z-du), CITm -ā- (3n) / -Ø (all other person-gender-number forms), Ml -ā- (vār-ā-ńńu 'did not come'), -ā (ńāń cεyy-ā 'I am not doing, I shall not do'), Kdg -a (tiŋg-a 'do\does not eat'), Kn -a- (3n) / -Ø- (negation in other person-gender-number forms). Subrahmanyam reconstructs a D negative sx. of verbs *-a, while Bur. and An. prefer to see here a sx. (*-ā) forming a pD negative gerund, that served later as the first component of negative tense forms ¶¶ Cald. 468-77; Subram. N 32-43; Sbr. DVM 370-4; Bloch S 51-2, Bur. rBloch 255, An. SG 400-19 ◇ D *ā and pVg *ā suggest the existence of a N variant pc. *ǰā ◇ In grammatical morphemes pN *h- and pS *h- (just like *ǰ-) yield Ar and Gz ǰ-, hence a N *h- in this etymon cannot be ruled out. We reconstruct here N *ǰ- (= *ǰ|h-) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #55 (S, U, A [M, Tg]), IS I 264-5 (HS [S, C], U, D, A [M, Tg]), Gr. I 214-7 ("negative E/ELE" in U, Y, A, ChK).

4. *ǰaǰ ▽ 'female', (in descendant lgs.) → marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > HS: S: Ar -āǰ-u, fem. ending of adjectives (mainly those of the ǰaffaǰu-form): ǰafrāǰu 'yellow' f. (↔ ǰaǰfaru id. m.), ǰawrāǰu 'one-eyed' f. (↔ ǰaǰwaru id. m.), ǰasnāǰu 'beautiful' f. (↔ ǰasan- id. m.) ¶ Br. AG 83, Br. G I 410 [§ 225.B.1] || SC: Irq -oǰo, {MQK} -oǰō (sx. of fem. sg.): {Nb.} ħ-oǰo, {MQK} ħ-oǰō 'sister' (↔ ħ-iyaǰ 'brother'), {Nb.} k^ωaǰ-oǰo, {MQK} k^ωaǰoǰō 'widow' (pl. k^ωaēǰi), {Nb.} wawut-oǰo, {MQK} wāwitoǰō 'queen' (↔ wāwita 'kings'), irq^ωat-oǰo ({MQK} irq^ωatoǰō) 'Iraqw woman' (↔ irq^ωatu 'Iraqw man'), Alg {E} -oǰo (fem. gender sx.), Brn {E} -it-oǰo id. (with a noun-particularizing sx. -it-) ¶ Nb. 64, E SC 54, 60, MQK 50, 57, 64 || IE: NaIE *-ā (< IE {Bks.} *-eh or < IE *-ah), ending of the fem. gender in adjectives, nouns, and pronouns > OI, Av -ā, Gk D -ā, Gk A -η / -ā, L -a, Lt -a, pSl *-a, e.g. [a] *new-ā ~ *now-ā 'new' f. > OI 'navā, Gk νέα, L nova, pSl *nova > OCS **NOBA**, [b] NaIE *ekw-ā 'mare' (← *ekw-o-s 'horse') > OI 'aśvā, Av aspā-, L equa, Olt ašvā ~ ešva (not necessarily a pNaIE d., it may well have been derived in the separate history of each branch of NaIE), [c] NaIE *wed^how-ā 'widow' > OI vi'dhavā, Av viδavā-, L vidua, Ir fedb, Gt widuwō, OHG wituwa, Pru widdewū, OCS **ВѢДОВА**

vbdova [d] NaIE *s-ā (f. of *s0-), distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. > OI 'sā, Gt sa id., Gk ἥ (df. art. f. sg.), OL s̄ā-psa 'ipsa' ¶ NaIE *ā coalesced with a suffix (or suffixes) of different origin, with different meaning (not denoting females) and with a different lr. (or lrs.), which is suggested by the K word *wenaq- 'vine' (> OG wenaq-, G venaχ-, Mg bineaχ-, Sv wenäq-), which is a loan from IE *wojn̄n-aH- id. (> NaIE *wojn̄nā > Gk οἴνη 'vine') ← IE *wojn̄n0-m 'wine'. The Kartvelian cns. *q rendering the IE lr. shows that the latter was different from *ʔ (I reconstruct it as *-x, but it may have been phonetically identical with [χ] or even [q]) ¶ Brg. KVG 354-60, 373-401, BD II/1 161-2, Bur. S 83, Bks. 182-3, Bks. ONI 20-8, K 83, AD IEH 21 || D *ā, *ān̄ 'female (animal)' > Tm ā, ān̄ 'female of ox\sambar\buffalo', MI ā, ān̄, Kt a·v, Kn ā, Tlg āvα, Krx 0y 'cow', Mlt 0yα 'cow, ox'; D *-a·, marker of feminine (?) > Kdg obb-a 'one woman' (↔ obb-ā₁ 'one man'), m0v-a 'daughter' (↔ m0v-ā₁ 'son'), Gnd ɖiȳy-ā 'young woman', ? Gnd K kũt̄-0 'lame woman' ¶¶ D #334, Shanm. DN 51, 66, 69 ¶¶ *-n̄ in *ān̄ is from forms of obl. cases, sc. goes back to N *nu 'from'.

5. ? (LI.) *ʔaba ~ *ʔapa 'daddy, father' > HS: S *ʔa'b- 'father' (nom. *ʔa'b-u, -um, accus. *ʔa'b-a, -am, gen. *ʔa'b-i, -im) > BHB 𐤁𐤁 'ʔāb, cs. ʔāb̄ī, +ppa. ʔāb̄ī-/ʔāb̄ī- (e.g. ʔāb̄ī-k̄ā 'thy father', ʔāb̄ī-k̄εm 'your [pl.] father'), Ph ʔb, cs. ʔab̄ī (as reflected in Ak and Gk transcriptions of proper names, / FrdR § 240), Ug ʔb, Amr {G} ʔabum, BA 𐤁𐤁* 'ʔab̄*, st. pron.: ʔāb̄ūk 'thy father', JPA ʔab̄bā, Sr ʔab̄bā, Ar ʔab-, cs. ʔabū / ʔabā / ʔab̄ī, st. pron. ʔabū- / ʔabā- / ʔab̄ī-, Sb ʔb, Mh df. 'ḥayb, indf. 'ʔīb, pl. df. 'ḥawb, Hrs ḥayb, pl. ḥōb, Jb C ʔiy, Sq {Jo.} ʔiyf-, Ak abu(m), +ppa.: abū-, ab̄ī- ¶ DRS 1, KB 1-2, GB 1-2, 823, OLS 1-2, G A 13, Jo. M 2, Jo. J 1, Jo. H 1, Jo. DA, L G 2, Sd. 7-8; on the pS oxytonic stress and its infl. (the lengthening of the vw. in the case ending in cs. and st. pron.) see AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 101-3 || EC *ʔābb-/*abb- 'father' > Af abba, Sml ābbe, Rn {PG} ābba, Bs ābo, Or {AD, Bl.}, Arr ábba?, {Grg.} abbā, Kns āppa, Gdl áppā, Gwd áppa; this etymon may be the source of EC *ʔab-(-uyy-, -iȳy-) 'maternal uncle' (derived from the word for 'father', like in L patruus?) > Af abo, abu, Sml ab-tí, Or abuyya, Kns abuyyāta, Gdl apa, apuyy, Dbs, Hr, Gwd ʔapúyya, Gln ʔapíyya, Brj abuy'yā 'maternal uncle' ¶ Bl. 100, 112, 174, Ss. PEC 15, Ss. B 21, Hn. S 51, PG 58, Grg. 4, Brl. 2-3, Hw. A 336, Oo. 67, HL 59, AMS 31 (Dl apúyya 𐤁 apíyya 'avunculus' interpreted as 'weiblicher Vater', sc. 'representative of

one's mother's clan'), 148, 194, 258 || Ch ≈ *ʔ∇b- (~*ʔap-) 'father' > WCh *ʔ∇b/p- 'father' ({Stl.} pHAB *ʔab∇[ŋg¹-] > WCh: Hs ùbǎ | Cg {Sk.} òbán, P' {MSk.} ábatì, ábanáni, Jmb, Dir àbá | Jm {Gw.} abawá, Gj {ChL} ábà, ? Bg pǎŋ | Ngz {Sch.} àfík, Bd {ChL} àfǎŋ || CCh: ? Nz {ChC} ābá (independent creation as a Ll.?), Bdm {Lk.} abú, {Cfr.} àpá, àpá, Lgn {Bou.} ʔàbà, Msg P {Trn.} àpí, Msg {Mch.} ap, ZmB {J} ʔábà || ECh: Smr {J} ʔàb, Tmk {Cp.} òwè, ? Bar {Lk.} ába ♪ ChC, ChL, Ba. 1067, Sk. HCD 277, Lk. B 89 || **A** {DQA} *áp'a 'father' ({SDM97} *āpa 'father, grandfather') > T *apa 'father, ancestor' (→ 'bear, ursus') > OT apa id., Tkm Δ, Az Δ, ET Ii aba, Tk Δ aba, appa 'father', Qrg aba 'uncle, elder brother', Alt aba 'elder relative (of ego's clan), wife's elder brother; bear', Chv упа ub_a ɖ ob_a 'bear' ♪ Cl. 5, ET GI 54-58, DTS 1, Rs. W 1, Jeg. 274, Fed. II 281-2, Jud. 17, BT 11 || M *ab^u' 'father' > WrM abu, HIM ав, аав 'father, grandfather', esp. applied to an old father (endeavouring), WrO āba 'father, daddy', Kl аав āβъ id., Mnr H āb_a ~ āwa, Dx aba, Ba ābe 'father'; d.: M {ADb.} *aba-gay 'father's younger brother' > MM [S, MA, HI] abaɣa 'paternal uncle', WrM abaga, HIM авга, WrO абага, Kl авh аβъ id., Mnr H awu 'elder brother' ♪ MED 2-3, 5, Krg. 11, T 313, T BJ 132, T DnJ 110, SM 1, 16, H 1, Pp. MA 402, Ms. H 32 || Tg: Neg apa 'grandfather; father's\mother's elder brother' ♪ Ci. N 193, STM I 47 || pKo *àpí > MKo àpí 'father' (< *apa-i with a diminutive *-i), apà:-nim 'father', NKo aba,ǰi, vl abi id. ♪ S QK #706, Vv. AEN 7, Nam 338, MLC 1074 ♪ DQA #80, Rm. EAS I 140, DQA #80 || **D** *appa 'father' ({GS} *ap-) > Tm appan, appu 'father', Ml appan, Kn appa, Kdg appa, 'father', Tu appa, appæ (affix of respect added to proper names of men), Tl appa 'father', Gnd āpṑrā̀ā̀l 'father', ? maipō 'my father', ? mi-apo 'thy father', Knd aposi 'father' (with reference to the 3rd person) ♪ D #156 (a), Zv. 88 [#70], GS 37 [#64] ◇ The common origin of the HS, A, and D stems is qu., since each of them may be an independent Lallwort creation. The Ll. origin may be responsible for the variability *-b- ~ *-p- ◇ AD NM #118, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

6. *ʔoh₂b∇ (= *ʔohb∇?) 'clan' > **HS:** Eg fOK ɜb.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') ♪ EG I 7, Fk. 2 || **IE:** NaIE *ēpi- 'friend', {E} IE *Hépi-s 'confederate' > OI āpih 'ally, friend, acquaintance', 'āpyam 'confederation, alliance, friendship' || ?σ Gk ἥπιος 'gentle, mild, kind; favourable' (⇔ Ch. 415) ♪ WPI 121-2, P 325, EI 116, M K I 75, F I 641 ♪ Acc. to Froehde PN 330 and Hirt E 228, Gk η is not from

*ā, because the Greek tragic authors never used ā instead. But if this argument is disregarded, the IE stem may be reconstructed as *ā|ēpi || **¶**: NaT *ōba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N *ʔ¹o¹m∇ 'kin, clan, everybody', q.v.) > OT oba (Cl.: obā) 'small social unit, clan', Chg oba 'small tents which nomads pitch and in which they reside', Osm ≥XIV oba 'a small encampment; family living in one tent', Tk oba 'large tent, nomadic family', Δ 'clan', Tkm ōba, ET {Ml.} opa, Uz Δ owa 'tent', ET opa {Ml.} id., {Nj.} 'shepherd's cabin', Az oba 'nomadic extended family (кочевье)', 'separated farm (отселок, хутор)', 'tent (of nomads)' ¶ Cl. 5-6, ET Gl 400-1, Rl. I 1157, Äz. 270, Bu. I 107 || M *obug ~ *omug 'clan, family' (× N *ʔ¹o¹m∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ DQA #1603 (A *ōp'∇ 'clan, family') ◇ A N lr. preceding *b is suggested by the length of the vowels in T and IE. IE *-p- (instead of *-b^h-) may be accounted for by the infl. of a vl. lr. This N lr. could hardly have been *ʔ (the N cluster *-ʔb- had to yield *p > IE *p) or *h (which would have survived in Eg). It is most likely to have been *h.

7. 2 *ʔ¹a¹bH∇ 'water, watercourse' > **HS**: Eg G ἰβᾶ ({EG} ἰβῆ) ≈ 'water' ¶ EG I 64 || C: Bj {R} aba 'river, brook' ||| EC: Or B {Tut.} abā (nom. abofni) 'river', Or {Brl.} 'valle stretta con pochi guadi', {Th., Brl.} abbai 'the Blue Nile' ¶ Th. 4, Tut. s.v. abā, Brl. 3 ||| **IE**: NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river' (× N *qap∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse'): *ab- > OIr ab (gen. abae) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} *abonā id. > W afon, Ocm auon, Cm avon, MBr aupn, auen, Br aven 'river'; OBrtt Abona (name of a river), Ὕ Aβοῦς 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) ||| L amnis '(< *abnis) 'stream of water, river' ||| NaIE *a(:)p- > OI ap-/āp-, Av ap- (nom. sg. af-š), OPrs ap- 'water' ||| Pru ape 'creek, small river'; ??σ Lt ùpè, Ltv upe 'river, stream' (u- is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) ||| Tc A/B āp- 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-5, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 (*h₂eb^(h)- 'river'), 636 (*h₂ēp- ~ *h₂ep- 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. 166 (× N *qap∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Hardly here FU *¹wa ~ *uwa 'stream; to stream', more plausibly belonging to N *ho₁w₁sa (or *ho₁wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' (q.v.).

8. 2 *ʔibrE 'fig tree' > **HS**: S *^oʔibar- > Ar ʔibr-at- 'sycamore tree' (pl. ʔibar-); hardly ← ʔibr-at- 'needle' ¶ BK I 3, Gass. 808, DRS 5 || C: Or {Brl.} abru 'fig tree', {Th.} abru 'sycamore tree, wild fig tree', ? (mt.) Or M {LLC} harbu 'fig tree, wild fig tree' ¶ Brl. 5, Th. 6, LLC 75 || Ch: Gzg {Lk.} ʔurof~ʔɜrof 'sycamore tree' || ? Hs ɓayʔe 'rough-leaved fig-tree' (< *ɓabre), with ɓ > *ʔb || ? Mgm bârâ (pl. bârri) 'figuier (rouge)' ¶ Ba. 96-7, JA LM 68 || **D** (in SD) *ir-~iɾ- 'fig (tree)' > Tm iratti 'joined ovate-leaved fig', 'subserrate rhomboid-leaved fig, Ficus gibbosa tuberculata', iratakam 'joined ovate-leaved fig', irali 'white fig', irri 'tailed ovate-leaved fig', itti 'white fig, Ficus infectoria', 'stone fig, Ficus talboti', Ml itti 'waved leaved fig-tree, Ficus venosa', Kdg itti 'Ficus (gibbosa?)' (< -tt-*rt-) ¶ D #460 ¶ N *b was lost in D due to the D morphophonemics ruling out cns. clusters (other than nasal + stop) which presupposes simplifying the N clusters (⇔ Zv. DP 363) ◇ AD NM #1.

9. 2 *ʔaɖaḥ 'back (dorsum)' > **HS**: EC *ʔaɖaḥ- 'spine, back (dorsum)' > Af {PH} áɖha 'back, back-bone, spinal column', Sml {ZMO} aɖaḥ, Sml N {Abr.} áɖáḥ, df. aɖáḥ-di 'spine, backbone', Rn ʔaɖáḥ 'back' ¶ PH 32, Abr. S 4, ZMO 7, PG 60 || **K** *^oaɖ > Mg oɖiṣi 'back (dorsum)' (here -iṣ- may go back to the ending of gen.) ¶ Q 295.

10. *ʔaɖP 'leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > **IE**: NaIE *a|osp- ~ *a|ops- 'aspen' ({EI} IE *h₂|h₃osp- id., 'poplar') > ON ɔsp, OHG, OSx aspa, NHG Espe, AS æspe 'aspen', NE asp, aspen || Pru abse, Ltv apse id., Lt āpušẽ ~ ěpušẽ id. (dim.?), Lt Δ apušis id. ({Bg.}: Lt u is due to the infl. of pušis 'spruce') || pSl *osa (< *opsa) 'aspen' > P, Cz Δ osa, LLs wosa id., ⇨ Sl *osína id. > OR осина osina, R осина, Cz Δ, P osina; ⇨ Sl *osíka ~ *asíka id. > Blg осика ~ ясика, Slk osika, SCR jásika, Slv jasíka || Arm nɸh op^hi 'poplar' (< *a|opsiyā- = {EI} IE *h₂|h₃opsiy^oeh_a-) ¶ P 55, EI 33, 599-600, Frdr. PIT 15, Frdr. PITA 49-53, HDEL 77-8, Frn. 14, En. 136-7, Bg. KS 226, Vs. III 159, Glh. 290-1, EWA I 370-1 || **A**: T: NaT *absak (~ *as^rak) 'aspen' > Alt aspaq ~ {BT, Rl.} Tlt/QK {Rl.}, Qmn {B} apsaq, Shor {Rl.}, Qmn {B, Rl.} aspaq, TbTt {Rl.} awsaq, VTt usaq, Bsh uḥaq, Xk os, Chv ɔvɔs id. ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 82, 554, 618, TatR 594, BsR 581, B DK 203. ET Gl 607-8 || **HS** (rdp.?) CS *čarčar₁p- 'willow' > BHb, MHb ɸarčar₁pā, Ar ʔafʔāf- (snglt. ʔafʔāfat-) 'willow' ¶ KB 983, Löw III 325ff., Js. 1298, BK I 134 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ʔɸ *ɜɖaɖ '≈ willow' (q.v.)? ◇ The aspen is known

in Europe, Anatolia, Transcaucasia, and the northern part of the Near East. The aspen and the willow belong to the same family of plants.

11. *ʔaĉ̣∇ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond' > **HS**: S *ʔaĉ̣- > Ar ʔaĉ̣ā(t-un) 'étang, mare d'eau stagnante', ʔaĉ̣āʔ(un) 'terrain bas rempli de cailloux' ¶ BK I 38, DRS 31 || **U**: FU *aĉ̣a '(brook-)meadow, valley' > Es aas (gen. aasu ~ aasa) '(gute) Wiese, Bachwiese' | Prm *aĉ̣ 'meadow, flood-lands' > Z адз aĉ̣ 'flood-lands of a river', Z LL aĉ̣ 'river valley', Z Lu aĉ̣ 'meadow', Vt aĉ̣-dor 'woodless land' (dor means 'country') ||| OHg aszó 'river, brook', Hg Δ aszó 'valley (with a stream during the rainy and snow-melting seasons)' ¶ UEW 3, LG 30 || **D** *aĉ̣- (+ sxs.) 'mud, mire' > Tm acaṛu id., ayam id., acumpu 'soft mud, miry place', Ml ayam, Tl asalu 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D #41.

12. 2 *ʔA'd'∇ (= *ʔA'd'∇?) 'foot' (and 'leg?') > **HS**: EC: pSam {Hn.} *áddim 'leg' > Sml addin, Sml N {Abr.} áddin (pl. áddimmó), pBn {Hn.} *ídṭ̄ (pl. *ídṭ̄m-ḡ) > Bn {Hn.}: Bi ḡdḍ̄, J/Kj ḡdḍ̄, K ḡtṭ̄ 'leg' ||| ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔadah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless akin to Bj -ʔaṭ̄ pcv. 'step, tread' < N *ʔaṭ̄ʔ,∇ 'come') ¶ Abr. S 5, Hn. S 51 (pSam *addin), Hn. BD 115 (pSam *áddim), MQK 9 || **D** *aĉ̣-, {ʔGS} *aĉ̣- 'foot' > Tm aĉ̣i 'foot, footprint', Ml aĉ̣i 'sole of foot, footstep', Td oṛy 'foot', Kt aṛy 'foot (measure)', Kn aĉ̣i id., 'foot, step', Kdg aĉ̣i 'place below, down', Tu aĉ̣i 'bottom, base', Tl aĉ̣uḡu 'foot, footstep', Gnd aĉ̣i 'beneath', Knd aĉ̣gi 'below, underneath' ¶¶ D #72 ◇ The initial N cns. is most probably *ʔ- (= *ʔ- or *h-), but N *ʔ- cannot be ruled out either (because N *ʔ- is sometimes lost in Sam) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#41] (C, D) ◇ The N cns. *d is reconstructed with a query, because Sml dd, Bn d, and D *-ĉ̣- may go back both to *d and to *t.

13. *ʔŪHd∇(R∇) 'breast' > **IE**: NaIE *ōūdḥ-/ *ūdḥ- 'female breast, mammilla' in two derived stems: **[1]** *ōūdḥ(e)r-/ *ēūdḥ(e)r-/ *ūdḥer- 'udder, female breast' with a heteroclitic stem variety *ūdḥ(e)n- in obl. cases (= {EI} *ḥ₁ouHḍḥṛ / gen. *ḥ₁uHḍḥ¹n-os) > OI ūdhar / ūdḥ¹n-aḡ 'udder' ||| Gk οὐθήρα / οὐθήρατ-ος id. ||| L ūber, -eris 'udder, mammilla, female breast' ||| Gmc {Vr.} *eūðura > ON jú(g)r, OHG ūtar(o), ūtir, MHG ūter, iuter, NHG Euter, OSx, AS ūder 'udder', NE udder ||| Lt E ūdró-ti v. 'be pregnant' (of a sow) | **[2]** *ōūdḥ-men- > pSl *ṿřmę (gen. *ṿřmene) 'udder' > OR ВЪИМѦ ṿymę, Blg виме†, SCr vime (gen. vимена), Slv ṿíme, Cz ṿýmě, Slk vemä, P ωυμίε, R 'ВЪИМЯ (gen. вимени) ¶ P 347, EI 82, Dv. #251, M KI 115, FI 442-3,

WH II 738-9, Ho. 375, Vr. 294, KM 177, Kb. 1125-6, Vs. I 358-9, Glh. 671 || **HS:** Eg LL *ídr* 'heart' (×N **dūr*∇ ~ **dUrE* 'entrails, heart' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 155 || Ch **ʔuḍ-* ~ **wḍ-* 'female breast, milk' ({Nw.} **wəḍi* 'breast, milk', {JS} **✓wḍ* 'female breast') > Ech: Mkl {J} *ʔuḍú* 'milk', *ʔuḍì-só* ~ *ʔuḍù-só* (pl. *ʔuḍìyàgí*) 'female breast' | Skr {Nc.} *wát-* 'breast' || WCh: BT: Bl *wḍi*, Krf {Sch.} *wùḍí*, Dr {J} *wóḍì*, Krkr {J} *ʔʔḍí* 'female breast', Pr {Frz.} *wúḍì* 'breast', Tng *wìdì* 'breast, udder' | Ywm {Sh.} *wḍt* id. | SBc: Jmb {Sk.} *ifa á wúḍîr* id. ¶ JI I 20 and II 46-7, J LM 189, J T 161, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 141, ChL, WeibP 18 ¶¶ In 1977 Stolbova (Stl. SF) reconstructed pHAB **wäḍi*∇ 'female breast', but in 1987 (Stl. ZCh 239 [#857]) she interpreted the WCh *✓* as **w^urdi* 'breast, milk' (unj., since -rd- is not attested in any descendant lge., while pWCh **-ḍ-* accounts for the observed facts rather well) || **D** **uḷ-*(al-, -amp-), {GS} **oḍal-* 'body, chest of body, belly' > Tm *uḷal*, *uḷalam*, *uḷar*, *uḷampu* 'body', Ml *uḷal(am)* 'body, trunk', *uḷampu* 'body, anus', Td *wìrḷ* 'chest of body', Kt *oḷ* 'belly, trunk of body', Kn *oḍal* 'body, belly', *oḍambi*, *oḍambe* 'body', Tu *uḍāla*, *uḍala*, *oḍāla*, Tl *oḍalu*, *oḷlu*, Knd *oḷol* 'belly' ¶¶ D #586, GS 78-9 [#249] ◇ The N element ***R**∇ (found in IE and Eg) may be a second component of a cd. (→ sx.).

13a. (₂?) **ʔü'χ|ʔ*'d∇ (or **ʔuḥd*∇?) 'one' > **HS:** S **✓ʔḥd* ~ **✓wḥd* 'one' > [1] **✓ʔḥd* 'one' > Ak *ēḍu* 'individual, solitary, single', BHb *ṭḥḥ* *ʔḥhād* (< **ʔaḥ'hād*), Ph *ʔḥd*, Ug *ʔḥd*, (AkSc) *ʔaḥadu*, BA *ṭḥ ḥad*, Sr *ḥad*, ḥā'dā, Ar *ʔaḥad-* 'one', Gz *ʔaḥad-ū* 'one'; [2] **✓wḥd* 'one, alone' > BHb *ṭḥḥ* 'yaḥad' 'together', *ṭḥḥ* 'yā'hīd' 'alone, the only', Pun (LSc) YAD 'together', Ug *ḥḥd* 'alone, unique, isolated', Amr {G} *yaḥadu* 'one, alone', Ar *waḥad-* 'alone, unique', *wāḥid-* 'one', *waḥīd-* 'lonely, apart', OSA *wḥd* 'together, in unison', Gz *wāḥad* 'unique, only, one', Ak (w) *ēḍu* 'only, alone' ¶ CAD IV 36-7, Sd. 1495, KB 29-30, 387-8, 1704, BLH 219, OLS 16, 524-5, G A 22, Br. 215, Ln. 27, Hv. 4, 855, BK I 15 and II 1497-9, BGMR 159, L G 12, 612 || C: EC: Ya {Hn.} *wḥḥ(t)*, *wḥḥtu* 'one' || DhI {EEN} *wattúk^we* 'one', {To.} *vattúk^we* 'one' m., *vatték^we* 'one' f. || ʔσ SC: Asa *wataka* 'all' ¶ Hn. YI 40, To. D 150, EEN 43, E SC 384, Blz. CL 180 || **ʔφ U:** FU **ükte* ~ **ikte* 'one' > F *yksi* (gen. *yḥden*), Es *üks* (gen. *üḥe*) | pLp {Lr.} **ʔktə* 'one' > Lp: S *akte*, L *akta*, N *qk'tâ* ~ *âk'tâ*, Kld {SaR} *ēhht* ~ *eft* 'one' | Er *veyke*, Δ *vijkä*, Mk (i) *fkä* id. | pChr {Ber.} **iktə* > Chr: L *ikte*, adj. *ik*, H *iktə*, adj. *ik*

'one' || Prm *ōtik > Z öтик з́тик / öти з́ти, Prmk з́тик, Yz òtik, Vt одйг odig, or og id. || Vg: T ük, LK äk^ω, P äk, Ss ak^ωa 'one' ¶ UEW 81 (FU *ikte [*ükte]), Lr. #7, Lgc. #35, SaR 425-6, Ber. 9, MRS 128-9, Ep. 21, LG 212 || ?φ K *ode 'hardly, just, while' (← **'only?') > OG oden conj. 'while', es-oden 'so much', G -ode 'only' (ori-ode 'only two', samiode 'only three'), Sv wode 'hardly, while' ¶¶ K 150, K² 145 || D *ut- 'a match, equal' > Tl uddi id., Tu udrī 'a match, pair' ¶ D #623 || ? A: Tg: Nn sx. -ragda ~ -rэгdз 'only' (ogdadiragda 'only in\by boats'), ?σ Ewk -ragda ~ -rэгdз 'in one place' (ilaragda 'three objects in one place') ¶ On. RNS 234, Vas. 785 ¶ -r- may be connected with the Tg collective sx. *-r- || ?φ IE: NaIE *oed_h- in Sl *ed(ь)-va 'hardly, only just' (> OCS яд(ь)ва jed(ь)ва, SCr, Slv jědva, Cz jedva, OR од(ь)ва, Р ед¹ва, R Δ одва) and Sl *ed-inь ~ *ed-ьнь 'one' (> OCS ядннъ jedinь, ядьнъ jedьнъ, R один, P jeden, etc. with the sx. *-inь < IE *eijn- 'one'); Pedersen (Ped. PD 231) supposed that this morpheme ({Ped.} *jed-) originally meant 'only' ¶ ESSJ VI 11-3, 16 ◇ AD SShS 300-1 ◇ The FU, K, and Tg cognates are valid if N *χ|ψ may be lost in the K clusters and if N *-yd- (or *-χd-) may yield U *-kt- and Tg *-gd-. If the FU and Tg cognates are rejected, the N rec. must be something like *?uħd∇.

14. (₂?) *?ediN∇ 'pater familias' (or 'owner?') > HS: S *padān- 'lord, pater familias' > Hb יִדְוֹן pā'dōn 'lord, master', Ph פֶּדֶן padōn 'lord' (→ Gk Ἰδων-ις), Pun פֶּדֶן id., (GkSc) λαδουν (with λ- 'to') 'to the lord', Ug פֶּדֶן, (AkSc) adānu 'father', d.: Eb {Co.} a-da-na-du padāntu(m) 'signoria, padronanza', Ph, Plm פֶּדֶת (<*padattu > S *padān-atu) 'lady' ¶ KB 12-3, KBR 12-3, HJ 15-7, A #86, OLS 9, Hnr. 104, Alb. rGUH 388-9, Co. SQF 74, DRS 9 || Eg: MKL יִדְוֹן 'govern; serve instead of, replace', MK יִדְוֹן 'Vertreter, Verwalter' ¶ Alb. rGUH 388-9, EG I 154, Fk. 35 || A *edin 'master, lord, owner' > NaT *eδi 'lord, host' > OT {Cl.} iδi, [QB] idā 'lord', Qzl {Jk.} āzi 'Chinese emperor', Ln idi 'host' ¶ Cl. 41, Rs. W 36, 169, Rl. I 1507, ≠ ET Gl 237-241 (does not distinguish the reflexes of *eδi from those of *igä 'master, lord') || M *ežin (< *edin) > MM [S, HI] ežen 'owner, lord', [IM] جينوْ ežin-ü '(of the) owner', [PP] ežen 'ruler, master', WrM ežen, HIM эзэн, Kl эзн ežn 'owner, lord', Dg эžin 'lord, master, owner, king' ¶ MED 336-7, H 42, Pp. MA 436, Iw. 103, Mr. D 142, Klz. D II 128, KRS 693 || Tg *edi(n-) 'husband' > Ewk,

Neg 3dī, Lm, Ork 3di, Ul 3di(n-), Nn 3ži id., Orc 3di 'male animal, husband' ¶ STM II 437-8 ¶¶ Pp. VG 53, 105, 137, 157, Rm. EAS I 57, ADb. SR-D 12, ADb. KL 15, DQA #414 (A *ēd∇ 'host, husband') || ?
IE: NaIE *^oed^hno- ('≈ clan?') or cd. *s^w-ed^hno- ('≈ one's own clan') > Gk ἔθνος 'a number of people accustomed to live together; nation' ⇨ ὀθνεῖος 'foreign, strange' (← 'belonging to a different ἔθνος'); Gk ἔθνος ⇨ Cpt ʒεϑ^hnoc het^hnos, Arm հեթանոս het^hanos 'heathen, pagan, gentile', and Gt haiþnō 'heathen, pagan' (the latter in contamination with the Gmc word that is represented by ON hédin, OHG heidan, AS hēdin, and NE heathen [pGmc {Fs.} *hayþanaz 'feld-\steppenbewohnend']); the presence of the component *s^w- is suggested by h- in the Cpt and Arm loans (pointing to an initial Gk h- < *s-) ¶ FI 448-9 and Ch. 315 (both: ἔθνος d. < IE *s^we- 'one's own'), Ch. GH I 150 (on the word-initial F-; *ἔθνος > ἔθνος: "l'esprit rude a disparu par dissimilation d'aspiration"), Fs. 237-8 ◇ If NaIE *^oed^hno- belongs here, the N rec. is to be reformulated as *ʔediñ∇ ◇ AD NM #115 (HS, A), ≈ Vv. AEN 9-10 (unc.: M ← T *eði), ≈ S SN 154 (A *ʔedi), ≈ S CNM 12 (N *ʔedi, because M and Tg *-n∇ is a nominal sx. [in my opinion, the original *-N∇ was reinterpreted in A as a sx.]; ÷÷ NrCs), Yuliya Krivoruchko [p.c. 1999] (suggested the Gk cognate).

15. ₂ Ll. *ʔaga 'uncle, elder person' > **HS:** C *ʔag- 'maternal uncle' > Ag {Ap.} *ʔag- id. > Bln ʔag, Xm 3g, Km ag, Aw ag, -ága || SC: Asa {FL} ʔagok 'mother's brother' ¶ Ap. AV 1 || **A:** NaT *a₁gga 'elder brother, uncle' > Tkm āya, VTt aya id., CrTt, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg aya, Uz aya 'elder brother', Osm {Rh.} aya 'eldest paternal uncle; lord, master' and a title of respect, Tk aǰa 'chief, patron', Az aya 'mister' (word of address), 'landlord', Xk aya 'grandfather'; ⇨ MM [LM] {Pp.} ǰá aya 'brother', [IM] {Pp.} ǰá aya 'elder brother, lord' ¶ The long ā in Tkm (and pT?) is puzzling (is due to its specific syntactic function and intonation as an address word?) ¶ ET GI 70-1, TL 291-2, TkR 19, Bu. I 60-1, Rh. 146, Pp. L II 1256, Pp. MA 432 || M *aga 'lady, dame' > WrM aga, HIM araa id.; M *aga₁y₁i 'paternal uncle' > MMgl {Iw.} aǰāi, Ord {Ms.} aǰā id. ¶ MED 12, Iw. 84, Ms. O 6.

15a. ₂ *ʔæg∇R∇ '≈ bone of the leg\foot' > **HS:** S ʔig_L∇_Jr- > Ar SL {MS} ʔižar, {Bart.} ʔəžar, Ar D ʔiǰr, Gz ʔagr 'foot' ¶ DRS 7, MiK I 9 [#1.7], Lb. 63 || **A:** M *^oe^xerčeg (unless it is *^oφe^xerčeg) > WrM egerceg, HIM ээрцэг 'femoral bone; hip joint' ¶ MED 298.

16. ?σ *ʔa'h'a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (≈ de ça') > HS *mi ʔaha 'what thing?' (with *mi 'what?' < N *mi id.) > CS *mah 'what?' > Ug m∇h ~ m∇, Hb ma +gmc. 'what?', Ph mɯ (< *mā < CS *mah), OA, Nb, Plm mħ, JA, Sr E mā (< CS *mah), Ar mah ~ mā 'what?', OAk, Ak fOB/OA mā 'what?, why?' (expressing doubt \ disbelief) ¶ KB 522-3, BL H 263, OLS 266, HJ 599ff., Sl. 643-4, DM 234, Ln. 3016, L G 323, Sd. 570, CAD X/1 1-4, Br. G I 326-7 [§ 110] || B *maH ({Pr.} *mā) 'what?' > Tw, Gh, Shl ma, Tmz ma, may, mayd id., Wrg ma id. (used in special syntactic constructions: ma i argaz i tazriḡ 'was ist der Mann, den du gesehen hast?', lit. 'quoi ce l'homme ce tu a vu?') ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-8, Fc. 1141, Nh. 19, Ds. 237, MT 393, Dlh. Ou 181 || EC {AD} *mah₁a₁, {Ss.} *maʔ 'what?' (either from HS *mi ʔaha or a new cd., like Sml maħā 'what' < ma waħā) > Arr méh, me, HEC {Hd.} *maha > Kmb maʔa ~ maha, Hd maha, Sd mā, ma, Alb ma 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, Hw. A 233, 384, Hd. 167 || ?Ch: WCh: Sha mǎ, mǎ 'what?' ||| CCh: Msg má 'what?' ||| ECh: Ke mǎ in mǎ mó 'what?' (where mó is a general marker of question, that is used in all interr. sentences), EDng mǎ, Jg mē, Bdy má, Mkl mō~mô, Mgm mē~mē 'what?' ¶ J LM 141, J J 115, J R 259, JA LM 161, Eb. 78, Fd. 108, AIJ 96 ¶ The Ch word belongs here unless its form (its vw.) is explainable as going back to N *mi 'what?' without additions ||| S *-ā, ending of f. pl. of adjectives (pred. case) > Ak stative 3f pl. -ā (Sd. G § 73b), e.g. ʃeʃʃer-ā 'sont petites'; in the nom., accus., and gen. (substantive cases) the pl. form of fem. and of many inanimate nouns have an ending *-ā-t-u(m) (nom.) and *-ā-t-i(m) (accus., gen.) (e.g. BHb לַיְלִיּוֹת lē'lōt 'nights', Ak līlātum nom. / līlātīm accus./gen.) (*-ā + substantivizing morpheme *-t- + case endings *-u and *-i + [in st. det. → later st. abs.] a determiner ending [of sg.!] *-m); this form has the case ending and the determiner of sg. and is treated as sg. in the sentence (the verbal predicate in Ar id f. sg.), which suggests that it was not an etymological pl., but rather a form of collectiveness ||| here also (?) S: px. *ʔa- in nomina collectiva (→ pl.) (× N [751a] *h'a, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.; the short vw. *a suggests that the main source is N *h'a) > the Ar patterns ʔa12ā3- (ʔaqdām- 'footsteps' ← sg. qadam-, ʔasmāʔ- 'names' ← ʔism- 'name', ʔabwāb- 'doors' ← bāb- 'door'), and ʔa12u3- (ʔanfūs- 'souls' ← nafs- 'soul', ʔawǧuh- 'faces' ← waǧh- 'face') (both patterns form mostly pl. of inanimate nouns, treated as syntactical singular, sc. requiring a sg. f. form of the verbal predicate), Gz patterns ʔa12ā3 (ʔaznāb 'tails' ← zanab 'tail', ʔadbār

'mountains' ← dabr 'mountain'), ʔa12ū3 (ʔahgūr 'cities, towns' ← hagar 'city, town', ʔahkūl 'fields' ← huql 'field'), ʔa12a3 (ʔaʃhəl 'cups' ← ʃāhl [ʃahl] 'cup', ʔabkəl 'mules' ← baql 'mule'), OSA pattern ʔ123 (ʔhgr 'cities' ← hgr 'city') ¶ Wright 209-11, Grande V 410, GBr. JJAP 56 || IE *-h₂ > NaIE *-a, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) (× N [751a] *h¹a, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > OI -i (astī 'bones'), Av -i (nāmēni 'names'), Gk τέτταρ-α 'four' (pl. ntr.), OI ca'tvār-i id.; in the paradigm of thematic nouns IE *-eh (the stem-final vw.*-e + pl. ntr. ending *-h) yields: NaIE *-ā, e.g. *yūgā pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) 'yokes' > Vd yū'gā, Gk ζυγά, L i u g a, Gt juka, OCS i g a ¶ Brg. KVG 393 || AnIE *-a, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) > Ht, Lw, Lc, Ld -a ¶ Mer. SGA 275, 284-5 || U: FU *ma 'what?' (< N *mi ʔa'h¹a 'what thing[s]?') > Chr: L mo mo, Uf/B mo, H ma 'what?' | Prm: Vt ma ma 'what?' (see N *mi 'what?') || ? A *oma (< N *mi ʔa'h¹a '↑') > Chv ma 'what?' (see N *mi 'what?') || D *-a, inanimate pl. ending in pronouns of the 3rd person > Ml i v-a 'they', CITm -e- (from *-a) in av-e-y, uv-e-y, iv-e-y 'they' (inanim. pl. of pronouns); acc. to An. SG 265, Tm avey goes back to *av-a with an additional -y (due to hypercorrection) ¶ An. SG 262-3, 265 ◇ The comparison is dubious ◇ If S *-ā, S *ʔa-, and NaIE *-a ~ -ā (with zero reflex of the lr. in AnIE) do not belong here (but rather to N *h¹a '↑') we may suggest to compare the second element of FU *ma 'what' and Chv ma 'what' (both from N *mi ʔa'h¹a) with Eg fOK iχ.t 'thing', Eg MK/NK, DEg iχ 'what?' (see below s.v. N *ʔvqV 'thing[s]') > Cpt {Vc.} *ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B aχ aš, F eχ eš, A eχ₂ 'what?' (EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20). The resulting N reconstruction will be *ʔaqV 'thing'. In this case N *mi ʔaqV (underlying the FU and Chv pronouns) must have meant 'what thing?'. If this alt. hyp. is right, the IE ending *-h₂ (> NaIE *-a, AnIE *-a) does not belong to N *ʔaqV and may be compared with HS abd D only. B *mah 'what?' and EC *mah₁a₁ 'what?' may represent a contamination of both N words or belong to either of them.

17. ₂ *ʔa¹kê 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' (ГНАТЬ, УГНАТЬ, ЗАБРАТЬ) > IE: NaIE *aġ- ({EI} IE *h₂eġ-) 'drive' ('treiben, führen, in Bewegung setzen') > OI 'ajati 'drives (treibt)', Av azaiti 'treibt, führt weg' || Arm ածեմ ac-em 'I carry, fetch, bring' ({EI} 'I lead') || Gk ἄγω-ω 'I lead' || L ag-o / ag-ěre 'drive' (vt.), 'do, act', 'behave', Osc ACVM 'agere', ACTVD 'agito' || OW agit 'goes', W, Crn, OBr, MBr a

(*aget) 'goes' || pTc {Ad.} *āk- > Tc A/B {Ad.} āk- 'lead, guide, drive' ¶ P 4-5, EI 170, M KI 23, FI 18, WH I 23-4, Bc. G 311, Slr. 75-6, Flr. 50, Wn. 158, Ad. 36, Ad. H 18 || HS: S *^o✓ʔkk > Ar ✓ʔkk (ip. -ʔukk-) 'propulit, pressit', 'éloigner, chasser qn.; presser' ¶ Fr. I 45, BK I 42.

18. *ʔākā 'be evil, hate' > HS: WS *^o✓ʔkk ~ *^o✓ʔky v. 'hate, be evil' > Sr ʔakk-əṭ-ā 'wrath, anger', Ar ʔakk-at- 'hatred', Gz ✓ʔky G (js. ʔəʔkaʔ) 'be evil, bad, wicked'; EthS ᵀᵀ Bln {R} ekaʔ 'evil' ¶ LG 17, Br. 16, BK I 42, DRS 18 || C: amb Bj {R} aka 'Unheil, Verderben, Widerwertiges' (unless ← Ar ^ʔākka 'hatred') ¶ R WBd. 12 || IE *^ho|ag- (or *ʔo|ag-?), *^hʔo|agos 'pain, ache', (?) 'guilt' > OI 'āgas- 'guilt, sin' || NLG āken, AS acan 'to ache', ece 'pain, ache', NE ache || ???φ Gk ἄχος ~ ἄχος {LS} 'any matter of religious awe' (incl. 'curse', 'pollution, expiation'), {Ch.} 'consécration', {EI} 'guilt, pollution' (× the IE source of Gk ἄγλος 'saint, consacré', related to OI ʔajati 'worship through sacrifice'); Gk α and the spiritus asper belong to the heritage of the IE root of ἄγλος ¶ P 8, EI 509 (IE *^h₂ēgos / gen. *^h₂eges-os > Gk ἄχος ~ ἄχος), M KI 70, F I 14, WP I 115, Ch. 13 (believes that Gk ἄχος ~ ἄχος 'consécration' is connected with ἄγλος 'saint'), 25-6, LS 14, Ho. 2, 87 || U: FU (in BF only) *āk₁k₁a|ä > F äkä 'anger, wrath, malice', Krl äkä id. ¶ SK 1871, SSA III 497 || A: Tg *eke 'evil' > WrMc eke, Mc Sb зѣз 'evil (зло, порок)', 'bad (злой, худой)', WrMc екси, еhesи, Mc Sb зѣзѣ 'slander', Jrc {Md.} ехе-be accus. 'bad', Nn Nh/KU зѣзѣ 'bad (плохой, худой)', зѣзѣ- vt. 'slander, defame (so.)' ¶ STM II 444, Kiy. 116, [#341], Md. ChF 133 || Blz. (← Kpl.) adduces here Ko ak^hata 'böse sein', which is valid unless it is from OChn âk 'evil' ¶¶ Hardly here (≠φ) T *egsü- 'decrease, be insufficient', M *egel- 'low, uneducated, not very good', and pJ *āk- 'be bored, satiated' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #420 (A *ēka|o 'bad, weak': Tg + unc. σ: the above T, M, and J stems) ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I #9 (IE, U, Ko).

19. *ʔ^okE (= *ʔ^okü?) 'self' (→ 'myself') > HS: [1] *-a₁ku 'I' (postnom. subject marker of 1s) > S *-āku id. > Ak -āku id. (gašr-āku 'I am strong'), WS *-ku (sx. of 1s in the new pf. of the verb ← predicative deverbal adj.) > Gz -kū, OSA -k (sx. of 1s in the new pf.), Mh, Jb, Sq -k id. (Mh kэ'təbk, Jb, Sq kэ'təbk 'I wrote'), Hrs -ək id. (kэ'təbək 'I wrote'), Ar NY K -ku 𐤎 -k^w 𐤎 -k id. ¶ Sd. G § 75, Jo. MSA 16, Bns. NJ I 114-7 (maps 65, 66) || Eg -k^w ~ -ky 'I' in stative (= old perfective) (îr ḡ.k^w ~ îr ḡ.ky 'I know') ¶ Lpr. 65-6 || LbB: B {Pr.} *-aʔ,

verbal ending of 1s > Tw {Pr.} -äʔ, Kb -əʔ, Gd -εʔ || Gnc -EC [*-ek] id. ¶ Pr. M VII-VIII 9-16, Lf. I 292-305, AiM 176, 221 ||| [2] *ʔan-a:ku 'I' (aut. [emphatic] prn. of 1s) > S *ʔanāku 'I' > Ak anāku, Amr {G} *ʔanāku, Ug ʔnk, (AkSc) a-na-ku ({Hnr.} [ʔanāku:]), OCn [EA] a-nu-ki, BHb ʔānōḫī, Ph/Pun ʔnk, ʔnky, Pun [Plt.] ANECH, ANEC, M'b ʔnk, Yd ʔnk, ʔnky 'I' ¶ In SCn (> OCn [EA], Hb, Ph) and possibly in Yd this prn. has a final -ī on the analogy of other morphological markers of 1s ¶ KB 69-70, FrdR § 110, Hnr. 293, HJ 82, OLS 39, G A 13, 50, Rai. EAT 63 || Eg ʔnk 'I' > Cpt: Sd/B **ANOK**, A/F **ANAK** 'I' ¶ EGI 101, Vc. 12 || B {Pr.} *anakk^w 'I' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} nək (nǎk) / nəkku, Ah {Fc.} nək, Gh {Nh.} nək / nəkunan, Kb nəщщ (nǎk) / nəщщini, Tmz nək / nəkint / nəkkin ɘ nǎč / nǎčin, Wrg nǎš / nǎššin, Mz nǎš / nǎšši / nǎššin, Gd nǎšš / nǎššan ¶ Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Dl. 562, Fc. 1364, Nh. 26, MT 485, 874, Dlh. Ou 226, Dlh. M 140-1, Lf. I 349 || **IE** *ʔeǵh^v-m / *ʔeǵoh 'I' nom. > NaIE *eǵō ~ *eǵ^ho(m) > OI a'ham, Av azəm (~ GAv h.l. azə), OPrs adam 'I' || Gk εʔώ, εʔών 'I' || L eǵō 'I' || Vnt eχo 'I' || Gmc *īk ~ *īk 'I'; *īk > Gt ik, OHG ih (> NHG ich), OSx ic, ON ek; Gmc *īk > AS īc (> NE [aḷ]) || Arm **tu** es 'I' || Olt eš, Lt aš, Ltv es, Pru as 'I' | pSl *jazь (< {Fort.} *jězь or {Brg.} *ězь) ~ (> ?) *azь 'I' (< IE *ēǵ₁H₁om) > OCS **azь** azь, h.l. [Mar.] **ѣзъ** ězь, RChS, OR **azь** azь ~ **ѣзъ** jazь ~ **ѣа** ja, Blg аз, Δ 'jaze, ja, McdS jas, SCr jâ, SCr Δ, Slv jâz, OCz, OP jaz, Cz já, Slk, HLs, LLs, P ja, R, Blr, Ukr я || Ht uk, ugga 'I' (u due to the infl. of ammuk accus. 'me') ¶ P 291, Bks. 207-8 (IE *h₁eǵHom ~ *h₁eǵe|oH), EI 454 (*h₁eǵ, *h₁eǵom), FI 441, WH I 395-6, Frn. 18, BD GVG¹ II 801, Fort. L 224ff., StSS 67, Bern. I 35, ESSJ I 100-3 (argues for the antiquity of Sl *azь), ESISJ-SGZ II 73-4, Ts. W 95, Mer. SGA 316, Rsk. 66 ¶ IE *ʔeǵh^v- / *ʔeǵoh is likely to go back to N (?) *ʔ'o'kE H₂oy^v 'myself' (*ʔ'o'kE 'self' + *H₂oy^v [= *hoy^v?] 'my'); NAIE *-m in *ʔeǵh^v-m may reflect either N *mi 'I' or N *mA (pc. of accus.), cp. NaIE *twe(:)-m 'thee' (see s.v. N *t'ü' 'thou') || **A**: T *ok ~ *ök 'oneself, just X' > OT oq (if attached to back-vowel words) / ök (with front-vw. words), enclitic pc. with pronouns and nouns, which means 'X ('I', 'he', etc.) and no other else' (bän ök 'I and no one else', özüm ök 'I myself', ol ok ot tenrī 'that same Fire God'), OT U, XwT XIV -oq / -ök, Yk {Rm.} -oχ 'eben, selbst', Chg ≥XV oq 'exactly', Qrg {Jud.} oq (pc. of delimitation: özum oq 'I myself, I and nobody else'), Nog oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Xk oχ (pc. of delimitation), Alt oq 'же' (ol oq

ʔakuł- 'food'), Ak ak(а)ł- 'bread'; Eb {Krb.} ʔakalum 'to eat', 'food' (or 'bread') ¶ KB 44-45, KBR 46-7, OLS 21, Sd. 26-7, 1406, BK I 43, Fr. I 46-7, L G 15, BGMR 4, DRS 18, Krb. EG 4, 6 || **А:** Tg: Lm 0qɔł- v. 'eat (berries)' ¶ STM II 9.

21. Ll. *ʔaKa 'elder relative, grandfather' > **HS:** Eg BD ı̇k 'alt, bejaht' ({Tk.}: is to be read ı̇k) ¶ EG I 34, Tk. SCC 97 || C: [1] EC {Ss.} *ʔākk- 'grandfather, grandmother' > Kns ākk-a, Gdl ahh-ayya, Gwd, Gln ʔakk-a wɔ, Brj 'ākk-i, akk-ē'hano 'grandfather', Bs akk-o, Or {Bl.}, Or B/O {Sr.} akk-ō, Gdl ahh-ot, Brj ák'k-ō 'grandmother', Hd ākk-o 'mother's father', ākk-ē 'mother's mother', Gln ʔajj-aye 'great-grandmother', Brj ākk-inga lubb-ō 'grandparents' (lit. 'grandparent's soul') || SC: Irq/Grw {E} áko 'old man', {MQK} ʔākō id., 'grandfather', Asa akuya 'grandparent' (in address) || [2] EC *ʔakāk- 'grandfather' > Or {Bl.}, Or S {Sr.} akākū, Or {Grg.} akākayyū id., Kns akāko 'old man', ? Bj ahāhačči 'mother's father' ¶ Ss. B 21, Bl. 112, Hd. 72, E SC 377, MQK 10, Fl. AA 11, Ap. AV 1, Grg. 13, Brl. 13, Sr. 261-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 83, Tk. SCC 97 [#27.7] || **А:** M *aqa 'elder brother, elder person' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} aqa 'elder brother', [LM] {Pp.} اقا aqa id. in aqa dū 'brother(s)' (lit. 'elder brother [and] younger sibling') (dū < diyü 'younger sibling'), WrM aqa 'elder brother; elder, senior, older', Ord, Brt aχa, WrO aχa, Dg {T} ak'ā ~ aga, Mnr H {SM} aqa ~ āqa 'elder brother', {T} āga 'father's younger brother', Kl ax aχɔ 'elder brother; elder', {Rm.} aχa id., 'uncle'; ⇨ WrM {Kow.} aqai, WrO aχai 'father, daddy, papa', aχāi 'elder, elder brother', Kl {Rm.} aχā 'brother' (address), Brt axaɣ, Ba {T} age 'elder brother'; M *aqaɣi 'father's sister' (cd. with the reflex of N *ʔ'a'yɣ 'mother') > MM [HI] {Ms.} aqai 'father's sister', WrM aqai, HIM axaɣ 'madam' (respectful term used to address a married woman), Ord aχā ([ε] a title of respect for women) ¶ Ms. H 36, Pp. LII 1256 and III 57, MED 59-60, Kow. 22, KRS 56-7, Rm. KW3, Ms. O 8-9, Krg. 8, Chr. 65, SM 2, T 313, T DgJ 118-9, T BJ 133 || NaT *aka 'elder brother, elder relative' > Alt, SY, Ln aqa, Tv aqi 'elder brother', ?? Qrg ake and Qq äke 'father', Qrg ake, ET, Ln, Alt aqa, Tv aqi - a respective address word for an elder man ¶ ET Gl 121-2 || Tg *aka, *akay 'elder brother, father's\mother's younger brother' > Ewk akā, akāy, akī, Lm aqa, Neg aga, axa, axay, axɔ, axɣy id., Sln axī 'elder brother', Nn āga id., āg- ~ āq- ~ āŋ- (+ppa.), aqa (form of address), WrMc agu, Mc Sb aku 'elder brother', Orc aka, āki, Ud {Kom.} aga?, Ul, Ork ag- ~ aq- ~ aŋ- (+ ppa.)

id., 'father's younger brother' ¶ STM I 23-4, Krm. 203 ¶¶ S AJ 280 [#380] || D: (att. in SCD) *akka > Prj akka, Gnd B {Tr.} akkō, Gnd ChM {BE ← LuS} akko, Png akō 'mother's father', Kui ake, Ku akku 'grandfather' ¶ D #24.

22. *ʔāla, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation > HS: WS *ʔal 'do not!', prohib. and emphatic negation > BHb 𐤒𐤕 ʔal 'do not!', 'nicht doch!' (ʔal bā'nī ʔal-'nā nē'leḵ ku'l'lānū 'Nay, my son, let us not all now go' [II Sm 13.25]), Ph, Yd, OA, IA ʔl, BA 𐤒𐤕 ʔal, Ug 𐤒𐤕 'do not' (prohib.), Sb ʔl negation (ʔl ǎ..., ʔl m, 'there is no, нечегo', ʔl mn 'there is nobody who...') and prohib. pc., Gz ʔal-bā- 'il n'y a pas dans\chez...': ʔalbaya bēta 'non est mihi (in me) domus', Tgr, Tgy 𐤒𐤕- ʔalēbu 'there is not', Amh, Gft, Har, Grg āl- - negation of the verb in pf., DA ʔl 'no, kein' ({HJ} 'absence of'), Amh, Grg, Gft ālē 'without', Sq {Jo.} ʔɔl, {L} ʔal 'not' (negation with nouns and verbs), {L} ǎl... wǎl 'neither... nor', Mh {Jo.} ʔɔl (usually ʔɔl... lā) 'not', 'do not' (neg. and prohib.), Hrs ʌl 'not', ʌl... w-ʌl 'neither... nor', Jb ʔɔ(ɔ) 'do not!', ʔɔl...ɔɔ? 'not' | it is not clear whether Ak ulā > ul (Oak, Ak A ulā, B ul 'not') (neg., but not prohibitive) has any connection with pWS *ʔal or should be explained (as in Sd. 1406-7) as going back to *wā lā 'and not' ¶ KB 46-7, JH 13, HJ 55, GB 36, 894, A #180, OLS 22-3, Bst. 47, LG 17-8, LLS 60, Jo. M 4-5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 2, Sd. 1406-7, DRS 19 || C: Af {PH} alēy 'no' (= 'nein'), Sa {R} ʔallō 'Nichtigkeit', allō ḏah 'verneinen, nein sagen' ¶ PH 38, R S II 29 || ? NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} allo, Shn {C} āli 'non esserci' ¶ C SE IV 398 || U *āla > *älä/*ala ~ *elä 'do not!' (prohib.) (the variant *elä may be due to the infl. of the negative verb *e- 'do\does not') > BF *älä/*ala ~ *elä, 2s inv. of the neg. v. ('do not') > F äla, ä-, Δ elä, Krl K elä, el-, Krl A älä, ä-, Krl L eḷa ~ älä ~ aḷa, Vp aḷa, Vo elä, Es ära, Δ äla ḏala, Lv ala ~ äla id. | Lp: S {Hs.} aalie- (inv. of the neg. v.), N {N} alē ~ âlē (2s inv. of the neg. v.), Lēlē id. | Er íla ~ ílak id. (2p íla-do) || pObU *ǎl (~ **w-∇l) 'do not!' (prohib.) > Vg: 1) pVg *ǎl > Vg T äl id., 2) ǎ pVg **w∇l > Vg: K wil, P (w)ul, N ul id. (the origin of *w- still needs elucidating); pOs *äl id. > Os: V/Vy ä, Ty/Y áḗ, D át ḏ ot, Nz at, Kz aḗ, O ál ¶ IS I 264 adduces the pPrm verb *ōlā- (> Vt alā- v. 'forbid', Z ɔl- v. 'calm, quiet, soothe', Yz ōl- v. 'forbid, calm'; Prm *ō < FU *ä), suggesting development (derivation?) of a lexical verb from a negation (cp. NHG verneinen ← nein) || Sm: Kms ɛl- neg. v. (3s sbcj. ɛl 'is not') || pY {IN} *ɔl, neg. pc. > Y: Y T {Krn.} e' 'does not', 'do not!'

(negative and prohibitive pc.), YK {AD} ʔäʔ id. (tu'deʔ 'ʔäʔ šo'gi 'he did not enter', ʔäʔ šo'gi'läk 'do not enter!'), K {Krn.} e'le 'not', {AD} ʔä'ʔo'gi 'is not', K/T {IN} əl(ə) 'do not, not' (with verbs and nouns) ʧʧ Coll. 4-5, UEW 68-70, SK 33, Hs. 146, Ht. 198 [#728], Stn. D 55-6, MK 692, KD 164, Krn. JJ 280, 284, AD YN, IN 218 || D *all-, neg. v. > Tm all- id. (1s allēn ~ allen 'I am not', 2s allay, 3m allan, 3f alla, 3n anru, 3pn alla, etc.), Ml alla 'is not that, not thus', Kn alla, Kt alā neg. v. (for all persons), Td aloşy 'except' (lit. 'not being'), Gnd hal(lē)~hailē, Mlt -l- neg. morpheme, Brh all- neg. v. (in past tenses), ala, alavā 'certainly not, not a bit of it'; IS assumes that the latter form may represent a trace of the former meaning of "categoric negation" ʧʧ D #234, Stv. IDL 24 ◊ Cf. IS I 263-4 (S, C, Ch, U, D + unc.: G ar(a) 'no, not', S *✓lʔ (sc. *lā) 'not' (actually from N *|a,ʔ,y∇ - *|a,y,ʔ,y∇ 'not; to disappear', q.v. ffd.), and M *üli 'not'). It is tempting to unite M *üli (Pp. IM 288-91), Ak ul(ə) 'not', and pVg **w∇l 'do not!' (> Vg: N ul, P (w)ul, etc.) as going back to a combination of some (conjunctive?) *w-element (cognate to S *wa 'and'?) with the N negation *ʔäla or *|a,ʔ,y∇ - *|a,y,ʔ,y∇; see also Gr. I 214-7 ("negative E/ELE", "ELE" being supposed by him in U, M, ChK, EA, Ht).

23. *ʔel∇ 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > HS: S *ʔäl- 'clan, family' > Nbt ʔl 'family, clan, tribe', Ar ʔäl- 'family, relatives', Ak āl-u(m) 'village, city' ʧ JH 13, HJ 55, Fr. I 70-1, CAD I/2 379-88] WS *ʔil(l)ay 'these' (and possibly *ʔul(l)... 'those') (× N *|A analytical [→ synthetic] marker of collectivity, q.v. [or N *ʔE|A, dem. prn. of collectivity] × N sequences *|h'i|e' |A and *|h'u |A [with the deictic particles *|h'i or *|h'e' and *|h'u, q.v.]) > BHb, BA הָאֵלֶּיךָ 'ʔellē ~ אֵלֶּיךָ 'ʔel, BHb (GkSc) ελλε, ελη, Ph ʔl, Pun [Pæn.] ILY, OA ʔl, ʔln, BA ʔillēn 'these', ʔillēk 'those', IA ʔlh 'these', Ar Δ ʔilā id., Sb m. pl. ʔln, f. pl. ʔlt, Sq {L} əlhə, əl'hena 'these', əl'hegan 'those'; WS *ʔill-ū m. pl., *ʔill-ā f. pl. (with the endings *-ū m. pl. and *-ā f. pl.) > Ph ʔlω, MHb [BS] אֵלֶּיךָ ʔylω, MHb אֵלֶּיךָ 'ʔellū 'these', Gz ʔall-ū 'these' m. pl., ʔall-ā f. pl.; Ar {Br.} أولى ʔwly ʔulā 'ii' (dem. prn. with neutral deixis), Ar hā-ʔulāʔi 'these', ʔulāʔi-ka 'those', that may have the vw. u due to the infl. of S *ʔulli- 'that' (> Ak ullû(m) 'that' m. sg. / ullītū(m) f. sg., ullûtū(m) 'those' m. pl. / ulliātū(m) f. pl.) ʧ KB 48, 50, 1666-7, BL H 261, Deg. 59, HJ 61, FrdR § 113a, Br. AG 8, 29, Fi. DB 102-3, 107, BK I 70 and II 1459, BGMR 37, GBr. JJAP 91, L G 17-8, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2],

DRS 19, Cer. ArJ 220 || C: ? Sa {R} a'lē (pl. 'ālel) 'clan, family, tribe', Or {Th.} āli (subj. case āli-n) 'concittadino, compatriota, conterraneo', ? Arr ʔollah 'village, neighbours' ¶ R S II 26, Th. 16, Hw. A 343; alternatively, Sa a'lē may be from Ar ʔāl-, and Or āli may be from Ar ʔahl- 'family' || IE *ʔol- > NaIE *ol-yo-, *ol-no- (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all, each' > Gt alls 'all, each, whole', ON allr, OHG al / all-, NHG, OSx all, AS eall 'all, each', NE all || ? Clt {SB, Loth} *ol-yo-s > OIr, NIr uile, W, Crn oll 'all', OW ell, yll 'each, every', Gl oliu- (in proper names) (Dtn. 276); but RE 78 prefers pBrtt *sollos 'all' (> OW hol, MW holl, oll, Crn, OBr, Br holl) (< IE *sol-no-) to pBrtt *ollos 'all' from IE *ol-no- || Osc {Mul.} ALLO (FAMELO) (?) 'das ganze (Vermögen)' (not confirmed by Pln. and Bc.) || Lt aliái {Frn.} 'all, jeder, ganz, völlig' (aliái vienas, alvienas 'each, everyone' [vienas 'one'], aliái mētai 'every year', aliai rytas 'every morning') ¶ ≈ EI 64 (identifies this IE stem with {EI} *h_aelnos 'beyond', see N *'h' a l, ∇, ʔ, E 'on the other side'), SB 52, Fs. 40, Flr. 213, Loth WKS I 441 and II 354, EWA I 129-30, ≈ Mn. 873 (wrongly adduces Oss I al(1)3, Oss D al(1)i 'all kind of', see N *sālû 'intact' and Ab. I 48), Mul. 19, Fs. 40, Vr. 7, Ho. 84, KM 13-4, ≈ Frn. 7 (denies the Lt-Gmc connection) || A: T *ēl 'tribe, people, political unit' > OT ēl {Cl.} 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler', {DTS} 'tribal league, tribe, people', MT ايل el 'Herrschaft, Reich', Chg, OOs m el 'country, state, people', Tk el, Tkm īl 'people (Volk), tribe', Tk il 'country (Land), province', VTt, Bsh il 'country, state (Land, Staat)', Nog, Qq el id., 'people (Volk)', Az el, ET il 'people (Volk)', Kr el id., 'people (Leute)', Qzq el 'people (Volk), inhabitants', Uz, Qrg, Alt el 'tribe, clan, people', Qmq el 'village', CrTt el, Chv jāl 'village, people' (jā- is one of the reg. reflexes of T *e- [acc. to Lvt. IF]), ? Yk īāl 'family; neighbour'; T ⇨ Chr yel 'country; village' ¶ The etl. doublets in Tk (el, il) must be due to inter-Turkic loans ¶ / Rs. W 39, Cl. 121-3, DTS 168-9, ET Gl 339-43, TL 494, Jcg. 352, Fed. II 497-8 || D *ell- (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all' > Tm ellām 'whole, all' (personal as well as impersonal), ellavarum, ellārum 'all persons', Ml ellām, ellāvum, Kt, Td el, elm 'all', Kn ella 'all, everything, the whole', ellarum 'all persons', Kdg ellā, Tu -la (= -lā ?) 'all', Tl ella 'all, whole', ellarū 'all persons, all men', Klm ittar el 'both', Ku eleʔe 'whole' ¶¶ D #844 ◇ K: MG xvii el-i 'country', G el-i 'Nomaden-

\Hirten-volk', G T e|·i id. (Chx. 38, DCh. 490, Qub. II 434) is a questionable cognate, since it may be a loan from Tk (which is highly plausible in the light of its meaning). According to IS I 268 (with a query) OG er- 'people, army' (> G er- 'people') goes back to N *ʔe|A (sc. *ʔe|∇ 'clan, tribe'), which is untenable since G -r- is not a reg. reflex of N *-|· ◊ Hardly here(⇔ Čop IU I-1974 19 [#2]) U *u|∇(-y∇) 'viel, groß' ◊ IS I 267-8 includes S *ʔā|·, T *ē|·, and the dubious K *er-, *e|· into the etl. entry *ʔe|A 'to live' (untenable, because U *elä- v. 'live' [justifying IS's semantic rec.] does not belong together with the abovementioned S and T roots, but goes back to N *χe|A 'dwell, live' [q.v.]).

24. *ʔE|A, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with N *ʔe|∇ 'clan, tribe' [q.v.]?) - an alternative reconstruction instead of 1249 (N *|A, an analytical marker of collectivity).

25. *ʔê|∇ 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > HS: S *|ʔay|· 'ram' > BHb אֵיִלִּי ʔayil (pl. אֵיִלִּים ʔē|līm), Ug ʔil (= *ʔē|·-u) 'ram', ? Ak (y)ā|·-u id., JA {Lv.} אֵיִלִּי ʔayl-ā 'Schafbock'; the ancient meaning 'deer' is preserved in the S d. noun *ʔay|yal· 'deer, mountain goat' > BHb אֵיִלִּי ʔay|yāl 'fallow deer (Cervus dama)', Ug ʔayl, Amr {G} ʔayyalum, JA {Lv.} אֵיִלִּי ʔē|l-ā, JEA {Sl.} אֵיִלִּי ʔayyā|·-ā, Sr W/E ʔayyal-ā 'deer', Md aiala, pl. ailia, f. ailata 'deer, hart', Ar ʔayyil-, ʔiyyal-~ʔuyyal- 'mountain goat, stag' ({Fr.} 'Caper montanus, cervus'), Gz hayyal 'ibex, mountain goat' (the origin of h- is not yet clear), Ak ayyal-u 'deer'; Cn → Eg NK ʔyṛ 'deer' or 'ram' (= *ʔayyāli ~ *ʔayyōli gen., acc. to Vc.), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔe-yu-l 'deer' > Cpt: Sd/B ειεογλ eieul, ιεογλ ieul 'deer', Sd οειλε οeile, B ωιαι oīli 'ram' ¶ KB 38-9, KBR 40, A ##165, 185, OLS 25 (ʔil 'carnero'), G A 13, Lv. I 64, Sl. 113, Br. 15, DM 14-5, Fr. I 76, LG 221, Sd. 24, DRS 17, EG I 38, Vc. 62, Hlk. #1, SivCR 77 || IE *ʔh̥e|n- 'deer' ({EI} *h̥₁e|^{h̥}₁ēn / gen. *h̥₁e|^{h̥}₁nos) > Gk ἐλλός (-λλ- < *-ln-) 'young deer'; (with the sx. *-b^ho-) Gk ἔλαφος 'deer' (<*e|·-b^ho-s) || Arm եղն ełn (gen. եղին ełin) 'female deer' ||| OIr elit (< *e|·-t) 'chamois', W elain 'female deer' ||| Olt ellenis 'deer', Lt élnis, élnias 'deer', élné 'female deer', Ltv aīnis 'elk', Pru [El.] alne 'Hindin' 'hind' and "Tyer" 'beast' || Sl *elenь 'deer' > OCS Ѧлень jelenь, Blg елен, SCr jèlen, Slv jélen, R, Uk о'лень, P jeleń, Cz jelen, Slk jeleň id.; OCS алъннн alъnji ~ ланннн lanji f., ChS лань lanь, R, Uk лань, P łani (gen. łania), OCz laní, Cz laň

'hind, female deer, fallow deer' || pTc {Ad.} *yäl > Tc: A yäl, B yal 'gazelle' ¶ IE *h₂el-n- is likely to go back to the oblique form (with *-n-) of a heteroclitic stem ||| NaIE *ʔelk̄-/ *j_uk̄- (most probably from a N cd. *ʔêl₁∇ K̄E) > OI 'ῥόσ₁υαῆ' 'male antelope', KhS {Bai.} r_uś 'Ovis Poli (Marco Polo's sheep), wild sheep', Wx r_uś 'wild mountain sheep' ||| Gmc *algi-z 'elk' > OHG elah, elaho, NHG Elch, AS eolh, NE elk, ON elgr ||| Sl *olś > OR лосъ losъ, R, Uk лось, P łos, Cz los 'elk' ¶ P 303-4, EI 154, F I 483-4, Vr. 100, Ho. 92, EWA II 1030-1, Frn. 120, En. 140, Tr. P A-D 77-8, Vs. II 458, 522, III 134-5, M K I 124-5, M E I 260, Bai. 367, Ma. CS 175, 257, 275, Glh. 296, Sl. 146-7, Wn. 591, Ad. 485-6 ||| U: Y: Y T ile 'deer' ¶ Ku. 57 ||| A: NaT *elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat' > OT {Cl.} älik id., MQp XIII elik 'male gazelle', MU {ADb.}, OOs älik, Tk Δ elik 'roe', Shor, Qrg, Qq elik 'roe-buck', Tv elik, Tf elik 'female roe', Xk ilik, StAlt elik 'roe-buck, female wild goat', Az älik, Qzq, Q, Alt elik 'roe', Bsh ilik 'female wild goat', Yk älik 'mottled (чубарый) reindeer' ¶ ET Gl 265-6, Cl. 142, TL 153 (*älik), BT 191, Ra. 180, DTS 171 ||| M *ili > WrM ili, HIM, ил il 'young deer, fawn', Kl ил ilä id. ¶ KW 206, MED 407 ||| NrTg *elkēn (unless it is *x₂elkēn) 'deer' > Ewk эlkēn 'wild reindeer', Lm: OI j_ulk₃n, Okh эlk₃n 'domesticated reindeer (leader in herd)' ¶ STM II 448 ¶¶ DQA #425 (A *ēl₁∇(-k'∇) 'deer') ||| D *il(ar)∇- 'e deer' > Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' ||| TI i₁r₁i (< *il-r∇) 'antelope', ? TI lēṭi ~ lēḍi id. ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I) SD *ira]]- (> Tm iralay 'stag', Kn eraḷe ~ erale, Tu eraḷe 'antelope, deer', OTI iri 'stag') ¶¶ D #476 ||| K: USv, Sv L {TK} ilw, Sv LB {Kald.} il ~ hil 'roe, косуля', Sv L {Dn.} ilw 'chamois, серна' ¶ TK 284, Dn. s.v. ilw, Marr SR 38, Kld. L 187, GM SAKS 85 ◇ NaIE *ʔelk̄-/ *j_uk̄-, NaT *elik, and NrTg *elkēn suggest a N cd. *ʔêl₁∇ K̄E ◇ IS I 272-3 (HD, IE, D, A, K); IS also adduces words going back to D and K *ir- 'deer' (actually belonging to the N etymon *ʔiR'i' '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.]) ◇ AD NM #37, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 3.

26. *ʔi₁A' 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > HS: CS [1] *ʔil-, *ʔilay 'towards' > Hb כּאָ ʔel ~ -כּאָ ʔelē-, Ar إلى ʔilā, +ppas.: CS *ʔilay ka 'towards you' (m. sg.) > Hb כּאָ ʔilē-kā, Ar ʔilay-ka, etc.; [2] ??σ S *o✓ʔl₁w > Ar ✓ʔl₁w (pf. أَلَا ʔalā, ip. يَأَلُو yālū ~ يَأَلُ yālu) v. 'be unable to do, neglect, be late in' ¶ Cf. also S *la 'to' (see N *lA, locative pc.) ¶ DRS 19, KB 48-9, BK I 48-50 || ??φ Eg ĩr- 'to, towards' (with pronominal suffixes: ĩr-k 'tibi', etc.) / ĩr ~ r 'to, towards' (with

nouns); it is a qu. cognate, because both DEg *r* and most Cpt dialects (Sd/B **ερο-** **ερο**, P **αρο-** **αρο-** 'to, towards, for') suggest the reading [r] rather than [l], but cf. Cpt F **ελα-** **ελα** id. ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37, Tk. I 141 || EC: Rn {PG} *il* 'earth, ground; land, country' ¶ PG 151, Blz. RL 258 || IE **ʔelī* (or **ǵh̥elī*?) ~ ? **ʔil-* > NaIE **elī*, **el-*, **il-* v. 'rest, stillstehen' > Gk *ἐλῖνύω* 'I rest, I do not act' || ? OI *i'layati* 'stands still' || ?σ Lt *il̥st̥u̯*, inf. *i̯l̥st̥i* v. 'get tired' ¶ P 304-5, F I 495, ≠ M K I 92, ≠ M E I 196, Frn. 184 ¶¶ Lt *il-* (< NaIE **l̥-* without NaIE **a-* < IE **H-*) suggests IE **ʔ-* || U: FU **-l̥a/-l̥ä*, sx. of nomina loci (> ending of local cases [×N ***l̥A**, locative pc., q.v. ffd.]) > F *taka-la* 'a place behind (der hinter befindliche Platz)', *ete-lä* 'south' (lit. 'a place in front of sth.') | Lp S (Vfs?) {Sz.} *man̥ē-l-t* 'hinten', *man̥ē-l-ī* 'hinter', Lp S {Hs.} *mi̥h̥elde* & *mi̥n̥eälde* 'nachher, hinterher' (*man̥ē-*, *mi̥h̥e-* 'das Hintere') | Er *vasolo* '(place) in the distance' (*vasov* 'far away' [direction]), Chr *ülə* 'situated below' (*ül-* 'das Untere') | Vt, Z *-la*, ending with locative meaning: Vt, Z *kuzála* 'lengthwise' (Vt, Z *kuž* 'long') || Hg *-föl*, *föl-* 'das Obere' (*fō* 'head, top') ¶ Sz. 63-4, Hs. 932-4, LG 144, U3S 226-7 || A: Tg **-lā / -lē* (locative case ending) (×N ***l̥A** '↑') > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm *-lā / -lā̃*, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ork, Ud *-la / -lā̃*, e.g. **mō-lā* 'in a/the tree' (> {Ci.} Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm *mōlā*, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ud *mōla*), **dō-lā* 'within' (from **dō* 'Inneres') (> {Bz.} Ewk *dōlō*, Sln, Neg, Lm *dōlā*, Nn *dōla*, Orc, Ud *dolo*, WrMc *dolo*), Tg **du-lē* ({Bz.} **dūi-lā̃*) 'oben am Hang' (> WrMc *dēle*, Ewk *dēlā̃*, Lm *dēlā̃ ~ dēlā̃*, Nn *duylā̃*, Ork *dila* id., Ud *dilā̃* 'abseits') ¶ Ci. 257-267, Bz. 84, 96-8 || D: SD **illō* 'house, home, place' (×N ***xelA** 'dwell, live', q.v.) > Tm *il* 'house, home, place', *illam* 'house, home', Ml *il* 'house, place', Kdg *illa-vəṅ* 'man who is a relative' (lit. "house-man", with **-vəṅ* 'man', see Tm *i-vəṅ* 'this man', *a-vəṅ* 'iste vir'), Tl *illu* 'house, dwelling', Tu *illu* id., 'family', Klm, Nkr *ella*, Gnd, Png, Mnd *il*, Knd *ilu*, Ku *illū ~ illu* 'house', Kui *iḍu* 'house, dwelling' ¶¶ D #494 || D **-il*, marker of a locative function of the noun > Tm (*-iṅ*)/*-il*, Irl *-(i)li*, Ml *-il*, Kt *-l*, *-l̥*, Td *-ḡ* ({Em.} *-ḡ*), Kdg *-lī* ¶ D #494, Zv. CDM 32; Zv. reconstructs here **-in / *il*, but the variant **-in* (> Tm *-iṅ*) is very likely to go back to the N genitive marker (> marker of oblique cases) **nu* ¶¶ Not here the D loc. case ending **-u* (< N ***l̥A** '↑' × D **u*) n. 'inside' < N **ʔuh̥l̥ṽ* 'hut' [q.v.]).

27. *ʔiḏ̄ṽ 'eye' > HS *ʔḥil- (it is represented in C, Ch, B, and probably in Eg) > C *ʔill- 'one eye' > Ag *ʔɜll- 'eye' > Xm, Km ɜl, Aw ɜll, Bln ɜɜl (the unexpected ɜ- is possibly due to the infl. of Tgr ɜin 'eye' or to the ancient morphological infl. of the old Cushitic pl. form *ɜinṽ 'eyes') (F Ap. AV 3) ||| EC *ʔil- '(one) eye' > Sml, Rn íl, Or B íl-a, Kns, Gdl íl-, Bs, Elm il, Dsn ʔil, Arr ʔul, Sd, Ged, Kmb il-l-e, Hd il-l-i, Brj 'il-a, Ya il ||| DhI {EEN} ʔíla, {To.} ʔila 'eye' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} ʔila, Brn/Alg {E} ila, Kz ilito, Asa ʔilat; SC ⇨ Mb iʔilá 'eye' ||| Bj {R} 'lile ~ 'lili, {Rop.} līlī 'eye' ¶ Bl. 105, Sr. 332, Ss. PEC 5, 22, Ss. B 104-5, Hd. 60, PG 151, Hw. A 340-1, HL 66, AD SF 144-5, MQK 54, EPC #326, EEN 21, To. D 128, To. DL 482, R WBd 158, Rop. 212, Blz EDB 18-9 ¶ In EC the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural *ɜinṽ is based on N *ʔiḏ̄yḥṽ 'see, look; eye' (q.v.) || Ch *ʔiḏ̄ṽ 'eye' > CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ílí, Lmn Hd {Wl.} ílí, Lmn Vz {Wl.} ili, iri, Lmn A {Wl.} il-yia id. || Bdm {Lk.} yîl, {Cfr.} yèl, Gif {Lk.} εl 'eye' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} ele 'eye' ¶ JI I 60 and II 126-7, Wl. G 65 || B {Pr.} *√Hll (< *√ʔhll) 'eyes' > Kb allən, SrSn AA, Izd allən, Sll {Ds.} ällən 'eyes', as well as possibly Ah ihāll (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment' (vb. n. tāhala), Tnsl, Ty əlh id. (Pr.'s B root *√h₂lh₁); forms like Gd awəll 'eye', pl. wallən, SrSn iwažən 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form allən~wallən belongs to the root *√wll 'see' (> Ah aul 'avoir l'œil sur', Izn wala 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. abs. wallən~iwažən (like in Gd and SrSn) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus w-allən 'eyes' (F in Izd: abs. allən, ann. w-allən, or in Sll: abs. ällən, ann. ũw-ällən, e.g. snät ũwällən 'two eyes'), and Gd awəll 'eye' is a bf. from pl. wallən ¶ Pr. H #487, Fc. 1493, Dl. 440, Rn. 286, Ds. 203, Mrc. 180, 292, ABs. EGLK 29-31 || ? Eg fOK ʔr.t 'eye' [= (GkSc) ῥυ], ʔr 'das Sehen' (personification), ʔr v. 'see' (att. in the imv. form in the set phrase ʔr t̄w 'pay attention!') (see EGI 106-8, Vc. 60); the comparison with Eg is questionable, because it presupposes that the Eg character r represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription ῥυ and with the Cpt reflex (p r rather than l) in the nomen actionis iēire (preserved in the compound noun banieire 'qui a le mauvais œil', see Vc. 60) ||| The HS √ is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: C **ʔilāḏ- v. 'look' > EC *ʔilāḏ- v. 'look, watch' > Sa {R} ilāḏ- v. 'look, wait for', Or ilāḏa- v. 'watch, look', Kns ilāḏ- v. 'follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with

impaired vision), Ag: Bln {R} ʕaləl-~aləl- v. 'look'. This verb is obviously derived from the C noun *ill- '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS √ is probably nominal ¶ Bl. 107, Grg. 223 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 97 [#27.6], AD SF 144-5; an alt. hyp: OS #112 (HS *ʔir- > Eg ʔr, Ch *ʔir- 'eye') ¶¶ HS ≈ *ʔilima 'tears' (< N cd. *ʔiḷḷ *mûhi ḷ *ʔiḷḷ mûhyi 'eye-water') > C: DhI {EEN} ʔilíma 'tears' ¶ SC *ʔilima > Asa ʔelelema, ḷ Mb iʔilíma id. ¶ Ag {AD} *ʔʒʒʒḡ- 'tears' ({Ap. AV} *ʔʒʒʒḡ-, {Ap. VSA} *ʔʒʒʒḡ-) (Ag *ḡ < C *m) > Bln ʔʒʒʒḡḡa, Xm ʒʒʒḡḡ, Km (ʔ)ereḡ ¶ EC *ʔilm- > Sml ilmo, Bn ilmi, Rn ìlím, Or {Bl.} i(m)mimm-āni, {Grg.} immimān, Or S imimāni, Kns ilmāmā, Gdl ilmama, Brj 'ilma, il'mā, Yk ilmamu 'tears' ¶ E SC 292, Ap. AV 5, Ap. VSA 23, Ss. B 105, Bl. 221, PG 152, Sr. 333, Grg. 224, EEN 21 ¶ SOm: Ari erma 'tears' ¶ Lm. SKE 534 ¶ ? Eg P r mʔ 'weep' ¶ EG II 416-7 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 102 [#32.8], AD SCLC 199 [#37] (C, Eg), Lm. SKE 534 [#15] (EC, Ari) ¶ ? IE: Clt: Brtt (× N *Pḷiḷ 'a hair, tuft of hair'): OW {Flr.} ail 'eyebrow', W ael 'supercilium; ora', {YGM} 'brow; aisle', OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd. with GUOR-'upper') ¶ Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt *aili), Bc. 220, YGM 6 ¶ A {WNL} *ila- 'seen, visible' > Tg *ile- id. > Orc ilʒ-mu- v. 'show', ilʒ-kcʒ- v. 'appear, become visible', Nn ilʒ 'явь' ('sth. visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Sln ilʒxʒ 'apparent, visible', Lm il'la 'in (people's) sight', WrMc iletu 'sichtbar' ¶ STM I 311-2, Hr. 492-3 ¶ M *ile- 'clear, visible' > MM [S] ile 'visible', [MA] ile 'clear, manifest', WrM ile, HIM ил, Ord {Ms.} ile 'clear, manifest; visible', WrO {Krg.} ile, Kl ил ilě, Kl {Rm.} ilä, ilə 'clear, evident, manifest', MMgl [Z] ilä 'clear', Dg {MYC} ilʒt, Mnr E {MYC} hele (with a secondary h-?) 'open, clear, evident, obvious' ¶ H 81, Pp. MA 195, MED 404-5, Krg. 94, KRS 267, KW 206, Iw. 107, MYC 407 ¶ T: OT [MhK] ilār- v. 'be visible, strike one's eye' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 150 ¶ pJ *arāp-ar- v. 'come in sight, appear' > OJ arāpar-a, J: T/Kg arawaré-, K aráwáré- 'to appear' ¶ Mr. 677, S QJ #589 ¶¶ WNL NC, DQA #597 (A *ila 'evident, visible') ¶ E: NEI, AchEI el 'eye', MEI el-ti 'eyes' ¶¶ HK 393, 396 ¶ ?φ D: Zv. finds a stem a'li 'eye' (mainly within cds.) in the lgs. of the Nilgiri area: Irl {Zv.} vʒ]]ena'li ḷ vʒ]]eya'li, AIK 'bʒ]]-a'li, PaK bʒ]]e a'li 'the white of the eye' (vʒ]]ena-, vʒ]]eya-, bʒ]]e means 'white'), JKr kariya'li 'the eyeball' (lit. 'black eye'), PaK kaññali'li and a'li 'iris of the eye' ¶ Zv. BNIL 658; on the vw. {Zv.} ë [ʒ] F Zv. IL 11 ◇ Blz. BNED 3 (E, HS, D), Blz. DA 14. Cf. WNL NC s.v. 'eye' ◇ I am grateful to V. Blažek for drawing my

attention to the possible cognates in Celtic and the D lgs. of the Nilgiri area ◊ Blz. DA #13 (D [1], HS).

28. *ʔ¹oɪ̄ 'that (visible)' > **HS**: S *^oʔull- > Ak ullû m. 'that, remote' (< *ʔullīʔ-u), f. ullîtu(m), pl. m. ullûtu(m), pl. f. ulliātu(m) ¶ Sd. 141O, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Dk. AkJ 91 || EC *ʔ∇|-, deictic prn. (×N *haɪ̄∇ 'this', q.v.) > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || **IE**: NaIE *o| 'that (remote)' > OL ollus 'that (remote)', Lōlim 'at that time', ultrā 'beyond, on the far side (of)', uls 'beyond, on the other side', ulterior 'on the other side', ultimus 'farthest, last', Osc ūlleis gen. 'of that (m.)', ulas gen. 'of that (f.)' (× IE *ʔal-, *ʔo| 'on\from the other side, {P} darüber hinaus' < N *h¹al₁∇ʔ₁E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WH II 206-7, 813 || **ʔU**: Slq Tz †l-na, †l-tam 'iste, que voilà, ΒΟΗ ΤΟΤ' ¶ KHG 293, KKIH 196 || **A**: T *o| 'that' (remote deictic prn.), 'he' > OT o| id., Tkm, Qzq, Qrg S, Xk, StAlt, Tv o|, Bsh ul, Chv vɔl, Δ vɔ̄l id., Yk o| 'that', VTt ul, SY o| 'he'; Qrg, Tb al 'that' is probably an unexplained phonetic variant of *o| rather than a prn. of different origin ¶ Cl. 123-4, ET Gl 444-6, Fed. I 106 || NKO {MLC} o| 'this, the present', o| in {Rm.} o|-t^ha ~ or-ha v. 'be such', or-hä o|-hay 'this year', and onal (< o|-nal) 'this day, today' ¶ Rm. SKE 176, MLC 1207-9 ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 75 [§ 41], Rm. SKE 176; ≠ SDM97 (A *o(ɪ̄) 'this, that') and DQA #1556 (A *o id.) consider T *o| to be an extended var. of the deictic pc. *o.

29. *ʔ¹o¹L∇ (or *ʔoyiɪ̄∇?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook') > **HS**: CS *ʔal₁l₁- 'stick' > MHb {Js., 'ASh.} אָלָה ʔal'lā 'lance, fork, sign-pole', 'Spitzkeule, Pfahl, Gabel', {Lv.} אָלָה ʔē'lā ~ {Lv. T} אָלָה ʔal'lā 'Holzstange, Kolben, Stange' (the form אָלָה ʔē'lā, unless a mistake in one variant of the traditional pronunciation or in Levi's personal vocalization, may be due to contamination with אָלָה ʔē'lā 'terebinth tree'), Ug {OLS} ʔalt 'soporte, pilar', JA {Js.} אָלָה ʔal'lā 'club, bat', אָלָה ʔallā't-ā 'post, pole, door-post', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} אָלָה ʔ^al-ā, אָלָה ʔallā't-ā 'Kolben, Stange', Ar أُلْفُ ʔall-at- 'broad-headed spear' ¶ Js. 66, 73, 'ASh. I 86, Lv. T I 29, Lv. I 80, OLS 32, Fr. I 28, Hv. 11 || B: SrSn ala 'ramée, ε branchages', Ah ali vi. 'hang (être pendu\suspendu)', s-ili caus. v. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 1016, Rn. 336 || SC: Alg {E} elemi, Irq {MQK} halmi (pl. halēmō ~ halēmā), Brn {E} alema

'branch' ¶ E SC 336, Mgw. 103, MQK 44 || **А:** Tg *ol- > Nn Nh olpɪ, Ul ōrpɪun 'hook close to a stove (used to hang vessels and rags on)', Ud Sm {Krm.} oloʔu, Ork olʒɪʒa, Orc orjɪʒa, Ewk oldon ɖ ollon ɖ olron, Neg olōn, Lm olrāwɪun 'hook over the fire (used to hang a kettle or a tea-pot)', ≈ *ol-san- vt. 'hang (a kettle) on a hook over the fire' > Ewk ollon-, Lm olrān- ɖ oldān- ɖ ollān-, Neg olōn- 'hang (a kettle, a tea-pot) on a hook over the fire' ¶ STM II 14-15, Krm. 275 || pKo {S} *ori > NKo ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' ¶ S QK #792, Rm. SKE 178 || ?φ NaT *īl- v. 'hook, hang on (sth.)' (× N *ʔæʒEkU 'thorn, hook?') > OT il- {Cl.} 'to catch sth. (with the hand, a hook, etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook (под-, за-цеплять; ловить [крючьями])', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to' ('прицепляться, зацепляться'), Yk īl- 'hang on, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq il- ыl-, VTt, Bsh эл- ыл-, Xk il- ыл- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook (за-, под-цепить)' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #648 *iǒle 'hang (on) sth.' (Tg, Ko, T + M *elgü- 'to hang on', actually belonging to N *ʔæʒEkU '↑') || **У:** Y T walūōl- vi. 'hang, hang over, lean down (висеть, свешиваться)', welīe- vt. 'hold (sth.) hung' ('держатъ развешанным'), vi. 'hang (by) (повиснуть на)' ¶ Ku. 48 ◇ If T *īl- belongs here, the N rec. may be *ʔoyiī∇ (with T *ī from *oyi-), otherwise the N etymon is *ʔo'l∇ ◇ Alternatively, there may have been two N words, one designing 'bough, hook' and the other meaning 'to hang', with lexical interaction between them in some descendant lgs.

30. ₂ *ʔuī∇ 'soil, foundation, earth' > **HS:** Eg √ iʒ.t {EG} 'Ort, Stätte', {Hng.} id., '(bewohnter) Erdhügel' (× N *ʔar∇ 'earth, land, place') ¶ EG I 26, Hng. 22 || C: EC *ʔulɫa > Sa {R} 'ūla 'place', Bs {HL} ūl 'earth', HEC {Hd.} *ulla 'earth, land' > Hd {Hd.} ulla, Kmb ulla(-ta) id., Sd {Hd.} uɫɫa 'earth', Hd {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} ūlla, Alb {PB} ūl'lata ~ ūl'leta 'land' ¶ AD SF 195, Hd. 55, 88, 423, HL 66 || pOm {Blz.} *ʔy'all- ~ *yill- 'earth' > SOm: Dm {Bnd.} (y)īl 'earth, soil, ground', {Fl.} yīlu, yēle 'earth' || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} yɛllu id. | Zs {Si.} ʔa'la, Hrr {Fl.} alláʔ id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'earth', Si. ACh s.v. 'earth' || Ch {JS} *yil (= *jil?) 'earth' > WCh: pAG {Stl.} *jil, {Hf.} *yil 'ground, earth, country' > Su {J} yíil id., Ang {Flk.} yil 'earth, land, country', Tal {IL, Sh.} ɖil 'earth' | Ron: DfB šin-jîl 'earth, ground, country' | BT: Tng {J} yili 'earth, ground', Pr illíy 'ground', Glm {Sch.} yíl, Krf ilí 'earth (soil)', ? pBT {Stl.} *ʔöli

'earth (soil)' > Bl {Lk.} ?oli, {SIL} woli, Krkr {Lk.} ?èlí id. ¶ JI II 116, ChC, ChL, JS 91, Stl. VZCh #245 (pHAB *yöl∇), ≈ Stl. ZCh 240 [#863] (unc.: pZCh *?lyasi 'earth'), Hf. AG #181 ¶¶ y- in Om and Ch is prosthetic (*?i- > *i- > yi-) ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS *yil-~*yul-) || A: NaT *u:] 'foundation, basis' > OT u:] id., {Gb.} ul 'Boden, Sohle', OT U Xu] ({Cl.} ū) 'sole of foot', Osm XIV ul 'foundation', ET Δ {Jr.} ul 'foundation, earth floor' ¶ Cl. 124 (OT ū] without sufficient ev. of a long vw.), DTS 608, Jr. 322, Rs. W 512, U3 #23/8 || M *ula > MM [S, HI] ula 'sole of foot', [MA] hula 'sole of footwear', WrM ula, HIM yu] 'sole of foot\footwear, basis, foundation, Kl {Rm.} ulḅ 'Sohle', Ord {Ms.} u'la 'semelle', Mnr {SM} ulā 'plante des pieds, semelle', Dg {T} wuāla id., MMgl {Z} ulā 'leather sole' ¶ H 162, Ms. H 105, Pp. MA 186, MED 868, KW 448, SM 469, T 368, Iw. 139-40 ¶ The M cognate is legitimate only if h- in MA is a secondary development (confirmed by the absence of h- in other MM texts [S, MI], in Mnr, Dg, and MMgl) || Tg *olā-çi- 'unti (boots of reindeer leather)' > Ewk olōt ɘ olō(t)çu ɘ olōçik, Lm olāçlq, Neg olot, Ork ollōčī 'short unti', Orc olōçi 'unti', Ul olžuma 'footwear (made of elk's legs)' ¶ STM II 16 ¶¶ DQA #2723 (A *ūla 'sole, footwear').

31. *₁?üjLûd∇ 'to grow' > HS: S *^o✓ldd > Ar ladīd-at- 'hortus florens' ¶ Fr. IV 97 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg fP rđ vi. 'grow' > Cpt Sd/B/A pwt, Cpt F AwT id., which may be better equated with WS *✓rdy > Ar ✓rdy 'increase, augment', Sq {L} ✓rdy id., Gz ✓rdy 'pay interest' (see EG II 462-3, Fk. 154, Vc. 179, Tk. I 242 [Eg rđ ÷ S *✓rdy]) || IE *₁leud^h-/*₁loud^h-/*₁lud^h- ({EI} *₁leud^h-) 'grow' > NaIE *₁leud^h-/*₁loud^h-/*₁lud^h- (and *:₁leud^h- after pxs.) vi. 'grow, thrive, rise' > OI rōdhati ~ rōhati 'grows', with lengthened vowels of pxs.: Vd vī'rudh- 'a plant', anū'rudh- 'nachwachsend', svārudh- 'aus der eigenen Wurzel wachsend'; Av raod- 'grow', Prt rwd-, BdhSgd rwd- 'grow', KhS rvīttä 'grows' (< *raudati), NPrs 3s prs. رويد rūy-äd / inf. رستن ros-tän 'grow, come forth, appear', Vd rōh- (3s prs. rōhati) 'grow' (Mayrhofer explains the change -h- < -dh- by the infl. of the roots with -h- < -*ž^h- and by the need to avoid homonymy with ruh- 'check, restrain, keep back') || LLīber (an old Italic god of growth and agriculture), Osc Iúveís Lúvfreís 'Iovis Liberi' (pl.) | Vn Louzera 'Libera' || OIr {P} luss n. 'plant' (< *lud^h-stu-), Ocm les,

MCrn *leys* (pl. *losow*), W *llys* 'grass', pl. *llysiaw* ~ *llysau* coll. 'vegetables, herbs', MBr *snglt. lousouenn* 'plant', Br *louzou* coll. 'plants' (*snglt. louzaouenn*) ||| Gt *liudan*, OSx *liodan*, AS *léodan* 'to grow', OHG *liotan* 'to sprout', ON *loðinn* 'zottig, grasreich', NLG *loden* (< **louðh-*) 'to grow, to sprout'; Gt *laudi* 'shape', MHG *lōt* 'formed, shaped', NLG *Lode* 'spring, shoot' ¶ P 684-5, EI 248, Mn. 683, 711, M K III 77-8, M E II 467-8 (IE **h₁leudh* 'grow'), Bai. 367, Vl. II 32-3, 85, Sg. 575, WH I 792, LP §§ 181.5, 182.5, Ern. 377, Fs. 323, 332-3, Vr. 363, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 622, OsS 565 ¶¶ M E reconstructs IE **h₁leudh* 'grow', **h₁* postulated on the basis of long vowels of the prefixes with Vd *rōdh-*. This **h₁* is best interpreted as **ʔ*, because **ʔ* is likely to be the only lr. lost in the word-initial preconsonantic position (rather than yielding **h₂-* > **a-*); this is confirmed by S (loss of the initial lr.) ||| A: M **ülzi-* (< **üldi-*) > WrM *ülzi-* v. 'live, live on something, subsist' (unless it is pM **φülzi-*, which cannot be determined for lack of ev. in MM, in the f/h-preserving Mongolian lgs. or in loanwords in TM lgs.) ¶ MED 1007.



32. **ʔ*¹EL₁MA '€ tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE **l̥mo-* 'elm' ({EI} IE **h₁elem* ~ **h₁(e)lmos* 'mountain elm [*Ulmus montana*]') > L *ulmus* 'elm' (↳ Kb *ulmu* id. [coll.], *tulmut* 'elm', OHG *ulmboum*, NHG *Ulm* id.) ||| OHG *elm*, *elmo*, MHG *ilme*, ON *almr*, ME *elm* 'elm' > NE *elm*; a Gmc source (or pSl {Trb.} **ьльмъ* 'Ulmus?') underlies a word for 'elm' in the West and East Slavic lgs.: Cz *jilm*, OP *ilem*, P *ilm*, *ilma*, Plb *jělm*, *jělmă*, OR **илемъ** *ilemъ* 'ulmus', R **ильм**, R W **Δ илем**, **ильмина**, Blr **ільма** 'elm' ||| Sl: Uk **льом** 'Ulmus montana', R **Δ лёмок** 'young elm', Ls **лом** 'ulmus'; Ls **wělm**, **wel̥m** 'ulmus' and R **Δ вильма** 'mountain elm' may go back to pSl **ьльмъ* (or be somehow connected with L *ulmus*?) ||| NaIE **olimā* > OIr *lem* 'elm' ||| NaIE **olejmos* > W *llwyf-en* (pl. *llwyf*) 'elm' ¶ WP I 152, EI 178, WH II 811-2, Vr. 7, EWA II 1056-60, Kb. 1063, Dl. 454, Bern. I 424-5 (Sl ← Gmc), ESSJ VIII 222-3 (pSl **ьльмъ* and **ьльмъ* 'Ulmus'), Vs. II 126-7, SRNG XII 186, Dal II 41, 92, YGM-1 315 ||| A: T **ilmä* (~ **eilmä?*) 'elm' > VTt **əlmä** 'elm', Qmq **ełme** 'elm', English **elm** (**вяз, карагач**), Blq {Rm.} **ełme** 'oak', Nog **elmen** 'asp', Chv **цьлме**, **Δ imle** 'elm' ¶ Jeg. 78, KumRS 374, TatR 683, NogR 434, Ash. III 121, Fed. I 194, ≈ Rs. W 41 (unc.: ← R **ильм** 'elm', **Δ илем** 'Ulmus campestris'; this R word is used mostly as a technical term or a name for a special species, but is not attested in most R dialects outside the western area [in R the normal words for

that tree and its species are вяз and берест], hence R ильм, илем can hardly be the source of the alleged loan) || M *il₁a₁ma 'mulberry-tree' > WrM ilama ~ ilma, HIM ялма, Brt ялма модон id. (модон 'tree'), Kl илм ilmә 'mulberry-tree' ¶ MED 402, KRS 268, Chr. 799 || HS: [11] ?φ S *ʔallān- ~ *ʔillān- '€ tree, oak' > BHb אַלְלוֹן ʔal'lōn 'any big tree; oak, acorn', MHb אַלְלוֹן ʔal'lōn 'oak', JA אֵילָן ʔīlan ~ אֵילָן ʔilan [ʔillān], JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} em. אֵילָן ʔilā'n-ā, Sr אֵילָן ʔīlā'nā (Sr W ʔillōn-ʔ) 'tree', Ak fOAK allānu 'oak'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔal-l₂-lú-na 'oak' ¶ KBR 52, Js. 49-50, Sl. 116, Sd. 36, Hlk. #4, SivCR 77 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} àlùwùṅ 'tree', Msg G {Trn.} luwun, luwṅiy id., Mbara {TrnSL} lúṅ 'tree, wood' | Gdr {Mch.} wúlǎṅa, {Srp.} wulanga id. || WCh: DfB {J} lan 'Wildnis, Busch' ¶ J R 217, ChC s.v. 'bush' and 'tree', TrnSL 269, Trn. LM 102, Trn. LDM 17, Trn. EM || [2] ?φ S *ʔayl- '(big) 'tree' > BHb אֵיל ʔayil (pl. אֵילִים ʔē'īm) {KB} 'mighty tree'; CS *ʔil-at- > MHb אֵיל ʔē'lā 'terebinth, (?) oak', Sr אֵילִית ʔīlīt-ā 'small tree, forest'; S *ʔal'-at- '€ tree' > BHb אֵילִית ʔal'īā 'magestic tree', ? Ug {OLS} ʔal't 'soporte, pilar' ¶ KB 39, 50-2, KBR 40, 54, OLS 32, Js. 49-50, 68-7, Br. 15, CAD I/1 354-5 ¶ OS #31 ¶ S *ʔallān-, *ʔillān-, and their Ch cognates belong here only if the N cs. *m in the HS word-final position changed into *n (due to reinterpretation of *m as a morphological ending [the S determiner *-m?]); S *ʔayl-, *ʔal'-at-, and *ʔil'-at- may have originated as cases of bf. for the same reason ◇ The NaIE zero reflex of the initial lr. (in *ʔm0-) points to a N *ʔ- (otherwise we should expect NaIE *elmo-, *elimo-).

33. *ʔ'alā 'food' > HS: CS (or WS?) *ʔalʔy-at- ~ *ʔaly-at- 'fat tail of a sheep' > BHb אֵילִית ʔal'īyā, JA [Trg.] {Sl.}, JEA {Sl.} אֵילִיתָא ʔal'ītā (pl. JEA אֵילִיתָא ʔalyā't-ā), Sr אֵילִיתָא ʔel'ītā ~ אֵילִיתָא ʔal'ītā, Sr E ʔel'ītā 'fat tail', Ar أليّة ʔalyat- id., 'mollet, gras de la jambe; gras de la cuisse', أليّة ʔālā 'qui a la queue grosse et grasse; qui a les fesses charnues' | ? EthS: Amh lat 'sheep's tail', Har {L} lāt id., Grg Sl lāt 'meat of a sheep's tail' ¶ KB 53, KBR 55, Br. 23, Sl. 134-5, PS 208, BK I 49, DRS 20, L LH 101, L EDG III 374, MiK I #1.5 || C: EC: ??? Or alal {Th.} 'carne pura', {Brl.} 'carne che si mangia cruda, carne monda per i musulmani', {IS ← Vit.} 'raw meat (as food), fat' (Th. supposes that the word is of Arabic origin) || ? SC: Kz {E} aʔito 'fat, oil' || DhI {EEN} ʔáʔi 'oil' ¶ The

SC/Dhl word belongs here if *-ǫ- < **-lh- with a **h- of secondary (suffixal, hiatal?) origin ¶ Th. 15, IS I 259, Brl. 16, EEN 20, ≈ E SC 285 (s.v. *ʔašî 'fat, oil'); on SC *-ǫ- < *-lh- / AD SCL || WCh: Krkr {J} ʔílmũu, {Al.} ʔílmò 'fat' ¶ JI II 132 || ?? B: IS I 259-60 adduces Ah āllun 'corn' (presumably from pB *√Hlw, the final -n [originally marker of pl.] being re-interpreted as belonging to the √, hence pl. āllūnən 'kinds of corn') ¶ Fc. 1090 || IE *ʔal- (or *hēl- > NaIE *al-) v. 'feed, nourish' (→ v. 'rear, breed', 'grow') ({EI} *h_ael- 'grow') > Gk ἄν-αλ-τος 'unsatiable' (lit. 'un-nourish-ed [enough]') || L alō, al-ēre 'nourish', d. altus 'high' (← *'fed') || OIr al- v. 'nourish', W alu, Br ala v. 'bring forth' || ON ala, AS alan 'feed, rear, bring up', Gt alan 'grow' (← 'be fed'); d.: Gt alpeis, Gt Cr, OHG, NHG alt, OSx ald, Dt oud, AS eald 'old' (← *'grown up' ← *'fed'), NE old ¶ WPI 86, P 26, EI 248, FI 102, WH I 31-2, Vr. 4-5, Fs. 34, 40, EWA I 171-4, Vn. A 57, Mn. 16-7, Ho. 3, 83-4, KM 16-7 || R *a'í∇- ({DQA} *j_oíe) 'food' > T *a'í 'food' > NaT *aš > OT aš, Tk aš, Tkm, ET, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt aš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Xk as, Tv áš, Yk as id., Uz oš 'hot food', Az aš 'porridge, gruel (каша), pilau', Ggz aš ~ āš 'fodder' ¶ On the ev. of Tkm and Yk, the NaT vw. *a was short (⇔ Cl., Sev. [*ā], DT [half-long *aː]) ¶ ET Gl 210-2, Rs. W 29-30, DTS 61-2, Cl. 253, Rl. I 583-6, DHST 189, DT 82, Vl. I 38, Jeg. 38 || Ko āl 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || ʔφ M *öl- > WrM {MED} öl, HIM əл 'food', Brt γл, Kl əл 'nutritiousness', {Rm.} öl 'stärkende Speise', Ord, Mnr E {MYC} öl 'nutritiousness, food' ¶ The pM origin of the word is questionable because of its strange phonetic shape (monosyllabic noun without final vw., not typical for pM) and its absence from MM sources; one of possible sources is T *ōl 'fresh' (→ 'fresh\nutritious grass') ¶ MED 633, KRS 413, KW 29, Chr. 499, Ms. O 530, MYC 541 || ʔφ Tg *ulī- 'feed' > Ewk ulī-, Lm, Nn Nh uli-, WrMc ulēbu- id. ¶ STM II 260 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 186, 285, ≈ SDM97 (A *e'lu 'seed, grain, food') ¶¶ DQA #32 (A *a'í∇ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds' > T *i_oa'í 'food' + unc.: M *alir-su [> Kl ālsn 'chaff', HIM alirs 'blue-berry'] and Tg *elū > Ewk əlū- v. 'hatch'); qu.: DQA #641 (pA *j_oíe 'food' > T *i_oa'í, *i_oa'í-a 'food', M *öl 'food', Tg *ulī- 'feed') || It is tempting to adduce (after IS I) D *a[(-av-)] > Klm la'v 'fat', Tm al 'strength', Gnd lāv, Kn al_a(v u/i) 'power, strength', Tl alav u, alavi id., lāv u 'strength, fatness', Knd alvi 'energy', lāv u 'much' (D #291). But the D stem belongs here only if the meaning 'fat' (as in Klm and Tl) is the original

one, which is questionable ◇ Cf. IS I 259-60: HS (S, Or, B), IE, A (T, Ko), D ◇ ≠ Gr. II #330 (*a1 'seed') (untenable).

34. *ʔuh₁∇₁∇ 'hut' > HS: S *¹ʔuh₁a₁l- 'tent, hut, family' (~ *ʔah₁a₁l- ?) > Hb ʔohɛl 'tent', pl. ʔ^hhā^llīm, Ug ʔ_hh1 {A} 'Zelt, Wohnung', {OLS} 'tienda, mansión', Amr {G} ʔahlum 'tent, house', JA {Lv.} הַחֹהֵלֶם ʔoh^al-ā, {Js.} הַחֹהֵלֶם ʔoh^ol-ā, JEA {Sl.} אָהֶלֶם ʔoh^l-ā 'tent', Sr  yi'hal, em.  yah^l-ā {Br.} 'gens, caterva (hominum)', {JPS} 'troop, band, cohort', Ar ʔahl-, pl. ʔahl-ūna 'people who live in the same tent' → 'family, household, people', Tmd ʔhl, ʔl 'tent, family, clan', Sf ʔl, Lh ʔhl id., Ak ālu (< *ʔahlu) 'Ortschaft, Stadt'; S b→ Eg N ĩhr, (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʔa-hi-l 'nomad's tent' ¶ DRS 10-1, KB 18-9, KBR 19, A #104, OLS 15, Sl. 86, G A 13, BK I 65-6, Br. LS 299, JPS 189, Brn. ITh 511, Brn. TTPh 160, BGMR 3, EG I 119, Hlk. 11, SivCR 78; the vw. a of the first syll. (in Ak, Ug, Ar, and Sr) is probably due to the infl. of *h || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔiṣāḥ^w (pl. ʔiṣēri) 'watch hut in the field', {E} iṣaḥ 'out-structure, hut or shelter away from house', ? SC b→ Mb aṣaʔú 'calf hut' ¶ Irq, Mb ṣ < *h1 ¶ E SC 285 (s.v. *ʔa|āṣa), MQK 58 || ? WCh: pAG *lu 'hut', {Hf.} 'compound' > Gmy {Hf.} lū 'compound', Su {J} lú 'Hütte, Raum', Mnt {J} lú, Ang lu, Cp {Kr.} l+ 'hut, house', Kfr {Nt.} lú 'house', Mpn {Frz.} lú 'house, hut, room' ¶ J S 73, ChL, Hf. AG 21 [#135] (pAG 'compound'), Nt. 25, Frz. M 34 || E: MEI ul-hi 'Wohnstatt, Tempel-Cella' ¶¶ HK 1216-7 || D *u] 'house, in, inside' > Prj oḷe(k) 'house', Gdb ule, Gnd rōn ~ lōn id., Knd loʔo/i 'inside', Krx ulā 'inner room; in, inside', Mlt ule 'inside, within', Brh urā 'house, wife'; Tm ul, Ml ul]u 'inside', Td uḩ 'the inside' ¶¶ D #698 || A *^ru'1∇: ?σ T *^oo|u|u'1 'inside' > {Cl.} oš, OT {DTS} uš 'the heart\centre (qalb) of tree-trunk, branch, or horn', {MKD} oš 'core (of tree, branch, horn)' ¶ Cl. 255, DTS 617, MKD 49 || ?σ M *u₁lus 'tribe, population' > MM [S] ulus 'Volk, Stamm, Staat', WrM ulus, HIM uls 'people, nation; state, kingdom, empire; dynasty', Mnr H lus3 'people, état, contrée' ¶ MED 873-4, H 163, Kow. 403, SM 228; the M stem may belong here only if the final element *(u)s can be explained.

35. *ʔ^rū|u₁g₁a 'cold (Kälte)' > IE: NaIE *alg^h- 'cold', *alg^h-e/os- n. 'cold, frost' ({EI} ? IE *h_{pe}lg^h- 'cold') > L alg-or 'frost, cold', alg-ē- v. 'freeze, feel cold', alg-iḩus adj. 'cold' ||| pGmc *algiz (< NaIE *alg^h-es-) > ON gen. sg. elgiar, Ic elgur 'Schneegestöber mit starkem Frost,

halbgeschmolzener Schnee', 'snow-drift' ¶ P 32, EI 113, WH I 29, Vr. 100 || **HS**: ECh: Bdy {AIJ} ʔòlgà n. 'froid', ʔòl (pl. ʔòlòw) 'refroidir', EDng {Fd.} ʔlâ 'froid', ʔlè 'rafraîchir', Jg {J} ʔólân 'cold' ¶ J J 116, AIJ 104, 145, Fd. 40, JI II 80-1 || ? S *^o√wlg > Sr W {Br.} ʔawleg 'frigidus, jejunos evasit', but acc. to PS, the word means 'fatuus, insipitus factus est' ¶ Br. 301, PS 65 || **A** {AD} *úíi-, {SDM94, SDM95} *uí∇ > T *úíi- v. 'freeze, congeal' > OT [MhK] *üšš-i- 'be very cold, shiver with cold', MQp üšš-i- 'be cold', [CC] 'be frozen', Tk üšš- v. 'suffer from cold', Az, QrB, Qrg, ET üššü-, Tkm üšš-e-, Δ üšš-i-, VTt bšš- id. (↳ Chv v bšš- v. 'blow' [of a cold wind]?), Nog üši- v. 'get frost-bitten', Qq, Qzq üs(i)- v. 'freeze, suffer from cold', StAlt, Tv üžš- v. 'freeze, become stiff with cold' ¶ Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 52, ET Gl 644, DTS 628, BT 171 || M **üli|ü- (not attested in the available M sources) ↳ Yk ülüj- 'frieren' ¶ Rm. **SKE** 73, Klz. MJ 121, Rs. W 523 || Tg *u|ān 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' > Neg o|an, Ul u|a(n-), Nn o|ā id., Ewk u|ān 'patch of water on ice, наледь; glade, полынья' ¶ STM 258 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *uí∇ v. 'freeze') and DQA #2519 (A *úíi|e 'to freeze' > T, Tg) consider Yk ülüj- to be an inherited T word and hence have to reconstruct pT variants: *úíi- ~ *üli- (without explaining the variation); Rm. (**SKE** 73) adduces Ko ririril-ṭā,]- v. 'tremble, shiver' (to be rejected as ideophonic) ◇ T and M *ü- may go back either to N *ú or to *u with synharmonic palatalization (due to *i of the next syllable).

36. *ʔam∇ (= *ham∇?), dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now' > **HS**: S *ʔ|ham- > Ak A ammiu 'that, jener' (f. ammītum), amma 'voilà', OAr T/SA ʔam-, Ar D ʔam-, Ar NY NE ʔam-, m-, Ar NY T ʔam- ~ m- ʔim-, Hmr {Blv.} ʔam- df. art., ? IA hrn 'this' ¶ Sd. 43-4, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Br. G I 317 [§ 107e], Bns. NJ I 64 [map #24] and II 33, Blv. XJ 116-7, Kfl. I 74, HJ 287-8 || EC: Af {PH} ama 'istud' (= 'that [thing] close to you'), Sa {R} a'mā 'dieser, jener' (= 'iste?'), Or {Grg., Th.} amma, Or S a(m)ma 'now' ¶ PH 9, R S II 84, Grg. 16, Sr. 263, Th. 18 || **K** *ama- 'this' > G ama-/am- 'this', Mg amu-, Lz (h)amu- id., Sv ama-s dat. 'to that', ama-w 'here, so far' ¶¶ ≈ K 44, ≈ K² 2-3 (K considers the stem to be compound of *a- and *-ma-) || **A**: NaT *am + -ti (> *amtī, *amdī, *ämdī) 'now' (← 'in this?'), ? *am 'now' > OT am-ti 'now', Tv, Tf amdī, ET ämdī, Alt {RI.}, StAlt, Qrg emdī, Alt Δ {GAJ} amdī, Ln ämde ~ ämdī, Shor, Xk, Sg {RI.}, Tv am, Tv Δ, Tf amdī 'now' ¶ Rs. W 18, Cl. 157-8, DTS 42, ET Gl 357-8, RI. I 643, BT 191, TvR 56, Ra. 154 ¶ Cl. supposes that am is a contraction of

*am-ti (Cl. 157-8); amti (> amdi) and ämdi (> emdi) may be two synharmonistic variants (resulting from progressive vs. regr. as. [vowel harmony] in a bi-morphemic word) ¶¶ On the other hand, T *^re¹mdi may be connected with pKo *ima- (> NKo ima-ǰǰ,k) 'lately, nowadays', pJ *ima 'now' (> OJ ìmá, J T ima), and possibly with Tg *ime- 'fresh, new' (> Ewk imɜkin, Nn B imki(n-), Nn KU imɜkĩ id., Neg imɜxin, Ork imɜw, imɜu 'fresh', Ud imɜxi 'new'); in this case it goes back to A {DQA} *imé 'now' (DQA #599, STM I 314) || E: MEI, NEI, AchEI a-am, am 'now' ¶¶ HK 48 ◇ If IA hrn belongs here, the N initial cs. is *h-, otherwise it is *ʔ-, sc. N *ʔh- (*h- is not ruled out, since in grammatical morphemes pN and pS *h- may yield Ar ʔ-).

37. LI. *ʔemA 'mother' > HS: S *ʔimm- id. (pl. *ʔimmā^h-ā-t-) > Hb 𐩧𐩣𐩪 / -𐩧𐩣𐩪 ʔimm- (ʔim¹m-ī 'my mother'), pl. ʔimmā^hōt, Ph ʔm, Ug ʔm *ʔumm-, pl. ʔmht, Amr {G} ʔumm-um ~ ʔimm-um, JA, Sr ʔim¹m-ā, JEA {Sl.} 𐩧𐩣𐩪 ʔim¹mā, Ar ʔumm-, OSA ʔm, pl. ʔmht, Gz ʔam, Mh ḥ-ām, indf. ʔēm, Hrs ḥ-ām, Jb C ʔem, Sq {L} ʔem- +ppas., Gz ʔamm, pl. ʔammāt, Ak ummu(m) ¶ KB 59, OLS 34, DRS 22-3, Sl. 116-7, G A 14, Jo. M 5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 3, L G 22, L LS 62, Sd. 1416-7; the variant with u is due to the ass. infl. of mm || B ≈ *yimmā 'my mother' > Kb {Dl.}, Snd {La.} yamma, BMn {Ds.} yemma, Jrb {Bs.}, Gd {Lf.} yamma~imma, Izn {Ds.} yemma~imma, Mtmt {Ds.} yimma id., BSn imma {Bs.} id., {Ds} 'mother', Rf {Bi.} imma id., SrSn/Grr {Bs.}, Kb Z {Bs.} imma 'my mother'; the form *yimmā may go back to *y- 'my' + *ʔimm∇ 'mother' ¶ DI. 921, Ds. B 219, Bi. R 86, Lf. II #O950 || C: ? (unless an independent Lallwort) HEC {Hd.} *ama > Brj a¹ma~ā¹ma 'mother, woman, wife', Ged/Sd/Alb {Hd.} ama, Hd {Hd.} ama, amoʔo 'mother', ama(ti) 'mater familias', Kmb {Hd.} amata, amayye voc. 'mother' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} āma 'old woman', Irq {MQK} ʔāma id., 'grandmother, wife', ? Irq {Wh.} amēni 'woman' ¶ Hd. 102, Ss. B 25-6, Wh. IC 26, MQK 13 || ? Ch (here unless an independent LI.): CCh: Mrg amā, Klb ama, Wmd umā 'mother' || ECh: Ke amá 'mother' (address word) ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 26 ||] This N etymon is the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg, and Ch: HS *k∇-m 'thee, thy' f. > B {Pr.} *kamm 'thou' f. > Tw kəm id. (Ah {Fc.} kəm, Ty/ETwl kəmm 'thou' [autonomous prn.], kəm [preverbal]), Kb 𐩧𐩣𐩪, Zng {Ai.} kum ~ kəm, Shl kimi, Si šəm, Tmz šəm, kəmmin 'thou' f.; B {Pr.} *-(ī-)k-am 'thee' f. > Tw {Pr.} *-kəm ~ *-īm id., Ty/ETwl {GhA} -kəm ~ -im, Kb, Shl -kəm, Zng kəm ~ -m, Si -im, Tmz -ikəm, -šm,

Wrg -šam; pB {Pr.} *-am ~ *-ī-m 'thy' f. possessoris > Tw {Pr.} -am ~ -im, Ty/ETwl {GhA} -(ə)m ~ -em, Kb, Zng, Shl, Si, Tmz, Wrg -m; B {Pr.} *hā-m 'to thee (f.)' > Ah {Pr.} hām id. (preverbal), -ām id. (postverbal), Ty, ETwl am, Kb, Wrg -(i)am, Shl, Si, Tmz -am id. ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-7, 173-9, Fc. 807, GhA 93, Dl. 404, AiM 215-7 || Eg: OEG enclitic marker of f. -m: c m 'thou' f. ↔ cω 'thou' m.; aut. pronouns: c m t 'thou' f. ↔ cω t 'thou' m. ¶ Ed. §§ 166-7, 172 || Ch *-m (marker of f.) in *k∇m 'thee' f. > Ngz {Sch.} k t m, Bd g z m, Bdm {Lk.} -gεm id., Ch *°k∇m > Bdm {Lk.} -g'um 'thy' f. possessoris ¶¶ AD PP 71-3, 122 || U {UEW} *emä 'mother, female' > F emä 'female, mother, womb', emäntä 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', emäsika 'sow', Es ema 'mother, womb' || pLp {Lr.} *ēmē 'womb' > Lp S {Hs.} jiemie yīēmīē id., Lp N {N} *æbme, æm-: æmest 'von der Geburt an', æme-lii'ke 'die Haut des neugeborenen Kindes' || OHg eme 'female (animal), Hg Δ eme (accus. emét) 'sow' || Sm {Jn.} *emä, {HL.} *eme 'mother' > Ne T {Lh.} hēb_e, StNe T небя, Ne F Ny hémé, En X ē, (+ ppa. of 1s) ēb_ō, Ng {Cs.} ríame id. || Slq: Tz {Prk.} zm̄, LTz {KD} ämä, Tur z̄m̄ 'mother' || Koyb {Pl.} имадь, Mt {HL.} *EmE (poss. forms *ima|ä-) 'mother' (Mt T {Mil.} emē, emmē id., Mt M {Pl.} иммеда 'his mother', имамъ 'my mother') || pY {IN} *emeу 'mother' > OY: K {Bil.} ameа, {Kl.} амей, Ch {Mat.} еме 'mother', O {Mat.} емомъ '(my) mother'; Y K {IN} emey 'mother', emmē 'mammy' (address) ¶¶ UEW 74, Sm. 536 (U, FU, Sm *emä), Jn. 23, Lr. #228, Lgc. #1735, Hs. 781, Hl. M #64, IN 217, 299, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#8] (Y ← U) || A {DQA} A *ēme 'woman, female', {AD} 'mother, woman, female' > T *ämä 'mother, female' (→ 'old woman') > Az Δ ämä 'grandmother', Qrg {Jud.} eme, Alt emegen 'old woman', Qmd {RI.} emegen 'old woman, wife', Tlt {RI.} ämäxän 'Mütterchen' (address to an old woman), Chv ama 'mother, female, old woman' ¶ S AJ 196 [#246], Rs. W 42, ET Gl 220-2, Jeg. 25, Fed. I 38-9, RI. I 948-9 || M *eme 'woman, female' > MM eme, eme gü_ün 'woman, wife; female (animal)', WrM eme id., HIM em 'woman', Brt eme id., WrO eme 'woman, female, lady', Dx змз(kun), Dg {T} emeg, {Mr.} emehe, {Pp.} emēg 'wife', {T} emgūn, {Pp.} emgūn, Ba змз(kuη) 'woman', Mnr H {SM} imu in xara imu ('black woman'), ritual name given by a girl to herself in front of her parents the day of her marriage ¶ S AJ 238 [#106], T BJ 152, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 139, SM 192, Klz. D I 129, H 43, Ms. H 54, Pp. MA 153-4 || Tg *em'e' 'mother, woman, female' > Ewk змуgdз 'female

elk', Sln {Iv.} e'mo 'mother', emi'ge 'wife', Nn KU 3M83 'mother-in-law', WrMc {Z} eme 'mother', emxe 'wife's mother', emeke 'husband's mother', Mc Sb {Mrm.} eme 'mother', emxe 'Schwiegermutter', emhe 'wife's mother' ¶ S AJ 221 [#221], STM 451-2, Klz. MS 157-8 || MKo {S, Vv.} á,mí 'mother', {Vv.} émà:-nim id.; less likely pKo {S} *ámh 'woman, wife, female' > MKo ám / ámh-, NKo am id. ¶ Vv. AEN 372, S AJ 89, 256 [#135], SDM97, S QK #135 || OJ omo 'mother' ¶ Vv. AEN 372, JdH 164 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#112], ≈ DQA #428 (incl. T, M, Tg, pK *ámh) ◇ Words shaped as a(m)ma in individual IE lgs. (OHG amma 'nutrix, nurse', ON amma 'nun', Al G 'amē 'mother', F Dv. 470 [#423], Kf. 39, O 4, EWA I 205-6), in El (OEI/MEI/NEI/AchEl) am-ma 'mother' (HK 51-3), and in D *amma, {GS} *am- 'mother' (> Tm ammā, Ml, Kn, Tl, Tu amma, Klm amma, Brh ammā 'mother', Knd ama 'grandmother', Png, Mnd, Kui ama 'father's sister', Ku amma 'aunt', F D #183, GS 108 = #280), OJ E {Vv. ← JdH} amo 'mother' (Vv. AEN 372, JdH 49) are unlikely to belong here, they are better explained as independent Ll.-creations ◇ T *ä- for the expected *e- (< N *e-) may be explained by the Lallwort-factor ◇ AD NM #116, S CNM 3 (÷÷ Yn and err. ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 7 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #430 (*eme 'woman') (U, Y, A, Ko, Gil, CK + unc. OJ me 'woman').

38. *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' (→ 'take') > **HS**: Eg fOK 3mm v. 'seize, grasp' (EG: 'mit der Faust ergreifen'), ⇨ Eg fXVIII 3mm.t 'Griff, Faust', {Fk.} n. 'grasp' ¶ EG I 10-1, Fk. 3 || B *°Hmiy > Sll ämi v. 'hold\contain' (of a recipient), 3s pf. jūmi (Pcj. I A 3) ¶ Ds. 74, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔ∇m- 'catch, seize', {JS} *ʔam 'take' > CCh: Tr {Nw.} ōm 'catch', ZmB ʔám {J} 'take', {Sa.} 'steal', ?? Msg {Mch.} imǎ v. 'seize', {Lk.} ime, imε 'fangen, ergreifen, nehmen' ||| Ech: Ll {Cp.} ōm v. 'hold', Kbl {Cp.} ám 'catch', Mkl {J} ʔámhè v. 'take' ¶ Stl. IF 123, JS 261, ChC || ʔφC: Bj {Rop., R} -ʔamīt (1s: p. a-ʔa'mīt, prs. {R} a-ʔam'mīt, {Rop.} ʔammīt) v. 'grip, grasp' (rf. {R} -ʔamāt 'an sich nehmen, nehmen': p. 1s a-ʔamāt, prs. 1s a-t-ʔa'mīt), {R} mʔamāt 'fist', {Rop.} maʔmat 'fistful' ||| HEC: Sd {Gs., Mrn., C} amad- v. 'catch, hold, seize, take', Hd {PB} amad- 'fassen, nehmen', Kmb {C} amad- v. 'take' ¶ R WBd 19, Rop. 150, Gs. 12, PB 135, C SE II 189, C S 656, Mrn. S s.v. amad- || ʔσ Om: SOm {Fl.}: Dm tm-, Hm, Ari B im- 'give' ||| NrOm: Kf {C} im- ~ em-, Mch {L} ʔimmi-, Wl {LmS} imm-, Zr/Cha {C} im-, Gm {Hw.} ʔímo-, Ym {Wdk.} ímá- id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 390, LM 16, LmS

286-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'give', Wdk. BY 126 || IE * $\text{r}^1\text{em-/*r}^1\text{om-}$ / {Mn.} * m_\circ - (< * r^1m_\circ -) v. 'take, get' ({EI} * $\text{h}_1\text{em-}$ 'take', \neq 'distribute') (\times N * $\text{qAm}\nabla$ 'grasp, seize' \times N * $\text{HE}\bar{\text{n}}\text{om}\nabla$ 'take hold of') > L em- v. 'take' (only in cds.), v. 'buy', pfc. $\bar{\text{em}}\text{psi}$ (< * $\bar{\text{em-}}$, cp. Lt $\bar{\text{em}}\text{ia}\tilde{\text{u}}$ 'I bought'), Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) 'accipiantur' || OIr em- in ar-fo-em- v. 'take, receive' || Lt $\text{im-}\tilde{\text{u}}$, $\text{im}\tilde{\text{t}}\text{i}$ v. 'take', Ltv jemu 'I take', Pru $\bar{\text{i}}\text{m}\text{t}$ 'to take' | Sl prs. *(j) $\text{bm-}\text{q}$ / inf. * $\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-ti}$ 'take' (\times NaIE * yem-/*ym_\circ - < N * $\text{h}^1\text{am}\text{r}^1$ 'squeeze, grasp') > OCS prs. **ИМѦ** $\text{im-}\text{q}$ / inf. **ИАТИ** $\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'take' (* jbm- with prosthetic * j- [encouraged by the contamination with NaIE * yem-/*ym_\circ -], the stem * bm- being preserved in cds., e.g. v5z6m0 $\text{v}\bar{\text{b}}\text{z-}\text{bm-}\text{q}$ 'I [shall] take'), SCr Ch $\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{i}$ 'to take', Slv $\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\text{i}$ 'to begin', P $\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ć}$ 'to grasp, to take, to catch'; \rightarrow Sl inf. * $\text{jbm}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ti}$ > OCS prs. **ИМАМЬ** $\text{imam}\bar{\text{y}}$ 'apprehendo, colligo, accipio', Blg **ИМАМ** 'I have', SCr $\text{i}\bar{\text{m}}\text{ati}$ 'to have', Cz $\text{j}\bar{\text{i}}\text{mati}$ 'to take, to catch', Slk mat' , $\text{j}\bar{\text{i}}\text{mat}'$ 'to have', P $\text{i}\bar{\text{m}}\text{a}\text{ć}$ 'to take, to have', R Δ **ИМАТЬ** 'to catch', Uk **МАТИ** 'to have'; Sl * $\text{jbm}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ti}$ 'to have' > OCS, OR **ИМѢТИ** $\text{im}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ti}$ (1s prs. **ИМѢЯ** $\text{im}\bar{\text{e}}\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}$), R **ИМЕТЬ**, Slv $\text{im}\bar{\text{e}}\text{ti}$, Cz $\text{m}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ti}$, P $\text{mie}\bar{\text{ć}}$ id. || ? σ Arm **իմանի-** iman- v. 'understand' (Mn. connects it with IE * em- , while Solta hesitantly proposes a different et.) || ? ϕ Ht $\text{wemiy}\bar{\text{a-}}$ ~ $\text{umiy}\bar{\text{a-}}$ 'finden, treffen, antreffen' (so acc. to Ped. H, and P) ¶ P 310-1, WPI 207, $\approx\sigma$ EI 564 ('distribute'), Mn. 240, WH I 400-2, Bc. G 333, Frn. 184-5, En. 184, Vs. II 128, ESSJ VI 71, Glh. 276, Slr. 91-2, Ped. H 82, 135, Ts. W 104-5 ¶ The zero-grade * r^1m_\circ - is probably represented by the pp. * $\text{r}^1\text{m}_\circ\text{-to-s}$ or * $\text{r}^1\text{om-}\text{to-s}$ (> L emptus , Um emps , Lt $\text{im}\tilde{\text{t}}\text{as}$, Pru $\text{im}\tilde{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f.}$, OCS **ИАТЬ** $\text{j}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$). The fact that the initial IE lr. in precons. position (#_C) has not yielded * a , but rather a "schwa secundum" * o , or even a zero, suggests that this is IE * r^1 - || K: ? σ Lz {Marr} - m- (msd. $\text{m-}\text{o-}\text{m-}\text{a}\bar{\text{a}}$) v. 'carry, bring' ¶ Marr 164 || U: FU (in Prm only) * $\text{e}_{\text{r}}\text{:}\text{m}\nabla$ > pPrm * em ({LG} * $\text{e}_{\text{r}}\text{m}$) 'there is' > Z em , emlun , embur 'goods, property' ¶ LG 332, Lt. 134, Lt. J 119 ¶ Contamination with FU * $\text{o}\text{m}\nabla$ 'own' (UEW 717) is possible \diamond Cf. AD LRC #72 (IE, HS + * U), IS I 270 (HS, IE, K) $\diamond \neq$ Gr. II #381 (* amu 'take') (IE + err. U [< N * $\text{r}^1\text{am}\text{T}\nabla$ 'give'], A).

39. * $\text{r}^1\text{o}^1\text{m}\nabla$ 'kin, clan, everybody' > HS: S * $\text{r}^1\text{umm-}$ (at-) 'kin, clan' > BHb **הַקָּבָל** $\text{r}^1\text{um}^1\text{m-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'tribe, small group of people', pl. $\text{r}^1\text{um}^1\text{m-}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}$, $\text{r}^1\text{um}^1\text{m-}\bar{\text{i}}\text{m}$, Ug $\text{r}^1\text{um}\text{t}$, $\text{r}^1\text{ummat-}$ 'kin, clan (?)', Sr $\text{r}^1\bar{\text{u}}\text{m}(\text{m})\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ {JPS} 'race, nation, people; a class, genus', Ar $\text{r}^1\text{umm-at-}$ (pl. $\text{r}^1\text{umam-}$) {Fr.} 'coetus,

multitudo, gens, familia viri, populus', {BK} 'assemblée, foule; famille; peuple, nation', Ak ummān-um 'people, army', {Sd.} 'Menschenmenge, Heer, Arbeitsgruppe', ummat-um 'Hauptmasse' ¶ KB 60, KBR 62, Grd. UT 360 [#225], JPS 6, Hnr. 107, Fr. I 57, BK I 52, G OA 45, Sd. 1413-5, DRS 23 || C: EC: Af ummān 'all, every', ummat 'inhabitants, populace', Sa {R} um'mān 'totalità, Gesamtheit' ¶ R S II 283, PH 204 || This N etymon may be the source of *-∇m-plural in several C lgs: EC: Dsn -am ~ -ām, ending of pl. of nouns and adjectives (ḏamaḏ-ām pl. of ḏamaḏḏi 'thigh', ʔoḡor-ām pl. of oḡor 'black', alč-am pl. of ʔalčū 'fighting-stick'); Arr -mé ~ -má, sx. of "multiple reference plural" (daḡal-mé - pl. of daḡál 'cheek', dēbi-má - pl. of dēbí 'cabbage') || ??? SC: Irq -ēmo sx. of pl. (dāḡgēmo 'twins' - pl. of dāḡgi 'twin') ¶ For further details see Zab. MNPC ∇ ¶ To. DL 86-9, Hw. A 166-72, Mous 47, 58-9 || IE *ʔHom- 'every' > L omnis id., Osc úmbrn- 'omnis' || Arm ամէն amêḥn (gen. ամենի ameni) 'all' (× ÷ OI sa'maḡ 'equal, like', Av hama- 'jeder beliebige', Gk ἄμῶ- in ἄμοῦ [Gk A ἄμοῦ] 'somewhere, other', Gt sum̄s, AS sum 'irgend einer', NE some) ¶ Sl. 269-270, ≈ WH I 209-10 || Pv. II 373-81 convincingly rejects the adduction of Ht hūmant- 'every, each, all' ¶¶ Ped. H 165 || ? NaIE *-ōm, sx. of genitivus pl. (e.g. with *-o-stems: Vd carāth-ām 'der beweglichen', Gk λύκ-ων, OHG wolf-o, Lt vilk-ũ, OCS вѡлкѣ ѡлѣкѣ 'of wolves', L deum 'of gods'; with *-n-stems and *-r-stems: OI sún-ām, Gk κυν-ῶν 'of dogs', L homin-um 'of men', Lt akmen-ũ. OCS каменѣ kamen-ѣ 'of stones', Gt tuggōn-ō, OHG zungōn-o 'of tongues', L mātr-um, Gk μητέρ-ων, OCS матерѣ mater-ѣ 'of mothers', GAv dug^ədr-ām 'of daughters'); in several lgs. the ending *-ōm was lengthened due to metanalysis: OI -nām, L -ōrum (OI vṛkānām, L lupōrum 'of wolves') ¶ Brg. KVG 394-5 (§§ 486-7) and the table "Übersichtstabelle zur nominalen Kasusbildung" after p. 398; Bks. 113-7, 173 || U *ʔ^oma > ʔσ Mk u'ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle' || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} ūm† 'tous les autres, остальные', {KKIH} ūm† 'некоторый, остальной', ūm†́ne 'a relative' ¶¶ PI 284, Hl. (p.c.), KKIH 145 || A: NaT *ōba 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N *ʔOH₂b∇ [= *ʔohb∇?] 'clan', q.v. ffd.) || M *omuḡ ~ *obuḡ 'clan' (× N *ʔOH₂b∇) > MM [S] oboh 'family', WrM obuḡ ~ omuḡ 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM obog ~ omog id., Ord omoq, WrO omoq 'family', Mnr H omog 'nom de clan, nom de

famille' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 598, 611 || D (in SD) *-um 'all', a morpheme used as a final component of cds. and frame constructions: Tm ellā-m 'everything, everybody', ellā- + case sxs. + -um, ellā ... -um 'all, everybody' (e.g. ellā maṇitarkaḷukkum 'to all people'), cakala + case sx. + -um 'all, tous' (e.g. accus. cakalattiḡum, dat. cakalattukum) (An. TL 23, An. GTJ 96-8), interr. prn. + -um have the meaning of 'every-...': yāvum 'everything', yāvaiyūm 'all, whole', yārum 'everybody', ēvatum 'everything', Ml -(u)m 'all, any' (e.g. eṇṇum 'anywhere', cp. eṇṇu 'where?'), Td -m 'all, any' (e.g. eṭm 'in any direction', cp. eṭ 'in which direction?'), Kn -m (e.g. ettam 'wheresoever, cp. etta 'where?') ¶ D #5151 ◇ This N etymon may be the origin of the HS marker of pl. m. *-um ~ *-im in personal pronouns and pronominal sxs. of 2pm and 3pm (S *ʔantim ~ *antum 'you' pl. m., *-kum ~ *kim 'you' accus. pl. m., 'yours' pl. m., *šum ~ *šim 'they' pl. m., *-šum ~ *-šim 'them, their' pl. m., C: Ag: Bln {R} kūm 'you' accus. pl. m., Hs kum 'yours' pl. m.) and of the D marker of pl. *-m in pl. *nīm 'you' pl. (cp. *nī 'you' sg.), *nām 'we incl., and *yām 'we' excl. (Zv. CDM 36-44).

40. 2 *ʔamga 'dry, thirst(y)' > HS: S: Ar ✓ʔmǧ 'be thirsty': pf. أَصَحَّ ʔamiḡa 'be thirsty', أَصَحَّ ʔamaḡ- 'thirst; excessive heat (of weather)' ¶ Fr. I 58 || EC: pSam {Hn.} *'ángèg 'dry' > Sml engeg-, Bn aneg 'dry', Rn àngàgà 'be dry, dry out\up' || SC: Irq {MQK} agē-ḡ 'dry season', Alg {MousK} ēgē, Brn {MousK} ageḡ id.] On C *✓ḡgg '(be) dry' see N *Xag∇ 'dry, hard' ¶ Ss. B 82, 169, Bl. 183, Hn. S 5, PG 65, Hw. A 361-2, R WB 189, AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, Blz. SCL s.v. 'dry'₂ || R: WrM aḡga-, HIM aḡra- 'be dry', gazar aḡga-qu 'for the soil to dry out', unless identical with WrM aḡga 'be thirsty', which is from M *ʔaḡḡa (> MM [S] {H} haḡḡa- v. 'be thirsty', Dg {Mr.} hanke- 'get thirsty, need water', hankā 'make a person go without water, parch, make thirsty') ¶ MED 43, H 74, Pel. 203, Mr. D 156 ◇ Qu. because of the uncertainty of the supposed M cognate.

41. 2 *ʔāmp∇ '≈ wolf' > HS: EC *ʔa₁m₁p- > Sd {Gs.} ambōma, nom. ambōmi 'hyena' ¶ Gs. 14 || CCh: Nz {Mch.} yāḡba 'dog' ¶ ChC || U (att. in Ugr only) *āmp∇ 'dog' > OHg XVI eḡbek [äbek], Hg eb 'dog' || pObU *āmp∇ 'dog' > pVg *āmp∇ > Vg: T āmp, LK/MK/OK ṡmp, Ss āmp 'dog'; pOs *āmp > Os: V/Vy āmp, Nz/Kz amp, O āmp 'dog' ¶ UEW 836, MF 137, Ht. 126 [#33].

42. $*\text{ʔam}_L\text{r}\nabla$ (or $*\text{ʔam}^{\text{r}^0}(-_L\text{R}\nabla)$?) 'morning, daylight' > HS $*\text{ʔmr}$ 'morning, daylight' (× N $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}^0}\text{mrE}$ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) > C {AD} $*\text{ʔmr}$ 'morning, dawn' > Ag {E} $*\text{ʔamer-}$ 'morning' > Bln {R} $\text{amer}\bar{i}$, Q {R} $\text{amer}\bar{e}$ 'morning, tomorrow', Xm {R} amir , Xm T {CR} $\text{am}\bar{e}\text{r}$ 'tomorrow', \rightarrow Gz $\text{ʔam}\bar{i}\text{r}$ 'sun, day, time', Gft $\text{aym}\bar{e}\text{ra}$, Grg imir , $\text{yim}\bar{e}\text{r}$ 'sun' | SC: $\text{ʔ}\sigma$ Irq {Wh.} $\text{om}\bar{a}\text{r}$ 'previously', $\text{ʔ}\sigma$ SC {E} $*\bar{a}\text{ma}$ 'night' (acc. to E PC; the representation in individual lgs. is not indicated) ¶ AD SF 132-3, E PC #453, L G 26, Wh. SI || IE $*\text{ʔ}_H\text{x}\bar{a}\text{m}(e)\text{r}$ / $*\text{ʔ}_H\text{x}\bar{a}\text{m-n-}$ ({EI} $*\text{h}_2\text{eHmer}$) 'day' (× N $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}^0}\text{mrE}$) > Gk: Hm $\eta\mu\alpha\rho$, gen. $\eta\mu\alpha\tau\text{-}\sigma\varsigma$, D/AC $\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha\rho$, $\text{-}\alpha\tau\sigma$ id. \rightarrow Gk A $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\bar{\alpha}$ 'day' (initial h- on the analogy of $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 'evening') 'day' ||| Arm $\text{aw}\bar{r}$ 'day' (< $*\text{aymr}$ < $*\text{amur}$ < $*\bar{a}\text{m}\bar{o}\text{r}$), gen. $\text{aw}\bar{u}\text{r}$ ¶ P 35, ≈ EI 149 (unjustified morphemic border: $*\text{h}_2\text{eH-mer}$), F I 634-5, Ch. 412, Sl. 409-411, Hamp AA ||| U: [1] FU $*\text{a}^{\text{r}^0}\text{m}\nabla$ 'sun, heat' > F aurinko 'sun', Lp Tn $\text{awr}\bar{z}\bar{t}$ 'flame', Lp T $\text{a}\bar{u}\text{r}$ 'glowing embers', (× N $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}^0}\text{mrE}$ 'burn' [intr], 'shine', q.v.) Vt $\text{om}\bar{y}\text{p}$ 'embers, heat (in a stove)', $\text{тыл om}\bar{y}\text{p}$ 'flame' || [2] $\text{ʔ}\phi$ FU {IS} $*\bar{o}\text{amo}$ > FP $*\text{a}^{\text{r}^0}\text{m}\nabla$ / $*\bar{o}\text{ama}$ 'morning, early' > ? F aamu \bar{a} ahmu 'morning', eF [Agr.] amu ~ aamu , Krl oamu , uamu id., Vp $\bar{a}\text{mu}$ 'long ago' (the length of the initial vw. and the dialectal h are innovations due to unknown factors) | Er umok 'long ago' ¶ Coll. 2, Coll. CG 405 (U $*\bar{o}\text{ama}$), IS I 261, UEW 337-8, ≠ UEW 804-5, SK 29, SSA I 46, 90, UZS 320 ◇ FP $*\text{a}^{\text{r}^0}\text{m}\nabla$ / $*\bar{o}\text{ama}$ may belong here if the syll. $*\text{-r}\nabla$ was lost (metanalysis?) or if $*\text{-R}\nabla$ did not belong to the N etymon (was an additional element, sx.?) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #73 (IE, HS [C and Gz], U); IS MS 370 and IS I 260-1 (both: HS, IE, U).

43. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}^0}\text{mrE}$ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > U: FP $*\text{umr}\nabla$ 'fire, flame' > Chr $\text{um}\bar{e}\text{r}$ 'warm\calm' (of weather), Chr B $\text{um}\bar{e}\text{r}$ 'warm und ruhig', (× N $*\text{ʔam}_L\text{r}\nabla$ 'morning, daylight', q.v.) Prm $*\bar{u}\text{mir-}$ > Vt G $\text{om}\bar{r}$ 'flame', StVt $\text{om}\bar{y}\text{p}$ 'heat (from a stove)', StVt $\text{тыл om}\bar{y}\text{p}$, Vt Y $\text{t}\bar{i}\text{-}\text{om}\bar{r}$ 'flame' ($\text{тыл t}\bar{i}$ 'fire'), Vt Uf $\text{t}\bar{i}\text{-}\text{om}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ 'das Feuer lodert auf', Z $\text{imra}\bar{w}\text{-n}\bar{i}$, $\text{im}\bar{i}\text{rt-n}\bar{i}$, Z UV $\text{imra}\bar{l}$ 'blaze (as a stove), emit heat ($\text{пыхать, веять теплом}$)' ¶ UEW 804, LG 329, UZS 320 | possibly a contribution to the meaning of FU $*\text{am}\nabla$ 'sun, heat' > F aurinko 'sun', Lp Tn $\text{awr}\bar{z}\bar{t}$ 'flame', Lp T $\text{a}\bar{u}\text{r}$ 'glowing embers', Vt $\text{om}\bar{y}\text{p}$ 'embers, heat (in a stove)', $\text{тыл om}\bar{y}\text{p}$ 'flame' (× N $*\text{ʔam}_L\text{r}\nabla$, q.v.) ||| A {DQA} $*\text{obri}\bar{e}$ {AD} 'be bright, shine' (× N $*\text{ʔu}_L\text{w}_L\text{r}\nabla$ 'light [lux], fire' × N $\text{ʔ}\phi$ $*\text{x}^{\text{r}^0}\text{aw}_L\text{a}_L\text{rE}$ [or $*\text{xawEr}\nabla$] 'bright, white', q.v.) >

NaT *ürün (~ *°Ewrün?) 'shining, bright, white' > OT, Yk ürün 'white', Chg XV ewrür 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ürün 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ūrūn, {TL} ürün 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ürün baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [#190] || M {DQA} *öwr 'dawn' > MM [MA] ür or ör 'aurore', WrM {MED} ür, {Gl.} ör, HIM ūr, Ord, Kl ör 'dawn, daybreak', WrO ör 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H ōr 'aube du jour' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010, S AJ 243 [#216], Krg. 147, SM 294, KW 298 || Tg *°oru (or *°xoru) > Ewk orumna- v. 'flame up (вспыхнуть)' (of fire) ¶ Vas. 327, STM II 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is *°oru ¶¶ DQA #1580 (A *obri|e 'dawn'), S AJ 288 (A *ör▽ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KW 298, Rs. W 375, SDM97 s.v. *orE 'white, dawn' (all four sources: T, M) || HS *✓?mr (× N *?am_L▽_LR▽ 'morning, daylight'): B *✓¹w¹mr > Ah əmmar 'le soleil, le feu, tout corps en combustion qui chauffe à une distance; chaleur rayonnée', Ъsammər 'rayons du soleil chauffant doucement', Ty, ETwl asЪsamṁar id., Rf summär 's'ensoleiller, se mettre au soleil', Izd asammər 'sunny side of a mountain', SrSn, Izn sammər id., θamiri 'moon-light' ¶ Fc. 1223, Rn. 385, GhA 131, Mrc. 237 || C {AD} *✓?mr 'morning, dawn' (× N *?am_L▽_LR▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Other alleged cognates within HS (S *✓?mr v. 'see, be seen', etc., as well as some Ch, Eg, and B words), adduced by IS (I 260-1), are semantically and/or phonetically unfit for comparison || IE *?|Hxām(e)r / *?|Hxām-n ({EI} *h₂eĥmer) 'day' (× N *?am_L▽_LR▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.).

44. *?°omśa 'flesh, meat' > U {Coll.} *omśa id. > pLp {Lr.} *ṵńćē 'flesh' > Lp S {Hs.} oāddjīe, Lp N {N} oāž'žē, Lp Kld {TI} ṵṁžń:č, Lp T {TI} ṵṁžń:če id. || Sm {Jn.} *Ъmsā, {HI.} *Ъmsa 'meat, flesh' > Ne T Һамза, Ne O {Lh.} Һамсă, Ne F {Lh.} Һамс'ăă, Ng {Mik.} Һамсу, En X {Cs.} uďa, B {Ter.} ossa 'meat', Mt {HI.} *amsa ~ *absa 'meat, body', {AD} 'flesh, meat' (Mt: T {Sp.} апса 'flesh\meat', K/M {Mil.} amsa 'caro'), Slq Tz {KKIH} aps+ 'food' ¶¶ Coll. 104, ≈ Sm. 542 (FU *onśā 'flesh; hind' > FP *onśa, Ugr *āncă), Lr. #835, TI 762, Jn. 15 (supposes that Sm *Ъmsā 'meat' is d. from *Ъm- 'eat'), KP 160, KKIH 100, HI. M #36, ≠ UEW 133 (Lp from *oća ~ *ońća 'to divide') || HS: ? S: Ar pāmīṣ-, pāmīṣ- 'pickled raw meat; veal jelly' ¶ Fr. I 59, BK I 55 ¶ The emphaticity of the final cns. is still to be explained || Eg fXVIII sms 'piece of beef' (IS: partial rdp. of *ǵms?) ¶ EG IV 141 ¶¶ I do not

adduce here (\Leftrightarrow IS) the NrOm word for 'cow' (Kf {C} mīnčō, etc.) because the sibilant\affricate element belongs probably to a nominal sx. (singulative?) - cp. Kf {C} mīmo 'cow', / Lm. Sh 355. For similar morphological (and semantic) reasons I reject the alleged Or cognate {Th} ammejsa 'milch cow' \neq Or B {Vnt.} amessa 'un animale che ha latte e che è dato in prestito a chi non ha cibo' (Vnt. 8, Th. 18) || IE: NaIE *mēms- 'meat' (< **ʔmēms- [reduplicated stem]), {EI} *'mē(m)s (gen. *mem's-os) > OI mām'sa-, 'mās 'flesh, meat' || Arm փիս mis id. || pAl *miša > Al mish id. || Gt mimz id. || Pru mensā, Lt Zh meisa (Frn.: < *mensā), Ltv mīesa id. | Sl *mešo id. > OCS **МЯСО** mešo, SCr mēso, P mięso, R 'мясо || L membrum 'limb' (< *mēms-ro-) || OIr mír 'piece of meat, mouthful, food' (< *mēms-ro-) || Tc B mīsa 'meat, flesh' ¶ P 725, EI 374-5, WH II 64-5, Fs. 361, Vn. M 54-5, Frn. 427, En. 210, O 267, Sl. 51-2, Ad. 464 ¶ The loss of the lr. *ʔ in the initial clusters (*ʔ + cns.) is reg. (cp. *ʔs- > *s in *ʔes-ti 'est' - *s-onti 'sunt') ◇ IS I 252-3, AD NM #66, S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #161 (*mim 'flesh') (IE, U + unc. Tg, Ko, J, Ai, EA).

45. *ʔiñ'A' (= *ʔin'A'?) 'place' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'in') > HS: S *ʔina 'in' > Ak: OAK, OB ina ~ in 'in', OA ina 'in'; Eb in 'in' | in WS traces of *ʔina have been preserved in Hb אֶתְמֹל ʔetmōl 'yesterday' < *pittamōl < S *ʔina timāli(m) (lit. 'in [the day of] yesterday'; cp. Ak ina timāli(m), Sd. 1360); *-tta- > *-t- reg. , / AD PSH 113 (rule 63c), BL H 193 (§ 12h), in JEA/JPA אֶתְמֹל ʔitmāl (ʔitmāl \neq ʔitmāl) and in Sr اَمْسَ ʔetmāl 'yesterday'; there is syntactic ev. (the adnominal [so-called "genitive"] case of nouns following *ʔina) suggesting that this prep. (like other S prepositions) goes back to a noun, hence the final *-a in S *ʔina is an ending of accus. (typical of adverbials of place) and provides no ev. as to the final vw. of the pN stem ¶ CAD VII 141-2, Penn. SPE 298, Lv. I 185, PS 4459 || B *īn 'to, into' > Nf in id.: 'ugur in al'madrasat 'go to school', ugūraḡ in ʔarāblās 'I went to Tripoli', Si i- (pre-nominal) 'à, dans': ikim i-ddālu 'il entra dans le seau', Gd -i (postnominal) 'dans': allūn-i 'dans un trou', as well as possibly Ntf {La.} -n, -ən (locative-delative pc.: iaf-n 'he found **here**', ašk-ən 'partir') ¶ Lf. II #1704, Beg. 130, La. S 128-9, La. N 186 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -n, loc. ending in adverbs: gaça-n 'in the middle', giddo-n id., 'in between', bolla-n 'above', garsa-n 'under', mata-n 'near', sinça-n 'in front', goye-n 'behind', awa-n 'where?', Zs/Wl/Zl {C} -n (loc. sx.: Zs

anā-n 'where?') ¶ Mrn. O 61, C SE III 192 || C: HEC: Sd {C}-nne, (?) -ne, loc. (of time and place): le'ū bar'ti-nne 'in six days', alban'ne 'anticamente' (lit. 'in avanti'), gan'de ({C}: mt. < *gad-ne) 'in war' ¶ C SE II 125 || K *-na, *-n 'in', surviving in adverbs (→ adjectives): OG šī-na 'inside', çī-na 'in front (of)', ze-na 'upper' (← 'above'), uḳ(u)a-na 'behind', gušīn 'yesterday', Lz ḡoma(n) id. (cp. G ḡame 'night'), Sv ladeḡ-n 'in the daytime' (cp. ladäḡ & ladeḡ 'day'), Sv {Marr}, Sv L {Dn.} ḡošg-in 'behind' (cp. ḡošg 'back [direction], назад') ¶¶ Shlm. 27-30, Shan. G 158, DCh. 52O-1, 1217, 152O-1, 1681, Marr SS 12O3-4, Dn. s.v. ḡošg || IE *ḡen/*ḡ, *ḡeni ({EI} *h₁en(i)) 'inside'; in, into' > Gk ἐν, (π) ἐνί adv. 'inside' (Gk Hm: ἐν δὲ οὐ ἄσκαδὺ ἔθηκε ὄνοιο 'she put inside also a skin of wine'), ἐν, ἔνυ, (π) ἐνί prep. 'in' ||| Mcd ἔν 'in' ||| Msp in 'in' ||| L in 'in', Osc -EN id. ||| OIr i n- 'in', i n- pv. 'in-', Brtt {RE} *in 'in' > OW in, MW, W, OCrn, Crn yn, Obr in, en, MBr, Br en, e, Br V in ||| Gt, OHG, OSx, AS in, ON í in' ||| Lt ĭ and iñ, Pru en 'in' || pSl *vъ, *vъn- > OCSѡъ vъ, ѡъn- vъn-, Blg въ, SCr u, Slv v, Cz v, ve, v(n), Slk v, vo, P we, R в, во, Uk в, у 'in, into' ||| Tc (px.) A y-, yn-, B y-, iḡ-, en(e)- 'in' (in adverbs: A y-kom̃, B iḡ-kaum̃ 'in the day-time', B ene-stai 'in secret'); A anne, B enem̃ 'within, herein' || Ld ěn (pv., postp.) 'in, in-' ||| IE *ḡendo > OL endo, L indu 'in' ||| Gk ἔνδον 'within, at home' ||| ?σ OIr irne 'entrails' || ? AnIE: Ht anda 'in, darin' (adv. and postp.), Lw and|ta, HrLw àⁿtá id., Lc řite (pv. and postp.) id.; the AnIE cognates are qu., because they may well be explained otherwise, as akin to Gk ἔνθα 'there' and going back to a N prn. + locative pc. *da < N *d₁ou₁a 'place (within, below), inside' ¶¶ P 311-2, EI 290, Mn. 241, F I 5O8-9, 511, WH I 687-8, 694, LP §§ 189, 431.17, RE 1O6, Frn. 181, En. 166-7, Tp. P E-H 34-9, Wn. 124, 154-6, Ad. 83-4 (Tc < IE *h₁on-, *o-grade of *h₁en- = our *ḡen-), Mer. SGA 366-8, KrlSh. XLJ 42, Glh. 648, Pv. I 76-7, Kron. EHS I 351-2 ¶¶ The zero-grade *ḡ- (rather than *ən-) suggests N *ḡ- ||| IE {BD} *-en, ? {Joh.} *-ne, locative sx.: Ht -an id. (andan 'inside', appan 'behind', piran 'in front'), Vd 'kṣām-an 'on earth, L super-ne 'upwards, from above', infer-ne 'below', OHG ūfa-na 'from above', Gt inna-na 'within' ¶¶ BD II 178, Joh. MS III 146ff., Ts. W 4, 64, Kb. 1O62 ||| U: [1] FU *r¹nh¹∇ 'place' > pPrm *in > OPrm in, Z in 'place', Vt инты int¹ 'place', in-az 'в пользу, впрок (of profit/benefit to)' (lit. 'to the place'), {Wc.} in, in 'Ort, Stelle' ||| OHg, Hg Δ eny 'geschützter Ort, wo der Mensch und das Tier vor Wind, Regen, Schnee, Sonnehitze gedeckt sind' ¶ UEW 592-3,

MF 156-7, Wc. W 59 | [2] U *-na/*-nä (or *-ña/*-ñä) locative case ending ('in') > Fkoto-na 'at home', tä-nä päivä-nä '(in) this day', eF echtona, Vo zhtogo-na, Lv ž:dь-n, Lv W i':dь-n~u':dь-n 'in the evening', Vo talvз-na, Er тельняѣ́-ña, Z tɜl-+n, Vg N {Mu.} tēliä-n, Hg téle-n 'in winter', Lp N {N} hâr'vе-n 'in (during) the rain'; in Sm lgs. it has survived in forms with pronominal stems: Ne тау-na 'there', Ng {Ter.} tɜ-n+ 'here, at this moment', tam-nu 'there, on that side', En kunne 'where?', Slq Tz ku-n id., as well as in adverbs: Slq Tz ūt+ -n 'in the evening', таҗ+ -n 'in summer'; it is found within the pSm ending of loc. {HL.} *-кън (> Slq *-qan, Kms -ʏan, Mt {HL.} -gan/-kan) ~ *-kana ~ *-kane (> Ne T -χāna, En {Ter.} -χone, Mt {HL.} *-gana ~ *-gana ~ *-kana ~ *-kanä) ¶¶ Coll. CG 286-95, Majt. SM 247-250, It. LFL √, Ter. NgJ 282-9, Ter. EJ 453, KHG 270-8, HL. M 139-40 || ¶ A (*īn∇, {SDM95} *īn∇ 'hollow, pit'): T *īn 'hole\lair of an animal' > OT {Cl.} īn id., Tkm hīn (with a secondary h-) id., VTt θн ён, Bsh ён id., Chv jьнб id., 'sheath (of a knife)', Yk īn 'pit' ¶ The length of the pT vw. needs explaining ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 172, DTS 209, 261, Jeg. 79, Fed. I 195-6, Pek. 938 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} ун (унь) 'straw-littered bedding-place in a pigsty' ¶ Z 139 | A *-na/*-nä, locative ending: M *-na/*-ne: [1] M *qoyi-na adv. 'in the rear, back' > MM [MA, HI] qoyina, [S] χoyina, WrM qoina, HIM хойно, Ord {Ms.} χοῦνο, Mnr H {SM} χυε'no id., [2] M *dotu-na 'inside' > MM [S] dotona, WrM dotuna, HIM дотно, [3] M *gada-na adv. 'outside' > MM [S] {H} ḡadana (= g|ʏadana), WrM gadana, HIM гадна, Mgl {Rm.} ʏadana, Dx gadane, [4] M *doru-na 'in the east' > MM [S] dorona id., 'east', [HI] dorona, WrM doruna, HIM дорно 'east', [5] *ʔörü-ne 'west, western side' (← 'in the west') > MM [HI] höröne, WrM örü-ne, HIM өрнө 'west, western side' ¶ MED 263-4, 343, 644, 954, Pp. MA 306, Ms. H 91, 61, H 37-8, 55, 69, SM 177, Rm. M 28, T DnJ 115 || T: [1] *-n within the compound locative sx. *-tin / *-tün / *-tun / *-din / *-dün / *-dün in adverbs (→ adjectives and locative nouns): > OT tašdın 'outside', күntün 'in the south', kēdın, Chg [MA] keyin 'behind' | [2] *°-ni in OT qa-ni 'where?' ¶ Gbn. ATG 89 [§ 183], Cl. XLII, 633, 705, Pp. MA 306 || ? J: OJ -ni, ending of loc.-dat. (umi-ni 'in the sea') ¶ Syr. AJL 89-90 || ¶ D *-iñ, *-ñ∇ 'in' (loc. case ending) > OTm -iñ 'in' || OTl -ə(ñ), -ñi: perumatəñ 'in the west', bāraṇəsi-ñi 'in Benares'; possibly here also Tl -na, -n: Tl ođdu-na 'on the bank', lōn(a) ({Shanm.}: < *u]a-na) 'inside',

{Sank.} *inṭan* 'at home' || NED: Mlt -no~ -eno~ -ino, Krx -nu(:), -nō 'in' || CD: Nk -in/-un/-en /-n, Gdb -in/-un/-n, Knd -an 𐤍𐤍 Zv. DCM 28-33, An. SG 220-1, Subb. 156, DzG 726, Ptrn. 81, Shanm. DN 315, Sank. TED 145 ◇ D *-nṭ 'in' points to pN *-nṭ ◇ IS I 11, IS MsN (s.v. *-na locative), Coll. UA 10 (on endings in U and A), Schrd. DU 101 (on endings in D and U), Gr. I 150-2 (IE *-en, *-ne, U, A [T, M, J, qu. Ko and Tg], Gil, EA), ≈ Gr. II #221 (*ena 'inside') (IE, U + unc. Ko, J, Ai, CK, EA), ≈ Heg. MÜ 71-3 (U, A, D, HS, IE).

46. *ʔanṭ 'self, the same' > HS *ʔan- > Eg OK *ʔn*, a pc. introducing the focalized nominal subject in a cleft sentence 𐤍 Lpr. 64-5 || The initial component of aut. pronouns of the 1 and 2 persons: **(1)** HS *ʔan-āku 'I' (emphasized) > Eg OK *ʔnk* 'I' (> Cpt: B/Sd **ANOK** anak, A **ANAK** anak) || pS *ʔanāku 'I' [> Ak *anāku*, Hb 𐤍𐤍𐤏 ʔānō'kī, Ph *ʔnk* ~ *ʔnky*, Ug *ʔnk*, (AkSc) *ʔanāku*(:), Amr {G} *ʔanāku*, Yd *ʔnk*] || pB **ʔanakk* 'I' > Tw *nāk*, Kb *nəʃʃ*, Zng *nik*, Sll, Tmz *nakk*, ASgr *nəč* ~ *nəšš*, SrSn *nək*, Si *niš*, *nəš*, Mz, Wrg *nəšš*, Nf, Izn *nəč* (Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Fc. 1364, Lf. II #1090, Dlh. M 140-1, Dlh. Ou 226, Dl. 502, La. S 108, MT 485); **(2)** HS *ʔan-ī 'I' > pS *ʔanī (> Hb 𐤍𐤍 ʔānī, Ar NY T *ʔanī* [Bns. NJ I 71, map #31]) ~ *ʔana(:) (> JA 𐤍𐤍 ʔānā, Sr E {Sl.} *ʔenā* = *ʔānā* [Sl. 143], Ar *ʔanā*, Gz *ʔana*, etc., a secondary variant, probably on the analogy of 2m *ʔanta 'thou' m., or representing a special form for 1m sg., as in some Ar Y dialects opposing *ʔan-ā* m. and *ʔan-ī* f.), pS enclitic object prn. *nī 'me' (> Hb, Aram, Ar, Gz -nī, Ak -ri) || C: Bj *ani* ~ *ane* 'I' || Ag: Bln *ʔan*, Aw *án*; EC: Sml *ani-ga*, *ani-gī*, Rn *àní*, Or *àna*, Sa *a'nu* (-u from the case inflection of nomina [nom.?]), Sd *ane* aut. prn. 'I' || DhI *ʔání* 'I' || SC: Irq *ʔán*, *ʔaní*, Brn, Alg *an*, *ana* aut. prn. 'I', Asa -ana 'my', ↪ Mb *ání* (E SC 283 s.v. SC *ání 'I', Mous 112) | a subject prn.: Sml *ān*, Or *àní* (F AD SF 210-1); **(3)** HS *ʔant^rī 'thou' (aut. prn.) > C: Ag: Bln *ʔantí*, Aw *ʔntí*, EC: Sml *adi-ga*, *adi-gī*, Rn *àtí*, Or *átí*, Sa *a'tu* (-u from the nominal case inflection), DhI *ʔáttā* 'thou'; C ↪ Mb *ʔát'a* 'thou' (F E SC 282, AD SF 133-4, PG 40) || S *ʔanta 'thou' m. (> Ar *ʔanta*, Hb 𐤍𐤍𐤏 ʔat'tā, Amr {G} *ʔatta*, Gz *ʔanta*, Ak *attā*) and *ʔanti 'thou' f. (> Ar *ʔanti*, Hb 𐤍𐤍 ʔatta, Gz *ʔantī*, Ak *atti*); in S the distinction between pronouns of m. and f. is either an innovation (probably due to the influence of *ka 'thee, thy' m. and *ki 'thee, thy' f.) or a HS archaism: *ʔanta m. < *ʔant^rī-a (with a HS masc. pc. *-a, surviving in the 2m forms of the Bj verb, as well as in Mb *ʔát'a* 'thou', possibly a former masc. form that lost its gender

meaning || Eg fOK ɪnt-k 'thou' m. and ɪnt-c 'thou' f. (restructured by adding personal sxs.: -k 2m, -c 2f) (Lpr. 65, Ed. 79-80) ¶¶ AD PP 69 || U *on|ñe ~ *on|ña (= {Jn.} *oni and *onã) > pSm {Jn.} *ãnb 'self', used with ppas. to form reflexive personal pronouns: Slq Tm on-äk 'myself', on-änti 'thyself', on-ti 'himself, herself', etc., Ng ɲonana 'myself', ɲonanta 'thyself', etc. ¶ Jn. 18, KHG 290-3, Ter. NgJz 428 || A: T: OT U onā 'precisely, exactly' ¶ Cl. 170, TT5 32 (note B 80) || M: WrM önrü-ki, HIM ӨНӨӨХ 'the one in question, that very (thing or person)', e.g. WrM önrüki kereg 'that very matter' ¶ MED 639 || pJ *3n3 'self, the same' > OJ ono, ónòrè 'self', ònàzí 'the same', J: T ònore, K ónóré, Kg onoré 'self', T ònàzí, K ònàzí, Kg onazí 'the same' ¶ Mr. 507, S QJ #1483, Syr. DJ 92-3 ¶¶ OT ö|üñ 'desert' (Cl. 168: 'desolate, uninhabited, desert', but in the text the only meaning is 'desert') hardly belongs here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #42 (A *on|ne 'self, [→ ?] same, only' > incl. M, J) ◇ AD PP 91 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #333 (*ana self') (Sm, J + qu. Hg).

47. *ʔäyñâ or *ʔäyEñâ 'nothing, there is no...' > HS: S (or WS) *ʔayn- ~ *ʔin- > BHb ʔ'X ʔayin 'non-existence; not, no', ʔ'X ʔēn 'there is no...', M'b ʔn, Ug ʔin [*ʔēn_L∇_J] id., Ar ʔin 'there is no...', neg. pc.: ʔin ʔal-ħukmu ʔillā-li]āhi 'there is no judgement except for (belonging to) God', ? Ak ʔānu 'is not' (unless from ʔayyānu 'where?', 'where from?'), Gz ʔan- neg. element in: [1] Is ʔanbī 'I am not in a position to...' (literally 'there is not in me'), 2m ʔanbaka 'you (m. sg.) are not in a position to...', etc., [2] ? ʔandāfī 'I do not know' ¶ KB 40-1, KBR 41-2, OLS 37-8, LG 27-8, ≈ LNP ∇ (hyp.: Ar ʔayna ← ʔin 'verily, indeed'), ≠ Br. G II 500 [§ 253], 577 [§ 370o] (hyp.: the negative ʔayna ← ʔayin 'where?'), Sd. 414 || Eg ɪn, adv. within the Eg N neg. construction bn ... ɪn, Cpt Sd/B AN an, Cpt A/L/F† EN en, component of the neg. construction an ... an ~ en 'not' ¶ EG I 90, 456, Vc. 11 || A ({AD} *an∇ ~ *āna, {SDM95} *ana, {DQA} *āni 'not', negative pc. and v.): T *än ({S} *an) > Chv an 'do not' (prohib.) ¶ Jeg. 27, Jeg. SChJ I 45, Fed. I 43-5 (all of them: Chv an ← pPrm *en prohib. > Z, Vt en) || Tg *ana 'there is not, without' > Orc, Ul ana 'there is not', Lm āñ 'not having, without', Ork ana, anā, anaʃa, Nn anā id., 'there is not' ¶ STM I 41 || pKo *än- 'not' > MKo àn(í)-, NKo an(í)- '(is) not' ¶ S QK #62, Nam 334, MLC 1068 || J: [1] pJ {S} *iná 'nay' (disagreement) > OJ ìná, J T ína id.; pJ *ina-m- ~ *inà-b- v. 'deny, decline, refuse' > OJ inam-~ inà-b-, J T

inam- id.; [2] ? pJ *-(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) (× N *ñi 'not', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S QJ #56, Mr. 424, 697 ¶¶ S AJ 95-6, 277 [#54], SDM95 s.v. "*ana 'not', neg. verb", ≈ DQA #74 (A *āni 'not', neg. verb > incl. T, Tg, Ko, pJ *ìná, *ìnà-b-) || U: FU: pPrm *en prohib. > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in (unless it is a form of the Prm neg. verb *e- [{}LG} *ĕ-] with an enigmatic *-n) ¶ LG 331 || E: MEI, NEI, AchEI i n-ri, AchEI i n, NEI, AchEI i n-na 'not' ¶¶ HK 757-8 ◇ If the N etymon is *ʔäyñâ (especially *ʔäyñā), Tg *a- of the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. ◇ The origin of S *-ay- still needs investigating.

48. *ʔANĪṢṢ (*ʔanĪṢṢ?) ≈ 'ε foot' > HS: Eg FOK ĩnṣ.t 'calf of leg, shank' ¶ EG I 99, Fk. 24 || ?σ S *°✓ʔnš > Ug ʔnš 'muscle, sinew' ('músculo, tendón') ¶ OLS 41 || B: Ah ti-nse 'foot (of animals), toe', Kb ti-nsa pl. 'sabots des bovidés; pattes cuites de bovidés' ¶ Fc. 1415, Dl. 576 || NrOm: Dz: Mj {All.} àšū, {All.} āšū, {Fl.} aššū, Na {AY} ʔāšū, {Fl.} ašō, Shk {Fl.} ašūs 'foot' ¶ All. PhD 341, AY WShND, Fl. OWL || Ch ≈ *ʔansʔ (Nw.'s *asʔ) 'leg, foot' > CCh: MsgP {Mch.} azṣ, pl. ànzí: 'leg' || Suk {IL} nās, {Mk.} nās 'leg' || WCh: SBc: Tala asṣṣ, Zul ʔāsṣmè, Plc asṣm, Gj àsàṣ, Buli àsìṣ, Tule ʔasìṣ, Zar GL {Sh.} yàsàṣ, Zar L yāsṣṣ, Zar K sàṣ, Sy Z yàsṣṣ, Sy B yāsṣṣ, Sy Zk ṣāsṣṣ 'leg', Wnd ʔásìṣ 'leg, foot' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} àsè, Mgm {J} ʔásín, Mkl {J} zíná (pl. zón) 'foot, leg', Jg {J} ʔìsìṣtó, pl. ʔisán, Brg {J} ʔísìṣ 'leg', Mu sìn, pl. sàṣè 'leg, foot' ¶ Nw. 81, JI II 220-1, ChL, Sh. SB 25 || D *anča 'foot, footprint' > Tl anca 'foot, footprint, step, stride', (× D *aṣṣa > N *ʔARČA 'trace'): Tl ajja 'foot, footprint', Kt aṣ 'footprint', Td oṣ 'step', Tu ajæ 'footprint, track, trace' ¶¶ ≈ DED App. #6 (derives the D root from InA paṣyā 'footsteps', F Tu. #7778) || R: Tg *asi- v. 'track (game)', *asi-lga 'footprint, track' (unless it is *xasi-, *xasi-lga) > Ewk asi-lga ḍ aši-lga 'track (of an elk)', Lm asṣ-ṣ-ḍ asṣ-lḡṣ-ḍ asa-lga v. 'find the tracks', asṣ-m-ḍ asa-m- id., Neg asṣ-lga 'track (of an animal)' ¶ STM I 56 ◇ Blz. LB #100a (suggested to add Dz).

49. *ʔañṣṣ '≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful' > HS: CS *°✓ʔnš > Ar ʔnš G (ʔanis-a / -ʔnasu) v. 'be polite, kind, social', ʔanisa bi- 'have an intimate connection with', ʔanisa ʔalā 'become acquainted and familiar with', ʔibnu ʔinsi-ka 'thy intimate friend', ? Ug {A} ✓ʔnš G v. 'be friendly', D 'freundlich hegen, besänftigen', ʔnšt 'Freundin' ¶ Fr. I 64, A #319, ⇔ OLS 41 (alt. interpretation of Ug ✓ʔnš as 'languidecer, ponerse enfermo; ponerse lívido, enfermo [de ira]') || IE: NaIE *ans- v.

'be favourable' ({P}: 'wohlgeneigt, günstig sein') > Gt *ansts* 'joy, favour', OHG *anst* 'goodwill, grace, thanks', *unst* 'favour', AS *æst* 'Gunst, Gnade', ON *ást*, *óst* 'favour (Gunst), love' || Gk *ἀπ-ηνής* (< **ἀπ-ανσής*) 'unfriendly', *προσ-ηνής* (< **προσ-ανσής*) 'gentle, kindly, soft' ¶ WP I 68, P 47, EI 198 (? **h⁴ens-* 'be gracious to, show favour'), F I 121, Fs. 53, Vr. 16, Kb. 33, 1104, EWA I 265-7, Ho. 244 || **A**: T **as* 'advantage, use, benefit' > Yk *as* id., Chv *ɥc us ɘ os* 'use, benefit', Uz *Δ as gʷr-* 'be of use\benefit to'; d. T **as-ɪɥ* 'advantage, profit, benefit' > OT *asɪɥ*, Chg *asɪq*, Tk *asɪ*, Tv *ažɪq* id., Chv *ɥcǎ uz_ɔ ɘ oz_ɔ* 'use' ¶ Cl. 244-5, DTS 60, Rs. W 29, ET Gl 196-7, TL 344-5, Bu. I 48, Rh. 131, Ash. III 295, 300, Fed. II 290-1 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #75: S, IE.

50. (₂?) **ʔiñʋšê* 'person, man' > HS: S **ʔinaš-* 'person, man' (pl. **ʔinaš-* + pl. ending [bearing the stress]) > Hb *אִישׁ* *ʔiš* 'man (vir), husband, human being' (< ***ʔi~š-* < **ʔinš-* < S **ʔinaš-*), pl. *אִישׁוֹת* *ʔiñāš-īm* 'virī, homines' (< S accus./gen. pl. df. **ʔinašī-ma*), Ph *ʔš*, Pun *ʔš*, *ʔɥš* ([Plt.] YS), DA, Yd, IA *ʔš* 'man (vir)' Yd *nšɥ* (pl. cs.), OA pl. *nšn*, Ug *nšm*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *naš-ūma* 'men, people', Ug derived v. ✓ *ʔnš* 'mannhaft sein, sich ermannen', Ar *أُنس* *ʔins-* 'hommes, genre humain' (coll.), 'ami', *أُنسان* *ʔins-ān-* 'person' (-ān- is a sx. of singulatives); d.: coll. WS **ʔunāš-* 'homines' > BHb *אֲנָשִׁים* *ʔ^εnōš* 'Menschen' (coll.), Ug *ʔi nš* 'people (gente)', JA *אֲנָשִׁים* *ʔ^εnāš* id., Sr *أُنس* *ʔ^εnāš*, em. *أُنس* *ʔ^εnāš-ā* id., JEA {Sl.} *אֲנָשִׁים* *ʔi nāšā* 'man; people (gente)', SmA *ʔnš* ({Tal} = *ēnāš*) 'people, men', Ar *أُناس* *ʔunās-* ~ *نَاس* *nās-* id., Tgr *אָנש* *ʔanas* 'man'; another d.: Ak *nīš-ū* 'Menschen, Leute' ¶ KB 41-2, 68, KBR 43-4, 73, HJ 115-21, A #319, Hnr. 155, Sk. 120, OLS 41, Lv. I 115, Tal 52, Br. 31, LH 371-2, Sd. 796, DRS 26 || B: Ah {Fc.} *āynas* (pl. *eynasan*) 'young man' ¶ Fc. 702 || C: Ag **nʋs-/ʔnš-* 'man (vir)' > Bln {R} (derived adj.) *nəs-āuɣ* 'männlich', ?*φ* Xm {R} *ās-aû* ~ *ās-ô* id. || ?*φ* EC {Ss.} **ʔis-* 'self, oneself' (× N **yī* 'he' or **h¹i* 'iste' [or 'hic'] + N **s|šEwʋ* 'oneself, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶ R WB 285, R Ch. II 28, Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 17 || NrOm: Anf {Grt.} *nɔšē*, GeMa/HzMa {Fl.} *nūše* 'husband' ¶ Grt. 357, Fl. ML || WCh: Ron: DfB {J} *nís*, Bks {J} *nús-* 'brother' ¶ J R 145, 219, 388 || **U**: FU (in FV only) **in|ñše* 'person' > eF *inhe-minen*, *inhi-minen*, *inih-minen*, F *ihminen* (gen. *ihmisen*), *Δ inehmo*, *inehminen*, *inehmīno* id., Es *inemine*, *inimine* id. | Er *inže*, Mk *inži* 'guest' ¶ UEW 627-8 || **A**: ?*σ* Tg:

WrMc ešē 'husband's younger brother' ¶ WrMc e- for the expected i- is puzzling (onfl. of the Lallwort-factor?) ¶ Z 72 ◇ Blz. LB #106a (suggested to add cognates from Ah, NrOm, and Ron), Blz LNA #1 (suggested to add Ah and NrOm).

51. *ʔnt̩ʔ (or *ʔnt̩ʔ?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' (in descendant lgs.: → a sx. of participles and derived nomina) > **HS**: B *ʔujinta (? ~ *n̩tta) > Ah {Fc.} anta aut. pron. 'he, she, it' (f. anta-t 'she'), ETwl/Ty {GhA} anta aut. pron. m. 'he, it', Kb, Wrg, Tmz, ASgr, Shl, Si natta id. (f. natta-t 'she') ¶ Fc. 1422, GhA 151, MT 503, Ds. 173, Ds. AS 235, La. S 254, Bs. E 98, Dl. 579, Dlh. Ou 228 || S: Gz ʔanta rel. prn. f. 'who, that which' (reinterpreted as f. due to the cns. t), ? Tgr {L} ʔat ʔanta 'while she is', Har intē 'she is' ¶ L G 33 || C: Ag sx. of n. ag. *-ʔnt̩ʔ: Bln {R} -entā (pl. -entī), e. g. fēd-entā 'seaman', ži'b-entā 'seller', ku'w-entā 'murderer', Aw {Hz.} -tānti (f. -tānt-a), e.g. dibs-tānti 'talker' (← dibs- v. 'talk') ¶ R BilS 662 ¶¶ ≈ JB PrB 109, L G 33 (Gz ÷ B) || **IE** *-ent-/*-ont-, sx. of participles: NaIE *-ent-/*-nt-/*-nt̩ʔ-, sx. of active present participles, e.g. *bhero-nt- 'carrying' > OI bharant-, Gk m. φέρων (gen. -οντ-ος), L ferēns (gen. ferent-is), Gt baírand-s, OHG beranti, OCS БЕРЪ berĭ (gen. БЕРѦЩА berqšta), Tc: A -nt-, B -ńc-, sx. of pres. act. participle (Tc A aśant-, Tc B ašeńca 'transporting'); NaIE *s-ent-/*s-nt̩ʔ- 'being' > OI 'sant-, Gk D εἶντ-εῖς id. (Gk f. εἶντί), L prae-s-ens (gen. -ent-is) 'present' || Ht -ant-, sx. of active prtcs. of vi. and that of pp. of vt. ¶¶ The Gk forms of prtc. ntr. ὄν, m. ὄν (gen. ntr./m. ὄντ-ος), f. οὖσα 'being' are contractions from Gk Ep ntr. ἐόν, m. ἐών, f. ἐοῦσα (< IE *(e)s-ont- ← *es- 'be'), unless they represent IE **ont- (monomorphemic stem of a prtc. without verbal √) ¶¶ Mer. SGA 361-2, Brg. KVG 315, Bks. 249-50, Kron. VLFH 210, Krs. T 44 || **U**: Sm {Jn.} *-ntä, sx. of active prtc. and n. ag.: *ilä-ntä 'living, alive' (← *ilä- v. 'live') > En X {Cs.} iředde, En B {Cs.} jiredde, Slq MO/UO {Cs.} ilndi, ilnde, Slq NP {Cs.} ilandie, Nn T иленя, илена, Ne T Sy {Lh.} yil'e'ń'e, Nn {Cs.} jilene, jilena id., Mt {Hl.} *ilndä id. ({MIL.}: Mt T/M ilinde, Mt K illende 'vivus') || FU nominal derivational sx. *-nt̩ʔ > [1] deverbal: F etsintä n. act. 'searching' (← etsi- 'look for'), perintö 'heritage' (← peri- 'inherit'), syönti n. act. 'eating' (← syö- 'eat') || Lp N r â ġ â d 'season of mating (of reindeer)' (← r â k k â- v. 'mate') || Vt чыпет čipet 'dam, pond' (← čip- v. 'dam'), думет dumet, Z Δ

домод domɔd 'bridle, rope' (< Vt dum-, Z US dɔm- v. 'tie, bind'); Vt -t and Z -d < pPrm -d < FU *-nt̪∇] [2] denominative: Z cöHöD sɔnɔd 'sinewy, brawny' (of men, draught animals) (< sɔn 'sinew'), F isäntä 'pater familias, head of the household' (< isä 'father'), Hg apród 'page (teen-ager)' (< apró 'little') ¶ Sz. 85, Coll. CG 269-70, U 92f., LG 291, Bd. UNA § 33 A, Jn. 27, Cs. 24, Ter. 142, Lh. 127, Hl. M 252-3 || A: T *-nt̪i/*-nt̪i, sx. of participles (acc. to Shch.) or deverbal adjectives: OT aqINDI 'flowing, running' (of water) (< aq- v. 'flow, run'), üδrū-ndi 'chosen, select' (< üδür- 'choose'), Osm öründü ~ öründi 'chosen', OT ekindi tariy 'sown millet', itindi neḡ 'ein weggestoßenes Ding', MT [IM] siqINDI 'juice' (sc. 'smth. squeezed out'), Alt salINTI 'freedman'; the sx. was metanalyzed (by Cl.) as OT -n-di/I-, sc. -n- of refl. verbs + -di/I of deverbal n./adj. ¶ Shch. GTVT 121, Cl. xliii, 67, 70, 77, 88, Rh. 24 || D *-∇ñt̪∇, sx. of gerund > Tu -on̪du, Kdg {An.} -an̪d̪t̪, Mlt -on̪du id., OTm {An.} seyxiñd̪ü 'having done, while doing' (≠ An.: < seyxiñ + in̪d̪ü < sey- 'do' and il- 'be [somewhere]'), Mlt, Gdb {Bh.} -ondi (verbal adj.) ¶ An. 301, An PTS 145-50, Bh. O 46 ◇ IE *t suggests N *t̪, while D *t̪ is likely to point to a N *t; Gz ʔ- (in pronouns) may go back to N *ʔ- or *h-, but the absence of traces of N *h- in IE provides clear ev. for N *ʔ- ◇ Gr. I 182-6 ("participle NT" in IE, FU [← Coll.] + qu.: Gil marker of predicate -d̪ and err. IE 3p *-nt̪i).

52. (2?) *ʔaŋo 'ε snake' > IE: NaIE {WP, P} *angʷh̥i- ~ *angʷi- 'snake' ({EI} IE *haengʷhis [gen. *haŋ̥gʷheis] 'snake') > L anguis 'snake' || Lt angìs, Pru angis id., Ltv ôdze 'adder, viper' | pSl *qžb > OR ЯЖЬ уѣб 'ε snake', R уж, Cz, Slv užovka 'grass-snake', P wąż, Slv vŏž 'snake' || Arm օձօ՜՜ (< aḡ) 'snake' || OIr esc-ung 'eel' ("water snake": esc 'water', ung < *angʷh̥ō), W llys-γw-en 'eel' || OHG unc 'snake' ¶ The OHG and L forms go back to a variant *angʷi- ¶ The NaIE stems *eǵh̥i- and *e/ogʷh̥i- (> Gk ἔχλις 'adder, viper', ὄφις 'snake', OHG egala 'hedgehog', Arm իժ iž 'snake, viper' [gen. iži], W eouđ 'sheep worms', OI ahih̥, Av ažiš 'snake') should be kept apart (⇔ Dv) ¶ WP I 63, P 43-5, EI 530, WH I 48, SB 15, LP § 310, YGM-1 319, 468, Frn. 10, Tp. P A-D 86-7, Vs. IV 150-1, Srz. III 1167, Chrn. II 285, Mikl. E 223, Kb. 1093, Sl. 134-5, 305-6, Dv. #843 (IE *e(n)gʷh̥- 'snake, worm') || HS: Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *ŋgwo 'snake' > Su {J} ḡwō, Ang ŋgōŋ, Cp nwo || ? Hs Skt/Z ganwo 'a coiled snake, coil of rope' || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} gwī, {J} gúyda || ECh: ? Ke h̥nží 'snake' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #183, ChC s.v. 'snake',

ChL, J S 78, Ba. 35, ≈ Stl. ZCh 218 [#681] || S: Ar ʔaym- 'serpens, viperae mas', {Fr.} ʔīm- 'a white thin snake' (or a general name for 'snake') ¶ Fr. I 76, DRS 1 || ?? K: eNG {SSO} anqara 'ε small snake', NG {AxT, DCh.} anqara 'grass-snake (γ ж ъ)', {Chx.} 'blind worm (Blindschleiche, Anguis fragilis)' (←b ?) ¶ This NG word makes a phonetic impression of being a loanword. In any case, its cns. k and the final element -ara remain puzzling ¶ AxT 21, Chx. 28, DCh. 40, SSO I 57 ◇ N *-η- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE *-ηg^{ωh}-, WCh *ηg^ω-, and S *-m-.

53. *ʔayno 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') - a variant rec. of a N word instead of *Xayno (= *ħ|χayno) id. (which is more plausible) (see below 2600a).

54. *ʔäη[ǰ] 'chin' > HS: Eg P ĩrɛ, Eg Md ĩrɛ.t 'chin' ¶ EG I 94 || Ch: SBc: Bg {Grgs.} ηa id. || CCh: Ngs ("Ghvoko") {Srp.} rien id. || ZmD {Srp.} nyau id. ¶ JI II 76-7 || U {UEW} *äη 'chin' (× N *Xäñk[∇] - ? *Xäñk[∇] 'jaw, palate') > pPrm {LG} *aη- 'jaw' > Vt an 'jaw', aηges, Δ aηdes 'chin', Z an 'palate', Z Ud andlas, aηglas 'gum' || Sm {Jn.} *äηъ, {Hl.} *äηou 'chin' > En X {Cs.} eu, StNe T няңу њаηу 'jaw', няңу мал 'chin', Ne T O {Lh.} њāηu, Ne F {Lh.} њāηu 'chin', Slq MO {Cs.} d. aωaj 'Hals', Slq Nr {Cs.} aol 'Kinn, Hals', Kms {KD} o'η'oĵ 'Kinnlade', Kouy oγoй 'cheeks', Mt {Hl.} *öηöĵü 'Kinn, Backe' (Mt: K {Mil.} öngoï, M {Mil.} öngui id.) ¶¶ Coll. 3, ≈ UEW 25-6 (U *äη; *÷ Os *äyən 'chin', Vg K iʔən id., etc., sc. ObU *īyənə < FU *īke₁ne₁ 'palate, gums, jaw'), Ht. #14, LG 32, Sm. LM 27 [#23] (*÷ Sm *äη 'mouth'), Jn. 20 (hyp.: Sm *aηъ 'chin' ← Sm *äη 'mouth'), Lh. 309, Cs. 231, Ter. 355, KD 49, Hl. M #813 (misprint öηūj for öηūj) || A (*äη[∇], {DQA} *ēηa, -k[∇] 'chin, jaw') (× N *Xäñk[∇] - ? *Xäñk[∇] 'jaw, palate', q.v.): T: [1] NaT *āη or *ēη ({DQA} *āη, {ADb.} *eĵη) 'cheek' > OT {Cl.} äη, {ADb.} eη 'cheek, face', MQp/XwT XIV {Cl.} äη, {ADb.} eη id., Chg {ADb.} eη 'cheek(s), appearance', Tkm āη, Az əHκ äňğ 'jaw', {Rl.} 'sides of the lower jaw', ? Osm XIX {Rl.} eη, Tk eη 'complexion', Qmq eη id, 'cheek', Tk Δ enk 'place of juncture of jaw bones', VTt in-łbk, T äη-lik, Yk iη 'cheek, high colour of the cheeks', Qrg eη 'scrofula' ¶ VTt i suggests pT *e [2] T *änäk (> Chv ana 'chin'), NaT *eηäk ({DQA} *äηäk, {ADb.} *eηek) 'chin, jaw, cheek' (= T *ēη with the dim.-restrictive sx. *-äk, / Cl. xli, Gbn. ATG § 57) > OT ä|eηäk 'jaw, jawbone, chin', OOsM XIV, Chg XV

{ADb.} eņek 'chin', MQp {ADb.} eņek ~ enek 'chin, jaw', XwT {ADb.} eyek 'chin', rņek 'jaw', Tk ene ~ enek 'jaw', Slr enek, VTt iyäk, Brb inäk, Bsh byäk, Nog, Qzq, Qq iyek 'chin', Uz engäk, Δ äņäk 'chin, jaw', StAlt ээк ēk 'chin, lower lip', Qrg ээк ēk id., 'jaw', SY iņek 'jaw', ET iņäk 'chin, jaw', Nog, Qq iyek, VTt ияк iyäk, Qzq ĩyek, Bsh byek, Uz engak iyak, Chv ana 'chin' ¶ VTt i (in in-ľk, iyäk) suggests a pT *e ¶ T *eņäk × ← T *ēņ × N *Xäñ∇k∇ ~ ? *Xäņk∇ ¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, RI. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, TkR 798, Hüs. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45 || pJ {S} *ánk- 'jaw, chin; gills' > OJ ágġí, agġitopġi, ItOJ [RJ] ágító id., J: T agito id., agó 'jaw, chin', K àgô, Kg ágo id. ¶ S QJ #163 || Tg: WrMc eņge 'beak', in ds. ≈ *'nose' ¶ STM II 457 ¶¶ DQA #434.

55. *ʔaņq'í '≈ breathe' > HS: S *√ʔnχ > Ak √ʔnχ (inf. anāχu) v. 'sigh, sing an i nχ u-song (song of sighs, moaning)', Ug √ʔnχ v. 'moan', {OLS} adj. ʔa nχ 'quejumbroso', BHb √ʔnħ N ʔnħ nεʔ^εnaħ 'he groaned', JA √ʔnħ (pf. ʔnħ ʔ^anaħ) v. 'sigh', Sr √ʔnħ v. 'moan'; in Ar √ʔnħ ʔnħ v. 'sigh' the irreg. ħ (instead of χ) is due to the onomatopoeic associations of this root ¶ DRS 25, CAD I/2 105-6 and VII 148 s.v. inħu, OLS 38, Sd. 49, KB 68, KBR 72, Sl. 144, Br. 28 || IE *ʔ|HχanH- (> NaIE *ana-) v. 'breathe' ({EI} IE *^hh₁eh₁-mi), d.: NaIE {P} *ana-mo-s 'breath, wind', {EI} IE *^hh₁enh₁-mos 'breath' > OI ani-ti '(he) breathes', 'anilah 'wind' || Gk άνεμος 'wind', ?? άνέω 'winnow (grain)' (unless < *Fav-, cp. αίνω id.) || L animus 'spirit, soul' || OIr anál, Brtt {RE} *anatl- > W anadl, Crn anal, MBr alazn, azlan, Br anal, alan 'breath' n. || Gt uz-anan 'breathe out' || pSl *(v)onā ~ *(v)onb 'odour' > OCS **ВОНЯ** vonja 'fragrance', OR **ВОНЯ** vonja 'odour', Cz vŕňe 'fragrance, pleasant odour', Slv vónja, SCr vŕnj, P won 'odour', Blg воня, R вонь 'stench', → pSl *(v)onāti vi. 'to smell, to emit odour' > **ВОНЯТИ** vonjati id., SCr vŕnjati, Slv vonjati 'emit odour', Blg воня v. 'stink', R вонять 'to stink (of)', Cz voněti 'be fragrant', P wonieć id., 'to smell (emit odour)' || pAl {O} *any > Al: G âj, T {Kf.} ëj 'I inflate, swell, blow' ('πρήσκω, φουσκώνω'), {Ç} âj, T ënj v. 'swell' || pTc {Ad.} *āñč₁ä₁me > Tc A {Ad.} āñčäm (obl. āñm-) 'soul', Tc B {Ad.} āñme id., 'self, inner being' (< NaIE *ana-mo-s) ¶ WP I 56-8, P 38-9, EI 82, M K I 33-4, WH I 49-50, F I 41, 105, Vn. A 73, Fs. 538, My. 5, BFU 127, Kf. 38, 97, Ç I 171 and II 380, O 91, RE 84-5, Ad. H 33-4, Ad. 40-1, Glh. 67, Chrn. I 165 || ?ϕ K: it is tempting to adduce Sv: L/UB qan 'smell, запах', UB/L/Ln {TK} qan- (msd.: UB/L

liqāne, Ln liqane, LB liqne) v. 'smell (of sth.), smell (sth.)' (TK 485, 880, Dn. s.v. qan, GP 190), if this is a mt. from the expected K *anq- || U: FU (att. in FL) *aŋe 'feel\smell; spirit, ghost' (× N *hAωη∇ 'sense, mind, soul, q.v.) > F aave, Δ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita v. 'feel\smell sth.', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' | Lp I vūǎŋŋeǎ 'spirit (water-spirit, wood-spirit, incumbent, gnome, etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || A: M: WrM aŋgi-l-~aŋqri-l-, HIM aŋxila-, Kl aŋkr]-χa ~ aŋkr]-χa v. 'emit odour', ↗ Yk aŋily- v. 'spread' (of an odour) ¶ KW 12, MED 44-5 || NaT *aŋki|a- v. 'emit odour' > Tkm aŋqa- v. 'give off a bad smell', Nog aŋqi, Bsh aŋqɔ- v. 'be fragrant, emit odour', VTt aŋq(ɔ)- v. 'be fragrant', Tbl aŋqɔ- 'einen starken, betäubenden Geruch haben', VTt aŋqɔt- id., Qzq aŋq(I)-, Qq aŋqi- 'spread' (of odour), Qrg, ET aŋqi- v. 'be emitted' (of a pleasant odour); *aŋqi|l- v. 'gasp for breath, moan' > Qzq aŋqi|l- id., aŋqi|l 'Gestöhn, Japsen', Qrg aŋqilda- v. 'whine' (of a dog); if these T words or some of them are Mongolisms (which is suggested by their absence in OT texts), they must go back to archaic M words not attested (with this form and meaning) in the M lgs.; I prefer to suppose that the words are not Mongolisms, but rather ancient dialectisms confined to a certain dialectal area and therefore not attested in OT texts ¶ Rl. I 186, Rs. W 21, Jud. 59, MM 61, Nj. 44, Tkr 45, Krkr 44, NogR 43, TatR 50, BR 43 ◇ IS I 261 adduces Eg OK ʕnħ v. 'live' (← v. 'breathe', acc. to IS's conjecture), which is qu. for phonetic reasons (Eg ʕ- that is not cognate with S *ʔ-), see N *ʕiñ, ∇, q∇ 'live' ◇ Cf. IS I 261: HS (S, Eg), IE, ? K ◇ Cf. Gr. II #49 (*ana 'breathe' > IE, EA).

56. *ʔaŋga 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > HS: S *ʔʌŋg > Ar ٱنحج ʔnǧ G (ʔanaǧa / -ʔniǧu) 'enter' ¶ BK I 60, Fr. I 63, DRS 25 || ?φ C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔʕnk- 'open, undo' (× N ?σ *X∇Nk∇ (= *XāNka?) 'to untie, to open' [q.v. ffd.]) × N *ñEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover'?) || Ch: (1) ECh: Kbl {Cp.} haŋǧ v. 'open' ¶ JI II 284-5 | (2) ???φ Ch *w∇ŋ, {Stl.} *wan- v. 'open' > WCh: Su {J} wǎŋ, Fy {J} wǎŋ id. || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} wúnǧ, Gzg D {Lk.} won id. || ECh: Mu {J} wín, {Stl.} ← ?) wen, ? Kwn {J} welé, Mkl ʔòʔiné id. ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 87, Stl. IF 229 (Ch *wan- possibly from *h∇wan- or *wan∇h-) || IE: NaIE *o[ǎ]ŋǧ_L - > Lt angà 'opening, aperture, orifice', {Fm.} 'Tür-, Fensteröffnung' ¶ ≈ Frn. 10 || U [1] U *aŋe- 'opening' (UEW: 'Öffnung, Einschnitt, Vertiefung') > pLp {Lr.} *vōŋʕs 'Maulkorb, muzzle' > Lp N {N} vuoŋâs

-grη- 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog (to prevent it from biting reindeer)', Lp L {LLO} vυοηαστι- '(einen Hund) mit Maulkorb versehen' | pMr {Ker.} *οηϑ- ⇨ *οηϑ-ks- (~ *οϑϑks) > Er pl. οήκσί, Δ οηκσί & οησί & οηκστ, Mk οβοστ, οβοσть οϑασί '(Gebiß am) Zaum' | Prm {LG} *ōm 'mouth' > Vt +m, Vt Kz зm 'mouth, opening, mouth of a river', Z вом vom id., Z US om, Z Ud vэм, Prmk зm, Yz ùm, gen. 'ùm-ə,η 'mouth' || pOs {Ht.} *ōη ({Hl. *ǔη) 'mouth, opening' > Os: V õη, D οη, O οη 'Mund, Mündung (einer Reuse, einer Flasche, eines Flusses u. a.)' | Hg Δ aj & áj 'Kerbe; Tal, Schlucht', Hg ажак 'lips', OHg fel-aj-z- 'aufspreizen' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ǎη 'mouth' > Ng ηη, En X {Cs.} ê' (= ē̃), En B {Cs.} na' (= nã), Ne T {Ter.} ня' ná' [ná̃] / няңо- náηо-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ōk, ōη, {Prk.} ák, áη, Kms {KD} a·η· 'mouth', Mt {Hl.} *ǎη 'mouth' (Mt: K {Mll.} öng, M {Mll.} äng id., T {Mll., Adl.} ängde 'his mouth') || pY {IN} *aη 'mouth, opening' > Y: K/T aηa 'mouth', aη-il 'opening' || [2] FU *aηa- v. 'untie, open' (UEW: 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen') (× N ?σ *X∇Nk∇ 'to untie, to open', q.v.) > F avaa- v. 'open' (UEW: 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'), Es ava- v. 'open' (W: 'öffnen, aufmachen') | pMr *aηϑ-ća- v. 'open an ice-hole' > Er aηkśe-, Mk ańća- id., Er aηkсема aηkśema, Δ aηkśima & avśima, Mk aηцема ańćama, Δ ańćima 'ice-hole' || pObU *ūηk- ~ *īηk-, *ūηkat- ~ *īηkat- v. 'take off (clothes)' > pVg *īηk^ω, *īk^ωt- > Vg: T ā'ηk-, LK āη^ωx-, MK ̄ηk^ω-, P aηk-, NV зηk-, LL ̄ηk^ω-, зηk-, Ss āηx^ω- id., LK/P axt-, MK/UK/SV зx^ωt-, NV зx^ωt-, зxt-, LL зxt-, ML āxt-, UL āx^ωt- v. 'peel'; pOs *īηk- & *aηk-, *aηat- v. 'take off' > Os: D/Nz/Kz eηx-, K aηx- id., V/Vy aηat-, Ty ηηat-, Y ьηat- id. | OHg ód, Hg old- 'undo, untie, unbind, unfasten, loosen' ¶¶ UEW 11-2, Sm. 542 (FU *ǎηi 'mouth' > FP *aηi, Ugr *ǎηĩ), LG 62, Lr. #1447, Lgc. #8789, Ker. II 34-5, 100-1, Lt. J 202, Jn. 20, Hl. M #76. Ht. 127-8 [#47], Hl. rHt 71, KKIИ 144, Hl. M #76 (misprint: āη for *ǎη), IN 215, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [#3] (Y ← U) ¶ Acc. to Jn. 20, U *aηe- (= {Jn.} *aη-i-) 'opening' possibly ← U *aηa- v. 'untie, open' || A *aηa- > M *aη (the absence of any Auslaut vw. still needs explaining) > WrM aη, HIM an(g), Kl aη aη 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine', Dg {MYC} aη šūrḫā, Mnr E {MYC} aηgī 'crack, cleft, chap, crevice'; M *aηa-yi- v. 'be wide open' > WrM aηgai-, HIM angay- v. 'open up, be wide open', Kl aηha- aηḡā- vt. 'open (wide), move apart', vi. 'gape' ('рас- \от-крывать, зиять; раздвигать'), {Rm.} aηgā- 'offen sein, eine Ritze

haben; sich spalten; offen stehen, zu offen sein', Mnr H aḡgē- 'être ouvert, se crevasser, se fendre, ouvrir' ¶ MED 43, KRS 44-5, KW 11, SM 9, MYC 111 ¶ Not here M {IS} *aḡ 'be thirsty' (actually M *φαḡga-), *see* N *ʔamga 'dry, thirst(y)' || Tg *aḡa 'mouth (of an animal)' ('пасть') > Ewk Ald/Y/Ucr aḡa id., Neg aḡa id., Sln {Iv.} aḡái 'mouth', WrMc aḡḡa 'mouth, mouth of animals', Mc Sb aḡə 'mouth' (WrMc aḡḡa < Tg *aḡa 'mouth of animal' × Tg *am₁a₁-ḡa 'mouth' [> Ewk amḡa, Jrc {Md.} amḡa 'mouth', etc.]); but WrMc aḡḡa 'fissure, cleft, ravine' is a loan from WrM aḡ 'fissure, ravine'); NrTg *aḡa- v. 'open (mouth, door, etc.)' > Ewk aḡa- ~ āḡā- v. 'open (mouth of animals); open wide; open (door), move apart (раздвигать)', Lm aḡā- v. 'open wide, open (mouth, door, etc.)', Neg aḡa- v. 'open wide (mouth of animals)' ¶ STM I 38, 45, Z 16-7, Y #27, Md. ChF 124 || ? Ko aḡ- in aḡ-sjə₁-p^hi₁- v. 'be wide apart, be separated, scattered' ¶ Rm. SKE 11-2 ¶¶ IS: *÷ M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg {Bz.} *aḡma (sc. *am₁a₁-ḡa) 'mouth', and T *am 'vulva'; for an alt. et. *see* N *ʔam∇ 'mouth' || D *aḡk- v. 'open the mouth wide, gape' > Tm aḡkā v. 'open the mouth', Tu aḡgāv₁- v. 'yawn, gape, open the mouth', aḡg₁- v. 'open the mouth, be seized with a fit of yawning', Klm aḡgasi, Nkr aḡgāsi 'a yawn', Gnd aḡl-/aḡl- & aḡg-/aḡg-, Mnd aḡlā- v. 'open the mouth', Prj aḡalp- v. 'gape, open the mouth wide', Kui angali āva/giva id., angalanga 'with mouth agape', Ku aḡgala'- v. 'gape, open', Krx aḡglnā, aḡglaḡānā v. 'gape, open the mouth wide, be open', Mlt aḡgle v. 'gape', aḡglo 'open-mouthed' ¶¶ D #34 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #58: U, A + *÷ S *✓ḡnk 'palate', IS I 244-5: U, D, A, IE + *÷ HS (B, Ch) (with further bibliography) ◇ S *n-g suggests N *-ḡg- rather than *-ḡ- (which would have yielded S *n or *m rather than *n-g) ◇ Gr. II #271 (*aḡga 'mouth, opening') (U, Y, A, J, Gil, CK, EA).

57. *ʔo¹ḡka 'to pant, to sigh, to groan' > HS: CS *o✓ḡnk > BHb ✓ḡnk G 'sigh' (ip. 1s ḡḡḡḡ ḡε-ḡ^εnoḡ), Sr ḡḡḡḡ ḡετεḡḡḡḡ v. 'groan, sigh' ¶ KB 70, KBR 72, Br. 30, DRS 26 || IE: NaIE *enk-/*onk- v. 'sigh, groan' > pSl *ječati 'to groan, to emit sounds', *jėkь, *jėka 'sound, groan' > RChS *ιαυου* jač₁u, *ιαυατη* jačati 'to sigh', *ιακλιβъ* jaklivъ 'μοφυιλάλος, aegre loquens', R Δ я'чатъ 'to groan, to call for help', Blg еча v. 'reverberate, buzz', ечна I emit sounds, groan', SCr jéčati 'to reverberate, to echo, to resound, to groan', jěka n. 'echo', Slv jéčati 'to groan', Cz ječeti 'to yell, to shriek, to screech, to scream',

P jęk 'groan, moan', jęczyć 'to groan, to moan' || MLG anken 'to groan, to sigh', Dn ank, anke 'Klage, Beschwerde' || L unc-ō / uncā-re 'utter sounds' (of bears) ¶ Acc. to O 6, not here Al G ankoj v. 'cry, weep', {P} 'I sigh' (< pAl *anaka ← Gk ἀνάγκη 'grief, distress') ¶ P 322, WH II 816, Vs. IV 570-1, ESSJ VI 61-2, LamP 145, Kf. 40, 232, 297, BFU 36, O 6 || A: WrM oηγυλι-, HlM oηγολι- v. 'be out of breath, pant' ¶ MED 613.

58. *ʔa'P∇ 'take, seize' > HS: C: EC: Bs {HL} ab- 'have, keep', ʔσ Elm {Ss.} ap- v. 'touch', HEC {Hd.} *af- v. 'seize, hold, get' > Kmb af-, app-, Alb {Lm.} af- v. 'hold, seize', Ged af- v. 'seize, have, get, find', Sd af- v. 'find', af-iʔ- v. 'find for oneself, have', Sd {Gs.} abb- 'bring', abb-iʔ- 'bring for oneself', ?? Kmb {Hd.} abid- v. 'hold, seize' || ʔφ Bj {R} ✓ ʔbk (1s: p. a-ʔa'bi k, pres. a-ʔam'bi k) 'anfassen' ¶ Hd. 69, 80, 230, 306, 308, Gs. 1, 5, R WBd 5, ≈ HL 59, ≈ LmS 279, ≈ Ss. PEC 14 || S *°✓ ʔbb > Ar ✓ ʔbb (pf. ʔabba) 'mettre la main, porter la main a qch.; remuer qch., remuer en touchant' ¶ BK I 2 || ʔσ Eg XVIII ἵρω '≈ Abgabe', {Fk.} 'payments' (unless ← Eg ἵρ v. 'count, reckon up') ¶ EG I 66-7, Fk. 16 || NrOm: Zs {HL} ef-/ep-p-, Wl/Bdt {HL} ef-, Dc {HL} ep-p- 'take', Ym {HL} op- 'seize, take' ¶ ≈ HL 59; ≈ Lm. Y 320 and ≈ LmS 279 (Lm.'s err. hyp.: Ym, Ometo, Kmb, Alb, Sd < C *ʔab- 'take, grasp, have') || IE *ʔ' ep- ({M, EI} *h₁ep-) > Ht ep(p)- / ap(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture' || NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, hold' (× N *q'æ'p'∇ 'seize, hold') > OI āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av apaye'ti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apīō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later coepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἀψάω ~ ἀψάω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἄψω, aor. ἤψα), ἀψή 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπι- 'be about, be busy with' || ʔφ AS æfna, éfnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ Pv. I-II 273-82, P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. #333, M K I 76, M E I 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 88 || ʔφ K: GZ *up- v. 'possess, own' > Mg p- v. 'possess', 'be X to so.' (where 'X' is a kinship term), a-p-un 'he has him/her'; d.: OG up-aī- 'Lord', G s-up-eva 'Herrschaft, Reich', supev- v. 'dominate, reign', GZ *me-up-e 'owning, owner' > OG meupe ~ mepe 'king', G meupe 'Lord' (of God), mepe 'king, ruler, tsar' (← mep- v. 'reign, dominate'), Mg mapa- 'king', Lz n. l. mapa-çqari 'King-source' ¶ K 186, K² 120, 196, FS K 310, FS E 346, Chx. 756-7, 1296, Q 278 || A

*ap'∇- v. 'take, hold' (× N *q'æ'p'∇ '↑') > M *ab- 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} ab- 'take', [S] {H} ab- 'für sich nehmen', [IM] {Mel.} app-, [HI] {Ms., Lew.} ab-, Ord {Ms.} ab- 'take, take away from', WrM ab-, HIM авв- 'take, grasp, get hold of', MMgl ab- 'take, receive', Brt абв-, Kl, Dg {Pp.} aw-, Ba {Y} ab-, Mgl {Rm.} af- 'take', Mgl {Lg.} ab-^д af- 'enlever, obtenir', Mnr H {SM} aw- 'prendre, ôter', {T} awū-, Mnr M abū- {T} 'take' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. L II 1254, H 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, Iw. 8, SM 1, T 313, T BJ 132, KRS 23, KW 19, Chr. 21-3 || Tg *ap'∇- v. 'hold, possess' > Ork apuçj- v. 'hold, have the power (держатъ, иметь власть)' ¶ STM I 47 || T {DQA} *abuç 'handfull' > OT xi [QB], XwT XIV, OOSm ≥xiv avuč, MQp XIV awuč, Tk avuč, Ggz avuč, Az, Tkm owuč, CrTt awuč, ET awuš, Qzq, Qq, Nog uwis, VTt yч uš, Bsh us, Qrg ūč, Alt ūš, Xk ōs, Chv ывăç iwъś ¶ ≈ Cl. 44, ET Gl 409-10, ADb. SR 179-81, Jeg. 342 ¶¶ DQA #47 (A *ap'∇ 'take': incl. T, M) ◇ IS SS 345 [#10.10] (IE, A + err. Eg χf^ς 'grasp' and ç Ar ✓χf^ς 'seize'). But Eg χf^ς actually belongs to N *q'æ'p'∇ 'seize, hold' (q.v.), and Ar ✓χf^ς does not mean 'seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #40 (*ep 'bind', incl. IE, Gil ep- 'hold').

59. *ʔêp'∇ 'mouth' (→ 'speak') > HS **ʔ∇p- > S *¹p- 'mouth' (df. forms: nom. *¹p-u-m, accus. *¹p-a-m, gen. *¹p-i-m; forms without determiner [→ cs.]: nom. *_ip-u > *_ipū, accus. *_ip-a > *_ipā, gen. *_ip-i > *_ipī) > Hb 𐤒𐤍 'pē (< gen.), cs. pī, st. pron. pī- (e.g. 'pī-ḱā 'your [m. sg.] mouth'), Ph, Pun st. pron. py-, Pun cs. py, Ug p, Amr pû, OA, IA p, pm, BA 𐤒𐤍 pum, JA 𐤒𐤍 pūmā, Ar indf. fam-un (generalization of the pS form of accus. *¹pam; more archaic forms were registered by an-Nadr ibn-Shumayl: nom. fum-un, accus. fam-an, gen. fim-in, F Wright I 239), cs. nom. fū, accus. fā, gen. fī, Sb f, Ak pûm, cs. pî, st. pron. pî- ¶ KB 864-6, AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 20, 123, Sk. 889-90, Hff. 254, HJ 916, 1263, BGMR 43, Sd. G 84-86 [§ 65, esp. § 65i], ≈ MiK I #1.223 (*pay- 'mouth') || C {AD} *ʔap-/*ʔapp- 'mouth' > Ag: Bln {R} ʔəb 'mouth', pl. ʔə'fəf; Ag ʔ → Gz ʔaf 'mouth' || Bj {R} yāf, Bj A {AD} yaf 'mouth' || EC {Ss.} *ʔaf- id. > Sa, Af af, Rn àf, Bn {Hn.} áf, Sml af, Sml N {Abr.} áf, pl. áfáf, Or B {Anr.} áf-āni, Kns af-ā, Sd, Ged, Alb af-0 id., Hd af-0ʔ0 'hole', Kmb {L} af0 'language', Brj a'f-ay 'mouth', Dsn ʔafu id., 'language' || DhI 'ʔaf0 'mouth' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔafa (pl. afē), Alg/Brn {E} afa, Kz {E} afuk0, Asa {E} ʔaf0k 'mouth', ʔ → Mb {E} aféta 'doorpost' ¶ AD SF 135-6, Ss. PEC 19, 51, Ss. B 23, Bl. 99, Abr. S 5, Hn.

BD 118, PG 61, Oo. 70, PH 33, E SC 281 (SC *ʔáfò 'mouth'), MQK 9, To. DL 477, To. D 127 || Om: SOm {Blz.} *ap_Lp_L- 'mouth' > Dm ʔappo, Ub afa, Hm ap, {Fl.} afo, Hm B āpo 'mouth' ¶ Blz. OLBP #78 || Ch: WCh [1] *ʔap- > Hs áfà v. 'throw into one's mouth', [2] ? *_Lʔ_Lp_Lw_L∇ 'mouth' > AG: Su {J} p_Lw_Lḥ, {Kr.} p_Lw_Lô, Ang p_Lḥ, Gmy {Kr.} p_Lḥ, Cp {Kr.} p_Lô id. || Ron {J}: Fy fo, DfB fó(h), Bks fu id. || ? CCh: Lmn {Lk.} éwé 'mouth', Mdr {Mch.} uwe, bwe, {Eg.} wé, {ChL} we, Dgh {IL} úwè, {Frk.} wúwè id. ¶ JI II 244-5, J S 79-80, ChL ¶¶ AD PSH 40, Sk. HCD 2 || **A** ({DQA} *ip_L‘_Lie 'mouth; say'): pKo *íp 'mouth' > MKo íp, NKO, Ko Ph/Chs/Chj íp, Ko Hm í_Lp id.; MKo ìp_L‘_L v. 'recite' ¶ S QK #56, Nam 406-7, 409, MLC 1363 || pJ *íp- v. 'say, speak' > OJ íp-, ItOJ íp-, J: T yù-, K yú-, Kg yū- Sh í- ¶ S AJ 267 [#64], S QJ #64, Mr. 700 || ?ϕ Tg *°ipke- > Ewk ipku-, ipkɜ- v. 'order, tell, lure' ¶ STM I 322 ¶¶ S AJ 111, 277 [#62], DQA #606 || **D** (att. in SD) *ēv- v. 'speak, say' (→ v. 'command') > Tm ēv_L (ēv_Li-) v. 'command, speak', Ml ēkuka v. 'say, command', ēval 'command, work', ēvalan 'a servant', Kt e‘lv 'matter, affair', e‘lvga‘rn 'a servant' ¶ D #909 ◊ The N cns. *-p- (rather than *-p-) is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of AG *p. The semantically qu. D supposed cognate with *-v- does not prove the opposite (that the N cns. was *-p-). The A data (A *-p‘- in SDM's rec.) provide no conclusive ev., because in Tg the cns. *p is in the neutralizing precons. position, while pJ *-p- may represent all labial stops (besides being semantically questionable). The A word points to a N *i, while D ē-, C and WCh *ʔa- suggest a more open vw.; this discrepancy still has to be explained (cp. N *čikU 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' [→ 'thigh'] > D: Tm cekil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder').

60. ₂ *ʔopa ≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt' > HS: S *ʔupp- > Ar ʔuff- {Hv.} 'dirt of the ears/nails', {Ln.} 'dirt, filth, dirt of the nails; piece of stick/reed which one takes up from the ground' ¶ Ln. 67, Fr. I 42, BK I 39, Hv. 10 || Eg íppt 'earth, clay for bricks' ¶ Mks. I #O243, Os. 723 [note 850] || WCh *ʔ∇pt∇ 'powder' > SBc {Stl.} *ʔapt_Li 'powder' > {ChL} Bg òpti, Gj apti, Sy ñèptu. || Ngm ʔəpti, Krkr ʔàpti || Bd uptân id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 263 [#33] || **A** {ADb., DQA} *op‘a 'powder' > NaT *opa id. > OT {Cl.} op̄ 'a white cosmetic or face powder', {DTS} ubu 'white lead, Bleiweiß', Shor {RI.} oba 'chalk', Tel {RI.} obo 'chalk, white colour (weiße Farbe)', Uz, ET, Qrg opa, Qzq, Qq opa 'face-powder', Qq opa id., 'white paint (белила)', Qmq oba 'ceruse', ET Δ {Jr.} opa 'paint,

face-powder, a white powder\paint for cosmetic purposes', {Mng.} opa 'weiße Gesichtsschminke' ¶ Cl. 6, DTS 603, Rs. W 363, ET Gl 465-6, Rl. I 1155-9, 1782, MM 261, Sht. 153, KrkR 496, KumRS 240, RKumS 48, Jr. 323, Mng. G 764 || M {Rm.} *oβa (or ≈ *φoβa?) 'powder, face powder' > WrM {Rm.} oo, oγa, oγo 'Reispuder, Schminke', HIM/Kl {Rm.} o id., WrM {MED} ou ~ o ~ oua, HIM {Luv.}, Kl {KRS} oo o 'powder, face powder', HIM {Gl.} ou 'white lead', WrO {Krg.} o 'face powder, cosmetic', Ord {Ms.} o 'fard blanc' ¶¶ KW 292, Rm. EAS I 90, MED 625, Krg. 105, Luv. 303, KRS 399, Gl. I 205, Ms. O 505 || Tg *upa 'flour, (flat) bread' > Sln uγō 'bread', Orc, Ork upa 'flour; flat bread (лепешка)', Ul upa, WrMc ufa, Mc Sb ufa, Jrc ufa 'flour' ¶ STM II 247, Kiy. 126 [#531] ¶¶ ADb. KL 14, Rm. EAS I 90, Pp. VG 48, 123, 147, DQA #1578.

61. ?₂ WW? ≈ *?∇p∇ 'monkey > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} *abō(n)- 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing: Gmc: ON api 'monkey, fool', OSx apo, OHG affo m., affa f., NHG Affe, MDt ape, Dt aap, AS apa 'ape (Pongidæ)', NE ape; Gmc ↳ OR oπηυα opica, OCz opice 'monkey, ape' ||| Clt: Gl {P} *ἄββάνας 'long-tailed ape' (from Hs.'s gloss ἄββάνας [emendated by Schrader as *ἄββάνας] · κελετοὶ τοὺς κερκοπιθήκους) ¶ P 2-3 [hyp.: *abō(n) is a loanword], EI 384, Vr. 11, Ho. S 3, Ho. 6, KM 8, EWA I 58-60 ||| **HS:** Ch {Stl.} *ʔiʔpuki 'monkey' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔip∇ki 'baboon' > Krkr {ChL} yifki, Cg yipɜk-ɜn id. ||| CCh {Stl.} *ʔ∇puki 'monkey' > {ChL:} McTr: Bk fuši, G'nd fíçà, Gbn fíçè | Mrg pču | Kps pši | FIM viži | Nkc vîkéy, Gv vič-χadɜya 'monkey' ¶ Stl. IF 34 || ??? B: CM, Izd abaγus, Zng {TC} äbugär 'monkey' ¶ Mrc. 236, NZ 85, TC D 4.

62. *ʔäPʰi 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > **HS:** S *ʔpy v. 'bake' > BHb ʔpy/w (pf. ʔpā ʔā'pā), OA ʔpy v. 'bake', IA, Ph ʔpy, Ug ʔpy/w id., v. 'cook', JA ʔpā ʔpy (pf. ʔpā ʔā'pā) v. 'bake', Sr ʔpā ʔpy (pf. Sr ʔpā ʔā'pā, Sr E ʔpā ʔā'pā) v. 'bake, cook', Ar d. ميفى mīfā-n 'Backofen', Sb ʔfy-m (a kind of foodstuff), Ak ʔpy/w (inf. epū) v. 'bake' ¶ KB 75, KBR 78, HJ 94-5, A #350, OLS 45, Sk. 155, Br. 39, Lv. I 140, Js. 102, CAD IV 247-8, Sd. 231, BGMR 3, DRS 28 || ʔφ,σ Eg ɜbχ {Mks.} 'brûler, cuire' ¶ Mks. I #0034, Os. 814, note 1962 (ɜbχ vt. 'verbrennen'), Crn. 514 (ɜbχ 'verbrennen'), BnH (ɜbh 'kochen') || Ch: WCh: Pr ápò v. 'bake' ¶ Frz. P 200 || **IE:** *ʔ|HepH- v. 'cook, bake' > Arm Էֆեմ epʰem 'I cook' ||| Gk ἔψω id. (s0-present), pp. ἔφθός 'baked' (the

Gk word belongs here unless Gk h- goes back here to IE *s-), ? ὀπτός 'roasted, baked' || ??σ.φ Ht happin(a) 'open flame' ¶ The semantically dubious connection with Ht happin(a) cannot determine the identity of the pIE lr. ¶ Gk h- remains perplexing ¶ WPI 124, P 325 (both reconstruct *ep^h- or *eps-), EI 88 (connects Gk ὀπτός with Ht and reconstructs IE *h₃ep- 'roast'); FI 431, Sl. 445 (both reconstruct IE *sep^h-); Ch. 394, Hofm. 101, Mn. AIE 165 || **A**: NaT *äp- v. 'bake (?)' in OT [MhK] äp-mäk ~ äpäk 'bread', Az äppäk, Δ äpmäk, VTt äpäy id. ¶ Cl. 8, 12, DTS 175, Rl. I 919, 925 || Tg *epe(-n) 'cake (Fladen)' > Ewk ɜwɜdi, Ul ɜpɜ(n-), Nn Nh ɜpɜ̃, Nn KU ɜfɜ̃ id., Sln {Iv} o'yo ~ u'yon ~ u'on ~ ɜ'wɜń 'bread', WrMc {Z} efern '(baked) bread, pancake', Mc Sb {Y} ʔefən 'Manchu bread', {Mrm.} 'Brot, Gebäck' ¶ STM II 436, Z 90, Y #364 || pJ {S} *ɜpɜ-mɜnɜ 'food' > OJ {S} opo-mono 'food' ¶ S QJ #1388, ≈ Mr. 509 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #441 (A *ep'ò 'bread, food': incl. T, Tg, J), S CNM 4 || **D** (in McTm) *avi- v. 'be boiled, cooked' > Tm av̄i id., av̄aj v. 'cook, boil', Ml av̄iɟuka v. 'boil on fire, be digested' ¶ D #268 ◇ Cf. Bru. #35 (S, IE), Bm. TPN #209 (S, IE), AD rTPN 94 (S, IE, T, D). The Arm and Gk √ belongs here only if it goes back to IE *ʔ|HepH- (rather than to *sepH-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #77 (*ep 'cook/food') (IE, A, CK, qu. J, err. Ko, U).

63. (₂?) *ʔ∇q∇ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality > **HS**: Eg fOK iχ.t 'thing, something', Eg MK/N, DEg iχ 'what?' (← *(which) thing?', like It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?' [< cosa 'thing']) > pCpt {Vc.} *ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B aɟ aš, F eɟ eš, A eɟ eχ₂ 'what?'; Eg iχ.t-nb.t 'all things, everything' ¶ EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20 || **E**: MEI -h-, marker of pl. in verbs: {Rnr.} 3p [-h-š-] ↔ 3s [-š-], 2p [-h-t-] ↔ 2s [-t-], e.g. {Dk.} kuš̄i-h-t(ə) 'you (pl.) build' ↔ kuš̄i(a)t(i) 'you (sg.) build', kuš̄i-h-š̄(i) 'they build' ↔ kuš̄i-š̄i 'he builds', and probably also kuš̄i-h-h(u) 'we build' ↔ kuš̄i-hu 'I build' ¶¶ Dk. JDPA 101, Rnr. EL 76 || ?φ **K**: Sv -χ-, marker of 3p (agens of vi. and patiens of vt.): q̄a₁le-χ 'they say' (↔ q̄a₁le 'he says'); marker of pl. in the 2nd and 3rd person of object: ž̄i-χa₁-χ 'you (pl.) know' (lit. 'to you it is known') (↔ ž̄i-χa₁ 'thou knowst' [lit. 'to thee it is known']), χ₀-χa₁-χ 'they know' (↔ χ₀-χa₁ 'he knows') ¶ Dt. 65-6 ◇ Sv -χ- for the expected -q- may be connected with the phenomenon of phonetic weakening of affixes (cp. the obligatory deglottalization of glottalized phonemes in affixes and pronouns in S).

64. *ʔ'ü|u'q'yê 'night, dark hours' > **HS:** ? Eg fMK ωχ 'night, evening', Eg NKL/Md ωχ v. 'be dark' (of a night, [μφ] of the condition of a sick person) ¶ EG III 352, Fk. 67 || B ✓ ʔhy ({Pr.} *✓ h₁h₂y) > Ah, TnsI tihay, TwI tihay ~ šayyay, Ty tihay ~ tiyay, Gh čihay 'ténèbres' ¶ Fc. 544-5, Nh. 210, GhA 207, Pr. H 73 [#444] || Ch: {JS} *✓ ywn ~ *✓ wn ({JI} *✓ ywn) 'sleep' > Ngz yùwàn 'spending the night; period of 24 hours', etc. (× N *ʔaw'oy'∇ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || **IE** *°heuh- / *h₂weh- / *h₂woh- > NaIE *au- / *awē- / *awō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep' (× N *ʔaw'oy'∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **U:** FU *üye 'night' > F yö, Es öö id. || pLp {Lr.} *iyz > Lp: S {Hs.} jījje y+yye ɘ yiyye, U {Schl.} jījja, L {LLO} idja, N {N} igggjâ, Kld y+y y id. || Prm {G} *öy id. > Z воЙ voy, Z US o y 'night, 'north', Yz ú y (gen. 'ú y-Λn), Vt yñ uy, Vt SW ú y 'night' || ObU {Ht.} *yīy 'night' > pVg *yī > Vg: T/NV yī, LK yī, yi, MK/UK yi, P yiʒ, SV/LL ī id.; pOs {Ht.} *yěy ({JHl.} *yīy) > V yěy, Vy ẽy {Trj.} id. || OHg éj (~ é ~ í), Hg éj id. ¶ Coll. 127, Coll. CG 415 (FU *üye), UEW 72 (*eye [*üye]), Db. OS xxx (*üye), Lr. #241, Lgc. #1555, Hs. 787-8, Schl. 73, LG 60, SZ 56, Lt. J 202, Ht. 140 [#172], Hl. rHt 71, Trj. S 91, MF 730.

65. *ʔar∇ 'earth, land, place' > **HS:** [1] Eg fP íz.t 'place, site (Ort, Stätte)' (× N *ʔuī∇ 'soil, foundation, earth') ¶ EG I 26 || [2] +ext.: HS **ʔar∇ĉ- 'earth, land': S *ʔaraš- id. > OAk aršatu(m), Ak eršetu 'earth, land', BHb ʔṛṣ 'ʔereç id. (paus. ʔṛṣ 'āreç, pl. ʔṛṣot ʔarā'çōt), Ph ʔrṣ, Ug ʔrṣ, (AkSc) ʔarṣu, OA abs.\cs. ʔarṣ, em. ʔarṣ-ā, JA em. ʔarṣ-ā, Sr em. ʔarṣ-ā, abs.\cs. ʔarṣ-ā, Ar ʔarṣ-ā, pl. ʔarṣ-āna id. ¶ KB 87-7, A #420, OLS 51-2, Sl. 170-1, PS 397, CAD IV 308-313, Hnr. 110, DRS 33-4; on the ev. of the posttonic *a / AD SNSE 76, AD PSH 92, 94; on OA ʔṣ / AD AR v, AD PSH 31-2 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔariĉ- 'earth' > WCh *H∇riĉ∇ 'earth' {Stl.} > (1) NrBc {Stl.} *i₁riĉ∇, {Tk.} *riĉ- 'earth, ground' > Sir {Sk.} ríĉú, {IL} ìĉí, Mbr riĉi {Sk.}, ríĉú {Sk. in ChC}, Cg híĉé {Sk.} id., P' {MSk.} ríĉá 'earth, ground, country', (2) ?? SBc {Sh.}: Kir aĉ, Tala áĉi, Gj ʔaĉi, Buli ʔaĉ, Tule ʔaĉi, Dw ʔāĉ, Zar K/GL yāĉ, Zar L yāĉ, Sy B/Z yāĉz, Sy Zk yāĉz 'earth', (3) (??) Stl. ZCh 236 adduced (with a query) Su ʔìgìr 'land' (which she draws back to *ʔiĥir presumably mt. from *✓ Hrĉ) || Ech {Stl.} *ʔiraĉa (mt. of vowels) > Bdy {J} ʔíràḍà 'valley' ¶ JI II 116-7, J S 64, Stl. IF 199, Stl. ZCh 236 [#830], Sk. NB 19, Sh. SB 23, Tk. NB 178 ¶¶ The element *-ĉ- of the HS stem is likely to go back to a sx. or to the

second component of a cd. ¶ OS #54 (HS *ʔariĉ-), Tk. PAA 20 (S, NrBc) || IE: [1] *ǵʰer- ({EI} *h₁er-) 'earth' > NaIE *er- (*er-t-, *er-w-) id. > Gk ἔρα * 'Erde' (att. ἔρα-ζε 'to earth, to the ground', Gk D ἔρα-σδε id.) || pGmc *erō > OHG ero, AS éar 'earth'; pGmc *erθō (*erþō) > Gt aírþa, ON jǫrð, OHG erða, NHG Erde, AS eorðe 'earth', NE earth ¶ P 332, EI 174, FI 646-7, Ch. 363, Ho. 85, 93, Fs. 25-6, Vr. 295, KM 171, EWA II 1146-8 || [2] NaIE *ārō- 'open space' > L ārea 'an open or level space' || Lt óras 'outdoors; air, weather', {WP} id., 'freier Himmel', Ltv ârs 'outdoors, open air', âra 'outdoors', ārā 'out of doors' ¶ WP I 79 (*ārō- 'das Freie, Weite, Raum' [unsicher]), ≈ Frnk. 518, WH I 65 || U: FP *ar∇ 'lowland, (?) low place, river-bed' > F arō 'vallis inter colles, locus demissior herbidus; Tal, Anger, Steppe; grasbewachsenes Tiefland, kleines Tal', Es {W} aru 'fruchbares, trocken gelegenes Land, trockene Wiese' || ?? pPrm *ǵʰr- > Vt N {UR} ur-kirem 'ravine' (kír- 'break through, erode, wash away'), Z k3ž-3r3m 'old river-bed in the bend of a river' (k3ž 'bend of a river') || ? ObU: Os V urí, Os D urā 'river-bed', pVg *wūr∇y- > Vg: T orāy, LK oray, P wuray, Ss ūray id. ¶ Coll. 72 (BF, Os), SK 24 (BF, Os), UEW 17 (BF, ObU), LG 207 (Prm, Os + some other less plausible comparisons), UR 310, Ht. 196 [#712] || A: NaT *āra 'locality; space\distance between 2 places' > OT bu āra-da 'in this locality', ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lgs. (Tkm āra, etc.) it is used in the meaning 'space between 2 objects, interval, middle': Tkm āra 'distance, interval', Tk ara, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, ET, SY ara, Uz ara id., Yk āra 'way between two points' || ?? d.: *a₁ra-l 'island, a forest close to water' > Qzq, Nog, ET, Qrg aral, SY ayal 'island', Bsh aral 'small island', Alt aral 'shrubs close to a river or lake; island; forest'; *arig > Sg/Qb/QK {RL} arıy 'island in a river', Shor {RL} arıı 'island', Yk arı 'island, wooded island, grove'; acc. to Pp. TLM 38, T *aral → M *aral 'island' > MM [MA, S] aral 'island', WrM aral, HIM арал id., 'peninsula; oasis', Ord, ShY aral, Kl ar], Mgr rāl 'island' ¶ Cl. 196, ET Gl 162-4, 167, Pek. 103, 126-7, Tkr 47-8, Rl. I 272, 300, MED 48, Pp. MA 104, KW 14-5, Dr. TM I 119-20 || Tg *ara- (+ sxs.) 'open country, flat ground' > Ewk PT araʔan 'open ground on a mountain top', 'sunny place (солнцек)', Lm arααn ɖ arαyαn ɖ aragan ɖ arogon 'open woodless country', Orc arāču, Ul araču 'flat ground for the bear-killing ritual' ¶ STM I 48 ¶¶ Hardly related to MM arčī 'defender, protector', M *aračīla- v. 'defend,

protect' (Pp.: ← *'stand between') (see Pp. VG 97, KW 15) ¶¶ DQA #82 (A *ár̥ 'open space': T, Tg) || D: [1] *ar̥a 'room' > Tm ar̥al 'room, apartment, chamber', Ml ar̥a 'room, partition', Tl ar̥a, ar̥ra id., 'chamber', Tu ađæ 'inne\small room', Gnd arra 'room' ¶¶ D #322 || [2] (in SD) ?σ *ar̥al (*'earth' →) 'mud, clay' > Kn ar̥il, ar̥al, ar̥ulu, ar̥la, ar̥lu 'mud, clay', Tm, Ml ar̥al 'black sand' ¶ ≈ D #312 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #69 (IE, S, FU) ◇ The meaning of words in F, Prm, and ObU and the length of *ā in pT suggest that the U and the T words go back to a merger: N *?ar̥ 'earth, land, place' × N *gar̥'i 'valley' || This may have been the origin of the N postposition *?ar̥r̥ 'towards' (→ 'in?') (q.v. ffd.).

66. *?ar̥ 'member of one's clan\family' > HS: S *°?ar̥r̥y- > Ug ?ar̥y {A} 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied', {OLS} 'congénere, amigo, afín' ¶ A #391, OLS 54 || Eg fOK ír̥y 'relating to; thereof, thereto; comrade', DEg ír̥y 'comrade', Cpt: B HP ēr 'compagnon, ami', Sd/A epiy eriw, B apioy ar̥iu, epiy er̥iu 'comrades' ¶ EGI 103-5, Fk. 25, Er. 38, Vc. 46, 53-4 || C: Bj {R} ?araw 'friend' | possibly also C {AD} *?ar- (× N *he,?y,r'E' 'male?') > HEC {Hd.} *ar̥o?o 'husband' > Ged, Hd ar̥o?o, Sd, Kmb ar̥o id.; ? Rn ár̥am 'man, husband, elder' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} ḡara (< *ḡi-ara) 'her husband' ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, PG 68 || Ch *?ar̥ > WCh: Ron: Bks {J} ré (pl. ?áryà) 'man' || ?σ ECh {Stl.} *?ar̥ > Mkl {J} ?ér̥òwò 'woman'; -> ECh *t̥-?r̥r̥- 'girl' (*t̥- f.) > Ke {Eb.} t̥r̥ 'girl', Smr {J} dur 'daughter' ¶ J R 145, Stl. IF 50, Eb. 97 ¶¶ OLS 54 (S, Eg) || IE *?aro- ~ *?aryo- ({EI} IE *h4e'ros ~ *h4er'yos) 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE *aryo- id. (≠ {P}: 'Herr, Gebieter') > OIr aire 'homme libre' (→ 'chef, prince') || OI 'aryaḥ 'master of the house', ar'yaḥ '(hospitable) lord', 'ārya-ḥ, Av a'ryō 'Aryan (person)', OPrs ariya- 'Median, Aryan (person)'; pIir *arya- -> FV *orya 'slave' > F orja 'slave', Es ori 'slave, bondsman', pMr {Ker.} *ūr̥a - *ūr̥ya > Er ype úre, Mk ype úr̥a 'slave, servant' || Ht {EI} ar̥ā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend' ¶¶ P 67, EI 213, Vn. A 42, M EI 174-5, ≈ M KI 52, 79, UEW 721, LG 52, Ker. II 76-7 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) {UEW} *ar̥ - *arwa 'relative belonging to one's mother's clan', 'mother's (younger) brother' > OHg ara 'brother', Hg (early XVIII) ara 'Schwiegertochter', Hg ara 'bride' (att. from 1792; an innovation in the framework of the Hg "language renewal") || ObU: Os: Kz w̥r̥-ti 'mother's younger brother, his male

descendants, his son', Os N O or-ti, {KrT} or-di 'mother's brother'; Vg: ML oār, N ā:r 'mother's relative', K ōr in yāñnor ōrnor 'parents' vexation, родительская досада' (yāñ 'father', nor 'revenge') ¶ UEW 832-3, EWU 44, KrT 244 ¶ Rédei's hyp. about the proto-Irn origin of the word (cp. Av, OPrs, KhS brātar, Sgd βr^ṛt, Blc brāt, Oss D ärvadä 'brother', Oss I ärvad 'kinsman' - F Ab. III 437-9, Bai. 313) is hardly tenable (unless we suppose very late Oss origin of the pUgr word) ◇ A *ār[∇] 'man' (> T *ār, M *ere 'man') (see DQA #2764 [A *āri - *ēra 'man']) is more likely to belong to N *he₁ṛ|y₁r^E 'male' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #120, S CNM 9 (÷ ÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

67. *ʔer[∇] 'to divide; one share, one, single' > HS: S *^o✓ʔrm > Ar ʔaram- 'unus, ullus' = 'quelqu'un, certain', ʔurmā أَرْمَا, أَرْمَى 'ullus, aliquis', ʔarīm- 'unus, ullus' ¶ Fr. I 28 || K: GZ *ert- 'one' > G ert-, Mg art-, Lz ar(t)- ¶ K 79, K² 147, FS K 116, Chik. 212 || U: FU *era 'part, single, one' > F erä 'share', erältään 'at a time', tellä erää 'this time', eräs 'one, a', Vp eraz 'other', Es {W} ära 'Besonderes, Getrenntes' || Lp N {N} ærre 'quantity of milk obtained at one milking from one female reindeer\cow' ||| Os: V/Vy är-əʔ 'getrennt, auseinander', Ty/Y árʔə, Nz/Kz ara, O ārri id. ¶ SK 40, W EDW 80-1, N III 873, Stn. D 156, SSA I 107-8 (FL only), Ht. 129 [#58], ≈ UEW 75 ¶ Stn. rejects the connection between F and Os and supposes (like UEW) that the Os word is derived from Os V är, Os D ār 'much' (acc. to UEW, from U *erä 'much'), which is hardly tenable for semantic reasons; besides, Os makes a clear phonological distinction between the -əʔ-derivative from pOs *ār- 'too much' and the word in question: Os V has ərəʔ ~ örəʔ 'überschüssig, zu viel' (< pOs *ār- 'too much') and ärəʔ 'getrennt' ¶ Es ä- (for the expected e-) needs elucidating || D *ēr₁- v. 'divide, separate' > Tl ēr₁ v. 'sift', Klm ers- id., ērānā v. 'be separated, be separate from', Knd ēr₁p- v. 'keep apart, keep separate', ēr₁- v. 'be separated', Gnd ēr- v. 'be separated from, eht- v. 'wead', Kui ēžā v. 'be separate from, detached', ēspa- v. 'separate', Ku ērlali- v. 'be separated' ¶¶ Km. 313 [#190], D #915.

68. *ʔuRE or *ʔüR[∇] 'drink, swallow' > U *ür[∇] 'drink; be drunken, intoxicated' (× N *₁'weX[∇]r[∇] 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') > Prm {LG} *ür- > Z ырōш +рзš, Yz ^lр^lлš 'kvass (ε small beer)' || Er иреде- írede-, Mк иреде- íradā- 'be drunken, get carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || Sm *зr- v. 'drink' > Ne T Һэр-

ць, Ne F η3r-, Slq Ke {Cs.} ira-, Mt {Hl.} *3r- id. (Mt T/K/M {Mil.} orsu 'bibere', K {Pl.} urschim 'I drink', Mt M {Sp.} урнямъ id., урнамъ 'I eat [liquid food]'), Slq Tm {KD} ðra- ~ 3ra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M #249 || **A:** M *örübki- v. 'gobble, swallow' > WrM örübki-, HIM өрөвхий-х, Brt үрэбхи-хэ id., WrO öröbki- v. 'inhale, draw in' ¶ MED 643, Krg. 148, Chr. 514 ¶ Valid, unless it is *φörübki- (which cannot be ruled out, since the word is not attested in MM and in the *h-preserving lgs.) || **HS:** Eg G ír v. 'eat', ¿ ({Vc.} "mot mal attesté") Cpt B ерї ерї 'bread' ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 46.

69. *?ur∇ 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > **HS:** EC: pSam *ùrùrì v. 'gather, collect' > Sml {ZMO} ururi vt. 'collect, gather, cause to assemble', urur vi. 'assemble, meet; gather', urur 'meeting, assembly, gathering', Sml N {Abr.} urur- v. 'become assembled', Bn erūri id., Rn {PG} ùrùrà vi. 'gather together' ¶ Hn. S 97, PG 286, ZMO 401, DSI 595, Abr. S 244 || WS *✓?ry v. 'collect, gather' > BHb הָרָא ✓?ry (pf. 1s ?ā'rīṭī) v. 'pluck', Gz ✓?ry (js. yā-?rī, pf. ?araya) v. 'gather, glean' (KB 82, KBR 85, L G 40, Di. 744); Gz ✓?rr (js. yā-?rar ~ yā-?rar, pf. ?arara) v. 'reap, gather, harvest' ← or → AfS lgs.: Sa {R} arar (p. 'irirə, imv. i'rār) 'sammeln, ernten' (Di. 741, L G 39, R S II 46-7); the existence of a corresponding Af verb *arar (mentioned in R S II 46-7 → other authors) is not confirmed by Af dictionaries (PH, Clz.) || **IE:** NaIE *wer-/*wrg- 'multitude, group of people, troop' > OI vrgn'dam 'group, troop, crowd' || OIr foirinn, foirenn 'factio, Gruppe, Schar', OW guerin 'factio', W gwerin 'viri, virorum multitudo, plebs', {YGM} 'ordinary folk, populace', OBr guerin 'factiones', {Flr.} 'parti, ligue, troupe', MBr gueryn 'people' || AS weorn, wearn 'troop, crowd' ¶ WP I 266, P 1150-1, EI 268 (connects the stem with IE *wrētōs 'flock, herd'), M K III 249-50, Flr. 189, YGM-1 264, Ho. 387 || **A:** M *urug 'clan, relatives' > MM [MA] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} uruq [uruʃ] 'a relative', [HI] {Lew.} uruq, [S] {H} uruh 'relatives', WrM urug, HIM ураг 'relatives, posterity, clan, a relative'; M → Yk, Ewk, Lm urū 'relatives, родня' ¶ MED 885, H 167, Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 367; Lew. 83, Pek. 3068-9, STM II 287 || Tg *uru^b v. 'gather, collect' > Ewk urūw-, Sln orw-, Neg ouww- id., Ork uru-, urugi- v. 'arrange (разложить, расставить, уложить по порядку)' ¶ STM II 287 || pKo *ur 'clan, relatives' > NKo ul id. ¶ S QK #1150, MLC

1246 || ?φ pJ ú₁n₁tì 'clan' > OJ udi, [RJ] útì, J: T/Kg úži, K úži ¶ S QJ #1529, Mr. 566 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #673 (pA *júrù v. 'gather, crowd' > Tg *uru-, pKo ur, M *irge- v. 'fill up, heap up, stuff, pack', *ir- id., v. 'crowd', T *irk- 'collect, assemble') || D *ur- 'multitude; be numerous' > Tm uru v. 'be numerous', uru 'much, abundant', Ml uru 'plenty, copious, much', Kn ura₁i, urube 'a mass, multitude', ure 'abundantly, much', Δ uru v. 'increase', Tu ur(u)bu, urbi 'increase', urdi n. 'increase', Tl uravu~uravu 'abundance, much' ¶¶ D #711 ◇ This N word may have contributed to the development of the N compound marker of pl. *r∇ yE (= *r∇ y'i') (q.v. ffd.).

70. *ʔUr∇ (ba) 'squirrel' > HS: S *oʔh∇rrab- > Ak arrabu 'dormouse (?)', 'jerboa (?)' ¶ CAD I/2 3O2-3, Lds. FAM 107 || IE: NaE *wer- (and rdp.: *werwer-, as well as post-IE variants in descendant lgs.: *wēwer-, *wajwer-, *wi₁wer-) '≈ squirrel', {E} *werwer- 'squirrel' > NPrs وروړه vārvāre id. || L vīverra 'polecat' || W gwiwer, Br gwiber 'squirrel', Ir iora rua id. (rua 'red') || Lt vaiveris, vaivaras 'male polecat', vēveris, vaiveris, voveris, voverē, Δ vóveris 'squirrel', Ltv vāvere, -is id., Pru weware id. | pSl *věver-ьka, -ika 'squirrel' > OCS вѣверица, P wiewiórka, Cz veverka, Uk вивірка, SCr věveriца ⚡ (v)jèverica || pGmc *ajk-werna ~ *īk-werna 'squirrel' (with *ajk- 'oak?') > AS āc-weorna, ON íkorni, OHG eichurno, eichorno, eich(h)orn, NHG Eichhorn 'squirrel'; acc. to Schr. GW 134 and Schr. 165, pGmc *ajk-/*īk- may go back to IE *ajg-, cp. OI 'ēj-ati vi. 'stirs, moves' ¶ WP I 287-8, P 1266, EI 540, ZVSZ 475, Ma. CS 564-5, YGM-1 267, Frn. 1233-4, En. 273, Vr. 284, KM 154-5, EWA II 974-6, Ho. 2, 390, Vl. II 1421 || U *ora, *ora-pa 'squirrel' > F orava, Es orav, oravas id. | pLp {Lr.} *ōrēv > Lp N {N} oar're -rr-, Lp S {Hs.} oār'ēve oāreve ⚡ oārūve, Lp Kld {SaR} вүэррев id. | pMr {Ker.} *ūr̄ > Er/Mk ur id. || Chr ur id. | pPrm *ur > Z ur id. || Sm: in a Samoyedic lge. of the Sayan region (Pl.: "ejus stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} orop 'Sciurus striatus' ¶¶ UEW 343, Sm. 552 (FP *ora 'squirrel'), LG 297-8, Kecsk. IPZ, Lr. #847, Lgc. #4587, Lgc. SL #1497, Hs. 1035-6, SaR 63, Ker. II 176 || D *urutt- 'squirrel' > Tm uruttay, Tl uruta id. (if the connection with D *urukk- 'jump' is secondary or non-existent) ¶¶ D #713, Tyler DU 810 [#130] || A {S} *Ur₁i-k'∇ 'ground-squirrel' > NaT *örke id. > Alt {BT} örkö, Xk {BIG} örke ⚡ öрге, Yk örgö, Tv {TvR}

örge id.; T \rightarrow Hg ürge id., T \rightarrow ? Brt E {Chr.} ὕρξ id. ¶ Shch. Zh 148, BT 120, BIG 136-7, TvR 339, Pek. 1955, Chr. 513, EWU 1589 ¶ The presence of the word in Hg proves that the T word was not originally confined to Siberia (\Leftrightarrow Shch. l.c.) || Tg {S} *urike > Ewk Brg/Nrc urikэ 'ground-squirrel, marmot' (\leftarrow T or Brt?), ?σ Orc urikэ, urkэ 'black seal (animal) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ S CNM 7 ◇ The original meaning of the word is likely to have been 'squirrel' (as in most descendant lgs.), while in some lgs. the name has been transferred to other fur-bearing mammals ◇ The comparison with D has been suggested by Blz. (p.c.) after Tyler l. c. The A cognate has been suggested by S (S CNM 7). The quality of the N rounded vw. of the first syll. is controversial: the IE and D data suggest *u (N *u > IE *we), while U suggests N *o. A plausible solution may be found if we assume that the N etymon is * $\text{?oR}\hat{\text{u}}$ (ba) with *o of the first syll. changing to *u under the ass. infl. of the second syll. (cp. the change N *o > pre-IE *u [$>$ IE *we] in the presence of N * $\hat{\text{u}}$ of the second syll., as formulated in AD PIEG). The N vw. * $\hat{\text{u}}$ of the second syll. may be responsible for * $\text{w}\nabla$ of the second syll. in the IE reduplicated variants of the stem in question (*werwer- et al.) ◇ AD NM #51.

71. * $\text{?}\nabla\text{r}^1\nabla$ (> * $\text{r}\nabla$?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) pc. > HS: Eg ír 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), ír (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, with inv., and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 || A [1] *t'e-r^a theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle || [2] Tg *e-r ∇ 'this' ¶¶ Ffd. see N * $\text{r}\nabla$ (< * $\text{?}\nabla\text{r}^1\nabla$?) (no. 1953) || IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns ¶¶ Ffd. see N * $\text{r}\nabla$ (< * $\text{?}\nabla\text{r}^1\nabla$?).

72. * $\text{?}\nabla\text{r}\nabla$ 'towards' (\rightarrow 'in?') > HS: Eg ∇ r 'hin nach..., hin zu...; bis hin nach', conj. 'bis daß...', DEg r 'to, towards'; ? Eg O ír 'towards' > Cpt Sd/B ερο- ero-, ε- e-, Cpt F ελα- ela-, ε- e-, Cpt P αρο- aro- id. (x N * $\text{?i}^1\text{A}^1$ 'stand still, stay; place to stay') ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37 || IE: NaIE *-r (< IE * $\text{-}_1\text{H}_1\text{r}$?), locative sx. in adverbs: Lt ku- \tilde{r} , Ltv kūr 'where?' (place and direction), Gt h a -r, ON hvar, OSx h $\text{w}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{r}$, OHG wār 'where?', AS hwar ~ h $\text{w}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{r}$ id. (> NE where), OL quōr, L cūr 'why?', Gk νύκτωρ 'by night', OI ka-r-hi 'when?', u ṣa -r 'at dawn'; NaIE *to-r/*tē-r 'there' > Gt, ON þar, OSx thar, OHG dār, AS $\text{ḡ}\tilde{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (> NE there) 'there', OI tar-hi 'then' ¶ The long vw. (in quōr, νύκτωρ) suggests the presence of a lr. ¶ Bks. 220, WH I 313, WP I 521, P 1087, Kb. 144, 1145, EWA II 533-5 || U: FU: Prm *kō-r ({LG} *kō $\grave{\text{r}}$)

'when' > Z kor, Z US kqr, Prmk k3r || ? Y T tigira 'there' ¶¶ LG 126, Krn. JJ 209 || A {Rm.} *-ru/*-rū, directive case ending > T *-ru/*-rū id. > OT āb-im-rū 'towards my house', bā-ru 'hither', a-ru 'there (dorthin)', sonra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus', MQp qa-ru 'whither?', OT bārū 'hierher', kārū ~ kirū 'zurück', as well as after the dative sx.: jaṽI-qa-ru 'against the enemy', tānri-gā-rū 'against God', ʁoq-qa-ru 'nach oben', ič-gār-rū ~ ič-gā-ri 'nach innen', taš-qa-ri ~ taš-ṽa-ru 'nach aussen', as well as variants T *-r, *-ra/ä > OT qaṽar 'whither?', ič-ra 'innen', is-ra 'behind', bisrä 'hierher', sonra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus' ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-5, Br. OTG 157-8, Gbn. ATG 28 || M {Rm.} *-ru, e.g. WṛM ina-ru 'this side, prior to', cina-ru 'that direction, after', HIM -rū/-lū модо-руу 'towards the woods', гол(у)руу 'towards the river\middle', морилуу (dis. from *mori-rū) 'towards a\the horse', Ord -rū/-lū (otog-rū 'in the direction of the Otog banner'), Brt -rū/-lū (uha-rū 'towards the water', mori-lū 'towards the horse'), ? KI χā-r-ān (with a reflexive sx.) 'wohin' ¶ Pp. IM 161, 205 (a qu. hyp.: M *-ru < *φuruṽu 'down') || ?σ Ko {Rm.} r0, Ko N -ru (-ri), -illi (-ili) 'by ... way', ċibi-ro, Ko N ċiburu 'home' (direction), Ko a1-lo 'down' (direction) ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 44-6 ◇ Eg ĩ- and the vowel lengthening in NaIE (OL quōr, Gk νύκτωρ) suggest the presence of a N initial lr. The word may be etymologically identical with N *?ar▽ 'earth, land, place' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 147-50 ("locative RU" in IE, U [Prm, Y], A [T, M, Tg, J, qu. Ko], Ai, unc. Gil [in fact -r- is from *-t-?], err. Hg sublativ 'onto' [not "dative"!]-ra/-re [on its origin see EWU 1224]).

72a. *?i,ʔ|y,r'a¹ 'drag, pull, push' > HS: Eg fMK 3r 'push aside' ('jem. verdrängen [von Habe, Grenze, Thron, usw.]'), {Fk.} 'drive away', Eg G 3r 'jem-n bedrängen' ¶ EG I 11, Fk. 3 || A: Tg *ira- vt. 'drag' > Ewk ĵir- id., Sln iru-, Lm lr-, Neg ly-, Ork lra-~lrra- id. ('волочить, тащить'), Ul lra- v. 'drag, drag over' ('тащить, перетаскивать'), Nn lra- v. 'carry, transport' ¶ STM I 323-4 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the meaning and the cns. *r) A {DQA} *īru 'trace, furrow' > Tk **īr ~ *īr id., M *φᵛiraṽa 'ripples on the surface of water', Tg *iru-n 'furrow', and pKo *īráŋ id. (DQA #687) || D *īr- v. 'drag, draw, pull' > Tm īr- v. 'drag along, pull, attract', Ml īruka v. 'saw', īrkkuka v. 'draw, drag', Td i·θ-, Gdb īr- v. 'pull, drag', Kn īr v. 'pull, draw', Prj īrp- v. 'pull' ¶¶ D #542 ◇ D *-r- usually goes back to a N *r-cluster rather than to an intervoc. *r, which suggests a cluster in pN (*-ʔ|yr-?) ◇ ≈ IS I 251

[#112] (*Hír̥a 'тащить, волочить': D, Tg + *÷ Tk *Íran 'furrow' and Ko iran 'ridge of a furrow').

73. *ʔu_lw_r∇ (or *ʔü-?) 'light (lux), fire' > **HS** ≈ *ʔur- > S *ʔurr- ~ *ʔawr- 'light (lux)' > Ak urru '(heller) Tag', BHb 𐎒𐎗 ʔōr 'daylight, light, dawn', √ʔwr (pf. 𐎒𐎗 ʔōr) v. 'dawn', Ug ʔur {A} id., {OLS} 'heat; fire, burning (combustión)', ? Ug {OLS} ʔur ~ ʔir 'light (luz)', Amr {G} ʔūr-um id., √ʔwr v. 'shine', Ar ʔawr- 'ardeur du feu, flamme', ʔawwara 'allumer', OSA {Jm., Av.} ʔwrn 'la divinité patronale des flammes', Jb C ε'rət, df. ē'rət 'moon', Sq HS df. 'ə'ə'ə, Sq {L} 'ere, Mh hā-rīt, Hrs hārēt id., Sq {L} 'erir 'allumer' ¶ KB 23-4, KBR 24-5, OLS 46-7, G A 14, Jo. M 7, Jo. J 4, Jo. H 4, LLS 72-5, Av. G II 68, DRS 13 || Eg G ʔr.t 'flame (or sim.)' ¶ EGI 114 || C: ?σ Bj {R} 'ér̥a 'light (hell), white; white colour', erā-m- 'get white' ¶ R WBd 27 || ?σ CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ūr- vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} wur id. ('[ver]brennen, rösten') ¶ JI II 55, Lk. G 138 || **A**: NaT *ürün (~ *°Ewrün?) 'white' and M {DQA} *öwr 'dawn' (× N *ʔ'ʔ'o'mrE 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) || Tg: Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up', orumnaçā- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mī 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O orakın 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ STM II 23, 25, Vas. 453 ¶ ¶ ≈ S AJ 288 (A *ör∇ 'white, light [hell], dawn') || **D** {Km.} *ūr-/ur-∇- v. 'burn' > Tm uru v. 'burn', Kn uri v. 'burn, blaze, glow', Tu uri 'blaze, flame', uriyu- v. 'burn, blaze', Tl uriyu, uralu vi. 'burn', Mnd rund- v. 'ignite' ¶¶ D #656, Km. 299 [##113-4] ¶ The D √ is ambiguous, it may be alternitatively cognate to C *hur- v. 'light' ◇ Cf. IS MS 337 (*ur̥ vi. 'burn') ◇ D *-r- (*reg.* from N *r-clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. (*w) in the Inlaut ◇ One cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is a phonetically reduced variant of N *ʔ'ʔ'o'mrE (N *-mr- > *-wr- > *-r-).

74. *ʔir_lEʔ_lû 'entrails' > **HS**: S *ʔiriʔ-at- 'entrails, lung' (> reduced variants *ʔir-at- and WS *riʔ-at-) > Ak irtu 'lung, breast', Ug ʔirt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ʔiratu 'chest (?)', {OLS} 'pecho, repecho (de un monte)', MHb 𐎒𐎗 rē'pā 'lungs', Sr 𐎒𐎗; rā'p_lṭā, Ar 𐎒𐎗 riʔ-at-, Mh rzyēʔ, Hrs rzyī (pl. rzyōt), Jb E ērōt, Jb C rōt (pl. 'rōi) id. ¶ Sd. 386, CAD VII 183ff., OLS 53, A #430, Grd. UT #365, Hnr. 109, Js. 1472, Br. 705, Jo. M 554, Jo. H 101, Jo. J 201, MiK I #1.9 (S *ʔir(r)-at- 'chest, breast'), 1.224 (*riʔ(-at)- 'lung') || EC: Brj ir-a 'stomach', Ya ira 'belly', ?? Sml ūr, ?? Rn ūr id. ¶ Ss. B 106, PG 287, Blz. RL 257 || B {Pr.}

*✓HrH 'lung(s)' (*H = *ʔ?) > Ah {Fc.} tārut 'lung' ({ʔPr.} < *t-HaruH-t), ETwI/Ty {GhA}, Mz {Dlh.} tarut, Gh {Nh.} tur (pl. turawin), Kb {DL.} tūrāt, Gd {Lf.} tūrā (pl. tūrāwēn), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} turt, Rf Wr {Rn.} tura, Rf B/A taura, SrSn {Rn.} tur-in (pl.), Izn taruṭ, Sll turāt, Wrg {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} tura, Skn {La.} tūra id. ¶ Fc. 1558, Pr. M IV-V 214-5, Rn.327, GhA 155, Lf. II #1370, MT 559, Dlh. Ou 267, Dlh. M 168, Dl. 697, Mrc. 199 ¶¶ ≈ OS #36 || ?σ Eg ἰρῶ 'piece of meat' ¶ Mks. I #O393 || **IE:** NaIE {P} *oreu-/*.rey- 'gut' > Gk [Hs.] ὀρούα · χορδή 'gut(s)', Gk [Epc.] ὀρούα 'sausage' (or 'guts') ||| L arṽīna 'fat, lard (esp. that between the skin and the entrails)', "Sicilian" (= L Sc?) [Y] [Hs.] ἀρβύνη · κρέας ('meat, flesh'). ¶ WP I 182, P 782, F II 420, Ch. 828, WH I 71 || **D** (in SD) *īr- 'internal organ of the body (as liver or spleen)' > Tm īraḷ, īruḷ id., Ml īraḷ, Irl īralu, īrvo, AIK īruvu, Kt īruv, Td ü·ruf, Kn hīri 'liver' ¶ D #546 ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters (rather than of the N intervoc. *-r-), hence it points to the presence of an additional element (lr.?) adjacent to N *r. Therefore I prefer to reconstruct pS *✓ʔrʔ (≈ *ʔiriʔ-at-) rather than a metathetic pair *ʔir-at- ~ *riʔ-at- ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#18] (D, HS, IE).

75. *ʔerq'i' 'ε ruminant' > **HS:** S *ʔar_L∇_Lχ- 'cattle, cow' > Ug ʔarχ (= *ʔar_L∇_Lχ-) {A} 'cattle', {OLS} 'vaca, novilla', Amr {G} ʔarχum 'cow', Ar ʔarχ- 'young bull', Ak arχ- 'cow', Tgy {Bsn.} ʔarħa 'bull', ʔarħ-ī 'heifer (that never bore young)' ¶ A #389, OLS 49, G A 13, Sd. 67, CAD I/2 263, Bsn. 493, DRS 33 || **IE:** NaIE *er- ~ *eri- 'ε ruminant' (× N *ʔiR'i' '[male, young] big ungulate', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *eru- → *erō 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs. denoting sex: [1] ≈ *eru-to (GS) *erd-) 'male buffalo, bull' > Tm eruṭu 'bull, ox, steer', Ml eruṭu 'bullock, ox', Kt et, Td ešt 'bull', Kn erṭu 'bull, ox' (erṭu, eddu 'ox, bullock' ← Tl?), Kdg aṭṭi 'bull, bullock', Tl eddu 'ox, bullock, bull', Klm eq, Nkr heḏḏ 'bullock', Krx aḏḏō 'ox, bullock', [2] ≈ *eru-may (GS) *erm-) 'female buffalo' > Tm erumaḷ, Ml eruma, erima, Kt im, Td ir, Kn emme, Kn Δ erme, Kdg emme, Tu erme, Tl erumu 'female buffalo', Gnd Δ ermi ḏ hermi ~ arm ~ aṛmi 'buffalo', Gnd HMS ermī 'female buffalo'. In some D lgs. (those converging D *-r- with *-r-) there may have been a merger with N *qer∇ '(wild) ox' ¶¶ D ##815, 816, 917, ≈ GS 209 [##529, 530]. The stem-final vw. *-u(-) in Tm, Ml, Tu, and Tl may go back to the pD non-phonemic word-final vocoid *-o.

76. *ʔu|or∇q∇ (or *ʔu|or∇q∇ʔʔ∇?) 'path, way' > HS: S *ʔuraχ- id. > BHb הַרְאָה 'ʔoraḥ 'way', OA/IA/Plm ʔrḥ, BA הַרְאָה ʔʔ'raḥ, JEA אַהֲרָא ʔor'ḥ-ā, ChrPA ʔωrḥ (em. ʔωrḥʔ), Sr W/E ʔur'ḥ-ā 'road, way', OAk, Ak urχu 'way, path, track' ('Weg, Pfad, Bahn') ¶ KB 83-4, 1673, HJ 106, Sl. 94, Sd. 1429 || EC: Sa/Af {R} a'rāḥ (pl. 'ārōḥ) 'way, path' ('Weg, Pfad, Straße'), Af {PH} araḥ 'place, spot') ? Ged {Hd.} ora 'road' ¶ R S II 45, PH 44, Hd. 258 ¶¶ OS #122 || U: FV {UEW} *ura 'way, path' > F ura id. | Mk {Ps.} u-r, ura-, urkška 'narrow footpath' ¶ UEW 804 || A: NaT *oru|ok, ? *or-gak 'path' > OT oru|oq, Alt, QK oriQ id., Brb oraq, Tlt {RI.} oroq, Shor/Brb {RI.} oraq, Xk oraχ, Yk oroχ 'animals' path' ('Wildpfad'), Bsh Δ uraq 'hare-path, traces of a hare', Tv oruq 'road, way', Tf ɔruq 'road, path' ¶ Cl. 215, Rl. I 1050, 1054, TvR 327, Ra. 212, Tm. 163, ≈ TL 531-2 (unc.: *oroq ← T *or- 'dig') || ?φ D (in SD) *or|ʔuŋk- > Tm oʔuŋkaḯ 'lane, alley', Tu orŋku ~ orʔŋku 'lane, footpath' ⇨ Kn orŋku 'narrow path between two walls in a garden' ¶ The unexpected -ʔ- in Tm or in pSD needs explaining (infl. of SD *vaʔi 'way, road' [see N *wAʔ∇ 'way, path']??) ¶ D #1014 ◇ T *-uḯk and SD *-uḯk- are likely to go back to sxs., unless there was some glottalizing factor (N *-ʔ∇ in *ʔu|or∇q∇ʔʔ∇?) that caused transformation of N *q into *q̣ (whence T and SD *k)*q̣, e.g. N *ʔu|or∇q∇ʔʔ∇. FV {UEW} *ura rules out the possibility of reconstructing N *ʔu|or∇q∇ (with pre-HS deglottalization *-q- > *-q̣- > HS *-χ-).

77. *ʔaRba 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so.', '(?) to use magic tools' > HS: CS *ʔʔrb 'lie in ambush, scheme evil' > BHb אַרְבָּה ʔʔrb G 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for so.', IA אַרְבָּה ʔʔrb 'ambush', Ar ʔʔrb (pf. أَرَبٌ ʔaruba ~ أَرِبٌ ʔariba) 'be cunning', Sf mʔrb 'intrigant, comploteur', Tmd ʔrb 'se mettre en embuscade' ¶ KB 80, KBR 83, JH 23, HJ 101, DRS 31 || U: FU *°arpa (att. in FL) '≈ magic, magic device' > Farpa (gen. arvan) 'lot, magic stick, or any other magic tool for finding hidden things, soothsaying, etc.', arpa-mies 'soothsayer' (mies 'man'), arpo- v. 'cast lots', Es arp 'lot, magic', Lv ar:bī 'witch' | pLp {Lr.} *vōrpē > Lp N {Fri.} vuoʔbbe 'sors secunda, fortuna; anulus orichalci, in membranam tympani magici, quoties pulsabatur, imponendus', {N} vuoʔbe 'a piece of wood, stones, etc., used by persons who are going to cast lots about sth.; lot; destiny', Lp L {LLO} vuoʔpē 'Glück, Los, Geschick' ¶ UEW16, SK 24-5, MF 504-6, Lr.

#1463, Lgc. #8812, Fri. 837 || **A:** T *arba- v. 'make magic, cast spells' > OT arva- (Cl.: arvā-), Chg, Qrg, Qq, Bsh, Xk arba-, ET arba- 𐎠 arva-, SY arva- id., Qzq arba- v. 'tempt, seduce, try to win so. over by deceit', Yk arbā- v. 'flatter, exaggerate', OT arviš 'a magic spell or charm' (𐤁𐤕 Vt urveś, urbeć 'remedy for evil eye'?), Chg arviš-čī 'sorcerer' (a Turkic - most probably, Blgh - word is probably the source of Vt urveś, urbeć 'Waldgeist; a person inflicting illness by magic', Hg orvos, Δ óros, órvas, órvos, urus 'physician', as well as of Blg врач 'sorcerer' and R врач 'physician') ¶ ET Gl 168-70, Rs. W 24, Cl. 199, ≠ EWU 1071-2 ◇ IS I 261-2 (S, FU, T), UEW 16 (FU, T); ≠ LCM. NLP 20 (FU and A cognates "are almost certainly loans") ◇ AD NM #121 ◇ An alt. et.: N *ʔaRpaʔ∇ 'make magic' > **U:** FU *°arpa id. || **A:** T *arba- id. || **HS:** S *√rpʔ v. 'heal, soothe' > Ak √rpʔ G, Ph, Pun √rpʔ, BHb, Sr √rpʔ G, Gz √rfʔ G 'heal', Ar √rfʔ G 'allay the fear of, soothe', Cn 𐤁𐤕 Eg (EgSSc) ḥa-r-fi v. 'heal' (KB 1188, Hlk. #157, SivCR 83). This latter et. is qu., because the primary meaning of S *√rpʔ is likely to be 'repair' (see Ar √rfʔ G 'mend [clothes]', Gz √rfʔ G 'sew, mend').

78. *ʔARČA (or *ʔAČ₁∇₁RA) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose') > **HS:** S *ʔaθar- 'trace, track, place' > Ar ʔaθar- 'vestigium, signum' (and, with a different vowel pattern, ʔiθr- 'vestigium'), Ug 𐎠θr, Pu, Yd, DA ʔšr, OA ʔšr [ʔaθar], IA ʔtr, ʔtrʔ, JA ʔ^at₁r, ʔat₁r-ā, SmA ʔtr, Sr ʔa^at₁r, ʔat₁r-ā 'place', Gz ʔašar (etymologically erroneous spelling) ~ ʔasar 'path, trace, track', Amh asər 'footprint', Ak ašr-u 'place, site; region, country'; WS *√ʔθr v. 'follow the traces, choose' > Gz √ʔšr G (erroneous spelling for √ʔsr) v. 'follow the traces', Tgr √ʔsr (pf. ʔasrə), Tgy √ʔsr (pf. ʔassərə) v. 'follow the traces', Ar √ʔθr (pf. ʔaθara) v. 'choose' ¶ JH 27-8, HJ 125-8, OLS 61-2, LG 45, Sl. 179, Lv. I 156, Tal 74, Fr. I 12-3, Br. 55-6, Sd. 82-3, CAD I/1 456-60, DRS 37 || **K:** G arč-eva 'Wahl, Erwählung, Auswahl' ¶ Chx. 36 || **D** *a₃ʒa 'trace' (× D *anča 'foot' < N *ʔAN₃∇ ≈ ε foot', q.v.) > Kt a₃ 'footprint', Tu a₃æ 'footprint, track, trace', Tl a₃ja 'footprint' ¶ ≈ DED App. #6 (derives the D root from InA paḍyā 'footsteps', F Tu. #7778).

79. *ʔar₁∇₁ka (or *yar₁∇₁ka?) 'see, observe' > **IE:** NaIE *re(:)g- (< **ʔreg-) v. 'see, observe' > pAl {O} *rāg₁na > Al: StAl T ruaj, T {Kf} ruanj, Gruej 'guard, keep, observe' || Lt regéti (1s prs. regiù), Ltv redzēt 'to see', Lt rāgana 'witch' (cp. NHG böser Blick),

régimas 'visible, apparent' || Gmc: ON rækja, AS rēcan, OHG ruohhen, OSx rōkian v. 'care', OHG ruoh > MHG ruoch 'care' || Gk ἄ-ρήσω 'I help, save' (< *sm̥-rēg- 'co-observe?'), ἄρωγή 'help, aid, protection', ἄρωγός adj. 'aiding' ¶ Mn. 1065, FI 137, Vr. 45, Ho. S 61, OsS 730-1, Kb. 813, Frn. 712-3, Ç II 82, 447, Kf. 299, O 374; WP II 366 and P 54 (Al and Blt only) || HS: C {AD} *✓r^rK^r > EC *ark- v. 'see' > Sml ark-, inv. árag, Rn inv. řágar, pl. řárga, Bn inv. řárk, pl. řárka, Arr řārg-, Dsn řárig, Elm amán-arg-e 'see', pOr *arg- id. > Or arg-, Kns, Gdl akk- (acc. to Ss., EC *řarg-, but *g is questiobale), Dl: Hr/Dbs/Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} řar- 'know' || ?ϕ SC: WRt *řar- 'see' > Irq {Mgh.} řar-, {MQK} ar-, Grw/Alg {Wh.} ar-, Brn arim- ¶ MQK 15, Wh. IC 56, E SC 286 || Ag: Xm T {CR} arek-, {Bnd.} arq^w v. 'know', Xm {R} ar(e)q- 'learn (erfahren), understand, know', Bln {R} ar^r- v. 'know' ¶ AD SF 201-2, Ss. B 26, Bl. 195, 250, Hn. S 52, PG 68, Sim 7, 9, 13, Hw. A 336, To. DL 322, 479, AMS 280, Blz. CL 180 || A: NaT *arka- > OT {Cl.} arqā- 'search, investigate', MU arqa- 'search, look for' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 54 || D *ār-āy- v. 'examine, search, look for' > Tm ārāy v. 'investigate, examine, seek', Ml ārāyka v. 'seek, examine', Kt a'ryek 'carefullness', Kn āray(y)u v. 'search, investigate, take care of', Tu ārayu- v. 'expect, look for, desire', Tl ārayu, arayu v. 'think, consider, search, examine, know, see, observe', Knd rey v. 'search for', but D *ar̥i-, {GS} *yer̥d- v. 'know, find out, search' is likely to go back rather to N *^war[∇] 'look, watch', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D #377, ≠ Km. 289 [#64] (hyp.: cd. *āra 'fully' [cp. Tl āru- v. 'become full'] + *-āy- v. 'select, choose, examine') ◇ N *^r- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE (the IE reflex of N *^r is the only IE lr. that is reduced to zero when not adjacent to a vw.) and C (EC *^r- may go back to N *^r-, *h-, or *y-).

80. (₂?) *^rarH₂[∇]m[∇] (H₂ = *h?) 'upper part of a limb' > HS: Eg fP rmn 'upper arm, shoulder' ¶ EG II 418, Fk. 149 || IE: NaIE *arāmo-/*r̥mo- ({EI} IE *^harHmos ~ *^hr̥Hmos) 'arm' > OI īr'mah^h 'arm', Av ar^əmō 'Arm', Oss ärm 'hohle Hand' || L armus 'the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder-blade' || ? Gk ἄρμός 'shoulder-joint; joint (in masonry)' (with a puzzling irreg. h-) || Pru írmo 'arm', Ltv ģrmi 'part of a wagon to which the shaft is attached', Lt armaĩ {P} 'Vorderarm am Wagen', {Fm.} 'Teil des die Deichsel haltenden Wagenteils' || Sl {Glh.} *ōrmę (gen. *ōrmene, pl. *ōrmena) ~ *ōrmo 'shoulder' > OCS pamo ramo, OR pama ramo (pl. ramena), R † pamo (pl. pameha), Uk

рам'я, рамено, Blg ramo, SCr rãme (pl. rãmena), Slv ráme, Cz ramě, Slk ramä, Pramię || Gt arms, ON armr, OHG arm, AS earm, NHG Arm 'arm', NE arm || Arm **արմուկն** aʁm-ukn 'elbow, forearm' ¶ P 58-9, EI 26, M K I 96, WH I 69, ≈ F I 144, Fs. 58, Vr. 14, Ho. 86, KM 30, EWA I 331-3, Jah. OSK 14, 49, ≈ Frn. 16 (hyp.: Lt armaĩ ← NGr OP arme 'ε part of a wagon', but why not NGr OP ← Lt?), En. 184, Tp. P I-K 68-70, ME I 575-6, Vs. III 440-1, Glh. 517-8 || ?σ,φ **U** *ńārmä 'groin' > FP *ńārmä (× N ?σ,φ *ńāgoR∇ 'groin, small abdominal organs [kidneys, pancreas, and sim.], q.v. [eU *ā < **ā < *-āgo-]) > FP *ńārmä > F näärvä 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ näärän (gen. näärämen) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es nääre (gen. nääreme) 'Halsdrüse' || Lp T {Gn.} rñāīrme 'Schambug, Schamleiste' || pObU {Ht.} *ńīrm∇ > pOs *ńāram 'Leistengegend, Ende des Oberschenkels' > Os Nz ńōram, Os O ńārem id.; pVg *ńīrām 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO нюрмъ, Vg N {Mu.} rñārem ≈ [ńāram] ◇ The origin of the U initial *ń- is not yet clear; it may go back (together with the length of the vw. of the 1st syll.) to an initial component of a N set phrase *ń∇... 'ʔ' aR_H₂∇m∇.

81. *ʔo'ru' 'antelope, deer, mountain goat' > HS: S *ʔarway- > Amr {G} ʔarwiyum 'gazelle', Ak arwium~ arwûm 'gazelle (male)', Ar **أرويّة** ʔurwīyat- (pl. **أروى** ʔarwā) 'mountain goat' ({Fr.} 'capra montana, rupicapra'), Gz **አርዌ** ʔarwē 'beast, animal']?? Ak armu 'mountain ram', Sr ʔarn-ā 'mountain goat' ¶ Fr. IV 214, LG 40, KB 85, DRS 32, G A 13, Sd. 69-70, 73, CAD I/2 294, Br. 50, JPS 29 ¶ In MAk (after the phonologic merger of -w- and -m-) Ak arwû merged with Ak armû 'gazelle' (connected with Ak armu 'mountain ram'?) || C: ?? Bj {R} ra 'Ariel-Antilope' or 'Antilope Someringii' || Dhl {EEN} ʔārōle 'eland' ¶ R WBd 188, E SC 287, EEN 20 || **A:** M: WrM oruḡu, HIM, Brt opoḡo 'ε small dark antelope with long flat horns', ⇨ WrMc opoḡo {STM} 'wild goat, wild mountain ram (каменный баран)', {Hr.} 'schwarze Hirschziegenantilope', {Z} 'wild dark-coloured ram, resembling a chamois' ¶ MED 623, Chr. 362, KW 289 || Tg *oron 'reindeer' > Ewk oron, Lm or̃n, Neg oyon, Orc oro, Ud oro~olo, Ul oro(n-), Nn or̃ 'domestic reindeer', WrMc oron buxu id. ¶ STM II 24-5, Z 132, Hr. 741 ¶ ≈ DQA #629 (A *or∇ 'deer, antelope'; incl. M, Tg) || **D** *Uḡ-ay-, 'deer' > Tm ur̃ay, Tu ur̃æ, ul̃e, {BhK} ul̃e 'deer', Prj ur̃up 'spotted deer' ¶ D #694 ◇ AD NM #5, S CNM 5 (suggests to add T *ar-kun 'cross-bread horse' and *ar-ga-mak 'stallion'), Vv. AEN 368.

82. *ʔūr̥ or ***ʔur̥E** 'top' > **HS**: C: EC *ʔurr- 'top' > Dsn ʔúr-ru 'sky, high', Elm urr-u 'above', Brj urr-a 'mountain', Or urr-atta 'clouded mountain top', ? 'fog', ? DL: Gln ʔurr-atte 'cloud', Hr, Dbs ʔurr-ačče 'cloud, fog'; EC *ʔirr- > Or irr-a 'on top of', Kns irr-ōta 'mountain', ?σ Sa, Af ir-0 'outside, away, abroad' ¶ Ss. B 184, To. DL 485 || B *wHu|ir (× N ***H₁erU** 'ascend, rise' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} āwr (pf. iwār) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} war (pf. iwār) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty əwəɣ id., 'être levé (lune, soleil)' ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 || **A**: T *ū́r- 'top' > SY yūz, Chv vir 'top' (× N ***p₁or^áʔ** 'summit, top'???) ; -d> T *ū́r̥ä 'above, on high, on' > NaT *ü:zā > OT üzā 'above, on high', ET Δ {Jr.} ūzε, Ln üzä, SY üze 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 yūze, Ln üzä, Yk ū̄sā ~ ūsā 'top, upper part, upper surface', ET {Nj.} üzä 'superficial', {Nj.} üzrā, ET Δ {Jr.} ūzεε 'on, upon'; NaT **üz-t > *üst > OT üst, Tk ūst, Tkm üßt, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET {Nj.} üst, Uz ust 'top; upper part \ surface' ¶ Cl. 242, 280-1, DTS 629, ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Ml. ZhU 45-6, Nj. 124, 126, Jr. 328, ≠ Jeg. 54, ≠ Fed. I 124 ¶ The length of *ū (evidenced by Yk) may be due to the initial Ir. || pKo {S} *ōr^á-v. 'rise' (× N ***H₁erU** 'go upwards, rise', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #1607 (A *ṓrí 'to rise, up'; incl. T, Ko) || **IE**: Ht aru- 'high' (× N ***H₁erU** '↑' [q.v.]) || ?σ NaIE *wer- 'knob' ({EI} IE *w₁ros 'pimple') > L vārus 'rash\pimples on the face', varulus 'sty (in the eye)' || Lt vīras, Lt E virũs '(pig's) measles' || AS wer-næzl 'abscess' > NE warnel, Dt weer 'callosity', Nr Δ vere 'tumor under cow's skin' || Tc B yoro ≈ pustule, boil' ¶ P 1151, EI 523, WH II 734, Ad. 512.

83. (₂?) *ʔūr̥w̥ 'large feline' > **HS**: CS *ʔar^ʔay- 'lion' or sim. > BHb 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 ʔar^ʔyē, 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 ʔar^ʔrī 'lion', Ph 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀, Ug 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀, BA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 ʔar^ʔyē, pl. ʔar^ʔyāwā'tā, JA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 ʔar^ʔyā, SmA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 ʔryh, Sr ʔar^ʔyā 'lion', as well as Gz ʔarwē 'wild beast' (× N ***ʔor^ʔu** 'antelope, deer, mountain goat'); ? Cn -b> Eg N ʔr 'lion' ¶ KB 85, HJ 104, Sl. 166, Tal 61, A 13, DRS 32, EG I 106 || Eg fP, DEg rω 'lion' ¶ EG II 403, Er. 243 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} ʔórúwà, Mgm {J} ʔá̄r̄úm 'lion', Tmk {Cp.} ʔr̄w 'leopard' || ?? CCh: MsgP {Tm.} àhìráw, {Mch.} ahraw id. | Lmn {Lk.} ʔrvárè 'lion' | Mdr {ChL} ʔuruv^wʔrì, {Mch.} ʔrvare, Glv {Rp.} ár̄vara, {ChL} árvarà, Gv {ChL} ʔúrvarà, Dgh {Frk.} rvíre, {ChL} àrvíre id. | Lgn {Lk.} r̄vəni id. ¶ ChC, JI II 223, 227, ChL, Cp. 59 || **D** {Tr., GS} *uṛuv- 'tiger' > Tm uruvai, TI duvvu, Klm duv, dū, Gnd dū, dūal 'tiger', duwāl, duwal 'panther' ¶¶ D #692, GS 224-5 [#551] || **A**: ?σ,φ T *irbi^ʔ or *irbilç 'leopard' > OT

irbič~irbiš id., OT U [TT] {BG} irpiz 'lynx (?)', Tv irbiš 'leopard' ¶ Cl. 199, ET Gl 346, TL 156-7, ≠ Mng. G 730 → S CNM 9 (both suggest that ilbirs is a tabooistically corrupted form of *jolbars), ≠ Vv. AEN 10 (qualifies OT irbiš as a "ghost" word, but it is quoted in this form in Cl. 199; this š [if true] is from *lç) ◇ ≈ AD NM #3, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST).

84. *ʔ'ä'ś'o' 'stay, be' (IS: ← 'settle') > HS *ʔiš- v. 'be, exist': S *ʔiš- v. 'have', 'exist' > Ak (-)iš- (inf. iš ū) v. 'have', "prefixed stative" tīšū 'you (sg.) have', Ak MB stative 1s iš-ākū 'I have'; S 3m *'y-išū 'he has', 'it has' → 'there is' (cp. Fr il y'a, Port tem 'there is') > Ak {CAD} išū, {Sd.} īšū 'he has', BHb 𐤒𐤓 yeš, SmHb yaš 'there is, it exists', SmA yš 'there is'; S adj. *ʔayš-(um) 'existing' (*lā ʔayš-(um) 'non existing' > Ak laššū(m) 'non existing', 'is not', 'there is not'), in the predicative case S *ʔayš-a 'there is' (> Ar ʔaysa 'there is'), S *lā ʔayša 'there is not' > Ar laysa, OA 𐤒𐤓 lyš id., Ak laš (spelled la-aš) 'is not, there is not'. The semantic development of the word in HS and S is connected with the complicated syntactic history of these lgs.: in my opinion, at the ancient stage the prefix-conjugated verbs were dative-oriented (similar to the ergative syntactic orientation): *yī-wdař meant 'tibi notus est, tibi visus est' → later 'you know' (like in the history of pIE *wōyd-a), hence *y(i)- meant 'to him', and *y-išū meant 'ei est, 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓'. Later there was a syntactic revolution, namely a reinterpretation of dative-oriented sentences into nominative-oriented, so that the personal pxs. (*ʔa- 'to me', *ti- 'to you', *yī- 'to him', etc.) were reinterpreted as markers of the nominative subject (*ʔa- 'I', *yī- 'he', etc.), whence, in line with the general development, *yīšū 'ei est' was reinterpreted as 'he\it has' (a meaning preserved in Ak). But at the same time the S form *yīšū had a fossilized WS semantic variant (not any more a conjugated verb form) that escaped the abovementioned syntactic reinterpretation and preserved its original meaning 'il'y a' (on the "nominative syntactic revolution" in HS see AD PP, esp. p. 96). In addition, the same HS stem has a different S reflex, namely *ʔīθay 'there is' > BA 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓, JEA 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓, Sr 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓, SmA 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓, Ug 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 (= {Blau} *ʔīθē), BHb 𐤒𐤓 ~ 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 'there is'. The enigmatic *θ of this form goes back to HS *č and is likely to be due to some sx. (or infix) containing *t at the pre-S (HS?) level: **-t-š- → **-š-t- > *-č- > S *-θ-. ¶ Cf. Blau MS II 58-62, KB 423, 1665, KBR 443-4, KB LVT 1049, OLS 60, BH IV 130, Tal 25, 363, G OA 72-3, CAD VII 289-93, Sd. G §§ 78b, 106r, Sd. 402-3, 539, Fr. I 75 and IV 140, Br. 16 || ?σ B {θPr.} *-h,śuH v. 'arrive' > Ah as id., ETwl/Ty asu

(Pcj. I A 10 = *-HCuC- structure), Gd ās, Gh, Nf, Kb, Mz as v. 'arrive, come', ?? Zng {TC} eššī-ddeh 'come'; the pB lr., symbolized by Pr. as *h₁, regularly represents pHS *ʔ ʃ Fc. 1794-5, GhA 168, Pr. M VI-VII122, Nh. 213, Lf. II #1411, Dl. 752, Dlh. M 182, DCTC 286 || C: EC *ʔ∇š|s- (v. 'be\stay [somewhere]' →) v. 'spend the day' > Af {PH} as-e, Sa {R} as-, Sd {C, Mrn.}, Kmb {C, Mrn.}, Ged {Mrn.} os-, Hd {PB} oss- v. 'spend\pass the day'; the ancient meaning 'be\stay' is still present in Af {PH} as-e ...-k v. 'be absent from' (-k means 'from', the construction literally means 'be out of') ʃ C SE II 191, C S 656, PB 140, PH 46, R S II 48, Mrn. S s.v. os-, Mrn. ApCA s.v. os- || K: Sv l-äsω 'was' (ipf. of a copulative verb), -esω (conjunctive of the same verb, 3s l-esω) ʃ Top. SE 249, GP US 53-4 || IE *ʔes-/ʔs- ({EI} *h₁es-: 3s *h₁esti, 3p *h₁senti) > IE *ʔes-/ʔs- v. 'be' (prs. 1s *ʔes-mi 'I am', 3s *ʔes-ti 'is', 3p *ʔs-enti~*ʔs-onti); e.g. S *ʔes-ti 'is' > Ht es-zi, NaIE *esti > OI asti, Gk ἔσται, L est, Osc íst, Gt ist, Lt Δ ēsti, ēst, Sl *es-tb (> OCS ѣctь jestь), etc.; IE 3p *ʔs-enti~*ʔs-onti 'sunt' > NaIE *s-enti~*s-onti > OI 'santi, Gk D ἔνται (< *senti), L sunt, Um sent, Gt sind, OCS cътъ sqтъ, etc.; Ht asa-nzi 'sunt' with its *0-grade for the expected zero-grade is innovational (?). The pIE lr. *ʔ- is suggested by the fact that in the zero-grade it did not become *ə, but was reduced to zero. In my opinion, there was an Early IE lr. *ʔ- (< N *ʔ-) that, unlike other lrs., was reduced to zero in unstressed positions (not adjacent to a vw.) where other lrs. became *ə. It is not clear if IE *ʔēs- v. 'be seated' (> [prs. 3s] OI āstē, Av āste, Gk ἕσται) is a Dehnstufe of the same IE √ or belongs to a different N etymon (see N *ʔis∇ 'to sit', 'seat') ʃ P 340-3, EI 53, BD II/3 595-642, Bks. 228, M KI 67, FI 463-4, Fs. 292, Frn. 124, Bc. G 334, Pv. I-II 285-300 || U *ʔa¹ś¹u|o¹- v. 'be somewhere, settle, dwell' > FP *āše- (in Lp and Mr) ~ *aś∇- (in BF) > Vo asa₁- vi. 'settle': a₁lud asā₁b 'beer is settling', F asu- v. 'reside, inhabit', as-etta- (causative?) v. 'put, place', ase-ma 'place', F Δ as-e- (with a factitive sx.?) v. 'prepare a sauna' (← v. 'put, set'), Es asu- vi. 'be, be found, lie, dwell, settle', ase, asu 'place' | pLp {Lr.} *ās3 > Lp N {N} āssâ- / āsâ- 'live, dwell, settle, settle down', Lp L (h)assā- 'sich niederlassen, ansässig werden', Lp N {N} āssâm-sāggje 'place of residence' (the Lp forms are not necessarily loans from F, as assumed by Coll. [FUV], Rédei, and Lr., but may well go back to FU *āše- v. 'dwell, reside' and *āše-mā 'place', esp. in view of the exact sound corrs. between Lp N āssâm and Mk äžam) | Mk эзем äžam, Δ yäžam,

Er эзем ežem 'place' (< *äše-mä) || Sm *°išъ-у- {Jn., p.c.} > Ne T {Ter.} ηεσο- 'settle and build a tent (ОСТАНОВИТЬСЯ ЧУМОМ)' (of nomads), T O {Lh.} ηæσο 'haltmachen und ein Zelt oder Zelte errichten' ¶¶ Coll. 4, SK 26, W EDW 64-5, Slv. 28-9, Lr. #62, Lgc. #261, Lh. 26, Ter. 422, ≈ Coll. CG 405, UEW 18-9, Ker. II 39 ¶¶ The rec. of vowels in this √ is problematic, since the vowels observed in the daughter lgs. deviate from the known sound corr. Collinder (CG) and Rédei (UEW) reconstructed here {Coll.} *aśe- (*aśa₁- of my notation) and {UEW} *aśe-; Rédei tried to explain the front vw. in Mr by the ass. infl. of -ś- (which would have been irreg., since in many roots *a remained unchanged before ś); their rec. gives no explanation to the Samoyed vowel. Jn. {p. c.} reconstructs U *išī-, since in his theory (Jn. UK) there is a reg. corr. between FP *a---*e and Sm *ī---ъ, interpreted as pU *ī---ī. But his theory (even if it is true) does not account for ε, e in Mr; IS and Dybo reconstruct here pre-harmonic U *e...A, which after harmonic levelling gave rise to *a in BF and *e in Mr. But in this case there is no explanation for Sm *ī. I share the opinion of IS and Dybo assuming that the cause for irregularity lies in the interaction of Early U vowels of both syllables, but I suppose that the first vw. has been preserved without ass. changes in Mr and probably in Lp (U *ä) and has changed into *a in BF (due to vowel harmony) and into *ī (probably high back vw.) in Sm due to the infl. of the U high back *-u (or mid back *-o). If the final vw. was *-u, F and Es aсу- v. 'dwell, reside' preserve the old vw., but reinterpret it as a sx. of intransitivity\passivity (infl. of other words with the sx. -u) ◇ AD LRC #78 (IE, U, S), IS I 268-70 (HS: S, B, C, Ch [highly questionable]; IE, U, K), GP US 54 (K, S, IE). The rec. of the N final labialized vw. is based on the ev. of B and K, as well as on my preliminary rec. of the U stem. This labialized vw. could have been only N *o rather than *u or *ü, since N *u and *ü would have yielded *w/u/ow in IE, while N *o yields no consonantal traces in IE (F AD NVIE) ◇ IS l.c. supposed that the original meaning of the word was 'to settle' (of nomads), apparently suggested by U (Lp, Sm 'settle', etc.) and B ('arrive'). This is not certain because an opposite semantic change ('stay' → 'begin to stay' → 'settle, arrive') is possible too (cp. L fuit pfc. 'was' > Sp fue 'went') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #28 (*es 'be').

85. *ʔis▽ (or *ʔiʔs▽?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis') > HS: S *ʔišš- ~ *ʔušš- 'basis, foundation' > Ar ʔuss- ~ ʔiss- id., BA ʔoš* (att. forms: pl. em. אֲשֵׁר אֲשֵׁר ʔušš-ay|y-ā 'Grundfeste', אֲשֵׁר אֲשֵׁר ʔušš'šōhī 'seine Grundfeste'),

OAk $u\acute{s}\acute{s}um$, Ak $u\check{s}\check{s}u$ (mostly in pl.) 'Fundament' ¶ BK I 31, GB 896-7, Sd. 1442, DRS 35-6 || ? C: Bj {R} $-s\bar{a}^?$ pcv. md. (1s p. $a-'s\bar{a}^?$, prs. $'\bar{e}s\bar{t}\bar{i}^?$ ~ $es't\bar{i}^?$) 'sit, dwell' || EC: Elm $a'siya$, Arr {Hw.} $siy^?-/si\bar{d}i-$ 'sit down' ¶ R WbD 194, Hw. A 393, Hn. E 282, Blz. CL 180 || Ch: Ke {Eb.} $3s-$, ÍsÍ 'sich niederlassen, (sich) ansiedeln', 's'asseoir, s'installer', Ís $\check{z}\bar{e}^?í$ 'sit down' ¶ Eb. 58 || IE $*\bar{p}\bar{e}s-$ v. 'be seated' ({EI} $*h_1\bar{e}s-$ 'sit') > NaIE $*\bar{e}s-$ (only md.) 'be seated' > OI $'\bar{a}s-t\bar{e}$, Av $\bar{a}s\bar{t}e$ id. || Gk A $\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ 'he is seated' (h- from $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'sit' < IE $*sed-$) || Ht $es-$, $as-$ v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside', OHt $es-$, $as-$ id., v. 'sit down, be seated', HrLw $\acute{a}s-$ v. 'sit, sit down', $\acute{a}s\bar{a}-s$ 'seat'; acc. to Pv., the apophony goes back to $*\bar{e}/*\bar{E}_1$ alternation; Oettinger reconstructs here IE $*E_1eE_1s-$ ¶ P 342-3, EI 522, M KI 84, FI 633-4, Ch. 411-2, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. EI 110-1, Oett. IGS 112, Mer. HHG 35 ¶¶ This IE \check{v} may either belong here or be a variant (NaIE Dehnstufe?) of $*\bar{p}es-$ / $*\bar{p}s-$ v. 'be' (< N $*\bar{p}'\bar{a}'\acute{s}'o'$ 'stay, be' [q.v.]). Both hypotheses have their drawbacks: in the former case it is still hard to explain IE $*\bar{e}$ for the expected $*e\bar{I}$ (\mathcal{F} AD PIEG), while in the latter case we should not expect $*\bar{a}$ - as the zero-grade (in Ht $as-$), but rather a zero vw. (< $*\bar{E}_1-$ < N $*\bar{p}-$). This $*\bar{a}$ is likely to suggest the presence of a postvoc. N lr. (N $*\bar{p}i\bar{p}s\nabla$ > IE {Oett.} $*E_1eE_1s-$), possibly preserved (with mt.) in Bj. A possible solution for the enigmatic NaIE $*\bar{e}$ is mt. in IE (N $*\bar{p}is\nabla$ > Bj $\check{v} s^?$, IE {Oett.} $*E_1eE_1s-$) || U: FV $*is\nabla-$ v. 'sit, sit down' > F $istu-$ v. 'sit', Es $istu-$ v. 'sit, sit down' || Er/Mk $oz\bar{a}$ 'sit down', Er $ozado$, Mk $ozada$ 'in sitzender Stellung, in sitting position, сидя' ¶ UEW 629, ERV 432-3 || ? E: MEI $u\check{s}-ta-na$ 'Sockel, Fundament' ¶¶ HK 1251.

86. $*\bar{p}\bar{u}s\nabla$ 'fire' > HS: S $*\bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-$, $*\bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}_j-\bar{a}t-$ 'fire' > BHb $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}e\check{s}$ (with a short e, evidenced by SmHb $a\check{s}$ 'fire'), +ppa. $\bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-$: $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{o}$ 'his fire', pl. [BS] $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{o}t$, Ph $\bar{p}\check{s}$, Ug $\bar{p}i\check{s}t$, (AkSc) $i-\check{s}i-tu$, OA $\bar{p}\check{s}$, BA em. $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}e\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{a}$, IA $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}\check{s}h$, em. $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}\check{s}t-$, SmA $\bar{p}\check{s}$ ({Tal} = $a\check{s}$), $\bar{p}\check{s}h$, JA $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{a}$, $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}i\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{a}t-\bar{a}$, Sr $\text{𐤒𐤍} \bar{p}e\check{s}\check{s}-\bar{a}t-\bar{a}$, Gz $\bar{p}\check{s}\check{s}at$, Tgr, Amh $\bar{p}\check{s}\check{s}at$, Har $\bar{p}\check{s}\check{s}at$, $\bar{p}is\bar{a}t$, OAk $i\check{s}um$, Ak $i\check{s}\bar{a}tu(m)$, Eb {Krb.} $\bar{p}i\check{s}\bar{a}tum$ 'fire' ¶ KB 89, BH IV 34, GB 69, 897, Blau MS II 62-7 (hyp.: $*\bar{p}i\check{s}-$ with a short $*\check{s}$, Hb and Aram gemination is secondary), A #436, OLS 57-8, Hnr. 110, Sl. 126, Tal 67, JH 27, HJ 121, LG 44, CAD VII 227-233, Sd. 392-3, G OA 72, DRS 35-6 || WCh {Stl.} $*wusi$ 'fire' > AG: Ang, Gmy, Su, Ywm $w\grave{u}s$, Tal $w\acute{o}s$ || Ron: Klr $w\acute{u}\check{s}$ || BT: Gera {Sch.} $w\grave{u}s\acute{i}$, Krkr {Lk.} $y\grave{e}s\acute{i}$, ϵsi , {Kr.} $\bar{p}\grave{e}s\acute{i}$, Ngm $y\grave{e}s\grave{i}$, Krf {Sch.}, Glm {Sch.} $w\grave{u}\check{s}\acute{i}$, Bele {Sch.} $\grave{u}h\acute{i}$, Grm {Sch.} $\grave{u}\check{s}\acute{i}$, Pr {Frz.} $w\acute{u}\check{z}\acute{i}$, Bl $w\check{o}si$;

SBc: Grn {Sh.} ǐšǐ, Grn Mb {Sh.} ǐšǐ ¶ Stl. ZCh 238 [#849], JI II 138, ChL, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 144, Sh. SB 24 || U: FU: [1] (att. in Ugr) *üs∇- v. 'fire (a hearth, etc.), kindle the fire, heat, be very hot' > pOs {Stn.} *ũ∅- ({{JHl. *ũ∅-}) v. 'fire (oven, etc.), kindle the fire' = 'heizen (den Ofen, Tschuval), Feuer anmachen' > Os: V/Vy ǒl-, Lk ǒθ-, Ty/Y ǒ∅-, I (D, etc.) at-, Nz/Sh ǎt-, Kz ǎl-, O ǎl- id. | OHg izzad- 'sehr hitzig sein, sehr warm sein', Hg izzad- v. 'sweat' || [2] (att. in Prm) ?φ *°äsâ > Prm {LG} *ēs- 'ignite' > Z 3zyt- 'catch fire', caus. 3zt- 'ignite, kindle', Yz 'ǒzt∧-tn+ 'kindle fire \ a bonfire', Vt est- 'stoke', Vt Kz ezɔl- 'auftauen, schmelzen' ¶ The shift *ü > *ä still needs explaining ¶ MF 334-5, Stn. D 64, Hl. rHt 71, ≈ UEW 27, LG 210, Lt. Y 157 || ? A: AdS of T *hIS-s- /hIS-sü- v. 'heat', *hIS-su-∅- / *hIS-sü-∅- 'hot' ({Md.} *i:ssig ~ *i:ssig) 'warm' (< N *p.ósǐ 'be hot\warm', q.v. ffd.) || D *rǐ²- 'fire' > Mnd iske 'fire', Png iske ǒǐpoli, iski-dipuli 'fire-fly', Klm isre 'glow-worm' ¶¶ The apparent delabialization N *ü > D *rǐ¹ needs explaining ¶¶ D #428 ◇ This N word is to be distinguished from N *h¹aš¹o¹ 'burn' (of fire) (q.v.). Cf. otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. *ʔaSa 'fire' ◇ Cf. ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#101] (unconvincingly equates the above HS, D, FU, and T roots with the IE and M reflexes of N *h¹aš¹o¹ 'burn' [of fire]).

87. *rǐ¹∇s∇ 'they' > K *°-∇s: Mg -es / -is, Lz -es, 3p aor.: Mg čv-es vt. 'they burnt\baked', čar-es 'they wrote', ibir-es 'they sang', tkvi-is 'they said', Lz čar-es 'scripserunt'; Mg -d-es, Lz -t-es, 3p ipf.: Mg dvan-d-es 'mittebant', Lz čarum-t-es 'scribebant' ¶ Q O62-5, Marr 50-1, Kiz. ZJ 69-71 || IE: [1] *-es (< **-ʔes), nom. pl. com. of nominal parts of speech and participles > AnIE: Ht -es ~ -is, Pal -us id. || NaIE nom. pl. m./f. *-es (with consonantic stems) > OI -as, Gk -ες, Gt -s, L -es, Osc -s, ON -r, Lt -es, OCS -e; with *-o-stems: *-ōs (< *-o-es) > OI -ās, Osc -úς, Gt -ōs, ON -ar; with *-ā-stems: *-ās (< -ā-es) > OI -ās, Osc -AS, Gt -ōs, Lt -os || [2] *-n-s (< *-m accus. + *-s pl.), accus. pl. com. (of nominal parts of speech and participles) > AnIE: Ht -us, Lv -anza (whence nom. pl. -anzǐ), HrLw -aⁿzǐ (→ nom. pl. -aⁿzǐ) || NaIE *-ŋ-s accus. pl. m./f. of consonantic stems > Gt -ns, OI -as, Gk -ας, L -ēs (→ nom. pl. -ēs), Osc -s, Um -F, Lt -is; *-o-n-s with *-o-stems > OI -ān, Gk -ονς (> Gk A -ους), L -ōs, Gt -ōs, etc. ¶¶ The presence of *-e- in *-es and the vowel lengthening in *-ōs, *-ās suggest a pre-IE initial *ʔ- (otherwise the pl. ending would have been *-s, like in nom. sg.), but the

absence of vowels in the accus. pl. *-n-s is still to be explained ¶ Mer. SGA 275, 282-4, Brg. KVG 390-9, Bks. 173, 191-2, Bc. G 113-30 || **A:** T: Chv † {Ash.} -əś ~ -əž_ə 'their', Chv -əś (3p ending of verbs in aor., ft., and conjunctive) ¶ Rs. MTS 201-3, Andr. ChJ 487, Ash. MI 305 ¶ The palatality of Chv -ś needs investigating || M *-s, pl. of nouns: MM [MA] üge-s 'words', [S] ere-s, WrM ere-s 'men', HIM {Pp.} ūles 'mountains', Kl zaŭ-s 'young men', Mgl tākā-z 'bucks', Ord eme-s 'women' ¶ Pp. IM 177-8 || ?σ Tg {Bz.} coll. *-sa / *-se: Tg *uŭ-se 'meat' > Ul uŭsɜ, Ud uŭzʰɜ, Ewk uŭŭɜ, Lm ulrə, and probably Sln uldi ~ uldɜ; *χol-sa 'fish' (coll.) > Ud oŭoʰo 'cooked fish' and possibly Nn Nh/KU, Ork χolto, Ul χolto(n-) 'fish'; the forms with -lt- and -ld- belong here only if they may be traced back to *-l-s- (as suggested by Bz.: "in sehr vielen Fallen ist das Suffix durch Assimilationserscheinungen verdeckt und nicht leicht zu erkennen" [Bz. 69]) ¶ Bz. 69, STM II 14, 262 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ § 25, Pp. PSA || **U:** FU: Prm: Z -ɜś, pl. of adjective: žėñ+d-ɜś 'short' (pl.) | hardly here pPrm *-yōs∇ (pl. of nouns) (> Z -yas, Z Ud -yɜs, Prmk -ez ~ -yɛz, Yz -yōz, Vt -yos, -os); Rd. believes that this sx. goes back to pPrm {Rd.} *yōs∇, {LG} yōz- 'Glieder, Gelenk' (presumably akin to F jäser 'joint of limbs, member'); in any case, Prm *-s- in *-yōs∇ does not correspond etymologically to K *-s- in *-∇s ¶ LtT 873, Bat. KZJ 220, Rd. GPS 379-80, LG 112 || **HS:** pCh (in WCh) {Kr.} *sun 'they', *su(n) 'their, them' (in some Ch lgs. postnominal, pre- and post-verbal) > [1] *sun 'they' > Hs su | Fy {J} sún, Bks {J} sín | Krkr du-su | Ngz ak-šì | Dw suŋ, Gj si, Sy yà-šâ | [2] *su(ŋ) 'them' > Hs su | Bl, Krkr su, Ngm nsû | Ngz ak-šì | Sy šì, Gj sî, Dw -suŋ-nàk | [3] *su(n) 'their' > Hs su | Bl (s)su, Ngm ŋsu, Krkr su | Ngz -k-šì | Sy yà-sŋ, Dw gù-suŋ, Plc g+-s+n, Gj gʷà-s+n | Fy {J} -ùs, Bks {J} -is; ¶ Kr. RChP ∇, J R ◇ IS MsN (*S in IE, T, Tg, Mg), Gr. I 116-7 ("plural S" in IE, A, Aleut, ? Prm).

88. ₂ *ʷi|üś'U'ɥ∇ 'to sweep, to rake' > HS *sūɥ- ({AD} *s₂ūɥ-) > WS *šūɥ- (= *√šwɥ) v. 'make raking\rowing\sweeping movements' > BHb -šūɥ- (√šwɥ) v. 'row', MHb -šūɥ- (√šwɥ G) 'row, fly, float, swim', MHb √šwɥ Po 'swim', EpJA √šwɥ Po (šwɥɥ) 'roam', JBA {Sl.} √šwɥ G 'fly', JA {Js.} √šwɥ D 'roam, fly, swim, row', Sr šuŭāɥ-əɥ-ā 'weaver's comb\shuttle', CPA √šwɥ 'rove about, umherstreifen', Md √šwɥ G 'move hither and thither, fly, flow', Ar √swɥ (ip. yā-sūɥ-u) v. 'mix up', Gz √swɥ (pf. sōɥa, js. yā-sūɥ) 'mix, add' ¶ ≈ KB 1336-7, HJ 1116, Sl. 1116, Js. 1531, DM 454, BK 1164-5, LG 521 || Ch {JS} *√s₃ɥ

v. 'sweep' > WCh: Hs šǎřè, Klr šùt, Kir sàdé, Zar sat id. || CCh: Mdr šaḍ- a v. 'sweep', Glv šʰèḍì-, Dgh šaḍ-, pMM {Ro.} šaḍ- (> Mada šaḍ, Myn šèḍá, Mkt šaḍáy), Db žaḍ- id. ¶ JS 259, Ba. 929-30, ChC, Ro. MM 339 [#710], ≠ Sk. HCD 242 ¶¶ On HS *s₂ see AD ChCS || U: FP *išt∇ - *üst∇ v. 'sweep' > Chr üštaš v. 'sweep' | pPrm *iś 'broom' > Z çíś, Yz íś 'a broom with a long haft (made of birch tree)', Vt íś-ńer 'broom' (ńer < ńzr 'twig') ¶ U 330, LG 112.

89. *ʔ∇,šʳ'ü' H₂∇ 'wild boar' > K: pGZ *ešw- 'wild boar, swine' > OG ešw- 'wild boar', 'fang', G ešv- 'fang', Mg a-sk-u (< *o-askw-u) 'pigsty' (< *askw- 'swine'), ?σ Lz čkva 'fang' ¶ K 81, K² 48, FS K 11, Abul. 152 || IE: NaIE *sū-s, *su'w-os ({EI} *sū-s / gen. *s(u)'w-os) '(wild or domesticated) pig' > Av hū 'swine' gen. sg. (< *huwō) || Gk ἴς (gen. ἰός) 'wild swine; pig' || Gk (< Pls?) σῆς id. || pAl {O} *sū(s) > Al G/T thi {AlBED} 'boar' || L sū-s id., Um sim accus. 'swine', sif accus. pl. 'swines' || ON sú-r, OHG sū, NHG Sau, AS sū 'sow', NE sow || Ltv sīvēns, suvēns 'small pig, sucking pig' || Tc B suwo 'pig, hog' (< *suw-on-) | d. IE *suw-īno- 'belonging to pigs' > L suīnus id. || pSl *svinъ > OCS, OR свинъ svinъ id., dadj.: R свиной, Uk свиний id. | Pru seweynis 'pigsty' || Tc B swāne (in swānana misa 'pork') | substantivized adj.: Gt swain, ON svín, OHG, AS swīn, NHG Schwein 'swine', NE swine, d. from adj.: Sl *svinbja 'swine' > OCS свинья svinija, SCr svinja, Sln svinja, Cz sviňe, Slk sviňa, P świnia, R свинья, Uk свиня ¶ P 1038-9, EI 425, F II 824, 973-4, WH II 635-6, Bc. G 346, O 477, Ç II 219-220, 478, Kf. 366, AlbED 891, Ho. 329, 337-8, Vr. 570, 574, KM 628, 691, Kb. 982, Fs. 465, Wn. 446, Kar. II 189-90, En. 246, Vs. III 578-9, Glh. 599-600, Ad. 698 || A: Tg: Ud siu 'two-year-old boar' ¶ STM II 100 || HS: DEg iś 'swine, sow', Eg fMK {EG} šžy, šž 'swine', Eg L šžy.t ({Vc.} *[ešʔōyēt]) 'sow', Cpt: Sd шє же 'swine', Sd/B ешw ешō, B ешwγ ешaw 'sow' ¶ EG IV 401, 405, Fk. 260, Er. 44, Vc. 49, 254 ¶ š (for the expected s) is puzzling (something like *-sḷ- or *-sḷ- > Eg š?) || The Ak word saḫû- 'swine' is considered a loan from Sumerian (Sd. 1133); is it a return loan of a (Hamito-)Semitic word? ◇ The initial i in DEg iś and the initial zero cns. in pGZ *ešw- suggests a N initial *ʔ-; in most descendant lgs. the tentatively reconstructed N *ʔ∇- was lost.

90. *ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman' > HS *ʔ∇t- > C *ʔ∇t∇ 'elder sister' > EC: Sa {R} atē (pl. ātet) 'elder sister', Ya {Hn.} ʔou (pl. 'ʔoúyo') 'sister' (ʔ-

< *ʔ∇t-) ʃ AD SF 243 (C *ʔ∇tt∇), R S II 54, Hn. Y II 133 || NrOm: Ym {C} ētnā, {Lm.} ētā ~ ētī 'sister', {Wdk.} ētá 'my sister' (if t originally belonged to the stem and only later was reinterpreted as belonging to the ppa. -ta 'my', as analyzed by Wdk., or as a marker of fem., as supposed by Lm.; cp. Ym {C} nē t-etnā 'you are my sister') ʃ C SE III 69, 90, Wdk. BY 121, Lm. Y 326 || HS marker of the fem. sex in nouns: S *-āt- in *ʔaχ-āt- 'sister' [> BHb תִּיחָא ʔā'h-ōt, Ph *ʔaħut-, in proper names ʔħt-, (AkSc) aχut-milki, lit. 'king's sister', Ug ʔaχātu = ʔaχt, (AkSc) aχātu, JA אַחַת ʔā'hāt-ā, Sr ħā'tā, SmA cs. תַּחַת ʔħt, Ak aχātu], in S *ħam-āt- 'husband's mother, mother-in-law' (> BHb תִּימָה ħā'm-ōt, JA אַחַת חַמָּה ħā'māt-ā, Sr ħamātā, Gz ħamāt, Tgr, Tgy חַמָּה ħamat, Ak emētū id., SmA תַּחַת חַמָּה ħmʔt-ħ 'his mother-in-law'), as well as S *-at- in nouns for female beings, e.g. *'bin-at- 'daughter' > BHb בַּת baṭ, Ar bint-, etc. ʃ KB 30-1, 314, KBR 327, Hnr. 105, FrdR § 94, Sl. 106, ≈ Tal 18-9, 279 (unjustified abs. *הַחַת *ʔħħ, *חַח *ħmh), L G 235, LH 62 || Eg -t (marker of the feminine gender in nouns denoting female beings [ṣt 'sister'], as well as in nouns belonging to the feminine gender as an agreement class) ʃ Gard. 34 || LbB *-t (marker of f.) in forms like B *t∇-funas-t 'cow', ONum ul-t 'daughter' ʃ Fv. LJ 418-20 || C: EC: Or H -tī, sx. of f. (denoting the female sex): žār-tī 'wife' (↔ žār-sá 'husband'), obboléttī 'sister' (↔ obbolesá 'brother'), ogéttī 'expert (woman)' (↔ og-esá 'expert'), adj.: há-m-tū 'bad (female)' (↔ há-m-ā 'bad') ʃ AD SF 243, Ow. 95 || Ch: [1] Ch {Sch.} *-t∇, f. sg. determiner of nouns: {Sch.} Hs gōdīyá-r 'the mare' (↔ gōdīyá 'mare') (-r < *-t), Bd šà-tīwú 'that cow' (↔ šà 'cow'), Mlw múní tí ná 'this woman' (↔ muni 'woman'), as well as with loss of gender distinction: Gude ráhá-tá 'that axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), as well as possibly (× N *tā, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects [q.v.]) the prefix of dem. pronouns in Kera: f. sg. táŋ, m. sg. tón 'this', pl. téŋ 'these' ʃ Sch. ED 158-9 |[2] CCh: acc. to Mch. VCQP 65-6, "Kotoko: t s'infixe au singulier entre épouse et le suffixe possessif... Masa: suffixes masculin en na, féminin en ta (dialectal da). Gidar: affixes n au masculin, t au féminin. Exemple: vieux = mugalen, vieille = mugalta. Bata: suffixes nominaux we, tiye, où ti indiquerait le féminin... Jerŋ [= Njey]: suffixes nominaux... čī (féminin); čī se suffixe au nom et à l'adjectif: madəgalčī¹ madəčī² 'vieille¹ femme²' ʃ Gr. LA 46-7 || This N word is probably one of the two sources (together

with the N dem. prn. ***t̥ä** of non-active objects) of the HS marker ***t̥∇**- /-**∇t̥** of the so-called "feminine" gender (actually feminine-and-inanimate gender), namely [1] that of the verbal px. ***t̥∇**- of the 3d person "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S ***ta**-/***t̥**- (*F* Hz. VP), B ***t̥∇**- id., EC ***t̥(∇)**-, Bj, Aw **t̥**- of 3f in prefix-conjugated verbs, ***t̥**- as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the marker ***-t̥**- of 3f within the person/number/gender sxs.; [2] that of the pHS ending ***-∇t̥**-, marker of both the female sex in nouns (*F* above) and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (functioning as sx. of singulative, collective, and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C, and Ch, and [3] that of the HS prn. ***t̥∇**- (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > Bj **t̥**-, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} sg. nom. **tū** ~ **tu**, accus. sg. **tō** ~ **tū**, pl. nom. **tā** ~ **ta**, pl. accus. **tē** ~ **ti**, Bj Hd {Rop.} sg. nom. **tū** ~ **ti**, accus. sg. **tō** ~ **ti**, pl. nom. **tā** ~ **ti**, nom. pl. **tē** ~ **ti**, Bj (dialect, recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. **tū**, accus. sg. **tō**, nom. pl. **tā**, accus. pl. **tē**; Berber ***t̥∇**-, px. of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (from an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf **ta-l̥ỵamt** 'she-camel', pl. **ti-l̥aỵmin**, **ti-l̥aỵmatin**, Kb **t̥a-funast̥**, Tmz **ta-funast** 'cow', Zwr **t̥-funast**, Zmr **t̥-funast̥** id., pl. **t̥ifunasin**, **t̥-m̥ỵart̥** 'old woman', Mz **t̥-m̥aṭṭut** 'woman', etc. (*F* AiM 208-9); Sml **-ta**, **-tu**, **-tī**, fem. form of df. articles; Cushitic fem. gender marker ***t̥**- in dem. pronouns: Bj {R} **t̥-ūn** 'this' f. (accus. **t̥-ōn**), **t̥-ān** 'these' f. (accus. **t̥-ēn**), Sa {R} **t̥-ā**, **t̥-aỵ** 'this' f., **t̥-o**, **t̥-oỵ** 'that' f., Sml **-t̥-aní** (accus. **-t̥-án**) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), **-t̥-āsī** (accus. **-t̥-ā**) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or B **tunì(-nī)** 'this' f., accus. **t̥-ánā**, gen. **táná**, etc., Sd **t̥-e**, **t̥-ene**, **t̥-ēne**, **t̥-in** 'this' f., etc. (*F* AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7), as well as fem. gender marker in nominal ppa. in Bj (**-t̥**), Sml (**-t̥**: **ì'nán-t̥-à-ỵ-d-u** 'my daughter', where **-t̥** is the marker of fem. in the suffixed possessive prn. **taỵdu**, **-aỵ-** is a ppa. of 1s, and **-d-** is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article ↔ **ì'nàn-k-à-ỵ-g-u** 'my son', where **-k-** and **-g-** are masc. gender markers), Rn **-ēṭ** marker of genitive in fem. nouns, Or Δ **-t̥**-, etc. (AD KJ 107-8, PG 26). In Ch this HS prn. ***t̥∇** became a personal prn. of 3s fem. (actually, fem.-and-inanimate), which Blz. reconstructs as ***ta**. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f: Hs **tā** (with past), **tā** (with some other verbal forms), in BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera **t̥ì**, Krf, Glm, Grm **t̥à**, Tng **tā**, etc.), in Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr **t̥í**); (2) within an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + ***ta**, acc. to Kraft's rec.): Hs **ì-**

ta, Bl i-tà, Krkr di-təw, Tng ŋ-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, as well as without prefix: Ngm tē, Zul ti; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t∇, acc. to Kraft): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng tà, Ngz atù, Bd tù; (4) as a possessive prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kraft): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf tǎa, Krkr (t+)-təw, Tng tò, Pr tè, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh it. appears: (1) as a subject prn. of 3m: Msg G {MB} tɜ, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti; (2) as a possessive marker of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (where -r- < *-t-), Mln -(gɜ)-tò, FIM -tù, Mbara -tá; (3) as an object prn. of 3f: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (where -r- < *-t-), FIM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti, Mbara -tá 'her'; (4) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within aut. pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tíí 'she'). In ECh this morpheme functions as a pronominal subject morpheme of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -g-ít), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her'), and as a ppa. of 3f (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her') ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM 33-9, JA LM 39, Al. DB 196-206, Cp. 32 || A: Tg *at∇ 'female; elderly woman' > Mc atɯ 'female fish' (× N *ɟatɯ '∈ fish'), Ud {Shn.} atʔa buyi, atʔa mafa 'she-bear', {Krm.} atiga 'female animal', {Shn.} atiɣa id., 'woman, wife', Orc ataŋa 'mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, grandmother', Ork atī 'mother-in-law', ataqa 'wife's elder sister, grandmother', Ewk atē ~ ati, Ewk NB ata 'old woman' (address word), Ewk atkī (ppa.) 'husband's mother', 'wife's mother', atirkān 'old woman, wife', Sln atikkā: 'old woman', {Iv.} атыркан 'wife', Lm ata 'grandmother, father's elder sister', atē 'grandmother' (address), Neg N atɣakkān 'old woman', atɣān ~ atɣān id., atkī 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I 58, Krm. 209 || D *ātt- 'woman' > Tm āttti 'woman, wife', ātavavɔl 'woman', Kn āɖaŋgi 'a female', Tu āɖe 'a coward', Tl āɖadi, āɖadi, āɖudi 'woman', āɖu 'womanishness', Prj aɖey 'wife', Gdb āɖa payya 'female calf', Knd āŋɖu 'female', Knd N/W āɖu 'wife', Ku āɖi, Δ āɖu 'wife' ¶¶ D #400, An. SG 132 (*āntt-), ≈ GS 208 [#524] (D *aɖd-) || Derivational\grammatical affix for females: {Zv.} *oru-tti 'one female' > Tm, Ml orɯ-tti 'one female person' (orɯ- is 'one'), Tu or-ti, Mlt or-ti 'one woman'; unlike in HS, in pD there is no merger of the fem. gender (*oru-tti 'one female') and the inanimate gender (*on-ttu 'one thing'). But in some D lgs. this merger did occur: Tl a-dí, Klm, Nkr a-d 'that woman, that thing' (D 4 [#1]) ¶¶ D #990, Zv. DL 21, GS 72 [#234] ◇ The vl. *-t- in Tg (for the expected *-d-) is still

to be explained. IS MsN included the HS marker of fem. *t into the etymon "*t neutr."

91. *ʔitê 'eat' > IE *ʔed- (EI) 1s *h₁ed-mi) v. 'eat' > Ht ed-/ad-/ezza-, prs. 1s ed-mi, 3p adanzi, Lw ad-, azza-, HrLw ad-, ar-, {Mer.} á-ta-, Pal ad- v. 'eat' || NaIE *ed- / *od- / *d- 'eat' > OI 1s prs. 'ad-mi, Av 3s sbjn. aḏāiti || Arm 1s prs. **ԼԱՆԵՄ** utem (< *ōd-) || Gk Hm inf. ἔδ-μεναι, ft. ἔδ-ο-μαι 'eat, devour' || Led-ō / edēre 'eat' || Gt (thematic) itan, ON eta, OHG ēz̄zan, NHG essen, OSx, AS etan v. 'eat', NE eat || BSI *ēd-(mi) > Olt émi, Lt **μ**éd-u (inf. ésti) 'fressen', Ltv ēmu ~ ēdu 'I eat' (inf. ēst), Pru īd- (inf. īst) 'eat', īstai 'food' | Sl *ěd- 'eat' (1s prs. *ě-мь [< *ēd-mi], 3s prs. *ěs-ть, 3p prs. *ěd-ęть, inf. *ěs-ti) > OCS 1s prs. **ЈАМЬ** jamь, 3s prs. **ЈАСТЬ** jastь, 3p **ЈАДАТЬ** jadęть, inf. **ЈАСТИ** jasti 'eat', Blg ям 'I eat', SCr jēm (~ jēdēm) id. / jēsti 'to eat', Slv jém / jésti, Cz jím / jísti, Slk jem / jest', P jem / jeść, R ем / есть, Uk їм / їсти 'eat' || Tc B yesti ({Ad.} < *h₁ēd^s-to) ≈ food, meal' ||] -> IE *ʔodont-, *ʔdont- / *ʔdnt- (EI) *h₁dont-) 'tooth' (originally acp. 'eating one, edens?') > OI 'dan (accus. dan'tam, gen. da'taḥ < *dnt-os), Av dantan- m., dātā f. || Arm **ԱՄԱՄԻ** atamn || Gk ὀδών (gen. ὀδόντος, ὀδούς, Ae Gk pl. ἔδοντες || L dens (gen. dentis) || Clt: OIr déit, Brtt {RE}*dant > W, OBr, Br dant, OCrn, Crn dans || Gmc: Gt tunpus (bf. from the accus. tunpu ÷ L dentem), ON tqnn, OHG zand, NHG Zahn, AS tōð, NE tooth || Lt dantiš ¶¶ WPI 118, P 287-9, EI 175, 595, M KI 28, M E I 61-2, F I 444-5 and II 352, WH I 340-1, 392-3, Fs. 296-7, 483-4, Vr. 106, 604 (unc. doubts about *dnt- from *ed-), Ho. 94, 351, EWA II 1184-7, Slr. 26-7, 103-4, Frn. 124-5, En. 185, Tp. P I-K 88-90, Vs. II 18, Glh. 299, Pv. I-II 315-20, Mer. HHG 41, Ad. 507 || **HS: EC** *it- v. 'eat' > Or it-ō 'food', Brj, Sd, Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd it- v. 'eat' ¶ Ss. B 108, AD SF 136, 243 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' | BT: Tng {J} edi v. 'eat (rice, groundnuts, beans, etc.)' (J R 241, J T 86, Nw. KL 120); in the BT lgs. there is contamination with the reflex of N *ŋ^ri^rHat^ra^r 'ε sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' (q.v.), whence the meaning 'to bite hard food'; Stl. ascribes Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' to WCh *ʔaĉĉ-, but this is a variance with what we know (from her own papers) about WCh historical phonology: WCh *ĉ yields Ron *š rather than pRon or Fy t (WCh *^rq^raĉ- v. 'cut, chop' > DfB gig^raš [Stl. ZCh 82], WCh *ĉ∇r- v. 'grow, be large, long' > Sha šoḥo 'long' [Stl. ZCh 51], while WCh *-t- does

yield Fy -t, cp. WCh *f∇t∇ 'sun' > Fy vīvat 'sun' [Stl. ZCh 159, #129]) || ? CS *✓p̣ṭm 'bite' > Ar ✓p̣ṭm G 'saisir avec ses dents et mordre', Ug {A} p̣ṭm 'bit (Bissen)' (not confirmed by OLS) ¶ BK I 38-9, A #158 ¶ If CS *✓p̣ṭm belongs here, it is likely to go back to a cd. ≈ *p̣it- + *p̣∇m (< □N *p̣em∇ 'seize, hold', q.v.), whence the secondary glottalization of *t || A {SDM} *ite > M *ide- v. 'eat' > MM, WrM ide-, Ord ide-, HIM идэ- idə-, Brt ede-, Kl idə-, Dg idε-, Mnr H iḍje-, ShY ede-, Mgl ida- 'eat' ¶ Pp. IM 107, Iw. 107, MED 398, SDM97 s.v. *ite) || ? T: [1] *et 'meat, flesh' (× N *paḥiṭ∇ 'ε skin, bark', q.v. ffd.) [2] NaT *öt-mäk ~ *et-mäk 'bread' > OT, XwT, MQp, Cmn ötmek ~ etmek, Kr T eímak, Kr G etmek, Qmn\CrTt\Osm {RL} ätmäk, SbTt Tb itmäk, Chg, OOsM ötmek, Alt\Tit {RL} ötpök, QK {RL, B} ütpök ¶ The variant vw. ö- remains puzzling ¶ Cl. 60, Rl. I 847, 1275, 1868, B DLT 219, DHST 293, ET Gl 254-7 ¶¶ DQA #612 (A *ite 'eat' > T *et-mek, M) ◇ IS I 273-4 (#136) s.v. *p̣iṭä (IE, C, M; no S; adduces S *✓ṭp̣w v. 'eat', Eg t 'bread', err. B *atš < *atk [in fact *✓Hkš, see N ?σ *ḡEK∇'ḡ'∇ '≈ to peck, to prick'], C *✓ty?, and Ch *✓ty/ω, which is in fact belong to N *ṭUhy∇ 'eat, feed; food'), ≈ BmK #418 (*p̣iṭ-/ *p̣eṭ- 'chew, bite, eat, consume'; IE, M, S; ignores [deliberately?] EC *it- 'eat' and Ch: Fy p̣eṭ 'eat', etc.).

92. *paṭp̣∇ 'come', ? 'walk' > HS: WS *✓pṭw|y G v. 'come' > BHb הַתָּה ✓pṭw|y G, Amr {G} pf. patā, Aram הַתָּה ~ אַתָּה ✓pṭw|y, Sr |ḡ ✓pṭw|y id., Ar ✓pṭy G (pf. أَتَى patā), Ar NY T ✓pṭy G, Gz ✓pṭw (js. yəp̣tū) id., Sb ✓pṭw|y 'come, come back', Ug {OLS} ✓pṭw 'come, go' ¶ DRS 36, KBR 102, OLS 59, G A 14, BGMR, Bns. NJ I 154 || C: Bj {Rop.} -p̣at pcv. 'step, tread', {R} -p̣at pcv. 'treten, stampfen, trampeln' (1s: p. a-'p̣at, p̣qpf. 'īp̣at, prs. a-p̣a'nīt) || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} padah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless < N *p̣A'd'∇ 'foot', q.v.) ¶ Rop. 156, R WBd 34-5, MQK 9 || Om (× N *ḡ'o'dU 'to go' × N *q'A'd_∇_ḡ'o' 'to step, to walk?'): NrOm: Gf {C} aḡ- 'passare', Male {Fl.} ad- v. 'come', {Fl.} ad- ~ aḡ- v. 'go', Gmr {Fl.} at- 'go' || SOM: Ari B {Fl.} ad, Hm U {Fl.}, Gil {Fl.} aḡ, Dm {Fl.} aḡ~aṭ v. 'come' ¶ Blz. OL #205, Fl. OO 317 ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om *ad- 'go' ÷ WS *✓ḡdω 'go' and its B cognates, see N *ḡ'o'dU) || IE: NaIE *o|e|ot- 'go, walk' ({EI} *Het- 'go') (× N *q'A'd_∇_ḡ'o' '↑') > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69 and M K I 26 (unc. identification with *at-no- 'year'), M E I 56, EI 228 || A ({SDM97} *āḡet∇- v. 'step, walk', {S} *āt∇- 'шагаты' [× N *q'A'd_∇_ḡ'o' '↑']): T *āt- v. 'step' > Tkm Δ āt-

Tkm $\bar{a}t-$, Osm {Rl.} ad- v. 'step', Xk at-IX- v. 'jump, jump over', ? Chv (\leftarrow some VTt dialect?) at- v. 'walk with dipped feet (on water, mud, deep snow)', VTt at-la- v. 'step', Slr aht-la- id., Yk atilla- id. || Chv L yT-ud- v. 'walk' | T d. *at-Im (= *at'-Im) 'step' (n.) > Tkm Δ $\bar{a}dim$, Tkm $\bar{a}dim$, Tk, Az, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, CrTt adIm, VTt ad $\bar{b}m$, Bsh ad $\bar{b}m$, Uz adim, Chv L $\text{yT}\bar{a}M$ ud $\bar{b}m$ 'step'; T \rightarrow M *adam 'pace, step' (SDM: 'hurried walking') > WrM ad $\bar{a}m$, HIM адам, Kl ad \bar{m} 'pace, step' ¶ S AJ 192 [#171], ET Gl 88, Fed. I 66-7 and II 293-4, S AJ 241 [#172], KW 1 ¶¶ \approx S AJ 280, SDM97 (A * $\bar{a}t\bar{\nabla}$ ~ * $\bar{e}t\bar{\nabla}$), \neq DQA #1756 (A *p' $\bar{e}ta$ 'to step, to walk': incl. T, M) || ? σ D * $\bar{a}t-$ vi. 'move' (\times N *q' $\bar{A}'d_{\bar{\nabla}}\bar{\nabla}'o'$) > Tm $\bar{a}t\bar{u}$, Kt a' \bar{r} -, Tl $\bar{a}d\bar{u}ni$ id., Td o' \bar{d} - v. 'move violently', Ka $\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ ~ $\bar{a}t\bar{u}$ v. 'be in motion, move about' ¶¶ D #347 \diamond The word-medial lr. in N * $\bar{r}at_{\bar{\nabla}}\bar{\nabla}$ is suggested by the long vw. in T and D (that may be also due to convergence with N *q' $\bar{A}'d_{\bar{\nabla}}\bar{\nabla}'o'$). The N word-medial lr. is likely to have been * \bar{r} or * \bar{h} , because these are the only laryngeals that can disappear (in non-initial position) in S.

93. $\bar{\nabla}$ * $\bar{r}Et\bar{u}R\bar{\nabla}$ 'day, noon' > HS: EC: Sa {R} i'tr \bar{a} 'noon' ¶ R S II 54 || CCh: MfG {Brr.} $\bar{d}\bar{a}r$ 'day (24 hours)' ¶ \bar{d} - < * \bar{t} - < * $\bar{r}t$ - ¶ Brr. MG II 110, ChC || A: M *edür 'day' > MM [MA] ödür 'day, noon', [L] ödür ~ öder 'day', [IM, IsV] ödür 'day', ödür düli 'afternoon', [S, HI] {H} üdür 'day', üdür düli 'noon', [PP] {Pp.} üdürč 'in 'all day'', WrM edür, HIM едөр 'day; in the daytime', Ord {Ms.} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r$, Brt $\bar{y}d\bar{e}p$, Kl едр, {Rm.} öđ \bar{u} 'day', Mnr H {SM} ud $\bar{u}r$ 'day', d $\bar{u}r$ 'noon', {T} dur 'day, noon', MMgl [ZM] $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r$, Mgl {Rm.} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r$, {Iw.} ödür, Dg {Pp.} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r$, {T} udur, {Mr.} udure 'day' ¶ Pp. M 273, 443, Pp. L II 1259, H 158, Ms. H 107, MED 295-6, Chr. 494, KRS 412-3, SM 65-6, 464-5, Ms. O 748, T 331-2, T DgJ 170, T DnJ 136, Iw. 143, KW 293, Rm. M 41.

93a. * $\bar{r}'e't\bar{\nabla}$ 'make' (\rightarrow causativizing morpheme) > A * $\bar{o}e't\bar{\nabla}$ > T *et-, {Md.} * $\bar{e}t-$ (* $\bar{e}t-$) v. 'make' > OT et-, {Cl.} $\bar{e}t-$ v. 'make, create, perform, organize' (acc. to Cl., v. 'organize, put in order' is the primary meaning; but this impression may have resulted from the specific thematic limitations of the existing OT texts), Tk et-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, ET, Ln, Alt, Tv et-, SY yet- ~ it-, VTt, Bsh it-, Chv \bar{t} at- v. 'make, perform', Chv MK $\bar{e}t-$ v. 'make' ¶ VTt/Bsh i- and Chv MK \bar{e} - suggest pT *e-, while Chv a- points to a T * \bar{a} - ¶ Cl. 36-7, DTS 186, ET Gl 312-3, Tkr 795-6, Md. 91, 164 || HS (with de-emphatization) ** $\bar{r}'\bar{t}$ > S * $\bar{o}'\bar{r}'\bar{t}y$ > Ar $\bar{r}'\bar{t}y$ (pf. $\bar{r}'\bar{t}y$) 'undertake (smth.), make (it)', ? σ S * $\bar{o}'\bar{r}'\bar{t}w$ >

Ar ✓ ʔtʷ (pf. ٱتآ ʔatā) 'produce (ground)' ¶ Fr. I 11, Hv. 2 || Ch {JS} *taʔ- v. 'make' > WCh: DfB/Bks {J} taʔ 'build' ||| CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ɖa, Bt {Mch.} ta 'make' | Msy {Mch.} ɖa, Db {Lnh.} dɪyà, Kola {Sb.} ...ɖi... id. ||| ECh: Kwn {J} dē id. ¶ ɖ < *ʔt ¶ JS s.v. Ch. *taʔ 'build', ChC, ChL, J R ||| The N word was grammaticalized in U, A, and D, giving rise to a causativizing sx. of verbs: U {Lh.} causativizing verbal sx. *-tt- > F-tta-/-ttä-: istuttāa 'setzen, pflanzen' (↔ istuā 'to sit, to sit down'), elättää 'ernähren, unterhalten' (↔ elää 'to live'), Lp N -t-/-d-: goastâtit 'to send' (↔ goasâtât 'to reach'), duš'šâdit 'to destroy' (↔ duš'šât 'to deteriorate, to be destroyed'), ? Lp S {Hs.} -dh- (caus., e.g. baakkedidh vt. 'to warm' [←d baakke 'warmth', baakkes adj. 'warm']), Er/Mk -t(∇)- (causativizing sx.): Er kas-t-oms 'to rear, to grow' (↔ kas-oms 'to grow'), sim-d-ems 'to give to drink' (↔ sim-ems 'to drink'), Mk эждемс 'ež-d-əms 'to heat, to warm' (↔ эжемс 'ež-əms 'to warm oneself'), Chr woltem v. 'make descend' (↔ wolēm v. 'descend'), Z -t-: pirt-n+ 'to carry in, to bring in' (↔ pirt-n+ 'to go in, to come in'), Os Shr {Gu.} qawar-t- v. 'cook' (↔ qawar- v. 'be cooked'), ayəm-t- v. 'glue (sth.)' (←d ayem n. 'glue'), Hg költ- v. 'rouse, wake up' (↔ kel- v. 'get up, rise') || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} ću-ti-qo 'to melt sth.' (↔ ću-qo vi. 'melt'), qal-ti-qo 'to leave, verlassen' (↔ qal-ti-qo 'to remain'), Ng {Ter.} ko-tu-ja 'to kill' (↔ kou-ja 'to die'), ηatum-ti-s+ 'to show' (↔ ηatum-s+ 'to become visible'), ḡaləm-ti-s+ 'to make glad\happy' (↔ ḡaləm-s+ 'to be glad\happy'), StNe Т хав(а)-да-сь 'to fell' (↔ хав(а)-сь 'to fall') ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 322-5, Srb. IMMJ 230-1, Laan. 281-2, It. LC 102, 115, Hs. 178, Gu. MOUJ 330, KHG 211, Ter. NgJ 222-4, Ter. OGNJ 172-4 ||| **A:** T *-t-, causativizing and transitive sx.: OT -t-: {Cl.} oqI-t- 'make so. recite\read' (↔ {Cl.} oqI- v. 'recite\read'), arta-t- vt. 'damage\spoil' (↔ {Cl.} artā- v. 'putrefy, ferment, go bad'), Tk -t-: sōylet- v. 'make so. speak, let speak' (↔ sōyle- v. 'speak'), Chv типѣт tib-ьt v. 'dry sth.' (↔ тип tip- v. 'get dry') ¶ SIGTJM 285-7, Cl. 79, 81, 208, Ash. MI 269-70 ||| **D** *-tt-, causativizing sx.: OTm selutt- v. 'make so. enter' (↔ sel- v. 'enter'), Kt kar-t- v. 'make so. cross a river' (↔ karv- v. 'cross a river'), verṭ- v. 'cause to be afraid' (↔ verñ- v. 'be afraid'), Td nar-t- v. 'make so. walk' (↔ nar- v. 'walk'), Kdg kaḡa-t- v. 'take across' (↔ kaḡa- v. 'cross'), Png re-t- v. 'let fall' (↔ re- v. 'fall'), Png, Ku ū-ṭ- v. 'give to drink' (↔ un- v.

'drink'), Krx on-d- v. 'cause to drink' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{o}n$ - v. 'drink'), Mlt on-de v. 'cause to drink' (\leftrightarrow one v. 'drink'), pun-de v. 'make so. put on' (\leftrightarrow pune v. 'put on') ¶ Bloch S 48-50, SKD 60-1, Sbr. DVM 1-50, 77-84 ◇ Bang and some other Turkologists supposed that the T caus. verbal form with *-t- goes back to an analytic construction with the verb *et- ¶ Bang SVG I 925, Rs. MTS 155, cp. Shch. OSMG 119, Br. OTG 207-8; ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. *ṭʰ) tried to find etymological connection between the causative sxs. in A, U, and D and the markers of reflexivization \ passivization *t-, *-t- in HS and BF (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D these are postverbal sxs. which may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS the affix *t- is preverbal, which is harder to explain as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

95. *ʔoṭʰh (or *ʔoṭʰh) 'heavy', → 'difficult' > HS: S *oʃʔth > Ar ʔutūh-, ʔatah- 'respiration pénible de celui qui porte une charge trop lourde' ¶ BK I 8, DRS 36 || ʔφ Eg MK ʔtrw {EG} 'Schwieriges (in Büchern), Widerstrebendes', {Fk.} 'secret, mystery', unless etymologically identical with Eg MKL ʔtrw {Fk.} 'opponent', {EG} Widersacher, Feind', {EG} ʔtr 'sich jemandem widersetzen' ¶ EG I 145-6, Fk. 33 || A: Tg *ʔtem ({Bz.} *öṭm) > Ewk utumɜmɜ 'hard (conditions of life)', 'cruel', Ork uṭmɜgdɜ 'bad person' ¶ STM II 294 || D (in NED) *oott- 'heavy' > Krx otṭh̄ 'burden', 'heavy, difficult', 'hard to suffer', Mlt ote 'heavy, important' ¶ D #977, Pf. 186 ◇ Tg and D suggest pN *-ṭ-, while S *-t- may be accounted for by HS de-emphatization.

96. *ʔaʷ 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > HS: S *ʔaʷ 'or, whether' > Ug ʔ̣ [ʔ̣] 'either... or', 'whether', BHb ʔ̣, OA, Yd, IA, Plm, Nbt ʔ̣, IA ʔ̣, Sr ʔ̣, Ar ʔ̣, Sb ʔ̣, Gz ʔ̣, Ak ū 'or', ? SmA ʔ̣ ʔ̣ 'or'; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} ʔ̣ 'or' ¶ KB 19, GB 14, A #3, OLS 1, HJ 21, BGMR 9, LG 47, Sd. 1308, DRS 11, Tal 22 || IE: NaIE *oau 'or' > L aut 'or' (< *aw-ti), Osc aut AUT, AUTI, Um ute OTE 'or' ||| NaIE *we(:) / *u 'whether?', 'or' ({EI} *-wē 'or') > OI, Av, OPrs vā ||| Gk ἥ- (F)έ, ἥ (ἦ) 'whether, or' ||| L -vĕ 'or' ||| Gt -u 'whether?' (pc. of general question) ||| Clt: OIr nó 'ou bien', OBr noʷ 'or' (if < *ne-we) ||| Tc B wa-t 'or; rather than' ¶ ≈ WP I 188-9, ≈ P 7, 73-5 (considers the stem *we(:) to be an apophonic grade of *aw- 'jener, andererseits'), Bks. 223, EI 410, M KI 180, FI 183, 619, WH I 87, Bc. G 340, Vn. N 17-8, Wn. 349, Ad. 575-6 ||| A: M *ū / *ū (distributed by the rules of vowel

harmony), encl. pc. of general question > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} -u (interr. pc.: busu₁-u bui? 'is not it?', uqaba₁-u ci 'have you noticed?'), WrM uu / üü, HIM yу, yy - pc. of general question at the end of sentences, Kl -u / -ü, Mnr {SM, T} -u ʒ -ū (interr. pc.) ʃ Ms. H 104, H 157, MED 689, SM G 88, 136-7, 197, Snz. GKJ 83, T 153 ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 268 [#263] (S, IE). NaIE *a suggests N *a.

97. *ʔ∇w∇y∇ 'island, seashore' > HS: S *ʔiyу- > BHb 'ᶏ ʔī 'coast, island', MHb 'ᶏ ʔī 'island', Pun ʔy 'peninsula' ʃ KB 37, KBR 38, HJ 43, DRS 17 || Eg fOK iω 'island' ʃ EG I 47 || IE: NaIE *ʔuyо- > Gmc *awja- 'island' > ON R au i u, ON ey, NNr øy, Dn ø, Sw ö, AS iez, ME ē, ī, NE [aj] in is-land, OFrs éi-land, OSx oī-land 'island'; Gmc → L-avia in Scandin-avia ʃ Ho. 186, Hlq. II 1451-2, Vr. 106 || U: Sm {Jn.} *wobъy, {HL.} *₁w₁obъ 'island' > Ng {Cs.} ηuai, En {Cs.} rúe (a phonetically inaccurate recording?), {Ter.} нyй, Ne T Ңо, {Lh.} ηō, Ne F {Lh.} ηō 'island', Slq Nr {Cs.} ko, ku, cds. kollaga 'small island', ol-ko 'island', Mt {HL.} *ō (or *o) id. (Mt K {Pl.} o) || ? FU: F Vuojanmaa 'Gotland' (lit. 'Isle-land' with F maa 'land'), unless the first part is a loan from NrGmc ʃ Jn. 177, Hl. M #793.

98. 2 *ʔûXi 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > HS: S *ʔawħ- > Ar SL ʒʔī ʔawħ- ~ ʒī ʔāħ- 'white of egg' ʃ Bel. 16 || IE: NaIE *oy(y)o- ({EI} IE *h₂o(y)iom) 'egg' > Gk A/I ῥόν (< *ōuy-om), Gk Ae ῥιον, Gk D ῥεον 'egg' || Arm ճու շու (gen. ճւոյ շւոյ) id. || L o₂vum id. (→ OAl voe, Al T ve, Al G vo) || Clt: OW uī, W wy, OCrn uy, Crm oy, MBr uy, Br vi id. || Gmc {Vr.} *ayya-m id. > Gt Cr ada (< Gt pl. *addya?), OHG ei, NHG Ei, ON egg (→ NE egg) || Sl *āje id., (dim.) *ajъce id. > SCr jáje, HLs jejo, wejo id., 'testicle', LLs jajo, Plb joji, P jaje, Uk Δ айо; OCS анце аъсе, Blg яй'це, Δ ай'це, P †, Δ jajce, jajco, OR анце jaice, SCr K jájce 'egg', Slv jájce, Cz vejce, R яй'цо 'egg, testiculum' || ? OPrs xāya 'egg', ? Av ap-āva₂a- 'entmannt' (if < *apa-āva₂a- 'without testicles') ʃ P 783-4, EI 176, WH II 230, RE 92, O 497, F II 1150, Fs. 2, Vr. 94-5, KM 153-4, EWA II 967-9, Slr. 177-8, ESSJ I 61-3, Glh. 285-6 ◇ AD NM #72, S CNM 13.

99. *ʔ'a'y∇ 'say, speak, call' > HS: Eg BD iу 'Spruch (?)' ʃ EG I 36 || C: EC {Ss.} *-iy(y)- 'say' pcv. > Af -iy(y)- pcv., scv.: Sa, Af iy- 'say', ʒ Dsn {Fl.} y- (absent in To. DL), Sml {R} ī-, ? (h)ay- 'say', Dbs ʔiyanna 'he/she says; it means'; HEC *y- 'say' > Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd y-, Sd i- / y-,

Brj iу- || Ag {Ap.} *уэ- 'say' > Bln, Xm, Q уэ-, Aw э- || SC: Irq {MQK} ?ō-, {Wh.} o-, (?) → Mb {E} -y0 'say' ¶ AD SF 184-5, Ap. AV 23, R WB 364, Ss. B 108, AMS 166, Hd. 128, MQK 79 || NrOm: Kf {C}, Drz {Bnd.} y-, Zs, Zrg {Bnd.} iya- 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ĭ- id. (the rising tone [low to high] pointing to a former bisyllabic √) ¶ C SE IV 517, AD SF 184-5, Wdk. BY 125, 78-9 (on Ym tones), Lm. Y 310 || Ch {Stl.} *ya?|w- 'call', {AD} 'call, say' (× N ***ṛawu**√ 'shout, speak', q.v. ffd.) > [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yúwǎ, L {WeibP} yǎ 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say' | [2] WCh: Pr yó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ?yâ, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yíná, {Stl.} ← ?) yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo id. || ECh: Gbr ye id. ¶ Frz. P 55, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 143 ¶¶ OS #2564 || **¶** *ay√ 'speak, sound' (× N ***ṛawu**√ '↑?') > NaT *ay- 'speak, say' > OT ay- id., XwT XIV ay- 'say, recite', Az Δ, ET Δ {Jr.}, SY ay-, Tk Δ ey-, Yk Iy- 'speak, say' ¶ Cl. 266, DTS 25, Rl. I 9, ET Gl 99-100, Jr. 16, Rs. W 10 || M *aya 'sound, pronunciation, noise' > WrM аya, HIM, Brt ая 'sound, tune, melody; pronunciation', Dg {MYC} ailaq, Mnr H {MYC} аyaη 'melody, tune'; M *ayi > WrM ai, HIM ай 'sound, noise', WrO aítai 'with noise', Kl ə ē 'sound', {Rm.} ā 'sound, voice, tune'; ? M d. *ayilad- 'know, say' > WrM ailad-, HIM айлд-ах id.; ? M d. *ayalgu 'melody, pronunciation' > WrM аyalgu, HIM аялгуу id., WrO аyalxa(n), аyalxu, аyalxu 'sound, melody', Brt аялга 'tone, voice, pronunciation'; M *ayila- 'produce sounds' > Kl {Rm.} āl-χa 'tönen, schreien, rufen; schwatzen', Dg {T} aila- v. 'pronounce' ¶ Dg aila- points to the absence of initial *φ- in the pM word ¶ MED 19, 20, 22, Kow. 127-8, Krg. 41-2, KRS 61, KW 25, Chr. 69-70, T DgJ 119, MYC 99 || pKo {S} *òj'ó- v. 'recite' (suggesting a pA final rounded vw.) > MKo òj'ó- id., NKo оуωυ- wey- 'recite from memory, learn by heart' ¶ S QK #636, Nam 387, MLC 1223 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #419 (A *ěy|o 'speak, cry, sound'; incl. T, M, Ko) || **¶** IE: NaIE ≈ *aj- 'say, speak' > L āi-ō 'say, affirm', Um AIU 'oracula' || Gk ῆ 'he spoke' (prs. 1s ἦμι, 2s ἦστί, Gk D 2s ἦτε) (unless these forms go back resp. to *agjō and *ēg-t, as supposed by WH and F) ¶ ≈ WH I 24-5, ≈ FI 636, ≠ EI 535 (L and Gk < IE *h₁eǵ- 'say').

100. *ʔa'y√ 'mother' (originally a Lallwort) (→ 'female', a marker of fem. [sex or grammatical gender] in nouns, pronouns, and [originally as vocative] in verbs): **I.** 'mother': > **HS:** C {AD} *ʔay(y)- > EC {Ss.} *ʔāy- 'mother' > Sml āy-0 'stepmother', Sml Mt {Lm.} āy0 id., 'uncle's wife, mother's sister', Sml My/Dgl {Lm.} āy- 'mother', Rn {PG} âyò, {Hn.}

'áy-o, {Oo.} a'yó 'mother' (call-name), Bn ā'y-ô, Bs āy-o, Or āyy-ō, Kns āy-ā 'mother', Sa āy-a 'elder sister', Hd ayy-a 'sister', ay-minē 'mater familias', Kmb {C} ayā 'sister', Brj āy'y-ē 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife', Hr/Dbs/Grs/Gwd {AMS} yayye, Gln {AMS} yāye 'mother' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāyō, {E} ayó, Alg, Brn iyó 'mother' ¶ Ss. B 22, Hn. S 51, Oo. 70, PG 59, LmS 305, Hd. 102, HL 79, AMS 258, Wh. IC 24, E SC 317, MQK 18 || NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf {C} ayē, Gf {Mrn.} aye ~ aye ~ ay, Wl {LmS} āyū, Malo ʔayó, Dwr ay-to, Gm/Dc {LmS} āyó 'mother'; ? Ym {Lm.} étà ~ étì 'sister', {Wdk.} étá 'my sister' (if -t∇ is a marker of fem. [acc. to Lm.] or a ppa. 'my' [acc. to Wdk.]; otherwise it belongs to N *ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 200, Lm. Y 326, LmS 305 || CCh: Zm {KNC} yá 'mother; female' ¶ KNC 30 || IE: pGmc *ajθī 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase: *ʔ'a'y∇ + another word?) > Gt aipei, ON eiða 'mother', OHG fuotar-eidī 'Nährmutter, wet-nurse' (fuotar 'food'), MLG eide 'mother'; pGmc *ajθī b→ F äiti, Es eit (gen. eide), Lp L {LLO} eiti, Lp N Δ æi'de 'mother' ¶ Fs. E 20, Fs. 28-9, Vr. 95, Kb. 302, SK 1869 || U: ʔφ Sm: Kms {KD} iyá, yá, ya, {Cs.} i ja, ja, En {Cs.} êʔ, {Dlx.} eʔ, {Ter.} ē 'mother' ¶ Cs. 54, 76, KD 22, KP 70-1 || D {Pf.} *āy 'mother' (→ 'woman') > Tm āy, āyi, Kn āyi, Klm a'y, Gdb āya~aya, Gnd aya, Knd, Png, Mnd aya, Kui aja 'mother', Ku a(i)ya 'woman', Krx ayó 'mother', Mlt ayya 'my mother' ¶¶ D #364, Pf. 20 [#82] ◇ It would be tempting to tie in Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} äyā 'aunt, elder sister' (Rl. I 720), but this form does not belong here, because the intervocal cns. recorded by Rl. as -j- (sc. -y-) is actually -ǰ- (voiced palatal affricate), most probably from pT *-j-, and the word should be probably reconstructed as NaT *eje > StAlt, Tb, Qmn эдье эže 'aunt, elder sister' (BT 189, B DChT 169, B DK 273), Qrg eže 'sister, cousin', Xk iʔe ʔže 'mother', Tk ece 'queen', Tkm eže 'mother', Δ 'elder sister', etc. (ffd. ET Gl 231-5) ◇ AD NM #117, S CNM 12 (÷÷ NrCs) ||| II. marker of fem. (sex\gender): > HS: a) HS *-i, fem. in pronouns of the 2nd pers.: [1] *k-i 'thee' f. (→ 'thou' f. [clitic]) > S *ki 'thee' in postverbal position > Ak, Ar -ki, BHb -k, Gz -kī || WCh *ki 'thee, thou' f. > Hs ki id. || BT: Ngm čí, Dr {Nw.} ží, Tng ži-gó 'thee' f. || Su yì id. || Ron *ki 'thou' f., used as a subject px. > Klr kí, Sha čí, Fy, Bks, DfB ší || ? but Eg OK cm, cn 'thee, thou' f. [enclitic], and cmṯ 'thou' f. [aut. prn.] do not necessarily belong here (c- < *ki-), because the same c- is found in the prn. of 2m cω [encl.] (cp. Eg OK kω id.), and the female

gender marker here is -m 𐤎 [2] HS *k-i 'thy' f. possessoris (enclitic) > S *ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Ak, Ar -ki, Hb -k, Gz -kī || Eg OK -c 'thy' f. possessoris [-c∇ < *-ki] || C *-ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Bj -ki || EC: Hr -āhi 𐤁 AMS 91 || WCh *ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Hs (-n)-ki, (-r)-ki || BT: Krf čī, Bl (š)šī, Krkr (t+)čī || Ron: Klr -m-ik^u, Sha -m-ič, -m-a-ač, Fy -iš id. 𐤎 [3] S *an-t-i 'thou' f., aut. prn. > Ak at ti, Ar ?anti, Hb 𐤍𐤏𐤔 patta, Gz ?antī | **b**) HS *-ī, marker of the female gender in verbs of the 2nd person > S *-ī > Ak, Gz, Hb -ī, Ar -ī(-na), Mh -i, e.g. BHb 'kūm-ī 'stand up!' inv. 2f., tā'kūm-ī 'you (sg. f.) will stand up', Ar qūl-ī 'say!' 2f., taqūl-ī-na 'you (sg. f) say, will say', Ak taprus-ī 'you (sg. f) separated', Gz kūm-ī 'stand up!' (sg. f), taḳawwam-ī 'you (sg. f) are standing', Mh tzmayt-i 'du (f.) stirbst' || C: Bj -i, e.g. ti-dir-i 'you (sg. f.) killed' | **c**) HS *-ī- ~ y∇, marker of f. in pronouns of 3s > S *-ī- fem. in *š-ī-?a 'she' (> Ak šī, Ar hiya, Ug hy, BHb 𐤍𐤏 hī, JA, Sr hī, Sb hy?) ↔ *š-ū-?a 'he' (> Ak šū, Ar huwa, Ug hω, BHb 𐤍𐤏 hū, JA, Sr hū, Sb hω_?) || Eg O sy ({Lpr.}: *siy) 'she; her (obj.)', enclitic prn. (↔ sw 'he') || C: Or B ísi 'she' (↔ isā 'he'), Or T {Mrn.} -ši ~ -še 'her' (px.) (↔ -sa 'his'), Sd {Mrn.} ise 'she' (↔ iso 'he') | **d**) HS *°-ay > S: Ar ى -ay ([-ā], OWA [-ay]), female gender marker in some adjectives and numerals: صُغْرَى suḡray suḡrā 'smaller' f. (↔ ṣaḡṣaru 'smaller' m.), سَكْرَى sakray sakrā 'drunken' f. (↔ sakrānu 'drunken' m.), حَبْلَى ḥublay (traditional Ar [ḥublā]), أُولَى ūlay ūlā 'first' f. (↔ ūwalu 'first' m.), حَدَى ḥday ḥdā 'one' f. (↔ ḥadun 'one' m.). As indicated by Sibawayhi (II 349), the spelling ى (-ay) in the form حَبْلَى ḥublay 'pregnant' was pronounced in OWA (Hijaz) as -ay (ḥublay). Chaim Rabin (Rb. AWA 115-9) has shown that the same is true about any final ى. But in the orthoepy of CIAr (based presumably on dialects other than OWA) ى is pronounced [-ā]. 𐤍 MSUS 102-9, AD PP 69-73, AD IPCV, AD EPCChL, Nw. KL 19, Ed. 70-81, Kr. RChP 69, 74-80, 85, J R 371-4, J S 88, Ap. ANH 8 (HS female gender marker *-∇i > *-ay/-ā), Ed. 70-80, Lpr. 64-5 || **K**: traces of the fem. sx. *-ay may be discerned in the OG form iḡi-a(y) 'she' (Naum 2.7) ↔ iḡi 'that, he' (without opposition of sexes) and possibly in G ḳabuḳ-a 'girl' ↔ ḳabuḳ-i 'boy' 𐤍 DCh. 578, 1701, Dirr G 11 (fn. 1) || **IE**: NaIE *-

ī, *-ī-, a nominal sx. of fem. (sex and gender): *w_lk^w-ī 'she-wolf' (> OI v_rōkī, ON ylgr < pGmc *wulǵ^wī) < *w_lk^wo-s 'wolf' (> OI v_rōka-ḥ, Gk λύκος, Gt wulf-s, Lt vilka-s, etc.), *nept-ī-s > OI nap't-ī-ḥ, gen. nap't-iy-aḥ 'female descendant', L neptis, OHG nift 'niece'; / also OI 'janitr-ī 'genitrix', Gk γενέτειρα id., etc., as well as BSl *-i (< *-ī), marker of the female gender in active prtcs.: OCS мьрѣшн мьрѣш-и, Lt mīrus-ī 'dying' (act. prtc. nom. sg. f.) ¶ Brg. KVG 29-330, § 405, Me. SC § 403 || A: M {Pel.} *-ay, marker of the fem. sex of nouns: WrM sutay 'empress' ↔ sutu 'emperor', qutuqtay 'saint woman' ↔ qutuqtu 'saint man'; MM {Pp., Dr., Oz.} -y / -i, fem. marker of verbs (-b-i as fem. of the praet. perfecti ↔ non-feminine -ba/-be; -ligi~li,i as fem. of the prs. perfecti; -kü-y as fem. of ft. ↔ -kü m.); harmonic front vowels of words (possibly going back to a sx. *-e) as a marker of the female sex: WrM eke 'elder female relative, mother' ↔ aqa 'elder male relative (elder brother, uncle)', {Vld.} getülgegcī 'liberatrix, salvatrix' (epithet of the goddess Tara) ↔ gatulgagcī 'liberator (transporting across water)' ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, Pp. MM 101, Dr. SB 62-3, 68, Vld. SGR ∇, Vld. 133-4, Pel. VNS, KW 3, 118, Snz. SGR 73-4, Oz. GHMDG || ?φ Tg: *-e or a front (closed) harmonic vowels denoting the female sex: WrMc deheme 'aunt' ↔ dehema 'uncle, aunt's husband', emile 'female bird' ↔ amila 'male bird', hehe 'woman' ↔ haha 'man', {Sun.} erselen 'lioness' ↔ arsalan 'lion', Nn 3np3 'mother-in-law' ↔ anpa 'father-in-law', 3g3 'elder sister' ↔ aga 'elder brother' ¶ STM I 231, Z 42, 801, Sun. M 171 ¶¶ The M pair aqa ↔ eke and the Nn aga 'elder brother' ↔ 3g3 'elder sister' may be explained away as Lallwörter, but this is not the case in most other aforementioned M and Tg words.

101. *ʔäy∇ (= *ʔäya?) 'which?', 'what?' > HS *ʔay(y)- 'which?' > S *ʔayy- (~ *ʔiyy-?) 'which?' > Ak nom. ay_y-u(-m) / accus. ay_y-a(-m) / gen. ay_y-i(-m), Ar ʔayy- id., BHb ʔē / -ʔayy- ~ ʔay_yē 'where?' (בְּיַיִן ʔē 'where is Abel?', הַיַּיִן ʔay_yēkkā 'where art thou?'), as well as in cds.: ʔē-ʔayy-ʔē-zē 'which?', ʔē-ʔayy-ʔē-pō 'where?', ʔē-ʔayy-ʔē-k̄ ~ ʔē-ʔayy-ʔē-k̄ā 'how?' (with zē 'this', pō 'here', k(-), k̄ā(-) 'as'), Ug ʔay 'whatsoever', ʔay 'where?', Amr {G} ʔayya ~ ʔiyya id., JA [Trg.] ʔay ʔē id., Sr ʔaynā 'which?', Qt {Rk.} ʔay(y) 'whoever, what(so)ever', Mn ʔay - enclitic indf. pc., Gz ʔay 'which?, what (kind of)?' ¶ Br. G I 327-8 [§§ 111-2], Lip. 328-9, Sd. G § 47, KB 36-8, 41, GB 28-32, A ##161, 172, OLS 64-5, G A 13, Lv. T I 23, LG 49, Rk. 9-10, MA 8 || C: EC {Ss.}

*ʔayy- / (precons. and pausal) *ʔay- 'who?, which?' > Sa ay, Sml N {Abr.} ayúó, Sml Db {AOM} ayúo 'who?', Rn áyyò, Bn {Hw.} ayúo (pl. ayúos) 'who?', {AOM} 'who is?', Bs {HL} ayó 'who?', Or ē-(n)nu 'who?', ē-sa 'where?', Kns, Gdl ay-nu 'who?', Kns ay-ša 'where?', Sd/Hd {Ss.} ay ~ ayye, Ged ayye, Hd ay, ayy-e, Brj {Ss.} áyye 'who?'; Dsn {To.} māyya 'who?' (< *mi ʔayy-a, with N *mi 'what?', q.v. ffd.) ||| Ag {Ap.} *ʔaw- 'who?' > Bln {Ap.} ʔaw, Q/Xm {Ap.} aw, Aw ay (Ap.: < *aw-i) ||| Bj {Rop.} āū, {R} nom. aw (< *ʔay-u), gen. ay (< *ʔay-i), nom. ā-b 'who?' ¶ Ss. PEC 46, Ss. B 30, Bl. 102, 214, 306, HL 79, Abr. S 20, PG 71, Hw. B II 110, AOM 6, Ap. AV 3, R WBd 35, Rop. 15, To. DL 516 || Om: SOM: Ari {Fl.} ayi 'who?' ||| NrOm: Cha {C} ay 'what?', Bsk {C} ay 'who?', ayba 'what?', Dwr/Gf {LmS} ay, Wl {LmS} ay-bā, Ym {Wdk.} áwú 'what?' ¶ Fl. OO 321, C SE III 113, 163, LmS 306, Wdk. BY 118 || ? Ch: ECh: Jg {J} ʔaywa 'where?' ||| WCh: Hs yāyā 'how?', ? Klr {J} ʔān 'which?', Fy {J} ʔá...án 'where?' ||| CCh: Msg yā 'where?' ¶ ChC ||| K *may 'what?' (< N *mi 'what?' [q.v.] + N *ʔäy∇) > Sv: UB/LB māy ~ mā, L may, Ln ma; Mg, Lz mu-, ?? in the OG and G cd. r0-me-l- 'which?', 'which' (rel. prn.) ¶¶ K 124, K² 112 (*ma-), TK 554-5 ||| A: Tg *ē 'what?', *ē - interr. verb ('quid facere?') > Ewk ē, Sln ī 'what?', Ewk, Neg ē-, Lm ā- - interr. verb ¶ × N *ya 'which?' (q.v.)? ¶ STM I 286-7 || ?φ M *ali (< *ay-li with pre-M *ay- < (regr. as.) N *ʔäya) 'which (one)?', 'what?' > MM [MA, IM, S] ali 'which one?', [IsV] ali 'where?', WrM ali(n), HIM аль id., 'what?', Mnr {SM, T} ali 'which?', ? MMgl [Z] almad 'which' ¶ Pp. MA 98-9, 432, H 5, Lg. VMI 16, MED 31, T 314, T DnJ 133, SM 4, Iw. 85 ||| ?φ U: Sm *ъ- (= {Jn.} *ā-) ⇨ *ъ-m- 'what?' > Ne: T O {Lh.} ḡaw·ē 'what?', 'what kind of?', T {Ter.} ḡamḡə 'what?', 'what for?', T O {Lh.} ḡamḡḡ 'what?', 'why', gen. pl. ḡāw0ḡ (< *ъm-ъ-y-), FL {Lh.} ḡammḡ (< *ъmъyъ) 'what?'; En d. {Cs.} awuo, {Prk.} abbuā, {Mik.} obū 'what?'; ? Kms {Cs.} ümbi, {KD} zm·bi· ~ ḡ·bi· 'what?' ¶ Jn. 15, Ter. 376, Lh. 4-5, KD 19, 38 ◇ N *ʔäy∇ 'which?', 'what?' may be somehow connected with N *ya 'which?' (q.v.). For instance, it may go back to a N cd. *ha (deictic pc., q.v.) + *ya.

102. *ʔe¹y∇ 'come, arrive' > HS: Eg fOK iḡ v. 'come' > DEg iḡ > Cpt: Sd ei, Bi id.; Vc. vocalizes the inf. of this verb as *iḡi.t; Eg fOK iḡ v. 'come' > DEg iḡ id.; Cpt ei ei v. 'come' may go back to the Eg verbal noun iḡ.t; acc. to Vc., Cpt B/Sd ταιο ταιο v. 'send' goes back to DEg ty iḡ 'send' < Eg *dy.t iḡ-ā 'faire qu'(il) vienne'; acc. to Ed. and

Vc., Eg $\dot{\text{y}}$ and $\dot{\text{w}}$ are two different, albeit akin, verbs J EGI 37, 44, Er. 18, 20, Ed. §§ 456, 724, Vc. 59-60, 223 || B $\text{*}\check{\text{r}}\text{y}\text{w}$ > ETwl $\text{b}\text{y}\text{o} \sim \text{a}\text{y}\text{y}\text{o}$, Ty $\text{b}\text{y}\text{o} \sim \text{i}\text{y}\text{o}$ 'come!' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm ETwl $\text{b}\text{y}\text{o}\text{w}\text{b}\text{t} \sim \text{b}\text{y}\text{e}\text{w}(\text{w})\text{b}\text{t} \sim \text{a}\text{y}\text{y}\text{o}\text{w}\text{b}\text{t}$, Ty $\text{b}\text{y}\text{o}\text{w}\text{at} \sim (\text{b})\text{y}\text{b}\text{w}\text{at} \sim \text{y}\text{o}\text{w}\text{b}\text{t}$; Mz $\text{a}\text{y}\text{y}\text{a}$ 'come' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm $\text{a}\text{y}\text{y}\text{at}$; Iz inv. eo 'come!'; Pr. mentions ETwl pf. intens. $\text{i}\text{h}\text{a}\text{y}$ v. 'come' J GhA 205, Dlh. M 241, Zl. KÄLV 120, Pr. H #441 || C: Bj $\text{?i-}/\text{?ē-}$ scv. 'come': Bj A {ADP} p. 3m ?ē-ya '(he) came', Bj {R} p. 3m ?ē-ya , 3f ?ē-ta , 3p $\text{?ē-ya}\bar{\text{n}}$, {Rop.} p. 1s i-'an , 2m ?ε-ta , 2f ?ε-tāi , 3m ?εa , 3f ?ε-ta , 1p ?ε-na , gerund ?i-a , pp. ?i-'e (Roper often does not indicate the initial ? -, because "the hamzah is very elusive"), Bj B {Alm.} p. ?i- || EC: Sd {C, Mrn., Gs.} e? - v. 'go in, enter'; ?φ Arr pcv. $\text{-i?it-} / \text{-e?et-}$ (ipv. ?i't) 'go' (\times N $\text{*}\check{\text{r}}\text{o'dU}$ 'go', q.v. ffd.) J AD SF 184, R WBd 3, R BedS II 41-2, Rop. 79, ADP BFN, C SE II 184, Gs. 89, Hw. A 451-9 || Om: SOm: Hm {FL} y- , Ari Gll {Bnd.} ay- 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} y- , Bdt/Zs/Cha/Zl {C, Mrn., LmS}, Hrr, Malo, Mj {FL} y- v. 'come', Ym {Wdk.} inf. $\text{yó} / \text{yò}$, 2s yé , Bdt {FL} yo , Oyda {FL} $\text{yi?}/\text{yi-}$, Male {FL} yε? , Bnc {Wdk.} 2s yé? - id. J AD SF 184, Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 88, 208, C SO 36, 45, 51, 64, 69, Blz. OL #207 (Om $\text{*yi-}/\text{*?i-}$), Wdk. BY 113, 139, Bnd. AL 151 [#33] || Ch {Stl.} $\text{*ya?}/\text{*ya}\text{w-}$ 'go', {AD} 'go, arrive' > WCh: Hs yá-kà 'come here!', ??? $\text{yá}\text{w}á$ 'wander through' | Ywm ya 'go' | Dr {Nw.} yàj 'arrive', Krf $\text{y}\text{o}\text{w-}$, {Stl.} yé?ey 'go' | Ngz {Sch.} yá 'go' | Bg {Csp.} $\text{yù}\text{wéy}$ 'run' | DfB {J} yû 'go' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} yā , Kola {Sb.} ...ya... v. 'come' | Ms {Mch.} ya v. 'come, go' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} yè 'run', Li è- , Tbn {Cp.} yè 'walk' J Stl. IF 143, JI II 82-3, ChL, Nw. 24 [#27] (Ch *ya 'come' inv.), Nw. KL 135, Abr. H 942, 952, Sch. DN 174, Csp. 64, J R 223, Blz. EChWL #92 || IE $\text{*?ej-}/\text{*?i-}$ ({EI} $\text{*h}_1\text{ej-}$) v. 'go' > Ht i- , (i) y- , Lw, HrLw i- id. || NaIE $\text{*ej-}/\text{*i-}$ 'go' > OI $\text{ē-}/\text{i-}/\text{y-}$ (prs. 3s ē-ti , 1p i-'mah , 3p y-anti) v. 'go', Av aēiti , OPrs aitiy 'goes' || Gk $\text{el-}/\text{l-}$ v. 'go' (prs. 3s εἶσι , 1p ἔ-μεν) || L $\text{i-}/\text{i-}$ id. (prs. 2s i-s , inv. i , prtc. i-ens) || Gt idđja 'I went' || Pru ēisei 2s prs. 'gehst', Lt ei- 'go' (OLt eĩ-ti 'goes'), Ltv eĩ-mu ē iê-mu 'I go', Ltv C/E iê-t , Ltv W iẽ-ti 'to go' | pSl inf. $\text{*j}^{\text{b}}\text{-ti} /$ prs. $\text{*j}^{\text{b}}\text{d-q}$ 'go' > OCS ити iti / prs. идѣ idq , SCr $\text{ici} / \text{iđēm}$, Cz jiti / jdu , P $\text{ísć} / \text{idę}$, R $\text{идти} / \text{иду}$, Slv inf. íti , Blg prs. ида || pTc {Ad.} *i- 'go, travel' > Tc A i- , Tc B $\text{i-}/\text{yā-}$ id.; d pTc {Ad.} rdp. *(y)iyā- > Tc A {Wn.} yā- 'aller, rouler, voyager' (past prtc. yāyo), B {Wn., Ad.} (rdp.) *iyā- 'go, travel' J P 293-7, EI 227-8, Mn. 234, Pv. I-II 325-35, M K I 128, F I 462-3, Fs. 88-9, ME II 79, Frn. 119, En. 165, Tp. P

E-H 20-2, Glh. 273, Wn. 589, Ad. 60-1, 66-7, Ad. H 54, 65 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *yü|j-*we*- v. 'come' > OHg jō, Hg jō-n (jōvōk, jōttem) id., pObU *yüw∇ ~ *yiw∇ v. 'come' > pVg *yī-/ *yīw-/ *yāy- v. 'come' > Vg: T yi-/yüw- ~ yāw-/yāy-, LK/MK/UK yi-/yiw-/yāy-, P yi-/yiy-/yāy-/yāy-, SV yi-/yāy-/yāy-, UL yi-/yay-, Ss yi-/yuw-/yay-; pOs {Ht.} *yō-/ *yōy- ({}HI. *yū- / *yūy-) v. 'come' > Os: V/Vy yō-/yōy-, Ty yō-/yōy-/yēy-, Y yō-/yēy-/yēw-, D yē-, K yē-/yēw-, Nz yī-/yīw-/yūw-, Kz yī-, yūw-, O yi- v. 'come' ¶ MF 340-1, UEW 109, Ht. 140 [#169], Hl. rHt 67-8, 72-4 ¶ ≈ IS I 267 (U *yē-*ye*, unt. in the light of new achievements in FU hist. phonology); ≈ MF 340-1 and UEW 109 (FU *yEη|y∇ [{} UEW] *jōrɛ, *jōyɛ] based on unc. adduction of F/Es jāä- v. 'remain'); IS supposed that the U stem is derived from the expected U *ey∇-, like IE *yeh- (sc. *?yeh-) v. 'walk, go' (> Ht (i)ya-(tta) id., OI yā-ti 'goes', Lt jō-ti 'to ride', Tc A yā- 'go, travel') < IE *?ey- || A *ī- > Tg *ī- v. 'enter' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg ī- id. ¶ STM I 293 || M: d.: (1) *i-re- v. 'come' > MM, WrM ire-, HIM, Dx, Ord ire-, Kl, Dg ir-, Mnr H, Ba re-, Mgl irā- ~ ira-, {Wr.} ir^ ~ irε- ¶ Iw. 107, MED 413, H 82-3, Rm. M 29, Wr. 168, Klz. D I 110, T 356, KW 209 ||] (2) M *i-le- v. 'go, go away' (> MM [S, SMD] ile- id., F H 81, H SMD 53) < *ile-ge- v. 'send' > MM [S, MA] ilē-, [HI] ile-, WrM ilege-, HIM ilgee-, Kl ilgē- ¶ Ms. H 62-3, MED 404, KW 207, Pp. MA 195-6, 438 ¶¶ Pp. IAL 117, S AJ 292 [#482] || D {Km.} *ey- v. 'arrive, reach' (→ v. 'obtain') (and d. {Km.} *ey-t-) > Knd ī-, Png ika-, Ku e-, Kdg etti, Klm end-, Prj ēd ~ ēy-, Gdb ed- v. 'arrive', Gnd ev- ~ av- ~ awwānā, Kui epa- / et- v. 'reach, arrive', OTI {Km.} eydu- ~ eyidu- ~ ēdu- v. 'reach, go to', v. 'obtain', TI ētencu v. 'come, arrive, go', Tm eytu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', MI eytuka v. 'obtain', ettal, ettu 'reaching', Td ic-, Tu etta, ekka v. 'reach', Kn ay-du, eydu v. 'approach, reach' ¶¶ D #809, Em. DIL 104-110, Km. 308 [#168] ◇ Cf. AD LRC (HS, IE, A), IS I 265-7 (HS [Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D, A [M, Tg], ? U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #177 (*i ~ *ya 'go') (IE, U, A, Ko, J, EA + unc. Ko).

103. ₂ *?æžEkU (= *?æžikU?) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth') > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' (× N *čuk∇ 'thorn, point' [> 'blade'], 'summit') > BHb שִׁקְ *šeq* (pl. שִׁקְיִם šik'kīm) 'thorn', JA שִׁקְ ~ שִׁקְיִם šik'k-ā, שִׁקְיִם ~ שִׁקְיִם šikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', SmA skh 'thorn', Ar شَيْكَة šikk-at- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak šikk-at-u 'Spitze'

(aphaeresis pS * \hat{s} ikk- < * \hat{r} i \hat{s} ikk-, like in pS * \hat{p} - 'mouth' < * \hat{r} ap-, cp. C * \hat{r} ap- 'mouth') ¶ GB 785, KB 1236, KBR 1326, Js. 988, 993, Tal 585, BK I 1256-7, Lv. III 521, LG 529, Sd. 1234 || C {AD} * \hat{r} i \hat{s} ik ω - (E} * \hat{r} i \hat{s} k ω -) 'tooth' > SC: Kz i \hat{s} ikuk ω , pl. i \hat{s} ik ω a, Asa liga, \rightarrow Mb i \hat{r} ike id. || EC {Ss.} * \hat{r} ilk- id. > Sa ik- ω , Sml ilig, pl. ilk- ω , Rn {Oo., PG} iláħ (pl. ilk- $\acute{\omega}$) 'tooth', Elm ilk- ω ?, Arr {Hw.} \hat{r} ilig (pl. \hat{r} ilk- $\acute{\omega}$), ilkwa id., Or ilk- \bar{a} ni 'teeth', Kns ilk-itta, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink- ω , Alb in \check{q} -u, Kmb ink-e, Hd in \check{q} - \bar{e} , Brj ir \check{q} - \bar{a} , Hr/Dbs {AMS} \hat{r} ilgakk $\acute{\omega}$ (pl. ílge) 'tooth', Gln {AMS} \hat{r} ílke, Gwd \hat{r} ílq-e, Bs {HL} ilk- $\bar{\omega}$ 'teeth' || Ag {AD} * \hat{r} zrk ω -, {Ap.} * \hat{r} ærk ω - 'tooth' > Bln {Plm.} \hat{r} zrk ω i, Xm {R} eræk ω , {Ap.} zrz \check{q} ω , Q {R} \hat{y} erk ω , Km {Ap.} zrk ω z, Aw {Hz.} zrk ω í id. || Bj {R} a \hat{y} æk ω 'a front tooth' ¶ AD SCLC 203-4, AD SF 132, Ap. AV 5, Ss. PEC 12, 22, 40, Ss. B 106, Bl. 164, 190, Hw. A 341, HL 66, PG 151, Oo. 72, AMS 165, 205, 281, E PC #342, E SC 292 (s.v. SC * \hat{r} i \hat{s} ik ω a 'tooth') || A: Tg *elgu 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', (\leftarrow ?) 'bear's fang' > Neg zlg ω /z 'hook, bear's fang', Ewk zlg ω , Lm zlg \bar{b} ~ \bar{b} lg \bar{b} 'fish-spear', Orc zgg ω , Ul z \check{z} u, Ork zldu, Nn zlg ω 'hook' ¶ STM II 445-6 || M *elg \ddot{u} - v. 'hang on (sth.), hook' > WrM elg \ddot{u} -, \ddot{o} lg \ddot{u} - v. 'hang, hang on (a nail)', elg \ddot{u} n qada- 'to nail onto (as pictures to the wall)', HIM \ddot{o} lg \ddot{u} - id. ('вешать, под- \wedge при-вешивать'), Mnr E {MYC} olgo- 'hang, suspend' ¶ MED 309, Luv. 319, MYC 543 || ? ϕ NaT * \bar{i} l- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > OT il- , {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook, etc.)', {DTS} '(под-, за-)цеплять; ловить (крючьями)', Tkm \bar{i} l- vi. 'hook, fasten upon (при- \wedge за-цепляться)', Yk \bar{i} l- vt. 'hang up, load (animal's back) with', Qmq, Qrg, Qrql, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq il- \bar{b} l-, VTt, Bsh эл- \bar{b} l-, Xk il- \bar{c} l- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook, hook on' ('за- \wedge под-цепить') ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ SDM95 (* \bar{e} lku v. 'hang on, hang on hook'); \approx SDM97 (A* \bar{o} l(k)i id.) and \approx DQA #648 (A * \check{i} le id.) (in both papers M *elg \ddot{u} - and T * \bar{i} l- are unconvincingly equated with Tg *ol- 'hook for hanging kattle; to hang over fire' and Ko *ori 'a fishing hook for several barbs'; in fact, Tg *ol- and Ko *ori belong to N * \hat{r} ' \acute{o} 'L ∇ 'bough, hook' [q.v.]) \diamond If NaT * \bar{i} l- belongs here, its vw. * \bar{i} is still to be explained (as. from * \bar{i} of a presumable N etymon * \hat{r} æ \hat{z} ikU?) \diamond AD NM #90, Vv. AEN 5-6, AD PNCPh #53.

104. * \hat{r} ' \ddot{u} ' \check{z} ? ∇ (or * \hat{r} ' \ddot{u} 'h \check{z} ? ∇ ?) 'throat; to swallow' > HS: S * \check{o} ✓ \hat{r} z? > Ar✓ \hat{r} z? G (pf. \hat{r} aza \hat{r} a) 'rassassier (les moutons)' ¶ BK I 28, DRS 13 || ? σ Eg Md \check{i} z ω 'Schilfrohr', Eg G \check{i} z. \ddot{t} 'Luftrohr, Schlund' (if the meaning

'throat' is primary) ¶ EG I 127-8 || Om ≈ *_lʔ|w_luč|č v. 'drink' > SOm: Hm B {Fl.} w3č- ~ w4č-, Bako, Ub, Gll {Fl.} w3č- || NrOm: Cha {Fl., C}, Bdt, Bsk, Zs {C} uš-, Bdt {Fl.} uš-, Hrr {Gr.} wuš-, Ym {C, Fl.} uš-, {Wdk.} uša, Shn {C} uš-, Shn {Fl.} Anf {Fl.} 4šš, {MYTY} uco, uc-, Kf {C} uɣ-/učč-, {Fl.} uč, Mch {L} ʔüssi-, Bnc {Wdk.} uš(k)- v. 'drink' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'drink', C SE IV 393, L M 20, MYTY 119, 122, Wdk. BY 112, 137, 150 || SC: Irq {MQK} isa (pl. is-ō) 'neck' (esp. 'back part of the neck'), Brn isa, Kz isito, Asa isat 'neck' ¶ E SC 283, MQK 57 || IE *ʔ|hoʔ|h_w(e)s- or *ʔ|ho_wʔ|h(e)s- ({Pv.} *^lA₁w_eE₁es- / *^lA₁w_eE₁s-, {EI} *^hh₄oh₁(e)s / gen. *^hh₄eh₁'s-os) 'mouth' > *Ho₁s- id. (= *ʔ|h_oys-) > Ht ais, gen. iss-as (s-stem), Lw as(sa)- 'mouth' (?) || NaIE *ō_{us}-/*ə_{us}- 'mouth' > OI āh (= ās), ās'yam, Av āh- || L ōs, ōris || OIr á 'mouth' || AS ōr 'beginning, origin; forehead', ON óss 'mouth of a river'] ⇨ NaIE *əws-tā 'lip' > OI 'ōs̥t̥ha-h 'lip', Av aošta-, aoštra- id. || L ōstium 'entrance' || Lt uóstas, uostà 'mouth of a river, Haff, harbour', Ltv osts, ōsta 'harbour', Pru austo 'mouth', āustin 'mouth of an animal' | pSl *us'ta pl. 'mouth' > OCS оуста usta, Blg, R уста, SCr, Slv ústa, Cz, Slk ústa, P usta, Uk вуста ¶¶ Pv. I-II 15-7, P 784, EI 387, M K I 84, 133, WH II 224-8, Vr. 421, Ho. 241, Frn. 1167, Tp. P A-D 172-4, En. 149, Glh. 656, Vs. IV 172, Vn. A 4, Ped. H § 41, Ts. E I 6-8, Kron. VLHS 42, Ivn, SA 154 ¶¶ NaIE *ōws-/*əws- suggests N *ʔ'ú'h₃∇ || A {SDM95} **ič'∇ (?) > T *iç- v. 'drink' > OT, Tkm, Az, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv ič-, Tk iç-, VTt əɥ-(γ) б́-, Bsh бs-, Yk is-, Chv ẽç- б́/́- v. 'drink' ¶ Cl. 195, Rs. W 168, DTS 201, ET Gl 391, Jeg. 66, Fed. II 159, SDM95 s.v. (?) *ič'∇ 'drink' ◇ The glottalized -č- in SOm, the vl. -č- in NrOm, and the fortis *-č'- in A (for the expected voiced cns.) are likely to go back to the N cluster *-ʔ|ʔ- ◇ The delabialized *i from *ü in T (or in pA?) still needs investigating ◇ The semantic history of the etymon: 'throat' → (IE) 'mouth', 'swallow' → 'drink'.

105. ₂ *ʔúž∇ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > HS **ʔuž-(∇n)- > S *^lʔuðan- 'ear' > Ak uz_n-, Hb ʔ_uʔ_zen, Ug ʔ_udn (= *ʔudn-), JA [Trg.] ʔ_uʔ_zan, JA [Trg.], JEA em. ʔ_uʔ_zan-ā, Sr ʔ_uʔ_zan-ā, SmA ʔ_udn, Ar ʔ_uðn-, OSA ʔ_udn, Gz ʔ_uʔ_zan, pl. ʔ_uʔ_zan, Jb C {Jo.} ʔ_uʔ_zan, Mh ʔ_uʔ_zan, dim. ʔ_uʔ_zan, Hrs ʔ_uʔ_zan, Sq {Jo.} ʔ_uʔ_zan ¶ DRS 10, KB 27, A #89, OLS 9-10, Js. 22, Sl. 85, Tal 9-10, Lv. I 30, BGMR 2, LG 52, Jo. M 3, Jo. H 1, MiK I #1.4 || Eg ʔ_udn 'ear' ([ɪnk]... s₃m x₃w m₃ ʔ_udn ggwy 'I am he

who hears a sound\voice like an attentive ear' [Coffin Texts 7.3Ok, from Vc. p.c.], *F* Gilula 'IE 251), *ἰδῆν hier.* *'ear' ¶ EG I 154, Tk. I 83-4, 248, ≈ 37 || C: Ag *was- v. 'hear' > Bln was-, Xm wāš-, Km was- id. || ?? SC: Kz wato 'ear' (unless akin to Asa yot-, Dhl ʔēet-it- 'hear, Af ayti 'ear') ¶ Ap. AV 22, EK 15, Blz. CL 178 || Om {Blz.} **wayz- (= {AD} *wayǰ-) 'ear; to hear' > NrOm: Male wayz-, Kf wāy- ({Lm.}: -y- < *-z-), Ym {Wdk.} wē-sò ~ wēs-ò v. 'hear', Mch wāǰǰi 'ears' (?) (in wāǰǰi 'kākko 'earring'), ? wā-mo 'ear', Cha {C} wāy, Zs, Zrg waye, Bsk woyci, Doka wayci, Bdt wašē id., Shn {Lm.} wāza 'ear' ¶ Blz. OLBP 11 [#28], LM 56, Lm. Sh. 407, Lm. Y 473, C SE III 87, 177, Wdk. BY 138, Ap. AV 22 || IE *ǵ|Hous- / *ǵ|Hus- ({EI} *h₁ous- / gen. *h₁eus-s or *h₁u's-os) 'ear' > NaIE *ous- / *ōus- / *us- (/??*aus-) id. > Av ušī, OPrs ušī nom. du. 'both ears', KhS uī 'intelligence' || Gk: A οὔς, D ὠς 'ear' || Arm **ուկն** unkn 'ear' (-kn on the analogy of **ակն** akn 'eye'?) || pAl {O} *wausi, {Huld} *veš- 'ear' > MAI G [FB], AI T/G vesh || Lauris 'ear' || OIr au (later ó) id. || Gt ausō, ON eyra, AS éare, NE ear, OHG ōra, OSx ôra, NHG Ohr id. || Lt ausis, Ltv àuss, Pru ausins id. | pSl *ūxo (du\pl. *ūši) 'ear' > OCS **ухо** uxo (du.\pl. **уши** uši), Blg yxo, SCr ūho, Slv uhō, R 'yxo, Uk byxo, Cz, Slk, P ucho ¶ P 785, EI 173, Mn. 43, Bai. 35, Vn. A 99-100, WH I 85-6, F II 448-9, Fs. 69, Vr. 107-8, Ho. 85, Ho. S 57, OsS 666, Kb. 747, KM 521, Sl. 54-5, SchmB EV 37, Hamp EAlb 138, O 501, Huld 127, Frn. 26, En. 149, Vs. IV 179, Glh. 651 ¶ In L and Ir aʷ- is either a special development of *oʷ- with a non-apophonic *o (cp. Hirt IG II 30, BD I/1 153, 193 [*āus- = *ous with non-apophonic *o]), or some kind of delabializing dis. (*F* Mart. EChPh 229), or reflex of **au- (in a zero-grade **aus-?), Szem. SM I 45 (hyp.: *aus- is original, while *o- in *ous- [> Gk οὔς] is due to the infl. of *okʷ- 'eye').

106. *ǵ|raʔ∇ (= *ǵ|g|yaʔ∇) 'grow, become' (→ 'be') > HS: Eg ʋ ʋ v. 'grow, become great\much' → 'be great\much' (Vc. interprets the verb as a triradical ✓ ʋʋ|ʷ on the ev. of Cpt) > DEg ʋʋ id. > Cpt Sd/B/L **αιαι** aiai, F **αιει** aiei 'grandir, avancer dans l'âge, être honoré', qualificative OCpt **οιοι**, **αιει** aiei, Cpt A **αιεγ** iew, **αιει** aiei, Cpt Sd/B **οιοι** 'large, big'; ⇨ Eg ʋʋ ~ ʋʋy (prtc.) 'great, much' (on the spelling ʋʋy see Ed. § 337) > Cpt Sd/B m. **οο**, f. **ωω**; the Eg set phrase pr-ʋʋ 'big house' (→ 'palace' → 'king') has been preserved in Cpt Sd/A/L **ppo** rro ~ **επο** ero, Cpt B **ογρο** uro 'king', Ak pirʔu, Gk [Hdt.] φερών, Anchb **פרעה** *parə'fō 'Pharaoh' > BHb [Mas.] **פרעה** par'fō and Gk [LXX]

φαραω, [JF] φαραώθης ¶ EG I 161-3, 516, Fk. 37, Er. 53, Vc. 5-6, 154, 177, GB 660-1, KB 913-4 ¶¶ The Eg root belongs here unless it is akin to S * $\sqrt{\text{rl}}$ v. 'rise', as suggested by Vc. (Vc. 5-6) || B * $\sqrt{\text{h??}}$ (= Pr.'s $\sqrt{\text{h}_2\text{h}_1\text{h}_1}$) v. 'be in' > Ah əh, pf. int. iħa, Tnsl, Ty, ETwl, Gh pf. int. iħa id. ¶ Pr. H #119, Fc. 495-8, GhA 77 || A: M *a₁- v. 'be' (× N ***ʔa** 'become, be', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here Tg * \bar{o} - v. 'become, happen' (< N ***how**^rⁱ 'become, appear' [q.v. ffd.]) || D {Km.} * \bar{a} - v. 'become, be' (× N ***ʔa** id.?) > Tm \bar{a} , Kn $\bar{a}g\bar{u}$ 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml $\bar{a}k\bar{u}k\bar{a}$ 'be(come) that', Kt a⁻, Kdg a^g- / a⁻, ? Td o^x- / o⁻ 'become', Tu $\bar{a}pini$ (2n p. $\bar{a}n\bar{d}\bar{b}$) 'be, become, happen', Tl $\bar{a}g\bar{u}$, $\bar{a}v\bar{u}$, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku \bar{a} -, Kui $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ - 'be, become', Klm aⁿ- 'be (in a place), be (so-and-so)', Nkr aⁿḏ-, Nk aⁿ-, Gnd \bar{a} -, Brh aⁿ- / a^r- / a^s- / a⁻ 'be' ¶¶ D #333, Km. 277 [#2], Cald. 355-6 ¶¶ Not here Kn, Tl $\bar{a}g\bar{u}$ v. 'be, become' (probably from D * $\bar{a}k$ - < N ***hak** ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' [q.v.]). In D both roots have formed one suppletive paradigm ◇ Cf. IS I 243: D, A. IS reconstructs N ***ʔa** 'become, be' and assumes that there is a connection between monosyllabicity of the stem and its function as an aux. word (a copula?). To my mind, this connection does exist, but it is not original, but rather a result of later development. There is a universal tendency of shortening syntactic words (cp. IE **esti* 'is' > Rum *îe*, New Arm *îe*; in New G the verbum substantivum ar(i)s has been shortened to -a when used as a copula). But in our case there was no need in special extra-normal shortening, since in D and A the lrs. were lost (resulting in lengthening of the vw. in D and possibly in A) ◇ This etymological equation is uncertain, because the Eg root has an alt. etymology (connection with S * $\sqrt{\text{rl}}$), while the M and D roots may go back to N ***ʔa** 'become, be'.

107. ***ʔæ**^r**bu** 'female breast, bosom' > HS ***ʔi**^r**b**- > CS ***ʔubb**- 'bosom' (or sim.) > JA [Trg.] $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁} \text{ } \bar{a}$ {Lv.} 'Schoß, Inneres, Brust, Busen', {Js.} 'bosom, lap', JEA $\text{ʔub}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ 'bosom', JPA Bz $\text{ʔub}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ 'breast', Sr $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤁} \text{ } \bar{a}$ {Br} $\text{ʔub}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ 'bosom, lap, womb', Ar $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤁} \text{ } \bar{a}$ 'neck of a sleeve' ({Fr.} 'manicae inferior pars eiusque radix'), {Bel.} 'base de la manche', Ar $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤁} \text{ } \bar{a}$ {Hv.} 'arm-pit, breast', {Bel.} 'sein' ¶ Lv. T II 195, Js. 1046, Sl. 84, Sl. P 397, Br. 503-4, SJPS 403, Fr. III 95, BK II 148, Bel. 468, Hv. 449, ≈ MiK I #1.104 (S * $\sqrt{\text{ya/ub(ab)}}$ - 'bosom, chest, dewlap'; adduces Ar ʔabab - 'chaire pendante sous le menton; gorge', / BK II 429) || ? B ***bb** ∇ - (< { ʔPr. }-y $\text{b}\nabla$ - \rightarrow *-w $\text{b}\nabla$ -) 'female breast' > Sll ti-bb \bar{i} -t, pl. ti-bb \bar{a} t-in, Tgn {La.} (not Gh, as erroneously mentioned in IS I 275 and AD

SF 146!) a-bbu_i, pl. i-bbuin (unless developed from Lallwörter independently in Sll and Tgn) ¶ Ds. 258, La. MChB 115-6 || EC: Sml {R} i_b ~ ^ɛi_b, Sml B {AD}, new StSml (based on Sml B) {DSI} i_b, i_{bb}o 'nipple' (here, unless borrowed from Ar ^ɛu_{bb}-, as suggested by Illich-Svitych) ¶ AD SF 146, DSI 321, R SS II 7, IS I 275 || Ch: CCh *w|^ɛu_b 'female breast': Lmn {Mch.} w^ɛu^ɛw_a, w^ɛu^ɛb_a, {Lk.} ū_ba | McMdr: Mdr {Kr.} ^ɛu_ba, Glv {Rp.} ū_bà, {Kr.} ^ɛu_bà, Gv {Kr.} w^ɛu_bà, {IL} u_bà, Dgh {Frk.} w^ɛu_bà, Nkc {Blg.} w^ɛu_ba | BM: BuP {ChC} u^ɛw_a, Bu/Cb {Kr.} ^ɛu^ɛw_a, Mrg {IL in ChC} ^ɛw^ɛw_a, Ngx, Wmd ^ɛu^ɛw_a | McHigi: FlK {Kr.} ^ɛu^ɛw_a, HgNk ^ɛu^ɛw_a | ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} íw^ɛyē | Suk {Mk.} w^ɛɛ, {IL} w^ɛâ ¶ JS 53 (Ch *^ɛw_b), JI II 46-7, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch *_b < **_ɛb < *^ɛ...b (mte.) ¶¶ Coh. #56 (S, C), AD SF 146 (C, S, Ch, B) || K: pGZ {K} *ube- ~ *uba- {AD} 'bosom, lap, female breast' > OG, G ube- 'bosom, lap, hem (of clothes)', Mg (l)uba-, l₃ba- 'bosom', Lz uba-, o₃ba- 'female breast, bosom' ¶ K 185, K² 195, Abul. 416-7, DCh.1236, Chx. 1385, Q 274, Marr 192 || A: 1) M *ebü-r 'breast, bosom' > MM [S] e_bur 'breast, bosom, front', WrM e_bür ~ ö_bür, HIM e_be_p 'breast, bosom, front, lap', Kl e_bp öw_r 'bosom, breast', ? Mnr H {SM} y_er 'breast, bosom'; IS assumes that M *ebü-r goes back to a plural form, with *-r being an ancient A plural marker; 2) M *eb-č_i-š_{ün} > MM [HI] e_bč_e-š_{ün} 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} e_bce_u(n) 'Brust', WrM e_bci_gü(n), HIM e_bč_yγ(н) 'sternum, chest', Kl e_bč_yγ öw_cün 'sternum', Ord ö_bč_u, Shr_n iš_ču, Mnr H {SM} š_či_ü 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 628, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12 ◇ C and M suggest a front vw. in the first syll. (most probably N *æ). In S, Ch, and K the vw. *u is due to the ass. infl. of the labial cs. (< N *b) (as well as possibly of the labialized vw. of the second syll.). S *^ɛ- and the K initial zero suggest a pN *^ɛ- (rather than N *^ɛ- yielding S *^ɛ- and K *^ɛ-). Cf. AD LRC #56 (HS [S, C], K, M); IS I 275 (HS [S, B, Ch], K, M). In some lgs. (e.g. Ch and B) the word got a Ll. connotation, but I do not share IS's opinion that this etymon is of onomatopoeic origin.

108. ≈ *^ɛ∇Cü₁?∇₁P∇ (or *^ɛ∇C_yü₁?∇₁P∇) 'salt' > HS: C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *^ɛusu^ɛu^ɛbo 'salt' > Sml ^ɛus_bo, pBn *^ɛus^ɛu^ɛb₃ 'salt' > Bn: Bi usu^ɛu^ɛb₃, J/Kj us^ɛu^ɛb₃ id.; Or {Grg.} aššabō 'salt', {Brl.} ašabó 'salsedine, sale marino sciolto' (↳ Anf aša'bo 'salt'); ?φ Rn čímbi 'salt' || Ag *č₃w ({Ap.} *č₃w) 'salt' > {Ap.}: Bln, Q š₃w_a, Xm č₃w_a, Awn č₃w₁ id.; Ag ↳ Gz š₃w 'salt, salty land', Tgy, Amh č₃w, Tgr č₃w_a 'salt' ¶ Hn. S 78

(pSam *ʕusūbo), Hn. BD 125 (pSam *ʕusuʔubo), Grg. 20, Brl. 29, Ap. AV 20-1, L G 565 || NOm: Mch {L} 'hičiwɔ, Kf {Cc.} ičewɔ ~ ičebo 'salt' ¶ R K 255, L M 34 ¶¶ Blz. SAA || A: OJ {Mr.} sipuɔ 'salt' > J śio id.; OJ -b→ Ainu sippo ¶ Mr. J 525 || D *čupp- ({ʕGS} *s-) 'salt' > Tm, Ml, Kn, Tu, Tl uppu, Kt, Td up, Kdg uppi, Klm, Nk sup, Nkr supp, Prj čup, Gdb sup ɔ čuppu ¶¶ D #2674 ◇ Or *-š(š)- is a reg. reflex of *-sy- (Bl. 281), suggesting pN *ʕCɣûɫʔɫPɫ. An alt. explanation (N *-Cü- > EC *-si- > Or [prevocalic] -š(š)-) is less plausible in view of pSam *ʕusuʔubo that rules out EC *-C i-. A hyp. of an EC *-sü- > LEC -su- and pre-Or *-si- > Or -š(š)- is too dubious, because it is the only supposed EC root with the vw. *ü ◇ The equation between HS, J, and D has been proposed by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [#112]).

109. *ʕAč'U' (= *ʕAč'U'??) 'to blow, to yawn' > HS: S *o✓ʕɕp > Ar عصف ✓ʕɕf G v. 'blow hard' (of wind) ¶ BK II 272 || U: FU *očč' - ~ *ačč' - v. 'yawn' > Chr uštem id. | Z oč-saw- id., očest- id. mom. ('зевнуть') || Hg áśít- v. 'yawn' | pObU {Ht.} *wūs- id. > 1) pVg *ūsant- > Vg: T ōsant-, LK ūsant-, UL/Ss ūsint-, P ūsantōl- id., 2) pOs *wus- > Os: O us- id., -d→ a) Os: V/Vy us+ɫ-, Ty/Y us+ɫ-, Nz us+ɫt-, Kz wōsbɫə- id.; b) Os: D wāses-, K uses- id. ¶ LG 209, Ht. #720 || A: NaT *ās- v. 'blow' (→ v. 'yawn') > OT ās- v. 'blow (gently)', Chg ās- 'wehen, blasen', Tk es-, CrTt, Kr, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln es-, Az ās-, VTt is-, Bsh iθ- v. 'blow' (of wind), Qzq es- v. 'blow hard' (of wind), -d→ NaT *āsīn > OT āsīn 'breeze, gentle wind', -d→ NaT {Bang} *āsīnā- > OT āsnā- to blow gently, to yawn', MQp [CC] esne-, Chg esnā-, Tk esne-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB esne-, Az āsnā-, Uz esna-, ET āsnī-, Δ esne-, VTt isnā-, Qzq, Qq, Nog esine- id., Qrg, StAlt este- 'yawn (from time to time, позевывать)' ¶ Bang TB VII 195, Cl. 240-1, 248-9, Rs. W 49, 50, ET Gl 311-2, 553, Äz. 157, MM 147, Jud. 966 ◇ The vw. *o- in FU *očč' - is puzzling (regr. as. from *ʕAč'U'?).

110. ₂ *ʕVč'LV 'guts' > HS: S *o✓ʕɕl > Ar ʕiɕl-, ʕaɕal- 'guts' ('intestins') ¶ BK II 272 || K: *čel- 'guts, entrails' (× N *č'ī'ɫ'LV 'side of body' [q.v.]) > G pl. čel-eb-i 'guts', Mg čɕ-, č'i-, Lz (m)čū-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. činč'il 'gut, intestine' ¶¶ K 249, K² 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K *čel- 'gut'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862.

111. *ʕawč'V (or *ʕač'wV) 'light of the sun below/on the horizon' > HS: S *oʕaš'w' - > Ar ʕašiy- 'dernière partie du jour', ʕašwat- 'obscurité

de la nuit depuis qu'il s'est fait nuit jusqu'au quart de la nuit' ¶ BK II 265 || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} řašo 'day, full day', Sml N řášo 'day' | Elm áote, Arr řawaté f. 'sun'; cp. EC and Dhl words for 'sun, daylight' s.v. N *řašǂ ▽ 'white, bright' ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, 62, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || ? ECh: Brg {J} řustàŋ 'morning' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE *aus-/*us- (/ *wes-?) 'shine (leuchten)' ({EI} IE *h₁(e)us-sketi 'it lights up, dawns') (as well as NaIE *aus-ōs- 'dawn, morning-twilight' [{EI} IE *h₁eusōs, {Mn.} *ausā, *ausorā 'dawn'] and NaIE *aws-tero 'eastern') > OI usās-/usas- (nom. usāh, accus. usās-am, gen. usas-ah), Av usā (accus. usāŋham, gen. usarhō) 'dawn-light', OI us'rā 'dawn-light' || Gk Hm ἠώς (<*aws-ōs), gen. ἠοῦς (ἠόος), Gk A ἔως, Gk D ἄως id. || L aurōra 'dawn', auster 'southern wind' || Lt aušrà 'dawn, dawn-light', aũšta 'dawn is coming', Ltv àust id., àustra 'morning twilight' | Sl *ustro 'morning' > OP justrozenka 'dawn-light', justrzejszy 'of tomorrow', nazajustrz 'to the following day', OCS заустра zaustra 'in the morning', Blg 'застра, McdS 'zastra 'morning, tomorrow' || Gmc: AS ēarendel 'morning star'; NaIE *awstrō- in AS ēastre 'goddess of the spring', ēastron 'Easter', *aws-t(ero)- in OHG ostar 'östlich', 'to the east', ON austr 'east' || NaIE *wos-er-/*wōs-er-: Vd vasar- 'in the dawn' (in the cd. vasar-'hā 'striking \ [?] meeting \ [?] coming in the dawn'), vāsa'raḥ adj. matutinus' || OIr fáir 'sunrise', W gwawr 'dawn', Br gwere-laouen 'morning star, Venus' (NaIE *-sr- [after a long vw.] > Clt *r-) ¶ P 86-7, EI 148, Mn. 43, M KI 113 and III 172, M EI 23, II 532, MW 93OKb. 749, F I 605-6, WH I 86, LP § 26.3, SB 278, YGM-1 259, Hm. 357, Frn. 27, ≈ ESSJ VIII 201-2 (rejects pSl *ustro), BER I 611, Sl. I 594-5 || U: FP *ač ▽ 'early' > pChr {Ber.} *oš-нъ > Chr: L 'ожно 'earlier', H ажны ažň 'earlier, long ago' | pPrm *wōš (= {LG} *wōš) 'early' > OPrm wōš, Z vōš, Yz 'uš, Vt вазь, Δ waž ¶ UEW 605, LG 60, Ber. 47, MRS 371, Ep. 1 || ? φ D (in KK) *ōč- > Kui ošpa / ošt- v. 'be bright, give light', osteri 'light', Ku oš'i 'beautiful', oš'u 'beauty' ¶ D #1037 ◇ D *ō < N *aw?? Or shall we reconstruct N *řawoč ▽ and suppose a syncope *řawo- > D *ō-?

112. *řäč ▽ 'bush, shrubs, forest' > HS: S *řiš- (~ *řišš-?) 'tree' > BHb řū řēç (pl. ř'řū řē'çīm), Pun řš, Ug řš {A} 'tree', IA řk řk (etymological spelling for OA *řaχ), em. řk < *řaχā, IA

(Akkadianized) (AkSc) $\text{a}\check{\text{x}}-\text{x}\text{u}$, BA 𒌷 $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'wood' (em. 𒌷 $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$), Nbt 𒌷 $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ id. 𒌷 {Js.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'tree', JEA {Sl.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, SmA 𒌷 $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'wood', Ar D 𐤀𐤃𐤁 'tree', Ar عَضَّ r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ {Ln.} 'small thorny tree', {BK} '∈ several kinds of coniferous trees and shrubs', ? Ar عُضَاه r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ {Ln.} 'any great trees having thorns', {BK} '∈ famille d'arbres à épines', {Hv.} عُضَاه r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'coniferous tree', '∈ acacia tree', OSA r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'building materials (wood?)', Gz 𐤀𐤃𐤁 'tree, shrubs', Ak is-u , is-su 'tree' ¶ LG 57, KB 817-8, KBR 863-4, HJ 879-80, BDB 1982, Js. 99, Sl. 152, Tal 55, Ln. 2070, 2076, BK II 277, 282, OLS 91; on OA 𐤀𐤃𐤁 : AD AR and AD PSH 31-2 || ?φ Eg Md/BD r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'branch\bough of a tree' (mt. from * r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$?) ¶ EG V 535 || K * $\text{e}\check{\text{c}}|\text{c}\text{e}|\text{r}$ -> G I/Gr $\text{e}\check{\text{c}}\text{er}$ -i 'mit Riedgras, Gebüsch, Gesträuch usw. bewachsene Niederung', G † $\text{e}\check{\text{c}}\text{er}$ -i 'Hain, Gehölz, Gebüsch' ¶ Chx. 356 || D (in SD) * $\text{a}\check{\text{c}}\text{ar}$ -> Kn $\text{ajara-n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{li}$, $\text{ajura-n}\bar{\text{r}}\text{li}$ 'low undershrub', ? Tu ajara '∈ moss' ¶ D #44 ◇ K and D *-r- may point to a second component of a N word group.

113. * $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}\text{E}$ or * $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}\text{V}$ 'exchange, compensate\ion' (→ 'trade', 'revenge') > HS: S * $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}$ -> Ar r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ G ($\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ /- $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}$) 'remplacer une chose à qn., lui donner une chose en échange de...' ¶ BK II 408 || IE * $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}$ $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ -/* $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{c}}$ $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ -, {EI} * $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ - 'buy', {EI} * $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ -no- 'purchase' > Ht was -, wasiya - v. 'buy', usnyazi 'sells' || NaIE * $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ -/* $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ - v. 'trade, deal' > OI was -na-m 'price, value' || Ir r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ FU * $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ - 'exchange, trade' (ffd. *see* Jk. 298-9, UEW 585) || Arm $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{u}}$ gin (gen. $\text{q}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{gnoy}$) 'price, value' || Gk Mc $\text{o-n}\bar{\text{o}}$ - 'price', Gk $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nos}$ 'venum, purchase-money, a price', $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nh}$, Gk L $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nh}$ (< * $\text{w}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}$ -nā) 'buying (Kauf)' || L $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{no}$ - (nom. $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nos}$, accus. $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nom}$, dat. $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{no}$) 'sail', {EI} 'that which is sold' ¶ P 1173, WP I 311-2, EI 185, M K III 177, WH II 753-4, F II 1149, Sl. 295-6, Ts. W 103 || A: T * $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$ 'revenge, vengeance' > OT $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$ id., 'malice', Tk $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, Az $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, ET, QrB, Qrg $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, Alt $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, CrTt $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, Uz $\text{w}\check{\text{c}}$, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Tv $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, Xk, Yk $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, VTt $\text{y}\check{\text{c}}$ $\text{ü}\check{\text{c}}$, Bsh $\text{ü}\check{\text{c}}$, Chv Δ $\text{b}\check{\text{e}}\text{c}\check{\text{e}}$ $\text{v}\check{\text{b}}\check{\text{z}}\text{b}$ 'revenge, vengeance', Tkm $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$, Qmq, Ln $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$ id., 'hostility', Kr $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}$ id., 'punishment' ¶ Cl. 18, ET Gl 558-9 || ?σ D (in SD) * $\text{o}\check{\text{t}}(\text{t})$ -> Ml $\text{o}\check{\text{t}}\text{ukku}\text{ka}$ v. 'pay taxes', Kn $\text{o}\check{\text{t}}\text{aja}$ 'tribute' ¶ D # 952.

114. * $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\text{V}$ 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards' > HS: S: [1] S * $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ ay -> Ar عَدَى r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ ay $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve' r $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ ay $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ ~ $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\text{ay}$ id., 'extrémité, bord'; [2] S * $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ ay , * $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ u/i 'up to, towards' > OAk ad-um , Ak adi , adu , ad 'up to, towards', Hb $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}$, $\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ 'until',

Ph, Ug, OSA ʕd 'up to, till', Aram ʕad 'up to', Jb ʕed , d 'to, up to', ʔed 'till, until' ¶ Sd. 12, CAD I/I 115-121, KB 743-4, KBR 786-7, BK II 194-7, OLS 71-2, BGMR 12, Jo. J 1 || ? EC: Sa {R} - d , marker of accus./dat. ¶ R S II 95 || K *o-d > Sv - d 'up to, till' (lupχw-d 'till the springtime'), homonymous with - d 'as' (transformative case) and therefore reinterpreted as one of the meanings of this transformative case ¶ Ni. s.v. d o , GP US 41-2 || IE $\text{*h}_2\text{ad}$ ({EI} $\text{*h}_2\text{ad}$) 'at, to' > NaIE *aT 'towards' (where *T is an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition $\text{*d}^h \leftrightarrow \text{*d} \leftrightarrow \text{*t}$ in word-final position) > L ad 'towards', ad- pv. of approaching, Um AR, ARS prep., - $\text{a}ʕ$ postp., 'towards', Osc adp^ud 'quoad' || OIr, Gl ad- pv. of approaching, W add- id. || Gmc *at- pv. 'towards, near' (pv. of approaching) > Gt, ON, OSx at 'towards, near', OHG az id., AS æt , NE at , etc. || Phr αδ-δακετ 'af-fecit', αβ-βερετ 'ad-fererat' || HrLw à-ta 'towards' ¶¶ P 3, EI 590, WH I 11-2, Bc. G 329, Pln. II 675, 727-8, EWA I 405-6, Vn. A 13, Vr. 16, Fs. 60-1, Ho. 13, Schz. 92, Mer. HHG 40-41 || A: ? Tg $\text{*d}^u\text{a}$ 'to, in', case sx. of dative-locative ({Bz.} *dua / *düä) (× N $\text{*d}_1\text{oy}_1\text{a}$ 'place [within, below], inside' [\rightarrow locative pc.]) > WrMc - de (e.g. ama-de 'to the father'), Nn - du 'to, in' (e.g. amen-du 'to the father'), with ppa. - doa (amen-doa-si 'to his father'), Ud - du , - di- (e.g. xoton-du 'zur Stadt', amin-du 'to the father', amin-di-hi 'to his father'), Ul, Sln - $\text{du}/\text{-du}$, Orc - du , Ewk - du (amīn-du 'to the father', amīn-du-s 'to his father') \sim - tu (devoicing due to progressive as.), Neg - $\text{du} \sim \text{-tu}$, Lm - du (aman-du 'to the father') \sim - tu ¶ Bz. 83, Ci. 256, Sun. S 212-223 ◇ The rec. of N *ʕ- is based on S *ʕ- and K initial $\text{*} \emptyset$ -. The AnIE reflex is qu ., because HrLw à-ta may be also connected with Ht arada 'towards' ◇ In the descendant lgs. the word is used mostly in auxiliary functions (pre- \backslash post-positions, prefixex, preverbs), but the S prep. *ʕad-ay , *ʕad-u/i governs the gen. case, hence it must go back to a noun (probably preserved in Ar ʕaday ʕadā 'bord \backslash rivage d'un fleuve'). OAk ad-um still has the form of a noun (nom. case).

115. $\text{*ʕ}^{\text{r}}\text{o}^{\text{d}}\text{U}$ 'go' > K: GZ $\text{*wed-}/\text{*wid-}$ 'go, walk' (× N $\text{*w}^{\text{d}}\text{d}_1\text{d}_1\text{ʕ}^{\text{d}}$ 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS $\text{*} \check{\text{ʕ}}\text{d}^{\text{w}}$ 'go, step \backslash pass over' > BHb $\check{\text{ʕ}}\text{d}^{\text{w}}$: pf. $\text{בְּדָה בְּדָה ʕā}^{\text{d}}\text{dā} \text{ʕal} \dots$ 'step over', Ug {OLS} $\check{\text{ʕ}}\text{dy}$ D 'make go \backslash dissappear' ('hacer pasar \backslash desaparecer'), JA (incl. BA) $\check{\text{ʕ}}\text{dy} \sim \check{\text{ʕ}}\text{d}^{\text{w}}$ G (pf. $\text{בְּדָה ʕā}^{\text{d}}\text{dē} \sim \text{בְּדָה ʕā}^{\text{d}}\text{dā}$) 'pass by', JEA $\check{\text{ʕ}}\text{dy}$ G 'pass, pass over', Sr $\check{\text{ʕ}}\text{d}^{\text{w}}$ (pf. $\text{بَدَا ʕā}^{\text{d}}\text{dā}$) 'come suddenly upon', Md ada , ʕda 'pass by,

pass over', Ar ✓ ʕdʷ G (أَدَا ʕadā / -ʕdū) 'transgress, run', Sb ✓ ʕdʷ (~ ʕdʷ) 'move, march, go', Qtb {Rk.} ʕdʷ 'go beyond, exceed', Mn {MA} mʕdʷt-n 'passage', Gz ✓ ʕdʷ (pf. ʕadawa, js. yəʕdū) 'cross over, pass over', Mh ✓ ʕdʷ (pf. ʔaddō) v. 'assault without reason', Jb C ✓ ʕdʷ|y (pf. ʕa'de) v. 'infect', aʕ'te'de (sbjn. yaʕ'tode) 'attack, set upon' ¶ KB 475, OLS 74, Js. 1043-4, Sl. 844-5, Br. 511, JPS 400, Fr. III 122, BGMR 12, L G 56-7, MA 10, Rk. 115, Jo. M 12, Jo. J 7 || B {ʕPr.} *✓ w d H 'go' (× N *w d l d l ʕ d ʕ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ʔ C: EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} ád- 'go to', ʔ Sd {Mrn.} haḏ- 'andare', {Hd.} haʔr-, {Gs.} haḗa 'go' (→ caus. {Mrn.} haḏḏidīs-, {Gs.} haḗisisa 'accompany') (the unexpected Sd h- still needs explaining); ʔ Arr pcv. -iʔit- pf. / -eʔet- ip. / ʔit imv. m. 'go' (× N *ʔe' y d ʕ 'come, arrive?') || SC: Asa {Fl.} adi 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOM: Ari {Fl.} ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ad- 'come?' ¶¶ In B, C, and SOM there may be contamination with N *q' A' d l d l ʔ o' 'to step, to walk' and with N *ʔ a t l ʔ d ʕ 'to come' || A: M *o d d- 'go, depart, set out for' (× N *w d l d l ʕ d ʕ '↑?') > MM [HI] {Ms.} o d- 'go, depart', [IsV] {Lg.} o d- 'go', [S] o t x u (= o d- x u) 'go, go away', WrM o d-, HIM o d o- 'go to, proceed to', WrO {Krg.} o d- id., 'depart', o d- 'go', Brt W o d o-, Kl o d- o d- 'go, depart', Kl {Rm.} o d- 'sich begeben, sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ Ms. H 83, Lg. VMI 59, H 129, MED 600, Krg. 112, KRS 393, KW 283, Chr. 350, S AJ 270 [#153] ◇ Qu., because all cognates outside HS have alt. etymologies.

116. *ʕudʕ 'follow' (→ 'repeat, continue') > K: Sv L {Dn.} ud, Sv -ud ~ -ə d ~ -id 'still\even (noch)' (χ o x a r ud 'even less, even smaller'), 'again, also' ¶ Dnd. s.v. u d, TK 725 || HS: S *-ʕūd- 'do again' > Ar (× S *✓ ʕ w d 'return') ✓ ʕ w d (pf. عَاد ʕāda) 'return to, do again' (ʕāda- lka l bu fī kayʔihi 'the dog returned to his vomit', sc. 'vomited again'), Sb ✓ ʕ w d 'return'; S *ʕād- n. 'duration', *ʕād- ~ *ʕawd- adv. 'again, still' > BHb עוֹד ʕōd 'duration' (בְּעוֹד bə-ʕōd 'during': bə,ʕōd hay'yōm 'als es noch Tag war', bə,ʕōd šəḅā'ṭayim 'in two years', מֵעוֹד mē-ʕōd-ī 'as long as I live' [lit. 'from my duration']), עוֹד ʕōd 'still', 'as long as (still)', 'still more, again' ('noch'), Ph {HJ} ʕ d 'still, moreover', Ug ʕ d 'time, period', BA עוֹד ʕōd 'still' (← Hb?), Nbt ʕ d id., IA lʔ ʔ d 'not yet' (lʔ 'not'), Ar عَاد ʕād-in 'while', Sb ʕ d 'again', Gz ʕādī 'still, still more, again, once more', Tgr ʕadu 'yet', Mh, Hrs ʕād 'still, yet, again', Jb C d-

ʃɔd 'still', Ak fOAK aɗi 'as long as, while' (× Ak aɗi 'up to' < N *ʃad∇ 'limit, edge' (?) → 'up to, until' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 752, 1756, OLS 72, Ln. 2188-92, JH 203, HJ 831-2, LG 55-6, BGMR 22, Jo. M 35-6, Jo. H 12, Jo. J 19, CAD I/1 112-5 || A: NaT *uδ- v. 'follow' > OT uδ- ({Cl.} ūδ-) v. 'follow', Tk uɣ- v. 'follow, suit, fit', Az uy- 'fit, correspond', Tkm uy- v. 'obey implicitly', {ET} 'follow', Uz Δ uy- 'follow', Yk utā 'following' ¶ Cl. 38, DTS 605-6, ET Gl 573-4 || M *uda- follow, delay' > MM [S] uɗa, aɗu 'following, second (son)', [S, MA] uda- 'be late', WrM uɗa-, HIM ɣɗa- v. 'delay', Mnr H {SM} uɗa- 'persister longtemps dans le même état; tarder', Kl Ö {Rm.} uɗa-χa '(ein Tier) erfolgen, nachjagen' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 361, MED 860-1, Kow. 380, SM 463, KW 446, T 368 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ DQA) T *īδ- 'send (sth.)' , (→) 'allow to go, release' (more likely from N *wedhA 'to cause to go [to drive, to lead]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #678 (A *iūdu 'lead, direct': incl. M), Rm. EAS I 143 (A *ud∇ 'follow' > M, T *uδ- 'follow').

117. *ʃ'æ'go 'to drink' > HS: C *ʃ'g, {E} *ʃag- v. 'drink' > EC *-ʃag-/*-ʃig-/*-ʃug- pcv. 'drink' > Bn pcv. -aʔak- / iʔik-, Arr ʔig-, Dsn ʔik, Elm ʔik-, Kns ik-, Ya {Hn.} -e'q-; HEC *ag- v. 'drink' > Sd {Gs., Mrn., C}, Kmb {C}, Hd {PB} ag- v. 'drink'; (× N *yugê 'to drink') Gdl uk-, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʃuk-, Cm {Hab.} ʃug- id., (× N *H'i'Kæ 'eat?'): Yk εk- 'eat', éktó 'food' || DhI {EEN} ʃag- 'eat', {Ss.} ʃāga 'food' || SC: Brn {Wh.} ag-, Irq {MQK} ʃāy-, Grw {Wh.} ʃay-, ?φ Alg {Wh.} gāg- v. 'eat' ¶ E PC #483, Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, MQK 18, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik-, Gs. 6, AMS 274, Hn. Y II 124, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482, EEN 13, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. Y II 124-5, Blz. CL 178, Blz. SCL s.v. 'eat' || S (d.?) *ʃ'gʷ v. 'suckle, give to drink' > Ar ججج' ʃ'gʷ G 'put out (a child) to nurse', ? (mt.) Gz ʃ'gʷ G 'feed with milk', Amh/Arg/Grg {L} wəggā v. 'force to drink' ¶ Fr. III 117, BK II 186, Hv. 456-7, LG 607-8 || IE *h₁eg^hʷ- ({EI} 1s prs. *h₁eg^hʷ-mi) 'drink' > Ht eku-/aku- (3s prs. ekuzi = {Pv.} ek^h-ci), Lw aku-, Pal aχu- v. 'drink' || NaIE *eg^hʷ-/*ēg^hʷ- > Tc: A, B ɣok- id. || Lēbrius 'drunk' (← 'having drunk one's fill: qom tu satura atque ebria eris 'when you have had enough to eat and drink', Terence, Hecyra 5.2.3) ¶ Not akin to IE *ak^hʷ- 'water' (⇔ Hrozný et al.) (see Pv. I-II 261-8); not akin to IE *ek̄- v. 'eat' (⇔ Mn.), because Ht -ku- and L -b- indicate a pIE labiovelar cns. ¶¶ Pv. I-II 261-8, EI 175-6, ≠ Mn. 235, 237, Wn. 601-2, Ad. 509-10, Ad. H 22, JGH 147-9, ≠ WH II 387-8 || A *o^re¹gu or *o^ugu > M *uɣu- v. 'drink' > MM [S] u, u-, [MA] ɣ| ū-, WrM

уґи-~иу-~ауи-, HIM уу- ū- v. 'drink', Ord ū'-, Mnr H ū- id. ¶ H 160, Pp. MA 371, MED 864, SM 462 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? *uḡ∇ ? 'drink'): (?) pA *uḡ∇, but SDM VC envisages a possibility of A *e in the first syll (A *e - u > M *u - u).

118. $_2 \approx *_{\text{f}}\text{æ}^{\text{r}}\text{ya}^{\text{g}}\text{∇}$ 'fat' > HS: S (+ ext.) * f ḡr, * f ḡn 'be stout, fat': [1] * f ḡr > Ar عجر f ḡr (ip. -ḡarū) 'crassus\obesus\ventrosus fuit', عَجْرُ f ḡar- 'crassus, pinguis, ventrosus' (vir); [2] (+ ext.) * f ḡn > Ar f ḡn 'pinguis fuit' (de camela), ḡin- 'compacto corpore et pinguis' (camelus) ¶ Fr. III 110-1, 116 || Eg OK f n. 'fat' ¶ EGI 239, ≠ Tk. SCC 94 [#24.1] || A ({DQA} * f āḡi 'fat', {SDM97} *āḡi): M *eḡkūn ({SDM} *eḡkū, *ḡekū) 'fat' > MM [S] e f kūn ~ ö f kūn, WrM ögekū(n), HIM eex 'fat, lard, grease', Kl eekH ökən 'fat, animal fat (сало)', Mnr H {SM} ök'e 'grease, suet', Dg zuḡu, Dx f uḡun (Hl., Md.: a secondary f -), ShY ūkōn 'fat' ¶ H 47, MED 631, SM 296, KRS 420, St AJ 235 [#29] || T *jāḡ 'fat' n. (× N ≈ *L| f agU f ∇, 'fat meat', q.v.) > OT jaf 'grease, fat, oil' (incl. OT Og XI [MhK] jā f 'suet'), Tk f agḡ, Tkm jā f 'oil, butter, grease', Az jaf 'fat, butter', Uz e f jaf, ET jaf, Δ jaq 'grease, animal fat, butter', {Jr.} jaf, Δ {Ml.} jaq 'grease, oil, animal fat', Ln jaf ~ jaq 'grease, suet, fat', Slr ja f 'suet, fat, oil', Xlj jā f , Uz jaf, Qmq ja f 'oil, butter, fat', Qrg S жов žow 'fat, butter', Alt дьуу f ū 'suet', дьу f u 'animal fat', Qmn {B} f u id., 'butter', Tb {B} f u 'fat', QK {B} f af, Tv čaf, Tf čaf 'hard animal fat (сало)', Xk čaf, Yk f ā 'fat', Chv f u f f v 'butter, fat' ¶ Cl. 895, Rs. W 177, ET J 58-9, TL 453, DT 218, Ra. 193, BT 57-8, BN 67, B DChT 11, B DK 213, B DLT 144, Jeg. 215, Md. 27, 160 || Tg * f agjakta (= * f ag-ja-kta) 'fat of a bear' > Ul f agžakta id. ¶ STM I 337 ¶ The word belongs here if *-ja- goes back to a sx. (extension) ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *āḡi 'fat', DQA #632 (A * f āḡi 'fat').

119. * f ogU f ∇ (or *H f ogU f ∇) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal); to beget, to bear a child' > HS: ? WS * f igul- 'calf' > BHb f ḡḡ 'young bull\ox', Pun, Ug, OA f ḡl, JA f ḡ(ḡ) f e'ḡal, JEA em. f ḡḡl-ā, Sr f ḡḡl-ā, Ar عجل f ḡl-, Gz f ag f al ~ f ag f al 'calf'; Cn f → Cpt агол agol 'ox' ¶ KB 741, KBR 784-5, A #1995, OLS 75, HJ 824, Lv. III 618, Sl. 851, Br. 509-10, L G 11 || C ≈ * f ḡ f (or * f ḡl) 'give birth, child' > Ag {AD} * f ḡ f /* f ḡ f (Ap.) * f ḡ f /* f ḡ f v. 'beget, child' (< Early Ag * f ḡ f ?) > Bln f ḡ f ra 'boy', f. f ḡ f ra 'daughter', pl. f ḡ f 'children', Xm (3) f ḡ f 'child', pl. f ḡ f ,

Km x^wzra 'child', Bln ʔx^wär-, Xm z^wzr- v. 'bear, beget'; Early Ag **✓ʔk^wl ɓ → Tgy k^welʔa 'child' ||| HEC *ka^l- v. 'give birth' > Sd, Kmb ka^l-, Hd {Hd.} ka^r-, {Ss.} ka^r- v. 'give birth' (of animals), Brj ka^l- v. 'give birth', ka^la 'child' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 23, Hd. 70, Ss. B 123, ≠ AD SF 200 ||| **K**: Sv L q^law- 'child, boy' (× N *q^lU^lU^l 'boy, child') ¶ Dn. s.v. q^law-, ≠ K² 243-4 (unc.: Sv *q^l- < K *q^le- 'penis') ||| **A**: T *ogul (pT {Md.} *og^lu^l) 'offspring, child' (→ 'male child') > OT o^uul 'offspring, child', Chg o^uul 'son', Tkm, Az, ET, SY, Ln, Xlj o^uul, Tk o^gul, Qzl o^uil, Uz w^uil, Qrg, StAlt ū^l, Qq u^l, Qzq ū^l, VTt, Bsh u^l, Tv ō^l, Tf ǝ^l, Yk ū^l, Blgh ٱ^l ∇w^{al}, Chv ывăл iv^{ьl}, Δ iv^{ьl} ɟ ьv^{ьl} ɟ uv^{ьl}, Chv MK ʔ^l 'son', Xk Sg/Kc ō^l 'young man, son', Qzl o^uil id. ¶ Cl. 83-4, ET Gl 414-6, Rs. W 358, TL 313-4, DHST 299, DT 168, Ra. 213, BT 168, Md. 45, Md. OJ 133, 228, IsxP 57, BIG 123, 127, Fed. II 468, Jeg. 341 ||| ?σ M: WrM u^galza ~ u^gulza, HIM ʔgalz, Kl u^uʔlza 'male wild mountain sheep' ¶ MED 863-4, KW 447 ¶¶ ≈ Starostin (S CNM 9 and S SN 154) equates T with M u^galza (which I accept) and with MKo àh^áǰ 'child' and reconstructs pA *uka(∇) 'child, son' (not convincing because the element *∇ has a proto-N age) ||| **Gil**: Gil: A o^ʃla 'son, child', ES {Krn.} e^ʃlŋ ~ e^ʃlaŋ 'child', A o^ʃlagu, ES e^ʃlgun 'children' ¶¶ ST 241, ST RN 127, 369, 416, Krn. N 494 ||| **D** (in SD) {tr.} *okkal-, {GS} *okal- 'relations, kinsfolk' > Tm okkal id., MI okkaliyan 'a cultivating class', Kt okl 'family', Td wⁱkil 'family within clan', Kn okkal 'residing, residence, home', okkala 'husbandman, farmer', Kdg okka 'patrilineal joint family', Tu okkel^ь 'a tenant'; D ɓ → Prkr okkia- 'a dwelling, residence' ¶ D #925, GS 82 [#255] ◇ If WS *ʔigul- belongs here, we must reconstruct *ʔ- for pN and suppose that the glottalized stop and its reflexes in C, K, and D have developed from a cluster *ʔg (> C *k, Sv q-, SD *-kk-, {GS} *-k-). WS *-i- in *ʔigul- (for the expected *-u-) still needs explaining ◇ Starostin (S CNM 9, S SN 154) suggests to equate Sv q^law- 'child, boy' with A *kū∇ 'slave, servant' and with D *kuli 'hired labourer', sc. to transfer it either to N *K^uT^ʔá^ʔ 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') and N *q^lU^lU^l 'boy, child' (→ A 'servant, slave') or to N *ku∇ 'to work' ◇ AD NM #119, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

120. ₂ *ʔok∇ (or *ʔok^ʔ∇?) 'listen' or 'ear' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ɔkkā, Sa I {CR} ʔok^ʔā 'ear', Af {PH} ʔókka 'ear-wax', ? Brj {Ss.} akkab- v. 'hear' ¶ R S II 23, PH 61, AD SF 264 ||| **D** (in SD) *ōk- v. 'listen' > Td o^ʔx 'hear', Kt o^garv- 'listen without speaking' (BE: *ōk- + *karv- 'lie hidden') ¶ D

#1032 ◇ Connected with N ***ϣυκα** 'see', 'eye' (q.v.)? The et. is qu., because the cognates are isolated in both HS and D.

121. ?σ ***ϣαυκα** ≈ move (quickly), jump' > IE: NaIE *a₁ǵ- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren' ({EI} ? IE *h₁eǵ- 'move') > OI ējati 'stirs, moves' || ON eikinn 'wütend, rasend, gewaltsam', NNr eikjen 'streitsüchtig' || Gk αἰὺς 'rushing storm, hurricane', ?σ Gk αἰὺες 'waves' || pSl *jьgrati (sę) 'amuse oneself, dance, play', ? 'jump' > RChS, OR **ИГРАТИ** 'to amuse oneself, to jump', OCS **ИГРАТИ** igrati 'παίζειν, ludere', Blg иг'раja, McdS игра v. 'play, dance', SCr ìgrati, OP играć 'to play, to dance', SCr Ch jìgrati, Slv igráti, P grać, R иг'рать, Uk 'грати 'to play', R Δ иг'рать 'to dance', Cz hráti 'to play, to amuse oneself'; pSl *jьgrǎ 'amusement, play, dance' > OCS **ИГРА** igra 'lusus', RChS, OR **ИГРА** igra 'παίχνιον, παιδιά, ludus', Blg, R иг'ра, Cz, Slk hra 'play, amusement', SCr ìgra, SCr Ch jìgra 'play, dance', Slv ígra, Δ иг'ра, Hls jhra ~ hra, OP igra, P gra, Uk гра 'play' ¶ WP I 11, P 13-4, EI 388, M K I 126, ≈ F I 32, Vr. 96, ESSJ VIII 208-11, Glh. 274-5, LS 40 || **HS:** S *^o✓ϣyk > Ar ✓ϣyk G (ḫāka / -ḫīku) 'marcher en remuant les épaules' ¶ Fr. III 251, BK II 422 || B *^o✓Hky (*-Hky-) v. 'tremble, jump' > Sll {Ds.} ak^ωi (3s pf. yuk^ωi) v. 'trembler, sautiller; sauter en se laissant tomber', Tz {Stm.} āk^ωy (= āk^ωi?) v. 'jump' ¶ Ds. 256, 284, Stm. 162 || **D** *ak- v. 'tremble, fear' (×N ***qag₁?₁a** 'to fear') > Ka agi v. 'tremble, fear', Tu aguruni v. 'totter, stagger', Tl agurvu 'fear, terror' ¶¶ D #12.

122. ***ϣακo** 'water' > **HS** *ϣ¹a¹k^ω- > C *^oϣak^ω- > Ag *ϣak^ω- 'water' > Bln {Plm., R} ϣak^ω [ϣayk], Xm {R} ax^ω, Xm T {CR} ax^ω, ak^ωi, {Bnd.} āq^ω, Q {R} axū, Km {CR} ax^ω, {Bnd.} āx^ω, Aw {Bnd.} aqu 'water' || EC: ?ϕ Gdl {Bnd.} hakā 'water' ¶ AD SF 273-4, R WB 62, ≈ Ap. AV 2 (Ag *ϣak^ω-) || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} àkà 'river, water', {C} ak, {Bnd.} āka 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 116, C SE III 66., ≈ AD SF 273-4 || S *^o✓ϣk₁ > ? SS *^o✓ϣk^ω~^o✓ϣk^ω ('≈ water surface', 'lake', or the like) > Jb E {Jo.} 'ϣ¹k^ωt, Mh ϣ¹k^ωawt, pl. ϣ¹kwēk^ω 'mountain pool', Hrs ϣ¹k^ωawt, pl. ϣ¹kwēk^ω id., ?? Sb ϣ^ωk^ω (h. 1. translated in BGMR as '[?] bank, embankment', 'berge, talus') || Ar ✓ϣqq G (pf. عَقَّ ϣaqqā) 'in pluviam dissolvit (ventus nubem)' (× Ar ✓ϣqq G 'split, rend') ¶ Fr. III 188, Jo. M 36, Jo. H 12, BGMR 23 || **IE** *hek^ω- (or *hak^ω-) ({EI} *h₁ek^ωeh₁-) 'water' > NaIE *ak^ω-ā id. > L aqua 'water' || Gmc {Vr.} *ah^ωō > Gt alua, ON ó, á (~

́) 'river', Dn ǎ 'small river', AS ēa, OSx, OHG aha 'water, stream, river' ||| BSl: R Oка n. l. (river) ({Trb.}: ← Blt), ? Slk Oка (a lake in the Tatra mountains) ¶ P 23, EI 636, Mn. 31, WH I 60, Vr. 1, Fs. 18, Ho. 82, Ho. S 1, EWA I 100-3, Kb. 10, Vs. III 127 ||| A: T *ak- v. 'stream, flow' > OT aq- v. 'flow', Tk ak-, Tkm, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv aq- id. | ? Chv Lyux- v. 'flow' ¶ Cl. 77, ET Gl 118-120, Fed. II 495-6 ¶¶ Md. 115, 165 (→ DQA #620) reconstructed ppT *jāk'- v. 'flow, stream' and equated Chv yux- with Ewk yaku- 'be flooded' and with WrMc yōχon 'ditch, trench, furrow'; but Tg *yak- is better to be equated with T *jag- > OT jaγ- 'pour, pour rain' (Cl. 896) (see N *yak▽ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water') ¶¶ ≠ DQA #620 (A *jāk'a - *-k-) ◇ Not identical with N *ʕæ'go 'drink' (q.v.). Cf. AD LRC #54 (IE, C), IS I 275-6 (HS [S, C], IE, D + *÷ EC *ʕ▽g- v. 'drink' and Ht eku- id.), WNL NC s.v. 'water' (HS-IE-T, as well as Esk uq-ϕ3ϣ-n3γ 'a drop' and Gil 3ʕi- v. 'stream' [of a river]) ◇ ≠ Gr. I #414 (*akwa 'water') (IE+ qu. CK, Ai + err. U, A [*jāk'a/jaka], Ko, J, Gil).

123. *ʕok'i 'sharp point\edge' > IE *h₂eḱ- (~ *heḱ-?) / *h₃ḱ- ({EI} *h₂eḱ-) 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE *ok̄- / *ak̄- id. > OI 'aśri-h̄ 'corner, angle, edge' ||| Gk ἄκρῆς 'hill-top, mountain peak', ἄκῆ 'point', ἄκίς (gen. ἄκίδος) 'a point, barb of an arrow\hook', ἄκρος 'spitz' ||| pAl {O} *ac-eta ({fO} *atseta) > Al athēt adj. 'bitter, harsh, unpleasantly sour' ||| L acu-s (gen. acūs) 'needle', acies 'edge (of a sharp instrument)', ācer 'sharp', Osc akrid 'acriter' ||| OIr ochair 'angle, edge', W ochr {Vn.} id., {YGM} 'side', hogi 'to sharpen, to whet' ||| Gmc {Vr.} *agjō > ON egg 'blade, edge', Sw egg 'blade', OSx ēggia id., 'edge', OHG egga ~ ecka 'sharp point, edge, corner, Schneide', MHG ag ~ egle 'perch', NHG Ecke 'edge, corner', Eck 'angle', AS ēcǣ 'edge, blade, sword', NE edge ||| Lt ašmuō (pl. āšmens), ašmenys 'sharp point, blade', Ltv asmens 'blade, edge' | Sl *òstrь 'sharp' > OCS, OR острь ostrь, Blg 'остър, SCr òštâr, Slv óster, Cz, Slk ostrý, P ostrу, R 'острый, Uk '(г)острий id. ||| Arm ասեղն asełn, ասղն asłan 'needle' ||| pTc {Ad.} *āke > Tc: A {Wn.} āk 'bout, fin, pointe, sommet', B {Ad.} āke 'end', B akessu 'at the end, last' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht aku- (nom. aku-s) 'stone', Lt akmuo and Ltv akmens 'stone' (see Ph. I-II 24 and Frn. 5) is questionable for semantic reasons. These words may belong to another N etymon (reconstructible as *°haḱu 'stone', cp. Tgy haḱʷeḱʷe 'essayer une pierre comme

meule') 𐌱𐌰 P 18-22, EI 509, M KI 61, FI 52, ≈ 59, WH I 7, 11, Vn. O 6, YGM-1 287, 347, Schz. 119, KM 151, Ho. S 14, Ho 87, EWA II 955-6, Kb. 196, O 12, Frn. 19, Vs. III 166-7, Glh. 460, Slt. 123, Wn. 157, Ad. 37, Ad. H 131, DRS 446 || **K:** G eḫ-ał- 'thorn', G Ms heḫ-ał- id.; (× N *χako|aR∇ ≈ top part, tip, extremity') Sv: USv {TK} hoḫer, LSv {TK} woḫer 'the very bottom, end (ფსკერი, ძირი, ბოლო, дно, конец)', UB {GP} hoḫer 'at the very bottom, below' 𐌱𐌰 TK 897, GP 316, IS I 251 || **A** *ok'i ({Pp.} *okI) > T *ok 'arrow' > OT, Chg, XwT, MQp, Chg oq, MOg oχ, Tk ok, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, SY, Ln, Tv oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Uz ωq, Az, Yk oχ, Xk uχ id., Tf ḫq 'bullet'; Chv L 𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰 uχ𐌶 'shooting bow' ({IS}: < *oq-jāy 'arrow-bow') 𐌱 Cl. 76, ET GI 437-8, TL 577, Rs. W 359, Ra. 212, Jeg. 279-80, Fed. II 296 || Tg: WrMc oki 𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰 'blunt-headed arrow' (𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰 'arrow with a head of bone') 𐌱 Z 123 || M *okI (unless it is *ʰokI) 'top, point' > WrM oki, HIM oχ𐌶 id., WrO oki 'top, point, summit', ? Kl ok𐌶, {Rm.} okj 'the first strongest portion of distilled vodka' (← 'Spitze?') 𐌱 MED 607, Krg. 118, KW 284 || pJ {S} *àkūāyāi 'pheasant's spur' > OJ àkūōyē 𐌱 S QJ #751 𐌱𐌰 Rs. W 359, Pp. VG 98, 134, DQA #17 (A *ōk'ā 'sharp point, notch') || **U:** FU *okk∇ > BF *okka 'thorn', *okas / *okkaha- 'thorn, spine, prick' with a secondary variant *oϕas (generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation) > F oka / gen. oan, Δ okka 'thorn', F oas 'thorn, spine, prick', Δ okkas, Krl Ld ogaz id., Vp ogaz 𐌶 ogah 'thorn, awn of a plant ear', Es okas / gen. okka 'thorn, prickle' || AdS of Sm {Jn., Hl.} *uk3 'tip, front part' < N *ḥ₂'ôkU 'head' (q.v.) 𐌱 SK 423-4, ZM 376, Jn. 30, Hl. M #1113, KKIH 191 || ? **HS:** S *o✓fωk̥k̥ > Ar faḡāḡq- pl. 'petits rejets qui poussent au haut de la tige du palmier' 𐌱 BK II 306 𐌱𐌰 The Ar cognate is qu., because it is isolated within HS ◇ If Ht akū- belongs here, the IE reflex suggests N *f- or *h- (the only lrs. that do not yield Ht h-, preserve the infl. of the following N vw. in NaIE, and yield zero in K). Without Ht akū- and without the S cognate the N rec. will be *h|f|hok̥i. If the S cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be *fok̥i ◇ IS I 251-2 (*Hok̥i; IE, K, A, U), Rs. W 359 (A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #18 (*ok 'arrow/point').

124. *fuk̥a (or *fuk∇?a, *fAwuk̥a, *fAwuk∇?a?) 'see', 'eye' > **HS:** S [1] *of∇k̥- > Ug {OLS} f̥k̥ 'pupil of the eye', [2] SWS *o-fūk̥- (?) > Gz -fūk̥- (pf. fōk̥a, js. -fūk̥) v. 'know, understand, take notice, observe', Amh 𐌳𐌴𐌹 aḡwəḫə v. 'know, be familiar with', Har āk̥a id.; the EthS word is hardly a Cushitism (⇔ C, L, IS, AD SF), because its presumable

Agaw origin does not account for the preservation of the ancient labial element $-\bar{u}-/-\bar{o}-/-\omega\omega-$ of the stem, and the EC origin cannot explain the cns. $\text{ḵ} \text{Ḷ}$ OLS 86, C SE I 234, L G 78-9, IS I 255, AD SF 264 || C: Ag $*-\text{r}^{\text{c}}\text{aḵ}-$ v. 'see, know' > Q {R} $\text{ax}- \sim \text{ah}-$ v. 'see', Aw {Hz.} $-\text{aq}-$, Km {Ap.} $\text{ax}-$, {CR} $\text{ax}-$ v. 'know' || C $\text{b} \rightarrow$ Mb {FL} axo v. 'see' || EC: [1] DI: Hr {AMS} Ḷax-iččé (pl. Ḷáxxe), Dbs {AMS} Ḷaxačče , Gln {AMS} ḶiḶ-té (pl. Ḷíxxe), Gwd {AMS} Ḷaxa , Cm {Hab.} Ḷaxíte 'eye'; [2] $\text{?}\phi$ EC {Ss.} $*\text{?og}-$ 'know' > Sml $\acute{o}g$ 'knowing', $\text{wân} \acute{o}g$ ahày 'I know', Rn $-\acute{o}g-$ 'aware of', $\acute{o}gahe$ 'be aware of, know', Dsn $\text{Ḷó}g$ adj. 'knowing', Or {Grg.} og-ēssa (< $*\text{og-ayš-a}$) 'one who knows, wise, expert' ($\text{b} \rightarrow$ Brj $\text{o}^{\text{c}}\text{gayš}i$ 'one who knows, skilful person, specialist, expert', Amh wəgešša 'local medical practitioner'); Sd {Gs.} egen- v. 'know'; this EC cognate is highly problematic because of its initial and medial cns.; hardly here Kns, Gdl akk- 'see' (acc. to Bl. 250, from EC $*\text{Ḷark-}$, see N $*\text{Ḷar}_1\text{Ḷ}_1\text{ka}$ 'see, observe') Ḷ AD SF 264, R QW 21-2, Ap. K 331, Ap. AV 2 (Ag $*\text{Ḷaḵ-}$ 'know'), Ss. B 154, Grg. 303, PG 240, Th. 259, Gs. 89, To. DL 483, AMS 231 || WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} $\acute{i}:k-$ / $(y)k-$ 'see, look' (3s p. $\acute{i}k\acute{a}y$), Bd {IL in JI} $\acute{i}k\acute{a}$, {Sch. in ChL} $\acute{i}:k\acute{a}n$ v. 'see' Ḷ Sch. DN 80-1, JI II 284, ChL I 260 || IE: $*\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek}^{\omega}-/ * \text{Heuk}-$ 'eye', v. 'learn': [1] IE $*\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek}^{\omega}-$ ({EI} $*\text{h}_3\text{ok}^{\omega}-$) 'eye' (> NaIE stems $*\text{ok}^{\omega}-$ (s) $\sim * \text{ok}^{\omega}i-$, d.: $*\text{ok}^{\omega}-o-$, $*\text{ok}^{\omega}-yo-$, $*\text{ok}^{\omega}-m\eta-$) > OI $\text{aks}i$ ntr., $\text{aks}i-$ f. 'eye', Av du. $\text{aš}i$ 'eyes' || Arm ախի akn id., gen. ախան akan , pl. nom. աչք $\text{ač}^h\text{-k}^h$, pl. gen. աչքաց $\text{ač}^h\text{-ac}^h$ || Gk $\acute{o}\psi$ (gen. $\acute{o}\pi\text{-}\acute{o}\varsigma$) 'eye, face', Gk D [Hs.] $\acute{o}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu$ accus. 'eye', Gk Hm $\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ 'eyes' (Arm $\text{ač}^h\text{-k}^h$ and Gk $\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\text{-}$ < $*\text{ok}^{\omega}-y-$; acc. to Me. EAC, $*-y-$ belongs to the marker of du.), Gk $\acute{\omega}\psi$ 'sight, face' (in set phrases, cds., and ds.: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\omega}\pi\alpha$ '[to look one] in the face, Auge in Auge', $\mu\acute{y}\text{-}\acute{\omega}\psi$ 'short-sighted', $\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\eta}$ 'face', $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\text{-}\acute{\omega}\pi\text{-}\iota\alpha$ 'part of the face under the eyes', etc.) || LOCULUS 'eye' || Lt $\text{ak}i\text{s}$ (du. $\text{ak}i$), Ltv acs || pSl $*\acute{o}ko$ 'eye', du. $*\acute{o}či$ > OCS oko oko / du. OYH $\text{oč}i$, Blg oko / pl. oči , SCr $\acute{o}ko$ / $\acute{o}či$, Slv $\text{ok}o$ / $\text{oč}i$, Cz, Slk, P oko , R oko / pl. oči || pTc {Ad.} $*\text{ek-}$ > Tc A ak , B ek 'eye' || [2] IE $*\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek}^{\omega}-$ 'hole' (< 'eye') > Gk $\acute{o}\pi\acute{\eta}$ 'hole' (esp. in roof) || Lt $\tilde{\text{a}}kas$ 'ice-hole', Ltv aka 'spring, source' || [3] IE $*\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek}^{\omega}-$ (y)- v. 'see, watch, show' > Av axš- , Gk $\acute{o}\pi\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \sim \acute{o}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, ft. $\acute{o}\psi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, pfc. $\acute{o}\pi\omega\pi\alpha$ v. 'see', OFrs $\bar{a}uwia \sim \bar{a}wia$, AS $\acute{e}awian \sim \acute{e}awan \sim \acute{e}owan$ v. 'show' || [4] IE $*\text{Heuk}-/ * \text{Houk}-$ 'eye', v. 'learn' ({EI} $*\text{h}_1\text{euk}-$ 'become accustomed') > pGmc $*\text{au}ḡan$ 'eye' ({trad.} $*\text{au}ḡan$) > Gt $\text{aug}o$, ON auga , OSx $\acute{o}ga$, OHG ouga , NHG Auge , AS $\acute{e}aze$ 'eye' (> NE eye); Gt $\text{bi-}\bar{u}hts$

'gewohnt' || Lt *jũnkti* (prs. *jũnkstu*) 'to get accustomed', Ltv *jũkt* 'accustomed', Lt *jaukinti*, Ltv *jaukt* vt. 'to accustom', Pru *iaukint* 'to exercise (üben)' | Sl **uč-ĩ-ti*, **uk-/*v+k-* > OCS, OR **УУУН-ТИ**, R **УЧИ-ТЬ**, SCr *ũči-ti*, Cz *učí-ti*, P *uczyc-ć* 'to teach', OR **УУКЪ** 'learning', R **НА-УКА** 'learning, experience, science', Sl **vĩk-nq-ti* 'to learn' > OCS **ВЫК-НѦ-ТИ** *vĩk-nq-ti*, SCr *vĩknuti* id., R (**ПРИ-УВЫК-НУ-ТЬ**) 'to get accustomed' || OI *'uɕya-ti* 'is accustomed to', Sgd *ɥwčt* 'teaches' || Arm **ուսանիմ** *usanim* 'I learn' || OIr *to-ucc-v.* 'understand' ¶ P 775-7, EI 4, 188 (does not connect between roots for 'become accustomed' and 'eye'), Mn. 882-3, M KI 16, M EI 42-3, F II 281, 407-8, 1154, Ch. 811-2, Fs. 64, Vr. 19, Ho. 83, ≈ 87, Ho. S 56, KM 38, Kb. 751, Vn. U 13, Sl. 20-2, 264-5, IS I 255 (IE **heuk-* > Gmc), Frn. 196-7, En. 183, Tr. P I-K 22-3, SJSS VII 357, Vs. I 368 and IV 179-80, Glh. 452, 649, Wn. 141, Ad. 74-5, Ad. H 17, 37, 42, 137 ¶ I am grateful to Blz. for convincing me to adduce Sl **učĩ-* in spite of the semantic distance between 'eye' and 'learn' (≡σ M) || ?φ **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) **w0k∇* (or **w0ʃ∇*) v. 'see, look' > OHg *ó-*, Hg *óv-* v. 'protect' (← v. 'look after') | pObU **w̄j-*, **w̄j-*/**w̄jɥ-* v. 'see' > pVg **w̄j-*, **w̄jɥ-*/**w̄jʃ-*, **w̄āɥ-* id. > Vg: UL/Ss *wā-*, *wāʃ-*, P *w̄j-*, *w̄jʃ-*, NV/SV/LL *way-*, *ū-*, T *wāʃ-*, *waʃ-*, *wāɥ-*, *way-*, LK *wā-*, *wāɥ-*, *ū-*, MK *ū-*, UK *w̄j-*, *wāɥ-*, *ū-* v. 'see'; pOs **wu-*, **wuy-* id. > Os: V *wu-*, Vy/Y/K/Kr *u-*, *uy-*, Ty *wu-*, *wuy-*, Nz *u-*, Kz *wɔ-* v. 'see' ¶ MF 508-9, Ht. #652. The cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: **-k-* → **-ʃ-* for the expected **-kk-*, the change **u-* > **w0-* (probably through **wu-*?) || **A** ({DQA} **uk'u-* v. 'look into, understand'): NaT **uk-* v. 'understand, find out' > OT, MQp *uq-*, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET, Tb *uq-* v. 'understand', Qrg, StAlt, ET Δ *uq-* v. 'listen, hear', Az Mgn *uɥ-uz* 'knowing much, wise' ¶ Cl. 77-8, DTS 613, Rs. W 511-2, ET Gl 584 || M **uqa-* v. 'learn, notice, understand' > MM [S, HI] *uqa-* id., [MA] **وقا** *uqa-* v. 'understand', WrM *uqa-*, HIM, Kl *uxa-*, WrO *uxa-* id., 'perceive, be aware', d. Ord *uxwā* 'intelligence, esprit' ¶ H 160, H SMG 23, H SMD 57, Ms. H 105-6, Ms. O 226, Lew. II 82, Pp. MA 365, KW 447, MED 890, Krg. 162; Cl. 77-8: M ← T || pJ {S} **úká-(n)* *káp-* v. 'look into, inquire' > OJ *ukakap-*, J: T *ùkaga-*, K *úkágá-*, Kg *ukagá-* ¶ S QJ #197, Mr. 778 || ?σ Tg (in NrTg) **xjoksa* > Lm *oɥsa* 'think, ponder (how to live\survive in the next winter)', Ewk *okso* 'think over, change one's mind' ¶ STM II 11 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. **uk'a*, DQA #2503 (A **uk'u* 'understand, look into') || ?φ **D** (in NED) **ak-* v. 'know' > Krx *aʃ-*

v. 'know, realize', Mlt $\bar{a}ge$ v. 'know, understand', $\bar{a}g-re$ v. 'get accustomed to' ¶ D #17, Pf. 184 ¶ NED *a still needs explaining ◊ Hardly here IE *auǵ- 'shine' (see N * \bar{h}^1awk^1a 'light [lux], bright') ◊ If EC * $\bar{r}og-$ and FU * $\bar{w}ok|ʒ$ belong here, they apparently point to a N plain *-k- rather than to *-ḳ-, suggesting a N etymon with *-k- + * $\bar{r}-$ (> * $\bar{k}-$ ~ *-k-), sc. N * $\bar{r}uk\bar{r}a$ ◊ The vw. *a in D *ak- is still to be explained. It is tempting to suggest that Amh $a\bar{w}w\bar{e}k\bar{e}$, Ag * $\bar{r}^1a\bar{k}-$, and D *ak- point to a N * $\bar{r}Awu\bar{k}a$ (or * $\bar{r}Awuk\bar{r}a$) ◊ Cf. IS I 255-6 (IE, A [T, M], HS [C]); IS MS 333, Bl. LB #47.

125. $\bar{r}\sigma_2$ * $\bar{r}EK\bar{r}^1\bar{r}^1$ ≈ 'to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) > HS: CS * $\bar{r}^1\bar{k}\bar{s}$ ~ * $\bar{r}^1\bar{k}\bar{c}$ v. G 'sting' > Sr $\bar{r}^1\bar{k}\bar{s}$ T 'be stung' (by a scorpion, serpent), $\bar{r}ak\bar{u}^1s-\bar{a}$ 'aculeus (sting)', JA [Trg.], JEA $\bar{r}^1\bar{k}\bar{c}$ G 'sting' (e.g. of scorpions), MHb $\bar{r}^1\bar{k}\bar{c}$ G 'sting, prick' (of insects, reptiles) ¶ JPS 425, Br. 543, Js. 1107-8, Sl. 877, Klein 482 || B * \bar{r}^1HksH (= * $\bar{a}ksih?$) v. 'eat' > Ah $\bar{a}k\check{s}$, Gd $\bar{e}\check{s}\check{s}$, Izn, Gh, Mtm, etc. $\bar{a}\check{c}$, Kb $\bar{a}\check{c}\check{c}$, Tmz $\bar{a}t\check{s}$, Zng {TC} $\bar{e}t\check{s}i$ ¶ Fc. 736, Lf. II #O164, Nh. G 176, Pr. M I-III 58, MT 729, Dl. 68-70, DCTC 285, NZ 163-9 || A: M * $\bar{o}g\bar{z}\bar{u}g\bar{e}r_{\eta}$ (unless with * $\bar{r}-$) > WrM $\bar{o}g\bar{z}\bar{u}g\bar{e}$, HIM $\bar{e}r\bar{z}\bar{e}r$ 'food for birds' ¶ MED 633 || ? T: OT $\bar{i}g\bar{i}\bar{d}-$ v. 'feed (a person, an animal)', MT [MhK] $\bar{i}g\bar{d}\bar{i}l-$ v. 'be nourished/fed' (× N * $\bar{H}^1i^1\bar{k}\bar{a}e$ 'eat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

126. * $\bar{r}A\bar{I}\bar{V}$ (= * $\bar{r}a\bar{I}E$ or * $\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{V}$) 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > HS * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}-$ 'high place', v. 'ascend' > S * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}-$ 'height' > Hb $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'height, high place', IA, Nbt, Plm $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$, Ar $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'above, upwards', Ug $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'darüber', Mh $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{e}w$ 'on the top', Hrs 'ba \bar{r} la 'on, on top of', Cn $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} $\bar{r}a\bar{l}-t\bar{a}$ 'upper room'; combined with * $\bar{l}a-$ 'to': IA [Frh.] $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'up, upwards', Plm $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'above, upon', Sr $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'above, on', Gz $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ (in modern pronunciation) < OEth * $\bar{l}a\bar{r}la$, Tgr $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$, Tgy $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ $\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ id.; S du. cs. * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay$ > prep. * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay$ 'above, on' > Hb $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'on' (+ppa: $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{e}k\bar{a}$ < * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ayka$ 'on thee [m.]', etc.), Ph $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$, Ug, OA, IA $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'on', Ar $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ (+ppa: $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay-ka$ 'on thee [m.]'), Sb $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'on'; S * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay-$ v. G 'ascend, go up' > Hb $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ G (pf. $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{a}$, ip. $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{e}$), Ph, Ug $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ G id., Ar $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ G (pf. $\bar{r}a\bar{l}\bar{a}$) v. 'ascend, be high', Sb $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ G v. 'go up to (a place)', Ak $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ v. 'travel uphill, go up, ascend'; S adj. * $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay-$ 'high' > Amr {G} $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay-$ 'high', Ug {OLS} $\bar{r}a\bar{l}$ 'altísimo, excelso', Ar $\bar{r}a\bar{l}ay-$ 'high, elevated, lofty' ¶ KB 770-5, KBR 824-30, OLS 76-8, G A 15, JH 208-12, HJ 842-50, 852-3, Fr. III

215-7, Ln. 2146-7, BK II 352-7, BGMR 15-6, Jo. M 23, Jo. H 8, LG 303-4, CAD IV 114-35, Hlk. #37, SivCR 78 || Eg fOK iʿr, fMK {EG, Fk.} ʿr [= *√ʿl], {EG} ʿrʿ v. 'mount up, ascend' > DEg ʿl > Cpt: Sd **ʕʕ** alē, B **ʕʕ** alēi, F **ʕʕ** ali id. ¶ EG I 41, 208, Fk. 11, 45, Er. 67, Vc. 6 || B *Hliʿ v. 'climb, ascend' (Pcj. I A 3, Fcj. 68) > Kb, Mz ali, pf. 3s yuli, ASgr, Wrg ali 'monter', Shw {Hy.} âli 's'élever en l'air, monter comme un ballon', BSn āli v. 'climb (a tree, etc.)', Ah ali, 3s pf. yulā, ETwl alāy v. 'be suspended (in the air)' ¶ Dl. 470-1, Dlh. M 111, Hy. 107, Fc. 1016-7, 2006, GhA 120, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || C: EC {Ss.} *ʿal- 'mountain, highland' > Sa ʿal, Af ʿale, Rn ḥál 'mountain', Sml ʿál 'lofty, coastal range of mountains', Sml Mt ʿal 'high mountain', Arr ʔél 'mountain', Hr, Dbs, Gln 'ʿale 'highland' ¶ AD SF 140-1, Ss. PEC 35, Oo. 70, PG 135, PH 53-4, AMS 150, 195, Lm. SD 312, Hw. A 339 || Ch: WCh *ʿaly- v. 'stand up' {Stl.} > pAG *yaḥal (< *yaʿal from *ʿaly-, which Stl. explains by mt.) > Su {J} yáʿal, Ang {Flk.} ʿal || Tng ʔil, Dr yil || Gj {Sh.} hilya 'stand up' ¶ Stl. ZCh 228 [#765], J S 88 ¶¶ Coh. #58 (S, Eg, B, C), AD SF 140-1 (C, S, Eg, B), Vc. 6 (Eg, S, B) || U *āl∇- v. 'raise, lift, carry' > pObU {Ht.} *ālam- v. 'raise, lift' > pVg *ālam- id. > Vg: T ālm-, LK ǎlm-, MK ǎlm-, P/LL alm-/ālm-, NV/SV/ML/UL, Ss ālm- id., LK ǎlēm-kāt- v. 'rise' ('sich erheben'); pOs *ālam- v. 'raise, lift' > Os: V/Vy ālam-, Ty/Y áʕam-, D/K átam-, Nz atam-, Kz aʕam-, O ālam- id. || ? Hg emel- v. 'lift, raise' (mt.) || Sm {Jn.} *ilb- ~ *yilb- v. 'raise' > Ne T {Ter.} илă-, O {Lh.} yilbā-, Ne FL yirra- v. 'raise', Ng jiləji id., En {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. X i'rabо, B ji'rabо id., Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. ǎlab 'I weighed', Kms {KD} jilbā ~ čilbā 'in die Höhe heben' ¶¶ Coll. 5, UEW 24, MF 152-3, LG 211, Ht. #27, Jn. 26, Ter. 139, Lh. 126-7, KD 16 || A: T *ʔalʔuʔk > Qrg {Rl.} aliq ~ aluq 'peak, summit' ¶ Rl. I 372, Cl. 135-6 || M *ʔala (unless it is *ʔala) > WrM ala, HIM ал 'flat-topped hill' ¶ MED 26 || Tg *ʔali-n > WrMc alin 'mountain', Mc Sb {Y} ʔalin 'mountain, hill', {Mrm.} alin 'Berg, Berge, Gebirge', Jrc {Lg., Kiy.} alin 'mountain', Tg *al∇ 'hill, small mountain' > Mc ala 'hill, flat-topped mountain', Nn ala 'small mountains' (the pTg word *al-a [but not **alin] results from a merger with the √ *ala- v. 'cross mountains' < A *ā∇-, due to the merger of A *l and *l̄ in Tg) ¶ STM I 27-8, Y #2067, Klz. MS 100, Kiy. 99 [#039], Lg. IDT 225, Md. ChF 133 ◇ ≠ AD LRC #64 (S *√ʿl 'on, above, top' ÷ IE *al-, *ol- 'over, on the other side' ÷ A *olam- v. 'ford'), ≠ IS I 274-5 (HS *√ʿl|y [presumably 'cross a mountain'] > Ak elû *'cross mountains',

Gz $\sqrt{\text{f}l\omega y}$ {Di.} 'transgredi') ÷ IE **hel-* 'on the other side' ÷ A **ā́la* 'cross a mountain'). But in the light of new ev. the Ak and Gz roots do not mean 'cross mountains' or anything similar, so that these earlier comparisons are not plausible. ≈ Gr. II #10 (**ol* 'arise'). ◇ Hardly here G *maṣali* 'high' adj., *maṣla* 'high' adv., *maṣl-* 'höher machen' (Chx. 729-30, Chik. 243); it would have been tenable if the $\sqrt{\text{}}$ had been *-ṣal-* / *-ṣl-*, but K² 5 analyzes the word as *m-aṣ-aṣ-* 'high' < GZ **aṣ-* 'up, upwards'. If nevertheless the G cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was **ṣ-*.

127. **ʿa'ā'ā* 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula, etc.) to produce a particular result' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{f}l\omega y}$ > Sr $\sqrt{\text{f}l\omega y}$ *Sh* (pf. ʔaʿlī) v. 'act perversely', ʿel'ayā 'scelus, injuria'; CS * $\sqrt{\text{f}l\omega y}$ v. 'burn a sacrifice' > BHb $\text{עָלָה} \sim \text{עוֹלָה}$ ʿōlā , BA עָלָה ʿalāyān 'sacrifice which is wholly burnt', IA [Eleph.] עָלָה ʿlwh , SmA עָלָה ʿlh 'burnt offering', JA עָלָה ʿalātā 'sacrifice', Sr עָלָה ʿalātā 'offering, holocaust, sacrifice; altar', Plm עָלָה ʿltʔ 'altar' ¶ LG 61-2, Tal 637, Br. 527, KB 785-6, KBR 830-1, KB LVT 1108, JPS 416 || ECh: Smr {J} ʔū vt. 'burn' ¶ JI II 55 || IE **h¹el-* (≈ **h¹al-*) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' ({EI} **h₂el-* 'burn') > OI *alātā* 'a fire-brand, coal' (← *'burnt') || ? Gk [Hs.] $\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\eta$ $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ 'coal' || L *altāria* ntr. pl. 'altar (for sacrifice)' (← **al-t-āli-*, F EM 43), *ad-oleō* 'I am burning (a sacrifice)', Um uʾettu 'adoleto, in order to burn' (← Itc **ol-*) || Sw Δ ʔ ← Joh.} ala v. 'blaze, flame' ¶ IS I 276, P 28, EI 87, M K I 55, WH I 13-4, 32, Bc. G 350, Ch. 52 || ?ϕ K **h₂al-* v. 'flame', n. 'flame' > G *al-i* 'flame', *al-* (1s *v-a-al-eb*) 'aufflammen lassen', *al-d-eba* 'flammt auf', G Ing *hāl-* v. 'burn, flame', Sv UB *hāl* (pl. *hāl-är*) 'flame' ¶¶ Chx. 12, 14, Jan. 274, TK 893, Ni. s.v. пламя || U: FU **alā-* v. 'utter magical words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N o? **halā-* 'call out, call, utter magical words' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: NaT **āl* > OT {Cl.} *āl* 'device' (esp. 'dishonourable device'), 'deceit, guile, dirty trick', {DTS} 'ruse, contrivance, artful advice ($\text{хитрость, уловка, ухищрение, хитроумный совет}$)', Tk Δ *al* 'ruse', Tkm *āl* 'ruse, contrivance, archness', Az Δ *al* 'archness, a lie', Chg/MU {Rl.} *al* 'Schlauheit, List, Betrug, Strategie' ¶ Cl. 120, 138, ET Gl 126-7, 137-8, Rl. I 349 || ?? Ko {Rm.} *alcin alcin haḏa* 'deceive, adulate' ¶ Rm. SKE 8 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. (Ko - T), ≠ Vv. AEN 13 (rejects the Ko cognate as "an obvious onomatopoeic word") ◇ Sv and G In *h-* needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS I 140 (HS, IE, [with a query] K). IS considered the et. dubious, since he envisaged an alt.

explanation: the IE stem \leftarrow S. But now, in the light of the U cognate (unknown to IS), the et. becomes more plausible \diamond AD NM #122, S CNM 9 and SN 155 (semantic doubts about the A cognate).

128. * ζ 'ä']U 'know' > **HS**: CS (+ ext.) * ζ 'ilm 'know' > Ar ζ 'ilm G id. (pf. ζ alima, ip. - ζ lam-), ζ ilm- 'knowledge', (ζ) Ug {A} ζ 'ilm G 'kennen' (?), ζ ilm 'kundig, wohlunterrichtet' (the Ug root is not mentioned in OLS) \mathfrak{J} A #2035, Hv. 495 || **U** * $\text{äl}]\text{wä-}$ (< * $\text{äl}]\text{ü-}$): FP * $\text{äl}]\text{wä-}$ v. 'notice, catch sight of; understand' > F $\text{äl}]\text{y}$ 'intelligence, understanding', $\text{äl}]\text{yä-}$, $\text{äl}]\text{y}]\text{tä-}$ v. 'understand', Lp L $\text{ie}]\text{v}]\text{ē} \sim \text{äl}]\text{v}]\text{ē-}$ 'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Z P al 'Verstand, Vernunft' \mathfrak{J} UEW 609-10, W SDW 2, SZ 11, IG 30, SK 1872 || **D** * $\text{e}_{\zeta}]\text{]$ 'knowledge, wisdom' > Kui $\text{ē}]\text{lu}$, elki 'mind, reason, thought', Ku $\text{ē}]\text{d}]\text{u}$ 'wisdom', Brh $\text{h}]\text{ē}]\text{l}$ 'knowledge, wisdom' $\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{J}$ D #912 \diamond D * $\text{e}_{\zeta}]\text{]$ as cognate with U * ä is irregular and needs investigating \diamond S *-m- in * ζ 'ilm is likely to go back to the N nominalizer ***mA** (q.v.) (pre-S n. act. ** ζ a ∇ l- ∇ m- 'knowledge').

129. * ζ o ∇ (= * ζ o ∇ ü?) 'starve, die; dead' > **HS**: EC: Af {PH} ζ ulu ∇ 'famine, shortage of food', ζ ulu ∇ e- 'be famished, be starved', Sa {R} ζ o ∇ ü ∇ - 'Hunger leiden', ζ o ∇ ü ∇ l 'Hungersnot' \mathfrak{J} PH 62, R S II 62, 432 || ? σ S: possibly Ar ζ 'y ∇ G (ip. - ζ il-) 'become poor \ destitute' \mathfrak{J} BK II 422-3, Hv. 513 || **IE** {EI} * $\text{w}]\text{el-}$ 'die' > NaIE * $\text{w}]\text{el-}$ 'dead', 'die' > OLT $\text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{lē}]\text{s} \sim \text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{lē}]\text{s}$ 'ghost (soul of a dead person)', Lt $\text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{lē}]\text{ē}$ 'soul of a dead person, ghost', Ltv $\text{v}]\text{el}]\text{is}$ (pl. $\text{v}]\text{el}]\text{i}$) id., Lt $\text{v}]\text{el}]\text{ion}]\text{is}$ 'the deceased, Verstorbener', OLT $\text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{lin}]\text{as}$, Lt $\text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{ln}]\text{ias}$, Ltv $\text{v}]\text{ē}]\text{ln}]\text{is}$ 'devil, deuce' || Tc A $\text{w}]\text{äl}$, $\text{w}]\text{al}$ - 'die' || ? Gmc * $\text{w}]\text{al}$ - 'bodies of those slain in battle' (\times N * $\text{w}]\text{a}]\text{L}]\text{'h}]\text{'v}]\text{}$ 'to hit, to attack' [\rightarrow 'to wound, to kill'], q.v. ffd.) || Lw {Mlc.} $\text{w}]\text{all}]\text{y}]\text{a-}$ 'of the dead' $\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{J}$ EI 150, \approx P 1144, Tr. 548, Frn. 1218-9, Wn. 554-5, Mlc. CL 253 $\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{J}$ Acc. to AD's theory of the prehistory of IE vowels (AD NVIE), N * o changed into pre-IE * u (> IE * $\text{w}]\text{e-}$) before * $\text{u}]\text{ü}$ of the next syll. || **A**: T * $\text{ö}]\text{-}$ 'die' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV (incl. CC), XwT XIII, Chg XV, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv, Yk $\text{ö}]\text{-}$, Tk $\text{ö}]\text{-}$, Uz $\text{ö}]\text{-}$ ω l-, VTt, Bsh, Slr $\text{ü}]\text{-}$, Tf $\text{ö}]\text{-}$, Chv $\text{v}]\text{il}$ - id., SY $\text{ö}]\text{-}$ \sim $\text{y}]\text{ü}]\text{-}$ id., 'be dead' \mathfrak{J} Cl. 125-6, ET Gl 525-7, Md. 50, 172, Ra. 214 || M * $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü-}$ 'starve, be hungry' (> WrO $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü-}$ id. \sim $\text{ö}]\text{-}$ 'be hungry', $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{d}$ n. 'hunger', Kl {Rm.} $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}$ 'hungry') \rightarrow [1] * $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü}]\text{ŋ}$ 'starvation, famine, hunger' > WrM $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü}]\text{ŋ}$, HIM $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü}]\text{ŋ}$ (r), Kl {Rm.} $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü}]\text{ŋ}$ \sim $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ü}]\text{ŋ}$ id.; [2] * $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$ 'hungry' > WrM {Cev.} $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$, HIM {Luv.} $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$ 'hungry, not having eaten', WrO $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$, Kl $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$ {Rm.} $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$, Brt $\text{ö}]\text{l}]\text{ö}]\text{n}$

'hungry', Ord {Ms.} ölöñ 'qui est à jeune, affamé'; [3] *ölüs- 'suffer starvation \ famine' > WrM ölüs-, HIM өлс-өх, MM [L] ölüs-, [S] {H} olos- ~ oles-, [HI, MA] öles-, Ord ölös- id., WrO ölös- 'feel hunger, starve', Kl өлс- 'starve, go\be hungry', {Rm.} öls-χə 'hungern, hungriq sein', Brt үлэсэ-хэ 'go hungry', MMgl úles, Mnr H {T} lose-, Mgl {Rm.} úlās-, Dx {T} únsú- 'be hungry', Mnr H {SM} losэ- id., losž_i fug_u- 'starve'; ⇨ [3a] *ölüskü 'hunger' (> MM [MA] öleskü id., d.: [IM] ölüsükči 'hungry') ⇨ [3b] *ölüsküleñ 'hunger, famine, starvation' > MM [IsV] ölösküleñ, [MA] öleskülen ~ -ñ, WrM ölüsküleñ, HIM өлсөглөн(г), Mnr H {T} loseguloñ, Dx {T} oliesulan, Mgl {Lg} ölaskúlañ ~ úlaskúlañ; [4] *ölügle- v. 'starve, be hungry' > WrM ölügle-, HIM өлөглө-х id.; [5] *ölber- 'suffer extreme hunger, starve' > WrM ölber- ~ ölmer-, HIM өлөврө-х, өлбөрө-х, WrO ölbare- id., Ord ölbör- 'être épuisé de faim'; [6] *ölüde- > WrM {Cev.} ölüde-, HIM өлдө- 'be very hungry', Ord ölödü- 'be hungry' (of animals), Brt үлдэ- 'go\be hungry' ¶ Ms. H 84, H 123-3, Pp. L II 126O, Pp. MA 275-6, 443, Lg. VMI 61, MED 633-5, Kow. 529-3O, Luv. 318-2O, Cev. 434-5, SM 226, Krg. 14O-1, KRS 414-5, KW 294-5, T 343, T DnJ 131, Iw. 144, Ms. O 53O-2, Chr. 5OO-2 || Tg *ö|lb∇- > Ewk ulbin- 'go hungry', ulbimçэ- 'hungry' ¶ STM II 258 ¶¶ Tg *ö|lb∇- < A **U|w∇- < **U|u|ü∇-? ¶¶ DQA #1567 *ö|l|e 'die', 'be hungry, exhausted', KW 295, Rm. EAS I 146, Pp. VG 1O8, S AJ 281 || ?σ D (in McTm) *ö|ula- (× N *gûL∇ 'to destroy', q.v.): > Tm ula- 'become diminished, die, terminate', Ml ulakkuka- 'shrink up' ¶ D #671 ◇ The Sa/Af initial ʕ- and the AnIE initial zero point to a N *ʕ- ◇ The supposed IE and A reflexes of this etymon may be alternatively (but less plausibly) explained as belonging to N *w∇L'h'∇ '↑' or N *gûL∇ 'to destroy, to fight' (q.v.).

130. *ʕ|g'æ'ṽ,ṽ,u or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) *r'æ'ṽ,ṽ,u 'reddish, yellow, brown' > HS: EC *ʕaw|l- 'yellow, reddish, light brown' > Sml N {Abr.} ʕáw|l 'yellowness', Sml C {DSI} ʕaw|l(ṽ)an 'be reddish-gray (grigio rossiccio)', Kns aw|l- 'brown', Hr, Dbs ʕàw|l-àkkó 'gray, green, light brown, sand-coloured, gold-coloured', Gln ʕàw|l-àkkó 'yellow', Gwd ʕàw|l-ètté 'yellow', Sa ʕow|la 'dust storm' ¶ Bl. 211, Ss. PEC 46, Abr. S 18, AMS 15O, 195, 244, DSI 96 || IE *He|u-/*He|w- (if the Ht √ belongs here, = *x̣e|u-/*x̣e|w-) 'reddish, yellow' ({EI} *h₁e|u- 'dull red') > OI aru'ṽa-ḥ 'reddish, gold-yellow', aru'ṽa-ḥ 'fire-coloured', Av

auruša- 'white' || Gmc *elwa- 'brown, yellow' > OHG ëlo (aadj. ëlwêr) 'brown, yellow, yellowish' > MHG ël (aadj. ëlwer), NGr Sw älv 'fahl, weißgelb' (of sheep), NGr Sb elb 'blaßgelb' || ? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow', {Pv.} hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; the Ht. word suggests a variant with reduplicated lr. (or an original form of the √?) *ǵeχlu- ¶ P 302-3, EI 481, M K I 49, Ts. E I 123ff., Frd. HW EG I 3, Pv. II 3-5 (derives Ht hahli- from hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; if he is right, the Ht cognate is to be rejected), OsS 132, EWA II 1060-2, Kb. 198 || A: NaT *āl 'red, scarlet, yellow' > OT āl 'scarlet', 'brown' (of eyes), MQp XIII-XIV al 'dust- or ash-coloured', 'chestnut tending towards yellow', [CC] al 'bright red', Tkm āl 'bright red, pink', Tk al id., 'chestnut' (of horses), Az al 'scarlet, red', VTt al 'scarlet, pink'; T ⇨ M: WrM al, HIM ал 'red, scarlet, vermilion' ¶ Cl. 120-1, DTS 31-2, ET Gl 125-6, Rl. I 349-350, MED 26; the long pT vw. (proved by Tkm) suggests a N postvoc. lr.; the back vw. *a may be due to the synharmonic ass. infl. of the lost *u of the second syll. || ?σ M *öle ≈ 'ε grey' > MM [S] öle 'dark-grey', WrM öle {Gl.} 'сизый (dove-coloured, warm grey), skewbald (пегий, железистого цвета)', HIM{Luv.}, Kl {KRS} ол, Brt үлэ 'dove-coloured (сизый)', 'grey (сивый)' (of horses), Ord ölö 'grey'; the rounded vw. *ö may reflect the infl. of the ancient word-final *-u|ü ¶ Gl. I 303, KW 294-5 (Kl ölö 'graugesprenkelt'), Dr. TM I 145-6, Rs. W 371, H 122 ¶¶ DQA #1541 derives the T root from A *ηiōle (> M *öle, Tg *ηule 'scarlet, pink', pKo *nùrí- 'yellow', pJ *mùrà-sákì 'purple') ◇ The long vw. in T and the absence of any non-initial lr. in IE *Helu-/ *Helw- may be explained by supposing a N lr. (*ʔ|h?) after *T ◇ If M *öle- belongs here, the vw. *ö- may be explained by reg. as. of labiality (*ä...u > **ö...ü > M *ö...E), suggesting N *ǵ|ǵäṽ, ʔ, ʔ, -.

131. (2?) *ǵulǵê 'recent' (→ new, young) > HS: WS *ǵūl-, *ǵwǵl 'child, young of an animal' > BHb עוּל ǵūl, JA אֶבְיָא ǵaw'1-ā 'baby, sucking child', MHb עוּלָא ǵū'1ā 'girl', Pun עַל 'nursling', Ug עַל 'young of animal' ('lamb', etc.), 'member of a clan', OA עַל 'foal', Sr ٱءء ǵū'1-ā 'foetus, infans', ٱءء ǵū'1-ā 'foal', Md عولاء ǵula 'embryo, foetus', Gz عولاء ǵawā 'young of animal, foal, colt'; in BHb ǵūl, Sr ǵū'1-ā, etc. there is contamination with S *ǵwǵl 'suckle' ¶ pS lost the second **ǵ of the expected √ **ǵwǵl|ǵ (haplology) ¶ KB 753-4, HJ 843, OLS 77, Br. 516, DM 343, L G 78 || ǵ Eg L عول ǵū 'child (?)' (< ǵwǵl < **ǵwǵl|ǵ <

** $\sqrt{\nabla}$ (EG I 169) || **U:** FU {Coll.} * $\bar{u}\hat{z}e$ ({Coll.} * $\bar{u}\acute{o}e$), {UEW} * $wu\hat{z}e$ 'new' > F $u\acute{u}si$ (gen. $u\acute{u}den$), Es $u\acute{u}s$ (gen. $u\acute{u}e$) 'new' | pLp {Lr.} * $o\delta\epsilon$ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} $ur\acute{r}e$, U {Schl.} $ud\acute{d}a$, L {LLO} $\acute{a}t\acute{a}$, N {N} $q\acute{d}\acute{a}s$ / - $\acute{d}\acute{d}$ -, Kld $\bar{o}tt$ | Er, Mk $o\acute{d}$ 'new, young' | pChr * \bar{u} 'new' > Chr L/H \bar{u} , Chr Uf u , Chr B $u\omega$ | Prm * $\sqrt{u}\acute{r}$ 'new' > Z, Vt $\sqrt{u}\acute{r}$, Vt K/G $\sqrt{u}\acute{r}$ || Hg $\acute{u}j$ 'new' || Hl. (p.c., 1976) suggested to adduce here Slq Tz $o\acute{c}+k$ 'again' || pY {IN} * $w\acute{r}\acute{r}$ - 'new' > YK $i\acute{o}$ - 'new' || Coll. 121, UEW 587, Sm. 551 (FU * $\omega\acute{u}\acute{d}i$ 'new' > FP * $\sqrt{u}\acute{d}i$, Ugr * $\omega\acute{u}\acute{d}\acute{i}$), Lr. #800, Lgc. #4481, Hs. 1381, Ber. 81 [#438], LG 72, IN 250 || ?**A:** Tg: WrMc $ul\acute{x}iyen$ ({Z} $\bar{u}\pi\acute{x}\acute{h}\acute{b}$) 'little by little' (unless < Tg * $\acute{x}ul$ -, cp. Ewk $\acute{x}ul$ - 'small') || STM II 261, Vas. 438-40 \diamond AD LZL 364-5 (on *- \sqrt{u} - > U *- \hat{z} -) \diamond \neq Gr. II #277 (* ud 'new') (U + err. J).

131a. \sqrt{u} * $\sqrt{u}g\acute{o}l\sqrt{u}y\sqrt{u}$ 'leaf' > **HS:** S * $\sqrt{a}l\acute{a}y$ - (or * $\sqrt{y}a'l\acute{a}y$ -) 'leaf' > BHb $\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}\bar{r}$ 'leaf, foliage (Laub, Blatt)', JEA $\bar{u}\bar{u}$ (s.e. $\bar{u}\bar{u}$, vocalization is unknown) 'leaves'; ? perhaps Ak $\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'sprout' (but more plausibly it is from N \approx * $\sqrt{h_2}e\sqrt{u}$ 'sprout, twig' or derived from S * $\sqrt{r}\sqrt{u}$ 'rise') || If Ak $\bar{u}\bar{u}$ belongs here, the pS rec. is * $\sqrt{a}l\acute{a}y$ -, otherwise the initial cns. may be either * \sqrt{r} - or * \sqrt{y} - || KB 785, Lv. III 650, Sl. 864, CAD IV 114 || B: Ah {Fc.} $e\bar{a}$, ETwl/Ty {PGG} $\bar{u}\bar{a}$ (pl. $ilatt\bar{u}$) 'feuilles minuscules', Tmz $a\bar{a}$ (pl. $alat\bar{u}$) 'branche avec feuilles, feuillage' || Fc. 984, GG 179, MT 366 || EC: Sml $\bar{a}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ (pl. $\bar{a}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{o}$) 'leaf' || ZMO 56, AD SF 161 || Ch: WCh: Pr {Frz.} $\acute{a}\bar{a}\omega$, Jmb {Sk.} $\acute{a}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'leaf' || CCh: ?? σ Gzg {Lk.} $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 'Gemüse'; \bar{u} "Muffu" {Srp.} $\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 'leaf' (neither the lge. nor the word have been identified in other sources) || ChC, Sk. NB 28, ChL, Lk. G 117, Srp. WSH || **D:** SD * $\bar{o}\bar{r}$ - (* $\bar{o}\bar{a}y$?) 'leaf' > Tm $\bar{o}\bar{a}\bar{u}$, Kt $\bar{o}\bar{r}$ 'palm leaf', Ml $\bar{o}\bar{a}$ id., 'writing leaf', Td $\bar{u}\bar{a}\bar{r}$ 'writing, education', Kn $\bar{o}\bar{e}$ 'leaf of a palmyra palm, leaf used to write on', Kdg $\bar{o}\bar{e}$ 'screw-pine leaf', Tu $\bar{o}\bar{e}$ 'letter on a palmyra leaf, palmyra leaf rolled up and put into the hole of an ear' || D #1070 \diamond Alternatively, Gzg $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ may be tentatively equated with D * $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 'to blossom, to open up; flower' (> Tm $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ v. 'blossom, 'full-blown flower', M $\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 'a blossom', Kn $\bar{a}\bar{a}$, Tu $\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{u}$ 'to spread, to blossom', Tm, Ml $\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{r}$, Kn $\bar{a}\bar{a}$, Tl $\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{u}$ 'flower', see D #247) \diamond \approx Blz. LB #98a (incl. S, EC, Ch, Ah, D + unc. FP * $e\sqrt{u}$ 'Ast, Zweig' and some other parallels), \approx Blz. DA 160 [#83].

131b. ? σ * $\sqrt{r}\bar{a}L\bar{o}\bar{p}\sqrt{u}$ 'weak, exhausted' > **IE** * $halp$ - 'weak, swooned, exhausted' > Ht {Pv.} $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{t}$ - 'swooned; weak, mild' || NaIE * $\bar{a}\bar{p}$ - > Lt $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ v. 'faint (away), swoon', $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{i}$ 'lie in a swoon', $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{s}$ 'a

swoon' ||| Gk ἄλαπαδνός 'exhausted, powerless, feeble', ἄλαπάζω v. 'empty, drain, exhaust' ||| ? Al lap̄s- vt. 'exhaust, tire out', vi. become exhausted, get tired out' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (IE *h₂elpos 'weak'), Pv. I-II 38-9, ≠ Ts. E I 18 (interprets Ht alpan̄t- as 'bewitched'), Frn. 8 (no et. of Lt aĩp̄ti), O 213, F I 64 || **HS**: S: Ar ʕillaʔf- 'very aged' (of an old man), ? ʕilfaʔt- 'sot, qui parle sans réfléchir' ¶ Ln. 2132, BK II 342-3 || **A**: Tg *alba- v. 'be unable' > Ewk, Neg, Ork alba-, Lm al̄b̄- id., Nab Nh/KU albqto ~ albaqtu 'lazy' ¶ STM I 30 ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [#96] (IE, Tg + unc. K *ʕalp- 'weak', see N *g'o'Lpa 'weak, small').

132. *ʕaí|jú 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > **HS**: CS *ʕalw(ay) 'aloë (Allium aloë)' > Sr ʕalway id., ChrPA ʕad̄d̄ ʔl̄w̄?, MHb [Msh.] ʕalwaʔīn ~ ʕalwaʔīn id. ¶ Löw II 149-52, Js. 67 || **IE**: NaIE *a(:)lu- '∈ liliaceous plant of sharp taste' ({EI} ? *ālu- 'esculent root', {P} *álu-, *ālo- 'plant of sharp taste') > L ālium, (after I c. CE) allium 'garlic', Osc (or Msp) *allō (< *aliā): [Hs.] ἄλλη·λάχανον·ἰταλό ('a vegetable in the speech of Italics') ||| Gk ἄλλη, Gk ἄλλα* in ἄλλᾶς (gen. ἄλλᾶντος) 'force-meat, sausage' (Kr.: ← *'sausage with garlic?') ⇨ ἄλλαντο-ειδής 'sausage-formed', ἄλλαντο-ποιός 'maker of sausages' ({WH}: Gk ← Osc) ||| OI ālu'kam 'the esculent root of Amorphophallus campanulatus' ¶ P 33, EI 620, WH I 30, F I 75, Ch. 63, M K I 81 || **D** *u|li, {GS} *u|-i 'onion, garlic' > Tm, MI u|li, TI ulli id., Kt u|y, Td u|y, Klm, Prj, Gdb ulli, Nk ullig, Gnd ullī ʔ ulli ʔ ulli, Knd, Mnd uli, Png ūr̄i, Ku ūlli ʔ ulli, Krx uli 'onion', Tu ulli, u|li 'garlic' ¶¶ D #705, GS 170 [#426], 51 [#127] || **A**: Tg *e|y 'onion' > Ul, Orl, Nn Nh/KU ʔlu, WrMc el̄u id. ¶ STM II 448 ◇ Tg *e- and D *u- may be due to regr. as.: N *ʕaí|jú > *ālü > Tg *e|y, N *ʕaí|jú > **ü|jú > D *u|li. The long *ā in L and OI may represent the IE apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe).

133. *ʕaí∇gU 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > **HS**: Eg fOK ʕr̄k̄ [*✓ ʕ|k̄] 'bend' > Cpt Sd/B wak̄ o|k̄ 'plier, courber, contractor' ¶ EGI 211, Fk. 45, Vc. 249 || ? B *✓|k̄ 'be bent' (× N *Luka 'to bend; [?] flexible twig', q.v. ffd.) || Bj {R} ✓|hlg 'biegen, krümmen' (1s: p. a-ha'lig, prs. ahan'līg) ¶ R WBd 116 || ECh: Mkl {J} ʔōlé 'elbow', Jg {J} lukho id. ¶ J LM 156, J J 114 || **IE** *he|k_lω₁- (> NaIE *a|k_lω₁-) / *ho|k_lω₁- 'bent, elbow' (with secondary Schwebeablaut NaIE *o|k_lω₁-/*lo|k_lω₁-) ({EI} *h₃e|lek- 'elbow, forearm'): [1] NaIE *a|k_lω₁-/*o|k_lω₁-/*ō|k_lω₁- > Arm n|np̄ o|ok^h 'fibula, péroné, shinbone' ||| Gk

[Hs.] ἄλαξ, ἄλαξ · πῆχυς ('forearm') || Lt uolektis, úolektis, Ltv ôlektis 'ell' (both from *ōlekt-), Pru woaltis, woltis (< *ōlkt-) 'Unterarm', Pru alkunis, Lt alkūnė, Ltv ēlks, ēlkons 'elbow' | pSl *oľkь-тъ 'elbow' > OCS локѣтъ, Blg лакѣтъ, SCr lăkat, Δ lākat, Slv lakěť, Cz loket, Slk loket', P łokiec, R, Uk 'локотъ id. || [2] ?? NaIE *lek-/*lok- > Gk λοξός 'slanting, crosswise, aslant' || OIr {SB} losc (gen. pl. luscu) 'lame' || L luxus 'dislocated', licinus 'aufwärts gekrümmt, aufwärts gebogen' (von Hörnern) ¶ P 308-9, EI 176, F II 136-7, SB 244, Slt. 322-3, Frn. 8, 1167, En. 140, 276, Tr. P A-D 75-7, Glh. 367, WH I 798, 841 || U: FP *ÍEkkē 'ankle' > pPrm *Íekkē > Vt {W} lekų (= *Ílek+) 'ankle, knucklebone', Z lek, lekų- 'horse's pastern, ankle, knucklebone' | ? Chr Íekan 'block of wood' ¶ LG 158 || A: T *aÍuk 'ankle joint' (× T *aÍci ~ *aÍcik 'knucklebone' < A *aÍç'a id., cp. Tg *aÍcu-kan id., see ET Gl 144-5) > OT ašūq 'anklebone, ankle', MQp XIV, Chg ≥xv ašūq, OOs, ašūq/ašūy, Tk ašık, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg ašiq, Az ašiq, Qzq, Nog, Qq ašiq, Alt ašiq, Ln ašūq ~ aššī, Uz ašiq, ET ošūq 'ankle' ¶ Cl. 259, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 216-7, TL 288-9, ADb. SR 15 || K: pGZ *dlaq̄w- 'elbow' (probably from N *y'o'd̄ ▽ zaÍ ▽ q̄U 'bend of arm', i.e. *y'o'd̄ ▽ 'claws' → 'arm' [q.v. ffd.] + *zaÍ ▽ q̄U) > OG (n)idaq̄wi, MG {SSO} dlaq̄vi, G idaq̄vi, nidaq̄vi, Mg duɤ-, Lz du(r)qu-, χe-duy- (χe- is 'hand, arm') ¶ K 74, K² 41 (*d(l)aq̄w-), FS K 96-7, 105, FS E 101-2, Chik. 58-9, Chx. 522, 959 ◇ The labialized vw. in T may be due to the infl. of the final *U.

134. *ɣim^rê^r 'suck, swallow' > HS: Eg fOK ɣm v. 'swallow' ¶ EG I 183-4, Fk. 42 || S *^oɣimm > Ar NY T ɣimm (pf. ɣamm, ip. yīɣumm) 'drink water', ?σ S *^o-ɣīm- > Ar ɣيم ɣym G (ip. -ɣīmu) v. 'long for milk' ← *v. 'swallow \ suck milk greedily', under the semantic infl. of Ar ɣيم - yīm- v. 'be thirsty' ¶ Fr. III 251, 307, BK II 423, Bns. NJ I 190 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr {Al.} ɣìmpà, Bole {Lk.} ɣump-, {Ib.} (n. act.) ɣùmpá 'suck' | P' {J} ɣm̄ma 'eat' || ECh: Smr {J} ɣm̄ 'eat (soft food)', as well as possibly Ke {Eb.} hāmè id., Skr {Sx.} áymè, Mgm {J} ɣáymó 'eat (hard food)', EDng {Fd.} èmè id. ¶ JI II 119, 121, J PW 198, ChC, Fd. 24 || ? C: Bj {R} ām- scv. 'essen, verzehren, gierig und viel essen, fressen' || DhI {EEN} hām- v. 'toss little food in mouth' ¶ R WBd 16, EEN 14 ¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 95 [#25.2] (Bj, DhI, Eg, Ch + unc. Sml ɣun- 'eat', Kz am- 'chew') || U *ime- v. 'suck' > F, Es ime-, OHg em-, pOs *em-/*am- ({JHl.} *ām-

/ *ĩm-) > Os: V/Vy em-/əmi, Ty/Y äm-/əmə, I em- v. 'suck' || Sm {Jn.} *ńim- ~ *ńüm- 'suck' > Ng {Cs.} caus. 1s aor. obcj. ńimaʔbteʔama v. 'suckle', Ne T d. нимне-сь 'suck out, start sucking', durative нимне-(м)бă-сь v. 'suck', Ne O {Lh.} ńimńē- ~ ńümńē- v. 'suck', Slq Tz {KKIH} ńim- id., Kms d. 1s prs. ńimeterĺäm v. 'suckle', Mt {HL.} *ń|ńümnə- 'suck' (Mt: M {Sp.} d. 1s [prs.?] нюмнiямъ 'I am sucking breast'); Sm {HL.} *ńimm∇ 'female breast, milk' > Ng {Cs.} ńi'miŋ 'breast', {Pl.} d. нимингъ 'milk', Slq Tz {KKIH} ńima id., Slq LTz {KD} ńü'm·ă 'female breast, milk', Mt {HL.} ń|ńimü|h, 'milk' (Mt T/K {Mll.} ńimü 'milk', Mt M {Mll.} ńimü 'kumys [mare's fermented milk]') || pY {IN} *iŵ- 'suck' > Y: K ibī-, T iŵī- id. (-ī- is a sx. of vt.), ? K ibišī 'female breast, milk' ¶¶ Coll. 15-6, UEW 82-3, Sm. 536 (U, FU, FP *imi, Sm *ńim-), SK 107, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 110-1, Hl. M ##759, 781, 786, KKIH 141, IN 218, ≈ Rd. UJ 35-6 [#10] (Y ← U) || A *°im∇- v. 'suck' > T **im- ~ *em- v. 'suck': [1] T **im(-) > Chv ěm- ьm(-), Δ ěm(-) id., [2] NaT *em- ~ *äm- id. > OT e|äm(-), Chg em-, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qqlp, Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv em-, Tk em-, Yk äm-, Az, ET äm-, Ggz ĵem-, VTt, Bsh иm- im- id. ¶ Cl. 155, DTS 172, Rs. W 41, ET Gl 271-2, Rl. I 918, 945, 1414, 1571, Jeg. 63, Fed. I 149, SDM97 (T *äm-ig, *äm-čäk 'fem. breast') ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ DQA #2651) M *emkü- 'put into \ hold in the mouth' ¶¶ Not here Tg *um(i)- v. 'drink', pKo {S} *mà- v. 'drink' and M *umda- 'drink' (in ds.), which are likely to belong to N *qum?∇ 'drink' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2651 (A *em∇ 'to suck': T, M) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248: U, A (T, M) ◇ Gr. II #371 (*ima 'suck') (U, A, CK + err. Y + unc. Ko, EA).

135. *ʕ'o'mdE 'stand upright, rise' > HS: S *√ʕmd 'be raised, propped up, lean against', 'stand upright' > BHb ʕmḏ √ʕmd G v. 'stand', JA √ʕmd D (pf. ʕam'med) v. 'place'; Mh/Jb √ʕmd: Mh pf. hāmōd 'prop up one's head (with a pillow, arm)', Jb C pf. aʕmid 'put a pillow under the head'; Ak emēdu 'lean against, cling to, stand near by', as well as possibly Ar √ʕmd G {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne' (contamination with a denominative verb) (see below) | S *ʕa'mad- (~ *ʕamad-) n. 'support, pole' > Ar ʕamad- 'pole of a tent, column, pillar', Ak imdu 'stanchion, support', (here?) Sb ʕmḏ '(?) vine-support, vinestock', Gz ʕamd 'column, pillar, post' | pWS *ʕam,mūd- 'prop, pole of a tent, column, pillar' > BHb ʕmḏ ʕam'mūd, SmHb ʕammōd id., Ph, IA, Plm ʕmḏ, JA {Js.} ʕmḏ

ʕam'mūḏ, JA/Sr em. אָמִימֻדּ | ʕammūḏ-ā 'column', JEA {Sl.} ʕammūḏ-ā 'pillar, column', Ug ʕmḏ 'column, ceiling beam', Ar ʕamūd- 'prop, support, column, base' (→ Ar ✓ʕmḏ G [pf. عَمَدٌ ʕamada] {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne'), Sb (pl.) ʔʕmḏ 'columns, pillars', Mh {Jo.} ʔamaʔwḏ 'ceiling beam', Jb C {Jo.} 'ʕa'mud 'beam, pillar' (← Ar?) ¶ KB 795-8, BK I 360-1, Ln. 2151-3, Sl. 869-70, Js. 1086-7, Br. 529-30, BGMR 16, LG 62-3, Jo. M 23, Jo. J 13, CAD IV 138-47 and VII 109-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} WCh *ʕum- 'rise, climb' || NrBc: Wrj {J, Sk.} ʕʕm-, Kry {Sk.} ʕimo, P' {MSk.} ʕʕun, Mbr/My/Jmb {Sk.} ʕʕma-, Cg {Sk.} wum, {Sk. in ChC} ʕʕum, Sir {Sk.} ʕʕmu 'mount (an animal), climb' || Bl {Lk.} ind-, Krkr {Lk.} hind-, Ngm {ChL} hīndīn, Tng aidi id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 227 [#759] (WCh *ʕimḏ- 'stand up'), ChC s.v. 'stand up', ChL, Sk. NB 32, MSk. 183, Stl. IF 120 || C: SC: Irq {MQK} ʕōm- 'no longer give milk' (of a cow), 'dry up' (of a river), {E} ʕom- vi. 'stop', → Mb -ʔúma v. 'stand, come to stop', -ʔumáti vt. 'stop' ¶ E SC 278, MQK 80 || A: M *öndü- (or *ündü-?) ~ *undu- → [1] *ö|ündü-s > MM [HI] ündüs 'upright (debout)', Kl öndös 'hinauf, hoch', [2] M *ö|ündej- > WrM öndüi- ~ öndüi-, HIM өндий- 'raise one's head, raise oneself, rise slightly', Kl {Rm.} öndö-χə 'sich heben, sich aufrichten', *ö|ündiyi- > Kl {KRS, Rm.} өндә-χ өндә-χə 'rise slightly', Dg {T} undī- id., [3] M *öndür 'high' > MM [MA, S] öndür id., WrM öndür, HIM өндөр, Kl өндр öndər 'high, tall; height', Ba onder, Dx undu 'high', [4] M *undur- > WrM undur-, HIM ундра-χ v. 'rise' ¶ Ms. H 109, Pp. MA 276-7, H 164, MED 636-7, 876, KRS 416-7, KW 296, T DgJ 171, T BJ 146, T DnJ 137 || IE *Hendʰ-/Hḡdʰ- v. 'rise, appear' > Gk Hm {Hofm.} ἔν-ήνοσθε 'hat sich erhoben', {LS} ἄν-ήνοσθε 'mounted up', {Ch.} ἐπενήνοσθε 's'élever, monter à la surface', {LS} '(a thin coat) grew thereon; was on it', Gk D ἦνθον 'came' || (here?) ?σ IE *Hḡdʰ-wen- > OI d. 'adhva / adhvan- 'way', Av Y adva id. ¶ WP I 130, Hofm. 83-4, Ch. I 87, LS 138, 617, F I 516-7, M K I 32, M E I 68.

136. ₂ *ʕomKê '(ε part of the) neck' > HS: S *ʕun_Lu_Jk- (~ *ʕin_Lu_Jk-?) (× N *ḡiKa 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck'??) > Ar ʕunq-, ʕunuq-, ʕanīq-, Ak unq- 'neck', Eb {Co.} in-gu = inq|gu_Lm_J; → CS *ʕu¹naq- 'neck-chain, necklace' > BHb ʕnq- ʕa¹nāq- 'neck-chain', Ug {OLS} ʕnq-, JA אָנָק- ʕunq-ā, Sr ʕeqq-ā, ʕeqq-ə¹t-ā id., 'neck-lace', JEA אָנָק- ʕunq-ā 'neck'; → WS *✓ʕnq G v. 'put round the neck' > Gz ✓ʕnq G id., BHb ʕnq ✓ʕnq G 'adorn the neck' ¶ OLS 83, KB 812-3, KBR 858-9,

BK II 387, Co. SQF 143, MiK I #15 (S *ʕi/unḵ- 'neck') || **A**: NaT *ömge_ḷḷn (× NaT *ömgen 'breast' < N *Homg'ü' 'breast', q.v.) > OT {CL} ömgēn ? 'jugular vein', Chg XV ömgen ~ ömgün 'the base of the throat and the collar-bone' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315 || NrTg *ḷmen 'Adam's apple' > Ewk umən, Lm Ol/B/P/Sk ōm id., Lm O ūm 'pharynx (гортань)' ¶ STM II 213 ¶¶ Pp. VG 216 || M *öngēleḷür 'depression close to the Adam's apple' (× N *XUng∇ 'throat', q.v. ffd.).

137. *ʕ'umḡ|ḡ∇ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness/remembrance of' > **A** *umḡU-(t), *umḡU-ta- 'sleep, forget' > T: [1] *umun- > Yk umun-, Chv man- 'forget'; [2] *umNu-t 'oblivion' > Uz, Qrg, Alt, Qzq {RI.} unut, CrTt {RI.} umut id.; [3] NaT *umḡI-t- ~ *umnI-t- v. 'forget' > OT unIt- ~ unut- id., Tk unut-, Ggz, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qrg, Uz, ET, SY, Ln unut-, VTt, Bsh. ʕnʕt-, Qzq ūmit-, Nog, Qq umIt-, Tv ut- id.; [4] NaT *umḡtu- > Xk umdu- ~ undu- 'forget', Alt undu-, Tb {B} unḡu ¶ Cl. 179, ET Gl 597-8, Jeg. 128 || M: [1] M *umarta- 'forget' > MM [S, IsV] umarta-, [MA, IM] marta-, WrM umarta-, marta-, HIM умарта-, Ord mart'a-, Kl март- martə- id., Mnr {SM} mušd_a-, MMgl [Z] mārt, Mgl {Rm.} mōrta-, Dx {T} mata- id., 'not to think of'; [2] M *umta- v. 'sleep' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] unta-, WrM umta-, HIM унта-, Ord {Ms.} u'nt'a-, Kl унт- unta-, Mnr H {SM} nć'īā-, {T} ntā-, nčā-, Mnr M {T} nta- id., d.: MM [S, HI] untara-, Mnr H {SM} nt'zrā-, Dx huntura- (with a secondary h-) id. ¶ H 163, 165, Pp. MA 234, 364, 441, 449, Ms. H 105, Lg. VMI 71, Iw. 115, MED 874-5, SM 251, 285-6, T 352, T DnJ 128, KW 257, 450 || Tg *omḡa- 'forget' > Ewk, Neg, Nn KU omḡo-, Sln, Orc ommo-, Lm omḡb-, Ud omḡo-, Ork omḡo- ~ omḡbo-, Nn Nh omḡbo-, Nn B omḡo- ~ omḡgo-, WrMc omḡo-, Mc Sb omḡo- ¶ STM II 17 ¶¶ S AJ 295, DQA #2523 (A *umun(t)o- 'forget'), KW 257 (M, T), 450 (M, T, Tg) || **HS**: Eg XIX ʕwḡn v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 173 || ?? S [1] *ʕ'umy > Ar ʕ'umy G 'be blind', Sr ʕ'umy D (pf. ʕammī) vt. 'blind', Tgr ʕmω G (pf. ʕama) 'be blind' | [2] S *ʕ'umh > Ar ʕ'umh 'be(come) confounded \ perplex \ unable to see one's right way' ¶ BK II 373, Ln. 216O-2, F III 224-5, JPS 416, Br 529, LH 457, MiK I #2.3 || Ch {JS} *ʕ'umw ~ *ʕ'wn ({JI} *ʕ'umw) 'sleep' (× N *ʕaw'oy'∇ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: FU *ʕ'um|ḡe 'sleep, dream, forget' > F unī (gen. unen), Es unī (gen. unē) n. 'sleep, dream', F uno-hḡa- v. 'forget', unho 'oblivion', Es une- 'forget', unu- 'fall into oblivion' | Er, Mk on 'sleep, dream' | Prm *wun- > Vt vun- 'be forgotten', Z vun- id., 'forget', Yz vunśi- 'forget' || Sm: Ng {Cs.}

ḡanaḡbta- 'forget' ¶¶ UEW 588 (U *wunḡ 'vergessen werden'), 804 (FV *unḡ 'sleep, dream'), LG 70, Cs. 43 || D (in SD) *ūm 'dumbness', *ūm- 'dumb' > Tm ūm 'dumbness', ūman 'dumb man', Ml ūman 'dumb, stupid', Kn ūmē 'dumb man, taciturn man' ¶ D #746 ◇ Coll. 65, UEW 588, ET Gl 598 (all of them: A, U).

138. *ḡōyḡḡ 'see, look; eye' > HS *ḡ'ī'n-/*ḡayn- 'eye', (→) 'spring' > S *ḡayn- 'eye' > Ak īn-, Ar ^وين ḡayn-, B H b ḡ'ī'n- 'ḡayin, Ph, Ug ḡn, OA, IA, Nbt, Plm ḡyn, BA cs. ḡ'ī'n, pl. ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-, JA [Trg.], JEA e m. ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-, cs. ḡ'ī'n, Sr W ^وحبر ḡ'ī'n, Sr E cs. ḡ'ī'n, Sr W em. ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-, Sr E em. ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-, Sb ḡyn, Gz ḡayn; the same word means 'spring (of water)' in Hb, Ug, Ar, Nbt, Plm, JA, Sb, Gz, Ak, etc.; ⇨ WS *ḡ'ī'n D v. 'look, contemplate' and the like > Hb, Ug, Sr, Gz ḡ'ī'n D id. ¶ KB 773-5, KB LVT 1107, KBR 817-9, JH 207, HJ 839-40, A ##2055-2056, OLS 82, Lv. T II 212-3, Sl. 855-7, Br. 522, PS 2867, BGMR 23, LG 79-80, MiK I #1.28 || Eg ḡn, ḡyn hier. *'eye'; Eg G ḡny 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') ¶ EG I 189, Budge I 123 || ?φ B {Pr.} *ḡnh₃y ~ *ḡh₃ny v. 'see, look' (× N ≈ *ḡ'ī'n Exa 'see') > TnsI ənhi = ənh₃y, ip. intens. i-hannəy, vb. n. a-hanəy, Ah əni (Pr.'s phonemic transcr.: ənh₃y), ip. intens. i-hānnəy, vb. n. ā-hanəy, Gh əni = ənh₃y, ip. intens. i-hannəy, Ty, ETwl ənəy, ip. intens. i-hannəy, Tdq ənh₃y v. 'see', NrB: Sll {Ds.} annəy, prs. y-ännəy 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Izd {Mrc.} inni, iannəy v. 'look at' ¶ Fc. 1357, Pr. H #563, GhA 152, Mrc. 218, Ds. 296; in Pr.'s opinion, the variant *ḡnh₃y is original, while *ḡh₃ny goes back to mt. (Pr. H 15-6), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite is likely to be the case || C: Dhl {E} ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n-ḡ'ī'n- 'see from afar' || EC *intḡ ~ *indḡ 'eyes' (< *ḡin-tḡ ~ *ḡin-ḡ'ī'n- with loss of *ḡ- due to the infl. of the sg. *il 'eye'?) > Af {PH} intīta, Sa {Wlm.} intit, {R} intīt ~ ḡintīt 'eyes' (whence a bf.: sg. Af {PH}, Sa {Wlm.} inti 'eye'), Sml N índó 'eyes', Bn innə, Rn ìndó, Gdl índā, Dsn ?innu, Elm ínna?, Arr ?ìndá 'eyes' (in all these lgs. there is uppletivism: sg. *il - pl. *indḡ), ?? Bs {HL} idə 'eye(s)' (probably from *ḡin- 'eye' with the pl. marker *-tḡ; the glottalization *t > ḡ is still to be explained) ¶ Bl. 196, AD SF 149-50, Hw. A 340-1, PG 156, PH 137, Oo. 66, Lm. SD 315, HL 63, To. DL 482, E 274 || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} īnō 'salt water spring', urnō 'spring', Anf {Gt.} ino id., ḡ Gmr {Bulat.} aH 'eye' ¶ AD SF 149-50, C SE IV 400, Gt. 347, Bulat. 343 || Ch: [1] Ch {Stl.} *ḡiyan- 'see' > WCh {Stl.} *ḡ'ī'ayan- v. 'see' > Bl {Lk.} ?inn-, NrBc: P' {MSk} ḡan, {IL in ChC} hanī, SBc:

Gj {Sh.} yenî, {Luc.} yèni, Plc {Luc.} yenu; Ron: DfB yen v. 'see' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} ànní v. 'see' || ECh: Jg {J} ʔinn- 'können, kennen' | [2] Ch **Hind∇ 'eye(s)' (≈ {Nw.} *idə [sc. *idʷ], {Stl.} Ch *ʔida-n- 'eye') > WCh *ʔinda > Hs ídò 'eye', pl. ídānū, Gw ḡdāni 'eye(s)' | pAG {Hf.} *yit, {Stl.} *yid 'eye(s)' > Su, Mnt, Gmy, Cp yit, Tal {IL} yīt, Ywm {J} yit, Kfr y+tt | BT *ʔi_Ln_Jd∇ ({Stl.} *ʔid∇) > Bl {IL} ìdó, Dr {J} yéʔò, Krkr ʔìdó, Gera {Sch.} ì:dí, Grm {Sch.} ìdá, Bele {Sch.} ìdó, Krf {Sch.} ìró, Tngl ídò, {Lk.} idu, ? Pr {Frz.} ándò | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} ʔídá, pl. ʔìdì, Sir {IL} ítà, My aḡti~ eti | Ngz/Bd {Sch.} dà 'eye' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} yiti | Dgh {Frk., ChL} ḡdè | HgN {Mk.} лncэ, HgK {Mk.} nči || ECh: Skr {Nc.} íd-, {Brt.} yīdi | EDng {Fd.} ódò, Mgm {J} ʔíḡè | Jg {J} ʔúdê, Brg {J} ʔúdì 'eye' ¶ Nw.'s pCh *idə, JS's pCh *√yd, and S's Ch *ʔida-n- do not take into account the ev. for *-nd- provided by Gw, Pr, and Dgh ¶ JI I 80 and II 126-7, JS 96, ChC, ChL, Mts. GD 29, Stl. ZCh 230 [#784], Hf. AG #182, Sch. BTL 144, Frz. P 19, Stl. IF 119, 172 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 115 || IE 11 **_LH_Jwejn- > NaIE (in Iir only) *^owejn- v. 'look, see' > OI 'vēnati 'looks, observes', Av vaēna'ti 'sees', OPrs vaināmiy 'I see', MPrs vēn-, NPrs bīn- (imv. بين bīn, acp. bīnō 'seeing') v. 'see', Sgd, Prth ωυν- id. || [2] ? *hēn (or *ʔēn) 'siehe da!' (× N *hEñ∇ 'iste' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥήν, ῥήν, L ēn 'siehe da!' ¶ M K III 259-260, VI. I 306, P 314, F I 637, WH I 403-4 || U: FP (in Lp only) *ouñha > pLp *w̄yñē v. 'see' > Lp: L {LLO} āi'n-ēt, S {Hs.} vuojn'edh, N oai'dnet v. 'see', Pa {TI} vūā'j:n'e-, Kld {TI} uḡ:n'e- id., {SaR} уйһнэ 'see, notice' || Y: Y K {IN} aḡḡə 'eye' ¶ Lr. #819, Lgc. #4548, Hs. 1452-3, TI 765, SaR 370, IN 47, 295 || A: M *oy'u'n 'mind' > MM [MA] oḡn-dān bōl {Pp.} 'будь в уме!', 'be (still) in (your) mind!', [S] оyi(н) 'Sinn, Gefühl', WrM оуиn, HIM оюун, WrO оуиn~оуон, Kl оюн, ойн 'intellect, mind' ¶ MED 606, Pp. MA 262, H 130, Krg. 118, KRS 393, 407 || Tg: Lm лнъь ʔ лнго 'reindeer's eye, hyaloid membrane (of an eye)' || The A cd. *iña-mū 'tears', lit. 'eye-water' (< N *ʔôyñ∇ + N *mûhi 'water, fluid') > Tg *^oiña-mū- v. 'weep' > Ewk iñamu-; Tg *iña-mu-kta 'tears' > Ewk iñamukta ~ ñamukta, Sln nama-kta ~ naḡmukta, Lm лнъьmtъ, Neg iñamta, Ud iḡamukta, Ork yēndumusqa, Nn ḡḡamoqta ~ ḡamoqta ~ ḡumoqta id. ¶ STM I 319, Krm. 239 || cp. pKo (> MKo nún-mír 'tears') and pJ *nà-mì(n)tá 'tears', ffd. see s.v. N ≈ *^rh'Exa 'see' ¶ Cf. DQA #1473 (A *niḡā 'eye'), S AJ 30-1, 275 [#21] (A *híā 'eye', *híá(í)-mūri 'tears') || D *uññ- v. 'look, think, consider' (× N *hAwñ∇

'sense, mind, soul') > Tm urru v. 'think, consider', urru v. 'meditate', Ml urnuka , urnika , Kt, Td uny- , Kn urnisu v. 'think', Tl {Km.} urkisu v. 'consider', Ku onpinal v. 'intend', Brh hunniḡ v. 'look, look at, consider' ¶¶ D #727 ◇ The adduction of Ir $*\text{wayn-}$ has been suggested by Blz. (p.c., 1994) ◇ The palatal Ir. $*\text{h-}$ in IE $*\text{hēn}$ belongs to the infl. or heritage of N $*\text{hEñ}$ 'iste' ◇ IE $*\text{H}_1\text{wejn-}$ and D $*\text{uñn-}$ point to a N $*\text{u}$ (or $*\text{ü}$), while U and M suggest a N $*\text{o}$. This discrepancy still needs investigating and resolving ◇ S and WNL NC adduce here A {SDM95-97} $*\text{hā:}$ 'eye' (> Tg {SDM} $*\text{hīā-sa}$, {AD} $*\text{hīā-sa(1)}$ 'eye[s]', M $*\text{nidün}$ 'eye', T $*\text{jā́l}$ 'tear', pKo $*\text{nún}$ 'eye'), which is less certain than to connect A $*\text{hā:}$ with N $\approx *r'ñ'E\chi a$ 'see' (q.v.).

138a. $*\text{h}_1\text{ñ}_1\text{q}$ 'live' > HS: Eg fOK rux v. 'live', rux 'life' ¶ EG I 193-206 || A: Tg $*\text{in-}$ 'live' > Ewk in- , Δ in3- 'live', Ewl $\text{in} \sim \text{inε}$ 'life', Lm, Neg īn- 'live', Sln $\text{inirg3-} \sim \text{in3rg3-}$ 'come to life', Orc ini , iniyi , inih , Ud inigi , Nn KU iḡkī 'alive' ¶ STM I 315 || D $*\text{iḡk}_1\text{u}_1$ 'abide' > Tm iḡku (p. iḡki) 'abide, stay', Tl iḡkuva 'a place, haunt' ¶¶ D #420 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here SC {E} $*\text{ni}_1\text{h-}$ or $*\text{nēh-}$ 'live, be alive' > ?σ Brn ilaniḡ v. 'sprout' and (\rightarrow) Mb nihi 'animal' (E SC 186), but its SC rec. is too shaky to be reliable.

139. $*\text{foñ3}$ 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin, or the like)' > HS: S $*\text{fnz}$ > Ar fanaz-at- '€ javelin, staff with a pointed iron' ¶ BK II 383, Fr. III 231, Hv. 504 || K: MG [KC] anza 'stake (Pfahl, кол)', G anza id., 'mast' ¶ DCh. 40 || IE $*\text{x}^1\text{h}_2\text{nsi-s}$ ({EI} $*\text{h}_2\text{h}_3\text{h}_2\text{nsi-s}$) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword' > NaIE $*\text{h}_2\text{nsi-s}$ 'sword' > OI a'si-h_2 'sword; knife (used for killing animals)', Av aḡhū 'sword' || L ensis id. || Pal hastra- 'dagger' ¶¶ P 771, Dv. #489, EI 561, M KI 64-5, WH I 406 || U: FU {UEW} $*\text{onca-r}$ 'fang (of a bear, etc.)' > Prm $*\text{w}_3\text{zr}$ (= {LG} $*\text{w}_3\text{z}_3\text{r}$) > Z vožir 'fang', Z Ud vžir , Vt вазерпинь id. (пинь 'tooth'), Δ wažer , važer id. || ObU: Vg: T žncar , LK/P āñsar , Ss añsar 'tusk (Hauzahn)'; ? Os: D/K āñçal 'bear's canine tooth (Reißzahn)', Km āñçal 'bear's tooth', O āñsär 'am Gürtel getragener Bärenzahn', Kz āñsar 'Eck-\\Reißzahn des Bären' || OHg XV agyar 'boar's tusk (Hauer, Hauzahn)', Hg agyar 'tusk, fang' ¶ UEW 340, MF 74, LG 60, Coll. 71, EWU 13 ◇ Pal h- is likely to point to IE $*\text{x}$ and N $*\text{y}$, while the K data suggest a N weak Ir. ($*\text{f-}$). To solve the problem we need to check well the interpretation of the Pal word and to elucidate the origin of Pal h- .

140. *ϣup▽ 'take wing', 'up' > **HS:** WS *-ϣūp- v. 'fly' > Hb ✓ ϣwp (prm. -ϣūp-), Ug ✓ ϣwp, Gz ✓ ϣwf (js. -ϣūf) v. 'fly', Ph ✓ ϣwp (G inv. sg. m. ϣp) v. 'fly, fly away', Ar ✓ ϣwf G (ip. -ϣūfu) 'circle over (sth.)' (of birds); ⇨ CS *ϣawp- 'bird' > Hb 𐤇𐤍𐤅 𐤍𐤏𐤐, Ug ϣp, Sr ϣw'p-ā, Gz 𐤍𐤏𐤐, Ph ϣp-t 'fowl, bird', Ar ϣawf- 'cock; omen, fortune' ¶ KB 756-7, HJ 833, 878, OLS 84, Ln. 2198, Br. 517, LG 78 || Eg L/G ϣpυ v. 'fly' ¶ EGI 179 || **IE** *Hupo ({EI} *h₄u'po 'up [from underneath]') > NaIE *upo- 'upon, on to' > Av upa, OPrs upā 'auf' || ON of 'over', OHG ūf 'up, above' (> NHG auf 'on'), AS ufe-ƿearð 'up, upper, later', OHG ob(a) 'on, above, over', ON upp, AS upp (> NE up), OFrs, OSx up 'up', OSx uppan adv. 'on the top, above, over', OHG obana id., 'from above' > NHG oben || NaIE *up-ero- 'upper' > Av uparō id.; NaIE *uper-(i) 'over' > OI u'par i 'above, over', Av upa'r i, OPrs upariy 'over' || ?φ Gk ὑπέρ, ὑπερ 'over' || OIr for 'over, on', W gwarthaf 'height' (< *vortamos) || Gt ufar, ON yfir, AS ofer (> NE over), OHG ubar, ubir (> NHG über), OSx ovar 'over'; Gt ufarō adv. 'above', OHG obaro 'upper, higher' (> NHG ober), AS yferra adj. 'upper' || NaIE *up-emo- 'der oberste' > OI upa'ma-, Av upama-, AS ufemest, yfemest || NaIE *ups- 'high, upper' > Gk ὑψυ adv. 'high' || OIr ós, uas 'above' (P: < *oup-su), OW uuc, MW uch id., W uwch 'higher', Cm (a) ugh, OBr uh, Br Δ euc'h, oc'h, ouc'h 'above' || NaIE *ūpsa- > Sl *v+s- ⇨ [1] *v+s-ōkъ m. 'high' (f. *v+s-o'ka, ntr. *v+s-o'ko) > OCS **ВЫСОКЪ** vísokъ, Blg висок, SCr vîsok, Slv visòk 'high', R вы'сок 'is high', prnl. adj.: R вы'сокий, Uk високий, P wysoky, Cz, Slk vysoký, [2] Sl *v+sъ f. 'height (what is high above)' > OCS **ВЫСЬ** vîsъ, R высь, Blg вис id., SCr vîs, Blg Δ вис 'top (of mountains); [3] Sl comp. *v+šъb 'higher', ntr.\adv. *v+še > SCr vîšī, ntr.\adv. vîše ° OCS **ВЫШНИ** vîšijī, ntr.\adv. **ВЫШЕ** vîše, adv.: Blg више, R выше, Slv vîše, Cz vύše ¶ WP I 192, P 1106-7, EI 612, Mn. 1478-9, F II 966-7, 978, Fs. 509, Vr. 416, 635, 676, Ho. 240, 376-7, Ho. S 57, 81, Kb. 740-1, 1054-5, 1061, KM 36, 518, 799, Vn. O 31-2, Flr. 326, Glh. 672, BER I 152, Ma. CS 578, M K I 105-6 || **А:** [1] А: М *obуѡа > MM [HI] {Ms.} obo, o 'tertre', WrM obuga(n), obu, HIM обоо 'heap, pile; heap of stones'; "obo", i.e. 'mound\cairn of stones built as a landmark\monument for special religious ceremonies', Kl ова id., {Rm.} oᵛā 'hill, heap, heap of stones on roads or on a hill', Mnr H {SM} ob_ō 'obo, monceau de pierres qu'on venère'; M ⇨ T: MQp [CC] oba

'hill', Kr *oba* 'heap of stones', QrB *oba* id., 'grave', Qzq, Nog *oba* 'kurgan, tumulus', Bsh *uba* id., 'hill' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 598, Kow. 370, KRS 391, KW 291, SM 296, Cl. 5, Dr. TM II 133, ET Gl 398-400, Rs. W 356, Grøn. 173 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1603 (**ōp'∇* 'hill, heap of stones' > M, T [treated as a cognate and not as a loan]) ¶¶ [2] Tg **upu-*, **upu-kte* 'feather' > Orc *upuktz* ~ *opukte*, Ud *ofokto*, Ork *upuktz*, Nn Nh *upultz*, Nn KU *ufuktz*, Nn B *ufultz* 'feather, down'; Nn KU *ufu-*, Ud *ofo-di-* v. 'pluck feather\down' ¶ *-*kta/e* is a sx. of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209 ◇ M **o-* as a reflex of N **u* still needs explaining.

141. **∇P∇r∇* '(river-)bank' > IE: NaIE {P} **āper-o-*, **āper-yo-* 'shore, river bank', 'mainland' ({EI} IE **h₃eHperos* [?] 'river bank, shore of sea') > Gk: A ἡπειρος, D ἄπειρος (long *ā*), Ae ἄπερος (*ā*) 'mainland' (< **āper-yo-*) ¶ AS *ōfer*, Dt *oever*, MHG *uover* > NHG *Ufer* 'shore' (< **āper-o-*), MLG *ōver* id. (< **āper-yo-*) ¶ Arm *ափն* *aph'n* 'bank, shore' can be better explained as going back to N **q'a'p'ʔ'∇* 'bank, shore' (q.v.) ¶ Bc. #1.26, WP I 47, P 53, EI 515, F I 640, Hofm. 109, Ch. I 415, Ho. 240, KM 801, Ach. I 365 ¶ HS: S **ʕib_L∇_r* 'the region beyond\across a body of water (river\lake\sea)', '(further) bank\shore' > BHb *עֵבֶר* 'עֵבֶר 'opposite side (of a river, lake, etc.); side, edge, bank', SmHb {BH} *עֵבֶר* id., JA *עֵבֶר* *ʕib_r-ā* ~ *עֵבֶר* *ʕib_r-ā* 'opposite side', Sr *עֵבֶר* *ʕib_r-ā* 'crossing (a river), further bank', Md *עֵבֶר* 'coastland, foreshore', Ar *ʕibr-* ~ *ʕabr-* ~ *ʕubr-* 'shore', Ak *eber-nārī* (n. l., lit. 'the region beyond the river') (← WS?), Eb *a-bar-rí-iš* = *ʕabar-iš* ({Frnz.} *ʕabāriš*) loc. 'on the other bank'; S **ʕibr* v. 'cross (a body of water), pass over' (→ *'pass over a stream to the other side') > Hb, Ph, Pu, Ug, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Ar, Sb *ʕibr* G 'cross over (water, etc.), pass', Ak *ebēru* 'to cross (water)', Eb *a-ba-rí-im* = {Krb.} *ʕabār-im* inf. gen. id.; Cn *ḫ* → Eg (EgSSc) *ʕá-bí-ḫa* 'ford, crossing' (Eg NK *y* < *r*, see Erm. NÄG 23-4) ¶ KB 735-8, HJ 821-3, A #1990, OLS 71, Sl. 840-1, Js. 1039-40, JPS 399, DM 4, 340, Fr. III 97-8, BK II 152-3, CAD IV 10-2, Sd. 182, Slw. 145-6, Hlk. #28, SivCR 18, Frnz. EL 133 ¶ D (in SD) **ēri* '(raised) bank, lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm *ēri* 'large tank, reservoir for irrigation; lake', Ml *ēri* 'bank; stakes to support banking work', Kn *ēri* 'a raised bank, the bank of a tank, a tank', Kdg *ētri* 'parapet of well, bund (in paddy-fields, of tank)', Tu *ēri* 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D #901.

142. (2?) * ζ VRV 'wild boar' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{fpr}}$ > Ar fifr- ~ fufr 'wild boar, swine, young pig' ({Fr.} fifr- 'porcus, aper', fufr- 'porcus') ¶ Fr. III 183 || ? ϕ Eg fXX $\text{ip}\dot{\text{h}}$ 'swine' ¶ EG I 69 || IE * hepero- ({EI} * h_1eperos 'boar [adult male of *Sus scrofa*]') > NaIE * ap(e)ro-s 'wild boar' (with * a on the analogy of * kapro-s 'he-goat') > L aper , $-\bar{\text{i}}$ 'wild boar', Um $\text{apru}\dot{\text{f}}$, ABROF id. (accus. pl.), abrunu id. (accus. sg.) || pGmc * ebura- 'wild boar' > AS eofor , MLG ever , OHG ebur , NHG Eber || BSl * weprya- (with * w- on the analogy of a different word) > Ltv vepris 'castrated boar' || Sl * $\text{veprь} \sim \text{veprь}$ 'wild boar' > OR вепрь veprь , R вепрь , gen. 'вепря, Blg 'вепър 'wild boar', Uk 'вепер 'wild boar, hog', SCr vèpar (gen. vèpra), P wieprz (gen. wieprza), Cz vepř 'hog' || ? σ Thr ἔβρος 'ram' ¶ P 323, EI 425, WH I 56, Ho. 92, KM 150-1, EWA II 941-3, Bc. G 327, Kar. II 507, Glh. 666-7, Vs. I 292, Pln. II 724 || A possible highly questionable cognate: A * ep'VRV 'horn' (if from 'fung' ← 'wild boar's fung' ← 'wild boar?') > M * eber- 'horn' (> MM [HI, S, MA, IM] eber , WrM eber , HIM эвэр , Mnr uyer), pKo {S} * s-pír id. (> MKo spír , NKo p̄ul), Tg * oporV 'nose' (> Nn $\text{oporó} \dot{\text{z}}$ oforo , WrM oforo) ¶¶ DQA #646 (A * $\text{jop'érV} \sim \text{japlorV}$), S AJ 46, 291, MED 286, SM 480, Ms. H 52, H 40, Pp. MA 150, 436, S QJ #43, Nam 274, MLC 832, STM II 22 ◇ AD NM #46; S CNM 13 and SN 146 (÷÷ OChn?).

143. 2 * ζ ArV 'dry, arid' > HS: WS * arab- > BHb בְּרָבָה arā'ḇā 'desert, steppe', בְּרָבָה ba-ḇ'rab , (in pause בְּרָבָה ba-ḇ'rāḇ) 'in the desert', בְּרָבָה arā'ḇā , Ar عَرَب arab- , Mh ārēb 'Arabs' (← 'inhabitants of a desert\steppe'), Sb arab coll. 'bedouins', and Mn arab coll. 'nomads' (in both lgs. ← 'inhabitants of the desert'), Gz arab 'Arabia', ? (mt.) Gz $\sqrt{\text{fbr}}$ 'be dry, unfruitful' ¶ KB 831-3, GB 616, BGMR 19, MA 15, Jo. M 27 || D * ar- v. 'be(come) dry' > Tm ārur vt. 'dry (as the hair)', Ml āruka vi. 'dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds)', Kt ar- vi. 'dry' (as dew), 'heal' (as a wound), Td ar- 'become dry by heating', Kn ār , ārur , Tu āruni , Tl ārur vi. 'dry', Kdg ar- vi. 'dry up' (of a stream, cloth), Klm ar- , Nkr ār- vi. 'become dry', Nk ār- 'be dried, emaciated', Gnd Mn āranā vi. 'warm oneself', Krx arta?ānā v. 'spread out in the sun for drying' ¶¶ In some D lgs. there is a homonymic merger with the verb * ar- ({GS} * ād-) 'to cool' (GS 150-1 [#380]) ¶¶ D #404, Zv. 44-5, Sbr. DVM 56, Pf. 83 (* āt-) ◇ WS * arab- 'desert' < N * ζ ArV bA with the pc. *bA of quality bearers (i.e. * ζ ArV bA 'something arid?').

144. * $\text{ʕiR}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ '(male, young) big ungulate' > HS: WS * ʕayr- ~ * ʕīr- 'male wild ass, ass foal' > BHb ʕayir , SmHb ʕīr 'male ass; young ass', BHb +ppa: ʕīr- : ʕīr- ʕīr- 'his male ass' (the pl. form of the Masoretic tradition ʕīrīm ~ ʕīrām ʕayāʕīrīm is on the analogy of * ʕa2a3- nouns, cp. the SmHb cognate form ʕīrām , suggesting Hb * ʕīr-īm), MHb ʕayir , Ug ʕr {A} 'ass foal', {OLS} 'ass', JA [Trg.] pl. ʕayr-īn id., Ar ʕayr- 'wild ass, domestic ass', WS b → Ak Mr ḫāru ~ ḫaʕaru ~ ayaru 'ass foal' ¶ KB 777-8, KBR 822, A #2090, OLS 87, Lv. III 643, Lv. T II 214, Js. 1075, BK II 419, CAD VI 118, Sd. 328 || Eg fOK ʕ3 'ass' > DEg ʕ3 > Cpt Sd eiw , Cpt B iw ¶ EG I 165, Vc. 60-1 || ?σ C: DhI {EEN} hēri 'goat, sheep' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} āri 'she-goat', pl. āra 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} ara 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm ur 'he-goat' ||| ECh: Ll ōrē 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChC, ChL ¶¶ EG l.c., Ember ESS #3.b.6, OS #1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [#25.3] ||| K * ʕir- > OG, G irem- 'deer' ¶ Abul. 189, DCh. 582 ||| IE: NaIE * $\text{er(i)-b}^{\text{h}}$ - (with the sx. * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}(\text{o})$ - of animal names) 'e horned artiodactyl' (× N * $\text{H}^{\text{r}}\text{æ}^{\text{r}}\text{R}^{\text{v}}$ 'goat, sheep', q.v.) > Gk ἔρῦφο-ς 'kid' ||| Clt: OIr heirp (* $\text{erb}^{\text{h}}\text{-ī-}$) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (* $\text{erb}^{\text{h}}\text{-ā-}$) 'cow', NIr earb 'goat', ScGl earb 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, FI 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80 ||| D * ʕir- '(ε) deer, stag' (× N * $\text{yEr}^{\text{r}}\text{v}$ 'ε (young of a) ruminant animal', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D * -r- (pointing to a N * r- cluster) suggests that the main source of D * ʕir- is N * $\text{yEr}^{\text{r}}\text{v}$ rather than N * $\text{ʕiR}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ ◇ AD NM #47; S CNM 7 and S SN 146 (÷÷ ST).

145. ?σ₂ * ʕvrv 'run' > HS: Eg fMK ʕʕr 'flee' ¶ EG I 286, Fk. 57 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} ʕarar- 'flee', Sml {ZMO} ʕarar- 'run away, flee', ?σ Rn àrarsì vt. 'hurry, rush', caus. àrariča vt. 'hurry up' ||| Ag: Bln {R} harar- 'laufen, rennen'; Ag b → Tgr {LH} hrr 'hurry' ({R} hrr 'laufen, rennen') b → Bj {R} herēr- ~ hirēr- scv. 'marschieren, wandern, gehen, zu Fuß gehen' ¶ R WB 200, R WBd 126, LH 10, Abr. S 14, PG 68 || (+ ext.) SES * ʕrm_{d} > Hrs ʕrm (pf. ʕārōm) 'run fast' (of a camel), Mh/Jb ʕrmd (pf. Mh ʕārmed , Jb C $\text{aʕar}^{\text{m}}\text{id}$) id. ¶ Jo. H 10, Jo. J 15, Jo. M 28 ||| D: Tl ur 'retreat, retire, withdraw' ¶ ≈ D #713.

146. * $\text{ʕarH}_2\text{w}$ ~ * $\text{ʕaH}_2\text{ru}$ 'back (dos), loins' > HS: S * ʕr (= * ʕr ?) > Ak erūt ~ arūt 'back (dos)', ? Ar ʕurʕur-at- 'top of a camel's hump, peak of a mountain' ¶ Sd. 248, BK II 225 || Eg P/BD ʕr.t 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animal)' ¶ EG I 209, Fk. 45 ||

B: Si {La.} *arraḡ, arrau*, {Bs. ← BrR} *أهرو* *ahrau* 'back (dos)', Ah *arūri*, Gh {Nh.} *aruri*, ETwl *aruru* (pl. *iroran*), Ty *ʔrori* (pl. *iroran*), Ttq {Msq.} *arurī*, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} *aʔrur, taʔrurt*, Zww {La.} *aʔarur* 'back (dos)'; the unexpected presence (= preservation?) of ʔ in Izn, Rf, SrSn, Zww has not yet been explained ({La.} "ne s'explique guère") ¶ Rn. 379, Fc. 166O, GhA 163, Msq. 95, La. S 228, La. MChB 115 [fn. 2] || φ ECh: Mu {J} *hâr* 'back (dorsum)' ¶ ChC || A (*a₁r^u) 'back [of humans, animals]': NaT **ārt* 'back or hinder part of anything; nape of neck' > OT *ārt* id., Tk *art*, Tkm *ārt*, VTt *art* 'hind part, back (dos)', Az *ard*, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, SY *art*, Tv *art-* (+ppa.) 'hind part' | NaT **arka* 'back' > OT, MU, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsM *arqa* 'back (dorsum), upper part of the back', Tk *arka*, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt *arqa*, ET *a(r)qa*, Uz *arqa*, Xk *arʔa*, Tv *ârʔa* 'back, shoulders; back side', Yk *arʔā* id., nape, withers', Tlm *arqa*, Az *arχa* 'back, upper part of the back; animal's back', Ln *ayqa* 'hind part', Chv *urχa* 'animal's back' in *urχalaχ* 'saddle-bag' ¶ Cl. 200-1, 215, TkR 50-2, ET Gl 174-5, 179-80, TL 267-8, ADb. SR 116-7, 185, Pek. 142 || Tg **arka-n* 'back (dos)' > Ewk *arkan*, Sln *arkā*, Lm *arqbn*, Neg *aykan*, Orc *akka(n-)*, Ud *aka(n-)*, Ork *atta(n-)* ¶ STM I 51, Krm. 205 || M **aru* ({ADb.} **arʔu*) 'animal's back' > MM [S, HI, MA] *aru*, WrM *aru*, HIM *ap* 'back (dorsum)', Dgr *ar* 'the northern side of a mountain, northern side' ¶ ADb. MSR 9, H 9, Ms. H 37, Pp. MA 106, MED 54, Klz. D I 109-10 ¶ Pp. VG 76, 94, 192 (explains T **arka* and Tg **arka-n* as d. from **aru* (**arka* < **aru-ka*) || pJ {S} **atʔa* 'behind, trace' > OJ *atʔó*, J: T *átó*, K *átó*, Kg *ató* ¶ S QJ #767, Mr. 387 ¶ DQA #48 **āra* 'back (dos), behind', ≈ ADb. SR 305 (T **arka-n* ≠ M **aru*) || D (in SD) **ar-* 'waist, loins' > Tm *arai* id., 'stomach', Ml *ara* 'middle of the body, loins, waist', Td *ar niñ* 'silver waist-string' (*niñ* 'string'), Kdg *are* 'waist' ¶ D #230 ◇ The long **ā* in T **ārt* and the D cns. *-r- (normally from cns. clusters) point to the presence of an additional element in pN (a lr. or *w?). If Ar *ʔurʔur-at-* belongs here, the pN postcons. lr. may have been *ʔ (N **ʔarʔu*). Mu h- still needs explaining.

147. **ʔurʔkʔ* 'to flee' > HS: CS **ʔrʔ* 'run away, flee' > Sr *ʔrʔ* G 'flee', JA [Trg.] *ʔrʔ* 'flee, run', JEA *ʔrʔ* ~ *ʔrʔ* 'flee', Ar {Ln.} *ʔrʔ* G: *ʔariqa* (*fi-l ʔarʔi*) 'go away into the country', {BK} *ʔarq-* 'way, road, beaten path' ('chemin, route, sentier frayé') ¶ BK II 228-9, Ln 2017-9, Br. 550, Js. 1123, Sl. 883, KB 841 || U: FV ≈ **urke-* 'flee, go away' > Lv

{Kt.} uṛg3- 'flee, avoid', F prs. urkene- / inf. urjeta 'abgehen, abreisen, abfahren, sich entfernen, sich aufmachen, aufbrechen, beginnen (Weg, Laufbahn)' || Er оргоде- orgode-, Mk воргоде- vorǵadā- 'flee, run away' ¶ UEW 805, SK 1548, Kt. 457, ERV 442, Ker. II 101, SSA III 375-6 || D *uṛuk- 'run away' > Tl uruku, Knd urk- id. ([partially] × D *uṛuk- 'jump' > Tm urukku id.) ¶ ≈ D #713 ◇ Not here WrM оргу-, HIM орго-х v. 'flee' (MED 617), because this word goes back to M *ʔorgu- (cp. MM [MA] horgu- id., F Pp. MA 186).

148. *ʕaʕi ∇ ~ *ʕaRi '≈ without, no' > K: OG ara 'no, not', G ara 'no', ar 'not' ¶ Ser. 3 || IE: NaIE *ar- / *ōr- v. 'deny' (P: 'verweigern, leugnen') > Gk ἀρνέομαι 'I deny' || Arm **ուրանամ** uranam 'deny' || pAl {O} *arn-enya > Al: T rrej, G rrêj v. 'deceive' ⇔ Al T rrem 'mendacious, false' ¶ P 62, FI 145-6, 158, Ch. 112, Stt. 385-6, O 380, Bugge BA 38ff., BFU 484, Me. EAC 111, 142 || HS: S *ʕry|w (~ *ʕrr) 'be(come) naked\empty' > BHb **עָרַו** ʕō'rū 2pm inv. 'strip naked!', D **עָרַו** ʕē'rā '(he) bared, made naked', 'entblößen, bloßlegen', Ph ʕry D (3s ip. ʕr) 'strip off', Ug ʕrω 'naked, uncovered', Ar ʕry G (pf. ʕariya) 'be(come) naked, bare of clothes', Ak eriu ʕ erū 'naked, empty'; CS *ʕry-at- 'nakedness' > BHb **עָרִיּוּת** ʕer'yā, Sr ʕaryat, JA **עִרְיָתָא** ʕiryā'tā ~ **עִרְיָתָא** ʕoryā'tā, Ar **عَرِيَّة** ʕuryat- ¶ KB 834-5, HJ 887, OLS 90, Br. 548, CAD IV 320, Sd. 242 || U: Y: Y T {Ku.} araw 'naked', {Ku.} arāwya, {Ang. ← Jc.} araueneje 'bald', K {Jc.} arau(lei), T {Jc.} araulei 'naked', T/K {Ang. ← Jc.} 'araulei 'naked, bare, undressed' ¶ Ku. 34, Ang. 23, Jc. JR s.v. arau, Jc. XR s.v. araulei || ?σ D *aṛi 'perish, be destroyed' > Tm aṛi v. 'perish, be ruined', Ml aṛiyuka 'be destroyed', Kt a]ĉ- 'be erased', a]yV 'destruction', Td oḏy- '(money) is spent', Kn aṛi 'be ruined, destroyed, perish', Tu arpunī vt. 'efface, waste', a]ipuni 'perish', Tl aṛisina 'which destroys', Prj andkip-, Gnd aṛih- v. 'destroy' ¶ D #277.

148a. 2 *ʕ|geʕ ∇ 'raincloud, rain' > HS: C {AD} ʕr- 'cloud, rain', {E} *ʕir- 'rain' > Ag: Awn {Hz.} ʕrī 'rain' || EC: Af {PH} ʕir- ~ ʕer- 'smoke, steam', Arr {Hw.} ʕirī, Elm {Hn.} ʕri, Dsn {To.} ʕir, Hr/Dbs {AMS} iráwwo, Gln/Gwd {AMS} irráwwo, Cm {Hab.} éro, {SLE} ʕerro 'rain', pSam {Hn.} *ʕir- > Sm {R} ʕīro 'fog, cloud', Sm N {Abr.} ʕīro 'fog', Sm {Hn.} ʕir ʕaddā gā 'continuous light rain', {ZMO} ʕir 'rain, weather, sky', Rn {PG} ʕír 'rain' ¶ AD SF 143, EPC #489, PH 60-1, Hw. A 342, To. DL

3483, Hn. S 77 (pSam *ʕir- 'light rain'), ZMO 68, PG 141, AMS 263 || NrOm *ir∇ 'rain, cloud' > Wl/Zl/Dwr/Gf/Dc/Bdt/Zs/Bsk/Cha {LmS} ira, Malo {LmS} ʔira, Gm {Hw.} ʔíro, Hrr {CR} ira, Ym {Wdk} ìrò, Na/Shk/Mj {Fl.} iru 'rain', Kf {C} irō 'cloud' ¶ Blz. OL (Om *ir- 'rain'), AD SF 143, LmS 292, Lm Y 321, CR H 637, Wdk BY 170, Hw. EG s.v. 'rain', Fl. OWL s.v. 'rain' || D: McTm *eʔili 'cloud' > Tm, Ml eʔili id. ¶ D #849 ◇ Suggested by Blažek: Blz. LNA #2 (N *ʕeʔ∇).

149. *ʕarḳʕu 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bowstring, bow') > HS: WS *ʕiʔrḳ- 'sinew, vein, root' > Ar ʕirq- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ʔarḳ- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C ʕarḳ- 'root, sinew', JA אַרְקָא ʕarḳ-ā 'leather thong', Tgr ʕarḳ 'tendon, nerve', ʔσSb ʕrḳ 'neck-muscle, collarbone' ¶ Fr. III 143, Jo. M 28, Lv. III 705-6, BGMR 20, LH 359, MiK I #1.20 || AdS of Eg fP rωz 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (< N *ræw,ḳæ 'sinew' [→ 'cord, rope']; to tie' [q.v.] × N *ʔoʔḳa 'to bend' [→ 'a bow']) ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-50 || IE *herku- ~ *herkʷ- 'bow, net' ({EI} *h₂erkʷo-s 'bow and/or 'arrow') (× N *ʕoʔrḳô 'bend, be bent/crooked' [q.v.] > NaIE *a₁arku- ~ *a₁arkʷ- 'bow, net' > OL gen. arqu-ī, L arcus id. || Gmc *arḳʷō ('belonging to a bow' →) 'arrow' > Gt d. arhuazna, ON qr (gen. qrvār), OSw arf, AS earh 'arrow', NE arrow || Gk ἄρκυς, -υος 'net' ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Bc. G 329, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, Fs. 56, FI 142-3 || A: NaT *arka- > Osm {Rs.} arqa- 'an den Sattelriemen festbinden' (× T *arka 'back, dorsum', cp. Chv urχalaχ, VTt arqalḅq 'saddle-bag', Osm {Rh.} arqalīq 'porter's knot for carrying burdens', Tk arkalık 'luggage carrier in a bicycle'), Chg {Rs.} arqa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv аргы- arḡi- v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk arḡa- v. 'embroider in flat stitches'; NaT {ET} *arkān 'lasso, thick rope' > Chg {Rl.}, Kr אַרְקָן arqan, Tkm arqān 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh arqan, Uz arqan, Tk {ET} argan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, Alt arqan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {Rl.} arqan 'rope made of horsehair'; a T lge. б R ар'кан 'lasso' ¶ Rs. W 26, ET GI 175-6, BIG 30, TvR 68, Rl. I 288, Bu. I 30 ¶ N *ʔ > T *r in the precon. position (a law discovered by Hl.) || M ≈ *argamži 'rope' > MM [IM] arḡamži 'rope', [S] {H} arḡamji arḡamži 'Leitstrick', WrM argamzi, HIM аргамж, Brt аргамжа, Kl арһмж 'rope, tether', {Rm.} arḡamži 'rope (Strick)', WrO arḡamzi 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', WrM arḡamzi-, HIM аргамжи- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', WrO arχala- v. 'fasten, tether'; M б Tf argamži 'lasso,

leather rope', Tv аргамчы id., Xk arγamǰi, Alt армакчы армақсı 'lasso, rope', Qrg аргамжы arγamǰi 'rope (made of hair)' ¶ Pp. MA 432, H 9, MED 52, Krg. 52-3, KW 13, Ra. 155 || **D** (in NED) *eṛṽt- > Krx eṛetʰ 'long-bow', Mlt eṛtu 'a bow', eṛtyo 'archer' ¶ D #789, Pf. 186 [#34] ◇ The unexpected D *e- is still to be explained ◇ AD NM #25, S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 17-8 (points to the problems with the sxs. in M).

150. ₂ *ǰEwṽSṽ '(ε) grass' > **HS:** C: EC {Ss.} *ǰawš-/ *ǰayš (? < *ǰawiš-) > Sa, Af ǰayso 'grass, straw, vegetation', Sml ǰaws 'dry grass', ?φ Rn ḥōs, Bn ēs, Dsn ǰīš 'grass', Or ēs 'ε corn' ({Th.} 'farro, farragine, spelta, specie di frumento'), Hr, Dbs, Gln, Gwd ǰaš-ko 'grass', Sd {Ss.} ays-o 'grass', {Hd.} hayssō 'blade of grass', hayss'o 'grass' ¶ Ss. PEC 44-5, 47, Hn. S 77, PG 143, Th. 123, Hd. 72, AMS 245, 263, To. DL 482 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {S} *awasi 'grass' > Jmb awaši, My awasu || ECh: Skr {Sx.} úsù, Bdy {AIJ} ǰawsō id. | possibly also *ǰws > NrBc: Wrj wasə-na, Mbr wásə, Kry wasisi, SBc: Bg wásšl id. || CCh: Ms {J} wúsná, Bnn ùsfnà id.; G'nd ùšlnna, Tr {Nw.} wùzə̀n, Pdl wùz̀ndí id. ¶ Sk. NB 24, Stl. ZCh 260 [#183], ChL, ChC, AIJ 35, Blz. ChTP 8, Tk. NB 183 (NrBc *(a)was- < *ǰawas-) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 31 (NrBc, EC) || **A:** M *ebesün (< **ebes-sün with a nominal sx *-sün) 'grass, hay' > MM [L, MA, IM] ebesün, WrM ebesün ~ ebüsün, HIM əvc(əH), Ord öwösü ~ öwös id., Kl {Rm.} öwsŋ, Mnr H {SM} wesə ~ yesə id., 'straw', {T} wese ~ yese, Mnr M {T} bese, MMgl [Z] ebəsün, Mgl {Rm.} ebāsun, Dg {T} eūse, Ba {T} wesōŋ 'grass, hay' ¶ Pp. MA 150, 436, Pp. L II 1254, Rm. M 27, KW 303, Iw. 100, Pot. 421, MED 287, 291, Ms. O 544, SM 483, 493, T 321, T DgJ 19, T BJ 136 || AdS of **IE** *ǰweǰs- > NaIE *weǰs- v. 'grow, sprout forth' (P: 'sprießen, wachsen') (< N *wīšṽ 'to grow' [esp. of plants] [q.v. ffd.]).

151. *ǰeš'i' 'make, do' > **HS:** WS *ǰšy 'make, do' > BHb עשה ǰšy|w G, M'b ǰšy G (1s pf. ǰštȳ), Ug ǰšy G id., SmA עשה ǰšh (Hebraized spelling for ǰšp [ǰšy] 'do'), n. act. ǰšy (for ǰsy) 'doing, making', Sb/Mn yǰšy G 'do, make; acquire', Qt ǰšy G {Rk.} 'acquire' (OSA S š for the expected _ š is puzzling) ¶ KB 842-5, HJ 890-1, OLS 93, Tal 667, BGMR 20-1, MA 16, Rk. IQ 125 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ǰəs- 'make, do' > Bln {Ap.} ǰəs-, Xm/Q {Ap.} ǰš-, Dmb {R} es- id. || EC: Sa {R} is-/iš-, Af {R} is- id., pBn {Hn.} *as- v. 'prepare' (> {Hn.} Bn Bi/K as- id., Bn J/Kj áŋal as- 'brew beer'); HEC {Hd.} *ass- / *iss- 'do, make' > Sd {Gs., Hd.} ass-, Kmb {Hd.} ass-, es-, Ged (h)ass-, Hd {Hd.} iss- 'do',

Brj {Hd., Ss.} *iss-* 'do, act, make' || SC: Alg {Wh.} *ʕesīm-*, Brn {Wh.} *ʕesīm-* 'do' ¶ AD SF 151, Ap. AV 5, Ss. B 107, R S II 52, Hn. BD 122, 143, Hd. 51, 95, 201, 244, 285, 308, 315, 35, Wh. IC 56 || ECh: Mkl {J} sbjn. *ʔísè* (pl. *ʔáśè*), aor. *ʔízè* 'do, make' ¶ J LM 113 ¶¶ AD SF 151 (S, C), Ap. AV 5 (S, Ag, EC), OS #1097 (HS **ʕiĉ-* 'do, make'; S, C, Ch) || IE: Ht *essa-* / *issa-* 'do, make' (unless an iterative of Ht *iya-* id.) ¶ Pv. I-II 300-5 || U: FP (+ ext.) **ešte-* 'make, make\be ready', (→ 'succeed, have time to do sth.') > pChr {Ber.} **ištā-* 'do, make' > Chr L/B *ʔšte-*, Chr H *əšte-* id. | pPrm {LG} **zšt-* > Z *eštīn+*, Prmk, Yz *yešt-* 'be ready', 'be fulfilled' (a word), 'succeed in fulfilling, have time to do' | pLp {Lr.} **zstz-* > Lp: N {N} *âs'tât* 'have time\leisure (to do sth.)', L {LLO} *astat*, Kld *ἄσστα* *zšte-ð* id., S {Hs.} *astedh* id., 'arrive in time' | F *ehti-* 'arrive in time' ¶ ≈ UEW 626 (FP **ešte* 'have time, be ready'), Sm. 552 (FP **eštī-* 'manage'), Ber. 8, LG 333, SK 35, It. 303, Coll. 76-7, Lr. #25, Lgc. #111, Hs. 250, SaR 424 ◇ N **š* > U **š* is puzzling: a positional change **-št-* > **-št-*?

152. **ʕoś̂∇(-ʕa)* '€ tree' > HS: Eg fOK *ʕš* 'cedar, abies cilicica (as a tree and esp. as wood)' ¶ EGI 228, Fk. 49 || IE **H^wes-* 'ash-tree' ({EI} **h₂eHōs* 'ash') > NaIE **os-* ~ **ōs-* (and with extentions: **osk-* ~ [mt.] **oks-*) > L *ornus* (< **os-en-os*) 'mountain-ash' || W *orn*, snglt. *orn-en* / pl. *onna* 'ash-tree' (< **osnā*), MCrn *onnen*, Br *orn*, Δ *ounnenn*, OIr (h) *uinnius*, dat. *uinsinn* (< **onn-ist-ō*) || Gk *ὀξύα* ~ *ὀξύη* 'beech-tree' (< **oskes-*?) || pAl {O} **aksa* > Al *ah* 'beech-tree' || Arm *հացի* *hac^hi* 'ash-tree' (< **H^ro's-k-*) || ON *askr*, OHG *asca* id. || Pru *woasis*, Lt *úosis*, Ltv *ōsis* id. | Sl **āsenb* ~ **āsenb* id. > Slv *jásen*, *jésen*, Slv R *ásen*, Blg 'ясен', SCr *jàsēn*, Δ *jèsēn*, OR *ѠСѢНЬ* *yasenb*, R, Blr, Uk 'ячень', Cz *jasan*, Slk *jaseň* | The BSI *vw.* goes back to IE **ō* (L-gr. of IE **o*) ¶ P 782, ≈ EI 32 (unc.: 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), F II 400, WH II 223, Vn. U 20, O 2-3, Vr. 15, EWA I 364-6, Slt. 312-3, Frn. 1167, En. 276, ESSJ I 79-80, Glh. 290, Frdr. PIT 20 [#13], Frdr. PITA 92-8 || U **oś̂|śka* '€ tree (ash-tree, elm, poplar)' > Chr H *oškъ* 'ash-tree', L *oškō* 'black poplar (*Populus nigra*), *осокорь*' || pMr {Ker} **ūs-kъ* > (mt.) **uksъ* > Er *uksō*, Mk *uks* 'ash-tree' || Sm: Kms {KD} *āzoу p'ā* 'poplar' (p'ā 'tree') ¶¶ Ker. II 174, Ber. 93, KD 6, Coll. 138 || A: T **os* > Sg, Qb, Qc, StXk *os* 'aspen, poplar', Qzl {Rl.} *os* 'poplar', Chv *ъвъс*, Δ *us* 'aspen'; there may be semantic infl. of NaT **apsak* 'aspen' (< N **paç^çP∇* '€ leaf-bearing tree') ¶ Hoops 123-4 and after him *Tenishev*

(TL 131) unconvincingly suggested an IE origin of the T word (from the non-existent Sl **osa* 'aspens') ¶ ET Gl 607-8, Fed. I 80-1, BIG 131, RI. I 1138, Ash. III 295 ◇ Coll. IUS 87, Coll. HUV 121 (in both sources: IE, U), IS I 255 s.v. **Ḥosā* 'ash-tree' (IE, U), Jk. 333 (proposes as an alternative [with a query] that the Chr and Mr words may be loans from Irn [Scythian]: "Entlehnung aus einer altertümlichen iran. (skyth.) Sprachform wäre ebenso möglich..., die Sippe ist aber in den iran. Sprachen kaum belegt").

153. **ǵatU* '€ fish' > HS: S **o¹ǵat-* > Ug *ṣṭ* id. ¶ OLS 94 || Eg XVIII/G *ṣdω* '€ fish (forbidden to eat)' ¶ EG I 237 || A: Tg: WrMc *atū* 'a female fish (with roe)' ⇨ (or ⇨?) WrM *atū* 'a female fish' (× Tg **at∇* 'female' < N **ʔ¹at∇* 'female, woman', q.v.); WrMc *atūχa* 'a male fish' ⇨ (or ⇨?) WrM *atūqa* id. ¶ Z 29, MED 58-9 || ?φ D (in SD) **at∇* '€ fish' > Tm *aṭal* '€ fish', Tm *aṭalai*, Ml *aṭava* '€ marine fish', Tu *aḍaminu*, *aḍāvu* '€ fish' ¶ D #68 ¶ *-*t-* for the expected *-*t-* is still to be explained || IE: NaIE **ateli-* (and **ʔ¹ti-*?) '€ fish' (× N **ʔ¹o¹t¹i¹* '€ fish', q.v.) > Gk [Arist., Hs.] ἔτελις (or ἔτελίς) '€ fish' (F): 'Goldbrasse') || L [Plin.] *attilus* {WH} '€ a big fish resembling sturgeons (in the Padus)' (⇨ Gl?); VL {ML} **atillus* 'Stöhr' (sc. 'Stör, sturgeon?') > It V '(l)adano, It Ml 'ladan, ?φ OIt Pv 'agano; VL {ML} **atillus* id. > OIt V **adello* > It *adello* id. || Lt *õtas* 'halibut, turbot', (N **ʔ¹o¹t¹i¹* > ?) Lt *atìs*, Ltv *ãte* id. ¶ P 70, ML #766, Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274, F I 580, Hld. I 275, WH I 78.

154. **ǵat∇* 'to throw, to cast' > HS: EC {Ss.} **ǵad-* 'throw' > Kns, Gdl *ad-*, Hr *ǵad-*, Brj *ad-ad-* 'throw', Sa *ǵed-* 'throw away', Af S *ǵid-* 'throw, kill' ¶ Ss. B 23 || S **o¹ǵat-* > Ar *ǵat* G 'fell so. on the ground' ¶ BK II 283, Hv. 480 || A: T **at-* 'throw, shoot (arrows)' > OT, Chg, XwT *at-* id., MQp *at-* 'shoot', Tk *at-*, Tkm, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Bsh, ET, Qrg, Alt *at-* 'throw, shoot', Az, Nog, VTt *at-*, Uz *at-* id., 'cast', Qzq, SY, Xk, Tv *at-* 'shoot', Yk *it-* 'shoot (arrows)' || Chv L *ut-* 'throw', Chv Δ *ıwbt-* 'throw, cast' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 199-200 || D **at-* 'throw, shoot' > Tu *aḍakuni* 'throw, cast out, discharge (as a gun)', Tl *aḍrincu*, *aḍarucu* v. 'discharge, shoot (as an arrow or other missile)' ¶ D #61 ◇ The irreg. reflex *-*t-* in D may be due to some phonetic element in sxs.

155. **ǵot∇* 'breathe, blow' > IE **h²ot-/h²t-* > NaIE **ōt-/at-* v. 'breathe' (-> **ōt-men-* [EI] IE **h₁eh₁t¹-men* 'breath') > OI *āt'mā* (gen. *āt'manaḥ*) 'breath, soul, self' || AS *æðm*, OSx *āthom*, OHG *ātum*,

MLG *ādem*, Dt *adem*, NHG *Atem*, (Δ *↔*) O*dem* 'breathing, breath' || OIr *athach* (< **at-ākō-*) 'breath, wind' ¶ WPI 118, P 345 (**ēt-men*), EI 82, Mn. 254, MK I 73, Ho. 13, Ho. S 4, EWA I 391-3, KM 34, Vn. A 99-100 || HS: +exts.: S **o*✓*ʕ*|*ʕ*ṭn > Gz ✓*ʕ*ṭn G 'burn incense, fumigate with incense']? S **o*✓*ʕ*ṭm > Ak *eṭemmu* 'spirit of the dead, ghost']WS **o*✓*ʕ*ṭr v. 'exhale (as vapour\smoke\steam)' > Sr ;*ḏ*✓*ʕ*ṭr G (pf. *ʕ*ṭar) id., JA [TrgJ] *ḏ*✓*ʕ*ṭr G (pf. *ḏ*ḏar) 'rauchen, to exhale smoke', Ar ✓*ʕ*ṭr G (pf. *ʕ*ṭara) 'exhale fragrance, smell sweet', Mh *ḏ*ṭar v. 'perfume', Mh *ḏ*ṭar, Jb *ʕ*ṭar 'perfume' ¶ Br. 521, JPS 410, Lv. T II 211, Lv. III 636, Js. 1063-5, Fr. III 176, BK II 284, Jo. M 35, L G 76, CAD IV 397-01 || B **ʔ*aḏu? 'wind, odour' > Ah {Fc.} *āḏu*, Gd *aḏu*, Izn/Rf {Rn.} *aḏu*, Gh {Nh.}, ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Wrg {Dlh.} *aḏu*, Nf *aḏu* id., Kb {DI.} *aḏu*, Mz {Dlh.} *aḏu*, Snd *aḏu* 'wind', Tz {Stm.} *āḏu* id., Sll {Ds.} *aḏu* 'gentle wind', BSn/BMn {Bs.} *āḏu* 'heavy wind', Izd *aḏu* n. 'smell', Zng {TC} *aḏih* 'odour' ¶ Pr. H #141, Fc. 252-3, GhA 30, Nh. 213, Rn. 311, Lf. II #O332, DI. 170, Stm. 158, Ds. 290, MT 86, DIh. M 37, DIh. Ou 63, Mrc. 180, 261, TC D 4, NZ 437-9 || ?*σ* Ch ≈ **ʔ*tṭn 'nose' (× N **h*'otṭ 'to smell [odorare, get the odour of]', 'to smell [olere, have an odour\scent], q.v. ffd.) || A: ?*σ* AmTg **ō*tṭi > Ul *ō*tṭi 'the north-eastern wind', Nn *ō*ḏl 'the north wind' ¶ STM II 28 || D **ūt* v. 'blow (blasen)' > Tm *ūt* v. 'blow (as a wind instrument, a fire)', MI *ūtuka* id., *ūt* n. 'blowing', Kt *u'd-* v. 'become swollen, bloated', Kn *ūd* v. 'blow', Tu *ūdun* v. 'blow (as a pipe), swell', Tl *ūd* v. 'blow with the mouth or with bellows', Klm, Nk, Nkr, Gdb *ūd-*, Gnd *ūd-* v. 'blow', ? Ku *hūtina* v. 'kindle' ¶¶ D #741, ≠ Km. 304 [#143] (reconstructs **uy-nt-*/**uy-t-* for pCD [sc. pSCD and pCD] and pSD, **uy-ṭ-*/**r-* for pNED).

155a. **uṭ*ṭ ≈ hand' ('palm of hand with fingers?') > HS: S **o*✓*ʕ*ṭ-, ? **o*✓*ʕ*ṭw > Ak *ūt*- 'span, half ell', ? Ar ✓*ʕ*ṭw G (ip. -*ʕ*ṭū) 'take\receive with the hand' ('*manu accepit*') ¶ Sd. 1447, Fr. III 179-80 || U **utta* (or **-t|s|š-*, **-ks|š-*, **-s|šk-*) > Sm {Jn.} **utā*, {HI.} **uta* 'hand' > Ne: T *ḥṭa*, {Lh.} *ḥṭa*, F {Lh.} *ḥṭā*; Ng {Mik., HI.} *jütü*, {Cs.} *jütü*; En: X {Cs.} *úra*, B {Cs.} *úda* id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} *ut+* id., B/Y/Kar {Cs.} *ut*, O {Cs.} *ud*, Ke/NP {Cs.} *utte*, Chl {Cs.} *utö*, UO {Cs.} *ude* id.; Kms {KD} *uda*, Koyb {Sp.} *oda* 'hand'; Mt {HI.} **uda* id. (Mt: M {Sp.} *удамъ* 'my hand\arm', K {Mil.} *uda* 'arm', {Pl.} *удад* 'his hand\arm', T {Pl.}

údada, udada id., {Mll.} uđúda 'his arm', A {Msr.} uđam 'my hand') ¶ Jn. 30, Cs. 55, 79, 232, Hl. US 115, Hl. M #1109 || **A:** T *ađut > OT U ađut 'a handful', 'palm of the hand' (< a compound *... + *řutř∇?) (→ ađutla- v. 'take a handful'), MU ađut 'handful', as well as possibly with *-w-: OT Δ [MhK] avut, Chg avuč, MQp [CC] ouč, Tk avuč, Tkm awuč, Nof uwis, Qmq uvuč, Blq uuč, Xk ōs, SY oš 'handful' ¶ Cl. 44-5, ADb. SR 179-82 (T adřutř with a dim. sx. [?] *-č) || pJ {S} *ùntàĵ 'arm' > OJ ùdè, J: T/Kg udé, K údè ¶ S QJ #1081, Mr. 560 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #193 (*ute 'hand') (Sm, J + err. A).

156. *řawř∇ 'shout, speak' > **IE:** NaIE (?) *°ař- > o Gk (ipf.) αῦε, ft. αῦσω, aor. αῦσαι 'cry out, shout, call aloud' ('rufen') ¶ P 76-7, FI 193 || **HS:** WS *řřawř 'shout' (n. act. *°řawř-) > Ar řřawř G 'shout, howl', Gz řawřa n. 'moan, wail', řawřā 'wailing', řřawřw (pf. řawřawa) 'wail in mourning, howl, cry, cry out' ¶ LG 79, BK I 415 || **C:** EC {Ss.} *řřřř- 'cry' > Sml řřřř-, Bs {HL} řřř, Or řřř- v. 'cry, shout', Arr {Hw.} řřřř- 'cry out', Brj řřř- v. 'cry for help', Af řř řř- shout' (řř- 'say'); Rn řřř v. 'cry' ¶ Ss. B 108, ≈ HL 80, Hw. A 342, Grg. 228, PG 242 || Om {Blz.} *řřř∇- 'say' > NrOm: Sz {Fl.} wε 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ú 'say', ? Gf {Mrn.} iwet 'speak' ¶ Blz. OL #238, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch (× N *ř°ř∇ 'say, speak, call'): [1] ECh: Kbl {Cp.} řřř 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say'; [2] Ch {Stl.} *řawřř- 'call' (řawřř) > WCh: Pr řř v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} řřř, Msg {Mch.} řřř, Ms {Mch.} řřř, {J} řřř, {Stl.} řřř, {Stl.} řřř, Bnn {Stl.} řřř, BnnM {Stl.} řřř id. || ECh: Gbr řř id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'say', ChL, Stl. IF 143, Lk. L 125 || **A** *řř∇ 'speak, sound' (× N *ř°ř∇ 'řř', q.v. řřř) || ?φ D *řřř- 'speak' > Prj řřř- 'speak, converse', řřř 'a saying', ? Tl řřřř 'chat, talk', Tl Vs řřřř-řřřř v. 'chat' ¶¶ D #631.

157. *řawřř∇ 'spend the night, sleep' > **IE:** *°řřř- / *řřř- / *řřř- > NaIE *ařř- / *ařř- / *ařř- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', *ařř- id. (× N *ř°řřřř 'night, dark hours') > Arm řřřřřřřř ag-anim 'I spend the night', řřř řřřř (< eArm *ařřřř-) 'pernoctation, spending the night in a place; sleeping place, inn' || Gk řřřř 'I sleep' (< rdp. *řřřř-řřřř) (aor. řřřřřř and unreduplicated řřřř), Gk Hm řřřřřř 'sleep well', Gk L [Sph.] řřřřřř 'sleep, řřřřřř', Gk d. řřřřřřřř (gen. -řřřřřř) 'place for passing the night in', řřřřřř 'court-yard; lair' (< 'sleeping place') ¶ P 72, Hofm. 28, 30, 122, FI 186, 205, 706, Ch. 139-40, 454, 1304, Sl. 442-3 || **HS:** Eg MK/G {EG} řřřř, {Fk.} řřřřřř v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 169, Fk. 38 || Om {Blz.} *řřřřřř- 'sleep, lie down' > NrOm: Bdt {Fl.}

woyʔ- 'sleep', Hrr {Fl.} way 'lie down', Oyda {Fl.} wɔʔ- ~ wɔy- 'sleep' ¶
 Blz. OL #120 || Ch (× N *^ʕumɠ|ñ∇ 'sleep' [q.v.] × N *^ʕü|u^ʕye 'night,
 dark hours'): [1] CCh: Nz {ChL} vɪʔv. 'sleep' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yì, Skr
 {Sx.} wʒʔè v. 'sleep', EDng {Fd.} wêjè ~ wéjé 'être couché', wéjì ~
 wéjì 'sommeil', Mgm {J} ʔòʔyò, amb Mu {J} ʔèwèn n. 'sleep' (× Ch
 *^ʕywn 'sleep' [see below]) | [2] Ch {JS} ʔφ *^ʕywn ~ *^ʕwn ({J}
 *^ʕywn) 'sleep' (× N *^ʕü|u^ʕye '↑') > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} yùwàn
 'spending the night; day and night (24 hours)', Bd {IL} íwàn, {ChL} ùná
 'sleep' ||| CCh: Msy {Mch.} wəɬ, Db {Lnh.} wan 'sleep'; Gudu {ChL}
 wíyẽnũ 'sleep' (n. act.) ||| ECh: Mgm {J} wâni n. 'sleep', amb Mu {J}
 ʔèwèn n. 'sleep' ¶ JI I 154 and II 298-9, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 177, Fd. 147
 || U: FU *^oŭwɔy∇- v. 'sleep, fall asleep' > ObU {Ht.} *wōy- / *wǎyā- id.
 > pVg {Ht.} *ǎy- v. 'sleep' > Vg: T/SV/LL ay-, LK/MK/UK ǎy-, P oy- ~ ōy-,
 Ss oy- id.; Vg: T ayəltəkt-, LK ǎyəltəxt-, P/LL ōyəltəxt-, SV óyəltəxt-, UL
 oyiltəxt-, Ss oyəltəxt- v. 'try to fall asleep'; pOs *wǎya- / *woy- ({HL}
 *wǎya-/*wǎy-) 'fall asleep' > Os: V wǎya-, Vy wǎya- / woy-, Ty wōy-
 id.; Os: V/Vy woyəmt-, Ty/Kz wōyəmt-, D/K/O wǎyəmt- id. || Y: Y T
 {Ku., Krm.} āwe- v. 'sleep', {Ku.} āwe, {Krm.} āwan n. 'sleep', Y K {AD}
 abudā-, {Jc.} a'budā 'lie down, lie down to sleep' ¶¶ Ht. #669, Hl. rHt
 71, Ku. 13-4, Jc. JR s.v. abúđā, AD YN, Krm. JJ 270 || A: Tg *a_i:b^u- v.
 'sleep' > Ork ā-, āwɔ- ~ au-, Ul aw- ~ au-, Ewk, Neg, Orc ā- id., Nn Nh
 āwan- 'let sleep', awant- 'go (somewhere) to pass the night', Ul awya
 ~ auya, Ewk Urm āwun 'bed (sleeping place)', Neg āwɔn n. 'passing one
 night (одна ночевка)', Ork āwya ~ auya 'bed-clothes' ¶ STM I 1-2.

158. *^ʕuy^h∇ 'to bend' > HS: S (WS?) *^ʕywy 'bend' > Hb נִנְיָתִי
 naʕ^awīṭī (N pf. 1s) 'I was bent, bowed down, twisted', (G 3f pf.) הִנְיָתָה
 ʕāwəṭīā 'she did wrong', הִנְיָתָה ʕi w^lwā (D pf. 3m) 'he twisted', Ar عوى
 ʕywy G (ʕawā / -ʕwī, -ʕwīy-) v. 'bend, twist', Gz 𐎧𐎠 ʕāw 'bending,
 curvature', ? Ak OB 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣 'belasten (mit ...)' ¶ KB 752-3, KBR 796-7,
 Ln. 2185-6, L G 77, L ESAC 38 || IE *hweǵ- v. 'twist, weave, plait,
 braid', ≈ {EI} *weǵ(H)- 'plait, wattle' > Ht {Ts.} weǵ-/waxǵ- (1s weǵ-
 mi) and md. weǵ- 'sich drehen, sich wenden' || NaIE: OI 'vayati
 'weaves, plaits' (pfc. ūvuh, pp. ū'ta-, inf. ōtum), vāya- m. 'Weben,
 das Weben', 'vayati v. 'envelop, wrap', Av vī- v. 'twist, wrap', Oss I
 bzyzn (pp. bzd), Oss D biyun (pp. bid) v. 'twist, weave, braid' ||| Gk [Hs.]
 υῖόν · ἄναθενδράδα 'vine that grows up trees' (v- = w-) ||| L viē- v. 'twist,

bind with withes' || ? OIr {P} tech fithe 'a wicker house', Br gwiað 'web, issue', W gwau ~ gweu 'to weave, to knit', Crn gwāa v. 'weave, knit, twine, twist' || pGmc *wajjus 'wall' (← 'Flechtwerk') > ON veggr 'wall', Gt waddjus 'Wall, Mauer' || Lt vūti (prs. vejū), Ltv vīt (prs. vijū) 'to twist, to wind (up)' || Sl *vī-ti 'to twist, to curl' > ChS ВИТН vi-ti (1s prs. ВИНН vij-q), SCr vīti (1s prs. vījēm), Slv vīti, Cz vīti, P wić, R вить (1s prs. вью) id., Blg вия 'I twist' || -> IE *hweX-'to-(s) ({Mn.} *uētós) pp. 'woven, enmeshed' > ON váð 'textile, fishing-net', MHG wāt f. 'garment', NHG Wat 'cloth, garment', AS wæd 'robe' ¶ P 1120-1, ≈ EI 571 (no mention of Ht, and hence no certainty about the root-final Ir.), Mn. 1505, 1531, ≈ M K III 147 (OI ÷ Lt áusti 'to weave'), Ch. 1153, WH II 786-7, Ab. I 277, YGM-1 259, ECCE 252, Hm. 360, Vr. 637, 650, Fs. 538-9, Frn. 1267, Vs. I 322, Glh. 67, Srz. I 266 || А *уа- > Tg *уа-(n) 'flexible, soft; coiling (as a snake)' > WrMc уаn 'flexible, soft, fine, tender', уаlза- ~ уаnза- ~ уаnса- v. 'be flexible, soft; coil (as a snake)', Lm ууѣ, Lm T ууѣw 'weak (tobacco, wine), soft (metal)', Nn ууā 'soft, flexible', уаn- v. 'become soft/flexible', Ul уа(n-) 'soft, tender' ¶ STM II 251 ¶ Lm T ууѣw 'soft' (referring to metal) may have been influenced by Yk уаn 'soft, weak' || М *уа-n 'flexible, soft' > WrM уа-n, HIM уаn 'soft, flexible, Kl ууn 'flexible'; М *уа-d- v. 'become too soft and flexible' > WrM уад-, HIM уада-(x) id., Kl уйд- vi. 'bend' (of trees, spears); -> Yk уаn 'soft' (iron), 'weak', Xk уаn 'weak', Qzq ұаn ұаn, Qrg, Qq уаn 'soft', Alt уаn 'soft, weak', Tlt {RI} уаn 'schwach, elend' ¶ The M word belongs here unless it is *ууа-n (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between *у- and zero) ¶ MED 867, KW 447, KRS 529, RI. I 1629, ET GI 577-8.

159. ?σ *ʔäz∇^г∇ 'wedge' > U: FV *äskä 'wedge' > Chr L ишке 'iške, Δ iškъ, H ишкѣ iškə 'wedge (for splitting), wooden hook, peg (for hanging clothes)' || pMr {Ker.} *äskə > Mk äská, Er эске eske, Δ eške 'nail (Гвоздь)' ¶ It. #291, Ker. II 39, Ber. 9, ERV 788, PI 317, MRS 139, Ep. 23, Ps. sL 7 || HS: S *ʔzq > Ar ✓ ʔzq (pf. ʔazaqa) 'bêcher (la terre) avec une bêche ou un hoyau', miʔzaq-, miʔzaq-at- 'bêche\pelle pour remuer la terre; large pelle avec laquelle on nettoie le grain' ¶ BK II 244 || K: G azʔudi 'gore, gusset' ('keilformiger Stoffeinsatz [an Kleidern], Zwickel') ¶ Chx. 9, DCh. 13 ¶ K -zʔ- < ** -zq- (as.) ¶ The element -ud- has no explanation so far.; *-q- > -ʔ- by as. (infl. of *z)

160. *ʕiʕʕ 'strong, healthy' > **HS**: S *ʕazz- 'strong' > Hb ʕʕ ʕaz (/ ʕazz-), Ug ʕz, Amr ʕazz-, Ak ezzu; ⇨ S *ʕuzz- 'might, strength' > Hb ʕʕ ʕoz (/ ʕuzz-), Ph, Ug ʕz, Ug (AkSc), Amr {G} ʕuzz- id., SmA ʕz 'strength'; Pun ʕzz, IA ʕzyz 'strong', SmA ʕzyz pp. 'excited', ʕzyz 'strong' ¶ KB 762, KBR 804-6, Sd. 269, A #2021, OLS 95-6, Tal 629, G A 15, JH 206, HJ 835, Hnr. 252 || ?ϕ B *ʕHss (~ *ʕdss) > Ah asəs 'faire effort (sur)', Kb sis (rare), iʕ-əssəs 'avoir du prestige, inspirer la crainte', ʕissas 'prestige; autorité naturelle', Sll {Ds.} düss / idüs 'be strong' ¶ Fc. 1864-6, Dl. 751, Ds. 132 || ?σ,ϕ C: SC: Alg ʕaĉa 'mature', Irq {MQK} ʕaĉaramō (pl. ʕaĉaráy) 'old cow' ¶ ESC 275, MQK 17 || Ch: ECh: Ll {Grgs.} ési 'strong' ¶ ChC s.v. 'strong' || **IE**: NaIE *eṗs-/*oṗs- 'move with impetus' ({EI} IE *h₁eṗs- 'set in motion') (× NaIE *eṗs-/*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' < N *yosʕ ≈ go\run' [q.v.]) and NaIE *isaro-s 'vehement, strong' > OI iṣ'ṇāti, 'iṣyati 'sets in motion, swings', iṣi'ra- 'vigorous, flourishing, refreshing', Av aēš- (prs. iša-, iṣya-) v. 'set in motion' || Gk ἵνάω, ἵνέω {LS} 'carry off by evacuations', Gk L/I ἵρος, Gk D ἱαρός 'mighty', Gk A ἱερός id., 'holy', οἴμα (< *oṗs-mat) (gen. οἴματος) 'impetus' || L īra, [Plt.] eira (< *eṗsā) 'wrath, anger, ire' || ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', OSx ovast ~ ofst (< *ob-aist-?) {Ho.} 'haste', {P} 'Eile, Eifer', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st id. ¶ WPI 106-7, P 299-301, EI 506, M K I 93-4, M E I 271-2, MW 168-9, F I 712-4, 726-7, WH I 717-8, Vr. 98, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240 || **A**: NaT *esän 'in good health, sound; safe' > OT {Cl.} äsän id., MQp XIII, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV esen, Tk esen, VTt isän ~ äsän, Bsh iṭän, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY esen, Uz, ET esän, Qrg esän ~ isän, StAlt, Tlt, QK, Sg, Kü ezen, Xk izen ¶ Cl. 248, ET Gl 308-9, TL 684 (*esän), Rl. I 873, 889-90 ¶ Cl. is right in warning before confusing this ʕ with NPrs أسان āsān 'easy' (≠σ,ϕ: {ET} T from NPrs āsān) || M *esen 'healthy' (← T?) > MM [IM] esen, WrM esen, HIM эсэи id. ¶ MED 333, Pp. MA 437.

160a. *ʕaʕ 'white, bright' > **HS**: EC {Ss.} *ʕazz- 'white' > Af {PH} ʕado 'be white\clear', Sa {Wlm.} ʕado 'white', Sml N ʕád 'white colour', ʕad- 'be white', Sml N {Ss.} ʕadd-, Sml J {Ss.} ʕay, Or ád-iʔ, Kns, Gdl at, Elm {Hn.} é'w-í-da, Arr ezzí 'white', Dsn {To.} ʕéð 'white, bright' ¶ Bl. 203 (LEC *ʕad-), Ss. PEC 36 (EC *ʕazz-), Ss. WOKS 137, AD SF 144 (C *ʕʕʕ-), PH 52, DSI 49, BISO 10, Bl. G 5, Hw. A 341, Hn. E 282, To. DL 480, Blz. DL s.v. 'white'] (× N *ʕawĉʕ [or *ʕaĉwʕ] 'light of the sun below\on the horizon?'): ?σ Sml ʕadʕēd 'sun, daylight', Or {Ss.} adu', {Grg.} adū

'sun', Dsn {To} 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 'sun, sunlight' ||| DhI 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 'sun, day') ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' ||| IE: Ht *asara-* ~ *esara-* 'white, bright' ¶ Pv. I-II 206-7 ||| U: FU (+ext.) *ačka 'white' > F Δ *aħka* 'eider duck (Eidergans, *Somateria mollissima*)', *ħaħkea*, *ħaahkea* 'grey', Es *ħaħk* (gen. *ħaħa*) id., *aħka* 'eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*)' ||| Mk *akša*, Er *ašo* 'white, clean' ||| pChr {Ber.} *ošъ 'white' > Chr: L oш oš id., 'fair-haired', H oш(ь) oš(ь), E oš(о) 𐌺 ošu 'white' ||| Os: D aš 'white clay' Cng aš id., 'chalk', Kz aš-čampī 'spröde' (čampī 'similar') ¶ UEW 3-4, SK 45, Ber. 47, MRS 396, Ep. 83-4 ||| A: M *°ažay (unless it is *φαζay) > WrM *ažay* *byčural*, HIM *ažaj* *byčural* 'silvery grey hair' (*byčural*, *byčural* 'frey, grey-haired') ¶ MED 61 ¶ Valid unless it is *φαζay.

161. *bA, adjectival pc. forming analytical (\rightarrow derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, and animal names ($N + *bA$ 'which is N '), $F N *k\hat{o}L\nabla bA$ 'dog\wolf, whelp' and $N *yoR\nabla(-b\nabla)$ 'firm, strong, hard') $> HS$: S *-b-, sx. of animal names, e.g. (1) S * $\theta a\epsilon lab$ - 'fox' (Ar $\theta a\epsilon lab$ -, Ak $\check{s}\bar{e}leb\bar{u}m$ id.), cp. without the sx. *-b-: CS * $\theta\bar{u}\epsilon a l$ - 'fox' $> BHB$ שׁוֹנֵי־כִּלְבַּי $\check{s}\bar{u}'\epsilon\bar{a}l$ id., (2) S * $\rho a nab$ - 'hare', (3) S * $\epsilon a\kappa rab$ - 'scorpion', (4) S * $k a lab$ - 'dog' ($< N *k\hat{o}L\nabla bA$ \uparrow) || B * $g\bar{u}l\epsilon\beta$ - (or * $g\bar{u}l\epsilon H$ -) $> Ah$ $a\acute{g}\bar{u}l\epsilon h$ 'male wolf' ($< N$ [??] * $gUk\acute{I}\epsilon bA$ with $N *gUk\acute{I}\epsilon$ ' \approx canine animal') ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95 || IE: NaIE *-b^ho-, [1] sx. of animal names, e. g., Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda a\phi o\varsigma$ 'deer' $< IE *e\lambda\eta\text{-}b^h\text{-}$ $< N *o\epsilon\hat{I}\nabla nu bA$) (* $\epsilon\hat{I}\nabla$ 'deer' + * nu 'of' + * bA) (IS I 272 [#135], Ch. 333-4, FI 483-4), OI $\acute{s}alabhas$ 'grasshopper' (cf. $\acute{s}ala$ - 'go, hurry' [?], see M K III 312-3), Gk $\acute{\epsilon}r\iota\phi o\varsigma$ 'chevreau, chevette' (Ch. 372, F I 560), [2] sx. of adjectives: OI $\nu\rho\zeta a$ - 'bha- 'male' (of a man, of a bull) (cf. OI $\nu\rho\zeta an$ - 'male'), Lt {BD} $ankst\acute{y}bas$ 'early' (e.g. of vegetables) (cf. $anksti$ 'early') ¶ BD II/1 386-90, Brg. KVG 331, \approx Hirt IG III 224, IS I 193 [#27], M K III 251, M E II 575-6 || K * o -b- in * $o\zeta\bar{y}arb$ - 'hedgehog' $< N *z a\Gamma\nabla R\nabla$ 'hedgehog' (q.v. ffd.) + $N *bA$ || U *-pa-/*-pā- ($< *#pa$ -?), sx. of nomina possessoris, names (nouns and adjectives) of quality bearers, incl. animal names, e.g. [1] U * ora -pa- ($< **ora pa$ -) 'squirrel' $> F$ $orava$, Es $orav$, $oravas$ (gen. $orava$) id., pLp {Lr.} * $\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{v}$ $> Lp$: N {N} oar 're-rr-, Pa {TI} $\check{v}\check{u}\check{a}'r\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{v}$, T {TI} $\check{v}\check{t}\check{a}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{v}$, Kld {SaR} $\check{v}\check{y}\check{a}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{v}$, {TI} $\check{v}\check{u}\check{a}\bar{r}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{v}$ id. || Sm: Sayan Samoyed ("stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} $orop$ 'squirrel' (Pl. Z I 187), cp. U * ura - 'squirrel' $> Mr$, Chr, Z, Vt ur id. || [2] Os K {PD} $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}p$ 'woodpecker' || [3] Vg -p(ä) '-ig', e. g. ... $samp(\ddot{a})$ 'having such and such eyes' (sam 'eye') || [4] Os *-ap '-ig' ($> Os$ V/Vy - $\bar{a}w$, Os Ty/D/I/Nz/Sh/Kz/O - $\bar{a}p$), e. g. Os V/Vy $k\ddot{o}l awt\bar{a}w$ 'mit dichtem Haar' ('dicht-haar-ig'), Os Ty $qo\check{y}^w opt\bar{a}p ko$, Os D $\check{c}\check{o}w upt\bar{a}p ik\bar{a}$ 'langhaariger Mann' || [5] Y {IN} -b\bar{a} is a sx. of animal names: YK $po\check{y}\check{u}b\bar{a}$ 'capercaillie' ($\leftarrow pY **po\check{y}$ - $< N *P_{i}\eta\hat{u}$ $\rightarrow *P_{\check{u}}\eta E$ 'a game bird of medium size', q.v.) ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 241-9, Gy. WBU 19ff., Coll. CG 263, UEW 343, TI 773, Sauer NBO 57-62, IN 243 || A *-ba/*-bä $> Tg$: WrMc - ba / - be , sx. of quality adjectives used for persons: $sere$ - be 'umsichtig, behutsam' (from $sere$ - 'fühlen, empfinden'), $kice$ - be 'fleißig, emsig' (from $kice$ - 'sich anstrengen, erstreben'), $ol\check{c}o$ - ba 'aufmerksam, vorsichtig, behutsam' (from $ol\check{c}o$ - 'scheuen'), $o\check{y}go$ - ba 'forgetful' (from $o\check{y}go$ - v. 'forget'), $\check{c}a\check{c}i$ - ba 'agile, prompt (der

schnell arbeitet)' (of a person) (from χαχί 'quick'), as well as the final element of some Tg animal names, e.g. *kōrbe 'male reindeer' (F N *korê '≈ ∈ deer, antelope', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 240-1 (unc. hyp.: the Mc sx. ← Ko paη ← Chn), Hr. 585, 733, 738, 784, Z 382-3 ◇ It is possible that N *bA is a grammaticalized and contracted var. of N *beʔy∇ '≈ body, self' (q.v. ffd.); this original meaning may be responsible for structures with internal genitive *nu, e.g. IE *e|η-bʰo-s 'deer' < N *ʔê|∇ nu bA, lit. 'deer's *b∇' (← 'deer's body'??) ◇ IS I 192-3 [#27]: IE, HS (? *bA, sx. in the names of wild animals).

162. ₂ *b∇, pc. forming analytical (→ derived) nomina abstracta > IE: NaIE *-bʰo-s, *-bʰā, sx. of abstract nouns (× N *baXy∇ - *baXi 'abundant' [q.v.] × N *b'i'gê 'much') > Lt tikýba 'faith' (← tikéti 'believe'), senybé ~ † senóbé 'antiquity' (← senas 'old'), Pru pagonbe 'heathenism', OCS ТАТЬБА татба 'theft' (← ТАТЬ татъ 'thief'), ДРУЖЬБА дружба 'friendship', СѢТЬБА сѣтба 'sowing' (n. act.), Gk φλήναπος 'idle talk' (cp. φλήνος id. and φληνύω v. 'chatter, babble'), κόλαπος 'a buffet' (derived from an unattested v.?) ¶ BD II/1 386-9, En. 218 || K: [1] GZ *-eba- ~ *°-oba-, sx. of abstract nouns > OG -eb-a- ~ -ob-a- id.: orgul-eba-y 'falsity', ymrt-eba-y 'divinity', sam-eba-y 'trinity', ert-oba-y 'Einheit', etc., Mg -apa, sx. of nomina actionis (masdar): rʔv-apa 'pouring' (n. act.), 'to pour', ckv-apa 'praising' (n.), 'to praise'; [2] GZ *-eb-, sx. of plural (← n. coll.) > OG, G -eb-, Mg -ep-, Lz -(e)pe; [3] GZ *-eb-, sx. of the presentic (imperfective) tenses > OG -eb- (odes igi azov-eb-da 'while he was pasturing'), G -eb-, Mg -ap-, Lz -ap-; the latter sx. is likely to go back to that of nomina actionis, because the presentic tenses must go back to paraphrastic constructions with deverbal abstract nouns ¶ Fn. GAS 50-1, Q O93, K 78, K² 48, Dn. DSM 43-66.

163. ₂ *boʔ∇ 'to go' > HS *baʔ- (Blz.: *bayʔ-) v. 'go' > S *-bāʔ- v. 'come' > BHb ip. -אב(-) (-)bōʔ-: 3m אב, yā-¹bō 'he will come, comes', 3p yā-¹bōʔ-ū 'they (will) come', inv. אב bōʔ, pf. אב bā 'he came', Ph, Pun bʔ v. 'come', Ug {OLS} ✓ bʔ 'enter, come, arrive', Ar pf. bāʔa / ip. ya-būʔ-u (with ū on the analogy of CūC-verbs) 'come back, return', {Nld.} bāʔa 'he/it entered' ([Hudh.] bāʔa bi-kaffī 'es kam in meine Hand'), Sb ip. ybʔ v. 'trespass over', pf. bhʔ v. 'enter' (with secondary h), Gz (prm.) -bāʔ- (js. ya-bāʔ) v. 'enter' (pf. bōʔa on the analogy of CūC-verbs), Ak p. -bā(ʔ)- (3s i-bā), inf. bâʔu v. 'come in, walk along'

¶ KB 108-110, HJ 146, Nld. rDelP 726, OLS 98-9, LG 114-5, BGMR 27, 33, Sd. 117, CAD II 178-182 || C {AD} *baʔ- v. 'go (away)' > Bj {R} ✓ by pcv. 'go' (1s: p. a'bāy ~ a'bē, pqp. 'ībē, prs. 'ēbī), Bj Am {AD} p. -bi(y)- v. 'go', prs. -ēbi, inv. 'baya || EC: Or {Grg.} baʔa 'go away, go out', Brj {Ss.} ba- v. 'go out, go up' (< EC *baʔ- × EC *baħ- [> Af baħ-it- 'lose all the animals', Sml baħ-, Arr {Hw.} beh- 'go out']), Sd {C} ba- v. 'go away', Hd Lb {Bnd.} baʔe v. 'go', ĩ Af {R} ba- v. 'go away', ? Af {PH} ōbe v. 'go down' || DhI {To.} bayóni 'let us go!', {EEN} hay- or bay- 'go home' ¶ Grg. 23, PH 177, Hw. A 347, ≠ AD SF 318-9, Ss. B 30-1 (both reconstruct *baħ-), To. D 151, EEN 33 || Om *b- v. 'go' > SOM: Dm {Fl.} bɛ / bɛɟ v. 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} b-, Zl {C} ba- v. 'go', Bsk {C} ba- 'go out' ¶ Fl. OO 318, LmS 311, C SE III 114 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} bā v. 'return, go away', ? Ang {Flk.} bē v. 'return' || Dr bI v. 'go away' || NrBc {Sk.}: Kry, My, Mbr, Jmb ba- v. 'go', Cg bā-, as well as probably Cg, Kry, My bō- v. 'go out', Sir bē-, Mbr bā- v. 'go out' (Stl. ZCh 157 [#108] reconstructs here WCh *m|H-ba w v. 'return' and equates it with Ar ✓ b w?, interpreted by her as v. 'return') || CCh: Tr {Nw.}, Pdl {ChL} ba 'come' | BM {ChL}: Klb bīyá, Hld bīyēr/bīyērì v. 'go', Mrg ba v. 'go out' | McMtk: Gzg D {Lk.} be v. 'go out', MfG {Brr.} -b- id. | McMs: LamP pa, Zm {J} pá, ZmD {KNC} pā v. 'go out' || ECh: Mu {J} bōw / bā v. 'go, go away', Skr {Lk.} bā, bē, {Sx.} bēy v. 'go' ¶ JI II 162-5, ChC, ChL, J S 58, Lk. ZSS 30-1, KNC 20 || D *pō- ({ǃGS} *p-) v. 'go' > Tm pō, Ml pōka, Tu pōpini v. 'go, go away', Td pɪx-/pɪ-, Kdg pō-, Tl pōvɔ / pō- / pōy- v. 'go', Kn pō 'going, departing', Knd, Png pōk-, Mnd pūk- v. 'send' ¶¶ D #4572, Zv. 64, 86, ≠ Km. 443 [#892] (pSD *pō-, *pō-k-a < *poku).

164. o, ɛ *bûr ▽ 'blow, inflate', (→ ?) 'swell' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hōy-/b^hay- v. 'blow' > Gk φῦσα 'a wind, blast, wind in the stomach' ('Hauch, Blase'), pl. 'a pair of bellows', Gk I φῶδες, Gk A φῶδες 'blister from burning', Gk φαῦσες, φαῦσες id. ¶ P 98-9, F II 1055, 1057, ≠ Ch. 1183, 1236, F II 998, 1055-7 || HS: CS *✓ bɪw|y (or *✓ bɪw|y?) v. 'swell' > BHb בנה ✓ bɪw|y G (ip. 3f תבנה תי-ב'ע) 'bring (water) to the boil' (of fire), JA [Trg.] בנה ב'ע 'Aufschwellung' (in metaphorical usage: r m w t ɛ y y n y w b ɛ y l b? 'Hochmut und Aufschwellung des Herzens) ¶ KB 136 (the Hb ✓ is equated with Ar ✓ bɪw, which is translated as 'anschwellen [Wunde]', while its real meaning is {BK} 'dépasser\excéder les limites, sortir des bornes'), KBR 141, Lv. T I 106, BK I 147 || K *^obu(w)- > G Kx bu(v)- 'aufschütteln (z. B. Kissen)', (ps.) 'aufgeschüttelt werden' (Kissen), 'an-, aufschwellen, sich aufblähen, sich aufplustern' ¶

Chx. 115 ◇ The supposed connection between 'blow' and 'swell' suggests an underlying ancient meaning 'inflate', 'use bellows', or the like.

165. 1 ***biç∇** ~ ***biĉ∇** 'small, little' > HS: S: [1] S *^o✓bçç ~ *^obçw > Ar ✓bṣṣ 'donner fort peu de qch. à qu.', baṣw-at- 'parcelle' (mā fī-l-mādi baṣwa 'il n'y a pas une étincelle, un brin de feu dans les cendres'), and [2] S *^o✓bṣṣ > Ar baḥḥ- 'petite quantité'; there is also a CS root *✓bçr v. 'be(come) small', but it either goes back to or is contaminated with S *✓bçr v. 'cut off' (< N ***b∇ç_l∇_rR∇** 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK I 131, 133, Lv. I 252, Br. 86, DM 68, KB 122 || U: FP *pīćć∇ 'small, tiny' > Krl pīćuk'aḡni 'tiny', Vp S pīču 'small', Es pīsikene, pīsune id., with a suffix -k-: F pīsku, Vp pisk 'small' | Vt пичи pīci 'small, little' ¶ SK 578, LG 226 || A ***biç∇** > NaT biçā 'small, little' > OT biĉā id., Tv биче pīče 'small, smaller', Tf pīće 'small', ET pišā 'a little, ein wenig' ¶ DTS 98, Ra. 162, TvR 105 || M ***biĉi-qan** > WrM biĉi-qan 'small, tiny, little', HIM бяцхан id., Brt bišixan, Kl bičḡ id. ¶ MED 102, KW 47, Vld. 127 || D *pīĉ-/ *pīĉĉ-/ *pīĉĉ- ({ḡGS} *p-) 'small' > MI pīcca, pīccan 'what is small', Kn pīcu 'shortness, smallness', pīcce 'shortness or deficiency in measure and weight', Tu piñcilā 'thin, slender', Tl pīcc 'low; short, deficient' ¶¶ D #4214a || ?σ K ***biĉ-** > Lz biĉ-i 'boy, son' ↔ G biĉ-i 'boy, young man' (Marr 131, Chx. 88, ≠ K 52 [G biĉ-i 'boy' *← K ***biĉ-** v. 'break in pieces, crumple']), unless the word is a loan from Arm բիճ biĉ 'illegitimate child' (Ach. I 475) or from Osm biĉ id. (Bu. I 324), cp. OG biĉ-i 'illegitimate child'. Coalescence of K ***biĉ-** and the loanword cannot be ruled out ◇ IS I 178-9 [#11] (*biĉā: FU, A, D). This N stem may be connected with ***b∇ç_l∇_rR∇** 'to cut' (q.c. ffd.) ◇ K ***biĉ-** (if it belongs here) points to N ***biç∇**, while the Ar words suggest coexistence of two variants of the pN etymon.

166. 2 ***b∇ç_l∇_rR∇** 'to cut' > HS: S *✓bçr > BHb ✓bçr G 'gather grapes, cut off grape-clusters'; (× N ***biç∇** ~ ***biĉ∇** 'small, little'): JA ✓bçr G 'be cut, diminished', JEA ✓bçr G 'be diminished, diminish', SmA ✓bṣr D 'diminish', JA, Sr bəṣīr, bəṣīr-ā 'klein, parvus, minutus', MHb ✓bçr G 'wenig haben'; SmA bṣyr 'vintage' (← BHb בָּצֵר bā'çīr id.?) ¶ KB 142, KBR 148, GB 109-10, Js. 185, Sl. 229-30, Tal 110-1 || K: G basr- 'zerschneiden' ¶ Chx. 68 ¶ Desaffrication *ç > s in a cns. cluster?

167. *boča '(young) deer' > K *°boč- > G boč-iķ-i 'one-year old deer', boč-ola 'one-year-old calf' ({DCh.} 'зимовальный теленок') ¶ Chx. 100, DCh. 115 || U *poča 'deer' > FP: pLp {Lr.} *pōcōj 'reindeer' > Lp: N {N} boazo, bōc'cu- ~ bōwcu- '(tame) reindeer', S {Hs.} buvdje, L {LLO} pācōy, K {Gn.} poaz, T {Gn.} poazaj id. | Chr L pūčö püčö, H пучы руць, U püčö 'deer' | Vt Sr pužey id. || ? Sm: Kms poʔdu 'goat, Capra sibirica', Koyb {Klp.} podo 'Ziege', {Pl.} pooto 'Cervus capreolus' || Y: K {IN} pežā, {Krn.} pjeđe, {Jc.} pieze 'elk', {Jc.} pezul 'Schutzgeist der Elentiere' ¶¶ Coll. 6, It. #130, UEW 387-8, Sm. 553 (FP *poča 'reindeer'), LG 218, Lr. #967, Lgc. #5115, Hs. 393-4, ≈ IN 274 (unc.: Y pežā ÷ F pe ura 'deer'), Ang. 208-9, Krn. JJ 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [#46] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *bo|učan '(ε) deer' > Neg bočan 'Manchurian deer (изюбр, Cervus elaphus xanthopygus)', Orc buča(n-), Ul boča(n-) ~ buča(n-) id., Nn bočã ɖ boca(n-) ɖ bučã id. (unless ← Mc *bugu-čan ← b u g u 'deer', as suggested in S CNM 10); ? WrMc {Hr.} bucin 'hirschartiges Fabeltier mit langem Schwanze' (reinterpreted by folk et. as abbreviation from buhu 'deer' + tucin 'beginning'), ? Lm būçɜn 'musk deer, Moschus moschiferus' (a stem belonging to the closed-vowel harmonic type of stems, which still requires investigation) → Yk būčān ~ bīčān id. (earlier also 'Capreolus?') → ? Ewk M/Tk bīçɜn 'roe, Capreolus'; the route of borrowing may have been different as well: from an unknown Tg source to Yk and then to Lm and Ewk ¶ STM I 86, 101-2, Pek. 481, JkR 90; Pek. (after Böhlingk) tried to explain the Yk word as a loan from M bicin ~ becín, but the latter word means 'ape, monkey', and hence the hyp. is untenable || HS: ?σ S *°✓bδχ > Ar baδaχ-, buδχ- 'lamb' (if *-δχ- < *-θχ-) ¶ BK I 100 || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} bisí 'duiker' ¶ JI II 113 ◇ Cf. Coll. 143 (U ~ Tg) and UEW 387-8 (U, incl. Y, connected with Tg and Yk). Some of the cognates may be loans from neighboring lgs. (Jk. 304 on Sm and Vt; RT HUA 243 on forms of the A lgs.; LCm. NLP 17) ◇ AD NM #38, S CNM 10.

168. *bič 'cut, crumble, crush' > HS: Ch mte.: Hs bāsá ɖ byāsa 'break off' || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bāc` 'break into small pieces' or būs` v. 'crumble', Gude {Hsk.} bācɜ vi./vt. 'break off part (of sth. soft)', ? bāɜɜ 'break off (edge\rim of sh.)', MfG {Brr.} -bāš- 'percutor, casser (un os\noyau)' ¶ Sk. HCD 30, Hf. M 140, 148, 164, Hsk. 166, Brr. MG II 90 || K {FS, K²} *beč-/ *bič- v. 'crumble, break' > OG d. na-bič- / na-bič-ev- 'crumb', Sv bičķw-/bečķw- (UB ipf. bičķwa, msd. li-bčķw-e, prs. bičķwe / -bučķw, Ln prs. bičķwe, ä-bčķw, Ls prs. bučķwe / -bčķwe)

{GP, TK} 'split', {K} 'break (bread, apple, etc.)' ¶¶ K 56, K² 14, FS K 53, FS E 54-5, TK 155, GP 91-2, 148 || **D** {Km.} *pič̣- (={ǵGS} *p-) v. 'crush, knead, squeeze' > Tm pičaị v. 'work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze, or mash between the palms, crush and separate as kernels of grain from the ear', Ml pišiṭu 'husks of fruits', Kt pič̣k- v. 'squeeze, pinch', Knd hisi v. 'squeeze (a ripe fruit), pisuku v. 'squeeze, press', Tu piskuni, pišuni, Tl pisuku, Gnd pisk- id., Nkr piẓ̌g- v. 'knead', Prj pič̣- v. 'grind', Gdb, Mnd pič̣- v. 'milk', Png, Kui pič̣- v. 'squeeze, milk', Ku pič̣- id., v. 'press out', Krx pič̣ka'ānā v. 'press and bruise, flatten by crushing' ¶¶ D #4135, Km. 431 [#826] || **A**: M *bičal- > WrM bičal-, HIM бяцл-ах 'smash, crush, squash into a pulp', Brt бисал- 'smash, crush' ¶ MED 101, Chr. 95 || T *bič- ~ *bič- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *mō'č̣|ṣ̌'̣, ∇, ∇, ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' [q.v.]?) > OT bič- ~ bič- id., MQp XIII bič-, Tk bič-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz bič-, Bsh ḅs- ~ bis-, VTt p̣č-, Qq piš-, Qzq piš-, Alt ḅič̣(1)-, Yk bis-, Tv piš-, Tf piš-, SY piš- id., Chv Δ πα̣ç- p̣ṣ̌/ẓ̌- 'cut' ¶ Cl. 292-3, ET B 158-61 || **AdS** of NaIE *peis-/pis- v. 'crush, pound' (IE *p- for the expected *b^h- may be explained by one of the IE incompatibility laws) < N *p̣'äy'ṣ̌'i' (≠ *piṣ̌'i'?) 'crush, break to pieces' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I #12.

169. ₂ *b∇g'č̣'∇ '≈ bad, wicked' > **HS**: S *✓ḅỵṣ̌ > Ar baḡīḡ- 'haï, détesté, devenu odieux à quelqu'un', ✓ḅỵḡ (pf. baḡuḡa ~ baḡiḡa) 'être haï, détesté' ¶ BK I 146 || **K** *ḅỵ'e'ẓ̌z- > G Gr {Shar.} ḅỵzi 'злой' ('wicked, vicious'), {Ghl.} ḅỵizi, G Gr/Aj {Ghl.} ḅỵezi id., 'vicious dog' ¶ Shar. GL 11, Ghl. 99; the K parallel is acceptable if *ḅỵeẓ̌z- < *b∇ỵẓ̌z- goes back to pre-K *b∇ỵč̣- (as. *-ỵč̣- > *-ỵz-) ◇ AD SShS 307 (suggests connections with C, Ch, IE, and A, better explainable as going back to N *bụ, ∇, ∇, ∇ 'bad', q.v.).

170. *b'ū'č̣'∇ '≈ to tear to pieces' > **HS**: CS *✓ḅṣ̌ 'cut, tear to pieces' > Ar ✓ḅḡi G 'cut, split', Ug {A} ✓ḅḡ 'zerreißen' (absent in OLS), BHb ✓ḅçi G 'cut off' ¶ A #562, Hv. 36, KB 141 || **K**: G I buç- 'zerzausen' ¶ Chx. 125 || **U**: Sm *puč̣∇- ≙ *poč̣∇- v. 'unrip (a seam)' > Ne T пуд̣ă-ць id. ({Jn.}: < *puṭ-s-), Slq Tz {Cs.} 1s aor. poṭālnam, Slq Ke {Cs.} 1s aor. pocc̣au id., Kms {Cs.} 1s prs. phuḍ(u)lim id. ¶ Jn. 130 || ? U *poẓ̌∇- 'split, divide' (× N *pọliεE or *pọliyE 'to split' [q.v. ffd.], if U *-ẓ̌- < **-ẓ̌i- < as. N *-č̣i-).

170a. ₂ *bAdV 'many, multitude' > HS: EC: Sa {R} bad- 'be rich', Or {Grg., Sr.} baḍ-āḍ- id., {Grg.} bada 'very', Sml badi- 'increase', badan 'most; very, quite', ? Sml J bazáḡ, Bn báda 'many', ? Sml bayddi, ? Sd bata 'wealth'; C → Tgr {R} bədēdē bələ 'abundavit' ¶ R S II 71, ≈ R WB 90, Lm. Sh 281, Hn. S 53 (pSam *bat-an 'many'), ZMO 26-7, 35, Grg. 30-1, Sr. 269, Gs. 34 || Om: NrOm: Shn {Lm.} bod- 'be enough', Kf {Mas.} bedo 'sufficienza' (unless ← bedo 'arrivo') ||| SOm: Bk {Fl.} bedi-mi, Ari G/U {Fl.} bedi 'many' ¶ Lm. Sh 281, Mas. 214, Fl. OWL || ECh: Bar {AF} batá 'viele', ?φ Mkl ḡādà(ḡ) 'beaucoup, abundant' (the glottalized ḡ still defies explanation) ¶ J LM 72, Lk. ZSS 51 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 107 [#23] || D: [1] D *paṭ- 'multitude, crowd' > Tm paṭai 'crowd, army, battle', Ml paṭa 'army, battle', Td paṛ 'crowd', Kn paḍe 'multitude, host, army', Tu paḍæ 'multitude, mob, army', Tl paḍava 'battle' ||| [2] ?σ D *pāṭi 'extent, size' > Kn pāṭi id., Tl pāṭi id., 'madnitude', Kt pāṭy 'size, strength equal to what must be done' ¶¶ D ##3860, 4067 ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 129-30, (equates the C, SOm, and Mkl words with the C, IE, K, and T reflexes of N *b'a'tV '≈ luck, good', q.v.), ≠σ Blz. LNA #3 (equates HS with the K and IE reflexes of N *b'a'tV '↑' and with the A reflexes of N *būd₁V₁V 'be thick').

171. *bed^rē 'to pierce, to prick' > HS: Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bdà v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey) ||| WCh: Bg {Sh. in ChC} bwaṭ v. 'pierce' ¶ Hf. M 28, 118, ChC s.v. 'pierce' || EC *✓bd > Af {R} bod- vt. 'split, open', Sa {R} bōd- vt. 'open', Sd {Mrn.} bad-, {L} badi- v. 'separate, divide' ¶ AD SF 238, R A II 33, R S II 71, 450 || NrOm: Kf {C} bad-, Mch {L} badda- v. 'split wood' ¶ C SE IV 410, L M 21 ||| K: G bedeki 'cleft, rift' ('расщелина'), bedena 'difference' ¶ Chx. 74-5, DCh. 102 ||| IE *bhedh- v. 'pierce, prick, dig', {EI} 'dig, burrow' > L fodiō, -ēre / pfc. fōdī / sup. fossum 'dig' (← 'pierce, prick'), fodicā- 'prick, dig' ||| Gl BEDVM 'canal, fossé', W bedd 'grave', Crn {ECCE} bēth, MBr, Br bez 'grave, tomb' ||| Lt bēsti (prs. bedū) 'to stick, to dig (potatoes), to butt', int. badūti 'to prick, to poke, to stick', Ltv Δ {ME} best (prs. bedū) 'to dig', Ltv int. badīt 'to butt, to gore, to poke' ||| Sl *bod- (inf. *bos'ti / 1s prs. *bōd-q) v. 'stab, prick' ('stechen') > OCS БОСТН bosti / БОДѢ bod-q, Blg бода, SCr bōsti / bōdēm, Slv bōsti / bōdem, OCz bōsti / bodu id., P bóść / bodę v. 'push with horns, goad', Uk бос'ти / боду, R Δ бос'ти v. 'push with horns', R (← int.)

бодать 'to gore' || Tc A pāt- v. 'plough' || Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7, EI 159 (*b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow'), P 113-4, WH I 521-2, Billy 24, LP § 43, YGM-1 42, Ern. 65-6, Hm. 80, ECCE 214, Frn. 41, ME I 280-1, ESSJ II 222-3, SPS I 339-40, Glh. 142, Wn. 354 || U: FU *peδe- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound' [q.v.]?) > Lp: N {N} bæððâ- / -ð-, L {LLO} pātāt v. 'prick, make a hole in' || ObU {Ht.} *pĒδ- (actually *pĒδ|l-) 'stechen' > pVg *pīl- id. > Vg LK/MK pīl- / piī-, UK pīl-, P/LL pēl- / pel-, NV/ML/UL/Ss pēl-; pOs *pel- ({JHl.} *pǎl-) id. > Os V/Vy/O pel-, Ty/Y pǎf-, D/Nz pet-, Kz pef- ¶ Coll. 74, Coll. CG 410 (*peδä-), Sm. 547 (FU, Ugr *pedä-, FP *pedv- 'prick'), LLO 807, Ht. 174 [#488], Hl. rHt 71, ≠ UEW 371 (equates ObU with Er peíe-, Mk päíe- [sc. päíə-] 'bohren' and reconstructs FP *pel∇- 'stechen', leaving Lp bæððâ- & pātāt unexplained) ¶ ObU < FU *peδe- × FU *pel∇- || D (in SD) *peṭṭ- ({ṭGS} *p-) v. 'prick, insert' (× N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ '↑') > Kn peṭṭu v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg heṭṭu v. 'prick' ¶ D #4390, Km. 435 [#845]; on stem-final gemination in SD *see* Km. 137, 173 ◇ FU and D go back to the merger of N *bed^ʔ and N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ '↑' (q.v.) due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops.

172. *b^ʔed∇ 'back of sth.' > U {UEW} *peδpā 'shoulder-blade' > Lp: N {N} bæððbe / -ðb-, L {LLO} pieripē ~ pār'ipē id. || Sm: Ne: T O {Lh.} pírbe, F P {Lh.} pičmé 'withers, a hump between the reindeer's shoulder-blades' ¶¶ UEW 369 ¶¶ U *peδpā is likely to go back to a d. or cd. || D *peṭa ({ṭGS} *p-) 'back side of sth.' > Tm piṭar, piṭari, Ml piṭari, Kt peṭtal 'nape of the neck', Tm piṭarḱu 'back of a blade\weapon', Kn peṭa 'state of being behind or after, the back', Kdg paṭa mande 'back of the head', paṭaneṭṭi 'nape the of neck', Tu peṭarḱb 'behind the back', Tl peṭa 'hinder, back', Prj piṭtel 'behind, after' ¶¶ D #4146 || It is not yet clear if D {GS} piṭ- 'back side, the back' (GS 47 [#112], D #4205) belongs here, because the N origin of D {GS} *-ḱ- ({GS} *-ḱ-) has not yet been investigated || HS *b^ʔu¹d- 'back' > EC: Or M {LLC} bōda adv. 'back', Or {Brl.} bodā 'back (dos), hind quarters; hinder back', {Grg.} bōda 'after(wards)' || SC {E} *bídu 'buttocks' > Kz bulituko 'woman's garment covering the hips', SC ↗ Mb ~ búru 'goat's tail' ¶ Brl. 59, Grg. 55, E SC 140 (SC *÷ Dhl buḍuw- v. 'run away' and Kz bulum- v. 'bend over') || SOM: Ari J {Blz. ← Bnd.} bud 'upper back', Hm {Bnd.} bud-i 'back' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, Blz. OLBP #6 || Ch: WCh: Cp {ChC} bēder

'Hinterteil', Ang {ChC} b̄d̄+r̄ 'anus' || less plausible: ?? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} b̄d̄, NdD {J} b̄ād 'arm' (if ← 'shoulder') ¶ Cp. 48, ChC || ?σ ES *būd- > OAk, Ak fOB b̄ūd-um, Eb {Krb.} b̄ū-tum 'shoulder' ¶ Sd. 136, Krb. EG 36 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#26] (D, HS), Blz. OLBP #6.

173. *bod ▽ 'body, belly' > HS: WS *badan- 'body' > Ar badan- 'corps, tronç', Mh b̄ādēn 'body', Hrs bē'dan, Jb C 'bē'den (df. ē'den) id., Gz badn 'corpse, dead body' ¶ BK I 98, Jo. M 43, Jo. H 15, LG 87, MiK I #1.31 || AdS of Ch {Stl.} *b̄u't̄ ▽ 'belly, womb' (× N *bu₁w₁t̄ ▽ 'lower part of the body', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (× N *bu₁w₁t̄ ▽ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *bod ▽ accounts for IE *-d^h-) || A {SDM97} *b̄ōda 'body; entrails, belly' > T *bōδ 'body', 'stature' > OT bōδ 'stature (height of a person)', Tkm, Az bōy, Tk bōy, SY pōz 'stature, body', Chv p̄ü, Δ p̄b̄v 'body, stature (height)'; (× N *mUt ▽ or *mUt̄ ▽ 'man, person', q.v. ffd.): NaT *bōδ 'self' ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306 (does not distinguish this word from OT Og [MhK] بوى bōy 'clan, tribe' and OT [MhK] bōδun 'people'; unj. rec. of a long vw. ō on the only basis of the plene spelling in Arabic script), DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, RI. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II #812, S AJ 196 (#247), Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M *bōda 'a head of cattle (cow, ox, horse, camel)' > MM [S] bōdo 'Stück Vieh', WrM bōda ~ bōdu, HIM bōd, Ord b̄od̄o 'large cattle (horses, cows, camels, etc.)', Kl bōd bōd̄o id.; M *bōda 'object, body' > MM [S] bōdo 'Objekt', WrM bōda, HIM bōd 'substance, matter, body', Kl bōd bōd̄o 'the true essence, reality, substance', WrM bōdas (pl. of bōda) 'body' ¶ S AJ 241 (#166), MED 108, H 16, KW 48, KRS 103, Ms. O 72 || pJ *bātā 'entrails, belly' > OJ wātā 'entrails', J: T/Kg wātá, K wātà id., Ns wātá, Sh wātá, Ht bātá, Y bātā 'belly' ¶ S AJ 269 (#121), S QJ #121, Mr. 569 ¶¶ KW 48, Rs. W 77 (T, M), S AJ 279 [#113], SDM97 s.v. *b̄ōda || D {tr.} *poṭṭ̄ ▽, {GS} *poṭ- 'belly, stomach' > Kn poṭṭe id., 'womb', poṭe, puṭṭi 'belly', Tl poṭṭa, Klm, Nkr, Prj poṭṭa id., Nk poṭ(ṭ)a, Gnd po(ṭ)ṭ, paṭṭa 'belly, stomach', Knd poṭa 'stomach', Png pōṭo, Mlt puṭa-~puṭṭa- 'belly', Krx poṭṭā 'bowels, entrails' ¶¶ D #4494, GS 71 [#230] ◇ On IE *b^hu- from N *bo- see Introduction, § 2.4.

174. ₂*būd ▽ ▽ ▽ ▽ 'be thick' > HS: S: Ar ✓bd̄ G 'be(come) fat \ corpulent', bid̄- 'full' (of body), {DRS} bid̄-, badī-, badī̄- 'dodu, gros', ?? bid̄- 'corpulent, fat' ¶ DRS 46, Ln. 160, Hv. 24 || A: M *būdūṣün 'thick' > MM [MA] bidūn 'thick', [IM] بيدن {Pp.} bidūn 'coarse

(грубый)', [IsV] **بَيْدُونٌ** {Lg.} *bidūn* 'thick (épais, gros)', [L] {Pp.} **بَيْدُونٌ** *bidūn* or *bejdūn* 'dick, grob', WrM *büdügün*, HIM **БҮДҮҮН** {Kow., Luv.} 'thick, coarse' ('gros, grossier, épais'), {MED} 'large, huge, big', Kl **БҮДҮН**, {Rm.} *būdūn*, Ord *b_ūd_ū:n* 'thick, coarse', Brt **БҮДҮҮ(Н)**, MMgl *bejdū:n* 'thick', Mgl {R} *bejdū:n* 'dick, grob', Mnr Nr {SM} *b_ūd_in* 'thick' (of body parts), Mnr H {T} *bidun* 'thick', Dx *bjedun*, Dg *budūn* 'thick, coarse'; M \rightarrow Yk *bödöŋ* 'big, large, coarse' \S Pp. MA 119, 434, Pp. L II 1267, Lg. VMI 20, Kow. 1232, MED 144, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 121, Ms. O 101, SM 31, T 317, T DnJ 112, T DgJ 128, Rm. M 23, Iw. 90, Pek. 517-8 || T **büδü-* (\times N **bêžU(-qV_)*) \rightarrow **bêžU(-qV_)* 'big, high' > T d. **büδü-k* 'big, large' > Osm *büyük* 'big, large, high', Tk *büyük*, Az *böyük* 'large' \S S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3.

174a. *bVd'h|?E 'to plait' (\rightarrow 'net') > HS: CS **badd-* 'woof' > BHb **בַּד** *bad* (pl. **בַּדִּים** *bad'd-īm*) 'linen', JA **בַּדְא** *bad'd-ā* 'fine linen woof', ? Ar *batt-* (< **badd-at-*?) 'a coarse garment' \S KB 105, Js. 138, Hv. 20 || **K** **bade-* 'net, cobweb' > OG *bade-y*, G *bade* 'net', Lz *boda-* 'netting for picking fruits', Sv UB/L/Ln *bäd*, Sv L *bad* {TK, Dn., GP} 'net', {K²} 'netting, cobweb' \S K² 6, TK 14, GP 90, Dn. s.v. *bad* || **A** **bUt'e* 'bind, wind' > M **büči* 'band, ribbon' > MM [HI] *büči* 'ribbon', WrM *büci* ~ *büce*, HIM **БҮЧ**, Brt **БҮШӘ**, Kl **БҮЧ** *büčj n.* 'tie, ribbon, band; lace', WrO *büči* 'ribbon; cord, band', Ord *b_üč' i* 'bande, ruban', *b_üč'e* 'e ribbon' \S MED 143, Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, Chr. 128 || NrTg **bot-* > Ewk *botō-* 'tie together with a knot', Lm *bətəb/p-* 'be bound together' \S STM I 97 || T d. **bütür-* v. 'wind, twist' > Chv **пѣтѣр-рѣдѣр**, Δ **рѣдѣр-** id., 'spin (threads)', σ VTt **бѣтѣр-** *bĕter-* 'turn, twist, roll up' \S Jeg. 158, TatR 94, \approx SDM97 || pKo {S} **pĭth-* 'be attached' > MKo *pĭth-*, NKo *put^h-* *put-* \S S QK #1100, Nam 275, MLC 846 \S SDM9, \approx DQA #215 (A **böt'é-* 'bind'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) \diamond Here Altaic **-t'* may be explained as going back to N **-tH-*; the N lr. involved was lost in S, suggesting that it was **h* or **?* (both of them are liable to be lost in S) \diamond S NSShS #1 (K, A).

174b. ₂ *bad₁V₁XV 'be open' > HS: S ** \checkmark bdh* > Ar *badaḥ-* 'ouvert, patent', ?*abdaḥ-* 'vaste, spacieux, overt de tous côtés' \S BK I 95 || WCh ** \checkmark bḏ* (\approx {Stl.} **bHd-*) v. 'open' > Hs *būdè* id. | Ang {ChC} *bèt* id. | Bl *bìḏá*, Krkr *bàḏā*, Ngm *biḏa* id. | Sy *buḏè* v. 'open' \S Brg. 121, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 144 || **A**: M **badar-* (contamination with A **padar-* [\rightarrow Tg **padar-* 'stretch']; \times N **paṭṭV* 'to be open, to open' \times N **mAtVdV* \rightarrow

*mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch') > WrM badara-, HIM бадра-, Brt бадар- (x a) 'spread, expand', 'open' (of flowers), Ord b_ad_ara- 'se répandre au loin, se propager', Kl {Rm.} badr̥- 'sich ausbreiten' ¶ MED 66-7, Chr. 76, Ms. O 42, ≈ KW 27 (tries to equate the Kl word with VTt and Qzq baytaq 'weit, ausgedehnt', which is probably a derivative from *baḷḷy 'much, rich' [cp. ET B 30 s.v. байтак]).

175. (2?) *bûd₁∇₁X₁q∇ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > HS: CS *^o✓bdh|x v. 'amuse oneself' > JA, MHb ✓bdh v. 'be cheerful', Sr б₁uḍā'ḥ-ā {Br.} 'recreatio', {Sl.} 'cheerfulness' ¶ Br. 58, Js. 139, Sl. 185-6 || IE: NaIE *b^heuḍh- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein' ({EI} IE *b^heuḍh- 'pay attention, be observant') (and the derived [caus.] NaIE stem {E} *b^houḍ^hdeye/o- 'waken, point out') > OI 'bōdha-ti 'wakes, is awake, notices', Av баодити 'nimmt wahr', баодан-, MPrs бōδ 'awareness', KhS бṽ id., 'feeling' || Gk Hm, π πένθομαι, Gk A πυνθάνομαι v. 'learn\hear (a th.)' ('erfahren') || Clt: Cm {LP} both, {ECCE} bōth n. 'will, consent', W bodd id., 'pleasure', OIr buide 'satisfaction, reconnaissance, faveur', NIr buidhe 'graciousness, kindness, thanks' || Gmc *biuḍan > Gt ana-biudan 'to bid, to order', ON bjóða '(an)bieten', OHG biotan 'offerre, opponere, præbere', NHG bieten, OSx biodan, AS béodan 'to offer', NE bid || Lt būsti / prs. bundū, Ltv Δ {ME} bust / būdu 'wake up, awake', Lt būdinti, Ltv Δ budināt, budīt vt. 'to wake', Lt budėti 'to be awake', budrūs 'vigilant, watchful' | Sl *būdě-ti 'to be awake>alert' > OCS БЪДѢТИ būdě-ti / prs. БЪЖДЪ būždq, Blg бдя, SCr бдѣти & bdjēti, Slv b(е)đeti, Cz bdíti / bdím id., Slk bdiēt' id., 'to observe', R † бдеть 'to be awake, to care for' | Sl caus. *budí-ti vt. 'to wake' > ChS БОУДНТИ būdi-ti / prs. БОУЖДЪ būždq, R будить / буюжу, Uk будити, SCr būditi, Slv būditi, Cz buditi, Slv budit', P budzić 'to wake', Blg будя vt. 'wake' | Sl *būdъ 'promptus, munter' > OCS БЪДРЪ būdrъ id. ('πρόθυμος, willing') [e.g. Mc. 14.38], R 'бодрый, Uk бодрий, SCr bādar 'full of energy, lively, alert', 'munter' | Sl *būsti 'cavere, observare' > OCS БЛЮСТИ bljusti id., 'to see, to take care of, to guard', SCr † bljūsti (prs. bljūdēm) 'to observe, to guard', R блюсти (prs. † блюду) 'to guard, to keep (laws, customs, etc.)' ¶ P 150-2, EI 516, 636, M K II 449-50, M E II 233-5, Bai. 294, F II 625-6, LP § 43, Vn. B 113-4, Dnn. 97, YGM-1 49, ECCE 215, Fs. 41, Vr. 40, OsS 66, Ho. 19-20, Ho. S 7, EWA II

90-2, Kb. 83, Frn. 62, ME I 345, 356, ESSJ II 136-7, III 76-7, 109, 111-2, Bern. I 96-7, 105-7, StSS 102-3, SPS I 459-61, Glh. 127, 155 || ?σ D *puṭṭ- ({{ṬGS}} *p-, *-ḍ-) > Tm puṭṭai v. 'utter a loud noise', Klm poḍ- (poṭṭ-) '(dog) barks', ṭsa poḍ- v. 'whistle', Nkr poṛ- v. 'bark', Gdb porp- id. ¶¶ D #4254.

176. *baHgü (= *baḥ|hgü?) 'forearm' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *ba-ḡbaka 'wing, arm' > pBT *ba'k₁'a 'arm', *b¹ak₁- 'wing' > Tng {J} paka 'hand, arm', Krkr {Lk.} bàk_áḡ 'arm', Glm {Sch.} (kà)bàgá 'shoulder, wing', Krf {Sch.} kàbàḡá 'shoulder', NrBc: Kry {Sk.} pākè 'arm', AG: Kfr {Nt.} ḡgàḡ 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [#15], Stl. VZCh B ##17 and 22, ChC, JI II 178, Sch. BTL 55, 81, Nt. 46, Nw. #147 || ?σ S: Ak bukār- {Sd.} 'Klöppel, Mörserkeule', {CAD} 'pestle' ¶ Sd. 136, CAD II 308 || IE: NaIE *b^hāḡ^hu-s 'elbow, forearm' ({{EI}} IE *b^hāḡ^hus or *b^heh_ḡḡ^hus '[fore]arm, foreleg') > OI bā'h_u-ḡ 'arm, forearm; fore-foot (of quadrupeds)', Av bāzāu-š 'arm' ||| Gk πῆχυς, Gk Ae/D πῆχυς 'forearm' ||| ON bógr (pl. bógu) 'arm, shoulder', OSx bōg 'Bug', OHG buog 'shoulder, rib; armus, suffrago', NHG Bug 'shoulder-joint', AS bōz 'shoulder, arm, branch', NE bough ||| pTc {Ad.} *pokai- > Tc: A poke 'arm', B poko {Ad.} 'arm, (any) limb', (in cds.) -pokai id. ¶ P 108, Dv. #267, EI 26, M K II 429, M E II 223-4, F II 531, Vr. 47, OsS 90, Ho. 29, Ho. S 8, Kb. 131, EWA II 443-5, Wn. 381-2, Ad. 403, Ad. H 20, 22 ||| A: WrM {MED} baḡu(ḡ), buḡu(ḡ), HIM бугуѣ 'forearm, wrist, bracelet', WrM {Ms.} buḡuu, Ord b_uḡū 'bracelet', MM [IM] بڤو ba|uḡū id., ?σ [S] buḡa_u 'Schandkragen'; AD LRC #85 adduced here WrM baḡal-caḡ 'wrist' and Turkic words: ET paḡal-čaq 'shin', Uz baḡalaḡ id., Qrg baḡalek ~ baḡalaḡ 'the lower part of the leg of trouser' ¶ MED 71, KW 28, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 433, H 21, Rl. IV 1438-9, Jud. 91 ||| D (in NED) *pak(k)- v. 'take into one's arms' > Krx pāk-nā / pakkyas v. 'take up into one's arms, on one's lap', Mlt pake v. 'take in the lap' ¶ D #4050 ◇ If Ak bukār- belongs here, the N lr. *H is to be interpreted as *ḥ or *h (causing devoicing *g > *k in WCh and Ak) ◇ Gr. II #225 (*bogu 'joint') (IE, A, J, Ai).

177. ₂ *bû₁y₁gE (more plausible than *bûHgE) 'stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *b^huḡ₁'- 'insect' > Lt buḡ₁ḡs id., Ltv ch būza ~ buza, buzis 'louse' ||| ? eNE XVII buḡge, buḡ 'insect, bug', NE buḡ ¶ ≈ WP II 117, ≈ Mn. 119, Frn. 29, OED I 1159-60 ||| A *bōge 'ε (stinging?) insect' > T *bōg 'ε insect' > OT {Cl.} bōg 'poisonous spider, tarantula', Az bōv

'phalangid (a poisonous spider)', ? Tkm *mōy* id., Qrg *böyü* 'tarantula', Chv *рѣван*, Δ *рѣван* 'gadfly (Tabanus)' ¶ Rs. W 82-3, S AJ 198 (#271), AzRL I 313, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394 || M **bō̄e-sün* 'louse' > MM [S, HI, MA] *bō̄esün*, [IsV, L] *bō̄sün*, WrM *bögesün*, HIM *бөөс(өн)*, Kl *bō̄sū*, Dx *bosun*, Ba *bosun*, Dg *būs*, Mnr H {SM} *bō̄sə*, ShY *būsən*, MMgl *bō̄sün* id. ¶ KW 53, MED 125, SM 29, H 16, Ms. H 43, Pp. MA 123, Lg. VMI 21, Iw. 92 || Tg **ⁱ*bugu-tuna > Lm *bugutuna* 'gnat' ¶ SDM I 102 || pJ {S} **ṛi̯w̄z̄*-musi 'ε insect (dayfly, ephemera)' > ItOJ *ṛi̯w̄òmúsì* (cd. with pJ **músí* 'worm, insect' < N **mû̄s̄* ∇ 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ S QJ #1580, Mr. 408 ¶¶ S AJ 286 (#54), DQA #173 [A **b̄jūgi* 'ε insect'], Rs. W 82-3
 ◇ N **y* is tentatively suggested by the long vw. in T. It is more probable than N **H*, because a preconsonantal **-û̄H-* would have produced a long vw. **ū* in IE.

177a. *bAga (or ***bAχa**?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > K **me-pχ-e* 'clear sky, fine weather > Lz *μαρχα-*, Sv U/L *mēpχe*, LB/Ln *mepχe* 'cleared up (sky), clear space' ¶¶ K **-pχ-* < early K **-bψ-* (devoicing due to the infl. of K **pχ-* 'be warm') ¶¶ K 133, K² 120, ≈ Chik. 188-9, TK 570, GP 218, Dn. s.v. *māpχe* || **HS**: S **ⁱ*bψw|y > Ar √ *bψw* (pf. *بُأ* *baψā*) 'sortir d'une embuscade et fondre sur sa proie' (hardly etymologically identical with √ *bψw* 'dépasser, excéder les limites' < N **b'i'gê* 'much') ¶ BK I 147 || **D** **pakał-* ({*ⁱ*GS} **b-*, **-ψ-*) 'visible' > Kt *bagał* 'conspicuous' (of a view from a high place), Kn *bayal*, *bayil*, *baylu* 'conspicuousness, celebrity', Tu *bayilə*, *bailə* adj. 'public', Tl *bayalu* 'outside, exterior', 'clear, evident', Gnd *bayul* 'open space of ground', Knd *baylu* 'open space', Ku *baylu* 'maidan (parade ground)', *bayalu* 'field' ¶¶ D #3940 || **IE**: NaIE **b^hā-* 'appear, become visible' (× NaIE **b^hē-* / **b^hō-* / **b^hə-* 'glänzen, leuchten, scheinen' < N **beha* [or **bāha*?] 'shine, be bright') > Gk *πεφῆσεται* 'will appear', *φαίνω* (aor. *ἔφηνα*, Gk D *ἔφαῖνα*) 'make appear' ||| Arm **բանամ** *bana-m* v. 'open, discover, disclose' (← *'make visible') ||| ? Tc A *pākär*, Tc B *pākri* {Ad.} 'clear, obvious', {Wn.} 'ouvertement, publiquement', Tc B {Ad.} *pākre* '≈ in the open' ¶ WP II 122-3, P 104-5, *see* EI 352-3, 513 (**b^heh₂-* 'shine'), F II 982-4, Wn. 350-1 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from **b^hē-* 'shine, be bright'), Ad. 364 ◇ D **-k-* = D {*ⁱ*GS} **-ψ-* as a reflex of N **-g-* still needs elucidation ◇ An alt. rec.: N ***bAχa** > K **me-pχ-e*, **D** **pakał-*, **IE**: NaIE **b^hā-* (without **HS**: S **ⁱ*bψw|y) ◇ Qu. (the K, IE, and Ar roots may be explained otherwise).

178. *b'í'gê 'much' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: FIM {ChL} b^héw, Nz {ChL} b^wéη, {Mch.} b^wéη 'many' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} b^héà id. ||| ?φ WCh: Wrj {Sk.} b^hák^w, P' {MSk.} b^hákù id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ? S *^o✓b^hy|w > amb Ar ✓b^hy ~ ✓b^hw (pf. بَغَا bāyā, ip. -b^hī) 'dépasser, excéder les limites' (unless a sd. of ✓b^hw~✓b^hy 'dévier') ¶ BK I 147 || AdS of Eg fOK b^héy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied' (< N *b'e'í^hy^h 'to pour' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Eg, CCh, and ECh may have contaminated with N *bax^y - *baxⁱ '≈ abundant' ||| K *^obe^h- > Mg bayu(n), Lz bayun 'enough'; G bay- 'share' should be kept apart, because it is a loan from Iranian (cp. Av bāga, bāḡa 'share'), as indicated in Andk. Z 21. But the Mg and Lz words are semantically rather far from the Iranian word in question and hence should not necessarily be considered Iranisms ||| **IE**: [1] ≈ *^ob^he|oj- > Av baē-var, baē-van 'ten thousand, myriad', Phl bēvar, NPrs بِيَوَر bīvār id., Oss: I bīrā, D berā, bewrā 'many, much, very' ¶ Brtl. 913, Ab. I 262 ||| [2] one of the sources of *-b^heH, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (× N *b^h [particle of nomina abstracta] [q.v.] and N *bax^y - *baxⁱ '≈ abundant' [q.v.]) ||| D *pe^h ({{θGS} *p-) 'big' > Kt, Td pe- 'big' (D #4411), unless this is not a contraction of D *per- 'great, big' ◇ Since the Ar, the K, and the Kt-Td alleged reflexes may be explained otherwise, the comparison is qu. ◇ ≠φ (⇔ Blz.) Lp N {N} boaw^hje 'gathering of near relatives; company, clique' (see N *bax^y - *baxⁱ '≈ abundant'; ≠σ (⇔ Blz.) Os V päy 'hillock, heap, crowd of people' (the primary meaning is obviously 'hillock, heap') (see Coll. 74) ◇ IS I 193 (#28), ≈ Blz. LB #107a (added Irn and erroneously U).

179. *beha (or *bāha?) 'shine, be bright' > **HS**: S *^o-bhā|ū (*✓bh^w) > Ar ✓bh^w (pf. بَهَا bahā, ip. -bhā ~ -bhū) v. 'be fine, shine' ¶ Ln. 269, Fr. I 168-9 || Eg G b^h ({{JEG b^h}) v. 'shine (sun, moon)', 'light up' ('leuchten, erleuchten') ¶ EG I 472, Tk. II 291 || C: DhI {EEN} bābā? v. 'shine', {To.} b^huvad- 'shine' (sun) ||| SC {E} é *^obā? v. 'glow' -> Mb -'bayu 'red' ¶ E SC 135, EEN 33, To. D 129 ||| **IE** *b^heh|x- / *b^hoh|x- / *b^hh^hg^h- ({{EI} *b^heh₂- 'shine' -> ? *^ob^heh₁(e)s- n. 'light') > NaIE *b^hē- / *b^hō- / *b^hā- 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)' (× NaIE *b^hā- 'appear, become visible' < N *bAga [or *bAxa?] 'be[come] visible, appear') > OI 'bhā-ti 'shines', bhā- (in cds.) n. 'shine, light, brightness', Av bā- 'scheinen' (used with a px.: vi-bā- 'leuchten'), bāmya- 'licht, glänzend', bānu-

'Licht, Strahl' || Arm բաճառ ba-na-m (NaIE *b^hā-n-) 'I open, discover, disclose', aor. բացի bac^hi || Gk πεφήσεται 'wird erscheinen', NaIE *b^hā-n- in the present form φαίνω (< *φάνυω) 'bring to light, make appear', φαίνομαι (ipf. ἐφάνην, aor. ἔφην) 'come to light, am seen, appear; shine brightly'; Gk [Hs.] πάντα (prs. prtc. accus. sg. m. from *φα- v. 'shine') || OIr bán 'white' || Gt bandwa 'a sign', Gmc *bandwjan > Gt bandwjan 'to give signs', ON benda 'anzeigen, vorbedeuten' || Sl: HLs bac so (prs. baju) vr. 'to burn imperceptibly, to glimmer', LLs bajaś se (prs. bajom) vr. 'to glimmer, to flare' ¶ P 104, EI 352, 513, Me. EAC 111, 154, M K II 493-4, M E II 259-60, F II 982-4, Vn B 13, Fs. 79-80, Vr. 32, ESSJ I 130-40 || U: FU *pejā (≈ {UEW} *pāj∇) v. 'shine white', adj. 'white' > Lp: N {N} bæggjot, -æj- v. 'shine white', L {LO} pāju 'white' | OHg feer [feēr] ~ feher ~ fejer [fejēr], Hg fehér 'white', Hg Δ feér, feír, fejér id. (-h- is an epenthesis in a hiatus, -ér goes back to two nominal sxs.: a deverbal *-j∇- and a denominative *-r∇-) ¶ MF 188, UEW 360 ¶ Lp N {N} æ suggests FU *-e-, but Rd. (UEW) reconstructs *-ä- (probably on the basis of Hg); if he is right, there is *ä rather than *e at both the FU and the pN levels of rec.

180. ₂ *baH₂∇ 'to tie, to bind' > K *√b- v. 'tie, bind, attach; hang' > OG b- 'attach', G b- 'tie, bind, attach; hang', Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L {Dn.} mā-b stt. 'it is attached to me', χā-b 'it is attached to him', msd. li-bem 'to tie, to attach', msd. plrt. li-b-ā], Sv UB msd. li-b-em, LSv {TK} liben id.) ¶¶ K 47-8, K² 6, Chik. 250, FS E 39-40, Dn. s.v. b¹, GP 147, TK 425 || A *bā- v. 'bind' ({SDM97} *bā) > NaT *bā- 'bind, fasten (sth. to sth.)' > OT bā- id., Yk bā 'rope' ¶ Cl. 292, Rs. W 53, Pek. 598-9 || ?σ Tg *ba- > Ewk ba- v. 'propose for marriage', WrMc ba-cixi 'proposed for marriage since childhood' ¶ STM I 60 || pKo *pa 'rope, string' > NKo pa 'rope' ¶ Rm. SKE 179, SDM97 22, S QK #188 || pJ {S} *bá 'rope' > OJ wó, [RJ] wó, J: T/Kg wó, JK wó ¶ S AJ 68, S QJ #239, Mr. 228 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 57, S VL, DQA #102 (A *bā 'bind') ◇ IS I 172-3 (#2).

181. *buHi 'grow, appear, become' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} bē 'esserci', Shn {C} bi- 'be', {Lm.} bèy- 'sit, sit down, dwell, live', Anf {C} bē- 'be', {MYTY} beyyo 'live', ? Ym {Lm.} -wa, -(m)ba/-(m)be (focalizing particles) ¶ C SE IV 247, 409, MYTY 116, Lm. Sh 289, Lm. Y 278-80 || EC: Sml bā (focalizer) (Lm.: ← 'is'), Rn (-)bá ~ -bà (a kind of focalizing pc.: am-bá irda 'I'll be the one to go') ¶ Lm. FP √, PG 71 || IE *b^heuH- v. 'grow, be' ({EI} *b^heuH₁ 'come into being, be; grow') > OI 'bhavati

'becomes, is', Av *bavati* id., OPrs *bavatiy* 'is' || Gk *φύω* v. 'bring forth, produce, beget', *φύομαι* v. 'grow, rise' || L *fui* 'I was, have been', Osc *fufans* 'erant' || Clt d. **bu-tā* > OIr *bui*th, *buid*, W *bod*, OBr *bot*, MBr, Br V *bout* 'to be' || Gt *bauan* 'to dwell', AS *béo* 'I am', NE *be* || Lt *bū-ti*, Ltv *bū-t*, Pru *bū-ton* 'to be' | Sl **bī-* (inf. **bǐ-ti*, past prtc. **bī-лъ*) > OCS **БЫТИ** *bī-ti*, SCr *bī-ti*, Slv *bī-ti*, R **бы-ть**, Uk **бу-ти**, P **бу-ć**, Cz **být** *být*, Slk **byť** 'to be' ¶ P 146-50, EI 53, M K II 485-7, M E II 255-7, F II 1052-4, WH I 557-8, Bc. G 317, Pln. II 684, Vn B 117, Frn. 68, En. 154-5, Tr. P A-D 271-4, SPS I 482, Vs. I 260, Glh. 131-2 || **A** {S AJ, SDM95} **bui-* v. 'be, sit' > M **buyi-* ~ **büyi-* > MM W [IsV] *büj* ~ *bej* ~ *bī*, [MA, L] *bī* 'is', MM E *bui* [S] 'is', [HI] 'is, exists', LM *bui* 'being; is/am/are', HIM **буй**, **бий** id., Dg *b_ej*, {T} *bej*, Dx {T} *bī*, Ord *bī* '(there) is', Kl {Rm.} *bī* 'is' ¶ H 21, Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 86, Lg. VMI 19-22, MED 132, Iw. 89, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 67, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, KW 44, ≈ S AJ 233 [#1] || Tg **bī-* v. 'be' > Ewk *bī-*, Neg, Nn, Ul, Ork *bī-*, WrMc *bī-*, Jrc {Md.} *bīe-i* id. ¶ STM I 79-80, S AJ 221 [#225], SDM95 s.v. **bui*, Md. ChF 135 || pJ **bū(i)-* v. 'be, sit' > OJ *wī-* id., J: T *ī-ru* v. 'be', Ht *bī-* v. {Mr.} 'sit' ¶ S AJ 270 [#139], S QJ #139, Mr. 698 ¶¶ S AJ 68, 111, 280 [#129], SDM95 (A **bui*), SDM97 (A **bīyu*), DQA #127 (A **bīyu* 'be, sit') ◇ The absence of the expected root-final **j* in IE still needs explaining ◇ IS 184 [#19] adduces here Eg *b3.t* 'shrub', Cb *fwà* 'tree', and U **puwe-* v. 'grow' (not more than a possibility) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #27 (**bīu* 'be').

182. *b'o'ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > HS: S **°-būk-*: Ar ✓ *bwk* (ip. *ya-būk-u*, pf. *bāka*) 'remuer le bâton dans l'ouverture de la source pour en faire sortir plus d'eau' ¶ BK I 180 || ?σ Eg G *bk* v. 'kill (with a sword)' ¶ EG I 480, Tk. II 332-5 || **IE**: NaIE **b^heug-* ~ *b^heugh-* 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save') > Gt *us-baugjan* 'sweep out', NHD Δ *Bucht* 'sweepings' || Av *baog-* / *burja-* 'loosen, set free, save', *baoxtar* 'saviour, liberator', Sgd B βωγ 'deliverance' || ? Vnt p.n. *υηυχια* (lit. 'savior, liberator' ÷ Av *baoxtar*) ¶ P 152, EI 621 [**b^heug^(h)*- 'purify, free'], Fs. 529, Brtl. 916-7, Bai. 319-20 || **A**: M **bog* > WrM *bog*, HIM, Brt, Kl **бог**, Ord *b_og* 'sweepings, filth, garbage' ¶ MED 110, KRS 102, Chr. 96, Ms. O 73 || Tg **boggi-* v. 'put out, throw out' > Ewk *boʒī-*, Neg *boʒin-* v. 'give birth to a child (out of wedlock)', Ewk *boʒin-* v. 'show oneself (out of an aperture)', 'be born', Ul *boyal-*, *boyalč-*, Nn Nh *boyago-*, Nn B *boygao-* v. 'have a miscarriage', WrMc

boyxolo- ~ biyōχala- v. 'break loose, run away' (of a fish\bird\beast that escapes from a hook\net\snare) ¶ STM I 87 || D (in GnD) *pok- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'throw' (× N *bôraḲE [or *bôra ḲE] 'to fall, to fell, to throw') > Knd pok- v. 'throw', Gnd pohānā v. 'throw', pō?- ~pon- v. 'throw away' ¶ D #4457 ◇ On IE *b^heu- presumably from N *bo- see Introduction, § 2.4.

183. *buk'o' (or *buk'o'ʔ?) 'run, run away' > HS: Eg fP bC 'run', Eg NK bC 'durchlaufen'; ?? Cpt {Ws.} vOk bōk ~ FOk fōk 'go' ¶ EG I 485, Fk. 86, Tk. II 352-3; Ws. 22 || C {AD} *✓bk^ω v. 'flee' > Ag: Aw {Hz.} buk- id. || EC: Sa I {CR} bukā 'flight', Af {PH} búka id., 'escape', buk- v. 'flee, escape'; EC {Ss.} *baḳ- v. 'run away, be afraid' > Arr {Hw.}, Brj {Ss.} baḳ-aḳ-, Dbs paq-aḳ- 'run away', Or baḳ-aḳ-, {Grg.} baḳ-aḳḳ- v. 'flee, escape', baḳ-a n. 'escape, running', Sml baq-ad- (md.) v. 'be afraid', baž-i- (caus.) v. 'frighten', Rn baḥ-s-ada caus. md. 'rush, run away, escape' ¶ AD SF 270-1, Ss. B 32, Hw. A 346, Th. 32, Grg. 36, PG 74 || NrOm: Wl {C} biḳiḥ- v. 'flee', Gm {Hw.} baḳáto- 'flee from', as well as possibly Cha {C} bokā 'way' and (?) Kf boččō id. ¶ C SO 28, C SE III 164, C SE IV 410, Hw. EG || S: [1] S *°✓bkʔ (~ *°✓bḳʔ?) > Ar ✓bkʔ G 's'éloigner, s'en aller', ✓bqʔ G 's'éloigner, s'en aller dans une contrée baqʔatun', [2] SES (+ext.) *✓bḳḥ v. 'run' > Mh ✓bḳḥ (pf. b3'ḳawḥ, sbjn. y3-bḳaḥ), Hrs ✓bḳḥ (pf. b3ḳōḥ), Jb E ✓bḳḥ (pf. bḳḳḥ) id. ¶ BK 149, 154, Jo. M 48 ¶¶ The origin of the cns. ʔ in Ar ✓bkʔ ~ ✓bqʔ and of the glottalized cns. ḳ in EC *baḳ- and in NrOm is still controversial: one may suppose either a HS élargissement (from an ancient word group) or a HS (or even a N) archaism (contradicted by Eg bC without laryngeals), a derived word, or a compound ¶¶ ≠ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#59] (HS *✓bk 'to abandon'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 57 [#59] (HS *✓bk 'road') || IE: NaIE *b^he(:)g^ω- ~ *b^heuḡ- ({{EI}} *b^heuḡ-) v. 'flee': [1] *b^heg^ω-/*b^hog^ω-/*b^hēg^ω- > Gk φέβομαι v. 'flee, be afraid', φόβος 'flight, panic fear' || Lt bég-ti (1s prs. bég-u) 'to run, to flee', Ltv bēg-t (prs. bēg-u) 'to flee' || Sl *běg- (inf. *běg-ŕi, 1s prs. *běg-q ~ *běž-q) v. 'run, flee' > prs.: OCS бѣжѣ бѣž-q, R бе'г-у, inf.: P біес, R Δ бечь, Ouk бѣчи, Uk Δ бічи, μ Uk бігти, μ Blr бегчы 'to run, to flee', SCr избєћи ѝ ìz-bjeći 'to avoid, to evade', побєћи ѝ pò-bjeći 'to run away, to flee'; Sl μ (*běgěti? >) *běžāti 'to run, to flee' > OCS бѣжати бѣžati id., R бе'жать, SCr бєжати ѝ bježati, Slv béžati, Cz běžeti, Slk bežat', P bieżeć 'to run'; Sl n. act. *běgь 'running' >

ChS **бѣгъ** běgъ, Blg бяг, SCr, Slv bēg, R бег, Cz běh, Slk beh, P bieг id.; Sl *bēgati iter. 'to run, to flee' > OCS **бѣгати** bēgati, SCr бѣгати, Δ bjēgati id., Slv bēgati, Cz běhati, Slk behat', P biegać, R бегать, Uk бігати iter. 'to run' || pInA stem *bhāg-/*bhāǰ- v. 'flee', that is reconstructible from Prkr bhagga 'fled', Hindi, Ass, etc. bhāg- v. 'flee', etc. and is attested in OI [Bhatt.] (dīśō) bhājayat 'drove out', (dīśō) bhyabhajatām 'fled' (dīśō = dīśas [gen. of dīś 'direction'] functions as a preverb of direction), [Pañc.] dīśōbhāga- 'fleeing' ¶ P 116, Mn. 69, WP II 248, EI 206, M K II 491, M E II 241-2, F II 998-9, 1005-7, Frn. 38, ESSJ II 58-62, 92, Glh. 133, Tls. 162, 382, Drd. 181, 498, StSS 105-6, Vs. I 143, Kzn. B 159-66 (tries to prove that Sl *bēg- meant 'flee, avoid' only, while the meaning 'run' is late), Tu. #532, ≠ Bloch MIIA 62 (*bhāg-/*bhāǰ- v. 'break' → 'run'), SPS I 224-7, 245-6 | **[2]** *bʰeug-/*bʰouug-/*bʰug- v. 'flee' > Gk φεύγω (aor. ἔ-φουγον) v. 'flee', φυγή 'flight (in battle)' || L fugi-ō (pfc. fūgī, inf. fugēre) v. 'flee', fuga 'flight' || ? Lt būg-ti (prs. būg-stu) 'to fear, to be frightened', baugin-ti 'to frighten', baugūs 'fearful', Ltv būgnis id. ¶ P 152, Mn. 75-6, F II 1005-7, WH I 556-7, ≈ Frn. 37-8, ESSJ II 58-60, 92 || **u:** FU *pʰukʷ- v. 'flee' > Es {W} pōge- 'flee' || U *pʰukta- 'hop, run' (× N *pʰōʰkʷdʷ 'run' [q.v. ffd.]). The origin of BF *pako 'Flucht' (> F pako, Krl, Vo pako, Es pagu id.) and of the corresponding verb (F pae-ta) remains enigmatic. It belongs to the √ in question only if there is explanation of the vw. a ¶¶ W EDW 858, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406 (*pokta-), UEW 402 (*puktʷ), MF 223, IS I 181 (*pok-tʷ) ◇ IS I 181 s.v. убежать *bokʰa¹ (IE, U, C + Tg *pʰukti- v. 'flee, run' [in fact from N *pʰōʰkʷdʷ 'run']), AD GDS #1.32 (C, IE, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #317 (*pok 'run') (IE, U + non-existent M *böğ-si- + err. Tg, J + qu. CK, EA).

184. *bʰoʰka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > HS *oʰbʰk > S *oʰbʰk > Ar buʰkūk-at- 'heat' ('calor') ¶ Fr. I 137 || Ch *oʰbk vt. 'roast, burn, scorch' ({JS} *oʰbk v. 'roast', {Nw.} *bʰkī|u v. 'roast, burn') > WCh {Stl.} *bakʰk₁- vt. 'burn' > Hs babbákà id., 'scorch' | AG: Tal {IL} pʰiyàk, {Sh.} pʰyak vt. 'burn' | Bl bokk-, Ngm beke, Maha boko id. | SBc {Sh.}: Zem mbay, Brw bak, Zar vākì, vək, Gj búkì, Dw bək id., Tule {ChC} bàk, Plc {ChL} baʰã, Gj {ChC} búkkà vt. 'burn' | Ngz {Sch.} bákì id., Bd {ChL} bəkân id. || CCh: McMtk: Mkt {Ro.} bəkàì id., ?? Gzg {Lk.} fok v. 'roast' || ECh: Jg {J} bīk, Mu {J} bágé, EDng {Ebob.} bīké v. 'roast' ¶ JI II 274-5, JS 214, Stl. ZCh

152 [#69], Nw. #106, Ro. 218, Ebob. VDE 78, ChL, ChC || EC: Brj buḳḳ-vi. 'burn, lighten' (the meaning 'lighten' may have been influenced by C *✓brḳ 'lightning') ¶ Ss. B 42 || B *✓Hḳḳ > Gd āβαῦ (3m pf. ὑῤββεῦ) v. 'be lit' ('être allumé'), Izd aῦ id. ¶ Lf. I 253 and II #0085, Mrc. 10, NZ 81-2 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 13, ≈ Tk. LAA-1 115 [#83] (HS *✓bḳ 'burn') (B, Ch, EC + unc. Eg bḳḳ 'glühen, brennen') || IE: NaIE *b^hōg- vt. 'roast (rösten, braten), bake, burn', {EI} 'bake, roast' > Gk φῶγω v. 'roast, broil' || AS bacan, bōc (> NE bake) v. 'bake', OHG backan ~ bachan 'to bake, to roast, to dry', MHG bachen 'to bake', ON baka 'backen, braten, Hände und Füße wärmen', NHG backen 'to bake' || Sl {Trb.} *bagatbje 'fire, embers': Uk багаття ba'hat'ta 'smothered fire, embers', R Dn багатье ba'hat'je 'smouldering fire', Blr багацце ba'hat'ce 'fire' ¶ P 113, Mn. 88, F II 1057, ESSJ I 124, Bern. I 38, SPS I 176-7, Vr. 23, OsS 36, EWA I 419-22, Kb. 53, Lx. 8, KM 43, Ho. 14 || Cf. also the qu. NaIE stem {P} *b^ho'k̄- 'flammen, brennen' (> L focus 'fireplace, hearth', ? Arm png boc^h 'flame' [< *b^ho'k̄-so-?], and Arm pnunp bosox adj. 'red, blood-colour' [< 'feurig?]), that contradicts the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same √, but acc. to Mn. AIE 164, Arm bosox is akin to OL fusvos, to L furvus 'dark', and to AS basu (gen. sg. baswes) 'purple' ¶ P 162, EI 125, WH I 521, Jah. OSK 9, 55 (on Arm boc^h) || K: G {Chx.} bug- 'aus-, verbrennen, einäschern', ? bgo|- 'kochen, bereiten (Essen)', ? G I {Chx.} bgal- 'anbrennen, sengen' ¶ Chx. 72, 115-6 || A: NrTg *bugar 'site of a burned forest' > Ewk buḡar, Lm bōrin id. ('гарь') ¶ STM I 101 || ??σ M *boḡursug ~ *boḡurcuḡ > WrM bogursug ~ bogurcuḡ, HIM боорсор ~ боорцор 'bread, pastry', Ord bōrsoq 'galette, gâteau, pain', Brt боорсор 'small pastry', Mnr H {T} bōrzoḡ 'e pastry', {SM} bōrzoḡ, Kl боорцг, Δ боорсг 'pieces of dough fried in oil', M ↗ Chg bayursaq ~ boḡursaq, Qrg bōrsoq, Qzq bayırsaq id. (× OT bayırsaq ~ bayırsuq 'entrails' ← OT bayır 'liver', see Cl. 319?) ¶ MED 112, KRS 109, Chr. 105, Ms. O 81, SM 28, T 318, Dr. TM II #797 || ? pJ {S} *bák- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wák-, J: T wàk-, K/Kg wák- ¶ S QJ #778, Mr. 783 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #217 (A *búgà n. 'heat, steam' > Tg, J).

185. *bukEῥ 'billy goat, ram' > HS: C *✓bkῥ (> *✓bgῥ by as.) 'sheep, goat' > Bj {R} bōk, Bj A {AD} bok 'billy goat' || Ag *bēg₁ῥ 'sheep' > Xm {R} beg-a (pl. bi g), Q {R} bag-a (pl. bagan), Km {CR} bēga, ↗ Gz n¹ō baggəῥ 'sheep, ram', Tgy bēgῥi, Tgr bəggūῥ id., Kf {C}

bagē, Mch {L} bágo, Shn {C} baggō 'sheep'; Tgy ⇨ Bln {R} bægg-a (pl. bægg) || SC {E} *bēf- > Irq {Wh.} bēfi, {E} beʔi, Alg {Wh.} bēfi, {E} befi, Grw {Wh.} bēfi 'sheep', Brn {Wh.} bēʔ-imo, pl. bēʔ-a, {Fl.} bēf-, {E} befi id., Kz {E} baʔamuko 'ewe lamb' || DhI {EEN, To.} bēfa 'buffalo' ¶ LG 88, AD SF 39, 315, R WB 71, E SC 137, EEN 33, To. D 130, Wh. IC 25, C SE IV 411, LM 21 || S: (mt.) Gz ቡሕኑ bəħkʷ 'ram, billy goat' (⇨ Gz ቡሕኑ bəħakʷ id.) (acc. to L: ⇨ C) ¶ LG 91 || B *√bgg > Ah {Fc.} a-baǵuǵ 'jeune mouton', Ty/ETwl {GhA} abɣgog 'jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans', Gh abaǰuǰ 'mouton châtré' ¶ Fc. 34, GhA 4, NZ 32 || Ch *(m)bak|g 'ram, sheep' > WCh: SBC: Kir mbak 'male' (of rams in: mbak par+m 'ram'), Zul bəǵála, Gj bəǵállà 'ram' || CCh: Gude bəǵá, FIJ bəǵà, FIM bəǵə, FIB bəǵən, BtG {Mch.} mbəǵe, BtD {Srp.} bəǵé 'sheep', Mln m̥bəǵá 'ram', m̥bəǵatí 'sheep', Bcm m̥bəǵá 'ram', mbəǵátə 'sheep', Gudu mbəksü 'sheep' | Glv {ChL} m̥bəkʷláká, {Rp.} mbəkʷlaka, Gv mbəkʷlákà 'ram' ¶ JI II 291, ChC, ChL, RpB 64, Hsk. 161 ¶ In HS there are many variants of the √ which may be accounted for by mt. of the velar and the lr. cnss. and by as. within cns. clusters. For instance, the EthS form (Gz bəħkʷ) is accounted for by earlier mt. and as. (something like *b∇kʷ- > *b∇ʏk- > *b∇χk- with subsequent reg. change of pre-HS *χ to *ħ) || IE [*bʰu(:)ǵHo- >] *bʰu(:)ǵo-s, {EJ} *bʰuǵos 'buck, billy-goat' ~ NaIE ({P}: end) *bʰukko-s 'he-goat, ram', f. *bʰu(:)ǵ-ā ~ *bʰukk-ā 'she-goat, ewe' (Dv.: 'capra prisca') > Av būza 'goat, billy-goat', NPrs بوز bōz 'goat; she-goat', KhS buysa- 'goat', Psh wuz 'billy-goat' || Arm բուծ buc '(sucking) lamb' || Clt: OIr boc, bocc, pocc, W bwch, Cm boch, MBr bouch, Br bouc'h 'buck', OCrm [VC] boch 'caper vel hircus' || pGmc *bukka- (⇨ Clt, acc. to Ped.) > ON bukk, bokkr, bokki, Nr bokk, bukk, Dn buj, Sw bock, OHG boc ȝ boch, NHG Bock, OSx bukk, AS bucca 'buck', NE buck ¶ WP II 189, P 174 (misquotes Arm buc as buz), EI 229, Dv. #929, Mn. 120, Vl. I 233, Brtl. 969-70, Sg. 182, Horn 49, Bai. 297, Mrg. 94, Vn. B 62-3, Hü. 430, Slr. 292, Vr. 48, 64, EWA II 216-8, OsS 79, KM 87, Ho. 38, Ho. S 11 ¶ The expected lr. is in a prevoc. position and hence leaves no trace || A: M *bugu 'deer' > WrM buɣu, HIM буга, Kl buɣa 'male deer', Mnr H buɣu 'deer', MM [MA] *buɣu- 'deer': gen. بوغوين buɣuɣin 'of a deer', [S] {H} buħu, [HI] {Ms.} buɣu [buɣu] 'deer'; M ⇨ WrMc buɣu 'deer', Ewk buɣu, Sln بوخو 'Manchurian deer, изюбр' ¶ MED 131, H 21, H SMG I #144, SM 32, Lew. II 22, Ms. H 43, Pp. MA 124, Z 527, STM I 101-2 || ? AdS of Tg

*buka 'male horned ungulate' (< N *buḳa 'bovines') > WrMc buχo ~ buχu 'deer' (← M?), ? buχa 'wild animal', Sln buxa, Ewk buka 'sire bull', Ewk Vtm buka 'buffalo', WrMc buqa 'billy-goat, ram' ¶ Z 528, STM I 103-4 || NaT *bugu 'deer' > (or M →) MU XIII buχu 'deer', Tk Δ, Uz, Qrg buyu, Nog buyi 'male deer', Chg [BL] {Brv.} بوغو buχu 'kind of antelope or wild goat', Qzq būyi 'deer' ¶ KW 58, ET B 237-8, Brv. BL 139, STM I 101-2, Dr. TM II #752, Cl. 312, Rs. W 86 ¶¶ S CNM 10 (reconstructs A *pUk∇ and adduces Ewk h3g13n ~ h3w13n 'young of elk') ◇ In Altaic lgs. there is probably a quite plausible semantic change: 'billy goat, ram' → 'deer' ◇ AD NM #45.

186. *baḳa (or *bag|k,∇,?a?) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > IE: NaIE *bak- 'stick, staff used for support', {E} 'club' > L baculum 'a staff, walking-stick' (< *bak-tlom), dem. bacillum 'a little staff' || OIr bacc 'courbure, creux, objet courbé', NIr bac 'pin, peg, crook; prop', W bach, Crn bagh 'hook, hinge', OBr {Flr.} bach ~ bah 'ligo (houe)', Br bac'h 'croc, gros hameçon' || Gk βᾶκτρον 'staff, stick, cudgel', βακτηρία 'staff, cane' || MDt pegge 'pin, peg', Dt Δ pegge 'block (Klotz)', 'ε peg (in manufacturing wooden shoes)', ME pegge > NE peg; ?σ Sw pigg, Dn pig 'thorn' || ?σ Blt d. verbs: Ltv bakstīt 'to poke, to pick', Lt bākstelēti 'to give a nudge/prick' ¶ Pokorny considers the Insular Celtic word as a bf. from a Latinism; this hyp. (too complicated to be plausible) is not shared by Vn. ¶ WP II 104-5, P 93, E 110-2, WH I 92, F I 211-12, Vn. B 2-3, YGM-1 38, Flr. 77-8, Hm. 61, Frn. 30, Ho. N 512-3, Skeat 439, HDEL 967, 1507, Hlq. 760 || A ({SDM97} *bak∇ 'pole, pillar'): NaT *bakan 'pole' > Uz Δ ("Chagatay") {Rl.}, Qzq {Bu., Rl.} baqan 'tent-pole' ('Stange, mit der man die Filzdecken der Jurte aufhebt und stützt'), Tt Δ baḳan, paḳan 'post, pole', QK {B} paqan 'post for tethering horses' ¶ Bu. I 234, ET B 42-3, B DLT 184, Rs. W 53 || M *bagana ~ *baqana 'pillar, column, post, pole, tent-pole' > WrM bagana, HIM, Brt багана, Kl бахн id.; M → Qzq, Qrg baqan, Yk baḳana, Tlt paqqan id., WrMc baḳana 'tent-pole, prop' ¶ MED 68, KRS 86, Chr. 73, KW 29, Pp. IM 135-7 (on M *-q-) || Tg *baksa 'prop, pole' > Ewk baksa id., Ul baqsa, Nn baqsa ~ baḳsa 'central pole of a tent' ¶ STM I 67-8 || pKo *pò > MKo pò 'beam, cross-beam' > MKo pò, NKo pò, t1l-bo ¶ S QK #375, Nam 259, MLC 786 ¶¶ DQA #93 (A *báku|a 'pole, pillar') || ?ϕ K *biga- 'stick, cudgel' > G Δ biga- 'wooden cross-beam', Mg biga-, Lz biga, Lz At biḳa, Sv {K} biž- 'stick' ¶ K DE 361, K²

15, BU 12 || HS: S *^lba_lṽ_l n. 'sprout', *^l√b_l v. 'sprout' > Ak {Sd.} ba_lu 'Sproß', Sr ^lba_lṽ_l 'germen', {JPS} 'staff, cudgel', Ar ^lba_l 'vegetable, herbage, green', √b_l G 'appear, come out (plant, tooth)', Ak √b_l {CAD} v. 'sprout' ¶ Br. 87, Sd. 104-5 || LEC: Af {PH} bu_lka 'woody type of grass used for fence\roof making' ¶ PH 74 || CCh: Msg {Krs.} εφέκ ~ υεφέκ 'Rohr, Stroh' || ZmD {KNC} v_lok 'foin' ¶ Lk. DQM 52, KNC 29 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 112 [#62] ◇ M *bagana and K *biga- (if it belongs here in spite of the irreg. *i) suggest that the medial consonant is likely to go back to N *-g_lṽ_l?- (if this is true, the apparent pN *-Ḳ- [suggested by by M *baqana, as well as by E, S, and T] may go back to a contraction of *-g_l?-). If K *biga- does not belong here, but M *bagana does, the N etymon may be *^lba_lṽ_l?a ◇ If we adduce here Eg fOK f_g 'fingernail, claw' (¶ EG I 576, Tk. II 566) instead of S *^l√b_l, which is rather doubtful, we shall have to rec. N *pa_lṽ_lgṽ ~ *pa_lṽ_lḲṽ.

187. ₂ *baḲṽ 'to look' > HS: CS *b_ly|w v. 'look, observe' > JA, Sr √b_ly|w G (pf. ^lba_lṽ_l 'schauen, beobachten, ausforschen', JEA {Sl.} √b_ly G 'inquire into, search for, examine', MHb ^lba_lṽ_l 'erfahren, kundig', Ar √b_ly (ip. -ba_ly, pf. ^lba_lṽ_l 'observavit, respexit', [Qam.] {Fr.} √b_lw (pf. ^lba_lṽ_l 'spectavit, respexit, observavit' ¶ Lv. I 253, Sl. 230, Fr. I 144; IS I 172 adduces also S *^l√b_lr v. 'examine' and *^l√b_lθ v. 'seek' || EC *bēk- > Or bēk- v. 'know', Brj bēk- id. (a loan from Or?), ?? amb Sml {R} bēq ~ bēg 'sorgfaltige Aussschau (wie etwas ins Werk zu setzen sein)' (unless ← Ar ba_ly-, msd. from √b_ly v. 'observe') ¶ AD SF 264-5, Grg. 43, Brl. 50-1, Hd. 87, R SS II 80 || NrOm *b_lṽ_l- v. 'see' > Bnc {Wdk.} bēḲ v. 'see', Bsk {C} b_lṽ_l-, {Bnd.} bεḲa, Wl {C, LmS} be_l?- 'see, look', Zl/Bdt/Cha {C} be_l?-, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} be_l?-, Ym {Wdk.} biya v. 'see', Shn {Lm, Fl.} beḲ-, Anf {MYTY} beḲḲ-, {C, Fl.} beḲ-, Mch {L} bāḲḲi(yé) v. 'see', Kf {C} beg/begg-, caus. beḲḲ-, {Fl.} be_l?/beḲ id. ¶ AD SF 264-5, Wdk. BY 99, 119, 172, Fl. OWL s.v. 'see', LM 22, MYTY 120, LmS 312, Lm. Sh 282 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Ba.} bīḲi 'looking after, tending carefully, taking pains about in order to get sth. back into its original good condition' || CCh: MfG bāk 'regarder' ¶ Ba. 106, Brr. MG II 82 || A *bak'a > T *bak(a)- v. 'look at' > OT baq-, aor. baqār, Chg baq-, Tk bak-, Tkm, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, VTt baq-, Tf pāq-, Uz bak-, Chv p̄x- id. ¶ Cl. EW 311, ET B 38-40, Rs. W 58,

Fed. I 407 || Tg {ADb.} *baka- v. 'find' > Ewk baka-, Sln, Neg baxa-, Lm baq-, Orc bā-, Ud {STM} bʔa-, {Krm.} baʔ-, Ork bā-, baqqa-, Ul bā-, baqa-, Nn Nh/B bā-, Nn KU baqa-, WrMc baḡa- id. ¶ STM I 66-7, Krm. 210 || pKo {S} *pò- 'see' > MKo pò-, NKo po- ¶ S QK #73, Nam 259, MLC 788 || pJ {S} *bàkàr- 'understand' > OJ, J Kg wàkàr-, J: T wákár-, K wákár- ¶ S QJ #774, Mr. 782 ¶¶ DQA #90 (A *bǎka 'look, watch [regarder]') ◇ ≈ IS I 172-3 (HS [S, B, C, Om], A [T, Tg]); IS (l.c.) adduces B: Kb əb̄ȳu ({DI.} b̄ȳu, aor. -b̄ȳa) v. 'wish', but it is better explained as a loan from Ar ✓ b̄ȳy. IE *spek̄/ḡ- v. 'look, see, observe, spy' does not belong here, but rather to N *p̄'E'K̄ȳ∇ 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v.).

188. *buḲa 'bovines' > HS: +ext.: S *baḳar- 'cattle' > BHb בָּקָר bāḳār 'cattle, herd', Ph bḳr 'cattle', Ug {OLS} bḳr 'rebaño de vacuno, cabaña', JA אֲבָרָא ʔbaḳ'r-ā, Sr ٭بَاكْرُ baḳ'r-ā 'cattle', JEA baḳ'r-ā {Sl.} 'herd', Ar baqar- '(wild\domesticated) bovines, ox\bull\cow', Sb bḳr 'bovines, head of cattle', Eb {Krb.} baḳarum 'cattle'; S d. *buḳār- > Ar buqār- 'head of (large) cattle', Ak buḳār- 'cattle' ¶ KB 144-5, KBR 151, HJ 187, OLS 114-5, Lv. I 256, Sl. 231, Br. 88, Ln. I 234, BGMR 30, BK I 148-9, CAD II 323, Krb. EG 39 || Ch: ECh: Brg {J, ChC} bōgòrò 'male antelope', bōgòréy 'female antelope', EDng {Fd.} bógó 'antelope', (with mt. of the glottalization): Mkl {J} bōrgú 'horse antelope (kudu), Mgm {JA} b̂ârgú 'oryx antelope'; Nd D {J} p̂àĝr 'antelope' (p- due to the infl. of the reflex of N *p̂oḲü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle') ¶ ChC, J LM 73, JA LM 73 || IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull' > Sl *bĭkъ / gen. *bĭ'ka (< NaIE *būko-) 'bull' > Blg Бик, SCr bĭk, Slv bĭk, Cz, Slk býk 'bull', P byk id. ({ESSJ}: 'sire bull'), OR БЫКЪ bĭkъ, R БЫК 'bull'; Sl *bĭkъ (< *buk-) > SCr bāk 'bull' || ? pClit f. {SB, Vn.} *boukk-ā 'cow' (unless < Clt *bow- < IE *gʷou- 'cattle', as supposed by SB, LP, and Vn.) > OW buch 'iuvenca', W buwch (pl. buchod), MBr, OCrn buch, MCrn bugh, Br буоч'h~буч'h 'cow' ¶ Bern. I 112, ESSJ III 147-8, Glh. 156, 128, SPS I 473-4, Ern. 86-7, SB 178, LP § 298, Vn. B 61-2, YGM-1 61, ECCE 217, Hm. 119 ¶ IE *b- < *bʰ- due to the IE law of incompatibility of voiced aspirates and voiceless cns. in the same root || A: NaT *buka ({SDM97, ADb.} *būka) 'bull, sire bull' (× A *muk'u 'male' < N *maḲU 'baby, son', ? 'be pregnant' [q.v.]?) > OT بوقا buqa (Cl.: buqā), Chg buḡa, Tk боḡа, Tkm buḡa, SbTt buḡa ʔ poḡa, MQp buḡa, Qzq, Uz, ET, Tb buqa, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Yk buḡa,

Xk puṽa, Tv puṽa, Tf puḥa 'bull' ¶ ET B 237-8, Cl. 312, Brv. BL 139, Tum. 46, 175 || M (< T?) *buqa 'bull' > MM [S] buqa {H} 'Rind, starkes Rind (Stier)', WrM buqa 'bull', HIM byx, Brt byxa, Kl byx buxu 'sire bull', MMgl {Iw.} buqa, Mgl {Rm.} buqa, Ord buxa 'bull'; but M *bugu 'deer' is easier to explain as belonging to N *bukE∇ 'billy goat, ram' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ H 21, MED 31, 142, Chr. 119, Luv. 91, KRS 124-5, KW 58, Rm. M 24, Iw. 93, Ms. O 91, H SMG I 44, Ms. H 43, SM 32, Lew. II 22 || amb Tg *buka (× N *bukE∇) > Ewk buka, Sln buxa 'bull, male reindeer', WrMc buqa 'ram, male goat' ¶ STM I 103-4 ¶¶ ADb. KL 5.

189. *buk∇ (or *bük∇?) 'cheek' > HS {Blz.} *buk∇ or *buk_L∇ 'cheek(s), face' > EC *buk-(~*buk(k)∇) > Or {BL} 'boq-o? 'jaw, the whole cheek', Or Gj/B {LLC} boqo 'jaw, cheek', Kns pa'k-ō-ṭa 'jaw', Brj, Sd boqo 'head', Kmb boqo 'head', Sa I {CR} buka 'higher location', Gln, Gwd pukka-ṭe 'head' ¶ Bl. 134, LLC 33, 108, Ss. B 38, Lm. SKE 533 || B *-b∇qqā > Rf abaqqā 'face', Mz abaqqā 'cheek', Wrg abaqqā id., 'côté de la figure', Kb abaqqā 'gifle', Nf abaqqā id., 'sifflet' ¶ Dl. 34, Dlh. M 9, Wlf. EAW 43, NZ 85-6 || CCh: Tr {Nw.} boxom 'beard', Lgn {Lk.} mbagam 'cheek', {ChL}: Bcm b^ωòkəy 'cheeks', ? Bu pukúm, Ngx p^ωzhəm, HgF puki id., Bnn fókù-ná 'face', Lmn {SSAAJ} pagam 'temple' ('Schläfe') || ?σ Hs bàkí, Gw bàk'í 'mouth' ¶ ChL, ChC, Ba. 64, Lk. L 108 ¶¶ ≈ SSAAJ I #19 || **K**: OG {Abul., Fn.} baqo 'lip, border', G {Chx.} baqo 'Rand (eines Trinkgefäßes)'; the development of vowels in K is still to be investigated ¶ Abul. 28, Chx. 60 || **IE**: NaIE *^obuk(ĕ)∇ or *^obuk(k)∇ 'cheek' > L bucca id. || (L → ??) W boch, OBr boch, Br boc'h id., OCrm [VC] en voch 'facies' (en is an article) ¶ ≠ WH I 120 (unc.: from *bu- 'aufblasen, schwellen'), My. 57 (adduces Al buzë 'lip, edge', that does not belong here, F O 43), Flr. 87, Hm. 89, Loth ML 138 ¶ *b-...-k̄|k- for *b^h-...-k̄|k- due to the known incompatibility law || **D** *pukk- 'cheek' ({GS} *buk- id., unc. 'swollen') > Kn buggi 'cheek', Tl bugga 'cheek, inside of the cheek', bukkā 'inside or hollow of the mouth', pukkilī 'inside of the cheek', Prj bukka, Gdb bugga, Gnd bukā ɖ p^hukā ɖ b^hukā ɖ bukka ɖ bugga 'cheek', Knd buku 'mouthful', bugli 'cheek', Ku būga ɖ bugga id., Krx pok'ō 'chubby-cheeked' ¶¶ D #4242, GS 110 [#285], 113 [298], 55 [#147] ◇ Blz. DA 153 [#8] (HS, K, IE, D), Blz. KM 113 [#1] (K, HS, D).

190. *būka 'a stinging insect' (≈ 'gadfly', 'gnat') > HS: S *baqk- > Ak baqkum '(small) gnat', Ar baqq- 'bug, gnat', {BK} 'punaise', JA 𐤁𐤒𐤊

baḳ'ḳ-ā, Sr **بَاكَا** bā'ḳ-ā 'gnat' ¶ Sl. 230, Br. 87, JPS 52, Sd. 105, BK I 148, Lv. I 253 || EC: Or {Grg., Hd.} bōkē 'gnat, mosquito', {Brl.} boké 'moscerino della famiglia Phlebotomus' ¶ Hd. 71, 102, Brl. 59, Grg. 56 || K: G P buḳuḳa 'gnat' ¶ Chx. 117 || IE: NaIE *bʰouk-/ *bʰuk- 'bee' > L fūcus 'drone bee' (< *bʰoukos) || Clt: Gl {ML} *bekos 'bee' (→ Port Mr, It Mdn bega, Occ Cr beko, bīeko 'bee'), OIr bech 'bee', W begegur 'hornet' || Sl *°bučьнь > R Δ 'бучень 'wild bee; (ε) a green fly with a sting' & 'бучень, 'бучинь 'bumble-bee'; Sl *bъčela (< *bʰukelā) ~ *bъčela 'bee' > OCS, OR БЪЧЕЛА бъчела ~ БЪЧЕЛА бъчела, R, Blg, McdS пче'ла, Blr пча'ла, Uk бджо'ла, SCr čèla, pčèla, Slv bčèla ~ bečèla, Cz, Slk včela, P pszczoła id. ¶ P 116, Dv. #868, EI 57 (*bʰi-kʷo- 'bee, stinging insect'), ESSJ III 76, 104-5, ML #1014, Vn. B 24-5 || R *bö|ük'e ≈ botfly, gadfly, mosquito' ({ADb.} *bük'▽ 'fly') > NaT *bü|öke-lik {ADb.} 'blue fly, botfly' > Tkm bökelek, Tk Δ bökelek & bükelek 'botfly, gadfly', Az büyäläk, Δ bögäläx, Uz Δ bwkalak, Bsh bögäläk, Yk bügöläx 'botfly', Qzq бүгелек, {RI.} bügölük 'Pferdebremse, botfly'; with other sxs.: Qzq bügöžök, Nog бүкlesin 'botfly', VTt bögäšän, {RI.} bögblšwük 'botfly'; ?? Tk Δ büven, Chv рьван 'gadfly' ¶ ET B 212-3, MM 109, RI. IV 1718, 1881-2 || M *böküxene 'horse-fly, gadfly' > MM [HI] {Ms.} bökö_üne 'cousin, moustique', WrM {MED} böküne, bükügenē, HIM бөхнө 'horse-fly, gadfly', WrM {SM} bökügene 'ε cousin jaune', {Ms.} bökögüne 'cousin, moustique', WrO {Krg.} böküüne 'mosquito', KI бөкүн böküne, {Rm.} böküna 'gnat', Ord b_öʰ"xöŋ 'cousin, moucheron, ε petites mouches qu'on voit sur le bétail', Mgr H p'ugunoq 'taon' ¶ Ms. H 43, MED 127, 145, Krg. 359, KRS 114, KW 55, Ms. O 86, SM 307.

191. *büḳ'a' 'to bend; bent' > HS: Om {Blz.} *buḳ-/ *buḳn- 'knee' > SOm: Dm bōq, Gl buqa, Ub buḳa ~ buḳá ~ buqá, Baka boḳa, Hm buk, Hm B būko id. || NrOm: Kcm, Gdc boʔe, Gnj boʔaut, Malo, Oyda {Fl.} bunḳe, Bdt {C} bohe, {Fl.} böhe, Bsk buḳa, Dk buki 'knee' ¶ Blz. OLBP #70 || CCh: ?φ Bnn {ChL} fʷókivà 'knee' || IE: NaIE *bʰeug- ~ *bʰeugh-, {E} *bʰeug- vt. 'bend' > [1] NaIE *°bʰeug-/ *°bʰug- > OI bhujati 'bends, curves', bhug-'na- 'bent', Blc bōg n. 'bend, knot, joint', KhS ham̄-bujs- 'bow down', ham̄-buśdä 'bows down' | [2] NaIE *°bʰeugh- > Gt biugan, OSx būgan, OHG biogan, NHG biegen vi., vt. 'to bend, to turn', ON bogenn pp. 'bent', 3p p. bugu 'they bent'; → Gmc *bauggjan vt. 'to bend' > OSx bōgian, OHG bougen, NHG beugen, AS

bīežan, ON beygja | [1 or 2] NaIE *b^heug_L^h_J- > pAl {O} *buta > Al butē 'soft, smooth' (< *b^hug_L^h_J-to- pp. 'bent, flexible') || ?? Arm բութ but^h 'blunt, dull' (< *b^hug_L^h_J-to- 'bent') (unless akin to Nr Δ butt 'blunt') || OIr boc, Nlr bog 'soft' ({Vn.}: < 'pliable'), OIr fid-boc 'wooden shaft-bow' (< Clt *-buggo-) || Ltv Δ (ME) баũgurs 'Anhöhe, Hügel' | Sl *bugъръ ~ *bugorъ 'hillock, knoll, mound' > R, Uk бугор (gen. бугра) id. ¶ WP II 145-6, P 152-3, EI 62, IS I 191, M K II 504-6, M EI 267 and II 274-5, Bai. 463, Fs. 96, Vr. 34, 40-1, OsS 65-6, EWA II 78-80, 263, KM 71, 74, Ho. 22, Ho. S 8, 10, O 43, Vn. B 62, Ped. AA 341, Kar. II 26-7, ESSJ III 79, Vs. I 228, Sl. 348 || A: T *bük- v. 'bend' > OT {Cl} bük- id., Tk Бүк-, Tkm, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq. Nog bük-, Alt b_uk-, Xk рүк- ~ рих-, VTt, Bsh бөк-, Uz buk-, Chv пёк- рьг_L- id.; T *bük n. 'a bend' (× N *müq_∇ or *muqe 'a bend, corner, hump' [q.v.]) ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 290-3 || M: [1] *böke-yi- > MM [MA] bökej- vi. 'bend down' (of humans), vt. 'bend down', [HI] d. bökeyilge- 'soumettre', WrM {MED} böküi- ~ bökei-, HIM бөхий- v. 'sich vorwärts biegen', 'bend down, bow one's head' ('гну́тсья'), Brt бұжы-, Kl бөки- 'bend down, bow', Kl {Rm.} bökī- 'sich vorwärts biegen, buckelig werden', Ord b_uö^hxī- 'se courber', Mnr H {SM} p'ug_L- id., 'être incliné', {T} pugi- 'bend down, bow (one's head)'; [2] *bög|kti-yi- > WrM {MED} bögtüi- v. 'bend, step over, bow', Brt бұгды- 'bend down, bow low', HIM бөгтий- 'stoop, bow (нагибаться)', Kl {Rm.} bökčī- 'buckelig sein, sich bücken, sich vorwärts biegen' ¶ Pp. MA 123, MED 126-7, Luvs. 79, 82, Chr. 120, 127, KRS 113, KW 55, Ms. O 85, Ms. H 43, SM 306, T 355 || Tg *bük_Le_J- ({ʒBz.} *bökl_Lä_J) 'hump' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Chlm buku, Lm bökçökən, Neg бохон, Ud бохо 'humpbacked', Ul боқо(n-) ~ буқу(n-), Ork bo(q)qo ~ буққо ~ буққу id., 'hump', Ewk Ucr бэкэ, Nn Nh bukũ 'hump', WrMc боҳото, боқто 'camel's hump' ¶ STM I 104, Krm. 214 || ? pJ {S} *pìnkàm- 'be twisted\warped' > OJ p_Lì_Jìgàm-, J: T/Kg hígám-, K hígám- ¶ S QJ #1659, Mr. 688 ¶¶ DQA #185 (A *biük'í 'to bend, to bow') ◇ IS I 911 [#25] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #39 (*buk 'bend') (IE, A + qu. Ai, Gil).

192. *b'ôhi'ko 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > HS: WS *✓bhk (G and Sh) > MHb [BT] ✓bhk, act. prtc. bō'hēk 'albino' or 'man with white patches on the skin' (BT, Bekh. 45b), Sh hib'hīk {Js.} v. 'shine, be bright', {Lv.} 'glänzen, leuchten', Sr ✓bhk: Sh ꞑabhēk {Br.} 'luxit, splenduit', {JPS} v. 'shine white, glitter', {PS} 'splenduit, fulsit', JA [Trg.] ꞑabhēk v. 'shine'; WS *'buh_La_J- ~ *bahaq- 'white patch', (?) 'ray

of light' > BHb 'bohaḳ 'vitiligo alba', MHb 'bohaḳ 'weißer, blasser Glanzfleck', JA [Trg.] אֲבֻחָא boh^aḳ-ā, bhḳyt 'white spot on the skin due to leprosy', Ar bahaq- 'vitiligo alba, alphas (a mild species of leprosy)', Tgr በሀቆ bēhaḳ 'blisters', Hrs bʒhōḳ 'having uncoloured (white) blotches on the skin', Jb bhōḳ 'white patches on the skin' ¶ KB 108, KBR 112, LH 267, Br. 61, JPS 36, PS 458, Ln. 267, Lv. I 196, Jo. J 24, Jo. H 16, ≈ MiK I #1.33 (S *bahāḳ '[kind of] skin disease') || Ch {JS, JI} *✓bḡ 'white' > CCh: Gdf {ChC} bḡgḡ, Gv {ChL} bḡgà 'white', ? HgNk {ChL} bḡya, ? HgB {ChL} bḡya id., Mada bḡk bḡk 'brûlant' (soleil, feu) || ? WCh: Dir {IL} bḡwá, {Sk.} bḡ 'white' (Ch *b goes back to *bh or is due to mt. of the glottalization) ¶ JI I 178 and II 345, ChC, ChL, BrrB 73 || Om: NrOm: Kf {Cc.} bako 'luce', {HWHM} bekko በኮ (sc. bεkk0) 'light' || ?φ SOm: Hmr {Ldl.} p^k 'bright' (of light) ¶ R K (book) 272, HWHM 144, Nnd. AL 146 ¶¶ ≠ MiK I #1.33 (HS *bḡhaḳ|k- 'a skin disease'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 113 [#68] (unj. ḳ in Kf bako) || IE: NaIE *bʰeǵǵw-/*bʰoǵǵw-/*bʰigw- 'shine (glänzen)' > Gk φωῖβος 'bright, radiant', [Hs.] ἀφικτός, ἀφικτροός (*-bʰigw-) (with the px. ἄ- 'un-, not') 'impure' || OPrs *bigna- 'Glanz' (in proper names: Bagā-bigna, Ἀρια-βιγνης) ¶ WP II 138, P 118, F II 1031-2, otherwise EI 514 (Gk < ?? *ǵwoǵǵwos) || D (in SD) *puk- ({ǵGS} *p-, *-g-) 'bright(ness)' > Tm pukar 'brightness, light, colour; tawny colour, brown', Ml pukar 'dun colour', Kn pogar 'shine, brightness, lustre, colour' ¶ D #4232 ◇ The absence of the expected laryngeal (from N *h) in the IE root is still puzzling ◇ The IE root *bʰeǵǵw-/*bʰoǵǵw-/*bʰigw- is likely to go back to pre-IE *bhiko (for *bhik0) (loss of glottalization due to the IE incompatibility of vd. aspirates + vl. consonants in the same root) < N *bʰôhiʰk0 (loss of the vw. *ô that still needs explaining).

193. ≈ *bUKÇE (or ≈ *bUH₂aKÇE?) 'to tie', 'tie' (→ 'rope') > K *°baç|ç(ḳ)- 'rope' > G baçḳi 'dünner Faden', ?? baçari 'Bindfaden, Schnur, Seil, Strick' ¶ Chx. 71 || IE: NaIE *bʰaskʰoʰ- 'bundle' > L fascis 'bundle', fascia 'bandage, bund' || OIr basc 'collar', {Vn.} 'assemblage tressé (?), collier', OBrth bascauda 'eherner Spülkessel' (< 'plaited vessel?'); Brtt -b> NE basket || Gk [Diosc.] πασκιόω v. 'bind with bandages', [Hs.] πασκίς (gen. -ίδος) {By., Ch.} 'un paquet lié par une corde' || Mcd [Hs.] βάσκιου · δεσμοὶ φρύγανων ('bundles of dry sticks'), βασκευτάι · πασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι ('paquets liés par des cordes') || pAl {O} *bakskā > Al T bashkē 'together, jointly' (< {BFU}

'bündelweise, in Verbindung') ¶ WP II 135-6, Ch. 1181, LS 310, By. 2056, WH I 459-60, Vn. B 21-2, LP § 25.2, O 19, BFU 52, Kf. 48, Ç I 59 and II 351 (reconstructs IE *baksk- on the alleged ev. of Lt *bakske 'paquet, fasceau' without indicating the lexicographical source; this Lt word has not been detected so far in any source known to me) || U *pükse ~ *pikse 'rope' ('Seil, Strick') > Mk/Er piks 'rope' || pOs *püṽaṽ ~ *piṽaṽ > Os: V püṽal, D piṽat, Nz pīṽat 'Tragband, -schnur', Kz pīwattā- 'die Tragbänder über die Brust zusammenheften' | ?φ OHg fiu [fiū] 'funiculus, Seil' (→ 'modus agri, mensura terrae') || Sm: Ne O pūd 'rope (of bark)', F N pūt 'rope' ¶¶ Coll. 49, Coll. CG 408 (*püks∇), UEW 380 (*pikse), Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *piksi, Ugr *pīkθī, Sm *pütē 'cord'), Ker. II 112 || A: M *büči 'ribbon, belt' > MM [HI] {Lew.} büči 'ceinture, ruban d'un vêtement, ceinture qu'on porte sur la hanche', {H} büži 'belt, loin-cloth', {Ms.} büči 'ruban à un habit', WrM büci ~ büce, HIM бҮч, Brt бҮшэ 'tie, ribbon, band, lace', ? Brt бәһә ~ бҮһә 'belt, sash, girdle', WrO büci 'ribbon, cord, band', KI бҮч büč; 'ribbon, lace', 'kurze und breite Schnur, Band', Ord b_ü'č'ī ~ b_ü'č'e 'bande, ruban' ¶ Lew. II 23, H SMG I 18, Ms. H 44, MED 143, Chr. 128, 135, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, Ms. O 108 || D *počč- ({{θGS}} *p-) (partially × N *p_oč∇ 'to plait', q.v.) > Kui počča v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku pōččali v. 'tie up in a cloth', Kn pose v. 'twist, make rope', Krx poččnā / puččyas v. 'wrap (paper, cloth) round some object', Mlt poče v. 'wrap' ¶¶ D #4479 ◇ In IE *b^hask^rō¹- the cluster *-sk- is probably due to mt., and the vw. *a in IE and K still needs explaining (something like N ≈ *bU_H₂aKčE with loss of *-U_H₂- in IE and K and with reg. disappearance of N *-H₂a- in U, A, and D?) ◇ AD SShS 306-7.

194. *bal^rü¹ 'bad, harm' > HS: S *°✓ b^lw^ly > Ar ✓ bly (pf. baliya, ip. -blay-) v. 'be worn out' (of clothes), balw- ~ baly- 'brisé, cassé, usé par les fatigues \ les malheurs', baly- 'usé, râpé' ¶ BK I 165 || IE: NaIE *b^halw- 'evil, wicked' > Gt balwa-wēsei 'κακία = Bosheit', balwjan 'βασανύζειν = martern', balweins 'κόλασις, βάσανος = Strafe, Folter', AS bealu n. 'evil, calamity', adj. 'evil, dire, wicked', ON bql 'Unglück, Schade', bqlva 'to curse', OHG balo (gen. balawes) 'harm' ('Verderben'), 'bad, evil' (n.), OSx balu id. || Gk φαῦλος (IE < *b^halwo-?) 'bad, mean, unfit' ¶ WP II 189, F II 998, Fs. 79, Ho. 17, Ho. S 5, Vr. 70, OsS 38, EWA I 444-5, Kb. 55, O 31 (Al bolbë 'mishap, accident; disorder, trouble' is a loan from Sl and does not belong here), Vs. SAW 8 [#6] || A: Tg *bele- v. 'harm' > WrMc bele- v. 'harm, ruin, slander',

Lm Ol b3l3n3- v. 'harm' ¶ STM I 125 || M: HIM {Luv.} балаг 'guilt, cause' (an obscure word without clear connections within M) (derived from WrM {Kow.} bala ←b- OI bala 'power, strength, vigour, validity'?) ¶ Luv. 59, Kow. 1074, MW 722 || ?φ pKo *ōi- 'bad, wrong' > MKo ōi- id., NKo ōi- id., 'left' ¶ S QK #587, Nam 386, MLC 1221 || pJ {S} *bàrè- 'bad' > OJ wàrè-, J: T/Kg warú-, K wárù- ¶ S QJ 540, Mr. 844 ¶¶ ≠ SDM95 s.v. *bḗía 'bad, harm' (equates Tg *bele-, Ko *ōi-, pJ *bàrè- with T *bjā́lç 'wound' [highly doubtful]) ◇ Tg *e (< *a) of the first syll. is due to regr. as. (infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) ◇ This N etymon may be connected (identical??) with N *baHÍ∇ 'pain, wound' (q.v.).

195. *biĪU 'be warm, burn; warm' > **HS: C** (×N *bEÍ∇ 'to boil, to cook', q.v. ffd.): EC: Or BI {Sr.} bullu-sa vt. 'warm', bullūḳa 'luke warm', Or {Grg.} buluḳ- 'become warm', buluḳā adj. 'warm', {Brl.} bulluḳa 'caldo, fervido', Rn {PG} bolḳa 'be alight, burn', Arr {Hw.} bol(o)ḳ- 'catch fire, shine', Dsn {To.} bol- vi., Sa {R} bolol- 'burn', Sml belel- vi. 'burn', belbel, Sml N bélbèl, bélèl n. 'flame' || Ag {Ap.} *b3l-/ *b3r-, {AD} *b3l- / *b3r- v. 'cook, be hot' > Bln, Aw b3r-, Xm b3l-, Km b3lu y- || Bj {R} balōl- vi. 'burn' ¶ Grg. 67, Brl. 66, Sr. 277, PG 79, To. DL 347, 387, ZMO 38, Abr. S 30, Hw. A 348, Ap. AV 7, R WBd 48, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: MfG {Brr.} -b3l- 'allumer (le feu en faisant tourner deux bâtons)', Gzg {Lk.} -b3l- / -bl- 'anblasen (Feuer)' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, Lk. G 118 || **U: FU** (in Ugr only) *pil|∇ 'warm; to burn' > Hg fűl- v. 'be warm, be heated' || Vg: Vg T piləwt- v. 'light (sth.)', LK pōl- 'brennen', P pēlamt- 'anzünden', N pēl- v. 'catch fire', T pält- 'anzünden', P palt-, Ss pält- 'verbrennen' ¶ UEW 879 || **A: M** *büli- → *büli-ʁen 'warm' > MM [HI] büli, en, [S] bule, en, WrM büligen ~ büliyen, HIM бүлээн, Brt бүлээн, Kl бүлэн bülä́n, Ord b_ülēn, Mnr H {SM} biēliān id., WrM büli-s-, büli-d-, Brt бүлээдэ-, Kl бүлэд- bülä́d- v. 'warm up, become warm' ¶ H 20, MED 146, KRS 126, KW 66, Chr. 122, Ms. O 102, Ms. H 44, SM 24.

196. *buL∇ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > **HS: S** *√bll, *-bull- 'mix, moisten' (×N *ba'Lŋ'∇ 'wash, immerse') > BHb √bll, -bɔl (pf. בְּלַל bā'laɩ, pf. c. בָּלַל way'yā-bɔl) 'moisten (with oil); mix up' (→ 'mix up, confuse [languages]'), Sr √bll G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Md √bll v. 'mix (together), confuse', Ar √bll G , ip. ya-bull-u 'humecter, mouiller', Jb √bll Sh (pf. eb'leɩ) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz √bll G v. 'moisten; spoil, mix', Tgy √bll (pret. bəɩəɩ) v.

'spoil', Ak ✓bll (inf. balālu) v. 'mix, brew beer, make an alloy', (in the stative) v. 'mix up, confuse'; WS *✓b|b| v. 'confuse' > Ar ✓b|b| (pf. balbala) v. 'mix, confuse', MHb ✓b|b| (pf. bil'bel) v. 'confuse', Tgr ʔabəlbəla v. 'be confused' ¶ KB 128, KBR 133-4, Br. 74, DM 66, BK 155-6, Jo. J 25, L G 96, CAD II 39-44 || Eg Md bɜy (< *b∇ly-) 'be damp (with perspiration)', bɜyω 'damp' ¶ EGI 417, Fk. 77, Tk. II 44-8 || B: Ah bəlulu 'être très liquide' (un mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre ou en petits fragments), Tw Ng bəlawlaw 'être très liquide' (mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre) ¶ Fc. 65-6, NZ 68 ¶¶ Cal. 60, Tk. II 44-6 || IE: (+ext. or sx.?) NaIE *bʰl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix', (×IE *bʰlendʰ- v. 'be blind' < N *baLɣ∇ 'blind') > Gt blandan sik 'συναναμίχυσθαι, to be mixed up with', ON blanda, OHG (gi)blantan, OSx, AS blandan 'to mix', NE blend || Lt blęsti (prs. blendžiũ) 'to add flour to sth. and to mix', blendynis 'light\thin mixture (e.g. flour and water)', blandūs 'dim, dull, cloudy; misty, foggy', {Frm.} 'not clean, turbid', blięsti, Δ blęstis, bląstis 'to grow\become dark\dim', 'to become turbid' (of water), sublińdo 'it got dark, night was falling' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*bʰlendʰ- 'be\make cloudy'), Fs. 98-9, Vr. 42, OsS 73-4, EWA II 159-60, Kb. 94, Ho. 26, Ho. S 8, Frn. 47-8 || A: NaT *bulga-, ? *bulka-, *bula- v. 'mix, stir' > OT bulʕa-, bulqa- (Cl.: bulʕā-) v. 'stir, confuse', Chg, Nog, StAlt bulʕa- v. 'stir, mix', Qmq bulʕa- v. 'stir, stir up', Qrg bulʕa- v. 'stir, soil', Uz bulʕa-, bula- v. 'stir up, muddy', Tv ɢilʕa- v. 'mix, soil', Tf ɢulha- v. 'mix, knead', Xk pulʕa- v. 'mix', ET bulʕi-, Tk bula-, Tkm, Az bula- v. 'stir, mix' ¶ Cl. 337, Ra. 165, ET B 253-7 || M: [1] M *büle|i- 'stir, churn' > WrM büle- ~ büli-, HIM бүлэ- 'beat\churn kumiss with a beater', Ord b_üli-, Brt бүлэ- 'churn', WrO {Krg.} büli- 'stir', Kl бүл- 'churn (butter)', {Rm.} büle-, büí- id., 'stir', Dg {Mr.} d. bulure 'ε stirrer'] [2] M *bulanʕir > MM [HI] bulanʕir, [MA] bulanqir [bulanʕir] 'turbid', WrM bulanʕir, HIM булингар 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids; turbid', Brt булангир 'dirt', Ord b_ulingir ≅ bulanʕir 'dirt in water', 'dirty, turbid' (of liquid), WrO bulanʕir 'murky, cloudy', Kl {Rm.} bulnʕir ~ bulńʕr 'dirty, turbid; dirt, lees', M ⇨ Ewk bolanʕir 'mud (in a swamp)', bolanintí 'turbid'; ?σ M *bulayi > MMgl [Z] bula 'polluted', WrM bulai, HIM булай 'loathsome, filthy', Kl {Rm.} bulā ~ bulā 'dirty', {KRS} бүзр-була 'sewage, dirt' ¶ MED 133, 146, Ms. O 10, Krg. 375, KRS 12, KW 59, 66, Chr. 123, Mr. D 127, Z 93 || ? Tg *bule:ı

'swamp, mud' (× N ***pa₁ʎ₁∇** 'mud, swamp, lake', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} ***púr-** 'shake up, wave' > OJ **púr-**, J: T **φúr-**, K/Kg **φúr-** ¶ S QJ #779, Mr. 694 ¶ ¶ ≈ DQA #206 (A ***búli** 'stir, shake, smear' > T, M ***búle|i, J**) ◇ The loss of N ***u** in IE ***b^hl-end-** still needs explaining ◇ IS I 185-6.

197. ₂ ***b'ú'ʎ|í∇** 'a shoot' > K: GZ {K, K²} ***bibil-**, {FS} ***bil-** 'shoots, sprouts; edge' > G **bibilo-** 'comb, crest, tuft (of birds)', Mg **birbil-** 'catkin, amentum (of tree, tambourine)' ('ушки кругом быбна, сережки на дереве'), Lz **bibil-** 'comb (of cock); penis' ¶ K 51, K² 15, FS K 54, FS E 55, Chx. 84 || **D** (tr., ¶GS) ***puʎ-** 'small stick, twig' (× N ***P_uL₁∇₁∇** 'ε tree [poplar or sim.]?') > Tl **pulla** 'a small stick or twig', Kn **puʎle, puʎli** 'a small bit of very dry wood', Kdg **puʎli** 'fuel', Tu **pullæ** 'a split, splint' ¶¶ D #4328.

197a. ***b∇L∇** 'dove' > IE: NaIE: Ltv **balôdis**, Lt **balañdis** id. ||| Oss: I **bālon**, D **bäläw** 'domesticated pigeon', (× N ***P_eíʎ|∇** [= ***peíʎ|∇?**] 'pigeon') OI **bālāgra** 'dove-cot' ¶ ≈ Frn. 31, ≈ Kar. 101 (both: unc.: in Blt 'dove' ← 'white'), Ab. I 249 || **HS**: EC: Or **bululla** 'colombo, piccione', {Brl.} **bulallé** id., 'tortora', ??σ Sd {Gs.} **bulo** 'ε bird' ¶ Brl. 65, Th. 51, Gs. 49 || Ch ***(m∇-)bUʎ-** > WCh: Hs **bōlō** 'dove' | AG: Gmy **bεl**, Cp **bul**, Su {J}, Ang **^mbul**; Krkr {ChL} **bélèwì** id. | BT: Bl {ChC} **^mbole** 'dove', Tng {J} **^mbole** 'turtle-dove' ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} **mbólá** 'dove' ||| ECh: Gabri {AF} **bélu**, Kwn M {J} **búlògó** 'dove' ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 118. J T 75, Stl. ZCh 156 [#104], Nw. WLT 42, Lk. ZSS 88 ¶¶ OS # #330 (Or, Ch + unc. Eg **brn** 'ε bird', **brw** 'phoenix' + err. Kwn **bàlókí** [in fact 'dawn' rather than 'dove!']) || **D** ***peʎ-** ({{GS} ***b-**) 'dove, pigeon' (× N ***P_eíʎ|∇** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. DA 160 (D, HS) ◇ Qu. because of possible infl. of the onomatopoeia and names of colours.

198. ***biLuʎê** (= ***biʎuʎê?**) 'cloud' > HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} **bāl** 'cloud', ??? {R} **bire** ~ **bile** f. 'sky', m. 'rain' ¶ Rop. 161, R WBd 46-7, 50 || NrOm: Dwr **bola**, Gf **bolla** 'sky' ¶ Blz. OL, Mrn. O || Ch ***b∇1∇** > WCh: Kir {ChL} **pìlat** 'sky' ||| CCh: pMM ***nbulum** 'sky' > {Ro.}: Mlk cd. **húrbùlóm**, Zlg cd. **gèzàmbùlóm**, Gzg cd. **bùmbùlvùn** id. | Lgn {Lk.} **báluk^wì** 'cloud' ||| ECh: Nd D {J} **bálán** 'sky' ¶ ChC, ChL, Ro. 327 [#651]; ≈ IS I 180 (+ unc. Ch words for 'rain') || Eg fOK **b_yʒ** - name of the celestial body of water (Gewässer) in which the Sun-god swims and which is crossed by dead people', (Eg N/G) 'heaven, firmament' ¶ EG I 439, Fk. 80, Tk. II 128-9 || **K**: Lz **pula**, Lz A **pulera** 'cloud', Mg **pula** 'steam' ¶ Q 299, Rosen L 34, 37 || **U**: FU ***pilwe** 'cloud' > F **pilvi**, Es

pilv id. | pLp *pɜlʋɜ > Lp: N {N} bālvâ {LLO} pal'va, Kld pɜ:v id., S {Hs.} balve 'trübes Wetter' | pMr *pííə 'cloud' > Er пель ре́, Δ পেয়ে, Mk Δ পেয়ে | Chr: KB pəl, U/B pəl id. | Vt pílem-, OPrm pil, Z LV/Ud pív, Z I/Vm piy id. || Os: V pēlan, D pētan, O pǎlan id. | Hg fēlhó, fēlleg id. ¶ UEW 381, Coll. 49, Sm. 547 (FU *pílwi 'cloud' > P *pílvī, Ugr *pílǵ|ǵī), MF 148, It. #379, Ker. II 107-8, Lr. #858, Lgc. #4657, Hs. 285-6, LG 221, SZ 186 || A {DQA} *būlu|o|a 'cloud' > T *bulu|it (ppT {Md.} *būlit ~ *pílut) > OT bulut, Tk булу́т, Az, Tkm, Uz, Qrg bulut, Qq, Qzq bult, Nog bulit, VTt болыт б'л'т, Bsh болот б'л'б'т, Tv pulut, Yk bilit id., Chv pьл'т ≈ p'л'б'т, Δ pьл't 'sky, cloud' ¶ S AJ 176 [#15], Rs. W 88, Rs. LTS 156, Jeg. 156, Fed. I 420, Md. 67-8; acc. to IS, *-t goes back to the ending of pl. ¶¶ ≈ DQA #209 (T, Tg) || D (in SD) *pu|i|∇ 'mist on mountains \ in valleys' > Kdg pu'∇I 'mist on mountains', Td pɪɤmɔzm 'mist in valleys \ on hills' ¶ D #4375 ◇ Mg and Lz *p- and D *-l- (regularly from the N intervocalic lateral sonorant) point to a lr. (*?) and to the intervocalic position of *L in the N etymon (*bílUʔê). D *-l- suggests a N *-l- (or *-l̄-, ruled out by the T cognate), while the U word seems to point to a N *-l-. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated (a positional change in the preconsonantal position in the prehistory of U?). Lz and Mg u, T and D *u of the first syll. are due to regr. as. ◇ IS I 180, DQA #209 (A, IE, D, U, ?K).

199. *b∇L∇ʔa 'to blow, to inflate' > HS: CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} bɜl 'anblasen (Feuer)' | Db {Lnh.} mbùl v. 'blow' ¶ Lk. G 119, ChC || ?σ Eg fOK bɜ 'soul' (transcribed in Gk [Horapollon] as βῆ) (× N *beʔy∇ 'body, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cf. also Ch: Ke {Eb.} fú:li 'blasen, wehen', Kir {ChL} fʷale v. 'blow' (Eb. 46, ChC), but this Ch verb may be better equated with HEC {Hd.} *fōle 'breath' || K *obēl- > Sv UB/L {GP, Dn.} libēl-e v. 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bäl-/be- v. 'swell' (× N *b'op'i'í|∇ 'swell', q.v. ffd.) (K 50, K² 11, and IS I connect the Sv word with G ber- v. 'inflate' [aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, F GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1], Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' [{K} *be|₂-, {K²} *ber-], but this is highly doubtful) (see N *b∇'h'R∇ 'blow, inflate, swell') ¶¶ Ni. s.v. пухнуть and пухлый, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl-, IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 || IE: NaIE *bʰlā- (/ *bʰel₁a₁-?) v. 'blow, inflate' ({E} IE *bʰl-eh₂- < *bʰel- 'blow, blow up, swell') > L flā- (1s prs. flō) v. 'blow', flātus (gen. -ūs) 'a blowing, blast, breathing' || Gmc *blē- > WGmc *blā- > OHG blāen 'to blow, to blow out' ('conflare, inflare,

spirare'), MHG blæje, blæwen, NHG blähen 'to inflate', OFrs blē p. 'blew', AS blāwan 'to blow, to breathe', NE blow; ON blær 'gust of wind, Windstoß' || ? Clt: W ffroen-foll 'with wide nostrils', {P} 'with puffed out nostrils' (ffroen is 'nostril') ¶ The puzzling Gmc *ē (> WGmc *ā) for the expected Gmc *ō (< NaIE *ā) may be due to positional factors ¶ P 120-2, EI 71, WH I 517, Ho. 26, OsS 73, Kb. 94, EWA II 151-2, Lx. 22-3, KM 81, Vr. 46, YGM-1 227 || ¶ A: Tg *°bōl- > Ewk bōlī- v. 'blow' (of wind) ¶ STM I 92 ◇ IS I 193-4 (K, IE).

200. *baL̥∇ 'blind' > HS: EC {Ss.} *bal̥-/ *ballḁ- 'blind, one-eyed' > Or {Grg.} ballā ≈ bal̥ā 'one-eyed', Or H {Ow} bál̥ā m., bál̥-ō f., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ballā m., ball-ō f. 'blind', Or Wl {Brl.} ball-a 'squint-eyed, short-sighted, one-eyed', Arr {Hw.l} ballák 'blind person', Sd bal̥-ičča ~ ball-ičča, Ged ballḁ-a, Hr pallḁ-akko, Brj {Hd.} bal̥'a, {Ss.} bal̥-ā 'blind', pHEC {Hd.} *ball- v. 'be blind' > Sd ball-, Ged ball-e̥-, Brj bal̥-āw- || SC: Kz {E} balangayo 'blind person' ¶ Ss. B 33, Hd. 28, AD SF 195, AD GDS #1.70, Hw. A 346, Grg. 35, Sr. 27, Ow. 255, E SC 320 || ?φ Eg: DEg bl, Cpt: Sd βαλε balle ~ B βαλε belle 'aveugle' (unless the Eg word goes back to an ellypsis from a cd. with Eg bl (spelled br) 'eye') ¶ Er. 120, Vc. 27 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 71 [#1,7], AD GDS #1.70, OS #204 || IE: NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'to be(come) blind, not to see' (×IE *b^hlend^h- v. 'be[come] turbid, mix' < N *buL̥∇ 'stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Gt blinds, ON blindr, OHG blint, NHG, Sw, Dn, Nr, OSx, AS blind 'blind', NE blind || Ltv Δ (← Cur) blēnst ≈ bleñst (prs. blendu) {ME} 'schwach sehen', Ltv blenzt 'to stare vacantly' | SI *blēsti / prs.*blēd-q v. 'err, lose one's way' > OCS БАЛѢСТИ blēsti / prs. БАЛѢДѢ blēdq 'πορνείειν, to be lecherous, to fornicate; to talk rubbish', RChS, OR БАЛѢСТИ blēsti 'to stray, to lose one's way', SCr blesti, Slv blēsti, OCz blēsti 'to talk rubbish\nonsense'; SI *blqđiti > OCS БАЛѢДИТИ blqđiti (prs. БАЛѢЖДѢ blqždq) 'to go astray; πορνείειν, to be lecherous', R блудитъ id., SCr blūđiti / blūđīm 'to prostitute', Slv blóđit, Cz blouđiti, Slk blúđit' 'to lose one's way, to roam, to err'; SI *blqđь > OCS БАЛѢДѢ blqđь, R, Blg блуд 'πορνεία, lechery', P bład, Slv blōd 'mistake', SCr blūđ 'unchastity, lechery' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*b^hlend^h- 'be\make cloudy' without distinguishing the root for 'blind' from that for 'turbid'), Fs. 100, Vr. 44, OsS 76, EWA II 187, KM 84, Ho. 27, Ho. S 8, Kar. I 134-5, ME I 313-4, ESSJ II 114-5, 125-8, SPS I 27Of., Glh. 136 || ¶ A: M *balay

'blind, dark' > MM [IsV] balay in balay soqor 'blind' (soqor also means 'blind'), WrM balay 'blind', HIM балай 'dark, intellectually or morally blind', Brt балай, K1 бала, {Rm.} balā 'dark, blind', Ord bālā 'stupid' ¶ Lg. VMI 18, MED 78, Kow. 1074, KRS 78, KW 30, Ms. O 47 || Tg *baḷi 'blind' > Ewk, Ud bali, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn baḷ, Orc bāli, Ul bāli 'blind', WrMc balu 'blind man', Ewk bali-, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn baḷ- v. 'become blind' ¶ STM I 70 ◇ S and EC suggest a N word-internal Ir. *ḡ, while the absence of the expected Ir. in Eg bl may be explained away by accepting the alt. etymology of the Eg word as an ellypsis from a cd. with bl 'eye' ◇ IS I 178, Blz. LN I 201.

201. *baḷi, ʎa (or *baḷi, ʎU¹?) 'to swallow; throat' > HS: WS *√bḷi 'swallow' > Hb, Ug, Ar, Gz √bḷi G id., JA √bḷi G id., 'absorb'; derived nouns for 'throat', 'oesophagus', and the like: Sr bālaṣt-ā 'guttur', Md balṣumā 'gullet', Ar bulṣum 'oesophagus', ? Mh/Hrs {Jo.} tɔbɔlōt 'uvula, tonsil(s)', Jb C {Jo.} tɔbɔlōt 'uvula', Sq {L} 'balḥam 'viveur' ¶ KB 129, KBR 134-5, OLS 108, Sl. 221-2, Js. 174-5, Ln. 249, LG 94-5, LLS 88, Br. 77, DM 48, Jo. M 399, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269, MiK I #1.36 || C *bal- 'throat' > Bj A {AD} balaʔa, Bj {R} bala id. || EC: Af {Bls.} bilifa 'necklace' ¶ AD SF 198 || Eg G bṣṣ 'drink blood', ?φ Eg fP bṣn.t 'Hals'; ?? (rdp.): Eg fP bṣbṣ 'drink' (⇔ Tk. II 159: Eg-S comparison is improbable with respect to Eg bṣbṣ) ¶ EG I 446-7, Fk. 81, Tk. II 157-9 || NrOm: Bdt {C} balā 'neck' ¶ C SO 60 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} bḷè? 'Kropf', as well as possibly words for 'uvula': Hs bēlī ~ bēlū, Su {J} bēlbèl, Bd {Lk.} bāl-ún || ?σ CCh: MfG -bāl- 'donner à manger (à un enfant)' || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} béle 'gorge, voix' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, J R 140, Abr. H 95, AIJ 58, Lk. NB 224 ¶¶ Tk. I 96 || U *paḷa- v. 'swallow, bite' > FU *paḷa 'mouthful, piece' > F pala 'Bissen, Brocken', Es pala 'piece, bit', pLp {Lr.} *pōlē 'a bit, small piece' > Lp: N {Fri.} buola 'frustum', T {TI} p+l̄ē 'Bissen, Bißchen' || Er pal 'piece (of food)' || ? Chr Y/U pulṭbš 'bit (of bread, meet)' || pObU *pū(-) v. 'swallow', n. 'mouthful, bit' > Vg *pūl 'bit, piece' > Vg T pōl, LK/MK/UL/Ss pūl, NV pula id.; pOs *pu]∇- v. 'swallow' > Os: V pu]t- 'schlürfen, kosten', D pūl- v. 'swallow', O pulat- 'gierig\ schnell hintereinander essen'; pOs *pu] 'mouthful, bit' > Os: V pu], O pūl 'mouthful, bit, Vorgekautes', D pūl 'Bissen, Vorgekautes' || Sm {Jn.} *palā- 'schlucken' > Ne T O pālē- 'verschlingen, verschlucken', StNe палесь 'swallow', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōl+- id., Koyb {Sp.} поолдола 'a gulp' ('глотокъ') ¶¶ UEW 350, Sm. 540 (U, FU *pålå-, FP *pala-

Ugr *pola-, Sm *pǎlä- 'bite'), Lr. #995, Ht. 176 [#512], TI 377, Jn. 116, KKI 152, Ptp. 37 || A: M *balgu- > WrM balgu-, HIM балга-, Kl балг- v. 'swallow; hold water in the mouth', Kl {Rm.} balʒa- 'swallow, gulp', Brt балга- v. 'swallow' ¶ MED 80, KRS 79, Chr. 85, Rm. KEW 31 || Tg *bīlga 'throat' > Ewk bilga, Lm bilgъ, Neg bilga, Orc bigga, Ul bilžā, Ork bulda, Nn bulga, WrMc bilχa id. ¶ STM I 82 ¶¶ DQA #132 (A *bjalge 'throat; to swallow') ◇ The origin of the Tg vw. *i (*ɫ) is not yet clear. It may be explained by as. if we reconstruct pN *baʎiya ◇ See IS I 173-4 (*balɫʰ: HS [S, Eg, C], A [M, Tg]), AD GD 12 ◇ The change of N *ʒ into M *g and Tg *g (in the cluster *-ʎ-) may be compared with a similar change in N *kʰoʰRʒ > Tg *xurge- 'heavy' (see N *kʰoʰɫR > *kʰoʰRɫʰ [probably *kʰoʰʒR > *kʰoʰRʒʰ] 'be heavy, be stout/thick').

202. *b∇Lh∇ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > HS: S *ʰbul- > Ar ʔubl- 'restes du fourrage vert fauché ou mangé par les bestiaux' ¶ BK 5, GB 5 (* ÷ Sr and Hb) || C *b∇l- 'leaves' > Ag: Xm {R} bælbæle 'branch' || Bj {R} bayā 'leaf, leaves' || EC {Bl.} *bāl- 'leaf, feather' > Af bal 'feather worn by one who has killed a man', Or Wl bāl-eʔ, bāl-a, {Brl.} bal-a (nom. balli), Or M/Gj {LLC} bāla, Arr {Hw.} bāl 'leaf', Dsn {HL} bal-li (pl. bal-ām) 'feather', Or B 'bāl-a (nom. bāl-ī), Kns pāl-a, Gdl E pāl, Sml bāl, Bs {HL} bāl, {Si.} bal 'feather, leaf', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} pāl-hó 'ostrich feather', HEC {Hd.} *bālle 'feather' > Brj {Ss.} bālē, Kmb bāl-ita, Sd {Hd.} balle, ball-ičō, Hd {Ss.} ballaʔe id. ¶ Bl. 99, HL 82-3, Brl. 39, Sr. 268, LLC 114, Si. ACh 14, 17, Hw. A 345, PH 67, Ss. B 31 (EC *bāl- 'feather'), Hd. 62, 179, 309, 352, AMS 178, 216, 272, To. DL 486 || NrOm *bal- 'leaf, feather' ({Blz.} *bal- 'grass, leaf') > Gdc {Blz.} bālle 'leaf', Wl {LmS} bāllyā, Dwr {LmS} balle, Gnj {Si.} 'bālo, Kcm {Si.} 'bāli 'feather' ¶ LmS 320, Si. ACh 14 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {ChL} ʒule 'leaf' || Ech: Nd D {J} pàlín id., ?? Smr {J} bàžé id. ¶ ChC, ChL || K *ʰbal- > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, L {TK, Dn.}, LB {TK} bale (< *bala-i), Sv Ln/Lx {TK} bāle 'leaf' ¶ TK 141, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bale || IE *bʰelH-, *bʰl(o)H-t-, {EI} *bʰolom 'leaf' > Gk φύλλον id. || L folium 'leaf' || OIr bileóc ~ bileóg 'small leaf' || (+ *t-ext.) IE *bʰlʰd- ({EI} *bʰlʰd-) 'leaf' > ON blað, NNr, Sw, Dn, OSx blad, OHG blat ʒ plat, NHG Blatt 'leaf', AS blæd 'leaf, blade of a sword', NE blade || Tc: A pält, B pilta 'leaf' ({Wn.}: < NaIE *bʰlʰt-) ¶ WP II 114-5, P 122, EI 348, F II 1051, Ch. 1232-3, WH I 523-4, Vn. B 50-1, Vr. 41, OsS 74, EWA II 167-8, KM 82, Ho. 25, Ho. S

8, Wn. 158 || **A** ({SDM95} *^obol[∇] 'leaf'): ?φ pJ *pá > OJ pá, ItOJ [RJ] φά, J: T hà, K há, Kg/Ns há, Sh φά, Ht pà, Y há ¶ S QJ #41, Mr. 394 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *bol[∇] 'leaf', S AJ 266 [#41] ◇ The supposed J cognate is highly qu., because here the rec. of pA *-l- is based on external comparison ◇ Hardly here **D**: Kn pāliyu 'ear-lobe' (← pāliyu 'part; edge') ¶ ADM 418.

203. *beLk[∇]g[∇] (= *beĪk[∇]g[∇]?) 'belly, waist' > **HS**: S *^o√blg > Ar بُلْجَة bulġ-at- 'région anale' ¶ DRS 66 || **IE**: NaIE *b^helġ^hġ^h- 'belly' (× NAIE *b^helġ^h- 'leather bag, sack' and possibly *b^helġ^h- v. 'swell') > OIr bolg, MW boly, bola, W bol, bola, boly 'belly, sack' ||| Gmc: ON belgr 'belly, leather bag', AS bełz 𐌺 byl(i)z 'leather bag', NE belly ¶ Valid unless the primary meaning is 'swell' or 'bag, sack' ¶ P 125-6, Vn. B 66-7, Vr. 32, Sw. 81, HDEL 121, qu.: EI 45 ('belly' ← *^holġ^his 'skin bag, bolster [made from stuffed animal skin]') || **A** {S} *bēlkege 'waist, slope' (× N *P_el_ʔê 𐎠 *P_el_ʔê 'side of body, side' × ? N [?] *weHlyL[∇] [or *weLH[∇]] '≈ hip, waist') > M *belke[∇]e-sün 'waist' > WrM belkegesü(n), HIM бэлхүүс 'middle part of the body, waist; middle of the slope of a mountain', Ord b_el'xū's, Brt бэлхүүхэ(н) 'waist', Kl белкүсн belküsn id., {Rm.} belkūs[∇] 'Mitte des menschlichen Körpers, Leib' ¶ MED 98, Ms. O 65, KRS 95, KW 42. Chr. 131 || pT {TL} *bēlk 'waist' > Ch pīl'k 'waist' ||| NaT *bēl > OT {Cl.} bēl 'waist', Tkm bīl id. ('поясница, талия'), Yk bīl, Tk bel, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln, Qmn, Tb bel, ET {Nj.} bāl, ET Δ {Ml.} bel, bejl, bijl, Alt b_el, SY pel, VTt, Bsh, Slr bil 'waist', Tv p_el id., 'bottom part of a mountain slope'; NaT б → M: WrM bel, HIM бэл 'waist; declivity, slope', Brt бэл 'declivity, clope', Kl бел 'foot of a mountain' ¶ pT -k > NaT -∅ acc. to Mudrak's rule: pT *-lk > NaT *-l, Chv -l'bk|χ or -l'k|χ (Md. DKCh 220-1) ¶ Cl. 332, DTS 93, ET B 135-7, Nj. 204, Md. 91, Rm. EAS II 212, MED 96-8, Chr. 131, KRS 93 || Tg *belge 'lap' > Ewk, Neg, Nn bэлгэ, Ud бэлгэ, Ul бэлгэ, Ork бэлдэ 'lap', Lm бэлгэ 'lap, slope' ¶ STM I 123 ¶¶ The length of *e in pA may be accounted for by the merger with N *P_el_ʔê 𐎠 *P_el_ʔê ¶¶ TL 268-9 (T, M, Tg) ◇ N *-k[∇]g- was reduced to *g in S, pre-IE (> IE *g^hġ^h), and Tg, to *k in T, but preserved in M *belke[∇]e-sün ◇ Qu., because the IE and the A supposed cognates have alt. etl. ties ◇ ADb. SR 306 (IE, A + unc. D *par_ʔka 'rib, side').

204. *baĪ_i'k'a 'to shine' > **IE**: NaIE *b^helġ-/ *b^hġg-/ *b^hleg- id., {E} *b^hleg- 'burn, shine' > OI 'bharg-as- ntr. 'splendour, radiance', ??

bhrā'jatē 'shines, beams, glitters' || Gk φλέγω vt. 'burn, light up', vi. 'burn, flame', φλέγμα 'flame, fire' || L fulg-ō ~ fulge-ō (< *bʰǵ-) 'flash, lighten', fulgor 'lightning', flagrā- vi. 'blaze, burn, glow, flame' || Ltv Δ {ME} baĩgans 'whitish', OLt XVI [Brk.] bliŋinti (with an infix *-n-) 'to shine (leuchten, glänzen)' || OHG blecken ~ blecchen (< Gmc *blakjan) 'to become visible, to flash', MHG blecken 'to become visible', OSx blīkan 'glänzen', AS blīcan 'to shine (glänzen, scheinen, leuchten)', blæcern ~ blacern 'to lantern', ON blakkr 'pale, yellowish brown' || pTc {Ad.} *pālk- > Tc A/B pālk- v. 'shine, illuminate', 'luire, briller' || NaIE *bʰleǵ-/*bʰlig- 'light-coloured', 'shine' > AS blāc, OHG bleih 'white, pale, fallow', NHG bleich, OSx blēk, ON bleikr 'pale'; OHG blic 'Glanz' || Lt Δ blaikštūtis 'to shine, to clear up' (of weather), blūkštī 'to turn\grow pale\white' || SI *bliskati ~ *blistati, *blbšćati 'to shine, to sparkle', *blbstēti 'to shine, glänzen' (no traces of IE *g, which had to fall in preconsonantal position, see ESSJ II 116-8, 130-2) ¶ P 124-5, EI 513, IS I 174, M K II 479-80, 529-30, M E II 252, 279-80, F II 1022-4, WH I 50-1, ME I 253, Frn. 48, Vr. 42-3, Ho. 25, 27, Ho. S 8, OsS 75-6, EWA II 171-3, 177-8, Kb. 96-7, KM 83-4, Frn. 46, Wn. 354, Ad. 377, Ad. H 64 || U: FU *paʷkʷ- > Os N {Páp.} pāḡal 'lightning', Os O {KrT} paḡal 'thunderstorm, thunder', paḡal tut 'lightning' ¶ Stn. D 1124-5, KrT 666 || A: NaT *balki- v. 'shine, lighten' > Cmn balqi- (balki-) 'fulgere', OOg [Rabg.], Chg [QB] balqi- v. 'shine' ('сиять, светить'), OOsM balqi-, Tk Δ balki-, Qzq, Qq balq(i)-, VTt balq(ь)- v. 'shine' ('сиять') ¶ ETB 56-7, Grøn. 48 || pKo *pār̥k-, MKo {S} pār̥k-, {Rm.} pāl̥g-, NKo palk-, Ko Ph pak- 'be light, bright, clear' ¶ Rm. SKE 186, S QK #1152, Nam 247, MLC 732 || HS: EC *✓bl̥k̥ (~ *✓bl̥g̥?) v. 'flash, shimmer' > Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Or {Grg.} balak̥-isa v. 'flash' (of lightning), Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Sd {Gs.} beleḡo 'lightning', Sml {DSI} bilig dheh 'scintillare, brillare in lontananza', biligbilig 'scintillio', bilig-lee 'luccicare', Sml N {Abr.} báddu wâ bílíg bílíg le dahày 'the sea is shimmering', ?ϕ Rn {PG} bilḡīḡa v. 'shine' ¶ AD SF 254, Grg. 4, PG 78, Gs. 37 || NrOm: Dm {Fl.} b̥el̥ḡən ~ p̥el̥ḡən 'bright, shiny' (mt. of glottalization: *b...ḡ > b̥...ḡ ~ p̥...ḡ) ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317 || CS *✓bl̥g̥ v. 'shine, flash' > Ar {BK, Fr.} بلج ✓bl̥ḡ G (ip. -bluḡ-u) 'briller, luire' (l'aurore), Sh (pf. ḡablaḡa) 'shine'

(sun), بَلْجَة balġat- 'clarté (surtout de la fin de la nuit, à l'approche de l'aurore)', BHb √blg *Sh* (pf. הִבְלִיגְ הִבְלִיגְ hiblīg) 'cause to flash; become cheerful, brighten up'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bí-la-ga 'to light up' ¶ KB 126, KBR 132, GB 99, Fr. I 149, BK I 157, Hv. 44, Hlk. #63, SivCR 79
 ◇ N *b...k̄ (suggested by EC and NrOm) yields IE *b^h...g due to the law of incompatibility of IE vd. aspirates and vl. consonants. CS *g for the expected *k̄ still needs explaining ◇ IS (MS 331) equated CS √blg, the A √ (T and Ko), and IE *b^hełg- and reconstructed the N source as *balg∇. Later (IS I 174) he added the U √ **√palk∇ and untenably adduced S √brk̄ v. 'flash, lighten' and K *berçq-/*brçq- 'glänzen, funkeln' (unacceptable on phonetic grounds, just as the resulting N rec. *balqa). Cf. N *b∇R̄∇,k̄æ 'to flash, to shine'. NaIE *b^hleġg-/*b^hlig- is likely to point to a N word-medial vw. *i. NaIE *-g- suggests a final N *a ◇ Cf. Gr. II #50 (*belk 'bright' > IE, U, A, Gil *p̄lla-yu 'be brilliant').

205. ₂ *b∇īiʔ|r̄∇,k̄'ü 'beat, strike' > K: G bliķ∇n- 'einen Faustschlag versetzen' ¶ Chx. 89 || IE ≈ *b^hliHġ(∇)-, {E} *b^hliHġ- 'strike' > NaIE *b^hlīġ(∇)-/*b^hlēyġ- v. 'strike, press' ({P} 'schlagen, schmeißen') > Gk A/I φλῦβω {EI} v. 'press' || W † blif 'catapult' || L flīg-ō- (inf. -ēre) v. 'beat, dash down' || Ltv Δ {ME} blaizīt 'to squeeze, to strike, to smash', bliēzt (prs. bliēžu) 'to strike, to chop', Lt blyžē 'a torn place in cloth' | Sl *blizna, *blizno 'scar, bruise' (← 'a beaten place in the body'), 'Fadenbruch' (← 'a beaten place in the cloth') > P blizna 'scar', Cz blizna 'bruise', SCr blīzna, OR or RChS БЛHЗНА blizna 'scar', Blg близ'на, R Δ 'близна 'Fadenbruch im Gewebe' ¶ WP II 217, P 160-1 (and unc.155 on 'близна), EI 549, ESSJ II 118-20, EM 369, WH I 517, F II 1027, YGM-1 47, ≈ Frn. 46-7, ME I 308, 317, SPS I 264-5 ◇ IE *ġ(∇) in *b^h...ġ(∇) < N *b...k̄ is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws.

206. *ba'Lñ'∇ 'wash, immerse' > K: GZ *ban- v. 'wash, wash oneself' > OG ban- id., G ban- id., 'bathe', Mg bon-, Lz (m)bon- id. ¶ K 48, K² 7, Chik. 254-5, FS K 43, FS E 42 || HS √bln v. 'wash, wet' > S *°√bll 'moisten, mix' (× N *buL∇ 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ar √bll (pf. balla, ip. -blul-/-bull-) 'humecter, mouiller', √bll (pf. balila, ip. -blal-) 'être humecté, mouillé', BHb √bll, -bɔl (pf. בָּבַל, pf. cons. וַיְבַל way'yā-bɔl) 'moisten (with oil); mix up', Sr √bll G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Jb √bll *Sh* (pf. eb'lel) v. 'give (animals) their fill of

water', Gz ✓bll G 'moisten; spoil, mix' ¶ BK I 155, Ln. 242-3 || Ch [1] CCh: Mada {BrrB} àbàlá v. 'wash (oneself\sth.)', Md {Rs.} bàlá v. 'wash' || [2] Ch *✓bn ({Nw.} *bəna id., {JS} *✓bn v. 'wash') > WCh: Bl {Lk.} bin- v. 'wash oneself' || ? SBc (with puzzling devoicing of *b-): Bg {Sh., ChC} pān v. 'wash (sth.\so.)', Kir {ChL} pūná v. 'wash (things)' || ?? pAG {Hf.} *vwaŋ, {Stl. VZCh} *vwaŋ v. 'wash (things)' (with *v- for the expected *p-, which still needs explanation) > Su {J}, Ang {ChL, Hf.} vwaŋ, {Flk.} vaŋ, Gmy {Hf.} vwaŋ, {ChL} vwaŋ, Cp vwaŋ, Kfr {Nt.} vaŋ || CCh: Nz {Mch.} bən, BtG {Mch.} bəŋ 'wash' || Mdr {ChL} bàràbàré, Glv {Rp.} bar- v. 'wash (sth.)', Dgh (ChL) pàrá v. 'wash' || Gzg {Lk.} bon, {ChL} bun v. 'wash oneself', buna, {Ro.} bəná v. 'wash (sth.)', Mada bàlá, Myn bàrá, Mkt pàláy, Hrz bune, Mlk bàláy, Mofu pàréy id. || ?φ McDb: Db {Lnh.} pān id., Kola {Sb.} ...pāŋ..., Msy {Mch.} pāŋ v. 'wash' || Tr {Hf.} vwaŋ v. 'wash oneself' || Ktk: Bdm {Cfr.} bəní id. ¶ BrrB 68, Nw. #140, JI I 174-5 and II 338-9, JS 382, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG 18 [#40], J S 86, Nt. 41, Stl. VZCh A #259, Ro. 356 [#789] (pMM *ban v. 'wash') || ?φ Eg BD bn⁵n⁵ 'baigner, plonger' (5 is puzzling) ¶ Hng. 253, Tk. II 205 || C: SC: Kz {E} ba|-'wash' ¶ E K 1 ('wash'), E SC 134 (interpreted as 'wash, clean' due to alleged cognates of other SC lgs.) ¶¶ Tk. l.c. (incl.: E-Ch or E-SC) || A: NaT *ba₁n- (*ma₁n-) v. 'dip' > OT ban-, Tk ban-, Cmn, Chg, ET, VTt man- id. ¶ Cl. 384, Rs. W 325 || ?σ D (in McTm) *vaññā- 'washerman' > Tm vaññān, vaññāttān, vaññattān, Ml vaññatān, vaññān id., Tm, Ml fem. vaññātti 'washerwoman', as well as possibly D (in McTm) *maññ- v. 'bathe' > Tm maññu v. 'bathe, perform ablutions, immerse oneself in water', vt. 'wash', Ml maññān 'washerman' ¶ D ##4684, 5241 ¶ The initial *v- and *m- for the expected *p- are still to be explained; if *m- is due to assimilatory nasalisation, this is the only case known so far || Gk βαλανεῖον 'a bath, bathing-room' and βαλανεύς 'bath-man' are probably loans from some pre-Gk ("Aegean" or "Pelasgian") lge. (words borrowed together with the previously unknown custom of bathing in hot water) (Pls {Fur.} βάλλον 'Bad'), but eventually the stem may be related with the N word *ba¹L¹∇; this Gk word may be the source of Middle Gk {Kö.} *βανεῖον or *βάνειον 'a bath', whence VL *baneo (> *banjo) (> Fr baigner, Port, Prv, Ctl banhar, Sp bañar, It bagnare, Rm baia v. 'bathe', as well as further Blg баням 'I wash') and VL {ML} *baneum 'bath' (> It bagno, Srd L banzu, Fr bain, Prv banh, Ctl bany, Sp baño, Port banho, ↳

Bsq mainu); EpL balnea > VL *banja ↔ Sl *baňa 'bath house, bath (room)' > OCS, OR БАНѦ banja, Blg, R, Uk 'баня, SCr bānja id., Slv bānja 'bath, wash-tub' ¶ F I 212-3, ML #916, ML G I 477, Kö. 135, ESSJ I 151-2, F I 212-3, Ch. I159-60, Fur. VK 37 ◇ IS MS 349 (K, Ch, D *maññ-) ¶ The pN consonant cluster *-Lñ- contracted into *ll in S and to *-n- (or *-ññ-) in other lgs., but remained as *-l_lñ_ln- in the "Aegean" (Hittite-Luwian?) source of the Gk words βαλανεύον and βαλανεύς.

207. ₂ *bEÍŲ 'boil, cook' > HS: C *✓bll v. 'boil' > Ag *b3r-/*b3r-_r-, {Ap.} *bār-/*bəl- v. 'cook, be hot' (× N *biŲU 'be warm, burn; warm') > Bln {Ap.} b3r-, {R} bir-'cook, be hot', Xm {Ap.} b3l- (= Xm {R} bil-) id., Q {R} bel- id., {Ap.} b3lu y-, Km {CR} bu lu y-, Aw {Ap.} b3r- id. ¶ AD SF 198, Ap. AV 7 || ? S *✓nbl_l? 'flame' (× N *ñab'Ų'Ų 'warm, heat' [q.v. ffd.], possibly a N cd. *ñab'Ų'Ų *bEÍŲ) ¶¶ Hardly here Eg N/G brbr 'bouillir, soudre' (eau), 'flamber' (feu) (EG I 466, Coh. #403, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3), because Cpt (Sd ВРВР bər bər, B ВЕРВЕР berber 'bouillir, soudre') points to an Eg *r rather than *l (F N *buŲu(-KŲ) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe') || A *bEÍŲ > T *biŲ- ~ *biŲ- (~ *piŲ-?) v. 'ripen, be cooked' > OT {Cl.} biš 𐤁 biš v. 'come to maturity, ripen', Tk piš-, VTt bš- ~ pš-, Bsh bš-, Qmq biš-, Qzq piš-, StAlt b_liš- v. 'ripen, be cooked, be baked', Yk bus- id., 'be ready', CrTt, ET piš-, Qq piš-, QrB biš-, Qrg biš-, Tf piš- v. 'ripen, be cooked', Tv piš- id., vi. 'finish cooking (up to readiness), gar gekocht werden' ('довариваться'), Tkm, Az biš- v. 'be cooked \ baked', Xk piš-/-z- v. 'ripen, be cooked' ¶ Cl. 376-7, ET B 161-4, BIG 171 || M *beled- v. 'prepare' > MM [S] belet- 'bereitstellen', WrM beled-, HIM, Brt бэлдэ-, Kl белд-, Mnr H {SM} b_lēl_lēsga-, {T} beledga- 'prepare, make ready'; M *belen 'prepared, ready' > MM [S] belen, WrM belen, HIM, Brt бэлэн, Kl белн, Mnr H {SM} b_lēl_lān id. ¶ H 14, MED 97, Chr. 131-2, KRS 94-5, SM 24, T 317 || Tg (← M??) *bele- 'ready; to prepare' > Ewk b3linz-, b3l3ki- v. 'prepare oneself to', Sln b3l3z- v. 'prepare, b3l3z̃ 'ready', Neg b3lixī 'ready', b3lixī- v. 'prepare', Orc b3lī-, Ud b3xilz- id., Ul, Nn b3lī- id., b3lī 'ready', WrMc belxe- v. 'prepare' ¶ STM I 125 ◇ M and Tg point to a pA and a N *ä or *e, while T *i is puzzling (infl. of the palatal *í?).

208. *bihíŲŲ 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^hel_lə_l- v. 'sound, speak' > OI bhāṣatē (if < *b^hal-s-) 'speaks, says, tells' || L feli-ō / inf. felīre 'to roar' (of panthers) || ON belja, NNr belje 'to roar, to

bellow', AS *bellan*, OHG *bëllan* 'to bark, to resound', MHG *bellen* 'to cry' (of quadrupeds), 'to bark', NHG *bellen* 'to bark' (of canines), NE *bell* v. 'bellow, bay' ||| Pru *billīt* 'to say, to speak', Lt (*pra-*)*bīlti* (3s prs. *bilsta*) 'to (begin to) speak', *bylā* 'speech' (→ 'case'), *bilóti* 'to say, to tell', Ltv *biłst* 'to say, to speak'; ? Lt *baĩsas*, Ltv *bāss* 'voice' ||| Tc A/B *pāl-*, *pāl-* v. 'praise' ¶ P 123-4, Mn. 71, otherwise EI 51 (**b^hels-* 'yelp, how' > Gmc, OI) and M K II 497-8, doubts: M E II 261-2; Vr. 32, OsS 49, Kb. 63, EWA I 533-5, Lx. 14, KM 64, Ho. 19, Frn. 32, ≈ Kar. I 102, 127, En. 151, Tp. P A-D 223-7, Wn. 356, ≈ WH I 474 ¶¶ The lack of visible traces of N **h* in NaIE may be explained by mt. ***b^heHl-* > **b^heH-* with further loss of **H* in the prevoc. position ||| D {Km.} **pīl-*/**pil-*∇- ({*ǵGS*} **p-*) > Tm *piliṛu* 'great noise', *piliṛu* v. 'trumpet, roar (as an elephant)', Tl *pilucu* v. 'call, invite, shout', Gdb *pil-up-/ut-* v. 'thunder', Kui *pṛī* 'cry of agony, scream' ¶¶ D #4195, Km. 431 [#825] ||| HS: S **√bhl* ≈ say, call' > Gz *√bhl G* (pf. *bahla*, js. *yābā*) 'say, speak, call', Tgy *bēlē*, Tgr *bēla* pf. 'say', OSA *bhik* (**bahā-ku*) {Rb., Slw.} 'I spoke', OYmn (= Hmr?) {Slw.} *√bhl G* 'say, order', Ar *ṛibtahala* 'implore, beseech', Mh *behlīt* (pl. *behēl*), Jb C *bēh'let* 'word', Hrs {Jo.} *behelēt*, Sq {Jo.} 'bilzh' 'thing', Ak inf. *baṛālu* ~ *bālu* 'to beseech, to pray' ¶ LG 89, Slw. 46-7, Rb. AWA 51, Jo. M 4, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 24 ◇ IS I 180-1 adduces here K **bir-* = {K, FS} **br-* 'sing' (> Lz, Mg *bir-*, ? Sv *br-* v. 'sing' [Sv Lmsd. *li-br-yal-i*], see K 53, K² 17-8, Chik. 254, FS K 54-5, FS E 56, Dn. s.v. *briāl-*). The K *√* belongs here only if N **í* may yield K **r*.

209. **baHí∇* 'pain, wound' > HS: WCh: Ang {Flk.} *pāl* v. 'feel pain' ¶ Flk. s.v. ||| IE **b^heHl-* 'pain, wound' > NaIE **b^hēl-*/**b^hōl-* > Tc: A *pāl*, B *pīle* 'wound' ||| Sl **boľь* 'pain' > OCS *БОЛЬ* *boľь*, R *боль*, Uk *біль*, SCr, Slv *bōl*, Cz *bol*, Slk *bōl'*, P *ból* 'pain'; Sl **bolěti* (1s prs. **boľ-q*) v. 'ache, be sick' > OCS *БОЛѢТИ* *bolěti* (prs. *БОЛѢ* *boljǫ*) v. 'be sick, feel pain', R *бо'лит*, P *boli*, Blg *боли*, SCr Δ *boli* 'it aches', R *болеть* (/1s prs. *бо'лею*), P *boleć* (/ *boleje*), SCr *болети* & *bōljet*, Slv *boléti* 'to be sick', Cz *boleti*, Slk *boliet'* 'to ache' ¶ Mn. 65 (**bhalyō* 'hit, hurt' > Tc, Sl, as well as ON *bella* 'stoßen'), Wn. 356, ESSJ II 187-92, Bern. I 71, SPS I 302-6, 315-6, Glh. 140 ||| A **°bā́la* > T **bā́l* 'a wound' > NaT **bāš* > OT *baš*, Tkm *bāš*, MQP *baš*, Yk *bās* 'wound', Tf *paš* 'wound, ulcer', Tv *паш p'aš* 'syphilis' (the initial p'-

suggests that the Tv word is a loan), Chv püž₋ek 'scar, trace of a sore' (an old loan from NaT); NaT *bāl-iϣ 'wounded' > OT {Cl.} bāl-iϣ id., Tv, Tf pāl-iϣ id., 'wound', Alt baļu 'wound', Tlt {Rl.} palū id., 'score', Xk pāl-iϣ id., 'ulcer' ¶ Cl. 335, 376, Ra. 158-9, Ash. X 95, Rl. IV 1168, BT 26, Md. 113, Md. OJ 90 || M: Brt бала 'bruise' ¶ Chr. 83 ◇ See IS I 172 (IE ~ T). This N etymon may be identical with N *baL'ü' 'bad, harm' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. TPN 29: *÷ S *°✓bly v. 'be old, worn out', Sml bēl (actually meaning 'loss'), and Or bēlaw- v. 'hunger' (no plausible semantic ties) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #290 (*bal 'pain') (IE, A + unc. J).

210. *b'op'í'í|ǁ∇ 'swell' > IE: NaIE *b^hel- v. 'swell' > Gmc: OSw bulin, bolin 'aufgeschwollen', bulde, bolde, byld 'swelling, tumour', OHG bolla, polla 'blister, mug, bowl; bulla in aqua, folliculus, cotula', MHG bolle 'bud, globular vessel', OSx bollo 'Schale, Napf', AS bolla 'bowl, vessel, pot', NE bowl || L follis 'pair of bellows, puffed-out cheeks; purse, leather bag' ¶ ≠ P 120-1, qu. EI 71 (*b^hel- 'blow' → 'swell'), OsS 79, Kb. 103, EWA II 230-1, Lx. 24, Ho. 30, Ho. S 9, WH I 524-5 || K *°bēl- > Sv -bēl- 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bāl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N *b∇L∇ʔa 'to blow, to inflate', q.v. ffd.); the K vowel length represents the lost lr. (from N *boʔí'í|ǁ∇?) ¶ Ni. s.v. пухнуть and пухлый, GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl- || A: M *bilčī-yi- > WrM {Rm.} bilcīi-, Kl билчи- v. 'swell heavily', {Rm.} bilčī- 'stark aufschwellen, überaus dick werden', Brt бэлсы- 'be bulging' (eyes); WrM bilcud- ~ bilcad- {Gl.} 'cicatrize with a bulging scar' (of a wound, bone fracture), {Kow.} 's'élever, être un peu enflé' (cela se dit des chairs qui sont encore un peu enflées après la guérison d'un ulcère); M *bilčayū > WrM билци, HIM бялцуу 'bump, blister, boil', WrM {Gl.} билци 'small knobs on branches of willows and on stalks of wormwood'; Ord bilč'irú: 'petite tumeur sur la peau, bouton' ¶ Gl. II 282, KRS 100, KW 45, Kow. 1146, Chr. 131, Ms. O 70 || D (in McTm) *po||- v. 'swell' > Tm po||u v. 'blister, swell', po||al 'blister, swelling', Ml po||a 'blister, bubble'; D ⇨ Hindi p^hola 'blister' ¶ D #4563, Tu. #8398(6) || HS: ?σ S *°✓bʔhl > Ak (inf.) баʔālu, 3s pf. i-bʔil, 3s prs. i-баʔil 'be abnormally large' (of body parts, liver) ¶ CAD II 1 ◇ If the N etymon is *boʔí'í|ǁ∇, the loss of *i in IE still needs explaining.

211. *bôí'X'a' 'tail, penis' > HS *b'ul'h- ({Blz.} *bul'h¹-) > B *b∇lw- 'penis' > Tmz abəllu, pl. ibəlla, Izd, BSn abəllu, pl. ibəlwān, Sll {Ds.} a-

bællu, abællul, Si abāīāl, SrSn {Rn.} a-bāīāl id., t̄ā-bāžāt~ta-bāīāt 'petite verge d'enfant', Rf {Rn.} a-bruʀ 'penis', ? Izn {Rn.} a-bežīāl id., Izd {Mrc.} a-bællu, pl. i-bælla ~ i-bælwān, Sll {Ds.} a-bællu, a-bællul, a-bʕaīūl, Mz {Dlh.} ta-bællaī-t (pl. ti-bællaī-in) 'penis' ¶ MT 18, Ds. 291, Dlh. M 7, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Wlf. EAW 47, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} ballá 'penis', ?σ Brj {Ss.} bolókkō ~ bulúkkō 'testicle'; EthS: Grg So (< C?) bīllīt 'penis' ¶ Hw. A 34, Ss. B 38 || Om: NrOm {Blz.} *bull- 'penis' > Bsk {Fl.} búlli, Doka bulli id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #88 || Ch: WCh: Hs būřá, Bl bōla 'penis', Bks {J} b̄wéī id. (glottalization is puzzling), Klr {J} byêl, {L} bēl 'tail' || CCh: Bt G {Srp.} bōllē 'penis' || Ktk: Glf {Röd. [in Lk. ZSS]} belewe, Shoe {Lk.} belesoe id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pēlè id. ¶ ChC, JI II 316-7, Lk. ZSS 148, 154, ≠ Sk. HCD 26 || Eg Md/RT bʕh 'phallus' ([biʕh-] < *bilh-) > Cpt Sd BΛʔ bah 'penis', where Cpt a is a reg. reflex of *i in a closed syll. ¶ EG I 419, Fk. 77, Vc. 33, Tk. II 76-80 ¶¶ Cf. Blz. OLBP #88 (*bulh¹- > Eg bʕh, Om, C, B 'penis'; *÷ Ak baltu [misinterpreted as 'penis' after Holma NK 99, while in fact the word is the name of some thorny plant, F Sd. 100]); F also EG I 419, 460, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Dlh. M 7, Abr. H 120, Ba. 132 || IE: NaIE *bʰl̥o- (= *bʰ]no-, *bʰ]Ho-?) 'penis' > Gk φαλλός id. || NGr Hs bille 'penis', AS bealluc 'testicles' > NE ballock || Phr βαλλία 'generative organ(s)' ([Hdt.]: βαλλία · αἰδοῦα) ¶ Not here OIr ball ferda 'membrum virile', ball féili 'pudenda', because the basic meaning of ball is likely to be {Vn.} 'membre' (cp. ocht mbullu 'huit parties') ¶ The identity of the cns. after *] remains unclear ¶ F II 987-8, Hofm. 390-1, P 120-1, Ho. 17, Vn. B 12, unc. EI 71 (φαλλός and OIr ball ferda < *bʰel- 'blow, swell') || U: FU *poía 'tail' > pMr {Ker.} *pūīa > Er пуло pulo, Mk пула pulā ʔ pulā 'tail' || ? pLp {Lr.} *pēćz- '(short) tail' > Lp: N {N} biežâ, {Fri.} bieča (gen. bieččam), Kld {SaR} п̄жъ p̄ž 'short tail (of a reindeer, hair, sheep, etc.)', S {Hs.} ı beetj'eh 'tail of a fish' || pObU {Ht.} *pāí∇k 'tail' > pVg *pāíak > Vg: LK/UK pōíax, MK pōíak 'tail (of elk and reindeer)'; pOs *pāíak > Os K patāηχ 'tail (of reindeer and elk)', Os Kz pɔ́χ 'Stutzschwanz (des Bären, Elentiers, Renttiers, Hasen)', Os Nz pɔ́nat 'tail', Os Pym pã́aq 'hind leg of a bear' ¶ Coll. 109, UEW 393-4, Ps. B 175, Lr. #931, Lgc. #3982, Hs. 308, SaR 255-6, Ker. II 121, Ht. 177 [#517] || D *pu]l- or *pull- ({θGS} *b-) 'penis' > Kn bulla, bulli 'male generative organ', Tl bulla, bulli 'a child's penis', cp. Mrt bulī,

bullī id. and cognate words in other NInA lgs. ¶¶ D #4309, Tu. #9292 (1) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [#31] (D, IE, EC, Ch, B, Eg).

212. *beñ|ń∇ 'younger relative' > **HS:** S *bin- / (stem of pl.) *ban- 'son' > BHb בֵּן bēn (pl. בָּנִים bā'n-īm), Ph, M'b, Ed, Ug בִּן, Ar ʔibn- (pl. nom. ban-ūna, accus.-gen. ban-īna), Sb בִּן, OAk, Ak OA/LB {Sd.} binu, {CAD} bīnu id.; *'bin-at- (pl. *bā'n-āt-) 'daughter' > BHb בַּת baṭ (pl. בָּתוֹת bā'n-ōṭ), Ph, Amn bt, Ug bt (pl. bnt), Sr ل.ب.ت ba<r>t ([baṭ]) cs., pl. بَنَاتٍ bənā'tā, Ar bint- (pl. ban-āt-), Sb bnt, Ak {Sd.}: MB bintu, OA buntu id., Gz bant in banta ʕayn 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'daughter of the eye') ¶ KB 131-3, 158-9, HJ 168-72, Br. 93, Sd. 127, 136, CAD II 238-9, 242-3, 319 || Ch: CCh {OS} *bin- > LamP {ChL} bin 'brother', ʔσ Ms {Cait.} bāna 'friend', ʔσ Azm {Pc.} banaḍa '(male) friend', bānā 'friend!' (greeting, calling) || ʔφ,σ WCh {OS} *m∇-b∇n- > Buli {ChL} mbɔn, {Sh.} mban 'person' (unless akin to Grn mbaliŋ and Jm mbar id.) ¶ ChL, ChC, Cait. 48, Pc. 83 ¶¶ OS #28 || **A:** Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *wāñ∇ - *X∇, wāñ∇ 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *peñ|t∇ ({{ϑGS} *p-) 'girl, woman' (if ← 'young female relative' ← 'younger relative') (possibly from N *°beñ|ń∇ 'ʔ'at∇ with *'ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman') > Tm peṇ 'woman, daughter, girl', Ml peṇ 'a female' (esp. 'girl, maidservant, bride'), Kt peñ 'female', Kn peṇ, peṇṇu 'female, woman', Kdg poññi 'wife, female', Tu poṇṇu 'girl, female, maid', Tl peṇṭi 'female (of animals)', Klm peñṭi 'female', Gdb peñṭi 'female sheep'; D ⇨ OI paṇḍa- 'eunuch, effeminate man' ¶¶ D #4395 (a), Tu. #7717.

213. *b∇hæñy∇ 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > **HS:** S *bu|ih∇, n- 'thumb, (big) toe' > BHb בְּהֵן 'bohen 'thumb, big toe', Ar ʔibhām- 'thumb, toe', Δ bihām-, bāhim- id., Hrs hā-bēn (pl. hā-bōnɔt) 'thumb, big toe' (hā- does back to an article), Mh Δ {SSL} hā'bēn id., Ak ubān- 'finger, toe' ¶ KBR 112, KB 108, Jo. H 55, Sd. 1398, SSL LNPM 219, MiK I #1.34 || NrOm: She {CR} bon 'foot, leg' || WCh: Bgm {J} mbān, {JI} bān 'leg, foot' ¶ JI II 220, J ChMGB 220 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 120 [#120] (Om, Ch) || **IE:** NaIE *°bʰoijnō- (mt. *-iñ- < N *-ñy-) > Gmc *bajna- 'bone, leg' (← *bone of the leg?) > ON bein 'leg, bone; upper thigh (Oberschenkel)', Sw, Dn ben bēn 'bone, leg', OSx bēn, AS bān, OHG, MHG bein 'leg, bone', NHG Bein 'leg', Yid בֵּינ beyn 'bone', NE bone ¶ Vr. 30, Ho. 16, Ho. S 6, EWA I 515-6, Lx. 12, KM 63 || **A** *p'Éñ∇ or *p'Éñj∇ 'bone, bone

of a leg' > Tg *peñ-ŋen 'knee' > Ewk hənŋən, Sln zŋẽ, Lm hənŋən, Neg xzñŋən, Orc xzŋŋz~xzŋŋz, Ud xzŋz, Ul pznz(n-), Ork pznz~pznz(n-), Nn Nh pzyŋẽ 'knee' ¶ STM II 366, Krm. 308 || pKo {S} *s-pjã₁ 'bone' > MKo spjã₁, NKo p̄jã₁, Ko: Ph p̄jã₁, Sl/Chs p̄jã, Hm p̄jã, Ks p̄jã₁ ¶ Ko *s- is a px. (e.g., *s-kòrí 'tail', *s-pír 'horn') ¶ S AJ 251 [#10], S QK #10, Nam 258, MLC 774 || pJ {S} *pznjã 'bone' > OJ pònè, J: T/Kg honé, K hóne, Ns fúnì, Ht pùnì, Sh/Y fùnì ¶ S QJ #10, Mr. 414 ¶¶ S AJ 39, 271 [#9], ≈ DQA #1735 (A *p'èjñé 'bone' > Tg, Ko, J) ◇ A *p'- (> Tg *p-) may be explained as going back to a cluster *bh- < N *b∇h- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #47 (*pon 'bone') (cp. N *p'on'd'∇ '≈ leg, foot').

214. *bæñt∇ (~ *bæñd∇?) 'to tie' > HS *✓bn̄t > Eg N/G bnd 'einwickeln, bekleiden' ⇨ *b∇n∇t (a k. of garment) (⇨ Gk βύνητος 'ε an Egyptian garment' and BHb בַּנְתָּא ?abñēṭ 'sash of an official or a priest'; this loan in Hb suggests that Eg d was pronounced as t) ¶ EG I 465, KB 8, KBR 8-9, Lmd. 146, Tk. II 237-41 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} b̄zn v. 'tie', Ngl {Dsb.} bani id. ||| WCh: ? pAG ≈ *b̄wayat ({Stl. VZCh} *b̄wayad) > Su {J} b̄wayat, Ang {ChL} bat, Gmy {ChC} b̄ōt, Mnt {Fp.} badni v. 'tie' (Stl.: 'привязывать' = 'tie, attach') (glottalized *b̄- in Ch is due to transfer of glottalization from *t̄ of HS *✓bn̄t) ¶ Lk. L 76, Sö. 57, Dsb., ChL, ChC, J S 60, Ba. 114, 1169 ¶ Not here Ar بَند band- 'lien, lacs, lacet' (⇨ CINPrs band n. 'band, tie, bandage') || IE: NaIE {P, E} *bʰendʰ- v. 'bind' > OI badh'nāti, Av bandayeiti 'he binds', OI ban'dhaḥ n. 'binding, bond, tie, fetter', Av banda- 'Bande, Fessel', MPrs band 'Schlinge, Band', CINPrs بَند band '↑' ⇨ G band-i 'Band, Riemen, Binde' ⇨ G band- 'knüpfen, heften, schnüren; auf-, zurück-, hinhalten, verzögern' (Chx. 63) ||| Gk πείσμα (< *πενθσμα) 'rope, a ship's cable' ||| Thr βενδ- v. 'bind' ||| L offendīx 'chin-band on priest's cap' ||| OIr buinne 'band, ring, bracelet' ¶ P 127, EI 64, M K II 406-7, M E II 208, Vl. I 255-6, Sg. 201, F II 492, WH II 205, Vn. B 115 ||| U: FU {UEW} *pälent∇- v. 'cover, close', {Sm.} *pintä- v. 'fasten' > pPrm *pōd- v. 'close' > Z pzdlav-ni 'to close', pzdān 'oven-door', Yz pōdnal- vt. 'close', Vt pod+n̄i 'to pinch' | (acc. to Sm.) F pinne (< *pinte) 'tension' ||| pObU *pēnt- > pVg *pǎnt- v. 'close' > Vg T/LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ML pǎnt-, UL/Ss pant- id.; pOs *pent- ({HL} *pǎnt-) v. 'cover' > Os V/Vy/D/Kz/O pent-, Ty pǎnt- id. | Hg fēd-, fōd- 'decken, be-\zu-decken' ¶ Coll. 78, UEW 371, 879, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pintä-, Ugr

*pīntä- 'fasten'), SK 568-9, Ht. 178 [#525], MF 187, LG 227 ◇ IS I 194 [#30] (HS [Eg, Ch], IE) ¶¶ The N emphatic *t̥ is reconstructed on the HS ev. IE *dʰ- in *bʰendʰ- points to *d in N *bæñd∇.

215. *boŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)' > HS: S *bam- 'chest' or 'back (Rücken)' > Ak bam-t-u 'chest, front of the chest', BHb ከባጋጋ bā'mā 'back (Rücken)' (Dt. 32.29), Ug bmt 'back (of an animal, human)'; → S *bam-at- 'hill' > Ak bamtu 'slope of a mountain', BHb ከባጋጋ bā'mā 'mountain ridge, hill; high ground, high place of worship', Ug bmt 'alto, monte' ¶ KB 130-1, KBR 136-7, OLS 109, CAD II 78, MiK I #1.216 (*p/ban/md(-at)- 'back, podex') || U: FU *poŋe-(s∇) 'bosom' > F povi (gen. poven) 'bosom, breast', Es pōu (gen. pōue), Δ pō 'Busen, Schoß', pLp {Lr.} *pōŋə 'bosom, breast' > Lp: S {Hs.} buoŋe id., N {N} buoŋəḡ ~ vuoŋəḡ -ŋ- 'breast of a bird', L {LLO} puokŋa 'der bauschige Teil des Lappenrockes oder Lappenpelzes', T {TI} p̄ŋŋ(ǎ), Kld {TI} pūŋŋ(ǎ) 'Busen (des Kittels, des Renntierpelzes)' | pMr {Ker.} *poŋə ~ *poŋə > Er понго poŋgo, Mk пов pov, Δ povǎ 'bosom' | Chr H понгыш poŋgəš, L помыш, U/B помьš 'bosom' | Prm *pi, *piy 'bosom' > Z Ss pi, Z US/LL piy, Prmk pi, Vt pi, Vt G pij id. || pObU *pūw|ʒəθ 'Busen (im Kleide)' > pVg *pūt > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK pūt, P/NV/SV pūt, LL pōt, UL pūti~puw̄ti, Ss pūti id.; pOs *puʒəθ > Os: V/Vy/Ty puʒəθ, Y puwəθ, Nz puχəθ, Kz pōχəθ id. ¶ UEW 395, LG 222-3, Lr. #1000, Lgc. #5320, Hs. 384, TI 406, Ker. II 118, ERV 498, Ht. 175 [#498] || ?σ A: Tg: Ewk boŋko 'belly, stomach' (influenced by Tg *bok_lan_l > Neg bōxan~boxon 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqa 'belly') ¶ STM I 94 || D: [1] *po|amm- ({ʒGS} *b-) 'breast' > Klm, Nkr pamme, Nk pomme id., Gnd bomi ɘ bomā ɘ boma ɘ bomo ɘ bommu id., bom 'udder' ¶¶ D #3935 | [2] *pom- ({ʒGS} *p-) v. 'embrace' > Png pom-, Ku pom-, pom-/pomb- id., Mlt pamge v. 'take between the legs (as the trunk of a tree while climbing)' ¶¶ D #4527 ◇ S *-m- and D *-m(m)- suggest N *-ŋ- (rather than *-ŋg-).

216. *ben_li|X_li '≈ head' > HS: S ?φ *°√bnŋ̄ > Ak MB bibēn-u {CAD} 'head' ({Sd.} 'temple, Schläfe'), bibēn (appiṣu) {Sd.} '(Nasen-)Spitze' ¶ CAD II 219, Sd. 124 || If Ak bibēn- means 'temple', it may be equated with Ke pánáy 'temple' ('Schläfe') ¶ Eb. 88 || U *päne 'head' (× N 'p'āŋ∇ 'forehead' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T *meŋi [= *menyi?] ({Md.} *bēñŋi) 'brain' > OT meŋi ~ meyi id., Chg xv mäyin, miyā, MQp

xiii bäyin, xiv [CC] män, Tk beyin, Δ meyni, Az beyin, Tkm beyni, Uz miya, ET miñä, Δ miñ, miñi, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qq miy, Qzq, Nog miy, Bsh мъуь, VTt mi, Qrg, Alt, Tv mē, Tf mē̃, Xk мии mī, Ln megä, Yk mäyī, Chv миме mime, Δ mimə ≅ mine id. ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. LTS 201, Rs. W 70 (*bāñ), ET B 106-7, Md. 91, 131, 135, 173, Rl. IV 2085, Nj. 726, BT 109, Ra. 207, Jeg. 134 ◇ T *meñi points to a N *e, while U *ä belongs to the heritage of N 'p'än ▽ ◇ Highly doubtful because of rather loose semantic connections and because U *päñe 'head' has an alt. et.

217. *bungä 'thick; to swell' > IE *b^henǵ^h-/*b^hñǵ^h- 'lump, thick' ({IS} 'шишка, ком, толстый') and d. {EI} *b^henǵ^hu-s (gen. *b^hñǵ^houys) 'thick, abundant' > OI ba'hū- (< *b^hñǵ^h-u-) 'much, abundant, large', cмpr. 'bam̐bhiyān 'very strong\thick', Blc baz 'tight' ||| Gk παχύς 'thick, tight' ||| ON bingr 'part of room, bed', Ic bingur 'heap, store', NNr bingē 'Düngerraum', ON bunga 'Klumpen', Dn, Sw, Nr bunke 'heap', MHG bunge 'clod, lump', Dt bonk 'piece, clod' ||| Ltv biēzs 'thick, dense' || ?σ Ht panku- 'entire, complete; every', n. 'multitude, the people; assembly', pangarit adv. 'in large numbers, en masse' ¶¶ P 127-8, EI 3, M K II 424-5, M E II 220-1, F II 484-5, Vr. 37, 65, Vr. N 76, Lx. 28, Kar. I 125, CHD P 87-92, Ts. W 59 ||| **U** *puñka > FU *puñka 'swelling, bump, lump' > F пунка 'korpulenter oder dicker Mensch', Es pung (gen. punga) 'Hervorragendes und Rundliches: Knolle, Knospe, Knauf, Beule, etc.' | Lp: N {N} bugige / -gg- 'bump, lump', L {LLO} puggē 'weiter\dichter\zottiger Pelz; kleiner und dicker Mensch\Rentier' | pMr {Ker.} *pukə-íə > Er pokaí 'Klumpen, Stück', Mk pokaí 'Knäuel, Geschwulst, Stück' | Prm: Z bugí 'eye apple, eye', ? Vt pog 'Klumpen' ||| pObU *pūñkə > pVg *pūkləp > Vg Ss pōxlip 'Knopf'; pOs *puñkə > Os: Ty puñlə, D/K poñxə, Nz puñxə, Kz pōñqə 'Knollen am Baume', as well as pOs *puñkət > Os: Ty/Y puñqət, D/K poñxət, Kz poñət 'Geschwür' || pY {IN} *pōñkə 'hill; excrement' > Y: K/T {IN} puñkə 'hill', T {IN} pōñkatā {Ku.} пөнкэтаа 'excrement, cone (of a tree)', {Ku.} пөнкэтээ 'cone', ? пөнгигэй- vi. 'swell up a little' ¶¶ UEW 404, Coll. 109, MF 107-8, LLO 748-9, Ker. II 117, LG 41, Ht. #529, IN 234, Ku. 231-2 ||| **A**: Tg *буња 'lump, small ball (шарик)' > Nn BK бонга, Nn Nh бонгил 'lump (of snow, etc.)', Ewk буньука, буньул 'small ball, lump', Ud {STM} буñi, {Krm.} būñi 'testicles' ¶ STM I 110-1, Krm. 215 ||| ?σ **D** *poñk- 'swell' (× D *poñk- 'boil') > Tm poñku 'be swollen (as a boil or sore), Kn poñgu 'swell, be elated', buguṭi, buguḍu

'swelling', Kdg ποηη- 'swell (as grain or stomach)', Tu boηketuni, Nk p^hugay-, Gnd pōη-, Ku ποηγ-, Mlt ποϑολε v. 'swell', Krx pūxhā 'to swell', pūxkā 'swelling' ¶¶ D #4469 ◇ D *ποηκ- 'swell' is a questionable cognate, because it may be a semantic variant of D *ποηκ- 'boil' (D #4469); in any case the vw. *o in D *ποηκ- 'swell' belongs to the heritage of *ποηκ- 'boil' ¶¶ D #4469 ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 182-3 [#17] (IE, U, ? Tg *boη▽ 'thick, large', D *ποηκ- 'вздуваться, выкипать'). In the first syll. of the N stem it is better to reconstruct *u (on U and Tg ev.) rather than *o (as in IS on the basis of D and inexact data of Tg available to IS in the 1960's).

217a. *bEPt▽ 'lip(s), mouth' > HS: NrOm: Gdc bādde, Zs {Bnd.} baḡe, {C} bādē 'mouth', Gnj {Fl.} poḡoro, Hrr {CR} poḡuro, Gcm {Si.} poḡo'rō, Krt {Si.} poḡdoro, Bdt {C} poḡurō 'lip' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE III 201, CR H 656, C SO 62, Si. ACh 17 || ? B *o-būḡ- > Kb a-βuḡ 'goulot (d'un pot), bec de cafetière' ¶ Dl. 12, NZ 28 || U *oPET▽ (or *oPEš▽) > Sm {Jn.} *peptān ~ *piptān, {HL.} *pepten ~ *pipten 'lip' > Ne T πιβτᾶ, Ne F {Lh.} pīb_t'ī & pīp_t'īn 'lower lip', En X {Cs.} fiteḡ, En B {Ter.} pite, {Cs.} piteḡ, Ng {Prk.} fēb_tīn, {Cs.} feábten, {Mik.} 'heptin, Mt M {HL.} hōbten ~ hibten, Mt K hōbtet 'lip'; d.: Slq: Tz {KKIH} peptáí, Ke {Cs.} peptei, UO {Cs.} peaptái, NP pepti 'chin' ¶ Jn. 122, Ter. 261, KKH 148, Cs. 71, 95, 165, Hl. M 247 [#307] || D *pet- 'lip' > Tl pedavi id., Klm, Nkr pedave, Nk peddave, Gdb pedave & pedive, Gnd pilivi & pilvī, Knd bedve id., Klm peddēl 'lips' ¶¶ D #4400 || A: ?φ Tg *pej^ru¹-n 'lip' > Ewk h3jun 'upper lip', Lm hujin, Neg x3jun 'lip (of a reindeer, elk, etc.)', Orc xuz3 'soft internal side of cheeks and lips' ¶ STM II 360 || ?σ T *biḡik (*mḡiḡik) 'moustache' (× N *P^ru¹t▽ 'feather, hair', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ??σ,μ: A very dubious cognate: Eg G bbt 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (metanalysis from *bbt < *bbt?) (see EGI 455) ◇ B and T suggest N *b-, the cs. p- (< *p-?) in some NOm lgs. may be due to as. N *b...t > *p...t. Tg *pej^ru¹-n (if it belongs here in spite of the unexplained palatal voiced *-j-) points to an ancient *p- or *p̥- (suggesting an assimilation *b...P > *p|p...P). Sm provides evidence for a N cluster *-PT-, which may account for the long *ū in B (*o-būḡ- < **-buwḡ- < **-bubḡ-). The rounded vw. in NrOm, B, and Orc may be due to the infl. of the adjacent labial consonant(s) ◇ Blz. LB #112g and Blz. DA 153 [#10] (NrOm, D).

218. *b▽qâ (= *boqâ?) 'side of body, side' > K *oποq- (× N *^rp¹oqEš▽ ~ *^rp¹oš▽q▽ 'thigh, haunch'??) > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} ποq

'thigh, side of body, crupper of horse' ¶ TK 766, Ni. s.v. бедро, GP 264, Dn. s.v. роq, Wrđ. 629 (p'hocq 'thigh') || **HS:** EC *bak-~*bok- 'side of body, side' > Af bagu 'belly, stomach', Sml bog, Sml N {Abr.} bóq 'flank of body', Or {Grg.} bukkē 'beside', Or W {Brl.} bukké 'side (fianco, lato)' ¶ AD SF (*bakk^w-), ZMO 43, Abr. S 34, Grg. 64, Brl. 65, PH 66 || **IE:** NaIE *^ob_l^h₁ok_l^w₁ > Sl *bòkъ 'side of body' > SCr bōk, gen. bōka, Slv bōk, gen. bóka, Blg Δ бок, R бок, gen. 'бока, Uk биk, gen. 'боку, P, Cz, Slk bok ¶ ESSJ II 170, SPS I 300-1, Glh. 139-40, Vs. I 185 || **A** *b[∇]k[∇] ({SDM95} *b[∇]k[∇], {SDM97} *būka) 'side of body, hip' > NaT *bikin id. > OT biqin 'hip, flank', Chg biqin 'joint, articulation', Tkm biqin 'side of body', XwT biqin, Tv БЫГЫН РИҮИН 'flank (lower part)', Xk piχti 'groin' (acc. to Rs. W, ← 'his flank', sc. *piχin + ppa. 3s), Tlt {Rl.} pikin, MQp XIV biqin, XV биҮин~biqin 'groin', Qzq, Qrg miqin id. (m- < *b- due to neutralization of nasality in the word-initial position), Kü {Rl.} pikt 'part of the body below the arm-hole'; a form *biq without sxs. has been possibly preserved in SbTt Kk piq 'waist' (unless it has resulted from phonetic reduction: piq < *biq|t < *biqin) ¶ Cl. 316, ET B 304-5, Rs. W 73, TvR 128, Rl. IV 1304, 1307, BIG 171, Tm. 180 || Tg *bōk-(an) 'hip, thigh' > Ewk bōkan, Lm bōqam, Lm O/Sk bokan id., Ud {Krm.} bō? 'front muscles of the thigh', ? WrMc buχi {Z} 'front side of the thigh', 'lap', {Hr.} 'Oberschenkel'] ?σ Tg *bok_lan₁ > Neg bōxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn baqa id., Ork boqqa 'belly' ¶ STM I 90, 94, Krm. 213, Hr. 119 || M **ba|oqaβur (> *ba|oqaγur) '≈ anus, hip, loins' > MM [L] {Pp.} bayawur 'After', [MA] {Pp.} baqa₁ūr 'nates', [IM] {Ms.} bayūr, [S] bokorai ~ bokore ~ bo[?]ere 'Lenden, Hüften', WrM {MED} buqur, HIM бyxуyp, {Ms.} buχar 'buttock, rump', Ord {Ms.} buχūr 'derrière, cul, anus', Mgl buχār 'After, der hintere Teil' ¶ Pp. MA 111, H 17, MED 143, Rm. M 24, Ms. O 92, SDM97 41 (M *bokaur) || pJ {S} *bàki 'side of body' > OJ wàk_li, [RJ] wàk_li, J: T wakí, K wák_li, Kg wák_li ¶ S QJ #271, Mr. 567 ¶¶ DQA #174 (A *b_lük^a 'side [of body], thigh' > T, M, Tg) ◇ The pN vw. of the first syllable is hard to reconstruct. A possible hypothetic vw. is ***o**, that is preserved in Tg and probably in M, but turned to ***i** in T due to as. (**o...i > *i...i); the IE, K, and C data do not contradict this hyp.

219. *bAr[∇] 'earth, land; dust' > **HS:** S: [1] S *barr- '(uncultivated) land' > BHb בַּר *bar* (pausal form בָּרַר bār) 'open field', JA אַרְבָּ בַּר bār-ā {Lv.} 'Außenseite, freies Feld', JA [Trg.] אַרְבָּ בַּר bār ā[?]-ā {Js.} 'external,

not belonging to', JEA {Sl.} אַרְבֵּי bar'r-ā 'external, outer', Sr {Br.} בָּרָא barrā'yā 'agrestis, exterior, externus', Ar barr- 'Festland', Ar Hdr {Lnb.} barr- 'country' (barru-l-īarbi 'pays des Arabes'), Mh {Jo.} a-barr 'outside', Sq {L} bar 'côté, éloignement', ba-barr 'dehors', Tgr ber 'continent, country', Ak {Sd.} barru 'uncultivated country', {CAD} bāru 'open country']?? [2] S *baray- > Ar بَرَى barā(n) 'terra' (Fr.: ← 'pars superior et pulvis') ¶ KB 146, Sl. 240, Js. 189, Br. 88, Jo. M 51, LLS 98, LH 274, CAD II 120, Sd. 107 || C: [1] ? Brj {Hds.} bār-iy- 'become muddy' (unless to HS {Tk.} *b∇r- 'dirty')] [2] C {AD} *bUr̥- 'sand, dust' (× N *bôri'y'U 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177, Tk. LAA-124 [#150] || Ch *✓brbr 'dust' (× HS ≈ *bur̥- 'dust' < N *bôri'y'U '↑' [q.v.]): WCh: Krkr {Lk.} b̥rb̥r 'dust' || Ngz {Sch.} b̥rb̥r̥, Bd {ChL} b̥rb̥r̥n id. || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu b̥rb̥r̥, Cb b̥rb̥r̥, WMrg bur̥bur̥~b̥rb̥r̥, Klb b̥rb̥r̥, Hld buburu, Wmd búrb̥r̥, Mrg {Hf.} b̥rb̥r̥ id. | McHg {ChL}: HgNk b̥rb̥r̥, HgB b̥rb̥r̥, FIK bur̥b̥r̥, FIM búrb̥r̥(υ) id. | BB {ChL}: Gude b̥rb̥r̥a, Nz búrb̥r̥e, Bcm búrb̥r̥e, Mln búrb̥r̥ú id. | McMdr: Mdr búrb̥r̥é id. | Gdr {Cfr.} b̥rb̥r̥ id. | Lgn {Lk.} 'b̥ra 'sand, dust' ¶ Stl. ZCh 157-8 [#117], ChC s.v. 'dust' and 'sand', JI II 280-1, ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Gr. LC 91, Lk. LS 87 || K: MG, G bre 'dust (пыль, прах)', G Ing bre 'chaff' ¶ Chx. 104, DCh. 117 || D (in SD) *paṛ∇ ({ṽGS} *p-) 'plateau, tableland' > Tm paṛampu 'hill', paṛantalaṁ 'desert', Ml paṛampu 'higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, fields (too high for rice cultivation), orchard, garden', Kn Δ paṛavu 'a hill top', Kdg paṛambi 'large flat pasture land', Tu paṛavu 'plateau, tableland' ¶ D #4026 || A: AdS of T *bōr 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (< N *bôri'y'U 'loose earth, dust, [?] sand', q.v. ffd. × N *maR∇ 'sand, dust, earth'); the vw. *ō in T *bōr is inherited from N *bôri'y'U ◇ IS I 187 [#22] includes the S and Ch stems and G bre into his N etymon *bur̥(H)∇/*bor̥(H)∇ 'loose earth, dust' (together with what belongs to N *bôri'y'U).

219a. *beR∇ 'mud, swamp' > HS: S *bir- > Ak bi|erātu 'swamps (?)' ¶ The vw. ā proves that in the var. reading berātu there is no infl. of S *r̥h̥ (causing the change of S *a into Ak e) ¶ CAD II 206-7 || U: FU *per∇ 'mud, swampy place' (× N *PeR∇ 'ground, earth', q.v.) > Prm: Vt {Wc.} ber-gop 'swamp, quagmire; Moorpfüte', Vt Sr pera 'weicher, schwarzer Morast, mit welchem man Tuch färbt', {Mu.} 'damp place with black earth (chernozem)'; Z Le pereb 'moss-covered river-bank in

a forest' (infl. of R бeпep 'bank [Ufer]') || OHg XII 'Hain', XVIII 'Moor', Hg берёк 'swampy meadow; grove, bushes (Hain, Gebüsch)' ¶ UEW 374, LG 220, MF 106, EWU 98 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hō¹r- > SI *bara 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small ruver' (× N *b¹u¹X¹ra 'watercourse, river', q.v.) > Slv bára, Cz Δ bara 'swamp', Blg бapa 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} бapa 'puddle', SCr bāra id., 'meadow'.

219b. *bor ▽ 'mountain, hill' > HS: EC *bUr- > Sml būr 'mountain, bare-topped hill, summit of mountain (cumulo), mucchio', Rn búr (pl. burrár) 'hill', ?σ Or O {Sr.} būra 'forest' ¶ DSI 71, ZMO 48, PG 81, Sr. 278 || A: Tg *bor 'hill' > Ewk Ald/Z/Uc borī 'rocky hill', Ewk Skh/Urm borī 'a height (with burnt forest)', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain (covered with dwarf-shrubs and dwarf-trees)', borikta 'hill', Ork bōri 'a height (without trees or shrubs)'; Tg б→ Brt bōri 'a height' ¶ STM I 95 || D {tr.} *por¹r-, {GS} *pod¹- 'mountain, top', (in SD) *pōr- ({{GS}} *b-) '(top of a) hill' (× N *p¹or¹ä¹ ▽ 'summit, tip', q.v. × N *par¹T ▽ 'rock, hill'. q.v.) > Tm poraj, porri 'mountain, hill', Ml porra 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm pode 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr pode 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj podi 'top, above', Gdb poyta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd parrō 'on top', parro 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶¶ D #4567, GS 151 [#381], 71 [#232] ◇ ≈ Blz. IB #111b, ≈ Blz. DA 160-1 [#87] (EC, D + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island').

220. *buRu (or *buRü) 'break' > IE: NaIE *b^hreu¹- 'break, tear', {E} *b^hreu¹- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *b^hreus¹- 'break' > ON bróma 'splinter, piece', brjóta 'to break, to destroy', OHG brōdi 'easily broken (fragilis), weak, thin' (< *b^hrou¹-tyo-), AS bréað id., breoðan 'to destroy', bréotan 'to break', brūsan 'crush', NE bruise || ?σ Al: T breshēr, G breshēn 'hail' || Ltv Δ {ME} braūna, braūņa 'Schorf, Schuppe, die beim Häuten oder Auskriechen aus Hüllen nachgelassene Haut, Eingeweide' || Sl: Cz brn-ka (< *b^hrun-) 'placenta' || OIr bruid 'breaks, crashes', MW breu 'brittle' || L frustum 'piece' || ? OI bhrū¹ṅa-m 'embryo' ({P}: ← 'that has broken the egg-skin') ¶ P 169-70, EI 81, Vr. 58-9, OsS 85, EWA II 355-6, Kb. 120-1, Ho. 33-4, ME I 327, Ma. CS 44; M K II 533-4 and M E II 284-5 (no definite et. of the OI word) || A *būr¹r¹ ▽- 'break, crush' > M *bur¹ci > WrM burci- 'break, crush; raze, destroy', WrO {Krg.} burcaq 'fraction' ¶ MED 137, Krg. 372 || Tg *^obur- > Lm bur- v. 'strip (a film, the inner side of hide)' ¶

STM I 111 || pJ {S} *b̥r- 'break; bend' > OJ w̥r-, J: T ór-, K/Kg òr- ¶ S QJ #1494, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #212 (A *bù|òro) || HS: WS *✓brw 'cut, trim' > Ar ✓brw G (ip. -brū) 'dégrossir avec une hache'; rogner', OSA {DRS} ✓brw Sh†(pf. h̥brw) 'tailler en pièces' (× N *buR▽ (or *büR▽) 'flint') ¶ BK I 119, DRS 82-3 ◇ May be originally connected with N *bu|üR▽ 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint').

221. *bUr▽ 'turn round, rotate' > HS: B: Ty {PAM} b̥aruray 'rouler (objet sur une surface)' ¶ PGG 16 || EC: Sml b̥ūr- 'make round' ({Abr.} 'make into a ball') ¶ Abr. S 36 || S (+ext.) *°✓brm, *-brum- > Ar ✓brm (ip. -brum-) 'tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils\tortis' ¶ BK I 117-8 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 125 [#154] || K: GZ *br- v. 'twirl, whirl, rotate' > OG bru-y 'Schwindel', G bru- 'schwindlig machen', bru, tav-bru 'giddiness, vertigo', brun- (< *br(w)-in-, caus.) 'sich drehen, kreisen, rotieren', borbal- 'wheel, potter's wheel, whirlwind'; -> GZ *brun- v. 'spin, whirl' > OG brun- 'rotate', G brun- id., v. 'spin', Mg burin- {Kl.} 'throw with spinning; whirl' ¶ K² 17, 19, Chx. 107-8, Schm. 98, GM S 314, FS K 58, FS E 60, NCh. 155, DCh. 119 || U *p̥âr|w|ǝ▽ 'turn, revolve' (× N *P̥ôRw▽ 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *pu^r|ǝ^rra-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puv̥ra-, Mk пуворя- puv̥ra-, Δ puv̥ra- 'drehen, winden' || ? Vt Sr poryal- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *p̥ǝar (× N *p̥e^rǝ^rǝ^rǝ^r, [or P̥eRǝ^rǝ^rǝ^rǝ^r?] 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg *p̥ǝar 'round' > Vg T p̥awar, LK/MK p̥awar, UK p̥awar, P p̥awr, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T p̥üwärt-, LK/MK/UK p̥art-, P/NV/SV/LL p̥ärt-, UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herumwälzen'; ? pOs *p̥ǝarǝar- ({Hl.} *p̥ǝarǝar-) > Os Ty/Y p̥ǝarǝar- 'sich umdrehen' || Hg forog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP p̥irruōldša-, Slq Ch puoldā 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} puri^rít, LTz {KD} p̥uroltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' ¶¶ U *-w|ǝ- is inherited from N *P̥ôRw▽ ¶¶ UEW 414 (*p̥âr|ǝ▽), MF 214-5, Coll. 78, , Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [#504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w- and *-ǝ- in pObU), KKH 153 || A: NaT (× N *mur▽ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie'): [1] *bur(a)- v. 'turn round' > OOsM bur-, Tk bur- 'twist', Tkm, Ggz, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET bur-, Qzq б̥ыр- b̥ūr-, VTt, Bsh бор- b̥ǝr-, StAlt pur-, Chv L п̥ыр- p̥ǝr-, Chv H p̥ǝr- id. ('крутить, закручивать'), Qrg, Kr/Qzq {Rl.} bur- (ver-\ zusammen-)drehen, umdehen', Alt/QK/Tlt/Shor/Brb {Rl.} pur- id., 'schrauben'; [2] *bür- v. 'twist, wind round' > OT b̥ūr- id., 'screw

together', MQp XIII, XwT XIV *bür-* 'twist', Tk *bürü-* 'wrap, cover', Tlt {Rl.} *pür-* 'aufrollen, zusammenlegen' ¶ Cl. 355, ET B 264-7, 294-6, Rl. IV 1365, 1397, 1816, 1887 ¶ The variants with *-u-* ~ *-ü-* are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. **büryi* 'to cover' (q.v.) (whence Tk *bürü-* 'wrap, cover') and **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore' (q.v.) (whence Alt *pur-* 'drill', etc.) || Tg: Ewk Ucr *buruk*, Ewk Tk *burukün* 'whirlpool' ¶ STM I 114 ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s. v. **buru* 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

222. **buR∇* (or **büR∇*) 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' > (→ 'flint') > HS: C: Bj {R ← Stz.} *ber'rawe* 'flint' (R: **←d-ber-r-* 'steppe') ¶ R WBd 52 || WS **✓bry* 'cut, carve' > Ar *✓bry G* (pf. *بَرَى* *bārā*, ip. *-briy-*) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume)', *بِرَاة* *barāt-* 'plane/couteau pour adoucir le bois, une flèche, etc.', OSA {DRS} *bry* 'monument sculpté' (× N **buRu* 'break') ¶ BK I 119-20, DRS 82-3 || A: Tg **bur∇* 'flint' > Ewk *buru*, Sol *boro*, Lm *bur*, Orc *bu*, *burakta*, Ud *bū*, Ul, Ork *buraqta*, Nn *boraqta* 'flint', Neg *burokta* 'amber' ¶ STM I 114, Krm. 214 || AdS of IE: NaIE **b^her-* 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< NaIE **b^her-* v. 'bore, pierce' < N **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore', q.v. ffd.) ◇ N **bu|üR∇* 'flint' is not necessarily identical with N **bôr'a* 'pierce, bore' (≠ S CNM 4).

223. **buR∇*, **buR₁∇-₁'K'∇* 'storm, stormy wind' (→ [in U and A] 'snowstorm') > HS: B **-b∇rūr-* 'hail' > Sll {Ds.} *ibrūri^u~ibrīri^u*, Shl {La.} *ibrurin*, Kb *abruri* 'hail', Dmn *abrīro* 'small hailstones', Zmr, Iz *tbrūri* 'hail', Nf *tabruri* 'snow', Izd *tibruri*, Gd *tabruru* ¶ La. MChB 186, Mrc. 131, Lf. II #O1O1, Dl. 396, Ds. 446, NZ 124 || C {AD} **b∇r-*, {E} **bar-/bur-* > Bj {R} *bār* (pl. *bar*) 'Geruch', *bar-am-* ps. 'Geruch zugetragen werden durch die Luft', *barām* 'Geruch (der zugetragen wird), Luft, Wind' || SC {E} **būr-* v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N **b∇'h'1R∇* 'blow, inflate, swell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ E PC #5, E SC 140, R WBd 49, 51 || Ch: CCh: ? Dgh {Frk., ChL} *mábúrà* 'storm', Db {Lnh.} *bùrtótóy* id. || Ech: Mu {J} *bùrúndúl* 'storm', Kwn {J} *ká-bār* 'wind' ¶ ChC, ChL || HS {Tk.} rdp. **b∇b∇r-* (= **bubir-?*) '(whirl)wind' > HEC {Hd.} **bobire* 'wind, storm' > Kmb *bobira* 'wind', Brj *bubbē* 'storm', Sd *bubbe* 'strong wind' ¶ Hd. 168, 406 || Ch: WCh: AG {Tk.} **vívir* 'whirlwind' (**v* < **b*) > Su {J} *fívír*, Mpn {Frz.} *vóvír* id. || CCh: Msg {Mch.} *bérbér*, {Rlf.} *bérbere*, {Br. in Lk. DQM} *bebēr* 'wind', Bld {Trn.} *vùvúr* 'tornado' or 'tourbillon', Mlw

{Trn.}{ á-vùrvùl'í 'tourbillon' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. DQM 120, J S 65, Frz. M 199, Trn. B 56, Trn. MVM 207 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I 188) Ar bārīḥ- 'vent chaud, particulièrement qui vient du côté du Yémen' (BK I 107), which is an act. prtc. of ✓brḥ v. 'come from the right side' (in Ar 'south, Yemen' literally means 'the right side') ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 103 [#2] (C, Ch) || ?σκ *°bu|or- > eNG {SSO} bor-i 'haze of dust', G bur-i ~ bor-i {NCh.} id., {DCh.} 'haze, mist (мгла, туман)', {Chx.} 'leichter Nebel, Mist, Dunst', {NCh. RKL} bur-i 'бурян' ('storm'?) ¶ SSO I 110, Chx. 97, 121, DCh. 124, NCh. 153, NCh. RKL I 87 || IE: NaIE {AD} *b^her-/*b^heyr- v. 'be stormy', 'storm' (× *b^heyr- v. 'move rapidly > OI bhū'rati id., Gk φύρω v. 'mix') > YAv bar- vi. 'rage, storm' (of wind), 'be stormy' (day), 'stream quickly' (of water) (barənti ... ayān 'an einem stürmenden Tage') || ON byrr 'fair wind', NE Shetl bir(r), borr 'wind', ME bür, bir 'strong wind', Frs E bur 'wind', MDt böre-lōs 'without wind' || SI *búra ~ *búra 'storm' > OCS бoуpтa burja 'procella, tempestas', Blg 'буря' 'storm, thunderstorm', McdS бyра 'storm', SCr būra 'storm, strong wind', Slv búrja 'north-eastern wind', OCz búřě 'storm', P burza 'storm, thunderstorm', R 'буря' 'storm' ¶ Not here L fur-ō / fur-ěre vi. 'rage, rave', furor 'madness, raving', furiōsus 'raging, raving, furious' (< IE *d^huse/o- < *d^hwes- 'breathe'?) ¶ Brtl. 943, WH I 260, Vr. 68, ESSJ III 97-8, SPS I 453-4, Glh. 157, ≠ P 132-3, M K II 508-9 (they do not distinguish between the stem in question and some homonymous stems), EI 82 (L fur-ō < *d^huse/o-) ¶ Two variants of the IE stem (IE *b^her-/*b^heyr-) are reconstructed because *b^her- alone does not explain SI *buúra ~ *bura, while *b^heyr- fails to explain Av bar-; this alternation of two "états" (like *b^heg^w-/*b^heyg- v. 'run, flee') is an expected reg. reflex of a two-fold diphthongization of N *u (N *buR̥ > *b^hwer-/*b^hewr- > *b^her-/*b^hewr-, F AD NGIE) || U *purka 'snowstorm' > F purku 'snowfall', purkusää 'snowstorm (Schneegestöber)', pLp {Lr.} *porkэ id. > Lp: Kld {SaR} пōркк, {TI} por:k:(a_) id., N bqr'gâ -rg- 'cloud, spray of snow (either falling or whirled up from the ground by a strong wind)' || Mk порф porf 'snowstorm' || Chr B/U purъъž 'Schneegestöber', StChr L purъъž 'snow-drift (Schneehaufen, Schneewehe, сугроб, занос)', purъъž- vi. 'drift' (of snow), 'cover with snow' (of snowfall/wind) (мести, заносить снегом), Chr U purъа- 'stöbern, wirbeln' (Schnee, Staub) || Prm (1) *pu|úr- > Vt purž-+n+ 'to rise' (of dust), Z Vm/I/Lz/Le/Sk/Ud pírž+ni+ 'to powder with snow\dust' (of wind) ('порошить, заносить [снегом,

песком]), Z LL p̄ira 'snow-drift (heap of snow)', Prmk p̄ir̄žet- v. 'drift on sth. (by the wind)' (of snow, etc.); (2) ? *pur- > Z purkəd- 'rise' (of snow, dust), 'be a snowstorm' || ObU *p̄ork̄∇y > pVg *p̄rk̄ī(y) 'Schneegestöber' > Vg: T pork̄ē, LK p̄ar̄x, MK p̄ar̄k, P pork, Ss porxay, N {Mu.} porxey id.; pOs *p̄orkay ({HL.} *p̄urkay) 'smoke' > Os V/Vy/Y p̄orq̄+, Kz p̄or̄xa, O p̄ar̄xa id. || Sm: (1) Ne T O p̄arontāy 'snowdrift', Slq LTz purq̄āl̄ce- 'verschneien, verwehen', Slq Ch purāȳiṅpāt 'es stöbert, es ist Schneegestöber, es weht heftig', Slq Tm purq̄āt 'Schneegestöber'; (2) pSm *pur̄k̄- 'smoke' > Ne T пур' pur' 'Feuer gegen die Mücken', Slq Tz {KKIH} purq̄+ 'smoke', ?φ Kms ber, б̄ьr, bor id. ¶¶ Coll. 52, UEW 406, It. #198, Lr. #956, Lgc. #5076, SaR 265, TI 396, Ker. II 124, PI 216, 219, IG 233, 236, SZ 312-3, 370, Ht. 179 [#539], Jn. 131, KKIИ 153 || **A** *bu|or̄∇̄K∇, *bur|ra 'snowstorm, wind' > M: [1] M *boraȳan 'snowstorm' > MM boro₁an, boro₁on, boroχon id., WrM boruyan 'rain, rainy weather', cagan boruyan, qatagu boruyan 'hail', HIM бороон 'rain, rainy weather', Ord b₁orōn, Brt b, Brt Ag бороон 'rain', Brt бордоһо(н) 'snowstorm, blizzard', Kl borān 'snowstorm, bad weather'; M ⇨ T lgs. (Yk burχān, Tkm boraȳan, bōrān, etc.) ¶ H 19, MED 121, Ms. O 81, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. 105-6]?σ [2] M *burgi- > WrM burgi-, burgi-ra-, HIM бурги- v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water, or storm)' (× N *buřu(-K̄U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil', q.v. ffd. × N *bōri'γ'U 'loose earth, dust') || NrTg *būrki > Ewk burki, Lm bwrq̄w 'first snow, fine snow (пороша, мелкий снег)' (× Tg *bure-ki 'dust' < N *bōri'γ'U '↑', q.v.) ¶ STM I 113, ≠ S AJ 224 [#281] (does not distinguish this root from Tg *bureki 'dust' [< N *bōri'γ'U]) || pKo {S} *p̄ar̄ām 'wind' > MKo p̄ar̄ām, NKo param id. ¶ S QK #111, Nam 241, MLC 704 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #194 *bōru (↔ -a, -o) 'dust, smoke, whirlwind'; incl. M, Tg, Ko], Lee CSMK ¶¶ IS I 189 adduces OT bōr 'storm' (suggested by V. Thomsen in *Turcica* 94, note 2), but Cl. 357 (s.v. бор̄çā) denies the existence of this word; other words of Turkic lgs. adduced there by IS (Yk buray- vt. 'disperse, scatter [рассеивать, разметать]', Qrg боро- 'бушевать, rage' [of wind]) are not valid genetic cognates either: Qrg боро- (actually meaning 'be a snow-storm, вьюжить') cannot be separated from Qrg borōn 'snowstorm' and is probably a Mongolism, and the Yk word is semantically too distant ◇ Cf. IS I 188-90 (HS, IE, U, A). The meaning 'snowstorm' is likely to be a Uralo-Altaic innovation (partially parallel to the B semantic development: 'storm' → 'hail').

224. *ba^ʔeri 'hold, take' > HS: S *^o✓b^ʔr > Ak ba^ʔāru (inf.) 'to catch (fish, birds), to hunt' (prs. i-bar, p. i-bār ~ i-ba^ʔar), bā^ʔiru 'fisherman, hunter' ¶ CAD II 2-4, 31-3, Sd. 108 || B *^o✓Hbr > Ah abār (pf. yubar) 'saisir à pleine main', ETwl/Ty {GhA} abār (3m pf.: ETwl o^l̄m, Ty y^ol̄m) id., 'saisir à pleine bouche' (animal) ¶ Fc. 80-1, GhA 9, 246-7, ≈ NZ 92-3 || C *^o✓br (E: *ber- v. 'grasp') > Bj {R} ✓br̄y pcv. 'auf- \ zusammen-bringen, besitzen, haben'; prs. 'a-barī 'I possess', ta-bā^ʔriya 'du besitzt' has the form of past, suggesting a semantic development: 'have taken\seized' → 'possess' || Ag: Bln {R} b̄ar b̄ar- v. 'take honey out of a hive', Q {R} b̄ar̄ b̄ar-, Xm {R} birbir- v. 'pillage, plunder'; Ag b̄→ Gz ✓br̄br (pf. barbara) id.† || (z) EC: Sa I {PW} bar- v. 'grasp, hold', Af Tjr {MLuc.} b̄era 'il emporte' || SC {E} *^ober- v. 'touch' > Kz belet- id. || ?σ Dhl {EEN} b̄er- id. ¶ E SC 137, E PC #8, R WB 84, R QW 43, R WBd 49-50, L G 102, PW SSI 381, MLuc. 198, EEN 33 || K *^obar- > G bar-: gada-bar- 'etw. übernehmen, auf sich nehmen', mi-bar- 'etw. entgegennehmen, übernehmen', ča-bar- 'an sich nehmen, entgegennehmen, übernehmen' ¶ Chx. 64-5 || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'take, bring, carry' (× N *bār^ʔ∇ 'to give' × N *berE^ʔa 'to give birth to' [q.v.]) > OI 'bharati, Av baraiti 'carries, bears', OPrs bar- 'carry', NPrs -بر bār- prs. (inf. بردن bor-dān) 'carry, bear, bring', KhS bar- id. || Arm p̄t̄p̄t̄uf ber-em 'I carry' || Gk φέρ-ω id. || L fer-ō id., fer-t 'carries', Um FER- 'carry' || Phr αβ-βερ̄ετ 'at-tulit' || OIr ber- 'carry' || pAl {O} *berya > Al bie 'bring' || Gt baíran, ON, Nr bera, Sw bāra, Dn bære, OFrs, OHG, OSx, AS beran, NE bear 'to carry' || Sl *b̄ra-ti 'to take' / *ber̄q 'I take' > OCS inf. БЪРАТИ b̄rati (1s prs. БЕР̄Ъ ber̄q), Cz brati (1s prs. beru), Slk brat', P brać (1s pres. biorę), R брать (1s prs. бер̄y) id., SCr bràti (1s prs. b̄ērēm), Slv bráti (b̄érem) 'to gather in, to pluck', Blg бера 'gather (fruit), pluck, take' || pTc {Ad.} *pār- > Tc A, B pār- v. 'bear (away), carry (off)' ¶ P 128-32, EI 90 (*b^her- 'carry'), ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), M K II 473-6, M E II 246-9, Hinz 72, Sg. 173, Horn 45-6, Bai. 270-1, F II 1003-5, WH I 483-5, Bc. G 335, Vn. B 38-40, Pln. II 735-6, Fs. 75, Vr. 33, OsS 50, EWA I 546-8, Ho. 21, Ho. S 6, Slr. 78-9, ESSJ III 162-3, Wn. 361-2, Ad. 371 || A *bāri- v. 'hold, take, possess' → v. 'earn', A *bāri 'property' (≈ {SDM97} *bār∇ 'goods, possess, earn') > NaT *bār 'there is', *bari-m 'property' > OT bār 'there is', Tk var, Az var, Tkm, Yk bār id., OT barim 'property' ¶ S AJ

191 [#159], Rs. W 62, Cl. 353, 356 || M *bari- v. 'hold' > MM [S, MA] bari- '(er)greifen, (fest)nehmen', v. 'hold', WrM b̄ari- v. 'hold, grasp, take, seize', HIM б̄ари- id., Kl b̄är- б̄әр- 'hold, take into one's hands', Dx bari- v. 'hold, catch', Mnr H {SM} b̄ari- ~ wari-, Dg bari-, ? Ba wār- v. 'hold, take', Mgl {Rm.} bari- '(in die Hand) nehmen, greifen' ¶ KW 38, Rm. M 23, H 13, SM 22, KRS 92-3, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, T BJ 135, T 316, Pp. MA 433 || pKo {S} *pā̄r > NKo pā̄r- v. 'earn' ¶ S AJ 257 [#159], S QK #159, MLC 765 ¶¶ S AJ 287 [#268], ≈ DQA #108 (A *bā̄ra 'goods; to possess, to earn' > T, M, Ko) ¶¶ The pA high-tone long vw. is that represented by length in pT and by shortness in pTg || D *pēr- ({ʔGS} *p-) v. 'get, obtain' > Tm pēru 'get, obtain, lay eggs', Kn pēr- id., Tu perga 'winnings made in a game', Tl perayu v. 'obtain' ¶¶ D #4422, Km. 435 [#844]; in some D lgs. there is homonymy and probably a merger with D *pēr- 'give birth' < N *berEʔa id. ◇ Ak -ʔ- and the pT length of the vw. *ā suggest a pN lr. The lack of vowel change *a > e in Ak points to pS (and pN) *ʔ or *h, while the lack of vowel lengthening in pIE *b^her- and the zero reflex in K suggest the "lightest" N lr. *ʔ; D *r̄- (from an intervocal *r) suggests that there was a vw. between N *ʔ and *r ◇ IS I 176-7 [#8] (*bari > HS, IE, ?D, A), AD GD #100 (IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') (IE and A [mixing of reflexes of N *ba^ʔeri 'hold, take' and N *bārʔ∇ 'give'] + err. J, Ai, Gil, CK).

225. *bUʔR∇ (probably *boʔR∇) 'to dig; a pit, well' > HS *b^uʔ_r∇_r- > S *buʔr- 'pit, well' > BHb בּוּר bōr 'cistern, pitfall; separate grave', Ar buʔr-at- 'fosse', Har buʔur, būr 'deep', Grg Ch/SI/WI/Go/Z bur, Grg M b^wʔr 'pit, well', Ak būr_ru 'pit, hole; well, pond, pool', būr_rtu 'well, cistern; fish pond; waterhole; hole, pit', ? Gz mabārō 'means of digging'; delabialized variant WS *biʔir- > Ar biʔr- 'puits', BHb בְּאֵר bə^ʔēr 'well of underground water, watering place', Ug bʔ_r, and Ph (AkSc) biʔrū 'well' (in place-names), Pun, IA, Nbt bʔr 'well, cistern', OA, IA בִּירָא byr^ʔ id. (em.), JA בְּאֵרָא bə^ʔēr-ā, Sr bērā, bīrā, Md bira, Mh bayr (pl. bʔ^ʔyawrʔt) 'well'; an ambiguous case (unk. vowels): M^b br 'cistern' or 'well', OSA bʔr 'well, cistern', Cn b → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ba-ʔi-r 'well'; WS verb *√bʔr > Ar √bʔr (ip. -bʔur-) 'creuser (un puits, une fosse)', Sb √bʔr v. 'dig a well or a cistern', Tgy √brw 'fendre le sol' ¶ KB 102, 111-2, KBR 106, 116, JH 32, HJ 141-2, 155, DR KAI III 5, A #488, OLS 99, Hrs. G 85, BK I 78-9, 119, BGMR 25, Av. G II 123-4, Jo. M 40, L ESAC 12, L EDH 39, L EDG III 150-1, L G 328, CAD II 335-9, 342-

3, Hlk. #55, SivCR 79 || B: ETwl b̄r̄w̄w̄t 'fosse' ¶ PGG 16 || LEC *b̄r- > Sml {R} b̄r- 'dig', b̄r (df. b̄r-ti) 'Loch, Grube', Sml C b̄rān {ZMO} 'deep\large hole', {DSI} 'buca profonda, fossa; grande tana', Sml N {Abr.} b̄rān 'hole in the ground'; Or {C, R} bor- (b̄r-) v. 'dig', ? Or WI {Brl.} bor-r-ačč-u 'to dig earth with horns' (of infuriated bulls) ¶ DSI 64, Abr. S 34, R SS II 87, C SE II 194, Brl. 63, ≠ AD SF 45 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy {J} bur 'bury, dug in', Bks {J} bor v. 'dig', DfB {J} bur, Sha {J} bur v. 'bury' || SBc: Tala yà b̄rî v. 'dig' || ? BT: Krf {ChC} burré, Pr {Frz.} puré 'grave' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr. in ChC} b̄ram 'a well' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} b̄r (b̄r) v. 'dig' ¶ J R 84, 140, 213, 283, JI II 104-5, ChC s.v. 'dig', ChL, Frz. P 48 ¶ Glottalized b̄- in WCh corroborates the presence of a lr. in the HS √ ¶ Tkc. LAA-1 132 [#2O3] || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'dig' (× N *b^hér'a' 'pierce, bore') > Arm -բիր -biř 'aufgrabend' (in cds.: գետնաբիր getn-a-biř 'that burrows in the earth', հողաբիր hoł-a-biř 'digging the earth'), բրեմ bř-em 'I dig, I hoe, I hollow' || L for ā- v. 'bore' || Gk φάρος 'plough', φάρωσι 3p pres. 'they plough' ¶ ≈ WP II 159-61, P 133-5, WH I 481-2, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Hü. 429-30, Sl. 137 (derives Arm -biř, břem from Arm բիր biř 'large stick, club, cudgel'), ≠ EI 549 (unc.: φάρωσι, L for ā-, and Arm břem < IE *b^her- 'strike') | ?σ NaIE *b^hrēu-ř / b^hrēu-n- / b^hru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *buřu(-K̄U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe'?) > Arm աղբեր աłbewř ~ աղբեր աłbewř (gen. աłbewř) 'source, spring' (< *b^hrēwr-) || Gk φρέαρ (< *φρήαρ) / gen. φρέατος 'a well' || OIr tipra 'spring' (possibly < *to-ek̄s-b^hrēwr) || pGmc *brunō / *brun(e)n- 'well, spring' > Gt brunna 'πηγή, source' ({Fs.} 'Brunnen'), Gt Cr brunna 'fons', OHG brunno, NHG Brunnen, ON brunnr 'well, spring', AS brunna (× burna) id., 'creek'; AS burno, NHG Born 'spring, well', MLG borne 'creek', NE bourn ¶ P 144, Dv. #330, M K II 509-10, M E II 250-1, F II 1040-1, Hü. 415, Sl. 280-1, Me. EAC 147, Vn. T 74, Fs. 108, Vr. 61, EWA II 381-3, KM 10, Ho. 39, Ho. S 11 || K: G {DCh.} bar- 'dig', {NCh.} bar- id. ('копать заступом'), {Chx.} ga-bar-, gada-bar- '(das ganze Feld) umgraben'; G bar-i {NCh.} 'spade (заступ)', {Chx.} 'Spaten, Schaufel' ¶ DCh. 97, NCh. 149, Chx. 64-5, 67 ¶¶ Hardly here Sv -b̄r̄ž- ~ -bar̄ž- ǂ -b̄r̄ž- v. 'dig, hoe' (< N *b^hi^hRk|ḡ ∇ [~ *p^hi^hRḡ ∇?] 'to dig', q.v. ffd.) || D *p̄r̄- ({ǂGS} *b-) 'hole, hollow in the tree' (× N *P̄ogUr̄ ∇ 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' [of a hollow], q.v. ffd.) || A *b^hūr̄ ∇ 'spring, well' > M *bürdü 'spring of water, small lake' > WrM bürdü {MED} 'small lake,

pool', {Cev.} 'spring (of water)', HIM {Luv.} БҮРД id. ('криница'), KI Ö {Rm.} bürdü 'Sumpf, Sumpfsee mit Quelle' ¶ MED 1200, Luv. 95, Cev. 117, KW 35 (WrM bürüdü - spelling at variance with other sources) || pKo {S} *ù- 'well' > cds.: MKo ù-mír, NKo umul (mír 'water') ¶ S QK #884, Nam 389, MLC 1239 || pJ {S} *bì- (→ *bùj- → *bèj-) 'well' > OJ wì, J T i ¶ S QJ #780, Mr. 420 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #162 (incl. M *bürü-dü [sc. *bürdü], Ko, J) ◇ K *a, D *o, and the absence of vw. after *b^h- in IE may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting a N vw. *o in the first syll., while M *ü (and presumably A *ü?) may be due to regr. as. ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s.v. *BURΔ 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribes some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

225a. (₂?) *b^rA'ǂ∇r∇ 'ε ungulate' > HS: S *'buǂ∇r-, (d.?) *ba'ǂīr- > Ak būrū 'young calf; foal, young of quadrupeds' | Sb bʿr 'cattle, head of cattle; camel', Mn {MA} bʿr 'camel', Gz bəʿəʾ 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tgy bəʿəʾay 'ox, bull' (→ Sa {R} bəʿērā, Bj {R} beʿrāy 'ox [Ackerstier]', Mh {Jo.} bəʿayr 'camel', coll. {Jo.}: Mh hə-bēr, Hrs hə-byār, Bth həbēʾr 'camels' | BHb bā'ǂīr-* (att. +ppa.: 3m בְּנֵי־רֶמֶס bəʿīr-ō, 3p רֶמֶס־בְּנֵי־רֶמֶס bəʿīr-ām) 'cattle (as property)', JA [Tg.], JEA, Sr bəʿīr-ā 'grazing animal, cattle', Ar baʿīr- 'camel; (any) beast of burden' (→ Sq/Hrs {Jo.} ba'ǂīr id.) ¶ CAD II 340-2, L G 84-5, ≈ KB 136, Js. 182, BK I BGMR 26, Jo. M 41 || C: Ag {Ap.} *bir-a > Bln, Xm {R}, Km {CR} birā 'ox, bull' (← EthS?) || HEC {Hd.} ≈ *bōra 'bull, ox' > Kmb bōra id., Sd bōr-to 'cow', Hd bāra 'young bull' ¶ Ap. IV 6, Hd. 109, AD SF 204 || B: Zng ta-barar-t 'female camel'; ??? Ah {Fc.} ə-here 'menu bétail (chèvres et moutons)', Tmz {NZ} ta-burr-it 'troupeau' ¶ NZ 94, 125, Fc. 639, Tk. LAA-1 124 [#145] || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bara 'antelope' ({AD}: and 'buffalo?') > Gera bara 'buffalo', Hs {Ba.} bāʾēwá 'red-fronted or dorcas gazelle (Gazella rufifrons)', Ngz {Sch.} bəʾrí 'herd of animals' | P' {MSk.} bəbār 'roan antelope', Sir {Sk.} babari 'dama gazelle', Cg {Sk.} burāmən 'gazelle' | Jm {Csp.} búrá, ? Grn {Csp.} mbòrò 'sheep' || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} bār iē 'bull' | ?σ: Ms {Sk.} bəʾora, Bnn {ChC} bàra 'antelope' || ECh: Mkl {J} búrú 'bœuf' ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 154 [#90], Ba. 86, MSk. 166, Sk. NB 10-1, Lk. B, J LM 70, Csp. 32, Sch. DN 16 ¶¶ ≈ Tc. LAA-1 124 [#145] || D *parr- (ǂGS} *b-) 'buffalo' > Tl bārre 'female buffalo', Klm barre 'buffalo' ¶¶ DED #3321 || ?μ K: G barəʾeuli 'heifer, young cow' (unless a loan from an unknown source, which seems likely) ¶ Chx. 65 || ?φ A *biʾa(gu) or *buʾa(gu) 'young herbivore (calf, lamb, etc.)' (×N

*w'i'R₃∇ 'young herbivorous mammal [calf, lamb, etc.]', q.v. ffd.); if it is a valid cognate, the unexpected palatalized *-r̄- may be due to derivation (*bi|ur̄a- < **bi|ur-ya-?) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [#53] (S, C, WCh, D *par̄r- + unc. D *pōr 'bull', see N *p'o'r₁w₁∇ '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]').

225b. ₂ *bohr∇ 'loose earth, dust' > HS: S *°√bhr > Ar ṣabharu 'sol mou, doux', ṣ bahār- 'pepper' ¶ BK I 171, Hv. 49 || A: NaT *bōr 'dust, sand, clay', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' > Tk bōr 'virgin soil', Tkm Δ bōr 'lime(stone)', CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq. Nog, Qrg bōr, Uz bwr, VTt, Bsh bur, Chv pur̄ 'chalk', Brb {Rl.} aq por, Tv p'or 'clay', Yk būōr 'clay, ground', Tf b₁or 'sulphureous ground (сернистые солонцы)' ¶ Acc. to St AJ 288 [#298], T *bōr < A *mō|ōr∇ 'sand, dust', ср. pKo *mōr(η)ái 'sand' ¶ Tv p'or is likely to be a loan from another T lge. (because of the irreg. p'̄- for p̄) ¶ ET B 192-3, Ra. 72, 164, Jeg. 165, TL 100, 375-6, Rl. IV 1269.

226. ₂ *bUhr∇ 'be light' (of colour) > HS *√bhr v. 'be light' (of colour) > CS *√bhr id., 'stand up as white against a darker background' > Ar √bhr G (ip. -bhur-) v. 'shine, shine brightly', BHb מְבַהֵר maḇ'hīr 'shining, bright', BHb בְּהִיר bā'hīr '(?) brilliant, bright' (h. l. Job 37.21: 'qōr bā'hīr hū ḥaššāḥā'qīm [KJB] 'light which is bright in the skies', [LXX] τὸ φῶς τηλαυγής ἐστίν... 'the light which is far-shining ...'), MHb {Js.} בְּהִיר bā'hīr, בְּהוֹר bā'hōr {Js.} 'white, white spot' (cloud), {Lv.} 'glanzfleckig', JA אֲבַהֵר bəhī'rā 'glänzend, leuchtend', Md √bhr G v. 'illuminate'; BHb בְּהֵרֵת bə'hērēt 'white patch in the skin', JA [Trg.] bah'rā, bahar'tā id., bəhī'rā 'light' (colour), 'clear' (sky) ¶ KBR 111-2, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || NrOm: Ym (Fl.) bōrō, ? {Wdk.} pōrō ~ fōrō, {Lm.} forō 'white' ¶ Wdk. BY 122, 182, Lm. Y 342 || Ch *√br 'white' > CCh: MfG {Brr.} má-bàrá 'white, clean', Gzg D {Lk.} babaraṅ, Db {Lnh.} mábàrìn, Gdr (Mch.) bábàra 'white' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} bùrùwá, Ll {Grgs.} bōré, Kwn {J} b̄rétín, Smr {J} b̄rágé 'white', Ke {Eb.} ḡì-b̄ìrwí (f. b̄ìrwá) 'white, light (colour)' ¶ JI II 345, ChC, Eb. 50, Brr. MG II 162 (connects MfG má-bàrá 'white, clean' with -p̄r- v. 'wash'), Blz. EChWL #97 ||| A *buRE > Tg *būr... > Ewk burbi 'wall-eye', Nn burix̄ id. ¶ STM I 111 || Ko {Rm.} puru 'white' in puru-m̄l 'white horse' (m̄l is horse) ¶ Rm. SKE 211, Rm. EAS I 57 ◇ The Om and Ch words may also belong to HS *√brh v. 'shine' (whence S *√brh v. 'be light' [of colour], 'shine' > Ar √brh [pf. bariha] v. 'be light in

complexion', Gz \checkmark brh v. 'shine', 'be light' [of colour], *barūh* 'light' [colour], 'bright' [KB 108, BK I 118-9, 170-1, LG 103-4]); EthS > Sa {R} \checkmark brh v. 'be light' (of colour), *birīh* 'light' (colour) (< N *bArh'ē' 'to shine' [q.v.]).

227. (₂?) *b∇'h'R∇ 'blow, inflate, (→?) swell' > HS: C: SC {E} *būr- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N *buR∇, *buR₁∇-₁'K'∇ 'storm, stormy wind') > Kz {E} bu₁- v. 'blow' (of wind), Alg {E} bur- v. 'fan' ||| Dhl {EEN} būri 'fart' (b₁ < **b₁? < *b₁∇₁h?) ||| EC: Sm *barar-*, Boni {Hn.} *barʔēr-* '(an)schwellen' ¶ E SC 140, EEN 34, Hn. SL 75 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} *bòré* v. 'blow (blasen)', Kwang {J} *bòré*, EDng {Fdr.} *ábìʔrè* 'blow' (wind) ||| CCh: Msg {Dec.} *barawē* 'wind', Msg P {Trn.} *baraway* 'tornado sèche', Mbara {TrnSL} *bàràwáy* 'tornado', Ms {Caīt.} *biri* 'orage' ¶ Lk. DM 47, Trn. LM 76, TrnSL 254, Caīt. 38, Fdr. 2 || B: Wrg *bbərbər* 'monter, se gonfler en fermentant (pâte)' ¶ NZ I 94 || ?σ S * \checkmark bhr > Ar \checkmark bhr G ps. (pf. *buhira*) 'be out of breath', *buhr-* 'breathlessness, short-breathing' ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 129 [#180] ||| K: GZ *bēr- 'blow, inflate, distend' > G *ber-* v. id. (aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, F GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1), Lz *bar-*, Mg (m) *bar-* v. 'blow, inflate' ¶ IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 ||| ? A: M: WrM *bartaira* 'swell, distend (as eyes, face, etc.)' ¶ MED 89.

228. *b'uXr∇ 'back, rear' > U *pur∇- 'rear part, behind' > pOs *p+r > Os: V *p+r*, D *p+r*, Kz *p+r* 'hinter etw. befindlich, Raum hinter etw.' || Hg *far* 'Arschbacken, Hinterteil, Gesäß', 'hindquarters, (hotse's) croup, (person's) posterior', *farol-* 'rückwärts gehen' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} *purdā-* 'sich nach hinten, gegen den Strich wenden' (z. B. die Strömung, die Haare bei einem gereizten Tier), *purdārīʔ* 'zurück', Slq Tm {KD} *pāran-* 'um-, zurück-kehren/-gehen, sich wenden' ¶¶ UEW 407, MF 182-3, EWU 356, Lh. 366 ||| D (in SD) *pur₁- (={ḡGS} *p-) 'buttocks, anus' > Tm *pūr₁* 'anus', Ml *pūr₁*, *pūr₁am* 'buttocks, vulva', Kdg *pu'ri* 'vulva' ¶ D #4379 (unconvincingly adducing Tu *pūr₁i* 'vulva' and Tl *puḍa* 'anus' [that in my opinion belong to N *pu₁w₁ṭE or *p₁w₁ṭE 'hole' → 'vulva, anus'], as well as the etymologically unclear Brh *pundū* 'bottom of a receptacle, buttocks, anus') ||| HS ** \checkmark bXr 'back, back part of the body': B * \checkmark bXr (or * \checkmark bzr) > Ah *a-bāhar* (pl. *ibūhār*) 'dos nu d'un animal portant une charge', *əbhər* '(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un animal)' ¶ Fc. 40, Pr. H 34 (#23), NZ 40 || CCh: Db {Lnh.} *mbūr*, *mbūr* 'buttocks', Gv {ChL} *mbūr₁tà*, *mbūr₁tè*, Dgh {Frk.} *kfímbǔtè* id. ¶ ChC, ChL.

229. *bār?∇ 'to give' > **HS**: S *^o✓br? > Ar {Dz.} ✓br? G 'hand over' ('livrer, remettre, céder') ¶ Dz. I 62 || Ch *✓br (Nw.) *barə, {JS} *✓br) v. 'give' > WCh {Stl.} *bar- > BT: Krkr {Lk., J} bar-, Krf (imv.) bārí 'give!'; after Stl. ZCh: Bl, Ngm bar, Glm bār, Gera bār 'give' | pSBc {Stl.} *bər > Grn {Sh.} būr, Grn Mb {Sh.}, Tule {Sh.} bār, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.}, Zar K/GL/L {Sh.} vár, Zar {IL} vār id. | Ngz {Sch.} bārú id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} vəri id. | McMdr: Gdf {Sh.} bar-, Gv {ChL} bəráná, Dgh {Frk.} béré, bírbgè, Nkc {ChL} bərbìgá id. || Ech: Mu {Lk.} bārá, {J, Lk.} bār, Kjr buruno, ? Kjk fāro, Bdy bər, Jg {J} bir, Brg {J} bīrì, EDng {Fd.} béré, Mgm {J} bīr-áw id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 154 [#88], Nw. #57, JI I 76 and II 158-9, JS 116, JA LM 70, Sh. SB 35, Sch. DN 22, Blz. EChWL #34 || **K** ≈ *bar- > G (da-)bar- 'hinterlassen (z. B. Auftrag)', {DCh.} 'entrust, commission so. (to do sth.), charge (with a task)', Sv UB {GP} li-bräy-e v. 'to hand over', Sv {Ni.} -bräe 'give' ¶¶ Chx. 64, DCh. 97, Ni. s.v. 'д а т ь', GP 148 || **A** *bār∇ (or *bēr∇?) v. 'give' > T *bār- (Adb., DQA) *bēr-) v. 'give' > OT bēṛ (= {Cl.} bēṛ), Tkm ber- (acc. to IS, secondary shortening due to the infl. of r), Az ver-, Afsh vēr-, Tk SW vēr, Yk bīār-, Chv par- (acc. to Adb. SR-D and Pp. J 54, Yk -īā- and Chv -a- suggest pT *-ē-) ¶ Rs. W 70, Cl. 354-5, S AJ 178 [#34], Adb. SR-D 57-8, Jeg. 143, Fed. I 384-5 || ?φ pJ *pārāp- v. 'pay' > OJ pārāp-, J: T hará-, K hárá-, Kg hàrà- id. ¶ S QJ #187, ≠σ S AJ 282 (treats this J word as going back to pA *bār∇ 'property; to possess, to earn'), Mr. 684 || ??φ Tg *bū- 'give' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn bū- (high series of vw. harmony), Lm bō-, WrMc bu- ¶ STM 99 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #154 (A *bjōr'ē' 'give, take, collect'; incl. T, Tg) || **D** (in McTm) *parič̣- 'gift' > Tm paricu, paricil 'gift, donation, present', pariyaṃ ~ paricam 'brideprice, hire of a prostitute', Ml pariyaṃ 'token given by bridegroom to bride' ¶ D #3970 ◇ IS I #10 (*ber_LH_J∆: HS, T -?K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #382 (*per 'take') (A [mixing of reflexes of N *bār?∇ and N *ba'eri 'hold, take'] + err. IE, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

230. *berE?ə 'to give birth to; child' > **HS**: S: [1] WS *bar- 'son' > Aram bar, Mh cs. bər, abs. ḥz-brē, Jb C bər id.; for pS we may reconstruct a suppletion system: sg. *bar- ~ *bin- 'son', pl. *ban- + pl. ending (see N *beñ|ñ∇ 'younger relative'); the suppletion pair *bar-/*ban- is preserved in Aram and SS (OSA/Mh/Jb/Sq) | [2] ? WS *✓br? v. 'give birth to, create' (or SS *✓brw 'give birth', WS *✓br? 'create') > Mh {Jo.} ✓brw (pf. bərō), Jb C ✓brw (pf. 'biri), Sq {L} ✓br?|w (pf.

berē) v. 'give birth', Sb brw 'child, son, offspring', Hb, Aram, Ar
 ✓brʔ v. 'create', OSA ✓brʔ v. 'build, create' (in Hb, Aram, Ar, and OSA
 a coalescence with different roots is almost certain) ¶ Jo. J 28, Jo. M
 54, KB 146-7, KBR 153-4, BGMR 30, 32, Bll. 57, Av. G II 176-7, 184 ||
 EC: Rn bâr 'brother-in-law, wife's brother' (← *'brother' ← *'born one';
 σ≡: below NaIE *b^hrāter-) ¶ PG 72 || WCh: Fy {J} ḫarà 'Kind, Kleines' ¶ J R
 84 ¶ ḫ due to mt.: **b∇rʔ > **bʔ∇r > ḫarà? || +ext: B *✓brđ > Ah a-
 barad 'boy', ta-barat 'girl', ETwl/Ty a-barbđ 'boy, young man', Gh abarad
 'boy' ¶ Fc. 86-7, GhA 9, NZ 103 || K *ob^hr- 'child' > Lz bere 'child,
 son', Mg ber- 'son' in family names (beria, gigi-beria, etc.); ?ϕ G I bʕari
 'child' ¶ Chik. 21-2, Chx. 126 || IE: NaIE *b^her-/ *b^hor- v. 'give birth',
 'child', {E} *b^her- 'bear a child' > Gt baíran, OHG, AS beran, OHG,
 OSx gi-beran, NHG gebären 'to give birth to', NE bear 'give birth',
 Gt bērusjōs 'parents'; -d> Gmc *burθiz 'birth' > ON byrð (↳ ME
 birthe, NE birth), Dn byrd, Gt ga-baúrps, AS ze-byrd, OHG
 burt, giburt, NHG Geburt id.; Gt baúr m. 'γεννητός (a born
 one)', ON burr 'son', AS byre 'son, child' || pAl {O} *bira > Al bir
 'son' || -d> (prtc.) *b^her-no- 'foetus, child' > Gmc {ZlZ.} *barnan 'child'
 > Gt, ON, OHG, OSx barn, AS bearn 'child' || Ltv bērnas 'child', Lt
 bėrnas 'fellow, lad, chap; farm labourer' || pAl {O} *barnā > Al
 barrē 'foetus' || -d> IE b^hreh-tēr ({E} *'breh_htēr) > NaIE *b^hrā-ter-
 (nom. *b^hrātēr / obl. *b^hrāt(e)r-) 'kinsman of ego's generation and of
 the same exogamous moiety' → 'brother' (← *'born one', σ≡: above Rn
 bâr) > OI 'bhrātar- (nom. 'bhrātā), Av, OPrs, KhS brātar-, CINPrs
 برادر birādar, NPrs beradār, Psh wrōr 'brother', Oss (mt.): D ärvadā
 id., I ärvad 'kinsman, brother' || Gk I [Hs.] φρήτηρ 'brother', Gk A
 φράτηρ, φράτωρ 'kinsman of the same phratia' || Arm եղբայր ełbayr
 'brother' || Phr βρατερε dat. 'to (the) brother' || Vn vhratereid.
 (dat.) || L frāter, Um FRATER 'brother', Osc fratrum gen. pl. 'of
 brothers' || OIr bráthair, W brawd (pl. brodyr), MCm braud,
 Cm broder (bf. from pl. breder), MBr breuzr, Hm breur (pl.
 breudeur) 'brother' || Gt brōpar, ON bróðir, Nr, Sw, Dn
 broder, OHG bruoder, NHG Bruder, OSx brōthar, AS brōðor
 id., NE brother || Pru brāti (voc. brote), Lt (← dim.)
 broterėlis 'brother', Ltv Δ {ME} brātarītis 'Brüderchen' ({P}:
 'lieber Bruder!'); shortened form: Lt brólis, Ltv brālis 'brother' || Sl

*brátrь id. > OCS БРАТРЪ bratrъ, Slv brâter, OCz, Cz, Hls bratr, Slk bratr(e)r, LLs bratš; SI *brátъ id. > ChS БРАТЬ bratъ, Blg, R, Uk брат, SCr bràt, Slv brát, Cz π, Δ, Slk, P brat || Tc: A pracar (du. pratri), B procer 'brother' ||] Possibly also L forda 'pregnant (of animals)', OIr birit 'sow' (acc. to Vn., from 'pregnant'), combrit 'féconde, prolifique', SI *berdjā 'pregnant' > ChS БРѢЖДЬ brěždь, RChS БРѢЖИИ brězii, SCr brědja 'pregnant', Slv bréja, Cz březí 'pregnant' (of animals), R Δ бе'режая, Uk бережа 'pregnant' (of a mare), Blr берэжа 'pregnant mare' (× sds. from *b^her- 'carry' < N *ba^ʔeri 'hold, take' [q.v.]) ¶ IS I 32 ¶ ≈ P 128-31, 163-4, ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), EI 84, 333, M K II 530-1, M E I 328-9 and II 280-1, Mrg. 90, Bai. 313, Ab. II 437-8, F II 1039-40, ≈ WH I 527, 541-2, Pln. II 683, 736, Vn. B 52-3, 80-1, and C 168, YGM-1 53, Hm. 108, Zlz. M I #4.5, Fs. 75, 82, 84-5, 106-7, 175, Vr. 27, 65, 67-8, Ho. 18, 21, 36, 40, Ho. S 5-6, 10, OsS 41, 50, 86, 240, EWA I 346-8, 481-2, II 385-8, 472, Kb. 58, 65, 125, 137, 337, KM 103-4, 237-8, Frn. 40, 59-60, O 19, 26, ESSJ I 188-9, II 238,, III 7-11, Glh. 146-7, Slr. 37, Wn. 387, Ad. 421-2 || ?σ U: pBF *pereh- 'family' (← 'children [of...]) > F per he, Es pere e, Krl pereh, Vo pere 'family' ¶ SK 523, SSA II 339 || D *per- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'beget, bear (a young)' > Tm peru id., Ml peruka v. 'bear, bring forth', pirappu, piravi 'birth', Kt perv- v. 'be born', Td perp, per 'act of birth', Kdg per-, Tu pedpini, pedduni, Tl peṭṭu, Nkr peṭṭ- v. 'give birth', Klm peṭ- v. 'bear young' ¶¶ D #4422 ¶¶ × D *per- v. 'get' (< N *ba^ʔeri) ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Blz.) SD *pār- 'child, young of an animal', because of the vw. *ā and *-r- (regularly from N *r-clusters) (see N *P_Ar₁?₁∇ 'to bring forth, to give birth', 'young of animals', q.v.) || A ?σ *berE 'girl' > M *beri 'daughter-in-law; bride' > WrM beri, HIM бэр id., MM beri [HI] id., 'younger brother's wife', [S] 'daughter-in-law', [MA] 'bride', Dg {Mr.} beri 'bride; man's daughter-in-law', Dg {T}, Brt бэри, Kl бер 'son's \ younger brother's wife, young married woman', Kl {Rm.} berə 'bride, son's wife', WrO {Krg.} beri 'bride, wife', ShY {Ktw.} bēri 'belle-fille', Mnr H {SM} bīeri 'wife, woman', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} baiṛī 'bride'; ⇨ M *beri-gen 'elder brother's wife' > MM [HI] bergen id., [S] ber(i)gen 'sister-in-law (Schwägerin)', [IM] berigen 'bride', [MA] berigen beri 'younger daughter-in-law, elder brother's wife', Brt бэригэн 'elder brother's wife', Kl бергн id., 'son's wife', {Rm.} bergn 'Frau des älteren Bruders oder Schwagers; Schwägerin',

WrO {Krg.} berge(n) 'sister\daughter-in-law, brother's wife, young married woman', Dg {Mr.} beregen 'sister-in-law', Dg {T} bərigən, Dx {T} bəgən 'elder brother's wife'; sx. *-gen like in *eme-gen 'old woman, old wife', *kür-gen 'son-\brother-in-law', *ebü-gen 'old man', {Rm.} *eli-gen 'relatives-in-law'; M b→ Yk bārgän ~ mārgän 'husband's brother's wife', Ewk Brg bərigəy 'brother's wife', WrMc berxu 'husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger sister' ¶ MED 99, Ms. H 40, H 14-5, Pp. MA 118, 433, SM 25, Krg. 342-3, KRS 95, KW 4, Chr. 132, Mr. D 12, Ktw. OuJ 444, T DnJ 113, T DgJ 126, Wr. B 122, STM I 126 ¶¶ DQA #122 (A *bĕrĕ 'daughter-in-law, younger relative-in-law'; incl. M, J) ◇ IS I #32 (*bār 'child': HS [S, B, dubious C cognates], K, IE), ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#44] (added WCh and unconvincingly D *pār-) ◇ S *✓br? and WCh (Fy bārā 'Kind, Kleines' < **b?r < **b?r?) point to a lr. *? within the N word. This N lr. is also responsible for the NaIE vowel lengthening in *bĕrā-ter and for the interconsonantic zero reflex in *bĕr-no-. D *-r- suggests that N *-r- was between vowels. The solution is N *berE?a (*-E- in the light of pBF *pereh- and A *berE).

231. *bū|ur,?,∇ 'lock of hair, down' > K: GZ *burṭq]- 'down and plumage' > G burṭq]- id., Mg buṭqu- 'soft'; K *burṭq]- is likely to go back to a N cd. ≈ *bū|ur,?,∇ d∇lqâ (lit. 'hair feather', F N *d∇lqâ 'feather') with as. *dq > *ṭq ¶ K 55, K² 21, FS K 65, FS E 68 || D *pūr- ({ǵGS} *b-) 'down, body hair' > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā ɘ bura 'down' ɘ burā 'feather', Knd buṛus ɘ bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būriṅ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku būrka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- (hence to N *bū|ur,?,∇), while Knd -ṛ- suggests pD -ṛ- (× N *P_óʳ∇ 'hair') ¶¶ D #4358 (does not distinguish it from D *pūṭ- > Ml pūṭa 'down of birds', Brh puṭ 'hair', etc., as well as from D *pur|r∇ 'eyelash, eyebrow', see N *bûrûH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash'), GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-ṛ- and *-r-), Berger BZ 42 [fn. 85] || HS: Eg N br {Hng.} 'hair tuft' (in br n sđ 'tuft of the tail' [n sđ 'of the tail']), {AnC} 'touffe (de la queue d'animal)' ¶ Hng. 256, AnC-1 #1277, Tk. II 249-51 || C: Bj {Rop.} bār 'camel-hair', berāri 'mane', {R} be'rāre 'mane (of lions, horses, pavians)' ||| EC: Sml {ZMO} bār 'eyelashes; hairs of the camel's hump' ||| SC: Irq {E} bōri 'body hair, facial hair', {MQK} bōri 'beard on the chin', Brn {KB.} bōra 'goat's

beard', \rightarrow Mb {E} $\tilde{b}\acute{u}ru$ 'goat's tail' ¶ Blz. EDB 6, Blz. SCL s.v. 'hair', Rop. 162, R WBd 51, ZMO 24, Siy. 290, E SC 140 || ECh: Smr {J} $b\grave{a}r\grave{a}$ 'tresse de femme, cheveux tressés' ¶ J ms. ¶¶ Tk. SCC 72 [#1.4] (C, Eg + unc. $\checkmark b\check{h}rr \sim \checkmark bhrr \sim \checkmark brr$ 'tail' in B lgs.), Tk. LAA-1 127-8 [#171] || ?µ S: Ar $bur\bar{a}ʔil-$ 'plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux (p. ex., le coq, le pigeon)' ¶ BK I 117 ¶ The etymological structure of $bur\bar{a}ʔil-$ is unknown; it may go back to a phrase (two words), and it is not certain that ʔ belongs to the first root (presumably $\checkmark brʔ$) || A: NaT * $b\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{a}k$ (originally a d.ʔ) 'curly hair, forelock' > OT [MhK] $b\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{a}k$ 'forelock', Osm $b\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{e}k \sim b\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{u}k$ 'curly hair', {Rl.} $p\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{u}k$ id., 'nap (of cloth)', Tk $p\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{e}k$ 'curly hair, fringe hair\fibres ($\delta a x p o m a$)', Az $bir\check{c}\check{a}k$, Tki {Vmb.} بورچاك , {Rl.} $b\ddot{u}r\check{c}\check{a}k$ 'curly hair, curl, lock (of hair)', Qzq $\text{б\ddot{u}p\check{u}i\kappa}$ 'nap (of velvet, etc.)' ¶ Cl. 357, MM 111, Rl. IV 1400, 1892 ◇ The long vw. and the quality of r in D are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. The ev. of K (glottalization *d > *ʔ) and S (if ʔ in Ar $bur\bar{a}ʔil-$ belongs to the ancient root) suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ.

232. * $b\ddot{a}r\check{c}\hat{a}$ 'bud, leaf' > HS: S * $o\check{b}i|ur\check{c}-$ > Ar $bur\check{c}-$ 'bud' || ECh: Mu {Lk., J} $\check{b}\acute{e}r\acute{y}\grave{o}$ (pl. $\check{b}\acute{e}r\grave{e}$), Mjl {Blz.} $berr\hat{i}o$ 'leaf' ¶ Lk. ZSS 180, ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf' ¶ Mu $\check{b}er-$ < ** $bʔ\check{V}r-$ < (mt.) ** $b\check{V}rʔ-$ < * $b\check{V}r\check{c}-$ || ? B: Kb $bb\check{a}r\check{b}\check{a}r \sim \beta\check{b}\check{a}r\check{b}\check{a}r$ 'être feuillu, former rideau' ¶ Dl. 36 || IE: Ht $par\check{s}d\check{u}$ {Frd.} 'bud, sprout', {Ts.} 'sprout', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N * $por\check{V}$ 'leaf', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 190-1 || U: FU * $p\check{a}r\check{V}$ 'bud' (× N * $p\check{e}r\check{V}$ 'fruit', whence U *e > pVg * $\check{e}l\grave{a}$, Hg \check{e}) > Chr $par\check{\delta}a$ 'bud', Chr H {Rm.} $p\check{a}r\check{t}\check{n}\check{a}$ 'catkin (on birch-trees)', {Ep.} $p\check{a}r\check{t}\check{n}\check{a}$ 'bud', {Rm.} $p\check{a}r\check{c}\check{a}$ 'catkin (on birch-trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} $p\check{a}r\check{c}\check{a}$ 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' || pVg * $p\check{e}r-$ or * $p\check{a}r-$ > Vg T {Kn.} $p\check{e}r$ 'cone (of a birch-tree, of an aspen)', {MK} $p\check{e}r$ 'bud' || Hg $b\check{e}r\check{k}e$ 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 106-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 (hyp.: Vg \leftarrow Tatar, cp. VTt $\text{б\check{e}p\check{e} b\check{b}\check{r}\check{b}$ and Tlt $p\check{u}r$ 'bud' [Rl. IV 1397]) || A: NaT * $b|p\check{u}r$ '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' and M * $bor\check{c}\check{u}guyi$ 'cone of trees' (× N * $por\check{V}$ 'leaf', q.v. ffd.; T * \check{u} and M * \check{o} belong to the heritage of N * $por\check{V}$).

233. * $bor\hat{u}\check{c}\check{V}$ (or * $baR\hat{u}\check{c}\check{V}$) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > HS: S * $bur\check{c}- \sim *bur\bar{a}\check{c}-$ 'reed' > Gz $b\check{a}r\check{c}$ 'reed', Ak $b\check{u}r\hat{u}$ 'reed mat' (> Sr $b\check{u}r\bar{a}$ id.) ¶ Sd. 141-2, LG O11-2, Br. 95 || B *- $b\check{u}ray$ 'stick' > Gd $ta-b\check{w}ri-t$ (pl. $ta-b\check{w}ray$), Ah $t\check{a}-b\check{u}ri-t$, Gh $ta-buray-t$ id., WTwl, Ty $\check{a}-bor\check{a}y$ 'bâton attaché au piège par une corde pour empêcher l'animal de s'enfuir' ¶ Lf. II #O135, Fc.

81, GhA 11, NZ 125 || ?ϕ Eg N br̥y̥ ∈ 'stick', {Hoch} 'a type of wood used in chariots', {DLE} 'chariot' ¶ EG I 465, DLE I 158, ≈ Hoch 100-1 (Eg ← *Sh*), Tk. II 258-9; the loss of the expected final *ʃ still needs elucidation ¶¶ SAAJ I 87 [#107], OS #228, Tk. AANM 2 || IE: NaIE *b^hruH- ~ b^hreHw- > NaIE *b^hrū- ~ *b^hrēy̥- 'log' > ON brú 'bridge', ON bryggja, Sw brygga 'bridge; landing-place, embankment (Hafendamm)', NNr bryggja, Dn brygge 'landing-stage', OHG brugga, brucka, Δ prucca, MHG brucke, brücke, NHG Brücke, OSx bruggia, AS brýc̥ǰ 'bridge', NE bridge; NGr B Bruck 'Bretterbank am Ofen', NGr Sw brügi 'Holzgerüst' ||| Gl Briua brīva 'bridge' (< *b^hrēwa), preserved in Latin place names (Wb. I 542), such as Briua 'Brive-la-Gaillarde', Briua Sugnutia 'Brèves', etc. ||| Sl *brъvъ, {Sl.} *brъvъ 'trunk, log' > Blg Δ брѡв ~ брѡф 'tree used as a bridge across a river\stream; small bridge, cross-beam', SCr br̥v 'small bridge, cross-beam', Δ brv 'small bridge; log as a bridge across a river', Slv br̥v 'foot-bridge, gangway, gangplank', OR, RChS БРѢВЪ brъvъ, БРѢВЪ brъvъ 'log', БЕРѢВЪ berъvъ 'raft, embankment dam', OCz břeв 'small bridge', Uk бер 'small wooden bridge'; ⇨ Sl *brъvъno ~ *brъvъnъ ~ *brъvъna (= {Sl.} *brъvъno) 'log' > OCS БРѢВЪНО brъvno, Blg брѡв'но, 'бървен, R брев'но id., SCr brvno 'log; wooden foot-bridge, plank-bridge', OP birzwno, P bierwiono, bierzwiono, bierzwno 'rafter, beam' ¶ P 173, Vr. 59, 60-1, OsS 86, Kb. 122, Ho. 37, Ho. S 10, Billy 35, LP § 18, ESSJ III 71-3, Bern. I 92, Brū. 26, SPS I 400-1, Glh. 153, Drd. 44, Kmc. 525 ||| U: FU *pora 'logs used as a raft\bridge, a board' > pLp {Lr.} *pōrēvē > Lp: N {N} boar're 'logs placed together to form a primitive bridge over a river\lake; a board used as a floating raft', L {LLO} parre 'raft', T {Gn.} poarrew 'Brett' | Prm {LG} *pur 'raft, ferry' > Vt pur id., Z pur 'raft', Z LL pur 'raft, ferry' ||| ObU *pōrā 'raft' > pVg *pārā > Vg: T parā, P/NV/SV/LL/ML/UL pōra, Ss pōra id.; pOs *pāra ({JHl.} *p̥tra) > Os: V/Ty/Y pāra, Vy pāra, K/O pār, Kz pōr id. ¶ Es parv 'ferry' may go back to the merger of this stem with U *parwa 'Haufen, Gruppe' (UEW 356-7) ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 395-6, Lr. #974, Lgc. #5148, LG 232-3, Ht. 179 [#534], Db. OS xi, It. #35 ||| ?σ D *paru|inc̥- ({θGS} *p-) 'hilt of a sword' > Tm pariñcu, Ml priñnu, Tl parūzu id. ¶¶ D #3969 ◇ If the questionable D cognate is rejected, the N vw. of the first syll. is *o, and the N etymon is *borûǰ. But if *o in FU *pora is due to the infl. of *p-,

the D root and Es $\text{par}\nu$ may be interpreted as pointing to a N ***a** (N ***baRûř**) \diamond AD GD 12 (IE, U), IS MS 332 (IE, U), AD NM 67 [#84].

234. ***bôri¹ʿU** 'loose earth, dust, (?) sand' > K ***^obu|ir̥w-** 'dust' > Sv: UB {TK, GP), LB {TK}, L {TK, Dn} $\text{bir}\nu\omega$, LB/Ln {TK} $\text{bi}\nu\omega$, UB/L {TK, Dn.} $\text{bur}\nu\omega\bar{\text{r}}$, Ln {TK} $\text{bu}\nu\omega\bar{\text{r}}$ 'dust', Sv UB {IS \leftarrow ?} $\text{bur}\nu\omega-$ 'raise dust' ¶ TK 154, GP 91, Ni. s.v. пыль, Dn. s.v. $\text{mir}\nu$ and $\text{bur}\nu\bar{\text{r}}$ || HS: C {AD} ***bUr̥-** 'sand, dust' (\times N ***bAr** 'earth, land; dust?') > Bj {Rop.} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ 'earth, land', {R} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ 'earth', Bj A {AD} f. $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'būr 'earth', m. $\text{?}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'būr 'sands, sandy country, semi-desert' (with articles $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}$ f. and $\text{?}\bar{\text{o}}$ m.) || EC: Sml {ZMO} $\text{bur}\nu\text{o}$ 'sand hill, dune', Sml N {Abr.} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\nu\text{o}$ 'sand dune', {R} $\text{bur}\nu\text{o}$ 'sand', Sa {R} $\text{bur}\bar{\text{e}}$, {CR} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'sand', ? Sd Hb {C} $\text{berrin}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'dust'; Af {PH} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{ta}$ 'soil', Arr $\text{b}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'earth' ¶ AD SF 315, ZMO 47, PH 74, Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177 || Ch ***bur** > WCh {Stl.} ***bur** 'sand, dust' > Su bur id., 'ash', Ang {Gr.} bur 'dust' || Ron {J}: Bks, DfB $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ id. || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 'būr̄a 'sand, dust' || McM: Zm $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$, Lame $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{m}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'dust' || ECh: Mgm {J} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{l}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{e}}$, EDng {Fd.} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{l}$ pl. (sg. $\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{l}\bar{\text{o}}$) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase ***bôri¹ʿU nu dŭHĭ|** with ***dŭHĭ|** 'dust')] Cf. also Ch ***√brbr** 'dust' (< N ***bAr** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Stl. ZCh 157-8 [#117], ChC, JI II 280-1, ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Fd. 101, Gr. LC 299 || U ***por** 'dust, sand' > F poro , Krl, Vo poro 'dregs, dust, ashes', ?σ Es $\text{por}\bar{\text{i}}$, Δ $\text{p}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'mud, mire', {W} 'dünner Kot, Dreck' || ? Chr L $\text{puraka}^{\text{1}}\eta\text{a}\check{\text{s}}$ 'to be(come) covered with dust' || Vg: LK $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\check{\text{s}}$, N pors 'rubbish' (d. with a sx.) || Sm: Kms $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'sand' ¶¶ SK 604-5, SSA II 399, W ESS 847, ≈ LG 233, Coll. 50, MRS 469, Hal. USz III 443-4 || A {SDM95} ***b^or** (or ***boru**?) > NaT: [1] ***bur** 'dust, soot' [{SDM95} ***bur(ū)**] > Qrg bir , Xk pir 'fine dust (in corn, on clothes)', Alt/Tlt {RL} pur 'Asche, die vom Feuer aufgewirbelt wird und wie Spinnewebe am Dache hängen bleibt', Tv {Rs. \leftarrow ?} puru 'smoke, dust', Tf {Ra.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ 'soot (suie, noir de fumée)', SbTt Bkl pir , SbTt Tö por 'soot' (\times pT ***bōr** 'dust, sand?'), ?φ SbTt EuCh pirim 'soot', SbTt Tm burim 'smoke, soot', ?σ Yk $\text{bur}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'smoke (дым, чад)', [2] *AdS of* NaT ***bōr** 'dust, sand, clay', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (see N ***bohr** 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Rs. W 89, Jud. 171, Rl. IV 1364, Ra. 167, BIG 170, Tum. 47, 175, 181, Pek. 570 || M {S} ***burgi-** v. 'rise' (of dust, smoke)' (\times N ***buřu(-K̄U)** 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) || Tg ***bure-ki** 'dust' > Orc, Ul $\text{bur}\check{\text{x}}\bar{\text{i}}$, Nn $\text{bur}\check{\text{x}}\bar{\text{i}}$ id., WrMc $\text{bur}\check{\text{a}}\text{k}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'dust' (пыль, прах') ¶ STM I 113 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #194 (incl. T, M, Tg; does not distinguish this root from the

reflexes of N *buR∇, *buR_L∇-, 'K'∇ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.), Rs. W 89, S AJ 193 [#188], 255 [#111], 224 [#281], STM I 113 ¶¶ Tg *bure-ki suggests that M *burgi- goes back to *bur∇-ki- || D *pūr-/puṛ- ({ṭGS} *b-) 'dust, earth' > Tm pūrī 'powder, dust, sacred ashes', pūr̄ti 'dust', puṛuti dust, powder, dry earth', Ml pūrī, puṛuti 'dust, earth put to the roots of trees', Tl būdīda 'ashes', Klm būḍdi 'ash', ? Prj poṛmil 'rubbish', Mlt porsī 'sweepings' ¶¶ D #4316 ◇ D *-ṛ∇ < **ry∇ < N *-ri'ṽ'U ◇ IS I 187-8 (*bur(H)∇/*bor(H)∇ 'loose earth, dust', corresponding to our two etymons: N *bōri'ṽ'U and N *bAr∇ 'earth' [q.v.]), Rs. W 89 (F, T).

235. *bArh'ê' 'to shine' > HS *✓brh > WS *✓brh > Ar ✓brh G (pf. bariha, ip. -brah-) v. 'be(come) white', barahrah-at- 'a white girl \ female \ woman', Gz ✓brh G (pf. barha, js. -brāh) v. 'shine, be bright', Tgr, Tgy ✓brh id. (whence Bln {R} barh- 'licht werden'), Gz bār hān 'light, brightness' | cp. CS *✓bhr 'be light' (of colour), 'stand up as white against a darker background' < N *bUhr∇ 'be light' (of colour) (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KBR 111-2, LG 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || ?φ Eg L bḗx̄ {EG} 'aufgehen' (Sonne), 'hell glänzen' (Milch) ¶ EG I 423, Tk. II 83-4 || EC *✓br? (~ *✓brØ) > Or {Grg.} bari?- v. 'break' (day), barī 'morning', Or B {Sr.} barī id., 'dawn', bari- v. 'dawn', 'break' (day), Kmb {L} birre? v. 'clear up' (weather), Sa {R} bera 'morning, tomorrow', Af {PH} 'bēra 'tomorrow', Sml {DSI} beri- v. 'dawn', {DSI, ZMO} beri 'day', berri 'tomorrow', Sml N {Abr.} wāgu wā beriyayya 'the day is dawning', Rn {PG} báryò 'early dawn', Arr {Hw.} barrí 'dawn, tomorrow', Bs ge-bar-i, Dsn bér-ìkà, Elm bār-ri 'tomorrow', Sml bér-i 'east', Or bar-i, Kns, Gdl par- v. 'dawn', Elm búr-re 'morning' ¶ EC *?/Ø is a reg. reflex of HS *h (sc. it corresponds to S *h), F AD WIL 630-1 ¶ AD SF 40, Bl. 151, Grg. 41, Sr. 271, Hw. A 346, ZMO 38, DSI 55, Abr. S 31, PG 75 ¶¶ Dk. p.c. → AD SF 40 (C, S *✓bhr), LG 104 (C, S ✓brh) || IE *bher_LH_L- (= *bher^h-?) > NaIE *bher_La_L- 'shine (glänzen)' (× IE *bher- 'brown' < N *bof_L?_Lû 'brown, yellow') > OSx, MLG, AS brūn 'shining (glänzend)', ON brun id., 'polished' || IE *bher^h- +ext. > NaIE *b^hrē-g- ({EI} IE *b^herH^g- 'shine') > OI 'bhrājatē 'shines, beams, glitters', bhrāj- 'Glanz', Av brāza^ti 'beams, glitters', NPrs بران bārūz 'ornament, decoration; beauty', {VI.} 'ornatio, pulchritudo, bonitas', برانیدن bārūzī-dān 'to decorate, to render beautiful\good' || Lt brékšti (prs. brékšt-) 'to dawn', 'to break' (the day) || SI *brěskъ

'dawn' > Slv brĕsk, Slk bresk, P brzask id.; Sl *brĕskati se ~ *brĕščiti se > Slv Δ brĕckati se 'to dawn', P † brzeszczy się 'it dawns'; *brĕzgb ~ *brĕzga > ChS, OR БРЪЗГЪ brĕzgb, OCz březk, R Δ брезг, брезга 'dawn'; Sl *brĕžžiti ~ *brĕžžati > Slv Δ breždžiti, bréžati, brez(d)étì, Cz Δ břížiti se, Slk brieždit' sa, P brzeždżyc się 'to dawn', Plb brezdojĕ 'it begins to dawn', R брезжить, OCz břěžditi se 'to begin to dawn' ¶ P 136-7, EI 513-4, MK II 529-32, ME II 279-80, Horn 45, VI. I 209-10, Sg. 167-8, OsS 87, EWA II 375, Ho, 36, Vr. 61, Wn. 34, Frn. 55-6, ESSJ III 16-20 || D *par- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'dawn, shine' > Kt par par in- (/ id-) '(country {na·r̥}) becomes a little light before dawn', Kn pare v. 'dawn', OTI {Km.} parāgu v. 'shine', Kui pari inba v. 'dawn, break (dawn)', Mlt parċe v. 'shine brightly, be seen clearly' ¶¶ D #3980, Km. 426 [#797].

235a. ₂ *bAr'h¹ ∇ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love') > HS: S *√br'h|ʔ¹ G '≈ be hungry' (→ 'love') > OA, Ak ∇ inf. barû 'be hungry, starve', Ar √brr G 'be good/pious; love (one's parents)' ¶ BK I 103-4, CAD II 118-20 || ? B *√βrH 'love, want' > Gd √βr (inv. əβr, 3m pf. yäβr) 'vouloir, désirer, aimer, avoir l'intention de', Ah ər, Tnsl ərh, Ty {ABs.} ər ~ əru, Kb ər, Shl, Tmz iri 'love, want', Twl {ABs.} ərhu ~ əru, {PGG} iṛu v. 'love, want, wish, need'; ? √β¹r > Tw Ng {NZ} ihar ɘ əwəɘ 'être nécessaire de, avoir le devoir de' ¶ Lf. II #0096, Fc. 154-51, Pr. H 86 [#588] (B *√rh₂h₁), NZ 90-1, PGG 264 || D *pari 'love' > Tm pari v. 'be affectionate, love', pari n. 'love, affection', Ml parivvu 'love', Kn paraḷiga 'paramour', Tl perima 'love, affection' ¶¶ D #3964.

236. *borHû '≈ belly', 'internal organs' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *bĕr 'stomach, liver' > Sml bĕr, Sml N bĕr 'liver', pBn {Hn.} *bĕr 'stomach, liver' > Bn {Hn.}: Bi/J/Ba bĕr id., 'liver', K bĕr 'entrails', bĕr 'liver' || ? Brj {Ss.} bára 'chest' || SC: ?σ Brn {E} baroʔo 'spleen' ¶ Hn. S 54, Hn. BD 116, 130, Abr. S 30, Ss. B 33, ESC 320, 338 || ? (+ext.?) WS *bar₁∇₁k- > Sq {L} 'berak 'poitrine', {SSL} 'be(:)rak 'chair sur poitrine des animaux', Ar bark- 'poitrine (chez l'homme); poitrail dont le chameau agenouillé touche la terre' ¶ LLS 95, SSL CLS 100-1, BK I 116, MiK I 1.35-6 [#38] || IE: NaIE *bʰrū-n- > OI bhrū'n̄a-m 'embryo' || MHG briune, brūne 'pudenda muliebria' || Cz brnka 'placenta', {M} 'Kindsfell' || ?σ Ltv braũna 'scab, slough, cast skin of a serpent' ¶ ≈ P 169, MK II 533-4, ≈ ME II 283-4, Lx. 26, Ma. CS 44, ME I 327 || D *pōr-, {{GS}} bōr- 'chest, breast' > TI bōra id., Knd bōra 'chest', Ka bōr(a)la, bōr(a)lu

'upside down' ¶¶ D #4592 ◊ D *-r- (reflex of N *r-clusters) and of the long vw. in D suggest the presence of a N lr. ◊ NaIE *-ū- in *b^hrū-n- (< IE *b^hruH-(n)-) may be explained by mt. (*-HŪ- > IE *-uH-) ◊ Blz. DA 154 [#21] (HS, D, IE; tacitly includes the IE reflexes of N *b∇RǵŪĉ∇ '≈ belly', q.v.).

237. ₂ *būrūH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE {EI} *^lb^hruH-s > NaIE *b^hrū- 'eyebrow' > OI bhrū- (nom. bhrūh, gen. bruvah), Av brvat-, NPrs برو äbrū, برو bārū || Gk ὄφρυς (gen. -ύος) id. || Mcd [Hs.] ἄβροῦτες 'eyebrows' || OIr brá, nom. du. broí, accus. du. bru, gen. du. brúad id., forbrú (accus. pl., gen. pl.) 'supercilia' || ON brún, pl. brynn, Dn øjenbryn, Sw ögonbryn, OHG brāwa, NHG Braue, AS brū 'eyebrow', ME browes pl. 'eyebrows', NE brow, eyebrow || Lt † bruvīs, Lt brūvė 'eyebrow' || Sl *brī (gen. *brīv-e) > OCS БРЪВЬ бръвь 'eyelash, eyebrow', P brew, OCz brew 'eyebrow', SCr † br̄v, Blg Δ μ β̄ρβα 'eyelid', Cz μ brva 'eyelash', Slk pl. μ brvy 'eyelashes, eyebrows', OR БРЪВЬ бръвь, R бровь 'eyebrow' ¶ WP II 206-7 (and 169), EI 188, Bc. 219, M K II 534-6, M E II 282-3, Horn 16, F II 454, Vn. B 75, Thr. §§ 310, 314, Ho. 36, Vr. 60, OsS 82, EWA II 302-5, KM 96, Frn. 57, ESSJ III 63-4, Vs. I 215 || D *pur̄r∇ ({ǵGS} *b-) > Klm bu'r 'eyelash, eyebrow', Gdb burgul 'eyebrows', Ku kanu būru 'eyebrow' (kanu is 'eye') ¶¶ ≈ D #4358 (does not distinguish it from D *pūt- 'down, hair' and from D *pūr- 'down, hair on the body', see N *bū|ur̄?∇ 'lock of hair, down').

238. *barq∇ (~ *barX∇) 'go, go away, step' > K *b^arq- (or *berq-?) '≈ step, walk' > Sv: {Ni.} bārq, U {TK} bārq (pl. bārqār), UB {TK, GP} bāq (pl. bāqār), LB/Ln {TK} bāq (pl. baqār), L {TK, Dn.} bāq (pl. bāqar) 'step', Sv {Ni.} χwi-bārqi v. 'I step' ('шагаю'), Sv LB {GP} na-barq, UB {GP} na-bāqω 'foot-mark; overstepped (by so.)', Mg d. la-baχ-u 'passage in wattle-fence', ?σ OG perq 'foot', G peχ- 'leg' ¶¶ The irreg. vowel corrs. and the vowel lengthening in Sv UB/L may be due to the cns. r and its loss ¶¶ K 50 and K² 12 (*berq- 'leg, step'), TK 149, GP 90, Dn. s.v. māq, Ni. s.v. шагъ and шагаты, FS 47 (+ err. G baq-baq-i 'unschönes Laufen', baq-baq- 'sinnlos herumlaufen'; err. rec. of K *baq-) || HS: WS *✓br̄h v. 'flee, run away' > BHb, Ph, JA ✓br̄h G id., Ug {OLS} br̄h adj. 'huidizo, escurridizo; fugitivo', Ar ✓br̄h G 'leave (a place), cease', Gz ✓br̄h D 'flee, escape, run' (× barrāḥa 'enter the wilderness, take to the woods' ← Gz barāḥā 'wilderness' ÷ Ar barāḥ- 'bare stretch

of land') ¶ KB 149, KBR 156-7, OLS 115, Sl. 243, ≈ LG 104-5 || C *b̄r- > Bj {R} ber- scv. 'auswandern', ? ✓sbr (1s: p. a-s'bār, prs. asta'bīr) pcv. md. 'sich flüchten, davon laufen' (if it goes back to a causative stem s̄-b̄r) || ĩ Dhl ḥariž- {E} 'go out, depart' (unless the right interpretation is {To.} 'depart on dawn' or {EEN} ḥarij- 'rise [sun], stay till dawn', connected with Dhl {To.} ḥariti 'dawn') || ??? SC: Ehret (E PC #4) adduces a pSC stem *bariy- v. 'travel' → Mb -bāri v. 'travel' and the above Dhl verb ¶ R WbD 50, 52, 195, ESC 135, EPC #4, EEN 33, To. D 130 || A: T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' (× N *mAr'û' 'trace, path; to follow, to trace'?) > OT bar- v. 'go, go away', Tkm, VTt, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, ET, Yk bar-, ET Δ bār-, Uz b̄r-, Tk var-, Δ vār-, Az var-, StAlt b̄ar- v. 'walk, go', Chv p̄ir-, Δ pur- v. 'gehen, fahren' ¶ Shch. SF 195 (*bār- with unj. long *ā on supposed ev. of some ds. of ET, Tk, and Qzl); in view of the reflexes in Tkm and Chv, the vw. was short ¶ Cl. 354, ET B 64-65, Rs. W 62 (unc.: ÷ M *bara- 'ein Ende machen, zu Ende bringen', see KW 34), Jeg. 173, Fed. I 465-6, Md. 105, 173; ET B 64-5 (unc.: *ā), S AJ 194 [#206], DHST 294 (*bēr [= *b̄r] on supposed ev. of Xlj b̄r) || D *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'run, go away, flow' (× N *pAr,y,∇ 'run, flee', q.v. ffd.) || E par- 'gehen, reisen': AchEl par-u 'gehend, reisend', pa-ri-iš- 'sie gingen, zogen, reisten', pa-ri-iš-da 'er ist gegangen, gereist' ¶ HK 123, 149-50, 161 ◇ Hardly here Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' (Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80), better explainable as going back to N *P_∇RC∇ 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (q.v.). The K √ points to N *q, while S *ḥ is likely to go back to N *χ; the problem needs further investigation (a positional change?).

239. *büryi 'to cover' > HS: B *✓brbr ~ *✓brr v. 'cover, be covered' > Ah b̄arub̄ar̄at 'couvrir, être couvert, se couvrir', Gh (caus.) sb̄ar̄b̄ar 'couvrir, boucher', Gd b̄ar̄b̄ar 'être couvert, être enveloppé', Gdm {Lnf.} b̄ar̄b̄ar 'être couvert', Kb sb̄er̄b̄er 'se voiler', sburr 'se couvrir, s'envelopper', Shw ssb̄ar̄b̄ar id., Mz bb̄ar̄b̄ar 'couvrir entièrement'; ?? B *✓φHr v. 'close' > Ah aḥar 'fermer, boucher', Gd εβar (3m pf. īβer) 'fermer au verrou bloqué ou à clef (une porte)' (B *✓φHr may be alternatively or even better equated with Ak ap̄ār u v. 'put a covering on so.'s head') ¶ Fc. 84, 633, Nh. 146, Lf. I 238, II ##0093, 0108, Dl. 36-7, Pr. H #355, NZ 90-2, Dlh. M 10 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} b̄ir̄í 'étendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissu)', Mbara {TrnSL} b̄ar 'couvrir (une maison)', Masa {Caīt.} b̄ar 'se couvrir' || Ech: Dng {Fd.} b̄îr̄è 'couvrir' ¶ Trn. MVM 282, Caīt. 36, TrnSL 254, Fd. 92 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 126

[#163] || **K** *bur- v. 'cover, muffle up, wrap up; darken' > G bur- 'muffle up, darken', {Chx.} bur- (ft. gada-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, be-\ über-decken', bur- (ft. da-bur-) 'in Nebel\ Dunkel hüllen, verhüllen, verschleiern, be-\ ver-decken', Lz bur- v. 'patch up', Mg bur- id., v. 'darn', Sv bur-/bwr- 'darken' (UB/KB/Lx/L msd. libwr-e 'to darken sth., to get dark', L prs. i-bruvi 'it is darkening', aor. ed-burān(da) 'night fell', ft. ed-bur 'it will get dark'), Sv UB {GP} ra,hi-y-bur-i 'life' (lit. 'light and dark'); ds.: OG da-h-bur-es tavsa '(they) blindfolded him' (Lk. 22.64), G da-bur-uli tge 'dense forest', Sv {TK}: USv mubwir ~ mubir, L mubur 'dark', {Ni.} nambwr 'darkness' ¶¶ K 55, K² 20, Chx. 119-20, FS K 64-5, FS E 67, TK 427, 573-4, GP 147, 221, 256, Dn. s.v. bur-, Ni. s.v. темный and темнѣть || **A** *bürE- 'cover' > T *büre- ~ *bürü- v. 'cover, wrap' > Tkm büre-, Chg Bürü- v. 'cover', Tk Bürü- v. 'cover, envelop, wrap', d. *bürke- > Qmq Bürke- v. 'cover, wrap', Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET Δ Bürke-, StAlt bürke- v. 'cover', Tv Бүргээр пүрхэ- 'wrap, become cloudy, Uz burkä- v. 'wrap', Qrg Bürkö- vt. 'cover, close', VTt бөркө- бөркө- id. (→ Chv pürke- vt. 'cover'), Xk pürge- v. 'wrap, envelop, cover', Chv pürke- v. 'cover, wrap (the whole body, including the head)' ¶ ETB 296-8, Jeg. 172, Fed. I 422-3, TvR 128 || **M** *büri- v. 'cover' > MM [S] buri- 'bedecken, beziehen', WrM Bürri-, HIM Бүрэ- v. 'cover, envelop', Kl бүр- v. 'cover'; *bürkü- id. > MM [HI] Bürkü- id., WrM Bürkü- v. 'grow\become cloudy, cover, cover up, envelop', HIM Бүрхэ- 'cover, be covered, cloud over', MMgl Bürk 'clothed', Mgl Bürkünä 'he covers', Dg Bürkü- v. 'cover' ¶ H 23, Ms. H 45, MED 150, Iw. 94, Pp. IM 50-1, KW 68-9 || Tg [1] Tg *büri- v. 'cover' > WrMc Bürri- id., Nn, Ul buri- v. 'cover, wrap' ('покрыть, обтянуть, оклеить') ¶ STM I 114, Pt. 27] [2] ?? Ewk bū- v. 'shade (light)' ¶ STM I 99 ¶ Pp. VG 111, KW 68-9, DQA #220 (A *būru [→ -jū-, -e] 'to cover, to shade' > T, M, Tg *bū-) || **D** {Pf.} *pūr-/ *puṛ-∇- ({ṛGS} *p-) v. 'cover, bury' > Kn hūr(u) id., pūr(u) v. 'inwrap, insert, cover, bury', Ml pūr(u)k v. 'be buried', Kdg puṛ- v. 'bury', Tl pūr(u) v. 'be filled and closed up (as a pit)', pūr(u)cu v. 'bury', Nkr purp- id., Krx putt- v. 'set' (of the sun) ¶¶ D #4376, Pf. 88 [#585], ≠ Km. 434 [#839] ◇ D *-ṛ- may be explained as going back to *-ry- ◇ IS I 191-2 (*bürri in K, HS, D, A; IS adduces [with a query] IE *wer- 'cover', which is hardly acceptable).

240. $\text{₂} *b\text{ṽ}R\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}$ '≈ belly' > **HS:** S: Ar burṣuθ- 'derrière, cul' ¶ BK I 113 || **IE:** NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreus-/*b^hrus- '≈ chest, belly' > Clt (< d. *b^hrusō / gen. *b^hrus-n-os) > OIr brú (gen. bronn) 'sein, ventre, matrice', W bru 'womb, belly', W, MCrn bron (Clt < *b^hrusnā-) 'breast', Br bronn 'sein, mamelle' ||| Gmc: Gt brusts pl. 'σπλάγχνα, στήθος', {Fs.} 'pluck' (actually 'heart'), 'breast', OFrs Brust, burst, MDt, Dt borst, OHG Brust, NHG Brust 'breast'; Gmc {Vr.} *breusta > ON brjóst, OSx briost, AS bréost 'breast', NE breast ||| Sl *brūxo ~ *brūxъ 'belly, paunch' > OR БРЮХО brjuxo, БРЮХЪ brjux 'venter', OCz břuch 'stomach (venter), belly', Cz břicho, Slk brucho, OP brzuch, P brzuch, R Брюхо 'belly, paunch' ¶ P 170-1, ≠ EI 561 (words for 'breast' and 'belly' ← *b^hreus- 'swell'), Vn. B 99-100, Hm. 114, Fs. 108-9, Vr. 57-8, Vr. N 79-80, EWA II 399-402, KM 105, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10, ESSJ III 33-4, Vs. I 225, Bern. I 25 ◊ May be connected with (derived from?) N *borHû '≈ belly', 'internal organs'.

241. *bAR₁ṽ₁dṽ 'to pass; way, road' > **K:** GZ *bo(r)d- v. 'wander, roam' (→ v. 'rave') > G bod- v. 'wander, roam', 'be delirious, rave', G I bodial- 'kopflos\ziellos hin- und herlaufen, umherstreifen', Mg bordiš- v. 'rave', bond- id., Lz bod- v. {K} 'rave', 'dart in trouble, беспокожно човатъ' (of a brood-hen) ¶ ≈ K 52 and ≈ K² 17 (*bod-), Chx. 93-4, DCh. 111 || **HS:** B *√brd 'road' > Izn abrid 'road', Rf AU, AT abrid, pl. ibridan 'chemin, route', Kb abrid, pl. ibardan 'chemin, route, rue, passage', Ah a.barid, Gd abrīd, pl. bērdan ~ bridawen 'chemin', Nf brid 'route, sentier' ¶ Fc. 86, Rn. 293, Lf. II #O110, Dl. 41-2, NZ 100 || ?φ S: Sr {Br.} pl. 𐤁𐤓𐤁 bēry-āṭ-ā 'via' (sg. bērī'ṭ-ā), Sr {JPS} 𐤁𐤓𐤁 bērī'ṭ-ā 'street, broad place' (unless from N *bArṽ 'earth, land; dust') ¶ Br. 88, JPS 55 || ?φ Ch: WCh: Bd bāḍum, budm {IL} 'path' ||| CCh: Mdr {Eg.} bārāmā id., Glv {RpB} bāram(a), barāmā 'road (in town), street, way' ||| ECh: Smr {J} bārmā 'road', Nd D {J} bām 'road', Tmk {Cp.} bwām 'path', Mu {Lk.} bōdōl, {J} bodōl 'road' ¶ ChC, RpB 14 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade' > pAl {O} *breda > Al G/T breth (aor. brodha) {AIED} v. 'roam, wander; run, go fast; frolic, leap about' ||| ḷ W {Mn. ← ?} bridd (*b^hrēd^h-) v. 'leap forward' (absent in YGM and SB) ||| Lt brīsti (prs. brendū, p. bridaũ), Ltv brist (prs. briedu) 'to ford, to wade', Lt brūdis n. 'wading', brudė 'track, trace, trail', ?σ brādas 'fishing' || Sl *bred-/*brbd- (*bred-o ~ *brbd-o,

inf. *bresti) > OCS **БРѢСТИ** brestī / prs. **БРѢДѦ** bredŏ v. 'wade, ford', Slv brestī / brédem, OCz břísti / br(e)du ~ břdu, Slk brst' / brdú id., R бресті / бреду 'plod one's way, drag oneself along'; SI *brodъ 'ford' > ChS **БРОДЪ** brodъ, Blg, R брод, SCr, Slv brōd, Cz, Slk brod, P bród id. ¶ WP II 201, P 164, Mn. 100-1, Glh. 152, O 34, BFU 66, Kf. 55, Ç I 75-6 and II 357, Frn. 58-9, ESSJ III 14-5, 36-7, SPS I 368-9 || **D** *paṭi ({{GS}} *b-?, *-ḍ-) 'way, manner' > Tm paṭi 'manner, mode', Kn paṭi 'manner, method, way', Tl baḍi, vaḍi 'manner' ¶¶ D #3851 ◇ The meaning 'rave, be delirious' (attested in GZ, Ltv [brist 'Albernes sprechen'], and SI [R 'бредить' 'to rave']) is likely to have derived from 'roam' ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. брод¹ (IE, K), IS SS #12.20, K 52 (IE, K).

242. *bur₁u₁d^gṽ (~ *bar₁u₁d^gṽ?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > K: GZ *burḍya- 'down, plumage' > G burḍya-, Lz bundya- ~ burḍya- id., Mg burḍya- 'down, shaggy'; -ḍ- > GZ *bṛḍy-wn- v. 'pluck (bird)' > G brḍyu-, brḍyvn-a (~ bḍyvn-a) v. 'pluck (fowl)', OG na-bdr̥yu-en-i 'Flaum, Daunen', Mg burḍy- v. 'pluck', Lz o-burḍy-ol-u ~ o-bundy-ol-u v. 'pluck (fowl)'; acc. to FS, G burḍya 'plumage, down' is a loan from Zan; K *°bardy- (?) > G P bardy₁-i '(Tier-, Fell-)Haar' ¶ K 55, K² 18, 20-1, FS K 59, FS E 61, Chx. 66, 72 (s.v. ბდღღებ / ბდღღებ), and 104, Abul. 317, Gh. 60 || **IE**: NaIE *b^hard^hā 'beard' > L barba id. || Gmc: OHG bart, NHG Bart, Dt baard, AS, NE beard, ON barð id. || Lt barzdà, Ltv bārda, bārzda, Pru bordus id. | SI *bor¹da (accus. *bōrdŏ) id. > OCS **БРАДА** brada, Blg брада, R боро¹да (accus. 'бороду), Uk боро¹да, SCr bráda (accus. brādu), Slv bráda, Cz, Slk brada, P broda ¶ WP II 135, P I 110, EI 251 (*b^hard^h-eh_ḡ-), Mn. 65-6, Dv. #327, SPS I 317-9, Vr. 26, Vr. N 24, Ho. 17, EWA I 488-90, KM 54, Frn. 36, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 240-2, ESSJ I 197-8, SPS I 317-9, Glh. 144-5 ¶ The variant with *-sd- > -zd- in Lt and Ltv is not yet explained (infl. of *b^hars- 'ear of barley'?) || **A**: [1] *bur₁u₁ṽ^g 'facial hair' > NaT *murut 'moustache' > Chg {RI.} بوروبت burut, ET burut, Brb {RI. → Tm} murut, SbTt {Tm.} mūr̥t ḍ murt, Tkm murt, Qzq мурт mūr̥t, Qq, Uz Δ murt id., Nog murt 'tips of moustache' ¶ Rs. W 90, RI. IV 1825, 2193-4, Nj. 219, TkR 459, MM 248, Tm. 153, 155, KrkR 467, NogR 228. UzR 272 || ?φ Tg *bu¹r¹ga-kta ~ *gurga-kta 'beard, moustache' > Nn Nh bogaqta ~ božaqta ~ gogaqta, Ul bužaqta, Orc bažakta ~ guggaqta, Ud guakta, Ewk gurgakta, Sln guggakta ~ gurgakta, Lm gurgə́t, Neg

goygakta id. ¶ The root-internal *-g- may go back to N *g (*burga < **burdga < N *bur_ud_ug_u). The initial *g- may be due to as. ¶ STM I 173 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #213 (≈ A *būrda 'beard'; incl. T, Tg) ¶¶ [2] ? M *barbayi- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard) (× N *bar_ug_u 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.); M *barbagar > WrM barba-gar, HIM баравгар 'hairy, shaggy', 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles), Kl барвһр barwəɣar, Brt барбагар 'hairy, shaggy' ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 ¶ M -b- in *barbayi- and *barbagar still needs explaining ¶ HS: ?φ,σ S: Ar {BK} burd-at- 'pièce en étoffe de laine et qui sert pour s'envelopper et coucher dessus', burd- 'ε textile' ¶ BK I 107-8 ¶ The loss of the expected *ɣ may be due to the infl. of the Semitic triconsonantic pattern of root structure ◇ The variation *u ~ *a in the first syll. may be due to as. *-aru- > *-uru- in descendant lgs. Alternatively, *a in IE, in G bardyli, and in M barbayi-, *barbaɣar may be due to the infl. of a different N word or to internal vw. changes in lgs. (such as IE **∇ur > *∇r before a syllable boundary).

243. *bⁱr_ug_uE 'high, tall' > K {FS} *brg- 'tall and strong' > G brge 'tall, broad-shouldered' (Chx.: 'hochgewachsen, breitschultrig'), Sv {Ni.} bæg-i 'thick rope (канат)', Sv UB {GP} bæg-i 'firm; bold', Sv -bg- (msd. {Ni.} li-bg-i, UB/LB {TK, GP} li-bge) 'strengthen', na-bg-i {GP} 'firmness', {Ni.} id., 'strengthening' ('укрепление, твердость') ¶¶ FS K 58-9, FS E 60-1, GM S 99, Chx. 104, TK 425, GP 92, 147, Ni. s.v. ¶ HS: B: Ah burgat (aor. pret. -bburgat < *-w-brg) 'être soulevé, se soulever', ETwl, Ty b̄rḡat 'être soulevé', Gh b̄r̄ž̄ad v. 'stand up suddenly' ¶ Fc. 88-9, GhA 10, Nh. G 173, NZ 105 ¶ C: Bj {Alm., R} 'birga 'high' ¶ EC: Or {Tut.} b̄rḡi 'eminence, hill (Anhöhe, Hügel)', adj. b̄rḡi 'rising, eminent; erhaben, ansteigend', ? pSam {Hn.} *būr- 'big' (of things)', {AD} 'high, big' > Rn {PG} būr 'big', Sml {ZMO} būr 'mountain, bare-topped hill', Sml būran {Hn.} 'stout', {ZMO} 'fat, plump, corpulent, obese', {DSI} 'essere grasso \ robusto \ grosso', Sml {ZMO} būrān 'stoutness' ¶ R WBd. 52, Hn. S 55, PG 82, 147, DSI 71, ZMO 48, Tut. 439, IS I 177 ¶¶ var. *√ bgr (< *√ brg) > S: Gz √ bgr G v. 'grow, become physically developed', MHb √ bgr G v. 'mature' ¶ Ls. G 89, Sl. 185 ¶ (mt.) Eg fBD бзз 'Mastspitze' ¶ EG I 488 ¶ Ch: WCh: Kir p̄ḡòre, Kir Mn bagóra 'big' ¶ Bd {Lk.} ̄vḡor 'long' ¶ Bdy {AIJ} begèr 'dépasser, surpasser' ¶ Csp. 42, Lk. Bd 71, AIJ 58 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 111-2 [#55] ¶ IE *b^herǵ^h- 'high' (-d̄ > *b^herǵ^ho-s 'mountain', *b^hǵ^hu-s 'high', etc.), {E}

*bʰr̥ǵʰu-s, *bʰr̥ǵʰent- 'high' > OI br̥hánt- 'groß, hoch', Av bərəzant- 'high', bərəz- 'high; height, mountain', CINPrs بَرَز barz ~ بَرَز burz, NPrs بَرَز borz 'height, tallness; tall', KhS balysga- 'high' || Arm -բերձ -berz 'high' (in: երկնա-բերձ ɛrkna-berz 'himmelhoch', լեռնա-բերձ leṛna-berz 'berghoch') (< *bʰerǵʰo-s), բարձր barzr (gen. barzru) 'high' (< *bʰerǵʰu-s) || ? OL [Fest.] fortus (< *forg-tos < *bʰorǵʰ-to-s), L fortis 'strong', Osc FORTIS adv. empr. {Bc.} 'potius', {Pln.} 'fortius' (÷ L fortius) || Clt: Gl brig- 'high' (in n. pr., F Evn. 316), briga- 'height' (in n. l., F Wb. I 525), OIr brí 'hill' (accus. go brigh 'towards the hill'), W bry ~ fry 'en haut', brig 'top, summit', W, MBr {Ern.} bre 'hill, highland', Crn brē 'hill', Br bre 'hill, mountain'; W bera 'rick, stack', Crn bern id., 'heap', Br bern 'tas, meule', MBr bernou 'monceaux', berniaff 'élever' || Gt baírgahei 'highland', ON bjarg, berg, Dn bjerg, NNr, Sw, OHG, OSx berg, NHG Berg 'mountain', AS beorh ~ beorz 'hill, mountain; heap of stones', NE barrow; ON borg 'a height; fortress, city', Gt baurgs 'city, tower', Dt borg, borch, OSx, OHG burg 'castle, town; stronghold', NHG Burg 'fortress, stronghold, castle', AS burz id., 'city', NE borough, barrow || Sl *bergъ 'bank, coast' > OCS БРѢГЪ brěgъ, Blg бряг, SCr брѣг ≙ brijêg, Slv brêg, P brzeg, Cz břeh, Slv breh, R, Uk 'берег || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- > Tc A/B pärk-, A park- v. 'arise', 'rise' (of celestial bodies), A pärkär, B pärkare 'long' || Ht parku- 'high', park-, parkiya- v. 'raise, rise' ¶ P 140-1, EI 269, Bc. 296, M K II 445-7, M E II 232, Bai. 272, Vl. I 218, WH I 535-7; ≈ EM 382-3 and ≈ Pln. I 384 (both: L fortis and Osc FORTIS < *dʰr̥ǵʰ-to- < *dʰerǵʰ- 'hold'), II 39, 600-1, 683, Bc. G 316, Vn. B 87, IP § 37.2, YGM-1 44, 53, 55, ECCE 214-6, Ern. 58, 80, Hm. 76, Billy 34, Fs. 75-6, 85-6, Vr. 39, 50, Vr. N 96, OsS 51, 92, EWA I 553-4 and II 457-60, KM 66, 111-2, Ho. 20, 38, Ho. S 6, 11, ESSJ I 191-3, SPS I 203-4, Glh. 150-1, Hü. 428, Sl. 68-9, Wn. 362-3, 390, Ad. 372-3, Ad. H 124, 138, Ts. W 60-1, CHD P 155-61 || D (in SD) *pēr̥ (~ *pīr̥?) ({ǵGS} *p-) > Kdg pe'r 'steep slope', Td pō'r̥ 'cliff'; IS adduces here also Kn pēr̥h- v. 'lift up' (sc. Kn {BE} pēr̥u v. 'lift up and put upon, lod, pile up'), which goes back to D {GS} *pēd̥- > Ml pēr̥u 'a load', Tm pēr̥u 'a pile', pīrakku v. 'heap' (as in D #4446, GS 64 [#195]) ¶ D #4448 ¶ D *-r̥- (regularly from N intervoc. *-r-) suggests a N vw. between *r and *g || A: Tg *bir...- > Sln {Iv.} бирахán 'mountain', ?φ WrMc biyoran (=

[b'oran] or [b̥oran]) {Z} 'ravine with red ground, cliffy bank' ('красный яръ, обрывистый утесъ берега'), {Hr.} 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde' ¶ STM I 84, Z 545, Hr. 102 || U *pir|ðkã 'high' > Sm {Hl.} *pirke, {Jn.} *pirkã 'high' (× U *piðe(-kã) 'high, long' < N *bêžU(┘-q┘) - *bêž┘, q┘ 'big, high', q.v.) > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} pirćē, Ne F {Lh.} píčśśăă, En X {Cs.} fiđe, En B {Cs.} fiše, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} pirq+ 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} pürg 'high', Kms {KD} p'úr'že, {Cs.} phirže, Koyb {Sp.} прица, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {MIL.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {MIL.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgè) 'high' ¶ UEW 377-8, Jn. 125, Jn. UK 225, Hl. M 246 ◇ D *ē in *pēř is still to be explained ◇ IS I 177 [#9] (HS [B, C, Ch: Jg búlgî't 'high' qu.], ? K, IE, ?D, Sm); Blz. LNI 202 derives the Sm stems from U *piðe(-kã) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #204 (*pirka 'high') (IE, U + err. A + qu. CK).

244. ₂ *b'E'R∇'k'∇ 'knee' > HS: S *'birak- 'knee' > BHb בִּרְקָא 'berək id., בִּרְקַיִם bir'kayim 'knees' (pl. ← du.), בִּרְקֵיהֶם birkē'hem (< *birakē'hem) 'their knees' (suggesting the original pl. **barā'kīm 'kneres'; the fricative k̥ of birkē'hem points to a preceding vw. in the pl. form, which provides ev. for a vw. in the second syll. of S *'birak-), Ug brk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} birku, BA, JPA אִבְרָקָא bir'k-ā, Sr bur'k-ā, Md burka, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} bark, Jb {Jo.} berk, Sq {Jo} b̄rk, Gz b̄ark, Ak birku ~ burku 'knee'; ⇨ [1] WS *✓brk v. G 'kneel' > BHb ✓brk G 'kneel down', Ar ✓brk 'kneel' (of camels), Mh ✓brk (pf. b̄rōk) id.; [2] CS *✓brk v. D and L 'bless' (← *'make kneel') > Hb, Ph, Ug ✓brk D id., Ar ✓brk D and L id.; pp. G means 'blessed', e.g. in BHb בָּרְוּךְ bārūk 'blessed', (of God) 'praised', Amn, Ug brk, IA brūk (= *bārūk), JA [Trg.], JEA בָּרְוּךְ bārūk, Sr bārūk-ā 'blessed'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bí-rā-kú v. 'bless, serve (as an acolyte)' and (?) bí-r-kú 'gift' ¶ KB 153-4, KBR 159-61, OLS 116, Hnr. 115, Sl. 245, Br. 96, Jo. M 52, Sd. 129, 140, CAD II 255ff., L G 105, DRS 84-5, HJ 198-202, Hlk. ##60-1, SivCR 57, 79, MiK I #1.39 || Ch: CCh: Gzg Mj {Lk.} poporok 'knee' || possibly WCh *burum 'knee' (loss of *k): BT: Grm {Sch.} búrmùŋ, Dr {J} bó-b̄r̄əm, Tng {J} purum, Bl {IL} burum 'knee' | AG: Su {J} fùrùm, Ywm {J} furum id. | NrBc: My {Sk.} wúrùm, P' {MSk.} búrmí, Jmb vúrúm id. | SBc: Tala vārâm, Kir k̄ā-fúrùm id. ¶ JI II 214-5, Sch. BTL 134, Lk. G 134 || K: pZn *br̄g-∇l- 'knee' > Mg Z birgul-, Mg Sn, Lz A/VAr burgul-, Lz X burgil- id., ? Lz A birgižī 'elbow' ¶ Q 203-4, Marr 131-2, Chik. 64 ◇

pZn *g (for the expected *k) still needs explaining ◇ IS I #31 (*b_{ar}k_Λ).

244a. *b'i'Rk|g∇ (~ *p'i'Rg∇?) 'to dig' > HS: B *√brk ~ *√φrk 'dig' > Ah əbrək, ETwl əbræg ~ əbrək (3m pf. ibræg~-k), Gd εbrək (3m pf. iþrək), Gh əbrək 'piocher' ¶ Fc. 91, GhA 9-10, 246, Lf. I 225 and II #O120, NZ 119 || Ch {JS} *√brg, {AD} *√prg ~ ?? *√brg v. 'dig' > ECh: Ke {Eb.} fərgí v. 'dig' ||| CCh: Ms {ChC} vùrək ¶ JS 85 ||| K *b∇rg- > Sv: UB {TK} -b_arž- ~ -barž- (msd. lib_arž_e, libarž_e) 'dig', Ln {TK} li-bärž_e 'to hoe', L {Dn.} li-b_arž_e 'to dig with a hoe', Sv {Ni.} -b_arž- ~ -b_ard- 'dig' ¶ Chx. 65, TK 427, GP 148, Dn. s.v. b_arž-, Ni. s.v. 'копать' ||| A: M *_lφ_lirga- > WrM irga-, HIM ярга- v. 'dig hole\burrow' (of animals) ¶ MED 414.

245. UA ₂ *buR_lu_lk|g∇ 'run, jump' > U: FU *_opurk∇ > pObU *pörk- > pVg *pörk- 'hop, jump (hüpfen)' > Vg T pork-, Vg LK parϕ-, Vg P porr-, Vg Ss porϕ- id. ¶ UEW 414 (adduces Ne T O partam 'plötzlich aufspringen', which may be better explained is going back to N *par∇ 'to fly, to jump') ||| A: M *buruϕud- > MM [HI] {Ms.} buruϕud- 'se retirer, éviter, fuir', WrM buruϕud-, HIM бурϕуда- v. 'flee' ¶ Ms. H 44, MED 139.

246. (₂?) *bôraϞE (or *bôra ϞE) 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hreġ- v. 'fall, fell' > Vd bhrās-/bhraś-/bhrḡs-: ni-bhrāśai 'fällen, stürzen, niederschlagen', 'bhrās(i)ya- 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann', ('adhi)- bhraśat 'soll entfallen', with a nasal infix: OI bhramśatē 'falls, falls out\down, drops', pp. bhraś_ṭah_ṭ 'ausgefallen, entfallen', KhS braśś- v. 'fall', Oss älväsən 'être projeté (de sa place)' ||| ? Sl *_obr̥si-ti, iter. *_obr̥sati > R 'бросить, ip. бро'сать 'to throw', Uk бросити 'to throw, to throw away' ¶ P 168, M K II 525-6, M E II 276-7, MW 769, Ab. I 132, Bai. 313, Vs. I 218, ESSJ III 55-6, SPS I 398-9 ||| A: T *burak- ~ *birak- v. 'throw' > OOsM (QB, IM) biraq-, Tk b_irak-, Δ burak-, Az burax- 'leave, release, let out', CrTt biraq- v. 'throw, leave', Yk buray-, Chv п_äрах- р_äрах- v. 'throw, abandon'; the variant *birqa- is represented in SbTt Tö birqa-, Bsh Δ б_äр_äа- v. 'throw', Shor purka- v. 'cast' ¶ ESTS II 307-8, Rs. W 74, Jeg. 148, Fed. I 399-400, Hüs. 60 ¶ Chv б suggests pT *u ||| Tg *_obürgi- > Ewk PT burgi- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink' ¶ STM I 113 ||| ?σ D (in GnD) *pōk(k)- ({_θGS} *p-) v. 'throw away' (× N *b'o¹ka 'put out, throw out' [→ 'sweep out'], q.v. ffd.); the pre-history of the D stem may be

reconstructed as *pōk(k)- < *pork- < *boraq- || HS: ?σ S *✓brk̄t̄d vt., vi. 'knock down on one's back, turn back', S *bur̄k̄id̄t̄- 'on one's back' > Ak pur̄k̄idam 'auf dem Rücken (liegen), auf den Rücken (fallen)', Ar ✓brq̄t̄: tabarqaṭa '(il) tomba à la renverse', barqaṭa '(il) se retourna pour regarder derrière soi' ¶ BK I 115, Sd. 881 ||| A variant N stem without *K̄E may be reconstructed as *bōr'A' 'to fall, to let fall' > U: P *pâra '(nieder)fallen' > pMr {Ker.} *pā|ura- > Er, Mk pra- v. 'fall, fall down, fall out' ({UEW} 'fallen, stürzen') | pPrm *pūr- > Z p̄r- vi. 'fall, overturn', Yz 'pūr-(nḡ₁) 'fall down' ¶ UEW 742, LG 229, Ker. II 122 || A: Tg *buri > Ewk burī- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink', Ewk buruwk̄zn ~ burupk̄zn- 'drop, let fall, knock down, knock down from so.'s feet', Sln burī-~b̄rī- 'untie, let go', Lm b̄rī- v. 'lose', Orc bui- id., Mc buruḅu- (ps.) 'disappear, get lost' ¶ STM I 113 || pKo *pārī- 'throw aside\away, abandon' > MKo p̄rī- ~ p̄rī-, NKo p̄rī- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 192, S QK #605, Nam 241, MLC 759-60 || HS: WCh: Bl {Lk.} bur- v. 'niederwerfen, fallen lassen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 134.

247. *b̄r̄, ∇, k̄æ 'to flash, to shine' > K *°br̄k̄- > OG, G br̄k̄ial- 'glitter, shine (glitzern, glänzen)' ¶ Abul. 35, Chx. 106, DCh. 118 || HS: S *✓br̄k̄ v. 'flash, lighten' > BHb, Ug, Aram, Sb, Gz, Ak ✓br̄k̄, Ar ✓br̄q̄ id., Mh {Jo.} b̄r̄k̄awt, Hrs {Jo.} b̄r̄k̄ōt, Jb C {J} 'b̄r̄k̄ōt vb. n. 'to lighten, to flash', Mn {MA} ✓br̄k̄ vi. 'briller'; S *ba'raq- 'lightning' > BHb בַּרְקָא b̄ā'rāq̄, Ug br̄k̄, IA br̄k̄?, Sr bar'k̄-ā, Ar بَرَقَ barq- (< *baraq-, a metatonic variant of *ba'raq-), Mh {Jo.} b̄r̄z̄k̄, Hrs {Jo.} h̄b̄ēr̄z̄k̄, Jb C {Jo.} b̄r̄k̄, Ak bir̄k̄- id., Sb br̄k̄ 'rainy season, monsoonal storm'; S ⇨ Cpt Sd (ε)ΒΡΗΘΕ (ε)br̄ēce 'lightning' ¶ KB 155, KBR 162, HJ 203, OLS 116, Sd. 122, Jo. M 53, BGMR 31, MA 23, L G 106, CAD II 258ff., Ws. 23, Crn. ED 33, Vc. 39, SivCR 79 || Eg fP b̄z̄k̄ '(be) bright, white'; Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} bu-r-ka 'glitter' = Eg N br̄k̄ v. 'glitter, reflect' (about water) ['glitzern'] ¶ EGI 424-5, 466, Fk. 78; Vc. 39 and Hlk. #59 (they suppose that br̄k̄ is a loan from S, but borrowing of a verb [not through derived nouns] in highly inflected lgs. is possible only if the verbal morphology of the borrowing lge. and the source lge. are similar, which is not the case for Eg and S; on the other hand, the EgSSc for the word [with preservation of r before a cns.] suggests that it is a loan; we may see here a merger of the inherited Eg word with a Semitism), Tk. II 91-3 || C *✓br̄k̄ > EC {Ss.} *bar̄k̄-/bir̄k̄- 'lightning', v. 'lighten' > Elm i-bir̄ḡ-a, ?φ Sd ban̄k̄-o, ?φ Hd b̄ān̄k̄-o 'lightning', ?φ Brj

buḳḳ- v. 'lighten', Dsn birgač 'flashing', ?ír birgamu 'lightning' (?ír 'rain') || Ag *baḳḳ- > Xm {R} berqā ~ barqa, Bln {R} barq 'lightning', Xm ✓brq v. 'flash'; *m-bṽṽṽṽ- 'lightning' > Xm {R} mirqā, Bln {R} mirkā, Q merkā id. || DhI {EEN} ḫíriḳḳína, {To.} ḫirikinna id. ¶ R WB 86, 274, AD PmbC, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 42, E SC 32, EEN 34, To. D 130, To. DL 487 || NrOm: Mch {L} p̄arìḳḳi(yé) v. 'lighten' ¶ L M 45, Fl. OO 317 || ?φ Ch: DfB {J} bàra 'lightning and thunder' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} barmél, {Nc.} 'barmīl 'lightning' ¶ J R 212, Lk. B 91 || IE ({EI} ? *b^herĕ- 'shine'): NaIE *b^herĕ- / *b^hreĕ- v. 'shine, glitter' > Gk [Hs.] φορκόν 'white, gray-haired' || MHG brehen 'plötzlich und stark aufleuchten, glänzen, funkeln', ON brjā, brā (< *brehōn) 'to shine (glänzen), to sparkle', AS breahm ~ bearhtm 'glance', 'Glanz, Augenblick' || OIr brecc, W brych 'speckled' || Vd 'bhrāśatē 'shines, glitters' (ā due to the infl. of 'bhrājatē 'shines, beams, glitters' < NaIE *b^hrē-ġ- < N *bArh^hé' 'shine' + ext.) || ?σ Ht parkuis 'clean' ¶¶ P 141-2, EI 514, M K II 532, ≠ M E II 280 (claims that Vd bhrāś- is a var. of bhrāj-), F II 1036, Vr. 57, Ho. 17, Lx. 26 ◇ IS I #5 equates HS *✓brḳ with T *baḳr- v. 'shine', U **palkṽ (> Os N paḡāl 'lightning'), and IE *b^helġ- v. 'shine', which is not plausible because of the liquid (HS *r is not cognate with IE, U, and T *l) and because HS has better parallels in IE and K with reflexes of N *r. On these roots of T, U, and IE see N *baṽ, i, 'k' a 'to shine'. Neither is plausible the comparison with K *berçq-/*brçq- v. 'flash' (with an unexplicable *ç, while there is a better K cognate *°brḳ-).

248. *baRmṽ 'ε stinging insect' > IE: o†NaIE amb *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect' (× o NaIE *b^hrem- v. 'buzz') > OI bhrama'r-aḥ 'bee' || OSx brēmnia, OHG brema 'gad-horse-fly', bremo 'horse-fly', eNHG [Luther], NGr Δ Breme 'ε stinging insect', d. MLG bromese → NHG Bremse 'horsefly, gadfly' || Sl *brqkь 'beetle' > Cz brouk, LLs, HLs bruk id., R Nvg брѹк 'dung-beetle' ¶ The connection with the NaIE onomatopoeic verb *b^hrem- v. '≈ buzz, growl' (> L fremō, OHG breman, Sl *brьměti) is secondary; hardly here Gk φόρμιγγς, -γγος 'phorminx (ε lyre/harp)' ¶ P 142-3, ≈ EI 24 (OI bhrama'ra- 'bee' ← b^hrem- 'make a noise'), ≠ M K II 528-9 (denies any genetic connections of OI bhrama'r-aḥ because of its onomatopoeic associations), M E II 279, F II 1036-7, WH I 544-5, Ho. 33-4, Ho. S 10, OsS 83, EWA II 315-6, KM 98-9, ESSJ III 22, 44 (Sl *brqkь ← *breḳati), 68-9, Sl. I 46, YGM-1 54 || U: FV *parma '≈ gadfly, horsefly' > F paarma, Δ parma 'gad-

\horse-\deer-fly', Es parm 'horsefly (Tabanus, слепень)' || Ер промо promo, Δ puromo id., Mk пуром 'puram 'botfly (овод)' || Chr KB parmъ, U pormo 'Pferdefliege, Bremse', B pormo 'Bremse' ¶ UEW 724-5, Coll. 107, It. #31, ERV 519, PI 226 || HS: WCh: Zar {IL} бѣрѣм n. 'fly' ¶ ChC.

249. *baRǵ ∇ 'be uneven, rough; bristle' > K: GZ *barzǵ-/*brǵzǵ-, {FS} *barzǵ- 'thorn' > G {FS} barzǵ-i ~ bazǵ-i 'thorny plant', Mg buzǵa- 'needles of a chestnut fruit'; Zn б → G burzǵ-a-l- {DCh} 'teasel' ('ворсянка'), G I burzǵ-i {DCh.} 'bristle, щетина', {FS} 'Stachel, Dorn', burzǵalai 'needles of a chestnut fruit', G buzǵ-i 'small hedgehog'; d.: G burzǵ-n-, Mg buzǵ- ~ biǵzǵ-, Lz buzǵ-in- vi. 'bristle up, ruffle' ¶ ≈ K DE 361 and ≈ K² 21 (GZ *burzǵa- 'bristle', *burzǵ- v. 'bristle [up], ruffle'), FS K 66, FS E 46, Chik. 256, DCh. 125 || IE: NaIE {P} *b^hars-, *b^hrǵsti-, *b^hrǵsti- ≈ 'bristle, point, spike' > OI b^hrǵ'stǵi-h 'point, spike, edge, corner' || pGmc *bursti- > ON burst 'bristle, ridge of a roof', NNr bust, Sw borst 'bristle', Dn bǽrst id., 'brush', AS byrst, OHG burst 'bristle, prickle', NHG Borste 'bristle', Bürste 'brush', NE brush; Gmc *barza- (< *b^hars-) > ON barr 'conifer' (← *'needles of a conifer'), Ic, Sw barr, NNr bar 'needles of a conifer' || OIr barr 'summit, tip (of tongue, finger)', MBr barr 'summit', MW bar, OBr, Br barr id., 'branch', Crn bar 'summit, branching bough' || L festūca 'stalk, straw' (< *fers-tūka), fastīgium 'point\spike (Spitze), the gable end, pediment of a roof', fastigātus 'pointed' || P, Bern., and ESSJ adduce here Sl *bǽrščь (P's Sl *bǽrstjo-) 'Heracleum sphondylium' ('Bärenklau, борщевик') > Slv bršč, Slk bršt, HSrb baršč id., OR борщъ, P barszcz id., whence the name of heracleus soup and later that of soup of beet and cabbage (R, Uk борщ, P barszcz); the reason of this designation of the plant is not clear ({Bern.}: "die Benennung erfolgte nach der Gestalt der Blätter") || Ltv {ME} pl. burkšķi, burški, burkši, burši {Bern.} 'Aegopodium podagraria', {ME} 'Hundspetersilie', sc. 'cicely, Aethusa' (the reason of the designation is probably the form of its long naked haulm and its parsniplike poisonous root) | Acc. to WH, the stem has a variant *b^horz-d^ho-/b^hrez-d^ho- > OIr brot 'pointe, aiguillon', Crn bros, Br brous 'thorn', OCrn [VC] bros 'aculeus', broud 'aiguillon (+ err. Al bredh 'fir-tree', see O 34) ¶ P 109, EI 439 (*brǵ'sti-s 'point'), M K II 523-4, M E II 273, Vn. B 19-20, 98, Flr. 80, Hm. 68, ECCE 213, WH I 461-2, 489, Vr. 27, 65, Bv. 65, Ho. 41, OsS 93, EWA II 471-2, Kb. 137,

КМ 93, 113, Bern. I 109, ESSJ III 131-2, SPS I 422, ME I 353-4, Kf. 55 ||
A: М *barza-yi- > WrM barzai-, HIM барзай- v. 'become uneven \ rough', Brt барзай- 'be rough (быть шероховатым, корявым)', КI барза- barzā- 'be uneven\rough', Ord b_arž_ā- 'présenter un aspect rugueux, avoir des aspérités'; М *baržagar > WrM baržagar, HIM барзгар, Brt барзагар 'uneven, rough', КI барзһр barzъұр id. ('неровный, шероховатый, бугристый'), Ord b_arž_agar 'couvert d'aspérités, raboteux'; WrM baržigir, HIM баржгар, Brt баржагар 'uneven, rough' ¶ MED 90, Kow. 1111, Chr. 87, KRS 82, Ms. O 52.

250. *b'A'ř∇ 'old' > **HS** *✓brʔ 'old, grown-up' > S: the S adj. (< pp.) *ba'rīʔ- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אַרְיָ בָּרִי bā'rī adj. 'fat', f. bārīʔ-ā id., MHb אַרְיָ בָּרִי bā'rī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA {Js.} bārī, JEA {Sl.} אַרְיָ בָּרִי id., Ar bariʔa 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156, Sl. 244, Js. 192-3 || C: EC: Sa {Morin} 'bārra, {R} 'barā 'old man', {Morin} bār'ra, {R} ba'rā 'old woman', Af {PH} barra 'wife, woman', ? Rn {Oo.} o'borri, {PG} òbòrrì 'women, wives' ||| SC: Irq {Wh.} barisē 'old men', SC ⇨ Mb {Fl.} m-bora 'woman' ¶ Oo. 73, PG 238, R S II 84-5, Morin p.c., PH 69 ||| **K** *°ber- > OG, G ber-i 'old man', ber- v. 'make old' ¶ Chx. 78, DCh. 104, Abul. 31 ||| **U:** FP *por∇ 'old (aged)' > pLp {Lr.} *pōrēs id. > Lp: N {N} boares / -rras- 'old', S {Hs.} boāries, L {LLO} pārēs 'old', Pa {TI} pū'a're's', Kld {TI} puāres' 'old' (of humans, animals, things) | Vt pereś 'old', 'Ahn', Z pəríś, Prmk pəriś 'alt, altersschwach, hinfällig' ¶ UEW 737, Coll. 74, LG 229, Lr. #975, Lgc. #5149, Hs. 352-3, TI 385 ||| **D** {tr., GS} *paṛa- 'old' > Tm paṛa 'old' (of things), Ml paṛa 'old', paṛama 'oldness, old age', Kt paṛ-/pa- 'old', Td pa'w/pa- 'old', Kn paṛa, paṛe, Kdg paṛe 'old', Tu paṛa 'old, worn out', Tl prā- 'old' (in cds.), Png pṛān 'old' (of things), Mnd pṛan(ča) 'old', Kui pṛāḍi, Ku prāʔi id. ¶¶ D #3999, GS 226 [#555], 165 [#413] ◇ FP *o may be explained by the assimilative infl. of the labial cns. *p-.

250a. *boř∇ or ***buř∇** 'sun, day' > **HS:** EC *barr- 'day, year' > Elm parr-ac 'daytime', Sml ber-i 'time', Gwd, Hr per-ko 'year', par-a 'when', HEC *barr- 'day' > Sd barr-a 'day, time', Ged barra, Kmb bar(r)a, bari 'day', Hd ball-a 'day, date'; Brj {Ss.} berr-i 'year'; (×N *b'A'ř∇ 'old', q.v.): Or bar-a 'year, time, age', Kns par-a 'year, age' ¶ Ss. PEC 14 (pEC

*bar-r- 'time'), Ss. B 35 (pEC *bar(r)- 'time, age, year'), Hd. 47 (pHEC *barra 'day') || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} bur 'day (journée)' ¶ ChC ¶¶ Not here Ak bēru 'double hour, one twelfth of a full day' (which is obviously a metaphore based on bēru 'a «mile», measure of length'; the pS etymon must be *baʁ|ħru) (CAD II 208-11) || D *poʁut- 'sun, day' > Tm poʁutu, pōʁtu, Kt poʁt, Kn poʁtu, portu 'sun, time', Ml poʁutu 'sun, day, auspicious time', Td pišt & pošt 'time, luck', Tu portu 'sun, daylight, time', Tl p(r)oddu 'day, morning, time', Klm pod 'sun', appuḏ, a·puḏ 'then', e·puḏ 'when?', Nkr podd 'sun', Nk pod 'sun, day', Prj apoḏ 'that time', ipoḏ 'this time', Gnd poʁd 'sun, time, hour' & poʁd(u) 'sun, day', Knd podu id., Png padna ~ podna 'time' ¶¶ D #4559 || U {UEW} *purk∇ 'time (Zeit, Mal)' > Prm *pūr > Z, Vt p+r 'always; immediately' || ObU: Vg: T pār, LK/MK/P/SV pōr, NV pōr, LL pōr 'time (Zeit, Mal), opportunity'; pOs {Ht.} p+ʁar > Os: V/Vy ki-p+ʁar, Ty kit-p+ʁar 'double' (kit 'two') || Sm: Slq LTz {KD} pā:r 'time (Mal)', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōr id., ukk+r pōr 'once' (ukk+r 'one') ¶¶ UEW 407, Coll. 53, LG 236, Lt. 195, Ht. #802, KKIH 152 ◇ The discrepancy between D *o and U *u is still to be explained ◇ The semantic filiation: 'sun' → 'day' → 'year, time' ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [#115] (D, EC, U + err.: L-ber in names of months and S).

251. *bôʁ'a' 'pierce, bore' > HS: WS *√brr, *√bry ~ *√brw v. 'pierce, sharpen' > Gz √brr (js. yə-brər) v. 'pierce', BHb הַעֲבָרָה heç bā'rūr 'sharpened arrow', הַבִּירָה hā'bīrū v. *Sh* 2p inv. 'sharpen (the arrow)!', Ar √bry (pf. بَرَى barā) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume), exténuer, amaigrir (une bête de somme)', √brw (pf. بَرَا) 'dégrossir avec une hache, adoucir avec une plane' ¶ LG 107, KB 156, KBR 163, BK I 119 || Eg fOK ωbḅ v. 'drill' (ω- is a px.), Eg fP bḅbḅ 'hole' ('Loch, Höhlung) > Cpt Sd/B BHB bēb 'caverne, nid' ¶ EGI 290-1, 419, Fk. 58, 7, Tk. II 56-63, Vc. 25; IS I 186 misquotes Eg ωbḅ as ωbr || IE: NaIE *bʰer- v. 'bore, pierce' (× N *bUʔR∇ 'to dig' [q.v.]) > L for-ā- v. 'bore', forāmen 'hole' || ON bora 'hole', bora, OSx, OHG borōn, NHG bohren, AS borian 'to bore', NE bore || ? Irn: NPrs بَرِيدَن borī-dān ~ بَرِيدَن borī-dān 'to cut', Av tiži-bāra- 'mit scharfer Schneide' || pAl {O} *birā > Al T/G birē 'hole' || Arm բախ bah 'spade, hoe' (gen. -ի -i) (< *bʰγ-ti-) || OIr bern, berna 'crack, cleft, gap', {Vn.} 'fente, brèche, trouée' ||] Possibly words for ploughing (←

'piercing the soil'): Gk φάρος 'plough, ploughing', φάράω ~ φάρόω v. 'plough' || Sl *borna 'harrow' > Blg бра'на, McdS брана, SCr brána, Δ brāna 'harrow', Slv brána, Cz, Slk pl. brány, LLs brona, HLs bróna, OR БОРОНА, R, Uk боро'на, Blr бара'на id. ¶ P 133-5, WH I 481-2, M K II 533, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Vr. 49-50, EWA II 246-7, KM 89, Ho. 31, Ho. S 9, Vl. I 232, Horn 49, O 2, ≈ Vn. B 41 (OIr bern < IE *b^her- 'strike, cut'), ≈ ESSJ II 204-6, Vs. I 196-7, Drd. 39 || **U** *pura 'borer (tool)', *pura- v. 'bore, drill, pick a hole' > F pura 'crowbar, drill', puraа- v. 'pick holes (Löcher stemmen)', Es pura 'Instrument der Schmiede zum Durchschlagen von Löchern in Eisen' || Lp: N {N} bqrre / -r- 'edge', L {LLO} pārrē 'borer (tool)' || Prm {LG} *pūr- vt. 'drill, gouge, peck', Prm *pūr 'through', *pūric 'ice-pick' > Vt Sr p+r, Kz pзr, Prmk p+r 'durch, hindurch', Vt прич 'ice-pick, ice-spike', {W} p+rž 'Hohleisen', Z p+r-ńzv 'gimlet' ({TmK} пырнёв 'буравчик'), p+ríž 'long crowbar, ice-pick' (= 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue'), Z {TmK} p+rzd- 'drill a hole, perforate, durchbohren' || ObU *pōr 'awl, borer' > pVg *pōrē > Vg T porē 'Ahle, Pfriemen'; pOs *pōr ({Hl.} *pūr) 'borer' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/Nz/Kz pōr, K/O pār id. || Hg fūr- v. 'bore, drill', fūró 'Bohrer; bohrend' || Sm *p∇r-, {Jn.} *pъръуън 'Bohrer' > Ne T пәрэ', T O par:ē'', Ne FL par:ē id., Ne T парэґоць 'to perforate, durchbohren', F parr+η·ōś id., Slq Tz {KKIH}, Slq Tm pur 'a borer', Slq Tz {KKIH} parāη 'ice-pick', Slq UKt pariη 'Eishaue', Kms pariyan, pāη 'borer', paāη 'Brenneisen zum Anbringen der Löcher in den Schneeschuhen, Bohrer' ¶¶ UEW 405, Coll. 52, Sm. 539 (U, FU *purā, FP pura, Ugr *pūra, Sm *pørø v. 'bore'), MF 221-2, LG 236-7, TmK 587-8, It. #197, Ht. 178 [#531], Jn. 114, KKIИ 147 || **A**: T *burga 'borer' > ET bur̥a, Uz burgi, Qrg bur̥u, bur̥, Qq bur̥+, burau, Qzq bur̥+, Tk bur̥u, Az bur̥u, Tkm, Nog buraw, Bsh, VTt b̥rau, Chv p̥ra id.; as to Qzq {Rl.} bura- 'schrauben, bohren' and Alt Δ pur- v. 'drill', they may be semantic derivatives from T *bura- v. 'turn round' or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Jeg. 147-8, Fed. I 398, Rl. IV 1817, ≠ ET B 264-7 (considers this stem to be a variant of and a d. from *bur- v. 'turn round, rotate'); the loss of palatality in *r̥ is due to the preconsonantal position (acc. to Hl.'s hyp.) || **D** *pōr̥- ({ǾGS} *p-) v. 'split', n. 'hole, opening, cleft' > Tm pōt̥u 'hole, opening, cleft', Kt bōt̥ 'hollow in tree trunk, hole that goes through', Kn pōr̥al 'hollow in a tree', Tu pōt̥t̥æ 'hollow of a stalk or a tree'; the D √ results from the merger of two ancient roots: the √ in

question and another one meaning 'cleave, split': D *pōra (ǝGS} *p-) v. 'split, cleave' > Tm pōr v. 'be cleft, split; split, cleave open', Kn pōr v. 'cleave, split', Prj pōr- v. 'split, cleave' ¶¶ D #4599; the length of the vw. and the meaning are connected with the infl. of D *pōr- 'hole' (< N *bUʔR∇ 'to dig; a pit') ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T ev. for the N vw. *u and the D ev. for *o is still to be explained ◇ IS I 186-7 s.v. *bur ∆ 'to bore, to drill', to which he ascribes together the reflexes of N *bôf'a' 'pierce, bore', those of N *bUr∇ 'turn round, rotate' and those of N *bUʔR∇ 'dig'.

252. *burú(-ḲU) [or *burü(-ḲU)] 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > HS: Eg N/G brbr '≈ kochen' > Cpt: Sd BṚBṚ bārbar, B BṚBṚBṚ berber 'bouillir, soudre' ¶ EG I 466, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3 || B *√Hbr v. 'boil' > Mz, Wrg abar (pf. yubar), Gd āβar (pf. yūβar) 'bouillir', Awj 3 s pf. yu'vīra, Nf 'awer (pf. yō'wer ~ yōū'wer) id., Gh abar v. 'boil' ¶ Dlh. M 10, Dlh. Ou 27, Beg. 220, Lf. I 253 and II #0095, Prd. 161, La. S 205, NZ 90 || ?ϕ S *-pūr- > Ar √fwr (ip. ya-fūru) 'bouillonner, être en ébullition' (une marmite) ¶ BK II 645 || EC *burḳ- 'spring (Quelle); to spring' > Or: {Ss.} burḳ- v. 'spring', burḳ-a, B {LLC} burḳa n. 'spring', {Th.} 'fonte', M {LLC} burḳā 'spring', burḳ- v. 'spring up', Kmb bu'ḳ-uta 'spring', Hd buḳ-, bubuḳ- v. 'spring', Sml buq- v. 'leak' ¶ Ss. B 42-3, LLC 194, Th. 51-2 || IE: NaIE *bʰrey-/*bʰerw- 'boil' ({EI} *bʰrey- 'brew') > L feruē-re, feru-ēre v. 'boil, seethe' || OIr berb-aid (3s pres.) 'boil, cook', W berw-, Br birvi- ~ birvi- vi. 'boil', MBr {Ern.} beru 'du bouillon', beró 'bouilli' || ON, NNr brugga 'to brew', OHG {OsS} briuwen ~ brūwen ~ brouwen vt. 'to brew, to boil' (not mentioned in EWA, mentioned as briuwan and gibriuwan without translation in Kb., but reconstructible from ds. and cds.: OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', briumeistar id., briuwino 'Bierbrauer, caupo', and briu-hūs 'brewery'), NHG brauen, OSx gi-breuwan, AS bréowan 'to brew', NE brew; OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', OSx brou-hūs, OHG briu-hūs, NHG Brauhaus 'brewery' || R ∆ бpу'я 'Strömung', бpу'ить 'stark reißend strömen' || ?σ OI bhur'vaṇi- 'restless, excited' ¶ P 143-5, Mn. 75, EI 199, WH I 487, Vn. B 40-1, Ern. 59, Vr. 60, OsS 85, EWA II 367, 350-1, Kb. 120, KM 96-7, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10 ¶ The variant *bʰrew- is original, while *bʰerw- (in L and Clt) is a secondary Schwebeablaut variation || (here??) NaIE *bʰrēu-ṛ / bʰrēu-n- / bʰru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *bUʔR∇ 'to dig; a pit, well', q.v. ffd.) || U:

FU *pur▽- > Es S {W} pura- vi. 'bubble, seethe (клокотать, бурлить)', Es {W} purise- 'sprudeln, hervorsprudeln, mit Geräusch fließen', F (Δ?) {MF} pura-ta, puraan 'sprudeln' || Er purams 'strudeln', puramo 'Strudel, Wasserwirbel' || Prm **būr- > Vt birekt- 'boil', 'sieden, aufsieden, aufkochen', ?σ Z bīrkməs 'buttermilk' || Hg forr- v. 'boil, seethe' || F poris- v. 'murmur' (of water), 'журчатъ', porina n. act. 'murmur of water, журчание' and Es porise- {W} 'brodeln, verworren und undeutlich schallen' are either onomatopoeic and do not belong here or have their irreg. -o- due to onomatopoeic connections (e.g. with F pore n. 'bubble'); F pore 'bubble' and Sm *p̄r̄|ār id. (> Ng {Cs.} fâr, far id., Kms {Adl.} phor 'vesica', Koyb {Sp.} пяръ 'пузырь') are likely to belong to a different etymon || MF 215-6, W EDW 896-7, Jn. 114, ≠ LG 45, UEW 414, SK 502-3 || A: T *bürkü-, *bürkür- v. 'spurt, gush' (× N *m▽R₁▽₁ka 'moist, liquid; to moisten'?) > OT bürkir- ~ bürkür- v. 'spurt, gush', bürkek in kōk bürkek boldī 'the sky poured down rain', MT XIII burkük 'spray', Tkm pürk- v. 'sprinkle, splash', Uz purka-, VTt бөрк- börk-, CrTt bürük-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog bürk- id., 'spray', Alt/Tlt {RI.} pürkü- ~ pürkür- v. 'splutter', Xk pürgür-, ET pürk(ü)-, Chv пёрёх- pьрьх- 'sprinkle' || Cl. 363-4, DTS 133, RI. IV 1399, Rs. W 93, Jeg. 156, TkR 538, Sht. 63, KumRS 89, RKB 51, Md. 64, 175 (*p'ürk-) || M *burgi- (× N *buR▽, *buR₁▽-₁'K'▽ 'storm, stormy wind' × N *bôri'γ'U 'loose earth, dust') > WrM burgi-, burgi-ra-, HIM бурги- v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water, or storm)', Ord b_urgi- 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonnant' (p. ex. poussière), Mnr H {SM} p'uz̄i-rā- 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée, etc.); the M verb < the A (and N) etymon in question × N *bôri'γ'U '↑' (q.v.) || H 19, MED 121, 138, SM 306, S AJ 243 [#215], Chr. 105, Ms. O 81, 98 || D {Pf.} *puṛ-▽-k- / *puṛ-▽ḥk- ({ḡGS} *p-) v. 'boil' > Tm puṛuṅku v. 'be steamed \ parboiled', puṛukku v. 'boil (paddy) before husking', Ml puṛuṅṅuka v. 'be boiling \ stewed \ steamed', puṛukkuka vt. 'boil', Td puṣk- v. 'boil (potatoes)', Kn puṛgi 'rice boiled with pulse', Tu purguni v. 'be well-boiled (as rice)', Krx pūx- vt. 'to boil' || J D #4315, Pf. 42 ◇ IS I 190-1 (*bur'a).

253. *b'u'Xra 'watercourse, river' > HS: WS *'baḥ₁▽₁r- 'watercourse, river' (→ 'sea') > Ak bērtu 'stream of water, watercourse', Ar baḥr- 'sea, large river', Sr (← Ar) baḥ'r-ā 'sea', Sb bḥr 'sea, coast', Gz 𐎧𐎡𐎴 bāḥr [baḥr] 'large river, lake, sea', Tgr baḥr, Tgy baḥri 'sea' || Sd.

122, BGMR 27, L G 91 || C: Bj {R} be'hār ~ be'har 'river, sea' (← Ar, EthS?) ¶ R WBd 45-6 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *vwo₁ʏor 'river, brook' > Ang {Flk.} fwo̅r 'river, stream', Ywm {Fp.} ver id., Su {J} vóʏúr 'Bach, Wasserlauf' || ? Ngz {Sch.} wúríyâ 'open pit where water can collect' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} bùrǎ́lǎ́ 'river', Ke {Eb.} vòr 'river, lake' ¶ ChC, Lk. ZSS 181, J S 86, Stl. VZCh A #257, Sch. DN 173, Eb. 101 || IE: NaIE *b^he¹r₁u₁-/*^ob^hō¹r- 'body of water' > OI \wedge bha'ru-ḥ 'sea' || pSI *bara 'small river, stagnant water' (× N *beR ∇ 'mud, swamp', q.v.) > Blg βαπα 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} βαπα 'puddle', SCr bār̃a id., 'meadow', Slv bāra, Cz Δ bara 'swamp' || ? ϕ AS brim, byrmm 'sea, flood'; ?? σ , ϕ Gmc *brōka- > OHG 'marsh, swamp', NHG Δ Bruch 'feuchte Wiese', NLG brōk, Dt broek 'Morastgrund', AS brōc 'brook, stream, river', NE brook ¶ Ho. 35; M K II 479 (OI bha'ru-ḥ: "möglicherweise eine ganz künstliche, schwerlich nachzuzeichnende Genesis hat"), MW 748, Bt. IV 252, Ho. 33-5, 37, ESSJ I 153-4, KM 103, Ho. 35 || U: BF *pur- > F puro 'brook, creek', Krl puro id., 'small ditch', Krl N purakko 'brook', ? F Δ purakko 'damp country' ¶ SK 655, SSA II 437 || A: Tg *bira > Ewk, Sln bira, Lm bura, WrMc bira, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} bira 'river', Neg bura 'small river, spring', Orc bia-ka ~ biya-ka 'brook, spring', Ud {STM} b[?]eāsa, {Shn.} biyasa, Ud Sm {Krm.} bā[?]sa 'river, small river', Ul bura 'brook, gulf', Nn Nh burā, Nn B/KU bura 'brook, small river' ¶ Ci. 297, STM I 84, Krm. 212, Kiy. SJL 99 [#O4O], Md. ChF 135 ¶ Hardly here Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukūn 'whirlpool' (< N *bUr ∇ 'turn round, rotate', q.v.) || D (in SD) *pU[?]ra ({{ θ GS} *p-) 'river' > Ml pu[?]ra, Kt pey, Td pa[?]w, Kn po[?]e, Kdg po[?]e id. (with *U for the expected *i due to the labializing infl. of *p-?), as well as probably SD *pīr 'flow' > Tm pīr 'abundant flow, milk flowing from a woman's breast', Ml pīra 'milk of grated coconuts', Tu pīruni v. 'exude, percolate' ¶ D ##4222 and 4318 \diamond The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) is still to be explained (see Introduction, § 2.4). Cp. similar cases: N *Kum ∇ 'sand' > Tg *ximana- v. 'snow', N *ku|od[?]a[?]h ∇ 'pierce' > ? σ Tg *xidar- v. 'hurt by pricking', N *pu[?]u (or *pu[?]ü?) 'to spring forth' > Tg *bi[?]ku- vt. 'moisten, wet' \diamond IS MS 369 (*bir \wedge > Tg, D *pīr-), \approx Blz. LB #96c (suggested to add Sl *bara and Gmc *brōka), \approx Blz. LNA #5 (N *bu[?]hr ∇ ~ *bur[?]h ∇ ; suggested to add BF and Ewk buruk).

254. *baʳʔ ▽ 'big, much, thick' > HS: EC: Sml bīr- 'augmentare', bir-s- 'crescere'; pSam {Hn.} *būr 'big' (of things) > Rn būr id., 'large; plenty', Sml būr-an 'be stout'; Dsn búrnab 'be many' ¶ DSI 57, 71, PG 82, Hn. S 55, To. DL 488, Blz DL s.v. 'many' || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} bēṛā, {Fl.} bera 'big', Bsk {Fl.} barinc 'long' ¶ CR H 641, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL #183 || Ch: WCh: Zul bārì, Buli bārí, ? Sy {Sh.} vʷzrì 'large' || CCh: Gudu búròm id., Lm b̄́z̄́m 'many' || Ech: EDng {Fd.} b̄̀è̀è̀l 'big', ? b̄̀r̄̀ b̄̀r̄̀ 'many' ¶ ChL, ChC || The CS adj. (< pp.) *baʳīʔ- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אֲרִיָּבָּ bārī adj. 'fat', f. bārīʔ-ā id., MHb אֲרִיָּבָּ bārī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA bārī אֲרִיָּבָּ bārī id., Ar bariʔa 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156 || IE: NaIE *bʰer- 'good, big' > Gk Hm φέρ-ιστος-ος sprl. {P} 'best', Gk φέρτατος 'bravest, best' || Arm բարի bari (gen. բարիոյ barwoy) 'good' || L ferē 'almost, nearly', 'as a rule, generally' (< 'mostly'), fermē (< *ferimē sprl.) 'almost, nearly' || OHG bora- (or < *r̥) px. 'very' (bora-lang 'very long'), OSx bar- px. 'very' (bar-wirthing 'sehr würdig') ¶ IS I 175, Mul. 177, ≠ WP I 858, ≈ WH I 480-1, ≈ F II 1002, OsS 80, EWA II 242-3, Hlt. S 5 || A *baʳa > T *baʳik 'thick' > MT XIV [AH] bazuq 'stout person', MQp XIV [CC] baziq 'dick, grob', Qmq, Blq baziq, Kr baziq ~ baziK ~ baziX 'thick (dick)', VTt baziq 'thickset (коренастый)', Bsh baḏiq 'hefty, firm' ¶ Rs. W 66, KumRS 59, TatR 52, KRPS 97-8, BR 69-70, RKB 628 || Tg *bara(n) 'much' > Ewk baran, baradin id., barama 'many', Sln barã, Lm baran 'much', Neg baya id., bayan 'many', Ork bara 'much, many', WrMc baran 'a lot, multitude' ¶ STM I 73 || M: [1] *barda-, *barda-yan > WrM bardagan 'abundance, abundant; efficiency', HIM бардаа(н) id., Kl барда- bardā- 'be stout' (as well as possibly M *barda- 'be sure about one's success, boast' > WrM barda- id., Brt d. бардаастай 'self-confident', d. бардам, Kl d. бардм 'swagger, boasting', Mnr H {SM} bardõŋ 'fanfaron, présomptueux') ¶ MED 85, Chr. 87, KRS 82, SM 21 || [2] M *barbayi- 'be thick' > WrM barbai-, HIM барвай- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'be thick' (of lips), Kl барва- id., 'be hairy\shaggy', {Rm.} barwã- 'kompakt und haarig sein', Brt барбай- 'be hairy\shaggy' (× N *bur̥u,d ▽ 'g' ▽ 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' [q.v.]?) ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 || pKo *pár 'fathom' > MKo pár id., as well as NKo pāl id. (× < MKo pār

'armful') ¶ S QK #668, Nam 246, MLC 723 || pJ *pìrè- 'wide; fathom' > OJ pìrè 'wide', J: T/Kg hiró, K hírò id., OJ pìrè, J T hiro 'fathom' ¶ S QJ #601, Mr. 408, 828 ¶¶ DQA #96 (A *bā́r'i 'wide' [actually 'broad?'], 'thick') || D *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'become large', adj./n. 'large' > Tm paru id., Ml paru 'gross, big', Kn hari, hariba 'a mass, multitude', Tu pariya 'plenty, much', OTI prabbu v. 'increase', Krx pard- 'grow in number, grow in size or age' ¶¶ D #3972, Km. 444 [#894] (reconstructs pSD *par-ump-/-amp-) ◇ Cf. also FP *para 'good' (probably from N *paR₁a₁Xi ≈ happy, dear, q.v., which is semantically nearer) ◇ IS I 175 [#7] (IE, U, D, A) ◇ The presence of *ʔ in the original N form is suggested both by S *ʔ and by the reflex *-r- in D (going back to N *r|́ + cns., while the N intervocalic *-r̄- yields D *-r̄-). An alt. solution: N *ba₁r̄▽ 'thick' and N *ba₁r̄ʔ▽ 'big, much' (the reg. D reflex of N *-r̄ʔ- is *-r-.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #235 (*pare 'large') (IE, U, Ai + qu. CK, Gil).

255. *bo₁r̄₁ú 'brown, yellow' > HS: EC (Ss.) *boʔr- id., 'red, dark-coloured' > Rn {PG} bōrán 'brown', Sml {Ss.} bor-a 'gray, dirty', {ZMO} bōre 'gray, ash-colour' (of cloth) (× ← bōr 'dust'), Or bōr-ū 'ash-coloured, dim, dull', {Th.} bōra 'pale (bianco sbiadito), gray (cenerino, grigio)', {Grg.} bōra 'brown' (colour of cow), 'mud-colour', Kns pōr, pl. puʔur-, Gdl pōr- 'black', Arr {Hw.} burrí, {Ss.} bur-iy-ḡa, Dsn búr, Elm burr-i-ḡa 'red', Arr {Hw.} burraḡ- 'become red', burras- vt. 'reddden', Brj 'bōr-ē 'yellow colour', Sd bōra 'ash-coloured', Kmb {L} bora 'gray, brown, dirty colour' ¶ Ss. B 39, PG 80, DSI 64, ZMO 44, Gs. 45, Th. 47, Grg. 56-7, Hw. A 350, L EDH 44, To. DL 488 || B {ǵPr.} *√br₁m (< √*br̄|hm) > Ah bərumət, ETwl, Ty ibram / b̄ram 'être de couleur jaune paille', Ah ebərim 'chameau jaune paille' ¶ Fc. 95, GhA 10, NZ 113-4 || IE {EI} *b^her- 'brown' > NaIE *b^her- id. (→ 'a bear'), *b^hrey₁H- id., *b^he-b^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver'): [1] *b^her- > Lt bérās, Ltv bērs 'bay (horse)' (with *e in the L-grade of apophony) || ON björn, NNr, Dn bjørn, Sw björn, OHG bēro, NHG Bär, AS bera n. 'bear' > NE bear || [2] *b^hrey₁H- > pGmc *brūna- 'brown' > OHG, OSx, AS brūn, NHG braun, NE brown || [3] *b^heb^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver') ({EI} *b^heb^hru-s 'beaver') (rdp.) > OI ba^hbruḡ 'reddish-brown, brown', Av bawra- 'beaver', pIrn *bawra- 'brown, yellow' > Ygn, Shgn vur id., Oss I būr, Oss D bor 'yellow', CINPrs {Vl., Sg.} بور bōr, NPrs بور

būr 'red, colour of the pistachio nut'; Irn ⇨ Sl: R 'бурый, Р bury 'brown'; Ary ⇨ Ak Nz babrunnu 'bay' || L fiber ~ feber 'beaver' || Gl bebru-, Crn (← OCrn) befer, Br {WH} bieuze id. || Gmc *beþ(u)raz 'beaver' > ON bjór-r, OHG bibar, NHG Biber, OSx bivar, AS be(o)for, NE beaver || Pru bebrus, Lt bēbras, Lt Δ bebrūs, Ltv bebrs id. | Sl *bebrъ ~ *bòbrъ id. > ChS, OR БѢБРЪ bebrъ ~ БОБРЪ bobrъ, Blg бобър, Δ бебер, SCr dābar, Δ bōbar, Slv bóber, Cz bobr, Slk bobor, P bóbr, R бо'бёр, бобр, Uk бiбр id. ¶ P 136, EI 57, 85, M K II 409, M E II 210, Vl. I 274, Sg. 206, Horn 49, Ab. I 271-2, WH I 490-1, ECCE 213, OsS 52, 59, 87, EWA I 563-5, II 6-8, 374-7, Kb. 68, 71, 123, KM 50-1, 73-4, 97, Ho. 20-1, 36, Ho. S 8, 10, Vr. 40-1, SPS I 453, Frn. 38-9, En. 150, Tp. P A-D 203-5, Vs. I 180-1, 249, ESSJ I 174-5 and II 145-6, Glh. 186-7 || A: T *boř 'gray' > OT boz id. ({Cl., Dr.} OT bōz with unj. long ō), Tkm boδ, Tk boz 'brown, gray', Az boz 'gray', Ggz bōz id. (with puzzling length of the vw.); Tkm provides ev. for a short vw. in this stem; Chv р̄в̄р(л̄), Δ purл̄ 'roan' (that was often adduced as a proof of a long vw. within the stem reconstructed as *bōř) has been convincingly interpreted by IS as a loan from M *buɣural ~ *buɣurul 'roan' ¶ Cl. 388-9, Rs. W 82, IS I 183, ET B 171-73, Jeg. 146, Fed. I 394 || M *bora|u 'gray' > MM [MA] bora, [S] boro id., [HI] boro 'cendré', WrM boru, HIM бор, Brt боро, Kl бор borо, Mnr H {SM} b_oro, {T} boro, Dx boron 'gray', Mgl borō 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun' ¶ Pp. MA 121, H 19, Ms. H 42, Lew. II 21, MED 121, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. 106, SM 28, T 318, T DnJ 112, Rm. M 24 ¶¶ DQA #191 (A *boř ▽ 'gray') || ? E: NEI pu-ur-na 'brown' ¶ HK 242 ◇ Cf. IS I 183-4.

256. ? *b∇'r̄' ∇, d∇ 'hail' (and 'snow?') > K *°bard-(a)n- '(fresh) snow' > G bardni 'Schneepolster (z. B. auf Ästen)', bardn- 'schneien (in dichten Flocken)' ¶ Chx. 66 || HS: WS *ba'rad- 'hail' > BHb בָּרָד bārād 'hail', JA, Sr bar'd-ā id., JEA {Sl.} bar'd-ā 'ice', Md barda 'hail, ice', Ar بَرَد barad- 'hail', Sb brd 'cold weather, hailstorm', Gz barad 'hail, snow, hoarfrost'; WS *✓brd G 'be cold, hail' > Ar ✓brd (pf. barada) v. 'be cold, hail', ✓brd (pf. baruda) v. 'be cold', BHb ✓brd G v. 'hail', Gz ✓brd G 'be cold, be covered with hail' ¶ KB 147, KBR 154, Sl. 242, Br. 95, MD 50, L G 103, Fr. I 105 || A: T *būr 'ice, hail' > OT buz, Tk buz, Tkm būδ, Az, Ggz buz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog buz, Uz, ET, Qq, Qrg, Slr, Ln muz, Qzq mūz, VTt bōz, Bsh bōδ, Alt mus, SY piz, Xk pus, Yk būs 'ice',

Chv р̄ѣ 'ice, hail' ¶ Cl. 389, ET B 238-9, Jeg. 147, Fed. I 398 ◇ Qu., because we cannot rule out a S origin of the G stem; the T cognate is problematic due to the absence of reflexes of N *d. The latter may be explained (ad hoc) as contraction *-rd- > *-r-, causing a compensatory lengthening of the vw.

257. (₂?) *b'i'ǝ'üw'ga (or *b'i'ǝ'uw'ga?) '∈ edible fruit' > K {K} *brgen, {K} *bergen, {FS} *berqwen 'wild pear, wild plum' > G Δ b(e)rgena 'willow-leaf pear (Pyrus salicifolia)', Sv: UB barqwend, Ch bärqwen, Lx bärqen, L/Ls barqwen 'wild plum' ¶¶ K 54, K² 12, Chx. 80, FS K 50, FS E 51, TK 144, GP 91, Dn. s.v. barqven || IE: NaIE *bʰrūg- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)' (P: 'genießen, gebrauchen' ← 'sich Früchte zum Genusse abrechen oder abstreifen', Mn.: 'use, benefit, product, profit') > L frūg- (nom. frūx, gen. -gīs) 'fruit', Um accus. pl. FRIF, FRI 'fruges', L frūgī (dat.: '*zum Gebrauche' =) 'useful', fruor (inf. frui, pfc. frūctus sum) 'enjoy', frūmentum 'corn', fructus (gen. -ūs) 'enjoyment; produce, fruit', Osc fruktatiuf (*frūgetātiōnis) 'fructus' || Gt brūkjan (p. brūhta) 'to make use of', OHG brūchan, brūchen, NHG brauchen, OSx brūkan 'to need, to use', AS brūcan 'make use of, enjoy', NE brook; Gt brūks, OHG brūhhi 'useful (brauchbar)', AS brūce 'useful' || ? amb Gk φρυκτός 'lottery bean, bean for voting' (unless derived from φρύγω v. 'roast' and originally meaning 'roasted [bean]') ¶ P 173, WP II 208, Mn. 106, WH I 552-3, EWA II 365-7, Bc. G 317, 336, F II 1046, Ch. 123, Fs. 107, OsS 86, KM 96, Ho. 36 || ? D *piṛ'īka (~ *piṛ'īla) ({ǝGS} *p-) 'green mango fruit' > Kn piṛika, pṛīka, piṛka, Png, Mnd pṛīla id., Kui pṛia, Ku pṛīla 'unripe mango fruit' (unless akin to S *pīriy- 'fruit') ¶¶ D #4184 || HS: ? S: amb Ar birqūq- ~ burqūq- 'prunum, malum Armeniacum \ Persicum' (unless ← Gk πρεκόκκλον ~ προκόκκλον id. ← L praecox 'ripe before the time' [Plinius: "Post autumnum maturescunt Persica, aestate praecocia"]) ¶ Fr. I 112, Steph. VII 157 ◇ Cf. N *p'e'r∇ 'fruit'.

258. ?₂ *bUś|c∇ 'rub, grind' > IE {P, EI} *bʰes- 'rub (off\away)' > OI bhas-: prs. 'babhasti 'chews, masticates, devours' (3p 'bapsati), bhas'ma 'ashes' || Gk ψάω, ψάω 'I rub away, grind down' || ? Al fshij- 'sweep, wipe, brush' ({EI}: < *bʰs-in-ye/o-) (but O 104 proposes a different et.) || ? amb Ht pes(ś)- 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)' (unless somehow connected with IE *peḷs- 'zerstampfen, zermalmen', F P 796) ¶¶ P 145-6, EI 490, M K II 409, M E II 57, F II 1127, Frd. HW 108, Ts. W

62-3, CHD P 315 || **U**: FU *puś|ć∇-n∇ or *puśn∇ 'flour' (× N *P_oŋś∇ 'dust') > Prm *puž / *pužn- > Vt, Z p+ž 'flour' || pVg *pāsən (or *pōsən) 'flour' > Vg: T {Mu.} pāsən, {Kn.} P posən, ML pasən id. ¶ It is not clear if Vt p+žna-n+ and Z p+žnav-n+ 'to pour (schütten)' belong here ¶ UEW 408-9, Coll. 110, LG 235; Rd. supposes that this root refers to flour made of wild cereals ◇ Qu., because FU *puś|ć_L∇_Ln∇ has an alt. etymology. IS MS 358 (s.v. 'размельчатъ' *bā^rś^r∇) equates the IE √ with U {Coll.} *paś∇ (which is less plausible, because here the semantic distance is greater: acc. to UEW 357-8, U *paś∇ means 'Loch, Öffnung, Spalt, Riß').

259. *buṛ_L∇_Lś∇ 'bad' > **HS**: S ✓bṛś 'be bad' > Ak biṛiśu, bīśu 'bad', bāṛāśu v. 'be of bad quality, smell bad', Ar biṛsa 'wie widerlich!', ✓bṛs (pf. baṛisa) v. 'be wretched, be unfortunate', BHb ✓bṛś G (pf. **בָּרַשׁ** bā^rś) v. 'stink', N (pf. **נִבְרַשׁ** nib^rś) 'be hated', IA bṛyś 'bad, evil', BA f. **בְּרִיָּא** bəṛīś- 't-ā 'böse', IA bṛś {HJ} adj. 'bad, evil', JA ✓bṛś (pf. bəṛeś) v. 'be bad, unpleasant, wicked', JEA {Sl.} ✓bṛś 𐌆 ✓byś 'be sick, displeased', SmA ✓bṛś G 'displease', bṛś n. 'disease', Sr G ✓bṛś 'be bad', **بَايَسَا** bāyśā 'poor', Md ✓byś 'be bad, evil', biś, biśa 'bad, evil, wicked', OSA ✓bṛś v. 'be bad', Gz ✓bṛs (pf. baṛasa, subj. yə-bṛas) id., 'become worse' (→ Q {R} bis- 'schlecht/lelend sein') ¶ CAD II 4-5, 270-1, HJ 142, LG 82-3, R QW 44, Vinn. SAN IV 201, KB 103, KBR 107, Sl. 183, Br. 56-7, Tal 78-9, DM 63 || EC *bus- 'be bad' > Sd {Hd.} buśa 'bad', buś- 'be worse/bad', Hd/Kmb {C} buś- 'be cheap', Hd {Hd.} buś- 'become cheap', Or {Brl.} bosa 'lazy', bos-awu 'become lazy' ¶ AD SF 53, Hd. 23, 38, 273, 355, Brl. 63 || Ch: WCh: Ang bās, Cp bīs, Su bīś 'bad' | Fy {J} ~buśī id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} bəzà id. ¶ ChC, ChL, J S 59 || **IE**: NaIE *b^hou̯s- > Gmc *bausi, *bausu- > OSx bōsa 'Posse', gi-bōsi 'Possen', OHG bōsi 'useles, cowardly, weak', bōsa 'hardness, nothingness; Possen, lappisches Treiben', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry', OFrs bās-feng 'unzüchtiger Griff', Sw Δ bōs 'wild' ¶ Ho. S 9, OsS 80, EWA II 252-5, Kb. 106, KM 93 || **A**: M *bus_La_L- > WtM busaki, HIM busxi 'bad, wicked'; Kl бусрмг 'bad, evil, mean' ('дурной, скверный, недостойный') ¶ MED 140, KRS 122 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #7b (incl. C, S, IE, M).

260. *buś∇ 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > **HS**: C: Ag: Q {R} beś- v. 'be naked, deprived of sth.' || SC {E} *baś- v. 'be stripped bare or clean' > Irq baśa 'field cleaned and dug up for cultivation, Kz ba| v. 'wash,

clean' ||| DhI ḥašēḏ- v. 'strip bark away' ¶ AD GDS #1.29, E SC 134, HEN 32 || NrOm: Kf {C} bešō 'except (for)' ('eccetto, fuori di...') ¶ C SE IV 416 || Ch: WCh *buš- (= {Stl.} *buĉ-) v. 'untie' > Bl b3ḏ-, Krkr b3ḏu id. || NrBc *bu^ĉ- > Wrj b3ĉ-, Sir bužū, Jmb mbuž id. || SBc: Sy {ChL} ḥ3žtu id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 151 [#66], ChL; on my interpretation of S's WCh *ĉ as *š see AD LOHS and LOHSa || S *^o√nbš > Ar √nbš 'déterrer, tirer au clair'; S (+ext.) *^o√bšr v. 'peel, skin' > Ar {BK} √bšr 'peler en enlevant l'écorce, dépouiller d'écorce \ de peau extérieure', Jb √bšr (pf. 'b3š3r) v. 'remove the old roof of a hut to put on a new one; skin (as an orange)'; S d. *bašar- 'skin' ([in several S lgs.]: → 'flesh' → [in Ak] 'one's child') > Ar bašar- 'peau extérieure (chez l'homme), épiderme', 'homme, genre humain, l'humanité', bašarat- 'épiderme', Mh b3š3rēt 'skin, complexion', BHb בָּשָׂר bāšār 'skin' (ψ 102.6, 119.120, Hiob 4.15), 'flesh, meat', MHb בָּשָׂר bāšār 'flesh, meat; body', Pun bšr 'flesh; child, descendant', Ug bšr {A} 'flesh, body', {OLS} 'flesh', IA bšr 'flesh', BA בָּשָׂר bāšar 'flesh, people, animals', JA בָּשָׂר bāšar, בִּישָׂרָא ~ בִּישָׂרָא bis'r-ā 'body, flesh, meat', JEA בִּישָׂרָא ~ בִּישָׂרָא bis'r-ā 'flesh, meat', Sr bāšar, b3šrā 'flesh, body', Sb bšr 'flesh', Har, Grg Ch/Ez/Ed/En/Mh/Ms/Go/Gt bāsār 'meat, flesh', Ak bišru 'little child' ¶ BK I 128-9, II 1184, Hv. 740, Js. 199-200, Jo. J 29-30, Jo. M 56, KB 156-7, KBR 164, JH 45, HJ 204, A #598, OLS 119, GB 120, 899, Sl. 207, BGMR 33, L G 110, LEDG III 159, CAD II 270, MiK I #1.41 ¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 169 [#41] || IE: NaIE *b^hoso-, {EI} *b^ho'so-s 'naked, bare' > pGmc *baza- > OHG bar 'bare, naked, alone', NHG, Sw, Dn bar 'naked, bare', AS bær id. (> NE bare), ON berr 'naked; visible, clear' ||| Ltv bass 'bare', Lt bāsas id., 'bare-foot' || SI *bōsɔ (f. *bo'sa, dadj. *bosɔjɔ) 'bare-foot' > OCS, OR БОСЪ bosɔ, Blg бос, SCr bōs (f. bōsa), Slv bōs, Cz bosý, P bosy, R бос, бо'сой id. ||| Arm բոկ bok (< *b^hoso-go- or {EI} *b^hos-ko-?) id. ¶ P 163, EI 45, OsS 40, EWA I 465-6, Kb. 56, Ho. 15, Vr. 34, Sl. 347, Frn. 36, SPS I 340, ESSJ II 223-4, Vs. I 199, Glh. 142 ||| U: FU *pušš- v. 'peel, pluck, be worn out' > Vt Sr pōšt- 'abgetragen werden, sich zerfetzen' ||| Hg foszt- v. 'pluck (a fowl), peel', foszl- v. 'fray, get threadbare' || ObU: Vg: N {MK} pāsli- ~ pāsli- 'sich abwetzen', Ss {Kálm.} pōsl- 'sich zu einem Loch benutzen'; Os V pus in Íop† pus 'abgenutztes (Ober-)Kleid' ¶ UEW 409, MK 466, MF I 960.

261. *bUšš- (or *bUšš-?) 'breath' (→ 'odour, steam, smoke') > HS: S *^o√bšš > Ar √bšš 'avoir l'haleine fétide' ¶ BK I 130, Ln. 209 ||| U:

FU *pUš̌∇ ~ *opiš̌∇ (< **püš̌∇?) 'breath, smoke' > pObU *pōš̌(-am, -aŋ) 'smoke' > pVg *pāš̌am id. > Vg: LK pāš̌am, P poš̌am; pOs *pōsəŋ id. > Os: Nz pusəŋ, Kz pūwsəŋ, O posəŋ | Hg fūst 'smoke, steam' ||| pPrm *poš̌ (acc. to LG) 'breath, vapour' > Z poš̌-+kt̪+/-k̪+ v. 'puff, pant', ?σ Z LV poš̌ 'greedy for... (падкий на...)' ¶ LG 226, Ht. #544, MF 226, KrT 742, Stn. D 1231 ||| **А:** T *b|pu̯i:s 'mist, fog, steam' > OT bus, pus ({Cl.} būs, pūs 'mist, fog', {MKD} būs 'mist, vapour'), Tk pūs, Δ bus 'light fog', Bsh боч b'ōθ, Tv буч pūs 'steam', Tf pūs 'fog over an unfrozen patch of water in winter', Shor pus, ET bus, Chv пач p'as 'steam' ¶ Cl. 370, MKD 82, ET B 277, Rs. W 90, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 403-4, Md. 57, 175, Ra. 82 ¶ Cl. and Dankoff (MKD) reconstruct a OT long ū on the only basis of the Arabic plene spelling, which is rather shaky.

262. *b'a't∇ '≈ luck, good' > **K:** GZ {Fn.} *bed- 'luck' > G bed- 'fate, luck', Mg u-bad-o 'unlucky, unhappy' (u- 'un-), ?σ Lz bad- 'wrath' ¶ Fn. SK 92 [#25] ||| **IE:** NaIE *b^he'd-, {P} *b^had- '≈ good, fortunate' ({EI} IE ?? *b^heh_{ad}- 'good') > OI bhad'ra- 'fortunate, blessed, delightful', Av hu-bad'ra 'fortunate' (hu- 'good') ||| Gmc *batiz ~ *bataz 'better' adv. > ON betr, OHG, MHG baz̄ (> NHG baß), OSx bat, bet, OFrs, AS bêt id., Gmc *batizan 'better' > Gt batiza, ON betri, AS bêtera, OHG bez̄z̄iro, NHG besser 'better', NE better; Gmc *batistaz 'best' > ON beztr, OSx, AS bêtst, OHG bez̄z̄ist, NHG, NE best ||| Sl {ESSJ} *bedr̄n̄b̄ > OCS БѢДРЪНЬ bedr̄n̄b̄ 'πλούσιος = plentiful, abundant' ¶ P 106, EI 236, M K II 467-8 (rejects the relationship between OI and Gmc for phonetic reasons [without explicitly mentioning them]), M E II 244, Lunt B 128-33, Fs. 83, Vr. 34-5, OsS 43, EWA I 503-5, 577-8, KM 55, 70, Ho. 21-2, Ho. S 5-6, ESSJ I 182-3, SadA IV 261, ESJS 58 ||| **А:** ?σ Tg *bad̄i 'yet, more, noch -er' > Neg bad̄t, bad̄t̄gda 'noch (mehr)', 'noch' + cmpr., Orc bādæ, bādī, Ork baž̄e id., Ud badi id., 'still more\stronger', Nn baž̄t 'noch' + cmpr., 'too, very', Ul bad̄t~bād̄t 'more (noch), again; too (zu); {PSchm.} 'more (больше)', badal-badala 'more and more (increasingly more)' ¶ STM I 63, Krm. 211 ||| **HS:** C: Ag: Bln {R} bit-, Q {R} bet- 'satt \ reich \ wohlhabend sein' ¶ R WB 90 ||| S *o✓btt > amb Ar ✓btt 'omnino perfecit, perfectum reddidit', unless a secondary development from ✓btt 'to cut' ¶ Fr. I 81, BK I 81 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 113 [#2] (K, IE, A), ≈ Blz. 129-30 [addition to #2] (added Ag + unc. C and Ch reflexes of N *bAd∇ 'many', q.v.). The IE reflex of the medial cns. suggests a N *-t-, the Tg reflex is ambiguous (N *-t- or *-d-), while K *-d- may be explained by assimilation.

262a. ₂^* **bot**∇ 'dust' or 'ashes' > **HS**: Ch ≈ *but 'ashes': WCh: Bl {IL} bütó, Krkr {IL} butaw, Grm {Sh.} bütá, Krf }Sch.} bütó id. | Dir {Sk.} bütù id. | Ngz bébéđ id. || CCh: Ms {Mch.} búdu, ZmB {J} büt, LmP {ChL} b^wut, Bdm {Nc.} buđén, {Cfr.} p[́]đén id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} bütù, Mgm {J} bíttí, Brg bütì, Bdy bütó 'ashes', Jg {J} bút 'flour', bút kɔ ʔók 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC, ChL, AIJ 61 || Om: NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} bèdná, Wl {LmS} bidinta, Dwr {LmS} bittenta, Malo budó, Dk {Fl.} buda, Bsk buda, Oyda {Bnd.} būdo, Drz {Bnd.} buddu 'ashes' | SOm: Hm {Fl.} bidin-, Ari {Bnd., Fl.} bind-, Dm {Bnd., Fl.} bund- id. ¶ AD SF 241, Wdk. BY 119, LmS 315, Bnd. AL 144, Fl. OWL ¶¶ ≈ HSVA #75 (HS *bət̥ 'ashes' > Ch + unc.: Eg wbd 'burn; soot', Ah a-baṭul 'roasting, baking in ashes'), ≈ OS #353 (HS *buwut̥ > Ch + unc. Eg wbd 'burn') || **D** *poṭi 'powder, dust' > Tm poṭi id., 'ash', Ml poṭi, Kt poyr̥, Kn puḍi 'dust, powder', Kdg poḍi 'powder, flour', Tu, Tl poḍi id., 'dust' ¶¶ D #4481, Zv. 102 (suggests an alternation *-ṭ-/*-ṭ̥-, finding *-ṭ̥- in Td piṛy 'dust', Prj por, podil, poyl 'flour, husk dust', Gdb poddūl 'flour') ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #4d (Ch, D), ≈ Blz. LNA #4 (N *budi 'ashes'; hesitantly suggested to add M *buzar 'dirt[y]' to the HS-D equation).

262b. b^* **æ**¹**gUt**∇ 'thigh, (calf of) leg' > **HS** *baṽ|ṽt- > S: Gz baṽāt, Amh, Gft bat 'calf of leg', ʔφ Amh {R} ባሕት baḥt 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ LG 85, LGD 149 ¶ Gz ā may be due to a S derivational pattern || C: Dhl {To.} bōti 'thigh' || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} bowdo f. 'thigh', {R} baʔudo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', Sml N {Abr.} bówdo 'thigh' ¶ To. D 130, ZMO 45, R SS II 69, Abr. S 34 || NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'gamba, arto inferiore' ¶ C SE IV 417 || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} bāt 'jambe, patte' ¶ Caīt. 37 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 106 [#15] (HS *√bt 'leg') || **A**: NaT *būt 'thigh' > OT būt 'thigh, leg' (OT U but 'leg', OT QU [MhK] بوت 'thigh'), Tk but, bud- 'rump, buttocks', Tkm būt 'thigh (бедро, ляжка)', Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg but 'leg', Xlj bū^ut 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk būt 'thigh, leg', etc. ¶ ET B 280-2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 90, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96; Doerfer adduces here Chv p̣ḅẓ̌_b 'thigh' (in his opinion from *būt-si 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because the T allomorph *-si does not appear after cnss.); ET B 25-6 equates Chv p̣ḅẓ̌_b with Tk bacak and Ggz, CrTt, Kr bažaq 'leg'; Jeg. 158 believes that Chv p̣aẓ̌_ə is from NPrs ڤاچ پا p̣āčē 'feet (of sheep, calves, or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ p̣āyčä 'animal's leg' ¶ T *-t̥ < *-tt < *-gt? || Tg: [1] *begdi 'leg, foot' >

Ewk, Orc, Ud bægdi, Sln bældīr, Lm bōdъl, Ork bægǰi, Nn bægǰi 'leg, foot' [2] *b∇ti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} bodixe, {Kiy.} bodihe, {S} budixe 'leg', WrMc betxe 'leg, foot; leg (of a bird)', Mc Sb {Y} /betaxə/ [bətɪ] ~ /betakə/ [bətɪk] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg bətiɪɜ 'the upper part of the "unti" (fur boots that cover the thighs)', Nn bəčɪɜ 'the part of shorts that covers the thighs' ¶ STM 118-9, 127, Y ##137, 2285, Hr. 89, Kiy. 125 [#505], Md. ChF 135, S AJ 209-10 [#45] ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#303] equates T *būt 'thigh, leg' with the Tg √ || D (in GnD) *p'o'tta > Png, Kui pōta, Mnd pata 'calf of leg' ¶ D #4513
 ◇ N *æ is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Tg *begdi (cp. also WrMc betxe and *a of the first syll. in S and other HS lgs.).

263. *bit₁∇, 'p'∇ 'to hold' > HS: EC: Af {PH} i-bbiḏe v. 'grasp, hold, keep', Sa {R} -biḏ-, p. 3s i-biḏä (R: baḏ, p. í-biḏə) 'nehmen, erhalten', 'rauben, nehmen, ergreifen' ¶ R S II 82-3, PH 132 || ?σ S *^o√bt? > Ar √bt? G (pf. bataʔa) ~ √btw G (pf. بَاتَا batā, ip. -btū) 's'arrêter, faire halte' ¶ BK I 82, 84 || Ch: Mu {Lk.} bōdā 'ergreifen', {J} būdī v. 'hold', bōt /bùwāt id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, ChC || U: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' > F pitä-, Es pida (prs. pean) id. || Er pēda- vi. 'stick to, cling close to, press to' ¶ But not here (⇔ UEW) ObU *pät-/*pit- v. 'fall'; see N *pät∇ 'to fall' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386, Ht. 180 [#551] || D *piṭ∇ v. 'grasp, hold' > Tm piṭi v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', piṭi n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml piṭi 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt piṛč- v. 'clench (hand), piṛy 'handful', Kn piḏi v. 'seize, hold', Kdg puḏi- v. 'catch, hold', Tu hiḏi n. 'hold, grasp', Tl piḏi 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj piḏk- v. 'embrace', Gnd pīḏanā v. 'snatch, catch' ¶¶ D #4148 ◇ Sa, Af -ḏ- points to the presence of an ancient Ir. (-ḏ- < *tH-), which is probably N *ʔ (on the ev. of S *^o√bt?, if it belongs here) ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'держатъ' *^rp'itɪ (U, D).

264. *bôt^r∇ 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout' > HS: S *^o√btɪ > Ar bitɪ- 'big, tall' (of a person), √btɪ G (pf. batiṣa) 'avoir une belle encolure, longue et robuste' (of a horse), 'être robuste et ferme' ¶ BK I 83 || D *poṭ- ~ *puṭṭ- v. 'grow, sprout' > [1] Tm poṭi- 'spring up, shoot', Ml poṭiyuka v. 'spring up, ooze out', poṭikka id., 'sprout', Krb poḏe 'sprout of grain', Kn poḏe 'a pregnant ear of corn, an ear of corn just before shooting forth', Tu poṭṭæ 'tender ear of corn', Tl poṭṭakar(ṛ)ə 'unopened ear of corn, tender ear of corn just

formed', Prj p0t 'grain in embryonic stage'; [2] (\times *puṭ- 'be born'): Td puṭ- vi. 'grow (of grass, tree, hair), Kdg puṭṭ- 'be born, (seed) sprouts' ¶¶ ≈ D ##4264, 4482 || A *but'- > NaT *buta- 'sprout, bough, twig' > Nog butaq id., Qzq būtanaq 'small bough, branch, snag', ? būta 'bush, shrub', Qrg butaq 'twig'; (\times T but- 'cut' < N *buṭṭ- 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'): Qzq būtala- 'cut shoots\twigs', Qrg buta- 'cut twigs, clean the tree from twigs\branches' ¶ Rs. W 8, NogR 91, MM 116, Sht. 66, Jud. 163 || M *buta ≈ tuft (touffe) of plants, thicket (Gebüsch), bush' > MM [S] {H} buta 'Dickicht, Grasbusch, Gestrüpp', WrM buta, HIM бут 'bush, brushwood, thicket', Ord {Ms.} bu't'a 'buissons, broussailles, touffe', Kl бут butu 'bush, shrub; bunch of flowers', {Rm.} 'Gebüsch, Strauch', Mgr H {SM} b_ud_ā 'herbes\plantes croissant en touffe', Mgr H {T} butā, Mgr M {T} buta 'bunch (пучок)' ¶ H 24, MED 141, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 31, T 320 ◇ A *-t'- < N *-tṣ-. We reconstruct N *ṣ rather than *ṣ because the A reflex of the N cluster *-tṣ- is likely to be *-d- rather than *-t'-.

265. UA₂ *batṭ- '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) *pâtṭ- ~ *pât- 'snow-ice-crust', v. 'freeze, feel cold' > pObU *pūt- 'ice-crust' > pVg *pūt- id. > Vg: Yk put, Ss put id., Sg put-wit 'Wasser über dem Eis (am Moor, Fluß)'; pOs *put > Os: D/O pot, Nz put, Kz pot 'Schneerinde, Eisschicht', pOs *pat- > Os: V pat- 'frieren, ge-\zu-\verfrieren', D pot- id., 'kalt werden', O pat- id., 'sich abkühlen', Vy pat-, Ty/Y pāt-, K pot-, Nz/Kz pot- 'frieren' || OHg fáz-, Hg fázik 'freeze, feel/be cold' ¶ Ht. #549, MF 185-6, ≠ UEW 414-5 (Ugr ÷ [with a query] Sm *p̄rā- vi. 'burn' [F Jn. 114]; pU *pār-), ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [#50] (U → Y K {IN} pēd3 'burn') || A: Tg *batun 'frozen ground' > Ewk batun, Ul bātun(-), Nn batō, batō id., Lm batun id., 'hard, hardened' (of ground, ice, snow), batun- 'get frozen' (of ground, ice)', WrMc batun 'frozen ground, lower layers of ice' ¶ STM I 77 ◇ Not here the D stem, represented by Tm paḍisemu 'a cold, catarrh, Prj paḍcom id., Gnd paṛsa id., Δ poṛsa 'rheum of nose', Δ parsā, parsum 'a cold', which, acc. to D App. #48, goes back to OI pratiśyāya- (> Marathi paḍse) 'cold in the head' (Tu. #8604).

265a. *biṭ- 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect' > HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *b3t- 'louse' > Bln {R} bi'tā ~ be'tā, Q {R} be'tā, Xm {R} be'tā, Km {CR} bi'tā (pl. bi't) 'louse' ¶ R WB 90, CR K 181, Ap. AV 8 || ?ϕ B ✓ fṽḍiḍ > Ah afūḍiḍ 'petit pou gris de chameau', Izn, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} afḍiḍ 'tique

(acarien femelle gros et gris)', Shl afduđ 'tique des moutons\chameaux\bovins', Fgg afđiđ 'parasite des chameaux', BSn afđiđ 'pou des chiens' ¶ Fc. 305, Rn. 297, NZ 532 || Ch:WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ɓàɓát 'flea' || ECh: Smr {J} báɗàdár 'flea', as well as (?) words for 'mosquito': Smr {J} bédé 'mosquito', Nd D {J} bídé, Tmk {Cp.} betɓ, bǎd ¶ ChC, Sch. DN 28 || **A**: T *bit ~ *bit, {Md.} bīt'∇ 'louse' > OT, Cmn XIV, MOg XIV bit 'louse', MQp bit 'bug', Tk bit, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет бѣт, Xk put, Yk bit, Tv, Tf bīt, SY pišt, Chv пыйт ă p̄iud_ь 'louse' ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, Rs. W 76, Md. 75, Jeg. 172 || **D** (in NED): Krx putungī ~ putungī 'midge', Mlt putgi 'sand-fly'; D ɓ→ OI puttikā- 'gnat' ¶ D #4203 || ?ϕ **K**: Mg biča 'tick' ◇ D *u (from N *i) may be due to the labializing infl. of N *b-. An alt. rec. (N *büt'∇) implies a hyp. of T delabialization (without any imaginable cause) and hence is less plausible ◇ AD GDRV 61 (C, T); Blz. LB #105a and Blz. LNA #6 (suggested to add D).

266. *buṭ'∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces' > **HS** *√bṭ > **WS** *√bṭṭ > **Ar** √bṭṭ (pf. baṭṭa) 'percer un ulcère \ un clou', Amh {DRS} beṭṭa 'entailler', as well as possibly **CS** *√bdd v. 'separate' (< **√bṭṭ by as.?) > **Ar** √bdd id., **BHb** ٦٦٣ bā'dād 'alone', (act. prtc. G) bō'dēd 'alone, solitary' ¶ **BK** I 134, **KB** 105, **KBR** 109-10, **DRS** 59-60 || **B** *√bḡH > **Kb** əbḡu (pf. 3s yəbḡa) 'partager, séparer', **Tdq** {Fc.} əbḡu 'être séparé, se séparer', **Izd** bḡu (pf. 3s i-bḡa, hab. baṭṭa) 'partager, séparer', **BSn** əbḡa id., **CM** bḡu 'partager, être partagé', **Sll** {Ds.} əbḡu (pf. ibḡa) 'partager' ¶ **Mrc.** 233, **DI.** 11, **Fc.** 32, **NZ** 27-8 || **C** {AD} *bṭ' > **LEC** *bṭ' > **Sa** {R} -baṭ- (= -baḡ-), p. 'i-biḡä 'abtrennen, wegrißen', aba'lā, a'bḡā 'part, half', **Af** {PH} abḡa 'half, part', **Sml** {ZMO}, **Sml N** {Abr.} baḡ 'half' ¶ **R S** II 82-3, **ZMO** 26, **PH** 28, **AD SF** 248 || **NrOm**: **Kf** {C} ɓotō 'share, part' ¶ **C SE** IV 417 || **Ch**: **WCh**: **Bl** {Lk.} ɓot-, **Gera** {ChL} ɓédì-mì, **Grm** {ChL} ɓát v. 'cut' (mte. *b...ṭ > *ɓ...t) ¶ **JI** II 96, **ChL** || **A**: **NaT** *buta- ~ {Cl.} *buti- v. 'cut off branches, prune a tree' > **OT** {Cl. after MhK} buta-, buti- v. 'prune', {MKD} buti- 'cut branches of a tree', **OOsm**, **MQp** buda- v. 'prune', **Tk** buda- 'die Zweige beschneiden', **VTt** бѣта- bḡta-, **StAlt** b_uda-, **Xlj** pu'ta- id. ¶ **Rs.** **VW** 91, **Cl.** 300, **DTS** 129, **MKA** II 141 and III 317, **MKD** 82, **DHST** 296 || **M** *buta- > **MM** [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit'; **M** *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× **N** *baṣ|ḡuṭ'∇ 'kick, push?') > **WrM** ɓu'ta, **HIM**, **Kl** бѣт, **Brt** бѣта adv. 'in fragments\pieces,

into pieces'; M butara- > MM butara- vi. [MA] 'disintegrate, break to pieces (распасться, развалиться, рассыпаться)', [S] 'auseinanderstieben', WrM butara-, HIM бутра- v. 'break to pieces, smash', Brt, Kl бутар- vi. 'break, be smashed', Kl бутр-, {Rm.} butrō- 'be dispersed, zerstreut werden', Ord b_uh't'ara- 's'échapper sous forme d'étincelles (feu)', Mnr H {SM} p'ud_zrā- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), se disperser', caus. MM [HI] butara_u- 'laisser se disperser', WrM butaragul-, HIM бутрула- 'let desintegrate' ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, Chr. 116-7, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 304 || Tg *bute, *butekte- 'break into pieces', *butekte 'piece' (× N *baḡ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push'?) > Lm būt- 'break, beat, split', Ewk butuktz 'piece', Neg boktaḡān, Nn Nh boqtā 'splinter'; Ewk butēktz-, Ud bukta- 'split', Lm būtḡq- 'break off', Orc buktaga- 'break', Ul buqta-, Nn boqtā- 'crack' ¶ STM I 116 || D {Pf.} *putt-/ *put-▽-, *put-▽-k- ({ḡGS} *p-) v. 'cut off, cut in pieces' > Klm put- v. 'cut in pieces, pluck (flower), break (rope), Nkr put- v. 'cut, pluck', Nk put- vi. 'be cut, break', Krx pudḡg-nā v. 'pluck out (hair, etc.), strip (fowl) by plucking' ¶¶ D #4277, Pf. 75.

267. ₂ *buṭ ▽ 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut' > HS: S *'buṭ_u_n|m- id. > BHb pl. בַּבְּנִים buṭ'nīm 'nuts of terebinth', JA buṭ'm-ā, JEA {Sl.} אֲבִיבִים buṭ'm-ā, Sr beṭm-ə't-ā id., Ar buṭm- 'térébinthe (arbre), térébinthine', Gz (← Ar?) bəṭm ~ būṭm 'terebinth tree', Ak buṭn-u 'terebinth tree\wood', buṭn-atu, buṭum-t-u, buṭṭutu 'pistachio tree\wood\nut' ¶ KB 117, KBR 121, Sl. 190, Js. 147, LG 114, CAD II 358-9, Löw I 192 || A: NaT *buturgāk > OT (Cl.) buturḡāq 'a thorn tree shaped like a pistachio tree, which has thorns which catch the clothing' (MKA I 502), {MKD} 'burr', SbTt Tr {Rl.} buturḡaq 'a tree which has split and is bound round to save it from collapse'; NaT *'bitrik 'pistachio nut' > OT [MhK] bitrik id. ¶ Cl. 307, 309, MKD 74, 82, Rl. IV 1857, DTS 104, 130 ◇ AD NM #58, S CNM 14, ≠ Vv. AEN 9 (rejects the T etl. doublets on the false presumption denying the very existence of doublets, though in fact they do exist in lgs. if a √ is found in different phonetic conditions (incl. phonetic infl. of affixes), undergoes lexical attraction, analogy, etc., as in NE off and of, life [laɪf] and live [liV], Fr homme and on, BHb 'leb 'heart' and lē'bāb id. - both from *'libab-um).

268. *baḡ|guṭ ▽ 'kick, push' > HS: CS *'bḡ|ḡṭ > BHb בַּעַט b'ḡṭ G v. 'kick', {KB} 'ausschlagen', MHb, JA b'ḡṭ G {Js.} v. 'trample, strike,

kick', JEA {Sl.}, Sr ✓ bŕt̕ G v. 'kick' ¶ KB 136, KBR 142, Js. 180-1, Sl. 224, Br. 83, JPS 50, DRS 74 || EC: Af {PH} bōŕto 'bang, clang, knock, tap', Sa {R} bōt̕'ō 'Schlag, Hieb, Stoß', bōt̕'ō- 'einen Schlag\Hieb bekommen', bōt̕-iš- 'einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß geben' ¶ PH 72, R S II 92 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *bet v. 'push' > Su {J} bēt 'niederschlagen, stoßen', Ang {Flk.} bēt/bāt v. 'push, butt', Cp {Kr.} bēt v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 240 [#1], J S 59, Flk. s.v., ChL || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *bʰaud- (= {P} *bʰāwd-) / {P} *bʰud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *bʰeud- (prs. *bʰoudej) 'strike, beat' > Gmc {Wt.} *baūt- v. 'strike' > ON baūta 'to beat', AS béatan / p. beo(f)t id., NE beat; MLG bōten, OHG bōzen an or bōzen ɔ pauzen / p. biez 'push, strike (contundere)', {EWA} '(zer)stoßen, (zer)schlagen', MHG bōzen 'to strike, to beat', bōz 'Schlag' || OIr {Vn.} buailid 'il frappe\bat\attaque'; ?σ MBr {Flr.} bevez 'guilty', OIr {Vn.} bibdu id., 'enemy' (< *bʰe-bʰud-wots) || Lt baudà 'fine, penalty', baũsti (prs. baũdžiũ) 'to punish' ('strafen, züchtigen') ¶ P 112, EI 549, Mn. 67-8, Vr. 29, Ho. 18, OsS 81, EWA II 270-2, Kb. 109, Lx. 25, Vn. B 49, 109, Flr. 82, AHDI 6, ≠ Frn. 62 (baudà ÷ Lt budėti 'to be awake') || A *but'∇ 'beat, hit' > pKo {S} *puti'ic̕- 'hit, bump, collide' > MKo puti'ic̕-, NKo putic- pudit- ¶ S QK #928, Nam 265, MLC 812 || pJ {S} *pūt- 'beat, hit' > J: T bú-, K/Kg bût- ¶ {S}: an expressive voicing *p- > *b- ¶ S QJ #1397, Mr. 680 || M *buta- > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit', ?σ M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× N *but'∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ Tg *bute- 'break into pieces' (← 'beat?'), *butekte 'piece', *butekte- 'break into pieces' (× N *but'∇, q.v. ffd.) || D [1] D *poṭ- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'winnow, strike, beat' > Tm puṭai v. 'winnow, thresh, beat, strike', poṭi v. 'be broken to pieces', Kt poṛč̕- v. 'winnow', Td puṛf- id., v. 'flap (a branch of leaves in cleaning house)', puṛ 'beating', Kn poḍe v. 'strike, beat', Tu puḍepuni, poḍepuni v. 'winnow, fan', boṭṭuni v. 'beat (as a drum), hammer (as metal), knock (as a door)', Tl poḍucu v. 'fight', Gdb pōḍu 'fight', Png poḍ- v. 'hit (not to miss)'] [2] D (in SD) *pōṭ- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'strike, cast' > Tm pōṭu v. 'cast down, strike, beat, stamp', Ml pōṭuka v. 'strike (as a wedge into timber), put', Tu pāḍuni v. 'throw, cast, fling' ¶¶ D ##4252, 4481, 4581, Km. 439-40 [#871] ¶¶ D *-ṭ- points to a de-emphasized *-t- < *-ǵṭ- < N *-ǵṭ-

268a. *bag₁∇₁t¹i¹ 'be quick; sudden' > **HS:** S *^o✓bɣt > Ar ✓bɣt G 'arriver \ survenir soudain et à l'improviste', baɣt-at- 'événement inattendu', بَغْتَةً baɣt-at-an 'soudain, subitement, à l'improviste' ¶ BK I 144-5 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} vωōt, Anf H {Flk.} bωōt 'quickly, at once', Dr {Nw.} bú't 'suddenly, on the run' ¶ Flk. 154, Nw. KL 122, ≈ Tk, LAA-1 107 [#22] || **А:** M *bačim (< *batI-) 'hasty, urgent, quick' > WrM, WrO bacim, HIM бачим id., Brt башам 'urgent, pressing (спешный)', K1 бачм баčьм id., {Rm.} bačm, bačim 'schnell, hurtig', Ord bač'im ž_oč'im 'à l'improviste', bač'imda- 'être très pressé' ¶ MED 65, Chr. 92, KRS 86, Krg. 329, KW 36, Ms. O 58 || T ₁ *bāt ~ *pāt 'quickly, extremely' > OT bat 'quickly', Chg bat 'quick(ly)', Tk pat, Uz bat, ET {Nj.}, ET Tr {Rl.} pat, Qrg bat 'quickly, soon', Tkm bādina 'immediately, right away', Tv p'at 'extremely, completely' ¶ Cl. 296, Rs. W 65, Tkr 65, TvR 345, Nj. 238, Rl. IV 1173, 1508 ¶¶ Pp. VG 134 (M, T), Rm. SKE 146-7 (Ko, M, T), ≈ SDM97 (A *pāt'e 'quick, swift', incl. T, M) || **Д** (in SD) *paṭ(ṭ)- ({ṭGS} *p-) 'hasty, sudden' > Tu paṭṭa 'suddenly', Kt paṭakn 'suddenly, with a jerk', Tm o₂ paṭapaṭṭappu 'precipitancy', paṭapaṭa 'be overhasty' ¶ D #3842 ¶ D *-ṭ- < pre-D *-d- < (as.) *-ṣṭ- ◇ T *p- (for *b-) may be due to the ideophonic factor. In view of S and M a rec. of N *p- is less plausible.

269. *b¹ū¹g¹âṭ∇ 'hunt, try to catch' > **HS:** WCh: pAG {Hf.} *ḥwayat v. 'tie, hobble' (if from *'catch by a lasso') > Gmy ḥōt, Su ḥwayat, Ang {Hf.} ḥāt id., Ang {Flk.} bāt 'tie, bind', Su {J} ḥwayat 'binden', Kfr {Hf.} ḥwayat, {Nt.} ḥwogat v. 'tie' ¶ Mte.: N *b...ṭ > *ḥ...t ¶ Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. bāt, Nt. 46, J S 60 || S *^o✓bɣt > Ar ✓bɣt '(suddenly) come upon so., take so. by surprise' (< *'catch') ¶ Deglottalization *ṭ > □S*t ¶ Ln. 228-9, BK I 144-5 || **U** {UEW} *pūwtä- v. 'hunt, catch (game), fish', 'follow the trail' (of an animal) > F puytā- v. 'hunt, fish, catch (game)' (→ 'ask, request, invite'), Vp pūta- v. 'hunt, catch (game\fish)', Es pūüd- / pūüa- 'catch, try' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} pūdap, Tz {Cs.} pūtalžam 'follow the trail (of an animal)', Kms {KD} p'idera- id. ('verfolgen, auf der Spur folgen') ¶ Not here (⇔ UEW) Ne: T пиде- pīde- v. 'chase away', T O {Lh.} pīde-, FNy {Lh.} pīcī- 'chase away (e.g. beasts of prey)' ({Lh.} 'verscheuchen, vegjagen', {Cs.} 'treiben, jagen'); this word belongs together with Slq Tz {Prk.} pītī- 'frighten' < pSm {Jn.} *piytā- id. ← pSm {Jn.} *piy- 'be afraid' ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 387 (U

*piwtä 'die Spuren eines Wildes folgen'), SK 676-7, ZM 446, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 462, Cs. 222, 170, KD 52 || **A**: AmTg *bogatu- v. 'hunt' > Orc bātu-, Ul bātu- ~ buatu- v. 'hunt', Neg boatu- ~ boʔatu-, Nn Nh boato-, Nn B bātu- v. 'hunt (esp. for sable)', Ud bātu- 'spend the hunting season in the forest' (of hunters) ¶ STM I 87, Krm. 211 ¶ N *-g- is preserved in Tg as *-g- (a rare case). Cf. the cases of preservation of lrs. in U. The Tg back vw. *-o- of the first syll. (< N *-^rü¹-) may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of *-a- of the next syll. ◇ The Tg root with *-t- and the WCh root with *b...t (< *b...t) (if it belongs here) point to a N *t.

270. *bu₁w₁t₁∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > **HS**: S *^obūt- > Md buṭa 'bottom, anus', NMd bōṭa 'Hintern, Anus', Sr **بؤت** būṭā 'anus, podex', NNEA {Mcl.} **بؤت** būṭā 'penis' | WS (or CS?) *¹baṭ₁∇₁n- 'belly' > BHb **בטן** bəṭṭen 'belly, internal organs', OCn [EA] ba-aṭ-nu-ma 'belly', IA **בטן** bṭn id., JA [TrgOJ] **بأطن** baṭ¹n-ā, JA {Js.} **بأطن** biṭ¹n-ā 'belly', JEA **بأطن** bṭn² (unk. voc.) 'womb', Sr baṭ¹n-ā 'conceptio', Ar baṭn- 'ventre', Tgr bəṭn, Har bəṭni id. ¶ KB 116-7, KBR 121, JH 34, HJ 151, Sl. 198, Js. 158, DM 54-5, 58-9, Mc. NM 205, PS 464, 513-4, Mcl. 27, BK I 138, DRS 51, 60, MiK I #1.42 ¶ If the Tgr and Har words are Arabisms, the stem is CS || B *būd- > BSn bōḍ 'fond', Mz buḍ 'fond, cul' (pl. ibudawən ~ ibaṭṭən), Izd {Mrc.} abud (pl. ibaṭṭən) 'fond, extrémité, orifice anal', CM abud ~ bud 'fond, partie basse', Fgg bud 'fesse; anus', Shw bud 'fond, pied de végétaux', Ah {Fc.} buyəḍ 'avoir des fesses décharnées', Ntf abud 'bottom of a vessel', Nf {Beg.} būṭ 'base, pied' | ?? B *^rḥ¹ḡn > Ah a-haḡun 'la 15^{me} nuit du mois lunaire' (< **'middle') (× N ***P₁añt₁∇h∇** 'belly', q.v.) ¶ Fc. 518, ≠ Pr. H 29, NZ 28-9, Beg. 278 || C: EC: Rn bəyḍó 'buttocks', bəḍéy 'buttock', Sml {ZMO} baḍi 'buttocks, tail of sheep', Sml N {Abr.} báḍí 'buttocks; buttocks of sheep', ? Dsn {Fl.} bedi 'foot', Sd baḍe 'back, behind', {Mrn.} 'dorso, dietro' ¶ PG 76, ZMO 26, Blz. DL s.v. 'foot', Hd. 351, Mrn. S 207 || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'leg, hind leg' ¶ ≈ AD SF 240-1, C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Hs büt¹yā 'anus' || ECh: Brg {J} bājā 'anus', EDng {DjM} báḍyā 'fesse' | (× N ***bod∇** 'body, belly?'): {Stl.} ***bū^rt¹∇** 'belly, womb' > Su {J} büt 'Bauch, Inneres', Ang {Flk.} b₁ut 'belly, pregnancy', {Brq.} b₁wút 'stomach', Mnt bēt 'belly', Kfr {Nt.} büt 'belly, side', Gmy {Hf.} bēt, Tal {Sh.} b₁u^h 'belly', Chip {ChC} yim-b₁ut 'entrails' | Gj {Kr.} bót¹ id. | Fy {J} b₁ú¹ó 'belly' ||| ECh: Brg {J} b₁ù¹rì 'belly' ¶ Stl. ZCh 157 [#113], Abr. H 127, DjM 32, J S 60,

Nt. 4, Hf. AG 17, Brq. AP, ChC s.v. 'belly, 'anus' ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 104 [#7] (*√bṭ 'bottom. back') and ≈ 104 [#4] (HS *√bd 'bottom, lower part' [B, CCh.]) || IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (in some lgs. transformed into *b^hud^h-mo-, *b^hud^h-no > *b^hund^ho-), {EI} *b^hud-'no-'bottom' (× N *bod[∇] 'body, belly' [q.v.]) > OI budh'naḥ 'bottom, ground, base', Av būnō id. || Gk πυθμήν 'hollow bottom or stand of a cup, bottom of the sea, bottom\stock\root of a tree' || L fundus 'bottom of sth., ground, soil' || OIr bond, bonn 'plante de pied, base, sol' || Gmc: OSx bothom, OHG bodam, NHG Boden, ON, Ic, NNr botn, Sw botten, Dn bund, AS botm ~ bodan 'bottom, ground', NE bottom ¶ WP II 190, P 174, EI 247, Dv. #443, M K II 438, M E II 228-9, F II 620-1, WH I 564-5, EWA II 222-5, Vn. B 69, Ho 31, Ho. S 9, Vr. 51, KM 88 ¶ IE *-d^h- for *-t- is due to the IE incompatibility law (no mediae aspiratae + tenues in the same √) and to contamination with N *bod[∇] '↑' || U: FU *put[∇] 'rectum, large intestine' (× N *pu_uw_ut_E [or *pu_uw_ut_E?] 'hole') > Lp S {Lgc.} πυ^hτε-κ_εξ 'rectum' || pObU *pūt[∇] > Vg N {MK} puti 'large intestine', Os Nz pūta, Os Kz pūti id., 'rectum', ¶ UEW 410 (< ?), Lgc. #687, MK 487 || ?σ,φ D (in SD) *puṭa- ({ǵGS} *p-, *-d-) 'side, place' (← *'bottom') > Tm puṭai, puṭam 'side, place', Ml puṭa, Kn hoḍe 'side', Tu puḍæ 'border, edge, side' ¶ D #4254 ¶ D {ǵGS} *-d- (for the expected *-t-) is still to be explained ◇ Hardly here NaT *būt 'thigh' and Tg *b[∇]ti-ke 'leg, thighs', which are more likely to belong to N *b^ræ¹gUt[∇] 'thigh, (calf of) leg' (q.v.) ◇ IS II 102-3: N *p^ožqa/p^odqa 'thigh', sc. N *p^oqEž[∇] ~ *p^ož[∇]q[∇] 'thigh, haunch' (q.v.) with unconvincing adduction of T *būt 'thigh' (reconstructed as *pūt).

271. *b^ri'χa (or *b^ri'qa, *büyx|qa?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^hej_h- / b^hi_h- ({EI} *b^hej_hh_h-) 'strike' > NaIE *b^heyā-/b^hi- v. 'beat' > Av {P} byente 'sie bekämpfen, schlagen' || ? Arm բիր բիբ (gen. բրի բի) 'large stick, club, cudgel' || ? L [Fest.] perfinēs · "perfringās" (2s conj. 'break [through, in pieces]) ({EM}: *-nā-present of *b^hej_h-) || OIr ben-'strike, beat', ro-bíth 'was beaten', bíthe 'beaten', 1s ft. bíu '(whom) shall I beat?', {P} béimm 'Schlag' (< *b^hey-smṅ), OW etbinam [Y] 'lanio', W {YGM} bid 'lopped hedge', {Vn.} bidio 'tailler une haie', OBr [Y] bedioc 'caedes' ({Flr.} 'action de trancher\tailler'), MBr benaff, Br benañ v. 'cut' || Sl inf. *b^ri-ti 'to beat' > OCS БИТИ bitī / prs. БИѢ бѣjq ~ БИИ бѣq, SCr bīti / bījēm, R бить /

бью, Uk бити, Slv, Cz bití, Slk bit', P bić || NrIE d. {Mn.} *b^hiyā-lo-s ~ -li-s 'striker, axe' > OIr biail, OW bahell, W bwyell, bwyall, Br bouc'hal ~ bouhal 'axe' || OHG bīhal 'axe', MHG bīhel, bī(e)l, NHG Beil, Dt bijl 'axe, hatchet' (< IE *b^hiyā-lo) ¶ WP II 137-8, P 117-8, EI 549, Mn. 78-9, EM 498, WH I 503, EWA II 35-8, Vn. B 32-4, 48, Flr. 80-1, YGM-1 45, Hü. 429, ≠ Sl. 137 (unlike Hü., connects Arm biř with the verb břem), ESSJ II 99-103, Db. SA 204, 212-3, SPS I 251-2, Glh. 132, StSS 84-5, OsS 62, KM 6, Vr. N 58 || | K: GZ (att. in Zn) *^obex|q-v. 'beat, strike' > Mg baχ- 'beat so., give a beating' ({Chik.} 'ᠵᠢᠭᠳᠤ, поколотить', {Q} 'бить'), Lz baχ- 'beat so., thresh' ({Marr} 'бить (человека), молотить', {Chik.} 'ᠵᠢᠭᠳᠤ, ᠮᠣᠮᠣᠳᠢᠭᠢᠭᠤ, поколотить') ¶ Q 202, Marr 130, Chik. 253 || | HS: C: EC: Sa {R} buw- scv. 'hauen, schlagen' || ? SC {E} *bañ- v. 'kill (animal)' > ? Asa bahat 'trap', → Mb ḃañ- v. 'kill' ¶ R S II 94, E SC 136 || Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ḃíyθ v. 'break' || WCh: pNrBc *ḃa {Stl.} id., {AD} 'beat, break' > Wrj ḃḃḃ, Kry ḃḃ- v. 'break', My ḃá- v. 'beat, break', Cg ḃḃ- ~ ḃḃ-, Mbr, Jmb ḃā- v. 'break' || Ech: Kbl {Cr.} bḃyì, Kwn {J} bàyì, Ll {Grgs.} bḃy, Smr {J} bḃ id. ¶ In WCh and CCh ḃ- < *bH ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [#23], ChC, ChL || | A: Tg *buya- 'be broken' > Orc buya- 'broken', buya- v. 'be broken\ torn apart', Ul buya 'broken', Ork buya id., 'fragments' (осколки), buya- 'be broken, destroyed', Nn buyā- id., buyā 'broken', Lm buyak- 'spoil' ¶ STM I 103
 ◇ If the pN vw. of the first syll. was *i (as suggested by IE, K, and CCh), the labialized vw. in Tg and EC may be due to the assimilative infl. of *b-

272. *bay ▽ 'place', 'to be (somewhere)' (= 'estar') > HS: S *bi- 'in', 'with' (instr.) > BHb bā-, bā- id., Ph, Pun, OA, IA b, Ug b, by, (AkSc) bi-, JA, Sr bā-, Ar bi-, Gz bā- (with pronouns: bā-ka 'in you'), bā- (with nouns) id., Tgy ḃḃ- id., bḃ- (in bḃ-yḃ 'I have', lit. 'in me'), Ak in bašu v. 'be' (< *bā-šu 'in him'?) ¶ Br. G II 363-77 [§§ 237-41], KB 100-2, HJ 137-41, OLS 97-8, Hnr. 112, LG 82, Sd. 112, DRS 39-40 || Eg fOK bω ~ by.t 'place' ¶ EG I 433, 450-2, Fk. 81-2, Tk. II 172-5 || C {AD} *bay- 'place' > EC: HEC {Hd.} *bay-(ččo) 'place' > Sd bay-ččo, Hd bēyyo, Kmb *bēččū || Or O/Wt {Sr.} biyya 'place; sand', Or H {Ow.} biyyá 'land, country', Dsn {To.} bī 'soil, ground; world', Arr {Hw.} biyy 'land, earth, field' || DI: Gln {AMS} píye 'earth, land', Dbs {AMS} piye 'land, world', Cm {Hab.} bīye 'earth' || | Bj -b, locative case sx. || Ag: Q {R} -wā, directive case sx. ¶ AD SF 38-9, Hd. 113, Hw. A 348, Sr. 274, Ow. 256,

To. DL 487, Blz. CL 177, Blz. DL s.v. 'earth', AMS 180, 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} bič 'towards' ¶ C SE IV 410 || Ch {AD} *bṽyṽ (≈ {Nw.} *ba) 'place' > WCh: pHAB {Stl.} *beyi id. > BT: Bl {Lk.} beyi, Krkr {Lk.} biyi, Dr {Nw.} bóì, {Kr.} b^ωóyì, Ngm {ChL} bèṽí, Gera {ChL} bí id. | pAG {Hf.} *pē, {Stl.} *bē > Su {J} pē id., Ang {Flk.} pē 'place, spot', {Hf.} pī, {Brq.} pí 'place', Mnt {Fp., Gr.} bi, Gm {Hf.} pē, {Fp.} be, Kfr {Hf.} pē, {Nt.} pē, Mpn {Frz.} pē, Cp {ChL} pē 'place' || ECh: ? Skr {ChC} bā 'place' or 'where' ¶ Hf. AG 17, Stl. VZCh, Nw. 30 [#97], Nw. KL 121, J S 78-9, Nt. 32, Brq. AP, Frz. DM 91, Gr. LA 60 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 || IE: NaIE *-b^heǵ/-b^hi, postpositive marker of locative: Gk Hm -φτ, case ending with the meaning of instr., loc., dat., abl.; marker of instr., dat., and abl. in several lgs.: Iir *-b^his instr. pl. (> OI -b^hiḥ, Av -bīš, OPrs -biš), *-b^hayas dat.-abl. pl. (> OI -bhayaḥ, Av byō), L-bus abl. pl., -bis in nobis, vobis (dat. and abl.-instr. of nos 'we', vos 'ye') (F Shl. IENI 50-2); IE *k^ωo-b^hey 'where?' > L ubi, Ht kuwapi ¶ Ts. W 43-4, Pv. IV 229-31, Brg. KVG 398-9 (incl. a table), 406 (incl. a table), Ch. GH I 234-41 || U: Y: K {Krn.} -nubo, -nube, -be, T {Krn.} -nube, sx. od nomina loci: K piedāl-be 'place under a rocky bank, under a rock' (←d pie 'stone' + āl 'under'), íie-nube 'place of residence' (←d íie- 'be, stay'), T āwa-nube 'sleeping place' (←d āwa- 'sleep') ¶ Krn. JJ 26 || A: M *bayi- 'stand, stay, be' > MM [PP] bayi- 'be', [IM] bay- 'remain, stop (s'arrêter)', [HI] bayi- 'stand, stand up', [MA] bayi- 'stand', [S] {H} bayi- 'daliegen', bajyidał 'Stellung, Stand, Posten', [IsV] bay ipv. 'be quiet!', WrM bai-, HIM бай- 'be' (copula), 'stay, exist, live, reside', Brt бай-, Kl бээ- 'stand, remain, be (ci essere)', бээнэ 'there is', Kl {Rm.} bā- 'stand, remain, be (sein, sich befinden)', Mnr H {SM} bē- 'stand, stand up, stop (s'arrêter)', Dg {Mrm.} baj- ~ bāj- 'stand', {Pp.} bēj 'is', Dx {T} baj- id., 'stop (s'arrêter)', Mgl {Rm.} beinā 'is, stands, remains standing', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} ba[?]i ipv. 'stand!' ¶ Ms. H 39, Pp. PP 120, Pp. MA 115, 433, Lg. VMI 18, H 11, 14, MED 72-3, Chr. 80-2, KRS 88-90, KW 30-1, SM 23, Klz. D I 112-3, Rm. M 24, Wr. B 122, Iw. 89 || Tg *bjā 'lying-place (within the house/hut), bed' > Ud {Shn.} beä, {Krn.} bā, Ork bē 'parts of the house on both sides of the hearth near the side walls where people sleep, eat, and work in the daytime', Ewk bē id., Δ 'bed, plank bed (постель, нары)', Lm bā 'animal's bed (лежбище)' ¶ STM I 78, Krn. 211 ¶¶ DQA #131 (A *b_lajaya 'place; to be located') ◇ The semantic and grammatical change from a noun ('place') to a pre-\post-position (→ case ending) can be easily seen in HEC: Hd mančo bēyuo (lit. man's

place) actually means 'towards the man, chez l'homme', just as in NE: my place = Ру меня, Fr chez moi ◇ Gr. I 144-7 ("locative BH" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, qu. Ko and J).

273. $\text{₂}^*b\text{ṽ}y\text{ṽ}$ (or $\text{₂}^*b\text{ṽ}y\text{ṽ}?$) 'bee' > **HS**: Eg fOK by.t 'bee', fMK by.t-y 'apiculteur' (> Cpt Sd ϵBEIT ebeit id.), Eg fOK by.t ({Vc.} byy.t) 'honey' > DEg $\acute{i}by$ id. > Cpt Sd/B ϵBIW ebiō id. ¶ EGI 434, Fk. 79, Er. 26, Vc. 38, Tk. II 107-10 || **IE** $*b^hej_lH_1-$ / $*b^hoj_lH_1-$ / $*b^hiH-$ (× N $\text{ᵛ}^*b\acute{u}z\text{ṽ}$ 'ε insect' [q.v.]) ({EI} $*b^hi-$ 'k^ωo- and $*b^hi-$ + other sxs.) 'bee' > NaIE $*b^hey-$ / $*b^ho\text{y}$ -/ $*b^h\bar{i}$ - 'bee' > ON bý, Sw, Dn bi, NGr Al bī, NGr B beij, Dt bij, Gmc $*b\bar{i}$ -on- > OHG bīa, AS bīo, NE bee; +ext. *n (reinterpretation of the obl. cases with *-n- of the "weak declension?"): OHG bini, bīna, NHG Biene, NGr Ö Bein 'bee' || +ext. *-t-: Lt bitē, bitis, Ltv bite, Pru bitte 'bee' || W bydaf 'swarm of wild bees, bee-hive' ¶ P 116, EI 57, Dv. #868, Vr. 66, Ho. 24, EWA II 3-6, KM 75, Frn. 45, En. 152, Tp. P A-D 233, YGM-1 63 ◇ NaIE $*b^h\bar{i}$ - suggests the presence of a pIE root-final lr., which may be of a pN origin. The absence of any lr. in Eg by.t points to N $*\text{ṽ}$ or $*h$ as the only possible pN lr. Alternatively, the lr. in IE may belong to the heritage of N $\text{ᵛ}^*b\acute{u}z\text{ṽ}$ 'ε insect'.

274. $\text{₂}^*be\text{ṽ}y\text{ṽ}$ 'body, self' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul') > **HS**: Eg $\text{ᵛ}^*b\text{ṽ}$, Eg (GrSc) βατ 'soul' (× N $\text{₂}^*b\text{ṽ}L\text{ṽ}ṽa$ 'to blow, to inflate?') > DEg by 'soul' > OCpt $\text{BAI}bai$ 'spirit, soul' in $\text{NEBBAI}nebbai$ 'lord of the soul' and in $\text{BAI}N\text{XB}\chi$ bai nk^hbk^h (name of a demon, lit. {Vc.} 'soul of darkness') ¶ EGI 410-4, Fk. 77, Vc. 25, Tk. II 6-9 || C: Bj {Rop.} bīye 'self' ('ane i-'bīye 'ad^ṽe 'I myself did it') (but Reinisch interpreted i-bīye as 'meine Glieder' → 'ich selbst'; if the meaning 'Glieder' is indeed primary, the Bj word does not belong here) ¶ Rop. 166, R WBd 54 || **A** {DQA} $*b\bar{e}ye$, {AD} $*b\bar{e}|\bar{a}ye$ 'body, man, self' > M $*beye$ 'body, person, (one)self' > MM [MA, IM, PP, HI] beye, [S] beye(n-) 'body', [L] بِيَا {Pp.} biye 'Körperbau', WrM beye(n), HIM бие 'body, person', Mnr H {SM} bīye, {T} biy, Dg beye 'body, (one)self', Kl бий, {Rm.} bī, bīya id., 'one's personality' ¶ Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 118, 433, Ms. H 40, H 15, Pp. KP 146, MED 94-5, SM 26, T DgJ 125, KRS 98, KW 47 || Tg $*beye$ 'body, person, oneself' > □Neg бзүз id., Sln бзі ~ бзүз 'person, oneself', Ewk бзүз, Lm бзү 'person, man, male', Orc, Ud, Nn бзүз, Ul бзүз(n-) 'body, (one)self', Ork бзүз 'body', WrMc beye 'body, life, personality, (one)self', Jrc beye 'body' ¶ STM I 122-3, Z 485-6, Kiy. 124 [#490] || pJ

{S} *bè 'man' > OJ wo(nokyo), J (ds. , cds.): T/Kg otokó, K ótoko, Ns ẓingá, Sh ẓíkígá, Ht bìdùmù, Y bìngà 'man' ¶ S QJ #46, Mr. 507, 513 ¶¶ DQA #115 ¶¶ A less probable cognate is A {DQA} *béyo 'an ungulate animal' > T *bEye, M *bayita-sun, Tg *beyū-, pJ {S} *bí - *bǎj, ffd. *see* DQA #116 || D *pēy 'soul' (→ 'ghost, demon, god') > Tm pēy 'devil, goblin, fiend', Ml pē, peyi 'demon', pena 'ghost, spirit', Kt e'y 'demon', Kn pē, hē 'madness, rage', pētū, hēde 'demon', Tu pēyi id., Gnd pēn 'idol, god', Kui pēnu, vēnu 'god, spirit', Ku pēnu 'god, devil' ¶¶ D #4438.

275. *baXy∇ - *baXi ≈ abundant' > HS: S: Ar {Ln.} ✓ bħbh v. 'take a wide \ an ample \ a large range', ✓ bħh: ʔibtihāh- 'opulence' ¶ Ln. 154-5, DRS 55-6 || amb Eg fOK bḥḥy 'have abundance, be inundated', bḥḥ 'abundance, inundation' (× N *b'í'gê 'much' and N *b'e'ḥy∇ 'to pour?') ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 || EC: Sam {Hn.} *būh-i/*būh-ičà v. 'fill' > Rn {Hn.} būhi, {PG} būhi-, Sml būhi, Bn būhi / būhía id.; Sam {Hn.} *būh 'be full' > Rn {Hn.} buh, {PG} būh-, Sml būh-so, buh ¶ Hn. R 215, Hn. S 54-5, PG 82, ≈ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || A *bāya ({SDM94} *bāja) 'rich' > T *bāy 'rich' > OT {Cl.} bāy 'rich, a rich man', MQp, Chg bay 'rich', Tkm bāy id., 'rich man', Yk bāy 'rich', CrTt, QrV, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, VTt, Bah, ET bay, Uz boy id., 'rich man', Chv puy- ɘ poy- 'become rich', puyan ɘ poyan- 'rich, rich man' ¶ Cl. 384, ET B 27-9 || M *bayan 'richness, rich' > MM bayan, WrM bayan, HIM bayĩ, Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan, Mnr H {SM} b_ayān, {T} bayan id., Brt баян 'rich man, richness', Kl байн bayu id. ¶ Pp. MA 114, 433, MED 76-7, SM 23, T 316, T DnJ 111, T BJ 134, Mr. D 8, Chr. 93, KRS 77, KW 29 || Tg *baya(n)- v. 'be rich', bayan 'rich' > Ewk bay, bayan 'rich, rich man', Sln baiji~bayaji, Neg bayan- v. 'get rich', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork baya(n-), Nn bayã, WrMc bayan, Jrc {Md.} bay-yan 'rich', WrMc baya- v. 'get rich' ¶ STM 65, Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ SDM94 s.v. *bāja ¶¶ Part of the forms may be borrowings (M ⇨ some Tg lgs., etc.) || D *-vaḷyḷ - sx. of pl. (↔ *-t of sg.): Tm av~avai 'those things' (pl. of atū), uv~uvai 'those things' (pl. of utū), Ml avā 'those things', Kn avu, Prj av (pl. of ad), Gdb O au (pl. of ad) id., etc. ¶¶ D ##1, 557 || ?σ U: FU ≈ *poḷya > Lp N {N} боав'je 'gathering of near relatives; company, clique' (supposedly Lp N oa < FU *ō < *aH) ¶ Coll. 74 || possibly K: GZ *-eb-, sx. of pl. (< collectivity sx.), which is more probably connected with N *b∇ (pc.

forming compound [\rightarrow derived] nomina abstracta, q.v. ffd.) ¶ K 78 ||
IE: one may try to adduce here NaIE *-b^ho-s, *-b^hā, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this pattern of abstract nouns (cp. N *b^hu '↑' [q.v.] and N *b^hi'gê 'much' [q.v.]) ◇ If GZ *-eb- belongs here, the N rec. must be *ba^hy^h - *ba^hi.

276. ?σ *b^he'y^hX^h 'tear, cut into pieces' > **HS:** S: Ar ✓ by^h D (pf. bayya^ha) 'couper en petits morceaux [la viande]' ¶ DRS 62 || Ch: WCh: Kry {Sk.} b^hú v. 'cut' ¶ ChC || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *pey^h 'undo (auftrennen)' > Hg fεjt- id., 'unstitch, separate' || ObU: Vg LK (χυλ) pāy-, P pāy- 'dress a fish' ('Kopf wird weggeworfen, der Fisch wird vom Rücken bis zum Schwanz gespaltet'); ? Os N 'payit-, 'pāyit- 'abnehmen, herunternehmen, abwerfen', sam 'payit- 'beat off the scales (of a fish)' ¶ UEW 878, MF 190-1 || **D:** Tm piy- v. 'be tattered, torn off, torn into bits' (unless this verb goes back to D {θGS} *pis- < pD *picc-/piñc- v. 'tear in pieces') ¶ D #4171.

277. *b^he'y^hh^h 'to pour' > **HS:** Eg fOK b^hh^h vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied', vt. 'flood, inundate', b^hh^h 'inundation, abundance', as well as possibly Eg G b^hh^h (a word used to denote inundation) ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 (× N *baXy^h - *baXi 'abundant' [q.v. ffd.] and N *b^hi'gê 'much'?) || B *-bāy- > Ah tabayōt 'fine and penetrating rain without wind' ¶ Fc. 41, NZ 143 || C: SC *bu^h- v. 'pour' > Alg bu^h-, SC \rightarrow Mb -butu || Dhl b^hu^h- id. ¶ E SC 142 || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} mb^hh^ha^ha, mb^hh^h-mb^hh^ha^ha 'en giclant (comme le lait quand on presse un sein ou le jus quand on presse un fruit)' || Ech: Mkl {J} b^hô 'full' ¶ BLB 245, J LM 73, JI II 157 || possibly also WCh: Mbr {Sk.} v^hay^h- ~ v^how-, Cg {Sk.} v^ho- ~ v^hu-, Grn {Jgr.} v^hā- 'pour' ¶ Sk. NB 35, Jgr. 187, ≈ Tk. NB 185 || ?σ S: Ar SL ✓ b^hh^h 'donner largement, rendre abondant' ¶ DRS 55 ¶ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || **K** *b- v. 'pour' > Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L li-b-em 'to pour in, налить', stt.: maba 'it has been poured on me', xaba 'it has been poured on him') ¶ K 47, K² 6, FS K 40-1, Chik. 250-1, Dn. s.v. b-² || **D** *pey- ~ *roy- ({θGS} *p-?) v. 'pour, rain' (× N *p^hi'g^h 'to pour; rain'?) > Tm pey v. 'rain, pour down', Ml pey^huka v. 'pour, rain', Kn roy, puy v. 'pour, cast', roy^h- v. 'rain', Kdg roy^h '(rain) rains, (wind) blows', Krg pī-, Tl pōy^h, Klm paj^hen v. 'pour', Nk pī-, roy '(water) pours, flows', Gnd roy- vi. 'pour, be spilled', Ku boj^hali v. 'overflow', bō- v. 'be spilled', Krx pōy^h- v. 'fall' (of rain), pu^hd- v. 'pour

some water on rice', Mlt *poye* v. 'rain' ¶¶ D #4407, ≠ Pf. 62 [#385] (does not distinguish the √ **pey-/poy-* from **pec-* v. 'drizzle'), Km. 443 [#889].

278. (₂?) **o** **bûž*∇ 'ε insect' > **HS**: B **b*∇zīz- 'cicada', **būzīz-* 'beetle' or sim. > Tmz {MT} *a-bəzziz* (pl. *i-bəzziz-n*), Kb *a-būziz* (pl. *i-būzizən* ~ *i-būzaz*) 'cigale', Rf W/B *a-bziz* (pl. *ibzizən*) 'bousier, cafard', SrSn *abužič* (pl. *ibužičən*) 'bousier', CM *abəzzi*, BSn *abziz* 'cigale', CA *abziz* 'sauterelle'; B *b*→ Ar Mgr *bəzīz* (in normalized spelling of BK بزیز *bazīz-ur*) 'grillon' or sim.; Ar Mgr **bu-bzīz* (in normalized spelling أبو بزیز *ʔabū-bazīzin*) *b*→ Mz *bu-būziz* 'cigale' ¶ Dl. 62, MT 41, Dlh. M 17, Rn. 292, NZ 148 ¶ The emphatization of **z* in some B lgs. is due to the onomatopoeic associations and/or to re-borrowing from Ar Mgr || **K** **o** **buz*(w)- 'a fly' > OG *buzu-*, G *buz-i* 'a fly', ?σ Lz d. *ma-buz-al-e-* ~ *ma-puz-al-e-* 'wagtail', Sv UB/L *buzūl* {GP} 'a fly', {TK} id., 'bee', Sv Ln {TK} *buzul* id., Sv {Ni.} *buzul* 'fly, wasp' ¶¶ FS K 64, K 51 (refers the G and Sv word to the K **o** √ **bzu-* v. 'hum, buzz'), K² 20, Chx. 117, Abul. 37, TK 157, GP 92, Dn. s.v. *buzūl*, Ni. s.v. *муха* and *оса* || **D** (in SD) **pučč*i 'insect, worm' (× N ?φ **puč*∇, *ń*∇ 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) || **IE**: IE **b^hey_LH₁-*/**b^hoy_LH₁-*/**b^hiH-* > NaIE **b^hey-*/**b^hoy-*/**b^hī-* 'bee' (× N **b*∇y∇ [or **b*∇y^ʔ∇] 'bee' [q.v. ffd.]). NaIE **-ey-*/**-oy-*/**-ī-* belongs to the heritage of N **b*∇y∇ (except for the length of **-ī-*).

279. **b¹a¹hž*∇ 'strike, thump' > **HS**: WS *√*bhz* > Ar √*bhz* G 'frapper de la main, du pied ou de deux mains (p. ex., en se frappant la poitrine)', Tgr {DRS} √*bhz* *Sh* (pf. *ʔabhazə*) 's'abbatre sur, éprouver' ¶ BK I 172, DRS 47 || **K**: GZ **bez-* v. 'beat so. soundly, belabour' ({K} 'сильно колотить', {Schm.} 'gründlich verprügeln') > G I/R *bez-* id., Mg, Lz *baz-* id. ¶ Schm. 97, K 49-50, K² 10, FS K 48 || **U**: [1] FU (att. in Z) **paś*∇ > Z *paś mun-* v. 'break in pieces' ('in Trümmer zerbrechen')] [2] FU (att. in Prm) **pas*∇- > pPrm {LG} **paz-* > Z *pazəd-* v. 'break in pieces, scatter', Prmk *pazd+n+* 'to break, to crush', ? Vt *paža-* v. 'scatter'. The cns. **-s-* in **pas*∇- needs explaining ¶ LG 214, ≠ UEW 357 (ascribes Z *paś* to U **paś*∇ 'hole, split').

280. **bažê* 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > **K** **baz|ž-* v. 'ripen' > G I/G *baz-* v. 'ripen' (of beans, maize, etc.) ¶ Chx. 59 || **HS**: S (+ ext.) *√*bšl* G v. 'ripen', D v. 'cook' > BHb, JA √*bšl* G vi. 'grow ripe; boil, get cooked', JEA {Sl.} JA √*bšl* G pp. 'cooked, roasted,

baked', SmA ✓bšl *G* 'ripen', *D* vt. 'cook', BHb bā'šēl 'ripe, boiled, cooked', BHb ✓bšl *D* vt. 'boil, cook, fry', MHb bā'šēl 'ripe', BHb, JA ✓bšl *D* vt. 'cook, boil, roast', {Sl.} 'cook, boil, suppurate', Ug ✓bšl vt. *D* (or *G* ?) 'cook', Sr ✓bšl (*G* : pf. bə'šɛl, ip. ne-ḥ'šal) v. 'ripen, boil, melt' (intr.), Md ✓bšl *G* vi. 'boil, cook', Ar ✓bsl *Sh* (pf. ʔabsala) 'cuire des dattes non mûres et les sécher ensuite', Mh, Hrs ✓bhl (pf. bzhēl, sbjn. yzbbōl) v. 'be cooked, ready', Jb E/C ✓bšl (pf. 'bešɜl, sbjn. Jb C yz-b'šɜl) id., Sq {L} ✓bhl (pf. behel), Sb mbšl 'cooking place', Gz ✓bsl (js. yabsal) v. 'be cooked, be ripe', Ak ✓bšl *G* v. 'boil, roast, become roasted, ripen' ¶ KB 157, KBR 164, OLS 118, Lv. I 273, JPS 56, Tal 120, DM 71, CAD II 135-7, BK I 127, Jo. M 45, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 30, L G 109, BGMR 32, DRS 89 || IE: NaIE *b^hō- vt. 'warm, ? roast' > OHG bā(h)en 'to warm, to foment', {OsS} 'bähen, gelinde rösten' (> NHG bähen vt. 'durch Umschläge wärmen, Brot rösten', 'warm, heat, toast')] ? +ext. *-gǫ̃-: *b^hōgǫ̃- > Gk φύω v. 'roast, toast, parch' ¶ P 113, KM 44, EWA I 425, Kb. 52, F II 1057 || U: FP *paše- v. 'fry, bake, roast' > F paah̄ta-, Δ pahta- id. | pPrm *pōž- v. 'bake, get cooked' ('gar werden') > Z пöжав- рзžaw- 'bake', пöж- рзž- 'bähen, brühen; schmoren', 'gar werden' (Speisen), Yz 'pūž- v. 'steam (milk in an oven, twigs before twisting, etc.)', Vt pīž+- v. 'bake, fry' ¶ Db. OS x, LG 227-8, UEW 725, Lt. J 172 || ?σ A: M *bažā'γ'a- > WrM bāzaga- v. 'prepare, get\have ready', HIM, Brt базаа-, Ord b_ažā- id.; M б→ Sln baja- 'prepare' ¶ MED 93, Chr. 77, Ms. O 43, STM I 63-4.

281. *bUyž∇ 'ε fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *b^hel- '≈ marten', {E} 'wild cat; any small carnivore' > L fēlēs 'wild cat, marten, polecat' || W bele (< *b^helego-) 'marten' || OI ∧ bharuja- 'jackal', ? Mld balu 'dog' ¶ Hardly here OHG bilih & pilih, MHG bilch, NHG Bilch 'dormouse', likely to be a loan from Sl *рьлхъ id. (> ChS пльхъ рльхъ, SCr рљћ, Slv rólh, Cz plch, Blr пољх, R Δ полчок id., P rilch 'gopher', Blg пльх 'rat') ¶ WP II 177, EI 91, WH I 474, Mul. 175 (adduces OHG bilih), YGM-1 43, EWA II 54-6, Lx. 21, KM 76, Vs. III 319-20, Glh. 511 || U {Coll.} *poyž∇ 'ermine' > pLp {Lr.} *pōytzk id. > Lp: N {N} buoidâ ~ buoi'dâgâ, L {LLO} puoita, T {TI} pī̄t'ēḡ, Kld {TI} puī̄tēč || Sm: Ne T пия, T O {Lh.} pīy:e, Ne F p^hīy:ea & pīy:ea, Ne T пияко, T O pīyāk:o, En B {Cs.} fiéda, Ng {Cs.} fī́du, pī́du, Mt {HL} *hūy∇ 'ermine' (Mt M {M} húje, {Pl.} hudja 'ermine') (unless identical with Mt {HL} *hū́ne id. [Mt K/T {Mll.} húne, K {Pl.} chuuni])

¶¶ Coll. 6, Coll. CG 405, Lr. #990, Lgc. #5298, Lh. VJS 40, 105, Ter. 472, Cs. 36, 72, 95, 234 ¶¶ Originally Ne *пияко* and pLp **pōytək* were dim. forms (*F* Cs. 36) || **A**: M **bul'u¹gan* 'sable' > MM [MA] *bulūan*, [HI] *buluqan* (= *bulugan*), [S] {H} *buluḥan* (= *bulugan*), WrM *bulagan*, HIM, Brt *булга(н)*, Kl *булһн bulūan*, Ord *b_ulaga* id. ¶ MED 133, Chr. 111, KW 60, Pp. MA 125, Ms. H 43, H 22, Ms. O 93 || ?σ **D** {GS} **pul-i* ({ʔGS} **p-*) 'tiger' > Tm *pulī*, pUl, Ml, Kn, Tl *pulī*, Kt *puḏ*, Td *pūḡy*, Tu *pīlī*, Krg *hīlī*, Klm, Nkr *pul*, Nk *pul(a)*, Gdb *pullu* & *pulu* & *berpul*, Gnd *pullī* & *pulī* & *pul*; D *→* Prkr *pulli-* 'tiger' ¶¶ D #4307, GS 179 [#455], 53 [#136] ◇ AD NM #38, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts because "semantic is too broad" and the M cognate is isolated within A).

281a. ₂ **boʒ∇* 'hair, feather' > **A** (infl. of N **P_{ut}∇* 'feather, hair'?): M **boʒuḡu* > WrM *boʒuḡu*, HIM *boʒro* 'small bird feathers; tufts on the head of birds' ¶ MED 123 || NrTg **buji* 'feather' > Lm *bujl* id., Ewk *buji* 'new feather (after moult)' ¶ STM I 102-3 ¶¶ The voicing of the initial cns. still needs explanation || **D** **počćo* ({ʔGS} **bočć-*) 'hair, down, wool' > Tm *počcu* 'quantity of hair', Kn *bočcu* 'wool, fine hair, down', Tl *bočcu* 'hair, down, wool', Nkr *bučura* 'knot of hair', Prj *bočča* 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D #4477 ◇ NrTg **u* is still to be explained.

282. **bêžU(┘-q∇┘)* *↔* **bêž┘∇┘q∇* 'big, high' > **HS**: S **√bδχ* > Ar *√bδχ* 'être grand\haut' ¶ BK I 100-1, ≠ DRS 47 || B **√bd┘┘* 'be high' > Kb *bədd* 'être debout', əḥdəd 'se tenir debout', Ah *əbdəd*, Gd *εpdəd* (3 m pf. *iḥdəd*) id., Izn, Rf *abəddi*, SrSn *ibəddi* 'hauteur', Shl {NZ} *bədd* / *biddn*, Si {NZ} *bdəd* 'rise, stand' ¶ Rn. 291, Dl. 7, Fc. 19-20, Lf. I 240 and II #0017, NZ 15-7 || **U** **piḏe(-kä)* 'high, long' > FU **piḏe(-kä)* > F *pitkä* (cmpr. *pitēmpi* ~ *pidēmpi*) 'long', Δ *pitevā* 'long and narrow', Es *pikk*, Δ *pitk* 'long' || ObU **pěl-* (= {Ht.} **pāl-/pěl-*) 'high, long' > pVg **pāl(∇)t-* 'Länge' > Vg: P *pālt* 'Länge, so lang wie', LK/MK/LL *pālt* 'so lang wie', Vg N *palit* 'Länge, Entfernung'; pOs **pěl* ({ʔHL} **pāl*) 'high' > Os: D/K *pēt*, Kz *pāč*, O *pāl* 'high', pOs **pěl∇t* ({ʔHL} **pāl∇t*) 'height' > Os: V/Vy *pělāt*, Ty *pēčit*, Nz *pātāt*, Kz *pāčāt*, O *pālāt* | Hg *fēl*, *föl* 'up (aufwärts, hinauf)', Δ 'surface, upper part' || pSm **pirь* 'height' > Ng *fira* 'hoch, gewachsen', En: T {Pl.} 'пирро 'high (высоко)' (adv.?), En X *fiřuddio*, En B *firuddio* 'erhöhen', Ne T *пир*, Ne T O *pir* 'Höhe', Slq Tz {KKIH} *pīr+*, Slq NP *pīr∇* 'height'; pSm {Jn.} **pirkā*, {HL} **pirke* 'high' (× N **b¹i¹r∇gE* 'high, tall') > Ne T *пирця*, Ne T O {Lh.} *pircē*, Ne F {Lh.} *πίρśśāă*, En X {Cs.} *fiče*, En B

{Cs.} fi se, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} pīrq† 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} pürg 'high', Kms {KD} p'ūr'že, {Cs.} phirže, Koyb {Sp.} прицэ, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgè) 'high' || pY {IN} *puδ- 'top' > Y: K pude, T pure 'above, outside', Y Kf {IN} pudenmē, OY Ch {Mat.} пуданмей 'high' ¶¶ UEW 377-8, Ht. 176 [#506], KKIH 150, Hl. M #305, IN 244, 318, Ku. 241 || **А:** T {Rs.} *beδü- ({SDM} *bäδü-, {S} *büδü-) v. 'be(come) big, high' > OT beδü-; T d. *beδü-k 'big, large' > OT beδük 'big, great', Osm büyük 'big, large, high', Tk büyük, Az böyük 'large', Tkm beyik, VTt биек bijek 'big, high', Tv pedik 'high'. Rs.'s reconstruction of *e of the first syll. is preferable, because VTt/Bsh *i suggests pT *e rather than *ä, while Osm, Tk büyük and Az böyük go back to *beyük by as. Not here Yk bödön 'big, large, coarse', which is a loan from M (cp. HIM БУДУУН 'large, huge, big', see N *büd₁∇₁∇ 'be thick') ¶ S AJ 175 [#5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3, Pek. 517-8 || Tg *b^{re}]∇n > Lm бззз 'ten reindeer', WrMc бузу база 'very much', бузун 'multitude', 'very (much)' (× WrMc бузун 'hundred thousand' ← Chn бо-qiān id.) ¶ STM I 103, 120 || pJ {S} *piyi(n)ta- → *pui(n)ta- 'surpass' > OJ p₁i₁iida-, J: T/Kg hiidé-, K híidé- ¶ S QJ #1150, Mr. 688 || ?σ M *bužagaγ₁i₁ > WrM бузagai, HIM бузгай 'strong, sturgy; hard, firm, durable', Kl Ö buzṽā 'very, strong' (× buzṽā 'schrecklich, abscheulich' ← buzṽ < *bužar 'dirt?') ¶ MED 143, KW 64 ¶ Valid unless the meaning 'strong, hard' is a μφ from 'awful, abominable' ← 'dirty') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #124 (A *bēž₁u 'numerous, great'; incl. M, Tg) ◇ The U cognate points to the N vw. *i, while T and Tg suggest *e. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated. If M *bužagaγ₁i₁ belongs here, its vw. *u is explained by as. (infl. of the labial cns. *b-).

283. *bEΓ₁∇₁ž∇ 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)' > **HS:** EC *bEγiz- 'oryx' > Sa {R} бə'íḏ-ā 'antelope', Af {HP} biγid, biγíd- 'oryxes', singulative m. biγíd-da 'oryx', Sml bíγīḏ 'oryx', EC → EthS: Gz {L ← Ludolf} бəγəz-ā 'kind of antelope', Amh бззз, бзззā id.; pEC *-z-, lost in the modern LEC lgs., has been preserved in EthS loanwords of EC origin; the EC stem may be derived rather than primary, sc. its vocalism may be not original ¶ L G 85, AD SF 40, PH 70, Abr. S 32, DSI 56 || **U:** FU *pāšč∇ or *pāč∇š∇ (in ObU only?) > pObU *pēčəγ 'reindeer fawn' > pVg *pāšəγ id. > Vg UL/Ss pāsīš id.; pOs *pečəγ ({Hl.} *pāčəγ) id. > Os V/Vy pečəγ, K pečə, Nz pešə, Kz pešb id. || Prm: ?amb Z *pež 'new-

born reindeer' found in the cd. pež-ku 'fur of new-born reindeer, пыжик' (akin to Os, unless it is a loan from it) ¶ Ht. #483, LG 218; Rédei (UEW 387) tries to explain the ObU word as belonging to U *poča (F N *boča '(young) deer'), which is not accurate from the phonetic point of view || A *bey▽ 'an ungulate animal' > T *biyä, {DQA} *bEye 'mare' (< N *ma'ʔ' a(-y▽) 'mother'?) > OT, MQp XIV bē, [CC] bey, Chg ≥ XV, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq biye, VTt biyä, Bsh бьyä, Qrg bē, Alt b_e, Tlt/QK {RI.} pē, Qmn/Tb {B} pē, SY pie ≄ pi, Qb pī, Tv, Tf b_e, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk bīā 'mare' ¶ Cl. s291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, RI. IV 1743, 1790, Ra. 73, 160, ≈ Shch. SF 194 (*pā 'mare') || Tg *beyū-n 'wild ungulate animal' > Ewk бзyūn 'elk, reindeer', Δ бзyūn 'wild reindeer', Lm buyūn id., 'wild animal', Neg бзyūn, Orc бзyу(n-) 'elk', Ud bu(y)i 'wild animal', UI boyo(n-) ~ buyu(n-) id., 'elk; bear', Ork biy(n-) ~ buyu(n-) 'wild reindeer; bear', Nn Nh/KI buyũ ~ бзyũ, Nn B buyu(n-) 'elk, red deer, wild game (ungulate)'; Tg *beyū- v. 'hunt ungulate animals' > Ewk бзyū-, Lm buyū-, Nn бзyuntu- id., Neg бзyū-, Orc бзyумз- v. 'hunt elks' ¶ STM I 121-2 || ?σ pJ {S} *bī ~ *bǝj 'pig' > OJ wí, J T i(nośíśi) ¶ S QJ #794 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ DQA) M *bayita-sun ~ bayida-sun 'a 3- to 4-year old animal (esp. mare) which has not yet born young', which is akin to T *baytal 'mare' (ET B 36-7) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #116 (T, Tg) ¶¶ The A cognate is valid if under some (not yet known) conditions N *-ž- yields A *-y- (> Tg *-y-).

284. (₂?) ***ćE** 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) > **U** {UEW} ***će** ~ ***ći** {AD} 'that, ille' > F **se** 'it; that (iste, ille)', Es **see**, **se** 'this; that which' | Er **še**, Mk **šä** 'that, this, that which' || pOs ***ći**(-) > Os: V **çi**, O **ši** 'iste', V **çit**, Nz **šīt** 'this' || Sm: En {Cs.} **sedēo** 'der, jener', Ng {Hl.} **sitt**, {Cs.} **sete** 'he', Kms {KD} **šā** 'dieser dort, der dort' ¶¶ UEW 33-4, SK 987-8, Cs. GSS 350, 358, Cs. 90, Hl. US 137, KD 145 || **A**: pKo ***čā**₁ 'this' > MKo **čā**₁ ¶ S QK #606 || *AdS* of M **ča**- and Tg ***ča**-, dem. pronominal stem of distal deixis (< N ***ča** id. [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ DQA #225 || ? **K** *-s (~ *-c), verbal ending of 3s > OG, G -s, Mg -s ~ -c, Lz -s id., Sv -s id. (in the optative); according to Klimov, the primary usage of the affix is in the opt. mood, from which it spread to other moods in OG, G, and Zn ¶¶ K 161, FS K 263, FS E 292, Q O56 ¶¶ In K there is desaffricatization (typical of grammatical affixes).

285. (₂?) ***cuqbE** or ***cüqbV** 'carry away, throw (away)' > **IE**: NaIE ***skeub^h**- {P} 'dahinschießen (flink), schießen, werfen, schieben', {E} 'push away, push ahead' > Gt **af-skiuban** 'push away', ON **skúfa** ~ **skýfa** 'shove, push away (fortstoßen)', OHG **sciaban**, NHG **schieben**, AS **scéofan** ~ **scūfan** 'to shove, to push', NE **shove** || Lt **skūbtī** 'to start hurrying' (× ***skeub**- > ON **skopa** 'to run, to jump') ⇨ **skubéti** 'to hurry, to make haste, to run in a hurry' ¶ WP I 377 and II 551, P 955, EI 471, Fs. 9, Vr. 506, 508, Ho. 284, Schz. 257, KM 646, Frn. 820 || **HS**: S ***✓sχp** 'throw down, throw away', 'wash away the soil' (of rain) > BHb **✓shp G** (prtc. **𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤍 sō'hēp** 'washing away' [of rain]), MHb {Lv.} **✓shp G** 'fortschaffen, abrasieren', JA {Lv.} **✓shp v. G** 'stürzen, auf etwas legen, werfen', {Sl.} 'place upside-down, place above, cover, throw down', SmA {Tal} **✓shp G** 'scatter', Md **✓shp G** 'cast down, throw down', Ak **✓sχp G** (inf. **σαχᾶρα**) 'umwerfen, niederwerfen', ?? Ar **✓shf G** 'emporter' (se dit du vent qui emporte les nuages) (ħ for the expected χ due to contamination with **✓shf G** 'enlever le poil de la peau, raser') ¶ KB 708, Tal 578, Lv. III 497, Sl. 798, ≈ Js. 371, BK I 1060, DM 320, 325, Sd. 1004 ¶ S ***p** is due to as. (*-qb- > *-qp-) || ?σ **A**: NaT ***çöb** 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (← *'what is to be thrown away?') (× N ***čapV** **čE** 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' [q.v. ffd.]?).

286. ***coΓ|χčV** or ***čorΓ|χcV** 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' > **K** ***čocχ**- 'besom' > G **cocχ-i**, Sv **čečχ** ≙ **čäčχ** id., Mg {FS} ***čorčχ**- ⇨ G Gr/A **čorčχ-av-s** '(he) sweeps', **čorčχ-va** 'to sweep' ¶¶ K 230, K² 273, FS K 413-4, FS E 466, SSO II 341, Chx. 2024 || **HS**: S: Ar **✓sψsψ**

'arracher, tirer de sa place à force de remuer' ¶ BK I 1095 || U {Db.} *čōč∇ 'wipe off, rub off, sweep' > F huosi- '(ab-lauf-)schwabbern; schaben, kratzen', huosia 'Schwabber; Besen, Wischer' | Vt čųж-čūž- v. 'sweep, sweep away' || ObU {Ht.} *čāč- 'sweep' > pOs *čāč- > Os: V/Vy čāč-, Ty/Y čāč- id. || Sm: Slq UKe {KD} čūtč- 'schaben' ¶¶ Db. OS xxiii; ≈ UEW 60, and ≈ Ht. #89 (both adduce pOs *čāčam- 'pour out' and pVg *šāš- 'pour [out], strew', that are likely to belong to FU *š∇č∇ [Coll. 7, Stn. WV 171, BV 107]), KD D 74 || A: Tg *čųų- 'scrape' > Neg č0č0-, Ewk čųųl3-, Lm č0t13- v. 'scrape clean the inner side of hide', Orc č0č0l0-, Ork tottolo- ~ tuttulo-, Nn Nh/KU tučųl3- 'scrape hide', Neg č0č0n ~ č0č0n, Ewk čųųn, Lm č0č0n, Ork č0č0(n-), Ork totto ~ tuttu, Nn Nh/KU tučŭ 'round notched scaper for cleaning the inner side of hide' ¶ STM II 418 ◇ In K, U, and in the prehistory of Ar there was as. of the original affricates: N *c...č or *č...c changed into K *č...č, U *č...č and S *c...c (> Ar s...s). In K there was a reg. mt. (a lr. moves to the post-obstruent position) bringing about formation of a "harmonic complex" *čχ.

287. *č'ü'd∇ 'outstretched hand, span' > K: GZ *cida- 'span of the thumb and forefinger' ({FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [č]) ({K} *mcida- 'span of the thumb and forefinger') > OG cid-i, cid-a 'hand-breadth' (in the G version of the OT [Ezek. 40.43, II Chron. 4.5] cid(a) = LXX παλαιστή 'a palm of the hand [four fingers' breadth] as a measure of length' = Hb חַבֵּי 'topaḥ ~ חַבֵּי 'ṭepaḥ 'hand-breadth'), {FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [č]), G cida- {DCh., Chx.} 'span of the outstretched thumb and forefinger (altes Längenmass: so lang, wie man Daumen und Zeigefinger auseinanderspannen kann)', Mg {Q} ci(n)da id., Lz {Chik.} mcida 'span' ¶ K 141, K² 266, Chik. 75, FS K 399-400, FS E 450, Abul. 516, DCh. 1593, Chx. 2003-4, Q 370, SSO I 376 || HS: S *°✓s|šdω > Ar ✓sdω (ip. -sdū / -sduω-) 'étendre/allonger la main vers qn.\qch.' ¶ BK I 1073 || D *čųtč- ~ *č0tč- ({ḡGS} *3-) 'span' > Ml c0tč-a-cčāṛ 'span of the thumb and forefinger', Kt č0t 'breadth of four fingers', Kn c0tč, cųtč, Kdg čųtči 'the small span of the thumb and forefinger', Tu c0tč(t)u ~ c0ṛtč u id., cųtčči 'a span', Tl jučtčili 'the small span' ¶¶ D #2834.

288. *č'odfU ≈ defect, evil deed' > K *°č|čodlω₁- > OG, G cod(∇)- v. 'sin', codva n. 'sin', ??? Lz {BU} cudi, mcudi 'a lie' (unless it is identical with Lz mcudi 'vain, idle, vergeblich', cognate to G cudi 'vergeblich' and

Mg *cud-* 'be bad', *see* FS K 452) ¶ Abul. 518, Chx. 2018-9, DCh. 1598, BU 419 || **HS:** S * $\sqrt{s|šd}$ > Ar *سَدَة* *sad*-at- 'mal, accident fâcheux' ¶ BK I 1071 || **D** **čoṭṭ* 'defect, blame; insinuation, disparaging remark' (× N ?σ **ĉUd* 'be weak, be damaged, be weary' × N **šoṭ* 'to exercise magic', [in descendant lgs.]: → 'to curse', 'to bless'?) > Tm *coṭṭu* 'defect, insinuation', Ml *caṭṭu* 'fault', Tl *soḏḏu* 'defect, fault; blame, imputation' ¶¶ D #2837 ◇ If Lz (m) *cudi* belongs here, it points to a pK **c-* and a pN **ć-*.

289. *Ceg 'breast, milk' > **K:** Sv: UB/L *lī-šgi*, LB *li-šgi*, Ln *li-šḳi* *msd.* 'to milk' ¶ TK 490-1, GP 178 || **A:** M **čeʒežin* 'breast, chest' > MM [S] *če, ežī* 'Brustkorb', [MA] *čēžī(n)* 'breast, chest', WrM *cegežin*, HIM *цээж* 'upper front of body, chest, breast, bosom', WrO *cēžī* 'chest, bosom, breast', Ord *č'ēžī*, Kl *чееж* *čēž*, {Rm.} *čēžī*, Brt *сээжэ*, Dg *čēžī* {T} 'breast, chest', {Mr.} 'chest (of body)', Mgl {Rm.} *čeižī* 'breast'; ? M → Chv Ll. *чѣчѣ чбžб* 'female breast' (unless an independent Ll.) ¶ Pp. MA 132, H 26, MED 70, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, Krg. 625, KRS 646, Ms. O 699, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128, KW 438, Rm. M 25, Chr. 405 ¶ Merger with N **čay* 'female breast' cannot be ruled out || **D** **čē-* ({ʒGS} **č|čē-*) 'milk' > Tm *cēkkū* 'breast milk', *cēkkai* 'woman's breast', Kn *cēpu* 'gush\spurt as of milk', Kdg *čēpu* v. 'secrete' (of milk), Tl *cēpu* \neq *cēpu* 'become full of milk' (of breasts), 'be secreted' (of milk), Gdb *sēmpap-* 'become ready to be milked' ¶¶ D #2803.

290. ₂ *čok 'shelter, primitive house' > **HS:** S **sukk-* 'temporary shelter' > Hb *סֹכֶת* *suk'kā* 'hut', *הַחֹטְתֵי הַלֵּל* *ḥag hassuk'kōṭ* 'feast of tabernacles', SmHb pl. *sakkōt* 'tabernacles', Ak OB *sukku* *ε* 'shrine, chapel'. SamHb *s-* proves that the S initial cns. is **s-* rather than **š-* (while in Jewish Hb the cns. *s* may go back to earlier Hb *š* as well) ¶ CAD XV 361-2, KB 711, KBR 753 || **U:** FU **čok*-*m* (or **čoṣ*-*m*) 'temporary shelter' ({UEW} 'zeitweiliges Obdach'), 'cave of beasts' > Prm **čom* ({LG} **čom*) 'shelter made of branches', 'cabin' > OPrm *čom* 'shelter made of branches (шалаш)', Z *чом* *čom* id., 'kennel', Z I *čom* 'reindeer breeders' tent (чүм), Yz *čum* 'barn' || pOs **soṣam* ({Hl.} **sāṣam* < **sṣṣam*) > Os: V/Vy *soṣam*, Lk *saṣam*, Ty (+ppa. 3s) *suṣaməṭ* 'cabin dug out of snow, Schneehütte', 'cave or winter den of animals, burrow' ¶ UEW 38, LG 309, Stn. D 1318, KrT 837.

291. C_2 *Co'k'ü' 'small, little' > HS: C: pAg {Ap.} *čəg^w- ({{Ap.} *cəg^w-}) 'be small, little' > Bln {R} šeg^w- ~ seɣ^w- 'be few\small', Xm {R} çik^w-, Q {R} šeg^w-, Km {CR} šəg^w- 'be small' ||| EC: Kns {Ss.} šakk- 'small', {Fl.} šžka 'few, small', Brj šak-an-ē 'light' (of weight)', ? Sa/ Af {Ss.} -isissik- 'be fast, light, easy, leight-weight' (of a person)' ¶ AD SF 258 (Ag *-g-, -g^w- < C *-k-, *-k^w-), ≈ AD SF 119, Ap. AV 20, Ss. B 171 ||| A: M *čöven > MM [HI] čö_{en}, [MA, IM] čōn 'little' (of quantity), 'few', WrM cögen, HIM цөөн 'little, few, sparce, rare', Ba {T} čoŋ, Mnr {T} čīōn 'little' (of quantity), 'few', {SM} č'īōn 'peu nombreux, en petite quantité, peu' ¶ Pp. MA 136, 435, Ms. H 47, MED 201, SM 454, T 231, T BJ 151.

292. C_2 *čičiKaKa 'to tickle' > IE: NaIE C_2 *skek-/ *skok- id. > Sl: ChS cкъкътати skъkъtati, R щекотать 'to tickle', Blg 'cкoкoт, R щекoткa n. 'tickling', ?φ SCr čkàkljati 'to tickle' ¶ Vs. IV 500 ||| U: FU *čikk^v- v. 'tickle' > Lp N {N} čâgâr di- 'be ticklish', čâgâlduvvâ- id., 'have a ticklish feeling', Lp L {LLO} tjakārtit v. 'tickle' | Chr: H cəɣ-əltə-, E čīɣ-iltə- id. ||| Hg Δ csikol-, Hg csikland- id. ¶ MF 116, N I 351-2, LLO 1124 ||| A: Tg: Lm çaka-çi-, Orc čakača-, Nn B caqast-, čiqast-, Ul cikir-či- v. 'tickle', Ul čikiruwli adj./adv. 'ticklish, it tickles' ¶ CinR 685, STM II 378, Sun. UJ 257 ||| D *čakku]- ({{GS} *-č'š'-) v. 'tickle' > Tm akku]u id., Ml akku]am 'tickling', Kn aka]a (a term used in tickling), akka]ike 'tickling', cakkalagu]i 'tickling another', zakkulisu v. 'tickle, touch', Kdg kakku]i 'tickling' (k- due to ideophony), Tl cakkilgili 'tickling', Mlt {Drs.} céqlkúndē v. 'tickle'; ? D *čakk^v||]- armpit' > Tm akku]i, Ml akku]am, Tl cakkili id. ¶¶ D #2274 ◇ IS I 204.

293. *cikP^v 'branch, shoot of a plant' > K: GZ *čkip- 'small branch' > G I čkip-i 'small broken branch', Mg čkip- 'fork', ?? Zan b→ G Gr čkvip-i 'shoot of a tree' ¶ K² 274, FS K 415, Ghl. 679 ||| HS: S *čskp > SmA 𐤒𐤓𐤏𐤍 skwp 'offshoot', Mh ✓ skf (pf. sɜ'kayf), Jb C ✓ skf (pf. 'sɜ'kɜf) v. 'roof a hut with branches', Mh saḵf-, Jb E/C seḵf 'roof of branches on a hut or pen', 'roof', Ak zikpu 'shoot (of a tree or another plant), sapling' ¶ Tal 609, Jo. M 347, Jo. J 227, CAD XXI 127-8 ||| A: NaT *çī:b|p- 'thin slender branch' (× N *čīP^v 'branch, bough, rod', q.v.) > OT čip 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} چوپ čup 'little bit of wood, stock' (× ← NPrs چوب čūb 'log, wood [as material], tree' [←

some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip kurduk 'thin as a thin twig'); ↪ NaT *čīb-ik ~ *čīb-uk (Cl., Dr: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' > OT čibiq, OT QU čiviq id., MU čibiq, MQp ≥XIII čibuq ~ čībīq, XwT dałnıη čubuqi 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg čubuq, Tkm čībīq 'rod, switch', Az čubug id., twig', MQp, QrB čibik, Chg čubuγ ~ čubuq, XwT čubuq, Tk ɟuɓuk 'rod, branch', Ggz čibiq ~ čubuq, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {Rl.} čubuq, ET, Uz čiviq, Qzq, Qq, Nog šibiq, VTt šъbъq, Qrg čibiq, StAlt čibiq, Bsh sъbъq 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz čibiq ~ čiwīq, Xk, Shor simix, Tv šībīq 'rod, switch (прут, хворостина)', Tv d. šīqrīr id., Qmn čibuq ~ čibuχ 'twig, rod', Yk sīpax 'ε small willow (тальник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'. Stems with čub- are due to the analogy of NPrs چوب čūb 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of *-b- and the ending *-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-9, Rs. W 106, Rl. III 2099-2100, 2185, Sg. 401, Dr. TM III #1059, Sg. 401-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 360, RKB 505, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 880, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 207, TvR 585, 587, JkR 360, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of *i (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of N *k̄ and *ɟ (N *cīk̄P̄∇ and *č̄īɟP̄â > *ç̄i: b|p-).

294. *C'a'ı∇ (= *č̄'a'ı∇?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE *okʰol-d- (× N *K̄EL̄H̄∇ 'cold, q.v.) > Sl *xōldъ n. 'cold' (gen. *xōlda) > OCS хладъ, Blg хлад, SCr, Slv hlād, Cz, Slk chlad, P chłód, R, Uk 'холод (gen. 'холода) ¶ ESSJ VIII 57-9, Vs. IV 256, Glh. 262-3 || D *č̄a]- 'cold' > Tm caḷi 'cold, chilliness', Kn, Tu caḷi, cali, saḷi 'coldness, cold, coolness', Krg talli 'cold', Tl caḷi 'cold' (n.), Gdb čalandi 'cold rice serving for breakfast', Knd salaḅ 'cold, cool', Ku salma 'cool'; (× N *č̄a'ı̄Ūg∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost') Kn caḷi 'snow' ¶¶ D #2408 || A: NaT *çol 'icicle' > Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} čol id., *oçolda- > Tlt čolda- 'zu Eiszapfen gefrieren' ¶ Rl. III 2022-4 ◇ The IE and D cognates point to a N vw. *a in the first syll. The NaT vw. *o still needs explaining (regr. as. in N *C'a'ı̄lo?) ◇ On N *č̄- as a possible source of NaIE *kʰ- see s.v. *č̄aɟ'i'd∇ 'to advance with effort'.

295. *célē 'to peel' > K: GZ *c̄l- v. 'peel' > OG, G c̄l- vt., vi. 'peel' (of fruit peel, skin), Mg r̄c(̄w)-, Lz p̄rc- id. † Sv UB/L cil 'bark, crust, skin' ¶ K 225, Q 313, ≈ K² 263 (Sv cil ← Sv ceł-/c̄l- 'tear, strip off' [actually {TK} 'tear asunder, split' or {FS} 'cut', see N *č̄a'ı̄Eɟ̄o 'to split, to cut']), TK 473, 837, GP 277 || HS *√s̄l (de-affricatization *s- < *c-) >

SC: Kz {E} sil- v. 'pluck bird', C \rightarrow Mb {E} -sílo 'bare, naked' ¶ ESC 180 (s.v. *síl- v. 'strip bare') || S *✓✓šl- +ext.: CS *✓šlχ v. 'skin' > Ar ✓slχ G v. 'skin (sheep or other animals), take off clothes', JA šlḥ G {Lv.} 'ablegen, ausziehen', {Js.} 'throw off, undress, flay', {Sl.} 'remove clothes, flay', SmA ✓šlḥ 'strip', Sr ✓šlḥ G 'doff, take off, strip off (clothes)'; BHb ḥḥḥ 'šelaḥ 'hide', MHb ḥḥḥ 'šelaḥ, JA ḥḥḥ šilḥ-ā {Js.} 'hide, fresh skin', Sr ḥḥḥ šə'laḥ, ḥḥḥ šelḥā 'hide, skin', Plm šlḥ 'skin', Ar سلخ salχ- 'peau quand elle est ôtée d'un animal écorché' ¶ KB 1404, HJ 1142, Tal 897-8, Sl. 1147, Lv. IV 558-60, Js. 1580, JPS 578-9, BK I 1121, ≈ MiK I #1.244 (* ÷ OAk, Ak mašlû 'leather bucket; hide [used for wrapping]') || ? CCh: Bcm {Sh.} šilárè, {ChL} sulari, Mln {ChL} šira, Bt G {Mch.} širē 'skin' ¶ JI II 297, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *skol- 'peel' (n.) > Gmc *skoljō > Gt skalja 'κέραμος, tile' ({KM}: ← *'Schindel, Schuppenartiges'), OHG scala 'shell, scale (patera)', OSx skāla 'Schale, Muschel', NHG Schale 'skin, peel, shell', ON skel, AS scíell 'Schale, Muschel, Schuppe', NE shell || Sl: R Δ скалина 'bark', RChS cкoлbкa cкoлbкa 'shell' (< IE *skelH- v. 'split' < N *cā́l̥eγ̥o '↑' [q.v.] ¶ Fs. 427-8, Vr. 488, Ho. 277, Ho. S 65, Schz. 257, Kb. 865, KM 633, Uhl. G 127, ≠ Mn 1173 || U *cēl̥e '(rub\scratch in order to) get the skin off', v. 'bark' > Lp N {N} čállâ-/l- v. 'rub the antlers against sth. to get the skin off', Lp L {LLO} tjalla- 'abkratzen, abschälen, abreißen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} šelā- 'das Geweih von der Haut reinigen, die Rinde von einem Baum reiben' ¶ UEW 35, LLO 1130, Lh. 436 || A: NaT *cēl̥äl 'film, thin skin' > Tlt čäl 'film (on an egg\meat\eye)', Qrg čel 'film on the inner side of skin; wall-eye', Qzq šel 'thin layer of epidermic fat; wall-eyed', Brb {Tm.} cāl 'placenta' ¶ Rs. W 103, Jud. 856, Sht. 233, MM 395, Rl. III 1975, Tm. 236, TL 392.

296. *cēl̥ā 'be quiet, wait' > K *cēl- > Mg cal- (cal-eba, da-cal-eba, aor. va-cal-i) {Q} v. 'give time (дать время), wait' ¶ Q 369 || HS: SES *✓slb > Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ✓slb v. 'wait' ¶ Jo. M 348, Jo. H 110, Jo. J 228 || U: FU *c'ū̥l̥ā 'be quiet\still' > pPrm *c'ū̥l̥ 'quiet' > Z чōв čзв 'quiet' (adj.), n. 'silence', Z U/V čзл n. 'silence, quiet', Yz čōl, Vt чал čal 'without noise, silently' (acc. to Lt., before l pPrm *c'ū̥ yields Vt a) || Hg csilapod- 'become silent' ¶ MF 117, LG 310, Lt. 129, SZ 416. Acc. to IS I 164, U *ü > pPrm *c'ū̥ under certain conditions (including the position before *l?).

297. $_2$ *cōl|í∇ 'be\make empty' > K: GZ *čal-/*čl- v. 'empty; be idle' > OG mo-cal-/mo-cl- v. 'be idle', G cal-/cl-, Mg čol- v. 'empty; have spare time', G calieri 'empty, idle' ¶ K 227, K² 269, FS K 406, FS E 457-8, Q 366, Chik. 377-8, DCh. 1587, 1596-7, Chx. 2012-5 || **D** *čol]- 'be empty, carious' > Tm cōl|ai 'that which is decayed, worm-eaten, carious', Ml cōl|u 'stunted, worm-eaten', Kn jōl|u 'unsubstantiality, emptiness, state of being without stuff', Tu colle 'cripple', Tl sōl|u 'empty' ¶¶ D #2864 || **HS**: ?? AdS of S *✓šll v. 'take out\away' (< N *šeí∇ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off').

297a. *čaXoī∇ (or *čoXaī∇?) 'to wind (round sth.), to tie' > **HS**: S *°s|šah|- > Ar sahl- 'ficelle', ✓shl G 'faire de la ficelle' ¶ BK I 1062 || WCh *'C'∇l- ({OS} *čal-) 'rope' > Bl {Stl. ← ?} colī, Ang {Flk.} sāl 'a tree supplying bark to make ropes from' || CCh: Mln {ChL} sālū, Bcm {Sk. in ChL} sālīke - sālīke 'rope' ¶ ChL, ChC, Flk. s.v. sāl ¶¶ OS RPV I 67 || **U** *čol|]∇ 'bind, tie', *čol|]me 'knot', v. 'bind' > FU {UEW} *čolme- v. 'tie', *čol|]me n. 'knot' > F solmi 'knot', solmi- v. 'knot, tie', Es sōlm 'knot, loop' | pLp *čōlmz 'knot' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjuolme, L {LLO} tjuol'ma, N {N} čuol'bma / -lm- id.; L {LLO} tjuol'ma- 'knüpfen, knoten', S {Hs.} tjuolmedh 'zubinden, zuknoten' | pMr *šulmъ > Er сюлмо šulmo, Mk сюлма šulmā & šulma 'Knoten, Bündel', Er/Mk сюлма- '(zusammen)knüpfen, (zu)binden, stricken' || Hg ccomó 'knot', 'Knoten, Bündel' || pY {IN} *čāla- 'bind, add, надставлять (patch on?)' > Y {IN}: K čolo-, T čala- id. ¶¶ UEW 38-9, Lr. #194, Lgc. #765, Hs. 1346-7, Ps. sL 60, Ker. II 149, IN 216, Ku. 316 || **A** *čl'ali > NaT *čali- v. 'wind' > Qmn {B} čali- vt. 'wind round, entangle (обвить, запутать)', QK {B, Rl.}, Tlt {Rl.} čali- 'embrace, entangle (обнять, запутать)', Kr cal-, VTt {Bu.} šal- v. 'wind', Qmq čal- v. 'plait'; ⇨ NaT *čal-ma > Chg xv čalma 'stripe of cloth wrapped round the head', MQp xiv [CC], Oosm xvi čalma, Tk çalma 'turban', Alt, Qmn, Tlt čalma 'loop', VTt чалма šalma, Kr calma & čalma 'turban' ¶ Cl. 420, Rs. W 97, KRPS 611-2, B DK 266, B DLT 220, Rl. III 1880, 1892, Bu. I 464, TL 395 || Ko {MLC} čari- v. 'tie up tight'; cp. also pKo {S} *čàrà v. 'hang up, strangle' > MKo čàrà-, NKo čari- id.; MKo čàrò, čàrà, čàr, NKo čaru 'handle' ¶ MLC 1376, S QK #726, Nam 412, 416 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 24, KW 421 ¶¶ Hardly here (for phonetic reasons) M *čilbuḷyur 'bridle, rein' (> MM [HI] čilbur 'longe', WrM cilbugur, HIM цулбуур 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle', WrO culbuur

'rein, guiderope, lead; halter', Kl цульвур *culwūr* 'Leitriemen, Leitzügel', '(bridle) rein, чeмбyp', *see* Ms. H 47, MED 182, Krg. 649, KRS 640, KW 433) ◇ If we could have taken for granted that Orël and Stolbova's rec. of the WCh root as *çal- 'rope' is reliable, we would have assumed that the pN initial cns. was either *ç or *č; but in my opinion their WCh rec. is highly qu., because even the primary source (in the case of Bl c0li) is still to be checked, and there is no ev. of the initial cns. being emphatic. IS I 200 reconstructed the U √ as *śolme, and this √ served as one of the arguments for his hyp. about N *č (his *c) yieldings U *ś. But in view of recent research both the U rec. (*F* UEW 38-9) and IS's hyp. must be revised.

298. ₂ *č¹iX∇ 'to defecate' > HS: S *^o√słh (or *^o√šłh) v. 'defecate' > Ar √słh *G* 'defecate' (of a person) ¶ BK I 1120 ¶ An alt. etl. conjecture connects this verb with EC *sāl- 'cowdung' (Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 32, Ss. B 164) and Mb ki-sálo 'mud; dung of large animals' (E SC 326), but it fails to explain the absence of the reflex of HS *h in EC || A: T [1] *^oçila > OT {Cl.} čilā 'dung'; [2] *çil- v. 'defecate' > OT {Cl.} čiš 'urination, defecation', MT [AH, IM] sič- v. 'defecate', Tk siç-, Kr {Rl.} sič-, QrB čič-, Qzq тыш- tiš-, VTt тыч- тьщ-, QK {B} šiš-, StAlt {B}, Qmn {B} číc-, Tel/Alt {Rl.} sis-, Chv sis/z- id.; here T *-l(-) < **-l-y(-) with *y going back to a sx. ¶ Cl. 418, 430, Rs. W 414 (s.v. syč-), Sht. 207, Rl. III 2094, IV 657, 661, B DK 271, B DLT 227, BT 184.

299. *č^oLK∇ (~ *č^oLk∇) 'to advance with effort (to creep, to crawl, to climb, etc.)' > IE: NaE {P} *slenk- (~ *sleng-) 'creep, crawl', {Mn.} v. 'crawl, trudge, amble' > MBr lençr 'glissant' ({P} 'schleichend'), as well as possibly a Brtt word for 'intestinal worm(s)': W llyngyr pl. 'intestinal worms', MBr lnquernenn, Br lenker(n)-enn 'intestinal worm' || ?ϕL lumbrīcus id. (unless < IE *slendh- 'crawl') || OSw slinka 'kriechen, sich schmiegen', AS slincan 'creep' > NE slink; d.: OSx, OHG slango, NHG Schlange 'snake'; OHG {Kb.} zuo-slingen 'to slide away', MHG slingen 'to crawl along', {Lx.} 'sich schlängelnd winden, kriechen, schleichen', AS slinȝan {Sw.} 'to worm one's way', {Ho.} 'sich schlingen, winden, kriechen' || Lt slenkū / slīnkti 'creep, crawl' (of a snake), 'move slowly', 'slink' || OI [Dhat.] srañk- 'go, move, creep' ¶ P 961-2, Mn. 1210-1, MW 1095, M K II 554 (considers OI srañk- ~ srañg- not fit ["nicht geeignet"] for etl. comparisons), Ern. 362, LP § 63, WH I 831-2, Ho. 299, Ho. S 67, OsS 818, 823-4, Kb. 906, Lx. 198, KM 653, Frn. 832-3, unc. σ: EI 607 (*slenk-

'turn, twist [like a snake]') || **HS:** CS * $\sqrt{s}l\kappa$ > BHb סלַק $\sqrt{s}l\kappa$ 'ascend', BA, Sr $\sqrt{s}l\kappa$ v. 'ascend, climb', SmA $\sqrt{s}l\kappa$ 'go up', Ar {Fr.} $\sqrt{s}lq$ G 'run', TD (pf. *tasallaqa*) 'climb\scale (a wall)', ? (with deglottalization) Ar $\sqrt{s}l\kappa$ v. G 'travel, go along' ¶ KB 716, BDB #5267, KBR 758, Fr. II 344, Tal 592-3, Br. 477, Ln. 1410 || ?σ,φ **K:** G *sliqin-* 'gleiten, schlittern, rutschen' ¶ Chx. 1268 || **A:** ?σ M * $\acute{o}lgi-$ > WrM *colgi-*, HIM *цолги-* 'come to the surface, emerge', M * $\acute{o}lgi-la-$ > WrM *colgi-la*, HIM *цолгило-* v. 'hasten, rush' ¶ MED 197 || **D** * $\acute{c}okk-$ ({ \acute{G} GS} * $\acute{s}-$ or * $s-$) v. 'climb' > Klm *sok-*, Nkr *sokk-*, Prj *čo-pp-/čo-tt-/čo-kk-* id., Ku *hoʔ-* (p. *hott-*) id. ¶¶ D #2828 ◇ The IE var. $\sqrt{*sleng-}$ and M * $\acute{c}olgi-$ point to a N var. * $\acute{c}oLk\triangledown$ at the pN level (progressive as. from * $\acute{c}oL\kappa\triangledown$?). G *s-* (for the expected *c-*) may be due to a desaffricatization in the precon. position.

300. * $\acute{c}\grave{a}lq\triangledown$ 'lean, thin' (of a body), 'reduced' > **HS:** S * $\acute{o}\sqrt{s}l\check{s}l\kappa$ (as. * $s\dots k$ < * $s\dots \kappa$ [< N * $\acute{c}\dots q$]) > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} *musallak-* 'tenuis, gracilis (homo)' ¶ Fr. II 346 || C: HEC * $\acute{o}\sqrt{\check{c}}l\kappa$ (× N * $\check{c}\grave{a}l\triangledown$ 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish?') > Hd {PB} *çerak-* 'mager, dünn, schlank sein', *çeraka* 'mager, dünn, schlank' (Hd *-r-* < EC **-l-*; HEC * $\check{c}-$ goes back to both emphatic and plain vl. affricates) ¶ PB 179, ≈ AD SF 120 || **K** * $\acute{o}\check{c}l\check{c}qal-$ > G *çqal-* 'grow lean, abmagern' (reg. mt., creating a "harmonic complex" * $\acute{o}\check{c}l\check{c}q-$) ¶ Chx. 2208 || **U** * $\acute{c}\grave{a}l\kappa\triangledown$ (or * $\acute{c}\grave{a}\check{s}l\triangledown$) > ObU * $\acute{c}\bar{e}l\grave{a}\check{y}$ 'thin' (× N * $\check{c}\grave{a}l\triangledown$) > pVg * $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\grave{a}\check{y}$ 'thin' > Vg: T $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\grave{a}\omega$, LK $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, MK/UK $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, P $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, Km (NV) $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, LL $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, UL/Ss $\acute{s}\bar{a}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$; pOs * $\acute{c}\bar{e}l\grave{a}\check{y}$ ({ \bar{H} L}) * $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\grave{a}\check{y}$ id. > Os: V/Vy $\acute{c}\bar{e}l\grave{a}\check{y}$, Ty $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\grave{a}\check{y}$, Y $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\grave{a}\check{y}$, D $\acute{c}\bar{e}l\grave{a}$, Nz $\acute{s}\bar{e}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$, O $\acute{s}\bar{e}l$ ¶ Ht. #77, Hl. rHt 71, KrT 907-8, Stn. WV 177 || **D** (in SD) * $\acute{c}\bar{a}k\kappa-$ ({ \acute{G} GS} * $\acute{c}l\check{c}-$) 'lean' > Kt $\acute{c}\bar{a}k$ 'lean' (of meat), $\acute{c}\bar{a}k\eta$ 'lean man', Tu $\acute{c}\bar{a}k\kappa\bar{e}$ 'stunted, short, lean', $\acute{c}\bar{a}k\kappa\bar{e}$ 'a weakling, lean person' ¶ D #2268 ||| ?φ possibly also D ** $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k-$ (> * $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k-$ /* $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k-$) v. 'become thin, meager' > Tm $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{u}$ v. 'diminish, wane, decrease', $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{a}l$ v. 'diminish, decrease, perish', Kdg $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k-$ v. 'become tired', Tu $\acute{t}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{a}n\bar{c}$ v. 'be lean, weak', $\acute{t}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{u}$, $\acute{c}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{e}$ 'fading, weakness', $\acute{t}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{o}\check{t}\bar{a}$ 'a lean\weak man', Gnd $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$ v. 'grow thin', Knd $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}$ v. 'be reduced (as body)'; D \bar{b} pInA * $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}k\bar{a}-$ /* $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}g\bar{a}$ > Prkr $\acute{s}\bar{c}l\bar{c}g\bar{a}$ 'lean, thin' ¶¶ D #2503.

301. * $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\bar{c}l\bar{c}$ 'to split, to cut' > **K** * $\acute{c}\bar{e}l-$ v. 'mow, cut' \bar{d} * $\acute{c}\bar{e}l-$ 'scythe' > G $\acute{c}\bar{e}l-$ v. 'mow', $\acute{c}\bar{e}l-i$ 'scythe' (\bar{b} Mg $\acute{c}\bar{e}l-i$ id.), Mg $\acute{c}\bar{a}l-i$ id., $\acute{c}\bar{a}l-$ v. 'mow', Lz (n) $\acute{c}\bar{a}l-$ id. (Lz (n) $\acute{c}\bar{a}l-$ v. 'sharpen' may go back to a

derivative from Z *cał- 'scythe') | Sv {K²} cel-/cl- 'tear, strip off', Sv IB {TK} li-cel msd. 'tear asunder, split (გახევა, გახლეჩა, გაპობა)', Sv UB/L {FS} cil- (msd. li-cel) v. 'cut, cut asunder' 𐌆𐌆 IS I 196, K 223, FS K 396, FS E 445-6, GM S 77, ≠ GM S 313, TK 473 || HS: CS *√sɫ v. 'split' (→ *sāl_l∇_l- 'a cleft in the rock' [→ 'rock']) > Ar سلع √sɫ v. G 'split', سلع sāl- 'cleft in the rock', Hb שֶׁלַח 'sɛlaɪ, JA אֶשְׁלַח sɪl'ɛ-ā 'rock' 𐌆 KB 715-6, KBR 75, Tal 591-2, Js. 996 || B: Sll {Ds.} i-sli 'rocher', Izd {Mrc.} i-səlli 'grosse pierre' 𐌆 Mrc. 353, Ds. 250 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *s∇l- v. 'cut' > Gera šàllá-mí id., Gw šára id., 'reap', Hs sǎrǎ 'fell (tree), chop, cut' (Hs {Ba.} súlulū 'a handleless knife', adduced in Stl ZCh, is qu.) | Bd {Gr. ← ?} salo v. 'cut' 𐌆 Stl. ZCh 179-80 [#319], Ba. 903, Mts. G 106, Gr. LA 51 [#2] 𐌆𐌆 IS I 196 adduces some C words: Bj sal- (misunderstood as an adj. 'sharp', but actually being a verb with the meaning 'sharpen', F Rop. 231), Xm sil- 'knife', Q sal- v. 'be sharp'. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is too remote to justify the connection; besides, Bj sal- and Q {R} sal- are likely to be loanwords (maybe from Amh ሳላ sālə v. 'sharpen' going back to the EthS root √shl, see Gz ሳላ sāhala id.) || IE *skel_lH_X-/*sk_lH_X- 'split', {EI} *skel- 'split (apart)' > Ht iškalla(i)- v. 'slit, slash, split, tear' || Gk σκάλλω 'I hoe' || Arm ցելում c^hel-um 'I split' (c^h- < IE *sk-, as shown in Me. EAC 32), Arm սկալիմ skal-im v. 'open the chinks, split, gape, crack' || Clt {RE} *skolt- v. 'split' > OIr scoilt- v. 'split, divide up', scoilt 'fente, fissure', Brtt: W holtti, ?φ Crn falsa, felja [{Vn.} felža], ?φ MBr feutiff, ?φ Br faoutañ 'to split', W hollt, ?φ MBr faout, faut 'fente' (Clt *sk- > Crn, Br f- is still to be explained) | OIr sceilim v. 'slice', scailt 'fente' || ON skilja 'to split, to separate', AS ā-sciellan, tō-sciellan 'to separate, to divide' || Lt skélti (prs. skeliu) v. 'split', Ltv šķēlt (prs. šķelū) 'split lengthwise' | Sl *skāla 'rock, splitter' > OR CKAΛA, R, Blg cka'na, P skała 'rock', Uk Δ cka'na 'stone', SrCr skāla 'rock, slice, bit', Slv skāla 'rock, chip', Cz skāla 'rock', Δ 'Steinbruch', Slk skala 'stone, rock'; Sl *ščelb > R щель (dim. щёл-ка), Uk щіль, P szczelina, † szczel 'cleft, crevice, chink, slot', Slv ščálja n. 'split' 𐌆𐌆 P 923, Pv. I-II 413-5 (invokes Arm skal-im), EI 538-9, F II 715-6, Vn. S 29, 48-9, RE 134, Vr. 492, Ho. 277, Frn. 800, Kar. II 347, Vs. III 630-1 and IV 501, Brü. 543, ZVSZ 383-4, Glh. 552-3, GK 552, Slt. 105, ≈ Ach. III 225 (derives skal-

im from Iranian *sik-), 452-3 || **U:** FU (in Prm) *čáǵ- v. 'cut off, separate' > pPrm *čáǵ- v. 'cut off, split off, separate' > Z чаллы- čáǵ- 'cut off (e.g., the upper green leaves of cabbage)', чалес čáles 'bran', Z UV čáǵzd- v. 'cut off, separate', Prmk čáǵdzt-~čáydzt- 'split off' ¶ LG 301 (adduces Er чалга- čalga- v. 'brake [flax, hemp]' [obviously a sd. from čalga- v. 'tread', see ERV 737]) || **A** *čal'U' > T *čal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' (× N *čal'V 'beat, knock down, fell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ T *-l- (for the expected *-l'-) is inherited from N *čal'V || Tg *čalu-~*čol- 'cut off' > Neg čōl- id., 'trim', Ul čāl- ~ čāl- 'cut, cut off', Nn Nh čāl-, Nn B cal-, WrMc col- v. 'cut' ¶ STM II 405 ¶¶ The M forms quoted in IS I 196-7 and DQA (after KW 420) are qu.: WrM cali (adduced by Rm. as a cognate of Kl cal~cäl 'Schärfe, scharf') is not confirmed by standard dictionaries of WrM (Kow., Gl., MED) or by the main sources of MM. The Kl {Rm.} word cal~cäl is cognate with Brt салии- 'be pointed' and салигар 'pointed (gespitzt, остроконечный)' (Chr. 383) and goes back to M *čali'V- 'pointed, sharp', without reliable semantic connection with the meaning of the N √. The latter is true also of pJ {S} *tùrùṅkì 'sword' (> OJ tùrùḡjì ~ tùrùkì, J T curugí, see S QJ #1586, Mr. 557) (adduced in DQA) ¶¶ DQA #267 (A *č'ālù 'sharp; to cut') || **D** *čal-, {GS} *sel- v. 'cut, split' (× N *šäl'V,qU 'cleave, cut asunder', q.v. ffd.). D *l (rather than *l' < N *l') is inherited from N *šäl'V,qU ◇ Cf. IS I 195-7 (IE, K, HS, A + unc. U *š'šale- ~ *š'šäle- v. 'cut, split' [= {UEW} *šale-, UEW 459-60]). In view of the fact that there is no other known √ with U *š- or *š'- from N *č (= N *c- in the notation of IS), I prefer to adduce here FP *čáǵ-.

302. *c'í?A'mV (or *ciyAmV) '∈ grass' > **K** {K} *čam-/ *čem- 'grass' > OG, G čam- *'grass' (in OG, G čam-al- 'medicine, drug'), Lz (n)čam- 'medicine, drug', Sv UB (TK, GP), Sv Ln/L {TK} čem ({K² } Sv čēm with an err. ē?) 'hay' ||| Compound stem GZ *lel-čam- 'reed Arundo donax' > OG ler-čam-, G ler-čam- ~ lel-čam- 'reed', Mg larčam- ~ larčem-; the first component of the cd. is GZ *lel- 'reed Phragmites communis' (K 120-1) ||| ?σ Mg (r)čem- 'pubic hair', Sv {K} čīma id. ¶¶ K 121, 249, K² 306; FS K 457-8 and FS E 518-9 (both: *čam- in G and Sv without Zan), Q 314, ≈ Rog. C √, TK 861, GP 280 || **HS:** S *samm- 'grass' (→ in descendant lgs. 'medicinal grass, perfume, etc.') (infl. of N ?

***čam∇ć∇** 'get sour\rotten' ??) > Ak šammū 'plant, grass; hay, fodder; herb, medicinal plant', BHb 𐎧𐎢𐎠 sam'm-īm 'spice (used in incense)', 'spices (Spezereien)', MHb 𐎧𐎢 sam, JA 𐎧𐎢𐎠 sam'm-ā 'drug (healing or deleterious)', JEA {Sl.} 𐎧𐎢𐎠 sam'm-ā 'drug, medicine, dye', Sr sam'm-ā 'drug, poison, pigment', Ug smm 'perfume', Ar samm- 'poison' (←b- Aram?) (→b- Mh, Sq sam, possibly Jb E sem, Jb sehm 'poison'), Ak LB (←b- WS?) sammūtu 'fragrance' ¶ The S √ belongs here unless it is *šamm- (as tacitly suggested by BDB) ¶ CAD XV 120 and XVII/1 315-21, Sd. 1167, BDB 702, KB 716, OLS 404, Js. 998, Sl. 817, Br. 479, Jo. M 350 || ?σ B *√smm v. 'be sour' (if ← 'sour\bitter grass', cp. S) > Rf, Izn əsməm 'aigrir, fermenter, être aigre', Sll ismum 'sour', Kb ismum 'be sour', Ah ismam 'be bitter', Zng {TC} šāmum (Z šēmum) 'bitter', pf. yešmem 'il a rendu amer' ¶ Fc. 1836, Rn. 318, Ds. 10, Dl. 776, TC D 8, TC Z 308 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ? ***čam∇ć∇** 'get sour\rotten' cannot be ruled out || Eg fp sm.ω 'plants, herbage; vegetables; pasture' ¶ EG IV 119-20, Fk. 225 || C: Bj {R} se'yām ~ si'yām 'grass' || SC: ? Kz çemal-iko 'straw' ¶ R WbD 207, E SC 201 ¶ OS #395 adduces Irq cāmō 'kind of grass', but I have not been able to find the word in the available sources || ECh: Mkl sēmí 'hay', Smr {J} sémdé pl. 'grass' || ? Hs çáwré (regularly from *çamr...) 'a tall, coarse grass' ¶ J LM 172, ChC, Abr. H 881 ¶¶ Hardly here Ak samīdu ~ simīdu 'a spice plant or vegetable' (CAD XV 114-5) (the stem pattern in Ak samīdu suggests that this is an adj. from the root *√smd [=*√cmd], making the connection with HS *c^rim- 'grass' implausible) ¶¶ OS #383 (*camid- 'grass': Ak, Smr), #395 (HS *cim- 'grass, plant': Eg, Mkl + erroneously interpreted or dubious seeming cognates in S, Ch, and C), Tk. PAA 3 (Kz, Hs) || A: NaT *çI:im 'sod, turf' > OT čim 'turf, peat', Az čim 'turf, sod', Osm {Rh.} čim id., 'grassplot', Tk çim 'grass, greensward', ET čim 'turf, peat (дѣрн, торф)', Uz čim, Qzq, Nog šim, Qrg čim 'turf (дѣрн)' ¶ Cl. 421-2, Rs. W 111, Äz. 395, Rh. 747, BN 31 || D *čamp- ({}GS} *z|z-) 'a reed, elephant grass' > Tm campu 'elephant grass, Typha elephantina', Kn jamb- 'a reed or sedge, Typha angustifolia', Tl jambu 'a bulrush, sedge' ¶¶ D #2347 ¶¶ D *-p- may go back to an original sx. ◇ K *č-, Kz ç-, and Hs ç- < *c...?- ◇ The vowel(s) of the N word are not clear. It may be tentatively suggested that there was a pN word-internal sequence ***-i?A-** or ***-iyA-** (still

preserved in Bj as -iуа- ~ еуа-, but contracted into a, ē, i, or I in all other descendant lgs.).

303. (₂?) ***ć'o'mH₂E** 'to smear, (?) to stroke' > **K** {**K²**} ***cwem-** / ***cwm-** v. 'smear with fat' > Sv {**TK**} msd.: UB li-cwm-en-i, L li-cweni, licwieni, Ln li-cwem-i 'to smear, to grease', UB {**GP**} li-cwm-i 'to plaster (stucco)'; ⇨ GZ {**K²**} ***c₁w₁mel-**, {**FS**} ***cm-el-** n. 'fat' > OG **cmel-** id. (Lev. 8.25), G **cmel-** {**FS**} 'Fett, Schmiere', Mg **сзму-** ≍ **cimu-** 'fat, scum (Schaum, накипь)', {**Q**} **сзму-** 'fat (жиръ, тукъ)', Lz **cimu-luу-** 'overripe figs' (луу- 'figs') ¶¶ **K** 225, **K²** 265, **FS** **K** 396-7, **FS** **K²** 577 (**K** ***cem-** v. 'smear'), **FS** **E** 446, **TK** 475, **GP** 183, **Q** 373 || **IE**: NaIE ***smē-** ~ ***smej-d-** v. 'smear, stroke' ({**EI**} ? ***smej_d-** 'smear') > Gk inf. **σμην**, aor. **σμησαυ** 'smear, wipe' ||| **Arm** **սիծ** mic 'mud, mire, dirt' (< ***smidjo-**) ||| **Gt** **bi-smaitan** 'ἐπιχρῆεν, to smear upon', **ga-smaitan** id., 'to spread on', **OHG** **bi-smīzan** to smear upon, to soil', **smīzan** '(an)streichen, schmieren', **AS** {**Fs.**} **be-smītan** 'to smear upon', {**Ho.**} **smītan** 'to soil, to dirty', **NE** **smite** ||| ?σ **Sl** ***smědъ**, ***smědjъ** 'dark-coloured' > **ChS** **смѣдъ** **smědъ** 'μαυρός, μέλας', **SCr** **směđ** 'brown', **Slv** **směđ**, **OCz** **smědý**, **OP** **śmiady** 'dark-brown' (as well as **Cz** **snědý**, **P** **śniady** with **n** due to the infl. of **hnědý**, **gniady** 'brown'); see also NaIE *(s)meru- 'fat, ointment' (*F* s.v. **N** ***ǵæmi** 'fat') ¶ **WP** II 685-6, **P** 966-7, **EI** 528, **F** II 748, **Ch.** 1027, **Fs.** 95, **Schz.** 262, **Ho.** 302, **OsS** 834-5, **WW** 266, **Kb.** 919, **KM** 663, **Vs.** III 684, **Mikl.** **L** 866, **Brü.** 533, **Gh.** 565 ¶ The initial ***s-** (rather than ***sk-**) is due to the preconsonantal position and possibly to the unfluence of the synonymous NaIE ***smeru-** 'fat, ointment' (< **N** ***Sämir** ▽ 'fat') || ?φ **D** (in **KK**) ***čōmp-** ({**ǵGS**} ***s|ś-**) > **Kui** **hōmb-** v. 'rub, stroke', **Ku** **Kt** **hombali** ≍ **hōmbina_i** v. 'scour, scrub' ¶ **D** #2879 || **HS**: **Ch**: **Bl** {**Lk.**} **sam-** v. 'einreiben' ¶ **Lk.** **PVB** II 138 || **C**: (+ext.) **Bj** {**R**} ✓ **šm_t pcv.** 'grease the hair, smear butter on it; anoint, rub (pomadisieren, frottieren, reiben)' (1s: p. 'ašmit, prs. ašam'mī t) ¶ **R** **WbD** 216 ¶ × **N** ***čixm** ▽ 'fat'? ◇ Without the **K** cognate we would have reconstructed here an initial **N** sibilant ***ś-**. The absence of traces of the **N** lr. in NaIE ***smej_d-** (unlike ***smē-** < **IE** ***smeh-**) still needs explaining.

303a. ?₂ ***ć ▽ m_qU** 'ε fruit, berry' > **K** {**FS**} ***cim_qw-** 'strawberry or bilberry' > **G** **cm_qva**, **Mg** **cəm_fwa**, **cim_fwa** 'strawberry', **Sv** **UB** {**TK**} **cīn_qa**, **UB** {**GP**}, **LB/L** {**TK**} **cin_qa**, **Sv** **Ln** {**TK**} **cin_qa** 'bilberry'; **N** ***maR₁y₁ ▽** **ć ▽ m_qU** (= **K** ***maR₁y₁ ▽** 'berries' + **N** ***ć ▽ m_qU**) >† **K**

*marçq̄w- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} մարգր̄յշ marçq̄w-i, eNG, G մարգր̄յշո marçq̄v-i, Sv UB/Ln bäsqi, Sv UB/LB bäsq id. 𐎧𐎧 F K 224 (*cingwa), FS K 400, FS E 450, TK 838, GP 277 || HS: CS (mt.) *š̄v̄k̄l̄v̄m- (*š̄uk̄l̄v̄m-?) ~ *š̄aw̄k̄l̄v̄m- 'sycamore' and possibly 'sycamore fig' > BHb pl. 𐤌𐤍𐤊𐤍 šik̄'m-īm, JA 𐤌𐤍𐤊𐤍 šik̄'m-ā, Sr š̄ε̄k̄'m-ā, ChrPA š̄w̄k̄m 'sycamore', Ar sawqam- 'figuier d'Adam, figuier sycamore', Aram 𐤌𐤍𐤊𐤍 Gk συκάμῖνος 'mulberry' 𐎧 KB 1516-7, BK I 1109, Fr. II 817-8.

304. ₂ *c'ṽ'ñč̄v̄ or *č'ṽ'ṅc̄v̄ 'to crawl' > K: GZ *č̄oč̄- 'crawl, creep, clamber' > G c̄oč̄- v. {Chx.} 'creep, crawl' (err. {K²} 'climb'), Mg č̄oč̄- v. 'clamber' (≠ {K²} 'climb'); Zan 𐤌𐤍𐤊𐤍 G č̄oč̄- 'clamber, drag on', Arm Δ {K²} č̄ʰoč̄ʰ- 'crawl, creep' 𐎧 K 230, K² 273 (GZ *č̄oč̄- 'climb'), FS K 413, FS E 465-6, Chx. 1945-6, 2023, Q 651 𐎧 The semantic interpretation 'climb' (in K²) may be due to inaccurate rendering of the R polysemic verb лезть || U *oč̄u|inč̄v̄ > pSm {Jn.} *č̄b̄nč̄v̄ 'kriechen' > En d. 1s aor. {Cs.}: En X toddoṅaro, En B toddoṅado id. || Sq Ke {Cs.} d. 1s aor. canzonnan, Kms {KD} d. 1s prs. t'ānš̄rālam id. 𐎧 Jn. 31, Cs. 145, 243 ◊ Assimilation *c...č̄ (or *č̄...c) > *c...c (for K) and *č̄...č̄ (for U).

305. ₂ *C|č̄üñd̄v̄ 'ε mouse' > A: Tg *č̄ünd̄v̄-k̄v̄ 'ε small rodent' > Orc çubduki 'harvest mouse (Micromys minutus)', Ud čundiHз, {Krm.} čundē 'shrew-mouse', Lm Ol/B/P ç̄ıd̄b̄ya, Lm Pkh ç̄ıdaga 'arctic spermophile (Citellus)', Lm KO ç̄ıd̄ḡa 'lemming' 𐎧 STM II 390, Krm. 312, Ci. 89-90 (on Tg *ü) || D *č̄uñt̄- ({ḡGS} *c|č̄-) 'ε mouse' > Tm cunṭ̄an 'gray musk shrew', cunṭ̄ān 'Mus urbanus', Ml cunṭ̄-eli 'mouse, musk-rat', Kn sunḡa, Tu sunḡ-eli, Kdg č̄iñd̄-eli 'house-mouse, field-mouse', Tl cun̄cu 'mouse, musk-rat', Klm č̄indrag 'musk-rat', Gnd č̄ūč̄i 'musk-rat', Δ č̄uṭ̄i 'small rat', Δ č̄oṭe 'mouse', Krx č̄oṭṭō 'mouse' 𐎧 D #2661.

306. *cuṅv̄ 'to know' (← 'to have seen?'), 'to see' > HS: Eg L s̄w̄n ({EG} s̄w̄n) 'know, recognize', (with the prep. m) 'von etwas wissen' > DEg s̄w̄n, Cpt: Sd c̄ooȳn s̄oūn, B c̄w̄oȳen s̄ōūen 'wissen' 𐎧 EG IV 69, Vc. 201 || B *-sin- / *√wsn 'know (savoir)' (× N ≈ *č̄'ı'ṛ'ā'ñâ 'recognize, know [connaître]', q.v.): *-sin- > ASgr aor. -sin, *√wsn > Ah əssən, Ty, ETwl əssəṅ, Gh əssən / pf. issən, Gd ssən, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əsn / pf. issən, Sll {Ds.} issən~əssən / pf. issən, Kb əssən / pf. issin, Tmz {MT} ssən / isin id., Zng {TC} əssən / pf. yəssen 'savoir'; the cns. *w is reflected in the gemination of *s and in the vw. u of the Ah

caus. s-usən ʃ ABs. LBV 97, Fc. 1837, GhA 176, Dl. 782, MT 647, Dlh. Ou 300, Lf. I 245 and II #223, DCTC 285 || Ch ≈ *c¹i¹n/*cun or {AD} *s₁¹i¹n/*s₁un 'know' > Hs šínà, sánì, (with an object) sán, Gw {Mts.} šína id. | DfB {J} sun, Bks {J} šánî, Klr {J} sjen, {IL} sēn | Wrj/My {Sk.} sən, Cg {Sk.} sèn, Kry/Jmb {Sk.} sán, P' {MSk.} s₁nè, Sir {Sk.} sənīwí, Mbr {Sk.} sání, Dir {Sk.} čán id. ||| Cb {IL} zəndi, {ChL} zùnì, Hb {ChL} zin, Hld {ChL} sìnì, Wmd {ChL} sènì id. | HgNk {ChL} s₁nàta, HgG {ChL} sùnàgəy, HgF {ChL} s₁nəgi, FIG {ChL} s₁naki, FIJ {ChL} sũ, FIB {ChL} š₁ŋ, FIM {IL} šīn id. | Mtk {ChL} suna?, {Sb.} sən id., pMM {Ro.} *sən (> Mada/Myn sál, Mkt sá', Hrz sendika, Mik sár, Gzg sán, Mofu s₁ràdá, Glv {Rp.} s₁r 'know', Mf {BLB} sán- 'reconnaître, découvrir') | Db {Lnh.} s₁n, Kola {Sb} -s₁ŋ- 'know' | Gdr {Mch.} sən id. | Lgn {Lk.} sán id., Bdm {Lk.} hín 'I know' | ?σ Mrg sini 'know, remember' ||| Ll {Grgs.} s₁n 'wissen, kennen' | NdD {J} h₁nà, Tmk {Cp.} h₁n 'know' | Mkl {J} s₁né id. ʃ Dir čán suggests a pCh initial affricate; the original vw. is likely to have been *i, while forms with *a are likely to go back to a derived *a-imperfective (suggested by Gr. and J) ʃ JI I 107 and II 216-7, ChC, ChL, Ba. 896-8, 940, Ro. 278-9 [#405], BLB 323-4 || EC: amb Or sēnā 'memory' (unless d. from sēn- v. 'enter' or belong to N *¹s¹a¹nā 'word, say' → 'think' [q.v.]) ʃ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (s₁nā 'ricordo, memoria') ʃ ʃ OS #2198 (HS *saniH-~*siniH- 'know, remember'), #2294 (HS *sun- 'know'), Tk. I 128-9 || U *¹cu¹ŋ∇ > Sm *s₁ŋə 'see, look' > Ne T d. caŋo 'a glance, look', T O {Lh.} saŋū 'Blick', Ne F {Lh.} xaŋŋū id., xaŋŋŋŋŋ 'sieh', Ng {Mik.} d. s₁ŋürsá 'see, look', En X {Cs.} d. s₁ŋarə?, En B {Cs.} s₁ŋiŋado? 'sehen, betrachten', En {Mik.} s₁ŋid 'see', Slq Tz {KKIH} saŋa- 'try, check' ('попробовать, проверить'), Mt {Hl.} *siä-(?) 'see' (Mt: T {Mil.} schischäguram 'video', M {Mil.} ingümsiä 'non video' [ingü m- 'I do not']) || FU *¹šun¹∇ (or *-nš-) > pVg *šunš- v. 'look, glance' > Vg {Stn.} T š₁önš-, LK š₁ons-, MK sons-, UK/UL/Ss suns- ʃ ʃ Jn. 133, Cs. 91, Lh. 397-8, KKIH 168, Hl. M #875, Stn. WV 275, MK 575 || K: GZ *¹čan-/*¹čn- 'know, learn, recognize' (× N ≈ *¹č¹i¹?¹ä¹nā 'recognize, know [connaître]' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ A: DQA reconstructs pA *¹č¹i¹ŋ∇ 'listen, consider', presumably reflected in T *¹tiŋla- 'hear, listen' (> OT tiŋla-, Tv tiŋna-, Tk d₁nle-, Az, Tkm d₁nle-, etc.; it may be derived from the Chinese loanword ← Chn t¹iŋ, MChn t¹eŋ 'listen'), in M *²ciŋla- 'listen' (> WrM ciŋla-~ciŋna-, HIM чагна-; to my mind, may be a loan from T), and in Tg *¹ž₁iŋ 'consider' (in fact, WrMc

žin ~ žin 'exactly, just' ← Chn žin 'completely' and/or žen 'just, exactly'; in other Tg lgs. the word is a loan from Mc). This alleged pA root (based on controversial phonetic hypotheses) cannot be taken into consideration ¶¶ ≈ DQA #238. Cl. 522, MED 190, STM 258, Z 982, Is. 93, 190, 230 ◇ IS I 201-2 [#42] (*ćin 'know': K, HS).

307. *ćuŋ▽ 'finger, finger knuckle' > U: FU *ć'ū'ŋ▽, {UEW} *ćEŋ▽ 'finger, (finger) knuckle' > Prm {LG} *ćÉní > Z чунь cúń, Vt чиньы cíń+ 'finger', Yz cúń 'finger, toe' || Os: D çōŋen-uχ id. (uχ 'head'), Kz śōŋan 'finger knuckle' | Hg c s ũ d, Δ č ũ d ɖ č ũ g ɖ č ũ g ɖ č ũ g 'pastern (of a horse), foot (of a bird)' ¶ UEW 49, LG 314, MF 129, EWU 238 || D *ćuŋt-~*ćuŋt- ({θGS} *s-) v. 'point at with the finger, indicate' (× N *ćûd▽ 'point with a finger', q.v.) > Ml c ū ŋ t ū k a 'to point at, to aim', c ū ŋ t a l - v i r a l 'forefinger', Tm c u t t u 'to point out, to indicate', Kn s u t t u, Kui s ū ŋ a 'to point at with the finger', Kui s ū ŋ a v a n ŋ u, Ku h ū t a v w ā n ŋ u 'the index finger', Tu t u ŋ d u n i 'to aim, to point at', Tl j u t t a - v r ē l u 'forefinger' ¶¶ D #2658 || HS: S *°s'inf- > Ar sinf- 'os de la paume de la main qui joignent les doigts à la main; poignet à l'endroit où l'avant-bras se joint à la main, os du pied où la jambe se joint au pied' ¶ BK I 1152 ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [#33] (U, D).

308. *ć'č'ä'ŋK▽ 'to break' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *cink- 'break (e.g. a stick)' > Hs č'ínkà v. 'snap (a thread, a rope)' | SBc: Dw c ɜ ŋ v i. 'snap (a stick)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 182 [#344], ChL I 227, Abr. H 885-6 || U: FU {UEW} ć|śänK▽, {It.} *ćeŋkă 'break' > Er śive- vi. 'break, brechen, abbrechen' | Prm *ćeg- > Z чег- čeg- vt., vi. 'break, break off' ('сломать, -ся, отломить, переломить'), Yz 'čig- id., Vt чигыны čigz- vi. 'break' ('сломаться, переломиться') || pObU {HL} *sēŋk-, {Ht.} *sēŋk- > pVg *sāŋk- > Vg: Vg T sāŋg-, LK/Nz saŋk- 'brechen', P saŋk- 'schlagen'; pOs {Ht.} *sōŋk- ({HL} *sōŋk-) > Os: V sōŋk-, Ty/Y sāŋk^ω-, D/Kz seŋk-, Nz/O seŋ- 'schlagen' | Hg s z e g - 'cut (bread), break (the neck)' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 31/2, Sm. 549 (FU, FP *śaŋki- 'cut, break', Ugr *śäŋkī-), LG 303, Ht. #598, Hl. rHt 71, MF 575-6 || A: Tg *°çeŋ > Ewk PT çɜŋdit-/çɜŋdiç- 'tear (clothes), tear out (a piece of sth.)' ¶ STM II 421 ◇ Hardly here G çvniķ- 'zerkleinern' (Chx. 2157), because it is certainly derived from çvniķ-i 'klein, winzig, мелкий' (Chx. l.c., DCh. 1676).

309. ₂ *c▽'p'▽ 'to cover', 'roof, a covering, shelter' > HS: CS (+ext.) *✓spn > BHb ✓spn (pf. c. | ɜ ɔ ɔ | w a y u i s ' p o n) v. 'cover, lay a table', | ɜ ɔ ɔ s i p ' p ū n 'ceiling (of a room)', Pun m s p n 'roof (?)', ? IA ✓spn v. '(?) care

for, respect' (← *'protect' ← *'cover') ¶ KB 722, KBR 764-5, HJ 666, 798 || IE: NaIE *(s)kerp- v. 'cover' > Gk σκέπας (gen. σκέπαος) 'a covering, shelter', Gk A/I σκέπη id., 'protection', Gk σκέπω, σκεπάω, σκεπάζω v. 'cover, shelter' || Lt kerūrė 'cap', Ltv cērurē 'cap, hat'; Blt ↳ F курāri, курārä 'helmet, casque' | Sl (originally dim.) *čerьсь 'head cover, cap' > OR үєпъць черьсь 'head-dress, head cover', R че'пец ↳ 'чепчик, P czerpiec, Cz черес, Slk čeriec, Slov čēres, Hls čěrc, Lls сорс ≙ серс 'cap', SCr čēpac 'cap (of women)' ¶ WP II 559, P 930, F II 724-5 (sceptical about the Gk-BSl connection), Frn. 241, Bern. I 143-4, ESSJ IV 58-9 (no IE et. of the Sl word), Srz. 1499.

310. *ćEǵ∇ (= *ćǎǵ∇?) 'to jump' > K *°caǵ- > Mg cоf- v. 'walk in a jumping gait' ¶ Q 371 || HS: S *°√nsǵ (or *°√nšǵ), prm. *-nsaǵ- > JA [Trg.] √(n)sǵ (ip. -ssaǵ, inv. saǵ) 'go up' [JEA (BbV) saǵ'qû liš'lām la'wāt ʔabû'kôn 'get you (pl.) up in peace unto your father' - TrgO of Gen. 44.17], Sr √nsǵ (𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤍 nǵ'seǵ 'ascendit' - Peshitta, Apoc. 14.11); *n- goes back to a px. of intransitive verbs ¶ Lv. T I 116-7, Lv. III 409, Spr. BA I 76, Js. 918, PS 2401 || U: FP (+ext.) *ćǎkće- 'jump, leap (springen, hüpfen)' > pLp {Lr.} *ćēkćz- v. 'kick', 'Fußtritte geben, mit dem Fuß stoßen' > Lp: N {N} čiek'čâ- / -vč-, L {LLO} tjektja-, Klt P {It.} čjēx:č·v- id., S {Hs.} tjiëktjedh 'kick with the foot' | Prm *ćēćć- ({LG} *ćētć-) 'get up', (← ?) 'jump up' > Z чеччы- ćēćć+ 'get up', чеччышты- ćēćć+št+ 'jump, jump up', Vt тэтчы- tećć+ (t- due to dis.) ¶ UEW 612-3, LG 304, Lr. #149, Lgc. #604, Hs. 1316-7 || ?σ A: NaT *çIk- 'go out, come out' > OT čiq- id., Chg čiq- 'come out, rise', Tkm čiq- 'go out, appear, climb', VTt чыг- џьу-, Qmq čiq-, Qzq, Qq šiq/у-, Alt ćiq- 'climb up, ascend; go out, appear (on the surface)', Nog šiq- 'go out, appear' ¶ Cl. 405-6, Rs. W 107, MM 401, Sht. 237, TkR 745, BT 183.

310a. *ciǵU 'ε small rodent (mouse?)' > K: GZ *ćiqw- > G ciǵv-i {KEGL, Chx.} 'squirrel', {DCh.} 'loir (Glis glis, соня-полчок)', G mciǵv-i id., {DCh.} 'житник, mus agraria', Mg çuǵ-i 'mouse' ¶ In Mg çuǵ-i the intervocalic cns. -ǵ- may be due to contamination with N ʌ *çEǵ∇ 'small' and with the GZ source of G M çuǵana 'very small') ¶ KEGL VIII 634, DCh. 923, 1596, Q 393; K² 316 and FS E 529-30 (both: Mg çuǵ-i ÷ G M çuǵana 'very small', likely to belong to N ʌ *çEǵ∇ '↑' [q.v.]) || HS: S: Gz {L} şaǵʷanǵʷan ~ şaǵʷanǵʷēn 'field mouse, ε lizard, crocodile' ¶

LG 562 || D *čikk- (ǂGS) *ć-) 'mouse' > Kdg čikn, Gnd čikkāl id., Tu cikkelī 'a small variety of mouse' ǂ D #124-5 ◇ Mg č- and Gz š- are due to assimilatory glottalization.

311. *čar∇ (or *č̣ar∇) 'hard/firm, hardened crust, hard/rough surface' > K *°cer- > Lz {Marr} cara 'hard unfertile ground' ǂ Marr 214 || IE: NaE *sker- '≈ hard/dry skin, crust' > NNr, Sw skare 'hardened surface of snow', with exts.: ON skrá (< *skrahō) 'piece of dry leather', MLG, MDt schrā 'dürr, mager' || Lt skrēsti (1s p. skrendaũ), skrēsti (1s p. skretaũ) 'get covered with a dry crust of dirt' (< *skr-end-, *skr-et-) | Sl *skora > OR скоpa, R Δ скопа 'hide', 'скопка 'crust of bread', Uk 'скіпа, 'скіпка 'skin', Blr 'скупа, Cz skora, P skóra 'skin, hide' (↳ R шкупа 'hide?'), Hls skora, Ls škora 'cust', Slv skóra, skórja 'skin' ǂ P 933, Hlq. 928, Vr. 500-1, Frn. 816, ≈ Vs. III 650 and IV 451, Srz. III 381-2, Ma. CS 447 || U (× N ?σ *cAR₁∇₁Y∇ - *cAYR∇ 'freeze, feel cold' [q.v.]?): FU *čar∇- 'hard, firm; frozen hard surface layer of snow' > Lp N {Fri} čarrok 'rigidus, asper', {N} čāres / čarras- 'coarse' (of wool); stiff (of hair and bread), Lp L {LLO} tjā(r)rēs ~ tjārris 'difficult, coarse' | Prm: [1] *čorit (ǂLG) *č̣orit) 'hard (твердый)' > Vt чурьд čur+d, Z чорьд čor+d, Z US čur+d, Yz 'čurōt; [2] Z čarəm, Prmk cá'rəm, Yz cá'rùm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z čars 'hard ice crust on the snow' || Possibly Sm {Jn.} *ṣrā 'snow' (× U *ṣ́ī'r∇- or *č̣ī'r∇- '[crust of] snow/ice' < N *ṣ́ī'r₁H₂∇ - *ṣ́ī'r₁H₂R∇ 'be very cold', q.v. ffd.) ǂ Coll. 7, UEW 30, 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ szioty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs *šar∇ [in spite of Prm *ć-]), IG 302, 310, Lt. 68, Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 || A: T: Alt, Tel {Rl.} čarim 'hardened surface of snow'; acc. to Ps., Blgh ↳ Z čarəm id. ǂ TL 30, BT 176, Rl. III 1865, LG 302, Ps. ES 184 (Blgh ↳ Z), UEW 464-5 (rejects Ps.' hyp.; supposes that Z čarəm is from U *šar∇ 'frozen snow, ice crust on snow' with a "sporadic phonetic development" *ś- > ć-), see s.v. N *ṣ́ī'r₁H₂∇ - *ṣ́ī'r₁H₂R∇ 'be very cold' || M *čar > WrM car, HIM, Kl цар 'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow', Kl {Rm.} car 'crust, hard surface (of snow, of melted fat)', ? WrO cār 'scabs, mange'; the absence of a final vw. suggests that the word is borrowed (from an unattested T source?) ǂ Merger with N *č̣R?∇ 'hoarfrost' is not ruled out ǂ MED 165, KRS

625, KW 422, Krg. 621 ¶¶ KW 422, Vv. AEN 15 (suggests that the M word and Tlt *čarim* 'layer of frost' are loans from Tib **khyag.rum* in modern Tib C pronunciation, *F* Jäschke TG 7) || ?σ Tg: Ewk *čərī* 'excrescence (наплыв) on the bark of a birch-tree' -b|←b Yk *čäri* ~ *čärī* id. ¶ STM II 421 ¶¶ DQA #287 (pA **č'era|o* 'crust, snow crust') || D **čara-* ({θGS} **c|č-*) 'rough on surface' > Tm *caracara* 'rough on surface', *caral*, *caralaj* 'gravel, laterite', *curacura* 'be rough, have a rough surface', Ml *caral*, *carakkalu* 'gravel', Tu *caratæ* 'what is coarse', Kui *srogu* 'a rough surface' ¶¶ D #2354 || HS: ?σ WS **čarna|is-at-* ~ **čurna|is-at-* 'scab, ε skin disease' (originally a cd.?) > Hb *צַרְעָת* *čā'raʕat* 'ε skin disease', JA *צֻרְעָא* *čur'ʕā* (em. *צֻרְעָא* *čur'ʕā* ~ *צֻרְעָא* *čir'ʕā*), and SmA *שַׁרְעַת* ~ *שַׁרְעַת* 'leprosy' (< **čar'raʕtu* ~ **čur'raʕtu* < **čar'naʕtu* ~ **čurna|is-at-* due to the infl. of the derivational pattern **Ca|C:aCt-* of nouns of diseases), Gz *šarnəʕat* 'scab, malignant ulcer', Ak {Sd.} *šennettu* ~ *šernettu*, {CAD} *šennītu* ~ *širnītu* 'ε skin disease' ¶ KB 989, Tal 744, JA 1272, L G 564, Sd. 1090, 1588, CAD XVI 127, MiK I #1.257 ◇ If we accept the Lz cognate and reject the questionable comparison with S, the N rec. must be **čar∇*, but if the S cognate rather than the K one is recognized, the rec. is **čar∇* ◇ IS 205 [#45] **C ar ∇* (= **Č ar ∇*) ◇ It is also possible that there were two N words: one beginning with **č-* and meaning 'hard, rough' and the other with **č'* (**c|č-*) and meaning 'crust', 'skin', or the like, both words coalescing in those lgs. that lost the difference between N **c-* and **c|č-*, which brought about the meaning 'hard crust' and sim.

312. **čER∇* 'small, little' > K: GZ **m-cir-e* 'little, small' ({K} d. with the derivational pattern **m(e)-...-e* that builds nomina of quality-bearers, *F* K 131) > OG, G *mcire* 'little, small, few', Mg *cira* 'girl' ¶ K 140-1, K² 129 || U: FP **čEr∇* 'small' > Chr H {Rm.} *cərä* 'sehr fein, sehr dünn', Chr L {MRS} *чыр* 'small', 'short' (of time), {Ü} *чырык гына* 'a wee bit, чуточку' | pPrm {LG} **čir-* > Z *čir* 'tiny particle\grain (мельчайшая частица, крупица)', Prmk *tu'run-čir* 'feines Heustreu', ? Vt *чыры čir+*, *чыры-пыры čir+pir+*, Vt Kz *čzr(i)-pzi* 'Kleinigkeit, Kleinsachen' ¶ UEW 615, MRS 685, LG 306-7 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc only) **sk̑ker-* (+exts.) 'lean', v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel' (× N **čUr∇* 'narrow' [q.v.]) > NNr *skrāna* (< Gmc **skrahanan*) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG *schrā*, NGr NrF *schrāh* (both from

Gmc *skrēxa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrá (< *skraho) 'thin leather', NE Ork (← NrGmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinna (< *skrenθa-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG schrāde 'dünn, mager, kümmerlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1.

313. ?σ *cURV 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)' > HS: WS *-sūr- ~ *sīr- 'go away, leave' > BHb -sūr- 'leave, deviate', Hb/Ph/Pun ✓ sūr Sh 'remove', ?σ SmA ✓ sūr 'turn aside', ?σ JA ✓ sūr G {Js.} 'turn around\away, go astray', JEA ✓ sūr G {Js.} 'turn aside', Ar ✓ syr (ip. -sīr-) 'go, walk, go away, leave', Ar NY ✓ ysir (ip. -sīr) 'go', Mh {Jo.} ✓ syr (pf. s3yūr, sbj. y3syēr), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ syr 'go' ¶ KB 706-7, HJ 781, Sl. 797, Tal 576, Js. 969, BK I 1174-5, Bns. NJ I 200, Jo. M 355 ¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 3 (Hb ✓ sūr Hiph'il 'remove' ÷ Irq -cawār- 'choose') || K: GZ *čur- vi. 'swim' > OG cur- id., G cur- v. 'swim, slide', Mg (n)čur-, Lz (n)čur- ~ (n)čvir- ~ nčir- ~ mčvi(r)- 'swim' ¶ K 230, K² 273-4, FS K 414-5, FS E 466-7, Chx. 2031-2 || A: Tg: Lm çordun- vi. 'gallop' (of animals), WrMc curçun 'flight (of birds from place to another)' ¶ STM II 409, 417.

314. *c'awe'rV 'finger, hand' > K: GZ *čēr- 'thumb' > G cer-, Mg čan(č)- id. (Mg -a- pointing to a pK *ē) ¶ K 228, K² 271, FS K 414-5 || HS: ?σ S *°✓s|šwār > Ar siwār- (pl. sūr-) 'armring', ?aswār- id. ¶ BK I 1163 || ?φ WCh {Stl.} *sārV 'hand' > AG: Su {J} sār, Gmy šā, Ang {ChL}, Kfr {Nt.} sar | BT: Krkr, Bl, Ngm, Maha sara, Krf šārā ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 179 [#314], ChC, ChL || A: NrTg *çaratkī 'toe, (?) finger' > Ewk çaratkī ~ çirat-kī 'toe', Sln {Iv.} ča'ratki, Neg {PSchm.} čayatlī 'finger' ¶ STM II 385 || D *čēr- ~ *čēr- ({θGS} *c-) 'handful' > Tm cērāi id., cērāi 'palmful (quantity that can be held in the hollow of the palm)', Kt de'r 'handful (with open hand)', Kn sārē ~ se(:)re, Tu se(:)ræ 'the palm of hand bent so as to receive\hold anyth.', Tl cērā 'the hand hold so as to contain anyth.', cērēđu 'handful', Gnd\Ku hera, Knd sēra id. ¶¶ D #2821 ◇ In addition, one should pay attention to S *°✓šr > Mh {Jo.} š3'rayn 'leg', {Nak.} 'šrayn (pl. š3'rant3n) 'leg, foot', Sq {Jo.} 'š3r3hān 'legs' (Jo. M 182, Nak. 9). If S *°✓šr belongs here (?σ), but Ar siwār-, aswār- and WCh *sāra are not, the N rec. may be *čaRrV (with N *r responsible for the length of the vw. in K and D, but the quality of the K and D vw. *ē remains unexplained). Ar ✓ sūr and WCh *sāra rule out a pN *č- (N *č- yields WCh *č-, see items ##448, 458, and 465a). For

semantic reasons WCh *sār∇ 'hand' and Ar siwār-'armring' are preferable as cognates (more than the SES root for 'leg'), therefore we have to reject a N rec. with an initial *ĉ-.

315. ${}_2$ *ĉæŕ∇ 'to burn sth.' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{sr}}$ (or * $\sqrt{\text{šr}}$) > Ar $\sqrt{\text{sr}}$ (pf. saŕara) v. 'kindle' ¶ BK I 1091-2 || U: FU * $\sqrt{\text{ä|er}}$ > ObU *ĉēr-'verbrennen' > pVg *ĉār∇y- > Vg: T ĉirāy-, LK šārāy-, MK/P/NV/LL šārāy-, UL śary-, Ss śariy- id.; pOs *ĉērāy- ~ *ĉērāy-, *ĉēr∇ ({Hl.} *-ī-) > Os: Nz śārīy-, Kz śārī-, O śārī- 'verbrennen', Nz śara, Kz śar, O śār 'verbranntes Stück' ¶ Ht. #84 || K: AdS (accounting for the meaning 'fever') of OG, G cχrō- 'fever', Lz čēčχur- 'fever' < K (GZ) *čχrō- 'cold, fever' < N ?σ *cAR_L∇_L∇_L∇ - *cA_YR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' ¶ K 232-3, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369.

316. *ĉoh_{2L}∇_Lr∇ 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *c∇H∇r 'dew' > pAG {Sch.} *səʒə₁r id. > Su {J} sǝǝǝr, Ang {Sch.} sēr ({Hf.} sɛɛr, {Flk.} sūr), Kfr M səʒə₃r, Gmy {Sch.} šēr id. || BT: Krkr {Sch.} sèwǝr, ? Bole {ChL} sǝnsori, ? Ngm činčir, Gera {Sch.} sǝnsǝri id. || SBc: Gj sisil, Plc sisor, Buli, Sy sisorə, Dw susūr id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 183 [#347], Hf. AG 20 [#107], Sch. ChV 48 || S: Ar sarīy- (pl. ʔasriyat-, suryān-) {Ln.} 'rivulet, streamlet' ¶ Ln. 1356, Fr. II 313 ([Qam.] 'rivulus qui ad palmas deductus est'), BK I 1086 ('rigole creusée au pied d'un palmier pour l'arroser') || K *cwar-/*cur- 'drip, flow' > OG cwar- / cur- v. 'drip', Sv {Zhgh.} li-cūr-e 'to flow'; *cwar- 'drop, drop of dew' > OG cwar- 'drop, dew', G cvar- 'dew', Mg cunž-i ~ cund-i 'dew', Sv cwar 'drop' (< pK or ← G) ¶¶ K 224, K² 265, FS K 399, FS E 449, GM S 451, Q 371, Zhgh. SP 79 || U: FU *ĉor∇ 'leak, flow, drip' (× N [?] *ĉor∇ 'to drip, to trickle') > F soro 'a falling drop', sorotta- v. 'drip' || ObU {Ht.} *ĉṽrāy- > pVg {Ht.} *ĉūrṽ- 'flow, leak, drip' ({MK} 'fließen, rinnen, tröpfeln', {BV} 'течь, сочиться') > Vg: T ĉork-, K šorṽ-, Yk {Vxr.} šarj- ~ šürj-, P šurr- ~ šürr-, Ss cypṛ- šurṽ-; pOs {Ht.} *ĉorāy- v. 'flow' > Vy çorāy-, D çāra & çōra-, Nz šōrīy-, Kz šōrī-, O šārī- || Hg csorog-, csurog- v. 'flow, drip', csordul- 'spill, overflow', csurran- 'spill, pour out, drip' ¶ ≈ UEW 40 (U *ĉor∇), MF 123, Ht. #87, MK 607, BV 111 ¶ Hardly here (⇔ UEW and IS) Sm: Ne T cypṛmḃāc 'to run', Slq N šormba- 'tropfen, fließen', etc., because they go back to pSm {Jn.} *kūr(ḃ)- 'run' (Jn. 79-80) || A: [1] NTg *çurg_Lī_L- > Ewk çurgī- vi. 'drip, leak', çurgī n. 'drop', Lm čurgḃ- vi. 'drip, flow' || [2] A *çṽr- 'pour, stream' (× N [?] *ĉor∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D

*ĉōr-/*ĉōr- 'trickle, pour, flow down' > Tm cōr- vi. 'trickle down, drop, ooze out', cori v. 'flow down, rain, spill', Ml cōruka vi. 'flow, ooze, tickle, leak', coriyuka vi. 'flow down, pour, shower', Kt 3ōr- 'run in streams', Kn sōr vi. 'drop, drip, trickle, ooze', suri vi. 'flow, drop, pour (as tears)', Kdg Δ ĉōr-, Krg 3ōri vi. 'leak', Tl sōruni vi. 'leak, ooze, run', Gdb ĉōr- 'pour' (of water), Gnd 3ōree 'the flowing of a liquid', Krx ĉurχ- vt. 'pour, let fall in drops, leak', Mlt ĉurge 'ooze out, fall in drops', Brh ĉurriṅ vi. 'flow, gush'; the meaning 'flow' may be partially induced by a paronymous reflex of N *3ū́r'ú' 'to stream' ||| cp. also D *ĉōr- 'trickle, drip' (< N [?] *ĉór∇ '↑') ¶¶ D ##2883, 2893 ◇ IS I 198 [#35]. N *ĉ- regularly yields U *ĉ- (⇔ IS, who considered this reflex an exception). If Ar sariy- 'rivulet, streamlet' belongs here (which is highly doubtful), the N lr. must have been *ʔ or *h.


317. ?σ₂ *c∇R₁∇₁∇∇ - *c∇∇R∇∇ 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' > HS: S *°√s|š̄s̄r 'fever, painful heat' > Ar safir- 'douloureux, cuisant', √s̄s̄r (pf. sašara) 'communiquer la maladie l'un à l'autre', 'brûler, causer une douleur cuisante' (influenced by the homonymous root √s̄s̄r 'ignite'), sufir- 'contagion, miasmes', safir-at- 'toux' ¶ BK I 1091-2 ||| K: GZ *ĉχro- {K²} 'cold, chill; shivering' > OG, G cχro- 'fever' ({DCh.} 'лихорадка', {Chx.} '[Wechsel-]Fieber, Malaria'), {K²} 'chill, shivering', Mg čχuru n. 'severe cold', čχur-i adj. 'cold', Lz čěčχur- (< *čče-čχur-) 'fever' ({K²} lit. 'fever-shivering'); (× N ? *č∇R?∇ 'hoarfrost') (mt.) K *°čχ|qar- > G T čχar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') ¶ K 232-3, K² 277, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369, Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 ||| see also U: FU *ĉar∇- 'frozen hard surface layer of snow' (from N *ĉar∇ or *ĉar∇ 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' [q.v.]?) > Z ĉarəm, Prmk cá'rəm, Yz ča'rúm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z ĉars 'hard ice crust on the snow' ||| cp. also Sm {Jn.} *s̄rā, {Hl.} *s̄ra 'snow' (from N *ž|ž'í'R_H∇ - *ž|ž'í'H₂R∇ 'be very cold' [q.v. ffd.] × N *ĉar∇ or *ĉar∇ '↑' [q.v.]) ¶¶ LG 302, UEW 464-5 (ties in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ sziroty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructs *šar∇ [in spite of Prm *ĉ-]), Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-3, Hl. M #891 ◇ If the Ar root √s̄s̄r is rejected, the initial N cns. may be reconstructed either as *c- or as *ĉ-, and the lr. is *χ|∇. Not

here IE *srīg- 'cold', HEC *sirga 'cold', and the abovementioned Hg word (see s.v. N *ṣ́R̥iḡka 'cold').

317a. *c̣ûR̥ḳ'a 'watch, (?) watch over' > IE: NaIE *swerg_l^h- 'watch over, be concerned about' > ON sorg, OHG s(ω)orga, AS sorz 'sorrow, care (angor, cura)' (> NE sorrow), ON syrgja 'to be concerned about', AS sorzian 'to grieve, to be anxious about', Gt saurga 'sorrow, care' || Pru but-sargs 'householder', absergīsnan 'protection', Olt, Lt sérgēti (prs.: Olt sérgmi, Lt sérgiu), Lt Δ sergēti 'to guard, to keep (behüten, bewahren)', Lt sargà '(Schild)wache, (Ob)hut', sargas 'Wächter, (Be)hüter', 'guard', Ltv saṛgs id., Pru absergīsnan accus. 'Schutz' || OI sūrksati 'takes care of' ¶ The IE variation *-we-/*-e- is explained by a kind of Schwebeablaut (*-we-/*-e- < **-ue-/**-eu- with loss of the glide before a sonant < N *u|ü) (see AD NVIE and NGIE) ¶ ≈ EI 636 (IE *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), MK II 495, Kb. 1007, Ho. 307, En. 136, 155, Frn. 762-3, 776-7 || K (reg. mt.): G cker-/ckir- 'blicken, schauen' ¶ Chx. 2034-5 || U: FU *c̣'ṛḳ 'look' > Chr L чурге 'čurge '(look, stare) fixedly, intently' || Prm *žurk- > Z zorg+- 'look\stare vacantly (as a new-born baby)', Δ zorg+- 'stare at one point, fix one's eyes', Vt Δ žurkk+ učk- 'stare at one point, look vacantly (as a new-born baby)' ¶ LG 92, MarR 679.

318. *c̣'ā'ṛ̣ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate (cacare), excrete' > HS: S *°√ syr > Mh √ syr T (pf. 'satyṛ) 'have diarrhoea', ShT (pf. 3st3yur) 'go to stool, to excrete' ¶ Jo. M 355 || IE *sḳer(-d^h)- 'defecate (cacare), excrete; dung, excrements', {partially according to EI} *soḳṛ- (gen. *s(e)ḳ'n-os) 'excrement, dung' (metanalysis reintepreting -r- as a heteroclitic sx.?) (× N *c̣Uyṛ 'rot, stink' [q.v.]) > YAv sairya- 'dung, manure (Dünger, Mist)', MPrs sargēn, NPrs سرگین sārgīn 'dung' || OI sardhatē 'farts'; ? chṛṇatti, chardayati 'vomits' || Gk σκῶρ, gen. σκατός 'dung' || L mūscerda 'mouse-dung' (metanalysis mūs-scerda > mūs-cerda, whence būcerda 'cowdung', ovicerda 'sheep-dung', etc.) || Mir {WH, P < ?} sceirt- v. 'spit out, vomit' || ON skarn, MLG, MDt scharn, OFrs skern, AS scēarn 'dung, manure', NE sharn || Ltv sārņi pl. 'slag, dross, rubbish, faeces, menstua', Lt šárvas, pl. šárvai 'placenta, menstua' || Sl inf. *sbrati / prs. *serq ~ *seřq 'defecate' > SCr sràti /

sèrēm, Blg ce'pa, Slv sráti / sérjem, Cz sráti / seru (3s séře), P srač / siorę (2s sierzesz), R cpatb / cy (3s cpët ~ 'cepet) id.; R sor 'rubbish' || ? Ht sakkar (gen. sak-n-as) 'faeces' ¶¶ P 947-8, EI 186 (IE *'soḱr- [gen. *s(e)ḱ'n-0s] 'human excrement'), VI. II 284-5, M EI 557, ≈ M KI 409 and ≈ III 310, Brtl. 1568, McK 74, Sg. 677, F II 746, WH II 133-4, Vn. S 39, Vr. 485, OsS 781, Ho. 274, ≈ Frn. 966, ≈ Kar. II 156, Vs. III 720, 740, Glh. 573, Ts. W 67 || **U**: FU *čar∇ 'dung' (× N *śihařu 'dirt, earth', q.v.) > Os: Nz śor '(reindeer's) dung', Kz śor 'dung' || pMr {Ker.} *šarə- > *šārə- 'defecate' > Er šeřne-, Δ šārńa-, Mk šārāńđə- id. ¶ UEW 405-6, Ker. II 138 || **D** *čarap- 'cowdung' > Prj čarpi, Gdb sarpi ~ sađpi, Gnd sarāpi, sarāpi ~ sađāpī, Knd, Png, Mnd řāpi, Ku řāpi ~ rāpi id. ¶¶ D #2402b.

319. ₂ *čEt∇ 'to cover' > **HS**: WS (with ext.) *√str v. 'cover, hide' > BHb √str N 'hide, conceal', JA [Trg.] √str D id., SmA √str G 'hide oneself', JEA {Sl.} √str Sh 'conceal', Sr  sa'tīr ps. prt. 'concealed', Ar √str v. G 'veil, conceal, hide', Gz √str 'hide, conceal' ¶ KB 728-9, BDB #5641, Js. 1032-3, Ln. 1304, L G 518, Sl. 834, Tal 614, Br. 503, JPS 394 || **IE**: NaIE *(s)ḱed- 'cover' > OI Λ 'chadati, OI cha'dayati v. caus. 'covers, wraps', cha'd-iṣ- n. 'lid, cover', Av sadayantī- 'ē part of garment' || ? Gmc (without *s mobile): MHG hāz 'garment, cloth', NGr Sw hās, gehās 'Kleidung, Wäsche', AS hāteru pl. 'clothes', NE hater ¶ M KI 403, M EI 554-5, Ho. 146, OsS 377, Lx. 82, ≈ WP II 558, ≈ P 919 ◇ IS I 198-9 [#36].

320. *cow∇ 'look at, look after, protect\guard' > **K**: GZ *čew- / *čw- v. 'protect, take care, watch' > OG cev-/cv- id., G (da-)cav-/cv- 'protect (verteidigen, schützen)', Mg č(w)- v. 'preserve, keep safe; take care; hide', Lz č(v)- v. 'watch, wait' ¶¶ K 229, K² 270 (unc.: + Sv li-lče, actually Sv UB/L li-lče, Sv Ln li-leče msd. 'preserve, defend, guard [watch over]'), Chik. 372-3, FS K 405-6, 417-8, GP 158, Chx. 1971, TK 440 || **IE**: NaIE *(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)' > Arm gnlgawñb c^huc^hanem v. 'show, indicate, point out', gnjg c^hoyc^h 'showing, indication' || Gk Hm {Ch.} θυο-σκόοz 'prêtre qui examine les sacrifices' || ON skodǣa 'to behold, to inspect', WGmc {Vr.} *skauwōn > OSx skauwon, MDt scouwen, Dt schouwen 'to inspect, to view', OHG scouwōn 'to see, to look' (> NHG schauen), AS scēawian 'look at, behold', NE show || Pru au-schauditwei 'vertrauen', auschaudīsnan, auschaudisnan · "Zuversicht, Treue, Hoffnung"

||| without *s-: L $\kappa\alpha\nu\bar{\epsilon}$ - 'be on one's guard, beware, take care for' ||| OI $\kappa\alpha'\nu\iota$ - 'wise, skilful; seer, sage, poet', $\bar{\alpha}$ - $\kappa\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 'beabsichtigt' ||| Gk $\kappa\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'I notice, hear' ||| ? SI *čŭ-ti (1s prs. *čŭj-ŋ) 'to feel, to perceive' > OCS $\Upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$ čuti / $\Upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$ čujŋ 'feel, notice, learn (noscere)', OR $\Upsilon\delta\tau\eta$ čuti 'to feel, to hear, to understand', SCr čŭti, Uk чутти 'to feel, to hear', Blr чутць, Slv čúti, Slk ро-čut' 'to hear', Blg чүя 'I feel hear', Cz čít, P czuć 'to feel', R чүю 1s 'I feel' \rightarrow inf. чүять 'to feel' ¶ P 587-8, Ch. 448, 551, Slr. 268-9, Ho. 275, DM 638, Vr. 496, Vr. N 62, Skeat 559, Kb. 890, M K I 187-8, WH I 186-7, En. 148, Tr. P A-D 161-3, Vs. IV 390, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 ||| D *čōv-/-pp- v. 'watch, notice' > Kn $\sigma\bar{o}\nu\upsilon$, $\sigma\bar{o}\eta\epsilon$ 'trace, mark, sign', Tu $\sigma\bar{o}\nu\upsilon$ 'spying, watching, observing secretly; trace, mark, sign', Kui 𐎗𐎠𐎢𐎡 v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶¶ D #2892 ◊ IS MS 367 s.v. *č h w h 'стеречь'.

321. *čaw'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > K *c w- v. 'put on\in\into, wear, string\hang (on)' > OG c w-, šta-c w- v. 'put on', a y-c w- 'hineinstecken', še-c w- v. 'string (on sth.)', G c v- 'put on, string', Mg cun- {FS} 'verschließen', mo-cun- v. 'put on', o-cun- 'darinstoßen', Lz o-con- 'auffädeln, aufreihen', do-cun- 'hineinstoßen', Sv xa-c w-e 'er hängt es daran', Sv UB li-c w-em 'to hang (sth.) on the back', {GP} 'to shoulder (sth.)' ¶¶ FS K 396, FS E 448, K 226, K² 264, Chx. 1994-6, 2048, GP 183, TK 475 ||| HS: S * \check{c} swy > BHb 𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍 mas'wē 'covering, veil, hull', MHb 𐤍𐤏𐤍 mas'wē {Js.} 'cover, sheath', Pun (pl.) mswy^pt 'clothing, dress'; BHb sū-t* 'garment' (+ppa.: 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 sū't-ō 'his garment'), Ph swt 'garment', Pun *swyh (cs. swyt) 'veil, curtain (?)', SmA 𐤍𐤏𐤍 msw, 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 msw h n. 'veil' ¶ KB 572, 707, KBR 605, 749, HJ 663, 780-1, Js. 804, Tal 573 ||| Eg s {EG} hier. *'ein Tuch', {Gard.} hier. *'folded cloth' ¶ EG IV 1, Gard. 507 [#S-29] ||| C: Ag {Ap.} *sä-: *sä-t- v. 'dress oneself', caus. *sä-s- v. 'dress so.' > Bln {R} sθ-r-, Xm {R} s i-t-, Km {Ap.} sey-, Aw {Ap.} set-/sey-/sít- 'dress oneself', Bln {R} sθ-s-, Xm {R} s i-s-, Q {R} sθ-š- vt. 'dress' ||| SC: ? Irq {Wh.} -čī-t- 'wear', {Mgw.} -čī-t- v. 'dress', -čī-t-ís v. 'clothe' ¶ R WB 291-2, Ap. AV 18, Wh. SI, Mgw 103 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 4 (treats Irq and SC *č as c) ||| IE *(s)k_Lh₁euH- ({EI} *(s)keu(H)-) 'cover, wrap' > NaIE *(s)k^heuā- ~ *(s)k^hēuā- v. 'cover' > Arm ցիւ c^hi w 'roof, tiling'; from *k^heu-: Arm խոնց χuc^h 'cot, hut, cell, small room' ||| Gk ἐπι-σκούλον 'the skin of the brows which is knitted in frowning', ρσκούλα pl. 'eyebrows', σκούλος 'animal's skin, hide', ? κῶαϛ (pl. κῶεα) 'fleece' ||| Gmc: [1] AS scu(w)a

'shadow, darkness, protection', OHG scūwo 'shade (umbra)', ON skuggi id., 'mirror', Gt skuggwa 'mirror', ON skja-r 'transparent calf skin used to close windows', skjá 'window closed with a transparent film'; [2] ?? ON ský (< * skeyyo-) 'cloud, clouding', OSx skio 'Wolkendecke', AS scīo 'cloud' (unless ÷ OIr céo 'fog') ||| Sl * xovā- v. 'hide; take care of' > Cz chovati id., Slk chovat' 'to feed, to keep (livestock)', 'to conceal, to keep', Hls chowac 'to keep, to conceal, to hide', OP, P chowac 'to hide, to conceal; to feed; to bury', OR XIV $\text{χОВАТΗΣΑ (ВЪ ΖΑΚΟΝΈ ΣΒΟΕΜΈ)}$ 'to keep oneself (in one's religion)' (sc. 'to remain faithful to one's religion'), R S/W/Psk/Kl хо'вать 'to bury, to hide, to conceal', R Tv/Rz ху'вать 'to hide', Uk хо'вати , Blr ха'ваць 'to hide, to keep, to bury', OCrt K hovati 'to put, to place' ||| OI [Dhat., Bhatt.] sku- v. 'cover', skunāti 'covers', KhS {Bai.} бу-скве 'covered', khauca 'covering, face' ¶ Mayrhofer (M K III 508, M E II 751) rejects the connection of the OI $\sqrt{\text{sku-}}$ with words for 'skin', because skunāti 'covers' is "vereinzelt und jung", but the late attestation of the OI word does not rule out its ancient origin (confirmed within Iir by the KhS cognate) ¶ WP II 546-8, P 951-3, EI 134, MW 1257, Bai. 76, 301, FI 541, Ch. 360, Ho. 279, 284, Ho. S 66, Vr. 506, 508, Kb. 902Fs. 435, Slr. 338-9, ESSJ VIII 86-8 (all of them do not mention the connection of Sl * xov- with the IE $\sqrt{\text{}}$ in question), Srz. III 1377 ¶ NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (ON - ggj- , Gt - ggw-) points to the presence of a lr. || D * $\text{cava}li$ 'cloth' (× N * č'aru'ba 'cloth, sack', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (yielding ON - ggj- and Gt - ggw-) points to the presence of an IE lr., which is likely to go back to N * h (a lr. liable to be lost in HS and K).

322. ?σ * $\text{cā}|\text{oχ}û$ '≈ mix, process grains' > K: GZ * ceχ- v. 'thresh, knead', {K²} 'remove stubble' > OG sa-ceχu-el- 'mowing board', {FS} $\text{sa-ceχw}l-$ 'flail', G I/G {Chx.} v. ceχ- 'husk (e.g. maize), cruck (rice)', G {DCh.} ceχ- 'thresh', {K²} ceχ- 'remove stubble', Mg caχ- 'knead' ({Q} 'мѣснть'), {K²} 'grind, crush' ¶ FS K 397-8, FS E 447, K² 264, Chx. 1994, DCh. 1994, Q 370 || HS: C: Bj $\sqrt{\text{šw}}y$ {R} 'mix, add' ({R} 1s: p. $\text{a'šāw}i \sim \text{a'šā}û$, pqp. ī'šwa , prs. $\text{eš}u'w\bar{i} \sim \text{ēš}w\bar{i}$) ¶ R Wbd 218-9 || ?σ S: Ar $\sqrt{\text{sħħ}}$ 'flog, strike' ¶ Ln. 1313 || ?σ IE: NaIE * skēy- 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)', 'stochern' > OI {MW} sku- 'pluck, pick, poke, tear': Vd coškūyatē 'stöbert auf, bringt durcheinander, stochert', OI [ŠB] \bar{a} skauti 'verkleinert durch Stochern', [Ap.] danta-

skavana 'das Stochern in den Zähnen', KhS buṣkuta 'burst' || ?σ AdS of Blt *skū- ~ *skūt- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (mt. from NaIE *kes- / *kseu- v. 'scratch, comb' < N *ka'č'U 'to scratch, to scrape off scales', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 552-3, P 954, M K III 508, M E II 751, MW 1257, Bai. 300 ◇ Qu. (loose semantic connections).

323. *č'ī'χE 'sweep, rub\scratch away' > HS: CS *✓sḥy 'sweep (away)' > Ar ✓sḥy 'sweep away', BHb 𐤀𐤇𐤁 ✓sḥy|w N (ip. 3 p m yis'sā'hū) 'be swept away', ✓sḥw|y D 'sweep away', sə'hī 'litter', SmA ✓sḥy G 'wash', JEA {Sl.} ✓sḥy G 'wash oneself, bathe', JA, SmA ✓sḥy D 'wash, cleanse, bathe' ¶ KB 707, Sl. 797, Tal 576-7, Js. 971, BK I 1063-4 || A: Tg: Ewk qī- 'scratch away, clean away' ¶ STM II 388 || D *č'ī- ({θGS} *c|č|s-) > Tm cī v. 'sweep off, brush away, wipe off', cīy 'sweep', Gnd heyānā 𐌆 hey- 𐌆 hay- 𐌆 ey- id., Krx č'ī:č' 'rub with sth. soft for cleaning, wipe away', Mlt {Drs.} cīcē v. 'wipe, clean' ¶¶ D #2599 || IE: ?φ Ht s an h- 'sweep, wipe away' ¶ Frd. HW 182, Ts. W 70.

324. *ča or ***ca** (= *Hič|ča?), a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) > HS: C: EC: Or -ičča 𐌆 -iča, sx. of singlt. m., Brj -aččo, -iččo, -čo, -čča, Sd -iččo, -ičča, -čo, Kmb -(č)ču, Alb -čo, Hd -∇(č)čo, Dsn -(∇)č id. || ?? Dhl -žē id. ¶ It belongs here unless it goes back to *-ay-t- (singlt. *-ay- [as -ay- in Bj: ta'wīg-ay- 'a mosquito' ↔ taweg 'mosquitos'] + HS singlt. *-at- > pS *-at- id., Sa -t- id. [{R} adam-to 'a man', etc.]) ¶ Zab. MNPC 3, 21, 125, 133-4, 219-24, To. DL 75 || IE: NaIE *-isk-, sx. of relative adjectives: Gmc *-isk-, Lt -iška-, Sl *-bšk-: Gt mannisk 'männlich', OHG irdisc 'irdisch', Lt dėvišk 'göttlich', OCS нѣбесьскъ něbesьskъ 'himmlisch', as well as ? Gk -ισκο- dim. (παίδισκος 'child' [dim.]) and possibly amb Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g- -c^h- ¶ Brg. KVG 327, Me. EAC 71-2 || U *-č∇, qualifying sx.: F karitsa 'lamb' (cp. karja 'cattle?'), Mr kurća 'shoulder yoke' (cp. Prm {LG} *ker 'beam' > Z ker, Vt kor), Chr L kuw b l c b 'hen capercalzie' (a qualifying sx. used to denote a female), Os: O āpśi, Kz apśi, Nz apāsa 'younger brother, nephew (younger than ego)', as well as Vg: N/ML {MK} āpśi ~ apśi, Ss апси apśi id. ({MK} ← Os) (cp. Vg: N/ML āpīθ ~ apīθ, Ss апыг 'nephew, grandson') || Ne -č, -če, dimin. sx. ¶¶ SSA I 313, Lh. 206, 212-3, Stn. D 150, MK 46, BV 17 || A: NaT [1] *-ç, sx. of diminutives and forms of endearment: OT ögüčüm 'mein Mütterchen' (←d ög 'mother'), atačim 'mein Väterchen' (←d ata 'father') (Gbn. ATG 59), atač 'das Kind, das

den Vater spielt', anač 'Mädchen, das die Mutter spielt' (Rm. EAS II 215), etc.; [2] *-ça/-čä, diminutive and intensive > OT: anča 'ein Paar', azraq-čā 'ganz wenig' (Gbn. ATG 59-60, Deny § 517) (acc. to IS), [3] *-çI/-çî, sx. of n. agentis (trade, etc.) (× N *č'ü' 'that of..., that which') (J SGTJM 144-6, Kon. GJTRP 84-6, Gbn. ATG 60) || Tg ≈ *-čan: Rm. mentions Nn diminutive -ča (amača, abača 'Väterchen', mamača 'Mamachen' [mama 'old woman']), but in grammars and dictionaries of the Tg lgs. I have found only Nn {On.} mamačān 'old woman' (dim.) ÷ Ul {Sun.} mama-ča(n) 'old woman', cp. also Ewk -çikān (including Tg dim. *-kān, e.g. oronçikān 'young of a reindeer' ← oron 'reindeer') J Rm. EAS II 215-8, On. 256, Sun. UJ 212, Vas. 797 || Ko {Rm.} -čî: apačî [abažî] 'Väterchen', ə₁mə₁čî [ə₁mə₁žî] 'Mütterchen' JJ Rm. EAS II 215-8 ◇ IS I 204 (N *-č̣a) ◇ The N rec. *Hic|č̣a is based on the presence of *i in IE *-isk- and in EC ≈ *-ič-. It is quite possible that the N pc. *č̣|č̣a (= *Hic|č̣a?) goes back to the N noun *H₁icχ∇ → *-č̣- (→ *H₁icΓ|h∇) 'father, head of a family' (q.v. ffd.). A semantic parallel: Ar ʔabū 'father' as a marker of relative constructions, as well as the use of words for 'son' in similar constructions in Hb, Aram, Berber, and Chinese.

325. ₂ *č̣æ 'away, downward' > K: GZ *č̣a- 'downward, away' > OG, G č̣a- pv. 'away', Mg, Lz ç̣o- pv. 'downward'; -d→ GZ *č̣a-re- (~ *č̣a-le-?) adv. 'downward' > OG preverb ç̣ar-, G adv. ç̣are, Mg, Lz ç̣ale J *-re is a morpheme of adverbs of place, e.g. GZ *g̣a-re 'outside' (> OG g̣are, Mg, Lz g̣ale) J K 59, 241-2 || IE: NaIE *^osḱ- > Sl *sḱ (+ gen. [< abl.]) prep. 'downward from' > OCS, OR cḱ sḱ, R c / c̣o, OCz, Cz, OP s / se, SCr s / sa, (× Sl *j̣ḅz 'from'): Uk z, P z / ze, Slk z / zo; preverb *sḱ- 'downward from sth.' > OCS, OR cḱ- sḱ-, R c- / c̣o-, Uk c- / z-, P ze- / s-, OCz, Cz s- / se-, Slk z- / s-, Slv s-, Blg c- || possibly Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g- -c^h- (× IE adjectival suffix *-isk- < N *č̣a → *č̣a, a marker of relative constructions [q.v.]) J Me. EAC 71-2, ≈ Vs. III 540 (unc.: Sl *sḱ < NaIE *ḳom 'with'), ≈ ESISJ-SGZ I 244-6, 249-55 (unjustified rec. of *-n in Sl *sḱn), Rcz. 437.

326. *č̣|č̣i or *č̣|č̣i, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > IE sx. *-sḱ-, a marker of iterativity\frequency > AnIE: Ht iterative sx. -sk- (denoting iterative and durative stems), Lw, HrLw, Pal -ss-, -s- 'id. (?)' || NaIE *^osḱ- > Tc: B -sk-/-ṣṣ-, A -s-, caus. sx. (← iterative-intensive): Tc B {KT} rittäṣṣäm 'verbindet', 3p rittäskem 'verbinden' vs. rittetär 'paßt sich, ist verbunden', also without caus.

meaning: {Ad.} ä n ä s k e m 'we breathe'] in most other branches of NaIE $*\text{-s}\bar{k}$ - functions as a marker of the ip. aspect ("present"): $*\text{g}\bar{m}\text{-}'\text{s}\bar{k}\text{-eti}$ ({Bks.} $*\text{g}^{\omega}\text{m-}'\text{ske}$) 'goes, is going' > OI 'ga-cch-ati , Av (3s) jasaiti id., Gk (1s) $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ id., NaIE $*\text{g}\bar{n}\bar{o}\text{-s}\bar{k}\text{-}\bar{o}$ ({Bks.} $*\text{g}\bar{n}h_3\text{-}'\text{ske}$) 'I recognize, know' > L (g)noscō, Gk Ep $\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ id., OPrs xšnā-s-ātiy 'noscat', NaIE $*\text{pr}\bar{k}\text{-}'\text{s}\bar{k}\text{-}\bar{o}$ 'I ask' > OI $\text{pr}\bar{o}\text{c}'\text{chāmi}$ id., L poscō 'I ask, request', OHG foriscōn (> NHG forschen) 'to explore, to inquire', NaIE $*\text{is-}'\text{s}\bar{k}\text{-ti}$ 'he requires, looks for' > OI $\text{ic}'\text{chati}$ 'requires', fossilized as part of the stem in Sl $*\text{j}\bar{b}\text{skati}$ 'to look for' (> OCS ИСКАТИ iskati , R ис'каты , etc.), Lt ieškóti id., OHG eiscōn 'to require' (> NHG heischen id.), AS āscian 'to ask, to require' (> NE ask) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 519-620, Szem. EVS-70 253-4, Bks. 228, Bks. VT 271, 274, Kb. 280, Vn. A 86, Ivn. OPA 139-72, Bn. TIE 96, KT 174-5, Ad. H 76-8, Ad. 292, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Frd. HEB I 140-1, Mer. SGA 330-1 || U: FU $*\text{-}\acute{c}\text{e-}$, sx. of frequentative verbs: F -tse (with partial loss of clear frequentative semantics): ruoskitse- v. 'flog, whip', 'give a terrible beating' || Lp Vfs {Lgc.} -š- , sx. of durative verbs and verbs of state: $\text{g}_\omega\text{'a'ryašit}$ v. 'lie' (cp. $\text{g}_\omega\text{'r}\bar{y}\bar{y}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ 'lie down') || Mk -šə- , Er -še- , sx. of frequentativity: Mk $\text{m}\bar{o}\text{r-šə-}$ v. 'use to sing', $\text{p}\bar{i}\bar{l}\text{-šə-}$ v. 'saw frequently', Er $\text{y}\bar{a}\text{k-še-}$ v. 'stop frequently', {Ps.} $\text{so}\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{e}\text{-ms}$, $\text{su}\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{i}\text{-ms}$, frq. from $\text{su}\bar{v}\bar{a}\text{ms}$ v. 'go in, enter' ||| ObU $*\text{'}\acute{c}$ ' > Vg N {Rmb.} -š- , -s- , sxs. of durative verbs: $\text{p}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{k}\acute{s}(a)\text{-}$ v. 'pray' (sc. 'be begging, imploring' [\leftarrow $\text{p}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{k}(u)\text{-}$ v. 'beg, implore']), $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{\eta}\bar{k}\text{s}(a)\text{-}$ v. 'be crawling, ползаты' (\leftarrow $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{\eta}\bar{k}(u)\text{-}$ v. 'crawl [in a certain direction], ползти'); ObU compound sx. $*\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{l}\text{-}$, marker of durative and iterative verbs > Os N -šl- : lāulašlem 'I am waiting' (durative of lāullem 'I wait'), Vg UL {Lh. [\leftarrow Mu.?]} $\text{ē}\bar{r}\bar{\gamma}\bar{é}\bar{s}\bar{l}\text{e}^{\text{?}}\bar{i}\bar{m}$ 'I sing now and then, I often sing' (\leftarrow $\text{ē}\bar{r}\bar{\gamma}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'sing') ¶ Lh. PUAS 218-22, Srb. IMMJ 229-30, Sz. 106, Rmb. 172-3 || A: M $*\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$, sx. of verbal intensivity: WrM $\text{kemke-c}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'break into pieces' \leftarrow kemke 'into pieces', compound sx. $*\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{a}\bar{g}\bar{a}\text{-}/\text{*}\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{e}\text{-}$, marker of polypersonality: WrM $\text{-c}\bar{a}\bar{g}\bar{a}\text{-}/\text{-c}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{e}\text{-}$, HIM $\text{-c}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{a}\text{-}/\text{-c}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{o}\text{-}/\text{-c}\bar{r}\bar{g}\bar{z}\bar{e}\text{-}/\text{-c}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{e}\text{-}$, e.g. WrM $\text{y}\bar{a}\text{buc}\bar{a}\bar{g}\bar{a}\text{-}$ v. 'walk\go' (of many people) \leftarrow $\text{y}\bar{a}\text{bu-}$ 'go, walk' ¶ Pp. GWM 63, 66, Snz. SMJ 66 || Tg $*\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$, sx. of intensive and durative verbs > Nn $\text{x}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'go on reading', Ul $\text{g}\bar{u}\bar{p}\bar{z}\bar{l}\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'shake (many times)', Lm $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\text{-}\acute{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'draw (with effort)' ¶ Bz. 119, Pt. UD 71 || HS: possibly (but not certainly) the S root-extension $*\text{-}\acute{c}\text{-}$, e.g. CS $*\text{✓šp}\bar{c}$ D (> JA, MHb $\text{✓šp}\bar{c}$ D v. 'repair'), cp. CS $*\text{✓šp}\bar{y}$

v. 'sweep bare' (> MHb שִׁפּוּץ ✓ špy, Ar ✓ sfy id.) ◇ This N pc. is likely to go back to some aux. verb (forming a construction that meant '≈ used to..., tries to...'), e.g. to the N verb *ĉih'i' ≈ carry, bring' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 206 (IE, U, A), ≈ Gr. I 206-9 ("conative SK" in IE + qu. FU {Sz.} *-sk- of frequentativity, intensivity, etc., + err. Tg conative *-ksi, ?? ChK, EA).

327. *ĉoXib ▽ 'belly' > HS: S *o✓çhb > Jb C šaħb 'belly under the navel' ¶ Jo. J 237 || U *ćoywa ~ *ćowya 'belly, stomach' > pLp {Lr.} *ćōvyē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoǎjje, L {LLO} tjaï'vē, N {N} čoaw'je / -ωj-, Kld čōvvy id. || Sm {Jn.} *ĉteyωb (Jn.} *t¹ejwā) 'stomach' > Ne: T TИВ, T O {Lh.} t¹i·β id., FL {Lh.} čje·β 'Pansen, Inhalt des Pansens'; Kms {KD} šūjž 'Magen, Bauch, Inneres', {Cs.} šöyö 'das Innere' ¶¶ Coll. CG 401, UEW 40, Lr. #180, Lgc. #667, Hs. 1326-7, Jn. 156-7, KD 66 || **D** (in GnD) *oĉipp- (GGS} *s|ś-) 'upper belly' > Gnd Ch sīpi id., Gnd B sīpī 'the part over the liver', Ku sīpa-ḏaki & hīpa-ḏaki 'chest' (cp. Kui ḏaki 'breastbone, chest') ¶ D #2620 ◇ D *-pp- < *-Xb-. In U the variant *ćowya (in Lp) is due to metathesis.

328. ₂ *ĉü|ub₁ ▽₁g ▽ 'dip in' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dye'), 'immerse' > HS: S *o✓çbψ v. 'dye, dip' > BHb, IA, BA צבב ✓ çbψ G, NNEA ✓ šbψ G v. 'dye', Ar صبغ ✓ šbψ v. G 'dye, dip', Sr ✓ šbψ G 'dip, moisten, dye', JA ✓ šbψ G 'dip; dye', JEA {Sl.} ✓ šbψ G id., 'moisten', SmA ✓ šbψ G 'wash, rinse', Md ✓ šbψ G 'baptize, immerse, dip in; dye', Gz ✓ šbχ G 'dip (into a sauce)', Sq {L} ✓ šbψ 'paint', Ak NB šābû 'dyer'; (× N *ĉE₁y₁p ▽ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow'): Ak fOB šabû 'to soak, to bathe' ¶ KB 937, 1768-9, KBR 998-9, HJ 958, Tal 720-1, Js. 1259, Lv. IV 165, Sl. 951, JPS 472, Br. 620, DM 388-9, BK I 1307-8, LG 546, CAD XIII 45-6, 55 || EC {Ss.} *çub₁ ▽₁ψ- (Ss.} *ĉ₁ubψ-) v. 'dip in' > Or {Ss., Th.} çup-/çub- id., {Grg.} čūp- (= čūp-) v. 'dip', Dbs ṭupaψ- v. 'swim', Ya ṭōb- v. 'sift', HEC: Brj {Hd.} čūb-, Ged {Hd.} čūp- 'immerse' (infl. of HEC *ĉēp- v. 'immerse' < N *ĉE₁y₁p ▽ '↑') || ?? Bj {R} -ĉif pcv. 'dye' (1s: p. a'ĉif, prs. aṛ'ĉif) ¶ Ss. PEC 30, Grg. 89, Th. 72, Hd. 184, 235, ≠ Hd. 83 (Brj, Ged < HEC *ĉēf-), R WBd 73 || B: Izd -zubb 'plonger la tête dans l'eau' ¶ Mrc. 196 ¶¶ But HEC *ĉep- v. 'immerse' is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with FU *ĉep ▽- v. 'immerse, drown' and M *ĉibki- v. 'dive, dip' from N *ĉE₁y₁p ▽ (q.v.) || **A**: NaT *çüb¹t' > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} čūwit, {DTS} čūwüt '(ε) dye-stuff', Tk çivit 'indigo, ultramarine', Tlt {Rl.} čibit 'ochre' ¶ Cl. 395, Rl. III 2155, TL 399 || ?σ

Tg *çop∇ ⇢ *çobb- v. 'drown, dive' > Ewk çop0- id., Neg çop tuk- v. 'disappear (in water), drown', Orc çubb3- vt. 'drown, immerse' ¶ STM II 408.

329. *çûd∇ 'point with a finger', (→) 'true, just' > K *°✓çwd > Sv ✓m-çod in Sv L maçwdi 'right, innocent, found not guilty' ¶ Dn. s.v. mçod || **HS:** WS *✓çdk, *-çdaç- > Hb ✓çdk G (çā¹daç / -çdaç-) 'be right, be in the right, be just', IA çdk G 'be (considered as) just', Amr {G} ✓şdk 'be just', JA ✓çdk G 'be right, true', JEA {Sl.} ✓çdk Sh 'make right\legal', Sr ✓çdk D (Sr çad¹deç 'justificavit'), SmA ✓şdk 'give charity', Ar ✓şdq G 'être vrai, sincère', Sb {BGMR} şdk v. (D ?, Sh) 'perform\fulfil (a duty\obligation), justify', Qtb {Rk.} şdk v. D ? 'grant one his due', Mn {MA} şdk id., 's'acquitter d'un devoir', Gz ✓şdk G (js. yaşdaç) 'be just \ justified\ righteous \ true'; WS *¹çid₁∇₁ç- (~ *¹çad₁∇₁ç-?) > BHb 'çedεç 'rightness, righteousness, justice', Ph/Yd/OA {HI} şdk 'correct \ justifiable conduct', legitimacy', Ug {OLS} 'justicia, legitimidad', {A} şdk 'Zuverlässigkeit, Tugend', Amr {G} şidç-um 'justice', SmA şdk 'righteousness, justice', Ar şidç- 'veritas, sinceritas', şadç- 'truth' (↳ Mh şadç id.), Sb şdk 'right, justice, justification, truth', Qt {Rk.} şdk 'goodwill, concurrence, favour', Mn {MA} şdk 'droit', Gz şadç 'justice, righteousness, truth'; BHb קִיָּצֵ çad¹dīç 'just, righteous', JA {Js.} çad¹dīç, çaddīç-ā 'virtuous, just, pious man', IA, JEA {Sl.} çad¹dīç 'righteous, righteous man', SmA şdyç 'righteous', Ph şdk 'legitimate', Pun şadyç 'correct\justifiable in conduct, legitimate', IA şdyç adj. 'being entitled to, having the right', n. 'just\righteous one', Ar şadīç- 'amicus, amicus sincerus' ¶ KBR 1003-7, BDB ##6659-66, HJ 961-4, A #2305, OLS 414, G A 34, Js. 1262-4, Sl. 952, Tal 724, Fr. I 488-9. L G 548, BGMR 141, Rk. 133-4, MA 93, Jo. M 35, Siv. GAG 269 || **D** [1] *çutç- / *çuntç- ({çGS} *s-) v. 'point at with the finger, show' (× N *çūç∇ 'finger, finger knuckle', q.v.) > Kn suççu 'point at with the finger', suççunbe 'the index finger', Kn, Tu cūçi, Tl sūçi 'aim', Tm cuççu v. 'point out, show, designate, indicate', Ml cuççu 'pointing', cūççuka v. 'point at, aim', Kui sūçça v. 'point with a finger', Ku hūçç hütali v. 'point out' || [2] *çutç- / *çūtç- ({çGS} *s-) 'clever' > Tm cuççi 'intelligent person', Ml cuççi, Kn sūççi 'smartness, quickness', Kn suççi 'clever, able', Td suççm 'cleverness, skill', Tu cuççi, suççi 'smart, clever', Tl sūççi 'clearheadedness' ¶¶ D ##2656, 2568.

330. ?σ *č_al^ʔE₁d∇ 'hunt, hunt for, wish' > HS: S *č_yd 'hunt, hunt for' > Ar ✓š_yd G 'chasser, prendre à la chasse (une bête fauve, etc.)', JEA ✓č_wd G 'catch creatures', Sb ✓š_yd G 'hunt, perform a ritual hunt', d.: Mh pf. ʒšt₃yūd, Jb E/C ʒš't₃d v. 'fish'; WS *č_ay₁∇₁d- n. 'hunt, hunting' > BHb 𐤒'𐤆 'čayid, JA 𐤍𐤒'𐤆 čêd-ā, Sr ʒay'd-ā id., Ar ʒayd-id., 'killed game', Md ʒaid 'Jagd, Fischfang', Ug ʒd 'killed game', Pun ʒd (??) 'sacrifice of game', Sb {Bil.} ʒd ~ ʒyd 'hunt; game, hunted animals', Mh ʒayd, Jb E ʒud, Jb C ʒod, Sq {Jo.} 'ʒodʒh 'fish'; d.: JA 𐤍𐤒'𐤆 čayyā'd-ā, Sr ʒayyā'd-ā, BHb 𐤒'𐤆 čay'yād (← Aram) 'hunter', JEA {Sl.} čayyā'd-ā 'fisherman', Ak ʒayād_u {Sd.} id., {CAD} 'stalker, stalking (hunter)', Mh ʒayyōd, Ar ʒayyād-, Sb ʒyd 'hunter', Jb E ʒəb'bedi, ʒəb'di, Jb C ʒēd 'fisherman' ¶ KB 956-7, HJ 959, A #2302, OLS 414, Js. 1274, Sl. 953, 959-60, Ln. 1753, BK I 1389, Bil. 421-2, Jo. M 369, Jo. J 243, Sd. 1075, CAD XVI 66 || Dh1 {E} ʒāṭikuδ- 'long for' || SC: (here?) Qz {E} salim- 'want, need' ¶ E SC 226 (SC *č_ād- 'want, need') || K *č_ād- v. 'wish, desire' > OG, G čad- v. 'wish, desire', Sv had- / hd(ω)- 'wish' (inf. li-hdω-i) ¶¶ K 242, K DE, K² 306, FS K 457, FS E 517-8 || U *č_āδa- v. 'rut' (×FU *č_āδa- v. 'run, race' [of animals] < N *č_aʳ'i'd∇ 'to advance with effort', q.v.) > FU: F ʒuota 'group of mares which are in heat', ʒuoti- v. 'rut, be in heat' (BF *ō < *ā) || Lp: N {N} čuodđe-/d- v. 'go outside the herd to look for female reindeer' (of a weak male reindeer), čuodđeli- 'set off to look for female reindeer' (of a male reindeer in the rutting season) || Prm: Z Vc ču3d-, StZ ч_уав-н_ы čua_v-n_ı, Z Ud čua|-, Yz ču'la| v. 'rut' || ? Sm: StNe T ca"e-, Ne BZ/W {Ter.} ʒa^ʔye-, Ne E/Y {Ter.} ʒaye-, T O {Lh.} sāy'ē- v. 'rut' (of mammals and birds) ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for č-), SK 1120-1, N I 428, LG 312-3 ¶¶ {UEW}: Z *-3d-, -a|-d-av- are sxs.

331. *č_aʳ'i'd∇ 'to advance with effort (run, climb, etc.), to step' > HS: WS *č_yd v. 'step, climb' > BHb 𐤒𐤆𐤆 ✓č_yd G 'stride solemnly, walk along (sth.), climb', 'caʳad 'step', Ar ✓š_yd (pf. ʒaʳida, ip. -ʒ_yad-) v. 'ascend, step' ('monter par degrés, monter sur une échelle; marcher d'un pas affecté et saccadé, marcher sur une pente; aller, se diriger [vers un lieu]'); possibly also ??σ d.: OYmn ʒ^ʳd ({Slw.} ʒuʳd) 'tripod (cooking-stand)', Ar Y ʒuʳd id., Ar D ʒuʳd 'âtre fait de trois pierres', Ar B {Stace} ʒuʳd 'cooking-stand for pots', Amh {L} ʒadē 'put a kettle\griddle on the fire (on the cooking-stand)' ¶ GB 688-9, KBR 1040, BK I 1337-8, Slw. 133, Lb. 2131, Stace 40, LEDG III 612 || ?φ C:

SC: Irq {Wh., Mgw, Wd.} -çaf-am- 'climb', Irq/Alg {E} -çafam- id., 'mount' ¶ Wh. SI, Mgw. 104, Wd. #381 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 2 (SC ÷ Hs çaya 'stand') || ?φ IE: NaIE *kʰad- or *kʰad- '≈ go, walk' > Gk χάζομαι 'go away, draw back, retire' ||| Sl *xodi- v. 'walk', n. act. *xodъ > OCS, OR ХОДЪ, Blg, R ход, SCr hōd, Slv hōd, Cz chod, P chód n. act. of 'walk'; OCS ХОДНТИ, Blg 'ходня, SCr hōditi, Slv hōditi, Cz choditi, P chodzić, R хо'дить 'to walk' ¶ F II 1061, Kzl. GSC 384, ≈ ESSJ VIII 48-52 (unconvincingly connects the Sl root with IE *sed- 'sit'), F II 1061 (no cognates of the Gk word) ||| U: FU *ćāḍa- ({UEW} *ćaḍa- ~ *śāḍa-) v. 'run, race' (of animals) (× U *ćāḍa- 'rut' < N ?σ *çalʷEd ▽ 'to hunt for, to wish', q.v.) > FU: Lp I {It.} 'ćúḍḍē 'Renntierstier, der besiegt wurde und der danach die Flucht ergriffen hat' | Prm: Z Δ ćulav- v. 'elapse, vorbeigehen' (of time), Prmk ćulav-, Prmk N ćulał-, Prmk In ćuav- ~ ćuḅav- 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen (z. B. an einer Kirche)', 'pass, be over, elapse' (of time, winter, etc.)' ||| Hg szalad- v. 'run, flee' ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for č-), SK 1120-1, N I 428, LG 312-3, KPR 547-8 ¶¶ {UEW}: Z *-al-ḍ-av- and Hg -ad- are sxs. ¶¶ Lp and Prm data suggest (or are compatible with) the rec. of U *ć-, while Hg sz- requires a special explanation ||| A: Tg *çidâ- v. 'run' (of animals) > Neg çtda- id., Ul čldu- ~ čldu- v. 'trot, gallop' (of horses) ¶ STM II 389-90 ◇ NaIE *kʰad- or *kʰad- belongs here if NaIE *kʰ- may go back to N *ç- or *ć- (cp. NaIE *kʰar- 'pointed, sharp', [?] 'rock' probably from N *ćor ▽ 'tip, top, edge' and NaIE *kʰol-d- 'cold' probably from N *C'a'ł ▽ [= *ć'a'ł ▽?] 'cold').

332. *ćuyḅä 'thorn' > K {K²} *cχwi- id., 'arrow' > Mg o-cχva-cχvi-n-aia 'thorny, burning' ({IS} 'needles of cereals') (IS: < *sa-cχwe-cχw-in- with rdp. of *cχw-), Sv: UB/LB/Ln cχwi, L cχu 'arrow' ¶¶ IS I 197, K² 26, TK 843, GP 277 ||| HS: S (+ext.) *o✓çfn > Ar muṣaṣṣan- 'terminé en pointe, effilé' (se dit, par ex., des oreilles de quelques animaux) ¶ BK I 1340 ||| IE: NaIE *skʰweǵl̥a- 'thorn', {EI} *skwēǵ-s (gen. *sku'y-os) 'needle of a conifer, thorn' > pAl {O} *skuna (with a secondary *n-sx. from earlier *skuya) > Al T hu 'stake, pole, ox-goad, penis', Al G hû, (with the article) huni 'penis' ||| Clt: OIr scé (gen. pl. sciad < *sk^hwiy-at-) 'thorny bush, haw (Crataegus)'; Brtt *spijāt- > OW dir ispidatten 'up to the thorny bush', MW yspydat '(bark of) haw', W {Vn.} yspyddaden 'Spinus albus, Spina acuta', yspyddad 'Santis,

Leucacanthé', Crn spethes, {Ern.} spedhes 'thorny shrubs', MBr spezaden snglt. 'groseille' || Lt skuja 'needle of a conifer', Ltv skujas (f. pl.) id. | SI *xvoja ~ *xvojь 'needles of a conifer' > OCz chvojě, Cz chvoje, R 'хвоя id., Slv hōja 'fir-tree, conifer', P choja 'conifer, pine-tree', Blg 'хвоя 'pine-tree'; SI *xujь 'penis' > Blg, R хуй, P chuј ¶ P 958, EI 80, Frn. 821, Vn. S 37, Ern. 642, O 150-1, Bern. I 408, ESSJ VIII 114, 125-6 || **A**: NaT *çüy(ä) 'needle of a coniferous tree; coniferous tree' > Alt ćā 'young coniferous forest', ETI čüä 'penis', Nog šüy, VTt š̆y, Bsh s̆y 'nail, wedge', Tkm čüy 'wedge', Tk çiv̆i id. (< *çüy-i < [as.] *çu'y-ä) || NTg *çīyē|a > Ewk çīyз, Ewk Nk çiya 'needle of a coniferous tree (fallen out to the ground); an animal hair (that has come out)', Neg çiya 'dog's hair (that has come out)' ¶ STM 390 || **D** *čīya₁- ({θGS} *s-) 'thorn' and *čīya₁-kkāy 'soap-pod' (lit. 'thorn-pod') > Tm cī-kkāy, cīya-kkāy 'soap-pod wattle, Acacia concinna', Ml cīya-kkāyi, cīkka-kāyi 'Mimosa abstergens', Td sī-x 'Acacia dealbata, Acacia melanoxylon', Kn sīge 'ε a climbing prickly shrub; Acacia concinna', Tu sīgæ, sīge-kayi 'pods of Mimosa abstergens reduced to powder and used as soap', Tl sī-kaya 'Acacia concinna', Knd sīk0 'soap-nut tree' ¶¶ D #2607 (a) ◇ IS I 197 [#34] (*cujh̆a on the basis of K, IE, Tg, and D) ◇ The S cognate points to a N voiced cns. *ɸ or *ɸ, while the presence of *χ in K suggests that it was *ɸ. In K there is assimilation *ç (from N *ć) + *ɸ > *cχ-.

333. *ćak₁E₁∇ 'ε snow, ice-crust, hoarfrost' > **HS**: S *✓çk̆ɸ > d. Ar saqīɸ- 'hoarfrost' ¶ BK I 1353 || C: Ag {JAp.} *cəq-/ *caq- (= *čək̆-/ *čak̆-) 'rainy season' > Bln šzq, {R} šiq, Xm {R} žā, {Ap.} ča-ra, Xm T {CR} čar ({AD} = čay?), Km šaɸi, Q {R} šāḡe, Aw čzɸ ¶ Ap. AV 20, AD SF 103-4, 205-6 ||| S ?φ *s|šak̆t̆- > Ar saqt̆- 'snow, dew' ¶ Hv. 326 || **U**: FU *ćaka 'drift-ice; thin ice' > pLp {Lr.} *ćōkē 'ice-crust on snow' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjuögie id., L {LLO} tjuohkē 'ice-crust on the ground', N {N} čuokke / -gg- 'ice-crust on pasture' ||| ObU: pOs *ćoɸ > Os V {KrT} t̆oɸ 'thin floating ice (before freezing of a river)', Vg ML {Mu.} saĩ 'drift-ice' | Hg Δ zāj, s zāj, sāj 'Eisstoß, Eistreiben; dünne Eisdecke auf der Wasseroberfläche' ¶ UEW 29, Lr. #190, Lgc. #755, KrT 898 ||| U *ćäke(r∇) > FU: pLp {Lr.} *ćēk̆ɸ 'winter pasture for reindeer' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjegere, L {LLO} tjekar, N {N} čieḡâr, Kld čīyar; Lp ⇨ F kiekerö id. | ObU *ć∇ɸar > Vg: LK šōr, UL síɸr, Ss šaɸr 'trampled snow'; Os: V t̆+ɸar 'snow-drift, Schneewehe, cyрoб', Y t̆āɸar, O šāχar

id., 'winter pasture (with trampled snow) for reindeer and elks' || Sm {Jn.} *sek∇(-r∇)- > Ne T šehe 'large snowball, hard snow', šeheri 'allgemeiner Winterweg' ¶¶ Lr. #147, Lgc. #608, Ht. #820, Trj. S 492, Trj. VD 195, ≈ Resh. NEN #1 (err. adduction of Kms {KD} š̄ēr 'reindeer pasture', while in fact Kms *š̄- is from *k-) || **A:** □Tg *ç̄jāga 'thin ice-crust over snow' > Ewk çēṣa, Lm çakay, Lm A çākay id., WrMc {Z} caqza-v. 'arise' (of ice-crust over snow), {Hr.} caqza- 'verkrusten', caqzaqa-bi 'hat sich verkrustet, ist an der Oberfläche gefroren' (Schnee) ¶ Tg *-jā- is likely to go back to N ¶ STM II 381, Hr. 135 || M *č̄aṽ-sun 'snow' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, L] č̄asun, WrM casun, HIM цаc(ан), Kl casan, MMgl [Z] č̄āsun, Mgl {Rm.} č̄ōsun, Dg č̄as, Dx č̄asun, Ba č̄ason, Mnr H {SM} č̄'jās̄, {T} č̄ase, Mnr M {Pot.} чаксе, часун, {Rkh.} чексеу, Mnr H {Pot.} часы ¶ MED 166, T 378, KRS 626, KW 423; -x- and -k- in Pot.'s and Rkh.'s records of Mnr M are likely to point to M *ṽ. KW 423 connects this M word with WrM caṽ 'hoarfrost', caī- 'become white', and ca-ḡan 'white' (F MED 158, 160, 164), which is possible, but still qu. If Rm. is right, this will corroborate the assumption of a pM √ *č̄a ¶¶ DQA ##304 (A *č̄'jaga 'cold, frozen snow' > T, M + unc. pK {S} *č̄'h̄- 'cold') ◇ The HS glottalization **k > *k̄ is due to the infl. of *ṽ and/or that of the initial *č̄'- . Tg *-jā- is likely to go back to N *-a...E- (see AD AVD) ◇ Resh. NEN #1 (A - U).

334. √ *č̄EK∇ 'small' > **K:** GZ {K²} *č̄iḵu- 'tiny, wee; small things', {FS} *č̄iḵ- 'small' > G T ç̄iḵ-u-y 'very small, crumb', G K ç̄iḵ-o-maḵ-o {FS} 'winzig kleines Stoffstück', {K² ← Ghl.} 'small things', G Kzq ç̄iḵ-a-maḵ-a 'ganz kleiner Kram, Kleinigkeiten', ? G M ç̄uḵana 'very small', Mg ç̄iḵ-u 'small' ¶ FS K 465, FS E 527, 529, Fn. KW-4 37 [#75], Ghl. 702, K² 313 || **HS:** Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} č̄ek̄k̄-3nd 'small' f. || NrOm: Male {HLw.} ç̄iḵo 'small' ¶ Fl. OO 320 || **D** {tr.} *č̄ikk-, {GS} *č̄ik- 'little, small' > Tl cikiciki id., Tm cikka 'in brief', Ml cikkin̄i 'young, small' (of girls), Kn cikka, ciga 'little, small, young', cīku 'smallness', Kdg č̄ikk-aḍake 'very young, tender areca-nut', Tu cikka 'little, young, small, short', Tl cikiciki 'small, little', as well as possibly words for 'mouse, muskrat': Kt č̄ikn 'mouse', Tl cikkele 'ε small variety of mouse', Gnd č̄ikkal ̄ č̄ikkāl 'muskrat', č̄ikkāl 'mouse' ¶¶ D #2495, GS 122 [#317] || **A** *č̄'e¹ka > M *č̄aqa (< *č̄'e¹ka by as.?) > MM [S] {H} č̄aqa 'child', WrM caqa, HIM цаx 'small child, infant', WrO {Krg.} caḡa-s 'child(ren), infant(s)' ¶ H 23, MED 166, Krg. 614 || T: [1] *ček-

> OT čekün 'the young of the marmot'] [2] (?) T *čāg|qa (< *č'ē'ka by as. ← M) 'child' > OT U [IS] čaṣa 'boy, young dancer', Chg {Bu., Shaw} چاغآ čaṣa 'nestling', Chg {Rs. ← ?} čaqa, Osm čaṣa 'little boy', Tkm чара čāṣa 'child' ¶ Tz. UIS 87, Rs. W 96, Bu. I 458 || Tg: Ewk çəḱšə 'tarbagan (Marmota sibirica)' (σ≡ OT čekün) ¶ STM II 419 || pKo {S} *čjāk- ~ *čjāk- 'small' > MKo čjāk- ~ čjāk-, NKo čak-, Ko: Ph čak-, Sl č'ak'ta, PhN čak'ta, Hmg ča_k'ta, Chj 'ak'ta, Chs čogín, Ks čā_gín, Kw čaṣIN ¶ S QK #79, Nam 419, 425, MLC 1386 ¶¶ DQA #309 (pA *č'jāk'e|u or *č'ek'a 'small: T, M, Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 20, Rm. EAS I 64 ◇ Sp chico 'little, small' (phonetic similarity without etl. connection with N *čEK∇) confirms the ideophonic character of the N word.

335. *čE∇ (*čey∇?) 'to jump' > HS: S *°-čūl- ~ *°✓čll > Ar ✓šw| (ip. -šūl-) v. 'dart furiously upon' (of beasts), 'assault', ??σ BHb בַּצְּבָצָב čalā'čal 'locust' (h.l., Dt. 28.42), Jb C ✓šll (pf. šell, 3m sbjn. 'yḱššš) 'be startled, jump in fright; run fast'] deglottalized: ? MHb ✓sll D {Lv.} 'sich hin-her-schwenken, sich erheben' ¶ Fr. II 533-4, Hv. 410, KB 965-6, GB 685, Jo. J 238, Lv. III 532 || C: HEC: Kmb {Hd.} čāl-, Hd {Hd.} čāl-, čalal- 'jump' | SC: Kz {E} čal- v. 'fly' ¶ Hd. 86, 273, 312, E SC 194 || Ch: Hs čállé 'jumping' ||| ECh: Ll {Grgs.} čāl 'jump' ¶ Abr. H 875, ChC s.v. 'jump' ¶¶ OS #411 (*čaʔal-/*čawal-), Tk. PAA 2 (SC, Hb ✓sll, Hs) || IE: NaIE *(s)kel- 'jump' > OI śala'bha-ḥ 'grasshopper', śālūra-ḥ 'frog', OI ^ śālu-, śāluka- id. ||| MHG schel 'aufspringend, auffahrend' ||| Lt šúolis, šuolỹs 'Sprung, Auf-EMPorspringen', Ltv sōlis 'step' ¶ WP II 600, P 929, ≈ M K III 313, M E II 616 (mentions OI śala'bha- without et.), Lx. 181, ≈ Frn. 1035 ||| U: FU *čE|∇- or *čey|∇- ({IS} *čel∇-) 'jump' > pLp {Lr.} *čēlój- id. > Lp: L {LLO} t̄jällōt, K {Gn.} čealleđ id., N {N} čællot / -æll- 'make long jumps\bounds' ||| Z Ss {Wc.} čil- in čil-n̄t mun-n̄t 'vom Wasser zurückprallend hüpfen (Stein, wenn man "Seejungfern" wirft)' (-n̄t is a sx. of inf., mun-n̄t 'to go') ||| Hg Sz csillai- 'jump (скакать)'; LG 305 mentions Hg csillen- 'обскакать, перепрыгать' (= 'outgallop?') (← ?) (not found in standard Hg dictionaries and in the dialect dict. UMT) ¶ The vowel corr. within FU are irreg. (Lp points to *e or *ē, while Z and Hg suggest *ī); a possible solution is to postulate pFU *čey|∇ ¶ Lr. #129, Lgc. #540, N I 454, Wc. FUAA 192, Wc. SW 300, ≠ LG 305 (connects Z čiln̄t munn̄t with Z чилгы- 'cast [a disk, etc.]') ◇ IS I 203 [#44] (*čel∇).

336. *čû]∇ 'stalk, stick' > K *čwēl- 'dry stem, straw' (→ 'staff') > OG čwēl-i 'stalk(s)' (Mark 4.28) (in the Gk text χόρτος 'fodder', but K 243 translates it as 'стебель' ['stalk']), 'a straw (Strohalm)', G čvēl-i 'chaff', {FS} 'straw', Mg çu- id., Lz çu- 'straw (stalks), stem', o-čva'le 'barn of chaff (мякинный)', {FS} 'Scheune', Sv UB/LB/L çuw, çwi {FS} 'straw, stalk(s)' ('Stroh, Halm'), 'stem of a plant', Sv UB {GP} çwi 'blade of grass' ¶¶ K 243 (GZ *čwēl), K² 294-5, Q 382, FS K 443, FS E 500-1, Chx. 2154, GP 279, TK 856 || **HS:** B *-zūlly- → *-zūly- 'branch' > Ah a-zə] (pl. i-zə]ān) 'branche', ETwl a-zə] (pl. i-zə]-an), Ty a-zə] (pl. əz]-an), Gh a-zə] (pl. izlan), Sll ta-zəly-īt (pl. ti-zəly-ā) id. ¶ *i]u is reconstructed on the ev. of ETwl and Ty *ə, because pB *a yields ETwl/Ty *ь [= *ǎ], while ETwl/Ty *ə goes back to pB *i and *u ¶ Fc. 1955, GhA 221, Ds. 45 || ?σ S *o'č'ill- → *o'č'u]ll- 'thorn' > Ak OB/OA šillum, Ak OB šullum id., 'pin, needle'; a deglottalized CS variant *sa]w- ~ *sa]l- ~ *su]l- may be suggested by BHb שׂוֹן sal'ōn 'thorn', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} שׂוֹן sūl'wā, JEA {Sl.}, Sr sa]l'w-ā id., and Ar su]lā? 'épinés du palmier' ¶ KB 714, KBR 756-7, Js. 993-4, Sl. 804, Sd. 1101-2, CAD XVI 193-4, BK I 1117 || **U:** FU *čū]i]∇ ~ *čū]∇ 'stalk, stick' > Chr L чылык čьл'к 'a thin twig/rod used to clear pipes', Chr H цылык cə]ək 'a pipe of the Cheremis Dudelsack', Chr L чылым čьл'м 'pipe' || pOs *čū]∇ ({{Hl.} *čū]∇) > Os Kz šw'j' 'Knüttel beim šw'r-Spiel, Knüttel zum Schleudern von Zirbelzapfen', šw'j'w 'Knüttel beim šw'r-Spiel; eigens zum Abschlagen von Zirbelzapfen hergestellter Stock' ¶ Ü 251, MRS 684, Ep. 141, KrT 907 || **A:** ?σ Tg: Sln {Iv.} çóçó'xu 'transverse perches of the roof' ¶ STM II 406, Iv. 34 (чолчоху), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (rejects the Sln cognate as isolated within A; misquotes Iv. by ascribing a non-existing length to the first o) || **D** (× N *čū]∇ 'stalk, branch' × N *š|sū]∇ 'trunk, log'??): [1] (in SD) *čū]ikk• ({{GS} *c|c-) 'stick' > Tm cu]ikku 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn cu]ike 'a stout stick to beat cotton with'; [2] *čū]l- ({{GS} *c-) 'stalk, branch' > Tm, Ml cu]li 'dry twigs, branch, brushwood', Knd ču]k 'long pliable stick, stalk' ¶ D ##2701, 2706 ◇ AD NM #85, S CNM 4 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

337. *č'ū]TU (or *č'ī]TU?) ≈ 'entire, intact, pure' > **HS:** WS *√ç]l 'purify' > Ar √ç]l G (ip. -çull-) 'clarify (a beverage), clear wheat from dust', Pun {HJ} ç]l 'purified', BHb צלל √ç]l G {Drv.} 'be cleared (gate) of traffic', MHb {Js.} √ç]l G 'settle, be cleared' (of liquid),

clarify', pp. צְלִיָּה צְאַלְיָה 'clarified', JEA ✓צַלל G 'be clear', JA [Trg.] pp. צְלִיָּה צְאַלְיָה 'clarified', Sr ✓צַלל D 'cleanse, purify', pp. G צְאַלְיָה 'limpid, clear, transparent' (of air, water), 'clarified' (of wine, honey, ointment), Gz ✓צַלל G 'percolate, filter; be filtered' ¶ Hv. 402, BK I 1355, HJ 568,Drv. HH 62, Js. 1284, Sl. 965, Br. 627, JPS 478, LG 556
 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ći|ü|∇ or *ći|ü|∇ 'entire, pure' > pChr {Ber.} *ćila > Chr: Н цила ci'la, L чыла čь'la 'whole, all, all kind of (весь, всякий), Uf/B ćьla 'alle, alles' | Prm {LG} *ćil- or *ćül- > Yz ćíí 'entirely, quite', Vt {Bor.} чылкак, Vt Sr ćílk-ak 'im ganzen, rein', {Wc.} ćílkít 'rein, klar' ¶ UEW 613, Ber. 7, MRS 660, Ep. 138 (Chr Н цилә), LG 306 || A: M *ćulu ≈ entire, pure, monolithic' > WrM {MED} culu, HIM цул 'pure, unmixed; solid, monolithic; monochromatic', {Kow.} WrM culu 'compacte, qui n'est pas vide; fort, inébranlable', IM {MYC} ćul ≙ cul 'pure, unmixed', Kl {Rm.} culu 'ganz (nicht gelöchert, nicht hohl), kompakt, komplett, ungemischt, lauter', Ord č'u'lu' 'qui présente une masse compacte, massif', Brt сула Brt сула 'entirely', 'robust' (of health, healthy person), 'pure (сплошной)' (e.g. 'сплошное мясо, meat without bones'), Mnr E {MYC} ćul 'pure, unmixed' ¶ MED 207, Kow. 2205, KW 433, Ms. O 719, Chr. 396, MYC 581 ◇ If the N etymon is *ći|ü|, the first vw. of M *ćulu is probably due to as. ◇ ≈σ,φ Blz. LNA #7 (N *ćilu 'all' > FP, M).

338. ₂ *ć∇L∇ 'bend, incline' > HS: WS (or CS) *✓ç|w > JA ✓ç|y ~ ✓ç|w G (pf. צְאַלְיָה צְאַלְיָה ~ צְאַלְיָה צְאַלְיָה) v. 'turn, incline, bend', JEA ✓ç|y G {Sl.} 'turn aside, incline', Sr פָּ, צְאַלְיָה 'se inclinavit, inclinatus est; flexit', Md ✓ç|p 'bend, incline', Ar Y çalā prep. 'in die Richtung auf, zu, nach', ??σ✓ç|y L (pf. çalā, ip. yuçalā) 'be opposite\vis-à-vis', OYmn {Slw.} ✓ç|y (L ?) id. (unless ÷ Sb çlw, çlw 'façade, portico'), ? Gz ✓ç|w (pf. çalawa) v. 'listen, incline (the ear)', çalawa labb 'inconsistent, non constant' (lit. 'inclining [his] heart'), ?σSb çlw 'prayer, supplication' ¶ Br. 628, Lv. IV 191, Js. 1283, Sl. 964-5, LG 556, Slw. 134-5, BGMR 143 || IE: NaIE *skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted' > Gk σκολιός 'curved, winding, twisted' || pAl {O} *ščala > Al çalē 'crippled, lame; wrinkled' || OHG scēlah 'sloping, squint-eyed' (> MHG schēlch 'sheel, schielend, quer, krumm', NHG scheel 'squint-eyed' → NHG scheel 'envious; ⇨ MHG schilhen 'schielen, blinzeln', NHG schielen 'to squint, to be cross-eyed'), AS scēolh 'wry, oblique', ON skjalgr 'schief, schielend' || ?σ L scelus / gen. sceleris 'crime,

evel deed' || ?φ Arm **խեղ** χεղ 'crippled, maimed', **շեղ** šel 'squint-eyed, goggle-eyed' ¶ P 728, Mn. 1155, Mn. AHG 38, F II 723-4, WH II 492, Vr. 495, Ho. 275, OsS 787, Kb. 874, Lx. 181, 183, KM 640, 647, O 49, Slt. 350-3, Bedr. 280, 547, ≈ EI 142 (unc.: adduces Pru **culczi** 'hip, haunch', Lt **kūlnas** 'heel', and Blg **күлка** 'thigh' and hence reconstructs *s- mobile in *(s)kel- 'crooked').

338a. *čûr₁∇₁||í∇ 'small' > HS: S *°✓çf̄l > Ar **ṣaṣal-** 'état de ce qui est mince', **ṣaṣil-** 'qui a la tête petite est le cou mince' ¶ BK I 1340 || K: GZ *çwl-il- 'little, small' > OG (m)çulil-, çuril- 'small, little, narrow', G çvril- 'small', Lz çulu- 'little, small' ¶ K² 295, Abul. 552 || D *čû- 'light (not heavy)' > Tu **culaka**, Ku **sūlkara** id., Kn **culaka**, **culuku** 'lightness of temper', Tl **culuka(n)** 'lightly, with slight or disregard, easily', **culukani** 'light, easy'; (× ← InA: OI **sulabha-** 'easy'): Tm **culuvu** 'ease', Kn, Tl **suluvu** 'facility', Kt **čuv** 'easy work, easy'. The cns. -l- proves that these words are not simply loans from InA, but have a D source as well ¶¶ D #2703 || A: M *°čölüj- v. 'decline, diminish' and pKo {S} *čūr- v. 'shrink, grow less' (× N *čU?i₁∇₁ 'little, small', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 130-1 [#2] (K, D, M, Ko).

339. *čûí||y∇ 'to prick, to wound' > K: GZ *čgal-/*čgl- v. 'wound' > OG, G **çgal-/çgl-**, Mg **čqol-** id. ¶ Schm. 157, K 254, FS K 468, FS E 532 || HS: WS *✓çlf̄ (and with deglottalization: *✓slf̄) > Gz **ṣalṣ** ~ **ṣalṣ** 'abscess, wound, ulcer, sore', Tgr ✓šlf̄ (pf. **səlf̄a**) v. 'be wounded', **saləṣ** 'wound', Sb {BGMR} **ols slf̄** v. 'quarry stone, dig', Ar ✓slf̄ v. G 'cleave, wound' ¶ L G 554, BK I 1124, Hv. 331, BGMR 138 || SC: Irq **çil-** v. 'sting', Kz {E} **çal-** v. 'stab', **çel-et-** v. 'drill' ¶ E SC 193 || WCh: Su {J} **sùl** 'dig', Mpn {Frz.} **sùl** 'pierce, make a hole', Sha **čul-** 'durchbohren, erstechen' ¶ J S 82, Frz. DM 57, J R 284 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Sb, WCh) || D (in SD) *čûl|- ({}GS} *3|3-) v. 'prick' > Tm **cul**, **cullu** 'pungency', **cul-iṭu** v. 'prick', Ml **culuculē** 'with sharp pain', **culuculukka** 'feel hot, irritated by the touch of nettles, piercing pain', Kn Cr **čûllu** v. 'prick' ¶ D #2699.

340. *čīḥA (= *čīḥA?) 'be wet\moist', 'moisture (water, etc.)' > HS: S *°ç∇ll- 'heavy rain, moisture' > Ar **ṣall-** 'pluie abondante', **ṣall-at-** 'terre humectée', **ṣull-at-** 'reste\résidu d'eau dans un vase', 'mollesse des viandes trempées et humides' ¶ BK I 1355-6 || IE: NaIE *sḱl̥ē-k- / *sḱl̥ā-k 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle' > ON **slag** 'Näße (von Regen)', **sleginn** 'wettened', Nr **slagen** 'moist', MLG **slagge**, Sw **slagga-**

väder 'schlackiges, regnerisches Wetter', MDt slagge 'rainy weather', NLG slack 'large heavy drops', NHG Schlack 'rain with snow', schlackig, schlackerig 'rainy, wet, sloppy, slushy' (of weather), NE Δ slaggy, slack 'swamp' || Lt šlākas 'drop, spot, splash (of)', šlakėti (1s prs. šlakù) 'to drip, to dribble, to drop', šlėkti (prs. šlekiù) 'to sprinkle', Ltv slaka 'drop, besprinkling', slacīt 'to (be)sprinkle, to water, to asperse' ¶ WP II 602-3, P 957, Vr. 512, Paul 508, Frn. 998, Kar. II 213 || A: NaT {Cl.} *čīla- v. 'moisten' > OT {Cl.} čīla-, {DTS} čilä- ~ čila- id., Tk An čile- v. 'drizzle, be moist', VTt {ðRI.} ѝ́лан- 'befeuchtet \ bewässert \ naß werden', ѝ́лат- 'bespritzen, begießen, naß machen, bewässern' ¶ Cl. 418, DTS 146, RI. III 2055, 2085, 2135-6 || ?? Tg: WrMc cilci- 'rise' (of water during the rising tide), but Nn čilkan 'flood-time' belongs to Tg *tilkan id. ¶ STM II 180-1 || ??φ K: GZ *çqal- 'water, well' > OG, G çqal-i 'water', Mg çqu- 'well', çqu-rgil-i 'spring' ¶ Mach. K 91, FS K 455, ≠ K 159-60 (*rçqa- 'water') || A possible D cognate: D *čil- ({ðGS} *c|ć-) v. 'flow' (× N *šil̥ 'to be[come] liquid, to melt, to flow', q.v.) > Tm cilucilu v. 'rain gently', cilu-nīr 'raindrop dripping from the leaves' (nīr 'water'), cilumpu v. 'flow\gush out', Kt čilk v. 'drizzle', Kn cilkunīru 'water in fine drops', jilipu v. 'ooze', Krg čilbi v. 'splash water', Tl ciluku vt. 'sprinkle, shed', vi. 'be spilled', cilacila (imitation of flowing), Ku silk- vi. 'splash'; D ⇨ Prkr ciliciliā 'shower' ¶¶ D #2569 ¶¶ But D *čil- ({ðGS} *s-?) 'pond, brook, river' hardly belongs here, because its initial cs. is likely to be *s- (see N *siž 'stream, small body of water [lake and sim.]'); for the same reason it is dangerous to adduce here D *čele ({ðGS} *s-) 'spring of water' (D #2785) ◇ The only N laryngeal that both can disappear in S and produces vowel lengthening in IE is *h ◇ It is possible that *çq- may go back to **ć...? (cp. K *tqu- < N *tū?o' 'two') < N *ć...h' ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 132 [#4] (equates the K root with IE *skol- 'wash', D *čel- 'spring', and T *čäläk- 'bucket, pail').

340a. *ć'i' Lh̥ ' (char)coal, soot' > K *oçqal- > Mgr çola 'soot' ¶ Q 381 || HS: EC *čilh- ({Ss.} *d̥il̥h-) ~ *çulh- > Sa dilh-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilhenō 'live coals', ?? Rn {PG} žiláh 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (× N *žū,h̥,īy̥ [or *žū,h̥,īy̥E] 'to smoulder, to burn'), Or 'čile?, {Grg.} čillē, čillāttī, {Th.} čile, {Brl.} čilé, Or H {Ow.} čílé, Or

B {Sr.} čilē, čilētī, Or O/W {Sr.} čillātī (< **čile-ē < **čilh-ē?), Kns {Bl.} 'dīl-ā, Gdl {Bl.} 'dīlh-ā, Sml duhúl, Ya {Ss.} tēho 'charcoal', ? Gwd dīli v. 'burn' || Dhl {EEN} t'íliha, {E} t'ilíhe, {To} t'ilíhe (pl. t'ilíha) 'embers' || *AdS* of SC: Irq çiriḥ- v. 'glow' (< N *tēra 'to heat, to roast, to fry') ¶ Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30, R S II 106, PG 167, Grg. 82-3, Th. 68, Sr. 281, Ow. 256, To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 175, E PC #127 || Om: SOm: Gll {Fl.} čilši 'charcoal (used in smithy)', Hm B {Fl.} čilši 'sheep with black skin' || NrOm: Gm {Hw.} čičinci, ?φ Kf {C} 'čičinō 'charcoal' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE IV 419, Hw. EG || ??σ S *°✓č|θ|ḥ > Gz ɛ̇īlāḥ 'filth, dirt, mud' ('dirt' ← *'soot, charcoal') ¶ LG 555 || A: M: LM cilderη qara 'jet-black', HIM чилдэн хар 'black as soot' (qara, хар 'black'), Kl {Rm.} čilṃ ɣara mörη, {KRS} чилм хар мөрн 'kohlschwarzes Pferd, absolutely black horse' (ɣarā mörη, хар мөрн 'black horse'). The word may have been associated with the system represented by LM celberη sagan, HIM цэлбэн цагаан 'white as snow' ¶ MED 171, 183, KW 440, KRS 650 ◇ The K vw. stil needs explaining ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 130 [#1] (Mg, HS + unc.: D *čū|]-/*čū|-'fireplace' [see N *žū|h∇,|ṽ∇ or *žū|h∇,|ṽE 'to smoulder, to burn'] and T *čū| 'heat').

341. *čEm∇ (= *čEm∇?) 'to maim, to torment' > K *°čam- (or *°č|čam-?) v. 'torment' > G čam- id., Lz čam- id. (← G?) ¶ Chik. 392-3, Chx. 2102 || HS: S: [1] WS *°✓čmυ > Ar ✓šmυ 'tomber roide mort, être tué sur place' (× ✓šmυ 'tomber à l'improviste'), Sq {L} šame v. 'die' ¶ LLS 353, BK I 1373] [2] ? WS *°✓čmm 'have a damaged ear, be deaf' > MHb 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾 čum'mīm, 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾 čum'mām 'a person whose auricles are a shapeless mass', Sr šam'm-ā 'deaf and dumb', Ar ✓šmm G (pf. šamma) 'become deaf', 'be obstructed' (ear-hole), Gz ✓šmm G 'be deaf\dumb' ¶ Js. 1268, Br. 631, BK I 1366, Hv. 404, L G 320, MiK I #2.64 || IE: NaIE *sḱem- 'mutilated, hornless' > OI 'śama- 'hornless', 'śamala-m 'stain, spot, fault' || Lt šmūlas, Ltv smāuls 'hornless' || Gmc: [1] ON skammr, AS scamm, OHG scam 'short' || [2] NaIE *°k|ko|am- OHG ham (adj. hammēr) 'mutilated' || ?φ NaIE *ko|am-∇| > AS hamola 'one whose head has been mutilated or shaved', OHG hamal 'mutilated; wether', NHG Hammel 'wether', ON hamla 'to mutilate', AS hamelian id., OHG hamalōn 'to castrate' || Sl *komolъ(jb) 'hornless' > R ко'молый, Slv komôl, OP komoḷy, P gomoḷy id., Cz komolý 'truncated, tailless, hornless', komoliti 'to

mutilate' ¶ P 929, ≈ M K III 208-9, M E II 610, Vr. 207, 482, Sw. 81, Ho. 171, 271, OsS 368, 776, Kb. 866, KM 286, Frn. 1015, Vs. II 304, Ma. CS 216, ≠ EI 273 (**k̂em*- 'hornless' without taking into account OI) || ?σ **¶**: M **čimad*- > WrM *čimad*- v. 'reproach, blame; be dissatisfied' ¶ MED 184 || pKo {S} **č'ámh*- 'endure, bear' > MKo *č'ám*-, NKo *č'hām*- ¶ S QK #727, Nam 448, MLC 1571 || pJ {S} **tamar*- 'endure' > JT *tamar*- ¶ S QJ #650 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #268 ◇ If Lz *čam*- is of G origin, the pK word is to be reconstructed as **°č|čam*-, hence the N etymon is **č'Em*∇ (sc. either **č'Em*∇ or **čEm*∇). If the Lz word is not borrowed, it points to a pK **°čam*- < N **č'Em*∇ ◇ IS MS s.v. 'увечить' **č'am*∇. IE **k* (for the expected **k̂*) in **ko|am*-∇1- needs explaining.

342. **č'i'm*∇ 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)' > K **čam*- 'a blink' (→ 'moment, instant'), 'eyelash' > OG *čam-i* 'a blink', 'eyelash', G *čam-i* 'moment, second', Mg *čum-i* 'minute, second', *ača-čun-s* 'in a minute\second', Sv UB/Ln *čäm*, L *čam* 'moment' ({Dn.} 'миг, мгновение'), *čam-čam* 'quickly'. The pGZ word **čamčam*- ({K} **čamčam*-) 'eyelashes' (> G *čamčam*-, Lz *čamčam*- id.) may go back to a word group, cp. D: Kn HI *kenžeme* 'eyelid' (D #2545) with the first component D **kaññ*- 'eye' (D #1159, Zv. 42, 116, 171) ¶¶ K 242, K² 292, FS K 439-40, FS E 496-7, Chik. 45, Chx. 2103, DCh. 1634, NCh. RKL I 515, Mol. AGG 225, Dn. s.v. *čam*, TK 851 || **D** **čim*∇ ({*čGS*} **š*-?) v. 'wink', 'eyelid' > Tm *imaḷ* v. 'wink', *imaḷ* 'eyelid', *čimir* v. 'wink, blink', Ml *ima*, *čima* 'eyelash', *imekka* v. 'blink', Kn *ime*, *eme* 'eyelash, eyelid', *čimuču* v. 'twinkle\wink with the eyes', Kdg *čimm*- v. 'twinkle', Tu *imæ*, *simæ*, *simmæ* 'eyelash', Tl *čimuču* v. 'wink' ¶¶ D #2545 || **HS**: C: EC: Brj {Ss.} *čimmiy*- v. 'close\cover the eyes', Kmb {Hd.} *čimbī*?, Ged {Hd.} *himmi has*- id. (*has*- 'do') ||| Bj {R} *šimbehāni* ~ *šimbāni*, {Rop.} *šambə'hani* 'eyebrows' (unless to N **šām*∇₁*g*∇ '[lock of] hair, fine hair' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 42 (reconstructs C **č*-), R WBd 215 (equates Bj with Bl *šebkā* 'hair'), Rop. 238 || ?σ S: Gz *šamlāt* 'bleary-eyed, who has no eyelids', Tgr *čəmtəle* 'be bleary-eyed', Tgy *čəmtəle* 'be blind, lose an eye' ¶ Likely to go back to a cd. with the first element **č'Em*- 'eyelid' ¶ L G 557 ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#16] (D, C).

343. (₂?) **č'amg*∇ 'cold' > U: FP **°čamK*∇- > Z UV *čamgi*- 'begin to freeze hard' (of frost) ¶ ≈ LG 301 || **HS**: WS **✓čnn* > MHb, JA, ChPA *✓čnn* 'be(come) cold', JEA {Sl.} *✓čnn* D vt. 'cool', BHb *č'in'nā** (att. cs.

תִּנְנָה *ṭin,naṭ* 'coolness'), SmA חֲנוּה *ḥnḥ*, חֲנוּהָ n. 'cold', JA אֲתִנָּה (~ אֲתִנָּה) *ṭinna't-ā* id., Qtb (ArSc) *ḏāt ṣannat,ṭi*, '(goddess) of coolness' ¶ GB 688, KB 972, Js. 1278, 1292, Sl. 968, Tal 737 || WCh: DfB {J} *čyèn* 'wind, air' ¶ J R 213 ¶¶ ≈ OS #119 || A: ?σ M **čaṇ* 'hoarfrost' > WrM *caṇ*, HIM *caṇ(γ)*, Ord *č'aṇ*, Brt *cəṇ* (with puzzling ə), Kl *caṇ* id., Kl {Rm.} *caṇ* 'Reif, Frost' ¶ MED 164, KRS 625, KW 421, Chr. 403, Ms. O 694 ¶ The word is not attested in MM and has a strange phonetic shape (no final vw.), which suggests borrowing.

344. **čEmp*∇ (or **č'-?*) 'bent, crooked' > IE: NaIE *(s)k^hkemb- 'crooked' ({IS} *(s)Kemb-, {EI} *(s)kamb-) 'curve' > Gk *σκαμβός* 'crooked' ({IS}: < **σκαβός* < **sKmb-* with reintroduction of μ due to the infl. of different words of the same √) || OIr *cam*, W *cam* 'crooked' ¶ ≈ P 918, EI 143, F II 716-7, Vn. C 28-9 || U: FU **čEmp*∇ ({IS} **čimpa*) '≈ (sth.) bent; to bend' > pLp {Lr.} **čimpē* > Lp: N {N} *čibbe*, U {Schl.} *tjibbee* 'knee' (← 'bent'), L {LLO} *tjibbee* *čibbe* 'lower part of the human leg' || ?φ Chr L *čam'bal* 'hummock, tussock' (irreg. *č* and the vw.) || Prm: Z *žib* / *žiby-* 'a salient height, hillock, hill', *ban žin* 'the salient part of a cheek' || ObU **čāmpal* > pVg **čāmpal* > Vg Ss *šāmpal* 'Schwebung', *šāmpalā*- 'sich nach beiden Seiten neigen (die Ente, beim Herabfliegen)', ? Vg N {Mu.} *šampēlāli* 'hin und her drehen, erwägen' (× *šampēlti* 'drehen'); pOs **čāmplā* > Os D/K/Kr/C *čāmplā* 'schwankend, schaukelnd' (Boot) ¶ LG 90, Lr. #137, Lgc. #566, LLO 1151, Ht. #78, MK 587 || HS: S: Gz *čənpəw* (pf. *šənpəwa*) 'twist, disturb', *šənpəw* 'distorted, twisted' (unless ← *čənpəw* 'crush', *šənpəw* 'crushed, shattered') ¶ L G 561 ◇ IS I 206-7 (**Čimpa*: IE, U).

345. **čeñ*∇ 'tie, bind, plait' > K **č^han-/č^hn-* v. 'wicker' > G (da-) *čan-/čn-* v. 'plait, wicker', *čnuli* 'wicker-work' (e.g. 'basket'), 'Geflecht'; ?σ GZ **čn-el-* 'rod' > OG, G *čn-el-i*, Mg *čin-i* & *čən-i*, Lz *činu* & *čunu* 'rod, sapling (Rute, Gerte)' ¶ FS K 458, FS E 519, FS K² 660; K 252 and K² 307 (**čnel-* 'rod'), Chx. 2187-8, DCh. 456, 1699, KEGL VIII 1160-2, SSO II 386 ¶ K **č^han-/č^hn-* v. 'wicker' is a legitimate rec. if in GZ **čn-el-* the meaning 'rod' is from 'staff for wickering' || HS: CS **šinn-* ~ **šann-* 'basket' > JA {Dl., Lv.} *čin'n-ā* 'basket, wicker-work as container', {Js.} *činā* ~ *čānā* 'basket of palm-leaves', JEA *čan'n-ā* 'basket', Ar *šinn-* 'panier à couvercle dans lequel on met le pain', BHb rdp. *čin'čənεṭ*, SmHb *šān'šēnεṭ* 'basket' ¶ KB 973, BK I 1373, Sl. 967-8, Js. 1277 and 1290, Lv. IV 202 || WCh: pAG {Hf.} **jin* v. 'tie' >

Gm $\dot{d}in$ v. 'tie (e.g. a goat)', Ang {Hf.} $\dot{j}in$ id., Su {J} $\dot{d}in$ 'festbinden (Tiere, Boote)', Kfr $\dot{j}in$ 'tie (a goat, cloth round waist)', ? Kfr {Nt.} $\dot{j}an$ 'tie up, bind' (pl. obj.) ¶ Hf. AG 23 [#166], J S 64, Nt. 11 || U * $\dot{c}en|n\dot{\nabla}$ 'tie, bind; a tie' > pLp {Lr.} * $\dot{c}3n3-$ v. 'tie, bind' > Lp: U $\dot{t}jad'na-t$ id., N {N} $\dot{c}âdnâ-t$ / $-n-$ id., 'fasten by tying; catch and tie (a reindeer)', L {LLO} $\dot{t}jatna-t$ 'binden, fest-\an-binden', P {TI} $\dot{c}3nnâ-$ 'binden' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} $\dot{s}ân$ 'halter (in reindeer bridle)', $\dot{s}ân$, Ne T {Ter.} $\dot{c}ян$ 'two flat bones within the halter', Ne F P {Lh.} $\dot{s}ânnî$ 'Halsband, womit das Argischrentier den vorangehenden Schlitten gebunden ist' ¶¶ UEW 37, Lr. #112, Lgc. #469, Lh. 429, Ter. 600 ◇ The rec. of N * $\dot{c}-$ is legitimate only if GZ * $\dot{c}nel-$ 'rod' is derived from the K verb for 'wicker' (which in this case must be * $\dot{c}n-$), otherwise we remain with an unspecified N * $\dot{c}-$ (= * $\dot{c}|c-$).

346. ? σ, ϕ * $\dot{c}|c'anj|n\dot{\nabla}$ 'be of a shining white', 'be bright', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE * $\dot{s}kend-$ ~ * $\dot{s}kand-$ 'be of a shining white', 'moon', {E} * $\dot{s}kend-$ 'shine', 'moon' > L $\dot{c}andeo$ 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter' || OI $\dot{c}andati$ 'shines, is bright', $\dot{c}andra-h$ (in cds. - $\dot{s}can'drah$) 'moon', $\dot{c}ani\dot{s}cadat$ 'shining billiantly' (RV 5.43.4) || pAl {O} mt. * $\dot{k}sandâ$ > Al T $\dot{h}enë$, Al G $\dot{h}ânë$ 'moon' ¶ ≈ P 526, EI 385, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Huld 24 (Al < IE * $\dot{s}kan-neH$), 150, O 146-7 (IE * $\dot{s}kend-$) || D * $\dot{c}anj-$ ({ $\dot{\theta}GS$ } * $\dot{z}z-$) 'moon' > Nk $\dot{z}ango$, Gnd $\dot{z}ano$ ~ $\dot{z}ango$ id. ¶¶ D #2287 || HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} $\dot{s}anj$ 'bright, clear' || Ngz {Sch.} $\dot{s}ânú$ 'become light\enlightened', $\dot{d}â \dot{s}ani-\dot{g}ara$ 'it has dawned' ($\dot{d}â$ 'it, country') ¶ J T 141, Sch. DN 53, 162, Stl. ZCh 199 [#505] (pWCh * $\dot{c}an-$).

347. $\dot{c}aP\dot{\nabla}$ (or * $\dot{c}aP\dot{K}\dot{\nabla}$, * $\dot{c}aK\dot{P}\dot{\nabla}$?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE $\dot{s}kep-$ 'stalk, spear' > Ltv $\dot{s}këps$ 'spear, lance' || OHG $\dot{s}caft$ 'spear, shaft', NHG $\dot{S}chaft$ 'shaft, handle', OSx $\dot{s}kaft$ 'spear, shaft', ON $\dot{s}kapt$ 'Schaft, Stab, Stange, Griff', NE $\dot{s}haft$ || L $\dot{s}câpus$ 'stalk of plants, weaver's beam' ¶ ME IV 32-3, Ho. S 65, OsS 772, Kb. 864, KM 632, Vr. 483, WH II 490, ≈ Kar. 348, ≈ P 930-3 || A * $\dot{c}'apk\dot{\nabla}$ 'spear, pointed stick' ({SDM97} 'spear, axe') > Tg * $\dot{c}apka$ 'fish-spear (harpoon, острога)' > Ewk, Neg $\dot{c}apka$, Ul $\dot{c}aqa$, Nn Nh $\dot{c}aqpã:$, Nn B $\dot{c}a(f)qa$, Nn KU $\dot{c}apqā$ id., Ork $\dot{c}apqa$ id., 'fork' ¶ STM II 384 || pKo {S} * $\dot{c}ak-$ > Nko $\dot{c}ak-sal$, $\dot{c}ak-sunj$ 'fish-spear' ¶ S QK #715, MLC 1387 || M * $\dot{c}aqu$ or * $\dot{c}aqa$ '≈ wooden prop, support, peg' > WrM $\dot{c}aqu$ ~ $\dot{c}aqa$, HIM $\dot{c}ax$ 'prop, support', Kl $\dot{c}ax$ 'rack (кóзлы)', {Rm.} $\dot{c}axa$ 'Zapfen, Pflock,

hölzerner Nagel (um etwas aufzuhängen)', Brt *caxa* 'wooden platform, cross-beam serving as a rack for drying clothes' ¶ MED 167, KRS 626, KW 419-20, Chr. 386 || NaT *čak∇ 'pointed stick, knife' > Osm {Rh.} čaqi, Tk *čakı* 'clasp-knife, pocket-knife', Kr čaqi 'Klappmesser', Tlt čaqi 'Pfoften zum Anbinden der Pferde' ¶ Rl. 1834, Rs. W 96, Rh. 707 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *č'apk∇ (T, Tg, Ko), ≠ DQA #271 (A *č'ap'(∇)-k'∇ ← A *č'äp'a|u|i 'to chop, to hit', see N *č'ap₁ɿ₁a 'beat, strike, chop').

348. ₂ *č'ı'p∇ 'navel' > K *°č'ıp- 'navel' > Mg č'ıp(e)-, čapan-, Lz č'ıpa-id.; Zan → G č'ıp-i id. ¶ Lz č- is still to be explained (is č'ıpa- a loan from an unattested G word?) ¶ ≈ K 255 (reconstructs GZ *č'ıp-, but finds no explanation for the irreg. reflex of *č'- in Zan other than a "symbolic quality" of the word), Chik. 69 || HS: Ch: Hs č'ıbıyá 'navel' (loc. form č'ıbı) (→ P' {MSk.} sipiya id.), ? Bg {Sh.} swap, ? Kir {ChL} sap id. ¶ Abr. H 139, Stl. ZCh 175 [#281] (*sap∇ w/y).

349. ψο *č'ıpu(-ı∇) 'small bird' > HS: S: [1] CS *č'ıppur- '(small) bird, sparrow' > BHb צפר ~ צפור *č'ıp'pūr* (pl. צפורים *č'ıpp'ı'rīm*) 'bird(s)', MHb צפור *č'ıp'pūr*, Pun *špr*, SmA *špwr*, *špyr* 'bird', JA צפור *č'ıp'por*, em. צפרא *č'ıppā'r-ā* 'fowl, bird', JEA {Sl.} צפרא *č'ıppā'r-ā* ~ צפרא צ'פרא *č'ıppwr?* (unk. voc.) 'bird, fowl', DA *špr*, IA *šnpr* 'e bird, sparrow', Plm *špr?*, Sr |;³ *šəppā'r-ā* 'bird', Ar *šūfūr* 'sparrow, small bird'; [2] *č'ıpp'ar- > JA צפר *č'ıp'par*, Sr |;³ *šəp'par* 'bird', Ak *šibāru* 'e bird' (probably 'sparrow') (←b-Aram?) ¶ KB 980, HJ 973, Js. 1298, Lv. IV 213, Sl. 962, BK II 272-3, Br. 635, Tal 743, CAD XVI 155, Sd. 1097 || ??φ,σ Ch: WCh: Hs *zābō*, Gw {Mts.} *žābūwà* 'guinea fowl' | Mbr {Sk.} 'čápūr, Jmb {Sk.} *žābūr*, Wrj {Sk.} *zābrıyáj*, {Gw.} *zabrıye*, Cg {Sk.} *sābún*, Kry {Sk.} *zábūr*, My {Sk.} *zábürkü*, {ChL} *zàbèràkú*, P' {MSk.} *žāvúna*, ? Sir {Gw.} *zuhunchi*, Dir {Sk.} *zāvúná* id. | Bg {Sh.} *šàp*, Kir {ChL} *šápm̃*, Tala {Gw.} *zubben*, Plc {ChL} *žìbun*, Zar {ChL} *žubm̃*, Zar K {Sh.} *žèpm* id. | Ngz {Sch.} *zābànú*, Bd {ChL} *sāvānín* id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *čívàn* id. | Br {ChL} *č'ıvur*, Mrg {ChL} *č'ıvùr*, Kib {ChL} *č'ıv'ır* id. | HgF {ChL} *z'ıv'ınu*, HgG {ChL} *sùvùne* id. | Gude {ChL} *zòv'ına* id. | Lmn {Lk.} *zəv'ınāká* id. | Glv {Rp.} *žébžrá*, Gv {ChL} *žaburà*, Dgh {ChL} *zàv'ıra*, {Frk.} *zàv'rá* id. | Mtk {Sb.} *zàpân*, pMM {Ro.} **zavan* > Gzg {Lk.} *č'ıvon* *č'ıvon*, {Ro.} *č'ıvún*, {Ro.}: Mkt *zàvúr*, Mada *zàvár*, Myn, Mofu *zàvár*, Hrz *sávna* id. | Db {Lnh.} *zàvún* id. | Gdr {Mch.} *zavuna* id. | Lgn {Bou.} *sàfàn* id. || ECh: Smr {J} *šíbžri*, EDng

{Fd.} zòpùlò, Mgm {J} zóbíló, Mkl {J} sùbìló, Jg {J} zóbóló, Brg {J} zòbòló id. ¶ Abr. H 959, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 181, JI I 84 (Ch *√zbl 'guinea-fowl') and II 174-5, Ro. 265, Fd. 393 ¶ The vd. -b- and -v- in the Ch lgs. still need explaining || IE: NaIE *sper-, *sperw- 'sparrow, small bird' > Gmc: Gt sparwa, OHG sparo, MHG spar, sparwe, ON sporr, AS spearwa 'sparrow', NE sparrow; MDt sprêwe, Dt spreeuw, NLG sprā ~ sprēa 'starling', dimin.: MHG sperlinc, NHG Sperling 'sparrow' || ? Clt: Crn fraw 'crow', Br {P} frâo, {Hm.} frau 'crow, raven' (< *sprawa) || Tc: A spār (nom. pl. spārān), B {Ad.} spārā- 'ε bird' ('sparrow?'), spara-yākre 'ε bird of prey' ('sparrow-hawk?') (Tc < IE *spērweH) || Gk [Hs.] (σ)πέργουλος · ὄρνιθάριον ἄγριον 'a small wild bird', Gk [Hs.] σπαράσιον · ὄρνεον ἐμπερὲς στρουθῶ 'a bird resembling sparrow' || Pru spurglis 'sparrow' ¶ WP II 666, P 991, EI 534 (*sper-), Ch. 1040-1, Fs. 443, OsS 847, Kb. 930, Ho. 308-9, Vr. 540, Vr. N 684, Lx. 203-4, KM 724, LP § 26, Hm. 297, En. 253, Wn. 460, Ad. 666-7 || (ψο?) K: G R/Lch çipia 'eben ausgeschlüpfte Truthahn- \ Gänse- \ Enten-junges' ¶ Qu., may be purely onomatopoeic, cp. R цыплёнок 'a chicken' ¶ Chx. 2174 || A: Tg *çipī- 'small bird' > Ewk A/UL/I/Urm çivkān, çipkān 'small bird, sparrow' (-kān is a diminutive sx.), Ewk PT/Y/I/Np/Tr çipičā 'small bird', Lm çlpru 'nestling (not fully fledged)', çuptaka 'young of partridge', Lm çiwka-çān ≙ çuqa-çan, Neg çiwit-kān, çiw(kā)-kān 'small bird', Ud {Shn.} çiwçau 'sparrow', Nn Nh çipiaqo ~ -u, Nn KU čīfaqo, Nn B čifqo 'swallow', WrMc {Hr.} cibin id. ¶ STM II 398, Hr. 144 || pKo {S} čjāpī 'swallow' (× N *šip∇ '[young of a] bird') > MKo čjāpī, NKo čēbi 'swallow' ¶ S QK #183, Nam 425, MLC 1464 || ? NaT *çibi 'young of a bird' > Qrg čibi(y) id.; rdp. √ (ψο) NaT *çibçik ~ *çimçik 'small bird, sparrow' > MQp čipčiq, Bsh sɔrsɔq, Chg čipčik ~ čimčik, {TL ← ?} čupčiq, 'sparrow', Tk çimçek / -ğī 'ε small sparrow', Kr ципчик ≙ цыпцык 'small bird, sparrow', чыпчык 'bird', ? чипчэ ≙ чипчя ≙ ципцэ 'chicken', Kr T {Rl.} čipčix, ET čipčik, Qzq šibišiq, Qzq/Qq šimšiq, Qrg čimčiq, Uz čumčiq 'sparrow', Nog šimšiq 'any small bird', VTt чыпчык ѝърѝьь, Qmn {Rl.} čibilčik 'ε bird' ¶ TL 176, Jud. 880, NogR 422, TatR 646, RKazS, KrkR 748, Rl. III 2098, 2155, 2161, KRPS 614, 617, 628-9, 637, Bu. I 508 || ?? pJ {S} *tupa-maj/-ia n. 'swallow' > OJ tubame, J T cubame ¶ ≈ S AJ 293 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 63, DQA #308 (pA *č'ip'ū 'small bird') || D (in GnD) *čīpp- (~ *čīv-),

*^oč̄īpp̄∇ṛ- 'young of birds' (× N *^sīp̄∇ '[young of a] bird', q.v.) > Knd sīp̄ri, sīpi 'chicken', Gnd č̄īva & č̄īwā(1) & č̄ivnā & č̄ivā 'young of birds, chick', Kui sīpa, Ku hippa & hipā & hīpa 'chicken, chick' ¶ D #2636.

350. *^čoP̄∇ 'watch, look out, spy' > K: GZ *^čap- {K²} v. 'study, learn' > G ^čap- v. 'teach, study, learn', OG, G m-^čap-el-i 'leader', Lz ^čop- ~ n^čop- v. 'study, learn' ¶ K² 293, FS K 441, FS E 497-8, Chx. 2119-20, Chik. 402 || HS: S *^črp̄w v. 'watch, look at' > BHb הַפֵּץ ^črp̄y (pf. ^čā'p̄ā) 'watch; reconnoitre, keep a look-out; spy, look', Ug ^šp n. 'look (Blick, mirada)', JA {Js.} פִּיץ ^črp̄y D 'look out, wait', JEA {Sl.} פִּיץ ^črp̄y G 'look', SmA ^šrp̄y G 'look, observe', Mh ^šʒfōt 'news, information; knowledge', Jb E/C ^šʒ'fʒt id., Mh caus. pf. šʒʒfū, sbjn. yʒšʒʒf, Jb E caus. pf. šʒʒ'fe, Jb C caus. pf. šʒʒ'fe 'gather news, find out', Ak ^šuḅḅû(m) 'mit Abstand ansehen'; the Ug variant ^šrp̄y (< *^šrp̄y) v. 'spy, observe' is irreg. ¶ KB 977-8, KBR 1044-5, OLS 158-9, 419, Tal 741, Sl. 970, Js. 1297, Sd. 1082, Jo. M 359 || IE: NaIE *^{sk}k̄ep- > Gk σκέπτομαι 'I watch, look about, look after', σκοπός 'observer', σκοπέω, σκοπέομαι 'look at\after, behold, contemplate' ¶ ср. NaIE *(s)pek̄- 'look, observe' < N *^p'E'K̄y∇ 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 984, ≈ Ch. 1014-5, and ≈ EI 505 (all of them believe that *^{sk}k̄ep- is a mt. of *^{spe}k̄- 'spähen, scharf hinsehen', but in fact both directions of mt. are possible), F II 725-6 || D *^čōv- / *^čōpp- v. 'watch over, guard' > Tu sōvu 'spying, watching', Kui ʒōpa v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶¶ D #2892 ◇ On IE *^{sk}- < N *^čo- see Introduction §§ 2.4.

351. o *^čap̄r̄ja 'beat, strike, chop' > IE: NaIE *^{skep}l_H- ~ *^{ske}Hb_L^h- 'split' > Gk σκέπαρνος 'carpenter's axe' || Lt skāplis id., skōpti / skapiū (~ skopiū), skōbti / skobiū 'hollow\gouge out' ({Frn.} 'mit dem Beitel, Schaber oder Dechsel [{AD} sc. 'Dächsel'] aushöhlen'), skāptas 'gouge, chisel', Ltv šķēpele 'splinter' || Sl: [1] *^{skopiti} 'to castrate' > OCS **скопѣти** skopiti, Slv skopíti, Cz skopiti, P skopić, R скопѣть id., Blg скопя 'I castrate'; [2] *^{ščepa}-ti 'to split, to chop (wood)' > P szczepać, Lls ščěpaś, Blr ще'паць id., R ще'пать лѹ'чину 'to chop up sticks'; ⇨ Sl *^{ščepa} ~ ščep' 'wood chips' > OR **щѣпа** ščepa id., R ще'па id., 'splinter' (⇨ 'щѣпка 'chip, sliver'), Slv ščěp 'wood chips, shaving', P szczepa 'log, billet' ¶ F II 724, Frn. 812, ≈ Kar. II 348, Vs. III 650 and IV 502-3, ME IV 32-3,

Bc. 1391, ≈ P 930-3 || HS: [1] WS *✓çpɣ > Ar ✓şfɣ 'taper légèrement le derrière de la tête à quelqu'un; donner un soufflet', Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓şfɣ (pf.: Mh hɜşfē, Jb E/C eşfáɣ) 'make a rude noise with the tongue protruding between the lips, blow a raspberry'; [2] IS adduces S roots with *s- and ext.: *✓spɣ 'strike with noise' (> Hb ✓spɣ, Ar ✓sfɣ) and *✓spd id. (Ug ✓spd id., Hb and Ak ✓spd 'wail'), which is less plausible, the more so that there are similar onomatopoeic roots with *ç: *✓çpɣ (> Ar ✓şfɣ 'frapper avec qch. de manière à faire entendre un bruit', Mh {Jo.} ✓şfɣ 'clap one's hands'), etc., so that IS's conclusion about the S non-glottalized initial *s- loses its basis ¶ BK I 1101, 1347-8, Jo. M 358, Jo. J 235, GB 549-50, A #222 || o U *čappɣ 'strike with noise, chop; clap one's hands' > Vp čappa- 'schlagen, dreschen; brechen (Flachs, Hanf)' | pLp {Lr.} *čōppɜ 'chop, cut, cut up' > Lp: N {N} čuop'pâ- / -pp- id., 'amputate', S {Hs.} tjuoppedh 'cut (off), chop', L {LLO} tjuohpps- '(auf)schneiden, aufhacken (z. B. Fleisch\Fisch zum Kochen)', K {Gn.} čūhpɛ- 'cut, chop' | Mk čapa- 'schlagen', Er čapa- 'clap one's hands' | Prm *čap-kɣ- > Z чапкы- čapki- 'throw (for the object [a small stone, etc.] to fall flat)', Yz čapki- 'throw, hurl', Vt G {Wc.} čapki- 'clap one's hands', чапкыны id., 'strike with the palm of the hand' || Hg cɜap- 'strike, hit, flap, slap' || Sm *sâp'pâ- (or *sɔp'pâ-) v. 'chop' > Ne T cāpā- cɔ id., T O {Lh.} sɔp'ā-, Ne F {Lh.} χa'p'ā- v. 'hauen, schlagen (mit der Axt)', Koyb {Sp.} d. сабытобдемь 'выбиваю', Mt {HL} *sabət|d- 'chop' (Mt M {Sp.} сабыдьямь 'подсекаю', сабатте 'обрубая') ¶¶ UEW 29, Lr. #203, Lgc. #794, Hs. 1348-9, MF 113, LG 302, Lh. 399, Hl. M #832, ≈ Jn. 134 (Sm *sâɰtɜpā = *sɔɰt|k|sɜp without sufficient justification of â and tɜ) || A: T *çap(a)- v. 'strike' > OT, MQp xiv čap- id., Chg xv čap- 'strike with the sword, behead', ET čap/b-, Uz čap-/b-, Qzq šab-, VTt чаб/п- šab/p- 'chop, mow', Tkm čap/b- 'chop, strike with a sabre', Qrg čap-, Xk sap- 'strike, beat', Chv L çyɰ- súp/b- 'slap in the face', VTt quɰ šab-, Bsh quɰ sab-, Alt qol čab-, Chv алă çyɰ- 'clap one's hands' (quɰ, qol, алă 'hand') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Jeg. 219 || M *čabč'i- v. 'hew, chop, cut (with a weapon)' > MM [IM] čabč'i- 'hew, chop', [MA] čabč'i- 'cut (with a sword)', [S] {H} 'ab-\durch-schlagen, abhauen', WrM сабци-, HlM цавчи- 'hew, chop', 'blink', 'kick the forefoot\forefeet' (of a horse)', Brt савша- 'chop, mow', Ord {Ms.} ž_ab_č'i- 'hacher, couper', Mnr H {SM} ž_îāb_ž_i- id., 'cligner (yeux)', Mnr H/M {T} čîāvč'i- v.

'hew' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 434, H 25, MED 154, SM 76 || Tg *çapç∇- > Neg çapçā- ~ çapçl- v. 'destroy, break', Ewk çapça-kī ~ çapçikī ~ çapçukī 'chip, sliver (of wood)', Ewk Tmt çapçikīt/ç- 'place of chopping wood', Ud čapča- v. chop wood', Nn Nh/KU čapčl-, Nn B çafčl- 'chop, split'; the forms of Ud, Nn, and some other lgs. may be of M origin ¶ STM II 384 ¶¶ KW 437, ≈ DQA #271 *č'āp'a|u|i 'to chop, to hit' (T, M *÷ Tg *çapka 'fish-spear' and pKo *čak- id., see N *č'aP∇ or *č'aPḲ∇ ~ *č'aḲP∇ 'stalk, pointed stick, spear') || D: [1] D (in SD) *čav∇r- ({ḡGS} *c|č-) 'cut (off, down)' > Kt čav∇r- 'cut down (standing plants, bushes)', Kn savaru 'cut off side branches', 'chip, cut, cut down', Tu ta(v)ururūni 'to strip off, to cut away (leaves of a tree), to cut away brushwood'; [2] D *čapp- ({ḡGS} *č-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N o†*žap∇ or *žap∇ 'to strike' [q.v.]) > Tm cappāni, Tu cappaḷi 'clapping hands', Kn cappaṭe, cappaḷi id., capparisu v. 'slap, pat', Kt čapaṭ 'noise of a hand-clap', Tl cappaṭa, Nkr čapaṭ, Mnd hapaṛ, Ku sapoṛ 'a slap of the hand', Gnd čapur 𐌆 čāpṭa 'a blow with the hand, slap'; D b→ OI capeṭā- 'slap with the open hand' ¶¶ D ##2335, 2390, Tu. ##4673, 4696 ◇ Some of the forms (e.g. those meaning 'clap hands') may be of independent onomatopoeic origin ◇ IS I 201 [#41] (*čap'a) ◇ S *s may go back either to N *s or to N *ʃ, but N *pʃ is hardly plausible (this cluster of obstruents would have been assimilated almost certainly to *bʃ, while the approximant *s does not usually cause as.).

352. *č'Epṛ∇ ([as.] > *č'Ebṛ∇) 'finger' > K *oçlçip- > G M/X çip-i 'Verbindungsstelle zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger' ¶ Chx. 2146 || HS: S *ç'u'baṛ- (> *puçbaṛ-) 'finger, toe' > BHb ʔeç'bāṛ, (TV) 𐤒𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔeç'bāṛ id. (in ItHb T [basis of the Masoretic BHb spelling] word-final *-āṛ yielded -aṛ rather than -āṛ [spelled 𐤒 - -āṛ], / Blau BNPA), Sr 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤓 'aṛ 'finger, toe', Ug 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤓 'finger, claw', IA 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤓 (pl. 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤓𐤓) 'finger', BA pl. 𐤒𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔeçbāṛ-ān, pl. em. 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔeçbāṛ-āṭ-ā 'fingers, toes', JA {Js.} 𐤒𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔeç'bāṛ / em. 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔeç'bāṛā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤓 ʔaç'bāṛā, SmA ʔṣbṛ ({Tal} = iṣba), Ar ʔiṣbaṛ- (~ ʔaṣbaṛ-, ʔaṣbiṛ-, ʔiṣbuṛ-), Ar Cr ṣubaṛ, Ar Hm uṣbaṛ, Mn 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤓, Sb ʔṣbṛ, OEth *ʔaçbaṛt (> Gz ʔaṣbaṛt ʔaṣbāṛt), Tgr čəbɨɨt, Tgy pl. ʔaṣabɨɨti 'finger, toe', Mh {Jo.} 𐤔𐤕𐤁𐤓, Hrs {Jo.} ḥa-ṣbaṛ, Jb C {Jo.} ʔiṣbaṛ, Sq {L} 'ʔeṣbaḥ, 'ṣobeḥ id., Eb iṣ-ba-um (= {Krb.} ʔiṣbaṛum), ?μ Ak 𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤓 neṣbettu 'finger' ¶ GB 61, 896, KB 79, 1573, OLS 55-6, Tal 720, Js. 110, Sl. 159, Br. 620, BK I 1307, BGMR 140, MA 93, L G 45, LH 627, Bsn. 580, Jo. M

397, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 5, L LS 70, 345, Krb. 18, Blz. EP, CAD XI/2 190 (Ak neṣbettu ← WS), Sd. 782, MiK I #1.256 || Eg fP ʒbʿ 'finger' > DEg tʒʿ > Cpt Sd **ТННВЄ** tēēbe, Cpt B **ТНВ** tēb; Eg d. ʒbʿ.t 'signet (on a signet-ring)' → BHb **תבבב** ʔab'baʕat 'signet-ring, ring' and possibly B: Gd {Lf.} ta-ḡaβwt (pl. t-ḡaβwa) 'bague d'argent', ({Rö. → Tk.} ʔ 'Fingerring'), ? Tw {Rö.} ta-ḡahot 'finger-ring' (not mentioned in Fc.) ¶ EG V 562-5, Fk. 321, Er. 625, Vc. 210, KB 353, Wlf. EAW 48, Rö. SL 132, Lf. II #O337, Pr. H 28 || B: Zmr a-ḡad (pl. i-ḡubḡ-an) 'finger' ¶ Wlf. EAW 48 || NrOm: HzMa zāb- / zaba, Sz zāb-i 'finger' ¶ Bnd. RL 343 ¶ OS #434, Tk. I 98 || **U**: FU ***ćEpp**∇ 'finger-tip' (× N **ʔ** ***ʕip**∇ 'to pinch', [?] 'a pinch' [q.v.]) > Chr: H {MRS} ʔbēwešta-, {Ep.} ʔbēweštā-cā'weštā- v. 'pinch, nip', ʔbēweštāiš cā'weštāš n. 'pinch', L ʔbēwešta- ʕbēwešta-, U ʕbēwešte-, B ʕawəšala- v. 'pinch' || Prm ***ćep**-, ***ćzreí**- ({LG} ***ćepreí**-) n. 'pinch, finger-tip', v. 'pinch' > Z S **ćepzál** 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} ce'p'zál 'finger-tip', {KPR} 'pinch', Z **чепольт-ćepzít**-, Prmk **će'p'zít**- id., Vt **чепыльт-ćepílt**- v. 'pinch, jam' ('ущипнуть, прищипнуть'), Z **чеполя ćepzála** 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud **ćepzrt** 'Zwick, Kniff', **ćepzrt**- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz **ćepíal**- 'kneifen, rupfen' || OHg, Hg **csíp** 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F **hupp**, **hupi** 'finger-tip' and of Lp Kld **ciēhp** 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU ***ć**-; in my opinion, the F and Lp words belong rather to N ***ćUp**∇(R∇) 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 303, Szin. 28 ◇ An alt rec. is pN ***ćEb**∇ with further contraction ***-b**∇ > ***-p**- that underlies K ***-p**- and FU ***-pp**-.

353. **₂ *ć**∇**q**∇ 'make dirty; revile' > HS: WS ***✓** ʔχy id., 'be dirty' > Sr **✓** ʔh̄y D (pf. ʔah̄ī) 'revile', ʔah̄y-ā, Sr W ʔah̄īt-ā (Sr E ʔoh̄īt-ā) 'reviling, abuse', Ar **✓** ʔχy (pf. ʔah̄iya) 'être sali, abîmé' (se dit des habits), **صخ** ʔaxi(-n) 'sali, abîmé', ?ϕ Gz **ṣah̄w** [ʔah̄w] 'filth, rubbish' (unexpected h̄ for χ due to contamination with a different ✓?) ¶ Br. 625, JPS 475, 477, BK I 1317, L G 553 || **K**: GZ {K} ***ćqew**-/***ćq**∇-, {FS} ***ćq**- v. 'curse, damn' > OG {K} ʔqew-, {FS} ʔq-ew-, G ʔqewl- id., caus. ʔqewin- 'make so. curse', Mg ʔq(u)-, Lz (n) ʔq- v. 'curse' ¶ Assimilation pre-K ****ćq** > K ***ćq** ¶ K 253, K² 318, FS K 470-1 (GZ ***ćqew**-), FS E 531 (GZ ***ćq**-), Chx. 2122, DCh. 1698, Q 393.

354. **ʔ** ***ćoq**∇**a**∇**ε** 'beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > **K**: GZ ***ćq**- v. 'feel pain' → ***ćq**-∇n- 'ache, hurt' > Lz ʔq- id. (m-ʔq-up-s 'es schmerzt mich'), Mg

çq-in-/çq-ən- v. {Q} 'be pained\bored', OG çq-en-/çq-in- {FS} 'betrüben, belästigen' (momeçqona cχorebay 'I am weary of life' - Gn. 27.46), G çq-en-/çq-in- 'do harm, grieve; feel hurt (by), resent' ¶ Chik. 399, K 247, K² 303, FS K 454, FS E 514, Chx. 2212-3, Q 384 || **HS:** S *^o✓çk̥i > Ar ✓çq̥i 'strike\beat (so.)' ¶ Ln. 1706-7, BK I 1352-3 || **IE:** [1] (+ext.) *skeH-t₁H₁- ({EI} *sket₁H₁- or *skeh₁t₁H₁-) 'injure, harm' > NaIE *skē-t^h-/*skə-t^h- 'hurt, injure' > Gk Hm ἄ-σκηθής 'unhurt, unscathed' || OIr scíth 'fatigué, las', escid {Vn.} 'indefatigable' (→ 'vif, alerte'), Br skuizh 'fatigué', Crn squyith id., 'las' || Gt skapjan (p. skōp) 'to do wrong, to damage' (ἀδικεῖν, βλάπτειν), ON skeðja 'to harm, to damage', AS scíeððan 'to injure'; scēaðian 'to damage', ON skaða, OHG scadōn, NHG schaden 'to harm'; n. act.: Gt skapis 'damage, wrong-doing' (ἀδικία), OSx skatho, OHG scado, AS scēaða 'damage', NE scathe (Gmc → Cz, Slk škoda, OP, P szkoda → OR ШКОДА škoda, Uk, Blr, R шкода 'damage'); NHG Schade 'damage', ON skaði 'harm, damage' (Schaden, Verlust) || [2] ?σ {WP} (+ext.) NaIE *^oskē-n- 'push, strike' > OIr fo-scarn- 'throw, push, winnow' ¶ WP II 557-8, 564, P 950, EI 312, FI 164, Ch. 124, Vn. S 32, 46-7, Hm. 739, Fs. 429-30, Vr. 479-80, 487, OsS 771, Kb. 862, KM 630, Ho. 274, 278, Rcz. 859, Brü. 549, Vs. IV 449 || **A:** M *čokī- 'hit, beat, strike, knock, peck' (× N *čAk̥'U' 'to prick [stechen], to gouge', q.v. ffd.) > WrM cokī-, HIM цокн- v. 'hit, beat, thrash, strike; knock, peck', WrO cokī-, Kl цок- цокə- 'beat, strike', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen' ¶ MED 196, Krg. 641, KRS 636, KW 429 || **D** (in GnD) *čokk- ({GS} *z-) > Gnd žak- 'kill' ≈ žokkānā 'strike, kill', Kui soka ≈ sōka- 'strike at', 'bite' (of snake, dog, etc.) ¶ D 2831.

355. *çaq₁a¹∇ (or *çaq∇) 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > K *çq̥rta 'elbow' (whence in the descendant lgs.: [1] 'ell', [2] 'door-post, jamb of a window\door') > OG çqrta 'cubit', G çqrta id., 'ell', Mg çq̥z(r)ta ~ çqi(r)ta-, d. G çqirtl- '(door>window)post', as well as G çirtxl-i id., Sv UB {GP}, Sv LB/Ln {TK} čitχ 'ell, cubit' (both from *çrtχa - mt. + fricativization of *q - GM S 96, 99, Gm. DS 10) ¶¶ K 254, K² 315 (*çrtχa-), FS K 471-2, FS E 534-5, K DE 358 (reconstructs pK *çrtχa- (> Sv čitχ ÷ G çirtxl-i) as a different √], GP 280, TK 861 || **HS:** EC *čikl- 'elbow' > pBn *čikilè (> Bn: Bi čikilè, J/K/Kj jìgìlè), OSml *jīkali (> Sml Og čiqil), Rn {PG} dīkkil, {Oo.} 'dikil, Arr (mt.) čilìg (pl. čilk-ó), Or {Grg.} čikilē, Kns dīkl-, dīqil-, Gdl dīlk, Hr ŭihíle, Gln ŭihílle, Gwd D

ḍixiló, Hd ṭunḡul- id., Brj tangil- 'elbow, heel', ? ingi'layš 'elbow', Ya ṭokl-e- 'forearm' ¶ Lm. SKE 536, Ss. PEC 30, Ss. B 105, Bl. 216, Hn. BD 104, Grg. 83, AMS 189, 226, 239, PG 96, Oo. 66, Hw. A 350 || ? S *o'ḡuḡ_Lṽ]- > Ar ṡuḡl- 'flanks' ¶ BK I 1354 || IE: NaIE *^osk[kel]- > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards' (× N *ḡ'i'1_Lṽ, ṽṽ 'side of body', 'hip', q.v. ffd.) || A *ḡ'a_Lḡk'a ≈ elbow, forearm' ({ADb.} *ḡ'a_Lḡk'a-) 'elbow' (< **ḡak'yṽ < **ḡak'íṽ) > NaT {ADb.} *ḡayk'an ⇨ [1] *ḡayk'anak 'elbow' > Chg {RL.} چاقاناق čaqanaq id., 'wrist' ({RL.} 'Ellenbogen, Elle = локоть, запястье'), Alt {BT} чаганак čaḡanaq, Tel {Rs.}, Qmn {B} čānaq, QK {RL.} čaḡnaq, Sg {BIG} siḡanaḡ, {RL.} saḡanaq, Shor {RL.} šaḡinaq, {Dyr.} шыганак 'elbow', Nog šḡanaq, Qq šḡanaq, Qrg čḡanaq, Xk čḡanaḡ, ET žäynäk, {LQ} čänäk 'elbow', SY čikenek, MQp [CC] čḡanaq, VTt {ðRL.} šḡanaq 'elbow, door-hook, hinge (of a door)', Tbl čḡanaq 'elbow, door-hinge', bf.: ET Δ čoqa 'elbow'; [2] *ḡayk'an-ḡak/-ḡik 'elbow' > Alt čaḡćaq, Tlt {Vrb.} čaḡćaq, QrB činačiq, Qq šintaq id., Qzq šintaq 'elbow, ell', šintaq süek 'funny-bone' (⇨ Uz Δ čintaq id.) ¶ TL 249-50, ADb. SR 169-71, Rs. W 96, 107, Rl. III 1833, 1851, 2063, IV 262, 938, BT 174, B DK 265, BIG 205, 325; ≈ ADb. TMCT (*÷ Osm {Rs.} čäkin 'shoulder [near the neck]' and Chg {Rs.} čikin 'Nacken, Schulter', belonging to N *čikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' [q.v.]) || Tg *ḡaka 'forearm' > Nn Nh čaḡã, Nn B caḡa(n-) 'ell (forearm as a unit of length)', ?? Ewk ḡakḡa 'calves of legs' ¶ STM II 378, 380, ADb. TMCT 119 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 447 (pT *čajkan 'elbow'), 458 (pT *čaka 'forearm') ¶¶ But T *čök- v. 'kneel' does not belong here (F N *ḡok_LE 'to sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position') ◇ Blz. KM #3 (K, C *÷ A [T *ḡök-]) ◇ Altaic *ḡ is likely to suggest N *í. The transformation of a N lateral cns. into K *r needs investigating.

356. *ḡ'A'Rṽ (= *ḡ'A'Rṽ?) 'to cross', 'across, over' (direction), 'through' > K: GZ *ḡar- {Schm.} 'durch-, vorüber', {K, Chx.} 'down, away, off' > OG ḡar-, G ḡar- ~ ḡa- id. (⇨ Zan ḡa-), Mg. Lz ḡo- id. ¶ K² 292-3, Schm. 154, Chx. 2097 || IE: NaIE *(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through' > Gk ἔϋ-κάρσιος 'athwart, oblique', ἐπι-κάρσιος 'athwart, crosswise' || BSI *(s)kersa- > Pru kirscha, kirschan, kerscha, kerschan 'over, more than', Ltv šķērs, šķērsam 'quer', Lt skeĩsas, Ltv šķērss 'transversal, cross', Lt skersiai 'across' | Sl *čersъ 'over' (direction), 'through' (~ *čerzъ with voicing on the analogy of some other

prepositions) > RChS, SrChS **ҮРѢСЪ** čresъ ~ **ҮРѢЗЪ** črezъ, R 'чрез', Blg 'чрез', SCr črèz, Slv črêz ~ črèz, Slk cez, Δ čez 'over' (direction), 'through' ¶ P 949-50 (**(s)kert-(s-)* with an unjustified *-t- [based on the arbitrary conjecture connecting this stem with **(s)kert-* 'to cut']), FI 637, ME IV 35-6, Frn. 802-3, En. 193-4, Vs. IV 338, ESSJ IV 76-7, ESISJ-SGZ I 49-52 || **HS**: Eg fP ʒʒy v. 'cross, ferry (so. across water)' ¶ EG V 511-3, Fk. 318 || S **√çry* > Ar *√çry* (pf. **صَرَى** šarā, ip. -šriy-) 'cut through \ asunder' ('retrancher en coupant') ¶ BK I 1336 || **A**: ?σ OT Og {Cl.} čer 'the opposite of sth.' ¶ Cl. 427 ◇ IS MS 372 ('чрез' *čar (K, IE)). K *a usually goes back to N *a, *ä, or sometimes *o. In the light of the T cognate N *ä (or *a) is to be preferred.

357. *čor∇ (↔ *čawr∇ ↔ *čarw∇?) 'tip, top, edge' > **HS**: EC: Or {Ss.} čara 'tip, top, edge', Brj čar(a) 'edge, blade', čari 'point, summit, peak; pointedness, sharpness', čare- v. 'sharpen (knife)' ¶ Ss. B 46, Hd. 183 || **K**: GZ *čwer- 'tip, point (Spitze)' > G çver-i id., Mg çvanži ~ çvandi 'tip, top', OG mçuerwal- 'summit' ¶ K 243, K² 311-2, FS K 443-4, FS E 501 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from K *čwēr- 'beard' [> G çveri, Sv wēre [♂] wār(e) id.]), Chx. 2155 ¶¶ It is possible that in pK the √ in question coalesced with *čwēr- 'beard', which may be helpful in explaining the unexpected *w in GZ *čwer- 'point, tip' || **D** (in KK) *čōr|ru ({}GS) *s|ś|z-) 'hill, mountain' > Kui sōru id., Ku hōru id., 'rock' ¶ D #2887 || **IE**: NaIE *k^har- 'pointed, sharp', (?) 'rock' (< N *gah₂r∇ 'hard, firm' [q.v. ffd.]) > OI khārā- 'sharp, hard, rough'; NPrs **خار** χārā 'very hard stone, flint, rock', possibly NPrs **خار** χār 'thorn, thistle' || Gk κάρχαρος 'sharp-pointed, jagged' ¶ WP I 355 (*k^har- 'scharf, spitz'), M KI 302, VI. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102 ◇ D *ō and K *w point to the presence of a labial element in N (N *čawr∇ or *čarw∇).

358. *čUr∇ 'narrow' > **HS**: S *čarr- 'narrow, tight (?)' > BHb **چار** čar 'narrow, tight', *√çrr* 'be narrow' (**چار** čar 'is narrow'), SmA šry 'narrow passage', *ç* Ak šarir 'is narrow (?)' (šummu muḫḫašu šarir 'if the top of his head is narrow' [?] [followed by χabiš, rapaš 'is wide']), Ar šarr- 'serré, noué' (infl. of the verb *√çrr* 'serrer, nouer'), *√çrr* Gt (pf. ʔištarra) 'be narrow' (of a hoof), mašrūr- 'serré, noué; étroit, pincé'; WS **√çrr* 'tighten (by wrapping, tying up)' > Hb *√çrr*, Sr *√çrr*, Ar *√çrr* G 'bind, tie up', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} *√çrr* 'tie

the foreskin before circumcision' ¶ KB 984, 990, BK I 1325-7, BDB 864-5, Tal 741, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241, Jo. H 116, CAD XIV 107 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^osk^lker- (+exts.) 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel; lean' (×N *^ćERV 'small, little?') > NNr skrāna (< Gmc *skraxnan) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG schrā, NGr NrF schrah (both from Gmc *skrēxa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrá (< *skraho) 'thin leather', NE Ork (< NrGmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinn (< *skrenθa-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG schrāde 'dünn, mager, kümmerlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1 ¶ In the light of external comparisons NaIE *^osk^lker- is likely to go back to earlier *sk^lke^ur- (on the loss of IE glides that precede sonants see AD NGIE and NVIE) || A: NaT *^oç^oç^lr 'tight, dense' > OT {Cl., MKD} čōr, {DTS} čor id. ¶ Cl. and Dnk. reconstructed an OT long vw. ō on the insufficient basis of the *plene* spelling with *g* in Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī ¶ Cl. 428, MKD 95, DTS 94 || ?φ D: [1] D (in McTm) *čur- > Tm curam 'narrow and difficult path', Ml curam 'difficult road'; [2] D *čur- ~ *č^lur- 'shrink, wrinkle, contract' (×N *^ćVP^lRV 'to twist, to plait' ×N *^ć'^ugrV 'to be small, to diminish', q.v. ffd.).

359. *^ćærrV 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' > K *^ćqar-/*^ćqr- 'take offence (at), be angry (with)' (← *'resent') > Mg (n)čqor- id., OG, G çqer-/çqr- id. (Chx.: 'ärgerlich\böse sein'), Sv {Fn.} čqr- (msd. li-čqr-un-ä) 'sich sträuben, sich widersetzen', {K²} v. 'bristle' ¶¶ FS E 533, K 253, K² 318, FS K 469-70, Mach. XS 266ff. (on *a in this √), Zhgh. ChMP (on the prothetic n- before the dental\lingual cnss. in Zan), Chx. 2222, 2227, DCh. 1700, Q 395, Fn. KW-4 37 || HS: WS *[√]çy^lr 'be in pain, suffer, grief' > MHb 𐤇𐤏𐤃 'ç^aar 'pain, grief, trouble', JA 𐤇𐤏𐤃 'ç^aar / em. 𐤇𐤏𐤃 ç^aa^ar-ā id., JEA {Sl.} 𐤇𐤏𐤃 ç^aa^ar-ā 'trouble, distress, pain', SmA ç^ar, ç^ar^h 'distress', Md çaiarta 'pain, grief', Gz [√]ç^lr (js. -ç^lar) 'be in pain, suffer', 𐤇𐤏𐤃 ç^ar [ç^ar] n. 'anguish, torment, pain' ¶ Lv. IV 209, Js. 1294-5, Tal 740, L G 544 || ??φ Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ç^uwar {AD} 'pain, anger' > Ngz {Sch.} ç^lrá 'internal bodily ache\pain, being in pain, being warlike\belligerent' | Ang {Flk.} dōr, dūr 'anger' | My {Sk.} ç^uwar, Kry {Sk.} šⁱw³r 'be angry' | Fy {J} dōr 'Ärger, Unwillen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 204-5 [#552], Sch. DN 46, J R 83, Sk. NB 10 || U: FU *čärke- v. 'ache, pain' > F särke- id. (↳ Lp N {N} sær'gâ- / -ærg- v. 'ache, be painful'), Vp särke-, särke- v. 'ache, pain' | ? Lp: N čērgiidi- 'go to

sleep' (of limbs), L {LLO} *tjier* 'kijtit id., 'become numb' (of limbs), U {Schl.} *tjār* 'ka 'scharfes Prickeln in eingeschlafenen Gliedern', Pa {TI} *čĕǎřĕ* v. 'ache (of a wound)' || ObU {Ht.} **čārəy*- > pVg **čārəy*- > Vg: Ss *šārəy*- v. 'ache, pain', UL/SS *šārəy*-, UL/Ss T *čärk*-, LK/MK *šörəy*-, P/NV/LL *šarr*- v. 'deplore'; pOs {Ht.} **čārəy*- ~ *čörəy*- v. 'ache, pain' > Os Ty *čerəy*-, K *čärəy*-, Nz *šarəy*-, Kz *šarī*- id. | OHg *sér* 'be hurt (verletzt werden), ache', Hg *sért*- v. 'injure, damage, harm, hurt', Δ *sérés* 'pain, ache, illness' ¶ FU *-ke may be due to contamination with FP **šärke*- 'break, split' ¶ MF 551-2, Ht. #86, LLO 1161, TI 653, EWU 1322, ≈ UEW 32-3 (does not distinguish between this √ and FP **šärke*- 'break, split' < U **šärke*- < N **šäRĶê* '≈ break, split, cut') || A: NaT **čer* '≈ illness' > Qzq {Rl.} *šer* 'langjährige, alte Krankheit', Qqz {MM}, Qq *šer* 'grief', Nog *šer* 'illness', Qrg {Jud.} *čer* 'tumour', Shor {Rl.} *šär* 'Schwindsucht', ? Chg {Rl.} *čir* (= *čer*?) 'Pickel, Geschwür', VTt *чир* *šir* 'illness' (> Chv *čir* id.), Bsh *sir* id., Tk *čör* 'illness' (× *čör* 'devil'), Az *čär-lä*- 'be ill' ¶ Rs. W 104, Rl. III 2122 and IV 1004-5, Jud. 858, Jeg. 326, DTS 144, MM 395, NogR 410, TrR 199 ◇ FU **čärke*- points to a N **ä*, while T **čer* suggests a N **e*. This discrepancy still needs explaining.

360. **č'ū* *gr* ∇ 'be small, diminish' > K **č'χ_Lw_Jr*- / **č'χ_Lw_Jer*- > G *cχra*-, *cχer*- v. 'wane' (of the moon), {DCh.} *cχroma* n. 'wane of the moon' ¶ DCh. 1610, Chx. 2044 || HS: S **č'yr* G v. 'be small' > BHb *č'yr* G 'klein\gering sein\werden', Ak *č'yr* G (inf. *šəχēr* ~ *šəχār*) 'become small\few\young', ? Sr *č'yr* (pf. *šəfar*) 'beschimpft werden'; S **čayīr*- 'little, young' > BHb *čā'īr* 'jung, klein, gering', PH, PUN *š'yr* 'small', Ug *š'yr* 'small, young', SmA *š'yr* 'young', Sr *šə'īr* / *šə'īr-ā* 'despised, vile', Sb *š'yr* 'little', Ak *šəχru* ~ *šəχru* 'small, few, young' ¶ BK 690, KB 974-7, HJ 971-2, A #2340, OLS 415, Grd. UT #2182, Tal 739, JPS 482, CAD XIII 120-4, Sd. 1087-9 || D **č₁ur*- ~ **č₂ur*- 'shrink, lessen' (× N **č₁Ur* ∇ 'narrow' × N **č₂VR* ∇ 'to twist, to plait') > Tm *curuñku* 'shrink, lessen, be reduced', Ml *curuññuka* v. 'shrivel, shrink, decrease', *curukkam* 'contraction, shortness', Kt *čurk*- 'make small, draw up (legs, fingers), shrink', Td *tu·r*- vi. 'shrink', Kn *surku*, Tu *suruñtu*-, *suruñtu*- v. 'contract, shrivel, shrink', Tl *surūgu* v. 'shrink', Prj *čurk*- v. 'shrivel', ?? Krx {Hahn} *cog'rē* 'person with sunken cheeks'; cp. Brh *kurring*, *kurrēnging* v. 'shrink from, contract' ¶¶ D #2687, DED #2213, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ D The initial **č₁*- (>

Brh k-) is likely to reflect N *ĉ- in *ĉ̇∇ṖṘ∇, while Krx cog'rē (if it belongs here) reflects N *ĉ|ç- of *ĉ'û'gṙ∇ and/or *ĉ'Uṙ∇.

361. *ĉ'ä'h'û|uṙ∇ 'circle; to twist' > HS: CS *-çūr- ~ *√çrr v. 'twist, tie around' (a merger with several homonymic roots) > Hb צור √çwr (ip. -çūr, inv. צור çūr) {GB} 'zusammenschnüren', {KBR} 'tie up (in a bag), bind (money in one's hand)' (sc. 'carry money wrapped up in the hand'), MHb {Js.} צור √çwr G v. 'tie around, wrap', JA {Js.} צור √çwr G v. 'tie around', JEA {Sl.} √çwr G v. 'besiege', Md √çwr G, √çrr G v. 'surround, hem in, tie in', Ar حور √çrr G 'tie up (a purse), tie up with a lace (the udder of a female camel)' ¶ KB 951-2, 990, KBR 1015, GB 678-9, Js. 1270-1, Sl. 956, DM 391, BK I 1325-6 || ? K: G çre 'circle' (unless DCh. is right in claiming that the word is a loan from Arm, but to my mind the resemblance of the G word with Arm ծռեմ cṙem v. 'bend, bow', ծրան- cṙan- v. 'become round', or ծրաբոլոր cṙabolor 'circle' is not close enough to suppose a borrowing, because there is no Arm word able to be the source of G çre) ¶ KEGL VIII 1168-9, Chx. 2194, DCh. 1693, NCh. 454, Xud. I 548-9, Bedr. 316 || U: IP *ĉ'äy|uṙ∇ 'circle, spindle' > Es sōör sa:ṙ 'circle', {W} sōör sa:ṙ ~ tsōör tsä:ṙ 'Kreis, Umkreis, runde Scheibe' † Prm *ĉärs 'spindle, axle' > Z ćrs, Yz ćrs, Vt ćers id., Vt ćers†† v. 'spin' ¶ LG 311, Lt. 157, W EDW 1080, 1208 || A: NaT *çä|ebür- v. 'twist' (< **çä|ewür-) > OT {Cl.}, XwT čävür-, Chg čewür- v. 'twist, turn (sth.)', Osm {Rh.}, Az čevir- v. 'turn, turn round', Osm {Rh.} چوره čevre 'circumference, circuit', Az čevrä 'circle', Brb {Tm.} čürä 'around' ('вокруг, кругом'), {Rl., Tm.} cūr- vi. 'turn round' ¶ Cl. 398, Rh. 735, 741, Hüs. 342, Tm. 243, 247, Rl. IV 213 ◊ FU *-y- and Pre-T **-w- developed in hiatus. The only N Ir. that can disappear in intervoc. position both in S and in K is *-h-.

362. *ĉUyṙ∇ 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > HS: S *oç̇ṙl̇j̇y- > Ar şiry- ~ şary- 'stagnated water with spoiled taste' ('aqua diu restagnans ut sapor corruptus sit'), şary- 'depravatum saporem habens' ¶ Fr. II 496 || K: GZ *ĉar- v. 'be bitter', d. *m-çar-e 'bitter' > OG, G m-çar-e 'bitter', Mg gito-çor-ap-a- {FS, K² 131} 'remove the bitter taste', {K² 307} 'calm down, cool down' ¶ FS K 458-9, Abul. 309, ≈ K² 131 (*m-çar-e 'bitter'), 307 (*çar- v. 'anger; irritate') || IE *(s)ker-(d^h-) 'cacare; dung, excrements' (× N *ĉ'ä'ṙ̇∇ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU *ĉ'uy|uṙ∇ 'bitter, spoiled, rotten' > pPrm *ĉūr- > Vt

чырс čīrs 'sour', čīrsa- v. 'turn sour, be fermented', Z чир- čir- v. 'turn rancid\bitter\tainted, turn sour' || pObU {Ht.} *čār- > pVg {Ht.} *čār- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > Vg: P šār-, NV/SV/LL šar-/šar, UL/Ss šor- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čār-, {Hl.} *čīr- v. 'turn tainted\bad' (of fish and meat) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D çār-, Nz/Kz šōr-, O šār- ¶ LG 307, Ht. #82 || A *č'ūyri- or *č'ūri- v. 'stink, be rotten' > T *čūri- or *čūyri- id. > Tkm čūyre-, Tk çürü-, Az čürü-, Chg, ET Tr {Rs.} čūri- 'verfaulen, verrotten', Qmq, ET {BN}, Uz, Qrg, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čiri-, Qzq, Qq, Nog šir(i)-, StAlt чирі- čiri-, Tki {Rl. ← Shaw} چيرو čirü-, VTt чepe- šьрь- (inf. чepү šьrү), Bsh cepe- sьрь-, Qzq шipi- šīri- (inf. šīrү), Qq, Nog širi-, Chv çěp- šьр-, Δ šьр- vi. 'rot', ? ET Δ {Jr.} čörü- ~ čürü- 'become worn, decayed, rotten'; -d- > *čūri-k 'rotten' > Tkm čuyrek, Tk çürük, Tbl, Tlt {Rl.}, ET, Qrg, Qmn, Tb čirik, SbTt Tö, Brb cirik, StAlt čirik id., VTt чepек šьрьк id., n. 'rot, dust of rotten wood', Bsh cepek sьрьк, Nog širik n. 'rot, rotten stuff' ¶ Rs. W 121, Md. 64, 163, Tkr 740, Tum. 245, TatR 634, Rl. III 2124-6, 2194, BN 32, Nj. 408, Jr. 77, Jud. 863, B DK 268, B DChT 165, Jeg. 211-2, Fed. II 111-2 || Tg *čirī- v. 'stink, be fetid' > Ewk çiri- id., Nn B čiriftala- v. 'be fetid', Ewk çiripçu adj. 'stinking' ¶ STM II 399 || pKo *čiri- v. 'be foul, emit a foul odour' > NKo čiri- ¶ S QK #722, MLC 1531 ¶¶ DQA ##301 (*č'ire 'stink, be rotten' > Tg, Ko + unc. M *čer 'phlegm, tumour' and T *čer 'bodily heaviness') ◇ K *a is likely to suggest that the pN labialized vw. was *o (N *čoyr▽).

363. *č'e' r₁a₁▽ 'e (stinging?) insect' > HS: CS *čar₁▽₁▽ 'e stinging insect (wasp or sim.)' > BHb צרנב čir'vā 'hornet' or 'wasp' (?), SmH 'צארב id., SmA צריתא çryt[?] id. (unless the original meaning is 'leprosy', as in JPA B צרנב çr^h - F Sl. P 470-1) ¶ GB 695, KB 989, Tal T I 320 (SmA צריתא in Ex. 23.28 and Deut. 7.20) || K *mçer- 'fly, insect' > OG mçer-: çaylis mçeri = LXX κυνόμυσα 'dog-fly', G mçer- 'insect', † 'fly', Mg čanž- ~ čand-, Lz mčaž-, Sv UB/L mēr, Sv Ln mer 'fly'; Zan ⇨ Arm ճանճետն čančetn 'fly, flies' ¶¶ K 141, K² 131, DCh. 930, Chx. 878, Q 386, TK 570, GP 217 || ?φ A *č'ar- + sxs. ({SDM97} *č'arc'u) 'e insect (locust, dragon-fly)' > M *čarča > WrM carca, carcaga(i), carcagaī, HIM царцаахай 'locust, grasshopper', {Luv.} царцаа 'locust', WrM damziğur carcagaī 'dragon-fly', Kl {Rm.} carca, carcā, carcāχā 'grasshopper, locust', Dgr čārčān 'locust',

Mnr H {SM} č'jarž_jaḡ 'sauterelle, cigale' ¶ MED 165, Luv. 605, KW 422, T DgJ 180, SM 443 || NaT *sarinčga 'locust' (× *sarig 'yellow?') > OT [MhK] saričḡa, MQp [AH] sarinčqa, sarinčqan, Qb {RI.} sarisqa 'locust', Sg {BIG} sarisḡa 'grasshopper', Xk sarisḡa 'кобылка (grasshopper, locust)'; T б→ R сараи'ча 'locust' ¶ Cl. 845-6, Rs. W 404, TL 187, RI. IV 325-6, BIG 183 || Tg: WrMc cacaraqu 'e locust' ¶ STM II 486 || ??φ pJ {S} *sunsu-musi (*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumuśi 'e cricket' (× N ʌ ≈ *žUṅ'č'U 'ant, stinging insect' [q.v.]) || pKo {S} *č'ānc'arí > MKo *č'ānc'arí, NKo č'amčari 'dragon-fly' (× N ʌ ≈ *žUṅ'č'U '↑?') ¶ S QK #293, Nam 416, MLC 1396 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *č'arč'u 'locust, dragon-fly'; KW 422 (M, T) || D *č'ēḡ- ({ʁGS} *č|č- ~ *ž|ž-) 'e insect' > Kn jarḡi 'centipede, scolopendra', Ml cēraṭṭa ~ tēraṭṭa, Tu tēraṭṭæ ᄅ cēraṭe ~ śēra(ṅ)ṭē 'centipede, millipede', Tl jerḡi, jerḡi, Prj žerri ᄅ cerḡi, Gnd žer ᄅ žerru, Knd seḡi 'centipede' ¶¶ D #2797 ◇ D *-ḡ- (the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. *-r-) suggests early loss of N *r or the presence of a vw. between N *r and *r. The length of the D *ē reflexes the lost lr. On the ev. of D the N etymon is likely to have had a front vw. (*e), while A *a may be explained by regr. as., possibly N *č'eraḡṅ > **č'ara-.

364. *č'iryâ 'to scratch\chisel, to shape (an object), to fashion' > K *č'er- 'scratch; depict' > OG čer- v. 'write', 'produce an image' (žvaris dačera 'made a sign of cross', sc. 'cross oneself'), G čer- 'depict, write' (žvaris dačera v. 'cross oneself', lit. 'depict a cross'), G Kzq čerṅa- 'make paintings on windows\doors', G M ga-č'era- 'depict a line', Mg č'ar-, Lz (n)č'ar-, Sv yr- / r- / ēr- (msd. UB li-yr-i) 'write'; FS adduces here OG, G čerṭ- v. 'prick (stechen)', čerṭ-il-i 'point', which is doubtful (because of the unexplained -ṭ-) ¶¶ K 249-50, K² 309, FS K 461, FS E 521-2 (+ err. K *mč'er- 'fly, insect', F N *č'e'r_ā_ḡṅ 'e [stinging?] insect'), Chik. 407, GP 163, Chx. 2142 || HS: CS *čūr-/ *č'īr- v. 'fashion, shape' > BHb ✓ č'wr G (pf. c. 𐤒𐤆𐤊 way'ya-č'ar) 'fashion, delineate', JEA {Sl.} ✓ č'wr G 'fashion, draw, form', Plm ✓ š'wr v. 'paint', Sr ✓ š'wr (pf. š'ār) 'form, fashion, paint'; D : Ar ✓ š'wr v. D 'shape out (a th.), paint, picture', MHb/JA ✓ č'yr D id.; CS *čūr-at- 'drawing, form' > BHb 𐤒𐤆𐤊 č'ūrā 'form, fashion', ChrPA 𐤒𐤆𐤊 š'wr?, Plm š'wrh 'Bild', Sr š'ūr'-t-ā 'form, image, statue', Ar صورة š'ūr-at- 'shape, exterior appearance, picture' ¶ KB 954, Sl. 956, JPS 476-7, BK I 1383-4 || A: T

*çîr- ~ *çîr- v. 'scratch, draw a line' > OT U ≥ VIII {Cl.} čiz, {Gbn., DTS} čiz- id., Osm {Bu.} چزمك čiz-mäk ~ چرمق čiz-maq 'to draw a line, to mark a boundary path', {Rh.} چزمك čiz-mek 'to draw (a line, mark, scratch), sketch, delineate', Tk çiz-, Ggz čiz-, Qrg siz-, Qrg S čiz- v. 'draw a line, mark', Az чизки čiz-ği 'line, stroke (линия, штрих)', Tkm чыз- čib- 'draw a line, draw (чертить), scratch' ¶ Cl. 432, Rs. W 112, DTS 147, Bu. I 476, Rh. 720, Hüs. 345, Tkr 743, Jus. 675, 883, Rl. III 2148-9 || Tg *°çirçī- > Ewk çirçī- (3s çirçī-rɜn) 'scratch off (skin on the face)' ¶ STM II 400, Vas. 522 ¶¶ ≠ DQA ##322 (A *č'ire 'cut, scrape': Tg + unc. T *çert- 'cut') || D *čīrañ- ({{GS}} *c|č-) 'small chisel' (× N *č̣∇R∇ 'flintstone, knife?') > Kn cīraṇa, cīrṇa, jīrṇa 'a small chisel, esp. used in cutting metals', Tl cīraṇamu 'a small chisel' ¶¶ D #2627.

365. ₂ *čâR₁i_p∇ (~ *-b-?) 'scratch\chisel, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE *skerb-/*skreb- (~ *-p-), *skrejb/p- 'scratch, scrape' > AS sćeorpan 'to scratch, to gnaw', OHG scarbōn 'to cut', scarpf 'sharp', MHG scharf adj. 'cutting', NHG scharf, AS sćearp 'sharp', NE sharp; AS sćeorf 'Einschnitt', OHG scurfen 'aufschneiden', NHG schürfen 'leicht abkratzen', 'to dig (for sth.)'; MHG schreff, AS sćrepan 'scratch'; NE scrape || BSl: Lt skrebėti 'to scrape', Ltv skrāpēt 'to scratch, to scrape', skrabt (1s prs. skrabu) id., 'to scoop, to hollow out', šķirība 'chink, split, gap', Ltv Δ skrīpāt 'einritzen, kratzen' || Sl *skreb- (inf. *skresti) > ChS оскребѣ оскреб-ѡ 'I scrape off', R скреб-у (inf. скрести), Uk скреб-у (inf. скребити), Sln škrébljem (inf. škrébati) v. 'scrape', Slk {Ma.} inf. škret' 'to scrape'; d. (iter.): Cz škrabatí 'to scratch, to scrape', Slk šrabat' id., P skrobać 'to scrape, to scrub, to erase' || L scrīb-ō, -ēre 'write' || Clt: OIr scríp- ({{Vn.}}: -p- = [b]) 'scratch', NIr scríobaim 'scrape, rub the surface, scratch', Brtt {ðRE} *skrebami 'scratch' > W scrapo, Cm scravnyas 'to scratch, Br skarañ 'to scratch, to rub' || Gk σκαρίψομαι, σκαρίψέω 'die Oberfläche eines Körpers aufritzen', 'scratch an outline' ¶ P 943-7 (unj. adduction of homo-\paro-nymous words of different origin), ≈ Frn. 815, Kar. II 203, 355, F II 720, WH II 499-500, Vn. S 55, RE 126, Ho. 274-6, 282, Kb. 869, KM 635-6, 684, Vs. III 656, Ma. CS 50, Srz. II 730 || HS: WS *✓çrb > Gz ✓şrb G (js. çaşrəb) 'hew, do carpentry', Sb şrbt '(?) cutting of a road', ?σşrb n. 'harvest', Mh {Jo.} mşrāb, Jb C {Jo.}

məʒrɛb 'saw-edged knife used to cut grass', Sq {L} ✓ ʒrb G, Ar **صرب** ✓ ʒrb G v. 'cut', BHb **צַרְבַּת** ʒā'rɛbɛt 'scab, scar (of a sore)' (× Hb ✓ ʒrb 'burn, scorch' < CS *✓ ʒrb 'kindle'?) ¶ L G 56, BK I 1327, Hv. 393, Ln. 1674, KB 985-6, BDB 863, BGMR 144, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241.

366. ? ***ʒor**∇ (or ***ʒor**∇?) to drip, to trickle' > HS: S ***ʒ**^orr > Ak fOB ✓ ʒrr G (p. i ʒrur) 'flow, drip', 'libate, pour out' ¶ Sd. 1084-5, CAD XVI 105-6 || **K** ***ʒur**- 'squeeze out, strain' (× N ***ʒur**∇ 'squeeze out [liquid], strain, sift' [q.v. ffd.]) || **U** {UEW} ***ʒor**∇ 'leak, flow, drip' (× N ***ʒoh₂l**∇₁r∇ 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' [q.v.]) || **D** ***ʒōr**- ({{ʒGS} ***ʒ**|s-?) 'trickle, pour, flow down' (× N ***ʒūr**'ū' 'to stream') > Prj ʒōr- v. 'trickle', Png hōr- v. 'drip'; cp. also N ***ʒoh₂l**∇₁r∇ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D ##2883, 2893 || **A** ***ʒur**- 'pour, stream' (× N ***ʒoh₂l**∇₁r∇ '↑') > M: Ba ʒur- vi. 'pour' (of tears) ¶ T BJ 151 || Tg ***ʒor**- 'stream', 'run' (of water) > Ul ʒorʒu- id. ('струиться'), 'flow down', ?φ Nn B caoqa 'rivulet (in the mountains)', WrMc adj. ʒor seme 'welling out, spouting' ¶ STM II 409 ◇ Doubtful, because the etymon has an uncontaminated reflex in Ak only. Due to the loss of the opposition "emphatic ↔ plain voiceless" in U and D and the loss of the lr. ***ʒ** in K it was doomed to coalesce with paronymous N words of a similar meaning.

367. ₂ ***ʒur**∇ 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift' > **K** ***ʒur**- 'squeeze out, press; strain', {K²} 'flow out' (× N ? ***ʒor**∇ 'to drip, to trickle' [q.v.]) > OG ʒur- 'squeeze out' (gamo-w-ʒur-e sasumelsa šina 'I pressed [the grapes] into the cup'- Gen. 40.11), G ʒur- 'squeeze out (juice, etc.), strain', Mg ʒur- / ʒir- (~ ʒ3r-), Lz (n)ʒor-/(n)ʒir- {FS} id., Sv nʒur- / nʒ3r- 'strain, drain off (a vessel)', ?σ Mg ʒur- {K} 'fall, sink' ¶¶ K 246, Fn. KW-4 #66, FS K 451-2, FS E 511, Chx. 2199-200, Q 382 || **HS**: Eg G ʒʒr 'sieve' ¶ EG V 541.

368. (₂?) ***ʒot**∇ 'drop' > **K** (GZ or pK) ***ʒwet**- n. 'drop' > OG ʒwet-, G ʒvet-, Mg ʒwet- ~ ʒwat- id., Lz d. o-ʒot-u-a {FS} 'Tropfstelle', o-ʒwet-el-a ~ o-ʒot-ur-a 'place for litter in the yard'; GZ ***ʒwet**-/***ʒwt**- v. 'drip, drop' > OG ʒwet-/ʒwt-, G ʒvet-, Mg ʒwat- id.; ?? Sv {K} wed- n. 'drop, dew', adduced in K 250, is considered very problematic in K² ¶¶ K 250, K² 310-1, FS K 462, FS E 524, Chx. 2152-3, Abul. 551 || **D** ***ʒot**∇ ({{ʒGS} ***ʒ**-) n. 'drop', ***ʒot**∇- v. 'fall in drops' > Tm ʒotʒu, Kt ʒot, Td swiʒ, Kn ʒotʒu, Brh ʒut 'a drop'; Tm ʒotʒu, Td swiʒ- 'fall in drops', Kt ʒot-, Mlt ʒate id., leak', Brh ʒuttiṅ v. 'drip' ¶¶ D #2835 || **HS**: S

?σ,φ *^oʿs¹a'day- 'dew' > Ar سَدَى sadā 'night dew', √sdy (pf. sadiya) 'copiosum habet rorem (terra)' ¶ Ln. 1335-6, Fr. II 302 ¶¶ S *s (= *[c]) is from a deglottalized *ç. S -d- (for -t-) still needs explaining.

369. *ç¹ü¹t∇ (or *ç¹ü¹t̥∇?) 'throw, fling, pour' > K o ^o-ç̣iṭ- > G -ç̣iṭ- 'zwischen den Zähnen ausspucken' ¶ Chx. 2176 || IE: NaIE *(s)keud-/*(s)kud- 'throw, cast', {E} *(s)keud- > pAl {O} *skeuda > Al T hedh- (aor. hodha), Al G {Mn.} hudh v. {AlbED} 'throw', {Mn.} 'fling' (= Al G {Kf.} hudh, hudhi 'ρ(πτω)') || ON skjóta, AS scéotan 'to shoot, to throw', OHG sciozān 'to shoot (arrows), to throw', NHG schießen, MDt scieten, Dt schieten, OSx skiotan 'to shoot', NE shoot || Sl *kǎda-ti / pfv. *kǎ(d)-nq-ti 'to throw' > ChS {Mikl.}, OR КЫДАТИ kɪdati 'to throw', OCS ИСКЫДАТИ is-kɪdati 'to throw away', R ки́дать (pfv. кинуть), Uk кидати 'to throw, to cast, to fling', Cz kydati 'to throw, to throw away', SCr kǐdati id., 'to clean the cattle-shed', kǐnuti 'to throw, to cast', Slv kídati, Slk kydat' (pfv. kydnut'), P kidać 'to throw', HLs kidać, LLs kidaś 'to pour out, to shake out' ¶ WP II 554, P 955-6, EI 581, ≈ Mn. 116O-1 (unconvincingly adduces OI cōdati v. 'incites, animates', Lt skudrūs 'quick'), Kf. 135, 138, O 143-4, Vr. 496, Ho. 276, Ho. S 66, OsS 797-8, Schz. 257, Kb. 885, KM 647-8, Vs. II 230, ESSJ XIII 252-4, Glh. 316-7 || HS: Eg fP s̥t̥y 'throw (out\away), pour, shoot (arrow)' (× N *šid∇ 'sprinkle, pour' and possibly Eg s̥t̥y 'lay' < N *š¹āt∇ 'sit, sit down', accounting for the unexpected s-) ¶ EG IV 328-9, Fk. 252 || ?φ WS *s|šūṭ- v. 'pour, spill' > Gz -sūṭ- (pf. sōṭa, js. yə-sūṭ) id., ? Ar sawṭ- 'place where water collects', {BK} 'mare d'eau stagnante; le superflu d'eau d'un vivier qui déborde'; here some scholars adduce dubious Sb and Hb forms (h. l.) that are semantically interpreted on the basis of this et. (a vicious circle!): Sb tiSa ṣṣyṭ ({{BGMR}} 'rainwater cisterns' [?]) and Hb 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤔 ṣšōṭ in the phrase ṣšōṭ ṣšōṭēp (interpreted by some as 'fließender Flut', / discussion in GB 814); if the Hb and Sb parallels are correct (which is highly qu.), the S √ is to be reconstructed as *√šwṭ; otherwise both *√swṭ and *√šwṭ are possible ¶ LG 521, BGMR 130, BK I 1164 || A: M *çit̥dqu- 'pour (schütten, gießen)' > MM [MA] çitqu- 'schütten', WrM c̣idqu- , HIM цутга- v. 'pour, pour into, smelt, cast', WrO c̣uḍxu- 'pour in, flow into', Kl {KRS} цутх- cutx̣- v. 'cast (metal, glass); drive out (a gopher from its burrow by pouring water in it)', {Rm.} cutx̣α-χα 'gießen, in Formen gießen; sich ergießen', 'ausfließen' (ein Fluß) ¶ Pp. MA 135, MED 177, Krg. 649, KRS 642, KW

434 ◇ The de-emphatization and desaffricatization of the initial N ***ç|ć** in HS is a typical process. In K the glottalization of the stem-final cns., if not original, may be due to the ass. infl. of the N initial ***ç|ć̣**. The S √ with its final ***ṭ** belongs here only if the glottalized ***ṭ̣** is original. In this latter case the IE tenuis ***-d-** is hard to explain. The causes of delabialization of ***ū** in M (whence M ***i**) need investigating.

370. *çAHt∇ ⇢ ***çAHd∇** (= ***çAç|ht∇** ⇢ ***çAç|hd∇**?) 'red' > K: GZ ***ç̣it-** 'be(come) red' > OG, G çit- id. (OG, G çit-s 'is red'), Mg çit- 'become red'; ⇢ GZ ***ç̣it-el-** 'red' > OG, G çitel-, Mg çita-, Lz (m)çita id. ¶ K 251, K² 313, FS E 526, Chx. 2162-3, Q 388-9 || HS: ḷ S ***√sç|hd** > Ak {Sd.} **sēd-um** 'red' ¶ Sd. 1034; CAD XIII 206 considers the meaning of this word uncertain || C: SC {E} ***çéd-** 'red' > Brn {Wh.} çēde, Irq/Grw {Wh.} çēre, Alg {Wh.} çēre 'blood', ?? SC ⇢ Mb m-sére 'red(-brown) cow' || ?φ Dhl {EEN, To.} çíraraʔe 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 22, E SC 179, E PC #171, EEN 17, To. D 149 ¶ Ehret reconstructs the pSC meaning 'red' on the ev. of Mb and Dhl (which he considers as belonging to SC) ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA (pHS ***cayd-** 'red', SC ***cēd-** id.) || D ***çāt-** ({ṭGS} ***ç|ç̣-**) 'red colour' > Kn **jāju** ~ **jādu** id., 'colour of red ochre', Tl **jāju** ~ **jādu** 'redness' ¶¶ D #2437 ¶¶ D ***-t-** is likely to go back to the N cluster ***-Ht-** (D ***-t-** usually goes back either to N ***-ṭ-** or to a ***t-** cluster). ◇ If Ak **sēd-um** means 'red', the N etymon is ***çAç|ht∇** or ***çAç|hd∇**.

371. *ç̣oQṭ∇ 'dark, darkness' > K ***ç̣|ç̣gud-** (dis. from ****ç̣|ç̣guṭ-**?) 'dark' > OG çqwdiadi, çqudeva 'darkness (μακ)', G çq̣vdiadi id., çq̣viadoba 'darkness (темнота)' ¶ Chik. 200, DCh. 1701 || IE: NaIE ***skot-** 'shade, darkness, shadow', {EI} ***skoto-s** 'shadow, shade' > Gk σκότος 'darkness' || OIr (L-gr. of apophony) scáth 'shade, shelter, shadow, reflection (in a mirror)', W **ysgodigo** 'être ombrageux', MW **ysgawd** ~ **isgawd** 'ombre, obscurité, esprit nocturne', cy-sgawd 'shadow, image', W cy-sgod, OCrn scod, MCrn scos, NCrn skēz, MBr **squeut** 'shadow', Br **skeud** 'shade, shadow' || Gt skadus 'shadow', Dn, Nr skodde 'fog', OHG scato (gen. scatuwes) 'shadow', NHG Schatten id., 'shade', Dt schadow 'shadow', AS sceadu (dat. sceadwe) 'shade, shadow', NE shade, shadow ¶ WP II 600. P 957, AHDI 61, EI 508, F II 739-40, Vn. S 36, Ern. 646, YGM-1 151, Hm. 728, Fs. 427, Skeat 552, Schz. 255, OsS 782, Kb. 870, KM 637-8 ¶ IE ***sk-** for the expected ***sk^ω-** has not yet been explained || U: FP ***çōttE** 'black' > Prm: pZ ***çōt-** ({LG} ***ç̣ōt-**) > StZ чōд čzd / čzdy-, Z Δ čzd, Yz 'čūd

'bilberries' || Chr L {Ü} чотыр čotɨr 'dark-haired person' ¶ LG 310, Lt. 148, Ü 246.

372. *č₀w∇ 'inform, make know\hear' > K: GZ *čaw-/ *čw- v. 'communicate, inform, announce' > OG, G sčav- v. 'mean, designate, inform, teach' (< 3m px. *s- 'to him\her' + *čaw-), Mg č(0)- v. 'inform, tell', Lz č(v)- v. 'speak, tell' ¶ K² 291-2, Chik. 393-4, Fn. KW-4 54, FS K 438, FS E 494-5 || **HS:** CS *✓čww (~ *✓čwy|w?) > Ar صَوَّةٌ suww-at- (pl. صَوِيٌ suwwa-n) 'pierre qui indique la route; écho, retentissement de la voix \ d'un son', ? Hb ܢܘܨܐ n. 'command, ordinance', ✓čwy|w v. D (pf. ܢܘܨܐ čiw'wā) 'command, order, lay charge upon' (× S *✓wčy > Ar ✓wšy G 'recommend, appoint as executor', Sh †[pf. أَوْصَى ʔawšā] 'order, command') ¶ BK I 1388 and II 1551-2, KB 946-8, BDB 845-6 || **A:** M *^očobuɣa > WrM cobuɣa, cobuɣu, HIM цовоо 'clever, smart, quickwitted, alert' (usually of children) ¶ MED 193.

373. ₂ *č∇χU 'be alive\healthy' > K: GZ *čχow- 'live' ⇨ [1] GZ {K} *čχo(w)n- 'save (soul)' > OG cχown- 'save (so.), make so.\sth. whole' (gacχovna šen 'hath made thee whole, Mt. 9.22), cχond- ps. 'live', G cχon- 'save (soul), be saved; live, be alive', cχovneba 'life', cχovr- v. 'live', Mg čχon- v. 'save'; [2] GZ *čχow-e| - 'living, animal' > OG cχowel- 'alive, animated, animal', G cχove| - 'animal', Mg čχo-u ~ čχu ~ čχu-u 'cow' ¶ K 232, K² 276, FS K 417-8 || **HS:** WS *✓čħħ v. 'be alive, healthy' > Mh šəħ, Jb C ša'ħi 'alive, awake, healthy', Hrs šəħ 'alive, healthy', Mh šəħħāt, Jb E/C šəħat 'health', Ar ✓šħħ G 'be in good condition, be healthy', Ar šihħat-, Sb šħ, šħħ 'health, good condition' ¶ BK I 1056, 1310-1, Jo. M 360, Jo. J 238, Jo. H 115, BGMR 142 ◇ In K there is a compulsory glottal as. (here deglottalization) within "harmonic" cns. clusters (here *č + *χ > *čχ).

374. ₂ *ča, dem. pronoun of distal deixis > **A:** Tg *čā-, pronominal stem of distal deixis (× N *čE 'that' [distal or intermediate deixis]?) > Nn Nh čadu 'there' (place), Ul čadu id., 'there' (direction), Nn Nh čala id., Ul čala 'there' (direction), ? Ud {Krm.} čayla 'far away', Ewk čāwū ܐܘܟܘܢܐ čāwū 'that which is farther, the following', Lm čāw id., 'that which is far', Sln čāwū 'the opposite, that on the other side', WrMc casī ({Pp.} čāsī) 'there' (direction), 'to the other side', calā 'there, on the other side' ¶ STM II 376-7, Krm. 309 || ?σ M *ča(ɣa)-, {Pp.} *ča-: M *čaɣada ({Pp.} *čagāda) > MM ča,ada 'bei, jenseits' ({H} 'eng, nahe'), WrM cagana

{Kow.} 'au delà de, plus loin', {MED} 'farther, beyond, behind, yonder, trans-, after', HIM {MED} цаана id., {Pp.} cāna 'on the other side'; M *čaγasi > WrM caγasi 'away from, farther', HIM {MED} цааш id., {Pp.} caiši 'in jener Richtung, weiter dorthin', WrM {Kow.} ca-si 'un peu de côté, un peu plus loin' ¶ MED 158, 187, H 24, Lg. VMI 24, Kow. 2088, 2096 || AdS of pKo *čà₁ 'this' > MKo čà₁ (< N *č'É 'that') ¶ S QK #606 ¶¶ Pp. VG 26 (M, Tg), DQA ##255 (A *č'a 'that, beyond [not very far]') || HS: CS *'θamma 'there' (place) > Hb ׁׁׁ šām, M'b, Ph, DA šm, Ug θm, BA תַּמָּא 'tammā, JEA {Sl.} תַּמ tam, JA {Js., Lv.} תַּמ tām, Sr tammā, NNEA {Mcl.} tama, Md tam, Ar تَمَّamma id., SmA tm 'then' ¶ KB 1430-2, 1799, OLS 495, Js. 1675, Lv. IV 649, Mcl. 322, Br. 82, Tal 953 ◇ Related to N *č'ü¹ 'that of...?' (q.v.).

375. *č'ü¹ 'that of..., that which' > K *čwe-, first component of poss. pronouns: **[1]** K {Gm.} *čwem₁ 'my' ({K²} *č(w)em-, {K, FS} *čem₁ 'my') > GZ *čem₁ > OG, G čem-i, Mg čkim-i, Lz čkim-i ~ škim-i 'my' || USv mi-šgu ~ mi-šgwi, Sv L mi-šgwi, Sv Ln mi-škwi 'my' ¶¶ K *-w- is preserved in Sv, but was lost in GZ (dis. due to the presence of *m?) ¶¶ K 219, K² 255, FS K 387, FS E 434-5, Gm. SSh 41-2, TK 571, GP 220, Dn. s.v. mišgvi, Top. SJ 83 || **[2]** *čwen- 'our' > OG čuen-i, G čwen-i, Mg čkən-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ škun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv {TK}: UB gwi-šgwey ~ gu-šgwey, LB gwišgwe ~ gušge, L gušgwe, Ln guškwe 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-šgwē(y), LB {GP} nišgwe 'our' excl.; → GZ *čwen 'we' > OG čwen, G čwen, Δ čon, Mg čkə ~ čki, Lz čkun ~ čkin ~ šku 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, K² 256-7, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Q 367, TK 183, Top. SJ 83, GP 94-5, 237 || **[3]** pre-K **čw-sen- > K *šwen- 'thy' > Sv UB {TK} isgw-i ~ isgu, Sv L isgwi, Sv Ln iskwi 'thy' || GZ *šen- > OG, G šen-i 'thy' (→ OG, G šen 'thou'), Mg skan-i, sқан-i, Lz skan-i, ckan-i 'thy' ¶¶ FS E 427-8, K 216, K² 250, Schm. 142, TK 299, Top. SJ 83, GP 299 ¶¶ These K poss. pronouns emerge from N constructions *oč'ü¹ mi 'my' (*mi 'I'), *oč'ü¹ n∇ 'our' (*n∇ 'we' excl.), *oč'u¹ s'ü¹ nu 'thy' (*s'ü¹ 'thou', *nu 'of' → [in descendant lgs.] marker of obl. cases) || HS: S *θ-, nota genitivi > OAk sg. m. nom. θ-α, accus. θ-α, gen. θ-i 'which', sg. f. nom./accus. θ-αt, gen. θ-αt-i, pl. m. nom./accus. θ-ū̄t, gen. θ-ū̄t-i, pl. f. nom./accus. θ-ā̄t, gen. θ-ā̄t-i (θ = š ↔ ś < S *š and *š̂), Ak ša 'which', ? BHb [Deborah's Song] ša +gmc. (subordinative cnjc.) 'that', MHb šε + gmc. cnjc. 'which, that', Ph š, Pun (LSc) SA, SY ¶ Sd. G § 46, KB 1271-2 || IE: NaIE *-ist^(h)0-, sx. of the

superlative degree > Gk ἡδίστος, OHG suōzīsto, OI 'svadiṣṭhas 'sweetest', Gk πλεῖστος, ON flestr, Av fraēšta 'plurimus', Gk μέγιστος, OI 'mahīṣṭhas 'greatest', Gk ἐλάχιστος, OI 'laghiṣṭhas 'longest'; acc. to Hirt, *-ist(h)0- goes back to *-is-st(h)0-, where *-is- is a sx. of cmpr. (it means that the N prototype of the IE sprl. may be reconstructed as nomen + N *^ry¹iyō sE č'ū¹ [lit. 'than / related to + he\she + that which'], see s.v. *^ry¹iyō 'which' [rel.], 'that which, related to') ||| Acc. to Hirt IG III 196, *-t(h)0s of some ordinal numerals (OI catur'thas 'fourth', ṣaṣ'thas 'sixth', etc.) is of the same origin ¶ Hirt IG III 195-6, BD II/1 659-60, Bks. 199 || A: Tg *-çī, nominal sx. with several functions: [1] sx. of ordinal numerals: Ewk -çī (ūmūčī 'first', jūçī 'second', ilaçī 'third') WrMc -ci (emuci 'first', ilaci 'third'), Nn -čja/-čjz (toṅgačja 'fifth', nadačja 'seventh', ṅunṅunčjz 'sixth'), [2] sx. of adjectives denoting age (d. from numerals): Ewk jūçī 'two-years-old', ilaçī 'three-years-old'; probably here also Nn -pči that forms adjectives from words of time: bala-pči 'ancient custom' (← bala 'long ago'), [3] sx. with the meaning 'having X', 'having relation to X', e.g. Ewk hut3-çī 'who has children' (← hut3 'child'), Tg *oro(n)-çī 'reindeer-breeder' (← *oron 'reindeer') > Ewk oroçī 'reindeer-breeder', Lm orɔç id. (a name for Lamuts of some regions), Orc oroçi, Ud oroči, Ul oroči, Nn oroče 'Orochi' (ethnic name ← 'reindeer-breeder'), WrMc oronco 'reindeer-breeder' ¶ Vas. 797, Avr. GNJ I 221-2, 239-42, Hrl. 40, STM II 25 || NaT *-çi, denominative sx. for names of professions and other nomina agentis (possibly ×N *¹ca - *¹ca, a marker of relative constructions > sx. of adjectives?): OT -či /-či, {Cl.} -čī / -čī, e.g. {MhK} āmči 'medicine man', aṽīči 'treasurer', umduči 'beggar', aṽāqči 'bowl-maker', ötügči 'intercessor', as well the cognate sx. of later T lgs.; it is theoretically possible that the T sx. *-nç of the ordinal numerals (OT üčü-nč 'third', bešinč 'fifth', etc.) belongs here as well, but it is better explained as related to FU *-ńć- of ordinal numerals ¶ MKD 315, Cl. xl, 53, 80, 136, 157, 271 ◇ AD PP ∇.

376. *čļib∇ 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE *stēb(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick' (×N *¹o¹b₁∇₁∇ or *¹s∇b₁∇₁∇ 'stem, piece of wood' [q.v.]): [1] *stebh-, *steb- > Gk σταφυλή 'grape vine, bunch of grapes', {P} 'Weinstock, Weintraube' ||| OIr {P} sab 'shaft, arrow, stick', {Vn.} 'tige, pieu, bâton servant d'appui' (P: < *stəb₁h₁ā),

Nlr *sabh* 'bolt\bar of a door\gate; a short, thick stick' || ON *staf-r* 'staff (Stab, Stock)', OHG *stab* 'staff, stick, club' (> NHG *Stab* 'staff, stick'), AS *stæf* 'staff, stick' (> NE *staff*) || Ltv *stabs* 'post, pole, pillar', Lt *stābas* id., 'idol', Ltv *stebe* 'mast' || NaIE °*steb-* ≈ pillar' > ON *stǫpull* 'post, pillar', {Vr.} 'dicker Pfahl', AS *stapol* 'pillar, prop, stem' || [2] NaIE **stob₁-*∇r- > Lt *stābaras* 'stalk, stem, dry twig\branch' || Sl ≈ **stoborъ*, {Vs.} **stǫbъrъ* > SrChS **СТОБОРЪ** *stoborъ* 'column', d. OR, RChS **СТОБОРНИЕ** *stoborije* 'row of posts, colonnade', SCr † *stōbōr* 'column, pillar', Slv {Kmc.} *stebēr* id., 'pier (of a bridge)', {Vs.} 'idol', Blg 'стобор ~ сто'бор 'pale fence' || Gmc: Dn *stavaær* 'high mast, high pole', Sw Δ {P} 'pale (Zaunpfahl)' ¶ P 1011-3, EI 442 (**sth₂b^ho/e_h-* 'post, pillar'), F II 778-9, Vn. S 3, Dnn. 585, Vr. 541, 559, Ho. 314-7, Kb. 947, OsS 861, KEN 647, Tr. 280, Frn. 890-1, Mikl. E 323, Mikl. L 885, Kmc. 819, Vs. III 762-3 || U: FU (+ext.) **čiwδ* | ∇ > ObU {ϑHl.} **čīwəl* 'ε beam' > pVg **šīwəl* 'cross-beam' > Vg: LK *šēwəl*, MK/UK *sēwəl* id., P *šäwältäp* 'Gestell'; pOs **čiyəl* ~ **čeyəl* 'supporting beam' > Os: K/Km *čexət* id. ¶ Ht. #98 || D **čivva* ({ϑGS} **č-*) '≈ piece of wood, stick' > Nkr *šivva* 'wood', Klm *šivva* 'piece of fuel', ? Tl *cuuva* 'twig, small flexible stick or cane' ¶¶ ≈ D #2600 ◇ Qu., because the IE √ has an alt. et.

377. ₂ **čûb* ∇ 'bend, turn, turn back, give back' > HS: WS (or S?) **θūb-* 'return, give back' > BHb ✓ *šwb* G (ip. -*šūb-*), OA **שוב** [✓ *θwb*] G, JA, Sr ✓ *twb* G (ip. -*tūb-*), Ar ✓ *θwb* G (ip. -*θūb-*) 'turn back, return', JEA ✓ *twb* G 'answer, raise an objection', Ug ✓ *θwb* 'turn back; turn to; answer', Sb ✓ *θwb* G 'repair; complete\execute (construction); reward, recompense', Mn {MA} ✓ *θwb* G 'decree', Qt {Rk.} ✓ *θwb* G 'succeed; offer', Mh ✓ *θwb* G (pf. *θwūb*), Jb C/E ✓ *θwb* G (pf. *θwūb*) 'requite (so.)', ??σ Ak fOB ✓ *šwb* (p. *i-šūb*) 'tremble, sway' ¶ KB 1326-31, A #2828, OLS 484-5, Sl. 1196, Ln. 361ff., BGMR 151, MA 99, Rk. 178, Jo. M 419, Jo J 285, CAD XVII/1 16 || Eg MK *wšb* v. 'answer' ¶ EG I 371-2, Tk. I 313 ¶ -š- (for the expected -s) may be due to contamination with a different √, namely HS **š∇b* 'answer' (> Ch **šb* 'answer' > WCh: AG **lap* [< **šab*] > Ang {Flk.} *lap*, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} *láp* id., Chip *lɔp* *g^we*, Gm *ni lap* v. 'answer' || Bl {Lk.} *low-* [< **šob-*], Ngm *lap*, Dr *lùwì* id. || CCh: Pdl *šèwá* 'answer' || Hld *šuwā* [š- for š- is puzzling] || FG *žùbàtí* || ? Mwl *ùlùápá* id. || Db *ti žòwùlà* id., cf. ChL, Nw. 22 [#1], J S II 72, Frz. DM 31, Lk. PVB II 137) ¶¶ Tk. I 203, 399 (Blv.'s

law: Eg ω- ÷ S *-ū-) || IE: NaIE {P} **osteub_Lh₁-ma*, **stoub_Lh₁-ma* > Clt: W
 ʏs t u m n. 'bend' → 'shape, posture', Br s t u m m 'forme, aspect' ¶ ≈ P
 1034, YGM-1 447, Hm. 765 || ?φ Gil: Gil A (ʒo-) = zo-/ço-/jo- vt.
 'bend' ¶¶ ST 88.

378. *č'aʔu'ba 'cloth, sack' > A: M *čuba '≈ fur coat' > WrM cuba
 {Rm.} 'large fur coat', {Ms.} 'short fur vest', {Kow.} cuba degel 'e coat
 (manteau)' (degel 'jacket'), WrM {MED} cuba, HIM цуб, Brt cyба
 'raincoat', Kl цуб 'sheepskin coat, fur coat (тулуп, шуба)', Kl Ö/T
 cuwυ 'Überrock, großer Pelz, großer Regenrock' ¶ MED 203, Chr. 395,
 Kow. 2200-1, KRS 639, KW 435 || pJ *tāpāra 'sack' > OJ tāpāra, J: T/Kg
 tawarā, K táwàrà ¶ S QJ #665, Mr. 544 || ?σ pKo *čar 'sack' ({DQA}: <
 *čawar- < *čabar-) > MKo čaru, NKo čar ¶ S QK #751, MLC 1392 ||
 ?σ Tg *japu(ku) 'quiver' > Orc žapu, žapku, žapuku, Ul žapaυ(n-), Nn B
 žafυ id., WrMc žabqu 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251 ¶¶ DQA #221 (A
 *čābā 'sack' > Tg, Ko, J) || HS: S: Ar θawb- '(any) cloth' ¶ BK I 240-1
 || D *čavaļi '(any) cloth' (× N *čaw'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress') > Tm
 cavaļi 'cloth, piece-goods', Ml cavaļi, Kn javaļi 'any cloth', Tu
 javaļi, jauļi 'cloth', Tl javaļi 'cloths, drapery' ¶¶ D #2394 || ? K:
 G čob-aļ-i 'Netz (Teil des Bauchfells)' ◇ Tg and pJ *-p- < N *-?∇b-.

379. (₂?) *čay∇d_L∇_Ly∇ 'female breast' > HS: WS **θaday-* id. > BHb
 pl. (< du.) םִדַּיִם šā'dayim 'female breasts', sg. (< pl.\du.) םִדַּי šād,
 BHb B sg. šād 'mother's breast' (acc. to Nld NB 121 and GB, BHb T םִדַּי
 šod id. is an erroneous vocalization for םִדַּי šād), Ug θd ~ đd, JA pl.
 תִּדַּיִן tad'dīn / תִּדַּיִן tadday'yā pl., Sr tə'd-ā, SmA td, Ar ثَدِي
 θady-un, ثَدِي θada-n, Mh θōdi (pl. θī'day?), Hrs θōdi, Jb E/C 'θɔdɛ?, Sq
 {Jo.} 'todi 'breast'; hardly here Ak fMB šaddu 'e a chest or container'
 ¶ KB 1316-7, A ##2723, 2842, OLS 139, 487, Tal 942, Js. 1647, Br. 816,
 Jo. M 415, Jo. H 132, CAD XVII/1 42, MiK I #1.280 || AdS of Eg fP šdy
 v. 'suckle' (from N *šūn₃∇ 'milk; to suck[le]' × N *sūt_Ly_L∇ ~
 *sū_Ly_Lt∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk') ¶ The unexpected Eg š- (for
 s-, which is the reg. cognate of S *θ) is due to the above merger with N
 *šūn₃∇ ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 || A: Tg ≈ *č^{ra}ja|en ~
 *čad|jan 'breast, female breast' > WrMc cezen 'upper part of the
 chest', Ewk Uc jadan, Lm jɔjin ɔ jajan, Lm A je| 'udder', Neg † joyan,
 Ork dada-qta 'female breast' ¶ STM I 242 and II 419 || pKo {S} *čjā₁č
 'female breast' > MKo čjā₁s, NKo cə₁c čā₁t ¶ S QK #11, Nam 426, MLC

1460 || *AdS* of M *č̣eʁeʒin 'breast, chest' (< N *Ceg∇ 'breast, milk', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA ##260 *č̣'äyʒ∇ 'breast' (M, Tg, Ko *÷ pJ {S} o *tì, *tìtì 'female breast' *÷ T *ç̣iç̣ig ~ *ç̣iç̣ig 'ewe; fat tail'), S AJ 32-3, 76, 88, 279 ¶¶ A *-ẓ̌- < *-dy- || ?φ IE: NaIE *d_lh₁ed^h- ({P} *d^hed^hn-, {Dv.} *dad^h-) 'milk' (× N *dod_lh₂∇ '≈ tip, nipple') > OI 'dadhi 'sour milk' || Pru dadan 'milk' || pAl {O} *dedi- > d. (dim.) djathë 'cheese' ¶ If the IE √ belongs here, *d_lh₁- (for the expected *st-) may be due to as. and the Ll.-factor ¶ P 241-2, EI 382 (*'d^hed^hh₁i [gen. *d^hed^hh₁nōs] 'coagulated [sour] milk'), Dv. #934, M K II 15, M E II 923-3, En. 155, O 67; M, O, and EI suppose that the IE word is derived from *d^hēj- 'suck'.

380. ₂ *č̣Eg∇ 'to prick' (→ 'to butt') > K {F} *oč̣ig- > G X č̣ig- v. 'butt', č̣ig-av-s 'butts with horns' ¶ Chx. 1934 || IE: NaIE *steg^h- v. 'prick' > ON *steggi (*'pricker') in andarsteggi 'male duck, drake' (andar- < pGmc *anuði- 'duck'), Ic, Far steggi 'male fowl', Sw stagg 'Nardus stricta' ({WP} 'steifes und stehendes Gras'), 'stickleback (Gasterosteus)' || Lt P stēgē, stēgis 'stickleback', Ltv stagars, Δ stagaris 'stickleback, tittlebat' (with a puzzling r) || Sl *steg- v. 'quilt' (← v. *'prick') > R cтeгaтb 'to quilt; to whip, to lash', 'cтeжka 'a quilting, stitch', P ścięg, ścig, Cz steh 'a stitch' ¶ WP II 622, P 1014-5, Vr. 545, Bv. 696, JM 410, Hlq. 1063, Tr. 285, Frn. 900, ME III 1037-8, Turk. 628, Ma. CS 471, ≈ Vs. III 751, Mikl. E 320 ◇ Fn. KD #59 (+ err. D *č̣ik- 'split', at variance with the reg. sound corr. [D *-k- does not correspond to K *-g-], hence it is preferable to connect D *č̣ik- with IE *(s)teig- 'prick' < N *č̣ika 'to prick, to split' [q.v.]).

381. *č̣a^ha 'to stop, to stand (up)' (→ 'to raise') > HS: S *o√θwγ > Ar √θwγ (ip. -θwiy-) v. 'halt, remain\settle (in a place), stay' ¶ BK I 243, Hv. 74, Ln. 365-6 || IE *steh- (= *stea₂-) / *sthe- / *sth₂- > NaIE *stā- / *o^osthe- (preserved in OI only) / *sta- 'stand' > OI (1s aor.) a-sthá-m id. || Gk (1s aor.) ἕστην id. || L stā- (prs.), Osc stait (3s prs.) id. || Clt: Brtt {RE} *stabīmi 'stand' > OBr sab, MBr saff, sav; vb. n. with the sx. *-il: MW seuyll, W sefyll, Crn, Br sevel 'to stand' || Gmc: Dt, NNr, Sw stā, OSx stān, OHG stān ~ stēn, NHG stehen 'to stand'; (d.?): Gt, OSx, AS standan, ON, NNr, Sw standa, OHG stantan 'to stand', NE stand || Lt stóti (1s prs. stóju) 'to stand (up), to take one's stand', Ltv stāt 'to stop, to cease'; ↗ (res.) Lt stovėti, Ltv stāvēt 'to stand' || Sl *sta- (inf. *stāti) 'stand up, halt' > OCS cтaтн stati, SCr stāti, Slv stāti, Slk stat' 'to stand

up, to halt', Cz *státi se* (1s fut. *stanu se*) id., 'to become'; d. (res.?) **stojǎti* 'to stand' (1s prs. **stojǫ*) > OCS *СТОЯТИ* *stoyati*, R *сто'ять*, Uk *сто'яти*, SCr *stàjati*, Slv *státi*, Cz *státi* (1s prs. *stojím*), Slk *stát'*, P *stać* id., Blg *сто'я* 'I stand' ||| rdp. **sistā-* > Gk prs. *ἵστημι* 'I stand' ||| Av *hištaiti* 'he stands', OPrs *a-ištata* 'he stood' (3s ipf.), OI *tiṣṭhati* 'he stands' (t- due to the morphophonemic law preventing an initial ṣ-) ||| OIr *siss-* 'stand', *tair-issēm* 'fait de se tenir ferme \ persévérer \ s'arrêter' (< **to-air-siss-*) ||| L caus. *sistō* 'I put', Um SESTU id. ¶ P 1004-10, M K III 526-7, M E II 764-6, F I 739, WH II 596-9, Bc. G 324,345, Vn. S 118-20 and T 13, RE 135, Hlq. 1101, Ho. 317, Ho. S 70, OsS 863-4, Kb. 950-1, KM 743, Vr. 543, Frn. 914-6, Vs. III 748, 769, Glh. 579-82, ≈ EI 542-3 (**(s)teḥ₂-* 'stand' with unc. **s-* mobile that us based only on Tc B *tāka* 'will be') ||| A: Tg: WrMc *ca-* 'raise' ¶ STM II 374 ||| ?σ D **čā-* ({ǧGS} **s-*) v. 'die' (if from **stop*) (× N **ĉAṣṢ* 'be lost, die', q.v. ffd.).

382. **čika* 'to prick, to split' > IE: NaIE {EI} **steig-* 'prick' (or **(s)teig-* v. 'prick', 'pointed') > Gk *στύγ-* (prs. *στύζω*, pfc. ps. *ἔστύμα*) v. 'mark with a pointed instrument, tattoo', *στύγμα* 'the mark of a pointed instrument, tattoo-mark' ||| L *in-stīgā-* v. 'goad, incite, stimulate' (← 'spur on') ||| Gt *stiks* 'stab, puncture, point', OSx *stiki*, MLG *steke*, MHG *stich*, NHG *Stich* 'prick, puncture, stab', AS *sticē* 'stab, puncture', NE *stitch*; OHG *stēchan* & *stehhan* 'to stitch, to stab', NHG *stechen* 'to prick'; OHG *sticken* 'to stick, to stab', NHG *sticken* 'to embroider', AS *stician* 'to prick, to goad, to pierce', NE v. *stick* ||| ??σ,φ Ary: OI *tējatē* 'is\becomes sharp, sharpens', *tejaḥ* 'blade, point (Spitze)', Av *bi-taēža-* 'double-bladed', *brōiḥrō-taēža-* 'with sharpened edge', Av *tiḡra-*, OPrs *tigra-* 'pointed', ? NPrs *تيف* {VI.} *tēḡ*, {BM} *tīḡ* 'sword, blade, blade of a weapon, knife, razour, awl', {VI.} 'point of a spear\arrow, blade of a knife, awl' ¶ WP II 612-3, P 1016-7, EI 451, M K I 525-6, Sg. 342-3, BM 142, VI. I 492, F II 797-8, WH I 706-7, Fs. 453, Ho. 321, Ho. S 71, OsS 868-71, Kb. 956, 964, KM 742, 748, Dv. #645 ||| K: GZ **čičk-wḡ-* v. 'dig in, rummage in' (× N **ĉEčkṢ* 'to crush, to split') > eNG {SSO} *čičkna* 'dig badly', G *čičkna* 'dig (the surface of the ground), dig\rummage in, peck\pick at', {NCh.} 'копать, ковырять', {DCh.} 'ковырять', Mg *čkičkon-* 'dig\rummage in, tear asunder' ¶ K 220, K² 257, FS K 389, FS E 437-8, Chx. 1940, DCh 1580, NCh. 431 ||| D **čik-* ({ǧGS} **c¹ig-*) 'split, tear' > Kn *siḡi* v. 'split (as wood), tear\rend with the teeth (as sugar-

TrR 177, TkR 781, HüS. 345, PC 308, Zn. I 379, DT 101 || M *^očeg|k|e > WrM {MED, Gl.} cege 'the hind flat part of the ankle-bone', {Kow.} ceke 'ямка у лодыжки, le côté de l'osselet qui a un trou'; ?? MM cekepa ~ cekepe 'breast, neck' ¶ H 26, Pp. MA 132, MED 169, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, KRS 646, KW 438, RKS 124, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128 || ?σ pKo {S} *č^oaká|j- > MKo *č^oaká|j'ám, NKo čagāmi 'groin, inguinal region' ¶ S QK #1190, Nam 419, MLC 1372 ¶¶ Hardly here Tg *^očaka 'forearm, ell' (< N *čaq∇ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb', [cf. item 355 s.v. N *čaq₁a₁'¹∇ or *čaq∇]) ¶¶ DQA ##264 (A *č'ak'e 'forearm' > T, Tg, Ko) || D *č'e'k- ({ǰGS} *c-, -k-) > Tm cekil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder', ? (× N *Sûg∇ 'back of the neck, back') Kui sukori ~ sukoli 'shoulder-blade' ¶¶ D #2696 ◇ *m in S and *-n∇ in Sl, Ch, and T may go back to ancient derivational sxs. or last components of a compound (word group) ◇ Blz. LB #6j (S, IE, T, M), ≈ Blz. LNA #8 (*čayku 'back'; unconvincingly adduces the T and Tg reflexes of N *čaq∇ 'elbow') ◇ Cp. pCK {Md.} *čŭma 'плечо, предплечье' (Md. ECK 25).

384. *čAk'U' 'to prick (stechen), to gouge' > HS: S *^o✓θq̄b v. 'pierce' > Ar ✓θq̄b G 'percer, forer' (*b due to the infl. of the synonymous verb ✓nq̄b?) ¶ BK I 228 || K *^oček- > G ča-ček- 'zerstechen, zerlöchern', ček- i 'Feuerhaken, Schür-\Schab-\Kratz-eisen, Scharre' ¶ Chx. 1919 || A *č'ok'U' - v. 'peck, gouge' > : NaT *čoku- v. 'peck' > OT {Cl.} čoq-, Alt {Rl.} čoqI-, StAlt {BT} čoqu- v. 'peck, peck out', Tkm čoq- v. 'peck, sting', Osm {Rh.}, ET {Nj.} čoqu-, Qzq šoqu- v. 'peck' ¶ Cl. 406, Rs. W 114, Rh. 738, Nj. 394, BT 180, Sht. 235 || M *čoki- v. 'hit, beat, knock, peck' (× N *čog₁a₁'E 'beat\hit [so.], hurt; pain', q.v.) > WrM цокі-, HIM цохи- 'hit, beat, knock, peck', MM [S] цокі- v. 'bore', Kl {Rm.} цок- 'schlagen, hauen', nüdig цок- 'das Auge aushacken', Mnr H {SM} č'ug₁- v. 'peck' ¶ MED 196, H 29, KW 429, SM 440 || Tg *čok(i)- ({DQA} *čōk(i)-) v. 'peck, gouge' (→ 'dig') > Ul, Nn Nh čoql- v. 'peck', Ewk čōk-, Ewk Tp čokі- v. 'dig, dig out', Ewk Urm čok- v. 'pick out (выковыривать)', Lm çuq- id., v. 'take out the eyes (of a slaughtered animal)', Neg çok- v. 'gouge, carve (an ornament on birch-bark)', Orc čokto 'woodpecker' ¶ STM II 403 || ?φ pKo {S} *č'h' - v. 'kick' > MKo č'h' -, NKo č'ha- ¶ S QK #509, Nam 447, MLC 1562 ¶¶ KW 429, DQA #336 (A *č'ōk'a|u 'peck, gauge') || D *čakk- > Krx čakk^h-/cakk- v. 'pierce with a prick, prick', Mlt čaqe v. 'sting, pierce, stab', Brh žaxxiḥ 'to run into,

to pierce' ¶ D #2278, Pf. 190 [#100], Hahn KG 3 (on the Krx phoneme k^h), An. JB 19-21 (on Brh cnss.) ◇ The vw. *o in A may be explained by regr. as. (N *A...U > *o...U) ◇ NaIE *(s)teig- v. 'prick' cannot be adduced here (≠φ), it belongs rather to N *čika 'to prick, to split' (q.v.) ◇ IS MS 344 'колоть' (A, D).

385. *č'o'kɣ 'much, heavy' > HS: S (+ext.) *√θkɫ v. 'weigh' > Hb √škɫ G, Sr √tkɫ G id., Pun √škɫ, IA √škɫ ~ √tkɫ, BA/JA/Md √tkɫ G 'weigh, weigh out', JEA √tkɫ G vi. 'weigh, be even \ equal to', Ar √θqɫ G 'peser un objet dans la main pour en apprécier le poids; égaliser en poids; rendre pesant', θaqīl- 'heavy\weighty', Mh, Jb, Hrs √θkɫ 'be heavy', Gz √skɫ G 'weigh, suspend, hang up', Ak √škɫ {Sd.} '(ab)wiegen, darwägen'; ⇨ S *'θiḳil- 'weight' > BHb כֶּשֶׁל 'šəkəl (pl. šəḳā'īl-īm) 'weight, sheqel (a unit of weight)', Ph (GkSc) σιγλ, σικλ ⇨ Gk σίκλος, σίγλος (name of a Persian coin), Pun. škɫ, Ug θkɫ, OA škɫ [*θəka], IA tkɫ, BA כֶּשֶׁל taḳel, JA כֶּשֶׁל tiḳ'īl-ā 'shekel, sikl (a unit of weight, coin)', JEA כֶּשֶׁל tiḳ'īl-ā 'weigh, shekel', Yd ʔtkɫ 'shekel (unit of weight)', Sr sɛk'īl-ā 'weight, ponderous mass', Ar θiqɫ- 'weight, burden', Ak šiklum 'sikl, a unit of weight', Eb ša-gi-lum (θaḳil-); the meaning 'suspend, hang up' (in EthS) is secondary, the semantic change 'weigh' → 'suspend' (from a basic meaning 'weigh by lifting\hanging' [as suggested in LG 510]) is typologically possible (cp. R держать на весу) ¶ KB 1515-6, 1779-800, Beyer AHG 26, HJ 1187-8, A #2930, Grd. UT #2735, Sl. 1207, 1227, JPS 618, Tal 960, LG 510, Jo. M 418, Sd. 1178-9, 1248, Krb. EG 16, Lok. #1880 || ?φ C: Ag: Xm {R} sɪqaw- 'be heavy, weighty' ¶ R Ch II 102, R WB 338 || U: FU *č'okkɣ 'dense', 'thick' (of grass, hair) > Chr: L чокка č'oka id., H/B čoka 'dicht; fest, kompakt', YO čoka 'dicht', L чоката čoka'ta 'dense' || Prm *č'ok- ({LG} *č'ok-) (or *č'ek-) > Z тшöкыд č'ok+d 'dense', Z LV/Lu, Prmk č'ok id. || pVg *š'w > Vg: T šaw, LK š'w, P šaw, Ss sāw 'much' || Hg sok 'much, many' ¶ Most cognates suggest FU *o, while Hg o (seemingly pointing to a FU *u) is still to be explained; one cannot rule out the possibility (mentioned in Rm. W 113) that Hg sok is a loan from T ¶ UEW 62-3, Coll. 114, MRS 664, 668, 673, Ep. 141, Wc. FUsčT 31, LG 290, SZ 386, KPR 497 || A: NaT *č'ok 'much, many' > Chg, XwT, MQp č'oq id., Kr/Sg {Rl.} č'oq 'much, too much', Osm {Bu.} č'oq 'much, many, too much, very', Tk ç'ok 'much, many', Az чox č'oχ, Sg f {Rl.} č'oq id., 'very', ET č'oq 'very' ¶ Cl. 405, Rm. W 113, Bu. I 495, S AJ 180 [#51], BN 33, Rl. III 2004 || M *č'ogča 'heap, pile, mass' > WrM cоgca,

HIM цогц id., Kl цогц цогсб, {Rm.} цоксб 'heap, pile', ⇨ M *čogča-la- v. 'accumulate, heap' > WrM цогcala-, Mnr {SM} čüž_ǰolo- v. 'accumulate' ¶ MED 194, KRS 635, KW 429, SM 460 || ? pJ {S} *tákú-páp- v. 'hoard, assemble' > OJ tákúpáp(a)-, J: T/Kg takuwaé- ~ T tàkuwaé-, K tàkùwàè- ¶ S QJ #144, Mr. 762 ¶¶ DQA #265 (*č'ák'o ~ *k- 'many, be full, enough' > T *÷ Tg *čak- 'full' and pKo *č'h'á- 'be full') || Gil: Gil A č'ov / sov 'group, flock' ¶¶ ST 450 ◇ IS MS 331 ('big'; A, U), Blz. LB #11, UEW 63 (FU, T, M) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #261 (*čok 'many') (U, A d + qu. K, CK + unc. J).

386. *čA1∇ 'stalk' > K *očal- > G čala 'straw, reed', čal- 'cut stalks of maize' ¶ Chx. 1874 || HS: S *o✓θ1θ1 > Ar θilθil-ān-, θulθul-ān- 'hay' ¶ BK I 233 || IE: NaIE *stel- 'branch, stalk, stem' (× N *čŪL∇ 'stalk, branch' [q.v.]) > Arm ստեղն stełn 'branch, bough, stalk, stem' || Gk στέλεχος 'bottom part of the trunk, stump' ({LS} 'crown of the root'), στελεός, στελεόν 'haft/shaft of an axe' || L: [1] stolō / -ōnis 'root-shoot'; [2] stilus / -ī 'pointed stake, pale; Stiel, Stengel, Griffel zum Schreiben' (× NaIE *stoi-lo- > Av stāra- 'mountain-summit') || AS stela 'stalk', OHG stil 'Handhabe, Pflanzenstiel, Stengel', NHG Stiel 'haft, handle' || Ltv stulms 'top of a boot' ¶ P 1019-20, ZVSZ 415, WH II 592, 599-600, F II 785-6, Sw. 161, Ho. 319, OsS 872, Kb. 964, KM 749, Slt. 332-3, Kar. II 313 || A {SDM95} *čalu > pKo *čur-kí 'stalk, branch without leaves' > MKo čurkí, Nko čulgi, čulga,ri ¶ S QK #160, MLC 1507 || ?σ Tg ≈ *jali-kta 'haw-thorn' > Ewk jalikta ~ h'alikta, Neg jālta, Orc žarakta, Ud žalikta, Ul žaraqta ~ žarɪqta, Nn KU žalɪqta, Nn Nh žarɪqta id., Nn B/KU žalaqta 'willow' (the last meaning is under the infl. of a different Tg stem represented by Ul žatala 'willow') ¶ STM I 246, 253, Krm. 231 || ? pJ {S} *tùrù 'willow', 'vine' (← *'rod'?) > OJ turu 'willow, vine', J: T/Kg curú, K cùrù 'vine' ⇨ (?) J T curu- v. 'angle (for fish), fish with rod and line' ¶ S QJ 189, Mr. 557, Kenk. 2073 ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#278] and SDM97 s.v. *čalu 'a kind of broad-leaved plant'. Not here (⇔ S AJ and ADM97) T *t'al 'willow' (reconstructed by S with a lenis *t̥ [= {S, SDM} *d-], in spite of the Tkm and Tv ev. for *t'-). The T ✓ probably belongs to N *taɪf∇ ~ *taɪl∇ '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' (q.v.). Not here pJ *tùrù 'willow, vine', which is semantically related to the T stem || D (in SD) *čall- ({}GS} *ž|ž-) 'reed; ∈ grass' > MI call- '∈ grass\reed', Tm calli 'reed; ∈ grass', ? Kn jalle 'sugar-cane', 'bamboo pole', Kdg žalle 'sugar cane' ¶ D ##2382-3.

387. *čalV 'beat, knock down, fell' > **HS:** S *^o✓θll: Ar ✓θll 'détruire, renverser, démolir' ¶ BK I 231 || ? B *^o✓zll > Kb țizlǎllit 'coup vigoureux' ¶ Dl. 942 || **A:** T *čal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' (× N *čal_LE_ro 'to split, to cut') > OT čal- v. 'knock down, beat, beat out (fire)', Qzq šal- v. 'slaughter', Qrch čal-, Balq cal- v. 'mow, cut', Qmq čal- v. 'cut off, slaughter', Chv L šul- v. 'mow', etc. ¶ Cl. 417-8, Rs. W 97, Ash. XII 208 and XIII 17, Fed. II 132, Rl. III 1876, 1887, IV 965 ¶ T *-l- is inherited from N *čalV rather than from N *čal_LE_ro || **D** *čal- ({θGS} *ś-) 'beat' > Tm alai 'beat, slap', Gnd: Mu {Bh.} hal-, HMS {Lind} halāsnā, ChM {LuS} halasnā 'beat' ¶¶ D #2374.

388. *čAIV (= *čAIU?) 'to plait' > **HS:** ECh: Ke čílí v. 'plait (a mat)' || CCh: Azm {Pc.} silapa 'weave' ¶ Eb. 36, Pc. 350 || **K:** G čelṭ-i 'wickerwork' ¶ Chx. 1919 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *^očUk|wV (or *^ocUχ|wIV) > ObU *čoy|wəl '(piece of) linen cloth' > ObU *čoy|wəl > pVg *šōwəl {HL} 'stripe (in a garment)' ('Streifen im Kleid'), {MK} 'Leinenband' > Vg: LK/MK/UK sowl, P/LL šowl, UL/Ss sowəl; pOs *čōyəl 'linen cloth' ({HL} *čūyəl) > Os: D čōχət, Nz šōχət, Kz šōχət ¶ Ht. #97 (*U in FU needs explaining), Hl. rHt 71-4, MK 537 (Vg saul, squl, sãwél 'Leinenband'), BV 105 (Vg Ss совломт, Vg K sowlɔpś(ə)χ 'поскыт') || **D** *čāli- ({θGS} *c-) (+ sx.) 'weaver' > Tm cālikan ~ cāliyan 'a caste of weavers', Ml cāliyan, Kn sālīga, sālīya, Tl sālī:du, sālevā:du, Ku sālīesi 'weaver', Tu tālye id., 'spider', Tu {Shanm.} sālīye, Tl sālīe 'caste of weavers', Gdb sālīe pinḍake 'spider' ¶¶ D #2475 ◇ The FU rounded vw. is puzzling. If the final vw. of the N word was rounded (as suggested by *w in FU *^očUk|wV or *^ocUχ|wIV), FU *U may be explained by regr. as.

389. *čeLV 'pull away, take away/out, rob' > **HS:** WS *^o✓θll v. 'take out, rob' > BHb כַּלַּחְתָּ ✓šll (ip. -šoll-) id., Sb θll 'carry off (booty)' ¶ GB 835, BGMR 150 || C: ?σ DhI {EEN} colāδ- v. 'pick up' ¶ EEN 9 || **IE:** NaIE *stel- v. 'rob' > pGmc *stel- v. 'steal' > Gt stilan, ON stela, OHG stēlan, NHG stehlen, OSx, AS stelan 'to steal', NE steal || Arm†**թալնեմ**†^halnem,†**թալլեմ**†^hallem v. 'pillage' ¶ Mn. 1283 (Gmc, Arm); Fs. 453-4, OsS 869, KM 743, Vr. 546 (all of them do not find any IE parallels for Gmc), Ho. 319, Ho. S 7, Kb. 959, ≠ EI 543 (tries to derive Gmc *stel- from IE *ster- 'steal') ¶ Mn. unconvincingly adduces Gk στέλλω v. 'send', Ltv stelū id., and OCS steljq / stla-ti v. 'spread'

(??σ) ¶ On Arm **ṣ** t^h as the reg. reflex of IE *st / Mn. AIE 166-8 || **D** {Km.} *čē]- ({ǵGS} *s-) v. 'draw, pull (of\out), rob' (× N *šēí∇ or *šēl∇ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off', q.v.) > Kn **sele** v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', Tu **sele** 'force', Tl {Km.} **celuku** v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui **zeika** v. 'pull', **zeiba** v. 'pull, draw' ¶¶ D #2791, Km. 363 [#472] ◇ D *-]- may belong to the heritage of N *šēí∇ or *šēl∇, hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns.

390. *čûl∇ 'stalk, branch' > **HS**: S *^oθ̄ūl- > Ak **šūl**- 'reed-stalk'; +ext. (with the sx. *-p|b-) is the S stem *^lθūl∇,p|b- > Ak **šūlp**- 'a straw, reed, tube', Ug **θlb** 'flute' ¶ Sd. 1269-70, OLS 490 || **D** *čū]- ({ǵGS} *ć-) 'stalk, branch', *čūlikk° ({ǵGS} *c|ć-) 'stick' (× N *čûl∇ 'stalk, stick' [q.v. ffd.] × N *š|šūl∇ 'trunk, log'??) ¶¶ D #2701, 2706 || **IE**: NaIE *stel-/^ostwōl-0- 'branch, stalk, stem': [1] NaIE *stel- (× N *čA1∇ 'stalk', q.v. ffd.) [2] ^ostwōl-0- > Sl *stvōlb > Cz **stvol** 'stalk', R **ctвол**, Blg **цвол** 'stem', OCS **CTBOΛHIE** stvolije 'nettle' ¶ P 1019, ZVSZ 415, Vs. III 749, Vr. 549 (s.v. stjqlr), Sw. 161, Sl. 332-3 ¶ In IE there is a reg. Schwebeablaut *ew/*we (/w0) with loss of the glide *w preceding the sonant *l, which is a normal IE reflex of N *û (AD NVIE) ◇ D *-]- may belong to the heritage of N *čûl∇ 'stalk, stick', hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns. ◇ ≠ AD AltAD #13 (HS, D, IE, A [Tg, M + *÷ T]).

391. 2 *č̄l∇, L∇ (-bA) 'ε canine' > **HS**: S *θu'fal- 'fox' > Hb **שׁוּפָא** šufā, OA **š̄l** [θ-ɣ-], JA (incl. JEA) **תַּאֲלָא** ta^al-ā, Sr ta^alā, Md **tala**, Ar **θufal**- ~ **θufā**- 'fox', Ug **θfl** (n. pr.)] S *θaflab- 'fox' > Ar **θaflab**-, Ak **šēlebu(m)** id. ¶ KB 1341, Lv. IV 657, Sl. 1223, A #2910, OLS 483, BK I 225, Sd. 1210, CAD XVII/2 268 || Ch {Stl.} *č̄l̄lib- 'wolf, jackal' > CCh: Msg **če-čelebe** 'jackal' ||| ECh: Mkl **sùllíbè** 'wolf' ¶ Stl. IF 73, J LM 178 ¶¶ OS #464 || **U**: FP: Lp N {Fri.} **čälp** ~ **čellup** ~ **čolp** 'wolf', Lp T {Tl} **č̄l̄p** id. ¶ Fri. 750, TI 645, Coll. 8 ◇ HS data suggest a N *č̄-, while Lp **č**- is likely to point to *č̄-, *č̄̄-, or *ś̄-.

391a. 2 *čA1∇m∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach' > **HS**: S *^o✓θlm > Ar **θalm**- 'brèche, cassure', **θulm-at**- 'brèche, trou', ✓θlm G 'ébrécher' || **D** *čal∇m- ({ǵGS} *č̄-) 'orifice' (× N *śal∇m∇ 'collect on the bottom' [of liquid], 'a place [a depression] where water collects') > Kn **calame**, **calime**, **calume**, **cilume** 'orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dry bed of a river', Tu **cilimbi** ~ **cil(i)mæ** 'a small tank', Tl **celama** 'hole\pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river\rivulet', Ku

salma 'well' 𐰃𐰆 D #2367 ◊ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#93] (HS, D; does not distinguish this N etymon from N *S_ilV 'hole').

392. *ča_lU_g∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost' > HS: S *'θalag- 'snow' > Hb לַגֵּץ 'šēleg, BA לַגֵּץ tə'lag, JA (incl. JEA) לַגֵּץ tə'lag, em. תַּלְגָּא tal'gā, SmA tlg, Sr em. تَلْج tal'g-ā, Ar تَلْج θalǧ-, Ak šalḡ-u id.; SCn *'θalag- → Eg (EgSSc) {Alb.} sa-ra-qu, {Hlk.} sá-l-qu 'snow' 𐰃 KB 1392, EG IV 204, Burch. AFEÄ #810, Alb. VESO 55, Hlk. #199, SivCR 84, Sl. 1208, Tal 949, Lv. IV 644 𐰃 The posttonic *a has been reconstructed on the ev. of BA and the Eg reflex of SCn || B: Kb {Dl.} a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; unless the B word goes back to N *š_laH_l'ū_lL_g∇ 'dew' (q.v.) 𐰃 Dl. 771 || U: FU *o'č^h'a^ll_g∇ > pVg *ša^l- 'hoarfrost' > Vg S: T ša^l 𐰃 šā^l, Vg W (P/SV/NV/LL) ša^l, Vg E: LK šā^l, MKo/U šā^l, Vg N (UL/Ss) so^l id. 𐰃 Kn. VW 78, Stn. WV 231 || A: Tg *jalka 'fine snow' > Neg jalka id., jalka- v. 'snow' (of fine snow), Ud B žaka- 'be a snow-storm' 𐰃 STM I 246, Krm. 231 || ?? pJ *tūrará 'icicle' > OJ tūrará, J: T cūrara, K cūrará, Kg curará 𐰃 S QJ #1540 𐰃 Acc. to S and DQA (→ AD NM), the Tg word is akin to T *t^ol 'ice' (> NaT *t^oš > OT {DTS} toš 'glacier in the mountains', etc.); but this comparison is based on S's highly controversial hyp. on pA *č^h- > T *t^h- (= *d of his notation), Tg *j- (= his *ž^h-), and pJ *t- (S AJ 14) and therefore cannot be unequivocally accepted (as I did in treating this word in AD NM). Nevertheless cases of N *č^h- yielding M *j- should be studied carefully because they may reflect an ancient phonemic opposition. Vovin's criticism of my et. in NM (Altaic *č ... is never reflected as *t in proto-Turkic" - Vv. AEN 8) is justified, but another of his remarks: "Altaic does not have a *č, but only *č" is based on misunderstanding of my system of symbols: in my notation A *č̇ (not *č!) is a sign for the unspecified vl. affricate (sc. one without specification of its place of articulation, which is the case in pA) 𐰃 ≠ DQA #244, Vv. AEN 8 (critical remarks based on my etymology in AD NM; the change from A *č̇ to pT *ṫ- [as in my etymology in NM] is S's hyp., that still has to be checked). On the N et. of T *t^ol see N *t^oU^l∇ 'to drip; drops of water, dew' || ? D: Kn ca^li 'snow' (× D *č̇a^l- 'cold' [D #2408] < N *C^h'a^l∇ [= *č̇^h'a^l∇?) 'cold').

393. *č^h'i^hmâ 'to be(come) quiet/silent' > HS: B *√s-wsm v. 'keep silence' > Ah {Fc.}, Izn {Rn.} susəm, BSn sūsəm id. 𐰃 Fc. 1833, Rn. 347, Ds. B 335-6 || K: GZ *čum- 'calm down, be quiet' > G čum- v. 'calm down; fall silent; quiet', G Kzq čuma 'a quiet person', G čumi 'leise, still,

ruhig', Zan б→ Sv Ln čkwim 'quiet, calm' ¶ Chx. 1950-1, K² 258, TK 833 || A: Tg *çim-, *çimçam- 'be quiet' > Ewk Okh çlɪnmɯn 'calm down, abate' (of a wind, storm), Orc çimçāmdi 'in silence', Nn Nh člmo-člmo, člmočam 'fallen silent (примолкнув)', Ul člmočam id., 'quietly, without noise', Ork člɪptamɫ bu 'be quiet!', 'hush', ? WrMc cɪbse 'be quiet, silent' (of a person), cɪbseɪn n. 'quiet, silence' ¶ STM II 396 || NaT *çim 'quiet, silent' > QK {RI.} čim, {B} šim 'quiet', {RI.} čimča- v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} čim 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} čim 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} čim 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv чымааргай čimārɣay 'quiet, shy' adj., чымаарар- čimārar- v. 'become quiet\shy' ¶ Rs. W 201, RI. III 2102-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAltS 756, TvR 557 ◇ K *u from N *i probably under the assimilative infl. of *m.

394. ₂ *čoma 'wild bovine' > K *očoma > G I čoma 'cattle (Rindvieh)' ¶ Chx. 1943 || D (in GnD) *čoma 'wild buffalo' > Png homa, Mnd hama 'bison', pKK {ʁGS} *soma > Kui soma 'wild buffalo', Ku homma ɘ homa 'sambar (Cervus unicolor)' ¶ D #2849, GS 130 ◇ AD NM #40, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs).

395. ? ₂ *čam∇ć∇ 'get sour\rotten' > U: FP *čamć∇ 'sour, foul' (of food) > Lp: N {Fri.} Lp: N {Fri.} cuöbɹa ɘ cuovɹ ɘ cuöbca ɘ cuöpcsa 'putridus', T {TI} cīm:c ({Gn.} cīmc) 'verfault', {Gn.} cīmcī 'verfaulen' | Chr: L {MRS} шачка šač'ka 'tasteless' (of beverage), B puran šačkoδɪn 'das Bier ist überständig' | Prm {LG} *šožy- ({LG} *šōžj-) 'turned sour, turned too sour, turned tasteless' > Z žoža (yɹv) 'milk that is turning\turned sour', Z US žōžá id., Z Δ žožm- v. 'turn sour, but not clotted' (of milk), Vt C šušžam 'tasteless' (of kvass), 'not boiled enough' (of water, milk), Vt TI šušžam 'turned too sour, grow mouldy' (of kvass) ¶ UEW 617-8, Gn. 877, TI 634, Fri. 740, LG 102 || A: T: OT tinčī- ~ to|unčī- v. 'be(come) putrid, smell foul' ¶ Cl. 516-7 ¶ Dissimilation *ç...ç > *t...ç? The OT vw. remains puzzling || ? HS: Possible semantic infl. on S *samm- ('grass' → drug, perfume') and B *√smm v. 'be sour' (see N *c'ī?A'm∇ '∈ grass', q.v. ffd.). The alt. connection with WCh *çami 'sour' < N *čām,∇,χ∇ 'sour, bitter' (q.v.) is less plausible because the sibilant in B and S is not emphatic.

396. *čīn∇ 'other' > HS: S *θin- 'two' (m.: nom. *θin-ā, gen./accus. *θin-ay, df. [→ abs.] nom. *θin-ā-ni, gen./accus. *θin-ay-ni) > BHb cs. יַנַּי ša'nē, abs. יַנַּי ša'nayim, Ug m. θn(m), JA/Sr m. abs. tərêṇ, JEA יַנַּי tərêṇ, SmA tryn, JA cs. יַנַּי tərê, Ar m. cs. nom. ?iθnā,

gen./accus. ʔiθnay-, abs.: nom. ʔiθnā-ni, gen./accus. ʔiθnay-ni, Sb m. Թռւյ, Mh {Jo.} m. ԹՅՐԾ, Թրոհ, Hrs {Jo.} m. ԹՅՐԾ, Jb E/C {Jo.} m. Թրոհ, Sq {Jo.} ԽՅ, Ak m. šinā; S f. *θin-at- 'two' > BHb 𐤃𐤓𐤕𐤍 'štayim [traditional spelling for ʔeš'tayim], Ug ԹԽ, Թմ, SmA ԽՐԿՆ, JA 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤍 tartê ~ 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤍 tar'tīn ʔ KB 1482-3, Lip. 282-3, OLS 498-500, Sl. 1233-4, Tal 963-4, BGMR 171, Jo. M 418-9, Sd. G 91 || B *sīn- / *sin- 'two' > Ah {Fc.} m. əssīn, f. sənāt, Gd {Lf.} m. sən, f. sənət, Kb {Dl.} sən, f. snaṭ, Sll {Ds.} m. sīn, f. snāt, Si m. sən, f. sən(ə)t, Zng {TC} šinen || Gnc {Wlf.} *sini, f. *sinetti (Gnc. GC [?] {Mlt. ← NicR} smetti, Gnc T {Mlt. ← ?} sijn 'two') ʔ Fc. 1841, Lf. II #1479, Dl. 781-2, Ds. 94, AiM 176, 214, Bs. NLB I 389, TC Z 304, Nic. 60, Wlf. 635, Zl. ÄHD 226 || Eg ∇ sn.ωϣ m. 'two', {Vc.} *siny- id. (> Cpt: Sd/B ԿՆԱԿ snaw, A ԿՆԵԿ snew ~ ԿՆՕ sno), sn.tϣ f. 'two' (> Cpt Sd ԿՆԿԵ sante, B ԿՆՕԿ† snuti) ʔ EG IV 148-50, Vc. 196 (Eg stem *siny-) || C: Ag *s∇n- 'equal, similar' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} sənā, Km {CR} sānā 'Gleichnis; wie, gleich wie' ʔ R WB 306, AD SF 111 || K *čš∇n- > USv, Sv L išgen, Sv Ln išķen 'other' ʔ Ni. s.v. другой, GP 121, TK 311-2 || A: M *čina 'the other side' > MM [S] {H} čina-na, čina-un, činaru 'on the other side', MM činadu 'jenseitig', WrM čina-đu 'the other or opposite (side)'; WrM činagsi, Ord {Ms.} č'ās, Mnr {SM} čjaḡsɜ 'on the other side, further'; WrM činagsiki-, HIM ԿԱՌԱԴՄԽԻ 'being on the other side'; MM [S] {H} činaži 'on the other side', [MA] {Pp.} činači ödür, {Lg.} činaži ödür, [IsV] {Lg.} čanaži ödür 'the day after tomorrow', [ZhY] činaži üdür {Lg.} id. (but {SM} 'le jour qui suit l'après-demain'), Shrn {Lg. ← ?} činaži, Mnr M {Pot.} chenéta, MMgl {Z} činažda, {Lg.} čināžda 'the day after tomorrow', Mnr H {SM} č'inād_aḡ, {T} činadag, Dx {T} čina-er id. ʔ H 27-8, MED 186-7, SM 442, 451, Pp. MA 134, Lg. VMI 24, T 380, T DnJ 141, Iw. 96.

397. *č'a'nd∇ 'rise, emerge, jump (up)' > K: GZ *čṅd- 'appear, emerge' > G čnd-, Mg (r)čkind-, Lz čkind- id. ʔ K 220, ≈ K² 257-8 (*čnd- with a ps. sx. *-d-), ≠ FS K 385-6 and FS E 433-4 (*←d *čan-/čen-/čīn-/čn- 'be seen, know') || IE: NaIE *skand- 'jump up, rise' ({WP}: 'aufschnellen, in die Höhe gehen'), {EI} 'jump' > L scand-ō / -ěre / scandī / scansum 'climb' || OIr {Vn.} scend- 'sauter, s'élancer', MW cy-chwynnu v. 'aufspringen' > W cychwyn 'to rise, to stir' (→ 'to start, to begin') ({Vn.} 'partir', {WP} 'auffahren, aufbrechen') || OI 'skandati 'jumps; spurts out' ʔ The cluster *sk- for the expected *st-

is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out *st-...-t-roots: in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N *č- and *č̌- yield IE *(s)k- and *(s)ǩ-, see IE *skajd- (L caedō) < N *čayd∇ 'strike, beat' [q.v.] ¶ WP II 540-1, EI 323, WH II 488, M K III 506, M E II 749, LP § 25.2, Vn. S 41, YGM-1 118 || U *čanča (~ *čant∇?) 'jump, gallop, trot' > FU *čanča > Er šanšne, Mk šančk arda- 'galoppieren, in vollem Galopp fahren', šanža 'a long step, jumping' || ObU *čūč- > pVg *šūš- v. 'wade' > Vg: T šōš-, IK šoš-, P šuš-, Ss sūs- id.; pOs *čōč- > T soč-, D čuš-, O sos- 'schreiten, zu Fuß gehen' || Sm {Jn.} *č̌|ťant|č̌∇- 'run, trot' (of animals) > Ne T d. т̌анет̌ă-с̌ь 'run at a moderate trot' (of draught-reindeers), T O {Lh.} ta'neṭā', FK {Lh.} ta'ńhā'ā'ā't'a'š id.; Ng d. {Ter.} (bama) taneuradu'o '(my dog) started running (погналась)', d. {Cs.} 3s (aor.?) tantâjú a; En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. todde'ero? & todde'edo 'run'; Kms 1s prs. {KD} t'u'nō'lam- v. 'gallop'; Mt {Hl.} *tandā- 'rennen, schnell rennen' (Mt M d. {Sp.} 1s тандалнымъ 'скачу') ¶¶ The U √ belongs here if its meaning is 'to gallop, to jump' (as in Coll.) rather than 'schreiten, gehen' (as in UEW) ¶¶ FU medial *-č- for the expected *-t- by as.? ¶¶ Coll. 60, UEW 53, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, Hl. M #955 ¶ The change 'jump' → 'run quickly' ≡σ R скакать.

398. 2 *čūṅ∇ 'smoke, smell' > HS: S: [1] d. *o√θnt > Ar √θnt 'have a bad smell' (of meat) (←d **θ∇n-at- n. ←d **θ∇n-); [2] ? *o√θ'nn > JA [Trg.]]ṅ] tə'nān (em. X]ṅ] tənā'n-ā) 'smoke', 'stink' (Is. 34.3), Sr tənā'n-ā 'smoke'; JA/Sr √tnn G 'emit smoke' ¶ BK I 238, Lv. T II 547, Lv. IV 655-6, Br. 828 || Eg MK/G snsn v. 'smell (sth.)', Eg BD snsn 'rot' or 'stink' (of a corpse), Eg {Mks.} snsn.t 'perfume' ¶ × N *sūṅ∇ 'to smell (sth.)' × N *šUṅE 'to breathe' (q.v.) ¶ EG IV 172-4, Mks. III 2634, Tk. I 130 (Eg sn ~ sny 'smell, breathe' with HS cognates referring to N *sūṅ∇ '↑') || ? some Ch words for 'nose': Wrj {Sk.} činná, Jm {Sh.} ičín, Gj {Sh.} ičín, Bt {Mch.} cinne, Gudu {IL} čín, Bdm {Cfr.} čenaĵ, {Lk.} činau, Ms {Mch.} cin, ZmB {J} čín, ZmD {KNC} čín ¶ JI II 258-9, KNC 4 || U: FU *čūṅ∇ 'smoke, fog, steam' > Prm {LG} *čūṅ 'smoke' > Z тшын čín, Vt чын čín, Δ čín id. || ObU {Ht.} *čūṅk- 'fog' > pVg *šīk^ω, *šīṅ^ωk^ω id. > OVg S Vt чегъ, OVg S Ss schücht, tschöcht, OVg W P ше(х), OVg W Sol чéxy id., Vg: T šīk^ω, LK šēx^ω, šēṅ^ωk^ω-, P šēx^ω, LL šex^ω, Ss sēṅ^ωk^ω id., T d. šīk^ωītākt- 'sich abkühlen'; pOs {Ht.} *čūy 'fog' > Os: V/Vy čüš, Ty čiš^ω, Y/D/K čiw, Nz šīš, Kz šjw, O siw id. || pY {IN} *čīṅ- > Y T {IN} čīṅ-i-čā 'мгла

(haze?), darkness, night' (-č̣ā is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ UEW 59, LG 291-2, Lt. 197, IN 216 ◇ Possible infl. of N *č̣iwn̄ ▽ 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 207-8 [#51] (*č̣ürnḡ) (adduces S, Ch, and FU words that do not belong here).

399. ₂ *č̣|č̣an̄k̄,â ≈ 'push, kick, stumble' > IE: NaIE *stenḡ^ω₁- ({WP} *steng-) v. ≈ 'kick, stumble' ({WP} 'stoßen, mit dem Fuße [an]stoßen') > Gt stigqan 'zusammenstoßen', bi-stigqan, ga-stigqan vi. 'stumble, strike against' ({Fs.} 'anstoßen', [NT] προσκόπτειν), ? stigqan h.l. 'meet (a hostile army)' ({Fs.} 'zusammenstoßen'), d. ga-stagqjan vt. 'anstoßen, προσκόπτειν', d. bi-stugq n. 'stumble, stumbling' ('Anstoß, πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή') ||| W sangu {YGM} 'to tread', {WP} 'treten' ||| OI 'tan̄gati 'stumbles' ¶ The Gt cognate points to IE *ḡ^ω, while W suggests lack of labiality ¶ WP II 618, 627, Fs. 452-3, ≈ M KI 469 (the OI-Gt connection "ist unerweisbar") ||| U: FU *č̣an̄ ▽ 'strike, push, kick' > Er č̣av̄o-, Mk ṣ̌av̄ə- 'strike, beat' | Chr: H {MRS} чангаш 'č̣an̄ga-ṣ̌ 'to notch logs (for building a house)', {Rm.} 'č̣an̄ga-ṣ̌ 'einbauen, einschneiden', L чонгаш {MRS} č̣on̄'ga-ṣ̌ 'to erect a house (of logs), to build', Uf {Ps.} 'č̣on̄em 'Einschnitte in die (Enden der) für einen Blockverband bestimmten Balken hauen' ||| ObU {Ht.} *č̣ūnk̄- > pVg {Ht.} *ṣ̌īnk̄^ω- > Vg: T ṣ̌ā'nk̄-, LK san̄x̄-, MK s̄ēnk̄^ω-, P ṣ̌ank̄-, NV/LL ṣ̌z̄nk̄-, SV ṣ̌z̄nk̄^ω-, ṣ̌z̄x̄^ω- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', N {Mu.} s̄ānk̄^ω- 'stoßen', Ss {BV} san̄x̄^ω-, Yk {Vxr.} sānk̄- 'kick with the foot'; pOs {Ht.} *č̣z̄nk̄- 'kick' > V/Vy č̣z̄ȳ-, č̣ōȳ- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', T/Y č̣oq̄-, K č̣on̄x̄-, Nz ṣ̌un̄x̄-, Kz ṣ̌ōn̄x̄-, O son̄x̄- 'mit dem Fuß stoßen (пнуть), ausschlagen (лягнуть)', D č̣on̄x̄- id., 'ein Bein stellen, durch Beinstellen umwerfen' ¶ UEW 53-4, Ht. #107, BV 99, Stn. WV 195, Ps. OT 154, Rm. BT 157, Stn. D 255, ≠ LG 312 ||| AdS of K: G č̣ant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (< N *č̣o'nt̄ ▽ ≈ 'to step, to tread' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 1894 ◇ If the K cognate is ignored (as of ambiguous origin), we lose the distinction between N *č̣ and *č̣̣, so that the N rec. must be *č̣|č̣an̄k̄,â.

400. (₂?) *č̣o'nt̄ ▽ ≈ 'to step, to tread' > K: G č̣ant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (possibly influenced by N *č̣|č̣an̄k̄,â ≈ 'push, kick, stumble') ¶ Chx. 1894 ||| U *č̣ont̄ ▽ (or *t|s|ṣ̌- and -nč̣|ṣ̌|s-) > Sm {Jn.} *č̣ānt̄- (or *t- and *-č̣-) v. 'step, tread (treten)' > Ne T таһă-сь, T O {Lh.} tan·ā', Ne FL {Lh.} tānna-, En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. taddu'abo id., Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'ō'n'im 'gehen, wandern', d. {Cs.} thono'lam, {KD}

t'ō'nu'łom 'treten', d. {KD} t'ō'no'fā'í·ām 'zertreten' ¶ Jn. 151 || ?φ HS: CS *✓θɾt̥ > BHb 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎴𐎶 ṣaṣ^a₁t̥-aṣ n. cs. 'stamping': ṣaṣ^a₁t̥-aṣ par'sōt̥ 'das Stampfen der Pferdehufe', Ar ✓θɾt̥ G {Fr.} 'contudit in partes, comminuit', {BK} 'casser, concasser' ¶ GB 853, KB 1487, BK I 224, Fr. I 217 ◇ If the S cognate is legitimate, it means that under some conditions N *η yields S *ɾ.

401. *čapa 'sack, vessel' > **K**: G čap-i 'earthenware jug', 'a measure for liquids (36 Russian pounds [19th c.])' ¶ Chx. 1906, DCh. 1562, SSO II 316 || **U**: FV *čawa 'sack, vessel' > Krl A hoavo 'Sack(stoff), Beutel, Säckchen', Krl Ld havad, huavo, hoavo, Vp havad 'sack' | Er čava 'dish, bowl' ('Schale, Napf'), {ERS} 'блюдо', Mk šava 'wooden dish\bowl' ¶ UEW 619, ZM 111, ERV 734, PI 301 || **A** *č'ap- 'container, vessel' > ?μ T: NaT *čapçaq '(wooden) container' > CrTt čapčak 'tub' ('Zuber'), VTt Δ चापचाक šapšaq id., 'barrel', Bsh sapsaq 'tub (made of a log)', Δ 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Brb cspcaq 'barrel', Alt चापचाक čapčaq {BT} 'tub', {Rl.} 'barrel', Shor šapčaq 'barrel', Tlt {Rl.} čapčaq 'bucket' ¶ Rl. III 1927, Rs. W 99, TatR 631, BT 176, BR 463 || pKo {S} *čapa- (or *čjapa-) 'earthenware jar, bowl' > NKO čabāgi ¶ S QK #1129, MLC 1379 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #316 (pA *č'jop'è 'water container, vessel': T, Ko + [unc.] pJ {S} *tèpî ñ *tuàpî 'gutter' [without unequivocal ev. for *-p-] [> J: T tói, K tòî, Kg toí] + unj. pM *čöyērüm 'pond, small lake, pool').

402. ₂ *čEeq∇ (or *čEχ∇) 'chop, cut' > K *°čeq|χ- > G čex- 'chop (wood), split' ¶ Chx. 1929-30, DCh. 1576 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} cī- v. {AD} 'chop, cut (wood)' > Tng {J} sē 'cut (wood, tree), chop; slay (with a sword), hew, fell' | Sir {Sk.} cī 'cut, chop' ¶ Stl. ZCh 181 [#336], J T 142, ChC, Sk. NB 17 || ?σ Eg L s̄x̄ ({EG} ś̄h̄) 'injury', 'wound' or sim. ¶ EG IV 267 ◇ If Eg s̄x̄ belongs here, the N rec. must be *čEeq∇.

403. *čaqy∇ (or *čaxy∇?) 'to shine' > K: G čaxčax- 'glänzen, strahlen', čaxčax-i 'Glänzen, Gleißen, Strahlen' ¶ Chx. 1918 || A: M *čay- v. 'be(come) bright\white, shine' > MM [S] čayī- v. 'become bright\white', [MA] čaj- v. 'become white', WrM {MED} cāi-, HIM цаЙ- v. 'be(come) white, turn pale, dawn, grow light', Ord {Ms.} č'ā- 'become white', Mnr H {SM} č'īē- 'devenir blanc, jaunir (moisson)', ōr č'ī- v. 'dawn' ('commencer à faire jour'), WrM [AT] ciügen ~ ceügen 'shining' ¶ Pp. MA 130, H 25, MED 180, 1200, Kow. 2075, SM 441, 447, AT 8 || HS: Eg NK s̄x̄'ϣ 'shine' (of the sun) (unless ← Eg fP s̄x̄'ϣ

'appear') ¶ EG IV 237-8 ◇ N *-q- if the Eg cognate is valid, otherwise we must reconstruct *-q|χ- (*č a q|χ y ▽).

404. *čU₁?₁R ▽ 'stand, stand up' > HS: CS *-θūr- > Ar ✓ θwr (ip. -θūr-) v. 'become raised, stirred up' (of things), 'leap', SmA -tūr- ip. G 'raise' ¶ Ln. 364, BK I 241, Tal 946 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *čurw-~*č3rw- 'stand, stop, wait' ¶ Sk. NB 142, Tk. NB 170 ¶ The hissing (rather than hushing) cns. finds no explanation || K: G (ga-)čer- v. 'make (so., sth.) stop' ('zum Stehen bringen, anhalten, abstellen') ¶ Chx. 1925-6, DCh. 1576 || A *č^{r2}ur ▽- ({S AJ} *čur ▽, {SDM97} *čūra) v. 'stand' > Tg *^ojur- v. 'stand still' > Ewk juru₁- v. 'stand still, in silence' ¶ STM I 278 ¶ Tg *j- < N *č- (cp. also Tg ≈ *jali-kta 'haw-thorn' < N *čA1 ▽ 'stalk', Tg *jalka 'fine snow' < N *ča₁U₁g ▽ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost', and Tg *japakun 'quiver' < N *čapa 'sack, vessel') || S AJ and SDM97 adduce here pJ *tāt- v. 'stand' > OJ tat-, J: T tácu, K tätteru, Ns/Sh tač- ¶ S AJ 267 [#70], S QJ #70, Mr. 765 ¶¶ S AJ 101, 277 [#66], ≈ SDM97 (A *čūra 'even, straight'), ≈ DQA #247 (A *čjuri id. > Tg *jur- *÷ T *čūr [> OT tüz 'level, flat, even'], that goes back to N *čury ▽ → *čuryE or *čūr ▽ → *čurE 'row, line; to string' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The initial glottalized cns. in Ch suggests a glottalizing factor, which cannot be an initial ejective (ruled out by the K cognate) and is better explained by supposing the presence of a N lr. (most probably *?).

405. (2?) *č^{r1}i¹gR ▽ (~ *č^{r1}i¹R¹g¹ ▽?) 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam' > HS: S *^o✓θyr > Ar ✓ θyr 'remplir, boucher (le trou, la crevasse); barrer, barricader un défilé contre l'irruption de l'ennemi', ?σ Sq {L} pf. G (y)ho^oor 'split' ¶ BK I 225, ≈ LG 481 || K ?σ *čχer- / *čχir- / *čχr- v. 'pick (with stick)' > OG da-čχer-, G čχir-/čχer- {K²} id., {Chx.} '(hinein)stecken' (× K *čχir- 'stick' > G čχir-, Mg *čχinž- [↳ Abh a-čχanč ~ a-čχanž], Sv čχir d cχir), d. GZ *čχr-eķ-/ *čχr-iķ- / *čχr-ķ- v. 'pick (with stick)' > G čχreķ-/čχriķ-, Mg čχirķ-, Lz čχraķ- id. ¶ G χ < *y due to the law of compulsory as. within clusters ("harmonic complexes") ¶¶ K² 259-61, Chx. 1963-4, Abul. 132 || A: M *^očirga- > WrM cirga- v. 'stop up, dam'; M ↳ WrMc cirga- {Z} 'hold in (within some limits), dam, fill with mud' ({Hr.} 'stecken bleiben, in der Klemme sein'), {Hr.} cirga-bu- 'stecken bleiben lassen; anhalten (Atem); stauen (Wasser)' ¶ MED 191, STM II 399, Z 941, Hr. 151 || AdS of D: SD and SCD *čer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D *ker- < N *šérw ▽ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' [q.v. ffd.]; see also N *čERH₂ ▽ 'to stick in, to gauge, to chisel').

406. *čAr'h'ŕ'û' 'to spread, to scatter' > IE: NaIE *ster-, *steru-/*streu-, *sterā-/ *strōā- id., {E} *ster- 'spread out' (× N *ṭarX∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter' [q.v.]) > OI ✓star-: strōṅāti, strōṅōti 'spreads, scatters', 'streut (hin)', Av stərənāiti 'sternit', Phl vistar-tan 'to spread', NPrs گُستردن gostār-dān id., 'to expand; to make a bed' ||| Gk στόρνυμι, στορέννυμι v. 'spread', στρωτός adj. 'spread', στρωμα 'anything spread/laid out for lying/sitting upon' ||| L stern-ō / -ēre (pfc. strāvi, pp. strātus) 'stretch/spread out, strew, spread', strāmen 'straw, litter' ||| OIr sern- {Vn.} 'étendre, joncher, distribuer'; OBr strouis 'stravi', MBr streoui 'joncher', streuein v. 'to strew, to spread' ('parsemer, éparpiller'), Br strewiñ 'joncher, éparpiller, répandre' ||| pAl {O} *stringa > Al shtrij v. (prs. strinj) 'stretch (out), spread' ||| pGmc *straujan 'to spread, to strew' > Gt straujan, ON strá 'to strew', OHG strewen id. (> NHG streuen 'to strew, to spread'), AS stré(ō)wian 'to strew, to scatter' (> NE strew); ON strá (↳ ME strā, strō > NE straw), OFrs strē, OHG strou & strō (> NHG Stroh) 'straw' (← *sth. spread/scattered) ||| Lt stirta 'stack, rick', Δ strajā 'Streu(stroh)' ||| Sl *pro-sterti 'to spread, to stretch' > OCS прострѣти pro-strě-ti, R про-стѣреть, Slv prostrěti 'to stretch, to extend', SCr прòстрѣти & prò-strijēti id., 'to spread, to spread out', Blg про-'стирам v. 'I stretch, extend', Cz prostřít 'to spread (out)' ¶ P 1029-30, EI 539, M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, VI. II 1002, Sg. 1089, F II 802-3, Cowg. EG 155ff., WH II 590-1, Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, Ho. 326, Fs. 456, Kb. 976, OsS 878, Schz. 273, Kb. 973, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlBED 844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379 ||| HS: S *o✓θrr > Ar ✓θrr 'séparer, disperser, disséminer' ¶ BK I 220 ||| D *čār- ({}GS} *s-?) v. 'spread, extend' > Tl sārincu id., Knd sār- v. 'spread (e.g. sore)' ¶¶ D #2466 ◇ D *-r- (regularly from a N cluster *r⊥) and IE *sterā- suggest the presence of a lr.; the most probable lr. (liable to disappear in S) is *h ◇ ≠ IS MS 359 (equates IE *ster(H)- with HS *čr- 'scatter').

407. (₂?) *čERh₂∇ (= *čER∇?) 'to stick in, to gouge, to chisel' > K: G čr- / čar- 'hinein-\\durch-stecken, hinein-zwängen\\stopfen' ¶ Chx. 1946-8 ||| A: Tg: UI čirgз- v. 'gouge, chisel' ('долбить долотом\\стамеской') ¶ STM II 399 ||| D: AdS of SD and SCD *čer- v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D *kēr- < N *šêrw∇ 'to insert, to thrust in,

to stop up' [q.v. ffd.], *see* also N *č'i'gR∇ [~ *č'i'R'g'∇?] 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam' || ? HS: WS *√'θ'rf > Sr √tr^ς 'fregit, perfregit; perfodit', {JPS} 'break through, force a passage', JA [Trg.] √tr^ς 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen', MHb (< Aram?) תַּרְיָהּ תַּרְיָהּ tərī'ā 'Riß, durchbrochener Ort', SmA √tr^ς G 'breach' (pp. trū^ς 'breached'), Ar √θrf 'être importun à qn. par ses visites très fréquentes' (if a μφ from 'thrust, shove [oneself] in') ¶ Valid if Ar √θrf belongs here, otherwise the S root is √tr^ς and does not belong here ¶ Tal 965-6, Br. 836-7, JPS 621, Lv. IV 673, ≈ L G 481.

408. *č∇Ruq∇ (or *č∇Rüq∇?) 'pile up, put\lay on\over' > IE: NaIE *streu_uə₁- / *strou_uə₁- / *stru_u:- 'pile up, build' > L stru-ō, -ēre (pfc. strūxi, pp. strūctum) 'pile up, put in layers (schichten); build', struēs (gen. struis) 'a heap', Um struhçla, struçla, STRUŠLA 'struiculam, struem' (accus. dim. 'a heap') || Lt Δ strūnyti, Lt Z striūnyti 'errichten, erbauen' ¶ It is tempting to suppose that -k- in L strūxi, strūctum is somehow connected with N *-q- ¶ WH II 607-8, Bc. G 347, Pln. II 756, Frn. 927, ≠ EI 539 (L struō 'build up' < IE *ster- 'spread out') || K: G čχor-i n. 'heap, piling up' ('Anhäufung, Haufen'), čχor- v. 'unordentlich anhäufen oder bauen' ¶ Chx. 1965 || HS: B *√srH > Kb {Hy.} ti-sri 'tas de claies\planches'; ? BSn {Ds.} a-šaršūr (pl. i-šeršār) 'tas de pierres (sacré)' ¶ Dl. 790, Ds. B 338 || Eg fMK srχ₁ 'memorial stone (Denkstein)', possibly also Eg fXVIII srχ 'throne' (if ← *erected) ¶ EG IV 200, Fk. 234.

409. *č'a'w'û'r'y'∇ 'bull, calf' > HS: S {AD} *'θawar- 'bull, ox' > BHb שׁוֹר 'šōr, pl. שׁוֹרִים šəwā'rīm, ? Ph θωρ, Ug θr (θōr-), BA pl. תֹּרִין tō'rīn, JA תֹּרִי תֹרִי tō'r-ā, Sr }^o taw'r-ā, Ar شَوْر θawr-, OSA θwr, Gz ᵛC sōr, Tgr ᵛC sor, Ak šūr-, Eb šu-lum (= θō|ūr-um) id.; S ⇨ IE *tawro-s 'bull, aurochs' > Gk Mc tawros, Gk ταῦρος 'bull', pAl {O} *taura (> Al ter 'bull'), L taurus, Osc accus. ταυρομ, Um accus. pl. turuf, TORU 'bull', Gl TARVOS, OIr tarb, NIr tarbh, W tarw, MBr {Em.} taru, Br tarv, Crn tarow id., ON þjórr, Sw tjur, Dt Δ deur 'bull', pSl *turь (> OCS тоурь turь 'aurochs'), Lt taūras 'aurochs', Pru tauris 'bison'; Blt ⇨ F tarvas 'reindeer' ¶ KB 1346-8, 1797-8, AD PhSS 10-1, AD PSH 93, Br. 819, OLS 505, Siv. GAG 281, Sl. 1199, L G 511, Sd. 1287, IS DIES 3, WP I 711, P 1083, Mn. 1370, EI 135, F II 860-1, WH II 650-2, Bc. G 325, 349, Vr. 614, Frn. 1067-8, En. 263, Vn. T 31, Ern. 681, Hm. 777, YGM-1 405, Hamp AIEW 150, O 432

|| Eg: OK $\varepsilon\beta$ 'young bull' ({Mks.} 'taurillon'), ?? MK {Fk.} $\varepsilon\beta$ 'byre' ¶ Mks. I #3325, Fk. 207, Hng. 654 || SC \rightarrow Mb $\check{c}ur\acute{u}$ 'bull' ¶ E SC 227 (err. SC supposed cognates) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 7 || IE: NaIE *steur-/stour-'bull' ({EI} *steuros 'large domestic animal') > Av $\sigma\tau\alpha\omicron\rho\alpha$ 'large cattle', MPrs $\sigma\tau\omicron\rho$ 'draught animal', NPrs $\sigma\tau\omicron\rho$ ~ $\sigma\tau\omicron\rho$ 'beast of burden (horse, mule)' || Gt $\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\rho$ 'male calf, (young) bull', ζ ON {Ho., KM} $\sigma\tau\acute{i}\omicron\rho$ r (not mentioned in Vr.), OHG $\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\rho$ 'bullock', NHG $\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\rho$ r 'bull, bullock', Dt $\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\rho$ r, AS $\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\rho$ 'bullock, steer', NE $\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\rho$ r ¶ WP I 603-4, P 1010, Mn. 1316-7, EI 23-4, Vl. I 95 and II 227, Sg. 55, 656, Fs. 454, Ho. 320, OsS 873, Kb. 966, KM 749, Vr. N 699 || ? A: NrTg * $\check{c}ur$ - (~ * $\check{c}ir$ -?) (+ext.) > Ewk $\check{c}urup$ 'wild deer (two/three-year-old)' and possibly Ewk Urm $\check{c}irak$, Ewk M $\check{c}ir\bar{a}p$ 'elk (four-year-old)', Neg $\check{c}irap$ 'male elk (three/four-year-old)' ¶ STM II 399 || T: possibly Alt/Tlt/QK $\acute{c}ar$ 'ox (Ochs, Arbeitsochs)', Brb/Kü $\check{c}ar$ 'ox' (Rl. III 1859 and IV 192) \rightarrow WrM {Rm.} $\check{c}ar$, Kl $\check{c}ar$, HIM $\check{c}ap$ 'castrated ox' (in this case N *-a ω ∇ R- > A *-aR-) || D: [1] D {tr.} * $\acute{c}ar$ - > Gdb $\sigma\acute{a}rit$ 'bullock', Knd P $\sigma\acute{a}ra$ 'bull', Ku $\sigma\acute{a}hnu\ k\bar{o}d\bar{i}$ 'bullock' ($k\bar{o}d\bar{i}$ 'cow, ox') ¶¶ D #2402 || [2] ?? D (in CD) {tr.} * $\acute{c}ir$, {GS} * $\acute{c}ir$ 'buffalo' > Klm σir , Nkr $\acute{\sigma}ir$ 'female buffalo', Nk σir id., 'buffalo', Prj $\acute{c}ir$, Gdb σir & $\acute{c}irru$ 'buffalo'; D \rightarrow OI $\sigma\acute{a}iribha$ id. ¶ D #2554, GS 127 [#330] ◇ D *- \acute{r} - ~ *-r- and pT *-r suggest N *- $\acute{r}y$ - rather than *- \acute{r} - (which cannot yield T and D *-r) ◇ AD NM #41, Vv. AEN 19 (legitimate doubts about the supposed cognates in the Altaic lgs.).

410. * $\acute{c}i'Rk\bar{\nabla}$ 'pus, rotten/filthy liquid' > HS: S * \acute{o}^{θ} ark- > Ak $\acute{\sigma}ark$ - 'pus' ('Eiter') ¶ Sd. 1187 || IE: NaIE *(s)terg̃lg- / *(s)treḡlg- 'rotten liquid, filth' > Gk [Hs.] $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'κοπρών {LS} 'sterquilinum' ('dung-heap'), Gk $\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ 'wine vinegar, spoiled wine' || ON $\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa r$, MHG $\acute{d}r\acute{e}c$ / gen. $\acute{d}r\acute{e}ckes$ 'filth, dirt' > NHG $\acute{D}reck$ 'mud, dirt, filth' || NaIE *(s)terk̃- / *(s)trenk̃- '≈ excrements, urine' > L $\sigma\tau\epsilon r\acute{c}us$ / gen. $\sigma\tau\epsilon r\acute{c}oris$ 'excrements, dung, muck, manure' || Br $\sigma\tau r\omicron\kappa$ 'excrements (ordure, crotte)', $\sigma\tau r\omicron\alpha\zeta h$ 'urine', W $\sigma\tau r\omega n\acute{c}$ 'urine', $\sigma\tau r\omicron\epsilon\theta$ (< * $\sigma\tau r\omicron\kappa\bar{t}\bar{a}$ -) 'lye, urine', $\sigma\tau r\omicron\epsilon\theta i$ 'to urinate' || pAl {O} * $\sigma\tau r\epsilon\kappa a$ > Al $\sigma\tau r\epsilon\kappa$ (pl. 'shtrique) 'corpse, carrion' || Lt $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}ti$ (prs. $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}i\grave{u}$) 'to soil, to make dirty', Lt $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}ti$, Lt E $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}ti$ (prs. $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}i\grave{u}$) 'to manure, to dung', Lt $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}\grave{a}$ 'manure', $\sigma\tau r\acute{\epsilon}\check{s}kanos$ 'pus in the eyes' ¶ P 1031-2, WH II 589, F II 790, 856, Vr. 620, Lx. 32, KM 141, YGM-1 418, 420, Hm. 763, 815, Frn. 1083, 1112, 1120-1, O 441 ¶

The variation *ǵ|ǵ ~ *k̄ still needs investigating || **A**: NaT *čirk 'dirt, pus' > Az čirk 'dirt, pus', Osm {Rh.} čirk 'dirt, pollution, matter, pus', Tk {RYS} čirk 'dirt, rust', Δ 'pus, matter; manure', Tkm čirk 'stain, stained spot'; T б → G čirk- 'pus' ¶ Rh. 718, Chx. 1937, Rl. III 2127 ◇ ≈ IS I 207 [#50] (*čiruč 'гной, жижга').

411. (₂?) *čit' ▽ 'to clean, (?) to wipe' > **K**: G I čit- 'säubern (Reben)' ¶ Chx. 1934 || **U**: FU {Coll.} *očič' ▽- v. 'wipe' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} ciḥ:cuḡt, Vfs {Lgc.} cā'ḥ·co't 'abwischen' ¶ FU *-č- for the expected *-t- is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous FU root *čōč' ▽ (< N *coγ|χč' ▽ or *čōγ|χc' ▽ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' [q.v.]) ¶ Lgc. ##305, 353, Coll. 75 (Lp ciḥco / ciḥo- 'wipe'; *÷ Prm and Vg words belonging to the abovementioned U *čōč' ▽) || ? **HS**: S *°/θdm *'strain, filter (a liquid)' > Ar θidām- 'linge, etc., qu'on applique à une vase pour filtrer\coller un liqueur' ¶ BK I 220.

412. ʌ? *čitḥ, a 'small bird' > **K** *očit- 'small\young bird' > G čit- 'small bird', čit- v. 'bring up nestlings' (of a bird); possibly some Klge. б → Arm ḡḥun cit 'sparrow' ¶ Chx. 1938, DCh. 1579 || **HS**: EC: HEC {Hd.} *čida 'bird' > Brj {Ss.} čīdā, {Hd.} čī'da, Ged čiččo (< *čid- + snglt. -čo), Kmb čičču-ta, Alb čičuta 'bird' || ? SC {Tk.} *čid- (E) *čir-) 'bird' > Irq čirī, Alg/Brn čiraḥa, Asa širaḥa id.; *-d- < (as.) *dḥ- ¶ Hd. 27, 183, Ss. B 47, E SC 226, Tk. NB 176 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *čita 'bird', {AD} 'small bird' (mte. *č...t > *č...t) > Hs tsita čītà 'ε small bird' | Mbr {Sk.} čōtí, Dir {Sk.} à'čída 'bird' || ECh: Nd {J} čádín id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#443], Ba. 1041, ChC || ? Eg XXII stḥ 'ε bird' (t for the expected *d due to as. *tḥ > *tḥ), Eg MK sḥ id. (affricatization *t > *č) ¶ EG IV 345, 394 || **o U** {UEW} *čiča (~ *činča) 'ε small bird' > pLp {Lr.} *cicē- 'ε a small bird' > Lp: N {Fri.} cicce, sicce / -c- 'passer, avicula', {N} ciḥaš / -aš- 'Calcarius lapponicus', (last part of cds.) 'sparrow, small bird', S {Hs.} tśüjtse-ke, L {LLO} tsihtsē '(ε) 'small bird', Kld {SaR} цыза ciḥa 'a bird belonging to the order of Passeriformes (sparrow and sim.)' | Prm: Z I žiž 'small bird', žiž kay 'Arctic sparrow', Z US/MS ž+ž+, Prmk ž+ž, Yz žiži 'swift (Apodida)', StZ джыдж ž+ž id., 'sand martinet (Riparia)' || Os: D čeñč 'a small bird', Kz šeš 'a song-bird', K šiš 'goldfinch' || Sm: Slq Tm {KD} čiči 'a small bird', Slq Tz {Erl. ← JP} čičik, čičika 'a small bird' ¶¶ UEW 58-9, Lr. #81, Lgc. #355, Hs. 1370, SaR 382, LG 89, Erl. 239 ¶¶ The unexpected *-č- ~ *-nč- (for *-tt-) are due to onomatopoeic associations (and to

as.?). The additional cns. -ñ- in Os D and in prePrm (*-ñč- > Prm *ž) still needs explaining || D *čičt- '€ small bird' > Tl jičtā (the generic name of several birds: warblers, babblers, wagtails, etc.), Kn cečtī 'hen-sparrow', Kt gugr-cečy 'pigeon' (lit.: 'a bird that says gugr'); D ⇨ OI cačaka- 'sparrow' ¶¶ D *čičtā (preserved in Tl jičtā) > pSD *čičtā (*i > SD *e before *a of the next syll.) ⇨ Kn cečtī and Kt cečy ¶¶ D #2763, Zv. 65-6 (*i > SD *e), Tu. #4571 ◇ In WCh and D there is shift of etymological emphaticity N *č...t > *č...t (> D *č...t) ◇ An alt. rec. is N *čičt_h, that presupposes a shift of emphaticity in K ◇ If Eg sčh (~ sčh) belongs here, the N etymon is *čičt_ha (the combined ev. of Eg h and of KØ suggesting N *h). But if SC *čičf- belongs here, the N etymon may be *čičfa (Eg tčh < *-tčf- [assimilative deglottalization and devoicing]).

413. ?σ₂ *čAy∇ 'bring, give' > HS *čayy- > CS *θayy- 'gift, donation' > BHb 'ש' šay, EpHb 'ש' šy id., Ug θy {A} 'Votivgeschenk', {Grd.} 'tribute, gift', Yd šy [*θay-] 'gift, donation' ¶ KB 1368, A #2857, Grd. UT #2666, HJ 1125 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *čay- ~ *čiy- > Wrj {Sk.} ča-, Jmb {Sk.} ši ~ ša, My, Mbr c-, Kry čiy- 'give' ¶ Sk. NB 23, Tk. NB 174 || Eg OK σω, σω.τ, υσω 'Ersatz, Lohn, Entgelt' ¶ EG I 131 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 17-8 (S, NrBc, Eg + err. pSam *'sî: 'give' [in fact, < N *čih'i' ≈ carry, bring' → give', q.v.]) || ?σ D *čay- 'leave, let go, (?) give' > Klm say- 'leave, let go, release', Nk say-, Prj čāy- 'leave', Nkr sáy-, Gdb O {Bh.} sāy- 'leave, abandon', Gdb {BBh.} sāy key- 'leave, let loose', Gdb K sāy- 'leave, heal' || ? Td toy- 'give the slip to' || AdS of D *čī- / *čiy- ({θGS} *ś-) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') (< N *čih'i' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]); it is not likely to be the direct reflex of N *čAy∇ because of D *-ī- / *iy- and D {GS} *ś- ¶¶ D **2458, 2596, Zv. 105.

414. ₂ *čæ|ab∇'y'∇ '€ horned animal' > HS: S *θabay- 'gazelle' > Ak fOB šabītu(m) (Ak ī < S *ay), Ebl za-ba-a-tum, BHb 'צב' çabī (pl. צבאים çabā'ī-īm ~ צבאים çabā'y-īm), Ug θby, OA šby [θ'a'by-], IA tby, JA (incl. JEA) אב'י taby-ā, Sr taby-ā ~ tabī-'t-ā, Md tabia, Ar ظبي ḡaby- id. ¶ CAD XVI 42-4, Sd. 1071, Krb. EG 42, KB 937, HJ 419, 958, OLS 551, Grd. UT #1045, Sl. 493, Br. 266, DM 173, BK II 132, Ln. 1908 || Eg OK зbr.ω '€ antelope' ¶ EG V 568 || A {DQA} *č'ap'i - *č'ep'a '€ horned animal' > T {DQA} *čä|epií 'kid' > OT čepiš 'a kid more than half grown', Osm čäpiš 'half-year-old kid', Tkm čebiš, čebšek id., Az čäpiš 'one-year-old kid', Qzq šibiš 'one-year-old goat

(she-goat?'), Qq šIBIŠ 'goat that has kidded once', Qrg čebič 'kid of the second year' ¶ Cl. 399, Rs. W 105, Shch. Zh 120 || ?σ M: *ča[β]a > WrM ca, ca buqu, HIM цаа 'domesticated reindeer', Kl † ца(а) cā 'reindeer', ?φ Brt сагаа(н) saqā(n) 'sire reindeer' ¶ Kow. 2073, MED 154, Gl. III 333, KRS 620, Chr. 382 || Tg: Ewk I çēwakūn, Ewk çubukī 'mountain sheep' ('горный \ каменный баран') → Yk ču(b)buka ~ ču(b)buku id. ¶ STM 410 ¶¶ DQA #273 ◇ A *-p' < **-b...? < N *-b...y-

415. *č̣∇č̣χ|y∇ 'be born; a young (of an animal)' > K: G čičqina 'e young fish, fry' ¶ Chx. 2260 || U *čāča (~ *čanča) ~ (Ugr) *čoč∇ 'be born' > FU: Er šačo- ~ čačo-, Mk šača- id., 'appear, be a (good) crop' || Chr: L šoča- (inf. шочаш šoča-š), B šoča-, Uf šoča-, H šača- (inf. шачаш 'šača-š) 'be born' || Prm *čuž- id. > Z чуж- čuž- id., 'appear, germinate', Prmk, Yz čuž- id., Vt чыжы č+ž+ 'clan', чыжы-выжы č+ž+-v+ž+ 'clan, relative(s)' (выжы 'root, clan') || ObU {Ht.} *čōčəy > pVg {Ht.} *šššəθ ~ *šššā 'native land' > Vg: LK/MK sāsə, P šošīθ, Ss sossa id.; pOs {Ht.} *čōčəy ~ *čāčəy 'of this country, local, indigenous' > Os: D/K čāča, Nz šššə, Kz šššī, O sāsi || Sm: Ne T тэнэ, T O {Lh.} tenc 'clan, tribe; kind', En X {Cs.} tido, En B {Cs.} tiso, {Mik.} t+z 'Geschlecht', Ng {Hl.} tansa 'clan', Slq {Cs.}: O čaž, MO 'čažeak ~ čačeak, NP čatčeak, Ke cáceak, B čežijeä, Tz čečetä, čečeja, tetetä 'Geschlecht' ¶¶ UEW 52, MRS 722, LG 312, Lt. 216, U3S 490-1, Ht. #92, Stn. D 241, Ter. 690, Hl. US 139, Cs. 89, 134, 228 || A: NaT *čōčug|k ~ *čōčka ≈ young of an animal' (→ 'young of a pig'), 'child' (← 'born') > OT čočuq, Trm жожуқ žōžuq, Az чошга čošga, QrB čočxa 'suckling pig', Tk цочук / цочуғ- 'child', Ggz čožuq 'boy, son', Uz чўчка čwčqa, ET, Qmq čočqa, Qzq/Qq/Nog šošqa, VTt чўчка šušqa, Bsh susqa, Qrg čočqo, StAlt чочко čóčqo, Qmn {B} čočqa ~ čočqo ~ čōčkō, QK {B} čočqa ~ šošqo, Xk sosxa 'swine' ¶ Cl. 400, MKD 94, Rs. W 113, TkR 326, BT 180, B DK 269, B DLT 223, RKB 455 ¶ The length of the vw. *ō reflects the loss of the N postcons. lr.

416. *č̣ayd∇ 'strike, beat' > K *čēd- / *čād- v. 'hammer (metal), forge; nail' > OG čed- (aor. -čed-e < *čēd-) v. 'hammer (metal), forge', G čed- (aor. -čed-e) id., v. 'nail on, affix, shoe', Mg čqa(n)d-, Lz čqad- v. 'nail, shoe', Sv -šqād- / -šqid-, Sv L -šqād- id. ({TK} msd.: UB lišqādi, LB/Ln lišqādi, LB lišqdi, L lišqādi) ¶¶ K 254-5, K² 320, Chik. 412, FS K 474, FS E 537-8, Chx. 2238-40, TK 462; on the phonological basis of the

full-grade aorist in G: Vogt AVG 133 and GM S 269-70 ¶¶ The K long vw. goes back to N *ay || D *čat- v. 'strike, beat' > Tm cāṭu v. 'beat, trample, gore, kill, destroy', cāṭṭu v. 'beat, strike', Tu caḍāyisu- id., 'flog', Kn jaḍi 'beat, pound, crush', Tl saḍincu v. 'pound, beat', Prj čaḍp- v. 'strike, beat, hammer', Kui žaṛsa 'a whip, scourge', Mlt {Drs.} jāṛe 'beat/shake down as fruits' ¶¶ D #2300 || IE: NaIE *_l(s)_lk^(h)aḷd- 'strike' > L caed-ō / -ēre (pfc. cecīd-ī) 'strike, beat, kill, cut (trees)' || OI khēd- {MW} 'strike, press, press down', {M} 'drücken, stoßen' (to keep apart OI {M} khēd- 'tear?') ¶ ≈ WH I 129, MW 339-40, ≈ M K I 309, ≈ M E I 454-5 ¶ Though the IE *s mobile is not attested in any language, there is indirect ev. of it: the OI aspirated kh- is accounted for by NaIE *(s)k^h- < N *č- ¶ The cluster *sk- for the expected *st- is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out *st-...-ṭ-roots (in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N *č- and *č- yield IE *(s)k-, *(s)k̄-, *(s)k^h-, cp. IE *skand- < N *č'a'nd- 'rise, emerge, jump [up]' [q.v.]) || HS: ?φ EC {Ss.} *č|ḍīt- v. 'kick' > Or {Grg., Sr.} ḍīta, Arr {Hw.} ḍit-, Ya dīt- {Ss.} v. 'kick', Hr {AMS} ḍīč-'treten' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, 30, Grg. 126, Sr. 297, Brl. 118 (Or ḍit-u 'pestare, calpestare, pigliare coi piedi'), Hw. A 356, AMS 155.

417. *čUka (or *čUk_l∇?, ∇?) 'to shut, to stop up, to cover' > K: G ček- 'vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2245 || IE: NaIE {P, EI} *(s)teg- v. 'cover' > OI sthagayati 'covers, hides' || Gk στέγω 'I cover, protect' || L teg-ō, -ere v. 'cover' || ON þekja, OSx bi-thēkkian, OHG decken & decchen & thechen, NHG decken, AS ḍéccan 'to cover', NE thatch || Lt stíegti (prs. stíegu) 'to roof, to thatch' || ⇨ NaIE *(s)tego-s ~ *(s)togo-s 'roof' > Gk στέγος, τέγος, στέγη, τέγη 'roof, house' || OIr tech, OW tig 'house' || ON þak, AS ḍæc, OHG dah & dach & thah, NHG Dach 'roof' || Lt stógas, Ltv stâgs, OPrs stogis 'roof' ¶ P 1012-3, Dv. #109, EI 134, M K II 523 (the adduction of OI "remains questionable"), F II 780-1, WH II 654-5, Vn. T 39-40, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94-5, Schz. 105, 108, Ho. 35'Kb. 147, KM 119, 124, Frn. 904, 911, En. 257 || U *čukka- 'versperren, verstecken' > Hg cɛuk- 'sperren, versperren, zuschließen' || ? Vt čuka- vt. 'hamper, bar' ('задержать, преградить') || Sm: [1] č^hč^hč^h > Slq Tz {Cs.} čakačam ~ takatam 'einschließen, verschließen'; [2] ?φ Sm {Jn.} *t^hč^h v. 'hide' > Sq Tm {KD} takku 'хранить' (= 'keep?'), Sq N {Cs.} 1s pfc. tahhap 'I buried'; ⇨ Sm {Jn.} *t^hč^hč^hč^h 'verbergen' > Ne T

такѧл-цѧ 'to hide, to conceal', {Lh.} taġkaġ- 'verbergen, verstecken', Ne F 2s obcj. inv. ta'kkarġt, Slq Tz {KKIH} taqq+ġ- v. 'gather', {Cs.} ? En X/B tekā- 'sich verstecken' ¶¶ UEW 62, Coll. 7, MF 126, LG 313, Jn. 146, Cs. 133, KKIġ 179, Ter. 617 || A: ?σ Tg *çoku- v. 'screw up one's eye, close one's eye' > Ewk çokon- ~ çokor- id., v. 'take aim (when shooting)', Lm çokān- id., Neg çoxot-, Ork čoqorġčġ- 'take aim (when shooting)', Orc čokčomičġi- v. 'cover one's eyes with the hand' ¶ STM II 404 ◇ U *-kk- and Tg *-k- (the regular reflexes of N *-K-) may be explained as going back to post-N *-k- < *-kʔ- < N *-kʔ-.

418. ₂ *č|čikʔ 'to cut' > K: GZ *čečġ- v. 'cut (fine)' > G čečġ-, Mg čġačġ- id. ¶ K 255, K² 321, FS K 474-5, FS E 538 || A: Tg *çika- > Ewk çikā- v. 'cut off', Lm çġġġ, Neg çġħa ɔ çġka id., 'cut into pieces', Ork čikɜ 'a support (piece of log, etc.) on which sth. is chopped, cut, broken up, crushed' ¶ STM II 390 ◇ The N initial cns. may have been either *č- (preserved in K) or *č- (glottalized in K by as.) ◇ IS MS 361, IS I 210 [#55] (K, A).

419. *čEɣkʔ (or *čäɣikʔ?) 'squeeze; tight' > K: G čikn- 'prallvoll machen, vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2251 || HS: WS *✓'θ'ɣk > Gz ✓šɣk G 'be squeezed, pressed' and possibly BHb ✓çwġ Sh (pf. ġ'ħġ ġē'čġġ) 'drive (smb.) in the corner, press (smb.)', ġē'čġġ læ- 'harass, press hard' (absence of *ɣ due to contamination with CS *✓šyġ 'be narrowed, pressed' < N *čikʔ 'tight, narrow, dense' [q.v. ffd.] × N *čġġġġġġġġ 'squeeze, press' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ L G 543-4, KB 951, KBR 1014, BK II 49, OLS 420-1, Js. 1056 || U: FU *čäkkʔ 'tight; to press, to suffocate' > Prm: Z джaгьд žağɜd 'tight' (e.g., of a collar), žağɜd-n+ 'to press, to strangle (with a loop)', žağav-n+ 'to strangle oneself', Yz žağal- 'hang oneself', Vt жоканы žoka- vi. 'suffocate', žokat-+n+ vt. 'to strangle, to suffocate', žok-žok p+can+ 'to close tightly \ hermetically' || ObU {Ht.} *čäk- > pVg *šäk- ⇨ *šäk-ʔt- vt. 'suffocate' > Vg T šükġt-, Vg P šäkät- id., pVg *šäk-ʔp- vi. 'suffocate' > Vg: LK/P šäkəp-, MK sākəp-, LL šäkäp-; pOs {Ht.} *čäkən-, {ʔHI.} *čäkən- vi. 'suffocate' > Os: V/Vy čäkən-, Ty/Y/D/K čäkən-, Nz/Kz šäkən, O sākən- id. ('ersticken') ¶ UEW 55, LG 88, Ht. #132, Stn. D 247 || A: M *čiqul 'narrow, tight; pressed' (× N *čikʔ '↑', q.v. ffd.).

420. *čäġʔ (or *čäʔġʔ) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish' > K: GZ *m-čġl-e 'lean, thin' (with the derivational circumfix *m- -e) > OG, G mčle, Mg čġola id. (*m- is regularly lost in Mg) ¶ K 143, K² 133, FS K

472 (*čel-/čl-) || **HS:** SES *✓θll v. 'be weak' (animal, person) > Jb E θel 'weak', Jb C mɜ'θɔl'lɔt 'weak, sickly' (cow), mɜ'θi'lel 'weak' (person, young animal), Jb eθ'lel v. 'cause (animals) to be weak', Mh θal, Hrs θel 'weakly goat' ¶ Jo. H 132, Jo. J 284, Jo. M 417 || **AdS:** Eg MKL sɜ 'mit schwachem Arm' (× N ?σ *šuwʔ∇ 'weak' × N *šul'û' 'lax, loose') ¶ EG IV 14 || **C:** SC: Kz {E} čel- 'slow down' ¶ E SC 199 || **AdS** of EC *°✓č'k > Hd {PB} čerak- v. 'be lean, thin' (× N *čälg∇ 'lean, thin', q.v.) ¶¶ Tk. PAA (S, Eg, SC) || **U:** FU *č'ä']∇ 'a small thing' > pPrm *žwly- id. > Z žóí, žóíí- id., žóía 'small', Z UV žžía id., Prmk žóí 'a few' || pObU {HL} *čē]əy 'thin' (× N *čälg∇, q.v.) > pVg *čāləx id. > Vg: T čāləw, LK šōlī, MK/LK šōlī, N šāliṣ; pOs *čeləy ({HL} *čä]əy) id. > Os: V/Vy çeləṣ, θy çäḏəṣ, D/K çelə, Nz šelə, Kz šeḏī, O šel ¶ LG 91-2, Rd. rLG 422, Ht. #77 ¶ FU *č- (for the expected *č-) is puzzling; Prm *í is due to the infl. of the following *y || **A:** NaT *°çal- > OT cal-in- v. 'be emaciated (هَزَلٌ hazala)' (of a horse), 'исхудать' (МКА 342:3) ¶ Cl. 421, DTS 137 || Tg: WrMc celmeri {Z} 'slender, lean' ('стройный, с тонкой талией, сухощавый'), 'thin and dense' (of cloth), {Hr.} 'schlank, rank' ¶ STM II 420, Hr. 142, Z 929 || **M:** [1] M *čile- > WrM cile-, HIM чилэ- 'be(come) ill \ weary \ tired \ exhausted', Kl чил- 'run low, be exhausted (исчерпаться, кончиться)', {Rm.} čil(ə)- 'ein Ende nehmen, zu Ende gehen, kraftlos\krank sein', Ord č'ile- 'éprouver de la fatigue; être épuisé' ¶ MED 182, KRS 650, KW 440, Ms. O 701] [2] ??σ WrM cilger {MED} 'slender', {Gl.} 'стройный станом', HIM {MED} чилгэр 'slender' ¶ MED 183 || **D** *ča]]- ({θGS} *c- or [?] *č-) 'weak, feeble, undevelopped' > Tm ca]]ukkaṣ 'tender and undevelopped green fruit', Ml ca]]u 'unsubstantial, unripe', Kn ja]]uga 'a weak, feeble man', Kn Cr sa]ke 'lean', Tu ca]]ə 'stupid, weak', Kui saḏu 'an empty ear of corn, an unformed grain' ¶¶ DEDES #1951, D #2415 ◇ U *-]- and D *-]- suggest N *-]- ◇ ¶ S *θ- and Eg s- either result from deglottalization (N *č > *č > S *θ, Eg s) or represent N *čäʔ]∇. If *čäʔ]∇ is the right N rec., K *č- and Kz č- go back to N *č + *ʔ.

421. ₂ *č'ō'l,w,∇ 'shadow, shade, dark' > **HS:** S *'θilal- 'shadow' > Hb צל çel 'shadow' (pl. צללים çalālīm), Ug θl, Amr {G} šillum, JA ṭə'lal / em. ṭəlāl-ā, ṭul'l-ā, SmA ṭl, Sr ṭlṭlṭl ṭelālā (= ṭəɔ'ɔ), Ar ظل ḏill-, Gz d. šalālōt, Ak šillu id., JEA ṭəlālā 'ceiling'] (+ext.) S *✓θlm 'be\grow dark' > Ak ✓šlm G (inf. šalāmu) 'be black\dark',

ṣalmu 'black, dark', Ar $\sqrt{\text{ظلم}}$ ḡlm G (pf. ḡalima) 'be dark', Ug ḡlmt ~ ṽlmt 'darkness', Gz $\sqrt{\text{شلم}}$ G 'grow dark, be darkened/black' ¶ KB 960-3, KBR 1024-5, OLS 551, G A 34, Tal 311-2, Js. 537, Sl. 505, Br. 275-6. L G 555-6, Sd. 1076-8 || EC: Ged ṭillo 'black' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} cárká id. ¶ ≈ AD SF 113-4, Hd. 263 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} * $\check{c}^{\text{r}}\nabla\text{la-}$ 'shade, shadow' > Sha čalâ, Ang žil id.]? (+ext.): Tmk dǝlmĩ ~ dǝlmĩ (f. dǝlmĩr, pl. dǝlmàw) 'black' (unless from Ar) ¶ Stl. ZCh. 194 [#455], J R 233, Flk. s.v. žil, Cp. 53, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || Om {Blz.} *čal-/*čil- 'black' or 'green' > NrOm: Gm {Hw.} čilílo, Drz {Fl.} čilila, Malo {Fl.} člילו, Oyda {Fl.} čililo, Bsk {Fl.} čulla, Na'o {Fl.} čilu, Mj čl-ls, Gmr {Fl.} čil, Cha {Fl.} šilata, Hrr {Fl.} jiluḡa 'green' || SOm: Ari B čal- 'black', Ari G -čal, -čel, Dm čilo 'green', Ari {Bnd.} čalε-mi 'black, green' ¶ Blz. OL #197, Fl. AGC 623, Hw. EG, Bnd. AL 145, 151 || ?σ B * $\sqrt{\text{d}|\text{w}|\text{H}}$: Ah aḡlu v. 'be green and profuse' (of vegetation) (× B *dal 'green, dark'), Shl {NZ} ḡlu ~ dlu 'be(come) black', Sil i-ḡili 'black', Ntf dlu 'be black', Zng {TC} eḡey 'black', 3m pf. yeḡiy / 3m aor. yiḡiy 'become black' ¶ Fc. 271, Ds. 199, Dray 335, NZ 463, DCTC 296 ¶ To distinguish from B *dal 'green, dark' (NZ 326-7) || U * $\check{c}|\text{t}|\text{šo}|\text{w}\nabla$ > Sm {Jn.} * $\check{c}|\text{ta}|\text{w}\text{b}$ 'dark' > Ne T талв, Ne T O {Lh.} taɮβ 'the darkest part of night (in winter)', Ne F {Lh.} pīt tān^ id., Kms {KD} t'ōφu 'dark', Koyb {Sp.} τόλο 'темно' ¶ Jn. 151, Ter. 618.

422. 2 * $\check{c}^{\text{r}}\nabla\text{r}|\text{h}|\text{hm}\nabla$ 'to taste, to eat' > HS: WCh {Stl.} * $\sqrt{\text{čm}}$ 'to taste' > Hs {Ba.} čāmē 'a small amount of food taken (out of a pot on the fire) to taste if it is good' (× Hs čama v. 'take, pick out') | Ang {ChC} čām v. 'taste', Kfr {Nt.} čām id., 'touch (in darkness)', Mpn {Frz.} čām v. 'taste, feel, touch, test sth.' | Fy {J} čámî 'taste, touch' || Ech: Mu {J} čám 'eat (hard food)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 193 [#446], ChC, ChL, Ba. 1026, Flk. s.v. cām, Frz. DM 9, Nt. 5, J R 84 ¶ OS #111 (+ err. Ar $\sqrt{\text{θm}}$ 'make food fat, feed with fat food' [in fact, the basic meaning of Ar $\sqrt{\text{θm}}$ is 'fat']) || K *čām-/*čm- 'eat' > OG, G čam- (aor. -čam-e < *-čām-), Mg čkom- ~ čkum-, Lz čkom-, Sv L {K²} ēm-, {Dn.} em- (aor.: 1s l-oχw-em 'I ate', 2s laχ-em, 3s laɮ-em, 1p l-oχw-ēm-d, 2p laχēmd, 3p laɮēm-χ) ¶ K 254, K² 319-20, Schm. 157, FS K 472-3, FS E 535-6, Dn. s.v. em-; on the length of the pK vowels evidenced by the G aorist: GM S 241, 244, IS rGM 132-3 ◇ IS I 211-2 [#57] (+ err. S * $\sqrt{\text{t}|\text{m}}$ 'taste') ◇ The long vw. in K points to a N "light" lr. (*h, *r, or *h, less probably *?).

423. *čäm_L∇_Jχ∇ 'sour, bitter' > **K** [1] G čmaχ- v. 'become sour' (of wine), čmaχ-i 'sour' (wine); [2] ?φ GZ *mčaxe- (< **m-čmaχ-e-?) 'sour' > OG mčax-, G mčaxe-, Lz mčoχα- id. ¶ FS K 231, K² 133 || **HS:** NrOm *✓čm 'bitter' > Hrr {CR} čām-, Wl {C} čam-, Kf {C} čāmm- v. 'be bitter', Mch {L} čammo 'bitter', Anf {MYTY} šāmo 'bile' ¶ C SE IV 421, L M 24, MYTY 118 || Ch: WCh: Hs čāmí 'acidity, sourness', Gw cami || Tng {J} šem, {Kr.} sòm 'sour, -ness' || P' {MSk.} čímúwù ~ čómúwú 'sourness', Mbr {Sk.} šāmin, Dir {Sk.} nǝ 'sán'sám 'sour'; ?? NrBc *✓šmm 'bitter' > Cg {Sk.} šēmámá, P' {MSk.} šám(ù)mǎ, Sir šāmāmi id. (or akin to Jmb {Sk.} jámájámá 'bitterness', Kry {Sk.} démémǝná 'bitter'?) || CCh: Pdl šom šom 'sour', ZmB {Sa.} cìcèm, ZmD {KNC} cǝmòk, Zm {Kr.} čumok 'sour' || ECh: Brg {J} jè má 'bitter' ¶ Ba. 1027, ChC, ChL, JS 43, JI II 26-7, Sk. NB 13, 41, MSk. 208-9, KNC 28 ¶¶ OS #580, ≈ Sk. HCD 268 || **U:** FU *čä_Jm∇ 'sour', vi. 'ferment' > Prm *šòm ({LG} šòm) 'sour' > Z шом šom, Z US šòm, Prmk {UEW} šǝm, Yz šùm 'acidifying ferment; sour', Z Ud/I šom 'leavened dough', Vt шөм šǝm 'taste, acidifying ferment' || Os: Ty čim-, O sim- vi. 'ferment, rise' (of dough) ¶ Prm *š suggests a FU ä, while Os i points to a FU long *ā ¶ UEW 56-7 (FU *čem∇), LG 321-2, KrT 949 || **D** {tr.} *čam- v. 'go bad, become rotten' > Nk sam- 'be rotten', Prj čam-, Gdb sam-, Krx čanx- v. 'turn stale' (of food), 'turn mouldy' (of bread), (?) Krx čã:wã:r- 'get an unpleasant taste', Mlt čange 'be(come) rotten', čangro 'rotten' ¶¶ D ##2341, 2424, Pf. 5 ◇ IS I 209-10 (*čäm∇ HS-U), Tyler DU 807 (U, D), Blz. C (D, U).

424. *čiw_n∇(-č∇) 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' > **HS:** SES *✓θwn ~ *✓θnw > Mh θōnēt (pl. θǝ'wantǝn) ({Jo.} dōnēt, dǝwántǝn), Hrs θǝnwēt 'bad-smelling, malodorous sweat', Gz, Tgr ✓šnw 'be fragrant, smell (of sth.), emit an odour', Tgy ✓čnw (pf. čenewǝ) v. 'smell (odorare o puzzare)', čena 'odour' (č- due to Cushitic infl.?), Amh țena 'odour, smell'; a variant with an unexplained change S *θ > *č is represented in Ar šunān-, šinn-at- 'bad odour, fetid smell of arm-pits', šanna v. 'be altered, stink', in Sr šanā'n-ā 'smell of arm-pits; savour\smell (esp. of roasted meat)', and in Md šanta 'stench' ¶ Jo. H 30, Jo. M 85, Lonnet p.c. (on the phonetic meaning of {Jo.} č in Mh/Hrs/Jb), L G 562, LH 646-7, Bsn. 937-8, BK I 1373-4, Br. 632, JPS 481 || EC: Brj {Hd.} činč-, činčay- vi. 'smell', {Ss. ← Hw.} činčay-, {Ss.} činčay- 'smell, esp. pleasant', Or {Th.} činčawu

'puzzare, essere nauseante', {Brl.} činč-awu 'puzzare (di bruciaticcio), bruciacchiare', Or B {Vnt.} činčā / činčofta 'puzzare, essere nauseabundo', {Sr.} činčā / činčōfta v. 'transpire abundantly' ¶ Hd. 184, Ss. B 48, Th. 68, Brl. 78, Sr. 281, Vnt. 30 || NrOm: Kf {C} čin- 'smell (odorare)', {C} činnō, {HHM} 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹 činno-†{Bbr.} činno n. smell (profumo)', Gm {Hw.} čínko 'smell foul' ¶ C SE IV 422, HHM 302, Hw. EG ¶¶ ≈ OS #442 || K: G čenčī n. 'sweat', G K čenčexī id., G Lch čenč- v. 'sweat' ¶ Chx. 2240-1 || U: FU (att. in FV) *čiwŋ|ñ∇ 'smell, stench' > Lp: N {N} čiwŋâ 'which has a smell of burnt hair or cloth or the like', L {LLO} tsiurna 'scharf\bitter schmeckend, stinkend', Kld {TI} c+ū'n(ã) 'stench of a stoat (and a cat)' † Er чине číne, Δ čiyne, Mk šínã 'smell, stench' ¶ UEW 621 || D: [1] D (in SD) *čīñt- 'bad smell' > Tm cīñtū 'stench (as of rancid curd)', Kn siñdū 'a disagreeable \ nauseous smell (as of sheep, tiger, rancid butter, etc.)', Kdg čindī 'scent (found by dog in hunting, etc.)', Tu jidđū, jidđā 'rancidity' || [2] D (in NED) ≈ *čēñ- > Krx čaʔ(a)nā (p. čã:čas) v. 'stink, give forth an offensive smell; smell', Mlt čenye (p. čenča) 'emit odour' ¶ D ##2264, 2523 ¶¶ The original pD nasal cns. is *-ñ- (< N *-n-). The cns. *t in *čīñt- is due to regr. as. (infl of *t).

425. *čēñ∇ 'narrow, thin' > K: G {NCh., DCh.} čāni 'lean, meager', G čnavi id., 'skinny' (Chx: 'mager, ausgemergelt') ¶ Chx. 2265, DCh. 1702, 1713, NCh. 457, 459 || HS: EC: Brj činʔ-a {Ss.} 'very small', {Hd.} 'small, little' ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 183 || IE: NaIE *°sten- 'narrow' > Gk A στενός, Gk I στελυός 'narrow' ¶ WP II 627, P 1021-2, and EI 391 (all of them suggest a highly qu. comparison with Gmc: ON stinnr, OFrs stīth, AS stīp 'steif, fest, hart, stark'); F II 788-9 and Ch. 1051 (no et. of the Gk word) || U: FU (att. in FP) *čēñ|ñ∇ 'small, thin, eng' ('klein, dünn, schmal') > F hieno, Krl Ld hien, hieno id., 'fine' † pZ {LG} *ženit ({JLG} žēnit) 'short' > StZ, Z US žēñ+d, Z UV žēñid, Prmk žen+t, Yz žin^t id. ¶ UEW 620-1, LG 89, Lt. J 118 ◇ The stem-medial lr. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the long *ē in U. The lack of traces of the N lr. in IE and K suggests that it was *ʔ (confirmed by the C reflex) ◇ Trnt. NE 159 (IE, U).

426. *č'ä'ñč∇ (or *č'ä'ñč∇) 'tip, (back) end, tail' > K: G čoči 'Spitze, Ecke', 'spout (of a jug)' ¶ Chx. 2267 || U: FU *čänčä 'tail, back end' > F häntä (gen. hännän), Es händ 'tail' † Lp Vfs {Lgc.} cá'cka' 'Fleisch am Hinteren' || ObU *čŭñč ({Ht.} *čŭñč) 'back (dorsum)' > pVg

{Ht.} *sīš id. > Vg: T/LK/P/NV/SV/LL šiš, MK/UK/UL/Ss sis; pOs {Ht.} čuñč id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty čuñč, Y čunč, D/K čünč, Nz šünš, Kz šüş, O sus || Sm {θJn.} ≈ *sälān∇^rs¹- ~ *sälānt- 'tail' > Ne T W cahe^r sañe^r / obl. cahec- sañes-, Ne {Cs.} saña^r, sañe^r 'tail', En {Cs.} soddaki 'bird's tail', Ng {Cs.} santu^r id. ¶¶ Sm *s- (the reg. reflex of U *ś) is accounted for by dis. *čänčä > *śänčä; an alt. conjecture: if U *ć- yields Sm *s- (which has not been demonstrated), the N etymon may be *ć^rä¹nč∇, whence U *čänčä, while G č̣- and FU č- are due to as. ¶¶ Coll. 81, UEW 56 (rejects the Sm cognate because of Sm *s-), Lgc. SL #2779, Ht. #105, Ter. 529, Cs. 29, 65, 91 || HS: B *✓z̥z̥ > Kb ti-z̥zi-t̥ (pl. ti-z̥zi-yin) 'barbe de grain d'orge, brindille', Izn {Rn.} taz̥a 'quill of a porcupine, thorn'; ?σ Ah {Fc.} ti-z̥z̥ 'anus' (if ← 'back part of the body'), ??σ ETwl {GhA} ti-z̥z̥ (pl. ti-z̥z̥awən) 'vagina' (if ← 'anus' or 'penis') ¶ Dl. 927, GhA 219, Rn. 320, Fc. 1927 || ECh: Kwn {J} č̣ín, Kbl {Cp.} č̣indä 'tail' ¶ JI II 317 || ?φ A: ʌ pKo {S} *ča(:)či > NKo ca(:)ci č̣āẓi 'penis', ccc čot id. ¶ S QK #718, MLC 1383, 1488 || Tg ʌ *č̣∇cu > WrMc cccc, Ud č̣ičko, Ork tutu, ? Nn {PSchm.} č̣ilč̣ū 'penis', Ul č̣lč̣u id., 'spout (of a tea-pot)', Nn Nh č̣lč̣l- v. 'pour water through a spout' ¶ ≈ STM II 403 || ?φ M *č̣iči > Kl {Rm.} č̣iš 'kurze Stange, spitze Holz', WrM č̣ičigür 'thorn, prickle', Kl чичыр 'crow-bar, boar-spear', Kl Ö {Rm.} č̣ičūr 'Instrument, um etwas durchzustecken', d. Ord ẓ̌ič'in 'droit au but'; bf.: M *č̣iči- v. 'poke, thrust, prod, prick, stick' > WrM č̣iči-, HIM чичи- id., Ord ẓ̌ič'i- 'piquer, aiguillonner', Kl чич-х č̣ičəxə 'to prick, to pierce (with a spear), to punch', {Rm.} č̣ič-xə 'durch-stecken/-bohren' ¶ MED 176, Ms. O 205, KRS 654, KW 442 ¶¶ ≈ DQA *č̣^rič̣^u 'spout, prick, penis' (Tg, Ko, M) ¶¶ The Ko and Tg words for 'penis' may be Lallwörter.

427. *č̣Up∇(R∇) 'fingernail, claw' > HS: S *¹θup^ra^r- 'fingernail, claw' > BA təpar* id. (יְפָרָהּ תִּפְרָהּ 'his fingernails', הַפָּרָה תִּפְרָה 'her claws'), JA פָּרָה תִּפְרָה, em. אֶפְרָה תִּפְרָה-ā, SmA ṭpr, Sr 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 ṭɛp^r-ā 'fingernail', JEA אֶפְרָה תִּפְרָה-ā 'finger-toe-nail, hoof', Md ṭupra 'claw, nail, hoof', Ar ظفر ɖufr- ~ ظفر ɖifr- ~ ظفر ɖufur- id., 'claw', Jb C {Jo.} θi¹fēr ({{Jo.} ɖí¹fēr), Hrs {Jo.} θ̣ɜfīr 'finger-toe-nail', Mh {Jo.} θ̣fēr ({{Jo.} ɖfēr) id., 'claw', Sq {Jo.} 'ṭɜyfɜr, 'ṭɜfhɜr, {Nak.} 'ṭifher 'fingernail', Gz ɜəfr (pl. ɜəfar) id., 'claw', Tgy ɜɜfɜr 'finger-toe-nail', Tgr ɜɜfr id., 'claw', Ak ɜupru(m) 'finger-toe-nail, claw,

hoof', BHb d. ךָּיִצְּבָּן çip'porɛn 'fingernail' ¶ KB 983, 1716, GB 693, 908, Dlm. 1174, Spr. BA III 176, Lv. II 183, Sl. 498, Br. 286, Tal 322-3, DM 178, Jo. M 83, Jo. H 49, Jo. J 48, Nak. 6 [#48], LG 549, LH 650, Bsn. 975, Sd. 1113, CAD XVI 250, MiK I #1.285 || ? *AdS* of B * $\text{t}^{\circ}\text{vr}$ 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' (< N * $\text{t}^{\circ}\text{VRV}$ ~ * $\text{t}^{\circ}\text{VRP}$ 'ε part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || C (mt.): SC: Brn/Alg çarafu {Wh.} 'fingernail', {E} 'nail, claw' || ?φ Ag: Q {R} žerfā , Xm T {CR} za'fer 'finger' || ?φ EC: Kmb {L} $\text{zuru}^{\text{p}}\text{m-ič-uta}$ (pl. $\text{zuru}^{\text{p}}\text{m-ata}$) 'finger', Alb {CR} $\text{zurum}^{\text{p}}\text{a}$, {PB} $\text{zur}^{\text{p}}\text{ma}$ 'thumb' ¶ AD SF 129, Wh. IC 23, E SC 329 || ?φ NrOm {Blz.} * $\text{ž}^{\text{p}}\text{pn-}$ ~ * $\text{ž}^{\text{p}}\text{abar-}$ > Kf {C} yafarō ~ yabarō 'fingernail', Mch {L} yabaro , Anf {Gt.} ya'bero , Ym {C} difnā id., amb Shn {Lm.} žābā 'branch', kiši-žābā 'finger' (kišā 'hand') (× HS * $\text{c}^{\text{b}}\text{f}$ > S * $\text{c}^{\text{b}}\text{f}$ 'finger') ¶ Blz. OLBP s.v. 'fingernail', AD SF 129, C SE III 72, Lm. Sh 321-2, 331 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} čibɛn , Krkr {Mk.} yarfetu , Bd {RLk.} šābār-žn 'fingernail' || CCh: Mdr {Mch.} širba id., 'claw', Msg {GKrs.} dɔfra 'bino 'finger, toe', ? Msg Ng {Rlf.} dzhrum id., (× HS * $\text{c}^{\text{b}}\text{f}$ > S * $\text{c}^{\text{b}}\text{f}$ 'finger'): FIJ {ChL} amb $\text{ž}^{\text{p}}\text{v}^{\text{p}}\text{iš}^{\text{p}}\text{ŋgā}$ $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{v}^{\text{p}}\text{ū}$ 'finger' ($\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{v}^{\text{p}}\text{ū}$ 'hand, arm'), FIMc $\text{ž}^{\text{p}}\text{v}^{\text{p}}\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{g}^{\text{p}}\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{i}$ 'finger' ¶ JI II 246-7, ChL III 6, Lk. DQM 93, RLk. NB 222 ¶¶ AD SF 129 [C, Om, S, Ch], OS #120 (* $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{upar-}$ 'fingernail') [S, C, Om] || U * $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{pp}$ (~ * $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{ppä}$?) 'finger' > F hyppy , hyppi 'finger-tip', hyppynen 'finger-tip, finger's end; finger' | pLp ≈ * $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{pp}$ > Lp Kld {TI} $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{e}^{\text{p}}\text{:p}$ (b), {SaR} $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{e}^{\text{p}}\text{h}$, Lp T {TI} $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{e}^{\text{p}}\text{:p}$ (b) ~ $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{e}^{\text{p}}\text{p}$ 'finger, toe' || Sm {Jn.} * topā , {Hl.} * topa 'claw, hoof' > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Ne T O tōb-ā 'toe (of a ruminant), hoof', Ne F L {Lh.} tōp^{p} id., Slq Tz {KKIH} top^{p} 'foot', Mt {Hl.} * toha^{p} 'hoof' (Mt K {Pl.} tohotō 'its hoof') ¶¶ SK 93, TI 632, SaR 378, N I 311-2, Jn. 166, Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKI 185, Cs. 148, Hl. M #1044, UEW 49 ¶ The pLp vw. * ē (a regular reflex of FU * e) still needs explaining (contamination with a different v ?) || A: Tg * çop^{p} -, * çopar- 'claw' > Ewk çowomo , Ewk I çōbi , Ewk Skh/Tng/Urm çōw^{p} 'claw (of a bird)', Neg çowokī 'claw, bear's paw', Orc çopokto , Ud {Krm.} čofoto 'claw', WrMc šoforo 'claws (of a hunting bird)', 'a pinchful (of five fingers)' ('щ ёпотъ') ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 311.

428. * $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{p}$ (- t^{p}) 'thong' > HS: C: Ag * $\text{č}^{\text{p}}\text{p}$ > Bln {R} 'šaber (pl. 'šafet), Xm {R} 'šaber 'leather-strap (Lederriemen)'; Ag b Tgr şefare 'pack-rope, leather-strap', Amh {L} ṣefɜr 'leather-strip, thong' ¶ R WB 316, LH 650, L CAD 236 || S * $\text{c}^{\text{p}}\text{pp}$ > Ar ç^{p} ç^{p} G (pf. ظَف çaffa) 'lier, serrer (les pieds d'une chamelle)' ¶ BK II 86-7 || K: G

{DCh.} čar-i 'leather-straps of footwear', G R čar-i 'Riemen zum Zubinden der Kalamani (Art Ledersandale)' ¶ DCh. 1703, Chx. 2232 || U: FU (att. in Vg) *čipp∇'tt'∇ > pVg {Stn.} *šip∇t > Vg {Stn.}: T šerät, LK šəpt, MK səpt, P/SV/LL šipt, NV/ML šipt, UL/Ss sipat 'Schnur am Netzrand' ¶ Stn. WV 303, Kn. VW 49.

429. *čīṣPâ 'branch, bough, rod' > K *očep̄]- 'rod' > Mg {FS} çqarūl- 'Gerte, Rute', Zan ↗ OG, eNG {SSO} çqerl-, G çqerla-, çqerel-, G Δ çqerla- 'Gerte, Rute' ¶ Chx. 2180-1; ≈ K 244 and K² 298 (GZ *çqerl]- ← GZ *çqer- 'to split, splinter'); ≈ FS K 447 and ≈ FS E 505 (GZ *çqerl-) ¶ *-]- is likely to go back to a sx. || A: NaT *çīṣp 'slender branch' (× N *ciḳP∇ 'branch, shoot of a plant') > OT čip 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} چوب čup 'little bit of wood, stock' (× ← NPrs چوب čūb 'log, wood (as material), tree' [← some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip kurduk 'thin as a thin twig'); ↗ NaT *çīb-ik ~ *çīb-uk (Cl., Dr: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' > OT čībīq, OT QU čīvīq id., MU čībīq, MQp ≥ XIII čībuq ~ čībīq, XwT dalniḡ čubuqī 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg čubuq, Tkm čībīq 'rod, switch', Az čubug id., twig', MQp, QrB čībīk, Chg čubuḡ ~ čubuq, XwT čubuq, Tk çubuk 'rod, branch', Ggz čībīq ~ čubuq, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {RI.} čubuq, ET, Uz čīvīq, Qzq, Qq, Nog šībīq, VTt š̄b̄b̄q, Qrg čībīq, StAlt čībīq, Bsh s̄b̄b̄q 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz čībīq ~ čīwīq, Xk, Shor simix, Tv šībīq 'rod, switch (прут, хворостина)', Tv d. šīqrīr id., Qmn čībuq ~ čībuḡ 'twig, rod', Yk sīraḡ 'small willow (тальник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'. Stems with čub- are due to the analogy of NPrs چوب čūb 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of *-b- and the ending *-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-9, Rs. W 106, RI. III 2099-2100, 2185, Sg. 401, Dr. TM III #1059, Sg. 401-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 360, RKB 505, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 880, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 207, TvR 585, 587, JkR 360, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of *ī (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of N *ṣ and *ḳ (N *čīṣPâ and *ciḳP∇ > *ci:b-) || Tg (att. in NrTg) *çī|üpa- 'sharp stick' > Lm çıpaḡ 'sharp head (tip) of the braking stick (used when driving a dog-sledge)', Neg çıp-çip- 'pointed' (of sticks, pencils) ¶ STM I 398 ¶¶ DQA ##327 (A *č'īp'a 'branch, sharp branch') || D *čīvv- (~ *čūvv-?) > TI cuvva, cuvaka 'twig, small flexible stick or cane', Klm sīvva 'piece of fuel', Nkr sīvva 'wood', suvval pl. 'fuel' ¶¶ ≈ D #2600 || HS: Eg P 3ᶜb

'sceptre' ¶ EG V 536 ◇ Eg b and D *-v- are accounted for by as. N *-řP- > *-řb-. The N lr. *ř is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg ř, K *Ø, and the D length of the vw.

430. *čE₁y₁p₁∇ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' > HS: HEC *čēf- v. 'immerse' > Hd {Hd.} čēf-, Kmb {Hd.} čef- v. 'immerse' ¶ Hd. 83 (HEC *čēp- > Hd čēf-, Kmb čef-, as well as erroneously Brj čūb- and Ged čūp- 'immerse' that belong to EC *čub₁∇₁ř- v. 'dip in' < N *čū|ub₁∇₁g₁∇ 'dip in', q.v.), 273, 313 || CS *-θūp- (*✓θ₁wp) 'float, overflow' > BHb ✓čwp (pf. ḡḡ čāp, ip. -čūp-) 'overflow', Sh†(pf. ḡḡḡ hē'čīp) 'cause to flow over, to cause to float', MHb ✓čwp G 'flow, overflow, float', JA ✓čwp (ip. -čūp-) {Js.} 'float, bubble up, come to the surface; drip, be inundated', SmA ✓čwp v. Sh†'flood', čwpn 'déluge', JEA ✓čwp v. Sh 'inundate', Md ✓čwp G 'overflow', Sr ✓čwp G 'float, overflow, be inundated' ¶ KB 94O-1, BDB 847, Js. 525, Br. 271, Sl. 497, Tal 307, DM 181 || B (deglo.) *✓syf v. 'stream', 'swim' (or 'float') > Kb aššaf 'ruisseler, suinter', Si {La.} sīyaf (pf. isīyaf), Izd {Mrc.} ššef (pf. iššef) 'nager', Tmz {MT} ššaf 'être baigné, se baigner, nager' | B *sūf ~ *sīf 'river, stream' (× N *šap∇ 'riverbank, river', q.v. ffd.) ¶ La. S 264, 289, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 174, 402, Ds. 131, Rn. 313, Dlh. M 184, MT 617, 685, Dl. 78, 759, Beg. N 317, Fc. 1806 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *čēpp∇ 'einsinken, versinken, untersinken' > Vg K sēp- 'undersinken', Vg LL {Kn.} šep-, ML/LL {MK} sēpi, Ss {Kn.} sēp- {MK} 'undersinken, ertrinken' | OHg fepedūk, Hg süpped- 'einsinken, sich senken, sich setzen, versinken' ¶ UEW 841-2, MF 557-8, MK 542 || A *č'īP∇ > M *čibü- v. 'become submerged, drown' > WrM cib-, ci(b)bü-, HIM ЧИВЭ-Х v. 'sink, become submerged', Kl čiw- v. 'drown, become submerged' ¶ MED 174, KRS 647, KW 443 || ??σ T: OT [MhK, QB] čap- 'swim' (highly qu., because it may be a sd. of NaT *čap- 'run quickly' > Chg XV, Tkm, Qrg čap-, Alt ćap- 'run', Osm {Rh.}, ET čap-, Uz čap- id., 'gallop') ¶ If the OT čap- 'swim' belongs here, its vw. a may be due to contamination with čap- 'run quickly' ¶ Cl. 394, TkR 722, BN 27.

431. *č'ra'r∇ 'to cut' > HS: S *°✓θ₁rr > Ar ✓ḡrr (pf. ظرّ ḡarra, ip. -ḡurr-) 'rendre aigu\tranchant (p. ex. une pierre à fusil)', 'égorger (une bête) à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant de pierre'; × S *θ'ur₁a₁r- (> Ar ظرّ ḡirr-, ظرر ḡurar- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak ṣurr(u(m)) 'obsidian, flint-stone', Hb צר הרב ḡor ḡerēb

'blade of a sword' [h̥erεb̥ 'sword']) (< N *č̥VR̥V 'flintstone, knife' [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, KBR 1052-3, Sd. 1114 || Eg: amb Cpt: Sd **ⵉⵔⵓⵔ** zōr, **ⵉⵔⵓⵔ** zōōr, **ⵉⵔ-** zer-, **ⵉⵔⵔ-** zoor-, B **ⵉⵔ-** zor- 'aiguiser, affiler' (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) (× N *č̥VR̥V '↑?') ¶ Vc. 331 || EC: Or {Grg.} č̥ir- v. 'cut', Or B/O/W {Sr.} č̥ir- v. 'cut into pieces', Or H {Ow.} č̥ir- v. 'cut, slice', Rn {PG} č̥ūra 'trim lower edge of a girl's hair, cut girl's hair', Sd {Gs., Hd.} č̥ir- v. 'shave (beard)', Brj {Ss.} č̥ir- v. 'chop', {Hd.} č̥ir- v. 'clear (forest)' ¶ Grg. 84, Sr. 281, PG 87, Gs. 58, Hd. 184, 357, Ow. 256, Ss. B 49 (Brj ← Or) || **K** {K²} *č̥er-/ *č̥r- v. 'cut, chop' > OG č̥r- v. 'cut, reap', G č̥er-/č̥r- (prs. -č̥r-i, aor. -č̥er-) v. 'cut, chop, fell', G Gr č̥ar-/č̥r-, Lz č̥k̥i(r)-, č̥kor-, Mg č̥k̥ar-, č̥k̥ir- v. 'cut, chop, reap', Sv d. lā-r-e 'meadow' (lit. 'place of mowing'), Sv {TK}: UB/L lāre, LB/Ln lare 'hayfield (βοστοῦνο), field' ¶¶ On the loss of K *č̥ in consonant clusters in Sv see K 22 ¶¶ K 255-6, K² 321, FS K 473-6 (*č̥ar-/ *č̥r-), GM S 234, 354, Chx. 2256, 2272, GP 136, TK 387-8 || ?σ **D** *č̥ar̥r- to be split, to be torn, to be cut' > Prj č̥ar- v. 'be torn (cloth, etc.)', Gnd Δ sarrāna 'be split as wood, be torn' (of clothes, etc.), Gnd HM aš-, Δ har- ~ ar- v. 'be torn', Krx č̥arr- v. 'tear, rend', Mlt č̥are v. 'cut as with the teeth or scissors' ¶¶ D #2416 || **A**: pKo {S} *č̥ar̥i- 'cut off, chop off' > MKo č̥ar̥i-, NKo č̥ar̥i- ¶ S QK #912, Nam 413, MLC 1376 || pJ *tāt- 'cut (off)' > OJ tāt-, J: T tát-, K/Kg tāt- ¶ S QJ 1109, Mr. 766 || ? NaT amb*č̥ar 'whetstone' > Alt чар č̥ar, Tel {Rl.}, Qmq č̥ar, VTt чар č̥ar, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} šar, Bsh sar id. ¶ An alt. et. (more plausible semantically, but with an irreg. vowel corr.) derives the T √ from N *č̥VR̥V 'flintstone, knife' (q.v.) (S CNM 8) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 || Tg *oč̥ari- > Ewk č̥ari- v. 'tear' ¶ STM II 385 ¶¶ DQA #274 (A *č̥'ar̥o 'cut off, tear off') ◇ IS I 209 (HS, K, D).

432. *č̥ER̥V 'look after, guard, observe' > **K** *č̥ir- 'care, need' (× N *č̥ER̥'hæ¹ 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' [q.v.]) > OG č̥ir- v. 'care', G č̥ir- v. 'need' (m-č̥ir-s 'mir fehlt [etwas], ich leide [an]), č̥ir- 'Not, Unglück', G X č̥ir- 'Trauer', Mg č̥k̥ar-, č̥k̥ir-, Lz A č̥i(r)- ({IS}: Lz A č̥- < Zn *č̥k̥-) v. 'need, be in want of', Lz č̥k̥ar-, nč̥k̥ar-, č̥ir- n. 'need', (?) grieve', Sv LB-nč̥k̥ar-, Sv L-č̥k̥ar- v. {FS} 'need; grieve', Sv {TK} msd.: UB/L li-č̥k̥ar-e, LB li-nč̥k̥ar-e, Ln lič̥k̥are 'to think, to grieve, to worry', Sv č̥k̥ara 'care, meditation', {K²} 'anxiety, thought' ¶¶ K 255, ≈ K² 320, 322, FS K 476, FS E 539-40, Chik. 410, Chx. 2255-7, TK 482 || **HS**: S *√n̥r v. 'guard'

> BHb נצַן / n̄ṣr G 'observe, watch over; keep from; protect, preserve; observe, comply with', Ug n̄ṣr {OLS} 'atender; proteger, guardar', Amr {G} / n̄ṣr, IA, JA, SmA, Sr / n̄ṣr G 'guard', Ar / n̄ṣr G 'look at, watch', naṣar- 'regard; soin, surveillance', Sb / n̄ṣr 'observe', Gz / n̄ṣr D 'look at', Ak / n̄ṣr G 'bewachen, schützen, bewahren', Eb {Krb.} / n̄ṣr G (inf. na-za-lum = naṣārūm, 3m i-na-sar) v. 'guard' ¶ KB 678, KBR 718, OLS 320-1, Br. 426, Sl. 745-6, Tal 51-2, BK II 1287-90, BGMR 102, Bll. 303-4, Sd. 755, Krb. EG 34; S *n- apparently goes back to a px. || Ch: Hs ṣārē v. 'guard, protect, preserve' ¶ Abr. H 879, Ba. 1030 ¶¶ OS #506, ≠ Sk. HCD 269 || IE: NaIE *ster-g-, *ster-k- v. 'guard, care, take care of' ({P} 'sorgend worauf achten, hegen und pflegen') > Sl *sterg- (inf. *stergti, prs. *stergq) > OCS стрѣщн strěšti (prs. стрѣгѣ strěgq) 'to guard', R стѣречь / стѣре'гу, Slv stréči / stréžem, Cz stříci / strěhu, P strzeć / strzege id.; ⇨ Sl *storžь > OCS стражь strażь, Blg страж, P stróż, R, Uk 'сторож 'watchman, guard (Wächter, Wärter)'; Sl *storža 'guard (Wache), watch' > OCS стража stráža, Blg стража, SCr, Slv strâža, P strōža, Uk, R Δ сто'пожа || ?φ (loss of *t due to contamination with NaIE *sergh- v. 'languish' < N *sírka ~ *sír'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish', q.v.) Blt: Lt sérgėti (prs: Olt sérgmi, Lt sérgiu) 'to guard, to watch (over)', Pru absergīsnan 'Schutz'; Lt sárgas 'watch(man)', Ltv sařgs id., 'guard, guardsman', Pru but-sargs 'Haushalter' || Gk στέργω 'I love, am fond of', στέργη 'love, affection' || OIr serc, W serch n. 'love', MBr serch, Br T serc'h 'concubine, one who lives in concubinage'; IE *st- > Clt *ts- > *s- is reg. (LP § 25.5) || cp. also NaIE *ster- > Sl *starati se 'to exert oneself, to do one's best, to take care of' (F N *čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 1032, F II 790, Vs. III 746, 757, 768, Glh. 587, Ma. CS 469-70, 481, Frn. 762-3, 776-7, En. 136, 155, Vn. S 91-2, Ern. 623, Tp. P A-D 52-3, 274, ME III 716 ◇ IS I 210-1 s.v. *čir̄.

433. *čûr ▽ 'seize, take, carry' > HS: WS * / ṣwr (*-ṣūr-) 'carry, support' > Gz / ṣwr (pf. ṣōra, js. -ṣūr) 'bear, carry, wear (clothes), support (old parents)', Sq {L} / ṣwr 'carry (porter)' (caus. sbjn. 'l-(y)ṣir, ps. pf. iṣ'rauwoh), OSA {Mü.} / ṣwr 'mit Pfeilern stützen', ṣwrm 'Pfeiler', Sb {Rk.} ṣwr 'besiege', Mn ṣwwr {MA} 'entourer d'un mur', {Mü.} 'mit Pfeilern stützen', Qt {Rk.} hṣr (/ ṣwr

Sh) 'fortify, establish', Mn {MA} tθwrt, Nbt twr 'wall (mur), Ar θuṭār- 'pierres placées sous une marmite pour la soutenir', ✓ θṭr L (pf. θāpara) v. 'nurse an other's child', ظئر θiṭr- 'nurse', 'foster-father', and 'buttress, Strebepfeiler' ({Rk.} 'buttress', {BK} 'colonne, pilastre') [from the basic meaning 'support'], OYmn θṭrḥ ({Slw.} θiṭra) 'Strebepfeiler, Tragestange' ¶ The cns. *ʔ in derived forms in Ar and OYmn is due to adaptation of a biconsonantic √ to triconsonantic derivational patterns and to hiatus-closing development ¶ LG 567, LIS 347, BK II 131-2, Hv. 445, Rk. 78, MA 111, Mü. WMT 77-8, Slw. 143 || K: GZ *čer-/*čr- ~ *čar- 'hold, catch, grasp' > G Gr/X čar-, OG *čer-/čir-, G čer-/čir- (< proto-G *čar-) id., Mg d. čkor-i 'slave' ¶ K² 320, Schm. 157; FS K 473 and FS E 536 (both *čar-); Mach. K 60, Chx. 2241-4, 2286, DCh. 1705; for the change a > e in G F Mach. XS 269ff. and Gm. SSh 55, 61 || D *čūr- ({ʔGS} *ʔs¹-) 'rob, plunder' > Tm cūrāi 'robbery, pillage', Td su'ry 'loot', Kn sūrē, Tu sūrē 'plundering, pillaging', Tl cūrā 'plunder, loot', Ku žuria 'dacoit' ¶¶ D #2744 ◇ The lack of labialized vw. or *w in K is still puzzling.

434. *č'ur'RV 'to soil, to stain; dirty' (infl. of N *č'i'RkV 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) > HS: EC *čur- ({Ss.} *č₁ur-) v. 'be dirty' (× N *tōx|qUryV or *tUx|q'V 'dirt; be dirty') > Kns jur-ēta, Sd, Hd tūr-, Brj čūr-ē 'dirt', Kns jur-āw- 'become dirty', as well as (unless exclusively from N *tōx|qUryV → *tUx|q'V): Or {Grg.} tur-ī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} tūrī 'dirty', Arr tur-aw- id., turé 'dirty thing', ?? Ya tēr- 'bad' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, Ss. B 49, BISO 54, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386-7, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || A: Tg: ?σ Ewk Ald čurarga- v. 'get dark' (of a face) ¶ STM II 416 || ?φ M: Dg čire 'dirt, soilage'; ? Kl {Rm.} cer 'Schleim in der Gurgel, Speichel' ¶ The vowels i and e need explaining ¶ Mr. D 130, Rs. KW 427 || D (in SCD) *čūr(-) 'soot' (× N *čûrtV 'soot', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen') (× N *tU_rΔ₁yV 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]) > Av star- 'be stained' || Arm Թարախ t'arax {Xud.} 'pus (of wounds), ichor' || Nr stor 'Faulen, Verwesen' || pSl *stǝrvь 'carrion' > Blg стръв, SCr, Slv str̃v, P † ścierw id., RChS СТЪРВЬ стървъ 'corpse'; morphological variants with *-o, *-a: P ścierwo, R † стерва 'carrion' ¶ P 1031-2, Mn. 1285-6, WH II 589, O 441, BFU 553, Xud. I 427, Glh. 591-2, Srz. III 586, Chn. II 202 || ?σ K: G curcli

'droppings (of mice, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2032 ¶ G c- (for the expected č-) is likely to be due to assimilation.

435. (₂?) *č̣∇R∇ 'flintstone, knife' (coalesced in some lgs. with N *č̣'a'r∇ 'to cut') > HS: S *ʔurar- ~ *ʔir_La_Jr- > Ar ظرر ʔurr-, ʔurar- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak ʔurru(m) 'obsidian, flintstone', Hb צר צר ʔor 'ḥereḥ 'blade of a sword' ('ḥereḥ 'sword') ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, Sd. 1114 || amb Cpt: Sd ʔwp ʔōr, ʔep- ʔer-, ʔop- ʔor-, B ʔop- ʔor- 'aiguiser, affiler' (× N *č̣'a'r∇ '↑' [q.v.]) (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) ¶ Vc. 331 ¶ Ap. AN 22 supposes that the Cpt word is a loan from the Ar verb √ ʔurr 'rendre aigu\tranchant', but this alt. etymology is rather weak because of the phonetic distance between Ar ʔ (or Egyptian Ar ɗ) and Cp ʔ [ʃ] (Cp ɗ is nearer) || ?σ B *č̣∇rū/ā 'stone, rock' > Kb a-č̣ru 'pierre (matière première); pierre, caillou; rocher', Ah a-č̣aru 'muraille rocheuse', Tmz a-č̣ru (pl. i-č̣ra) 'rock, large stone', ti-č̣ra 'small stone'; in B the √ coalesced with the cognate of S *ʔurr- 'rock' (unless the latter belongs to the etymon in question, too) ¶ DI. 955, MT 826, Fc. 1988 || Ch: WCh: Hs č̣urà 'knife\sword without handle' || CCh: Gude č̣rā, FIM č̣uru, FIB č̣irun 'hoe' ¶ Abr. H 392, Ba. 1046, ChL, Sk. HCD 276 ¶¶ OS #514 (*č̣ur- 'flint, flint knife' in S, B, Ch) || A ({S} *č̣'jora): Tg *č̣juru-k_Je(n-) 'knife' > Sln č̣iruxā: 'knife', Ul č̣ūrɜ(n-), {PSchm.} č̣urur, Nn Nh č̣uruš, Nn KU č̣iurš 'knife used by women to carve ornaments' ¶ STM II 426 || ? NaT amb *č̣ar 'whetstone' > Alt ɕap č̣ar, Tel {RI.}, Qmq č̣ar, VTt ɕap č̣ar, Brb/SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {RI.} šar, Bsh sar id. ¶ The vw. *ā is puzzling; an alt. et. (less plausible semantically, but without phonetic problems) derives the T √ from N *č̣'a'r∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, RI. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 ¶¶ AD NM #80, ≈ S CNM 8 (suggests to adduce here T *č̣ar 'whetstone'), Vv. AEN (suggests to reconstruct Tg *č̣üru-^kan) || ? D *č̣īraṇ- 'small chisel' (× N *č̣iryâ 'to scratch\chisel', q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM #80, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *č̣|ž∇r(H)- 'hoe, pick-axe').

436. *č̣ohr∇ 'vessel', (← ?) 'basket' > HS: S *ʔ∇h_L∇_Jr- > Ar ظهر ʔahr- 'old cooking-pot' ¶ Ln. 1929, BK II 146 || K: GZ *č̣ur- 'vessel' > OG č̣ur- 'vessel', G č̣ur- 'vessel, thing', Mg č̣ķuž-, č̣ķud- 'vessel, ship' ¶ K 256, K² 323, FS K 477, FS E 541, ≈ Marr AI 3-4 || D: D *č̣ōra ({ʔGS} *c|č-) 'vessel' > Krg č̣ōra 'milk-pot', Prj č̣ōra 'earthen pot', Gnd B {Tr.} sōrā 'a large earthen vessel for holding water', Gnd Ch {BB} sōra 'pot', Gnd

M {Wil., Ph.} $s\bar{o}r\bar{a}$ 'pitcher'; D * $\check{c}ur-$ ({ \check{c} GS} * \acute{c} -?) 'basket' > Ml $curiyal$ 'round rattan basket', Gnd G {BB} $\check{c}urki$, Gnd M {Ph.} $curk\bar{i}$, Knd, Ku $surki$ 'a small basket' ¶ Apparent different Gnd reflexes of the affricate in the words for 'vessel' and 'basket' may be due to dialectal disparity, therefore they do not necessarily point to a difference at the pD (and hence the N) level ¶ - \check{r} - in Trench's record of Gnd B (1919-21) is likely to be a mistake for - r - (F the quite reliable records of Gnd Ch [T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, 1958] with - r -) ¶ D ##2691, 2886 ◇ D *- r - (rather than *- \check{r} -) reflects a pN cns. cluster (*- hr -).

437. * $\check{c}\hat{u}h_{\nabla}r_{\nabla}$ 'top, edge, highest point' > HS: S * $\check{c}uh_{\nabla}r-$ 'top', 'the highest point (of the sun in the sky)' (→ 'noon') > BHb צָהַר 'cohar' 'roof', צָהַרִים $\check{c}ah^{r}\text{rayim}$ 'noon' (< loc. * $\check{c}ah^{r}\bar{a}m$ reinterpreted as a form of dual) (← 'the point of culmination of the sun'), Ug $\check{c}ur$ 'back (espalda, dorso), highest point', JA צָהַרִים $\check{c}\bar{i}h^{a}r-\bar{a}$, JEA {SL} צָהַרִים $\check{c}\bar{i}h^{a}r-\bar{a}$ 'noon', Ar ظَهْر $\check{c}uhr-$ 'noon' (→ Sq {L} $\check{c}uhr$ id.), Sb $b-\check{c}hr$ 'on the back of, upon', Ak $\check{c}ur-u \sim \check{c}\hat{u}r-u$ (← WS?) 'back'. In CS this stem influenced S * $\hat{c}ah_{\nabla}r-$ 'back (of a body)' (< N * $\hat{c}ehr_{\nabla}$ 'back', q.v.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem * $\check{c}ah_{\nabla}r-$ 'back, noon' > Ar ظَهْر $\check{c}ahr-$ 'back (dorsum), noon' (→ Mh $\check{c}ahr$, Jb C $\check{c}ahur$ 'noon, midday'), Ug $\check{c}ur$ 'shoulder, back, top', and Sr $\check{c}ah^{a}r-\bar{a}$ 'noon'. The contamination is probably based on interpretation of the back (of an animal) as its highest point. The stem * $\hat{c}ah_{\nabla}r-$ 'back' (without contamination) is attested outside CS: Mh $\hat{c}ah^{h}zr$ 'back (of a camel)', Hrs $\hat{c}ahr$, Jb E/C $\hat{c}eh^{h}zr$ 'back', Ak $\check{c}\bar{e}r-u$ 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of'. The Ak word $\check{c}ur-u \sim \check{c}\hat{u}r-u$ 'back' may be a loan from WS (F CAD XVI 261) and reflects a CS contamination of both stems ¶ KB 946, KBR 1008, A #2378, OLS 552, Sd. 1093-5, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47, 261, Br. 269, Lv. II 142, Sl. 501, BGMR 171, Jo. H 151, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. M 83, 475, L LS 361, ≈ MiK I #1.284 (S * $\check{c}hr-$ 'back') || AdS of EC: Or $\check{c}ara$ 'tip, top, edge', Brj $\check{c}\acute{a}r-i \sim \check{c}\acute{e}r-i$ 'point, top, peak' (< N * $\check{c}or_{\nabla}$ 'tip, top, edge', q.v.) || K: G $\check{c}er-i$ 'ceiling, roof' ¶ Chx. 2245, DCh. 1705 || IE: NaIE * $stu(:)r-$ ({Mn.} * $st_{\check{c}}^{h}ur-$) 'edge, tip, peak' > ? Gk $\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ 'a spike at the lower end of a spear-shaft' || Ltv $st\check{u}ris$ 'corner', Lt $\Delta st\check{u}ris \text{ } \check{c} st\check{u}r\check{u}s$ 'Winkel, Ecke, Kante' | ? NaIE {Mn.} * $staur-$ 'post, stake' > Gk $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'upright pale\stake', ON $staurr$ 'Stütze', OHG $stiura$ {Kb.} 'rudder, support' ¶ Mn. 1330 (*÷ NPrs استره $ostore$ 'razor', which is in fact d. from $ostor-$ v. 'shave, erase', F

Bai. 42), P 1008-9, Ch. 1044-5, 1067, Hofm. 332, F II 778, ≠ F II 814, Frn. 932, Kar. II 316-7, ME III 1110, Vr. 544, OsS 874, Kb. 966 || **D** *čūr- ({{GS}} *c-) 'edge of the roof' > Kn cūr u, sūr, sūr u 'the part of the sloping roof that projects beyond the walls', Tu cūr i 'border of the roof', Tl cūr u 'eaves, edge of a roof', munjūr u 'eaves', Prj muńir, Knd munzuru id. ¶¶ **D** *-r- points to a N (or post-N) cluster (here N *-hr- or post-N *-hr- < N *-h∇r-) ¶¶ **D** #2729 ◇ In addition, we may draw attention to a possible (though rather dubious) cognate in **A**: M: WrM corui-, HIM цорой-х v. 'rise up on the hind legs' (of quadrupeds), 'rise on tiptoe and raise one's hands' ¶ MED 199 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #6e (N *čahri 'back').

438. ?₂ *č∇R∇ 'hoarfrost', (→) 'frozen soil' > **HS**: S *^o✓θr? > Ar θur?- 'frozen earth, frozen mud' ¶ BK II 133 || **K**: (+ ext.?) G čirχl- 'hoarfrost', čirχ(v)l- 'es reift' || **K** *^očχ|qar- (× N ?σ *cAR_l∇_l∇ - *cA∇R∇ 'freeze, feel cold', q.v.) > G T čχar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') ¶ Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 || **A**: An additional source of M *čar 'layer of frost on the surface of snow' (going back mainly to N *čar∇ [or *č'ar∇] 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 205-6 (*čar ∆ 'hardened crust') → S CNM 2 ◇ AD NM #9, S CNM 2 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

439. *čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > **HS**: Eg MK/N зрү 'strong' (of walls, etc.), {BnH} 'fest, hart', Eg MK {Fk.} зрї 'be hard, solid', Eg XVIII-XX зрү 'difficult (schwierig, mühselig)', 'strong (fest)' (of stones, walls) > Cpt: Sd **zwwpe** зōōre, B **zwpri** зōri 'fort, solide' ¶ EG V 599, Fk. 323, BnH s.v. Dr j, Vc. 330 || **K**: G {Chx.} čirv-/čir- 'be heavy, difficult'; K *čir- v. 'need, suffer a misfortune' (× K *čir- 'care, need' < N *čER∇ 'to look after, to guard' [q.v.]) > G čir- v. 'need', Mg čķir-, čķ3r-, Lz čķ3r-, nčķ3r-, čir- n. 'need, grieve', Sv čķa₁r- 'worry, upset'; K *čir- 'need, plague' > G čir- n. 'want, need, plague', Sv d. čķa₁ra- 'anxiety, thought (concern)' ('забота, дума') ¶¶ Chx. 2255-7, K² 322, K 255, FS K 476, Chik. 410 || **IE** *(s)terh̄- ({{EI}} *(s)terh₁- 'stiff' >) NaIE *(s)ter₁-/strē- v. 'be stiff, be firm, be hard, be strong' (→ 'exert oneself') > Gk στερεός 'stiff, stark, firm, solid', στρηνής 'strong, hard', στερρός 'stiff, firm, solid, strong', Gk στρηνής 'strong, hard' ||| L strēnuus 'strong (kräftig)' (→ 'brisk, prompt, active, vigorous') ||| W trin 'battle' (← 'effort?') ||| ON stirǰ-r 'stiff, heavy', stirǰ-na 'to stiffen'; Gmc *stara- 'stiff, fixed' (esp. of eyes) > ON stara, OHG

starēn ~ starōn 'to gaze', AS starian 'to stare, to look fixedly at (starren, stieren)', NE stare; ON, NHG starr 'stiff, rigid' || Lt Δ starinti (prs. starinũ) 'angestrengt ziehen, spannen, straff anziehen, steifen, straffen', Ltv Δ starīgs 'assiduous, zealous' ({ME} 'strebsam, tätig, fleißig'), Pru stūr̄nawiskan 'sternness' || Sl *starati se 'to take care of, to exert oneself, to do one's best' (× N *ĉĒRV '↑') > SCr stārati se id., Cz starati se, Slk starat' se 'to take care of', P starać się, R стараться, Blg старая се вр. 'endeavour, exert oneself' || pTc {Ad.} *ščārēn- (= *ścārēn-?) > Tc: A tsār 'hard, rough', B ścīre 'hard, harsh' (of words) ¶ P 1022, EI 547, WH II 601-2, F II 790-1, 809-10, YGM-1 417, LP § 26.2, Vr. 543-4, 549, Ho. 317, OsS 865, Kb. 953, KM 740, Frn. 896, Ad. 639-40, Ad. H 41, Vs. III 746, Chrn. II 198-9, Ma. CS 469-70, ME III 1045 ¶ Hardly here (⇔ P) Al shtēroj 'run dry, dry up' < shter- 'stop flowing, dry up' (see O 439) || U: FU *oĉšrk > ObU {Ht.} *θār̄yat- ~ *θā̄yart- 'heavy' > pVg {Ht.} *tār̄wāç- > LK tōrwāç, tār̄wāç, MK tōrwāç, P tār̄wāç, S tār̄wit 'heavy'; pVg *tār̄wāç-∇η id. > Vg: T tār̄kāçāñ, P tarwāçañ, tār̄wāçañ, NV/LL tār̄wāçañ id.; pOs {Ht.} *ḫā̄yart > Os: V lā̄yart, Vy yā̄yart, Ty/Y ḫā̄yart, D/K tā̄yart, Nz tawart, Kz ḫawart id. ¶ Ht. #161 || A: M *ĉirday- > WrM cirdai-, HIM чардай- 'make sth. with great effort, exert oneself', Kl чирдә-х ĉirdä-χ id. ¶ MED 191, KRS 653 || Tg *ĉira- 'taut, tense, strong; to stretch sth. taut' > Nn Nh ĉl̄rā 'taut (тыгой, туго)', ĉl̄rāmbō- v. 'stretch sth. taut', ĉl̄ran- v. 'be stretched taut', WrMc cira 'strong, tight', 'taut' (bow), ({Hr.} 'fest, hart, kräftig'), Mc Sb ĉirā 'severe, strict, tight' ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless the Mc and Nn words are loans from M *ĉiṛrag 'strong, firm' (see N *ṭiRga 'force, strength, effort') ¶ STM II 399, Z 939, Hr. I 150, Pt. 156, Y #2468
 ◇ The NaIE long vw. *ē (regularly from IE *eh̄l̄x) and the absence of laryngeals in the Eg and K cognates suggest N *-hæ.

440. *ĉûrt∇ 'soot' > K *oĉwart̄(w)- 'soot' > G ĉvar̄t̄l-i id., ĉvar̄t̄(v)- (trans. cj.) v. 'make sooty', (ps. cj.) v. 'become sooty' ¶ Chx. 2247, DCh. 1706 ¶¶ -t̄- for the expected -t- is due to as. || D *ĉūr(-) 'soot' (× N *'ĉ' 'u'RV 'to soil, to stain; dirty') > TI G ĉūru in: poga ĉūru 'smoke to coat walls, roof, etc. with soot', Prj ĉuruk 'deposit of soot on the ceiling or on any object that has been close to the fire', Gdb suygur, Kui srōbi d̄ srōʔi, Ku roʔva d̄ rōʔya d̄ roowa 'soot' ¶¶ D #2686, Km. 360 [#453] ¶¶ D *-r- is a reflex of *r-clusters (in this case *-rt-), hence N

***čûrt** (rather than ***č'û'R**) is the main source of the D √ || IE: NaIE *swardo- 'black, dirty' (× N ***s'URt** 'dirt[y]', q.v. ffd.).

441. *čûřr ~ ***čûřr** 'to see, to look' > HS: Eg fMK 3^r 'search out, investigate, seek' (with the variant Eg 3^r [< *33^r < *č̣rř-?] id.) > Cpt Sd **⊗wp** 3ōr, **⊗oop-** 3oor-, Cpt B **⊗ep-** 3er-, **⊗op-** 3or- 'examiner, étudier' (× N ***g'û'řr** 'look, look for', q.v.) ¶ EG V 534, 539, Fk. 320, Vc. 330 || B ***√** 3rH (pf. ***-3raH** ~ ***-3ruH**) 'see' (Pcj. I A 7, Fcj. 25) (× N ***ž'E'hR** ~ ***ž'E'R?** 'see, know'??) > Kb 3ař (3m pf. 3ařa) 'see, know; look', Tmz {MT} 3ař 'see, look', Sll {Ds.} 3ař (pf. izra), Mz {Dlh.} 3ar (pf. 3aru) 'see', BSn {Ds.} 3ér (pf. iizru [iizru?]), Zkara {Ds.} 3ar (pf. izri), BMn {Ds.} 3er (pf. izru) 'voir, apercevoir', Wrg {Dlh.} 3ar (pf. 3aru), Izn {Rn.} 3br 'see, look', Izn/BSlh {Ds.} 3er (pf. izra) 'see, perceive', SrSn/Rf {Rn.} 3ar 'see, look', Izd {Mrc.} iziř (pf. izra) 'avoir connaissance', Nf {La. < ?} 3ar (pf. izru) (not registered in Beg. N), Si {La.} 3ar, Skn {Srn.} 3orr (pf. 3ara), Gd π {Lf.} 3ar (pf. izru), Zng {TC} inv. 3uř / 3m pf. 3uřa 'voir' ¶ Dl. 953, MT 826, Ds. 296, Ds. B 370, Fc. 2001, Pr. M VI-VII 109-10, Mrc. 59, 365, 355, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 395, Rn. 323, La. S 313, Lf. I 258-9 and II #1838, DCTC 293 || **K** +ext. ***čwreř-**/***čwriř-** > MG [VTq., Vsr.], G čvřeř- 'look at', G (gan-)čvřeř- / čvriř- 'forsee (voraussehen)' ¶ Chx. 2248, DCh. 1706, NCh. 458 || **D** ***čûr-** 'look, see' (× N ***ž'E'hR** ~ ***ž'E'R?** '↑') > Svr sūr-, sūd-, Gnd sūr- & sūr- & hūr- & hūr-, Knd sūr-, Png/Mnd huř-, Prj čūr-, Gdb sūr- & čūd-, Kui sūra 'see', Tl cūd- 'see, behold, look', Tm cūr v. 'deliberate, consider, know' ¶¶ D #2735, Zv. 56, ≈ Km. 359.

442. (o?) *čawχ 'to cry, to exclaim' (→ 'to praise', 'fame') > HS: S: CS ***√** čwħ (prm. ***-čwaħ-**) 'cry' > BHb ***√** čwħ G (ip. paus. 3p yi-čwāħ-ū) 'cry aloud', MHb ***√** čwħ (pf. čā'waħ) 'cry', Ug ***√** šw|yħ G (pf. šħ) 'call, exclaim, invite', Amr {G} ***√** šyħ 'call', JA G {Js.} ***√** čwħ (pf. čā'waħ) 'cry (schreien), complain', JEA G {Sl.} ***√** čwħ 'shout, protest, complain', SmA ***√** šwħ 'cry', Sr ***√** šwħ (pf. šā'waħ, ip. -šwaħ) 'scream (as an eagle)', BHb čawāħ-ā 'Klagegeschrei', Sr šawāħ-'t-ā 'Gescrei', Ar ***√** šyħ (pf. šāħa, ip. -šīħ-) 'cry aloud, call out' | S: ?φ Gz ***√** šwř D (pf. šawwāřa) 'call, call upon/out', Tgr ***√** šwř G 'call' ¶ KB 949, KBR 1011-2, A #2313, OLS 415-6, Grd. UT #2162, Sl. 953-4, Tal 725-6, G A 34, Js. 1266, JPS 476, L G 566, LH 644 || C: Ag ***čw-** > Bln {Plm.} šiw-, {R} šīw-, Dmb {R} šəw- 'ask for, demand', Q {R} šew-

'cry (schreien), beg, demand', Xm {R} č̣aw- id., 'go begging' ¶ ≈ AD SF 105, R WB 331-2, R Ch II 52, R QW 128-9, Ap. AV 20 ¶¶ The change HS **č̣- (< N *č̣-) > S *č- may be interpreted as loss of a marked phonemic feature (which sometimes occurs in S and has been mentioned by IS in OS I 210); it is likely to be a conditioned phonemic change (that will account for the unusual rareness of the phoneme *θ̣- in S and for the total absence of 𐎠 𐎡- in Ar roots with II rad. w and y) ¶¶ This HS root may have contaminated with the HS source of S *√čwʷ 'ask' (> Gz √šwʷ D 'call, call upon/out') and NrBc {Tk.} *čaw- ~ *čiw- 'ask' (Tk. NB 169) || K: G č̣qav-il-/č̣qav(-)/č̣qav- 'heulen, jaulen, schreien' (of a beast) (as. *č̣χ > *č̣q) ¶ Chx. 2279 || IE: NaIE *steu- {E} 'praise' > OI √stau-: 'stauti 'praises' (aor. 'astāvī), pp. stuta- 'gepriesen, angerufen', Av stamī 'I praise', 'stūt- 'song of praise' || ? Gk Hm/A στειναι 3s pres. 'promises/threatens that he will, makes as if one would' ({P} ← *'rühmt sich') ¶ WP II 620, P 1035, EI 449, M K III 519-21, M E II 757-8, F II 793-4 || A: NaT *čāb 'shouting, rumour, fame' > OT čāv 'fame, good reputation', XwT XIV čav 'fame', OOsM XIV, Chg XV čav 'reputation', Osm {Rl.} čav 'Geschrei, Schrei, Ruf', Tk čav 'voice, sound', † 'news', Tkm † čāv 'fame', Alt {BT, Rl.}, QK/Tel {Rl.} čap 'fame, rumour (Ruhm, Ruf)', Brb {Rl.} čap, Qmn {B} čap id. ¶ Rs. W 93, Cl. 393, TkR 715, Rl. III 1915, 1934, IV 196, SDD I 310, BT 176, B DK 266 || M: WrM cux, HIM цуц 'sound, noise; fame', Kl {Rm.} cū 'Schrei, Getöse, Gelärm' ¶ MED 207, KW 435 || Tg *čab- 'sound, (make) noise' > Nn KU čawal- v. 'resound', Ewk čiwī-, Neg čawgl-, Ud čaugda-, Ul čāugal-, Ork čaylqotç-, Nn Nh čaog-, Nn KU čaog-, Nn B caog- 'make noise', Ewk čiwīn, Nn Nh čā 'noise' ¶ STM II 389 || ? pJ *tuáp- v. 'address; ask (a question)' > OJ tuóp-, J: T tò- ~ tó-, K tó-, Kg tò- ¶ S QJ #1504, Mr. 771 ¶¶ Pp. VG 44 (T, M), DQA ##277 (A *č'ābu 'sound, fame') ◇ IS MS 337 ('говорить' *č̣aw) (HS, K). The length of *a in T is likely to reflect the N lr. ◇ Qu., because the word is likely to have onomatopoeic associations.

443. ₂ *č̣üč̣ (or *ṣ̌-?) 'clean; to clean' > HS: WS *-šūč- v. 'clean one's teeth' > Mh pf. šōš / sbjn. yššōš, Jb C pf. 'šōš / sbjn. y'šēš, Ar √šwš ~ √šws (ip. -šūš- ~ -šūs-) id. ¶ Jo. M 388, Jo. J 258, BK I 1287 || U: FU *süč ~ *čič (both most probably from **č̣üč by dis. **č...č... > *s...č... and delabialization **ü > *i) 'clean' > Prm {UEW} *sōž > Z cōдз sзž 'transparent, clean, clear, pure', Prmk, Prmk Zz sзž, Yz sōž

id., StVt сузяны suža-ni, Vt Sr súžal-, Vt Kz/Gl súžal- v. 'clean' ||
 pObU *ćīć- ~ *ćić- (both from FU *ćić∇) > Vg MK/N šě:š
 'immaculated, clean' (MK šě:š oāy 'virgin', lit. 'immaculated girl'), Os:
 Os Ty çēt-wāy 'Glocke', K/Kr çīç-wāχ 'money' (< *'pure metal\money';
 Os wāy, wāχ means 'metal, money') | OHg szűz 'rein, unvermischt',
 Hg szűz (accus. szűzet) 'jungfräulich, keusch; Jungfrau, Jungfer' ¶
 UEW 441-2, Lt. 224, LG 262-3, Ht. #822, KrT 208-9, 923, PD 956.

444. *ĈĚĀK∇ 'to crush, to split' > K: GZ *ĉečk- ({K, K², FS} *ĉečk-)
 'crush, split' ({K²} v. 'hollow, break') > G ĉečk- 'crush, beat to pieces'
 ({FS} 'zerstoßen, zerklopfen', {K²} 'hollow, pound', {NCh.} 'толочь',
 {DCh.} 'измять', {K} 'долбить', {Chx.} (da-)ĉečk- 'zerstoßen,
 zerquetschen; weich klopfen', (ga-\da-)ĉečk- j-n. durchdreschen'), Mg
 čkačk- 'break (e.g., an apple), split', Lz čačk- v. 'pound' ¶ Lz č- points to
 an initial K *ĉ-, while G ĉ- (for the expected c-) and Mg čk- (for ĉ-) are
 due to as.: G **cačk- > čačk-, Zan *čačk- > Mg čkačk- acc. to Gudava's
 law of Mg reduplication of the velar element of the stem-final cluster
 ("harmonic complex") *⊥K after the initial dental cns. or affricate
 (identical to that of the cluster) [F K 23]; K's and FS's rec. of the initial
 GZ *č- fails to explain Lz č- ¶ K 219, K² 256, FS K 388, FS E 435-6, Chx.
 1928-9, NCh. 430, DCh. 1576 || **HS:** S *√škk, *-šukk- 'split, cleave,
 pierce' > Ar √škk G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois)', Mh/Jb {Jo.}
 √škk v. G 'skewer (meat)', Ak √škk (p. -šukk-) v. G 'harrow' ¶ BK I
 1252-3, Sd. 1134, Jo. M 377, Jo. J 250 ¶ The loss of the reflex of the N
 stem-medial *ĉ is due to the S law that rules out roots with sequence of
 two similar cnss. (hence **√šθk > *√škk) ¶ The S √ belongs here
 unless it is connected with S *šikk(-at)- 'thorn', 'pin, nail' < N
 *ʔæžEkU 'thorn, hook' (q.v.) || ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} šáškú, v. 'hollow out'
 ¶ Sch. DN 148 || **D** {tr.} *ĉe|akk-, {GS} *ček- v. 'chip', n. 'chip, splinter'
 > Tm cakkaḷ 'chips, small wooden peg', Kt ček, Kn cakke, cekke,
 sakke, sekke 'chip', Tu cakke, cekkæ id., 'split, splinter', Tl
 cekku v. 'pare, cut the side\rind of', cekka 'piece, chip, slice', Klm
 sek- 'make pointed (piece of wood)', sekka 'bark of tree', Nkr šekka id.,
 šekk- v. 'chip, scrape', Prj čekk- v. 'chip, scrape, plane', čekka 'piece,
 slice', Knd sek v. 'plane, fashion things out of wood', Ku sekali 'scrape
 (with a hoe)', Krx čaktā, Mlt caka 'slice'; D ⇨ OI śakala- 'piece,
 fragment' ¶¶ D #2748, GS 115 [#305] ◇ In some lgs. this N word may
 have contaminated or coalesced with N *śaka 'to split, to cleave' (q.v.).

445. ?σ ***ĉUd**∇ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary' > K: GZ ***ĉwe**^rd^r- / ***ĉu**^rd^r- 'sexually impotent' (of a male person), 'vain' > OG *cud-i* 'vain, futile', G *cvedan-* 'impotent', Mg *ĉut-u id.* ¶ K 229, FS K 410, DCh. 1602-3, ≈ K² 271-2 (OG, G, Mg ← ***ĉwet**- / ***ĉut**- 'wear out') || HS: SES ***√** *šdd* > Mh *šdod*, Jb E/C *šš'ded v.* 'get tired' ¶ Jo. M 372 || D ***ĉk**o^lo^l ({**ĉGS**} *s-?) 'defect, fault' > Tm *co^lo^lu* 'defect, blemish', Ml *ca^lo^lu* 'fault', Tl *so^lo^lu* 'defect, fault' ¶¶ D #2837.

446. (₂?) ***ĉ**∇d^ri^r (-ka_l?∇_l) '≈ wait, stay, have leisure' > K: ***ĉad**- / ***ĉd**- 'have time, wait' > OG *cad-* 'wait, let (do sth.)' (acade *pirvelad ganzyomad švilta* 'let first the children get sated' [Marc. 7.27]), G *cad-* / *cd-* 'wait, delay', Lz *ĉod-* 'have spare time', Mg *ĉod-* id., 'wait', Sv -*ĉd-* 'be, exist' ¶¶ K 227 (GZ ***ĉad**- 'have leisure, wait'), K² 269 (GZ ***ĉ(a)d-** 'have time, wait'), FS K 405 (GZ), FS E 456 (GZ), Ser. 195, Chx. 1979, Q 366, Chik. 377-8 || HS: Eg N *šdšd.ty* {EG} (?) 'wait (for so.)', {Hng.} id., (?) 'lie in wait\ambush' ¶ EG IV 569, Hng. 845 || B ***√** *zd^y* (< ****√** *sd^y* by as.) 'stay, remain, dwell' > Sll {Ds.} (e) *zdē^y əzdā^y id.* ('rester, habiter'), Wrg *əzdā^y* 'habiter, loger', Tmz {MT} *zdā^y* 'habiter, loger, demeurer', Kb *əzdā^y* 'habiter, loger', Ah {Fc.} *əzzā^y*, Nf/Snd {La.} *əzdā^y* 'habiter', Gh {Nh.} *əzzā^y*, Ttq {Msq.} *əzza^y*, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} *əzdā^y*, BSn {Ds.} *əzdā^y*, Izd {Mrc.} *zdā^y*, Gd {Lf.} *əzdē^y* 'habiter, demeurer' ¶ Ds. 149, Ds. B 93, 161, 248, MT 192, Dl. 936, Dlh. Ou 384, Fc. 1993, Msq. 81, 146, Mrc. 77, 135, 441, Rn. 321, La. S 246, Lf. II #1758 || *AdS* of SES ***√** *šdd* 'get tired' (× N ?σ ***ĉUd**∇ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary') || ?σ IE: NaIE ***steig-** '≈ stand still' > Lt *stygti* (prs. *stygaũ*) 'to keep quiet, to stand still', † *stigti* (prs. *stingũ*) 'auf einer Stelle ruhig weilend aushalten', Ltv *stigt* 'to get stuck' || OHG {OsS} *stecchen, steckēn* 'festsitzen', {Kb.} *steckēn vi.* 'to stick, infigi', NHG *stecken* 'to be, to stay, to remain; to stick fast', AS *stician vi.* 'to remain fixed, to stick', 'to be inside', 'to lie' (of direction, boundary) > NE *stick vi.* ¶ Frn. 905, Turk. 632, PiesS 673, Sw. 161, Ho. 321, ≈ P 1016-7, ≈ OsS 86 (OHG *stecchen* ← *stēchan* 'to prick'), Schz. 270, Kb. 959, ≈ KM 742, ≈ Ho. 321 ¶ Secondary association with NaIE *(s)**teig-** vt. 'stechen', 'spitz' (P 1016-7) ◇ B ***√** (< ***ķ**) tentatively suggests a glottalizing factor (***ʔ**) within the additional component of the etymon (*-ka_l?∇_l).

447. ₂ ***ĉodh**∇ 'break (esp. a body part), strike' > HS: S ***√** *šdh* > Ar ***√** *šdh v.* 'break (the head)' ¶ BK I 1206 || D (in SD) ***ĉk**o^lo^l v.

'beat\strike (with fingers)' > Tm $\text{c}\text{o}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}$ v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently (the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk)', v. 'beat, hit, peck (as a crow)', Ml $\text{c}\text{o}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}$ a slap on the head', $\text{c}\text{o}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}\text{k}\text{a}$ v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers (esp. on the head)', Tu $\text{s}\text{o}\text{n}\text{t}\text{u}\text{n}\text{i}$ v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836 || AdS of K: GZ * $\text{c}\text{w}\text{et}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{w}\text{it}$ - v. 'cut, chop' (from N * $\text{c}\text{i}_\text{L}\text{w}_\text{J}\text{t}\nabla$ [or * $\text{c}\text{üt}\nabla$?] 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]).

448. * $\text{c}\nabla\text{d}_\text{L}\nabla_\text{J}\text{q}\nabla$ \rightarrow * $\text{c}\nabla\text{q}\nabla\text{d}\nabla$ 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE * $\text{sk}^{(h)}\text{ed}$ -/* skend - 'split' (\times N * $\text{c}\text{i}_\text{L}\text{w}_\text{J}\text{t}\nabla$ [or * $\text{c}\text{üt}\nabla$?] 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S * $\checkmark\text{šd}\text{k}$ v. 'tear', * $\text{šid}_\text{L}\nabla_\text{J}\text{k}$ - 'chink, crack' > Sr $\checkmark\text{sd}\text{k}$ (pf. $\text{s}\text{a}\text{d}\text{a}\text{k}$) G 'tear asunder', SmA $\checkmark\text{sd}\text{k}$ G 'be cleft', JA [Trg.], MHb $\checkmark\text{sd}\text{k}$ G 'split, tear asunder', JEA {Sl. $\checkmark\text{sd}\text{k}$ G 'split', MHb ptq 'sɛdɛk 'Spalt, Risse', SmA sdk n. 'cleft', Ar $\text{šid}\text{q}$ - ~ $\text{šad}\text{q}$ - 'coin de la bouche, à l'endroit où les deux lèvres se joignent' (\leftarrow *'slit, chink'), Gz $\checkmark\text{št}\text{k}$ G vt., vi. 'cleave, split, tear asunder', Ak $\checkmark\text{št}\text{k}$ 'abspalten' ¶ Br. 460, JPS 361, Sl. 789, Tal 568, BK I 1205, Lv. III 480, L G 537-8, Sd. 1200 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} * cakt - v. 'tear' > Tng sugd -/* sukt - 'make a hole' | SBc: Dw {ChL} žaktiy , Zr K {Sh. in ChC} žaktu , Plc {ChL} $\text{š}\epsilon\chi\text{tu}$, Zl {ChL} $\text{y}\grave{\text{a}}\text{šat}\grave{\text{i}}$, Buli {ChL} šadu v. 'tear' ¶ Stl. ZCh 199 [#501], J T 147, ChL, ChC || K * $\text{c}\text{q}\text{wed}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{wid}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{wd}$ - v. 'tear, break' > OG $\text{c}\text{q}\text{wed}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{wid}$ - {FS} 'tear off (abreißen)', {DCh., Ser., K} 'exterminate', G $\text{c}\text{q}\text{ve}\text{t}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{vi}\text{t}$ -/* cqd - 'break, tear; cease, end', Mg $\text{c}\text{q}\text{vad}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{vid}$ - id., 'strike', Lz $\text{c}\text{q}\text{vad}$ -/* $\text{c}\text{q}\text{vid}$ -/* cqid - 'tear out, decide', Sv $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ed}$ -/* $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ -/* $\text{š}\text{qd}$ - {FS} 'tear off (abreißen), fall', {GP, K, TK} 'fall', Sv L {Dn.} $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ -/* $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ - 'throw, be thrown, fall', $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ '(er) sprang her', em- $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ 'у меня упало' ¶¶ K 253, K² 319, FS K 471, FS E 534, Chik. 413-4, Ser. 119, NCh. 456, Chx. 2213-4, GP 180, Dn. s.v. $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ad}$ -/* $\text{š}\text{q}\text{ed}$ -, TK 466.

449. * $\text{c}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{i}}$ '≈ carry, bring' (\rightarrow 'give') > HS: WS (or SES) * $\checkmark\text{shy}$ > Jb C $\checkmark\text{shy}$ in $\text{e}\hat{\text{s}}\text{het}$ 'carry sth. under one's arm on a rope over one's shoulder', Mh $\checkmark\text{shw}\text{ly}$ (pf. $\text{šh}\bar{\text{u}}$) 'carry under the arm sth. supported by a rope over one's shoulder', Sq {L} $\hat{\text{s}}\text{e}$ 'give', ??? Ar šay ?- 'thing' (if \leftarrow *'sth. brought') ¶ Jo. M 378, Jo. J 25, LESAC 53 || B ? * $\checkmark\text{Hsy}$ v. 'carry' > Sll {Ds.} $\text{asi}\grave{\text{i}}$ (pf. $\text{y}\bar{\text{u}}\text{si}\grave{\text{i}}$) 'porter, transporter', Izd {Mrc.} asi (pf. yusi) 'porter, contenir' ¶ Ds. 226, Mrc. 198, 308 || EC: Arr {Hw.} sih -is- (inv. $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{h}$ / 2s si^{h}) 'give', pSam {Hn.} * $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}$: ~ * $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{:}\check{\text{c}}\grave{\text{a}}$ 'give' > Sml, Jbr $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}$, Rn {Hn.} $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}$: ~ $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\grave{\text{a}}$, {PG} $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}$ - / inv. $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}$, Bn $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}$:, $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\grave{\text{a}}$ id.; Dsn {Bnd.} $\text{šiy}\epsilon$, {To., Ss.} $\text{š}\bar{\text{i}}$ -($\check{\text{s}}$) (1s pret. $\text{š}\bar{\text{i}}$), Elm $\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\text{se}$ id. ¶ Hw. A 393, Hn. S 73, PG

260, To. DL 528, Blz. CL s.v. 'give' || **K**: GZ *č̣- 'give' > OG, G c- 'give', Mg, Lz č̣- 'give, feed' ¶ K 227, K² 269, FS K 404, FS E 454-5 (both K and FS identify GZ *č̣- 'give' with GZ *č̣- 'beat' [highly qu., though not ruled out]), Chik. 369-70 || **A**: pKo {S} *č̣ì- 'carry on the back, bear' > MKo č̣í-, NKo č̣i- ¶ MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31, S QK #601 || **D** *č̣ī- / *č̣iy- ({ʁGS} *ś-) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') > Tm ī- 'give (to inferiors), agree', Knd ī- 'give, allow, permit', Tl i c c u (ī- / i y y-, i v v-) id., Klm si̇-, Nk śī-, Gnd sī- ɖ hī- ɖ ī-, Mnd, Ku hī-, Kui sīva, Krx č̣iʔi- id., Mlt ciye 'give away' ¶¶ D #2596, Zv. 105 ◇ One is tempted to adduce here **IE**: NaIE *(s)tāj- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, tāti-s 'thief', and AnIE *tay- 'steal', which cannot belong here (≠ϕ: IE *(s)t- does not go back to N *č̣-). It is preferable to equate it with Eg š d y 'take, take away, take out' and T *sat- 'sell' (F s.v. N *šat'ahi' '≈ to take away').

450. *č̣Eḳɣ̣ ▽ ~ *č̣Eḳɣ̣ ▽, ? *-r ▽ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > **K**: GZ *č̣eḳ- v. '≈ step, tramp' > G ceḱ-v-a v. 'dance', Mg č̣aḱ- v. 'tramp and waddle while walking' ¶ FS K 407-8 || **HS**: SES *√ ṣ̌ḳɣ̣ > Mh √ ṣ̌ḳɣ̣ G v. 'step' ¶ Jo. M 379 || ?σ **U** *č̣äke(-r ▽) 'trampled ground/snow; to trample down (snow)' > FU: pLp *č̣ēḳɣ̣r 'snow-field which has been trampled and dug up by reindeer feeding there' > Lp: N {N} ci e ɣ̣ â r / -kk- id., L {LLO} ti j e k a r id., S {Hs.} tji e ɣ̣ e r e id., 'hole in the snow made by reindeer looking for lichen', Nt {Gn.} č̣i e ɣ̣ a r, Kld {Gn.} č̣ī ɣ̣ a r 'reindeer pasture' || pObU: Vg: LK śōr, UL śi̇r, Ss śȧr 'niedergetretener Schnee', LK śo r a y-, P śō r t-, UL śi̇ r t-, Ss śȧ r t- v. 'trample down'; ?σ Os: V ç̣+ɣ̇ a r, Y ç̣ä ɣ̇ a r, K ç̣ä ɣ̇ a r, O śä ɣ̇ a r 'snow-drift'; Os Vy {Stn.} č̣ä ɣ̇ - 'den Kopf des Nagels hutförmig schmieden, durch Schlagen einen "Kopf" machen (z. B., an der Spitze des Ladestockes)' || Sm: Ne T śe x e 'hard snow', śe x e r i 'winter road', Ne F śi x ā 'winter pasture of reindeer', Kms ṣ̌ē ɣ̇ r 'reindeer pasture' ¶¶ Coll. 7-8, UEW 31, Lr. #147, Gn. 733-4, Hs. 1316, Ht. #820, Stn. D 246-7 || **A** *č̣'iḳ ▽ (or *č̣'ig̣a) v. 'tramp, ram, trample down (ground)' > NaT *ç̣ig̣-ru- > OT [MhK] č̣i ɣ̇ r u- v. 'trample down (ground)'; NaT *ç̣ig̣ir ~ *ç̣a ɣ̇ ir 'tramped ground\snow' > OT QU [MhK] č̣a ɣ̇ ir (read by Cl. as č̣i ɣ̇ ir) 'foot-path, narrow track', Chg ≥xv č̣ig̣ir 'snow which has become hard owing to wind action', Osm č̣i ɣ̇ ir 'track\path through snow, the track left by an avalanche', Tk Δ č̣i ɣ̇ r a 'goat's path', Uz Δ č̣i b ir 'footprint of sheep', Qzq ṣ̌i ɣ̇ ir 'tramped place, sth. tramped', Tv ṣ̌i r 'stamped snow' ¶ Cl.

409-11, TL 533, TvR 590 || M *^očigzi- v. 'stamp, ram down' > WrM čigzi-, НИМ ЧИГЖИ- v. 'ram down; calk, make waterproof\airtight by filling tracks; cork, close an opening'; M б→ Yk čigdi 'stamped hard snow', čigdiän id. (б→ Ewk Ald/Ucr čigjan, Lm čiççaŋ id.) ¶ MED 180, STM II 389 || Tg *^očiki- > Ewk Tmt čiki 'stamped snow' ¶ STM l.c. ¶¶ DQA ##262 (A *č'ika|u 'to stamp ram; stamped path') ◇ T *-g- < N *-kɪ- regularly (cp. N *hakɪ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > T *āg- v. 'rise' and N *tekɪ∇ 'touch' > T *teg- id.).

451. ₂ *čukɪ∇ 'thorn, point (→ blade), summit' > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, nail' (× N *pæžEku 'thorn, hook', q.v. ffd.); WS *šawk- > Ar شَوْكُ šawk- 'thorn, prickle, point', Gz šōk 'thorn, spine (of hedgehog), sting' ¶ GB 783, KB 1236, Js. 988, 993, LG 529, Sd. 1234 || U: FU *čukk∇ 'summit, hill; sharp edge' (× N *žôg₁∇ɪU - *žôg₁U₁∇₁ 'hill' [q.v. ffd.]) > Lp Kld {SaR} чōγκ 'sharp' || Os {KT}: Ty çāk 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D çāk '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O šāk ~ šāk 'Hammer' ¶ UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #450, SaR 398-9, KT 897, Stn. D 1495 ¶ The FU √ has two semantic variants: [1] 'sharp edge' → 'edge, hammer' (< N *čukɪ∇) and [2] 'hill' (< N *žôg₁∇ɪU - *žôg₁U₁∇₁, q.v. ffd.), while the meaning 'summit' is derivable from both ◇ Qu. (both the U and the S cognates are ambiguous).

452. *čal∇ 'to pour (out)' > HS: S *^očall > Ar √šll (pf. šalla) 'verser, répandre' ¶ BK I 1262 || IE: (+ ext.) NaIE *selg- ({WP, P, E} *selg-) v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge', {E} 'release, send out' [× N *sílk∇ 'let out', (in descendant lgs.) → 'to throw', 'to fall out', q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU (+ ext.) *čōl]ta- (< **čā]ta- < *čā]l]-Hta?) 'throw, pour' > Prm {UEW} *čōlt- ({{UEW} *čōlt-), {LG} *čālt- > Z čōvt- v. 'throw, pour (soup from a kettle to a bowl)', Yz čōlt- v. 'throw', Vt čōlt- v. 'throw, cast lots' || FP *čōlta- v. 'draw out, pour, separate' > Fsuolta- 'ziehen; allmählich ausziehen, ausreißen und verschütten', pLp *čōltə {Lgc.} 'separate' > Lp: N {N} čuol'dā, S {Hs.} tjuöld'edh id., L {LO} tjuoltē- 'ausscheiden, aus\absondern' ¶ UEW 613, LG 310, 158, Lr. #196, Lgc. #768, Hs. 1345-6 || D {tr.} *č'kall-, {GS} *cal- v. 'pour, sprinkle (water)' (× N *ž'u'g₁∇₁ [- *ž'∇g'u'í∇?] 'flow, pour?') > Tm callu v. 'sprinkle water', Kn callu v. 'scatter, pour out, shed, spill', {Km.} caḷe, caḷeya, caḷaka 'sprinkling', Kdg čell- v. 'throw away (liquid), scatter (grain)', Tu callu- vi. 'spill, shed', cellu- v. 'sprinkle,

spill', Tl callu v. 'sprinkle, scatter', jallu 'rain, a shower, spray of rainwater', Nkr sall- v. 'sprinkle', Prj čal- 'rain falls in a shower', Gnd žal- v. 'strain water from boiled rice', žall- v. 'swill with water', Ku žal- v. 'throw out liquids' ¶¶ D #2384, Km. 351 [#413], GS 35 [#55].

453. *ĉo'h'ī∇ 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > **K:** GZ *čāl- 'similar' > G čāl-ī id., 'one (of two)', {Chx.} 'ebenbürtig, gleichkommend; der eine (von zweien)', Sv {FS} šāl, Sv UB/L {GP, TK} -šāl, LB/Ln -šal (postp.) 'like' ¶ FS K 406-7, GP 271, Chx. 1973, TK 812 || **HS:** S *^o✓šwł > Mh šəz'wəył (pl. šəz'wōl), Jb E {Jo.} 'šil, Jb C šēl 'like, likeness', Mh 'šatwəł v. 'look alike, seem alike' ¶ Jo. M 388 || **IE:** NaIE *^osōlo- > L sōlus 'alone' ¶ WH II 557, ≈ P 884 || **A:** NaT {Cl.} *çol- ⇨ ({Cl.} deverbal noun/adj.) *çolâk > OT {Cl.} čoluq '(a person) with one arm', ET čolaq ~ čulaq id., Tk çolak, Kr čolaq 'a person with one arm or with a paralyzed arm', Tkm čolaq, Az čolaq, Qzq šolaq 'cripple, crippled', Qq šolaq 'a person with one arm or with one leg', Nog šolaq 'a person without arms or with one arm', Qmq, Ggz čolaq id., 'a person with a paralyzed arm', Qrg čoloq 'a person with one arm\leg, without arms\legs', Uz чўлоқ čwloq 'lame, a person without arms\legs', VTt чуплак šulaq, Bsh sulaq 'a person with a crippled arm'; VTt ⇨ Chv č'laχ id., 'cripple' ¶ Cl. 419-20, Rs. W 115, TkR 735, Jeg. 319, Sht. 234, BN 33-4, Fed. II 400 || **M:** WrM {MED} cile-n 'as, according to, like', {Kow.} cile-n ku 'de même que, pareillement, ainsi' ¶ Qu., because the morphological structure is not clear ¶ MED 183, Kow. 2162 ◇ The K, IE, and S cognates point to a N Ir. *h, because this is the only Ir. that both causes Ersatzdehnung in K and IE and may disappear in S.

453a. *ĉum∇ 'to lift, to raise' > **HS:** S *^o✓šmm > Ar {Ln., BK} šamīm- 'high, elevated' (of a saddle)', {BK} 'haut, élevé', {Ln.} ✓šmm G 'magnify oneself' ¶ Ln. 1593-4, BK I 1264-5, Hv. 375 || **D** *č'kum-, {Em.} *kum- v. 'carry on head' > Tm cumā 'bear, support, carry a burden', Ml cumakka 'carry a burden', Kn simbi, simbe 'ring\cloth to be put under a burden (vessel, etc.) upon the head', Kn H tōmpaṭa 'carrying on the head', Tu tumbu ~ sumbu ~ humbu 'bear, carry on head', Nkr cumma 'pad on head for carrying', Prj/Gdb kumt- 'carry on head', Krx kum^onā 'take and carry on the head', Mlt kume 'take upon one's head' ¶¶ D #2677, Em. DS 365 || **A:** ?σ M *čōmü- > WrM cōmü-, HIM цѳмѳ- v. 'pluck, pick (as fruits and flowers)', Ord č'ōmō- 'arracher, cueillir', Mnr: H {SM} č'imō- 'cueillir (des fruits, des pois,

etc.), H {T} čimō, M {T} čumu- 'gather, reap (собирать)' ¶ MED 202-3, Ms. O 715, SM 450, T 379 ¶ Valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick' (← *'raise from the ground') || U (+ext.) *ćunC|t|s|ša > Sm *cъnc|tā- 'rise (steigen)' > Ne: T та̀на-сѣ 'to rise, to climb on sth.', T O {Lh.} ta'n·ā'-, F {Lh.} та̀нѣа-щ 'climb' ('klettern, auf etwas steigen'), T {Ter.} та̀н 'rising slope (подъём)'; En {Ter.} toda- v. 'rise'; Slq Ch cañ- 'rise' ¶ Jn. 31, Ter. 624.

454. *ĉiχm∇ 'fat (Fett)' > K *ĉiχim- n. 'fat, grease' > G cχim- id., Sv UB {GP} ma,čχim id. ¶¶ FS K 417, K 232, K² 276, GP 224 || HS: S *šaḥ_l∇_m- 'fat (of meat)' > Ar šaḥm- id., ✓ šḥm G (pf. šaḥuma) 'be fat' (of animals, humans), ?σ Jb C {Jo.} šḥz'met 'temple (as far as the eye)' (it is cut in a slaughtered animal to see how much fat is on the carcass), Ak LB šēm_u 'fat, grease', f. pl. šēmētu id. ¶ Ln. 1513-4, BK I 1199, Jo. J 250, CAD XVII/2 276, 287, MiK I #1.263 || B *✓siHm 'fat' (× N *sæmi 'fat' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} e-sīm, Ttq {Msq.} i-sîm 'melted tallow', Kb ta-(s)sam-t 'tallow' ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq. 141, Dl. 778 || ?? C: Bj {R} ✓šmt pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it' (× N *ĉ'o'm₂E 'to smear', q.v. ffd.) || A: M *ĉimügen > MM [HI] čimügen, WrM cimüge(n), HIM чөмөг, Kl чимгн čimgən ~ čimgŋ, Mnr H ĉ'imug_e, Dg {T} šimug, {Mr.} šimehe 'marrow'; M *ĉimüge-le- > WrM cimügele-, HIM чөмөглөх v. 'put on weight, become fat' ¶ MED 186, Ms. H 47, SM 451, T 380, T DgJ 183, KW 440, KRS 651, Mr. D 216.

455. ≈ *ĉ'i'?'ā'ñâ 'recognize, know (connaître)' > K: GZ *ĉan-/ĉn- v. 'know, learn, recognize' (× N *cuŋ∇ 'to know' [← 'to have seen?'], q.v. ffd.) > OG, G can-/cn- 'know, learn, recognize', Mg {Q} čin- v. 'know (so.), recognize', Lz čin- v. 'recognize' ¶ K 229, K² 270, FS K 407, FS E 458-9, Chik. 376-7 || HS: WS *°✓šʔn G v. 'know (connaître)' ~ *°✓šny G v. 'see' > Ar ✓šʔn G 'connaître, s'informer', (× N *Soñ∇ 'hear') Mh {Jo.} ✓šny (pf. šīni, sbjn, yzšnē, ps. š(з)naŋ), Hrs, Jb, Sq ✓šny v. 'see' ¶ BK I 1179-80, Jo. M 381-2, Jo. J 253, Jo. H 120-1 || B *-sin- / *✓wsn 'know (savoir, connaître)' (× N *cuŋ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || A: STg *çende- > WrMc cende- {Hr.} 'nachprüfen, erproben', {Z} v. 'try, examine, taste', Jrc čentemei tuvanžila 'to examine' ¶ STM II 421, Hr. 143, Z 927-8, Kiy. 142 [#804] || T {ADb.} *siŋn ({AD}: or *sīn?) {AD} 'observation, external appearance' > OT sīn 'external appearance, stature; human body', Tkm θīn 'observation (наблюдение, обзор)', Nog sin 'a man's figure, outward appearance', Qzq sin id., 'test, trial,

exploration', Qmq SIN 'outward appearance', Qq SIN id., 'criticism', ET SIN 'a man's stature \ figure \ appearance', VTt с ъ н, Bsh һ ъ н id., 'image, picture', 'statue over the grave', Qrg SIN 'test, trial', StAlt SIN 'stature, trunk of the body', Tv SIN 'Menschengestalt (стан, телосложение), stature', Xk SIN 'stature; truth', Tk с і н 'grave', 'age'; T *sīna- or *siyna-v. 'watch, observe, test (so.\sth.)' > OT sina- v. 'test', XwT XIV, MQp XIV, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV sina-, Tkm θīna-, Tk с і н а-, Az, Qmq, Qq, Xk sina-, VTt с ъ н а-, Bsh һ ъ н а-, ET, Uz sina- 'test, try', Qzq sina- 'investigate, explore, try, test', Nog sina- 'watch, notice; test, try', Qrg sina-, Chv (← VTt?) с ъ н а- 'observe, test' ¶ The rec. *siyn is suggested by the d. {ADb.} *siyn-ak- > Qzq, Qq siyaq 'appearance (of a person), exterior, outward appearance', Qrg siyaq id., 'face', n. 'similar (to)', Nog siyaq 'exterior', ET siyaq 'shape, appearance', Uz siydaq 'face, appearance' ¶ Cl. 832, 835, DTS 503-4, Rs. W 417, TL 266-7, Pp. VG 115, Jeg. 181-2, TkR 604-5, Sht. 181, 183, Jud. 679-80, NogR 320-1, 323, KrkR 603, 607, KumRS 293-4, TatR 495-6, BIG 207-8, Rl. IV 628-9, BT 136, TvR 397, Jud. 683, Nj. 540 || ?σ NKo saṅgəp- (spelled с і а н-) 'be interesting' ¶ ≠ DQA #2075 (T ÷ M *sonus- 'hear') ◇ If ADb.'s pT rec. *siyn is right, it suggests a pN rec. ≈ *ĉ'ī'?'ä'ñâ. The prehistory of the pT vw. *i is still to be investigated (possibly *i?ä...â > *i?ä...a|o|u [due to vw. harmony] > *iya > T *iy). STg *e is a reg. reflex of *ä. Contrary to IS's opinion (IS I 201-2), K *čan-/čn- cannot be equated with DEg с ѡ н v. 'know', Hs sánì, Mrg səni v. 'know', and the related words of other Ch lgs., because these DEg and Ch words represent HS *s- (not akin to K *č-) and go back to N *cuŋ ▽ 'to know' (q.v.).

455a. (₂?) *ĉ' uñ'?' ▽ 'to sound, to utter' > IE: NaIE *swen- 'produce sounds' (× N *SUŋ'g'?' 'produce loud vocal sounds [call, make an incantation, weep]) > OI с ѡ а н- v. 'sound, roar, be noisy, rattle', Av pa'tiš-χvāna 'Gegen-Lärm', KhS hvān- 'speak', Phl χvan- 'call, read', NPrs -خوان χwān- χan- id., 'sing' ||| L sonā- 'sound, resound, make a noise', с о н у с 'a noise, sound' ||| AS swinn 'music' ||| ?φ OIr senn- v. 'jouer (d'un instrument de musique), faire de la musique', senim 'fait de jouer d'un instrument; musique; son' ¶ WP II 542-3, P 1046-7, Mn. 1346, M K III 560-1, Brtl. 838, Bai. 502-3, BM 199, WH II 559-60, Ho. 338, Vn. S 86 ||| A: Tg: Neg çün- 'cry' (of a baby) ¶ STM II 414 ||| HS: ?σ S *°✓šn? G > Ar ✓šn? G 'avouer qc.', 'acknowledge, give smb. his right' ¶ Ln. 1603, BK I 1274 || ?σ Ch *°ĉ'ūn- > Hs šūnà v. 'urge\incite to

fight, direct smb. to a place' ¶ Ba. 943, Stl. IF (on Ch *ĉ- > Hs š-) ◇ IE *s- (if cognate with Tg *ç- and Hs š-) may go back only to N *ĉ-. If Ar ✓ šn? belongs here, the N rec. is *ĉuñ? ▽.

456. ?σ₂ *ĉa|Eñč ▽ 'large' (→ 'high, broad') > U *ća|En|ñč ▽ > Sm {Jn.} *ća|änčъ, {Hl.} *ćänčo 'broad' > Ne T d. тянѣй id., Ne F L {Lh.} ćęǎ·n 'breadth', ćęǎ·ńńú 'broad', Ng {Mik.} tantzǝ id., trantzǝu 'breadth', En d. {Cs.} tedde 'broad', Slq Tm {KD} čānž 'id.', Slq Tz {Prk.} tānti 'breadth, broad', Slq Kat/Tz {Cs.} tānd, tānž, Slq Nr {Cs.} čānže, Slq B/Tz {Cs.} čānž, čānže, Kms {KD} t'āno ~ t'ano 'broad', Mt {Hl.} *tändü_h 'broad' (Mt K {Pl.} déendü id.) ¶ Jn. 32, Erl. 248, KD 68, Cs. 134, Hl. M #985 || HS: S *o✓šnθ > Ar šanθāt-, šunθuwat- (pl. šanāθī) 'summit of a mountain' (← *'high') ¶ BK I 1233.

457. *ĉ'e'p' ▽ 'heel, foot, part of leg' > HS: S *šayp- 'foot, track' > Ak šēp-_u, Ak OB šīp-_u ~ šēp-_u, Sq {Jo.} šab ǎ šaf 'foot' Sq Δ {SSL} šab ǎ š'af ǎ šōf ǎ sāf 'foot, leg', Jb šēf 'trace, track; foot under the ankle', Mh šaf 'trace, track', Hrs šēf 'foot, footprint' ¶ Sd. 1214, Jo. J 246, Jo. M 373, Jo. H 119, LLS 424, SSL LSNP 1472, SSL CLS 97, MiK I #1.269 (S *šayp-; (S *šayp-; + err. Grg čāmba ǎ čāmbā 'sole of foot as measure' [in fact loans from C]) || ? C: Ag *čāp-/*čānp- > Bln {R} šāf-ā, pl. šāf 'sandal', 'šānfī 'sole of foot, sandal', Xm {R} çabā 'foot, heel, sandal', Km {CR} šambā 'sandal, shoe' ⇨ Grg En/Gt čāmba, Grg Ed čāmbā 'sole of foot serving as measure' ¶ AD SF 120-1, R WB 317, 326, L EDG III 173 || A: Tg *oçebe 'heel (?)' > Ewk ç3w3 'prop' (of a stick supporting a kettle suspended over the fire) ¶ STM II 419 || U: FU (+ ext.) *ś|šewća 'e part of the leg' > Lp N čæw'žā, čæw'že 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped', 'calcaneus, the heel-bone of reindeer' || pOs *soṽa_hć ({Hl.} *sāṽa_hć) > Os: Ty sāṽa_hć 'heel', Kz św̄χas, O śoχas 'Hinterseite der Fußwurzel \ des Unterschenkels', Nz śuχas 'Rückseite des Unter-\Oberschenkels'; pOs *s- is evidenced by Os Ty and some other dialects (Kr, Likr, etc.) recorded by Karjalainen, while ś- in Os Kz/Nz/O is due to as. caused by the final -ś ¶ F Coll. 75, Stn. D 1320-1, KrT 840 ¶ If this is a valid cognate, FU *-ća must be considered a sx. ◇ FU *ś|š- for the expected *ć- may be explained by dis. *ć...ć > *ś...ć (or *š...ć).

458. *ĉ'ay' P_ ▽ 'vegetation, leaves' > IE: NaIE *sajp- 'thicket', 'hedge' > Gk [Aesch.] αἶμός 'copse, thicket' (P: < *sajp-mo-?), Gk αἶμασία 'wall (of stones, thorns)' || L saepēs / -is 'hedge, fence' ¶ P 878, WH II

462-3, Fr. I 39 || HS: SC: Alg {E} šaba 'bush, thick undergrowth' || DhI {To.} šābu, {EEN} šāβu 'leaf, leaves' (snglt. šābune, šāβune) || EC: Rn {PG} sēb, Arr {Hw.} sēb 'leaf'; HEC: Ged {Hd.} šafa, Hd/Qbn {OS ← ?} šaf-ita 'leaf', ? Sd {Gs.} šafinčo 'branch of the ensete plant' ¶ PG 358, Hw. A 392, Hd. 89, 259, Gs. 298-9, To. D 142, EEN 26, E SC 208 (SC *šáb- 'foliage, vegetation') || S * $\sqrt{\text{šp}}_1$ > Jb C 'šēfē? 'untouched \ uncropped grass' ¶ Jo. J 246 || Ch ({AD} * $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ p 'leaf, leaves') > WCh {Stl.} *čapi > Hs šāfi 'one side of a leaf (of paper), one side of a writing-board \ of a slate' || NrBc {Tk.} *šap-~*šip- 'leaf' > {Sk.}: My, Kry šipí, Sir šāpí 'leaf', Mbr šípúzá 'leaf of corn-plant' || CCh: Bnn {ChL} šábàrà, ZmB {Sa. in ChC} šápá, {ChL} šab, ZmD {KNC} šáp, Lame {ChL} šáb, LamP šab, Mdr {Mk.} šapa 'leaf' ¶ AD ChCS #44, JS 160-1, Stl. ZCh 197 [#489] (pZCh *čapi 'leaf'), Abr. H 797, Ba. 921, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 28, KNC 25, Tk. NB 179 ¶¶ On the alt. (and less plausible) et. of DhI šābu and the Ch $\sqrt{\text{see}}$ s.v. N * $\sqrt{\text{le}}^{\text{r}}$ āpa 'leaf, foliage' ¶¶ OS #540, #2318 (*šab- 'plant') || D (in SD only) *čappo (actually *s-) 'leaf, foliage' > MI cappu 'leaf', Tm cuppal, cuppi 'twigs', uval(aḷ) 'twigs and sprays, dried leaves', Kt čop 'broth made of plants, plants used in making broth', Kn sappu, soppu 'green leaves of plants, foliage', Kdg čappala 'leaf', Tu coppu, 'soppu 'leaf, foliage, greens' ¶ D #2673 ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Blz.) IE *sop- 'cane' (Mn. 1247) and S * $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bb 'grow, grow up' (actually 'ascend, climb') (> Ar $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bb 'grow, grow up', šubb- 'jeunesse'), Mh $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bb 'climb, grow up') ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #98c and ≈ Blz. DA 160 [#85] (suggested to add D).

459. *čip₁∇₁æ (= *čib₁∇₁æ?) 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' > HS: pS * $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ 'have eaten one's fill, be sated' > BHb שׂבַע $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ G id., 'have\get enough of...', adj. שׂבַע šābēaḡ 'satt'), שׂבַע 'šobaḡ 'satiation', Ug $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ G, OA ___ šbḡ (= $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ), IA שׂבַע šbḡ (traditional spelling for $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ) (DR KAI ##222-3), SmA $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ G 'be sated', Sr $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ, Ar شبع $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ (pf. šabiḡa) id., JA שׂבַע ~ סבַע $\sqrt{\text{š}}_2$ bḡ 'be satiated\ satisfied', Sb Sh ṭob_e hšbḡ v. 'give in abundance', Sb, Hdr {MA}, Qt {Rk.} mob_ šbḡ-m 'abundantly, to satiety', Mn {MA} Tob_ šbḡt 'satisfaction', Mh pf. šība, sbjn. y3š'ba(ʔ), Hrs pf. šōba, sbjn. y3š'baʔ, Jb C pf. šēḡ, sbjn. y3š'baḡ, Sq pf. 'šebaḡ v. 'be satisfied', Ak: A (inf.) šabāḡu, B šebû(m) v. 'be satisfied (satt sein)' ¶ KB 1214-6, KBR 1302-4, DR KAI ##222-3, A #2579, OLS 428, Js. 1516, Sl. 1188, Tal 561-2, BK I 1184-5, BGMR 131, MA 85, Rk. 164, Sd. 1207, MiK I #2.65

|| ECh: Ch: Ke {Eb.} sépé 'sättigen' ¶ Eb. 91 || IE *speh̥- 'be sated' ({EI} *speh₁-, *speh₁(i)- 'be satisfied, be filled, thrive; be sated, prosper') > Ht {Pv., Ts.} ispaī- / ispiya- 'eat to satiety, be filled, get full' (ispaī < stative pf. *spoñye-, 3p ispiyanzi < *spñ'y-onti) || NaIE *sp(h)ēj- / *spī- and *sp^hē- / *sp^ha- 'be filled \ sated, prosper' (× N *pūH|Qy∇ (= *pūgy∇?) 'to boil, to get ready' [food], 'to ripen', q.v. ffd.) > OI ✓ sphā-: prs. sphāyatē 'grows fat, increases (wird feist, nimmt zu)', Oss D äfsadun, Oss I äfsadun v. 'eat to satiety', KhS spata- 'sated (gesättig, satt)', spai- v. 'be rich, abundant, satisfied' ¶¶ Ts. W 30, Fr. HW 429, Pv. I-II 429-3, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 680, P 983, EI 458, 500, M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Ab. I 479-80, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Vs. III 734, StSS 620, Frn. 866, WH II 375-6, 573-4 || A: NaT *oçib- > OT {DTS, absent in Cl.} čiväg 'nutritiousness, satiety', {Cl., DTS} čivgin n.\adj. 'fattening (food)', čivginlen- v. 'be nourishing for the body' ¶ Cl. 396-7, DTS 147 || ?σ Tg *sab_uli- 'treat (a guest with food)' > Neg sawli-, Orc sawli- ~ sauli-, Ud sauli-, Ul saul_l/u-, Nn saol_l- id. ¶ STM II 52) ◇ If the Tg stem is adduced and the T one is not, the N rec. must be ≈ *š'a'Pfa. Hardly here Sv žūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' (most probably from N *žUw∇ 'to eat, to taste', q.v.), unless we can explain the voiced Sv ž- (for the expected č-, if the Sv word belongs here) ◇ If the accurate N rec. is *čib_l∇,fae, the IE cns. *p is due to as. (**sb- > *sp-).

460. *čä'ŷU'R∇ 'the calf of the leg, shank' > IE *seH^wr-∇H > NaIE {P} *sō_lurā 'the calf of the leg' > Gk Hm ἄωροι '(those) without calves' (ἄωροι πόδες 'legs without calves'), Gk I ὠρη ε 'part of a sacrifice animal', 'the calf of the leg' || L sūrā 'the calf of the leg' ¶¶ P 980, WH II 632, F I 205 || HS: mt. SES *✓šr̥ > Mh {Jo.} šə'rayn 'leg', {Jahn} śrayn 'shank' ('Unterschenkel'), Sq {Jo.} 'šə'rižhān 'legs' ¶ Jo. M 382, Jahn 242, Nak. 9 [#80] (Mh šrayn 'leg, foot') || U: FU *čäy∇r∇ 'shin, forearm' > F sār i 'shank, shin, leg, calf (of the leg)', Es sār 'shank, shin, the leg below the knee' | pMr {Ker.} *šäyāra > Er piíge-šejeřks, Mk piíga-šājār 'the lower part of the leg' (piíge, piíga means 'leg'), Er keđ-šejeřks, Mk käd-šājārks 'forearm' (keđ, käd means 'arm') | Prm *čä|ō|ōr > Z kok-čə' 'shank' (kok- means 'leg') (× FU *šar∇ 'stalk' > Z I čə' 'stalk of plants'). LG reconstructs here *čär, but in the absence of Vt and Yz data no unequivocal rec. of the pPrm vw. is justified ¶ UEW 612, LG 311, Raun EKET 167, Ker. II 134.

461. *ĉuʃr∇ 'vulva, vagina' > K *^oĉur- id. > Mg, Lz čuri id., possibly also G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (× N *ĉärʃ∇ 'female breast, udder') ¶¶ FS K 415 || HS: S *^o✓šʃr > Ar ʔašʃar, pl. šuʃr- 'pubis (surtout de la femme), bord du vagin' (× S *šʃr 'hair' < N *šäʃoyli,R∇ 'hair') ¶ BK I 1237-9 || B: Ah təsəssērut 'vagina of a female animal' ¶ Fc. 1650 || D *ĉ|kūr- ~ *ĉ|kūt- (< **ĉ|kūr-t-) 'private parts' > Kui suti 'female urinal passage', Tm cūr-ʉ 'anus', cūr-ttu id., 'private parts', Ml cūr-ttu 'testicles, penis' ¶¶ D #2724.

462. *ĉUʃ∇ (or *ĉUryʔ∇?) 'to twist, to twine' > K *ĉar- id. > Sv li-nčr-e id. ('drehen, winden, zwirnen'), G (da-)car- v. 'unbraid, untwine (a rope)', {Chx.} 'aufdröseln, aufdrehen (Strick)' ¶¶ FS K 407, Fn. KW-3 51, Chx. 1976, 2048 || HS: SS *^o✓šry > Gz ✓šry G (pf. šaraya) v. 'weave, spin', Tgy ✓sry (pf. sərreye) v. 'weave' ¶ L G 536 || U: FU *^oĉor∇, k∇ > ObU *ĉārək 'fest gedreht, fest gebunden (Schnur)' > pVg *ĉarkā ~ *ĉ+rkā 'fest gebunden (Schnur)' > Vg: T ĉarkā, LK širxə, MK/UK šorkə, P širka id.; pOs *ĉārək 'fest gedreht' > Os: Ty *čāraq, Nz šōrəχ id. ¶ Ht. 131 [#85] || D: [11] *ĉ|kūr-, {GS} *ĉur- v. 'whirl, spin, move round' > Tm cūr-al v. 'whirl, spin, rotate', Ml cūr-ali 'whirling', cūr-al 'revolving', cūr-a 'round about', Kt ĉu]y 'whirlpool in river', Kn toṛ-al v. 'move round, turn round', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to whirl, to go round', ? Tl suḍi a whirl, circle', suḍiyu v. 'turn round', Kui ḍuʃi 'rolling, writhing' ¶¶ D #2698 (a), Km. 501 (proposes a different et. for Tl suḍiyu), GS 172 [#431], 53 [#134] ||] and/or ? [2] ? *kūr- (= {Pf.} *kūr-/*cūr-) v. 'wind spirally, roll, rotate' > Tm curi v. 'be spiral as conch, whirl round', Ml curu]uka v. 'be rolled up', curuḥḥuka v. 'roll up', Td tu]- v. 'be rolled up', Kt ĉur- v. 'lie in coils (snake, rope)', Kn suruḥḥu, suruḥḥu vi. 'coil, roll up', Kdg tur+ḍ- v. 'be rolled up', tur+ḥ- vt. 'roll up', Tu sura]i, suru]i 'coil, roll of sth.', Prj ĉird- v. 'turn', Gdb sir]- v. 'revolve, rotate', Gnd surunḍ- v. 'roll', Krx kūr- v. 'tie a sari round one's waist', Mlt kuʃge v. 'roll up', Brh kūrur id. ¶¶ D #2684, Pf. 66-7, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ By D *k̄ (= {GS} *kj) we denote a phoneme yielding ĉ in SD, CD, but k in Krx, Mlt, and Brh (for discussion / Em. DS 363-9, GS 203-7) ◇ If the D cognate is *ĉ|kūr-, the N rec. is *ĉUʃ∇, but if it is *kūr- (a less plausible alt.), we have to rec. N *ĉUryʔ∇ because D *-r- represents N *r-clusters, and the only N cnss. compatible with the S ev. are *y, *h, and *ʔ.

463. $\text{₂}^* \hat{c}at \nabla$ 'to separate, to scatter' > **HS:** S $\text{°}^* \check{\vee} \hat{s}tt$ > Ar $\check{\vee} \check{s}tt$ G v. 'separate, disperse' ¶ BK I 1189 || **IE** {EI} $^*(s)ked-$ 'scatter' > NaIE $^*(s)k(h)ed-$ v. 'scatter, disperse' > Gk $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\mu\iota$ 'I scatter, disperse' || AS {Skeat} scaterian 'to scatter, to squander', {Ho.} to-sceacerian ({Ho.} to read: -terian) 'zerstreuen' > ME scateren 'to scatter' > NE scatter; possible lexical interaction with the source of ME schetteren 'to scatter, to disperse' and NE shatter (etymological doublets of scatter??) || Tc: A $k\check{a}t-$, $kat-$ 'répandre, jeter, disséminer', B {Wn.} $k\check{a}t-$, $kat-$, $\acute{s}\check{a}t-$ id., {Ad.} $k\check{a}t-$ 'strew (to some purpose), sow' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish this $\check{\vee}$ from NaIE $^*sk(h)ed-$ / $^*skend-$ < N $^*\hat{c}\nabla d_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} g \nabla$ - $^*\hat{c}\nabla g \nabla d \nabla$ 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]), EI 500, F II 721, Wn. 211, Ad. 157, Ad. H 18, 47, Skeat 539, 554, Ho. 274, HDEL 1160.

464. $^*\hat{c}i_{\downarrow} w_{\downarrow} t \nabla$ (or $^*\hat{c}\ddot{u}t \nabla$?) 'to split' > **K:** GZ $^*\hat{c}wet-$ / $^*\hat{c}wit-$ v. 'cut, chop' (× N $^*\hat{c}odh \nabla$ 'break [esp. a body part], strike') > OG $\check{c}ina-da-cuet-$ / $-cwit-$ v. 'circumcise'-, $da-cwet$ id. (Ges. 17.24, Lev. 12.3), Lz $\check{c}it-$ v. 'cut, chop' (e.g. $di\check{s}ka\ p-\check{c}it-up$ 'I chop wood') ¶ FS K 410, Ser. 211, DCh. 1682, ≈ K² 271-2 (OG $cwet-$ / $cwit-$ 'circumcise' ← 'wear out') || **HS:** WS (+ext.) $^*\check{\vee} \hat{s}tr$ G 'split, tear' > BHb $\check{\vee} \hat{s}tr$ N (pf. $ni\hat{s}tar$) 'burst open' (of ulcers, boils), Ar $\check{\vee} \check{s}tr$ G 'cut, split', IA $\check{\vee} \check{s}tr$ 'einbrechen', Gz $\check{\vee} \acute{s}tr$ G 'rend, tear to pieces' ¶ GB 795, KBR 1363-4, BK I 1206, LG 537 || **IE:** NaIE $^*(s)ked-$ ~ $^*skej\grave{d}-$ (/ with a nasal infix: $^*(s)kend-$) 'split' (× N $^*\hat{c}\nabla d_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} g \nabla$ - $^*\hat{c}\nabla g \nabla d \nabla$ 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]): **[1]** $^*(s)ked-$ / $^*(s)kend-$ > OI [Dhat.] $skhadat\bar{e}$ 'splits' (< $^*sk^h\eta d-$?) [M: "fraglich"], Av $s\check{c}andayeiti$ 'breaks to pieces, destroys', $skand-$ 'break', NPrs $-شكَن$ $\check{s}ek\check{a}n-$ vt., vi. 'break' (inf. $\check{s}ek\check{a}st\check{a}n$), KhS $hatcañ-$ 'break' (< $^*fra-s\check{c}anday-$) || Arm $\check{z}t\check{p}un$ $\check{s}e\check{r}t$ 'splinter of wood, chip' (< $^*sk^hedri$) || pAl {O} $^*\check{c}enya$ > Al {Hamp} $\check{c}anj$, $\check{c}aj$, {O} $\check{c}aj$ (aor. $\check{c}ava$) 'split, cleave, smash' || Lt $skederv\grave{a}$, $skederl\grave{a}$ 'splinter', Ltv $\Delta \check{s}k\check{e}d\check{e}rns$ 'abgespaltenes Stück' || Sl $^*sk\check{q}d\check{b}$ > OCS $скѣдѣ sk\check{q}d\check{b}$ (renders Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\eta}\zeta$) 'too small quantity, scantiness', adv. $по(-)скѣдоу po-sk\check{q}du$ 'little (wenig)', $скѣдо sk\check{q}do$ 'little (wenig), scanty, scantily', R 'скуд-н-ый, Blg о'скѣден, SCr $\acute{o}skudan$ 'scanty, poor' || **[2]** $^*skej\grave{d}-$ v. 'split' > OI $\check{\vee} chid-$ (3s prs. $chi'natti$, $chindati$, caus. $ch\check{e}dayati$) 'cut off\through, hew, chop, split', Av $sa\acute{e}d-$ v. 'split', Bc $sindag$ id. || Arm $gunbu\check{t}$ ch^tem 'rub the skin off, scratch, bruise' || Gk $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\omega$ 'split, cleave' || L $scindo$ / $sc\acute{i}d\acute{i}$ / $scissum$ v. 'cut, rend,

tear asunder, split' || MBr {Ern.} *squegaff* 'to cut', *skigea*, *skija* 'découper, déchiquter', Br *skejañ* 'couper, tailler, inciser' || Gt *skaidan*, OSx *skêthan*, AS *sćéadan*, OHG *sceidan*, NHG, Dt *scheiden* 'to separate' || Lt *skied-* (inf. *skiesti*, 1s prs. *skiedžiū*) 'separate (a fiber from a flax stalk \ from a thread)', ? Lt *kīsti* (1s prs. *kindū*, p. *kidaũ*) 'to get worn out' ¶ P 918-9 (does not distinguish IE *(s)ked- 'split' from the paronymous √ *(s)k(h)ed- 'scatter', FN ***cat**∇ 'to separate, to scatter'), P 919-21, Hamp AIEW 148, O 49, M K III 506-7, M E II 561, Horn 175, BM 314, Bai. 449, F II 838-40, Sl. 269, Ern. 645, Hm. 727, Frn. 233, 259, 799, 805-6, StSS 483, 608, Vs. III 661, Wn. E-5 464-5, Fs. 427, KM 640-1, Kb. 872, ≈ Ho. 272, Ho. S 66, HDEL 1191, Skeat 554 || D ***cit**∇ ({ǵGS} ***c|ć-**) v. 'harm, crush' > Tm *citaj* 'be injured, spoiled, be broken', Tl *cituku*, *ciduku*, *cidiju* 'be crushed\broken\smashed', Knd *sidli-* 'be crushed (as an overripe fruit)', Mlt *cithge* v. 'squeeze out the seed or stone from a fruit' ¶¶ D #2526, Km. 354-5 ◇ D *-t- (prob. from postcons. N ***t**, unlike D *-t̥- < intervoc. N *-t-) and GZ ***w** suggest the presence of ***w** in the N etymon ◇ IE ***k** in *(s)ked- ~ *skejd- belongs to the heritage of N ***cat**∇◇ An alt. conjecture: two N words: [1] N ***c|cot**∇ 'split' > GZ ***c̣wet-** / ***c̣wit-**, NaIE ***sk_l^wed-**/***sk_l^wend-**, D (in SD) ***c̣ot̥-** v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' (> Tm *cot̥tu* v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently [the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk]', v. 'beat, hit, peck [as a crow]', Ml *cot̥tu* a slap on the head', *cot̥tuka* v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers [esp. on the head]', Tu *sōn̥t̥uni* v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D #2836) and possibly amb WS ***√s̥tr** (if the latter belongs here, the N etymon has an initial ***ĉ-**), [2] N ***c|c̣|c̣|it**∇ (or ***ĉith**∇?) 'split, crush' > NaIE ***skejd-**, D ***cit**∇- v. 'harm, crush', and possibly S ***√s̥dh** (> Ar **√šdh** 'break [the head]'); D *-t- (rather than *-t̥-, the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. *-t-) may go back to a cns. cluster, but the voiced S ***d** has no explanation.

465. ***ĉa|o't̥**∇ 'deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\cripple' > K ***ĉ|ceṭ-** > G *ceṭ-* 'unbesonnen handeln', *ceṭ-i* 'unbesonnen, leichtfertig' ¶ Chx. 1991-2, DCh. 1591 || HS: WS ***√s̥t̥y** 'deviate from the right path' > BHb **√št̥y|w** (pf. **הַטָּה** *šā'tā*, ip. 2m/3f **הַטָּה** *ti-š'tē*, ip. 3m **הַטָּה** *'yeš't(ə)*) id., MHb **√st̥y** (pf. **הַטָּה** *sā'tā*), JA pf. **הַטָּה** *sə'tē* ~ **הַטָּה** *sə'tā*, JEA **√st̥y** G 'deviate', SmA **√st̥y** G 'turn aside\away', Sr

✓ sṭw (pf. **سَطَّ** sə'tā) 'deflexit, aberravit', Md ✓ sṭʔ G 'turn aside, deflect, lead astray', Gz d. ✓ t-ṣṭy (pf. taṣṭya) 'deviate from the right path, be bent, lean to one side', ṣṭyat 'misleading', Ar μ ✓ šṭṭ (pf. **شَطَّ** šaṭṭa) 'be(come) far off' (← *'go beyond the due distance'), 'go beyond the due bounds in offering a th. for sale and demanding a price for it' ¶ KB 1227, GB 782, Js. 972, Sl. 798, Br. 467, Tal 580-1, DM 323, Ln. 1548, LG 578 || U: FV *ćatt∇ 'limp, be lame' > Prm *ćot- (= {LG} *ćot-) id. > Z чот- ćot-, Vt чут- ćut- id. | Chr E {MRS} ча'тан, Chr Uf {Ü} чатан 'a lame person, cripple' (belongs here if ч = ć) ¶ ≈ UEW 611 (*ćat∇, although Chr -t- and Prm *-t- point to *-tt-), MRS 241, Ü 668, LG 310 || D: [11] D (in SD) *ć|kott- ({ǰGS} *c-?) 'lame' > Tm cotti 'lameness, crippledom; lame person', Ml cotti-kai 'withered hand', Kt ćot 'deep depression on the arm where rope\chain has been tied', ćot gay 'one arm smaller than the other' (sc. 'is withered'), Kn cottu, sottu 'crooked(ness)', cotta, sotta 'a male with crooked\crippled limbs', cotti, sotti 'a woman with crippled limbs'; [2] (less certain) D *ćotṭ- ({ǰGS} *ć-?) 'crooked, lame' > Tm cotṭai 'crookedness, bend as in the sheath of a sword', Ml caṭṭu 'lameness', caṭṭa 'person with bent feet, lame', Kn cotṭa, cotṭi, cotṭu, sotṭa, sotṭu 'crooked(ness)', Tu cotṭu, cotṭa, sotṭa 'handless, maimed in the hand', Krg còṇṭe 'lame person', Tl cotṭa, sotṭa 'lame(ness), crooked(ness)', Gdb m. soṭaṭonḍ / f.\ntr. soṭiṭe, Png còṭa, Ku sōti ɖ sotta, soto ɖ soṭā 'lame', Brh cōṭ 'crooked' ¶¶ D #2838 ¶¶ In D *ćotṭ- the unexpected cns. *-ṭṭ- is probably due to a prehistoric sx. or to contamination with a different word.

466. *['ĉ'ŭ'w₁?]'∇ 'meat' > HS: Ch: WCh: NrBc: Kry {Sk.} śíwì, My {Sk.} śíwíyá, P' śúwí, Sir śúyí, {IL} *śúwì, Wrj {Sk.} śūná, {IL} śúnà, Cg {Sk.} śún 'meat, animal' | SBc: Kir {Sh.} śo, Tala {Sh.} śū, Jm {Grgs.} śo, Buli }Sl.} śū, Tule {Sh.} śawò, Wng {Sh.} śaù, Zar {Sh.} śu, Bg {Sh.} sáw 'meat' | Ngz {Sch.} śùwáṅ (pl. śùwàwín) 'meat, animal' ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} žù, Hona {Mk.} śua 'meat' | HgNk/FIK {ChL} śtì id. | Lmn {Mk.} šui id. | Mdr {ChL} xɪwà, {Mk.} hɪuwa, Glv {Rp.} śùw, {ChL} śuwà, Gdf {IL} śúwà, Dgh {IL} śúwè, Ngs {IL} śṣḃó id. | Mtk {Sb.} žúwêḍ 'meat', MfG {Ba.} áśaw, 'śaw 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', pMM {Ro.} *śaw > Mkt {Ro.} śṣḃ, Myn {Ro.} àśó, Vm/Zlg {Ro.} śùwe/a 'meat', Mada {BaB} ośšo 'meat, flesh' | Gdr {Mch.} śwa 'meat' | Ktk {Bou.} śù,

{Mch.} $\hat{s}u$, $\hat{s}wa$ id. ¶ JI II 232-3, JS II 177 (pCh $*\hat{s}\nabla w$ - 'meat'), \approx Nw. ChCR 29 [#83] (pCh $*hlaw$ - = $*\hat{s}i|w$ - 'meat, animal'; does not distinguish this root from WCh {Stl.} $*luw\nabla$ 'animal, meat'), Stl. ZCh 200 [#515] (WCh. $*\hat{c}aw'a'y$ 'meat'), Sk. NB 31, Sch. DN 163, Ro. 253 [#278], 290 [#459], Ba. MG II 78, BaB 163 || C: Bj {R} $\varepsilon a?$, {Rop.} $\check{s}\bar{a}$ 'meat' || EC $*s\acute{o}?$ - 'meat' > Or $f\bar{o}$ -ni, Kns {Bl.} $s\acute{o}w\bar{a}$, Gdl {Ss.} $s\acute{o}?$ -a \check{s} $s\acute{o}h$ -a, Msl $s\acute{o}h\bar{a}$, Gato, Bss $s\acute{o}?$ -a, Bs $s\bar{o}$, Dsn {To.} $s\acute{o}$, Elm $s\acute{o}w?$, Arr {Hw.} $s\acute{o}?$ 'meat' ¶ R WBd 208, Rop. 235, Bl. 205, Ss. PEC 50, 52, To. DL 526, Hw. A 394 || possibly (not certainly) S $*\hat{s}ay$ - 'sheep' > BHb $\hat{s}\bar{e}$ (+ppa.: $\hat{s}\bar{e}'y\bar{o} \sim \hat{s}\bar{e}'y\bar{e}h\bar{u}$ 'his sheep'), Ph, Ug \check{s} , OA $\check{s}^?t$, Ar $\check{s}\bar{a}?$ - (coll.), sgl. $\check{s}\bar{a}t$ - \sim $\check{s}\bar{a}h\bar{a}t$ -, Sb $\hat{s}h$, Ak fOB $\check{s}\bar{u}m$, $\check{s}\bar{u}^?u$, Ak mA $\check{s}\bar{u}bu$ 'sheep' ¶ KB 1221-2, HJ 1094-5, A #2561, OLS 424, Ln. 1623-4, BGMR 132, Sd. 1255, CAD /3 417 || IE: Ht {Ts.} $zuwa$ 'food, bread' ¶ Ts. W 111 || D $*\check{c}'u$ - 'flesh, meat' > Brh $s\bar{u}$, Gnd $savi$ \check{s} $savvi$ \check{s} $sawwi$ \check{s} $s\bar{a}wi$, $?\phi$ Tm $t\bar{u}$, $t\bar{u}vu$, $tu(v)va$ id., $?\phi$ Ml $tuva$ 'raw flesh' ¶¶ D #3373 || See also E: MEL, NEI $\check{s}uhi$ (unknown meaning, but possibly connected with 'sheep': it is used after the word for 'sheep': 26 $hi-du-me \check{s}u-hi$ '26 sheep $\check{s}u-hi$ ') ¶¶ HK 1176+◇ MfG {Ba.} $\acute{a}\hat{s}aw$ 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', Myn {Ro.} $\acute{a}\hat{s}\acute{o}$ 'meat', Mada {BaB} $\acute{o}\hat{s}\hat{s}\acute{o}$ 'meat, flesh' may be alternatively equated with NOm \approx $*a\check{c}$ - 'meat' (> Bnc {Wnd.} $\acute{a}\check{c}$, Jnj {Wnd.} $\acute{a}\check{s}\acute{a}$, Wl {LmS} $a\check{s}uwa$, etc. 'meat' [see LmS 298-9]), with Awn {LmS} $\check{s}\check{s}$ 'meat, flesh' and with T $*\acute{a}\check{c}k\bar{u}$ 'goat' (Cl. 24) ◇ The N lr. $*?$ is suggested by Ngs and Mkt $-b$ - (< $*-w?$ -) and by EC $*-?$ -. Alternatively, a N lr. $*-h$ - may underly Ar, Gdl, and Msl $-h$ - and Sb h . Ht z - [C-] suggests that the N initial cns. was an affricate ($*\hat{c}$ - rather than $*\hat{s}$ -) ◇ Blz. DA 152 [#2] (D, HS, E).

467. $_2$ $*\hat{c}\nabla\chi\nabla$ 'to burn' (trans.) > K $*\check{c}\chi$ - v. 'burn, make hot', 'scorch' (of the sun) > Sv $\check{s}\chi$ -, $\check{s}i\chi$ - vt., vi. 'burn', UB/LB msd. {TK, GP} $li-\check{s}\chi-i$ vt. 'burn', OG, G $c\chi$ - v. 'make hot, scorch' (of the sun) (Marc 4.6), 'be hot' (of hot weather), Mg d. $\check{c}\chi ana$ - 'heat, hot weather', Lz $\check{c}\chi$ - v. 'be hot' (of weather), 'roast', Sv $\check{s}\chi$ -, $\check{s}i\chi$ - 'burn' ¶¶ K 231, K² 274-5, FS K 415-6, TK 467, GP 180 || HS: C {E} $*\hat{s}ah_1aw_1$ - vt. 'burn' > Bj $-luw$ pcv. 'burn, burn up, light' (1s: p. $a'luw$, pqp. $'\bar{i}luw$, prs. $an'l\bar{i}\hat{u}$; prtc. $'luwa$), {Rop.} $-liw$ vt. 'burn', rf. $-lau$ 'be burnt', 'burn' (intr.) (\times N $*LahP\nabla$ 'flame; to burn, to shine?') || Ag {E} $*l\acute{a}x$ - 'fire' > Aw leg id. || Dhl {To.} $\hat{s}ah$ - v. 'put on fire', {EEN} $\hat{s}ah$ - burn up' || C $b \rightarrow$ Mb -

šahá?ižá vt. 'burn', -šahá vi. 'burn' ¶ E PC #567, R WBd 160, Rop. 213, E SC 210 (reconstructs SC *šah- vt. 'burn' on the basis of Dhl and Ma'a), EEN 26, To. D 142.

468. *ĈV₁ŕ₁∇ 'girl, (younger) sister' > K *^oč|ca > G Gr ca (voc. ca-v!), cīca 'girl' ¶ The form cīca is on the analogy of G cīcav- 'liebevoll ansehen' or due to ideophonic associations (Ll.?) ¶ Chx. 1972, 2011 || IE: NaIE *^osey₁H₁- 'sister' > BSl *sey- > Lt (Δ?) {Otk.} séja ~ séja id. || SCr séja id. end ¶ Otk. DME 195, Tls. 539 || U: FU *^oć∇y₁∇ 'sister' > Prm *ćoy > Z чоѡ ćoy id., Z I ćojko id. (end; -ko is an endearment sx.) || ? F sikko, Krl čikko, Vp čika 'sister' end; BF *-kko is an diminutive sx. ¶ The adduction of BF is valid unless these BF words are a hyporistic contraction from *sisar-kō, a diminutive from *sisar 'sister' (a BF loan from Baltic) ¶ LG 308-9, Wc. FUA 254 || HS: S *^o√šy|wŕ > Ar شاعة šāf-at- (< *šayaŕ-at-?) 'woman, wife' (unless derived from the verb √šyŕ 'accompany').

469. *ĈA₁∇ 'be lost, die' > HS: S *^o(-)šūŕ- > Ar *^ošūŕ- G 'perish', 'be lost, led astray' (of a thing) ¶ BK II 47, Hv. 423 || D *č|kā- ({†GS} *s-) 'die (sterben)' > Tm cā-, Ml cāka- / p. catt- id., Kt kār̄ cāv 'person who dies somewhere so that his body is not found' (kār̄ 'jungle'), Tf soy-, Kn sāy, Kdg ča] (p. catt-), Tu saipī-, Tl caccu / cā- / cāv-, Png, Mnd, Ku hā-, Prj čay-, Gnd say- & čay- & sā-, Knd sā-, Kui sāvā (p. sāt-), Krx xepē-na / kečas, Mlt keye / kec-, Brh kahīṅ 'die' ¶¶ D #2426, Em. *C 366.

470. *Ĉ'a¹?b∇ '(ε) fish' > HS: S *^o√š?b > Ar ضئب šūb- {Fr., BK} 'animal living in water, animal marinum', {Bel.} 'fish' ¶ Fr. III 1, BK II 1, Bel. 428 || ? NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} č'opá 'fish' ¶ Blz. OM #173, Wdk. BJ 120 || ? Eg G ʒbḥ '(ein Gewässer mit dem Netz) durchfischen', ʒbḥ.ω '(ε) Fischer', ?? Eg Md ʒdb '(ε) fish' ¶ EG V 568, 633 ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OM #173 reconstructs HS *čabuŕ/ŕ 'water creature' > NrOm, SC (Brn čambeŕu, Alg čembeŕu 'frog'), WCh (Hs çùmbē 'ε frog'), and S; but the SC and WCh words can be better explained as belonging to HS {OS} *čamb- 'lizard, frog' (see OS #581) || A: T *çapak (> *çabaq ~ *çapaq) '(ε) small sweetwater fish' (= 'Cyprinidae'?) > OT [MhK] čabaq '(ε) small sweetwater fish', Chg [San.] čabak 'ε small fish', Tk çapak, Az çapaq, Qq šabaq, CrTt čapaq 'bream (Abramis)', Tkm čapaq, Nog šabaq 'Caspian roach', Uz čavdaq 'roach', Qmq, Kr čabaq 'fish', Qzq šabaq baŕıq {Sht.} 'bream, small fry', {MM} 'small fish (рыбешки)', VTt чабак čabaq, Bsh

sabaq 'roach (плотва, сорожка)', Qrg čabaq '(all kinds of) small fish', QK {B} čabaq 'small fish, all kinds of Cyprinidae fish', Alt/Tel {RL} čabaq '(ε) small fish', StAlt čabaq 'чебак (ε small fish)', Tv šavaŋa 'small fish', Chv šub_aχ 𐰽 šob_aχ 'bream' ¶ TL 177, Cl. 395, Dr. TM III #1061, DTS 135, KumRS 351, Sht. 227, MM 385, KRPS 619, Jud. 831, B DLT 219, Rl. III 1928, BT 174, Jeg. 219 || D *čopp- '(ε) fish or sim.' > Krx {Hahn} cōppō 'young frogs', cōppō injō 'prawn fish' (injō 'fish'), Mlt {Drs.} cope-mínu 'cuttlefish' (mínu means 'fish'), ?? D (in McTm) *čamp- > Tm campai 'fish', Mlampa 'a fish, boat-load of fishes' ¶¶ D ##2348, ≈ 2848, Hahn KD 33, 69 ◇ The vl. *-p- in pT and the glottalized p̥ in Ym are due to the infl. of N *ʔ, sc. N *-ʔb- > T *-p̥ (> -p-/-b-), Ym p̥. D *o (rather than *a) may be due to the assimilating infl. of *p.

471. ₂ *čab∇ʔ∇ 'war', 'warriors, host' > HS: S *✓šbʔ v. 'make war, fight' > BHb ✓čbʔ G, Sb ✓šbʔ, Gz ✓šbʔ G ~ (late spelling) ✓šbʔ G id., Ak ✓šbʔ G (inf. šabū) 'zu Felde ziehen'; the n. act. ('war' > 'host') is represented in BHb 𐤆𐤁𐤃 cā'bā 'military men, troops', Ug {A} šbʔ 'troops, army' (not mentioned in OLS!), Sb šbʔ 'military operation, battle', Gz šabʔ 'war', Ak šābu 'people, soldiers, army'; Cn 𐤁𐤍 Eg N 𐤆𐤁𐤃𐤍𐤏𐤍, 𐤆𐤁𐤃𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 (= *čabiʔu) 'troops, army' ¶ KBR 994-7, KB 933-5, A #2299, L G 544-5, BGMR 40, EG V 562, Hoch #573 || A: Tg *čab_u_ka 'army, war' > Neg čawxa ~ čauxa, Nn čaouxa, Ul čaouxa id., Sln čo'xa, Orc čaouxa, Ud {Krm.} čawa 'army', WrMc cōouxa 'army, soldier', Jrc {Kiy.} čaouxa ežehei 'military commission' (Gru.: an err. interpretation as 'military official' based on an error in copying the Chn translation) ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 309, Kiy. 112 [#278], Gru. SSJ #278, Md. ChF 138 || T *čabu₁č₁ > OT čabuš 'military commander', Tk čavus 'sergeant, guard'; T 𐤁𐤍 Prs جاشو čavuš 'Feldgendarm, Hofwächter' ¶ Cl. 309, Dr. TM II #1055, ≈ Rs. W 101 (T 𐤁𐤍 Prs) || M *čavur > WrM {Vld.} coura 'alarm\turmoil of war', HIM {Vld.} cūrā 'war, troubles (civil war), army', Brt sūr 'revolt, war, army' ¶ Vld. 209 || pJ {S} *tupa- > OJ tupa-mono 'army, weaponry', J: T cūwamono, K/Kg cuwamonó 'soldier' ¶ S QJ #1110, Mr. 558 ¶¶ DQA ##257 (A *č'abu 'army, war').

472. *čæb∇ 'shoulder' > HS: S *'šab_l ∇_l- > Ar ضبع ūab- 'arm, upper part of the arm', ✓ ūab Gt (pf. ٱضبط ʔiŭṭabaʔa) v. 'wrap oneself in a cloak in covering the left shoulder and leaving the right

uncovered' ¶ Hv. 413 || U: FU *šepä 'neck, nape of the neck' > F sepä, F Δ sepi, sevi 'hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens', Est seba id., 'Heunetz, welches das Heufuder umschließ', F sepalus 'collar' || pLp {Lr.} *čēpētē ~ *čēpōttē 'neck' > Lp: N {N} čābēt / čāvē 'neck (whole of) or throat (outside); collar on clothing', L {LLO} tjeperēt, S {Hs.} tjeäbuoh, Kld ča:p:at 'neck' || pMr {Ker.} *sīwə > Er сиве sívé, Mk сиве sívä 'collar on a shirt' || Chr L ш҃й, E {Ps.} šüy, M/B šüy 'neck', Chr H {Ep.} ш҃й 'collar' || pPrm *šī- in Z сикөтш sí-kžč 'beads' (lit. 'neck-circle') and in pPrm *šīyes (< *šīyes) 'horse's collar' > Z сийөс síyзс, Yz sí'yʌs, Vt сиес síyes id.; pPrm *šū-l- 'neck' (*-l- is a sx.) > Z сьылі šīli, Z LVc síli, Yz šʌ'li id., Z šīv- in šīvʏz zšždčīnī 'to throw oneself on so.'s neck', Vt сильсьөр síí-šžr 'nape' (lit. 'hind part of the neck') || ObU *šīp(∇) 'neck' > pVg *šīp > Vg (partially in cds.): LK šip, MK/UK/UL/Ss sip, P šip ~ šīp 'collar'; pVg *šīp-lūw 'neck' (*lūw means 'bone') > LK šiplow, P šīplūw ~ šuplūw, Ss siplūw 'neck'; pOs *sāpāl 'neck' > Os: V/Vy säwəl, Ty/Y sārəʔ, D/K sārət, Nz sārət, Kz sārəʔ, O sārəl ¶ UEW 473-4, Sm. 548 (FU, FP *šepä, Ugr *sepä 'neck'), It. #334, Ht. #600 (and #352), LG 255, 271, Lr. #130, Hs. 1310, MRS 74, Ep. 157, Ps. OT 132, SZ 357, Lt. J 181, 183, Ker. II 143-4 || D *čǎkapp- ~ *čǎkēpp-, {GS} *žabb- 'shoulder, outer side of the thigh' > Tl jabba id., Tm саррај 'hips, haunch, shoulder blade', ceppu 'hip', ? appu 'thigh', Kn сарре 'the hip bone', Δ jabbe 'outer side of the thigh', Prj žabba, Knd zeba 'shoulder', Gnd aṭa žaba id. ¶¶ D #2339, GS 90 [#261] ◇ The U cognate and D *čǎkēpp- point to N *e, while D *čapp- (and S *ošabʔ-) suggests N *ä (or *a).

473. *čǎ'ī' b∇ʏ∇ (or *čǎ'ī' b∇ʔ∇) 'hyena' > HS: WS *šābuʔ- ~ *šā'buʔ- id. > PBHb [BS] čā'bōʔ, BHb [Mas.] צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ 'hyena' (ū for ō due to folk et. interpreting the words as a pp. צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ 'a dyed one'), pl. צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ-īm, Sr צָבֹנְ צָבֹנְ-ā (? < ʔ- by dis.), Ar ضَبْعٌ ūabuʔ- ~ ضَبْعٌ ūabʔ-, Gz ḥ-ḥ-ḥ-šābʔ 'hyena' ¶ GB 672, KBR 997, L G 147, Br. 42, KB 936 || A: Tg *oçibpka > Ewk A çipkakū 'wolf' ¶ STM II 399 || D *čǎki∇∇ηki 'hyena, tiger-wolf' or sim. (× N *šib∇ʔ∇ 'beast of prey' × N *žīw∇m,∇,gE 'leopard') > Kn sivaṅgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civāgi, civvāgi, civvaṅgi, sivāgi, sivaṅhi, sivvaṅgi 'hyena', as well as Tm civiṅki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiṅṅi 'hunting leopard' ¶¶ D #2579 ◇ AD NM #2, ≠ S CNM 14

(rejects the comparison, because in his opinion Ewk *çipkaku* 'wolf' is a loan from Alt *ćepke* 'wolverine', which is hard to believe because of the enormous distance between the Altay lge. in Southwestern Siberia and the Ayan dialect of Ewk [close to the Pacific coast]), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (doubts about Ewk *çipkaku* as a cognate, because it is isolated within A).

474. ?σ₂ *ĉ^hôb∇R∇ 'press together, squeeze (as in a fist)' > HS: S *^o✓^hbr > Ar *ضبر* ✓^hbr (ip. -^hbur-) {Ln.} 'make (books, writings) into a bundle; collect together (books, writings), collect together an army for war', {BK} 'assembler, réunir les feuillets en cahiers', ✓^hbr D 'assembler, réunir' ¶ Ln. 1764, BK II 5 || U: FU *^oš|š|u|o|w∇r- > IP *š|u|o|w∇r- 'squeeze, press together' > Er *сүвора-амс* šuvorda-, šurda-, Mk šuvārda- 'press together, squeeze (in a fist)' || ?σ Lp S {Hs.} *tjuoveridh* 'müssen, sollen, dürfen' || Es *сõõрута-* 'make milk flow (by rubbing the teats)' (← *'squeeze') || Prm {LG} *šur- 'collect, gather in one place' > Z *сюртчы-* vi. šurtčī- 'accrete, grow together', 'unite into one group', *сюрт-* šurt- vt. 'tuck up (подтыкать) (a haystack after stowing the hay)' ¶ LG 275, MF 594-5, Hs. 1349-50, ≠ UEW 487 (FU *šor∇ 'eng; eng werden, sich verengen' > Prm *šur-, ObU [{Ht.} *sār-] > Vg {Ht.} *sārī 'kleiner Sumpf, schmaler Landstreifen' and Os {Ht.} *sārt 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' [see Ht. #601], Hg *сзорул-* 'sich verengen' [and related Hg word with the root *сзор-*]; does not recognize the connection of Prm *šur- with the abovementioned BF and Lp words).

475. ₂ *ĉ^h∇_lĉ_l∇_lq∇ (possibly *ĉ^h∇č_l∇_lq∇ ~ *ĉ^h∇çq∇) 'squeeze, press' > HS: SC: Irg *ĉeq-* 'squeeze', Kz *ĉaq-* v. 'pinch' ¶ E SC 360, EK 20 || S *^o✓^hyq 'be narrowed \ straitened \ pressed' (× N *ĉ^hiK∇ 'tight, narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || K: [1] GZ *čeq-* 'press, squeeze' > G *čeq-* id., {Chx.} '(zer-)drücken, (zer-)quetschen, (zer-)malmen, (zer-)treten', Mg *čqačq-* {FS, K} 'press, squeeze', [2] GZ *čqeq-* 'squeeze, press' ('einklemmen, quetschen, drücken') > G {FS} *čqeq-*, Mg *čqačq-* id. ¶ K 255, FS K 455, 475, FS E 515-6, 538-9, Chx. 2246 ¶ The initial affricates *č^h- and *ç- are due to as. ◇ Doubtful, because the S cognate has a good alt. etymology ◇ It is possible that both the HS and the K items belong together with N *ĉ^hiK∇ 'tight, narrow', which in such a case must be reconstructed as *ĉ^hi q∇.

476. (₂?) *ĉ^h∇h w∇ 'to burn' (vt.) (→ 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day') > K *č^hw- vt., vi. 'burn', vt. 'bake, fry' > OG *çuw-*, G *çv-* v.

'burn, roast', Mg, Lz č(V)- v. 'burn, be hot' (of the sun), 'fry', Sv -č- (prs. -äč'i) v. 'bake (up to dryish consistency), scorch', msd. UB li-č-i ¶ Mach. K 29-30, K 250, K DE 359, K² 310, Chx. 2144-7, DCh. 1674, Q 392-3, Dn. s.v. -č-, GP 187 || HS: WS *✓šh̥y > Ar šīḥḥ- 'soleil, éclat du soleil', šūḥā, šūḥayy- 'heure du jour où le soleil est déjà élevé sur l'horizon; soleil', OETH *šāḥay > Gz (modern pronunciation), Tgr, Tgy ḫḫ.š ḫḫay 'sun' ¶ BK II 10, 13, L G 149 || C: SC: Alg {E} čah- v. 'set out to dry'; ??φ Irq {MQK} čēḥama 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', čīḥ- v. 'get hot, be at sth.'s highest temperature' ¶ ESC 360 (reconstructs pRt *čah-), MQK 108 || ? A: NaT *°čabār > OT čavar 'kindling' (Cl. ED 398); the T ✓ is ambiguous: it may belong to N *č ∇ χ ∇ 'burn' (trans.) as well.

477. 2 *čokE (= *čogE?) 'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position' > HS: WS *✓šg̥ v. 'lie down' > Ar ضجع ✓šg̥ G 'lay down one's side upon the ground, lie down', 'set' (of a star), Gz ✓šg̥ G v. 'make up a bed, lean upon', Tgr š ḫggəḥa v. 'lean against, lie down' ¶ Ln. 1769, BK II 9, L G 148-9 || WCh: [1] NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} cakʷat v. 'kneel, squat', Cg {Sk.} žug̥ id. | ? Ngz {Sch.} žōkúlólok 'in a squatting position'] [2] ? WCh {Stl.} *čug- v. 'squat' > Hs čúgùnā 'squatted on heels', čùgùnē 'act of squatting' | pNrBc {Stl.} ✓cg v. 'sit' > Wrj {Sk.} c3g3, My/Mbr {Sk.} c3g3, Cg {Sk.} č3gu || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} žókòm 'squat (s'accroupir)' ¶ Sk. NB 28, 40, Stl. ZCh 184 [#355], Sch. DN 85, Abr. H 890-1, AIJ 85 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 275 ¶¶ The voiced cns. *g in S and Ch may be either original or resulting from an as. *k|k̥ > *g̥ || A ({SDM} *č'ok'i): T *čök- (= {Md.} *č'ök'-) v. 'kneel down' (→ 'sink') > OT čök- v. 'kneel' (esp. of camels), 'sink' (köñülüm čök̥ti qorq̥ti 'my heart sank and was afraid'), XwT čök- v. 'kneel, collapse', Chg čök- v. 'subside', MQp, Qrg čök-, StAlt {BT} čög-ödö- v. 'kneel', Tk čök-, Qzq šök- v. 'sink, kneel', Tkm čök-, Qq šök-, Nog šök-/šög-, Uz чүк- čwk- v. 'kneel, sink', Az čök- v. 'sink', diz čök- v. 'kneel', ET {Nj.} čök- v. 'sink', tiz čök- v. 'kneel', Ggz čök- v. 'sink', Qmq čök- v. 'squat, sink', VTt чүг- čüg- v. 'sink' (of a building), Bsh süg- id., 'kneel', Yk söx- v. 'sink', ? süg-ürüy-, Chv Δ қәк- šək/g- 'sink (as ears of cereals)', Chv қәкән- šəg̥_ɲn-, {Md.} šək̥ɲn- v. 'kneel'; T (Tk?) ⇨ OG [KC], G čök- v. 'kneel down (niederknieen)', čök-i 'knieende Stellung', Mg čök- v. 'kneel' ¶ Cl. 413-4, Rs. W 117, Tkr 738, Sht. 239, TatR 651, Nj. 392, BT 181, Pek. 2312, 2379, Jeg. 205, Fed. II 90-1, Md. 51, Chx. 1944-5, DCh. 1581, KEGL VIII 532 || M: MM [MA] čoke- v. 'squat, make (a camel) squat' (⇨ T?) ¶ Pp. MA 136 || Tg

*çoko- v. 'squat' > Ewk çoko- v. 'squat', Ul čoqčožo- v. 'squat down, squat', Nn Nh čoqčomta- v. 'squat down', čoqčorāčl- v. 'be squatting' ¶ STM II 404 || pJ {S} *tuku-(m)pap- v. 'squat' > OJ tuku-bap-, J T cukuba- id. ¶ S QJ #564 || pKo {S} *čùk- v. 'squat; bow \ incline' → v. 'die' ⇨ *čùk-yò- v. 'kill' > MKo čùk, NKo čuk- v. 'die', MKo čùskùr- v. 'squat', MKo čùkyù-, NKo čugi- v. 'kill' ¶ SDM97 55, S AJ 252 [#17], S QK #17, Nam 63, 433-4, MLC 219, 147O, 1494, 15O3-4 ¶¶ KW 431 (Kl cökj- 'elend sein, mutlos sein' *÷ the above T √), S AJ 286 [#252] (A *č'ök'ü), and DQA #329 (A *č'ōk'i 'to incline, to sink' > T, Tg, Ko, J; shares Rm.'s opinion by unconvincingly adducing M *čökü- 'elend sein', 'lose all hope').

478. *čīk∇ 'tight, narrow, dense' > HS: S *-šūḱ- ~ *-šīḱ- v. 'be narrow, tight' (× N *č∇₁č₂∇₁q∇ 'squeeze, press'?) > BHb Sh ḫpf. 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩫 hē-čīḱ, ip. 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩫 yā-čīḱ v. 'drive (so.) into a corner, press (so.)', hē'čīḱ lə- 'harass, press hard', Ug √ šy|wḱ Sh ḫexert pressure', JA √ šy|wḱ (pf. 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩫 ṣāḱ) v. 'be narrow(ed), pressed', JEA √ šwḱ D 'cause trouble, distress', SmA √ šwḱ G 'be in dread', ṣyḱh 'distress', Ar ضيق √ ḡyq (pf. ḡāqa, ip. -ḡīq-) v. 'be straitened, be narrow', Mh šayḱ ({{Jo.} záyḱ), Jb E šīḱ ({{Jo.} žīḱ) 'narrow, cramped', Hrs šzḱ ({{Jo. HL} zēḱ, {{Jo. ML} zəḱ) 'narrow', Ak -sīḱ- (inf. sīāḱum, sâḱu) v. 'be(come) narrow\tight' ¶ KB 951, KBR 1O14, Js. 1O56, Tal 627-8, OLS 42O-1, Js. 1O56, Sl. 848, BK II 49, Fr. III 35, Hv. 424, Jo. M 479, Jo. H 132, Sd. 1O39, CAD XV 169-7O || B: Ah zukmæt v. 'be narrow (a place)', ?? Zng {TC} azzūḡ 'étrangler', pf. yuzzūḡ ¶ Fc. 1952, DCTC 287, TC Z 306 || U: FU (att. in FP) *šīḱ∇ ~ *šīḱk∇ 'dense' > pMr {Ker.} šīḱā-dā > Er сееде šeyede, Δ šäyede, Mk сиде šidā 'dense\tick (forest, fence)' † F sikeä 'deep (sea), heavy (sleep)' † Prm *šīḱ > Vt {U3S} šīḱ 'forest' (← *'thicket'), {Set.} šīḱ 'dichter Wald' ¶ Set. FULL 267, UEW 774 (FV *šīḱ∇), Lt. 182, ERV 575, Ker. II 134, U3S 389, KC 192, PI 248, ≠ LG 255 (Vt < Prm *šīḱ 'set of homogeneous objects'), Ps. sL 32, 74-5, SK 1O22 ¶ In FV the stem has *-k-, in Prm it has *-kk-; the lack of gemination in FV is still to be explained || A: M *čīquḱ 'narrow, tight' (× N *čEṣḱ∇ [or *čäṣḱ∇?] 'squeeze; tight'?) > MM [HI] čīquḱ 'étroit, resserré', WrM cīquḱ, HIM цухал 'narrow, tight', Ord {Ms.} žū'χu'ḱ id., WrO {Krg.} цухал 'close, narrow'; ?φ M *čīg|g|q > WrM {Rm.} cīg ~ cīg, WrO cīq 'dense' (cīq modon 'dense forest'), Kl Ö čīg 'eng, schmal, gedrängt', ?σ,φ M *čīq '≈ thicket' > MM [MA] čīq 'brushwood' ('заросли

кустарника'), [HI] čiq 'treillis de bambou' ¶ MED 193, Kow. 2143, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 216, Krg. 636, 648, Pp. MA 134, KW 438 ¶ The structure of M *č²ig|q|q 'dense' and M *č²iq 'thicket' is not typical of M and therefore is likely to suggest its foreign (T?) origin, but no plausible source of borrowing has been found so far || D *č²kikk- v. 'thicken; congeal' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N *š²iK'U' 'to get\be cold; cool?') > Tm cikkar_{avv} 'hardness', Kn jigi 'stickiness, thickness', cikani 'thick, hard', Klm sikot_ı 'sticky', Knd sika 'thickness (of fluid)', sikani 'thick' (of fluid), D → OI cikka 'gum, birdlime' ¶¶ D #2488, Tu. #4780 ◇ Cf. N *š²ek_∇ 'be tight\cramped, tighten' (q.v.) ◇ There are two K roots (GZ ı *č²eč_q- 'press, squeeze' and GZ ı *č²qeč_q- 'squeeze, press') and a SC one (Irq č_eq- 'squeeze', Kz č_ak- v. 'pinch') that may belong here. If this is so, the N etymon must be reconstructed as *č²i q_∇ (see above s.v. *č²∇_ıč_ı∇_ıq_∇ 'squeeze, press').

479. *č²U?i'ı'ı_w∇ 'little, small' > K *č²uı- ({K²} *č²uı-, {K} *č²ıuzı-) '(male) child, boy' > OG çuı- 'child', G çuı- 'baby, (male) child', Sv {TK}: UB č_üš, č_wiš, L č_uš id. ¶¶ K 252, K² 316, FS K 463 (*č²uı-), TK 863 || HS: S *^o✓š_ı? > Ar ✓š_ı? G (pf. ضَوَّلَ š_ıwa_ıla) 'be lean \ thin \ little \ mean' ¶ Fr. III 1, Hv. 412 || A {AD} *č²olwe ({SDM97} *č²ole) v. 'diminish, shrink' > M *č²ölüyi- v. > WrM cölüi-, HIM целый-х 'decline, decay, deteriorate, diminish' ¶ MED 202 || Tg *č²ı'ıbi- v. 'grow thin\lean, lose flesh' > Ewk PT çulbı-, çulbıı- v. 'get lean (person, animal)', Ewk Tmt çılbıı- v. 'be starving', Ewk PT çulbıkā, çulbıı 'lean (person, animal), thin (tree)' ¶ STM II 413 || pKo {S} *č²ūr- v. 'shrink, grow less' > MKo č_{uri}-hi- id., NKo č_ū- 'reduce, diminish, decrease' ¶ S QK #725, MLC 1508-9 || ?σ NaT {DQA} *č²ülik- > OT [MhK] č_{ülük}- {MKD, Cl.} 'be in a shabby condition', {DTS} 'fall into decay', {Rs.} 'vernichtet werden' ¶ Cl. 420, MKD 96, DTS 157 ¶¶ Rs. W 121 (T, M, Ko), DQA ##337 || D *č²kıll- ({ǧGS} *c-) 'small' > Ml cıllara 'small, trifling matter', Kn cıllara 'smallness', Tu cıllaræ 'small money', Tı cıllara 'small, unimportant', Ku cıllera prāncu v. 'retail' ¶¶ D #2574 ◇ K *ı' (> G ı, Sv š) is likely to go back to *-yı- (contraction of N *-?ıı-?). N *-w- is suggested by Tg *-b-. The adduction of D is tentative and highly qu.; it is possible on assumption of a N medial *-ı-. If the D and T dubious cognates are accepted, the N original lateral is *-ı- (because N *-ı- would have yielded D *-ı-, and N *-ı' would have been represented by D *-ı- and pT *ı'). A contamination with N

***ĉUʔ*ʾ*i^ʾ_LW_J∇** 'little, small' (in some daughter lgs.) cannot be ruled out.

480. ₂ ***ĉ|ĉ∇hL∇** 'be compassionate, have mercy' > **K**: GZ {K²} *ĉqal- 'feel sorry (for), regret, spare' > OG, G çqal- id., Mg čqol-op-ua 'charity' ¶¶ K 252, K² 317, FS K 468-9 || **HS**: SS *^o✓šhl (deglottalization from *^o✓šhl?) > Gz tašāhala, tašāhalē v. 'be gracious, have mercy, be compassionate', Tgy səhlə v. 'be benign', Tgr səhala v. 'be merciful' ¶ L G 528.

481. ***ĉʾi^ʾ_L∇_J∇** 'side of body' (→ 'rib'), 'hip' (→ 'thigh') > **K** *ĉel- 'loins, waist' (→ 'guts, entrails') (× N ***ṽ∇ĉ∇L∇** 'guts') > OG çel-i 'loins' [Luke 12.35], 'guts', G çel-i 'waist, loin; intestine', pl. çel-eb-i 'guts', Mg čə-, čī-, Lz (m)čū-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. činčil 'gut, intestine' ¶¶ K 249, K² 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K *ĉel- 'gut'), Ser. 209 (OG çel- 'loins, waist'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862 || **HS**: S *šilaṽ- ~ *šilaṽ- 'rib', 'side (of body)' > BHb **צַבְנָה** çəḇāṽ id., Ug ṣlṽ 'rib; meat on a rib', BA **עֲבָנִים*** ṽāṽnām (pl. **עֲבָנִים** ʿibāṽnīm) 'rib', IA pl. cs. **עֲבָנִים** ʿibāṽnīm 'ribs of...', JA {Js., Dlm.} **עֲבָנִים** ʿibāṽnīm, JEA {Sl.} **עֲבָנִים** ʿibāṽnīm, SmA ʿibāṽnīm, Sr **עֲבָנִים** ʿibāṽnīm, Ug ṣlṽ {OLS} 'rib', {A} 'Rippenstück', Ar **عَضَلُ** ʿuṣlū ~ **عَضَلُ** ʿuṣlū 'rip, side (of body)', Sb d. ṣlṽt '(?) malady affecting the chest', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ṣlāṽnīm, Jb C/E {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} ṣlāṽnīm, {L} ṣlāṽnīm, Sq Δ {SSL} ṣlāṽnīm 'rib', Ak fOB ṣlāṽnīm 'rib, side (of body), side'; Cn ḥ→ Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} **zi-ra-ṽ-tu** (*çilaṽtu) 'plank' ¶ KB 965, 1760, A #2320, OLS 416-7, HJ 864, Sl. 855, Dlm. 314, Js. 1085, Tal 641, Br 22, JPS 18, BGMR 41, Jo. M 476, Jo. H 152, Jo. J 325, LLS 361, SSL LSNP 1480, Sd. 1090, CAD XVI 124, Hoch #592, MiK I #1.272 || **IE**: NaIE *(s)k_L^hel- 'hip, thigh; rib' (× N ***čaqa_L^ʾi^ʾ∇** [or ***čaqa∇**] 'elbow, ε part of a limb?') > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards', (?φ) σχελίδες pl. 'ribs of beef', κωλέα 'thigh-bone with the flesh on it' || ?? BSl: Lt kùlšė, kùlšis 'hip, haunch', Pru cūlczi 'hip' || Sl *kьlka ~ *kьlkъ 'hip' > ChS **клька** klьka 'ham' ({Mikl.} 'ὄγκύλη, poples'), SCr kùk 'hip joint, hip', Slv kòlk 'hip, haunch', Blg 'кълка id., thigh'; the BSl word is adduced by WP and P, but not accepted as a cognate by ESSJ and Frn.; it is doubtful because of the unexplained stem-medial *k ¶ WP II 597-8, P 929, Frn. 308, En. 199, Trp. P K-L 256-62, ESSJ XIII 188, Mikl. L 290, Mikl. E 154, F II 60-1, 723-4, 837-8, Ch. 1013, ≠ EI 142 (F, Ch, and EI connect Gk σκέλος with *skel- 'bend') || **D** (in SD) ***č|kīlamaṽd-** (× N ***š*ʾ*i^ʾ_LW_J∇** 'shank,

flesh\meat of a limb') > Tl cīlamanḍa, (↳ ?) Kn cīlamanḍe 'ankle' (D *maṇṭ- means 'knee', see D #4677) ¶ D #2633 ◇ The IE data do not contradict the possibility of a N *i. Acc. to AD's theory (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the pre-IE *i (< N *i) was lost before sonants. IE *(s)k- for the expected *s- may be due to the contamination with N *çaq₁a₁'i'▽ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 131 [#3] (incl. K, S).

482. (₂?) *ĉ₁▽H₂L₁▽₁m▽ 'daylight' > K *ĉam- 'morning' > Mg ĉume 'tomorrow', oĉumara 'morning', Lz ĉuman- 'morning', ĉumen- 'tomorrow', Sv UB/LB ham 'morning' ¶¶ K 247-8, K² 306, Chik. 19, TK 892, Q 393 || HS: SC: Alg {E} ĉehemu 'sun, daylight', Brn {E} ĉema 'sun', ĉemati 'today', Irq {E} -ĉemu in ameĉemu 'noon', ?φ Asa {E} demok 'morning' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructs pRt *ĉehem- 'day, daytime, daylight') || ? NrOm: Hrr {Abb} zompē 'artificial light' (Abb: z = [EthSc] θ) ¶ CR H 668, AD SF 122 || A: ?σ M *ĉomur > WrM comur 'clear, legible, evident; accurate; suitable', Brt comop 'orderly' (of a person) ('аккуратный, собранный') ¶ MED 197, Chr . 390.

483. *ĉ₁▽m₁▽₁'s₁▽ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together' > K: GZ *ĉmaš- v. 'interlace, twist; plait\braid together' > OG, G çmasn- v. 'weave, interlace tightly', Mg ĉimoš-, ĉumoš- v. 'twist, tie up (tobacco leaves, etc.)', Lz ĉimoš- v. 'interlace, twist (ropes)' ¶ K 251-2, K² 314, FS K 465 || HS: S *√ĥmd (from *√ĥmš + a sx.?) v. 'tie\bind together, attach' > Ak √ĥmđ G 'an-\zusammen-\ver-binden, anschirren', Ar √ĥmd G v. 'dress a wound, anoint, and bind (the head)', BHb √çmd N (pf. niç'mađ) 'attach oneself to' ({KBR} 'be involved with'), 'çemēđ 'team\pair (of oxen/donkeys)' ('Gespann'), MHb √çmd G v. 'join, attach', Ug ĥmđ 'pair; pair of oxen', Gz √ĥmd G v. 'yoke, harness, bind together', ĥamđ 'yoke; pair (of animals, objects)' ¶ KB 967, KBR 1032-3, Hv. 420-1, OLS 417, Sd. 1080, L G 149-50 || Eg fP (mt.) đmз 'assemble, bring together; unite' ¶ EG V 457-9, Fk. 313 || SOm: (mt.) Ari suđumt- v. 'gather' ¶ Bnd. AL 151 ¶¶ Tk. I 259 (Eg, S, Om) || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *ĉim- 'sew' > Sir ĉimu, Jmb ťim-, P' ĉimba ¶ Sk. NB 39, ChC, Tk. NB 178 || U *o^rs¹im^rs¹a (*^rs¹ = *s|š|t) (as. from *ťimsa?) > pSm *t̥mt̥ā/ъ 'wrap round, bind, (um\zusammen)wickeln' > Ne T {Ter.} т̥мд̥аць, Slq Tz {KKIH} tamt̥+| - 'zusammen-drehen\rollen-\drücken' ¶ Jn. 147, KKIИ 178 || A: ?σ M *ĉamča₁y₁ 'shirt' > MM [S] čamča, [MA] čamčay, WrM camca, HIM цамц, Kl † цамца, Kl Ö camca id., WrO

camca id., 'blouse' ¶ The second *č̣ < *s by as.? ¶ H 25, Pp. MA 130, MED 164, Krg. 617, KRS 625, KW 421.

484. ₂ *č̣'ā'n? ▽ 'to give birth' > HS: S *°√šn? > Ar {Ln.} ضناً ḡan?-'children, offspring', ضناً √ḡn? G 'have many children' (of a woman), 'multiply, become numerous' (of cattle), ḡanaʔat 'she brought forth' ¶ Ln. 1806, BK II 41, Hv. 422 || Eg fP ʒʒn.ω 'junge Leute' (← *'children') ¶ Metathesis *n? > *ʔn ¶ EG V 524 || D *č̣|kaŋ- ({}GS} *c-?) 'foetus', 'be(come) pregnant' > Ml cana 'pregnancy', canekka v. 'conceive' (of animals), Kn jane, Tl jena 'yolk of an egg', Kn tane, tene 'foetus of beasts, pregnancy', Tu tanæ, sanæ 'conceiving, breeding' (of cattle, sheep, etc.); (with a puzzling i) Tm cinai 'embryo, foetus, pregnancy', cinai v. 'be impregnated' ¶¶ D #2592.

485. ?σ *č̣EN₁ ▽₁ q ▽ 'to press, to squeeze' > K: GZ *č̣neq|χ / *č̣niq|χ- id. > OG, G č̣neχ- / č̣niχ- v. 'press (grapes)', G sa-č̣xen-el-i 'press-vat (for grapes)', Mg č̣inaχ- v. 'press', {}FS} o-č̣inaχ-u, {}Q} o-č̣inaχɜ, o-č̣ɜnaχ-i, o-č̣ɜnaχ-u 'press-vat', Lz č̣inaχ-u 'press, squeeze', o-č̣inaχ-u 'auspressen, keltern', n. 'press-vat' ¶ K 252, K² 315, FS K 466, FS K² 671, FS E 527-8, Q 389 || HS: CS *°√šnq (< **°√šnq < **°√šnq - mte.) > Ar {Ln.} √šnq G 'hang smb. by the neck till he dies', 'bind a camel with the šināq-' [↓], 'bind the head of a beast\horse', šanaqa-l-qirbata '(he) bound the mouth of the water-skin with the bond called wiqāʔ- and then bound the extremity of its wiqāʔ- to its fore legs', {}Fr.} √šnq (ip. - šniq-, -šnuq-) 'strangulavit', 'ligavit (camelum) fune vel loro شناق [šināq-] appellato'; {Ln.} šināq- 'a rope\cord with which the head of a camel is pulled; a cord\thong with which the mouth of a water-skin is bound'; MHb 𐤒𐤍𐤁 √snq G 'press, stuff', JA {Dlm.} √snq D 'erdrücken (?)', {}Lv., Js.} √snq D 'stuff, press' or (acc. to some scholars) 'choke, cause loss of breath' ¶ Ln. 1606-8, Fr. III 457-8, Lv. III 558, Js. 1008, Dlm. 283 || D *č̣|kēŋkk- ({}GS} *ś-) 'breathe with difficulty' (← *'be suffocated') > Ml ēññuka 'breathe with difficulty', eññaʔ 'breathing with difficulty', ēkkal 'asthma', ēkkam id., 'hard breathing', Tm eñkal 'asthma in children', Tu sēñku- v. 'pant, breathe quickly\heavily', sēñkæ 'panting, breathing quickly', Kui sēke 'panting, gasping for breath', Ku sēke sēke nēñžinai 'pant' (nēñžinai 'breathe, gasp') ¶¶ D #2804, An. SG 137 (D *-ŋkk-) ◊ ≠ Kap. ALM 13 (equates the K √ with the non-existent Ak sanāku 'to press', sc.

actually with S * \checkmark šnk, as well as with Arm 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 čnš-el 'to press, to squeeze').

486. *ĉUńt 'mucus' (in descendants lgs.: 'sweat', 'dung, filth') > K: G ɕvinṭli 'nasal mucus' ¶ Chx. 2157 || HS: SS * $\hat{\circ}$ šulin ∇ t- > Gz šant 'urine', (bf.?) SS * $\hat{\circ}$ -šīn- > Gz \checkmark šyn (pf. šēna, js. yəšīn) v. 'urinate', Tgr \checkmark šyn (pf. šena), Tgy pf. šenə, šenə id. (possible infl. of S * \checkmark θyn 'urinate') ¶ LG 540 || IE: NaIE {P, E} *sweid- v. 'sweat', *sweides n. 'sweat', *swojdo-, *sweidro-/swidro- id. > OI 'svidyati, 'svēdatē 'sweats', Av x^vīsaṭ 'geriet in Schweiß'; OI 'svēdah, Av x^vaēδō n. 'sweat, perspiration' || W chwys id., chwysu 'to sweat' || Gmc *switjan id. > OHG swizzen, NHG schwitzen, AS swāetan id., NE sweat v.; Gmc *swajta- n. 'sweat, perspiration' > OHG sweiz, NHG Schweiß, OSx swēt, MDt sweet, Dt zweet, AS swāt id. || Gk Hm (ε)ῥῖω, Gk A ῥῖω v. 'sweat' || L sudā- id. || Ltv svīst id., sviēdri n. pl. 'sweat, perspiration' || Tc B syā- v. 'sweat' (< *swidye- + ā-) || NaIE *swojdo- 'sweat' > L sudor, -ōris id. ¶ P 1043, WP II 521, EI 560, Mn. 164, M K III 570, M E II 798-9, WH II 623-4, YGM-1 158, LP § 153, F I 709-10, KM 691, 695, Kb. 999, 1007, Kar. II 340, Wn. 448, Ad. 721, Ad. H 38 || U: FU *ššont ∇ > FP (or FV) *šont ∇ 'dirt, dung' > F sonta id., Es sōnnik 'dung, muck, manure' | Chr: H {Ep.} 'šandb 'excrements, urine', {Wc., Ü, Ep.} 'šandb 'lavatory', {Ep., MRS} 'šandb 'urine with blood (an illness of animals)', Ld. {MRS, Ü} šon'dan, Uf {Wc.} 'šondb 'dung, urine', d. {Ü} šondem 'lavatory' | ? Vt Sr zud 'black mud (used as dye)' ¶ UEW 764-5, SK 1072, It. #122, Wc. TT 92, MRS 691, Ep. 146, Ü 257, 268, LG 269 ◇ If W. Müller (p.c. to L) is right in supposing that Gz \checkmark is \checkmark syn (rather than \checkmark šyn, which in his opinion is not the etl. spelling), the Ethiopian Semitic cognate is to be rejected, so that the N etymon will be *ĉ|ĉUńt.

487. ւ *ĉaŋU 'jump, skip' > HS: S * $\hat{\circ}$ šmd > Jb \checkmark šmd (pret. šūd) v. 'jump a certain height', šamdu'n 'a good jumper' ¶ Jo. J 325 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *ša|ŋâ- v. 'gallop, jump' (× N *ša|ŋ ∇ '≈ run, jump, climb' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg: Nn čaŋgoar, čansoap, Nn B čonsoq, Nn KU čamsop 'quickly, suddenly (to get up, to rise, to jump up)' ¶ STM II 384 || D *č|kaŋk-, {GS} *čaŋ- v. 'jump, climb' (× N *ša|ŋ ∇ '↑?') > Kn caŋgu, ceŋgu v. 'jump, skip', Tl ceŋganālu 'leaping, frisking, gambol', ceŋguna 'nimblely, agilely, quickly' (applied to leaping), Δ ceŋgu, jaŋgu 'agility', Nk čaŋgay- v. 'climb' ¶¶ D #2285, GS 127

[#333] ◇ N *-U is suggested by Tg and by S *m (probably from N *-η- near a labialized vw.).

488. *ĉap ▽ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} ĉufa 'mud' ||| EC: Sml dōbo 'mud, dirt, soil, clay', dōb- v. 'mould (out of clay), plaster, daub with mud' ¶ ZMO 122, E SC 328 (s.v. SC *ĉūf- 'mud') ||| K: GZ *ĉeb- vt. 'glue' > G ĉeb-, Mg, Lz ĉab- id., OG ĉeb-* ≈ id. (att. within verbs with pxs.); GZ *ĉebo- n. 'gum (vegetable glue)' > Mg, Lz ĉabu- 'gum (vegetable glue), mistletoe' (glue was extracted from mistletoe), OG, G ĉebo- 'gum, glue' ¶ K 248, K² 308, FS K 459, FS E 520-1, Abul. 541 ||| A: M *ĉaba¹un 'glue' > MM [IM] {Pp.} ĉabūn n. 'glue' ([ArSc] with a spelling mistake: جيسون), WrM cabau ~ cabagu, HIM цавуун, Brt сабуу(н) sabū(n) 'glue', Ord {Ms.} č'awū 'colle forte', WrO {Krg.} сабаq, Kl {KRS} цавг саwаg 'starch', Kl Ö {Rm.} саwаg 'glue, fish-glue'; M *cabug 'sth. glued' > WrM cabug, HIM цаваг 'layers of paper\cloth glued or pasted together', WrM cabug-la-, HIM цавагла- v. 'paste layers of cloth\paper together' ¶ Pp. MA 435, MED 154-5, Ms. O 697, KW 423, Krg. 615, KRS 621, Chr. 379 ||| T {DQA} *oĉap- > OT [MhK] ĉap- v. 'plaster' (ār ävin ĉapdu 'the man plastered his house [with mud]'), Uz ĉapī-, ET {Nj.} ĉap-li-, ET Tr {Rl.} ĉap-la- vt. 'plaster (a wall\house)', Qrg ĉap-ta- 'glue up, stick up, stop up (заклеивать, закупоривать)', ? Chv {Ash.} śwр- 'заворачивать пирог' (= 'wrap the filling of the pie with dough?') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Nj. 279, Rl. III 1925, UzR 515, Jud. 847, Ash. XII 247-8 ||| Tg *oĉap > Ewk PT/Y/I ĉawija, Ewk PT ĉawida ~ ĉapida 'white clay' ¶ STM II 74 ¶¶ DQA #272 (A *ĉ'āp'a|u|i 'glue, clay' > T, M, Tg), KW 427 ||| D *ĉava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (× N ?σ *śah'i'b ▽ 'desert; saline earth', q.v. ffd. × N *śab¹ ▽ 'clay') ||| D *ĉavar- ~ *ĉamar- ({ǵGS} *s-) v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil, etc.)' (× N *śæmi 'fat') > Kn savaru v. 'smear, oil, rub in or apply to (water, oil, etc.), convey a sticky substance to a vessel', Tl camuru 'oil, any oily\unctuous substance', camuru v. 'smear, daub, run as with oil', EpTl samaru 'ghee' ¶¶ D #2389, 2674b ◇ IS SS #12.24, IS MS 344 s.v. 'клей' *ĉab. ▽.

488a. (?l) *ĉaP ▽ 'to grasp, to take' > K: GZ *ĉap- v. 'grasp, take' > Mg, Lz ĉop- v. 'take, grasp, hold', OG ĉap- ('acquire, take much' >) v. 'drink greedily', G ĉap- v. 'drink greedily, steal' (σ≡: R набрался 'took much' → 'got drunk') ¶¶ K 248, Chik. 418 ||| HS: WS *√ĉbt v. 'take' > Hrs √ĉbt (p. śáybeṭ), Mh √ĉbt (pf. śāṭ) v. 'take', Jb √ĉbt (pf.

ṣēṭ) v. 'hold', Sq žébaṭ (= ṣébaṭ) v. 'be apprehended', Ar √ ḡbt 'firmiter tenuit' ¶ Jo. M 473, Jo. H 151, Fr. III 4, BK II 6 || A *č'ap∇ (~ *č'ab∇) > Tg *çap- ~ *çab- v. 'grasp' > Ewk çawupça- v. 'grasp, squeeze so.'s hand', Neg çawa-, Ul çawaqtala- ~ çapaqtala- v. 'grasp' || pKo {S} *č'ap- v. 'catch, take hold' (× Altaic *žab∇ < N u *zap∇ 'hold, seize, catch', q.v.) > MKo č'ap-, NKo č'ap- id. ¶ S QK #512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ STM II 375, SDM97 (A*žab∇ v. 'catch, hold'; equates pKo with Tg *jawa- v. 'catch, hold' [STM I 240-1] and reconstructs pA *ž|čab∇) ◇ The word may be ideophonic (cp. R цап, an ideophone of grasping) and hence its pN origin is qu.

489. *čipâ (or *čüpâ?) 'be narrow, be compressed' > HS *√špp ~ *√šbb id. > CS *√špp v. 'be narrow, crowded' > MHb çā'pūp (pp. of √ çpp) 'crowded', Ar ḡaff- 'narrow, straitened', √ ḡff G 'se presser en foule', WS *√šbb v. 'be narrow, compressed' > Gz √ šbb G (late spelling for √ šbb?) id., Ar (derived √) √ ḡbn G 'be narrow' (of place) ¶ Ln. 1794, BK II 30, Lv. IV 212, L G 545 || C: Ag *√čbb > Bln {R} ša(b)baω- 'enge\schmal sein', Aw {Hz.} cebeb- 'be narrow' || EC: Or Wt {Sr.} ḡipō 'narrow', ḡipū 'narrowness', Or Wl {Brl.} ḡibu 'valle, depressione, strettoia' ¶ AD SF 118-9, R WB 316-7, Hz. VS 113, Sr. 298, Brl. 110 || K *č'i'p- 'thin' > Mg čipe, Lz mčipe id., ?? Sv UB/L me-čxpe, Sv Ln me-čxere 'lean' (a person) ¶¶ Chik. 231, GP 219, Ni. s.v. худой, GP 219, TK 567 || U: FU *š|supp∇ 'narrow (schmal, eng)' > F šuppa 'schmal, nach oben schmaler werdend' | ? Lp N {N} čqrppe 'bag-shaped end of a rug', Lp L {LLO} tjuhppa 'Spitze, Zipfel' | pPrm *šop- ({LG} šqp-) 'tight, narrow, compressed (zusammengedrängt)' > Z {W} šop+id id., Vt cyber 'narrow', Vt {Mnk.} šubäg 'tight' (of footwear, etc.) || Hg Δ szupojkó, szupujkó 'plötzlich schmaler werdend; dürr, eingeschrumpft; klein; schlank, dünn, mager' ¶ UEW 44 (reconstructs *čuppa, though Prm and Hg suggest *š- or *š-), LG 252-3, MF 601-2 || A: NrTg *čip- 'squeeze (with fingers)' > Ewk çipak- id., ? Ewk Ald çīwkān- v. 'choke', Neg çpɾɿɿla- 'grip in one's hand, squeeze out (liquid)' ¶ STM II 389, 398-9 || pKo {S} č'ip- 'pick up, pinch' > MKo č'ip-, NKo č'ip- ¶ S QK #1018, MLC 1554 || pJ {S} túmpám- v. 'stuff, press into' > OJ tuboma-, J: T cúbome-, K cúbómé-, Kg cubomé- ¶ S QJ #1498, Mr. 771 ¶¶ DQA #300 (A *č'íp'u 'press [with fingers], pinch': Tg *čip-, Ko, J) ◇ K, Tg and Ko suggest pN *i; U and pJ *u may be due to

assimilation (infl. of the cns. *p?) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 275 (*cupa 'narrow') (U, A, Ko + qu. OJ tipisa 'small').

490. *ĉap∇ġE 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' > **HS: WS** *✓ŝp̄f̄ 'excrement, filth' > BHb pl. cs. *k* ĉap̄ū'f̄ē, *q* ĉap̄ī'f̄ē 'animal's droppings, dung', Ar ŝaf̄f̄- 'elephant dung', ✓ŝf̄f̄ *G* v. 'fart and go to stool' || Mh ŝōf̄z̄y, Jb E ŝōf̄y, Jb C 'ŝōf̄y 'partly formed almost liquid cowdung', Hrs ŝōfa? 'cowdung', Gz ŝaf̄f̄ ~ ŝaf̄f̄ 'filth, excrement', Tgr ĉef̄z̄f̄ ~ ŝef̄z̄f̄, Tgy ŝef̄f̄ī 'cowdung' ¶ KB 981, KBR 1048, BK II 32, Jo. H 151, Jo. M 473, Jo. J 323, L G 148, LH 631, MiK I #1.273 || **C: ? Ag: Bln** {R} dīf̄f̄ā 'faeces of animals' ¶ R WB 98 || **A: T** *çöb 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (> 'sth. worthless, rubbish' > 'splinters, bits of chaff, straw', acc. to Cl.) (×N ***c'uqbE** or ***c'üqb∇** 'carry away, throw [away]'?) > OT čöb ({DTS} čöp, {Cl.} čōb) 'residues, dregs, sediment', Chg XV, OOsM XV čöp 'rubbish', MQp XIV čöb id., [CC] 'residue', OOsM, Az čöp, Tk çöp 'rubbish', Tkm čöp 'mote, small sticks', VTt çyπ čüp, Bsh süp, Qmq, Qrg čöp, Alt, QK/Tel {Rl.} čöp, Nog šöp, Xk söp 'rubbish', Qzq šöp-šalam, Qq šöp-šar id. (and Qzq, Qq šöp, Qrg, Alt čöp 'grass, hay'?); Tb {B} čöp 'rubbish', čöpte- vt. 'litter, stain (засорить, замарать)' || Chv súp, súb_ь 'rubbish, sweepings' || T → M: WrM cōb, HIM цөв 'deposit, sediment (left after melting butter); cracklings' ¶ In Az, Tk, and Tkm the meaning was influenced by NPrs چوب čüb 'wood', as well as possibly by onomatopoeia ¶ Cl. 394 (OT čōb with the long vw. based on the Arabic plene spelling of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī, which is not a sufficient proof), DTS 155, Rs. W 118, MM 404, Rl. III 2047, B DChT166, Jeg. 223, Fed. II 148, MED 200 ¶ Tkm provides ev. for a short *ö in pT; Tb ö is not a reg. reflex of T *ö, but must be explained otherwise || Tg: [1] ?σ Tg *çapa 'roe' > Ewk çapa 'soft roe', Orc, Nn Nh čapa, Nn B safa ~ cafa, Nn KU čafa 'hard roe', Neg čapa 'roe-bladder (of fish)' ¶ STM II 384] [2] ??φ,σ Ewk çupa 'flour porridge', Ewk Brg çupa 'sediment (left after distillation of araq)' (← M?) ¶ STM II 415 ¶¶ DQA #2724 (A *č'op'ijē 'dregs, dirt') || **D** (in SD) *č'kavar̄- ({ŝGS} *č'čav̄var̄-) 'rubbish' > Tm cavar̄u 'rubbish, sweepings', Ml cavar̄u, cavar̄ 'green leaves and rubbish used as manure, sweepings', Td tof̄+r 'afterbirth' ¶ D #2395 ◇ The labialized T *ö (in *çöb) may belong to the heritage of N ***c'uqbE** or ***c'üqb∇** 'carry away, throw (away)'; it may also be ascribed to the ass. infl. of *p.

491. $\text{₂}^* \hat{\text{C}}\nabla\text{P}_R\nabla$ 'to twist, to plait' > **HS:** S $\text{°}\check{\text{V}}\hat{\text{s}}\text{pr}$ v. 'braid, plait, weave' > Ar $\check{\text{V}}\hat{\text{C}}\text{fr}$ G 'braid', $\hat{\text{C}}\text{af}\bar{\text{r}}\text{-at-}$ 'crown, diadem', BHb הַרְבֵּי צַפְרֵי $\text{çap}\bar{\text{i}}\text{'r}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'wreath, garland', ¿ Ug {KB} spr 'winden (Ranken)' (not mentioned in Aistleitner and OLS), Gz $\check{\text{V}}\hat{\text{C}}\text{fr}$ G 'braid, plait, weave, interwine', Ak $\check{\text{V}}\text{spr}$ G (inf. $\text{s}\bar{\text{e}}\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{u}$) v. 'strand (hair\linen), dress (hair)', $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\text{t}\text{u}$ '€ a sash woven or treated in a special technique' ¶ KB 981, 983, LG 148, CAD XVI 132-3, 201 || **IE:** NaIE *sper- 'turn, twist', {EI} 'wrap around' (× N $\text{*P}\hat{\text{O}}\text{R}\omega\nabla$ 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Gk $\sigma\text{πε}\bar{\text{r}}\alpha$ f. 'anything wound\coiled', pl. $\sigma\text{πε}\bar{\text{r}}\alpha\text{u}$ 'coils\spires of a serpent', $\sigma\text{v-}\sigma\text{πε}\bar{\text{r}}\alpha\text{o}\mu\alpha\text{i}$ 'be coiled up', 'be formed in close order', Gk HI $\sigma\text{πε}\bar{\text{r}}\alpha\text{o}\mu\alpha\text{i}$ 'be coiled \ folded round'; Gk $\sigma\text{πε}\bar{\text{r}}\alpha$ \rightarrow L $\text{s}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\alpha$ 'anything coiled\wreathed\twisted', 'a coil of a snake' ||| OIt $\text{s}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{t}\alpha\text{s}$ 'Band' ¶ P 991-2, EI 644, F II 761, Frn. 861.

492. $\text{*}\hat{\text{C}}\text{E}\text{P}\text{t}\nabla$ 'to close, to shut, to hide' > **HS:** S $\text{*}\text{°}\check{\text{V}}\hat{\text{s}}\text{pt}$ > Ar ضبط $\check{\text{V}}\hat{\text{C}}\text{ft}$ 'serrer avec des cordes, ficeler', 'constringere' ¶ Fr. III 23, BK II 32 || **U** $\text{*}\hat{\text{S}}\text{E}\text{p}\text{t}\nabla$ - v. 'close, cover' > Prm $\text{*}\acute{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{p}\text{t-}$ > Z $\acute{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{p}\text{t+}$ -, Yz $\acute{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i-}$ v. 'close (a door, a window, a stove)' ||| pVg $\text{*}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{p}\text{t-}$ > Vg : T {Kn.} $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{t-}$ -, ML {MK} $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i} \sim \text{s}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}$ -, LL {MK} $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}$ -, P {Kn.} $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{t-}$ -, {MK} $\acute{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}$ -, MK {Kn.} $\acute{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t-}$ -, K {MK} $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i} \sim \acute{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}$ -, N {MK} $\text{s}\text{a}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i} \sim \text{s}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}$ v. 'bury, hide' || Sm: Kms $\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{'b}\text{d}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$ v. 'hide, conceal' ¶¶ Coll. 57, Coll. CG 408, LG 256, Wc. SW 250, WVD VII 327, MK 529, KD 61 || **A:** Tg: Ewk PT $\text{çip}\check{\text{ç}}\text{a-}$ v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Vas. 522 || ?σ **D** $\text{*}\check{\text{C}}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{t}\text{t-}$ v. 'wear (clothes)' > Tm $\text{c}\check{\text{ä}}\text{t}\text{t}\text{u}$ v. 'put on', Tl $\text{c}\check{\text{ä}}\text{t}\text{u}$ v. 'wear' ¶¶ D #2449, Km. 352-3 [#416] || **IE** (mt.): Ht $\text{i}\text{s}\text{t}\text{a}\text{p}(\text{p})\text{-}$ v. 'shut, close' ¶ Pv. I-II 471-5 (proposes a connection with OI $\text{s}\text{t}\text{a}\text{b}\text{h-}$ v. 'make firm', etc.) ◇ Cf. AD SShS 309.

492a. $\text{*}\hat{\text{C}}\text{ehr}\nabla$ 'back' > **HS:** S $\text{*}\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}_L\nabla_r$ - 'back (dorsum)' > Mh $\hat{\text{s}}\text{ā}\text{h}\text{z}\text{r}$ 'back (of a camel)', Hrs $\hat{\text{s}}\text{ahr}$, Jb E/C $\hat{\text{s}}\text{e}\text{h}\text{z}\text{r}$ 'back', Ak fOB/OA $\text{s}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r-}\text{u}$ 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of', Ebl $\text{z}\text{a-}\text{l}\text{u}\text{m}$ ($\text{*}\check{\text{s}}\text{ahr-}\text{u}\text{m}$) 'back'; it influenced S $\text{*}\hat{\text{U}}\text{h}_L\nabla_r$ - ~ $\text{*}\hat{\text{U}}\text{ah}_L\nabla_r$ - 'top' (< N $\text{*}\check{\text{C}}\hat{\text{U}}\text{h}_L\nabla_r\nabla$ 'top, edge, highest point', q.v. ffd.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem $\text{*}\hat{\text{U}}\text{ah}_L\nabla_r$ - 'back, noon' > Ar ظهر $\hat{\text{C}}\text{ahr-}$ 'back (dorsum), noon' (\rightarrow Mh $\hat{\text{U}}\text{ahr}$, Jb C $\hat{\text{U}}\text{oh}\text{ur}$ 'noon, midday') ¶ \approx MiK I #1.284 (S $\text{*}\hat{\text{U}}\text{hr-}$ 'back'), BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, Jo. M 83, 475, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. H 151, Sd. 1093, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47 || B $\text{*}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r-}$ 'shoulder' > Ah $\text{a-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$, Gh $\text{a-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$, ETwl $\text{b-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$, Ty $\text{a-}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}$ id. ¶ Fc. 1288, PGG 390 || **U:** FU $\text{*}\text{°}\hat{\text{s}}\check{\text{s}}\text{E}\text{r}\nabla$ (× N $\text{*}\text{'}\acute{\text{s}}\text{'E}\text{'r}\nabla$ 'back (dos), nape of neck', q.v.) > Prm $\text{*}\acute{\text{s}}\check{\text{o}}\text{'r}\nabla$ - > Z Ud $\acute{\text{s}}\text{z}\text{r}$ 'space behind sth.' (karta $\acute{\text{s}}\text{z}\text{r}$ 'behind the cattle-shed'), Vt

śzr- in силъсьөр śií-śzr 'occiput' (sií 'neck'), съөр śzr 'behind, over' (bakča śzrti 'behind the kitchen-garden', šur śzr+n 'over the river'), съөрланъ śzr-lań 'in the opposite direction, back (direction)', съөрласянь śzr-laśań 'from the back side' ¶ U3S 403, LG 270 || D *ĉer- 'back of the neck, shoulder' > Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui sērki 'the back of the neck', Ku hērki ≍ herki 'shoulder, neck' ¶¶ D ##2817, 2419.

493. *ĉārʕ∇ (or *ĉārUʕ∇?) 'female breast, udder' > HS: S *šarʕ- 'female breast, nipple, teat, udder' > Ar ضَرْعُ ṣarʕ- 'mammelle', Sr ʕerʕ-ā 'mamma lactis plena' (dis. ruling out the expected sequence *ʕ...ʕ, / Br. G I 237 [§ 85.dβ]; or a Canaanism?), Tgr ʕerʕʕ 'udder', Ak ʕer(re)tu 'female breast, udder' ¶ Br. 638, Sd. 1093-4, BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, ≈ LG 637 (unc.: Tg <- Ar), MiK I #1.274 || Eg ʕp ʕšr (EG} ʕšr) v. 'milk, suck (a cow's udder)' (ʕ- is a verbal px.) ¶ EG IV 295 || U: FU *šš'ā'ʕ∇ > pObU *ššār- ~ *ššīr- > pOs *sār- / *sir- 'front, front part' > 1) Os: V/Vy sār, Ty/Y sār ~ sir- 'front' (adj.), 2) Os: V/Vy siri-, D/K sirā-, Nz šīrā, Kz šīri 'earlier' ¶ Stn. D 160-1 || D (in Gnd) *ĉ|kar|ʕ- 'udder, breast' > Gnd harva ≍ rawa 'udder', Kui ʕrāmbu id., sṛāngu ≍ srāngu 'breast', Kui rāngu id. ¶ D #2364 || K *oĉ|cur- 'udder, female breast' > G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (tavi 'head') ¶ FS K 415, Chx. 2032 ◇ Alternative solutions of the irreg. corr. of K *ĉ|c- and S *š- are possible. One may envisage two solutions: [1] to assume secondary de-emphatization of N *ĉ- in K (infl. of *ʕ, namely N *ĉārʕ∇ > **ĉʕ∇ʕ∇ > K *ĉur-???) or contamination with N *ĉuʕr∇ 'vulva, vagina'), [2] a less probable solution: to assume secondary glottalization in S (caused by some unknown factor, e.g. lexical attraction of some semantically related word). The latter solution is seemingly supported by the Eg cognate (though a possible contamination with N *ĉuʕr∇ invalidates this argument). In order to explain the K vw., one may suppose a N etymon with an Inlaut *U: N *ĉārUʕ∇ > **ĉʕUʕ∇ > K *ĉur-.

494. *ĉer₁∇₁X∇ 'wing, feather' > HS: S *o✓šrḥ 'wing' > Ar d. مَضْرَحٌ maṣraḥ- adj. 'having large wings' (of a bird) ¶ BK I 21 || D *ker|ʕr- (~ *ĉer|ʕ-?) (also + sxs. *-∇kk-, *-∇k-) 'wing, feather' > Tm cīraĭ, cīraku 'wing', Ml iraku, cīraku, Kt kernġl ~ kernġl 'feather, wing', Kn erake, rakke, rekke, Kdg rekke, Tu kedi 'feather', ediñke, reñkæ, Tl eraka, rekka, Ku rekka 'wing', Tm irai,

i raku, Kt rek 'wing, feather', Gnd RSr {Bh.} rekka 'wing-feather', Gnd DM {Mitch.} reka 'feather', Gnd KM {Pat.} reka 'wing', {BB} gerη(g) 'feather', Knd rēka 'wing, upper arm' ¶¶ D ##1983, 2591, Em. DS 366.

495. ₂ *ĉot̥∇ 'mud' > HS: WS *✓šwt ~ *✓šwt̥ > Ar ʕawīṭ-at-slime' ('limon au fond d'un réservoir d'eau'), Gz ʕōt̥ 'mud, mire' ¶ LG 565, Di. 1302, BK II 45 || D *ĉott- 'mud, mire' (× N *s̥URt̥∇ 'dirt[y]'??) > MI cotta, Krx ʕot̥r 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D #2843.

496. $_2$ *d^ri¹, a marker of imperfective (← an aux. verb?) > K *-d-, sx. of the ip. aspect > OG, G, Mg, Sv -d-, Lz -ṭ- ~ -d- ~ -t- ¶¶ Dt. 133-42, Shan. G 77-9, K 67 || A *-d^ri¹ > T *-ḍi/*-ḍi, (after cnss.) *-ti/*-ti (postcons. neutralization of the opposition *ḍ ↔ *t), marker of the Past Categorical (Past Obvious) tense > Chv -rḅ/-rḅ id., (after cnss.) -tḅ/-tḅ id. (1s muxta-rḅ-m 'I praised', 2s muxta-rḅ-n, 3s muxta-r-ḅ, 1p muxta-rḅ-mḅr, 2p muxta-rḅ-r, 3p muxta-r-ḅś; pḅl-tḅ-m 'I knew', 2s pḅl-tḅ-n, etc.) || NaT *-ti/*-ti, marker of the Past Categorical tense (generalization of the postcons. allomorphs) > OT O -dī/-dī, after voiceless cnss. -ti/-ti (1s bar-dī-m 'I went', 2s bar-dī-ḡ ~ bar-dī-n, 3s, 3p bar-dī, 1p bar-dī-miz, 2p bar-dī-ḡiz ~ bar-dī-ḡiz), Tk -dī/-dī/-dū/-dū, after voiceless cnss. -ti/-ti/-tu/-tū (1s al-dīm 'I took', 2s al-dī-n, 3s al-dī, etc.), VTt -dḅ/-dḅ/-tḅ/-tḅ, Qq, StAlt -dī/-dī/-tī/-tī, ET -dī/-dū/-tī/-tu, Uz -dī, Xk -dḅ -dī / -dī -dḅ / -tḅ -tī / -tī -tḅ, Tv -dī/-dī/-dū/-dū/-tī/-tī/-tu/-tū, marker of the Past Categorical tense, Yk -ti/-ti, marker of the Past Immediate tense. There is an alt. hyp. drawing back this tense to a -dī/-dī-prtc. (B PdTJ, Bii. PFPV). On other hypotheses of the origin of this T tense form see Rs. MTS 229-30 and Shch. OSMG 78-81 ¶ SIGTJM 373-88, Shch. OSMG 78-82, DmG GChJ 885, Rm. EAS II 125-6 || M *-ḏi/*-ḏu / (after certain cnss.) *-ḏi, converbium imperfecti > MM -ḏi/-ḏi ~ -ḏu/-ḏu, WrM -ḏu / (after b, s, ḡ, r, d) -cu, HIM -ḏī/-ḏī, Ord, Mgl -ḏi/-ḏi, Mnr H -ḏi, Dg -ḏi/-ḏi, Kl -ḏb/-ḏb. In some modern M lgs. this form or more probably a compound form *-ḏiḡaḡ has got the meaning of Past Imperfect: HIM -ḏā/-ḏā, Brt -ḏa/-ḏa ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, 276-7 || ? Ko: MKo -it- [-id-] > NKo -at-/-aḡt-, marker of the past ¶ Book 94 ¶¶ Pp. IM 266 (T, M), Rm. EAS II 23-6, IS I 218 (T, M, ?Ko; *÷ Tg *-da/*-de, marker of "aorist", while in fact *-d- [and -d- < *-r- in some cns. clusters] is a derivational sx. of certain verbal stems rather than a tense marker, F Sun. G 44-9, 53-4, 69-73, 106, 313-6) ◇ ≈ IS I 218-9 (N *-dī, sx. of p. > D *-t(t)- of p., A [T *-ti/-ti ~ -ḍi/-ḍi of the definite past, M *-ḏi/*-ḏi of the converbium imperfecti + *÷ Tg *-da/*-dä of the "aorist"], with a query: IE: Gmc *-ḍa, marker of the past [but an alt. etymology drawing back *-ḍa to the IE pp. sx. *-tō- is based on good arguments and is preferable, F Me. OG 107-10], K *-dī, misinterpreted as marker of the past, while in fact this sx. *-d- is a marker of the ip. aspect, which is not connected necessarily with the past tense [it is used for both past and future, as well as inv., etc.]; IS

did not distinguish between N *d^ri¹ of imperfectiveness and N *t¹∇ [marker of passive participial constructions]).

497. *diŕê (~ *d^r∇HU) 'to put, to place' > HS: WS *√(w)dŕ > Ar √wdŕ G (ip. -daŕ-) 'poser, placer, mettre', Sq {L} √dh, ps. dyaĥ 'être posé, être couché', caus.-rf. 'š edaĥ 's'appuyer, se coucher', Mh √wdŕ Sh (pf. {Jo.} ššwdē, {DRS} ššwdā) {Jo.} 'keep safe, keep sth. safe for so.', {DRS} 'conserver un dépôt', ?? Mh √dhw (pf. dzhō) v. 'pull oneself along by oneself's arms' ¶ BK II 1508-9, LLS 125, Jo. M 68, 421, ≈ DRS 503 || ? Eg fOK d(w) inf. 'place, put', {EG} wd, {Fk.} wd¹ v. 'place, put' (< **√(w)dŕ due to metanalysis of *√wdŕ as w-d 'extend the hand'?) ¶ EG I 384-7 and V 421, Fk. 72, 308-9 || C: Bj {R} ? dā-s-, dadā-s- 'legen', √wd¹ pcv. (1s: p. 'auda¹, pppf. 'īwda¹, prs. awan'dī¹) 'setzen, stellen' ¶ R WBd 56, 236 || Ch *d^r∇ v. 'put' > WCh: Gmy {ChL} (ni)dū 'put down' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} dš 'legen, stellen' || Ech: Mu {J} dír / dês / dêr / dírà 'mettre, poser' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk.L 88 || K *dew-/*d(w)- v. 'lay, put' > G d- / deV- / dV- (vt., neutral version) 'lay, legen' (1s prs. V-deb, 3s aor. -V-do- ~ -V-dw-a, 1s aor. -V-deV-i), (ps. of state) v. 'lie' (s-deV-s, u-deV-s 'liegt bei'), Mg dV-~žV- v. 'put' (b-dVank 'I put', aor. kado-b-dVi 'posui'), Lz dV- v. 'put, lay', Sv {FS ← Det.} d- v. 'put', 'hinlegen', Sv L {Dn.} d- 'put, put on (clothes)', msd. L li-d-i ¶¶ FS K 100-1, FS E 106-7 (*dew-/*dw-), Chik. 269-270, Q 224-5, Chx. 220-3, Marr 138-9, GP 150, Dn. s.v. d-, ≠ K 72-3 (*d(w)- v. 'lie, put'); in fact, the meaning 'lie' is secondary and is conditioned by grammatical forms (G passive of state) ¶ The element *-w- is likely to go back to a sx. || IE *d^heh¹- / *d^hej¹- v. 'put, lay', {EI} *d^heh₁- 'put, place' > Ht {Ts.} te- / dai- (~ tai-) 'setzen, legen, stellen', {EI} dāi 'puts, lays' (< *d^heh₁-i-ej); Lc ta- ~ tā, Lw duwa- 'placer', HrLw tu(wa)- 'mettre', 'aufstellen, setzen, legen', Lc tuwe- id. ({Ts.} 'errichten'), Ld cu(ve)- 'errichten, erbauen' are more likely to go back to the N variant etymon *d^r∇HU; but Ht da- v. 'take' and HrLw ta- id. belong to N *t¹EŕU 'take' (q.v.), while Lc M {ABIV.} da-/du- v. 'give (?)' and Ld dāv 'I give (?)' belong rather to IE *deH^w- v. 'give' < N *toH^rü¹ ~ *ta|æH^rü¹ 'bring, fetch, give' (q.v.) || NaIE *d^hē- / *d^hə- v. 'put, place' > OI 'a-dhā-t 'he put, placed', 'dadhā-ti 'he puts, places', Av daδā¹ti 'setzt hin, bringt' || Arm Էդ aor. 'posuit' (1s prs. դնեմ dnem 'I put') || Phr εδαεε 'er hat gesetzt' || Gk ἔ-θη-κα 'I put, placed', τίθη-μι 'I put (now), I place' || L ab-dō / inf. ab-de-re / pfc. ab-didī / sup. ab-ditum 'put away',

ad-dō / ad-de-re 'add', con-dō / con-de-re 'put together, put, place', per-dō / per-de-re 'lose', sub-dō / sub-de-re 'put\place\set under, substitute', crēdō / crēde-re 'trust, believe' (< *k̑red d^hē- lit. 'put the heart', cp. OI 'śrad asmaḥ dhatta 'trust him') || Gl δεδε {P} 'he put' (p.), {Billy} 'he gave' || Lt dě-ti 'to put, to lay', Ltv dėt 'to lay (eggs)' | Sl *děti 'to put, to place' > OCS ДѢТИ děti id., rf. ДѢТИСА děti se, OP, P Δ dziać się 'wohin geraten', Cz díti se, Slk diet' sa id., 'to get lost', SCr дѣти ≈ djèti, R деть, Uk діти 'to place (somewhere)', Slk diet' 'to put, to hide', Blg дяна 'I put' || Tc A tā-, tās-, tas- 'ponere', p. prtc. то, B tā- v. 'place, set', tes-, tās- 'lay, set'; tāttā- sbjn. 'lay, set' < rdp. *d^hid^he-) ¶ P 235-9, EI 472, 506, Ts. W 80-1, 89, Ts. E III 5-11, 19-23, 291, Frd. HW 201-3, 220, Mer. SGA 261, 404, Mer. HHG 114-5, 119, 134-5, Lar. 100, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, Shv. SHS 265, ABIV I 85 and II 110, M K II 15, F II 897-8, WH I 3, 286-7, 362-3, Billy 62, Tum. 359, Sl. 86-7, Wn. 464-5, Ad. 283-6, Ad. H 65, Frn. 90-2, SJSS X 552, ≈ Glh. 199-200, ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (does not distinguish Sl *děti from *dějati 'to act') || A: NrTg *dī- v. 'put in' > Ewk [^]dī-, Lm Ol [^]dī- v. 'put in, insert'; ?? Tg {DQA} *dē- 'to lie' > WrMc dedu- v. 'lie down, lie' (of person or animal), Mc Sb dɔdu- id., Orc dē- 'bed, sleeping place' ¶ STM I 202, 227 ¶ ≈ DQA #377 (A *dē 'lie [liegen]' > Tg *dē-) ◇ The variant *d∇HU is suggested by K *deω-/*d(ω)-, Mh ✓ d^hω, Eg d(ω), Lw duwa-, HrLw tu(ωa)-, and Lc tuwe- ◇ IS I 224 (*d^hα^hα: IE, S, C, Ch, Eg ωd^y 'stellen', K, U *teke- v. 'do', D: Brh tix- 'put') → BmK 261-2 (*diy-/dey- 'throw, cast, put, place': IE, S _i *wa-day-, *na-day id. [reconstructed from some WS New Perfect forms like BHb yādā and from the Ak inf. nadū, both misinterpreted as the basic forms of the verb], Eg).

498. *dūb∇ 'edge, end' > HS: Eg N db.ω 'riverbank', Eg ∇ idb id., 'riparian land, shore of flood' > Cpt TOP top 'edge' ¶ EGI 153, 409, V 434, Fk. 35, Vc. 218 || C: Bj {Rop.} dibba 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill' || Ag: Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. 'dīfef, 'dīfūf) 'das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village') || EC: Af {R} 'dubū 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald', Sa {R} 'dibō 'Steppe, Wüste; gathering place of men in front of the village' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R A II 43, R S II 98 || ECh: ?φ Ke {Eb.} téwé 'beenden' ¶ Eb. 96 ¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, C) || A: Tg *dubē 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk duwē ~ duɣē, Neg duwɜ, WrMc dube, duben id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} dube 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duwɜt 'top (of tree), point',

Orc, Ul du(ω)з, Ud, Nn duз 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || pJ {S} *túpí 'finish' (*t- is due to the contamination with N *tupɤ ▽ 'tail, back', q.v. ffd.) > OJ túpí 'finish', J: T/K cúi-ni, Kg cuí-ni 'atlast, finally' ¶ S QJ #37, Kenk. 2048 || pKo {S} *tūjh 'behind, back, North' (× N *tupɤ ▽ 'tail, back'??) > MKo tūj / tūjh-, NKo tūī ¶ S QK #367, Nam 168, MLC 517 ¶¶ S AJ 71, ≈ DQA ##2264 (*tú|ób ▽ 'end, edge' > Tg, Ko, J) || D (in SD) *tuvakk-/ηk- ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'begin' > Tm tuvakku, tuvanku, Kt tovk-, ? Td tw+θk- v. 'start, begin' ¶ D #3350 ◇ This N word may be identical with N *dub₁ɤ ▽ 'back, honder part, tail' (q.v.).

498a. *d ▽ b ▽ 'hill' > HS: C: Bj {Rop.} dibba 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill', {R} 'dibba, 'dubba 'hill' || Ag: Bln {R} 'dibba (pl. 'dīfef, 'dīfǔf) 'hill near a village (used as the gathering place for the popular assembly of the village); das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village'), Q {R} debā 'mountain' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R WB 95 || U: FP *täwe 'hill, island' (× N *tähipê 'high place, top, hill') > Lp N {N} dievva / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} tievva-, tjevva-, {LLO} tievva 'hill' || Z di di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144, LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || A: M *dobun 'hill' (× N *tô'p'æ 'head, top') > WrM dobu, -n, HIM дов 'hill, mound, knoll', Ord {Ms.} d_owon 'monticule, colline', Kl {Rm.} downo 'hill' ⇨ WrM {Gl.} dobogun 'summit of a mountain, peak'; M ⇨ Yk dobu 'Erhöhung'; the variant with t- (in Kl towxno < {Rm.} *tobu-qan) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, Gl. III 177-8, SM 64, Ms. O 155, KW 97, 404 || ?φ Tg {DQA} *dū- ~ *düb- 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (× N *d₁oy₁a 'place (within, below), inside'?) > Ewk dīw ~ dīvū 'upper (on the slope), dī-13 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', dīn 'upper part of the mountain', Lm dā 'mountain peak', d3yi ɔ d3w ɔ d3x 'upper, found at the top', Neg dī- (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Orc dī-13, Ud dīxi 'farther from the river bank', Ork dī-si 'up from the bank', dipti 'upper part of the tent', Ork duww3, Nn duy3 'the side from the river bank to the woods', Nn Nh duwuy 'farther', WrMc dele 'top' ¶ STM I 202-3 || ?φ pJ {S} *₁d₁ípà 'rock, cliff' > OJ ípà, J: T iwá, K íwà, Kg íwa ¶ S QJ #1242, Mr. 429 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top' > T, M), DQA #400 (A *t|dúypè 'hill, top' > M, Tg, J) || D *tipp-/tiv- ({ǵGS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *tähipê '↑') > Tm tippai 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe

'heap, hillock, dunghill', *dibba*, *dibbu*, *tevar(α)* 'hillock', Tu *hippæ* 'heap, hill', Tl *tippa* id., 'mountain', *dibba* 'hillock, heap', Prj *ḏippa* 'heap', *ḏibba* 'mound', Gdb *dibbe* id., 'hillock', Gnd *dībe* 'heap', *dippa* 'highland for cultivation', Kui *ḏepa* 'rising ground, high land', Ku *debbe*, *dibba* 'hill', Krx *ḏippā* 'mound, hillock', Mlt *tube* 'rubbish heap' ¶¶ D #3229.

499. *dub₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail' > HS: S **dubur-* 'back, rear part', **√dbr D* v. 'turn the back' (× N **dagor∇* 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back?') > Ar *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos, derrière', *dubur-* id., 'cul', *dabr-* (pl. *dubūr-*) 'derrière, partie postérieure', Md *dibrā* 'back, tail', BHb *√dbr D* (pf. *דִּבְּרָה* *ḏib'ber*) {Eit.} 'turn the back', {KB} 'den Rücken kehren, sich abwenden', {KBR} 'turn aside, drive away, pursue', Mh *√dbr* (pf. *adōbər*, sbjn. *yadōbər*) v. 'turn the back', Hrs *√dbr* (pf. *adēbər*, sbjn. *yadēbər*) v. 'turn away (from)', with mt.: Mh {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque et haut des épaules', Hrs {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque'; Gz {L} *√dbr TD* (*tadabbara*) 'lie on one's back', ? Ak *√dpr D* (inf. *ḏuppuru*) 'go away, sich entfernen' ¶ BK I 665, KB 201, KBR 209-10, Eitan 33-4, DM 102, LG 121, Jo. M 63, Jo. H 22, CAD III 186, Sd. 177, DRS 212-4, MiK I #1.46 || EC: LEC {Bl.} **dub-* (-*ḏ* → **dab-*) 'tail, hinder part' > Bn *tib* 'tail', Sml *dab-o* id., *dib* (< **dub-*) 'short tail (of goat, etc.)', Rn {PG} *dúb* 'tail; buttocks, backside', Bs *deb-e*, Elm *dup ~ tup* 'tail', Arr {Hw.} *dùb* 'buttocks, anus', Or {Grg.} *dūbā*, {Th.} *dūba* 'after, behind', Or B/O {Sr.} *dūba* id., *duba* 'a sheep's fat tail', Or H {Ow.} *dūbá* 'behind, in back', Kns *tup-a* 'behind', *tupp-ā* 'upper back', Gln {AMS} *tup-ē-nu* 'hinter; später', *tup-ē* 'später', Gwd {Bl.} 'tup-en, tu'p-ēte 'behind' || HEC {Ss.} **dubb-* 'tail, after, behind' > Ged *duba* 'tail of sheep', Brj *dob'ba-ka* 'younger brother' (lit. 'he who is behind') ¶ Bl. 177, Ss. B 57, Ss. PEC 15-6, PG 103-4, Oo. 72, HL 88, Hw. A 353, Grg. 113, Th. 111, Sr. 289, 291, Ow. 258, AMS 226, Hd. 237 ¶ The EC variant **dab-* may go back to (or be influenced by) N **zeybA* 'tail' (q.v.) || B **√dfr ~ *√ḏfr* > Ah *ḏaffər* 'derrière', CM *dəffir* *ḏ* *təffir*, Izn *dəffər*, Rf *dəffar*, Awj *dəffər* 'behind, after', Gh *√ḏfr* v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf *√dfr* id., Shl {NZ} *dfur*, CM *dfur* *ḏ* *tfaḏ* 'follow' ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 296-7 ¶ The variant **√ḏfr* may be connected with N **tupḏ∇* 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Om {Blz.} **dub-* 'tail' > NrOm: Dwr {AlA} *dup-iya*, {Bnd.} *dūwiya* id. ||| SOM: (× mt. N **ḏaḏ₁∇b₁∇* 'tail, back?') Hm B {Bnd.} *dōbana*, Hm K {Bnd., Fl.} *dibini* 'tail' ¶ Blz. OLBP #95, Bnd. AL 159, Fl. OWL s.v. 'tail',

AIA ODS #134 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dub∇ {AD} 'anus', (→ ?) 'penis' > Su {J} dúp, ? Ang {ChL}, Cp d+p, ? Gmy dèp 'penis' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *dɔ̀ba 'back' > Hrz, Vm, Zlg dɔ̀bá id., MfG {Brr.} dɔ̀bá, MfG M {Brr.} dɔ̀bá 'dos, derrière', Mf {BLB} dɔ̀ba 'dos', Gzg {Lk.} duba ~ dɔ̀ba 'Rücken', dɔ̀baŋ 'hinten' | Glf {Lk.} dagbe 'Hinterer', {Röd.} dabé 'Arsch' | Msy {Mch.} dúwōŋ, Db {Lnh.} dāwīn, Kola {Sb.} dūwōŋ 'Hinterer, buttocks' | Gdr {Srp.} debokó, {Mch.} dúbō id. | Msg P {Mch.} dābā id. | Zm {Sa.} dūbū id., ZmD {KNC} dūb 'back (dos)', ?? Azm {Pc.} dāpà v. 'finish', dabiða 'end, last' | FJ {ChL} dúbàkú 'buttocks' || Kwn {J} tàwá 'back' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#221], ChC, J S 63, ChL, Abr. H 227, Brr. MG II 99, BLB 107-8, Ro. 205 [#37], Lk. G 120, Lk. ZSS 148, 150, Sk. HCD 50, KNC 5, Pc. 110, 113 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #95 (HS *duby-: S, Om, C, Ch + *÷ B [in fact an Arabism]), OS #731 (*dub- 'back, tail') and #691 (*di(m)bur- 'back': S, CCh: WMrg dimbur 'buttocks') || U: FU *tupp∇ 'back, backbone' > Chr H/L tup 'back (dorsum)' | Vt тѳѳыр, Vt Kz тѳѳыр 'back (dorsum), backbone' || Hg Δ топ 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens' ¶ UEW 537-8 || A: Tg *dube(kī) ~ *debe(kī-) 'lower part of the back, pelvis, croup' > Ewk duwukī ɘ duɣukī ɘ dɔ̀wɔ̀kī, Lm dɔ̀wki ɘ dōwki, Neg dōxi ~ dɔ̀wɔ̀xi 'pelvis, pelvic bones, lower back, croup (of a horse\reindeer)', Sln dɔ̀bɔ̀xi ~ dɔ̀wɔ̀xi 'side of the body', Ud dɔ̀uxi, Ul, Nn Nh dɔ̀wɔ̀, Nn KU dɔ̀uki 'pelvis, pelvic bones', Ork dɔ̀wɔ̀ id., 'croup of reindeer', WrMc {Z} dū 'pelvic bone', 'croup, lower back' ¶ STM I 218, Z 828 ◇ This etymon may be identical with N *dūb∇ 'edge, end' (q.v.) ◇ FU *-pp- is a regular reflex of N *-bʔ- ◇ D {ḡGS} *tūv-/*tupp- 'feather' (not 'bird's tail', as interpreted by Blz.!) [D #3393] is hardly to be adduced here (≠σ). We may suppose genetic ties between this D word and Gil [d_ub_r] (= [tup_r]) 'feather' ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 155 [#30] (HS, D).

500. ₂ *dAd∇ 'thick, fat, large' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} dadd- v. 'be fat', daddo adj. 'fat', Shn {R} dōddo id. ¶ C SE IV 426, R K 277 || ECh: Mkl {J} dóddíre 'long, big' ¶ J LM 83 || SC: Alg {Wh.} dādir 'large' (or to N *did∇ 'large, big'?) ¶ Wh. IC 27 || D *taṭ-, {GS} *daṭ- 'large, thick, stout' > Tm taṭa 'large, broad, full', Ml taṭa 'large, great', taṭi 'stout, robust', Kt daṭ 'ε thick thread', Kn daṭṭa 'state of being thick\stout\robust', Tu daṭa 'thickness; thick', Krg daḍḍa 'big', Tl daṭṭamu 'thick, dense', Klm daḍpā, Nkr dʰaṛapā 'good', Gnd ḍargāl 'pot-bellied man', KLnd ḍaṭam 'too much\many; thickly', Kui ḍāṭā

'strength; strong', $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'increase in number', Krx $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'stout. thick', Mlt $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'difficult' ¶¶ D #3020, GS 176-7 [#445] ◇ Connected with N ***did** 'large'? May ***dAd** and ***did** be two contractions of N ***dA'y'id**?

501. *did 'large, big' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{n}}$ v. 'be thick, be voluminous (umfangreich), be fat', rel. adj. sg. m. $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-a}\bar{\text{w}}$ 'thick \ voluminous \ fat', f. $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{y}}$, pl. $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{-a}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{k}}$ id., {BSW} $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{w}}$ 'thick', Xm T {CR} $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}$ adj. 'fat' || SC: Brn {Wh.} $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}$ 'large' || Ch: z Gdr {IS ← ?} $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'big' ¶ AD GDS 72, R Ch II 352, BSW KhWL 7, Wh. IC 27, IS I 219 ¶¶ AD GDS 72 || K: pGZ ***did-** 'big' > OG $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-i}$ 'great', G $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-}$ 'big, elder', Mg, Lz $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-}$ 'big' ¶¶ K 73, Chik. 234, FS K 103 || IE: NaIE ***d_lh₁id_lh₁-(i-)** 'big' > Lt $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{s}}$, Ltv $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'big, large, great', Lt $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-}$ (prs. $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-a}\bar{\text{u}}$, inf. $\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$) v. 'become big\large' ¶ ≠ Frn. 93, Kar. I 222 ◇ IS I 219, AD GDS 72 ◇ Connected with N ***dAd** 'thick, fat, large'?

502. *dod_lh₂ '≈ tip, nipple; to suck (mother's breast)' > HS: B ***d_lw₁gd** v. 'suck (the breast)' > BSn $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$, BMn $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Izn $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Rf, SrSn $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Izd $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Ty $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Kb $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'téter, être tété', Izn, Rf, SrSn $\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'allaitement, action de tété', Shl/CM {NZ} $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'téter', Zng {TC} $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'allaiter' ¶ Rn. 311, Mrc. 249, GhA 30, Dl. 835, La. S 302, DCTC 289, NZ 433-5 || EC: Or $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'suck (e.g. with a straw)', Arr {Hw.} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-}$ 'suck marrow out of a bone', HEC {Hd.} ***tūt-** v. 'suck' > Ged $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\text{-}$ v. 'suck (e.g. a lemon)', Hd $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\text{-}$ v. 'gulp', Sd $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\text{-}$ v. 'suck, drink by sucking (e.g. with a straw)'; ? C $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'nipple' (unless a Ll.) ¶ Hd. 146, Gs. 331, Grg. 384, Hw. A 355 || ?σ S: Ak $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{â}}$ 'ε a thorny plant' ¶ Sd. 148 ('eine Dornpflanze'), CAD III 17 ($\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{â}}$ [plant]) || D (in SD) ***toṭṭo** ({ḡGS} ***t-**) 'point, nipple' > Ml toṭṭu , Tu toṭṭu 'nipple of the breast', Kn toṭṭu id., 'point' ¶ D #3488 || K ***dud-** 'point, tip, upper end, nipple' > G Gr/UA/F dud-i 'sinciput, crown\top of the head, cock's comb', Mg dud- 'head', Lz dud- 'crown of the head, top, tip', Sv {K} dudūl- 'nipple (of breast)', Sv UB {GP} dudūl 'breast, nipple' ¶¶ K 75, K² 42-3, Ghl. 213, Chik. 44, Zhgh. ChT 8, GP 97 || IE: NaIE ***d_lh₁ed^h-** ({P} ***d^hed^hn-**, {Dv.} ***dad^h-**) 'milk' (× N ***čay_ld_ly_l** 'female breast', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 222 [#72] (***d_lu_lλ_l**) (D, K + [hardly acceptable] U ***tuṭka** 'point, upper end'), IS MS 352 ('οκοηεχηοcτ^h' ***d_lu_lλ_l**), and IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison); in my opinion, FU ***tuṭka-** belongs to N ***tu_lṭ_l** 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.). In B and EC the

glottalization of the cns. is due to onomatopoeic or Lallwort influence
 ◇ The semantic history in some descendant languages may have been:
 'point, nipple' → 'suck the nipple\breast' → 'suck' (encouraged by the
 Ll.-factor for the meaning 'suck the breast').

503. *d'ü'ga 'suitable, fit, good' > **A** {SDM97} *dòge ({DQA} *djòge)
 'good, better' > NaT *jeg ({S} *jã;g) 'better' > OT jeg, Tk yeğ, Tkm, Az
 Δ jeʁ id.; S. Tezcan reconstructs here *jēg, Starostin (S AJ 196) and
 (after him) SDM reconstruct *jã;g, but there is no ev. for the quality
 *ä and for the length of the vw.; S AJ 196 [#234] adduces here Chv šiy-
 eł 'upper', but this is probably another pA √ (represented by WrM
 degedü 'upper, high') ¶ F Cl. 909-10, Rs. W 194, DTS 252, ET J 165,
 Tz. UIS 107, TkR 301, Fed. II 115-6, S AJ 196 [#234] || ?φ Լ M *շաԿա ~
 all right, yes' > WrM (← HIM) շա, HIM շաա 'all right, yes, very good',
 IM {T} շā 𐎠 շē id., Brt շաա 'well, all right' (answering a request), Dg շē
 ~ շā, Dx/ShY {MYC} շa id., Ord շā: 'bien, eh bien, oui', WrM շagabala
 'for certain, absolutely' ¶ MYC 416, MED 1016, 1022, Ms. O 176, Chr.
 239, SM 81, 87, T VM 151, T DgJ 143, Mr. D 176 || pKo *tjōh- 'good' >
 MKo tjōh-, NKo 𐎠h- 𐎠-, Ko: Sl 𐎠tt̄h̄a, Ks 𐎠tt̄h̄à ¶ S AJ 252 [#36], S QK
 #36, Nam 162, MLC 1488 || pJ *dž- 'good' > OJ 𐎠-, J: Tk ǰ, Ky è, Sh 𐎠-
 ta- ¶ S AJ 265 [#32] ¶ S QJ #32, Mr. 845 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **dòge > T, Ko,
 J), DQA #388 (A *djòge 'good, better'), S AJ 275 [#30] || **HS:** S
 *°√dwg > Ar √dwğ 𐎠 Ar duwāğ- ~ duwwāğ- 'beauty' ('nitor,
 pulchritudo') ¶ BK I 746, Fr. II 68 || **IE:** NaIE *dʰeugʰ- v. 'be ready,
 prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful' (→ ?? *dʰeugʰ- 'fortune') >
 Gk τεύχω 'I prepare, make' || Ir {P} dúal 'suitable, fit', Nir {Dnn.} dual
 'right, proper, natural' (< *dʰugʰ-lo-) || ON duga, Gt dugan, AS
 duzan, OHG tujan 'to suit', NHG taugen 'to be useful/fit'; Gmc p.-
 prs.: Gt daug, AS déaz, OHG toug 'is fit for, taugt' || Sl *dugь
 'strength' > OR ДУГЪ dugь, OCz, Cz duh id. (Cz sloužití \ jíti k
 duhu, Slk byt' k duhu 'to be of benefit'); ? BSl: Sl *dužьbь 'strong,
 big' > Uk, R Δ 'дужий id., OR ДЮЖИИ djužii, R дюжий, P dužy
 'strong, big', Cz duží, Slk dúži 'strong'; Sl *duže 'very, much' > R Δ
 дюже id., P dužo, Uk Δ дуже 'much', OP dužo, Blr дужа 'very' | Lt
 daug 'much' ¶ P 271, EI 211, 614, F II 888, Dnn. 266, ESSJ V 150, 167-
 8, ≠ SPS IV 195 (pSl *dugь 'strength' rather than *dugь), ≈ Vr. 86, Fs.
 116, 127-8, Ho. 70, 79, OsS 965-6, Schz. 288, Kb. 1043, KM 773, Frn. I
 84, ESSJ V 150, 167-8 || ?? amb **K:** it is tempting to adduce K *°dg-

/*^odeg- > G (gamo-)dg- v. 'be useful, fit, suitable' (Chx. 293), unless this is a sd. of the √ *dg- 'stand' ◇ NaIE *d^he_ug^h- and S *^o√d_wg point to a N labialized vw. of the first syll., while the T and M vowels are not labialized. The problem needs further research ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #1.

504. ₂ *dāhgU 'watch, look at' > HS: [1] HS *√dhg > SES *√dhg 'look, stare' > Jb C {Jo.} √dhg (pf. e¹doh₃g) v. 'look down, have a fixed stare', √dhg (pf. ed¹heg, sbjn. 3m ¹yedh₃g) v. 'look fixedly', Mh √dhg (pf. d₃hēg) v. 'look at sth. with such concentration that one does not hear what is said to one', √dhg (pf. h₃dhōg) v. 'look into the distance not thinking' ¶ Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66 || Eg fP dg_y, Eg fMd dg₃ v. 'see, look' ('sehen, [er]blicken, betrachten') ¶ EG V 497-8, Fk. 316 || C: Bj {R} √dg^w (1s p. a-¹d_yg, prs. an¹dī_yg) 'examine (nachsehen, überschauen, prüfen)' ||| LEC {Ss.} *-d_eg-/-d_og- pcv. 'recognize, perceive' (× N *tu¹g¹∇ [or *t_ug¹∇?] 'listen, hear') > Rn degey ~ degeh v. 'scout, spy', Sa {Wlm.} -d_ig- ~ -d_eg-, {Ss.} -ed_eg- v. 'recognize, perceive', Af {PH} -ēd_ege 'know, understand' (3m p. yēd_egeh), Arr {Hw.} -t_teg-/-t_tig- 'know' (1s ṛít_tige, 2s, 3f tét_tege, 3m yét_tege), HEC: Kmb {Hd.} dag- 'know, find'; Sa/Af *-d_i- may go back to the cluster *ʔ- (the px. of 1s) + *-d- (see the secondary emphatization of the stem-initial cns. in the 1s forms in Aw) ¶ AD SF 255, R WBd 62, Clz. 115, PG 102, PH 95, 255, Hw. A 453, Hd. 313 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} d_ig_i 'think' (× N *t_tu¹g¹∇ '↑') ¶ Eb. 43 ¶¶ AD SF 255 (Eg, C), OS #618 (*dag-> Eg, EC, Kr), Tk. I 226-7 (S, Eg, C, ECh) ||| [2] HS (+ext.) *√d_hg_l > S *√d_gl v. 'look at' > Ak √d_gl G (inf. d_gāl_u) 'look, look at', BHb (<G, ps. prtc.) 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 dā_gūl 'outstanding' (← *'seen'), Sr √d_gl G 'contemplate, examine' ¶ KB 205, KBR 213, Br. 141, Sd. 149, CAD III 21-2 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} d_ug_urú 'look (at)' ||| CCh: Mlw {Trn.} d_ug_ul_i 'look (at), see', MsgP {Trn.} d_ug_uli v. 'visit', d_ug_ol n. 'visit' ¶ Sch. DN 50, TrnSL 196, Trn. LM 85 ¶¶ Mlw, MsgP d_i- < HS *dh-? ¶¶ OS #757 (*d_ug_ol > Eg, S, Ch) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) *tākk∇- v. 'look, watch' > Hg tekint- v. 'look at' || Os V/Vy t_äxan- 'im Gedächtnis, im Sinn behalten, sich erinnern, Kenntnis haben' ¶ UEW 893 ◇ The comparison is valid if FU *-kk- can be explained by the devoicing effect of N *h (*-hg- > *-hk- > *-kk-).

505. *dagar∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back' > HS: S *¹dubur- 'back (dos)' (× N *dub₁ṛ₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail, q.v. ffd.) ||| A *dagar(in) or *dagar∇m ({Adb.} *ḍayr∇m) 'the waist part of backbone' > NaT *jagrIn 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' (× T

*jagIRIN ~ *jagIRNI 'back of a pack-animal ← NaT *jagIR 'back\withers of a horse' < N *z'VgErV [or *z'VrgV?] 'back [dorsum]) > OT jarIN 'shoulder-blade', MOg XIV [IM], XwT XIII, OOSm XIV, MT [IM] jaYrIN, Uz jaYrIN, VTt {RI.} žawrɛn, Δ jawrɛn, Qzq jawrIN, Alt žarIN, SY jarIN, Xk, Tv čarIN id., Tk ɥaǵrIN id., 'upper part of the back', Tb jarIN, QK jarIN 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Tkm Δ jaY(ɪ)rIN, SbTt ɥawɛrɛn, Qq žawrIN, Yk sarIN 'shoulder', Blq žavrun & žaurun 'shoulder-blade', Qrg žōrun 'shoulder-blade (bone)', Bsh jawrɛn 'заплечье' ('place behind the shoulders?'), jawrɛn qarSIYI 'rucksack' (lit. 'sack behind the shoulders'), jawrɛntaq '(a man) having large shoulders', Nog jawrIN 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Qmq jawrUN 'upper part of the back' ¶ ADb. SR 139-41, DTS 241, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Bai. TK 293, Cl. 970 (considers jarIN to be the original form, while the variant jaYrIN 'shoulder-blade' in the T lgs. is in his mind a result of the infl. of jaYIR 'saddle-gall', which "perhaps evolved from 'the part of the animal where saddle-galls occur'" [Cl. 905]; but if DTS is right in interpreting OT jaYrIN-la- as v. 'strike on so.'s shoulder-blades' in MKA III 343 [DTS 225], it suggests that *ɥaYrIN 'shoulder-blade' existed in OT), San. 333v4, PC 528-9, RI. III 42-3, Bu. II 356, TTDS 563, BR 728 || M *daYarin 'saddle-sore' > MM [S] da,ari, [MA] dāri id., WrM dagari, dair, HIM дайр 'saddle-sore, abrasion'; M ⇨ Tg: Sln dagari, Lm daYɛrɛn, WrMc darIN, Mc Sb darin 'saddle-sore', d.: Ork dāri-, WrMc darI- 'make a saddle-sore on horse's\reindeer's back' ¶ H 30 (da'ari 'Geschwür\Druckstelle auf dem Rücken'), Pp. MA 139, MED 218, 222, STM I 188 || ?φ Tg *darama > Ewk darama 'waist', Ewk I, Neg darama 'waist, back', Ewk Brg/O darama 'waist, backbone', Sln darama 'back', Lm darɛm 'waist, vertebra near the waist', Orc dāma 'waist', Ud dāma 'waist, waist part of the backbone', Ul darama 'waist, back', Ork darama id., 'backbone, vertebra of the waist', Nn darama ~ darma 'back', WrMc {Z} darama, darma, dara 'waist, sacrum, back', Mc Sb {Y} darama 'spine, the line of the backbone' ¶ STM I 198, Y#95 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 443 [#1], 452, ADb. MSR, ≈ DQA ##349 (A *dagV 'shoulder bone, back': T, M) || D *tokor- ({{GS}} *d-, *-g-) 'back (dos)' > Klm ɔogor 'back', Gnd ɔogor peɾeka 'backbone', ? Kui ɔōkoli 'rear part of the cranium' ¶¶ D #2979 ◇ D *o of the first syll. (for the expected *a) is probably due to regr. as. (**a...o > *o...o). The unexpected D *-k- ({{GS}} *-g-) still needs explaining. S *-b- in *dubur- belongs to the heritage of N *dub,ɾ, V ◇ ADb. SR-D 443, 452 (A, D, EA).

506. *d̥wǵ|y̥w̥ 'sun, day, morning' (→ 'be bright as the sun') > **HS:** Eg d̥w̥ʒ.ω 'morning' > Cpt B **ΤΟΟΥΙ** toui id. ¶ ʒ for the expected ʑ may be due to a change *d...ʑ > d̥...ʒ (evidenced by the absence of combinations d̥ʑ, d̥w̥ʑ, and d̥y̥ʑ among Eg stems, except for the Semitism y̥d̥ʑ 'clever') ¶ EG V 422-5, Vc. 317 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} d̥oē 'morning', {GKrs.} d̥áw̥ai, {Br̥t.} d̥aw̥oī 'to-morrow' ||| ECh: Smr {J} d̥áw̥á, Tmk {Cp.} d̥éw̥, Nd D {J} ʒów̥ 'sun' | Li {Grgs.} t̥ùwa, Kbl {Cp.} t̥àb̥à id. | Ke {Eb.} č̥ʒw̥á, Kwn {Lk.} t̥ua, {J} t̥òw̥á mā ʔán̥án̥, Kwn M {J} t̥úw̥á má-án̥án̥ id. ¶ JI II 313, ChC, Lk. M 49, 51, Cp. 52, Eb. 36 || **K** *d̥ye 'day' > OG, G d̥ye-, Mg d̥ya- (pl. d̥yał-), Lz (n)d̥ya- (pl. (n)d̥yał-) 'day' || Sv: UB lad̥äy̥, UB/L ladey̥, LB/Ln lädey̥ 'day' (< K d. *°ša-d̥y-e) ¶¶ K 75-6, K² 43, FS K 101-2, Chik. 193, IS I 155 (on K *š̥- [{IS, K} *s̥] > Sv 1-), GM S 146, Test. KV 67, TK 359, Dn. s.v. ladey̥, GP 133 ||| **A:** Tg: WrMc d̥uwar̥ga us̥iχ̥a 'morning star' (us̥iχ̥a is 'star') ¶ STM I 218 || ? M *do̥:̥rona 'east' (if *o̥:̥ < *w̥w̥) (× ← M *doura ~ *dōra 'below' [> WrM दौरa]) > MM [HI, S] dorona, WrM dorun-a, HIM дорно, Br̥t дурна, WrO dorono 'east', Ord dorono 'eastern', Kl дорд dord̥ 'east' (× дорд 'lower') ¶ MED 263, H 37, Ms. H 50, Krg. 656, KRS 208, Chr. 203, Ms. O 153 ||| ?σ **D** (att. in McTm) *tav̥- > Tm tavaṇai 'fixed term of payment of a due, limited time', Ml tavaṇa 'fixed time\term' ¶ D #3108 ||| ?σ **IE:** NaIE *d̥h̥ew̥l̥ə̥- 'be bright, shine' > OI d̥h̥ava'la- 'dazzling white' ||| Gk [Hs., Theo.] θ̥έω 'hell glänzen', 'shine, gleam', 'be very bright\white' (e.g. of teeth) ¶ P 261, M K II 95-6, IS 796, FI 669 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N vw. ***A** in the first syll., while the Mc and M rounded vowels are likely to be due to the labializing infl. of ***w** ◇ ≠ IS I 221 [#70] (*d̥i̯g̥a 'bright'; IS equated K *d̥ye 'day' with IE *d̥heih̥- (sc. *d̥hey̥H-) v. 'see', which is unc., because IE *d̥hey̥H- is obviously nearer to EC *dey̥-/doy̥- v. 'look at', FN *di'h̥'a 'look at'), BmK 270-1 (*d̥aG-/d̥əG-: K + IE {Phv.} *d̥h̥o̯g̥h̥o- 'day' + S [Gz dagdaga v. 'be early in the morning'] + D ɫ [Tm taka-tak-eṇal - an onomatopoeic expression of dazzling, etc.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: equates K with IE *de̯j̯(w̥)- 'shine; daylight' [in fact from N *tiʔû 'shine, be bright'] and reconstructs pN *d̥w̥-; his IE-K comparison is unacceptable because IE *de̯j̯(w̥)- has no lr.).

507. (₂?) *di'h̥'a 'look at' > **HS:** EC *dey̥-/doy̥- v. 'look at' ({Bl.} pLEC *d̥ōy̥-) > Sml day v. 'examine', Bn day- v. 'try, test', Arr {Hw.} d̥ōy̥- v. 'look at', Kns, Gdl t̥ōy̥- v. 'look at, watch', Elm {Ss.} d̥ōy̥- v. 'regard', {Bl.}

an-ḏoy-a v. 'consider, regard', Or {Th.} *doya* (nom. *doyan*) 'observation', {Ss.} *doy-ā* id., *dōy-aʔ* 'spy, scout', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *dōyā* 'spies, robbers', Hd *dō-* v. 'lurk, spy', as well as possibly Arr {Hw.} *day-* v. 'find, obtain', Hr *tay* v. 'find', and Ya *tey-* v. 'find, get' ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Bl. 263, Th. 109, Sr. 289, Hw. A 352-3 || ? S: Ak OA *dātum* 'notice, information'; the word is not likely to go back to S **diʕat-um* 'knowledge' (> BHb *דָּעַתְּ* *dēʕā* id.) from the S root **√wdʕ* 'know' (> Ak *edū*) (as suggested by Sd.) because the presence of S **ʕ* would have brought about a vw. change S **a* > Ak *e*; a contamination of N **diʕhʾa* 'look at' and N **wētʕʾ* 'look, see' may have produced Ak OB *diḫatu, daḫatu* 'notice, information' ¶ CAD III 130-1, Sd. 168 || IE **dʰeyǵ-* / **dʰyeH-* / **dʰiH-* v. 'see, look at' > NaIE **dʰeyə-* / **dʰyā-* / **dʰī-* > OI *dīdhēti* 'perceives', *adīdhēt* 'he looked at', *dhīʔtiḥ* 'thought, idea', *dhya-ti* 'schaut im Geiste', sc. 'denkt, sinnt' (prtc. *dhya-ta* ~ *dhī-ta*), *dhya* 'das Denken, Sinnen', Av *dā(y)-* v. 'see', *ā-diδāti* 'betrachtet', prtc. *paiti-dīta-* 'erblickt', NPrs *دیدن* *dīdān* 'to see, to look' || Gk *σημα*, Gk D *σῆμα* 'sign' (< **dʰyā-mḡ*, cp. OI *dhya-man-* 'thought') || pAl {O} **dīya* > Al G/T *dī-* v. 'know' ('savoir'), Al G {Lamp} *dij* 'he knows' ¶ P 243, M K II 45, 105, Sg. 551, Horn 132, F II 695-6, My. 66, Ç I 125 and II 372, O 64-5, Mn. AIE 357, Kf. 81, Lamp 147 || ?σ **A:** M **ʕi-a-* (or **ʕiʕa-*?) 'point out, show' > MM [S] *ʕi-a-* 'ansagen, mitteilen', WrM *ʕiḡa-*, HIM, Brt, Kl *ʕaa-*, Ord *ʕā-* v. 'point out, show, demonstrate', Dx {T} *ʕa-* 'show, point out', Mnr H {T} *ʕā-* id., {SM} *ʕiā-* 'indiquer, promettre' ¶ H 89, MED 1049, KRS 234, Chr. 240, Ms. O 175, SM 75, T 332, T DnJ 118 ¶ WrM *-ḡ-* may be a secondary spelling device that reflects a syllable boundary ◇ The presence of a N lr. is evidenced by IE, while the zero reflex of the lr. in C may suggest either N **h* or **ʔ*, but **ʔ* is ruled out by the IE form **dʰeyə-* (because N **ʔ* does not yield a syllabic lr. [> **ə*] in IE). Therefore the reconstructed N lr. is most likely to be **h* ◇ ≠ BmK 264-5 (**day-* / **dəy-*: IE, C, S **dīn-* v. 'judge' [interpreted as **day-an-* on the basis of deverbal nominal WS New Perfect], D **tēṭ-* v. 'seek').

508. *dʰEʰh₁a 'with', 'together with' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > **HS:** LbB **d* 'and, together with' > ONum *d* 'with' and/or 'and' || B **id* ~ *d₁i₁* 'with, together with, and' > Ah, Ty, ETwl *d, əd, də*, Gd *d, əd*, Shl, Si *d* 'with, and', Izd, Mz, SrSn *d* 'et', Izd *d, id*, Kb *δ, yiδ, iδ-*, Zng *iδ* 'avec';

cp. also Si {La.} dǎŋa 'also' ¶ Fv. QSL 270, Fc. 140-4, Lf. II #O229, Mrc. 29, 107, GhA 15-6, Dl. 125, AiM 181, 230, La. S 198, NZ 269-70 || C: Ag *-dī 'with' > Q {R} -dī 'with, together with', Bln {R} -dī id., 'and' ¶ R WB 93, R QW 46 || Ch: WCh: Hs dā 'with, together with', dā ... dā 'both ... and' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} dǎ- 'with', Gude {Hsk.} dǎ 'with' (instr.) || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} dǎ, Ke dǎ 'with' ¶ Abr. H 153, RpB 27, ChC s.v. 'with', ≈ Sk. HCD 38, Hsk. 171 || IE: Ht ta 'and' || NaIE *^od_lh₁ǎǵ > pSl *da 'and, but' > OCS **ДА** da 'and', OR **ДА** da 'and, but', R да, Uk † да id., Uk та, Blr ды 'and', P † да 'and, but', Blg да ~ та 'and', SCr † да 'but' ¶¶ Ts. W 80, Ts. E III 1-3, ESISJ-SGZ II 145-7, SPS II 323-6 || **K** (in GZ) *da_l 'and' > OG, G da, Mg, Lz do 'and' ¶¶ K 68-9 ¶¶ Without Sv ev. we cannot distinguish between pK *a and *ā || **A** *dā > T *-tā / *-tā (postnominal) 'and, also' > OT da / dā / ta / tā, Tk da / de / ta / te, Tkm -dā / -dē, Az da / dā, Qzq da / de, Qq, Nog da / de / ta / te, VTt da / dā / ta id. (→ Chv та та ~ те те 'and'), Bsh da / dā / da / dā / ta / tā 'also, and', Uz -da 'and, в е д ь, ж е', StAlt da / de / ta / te 'and', Xk, Tv - даа -dā, Yk da 'and'; VTt da, dā ¶ Rs. MTS 236, Shch. OSMN 116, Kon. GTJ 356-7, Fed. II 159-60 ¶ T *t for the expected intervoc. *ō is due to the generalization of the postcons. morphophonemic variant. The shortening of the vw. in Yk may be due to prosodic factors || Tg *-dā / *-dē ({Bz.} *dā) 'and, also' (an enclitic pc.): Nn -da / -dǎ, Ud -da / -do / -dǎ, Lm -dā / -dē / -tā / -tē id. ¶ Bz. 143, On. RN 83, Shn. 24, CiR RES 196-7 ◇ IS I 214-5 (***да** **Н**, an emphatic and coordinating article; *÷ Sml {R} rhematizing pc. -dā [a'mirka-'dā 'gerade, neben jetzt']; the pc., which is cognate with Bln {R} -tā, goes back to the dem. prn. connected with the N dem. prn. *tā). The Slavic jussive\optative conj. *da 'ut' and M *-da / *-de (identifying pc. underlining consent or impatience - / MED 211) (both adduced here by IS) hardly belong here, because they are semantically too far from 'with' and 'and'; ≠ BmK 275-6 (they do not distinguish between the etymon in question [in IE, K, Ch] and the N locative pc. *da 'in' [< N *d_loy₁a 'place', q.v.]; they adduce NEI/AchEl da 'also', though it goes back to MEI tak 'also' - / HK 245, 270).

509. *de^{ro}He 'make, do' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} -dī[?] (p.: 1s a-dī[?], 3f ted[?]it, prs. 1s a-danī[?], prtc. 'dī[?]a) v. 'prepare, make' ¶ R WBd 56 || CCh: FIJ {ChL} dē, FIM {ChL} dī v. 'do', Bcm {Sk.} dā v. 'make' || Db {Mch.} di 'faire', {Lnh.} d_lyà v. 'make' || Gude {Hsk.} da 'do, make' ¶ ChC

s.v. 'make', ChL, Mch. D 117, Hsk. 182 || IE *d^he^h- v. 'make, do' > OPrs a-dadā 'he created (schuf, machte [zu etwas])' || Lfacio, inf. facē-re / pfc. fēc-ī / sup. factum 'make, do', Osc fakiiad, Um façia 'faciat', Osc (pfc. cnj.) FEFACIT 'fecerit', Um FEITU, fetu 'facito' || OHG tuo-m ~ tō-m, AS dō-m 'I do', inf. OHG tuo-n, NHG tun, AS, OSx dō-n 'to do', NE do; p. OHG teta, NHG tat 'I did', NE did || Sl inf. *děja-ti, 1s prs. *děj-q > OCS inf. ДѢЯТИ dějati / 1s prs. ДѢЯ dějq 'do, act', Blg не дей 'do not do!', Slv dejáti 'to do' (secondary homonymy with dejáti 'to say' and dejáti 'to put'), OCrt dieti, diem v. 'do' (homonymy with dieti, diem v. 'say'), Cz díti 'to do', Slk dejat' 'to do', OP dziać 'to do', R Д 'дѣять 'to do' | d. NaIE *d^hē-l-/*d^ho-l- > pSl *dělo 'deed' > OCS ДѢЛО dělo, SCr дѣло djèlo, R, Blg 'дело id., Slv dĕlo, Cz dílo, Slk dielo 'work', P dzieło 'work, deed' || ON dæll 'easy, facilis' (< Gmc *daliz) ¶ P 235-9, Hinz 42, WH I 440-4, Bc. G 316, 335, Schz. 289-90, KM 796-7, Kb. 1048, Ho. 75, Ho. S 13, Vr. 92, SJSS X 553-4, StSS 205; ≈ EI 472, 506 and ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (both fail to distinguish between *d^he^h- 'put' and *d^he^h- v. 'do' [and between their Sl reflexes *dě- and *děja-]), ESSJ V 7-8, SPS III 126-33 || U: FV *tewe 'work (Arbeit, Werk)' > F työ 'Arbeit, Beschäftigung, Tat', Vp tö, Es töö 'Arbeit, Werk' | pMr *tevā > Er tév, Δ táv 'affair, business, work (дело, занятие, работа, Sache, Werk)', Mk tév 'affair' ¶ UEW 796, Ker. II 167, KC 212, PI 268 ◇ IS I 224 [#75]. The timbre of the IE lr. *-^h- suggests a N palatal vw. (*e or *ä) in the stem-final position, while U *-w- is better accounted for by a N labialized inlaut-vw. *o; but *-w- may go back also to a sx. or to hiatus before a suffixal vw. The scholars have not distinguished between this word and N *di^sε 'to put, to place' (at the pIE level, as well at the level of subgroups of lgs. and at that of individual lgs.) considering the semantic difference secondary (F P, Bn. PLG [ch. XXVII], etc.), but the lgs. which have preserved the distinction (Slavic, Beja) suggest that this widespread opinion is to be rejected. On the other hand, it is certain that in many lgs. (such as FU) the reflexes of N *de^ʔo^ʔHe and *di^sε merged. IS adduces here FU *teke- v. 'do' (unacceptable [≠φ: FU *-k- is not a reg. reflex of N *-^s-]); FU *teke- v. 'do' and *teke- v. 'put, place' are better accounted for by N *t^ʔe^ʔkε 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' (q.v.) and by N ≈ *t^ʔe^ʔh^ʔaka^ʔê 'to put, to set' (q.v.) respectively. I am grateful to V. Dybo (p.c.) for drawing my attention to the distinction between *d^hē- v. 'do' and *d^hē- v. 'put' at the IE and the pSl level.

510. *daka 'back (dorsum), back (rear), behind' > **HS: EC: Or** {Th., Brl.} *dugda* (nom. *dugdi*) 'back (dorso, schiena), rear part', {Grg.} *dugda* ~ *dubda* ~ *dudda* 'back' ¶ Th. 115, Brl. 125-6, Grg. 111 || **WCh:** Ngz {Sch.} *ḍḍgú* v. 'follow (a person, an animal)', *ḍḍgáú* v. 'follow (a road)', Bd {Sch. in ChL} *ḍḍgân* v. 'follow' ¶ Sch. DN 52, ChL || **U** **taka* 'back part, rear' > **F** *taka-* 'back' (e.g. *taka-oví* 'back door'), *takaa* 'from behind', **Es** *taga* 'Hinterraum', 'behind, in the back of', **pLp** {Lr.} **tōkē* 'that which is behind so.\sth.' > **Lp: N** {N} *duokke*, **L** {LLO} *tuohkē*, **S** {Hs.} *duögie*, **T** {TI} *tk k'ēñid.*, **Kld** {TI} *tūjk:ēñ* 'behind' (postp.) || **Sm** {Jn.} **tāk-* ~ **tākъ-* 'das Hintere, hinten' > **Ng** {Cs.} *taka* 'back side', {Mik.} *dat. taga*, *loc. takani*, **En X** {Cs.} *dat. teho?* 'hinterhin', *loc. tehone* 'behind', **En B** {Cs.} *dat. taha?*, *tahu?* 'hinterhin', *loc. tahane*, *tahane* 'behind', **Ne T** *тяха'* (adv.) 'further', (postp.) 'over (через, за (что-л.))' (direction), *тяхана* (postp.) 'behind', **Ne F** {Sm.} *čahāna* id. || **Slq: Tz** {KKIH} *tōqq+n(+)* postp. 'behind', **Tm** {KD} *tāk'* 'das Hintere' || **Kms** *dat. t'āk'ta* 'behind' (direction), *loc. t'āk'k'on* 'behind' ¶¶ Coll. 61, UEW 506-7, Lr. #1292, Lgc. #8068, Hs. 466, SaR 359, Jn. 154, Cs. 60, 88, Ter. 705, KKH 187 || **A** **dak∇-* v. 'follow, go behind so.' ({SDM97} **daki* 'near; follow') > **M** **daga-* v. 'follow, go behind so.' > **MM** [S, HI] *daqa-* (= [*daga*] or [*daɣa*]) id., **WrM** *daqa-*, **HIM** *daqa-* v. 'follow so., accompany', **Kl** *daχa-*, **Dx** *daɣa-*, **Dg** *dag-* id. ¶ **MED** 216, **H** 31, **Ms.** **H** 48 || **pKo** **ta(h)-* 'following' > **NKo** *taɪ-m* ¶ **S QK** #130, **MLC** 388 ¶¶ **For Tg** **daga-* v. 'be near' and **T** **jak-in*, **jaɣuk* 'near' see **N** **d'U'K'∇* 'to approach; near' ¶¶ ≈ **DQA** #351 (**A** **dāk'ì* 'follow, near'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of **N** **daka* 'back, behind' and those of **N** **d'U'K'∇* '↑' [q.v.]; adduces **pJ** **tiká* 'near' > **JT** *ćikái-*) ◇ **Coll.** 146 and **UEW** 506-7 (both: **U, A** [**M, Tg**]), ≠ **IS I** 215-6 (**daḷa* 'near', does not distinguish between the etymon in question and **N** **d'U'K'∇* '↑') ◇ ≈ **Gr. II** #36 (**tak* ~ **tek* 'behind').

511. *d'A'k'o' (~ **d'A'g'o'*?) 'to burn' (trans.) > **K** **dag-* vt. '≈ burn' > **G** *dag-* (aor. *da-v-dag-e*) 'niederbrennen, einbrennen, brandmarken, quälen', **Sv** {Fn.} *dg-* (msd. *li-dg-e*) v. 'niederbrennen' (unless identical with *dg-/lidge* 'extinguish') ¶¶ **Chx.** 227, **Fn.** **KW-1** 34, #12 || **HS: C: ? Bj** {R} ✓ *tk^wy* (1s: p. 'atk^wi, prs. atan'k^wī) vt. 'cook' (× **N** **tok∇?∇* ~ **to'h'æk∇* 'to burn; fire') || **Dhl** {To., EEN} *ḍak-* v. 'cook' ¶ **R WBd** 225,

EEN 34, To. D 131, ESC 189 (equates the Dhl word with Asa rakaš 'dry' and reconstructs *d̥ak|χ- v. 'dry over fire'); the Bj word belong here only if -tk^ω- is from *-dk^ω- by as.; otherwise it may belong to N *t̥ok∇?∇ ~ *t̥o'h'æk∇) || CCh: Zgw {ChL} d̥ugáyà v. 'burn' || IE: NaIE {P, E} *d^heg^{ωh}- vt., vi. 'burn' > OI 'daħa-ti, Av dažatī vt. 'burns' || Gk Hm τέπρᾱ, Gk I τέπρη 'ashes', ? Gk [Hs.] θέπτανος· ἀπτόμενος 'kindled (?)' (÷ Lt d̥egtinas 'wer\was zu verbrennen ist') || L fovē- v. 'warm, keep warm', fō-culum 'brazier', fō-mentum 'poultice, fomentation', fōmes (G fōmitis) 'touchwood, tinder', favilla 'glowing ashes' || OIr daig (gen. daiged, dega) 'flame, pain', Brtt {RE} *debīmi vt. 'to burn' > Crn dewy, dywy id., OBr [γ] deuη-eticion · "cremata", MBr deuiff, Br dev iñ 'to burn, brûler', MW deifyaw, W deifio 'to scorch, to singe' || pAl {O} *dega > Al djeg (aor. dogja) vt. 'burn, scorch, singe' || Lt d̥eg-ti (1s prs. d̥eg-ù) vi. 'to burn', vt. 'to kindle', Ltv degt vi., vt. 'to burn'; Lt degùtas 'tar', Ltv deguts ~ degots 'birch-tree tar' || Sl {Glh.} *žegti (1s prs. *žegŕ ~ *žbgŕ) vt. 'to burn' > OCS жеци žešti / prs. жьгъ жьbgŕ, SCr žèćī & žèći, OCz žéci / žehu, P žec / žgę, R жечь / жгъ; the change *d- > *ž- may be accounted for by as. (*deg- > *geg- > Sl *žeg- or {ð Brandt} 2s *žebžeši < *de|bžeši and 3s *žebžetъ < *de|bžetъ after *z-prefixes, such as *v̥bz-); *d- is preserved in a d.: Sl *degъtъ 'tar' (> OCz dehet, P dziegieć, R дѣготъ / G дѣгтя, Uk деготъ) || Tc: A tsäk-, tsak-, B tsäk-, tsek- vt., vi. 'burn' ¶ WP I 849-50, P 240-1, EI 87, M K II 29, F I 663 and II 888-9, WH I 466-7, O 68, AlBED 173, LP § 39.1, RE 85, YGM-1 166, Frn. 85-6, Vs. I 493 and II 38, Glh. 706-7, Wn. 526 || A: NaT *jak- v. 'ignite' > MT XIV [IM] jāq-, XwT XIV jaq- vt. 'ignite, burn', Chg XV jaq- v. 'ignite', Tk çak, Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Nog, ET, Ln jaq-, Xlj ja`q-, Uz jaq-, Qrg žaq-, Qzq žaq- vt. 'burn', Qq žaq- vt. 'burn, strike fire', Yk saχ- v. 'strike fire' ¶ ESSJ IV 81-2, DT 221, JkR 319, Rs. W 180; Cl. 897 supposes that the verb is derived from *ja- (his *çā-, that he finds in *jal- 'blaze, burn, shine' and *jan- 'burn, blaze up'), but S (AJ 175 [#13]) rejects this assumption, because, acc. to him, the T sx. -k-/-q- never forms transitive verbs || Tg *jegde- ~ *degje- (acc. to S AJ and DQA, originally *deg-je-) vi., vt. 'burn' > Ewk jəgdī- vt. 'burn', vi. 'burn oneself, get sun-burnt', jəgdī 'forest-fire', Lm jəgdə, jəgdəkəz 'site of a forest-fire' ('Гарь, пожарище'), Neg jəgdī-, Orc, Ud, Ul žəgdī-, Ud žəgdī- vt. 'burn', Ud žəgdəz- vi. 'burn, get slightly burnt' (of food), Ul

ẓ̌gḍ- 'be burnt, burn down (сгореть)', Ork ḍgḍ- vi. 'burn', ḍgḍ-
 ktu 'site of a forest-fire', Nn ẓ̌gḍ- 'be burnt', ẓ̌gḍ '(forest-)fire',
 WrMc ḍeγzi ~ ḍezi, Mc Sb ḍežl-~dižl- vt. 'burn' ¶ STM I 281-2, Y
 #483, Krm. 235 || pKo {S} *tḥ- vi. 'burn' > MKo tḥ-, NKo tḥa- id., MKo
 tḥj'ó-, NKo tḥäu- vt. 'burn' ¶ S KD #12, Nam 46-7, MLC 1684, 1697
 || pJ *dák- vt. 'burn' > OJ yak-, J: T yàku, K yák-, Kg yá, Ns yàk^u, Sh yàč-,
 Ht yàg-, Y dàg- vt. 'burn' ¶ S AJ 269 [#109], S QJ #109 ¶¶ DQA #367 (A
 *děkà 'burn' [tr., intr.]), Cl. 897, S AJ 35-6, 279 [#102] ◇ Illich-Svitych
 (IS SS #10.11 and IS MS 337) assumed that IE *d^heg^{wh}- goes back to
 earlier *teg^{wh}- and equates it with A *t'oga (> Tg *toga 'fire'), with HS
 *t^rk^w (> Eg tḳ, Bj ✓tk^w), and with U *tä^r∇t (actually *te^w∇-t∇)
 'fire' and reconstructed a N etymon *t^ro¹g^o, which I do not accept. I
 prefer to distinguish between three paronymous N words: *d^rA¹k|g^ro¹,
 *tok∇?∇ ~ *to^rh¹æk∇ 'to burn' (whence the mentioned Tg ✓, as well
 as possibly the Eg ✓) and *t^re¹yaw^ra¹ 'fire' (whence the mentioned U
 ✓). This hyp. of three N words allows us to explain many more
 observed facts than IS's etymology and does it on a more regular basis.
 It is corroborated by the fact that in some lgs. the distinction between
 these N words has been preserved, e.g. N *d^rA¹k|g^ro¹ > Tg *degje- ~
 *jegde- vt. 'burn' and N *tok∇?∇ ~ *to^rh¹æk∇ > Tg *toga 'fire'. In the
 N word in question the quality of the medial cns. is problematic: K and
 IE suggest N *-g-, while C and T suggest *-k-. To my mind, the reflexes
 of *-g- in K and IE may be explained by as. (originally in forms with the
 zero-grade of the apophony?), where pre-K and pre-IE *d-k- was
 assimilated to *d-g-. As to the C and T vl. reflexes of N *-k-, they cannot
 be but original. Hence I am inclined to reconstruct the N word as
 *d^rA¹k^ro¹. Blz. KM 114 [#4] equates K, IE, and A with D *tī-~*tū- 'fire'
 (D #3266) (unacceptable because of the quality of the D vw.). On the D
 ✓ see N *t^re¹yaw^ra¹ 'fire' and GS 202 [#511]. Cf. also AD GD #121 (IE-
 U-A-HS without distinction between the reflexes of N *d^rA¹k^ro¹ and
 *tok∇?∇ ~ *to^rh¹æk∇), Mng. DA 139-40, IS MS 337 (draws back IE
 *d^heg^{wh} from N *t^ro¹g^o) ◇ Cf. Gr. II #54 (*taku 'burn') (IE, A, Gil).

512. *dūk^rU¹ 'strike, beat' > HS: S ✓dwk, *-dūk- id. > Ak -dūk- (inf.
 dâku) v. 'kill, break, beat', BHb ✓dwk G (ps. 3p דָּבַקְּוּ dā¹k-ū) 'pound,
 zerstampfen', Ug dk G 'zermalmen' (× S ✓dkk 'reduce to fragments',
 probably from N *daK∇ 'small, thin, short'), Ar ✓dwk G (pf. dāka. ip.
 -dūk-) 'smash' ¶ DRS 234, Sd. 151-2, KB 207-8, A #739, OLS 131, Hv.

222 || WCh *✓dk^ω 'beat, kill' > Krkr dùk^ωá id., Krf dù^ωá, Wrj/Mbr {Sk.} t³ɣ- Sir {Sk.} t³ɣ³ 'kill', Hs d^òk^á, Klr {J} duk 'beat', Ngz sàdgu 'beat, thresh' ||| ECh: Mnj d^ũk, ? Li d^{igrì} 'kill' ¶ Stl. VZCh #42, ChC, Sch. DN 39, Blz. EChWL #44 || ?ϕ B: Ah {Fc.} duqqat 'frapper de la pointe (avec un objet un peu pointu mais non piquant)', Ah də^ɣdə^ɣ, Tdq d^bɣd^bɣ 'frapper à plusieurs reprises de la pointe' (infl. of B *✓dg 'prick' < N *dEHik'a¹ 'pierce, dig') ¶ Fc. 237, NZ 361 ||| K: GZ (+ext.) *tkwep- / *tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *t^{ab}∇,qa 'hit, strike') > OG a^ɥ-tkwepa vb. n. 'beating up', G tkvep-/tkvip- 'beat up', {Chx.} 'schlagen', Mg tkvp- 'beat up', Lz tkvap- 'beat, beat up' ¶ K 76, FS E 166 (both sources do not distinguish the root from the homonymous verb *tkwep- 'mix'), Chx. 506 ||| A: Tg *^ˆdug- v. 'beat, strike' > Ewk duɣ-, Sln duk^tɜ- id., Ewk Ald duk^tɜ- vt. 'pound, crush', Lm du- ɟ du^ω- ɟ du^ɥ-, Orc, Ork, Nn d^ū- 'beat, strike', Ud duk^tɜ- 'beat', Ul duksin- 'strike', WrMc d^u- ~ d^ū- 'strike (with a stick), thresh' ¶ STM I 219.

513. ₂ *dEHik'a¹ (= *dE^ɣik'a¹?) 'pierce, dig' > IE: NaIE *d^hējg- / *d^hōjg- / *d^hīg- 'pierce, stick' > L fīg-ō, -ēre / fīxī / fīctum ~ fīxum 'fix, fasten', Umb fikt^u 'figito' ||| ON díki 'ditch; puddle, morass', OSx, OFrs dīk, MDt dijc, Dt dijk 'dike' (↳ Fr digue ⇄ diguer 'to dike' ↳ NE dig), MHG tîch 'dike, dam, pond, embankment' (> NHG Teich 'pond'), MLG dīch 'dike, dam' (↳ MHG dîch > NHG Deich 'dike, dam, embankment'), AS dīc 'ditch, moat' > NE ditch; ME dyk, dik 'dike' (↳ MDt dijc?) > NE dike ||| Lt díegi^u / díeg^ti v. 'stick, set, plant', Ltv diēgt 'to tack, to stitch together, to baste'; Lt dyg^ùs 'prickly', d^ýgti 'to spring, to shoot, to sprout' ||| a NaIE root variant *^od^hējg^ω- seems to be represented by OL [Cato] fīv-ō 'figo' ¶ WP I 832-3, P 243-4, EI 472 (IE *d^he^jg^ω- or *d^he^jHg^ω- 'stick, set up' with *g^ω based on OL fīv-ō, but incompatible with the Gmc *-k- and L -g-), WH I 495-6, Bc. G 335, ≈ KM 775, Vr. 76, Vr. N 116, Lx. 226, Ho. 72, HDEL 369, ≈ Skeat 169, 177, Frn. 93 ||| HS: Ch {Stl.} *dig- 'dig' > WCh: Mnt {Fp.} dik id.; P' {MSk.} žígā 'dig, uncover'; Hs dāgi 'iron implement for digging holes' ||| CCh: Gzg dik, MfG -dádɜg- 'enterrer'] (?) ⇄ *diga 'hoe' > Hs dígà 'pickaxe' (unless ↳ NE digger) ||| Mf {BLB} dɜga 'pioche' ||| Li diga, Tmk dɜgà id. ¶ Stl. IF 58-9 (Ch *dig-/*H∇dig-), BLB 111, Brr. MG II 100 || ?σ CS *✓d^ɣk (× N *dik_LE_JY¹U¹ 'rumple, knead, press') > Ar دَعَكَة da^ɣk-at- 'partie la

plus foulée du chemin', madfūl- pp. 'foulé, abîmé par le grand nombre d'allants et de venants', JA, MHb ✓ dīk G 'crush, stamp upon' ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || B *✓ dg 'prick' (× N *dûk^U 'strike, beat') > Wrg dugg 'poignarder, frapper avec une pointe', Ah ədəg, Tw Ng ədəg 'piquer, percer', Gh əddəž 'piquer (avec une pointe\aiguille\épine)' ¶ NZ 300-1.

514. ₂ *dak₁∇₁?U '(young of an) equid' > HS *d∇k^ω- 'donkey' > C {AD} *d∇(k)k^ω∇r-, {E} di^k^ω- id.: Ag {AD} *dɜk^ωar- / (pl.) *dɜk^ωar^h- (= *dɜk^ωall-), {Ap.} *dɜv^ωar- id. > Bln/Xm {Ap., R} dɜx^ωara, pl. {R} dɜk^ωal, Q {Ap.} dɜv^ωera, {R} dewora ~ dehora, Dmb {R} dəq^ωara ~ deg^ωara, pl. dəg^ωal-t, Aw {Ap.} dɜv^ωarí, {CR} dux^ωari id. ||| EC: Or Brr {Fl.} dongorra 'donkey' → Amh denqoro 'stupid, ignorant, deaf' ||| SC: Irq {Wh.} dāq^ωay (pl. dāq^ωāye), Grw {Fl.} dog^ωay, Alg {Wh.} daq^ωi, {Fl.} ndag^ωay, Brn {Fl.} daq^ωa, {Wh.} daq^ωay, Kz {E} daq^ωak^ωayiko, {Fl.} dag^ωag^ωay-ko 'donkey' (Ehret reconstructs Rt *daq^ω-, *daq^ωayi); Irq daketi, Alg deketi 'zebra' (Rt {E} *daq-et-) ¶ AD SF 275, AD GDS 70, L CAD 197, Wh. SI, E PC #406, E SC 345, R WB 103, R QW 48, R Ch II 353, Ap. AV 9 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dak^ωi 'horse' > Hs dōkⁱ id. | BT *dak^ωi id. > Krkr {Lk.} dōkú, Bl {Mk.} doku, Ngm doku, Dr {J} dōk id., {Nw.} dók, Krf {ChC} pl. dúkkùšín 'horses', Grm {Sch.} dùwá (pl. dùččénží) 'horse' | NrBc {Stl.} *dak^ωi 'horse' > {Sk.}: Wrj dūhúná, Mbr dākù, My dúwàkè, Sir dük^ωí, Cg dākən, Jmb dāk^ωà, P' {MSk.} žìkí, Kry dūhú, Sir dük^ωí | Ngz {Sch.} dūkà, Bd {ChL} dūwún id. ||| CCh: Mrg {Hf.} tágú, Klb {Mk.} tákù, Hld {ChL}, Wmd {ChL} tagu id. | Higi: HgK {Mk.} tuku, FK {ChL} tūku, FG {ChL} tūku id. | Gude {ChL} tūx^ωa, {Mk.} tuhwa, Bt {Mch.} dūwē, Bcm {Sk.} dèwé id. ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} dèwkì 'antilope cheval' (Sk.: = 'roan antelope') ¶ Stl. ZCh 170 [#232], ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 29, 115, 135, 147, JI II 194-5, Fd. 186-7, ≈ Sk. HCD 49 ¶ In the BT, NrBc, and CCh lgs. this word for 'horse' may be a loan from Hs ¶¶ OS #667 (*dawak- 'horse': SC, Ag?, WCh) ||| A: M *da^ry¹aqan 'colt' > WrM dagagan ~ dagan, HIM даган 'colt between one and two years', Ord dāya 'poulain de deux ans', WrO daḡān 'two-year-old colt', daḡā 'a colt of 1-2 years', Kl дааһн 'two-year-old colt', Mnr H {SM} d_āḡa 'poulain, ânon', Dx dagan, Ba daḡaḡ 'colt'; M → WrMc daḡan 'colt (from 2 to 5 years)' ¶ SM 40, MED 216, T 328, T DnJ 117, T BJ 138, Krg. 534, Z 777 ◇ Ag and SC point to a N word-internal *-k-, but the M cognate suggests a N *-k|g-. The discrepancy may be resolved

by reconstructing a pN etymon $*dak_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} \uparrow U$ (with $*-k_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} \uparrow U > C *-(k)k^{\omega}$).

515. $*dik_{\downarrow} E_{\downarrow} \uparrow U$ 'rumple, knead, press' > **HS:** EC: Sa {R} *ḍakah-* ~ *takah-* 'die Polenta umrühren', Af S *ḍakḥa* (pl. *ḍakoḥ*) 'pastry', Af N *ḍakḥa* (pl. *ḍakoḥ*) 'porridge' ¶ R S II 105, PH 79 || S (mt. $*\check{d}ɛk < *\check{d}kɛ$?): CS $*\check{d}ɛk$ '≈ crush, rub' > Ar $\check{d}ɛk$ (ip. *-ḍak-*) 'frotter, lisser en frottant', JA/MHb {Js.} $\check{d}ɛk$ v. *G* 'crush, stamp upon' (absent in Lv. and Sl!) ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || **K** $*d\check{y}\omega-$ v. 'mix' (→ v. 'splash?') > Lz *d\check{y}val-* v. 'mix' ('перемешивать'), ?σ Mg *d\check{y}vab-* v. 'flop into water', ?σ Sv {K} *d\check{y}ul-* /*d\check{y}aḷ* 'splash of milk when milking a cow\goat', Sv UB/L {TK} *d\check{y}ūḷ*, Sv UB/Ln *d\check{y}ul* id. ¶¶ K 76, Chx. 329, Chik. 271, TK 199 ¶¶ K $*-y-$ < $*-k\check{y}-$? || **IE:** NaIE $*d^hej\check{g}^h-$ 'knead', {P} 'Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder bestreichen', {E} 'work clay, smear' > OI *dēh-* (prs. 1s 'dēh-mi, 3s dēgdhi) v. 'smear, anoint' || Gk *θυγῶν* (aor. inf. *θυγ-εῖν*) 'touch with the hand, handle' || L *fiŋg(ē)-* (pp. *fiŋctum*) vt. 'shape, fashion, form, mould', {WH} 'knead\mould out of clay, wax, or sim.' || Gt *digan* 'to knead, to form out of clay', *daig-s* 'dough' (< $*d^hoj\check{g}^hom$), OHG *teik* ~ *teig* (> NHG *Teig*), AS *dāz* id., NE *dough* || Sl $*děža$ 'trough for kneading dough' > OR *Δ.ЂЖА* *děža*, R *дежа*, Uk *ді'жа*, Cz *díže*, *díž*, Slk *dieža*, P *dzieża* id., Slov *déža* 'kneaded dough', SCr *Δ* *díža*, *dīžva*, *diježva* 'milk pail' ¶ WP I 833-4, P 244-5, EI 649, WH I 501-2, M K II 62, FI 674-5, Fs. 118-9, OsS 924, Kb. 1014, KM 775-6, Ho. 69-70, ESSJ V 23-4, Bern. I 198, Vs. I 494, Mn. 181, 195 || **A:** Tg $*jig-$ (< $*dig-$) > Ewk *jigirē-* v. 'warp, get wrinkled from fire' (of leather), v. 'shrink' (of cloth), *jigirē* 'warped, wrinkled, shrunk', Nn *žigda-* v. 'press, tread down' ¶ STM I 255 || **D** (in GnD) $*tik-$ ({GS} $*tig-$) v. 'press down' > Knd *tig-* v. 'press down hard, lay pressure on', Png, Mnd *tig-* v. 'push' ¶ D #3205 ◇ IE $*\check{g}^h$ suggests a following N front vw., while K $*y\omega$ suggests a final rounded vw.; at the same time both HS and K provide ev. of N $*y$. Therefore (and in the light of Sa and Af data, where the reflexes of N $*k$ and $*y$ are separated by a vw.) one may assume that originally there was a vw. between N $*k$ and $*y$, so that there probably were a front vowel ($*E$) and a rounded one ($*U$): N $*dik_{\downarrow} E_{\downarrow} \uparrow U$. If it is right, Tg and D lost the final syll. (N $*-yU$) without traces, while in IE the front vw. palatalized the velar cns. (N $*kE > \text{pre-IE } *\check{g}$) and later the pIE cluster $*\check{g}H$ (with $*H < N *y$) yielded NaIE $*\check{g}^h$.

516. *daḲ 'small, thin, short' > **HS:** S *daḲḲ- 'small, fine' > Ug dḲ, (AkSc) daḲḲu 'small', BHb דַּק 'daḲ (f. daḲkā, pl. daḲḲīm) {BDB} 'thin, fine, small', Pun dḲ 'fine, pulverized', IA dḲḲ 'fine' (of salt), JA דַּק 'dünn, fein, zart' (pl. em. דַּקִּים 'die dünnen, kleinen Därme'), Ak daḲḲu 'small'; d. *daḲīḲ- adj. 'small, fine' > Ar daḳīq-, Sb dḲḲ 'flour', Ak daḲīḲ- 'small'; JEA daḲ'daḲ 'very small' ¶ KB 220, KBR 229, GB 167, BDB #1851, Sl. 349, BGMR 36, OLS 135, Hnr. 119, Grd. UT #695, CAD III 107, Lv. I 418, HJ 257-8, DRS 305 || EC {Ss.} *diḲḲ- 'small' > Or B/Wt {Sr.} diḲā m., diḲō f., Or H {Ow.} diḲḲā m., diḲḲō f. 'small, little', Hr tīḲḲ-assa 'small', ?σ Sml dīq- v. 'become faint, become tenuous', dīq 'faintness'; ?φ Af {PH} daḡo 'one who is small' ¶ Ss. PEC 50, Sr. 287, Ow. 257, PH 79 || Om: SOM: Ari B {Fl.} toko-mi, {Bnd.} tok-, Ub {Fl.} tok^ωmi, Ari {Blz.} tokⁱmi (= tok^bmi?) 'small' || NrOm: Male {Fl.} ḍaḳa id. ¶ Fl. AJ, Fl. SO, Bnd. AL, Blz. OL || Ch *√dk^ω 'small, short': WCh: BT: Grm {ChC} ḍèk·ám, {Gw.} deḱumu 'small' | SBc: ? Grn žeka id., ?? Wnd {ChL} nduk 'short' | ? Ron: Klr ḡdīk^ω 'small' || CCh: Higi: FlG {ChL} duk^ω 'short', HgB {Kr.} tiku 'small' | Glv dèyk^ω id., Gv {ChL} déx^ωè, Dgh {Frk., ChL} dúk^ωè id. | Db {Lnh.} duk, Kola {Sb.} dúk id. | Lane dáke id. || Ech: ? Mu {J} √dgs (dàgàsé / dégís / dīgās) v. 'be short' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 135, 138 ¶¶ OS #704 (S, C) || **A:** Tg: WrMc daḳdaḡun 'short' (of garment) ¶ STM I 191, Z 777 || **D** *takaḷ- ({ǵGS} ~ *tagaḷ-) 'thin and flat' > Tm takaḷ- 'quality of being thin and flat', Ml takaḷu, takiḷu 'thin metal plate', Tu tagaḷu id., Kn tagaḷu 'flat piece or sheet of metal', Tl tagaḷu 'plate, sheet, leaf of foil\metal' ¶¶ D #2995.

517. *diḲ 'edible cereals\fruit' > **K:** pGZ *diḲ- 'wheat' > G diḳa 'Triticum carthlicum (a kind of spring wheat)', Lz diḳa 'wheat' ¶ Chik. 141-2, Chx. 313, FS K 104 || **A** **diḲ- ⇨ **[1]** A *di_Ḳ-ktä 'edible berries' > NaT *jigdä 'edible berries (of Zizyphus and possibly Eleaeagnus)' ({ET}: 'the berries Zizypha rubra') > OT [MhK] jigdä {Cl.} 'jujube tree (Zizyphus angustofolia) and its fruit (an edible berry)', {DTS} 'Elaeagnus' ([MhK]: jigdä talqanī 'flour of dried Eleaeagnus berries'), Tkm iḡde 'Elaeagnus and its berry; date fruit', Tkm Δ žigde 'Elaeagnus', Tk iḡde {TrR} 'Elaeagnus, Zizypha rubra (джидә), wild olive', Az iydä, Qrg, Qq žiyde, Qzq žbyde, Uz žiyda ~ Δ žiydä 'Elaeagnus and its berries' ¶ Cl. 911, DTS 260, ET Gl 325-6 || Tg *jikte 'berries, Vaccinium' > Ewk jiktə 'berries', Orc žiktə, Ud žiktə- 'bog bilberry

(*Vaccinium uliginosum*), Neg *jiktɜ* id., 'bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)' ¶ STM I 256, Krm. 233 || [2] A: NaT **jig_ld_jellek* 'berries' > Tk *çilek*, Ggz *čilek*, θkm *čixelek*, QrB *žlek*, Qmq *žielek* 'strawberries', VTt *žiläk*, Bsh *žbläk*, Qzq *žide* ~ *židek* 'berries' (unless from **jigdä*), Alt *žilek* 'berries', Nog *jelek* id., 'fruit' ¶ TL 122 || D (in NED) **ʔtik_lk_j∇*] - > Krx *tīxɔl* 'rice, paddy cleansed of its husk', Mlt *tiqalu* 'rice' ¶ D #3271, Pf. 192 || HS: Eg fMK *ɖkɾ* 'edible fruit' (general name), {Fk.} *ɖkɾ.ω* 'fruit' ¶ EG V 495-6, Fk. 316 || AdS of ? B **ɖāyū*- 'grain, seed' (< N **ɖowkâ* 'germ', 'seed' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Fn. KD #58 (K, D) ◇ S CNM 10 (rejects the Tg cognate and unconvincingly considers it to be a loan from M ***žedegene* 'berry' allegedly borrowed from T **jigdä*; ÷÷ NrCs **diḳwi* 'cereal [millet, rice]'), Vv. AEN 18 (rejects the "teleological rec." of *K in A **diK-ktä*; on legitimacy of "teleological recs." see AD NMI 41-2 and above: Introduction, § 8.7).

518. **doḳê* '≈ observe, learn (erfahren)' > HS: CS *-*dūḳ-* v. 'observe, inspect' > Ar ✓ *dωq* (ip. -*dūq-*, pf. *dāqa*) v. 'taste (food)', BHb ✓ *dωḳ* *Sh* pf. c. *ḳṭṭṭ* *way¹yāḏεḳ* (h. 1.) [LXX] ἡρῶμισησεν' ({L} 'inspect, review', {KB} '[?] mustern, aufbieten'), JEA, ChrPA, SmA, Sr, Md ✓ *dωḳ* *Sh* 'scrutinize' ¶ KB 208, KBR 217, BK I 751, DRS 238 || U **ʔok_lk_je* (or **š-*, **ć-*) > pSm {Jn., Hl.} **ʔok_l-* ~ ? **ʔok-* v. 'learn' > Ne T *τοχο-σβ*, Ne O {Lh.} *to·xō* id., Ne F {Lh.} 3s aor. *toχūηηḏə* id., Slq Tz {Prk.} d. *toḡ+lt+qo* 'to read, to count', Mt {Hl.} **ʔok_lə-* 'get accustomed' ⇨ **ʔoktə-* 'learn, teach (erlernen, lehren)' (Mt M {Sp.} *μανδοοχομῶ* 'I get accustomed' [*μαν* 'I'], *τοχτήμῶ* 'I learn' [*ναυχαῖομαι*], *τοχτήμῶ* 'I teach') ¶ Jn. 165, Hl. M ##1049, 1051 || IE: NaIE **doḳ_lk-* v. '≈ make clear, teach, believe' > L *docē-* (pfc. *docui*, sup. *docum*) v. 'make clear, teach' || Gk *δοκέω* (ft. *δόξω*, aor. *ἔδοξα*) 'videor mihi, suppose, think, have an opinion', (here?) *δοκεύω* 'keep an eye upon, watch narrowly' ¶ An alt. (less plausible) et.: NaIE **doḳ-* ⇨ NaIE **deḳ-* v. 'be fit, suit' (EI 564) ¶ WH I 331, FI 404-6 ¶ IE **d-* (for the expected **d^h-*) is due to the IE incompatibility law rejecting combinations of media aspirata and tenues in roots.

519. ₂ **d^hU¹ʔ¹∇* 'to approach; near' > HS: C (acc. to AD SF) **ʔ∇K∇* 'near' > EC: Sa I {R} *ɖagā* 'proximity', postp. 'chez' || Ag: Aw *diḡ-* (1s *diḳ-*) v. 'approach'; C ⇨ Gz *ṭaḳā* ~ *ṭaḳā* 'proximity, near', Tgy *tɜḳa* 'proximity' ⇨ Bln {R} *ta'ḡā* 'Seite, neben' ⇨ *taḡa-t-* vi. 'approach', Xm {R} *ṭaḳe-t* id.; for further (rather qu.) cognates in C lgs. see IS I 215 ¶ AD SF 55-6, L G 595, R WB 334, R S II 123 ¶ Secondary

glottalization of the initial cns. (mte. *d...k̥ > *t̥...K?) || Ch: WCh: Gmy {Kr.} duk, Kfr {Nt.} dük 'near' || CCh: Gude {ChL} nduk^ω(u) id. || Bnn {ChL} tɔktɔŋ, BnnM {ChL} tɔk id. ¶ ChL, ChC ¶¶ Coh. #339, Gr. LA 60 [#53], AD SF 55-6 ¶¶ If we had accepted O. Rössler's theory (Eg ^ε < *d), we would have adduced Eg fP ^εk̥ 'enter, come in', Eg N ^εk̥^εk̥ 'betreten, (jemanden) erreichen' (EG I 230, 234, Fk. 49) || A (*d^{r̥}ō^{r̥}k^{r̥}i^{r̥}- v. 'approach, be near'): M *dökü- vi. 'approach' > WrM dökü- v. 'approach, move closer, be close to', HIM dɔxɔ- id., Brt dɣxɔ- vi. 'approach' ¶ MED 266, Chr. 213 || T *j_Lak- v. 'approach' > NaT *jak- > OT {Cl.} jaq-, ET Δ jaq- id.; variant pT verb *j_Lagu- 'approach' > OT {Cl.} jaɣū- v. 'approach, be near to', Chg jaɣu-, Nog juɣi-, Qrg žū-, Qzq žuɣ- v. 'approach'; d. NaT *jak-in adj. 'near' > OT {Cl.} jaqin, Tk ɣakɪn, Qq, Nog, SY, Ln jaqin, VTt, Bsh jaqɪn, Uz jaqin, ET jeqin, Az jaχin, Qzq žaqin, Xk čaɣin id. ¶ Cl. 896-9, 904, ET J 81, 84 || Tg *daga ~ *d^{r̥}i^{r̥}ga 'near' > Jrc {Kiy.} digasa, {Md.} diɣa-sa id., Ewk daɣa ɖ daa ɖ daga, Sln daga, Neg daɣa 'near', Lm daɣɪm v. 'approach', daksa- id., dās'a 'near' ¶ STM I 187-8, Gru. SSJ #681, Kiy. 135, Md. ChF 136 ¶ Tg *-g- for the expected *-k- still needs explaining || ?φ pJ {S} *tiká- 'near' > OJ tika-, J: T ćikái, Ky ćíkai, Kg čiké, Ns čikyá-, Sh čiká-, Ht sɪ_ká-, Y tá- id. ¶ S QJ #100, Mr. 142 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #351 (A *dāk'í 'follow, near'; does not take into account M *dökü- and does not distinguish between A *d^{r̥}ō^{r̥}k^{r̥}i^{r̥}- 'be near' and A *dak∇- v. 'follow, go behind so., FN *daka 'back [dorsum], back [rear], behind'), STM I 188; on the vowel corr. justifying the rec. of A *dōki- see SDM VC (A *ō (with *i of the second syll.) > T *ja, M *ō, pJ *i); in Tg *daga ~ *d^{r̥}i^{r̥}ga 'near' the vowels *a ~ *i (for the expected labialized vw.) have not yet been explained ◊ IS I 215-6 (*d̥ak̥a 'near', adduces the U and A reflexes of N *daka '↑').

520. *daɭ∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE *d_o̥k̥u- 'sweet' (< N *daɭ∇ + N *Laqû 'tender, mild' [→] 'sweet', q.v.) > L dulcis (< *d_o̥k̥wi-s) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk γλυκύς, γλυκερός 'sweet' (P: γλ- < *δλ- due to dis. from the word-medial -κ-) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 (*d_o̥ku-s ~ *gluku-s), WH I 379-380, FI 314-5, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46 ¶¶ IE *d- (for the expected *d^h-) is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws (*d...k̥ > pre-IE *t...k̥ > IE *d...k) || HS: ECh: Mu {J} d̥il / d̥êl / d̥illa 'être sucré', {Lk.} d̥ílit 'sweet', Mkl {J} d̥alûl 'gentillesse, douceur' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, J LM 78 ¶ The glottalized d̥- in Mu still is still to be explained || A {SDM97} *dalo 'tasty, sweet' > NrTg *dal- id. > Ewk dalli ɖ daldi, Lm

dalrb 𐌆 dalda 𐌆 dald𐌆 𐌆 dalla 𐌆 dall𐌆, dalsu 𐌆 dalhu, Neg dalugdī id. 𐌆 STM I 195 || Ko *tār- 'sweet' > MKo tār-, Ko tal- v. 'be sweet' 𐌆 S KD #545, Nam 140, Rm. SKE 253 || ?σ NaT *j^ra¹l- > OT [MhK] {Br.} jalInč̣̣a (aš), {Cl.} jilInč̣̣a (aš) '(food) which has no fat in it, or salt, or taste' (unless from T *jalIn, *jalIn^raq 'naked', see ET J 104-6); other possible Tk words of this √ are Alt {GAJ} žalIm-ćI 'fresh water' (GAJ 167) and VTt žalaṃk 'feiner Grießbrei' (Rl. IV 37) 𐌆 Br. MT 75, Cl. 931, DTS 266 𐌆 Rm. EAS I 50-1, DQA #353 (A *dalō 'sweet, tasty') || **D** {tr., 𐌆GS} *tā]- v. 'season\flavour food with spices' > Tm tāli id., Ml tālikka, Kn tāliṣu, OTI {Km.} tālāboyu, TI tālincu, Δ tālābōyu v. 'season food', Kn tālida, tālada, tālda, tāllu 'boiled and seasoned vegetables', TI tālimpu 'seasoning, a seasoned curry', OTI {Km.} tālupu n., Knd tālep 'seasoning of food with spices' 𐌆 D #3186, Km. 381 [#560].

521. *d^ri¹la (= *d^ri¹la?) 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > **HS:** SC: Irq {Wh.} délo 'day' (as opposed to 'night'), Alg {Wh.} délu id., Kz {E} deles- 'yellow', ?? Asa {E} -dili?i 'red' 𐌆 Wh. IC 23, E SC 346 [#11] (pRt *del- 'daylight') || **K** *dila 'morning' > OG, G dila 'morning', OG dila 'dawn', 'to-morrow', diliti 'in the morning' 𐌆 DCh. 478, Ser. 58, Abul. 142 || **IE:** NaIE *d^hel- 'sun, bright' > Arm դեղին deḡin (gen. deḡnoy) 'yellow, pale' (< *d^heleno-) || ? pAl {O} *delwa, {Huld} *dieḡ 'sun' > Al: G/T diell, {Kf.} G dill 'sun', {Huld} SG/Ba diḡ, Sh dīḡ, D/Be/Ç dieḡ, A dyeḡ, P dīeḡ id., dīeḡna id. ({P} < *del-no-) || OIr {P} dellrad 'Glanz', ? NIr {Dnn.} dealrach 'bright, shining' || ON Dellingr 'father of the god of day (Dagr)', MLG {P} ge-telle 'hübsch, artig' 𐌆 P 246 (does not adduce Al and reconstructs *d^hel- 'leuchten, hell'), Vr. 72, 75, Kf. 81, ≈ O 65 (qu.: pAl *delwa < IE *ḡ^helw- 'yellow' with a tabooistic change), Huld 50-1, ≠ Slt. 349 (unc.: Arm deḡin connected with Arm դալար dalar 'green, fresh' [which, acc. to P 234, goes back to IE d^hal- {P} 'blühen, grünen']), Dnn. 228-9 || **A** ({DQA} *d^īlo 'sun, sun cycle, year'): NaT *jil 'year' > OT jil, Tk 𐌆il, Tkm jil, VTt, Bsh j̣il, Az il, Qzq, Qq žil, Qrg žil, Uz, ET, SY jil, StAlt žil, Xk, Tv čil, Yk sil 'year'; T → M: WrM žil, HIM, Kl, Dg žil 'year' 𐌆 Lack of the final vw. in the M word suggests that it is a loan from T 𐌆 ET J 275, S AJ 186 [#105], 239 [#118], Rs. W 200, Cl. 917, TL 70-2, MED 1054 || NrTg *dilaçā 'sun' > Neg Δ dilaça, Ewk dilaçā id. 𐌆 STM I 206, S AJ 238 [#201] || pKo *tolč̣s 'full year, anniversary (cycle)' > MKo tors, NKo tot [toḷs], tol id. 𐌆 S AJ 256

[#131], S QK #131, MLC 478 || pJ *təsì 'year' > OJ tòsì, J: T tośí, K tósì, Kg tóśí_, Ns tùśí, Sh túśí, Ht tù_sí, Y tùtçì id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#107], S QJ #107, Mr. 551 ¶¶ S AJ 31, 88, 278-9 [#100], ≈ DQA #382 (A *dǎlo 'year; sun, sun cycle' > T, Tg, Ko, J) || ?σ D *tE]- ({ǵGS} *t-) > Tm tēl, Kn tiḷi, taḷi v. 'become clear', Ml tēli 'clearness, brightness', Td tüly 'clear', Tu tiḷi 'transparent, clear, distilled', teli 'clear, pure, filtered', Tl teli 'white, pure', Klm telmi, Gdb tellan, Knd telani 'white' ¶¶ D #3433 ◇ IS I 219-20 [#28] (K, IE, A [T, M, Tg]) (→ BmK 273-4: IS's comparison + SC + D). If the D cognate is valid, the reconstructed N etymon must be *d'i'la.

522. *duīi 'fire; to heat' > U *tu||le 'fire' (× N *tūī▽ 'fire; to kindle [a fire]') > F, Es tūli 'fire' | pLp {Lr.} *tōlɜ > Lp: N {N} dollâ, S {Hs.} dǎlle, Kld tōli id. | pMr {Ker.} tul > Er/Mk тол toḷ id. | Chr: L τυλ tul, H тыл tьl id. | pPrm *tūl > Z t+v, Vt t+l id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *tuuy id. > StNe T τυ, Ne O {Lh.} tū, Ne F {Lh.} tu', Ng {Ter., Mkl.} tuuy, En {Cs.} X tû, B tu | Slq Tz {KKIH} tü, Tm {KD} tū, Ch {Cs.} t^u id. | Kms {KD} šû:, šû 'Feuer, Licht', Koyb {Sp.} cю 'fire' | Mt {Hl.} *tuuy 'Feuer, Feuerzeug' (Mt: M/T tui, K {Mll.} dui, A {Msr.} thui, {Strl.} thuy 'fire', M {Sp.} туї 'огниво = flint\steel for striking fire') ¶¶ UEW 535, Coll. 63, It. #205, Sm. 540 (U *tuli+, FU, FP *tuli, Sm *tuj), Lr. #1266, Lgc. #7914, Hs. 415, Ker. II 168-9, Ep. 124, LG 292, Jn. 166, Hl. M ##1085-6, KKIИ 189, KD 66 ¶¶ Sm *-y < U *-||i || A *dūli- 'be(come) hot\warm' > NaT *jili- v. 'be(come) hot' > OT {Cl.} jili- id., Tk ili-, Tkm jila-, Bsh jьль-, Uz jili-, ET ili-, Qrg žili-, Qzq žili-, StAlt žili-, Xk, Tv čili-, Yk siliy- v. 'become warm \ warmer'; d. NaT *jilig ~ *jilug adj. 'hot, warm' > OT {Cl.} jiliy id., QK jiliy, SY jiliy, Az iliy, Tkm, Qmq jili, Bsh jьль, Tk ili, ET jiliq, Uz jiliq ~ iliq, Qrg žilu, Qzq žili, StAlt žilu, Xk čiliy, Tv čiliš 'warm' ¶ Cl. 919, 925, ET J 275-6, Rs. W 431, Dr. TM III 281-2 || M *dula-yan 'warm' > MM [HI] {H} dulaḥan 'lau', {Ms., Lew.} dula₁an 'chaleur modérée', WrM dulagan, HIM дулаан dulān, Kl дулан, Brt дулаа(н), Dg, ShY dulān 'warm; warmth'; (× N *tūī||▽ 'be bright, be light [hell]', q.v. ffd.): WrM dul, HIM дул 'clear, serene, bright' (of weather) ¶ H SMG I #73, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 36, MED 272, KRS 214, Chr. 200, T DgJ 138, S AJ 238 [#101] || Tg *dūl- vt. 'warm' (of sun) > Ewk dūl-, Lm dūl- id., Jrc {Md.} duluhun 'warm', {Kiy.} dulhun 'sunny (?)' ¶ STM I 221, Gru. SSJ #20, Kiy. 97 [#020], Md. ChF 136 || pJ *dù 'warm water' > OJ yu, J: T yú, K yǔ, Kg yù ¶ S AJ 72, 271 [#170], S QJ #170,

Mr. 578 ¶ S AJ 51, 72, 284 [#215], ADb. KL, SDM95 (A *dūli (-ū-) 'warm'), SDM97 (A *dūlu id.), DQA #392 (A *dīlū id.) || D {tr., †GS} *tu]- v. 'shine, sparkle, be bright' (× N *tu|l|∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || HS *d∇]- > CS *√d|k vi. 'burn' > BHb כִּבְּרָה d|k G 'set on fire', JA, Sr, MHb √d|k G vi. 'burn' ¶ BDB #1814, KB 214, KBR 223, GB 163, Js. 311, Sl. 340, Br. 155, DRS 268-9 || ? EC: Sa dilh-eno 'charcoal', {R} dilhenō 'live coals' (× N *zū|h∇,|y∇ or *zū|h∇,|yE 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) || ? WCh *T∇]- 'hot', (?) v. 'heat' > Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn', Su {J} tāl 'heiß, fiebrig', Kfr {ChL} tāl 'hot' | Tng {J} tūldūl 'warm', ? tēlè v. 'fry, put in\on fire, roast' ¶ J T 152, 157, J S 84, ChL, ChC, ≠ Stl. ZCh 173 [#254] (WCh *d∇]- with *d- on the presumed ev. of Hs dallarō, actually meaning 'protrude' rather than {Stl.} 'kindle') ◇ IS I 221-2 [#71] (→ BmK 274-5). Since this N etymon is not the main source of D *tu]-, the latter does not provide legitimate ev. for identifying the N lateral. Hence we reconstruct it not as N *l, but as a less specific N *l̄ (sc. *l|l). The delabialization of N *u in T (producing T *l) occurs in several N words, but the conditions of this delabialization still need investigating.

523. (₂?) *daH|∇ - *da|H∇ 'lick' > A *dāl'u' > T **jal'u' yā- > *jalga- ~ *jala- v. 'lick': [1] *jalga- (~ *o|jalwa-?) > OT jalga- ~ [MhK] jalwa-, Xlj jalya-, SY jalya-~jalya-, Xk čalya-, Tv čilya-, Tf čilga-, Yk salā- id.; [2] T *jala- id. > Tk yala-, Tkm. Ggz, Az, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, Ln jāla-, Uz jalā-, Qzq, Qq žala-, Qrg žala-, Alt žala-, Chv šula- id. ¶ Cl. 926-7, ET J 87-8, Rs. W 182, DTS 228, 230, MKD 211, DT 219, Ra. 199-200 || M *dōlyā- (~ *dōliya-?) 'lick' > MM [MA] dolā-, [IM] dolō-, WrM doluga- ~ doliya-, HIM долоо-, Brt долëо-, WrO dolō-, Kl дола- dolā-, Ord, Dg dolō-, Mnr H {SM} dōli-, T} dōli-, Dx dolu-, Ba dolz-, ShY dōl-, MMgl dōl- ¶ The length of *-ō- is evidenced by MMgl ¶ Pp. MA 142, 436, MED 259, Krg. 562, KRS 205, KW 94, SM 59, T 330, T DnJ 118, Iw. 98, Ms. O 150, Hatt. LV ∇ (on pM long vowels preserved in Mgl) || Tg *dala- v. 'lap' (of animals) > Ewk, Neg, Ud dala-, Ork dal(l)a-, Ewk dal- id., ⇨: Neg dalaw-, Orc dalau-, Ul dakan-, Ork dalaw-, dallau-, Nn dalo ≈ dala- v. 'feed (dogs)' ¶ STM I 193 || HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} delme- 'lick' || Ech: Mkl {J} dâldâ- id., v. 'taste' ¶ ChC, J T 79, J LM 78 || ?ϕ K: GZ *t̄lek- 'lick, lick oneself' (× N *t̄' i|∇ (-ko) 'tongue') > G t̄lek-, Mg t̄irk- 'lick, lick oneself' ¶ K *t̄- (rather than *d-) is due to

the abovementioned merger and possibly to regr. as. ¶ K 182, Fn. KW-1 36, K² 190.

524. ${}_2$ *dū|u₁H|w|y₁l∇ 'itching, lust' > A: *dū|u₁l∇ > T *°jūl- > Yk sūl- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies, etc.), sūl 'heat (of male animals)' (× N *dū|U_h∇ 'be mad, be stupid' [q.v.]) ¶ JkR 352, Pek. 2887, ≈ Md. 66, 163, ≈ Rs. W 213 || J: OJ turub- v. 'copulate' ¶¶ DQA #404 (T < A *dūli 'mad, crazy', see N *dū|U_h∇) || D *tūl- ({{GS}} *d-) > Kn dūle 'itching, lust', Tl dūla 'itching, itch', Prj dulkañid, duladāma 'cow-itch' (kañid 'ε creeper'), Gnd M {LuS} doorwa 'Indian cowhage', Knd dūla 'itch' ¶¶ D #3392 ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of an additional cns. (a lr., *w, or *y) in the pN word.

525. *dū|U_h∇ 'be mad, be stupid' > U: FU (att. in ObU) *ot'U'∇ 'mad' > Os (partially in composita) *tu] 'mad' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu], Y tu], D/K tūl, Nz tūl id.; Vg Ss tu] (< Os?): tu]-pāṅq 'sinnlos machender Fliegenpilz' ¶ Ht. #827 || A ({{AD}} ≈ *dūlwE, {{SDM97}} *dūlbi, {{DQA}} *dūli 'crazy, stupid' [→ 'deaf']): T *jūl-, {Md.} *jūjla- 'be crazy', 'anger' > Alt žūl- 'be crazy, mad', ET Tr {Rl.} jōlā- 'be a sleep-walker, rave', Chv силě síl' ~ {Fed.} síl 'anger, fury', possibly also Yk sūl- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies, etc.), sūl 'heat (of male animals)' (× N *dū|u₁H|w|y₁l∇ 'itching, lust') ¶ Rs. W 213, BT 60, JkR 352, Pek. 2887, Md. 66, 163, Ash. XII 152-5, Fed. II 117, Rl. III 608, 628 || M *düley 'deaf' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] dülej, [L] dūlī, WrM dūlei, HIM дүлий, K1 дүлә, {Rm.} dūlā, Mnr {T} dūlī, {SM} dūlī, Dgr dūlī, Dx duley id. ¶ KW 105, MED 280, T 331, T DgJ 138, T DnJ 118, Pp. L III 57, Pp. MA 147, 436, Lg. VMI 28, KRS 218 || Tg *dūlbu- v. 'become stupid' > Ewk dūlbu- id., Lm dūlbur 'fool, stupid', WrMc dūlba 'stupid' ¶ STM I 221-2 || ?σ pKo {S} *tor 'wicked, base, wild' > Nko tōl id., tu]- 'stupid, clumsy' ¶ Rm. SKE 272, S QK #869, MLC 478, 509-10 ¶¶ DQA #404 (A *dūli 'mad, crazy') || HS: S (or WS?) *°√dlh 'go mad' > Ar √dlh G 'perdre la raison, être frappé d'aliénation mentale; tomber dans la stupéfaction; éprouver un violent trouble, perdre la tête (d'amour, de chagrin, etc.)', dālih-un 'qui a perdu la tête; aliéné, fou', Ar O dilih, Hrs (← Ar?) [deleh] dēleh 'foolish, silly' ¶ BK I 726-7, Jo. H 24, DRS 262.

526. *dalqa|U 'wave' > HS *°√dlχ v. 'rise in waves, stir up' > S *√dlχ id., 'agitate' > BHb √dlh G 'make turbid (water)', IA, JA, Sr √dlh G id., 'stir up' (? Aram *√dlh v. 'mix' → Ar ḍullāh- 'milk mixed with water'), Ak fOB/OA √dlχ v. 'stir up, roil (water), blur (eyes)', Ak OB

dilχu 'trouble, confusion' ¶ KB 213, KBR 222, Js. 309, DRS 264, CAD III 43-6, 141-2 || B: Ah dālaγ 'être trouble' (of water) ¶ Fc. 196, NZ 332 || IE *^od^he^lH- > ⇨ Gk θάλασσα, Gk A θάλαττα 'sea' (< *d^h̥_l-t_{ya}; *d^h̥_l- < *d^h̥_lh-), Mcd [Hs.] θαλάσσαν accus. 'sea' ¶ FI 648-9, Ch. 42, ≠ EI 503 (the Gk word ← non-IE lge.) || D {tr., θGS} *tal^l- v. 'be agitated, wave' > ds.: Kn tallana 'agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief', Tu tallana 'wavering, vexed', Tl talladamu 'agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil' ¶¶ D #3104 || A: Tg *dalan 'flood, inundation' > Neg dalan, Ul dala(n-), Nn dalā id. ¶ STM I 193 || [1] M *dal^la^ly (unless the word as a Chn loan, F Cl. 502: Clauson treats OT taluy as a loan from Chn ta 'large' + lej 'Sang-kan river') > MM [S] dalay 'sea, lake', [HI] dalay 'sea, ocean', WrM dalaγ, HIM далай 'ocean, sea, great lake', Mnr H d_{al}ē 'sea'; M *dal^la^ly ⇨ OT taluy 'sea, large body of water' ¶ H 31, Ms. H 48, MED 224, SM 41, T 327, Cl. 502 || [2] M d. *doli-gi- > WrM dolgi- v. 'wave, undulate, be tempestuous; ⇨ M *doligiγān 'wave' > MM doligiγēn, dolgiyan, WrM dolgiya(n), Dg dolgēn, dolgān, HIM долгио(н) 'wave' ⇨ Ewk A tōlgān 'whirlpool', WrMc dolcin 'wave', Yk dolgun, Tkm tolqun, Qzq tolqin, Az dalγa, Tk dalga 'wave' ¶ MED 259, IS AD #6.43, Pp. AU 100, Pp. IM 77, Rm. VMT 15, 55, KW 94 || ?σ T *tā^l(+)- v. 'overflow' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV taš- id., MQp XIV taš- v. 'boil over' (of a pot), Tkm dāš, Ggz, Kr taš- 'overflow', 'overflow its banks' (a river), ET taš-, Uz тош- таш- id., 'run over', Tk taš, Az daš, CrTt taš- id., 'boil over' (of water\milk in a pot), Xk tas- 'run over, overflow its banks' ¶ Cl. 559, ET VGD 169-70 ¶ T *t̥- for the expected *j- (< A *d-) may be due to the infl. of T *t̥ōl- v. 'be filled, be full' (see N *toH₂l̥∇ ⇨ *toH₂∇ 'to fill, to pile up; full') ¶ T *-l̥- < **-ly- < **-l̥y- (cp. M *dal^la^ly) ¶¶ ≠ The origin of u in OT taluy and of *o in M *doli-gi- remains obscure (presence of some rounded vw., e.g. *U in N *dalqU?) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2719 (A *čalγ 'sea' (> M *dalay 'sea' + unc. T *t̥ā^l- [actually meaning 'immerse, dip, dive', see ET VGD 133-4] and Tg *o^ojal- [in fact *o^ojā^l-] 'overflow, be filled with water' > Lm jā^l- id. [STM I 245-6]); in an earlier version of DQA: A *tā^l∇ (> T *t̥ā^l(+)-, M *dalay 'sea', Tg *dalan 'flood'), ≠ SDM95 s.v. *t̥jōl∇ 'wave, shallow place' (*÷ pKo *tór 'ditch' and pJ *tù 'ford'; the T words [Yk dolgun, Tk dalga, etc.] are considered inherited A words representing pT *t̥alKu 'wave') ◇ IS I 216-7 (*dalq^lu^l), cp. IS MS 334 (*t^lo^llg^o) ◇ N *q is

reconstructed on the ev. of S *χ and IE *H ◇ ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically unjustified comparison of A *tā́l̥ with FU *täwðe 'full', see N ≈ *täwod̥ 'be full').

527. *dæLb̥ 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through' > IE: NaIE *dʰelbʰ- v. 'dig, gouge', {E} 'dig' > OHG bi-telban ȝ -telpan, OSx bi-delvan 'to bury', MDt, Dt delven, OFrs delva, AS delfan 'to dig\bury', NE delve || ?? Blt (×N *tal̥ʰo̥' ≈ [back of the] neck, shoulders'): Lt d̥alba 'crow-bar, lever', Pru dalptan 'Durchschlag' 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' || Sl *d̥lb-ti / 1s prs.*d̥lbq v. 'gouge' > OR, RChS ДЪЛБСТН d̥lbsti ~ ДЛЪБСТН dl̥bsti, Uk дов'сти / prs. дов'бу, Blr даўб'ці, Blg дъл'бъ, SCr d̥up̥sti / prs. d̥ub̥em, Slv d̥ol̥b̥sti / d̥ol̥bem, R дол'битъ / μ дол'блю ¶ WP I 865-6, P 246-7, EI 159, Mn. 179, Vr. N 110-1, OsS 825, Kb. 1016, Ho. 71, Ho. S 12, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tp. P A-D 291-4, Bern. I 250-1, ESSJ V 206, Glh. 213, SPS III 36, 246-8 (*d̥l̥ba-ti, *d̥elb-ti) || А: M *delbe > WrM delbe, HIM дэлбэ 'through and through, to pieces, asunder', M *delbere- > WrM delbere-, HIM дэлбэрэ- v. 'burst, crack asunder'; WrM delberkei-, HIM дэлбэрхий 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', Kl {Rm.} delw̥rk̥ē 'tiefer Riß; tief gespalten' ¶ MED 248, KW 87 || HS: S: (mt.) Ar dubl-at- (pl. dubal-, dubul-) {Ln.} 'the hole of a hoe\adz\axe', {BK} 'trou dans la hache, qui sert à la suspendre' ¶ BK I 668, Ln. 850 ◇ Cf. BmK 268-9 (*dal-/*d̥al- v. 'cut, prick, pierce, gash, notch, wound', based on semantically and phonetically shaky comparison of truncated roots: IE dʰel-bʰ- v. 'dig, hollow out', *dʰel-g- 'sharp object', C *√dl̥s v. 'be cracked', v. 'gash, notch', D *tall- v. 'beat, crush', M delbere- (F above), Tk delik 'hole').

528. ?σ *dæL'k'a 'to prick' > IE: NaIE *dʰelg- v. 'prick', n. 'thorn', {E} 'sting, pierce', 'pin' > OIr {P} delg 'thorn, needle' || ON d̥alkr 'fastening needle (fibula)', 'spina dorsalis piscium', 'dagger, knife', AS d̥alc 'buckle, bracelet', possibly LG dolc, NHG Dolch, NGr Δ Tolch 'dagger' || Lt d̥ilg̥us 'stinging', d̥ilg̥ē 'nettle']?σ possibly words for 'sickle, scythe': Lt d̥al̥g̥ē, Ltv dalgs, Pru doalgis 'scythe' || L falx (gen. falcis) 'sickle' ¶ P 247, EI 424, 428, Vr. 72, Ho. 70, KM 137, Paul 129, Frn. 81, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 354-6, WH I 449-50 || А: ?σ Tg *delk̥- v. 'split' (×N *tāl̥ 'cut (split, trim, cleave]', q.v.) > Ewk d̥ɜlki- v. 'split\chop into pieces', Lm d̥ɜlkb̥- v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk d̥ɜlka- 'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn d̥ɜlki- v. 'split (reed in order

to plait mats)', WrMc *dəlxə-* vi. 'separate', Mc Sb *dəlyz-* 'be disconnected \ ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} *dəlxə-*, {Kiy.} *təlxə-* v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, Y ##1200, 1713, Kiy. 119 [#390], Md. ChF 136 || ?φ HS: SC: Brn {E} *dəlaɸ-* v. 'gash, notch', Kz {E} *dala-* v. 'shoot (with arrow)' ¶ E SC 345 ◇ Doubtful (Tg **dəlk∇-* has an alt. explanation, the ev. of SC is phonetically imperfect) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #295 (**təl* 'pierce') (IE, Tg + err. A, Ko, J, Gil + *qu.* CK).

529. ?σ₂ **dəL₁∇₁P₁∇* 'to flap, to wave', 'to fly' (← 'to flap wings'?) > HS: S **o*√*d*lp > Ar *dalūf-* 'rapide dans son vol' (of eagles, birds) ¶ BK I 724 || A: T **jəlp*i- v. 'flap, fan, winnow' > OT *jəlp*i-n- v. ps. 'fan oneself', *jəlp*i-t- v. caus. '≈ order to fan', *jəlp*ir- 'blow' (of wind), Tkm *jəlp*e-, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Uz *jəlp*i-, ET *jälp*ü-, Bsh *jьlpь-*, VTt *žilpь-*, SbTt Tb {Tm.} inf. *jьlb-ü-*, Brb {Tm.} *jilbä-*, Qzq, Qq *želp*ī-, Qrg *želp*i-, Alt {BT}, Tlt {RI} *želbi-* v. 'fan', 'blow (on so.\sth.) (of wind)' ('обмахивать, обдывать'), Xk *čelbe-* 'wave hands, produce wind', Tv *čelbi-*, Tf *čelp*i-, Yk *sippiy-* 'winnow'; T **jəlp*ik n. 'fan, waving object' > Az *jəlp*ik 'fan', Shor *čelbeg* 'fortune telling by letting a cloth wave in the air' ¶ Cl. 920, ET J 182-3, RI. III 356-7, 1981, BT 52, Tm. 77-6, Ra. 195 || M: [1] M **dəlb*¹*e*¹- > Dg {T} *dəlb*ur, {Pp.} *dəlbūr*, {Mr.} *dəlbure*, {Mrm.} *dəlwur* ~ *dəlgur* 'fan', WrM *dəlbe-gene-*, HIM *dəlbəgnə-*, WrM *dəlbe-lze-*, HIM *dəlbəlzə-* vi. 'move\sway' (of flat\protruding objects), Kl {Rm.} *dəlw*ᵛ_ᵛzə-xə inf. 'flattern, fächeln'] [2] M **dəle-* (loss of *-b(e)- due to metanalysis?) > WrM *dəle-*, HIM *dələ-* v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', Brt *dəli-* 'swing (размахивать(-ся))', Kl *dəl-* 'flap (wings), take wing (fly up)' ¶ MED 238, 247-8, KRS 198, KW 8, Chr. 21, Klz. D I 122, T DgJ 136.

530. **d∇lqâ* 'feather' > HS: CCh: Glv {Rp.} *žāk^ωà* 'feather', Gdf {ChC} *žāk^ωà dṭka* 'feather' (lit. 'bird feather', where *dṭka* means 'bird'); the Ch √ is acceptable if *ž-* goes back to the cluster **d*l- ¶ RpB 31, ChC || K: pGZ **burṭq*l- 'down and feathers' > G *burṭq*l- id., Mg *buṭqu-* 'soft'; pGZ **burṭq*l- is likely to go back to a N phrase **bū|ur₁ṛ₁∇ d∇lqâ* (lit. 'hair\down feather', see N **bū|ur₁ṛ₁∇* 'lock of hair, down' [q.v.]) ¶¶ K 55, FS K 65 || U **tulka* 'feather, wing' > FU: pLp {Lr.} **tolkē* 'feather' > Lp: N {N} *dql'ge* / -lg-, Kld *tāl':g*, T *tol':g'e* id., L {LLO} *tālkē* id., 'down' || pMr {Ker.} **tьlga* > Er/Mk *tolga* 'feather' || Prm {LG} **túl* > Vt *тылы*, Z Le *tł* id., Yz *tə*l id., 'fin of fish', StZ *тыв* *tiv* 'Schwung- oder Schwanzfeder' || Hg *toll* 'feather' || ObU **tōy|wə*l id. > pOs **tōy*ə

({Hl.} *tūʷal) > Os: V/Vy tōʷal, Ty tōʷaɬ, Y tōʷaɬ, D/K/Nz tōχæt, Kz tōχəɬ, O tōχəl id.; pVg *tōʷal > Vg: T tōl, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/ML towl, SV tawl, UL/Ss towəl id., 'wing' || Sm {Jn.} *tuɣy, {Hl.} *tua 'feather, wing' > Ne T τo, T O {Lh.}, Ne F {Lh.} tō, Ng {Mik.} tūz, {Cs.} t̄u, t̄ua, En {Cs.} tua, Slq Tz {KKIH} tū, Mt {Hl.} *tuḡa, ? *toga id. (Mt M {Sp.} τυ, K {Pl.} τόγα 'feather', M {Sp.} τυδα 'its wing') ¶ UEW 535-6, Coll. 62, ≈ Sm. 540 (U *tuχlī 'feather' > FU *tułkã, P *tułka, Ugr *tülka, Sm *tuəj), MF 637, It. #216, Ker. II 169, IG 292, Lt. J 186, Ht. #624, Lr. #1267, Lgc. #7912, Jn. 166, KKIИ 188, Hl. M #1070 || A *°dä|e|_∇|k' -> NaT *jeläk '(large) feather' > Tk yelek, Osm {Rl.} jäläk (كَلْب, بَلْبَلْ) 'feather (of a wing, an arrow)', Tkm jelek 'feather, down', Xlj jäläk 'feather' (DHST 309, but not mentioned in DT), Az läläk 'feather, plumage' (l- for j- < *j- by as.), SbTt Tr jbläk 'combcrest (of a bird)', SbTt Tö d. jьlbьrcāk id. ¶ ET J 179, DHST 309, Rl. III 347, Tm. 77-8 ◊ Gr. II #145 (*tul 'feather') (U, A, Ko, CK, EA + unc. Ai).

531. *dEgíâ (= *dügíâ?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket' > HS: S *°daʷl- > Ar daʷl- 'thicket', ✓ dʷl Sh (pf. ʔadʷala) v. 'be bushy' (of land) ¶ BK I 708, DRS 295 || B *°✓dly > Ah te-däle 'gros tronc d'arbre', Ttq ti-däli 'tronc d'arbre' ¶ Fc. 192, Msq. 341, NZ 328 || U: FU *tEí∇ (= *tūí∇?) 'young thick forest, shrubs' > pPrm {Lt.} *teí > Z тиль tíl, тильсод tílsod 'thick pine forest, young thick coniferous forest', Prmk, Yz teí 'young thick forest', Vt C тэль teí 'forest', Vt N teí 'low wood, underwood, shrubs' || Ugr: OHg {Seb.→LG} tölgy 'shrubs', but hardly here OHg tölgy ~ töl, Hg tölgy 'oak' (← Alan, cp. Oss: I тулдз tūlz, D tolzæ id.) ¶ LG 279, Seb. WUS 326, EWU 1539-40, Ab. III 315-6 || A *dʷííâ: T *jʷíí '(ε) forest' > OT jīš or jīš 'mountain forest', Qmn/QK {Rl.} jīš, {B} žīš 'forest', StAlt {BT} дьыш žīš 'thick forest', Tb {Rl.} jīš id., 'taiga', {B} дьыш žīš id. ('чернь, тайга'), дьыш žīš 'forest', Xk чыс čis 'mountain forest' ¶ Cl. 976 (OT jīš with a long vw. on the insufficient ev. of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling), Rl. III 497, B DChT 116, 118, B DLT 145, B DK 213 || D (in GnD) *tU||- (ǰGS) *d-) > Knd dōlu 'a creeper plant, shrub, plant of shoot height', Png dōl 'plant', 'stem, trunk', Mnd dūl 'plant; sapling', Ku kūli-dōlu 'rice plant', dūlomi 'plant' ¶ D #3517.

532. *dûHí|∇ 'dust' > D *tū|-, {ǰGS} *dū|- id. > Tm tū|, Kn dū|(u) 'dust, powder, pollen', Ml tū|, Tu dū|u, dʰū|u 'dust', Prj dū|- v. 'rise'

(of dust), Mnd *tulve* 'earth, soil'; D \rightarrow OI *dhūli-* 'dust, powder, pollen' (which has influenced Tu *dhūl̥u* 'dust' and Ml *dhūl̥uka-* v. 'fly about as dust') ¶¶ D #3283 (does not distinguish this \sqrt from D **tuka-* 'dust'), Tu. #6835 || IE: NaIE **dʰeǵl̥a-*/**dʰūl-*/**dʰwolo-* 'dust' > OI *dhūli-*, *dhūlikā* id. || Gk $\theta\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'mud, dirt' || L *fūlīgo* 'soot; powder used for darkening the eyebrows' (but EI: \leftarrow 'smoke') || Lt *dūlis* 'punk, piece of rotten wood', † {Ju.} 'Nebel, Dunst, Baummoder zum Beräuchern der Bienen', Ltv *dūlais*, *dūlis* 'fumigator (Räuchermasse zum Fortttreiben der Bienen)' ¶ \approx P 265, \approx M K II 110, \neq \square FI 677, WH I 560, \approx Frn. 109, \neq EI 160 (rejects IE **dʰūli-* 'dust') ||| Not here NaIE **tel-* > L *tellus* / *-ūris* 'earth' and OIr *talam* id.; in the light of comparative ev. within IE the original meaning of NaIE **tel-* is likely to have been 'flat surface' (see N **taīh* ▽ 'flat') ¶ P 1061 || HS: NrOm {Blz.} **tul(1)-* 'ashes, dust' > Ym {Wdk.} *tulō*, {C} *tulō* 'dust', Kf {Fl.} *tullo*, {C} *tullō*, Mch {L} *tullo*, Shn {Fl.} *tulla*, {Lm.} *tullà* 'ashes', Dwr {Bnd.} *dīliya* 'sand' (Blz. p.c. 2001) ¶ NrOm **t-* < **d...H-?* ¶ Blz. OL ##99-100, Wdk. BY 136, C SE III 85, C SE IV 506, LM 54, Lm. Sh 388-9 || ECh: Mgm {J} *bùrúntùllé*, EDng {Fd.} *búrìntàl* pl. (sg. *r búrìntìlò*) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase **bôri'γ'U nu dūHí|l̥* ▽, sc. N **bôri'γ'U* 'loose earth, dust' + [?] N **nu* genitive + N **dūHí|l̥* ▽ 'dust') ¶ JA LM 72, Fd. 101 ¶ One may try to adduce here Ch {JS} **j̥il* (= **j̥il?*) 'earth', but it is more likely to belong to N **puī* ▽ 'sole, foundation, earth' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ ('dust' → 'earth'): LEC **d̥ul-* > Sml *d̥ul*, Sml N {Abr.} *d̥úl* 'earth, soil; country, land', Kns {BISO} *d̥ula* 'field, cultivated area', Bs {HL} *ūl* 'earth' (× EC **p̥ul̥l̥a* 'earth' < the abovementioned N **puī* ▽), ? Sa {R} *d̥ūl* 'country (Bezirk, Gebiet, Landschaft)' (influenced by Tgr *d̥w̥el* 'district, country') ¶ LEC **d̥-* < **dH-?* ¶ AD SF 59, DSI180, ZMO 124, Abr. S 69, R S II 106, HL 66, BISO 25 ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om **j̥'ail-~*j̥'ill-* < HS **j̥il-~j̥ul-*), Tk. I 62 (on the Eg - Ch parallel), EG I 26, Hng. 22 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 241 [#5] (**Tul* ▽; compares C, IE, D, and unacceptably K **(m)ṭwer-* 'dust').

533. *deqí|l̥ ▽ '(to be) thin' > HS: S **o√dχl* > Ar \sqrt *dχl* G 'amaigrir', *madχūl-* 'maigre, amaigri' ¶ BK I 678 || K **d̥tχel-* (> **ttχel-*) v. 'be thin' > OG, G *tχeli* 'thin, sparse', Mg *tχitχu*, Lz *tutχu ~ tittχu* id., Sv UB/LB/Ln {TK, GP, Dn., Ni.} *d̥ətχel* 'thin', Sv {Ni.} *nadtχeli* 'thinness' ¶¶ K 93-4, Chik. 239, \approx K² 71 (GZ **ttχ-el-*), \neq FS K 102-3 (**dtχ-* v. 'be thin'), Abul. 185, TK 199, Ni. s.v. тонкий, GP 97, Dn. s.v. *d̥ətχel* || D

(in SD) {tr., ṡGS} *te| - 'thin' > Kn te|, telu 'thinness', telupu id., Kdg ta|lane 'thin' (of person or thing), Tu telpu 'thinness'; D b̄ OI talina- 'thin, fine' ¶ D #3434 ◇ The corr. K *χ - S *χ is irreg.; the solution may be found by supposing a change: pre-K *tq- > K *tχ- (i.e. N *deq| | ▽ > reduplicated *d ▽ dq ▽ | - > [as.] *d ▽ tq ▽ | - > K *d ▽ tχ el-).

534. *dA|o|_ ▽, _ ▽ (= *dA|o_ ▽ or *dA|_ ▽, _ ▽?) 'to push, to press, (?) to squeeze' > HS: SES *° √ d|_ > Jb C √ d|_ G (pf. 'de|a_ , sbjn. 'yod|a_) v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. J 38-9, DRS 267 || Ch: [1] WCh: Dr {ChL} d|_ è v. 'push'] [2] ? (× N *dä'z' ▽ 'to strike', q.v. ffd.): Ch *° √ d|_ > ECh: EDng {Fd.} dé|è 'frapper' ||| WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žil, {IL} žili, Sir {Sk.} žilí 'mortar' | SBc: Gj {IL} t'ùlí id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Fd. 187 ||| U: FU *to| ▽ - v. 'push' > pPrm {LG} *to|_ y- vt. 'push, shove' (× FU *tek ▽ - v. 'push' < N ≈ *te'h'aka_ ê 'to put, to set?') > Z LL toy-n+ 'to prick, to pierce, to thrust, to poke', StZ toy-+št-n+ 'push' (mom.), toylav-n+ 'push, push out', Z US twylal-n+, Yz 'túy- v. 'push', Vt Uf tüy- (< *túy-) 'push in, thrust', StVt tuy+l+n+ id., 'stick in ([hinein-]stecken)', caulk (конопатить), Vt Sl tuy-+št- vt. 'stick in '(hinein-)stecken' ||| Hg † to|_ y-, Hg to|_ -, Δ toy- 'schieben, rücken, stoßen' ¶ Coll. 119, UEW 528-9 (*toy ▽), LG 281, U3S 427 ||| D {Km., ṡGS} *ta| - v. 'push' (× N *ta|ka 'strike, push') > Tm tal|u v. 'push, force forward, expel, reject', 'be removed\lost', Ml tal|uka v. 'push, reject', tal|u n. 'thrust, push', Kt ta| -, Td to| -, Kn tal|u 'push, shove away, thrust', Tu talluni ~ tal|uni 'push in', OTI {Km.} talāgu, talūgu (and TI talgu) 'remove, shove away, expel', OTI talāgu / tal- 'be lost (as wealth, kingdom)', 'get out of the way (as crowd)' ¶¶ D #3135, Km. 379 [#549] (*ta| -), 380 [#552] (s.v. talūgu) ||| ?σ,φ K: Sv: {Ni.} ot-tile v. 'squeeze', Ln {TK}, UB {GP} li-tle

Error!

535. (₂?) *dam ▽ or *dam ▽ d ▽ 'to cover, to close' > HS: WS *° √ dmm > Ar √ dmm (ip. -dumm-) v. 'stop up, level, cover' ({Fr.} 'illinivit [e.g. gypso domum], textit\obtexit aequaliter', {BK} 'boucher les trous [avec de la terre, de la boue]; enduire'), Gz √ dmm D 'close, cover, fill up, heap up, level', Tgr √ dmm L (pf. daməmə) v. 'close the udder' ¶ BK I 128, L G 134, Fr. II 53, LH 515, ≠ DRS 274 || B *dīm- or *diHm- > Kb ta-dim-t̄ (pl. ti-dim-a) 'bouchon, couvercle', Shw dimi 'pièce de mousseline qui se met sur la table' ¶ DI. 14, NZ 341 ||| A: M *°damda- > WrM {MED} damda- v. 'cover, enclose, close', {Gl.} 'be covered,

hidden, screened' ¶ MED 228, Gl. III 65 || ?σ U *^ot'∇m't'a- > Sm {Jn.} *t̄mtā- ~ *t̄mt̄- 'wrap, fold' > Ne T τ̄ḗμδḗτ̄ vi. 'shrivel (as birch-bark in fire, worms) (zusammenschrumpfen)', vt. 'crumple', {Lh.} τ̄ḗμδḗτ̄ 'zusammenwickeln, zusammenfalten'; ⇨ *t̄mtā́l- vt. 'fold, roll' > Ne T τ̄ḗμδḗλτ̄, {Lh.} τ̄ḗm'tal̄ 'zusammen-wickeln, -packen, -rollen', Ne F tamtār̄t̄ inv. 'wickle zusammen!', Slq Tz tamt̄+| - {KKIH} 'twist\roll together, wrap', Slq Tm 1s aor. tamdanab_ ¶ Jn. 147, Ter. 623, KKIИ 178, Lh. 464.

536. *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust' > HS: CS *dīm- 'mist, fog' > Sr dīmā- 't̄-ā 'nebula tenuis cineri simila', {JPS} 'mist', Ar dīm-at- 'pluvia continua et tranquilla'; EthS *✓dmn > Gz dammanā 'cloud', dāmmūn 'cloudy', dammana v. 'cover with clouds, be dark', Tgy dēmmēna~dēbēna, Tgr dēmēna~dēbēna 'clouds' (⇨ Ag: Aw {L} dammānā, Km dāmmāna 'cloud[s]', as well as probably Bln {Bnd.} dēmma, Xm {R} dimēna id.) ¶ Br. 151, JPS 90, LG 134-5, AD SF 51, DRS 274-5, LG 135 ¶ An alt. (less likely) hyp. is that the EthS word is a Cushitism || EC: Or {Grg.} dūmessa, Or Gj {LLC} dumēnsa, Or B {Sr.} dūmansa, Or O dūmasa, Or T {Mrn.} dumēsā, Or M {LLC}, Or Wl {Brl.} dumessa 'cloud', Or H {Ow.} dummesá, Rn {PG} dūbát, {Oo.} dū'bat 'fog, mist', Bs dumbo 'fog', Brj {Ss.} dū'banč̄i 'dense fog', ? Hd dūba 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58, Grg. 115, Sr. 291, Brl. 128, Ow. 258, LLC 37, Th. 116, PG 105, Oo. 67, Blz. RL 257, Blz. CL 177 || NrOm: Bdt {Ss.} dūma 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58 || Ch *d∇m∇n- 'rainy season' > WCh: Hs dāmúnā ≙ dāmina ≙ dāmana id. || Ngz {Sch.} d̄m̄án, Bd {ChL} d̄m̄án̄ón id. || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} 'dēman id. ¶ Gr. LA 61, ChL, Lk. L 88 ¶¶ Gr. LA 61 (S, C, Ch), AD SF 51 (S, C, Om, Ch), OS #678, ≈ Sk. HCD 42 || ? K *^oda_im- > amb G dam-i 'steam' (unless a Persian loanword [which is less plausible, because NPrs دَم dām means {Sg., BM} 'breath, air, scent', {VI.} 'halitus, spiritus; odor' rather than 'steam']) || IE: NaIE {P} *d^hem- v. 'smoke', 'fly about' (dust), 'blow (blasen, wehen)' (the meaning 'blow' is from N *d∇m∇ 'to breathe, to blow' [q.v.]) > Oss I дæм- dām-, Oss D дым- d̄m- v. 'blow, smoke', Tati dāmi 'tobacco-pipe' || pGmc *dem-b-/ *dumb- > Sw Δ dīm̄ba 'steam', dīm̄ba- 'dampfen, rauchen, stieben', dūmba 'Nebel, Dunst', NNr damb 'dust', ON dūmba 'dust, cloud of dust', Nic, Far dūmba 'mist, cloud of dust' ¶ Hardly here OI 'dhamati 'blows', OCS Δ̄ѣмъ d̄m-q /Δ̄ѣтѣ d̄q-ti, R дѹ-тъ v. 'blow', etc. (< N *d∇m∇ '↑') ¶ P 247-8, VI. I 898, 906, Sg. 536, Ab. I 382-3, Vr. 87 || A *^oda_im > NaT *^oja_im > OT

ja₂m 'a piece of dust' ¶ Cl. 933 ◇ It is not yet clear if this N word is genetically identical with (and is a sd. from) N *d₂m₂ 'to breathe, to blow', or these are different N words that contaminated in IE. In addition, in IE there was a merger with *d^hem(ə)- 'dark' < N *d^hu^hhm₂ ~ *d^hu^hmh₂ '(be) dark' (q.v.) ◇ Cf. BmK 267 (IE, S, C).

537. *dūm₂ 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet' > HS: WS *-dūm-, *√dmm (prm. *-dumm-) (and a secondary root *√dmy|w) v. 'be quiet, silent' > BHb דוּמָא dū'mā 'silence', דוּמְיָא dūmiy'ya 'silence, stillness, rest', דוּמְ-ām (fossilized loc. of *dūm-) 'quiet, silence' (← 'in silence'), Ug {OLS} √dm G 'quedarse quieto', Ar -dūm- (√dwm, ip. ya-dūm-u) 'être tranquille, être en repos'; BHb דוּמָא √dmm G (inv. דוּמָא 'dom, inv. f. דוּמָא 'dommī, ip. 3m yid'dom) v. 'stand still, keep quiet, be motionless \ rigid', MHb √dmm G 'be silent', IA dmy 'rest, calmness (?)', Gz √dmm T (pf. tadamma, tadamama) v. 'be silent, stop, be immobile, be stupefied', {KWK} dāmām 'silence'; BHb √dmy G (ip. 3f תִּדְמָא tid'mē) 'still sein; zur Ruhe kommen, enden (Träne)' ¶ KB 208, 216-7, KBR 216-7, 226, BDB ##1745, 1747-8, 1826, OLS 132, BK I 752-3, Ln. 935ff., L G 134, JH 58, HJ 252, Lv. I 413, DRS 236-7, 274 || C: Bj dīm-, dūm- v. 'be silent' ¶ R WBd 66 || K *°dum- > G dum- v. 'be silent' ¶ Chx. 324 || A ({IS} *dūnga): M *dūnsūyi- > WrM dūṅsūi-, HIM дүңсий- 'be silent' ¶ MED 281 || AmTg *dūng₂- > Nn {On.} dūngirīzn, Nn Nh {STM} dūngurз- 'become silent\calm', Nn KU {STM} dūngurз adv. 'quietly, in silence', Nn, Orc, Ul dūngum id. ¶ STM I 223 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2271 (A *tjūm(k)u 'silent, calm' > M, Tg + err. T *dīm-, sc. *t₂'im 'silence' [in fact from N *t₂'i'm₂n₂ 'be quiet, be calm']) ◇ ≠ IS I 222-3 s.v. *dūnga. IS equates the HS and K √ with Ltv dīngt and A *dūng₂, but this may be accepted only if the sound corr. IE *-ng₂ ^h ÷ A -ng- ÷ HS *m ÷ K *-m- is proved to be reg.

537a. (2?) *d₂m₂ (= *dīm₂?) 'to breathe, to blow' > IE: NaIE *d^hem- v. 'blow (blasen, wehen)' > OI 'dhamati 'blows, blows up, kindles by blowing', NPrs دَمِيدَن dāmīdān 'to blow (blasen, wehen), to breathe', دَم dām 'breath, air, scent', Oss I дæм- dām-, Oss D дым- dām- v. 'blow', Yzg dam- v. 'inflate, blow with bellows', Av dāδma¹nyā 'sich aufblasend, blähend' || Lt dūmti (prs. dūmiū) 'to blow (blasen, wehen)', dūmplēs 'bellows', Pru dūmsle 'urinary bladder' || SI *dq-ti / 1s prs. dām-q 'blow', OCS дѣти dq-ti / 1s prs дѣмѣ dām-q, R

дѹ-тъ, SCr *dùti* / prs. *dmēm*, Cz *douti* / prs. *dmu*, P *dąć* v. 'blow'; in some lgs. contamination with Sl **dùti* / prs. **dujq* 'blow' (< *IE* **dʰeuH-*/**dʰouH-* < N **duqV* or **dūqV* 'blow [wehen, blasen], breathe'), whence the prs. forms: R *дѹю*, SCr *dùjēm*, Blg *дѹя* 'blow', as well as Slv *dúti* 'to blow') ¶ P 247-8, Ab. I 382-3, M K II 92, Sg. 534-6, Frn. 88, 510, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 391, Vs. I 555-6, ESSJ V 99-100, 166, Glh. 213-4 ¶ cp. N **dAmV* 'steam, mist, dust' || D **tīm* (?) ({*ǵGS*} **t-*) > Tu *tīmpuni* v. 'snort, breathe heavily, snivel', Knd *tīm ik-* 'sob' (v.) ¶¶ D #3276 || HS: ?σ S **√dmm*, **-dumm-* v. 'wail' (← **moan*, breathe heavily' ← ***breathe*?) > BHb *דמם* *√dmm G* (inv. *דמ* 'dom) v. 'wail', Ug *√dmm G* 'gemir, lamentarse', Ak *√dmm G* 'jammern, klagen' ¶ KB 217, KBR 226, Sd. 155, CAD III 59-61, DRS 274, Grd. UT #674, OLS 133 ◇ In IE **dʰem-* v. 'blow' contaminated with **dʰem-* 'stieben, rauchen' (< N **dAmV* '↑'); the two N stems may be genetically identical.

538. (2?) **dʰm̥hmV* ~ **dʰm̥mhV* '(be) dark' > HS: S **√dhm* > Ar *duhm-at-* 'blackness', *duhm-* 'tres noctes mensis illunes', *duhām-* 'black', *ʔadham-* 'black, dark green', Jb {Jo.} *'do'hum*, Jb C *dhum* 'heat-haze, shimmer, morning mist', Mh *dʒhōm* 'heat-haze, shimmer', Jb C {Jo.} *ed'him* (sbjn. *'yɛdhɜm*) v. 'come upon so. unexpectedly at night (to steal, to attack), do sth. by stealth at night, sleep with one's wife when children or guests are sleeping in the same room', Mh {Jo.} *hɜdhōm* v. 'have sexual relations with one's wife at night when another person (usually a child) is in the sleeping area', Ak *√dʔm G* (inf. *daʔām*) 'become dark' ¶ Fr. II 66, Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66, CAD III 1, DRS 227 || EC **dum-*, **√dm* v. 'become dark' > Sa, Af, Sml *dum-* id., ? Brj {Ss.} *damm-* v. 'spend the night', ? Or {Grg., Th, BrL} *dimimmisa* 'twilight', Or {BrL} *dimimmis-awu* 'imbrunirsi, oscurarsi, farsi notte' ¶ Ss. B 52, 58, Th. 104, BrL. 114, Grg. 105 || WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} *d̀múní*, Gj {ChL} *d̀mšâl*, Buli {ChL} *dum*, Jm {Csp.}, *d̀uml̀k̀õ*, Tala *tum* {Csp.}, Tala Z {Csp.} *t̀um*, Kir Mn *t̀um* 'dark' (Tala/Kir *t-* < pSBc **d-*, see Sh. SB 16) ¶ ChL, Csp. 14, 46 || IE: NaIE **dʰem(ə)-* 'dark' (× **dʰem-* v. 'smoke', 'fly about [dust] < N **dAmV* 'steam, mist, dust'), {Mn.} **dʰemy-ō* v. 'darken', **dʰeməro-s* 'dark, gloomy, grim' > Gk *θέμερος* 'serious, grim', *θεμερῶπις* 'grave and sedate of look' || OHG *timbar* 'dark', OSw *dimber*, ON *dimmr* id., *dimma* 'darkness', AS *dimm* 'dark', *dimmian* v. 'darken', NE *dim* || OIr {P} *dem* 'black, dark', {SB} *deim* 'düster', *deme* 'darkness' ¶ WPI 851, P 248, Mn. 182, FI 660, SB 147, Vr. 77,

OsS 939, Kb. 1018, Ho. 73 || **A:** ?φ Tg: WrMc *duŋgi* ~ *duŋki* 'dark' ¶ STM I 224.

538a. ≈ **dUm_lʔ_lû* (= **d'o¹m_lʔ_lû*?) or **dUŋw∇* (= **d'o¹ŋw∇*?)
 '(ε?) big tree' > **HS:** S: Ar *daŋm-* {Ln.} 'doum palm (Hyphaene thebaica)',
 'big tree of any kind' ¶ Ln. 937, BK I 753 || C: Bj {R} *dōm* 'doum palm'
 (← Ar?) ¶ R WBd 66 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: My {Sk.} *dəm*, Cg {Sk.} *díní*, Kry
dîn, Wrj {Sk.} *džnáj*, Mbr {Sk.} *dîŋ*, Jmb {Sk.} *díná* (inChC) 'tree' | AG:
 Ang {CL} *tîŋ*, Su {J} *tîŋ*, Ywm {IL} *t^hɜŋ*, Cp *tîŋ* 'tree' | Bd {ChL} *džmán*
 'tree, wood', Ngz {Sch.} *džm* 'wood (for fire, etc.), stick of wood' ¶ Stl.
 ZCh. 253 [#59] (NrBc **d∇m∇* 'нec'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 45, Sch. DN 34 ||
IE: NaIE **d^honu-*/**d^honw-* {EI} 'fir' > Ht *tanau* 'fir' or sim. || Gmc
 **danwō-* (< IE **d^honwōn-*) > OSx *danna*, MDu, MLG *danne*, OHG
tanna-, NHG *Tanne* 'fir (Abies)'; Gmc **dannio-* > OSx *dęnnia*, Dt
den 'spruce' || OI **dhanvāna-* 'Grewia asiatica', as well as possibly OI
 **dhanu-*, *dhanu-*, **dhanvan-*, **dhanuṣ-* 'bow' and Av *θanwarə*
id. ¶¶ EI 202, Ts. W 84, WP I 825, P 234, M K II 90-1, KM 769, Kb. 1012
 || **A:** It is worth paying attention to WrM *dom*, HIM *дом* 'lime-tree,
 linden' (MED 260) that makes the impression of being a loanword
 (because of its un-Mongolian phonetic shape [a WrM noun without final
 vw.] and its absence in MM and the Mongolian lgs. other than WrM and
 HIM). The source of the loan is unknown. Is it Tib Δ **dum-po* 'trunk,
 body of a tree' < Classical Tib **sdorŋ-po id.* (Jäschke D 296)? ||| N
 **dUm_lʔ_lû* *puʔi* (~ **dUm_lʔ_lû* *buʔi*?) or **dUŋw∇* *puʔi* (~ **dUŋw∇*
buʔi?) '(ε?) big tree' (with **puʔi* [~ **buʔi*] 'tree, bush', q.v. ffd.) >
IE: NaIE **d_l^homb_l^h*- (or **d_l^hamb_l^h*-?) 'oak' > BSl **dombo-s id.* > Sl
 **dqbb id.* > OCS *ДѢБѢ* *dqbb*, Blg *дѣбѣ*, SCr *dūb*, Sln *dōb*, Cz, Slk,
 Hls, Lls *dub*, P *dąb*, R, Uk, Blr *дуб id.* | Blt **damba-s id.* (lost in Lt and
 Ltv) → FV **tamm∇* 'oak' > F *tammī id.*, Er *tumo*, Mk *tuma id.*, Chr: H
tum, L *tu'mb id.* ¶ ESSJ V 95-7, It. #45, SSA III 265, Coll. CG § 309 (FV
 **tomma*) ¶ The alternative hyp. of a FU source (FV **tamm∇*) of the Sl
 word is hardly acceptable, because it does not explain the Sl cns. **b* and
 because there is no geographical proximity between the areas of pSl
 and early FU (see TpT 246) || **U:** FU **tom-puwe* > Prm ***tum-pu* > **tu-*
pu (**pu* 'tree') > OPrm *tupa*, Vt *t+p+* 'oak' ¶ LG 286, Coll. CG § 309 (FV
 tomma*) || **D: [1] D **tump-* 'Acacia arabica (babool tree)' > Tl
tumma, Kl *tumbā* ≈ *tumba*, Gnd *tumma* (← Tl?); [2] D **tump-* 'ebony'
 > Tm *tumpi* 'Diospyros tomentosa, Diospyros ebenum (two kinds of
 ebony tree)', Kn *tumaki*, *tumari*, *tumbar-a~i*, *tumburu*, Tl

tubiki, tumiki 'wild mangosteen tree (*Diospyros embryopteris*)', Tl tumida, Klm, Nkr tumki, Prj tumbri '*Diospyros melanoxylon*', Gnd tumrī & tumri & tumir & tumer(i) id., 'ebony', Nk tumik 'tendu tree', Gdb tumur, Ku dūri 'ebony', Kui duri, durenī & dūri 'Coromandel ebony' ¶¶ D ##3329, 3335 ◇ If *-m- in U, M, and HS may go down to N *-ŋw-, the N rec. is likely to be *dUŋw∇. If, on the contrary, the N cluster *-mʔ- yields *-ŋ- (and later -n-, *-nʷ-) in pIE and some Chadic lgs., the tentative N rec. is *dUmʔ,û. The vw. *o in M and the absence of the glide *u in NaIE *°dʰombʰ- and *dʰonu- suggest that the N labialized vw. was *o ◇ Blz. 159 [#77] (D, HS, FP, M).

539. *dimʰ∇,ŋa|æ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > HS: CS *¹dimʰ∇,n- (or *¹dumʰ∇,n-) 'rubbish, dung' > Ar dimn- 'débris, ordures; crottin, fiente de bêtes; tas de fumier', √dmn v. G 'manure (a field)', BHb 𐤎𐤌𐤍 'domen 'dung' (the variant *¹dumʰ∇,n- (in BHb 'domen) may be explained by as. *i > *u close to a labial cns.) ¶ GB 164, KB 217, KBR 227, BK I 735, DRS 274-5, MiK I #1.53 || C: Bj √dmr pcv. ({R} 1s: p. a'dāmer, prs. e'd'mīr) 'be dirty', 'dāmra 'dirty' ¶ R WBd 67 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} dām 'dirt' || WCh: ? Hs {Abr.} dáwḏà id. (w < *m before a cns.) ¶ ChC, Abr. H 199, ≠ Sk. HCD 46 || IE: NaIE *°dʰengʰǵʰ- 'rubbish, dung, dirt' (→ 'earth') > Gmc (× NaIE *dʰengʰ- v. 'cover' < N *doŋa 'to cover?'): OHG tunga 'dung', tung 'cellar, ground-house' ('unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung'), ON dyngja 'dung-heap; underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS dung 'dung; prison', Ic, NNr dyngja 'dung-heap', OHG tunga 'Düngung, stercoratio', NHG Dung, Dünger, Sw dynga, Dn dyngje 'dung', NE dung ¶ ≠ P 250, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, ≈ KM 147, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || A: NaT *jīŋ ~ *jin 'faeces, mucus' > OT {CL} jī|eŋ, {DTS} jīŋ 'nasal mucus', jin 'animal faeces', SY jīŋ ~ jin 'faeces of sheep; cud', Tv čin 'faecal mass', Qq, ET žin 'contents of animals' stomach; cud', Qrg žin 'contents of guts and stomach', Alt žin id., 'excrements', 'cud', Qzq žin 'cud', Xk 𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌺𐌹𐌸, Tb {RI.} rīr, Tlt/Brb {RI.} jīr 'contents of guts' ¶ Cl. 941, DTS 261-2, Rs. W 203, ET J 27-8, TL 148-9, BIG 118, RI. III 514, 632 ◇ An alt. et. is also plausible: the S and the Gmc words for 'dung, rubbish' go back to a N etymon *domʰ∇,ŋa 'to cover' (to be reconstructed instead of N *doŋa 'to cover', q.v.) with a parallel semantic change in S and Gmc: 'cover' → 'cover the field with manure,

düngen', whence ds. for 'dung'; but the latter et. does not account for the T word.

540. ${}_2 *d\bar{\nabla}mP\bar{\nabla}$ (= $*d\bar{\nabla}mp\bar{\nabla}$?) 'back, rear part, tail' > **HS:** C: Ag $*damb-$ > Bln {R} $d\bar{a}nb\bar{i} \sim d\bar{a}mb\bar{i}$ 'back, backbone', (postpos.) 'behind' || ? EC (× EC $*zanb-/zinb-$ 'tail' < N ?? $*\check{z}a\bar{n}_L\bar{\nabla}b_L\bar{\nabla}$ 'tail, back', Ss. WOKS 140): Sml {DSI} $dambe$ 'behind, after; later', $ka\ damb\bar{e}$ 'be behind, come after, follow', Arr $d\bar{u}mm$ 'tail', Dsn {To.} $d\bar{u}m$ 'tail tip' ¶ R WB 107, DSI 130-1, ZMO 83, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492 || NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} $domb\bar{o}$ 'vulva', Anf {MYTY} $dombo$ 'vagina' (← $*'anus'$) ¶ C SE IV 430, MYTY 116 || CCh: WMrg $dimbur$ 'buttocks' ¶ ChC || **IE:** NaIE $*\textcircled{d}umb-$ 'tail, penis' > YAv $duma-$ 'tail', ZPhl $dum, dumb, dumbak$, NPrs دوم dom , دومب $domb$ (← $*dum_Lh_Lma-$), KhS $dumaa-$ id., BdhSgd $\beta r z-\delta\omega n p^?k$ 'long-tailed' ($\delta\omega n p^?k = [\delta\bar{u}mb\bar{a}k]$), Oss I $d\bar{a}m\bar{a}g$, Oss D $dum\bar{a}g$ 'tail' || OHG $zumpfo$ 'penis' ¶¶ P 227, Brtl. 750, Vl. I 900, Sg. 534-5, Horn 128, Bai. 161, Ab. I 381, Kb. 1265, OsS 1300 ◇ Qu.: the attested forms may alternatively go back to N $*\check{z}a\bar{n}_L\bar{\nabla}b_L\bar{\nabla}$ '†' (if Sml, Om, CCh $*d-$ and IE $*d-$ are legitimate reflexes of N $*\check{z}-$) ◇ IE $*d-$ (for the expected $*d^h-$) may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out media aspirata and tenues in the same $\sqrt{\quad}$, implying the rec. of N $*p_L$ ($*d\bar{\nabla}mp\bar{\nabla}$).

541. $*d^{\textcircled{h}}o^{\textcircled{h}}n\bar{\nabla}$ 'flat, low', (→ ?) 'lowland' > **HS:** WS $*\sqrt{dwn}$ (~ $*\textcircled{h}\sqrt{dn?}$ ~ $*\textcircled{h}\sqrt{dny?}$) > Mn {MA} $b-d\bar{w}n$ 'en aval', Sb {BGMR} $^?d\bar{y}n$ 'irrigated field', ζ Ug {Blz. ← ?} $d\bar{n}.t$ 'lowland' (absent in Aistleitner and OLS), Ar $\sqrt{dn?}$ G (pf. $dana?a \sim danu?a$, ip. $-dna?-$) 'be mean' ('être vil, bas'), $dan\bar{a}?-at-$ 'baseness, weakness', $dany-$ 'vil, bas; faible' ¶ BK I 678, Br. 150, DRS 277-8, BGMR 37, MA 27 || ?σ **K:** $G\ done \sim doni$ 'level' (Chx: 'Niveau, Stand, Stufe') ¶ Chx. 318-9, Fn. SK 94 [#65] || **IE:** NaIE $*d^hen-$ 'palm of hand; plain, lowlands' > OI $'dhanu\bar{h}$ 'sandbank, island', $'dhanvan-$ 'dry soil, shore' || Gk $\theta\acute{\epsilon}νυρ$ 'palm of hand, surface of the sea' || OHG $t\bar{e}nar, t\bar{e}nara$ 'hollow hand', MHD $t\bar{e}ner, t\bar{e}nre$ 'palm of hand' ¶ P 249, MW 509, M K II 90, F I 361, OsS 925-6, Kb. 1016, Lx. 225 || ?φ **U:** $FV \approx *tant\bar{\nabla}r_L\bar{\nabla}_L$ < F $tanner$ (gen. $tantere-n$) 'field, lowland', pLp {Lr.} $*t\bar{o}nt\bar{a}r$ 'bare mountain, woodless highland' > Lp: N {N} $duodd\bar{a}r$ 'bare mountain, high mountain moorland', S {Hs.} $duoddere$ 'Hochgebirge', L {LLO} $tuottar$ id., 'waldloses Land', Kld $t\bar{u}ndar$ 'bare mountains, woodless highland'; Lp \rightarrow F $tunturi$ 'bare mountains in Lappland', R тундра 'tundra' ¶ UEW 41, Lr. #1299, Lgc.

#8065, Hs. 464-5, SK 1224, 1402 || **A**: Tg *dunse 'land' (< *dun-nse, with the sx. *-nsa/e of n. coll.) > Ewk dunns 𐌆 dundrs 𐌆 dundz 𐌆 dunrs 'land', Lm dō:nd𐌆 𐌆 dō:nnz 𐌆 dōndz 𐌆 dūndz 𐌆 dō:nrz 'mainland; forest', Ud {STM} dūHō, {Krm} dūhō 'mainland', Ul, Nn duzntz 'forest' ¶ Ci. 199, STM I 224, Krm. 229 ◇ If FV ≈ *tant∇r₁∇₁ belongs here, its vw. *a is still to be explained ◇ Blz. KM 114 [#5] (K, ?S, IE, ??U, Tg) and 130.

542. *dōñ∇ 'to cut' > **HS**: S: Tgr ✓ dnn G (or D ?) 'cut off' ¶ LH 531 || Eg fMK d𐌆n v. 'cut off' ¶ EG V 463, Fk. 313 || **A** *d^oñ∇ > T *jōn- v. 'cut' > OT {Cl.} jōn- v. 'cut, wound', Tkm jōn-, Tk yon-, Az, Qmq, Nog, ET jōn-, Qzq žon-, Qrg žon-, VTt, Bsh jun-, StAlt žon-, Tv čon-, Tf hōn-, Chv L šun- v. 'hew\plane (wood)' ¶ Cl. 942, ET J 221-2, Rs. W 206, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136, Ra. 210, TkR 316 || **D** {tr., 9GS} *tuñ- > Tm tuṇi 'be sundered\cut', Ml tuṇi 'piece', tuṇiyuka v. 'cut short', Kn tuṇaka, tuṇaku, Tl tuniya 'fragment, piece', Nkr tunke 'half portion', Gnd tunkī 'piece', Knd tuns- v. 'be broken in pieces', Png, Mnd tūñ v. 'cut, slaughter', Ku tūñ- v. 'cut (with axe)', Kui tūñu 'log of wood' ¶¶ D #3305 || **IE**: NaIE *d^hen- > pAl {O} *den-ta > OAl [Bgd.] dhend > Al G dhēnn 'haue aus, schneide'; pAl {O} *ga-den-ta > Al T gdhënd v. 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave', Al G gdhënd id. (unless akin to Gmc *dang-/*ding- > ON danga 'prügeln', MHD tingelen 'klopfen, hammeren', OGH tangal 'Hammer', in which case the primary IE meaning must be 'hit', so that the semantic distance from other N lgs. becomes too great to be reliable) ¶ WPI 853-4, P 249-50, Hamp AIEW 144, AlbED 250, O 112 ◇ The length of the vw. in Tkm (hence in pT) remains unexplained so far (does it suggest a N *d^oñ₁∇₁H∇ with complementary lengthening of the vw. *o: *donH∇ > T *dōñ-?). The discrepancy between the T ev. for a N vw. *o and the D *u (pointing to N *û) is still puzzling. Not here G dana 'knife' (a loan from Arm դանակ danak id.) ◇ BmK 263 (*don^u-/*dun^u- 'to cut off, to cleave, to split': S, Eg, D, IE *d^hen-/d^hon-/d^hŋ-).

543. *duñ∇ (or *düñ∇) 'to stream, to flow' > **HS**: C: HEC {Hd.} *dun- v. 'leak' (e.g. bag, roof), 'pour' > Sd dun- id., Hd dun- id., v. 'sprinkle', Ged, Kmb dun- v. 'leak' (of a bag, a roof), *dun-am- v. 'leak' (of liquid) > Sd, Hd, Kmb dunam-, Ged dunem- id. | ??φ,σ Dsn {To.} δάνu- 'swim' ¶ Hd. 89, 238, 276, 314, 360, To. DL 496 || WCh: Su {J} dúñ 'river', Kfr {Nt.} dúñ 'lake, pool, spring', Cp dùñkón 'lake', Mpn {Frz.} dúñ 'swampy area, pond' | ? Bd dùwân 'lake' ¶ J S 63, 208, Nt. 8, ChC s.v. 'lake', Frz. DM 12

|| **K** *dn- / *dwn- ({FS, K²} *dn-, {K} *dn-/den-) v. 'melt, thaw' > OG dn-, G dn- / dwn-, Lz din- / (n)dun-, Sv n- id., Mg d3n- / din- v. 'disappear, get lost' ¶¶ K 74, K² 41-2, FS K 106-6, Schm. 105, Chik. 271, Chx. 316-7 || **IE**: NaIE *d^hen- v. 'stream, flow, leak', {EI} 'run, flow' > OPrs danuvatiy 'flows', OI 'dhanvati 'runs, flows', ? dha'nayati 'sets in motion, runs' (if the semantic change 'flow' → 'run' is typologically plausible) || L fōns / font- 'spring' ('Quelle'), ? Um {Pln.} FONDLIRE 'in fontulis' || Tc: A tsän- vi. 'flow, stream (couler)', B d. tseñe n. 'river, stream, current' || NaIE *d^hōnu- ({EI} *d^hōnu- or *deh_hnu-) 'river' > Av dānu-, Oss don id.; Im → names of rivers Don (Gk Ταναΐς ~ Τάναις, OR ДОНЪ donъ), Dnieper (OR ДЪНѢПРЪ dñěprъ, Uk Дніпро, R Днепр, Gk Δάναπρις), Dniester (OR ДЪНѢСТРЪ dñěstrъ, Gk Δάναστρις, L Danastius, Danaster), etc. || Clt: W Donωυ (river name), Gl → L Dānuvius 'Danube' ¶ P 249, EI 491, 486, M K II 90-2, WH I 525, Pln. II 738, Wn. 527, Ad. 741, Ab. I 366-7, Vs. I 518-9, 528-9 || **D** (in NED) *tunt- v. 'pour, spill' > Krx tund-nā 'to be poured out, to spill, to pour out', Mlt tunde v. 'spill, shed, throw out as water' ¶ D #3321 ◇ BmK 271-2 (*dan-/*dān-: IE, K, C).

544. *dońćE 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > **D** (in GnD) *tōč- ({ǵGS} *d-?) v. 'carry a load' > Gnd B tōčānā 'to put (a load) on one's head', Gnd KM tōs- 'carry (a load) on the head', Knd dōs, Png ʒōs-, Kui dūsa, Ku ʒučč- ɖ dučč- id. ¶ D #3540 || **A**: NaT (att. in Og) *^ojüčä|e 'high' > MT [TAG] يوجا jüčä 'back (Rücken), highest part, high', OOSm [AH] jüčä, Tk ɥüce, CrTt {Rl.} jüžä, Az uža 'high' ¶ TAG 109, ETJ 263, Rs. W 212 || possibly **IE** *^od_l^htes- > Ht dassu- 'strong, heavy; mighty' ¶ Ts. E III 259-66, ABIv II 113 || **HS**: Eg fMK dñs 'be heavy', 'heavy' ¶ EG V 468-9, Fk. 314 || ? WCh: Su {J} d^hés 'big; much, many', {Sh.} d^hés 'big' || Fy {J} d^hés 'big, powerful' ¶ ChC, J R 85, J S II 64 ◇ The loss of the nasal cns. in IE points to a N *ń (*dońćE > *doyćE > *d^hejs- > AnIE *des-); if so, the adjacent affr. must have been palatal (*ć). The glottalized ɖ- in Su and Fy still needs explaining.

545. *doŋa 'to cover' > **HS**: B *^o√_lH_ldn v. 'cover' > Izn aḏan, BSn āḏan, Skn, Nf aḏan (pf. 3m uḏan), Gd āḏan 'couvrir, mettre en couvercle', Awj udan 's'habiller, se vêtir', Kb idni 'couverture de chaume', Zng {NZ} edden 'couvrir unealebasse ou un puits' ¶ Rn. 310, Lf. II #O289, NZ 348-50 || Ag: Bln {R} dang- 'verhüllen das

Gesicht beim Trinken' ¶ R WB 108 || *AdS* of WS *√dmm, *-dumm- 'stop up, cover' (< N *dam√ 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover, press on' > Lt 1s prs. dengiù, inf. deñgti v. 'cover, wrap', dangà 'Decke' || OIr dingid, for-ding 'oppresses' || Gmc (× NaIE *d^heng^hǵ^h- 'rubbish, dung' < N *dim₁√,ǵalæ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces'): OHG tung 'cellar, ground-house (unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung)', ON dýngja 'underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's work-room', AS durnz 'prison' ¶ ≠ P 250, Frn. 88-9, Thr. 355, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || U *toŋe- v. 'cover, patch' > pLp {Lr.} *tōkŋz- v. 'patch' > Lp N {N} duog'ŋât, Lp S {Hs.} duoŋedh, Lp L {LLO} tuogŋat, Lp Kld tūvŋeδ id. | ? Er тавадо- tavado-, Mk тавадо- tavada- v. 'cover' (the vw. ā is not expected, therefore E. Itkonen and K. Rédei reject the Mr cognate) | Chr H/L тумыш tumъš 'patch', Chr H тумыж tumъž 'constipation (of animals)' | pPrm {LG} *dōm- > Z dəm- v. 'patch; dam (a river) for fishing', Z dəmas, Yz 'dūmas 'patch', Z Ud dəmz 'patches' (v., 3s), Z dəmzd, Yz 'dūmət 'dam used for fishing with fishing-baskets' || pY {IN} *tuŋ- v. 'cover' > YT {IN, Ku.} tuŋ- v. 'cover', tuŋu-í n. 'patch' || UEW 798 mentions a Sm √ that is represented in individual lgs. as follows: StNe T тo? (H-) to? / ton- 'covering garment for men at night, blanket' (= Ne O {Lh.} tō' 'Decke'), Ne F L {Lh.} tōñd^y 'Decke', StNe T тонда- (= Ne O {Lh.} tōntā-) v. 'cover', Ng {Cs.} t^yūi 'Decke', Slq Tz {KKIH} taq+t+- vt. 'close, shut' (= {Cs.} takatam 'zuschließen'); UEW mentions Slq tāgada 'bedecken (mit einem Tuch)' without indicating the dialect and the source], Kms {KD} tūydú|- 'decken, bedecken'. Rédei does not accept this Sm cognate "aus semantischen Gründen". But if the meaning of the U √ is 'to cover' (→ 'to patch', sc. 'to cover with a patch') (rather than 'to patch' only, as interpreted by UEW) and if the phonetic corrs. are accurate (still an open question), the Sm cognate is valid ¶¶ Coll. 9, UEW 798 (FU *toŋe- 'flicken, usbessern'), Lr. #1293, Lgc. #8084, Hs. 468, MRS 597, Ber. 78, KKIH 179, LG 96, Lt. J 112, Cs. 64, 144, Lh. 489, IN 248-9, Ku. 278 || ?φ A {SDM95} *t'uŋ√ 'a cover' > Tg *tuŋke 'a cover, covering' > Nn Nh/B tuŋkz, Nn KU tumkz, ? WrMc туxε 'a cover (of a cauldron)', ? Mc Sb туxε 'roof', ? Jrc {Kiy.} tuko 'outer garment', ? Ewk Brg tuk-çargu 'roof (Überdachung, навес) between buildings' ¶ STM II 210, 216, Kiy. SJL 127 [#544], Md. ChF 137 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *t'uŋ√ 'a cover' (adduces also M *tuŋurga 'felt walls

[covering] of a tent' > WrM *tugurga*, HIM, Brt *туурга*); the A cognate is qu. because of the initial *t'- for the expected *d-.

546. (2?) **dūŋg,â* '(be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE **d_Lh₁englg^w_Lh₁*- > Ltv *dīŋgt* 'to be quiet, to keep one's temper' ('ruhig sein, sich beherrschen'), *sa-dīŋgt* 'erstarren' ¶ ME I 469 and III 610-1; the unexpected preservation of *n in Ltv suggests that the words go back to a loan from Curonian or some other Baltic lge preserving the cluster *ng || A **dūng*∇ > M **dūnge*- > Kl *dūngē*- v. 'be silent' (< **dūnge*-yi-), d.: WrO *dūŋgūgūr* 'quiet, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} *dūngəgŕ* 'schweigend'; d.: WrM *dūŋg-sū-i*- v. 'be silent, maintain one's silence', HIM *дүнгсий*- id.; ¶ KW 105, MED 281, Krg. 578 || AmTg *u* **dūngu* > Orc, Ul, Nn *dūngu-dūngu*, *dūngum*, Nn *dūngumžī*, *dūnduygən* 'quietly, in silence', Orc *dūngus*3- v. 'be quiet, taciturn', Nn KU *dūngur*3l 'quietly, silently', Nn Nh *dūngur*3n v. 'get quiet' ¶ STM I 223 || ? ϕ HS: WS **-dūm-*, * \checkmark dmm (prm. **-dumm-*) (and a secondary \checkmark * \checkmark dmy|w) v. 'be quiet, silent' (x N **dūm*∇ 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet', q.v. ffd.) || ECh: ? ϕ Kwn {J} *dēwé* 'silent' ¶ ChC \diamond If S **m* in S **-dūm-*, * \checkmark dmm belongs to the heritage of the N etymon in question (rather than to that of N **dūm*∇), it suggests a N rec. **dūŋâ* (N intervoc. **-ŋ-* [near **U*] > S **m* reg.) \diamond Cp. IS I 222-3 (s.v. **dūnga*); Illich-Svitych compares IE, S, and A + unc. Q *zem y-*, Km *zīm y-* ans Sd *sammī y-* 'be silent'; besides, he adduces Bj {R} *dum-*, *dim-* 'be silent' and K **dum-* 'be(come) silent', but this may be accepted only if the change N **-ŋ-* > Bj, K **-m-* (following N **ū*) is proved as reg. In my opinion, the Bj and K words belong to N **dūm*∇ (q.v.).

547. **daP*∇(K∇) 'to stick (adhere), to glue' > HS: CS * \checkmark dbk (~ * \checkmark tḅk) v. 'stick to' > BHb \checkmark dbk G (pf. *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* ~ *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ*, ip. -*dbak*) v. 'stick to, cling to', BA *daḅkīn* 'they stick together', IA \checkmark dbk G 'cling, adhere, be contiguous', JA [Trg.] \checkmark dbk G (pf. *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* ~ *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ*) 'stick to (kleben), adhere to', JEA {Sl.} \checkmark dbk G 'adhere, touch', Sr \checkmark dbk G (pf. *دَابَقَ، دَابَقَ* ~ *دَابَقَ، دَابَقَ*) id., Ar \checkmark dbq G (pf. *dabiqa*) 's'attacher, s'agglutiner (de manière visqueuse)', CS **dib_L∇_k*- 'soldering' (n.), 'glue' > Ar *dibq-* 'bird-lime, glue', Md *ḅubka*, Sr *dεḅk-ā* 'glue', BHb *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* n. 'soldering, welding together', PBHb {Js.} *דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ דָּבַקְתָּ* 'glue, paste; junction' ¶ KB 200-1, KBR 209, Sl. 312-3, Js. 277-8, BK I 667-8, HJ 238, DRS 211-2 || U **o*tappE (or **tāppâ*) > FP **tapp*∇- ~ **tāpp*∇- v. 'stick, adhere, press to

sth.' > Hg *tapad-* v. 'stick, adhere, cling (to sth.)', OHg XIII-XVI *tapasz* 'klebriger Stoff, Lehm, Wandbewurf', Hg *tapasz* 'lute, putty; plaster' || pLp {Lr.} **topз* > Lp N {N} *doppât* vi. 'stick, get stuck in' || pPrm **top-*, **topal-* > Z *topэд-* vt. 'cover tightly, press together, knock together, unite', Vt *tupa-* v. 'fix, repair, fix to' ¶ LG 282, MTE III 842-3, EWU 1480, Lr. #1270, N I 564 ¶ Hg *a* suggests FU **a*, while Prm **ɔ* suggests **ä* (or **e*), and pLp **o* suggests FU **u* (ass. infl. of **p*?); most probably, **tapp∇* ~ **täpp∇* are two variants of the same √ based on different synharmonic generalizations of an ancient eU root having both a front vw. and a back vw. || A: M **dabirqay* 'resin of a coniferous tree' > MM [MA] *dabirqay* id., WrM *dabirqai*, HIM *давирхай*, Brt *дабирхай*, Ord *d_a'wirχā* id., 'pitch'; M *ɔ* Ewk *dabirkay* 'resin of a coniferous tree'; M *ɔ* Yk *dabarχay* id. ¶ Pp. MA 137, MED 212, Chr. 179, Ms. O 130, STM I 184 || Tg: Ewk *dapkaIdī-* vi. 'be adjusted well, fit together well' (of building details, handicraft wares), Ewk PT *dapkān-* vt. 'unite, attach', Ewk Y/I/Np *dapkar* 'junction, joint (of two details)' ¶ STM I 197.

548. ${}_2 \approx$ **dûp∇* 'to squat', 'to hide' (intr.) (→ 'to steal') > HS: EC: Sa {R} *dafay-* ~ *dəfəy-* ~ *difī-* 'sit down, sit', Af {PH} *daffē-* 'sit down, sit up' ¶ R S II 102, PH 78 || SOm {Bnd.}: Ari *dif+*, Ari G *dīb+*, Dm *dēb+* v. 'steal' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || IE: NaIE **teup-* (for **dʰeup-* due to one of the incompatibility laws) v. 'squat', 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {E} **teubʰ-* 'steal' > Lt *tūpti* (1s prs. *tupiù*, {Krsch.} *tūpiù*) 'to squat, to crouch' ({P} 'sich hinhocken, sich in die Knie setzen'), *tupéti* 'to squat', Ltv *tupēt* 'to squat, to cover', *tupties* vr. 'to squat' || Gmc: Gt *piubjō* adj. 'secret, concealed', *piubi* 'theft', *piubs* 'thief', ON *þjófr*, Nnr *tjuv*, *tjov*, Sw *tjuv*, Dn *tyv*, OSx *thiof*, OHG *diob*, NHG *Dieb*, AS *ðéof* 'thief', NE *thief* || ζ Gk Hm h. l. *ἐν-τυπάς* (if it means 'kauern, hockend', which is not obvious) || Tc B *cowai* *tärk* 'rob' (lit. 'commit a theft') ¶ P 1085, WP I 714, Vr. 613, Hlq. 1195-6, Fs. 495-7, Ho. 363, Ho. S 78, OsS 105, EWA II 665-7, KM 131, Frn. 1141-2, Kar. II 442, F I 525-6, Ad. 257-8.

549. **d'ä?i'p∇* 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly; wing' > HS: S **√dpp* > Ar *√dff* G 'agiter les ailes, voler en agitant les ailes' ¶ BK I 710 || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} *d'íp* 'feather, wing' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} *d'f∇l∇* v. 'fly' ¶ Nt. 10, ChC s.v. 'fly' v. || U: FU (att. in BF) **tīpe* ~ **tīpa* (> **√tīpa*) 'wing' > F *siipi*, Es *tiib* (gen. *tiiva*), Es S *sīb* (pl. *sīva*, *sīvo*), Lv *tībъз* (pl. *tībъd*) id. ¶ SK 1016-7, SSA III 176 || A: M

*debi- > WrM debi- v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', 'winnow' (of grains), HIM дэвэ-х, Brt дэби- id., Kl de w- 'soar (schweben), float in the air; take wing', {Rm.} 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' ¶ Pp. VG 95, MED 238, KRS 191, KW 90 || Tg *dep- v. 'flap (wings), fan', *depsi- id. > Ud дэψи- 'flap (wings)', Orc дэpsэ- v. 'fan\wave away (mosquitoes, midges)', Ul, Nn Nh/KU дэpsi-, Nn B дэfsi- 'flap, wave, махатъ', WrMc debsi- ~ debše-, Mc Sb дэpši- ~ дэpšэ- 'flap (wings)'; Tg *dapsi- > Ewk dawsi-, Lm dawсъ- v. 'wave, flap (as wings)', Neg dawсl-, Ork dapsl- 'wave (one's hands)', Orc dapsuku 'fan', WrMc dasiχa- v. 'fan\sweep away, dust (sth.)' ¶ STM I 186-7, 228 || ?σ T: Osm {Rl.} jāp- 'mit Sprüngen entlang laufen', {Rh.} يېمك jep-mek 'to run along with leaps' (adduced as a cognate by Rm. [KW 90] with an underlying assumption of a semantic change: 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' → 'run by leaps') ¶ Rh. 2197, Rl. III 384 || ?φ pJ {S} *támp- v. 'fly' > OJ tób-, J: T tòb-, K/Kg tób-, Sh/Y tùb-, Ns tùby-, Ht tùp- id.; (-d→ ?) pJ {S} *tumpasa 'wing' > J T tubasa ¶ S AJ 110, 275, S QJ ##28, 1608, Mr. 768 ¶¶ KW 90 (M, T), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *dép'e 'wave, flap; fly' (> M *debi, Tg, J *temp- + err. T *jełpi- 'flap, winnow' [see N ?σ *deL₁∇₁P₁∇ 'to flap, to wave, to fly']); qu.: DQA #2646 (A *d̥up'ú 'wing, fin' > J *tumpasa ÷ M *z̥iber 'fin of fish') ◇ Ch *d̥- suggests N *d...?. FU *-p- points to N *-p-. An alt. pN rec. is *dEp∇ (with mte. in Ch), but it fails to explain the discrepancy of vowels (FU *ī, but A *e) and the length of the vw. in FU.

550. *dap₁∇₁γ∇ ~ *daγop∇ 'to push' > HS: WS *√dpɿ > Ar دفع √dfɿ G (ip. -dfaɿ-) 'repousser, pousser', Gz √dfɿ G 'thrust, push'; S *√dhp v. 'push (away)' > BHb 𐤃𐤍𐤏𐤍 √dhp G 'push away', MHb, JA √dhp G 'push (stoßen)', Gz 𐩇𐩆𐩇𐩆𐩇𐩆𐩇𐩆 [dahf] 'pushing out, expulsion', ? Ak √dʔp G (inf. daʔāpu, p. idʔip) {Sd.} '(an\weg)stoßen', {CAD} v. 'push, press, knock over' ¶ *h- in *√dhp is due to the infl. of WS *√dhw v. 'push, press' (< N *daXw∇ 'to press, to push') and possibly to as. *-ɿp- > *-hp- ¶ KB 210, KBR 219, Sl. 325, Js. 293, Sd. 146, L G 124, 127, CAD III 1, DRS 247, 299-300 || EC *d̥īp-, {AD} *t̥īp- (mte. from *√dp) > Or d̥īb- v. 'push, annoy', {Grg.} d̥īb- vt. 'push forward', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or H {Ow.} d̥īb- 'push' (Or ⇨ Brj {Ss.}, Ged {Hd.} d̥īb- v. 'push'), Sml N d̥īf- v. 'bully', Sd {Hd.} t̥īb-, {Gs.} t̥īwa v. 'push' ¶ Abr. S 59, Gs. 327-8, Grg. 124-5, Sr. 297, Ow. 259, Hd. 238, 397, ≠ Ss. B 64 (does not distinguish this √ from EC *d̥īp- v. 'press, squeeze'), Hd. 119

(HEC *dīb- > Ged, Brj dīb-, Sd ṭīb-) || WCh {Stl.} *dap- v. 'push' > Hs dāfā v. 'press on with one's palm' | Su {J} tūp v. 'push', Ang {Flk.} tūp 'stir soup while cooking' | Ngz {Sch.} dābáú (n. act. dábí) v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [#217], J S 86, Sch. DN 38, ChL, Flk. s.v. tūp ¶¶ ≈ OS #753, ≈ Sk. HCD 39 || IE *depH- > NaIE *dep^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N ? ʌ *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE 'to trample, to kick', to crumple, to press' [q.v. ffd.]) || K: G {Chx.} dṽveb-/dṽvib- 'make butter by churning' ¶ Chx. 329 || ʌ U *tapp∇- v. 'strike, beat' (partially × N ? ʌ *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE '↑) > F tappa- 'totschlagen, ermorden; schlachten', tappele- 'sich schlagen, kämpfen', taputta- 'klopfen', Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Mk tapa- 'break (glass, etc.), smash', Er tapa- 'defeat\smash (an army, host)' | pPrm *tap- > Prmk tapɜd- 'strike with a feast; einen Faust in den Rücken stoßen', Z tapkɪ- 'strike with the hoof of a forefoot'; but pPrm *tap- v. 'flap' is obviously a different √ of onomatopoeic origin; the same may be true of Prm root *tap- represented in Vt tapɪr- 'stamp one's foot', Z tapkɪ- 'walk\step slowly (медленно шагать)', though a contamination of an inherited FU root and a recent onomatopoeic factor is quite probable || Sm: Ne O tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} tapɪr-qo 'to kick with feet', tappaɪ-qo id. (mom.) ¶¶ UEW 509-10, PI 266, KC 209, LG 278, Ker. II 164, KKIH 179, Lh. 466 || A ≈ *dap₁i₁-, ≈ *dab- v. 'push, press' > M (× N *ṭa'p¹E 'to squeeze, to press' × N *daXw∇ [~ *dawX∇?] 'to press, to push'?) > [1] dabi- > WrM dabɪ-, HIM дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d_a'wɪ- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, Ms. O 130 | [2] *dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта-, Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M → WrMc dabta- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784 || Tg *dap- v. 'press' > Ork dapāw- 'squeeze, press', ?amb Ewk (unless a loan from M): Ewk PT/Y/Np dapça-, Ewk Al/Z/Ucr dapta- v. 'flatten, crush flat; hammer out; tap with one's palm', dapçarawçā ~ dapçarapçā 'pressed to', Ewk PT dapçaran- 'clutch, squeeze, pinch' ¶ STM I 197-8 || D *topp-, {ʁGS} *dobb- v. 'push' > Kn dobbu ~ ḍobbu ~ dabbu ~ ḍabbu, Tl d(r)obbu v. 'shove, push', Tu dobbu 'pushing, shoving', dobbuni v. 'push, shove, put off' ¶¶ D #3340, ≠ Km. 406 [#687] (suggests that OTl drobbu v. 'push, trust' goes back to *tor-b-

< *tor-upp- / -v-, but remarks: "the following are confusing: Kn dobbu , dobbu v. 'shove, push, thrust', Tu dobbuni id.") \diamond S $\sqrt{\text{d}p\text{f-}}$, IE $\sqrt{\text{d}ep\text{H-}}$ (< $\sqrt{\text{d}^h\text{epH-}}$ due to one of the IE incompatibility laws), and D $\sqrt{\text{tobb-}}$ (or $\sqrt{\text{dobb-}}$) suggest a N cns. cluster $\sqrt{\text{-PH-}}$, while S $\sqrt{\text{d}f\text{p}}$ (< $\sqrt{\text{d}f\text{p}}$ by as.) and the C long vw. suggest that the lr. preceded the labial stop (a mt. at the pHS level?). The presence of $\sqrt{\text{P}y}$ in K suggests N $\sqrt{\text{-P}y}$ $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II #208 ($\sqrt{\text{t}ap}$ 'hit') (IE, U, M, Tg + unc. T, Ko + qu. J, CK).

551. $\sqrt{\text{d}Eq}$ 'earth' > HS: B $\sqrt{\text{d}Hy}$ (unless it is $\sqrt{\text{d}p\text{y}}$) 'sand, (?) pebbles' > Ah {Fc.} edahi 'sable fin' (pl. idahān), tedahit 'petite dune basse de sable fin', edayān 'plaine unie de sable fin', Ty/ETwl {GhA} edahi (pl. idāhan) 'colline', Gh {Nh.} idahi (pl. idahan) 'petite colline de sable', Rf A {Rn.} īdīt , Rf B {Rn.} īaudīt 'galet, caillou roulé' ¶ Because of the root-final $\sqrt{\text{y}}$, ETwl, Ty -h-, and Rf -Ø- this word cannot belong to B $\sqrt{\text{w}^1\text{dz}}$ 'piler' (> Ah addah , ETwl addaz , Kb dđaz) or to B $\sqrt{\text{w}^1\text{d}p}$ 'piler' (> Ah add , Gd addaβ) ¶ Fc. 186-7, Pr. H 35 [##37-8], GhA 21, Nh. 203, Rn. 307 || $\sqrt{\text{σ} \text{Eg N } \text{d}χ.ω.τ}$ 'Steinblöcke' ¶ EG V 484 || S $\sqrt{\text{σ} \text{d}χ\text{y}}$ > Gz $\sqrt{\text{d}χ\text{y}}$ G (js. $\text{yā-d}χ\text{ay}$) v. 'excavate, dig up' ¶ L G 130, DRS 249 || K: pGZ $\sqrt{\text{di}qa}$ 'soil, clay' > Mg $\text{di}χ\text{a} \sim \text{de}χ\text{a}$ 'soil, earth, land, place', Lz (n) $\text{di}χ\text{a}$ 'earh, soil'; Zan $\text{d} \rightarrow$ G Gr $\text{di}χ\text{a}$ 'earth'; OG $\text{ti}qa$ 'clay', G $\text{ti}χ\text{a}$ 'clay, mud' (acc. to Mach. K 22 and FS K 105, assimilation K $\sqrt{\text{d}...q} > \sqrt{\text{t}...q}$); d- has been preserved in G Gr $\text{di}χ\text{a}$ 'earth' (infl. of Zan?) ¶ FS K 105 ($\sqrt{\text{di}q-}$), Chx. 316, Q 227, ≠: K 94-5 and K² 72 ($\sqrt{\text{ti}qa-}$ with $\sqrt{\text{t-}}$ > Zan d-) $\diamond \neq$ IS I 220 [#69] ($\sqrt{\text{di}q\text{y}} > \text{K } \sqrt{\text{di}qa}$ and IE $\sqrt{\text{d}^h\text{g}^h\text{em-}}$ 'earth') (\rightarrow BmK 269-70: IE, K); I prefer to connect IE $\sqrt{\text{d}^h\text{g}^h\text{em-}}$ with N $\sqrt{\text{t}og\text{æ}}$ 'dust, earth' for phonetic reasons: IE $\sqrt{\text{g}^h}$ is a reg. reflex of N $\sqrt{\text{g}}$ rather than of $\sqrt{\text{q}}$.

552. $\sqrt{\text{du}q}$ or $\sqrt{\text{d}üq}$ 'blow (wehen, blasen), breathe' (\rightarrow 'smoke') > HS: S: Ar $\text{du}χχ\text{-} \sim \text{da}χχ\text{-}$ 'smoke', $\text{du}χ\text{ān-}$ id. ¶ BK I 677, 680, DRS 249 || $\sqrt{\text{φ} \text{C } \sqrt{\text{d}^1\text{f}}}$ 'wehen' > EC: Sml {ZMO} $\text{d}a\text{f-}$, {R} $\text{d}a\text{f-}$ 'blow' (wind), Ya {Hn.} dehmo (pl. dehmai) 'wind' ¶ If the rec. of pC $\sqrt{\text{d}^1}$ is valid, its unexpected emphaticity may be due to the infl. of $\sqrt{\text{f}}$. The C cns. $\sqrt{\text{f}}$ as a cognate of the vl. S $\sqrt{\text{χ}}$ (< N $\sqrt{\text{q}}$?) still needs explaining ¶ AD SF 315-6, Hn. Y II 137, DSI 150, R SS II 528, ZMO 106 || IE $\sqrt{\text{d}^h\text{eu}H\text{-}}$ v. 'shake, blow' ({EI} $\sqrt{\text{d}^h\text{eu}H_1}$ 'be in [com]motion, rise [as dust or smoke]') > OI $\text{dhū-}^1\text{nō-ti}$, dhu^1vati 'shakes', pfc. dudhāva || Arm դեղեկիմ dedewim vi. 'I vacillate, totter, shake' || Gk θύω {LS} v. 'rush on\along' (of a rushing wind) || ON dýja 'to shake' || pAl {O} $\sqrt{\text{deg-ska-}}$

> Al T *deh* v. 'become intoxicated, get drunk'; pAl {O} **deg-nya* > Al *dej-* *đ* *dēnj-*, G {Ç, Kf.} *dej* {Ç} 's'enivrer', {LP} *dejs*hem 'drunk' || Lt *dujā* 'Stäubchen, feiner Regen, Nebel' | Sl **dūti* / prs. **duj*q 'blow' > R *дуть* / prs. *дую*, SCr *dūti* / prs. *dūjēm*, Blg *дуя*, Slv *dúti* 'blow' (inf. **dūti* coalesced in some lgs. with Sl **dq-ti* 'blow' < NaIE **dhem-* < N **dVmV* 'to breathe, to blow') || *dh*uH-mo- 'smoke, steam', {EI} **dʰuh₂*'mo-s 'smoke' > OI *dhū*'maḥ 'smoke, steam' || Gk *θυμός* 'breath' → 'soul, life, Lebenskraft' || L *fūmus* 'smoke, steam' || Lt *dūmai* (pl.), Ltv *dūmi* (pl.), Pru *dumis* 'smoke' || Sl **dīmbъ* 'smoke' > OCS *ДЪМЪ* *dīmbъ*, Blg, Uk *дим*, SCr, Slv *dīm*, R *дым*, Cz *dým*, Slk, P *dym* || OIr {P} *dumacha* (pl.) 'fog' (< **dum-*) || OHG {Kb., EWA} *doum*, {OsS} *toum*, *thoum* 'smoke, steam', MHG *toum* ~ *doum*, NGr Sw *taum*, Nr B *dâum*, *dām* id., OSx *dômi*an 'to steam' (< **doum-*) || Ht *tuhhu*i- ~ *tuhhu*wai- 'smoke' ¶ P 261-7, EI 388, 529, Frd. HW 227, Frd. HW EH II 25, Ts. E III 47-9, FI 693-4, 697-8, WH I 561-2, Vr. 89, OsS 948, Kb. 163, EWA II 744-6, Ho. S 13, Slt. 242-3, O 57-8, Ç I 111 and II 368, AlbED 155, Kf. 77, LamP 147, BFU 92, Frn. 109-110, En. 164, Wn. 519, M K II 107-9, ESSJ V 99-100, 203, Vs. I 555-8, Glh. 196, 213-4, SPS V 207-8 ◊ ≠ IS I 217-218: IS equates IE **dʰeuH-* v. 'shake, blow' with WrM *debi-* 'winnow (grain), flap (wings)' and with Lm *dɜwū* 'whirlwind, hurrican, wind', *ɔwū-* 'brausen, toben, aufwirbeln' (of wind, snow-storm) (Pp. VG 45, cp. LW 180-1), but this is hardly acceptable because Lm *ɔwū-* *ɔ* *dɜū-* 'brausen, aufwirbeln' and *dɜwū* *ɔ* *dəgu* '(whirl)wind, hurrican' go back to Tg **deg-* [STM I 228-9], while M *debi-* belongs together with Tg **dep*₁_₁- 'flap' (> Ud *dɜp*i-, etc.; cp. STM I 228).

553. **diqa* 'goat' (or 'ε ruminant?') > HS: NrOm {Blz.} **dVg-* ~ **dVq-* {AD} 'ε ruminant' > Oyda *doge* 'greater kudu (antelope *Tragelaphus strepsiceros*)', Bsk *daḱiṣi*, Doka *daḱiṣa* 'lamb', Bdt {Hw.} *deggele* 'goats' ¶ Blz. OL #152 || Ch: WCh: AG: Cp *dḱgun* 'he-goat', Kfr {Nt.} *dɜgūŋ* 'castrated male goat, ?? Su {J} *dūgūm* ~ *dūṣūm* 'male antelope' | Ron: Fy {J} *~dákùs* 'he-goat' || CCh: Pdk {Mch.} *dúg-zumā* id. | Tr {Nw.} *žīg* 'goat' || ECh: Nd {GD} *dīhi*, Nd D {J} *dḱgâ*, Tmk {Cp.} *žīg* 'goat' ¶ ChC, JI II 167-9, ChL, J S 62, Nt. 7 || K **dqa-* 'she-goat' > OG, NG *tχa*, Mg *tχa-* (pl. *tχal-*), Lz (m) *tχa-* (pl. (m) *tχal-*), Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln *daqəl* (pl. UB/Ln *daq-är*, L *daql-är*) ¶ K 77, ≈ K² 80 (**tqa-*), TK 188, GP 95, Dn. s.v. *daqəl* || IE: NaIE {EI} **dik-s* (gen. **dīg-os*) ({P} **digh-*, {Dv.} **digh-*

~*dik-) 'goat' > Gk Δ [Hs.] δῖζα· ἄξξ ('goat'); Fick and P supposed that this gloss is Thracian, which is not accepted by Grgv., Durid., Russu, and Dechev || OHG zīgā 'goat' (> NHG Ziege), with a hypothetical "consonant sharpening" OHG zickī, zickīn 'kid' ('Zicklein'), AS tiććen id., Nr Δ tikka 'sheep' || Arm unḥly tik 'leather bottle, goat's skin' ¶ Huld 59 adduces here StAl T dhi, Al: SG dhi, D/P δī, T Sl/V/F δī 'goat', but O 83 suggests that this Al word goes back to pAl *ajziya 'goat' related to Gk ἄξξ id. ¶ WPI 814, P 222, Dv. #978, EI 229, FI 390-1, OsS 125, Kb. 1250, , KM 882, Ho. 346, O 128, Sl. 335-6, Jokl KA 241 ◇ IE *-k- < N *-g-; the origin of the IE cns. *-g- is not clear; the IE initial *d- for the expected *dh- is probably due to the IE root structure rejection of the **g^het-structure (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √). The deglottalization of *g in K is still to be explained ◇ AD NM #43, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

554. (2?) *dAr▽ 'have a suitable size (be just right, быть впору)' > K *^oda_;r- > G dar-/dr- 'j-m gleichkommen, ebenbürtig sein', dar-i 'gleich, gleichartig, gleichwertig, ähnlich' ¶ Chx. 254-6 || D *tar- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'be fit' (× N *dar_;▽H_;▽ 'hold, hold fast, fasten') > Tm taru v. 'wear tightly as a cloth', taram 'opportune moment, time, turn', taruṇam 'right time, proper season', Ml tarayuka v. 'be fixed', tāru 'wearing clothes tucked in', taram 'time, opportunity', Kn tari 'state of being joined, fixed, or settled', Tl tarī 'opportunity, proper time', ? Ku dari 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D #3142 || A: ?σM: WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'outshine, eclipse, excel' (× ← WrM daru-, HIM дара- v. 'press, push down'), (?) darui, HIM даруй 'immediately', MM [HI] darui-tur 'aussitôt après' ¶ MED 233-4, Luv. 147, Ms. H 48 ◇ Fn. KD #14 (K, D). FU *ter▽ 'Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen' does not belong here because of its vw. *e. It rather belongs to N *teR▽ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' (q.v.).

555. *duri (or *dori??) go, walk' > A: Tg *duere- ({DQA} *dūrē-) v. 'walk' > Nn, Ul duṛṛṛ-, Orc duwṛ-~duṛ-, Ewk dūrṛ- v. 'walk', Neg dūyṛ-, Ud duṛ- v. 'walk along the bank (near the waterline)' ¶ STM I 226, Krm. 229 || NaT *jorī- ~ *jūr- v. 'walk, go' > [1] *jorī- > OT jorī-, SY jor-žor-, Alt žor- id., Uz, ET H {Ml.} jur-, Tv čor(u)-, Tf ć'oru-~ ć'ori- v. 'walk, ride, go'; [2] *jūr- ~ *jō_;r- > Tk yūrū-, Az jūrū-, Ggz, ET jörü-, Tkm jöre-, Qzq žür-, VTt jōr-, Bsh jōrō-, Blq žür(ü)- ~ zür-, Qzq žür-, Nog jür-, Qrg žür-, Xk čör-, Shor čür-, Yk sūr- v. 'walk, move', Qq žür-

'move', StAlt žür- v. 'walk, ride; be', Chv šüre- 'walk, move' ¶ Cl. 957, DTS 274, Rs. W 207, ET J 229-31, Ra. 197 || ?σ pJ *džr- v. 'approach' > OJ jor-, J: T yòr-, K/Kg yór- ¶¶ S AJ 284, S QJ #169, Mr. 787 ¶¶ DQA #399 (A *dōre 'go, walk, approach' > T, Tg, J) || D *tūr(-) v. 'enter' (× N *tor'∇h'a 'to pass over; through', q.v.) > Tm NA tūr v. 'enter', Kn tūr̄u v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl tūr̄u ~ dūr̄u to enter, penetrate', Gnd turrv- v. 'thrust into', dorrānā v. 'penetrate', Ku dūh- v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx turd- v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt tuθr-kaṭe v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' ¶¶ D #3399(a) || HS: WS *-dūr- v. 'roam (of nomads), go and come back, wander about within some territory' > Mh ✓dwr G (pf. dōr, sbjn. y3-dōr) v. 'wander about, herumgehen; go and come back', Hrs ✓dwr (pf. dōr, prs. y3dōr) v. 'go round', Jb ✓dwr (pf. dōr) v. 'come between, in front of', (pf. dēr) v. 'wander about', Ar دور ✓dwr G 'aller tout autour, tourner, tourner', ? (× S *-dūr- 'turn round', see DRS 239): BHb ✓dwr G {KB} 'rundherumschichten' ¶ Jo. M 76, Jo. J 42-3, Jo. H 26, KB 208-9, Fr. II 69, BK I 747, DRS 239-41 ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #11.

556. *dur∇ (or *dūr∇) 'hole, hollow' > K: pGZ {Fn.} *duro > G duro 'deep hole', Mg duru 'hollow, depression, hole, pit' ¶ Chx. 325, Fn. KW-1 34 [#16] || IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwō(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hwr̄-, {E} *d^hwór (gen. *d^hu'r-ōs) 'door, gate' (× N *dūr∇ 'log, stick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9 || NaIE (in BSI) *d^hur-/*d^hūr- > Sl *dīra 'hole' > OR Δ τῖρῖα dīr ja, R дыра, Plb darā id. || Lt dūr̄ti 'to thrust, to stab' ¶ Vs. I 205, ESSJ V 205. Frn. 113 || D *to|ur̄a- ~ *to|ura- 'hollow, hole, cavity' (× N *tūr∇ or *tūRE 'pierce, stick into; hole'???) > Ml tura 'hole, burrow', Kn tor̄alu, tor̄ale 'hole', tor̄e, ḍore 'hollow, hole', Tl tor̄a, tor̄ata, tor̄ra 'hole, cavity in a tree', Gnd Δ dōra 'hole in tree' || D {Pf.} *tūr-/*tur-∇- (~ *tur̄-) v. 'make a hole' > Tm tura v. 'tunnel, bore', Ml turav̄u 'burrowing, mine, hole', Kn turi, turuv̄u v. 'hollow, bore, drill, make a hole', Tl tur̄umu v. 'scrape with a toothed instrument', Krx tūr- v. 'pierce through, perforate', Mlt tūre v. 'scratch out' ¶¶ The variant with *-r- (reg. from N *r-clusters) may be due to the infl. of N *tor'∇h'a 'to pass over; through'. Tm, Ml u and Kn, Tl 0 may go back either to *u or to *0, but Krx and Mlt point to

pD *u(:) only 𐌆𐌆 D #3533, Pf. 135 [#1167] , Zv. 65-6, Km. 111-8, Em. DCPH § 14 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [#7] (K, D) and 133 (added R д ы р а).

557. *dûR∇ 'log, stick' > **HS:** Eg L dr 'prod, goad' 𐌆 Jsn. 22 || **K** *dwire- 'log, beam; squared beam' > OG dwire- ~ dire- id. ('plank' in Mt. 7.3), G dire, G Gr dviro-, G I diro- 'log, squared beam', Mg dære- 'cross-beam', Sv: UB/L dīr, Ln/LB dir, LB dər 'beam' 𐌆𐌆 K² 40, ≠ Rog. GRL (K ← Gk) (⇔ K² 40), TK 196, GP 97, Dn. s.v. dīr || **IE:** NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwo(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hwr̥-, {EJ} *^ld^hwór (gen. *d^hu'r-os) 'door, gate' (× N *dur∇ (or *dür∇) 'hole, hollow', q.v.) > OI nom. pl. 'dvār- 'door' (nom. pl. 'dvārah, accus. pl. du'rah ~ 'durah, nom. du. 'dvārau, nom. sg. 'dvāh), Av accus. sg. dvarəm 'gate' || Arm pl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 dur-k^h 'door' || Gk θύρα, Gk I θύρη id. || pAl {O} *dwōrā, {Huld} *der^ 'door, gate', pl. *düer- > Al T/G 'derē (pl. T, G 'dyer, G dyr), {Huld} SG dēr / dūr, D dēr / dūr, B der / dūr || L foris 'door', pl. forēs 'folding-doors' || W dôr, MBr {Em.} dor, Cm {P} dor 'door', OIr dorus, W drws 'door' || OHG turi, NHG Tür, ON dyrr 'door', Gt daúr, OHG tor, NHG Tor 'gate', OSx duru 'door', dor 'gate', AS duru, dor 'door, gate', NE door || Lt accus. pl. duris 'door', gen. pl. dūrū, Olt, Lt EA dures, Lt dūrys d. id., Ltv duris, dūrvis pl. 'door', Pru pl. dauris 'big gate' (ce. for duaris?) || pSl *dv̥ri pl. 'doors' > OCS ДВЕРИ dv̥ri, Blg †, R 'двери, Slv dv̥eri, duri, Cz dveře, P drzwi, Δ dźwierze, Uk двєрї 'door(s)', SCr Δ двѣри 'middle gate of the altar'; secondary sg.: pSl *dv̥rb 'door' > OCS ДВЕРЬ dv̥rb, R дверь, SCr † dv̥ar || pTc *twere > Tc B twere 'door' || ?? NaIE {Mn.} *^od^hr̥n- > ON drumbr (name of a slave ← 'Klotz'), Icl drumbur 'Holzklotz', OSw drummer 'Keule' 𐌆 P 278-9, EI 168-9, M K II 83-4, F I 695-6, WH I 529-30, LP §§ 117.2, 178.2, 268.1, 296, Fs. 117-8, Vr. 91, OsS 946, 972, Kb. 1051, Ho. 75, 80, Ho. S 13-4, KM 783, 797, Frn. 112-3, En. 157, Tp. P A-D 309-10, Bern. I 241, YGM-1 194-5, Ern. 192, O 60, Huld 49, Kf. 77-8, SPS V 140-2, ESSJ V 171-2, Wn. 520, Ad. 323-4, Vr. 85, Mn. 205, 212 ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (K ÷ A *t^liōr(g)e 'beam, prop' ÷ IE derw- 'tree', see N *tarû '[ε] tree, log'), ≈ Blz. KM 132 [#6] (K, IE ^od^hr̥n- + unc.: names of trees in HS, U, and the T lgs., as well as D *tur̥u 'bushes, thicket').

558. ₂ *dUR∇ 'deaf' > **HS** *dur- > B *^ldr̥dr̥ ~ *^ldr̥dr̥, *^ldūr̥d̥v̥r̥ v. 'be deaf', *^ld̥v̥r̥d̥ūr̥ ~ *d̥ard̥ūr̥ 'deaf' > Sll {Ds.}, Shl {NZ} dur̥^ld̥eṛ̥ v. 'be deaf', Izd dur̥^ld̥eṛ̥ id., aḡar̥d̥ur̥ 'deaf', ZAS aḡar̥d̥ur̥ (pl. iḡar̥d̥urr) id., BSn {Bs.}

aðarǵūr, Izn {Bs.} aðerðūr, Ntf {La.} adardur, Zmr {La.} *aðarður 'deaf' ¶ Ds. 267, Mrc. 240, Loub. 518, La. MChB 147, NZ 482 ¶ In the light of external comparative ev. we may suppose that here the emphatic *ǵ is secondary; one of possible explanations may be a cd. (such as *ǵr-dūr > *ǵar-dūr or *dǵr-ǵūr > *dar-ǵūr) in the pre-history of B, whence, due to as., two variants (*ǵarǵūr and *dardūr) || C: Bj 'durndur 'deaf and dumb' (acc. to IS, from *dum 'silent' + dur 'deaf') ¶ R WBd 68; IS I 223 equated it with Bln {R} dīrā 'deaf' (R WB 110) (untenable because the Bln pl. form dīd and the cognate words in Q/Xm [de'dā] suggest that here Bln -r- goes back to a dental stop) || Ch: Hs dūrúmà 'a deaf and dumb person' (and dūrúmà 'a blind person') ¶ Abr. H 238, Ba. 284 || K: Lz: Ar durani, X dura, A ʔura 'deaf' (Lz A ʔ- < *d is a typical dialectal change within Lz) ¶ Zhgh. ChT 140 ◇ IS I 223-4. IS suggested to adduce here M *dulei 'deaf' (hardly tenable [≠ϕ]).

558a. ₂ *d'û'r∇ 'woods, bush(es)' > HS: C: Ag **duḥ- 'thicket' (× N *ʔu|o, w, r'û' 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass') > Xm {R} dīr 'Gebüsch, Wald; Wüste', Xmt {CR} dur 'woods, forest; edge of a hill'; Ag ḅ→ Gz dūr 'forest', dōr 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush' || EC: Sml {R} dīr f. 'Dickicht, Gebüsch, Dschungel', {ZMO, DSI} dūr 'jungle, woods, forest, wilderness', 'boscaglia, luogo disabitato', ?σ Rn dūr 'rocky / impassable place; large pile of boulders' || SC: Irq {MQK} darma (pl. darēmi, darēmō) 'wilderness (large and far from habitat)' ¶ R Ch II 40, R SS II 116, L G 141, ZMO 103, DSI 203, PG 105. MQK 28 || Ch: ??ϕ CCh: FIJ {ChL} dorn 'bush (woods)' || ??μ ECh: Kbl {Cp.} d̄rosuḡ id. ¶¶ ChL, ChC || D *tūr 'bushes' ({GS} *t-?) (× N *ʔu|o, w, r'û' '↑') > Tm tūr 'bushes, shrubbery, thick underwood, low jungle', Kt tu'r 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu'r 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd tūr 'thicket, bush' ¶¶ D #3401 ◇ Blz. 259 [#74] (HS [without SC], D).

559. ₂ *dūr∇ or *dUrE 'entrails, heart' > HS ≈ *dur- > C: SC: Irq {E} durumi 'first stomach', Brn {E} durumiya 'large intestines' || DhI {To.} dūra 'bowels', {E} dūra 'intestines' ¶ E SC 167, To. D 132 || Ch: WCh: Ang {ChL} dur 'heart' || ECh: LI {WeibP} dūrè ~ dūrò 'milieu, centre' ¶ ChL, WeibP 18 || B: Izd {Mrc.} ta-duwwar-t (pl. ti-dur-in) 'tripe' ¶ Mrc. 404 || ?ϕ Eg LL idr 'heart' (× N *ʔûHd∇(R∇) 'breast') ¶ EG I 155 ¶¶ Tk. I 241 (C, Ch, Eg) || A *dūr∇k'∇ 'heart' (× N ? *ʔûr∇ 'inside of body,

heart'?) > T *jür-äk 'heart' (ffd. *see* N ? ***žûr**∇) || M *žü|irüken (< **dirüken) 'heart' (× N ? ***žûr**∇ '↑?') > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [MA] {Pp.} žürüken, [S] {H} žürüge(n) ~ žirügen, [IM] {Pp.} žürüke, [L] {Pp.} جُورُكَة žürke, WrM žirüken, HIM зүрх(эH), Brt зүрхэ(H), Ord {Ms.} žüre"xe, WrO züreke(n), Kl зүркH zürkən, {Rm.} zürkŋ, Mnr H {SM} ž̄ierg_e, Mnr H/M {T}, Ba {T} žirge, Dg {Pp.} žürgü, Dx {T} žuge, Mgl {Pp.} žürkâ, {Rm., Pp.} žürkâ 'heart' ¶ Ms. H 69, Ms. O 225, Pp. MA 211-2, 439, Pp. L II 1273, Pp. SD I 28, Pp. MDG 28, H 91, 95, MED 1062, Krg. 687, KRS 260, SM 87, KW 483-4, Rm. M 42, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139 || ?σ pJ {S} *džkžsì 'spleen' > OJ yᵛyᵛòkᵛyᵛósì ¶ S QJ #1668, Mr. 576 ¶¶ S AJ 282 [#176], DQA #2624 (A *žŭr(∇)k'e 'heart, inner organ'), ≈ ADb. SR 5 (T, M + unc. Tg *jurgā 'of high moral standards, brave') ◇ If the cns. d- in SC, Dhl, B, and Ch may have developed from N ***ž**-, all the abovementioned words belong to N ? ***žûr**∇, so that this rec. of N ***dŭr**∇ – ***dŭrE** will be null and void.

560. *daʔur∇ 'stand, stay' > A: T *t'ur- (~ *t̄ur-?) > OT tur-, Tk d̄ur-, Az, Ggz, Tkm, SY dur-, VTt, Bsh топ- t̄or-, Qzq тʔp- t̄ur-, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET, Uz, Xk, Yk tur-, Tv t'ur-, Tf d_ur- id., Chv L т̄äp- t̄ar-, Chv H t̄or- 'stand up, stand' ¶ Tv t'- suggests a pT *t'-, while Tf d_ and d- in the Og lgs. point to a lax *t̄- ¶ Cl. 529-30, Rs. W 100, Ra. 176, Fed. II 195, S AJ 182-3 [#75], Md. 58, 180 (pT *t'ur-) || HS: CS *dawar- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place', S *dawᵛar- 'dwelling place, camp site' and CS *d̄wr (*-dūr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' (× N ***dūr**∇ 'camping-site, abode', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S *dawar- goes back probably to earlier **daʔu'r- || WCh *d̄r 'stand, stop (remain standing)' > AG *d̄ar > Su {J} d̄ar 'stehenbleiben, bleiben', Kfr {Nt.} d̄ar v. 'stay, stand', Ang {Flk.} d̄ār id., Mpn {Frz.} d̄ar 'stand' (living beings, trees), 'stand up' || Ngm d̄ire 'stand, stay' || Fy {J} d̄ar 'stand' ||| ECh: Mu {J} d̄ar 'rester debout', {Lk.} 'sich hinstellen, stehen', Mjl {DB} d̄éyru, Kwn {J} j̄èrè 'stand' ¶ JI II 304-5, Stl. ZCh 174 [#269], J S 62, Nt. 9, Flk. s.v. d̄ār, Frz. M 14, ChC, Blz. EChWL #78 || D: SD *tar- 'stop, stand still' > Tm tari id., 'rest, abide', Kn tarahara n. 'staying, exercise of patience, forbearance', Tu tariyuni 'stay, stop' ¶ D #3094 ◇ Ch *d̄- and T *t'- < N ***d** + ***ʔ**; D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *r-clusters (here N *-ʔur- > *-ʔr- > D *-r-) ◇ Alternatively, we may reject the S cognate *dawar- and adduce SES *d̄rḥ > Jb C {Jo.} 'ž̄raḥ v. 'stay, stop, cast anchor' (Jo. M

412). In this case we have to reconstruct N ***ṭṛṛXṛ**, but the problem of the vowels (*a in Ch and D, *u in T) will be harder to solve.

560a. *degarṛ 'hill, summit' > **HS**: B ***drār-** (< ****d_lu_rraHr-**) 'mountain' > Ah a-drar, Shl, Tmz, Shnw a-drar, Kb a-ḍrar (pl. i-ḍurar), Rf, SrSn, Izn a-ḍrār, Nfs drar, Gd adurar 'mountain', Si a-drar id., 'hill' ¶ NZ 371, Fc. 234, PGG 42, Dl. 153, Ren. 308, Lf. II #0305 || S: SES ***ṛdṛ** > Jb C 'daṽṽr 'top, edge, point', Mh dṽṽ'rayr (pl. dṽṽrōr) 'point, summit, peak' ¶ Jo J 35, Jo. M 65 || ?EC: Bss {Bnd.} tarra 'mountain' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} deriya_l, Zl {C} daryā, {Mrn.} darya, Gf {AlA, Mrn.} dere, Hrr {CR} darē, Malo/Oyda {Fl.} dere, Cha {C} derā, Kcm {LmS} dare 'mountain', Gm {LmS} dare 'mountainous country' ¶ LmS 348, C SO 29, 43, C SE III 166, CR H 644, Fl. OWL. AlA ODS 8, Mrn. O 140-1 || **D**: SD: McTm ***tēri** > Tm tēri 'sandhill', Ml tēri 'hillock' ¶ D #3461 || **A**: T jar ({Md.} ***jār**) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (× N ***ž'a_lH_rrṛ** 'low place, valley', q.v.) > OT ja_lr ({Cl.} jār) 'a vertical bank of a river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water', Tk ɟar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln jay 'precipice', Tkm žar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', Alt žar, Xk čar 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq žar, Qrg, Uz žar id., 'precipice, steep bank', Qzq žar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L ɟыр śir 'precipice, steep bank', ? Yk sīr 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT jār with a long vw. on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg. 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6, Pek. 2475 ◇ SES ***ṛdṛ** suggests the presence of the cns. ***g** in the N etymon. T ***a** (that cannot go back to N ***e**) may be explained if the N etymon was ***degarṛ**. This rec. suggests that D ***-r-** (a reg. reflex of N ***r-** clusters) goes back to a cluster ***-Hr-** from N ***gar-**. B ***drār-** (< ****d_lu_rraHr-**) suggests a mt. in the prehistory of B ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111a (incl. B, C, Om, T, and D), Blz. DA 161 [#90].

561. *dä_ly_rRṛ ⇌ ***da_ly_rRE** 'be(come) stiff/firm' > **HS**: S ***ṛdrr** 'robust, strong' > Ar darīr- 'fort, robuste, et aux chaires fermes et compactes' ¶ BK I 682 || **U**: FP ***tarṛ** 'get stiff with cold' (< ****dārâ** due to the vw. harmony or from the original ****darä**) > Er tarde- 'get stiff with cold, be chilled' ¶ Prm {LG} ***tur-** > Z turav- v. 'get stiff with cold', ? turdī- id., 'be frozen' ¶ UEW 792, LG 287, ≠ Lt. 217 (connects the Prm ṛ with F turtua v. 'get stiff') || **A**: M ***dereyi-** v. 'become stiff' > WrM derei- id., HIM дэрий-х {MED} id., {Luv.} 'be stiff anf stick out' ¶ MED 253, Luv. 170 || ? NaT ***jarp** (× N ***yoRṛ(-bṛ)** 'firm, strong, hard' [q.v.]) > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 || **IE**: NaIE ***dh^rī^r-** / ***d^her-**

'firm' ({EI} *d^her- 'be immobile; support, hold up') (×IE *d^her- v. 'hold' < N *dar₁∇H₁∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten') > OI 'dhīrah₁ 'firm, steady' || L *firmus*, EpL *fīrmus* 'firm' || AS *darian* 'be motionless, lurk' || Arm *դադարեմ* *dadařem* 'become quiet, stop' || Av *dārayat* 'holds fast' ¶ M K II 105, P 253, EI 270, WH I 505-6, ≈ Slt. 373-4 ◇ NaIE *ī suggests the presence of a N *y (lost in S, A, and FU).

562. *derʔⁱ 'thrust back, drive away' > HS: S *√drʔ > Sr √drʔ *G* 'thrust back (so.)', Ar √drʔ *G* 'éloigner, chasser (qn.)', *L* (pf. *dāraʔa*) 'repel (so.)', Sq {L} *ʔedre* 'chasser', Ak OB/YB {Sd.} *durru* 'abstoßen (?)' ¶ BK I 685, Hv. 200, L LS 135, Sd. 178, DRS 306 || Eg fP *dr*, Eg MKL *dr* ~ *dʔr* 'entfernen' ¶ EG V 473-4 || NrOm: Kf {C} *dar-* 'drive away', 'divorce (a wife)' (unless ←b Ar √d^hr 'drive away') ¶ C SE IV 433 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ C) Af {R} *dāʕar-* 'wegschicken, fortschicken', likely to be connected with Af {PH} *daʕār-* 'go, leave' (PH 77); neither should we adduce Ar √d^hr *G* 'drive away' and Gz √d^hr *G* 'divorce' ¶¶ OS #660 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *d^hrej^b- 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive' > Gmc: Gt *dreiban* id., OHG *trīban* 'to push, to expel', NHG *treiben* 'to drive, to expel', OSx *drīvan*, AS *drīfan* id., NE *drive* || ?σ Lt *drēbti* (prs. *drēbiŭ*) 'to throw down (a thick liquid)' (unless ←d *drībti* 'to fall, to drop') ¶ P 274, EI 170, Fs. 124-5, Ho. 77, Ho. S 13, OsS 953, Kb. 1032, KM 788, Sw. 44, Frn. 104 || D (in SD) *tēr- (={ǵGS} *d-) 'drive (away)' > Tu *dērū-* 'drive, drive away', Kdg *do:t- d de:t- d dət-* 'drive away (cattle, persons)', Ml *tērūka* v. 'attack, pursue' ¶ D #3472 ◇ D *-r- (a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters) and S *ʔ suggest the presence of a N lr.

563. *d^ur₁ʔ₁∇ 'dirt' > HS: S (+ext.): Ar √drn *G* (ip. -dran-) v. 'be dirty', *darin-* 'dirty', ? Tgr {DRS} *dere* 'éruption cutanée' ¶ BK I 693, DRS 315 || Ch: WCh: Jmb *adʔri* 'dirt' || ECh: Kwn {J} *dórúwó* 'dust' (cp. N *tox|qUry∇ ~ *tUx|qʔ∇ 'dirt; be dirty') ¶ ChC, ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 253 [#71] || IE: NaIE *d^her-(k-), *d^herj₁-/*d^hrej₁- 'defecate; faeces' > L for *a* pl. 'Durchfall (bei Schweinen), dünne Exkremente', forī- 'defecate' || Gmc.: ON *dríta*, Ic, Far, NNr *drita*, Dn *drite*, NLG *drīten*, AS *drītan* 'to defecate', OHG *trīzan* 'to urinate', NE *drite*; OHG *trīz-* *stuo*l 'chamber pot, Nachtgeschirr' || Mcd (?) [Hs.] *δαρδαίνει · μολύνει* ('he stains, sullies') || Lt *deřk-ti* (prs. *derk-iŭ*) 'mit Unrat besudeln, den After leeren' || ? Sl *driskati* (d. with *-sk-) ~ *dristati 'to have

diarrhea' > SCr, Slv drískati, Slv drístati, Cz dřístati, Slk drístat', РΔ drzystac', R дрискать, Uk дрискати id., Blg (1s prs.) дрискам 'I have diarrhea' ¶ P 251, 256, WH I 527-8, Vr. 84, Ho. 78, Kb. 1035, ESSJ V 116 || D {tr., †GS} *tur- > Tm turu 'rust, verdigris, flaw', turicu 'blue vitriol', Ml turiśu id., turumpu, turuvu 'rust', Tl t(r)urpu 'rust' ¶¶ D #3343 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N *r-cluster (*r + Ir.?). The only N lrs. liable to be lost in S are *ʔ and *h (*ʔ|h = *ʔ of our notation) ◇ BmK 266-7 (S, IE, D) ◇ Cf. N *t̥Ur₁∇₁y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' (q.v.).

563a. ₂ *dAr₁∇ 'ashes' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *dar₁- id. > Or dār-ā, Kns {Ss.} tar-a, Gato {Fl.} tara, Gdl {Ss.} ter₁-ata ({Bl.} ter₁-ata), Brj dār-a, Gwd, Hr, Gln tar₁-o || SC: Irq {MQK} dar₁ara, {Wh.} dářárítô₁o (pl. dářára) id. ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Ss. EDB 51, AD SF 205, Bl. 207, MQK 24 || Ch: WCh: Dr }J} duđá 'ashes' (unless from N *t̥üt̥'a' 'dust, ashes') || ? ECh: Kwn {Mch., J} d'rwz 'ashes' (unless from *√dbr, see Tmk dëbër, Smr, Nd dëbriń id.) ¶ JI II 4-5 || ??σ S: Ar duřr-, duřr-at- 'pourriture (du bois)' ¶ BK I 700 ¶¶ HSVA #314 (EC, Ar √dřr v. 'smoke\steam\rot') || D (in GnD) *otaramp- ({†GS} *d-) 'ashes' > Ku darmbu ≍ darambu ~ d^harmbu 'ashes', Mnd nīy-darambu id. (nīy- < D nīr- id.), Png (← Mnd?) darmu id. ¶ D #3092 ◇ This etl. connection was discovered by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4e); see also Blz. LNA #9.

564. *dar₁∇H₁∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten' > IE: NaIE *d^her(ə)- v. 'hold, hold fast, hold up', {P} 'halten, festhalten, stützen', {EI} 'hold up' (× N ?? *dä₁y₁R∇ ~ *da₁y₁RE 'be[come] stiff/firm') > OI dhārayati 'holds, bears, preserves, keeps' (pfc. dā'dhara, pp. dh₁ṛ'taḥ), Av vī-δāraye'ti 'supports' (pp. dār^əta-), OPrs dārayāmiy 'ich halte', Sgd δ^ṛr 'hold', Oss dar₃n v. 'have (domestic animals); support (a family); wear', OI dhāruṇa 'haltend, stützend', dhar'tar ~ 'dharitar 'Halter', dhar'tra- 'Halt, Stütze', Av darəpra- 'das Festhalten, Begreifen' || Gk θράομαι 'be seated' (← 'be supported'), θράνος 'bench, form' ({F} 'Tragbalken, Bank, Schemel'), Gk θρήσασθαι aor. inf. 'to sit down' ({F}: ← '≈ sich aufstützen, sich aufstemmen'), Gk θρόνος 'a seat, chair', θρήνυς 'footstool' || L frē-tus 'relying on', Um FRITE (abl. or loc.) 'fretu, fiducia', ?σL firmus (~ EpL fīrmus) 'firm, strong' || Lt deréti / prs. derù v. 'be fit, suited', caus. darýti and Ltv darīt 'to do, to make, to prepare' ¶ P 252-4 (adduces here Ht

tarh- v. 'win', better explainable as belonging together with NaIE *terā- v. 'win', F ABIV II 155-60), OsR 183, EI 270, M K II 100, Mn. 185-6, 198, FI 678-9, 686-7, WH I 505-6, Bc. G 336, Frn. 83 || **U**: FU *tartt∇- v. 'hold, seize' > F tartttu-, Vo tarttu- v. 'grasp, grip, seize' || OHg ≥xIII tart- 'hold, keep', Hg tart- v. 'hold' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-2 (*tartt∇- 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben'), SK 1240, MF 616, EWU 1487 ¶ Cf. FU *°tarka- > Er 'targa-(ms) 'take out, draw out' < N ***ṭaR∇**, ***ṭaR∇-H∇g∇** 'to drag, to pull' || **D** *tar- ({{ṭGD}} *t-) v. 'fasten, stick' (× N ***dAr∇** 'have a suitable size') > Tm taru v. 'wear tightly as a cloth, fasten', Ml tarayuka v. 'be fixed', t̄aru 'wearing clothes tucked in', Td tar- v. 'get stuck (in mud)', Tu tarapuni, tarpuni v. 'rivet, fasten firmly', Tm tarupu v. 'join together, amass (wealth)', Ku dari 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ **D** #3142 || **HS**: C: SC ({{E}} *dar- v. 'handle, make with the hands'): Kz ?σ,φ dāl- v. 'make, do, prepare', SC ⇨ Mb -dāra v. 'grip, hold' || Dhl dar- v. 'put (a lot of things)' ¶ ESC 166 ◇ The N Ir. ***H₁** is evidenced by the IE vw. *a (preserved in L ē). D *-r- < N intervoc. *-r-, suggesting the presence of a vw. between *r and *H ◇ ≠ BmK 307 (D, SC + *÷ IE *derg^h- > Gk δράσσομαι v. 'grasp, clutch').

565. *dūr₁∇h₁∇ 'to deceive, (?) to outwit' > **HS**: CS *dr? > Ar ✓dr? G (n. act. durū?-) 'sortir soudain et fondre sur quelqu'un' (se dit, e. g., d'une troupe qui attaque l'ennemi à l'improviste), Sb ✓dr? v. 'make a sudden assault on'; S *°✓drh > Ar ✓drh G 'survenir à l'improviste, tomber sur quelqu'un' ¶ BK I 683, 693, BGMR 36, DRS 306, 312 ¶ In the variant ✓dr? the cns. ? < *h (a rather typical case of weakening) || EC: Sa {R} di'rāb 'a lie, libel, calumny', dirāb-it- v. 'lie', Af {PH} dirab / pred. dirāb-a 'falsehood, lie' ¶ PH 85, R S II 112-3 || **IE** *d^hwer(H)- > NaIE *d^hwer(ə)- v. 'deceive, seduce' ({{P}} 'durch Täuschung, Hinterlist zu Fall bringen'), (+ext.) {P, E} *d^hreugg^h- 'deceive' > Vd 'dhrū-ti-ḥ 'misleading, seduction', Av družaiti 'stiftet Unheil, betrügt', OPrs aduruḥīya ipf. 'he told lies' || L fraus, -dis 'deceit, deception, fraud', frūstra 'in error', frūstro, frūstor v. 'disappoint, deceive, trick' || OHG triogan, NHG trügen, betrügen, OSx driogan, bidriogan 'to deceive' ¶ P 276-7, EI 154, WH I 543-4, M K II 118-9, OsS 957, Kb. 1034-5, Ho. S 13, KM 784 || **U**: ? Sm: Slq: Ke/Ch/UO/B {Cs.} tuernar v. 'steal', Tz {Hl.} t̄r-it-qo id., Tz B {Cs.} tuerennar id. ¶ Cs. 150, 284, Hl. (p.c., 1976) || **D** *tūr- ({{ṭGS}} *d-)

v. 'slander, blame' > Tm $t\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ v. 'traduce, slander', n. 'calumny, slander', Ml $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ v. 'blame, slander', $t\bar{u}r\bar{r}u\bar{k}a$ v. 'abuse, blame', Kn $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ v. 'bear tales, report evil of others, blame', Kdg $du'r\bar{i}$ 'information laid against so.', Tu $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ 'aspersion, blame, reproach', $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}ni$ v. 'accuse, complain, blame', Tl $d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ v. 'reproach, blame, censure', Kui $doh\text{-}pa$ v. 'mention a name of so., cite, accuse, blame' ¶¶ D #3397, ≠ Km. 403-4 [#670] (reconstructs pSD $*t\bar{u}r\bar{-}$ / $-r\bar{-}$, "ultimately to" $*t\bar{u}\bar{-}$ + $*-r\bar{-}$).

565a. $_2$ $*darH\bar{\nabla}$ or $*daHr\bar{\nabla}$ 'path, way' > HS: EC: Ya {Hn.} $d\bar{a}r$ 'path, road', ? Sa {R} $d\bar{o}r\bar{-}$ 'follow' ¶ Hn. Y II 131-2, R S II 111 || WCh: Ywm der 'road' || Krkr $ndaru$, Mh $\dot{d}ore$, Grm {ChC, ChL} $ndar\bar{u}$ id. || My {Sk.} $d\bar{e}r\bar{a}h\bar{i}$, P {MSk.} $d\bar{a}r\bar{h}\bar{i}$, Mbr {Sk.} $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}$, Kry {Sk.} $derahi$, Jmb {Sk.} $d\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ 'road, path, way' ||| Ech: Jg {J} $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}p$ 'road' (× N $*der\bar{r}'\bar{u}b\bar{\nabla}$ 'way, path') ¶ Stl. ZCh. 172 [#248], Sk. NB 37, ChC, ChL ¶¶ OS #657 (HS $*dar\bar{-}$ 'road'; incl. WCh and Ya) ||| D $*t\bar{a}ri$ ({ǵGS} $*d\bar{-}$) 'way, path' > Tm $t\bar{a}ri$, Kn, Tu, Tl $d\bar{a}ri$ 'way, road, path', Kt $a\bar{d}a\bar{r}y$ 'road, path' ¶¶ D #3170 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#105].

566. $_2$ $*der\bar{r}'\bar{u}b\bar{\nabla}$ 'way, path' > HS: WS $*darb\bar{-}$ > Sr $d\bar{a}r\bar{b}\bar{-}\bar{a}$ 'road', Ar $darb\bar{-}$ {BK} 'rue; chemin, route; défilé dans les montagnes', {Ln.} 'narrow pass', Jb C {Jo.} $d\bar{e}rb$ 'village street' ¶ DRS 307, BK I 684, Ln. 866-7, Jo. J 40 || Ech: Jg {J} $d\bar{e}r\bar{i}p$ 'road' (× N $*darH\bar{\nabla}$ or $*daHr\bar{\nabla}$ 'path, way') ¶ ChC s.v. 'road' ||| D $*teruv\bar{-}$ 'road' > Tm $teru$, $teruvam$, $teruvu$ 'street, highway, public road', Ml $teru$ 'street', Kt $tervi$ 'neighbourhood', Bel $teru$ 'way', Tl $teruvu$ 'way, road, path' ¶¶ D #3422 ◇ D $*-r\bar{-}$ (regularly from $*r\bar{-}$ clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. that was later lost in S (most probably, a N "weak" lr. $*r\bar{?}$ or $*h\bar{}$).

567. $*daRuga$ or $*daRüga$ 'tremble, shake' > ? HS: S: amb Ar $دَرَجِد$ $d\bar{a}ri\check{g}$ 'tremblant' (se dit du timbre de la voix du chanteur), unless ← Ar $دَرَج$ ✓ $dr\check{g}$ G 'walk' ¶ BK I 685 ||| IE: NaIE $*d^hr̥eug\bar{h}_1\bar{-}$ v. 'tremble, shake' > Lt $drug\bar{y}̃s$ 'fever', (here?) 'butterfly', Ltv $drudzis$ 'cold fever; fever' || Sl $*dr\bar{y}g\text{-}a\text{-}ti$ (sę), {SPS} $*d\bar{r}ygati$ 'to tremble' > Slv $d\bar{r}gati$, P $d\bar{r}gać$ 'to tremble', $d\bar{r}ygać$ 'to hop, to skip', Slk, Cz Δ $d\bar{r}gati$ 'to shake', OR, RChS rf. ΔΡΥΓΑΤΗ CA $d\bar{r}igati$ sę 'to tremble', R 'дрыгать' 'to shake'; Sl $*dr\bar{y}g\text{-}n\bar{q}\text{-}ti$ 'to tremble' (mom.) > OR $d\bar{r}ygnuti$, R 'дрогнуть', P $d\bar{r}gnać$; Sl $*d\bar{r}y\check{z}a\text{-}ti$ 'to tremble' >

OCz *držěti*, *dřežeti*, P *držeć*, OR *drožati*, R *дро'жать*, Uk *дрижати* || ? Gk *τοιδρούσσω* 'shake violently', *τοιδρούκτρια* 'those shaking violently', *τοιδροούζω* 'quiver, shake' ¶ P 275, F I 852, Frn. 105, ESSJ V 137-8, 144, Vs. I 540-1, SPS V 43-5 || U: FU **tar(k)∇*- v. 'tremble' > [1] FP **tar∇* (< ***tar∇∇∇??*) > Z *tarží*- v. 'tremble' | Er *тарно*- *tarno*- id., 'quake', Mk *тапо*- *tarə*- id., vi. 'swing' | [2] FU **tark∇* > Z *tarkəd*- 'knock', vt. 'shake' || pObU **tārəy*- v. 'tremble' > pVg **tārəy*- > Vg: UL *tōrə*-, Ss *tōrə*- id.; pOs **tarəy*- > Os: Vy *tārəy*-, Ty *tārəy*-, K *torəy*-, Nz *tōriy*-, Kz *tōri*-, O *tāri*- id. ¶ LG 278, Ht. 189 [#647] || A: M **dorgi*- > WrM *dorgi*-, HIM *дорги*- 'tremble, shake, vibrate' ¶ MED 262 || Tg **dargja*- v. 'shake; threaten by shaking one's feast\hand' > Nn *darǵan* ~ *darglan* 'raise one's hand against so.', WrMc {Z, Hr.} *dargi*- 'tremble', *dargiya*- {Z} 'threaten by shaking one's feast, brandish a sword', {Hr.} 'ausholen (mit Faust, Schwert, Stock usw.)'; Tg **dergi*- v. 'tremble' > Ul *dərži*-, Nnd *dərgi*- ~ *žərgi*- id., Ewk *dərgi*- 'quiver (вздвогну́ть), shake one's head' ¶ STM I 200, 237, Z 795-6, Hr. 181, Vas. 137 || ?φ pJ {S} **dúr*- 'shake, sway' > OJ *jur*-, J: T *yùr*-, K/Kg *yúr*- ¶ S QJ #826, Mr. 788 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #374 (A **dēru* 'shake, sway' > Tg **der(gi)*-, J) ◇ M **-o-* in **dorgi*- (for the expected **-a-*) may be due to the assimilative infl. of some labialized vw. (< N **u|ü*) of the next syll. in pA or ppA. The front vw. **e* in Tg **dergi*- suggests that it was influenced by a front vw. of the next N syll. (most probably **ü* > Tg **i*).

568. **dæR'h'∇ga* ~ **dæR'h'∇k∇* 'to walk, to run; way, path' > HS: S: [1] S **√dr̥g* > Ar *دَرْج* *√dr̥g* G 'walk', Ak *√dr̥g* G 'schreiten', *daraggu* 'path' | [2] CS **√dr̥k* v. 'walk, tread' (× N **d'o'í'∇, k∇* 'to tread, to trample', q.v.) > BHb *دَرَك* *√dr̥k* G (ip. *-d̥r̥ok*) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ph/IA {HJ} *√dr̥k* G 'go (to), enter', Ug {OLS} *√dr̥k* G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar *√dr̥k* v. 'follow, pursue'; Cn **'dar_l∇, k-* 'road, way' > BHb *دَرَك* *√d̥er̥ek* id., Ug {OLS} *dr̥k* 'traficante (i)'; ?φ (× S **√dr̥k* > Ar *√dr̥q* G 'walk hastily') Ug {A} *√dr̥k* 'herankommen', Ug (AkSc) *dar̥ku* 'path' and {Grd.} *t̥dr̥k* n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, HJ 261, BK I 685-6, Hnr. 119-120, A #794, OLS 137, Grd. UT #708, DRS 308-9, 313-4 || ?? WCh: Kry {Sk.} *déràhí*, My {Sk.} *dârhí* 'road' ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: [1] {E} **dʰregʰ-* 'run' > Lt {Fm.} *dróž-ti* 'ziehen, gehen', *dérž-ti* 'mit großen Schritten gehen', Lt *pa-dróž-ti* 'go\run away, scamper away', Ltv *drāz-t* 'rush, speed', {Fm.} 'sich

schnell wohin begeben, laufen' || Gk τρέχω 'run' (× IE *tregʰ- 'run')
 || [2] NaIE *^odʰorag_h- > pSl *dǫrga 'road, way' > OR Δορογα 'way', R
 до'пора, OCz, Cz, Slk dráha, P, LLs droga 'road', SCr arc dràga
 'way', SCr dràga 'narrow gulf, ravine' || [3] ?σ NaIE *dʰrogʰo-, {E}
 *dʰro^gʰo-s 'wheel' (× N *doRkæ [~ *doRgæ?] 'to bend, to turn, to
 wrap', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 273, EI 640, EI 491 (on IE *dʰregʰ- and *tregʰ-), Bc.
 #10.76, Frn. 106, F II 927-9, Thr. § 220, Slr. 301, ESSJ V 74-5, Bern. I
 212, DbZN OSA 10-42 (on the acute intonation and the 1st accentual
 paradigm in pSl and their IE origin), SPS IV 113-5 (*drǫga 'wyzłobienie,
 wgłębienie; bruzda wymyta przez wodę, wydeptana przez bydło, ludzi
 lub jeźdźców', 'semita, callis', 'via, iter') ¶ Sl *dǫrga has no plausible
 direct cognates within the IE family. ESSJ V is right in rejecting all
 earlier etl. hypotheses, but its own et. (repeated in EI 471) (← Sl
 *dǫrga- 'to jerk, to pull, to pull out, to pinch' through the meaning of
 *dǫrga as 'a cleared one, расчищенная') is unc. || A: M *derkEre-
 'ε run quickly' > WrM derkire- v. 'run, race', Kl derkṛ-ḫə ~ derkṛ-ḫə
 '(schnell, im Fluge) rennen\fließen, um die Wette rennen', Ord
 der^hxere- 'aller l'amble ou d'un pas rapide' (of donkeys and mules) ¶
 MED 253, KW 89, Ms. O 141 || ? pKo {S} *tʰrʰí > MKo tʰrʰí {S} 'ride
 quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run,
 rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from *tʰad- 'run') (< the A √ in question ×
 pA {DQA} *tʰjor(g)i- 'quick, swift', F.DQA #2394 and N *tʰÉrgE 'run')
 ¶ S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ◇ Cp. also D *teruv- 'road' (D
 #3422), but on the ev. of its *-v- it is more likely to be akin to Ar darb-
 'rue; chemin, route', 'narrow pass' (see N *der^rʰ ūb ∇ 'way, path').

569. *d∇R₁H₂∇g|K∇ 'sediment (in food), refuse' > IE: NaIE
 *dʰeragʰ- 'sediment, residue' > L fracēs 'dregs of oil, olive-cake' (WH:
 < *dʰrak-s ← *dʰerēgʰ- [= *dʰrēgʰ-/*dʰeragʰ-]) || Lt Δ dragēs
 'sediment of fat from cooked smelt fish', {Frn.} 'was sich beim Kochen
 des Stints zwecks Trankgewinning am Boden absetzt', 'yeast', Pru
 dragios 'yeast', Ltv Δ dradži (← Cur) 'sediment in melted butter' ||
 Sl {ESSJ} *droždž-a, -i. *-bje > OCS ДРОЖДНѦ droždije f. pl. 'leaven,
 yeast', Blg † 'дрождие id., SCr droždja 'residue, husks', Slv drožje, P
 drożdże, OR ДРОЖДН droždji, R 'дрожжи 'yeast' || Gmc {Vr.}
 *dragjō > ON dregg 'yeast' (→ ME dreg(ge) > NE pl. dregs), Sw
 drägg 'yeast', d. Gmc *drahsta > AS dræst, dærst(e) 'leaven', pl.
 'dregs, lees' (> NE † pl. drasts 'dregs, lees'), OHG trestir pl.
 'husks', NHG Trester pl. 'residue of brewery and grape-pressing' ||

pAl {O} *dragā > Al G drâ, -ni, StAl T dra, -u 'waste residue left from melting butter; dregs, lees, sediment' ¶ P 251, EI 170 (IE *dʰrogʰ-'dregs'), WH I 539, EM 251, Vr. 82, Hlq. 157-8, Sw. 40, Ho. 69, Kb. 1031, OsS 953, KM 789, Frn. 100, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 363-5, ESSJ V 128-9, Kf. 85, FGjSSh 365, AlbED 179, O 71 || K: G durdo 'sediment in wine' (as. from *durg∇?) ¶ Chx. 325 || A: M: WrM zirig 'litter of grass\leaves under an animal being flayed' ¶ MED 1080 || ?σ T amb *jogurt (mt.) > OT {DTS} [MhK] joʔurt ~ OT [QB], BdUig joʔrut, OT {Cl.} juʔrut 'coagulated curded milk', Tk ʔoğurt, Tkm, Osm joʔurt, SY joʔurt ~ juʔurt, Az joʔypɹɹ, Qmq juwurt, Nog juwirt, QrB žuwurt, Qrg žūrat, Sg {Rl.} čōrt, Yk sūōrat id. ¶ Belongs here unless it is from A *zūk'o 'rotten, turbid' < N *žUqU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' (q.v.) or derived from T *juʔur- v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' ¶ DTS 270, Cl. 905-6 (derives juʔrut from juʔur- v. 'knead [dough]' - hardly convincing), ET J 207-8, Rl. III 542, 2020.

570. *doRkæ (~ *doRgæ?) 'to bend, to turn, to wrap' > K: pGZ {K} *dreḳ-/driḳ-/derḳ- v. 'bend, bow' > OG dreḳ-/driḳ-/derḳ-, G dreḳ-/driḳ- v. 'bend, curve', Mg dirak-/diriḳ-/dirḳ- 'bend, stoop', Lz draḳ-/driḳ-/druḳ- 'bend' ¶¶ K 74-5, Chik. 270, ≈ K² 42 (*dr-ek-/dr-ik-/dr-ḳ-) || IE: NaIE *dʰerǵʰ-/dʰorǵʰ-/dʰrǵʰ-/dʰreǵʰ-/dʰroǵʰ- v. 'turn' > ?σ NPrs {Sg.} دَرَز dārz 'seam, suture', دَرِزَة dārze 'a rent in a garment which has been seen' ||| Arm դարձամ daṙnam (< *darznam) (aor. դարձայ daṙzay) vi. 'turn, turn about, return' ||| pAl {O} *dreza > Al dredh (aor. drodha) v. 'twist, spin, curl' ||| ? NaIE *dʰrogʰo- 'wheel' (× N *dæR'h'∇ga ~ *dæR'h'∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path') > Gk τροχός 'wheel' (× ← τρέχω 'run' < IE *tregʰ- id.?) ||| OIr droch 'wheel' ||| Arm դուրդն duṙgn 'potter's wheel' ¶ P 258, 273, Sg. 511-2, Horn 122, Thr. § 220, AlbED 179-80, O 73, Slit. 301 || HS: S *✓drk ~ *✓drḡ v. 'roll, wrap' > Ak OA ✓drk v. G 'pack (cloth)', Ar درج ✓drḡ G v. 'roll' ('rouler\ployer [étoffe, papier]'), Sh (pf. ʔadrağā) 'rouler, ployer', durğ- rouleau de papier, pli', Tgr ✓drḡḡ (pf. dergēḡe) v. 'make roll down, roll away, ?? Jb C 3'durg v. 'wrap in a white cloth, enshroud' (× d. from a noun for 'white cloth', cp. Mh darg 'white cloth') ¶ BK I 685-6, Sd. 163, Jo. J 40, Jo. M 73, LH 523, DRS 309, 314 || A: NaT *jörgä|e- v. 'wrap' > OT Jörgä- v. 'wrap up, swaddle', Tki Jörgä-, Ln jöjgö-, Tv čörǵe-, Yk sörö- v. 'wrap', ET Jörgö- ~ jögö- id., Δ júrgε- id., v. 'pack, roll, wind (a string\rope)' ¶ Cl. 965-6, DTS 276, ET J 234-5, Jr.

162, Rl. III 449 ◇ IE *ǵʰ and the cns. *ǵ in S *√drg and in NaT *jörgä|e-point to the variant *doRgæ of the N etymon. Another possibility is that the Ar verbs are derived from durǵ-, and the latter is akin to Mh darg 'white cloth' and does not belong to the etymon in question. S *k is a case of reg. de-emphatization ◇ □ ≠ BmK 272-3 (*dar-/*där- v. 'bend\twist\turn' reconstructed by "kernel comparison" between IE, K, and S (*√drg v. 'wrap') with arbitrary truncating the third cns. and with untenable adduction of IE dʰregʰ- v. 'run' and S *√drg v. 'go', that belong to a different etymon - F N *dæRʰʷga ~ *dæRʰʷk (↑)).

571. *durʷ 'camping-site, abode' > HS: S (× N *daʷurʷ 'to stand, to stay'): S *daʷa, r- 'camping-site, abode' > BHb דִּוֵּר dōr 'tent-camp, dwelling-place', Md daura 'home, abode, dwelling', Ak dūru 'Stadtmauer, settlement', Ug {A} dr 'house, dynasty' (but Ug {OLS} dr 'círculo, agrupación, cabildo' does not belong here, but is connected with S *daʷr- 'circle'); CS *daʷar- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place' > Ar دَار dār- 'Haus mit Hof', {BK} 'demeure, séjour; habitation, lieu habité où il'y a plusieurs maisons ou tentes', Sr دَار dār- 't-ā 'domus, domicilium'; CS *√dʷr (*-dūr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA, SmA, Sr, Amr √dʷr G id. ¶ KB 208-9, KBR 217, A #785, Js. 288, Sl. 321, DM 99, BK I 748, Hff. 183, G A 18, Br. 147, DM 99, DRS 239-41 || B {Pr.} *(-)ddʷr- (< {Pr.} *√ʷ|wʷdr) v. 'live' (< *'dwell?') > Kb əddər, Mz, Izn, SrSn, Rf, Shw {NZ}, Gh, Ah, Ty, ETwl əddər, Gd {Lf.} əddər (pf. iddər), Tmz {MT} ddər (pf. idir), Izd {Mrc.} ddər (pf. iddər), Sll {Ds.} əddər (pf. iddər), Si əddər (pf. iddər) 'vivre'; B *taddārt (< {Pr.} *ta-ʷ|wʷdār-ʷ|t) 'house, abode' > Gd {Lf.}, Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT} taddart 'maison, demeure', Mz {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} taddart, Izd {Mrc.} taddart (pl. taddərwin, tiydrin), Izn {Rn.} tiddärt, Rf Wr {Rn.} taddärt 'maison', Kb {Dl.} taddärt 'village' ¶ Fc. 226, Lf. I 243, II ##O298, O3O2, Dl. 151-2, Dl. VK #456, Dlh. M 31, Dlh. Ou 56, MT 70-1, GhA 25, Mrc. 160, 264, Ds. B 295-6, La. S 256, 312, Nh. 215, NZ 368-71 || ECh: Mkl {J} dārmā 'case au mur en terre cuite et toit de paille', EDng {Fd.} dārñè 'village', ???φ Kwn M {J} tār 'house', ? tār 'village' ¶ ChC, JI II 203, J LM 79, Fd. 183 || IE: NaIE *dʰwor-/*dʰur- 'courtyard, abode', {E} *dʰworo-m 'enclosure, courtyard' > OI durō'na-m 'dwelling, home', Av accus. sg. dvarəm, loc. dvarə 'courtyard' (while accus. dvarəm 'gate' belongs to IE *dʰwe(:)r- 'door' < N *durʷ or *dūrʷ 'hole, hollow', q.v.) || L forum 'market place, open square', Um FURO furu

id. || Lt *dvaras* 'estate, landed property, manor' | pSl **dvorь* / gen. **dvorā* (accentual paradigm B) 'courtyard, large house with courtyard, farmstead (усадьба)' > OCS *dvorь* 'aula, οἶκος, domus', 'courtyard', OR **ДВОРЪ** *dvorь* 'dwelling, house, farmstead, courtyard', Blg **ДВОР**, Slv *dvor*, Cz *dvůr*, Slk *dvor*, HLs, LLs *dvor* 'courtyard', SCr *dvor* id., 'palace, house', P *dvor*, R **ДВОР**, Uk **ДВІР** 'courtyard, farmstead (усадьба)', Plb *dör* 'farmstead' ¶ M K II 51, WH I 537-8, Bc. G 336, ≈ Frn. 112-3, ESSJ V 169-70, DbZN OSAS I 185-9, SPS V 130-4, Glh. 214-5, ≠ P 278, ≈ EI 168-9 (**d^hworo-m* ← **d^hwōr* 'door, gate') ¶¶ The connection of IE **d^hwor-/*d^hur-* 'courtyard' with IE **d^hwē(:)r-* 'door' ('courtyard' interpreted as 'a place in front of the doors') (< N **dūr* 'log, stick' × N **dur* or **dür* 'hole, hollow') is secondary (popular et.) || A: T **jūr-t* 'camping-site, dwelling place, abode' > OT jurt id., MQp [CC], OOsm ≥XIV jurt 'dwelling place', Chg jurt 'residence, mansion', MQp XIII jurt 'stopping place, inn', Tkm *jūrt*, Tk *yurt* 'house, homeland, country', Az jurt 'house, tent', Xlj *jūrt* 'dwelling place', Nog jurt 'homeland', Uz jurt, Alt *žurt* id., 'country', Qq *žurt*, Qrg *žurt* 'country, people; abandoned camping-site', Qzq *žurt*, Tv *čürt*, Tf *č'ürt* 'camping-site', Az jurt 'dwelling place, tent, house', Qmq jurt 'home, village', VTt, Bsh *jūrt* 'house', Yk *sūrt* 'camping-site, (land for) pasture', Chv L *śurt* 'house' ¶ Cl. 958, Rs. W 211, ETJ 254-5, TL 490-1, DT 230, Jeg. 221, Fed. II 144-5, Md. 68, Bich. 52 (on the origin of *ū* in Tv *čürt*), Ra.19, RI. III 548-51 ¶ **-rt-* < ***-řt-* acc. to a law discovered by Helimski (Hl. TRN 71): pre-T **ř* > T **r* in preconson. position || D **toř(-)* ({GS} **t-*) 'cattle-stall, stable, pen for cattle' (× N **tūr* 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v. ffd.) ◇ □D **o* (for the expected **u*) and the long *vw.* in the T root still need explaining.

572. **dūr* 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram, etc.)' > HS **dūr* 'ram, sheep' ({Blz.} **duri* 'ram') > Om {Blz.} **dur-* 'sheep, ram' > NrOm: Wl {Beke} *dūrsa*, Wl/Zl/Gf/Cha {C} *dorsā*, Bdt/Zs {C} *dorō*, Oyda {Fl.} *duro*, *dorsa*, Zs {Fl.} *doro*, Bsk {Fl.} *dōri* 'sheep', She {C} *dor* 'ram' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} *dertí* 'sheep', Dm {Bnd.} *dēr* 'goat' ¶ C SO 29, 67, C SE III 166, Blz. OL #153, Bnd. AL 151, 158, Fl. AGC 681 || ?φ C: Bj {R} 'dirfin 'lamb' ⇨|⇨ Tgr **ԶԼԳՆ** *dərɛɛn* 'lamb, ram' ¶ R WBd 70, LH 523-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **dūr-*, **dūr-gaši* 'ram' > Ron: DfB {J} *~dūr*, Bks {J} *ʔa-~dūr* (pl. *~duráy*), Sha *dur* 'ram' | NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} *dargáži*, Jmb {Sk.} *tiržēži* 'ram' || CCh: ? Mtk {Sb.} *drək*, {ChL} *drək* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl.

ZCh 172 [#251] || S: Ug $\text{d}r\chi$ 'mountain goat' ('cabra montés'), ζ Ak {Sd.} $\text{d}ar\text{iu}$ 'Opferschaf' (not confirmed by CAD) ¶ Sd. 164, OLS 137 || K: G {Fn., Chx.} $\text{dura}\check{q}$ - ~ $\text{dura}\check{y}$ - 'yearly ibex' ({Chx.} 'einjähriger Steinbock'), {DCh.} $\text{dura}\check{y}$ -i 'junger Steinbock' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [#61], Chx. 325, DCh. 484 || D (in SCD) $*t\bar{u}r'a$ ({GS} $*d$ -) > Tl $\text{d}\bar{u}\text{d}\bar{a}$ 'calf', Knd $\text{d}\bar{u}\bar{r}\bar{a}$ id. (\leftarrow Tl?), Gnd $\text{d}\bar{u}\text{d}\bar{d}\bar{e}$ 'female young of buffalo' ¶ D #3378 ◇ Blz. KM 114-5 [#6] (NOM, Ch, K, D).

573. $*d'o'f_{1}k$ 'to tread, to trample' > HS: S $*\check{v}drk$ 'tread' (\times N $*d\check{a}R'h'vga$ ~ $*d\check{a}R'h'vk$ 'to walk, to run; way, path?') > BHb $\check{r}\check{r}\check{r}$ $\check{v}drk$ G (ip. $-d\check{r}ok$) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ug {OLS} $\check{v}drk$ G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar Mgr {DRS} $\check{v}drk$ G 'fouler, bourrer', Tgy {DRS} pf. $\text{d}\check{e}rr\check{e}ha$ 'opprimer'; ? (\times S $*\check{v}drk$ > Ar $\check{v}drq$ G 'walk hastily') Ug {Grd., Hnr.} $\text{t}\check{d}r\check{k}$ n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, Hnr. 119-120, OLS 13, Grd. UT #708, DRS 313-4 || K (mt. and as. within the cns. cluster ["harmonic complex]): G $\text{t}ker$ -/ $\text{t}kir$ - 'trample under foot, trample\tread down' ¶ Chx. 505 || D $*to\check{r}_{1}(kk)$ - ({GS} $*t$ -) v. 'tread, trample, kick' > Kn $\text{t}\check{u}r_{1}$, Tl $\text{t}rokku$ v. 'tread, tread on, trample, crush to pieces with the feet', Ml $\text{t}\check{o}r_{1}ikka$ v. 'kick, beat the breast from grief', Tu $\text{t}\check{o}rpuni$ v. 'kick, tread', {MBhK} $\text{t}\check{o}ripu$ v. 'kick', Krg $\text{t}\check{o}l_{1}$ \check{d} $\text{t}\check{o}ri$ id., Ku $\text{t}\check{u}r_{1}b$ - v. 'trample, tread out grain' ¶¶ D #3522 ¶¶ The absence of the expected $*-kk$ - in Kn, Tu, Krg, and Ku still needs explaining.

574. $*d\check{v}\check{s}t$ 'moon' (\rightarrow 'star') > K $*du\check{s}te$ - ~ $*tu\check{s}te$ - 'moon' > OG $\text{t}\check{w}ite$, $\text{t}\check{t}\check{u}e$, $\text{t}\check{u}e$, G $\text{t}\check{v}e$ 'month' (\rightarrow Sv {Ni., GP} $\text{t}\check{e}w$ 'month'), G $\text{m}\check{t}\check{v}are$ 'moon', Mg $\text{t}\check{u}ta$ -, Lz (m) $\text{t}\check{u}ta$ - 'month, moon', Sv: UB/LB/L $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{d}$ -ul, Ln $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{t}$ -ul 'moon', UB $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{d}$ -i\check{s} ~ $\text{d}\check{w}\check{e}\check{s}\check{d}$ i\check{s}, LB $\text{d}\check{e}\check{s}\check{d}$ i\check{s}, L $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{d}$ i\check{s}, Ln $\text{d}\check{w}\check{e}\check{s}\check{t}$ i\check{s} 'Monday' ('lunae [dies]', lit. 'of the moon') ¶¶ K 75 ($*du(s_{1})te$ -), K² 74 ($*tute$ -), Chik. 270; FS K 107 and FS E 113-4 ($*dute$ -), TK 197-8, Ni. s.v. $\text{m}\check{b}\check{s}\check{y}\check{a}\check{c}\check{y}$, GP 96-7, 106, Dn. s.v. $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{d}ul$ and $\text{d}\check{o}\check{s}\check{d}$ i\check{s} || U: FU (att. in FV) $*t\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}\check{a}$ 'star; sign' > F $\text{t}\check{a}\check{h}\check{t}\check{i}$ (gen. $\text{t}\check{a}\check{h}\check{d}\check{e}n$) 'star', Es $\text{t}\check{a}\check{h}\check{t}$ 'star, sign' || pLp {Lr.} $*t\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}\check{e}$ 'star' > Lp: S {Hs.} $\text{d}\check{a}\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}\check{a}\check{a}$, Klt $\text{t}\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}$; Kld $\text{t}\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}$; T $\text{t}\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}$ e id. || pMr {Ker.} $*t\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}\check{a}$ > Er $\text{t}\check{e}\check{s}\check{t}\check{e}$ 'star', Mk $\text{t}\check{r}\check{a}\check{s}\check{t}\check{e}$ 'star, sign' || pChr {Ber.} $*t\check{i}\check{s}\check{t}\check{b}$ 'sign' > Chr H/YU $\text{t}\check{i}\check{s}\check{t}\check{a}$, Chr M $\text{t}\check{i}\check{s}\check{t}\check{e}$ id. ¶ UEW 793, SK 1472-3, It. #272, Lr. #1233, Lgc. #7752b, Hs. 406, Ker. II 167, Ber. 76 [#409] || HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {Lk.} $\text{d}\check{i}\check{s}\check{u}$, L {Grgs., WeibP} $\text{t}\check{e}\check{s}\acute{e}$, Kbl {Cp.} $\text{t}\check{a}\check{s}\bar{a}$, Skr $\check{c}\acute{i}\check{z}\acute{o}$ 'star' || ? WCh: Diri {Sk.} $\text{a}\check{d}\acute{i}\check{s}\acute{u}$ id. ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL #79 || ? SC: Alg {Wh., E} $\text{t}\check{i}\check{c}\check{a}\check{?i}$, Irq/Grw

{Wh.} çáçéři, Brn {Wh.} čičařiya, {E} čičaře 'star' (infl. of SC *✓C? {E} *{a?} 'to light') ¶ Wh. IC 25, MQK 107. ≈ E SC 226-7 ◇ This etl. comparison (together with others) suggests a law: the pre-K clusters *St (= *st, *št, *št) yielded K *št > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd (cp. also S *šitaw- 'winter' ÷ K *što_lw_l- v. 'snow' [-d→ *što_wl- 'snow'], S *řaša'rat- 'ten' -b→ K *ašt- 'ten', etc.).

575. *doTgiʔû 'fish' > IE {EI} *d^hǵ^huH- > NaIE *d^hǵ^hū- 'fish' > Gk ἰχθῦς id. (< *ǵ^hd^hū-, sc. mt. from *d^hǵ^hū-) || Lt žuvis, Ltv zivs, Δ zuvas id., with a *k-sx.: Pru suckis ([z-]) id., accus. pl. suckans || Arm ʔánllyu ʔzukn 'fish' ¶ Acc. to Me., Lej., Schw., and Ch., the initial ʔ- in ἰχθῦς is of prothetic origin; acc. to Frisk, Arm -kn is a sx. ¶ WPI 664, P 416-7 (*ǵhdū - *ǵhyū), EI 205, Ch. 474, F I 745-6, Sl. 317-8, Frn. 1323, En. 258 || **HS:** CS *'dag- or *'da'wag- 'fish' > BHb ʔʔdāg, Ug dg 'fish'; MHb -dūg- v. 'fish', BHb ʔʔʔda_wwā'g-īm pl. 'fishers', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ʔʔʔdāgū'gā, {Lv.} ʔʔʔdāgū'gīt 'fisher boat' ¶ KB 204-6, KBR 213, 215, A #725, OLS 130, Js. 279, Lv. I 376, Lv. T I 162-3, DRS 217 ¶¶ Cf. {Rö.} Eg XVIII/G ʔdω 'e fish' (EG I 237), but it is probably from N *'aʔU 'e fish' (q.v.) || **U** *totke 'e a cyprinid fish' > Es tōtkes 'tench, Tinca tinca', F totke (in the n. l. Totkijärvi) || pMr *tutk > Er τυτκο tutko, Mk τυτκα tutka 'tench' || Chr: KB tatb, M toto id. || Vg T {Mu.} tāxt id., {Kn.} takt-kōl id. || Hg tat-hal 'a worthless fish; tench' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} tuti 'crucian carp, Carassius', Tur {Lh.} tūtī, Kt {Lh.} tutto, Tm {KD} tutä id. ¶¶ UEW 532, Coll. 63, Coll. CG 409, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *totki, Ugr *tāt_ki 'Tinca'), Ker. II 173, ERV 684, KKIH 189 || **A** {SDM95} *dóǵki 'fish' > Tg {S} *joglyi 'Salmo lenoc' > Nn žoi, Ud žüi-so, Neg joyo id., Neg joyolan 'minnow, Phoxinus phoxinus' ¶ STM I 262, Krm. 235, S AJ 218 [#174] || M *žiga-sun 'fish' > WrM žigasun, MM [MA] جفاسون žiřasun, [S, HI] ži-řa-sun žiřasun, HIM žagas, Kl zařasŋ, Dx žařasun, Dg žause, ShY žařasən, Mnr H {SM} žjāg.asz ¶ KW 463, MED 1050, Pp. MA 205, 439, H 89, Ms. H 67, SM 78, Mr. D 176, 269, Pot. 419, T 333, T DnJ 119 || pKo {S} thi ({Vv.} *č∇Hi) 'fish' in fish names: MKo kāmó-t^hi 'eel', NKo kamul-č^hi id., sam-č^hi 'mackerel' ¶ S QK #1147, Vv. AEN 9 || ?? pJ {S} *_ld_líwuá, {Vv.} *_ld_liwo 'fish' > OJ iwo, J: T ùo, Kg íwo, Sh íyu, Nk řyú, Ht yú, Y ìyú ¶¶ S AJ 265 [#27], S QJ #27, Vv. AEN 9 (suggests the Ko cognate, rejects the J one [because pJ *-w- does not reflect A *-g-], unconvincingly rejects the M reflex) ¶¶ DQA #2611 (A *d_lági - -jō- 'fish') ◇ The N cluster *-

Tg- is likely to have been reduced to the reflex of N *g in S, A, and IE
 ◇ The M vowels *i...a are puzzling (mt. of vowels?) ◇ IS I 219: S, IE, M (→ BmK 269: S, IE, M), AD SShS 303 (U, S, IE, M), MichMR 11-13 (they reject the FU cognate and reconstruct N *digHU); F AD AltAD #14
 ◇ AD NM #74, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn *tʒʔg 'perch').

576. *daXw∇ (~ *dawX∇?) 'to press, to push' > **HS:** WS *✓dhw id. > BHb ✓dhw|y G (pf. הָדָהּ dā'hā, ip. הִדְהִי yi-d'hē) v. 'push (down)', JEA ✓dhy 'הָהּ G (pf. הָדָהּ dā'hā) id., Sr |א, ✓dhw|y G, JPA 'הָהּ ✓dhy v. 'repel, push', Ar ✓dhw G (pf. دَاهَا dahā) 'pousser violement en portant à quelqu'un un coup par derrière; jeter, lancer', Hrs ✓dhw G (pf. دهه dēhō) v. 'press (dates into a bag)' ¶ KB 210, KBR 218, Js. 291-2, Sl. P 142, Br. 148, Fr. II 13, BK I 676-7, Jo. H 34, DRS 244 || **IE:** NaIE *d^ho|aw- v. 'press' > Av दाव- 'drängen' || Gt {P} af-dojar* (att.: nom. pl. pp. af-dauidai 'ἔσκυλλέμενοι, geplagt, angehetzt') (a controversial interpretation) || Sl *davi'ti 'to press' > OCS ДАВИТИ davi-ti / prs. ДАВЛѦ davljq, R давить / давлю, Uk давити, P † dawić, Slk dáviti', SCr, Slv dáviti 'to press, to strangle', Cz dáviti id. (dáviti 'he vomits'), Blg давя v. 'suffocate, oppress' ¶ P 235, EI 150, Brtl. 687, Fs. 4, Vs. I 481, Glh. 190, ESSJ IV 198-9, ≠ EI 150 (OCS davi-ti 'strangle' < IE *d^he_u- 'die') || **A** (≈ *dab- (× N *dap_L∇, y∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'to push', q.v.): > M: [1] *dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта-, Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M → WrMc dabta- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784] [2] *dabi- v. 'spur on a horse' > WrM dabi-, HIM дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d_a'wi- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, Ms. O 130.

577. ₂ *d'æ'w∇|g∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal' > **HS:** EC: pSam {Hn.} dawawo 'jackal' (× N *ǰæ'w∇b∇ 'ε beast of prey [wolf or sim.]') > Sml {DSI} dawaw 'male jackal', dawawo ~ dawawo, Sml N dáwwaw(-ī) 'male jackal', dáwwawo (df. dawwawádī) 'female jackal', Rn {Hn.} do'wóho, {Oo.} do'wóho 'jackal', {PG} dōwwóhò 'black-backed jackal, Canis mesomelas' ¶ Hn. S 56, Abr. S 52, DSI 123, 139, Oo. 68, PG 103 || CCh: Msy {Mch.} mčáwā 'jackal' ¶ ChC || **A:** Tg: Ewk Sm dɜwɜɜɜ 'wolf' ¶ STM I 228.

578. *d^hu₁u₂ 'be ill\weak, die' > HS: WS *^hdway (*-dway-) v. 'be ill', *da^hway- 'sick' > BHb דַּוָּי dā^hwē 'faint, sick', Ug {A, OLS} d^hw, Ar دَوَّى dawā-(n) 'sick', Ug {OLS} ^hdway G 'fall ill', JA יָדַעְתִּי ^hdway G (pf. יָדַעְתִּי dā^hwā) 'betrübt sein', {Js.} 'mourn', JA [Trg.] {Js.} יָדַעְתִּי dā^hway, JEA {Sl.} יָדַעְתִּי dāwā'yā, Sr E dāwā'yā 'grief', Sr ^hdway|w G (pf. יָדַעְתִּי dā^hwī ~ יָדַעְתִּי dā^hwā) 'tristis\miser fuit, afflixit, anxit', Ar ^hdway G (pf. dawīya, ip. -dway-), Gz ^hdway G (pf. dawaya) v. 'be ill' ¶ KB 207, KBR 216, OLS 138, Lv. I 381, Js. 284, Sl. 317, Br. 143, PS 828-9, Fr. II 74-5, BK I 755-6, MiK I #2.12 || C: EC: Dsn {Fl.} דָּעַד 'die', {To.} דָּאָת 'dead' || IEC {AD} *du^h- v. 'die' > Or {Th.} du-a (nom. du-rni, du-ti) 'death', {Grg.} du^h-a, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} du-a v. 'die', du^ha 'death', Kns 'tōta, Gdl 'to^hot 'death' || SC: Kz dī^hako 'sick person' ¶ Blz. DL s.v. 'die', To. DL 493, ≈ Bl. 108, 205 (LEC *du^h- with unj. *^h), Th. 111, Grg. 110, Sr. 289, E K 5 || Ch: CCh {ChL}: HgNk דָּוָא, Kps דָּוָא 'fever' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} דַּוָּע 'weak' ¶ ChL II 134, 154, Eb. 39 ¶ OS ##666, 684 ¶ In Ch there is an apparently similar ^h for v. 'kill' (represented by Su {J} tū, Ang tū, Dr/Bl {IL} dūwī, SBc {Sh.}: Zar K dū, Zar L dū, Zar GL dū, Sy Zk dū, Ds D -duyè-, Skr {Sx.} dē, EDng {Fd.} dē, Mgm {J} dīyáw, Mkl dāyà, and Jg {J} dīyá v. 'kill' and partially adduced by Illich-Svitych [IS I 225]), but in view of the cognates with medial -k-, -k^w-, -^hw-, -^h- (Krk^hr dū^wá, etc.) it should belong to N *dūk^h'U' 'strike, beat' (q.v.) rather than here || IE *d^hey-, d^hweij₁H₂- v. 'die, faint', {ED} *d^hey- 'die' > Gt diwans (< *d^hew-ono-) 'mortal', OHG touwen ^h tewen, OSx dôian, ON deyja (/ dó / dáinn), AS dīe^han 'to die', NE die; Gt daups, ON dau^hr, OHG tōt, NHG tot, OSx dôd, AS déad 'dead', NE dead; Gt daupus, OSx dôth^hOHG tōd, NHG Tod, AS déa^h, ON dau^h-r 'death', NE death; the meaning 'faint' is represented by ON dā (< Gmc *dawa) 'Ohnmacht' || Clt: OIr díth 'end, death' (< *d^hwītu-); ?σ Clt 'person' (if from *'mortal'): OIr duine 'person' (< *d^hu-n-yo-) (pl. dōini < *d^hewen-yo-), Brtt {RE} *donjos 'person' > W dyn, OCm den, Crn dēn, OBr don ~ den, MBr, Br den id. || Arm դի di (gen. դիոյ dioy) 'corpse' ¶ P 260-1, EI 150, Fs. 118, 122, Vr. 71, 74, 76, Ho. 70, 73, Ho. S 12-3, Kb. 1025, OsS 942, 946-8, KM 780, 784, Sl. 299-300, LP § 22, RE 118, Flr. 149 || U: FP *t^huy^h 'illness' > Z doy 'pain, bruise, trauma', Z US doy 'wound', Yz doy 'furuncle', Vt dey 'hernia' || Chr L туйо туйо 'sick' ¶ LG 95, MRS 505 ◇ The unexpected glottalized ^h in

Dsn and in some Chadic lgs. may go back to *d∇∇- < *d∇w∇- (a hiatus-?), as attested in Or duʔa and Kz diʔako ◇ IS I 224-5 (→ BmK 273).

579. *d_loy_a (> ***da**) 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc., 'in') > **HS**: C *da 'place', *-d_la₁, locative > Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} -da 'in' (kani-dá 'on a tree' [direction], bɜtí-da 'in his land'), Bln {Hz., Plm., R} -d 'in, to' (loc.-dir. case) (R: 'dɛr b-ĩd 'auf dem Wege', ba'ɛ̄l-d 'am Festtage', lɛ bba'ka-d 'in the heart') ||| EC: Sa {R} -d 'in, into' (loc.-dir. case) ('ɛ̄r ē-d 'into\in the house', 'bā d-ad 'in the sea', 'dik-ĩd 'in the village', san'dūk-ud 'into the box\chest'), Brj -ddi 'in' (dawa-ddi 'in the road'), ? Sd {Mrn.} -(t)te 'in' (an'ga-tte 'in the hand[ful]', do'gotte ~ do'gōte 'in the road') < *-t-de with the feminine ending *-t ||| Dhl {To.} da- 'in, at' ||| Bj {AD, TB} -da 'towards' (Bj A {AD} ʔu ta'kīda 'to a man') ||| SC: Irq {E} di, Brn {E} da 'place', Alg {E} di 'places' ¶ AD SF 238, R WB 92, R S II 95, Hz. VS 75-6, Hz. AL 16-7, Mrn. NLB 357, E SC 191, To. D 152 || B: [1] *d_l∇₁ 'in' (preposition) > Ah, Ty, ETwl d 'in' (Ty {PGG} d-əs 'dans lui', Ah {Fc.}: mūsa j̄eqqīm d əsən 'Musa sits in them' [sc. 'among them'], tallit s̄ətt̄əfet u d əs tidawən 'le mois noir non dans lui ils se marient', sc. 'people do not marry in the black month', n̄əȳəq q ewa d ĩns̄ā 'je l'ai vu au lieu que dans il a été couché', sc. 'I saw him in a place that he was lying in'), Wrg di- 'in' (e.g., di-s 'en lui'), BMn di, BHlm dī 'in' (the forms di, dī may also go back to a compound preposition *d∇-ɥ 'in', present as dəɥ in many B languages); *d 'in' should be distinguished from its homonyms: B *d 'with' (probably of different origin) and B *d 'here' (pc. of proximity, belonging here only if it goes back to sth. like *da ʔe 'here', lit. 'in this') | [2] *d, a directional (en)clitic 'to, towards' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Shl, Dmn, ASgr, Kb, and many other B lgs. the directional d is opposed to the ablative n 'from' (< N *nu 'from, of', q.v.): Kb awi-d 'bring' ↔ awi-n 'carry away', Tz idda-d 'come' ↔ idda-n 'go away', Ntf əkšəm d 'come in' ↔ əkšəm n 'come out', Ah äns-äd 'lie down here' ↔ äns-īn 'lie down there'; in some other B lgs. (Shw, Shnw, Nf, Awj, etc.) this d is opposed to zero (ablative): Shw awi-dd 'bring' ↔ awi 'carry away', Nf as-d 'come' ↔ as- 'leave') ¶ Fc. 140-1, GhA 15, PGG 23, Dlh. Ou 44, Bs. ZOu 85, AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-8, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff., NZ 266-8, ≈ 272 (*d∇ 'in' < *daɥ 'in'), AD BR § 1 || ? Eg N dɥ 'hier, da, dort' ¶ EG V 420 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 78 [#4.5] ||| **K**: [1] *-da 'towards', directive

case ending > OG -da id., 'to X's place, chez' (dir., used with pronouns: šen čem-da moxvala 'do you come **to** me?' [Matth. 3.14], šen-da 'to(wards) thee', mowida ʏmertī tkuen-da 'God came **to** you' [Ex. 20.20]), Mg, Lz -da (directive case ending) (Mg čkim-da 'to(wards) me', skan-da 'to(wards) thee', škin-da ~ čkin-da 'to(wards) us', tkvan-da 'to(wards) you' pl.), Sv -d 'to(wards)': mišgwašw-d 'to(wards) me', išgwašw-d 'to(wards) thee' (reinterpreted as one of the variants of the polysemantic "circumstantial" case) ¶ [2] K *-d, *-ad, "circumstantial (adverbial) case", having many semantic variants, including directive > OG -d (betlem-d 'to Bethlehem', sion-d 'to Zion', adgil-d 'to the place', lot šewida segor-d 'Lot entered **into** Zo'ar' [Gen. 19.23], ganved vel-ad 'go out **to** the field!'), Lz -t (fossilized ending in some forms: o-χaparapu-t 'for a conversation', mo-d ~ mo-t 'what for?'), Sv -ad, ending of the polysemantic circumstantial (transformative) case, including the directive meaning: zi-ad 'nach oben, aufwärts', tχum-ad 'up to the summit'; this "adverbial case" has resulted from convergence of several ancient postpositions ¶ [3] GZ *da- pv. 'downward' > OG da- id. (OG da-sxedir manda 'sit **down** there!' - Gen. 22.5), G da- {Chx.} pv. 'hunter, hunab', Mg, Lz pv. do- 'downward' ¶¶ K 43, 68-9, 78, K S 78-87, FS K 93-4, Fn. GAS 119, Ser. 44, Q O41, Marr 29, Dt. 14, Chx. 224, Imn. SBDzK 736, Test. S 5 ¶¶ IE: NaIE *-dʰe, locative ending ('in') in adverbs: *ku-dʰe 'where?' > OI kuha, GAv kudā, OCS КЪДѢ кѣде, Osc puf, Um pufe PUFÉ 'where?', as well as in other adverbs: OI i'-ha, Pali i-dha, OPrs i dā 'here', OCS СЪДѢ сѣде 'here', ONЪДѢ онъ-де 'elsewhere', Gk πρόσθε(ν) 'in front, before', ἔνερ-θ(ε)ν 'beneath, from beneath', ἰθα-γενής 'born here, indigenous', loc. of place names Ἰαλωπεκῆθε, Ἐλευσίνόθε ¶¶ NaIE *-dʰi, locative ending > OI 'adhi 'on', Gk πόθι 'where?', ὅθι 'where' (rel.), τόθι 'there', οἰκοθι 'at home', οὐρανόθι 'in the sky/heaven', OL i bēi, L i bī 'where?', OL u bēi, L u bī 'there' ¶ *-i in *-dʰi goes back to N *-oy̯ (the IE zero grade of apophony) ¶ BD II/2 728-30, Bks. 220, M K I 249, F I 569-70, WH II 739-40, Bc. G 343, Pln. II 702, 752 ¶¶ A: [1] *dō 'place, place within' > Tg *dō 'inside' > Ewk, Lm, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn dō, Neg dō(n) 'inside', Sln dō 'heart', dō-lā 'inside, within' (place, direction), Ud {Krm.} dō, WrMc dō 'inside' ¶ STM I 209, Krm. 227 ¶ [2] A *-da ~ *-dU 'in', locative ending > T *-ta / *-tä (originally after cnss.), *-ḍa / *-ḍä (after vowels), loc. case ending > Chv -ta / -te (after cnss.), ra / -re (<

*-ḡa / *-ḡä) (after vowels), NaT *-ta / *-tä (generalization of the postcons. allomorph) > OT -da / -dä, (after stem-final l, n, r) -ta / -tä, Tk -da/-de (after voiced cnss. and vowels), -ta/-te (after vl. cnss.), Ggz, VTt, Bsh, ET, Kü -da/-dä/-ta/-tä, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Xk, Shor, Tv -da/-de/-ta/-te, Tf -da/-de/-ta/-te, Brb -da/-dä/-ta/-tä, (after stem-final n, ŋ, m) -na/-nä, Kr T -da/-dʷa/-ta/-tʷa, Az -da/-dä, Qrg/Alt (after vd. cnss. and vowels) -da/-do/-de/-dö, (after vl. cnss.) -ta/-to/-te/-tö, Trkm, Qmq, QrB -da/-de, Uz -da 'in'; on the ablative (> partitive) *-ṭa / *ṭä in Yk, OT, Xlj, and Az Δ *see* N *t'ä' 'away, from'; in Yk the locative meaning of the ending survived in the compound sx. -tā-ʷI (adj.) 'that in' ¶ pT *ṭ < N *d after cnss.; pT *ḡ < N *d between vowels ¶ Rs. MTS 61-2, Sev. KP 53-5, Gbn. AT 38, Gbn. ATG 88, IsxP 135, Ra. MTJ 31 || M *-da/-de (locative-directive-dative case ending) > MM -da / -de, (rare after vl. cnss.) -ta / -te ([PP] šine-de 'at the time of the new moon', daruqas-da 'to the chieftains', [MA] širū-da 'into the earth', [S] merkit-ta 'to the Merkits [ε a tribe]), PCIWrM -da/-de (oracid-da 'to the physicians', c i m a - d a 'to thee'), HIM, Brt, Kl -dḡ / -dḡ̄ / -dḡ / -dḡ̄ / -tḡ / -tḡ̄ / -tḡ / -tḡ̄ (dat.-dir.-loc. case), Dg {T} -da / -de / -do / -d; in Classical WrM the form with -da/-de is not used, except for fossilized adverbs: ende 'here', tende 'there', urtuda 'for a long time', nasuda 'always', öride 'long ago'; in WrM and some new M lgs. this ending of loc.-dat. forms has been partially or completely replaced by the ending *-du and the (compound) ending *-dur > MM -du / -tu, Mgl, Mnr -du, Ord -du / -tu, WrM -dur / -tur (~ -du / -tu) ¶ Pp. IM 185-99, Snz. SG 164-8, Vz. 63-4, T DgJ 42-3 || Tg *-du_{1e} (dative case ending) ({Bz.} *dua?) (× N *rad∇ 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards', q.v. ffd.); Tg *-du-lā (ending of loc.) (< N *d_{1oy}a 'place [within, below], inside' + N *lA, locative pc.) > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -dulā, Orc, Ud, Ul -dula, Nn -dola; Tg *-du-ki (ending of abl.) (< Tg *-du_{1e} + N *k∇ 'out of, from') > Ewk -duk, Sln -duxi, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy) ¶ STM I 209-10, Ci. 256, Bz. 79, 83, Krm. 227, Y#2989, Kiy. 42, 93, Lg. IDT 14 || [3] pKo {S} *t'ḡ 'place, inside' > MKo t'ḡ, NKo te id., {Rm.}: Ko t'ḡ 'place, site', idä < yḡ-d'ḡ 'here' (yḡ 'this'), čḡdä < čḡ-d'ḡ 'there' (čḡ < Ko N tḡ, tḡ 'that'), ḡdä < wḡ-d'ḡ 'where?' (wḡ < pKo *mḡ 'what?') ¶ Rm. SKE 248, S QK #1057, Nam 147, MLC 454 ¶¶ The M ending *-du, Tg *dḡ, and Ko *t'ḡ may be explained as going back to a hypothetical N *d_{1oy}a ¶¶ Rm. SKE l.c., Pp. IM 195 || U: Y T locative -da in qa-da

'where?', ta-da 'there' ¶ Krn. JJ 206-7 || ? FU: Os {KrT} -t (loc.): V/Vy/Ty k0-t 'where?', t3-t 'here, dort (nahe)' ¶ KrT 367, 967 || D: *t̥t̥u, locative-ablative case ending (×N *t̥ä 'away [from], from', ablative [separative] pc.), *-tt̥ (loc.) > OTm *(a)ttu (loc. case marker: parāna-ttu 'in the fields'), Tu -ṭi ~ -ṭu- ~ -ḍi ~ -aṭi ({Zv.} -ṭi ~ ḍi), Tu Br -ṭu loc., Knd -ṭo ~ -ṭo ~ -t(u) ~ d(u) (loc.-dir.: unṛi nāṭo soṛad 'it went into a village' - from nāṛu 'village', ḍokri gusil-du bastad 'the older woman sat on a stump'), Brh -aṭī 'in, into', Tl {Shanm.} -an-du 'in' (loc.: ūḍl-andu 'in the village'), Prj -t-i (-el-ti 'in': meram-el-ti 'in the jungle'), Gnd -te (loc.), Kui KK -ta (loc. case ending) ({BB} ḍeḍi-ta 'on a tree', neppi-ta 'on the shoulder') (unless from -t-a with the presuffix -t-, as in Ku kaḍḍa-t-a 'in the river', cp. kaḍḍaṇa-ṇ-a 'in the rivers'), Klm -t (loc.-dir.: eḷla-t 'in the house, into the house, pāl-t 'in milk') (unless < *-t-a with the presuffix *-t-) ¶¶ Shanm. DN 273, 310-1, 326, 330-3, 340, 348, 369, BB KKK 128, Zv. CDM 28-30, IS I 213, An. SG 220-1 (hyp.: the forms with gingival *-t-~*-tt- go back to the increment [presuffix of the oblique cases] *-t-) ¶¶ The variant *-tt̥ may go back to pre-D *-t̥ < *-d̥ < **d̥o̥ < N *d̥o̥y̥a ◊ N *-y- survives in Ko as -ḷ, in IE *-d̥h̥i as *-i, in B as *-i (Wrg -di, etc.), in Tg as the length of the vw. (in *d̥ō) and possibly as *-e̥ in *-du̥e̥ ◊ IS I 212-4 (*d̥a, locative pc.: HS [B, C], K, IE, D, A + qu. U ablative *-ḍa/*-ḍä), Gr. I 155-9 ("locative TA" in IE, U, A, ? Gil, ? Ai).

580. *d̥äʔʔ̥ (or *d̥äʔʔ̥) 'to strike' > HS: Ch *√d̥l (×N *d̥A|oí ḷṽṽ 'to push?') > WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žil, {IL in ChC} žili 'mortar', Sir {Sk.} žilí id. | SBc: Gj {IL} t̥h̥ulí id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} délè 'frapper' ¶ ChC, Fd. 187, JS 183, Sk. NB 32 || C: Dhl {EEN} ḍaś- v. 'split', {E} ḍaś- v. 'be split\ torn', {To.} ḍaśid-, {EEN} ḍaśēḍ-, {E} ḍalēḍ- v. 'tear' || SC: Irq {E} ḍaśo 'crushed malt' ¶ E SC 188 (s.v. SC *ḍaś- v. 'be split, crushed'), EEN 35, To. D 131 ¶ Dhl ḍ- still needs explaining (from *ʔ̥-d- in an ancient prefix-conjugated form: *ʔ̥-d- of 1s or perhaps *ʔ̥-d- < *y̥-d- of the 3rd prs.); an alt. hyp.: N *d̥äʔʔ̥ and Dhl *ḍ < N *d̥ʔ̥- || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *d̥h̥elg̥h̥- v. 'strike, beat' > AS d̥ol̥, OHG tol̥c ~ tol̥g ~ d̥olg 'wound', NLG dal̥gen, dal̥jen 'schlagen', MHG tal̥gen 'kneten', NGr HsN/EP dalken ḍ talken 'prügeln, schlagen' || ?σ Gk θ̥é̥λ̥γ̥ω v. 'enchant, bewitch' (← 'bewitch by striking', acc. to Hvr. W 190-4) ¶ P 247, Hofm. 112, Ch. 427, F I 658-9, Ho. 74, Kb. 1023, OsS 94, Lx. 224 || A *d̥ä|eL- > M *deled- v. 'beat, strike' > MM [S] delet̥(ḡu) 'schlagen', WrM delde- v.

'strike, beat, knock', КІ дєлд- 'strike; play (a musical instrument)', {Rm.} deld- 'schlagen, klopfen', Brt дэлдэ- 'beat, strike'; М *deles- > WrM deles-, HIM дэлсэ- v. 'beat, hit, pluck; beat, pulsate', КІ дєлс- 'flutter' (of flaggs, etc.) ¶ Н 35, KW 85, MED 248-9, Chr. 216, KRS 197-8
 || Д *ta]- v. 'beat, knock, pound' (× N *tAÍ∇ 'to tread, to pound', [in descendant lgs.] → 'to thresh', q.v. ffd.).

581. *gʷUʷ 'we' incl. > **K** *gʷ- 'us' incl. > Sv gʷ- 'us' incl. (object px.), OG gʷ-, G gʷ- 'us' (object px.); Sv {TK}: UB gʷi-šgʷey ~ gu-šgʷey, LB gʷišgʷe ~ gušge, L gušgʷe, Ln gušķwe 'our' incl.; the element -šgʷe goes back to K *čʷe- (a component of possessive pronouns) < N *čʷüʷ 'that of..., that which' (q.v. ffd.), *see* also N *wʷyʷ 'we'. The inclusive prn. *gʷUʷ is opposed to the exclusive prn. of 1p *ñʷ (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Fn. GAS 81, K 60, Dn. IE, Dt. 34 ¶¶ **HS**: Ch: WCh: Ron {Blz.} *gʷan 'we' incl. (aut. prn.), *-gʷa 'us' incl., *-i-gʷan 'our' incl. > Sha gʷá, Klr ġʷá 'we' incl. (subject px.), Klr -m-i ġʷan 'our' incl., Sha -à-m-i-gʷan id. m., -ma-gʷan id. f. ¶ NgzB {Blz.} *gʷa 'we, us' incl., *-gʷa 'our' incl. > Bd a-gʷà 'we' incl., gʷà 'us' incl., -gʷà 'our' incl. (as well as Ngz wà 'we, us' incl., -wà 'our' incl.?); ?? NgzB *gʷa 'we, us' excl., *-gʷa 'our' excl. > Bd žà, Ngz a-žà 'we' excl., -žà, Ngz (ā)-žà 'our' excl. (unless ž- is from *y-, which is a typical Ch marker of 1p excl.) ¶¶ CCh: ? McTr {Blz.} *gaʷan 'we' excl. > Tr ŋgaʷan 'we' excl., -gaʷan-čʷi 'us' excl. (object) ¶ Kr. RChP, ≈ Blz. PPCh2 40-1 (*-g-, *ga- as a morpheme in the above pronouns of Ron, pNgz, and pTr), J R 374 ¶ In the NgzB lgs. and in CCh the morpheme got the meaning of 1p excl. due to opposition to *mun 1p. incl. (*see* N *mi ʷa 'we') ¶ The traces of this ancient prn. are hard to detect accurately, due to numerous phonetic changes and morphological restructuring in the history of branches and subbranches of Ch ¶¶ **A**: NaT *-k 'we' (subject marker of 1p in some tenses, including past with the ending -tʷ/*-tʷ) > OT, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, StAlt -q/-k (postcons.: -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in most lgs., -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in Uz, etc.), e.g. OT käl-tü-k 'we came', StAlt bar-di-q 'we went'; *-k (> -q/-k) in 1p optative: StAlt baraq 'let us go' ¶ The T vl. *k (< N *g) in the word-final position? ¶ Shch. GTVT 155-6, B SS 266, 270, BT 277-86.

582. ₂ *gaʷi or *gaʷyʷ 'high' > **HS**: CS *✓gʷy v. 'be\become high' > Hb ḡḡḡ ✓gʷy|w (pf. gāʷā, ip. -gʷē) v. 'be\become high, grow tall', JA [Trg.] ✓gʷy|y 'be high', Sr ✓gʷy|w TD 'bear oneself grandly, magnificently, with pride'; Hb ḡḡḡ geʷē 'exalted, proud; hochmutig' (> MHb 'proud'), Sr W ḡḡḡ gεʷā, ḡḡḡ gaʷyā 'glorious, stately, proud', Hb ḡḡḡ gaʷā 'majesty, pride', pCn *gaʷān- > BHb ḡḡḡ gāʷōn 'height, majesty; pride', Pun [Poen.] pl. cs. GUNE BEL 'exaltation of Ba'al', Ug {OLS} gʷan 'arrogancia' ¶ KB 161-2, KBR 168, BDB ##1342-4, 1346, HJ 207, OLS 142, JPS 57, DRS 92 ¶¶ **U**: FV *kayʷ- v. 'rise, become

visible' > Prm: Z kay- v. 'rise, climb, go up-stream' || Lp: L {LLO} kuojijtit v. 'rise' (of the moon), N {N} guojeti- v. 'appear in a wood\mist; get clearer' (of weather) || Er {W} kaye- 'aufgehen (Saaten)' || Chr H koyaš, kayaš v. 'appear, be visible' ¶ Tv. WG33 125-6, LG 115, ≠ UEW 642-3 (rejects the Z cognate and interprets the stem as meaning 'be visible, appear').

583. ₂ *gupa (or *gūpa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike' > HS: C *gʷaʔ- {AD} v. 'butt, strike', {E} v. 'strike' > Bj √gʷʔ (1s: p. a-¹gʷʔ ~ a-¹gʷaʔ = {R} a-gūʔ ~ a-gūáʔ, prs. a-ngʷīʔ) 'stoßen, puffen, einen Stoß geben' ({E} v. 'knock, thump, give a blow') || SC: Irq {E} gʷaʔaŋ 'broken' (stem gʷaʔ-) (not mentioned in MQK) ¶ E PC #57, R WBd 86 || WS *√wʔ (pr. st. [> Ar ip.] *°-gaʔ-) v. 'stab\butt\hit' > Gz √wʔ (js. -wgaʔ) v. 'pierce\prick\butt\gore\hit', Tgr √wʔ ~ √wʔ G 'pierce', Sq {L} ʔoge v. 'hit', Ar √wʔ (ip. 3m ya-ǵaʔ-u) 'percussit (cultro vel manu)', v. 'hit with the knife or with the palm of the hand' ¶ LG 607, Fr. IV 436, BK II 1486-7, DRS 488 || Eg {Vc.} ≈ *wigʔat- 'coup' > Cpt Sd oγabε uace, Cpt B βαχι βαζι 'coup'; in the Eg texts (Dynasty XX) only a specialized term wʔgʔ is attested; it was interpreted by EG as 'Art Getreide oder Verarbeitung desselben', but in Vycichl's view it actually meant something like 'blé battu' ¶ Vc. 242, EG I 376 || A: Tg *guya- v. 'butt' > Ewk guya-, Lm guya-, Neg goya-, Ork guya- v. 'butt', Neg goya 'horns', Orc guya 'fang (of a wild boar, of a musk deer)', Ud guya, {Krm.} guya, Nn goya 'fang' ¶ STM I 168, Krm. 223 ¶ Tg *-y- is likely to have appeared in hiatus after the loss of *-ʔ- ◇ The origin of the initial *w- in WS and Eg is not yet clear. It may have resulted from mt. (**√gʷʔ > *wʔ) or from some restructuring of the root in the WS perfect tense and in the Eg derived noun ≈ *wigʔat-. The original form of the verbal stem (without *w-) is preserved in C *gʷaʔ- and in the Ar ip. (-ǵaʔ-).

584. *gaʔû 'catch, take, receive' > K: (pK or GZ) *g- / ?*gʷ- 'acquire, gain, have' > OG g- 'possess' (m0-i-g- 'mitnehmen'), G g- 'acquire, gain (sth.)' (3s aor. m0-i-g0 < *-gʷ-a), Mg {Q} g- id., 'win', Lz g- 'gain': inf. 0-g-apu 'to gain (sth.)'; ? Sv: UB/L {TK} lā₁-g, UB {GP} and LB/Ln {TK} lā₁-g 'stands, there is' (adduced by FS) belong here only if *g- 'be (exist)' (> OG g- id.) is the same √ (which is not certain) ¶¶ K² 24-4, Chik. 457, K 57, FS K 69-70, Ser. 17, 103, Q 211, TK 544, GP 150, 198 || HS: Eg MK ʔʔ v. {EG} 'catch fish', {Fk.} 'spear fish' ¶ EG V 534, Fk. 320 || IE

*g^heu_u- > NaIE *g^hā_u- 'receive, catch' > Lt gā_utī 'to receive, to get, to obtain', Ltv gū_t id., 'to gain', {ME} id., 'to catch, to snatch (fangen, haschen)', {ME} g_au_t 'to snatch (haschen), to try to obtain, to receive' || YAv ga_ona- n. 'gain (Gewinn)' ¶ Frn. 141, ME I 613, 687, Brtl. 482-3 || **A**: Tg *g_a- 'take' > Ewk, Lm g_a- 'take, receive, buy', Sln, Orc, Ud g_a-, Ork g_a- 'take, buy', Neg g_a- 'buy; marry (a woman)', Ul, Nn g_a- 'obtain, buy; gather (berries)', WrMc g_ay- 'take, receive; marry (a woman)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} g_ä- ~ g_äj_u- ~ g_äj_u- 'take', {Y} g_æ- 'take, be given, get, receive', Jrc g_aj_u-bi 'take' ¶ STM I 133-4, Klz. MS 176, Y #1402, Kiy. 135 [#680] || pKo {S} *k_a- > MKo k_a-č_í-, NKo ka_ži-, Δ ka- 'take' ¶ S QK #10, Nam 8, MLC 27, Rm. SKE 83 || T: [1] ?σ T *^ok_lā- > OT {Cl.} q_ā- '≈ heap, pack' [2] ?φ Chv x_tv- 'grasp with the mouth' ¶ Cl. 57, Jeg. 314 ¶¶ DQA #470 (A *g_a 'take, put'), Rm. SKE 83 (Ko, Tg) ◇ IS I 225 [#77] (*g_al_hl_u).

585. (2?) *g_uf_v 'to perceive, to care' > HS: SC: Irq {MQK} g_af_aw- 'look at/after', {E} g_af- v. 'watch', g_af_aw- v. 'guard', Brn {E} g_af_id- v. 'nurse in sickness', Kz {E} g_aʔam- v. 'understand' || Dhl {EEN} g_af- vt. 'smell' ¶ ESC 236 (s.v. *g_af- v. 'feel, sense, take notice of'), MQK 36, EEN 30 || Eg L ω_z 'offenbar sein' (ω- going back to the HS px. of intransitivity?) ¶ EGI 406 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [#18.5] || **IE**: NaIE *g^how(ē)- ({EI} *g^hou_u-) v. *g^hou_u- 'perceive, pay heed to' > L fave-ō / -ēre / fāvī / fautum 'be favourable to, help; speak no words of bad omen' (fave- < *fovē- in view of the Um cognate), Um FONS 'favens' (pl. FONER) (< *fowenis) || ON g_á (< *gawōn) 'achtgeben, sich kümmern', geyma, AS zíeman, OSx gōmian, OHG goumen 'beachten, sorgen für, hüten, sich kümmern', {Kb.} 'to care, to guard', bi-goumen 'watch, care for', NGr Sw gaume 'to care for little children', Gt gaumjan 'to notice'; ON gaumr, gaum 'attention', OHG gouma & gouma 'prüfendes Aufmerken', (→) 'enjoyment' ({Schz.} 'Genuß', {OsS} 'Wohlleben'), gouma nēman 'pay attention, notice' || OCS ГОВѢНЬ / ГОВѢТИ 'εὐλαβεῖσθαι 'religiose vereri, be pious', R ГОВЕЮ / ГОВЕТЬ 'prepare oneself to confession \ the Eucharist; to fast', SCr ГОВЕТИ (prs. ГОВЕМ) & gòvjeti (prs. gòvijēm) 'to obey', Cz hověti 'to indulge in sth., to give oneself up to', {P} 'begünstigen, schonen, nachsehen' ¶ WP I 635-6, P 453, EI 418, WH I 464-6, Bc. G 335, Vr. 151,158, 165-6, Schz. 153, OsS 345, Kb. 402, Ho. 129, Fs. 207, Vs. I 423-4, ESSJ VII 72-3 || ???σ **A**: NaT *k_lū (~ *k_lüg) 'rumour; fame, reputation' (o₂; × N *K_lʔaʔe¹w_v 'to hear, to notice', q.v. ffd.).

586. *gab∇(-|í∇) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > **HS:** S *gabb- 'top of sth.' > BHb בָּבָב gab / -בָּבָב gabb- 'back of the body' (so called because it is the highest part of pack animals), 'elevation (of altar)', 'mound (for illicit worship)', 'boss, or convex projection, of shield', gab,bōt̪ ʕē'nāw (sc. 'בָּבָב of his eyes') 'his eyebrows', Ug {OLS} גַּב 'lomo, dorso', JA בָּבָב gab, em. אָבָב gab'b-ā 'back (dorsum)', אָבָבָב gibbā'bā 'hill', Sr {Br.} عَبَبُ gabī'b-ā 'hump-backed (gibbosus)', Ar ✓ğbb (pf. جَبَّ ḡabba) 'surpasser (en mérite, en vertu)', Ak gabbu 'forehead (of an animal)' | +ext.: [1] S *✓gbh v. 'be high' > BHb, JA הָבַל ✓gbh 'be high \ haughty', BHb הָבַל ḡā'bō^ah 'high', EpHb gbh 'height', IA gbh v. 'be high', v. 'be haughty' (of voice), JEA הָבַל ✓gbh G 'rise up, be raised', Ar ḡabh-at- 'forehead', ḡabah- 'prominence of forehead', Mh ḡabhēt 'front', Jb E ḡabhēt id., 'brow', Ak gab^u 'summit (Gipfel)' (probably here rather than with *✓gbf because *f would have caused a change of *a to e); [2] CS *✓gbn > MHb בָּבָב gabī'n 'eyebrow', JA בָּבָב gabī'n, em. אָבָבָב gabī'nā id., JEA gabī'nā {Sl.} 'eyelid', Sr (pl.) عَبَبَاتُ gabī'n-ē 'eyebrows', عَبَبُ gabī'nā {Br.} 'vertex, cacumen', {JPS} 'eyebrow', {Br.} rām gabī'n-ē 'superbus' (lit. 'high-eyebrowed'), IA gbyn, Ar جَبِين ḡabīn- 'forehead' ¶ KB 163-4, KBR 170, 167, OLS 142, BDB ##1354, 1360-4, 1389, Js. 203-8, Sl. 254, 256-7, Br. 100-2, JPS 59, BK I 246, 249-50, LG 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, A ##617, 620, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7, ≈ MiK I #1.66 (S *gabb-(at)- *'eyebrow, eye-pit, front'), #68 (S *g∇bh(-at)- *'forehead, front'), #69 (S *g∇b(b)īn- *'eyebrow, front') || C: SC {E} *gab- 'above, upon' > Irq {MQK} gawa 'top, place higher up', Kz {E} gawato 'hill' ||| DhI {EEN} ḡáppo 'on, above', {To.} ḡábbō 'above, upon' ||| EC: Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side' (× N ? *g'U' b∇ 'hill, mountain'), ?φ Rn ḡámbār 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gumb∇ 'back [dos], [?] hump') ¶ Hw. A 363, PG 121, E SC 234, MQK 37, To. D 133, EEN 30 || IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-e|-/-.|-/-.|o- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^hōl 'head' > Gk κεφαλή id. ||| Mcd [Hs.] κεβ(α)λή 'head' ||| Gmc: [1] OHG gēbal 'skull, forehead', gibil 'skull', gibilla 'skull, head', MHG gebel 'skull'; [2] AdS of Gt gibla, OHG gibil 'summit', NHG Giebel 'gable(-end)', π 'summit', AS ƶafol, ƶeafel 'gable', ON gafl 'Giebelseite', Spitze einer Insel' (< N ? *g'U' b∇ (L∇) 'hill, mountain'); NrGmc ⇨ Fr gable 'gable' ⇨ NE gable ||| Tc A śpāl 'head' ⇨ śpālu 'excellent' ¶ P 423,

EI 260, FI 806, 835-6, Vr. 152, Ch. 508, 522, OsS 281, 320, Kb. 321, 334, KM 257, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, Wn. 488, Ad. H 131 || **A**: Tg *ga^hb^hun- > Ul gaunt, gaunt-qtā, Ork gawnaxl ~ gaunaxl, Nn Nh/KU gaóna, Nn B gaópa(n-) 'high ground, hill' ¶ STM I 144 || **i** M *gabala 'skull' > WrM gabala ~ gabala 'skull' (× **eb** OI kapāla 'skull'), HIM гавал, Dg {T} gaval, {Pp. SD} gavi^hl id. ¶ MED 394, T DgJ 129 || pJ {S} *kàmpú 'helmet' > OJ kēbútūo, J: T ka'buto, K kàbútò, Kg kabutó ¶ S QJ #875, Mr. 431 || **D** *ka^hvu^hl- 'cheek, jaw' (× N *g^hAb^h∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111g (added Tg and SC to the comparison with IE *g^heb^h-, but did not distinguish between the reflexes of N *g^hab^h∇ and those of N ? *g^hU^hb^h∇ 'hill, mountain' [q.v.]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #201 (*kabel 'head') (IE, OJ kabu(ri) 'head' + unc. A, Ko, Gil, CK, EA).

587. ₂ *gob^h∇ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth' > **HS**: HS *g^hω^h∇bb- 'earth, plain' > S *✓gbb > Ar ḡabāb-at- 'plaine, champ, désert', ḡabūbat- 'morceau\motte de terre \ de boue', ? Ak gabīb- ε 'land suitable for pasture' ¶ BK I 246, CAD V 6, DRS 94-5 || Eg P gbb 'the earth-god Geb (Gk κῆβ)' ¶ EG V 164, Fk. 288 || EC: Sd {Mrn.} goba ~ gobba 'campagna, fuori', {C} guobā 'fuori', {Hd.} gobba 'country, outside, exterior', {Gs.} gobba 'world, earth, the country where one lives', {Gs., Hd.} gobbā adv. 'outside', {Gs.} gobbā no dargi 'the place in front of the house', Ged {Mrn.} goba 'fuori', ?σ Rn {PG} ḡōb 'village, clan' ¶ Mrn. S 218, C SE II 201, Gs. 124, Hd. 366, PG 137 ¶¶ Coh. #119, Cal. 214 [#880] || **A**: M *gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert, the Gobi' > WrM gobi, HIM говь id., WrO ḡobi, Kl Ö {Rm.} ḡōw^h ~ ḡow^h, Dgr gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert', Brt губи, Brt A gubí 'desert, steppe'; M **b**→ Tv ḡov^hu 'steppe, field' ¶ Pp. IM 29, MED 357, KW 153, Kow. 1025, Krg. 313, T DgJ 132, Chr. 159, TvR 478 ◇ IS MS 858 равнина, IS SS #6.14.

588. ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' > **HS**: WS *g^hu^hb^h∇_n- 'hump' > JPA גבירנתא gbynt^h id., 'hill', **i** Ar {KB ← ?} جبن ḡubn- 'hunchback', BHb גבן gib^hbēn 'a hunchbacked person' (derived by means of the pattern li2'2e_3 used to denote persons with a deformity or another [usually abnormal] physical\psychical quality), **i** Gz {DRS ← ?} g^hω^habən 'hunchbacked', Grg Mh {L} g^hω^hzβz^hn, Grg Go {L} g^hω^hebana id. ¶ KB 167, KBR 174, Sl. P 119, DRS 96, L EDG III 257, ≈ MiK I #1.67 || EC: Or {Grg.} ḡōba 'hump of cattle', Or B {Sr.} gobō 'hump of a cow\camel', Or O {Sr.} gobō id., 'hunchback', Or Wt {Sr.} ḡōwō 'hump of a camel', Or Wl

{Brl.} гоббо 'gobbo, gibboso' ¶ Grg. 180, Sr. 313-5, Vnt. 62, Brl. 177 ||
A: M *gūjöbe-ʎe(n) 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? *g'U'ʙʑ∇ (L∇) 'hill, mountain') > WrM gūbege(n), HIM гүвээ 'hillock, knoll, mound', Kl {Rm.} köwē 'small flat hill'; M *gübey- ~ *göbey- v. 'rise as a hillock' > WrM gūbei-, HIM гүвэй- v. 'protrude, stick out; rise (as a hillock)', Kl göwē- 'etwas hügelig sein, sich wie ein Hügel erheben' ¶ MED 388, KW 138 || **D:** *kup-(∇r)- 'hump' (× N *ḲuP_∇'∇ 'hump', q.v. ffd.) || **IE** (× NaIE *gejb^h- 'bend' < N *kib∇ 'hump, bent; to bend', NaIE *g^heyb- 'bend' < N *gu'ʔb'∇ 'to bend' [trans., intr.]): L gībbus, VL {ML} *gūbbus 'hunchback' > Port gebo, Ctl gep, It gobbo, It Pv güb id., d.: It gobbino 'humpbacked' ⇨ Fr gobin id. ¶ ML #3755, WH I 597 ◇ Qu. (the S word can be explained as belonging to the root *√gbn 'bend', and alt. connection may be found for M and D as well). Mentioned here as one of the alternatives ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M √ * < N *gūpA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

589. ₂ *gaʔb∇ 'thick, dense; large' > **HS:** S *√gʔb > Ar ḡaʔb- 'épais, massif, vigoureux' ¶ DRS 92 || **C:** SC {E} *gáb- 'stout, strong, thick' > Irq {MQK} gawid 'hard, difficult', {E} gawit 'hard', ?gawi 'huge calabash', SC ⇨ Mb -gábi 'become fat' || EC *gaʔb- ({Ss.} *gabʔ- ~ *gobʔ- or *gaʔb-) {AD} 'fat, thick' > Yk {Ss.} keʔp-ey- 'become fat', Or B {Sr.} gabb-ā (f. gabb-ō) adj. 'fat, thick', Af {PH} gabule- 'become fat', Bs {Bnd.} ḳab-i 'fat', Kn {BISO}, Gdl {Bl.} kapp-, Gwd {AMS} kōpi adj. 'fat', Gln {AMS} kōp-o 'Körperfett', kōpo-lakkó 'fettleibig; fettes Fleisch' || Bj {Rop.} gaba 'rich; satiated', gab- 'be rich \ satisfied', ʒ {Blz. ← Bnd} gōb 'fat' ¶ Ss. EDB 74, Sr. 308, BIS 66, Bl. G 132, H 107, AMS 209, 241, Rop. 183, Blz. CL 178, Bnd. LE s.v. 'fat', E SC 234, MQK 37 || **A:** NaT *Kāba 'thick' (of hair), 'bushy', 'plump' > OT {Cl.} qabā 'thick, protruding' (esp. of hair, beard, etc.), VTt, Qzq qaba, Qq qapa 'bushy' (beard), Osm qaba id., 'coarse', Tk kaba 'thick' (of tapets, feather-beds), 'large', Tkm qāba 'bushy' (beard), 'thick' (hair), Az qaba 'rude, bulky', Ggz kaba 'soft, fresh' (bread), 'light, loose' (soil), ET X qowa 'large' ¶ Cl. 580-1, Rs. W 21, ET KQ 158.

590. *gu'ʔb'∇ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > **IE:** NaIE *g^heyb-/*g^hub- 'bend' (trans., intr.), 'bent, crooked' > AS ʒeap 'crooked, curved', 'cunning, deceitful', MHG göufler 'thief', göuflich 'diebisch, raubschützenmässig' || Lt dvì-gubas 'twofold, double', trì-gubas 'threefold, triple', Ltv gubt 'to sink, to bow down', gubât 'to stoop',

гуbâtiêš vr. 'to crook, to bend, to stoop' | Sl *гъб- (< *g^hub-) / *g⁺b- (< lengthened grade *g^hūb-) ⇨ *гъбеžь n. 'bend, curve' > OR, RChS ГЪБЕЖЬ гъбеžь 'id., 'joint (articulation)', *гъб-ъкъ-жь 'flexible' > Blg 'Гъбък, Cz, Slk hebký id., *g⁺b-ъкъ(-жь) id. > McdS гибок, гипка, SCr gǐbak, Slv gíbek, Cz, Slk hуbký, P gíbki, R 'гибкий id.; Sl *гъnqti (< **гъб-nq-ti) vt. 'to bend' > RChS, OR ГЪНЪТИ гъnuti ~ ГЪВНЪТИ гъbnuti id. (the variant гъbnuti with restitution of b on the analogy of the forms preserving b, like the ip. -гъbati), Blg 'Гъна, P giāc / gnę v. 'bend', HLs hnuć vt. 'to bow', LLs gnuś, R гнуть 'to bend'; ip. *g⁺bati 'to bend' > SCr gíbati, OP gibać, P Δ gíbać, R Δ ги'бать id., as well as with pxs.: OCS СЪГЪВАТИ съ-гъbati 'bend, согнуть', R с-ги'бать, из-ги'бать, вы-ги'бать ip. 'to bend', etc. ¶ P 450, Ho. 125, Lx. 75, Frn. 140, ESSJ VII 187-9, 216-9, StSS 647 || HS: WS *√gwb ~ *√gbb > Md √gwb ~ √gbb, JA/MHb {Js.} √gbb G vt. 'curve', JEA {Sl.} √gbb G vt. 'bend, bend over', Sr gəbī'ā 'humpbacked', Gz √gbb D (pf. gabbaba) 'be bent', Amh √g^wbb (pf. g^wəbbəbə), Tgr gəb beḷe v. 'incline' | OSA ωgb 'return, zurückkehren' ¶ Sl. 256, Js. 203-4, DM 79, Lb. I 307, Jo. M 127, Jo. J 80, LG 177, LH 582, DRS 94 || Eg G gb 'sich neigen, sich verbeugen', Eg OK ωзб '(sich) umwenden' ¶ EG I 408 and V 162 || C: EC: Af {Clz.} gūb- 'piegarsi, curvarsi, inchinarsi', 'gūba 'curvamento, piegamento, inchino', Or {Brl.} gugguf- 'chinarsi, curvarsi, piegarsi' ⇨ DhI {EEN} guḡuḡ-iṭ- v. 'stoop' ¶ Clz. 117, ≈ Brl. 187 (Or gugguf- is not a frq. of gufaω- 'urtare, inciampare'), E SC 330, EEN 32 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Trn.} g^wb 'se pencher' || ECh: Ke gòbé vi., vt. 'bend (biegen, sich biegen)' ¶ Eb. 51, ChC ¶¶ ≈ IS I 235 (*÷ S *gawb- 'shield' [> Ar D جوب ḡawb 'shield', Mh gawb, Jb C/E gub 'shield'] and the corresponding C word for 'shield'), Tk. SCC 88 [#18.11], Tk. I 400 || A: pKo {S} *kòp-, *kup- 'be bent', MKo kòp-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- 'be crooked, bent' ¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 124, S QK #1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 202, 220 || ?σ Tg: Ewk giwз 'мимо, vorbei' (acc. to IS I 237, possibly from 'crooked, bent') ¶ STM I 148, IS I 237 || K: Sv L gib- v. 'dislocate (a limb)' ¶ Dn. s.v. gib- ◇ Not here M *gübe- ~ *göbe- 'hillock, hill' (⇔ IS I 237), F N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump' and N ? *g'U' bɛɳ 'hill, mountain' (q.v.) ◇ The discrepancy between the IE and Or ev. (both pointing to a N *p) and that of S, Eg, Af, ECh, Tg, and K

(indicating N *b) may be explained by postulating N *-ʔb-, suggested by Msg -b̄-. The N Ir. *ʔ is the only one leaving no traces in NaIE (as well as sometimes in S and Eg). IE points to a N *u; the Ewk and Sv vw. i is still to be explained ◊ IS I 236-7 [#92] (N *gũpʌ).

591. *gafb∇ (or *gayb∇?) 'hold, seize; collect' > HS *✓gfb > S *°✓gfb > Ar جعب ✓ğfb (ip. -ğfab-) v. 'collect', 'ramasser, réunir' ¶ Ln. 428, BK I 298 || C: Ag *gab- v. 'hold; (→) prevent, refuse' > Bln {R} gab- 'hold', Q {R} gab- 'verweigern, abschlagen, verwehren, verhindern', Xm gigeб- 'verweigern, abwehren, verhindern' ¶ R WB 134-5, R QW 61, R Ch II 46 || Ch: WCh *ᵍ¹∇b̄- v. 'hold, seize' > Bl {Kr.} ᵍʷz̄b-, Ngm {Kr.} ᵅgap- v. 'seize' || SBC: Bg {Kr.} kubye v. 'hold, seize', Gj {Kr.} ngiḃi, Plc {Kr.} gubùn 'hold', Dw {Kr.} kəḃiḃ v. 'seize' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} g3f- 'hold' ¶ Stl. ZCh 214-5 [#647] (*ᵍ/ḥab- v. 'hold, seize') || IE: NaIE *ᵍhabh- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *ᵍhab- v. 'seize', {EI} *ᵍhabh- 'take, seize' > Vd gabhastiḥ 'forearm, hand', KhS ggośtä 'hand', Wx gawust 'fist' || L habē- v. 'hold, have', Osc HAFIEST 'habebit', HIPUST 'habuerit', ?φ Um HABE habe 'has', haburent 'ceperint' || OIr gab- 'take' (ga(i)bid 'takes'), W gafael 'to grasp, to hold, to grip' || Gt gabei, OHG gebigi 'wealth', OHG Al kepic, AS ȝiefiz 'rich', ?φ Dt gappen 'to filch' || Lt gabana, gābana, Ltv gabana 'armfull' | pSl *gaba-ti (< L-gr.) > Slk MS haba-t' 'to take, to appropriate (with greed)', Slk haba-t' 'to take (from so.)' ('brát, zabavovat'), 'to rake\shovel up, to seize greedily' ('hrabat, chamtivě brát'), Cz {Kott} habati, Uk {Grinch.} 'ґабати 'to grasp', Cz Δ habati 'to appropriate', Blr ґа'баць 'to grasp, to take, to touch' ¶ P 406, EI 563, Mn. 310, Dv. #535, M K I 322-3, M E I 463-4, Bai. 91, WH I 630-1, Bc. G 317, 336, LP § 34, Thr. § 756, YGM-1 230, Fs. 175-6, Ho. 129, WW 94, Kb. 322, ≠ Vr. N 183 (← Moo. I 319) (an unc. hypothesis: Dt gappen ← Yid NB 'ḡaver 'thief' ÷ Yid חבר 'ḡaver 'comrade' ← Hb חֲבֵר ḥāḃēr id.), Frn. I 126-7, ESSJ VI 76; Ma. CS 119, GK 120 || D *kaṽ-a- ({ʔGS} *k-) v. 'grasp' (× N *ḱAḥw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' and N ḱ *Ḷapa ~ *Ḷapa 'seize?') > Tm kavār v. 'seize, grasp, catch, steal, receive', kavṽṽ ({Km.} < *kaṽi|aṽu) v. 'seize, grasp with eagerness', Ml kavarte, kavate 'taking by force, seizing, plundering', kavaruḱa v. 'plunder', OTI {Km.} kavṽṽ (*kaṽiḃu) v. 'seize, seize by mouth, take away by force', OTm {Km.} kavavṽṽ 'embracing, copulation', OTI {Km.} kavayṽ v. 'embrace, copulate'; D ḱ → OI

kavarakī- 'a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D #1326, Km. 327 [##264, 266] (< *kap-∇-) ¶ The D √ is ambiguous (*-v- may go back either to ppD *-v- or to ppD *-p-) || A: NaT *Kāba- > Tkm qāba- v. 'pen (sheep), besiege, fence in, blockade'; (× NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege [enemies], drive [cattle, horses] into an enclosure, capture' < N *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press', q.v. ffd.) > Chg {RL} qaba- 'umgeben, belagern, umschließen, schließen', [BL] {Brv.} 'besiege', Chg {Bu.} qaba- ~ qabʿa- 'encircle', ET X {Ml.} qaba- 'surround', ??σ ET Δ {Mng.} qaba- 'um... herumlaufen' ¶ ≈ ET KQ 159, Ml. X 157, Mng. G 773, Bu. II 2, Brv. BL 21, Rl. II 435 ◇ In several lgs. there is coalescence with N √ *Qapa ~ *Qapa v. 'seize' (q.v.). Both N *gaʿb∇ and N √ *Qapa ~ *Qapa may be ideophonic words or have ideophonic associations. Cf. IS I 313-5 s.v. *qaba ~ *qap'а 'хватать'.

592. *g'uy' b∇ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > HS: S *°√gbb > Ak D √gbb v. 'roast' || EC *gub- vt. 'burn' > Sml, Rn, Or gub-, Bn kub-, Kns kup-, Ged {Bnd.} gûb^u- (←b- Or?) id., Ya {Ss.} kup- 'rot' || DhI {EEN} guβ- vt. 'burn', guβ-iṭ- vi. 'burn' ¶ Bl. 182, BISO 89, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. S 61, PG 128, Sim 15, 25, Grg. 184, EEN 32, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: WCh: Sy {Kr.} gûbm̃ vt. 'burn' ¶ ChL I 212 ¶¶ AD SEC 132 [#6.7] || K *gab-/*gb- vt. 'cook, boil' > G gb- v. 'cook (e.g. silk thread), boil', Lz gub-, gib-, žib- v. 'cook, boil', Mg g3b- ~ gib- v. 'boil silk thread', Sv žäb-/žb- v. 'cook', Sv UB/Ln li-žab, Sv L li-žbi msd. vt. 'cook\boil sth.', vi. 'be cooked, boil' ¶¶ K 58, K² 25, FS K 70-1, Chx. 182, GP 191, TK 487 || ?σ U: FU *kuɣwa- 'dry' > F kuivā adj. 'dry', Es kuiv 'dry, arid' | ?σ Lp: Lp L {LLO} kuifē, kuffi 'wer nicht begreift, wem es schwer fällt lesen zu lernen' ("dry-brained"), Lp Sw {SK} kuife, kuwe 'dumm, einfältig', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} guff3, kuffε 'dumme, unwissende Person' || Os {KrT}: Os V qōyam-, Os D/Kz χōyam- 'fallen, sich vermindern' (vom Wasser) ¶ UEW 196-7, Lgc. SL 63 [#880], Lgc. #2763, SK 231, LLO 253 || A: Tg *°gub-, NTg *°gīb- > WrMc {Z} гувахянь гуwa-xiyan 'fireplace, furnace', {Hr.} gûwahiyān 'Kochloch', 'Gestell, an dem der Kochtopf über dem Kochloche hängt', Ewk gī- v. 'smoke, cure in smoke, dry (meat\fish over weak fire)', gīwun 'place for smoking meat\fish' ¶ STM II 147, 165, Z 354, Hr. 397 || ?σ T *k'ūbeç 'earthenware cooking pot' > OT {Cl.} küveč 'ē pot', XwT XIV küveč 'cooking pot', Tk gūveç, Az güväž 'earthenware cooking pot', Tkm göweč 'jeweller's crucible', Uz Δ köwäš ɔ käwäš 'earthenware pot, pot

for milk', Ggz güveč 'large bowl of clay (макитра)', ? Alt Δ {Vrb.} kōš 'skull' ¶ Justified only if the primary meaning is 'cooking pot', rather than 'eatherware pot' in general ¶ Cl. 687-8, ET VGD 53-4, GRM 121 || pKo {S} kūb- 'bake, fry' > MKo kūp- (¬ kú'f-), Nko kūp|w- ¶ S QK #535, Nam 63, MLC 220 || pJ {S} *káwǎr- v. 'smell' [vi.], 'fumigate' > OJ kawor-, J: T kàor-, K káór-, Kg kaór- ¶ S QJ #897, Mr. 703 ¶¶ DQA #537 (A *gǐūbe 'to smoke, to roast') || IE: NaIE *^og_l^h₁ob_l^h₁- or *^og_l^h₁ωob_l^h₁-, *^og_l^h₁ub_l^h₁- 'fire' > Olt {Mnhr., Schleicher} gabija ~ gubija, 'fire', Lt gabija {Frn.} 'von der Hand gefertigte Wachskerze, Leuchter', Olt {Blz.} Gubija ({Las. → Mnhr.} Gubie) 'fire-goddess' ¶ Frn. 126, Blz. LN I #14, Blz. CS § 7.2.5 (compares the Lt word with Insular Clt *gobenn-/ *gobann- 'smith' and with L faber 'smith'), Mnhr. 51, 172 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [#8], ≈ Blz. LN I #14 (suggested to add Olt + err. φ FU *küpe(-ń▽) 'sparkle') ◇ The absence of the reflex of N *y in the Blt word still needs explaining.

593. *g'U' bǎ▽ (L▽) 'hill, mountain' > HS: S *[√]gbǎ 'hill' > Ug gbǎ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'hill, height, summit', Hb גִּבְעָא gīb'ā, JA אֲגַבְעָא gīb'ā 'hill', Ar ġubaǎ - a place name (KB: 'kleine Hügelsstadt'), ? Ak gabǎu 'summit (Gipfel)' (why did not *ǎ produce the regular change *a > e?), ¿ Amh {DRS} guba 'colline, tertre', ? Amh ገበታ gəbətā (< **gabǎt-) 'high hill' → Gz ገበታ gabatā id. | with loss of *ǎ due to rdp.: CS *gabgab- 'hill' > JA אֲגַבְבָּא gībba'ā 'hill', Ar ġabġab-at- 'pierre\rocher dont quelque part sort de l'eau' | +ext. *-l-: S *gabal- 'mountain' > Ar جَبَلٌ ġabal-, Mh {Jo.} gǎbēl, Jb E/C {Jo.} gi'el id., Hb d. גְּבוּל gəbūl id., 'landmark, boundary', Ph, Yd gbl 'border, boundary', Ug gbǎ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'peak, mountain', Ar ġubl-at- 'bosse du chameau' ¶ KB 163-4, 167, KBR 171-4, BDB ##1354, 1360-4, 1389, A ##617, 620, OLS 143, Js. 203-8, Br. 100-2, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7 || EC {Ss.} *gub(b)- 'mountain' > Af gubb-i 'high spot in undulating country', Or gubb-ā 'up, above; top', {Grg.} gubba postp. 'above, over, on', gubbē 'top (of head)', {Th.} gubba 'il disopra, cima, sommità, tetto; sopra, in alto', Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side', Dsn {Ss.} gum, Hr, Dbs gúpò, Gln ġúpó, Gwd qupo, Brj 'gubba 'mountain', Dsn {To.} ġummuti 'hill' || DhI {EEN} gípe '(ant-)hill', {E} gipe 'hill, mountain' || ?σ SC: Kz {E} kipeto 'ant-hill' (× N *kuP₂▽ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance') ¶ Ss. B 85, Ss. PEC 15 (Dsn -m < *-b), AMS 159, 201, 233, Grg. 184, Th. 175, Hw. A 363,

To. DL 501, EEN 31, E SC 237, Blz. CL 179 || NrOm {Blz.} * $\text{og}\nabla\text{pp|bb-}$ 'mountain' > Kf {C} $\text{gepp}\bar{o}$, {Msr., HHM} geppo 'hill', {Beke} 'gubbo 'hill, mountain', Mch {L} 'gäppo 'slope, hill' ¶ Blz. OL #109, C SE IV 436, 446, LM 29, 32, Msr. 161 and 138 (Kf geppo 'colle, montagna'), 232 (Kf geppo 'collina'), HHM 118, Beke LDA 98 || Ch {JS} * $\sqrt{\text{g}\omega^{\text{r}}\text{b}^{\text{r}}}$ 'mountain' > CCh: Gdf {IL} $\text{v}\acute{o}\text{b}\grave{a}$, Gv {ChL} $\text{v}\acute{u}\text{b}\grave{a}$, Nkc {ChL} $\text{v}\grave{u}\text{b}\acute{a}$, Glv {Rp., ChL} $\text{v}\omega^{\text{a}}$, Dgh {Frk. in ChC} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}\text{?}\grave{a}$, Ngs {IL} $\text{v}\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | Gude {IL} $\text{g}\text{i}\omega\text{a}$, Gudu {ChL} $\text{g}\text{i}\eta\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | Lmn {Lk.} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | ZmB {J} $\text{g}\text{z}\text{b}\text{z}\eta$, ? {Sa.} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}\text{?}$, ? Zm {ChL} goy id. ¶ JS 186, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch *-b- < *-bʰ- || ???σ,ϕ Eg P $\omega\text{z}\text{b}$ 'river-bank, riparian lands, shore' (only if from 'hill, high place' and if b goes back to *bʰ) ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶¶ Tk. I 400 (Eg, EC, CCh) ¶¶ OS #223 || IE: NaIE * $\text{ogh}\text{v}\text{b}_1\text{a}_1$ > MHG $\text{g}\text{u}\text{p}\text{f}(\text{e})$ 'höchste Spitze' -> dim. MHG $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$, $\text{g}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$ > NHG $\text{G}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$ 'summit', ON $\text{g}\text{a}\text{f}\text{l}$ 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel', AS $\text{z}\text{a}\text{f}\text{ol}$, $\text{z}\text{e}\text{a}\text{f}\text{el}$ 'gable', (× N * $\text{gab}\nabla(-|\text{I}\nabla)$ 'head', q.v.): Gt $\text{g}\text{i}\text{b}\text{la}$, OHG $\text{g}\text{i}\text{b}\text{i}\text{l}$ 'top\summit', NGH $\text{G}\text{i}\text{e}\text{b}\text{el}$ 'gable, pediment'; NE $\text{g}\text{a}\text{b}\text{le}$ (< ME < MFr < a Gmc lge.) goes back to the same source ¶ OsS 281, 320, Kb. 334, KM 257-8, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, ≈ P 423 || D * kop- ~ * ko|upp- (< N * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\nabla$ 'heap, hill' [q.v.]) > [1] * kop- ({GS} * k-) > Td $\text{k}\text{o}\text{f}\text{o}\text{y}$ 'top of a hill', Kn $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{e}$, Tu $\text{k}\text{u}\text{b}\text{æ}$, Krg $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{e}$ 'top of a coconut tree', Kn $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{u}$, Tu $\text{k}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{ə}$, Krg $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{i}$ 'top of a roof'; [2] * ko|upp- ({GS} * $\text{g}\text{Ubb-?}$) > Tl $\text{g}\text{u}\text{b}\text{b}\text{a}\text{l}\text{i}$ 'mountain, hill', ? $\text{g}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{u}$ 'small elevation in a field', Prj $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{a}$ 'small hillock', Gnd $\text{g}\text{u}\text{b}\text{b}\text{a}\text{l}$, Kui $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{a}$, Ku $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{l}\text{i}$ 'hillock', ? Tl $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{u}$ 'the crest or ridge of a roof', $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{m}\text{u}$, $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{r}\text{a}\text{m}\text{u}$ 'top, summit' ¶¶ D #1731 (a) and (b) ¶¶ × D * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{-}$ v. 'heap', {GS} * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p-}$ 'heap' (D #1731 (a), GS 50 [#124]) || U: FU * $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ḷ}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$ 'hill' > F Δ $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$ 'hill, stony ground (in a field), heap of stones', Es $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{p}$ (gen. $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{b}\text{a}$) 'aufgeworfener Hügel, Grabhügel' (× $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{b}\text{as}$ id. [$\text{< East Baltic } *k\bar{a}pas$, represented in Lt $\text{k}\bar{a}pas$, Ltv kaps 'Grab, Grabhügel']) || Vg: T/LK/P $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{p}$, UL kap 'hill' ¶ UEW 138 (FU * $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$) || A: M * $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{ḷ}\text{ö}\text{b}\text{e-}\text{v}\text{e}(n)$ 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? * $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{ḷ}\text{u}\text{b}\text{ḷ}\text{p}\text{E}$ 'heap, hump, hunchback', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Ch *-b-, Om and FU *-pp-, and D *-p- ~ *-pp- go back to the N cluster *-bʰ- ◇ D, M, EC, and Ch point to a pN labialized vw. of the first syll., while the FU and IE roots are explainable if the pN vw. was *a or *ä (infl. of N * $\text{gab}\nabla$ 'head?') ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M $\sqrt{*}\text{< N } *g\ddot{u}p\text{A}$ 'to bend' [tr., intr.]), ≠ Blz. DA 161 [#92] (unc. equation of HS with D * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{ḷ}\text{y}_1$ - 'mountain' [D #2178] [reconstructed by Blz. as * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{ḷ}\text{v}_1$ -]).

594. *g'abhE ~ *-hb- 'blunt, weak' > **HS:** SS * $\sqrt{}$ gbh > Mh gzbh 'blunt', gōbзh v. 'blunt', gībзh v. 'be blunt', Jb C gzb'hun 'blunt', Tgr, Tgy $\sqrt{}$ gbh G 'become blunt' ¶ Jo. M 113, LH 583, DRS 95 || **IE:** NaIE *k^hābh- ~ *k^hōbh- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)' > Gk κωφός {LS} 'blunt, dull, obtuse', κηφήν 'drone; a worn-out, decrepit person', Gk [Hs.] καφάν 'drone' || L hebes / hebetis 'blunt, dull', hebeo / -ēre 'be blunt\dull' || SI *xab-i-ti 'to spoil, to blunt' (*-i- is a caus. sx.) > ChS {Mikl.} хавити хавити 'corrumpere', Blg хав'бя v. 'work in vain, spoil, blunt', SCr habiti, Cz chabíti 'to spoil' ¶ WP I 348-8, F II 64, WH I 637-8, ≠ ESSJ VIII 8-9 (looking for different IE connections of the SI verb) ¶¶ NaIE *k^h is likely to go back to N *g + a vl. lr. || **A:** T *k'āb- 'weaken' > OT QU/U {Cl., MKD} kāv- (aor. kāvā-r) vt. 'weaken', [MhK] küčī kāvdim 'I weakened his strength', Osm gāvšāk 'loose, lax, slack; relaxed, weak, feeble', Ggz gēvšek 'weak, meager', Qrg kōpšök 'schlaff, welk (рыхлый, дряблый)', Tk gēvšek 'weak, locker', OT kevre- vi. 'weaken', Az {Rl.} küvrä- 'become weak\brittle', Tk gēvre- v. 'weaken', Chv хавша- хавša- 'crack with dryness (рассыхаться)' (of tubs, barrels), 'weaken, become flabby', хавшак 'weak, decrepit, flabby (welk, дряблый), locker' ¶ ET VGD 9-10, Cl. 687, 691, MKD 104, DTS 304, Jeg. 283, Fed. II 304-5, Md. 37, 167, Rh. 1595, Rl. II 1524 || Tg: WrMc gebsehun 'lean, meager, emaciated' ({Hr.} 'abgemagert, spindeldünn'), gebsere- v. 'become lean, meager, emaciated' ¶ Z 318, Hr. 839.

595. *gub₁∇₁RE ~ *guRb∇ 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' > **HS:** S: Ak gubārū 'nape (of the human body)' ¶ CAD V 117 || C *g^w∇r∇b- > Ag *g^w∇rb- > Bln {R} gūr'bət 'back (dorsum), back part', Xm {R} žirbā, Q {R} gibrā id.; Ag \rightarrow Amh žərba id. and Tgr {Mnz.} gurbət 'back (dos)' \rightarrow Sa {R} gūr'bət id. || EC (mt.): Sml garab, Sml N gárab (pl. gárab-ó), Rn {PG} gárab (pl. gàrbó) 'shoulder, shoulder-blade', garbó 'shoulders, upper back', pBn {Hn.} *káràb 'shoulder' > Bn Bi kárub, Bn Sa/J/Ba kárab id., Or {Grg.} gurmū id., {Brl.} gur'mu 'spalla, collo', {Th.} gurmū id. {'la spalla presa nell'insieme'}, Or Wt {Vnt.} gurmū-ni, Or B {Anr.} gurmū' 'shoulder' ¶ Hn. S 60 (pSam *'gáràb- 'shoulderblade'), Hn. BD 127, ZMO 154, Abr. S 87, PG 121, AD SF 73, R WB 160, LH 575, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Vnt. 66 || **IE:** [1] NaIE *^og₁^h₁∇₁urb₁^h₁- > SI *gъrbъ 'back (dorsum)' > \square Blg гръб, McdS грб, SCr, Slv gr̂b, OR, RChS гърбъ gъrbъ ~ гръбъ гръбъ ~ горбъ

gorbъ, R Δ горб 'dorsum'; to separate from Sl *gъrbъ, *gъrba 'hunchback' (> Blg гърба, SCR gr̂b, gr̃ba, Cz hr b, P gar b, R горб id.) (related to Lt kuprà, L gibber id.) ¶ ESSJ VII 199-201, ≈ Ma. C 183 ¶ [2] NaIE *gʷerwā ~ *gʷrīwā 'nape of neck' (× N *kôri'h'û 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The merger with N *kôri'h'û accounts for the loss of the precons. *bʰ and for the cns. *gʷ- (instead of the expected *gʰʷ-) ¶ A: Tg *gûre-ke 'nape' (× N *guŕŕE or *gûŕŕ∇ 'throat, neck') > Nn Nh gurзхз, Nn B gur(з)хз, Nn KU guruxз 'nape', WrMc gurexe 'a large sinew on cattle's neck, breite Sehne am Rinderhalse' ({Z}: 'большая становая жила'), gurexe-le- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, Z 364-5, Hr. 385 ¶¶ In pA there is no phonemic opposition between the N *w and *b, so that the loss of N *b in this word may be understood as follows: N *gub∇RE > *guβRE (≈ *guwrE) > A *gūrE ◇ Blz. LB #6b (EC, Sl + unc. Eg gbз, gзb 'arm' and Gmc *kruppaz 'Kropf').

596. (₂?) *gič∇ 'injure, irritate' > HS: S *√gθθ > Ak gaṣṣu 'raging, furious', √gṣṣ v. 'gnash the teeth', v. 'bare the teeth', v. 'rage, be raging' (× HS *√gʷS 'tooth' > C *√gʷS id. - F AD SF 70-1), Ar √ğḡḡ (pf. جَّأَ ḡaḡḡa) 'tourmenter, affecter d'une peine \ d'un chagrin', √ğwḡ (pf. جَأَ ḡāḡa) 'affecter quelqu'un, lui causer du tourment \ des inquiétudes \ des craintes' ¶ CAD V 52-4, BK II 298, 356 ¶ ? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gac- v. 'insult' > Hs {Abr.} gatse gāçé 'replying rudely and recklessly to a superior' ¶ Ang {Flk.} kass 'abuse, cursing, defilement' ¶ ?σ Tng kʷadε v. 'fight over sth.' ¶ Stl. ZCh 216 [#662], Abr. H 311, J T 107, ≠ Sk. HCD 80-1 (Hs gatse ← Hs gātsa 'bite') ¶ IE: NaIE {Mn.} *ḡhej̥sd- ~ *ḡej̥sdʰ- v. 'rile, irritate, injure' > OI hīd̥- v. 'make angry, vex', hīd̥i'ta- 'erzürnt, aufgebracht', hēd̥aḥ (hēdas) n. 'anger, hatred', OI BdhSk hēṭṭhati 'verletzt, beleidigt', Av zōiždišta- 'der abscheulichste' ¶ W † gwyth 'anger, wrath' (< *ḡhej̥sd-) ¶ Lt žeidžiù / žeĩsti v. 'injure, wound', žeidimas 'injury, wounding', žaizdà 'wound' ¶ -d̥ > *ḡhoj̥sd- > Lt žaizdà 'wound' ¶ var. *oḡej̥sdʰ- > AS cīdan 'to chide' ({Ho.} 'streiten, klagen'), NE chide ¶ Mn. 413, M K III 601, M E II 819, MW 1300, 1303, Ho. 47, Frn. 1285, 1296, ≠ WP I 547, 554, P 427 ¶ ?σ U: FU {UEW} *kič∇ 'illness, be sick' > F kitu- 'be tormented, suffer pain; languish, suffer', Es kidu-, kidi- 'kränkeln', kidune- 'grow sickly, be in bad health', kide (gen. kide)

'Kränklichkeit' || Prm: Vt G křž 'Krampf', {Wc.} křž 'Krankheit, Krankheitsgeist', Z {W} křž 'totgeborenes Kind' || Os: V kěčə, O qaši 'illness, sick', D kěčə 'illness' ¶ UEW 153, Sm. 543 (FU *ki|eci 'illness' > FP *kiči, Ugr *kĩčĩ) ◇ FU *kič∇ belongs here if the semantic change was 'to wound' → 'to cause illness'.

597. ₂ *gi'ĉ'∇ (or *giĉ'∇?) 'hip, thigh' > HS: S *gi'ŝŝ' - 'thigh, hip, flank' > Sr 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 gēs'sā 'side, flank, haunch', Ar D ǧiššā 'corpse, dead body', Mh g3ŝŝēt 'body, corpse', Jb C {Jo} 'ge'ŝt (pl. 'gi'ŝε?) 'side', Ak gilšū ~ gišš(um) 'hip, flank', MHb 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 'gēsēs, JA 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 gisə's-ā 'side, arm' ¶ Br. 126, JPS CSD 75, Js. 241, 261, Lb. D 283, CAD V 73, Sd. 288, Jo. J 79, Jo. M 126 DRS 195-6, MiK I #1.97 (*giŝŝ' - 'torso, body') || Ch {Stl.} *gōŝ' - 'shoulder' > WCh: Mnt {ChL} tāŋ-ǧōl id. || Plc {ChL} ḡgʷáŝ id. || Gude {Hsk.} gʷála 'upper arm' || Ech: Skr {Nc.} 'kō-gol id., Mgm {JA} gūl (pl. gōllillá), Mu {Lk., J} gōl 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. IF 196, JA 89, Lk. ZSS 35, 182, ChC, ChL || D (in CD) *kiṭṭ- ({{ǧGS} *k-) 'hip, waist' > Prj kiṭṭa 'hip', Gdb kiṭṭe 'waist', kiṭe pūn 'hipbone' ¶ D #1537 ¶¶ This is the only known case of D *-ṭṭ- apparently from N *-ĉ' (but there are several cases of D *-ṭ- or *-ṭṭ- going back to N *-ĉ'). The problem needs investigating. A possible solution: N *giĉ'∇ with HS deglottalization of *ĉ' || AdS of IE: NaIE {P} *kejs- 'arm, thigh, shank' (× N *kiĉ'∇ 'thigh muscle' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The IE cns. *k- proves that the main source of IE *kejs- is N *kiĉ'∇ rather than N *gi'ĉ'∇.

598. *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.' > HS: CS *giday- ~ *guday- 'bank, side of a river', *gadd- id. > BHb 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 gad-ō't-āw ~ 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 gidy-ō't-āw 'its banks' (presumably forms of 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 *gid'yā), Md gada, gida, g(i)dada 'bank, riverside, waterside', JA 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 gud'd-ā 'wall', JEA gud'd-ā 'wall, side', Ar 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ǧudd- 'côté, bord (de toute chose)', 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ǧidd-, 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ǧidd-at- 'bord, rive (d'un fleuve)', 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ǧadd- 'rivage, bord (d'un fleuve), surface de la terre' ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, GB 130, BDB 152, Js. 218, Sl. 265-6, BK I 260, DM 73, 88-9, DRS 100-1 || ?σ B: Ah e-ǧēde, ETwl agidi 'dune de sable', Sgl {NZ} igidu, igidi id., 'sable', Gh ižidi 'colline de sable', Izn, Rf, Shw, Mz, Wrg, Jrb iždi 'sable', Kb iždi id., 'gravier', Si iždi, Nf židi 'terre'; B belongs here only if the meaning 'dune, colline de sable' is primary ¶ Fc. 394, Dl. 359, NZ 721-2 || C *✓gdm > Bj {R} ge'dim (pl. gidma) 'edge, bank, side' || Ag *g∇d∇m 'side, range, bank' > Bln {R} gəđum 'side, edge, bank'; Ag ⇨ Gz 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍

gadm 'side, direction', Tgr g3d3m 'edge, side', Tgy g3dmi 'side, bank'; ? Bln {R} 'gadī 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless ← Ar wadi id.) ||| EC: Sa {R} 'gade ~ 'gadde (pl. gadu'wā) 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless ← Ar wadi) ¶ E PC #44 (+ unc. EC *gudm- 'shoulder'), R S II 145, R WB 139 ¶ An alt. hyp.: Bj ge'dim and Bln gādum ← EthS gādm (possibly connected with the Gz verb ✓gdm 'be in horizontal position, be inclined'); but this latter hyp. fails to explain the et. of the EthS words || Om {Blz.} *gad_ld_j- 'earth, land' > NrOm: Oyda {Fl.} g3dde id., Zs {C} gadē 'terra, paese', Wl/Zl/Gf {C} gadē 'paese', Bdt {C} gadā id., Mch {L} gadó 'clod of earth' ||| SOm: the meaning 'bank of river' is likely to have been preserved in Ari {Bnd.} gidib (unless ← Amh gədēb 'dike, dam, barrier') ¶ Blz. OL #105, C SE III 202, Fl. OWL ms., L M 30, Bnd. AL 145 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gād_rà 'lake, pond', ı Ngm {OS ← ?} godo 'lake' ¶ ChC, Sch. DN 63, OS #869 ¶¶ R WB 139 (C, S), OS #869 (S, WCh, Ag, Sa; *÷ Bdm {Nc.} rġáda 'river', actually a loan from Knr {Lk.} rġádà 'small river' [Lk. B 121]) ||| A: M *gada 'outside, the outside' > Dg {Mr., T} gāda 'the outside, out of doors', {Pp.} g_{ad} 'outside' (direction), Ba {T} gade 'outside, out of doors', Mnr H {SM} g_{ad}a, Mnr M {Pot.} xara id., d.: MM [MA] gadadu 'external', Dx gada-du id., MM [HI] qada_{un} gada_{un}, WrM gadagun 'à l'extérieur'; *gada-na 'outside' > MM [HI] qadana gadana 'à l'extérieur', WrM gadana, HIM гадна (adv., adj., postp.) 'outside, exterior', Dx gadane 'outside, out of doors', Mgl {Rm.} ḡadana 'außen, außer'; *gada-ga > WrM gadaga 'out of, outside, outer', Dg {T} gādag ~ gādig 'outside'; *gada-g-si 'outwards' > WrM gadagsi, HIM гадарш 'outside' (direction), MMgl {Iw.} ḡadāqšī 'outside, outwards', Mgl {Rm.} ḡadaqšī 'nach außen', Dx gadašī 'outwards', Mnr H {SM} g_{ad}as3 'vers le dehors' ¶ MED 342-3, Rm. M 28, Iw. 104, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T BJ 137, Pot. 412, Pp. MA 173, Ms. H 85-6 ¶ In M *gada-na the element *-na goes back to the locative pc. *na < N *?iñ'A' 'place' (q.v.) ||| D *kaṭ(-ay) ({ḡGS} *kaṭ-) 'end, side, beach' > Tm kaṭay 'end, limit, boundary', MI kaṭavu 'beach', Kt kaṭ pāt 'the end, at last', Td kaṭč 'end (of thing, event)', Kn kaṭe 'end, termination, limit', Kdg kaṭe 'end (of row, event, etc.)', Tu kaṭe 'verge, margin, end', Tl kaṭ ṭ akadā 'the very end', Prj kaṭa 'end, side'; D → OMrt kaṭe, kaṭa 'edge, side' ¶¶ D #1109, cp. GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] (*kyad- v. 'pass through, cross').

599. *gadV '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > **HS:** WS *gadd- 'happiness, fortune' > Hb גַּדְּלָא gadl 'fortune', גַּלְגַּל bā-'gadl 'feliciter', Pun, Nbt, Plm, Htr gd, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} גַּדְּדָא gad'd-ā 'genius, god of fortune; luck', Sr gad / gad'dā 'fortune, luck, success', Md gada 'fortune, success, luck, fate', NMd gād 'Glück, Chance', Ar جَدُّ جَدُّ gadd- 'good luck, chance, fortune', Gz ܓܕܕ gadd 'luck' ¶ KB 169, KBR 176, Js. 210, Sl. 260, HJ 212-3, JPS 60, DM 73, Mc. NM 207, LG 180, DRS 100 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gud 'good, nice', {ZL} gudi 'good' || ?σ Bj {R} gūd ~ gud 'Menge, Größe', gūd- 'be many\much\big' || EC *gudd- ~ *gūd- 'big, much' > Kns kutt- id., Or gúdd-a?, Dsn gudd-u, Elm {Bl.} gūt-iḏa 'big', {Ss.} gūt 'many', Arr guḏḏá 'big', guḏḏa-haḏ- 'grow big, become many\much'; ?σ Sml gídd-i 'whole, entire', Bs gidd-i, ? Af gadd-a 'wealth' (unless ← EthS); HEC (← EthS?): Hd {L} gadaʔa 'luck' ¶ LG 180, Hz. NSA 138, ZL Ag 8, R WBd 90, Bl. 106, 140, Ss. PEC 16, ZMO 162, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, PH 108, Blz. CL 180 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} gādá 'beautiful' ¶ Wdk. BY 123, Lm. Y 345 || **IE:** NaIE *ghedh-/*ghodh- v. 'be suitable\good' > Gmc *gōðā 'suitable' > Gt gōps 'gut, tüchtig, schön', ON góðr, OHG guot, NHG gut, OSx gōd, AS ȝōd 'good', NE good; Gmc *gað- 'gefallen' > MLG gaden id., OHG gi-gat & ge-gat 'suitable' || Sl *goditi (se) v. 'to suit, to be fortunate' > OCS ГОДИТИ 'to satisfy', 'gratum esse, morem gerere, placere', Blg годѧ v. 'arrange, prepare', не ми годи 'is not to my advantage', SCr gōditi 'to make a deal', Slv to mi godi 'it is pleasant, I like it', Cz hoditi se, R го́диться 'to be suitable', P godzić 'to bring to an agreement', godzi się 'it is permitted\lawful'; → Sl *godь 'appropriate time' > OCS ГОДЪ 'time (hora, tempus); year; appropriate time', SCr gōd 'holiday, year, appropriate time', Cz hod 'religious feast', OR, RChS ГОДЪ 'time, year', R год 'year'; → Sl *god-ьнъ(jb) 'suitable, appropriate' > ChS ГОДЬНЪ, Blg 'годеи, P godny, R 'годный id. | Ltv gadīties 'to happen, to occur, to be found', Lt {Bg.} godyti 'aufspüren, ausfindig machen', Ltv gōds 'honour, glory', Lt guōdas, Lt Zh goda 'honour' || ? OI 'gadhya- 'what one readily holds fast, what suits one' (× ← gadh- 'cling to, hang on to') || pTc *kātk- > Tc A/B kātk- 'rejoice, be glad' || amb Gk γηθέω, Gk D γᾰθέω 'rejoice' (× IE *gāwedh-, whence L gaudē- 'rejoice, be happy') ¶ P 423-4, ≈ EI 64 (unc.: Gmc *gōðā 'suitable', etc. < IE *ghedh- 'join, fit together'), Fs. 218-9, F I 303-4, M KI 320-1 (gadhya- ← gadh-), Vr. 181, Kb. 345, 416, Schz. 148, 155-6, OsS 246, 358, KM

277-8, Ho. 134, Ho. S 28, ESSJ VI 187-92, StSS 173, Wn. LE 32, Wn. 197-8 (Tc ÷ Gk), Ad. 150, Frn. 159-60, Tr. 74, F I 303-4 (Gk < *gāwed^h-) || D *kaṭ- ({{GS}} *gaḍ-) 'fixed time' (× ← *kaṭ- v. 'pass' [< N *gaṭṭ- 'to pass through\over', q.v.] and/or *kaṭ- 'end' [< N *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.']) > Tm kaṭu, keṭu 'fixed time, period, term', Ml gaḍu, keṭu 'term, instalment', Kt gaḍv, gayr̄ 'fixed or appointed time', Td koḍf 'stipulated period of an agreement', koṛy 'fixed period (of imprisonment or purgatory), fixed time for paying a loan', Kn gaḍa, gaḍavu, gaḍi, gaḍu, gaḍuba, gaḍuvu 'limit, limited time, period', Tu gaḍu 'a time, fixed time or place', Tl gaḍuvu 'term, period, limit of time' ¶¶ D #1109 ◇ Hardly here T *kata 'times' ('mal') > OT qata id. (Cl. 596), which is semantically conceivable as a cognate, but the vl. T *-t- for the expected *-ḍ- makes the connection hardly acceptable.

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > A {DQA} *gēdì 'back, behind' > M *gede ~ *geḷi (< *gedi) 'nape of neck, occiput, back part' > WrM gede id., WrM geḷige, HIM гэээг 'nape of neck, plait\braid of hair, pigtail, queue', Brt гэээгэ 'plait of hair', Brt W гэээгэ 'occiput'; MM [MA] gedergü, Mnr {SM} gīdiergū, {T} gedergu 'backwards' ¶ MED 372, 381, Pp. IM 118, Pp. MA 169, SM 136, T 322 || Tg *gedi 'occiput' > Ewk gēdimuk ḍ gēḍmuk, gētkēn, Neg gēḍmuk, Ul gēki(n-) id., Lm gēḍkē, gēḍmēk ~ gēḍamēk id., 'occiput bone', Ud gēḍigē 'occiput, nape of neck' ¶ STM I 177 || NaT *Kā|ēḍi-n 'backwards' > OT, Chg kāḍin 'behind', ET keyin ~ kāyin, Qrg kiyin adv. 'afterwards, later', postp. 'after', Qzq keyin id., 'backwards', {Rl.} kein 'behind', Alt kiyin, Ln kiin 'back part', Qq, Uz keyin 'backwards; afterwards, after', Xk кизин kizīn adj. 'hind' (of animal's legs, wheels, etc.), Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} kezīn, Kü/Shor {Rl.} kāzīn 'back part, backwards', adj. 'hinder'; hardly here T *kōt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 70) ¶ Cl. O4, ET KQ 23-4, BIG 73, ET KQ 23-4, Rl. II 1054, 1137-8, 1176-7, 1344-6, Rs. W 246 || pJ {S} *kítà 'North' > OJ kítà, J: T kítá, K kítà, Kg kíta ¶ S QJ #811, Mr. 452 ¶¶ DQA #492, ADb. KL, S AJ 71 || ?ϕ K: GZ *ked- 'back of head, neck' > OG kēd- 'neck', G kēd- 'nape of neck', Mg kindir id., 'back of head' ¶ K² 214, Chx. 1546 || HS: Ch *gidaH- 'neck, occiput', {Stl.} *giHad- ~ *gidaH- 'neck' > WCh: AG: Su {J} ḷēt, Kfr {Nt.} ḷèt 'occiput' | BT: Krkr, Krf {Sch.} ḡiḍò, Glm {Sch.} ḡirya 'neck' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ḡēr̄, EDng {Fd.} ḡājá, Skr gēt-im, ? {Sx.} ḡèrè, Kjr kīda id. ¶ J S II 67, Nt. 16, Stl. IF 174 (without AG), Sch. BTL 57, 87, Cp. 62, Fd. 312,

Blz. EChWL #59 || C: Ag: Xm T {CR} gīd- adj. 'de derrière' || EC: Sd {Hd.} gidensa, gedensa 'after', {Gs.} gedensa 'last, the end', gedensanni, gedensā 'aftewards', Sml {DSI} gadā 'behind' ('dietro, indietro') ¶ AD SF 239, Hd. 19, Gs. 179, DSI 248 || ? NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} gedo(n) 'behind', gedon 'dopo' || ?ϕ IE: NaIE *gʰed- 'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate' (× NaIE *oḡh|gʰed- 'hole' > ON gat, OFrs jet 'hole, opening', AS zeat 'doors, opening', OSx gat 'hole') > Gk [Hs.] χόδανον accus. 'τὴν ἕδραν 'podex', Gk χέζω 'defecate' || OI 'hadati 'defecates', Av zađah- 'podex' || Arm ձեւ շէտ 'tail' || pAl {O} *zeča or *zetya > Al dhjes (aor. dhje va) 'defecate' ¶ The contamination with NaIE *oḡh|gʰed- 'hole' may explain the cns. *d for the expected *dʰ ¶ WP I 571-2, P 423, M K III 573-4, F II 1078-9, LS 1996, O 83, Sl. 176-7 ¶ IE *gʰed- was adduced here by IS MS 342 (→ S CNM 5), but omitted in IS I ◇ The roots of M, Ch, C, and (if here) IE suggest a N *g-, while K (GZ) *k- still needs explaining ◇ IS MS 342, IS I 227-8 [#81], AD NM #106.

601. (₂?) *gud∇ (or *güdü∇?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > HS: S *√gdd ~ SS *√gdy 'cut, chop' > BHb √gdd TL (Hithpo'el) (ip. ַיִּטְגֹּדֵי yitgō'dā) 'make incisions in one's own body', MHb √gdd G 'cut, cut off', BA √gdd G (inv. pl. ַיִּטְגֹּדֵי god'dū) 'umhauen', Sr √gdd G 'cut off/out', {Br.} 'abscedit, amputavit; discidit', Md √gdd 'cut off, put an end to', Ar √ğdd (pf. َجَدَّ ġadda) 'cut out (a garment), cut off (a fruit)', ? Sb √gdd Sh†(?) assign (allouer, attribuer)', √gdy Sh†(pf. ַحَدَّ ḥgd) 'make a grant of land', gdyt 'grant of land', {Rk.} 'allotment', Qt {Rk.} gdyt 'portion, allotment, assignment', {DRS} šgdđ 'repartir, accorder', Tgr pf. G gēdda 'tear off, separate', Gz gēddū 'piece of wood cut off with an axe/saw', Ak ∧ √gdd G (inf. ַגַּדְּאָדּוּ gadādū) 'chop'; +ext.: CS *√gdṣ v. 'chop (off)' (< *√gdd influenced by S *√kṣ 'cut/break off' < N *Kutṣ∇ [or *Kutṣ∇?] 'cut off, tear [off]', q.v.) > Hb, JA, Sr √gdṣ G id., Ar ַجَدَّ √ğdṣ G 'cut off' ¶ In Aram there was a merger with S *√gδδ 'cut, break to pieces' (> Ar ַجَدَّ √ğδδ G [pf. ַجَدَّ ġaδδa] id.) ¶ KB 169-70, 173, 1685, Js. 210, 213-4, Br. 103, 105, JPS 60, Hv. 79-81, BGMR 49, Rk. D 52, ≈ Rk. 36 (gdyt 'allotment' ← {Lnd. SD 52} Qt\Sb gdyt 'renewal'), LG 180, CAD V 8, DRS 99-102 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} g̃dú vt. 'snap in two (a rope, etc.) by pulling, pluck (fruit from tree)', gādú vi. 'snap in two' (as a rope), 'snap off (fruit off tree)', 'break loose (sth. tied by rope)' ¶ Sch. DN 59, 64 || A: AmTg *gude- v. 'be torn apart' >

Orc gudз-, Ul, Nn Nh gudē-, Ork gudзdз- id., Nn Nh gudē- 'hole (in clothes), rags'; d.: AmTg *gude-çi 'tear asunder' > Nn Nh gudзĉi-, Orc gudзti-, Ud gužasi- id. ¶ STM I 167 || ?ϕ IE: NaIE *gʷedʰ- 'destroy' (× N *kʷōd̥ 'destroy, break, cut' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ If NaIE *gʷedʰ- does not belong here, the N etymon may be either *gud̥ or *gūd̥.

602. *gud̥ ~ *gut̥ 'belly, middle' > HS: C {AD} *gʷd̥- 'middle, belly' > EC *gud- > Af {PH} gude (pl. gudēda) 'middle, waist', Sml {DSI, ZMO} n. gudo, {ZMO} gude n., Sml N {Abr.} gúdi 'inside' (and Or goda, gadi {Ss.} id., {Grg., Sr.} 'down'??), Hd {Ss.} gud-a 'half, middle'; EC {Ss.} *gidd- 'middle' > Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} židd-ū id., 'between', Or Wl {Brl.} giddu id., židdu 'inside' (adv.), 'between', Or H {Ow.} židdū 'between', Hr, Dbs, Gwd kitte 'middle', Gln kitte id., 'half', HEC {Hd.} *giddo 'inside' > Sd, Ged giddo, Brj {Hd.} giddi 'inside, interior'; ? HEC {Hd.} *godoba 'belly' > Sd {Gs.} godobá, Ged godoba, Hd godabo, Kmb godaba id. || Bj {Blz. ← Rop.} gʷadāb (pl. gʷadaba) 'chest, front part of the body' ¶ AD SF 239-40, PH 116, DSI 277, Abr. S 97, ZMO 168, Ss. PEC 16, 18, Grg. 139, 176, Sr. 339, Brl. 175, 265, Ow. 265, AMS 164, 208, 258, Hd. 26, 84, 193, 242, 279, 318, 365-6, Blz. CL 176 (Bj ÷ HEC), ≈ Blz. EDB 13 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gádā̀v̀à 'between' || CCh: Gdr {Mch} gзdзf 'belly', ? Bcm {Sk.} žèdè id. || ECh: Ke {Eb.} g̀d̀z̀, ? Nd D {J} gūž, Kwn kážā 'belly' ¶ JI II 21, Sch. DN 63, Eb. 51, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'belly' || IE: NaIE *gud-/ *geud-, *gudo-m 'gut' > OI gu'dam id. || Mcd [Hs.] γόδα·᾽έντερα 'guts, bowels' || Gmc: NLG küt 'gut', NGr B kütz 'ε part of bowels', MDt küt Weichteile im Tierkörper', Dt kuit, kiete 'fish roe, calf of the leg', NE Δ kyte, kite 'belly, stomach (Magen)' (but not NE gut, which is of different origin!) ¶ P 393, M KI 339, EI 179 || K: GZ *gudā 'leather bag, wineskin' > OG, G, Mg, Lz guda- id. ({K} GZ ← IE gudo- 'entrails') ¶ K² 34-5 || A: M: [1] M {ǂPp.} **gūdiɣe > *gūžeɣe 'stomach of animals' > MM [MA] gūžēni ačā-an 'pack carried on the belly', WrM gūžege, HIM γγззз id., 'rumen used as container for butter, kumiss, etc.', Brt γγззз(н), Dg {T} gūžē, MMgl {Iw.} gūžān 'belly', Kl γγззз gūžān 'paunch, peritoneum, belly', {Rm.} gūžēn 'Wamme, third stomach of the ruminants (Blättermagen)', Ord gūžē 'panse de ruminant, ventre', Mnr H {SM} gūžīē 'stomach, paunch', {T} gužīē 'stomach, belly'; ↗ Ewk PT/Brg/Y/I/Nr gudiɣē, Sln gudзгз, gudзгз 'belly, peritoneum', Ud gudiз, {Krm.} gudē, Mc Sb gužugз 'peritoneum, container for liquids (made of a dried stomach)' | [2] with

delabialization *ü > *e: M *gede-sün 'belly' > MM [HI] gedēsün 'intestine', MM [IM] گيسون gesūsün (Iw.: < *gedsün), WrM gedēsü(n) ~ gedūsü(n), HIM гэдэс, гэдсэн, Brt гэдэһэ(н) 'belly, stomach', Kl {Rm.} gesŋ, Ord {Ms.} g_ed_usu, Mnr NR {SM} g_id_īēsэ, Mnr H {T} gedese, Dg {Pp.} g_эд_эс, Dx kižīēsun 'intestine, belly', Mgl {Rm.} gesân 'stomach' ¶ Pp. MA 172, Pp. DN s.v. гѣдѣс, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 274, MED 373, KRS 148, KW 135, 140, Rm. M 28, STM I 167, Krm. 223, SM 136, 140, T 322-3, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 20, Iw. 103-4 || Tg *guedi(-ke) 'belly, peritoneum' > Ewk Δ gudī, Lm gudi 'peritoneum, stomach', Neg gudi 'peritoneum, content of an animal's stomach', Nn Nh gužž 'stomach (of animals)', WrMc гувежіхе 'stomach' (some of these words may be loans from M) ¶ STM I 167 || U: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (×N *k'o'tê 'belly', q.v.) > Chr: L кыдал къ'баł 'waist (поясница)', H кыдал 'кабаł id., {Rm.} къбаł 'Hüfte', H кыдалаш ка'балаš, {Rm.} кабаłäš adj. 'middle, L къба'lan 'in the middle', Uf къбаł 'middle of the body, middle', B къбаł 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *küt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *küçá > LK/MK/UK k^ωäçá, UL/Ss koçá id.; pOs {HT.} *kōt > Os: V/Vy kōt, Ty/Y kōt, D/K qōt, Nz/Kz qūt, O qut 'space between', d.: V kōtəw, O qutəp 'middle', D qōtəpnə 'in the middle' | OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *küti, Ugr *küti 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF 379-80, Ht. #337, Trj. VD 145 || D *kuṭ- ({{GS}} *k-) 'entrails' (×N *quz[∇] 'entrails, pluck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ U *-t- and IE *-d- suggest pN *-t-, C, Ch, and K *-d- are likely to point to a N voiced *-d-, while M and Tg *-d- may go back to both. The cause of the variation *-t- ~ *-d- is still to be discovered. IE *g- for the expected *g^h- still defies explanation ◇ Blz. LNA #15 (suggested to add the D cognate).

602a. *gu₁ʔ₁dE ⇨ *gü₁ʔ₁d[∇] (or *gu₁ʔ₁žE ⇨ *gü₁ʔ₁ž[∇]) 'to guard, to watch, to be on the watch for' > HS: C: Bj ✓ g^ωʔd pcv. 'guard' ({{R}} 1s: p. a-gũ^ʔad, pqp. 'ī-gũ^ʔed, prs. agũa'nīd) || PEC **ga^rz¹- (or **ga^rz¹-?) > EC: Or {Th.} gād-, {Brl.} gad- v. 'spy', 'darsi al brigantaggio', {Grg.} gād- v. 'plot against, plan to destroy, spy on', {L} gadō 'thief'; possibly (but not certain): HEC {Hd.} gāz- v. 'wage war, raid', *gāzō 'war, campaign' > Kmb {L} gāžžō 'raid', {Hd.} gāzu 'war, campaign', gāz- v. 'wage war', Tmbr {L} gažžē 'raid', Hd. {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} gād- v. 'wage war',

gādo n. 'war, campaign'; without HED the EC rec. may be *gad- ¶ AD SF 301, Hd. 164, 278, 317, 363, L Z 120, Th. 144, Brl. 158, Grg. 154 || ?σ S * $\sqrt{g\delta\omega}$ > Ar $\sqrt{ğ\delta\omega}$ (pf. جَدَّ ḡaḡā) 'se tenir d'un pied ferme sur qch., se dresser sur les doigts du pied (pour mieux voir)' ¶ BK I 270, ≠ DRS 103 || A: NaT *Kūḡ- ~ *k|k'ūt- v. 'wait, lie in wait for' > OT {CL} kūḡ- id., Qq küy- ~ küt-, Az жүд- ḡūd- 'trace, track (следить, выслеживать), look for', Tki küt-, Qrg küt-, VTt, Bsh kḡt-, Uz kut-, ET küt- 'wait', Qzq, Nog küt- 'wait for', Ln küt- 'wait, lie in wait for', Yk küt-; the variant *k_uūt- is based on metanalysis (from forms like küttim (kūḡ-ti-m) 'I waited') ¶ Cl. 701, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 107-8, Az. 188 || E: El ku-te- 'sehen, schützen' ¶¶ HK 544-5 ◇ The rec. with N *ǰ is valid if the Ar and HEC cognates are accepted. But if they are rejected (for semantic reasons), a better N rec. will be *g_uḡdE ~ *g_uḡd∇.

603. *ga_udi (~ *ga_uti?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > HS: S *gadiy- 'kid' (→ 'lamb') > BHb גִּדִּי gāḡī 'kid, lamb' (pl. גִּדִּיִּם gādā'yīm with -ā- possibly due to the generalized model of pl. of the segolate nouns), EpOHb גִּדִּי gḡy, Pun gḡḡ, [Plt.] GADE, Ug gḡ(y) {OLS} 'kid (cabrito)', pl. {A} gḡym, OA gḡḡ 'goat', JA [Trg.] גִּדִּי gād'y-ā 'kid, lamb', JEA gād'y-ā, Sr גִּדִּי gād'y-ā, Md gādīa 'kid, young goat', Ar ḡād'y- 'kid (chevreau)', Ar NY ḡadi גִּדִּי ḡidi id., Ak NB gādū 'male kid' (← WS) ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, HJ 213-4, OLS 144-5, Lv. T I 126, Sl. 260-1, JPS 60, DM 73, BK I 267, Ln. 393, Bns. NJ I 206-7, CAD V 9, DRS 100-1 || B *yāid 'kid, (young) goat' > Ah {Fc.} e-yāid (pl. i-yāid-ən), Ty, ETwl e-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən, Ty i-yāyd-ən) 'chevreau', Gh {Nh.} i-yāid (pl. i-yāid-ən), Gd {Lf.} a-yāid (pl. yāid-ān) id., Izd {Mrc.} i-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən) 'young he-goat (jeune bouc, chevreau)', Tz a-yāḡ 'he-goat'; fem. *t∇-yāid∇-t 'she-goat, female kid' > Ty, ETwl te-yāydat 'chevrette' (pl. Ty tiyāydat, ETwl šiyāydat), Gd ta-yāydat (pl. tāyāydat) id.; Gd tē-yāḡ ~ tē-yāḡ, Kb tā-yāḡ (pl. ti-yāḡin), Tz ta-yāḡḡ (pl. ti-yāḡin), Izd {Mrc.} tā-yāḡḡ (pl. ti-yāḡin), Si tyāḡ (pl. tyāḡin), SrSn tāyāt 'she-goat' ¶ Fc. 1711, Lf. II ##1869, 1876, 1921, Mrc. 37, 51, Stm. 160, 227, GhA 75 ¶ The emphatic *y (for the expected *g) is puzzling || EC: Or {Brl., Th.} gadamsa 'kudu antelope', Or B {Vnt.} gadamsa (nom. -ni), Brj {Ss.} gādama 'greater kudu antelope', Ged gadansa 'antelope, buffalo' (← Or?) ¶ Ss. B 75, Brl. 157, Th. 142, Brl. 157, Sr. 308, Vnt. 57, Hd. 20, 192, 240 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gada 'ε antelope' > Hs gādā 'common (crested) duiker (antelope) Cephalophus Grimmi (=

Sylvicopra grimmia)' | BT: Gera gadere 'bushbuck' | NrBc: P' {MSk.} gatará 'buck' | ? SBC: Jm {Gw.} kító, Gj {ChL} kiti, Buli {Gw.} kīt, Zar {Gw.} kicdi, Sy Zk {Gw.} kicdu 'antelope', Dw {ChL} kidi 'duiker' | Ngz {Sch.} gádùwà 'crested duiker' || CCh: ZmB {J} gódàɣ, {Sa.} gútay 'buck', Dgh {Frk.} ʒádá girè 'antelope' ¶ ChC, ChL, Abr. H 282, Sch. DN 64 ¶¶ Sk. HCD 74 || IE: NaIE *gʰǵʰajdo- '(young) goat', {El} *gʰajdo-s 'goat' > L haedus 'kid, young goat' || Gt gait̥s, ON geit̥, OSx gêt̥, OHG gei z̥ 'goat', NHG Geiß 'she-goat', AS ʒāt̥ 'goat', NE goat ¶ P 409-10, EI 229, WH I 632, Fs. 186, Schz. 150, Kb. 324, KM 242, Ho. 124, Ho. S 26 ¶¶ The *media* *-d- (for the expected *-dʰ-) is puzzling. It may be explained if the IE word is a loan from HS or from one of its branches (F IS DIES 4 [IE <- S], AD IEH 14 and fn. 11 [IE <- early pS]) || D *kʰaʰt̥-, {GS} *kyaq̥- 'young male of horned domestic animal' > Tm kaṭā, kaṭav̥u, kaṭay 'male of sheep\goat\buffalo', kaṭāri, kiṭāri 'heifer, young cow', kiṭā 'buffalo, bull, ram', Ml kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāv̥u 'young male of cattle', Kt kaṛč̥ naṅ 'buffalo calf between 2 and 3 years', kaṛč̥ kurl 'cow calf between 2 and 3 years', Kn kaḍas̥u, Kdg kaḍiṭ̥i, Tu gaḍas̥ə 'young cow\buffalo', Gnd kārā 'young buffalo', Knd gārālu, Kui grāḍu 'calf', Kui kṛaj̥ 'young female buffalo\goat', Krx kaṛī id., kaṛā 'young male buffalo', Brh xar̥ 'ram', xarās 'bull, bullock'; D <- pInA {Tu.} *kaṭṭa- and *kaḍḍa- 'young male (horned domestic) animal' (*kaṭṭa- > Kshm kaṭʰ 'ram, sheep in general', Lhn kaṭṭa 'buffalo calf', Hnd kaṭiyā 'buffalo heifer'; *kaḍḍa- > Ori kaṛā 'castrated male buffalo', kaṛāj̥ 'young buffalo cow') and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo' ¶¶ D #1123, Tu. ##2645, 2658, GS 166 [#416], 28 [#15] ◇ The B and IE precons. *j̥ / *y and D {GS} *-ya- suggest the presence of *y before *d (or *t). Alternatively, a mt. (possibly favoured by root structure patterns in B and IE) may be assumed (if we believe that S *gadiy- preserves the original position of *y). IS DIES 4 supposed that IE *gʰajdo- is a loan from S, because the root-internal vw. *a is not typical of IE. But I do not find it a sufficient argument for a loan hypothesis because there are still other genuine IE nominal roots with an internal *a ◇ AD NM #49.

603a. *geʰdʰüš̥ ▽ 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > HS: S *gawîš̥- > Ar {Fr., Ln.} جَوْشْ ḡawš̥- 'middle of the night' (or 'part of the night') → {Fr.} iter per totam noctem factum', Ak (from lists of synonyms) gēš̥u, translated in CAD and by Sd. as 'spend the night', 'übernachten'

¶ CAD V 64, Sd. 287, Fr. I 325, Ln. 487, Dc 109 ¶ The Ak vw. -ê- could have pointed to a lost S *ʕ or *h (inf. *gahāš|θ|šum, *gaʕāš|θ|šum, *gaš|θ|šāʕum, or *gaš|θ|šāhum), which would suggest a lr. in the N√, but this is ruled out (the expected lr. is absent in the IE cognate). A preferable solution is to assume that the Ak word is not a *CaCāCum-infinitive, but a different nominal pattern, possibly S *'CaCiC- (like S *'raʔiš- 'head' > Ak rēšum), sc. S **'gaw|yiš- from HS **'gawĉ (with *ĉ < *d|tš) with reg. *a_i > Ak ē ¶ The Ar word ġawš- is likely to result from merger of S *'gawīš- 'night' and S *'gaw_i∇_iš- 'breast, middle' (> Ar ġawš- 'breast, middle of the man'), hence the meaning 'middle of the night' (one of the semantic variants registered by mediaeval Arab lexicographers and later by Lane) || Ch {AD} *ga^ʕš-, {Sh.} √gs₂ 'night' > WCh: Gj {Sh.} gāsì, Buli {Sh.} ṅgàst, Tule {Sh.} gašè, Zul {ChL} gžsí id. ¶ JI II 258, ChC, ChL || ?? NrOm: ?? Kf {HMM} 𐤎𐤓𐤕 (y3či) yiči 'yesterday' || ? Dzd: Mj {AY} gota 𐤎 gōt, Shk {AY} gōta, {Fl.} got3, Na {Fl.} god3? id. ¶ HMM 421, Fl. OWL, AY WShND s.v. 'night' || K: OG, G gušin 'yesterday' ¶ Ser. 73, Chx. 217 || IE: NaIE {P} *ġ^hdyes / ? *ġ^hdis (> simplified variants *ġ^he(:)s, *ġ^hyees) 'yesterday' > OI 'hyas 'yesterday' (< *ġ^hyees), hyastanaḥ 'gestrig', OPrs diya(ka), NPrs دىگ ~ دى dīg ~ dī, Sgd ʔzyy myḏ, Oss: I znon and D äzinä 'yesterday' (< *zi-na-) || Gk χθέξ 'yesterday', Gk El [Hs.] σερ-ός (σερ- < *ġ^hyees) id. || pAl {O} *de > Al dje id. || L herī, herě id. (< IE *ġ^hesi), hes-ternus 'gestrig' || OIr in-dé (*ġ^hdyes), MW, W doe, OCm {doy, Cm dē, MBr dech, Br {LP} deac'h, {Bc.} dec'h 'yesterday' || ON í gær (< Gmc *gēz-), OSw i gár id. (< IE *ġ^hēs), AS zeostra(n), NE yester-day, OHG gesteron 𐌎 gesterên, NHG gestern, MDt gisteren 'yesterday', ?σ Gt gistra-dagis 'to-morrow' ¶ P 416, Bc. 1000, El 654 (*(d^h)ġ^hyees 'yesterday'), M K III 614, M E II 822, Ab. IV 313, VI. I 946, 953, LP § 28, SEv. 221, YGM-1 193, ECCE 231, Huld BAE 53, O 68, F II 693, Pis. AIHÇ, Vr. 197, Fs. 215, Kb. 330, Schz. 151, OsS 311, Ho. 128, KM 254 || A *'g^ʕēç∇ > T *k'ēç 'late, evening' > OT {Cl.} kēč 'late, lateness', Cmn keč 'late', Chg ≥XV keč 'late, slow; long time', geč qurun 'late evening', Tk geç, Tkm gīč, Az κεч gež, Ggz, Qmq geč, CrTt, Qrg keč 'late', VTt kiš, Bsh kis 'evening', Blq keč 𐌎 kēc, Kr Cr, Uz keč, ET káč, Alt keć, Nog, Qzq, Qq keš 'late, evening', Chv каç kaś 'evening, night'; (-d) T *k'ēçä 'late in the evening' (→ 'night', 'yesterday') > OT {Cl.} kēčä 'late in the evening, late evening', Ggz gežä '(by) night, late in

the evening', Tk гесе id., 'late evening', Tkm gīžе, Az жеңә gežä '(by) night', Qmq geče, Nog keše, Qrg S keče, VTt † кичә kišä 'night', VTt кичә kišä, Qz keše, StAlt кеце 'yesterday', Bsh kisä, Qq keše id., 'evening', Uz кеңә 'night, yesterday', ET kečä, Xlj {DT} kīęčä 'evening, night', Xk (d.?) кичее kižē 'yesterday', Tv kežē, Tf кʷеžе, Yk kīāsä ~ kīāsā 'evening, in the evening' ¶ Cl. 692-3, Rs. W 245, ET VGD 50-2, Md. 35 (*kēć 'late, evening'), GRM 107-8, KumRS 99, Jud. 383, Nj. 666, BT 81, KrkR 320, NogR 164, BIG 78, DT 150, Ra. 202-3, Pek. 1077, Jeg. 93, Fed. I 237-8 ◇ The original structure of the word is problematic. The proposed tentative N rec. ***ge'd'üš** suggests the following later phonetic changes: [1] N ****gedüš** > ****güdüš** > ****güdš** > K *guš and HS *guš (> -d- S *gawiš- and Ch *gaš-), [2] N ****gedüš** > ****gēdiš** > pre-IE ****gdiš** > IE (stressed) *gʰdʰyes / (unstressed) *gʰdis, [3] N ****gedüš** > ****gejš** > ****gēš** (complementary lengthening) > A *g'ēš > T *k'ēš.

604. *gařügæ 'covet, long for', (→?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE *gʰeǵh- 'covet' > Gt faihu-geigan 'to covet', ga-geigan 'to win, to obtain', with the *n-infix: OHG gīngen 'to long for', gīngo 'das Verlangen', gīngēn 'to require' || ? Lt {P} giežúos 'heftig verlangen', Lt pa-giēžti 'to crave for revenge', pagiežà 'rancour, craving for revenge' (unless ← Lt gižti 'to become sour', gaižti 'to become bitter') ¶ P 427, Fs. 136, 181, Schz. 151, Kb. 363, Frn. 129 || **U: FU** *kEyš- v. 'utter a mating call' (of birds in courtship ritual), v. 'sing' (partially ×FU *küye [or *keye-] 'lust, amorous calling sounds' < N ***kuyE** 'be hungry, desire, want', [in descendant lgs.] → 'be in heat, lust') > pLp {Lr.} *kikэ- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds, mate' (of birds) > Lp: L {LLO} kihkat v. 'mate' (of birds), N {N} gikkât, Kld kīgge-(ō) id. | Prm *koy- ({LG} *koy-) > Z N koy-, Z US koy- 'utter a mating call, mate' (of birds), Z Δ koyt, Yz 'kuť 'mating place of birds (ТОК)' || pObU {Ht.} *kēy- ~ *kōy- v. 'mate\copulate' (of birds), 'utter a mating call' > pVg *kăy- id. > Vg: T kiy-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kăy- id., LL/Ss kay- id., 'sing a magic song' (of shamans); pOs {Ht.} *kōy- ({Hl.} *kōy-) 'mate, utter a mating call' ({Trj.} 'токовать, ворковать') > Os: V/Vy kōy-, Ty kōy-, Y kōy-, D kēy-, K kăy-, Nz/Kz key- id., O qoy- v. 'prophecy, exercise magic by singing' | Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' ¶ Coll. 79, UEW 143-4, Sm. 543 (FU *kixi 'rut' >

FP *kixi-, Ugr *kĩgĩ(-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. #231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167, Lt. 45 || **A:** NaT *Kūg- 'be in heat, mate' > OT kūg 'the mating of rams and wild animals in the mating season', Qrg kū-gö kel- 'be in heat, be ready to be mated' (of female animals) (lit. 'come [kel-] to [-gö] the heat'), Qzq kūy|ö- v. 'mate' (of cattle, sheep, and dogs) ¶ Cl. 709-10, Jud. 472-3 || M *guyu- v. 'ask, implore, require, beg' ({Pp: 'bitten, betteln'}) (× N *gEhōwy▽ 'to go\drive away', q.v. ffd. × N *gâ₁ʔ₁y▽ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon']) ¶ MED 365, ≠ Pp. VG 49 || **HS:** S *_o√gḡgḡ > MHb 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 ḡiḡ'gū²ḡ 'longing for, paternal love', ? Ar تَجَفَّعٌ tağḡağḡa v. 'throw oneself on the ground out of grief' (unless ←- ḡağḡa 'kneel' [of camels]) ¶ Lv. I 350, Js. 261. Hv. 91 ◇ The S root suggests an internal *₁ within the N word. The contraction of the N internal *-a₁ü- accounts for the long vw. in T. The transformation of N *-a₁ü- into IE *-e₁- still needs investigating.

605. *gEhōwy▽ 'go away, drive away (forttreiben)' > **HS:** WS *_o√ghh ~ *_o√ghy 'run away' > Ar √ğhh (pf. ڤَّهَّهَّ ḡahha) v. 'drive away', {BK} 'chasser ignominieusement', Sr √ghw|y (pf. ڤَّهَّهَّ ḡahā) 'flee, escape', Md √ghw|y (act. prtc. ḡahia) 'flee from', Gz √g^wy (js. yə-g^way) 'run, run away, flee', Tgy √g^wy G 'flee, run way', Amh (3n)g^wzy 'one who flees', Sq {L} *_o√gwy 'flee' → šī-guḡa 'fugitif', ? ḡe v. 'flee, hurry', ¶ Br. 106, DM 81, LG 209, LLS 105, BK I 341, DRS 104 || SC ({E} *gōw- 'go out\away'): Irq {Mgw.} ḡōw v. 'flee', {MQK} ḡōw-, {E} ḡōw- 'run away'; → (caus.) pRt *gu-s- > Irq {MQK} ḡūs- 'chase, drive away', {E} ḡus- 'drive out', Alg {E} ḡusim- 'chase away' ¶ E SC 238-9 [##36, 42], Mgw. 114, Wh. SI, MQK 40, 42 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *g^wa / *ga8 (= *ga₁w|y) vt. 'chase, drive' ('treiben') > Ang (rdp.) kwok v. 'drive away; gallop' || pBT √gy v. 'run (away), chase', Tng kay- (vb. n. káy₁) v. 'chase, drive, pursue', ka₁p₁ 'run after!', Krkr {Lk.} guy- 'run away', ?σ Bl {Lk.} ḡay- 'ride' || Bks ḡā 'wegtreiben', Fy ḡ^wè id., 'wegstoßen', DfB ḡâh 'weg-\ver-treiben, verjagen', ḡâh '(weg-)treiben (wie ein Hirt)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 219 [#695], J R 86, 142, 215, J T 96, Flk. s.v. kwok ¶¶ ≈ OS #910 (BT, SC, Gz; does not distinguish this √ from S *-ḡīʔ- to come', EC *gay- 'arrive', CCh *g^w▽- 'enter', and ECh: Kbl ḡiy3 'come'), Stl. ZCh 246 [#43], Lk. PPV 135, J T 96, ChC || **IE** (IE {E} *ḡ^heh₁- 'leave [go away]'): NaIE *ḡ^hē(ḡ)-/*ḡ^hi- or *ḡ^hē(ḡ)-/*ḡ^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen'), (× N

***g'a'ž∇** 'to go; way, path') > OI 'jihītē 'geht fort\hervor', {MW} 'start forward' (× md. of the √ *g^heH₂- 'leave, abandon') > OI ✓ hā-], Av ā-zā- 'herangehen' ||| Gk Hm κίχάνω, Gk A κίχάνω (based on the prs. form *κί-χη-μυ) v. 'reach (erreichen, erlangen)' (← *'go' ← *'go away') ||| Gmc: OHG gā-n ȝ gā-en ȝ kēn, NHG gehen, OFrs, OSx gā-n, AS ȝā-n, OSw, ODn gá, Sw, Dn gǎ, Gt Cr geen 'to go', NE go ||| Blt (× NaIE *g^wā- < N *kuṣa 'to go, to advance, to follow', q.v.): Lt Δ gó-ti 'to go', Ltv gāju 'I went' ¶ WP I 542-4, EI 349 (*g^heh₁-), 115 (on IE *g^weh₁- 'come' see N *kuṣa '↑'), ≈ M KI 426, MW 1296, FI 861-2, Ho. 123, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 312, Hlq. 316, Fs. 182, 213, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, FI 208-10 ¶ It is doubtful that OI 'jahātē 'leaves, abandons' and Av zazāhi 'entlasse' belong here ¶¶ NaIE *g^hē(ǵ)- may be also explained as going back to *g^hēy(ǵ)- ¶¶ AD NGIE ||| U *kuy∇ '≈ drive (so., sth.)' > Ugr *kuy∇ {Rd.} 'treiben, jagen' > Vg: Ss {BV}, LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- v. 'entice (an animal), set (a dog) on', 'verführen, antreiben', N {MK} xujti-, ML khujti-, P khujtētī- [xuytati-], khwqjti ~ khujti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben', P {Rd.} kuyt- 'entice (манить)' | OHg hajt- '(zu etwas) bewegen, treiben', Hg hajt- v. 'drive (treiben, jagen); incite, urge on (anreizen, anziehen, antreiben)' || Sm *ku- vi. 'drive by the water stream', vt. 'drive sth.' (of a stream\wind) > Ne T d. xу''-ла-сь ~ xу''лесь, Ne F {Lh.} χυῶ̄, χυῶ̄'ῶ̄ 'von der Strömung getrieben schwimmen', Ne T BZ xув, Ne T Y xῶ̄, Ne F {Lh.} χῶ̄β ȝ χῶ̄ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', ?φ,μ Slq Tz {Prk.} kurī- ~ qurī-, {KKIH} d. kurī-qo 'carry sth.' (of a stream, wind), 'swim with the stream' ¶¶ UEW 858, BV 142, MK 117, EWU 515, Jn. 76, KKIH 122, WVD 140 ||| ?σ A ({ADb.} *g^ow- v. 'hunt, pursue, look for'): T *k₁ob- 'follow, pursue, chase' (× T k₁og- < N *gokE [= *goki?] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *gob(jo)- v. 'hunt, drive (a wild animal)' > Ewk PT g^oɣ-, Ewk Tmt g^owyo-, Ewk SB/Skh/Urm g^owjo- v. 'hunt with a dog for sables', Lm A gobja- 'hunt by driving (a wild animal)', Lm Δ obja- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for mountain rams', Neg gobjo- 'hunt with a dog (on fresh snow)', Orc gobžono- 'drive sables on snow', Ork 'hunt with a dog, hunt for sables, hunt in winter' ¶ STM I 157 ||| ?σ M *guyu- ~ *guyi- 'ask, implore, request, beg' ({Pp: 'bitten, betteln'}) (← *'pursue') (× N *gaṣügæ 'covet, long for', N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > MM [HI, S] guyu- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} guyu-* 'ask' (att.

guyulduba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM гууу-, HIM гуй-
 x 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Kl {Rm.} gū-χα 'bitten, werben', guí gū-χα
 'to beg for alms', {KRS} һуу-х үү-хъ id., ⇨ M *guyuli > WrM гуили,
 HIM гуйль, Kl һууль үү 'begging, alms', {Rm.} gūlí, guíη 'alms', Mnr
 H {SM} q̣ue'śǰ̣i ~ q̣uzǰ̣'i 'beggar', ? q̣ue'ṛla- 'demander avec instance,
 prier, mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365, KRS 171, KW
 156-7, SM 124-5, ¶¶ Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10.

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of' >
HS: C {AD} *g^w∇g|k- > Ag *gūk- > Bln {R} gūg- (pl. gūkək), Xm T {CR}
 g^wug 'way' || Bj {R} gīg- scv. 'go away' || HEC: Hd {AD, Hd.} gōgo
 'road', Kmb {C} gōggō 'way'; ?σ C ⇨ Gz ✓ggw (pf. gōgawa, js.
 yāgōgū) v. 'err' ¶ AD SF 256, AD MLX s.v. gōgo, R WB 144, R WBd 93,
 Hd. 280, L G 185, qu. Ap. ANH 23 (suggests assimilation from HEC
 *dōgo 'way' as an alt. et. of Hd gōgo and Kmb gōggō) || Om: NrOm: Zs
 {Si.} 'goge 'road', Shk {Bnd.} kōku, Mj {C} kōk || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} gōgí
 'road, path' (loans from HEC?) ¶ AD SF 256, Bnd. AL 157, Si. ACh 6 ||
 Ch {JS} *✓gk 'path' > WCh: Dr {J} gókó, Bl {Mk.} gōgō 'road', Pr {Frz.}
 kókò 'way' ¶ JS 200, ChC, Frz. P 36 || **A:** T *k_L'og(∇)- v. 'follow the
 tracks of, track (game), hunt' (× T *k_L'ob- 'follow, pursue, chase' < N
 *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away') > OT [QB, MhK] qōv- v. 'follow,
 pursue, chase', MT XIII [a Tefsir] qōv- v. 'hunt', Chg, XwT XIV qaw- v.
 'pursue, drive away', MQp qōw- v. 'pursue', Osm qōw- ~ qōy-, Tk kōv-
 , Δ qōy- 𐌆 gōy-, Tkm qōw-, Az gōw-, Xk χōy-, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog,
 Qzq, Qq, Uz quw-, Ggz kū- 'chase, follow, pursue', Qrg, Alt qū-, Tlt {Rl.},
 Tb/QK {B} qōy-, VTt qu-, Bsh qbw- 'follow the tracks of, pursue', Qmn
 qō- 'keep an eye on, pursue, look for', Sg/Qc/Qk/Qb {Rl.} qōy-, Xk
 xōf- χōy- v. 'follow so.', ET qōy-li- v. 'pursue, chase, follow' || Chv
 xǎv- xbv-, Chv L xuy- xuy-, Chv Δ xbv- 'drive away, chase, pursue' ¶
 We cannot distinguish between T *k'- and T *k'- for lack of Tv and Tf
 cognates. But if Tv † xō-r 'to invite (e.g. a shaman)' belongs here (?σ),
 the pT initial cns. is *k'- ¶ Cl. 580 (? T *kōb with a long *ō [unj. rec. of
 length on the insufficient ev. of MK's spelling with g] [at variance with
 the ev. of Tkm]), DTS 461, Rs. W 275 (*qōy-), ET Q 9-10, Rh. 1490,
 Tkr 402, Hüs. 83, Nj. 605-6, BN 124, BT 97, B DChT 128, B DK 223, B
 DLT 164, BIG 283, Rl. II 515, 663, 883-4, 1040, KRPS 372, Jeg. 288, Fed.
 II 315-6, MM 455, Jeg. 288, Fed. II 315-6, ≈ Md. 44, 169 (pT *k'ob- with
 unj. *k'-), TvR 483 || ?σ,φ M *güyiyi- 'run' > MM [S] {H} güiyi-

'laufen, rennen', [HI] {Ms.} gū(y)ī-, [MA, IM] {Pp.} gūj- 'run', WrM gūi- ~ gūyū, HIM гүй- 'run, flow', Mnr H {SM} g_uē'- id., {T} guī-, Mgl {Rm.} gūī-, Brt гүй- 'run', WrO gūū-, Kl гүү- gū- 'run, flee', Ord g_ūj- 'run, gallop', Dg {Mrm.} guī- 'laufen, rennen' ¶ Pp. MA 172, 437, H 52, Ms. H 57, 59, Ms. O 275, MED 389-9, SM 140, T 323, Krg. 775, KRS 150, KW 140, Rm. M 28, Chr. 164, Klz. D I 135 || Tg: Nn Nh/KU gυqo- v. 'run at a trot' || pJ {S} *kāká- 'run, gallop, flee' > OJ kaka-, J: T kaké-, K/Kg kākè- ¶ S QJ #804, Mr. 702 ¶ STM I 149 ¶¶ DQA #530 (A *gǰō'k'ó 'run, send: T, M, Tg) || AdS of U *koke- v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *Қоқе 'to look, to see' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IS I 309-10 [#183] (*Кокі 'идти по следу, следовать': U, A), AD NM #31, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate because [as far as Vv. thought] it is isolated within A), S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

607. *gaKt'ä' 'couple, one of a pair' > HS: NrOm: Gng: Kf {C} gut- v. 'be two', guttō 'two', {Fl., Msr.} gutto, Mch {L} 'gutto, Anf {MYTY} gutto, {Gt.} guttó, {C} guttō, Mch {Lm.} gutto, Amuru {Fl.} gitta, Shn {Lm.} gíttà 'two' ¶ C SE IV 308, 451, LM 34, Lm. Sh 316, Fl. OWL s.v. 'two', Msr. 86, Gt. 353, MYTY 117 ¶ Acc. to C and Lm., the Gng numeral is a loan from EthS kəlpēt- 'two' (hardly convincing) || Eg {EG, Vc.} *zωt 'twenty' (this approximate reading of the numerical sign for '20' is assured by two wordplays) > Cpt: Sd xoywt zuōt, B xwt zōt 'twenty' ¶ EG V 252, Vc. 333 || U *kakta ~ *käktä 'two' > F kaksī (gen. kahden), Es kaks (gen. kahe) id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōktē > Lp: N {N} guokite, S {Hs.} guokte, L {LLO} kuokte, Kld kūx:t id. | pMr {Ker.} *kaŷt > Er kavto kavto, Mk kafta 'kafta id. | pChr *kokt > Chr H/L/E attr. kok kōk, subst., pred. L koktyt koktŷt, H kokty koktŷt id. | ItPrm *kūk > Z, Vt k+k, Yz k+k id.; acc. to Lt. 192, Prm *ū (for the expected *ū < FU *ä) is due to the infl. of *ūt 'one', the original *ū being preserved in Z көкъямыс кэкуам+s, Z I, Prmk Δ k+k'уам+s, Vt XVIII кыкъямыс 'eight' > Modern Vt тямыс id. || pObU *kīt(∇) 'two' > pVg *kīt∇ id. > OVg kitta 𐌆 кита, Vg: T kiç, LK/MK/UK/P, NV/SV, LL/UL/Ss kit; pOs *kit- / *kät- id.: the variant *kit- is found as a bound morpheme in derived and compound forms of Os E and some other dialects: V/Vy {Trj.} kittā, Ag/Uy/Ty/Y {Trj.} kitanti, Sl {Trj.} kitantā, UY {Trj.} kitanti, Sh {Stn.} kītām-tak 'both', Sl {Trj.} kitkōtān ~ -ōŋ 'twelve', Ag/Ty/Uy {Trj.} kitsāt 'two hundred', Sl {Trj.} kitsir 'of two kinds (дворякий)', kitmātəx 'for the second time (вторично)', while in the free morpheme (the attr. numeral 'two') and the subst.

numeral 'two' the stem is always (in all Os dialects) {Ht.} *kät > {Ht.} V/Vy kät, Ty/Y kät, D kēt, K/O kāt, Nz/Kz qāt, {Stn.} Sh qāt 'two' (attr.), subst. numeral: V {Trj.} kätkən (-kən is a du. formant), Sh {Stn.} qatən 'two' || Hg ké t (attr.), kettō 'two' || Sm {Jn.} *kitä, {Hl.} *kite 'two' > Ng {Mik., Hl.} šiti, {Ter.} сити siti', En {Ter.} 'siðe, En {Cs.} X sire, B side, Ne T сидя, T O {Lh.} šide', Ne F {Popova} /šíta/ [šícǎ], {Lh.} šícǎ, Slq Tz {KKIH} šitti, Slq Tm {KD} šida, Kms {KD} šide, Koyb {Sp.} сыда, {Pl.} tschidä джидя, Mt {Hl.} *kidǎje (Mt: M {Sp.} кыды, {Pl.} kiddä, K {Pl.} gide, M/T/K {Mll.} kidde) || ? Y: T {Krn.} kiyoñ, {Ku.} kiyyoñ 'are two', {Ku.} kiyyoñ- 'be two', {Jc. → Ang.} kijol 'two', kiji 'zu zweit' ¶¶ Coll. 21, Coll. CG 406, UEW 118-9, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Ugr *kektä, FP *kaktä), SK 146, Lr. #509, Lgc. #2880, Hs. 686-7, Ker. II 51, Ber. 18, LG 140, 151, Lt. J 130, Ht. #339, Trj. S 104, 114-5, Trj. VD 58-9, Stn. OG 58, 144-5, Jn. 71, Ter. NgJ 149, Ter. EJ 446, Cs. 92, KP 191-2, Hl. MNJ 214, Hl. M #481, Ppv. 121, Ptp. 50, 100, Krn. JJ 182-4, Ku. 91, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#16] (Y ← U) || A *gagta 'one of a pair' > Tg *gagda (~ ğ *gakta) 'one of a pair' > Ewk, Neg, Orc gagda, Nn B/KU gagda, WrMc гагда ~ гақта, Mc Sb gadз 'one of a pair', Lm gād id., 'half', Ud gagda 'one of a pair, the other one, second' ¶ STM I 135, Ci. 299, Vas. 80 || pJ {S} *kātā 'one of two sides' > OJ kātā id. ¶ S QJ #1311, Mr. 442 || M *gagča > MM [MA] {Pp.} gaqča, [HI] қақса (= gagča), [IsV] қақча (= gagča) 'alone', [S] {H} һаһса 'einzig, allein', WrM гагса 'alone, single, the only one', Kl {Rm.} gаксă 'allein', Ord g_agč'a, WrO гақса 'sole, only', Dg {Lg.} gašvā, {T} gašqā(r) 'alone' (< d. *gagčayar id.); the var. *ganča 'alone' (> WrM ганса, HIM ганц, Brt ганс, Kl һанц, {Rm.} *gaḥ]ča, Ord g_anč'a) is akin to WrMc ganži 'whole' and may result from paradigmatic merger of both mentioned roots ¶ Pp. MA 175, Ms. H 88, H 56, Lg. VMI 41, MED 343, Ms. O 287, Krg. 310, KRS 15, KW 141, 143, Chr 145-6, T DgJ 131, Z 301 || T *k'ata 'time(s) (Mal)', 'whole' (× T *k'at 'layer, row' < N *kañ|ñ∇(-t∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') > OT {Cl.} qata '(so many) times' (bir qata 'one', üç qata '3 times', qač qata 'many times'), OT [MhK] {Rl.} qada 'time (Mal)', MT [Tefsir], OXwT XIV qata id., Tk kat, Kr T/G kat, Qmq, VTt, Bsh qat 'time (Mal)', Chv хут хут ɘ хот id., Chv L хута xud_a 'whole' (кун хута '[for] the whole day'), хуташ xud_aš 'together', Az gat '-fold\ple' (with numerals: üç-gata 'threefold, triple'); Shor/Sg/Bltr/Qc {Rl.} qada, Xk хада xada, Tv qatay

'together', StAlt qatay id., 'side by side (рядом)'; ? Yk χat 'for the second time, again' (← *'the other one' ← *'one of a pair') ¶ Cl. 593, 596, ≈ ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ash. XVI 250-2, 257, Fed. II 371-4, Rl. II 305-6, BIG 262, TvR 231, JkR 488, Pek. 3393-4 ¶¶ DQA #472 (A *gàgta 'one of a pair') ◇ AD SShS 299-300 (U, A, HS).

608. *g|koḶE (r∇) 'chest, breast' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'belly', 'heart') > HS: Ch: ECh: Mu {Lk.} gâk (pl. gògúk) m. 'chest', f. 'female breast', Tmk {Cp.} gògèr m., Mkl {J} gíggré 'poitrine' ||| WCh: Klr {J} kúkôh 'Brustkorb' ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, Cp. 64, J LM 101, J R 353 || ? S: Ak kukku(b)bu 'pig's stomach' ¶ Sd. 421 ||| U: FP *kòkt∇ 'belly' > F kòhtu 'womb', Es kōht (gen. kōhtu) 'belly, abdomen, stomach (Magen)' ||| Prm: Vt kōt kzt 'belly, stomach', Vt Sr/Kz {Wc.} kzt 'belly, heart', Vt G {Wc.} kzt 'stomach, heart', Z I kōt 'belly' in cds.: kōt-ku 'peritoneum' (ku 'skin'), kōt-ku ū 'bottom part of the belly' (ū 'bottom'), Prmk {W} kzta 'pregnant' ¶ UEW 670 ||| A ({SDM95, SDM97} *kōk'e 'breast; to suck' [→ 'chest', 'belly']): [1] T *k'ökür 'chest, breast' > OT köküz ({Cl.} kögüz) id., MQp, Cmn kögüs ~ kövüs 'breast, female breast', Tkm ΓΘΒΥC gövüθ, Az köküs ~ köks, ET köküs ~ kögüs, SY köküs ~ gös, Ln köküz id., Uz kŷkç kwks 'breast, heart, soul', Tk göğüs 'breast, bosom, thorax', Ggz gūs, Alt kögüs, Xk kögīs 'breast, thorax', Yk köşüs 'breast, middle of the back, spine' ||| Chv kăkăp kăg_ɔr 'breast, female breast' | [2] NaT *k'öküräk 'chest, upper part of the body' > Chg XII [San.], Tkm kükrek, Blq kökürek, Bsh kōkräk, Nog, Qzq, Qq kökîrek, Qrg kökürök, ET kökräk 'chest, breast', Qmq kökürek, VTt kōkräk, Uz kŷkprak kwkrak 'breast, female breast', Brb {Rl.} kökrök 'chest, upper part of the body', MQp {Rs.} kökräü 'Rumpf, Oberkörper', Tv kökerek 'ankle-bone of cattle', Slr {Tn.} küpräx ~ köp̄r̄ix 'breast' ¶ Cl. 712, 714, Rs. W 288, ET VGD 54-5, ET KQ 136-7, Grøn. 150, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, BIG 87, Hüs. 173, Äz. 213, Nj. 652, UzR 229, Tn. SJ 393, 398 ¶ The T stem *k'ökür (if originally 'female breasts') may represent an ancient word group with N *yî ('a couple' > a pc. of dual) (*-r∇ yî > *-ry- > -r-), while in the stem *k'öküräk 'chest' no marker of dual is present || M *kökün 'female breast' > MM [MA] köken, [S] kokan [kökän] (pl. kokot [kököt]), WrM kökü(n), HIM xōx 'female breast, nipples', Kl κΘκΗ kökḡ, Dx gogo, Ba kugo, ShY hgōn id., Mnr H {SM} k'ug_ūō 'mamelle, sein', MMgl {Iw.} kökə 'nipple', Mgl {Rm.} kökâ 'Zitze'; M *kökü- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > WrM kökü-, HIM xəxə- id., Kl

көкк көкәкә v. 'suck (breast), suck in', MM [MA] köke- v. 'suck (breast, water)', [S] коко- [kökö-] v. 'suck, suckle', MMgl {Iw.} kökə- v. 'suck milk', Mgl {Rm.} kōka-ṛā 'sucks (mother's breast)' ¶ Pp. VG 132, S AH 234 [#13], MED 483, SM 208, Pp. MA 220, H 103, Iw. 112-3, KW 237, KRS 313 || Tg *xukū-n 'female breast' > Ewk ukun, Ewk UL hukun, Ewk Hng hukuhu, Lm ôkən, Neg ôxôn, Orc oko(n-), Ud {Shn.} oko, Ul куз(n-), Ork qō(n-) ~ qū(n-), Nn Nh kũ, Nn Bk ku(n-), Nn KU ukuń, WrMc хухун, Mc Sb хухун 'female breast'; -d> Lm ôkəń 'milk', Sln uxũ, Neg ôxôńô 'milk'; Tg *xukū- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > Ewk ŷuku-, Neg ôxô-, Lm ôk- id. ¶ STM II 254-5, S AJ 208 [#18] ¶ S, AD, and Md. (SDM95) reconstruct Tg *xukun ~ *kukun 'female breast', but for the variant with *k- there is no ev. (Ul *kukun is not registered in dictionaries) ¶ Tg *x- may be due to as.: A *kok'e > **k'ok'e > Tg xukun || pKo *kokʌj- 'heart (of wood), pith, core' > MKo kokʌjyan, NKo kogəni ¶ S AJ 256 [#138], S QK #138, Nam 45, MLC 134 || pJ *kəkəz 'heart' > OJ kəkòró, J: T kokóro, K kókòrò, Kg kokoró, Ns kòró, Sh kúkúru, Ht kùkùru, Y kùgùrù ¶ S AJ 270 [#138], S QJ #138, Mr. 454 ¶¶ DQA #867 (A *kək'e 'breast; to suck; heart'), S AJ 32-3, 280 [#128], ADb. SR 13 ¶¶ A *k..k- for the expected *g..k- is probably due to the Lallwörter-factor (cp. NHG Zitze, R сися 'mother's breast').

608a. *gawK∇ 'long, high, far' > U: FU *kawka 'long' > F kauka 'das Ferne', kaukaa 'from afar, at a great distance', kauan 'long, for a long time', Es kaua id., kauge 'distant, far, remote' || Er kuvaka, Mk ku'vaka 'long' || ? Lp Ar kāw'kas-sayūen 'an einem entlegenen, langweiligen Ort' || Os: V kow, D xōw 'long, far, remote'; V kōkə, D xōwa, O xōwi 'far' ¶ UEW 132 || A ({DQA}) *gók'ì 'high; peak': Tg *gugda 'high' > Ewk gugda, Sln gugda, Lm gūd, Neg gogda, Orc, Ud gugda, Ul, Ork, Nn B gugda, Nn Nh/B gogda, WrMc godoxon 'high'; without the sx. -da: Ud gugana- v. 'jump up' (of animals) ¶ STM I 166 || M {DQA} *gögde-gür 'hilly' (← **gögde *'hill') > WrM gögdügür 'hilly', Kl {Rm.} gögdəgŕ 'hügelig, uneben' ¶ MED 386, KW 137 || pKo *kəkáj 'peak, height' > MKo kəkáj, NKo kogä ¶ S QK #222, Yu 61, MLC 134 || pJ *kúkì 'peak' > OJ kukji, NJ [RJ] kúkì ¶ S QJ #293, Mr. 462 ¶¶ DQA #549 (supposes that Tg *-da and M *-de go back to a sx.) || IE: NaIE *ko|auk|k- 'high' > Gmc *'hauha-/ *hau'ga- id. > Gt hauh-s, ON hár (from OScn *hauha-R), OHG hōh, NHG hoch, AS hēah 'high', NE high || ? pTc

{Ad.} *keuǰ > Tc: A koc, B kauc 'high, up, above' ¶¶ Fs. 249, Vr. 210, KM 312, Ad. 209, ≈ P 589 || ?φ HS: B *✓Hgg > Ah aǰaǰ, WTwl ugag, Ty igag, Shl T {Stm.} agug 'be far\remote, go\move away (s'éloigner, sich entfernen)' ¶ Fc. 405, PGG 82 ¶ The origin of B *H- (a px.?) is still to be discovered ◇ IE *k- (rather than *g^h-) is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same root. The A labialized vw. (for N *a) may be due to the infl. of N *w ◇ Blz. IB #104d (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA #31 (N *ǰawk|ga 'high, long' > IE, FU), ≠ Blz. LNA #11 (equates the A root with FU *kokka 'Hervorstechendes, Spitze', Y kókä [sc. pY *kökə] 'head', and D *kukk- id., see N *ǰaku [or *ǰokU?] 'hook' and N *ǰâRǰub|p▽ 'top, summit, crown [of the head]')).

609. *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE: NaIE *g^he|l- v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {E|} 'cry out; sing' > ON gjalla ~ gella 'laut tönen, schreien', OHG gëllan {E|} 'to resound loudly' (> NHG gellen 'to shrill'), AS ǰiellan 'to shout, to yell', NE ǰell; ON gala (p. gōl) 'to shout, to sing', AS ǰalan 'to sing, to call, to shout', OHG galan 'to sing, to conjure, to enchant'; WGmc cd. *nahta-galōn 'nightingale' (← 'cantatrix nocturna') > OSx, OHG nahtagala ~ nahtigala, NHG Nachtigal, AS nihtegale 'nightingale', NE nightingale || R Δ 'галить' 'to shout, to cry, to weep', 'to shout in a fit of anger, to be angry', на'галить 'to shout\sing rythmically (while working)'] ???σ names of birds: Gk χελιδών (< χελιδών) 'swallow', rdp. κίχλη, Gk D κιχήλα 'thrush', ?? SI *galъ, *galъka 'jackdaw, crow' > Blg гал 'jackdaw', McS Δ gal 'crow', OR galъka, R 'галка 'jackdaw', etc. (the SI words may alternatively be connected with SI *gal- denoting black colour, F ESSJ VI 96-7) ¶ WP I 628, P 428, EI 89, Vr. 169-70, OsS 252, 296, 635, Ho. 123, 129, 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 311, 324-5, KM 245, 500, ESSJ VI 93 (does not distinguish this R verb from homo- and paronymous verbs such as галить 'to play pranks', OCS galiti 'to jump, to rejoice'), 96-7, F I 862 and II 1084-5 || A: Tg *gele- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *go|▽ 'look, look for, wish') > Ewk g3l3-, Orc g3l3- v. 'ask, wish', Sln g3l3- v. 'look for, ask', Lm g3l3- id., Δ v. 'wish', Neg g3l3- v. 'ask', Ud g3l3- v. 'call for, ask for, wish', Ul g3l3- ~ g3li-, Ork g3l3- v. 'ask, require, look for', Nn Nh/B g3l3- v. 'ask, invite, look for'; Tg *gele|e|ne- v. 'go to fetch (sth.)' > Ewk g3ln3-, Sln gal3n3-, Lm g3ln3-, Orc g3nn3- ~ n3nn3-, Ud g3n3- id.; Tg *gele|jkte- v. 'look for' > Ewk g3l3kt3-, Lm g3l3t- ь g3l3ç-, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn g3l3kt3-, Ud H galakta-

id. ¶ STM I 179, Krm. 224 || HS: WS *-gīl- ~ *-gūl- > Ug {OLS} ✓ gl v. 'rejoice (regocijarse)', gl 'an ecstatic cry of joy (grito estentóreo, de júbilo)', Hb ✓ gyl (3m ip. לִּיגֵי יָא-גִּיל) v. 'shout in exultation, rejoice', לִּיגֵי גִּיל 'rejoicing', Tgr ✓ gwł (pf. רָא גּוּלָא) v. 'dance and sing', ?ס רָא גּוּלָא 'banquet, revelry', Tgy רֶבֶא גֻּעַלָא 'e popular dance' ¶ OLS 145, KB 182, KBR 189-90, LH 591 ◇ Tg *gele- < **gale- (regr. as.).

610. *gaLū|u (← *ga'ya'Lū|u) 'tortoise' > HS: CS *gall- id. > MHb לִּיגֵי gal (pl. מִיגֵי גַל'לִּימ) id., Sr מִיגֵי ~ מִיגֵי gal'lā, Md gala id. ¶ Lv. I 328, Br. 115, DRS 126 || WCh: Dr {Kr.} gūldúkú 'small tortoise' ¶ ChL I 133 || IE {EI} *gʰeluh-s > NaIE *gʰelū ~ *gʰ(e)lōu 'tortoise' > Gk χέλυς, χελύνη id. || SI *želī / *želb- > RChS ЖЕЛЫ želɤ, gen. ЖЕЛЪВЕ želb-е, SCr (Δ?) žělva, Slv žělva, OCz želva, P źółw, gen. źółwi, R Δ ЖОЛВЬ 'tortoise' ¶ WP I 631, P 435, EI 595, F II 1086-7, Vs. II 41, Ma. CS 593, HIK 443 || A: Tg: WrMc giyaltu (ǵaltu) 'e a marine fish that resembles a long belt' (or 'cuttlefish?') ¶ The palatalized initial stop (giy- [ǵ-]) is still to be explained ¶ STM I 138, Z 372, Sin. TM 272 (on palatalized cnss. spelled as Ciy-) || ?φ D: [1] D *kull- ({{ϑGS} *g-) 'e shellfish, shell' > Tu gulla 'e small shellfish', Tl gulla 'a shell, a white pustule', Prj gula 'snail', gulli 'shell, cowrie', Kui gola, goli 'shell' (reborrowing of the D word from Oriya?) || [2] Tm kiḷińcil 'bivalve, mussel, oyster-shell', Ml kiḷińci 'a shellfish', kiḷińčil 'oyster shell' ¶¶ D ##1585, 1795 ◇ The odd element -iy- in the Mc cognate suggests that the original word had some additional internal phonemes, so that the N etymon may be something like *ga'ya'Lū|u (cp. WrMc giyōlo 'crown of head' [{STM} ǵōlo ~ ǵōlu] and Mj gaylli 'head', both possibly from N *goy∇Lu 'skull' [see s.v. *goLu 'skull']). Tm kiḷińcil points to a N word-final *ū as preferable to *u. The pIE final *H may point to a final *-H∇ at the pN level, but it seems more plausible to ascribe it to some morphological analogies of declension. The latter is suggested by the short u in χέλυνη. If the D words belong here, the vowels of the first syll. in D (*kull-, Tm kiḷińcil, and Ml kiḷińci) need explaining.

611. *gE1∇ (or *gEʔa1∇) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *ǵʰalgʰ- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake') > Arm ճաղկ załk 'rod, switch, stick' (< *ǵʰalgā) || Gt galga 'pole, cross', OHG galgo 'gallows, cross', ON galgi, AS ʒealzā, OFrs galga, OSx galgo, NHG Galgen 'gallows' (< 'cross'), NE gallows || Lt žalga

'perch, pole, rod', {Ju.} žaĩgas id. ¶ Ptrs. H 155 explains the alternation *-g^h-/*-g- by different generalizations in the paradigm *ǵ^hoǵ^h / gen. *ǵ^hǵ^hn-es. The extension *-g^h-/*-g- is of obscure origin (as almost all extensions) ¶ WPI 540, P 411, EI 442 (*ǵ^halg^heh_ǰ-), Slt. 314-5, Fs. 189, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 311, KM 229, Vr. 153, Frn. 1284-5 || K: eNG, NG gal-i 'tree trunk without boughs' ¶ SSO I 130, DCh. 160, Chx. 152 || U: FU (< d.?) *^okäLta > ObU ≈ *käLt∇ (× N *k^ʷä^ʷǵ^ʷh^ʷû 'stick, hook, bar' [q.v. ffd.] > Vg Ss {Ht.} kalt 'pole, Stange' in pāts-kalt 'a pole of the перевес (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} patas-kält 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs *kält > Os: V/Vy kält, Ty/Ag kâḗt, Y kâḗ(t), Kr/K kât, O kält 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz [перевес] aufgehängt ist'), Nz qat, Kz qaḗt id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish-trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. #747, Trj. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶ Since there are no ObU words with *ǵt or *ǵt (in contrast to the existing cluster *lt, F Ht. ##590, 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition *l ↔ *ǵ ↔ *ǵ was neutralized before *t (a cluster *Lt) || HS: S: Ar جَالَة ǵāl-at- 'washer(woman)'s beetle' ('battoir de blanchisseur') ¶ BK I 519 || D ?ǵ *kīl(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'peg, pin, nail' > Tm kīlam 'nail, pin, spike', Ml kīlam 'wedge, bolt, nail', Td kiḥ 'handle (of pot, spoon, axe, knife)', Ku^l 'hinge of box', Kn kīl, kīlu 'pin, peg', kīla 'stake, peg', Tu kīlḥ, kīlḥ 'joint, hinge, peg', Tl kīlu 'joint, hinge', cīla 'iron nail, wooden pin'; probably D ḅ→ OI (attested in the Mahabharata and reconstructed from later InA lgs.) kīla-ḥ {MW} 'sharp piece of wood, stake, pin, peg, bolt, wedge' (ḅ→ OI kīla-ka-ḥ id.), reborrowed in some D lgs. (e.g., Tm kīlakam 'pin, bolt, wedge, joint'). An alt. et. (proposed in D 510 [App. #510]) is that the D √ is a loan from InA, but the OI word has no clear IE et., except for postulating (after M) that *kǵ^h-lō-s is derived from NaIE keḷā-'strike' and connecting it (at the level of "Wurzelverwandschaft") with Sl *kōlḥ 'stake, picket' (the connection with OHG kīl, NHG Keil 'wedge' is rejected by M, because OHG kīl goes back to Gmc *kī^ʷḡla-, F WPI 544) ¶ DED #1346, D 510, M K I 216, Tu. #3202, WPI 436-8 ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of IE *ǵ^h- (suggesting a front vw. in N) and that of IE *a (pointing to N *a) may be resolved by supposing that the N source was *ǵE^ʷa^ʷ∇. The

latter may be interpreted as ***gīʷal̥** on the ev. of D ***ī**, but the absence of the expected traces of N ***ī** in IE is against the rec. of ***ī**.

612. *gīLʷ 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE ***gʰe|**-/***gʰo|**-/***gʰ|**- (or ***gʰa|**-?) id. > OIr *galar* 'illness, grief', W *galar* {YGM} 'mourning, grief' (IS: Clt from NaIE ***gʰ|**-) || ON, Ic *galli* 'defect, vice', OSw *galli* id., 'pain', MLG *galle* 'wounded place on the skin', AS *Ʒealla* 'galled place on the skin', NE *gall* id. || Lt *žalà* 'harm, hurt, injury', Ltv *zalba* ~ *zēlba* 'injury, wound, pain' | Sl: R Δ *на'зола, на'зол* 'sorrow, annoyance, grief', *на'золить, до'золить* v. 'vex, distress', Uk *на'золити* id., *зо'лок* 'painful place in a wound' || ?σ: Ped. H 38 (and after him Szem., P, Čop, and EI) adduced here Ht *kallar*- adj. 'ungünstig, unheilvoll', {Pv.} 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious', {E} 'sth. evil/unpleasant' (highly qu.) ¶¶ ≈ P 411 (***gʰa|**-, ***gʰa|**-ar-), EI 43 (***gʰa|**H-r/n-, BSI < ***gʰa|**H-o/eh_h-), SB 108, LP § 284, YGM-1 230, Vr. 154, Bv. 211, Frn. 1286, Vs. II 39, Dal II 417, Pv. IV 20-1, Ts. EI 465 || K: GZ ***g|l̥w**- 'grieve, deplore' (× N ***go|l̥|** 'to weep' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: SS ***√g|l̥w** ~ ***√gy|** > Mh {Jo.} **√g|l̥w** (pf. *gēl̥w*, sbjn. *γ3-g|l̥w*) 'be ill, fevered, have a short illness', Hrs **√g|l̥w** (pf. *gēl̥w*, sbjn. *γ3g|l̥w*) 'be fevered, have fever', Jb E/C *gī'zī* 'be ill, fevered', Mh, Hrs *gōl̥w*, Jb E/C *g|l̥e?*, Sq {Jo.} *g|l̥e* 'fever', Sq {L} *g(γ)ole* 'illness', Tgr *guyu|* pp. 'von einer schleichenden Krankheit befallen' ¶ Jo. M 119, Jo. H 40, LLS 109, LH 596, DRS 108 || A: Tg ***gil(a)**-, *gilk*- > UI *gēl*-, *gil*-, Nn Nh/KU *g|lk̄* v. 'ache (ныть, болеть)', WrMc *gila*- 'be sad/melancholy/worried', Lm Sk *g|lk̄*- v. 'ache' (of the heart), *g|lkon* 'melancholy, sadness, anxiety', Ork *gilçi*- v. 'ache' (of a wound, an injury) ¶ STM I 151, Vas. 100, Ci. 301 ¶¶ DQA #2655 (pA ***g|l̥o** 'be unhappy, endure') equates Tg ***gil(a)**- 'ache' with T ***kol**- 'beg', M ***golu**- 'abhor, condemn' (MED 359) and pJ ***kz̄rápá**- ~ ***kuà**- 'endure' (> OJ *k(w)orapa*-, J T *koraé*- id.), which is too risky both phonetically and semantically. The M and J verbs may be alternatively (and phonetically better) connected with N ***go|l̥|** '↑'. If nevertheless the T, M, and J cognates are accepted, the N rec. must be something like ***giyoLʷ** ◇ IS I 229 [#83] (***gil̥**).

613. *goLu (or ***goy̯Lu**?) 'skull' > IE: NaIE ***gʷho|w**-/***gʷho|u**-/***gʷhe|u**- (or ***gʰo|w**-/***gʰo|u**-/***gʰe|u**-) 'head' > Arm **գլուխ** *glux* (gen. **գլխոյ** *glxoy*) 'head' || Lt *galvā*, Ltv *galva* id., Pru *galwo* 'toe of a boot', *glawo* (conjecture for *galwo*) 'head', *galbo* [*galvo*] id. | Sl

*gól'va (accus. *gōl'vq) 'head' > OCS ГЛАВА glava, Blg гла'ва, SCr gláva, Slv glāva, Cz, Slk hláva, P głowa, R голо'ва (accus. 'голову), Uk голо'ва ¶ P 39-50, Me. EAC 36, Sl. 298, Frn. 131-2, En. 174-5, Tr. P E-H 261, Glh. 230, ESSJ VI 221, ≠ EI 45 (BSI and Arm < *g_l'_loH'w-eh_h- 'bald-pate') || HS: S *gulgul_l-(at-) 'skull' > Ak gulgullu, gulgull-at-u id., BHb תַּגְּלָגְלַת gul'golēṯ, JA {Js.} אַתְּגַלְגַּלְתָּ gulgul'tā ~ אַתְּגַלְגַּלְתָּ gulgal'tā, JEA {Sl.} אַתְּגַלְגַּלְתָּ gulgəl'tā id., Ar {RB} جَلْجَلَةٌ ḡulḡul-at- id. (the word is not mentioned in dictionaries of Classical Ar {Fr., BK, and Ln.}, but only in those of the modern lge., but its existence in Ancient Ar is suggested by its CIAr metaphoric sd.: جَلْجَلٌ {Ln.} ḡulḡul- 'small bell, consisting of a hollow ball of metal'), Sr gāgūl'tā 'Golgotha' (← JA?), Ar جَلْجَلَةٌ ḡalaḡ-at- 'skull, head' ¶ KB 183, KBR 191, Sl. 268, Js. 221, RB 426, BK I 311, Ln. 438, JPS 60, DRS 118, MiK I #1.79 || Eg fOK ʒʒʒʒ 'head' ¶ EG V 530-1, Fk. 319 || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} geli, gaylli, Mj DJ gâli 'head', Shk geri, gari id. (-r- < *-l-) ¶ Fl. OAM 28 || Ch: ECh: Kwn {J} gólò, Kwn M {J} góló 'head' || CCh: Mkt ḡəl 'head' ¶ Ba. 406, Ji II 183 ¶¶ Tk. I 322 || A: Tg: WrMc giyōlo ({STM} ḡōlo ~ ḡōlu, {Hr.} giyolo) 'crown of head' ¶ STM I 160, Z 375, Hr. 368 ◊ WrMc giyōlo 'crown of head' ({STM} ḡōlo ~ ḡōlu) and Mj gaylli 'head' may be interpreted as suggesting an element *y∇ within the N etymon (*goy∇Lu?) (cp. WrMc giyaltu [ḡaltu] < N *ga_lya_lLū|u 'tortoise', see s.v. *gaLū|u) ◊ IS I 237-8 [#94] (*gUÍΛ 'round, ball': IE, S [words for 'skull, head'] + Hs ḡulúlu 'ball of earth'; *÷ words meaning 'round', 'turn round').

614. *goI∇ 'look, look for, wish' > IE: NaIE *g^whel- ~ *ghel-, {E} *g^whel- v. 'wish' > Gk ἐθέλω ~ θέλω 'I want, wish', Gk [Hs.] παλίξει· θέλει 'wants' || Sl *želě- ~ *žela- v. 'wish' > OCS ЖЕΛѢ-ТИ želě-ti, ЖЕЛА-ТИ žela-ti 'to desire, to wish' (ἐπιθυμεῖν, θέλειν), SCr жєлєти ~ željeti / prs. жєлѣм, želīm, Slv želéti, želím, OCz želeti / želeji, Slk želet', Blg же'ла-я, R же'ла-ть / prs. же'ла-ю, Uk же'ла-ти v. 'wish' || MHG gilen 'betteln', ON gilja 'verlocken, verführen', Dn gilje, Nic, Far, NNr, Sw gilja 'zur Liebe verlocken, werben', ON gildra, gildri 'trap, snare', OSw gæl-, giælskaper 'Unzucht' || ? Arm գեղձ gełz 'a wish, Sehnsucht' ¶ The Gk cognate points to IE *g^wh-, while the Gmc cognate suggests *gh, the Sl and Arm reflexes being ambiguous ¶ P 489, EI 629, FI 258-9, 447-8, Vr. 167, Lx. 73, Vs. II 40-1, Glh. 707, Ped. GDIE 2Off. (adduces Arm

gełʒ), Sl. 33-4, Xud. I 269 || **A:** [1] NaT *K0l- v. 'ask for' (×N *k'a'ṭX'o' 'call [appeler], shout', q.v. ffd.) || [2] The √ in question influenced the A root {DQA} *gēla 'search, hunt', whence Tg *gel- v. 'ask, beg' (< N *gaLE 'shout, cry' [→ 'weep', 'ask for', q.v. ffd.]) || ? pJ {S} *kār- 'hunt for, demand, search; drive' > OJ kār-, J: T kár- ~ kār-, K/Kg kár- ¶ S QJ #1367, Mr. 704 || AdS of T *k'ä|ele-íč- 'woo, ask in marriage' > Qmq geleš id. (× ← T *k'älin 'bride' < N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes') ¶¶ The variant [1] (the A √, represented by T *K0l-) is preferable because of its vw., corresponding to the N vw. suggested by the IE cognate ¶¶ DQA #494 (A *gēla 'search, hunt' > Tg, J, T *k'ä|ele-íč-) || **HS:** Ch: ECh: Ke gòlé v. 'look', gòldé v. 'seek (suchen)', Kwn {J} kalde id., Kbl {Cp.} gowól, Li góól v. 'see' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} ṽal v. 'beg, beseech, want, ask', ?μ Gdr {MCh.} ηgel v. 'want', ?μ Msg {Trn.} ḡ'gω`l' v. 'look' || WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} gul-, Sir {Sk.} ηgúlu- v. 'see' || Sbc: Zar K {Sh.} gali id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'look for', 'want', and 'see', Eb. 52, RpB 42 || SC: Kz gal- v. 'see', SC ⇨ Mb -gali v. 'try' ¶ ESC 235 (equates Kz and Mb with Irq giris- v. 'select' and reconstructs SC *gal- or *gāl- v. 'look at, look over') || ??σ Eg XIX gḗω 'staunend blicken, beaufsichtigen', gḗgḗω 'staunen über, staunend blicken auf' ¶ EG V 151 ¶¶ Tk. I SCC 87 [#18.3].

615. *goL∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE (in the prehistory of Indic, Gk, and Gmc) *g^ωelb^h-/*g^ω0lb^h- 'womb; young (of an animal)' (from earlier **g^ωh^elb^h-?) ({EI} *g^lω₁elb^hu-s 'womb') > OI garbhaḥ, Prth gr^ṛb, YAv garəβa- 'womb', Av garəbuš 'young of an animal' || Gk δελφύς, gen. δελφύος 'womb', δέλαφαξ 'young pig', δελφίς, -ίνος 'dolphin' (sc. 'womb-[fish]') || ON kalfr, OHG calb, NHG Kalb, AS éealf & éielc 'calf', NE calf; Gt kalbō 'female calf, heifer', OHG kalbā 'female calf'; OHG kilburra & kilbra & kilbira & chilburra 'lamb', AS éilfor- / éeolforlamb 'ewe lamb', NGr Sw kilbor 'young ram' || NaIE (in Indic and Gk) *sm_ḡ-g^ωelb^h(e)yo- 'born from the same womb' > OI 'sa-garbhyaḥ id., Gk Hm/I ἀδελφεός, Gk A ἀδελφός 'brother' ¶ P 473, ≠ 359, EI 615, M K I 329 and III 414, M EI 474-5, Bai. 81, F I 19, 863, Ch. 18-9, Fs. 305-6, Schz. 179, Kb. 525, 540, OsS 469, 487, Ho. 45, 48 || **HS:** C: Ag *gār (Ap.) *gār) 'calf' > Bln {R} gær (pl. gæl), {Plm.} gAr, Q {Ap.} gār, {R} gær, pl. gæltī, Km {Ap.} gār, {CR} gær (pl. gæltā ~ gæltī), Aw {Fl.} gara ¶ R WB 157-8, Ap. WLQ 4 || NrOm: Wl {dL} gallua 'calf' || **A:** M *gölüge 'young animal', esp.

'young dog' (× N *gU^híE '≈ canine animal', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The element *b^h- in the IE cognate goes back to N *bA (adjectival pc. forming analytical [→ derived] names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, and animal names): IE *g^ʷe^lb^h- < N *^ogoL[∇] bA. The plain voiced *g^ʷ- (for the expected *g^{ʷh}-) in the attested IE languages may be due to regr. dis. (a kind of Grassmann's law, but functioning not only in Indic and Gk, but in Gmc as well; for other cases in Gmc *see* Prok. CGG 203-4 and Collinge 57-8).

615a. ₂ *goL[∇] 'tail' > HS: Om {Blz.} *g^ol- id.: SOm: > Ari {Bnd.} g^o(:)li, Dm {Bnd.} g^o(:)lan, Hm {Fl.} g^ulo ~ g^oli id. ||| NrOm: Bsk {Bnd.} g^ol^ʹsi, Dk {Fl.} g^olse, Dwr {Lm.} g^oilano, Wl {Lm.}, Gf {Mrn.} g^oyna, Gm {Hw.} g^oina id. ¶ ≈ LmS 380-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'tail', Bnd. AL 159 ||| D (in NED only) {^oGS} *g^lko^l]- 'tail' > Krx x^olā, Mlt q^oli id. ¶ D #2135 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#29] (D, Om).

615b. *g^ol^ʹ∇ 'to weep' > HS: B: Si g^ols v. 'weep' (× N *kaLč[∇] 'voice; to speak\cry\weep') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 ||| D *k^o]- ({^oGS} *g^o]-) 'grief; weep' > Td g^o], g^o]m 'sorrow', Tu g^olu, g^olu 'grief, lamentation', Tl g^ola 'wailing', ? g^odu 'grief, affliction' ¶¶ D #2252, GS 159-68 (on reflexes of D *-]-) ||| K: GZ *g^lo(w)- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *giL^ʹU^ʹ 'illness, pain, distress') > OG g^l- / g^lo^v-, G g^l-, g^lo^v- 'grieve, deplore' (m-g^l-an 'ich bedaure', lit. 'it saddens me', e-g^lo^v-s 'er betrauert'), Mg r^g(w)- 'mourn' (v-i-r^g-3n-k 'ich trauere') ¶ K 63 (*g^lo-), K² 31 (*g^lo(w)-), Abul. 94, Q 304, Chik. 259, FS K 82 and FS E 86 (*g^l-) ||| ?σ A *g^ol^ʹ∇ '≈ suffer' > M *g^olu- 'abhor, contemn' > MM [HI] {Ms.} q^olu [g^olu]- 'trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion', WrM g^olu-, HIM r^olo-x, Brt r^olo-x 'abhor, be fastidious; reject', WrO {Krg.} g^olo- 'reject, be dissatisfied, neglect, despise', Kl h^ol- id., {Rm.} g^ol- 'mit etwas unzufrieden sein, ausmustern' ¶ MED 359, Ms. H 90, Krg. 314, KRS 166, KW 150, Chr. 156 || pJ {S} *k^ər^əp^ə- → *ku^ə- 'endure' > OJ k(w)orapa-, J: T koraé-, K/Kg k^or^əè- ¶ S QJ #887, Mr. 712 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2655 (pA *g^lòlo 'be unhappy, endure'; incl. M, J).

616. *g^ulE 'go (away), start going (away), set out' > K *g^{wa}l- 'go!' (used in inv. only) > OG g^{wa}le 'go!' (inv.), Sv (← G?): UB {FS} g^{wa}le, {TK} g^{wa}l, L {FS} g^{wa}l 'go!' (FS: 'geh, mach dich auf!') ¶¶ K 60, K² 28, FS K 78, FS E 81-2, TK 179, Top. Sh III 69 (Sv ← G) ||| HS: S *[√]g^lw 'depart, leave one's place\country, be sent away (out of one's country)' > BHb ג^לל^ל [√]g^lw^ly (pf. ג^לל^ל g^ālā) 'leave; go into exile', ג^לל^ל g^ālūt

'exile', JA ✓g|w|y (pf. גָּלָה gā'lē ~ הָלָה gā'lā) 'go into exile, go away, disappear', JEA גָּלָה ✓g|y G vi. 'emigrate, go into exile; withdraw', Sr ✓g|w (pf. gā'lā) 'go into exile, flee', Md ✓g|ʔ D v. 'exile, send away, banish', gluta 'exile, banishment', Ar ✓ǧ|w G (pf. جَالَّ ḡalā) 'go forth, emigrate', Sh (pf. أَجْلَى ʔaǧlā) 'cause to emigrate' (drought, etc.), 'emigrate', Jb C {Jo.} ✓g|ʔ ~ g|w|y: ʕg'tɔlɔʔ 'move from one's place', e'goli 'shift (animals) from one place to another', e'gle vt. 'shift from one place to another', Gz tagalgala pf. 'was taken into exile', Ak {Sd.} NA/NB galû 'go into exile' (← Aram?) ¶ KB 183-4, KBR 191-3, BDB 162-3 [#1540], Js. 248, Sl. 286, Br. 115, DM 92-3, BK I 319-20, Hv. 96, Jo. J 74-5, L G 190, Sd. 27, DRS 120-1 || B *✓g|H 'go, go away' > Ah aǧal (pf. iǧla. < pB *yā-glah) 'go away (partir, s'en aller)' (Fcj. 25 = Pcj. I A 7, pattern {Pr.} *-BCih/-BCah), ETwl, Ty ɛǧlu ({Pr.} *ǣǧlu) 'partir, passer, continuer son chemin' (Pcj. I A 7), Gh taǰali 'départ', Kb {DI.} jlu (= {DI.} g|u) (pf. yā-jla) 'go'; ? Izd {MT}, Tmz AH {MT}, CM {NZ} gulu 'arriver, parvenir à' ¶ Fc. 241, 2001, Crt. 24, GhA 51, DI. 254, MT 152, NZ 767-8 || ʔ C: EC *gal- 'enter, go home' > Sml gal- ǰ gel-, Bs, Brj gal-, Rn gel-, Bn kal- 'enter', Or gal-, Kns, Gdl kal- 'enter, return home', Dsn gāl 'go and spend the night', Arr gal- 'enter a house, go home', HEC *gal- 'stay overnight' > Sd, Ged, Kmb gal-, Hd gār- id. | DhI {EEN} gāliy-, {E, To.} gālij- 'go home' || C ɔ→ Mb -gale 'go home' ¶ Bl. 182, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. B 76, AD SF 61, PG 124, Grg. 161-2, Hw. A 359, E SC 235, EEN 31, To. DL 499, To. D 133 (Dhl gālij- ← Or) ¶¶ OS #879 (*gal- 'go, enter') || A: Tg *gūli- 'set out/off' > Orc gūli-, gūlin-ɜ- 'set out, go away', Ud gulin-ɜ 'set out', Ork, Nn gūlin-, Ewk PT gūlisin-, Ewk {Cs.} gūlina-, Lm Ol/P gūlan-, Lm O gūlɜn- id., 'move on (to a new place)' (of nomads) ¶ STM I 170 || U: FU *kulke 'move, go (on land or on water), stroll' > FU: F kulke- 'go, walk, travel, wander', Es kulge- 'proceed, take one's course, pass' | pLp {Lr.} *kolke- vi. 'run (of water), float, roam, wander about' > Lp: L {LLO} kâl'kâ-, N {N} gq|gâ- id., S {Hs.} gâlgedh, Kld kolke- 'flow' | Er kolge-, Mk kolgâ- 'drip, run' (of liquid), 'leak' | Prm: Z k+vt-, Z Δ k+lt- 'swim (with the stream)', Z Δ k+lal- 'swim/travel on water (with the stream), float, drift on water', Yz {UEW} kAlt- 'flow (with the stream)' || pOs *kɔʔal- > Os: V qɔʔal 'walk, step (schreiten)' (↔ 'run'), D χoχət, Kz χŵχəʔ- 'run' | OHg halad- 'vorangehen', Hg halad-, Δ hallad- 'go, make way, advance, go on,

proceed, travel' ¶ UEW 198, Coll. 26, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kulkī-, Ugr *kũlkĩ- 'run'), Lr. #442, Lgc. #1896, Hs. 552-3, Ker. II 64, LG 149, Trj. VD 148, MF 525, EWU 516-7 ¶ Both Coll. and UEW adduce the Sm stem of Ne T xу"лaсь 'be friven by the stream', but since U *-l- is not preserved in Sm, while -l- of the Ne form belongs to a sx., the comparison of the underlying Sm {Jn.} *ku- vi. 'treiben' with FU *kulke- is not reliable (≠σ,φ).

617. *gũT̄A 'dwelling, (→ [in descendant lgs.] house') > **U:** FU *kũl|]ä 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *K̄uT̄'ä' 'clan, village') > F kylä, Es küla 'village', F Δ külä 'dwelling, house' || pLp {Lr.} *kɜlɜy- v. 'visit, pay a visit' > Lp: L {LLO} kal'jē, N {N} gâli'i-, I {TI} kollī-, Kld kɜll̄yeδ id. || Vg: T kül, LK kʷäl, P kʷäl, käl, Ss kol 'house' ¶ Coll. 93, UEW 155-6, Lr. #303, Lgc. #2343b:2, TI 105 || **A** *gũ:|∇ (or *-ũ-) 'dwelling, cottage' > T *k̄il ~ *k̄ül 'house, home' > Tk gil {Deny} 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', Xzr (in names of towns): Es-kil, Es-gil (lit. 'old city\|village'), Σαρ-κελ שרכיכ *{šarke|il} (lit. 'white city'), Yk kũlä 'porch (сени), covered passage in a building' (unless from Tg), ? Chv kil, Δ kül 'house, dwelling' ¶ Rm. EAS I 48, Rs. W 270, Deny GLT 347, Ash. VI 208-9, VII 69, Fed. I 291-2, Gomb. BTL 200 || Tg *°gũle > Ewk gũlɜ 'dwelling, house, hut' ¶ STM I 171 || pJ {S} *kùrà 'shed' > OJ kura id., J: T kurá 'go-down, warehouse, store-house, cell, cellar', K kùrà, Kg kùrá id. ¶ S VL 218, S QJ #259, Mr. 464, Kenk. 1108 ¶¶ S l.c. (pA *gũ:|∇ or *-ũ-), DQA #575 (A *gũlì) || **HS:** EC: Sml {R} gɔl 'Zimmer, Stube', {DSI} gɔl 'piega nella parte anteriore della futa, dove le donne usano mettersi oggetti', {R} gɔla 'eingeschlossener Raum, Gemach, Stall für das Vieh', {ZMO} gɔle 'enclosure, chamber; meeting place', Or Wt {Sr.} gɔla 'room', Or {Grg.} gɔla 'innermost private part of house', Or Wl {Brl.} gɔla 'ambienti separati in capanne Galla per diversi usi; stanzino; cella; camera', Sd {Gs.} gɔllɔ 'stable, cowshed, manger; inside of'; EC -b→ Wl {C} gɔollē 'house'; EC → EthS: Gz gɔl 'stable, crib, manger', Tgr gɔl 'stable' ¶ R SS II 168, DSI 271, ZMO 164, Sr. 314, Gs. 27, Grg. 177, Brl. 179, LG 189 || Ch: ECh: Ke kulī 'village, house', Kwn, Smr kùlù, Ll kúl 'hut' (× N *K̄uT̄'ä' 'clan, village', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The delabialization *ü > *i in T *k̄il ~ *k̄ül (< N *gũT̄A) needs investigating ◇ IS MS 341 (*gũlɔ 'жилище'; U, Tg).

618. *gũLâ 'bend, be crooked' > **IE:** NaIE *g̃h̥wel-/*g̃h̥ul- id., 'go astray' > OI 'hvaratē 'goes crookedly, goes astray, deviates',

hvalati 'gerät auf Abwege, strauchelt', hvalā- 'das Irren', Av zbar-go crookedly', Prs zūr 'false; liar' || L fall-ō / -ēre / fefelli / falsum 'deceive' || Lt pa-žvīl-ti 'sich neigen', pažulnūs 'sloping, slanting', Ltv zvaltītiēs 'to reel, to stagger', 'wanken, schwanken' || Sl *zъlb (f. *zъla, ntr. *zъlo, dadj. zъlb-jb) 'bad, wicked' > OCS зъль zъlb id., Blg зъл, SCr zъo (f. zla, ntr. zlo, aadj. zli), Slv zъl, Cz, Slk zlý, P zly, Uk злий id., R злой (pradj. зол) 'wicked, cruel, angry' || Gk φορκός 'bandy-legged' ¶ WP I 643-4, P 489-90, ≈ M K III 619-20, Frn. 23-4, 560, Glh. 692, Vs. II 99-100 || HS: Ch: WCh: Gmy/Cp {ChL} kuł, Ang saɾ-kuł, Kfr {Nt.} dá-kùl 'left (gauche)' || CCh: Mf {BLB} gúlá, MfG {Brr.} gùlà, Lgn M {Bou.} gèlì, Ms {ChL} gulu, BnnM {ChL} gula id. || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} kàb gùlà, Kbl {Cp.} kàbi-gùlà, EDng {Fd.} gèlè id., Ke {Eb.} gùlà 'links', Mgm {JA} nù-gìlá 'left hand', nùgùl 'gaucher; de gauche' ¶ ChC, ChL, BLB 158, Brr. MG II 124, Eb. 53, JA LM 112, 153 || ?σ S *√gɫɪd (< d. or cd.?) > Ar √ǧɫɪd D 'renverser' ¶ BK I 317, DRS 131 || K: G Kzq glun-i '(am Ende) gekrümmter Stock (zum Spielen)' ¶ Chx. 198 || A: M: [1] {Rm.} *ogulu-yi- > Kl {Rm.} gulī- 'seinen Kopf seitwärts wenden, schief sein, schielen (mit den Augen)' ¶ KW 154 || [2] M *gulǰa- 'bend' (× N *gûLǰ∇ 'bend, twist', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #99b (IE, Ch, M + unc. EC *gur- 'left').

619. *goɦl∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > HS: WS *√ghl v. 'glow as coal' > Hb ga'helɛt 'glow of coal', pl. ga'hā'lim id., Ar Yǧayhal, miǧhal 'stick for raking coals', Amh gāla v. 'be red-hot' ¶ KB 180, KBR 188, Rb. AWA 26, Uld. 169, DRS 112 ¶ Here we reconstruct S *h (rather than *χ) because of the incompatibility of an initial *g and medial *χ in the same √ in pS || D *kōl- ({ǧGS} *gōl-) > Tl gōlincu, Gnd RSr gōlis- vt. 'fry' ¶¶ D #2246 || K: [1] *gwal- v. 'parch by its heat' (of the sun parching the soil) > G gval-/gol- id. || [2] GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.) ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || A ({SDM97} *gōl'a', {DQA} *gǰo|l'a 'burn' [tr.], 'fire'): M *gāl 'fire' > MM [MA] accus. غالى gālī (gāl-ī), [IsV] قال qāl ([gal]), [HI, S] qal (= [gal]?), WrM gal, HIM гал gal 'fire, conflagration', Kl, Ord gal, Dg galʷi ~ galʷb ~ galʷ, MMgl [Z] ḡāl, Mgl ṽā:l (ā: due to the impact of the Persian-Tajik labialization ā > ā: ~ ǝ), Mgl M ṽāl, Mnr H {SM} gar, Ba {T} xal, {Pot.} гал 'fire'; M *golumtan 'hearth' > MM [MA] golumtan id., [S]

ḥolumta golumta 'Feuerbecken, Herd', WrM golumta, HIM
 ГОЛОМТ 'fireplace in a yurt, hearth in a tent' ¶ MED 346, 359, T DgJ
 130, T BJ 149, Ms. H 87, H 57, 65, Pp. MA 174, 179, Lg. VMI 41, Iw.
 105, Pot. 411, KW 141-2, Rm. M 28, Wr. 177, S AJ 235 [#31] ¶ M *a is
 still to be explained (infl./reflex of the A final *-a, as suggested in
 DQA?) || Tg *gūl- v. 'glitter, kindle, light a fire' > Ewk ḡul- v. 'glitter,
 flash', Lm gūl-, Nn B gōla- v. 'kindle, light a (camp-)fire', Lm gūlū- v.
 'catch fire', Ewk guluwun, Lm gūlūn, Neg gōlowun 'a (camp-)fire', Orc
 gogžō(n-), Ul, Nn B gōlžō(n-), Nn Nh gōlžō, WrMc golon tuwa 'fires
 (by night in a road\field\camp)' ¶ STM I 169, S AJ 225 [#291] ¶¶ S AJ
 294 [#490] (*gūal-), SDM95 s.v. *gual∇ 'burn, fire', SDM97, DQA
 #526, Pp. VG 24, 75 | This N word may have semantically influenced A
 *ok'ül∇ 'ashes, cinders, charcoal' (< N *k'ü' | ʃ∇ [or *k'ü' | ʃ∇?] 'dirt,
 mud', q.v. ffd) || ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *gʰlō- (or *ḡʰlō-) 'coals, charcoal' >
 ON glóðr, AS ʒlæð, OFrs glēd, OHG gluot 'glowing coals, red-heat',
 NHG Glut 'embers, heat', OHG gluoen 'to burn, to glow', AS ʒlōwan
 'to glow', NE glow ||| Clt: W glo 'coal', Crn glow 'charcoal', OBr {SB}
 glaou id. (not confirmed by Flr.), Br glaou 'charcoal', MBr {Ern.} d.
 Glouher n. pr. (← 'charbonnier', cp. Br Δ gloaouaēr id. and W
 glōwr 'coal-miner, collier'), snglt.: W gloyn, MBr {SB} glouenn, Br
 glaouenn 'piece of coal' ¶ Vr. 175, Ho. 133, Schz. 153, OsS 338-9,
 Kb. 397, KM 263, SB 120, ≠ P 433 (unc. et. of the Brtt word), YGM-1
 235, ECCE 246, Ern. 261, Hm. 315 ¶ NaIE *gʰ|ḡʰlō- represents a
 metathetic variant **gōlʰ∇; the labiality of the guttural stop was lost in
 the precons. position ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #15 ◇ D *-l- suggests a N plain
 *-l- ◇ S NS #17 equates A *k'jalu (> T *k'ül 'ashes', Tg *xjal 'coal')
 with IE *ḡeul-/ḡuel- 'coal'. In my opinion, they go back to different N
 words (Altaic from N *gohl∇ 'fire, glow', IE from N *kûl∇ 'glowing
 coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook').

620. *gowlu (or *gowlü?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *ḡ^hel(u)- (or
 *ḡ^wel(u)-) 'deep; valley' > Blt: Lt gīlūs, Ltv dziļš, Pru (f. accus.)
 gillin 'deep', Lt ḡylis, gelmē 'depth', Ltv dzelme / dzelmenis
 'depth, deep place (in water)' ||| Clt: OIr glenn, Ir gleann 'valley', W
 glyn, Br glen 'valley', Crn glyn 'deep valley' ¶ Frn. 151, Kar. I 253,
 En. 177, Maz. PKP I 550, Thr. 215, ECCE 246, YGM-1 236 || HS: EC *gōlū
 'valley' > Af {PH} gōlo 'gorge into which a stream runs, valley', Or E gōlū
 'valley', Or gōla 'gorge', Sml gōl 'foot of hill', Gln/Gwd {AMS} kōlle,

Gwd {AMS} kollé 'river', Cm {Hab.} gōle 'small river', Brj gōlō 'slope', as well as possibly Or gōla 'corner, edge' and EC {Ss.} *geł- {AD} 'below, under, (?) deep' > Or žal-a (↳ Brj žálo), Kns, Gdl keł-a 'below, under', Hr, Dbs, Gln kalá 'under', kálu 'below', Sa {R} gale 'deep' ¶ Ss. B 83, 109, PH 115, Abr. S 94, Bl. 183, Th. 172, AMS 242, 275 || Ch: WCh: Hs gúlbtí 'river' || CCh: Dgh {Fk.} glág^wà, {ChL} gúlág^wà 'river' || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} kəłzmi 'deep' ¶ Eb. 67, ChC, ChL || ? B *√głmm > Ah āgālmam, ETwl agālmam, Ty egālmam, Tdq aḡālmam, Gh aḡālmam 'lac, bassin, mare', SrSn {Rn.} agg^wālmām, Izn ayālmām 'lake, pool, puddle', Shl {NZ} ag^wlmim 'mare, étang', CM {NZ}, Rf agālmam ɘ ayālmam ɘ aḡēlmam, Shw agālmam, agālmim id., 'abreuvoir, bassin', BSn gālmam 'small lake', Kb ag^wālmim 'pont d'eau stagnante, mare' ¶ Rn. 354, NZ 781-2 || S: Ar جَلْهَابٌ ḡilhāb- 'valley' (going back to a HS cd.?) ¶ BK I 319 || **A** *gōw_L∇_Llu 'valley' > NaT *Kōl id. > OT {DTS} [MhK] qōl 'valley, wadi', {Rs.} [QB] qōl 'lowland, river-bed', Tkm gōl 'lowland', Qmq qōl 'valley', SY qōl 'water-bed', Tv χōl 'dry river-bed', VTt qul id., 'ravine', Xk χōl id., 'valley', Qrg (in place-names) qōl 'river-bed, river valley', Sg/Shor {RL} qōl 'lowland, valley (without river)', Chg/ET {RL}, SbTt Tr {RL} qōl 'lowland, river-bed', QrB {Rs.} qōl 'small valley, brook' ¶ Rs. W 277, EF Q 43-6, TL 90, DTS 453, Rl. II 582-3, BIG 285 || M *gōw_L 'valley, river bed, river' > WrM ɡoυl, HIM ɣoɫ 'river, river-bed, valley', Ord ɡōl id., Kl {KRS} hoɫ ʏōl, {Rm.} ɡōl, Brt ɣoɫ 'river, middle', Mnr {T} ɡōl 'river', Mnr Nr {SM} ɡūōr 'river, valley with a river, or dry river-bed', Mgl ʏōl 'river bed' ¶ The absence of the expected final vw. in pM still needs explaining ¶ MED 362, SM 125, T 325, Rm. M 28, KRS 165, KW 149-50 || Tg: WrMc ɡolo 'middle, main deep part of the river-bed, valley; province', Mc Sb {Mrm.} ɡolo, {Y} /ɡola/ [ɡɔl] 'province' ¶ Z 341-2, Hr. 347, Klz. MS 182, Y #1032 || pKo {S} *kōr > MKo kōr, NKo kōl 'valley' ¶ S QK #683, Nam 51, 90 || pJ {S} *kura > OJ kura, kura-tani 'deep valley' ¶ S QJ #1604 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *gōw_L∇_Llu 'valley'), DQA #543 (A *gōblu 'valley'), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, T, M, Tg), STM I 160 (M, Mc) || **D** *kollī ({ǃGS} *k-) 'valley' > Ml kollī 'valley, corner', Kn kollī, kolle 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay', Klm kollī 'small stream with rocky bed', Tu kollī 'a bay' (the meaning 'corner, bend' may be due to contamination with a different √) ¶¶ D #1839 ◇ The expected initial cns. in IE is *g_L^w_L-. In the prehistory of Clt the labiovelar cns. is likely to have lost its labiality in the preconsonantic position ◇ Hardly here FU *kō∇

'crack, slit, gap' (> F kolo 'hole', Vt kwald- 'sich spalten', pOs *kɔ]-/*kɔ]- 'Spalte, Zwischenraum', etc.; see UEW 174-5) because of the cns. *-]- and for lack of typologically reliable semantic connection (⇔ Blz, LNA) ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 #86 (*gɔlHɔ 'heart' in K *gul- id. and A {IS} *gɔl'∇' 'middle'), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#94] (suggested to adduce Clt, WCh, and CCh + unconvincingly U).

621. ?₂ *gū|u_L?_J∇ (= *gū|u_L?_J∇(-m∇)?) or *gū|u_L?_JL∇(-m∇) '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > HS: S *^o√glm > Ar جَلَمَ ḡalam- (coll.), pl. ḡilām- {BK} 'espèce de mouton de Taïf (aux jambes hautes, dépourvues de laine); bouc; chevreau' ¶ Fr. I 298, BK I 318 || C: Bj {R} gūlāh 'female Sterpsiceros antelope' ¶ R WBd 95 || A: NaT *k'ūlmiz 'roe deer' (Capreolus) > OT QU külmiz 'female roe deer', Shor, Xk külbüs, Tv xγлбγс 'the male of the wild goat', Alt külmüs, Sg/Qb {RI.} külbüs, Tf hūlbūs 'male roe deer' ¶ Cl. 718, Shch. Zh 121, ET KQ 139, TL 153-4, Ra. 192, BT 99, BIG 95, RI. II 1479 ¶ STM II 264 ◇ NaT *k'- may be explained as going back to N *g...?. If the NaT cns. cluster *-lm- is ancient, the original *-í- cannot be excluded, hence the N etymon is to be formulated as *gū|u_L?_JL∇(-m∇).

622. *gɔl_L?_J∇ 'belly, entrails' > K *gul- 'heart, breast' > OG, G gul-i id., Mg, Lz gur-i, Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} gwi, L {TK} gu, Δ {K ← ?} guh- 'heart' ¶¶ K 66, K² 35, FS K 88-9, and FS E 93-4 (in all four sources *gul-); K p. c. (*gw_o-) (F in IS I 231 fn.), Schm. 103, Chik. 65-6, TK 181-2 || D *kōl- ({{GGS} *k-?) 'belly, entrails' (× N *k∇l_L∇_Jy∇ 'lumbar region'?) > Krx kūl 'belly, stomach, womb', Mlt {Drs.} kóli 'abdomen', Brh xōl 'womb, entrails'; D ⇨ OI ∧ kō'la- 'breast, lap', Prkr kōli 'breast, bosom', Lhn kōlī 'chest of an animal', etc. (F Tu. #3607) ¶¶ ≈ D #2244 (hyp. with a query: D ⇨ InA), ≈ Pf. 169 (the same hyp.), Tu. #3607 (admits that the word is originally not Aryan) ¶ To my mind, the D word was borrowed not from, but into InA at an early epoch (probably from the northern dialects of D, with which OI first came into contact) || IE: NaIE *g^hel-ond-/*g^hol-ŋd- 'entrails' > Gk χολάδες 'entrails, guts', χόλικες id. || SI *želqdb, *želqd-ькь, *želqd-ьсь 'stomach' > OR želudь, želudькь, RChS želudькь, R, Uk же'лудок, Blg же'лудьк, SCr žèludac, Slv želôdec, Cz žaludek ~ žaloudek, P żoładek id. ¶ P 435, F II 1108-9, ≠ Vs. II 44, Glh. 707 ¶ The lack of labialization in *g^h- still remains unexplained || HS: ECh: LI {WeibP} mú-gúlú, {Grgs.} múglú, Ms {ChL} mugula, Bnn {ChL} mōgũla, BnnM {ChL}

mugulna, Msm {ChL} mugul 'heart' ¶ WeibP s.v. mú-gúlú 'heart', ChL III
 ◇ The long vw. in D (and the short *e in IE) may point to a lr. after the
 N cns. *1. The loss of that eventual N lr. in IE (*gʰol-ŋd-) suggests that
 the lr. could be only *? ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 #86 (*gʰolHʌ 'heart' in K *gul-
 id. and A {IS} *gʰolʌ 'middle'). In the light of the facts known today, the
 A word is not akin to K *gul- 'heart', but belongs to N *gowlu (or
 *gowlü?) 'deep; valley' (q.v.).

623. ₂ *gʰo₁y₁∇₁l₁∇ 'pudendum muliebre' > HS: WS *✓gl̥s 'clitoris,
 foreskin' > Mh {Jo.} gʰl̥t, Jb E/C {ðJo.} giŋ¹ʰt 'clitoris' (assimilatory
 glottalization *-l̥- > *-ŋ¹-), Sr gʰalʌ¹t-ā 'foreskin', Ar جلع ✓ǧl̥s G
 'ôter\enlever le prépuce (dans la circoncision)' (× Ar ✓ǧl̥s G 'ôter
 l'habit, le vêtement') ¶ Jo. M 118, Jo. J 75, JPS 71, Br. 119, BK I 316,
 DRS 131, MiK I #1.76 || SC: Irq {MQK} gʰalāy (pl. gʰalē), {E} gʰalay,
 Qz {E} gilaʔiko 'vagina' ¶ E SC 372, MQK 42 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} gʰlé,
 {ChL} gʰul̥éy 'vagina', Msg {Mch.}, Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} gi'liŋ, Msg
 {Röd. → Lk.} 'gili 'pudendum muliebre' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. M 56 || D (in
 SD) *ko₁y₁∇₁lli ({ŋGS} *g¹-) 'pudendum muliebre' > Kn, Tl gʰolli, Tu
 ko₁yilæ id. ¶¶ D #2138 ◇ Blz. DA 155-6 [#37] (D, SC, Ch).

624. *gi¹h¹o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *gʰhel¹h¹ω¹-/*gʰhel¹h¹ω¹-
 ({EI} *gʰhel¹- ~ *gʰhel¹- 'yellow') > NaIE *gʰhel¹- / *gʰh¹lō- 'yellow, green' > OI
 'hari-h¹ 'pale, yellowish, greenish', Av za¹ri- 'yellow(ish), gold-
 coloured', Av za¹rita-, Phl zart, NPrs زرد zärd 'yellow, pale', زر zär
 'gold', KhS ysar- 'be reddish, yellow', ysarūna 'yellow, red', NPrs
 زريون zär-yūn {Sg.} 'yellow; green and pleasant', Sgd zrywn 'green';
 -> OI 'hiraŋyam, Av zaraŋya-, OPrs daraniya-, Sgd zyrn 'gold',
 KhS ysarrnaa- 'golden' ||| Gk χολή 'gall' (← *'yellow'), χλόη 'first
 green shoot of plants', χλωρός 'greenish-yellow, pale green' ||| L
 helvūs 'honey-coloured, isabel-yellow', (h)olus, -eris, † helus
 'culinary vegetable, pot-herb' (← *'green') ||| OIr gel, NIr geal 'bright,
 white', W gell 'yellow', OBr {Flr.} gel 'brun, roussâtre', MBr guel(l)
 (gell) 'bai, roux, brun', Br gell 'brown' ('brun, bai'); a Clt lge. -> L
 gilvūs 'pale yellow' (of horses) (Ert. ED 169-70) ||| ON gulr, OHG
 gēlo (aadj. gēlawēr), NHG gelb, OSx gelo, AS ŷeolu 'yellow', NE
 yellow ||| Ltv zelū / zel̥t 'become\grow green', Lt želiū / žēlti
 'grow, sprout' (of plants), Žeĩvas 'greenish, yellowish'; Lt žālias, Ltv
 zaļš, Pru saligan ({En.}: [zalyan]?) 'green' || Sl *zelenъ(jb) 'green' >

OCS **ЗЕЛЕНЪ** zelenъ, Blg зе'лен, SCr zèlen, Slv zelèn, Cz, Slk zelený, P zielony, R pradj. 'зелен, attr. зе'лёный, Uk зе'лений id.; pSl *zельje > OCS zeliје 'λάχανον, vegetables', OR zeliје id., 'potion', R 'зелье 'potion', Blg 'зеле, Cz zelí 'cabbage', SCr зѣлье = zělje 'greens; sorrel', Slv zélje 'grass' || \rightarrow NaIE (dial.) *g^hel-t-/*g^hol-t- 'gold' (\leftarrow NaIE forms that had lost *ə in the prevoc. position?) > Gmc: Gt gulþ, ON gull ~ goll, NNr gull, Sw, Dn gulđ, OHG gold, NHG Gold, AS ȝold 'gold', NE gold || Ltv zēlts 'gold', Lt E želtas 'golden, gold-coloured' || SI *zolto 'gold' > OCS **ЗЛАТО** zlato, Blg 'злато, SCr zlâto, Slv zlatô, Cz, Slk zlato, P złoto, R, Uk 'золото' ¶ P 429-30, Mn. 413-4, M K III 581, M E II 805-6, F II 1104-6, 1109-10, VI. II 126, Sg. 612-7, Gersh. AM 25, 29, Bai. 346-8, WH II 600, 639, 654, SB 112, Flr. 173, Ern. 296-7, Hm. 311, Dnn. 354, Ern. 296-7, OsS 296, 340, Kb. 325, KM 244, 264, Ho. 127, 134, Ho. S 25, Vr. 194, Hlq. 311-2, Fs. 224-5, Frn. 1287, 1296-7, En. 241, Glh. 694-7, Vs. II 92-3, 103-4, ≈ EI 654 (*g^hel- ~ *g^hel- 'yellow' with the var. *g^hel- based on Lt geĩtas 'yellow' [that in fact belongs to IE *g^whel- 'yellow, gall' > L fel 'gall', etc.]) || **HS**: S **√gl^h > *o√glw|y > Ar جلو√ğlw (pf. جَلَا ğalā) 'rendre brillant \ éclatant \ resplendissant', n. ğilā?-'éclat, brillant', and n. act. of √ğlw 'rendre brillant' ¶ BK I 320-1 || **U**: FU (att. in BF) *kī̄|√- v. 'glitter, shine' > F kiilu- v. 'glimmer, glisten', kiil-tä- v. 'shine, glisten', Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed', Vp kiłtata- v. 'shine (glitter, sparkle)' ¶ SK 191, ZM 205 ¶ The BF √ is ambiguous. It might alternatively belong together with IE *g^hel- 'bright; to shine', but the corresponding M and Tg roots indicate that the initial cns. was voiced, hence it is preferable to equate all of them with IE *g^helh^w-, which is confirmed by the long ī in BF (pointing to a presence of a lr. in N) || **A** ({DQA} *gīle- v. 'shine, glitter'): M *gilü-, *gila- > MM [MA] gile- in gilečikü hodut 'shining stars', WrM gilügen 'shimmering, bright'; WrM {MED} gilai-, {Rm.} gilai- ~ gilui- v. 'shine', Brt gilai-, HIM ğalay- id., as well as possibly M *gilulün > WrM gilun ~ gilün, Ord gölön, Mnr {SM} ǰilōn 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl giləg 'smooth, shining' ¶ Pp. MA 172, MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 || Tg *gil-, *gīl-ta- ~ *gil-te- vi. 'shine' > Ewk PT/Brg/Y/Np giltana-, Ul giltən-, Nn Nh/B giltən-, Sln gilūtə- id., Ew Ucr/Chmk geltan, Ewk Brg giltas adj. 'shining', Ork giləmji 'shining' (of eyed), WrMc giltaxun, giltari 'shining, clean, bright' ¶ STM I 151-2 || pJ {S} *kīrā- 'shining, glittering'

> OJ *k_Li_Lirà-k_Li_Lirà* id., J: T *kíra-kíra*, K *kírà-kírà*, Kg *kira-kíra* 'glitteringly', T/Kg *kira-mék-*, K *kírá-mék-* v. 'glitter, glisten, sparkle' ¶ S QJ #805, Mr. 708, Kenk. 969 ¶¶ DQA #510 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as *h (which is the only N lr. that both yields *a in NaIE and is liable to be lost in S [between vowels], later yielding Ar -ʔ- in certain hiatus positions) ◇ In some lgs. we observe the meaning 'smooth' (Lv *kīlaz*, M **gilu|ūn*), either resulting from an independent metonymic change (smooth things [such as ice] are shining) or induced by words going back to the paronymous N etymon **gU_LE_LhU* 'be smooth') ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [#84] (**gi^rh_u* = **gi^rh_u* 'smooth and shining': IE, FU, M, Tg; *÷ words for 'smooth' [our N **gU_LE_LhU*]) ◇ Gr. II #337 (**kel* 'shine') (IE, U, and A [all = IS], J + qu. Gil).

625. **gU_LE_LhU* 'be smooth' > IE **gh₁eh^ω-d^h-*/**gh₁h^ω-d^h-* 'be smooth', {Ei} **gh₁ehd^h-(ro-)* 'smooth' > NaIE **gh₁ōd^h-*/**gh₁ad^h-* 'be smooth' > L *glaber* 'smooth, without hair, bald' || ON *gladr*, OFrs *gled*, OHG, MHG *glat*, NHG *glatt* 'smooth'; the semantic variant ON *gladr*, OHG, MHG *glat* 'shining, glänzend', AS *zlae|aed* id., 'glad, pleasant', NE *glad* is due to the infl. of (or goes back to) the reflexes of N **gi^rh^o* 'to shine, to glitter' || Lt *gluodnūs*, *gluōdnas*, *glodūs* '(uo < *ō < *eh^ω) 'smooth', {Fm.} *glódžiu* / *glósti* v. 'polieren, schleifen, glätten', Ltv *glāstu* / *glās(t)īt* v. 'stroke, caress', Pru *glosto* 'whetstone' || Sl **gladъ* > SCr † *glad* 'smooth'; Sl **gladъ-kъ* (jъ) id. > OCS *гладъкъ* *gladъкъ*, Blg 'гладък', SCr *glāđak*, Slv *gládek*, Cz, Slk *hladký*, P *gładki*, R, Uk 'гладкий', Uk *глад'кий* id.; caus. v. Sl **gladiti* 'make smooth' (→ v. 'iron, stroke') > OCS *гладити* *gladiti* id., etc. ¶ P 431-2, EI 529, WH I 603, OsS 335, WW 115, Kb. 325, Lx. 73, KM 260, Ho. 132, Frn. 158, En. 179, IS I 230, Bern. I 300-1, ESSJ VI 114-7 || HS: WS **√g₁h* 'be bald' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA *𐎧𐎡𐎧√g₁h* *D* (caus.) 'cut\shave the hair', Ar *√ǧ₁h* (pf. *جَلَجَ* *ǧalaha*, ip. -*ǧlah-*) 'lose one's hair on both sides of the head', (pf. *جَلَجَ* *ǧalaha*) 'eat away the bark of trees, leave the tree "bald" (without bark)' (of camels), *ǧalah-* 'boldness on both sides of the hair', Gz *√g^ωh* (pf. *g^ωalaha*) 'be shaved', Tgr *√g₁h* *G* 'be bald, shave one's hair', Tgy *√g^ωh_y* (pf. *g^ωelhayə*) 'raser la tête (pendant la période de deuil)' ¶ KB 185, KBR 193, GB 141, Sl. 285-6, Js. 247, Ln. 441-2, BK I 312, Hv. 94, L G 191, LH 441-2, DRS 123 || C: Bj {R} *g^ωal^aʔa* 'baldness

in the fore part of the head' || K *^oglu_uω₁- 'smooth' > G glu, glu_v-i 'smooth, even', glu_v- 'be smooth' ¶ Chx. 198, DCh. 324 || U: FU *kü]∇ 'be smooth, slippery' > Prm *gūlit > Vt g+l+t 'smooth, slippery', Z g+l+d 'slippery, slipping (скользящий)', 'good for skiing \ driving in a sledge' (of snow-covered ground) || ?? Lv kīlaz 'smooth, covered with ice' (× N *giT'h'o 'to shine, to glitter', as suggested by the final -az, common with Es -as [Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed']) || pOs *kū]ə ({[Hl.} *kū]ə) 'smooth, slippery' > Os: V/Vy kō]i, Y kō]i, Nz qū]ə, Kz qū]i, O qū]i ¶ UEW 156, Coll. 80, LG 84, Stn. D 625, Hl. rHt 71, Tv. FUI 54, Kt. 133 || ?φ A: (× N *giT'h'o '↑') M *gilu]ūη 'smooth, bright' > WrM gilurη ~ gilūrη, Ord g_ölöη, Mnr {SM} žilōn 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl gilæg 'smooth, shining' ¶ MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 ◇ IE *g^h- (rather than *g^{ωh}-) because of its preconsonantal position ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [#84] (*giT'h'o 'smooth and shining': S, K, IE; *÷ words for 'shining' [our N *giT'h'o]).

626. ₂ *gūL]∇ 'bend, twist' > HS: S *^o√glz > Ar √ğlz G 'plier, ployer, rouler; tortiller, tordre avec force' ¶ BK I 314, DRS 122 || B: [1] *√glz > Rif sə-gillaz 'bouleverser' || [2] ?σ B *√glz > Kb glilaz, Wrg glillaz 'se rouler, se vautrer sur le sol'; SB with the px. *z∇-: Ah zə-ğğalallah, ETwl, Ty zəgallulaz, Gh pf. isžalalaz 'se rouler dans la poussière' ¶ Dl. 258, Pr. H 41 [#100], Fc. 435, Dlh. Ou 96-7, NZ 791 || A: M (× N *gūLâ 'bend, be crooked?'): *gulžayī- v. 'bend' > WrM gulžai-, HIM гулзай- id., d.: [1] Kl {KRS} हुлжи- gulži- 'be bent\crooked', {Rm.} gulžī- 'seinen Kopf abwärts oder seitwärts drehen' (vom Pferde), Ord {Ms.} gulžī- 'être recourbé en bas; laisser pendre la tête', [2] WrO gulzuu 'turned, twisted', Kl {KRS} हुलзу gulzū 'twisted' (adj.); M *^ogulžagayī > WrM gulžagai, HIM гулзгай 'awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; M *gulžagar > WrM gulžagar, HIM гулзгар 'bending under its own weight', Kl {Rm.} gulžiŷār 'schiefhalsig; schiefäugig; schief (nicht gerade aus), sich seitwärts biegend' ¶ MED 367, KRS 168-9, KW 154, Krg. 319, Ms. O 312.

626a. ₂ *gA]∇ 'wind (ventus)' > HS: ECh: Smr {J} gālē, Nd D }J} gāl, Tmk {Cp.} gāl 'wind' || Lai: Kbly {Cp.} kà]z, Ll {Grgs.} kà]ó 'wind' (a [reg.?] devoicing *g- > Lai k-) ¶ ChC || D: [1] *kā]i 'wind' > Kn gā]i, gā], Tu gā]i, gā]i, Knd, Ku gā]i, Tl gā]i 'wind, air', Kdg ga]i, Klm ga]i, Nkr ghā]i, Nk ghā]y, Gnd gāl 'wind'; ? [2] Tm kāl 'air, wind', Ml kālū 'wind' ¶ D ##1499, 1481 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#97] (suggested to equate Ch

with D and erroneously with T *kał-, sc. with OT {Cl.} qalıq 'air, atmosphere, [visible] sky', sc. 'space above the earth' [in fact derived from OT qalı- v. 'rise in the air', see N *kał'h'i 'high; be high' and Cl. 620]).

627. *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter') > K: GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *gohı∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn' [trans.]) > OG gual-, G gval-/gol-, Mg golop- 'be' (of drought), OG gualva, G gvalva 'drought' ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || HS: EC *gi:ı]al- 'dry season, winter' > Sml {DSI} žılāl 'stagione secca; stagione di siccità e carestia; inverno', Sml N {Abr.} žılāl 'dry season', Af {PH} gilal 'winter', Sa {Wlm.} gılal 'highland harvest season' ¶ DSI 344, PH 113 || A: T *K'ÍÍ 'winter' (× N *gi'ı∇#, ?∇'d'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' [q.v.] or its initial component *gi'ı∇) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV qıš, Tk kıš, Tkm, Az qıš, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, Alt, Xlj qıš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qıs, VTt, Bsh qıš, Uz, ET qıš, Xk χıs, Tv, Tf qıš, Chv xěл xьл 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341-2 ¶ Possible contamination with (or infl. of) T *Kö'ı- (> NaT *Köš-) 'feel cold' (see N *kü'ı∇ or *kü'ıE 'cold; to freeze') ◇ The delabialization N *u > T *ı occurs in several N words and needs further investigation. It is not necessarily explained by the infl. of N *gi'ı∇ ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equates GZ *gwal- with A *k'olıla 'get\make dry', see N *Koxıa 'be dry').

627a. *gUh'ıE '≈ canine animal' > HS: B: Ah {Fc.} a-gūlah 'male wolf' (< *gūı∇β < N *ogUh'ıE bA with *bA of animal names?) ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95, NZ 779 || C: Bj {R} ga'lāb (pl. ga'lab) 'striped hyena' < N *ogUh'ıE bA || SC: pRt {E} *gwehela 'jackal' or 'dog' > Kz {E} gwehela 'jackal', Brn {E} gwehera, Alg {E} gwihira, gwehera 'dog' ¶ R WBd 95, E SC 328 || Ch: WCh: Grn {Jgr.} g'ulúm 'hyena' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} kúıım id., ? Mtk {Sb.} ηgəléηgəlé, ?? Glv {Rp.} ηgelaxbáğəvə, {ChL} ηeləxəğəvə id. ¶ Jgr. 185, ChL, ChC || K: GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG mgel-, G mgel- ~ gel-, Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- ~ gwer- ~ mžwer- 'wolf' ¶ K 130, Chik. 87 ¶ The initial *m- is a nominal px. || A (≈ *gö'ıe'k'∇ 'young canine, whelp' [or 'young mammal?']): M *gölüge (× N *gol∇ 'foetus, baby') > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüge 'pup (young dog)', HIM rəłəg id., 'kitten', Ord {Ms.} gölöğö, Kl {Rm.} gölgə, {KRS} rəłr göleg 'young animal', esp. 'young dog', Mnr H {T} gəlğö, Mng Nr {SM}

g_uōrg_uō 'pup, young dog'; these M words have also the meanings 'sprout, shoot', but in the light of the T cognates these must be secondary sds.; WrM {MED} gölügele-, HIM гөлөглө-х, Kl gölg]-xə v. 'whelp' ¶ The M element *-ge may be connected with the M dim. sx. *-qan/*-ken (F Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, Kow. 2602, SM 143, T 323, KW 137, KRS 146 || T *k_l'ōšēk > Blgh ⇨ Hg kölyök 'young of an animal; whelp, puppy, kitten' || NaT *k_l'ōšālek 'a young animal' > OT {Cl.} köšāk id., MQp kōšek 'camel colt', Tk köşek, Tkm kōšek, Az köšāk, Ggz, Qq köšek, Uz Δ {Shch.} küšāk, küšälāk id., Osm XIV köšek id., {Rl.} 'young of an animal' ¶ Cl. 753, Shch. Zh 106, ET KQ 126-7, Rl. II 1305 ¶ T *k' < A *g- regularly (IS AG 339-42) ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, 78, IS AG 341, DQA #898 (A *k|gōšī|e(k∇) 'young of animals') ¶¶ The pA semantic component 'young' is probably connected with the dim. sx. *-k'.

628. *gií_l∇#_l∇'d'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' (and *gií∇ 'ice, frost') > IE: NaIE *g^helad- 'ice, hail' > NPrs ل_رآل žāl , ه_رآل žāle 'hoarfrost, dew; hail', Tj жoлa 'hail, dew' (acc. to Rast. SGZIJ 107, *-ld- > pIrn *-rd- > NPrs and Tj -l-) || Gk Hm χάλαζα n. 'hail' || Sl *želd- > OCS ж_лѣ_ди_ца žlědica 'frozen rain', Slv žlěd 'ice-covered ground, Glatteis', P žłódź 'frozen rain, ice-covered ground', Uk оже'леда 'rain with snow, ice-covered ground' ¶ WPI 629-30, P 435, EI 287 (*g^hel_h₂d- ~ *g^h](h₂)ed- 'hail'), Vl. II 175 (NPrs ه_رآل 'hail'), BM 265, Sg. 636, Horn 152, RTdS 187, 975, F II 1065-6, Mikl. E 407-8, Brü. 665 || HS: S ✓gld 'freeze' > Ar ✓ğld (pf. ج_لد ğalida) 'be frozen' (of ground), ج_ليد ğalīd- 'hoarfrost, ice', JA {Trg.}, JEA ג_לי'ד-ā, MHb ג_לי'ד ğalīd 'ice', Sr |ج_ليد ğalī'dā 'ice, crystal', P_{ag}lī'd-ā 'ice, frost', NNEA {Orh., DRS} |ج_ليد glīdā 'ice'; in the S lgs. there is secondary association and sometimes coalescence with the root *✓gld 'be(come) hard' ¶ BK I 313-4, Hv. 95, Lv. I 331, Sl. 287, DRS 118, JPS 70, Orh. 86, DRS 119 || A: [1] A *gií_ld_l∇ 'cold' > Tg *gil'd'∇ 'cold' > Ewk gilli 𐎂 gildi, Neg gullgd_l ~ gull_lst, Lm gildā 𐎂 gilrā 𐎂 gilla adj. 'cold' (of a liquid), Ud {Rm.} gilihi adj. 'cold' ¶ STM I 151, Krm. 222 || [2] A *gií∇ > T *k'í 'winter' (× N *g'U'í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.); it may go back to N *gií∇ without the second N component *P∇'d'∇, as in pCK {Md.} *P'īl 'ice, block of ice' (Md. ECK 42) ¶¶ DQA #511 (A *g'í'ò 'cold') ◇ The IE velar *g^h- is quite

reg. In the framework of AD's theory on N vowels in the IE prehistory (AD NGIE and NVIE) it is explained as follows: N *gíí- > pre-IE *g^hǫj̥l- > *g^hǫl- (loss of glides before a sonant) > IE *g^heɫ- (*ǫ is transformed into the apophonic vw.). IE *g^h...d for the expected *g^h...d^h is still to be explained (ds.?).


629. ₂ *g^rA¹m∇ (and *g^rA¹mɛ∇?) 'altogether, full' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓gmm 'be full; gather' > Ar ✓ǧmm (pf. ^{جَمَّ}ǧamma) id., 'be filled up' (of a well), 'collect in a well' (water), 'fill', Ar Mgr ✓ǧmm D 'remplir la mesure jusqu'au bord', possibly also BHb 𐩦𐩣𐩪 ǧam, Ug g m, M'b, J'd g m 'also'; [2] (+ext.??): WS *✓gmɛ (× S ✓gmɛ 'fist, handful' < N *g^oɛm∇ - *gomɛ∇ 'hand, fist') > Ar جمع ✓ǧmɛ, Mh ✓gmɛ (pf. gūma, sbjn. yǝgmē ~ yǝg¹mɛ?), Jb C gīɛ v. 'gather', Ar ǧumɛ- 'totalité, le tout' ¶ BK I 321-2, 326-9, HJ 225, KB 187-8, KBR 195-6, OLS 147, Jo. M 120, DRS 141-3 || B: Shl gum, 3m igum 'be enough', Kb ǧǧamǧam 'être plein à ras bord' ¶ NZ 797, 799, Dl. 259 || C: HEC *gumʔa 'all' (for phonetic reasons hardly from Ar ǧumɛ-) > Hd, Kmb guʔma 'all', Sd {Gs.} guma- vi. 'assemble, gather' || SC: Brn {Blz. ← ?} g^oŋ 'all' ¶ Hd. 19, 280, 319, Gs. 133, Blz. RL 256 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gam 'fill, be(come) full' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} gam id., Su {J, Hf.} gam, {IL} gàm, Tal {IL} gàm 'full', Su {J} vt. 'fill', Ang {Lax} gàm id., {Flk.} gam vt. 'fill, complete' || BT: Dr {Nw.} gámì, Pr {Frz.} kémò 'fill' (*g- > Pr k-), ? Bl {Lk.} gom- 'zusammentreffen', ? BT *ŋ-g∇m- > Ngm {Sch.} ŋgama 'full', Bl {IL} ŋg^wómáni 'full', Krkr {Sch.} nǰámú 'fill', Gera ŋgùmtì-mí, Glm {Sch.} ŋgànd-álà vi. 'be full', vt. 'fill', Grm ñàm-tǎ 'fill'; ? Pr kómú-rày 'everybody' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gám 'also' ¶ JI II 156, ChC, J S 66, Hf. AG 24, Flk. s.v. gam, Nw. K 125, Lax 113, Sch. BTL 87, 119, 137, 144, Lk. PPB 135, Frz. P 36-7, Eb. 50 ¶¶ OS #888 (*gam- 'be full': S, WCh) || A *g^rǎ¹m- 'all, filled in' > Tg *ga¹ɿm ~ *gemu 'all': *ga¹ɿm > Orc gām 'all (of them), every, all kind of', WrMc ǧanɿi 'all (of them, of him, of it)'; *gemu > Ork {Pt.} ɣэм ǧэм ~ ɣым (? : there is no Ork phoneme ы) 'all of them, all, everything', WrMc gemu 'all (of them), altogether (alle, insgesamt, sämtlich)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gem, gemu 'alle, alles, sämtlich, insgesamt', {Y} /gumə/ [gum] 'all', Jrc {Kiy.} gemur 'altogether', gemur ina 'all of it' ¶ STM I 138, 179, Pt. JO 72, Z 301, 321, Hr. 334, 343, Klz. MS 177, Y #2816, Kiy. 138 [#757], 145 [#841], S AJ 207 [#2] (Tg *gemu) || pJ {S} *kám- 'be filled in, stuffed' > OJ kòm-, J: T kóm-, K/Kg kòm- ¶ S QJ #865, Mr. 712 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #496 (A *gèmo 'to complete,

to fill in'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ It is hard to decide if the basic HS √ is *√gm or *√gmɤ, hence the N etymon may be either *g¹A¹m∇ or *g¹A¹mɤ∇ (*g∇mɤ∇ being less probable, because the cluster *mɤ is more likely to undergo as. to *ɲɤ that the cluster *m + approximant *ɤ). We cannot rule out the possibility that the N word with *ɤ and that without it are two different words.

630. *g¹e¹m∇ 'strong, firm' > HS: S *^o√gmm > Ar √ğmm (pf. جَمَّ *ğamma*) 'be abundant', 'be rich' (of vegetation), ?σ Jb {DRS} gimm 'abonder, se collecter à nouveau' (water after being depleted) (×√gmm 'gather') ¶ BK I 321-2, Hv. 97, Jo. J 76, DRS 141 || Eg: DEg {Er.} gm 'Kraft, Stärke', Cpt: Sd бом сом, B зом зом 'force, power' ¶ Er. 580, Crn. 330, Vc. 340 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gam- 'be strong' > Su {J}, Ang {ChL} kam, Gmy {ChL} kəm || Krkr {Stl.} n-gam, Tng {J} kwamɪɪɪ 'firm' (*g- > Tng *k- regularly) || ? Hs gamza 'strong man' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#674] (AG, Krkr), ChC, ChL, J T 187 || U *k¹e¹mä > FU *kämA 'hard, firm' > F kämä 'stiffness, rigidity, inflexibility', kämeä 'thick, firm' || Er keme, Mk kemä 'hard, firm' || Hg kemény id. || Sm: Slq Ke/NP {Cs.} kôm, Slq B {Cs.} kûm 'zäh, hart', Slq LTz {KD} qōmen, Slq Tm {KD} qōm id., Kms {KD} kom·d¹ām vt. 'harden', bāzā kom·d¹ām 'harden iron', {Cs.} komdeām, komdlām '(Eisen) härten' || pY {IN} *kim- 'strong, firm' > Y: K {IN} kimžī- v. 'fight' (-žī- is an iterative sx.), kimžāš- 'stand firm (psychologically), крепиться, мужаться', K {AD} kimji-k inv. id., 'bear up!' ('крепись'), {Jc.} (Jc. JR) kimžeck 'stand firm, take heart\courage' ('крепиться, мужаться'), {Ang. ← Jc. [texts]} kimdeš-, kimdieš- 'fest bleiben' ¶¶ UEW 137, Coll. 87, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *kämä, Ugr kämä- 'hard'), MF 349-50, ERV 251, Cs. 121, 181, 232, DK 32, Ang. 117, Jc. JR, AD YN, IN 227, 306, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#20] (Y ← U) || D (in SD) *kēm- ({GS} *k-) 'strong, hard' > Ml kēmam 'strength, solidity', Kn kēmā 'callosity, as that of a wart' ¶ D #2003 ◇ The correspondence between FU *ä and D *ē is irregular; it may be suggested that FU *ä goes back to U *e (as. *e...ä > *ä...ä), cf. pY *i ◇ Blz. SNE #2 (U, D, ? Hs) ~ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. Ch, Eg, D).

630a. ₂ *gUm∇ 'heavy' > K: Sv: UB, LB, Ln gwämi, Ls gwami 'heavy' ¶ TK 179, Ni. s.v. тяжелый, GP 93 || HS: CCh: Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} gumá, Msg P {Trn.} gзма, Mbara {TrnSL} gímáy, Mlw {Trn.} gîmâ 'heavy' ¶ TrnSL 262, Trn. LDM 24, Trn. LM 90, ChC, ChL ◇ Connected

with N *g'e'm∇ 'strong, firm'? ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. K and Ch; does not distinguish this etymon from N *g'e'm∇ '↑').

631. *goʃm∇ ⇨ *gomʃ∇ 'hand, fist' > HS: WS (or CS) *✓gmʃ 'hollow\closed hand' > Sr  gāmāʃatā 'handful, fist (manipulus, pugillus)', Ar جمع 'gūmʃ- 'fist, back surface of the fist' ('poing, poignée, main fermée; partie extérieure de la main, les doigts étant fermés)', ? Jb {DRS} ʒīʃ, 'yama, 'yami, yāmʃah 'fist' ¶ Br. 121, BK I 327, ≈ DRS 143 || C {AD, HL} *ganaʃ- 'hand, palm of hand' > Bj R ganʔa id., Bj A {AD} tu 'ganaʔa 'palm of hand' ||| EC: pSam {Hn.} *gaʃām 'hand, arm' > Sml gaʃān, pl. gaʃāmo, Sml J gāḥ, pBn *kàʔán > Bn Bi kaʔan, Bn J/Ba/K kaʔán; Bs gene 'hand, arm'; Elm {HL} gene 'hand', Kns kanʔā-ta, Gdl {HL} kana(ʔ)a-ta, {Ss.} kanaʃ-at, Gato {HL} kanʃa-te, Or Wt {Hn.} ganáʔ, Or BI {Sr.} ganā 'palm of hand', Hr/Gln {AMS} pl. kanáʃe, Gwd {AMS} kanʃate, Brj {Ss.} ganaʔ, {Hw.} gaʔnā 'palm\ball of hand', Sa {HL} ginnāʃ-ta 'palm of hand', Af {PH} gennaʃ, gennáʃa 'palms of hand, soles of foot' (snglt. gennaʃ-ta), Ya {HL} kinneʔe 'hand'; see also Sa/Af {R} gaʔmad (pl. 'gāmōd) 'hollow hand, fist' (but the Af word is not found either in PH or in Clz.) ¶ AD SF 316, Bl. 161, Hn. S 82, Hn. BD 111, Hn. W 62, R S II 156, R A II 59, Ss. B 77 (EC *ganʃ- 'hand'), HL 99 (C *ganaʃ- 'hand, arm'), PH 112, Sr. 310, AMS 167, 207, 247, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 178 || U *kom∇(r∇) 'hollow hand' > pLp {Lr.} *kōmērē 'handful' or sim. > Lp: Kld {TI} kuzmmeř 'handful', N {N} goabmer 'the two curved open hands put together to receive\catch sth.' || ?? F kahmalo, kamahlo, Vp kamahʔ d kahmaʔ d kahmā, Es kamal 'hollow of one's hands', Lv kōmal, Lv W kâ:mal 'handful'; -hm- in F and Vp and the vw. a may be due to the infl. of the BF verbs represented in F kahmaa- 'blindlings greifen' and F kahmi- 'nachschnappen, хватать'; it is tempting to suppose that this h is a trace of N *ʏ, but in the light of U comparative phonology such conjecture is not valid || Er komoro komoro, Mk komop komər 'handful' || Z {W} kam+r id. || Sm {Jn.} *kāmā ~ *kemā (outstretched) arms' > Ne T сева id., d. севай 'armful', Ne O {Lh.} śēβ·aʔ·i, Ne F {Lh.} śie·mmā id., Slq Tm {KD} q'ā:m 'outstretched arms', Slq Tz d. qō'mal- v. 'embrace', Kms {KD} d. q'ā:məru' 'outstretched arms'; ? ⇨ Sm *kām∇r- (~ *kām∇l-, *kem∇l-) v. 'embrace' > Mt {HL} *kāmər- 'umarmen, mit beiden Händen umfassen' (Mt M {Sp.} камырнама 'I embrace') ¶¶ UEW 175-6 (rejects the BF cognates), Lr. #472, Lgc. #2639, TI 134, Ker. II 65, Kt. 149, ZM 175, Jn. 63-4, KKHU

164, KD 24, HI. M #464 || ?φ A {DQA} *kòm̄po 'fist, wrist' > Tg *kombo- 'wrist, ε part\bone of the hand\forearm' > Neg kombox̄t 'wrist, metatarsus, radius (bone)', Orq qomũ 'wrist, funny-bone', Nn: Nh qombulo, KU qombu 'back side of the hand, wrist' ¶ STM I 409, On. 224, ADb. SR 260, 300-1 || pJ {S} *kəmpusi 'fist' > OJ kòbùsì, J: T kòbuśi, kóbuśi, K kòbúśí, Kg kobúśi ¶ S QJ #883, Mr. 453 || ?φ NaT *K'opa, *K'opa-k 'fist, wrist' > Qrg qobuq 'arthritis of metacarpus', Tb, QK qoboq 'wrist', Tv qowades, Tf {Cs.} kofadeš 'fist' ({DQA}: < *k_l'_lopa-adií) ¶ ADb. SR 194 (acc. to ADb, the Tv-Tf word may be a reborrowing of the Tk word from Tg and Ket, which is rejected by DQA) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #875 (A *kòm̄po 'fist, wrist'; incl. Tg, J, T) ¶¶ The change A *-mp- > T *-p- is not yet clear ◇ The devoicing of N *g- to A *k- still defies explanation (as. *g...p > *k...p or infl. of the A reflex of N *Ḳap'á' 'palm of hand, sole of foot?').

632. *gumb ▽ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill' > HS: C: EC: Sml gumbur 'small hill, low isolated hill', Dsn {To.} gummuti (pl. gummusam) 'hill', Rn {PG} gámbar 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gab ▽ (-|í ▽) 'head') ¶ ZMO 169, To. DL 501, PG 121, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gumb 'back', Ari {Bnd.} gemar, Hm {Bnd.} 'gEMER 'mountain, hill' || NrOm: Kf {C} gubb̄o, Mch {L} gúb̄bo 'back (dos)' ¶ Fl. OO 316, C SE IV 436, L M 29, Bnd. AL 155, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || ?φ CCh: Gdr {Mch.} 'gzb̄bo 'buttock' ¶¶ But Hb gab̄, Ug. gb̄, and JA gab'bā 'back' do not belong here (⇔ Blz. DA), but go back to S *gabb- 'top of sth.' (the back is the highest point of animal's body) < N *gab ▽ 'head' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FU (or FV?) *kump ▽ 'hill' > F kumpu 'hill' || Lp L {LLO} kåbbå 'Anhöhe, kleiner Berg, Hügel' || Mk kumba 'hummock. tussock' || ?φ pVg *kämp 'hill, heap' ({MK} 'Hügel, Haufen') > Vg: T/K {MK} kämp, N {MK} kamp ¶ LG 83, MK 190, ≈ UEW 203 (does not distinguish between this √ and U *kump ▽ 'wave') || D (att. in SD) *kump- 'back' > Tm kumpam 'upper part of the back between the shoulders', Ml Δ kumbi 'buttocks', Td kub 'back; behind' ¶ D #1747 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA #27 (D, HS, including [unc.] S *gabb- [presumably 'back'] and HEC *gōb- 'neck').

633. ₂ *gim_l ▽_l ċ ▽ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and\or nose' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh') > HS: S *√ gnç > Ak StB ∧ √ gnç G, Ak StB D (inf. gurnnuṣu)

{CAD} 'sniff, wrinkle one's nose', {Sd.} 'Nase, Lippen hochziehen', Sr {PS} ^{١٠}جُنَابِيّ ^{١١}gunāṣā 'derisio, subsannatio, irrisio'; ?σ Ar ✓ğnṣ D (pf. جَنَصَ ḡannaṣa) 'ouvrir\écarquiller les yeux (de frayeur)'; ?φ WS *✓km|nç > Ar ✓knṣ D (pf. kannaṣa) 'renifler, remuer le nez pour se moquer de quelqu'un', EthS: Gz kamsūs 'one who smiles', Tgr kəmsəs belə, Tgy kəmsəs bəle vb. clc. 'smile' ¶ The vl. k- in Ar and EthS still defies explanation (lexical attraction of a different word?) ¶ CAD V 40, Sd. 280, PS 755, BK I 339, L G 286, DRS 160 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gāmsú 'laugh' | NrBc: Kry {Sk.} үзмэцэ, Wrj {Sk.} үзnc-, My {Sk.} үamáʔs-, Mbr {Sk.} үзһʔsa, Jmb wumaš- id. | SBC: Bg {Sh.} kómás, Zr K {Sh.} gʷàmšé, Grn {Hrn.} ḡgánsí id. || CCh: Bu {Hf. from unprofessional records} kumší 'laugh, laugh at' | ? Gude {Srp.} wúsìn 'laugh' | Mtk ḡwas id. | Dgh {Frk.} ḡḡásá id., Glv {Rp.} ʷubas- 'laughter' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} gèmis, {J} gàmásé, Jg {J} gims-, Brg {J} gèmsí 'laugh' | Tmk {Cp.} gáǰ, Nd D {J} gásá id. ¶ Nw. #79 (Ch. *gamsə), JI I 108 (Ch. *✓gms₂) and II 218-9, Sch. DN 68, Sh. BZ 36, Hrn. G 46 [#265], Jgr. 186, Hf. B 260, RK 90, Cp. 60, Lk. ZSS 182 || **D** (in SD) *kič-/ *kinč- 'make a grimace by showing the teeth, grin' > Kt ḡinǰ- '(dog) shows teeth with a snarl', kičv- 'make a grimace (of derision, etc.) by opening mouth and drawing back lips', Kn kiší 'expand\open\withdraw the lips from the teeth so as to show them; grin', Tu kišɔ 'grinning, kiší-kiší 'a titter, laugh'; D b> InA *khiss- v. 'grin' ¶ D #1510, Tu. #3889 ◇ Lack of as. *-mç|ç- > *-Nç- in Ch (and EthS?) suggests the existence of a vw. between the Inlaut cnss. and its loss in the prehistory of S and D.

634. *gʷu¹m₁∇₁ç¹∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend' > HS: S *°✓gmç|θ > Gz ✓gmç v. 'incline, bend', Tgr ḡmçuy 'crooked, perverted' ¶ L G 195-6 || ?φ,σ Ch {Stl.} *ḡuǰi-n 'knee' > CCh: Mdr {Mk.} uǰǰe, {Mch.} úkjə, Glv {Rp.} ʷunǰa, Gdf ḡʷíǰà, Dgh {Frk.} ḡʷíǰé, {IL} ḡʷíǰè, Gv {ChL} ḡʷíǰà, Nkc ʷunǰa id. || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ḡuǰǰ id. ¶ JI II 215, Stl. IF 193, ChC, ChL || **U**: FU *kʷu¹n¹ç¹∇ (or *ko|án¹ç¹∇) 'bent' > ObU {Ht.} *kūn¹ç¹ id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūšnā > Vg: ML {Mu.} khāšnē, K {Mu.} khāšnē- ~ khāšnā- 'elastisch, biegsam', N {Mu.} ḡāšnē, ML khasnā 'der elastische Teil des Holzes', Ss {Kn.} xūsna 'der aus Birkenholz bestehende Teil des Bogens'; ?? possibly Vg: T {WVD} kʷúšk¹-, MK {WVD} kʷāšɣ-, P {WVD} kōšš-, LL {WVD} kʷpašš- (= kʷašš-) '(seinen Kopf) neigen, sich verbeugen'; pOs {Ht.} *kuńç- > Os: V/Vy/Ty quť-, D χuńť-, Nz/Kz χűś, O χuś 'obere Birkenholzlage am Bogen' ¶ Ht. 153-4 [#298], MK 112, WVD

VII 130 || **D** *kunc̥- ({{ĜGS}} *k-) '≈ low; to bow' > MI kuńcuka v. 'stoop, bow', Td kwic̥ 'humble, low', Tl kuncu v. 'depress' ¶¶ These words belong here unless they are connected with Tm kurur̥ku v. 'bend', MI kur̥kuka v. 'sink low', etc., as in DED #1474 and D #1767 ¶¶ ≈ DED #1474 ◇ The lack of as. *-m̥č̥č̥- > *-N̥č̥č̥- in HS suggests the existence of a vw. between the word-medial (→ root-medial) cns. and its loss in the prehistory of U and D.

635. *gʷā¹m̥₁∇₁śa '∈ waterfowl, ∈ bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *gʷhans- 'goose' > OI ham̥sa-h̥ 'goose', ham̥s-ī 'female goose, swan' ||| Gk χήν (gen. χηνόσ), Gk D/B χάν (< *χανσ, gen. *χανσόσ) 'goose' ||| OIr géiss 'swan' (< f. *gʷhans-ī ÷ OI ham̥s-ī) ||| Gmc *gans-iz (transformed into a noun with an *i-stem) > ON gás (pl. gæs), OHG gans (*i-stem), NHG Gans, AS ȝōs (pl. ȝēs) 'goose', NE goose (pl. geese); Gmc *gans-iz ⇨ Sl *gōsb 'goose' (an inherited word would have had an initial *z-) > Blg r̥c m., Slv gōs (gen. gosī), OCz, Cz Δ, Slk f. hos (gen. husi) f. 'goose', Cz (restructured) husa f. 'goose', P gęś, Blr rycb (gen. ryci) f. id., Uk rycb f. 'female goose', OR r̥cb gusb, R rycb m. 'goose' ||| Lt žas̥is (žãsi), Ltv zōss, Pru sansy ({{En.}: [zansi]) id. ||| with a sx. *-er-: L ānser (< *hānser) 'goose', Gmc: MHG ganzer ~ ganser 'male goose', NHG (with restructuring) Gänserich id. ¶ P 412, ≈ EI 236 (*gʷhan-s, "perhaps derived from *gʷhan- 'yawn, gape'"), M K III 571, M E II 799, F II 1094-5, WH I 52, LP § 26.10, Vr. 157, Ho. 135, OsS 261, Kb. 316, Lx. 53, KM 231, Frn. 1292-3, En. 242, ESSJ VII 88-9 (unconvincingly rejects the Gmc origin of Sl *gōsb), Bern. I 342-3 (recognizes this Gmc origin as a possibility) ||

HS: Eg MK ȝms ({{EG}} ȝmś) {Fk.} 'avocet (Pecurvirostra, a shore bird)', {{EG}} '∈ Vogel (mit aufwärts gebogenem Schnabel)' ¶¶ EG V 574, Fk. 322 || **A** {S} *gas∇ '∈ bird (∈ waterfowl?)' > Tg *gasa 'waterfowl, bird' > Orc gasa, Ul, Ork, Nn gasa 'waterfowl, duck', Ud gaHä 'bird, duck', {Krm.} gahä 'duck', Neg gasa 'swan', Ewk gasa 'crane', WrMc gasχa, Mc Sb gasχχ 'bird' ¶ STM I 143, S AJ 207 [#10], Krm. 221 || ?σ M *geske > WrM {Kow.} geske 'faucon/épervier qui a sur la queue et les ailes une raie blanche', Kl {Rm.} geskə 'Fischadler, weißgeschwänzter Adler' ¶ Kow. 2458, KW 135 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#338], DQA #484 (A *gasōi 'crane, aquatic bird') || **U:** [1] *kânś|ć∇ > Sm: Kms {Cs.} konzu? 'gull (Möwe)' | [2] ?φ *kaś∇ (or °-ć-) '∈ duck' > Prm *kuos∇ ({{Lt.}} *kuos∇) > Vt kwaśi 'male duck' ||| ObU *kās- > pOs *kas- > Os: V/Vy qas, Ty/Y qās,

Kz χῶς 'merganser', D χῶς 'a wild fish-eating duck with a pointed beak' | [3] ?φ FU *k^hō's∇ > Chr: L kos, E koso 'goldeneye (Bucephala)' | Prm *k^hō's+ś {/Lt.} k^hō's+ś) > Z kos+ś 'gray duck', Yz kūsīs 'merganser' | ?? F koskelo 'merganser (Gänsesäger, Gans-, Sägetaucher), Es koskel 'e waterfowl' (Prm *ō points to a pFU *ō) ¶¶ The adduction (UEW 111) of Slq (Slq LTz čeη kueče 'graue Wildente', Slq Ke kuētj ~ kuettjə ~ kodje, and Slq N kueč [in compound names of species of ducks]) is highly questionable for phonetic reasons ¶¶ Cs. 181, ≈ UEW 111 (*kać∇ ~ ? *kańć∇), 673, MRS 225, Ü 75, Lt. 51, Lt. J 139, LG 135, Trj. S 146 ◇ The lack of as. *-mS- > *-nS- in the prehistory of Eg suggests the presence of a vw. between the N word-medial cnss. ◇ Gr. II #182 (*ka(n)s 'goose) (IE, A, CK).

636. *gAn|ń∇ 'see, perceive' > HS: Ch {JS} *gan- ~ *gin- 'see' > WCh: Hs gání 'see, look at' | Tmbs {Sh.} à gīnī 'you see!' | ECh: Skr {Sx.} gēnīyē, {Lk.} géna-gō 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, Abr. H 298-9, ≈ Sk. HCD 77 | K: GZ *gen-/*gn- 'learn (erfahren), apprehend, understand' > G gen-/gn- 'learn, understand' (še-v-gen 'I learned, ich erfuhr', še-gn-eba {DCh.} 'to understand, to learn, to guess', {FS} 'erfahren, erkennen'), Mg gin-, g3n- 'understand, learn' (v-i-gin-en-k 'I understand, apprehend', ki-i-b-g3ni 'I learned [erfuh]', kī-gin-u 'he learned'), Lz gn- 'learn', {K²} 'hear' (n-a-gn-u 'er begriff', o-gn-u 'erkennen', o-gn-i 'I understood'), Sv (← G?) ma-mgān-a 'I suppose' ¶ K 63, K² 27-8, FS K 75-6, FS E 79, DCh. 1401-2 | D {Pf.} *kān- / *kañ- ({ʒGS} *k-) 'see' > Tm, Kn kān, Ml kānuka, Kt kañ-/kañ-, Td koñ-, Kdg kañ-, Tl kanu, Brh xanīṇ 'see', Tu kāṇṇṇsāvuni ~ kāṇṇṇisāvuni v. 'show, represent', Klm kaṇṭ, kaṇṭakt 'seen, visible', Nkr kank er- 'appear', Prj kaṇṭp- 'look for, seek', Gdb kaṇṭp- v. 'search', Krx xan- 'be pleasant to the eye' | possibly also D *kañ, *kañṇ, {Pf.} *kañ, {GS} kañ- 'eye' > Tm, Kn kaṇ, Ml kaṇ, kaṇṇu, Kt, Gdb, Knd, Mnd kañ, Td koñ, Kdg kañṇi, Tu kaṇṇṇ, Tl kanu, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd kan, Png kaṇṅa, Kyu kanu, Ku kan(n)u ~ kannū, Krx xann, Mlt qanu, Brh xan id. ¶¶ D ##1159, 1443, Pf. 2, GS 168 [#425].

637. *genû 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE *g^henu-/*g^henw- 'jaw, chin' > OI hanu-ḥ 'jaw', Av zanu- id. (attested: accus. du. zanva 'jaw from both sides'), Prt znx, KhS ysanuwa 'jaw-bone', ZPhl zānak ~ zanak 'jaw', NPrs زَنخ zānāḫ, Psh zana 'chin' | Phr α-ζήν (accus. α-ζένα)

'beard' ({EI}: < *h₁ŋ₂-ġen- '[that which] on the chin') ||| Clt (× IE *ġ|genu- < N *kǎñ₁y₂u [or *kǎñ∇yu['cheek, side of the face'): OIr ġin (gen. geno) 'mouth', W ġên (pl. genau) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} gen 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} guen 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} *genowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn genau, MCrn ganow, OBr, MBr, Br genou 'mouth' ||| Tc (× IE *ġ|genu- < N *kǎñ₁y₂u '↑'): Tc A {Wn.} śanw- (att.: du. śanwe-m, {Ad.} śanwe-m) 'jaw' ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2, M K III 576, M E II 801, Brtl. 1662, 1689, Vl. II 149, Sg. 624, Horn 118, Bai. 345, Mrg. 102, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, OsS 489, Ho. 49, Ho. S 41, KM 369-70, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1, Ad. H 110, ≈ EI 322 (OI hanu-h₂ < IE *ġenu- 'jaw' [unt. because of h-], see N *kǎñ₁y₂u 'cheek') ||| HS: C: Bj {R} ġe'nūn (pl. ġe'nin) 'jaw, jaw-bone', {BechG} gu'nūn 'jaw' (but Rop. translates the word as 'gum [of teeth]') ¶ R WBd 99, Rop. 136 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gen 'cheek' > Gmy {Hf.} ġen, Mnt {Hf.}, Kfr {Nt.} ġɜn, Su {J} ġén id. || BT: Gera {ChL} ġeni 'face', Dr {J} ġɜngá 'cheek' || NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} ġana 'chin', P' {MSk.} ġànčáka 'cheek' || Sbc: Sy ġúvŋ, Buli ġùŋf 'cheeks' ||| CCh: ZmD {KNC} ġín, {Srp.} ġin, ZmB {Sa.} ġĩn 'cheek', Lame {ChL} ġíní, LamP {ChL} ng^uen 'cheeks' ||| ECh: Mb {Lk.} ġín (pl. ġényó) 'forehead' ¶ JI II 68-9, 76-7, Stl. ZCh 218 [#678], Hf. AG 25 [#218], ChL I 72, 196, 208, III 197, 205, Lk. ZSS 182, KNC 8 || WS *✓ŋgn ~ *✓wgn > Ar ʔağn-at- ~ ʔiğn-at- ~ ʔuğn-at- {Fr.} 'gena, praesertim superior ac prominentior malae pars oculis et temporibus proxima', {BK} 'pommelte, partie saillante de la joue au dessous de l'œil', wağ(a)nat- ~ wağinat- ~ wuğnat- 'joue saillante', Ar Eg {DRS} wagna 'cheek', Ar O {DRS} wağna 'pommelte', Mh wɜgnēt 'cheek-bone', Hrs wɜgnēt (pl. wɜgēn) 'cheek', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'eğɜnt 'cheek-bone', Jb C {Jo.} ɔğɜn 'have prominent cheek-bones' ¶ Fr. I 16, BK I 14 and II 1494, Jo. M 424, Jo. H 134, Jo. J 288, DRS 493-4, ≈ MiK I #1.84 (S *gu/in-, *ʔ/w∇gn- '[area including] cheek-bone and eye-socket') || B (a root with an ext.?) *✓gnz 'forehead' > Sll {Ds.} i-ğɜnzi, Shl {NZ} ignzi, Tz {Stm.} i-ginzi, Dmn {Rn.} tagunza, Kb {Dl.} ta-g^wanza 'forehead', Ntf taunza 'frisettes du front' ¶ Stm. 188, La. MChB 112, Ds. 136, Rn. 356, Dl. 266, Dray 229, NZ 841 ¶¶ Blz. EDB 11-2 (Bj, Ch, B) ||| D (in SD) *keññ- ({ǧGS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm cenñi, cenñai, Tu kenni, kennæ id., Ml cenni, kenni 'temples', cennam 'jaw, cheek', Kt keyñ 'cheek just in front of ear', Kn kenne 'the upper cheek'; D ⇨ OI kenāra- 'temples, upper part of cheek' ¶ D 1989 ◇ In some of the descendant lgs. there was mutual infl. (sometimes coalescence) of the

etymon in question and N ***kǎn̄_Ly_Ju** 'cheek, side of the face' (q.v.) ◇ WS *ʔ- and *w- in *√ʔgn ~ *√wgn are likely to be due to the restructuring of the root in the derivational and phonetical prehistory of Semitic words ◇ ≈ Blz. DA #6 (D, IE, HS *gin, gun 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N ***genû** and N ***kǎn̄_Ly_Ju** '↑').

637a. *gʷoʔa'n ▽ 'much, big' > K: Sv: UB/Ln gun, L gūn 'very; plenty of' ¶ TK 176, GP 94 || HS: EC *gān- 'be(come) big' > Brj gān- id., gann-an-ē 'big', Kns kān- 'be left to grow big', Gdl kān- 'big', Dbs kāna 'big', kān- 'grow' || Dhl gāno 'big, large' || SC: Kz {E} kantaʔawu 'very', ʔσ Brn {E} goŋ 'all' ¶ Ss. B 73, 78, AMS 16, E SC 236 (pSC *gān- 'very, very much'), E K 14, To. D 133 || WS *√gnn > Ar √ğnn (pf. ğunna) 'become abundant \ dense \ luxuriant' (of herbage), Tgy √gnn G (pf. gēnēnē) 'be numerous\strong', Gz √gnn G (pf. ganna, sbjn yəgnən) 'become important', Tg √gnn G (pf. gēnnē) 'exceed the measure', Amh √gnn G 'être abondant, augmenter', Grg So √gnn (pf. gēnnēnē) {LRS} 'be very large', {L} 'exceed' (səməw yəgēnnēnē 'famous', lit. 'whose name is exceeding'), Grg Wl gēnē 'large' ¶ Ln. 462, L G 198, L EDG III 284, LRS 146-7 || ? WCh: Mnt {Nw.} kun 'big' || CCh: Nd D {J} gānâ 'thick (dense)' ¶ NwM CChPhL 241, 232, ChC || Eg fP grn '≈ angesehen sein, mächtig sein' ¶ EG V 173 || B: Shl gigan ~ kigan 'beaucoup' ¶ NZ 818 || IE: NaIE *gʷhono-s 'üppig, reichlich', *gʷhen- 'be abundant' > Gk εὖ-θῆν-λα 'plenty, prosperity' || Arm jnqñ yogn 'much, many' ({P}: < *i + *o-gʷhono- or *-o-gʷhono-) || ?σ: Lt ganā, Ltv gan(a) 'enough' | Sl *goněti > OCS **ГОНѢТИ** goněti 'be enough' || ?σ OI gha'na- 'dense, compact' ¶ EI 3, P 491, M KI 84, 357, FI 586-7, Frn. 132-3, ESSJ VII 22 || D: SD *kañ- '≈ heavy' > Tm kaña 'heavy, stout, abundant', Ml kanakka 'become solid, heavy', Td ken 'densely' (of shade) ¶ D #1404 || ?φ A: AdS of T *k'ēŋ 'wide, broad' (< N ***gānh** ▽ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy of vowels (C and D *-a(:)-, Sv u), the labial element in IE *gʷh- and the length of the vw. in EC and Sv L may be accounted for by a highly hypothetical N ****oʔa-** ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [#10] (incl. K, C, Ch, Eg, IE, D).

638. *gʷoʔiñ ▽ 'to beat, to strike' > IE *gʷhen-/*gʷhon-/*gʷhn-/*gʷhŋ- 'strike' > OI 3s prs. 'han-ti 'strikes, kills' (3p prs. 'ghn-anti, inv. ja'hi, pp. ha'ta-), 'hatya- 'Erschlagen', ha'tyā n. act. f. 'killing', Av ža'n-ti 'strikes', OPrs a-žanam 'ich erschlug, (→)

besiegte' || Arm **qawñ** gan (gen. **qawñi** gani) 'bastinado, blows with a stick\whip\lash', **qawñem** ganem 'I cudgel \ scourge \ whip', **qñem** žn-em 'I beat \ cudgel \ whip' || Gk **θέρνω** 'I strike', rdp. **ἔπεφνον** 'I killed', n. **φόνος** 'murder' || L of-fend-ō / -ēre 'strike, knock, dash against', de-fend-ō / -ēre 'repel, ward off, defend' (-n- is not an infix of prs., which is evidenced by the pfc. of-/de-fendi and the sup. of-/de-fensum) || OIr gonid '(he) wounds\slays' || Gmc *gunθijō (÷ OI hatyā 'Tötung' < *g^ʷh^htiā) > ON guþ-r, gunn-r, OSx gūth, AS Ʒūð 'fight, battle', OHG gunda 'fight' || Lt Δ ginčià (< *g^ʷh^htiā), Lt giñčas 'argument, controversy', giñklas 'weapon' | Sl *gon- v. 'struggle, harm' > SCr **прѣгон** & **prijégon** 'fight', *gon-oba, -obъ > Slv gonóba 'damage, ruin', Uk го'ноба, Blr Δ 'гонаб' 'annoyance, vexation' ⇨ Sl *gonob-i-ti 'to ruin, to harm' > Slv gonobíti id., R Δ гоно'бить 'to tire, to cause suffering' || Tc A {Wn.} **kuñac** 'fight, battle' ¶ It is possible (but not certain) that the BSl verb for 'chase, drive' (> Sl *žen-q / *gъna-ti id., Ltv dzenu / dzīt id., Lt genu / giñti 'drive [to the pasture]') belongs here as well, the underlying semantic development being 'beat' → 'push' → 'chase, drive away' || Ht kuen- 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld {Gsm.} qān-/qēn- in f-is-qān- v. 'destroy' ¶¶ WP I 679-81, P 491-3, EI 548, Mn. 379-80, M K III 575-7, M E II 800-1, Slr. 80-1, F I 657-8, Ch. I 425-6, WH I 332-3, Thr. § 756, Vr. 195, Ho. 140, Ho. S 29, OsS 357-8, Kb. 415, Frn. 152-3, ESSJ VII 24-5, 196-7, Tls. 433, Wn. 243, Pv. IV 206-12, Ts. EI 604-6, Gsm. LW 127 || **HS**: C: EC gan- 'beat, strike' > Sml {DSI} gan- v. 'strike, shoot, throw', Rn {PG} gana v. 'shoot; bleed an animal for food', Sd {Gs.} 'beat, strike, hit', {Hd.} 'hit', Ged {Hd.} gan- 'hit, whip', Hd {Hd.} gan- 'hit, thresh by driving ox', gan-am- v. 'fight' (lit. 'hit each other') ¶ DSI 254, ZMO 153, PG 121, Hd. 80, 241, 271, Gs. 112, AD VZ 211 || S: Ak Λ **gerū** 'to butt, to gore', ζ Gz {Dillm.} g^ʷanʔa 'thresh' (unless a misinterpretation of 2 Esdras 23.15, as supposed by L) ¶ CAD V 60-1, Sd. 284, Dillm. 1177, L G 196 || **A**: Tg: Ewk Uc **gunça-**, Ewk Z/Sm/Tkm **g3nç3-** v. 'punish' || T *k'iy-na- 'beat (so.), cause suffering' (× ← ζ T *Kiy- 'be difficult', if Qrg qiyit- 'make difficult\tormenting' is derived from it rather than from *qiy-n-) > VTt, Bsh qbyna- 'beat', Tv **χiy-na-** 'be difficult, torment', ET qiyni/a- ~ qizni-, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt qiy-na- v. 'torment, torture', Uz qiy-na- id., 'make difficult', Chv **хѣнѣ- хьнѣ-** 'beat, flog', ? Osm qiyin-, Tk **kiyir-** 'feel languor and aching in the limbs' (unless d.

from *qiy- 'cut'); T *kiyn 'punishment, torture' > OT qiy, OT QU qin ~ qiyin, MT [Tf.] {Cl.} qiyin, Chg qin id., XwT XIV qin 'pain, torture', Cmn XIV qin 'suffering, martyrdom', VTt {Rl.} qbybn 'punishment, flogging' ('Strafe, Prügel'), StAlt qiyin 'punishment, torture, suffering, oppression', Qry {KRPS} qiyin 'suffering', OOSm qin 'torture, pain', {Rl.} 'Qual, Plage', Qmq qiyin 'labour, work', Tk kiyin 'oppression, cruelty', Chv xěh xbn 'suffering, misfortune', T б→ OHg, Hg kín 'pain, torture, torment'; in some lgs. → 'difficult, complicated': VTt, Bsh qbybn, Qrg qiyin, ET qiyin ~ qižin 'difficult', Qmq, Nog, Qzq qiyin, Uz qiyin id., 'complicated', Qq qiyin 'complicated' ¶ Cl. 631, ≈ ET Q 218-9, Rl. II 718, 726, Rh. 1510, TatR 309, BR 355, BT 103, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 342-3, KrkR 379, Sht. 272-3, BN 122, Nj. 632, Gomb. BTL 95, EWU 753, Ash. XVII 21-4 ◇ The transformation of N *-r¹ʔi- into T *-iy- and the origin of Ewk 3 still need investigating. In IE the loss of the pre-sonantic *j (< N *ʔi) is a phonetic law. T *k'- < N *g...ʔ-. N *-ʔi- may be helpful in solving the problem of Ak e, because *aʔi regularly yields Ak ē (cp. S *raʔiŝ- 'head' > Ak rēš- id.). But why here the vw. e is short? ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #12 (N *g^on(y)∇ 'kill'; he suggested to add [unconvincingly] ʔ Hb/Aram ✓ gnʔ 'concussit', ʔ Eg gn.t 'wound, slit' [absent in EG; does he mean Eg gn 'gravieren, einritzen?'], and Kl {Rm. ← Zw.} gonḡ 'die Toten').

639. ₂ *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep' > HS: B ✓ gHn v. 'lie, sleep' > Ah {Fc.} aǧan (pf. i-ǧan) (Pcj. 30) 'être accroupi (les membres antérieurs et postérieurs repliés)' (of camels, oxen, etc.), ETwl/Ty aǧan (pf. ETwl i-gbn, Ty yə-gbn, Pcj. I.A.5) id., Tnsl ižbn 's'accroupir' (of a camel), Gh ažan 'kneel' (animal), Kb jan v. 'sleep, lie', Shl, Izd ✓ gn, Tmz Iz, ASgr {MT} gen ~ žen id., Zng {TC} egun 'baraquer' (of an animal) ¶ Fc. 452-6, 2002, GhA 55, 246, Pr. M VI-VII 102-6, Dl. 262, MT 158, NZ 816-8, DCTC 289 ¶ Pcj. I A 5 (= Fcj. 30) implies the presence of a lr. in the root *✓Ch∇C || Ch: BT {Stl.} *gand∇ v. 'lie down' > Bl {IL} gandi, {Lk.} gand, Maha {Stl. ← ?} gandi id., Dr {Nw.} gándè 'put down (a mat), lay down (a person)' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Stl. ZCh 246 [#39], Nw. M s.v. gandi, Nw. K 125, Lk. PVB II 135, ChC || D {tr., GS} *kaḡ- ({ʔGS} *k-) v. 'dream, sleep' > Tm kaḡavv- v. 'dream', kaḡā, kaḡavv n. 'dream, sleep', Ml kināvū, kana(:)vū, Kt kančn, Td konof (obl. konot-), Kn kana, kanasū, Kdg kenači, Tu kana, n. 'dream', Gnd kančk- ǎ kanžk- ǎ kansk- ǎ kanisk- v. 'dream', Krx xandr-, Mlt qandre v. 'sleep', Mlt qanqe- n. 'sleep' ¶¶ D #1407, Pf. 93 (*kan- < ka|n-), GS 158 [#392b], 32 [#38]

◇ D *-ŋ- (the usual reflex of N *-n- outside cns. clusters) suggests that the lr. was lost in pre-D prior to the change of N *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

640. *gūñ_hi ⇄ *gū_hñi (or *gūñ_ʔi ⇄ *gū_ʔñi) 'to think' > K *gon- 'think, (try to) remember' > OG gon- 'think' (me esre mgonies 'so I think', Rom. 8.18), gonebay 'understanding (Verstand)', G gon- (aor. -gon-e-) 'think, (try to) remember', gun-eba 'state of mind, thought', Mg gon-: mo-gon-ua 'to recall (sich erinnern), to make up (a story), to feign', Lz (n)gon-: mo-vi-ngonap 'I remember, il m'en souvient (припоминаю)', Sv gwn- ɖ gn- / gon-: {FS} li-gn-ew-i 'ausdenken, suggerieren, zu verstehen geben', aor. at-gon-w-e 'er suggerierte, er gab ein', Sv {TK}: UB li-gwn-ew-i, LB lignewi, L lignwi, Ln li-gon-äw-i msd. 'to invent' ¶¶ K 63-4, K² 31, GM S 288, IS I 284, Fn. KW-4 #5, ≈ FS K 81, ≈ FS E 87-8 (*gon- 'think'; *÷ forms belonging to K *gn- 'hear'), Chik. 262-3, Q 21, Marr 135, TK 429 || HS: Eg fP gr.t 'Andenken', Eg MK {Fk.} gr.wt 'records, annals' ¶ EG V 173, Fk. 290 || A: M *guni- > WrM guri-, HIM гүни- v. 'grieve, be afflicted\sad', Kl {Rm.} guñj- 'traurig sein, leiden, betrübt sein', Kl Ö {Rm.} guñjg 'Kummer, Traurigkeit, Langweile' ¶ MED 368, KW 155 || Tg *gūn- 'think, say' > WrMc guri- 'think, remember' (Rm.: 'denken, nachdenken'), Mc Sb {Mrm.} guni- 'denken, nachdenken', WrMc gurin, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gunin 'thought', Ewk, Neg gūn- 'say' ¶ Z 347-9, Klz. MS 184, ≈ STM I 171 || pKo {S} *kìñìr- 'take care of, look after' > MKo kìnìr'ù-, NKO kINIRI- ¶ S QK #754, Nam 66, MLC 232 || pJ {S} *kèñè-m- {Mr.} v. 'like, be fond of' > OJ kònòm-, J: T konóm-, K kónóm-, Kg kònòm- 'like, fancy, be fond of' ¶ S J #210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 || T *k'un '≈ thought' > VTt қон қбн 'attention, care', Alt/Tlt {RI.} qūn 'Geist, Seele, Wunsch', Bsh Δ қбнт, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz qunt 'attention, care', VTt Δ, Bsh қбнар, Qrg qunar 'usefulness', VTt Δ қбнбқ- v. 'get used, become accustomed', Chg {PC}, Alt, Tb {B} qunuq- 'grieve (about\for)', Tv qunuq- v. 'yearn', Chg {PC, RI.}, Tki {Zn.} qunuq 'sad, grievous', Tv qunuq id., 'impressionable, sensitive' ¶ ET Q 147-5, TvR 265, Zn. II 723, PC 440, RI. II 908 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 291 [#405]; ≈ S VL 218 (pA *gūñi- 'think': M, Tg, pJ), ≈ DQA #577 (A *gūno 'think': M, Tg, Ko, J, T) ◇ IS I 234 [#89] (*gū^rñi 'think'; K, A [T, Tg]) ◇ The long vw. in Tg suggests the presence of a N lr., that, acc. to the K data, may be *ʔ, *h, *ɸ, or *ħ. The Eg cognate favours the rec. of a N *h or *ʔ (the laryngeals most liable to be lost in Eg).

641. *gänh ▽ 'side (of sth.), width' > **K** *°gan- 'side, width; outside' > OG, G gan- id., G ganieri 'broad'; ?σ GZ *gan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG gan-, G ga(n)-, Mg, L gō- id., 'out of, from'; compound preverbs: K {K} *ga-mō- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ga-mō 'out of, from', OG, G ga-mō-, Mg, Lz gō-mō- id.; compound adv.: GZ *ga-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G gare, Mg, Lz gale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); K *°-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *°gänh ▽ nu 'from the side (of)' (*see* N *nu 'from, out of, of') (× N *°gay ▽ nu 'from the side', *see* N *gay ▽ 'side, outside') ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-3, 218, Dt. 14 ¶ This K √ may have contributed to the meaning and form of K *gan- 'outside' < N *gay ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || **HS:** WS *√ gnḥ > Ar جنج ḡinḥ- 'side, side of the road', جنج ḡunḥ- 'side, place at the side of a road (where people stop to rest)', جناح ḡanāḥ- 'arm, wing', Jb {Jo.} ḡenaḥ 'wing', Sq {Jo., DRS} ganḥ 'side' ¶ BK I 337-8, Jo. J 77, DRS 157, MiK I #1.86 || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} gangēfi 'edge of the higher area around a house, screen, shield', {E} gangzfi 'rim of hat' ¶ E PC #378, MQK 37 || Eg P ʒnḥ 'wing', ? Eg XVIII ʒnḥ 'leg or its part' ¶ EG V 577-8 ¶¶ MiK I #1.86 || **D** (in McTm) *°kān-al 'seashore' > Tm kānal 'seashore, salt marsh', Ml kānal 'sandy barren land' ¶ D #1508 || **A:** NaT *k'ēḡ (~ *k'āḡ?) 'wide, broad' > OT {Cl.} kēḡ, MQp XIV, XwT XIV keḡ, Chg ≥XV geḡ id., Tk geḡ, Az кен ḡen 'wide', Tkm ḡīḡ, Qmq geḡ, Blq keḡ ~ geḡ, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, Uz, Ln, SY keḡ, VTt, Bsh kiḡ, ET kāḡ, Yk {Pek.} kīāḡ, {Md.} kāḡ 'broad, wide' (Md.: T *ē > Yk ā after k-), d.: Tk geḡniš, Ggz geḡniš, Az ḡeniš 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 724-5, ET VGD 46-7, Rs. W 254, Pek. 1074, Md. 9, 167 ◇ T *-ḡ is probably a normal reflex of N *-nḥ-. The long vowels in D and T point to the loss of an ancient lr., while D *-ḡ- suggests that the loss of the N lr. *ḥ preceded the change of the N intervoc. *-n- into D *-ḡ-. The T vw. *ē (besides the expected *ā) still needs explaining.

642. *g ▽ n̄ ▽ b ▽ or ≈ *g ▽ n̄ ▽ b ? ▽ 'side, edge' > **HS** *ganb- 'side (of the body, of sth.)' > WS *ganb- id. > Plm gb id., Sr gab'b-ā, Ar ḡanb- 'side of man's body, side', BA gabḡ, gabb- 'side(?)', Mh, Jb C ganb, Jb {DRS} yanb 'side'; ⇨ WS *√ gnḥ v. 'put aside (auf die Seite bringen)' > Ar √ ḡnb G 'put aside (mettre sur le côté)', Mh ḡatnḥb Gt v. 'take so. aside from the group', Md √ gnḥ v. 'put aside, steal', Hb √ gnḥ G 'steal, take by stealth', Pun, IA √ gnḥ v. 'steal, rob', JA, Sr √ gnḥ G

'steal' → OA, IA *gnb*, JA, Sr *gannā'ḫ-ā*, Md *ganaba* 'thief'; Aram → BHb *gan'nāḫ* id.; Sb ✓ *gnb* v. 'be beside, se trouver à côté de' ¶ GB 145, 899, KB 163, 190-1, KBR 198, BK I 334-5, HJ 207, BDB 170 [##1589-90], OLS 142, Sl. 293-4, Js. 256-7, DM 77, 95, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, BGMR 50, DRS 150, MiK I #1.85 || C: EC **gabb-* ({Ss.} **gab-*) 'side; near, at' > Af *gabbe* 'side (of back)', Sml *gebi* 'riverbank', Kns *kapa* 'next to, near', Brj 'gaba, Hr, Dbs *kape*, Gln *kápe*, Gwd *kapa* 'side'; a variant EC **gamb-* may be represented in Af *gám̄bi* 'side, direction' (unless an Arabism) and in Or *gama* 'direction' || Ag {Ap.} **gap-* 'side' > Bln {R} *gaf* 'side of body, side, half', *gaba* 'side, riverbank', Xm {Ap.} *gɜwá* 'near', Q {R} *g(ə)ba* 'side, near', {Ap.} *gab-ɜl* 'near'; Ag → EthS: Gz *gabō*, Tgr *gəbo*, Tgy *gobo* 'side' || Bj {R} *gəb* ~ *geb* 'side', *gebi* 'near' ¶ AD SF 234 (C **g∇p̄(p̄)-*), Bl. 136, R WbD 87-8, Ss. B 74, 76, AMS 268, PH 109, Ap. AV 10, E PC #378 (Bj, Ag, Irq), L G 176 || ? Ch: Hs *gǎḫà* 'bank of a river or stream' (unless a sd. of Hs *gáḫà* 'joint, limb') ¶ Ba. 335, Sk. HCD 73 || ?? Eg √ *ωɜb* 'riverbank, riparian lands, sea-shore'; ? Eg [WCP] *gḫɜ* '(eastern, western) side' (unless a sd. of Eg MK *gḫɜ* 'arm') ¶ EG I 409, V 163, Fk. 76 ¶¶ AD SF 234 (C, S), OS 193 [##856] (C *÷ Hs, cf. S, Eg) || IE: NaIE **gʷaʷmbʰā* '≈ jaw' > Gk [Lyc.] *γαμφαί*, Gk *γαμφηλαί* 'jaws (of animal)' || amb Sl **gqba* 'mouth; jaws (of animal) (Rachen)' (× Sl **gqba* 'lip, mushroom' < N **kañ|mp∇* 'soft excrescence [lip, mushroom]', q.v.) > OCz *húba*, Cz, Slk, HLs *huba*, ULs *guba* 'muzzle, mouth', Blg 'rḫba, Uk 'ryba, P *gəba* 'mouth, muzzle', SCr Δ *gūba*, SCr d. *gūbica*, Slv d. *gōbəc* 'mouth (of animals), muzzle', R Vlg/Vt *ryba* 'chin' ¶ WPI 534; ≠ FI 288, and Ch. 209 (Gk *γαμφηλαί* 'jaws of animals', bf. *γαμφαί* ÷ *γόμφορ* 'bolt', *γομφίος* 'grinder-tooth'); ≈ Vs. I 468, ≈ ESSJ VII 78-80, ≈ Glh. 252 (refers Sl **gqba* exclusively to N **kañ|mp∇*) || U: FU **k∇mp∇l∇* > ObU {Ht.} **kīm(p)əl-* 'Saum, Rand' > pVg **kīmplī* > Vg: T *kiplī*, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL *kēpəl*, UL/Ss *kēmpli* id.; pOs **kiməl* id. > Os: V/Vy/O *kiməl*, Ty/Y *kiməḫ*, D/K *kimət*, Nz *kīmət*, Kz *kīməḫ* id. ¶ Ht. #272 ◇ Eg *gḫɜ* '(eastern, western) side', Ag {Ap.} **gap-* 'side' (acc. to AD SF 234, from C **g∇p̄(p̄)-*), and Hs *gǎḫà* 'bank of a river\stream' suggest a Ir. *? within the N etymon (to be reconstructed as ≈ **g∇n̄l∇, b?∇*). NaIE **gʷaʷmbʰā* '≈ jaw' (for the expected **gʰaʷmbʰ-*) may be somehow connected with the infl. of the N Ir. *? in ≈ **g∇n̄l∇, b?∇* ◇ IE **g...bʰ* (rather than **gʰ...bʰ* < N **g...b*) may be due to a kind of dis. similar to

the later obligatory dis. in OI (*g^h...b^h > g...bh) and in Gk (*g^h...b^h > *k^h...p^h > κ...φ).

643. *gændû 'male' > **Æ**: M *gendü(n) > MM gendü 'male animal', [S] gendü, WrM gendü(n) 'male of carnivorous animals; small male panther; male tiger', Kl {KRS} гeндн gendän 'male (of some animals)': гeндн ноха 'male dog', гeндн барс 'male tiger', {Rm.} gendŋ 'male (of any animal)' ¶ H 49, MED 376, Mub. 137, KW 133 || NaT *Kenṭü '(him/her/it)self' > OT {Cl.} kântü & kändü, Chg, Qp, OOsM kälendü, Ggz kendi id., Tk kendi, Δ {Rs.} kändü, ḡändi id., 'one's own', Yk kini 'he, she, it' ¶ On the ev. of Yk we have to reconstruct T *e rather than *ä (the Og lgs. do not distinguish between pT *e and *ä) ¶ Cl. 728-9, ET KQ 38-9, Rs. W 252, Rs. MTS 38-9 ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, ≈ KW 133 (M, T; *÷ Tg *ŋen 'dog' *÷ Kms men 'dog'), DQA #498 (A *gent∇ - *k- 'male, self') || **HS**: C: SC: Irq {EldM, MQK} g^wanda, Alg {EldM} g^wandù 'ram', Brn gondi 'male sheep' ¶ EldM 61, MQK 42 || B: Rif {Rn.} aganduz, Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ayanduz, Kb {Dl.} aganduz 'calf', Tmz {MT}, BSn aganduz ~ ayannuz 'veau (à sa naissance)', CM {NZ} aganduz & ayannuz, Snd agandus 'calf', Shw aganduz 'calf (2 years old)'; B ⇨ Ar Mrc {Bss.} ≈ ganduz 'calf', Malt {Aq.} gendus 'a bull, young ox'; the final -uz ~ -us suggests reborrowing of a Berber word from African Vulgar Latin (Afro-Romance) ¶ Rn. 356, MT 159-60, Dl. 264, NZ 827-8, Aq. BM 301 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.15] (SC, B) || ?σ CS (or Aram ⇨ Ar?) *gund- > IA F gnd[?] 'band, troop', JA گنداء gundā id., {Lv.} 'Heer, Schar', JEA gundā 'troop of soldiers', Md gundā 'army', Ar جند ḡund- 'comrades, body of warriors, army', 'any kind/species of creatures or created things, regarded as alone \ by itself' ¶ HJ 228, Lv. I 312, Js. 223, Sl. 269-70, DM 84, Ln. 400-1, BK I 338, DRS 153-4 || **D** {tr.} *kañṭ-, {GS} *gand- 'male (person, animal)' > Tm kañṭan 'warrior, husband', kañṭi 'buffalo bull', kañavan 'husband', Ml kañavan id., kañṭan 'male' (esp. of cat), Kt gañḍ 'male', Td koḍḥ 'Badaga husband', Kn gañḍu 'male sex, a male, man; strength, manliness', gañḍa 'strong manly male person, husband', Kdg kañḍa, 'male' (of dogs and wild animals), Tu gañḍu 'male, valiant', Tl gañḍu 'male' (of the lower animals), 'bravery, strength', Nkr gaṛek 'man, male', Mlt geñḍa 'male'; D ⇨ OI ∧ gañḍa-, gañḍīra- 'hero' ¶¶ D #1173, GS 25 [#8], 184 [#462] ◇ The semantic change 'male person' → '-self' (in T and Ar) has parallels in other lgs., such as Lt pāta, Av -pati- 'himself' from

NaIE *poti- 'husband, lord'. The vw. *u in S is probably connected with the N *û of the second syll. ◇ The T cognate suggests N *e, while D points to N *ä (or *a). ◇ IS I 226-7 [#79] (A, D). This discrepancy needs investigating.

643a. ₂ *gond∇ 'ε ant' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {LmS} g^wanden (= {R} gũn'dæn) 'ant'; Ag ↪ Amh ገ-ገዳገ gundan 'ε black ant' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gondā 'ε ant' ¶ LmS 380, Grg. 180, L A 214, R Ch II (s.p.) 47 ||| WCh: DfB {J} gándîf 'small red ant' | Dr {J} gúndám 'ant' ¶ J R 214, ChC ||| **D** *koñt- 'ε ant' > Gdb kondkī ~ kondke, Gnd gōde ≙ gōdo 'large black ant', ?? Klm kanḍa 'big ant' ¶¶ D #2096 ◇ Connected with N ≈ *gôtt∇ 'ant'?

644. *gän_L∇, 'p'∇ (~ *gän_L∇, p∇?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' (← 'thin trunk'?) > IE: NaIE *gǵomb_Lh₁- ~ *gǵomp- (< **g^hǵ^homp-?) ~ *oǵǵnob_Lh₁- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood' (× N *kañ|ñ∇(-t∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree', q.v.): [1] *oǵǵomp- > ON kumbr, AS cumbor 'wood-block', MHG kumpf 'sth. pruned, blunt (gestutzt, stumpf)', ? Nr Δ kump 'Klumpen', ? NNr {Ar.} kump 'meat dumpling' | [2] *oǵǵgenb_Lh₁-/*oǵǵonb_Lh₁-/*oǵǵnob_Lh₁- (× N *kañ|ñ∇ 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [→ 'log']) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', koppusteinn 'Rollstein', Dn kampesten id., NE chump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing-stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes, dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole' | [3] NaIE *ǵomb^ho-s 'tooth' (× N *kǵäbʔâ 'bite', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h 'tooth, tusk' ||| Gk γόμφο-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail', Gk γομφ-ίλο-ς 'grinder-tooth, molar' ||| pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhëmb, G dhamb 'tooth' ||| Sl *zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS зѣбѣ zqбѣ, Blg зѣб, SCr zûb, Slv zôb, Cz, Slk zub, P ząb, R, Uk зуб | Blt *žambas 'tooth' (↪ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zóbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. žam̃bis 'wooden plough' ||| OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kambr, NNr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb ||| pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369, 378-9, Vr. 334, 342, Ar. 411, 465, Ho. 54, 63, Kn. 534, ≈ OsS 500-1, Lx. 111, 118, KM 380-1, FI 319-20, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BES I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5, and XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-1, Glh. 699, 701-2, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slr. 254-5, Wn. 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, EI 594

(* \hat{g} omb^hos 'tooth', * \hat{g} emb^h- 'show the teeth, bite') || HS: C: Ag * g_3np- > Bln {R} genbi ~ gembī / pl. genfūf, Aw {R} gumb, gumbi, Xm {R} gi**b** 'stick, staff', but in the Q-Km branch with k-: Q {R, CR} kenbī 'stick, staff, rod', Km {CR} kembē, kām**b**ī 'stick, staff, pole' ||| EC: Sml {R} gambā**l** 'Keule, Totschläger', Qbn {L} gummá 'stick', Ya {Lm. ← ?} kuma 'club' ¶ R WB 154, R Ch II 44, R QW 84, R SS II 171, CR 214 || NrOm: Kf {C} gumbō 'long stick', Mch {L} 'gumbo, Anf {MYTY} gumbo, Dwr {L} gomba 'stick', Gm {Hw.} gūpé id., {Lm.} gūfe, Shn {Lm.} gum'ba 'club, stick' ||| SOM: Ari {Bnd.} gufa 'stick' ¶ Lm. Sh 309, C SE III and IV 444, LM 31, MYTY 117, Bnd. AL 159, Hw. EG s.v. 'stick' ||| D *kāmpo ({ \hat{g} GS} *k-) 'stalk, trunk, bamboo' > Tm kāmpu 'bamboo; flower-stalk, handle, shaft', Ml kāmpu 'bamboo; stem, stalk, stick', Kt ka'v, Ku kamba ~ kām**a** 'handle', Td kō'f 'hollow stem, handle of tool', Kn kāmu, kāvu, Tl kām**a** 'stem, stalk, handle', Gdb kāmē 'stalk of a spoon', kāmē 'handle of ladle', kanve 'stick', Kdg ke'mbi 'bamboo (≈ Oxytenanthera monostigma)', Gnd kāmē 'stalk of a spoon' ♪ kāmē 'handle of ladle', Ku kamba ♪ kām**a** 'handle' ¶¶ D ##1454-5 ||| U: ppU ≈ **kāmωE > FU *kāmE (/ *kUmE?) '(hollow) stalk' > F käämi 'winding-spool, quill' | Lp N {N} gâbme / gâme- 'long feather; stalk of a feather, caulis pennæ' | Prm * $g^{\hat{h}}m\check{\nabla}$ 'hollow stalk' > Z gum (gen. gumy-) 'hollow stalk; staff (of a flail)', Vt gum†, Vt Ur gūmo' 'hollow stalk'; the Prm vw. may go back to FU *ā with the labializing infl. of *m and/or the infl. of the labial element (*ω) of the next syll. ¶ Coll. 86, LG 82, ≠ UEW 422 ¶ The absence of the expected labial stop may be explained as follows: * $g\check{\nabla}n_{\check{\nabla}}pE$ > pre-U **kän|mωE > *kāmωE ◇ Qu. ◇ If the original N etymon is * $g\check{\nabla}n_{\check{\nabla}}p^{\hat{h}}\check{\nabla}$, the IE initial * $g^{\hat{h}}g-$ (rather than * $g^{\hat{h}}|g^{\hat{h}}-$) is accounted for by the IE law ruling out combination of an aspirated voiced stop and a vl. one in the same √ (** $g^{\hat{h}}|g^{\hat{h}}omp-$ > * $g^{\hat{h}}omp-$).

645. *gañt∇ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE * $g^{\hat{h}}end-$ /* $g^{\hat{h}}\eta d-$ 'hold, get, contain' > Gk χανδάνω (aor. ἔ-χας-ον) 'take in, hold, contain' (1s ft. md. χέλωμαι) ||| L *prehend-* (< * $praj-hend-$) 'lay hold of, seize, grasp' ||| OIr ro-geinn 'is contained, finds place in' (< * $g^{\hat{h}}\eta d-ne-t$), eNW {DvM} genni 'contineri, comprehendi, capi', W genni † 'to be contained' ¶ Not here Gmc **git-* (> NE *get*, etc., see N ***gätâ** 'grasp, take, possess') ¶ P 437-8, Mn. 319, 326-7, F II 1071-2, EM 803f., WH II 359, Vn. R 40, SB 111, YGM-1 233, ≈ EI 564 (* $g^{\hat{h}}e(n)d^{\hat{h}}-$ 'seize, take in'

with unj. *-d^h-) || U *kanta- 'carry' > F kanta-, Es kand- v. 'carry' || pLp *kōntē- 'carry' > Lp: L {LLO} kuoddē- id., N {N} guod'de-/dd- 'carry, bear', Kld {TI} kū^hnte- 'carry', S {Hs.} guōdd'e-me 'das Tragen' (← n. act. of *guōdd'edh 'carry') || Er кандо- kando-, Mk кандо- kandə- 'carry, bring' || pChr {Ber.} kondə- 'bring' > Chr: L/H канде- kande- id., Uf {Ü, Wc.} konde- id., {Ps.} 'tragen (*?), bringen' || ObU *kūnt-~*kīnt- 'carry (on the back)' > pVg *kūnt- 'carry' (> Vg: P/NV kunt-, UL/Ss xūnt-), pOs *kantəm- 'carry on the back' (> Os: V/Vy qantəm-, Ty qāntəm-, D/K xontəm-, Nz xontəm-); ObU *kūnt~*kīnt 'basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt- id. (> Vg: T kōnt ~ kōt, IK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt), pOs *kīnt id. (> Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qīnt, D/K xent, Nz xīnt) || Sm {Jn.} *kāntā-, {Hl.} *kanta- v. 'carry' > Ne T хана- съ, Ne F {Lh.} kānnāś, En {Ter.} kada-ś 'to carry', Slq Tz {KKIH} qənti- 'carry away', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. kūz'ndab_ id., Kms {KD} quń'im, quń'om, qundoϕam, qunduϕam 'I carry away', qundo'lá m 'I carry, bring, lead', Koyb {Sp.} куналдыгамъ, кунадлагамъ 'I carry', Mt {Hl.} *kandə- v. 'carry, drive (fahren)' (Mt M {Sp.} кандыямъ 'везу' [vt. 'ich fahre'], кандіямъ 'ношу' ['ich trage'], кандіямъ 'тащу' ['ich schleppe']) || Y: T {Krn.} qandeyl 'to accompany (проводить)', K/T {IN} qontə- 'carry away, lead away (относить, отводить)', K {IN RJ} хонто-м qontə- 'carry' ¶ UEW 124, Coll. 22, ≈ Sm. 538 (U *kānti- 'carry' > FU *kāntā-, FP kanta-, Ugr *kānta-, Sm *kān-), It. #21, Lr. #521, Lgc. #2863, Hs. 683, MRS 175, Ep. 38, Ü 73, Ps. OT 45, Wc. TT 56, Ber. 19, Ht. #292, ≈ Jn. 59-60 (Sm *kāntā- ← *kān- 'go'), Hl. M #415, KKIH 160, KD 34, IN 278, IN RJ s.v. нести, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#17] (Y ← U) || D (in NED only) *k∇nt- 'possess, purchase' > Krx xēnd- / xindyas v. 'buy, purchase', Mlt qende- 'take along with, possess' ¶ D #2001 ◇ ≈ AD LRC #136, ≈ IS MS 332 s.v. 'братъ' *kantā.

646. ₂ *gUñ∇ or *gUñ∇ 'male genitalia' > HS: EC: Dsn {To.} gun-u (pl. gunti) 'testicles' ¶ To. DL 501 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gññì (pl. gññàñín), Bd {ChL} gññān 'penis' || Pdl {ChL} g^ωùn, Tr {Nw.} gñ, Mtk {ChC} ηg^ωzn id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 60, Nw. WLT 38 || D (in SD) *ku|oññ∇ ({θGS} *k-) 'penis' > Ml куṇṇa, Kn Δ куṇṇe mar i, Kdg kuñṇe, Tu куṇṇæ id. ¶ D #1697 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#32].

646a. *gaη∇ (or *ga?oη∇??) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hηg^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' > Gk κοχώνη (< *καχώνā < *κηχ-) 'perineum', {F} 'Stelle zwischen den Schenkeln, Hinterbacke' ||

OI 'jaŋghā 'shank, lower par of leg', 'Unterschenkel', ja'ghanaḥ m. 'rear part, buttock, pudenda', Av zanga-, zānga- 'ankle', bi-zangra- 'having two legs', čaθβarə-zangra 'having four legs', Phl zang 'ankle, shank', Oss: I zāng, D zāngā 'shank' ¶ P 438-9, F I 937, M K I 411-2, Ab. IV 297 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} gîŋgîné 'cuisse' ¶ J LM 102 || D (+ext.) *kaŋt̥- 'flesh of thigh, flesh' > Kt kaŋt̥-po't 'flesh of hind thigh of animal', kaŋt̥-ka'l 'calf of leg', Kn kaṇḍa 'flesh, meat', Kdg kaṇḍa 'piece/lump of meat', Tl kaṇḍa id., 'flesh', Nkr kʰaṇḍe 'piece, piece of flesh', Gnd kʰāṇḍum & kʰāṇḍ 'flesh, mutton', Knd kaṇḍa 'meat, flesh, muscle'; in some D lgs. (esp. in Nkr and Gnd) there is contamination with the loan from OI khaṇḍa- 'piece' ¶¶ D #1175, Tu. #3792 || A: NaT *k'ōŋ > OT qōŋ ät 'muscle, firm flesh' (ät is 'flesh, meat'), Qzq {Cl.} qōŋ, qōŋ eti 'the thick part of the thigh', Qzq qōŋ 'croup of a horse', Qrg {Jud.} qōŋ 'the soft flesh of the thigh', Qrg T, ET qōŋ 'hind part, hind quarters', Tv qōŋ é't 'meat without bones' (é't 'meat'); T → KI χoŋ 'thick flesh of the croup' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 58-9, DTS 456, Jud. 403, Nj. 606, ≈ Rs. W 280 (T ← M) || M: [1] ?? WrM {Cev.} qōŋgu, HIM {Luv.} хонго 'fleshy rear part of the thigh', Kl {Rm.} ch χoŋgā ~ χoŋgā 'buttocks'] [2] M (+ext.?) *qōŋzu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' (× N *koŋ'z'∇ 'crotch', q.v. ffd.), Kl d. χondaσχo 'flesh of the thigh, rump'] [3] M *qondulayi > WrM qondulai, HIM хондлой 'rump, hip', Kl {Rm.} χondaḷā id., muscle, thigh', Brt хондолой 'buttocks' ¶ MED 962-3, KW 185, Chr. 583, Cev. 689, Luv. 536 ◇ The unexpected M *q- (for *g-) and the T and M vw. *o (for the expected *a) may be explained if we suppose the existence of an internal lr. *ʔ and *o within the N etymon (*gaʔoŋ∇) that will account both for the A devoicing *g- > *k- and for the A vw.

647. ʌ ≈ *gūξaŋ'o' 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call', etc.) > IE: NaIE *gʰwen-/ *gʰwon-, {EI} *gʰwono-s 'a sound, voice' > Arm ճայն 'voice, sound, cry (shout), noise' (< *gʰwon-yi-) || pAl {O} *žana, {Huld} *zan (gen. *zan-i) > Al T zë (pl. zëra), Al G zâ (pl. zana) 'voice' || pTc {Ad.} (?) *kene > Tc: A kaŋ, B kene 'melody, tune' || pSl *zvǔně-ti 'to ring' > OCS звѣнѣти zvǔněti, Slv zvenéti, Cz zníti, Slk zniet', R зве'нетъ id., Blg (prs.) звини'я v. 'ring', pSl *zvонъ (~ *zvono?) 'ringing, clanging' > OCS звонъ zvонъ, McdS звono, SCr zvōn, zvōn, zvōno, Slv zvōn, Cz, Slk zvон, P dzwon, R звон, Uk (д)звін ||] variant stems **gʰwengʰ- ~ **gʰwenk- in

BSl: Lt *žvėng-ti* (1s prs. *žvėngi u*), Ltv (← Cur?) *zvaņdzināt* 'to neigh', Lt *žvangėti* 'to clank, to clang, to ring, to tinkle, to clatter'; Sl **zvǫkъ* 'sound' > R, McdS *звук*, SCr *zvok*, Cz, Slk *zvuk*; Sl **zvękъ* > Blg *звек*, McdS *звек*, SCr *zvĕk*, Slk *zvĕk* 'ringing, clanging, chime', P *dzwięk* 'sound' ¶ P 490-1, EI 534, Sl. 315-6, Huld 134, O 521-2, Glh. 703, Vs. II 87-8, Frn. 1325-6, Wn. 186, Ad. 193, Ad. H 27, 37 || HS: S **ǵm* > Ar *ǵm* (pf. *ǵama*) 'have a gruff voice', *Sh*†(pf. *ǵama*) 'groan' ¶ BK I 301-2 || B: ?*o* Gd *ǵanǵan* 'have a gruff voice, speak with a gruff voice' ¶ Lf. II #0518 || U **kaŋ* ▽ 'call, ask' > ?? OHg, Hg *híu-* 'call, name, summon' || Sm {Jn.} *kāŋ-*, {Hl.} *kaŋ-* 'call, ask (for)' > Ne T *ханзъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *χάνς* id., En {Pu.} *kāŋa* 'er ruft', En B {Cs.} 1s aor. obcn. *kaŋabo* 'I called, asked', Mt {Hl.} **kan-* 'bitten(?)' (Mt M {Sp.} d. *кагнамъ* 'прошу') ¶¶ UEW 125-6, Coll. 14 (**kīŋa-*), EWU 564, Jn. 56, KP 79, Hl. M #424 || A: Tg **gīaŋna-* > WrMc *gīyaŋna-* 'explain, interpret (толковать), declare', Orc, Ul *gaŋga* 'ask riddles', Ud *gaŋŋa* 'riddle'; ? Ewk *gundz-* 'speak' ¶ STM I 140, Krm. 220, S AJ 225 [#295] || ? T *u* **k'īŋ-* + ext.: [1] **k'īŋira-* v. 'ring, clank' > Tv *qīŋira-*, StAlt *qīŋira-* id., Qrg *qīŋira-* v. 'jingle, clank', *qīŋir* 'sound of jingling\clanking'; [2] Tlt {Rl.} *qīŋila-* 'leise für sich singen', *qīŋsi-* 'heulen, wimmern, winseln', Tlt/Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} *qīŋzi-* 'wimmern', Alt {RAIS} *qīŋzi-* v. 'yelp' (of a dog) ¶ Jud. 491, RAltR 204, OTS 179, Rl. II 709-10, RAIS 55 || ??σ,φ D: McTm **kumuŋ-* > Tm *kumiru* v. 'resound, trumpet, bellow', *kumural* 'oaring, resounding', *kumuru* v. 'resound, roar', Ml *kumuruuka* v. 'make thundering sound' ¶ D #1744 ◇ A N final labialized vw. is suggested by S **m* (< N *-ŋ- near a labialized vw. [reg.?]), but it could not be either **u* or **ū* (that survive a IE **u*/*u*), so that it must have been N *-o ◇ T **i* (in **k'īŋ-*) results from delabialization (**i* < **u*) and regr. as. (**u* < **ū*). The delabialization **i* < **u* is rather typical and needs investigating ◇ Qu. (onomatopoeic associations of the word [→ root] at different historical levels).

648. **g'ä'ŋ'X'a* 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE **ǵhengh-* v. 'step' ('schreiten'), 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} 'step, walk' > Gmc **gīnxti* ~ **ganxti* ({Pk}: < *ǵheng-ti* ~ *ǵhong-ti*): AS *zīht* 'going (Gang)', MHG *gīht* id., 'trip', Gt *gāhts* in cds.: *fram-gāhts* 'προκοπή, progress', *inn-at-gāhts* 'entry', *un-at-gāhts* 'ἀπρόσιτος, unapproachable';

o*-grade: Gt *gagg* 'way, road', ON *gangr*, AS *zan̄z*, OHG *gang* n. act. 'going', 'course, way', MHG *ganc*, NHG *Gang* n. 'going'; ⇨ **gangan* 'to go' > Gt *gaggan* (3s prs. *gaggiþ*, 3s p. *gaggida*), ON *ganga*, OSx, OHG *gangan*, AS *zan̄zan* id. ||| OI '*jam̄haḥ* ntr. {MW} 'moving, going, course', {P} 'Schritt, Flügelschlag' (but OI {Bt., M} '*jam̄haḥ* 'Schwinge, Flügel' is likely to belong together with OI '*jañghā* 'shank, lower par of leg' to NaIE **ghengh-*/ghnggh-* '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' < N **gan̄*▽ [or **gaʔon̄*▽??] '≈ flesh of leg\thigh\buttocks', see s.v.) ||| Clt: W *rhy-gyngu* 'to amble' ||| Lt *žen̄gti* (1s prs. *žen̄giu*) 'to step, to walk, to march', *žir̄ngsnis* 'a step' ¶ P 438-9, EI 546, M KI 410-2, M E I 562-4, Bt. II 246, MW 407, Ab. IV 297, Ho. 123, 130, Kb. 314, Lx. 53, 73, Fs. 164, 181-2, Vr. 156, Schz. 147, KM 230-1, Frn. 1299-300, F I 937-8 ||| HS: S **o*√*gnh* > Ar *جنگ* √*gnh* 'walk quickly', Gt 'marcher d'un pas précipité' (of a camel) ¶ BK I 337 ||| U: FU **kan̄k*▽ 'climb, step up' > Z *kay-*, Yz '*kay-* 'climb' ||| ObU {Ht.} **k̄ṛk-* 'climb (klettern)' > pVg **k̄ṛk-* > Vg: T *kāṛk-*, LK *xān̄x*, MK/SV *kṣṛk-*, UK/NV/LL *kṣṛk-*, P *kan̄k-*, ML *kāṛk-*, UL/Ss *xāṛx-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **kṛk-* ~ **kan̄k-* id. > Os: D/K *χon̄χ-*, Nz *χun̄-*, Kz *χōṛk-*, O *χon̄-* | Hg *háḡ-* 'step up, mount, ascend' ¶ UEW 127, MF 239, LG 115, Ht. #301 ||| A: ?σ Tg: Nn Nh *gan̄t-* v. 'ski' ¶ STM I 539 ◇ Here we may suppose peculiar phonetic developments within clusters of **N* + uvular consonants: in the prehistory of IE and FU the N lr. **X* is likely to have merged with the preceding **ṛ* into the IE cluster **-ng̃h-* and the FU cluster **-ṛk-*. An alt. solution: Ar √*gnh* is a loan from another S lge. or dl. (merging S **χ* and **ḥ*) and goes back to S **o*√*gnχ* < pre-S **o*√*gnq* with S de-emphatization from **o*√*gnq*, so that the pN etymon can be reconstructed as **g'ä'ṛqa* > FU **kan̄k*▽ and IE **ghengh-* (for ***ghenk-* due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. cns. in the same root) ◇ The U and Tg **a* (most probably from **ä*) may be due to synharmonic as. (regr. as.).

649. **gun̄*'*K*'E ⇨ **güṛ*'*K*'▽ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > A: Tg **o*√*gung*▽ > WrMc {Hr., PSchm.} *ḡun̄gu* 'back of the head', *ḡun̄gulu* 'tuft\crest of birds (Haube, Federtolle, Schopf)', {Hr.} *ḡun̄gulunge* 'having a tuft on one's head' (a bird); see also WrMc {Z} *ḡun̄qan* 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 172-3, Hr. 384, Z 349 ||| D (in SD) **ku|ṛk-* 'nape, neck' > Ml *koṛṇa* 'throat', *kuṛci* 'nape of neck', Kn *kuṛke* id., 'shoulder', *goṛka* 'throat', ? *góṛ* 'neck' ¶ D #1645 ||| HS:

Om: NrOm {Blz.} *gan₁n₁- > She {C} gonno 'collar-bone, clavicle', Cha {C} gannē 'neck', Kcm {Blz. ← ?} gonno 'nape of neck', Gnj {Si.} 'gonil, Drz {Fl.} gana-morge, Oyda {Fl.} ganna 'neck', Dk {Blz. ← ?} g₃nná 'upper back' ¶ Blz. OLBP #80, C SE III 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'neck', Si. ACh 17 || Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} ganà (cs. gandè) 'back', Bdm {Lk. ← Nc.} 'ngunī 'Nacken' || ?σ WCh: Ang {Flk.} gwongwon 'Adam's apple' ¶ Nw. WLT 38, Lk. B 123, Flk. s.v. gwongwon ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #80 (Om, CCh) || IE: NaIE *knok(k)o- / knek(k)o- 'nape of neck; hill' (× N ***niKa** [or ***niKa?**] 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ADb. MER 10 [#59] (Tg, D) ◇ In Tg there is progressive assimilation *g...K > Tg *g...g.

649a. ?φ ≈ ***goŋH'äl** ∇ ~ mt.: ***golH'än** ∇ 'forearm' > HS: C: Bj {R} g^wen'hāl 'forearm (Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen)', g^lhān (= g^walhān), 'g^lhe (= g^walhe) 'forearm' || ??,φ SC: Kz {E} guhuluko 'ankle' ¶ R WBd 95-9, E PC #534 || ?φ B ***γīl-**/***γall-** 'arm' (if ***γ** < HS *g+χ) (× N ***gaw** ∇ or ***gawE** ∇ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > Ah, BSn a^γil (pl. i^γallan), BMn ^γil, Izn a^γil, Gd ā^γil (pl. ^γallan) 'arm', Zng {TC} i^γ 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II #1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || A: Tg ***ḡāla** 'hand' > Ewk ḡāl̥ ɛ ḡāla, Sln nāla ɛ nāli, {Iv.} ḡala, Lm ḡāl, Neg, Orc ḡāla ~ ḡala, Ud, Ul ḡala, Ork, Nn ḡala, WrMc ḡala, Jrc {Pvn.} ḡala id. ¶ STM I 656-7, Pvn. 262 || U: (with loss of N ***goŋ-**) FU ***äl** ∇ 'space between the arms, armful; lap, bosom (of a garment)' > Chr: H элтем eltem, L элте el'te, Uf öltö, öltäš 'armful', H eltäle-, Uf öltala-, B eltala- 'put one's arms round, embrace, carry in arms' || Er eí, Mk äí 'bosom of a garment' || Prm {LG} ***ól-** id. > Vt {Bor.} al 'id., 'lap', Yz öliž, Prmk ölöž, Z: LLz olöž, USs ɛlɛž 'bosom of a garment used to carry things' || ObU {Ht.} ***äl** {AD} 'lap, space between the arms' > pVg ***äl** > Vg: Ss āl-tāšl 'armful' (tāšl 'full'), T āl, LK/MK/UK/NV ȳl, P/SV/LLz ȳl 'lap'; pOs ***äl** 'lap' > Os: V/Vy ä́l, Ty á̇t, D á̇t, Nz at, Kz ȧt, O á̇l id., N āl-tēl 'armful' (tēl 'full') ¶ It. 291, Coll. 77, UEW 23, MRS 773, Ep. 18, LG 61, Ht. #18 || AdS of IE ***H^wel** ∇ n- ({EI} ***h₃el** ∇ n)- 'elbow, forearm' > NaIE ***ōlenā**, ***o₁elni-** id. (< IE ***x^wel-** or ***Xo₁-** 'elbow' < N ***γUL** ∇ 'knee, elbow', q.v. ffd.).

650. ***gup** ^u 'hollow, empty, hole' > HS: WS ***gawp-** 'hollow' > Ug gpt (= ***gōp-āt-**) 'caves', Ar جوف ^u ḡawf- 'hollow, inside of a house, belly', ḡawfu-l-layli 'middle of the night', pl. ḡawāf- 'entrails', Tgr gōf (pl. ḡawāf) 'interiour, heart, soul', Mh, Hrs ḡawf- 'chest'; S ***o** / ḡwp

(prm. *-gwap-) 'be hollow' > Ar \checkmark ǵwaf (ip. -ǵwaf-) id., 'be empty' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, BK I 357, Hv. 105, A #684, LH 594, Jo. M 127, DRS 108, ≈ MiK I #1.100 (*gawp- 'chest and abdominal cavities of body\corpse') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} gōf 'empty hollow in ground', 'empty well, dried-up well', Sml {ZMO} gōf 'dried-up well', 'dry river-bed', {DSI} gōf id., 'socket of the eye (orbita dell'occhio)', ?φ Arr yûb 'hole, den' (for *g- > y- cp. Arr yîrr 'upper arm' < N *gAr▽ '≈ hand') ¶ Abr. S 93, DSI 273, ZMO 165, Hw. A 400 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} gúbè 'hole' || WCh: Dw {ChL} gup, Zar {ChL} gŭp 'chest' | Dir {Sk.} gúbàdú 'chest' || ?? CCh: Gude {ChL} gŭwa, FIJ gùw'ì, Nz {Mch.} gówε, {ChL} gò?o, FIB {ChL} gù?ùn, Bcm {ChC} gwé, {ChL} gwèy, FIM {ChL} ègʷō 'hole', Lmn {Lk.} òghùbù, óghbù id. ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *geup-/*goup-/*gup- 'hollow, pit' > Gk γύπη [Call.] 'cave', [Hs.] 'hollow in the earth; lurking-place, den; vulture's nest' || Gmc: ON kofi 'small chamber, hut', Ic kofi 'hut', Nnr kove 'larder, store-room', MHG kobe 'stall, pig-sty; cage; cavity (Höhlung)', NHG Koben, NLG Kofen 'pig-sty', AS cofa 'cave, chamber, pig-sty', NE cove 'concavity or recessed place in a structure' || Sl *župa > P župa, Uk 'жупа 'salt-pit', OCS d. жупище župište 'grave' ¶ IS I 232, F I 335, Ch. 243, Vr. 323-4, Ar. 452, Lx. 112, KM 386, Paul 338, Ho. 56, Vs. II 65-, St SS 321 || U **kōppE (× N *kōhp▽ 'cave, pit') > FP *kōppa 'hollow; sth. hollow' > F kuoppa 'pit', Krl K kŭōppa Krl A kŭōppu, Krl Ld kŭōp:, Vp kop 'pit', Es koobas (gen. koopa), Es Δ kōp 'cave, cavern, grotto' | pLp *kōp▽- 'hollow out' > Lp L {Wk.} kōpō- id., pLp {Lr.} *kōpē 'hollow, depression' > Lp: N {N} goppe / -b-~-v- 'hollow; round-shaped bottom', S {Hs.} gŭppiε 'Loch, Tunnel', L {Wk.} kōpε- 'Aushöhlung; enger, runder Alpental', Fr/O {Wk.} gŭpʷε 'sledge produced by hollowing out a tree trunk', Krsv {Lgc.} kōprijε & kōprijε 'pit' & 'depression, small valley in the mountains', Klt {It.} kŭp̄p̄, Kld {Tl} kōp:ē, {SaR} κοαβπ̄ 'pit' | Prm *gōp ({{JLG} *gōp) 'pit, depression' (< **gŭp < pre-Prm) *kŭpp▽ < *kōpp▽) > Vt gop 'pit, depression'; hollow, narrow gully', Z gōp 'small pit, hole (in the ice), puddle, small lake', Yz gōp 'deep quiet place in a river, depression, pit'; Prm *gōp (⇔ Rd. rLG 421) may belong here, suggesting the following prehistory: FU *kōppa > (due to the labializing infl. of *pp) *kŭpp▽ > pre-Prm *gŭp > Prm *gōp ¶ Rd. rLG 421 is right in pointing out that F uo does not correspond to pPrm *ō (= {{JLG} *ō), but in his etl. dictionary (UEW) he does not propose any et. either to F kuoppa or to the Prm √. To my mind, this

phonetic discrepancy may be explained by postulating a pre-harmonic U *kōppE, that due to vw. harmony may have yielded both *kōppa (> BF *kōppa > F κιορρα) and *käppE (> Prm *kōp) ¶ SK 240, Lr. #456, Lgc. #2561, N II 177, Wk. EUL 272, Wk. LLW 45, Hs. 697-8, TI 147, SaR 113, LG 80, Lt. J 106, ≈ IS I 233 (*÷ F κορρα 'basket' [not 'hollow'] and Mr and Os words for 'skull', better explainable as belonging to N *k'a'w_lo_pE or *k'a'w_lo_p∇y∇ 'skull; occiput', N *qUbɛ'E' 'basket', and/or N *K̄ab'E?∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v.]) || A: T: [1] NaT *KobI 'hollow, ravine, pit, depression between hills\mountains' > OT [MhK] qoVI 'hollow', Az gobu 'hollow in the ground, (narrow) gorge\gully', Δ gobu ɘ gobi ɘ goVU 'ravine, pit, depression (often flooded)', StAlt qobi 'ravine, narrow gully, hollow in the ground', Alt/QK {RI.} qōbi 'ravine, Talhöhllung ohne Fluß', MQp [BMTQ] {Zaj.} qoba 'creux, cavité, fosse', Osm {RI.} قوبه qoba 'Loch, Grube, Graben' (↳ G Kzq gob-i 'Grube; Stelle im Wasser, wo sich die Fische sammeln'), Qzq, Alt qobi, Tb qobi ~ qōbi, Tk Δ qobu ɘ qowu, Qmq Δ qowu 'depression between hills' | ↳ [2] NaT *Kobuk 'hollow, empty' > OT qoVUq id., 'a hollow', MQp [CC], Osm {Cl.} qoVUq 'hollow', MOg qowuq 'anything hollowed out and empty', Osm qoYUq ~ qoVUq, Tk kovuk 'hollow' (n., adj.), 'cavity, cave', Tkm qowuq, Tk Δ goVuk, goYuk, qawuq, gawik 'hollow, a hollow', Xk, Sg χαχ 'hollow' (a tree), 'hollow of a tree-trunk', ET Δ quaq 'empty' (of a melon, water-melon), Az goVug 'bubble'; [3] T *Kobu-í > MQp [CC] xiv qoVUš, Nog quwis 'hollow', VTt кyъш quwъš id., 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Bsh qъwъš, Qmq quwUš 'a hollow', Osm qoYUš ~ qoVUš 'large hall, dormitory', Tk koğus ~ kovus 'cell (in a prison)', Az гoфyш qoYUš 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Qzq, Qq quwis 'cavity, hollow body', Nog quwis 'a hollow (depression)', Chv хăвăл хъvъl id., 'cavity' ¶ Cl. 583, ≈ Cl. 581, Rs. W 273, ET Q 5-7, 18-20, Hüs. 83, Rh. 1490, Jeg. 282, Md. 44, 169, MKD 144, DTS 461, BT 84, Zaj. VAKBM I 39, Rh. 1490, AzDDL 144, RI. II 657-60, Bu. II 69 || M [1] *gobiya > Kl D {Rm.} göwā 'niedrige Stelle, Tal'; M *gobil 'cavity, hole' > WrM gobil, HIM говил id., 'pit, hollow, groove; depression'; M ↳ Qrg qobul 'groove, rut (in the ground)', Tv xovul, Tf hōbōl 'groove'; T ↳ Brt хобол, Kl ховл id., Oyr qobul id., 'small hole' ¶ MED 357, Kow. 1025, KW 152-3, Krg. 313, Chr. 153, Jud. 361, TvR 478, Ra. 189 |[2] *qoYU-sun 'empty', ? 'hollow' (× N *kohp∇ 'cave, pit', q.v. ffd.) || Tg: [1] WrMc qobi 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.}

'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung') (× N *kōhp▽ '↑') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 [2] ?σ,φ AmTg *gebū(n-) 'empty' > Orc, Ork gɜwū(n-) ~ gɜun(n-), Ud gɜu, Ul, Nn B gɜu(n-), Nn Nh gɜũ id. ¶ The vw. *e is probably due to vw. harmony ¶ STM I 176 || pJ {S} *kúmpuá 'cavity' > OJ kúb(ū)ó, J T kubo id. ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *kopu 'hollow, cavity'), ≈ DQA #859 (A *kǒbú id., incl. T *Kobuk, J, M *qoɣusun, and Tg *qobi) || D (in McTm) *ku|opp- > Ml korrām 'pitfall for catching elephants', Tm korrām 'keddah (an enclosure constructed to trap wild elephants)' ¶ D #2103 ◇ FU *ō belongs to the heritage of N *kōhp▽. M *o (as a representative of N *u) still needs explaining. The vowels of the second syll. in the A lgs. (T *i and *u, Tg *u, pJ *uɑ) point to a N high labialized vw. (*u or *ü) ◇ IS I 232-3 [#87] (*gop'ɑ 'hollow, empty').

651. ₂ *gæ'ʔ'Up▽ 'body' > HS: WS *gūp- ~ *gīp- 'body' > BHb 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 *gū'pā* 'corpse' (att. cs. 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 gū'pāt, pl. 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 gū'pōt), JA, MHb 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 gū'p 'body' (JA em. 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤀 gū'pā), JEA gū'pā 'body, self', Htr gwp 'person' (or 'corpse, dead body'), Ar جيفة, ġīf-at- 'corpse', Jb C mgaf'fat, Jb E mɜgɜ'fat 'corpse, carcass' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, ≈ DRS 108, ≈ MiK I #1. 100 (all of them connect the root with WS *gawp- 'hollow' [see N *gup'ū' 'hollow, empty, hole'], which is semantically unj.), Sl. 270-1, BK I 362, Jo. J 72, HJ 231 || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ɣɜvà, HgN gwà, Kps gùvà 'body' ¶ ChC, ChL || A: T: [1] *k'e|ābre 'body, trunk of a body' > OT {Cl.} kōvre 'body', Tkm ɣəvɾe göwre 'trunk of a body'; [2] *k'ōbde(η) id., 'body, corpse' > OT k|gōvdōη, Tkm göwde 'corpse, trunk of a body', VTt ɣəvdə gāwdä, Nog кевде kewde 'body, trunk of a body', Qzq кеуде kewde 'torso, trunk of a body, chest', Qq gewde ~ kewde id., 'body', Qrg kōdö(n), Uz gavda, Chv хевде ~ хьвде 'trunk of a body; energy, strength', Tk gövde, Az кевдә ġöwdä 'trunk of a body\tree' (× N *Kop▽ 'trunk, log', accounting for the semantic narrowing: 'body' → 'trunk of a body?') ¶ Cl. 688, 690, Rs. W 688, ET VGD 52-3, TL 267, TkR 193, TatR 120, Jeg. 297 || M: [1] *keɣür 'corpse, dead body' > WrM kegür, HIM, Brt хүүр id., WrO küür, Kl күр, {Rm.} kūr, Ord {Ms.} k'ūr 'corpse'; [2] *keberdek > WrM {Krg.} keberdeg, WrO köbö(r)döq 'torso, trunk', Kl көврдг көврдэг 'trunk (of a body), torso, breast', {Bdm.} 'trunk of a body (туловище)', Kl. Ö {Rm.} köwrdək 'Brust, Brustknochen, Rumpf', Ord

k'emerdek 'thorax, poitrine' ¶ MED 443, Krg. 736, 746, KRS 309, 326, Bdm. 84, KW 242, 250, Ms. O 413, 438, Chr. 634 || Tg {DQA} *°x₁eburen 'corpse' > WrMc eoren~ oren ~ ūren id. ¶ STM II 289-90, Z 60, 131, 177 || ?φ pJ {S} *kámpánáj 'corpse' > OJ kábáné, J T kabane ¶ S QJ #1380, Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #992 (A *k'ébá 'corpse' > T *k'Ebre, M *keür, Tg, J), Ci. EApk 124 ◇ M *k- and Tg *x- (< A *k'-) are likely to go back to N *g∇?-

652. (₂?) *gopk̄a '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp stick' > A: M *goqa 'crook, hook' > WrM goq̄a, HIM goχ, Brt goχ̄o, Kl goχ̄o id. ¶ MED 363, KW 149 || ? Tg *g_uak∇ 'hook' > Nn g_uaq̄o 'hook for hanging up a cauldron', Ewk, Orc gok̄o 'hook', Mc goq̄on 'hook, hook for hanging up sth.'; some of the forms present in Tg are loans from M (e.g., Nn and Neg goχ̄o 'hook'), for other forms (with medial -k-, -q-) Mongolic origin is less plausible, but not ruled out || U: FU *kopkka (or, with an alt. phonological interpretation, *kopka) 'crook, hook, sharp point' > F koukka, koukku 'crook', Es Δ kouk (gen. kouga) '(ε) hoe', pLp {Lr.} *kōkkē (× U *kokka 'protruding point, hook' × N *k̄akU [or *k̄okU?] 'hook') > Lp: N {N} goakke 'hoe', I {It.} koäkk', Klid kuā|k̄a 'hook', K k̄ōa?kk̄a 'hoe, hook' || Chr kopka 'ploughshare' (Üp̄ymarij quotes the word only within the cd. kopka-par̄ña 'crooked end of a ploughshare', lit. 'ploughshare's thumb', Coll. quotes Chr kopka 'plough' without indicating the source) || ?? acc. to LG 77, Z gog+n, Z US gog+n, Yz goḡa₁t 'scraper (скобелъ)' (≠ Rd. rLG 421) ||| pOs *kaγ̄ap 'fish-hook' (× FU *°kok₁k₁∇p∇ 'ε hook' < N *k̄âRk̄ub|p∇ 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.]) > Os {KrT} Vy qaγ̄aw, Y qaγ̄ap, Try q̄aγ̄ap, quγ̄p-, Os D {KrT} xaχ̄ap 'wooden fish-hook for pikes' ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 171-2, Stn. D 459, SK 208-9, 225-6, Ü 74, Lr. #468, LG 77, Trj. S 142, KrT 291-1 || ? IE: the expected IE cognate is likely to have coalesced with the the IE reflex of N *k̄akU, which is NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw' > Gmc *xōka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > ON hækja 'Krücke', OHG hāco ~ hākko ~ hāgo, NHG Haken, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook ||| SI *koḡb̄t̄b̄ ~ *koḡb̄t̄b̄ > OR, R 'коготь', Cz Δ kohát 'claw', HLs kocht 'awn, brome (Bromus)' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, OsS 365, Kb. 423, KM 283, Ho. 167, ESSJ X 109-10, Trof. 86 ◇ In all reflexes, except for U, there is assimilation within the cluster N *-P̄k̄- > *-k̄k̄- (> *-kk-, *-k-). In the history of this N lexeme the date of vw. breaking of *o is under doubt: if all attested words of

the Tg lgs. are Mongolisms, the vw. breaking took place not in pA, but rather in Nn ◊ Cf. AD AltAD #19.

653. *gā'p'sA 'paw, hand' > IE *g^hes-r-, *g^hes-to- 'hand': [1] IE {Sturt., Pis., Hamp, F, Ch., EI} *g^hesr- > Ht *kessar* (dat. *kesri*) id., SAn: Lw *is(sa)ri-*, HrLw *istr(i)-*, Lc *izr(i)-* id. ({Pv.}: before front vowels IE *g^h- > SAn zero) || NaIE *g^hes-r- 'hand' (but hardly NaIE *g^her- 'hand' [P 447, Dv. #270], see N *gAr▽ '≈ hand') > Gk χείρ / gen. χείρ-ός 'hand', Gk D χήρ / χηρός, Gk Ae accus. sg. χέρρα, pl. χέρρα id. || Arm **ձեռն** *zeṛn* (gen. **ձեռնի** *zeṛin*) id. (< accus. *g^hesr-m) || pAl {O} *dārā (singularized ntr. pl.) > Al T *dorē* (pl. *duar*), G *dor* 'hand' || Tc A *tsar*, Tc B *ṣar* id. || [2] NaIE *g^hesto-, {EI} *g^hosto-s 'hand' > OI 'hasta-h, Av *zasta-*, OPrs, KhS *dasta-*, NPrs **دست** *däst* 'hand' || ? L *praestō* adv. 'present, at hand' (< *praj hestōd 'at hand', cp. Gallius: *praesto* 'quod prae manibus est') || Lt *pa-žastē*, *pa-žastis* 'space under the arm, armpit' ¶ P 447, EI 254, Slt. 316-7, F II 1082-3, Ts. E I 558-63, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, M K III 588, M E II 812, WH II 356, Huld 54, O 70-1, Horn 126, Frn. 560, Wn. 521, Ad. 649-50, Ad. H 128, 146, Pv. IV 160-5, Ivn. SA 153, Ivn. XJ² 85 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: SBC: Buli {ChL} *gāpūšà* 'shoulder' | Gmy {ChL} *kšat* id. | ? Ngz {Sch.} *gāptā* id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} *ṣābāzāk* id. || ?? ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kósí*, Kwn {J} *kosī* 'hand, arm' (unless k0- is a px.) ¶ Eb. 73, ChC, ChL || **U**: FU *kEps^ā (*kāpsä ~ *kipsä) 'paw, animal's leg/foot, fell from a paw/leg' (× N *KĒP₂▽Z▽ 'paw, hoof') > F *käpsä* 'hare-foot (for dusting, etc.)', Krl A *käpčü* 'foot (of ducks and other birds); paw', Krl Ld *käpč* ~ *käpš* 'foot (of birds, etc.)', Vp *käpš* '(hen's) foot; paw (of dogs, otters)', Es *käps* 'heel', {W} *käps-jalad* 'cooked pig-feet' | Chr: B *küpš* 'nap of cloth' (< *'nap made of the skin of animals' legs'), L *küpš* 'strands of wool in home-made woolen cloth' | Prm *kūs 'fell from an animal's leg' > Z **кыс** *kīs* id., 'footwear made of a fell from an animal's leg with the fur on the outside', 'a fell from a leg used to line up the bottom side of ski (for braking when skiing uphill)', Yz *kōs* 'skin of the legs of an animal (horse, elk, etc.) (used as brakes under the ski when skiing uphill)', Vt *kusla-* v. 'brake (when skiing uphill)'; {UEW}: Prm *ū < *i or *ä due to the labializing infl. of *p || ObU {JHl.} *kōpəθ ({Ht.} *kōpəθ) 'fell from an animal's leg (Pfotenfell)' > pOs {Ht.} *kōpəϕ ({JHl.} *kōpəϕ) id. > Os: V/Vy *kōwəl*, Ty *kōpəϕ*, Y *kōpəϕ*, D/K/Nz *kepət*, Kz *kepəϕ*, O *kopəl*; pVg

*kũt 'skin of an elk's leg' > Vg: LK/MK/UK k^ωāt, P kāt ~ k^ωāt, NV/SV/LL k^ωāt, UL/Ss kot id.; ObU *ō, Cht ü, and Prm *ū are due to the labialization caused by *p (F Rd. rLG 421) ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 159-60, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU, FP *küpsψ 'leg skin', Ugr *küpθ-; does not take into account BF), LG 154, Lt. J 133, Ht. #303, Hl. rHt 71-3 || D {tr.} *kač|y∇, {Pf.} *kay/*key ({GS} *k-) 'hand, arm' > Tm kai, Ml kai, kayyi, Kt, Kdg kay, Tl cēyi (accus. cētī), ce(y)yi, Klm ki· ɘ key ɘ kīy ɘ kiyu, Nkr kī, Kui kayu, kagu, Ku kēyu(:) ɘ ke(y)yu ɘ kayyu, Krx xekkhā id., Ml kayyu, Tu kai, Tl kēlu, kai, Nk kī, Prj, Png key, Gdb ki ɘ kiyyu ɘ kiy, Gnd kay, Knd kiyu ɘ kīvu, Mnd kiy, Mlt qeqe 'hand', Kn kay, kayi, kayyi, key 'hand, forearm' ¶¶ If GS's pD rec. *keψ- 'hand, arm' is right, the D word does not belong here ¶¶ D #2023, IS I 227, Pf. 45, GS 186-7 [#471] ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [#80] (IE *g^hes-, D *kač- + qu. Om *✓kč 'hand'; *÷ FU *kāte 'hand', F s.v. N *Kāt∇ 'hand').

654. ₂ *gEqû 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *g^heu-/*g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^heu-mṅ 'sth. poured, libation' > OI ju'hōti v. 'sacrifices' (esp. 'pours butter into fire'), hu'tah pp. 'sacrificed', 'hōman- 'libation, sacrifice', Av zaotar, zaθr- 'priest, sacrificer', OI 'hōtrā 'an offering, sacrifice (Opfergabe)', Av zaθrā 'libation' || Gk χέ(F)ω 'I pour', Gk Hm aor. ἔχευα 'poured' (< *e-g^heu- + *-σα), Gk χεῦμα 'that which is poured, a stream, libation' || Phr [Hs.] ζευμάν·πηγῆν accus. 'stream [?]' (< *g^heu-mṅ) || Arm ճոյլ Յօյլ 'what is smelted \ cast \ founded', n. 'font, cast' (< *g^heu|o-), ճուլեմ zulem 'I cast, smelt, found' || Lfū-tis 'water(ing)-can', fū-tilis 'easily poured, brittle' || pTc *ku- > Tc A, B ku- v. 'pour' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448, M K I 442, M E II 821, F II 1090-3, WH I 563-4, Slt. 259, Wn. 239, Ad. 179-80 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q) needs explaining. One may suggest a mt. + subsequent loss of the lr.: *gEqû > eIE *g^hHeu > IE *g^heu- || HS: CS *-gīχ- ~ *-gūχ- v. 'pour forth, gush out' (of water) > Hb ✓gyḥ (-gīḥ-) 'burst forth' (of dashing water, of sea), JA [Trg.] ✓gyḥ G 'break forth, stir up', Sr ✓gwh (pf. gāh, ip. nə'gūh) 'gush out, pour forth' (of water), 'flow' (of tears), ?σ Ar ✓ğw|yχ (pf. جَاخَ ḡāχa) 'ronger et enlever la berge' (of water) ¶ KB 181, KBR 189, BDB 161 [#1518], Js. 237, Br. 108-9, JPS 63, BK I 350, DRS 107 ◇ An alt. comparison (with better semantic connections, but with phonetic problems): N ? *kEζû 'pour, flow' (q.v.) > IE *g^heu-/*g^hu- v. 'pour' ÷

HS: S * $\sqrt{k}f\omega$ 'pour', SC: Irq {MQK} ku \bar{u} s-, Brn ku \bar{u} s-, Alg ku \bar{u} umis- v. 'spill, pour'.

655. $\text{₂}^*gAr\bar{\nabla}$ '≈ hand' > HS: Eg fP $\bar{z}r.t$ 'hand, handful' ¶ EG V 580-5, Fk. 323, Tk. I 319 || EC: Arr $\bar{y}irr$ 'upper arm' ¶ Hw. A 400 || **A** * $\bar{g}ar\bar{\nabla}$ > M * $\bar{g}ar(i)$ 'hand, arm' > MM [MA] $\bar{g}ar$, [IM, IsV] $\bar{q}ar$, WrM $\bar{g}ar$, HIM $\bar{r}ap$, Kl $\bar{g}ar$, Dgr $\bar{g}ari$, $\bar{g}ar\bar{b}$, Ba $\bar{\chi}ar$, MMgl {Iw.} $\bar{g}ar$, Mgl $\bar{q}ar$, ? Dx $\bar{q}a$ 'hand, arm' ¶ MED 350, T 325, T DgJ 130, T DnJ 124, T BJ 136, Mr. D 19, Iw. 104, Rm. M 31 || T * $\bar{k}'ar$ 'upper arm (brachium)' or 'forearm' > ET U $\bar{q}ar$ 'upper arm', Chg $\bar{q}ar$ 'arm', Qzq, Qq $\bar{q}ar$ 'forearm', Bsh Δ $\bar{q}ar$ in $\bar{q}u\check{s}-\bar{q}ar$ 'forearm' (lit. 'double arm'), Qrg $\bar{q}ar-\check{z}ilik$ 'humerus', SY {Tn.} $\bar{q}ar$ $\bar{s}imiq$ 'a bone in the forearm' || Chv L $\bar{x}yp$ $\bar{x}ur$ 'double cubit (the double distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger)' | d. (← a form with ppa.?): T * $\bar{k}'ari$ (Md.) * $\bar{k}'\bar{a}ri$ 'forearm' > OT, MT, MQp $\bar{q}ari$ 'forearm; cubit ("arshin")', Chg $\bar{q}ari$ ~ $\bar{q}aru$ 'arm, upper arm, ∈ cubit', OOsM $\bar{q}aru$ 'arm, hand', Osm {Rl.} $\bar{q}aru-\check{z}a$, Brb {Rl.}, Qrg $\bar{q}ari$ 'upper-arm', Az Δ $\bar{g}ari$ 'upper half of animal's leg', Xlj $\bar{q}ari$ 'half-fathom', Tkm $\bar{g}ari$ id., 'lower leg of a quadruped, shin-bone', VTt Δ $\bar{q}ar\bar{b}$ 'length of an arm from elbows to fingers', Nog $\bar{q}ari$ 'length of a forearm', QrB $\bar{q}ari$ 'cubit', Qzq, Qq $\bar{q}ari$ 'forearm (of humans and animals)', Chv {Ash.} $\bar{\chi}ur\bar{b}$ 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', ET Tr $\bar{k}eri$ 'arm's length, cubit', Uz $\bar{q}ari$ 'a unit of length (2 arshins)', StAlt, Shor, Uz Δ $\bar{q}ari$ 'upper arm', Tv $\bar{q}iri$ 'ulna', Tf $\bar{q}iri$ id., 'forearm', Yk $\bar{\chi}ari$, $\bar{\chi}ar\bar{i}$ id., 'lower part of the foreleg' | d. (substantivezed adj.) T * $\bar{k}'ar-a$ '∈ part of arm/leg' > VTt $\bar{q}ara$ 'unit of length (≈ 1 m)', Uz $\bar{q}ara$ $\bar{s}an$ 'shin', Yk $\bar{\chi}ara$ 'upper arm, ulna' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ADb. SR 160-4, 195-8, ET KQ 278-83, Dr. TM III #1477, Jud. 355, BT 74, Ra. 223, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 361, Md. 103, 166 || Tg: WrMc $\bar{g}ar\bar{g}a$, $\bar{g}ar\bar{g}an$ 'limbs (arms and legs)' ¶ STM I 141, Z 310 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. * $\bar{g}ara$ 'upper arm', SDM97 s.v. * $\bar{g}a|era$ 'arm' (adduces pJ * $\bar{k}at\bar{a}$ 'shoulder' [> OJ $\bar{k}ata$, J T $\bar{k}ata$], alternatively equatable with N ≈ * $\bar{K}u\bar{y}_1t_1\bar{\nabla}_1P\bar{\nabla}$ 'shoulder' or with N * $\bar{K}at\bar{\nabla}$ 'hand') || $\bar{z}z$ IE: acc. to P 447, NaIE ?? * $\bar{g}her-$ 'hand' (> Arm $\bar{d}t\bar{n}\bar{u}$ $\bar{z}e\bar{r}n$ 'hand' || Gk $\bar{\chi}e\bar{r}$ 'hand' || pAl * $\bar{d}ar\bar{a}$ > Al: T/G $\bar{d}or\bar{e}$ [pl. T $\bar{d}uar$, G $\bar{d}uer$] 'hand'), but in the light of Ht $\bar{k}essar-$ 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE * $\bar{g}hesr-$ (see N * $\bar{g}\bar{a}'p'sA$ 'paw, hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dv. #270 ($\bar{g}her-$ 'mano come cosa attiva'), P 447 (s.v. * $\bar{g}hesto-$), O 70, Huld 54, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Slt. 316-7, FII 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, Pv. IV 160-5, Ts. E I 558-63 ◇ If P's rec. of the alleged IE cognate is

accepted, the N rec. should be ***gära** (the A *a of the first syll. being accounted for by regr. as. ***ä...a** > *a...a), otherwise we reconstruct an unspecified ***A** (***ä|a**) in N ***gAr∇**.

655a. ₂ ***gER∇** 'entrails' > **HS**: S: Ar جريئة ḡirrīy-at- ~ جريئة ḡirrī?-at- 'estomac (d'oiseau)' ¶ BK I 272 || C: Ag *gīr- (*gīr-/ *gīl-) 'gut(s), entrails' > Bln {R} gīr ~ žir (pl. gīlil ~ žilil), Q {R} žir, Xm {R} zil'lā id., Km {CR} žar 'entrails' || amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} garī 'body, trunk' (× N ***gAr∇** 'belly, inside', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ AD SF 205, R WB 158 ¶¶ ≈ AD SF (C, S) || **IE**: NaIE *ḡher- 'gut(s), *ḡhor-nā 'entrails' > OI 'hira-ḡ 'band, strip', hi'rā 'vein, artery' || Gk χορδή 'gut, string of gut' || L haru-spex 'one who foretold the future from the inspection of entrails', hīra 'gut, intestine' || ON gorn 'gut', pl. garnar 'entrails' (< *ḡhor-nā), OHG mitti(la)-garni, AS miczern, OSx midgarni 'internal fat, suet' || Lt žarnà (accus. žárna), Ltv zařna 'gut' ¶ P 443, EI 180 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73 (IE, HS + unc. U, HS, D reflexes of N ***guR∇** 'belly, body' and N ***gAr∇** 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

656. ₂ ***geR∇** 'throat' > **HS**: WS *gīr-, *√grr > Mhb גְּרֵרָה gē'rā 'neck' (Lv.: 'der Hals, eig. der Ort, wo das Tier die Speise heraufbringt'), Tgy ገጭጭ ḡwərərō 'throat, trachea'; CS *gīrān- > BHb גְּרֵרֹן ḡā'rōn (cs. ḡārōn, st. pron. ḡārōn-, pl. [attested in Mhb] ḡārōn-ōt) 'throat, neck' (ḡā'rōn is a bf. from the stem ḡārōn- in cs., st. pron., and pl.), Ar جرآن ḡīrān- 'front part of a camel's neck'; rdp.: S *g∇rg∇r- 'throat, gullet' > BHb pl. t. גַּרְגְּרֹת *gargārōt* 'throat', (→) 'neck' (att: +ppa. 2m: גַּרְגְּרֹת(ו) ḡargārōt'ēkā 'thy throat') ({KBR} 'pharynx' → 'neck'), Mhb גַּרְגְּרֵת ḡar'geret 'Gurgel', Ug {OLS} grgr 'garganta (?)', Sr gaggar't-ā 'throat', Md gangarata 'throat, tonsils' (pl.), Ar [Nbg.] جراجر ḡarāḡir- 'throat (?)' (originally pl. fractum), Tgy ḡwərgwə'rit 'goitre' (Bsn. 'gozzo'), Ak gaggurītu 'e part of the body of an animal: ? throat' ¶ GB 147-8, KB 194, KBR 201-2, OLS 151, Lv. I 355, 358, Br. 103, DM 77, Hv. 87, Bsn. 872, LG 201, CAD III 9, DRS 175-7, MiK I #1.95 (S *gīrān-), #102 (S *ḡwərgwə'ar(at)- 'throat, gullet') || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gurér 'throat' ¶ Hz. NSA 139-40 || B *√grgr > Ntf {La.} aḡargur, {Dray} ahengur, agergur, CM aḡargur, BSn aḡargur, Izn aḡarḡur 'goitre' ¶ La. N 57, Dray 243, NZ 854 || Ch: ?? ECh: Tmk ḡēr 'neck' (unless to N ***gædi** 'back part; occiput, nape of neck') ¶ Cp. 26 || cp. also CCh *√grḡ 'throat; to swallow' (> Msg G {Trn.} gurḡok, Mlw

657a. $\text{?}\sigma_2$ ***giR**∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} g̀̀rdáĭ, Cg {Sk.} g̀̀rdé 'leg' || CCh: Zm {J} g̀̀rày 'thigh', ZmD {Srp.} gore, BtD/BtG {Srp.} g̀̀rgačĕ 'leg' ¶ JI II 220, ChC, ChL || **A**: Tg *gĭram 'bone' > WrMc giran, Mc Sb giram 'bones, corpse', WrMc giranġi, Jrc girangi 'bone(s)', Ewk giramna id., Sln giranda, Ul gĭramsa 'bone', Lm O gĭramna, Neg gĭyamna 'skeleton', Orc giamsa 'bone(s)', Ud geäma^{Ha}, Ork giransa, Nn Nh/KU gĭrmaksa, Nn KU gĭramna, Nn B gĭrmasa id., 'skeleton' ¶ STM I 154, Kiy. 125 [#510] ◇ Doubtful because of the semantic difference between 'leg' and 'bone' (but compare German *Bein*).

657b. $\text{?}\sigma_2$ ***guR**∇ 'belly, body' > **HS**: C: SC: Irq {MQK} gura? 'belly, interior', Irq/Alg {Wh.} g̀̀ra, Grw/Brn {Wh.} gura?a 'stomach' ¶ MQK 41, Wh. IC 25 || **U** *kur∇ 'body' > Lp: N {N} gqrod ~ gqrog 'body, carcass', L k̂arot id., 'trunk of a living animal', I korōd 'carcass' || ObU *kūr 'body' > pOs *kōr > Os: Kz eφ-χqr 'body, surface of a body' (eφ 'body'), V kōr 'shape\image (of a guardian spirit, person, animal), Vy/Ag/Ty/Y {Trj.} kōr 'shape, appearance (образ, вид)'; pVg *kūrĭ 'shape, image', {Alq.} 'Schattenbild, Gestalt' > Vg: P is-kor, Ss is-χor 'Schattengestalt', MK is-k̂ār id., 'spirit' LK χor, Ss {Ht.} χuri 'Bild, Gestalt, Form' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} χar- 'self' (χar?n 'myself', χart 'thysself', χarta 'him\her-self'), En: X keδe?, B kere? '-self' (rf. prn.) ¶ UEW 216, Trj. S 183, Ht. #312, Ter. 891 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73 (SC, U + unc. HS, D, and IE reflexes of N ***gER**∇ 'entrails' and N ***gAr**∇ 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

657c. ***guR**∇ 'forest' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: Ms {ChL} guruda, BnnM gura 'forest', Bnn {ChL} gora 'bush (forest)' || ECh: Mb {J} g̀̀rá 'bush', Nd D {J} g̀̀rmĭŋ 'forest' ¶ Cp. also Hs k̂urmĭ 'forest' ¶ ChL, ChC || **IE**: NaIE (att. in Blt) ***g**₁^{wh}₁er- > Lt giria, Lt Z g̀̀rĕ, Ltv dzira ~ dzire 'forest', Pru garian ~ garrin 'tree' ¶ ≈ P 478, ≈ Frn. 153 (both equate it with Sl *gora, OI giri-, and Av gairi- 'mountain') || **U** *kur∇ 'forest, bushes (Gebüsch)' > Er куро kuro 'bush (shrub), bushes (Gebüsch)' || Os: D χār 'coniferous forest, forest with much game', Kz χār 'woods' (χār tāχĭy m̂antĭ 'move to the forest for hunting [whole families]'); Vg: T {MK} kĥar(ĕ)p 'grove (Hain)', {Knn.} k̂ĭ-k̂ārp 'birch wood' (k̂ĭ 'birch'), N/ML {MK} kĥārp ~ kĥorp 'birch wood (березняк)', LL/P {MK} kĥōrp, K {MK} kĥōrĕp ~ kĥworĕp ~ kh(ω)qrĕp 'pine\fir-wood' || Sm: Nn F {Lh.} kūr 'thicket (thick wood\bushes) on

riverbanks' 𐍆𐍆 {Rd.}: FV *-p- is a sx. 𐍆𐍆 UEW 217, ERV 31, MK 109, Lh. 213.

658. ₂ *gURV 'to roll' > K *gor-/*gr- vi. 'roll, wallow' > OG gor-, ngor-, G gor- vi. 'roll, wallow' ('rollen, sich wälzen'), Mg gorgol-, Lz ngor-/ngr-, Sv gur-/gwr- v. 'roll' 𐍆𐍆 K 64, K² 31, FS K 83-4, FS E 88-9, Chx. 202, Abul. 96, Ser. 41 || HS: EC: Sa {R} gūr- 'rollen, wälzen, in Kugelform bringen' || SC: Irq {E} g^ωang^ωaraʔa- v. 'roll (downhill)', {MQK} g^ωang^ωarāʔ- 'roll, roll down' 𐍆 R S II 160-1, E SC 372, MQK 43 || WCh: Hs gárà v. 'roll any circular object rapidly along the ground' 𐍆 Ba. 362 || ?σ Eg P gǫǫ v. 'turn over (kentern)' 𐍆 EG V 149 𐍆𐍆 ≈ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.13].

659. ₂ *gūrV 'beast' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^hwēr- ({EI} *ǵ^hwēr / gen. *ǵ^hwer-os) 'wild animal' > Gk: A θήρ (gen. θηρός), L φήρ, Th φείρ 'beast' || L ferus (f. -a, ntr. -um) 'wild' (L e [rather than ē] is due either to Celto-Italic shortening of long vowels [Dybo's law, F Db. SDKI 13] or to generalization of {EI} *ǵ^hwer- obl.) || BSl: Lt žvėris, Ltv zvērs 'beast', Pru accus. pl. s^ωīrins ([zV-]) | pSl *zvěrb 'wild beast' > OCS zъѣръ zvěrb, Blg звяр, McdS зver, SCr звѣр њ zviĵēr, Slv zvěr, Cz zvěř, Slk zver, P zwierz, R зверь, Uk звір (in BSl the word was transferred to the *i-declension on the basis of the accus. sg. form with Baltic *-i, Sl *-b < IE *-m̥, *-n̥s) || Tc B d. śerwe 'hunter' ({Ad.}: < *ǵ^hwer-wo- 'he of the animal'), d. śer- v. 'hunt' 𐍆 WP I 642-3, P 493, 𐍆 23, F I 671-2, WH I 487-8, ME 409, Tr. 374-5, Frn. 1327, En. 261, Vs. II 87, Glh. 702, Ad. 633-4 || A (× N *goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear'): M *göreʒen 'wild animal', *göreʒe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > [1] *göreʒen 'wild animal' (× M *göregen n. 'hunt, chasing; game' < N *goRHæ) > MM [S] göre₁e 'Wild', Kl {Rm.} görē 'wild animal, deer, game'; [2] *göreʒe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > MM [S] göre₁esün id., [MA] görēsün 'wild goat', [IM] görēsün 'antelope', WrM güregesün ~ görügesün, HIM гөрөөс(өн) id., 'game, wild beast', Ord {Ms.} görösü 'game, wild beast', Brt гүрөөһэ(н) 'wild goat, roe', Kl {KRS} гөрөсн göräsän 'saiga antelope (Saiga tatarica)', {Rm.} görēsŋ 'wild animals, deer or antelopes', MMgl {Iw.} göresün 'wild ass', Dg {T} gurēs 'antelope, wild beasts', {Mr.} gurēse 'a quadruped, wild animal', ?φ Mnr H {SM} k'ūporosз 'bête féroce, bête sauvage; sauvage' 𐍆 SM 215, Iw. 104, H 51, Pp. MA 172, 437, MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166, Mr. D 153, T

DgJ 133 || Tg: [1] *gurma-(kun) 'hare' > Nn gormaxō̃ 𐌸 g°ormaxo(n-), LMa gulmaxun, Jrc {Kiy.} gulmahaj 'rabbit'; Nn Nh gurm3 toqsa 'sacred hare', gorma-qsā 'hare's hide'; [2] NrTg *gurn- 'ε small fur-bearing animal' > Ewk gurnun 'squirrel', Lm 'gurnata 'weasel' ¶ STM I 161, 174, Kiy. 105 [#150] || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *gur'X'a 'antelope') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorani 'reindeer') ¶¶ S CNM 6-7, DQA #572 (*gú|óri|e 'deer, game') || AdS of U *koyra 'male animal' (× N *koyR∇ 'male animal' [q.v. ffd] × a derivative from U *koye 'male, man' < N *goy∇ 'man, people') ◇ IS I 237 [#93] (IE, M). Cf. N *gur'X'a 'antelope, male antelope' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal').

659a. *gE'ɾ'or∇ (or *gEwor∇??) 'grain' > HS: Ch: [1] WCh {OS} *giɾur- 'millet' > Hs {Ba.} gèrō̃, Δ {Sk.} gyauro 'bulrush-millet', Gw {Mts.} gero 'millet' || Su {J} gèwuro id. || Sy {Sk.} goro 'sorghum' || Ngz {Sch.} gāvárkà ~ gāvvrákà id. || CCh: Zm {Srp.} guirany 'corn' || Ech: Smr {J} góráwe 'ε corn' || [2] *g∇r- 'bean(s)' > WCh: Ang {ChL} g+rəm || ? Fy {J} kerem id. || CCh: Mnd {Mch.} gírē, {ChL} gire, Glv {ChL} ?ágùrà, {Rp.} àg3ra, Gv {ChC} ηg3rè, Nkc ng+re, Dgh {Fk.} ηgrè id. || Ech: EDng {Fd.} gèrjèη, Jg {J} gír(k) id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. HCD 83, Ba. 377, Sch. 219 || S: [1] S *gir(-at)- '≈□ small grain' > MHb ḡḡḡ gē'rā 'seed of carob (St. John's bread, Ceratonia)', Ak girū 'twenty-fourth part of a sheqel' -> BHb ḡḡḡ gē'rā id. || [2] CS *gargir- 'a berry, small grain' > BHb pl. ḡḡḡḡ gargā'r-īm 'ripe olives', MHb ḡḡḡḡ gar'gēr, JA [Trg.] ḡḡḡḡḡ gargā'r-ā 'berry, small grain, Ar ḡirḡir- 'bean' ¶ DRS 177, 181, KB 193-4, Klein 108, Js. 266, Löw II 403, Ln. 401, BK I 274-5, Sd. 291 ¶¶ OS #211 || D *kor- 'millet, a grain' > Knd kōrēη 'a grain', Tm kural 'Italian millet', Kt koy], Kui kueri 'Setaria italica', Kn korale, Tl korralu, Prj koyla 'Panicum italicum (a kind of millet), Gnd kohala(:) 𐌸 kōɾla 'Panicum miliare', gorraη 'mandeya corn, Eleusine coracana' ¶¶ D #2163 ◇ The D and S data suggest that the N internal cns. was not *w (but most probably a weak lr. *ɾ or *h). If this is true, the cns. -w- in several Ch languages is a hiatus-based innovation influenced by the labialized vowel ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [#82] ||| Cp. also ?? N₂ ≈ *gER∇Sd∇ (or cd. *gE'ɾ'or∇ S∇d∇?) 'ε cereal' > IE {E} *ḡhresdh(i)- (gen. *ḡhr'sdh-os) 'barley' > NaIE: L hordeum id. || OHG, OSx gērsta, NHG Gerste, Dt gerst id. || ?φ Gk Hm κρῖ, Gk κριθή

id. || Al drithë 'grain' || Ht karas ntr. ({EI} = [kras], [kars]?) {Ts.} 'wheat (?)', {EI} 'ε wheat' (absent in Pv.) ¶¶ EI 51, P 446 (IE *g^herzd^(h)-), GI 565 (IE *g^h(e)rd^h-), Bc. # 8.44, WH I 656-7, KM 250, O 75, Ts. W 34, Ts. E 498 || **HS**: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} gerda 'sorghum', {Ov.} girda 'Korn, Getreide' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 56.

659b. *giʔoʔr 'ε grass' > **HS**: S: Ar ḡaʔr- 'herbe grande, longue, d'une végétation riche' ¶ BK I 244 || **IE** (mt.; × N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow'?) *g^hreH^ω-/*g^hrH^ω-: +ext.: NaIE *g^hrōs-/*g^hrās- 'grass, herbs' > Gt gras 'χόρτος, λάχανον (grass, garden-herbs)', OFrs gres, gers, OSx, OHG gras, NHG Gras, AS ʒræs, ʒær̥s 'grass', NE grass || L grāmen 'grass, turf' (< *g^hrās-men) || SI *grōzdb (gen. *grōzda), *grōzdb 'cluster' > OCS ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ, Slv grōzd 'cluster of grapes', SCr grōzd id., 'grapes', Blg ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ, R ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ, Δ ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ 'cluster (of berries, grapes, etc.)', OR, RChS ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ 'grape' | + another ext.: AS ʒrǣd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant' (× N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow', q.v.) || Ht {Pv.} kariyant- 'grass', karitasxa 'grassland, lawn' ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, Bern. I 355, ESSJ VII 142-3, Glh. 250, WH I 639-40, Pv. IV 80, Ts. E I 507, 510 || **A**: NaT *k_lʔörän 'sedge' > VTt, Bsh kürän, SbTt kürän, Brb {Rl.} körön, Xk köreṅ ot, Alt, Tlt {Rl.} körön id. ¶ ET KQ 147-8. Rl. II 1251, 1454 || M: Kl {Rm.} kür̥ṅ 'eine Pflanze (giftig), sedge (Carex), henbane'; WrM kürmeli, Hlh xypmäl 'sedge (Carex)' ¶ KW 248, MED 506, Kow. III 2650 || **D** *kīr- 'greens, vegetables' > Tm kīrai id., 'pot-herbs', Ml cīra 'greens, eatable leaves', Δ kīra, cīra 'spinach', Kt kīr, Td kīry 'Amarantus', Kn kīre, kīre '(various species of) greens', Tl kīra, kīre 'herb, vegetable, greens' ¶¶ D #1617 ◇ T *k^h- and M *k- are probably from *gʔ < N *giʔ- ◇ Blz. LB #71c (suggested the comparison between IE, D, and T).

660. *geʔr 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'to build walls\huts') > **HS**: C: EC: Ged {Hd.} gōʔre, Brj {Hd.} gōre 'shed for animals', Or {Grg.} gōrrō 'partition, wall' || SC: Irq {Wh.} ḡârʔai (pl. ḡârʔâwe) 'wall of the verandah', {E} garʔay 'verandah of house', {MQK} garʔay 'front of the house, area near the house' (× N *gArʔ 'belly, inside') || Bj {R} gāʔra ~ garʔa ~ gara 'fenced courtyard around the house'; eBj or Ag *gaʔrat ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) Tgy {R} ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ⇨ Bln/Sa {R} 'qāʔrat id. ¶ Tgy ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ is isolated within S and EthS, while

Bj $g\bar{a}^?ra$ has cognates among the C lgs., suggesting a C origin of the Tgy word ¶ R WBd 87, R WB 234, Grg. 181, Hd. 94, 242, Wh. SI, MQR 37. ≈ E SC 233 (pSC * $g\bar{a}d-$ 'dwell, reside, abide' based on an unc. comparison of the Irq word with Dhl * $g\bar{a}d-$ 'stay') || Ch: WCh: Hs $g\bar{a}r\bar{g}\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ 'low wall or mound to prevent rain water from flowing into a booth' || ECh: Mkl {J} $g\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ (pl. $g\bar{a}r\text{-}d\bar{a}r\bar{i}$) 'clôture d'épineux' ¶ Ba. 366, J LM 98 ¶¶ ≈ OS #852 (* $ga?ur-$ 'wall, yard'), #956 (* $gor-$ 'wall, house, dwelling') || A * $ge_r\text{'i}'r\bar{\nabla}$ {AD} 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent' > M * $ge_r\text{'ir}$ 'house' > MMgl {Iw.} $gehir$ 'house', MM [S] {H} $geyit$ pl. 'houses', [LM, S, MA, IM, IsV] ger , WrM, WrO ger , HIM $г\bar{a}p$, Ord, Mnr H {SM} $g\bar{e}r$, Brt $г\bar{a}p$, Mgl {Rm.} ger , Ba {T} gar , Dg {Mrm., T} $geri$, $ge\bar{r}$ 'house' ¶ H 49-50, Pp. MA 170, 437, Pp. L III 69, Lg. VMI 30, MED 377-8, Ms. O 259-60, Krg. 770, Chr. 171-2, M 133, T 322, T BJ 136, T DgJ 131, Klz. D I 133, Iw. 103 || T * $k'er\bar{a}k'ü$ 'lattice-work wooden frame of a yurt (tent)' > OT {Cl.} $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}k\bar{u}$, {DTS} $kerekü$, Tkm † $gerege$, Bsh $kir\bar{a}g\bar{a}$, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg $kerege$, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}x\bar{a}$, Uz $keraga$ id. ¶ Cl. 744, ET VGD 24-5, Rl. II 1090, Sht. 125, KrkR 315, UzR 209, Dr. TM III #1629 || *AdS* of (infl. on) Tg * $gerbe-$ 'make perches, clean trunks from boughs' < N * $gor\bar{\nabla}b|p\bar{\nabla}$ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #503 (T, M, Tg) || D * ke_r- ({ $\bar{G}S$ } * $k-$) > Kn ki_r v. 'confine, close, shut, block up, make a fence, cover', Tm $ce_r\bar{u}$ v. 'control (as the senses), hinder, prevent', $ci_r\bar{a}i$ v. 'restrain, imprison, dam up', Ml $ce_r\bar{i}yuka$ 'be thronged', $ce_r\bar{u}kkuka$ 'dam up, enclose', $ci_r\bar{a}$ 'enclosure', Kt $\bar{c}er$ 'imprisonment', Td $ke_r\bar{f}-$ '(water) is dammed', Tl $ce_r\bar{a}$ 'prison, imprisonment', Knd ke_r- v. 'close, shut (as a door, box); build a board (as enclosure)' ¶¶ D #1980 || ? K: G $da\text{-}v\text{-}h\text{-}gurgur\text{-}eb$ 'ich hege um' ¶ Chx. 217 || Possibly an *AdS* of IE (NaIE) * $g^hor\text{-}to-$ 'encircled land'; the N etymom in question is hardly the main source of NaIE * $g^hor\text{-}to-$, because the latter has no long vw. (the expected trace of the N lr.) (see N * $g\bar{a}rd\bar{\nabla}$ 'encircle, surround, fence in', q.v. ffd.) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here FU $k^{\bar{a}1}r\bar{\nabla}$ > Prm * kar 'settlement, fortified settlement', but the FU vw. \bar{a}^1 (> Prm * a) suggests that the word belongs to N * $g\bar{\nabla}yo^1R\bar{\nabla}$ 'heap of stones, (walled) settlement' ◇ The N lr. (probably * \bar{c}) is suggested by the reflexes in Bj (?), Tgy (\bar{c}), K (lack of * \bar{c}), and M; the N vw. between * \bar{c}^1 and * \bar{r} is suggested by the M and D ev. (D * \bar{c} - < intervoc. * \bar{r} - rather than < * \bar{r} -cluster).

661. * $g^{\bar{u}1}\bar{c}r\bar{\nabla}$ 'look, look for' > K * $og^{\bar{u}1}r\bar{\nabla}$ (or * $og\bar{a}|\bar{a}r\bar{\nabla}$) > Lz, Mg $gor\text{-}v$. 'look for' ¶ Chik. 264-5; GM S 334-5 and Test. KV $\bar{\nabla}$ (both on the

origin of Lz and Mg 0) || **HS** * $\sqrt{g\acute{e}r}$ > S * $\sqrt{g\acute{e}r}$ *'see' > Ar جَعْرَانَةٌ *ǧiṣrān-at-* 'eye' ¶ BK I 300 || Eg fMK \mathfrak{z}^{r} v. 'search out, investigate; seek' (× N * $\check{\text{č}}\acute{u}\text{r}\text{r}\nabla$ ~ * $\check{\text{č}}\acute{u}\text{r}\text{r}\nabla$ 'to see, to look' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 539, Fk. 320 || EC: Af {PH} *gorrise* v. 'look for, search, seek', *goran* 'searching, studying', Sa, Sa Ir {R} *gūr-* 'look for', {Wlm.} *gúro-kio* 'I shall look for' ¶ PH 115, R S II 161 || ? B: Nf *sə-ggār* 'look for', possibly also * \sqrt{grw} 'find' > Ah, Tdq *aǧru*, ETwl, Ty *aǧrəw*, Gh *aǧraw*, Tnsl *iǧrəw* id. ¶ La. S 214, NZ 857, 895-6 || Ch {JS} * \sqrt{gr} 'look for' > CCh: Db {Lnh.} *ǧl̥r*, Msy {Mch.} *ǧər*, Ms {J} *ǧārā*, ? Bdm {Lk.} *kəra* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 171 || **IE**: NaIE * $\sqrt{g^h_1erā-}$ ~ ? * $\sqrt{g^h_1werā-}$ > Sl **zbrěti* / **zbr̥q* 'look' > OCS **ЗБРѢТИ** *zbrěti* / **ЗБРѢ** *zbr̥j̑*, SCr *zrěti* / *zrēm*, Slv *zrīti* / *zrēm*, R *зреть* / *зрю*, P *źrzeć* / *zrzę*, Cz *zříti* / *zřím* | Lt *žiurėti* 'to look (at)' ¶ Frn. 1316, Tr. 366, ≈ Glh. 700 (??σ: Sl **zbrěti* < IE * $\sqrt{g^h_1erā-}$ / * $\sqrt{g^hrē-}$ 'shine') || **A**: T **kōr-* v. 'see' > OT, MQp, XwT, Chg *kör-*, Tk *gör-*, Az, Tkm, Qmq *gör-*, ET, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, SY, Xk, Tv, Yk *kör-*, CrTt *koṛ-*, VTt, Bsh *kür-*, Uz *kwr-*, Qzl {Dom.} *kör-*, {Jk.} *kōr-* ~ *kör*, Qb {Cs.} *kōr-*, Tf *kór-*, Chv *кур-* *kur-* & *kor-* 'see'; T **kōr* 'eyes' (< N * $\sqrt{g^h_1ur}\nabla$ *yí*, where **yí* 'a couple' is a marker of dual) > OT {Cl.} *kōz*, XwT, MQp *köz*, Chg, OOSm *göz*, Tk *göz*, Az *ǧöz*, Tkm *гөз* *göḍ*, CrT *goź* ~ *koź*, Qmq *göz*, XT {Dr.} *geːz*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tb, ET, Ln, SY *köz*, Uz *kwz*, Alt, Xk *kös*, VTt *küz* (→ Chv *күç* *kuś* ~ *koś*), Bsh *küḍ*, Qmn *köz* ~ *kö* ~ *küs* 'eyes' ¶ Cl. 736, Rs. W 292, 295, ET VGD 60-3, 77-9, Ra. 240, Md. 49, 170, Fed. I 310-1, 314-5 (Chv *күç* ← VTt *küz*), ≠ Md. 50 (T **kōrs* 'eye') || Tg **ogur-* 'understand' > Sln *guru-* 'understand, learn (*узнатъ*)' ¶ STM I 174 || M **gori* 'hope, expectation' > WrM *gori*, HIM *горь*, Brt *гори* id., Ord *g_ori-ug^wi* 'c'est en vain, cela n'ira pas' (with *-ug^wi* 'without') (÷ WrM *gori ügei* 'without hope') ¶ MED 361, Ms. O 307, Chr. 157 || pKo {S} **kírì-* 'long for, miss, think of' > MKo *kírì-*, NKo *kiri-* ¶ S QK #915, Nam 68, MLC 237 ¶¶ DQA #554 (A **gōre* 'see, understand'; incl. T, M, Ko, Tg **ogur-*) || **D** **kur-_li* ({ \sqrt{GS} } **g-?*) 'mark, sign' > Tm, Ml, Kn *kur̥i* 'mark, sign, aim', Tm *kur̥i-* v. 'draw, sketch outline in painting, design', Kt *gury ∇* 'good aim', Td *kur̥y* 'aim', *kur̥p* 'a mark (made by a person to show he was there)', Kn *kur̥i* v. 'mark, take note of, regard', Kdg *kur̥i* 'drawing, sectarian mark', *kur̥i-* v. 'paint', Tu *guri* 'aim, mark', Tl *guri* 'an aim, design', Ku *gur-* v. 'aim at', Mlt *kurke* v. 'write' ¶¶ D #1847 ◇ If the N vw. was

ü* (suggested by IE), we still have to explain the M back vw. **o* (regr. as. *ü*...*â* > **o*...*∇*??).

662. **gæhR∇* → **gæRhæ* 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE **ǵʰerH-* / **ǵʰreH-* > NaIE **ǵʰerə-* / **ǵʰrē-* '≈□ shine' > OIr *grían* f., NIr *grian* 'sun' (< **ǵʰrējnā*) || ON *grá-r*, NNr, Dn *grá*, OFrs *grē*, OHG *grāo*, NHG *grau*, AS *Ʒræw*, *ƷræƷ* 'gray', NE *gray* ~ *grey* ('gray' ← *'bright') (Gmc **ē* < NaIE **ē* < **eH*); with the sx. **-u-*: ON *grújandi* f. 'dawn' || Pru *sari* ([z-]) f. 'Glut', Lt *žarà* f. 'aurora, sunray', *žāras* id., *žerėti* 'to shine, to sparkle, to twinkle', Ltv *zars* 'ray' || Sl **zo'ra* (accus. **zōřq*) 'sunrise, aurora' ("stem I" **ǵʰerə-*) > OCS *зорѣа* *zorja*, McdS *зора*, SCr *zòra*, Slv *zórja*, Cz *zoře*, P *zorza*, R pl. 'зори, R Δ *зо'ря*, pl. R *зори*; Sl **za'ra* id. > OCS *зарѣа* *zarja*, Blg, R *за'ря*, Slv *zárja*, Cz *záře* ¶ P 441-2, Thr. §§ 222, 470, ≈ Bc. 54, Dnn. 383, Vr. 185, Schz. 154, Kb. 405, KM 268, Ho. 135, Frn. 1290, En. 242, Glh. 699-700, EI 514 (**ǵʰer-* 'shine, glow') || HS: WS **✓ghr* > Ar *جهر* *✓ǵhr* *G* v. 'dazzle so. with the sunlight' (of the sun), Sr *✓ghr* *G* 'be dazzled' (of the eyes), Mh {Jo.} *✓ghr* (pf. *gʷhēr*, sbjn. *uʷghör*), Jb E/C *✓ghr* id., Sq {L} *✓ghrr* 'être\devenir clair', Tgr *✓ghr* *G* v. 'glow, coal (verkohlen)' ¶ BK I 343, Hv.102, Br. 107, JPS 62, LLS 104, Jo. M 117, Jo. J 73, LH 559, DRS 104 || Ch: Hs *gārí* 'sky' || Msg {Rlf.} *gerna* 'day', Msg G {Trn.} *gìrnâ*, Msg P {Trn.} *gərna*, Msg {Ov.} *gìrná* 'today', Msg G {Trn.} *gìrvîdî* 'day-time', Msg P {Trn.} *gərɜvɜdɜy* 'moment', *gərɜvɜdɜy marbay* 'noon' (*marba-* 'in the middle') ¶ Ba. 367, Trn. LM 90, Trn. LDM 17, 23, Lk. M 56, ChC || A: M **gere* 'light, brightness' (× N **g'e'lyrâ* 'fire, hearth') > MM [IM] *gere* 'light', [S] *gere* 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM *gere*, HIM *гэрээ* id., 'light, lustre', Kl {Rm.} *gerə* 'torch, wick', Ord *gere* 'light, brightness', Mnr H {SM} *gərîē* 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} *gere* 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx *gîeren* 'light, ray'; ⇨ M **gerel* 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] *gerel* 'light', [S] *gerel* 'Glanz', WrM *gerel*, HIM *гэрэл* 'light, beam of light', Kl *гэрл gerəl* ~ *gerl* 'light, ray, brightness' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, Ms. H 56, KW 134, MED 378-9, KRS 139, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114 || Tg: WrMc *gere-* v. 'dawn', Mc Sb {Y} *gerəmə* 'to break' (of a day), WrMc *usiḡagerišē-mbi* 'a\the star shines' ¶ Z 324, Y #2662 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #A1535 (A **gari* 'light [lux]'; M + unc. Tg **garpa* 'ray of light, arrow') ◇ IS I 228-9 [#82].

662a. *gaHr∇ (= *gaʔr∇?) '(ε?) fish' > **HS:** Eg G gr 'fish' (coll.) ¶ EG V 180 || ? SOm: Hm {Ldl.} kara 'fish' ¶ Bnd. AL 150 || U *kōre 'ε fish' ('whitefish?') > F kuore / kuoree- 'smelt, Osmerus', Krl kūōreh, Vp kořeh id.; BF ⇨ R κορυχα, κορυωκα id. || ? Z, Vt gurina 'gudgeon' || Sm: Slq: N {Cs.} kor, UO {Cs.} kuor, Tz {Cs.} kuor, kôr, Kar {Cs.} kûr 'Coregonus muksun (a Siberian whitefish) (Castrén's k is very likely to represent Slq q), Kms {Pls.} kuru 'lenok ('Salmo lenoc' [= 'Brachymystax lenoc?']), Koyb {Coll.← Pls.?)} hurru 'Salmo corregonoides' ¶¶ Coll. 29, SSA I 441-2, Vs. II 344, LG 83, Cs. 118, 181, Pls. Z #C-356, Rs. W 282, BIG 287, Rl. II 550 || D: McTm *kāraj > Tm kāraĭ 'a sea-fish', Ml kāra 'a fish' ¶ D #1476 ◇ D *-r- (reg. from *r-clusters) and the long vw. in U and D suggest the presence of a lr. (sc. D *-r- < N *-Hr-); U *ō < pre-U *ā < N *aH; on U *ō < pre-U *ā see Db. OS xxv-xxvi. The absence of the lr. in Eg suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ (= *ʔ or *h, which are the only laryngeals liable to be lost in Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [#65] (suggested to equate D with T, U, SOm + unc. with Tg).

663. (₂?) *gûʔw¹r∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell' > **HS:** WS *-gūr- v. 'dwell' > Hb -gūr- (pf. 𐤂𐤀 gār, ip. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 ya-'gūr) 'dwell (as alien and dependant)', MHb -gūr- (𐤂𐤀 gār / 𐤂𐤀𐤍 ya-'gūr) 'dwell (wohnen)', Ug {TOu-1} gr (✓gwr) 'être un hôte, séjourner', {OLS} ✓gw|yr N 'hospedarse, acogerse', ✓grgr 'avecindarse', Md guara 'temporary dwelling, (?) exile', Sb ✓gwr v. 'visit (a sanctuary)'; ⇨ WS *gaʔwir- 'inhabitant' > BHb 𐤂𐤀 gēr 'protected citizen, stranger living in so.'s country', MHb 𐤂𐤀 gēr, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} 𐤂𐤀𐤍 giyyō'r-ā 'stranger, proselyte', Sr giyyō'r-ā 'alien, foreigner, stranger; proselyte', Ar جار ġār-, Gz 𐤂𐤀 gōr, Tgr, Tgy 𐤂𐤀 gor, Mh gəwayr, Hrs gor, gwīr 'neighbour': ⇨: Gz ✓gwr TL (pf. tagāwara) 'dwell together in a neighbourly way', Jb C pf. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 gēr (sbjn. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 gēr) 'become so.'s neighbour' ¶ KB 193, KBR 184-5, 201, TOu I 588, BGMR 51, Js. 236, OLS 150, Sl. 278-9, JPS 68, DM 82, LG 207, LH 592, Jo. M 128, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, DRS 109 || EC: Sml {ZMO} guri 'house, home', Rn gūra 'move to a new dwelling-place', ?σ Arr gūr- 'migrate' (unless akin to Arr gōr 'road, way'), Sd {Gs.} gare 'tribe, people, village' ¶ ZMO 170, DSI 281, PG 131-2, Hw. A 32-3, Gs. 116 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gar∇ 'town' > Bl {ChL} g̃r̃wú, {Bnt.} 'gor u, ı Ngm {Stl. ← ?} gargu, Krf {Sch.} ġirí 'town' || Hs g̃r̃í, Gw {Mts.} ġerí 'town, inhabited environment' || Dw {ChL} ġerí

(← Hs gārī?) 'town', Jm {Gw.} girga 'village' || ECh: Jg {J} gēr 'village', EDng {Fd.} gēgēr 'town' ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [#685], Stl. VZCh 67, Abr. H 305, Bnt. LWS 22, Sch. BTL 54, ChL, ChC ¶¶ Not here Wl {C} guollē 'house', which is probably a loan from Or (Or {Brl.} gola 'a room within a hut', {Sr.} gola 'room', {Th.} gola 'capannuccia') (see N *gūīA 'dwelling' [→ 'house']) ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 78-8 || D *kūr- ({{GS}} *k-) '≈□ roof, hut' > Tm kūrāi 'sloping roof (commonly thatched with grass or palm leaf), small hut', Ml kūrā 'hut, thatch', Klm kurođi 'hog-house' ¶¶ D #1904 || A (if AmTg is *gūr-): AmTg *gūr|y- v. 'roof' > Ork gui-~guy(u)-, Nn Nh gui-, Nn B guyu- id., Ul guyū- id., 'v. 'thatch'; d.: Ork guidz ~ guydz, Nn Nh guičэ, Nn B guyцз, Ul guičз ~ guyčз, guiptз 'a roof' ◇ The N cluster *-'w' r- yields D *-r- (while intervoc. *-r- would have yielded D *-r̥-).

664. *gar'ɟ' i 'old' > HS: EC: pOr {Bl., Ss.} *gerɟ- 'grow old' > Arr gēr 'old man, elder, husband', Or žār- (< *žar- < [mt.] < *žarɟ-), Gato, Turo, Kns ker-, Msl, Bss kerʔ-, Gdl {Ss.} kerʔ-, {Bl.} kerɟ- id., Arr gair 'old', Or {Grg., Brl.} žarsa 'old person', {Brl.} žar-ti 'old woman', ?φ Arr žàʔar 'old woman' (generic) ¶ Bl. 207, Ss. PEC 37, AD VZ 208, Hw. A 360, 369, Grg. 229 || Ch {JS} *✓gr ({{Nw.}} *garɟ) 'grow old' > WCh: || BT: Krkr {ChL} gārà 'old', Krf {Sch.} gārò 'old' (of a thing) || NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} ɟerá 'grow old', gārā sánna 'old (person)', gārìyáᵏwáí 'old woman', ? gʷaráná 'old' (of a thing), Cg {Sk.} gārúisán 'old' (man), gárúmé 'old woman', Kry/Mbr {Sk.} ɟar-, Jmb {Sk.} ɟar- 'grow old', My {Sk.} ɟaràhòzèhè 'old man', ɟaràhòzákù 'old woman', P' {MSk.} fiarà 'grow old', Sir {Sk.} ɟárá id., ɟâr wá 'old (thing), gžárá 'old woman' || SBc: Grn {Gw.} garan 'old man', {Hrn.} gágàrìn 'old person', Buli {ChL} gòrmbàm id., gòrm+š̂t̂ 'old woman' || Ngz {Sch.} gārú 'grow old' || ? Hs gíɟmà 'exceed in age, be older than' (unless ← Hs gíɟmá 'bigness; to grow big') || CCh: Tr {Nw.} gòrз, ? Gzg {Nw.} gal 'grow old' || ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} gúé 'grow old' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #64, Ba. 390-1, Hrn. #170, Sch. DN 69, Sk. HCD 85, Lk. ZSS 33 || IE: Ht karū 'early, formerly', karu(u)ili 'former, ancient' ¶ Pv. IV 112-5 || A: NaT *k'ari 'old' (of human beings and animals) > OT, MQp XIII, Osm ≥XIV, Chg XV qarī, Tkm гарры, Qq garrī, Qq, Qrg, Alt qarī, Uz qarī, ET qerī, Xk kiru id., Qzq {DQA} qāri id., {MM} qariya 'old man', ET qerī, Xk кипи kiru id., Az qarī 'old woman', Tk karī, Ggz qarī 'wife, married woman', d.: Qq

qariya 'old man'; pT *k'arɪ- ({}Md.) *k'arɪ- > OT qarɪ- ({}Cl.) qarɪ- 'be(come) old', Tk karɪ-, Tkm garrɪ-, Uz qari-, ET qerɪ-, Qrg, StAlt qarɪ-, Tv, Tf qirɪ-, Xk kirɪ- - kirɪ-, Yk kirɪy- 'grow old', Az garɪ- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman) ¶ The variant with i, ɪ, or e of the first syll. may be due to the infl. of the reflex of N *kiřHa 'old' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-2, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #775 ◇ The rec. of N *ř is based on EC {Ss.} *ř, which is only tentative (what is certain is that it is a l.r. resembling *ʔ and lengthening the preceding vw. in Or). Therefore our N *ř here is tentative and not free of doubts. A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ Gr. II #283 (*kara 'old') (IE, A + err. J + qu. EA).

665.₂ *gArɪ∇ 'belly, inside' > HS: pC {E} *garɪ- > LEC {Bl.} *garɪ- 'belly' > Gwd {AMS} karɪ-étto, Gln {AMS} karɪitto, Hr/DbS {AMS} karaɪ-čé, Or gara-ʔ ({}Bl.): < *gara-a < *garɪ-a), Kns kár-itta, Turo kér-itta, Gato kár-a, Msl, Bss karʔ-a, Gdl kard, Dsn gēre, Elm gére, Arr geréʔ id. ¶¶ ?? amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gar i 'body, trunk', Bj A {AD} garouy- 'self', e. g. ʔU ga'rōy-u 'myself', ʔU garō'yok 'thysself' (× N *gER∇ 'entrails', q.v.) ¶¶ SC: Irq {MQK} garɪāy 'front of the house, area near the door', {E} garɪay 'verandah' (× N *ge'ř∇'r∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v.) ¶ EPC #500, ≈ AD SF 205, R WBd 87, Rop. 186, Bl. 207, AMS 167, 207, 232, Hn. NBLK 205, Hw. A 360, To. DL 49, MQK 37 ¶¶ D: SD *kar(a)l- 'entrails' > Ml karal, karul 'lungs and heart; liver, bowels; heart', Ml karił, Kt karł 'heart', Kn karul, karalu 'an entrail, the bowels', Kdg karɪ 'interstines', Tu kar(a)lu 'bowels, liver' ¶ D *-r- < *-rH- ¶ D #1274 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73a (incl. C, D; no distinction between the reflexes of N *gArɪ∇, N *gER∇ 'entrails' [q.v.], and N *guR∇ 'belly, body' [> U *kur∇ 'body, SC *gur∇ 'belly']).

666. *girɪ∇ 'to cut' > HS: WS *řgrɪ 'cut' > BHb ʔgrɪ řgrɪ 'cut down, trim (a beard), diminish', JA řgrɪ 'cut (head hair, beard), diminish', JEA řgrɪ G 'be inferior, shave the head', Sr řgrɪ 'shave (hair\beard), deprive of hair, make a tonsure', Plm אנתגג grɪtʔ pl. 'hairdressers', Mh řgrɪ (pf. gōra, sbjn. yʔgrɪʔ) 'shave (usually the head)', Jb C řgrɪ (pf. 'geraɪ, sbjn. 'yɔgraɪ) 'cut, shave off (all the head hair)', Sq {L} řgrɪ (pf. 'garaɪ) 'cut (hair)' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, Lv.

I 363, Sl. 304, Br. 134, JPS 79, HJ 235, LESAC 16, Jo. M 123, Jo. J 78, DRS 190 || EC: Sa, Af ✓gr̥ 'cut (off)' > Sa {Wlm.} -igre̥- id., Sa {R} ✓gr̥- (p. 'i-gr̥i̯, imv. e'gr̥i̯ ~ i'gr̥i̯) 'ab-\lein-schneiden', Af {R} ✓gr̥- (p. 'i-r̥g̥i̯, imv. i'r̥g̥i̯) 'abschneiden (Baum, Hals)', {PH} ir̥g̥i̯e 'cut, cut down, harvest', gara̯e v. 'cut off in the middle of doing sth.', garu̯ 'harvest, mutilation', ?φ Arr kūr- 'cut, reap, castrate, cut down'; but EC *gawra̯- v. 'cut the throat' is probably derived from the reflex of N *gūr̥E ~ *gūr̥V 'throat, neck' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 316, R S II 161-2, R A II 60, PH 110-1, 137, Hw. A 381 || U *kir̥ > FP *kir̥ä- 'hew, strike' (× N *k̥i'r̥u̯V 'strike, hit' [q.v. ffd.]) || pY {IN} *kir̥(e) 'knife' > OY O {Mat.} кире or кирье id. ¶ IN 306, ≈ IN 228 || A: Tg *giri- 'cut out, cut out cloth for dress-making' > Ewk ṽgir-, Lm g̥lr-, Neg g̥i- ~ g̥ly-, Orc ṽg̥i- ~ ṽg̥iyi, Ud g̥i-, Ul, Ork, Nn g̥lr- id., WrMc giri- v. 'trim; cut off (grass, branches)' ¶ STM I 153-4, Bz. 21-2 (*g̥lr-), S AJ 224 [#280] (*giri-) || pJ *k̥ir- 'cut' > OJ k̥ir-, J: T k̥ir-, K/Kg k̥ir- ¶ S AJ 272 [#194], S QJ #194, Mr. 709 || ? pT *k̥ir- > MT [IM] k̥i'r- 'cut off, clip' ¶ Cl. 643 ¶¶ S AJ 298 [#297], ≠ DQA #528 || D *kir̥ ~ *ker̥ ({ṽGS} *k-) 'shave, cut (with a sickle)' (partial coalescence with N *k̥ir̥X̥V 'scrape, scratch') > Tm cir̥ā 'shave, cut with a sickle', Ml cir̥a 'shaving', Kn kiri 'shave', Tu kirejuni 'cut (as straw, grass-stumps)', Klm kerk-, Nk ker-, Mlt q̥ere- 'shave', ? Brh kar̥y̯iṅ 'shear, crop down, mow down' ¶ Tm cir̥āy̯ 'get scratched', Ml cir̥ekka '(shave), scrape', and Kn k̥ere 'scratch' go back to N *k̥ir̥X̥V '↑' ¶¶ D #1564.

667. *goR̥V '≈□ hill, (small?) mountain' > HS: S: Tgr ṽC̥o̯ g̥r̥ 'Bergkamm, mountain-ridge' (hardly ← g̥r̥ 'neck, throat'), ??σ Ar ḡar̥(a)̯-at- 'monticule de sable, terrain sablonneux' (if 'monticule' is the primary meaning) ¶ LH 576, BK I 281 || C: [1] EC: Sml {DSI} guro 'the highest point of sth., summit', Or {Ss} g̥ōrr̥ō 'mount, small hill', {Th} g̥ōr̥o 'elevazione, collinetta, terrapieno', {Brl.} gor̥o 'terrapieno, mucchio, luogo elevato, collinetta' (Brl. did not indicate the length of vowels) || [2] C *g̥ā̯r- (× N *gar̥Hä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point') > Ag: Q {R} gara 'rock' || EC: Or {Th.} g̥āra (nom. g̥ārr̥i) 'montagna, catena di montagni, altezza', {Grg.} g̥āra 'mountain', Sd {Gs.} g̥āra 'hill, small mountain' ¶ DSI 282, Ss. B 84, Th. 151-2, 173, Brl. 182, AD SF 61, Grg. 157, Gs. 175 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} gur̥á, Anf {Gr̥t.} gur̥á, HzMa {Fl.} gura, Na {Fl.} g̥āra, Shk {Fl.} g̥ra 'mountain' ¶ ≈ Lm.

Sh 311, Grt. 352, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} gîrí 'rock' (but EDng {Fd.} gîrpì and Mgm {JA} gûrbú 'rock' are plausibly cognate with S *✓grb 'rock, highland') || ? CCh: Gdr {Srp.} girmāa, {Mch.} garmā 'mountain' ¶ ChC, JA LM 89 || K: GZ *gōra- 'small mountain, hill' > G gora, Mg gōla- ~ gvala- 'mountain', Lz gōla- 'summer roaming place' ¶ K 64, K² 31-2 || IE: NaIE *^og_lh₁er- (att. in BSI) 'mountain', ? 'forest' (×N *kur_lh₁ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd. ×N *guR 'forest') > pSl *gō'ra (accus. *gōrǫ, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ropa gora, R, Uk ropa, SCr gōra, Cz, Hls hora, P, Lls gōra id., Slv gōra id., 'mountain forest', Blg ropa 'forest, wood(s)', Slk hora id., 'woody mountain' || Lt giriā, Lt Z girē, Ltv † dzirā, dzire 'forest, wood(s)' ◇ Cp. FP *kur 'hill, steep slope' and D *kur- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'hill country' (both most probably from N *kur_lh₁ '↑') ◇ ≈ Blz. IB #111d (suggested to add Shn, Anf, Dng, and Mgm), ≈ Blz. KM 133-4 [#7], ≈ Blz. LNA #17 (*÷ OSA ✓grb 'campus montanus, saxum', M and pJ words for 'stone').

668. (₂?) *gVRæŕû '≈ to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE *g^hrēu-/*g^hraū-/*g^hrū- 'fall upon, fall in' > Gk χραιέν inf., Gk Hm ἔχρα(F)ε 'fall upon, attack, assail' || L ingru-ō, -ere 'fall upon, assail' || Lt griáuti (prs. griáuju) 'to bring\throw down, to overthrow; to tear down, to demolish', Ltv grāût (prs. grāuju, p. grāvū) 'to destroy, to wreck', Lt griūti (prs. griūvū) 'to fall (down), to crash\tumble down, to fall in', Ltv grūt 'to collapse, to break down' ¶ ≈ WP I 647-8, ≈ P 460, F II 1114-5, WH I 700-1, Frn. 171 || HS: S *✓grǵ > Ar جرع ✓ǵrǵ Gt 'break (a piece of wood), Sh† (ǵǵraǵa) 'fall' ¶ BK I 280 || EC: Sml garāǵ- 'nock, beat, thrash' ¶ DSI 25, ZMO 154 || ?ϕ K: G ngr- 'destroy; fall in' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 977.

669. *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE *g^her-, *g^herh̄-/*g^hreH̄- > NaIE *g^her-, *g^hera-/*g^hrē- 'sharp point' (partially ×N *g^ha¹Rž '≈ to stretch, to drag') > Gk χάρμη 'point of a lance, spear-head' (< *g^hr̄- without lr.) || Nr Δ gare 'point (Spitze)'; *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grāt (pl. græte) 'sharp fish-bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain-ridge', NHG Grat 'edge, ridge', Gräte 'fish-bone', MDt graet id., Dt graat id., 'ridge' || SI *grōtb 'sharp point' > Cz, Slk hrot id., P grot id., 'arrow, dart' ¶ P 440, F II 107, Lx. 75, KM 268, Vr. N 217, ESSJ VII 140 || U *kara 'sharp bough (of a coniferous tree), stick' > F kara 'peg, bar (of a lock), tang (of a knife), (metal)

rod, denuded tail of a bull', *karahka* 'bough, young fir-tree', *karas* 'young fir-tree, long bough of a fir', Es {W} *karā* 'denuded tail of an animal (entblößte Rute der Tiere)', *jummi-karā* 'icicle' || Sm: Ne: T *χαρβ*, T O {Lh.} *χārβ*, F {Lh.} *kārβ* 'larch'; Ng {Cs.} '*karu* 'dry larch', En B {HL.} *kaḍī*, {Ter.} *kaḍī* 'spruce', {Cs.} *kadī*, {Prk.} *kade* 'fir-tree', En Kr {Dolgix} *kaḍī*, En X {Cs.} *karī* id.; the metonymy 'bough' → 'tree' is parallel to that found in F *karahka*, *karas* ¶¶ SK 160-1, W EDW 208, Ter. 747, Lh. 166-7, Cs. 47, 245, KP 80 || **A**: Tg **gara* 'bough' > Ewk *gara* 'bough, dry branch, stick', Sln *gar*, *gara* 'branch', Neg *gaya*, Orc, Ud *gā*, Ul, Ork, Nn *gara* 'bough, branch, rowlock (made of a bough) in a boat', ? WrMc *garğa*, *garğan* 'bough, branch' ¶ STM I 141 || pKo {S} **kārḥ* 'knife, sword' > MKo *kár* / *kārḥ*-, NKo *kʰal* ¶ S QK #415, Nam 19, MLC 1669 || pJ {S} **kātànà* 'knife' > OJ *kātànà*, J: T *kataná*, *katána*, K *kātànà*, Kg *kataná* ¶ S QJ #419, Mr. 443 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #483 (A **gǎ́r̥ʰ* 'sharp edge'; incl. Tg, Ko, J) || **D** **kar̥* > Tm *karu* 'prong, barb, spike', D **kar̥kk-* ({GS} **k-*) > Tm *karukku* 'teeth of a saw\sickle, jagged edge of palmyra leaf-stock', Ml *karukku* 'teeth of a saw\file, thorns of a palmyra branch', Kn *karaku*, *karku* 'a jag, notch, dent, toothed part of a file\saw', Tl *karagasamu* 'a saw' ¶¶ D #1265 || **HS** **g̥r̥H-* 'thorn, sharp point' → ? 'summit of a mountain' > WCh **gr̥* 'thorn' > Klr {J} *gírí* m. (pl. *gírēr*), *gírí* f. (pl. *gírýér*) 'thorn' || Ang {ChL} *g̥r̥* 'thorn' || ? Hs *gársání* 'a very thorny weed', ? *mágáryá* 'jujube (a thorny tree)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [#741] (**h̥gar̥* 'thorny plant'), ChL, J R 352, Ba. 369, 744 || C **g̥r̥* 'rock, mountain' (× N **goR̥* '≈hill, (small?) mountain', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 226 [#78] (IE, U, D, Tg; *÷ M **gar-* 'go\come out, emerge, appear'); OS RPV I 67 #4 (adduction of the Hs and Ang words to N) ◇ IE and D (D **r-* goes back to N cns. clusters with **r*) suggest the presence of a lr. The absence of traces of the N (and IE) lr. in Gk *χάρμη* is puzzling.

670. *ι* ≈ **gErH̥* 'to belch, to eruct' > **HS**: B [1] **gr̥* 'belch' > Ah *ágrī* v. 'belch', Ah *ta-GRAY-t* (pl. *ti-GRaīn*) ~ *tuGRAYt* (pl. *tuGRaīn*), Gh *ta-žRAY-t* (pl. *čī-žRAIN*) n. 'belch, eructation'; [2] ? *ι* eB **gr̥* > *ι* → Ar Mgr *gr̥* 'belch' (in Ar Mrc {DMA} pf. *gerrāḥ* 'cause to belch', pf. *tgerraḥ* 'v. 'belch, burp') *ι* → Kb {DL.} *ǵǵargāḥ*, {NZ} *ggurraḥ*, BMn {Bs.} *gurraḥ*, Izd {Mrc.} *garrāḥ*, Shl/CM/Fgg/Shw/Mz {NZ} *gr̥*, CA *gurraḥ*, Zng {NZ} *agarrāḥ* v. 'belch' ¶ Fc. 483, Dl. 273, DMA I 44, 167, NZ 899,

903 ¶ The root is likely to originate in eB (at the time when *ʕ still existed in B) or have its *ʕ due to onomatopoeia || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gərḥí v. 'belch' || U: FU *ker∇ 'belch, ruminare' > Prm *görǰ- ({LG} *gǝrǰ-) 'belch' > Z гордзъод- gorǰzd-, Yz 'gurǰot-, Vt гурзъыны gurǰ-, Vt B gǝrǰ-, Vt SW gǝrǰ- id. || Vg: T kērkañtākt-, LK kerañt- 'belch', Sg kērañt- id., 'ruminare' || Hg kérǝdz- 'ruminare' ¶ UEW 151, MF 354, LG 78 || A ≈ *kāk'Er- ({S} *kāk'ir∇) 'belch' > T *kākir- ({Md.} kākir- = {Md.} *kākir-) > OT kagir- ~ kākir-, Tk geǧir-, Tkm gāyir-, Az кәҗир- ḡäyir-, Xlj {DT} ḡägür-, VTt, Bsh кикер- kiky-, Qzq кекір- kekir-, Uz kekir-, ET kekī(r)- ۞ kekiy-, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg kekir-, StAlt kegir-, Tv кегир- keǧir-, Xk кигір- kigir-, Yk кәҗәрт- keǧert- (with shortnenig *ā > e in a polysyllabic stem), Chv какәр- kaǧr- id. ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 37, TkR 239, Jeg. 85, Fed. I 213, Md. 35, DT 117 || M *kekere- 'belch, eruct' > MM [MA] kekere-, WrM kekere-, HIM хәхрә-, Brt хәхәр-, Kl кекр- кекыр-, {Rm.} kekṛ- id. ¶ Pp. MA 213, MED 446, KRS 290, KW 223 || o†Tg *keker- v. 'belch' > Ul кәхәрзәц- , Nn kērзәci- id., WrMc kekere- id., 'hiccup' ¶ STM I 445 ¶¶ S VL 200 ¶¶ The A √ ≈ *kāk'Er- may be explained by rdp. and as.: reduplicated *gErH∇-gErH∇ > **gErHgErH∇ > **gErk'ErH∇ (*Hg > *k') > (regr. as.) *kErk'Er∇ > *kāk'Er∇ (loss of *r with Ersatzdehnung) || ?? o D: Kn gārṛa (sound in imitation of loud belching), Tl gārṛu (sound produced in belching) ¶¶ Kn, Tl a < N *ā, unless this word is an independent onomatopoeia ¶¶ D #1401.

671. *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow' > IE *gʰreH^ω-/*gʰrH^ω- > NaIE *gʰrō-/*gʰra- 'grow, become green' > ON gróa, OHG gruoen 'to flourish, to grow', OSx grōian 'grünen', AS ʒrōwan 'to grow', NE grow] ⇨ ON græn-n, NNr, Dn grøn, Sw grön, OHG gruoni, NHG grün, OFrs grēne, OSx grōni, AS ʒræne 'green', NE green] + ext.: (×N *giʔ'o'r∇ 'grass') AS ʒræd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant, weed']?? WGmc *grautā- 'big' > AHG groz, NHG groß, OSx grōt, Dt groot, AS ʒrēat id., NE great ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, Vr. 190, 192, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, WH I 639-40 || HS: S *√grhm > Ar جرهم ḡirhām- 'huge' (of a camel), 'huge camel', ḡurāhim- 'big, huge' (Fr: 'magnus', BK: 'gros, corpulent') ¶ Fr I 271, BK I 284 || B *-Hgur- (> *-:g^ω∇r) 'be bigger than', ?? *√grw 'be much\many' > Kb {Dl.} aj^ωar

(3m pf. $yuj^{\omega}ar$), Sll {Ds.} $ag^{\omega}ar$ (3m pf. $y\ddot{u}g\ddot{a}r$), Ah {Fc.} $a\acute{g}ar$, Izn, Rf {Rn.} $a\check{z}ar$ v. 'surpass', Tmz {MT} $ag\ddot{a}r$ (pf. $ug\ddot{a}r$), ASgr {MT} $a\check{z}ar$ id., 'be older \ bigger \ more numerous \ better', ETwl {GhA} $ag\ddot{a}r$ (3m pf. $og\ddot{b}r$) 'être plus grand que, être supérieur à', Gd {Lf.} $\bar{a}g\ddot{a}r$ (3m pf. $y\ddot{u}g\ddot{e}r$) 'l'emporter sur, surpasser, être plus grand que', Ntf {Dray} $ag\ddot{u}r$ (3m pf. $yug\ddot{e}r$) 'surpasser', Zng {TC} pf. $yug\ddot{e}r$ 'être plus grand', ?? Izn {Rn.} $y\ddot{a}rru$ ({Rn.} $\check{g}r^{\omega}$) 'be much\many' ¶ Fc. 468, GhA 56, 246 (on Pcj. I A 3), Rn. 352, MT 162-3, Dl. 267-8, Ds. 270, Lf. I 255 and II #O524, Dray 452, DCTC 289 (fn. 29), NZ 846-8 || Ch: [1] $*\check{g}r$ v. 'surpass' > WCh: BT {Stl. VZCh} $*gar-$ id. > Krkr {Lk.} $gar-$, {ChL} $g\grave{i}r\hat{a}n$, $g\ddot{a}ru-$, Ngm {ChL} $g\grave{i}r\acute{a}$, {Nw.} $garan$ id. ||| ECh: Kwn {Lk.} $gar\acute{a}te$ 'big' | [2] $*g\check{V}r-$ 'long' > WCh: Ngm {ChC} $g\ddot{z}r\hat{a}$, Bl {IL} $garan$ id. || CCh: Nz {ChL} $g\ddot{i}r$, Bcm {ChC} $g\grave{u}r\acute{e}g\grave{u}r\acute{e}$ 'long' ¶ Stl. VZCh #71, Stl. VZCh B #93, JS 257, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'big' ||| K $*og\omega ar-$ > G $g\omega ar-$ 'wachsen, gedeihen' ¶ Chx. 189 ||| A: Tg $*gora$ 'far', 'long' (of time) > Ewk $goro$, Lm gor , Orc, Ud $g\ddot{o}$, Nn $goro$, WrMc $goro$ id., Sln $goro$ 'far' ¶ STM I 161-2 || ???σ M: MM $g\ddot{u}r$ [HI] {Lew.} 'universel, général, vaste, grand', {Ms.} 'universel, entier, multitude', [S] {H} 'universal, allgemein, sämtlich, gesamt' ¶ H 52, Ms. H 58, Lew. 39, Rs. W 319 ¶ The M cognate may be valid only if Lew.'s interpretation as 'vaste, grand' is justified ||| D ?φ $*kar-$ ({ϑGS} $*k-$) > Tm $karumay$ 'strength, greatness', Ml $karu$, $karu$ 'stout, hard', Kn $kara$, $karu$ 'greatness, abundance, power', Tl $karamu$ 'much, great, very' ¶¶ D #1287 ◇ IE $*h^{\omega}$, S $*h$, and D $*-r-$ (regularly from N $*-rH-$ rather than from N $*-r-$ between vowels) point to a presence of a *lr*. in the N etymon ◇ A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N $*gar^{\check{r}}i$ 'old' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #13 (N $*g\ddot{o}ri$ 'long, far, high' > Ch, A, WGmc $*\ddot{z} K *g\ddot{z}el-$ 'long' [see N $*g^{\check{r}}a^{\check{r}}R\check{z}\check{V}$ '≈ to stretch'], FV $*korka$ 'high' [see N $*K\hat{a}R\check{K}ub|p\check{V}$ 'top, summit']).

671a. $*goRH\ae$ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear' > IE: NaIE $*g^{\omega}hr\bar{e}-$ vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N $*g^{\check{r}}o^{\check{r}}R\check{z}\check{a}e$ 'to feel' [q.v.]) > OI $jighr\bar{a}ti$, 'ghr $\bar{a}ti$ 'smells (sth.)' (pp. $ghr\bar{a}ta-$), $ghr\acute{a}nam$, $gr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ n. 'smell, nose' ||| Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\varphi\rho\acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< $*odes g^{\omega}hr-$) (Gk A aor. $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\varphi\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$) | \dashv NaIE $*g^{\omega}hr\bar{e}-ti-s$ n. 'smell, smelling (Geruch)' > OI $gr\bar{a}ti\check{h}$ id., Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\varphi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 'sense of smell, smell' ¶ WPI 697, P 495, M KI 433, F II 438-9 ||| HS: B $*\check{g}rH$ > Zng

{TC} ɔgrīh 'hear', {Bs., Msq.} gār a (pf. i gr a) 'listen, hear', ?σ: Ah aǵru 'discerner (comprendre et distinguer)', ETwl ɛgru, Ty aǵru 'discerner, apercevoir', Tnsl {Pr.} aǵrāh 'discerner', {DTM} pf. iǵrɛh 'discerner, comprendre, voir' ¶ Bs. MS I 169, Msq. Z, Pr. H #106, DCTC 288, NZ 876-8, Ks. VZ 84-5 (claims that -h in Zng is secondary, but cf. Tnsl) || Eg Md grɥ.t 'ε a part of the ear (ear-hole?)' ¶ EG V 181, DW 921 || EC: Kns kurrá, Mos koworó 'ear', Or: {Th.} gurra, nom. gurri, {Grg., Brl.}, B/O {Sr.}, W {Sr., Hn.} gurra, T {Mrn.} 'gurrā, H {Ow.} gurrá, M {AD} 'gurrā, nom. gu'rri' 'ear', W {Sr.} gur(r)ī 'earwax'; an unknown C lge. ↳ Amh ǵoro 'ear' ¶ Th. 180, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Sr. 317, Hn. W 67, AD MsO, Lm. SKE 534 ¶¶ Blz. DA #12 || AdS of S * \sqrt grh > Ar جرح \sqrt ǵrḥ G 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)' (< N *gārḥ ▽ 'try to obtain, wish, need') ¶ BK I 275 || A: M *göreɣen n. 'hunting, chasing; game' (× N *güR ▽ 'beast', q.v.) > WrM görüge(n), HIM rəpəə n. 'hunting, chasing; game', Kl rəpe göre, {Rm} görē n. 'hunt'; *göreɣe-le- v. 'hunt' > WrM görügele-, HIM rəpəəle-x, Kl rəpəle-x gīrāl-xə, Brt rɥrəəle-xə id. ¶ MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166 ¶ The M stem either contaminated with M *göreɣe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal' (< N *güR ▽ '↑' (q.v.) [whence WrM görüge(n) 'game']) or goes back to it. In the latter case the M \sqrt does not belong here || ?φ D *kuṛ- 'ear-ring, ear' (× N *gUR₁W₁ ▽ [= *gUṛ₁W₁ ▽?] 'ear' [q.v. ffd.] × N? *koṛ₁W₁ ▽ 'external ear') ◇ Blz. DA 152 [#13] (D, HS).

672. *gārḥ ▽ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > HS: WS * \sqrt grh > Ar جرح \sqrt ǵrḥ 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)', {Ln.} 'apply oneself with art and diligence to get \ obtain \ gain \ acquire', Ar D {L < ?} Ar جرح \sqrt ghr G (mt.) 'emporter', Sq {L} \sqrt grḥ G 'ramasser' ¶ BK I 275, Ln. 405, L LS 115 || IE *ǵ^her₁H₁- > Ht kar-i(ya)- 'be gracious towards, gratify', Ht kargaranti 'readily, willingly, eagerly' (acc. to Ts., a fossilized dat.-loc. of a prtc. from *kar-kar- with intensive rdp.; according to Pv. ← Lw sg. ntr. prs. prtc. [in -anti-] of *kar-kar-) || NaIE *ǵ^her₁a₁-, {EI} *ǵ^hor-(ye/o)- 'desire' > OI \sqrt har-: 'haryati 'yearns for, likes, is fond of', ζ Av zarā- 'striving, aim' (if this semantic interpretation of the word is valid) || Gk χαίρω v. 'rejoice', χάρις 'grace, favour' || Um heri 'vult', HERIEST 'volet', L horior, hor(i)tor v. 'urge on, incite' || OHG girī 'greediness, covetousness, ambition', NHG

Gier, Gt *gairnei* n. 'wish, desire', OHG *ger* 'covetous, greedy' ({Schz.} 'verlangend, begierig nach'), *gerno* 'voluntarily, greedily', NHG *gern(e)* adv. 'willingly, gladly, with pleasure', ON *gjarn*, AS *georn* 'desirous, eager', Gt *gairnjan*, ON *girna*, OHG *gerōn* 'to desire, to wish, to strive to', NHG *begehren* 'to covet, to desire', AS *ziernan* id., 'to yearn', NE *yearn* ¶¶ Pv. IV 80-1, 89, Ts. EI 511, Frd. HW 101, P 440-1, EI 158, M K III 583, M E II 804, F II 1062-5, WH I 657-8, Bc. G 336, Fs. 186, Kb. 327-9, 369, Schz. 150-1, KM 60, 250, 257, Vr. 168, 170, Ho. 127, 129 || U **karma-* v. 'want, wish' > Er/Mk *karma-* v. 'want, intend' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} *χαρῶν* v. 'wollen, Lust haben, mögen', En X {Cs.} *κόμα*, B {Cs.} *κομα-* v. 'want', Ng {Cs.} *karbutu-* id., Mt {Hl.} **karənžər-* (or **harənžər-*?) 'want' (Mt: M {Sp.} *харынджёргамъ* 'I want') ¶¶ Coll. 22, UEW 128, Cs. 304, Hl. M #429 || ?*φ,σ* A: NaT **k'ärgä-* ~ **k'äräk-* 'be necessary' > OT {Cl.} *kärgä-* 'be deficient (?), be worthy (?)', OOSm *كر كملك*, Tk *gerek-*, CrTt, Nog *kerek-*, SbTt *käräk-* 'be necessary'] ⇨ NaT **k'ärgä-k* 'necessary', 'necessity' > OT {Cl.} *kärgäk* id., Tk *gerek*, Az *кәрәк* *ğäräk*, Tkm *гәрәк* *gerek* 'is necessary', 'necessity', Qmq *gerek*, CrTt, Qry Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, SY *kerek*, Bsh *käräk* 'is necessary', Blq, Alt *kerek* id., 'need'; T ⇨ M: WrM *kereg*, HIM *хәрәр* 'need, necessity', 'thing' (abstr.), 'matter' ⇨ Tv *хәрәк*, Alt *kerek*, Xk *kirek*, Yk *kereχ* 'business, matter' ¶ The Og lgs. provide ev. for pNaT **k'-*, while the apparently conflicting ev. of Tv *χ-* is not valid (because the Tv word is from M); Bsh and SbTt point to a NaT **ä* of the first syll. ¶ Cl. 742-3, Rs. W 256, ET VGD 25-7, TvR 475, MED 455-6 || ?*σ* D (in SD) **kar-* ({*ǰGS*} **k-*) 'aim at, intend, think, point' > Kn *karu* v. 'point, aim at', Tm *karutu* v. 'intend', Kt *kart* 'purpose, aim strenuously striven for' ¶ D *-*r-* < N *-*rH-* ¶ D #1283 ◇ Ar *ħ* and Ht zero point to N **ħ*. The absence of traces of the *lr.* in NaIE is still puzzling. But cf. NaIE **g_lh_lerə-* 'look' (see N **g_lu_lʕr* 'look, look for'). U **a* in the first syll. of **karma-* is likely to be due to vw. harmony: eU **kärma-* > U **karma-* ◇ ≈ Gr. II #93 (**keri* 'desire') (IE, U, A, Ai, EA).

673. **gur_lE_lw* (-*T*) 'young (carnivorous) animal' > HS: S **gur_li_lw-* id. > BHb *גור* *gūr* 'cub (of a lion, jackal, etc.)', JPA *גור* *gūr* 'cub', JEA *גור* *gūr*?, Sr *گور* *gur*'*u-ā* 'young lion', Ak *gerru* 'young carnivore', Ar *جور* *ğurw-* id., 'cub' ¶ KB 177, KBR 185 || B: Rf

Bq a-garrud 'young partridge', SrSn awarrud 'young of an animal' ¶ Rn. 352, NZ 866 || **A:** NaT *Kūrt- 'wolf' > OT, OUg MOg, Chg xv qurt, XwT qurd, Tk kurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd, CrTt {Rs.} qurt, XT gurt ɖ gurt ɖ gōrt ɖ gōrt, Bsh Δ qōrt 'wolf', Ggz kurt 'predator' ¶ Cl. 648DTS 203, Rs. W 303, ≈ ET Q 167-8, ≈ TL 160 (unc.: ← *kurt 'worm' as an Og tabuistic replacement; in fact, the word is present in different ds. of OT and in different branches of NaT, within proper names and in the totem name idi qurt ['lord-wolf'] of ancient Turks, see TL 643), DH ChT || **D** {tr.} *kur- ~ {tr., GS} *kur- 'young of an animal' (× N *KURV 'young of an animal, child', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The D root *kur- may belong here only if N *-rɯ- (or pre-D *-rɯ- < N *-rVɯ-) yields D *-r- (a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters).

673a. ? (2?) *g'o'R∇Hw∇ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE *gh̥hr̥əu- 'scrape, rub away' > Gk χρᾰύω* (att.: conj. aor. χρᾰύση) v. 'scrape, graze, wound slightly' || ON grjón 'groats, flour' (< *'ground corn'), Far grón, grún, NNr grjon, Dn, Sw gryn 'groats' ¶ ≈ P 460-2 (*gh̥rēu-/ *gh̥rəu-/ *gh̥rū- reconstructed due to adduction of highly qu. cognates and stem variants with extensions), Vr. 190, F II 1115-6, 1120-1 || **U:** FU *k'o'rɯ∇ 'scrape, whet, rub' (× N *gor∇b|p∇ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ **A:** M: WrM guranzu, HIM гупанз 'whetstone' ¶ MED 369.

674. *gurX'a 'antelope, male antelope' > HS: C {AD} *√gʷrʰ > Bj {R} garuwa 'antelope' || EC: Sd {Gs.} guruʔm-iččo (pl. guruʔme) id., 'gazelle, roe' || SC: Irq {MQK} gʷarēh, {Wh.} gʷarêhi, Grw {FL} gʷeraʔahi, Alg {FL} gʷeraʔai, gʷarehe 'dik-dik antelope', Brn {FL} gʷereha 'decula antelope' ¶ AD SF 72-3, Wh. DI, MQK 43 || NrOm: Wl/Dwr {C} gārā id. ¶ C SO 30, Blz. OL #157 || Ch: WCh: Gmy žirri ~ žirri 'roe', Ngz {Sch.} g̣ṛàf̣ịyà 'e antelope' || CCh: Bdm ḡǝrí, Lgn (Lk.) garia 'antelope' ¶ ChC s.v. 'duiker' || **A:** M *gūra(n) 'antelope', {STM} 'male roebuck' > MM gura {IS ← ?} 'e hornless antelope', WrM gura(n), HIM gur {MED} 'roebuck, wild goat', {Gl.} '(male) saiga (a sheeplike antelope Saiga tatarica)', Brt {Chr.} гупа(н) 'male roe', Kl Ö {Rm.} gurɯ 'roebuck; male antelope, male saiga', Ord D {IS ← ?} gurun id.; M → Ewk S gūran 'wild goat'; the length of pM *u is suggested by the loanword in Ewk ¶ MED 368, Gl. II 230, KW 155, Chr. 160 || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *güRV 'beast') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (on the ev.

of Ko Δ korani \approx koreni \approx koreŋ he suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorani 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *gU|ürU 'deer, roebuck', see DQA #572 (on Ko *kòráni), Rm. SKE 125 || D *ku:ur- ({ǵGS} *k-) '€ deer, antelope' > Ml kūrān 'hog-deer', Klm kori, Prj kuri, Ku kurhu \approx kruhu \approx kluhu 'antelope', Gdb kuruy 'deer', Gnd kurs 'deer, antelope', Kui kruhu \approx krusu 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; D \rightarrow OI kuraŋga- '€ antelope', 'antelope/deer (in general)' ¶¶ D #1785 ¶¶ D *-r- suggest an original cns. cluster (*-rH-), because the intervocalc N *r yields D *r̥ ◊ IS I 234-5 [#90]. Cf. N *korê '≈ € deer, antelope' and N *gūr̥ 'beast' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal') ◊ AD NM #36, Vv. AEN 16 (doubts about the Ko reflex), S CNM 6-7 (÷÷ Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseyan; suggests a different interpretation of M *gūra, equating it with pTg *ŋūr 'male' [of small wild animals] and probably with T *uri 'male child, son' < pA *ŋura [*ŋ- > *g regularly]).

675. *gor̥b|p̥ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g^hreb^h- id., 'dig' > Gt graban, ON grafa 'to dig', AS ƶrafan, OHG graban 'to dig, to carve', NHG graben, OSx gravan 'to dig' ||| Ltv grebt (prs. grebju) 'to carve, to hollow out, to scrape', greblis 'gouge, scraper', Lt gréb-ti 'to rake', greblỹs 'rake' | Sl *greb- v. 'scrape, rake, dig, row' > OCS грѣбѣ grebq / грѣти greti, R греб'ѣ / греб'сти v. 'row', Blg греб'ѣа 'draw (liquid), dig, row', SCr grèbēm / grèpsti 'scrape, scratch', Slv grèbem / grèbsti 'dig, scratch', Cz hřebu / hřebsti, hřebsti 'bury', Slk hriebú / hriebst' 'dig, rake up', P † grześć 'to bury'; \rightarrow Sl *grebi (gen. *grebene) 'comb' > Blg 'гребен, SCr grèben, Slv grebēn, VCz hřeben, Slk hrebeň, P grzebień, R 'гребень, Uk 'гребінь ||| \rightarrow NaIE *g^hrob^h- (with sxs.) 'pit' > Gt graba 'Graben', AS ƶrafu 'cave, grave', ON grqf id., 'pit', OSx graf, OHG grab 'grave, tomb', NHG Grab, AS ƶræf 'grave', NE grave ||| Sl *grobъ 'grave, pit' > OCS гробъ grab, Blg гроб 'grave, tomb', SCr gròb, Cz, Slk hrob, P grób, Uk гріб 'grave', Slv gròb id., 'pit for potatoes', R гроб 'coffin' ¶ WP I 653-4, P 455-6, EI 159, Fs. 218-9, Vr. 184, 193, Ho. 135-6, Ho. S 28, Kb. 403-4, Schz. 153, KM 266, Kar. I 310-1, Frn. 165-6, ESSJ VII 109-13, 133-4, Glh. 245-9 || HS: WS *√grp (prm. *-grup-) 'sweep away, (?) scrape' > BHb √grp G (ip. yi-'grop) {BDB} 'sweep away', Ar √ǵrf جرف G (ip. yaǵrufu) id., MHb, JA [Trg.] {Js.} √grp G 'scrape, sweep', JEA {Sl.} G 'rake (an

oven), scrape clean', Ar SL جرف ✓ ḡrf G vt. 'rake up', Mh {Jo.} ✓ ḡrf G (pf. ḡṣrōf, sbjn. yṣḡrēf), Jb E/C ✓ ḡrf G 'sweep \ muck out', {DRS} 'balayer' ¶ Hv. 86, BK I 280, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 124, BDB 175, Js. 272, Sl. 305, ≈ DRS 190-1 || U: FU *k'ō'rṡ ▽ 'scrape, scratch, rub' (× N ? *g'ō'R ▽ Hṡ ▽ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim., q.v.) > F karṡi- 'scrape, scratch, graze, rub, polish' || Prm {LG} *kur- (or *kEr-) 'scrape, rake (out, together)' > Vt kuryar+-, Vt Ur kūrṡal-, Vt B ko'rṡal- ({LG} kərjal-) 'scrape, eat the rest of the food', Z kur-aṡ- 'scrape \ rake out, gather, eat the rest of the food', kurt- v. 'rake (hay), kuran n. 'rake' || Vg MK karśal- '(mit der Angel kratzend) umhertappen, (mit dem Hamen im Teiche) durch das Wasser ziehen (um Fische zu fangen)' || Hg Δ horol-, hurul- 'rub, whet, scratch' ¶ F -i- in karṡi-, Prm *-al, *-yal-, Vg -śal-, and Hg -l- are sxs. of frequentativity ¶ UEW 188-9, MF 302-3, LG 146, Ht. #239 || D *kōṣ- v. 'scratch' > Kn ḡōṣu id., Tm kōṣai 'a scratch (as on the body)', Tl kōṣa vt. 'scrape with a grater, scratch', Kui ḡrōpa / p. ḡrōt- vt. 'claw, scratch' ¶¶ D #2257 ¶¶ The length of *ō is due to the loss of *ṡ in the cluster **rṡ (Ersatzdehnung). The ancient cns. *r changed to D *ṣ after the loss of *ṡ || ?φ A: Tg *ḡerbe- 'clean trunks from boughs, prepare perches (incl. those used in building a tent)' > Ewk ḡṣrbṣ- id., Lm ḡṣrbṣn- 'prepare perches from trunks', Ork ḡṣlbṣn- id., 'cut (sticks, boughs)', Neg ḡṣybṣ- ḡ ḡṣdbṣ- 'go to prepare perches', Orc ḡṣbbṣ- 'prepare perches', Nn ḡṣrbṣ- 'make perches by cutting trunks, prepare rods, cut twigs' ¶ STM I 181 ¶ The unexpected vw. *e still defies explanation (infl. of A *ḡe, 'i' r ▽ 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent'? [see N *ḡe'ṣ ▽ r ▽ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place'])).

676. (₂?) *ḡaRŪ'Ĉ'a 'crush, break to pieces' (or *ḡ ▽ RŪŝ|Ĉ ▽ 'crush') > HS: WS *✓ ḡrŝ 'crush, crumble' > Ar جرش ✓ ḡrš (pf. ḡaraša, ip. - ḡriš- ~ -ḡruš-) v. 'bray, bruise (wheat, salt)' (→ جَارِشَة ḡārišat- 'hand-mill for groats'), BHb 𐤀𐤂𐤏𐤃 ✓ ḡrs G 'be ground' , (→) 'languish', 𐤀𐤂𐤏𐤃𐤁 wayya-ḡ'res 'caused (teeth) to grind' (𐤀 s < ŝ in late BHb), IA {HJ} ✓ ḡrs D 'grind', JA/MHb {Js.} ✓ ḡrs D 'crush, split, grind', SmA ✓ ḡrs G 'crush, mash', Sr ✓ ḡrs G (pf. ḡa'res) 'be broken to pieces, shattered, crumbled', JEA, Sr ✓ ḡrs D 'break to pieces', Amh ✓ ḡṡrs (pf. (a)ḡṡerres) 'make coarse-ground flour', Gz d. ḡārśā 'soft or powdery food'; → CS (or WS?) *'ḡarṡ' ḡ- 'crushed grain' > BHb 𐤀𐤂𐤏𐤃

'gɛrɛŝ 'crushed grain, groats', Sr gār's-ā {JPS} 'meal, flour', SmA grs 'crushed grain'; ⇨ CS *garīš- 'ground' > Ar جريش ġarīš- 'coarsely ground, roughly milled (wheat); groats', MHb ܓܪܝܫ ġārīš 'groats', JA ܕܓܪܝܫ ġārīš-ā id., 'crushed beans' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, HJ 235, Sl. 304, Js. 270-1, Tal 159, Fr. I 266, Hv. 85, HJ 235, JPS 72-3, LG 203, DRS 192-3 || IE: NaIE *gʰreus-/*gʰrou̯s- vt. 'crush, break to pieces' > Sl *grušiti 'to crush, to pound' > SCr grúšiti 'to pound', Cz hrušiti id., 'to crush', R Δ гpyшить 'to destroy, to break, to break to pieces', Blg 'гpyша v. 'destroy'; Sl *gruša > Slv grúša 'coarse sand, gravel', possibly Sl *gruxati > Blg гpyхам vt. 'thresh (corn), pound (corn)', R Ps 'гpyхатъ 'to rumple, to press in (мять, вминать)' || Gmc: MLG grūs 'broken stones' ¶ ESSJ VII 156-7, ≠ 155, ≠ P 405-6 || A: ?φ Tg: WrMc ġarza vi. 'fall to pieces, burst, break to pieces' ¶ STM I 141, Z 312 || Cf. also (??) T: OT qirčat-, qirčal- 'hit and split' (< N *Ḳ'ī'RûCâ 'to strike', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 647 ◇ If the Tg cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be *g∇Rûš|č∇.

676a. ₂ ≈ *g∇Rć∇q∇ or *g∇Rq∇ć∇ 'ε stinging insect' > K: GZ {K} *grçq-il- 'flea' > OG grçgil-, G (r)çgil-, G X ġirçgil-, M çqir-~çqar-, Lz mçqi(r)-, mçir- ¶¶ ≈ K² 33 (G, Zan + unc. adduction of Sv zisq-~zsq- 'flea') || HS: CS ≈ **g∇rk∇s > 'ε stinging insect' > Sr {DRS} gargā's-ā ~ gargī's-ā 'ε mosquito', Ar SL ġirġis- 'bedbug', ? Ar qirqis- 'ε petit moucheron' ¶ DRS 18, BK I 275 and II 723 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} garsi 'clothing louse' || NOM: Gf {Blz. ← ?} angarço 'ε insect' ¶ Fl. OWL, Blz. KM 134 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} ġarsâ, Msg P {Trn.} ġrsa 'louse' || ECh: Kwn {J} ġarsí, Ll {Cp.} ġársà, Nd D {J} ~ġársà, Tmk {Cp.} ġársà ~ ġársá, Skr {Lk.} ġársà, Mkl {J} ġèrsé id. ¶ ChC, Trn. LDM 27, Trn. LM 109, Cp. 88, J LM 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [#8] (incl. K, Om), ≈ Blz. LNA #10 (Om, Ch, K + unc. EC *ʔazgir- 'louse').

677. *gāRd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE *ġherdh- ~ *ġh̥rdh-/*ġhordh-: [11] *ġherdh- 'surround, encircle; a fence' > Lt žárdiena 'abgeschlossene Wiese um das Gerüst zum Erbsen-, Flachs und Getreidetrocknen', žārdis {Frm.} 'Roßgarten, großer umzäunter Weideplatz', {DLKZ} 'aptverta vieta gyvuliams', žārdas 'cattle-pen'; ? Lt žārdas 'grate for drying flax, peas, and corn' and Ltv zārdis (pl. zārdi) 'Gestell, worauf Erbsen, Leinsamen usw. zum Trocknen aufgestellt werden', 'rack, стожары, вешала' (unless Lt žārdas and

Ltv zārdš are loans from Sl [cp. P žerdź, Blr жердзь, R жердь 'pole, rod, grate']], Pru sardis ([z-]) 'Zaun, umzäunter Raum' || Sl *zordъ > R Δ zo'род 'fenced place for a stack; stack' || Phr (Latinized) -zordum 'city, town' (in Manezordum and other names of settlements) || Gmc *garda-s (< IE *ǵʰ|ǵʰerdʰ- × IE *ǵʰordʰ-to- 'encircled land' [F below **31**]) > Gt gardš 'house', OSx gard 'field' (pl. 'house'), ON garðr 'fence, hedge, courtyard', AS gearð id., 'enclosure', NE yard; ⇨ Gmc *gardan > Gt garda 'stockyard (αὐλή)' (Joh. 10.1: 'sheep-fold'), OFrs garda, OHG garto, NHG Garten, OSx gardo 'garden'; Gmc ⇨ OFr Nr gardin (⇨ NE garden), MFr jardin (⇨ Sp jardín, It giardino), Fr jardin 'garden' || amb Ht gurtā 'citadel, acropolis' (< *ǵʰ|ǵʰrdʰo- or *ǵʰor-to-, see below **31**); the vw. u is puzzling ({Čop}: gurtā- < IE *ǵʰrdʰo- "mit Schwa secundum gerundeter Art") ||| **2** There is a variant stem *ǵʰrdʰ- / *ǵʰordʰ- 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence' > OI gr'ha-ḥ 'house', Av gar'čā- 'cave of daēvas' || Lt gar'das 'pen; fence, enclosure' || Sl *gorditi 'to enclose, to fence' > OCS градити graditi id., 'to build' (οἰκοδομεῖν, κτίζειν, ædificare), Blg градя v. 'build, erect, fence', SCr grāditi 'to make, to build', Slv gradíti, OR goroditi, R городить, Uk городити 'to enclose, to fence', P gradzić 'to enclose by a fence', Cz hraditi id., 'to fortify', R огородить 'to fence in, to enclose'; Sl *górdъ (gen. *gor'da) 'wall, enclosed settlement' (→ 'town, city', 'garden') > OCS градъ gradъ 'murus, civitas, urbs, hortus', Blg град, P † gród, R, Uk 'город 'city, town', SCr, Slv grād id., 'fortress', Cz hrad, P gród 'fortress, castle', Slk hrad 'castle', OR городъ gorodъ 'fence, fortress, city\town', Blg 'града, R Δ 'город 'fence' || pAl {O} *garda > Al T gardh 'wicker fence, fence' || ? Phr -gordum (in n. l., like Mannagordum 'city of Manne') ||| **3** *ǵʰ|ǵʰordʰ-to- > *ǵʰ|ǵʰor-to- 'encircled land' (× N *ǵe'ʳʷ'rʷ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v. ffd.) > Gk χόρτος 'enclosed place, farmyard' || L hortus 'garden', cohors / gen. cohortis 'an enclosure, yard (esp. for cattle, poultry)' (*kon- + IE *ǵʰr̥tis) || Clt: Gl {Billy} *gorto- 'enclos', *gortīā 'haie' ({Wb.} > Fr gourse, Prov Lm gorsò, and place-names), OIr gort "seges" 'field', NIr gort 'field, corn-field, garden', MW, W garth 'enclosure, garden', OBr {Flr.} ḡorth 'enclos' (in cds.), Br garzh 'haie, clôture', Gl ⇨ It Lm gorz 'siepe, cespuglio' ¶ *-to- in

*ġ^hord^h-to- is a sx. of pp., so that *ġ^hord^h-to- has the etl. meaning 'encircle+-ed' ¶ The loss of palatalization *ġ^hrd^h- > *g^hrd^h- may be due to the precons. position (the morphophonemic sonant *r̥ has phonetic features of a cns.); the apophonic grade *g^hord^h- is an Ablaut from *g^hrd^h- ¶¶ WP I 608-9, P 442-4, EI 199 (*'g^hord^hos ~ *'g^hortos 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'), M K I 344, F II 1113-4, WH I 42-3, 660, IP § 64, SB 115, Dtn. 260, Billy 84, Flr. 179, YGM-1 232, Hm. 310, Wb. IV 200-1, TF 129, Ho. S 24, Vr. 156, Fs. 197-8, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Kb. 319, Schz. 148, KM 233-4, O 110, Frn. 135-6, 1290-1, DLKZ 966, En. 242, Vs. II 105, ESSJ VII 35-8, Glh. 242-3, Ts. EI 658-60, Pv. IV 275-6, Čop IAU 15, Dv. #668 || HS: WS *✓gdr 'fence' > BHb גִּדְרֵי gā'dēr 'stone wall', JPA גִּדְרֵי gə'dēr-ā id., Ar جَدْر ġadr- 'wall (mur, muraille); enclosure, fence', d. ġidār- (pl. ġudr-, ġudur-) 'mur, muraille', d.: جُدَار ġidār- id., جَدِير ġadīr- 'enclosed by a wall', Mn {MA} gdr 'wall (mur), enclosure', Mh gīdōr, Jb E 'gī'dōr, Jb C 'ge'dōr 'wall, cairn, piled stones', Hrs gzdōr 'cairn, wall', Tgr {d'A} gudur 'parois de la hutte, mur de la maison', Tgy {LH} gidaro 'Schuppen aus Holz und Dornen für die Tiere'; Ar جدر ✓ğdr (pf. ġadara, ip. -ğdur-) v. 'wall, enclose (sth.) in walls', Mh ✓gdr (pf. gzdōr, sbjn. yzgdēr), Hrs ✓gdr (pf. gzdōr), Jb E/C ✓gdr (pf. 'gō'dōr) 'pile up stones, build a wall'; Pun *gadir ⇨ B: Ah a-gādir, Gh a-dažir (mt.), Sll {Ds.} a-gādir 'mur', Tmz {MT} a-gadir ʾ ayadir (pl. i-gudar-ŋ) 'mur, muraille' (the borrowing is suggested by the vocalisme of the B form: full vowels for the expected *ə in inherited pB words, *see* La MChB 3) ¶ KB 173-4, KBR 181, BK 263, MA 36, Jo. M 114, Jo. J 71, Jo. H 38, LH 600, DRS 102, Fc. 400, MT 447, NZ 734-5 || A: T *Kärtä > Bsh kärtä 'fence, stall', VTt kirtä 'fence, cattle-pen', SbTt Tö kirtä 'cattle-pen', Chv карта kard_a 'fence, cattle-pen, farmyard' ¶ The narrowing *ä > *e (underlying VTt/SbTt *i) is likely to be secondary ¶ Jeg. 91, TatR 258, ≈ Fed. I 232 (unc.: Chv карта ⇨ кар- v. 'fence' [in fact 'curtain off'] < T *ker- 'stretch'), Tm. 99 ¶¶ But Sln x3r]3 'kithen-garden' is hardly a genetic cognate (x- instead of the reg. g-); it may be a loan from some T lge. (< pT *Kärtä, cp. Bsh kärtä 'fence, stall', T ⇨ R Sb карта) or from Yk xarčax 'a fenced-in pasture' (*see* STM I 482, Pek. 3367) ◇ The cns. *g^h for the expected *ġ^h in the IE variant stem *g^hrd^h- / *g^hord^h- still needs explaining.

678. ${}_2$ *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE * $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{er}^{\text{h}}\text{d}^{\text{h}}$ - 'gird' > Gmc: Gt bi-gairdan, ON gyrða, AS zyrðan, NE girth, OHG gurtēn 'to gird', Gt gairda, ON gjqrð 'belt, girdle', d.: ON gyrðill, OHG gurtil ~ gurtel, NHG Gürtel, AS zyrðel 'girdle, belt', NE girdle ¶ ≈ WP I 608-9, ≈ P 444, EI 199 (*g^herdh- 'gird' ⇨ *g^hord^ho-s 'fence, hedge, enclosure', see N *gärd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in'), Fs. 90, 185-6, Vr. 171, 197, Ho. 140, Ho. S 24, Kb. 418, Schz. 156, KM 277 || HS: EC: Or B {Sr.} gurdā v. 'belt; sth. worn around the waist', Or Wl {Brl.} gurda id. ¶ Sr. 317, Brl. 190 || ? CS * \checkmark grd > MHb {Lv.} גרד \checkmark grd G 'weave', גרד \checkmark gered, JA {Lv.} גרד gar'dā ~ גרד גרד gir'dā 'Faser\Franse eines Gewebes', Sr {Br.} גרד gar'dā 'web (tela, textura)' ¶ In these forms there is contamination with Hb, JA, Sr v. \checkmark grd 'scrape, comb' (BHb גרד גרד hitgā'red 'scrape oneself'); Sr גרד(א)גראגרא and JA גרד גרא gar'day ~ גרד גרא gir'day 'weaver' are contaminated with (or borrowed from) Gk ὄργανος ~ ὄργανος 'weaver' ¶ KBR 202, Br. 132, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299 ◇ Cf. N *kert∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait'.

679. *guR'k'U' 'throat' > HS: C: Ag *g^wE^rK^w∇m 'gullet, throat' > Bln {R} gūrgū'mā (pl. gūr kūm) id., 'Adam's apple', Knf {TBZAC} gurgum, Aw {Hz.} gurgóm, Dmt {CR, R} g^wergem 'neck'; Ag ⇨ Tgy {Bsn.} גרג גרג g^wergemma 'trachea' || Bj {R} 'gīrgūma 'Adam's apple; gullet, throat, Rachen' || EC: Sa {R} dūrgū'mā id., Af {R} gūrdu'mē 'gullet, throat, jaws-(Rachen)' ¶ R WB 161, R WBd 101, R S II 114, R A II 60, Hz. NSA 139-40, Blz. CWL, Bsn. 872 || B * \checkmark grgf > Tmz, CM {NZ} gārgāf 'swallow a big gulp of liquid' | B \checkmark *g^wrgv^wm > Si {Bs.} ta-gorgum 'gosier' (if not a misspelling for ta-goržumt), B (× AfR reflex of the VL *gūrga [accus. *gūrgam] 'gorge' [> Fr gorge 'throat', OIt gorga 'Kehle, Schlund']) ⇨ Ar Mgr {Bss.} قرجم qržm, {Dl., Beg.} garžuma ⇨ North Berber words for 'throat, oesophagus': Tmz a-garžum, Kb a-jaržum, ta-jaržum-t, Wrg tkuržamt, Sll ageržum, Izd agaržum, Nf taguržama, Si tagaržumt; in view of the exact corr. of B **g^wrgv^wm with Bj 'gīrgūma, Aw gurgóm, etc. the VL word cannot be the only source of the North Berber word ¶ MT 166-7, Dl. 274, Dlh. M 63, Dlh. Ou 155, Ds. 143, La. S 244, Beg. 236, NZ 874, Dauzat 368, Kö. #4401 (VL *gūrga, *gūrgēs 'Strudel, Schlund, Gurgel'), ML #3921 || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gāgārāk 'throat' (× N *gūr^zE ⇨ *gūr^z∇ 'throat,

neck'?) || **U:** FU *kur₁k₂∇ 'throat, neck' > F kur₁kk₂, Es kur₁k 'throat, gullet' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kurg₁a > pMr {Ker.} *k₁rg₁a ({Ker.} *k₁rg₁a) 'neck' > Er кирьга kīrg₁a, Er Kal/Trb {Ps.} korg₁a, Mk крга k₁rg₁a id. | Prm *g₁rk 'hollow (in a tree-trunk)' > Vt g₁rk id., 'cavity', Z g₁rk₁sa 'having a hollow' (of a tree-trunk), g₁rk 'cavity within a body (e.g. abdominal cavity)' (μφ: 'throat' → 'entrance into a cavity', like Fr gorge in the meaning 'entrance into a flower' or 'entrance into a hollow in timber' [in carpentry]) || ? Sm: Ne T хорака 'throat; neck opening of a garment (ворот)', Ne T O {Lh.} χōrak₁ã 'oberster Teil der Brust und unterster Teil des Halses; Kragen', Ne F {Lh.} korã₁•k₁ã₁ 'oberster Teil der Brust', Koyb {Sp.} кур₁у 'voice, shouting' ¶¶ IS I 235-6, ≈ Coll. 89, ≈ UEW 676, Ker. II 61, PI 130, ERV 266-7, Ps. M 86, LG 85, Ter. 771, Lh. 192-3; IS rejects the hyp. (shared by SK, Vr., and other scholars) about the NrGmc origin of F kur₁kk₂ and Es kur₁k (ON kv₁erk would have yielded F *v₁er₁kk₂) ¶¶ Acc. to Jn [p. c.], the corr. between the FU and Sm vowels is irreg. || **A:** Tg *go|urka-k₁ta > Neg gorkak₁ta ~ gurkak₁ta 'palate', Ork gojaq₁ta ~ gojjoq₁ta 'uvula, root of the tongue' ¶ STM I 161 || **Gil:** Gil A qorqr / xorqr / gorqr [gorg-r], Gil ES qorqr 'throat' ¶¶ ST 145, Krn. N 476 ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [#91] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #390 (*kur 'throat') (U, Gil + err. IE, A).

680. *gAr₁Am₁∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > **IE:** NaIE *g₁hrem- 'crumble, grind, zerreiben' > Gt gramst-a dat. sg. 'splinter of wood', NGr Sw {TF} grummele 'kleiner Brocken, Brosamen, Griebe' (misquoted in {P} as grummelig 'brockig') || Lt grémžti (prs. grémžiu) 'to scrape, to scratch', grámdyti 'to scrape', Ltv gremžt 'to gnaw' ||| (+ ext.) NaIE *g^ωhrend^h- (< **g^ωhremd^h-), {E} *g₁hrend^h- 'grind' > Gmc *o₁grindan 'to grind, to scratch, to rub' > AS z₁rindan id., NE grind ||| L frendō / -ēre vt. 'crush, bruise, grind', vi. 'gnash the teeth' ||| Lt grésti (prs. gréndžiu) 'to scrape, to scratch', int. grandýti ¶ WPI 655-7, P 458, EI 247, TF 142, Fs. 219-20, WH I 545-2, Frn. 167, ≈ 172, HDEL 1518, Ho. 137-8 || **HS:** CS *✓gr₁m > JA ✓gr₁m D 'grind bones' (× gar₁m-ā 'bone'), BHb ✓gr₁m 'gnaw\break bones' (× ←d 'gerem 'bone'), Ar جرم ✓ğ₁rm (ip. -ğrim-) 'cut, lop off (a palm tree), shear (sheep), bone (the meat)' ¶ KB 195, KBR 203, BK I 270, Hv. 86 || **D** (in McTm) *^okar₁ant₁- > Tm kar₁ant₁u v. 'scrape, paw (as a dog), gnaw (as a rat)', Ml kar₁ant₁uka c. 'scrape the inside of metal vessels with a grating noise' ¶ D #1268 ◇ D *-r- points

to a N cns. cluster, possibly *-rH- (most probably *-rh- or *-rʔ-, because the N lrs. *h and *ʔ are the only that may disappear in S).

681. *gUraṅdV 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *gʰrendʰ- 'log, beam' > L [ʃ] grunda {EM} 'gutter of a roof, gargoyle', L suggrunda ~ sugrunda {EM} 'projecting roof, entablature, dripstone' ||| ON grind 'grating, grated door', AS ʒrindel 'bar, bolt', OSx grindil id., 'plough-handle', OHG grintil 'bolt, bar, plank; Riegel, Balken, Stange', MLG grindel, grendel id., 'transom (Querholz)' ||| Lt grindis, griñdas, grindà 'floor board', grandà 'plank in the flooring of a bridge', Ltv grīda, grīds 'floor', grōdi pl. 'planks, beams (of a bridge, below the floor, etc.)', akas grodi 'framework of a well, well-curb', Pru grandico 'Bohle' 'plank' | SI *grēda (accus. *grēdo) 'log, beam' > Blg гpe'да, SCr, Slv gréda, OCz hřada, Slk hrada id., RCS ГРАДА gręda [grʲa'da] 'beams, the top of a building', R Δ 'Гряда ~ гряд' 'cross-beam, shelf', P grzędą 'roost (for hens)', Cz hřada id., 'roof beam, rafter'; SI *grędbъ > RCS ГРАДЪ grędbъ [grʲad], Slv grēd (gen. gredī) 'perch, beam, shaft'; it is not clear if P grzędą, RCS ГРАДА, Uk 'Гряда' 'oblong height, ridge, bed in garden', and R 'Грядка' 'bed in garden' belong here ¶ P 459-60, WH I 623-4, EM 283-4, Vr. 189, Kb. 409, , Schz. 154, OsS 352, Ho. 138, Ho. S 29, Frn. 170-1, Turk. 181, En. 180, ESSJ VII 120-2, Glh. 246, Kmc. 572 ||| D *kuṛaṅṭ- ({ʃGS} *k-) 'log, tree trunk' > kuṛaṅṭu 'log', kuṛaṅṭi 'board used as seat; stump', kuṛaṭu 'piece of wood', Td kuḍ 'large stick, club', Kt kuḍ id., 'bar of door, log', Kn, Tl koṛaḍu 'trunk of a lopped tree, stump', kodaṅṭi 'log', Kdg kuṭṭi 'small piece of wood', Tu kudaṅṭi, kodaṅṭi 'small log', koṛaḍbъ 'log, stump'; cp. N *kuyrV 'wood (Holz), log' ¶¶ D #1842 ||| HS: SS *gund- 'trunk of a tree' > Gz gʷand, gund 'log, trunk, stem of a tree', Tgy gʷandi 'trunk', Tgr gāday, Amh gānd id., Mh gāndēt (pl. gānēd), Jb Egāndēt, Jb C gān'det (pl. gā'nudtə) id.; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} 'gūnde, Af {R} 'gūndi (pl. Sa, Af 'gūned) 'Holzstrunk, Strunk eines Baumes', Brj {Hd.} gundā 'trunk' ¶ LG 197, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, R S II 157, R A II 59, Hd. 195, ≠ Ss. B 86 (EC *gund-), DRS 153 ||| EC *ginde 'tree-stump, (lower) trunk of a tree' > Ged {Hd.} ginde, Kmb {Hd.} gidēla id., Rn gindó 'base, lower trunk of a tree', Arr gín 'base, bottom, bole', gína ḳoret 'trunk of a tree'; ?σ: Sd {Hd.} ginde 'heel' and Arr ginnbá id. ¶ Hd. 93, 242, 318, 366, PG 125, Hw. A 361 ¶¶

In S and EC *-nd- < **-rnd- (due to S and C morphophonemic laws) || U: FU *kanta 'stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *kañ|ń ▽ (-t ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The loss of *r before the cns. cluster in FU, S, and EC (FU *-nt-, S and EC *-nd-) is due to S, C, and U morphophonemic laws.

682. (₂?) *gERŠ ▽ (probably *gäR' s|š' ▽, if this is the main source of FU *°kärs|š ▽) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > HS: B *√grs v. 'freeze' > Kb ajrās id., ajris 'froid glacial; glace, gelée', Ah tağrast, ETwl tagrast, Tyr tagarast, Tnsl tažrast, Awj tegerišť 'winter', Rf B afris 'gelée', Shl {NZ} agris ~ agʷrs 'givre, gelée blanche', CM √grs 'geler, être gelé', Gd εgrās 'be very cold' (of weather), Zng {TC} atgärs° 'saison froide' ¶ Dl. 276, Fc. 487, GhA 59, Rn. 353, Lf. II #0462, NZ 887-9, TC D 11 || IE: NaIE *g̃h̃ers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle' > OI {MW} 'harṣatē, hr̥ṣyati v. 'become erect \ stiff \ rigid, bristle' (hair of the body), 'become on edge' (teeth), Av zaršayamna- 'feathers upright', Psh ziž 'rough, stiff', KhS {Bai.} ʏsīra- 'rough' || Gk χέρος, Gk A χέρος 'Festland' || L horreo, -ēre v. 'be rough, bristle' || AS gorst 'gorse', NE gorse ¶ P 445-6, EI 547, MW 1303, M K III 583-4, M E II 807-8, Bai. 352, F II 1089-90, WH I 659 || ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *°kärs|š ▽ (× N *KäR, ʷ, ūs|š ▽ 'to congeal') > ObU {Hl.} *kārāθ- / *kērāθ- 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' > pVg *kārt- 'grow numb (erstarren)' > Vg: T kārtawu-, LK kōrt-, MK kōrt-, NV kārt- / kart-, P/SV/LL/UL/Ss kārt- id.; pOs *kērāθ- ({Hl.} *kīrāθ-) 'become numb with cold, from illness, etc. (steif werden, erstarren)' > Os: K kārat-, Kr kērt-, Nz qārat-, Kz qarθa-, O qārḷa- ¶ Ht. #320, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 679, BV 34.

683. *gaRŽ ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag' > HS: S *√grš (~ *√grš̂) v. 'drag, trail' > BHb √grš̂ G √grš̂ v. 'drive out', 'cast out (a wife)', √grš̂ D 'drive out (vertreiben)', M'b grš̂ 'drive away', SmA √grš̂ D 'expel', ? OAk √grś G, Ak √grš̂ G 'come\go to so.!', *°√grš̂ > Mh √grš̂ G 'drag, pull out, push', Jb √grš̂ G 'drag into' ¶ KB 196, KBR 204, HJ 236, Br. 135, Tal 160, Sd. 272, CAD V 49, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79 || K *gr̥z- v. 'stretch' ('натягивать, вытягивать'), be long' > OG, G gr̥z- v. 'prolong, continue', Mg gīnz-or- v. 'stretch, pull out', Sv {TK}: L g̥z-ān- (msd. li-g̥zān-e), UB/Ln g̥z-ān- (msd. li-g̥zān-e) v. 'stretch'; ⇨ GZ *gr̥ze-l- 'long' > OG gr̥zel-, G g̥(r)zel-, Mg g̥r̥za-/e- ~ girze- ~ g̥nzā-/e-, Lz gīnze-, gunze- id. ¶¶ K 65, K DE 361, K² 33, FS K 86-7, TK 428 ||

IE *g^herH-/*g^hreH-/*g^hroH-/*g^hrH₂- v. 'be salient \ prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants) > Gk χοιράς (gen. χοιράδος) {F} 'Meerklippe', {P} 'emportehend, hervorragend; hervorragende Klippe im Meer' (< *g^horyo-), Gk [Λ] χάρμη '(?) ἐπιδορατής (point of a lance, spear-head)', Gk [Hs.] χαρῖα 'hill, mound' ||| ? Sl *grōtъ 'sharp point' > P grōt 'spear's head, dart, javelin', Cz hrōt 'sharp point, spitzes Ende, острие', R † rōt 'spear, dart' ||| Gmc: Nr Δ gare 'point (Spitze)', *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grāt (pl. græte) 'sharp fish-bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain-ridge', NHG Grāt 'edge, ridge', Gräte 'fish-bone', etc. (× NaIE *g^her-, *g^herə-/*g^hrē- 'sharp point' < N *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 440, F II 1075 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 140 ◇ The correspondence between IE *H, S *š, and a K vd. sibilant suggests a N sibilant *ž, but the affricate *ʒ for the expected *z in K is still without clear explanation (the variation *ʒ ~ *z is a rather usual phenomenon in K). The appearance of a lateral *ŝ in SES is puzzling, too.

684. *g^ho¹R¹ʒæ 'to feel' > **K**: OG, G grzn- v. 'feel, perceive; understand' ¶ Ser. 41, Chx. 207-8, DCh. 331 || **IE**: [1] NaIE *g^hωrē- (< *g^hωreH-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear' [q.v. ffd.]) || [2] ? NaIE (in Blt only) *g^hω₁h₁erd₁- > Lt gir¹dē¹ti (3s prs. gir¹di, 1s prs. gird¹žiu), Ltv dzirdēt 'to hear' ¶ Frn. 153, ≠ P 478, P 496, ME I 552 || **HS**: B *✓grz > Tmz {MT} t-graz 'se repentir, regretter' (used in 3f only in an impers. construction with the [pro]noun of the person as an indirect object: targaž iyī 'I am sorry, I regret' [literally '{it} sorries to me']), Sll {Ds.} at-g^hraž 'se repentir', Ah {Fc., Crt.} mu-ǵrāž 'se repentir de, regretter', ETwl, Tyr m^h-grbž (rf.) 'regretter (vivement), se repentir de', a-m^h-grbž 'regret, repentir', Zng {MH→Nic.} 3m aor. i^hammugraz 'repent' ¶ ≡σ: Sp lo siento mucho 'I am very sorry about it' ← 'I feel it much' ¶ MT 469-70, Ds. 247, Fc. 1173, Crt. 407, 413, GhA 60, Nic. 315, NZ 899, 901-2 ◇ The K affricate *ʒ|ž and the IE cns. *-d₁h₁ (in Blt) point to a N affricate *ž. In IE *g^hωreH- the Ir. seems to suggest N *z, but this apparent ev. is not decisive because of the merger with N *goRHæ.

684a. o *gA¹∇(ʀ¹∇) 'to thunder' > **IE**: NaIE *g^hrem- v. 'thunder, roar, rage', *g^hromos- ({EI} *¹g^hromos-) 'thunder, loud and low sound' > Av gram 'be angry/furious, be angry at so.', NPrs غرم ʕār(ä)m 'anger' ||| Gk χρόμη, χρόμος 'crashing sound', [Hs.] 'neighing of horses', Gk

χρεμετίλ-, [Hs.] χρεμίλ- 'neigh, whinny' (of horses) || ON gramr, AS zram 'angry', OHG gram 'furious, gloomy', OSx gram 'hostile (feindselig)', grīman 'to rage, to roar (with anger)', MHG grimen 'to rage with distress or pain (vor Zorn oder Schmerz wüten)', AS zrymēttan 'to roar, to grunt; to rage' || Lt grumėti 'to thunder', Pru grumins. : "dunreyn" 'drizzling rain' ({Bzb.}: ← 'a distant thunder?'), ? grīmikan 'song' | Sl *grǫměti 'to thunder' > OCS ГРЪМѢТИ grǫměti, SCr грѹмети & grǫmjeti, grǫmljeti, grǫmiti, Slv grmėti, Slk hrmiet', Pol grzmieć, OR, RCS ГРЪМѢТИ grǫměti, ГРЕМѢТИ greměti 'to thunder', Cz hřměti, hřmíti, R гре'меть, Uk гре'мити id., 'to produce a crashing sound', Blg гър'мя v. 'thunder'; Sl *grǫmь 'thunder' > OCS, OR ГРОМЪ gromь, Blg, R гром, SCr grōm, grōm, Slv grōm, Cz, Slk hrom, P grom, Uk гріmid. ¶ P 458-9, Mn. 337-8, 340-1, EI 582, Brtl. 529, VI. II 605, Sg. 885, F II 1116-7, Vr. 184, Ho. 136, 139, Ho. S 28-9, Kb. 405, Schz. 154, OsS 347, Lx. 76, Frn. 163, En. 181, ESSJ VII 138, 163-4, Glh. 249 ¶ Some of the words apparently belonging to this IE √ (such as MHG, MLG grummen 'brummen, murren') may be independent onomatopoeic innovations || K *gr̥gwin- v. 'thunder' > G gr̥gvin-, Mg gurgin-, gv̥irgvin-, Lz girgin-, Sv gurgw̥n- id.; K *gurgwal- id. > G gurgval-, Lz gurgul- id., Sv g̥aṛg̥al- 'produce a crashing sound' ¶¶ K 64, 66, K² 32; FS K 89-80 and FS E 94 (K *gurgw-) || HS: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} ḡṛṣṣṣṣṣṣ 'thunder, lightning' ¶ Sch. DN 60 || D *kaṛaṛl̥- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'thunder' > Tm kaṛaṛu id., Klm karadil v. 'strike with lightning' (for 'it lightens' they say 'the sky [abar] strikes with lightning'), Nk kaṛalil v. 'lighten' (ṛṣṣṣṣṣṣ kaṛalil 'the lightening [ṛṣṣṣṣṣṣ] lightens') ¶¶ D #1354.

685. *geṛa or ***geṛya** 'to step, to walk' > A: T *k'ér- v. 'walk about' > OT káz- id., 'travel, traverse', XwT XIII-XIV kez- 'walk about\through', Chg ≥XV kez- 'ramble, travel', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV kez- 'traverse', Qry Cr gez- 'go for a walk (spazieren gehen)', Az ḡáz-, ET káz- ~ gáz- id., 'walk', Tk gez-, Tkm geḃ-, Qmq gez- id., 'travel', Nog, Qrg kez-, Tf kéṣ- 'walk about', Uz kez-, ET kez- ~ káz-, Ggz gez- id., 'walk', Qq gez- id., 'travel', VTt gíz-, Bsh giḃ- 'travel', Tv kez- 'make the round of snares and traps (to check them)' ¶ Cl. 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 10-1, DTS 305, KumRS 94, TatR 115, BR 149, Ra. 203 || M *gar- 'go\come out, climb, pass over\across' > WrM gar-, MM gar- ([ChSc] ḡar-, [ArSc] -غر ḡar-), HIM gar(a)-, Kl, ShY gar-, Mnr H ḡari- id. ¶ M *a (rather than

a front vw.) may be due to regr. as. (*e...a > *a...a) ¶ KW 145, H 61, Ms. H 88, Pp. MA 176-7, MED 350, SM 120-1 || Tg *gġari- ~ *gġira- v. 'step, go for a walk' > Ewk ġira-kta-, Nn ġġari-, ġġran-, Ork ġġran- v. 'go for a walk', Neg ġġyān-, Ul ġġēri-, ġġran- v. 'step' ¶ STM I 147, 154-5, S AJ 224 [#285] || J *kātí n. 'walking' > OJ kati, [RJ] kátí, J: T kácí, K kácí, Kg kaćí ¶ S AJ 272 [#199], S QJ #199, Mr. 444 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#321], SDM97 s.v. *gär^{ra}, DQA #518 (A *gġärá 'to walk, to step') || **HS:** WS *✓gry > Sr ✓gry|w G (pf. gə'rā) 'run\trickle down, be dragged\carried away', Ar جری ✓ğry (ip. -ğriy-) G 'run, flow', Mh ✓gry (sbjn. y3-grā, condit. y3-grzy-3n) v. 'precede', 'pass' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} ✓grw|y G (pf. g3rō, sbjn. y3grī) 'run' (blood, water), 'flow', Jb C ✓gry (pf. 'ge're, sbjn. 'yeg3r) 'follow, go after' ¶ JPS 77, BK I 284-5, Ln. 415-6, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79, Jo. H 41, DRS 186 || ?φ B *-gūr- (< **guyr- or **guHr-?) v. 'go, walk' > Rf Wr/B/A u-ʔur (habit. əggur), Izn uyur (habit. əggur) id., Mz -ʒuʔ (imv. iʒuʔ, pf. yi-ʒuʔ) 'marcher, couler', CM {NZ} ggur- (aor. int.) 'go, go away, walk', Shw ugir ~ ug^wir ~ uyir, Nf ugur 'go, walk' ¶ Rn. 352, Dlh. M 70, NZ 854-5 || C: Bj {R} gerwel-scv. 'walk quickly' || **IE:** NaIE (+ext.) *ghred^h- v. 'step, walk', {EJ} 'step, go' > Av {P ← SLv.} aiwi-garəð- 'begin' || L gradior 'I step', gradus 'step' || Gt grid (accus. of *grips) 'step', MHG [γ] griet, grit, griit 'step', NGr B gritt id. || (*-n-present): OIr in-/ad-grenn-, to-grenn- 'pursue' (-enn- < *-ṅd^h-n-) || Lt grīdyti 'to walk, to roam' || (*-n-present) Sl *gręd- (inf. *gręsti, prs. *gręd-) > OCS ГРАСТН gręsti / ГРАДѦ grędŏ 'go, come', Blg Δ 'грѣдам, Blg SW 'грѣндам id., SCr gręsti / grędēm 'go, walk', Uk гря'сти / гря'ду 'run\drive (fahren) quickly and noisily', R Δ гредут 'they go' ¶ WPI 651-2, P 456-7, EI 546, WH I 615-6, Fs. 222, LP § 566, Thr. §§ 842, 857, Frn. 170, Bern. 349, ESSJ VII 123-4, BER 277-8, Glh. 246 ¶ IE *gh- was not palatalized (reg. in preconsonantal position).

686. *goŕæ 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^wher- 'burn, heat': [1] v.: OI ghr_o'ṇa-h 'ardour, heat', Λ, Γ ghr_o'ṇōti 'shines, burns' || OIr fo-geir v. 'heats', guirid 'warms', OIr gorim 'I heat, warm', NIr goraim id., 'I hatch', NIr, Br gor 'heat', W gori 'to hatch'; Brtt {RE} d. *guressākos 'warm, hot' ({P} < *g^whre-ns-o-) > W gwresog, Crn gwresak, B gwrezek id. || Sl *gorěti (3s prs. *gori-tb) vi. 'burn' > OCS горѣти gorěti (prs. горитъ goritb), SCr гòрети g

gòrjeti, Slv goréti, Cz hořeti, Slk horiet', P gorzeć, goreć, R го'реть, Uk го'рїти vi. 'to burn', Blg го'ря vi. 'burn' || [2] NaIE *g^whoros ntr. 'heat, embers' > OI ḡ 'haras- 'flame, heat' (one of the possible semantic interpretations) || Gk θέρος 'summer', θέρομαι 'become warm' || pAl {O} *žera > Al zjar r {AlbED} 'heat', {BFU} 'fire' || Arm ջեր չեբ 'heat, warmth; fine weather' || Lt gāras 'steam, vapour, carbon monoxide in the air', Ltv gars 'steam' | *g^whēro- > pSl *žarъ > SCr, Slv žār, P žar, R, Uk жар 'heat, embers', Cz žár 'heat' || [3] *g^whrē- vt. 'warm, heat' > Sl *grē-ti (prs. *grē-j-ŋ) ~ μ *grēja-ti (←d-prs. *grej-) 'to warm, to heat' > OCS грѣяти grějati (prs. грѣх grějŋ), RChS, OR грѣти grěti id., OCS грѣти сѧ grěti se 'to warm oneself', R греть (prs. грею), Uk грїти, SCr grèjati ~ grìjati & Δ grèti, Slv gréti, Cz hřáti, Slk hriat', P grzac (prs. grzeję) 'to warm, to heat', Blg грея v. 'warm' | Ltv grēmens & Δ grēmeles & Δ grēmes 'heartburn' || pAl {O} *en-grāya > Al ngroh- ~ ngrof- vt. 'warm' || [4] *g^whermo-, *g^whormo- 'warm, warmth', {E} *g^wher'mo-s 'warm' > OI ghar'ma-ḡ 'glow, heat', Av garəma- adj. 'hot', n. 'heat', KhS grāma- 'hot' || Gk θερμός 'hot, warm' || L Γ formus, L formidus id. || Gmc *warma- (×IE *wer- < N *war'i 'to burn, to heat', q.v. ffd.) > ON varmr, AS wearm, OHG, NHG warm adj. 'warm', NE warm adj., Gt warmjan 'to warm' || Thr {E} germo- 'warm' || Arm ջերմ չեբմ 'warm' || pAl {O} *žerma > Al G/T zjarm n. 'fire' || Ltv gaīme 'warmth', Pru gorme id. || [5] another d.: *g^whor-no-s 'oven, heating fire' > L fornus ~ furnus 'oven' || OIr gorn 'fire' || pSl *gьrnъ ~ *gьrno > SCr gr̄no 'burning coal for heating iron in a smithy', Slk grno, OR ГЪРНЪ гьрнъ, R, Uk горн 'forging furnace' ¶ P 493-5, EI 88, 263, M KI 357-8, 360, III 579, ME I 513, 515-6, II 804, Bai. 92, FI 664-6, WH I 532-4, Thr. § 184, YGM-1 245, LP § 38, Hm. 323, Dnn. 378, RE 143, Vr. 646, Kb. 1147, Ho. 387, Hamp AIEW 146, BFU 642, O 296, 524-5, AlbED 966-7, Sl. 73, Frn. 134-5, En. 179, ME I 652, ESSJ VII 42-3, 116-7, 210-1, Vs. I 441, 456, II 35, Glh. 239, 248, Chr. I 291-2 || HS: S: Ar جَرَّةٌ ḡarr-at- 'pain cuit dans les cendres'; (×N *g'e'lyrâ 'fire, hearth'): Ar جَايِرٌ ḡāyir 'feu; grande chaleur dans le corps, causée par la soif/fèvre/colère' ¶ BK I 272, 361 || C: Bj {R} ✓g^wr v. 'cook, fry' (1s: p. a'gūr, prs. an'g^wīr; vb. n. 'g^wār i-) ¶ R WBd 99 || Ch: WCh: Hs ḡūrâ v. 'cause fire to blaze up' | AG: Ang {Flk} kur 'charcoal', Su {J} kūr 'ashes' | BT: Tng kuro

'charcoal' || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} ḡw̄vré (sc. ḡw̄vré?), {ChL} ùvùre, Glv {Rp.} ṽúvra, Gv {ChC} ṽùvùrà id. | Lgn {Lk.} gurwake 'embers' || ECh: Ke kóráy 'ashes', ? Bar ḡarui 'firewood' ¶ Stl. VZCh #72, Ba. 411, J T 106, ChC, ChL, Eb. 73 || **A**: T: [1] *k'ōr 'embers, live coal' (× N *kūr'p'∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat') > OT {Cl.} kōz, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsM kōz, MOg göz, Tk kōz, Tkm κθz kōδ, Az kōz, Bsh Δ küδ, Ln, Xk, Tv kōs 'embers, live coal', Tf kōš 'live coal', Ch кăвар кьвар, Δ кь̆вар id., 'burning embers'; here Tv, Tf k- suggests a lax pT *k', while Tk, Az, Tkm k- is likely to point (but not necessarily) to a pT tense *k'-; [2] *Kōr' 'live coal' > Bsh κυz quδ, Qq qoz id., StAlt qos id., embers' ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6. ET Q 74-6, TL 365-6, TkR 411, Hüs. 173, Rl. II 1300, Grøn. 155, Ra. 204, ≈ DTS 321 (OT köze- 'stir'), ≈ Md. 48, 170 (*k'ōr with unjustified *k'), ≠ Jeg. 97 ¶ The paronymous T word *Kōr 'embers' belongs to N *kārH₂'U' 'to burn (sth.), to heat' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1161 (A *k'ūr'∇ 'glowing coals'; incl. T) ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g'ō' r ḡ 'гореть'), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (*g'UR ḡ 'burning coal).

687. *gur∇(d∇) (or *gur∇y∇(d∇)-) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'back side') > K: GZ *gwerd- 'side, flank' > OG gwerd-i id., 'rib', G gverd-i 'side, flank', i-gurd-iV 'near, side by side', Mg gverd-i, gwerd-i, Lz gver(d)- 'half' ¶ K² 29, Ser. 42, DCh. 312, Q 216 || **HS**: B: Sll {Ds.} agarru (pl. igurra), Shl {NZ} agrru 'hip (hanche)' ¶ Ds. 150, NZ 848 || WS *✓grd > Ar جرد ḡarad- 'back (dos)' (← *'back side' ← *'side'), Tgr ž̆rid '(muscles of the) neck', Grg Sl ḡardid 'nape of neck' ¶ Fr. I 264, BK I 276, LH 550, LEDG III 291, MiK I #1.92 || Eg fOK {EG} zrwω 'Rippengegend des Körpers, Seite', {DW} zrw(ω) 'Seitenfläche; hintere Rippengegend; Seitenfläche der Nase', {Fk.} zrwω 'side, flank (of a body)', 'wall (?)' ¶ EG V 602, DW 1909-10, Fk. 324 || Ch: CCh: ZmD {ChC} ḡurà, {KNC} ḡuráy 'thigh', ?? Mln ḡirgátìgí id. (unless derived from or compound with CCh *gir∇ 'bone') || WCh: Cg {Sk.} ḡárábùn 'rib' ¶ ChC, ChL, KNC 9 || **A**: T *Kúr > NaT *Kuz > OT {Cl.} quz 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tk kuz, Δ koz ḡ guz 'shady side'; NaT *Kuzar'ṽ > Az гүзей guzey ~ гүзей güzey 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tkm ḡubay 'shady side (of a mountain, house, etc.)', T kuzey 'north'; d.: Tb {Rl.} qusqay 'northern' ¶ Cl. 680, ET Q 106-7, Rl. II 1015, Hüs. 86, 89, TkR 207 || **D** {tr.} *kur∇'ṽk°, {GS} kuḡuḡ 'thigh, loins' (× N *kūr'U' 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > Tm kurar'ku, Kt korg, Tl kuruvu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu ḡ kuḡu, Gdb

kuyug, Gnd kuruku 𐌆 kurki 𐌆 koχki, Knd kuṛgu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuṛu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. 𐌆 kūdgū id., 'lap', Ml kuṛaku, kuṛavu 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D #1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [#382], 55 [#152] || ? **Gil:** Gil A kədr / ʔədr / gədr (gədr) 'back (dos)' ¶¶ ST 125 ◇ D *-r- (rather than the expected *-r̥- < N *r̥) may be due to the merger with N *kūr̥'U'. Alternatively, T *-r̥- may go back to ** -ry- < N *-r̥y-.

688. *g^re¹lyrâ (or *g^re¹ʔirâ) 'fire, hearth' > **HS:** S *g^ri¹rr-, *√grr ~ *√gyr > Ak FOB girru 'fire', Amh √grr (pf. gerrere) {L} 'be scorching' (sun), {DRS} 'étinceler, être brûlant (feu)'; Ar جَير gāyir 'feu, grand chaleur dans le corps (causée par la soif/faim\colère)' (× N *gor̥æ 'hot; to heat; embers') ¶ CAD III 93-4, L CAD 207, BK I 361, DRS 192 || Eg G ʒr ≈ □ fire' ¶ EG V 595 || C: EC *gīr-a'fire' > Sa, Af gira id., HEC *gīra id. > Sd, Hd, Ged, Kmb gīr-a 'fire', Brj ʒīr-a 'flame', Sd, Hd gīr- vt. 'burn' || SC: Brn {E} giṛru, Alg {E} giṛri 'embers', ?? Irq gilṛi {E} id., {MQK} id., 'red-hot charcoal' ¶ Ss. B 110, Hd. 64, 279, 366, E SC 238, MQK 39 ¶¶ ≈ OS #210 || **U:** FP *ker̥- {UEW} 'offener Steinofen' > Es keris (gen. kerise, kerikse), Δ kiris (gen. kirise) {W} 'upper part of a stove (in peasants' houses), light-house', {Slv.} keris 'vaporizing furnace (with big heated stones)' || Prm {LG} *gṛr ({LG} *gṛr) 'stove' > Vt ryp gur, Vt B/SW gur, Prmk, Yz gur 'stove', Z gṛr / gory-, Z US gṛr 'stove in a sauna\barn' ¶ UEW 660, LG 78, W EDW 265, Slv. 110 || **A:** T *kīr̥- 'get hot' > MT XIV [IM] qiz- 'be warm', MQp XIV, Chg ≥XV, OOsm qiz- 'be hot', Cmn qiz- 'glow with heat', Tk kiz-, Qmq qiz-, VTt кыз- қыз-, Bsh қыз-, Tv qis-, Chv хэп- хыр- 'get very hot', Tkm qid-, Nog qiz- id., 'get warm', Az giz-, Qzq qiz- 'get warm', Ggz kiz-, Qq qiz- 'get very hot, flame up', Yk kīs- 'flare up'; NaT *kizi- > Qrg qizi-, Uz, ET qizi- 'get very hot', Alt qizi- id., 'catch fire'; it is possible (but not certain) that one may adduce here the pT verb *ki_iṛ- 'get red' (> OT qiz- 'get ruddy' [of complexion], Tv qis-, Yk kīs- 'get red'), and its d. *kīr̥ 'red' (> NaT *kizi), Chv хыр̆, ffd. see ET Q 194-6) ¶ ≈ Cl. 681 (unc.: qiz 'be hot' ← qiz- 'be red'), ET Q 187-9, 194-7, Md. 70, 168, Tkr 228, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 343, Ra. 223-4, Rl. II 875, PC 447 || ?? M *gere 'light, brightness' (× N *neh^r'i 'light, fire', q.v. ffd. × N *gæh^r - *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light [Licht]') ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g^ro¹r̥ ᱠ ᱦᱟᱰᱟᱲ, vi. 'burn'), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (N *g^rUR̥ ᱠ 'burning coal') ◇ The SC cognates (Brn giṛru, Alg giṛri) and the long i in EC suggest

the presence of a lr. (*ʔ = *ʔ|h) in the N etymon (unless both SC *ʔ and the EC vw. length are of prosodic origin) ◇ If the N etymon is *geyrâ, the N vw. *-e- was narrowed to a pre-T *-i- (> T *-i- due to vw. harmony) under the infl. of the adjacent *y or *ʔi.

688a. *gúr̥E or *gür̥∇ 'throat, neck' > HS: EC {Ss.} *gawraʔ- 'cut the throat' (× EC *✓grʔ 'cut' < N *gir̥∇ 'to cut', q.v.) > Sml gowraʔ-, Rn gōrraḥa 'slaughter an animal by cutting its throat', Bn kūrāʔ-, Sd gorʔ-, Kmb gor-, Or gorraʔ- 'slaughter an animal'; Or ʔ→ Brj gorraʔ- v. 'slaughter' ¶ Ss. B 84, Abr. S 96, ZMO 166, Grg. 182, PG 127 || WS *gurʔ- 'throat, gulp (gorgée)' > Gz gʷarʔē 'throat, neck, palate', Tgr ʔC.ó gʔrʔʔ 'throat', Ar جَرَعَة gʔurʔ-at- ~ جَرَعَة gʔarʔ-at- 'gulp (gorgée, ce qu'on boit et avale d'un coup)', ✓gʔrʔ (pf. جَرَع gʔaraʔa) 'swallow at one gulp' ¶ L G 200-1, BK I 280, Hv. 8, ≈ DRS 175-6 || Ch (× N *geR∇ 'throat?'): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gāgārāk 'throat' (× N *guRʔkʔUʔ 'throat?') | BT: Krkr {Kœ.} gurgosli 'throat' | Pʔ {MSk.} gùrgʷàḡá id. | ? Hs garefa 'trachea, windpipe' || CCh: Msg G {Trn.} gurḏok, Mlw {Trn.} gùḏòk 'throat' | Mtk: Mf {BLB} gʔrḏ- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} gʔrḏan 'palate' | Tr {Nw.} ʔùʔʷàr id., gora 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS lr.) | BB: Gude {Hsk.} ʔ gùrʔk 'swallowing noisily' | Lame {Sa.} ʔ gùròk id. || ECh: Mu {J} gōró (pl. gōrār), Tmk {Cp.} gēḗ, Kwn {J} kʔr̥ ʔ kʔr̥í, Ke {Eb.} kùr 'neck' (in KwK *g- > k- regularly) ||| Cf. also nouns with supposed pxs.: Ngz {Sch.} ngúḗááíyá 'throat', Db {Mch.} mungurlum, Hs màḗḗgʷàʔō, Gw {Mts.} màkóngòro id. ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, Ba. 758, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh #76, ChC, ChL, Eb. 75 ¶ Gude gùrʔk and Lame gùròk are results of secondary ideophonization (cf. R [in fairy tales and literature for children] зайчик прыг-прыг 'the hare jumped', lit. 'little hare jump-jump', where the deverbal d. прыг [without being ideophonic by origin] functions as an ideophone) ¶ The Tmk and Tr words for 'neck' belong here if the retroflexity of r in Tmk and the glottalization of *g in Tr reflect the HS lr. in N *gúr̥E ~ *gür̥∇ || B *-gurḗ/ḗḗ- 'neck' (possibly < *gurʔ-at-) > Kb aḡʷarḗ (pl. iḡʷarḗan, iḡʷarḗaḗ) 'neck-opening of a garment, collar (encolure, col)', Awj {Par.} a-ḡārāḗ (pl. ḡarḗā:wān) 'neck', Zng {MH → Nic.} agarḗ (pl. ḡarḗun) 'gosier; haut du cou', {Bs.} اَگَرْدَ agard 'gosier', {Nic., Bs.} اَگَرَضَ agard 'goulot', Izd {Mrc.}

agərđ (pl. iğurđan) 'cou, goulot, encolure', Ah eğərad 'têtière (de licol)', ETwl, Ty eğərđ (pl. iğərđən) id., 'nape of neck', ZAS {Loub.} agərđ, Zn {Rn.}, Tmz {MT} a-gərđ 'shoulder', Tmz ✓ grđ (inv. gərđ) 'tordre le cou; avoir le cou tordu'; d.: Sll {Ds.} amggərđ (pl. imgrāđ), Izd {Mrc.} dim. tamgərđ (pl. timgrāđ), Zn {Rn.} amgrāđ 'neck', ZAS {Loub.} amgərđ 'cou, col', Kb amjərđ (pl. iməjrađ) 'neck, nape of neck'. Cf. also Wrg {Dlh.} a-gərduř (pl. i-gərdař) 'gorgée longue de liquide' (survival of *ř in a B dialect??). In addition, it is worth paying attention to B *guHr∇z_l∇y_l (< **gurH∇z_l∇y_l?) > Ah ā-ğūrāh 'larynx', ETwl, Ty a-gurz_ly (pl. i-gərzan) 'throat', Ttq {Msq.} korzī 'throat over the Adam's apple', as well as to Kb a-jərž_už ~ a-jərž_už (pl. ijərž_užən) 'throat, larynx, trachea' and to Ntf {La.} a-gərgur 'goitre' (× N *geR∇ 'throat') ¶ Par. A 163, Rn. 352, Ds. 77, MT 465-6, Dlh. Ou 62, Fc. 48O-2, Loub. 547, Mrc. 64, 281, Pr. H #11O, GhA 58, 6O, Dl. 273-4, Msq. 139, Msq. Z 5O1, Nic. 313, Bs. MS I 124, La. N 57, NZ 868-9 || A: M *güre-řen '(= part of the) neck' > WrM gürege(n), HIM rypəə(н) 'area of the neck below and in front of the ear', Kl {Rm.} güreñ ~ güre 'neck', MM [IM] güreñ sudusun 'arteria cervicalis', WrM gürege(n)-ü sudasu, Kl {Rm.} güreñ sudas_u 'jugular vein' (sudəs_u, sudusun is 'vein, sinew'), ? StKl {KRS} rypə güre 'vein'; M → Chg [MA] küreñ in küreñ tamur 'arteria cervicalis', Qrg küre, küre tamır 'jugular vein', WrMc gurexe id. (g_u- [rather than g_u-] being possible in loanwords only) ¶ MED 392, Pp. MA 172, KRS 149, KW 139, Jud. 47O-1, Z 363, Hr. 385, ≈ STM I 175 || Tg *güre-ke 'nape' (× N *gub_l∇_lRE 'back, nape [of neck]', q.v. ffd.) || D *kuř_uŋk- (≈ *guř_uŋg-) > Nk guř_uŋga 'neck', Gnd B guř_uŋgā 'oesophagus', Gnd Ch/G/HMB/KM guř_uŋga 'throat', Gnd DM guř_uŋgā id., 'neck', Gnd RSr guř_uŋga, Gnd A gur_uŋā 'Adam's apple', Ml kor_uŋā, Kn gor_uŋke 'throat', ? gōr_uñ ~ gōr_u 'neck' ¶¶ D #1645 ||| The N word in question may be an *AdS* of D *kUrał- 'throat, voice' (< N *kôri^hû 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *kuř_uŋk- (≈ *guř_uŋg-) suggests N *-ř-, while D *kUrał- (if it belongs here) points to N *-rH- (unless D *-r- belongs to the heritage of N *kôri^hû ◇ M *ü suggests either a N *ü or a N vw. *u influenced by the front vw. of the next syll. ◇ The N etymon is qu. and hard to reconstruct, because the potential cognates outside HS are not distinguishable from N *kôri^hû '↑' (due to the neutralization of the glottal oppositions in anlaut) ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [#91] ◇ ≠ Gr. II #390 (*kur 'throat') (A + err. IE, U, Gil).

689. $\text{₂} *gEy\text{∇}\hat{S}\text{∇}$ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > **IE**: NaIE $*g^ha_1so\text{-s}$, {EL} $*g^ha_1so\text{-s} \sim *g^ha_1ses\text{-}$ 'javelin, spear' ({EL} 'throwing spear') > OI 'hēṣah' 'weapon', {EL} 'missile' (?? → hi'nas-ti ~ Vd 'himṣati 'injures, hurts, destroys') ||| Gl → L gaesum and Gk $\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\varsigma \sim \chi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\upsilon$ 'long heavy javelin (originally a Gaulish weapon)'; OIr gáe 'spear', fo-gae (later foga) 'javelin (Wurfspeer)', OW {Flr.} guoiu, MW gwaew, W gwayw, Crn gew 'spear', Br goaf 'lance; gaffe, perche munie d'un croc' (× Fr. gaffe) ||| Gmc $*gaizas$ > AS zār , OSx $gēr$, OHG $gēr$, NHG Ger, ON geirr 'javelin, spear' ||| ?? Gk $\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'shepherd's staff' ($\mu\phi$ from 'spear?') ¶ WP I 528, P 410, EI 537, WH I 575-6, SB 104, Flr. 204, YGM-1 260, Hm. 320, LP §§ 14, 23 (3), 34 (3), Billy 76, F I 282-3 and II 1061-2, Vr. 161-2, Kb. 327, Schz. 150, Ho. 124, Ho. S 25, KM 249; ≠ M K III 595, 601, 611 and M E II 820-1 ('hēṣah' * ← hiṣ-/hēṣ- 'injure, hurt' without **IE** et.) ||| **HS**: WS $*gaya\hat{s}$ - 'host, armed force' > MHb gāyis (< AHb $*gāyis$) (pl. gāyā's-ōt), JA gāyā'sā ($*gāyā'sā$) 'troop; pack of robbers', JEA {Sl.} gāyā'sā 'band of marauders\robbers', Sr W gāy's-ā 'troop, army', Ar gāyš - 'army', Sb gāyš 'unit, detachment', d.: Mh gāyš (pf. gāyōš) v. 'rally, collect the tribe (in troubled times)', Jb E gāyš (pf. gāyš), Jb C Shā'gāyš id. ¶ Dlm. 73, Br. 114, Sl. 279-80, ≈ Lv. I 325 (erroneous vocalization MHb gāyā's), BGMR 52, Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, DRS 116 ||| C: EC $*gāyš$ ({Ss.} $*gāyš$) pcv. 'kill' > Rn {Ss.} $-gāyš\text{-}$, {PG} $-gāyš\text{-}$ / p. $-gāyš\text{-}$ / $-gāyš\text{-}$ (n. act. gāyš), pBn {Hn.} $*-igāyš\text{-}$ / $*-igāyš\text{-}$ (> Bn K $-igāyš\text{-}$ / $-igāyš\text{-}$, B/J $-igāyš\text{-}$ / $-igāyš\text{-}$), Arr {Hw.} $-ekes\text{-}$ / (ip.) $-akās\text{-}$ (1s gāyš , inv. 2s gāyš) 'kill', Dsn {Ss.} $-ēs\text{-}$, {To.} gāyš / $-es\text{-}$ (pcv.), Elm $-ekis\text{-}$, whence scv.: Or {Ss., Grg.} gāyš , Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} gāyš , Kns {Ss.} $\text{ikaš}\text{-}$ / $\text{išš}\text{-}$, HEC ({Hd.} $*siy\text{-}$): Sd {Ss.} $\text{šiy}\text{-}$, Kmb/Ged {Ss.} $\text{šiy}\text{-}$, Hd {Ss.} $\text{šiy}\text{-}$, Brj $\text{siy}\text{-}$ 'kill', Brj si'yā 'warrior' ||| Bj {R} gāyš (1s: p. a-ugšā , prs. ag'anšī ; prt. gāyš) v. 'cast a spear' (and $*\text{throw}$ → gāyš 'zu Boden strecken, unterjochen?') ||| SC $*gāyš$ 'kill' > Kz gāyš , Asa gāyš , Alg, Brn gāyš 'kill', Irq gāyš 'kill, break'; SC → Mb $-gāyā$ 'kill' ¶ R Wbd 103, Ss. B 167, PG 62, 238, Hn. BD 114, Grg. 11-2, Sr. 331, Hw. A 267-9, Hd. 86, To. DL 200, E SC 263, EK 11, MQK 37, Blz. SCL s.v. 'kill' ||| ?σ Ch: CCh: Mofu {Brr.} $-gāyš$ 'throw', MfG {Brr.} $-gāyš$ 'throw, drop' ||| WCh: ? Kry {Sk.} kuse v. 'throw' ||| ECh: Jg {J} gāyš 'throw' ¶ JS 267, ChC, Brr. MG II

121 ◇ FU *küŝ∇- v. 'fall' (Coll. 79, MK 225-6) should be kept apart (it has a better et. connecting it with N *kūŝ'ŕ'∇ 'to fell, to fall', q.v.).

690. *g'ā'yŝ∇ʔa 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *gʰeǵs- 'be frightened, be scared', {E} 'frighten' > Av zaēša- 'horrible', zōi(ə)šnav- zusammenschreckend, schaudernd', KhS ysāṣṭa 'hateful, hostile', NPrs زشت zešt 'hideous, ugly; bad' || Gt us-geisnan 'to be frightened', us-gaisjan 'to frighten', Ic geisa 'to rage, to be ferocious', geiski n. 'fright, terror', ON geiska-fullr 'frightful' (lit. 'full of fright') ¶ Hardly here (for both phonetic and semantic reasons and against P's opinion) NaIE *gʰoǵsd- > OI 'hēḍa- 'anger', OHG geist 'spirit, soul', NHG Geist 'spirit', AS Ʒæst ~ Ʒāst 'spirit, ghost', NE ghost; OI 'hēḍa- 'anger' is likely to belong to N *gič∇ 'injure, irritate' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ EI 214, ≈ WP I 553-4, ≈ P 427, Brtl. 1651, 1692-3, Bai. 353, Sg. 617, BM 260, Vr. 162, Fs. 531-2, Kb. 324, Ho. 122, Bv. 219 || A: Tg *gasa- v. 'worry, grieve' > Neg, Ork gasa- v. 'worry', Ul gasa- 'be sad, grieve (ТОСКОВАТЬ)', Nn Nh/B gasa-, Nn KU gaso- 'be sad, grieve, worry', WrMc gasa- {Z} 'grieve, be sad', WrMc {Hr.} gasa-, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gasa- 'beklagen, bemangeln; unzufrieden sein, sich beschweren' ¶ STM I 143, Z 304, Hr. 337, Klz. MS 175 || M *gasal₁a₁- > WrM gasal-, gasala-, HIM гасла- 'be sorrowful\afflicted, grieve', Kl {Rm.} gasl- 'betrübt sein, sich grämen', -> M *gasalan > WrM gasalan₁, HIM гасалан(г), Kl {Rm.} gasal₁ ~ gasl₁ 'Gram, Betrübnis, Unglück', {KRS} гасл₁ ҫасл₁ 'grief, sorrow'; the infl. of M *gasal₁a₁- is the source of meaning 'sorrowful' in MM [MA] gaš₁-ba 'was distressed', WrM gasiḡu(n), HIM гашуу(н) 'sorrowful', while the primary meaning of M *gasiḡun (> MM [HI] gasi₁un, [MA] gaš₁un, WrM gasiḡu(n), HIM гашуу(н), Mnr ɢaš₁ɢn) is 'bitter, sour', hence M *gasiḡun hardly belongs here ¶ MED 353-4, KRS 160-1, KW 146, Pp. MA 178, SM 121, Ms. H 89 || HS: S *^ogŝʔ > Ar جشأ ✓gŝʔ G 'be convulsed, heave (from fear or grief)' (of a soul), {Fr.} 'commota et excita fuit (anima moerore vel concepto terrore)' ¶ Fr. I 279, BK I 295, Hv. 90.

691. ?₂ *g'u'ŝ∇ʔa (~ *g'u'ŝ∇ʔ∇) 'belch, vomit' > HS: S *^ogŝŕ ~ *^ogŝʔ > Hb (mt.) ✓gŝŕ TL (pf. hiḡḡōŕeŝ) 'vomit loudly', Sr pf. G ga'sā (*^ogŝʔ) 'vomit', Ar ✓gŝʔ G 'belch', Gz ✓g^ωŝŕ G 'belch, vomit', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} g₃šō, Sq ✓g₃ŝŕ, Jb C {Jo.} š₃-¹geŝi 'belch', Ak IB geš₁ŭ (*^ogŝŕ) 'to belch' ¶ KB 200, CAD III 64, Br. 126, JPS 75, BK I

295, LG 205, LLS 117, Jo. M 126, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, Sd. 287, Mik I #2.17 || WCh {Stl.} *ga^rc^h- 'belch' > Hs g^uáçè || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj ʔžâ-, Kry ʔžâš, My gžla- id., Cg gâžan n. 'belch', Jmb žižâšú, Diri gžšá v. 'vomit' || Ngz {Sch.} gâđžú 'belch' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#669], ChC, Sk. NB 12, Sch. DN 66, ≈ Tk. NB 178-9 (pNrBc *gžš- > *gžž- ~ *gžč- [secondary glottalization]) || A: T *k_l'us- 'vomit' (× N o†*g_uʔ_la_lsê 'to vomit, to cough', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., because the supposed T cognate has an alt. et.

692. ₂ *gAʔit∇ 'body, flesh' > HS: ?σ,ϕ EC *gīđ- 'body, flesh, meat' > Rn žíđ- 'flesh, meat', Sml žīđ, Sml J žīr 'body', Hr {AMS} gīđ-o 'mageres Fleisch' ¶ PG 166, ZMO 220, Hn. S 61 (pSam *gīđ), AMS 158, ≈ Ss. WOKS 133 (EC *gīđ), Blz. RL 260 || Eg fP ž.t 'Leib, Körper' (reinterpretation of *žt?) ¶ EG V 503-6 || D: SD *kaṭṭ- 'body, corpse' > Tm kaṭṭai id., Kn kaṭuku 'a headless trunk'; D ⇨ OI kaṭa- 'corpse' ¶ D #1152 ◇ EC *-đ- points to the existence of a N *ʔ (*-ʔ...t- > EC *-đ-).

693. ₂ *gû^rt^l H_l∇ 'small, little' > HS: C: SC {E} *g^wat_l-/*got_l- ({JE} *g^wat_l-/*got_l-) 'child' > Irq {E, MQK} garma 'boy', Qz goʔolayo 'bull calf' || Dhl {EEN, To.} g^wícca 'child' || C ⇨ Mb -gitutú 'little, small' ¶ E SC 263, WQK 37, EEN 32, To. D 134 || D {tr.} *kuṭṭ-, {IS} *kuđđ-, {GS} *gudđ- 'small, little' > Tu giđđa 'short, small', Kn giđđu, gudđu 'shortness, smallness', Tl giđđa 'small, dwarfish', Δ gudđu 'short', Tm kuṭṭa 'smallness; young of a monkey', Ml kuṭu 'small, narrow', kuṭṭan 'boy, lamb, calf', Td kuṭ, Kdg kuṭṭi 'child (of any caste except for Coorgs)', Kui gūṭa 'short, dwarfish', Krx gudru 'dwarfish', Brh ʔudđū, gudđū 'small' ¶¶ D #1670, GS 166 [#419], 184 [#465] ◇ IS supposed here a lr. sx.: **-t-H- > D *-đđ- ◇ Both the SC rec. and the pN one are questionable ◇ Cp. N *k_lUṭ∇ 'small'.

694. *gāṭâ 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *g^hed- v. 'acquire', 'acquisition' > Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy, greediness' || Gmc *git- > Gt bi-gitan 'to find', ON geta 'to create, to obtain, to procreate' (NrGmc ⇨ ME geten > NE get), OHG bi-gežžan 'to get (erhalten), reach', OSx bigetan 'to find', AS bi-zietan 'to receive, to find; to procreate' (> NE beget) || OL praida, L praeda 'booty' (< *prajheda) ¶ WP I 589-90, P 437-8 (*g^hend- and *g^hed-), Mn. 317 (*g^hed-; *÷ OCS žadati 'desire'), Ab. IV 317-8, WH II 352-3, Vr. 165, WW 113, Kb. 331, Ho. 120, Ho. S 26, HDEL 119, 554 ¶ WP and P postulate a variative root *g^hend- ~ *g^hed-, based on Brugmann's theory of a nasal

infix (BD II/3 293ff.), and therefore adduce here the reflexes of **IE** *gʰend- (> Gk χανδάνω 'ich fasse', L praehendō [> prēhendō] id., etc.), but Mn. is probably right in rejecting it and reconstructing a separate root *ghed- (our *gʰed- with *gʰh- on the ev. of Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy') ¶ **IE** *-d- rather than *-t- (< N *-t-) is due to the **IE** incompatibility law ruling out voiced aspirates and voiceless cns. in the same root || **HS**: C: EC {Ss.} *gaḏ- > Brj gaḏ- 'take', Rn χāta (< *ḡāt- < mte. *gāḏ-) 'take; capture, seize', pKns *kēḏ- v. 'take' > Kns, Turo, Gato qēḏ-, Msl ḡēḏ-, Gdl ḡeḏ-, ? Or E (with a caus. sx.) gaḏḏīs- 'set free, let go' ||| Dhl {EEN} geḏ- 'take, send', geḏḏokum- 'carry', {To.} geḏ- 'bring, send' ||| ? SC (× N *gōḏ- 'pull, draw'?): Irq {Wh.} -gaḡar-, {MQK} gaḡār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gaḡar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ Ss. B 75, Bl. 254, PG 186, ≈ AD SF 245, EEN 31, Th. 143 (Or gaddisu ~ gaḏisu 'congedare, licenziare, lasciare andare'), ≈ ESC 237, To. D 134, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || ?σ S *o✓gtt > Ar ✓ḡtt (pf. جَٓتَ ḡatta) 'touch a domestic animal in order to know if it is fat' ¶ BK I 251 ¶ S *-t- for *-ḏ- is due to deglottalization in S (likely to be compulsory in certain conditions, as can be concluded from the absence of *g-ḏ-roots in pS) || **U**: FU *katt- v. 'grasp, hold' (*katt- from **kättâ due to vw. harmony?) > Prm *kut- > OPrm, Z kut- 'catch, hold', StVt кутыны, Vt S kut-, Vt G {W} kut+ 'catch, seize' ||| OHg hat- 'possess', Hg hatalo, 'power, violence' ¶ UEW 130-1, LG 147-8, MF 275-6 || **D** *kat- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'seize' > Tm kaḏuḏu 'seize, grasp', Kn kaḏubu 'seize or hold firmly', kaḏi v. 'steal', Tu kaḏipu, kaḏupu, kaḏpu n. 'stealing, theft', Tl kaḏumu 'seize' ¶¶ D #1200, ≈ Km. 322 [#242] (*kač- > kat-).

694a. ≈ *gōḏ- 'ant', (?) 'worm' > **HS**: EC: Sd {Gs.} gōḏāmo coll. 'ε ants', gōḏān-čō 'ant', Ged {LmS} ḡōḏāmo 'ant', and Sml {ZMO} quḏānyo 'ants' (as. *g...ḏ > *ḡ...ḏ), ??? god 'ε ant' (in godka qurānyada), Dsn {LmS} kūḏin 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, ZMO 334, 452, Gs. 130 || NrOm: Wl {LmS} guḏḏun-iyā 'worm', Omt {Mrn.} guḏune, Gf {Mrn.} guḏane 'worm', Gm {LmS} guḏune 'worm, meat worm', Malo {LmS} guḏine, Dc/Zs {LmS} guḏume 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gòḏnòy 'ε ant' ¶ ChC, Eb. 51 || **U**: FP {UEW} *kutke 'ant' > Es kuk-lane (gen. kuklase) 'ant', Lv kukki 'bug, insect' || pLp {Lr.} kotkэ 'ant' > Lp: S gārke, U gādhka, L kār'hkā, N {N} goḏ'kā, Kld kot:k || pMr {Ker.} *kutkь- > *kotkə- > Er коткудав, {W} kotkodov id. || pChr {Ber.} kutkь- id. > Chr: Н кыткы 'къткь, L кутко 'kutko, Uf/B kutko || Prm: pZ *koḏḏ

> Z кодзубкот kožuv-kot, Z US kožul-ko, Z K kot-kožul 'ant' (kožul 'ant') ¶ UEW 678-9, Lr. #463, Lgc. #2581, ERV 298, Ker. II 68, Ber. 25, MRS 250, 272, Ep. 53, LG 135 || D *^okott- ({}GS} *g-) > Kn godda 'ε black ant' ¶¶ D #2096 ◇ Blz. 159 [#72] (C, NrOm, D).

695. ₂ *gōt̪∇ 'pull, draw' > HS: C {AD} *^og^ωt 'draw, pull' > Ag: Xm {R} g^ωit- id.; Ag → Tgr {LH} gētēt ṛabla, Tgy g^ωētēta id. || ?? EC: pSam {Hn.} *gīt/*gītā v. 'pull' (unless it is EC {Ss.} *zit- v. 'pull' < N *^ozed₁h₁ū|u 'pull, drag, draw', q.v. ffd.) > Sml žīd-, Rn {Hn.} žit / 'žita, {PG} žīta 'pull, drag', pBn {Hn. BD} *(hǎ́)-šīd or {Hn. S} šīd 'pull' > Bn: Bi (hǎ́)-šīd, J/Kj hǎ́-šīd, K hǎ́-sīd || ??φ SC (× N *gātâ 'grasp, take, possess'): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ AD SF 245, Hn. S 61, Abr. S 140, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || A: Tg: WrMc goci- v. 'pull, draw' ¶ STM I 163 ◇ WrMc -c- points to a N *-t̪-. HS *t̪ results from deglottalization of N *t̪ (a regular process) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here FU **kut∇- v. 'tear, draw' (reconstructed in MF 3123-3 from Vg T/P kat-, Vg LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear'), but the Vg Sn xūpt- 'put on boots, put load on one's back' and the Os cognate (Os Ty qop̪t̪∇ 'zerstückeln', Os D χǎp̪ət- 'fällen', Os O χǎp̪ət- 'loswinden') point to a pUgr *kup̪-t̪- 'pull, draw' (UEW 859).

696. *gāt̪E 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross' > HS: WCh: BT: Bl {Lk.} gaḏ- 'vorbei\weiter\hinein-gehen; übertreffen', {Bnt.} ga'daωo 'pass by', Krkr {Lk.} gaḏ- id. ?? Tng kaḏε vt. 'go to meet' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Lk. PVB II 135, Bnt. 24, J T 95 || S *^ogāt̪ v. 'go through, cross' > Ar ^ogāt̪ (ip. -qāt̪-) v. 'cross (a river), traverse (a country)', 'migrate (from a cold land to a warm one)' (of birds of passage)' (unless ← ^ogāt̪ 'cut') ¶ Fr. III 465, BK II 768 ¶ The glottalized initial cns. *k̪- is due to as. within forms with a cns. cluster (**-gāt̪- > *-k̪āt̪) || A {DQA} *gāt̪'ī > M: [1] M *gatul- v. 'cross (a river \ mountain)' > WrM gatul-, HIM гатл-ах v. 'cross a river', Kl hatl- gat̪]-, Brt гатал- id., 'cross (a mountain)', Ord gāt̪'ul- 'traverser'] [2] M *getül- > WrM getül-, HIM гэтл-эх v. 'traverse, cross, ford, wade', Ord gēt̪'ül- 'cross (a river)', Kl {Rm.} gēt̪]- id., 'wade', {KRS} гетл- 'get rid of', WrO getel- v. 'save from, escape', Brt гэтэл- 'cross (a mountain, a river)', үбшэнһөө гэтэл- 'get rid of an illness' ¶ MED 354-5, 380, KW 135, 147, KRS 141, 161, Chr. 151, Ms. O 29, 263, Krg. 766, Chr. 151, 173 || NaT *k̪et- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.}, MQp XIII ket-

id., XwT XIII, Chg XV *get-* 'go', MQp [CC] *ket-*, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln *ket-*, ET *kät-*, Δ *ket-*, VTt, Bsh *kit-*, Ggz *get-* 'go away', Tk *git-*, Tkm *git-* (aor. *gider*), Az *ǵet-*, Qmq *get-*, Nog, Uz *ket-* 'go, go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ET VGD 49-50, Rs. W 258 || ?σ pJ {S} **kítá-r-* 'come, arrive' > OJ *kjítár-*, J: T *kitár-*, K *kítàr-*, Kg *kìtār-* ¶ S QJ #1389, Mr. 709 ¶¶ DQA #489 || D {Km., Zv., Pf.} **kaṭṭ-*/**kaṭ-∇* ({GS} **kyad-*) v. 'pass through, cross (sth.)' > Tm *kaṭa* v. 'pass through, traverse, cross', Ml *kaṭakka* v. 'pass over/out, transgress, surpass', Kt *kaṛv-* (p. *kaṛd-*) v. 'cross (a river)', Td *kaḍ-* v. 'leave, pass, cross', Kn *kaḍe* v. 'pass over, transgress, get through', Kdg *kaḍa-*, Prj *kaḍp-*, Gdb *karp-*, Mnd *kṛā-* v. 'cross', Tu *kaḍapuni* v. 'cross, ford, pass', OTINTI *kaḍacu*, TI *gaḍacu*, *gaḍucu* id., Knd *gaṛvi-* v. 'go beyond the boundary of a village', Kui *grāsa-* v. 'pass sth. over/through', Ku *grāncali-* v. 'cross over', Krx *kaṭṭ-*, Mlt *kaṭe-* id., v. 'cross', Brh *ṣārr-* v. 'proceed on foot, make one's way' ¶¶ Zv. 101, ≈ D #1109 (does not distinguish between this √ and **kaṭ-* 'end'), Km. 236, Pf. 65 [#404], 84 [#534], GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] ¶¶ D *-ṭ- ({GS} *-ḍ-) is probably from *-ḍi- < N *-ṭi- (as.) ◇ The origin of NaT *-e- (that DQA interprets as pointing to A *-a...i) still needs investigating.

697. **gāwṛ∇* (or **gāwṛ∇*?) 'to call' > IE **ǵ^ho¹u(H)-* 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE **ǵ^ho¹u(ə)-* 'call, invoke', **ǵ^ho¹w⁰-s* 'a call', pp. **ǵ^hu(:)-to-* 'called, invoked' > OI 'havatē 'calls, invokes', hū'ta- 'called, summoned, invoked', Av *zava¹ti* 'ruft verwünschend an', Av *zavan-*, OI 'hava-ḥ 'call, invocation' || Gk *καυχ-ύομαι* 'speak loud, boast' (the vw. -α- is due to contamination with N **ka^w∇* 'call [exclaim], shout') || OIr *guth* 'voice' (< **gutu-s*) (× **g-* due to contamination with N **ka^w∇*) || Lt *žavėti* 'to charm, to fascinate', Ltv *zavēt* 'to charm, to cast a spell, to conjure' ('zaubern, hexen') (← *'to invoke charms') || Sl **zъvǎ-ti* (1s prs. *zǎv-ǫ*) 'to call' > OCS *zъvati* / *zъvati* / *zъvati* / *zъvati*, Blg *zъva*, SCr *zvǎti* / *zǎvēm*, Slv *zváti* / *zǎvem*, OCz *zváti* / *zovu*, Cz *zváti* / *zvu*, Slk *zvat'* / *zvem*, P *zwać* / *zoweę*, R *звать* / *зо'ву*, Uk 'звати / *зо'ву* || Tc B {Wn.} *kuwā-*, {Ad.} *kwā-* 'call, invite' ¶ P 413-4 (NaIE **ǵ^hau(ə)-* 'call, invoke', **ǵ^haw⁰-s* 'a call', pp. **ǵ^hu(:)-to-*), EI 89-90 (IE **ǵ^hau(H)-*), M K III 585-7, M E II 809-11, F I 802-3, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr *guth* < NaIE **ǵ^wow-* (> Gk *βοή* 'a loud cry, shout')) Frn. 1203, Vs. II 85, Glh. 702, Wn. 292 (Tc < IE **ǵ^hāu-*), JGH 59, Ad. 235 || HS: CS **ǵ^hiy* v. 'call, low' > Sr *ǵ^hiy* (pf.

gə'ā) v. 'call out\upon, implore, low, bellow', BHb ✓ g̃y (pf. ḡā'ā) v. 'roar, low', MHb ✓ g̃y (p. g̃ā'ā) 'cry loudly, roar, low', Ug g̃t 'lowing of cattle', JA ✓ g̃y (p. ḡā'ā, ḡā'ā) v. 'low' ¶ KB 191, KBR 199, A #679, Br. 127, Js. 261, DRS 164 ¶ The meaning 'to low, to bellow, to roar' is due to onomatopoeic reinterpretation of the verb || ?φ Eg fP z̃y 'call upon' ('rufen, anrufen') (× N *g̃w'ī'ī'∇ 'shout, cry, utter sounds' [*inter alia* of an animal] [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 ¶ The loss of the expected *ī is still hard to explain || D *kaw- ~ *kav- 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *kaw∇ 'call', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *a suggests that the N front vw. is to be specified as *ä, but the D ev. is not conclusive (because of the ambiguous origin of the D √).

698. *gay∇ 'side, outside' > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} gayú 'aside', {E} gayu 'beyond, on the other side', {MQK} gayu 'other side (esp. of a river), area on other side', ? C ⇨ Mb {E} gána, gahana 'outside' ¶ Wh. SI, E SC 237 [#22], MQK 37 || ? K: GZ *gan- 'side, outside' (× N *gānh∇ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.), K *o-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *gay∇ nu 'from the side' (*see* N *nu 'from, of') (× N *gānh∇ nu 'from the side (of)', *see* N *gānh∇ 'side of') || U *ka|oy∇ (or *ka|o|∇/*ka|o|z∇) > Sm {Jn.} *kāy 'side' > Ng {Cs} kai, kei, {Mik.} kzy is., Slq Tz {KKIH} qō 'side of body', qōq+t prep. 'near' ¶ Jn. 57-8, KKIH 163 || A: Tg *ga 'out!', 'B O H!' > Neg ga 'out!' (a ritual interjection of chasing the illness spirit), Nn ga id. ¶ STM I 132.

699. *goy∇ 'man, people' > HS: S (or WS) *gaw- 'people (Volk)' > BHb 'īḡ gōy 'people, nation; people (persons)', EpHb pl. gyyum 'the heathens', Ph, Pun gω 'community, corporation', Sb gω-m, gwy, Mn gω 'community group', Ak M gā(?|w|y)-um 'people (Volk)' ({DRS}: ⇨ Cn) ¶ KB 175, KBR 182-3, HJ 215, 221, BGMR 51, MA 57, Sd. 284, CAD V 59, DRS 107 || U *koye 'man (male person), male' > FU: Lp Kld {SaR} κῶῖῖ, {TI} kuj, Lp T {Gn.} kī jj 'husband' || ObU {Ht.} *kūy 'male' > pVg *kūy > Vg: MK kuy śīś, P kuj śēs 'male wolf', Ss xuy śīśi 'male ermine'; pOs {Ht.} *kuy 'male' > Os: V qu / quy-, D/O χoy 'man, husband'; (in cds.: animal name X + *kuy): Vy/Ty quy, K/O χuy, Nz/Kz χūy 'male (X)' || Sm: StNe T xaeπā- v. 'have a husband, be married' (of a woman), Ne T O {Lh.} χāyū-pā- 'having a husband, married' (of a woman) || pY {IN} *kōy 'man (vir)' > YK/T {IN} kōy id., kōy-pā-d-ō 'boy' (-pā pl., -d- gen., ö 'child'), K {Krn.} koy 'young man' ¶¶ Coll. 13, UEW 166-7, SaR 131, Ht. #232, Jn. 76, Ter. 720, 760, IN 22, Krn. JJ 236, ≈

Rd. UJ 38 [#21] (Y ← U) || **A:** Tg *goy¹ 'other, different' (← *'stranger') > Ul goy ~ goy¹, Ork go¹ ~ goy, Nn goy id., WrMc {Z} гува, Mc Sb gua 'other, different, strange (fremd)', WrMc {Z, Hr.} гува *ńalma* 'another person, stranger' ¶ STM I 157-8, Z 353, Hr. 397, Y #3023 ¶ For the meaning cp. Hb gōy 'people' → 'heathen' → 'not Jewish' ◇ AD LRC #133 (HS, U).

700. *gâ₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon') > **U:** FU (att. in Vg) **°kây∇ > Vg: P {Kn.} kuyt- v. 'wave to so., beckon', LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- 'verführen, antreiben', N {Mu.} хujti, ML {Mu.} khujti, K {Mu.} khujti & khwqjti 'hetzen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben' ¶ UEW 858, MK 117 || **A:** Tg *gay∇w- v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand\finger' > Ewk Brg/Z/Np gayiw- 'wave to so., beckon', Ul gayawčy- ~ gayaočj- v. 'point with one's finger at', gayawčy(n-) čumuču(n-) 'index-finger', Nn Nh gawāčj- v. 'show the direction to dogs', gayaočj- ~ gayosj- ~ gayočj- v. 'point with one's hand\finger' ¶ STM I 136 || ?σ M *guyy- v. 'ask, implore, require' (← 'pursue') (× N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want' × N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away') > MM [HI, S, MA] guyy- 'ask, solicit, require', WrM guyy-, HIM гуй-х 'ask, request, beg, solicit' ¶ Rm. 201, Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365 || **HS:** Eg P ззy 'extend (an arm), oppose to', {EG} id., 'das Gesicht jemandem zuwenden' ¶ EG V 514, Fk. 318.

701. *gāhya 'throw, leave, let' > **U:** FU *kaya 'throw, pour' > Er/Mk kaya- 'throw away, take off (clothes), pour' || Prm {LG} *koy- 'throw, throw away' > Vt koy- id., Z koy- id., 'scoop out, pour out' || Hg hajit- 'throw, hurl, cast, fling' ¶ UEW 116-7, MF 215-6, LG 128 || **IE:** NaIE *g^hē(j)- 'hurl, cast' > OI ✓ hay-: hi'nōti 'hurls, casts, sends forth, sets in motion, impels', Vd hē-'ti-h 'missile weapon', Av zaena- 'weapon' || Gmc: Lngb gaida 'spear', AS zād 'goad, point' (← *'spear') > NE goad ¶ WP I 546, P 424-5, M K 595-6, M E II 802-3, MW 1297, 1303, Ho. 121 || **HS:** CS *✓ghy v. '≈□let, be set free' (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away?') > Sr ✓ghy (pf. |^ogā gə'hā, ip. nεg'hē) 'flee, escape', Sh†(pf. ?ag'hī) 'set free, deliver, eschew', Md ✓gh? 'flee, escape', BHb ḡḡ gē'hā 'healing', ✓ghy|w G (ip. yig'hē) 'heal, cure' (← *'set free from the illness'), Ar ✓ğğh TD (pf. tağahğaha) 'reculer, se reculer, s'abstenir de qch.', ✓ğhh G (pf. ğahha) 'chasser ignominieusement' ¶ Br. 106, JPS 61-2, KB 174, KBR 181, BK I 341, DRS

104 ◇ U *a (for the expected *ä) may be due to vowel harmony (regr. as.).

702. *goXey▽ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > **HS: WS** *gawh- 'aurora, dawn' > Ar D {Lb.} جَوْحُ ḡawh (or d. جَوَّاحُ ḡuwwāh) 'la lumière qui précède la lune avant qu'elle se lève, la première clarté qui précède le soleil levant, l'aube', Gz ḡōh, Amh ḡoh 'dawn'; WS v. *√gawh 'dawn' > Gz √gawh (pf. ḡōha), Tgy ḡōha v. 'dawn', Ar D √ḡawh (pf. جَوْحُ ḡuwwāh) 'luire, briller' ¶ L G 207, Lb. 308, Lb. D II 906-7, DRS 107 || EC {Bl., Ss.} *guyy- 'day' > Or {Bl.} ḡúyya?, {Grg.} ḡuyyā 'day', Or M {AD} ḡuy'ya', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ḡuy(y)ā 'day, daytime', Or Wl {Brl.} ḡuyya 'giorno, chiaro del giorno', Or H {Ow.} ḡuyā 'day', {Th.} ḡuyau, Or Wlg {Brl.} ḡuyya-awu v. 'dawn', Kns {Bl.} kuy'uāta, Gln kuyy-a?-akkó 'day', kuyyú, Gwd kúyy-ankó 'today' ¶ AD SF 220, Ss. PEC 44, Bl. 134, 213, Grg. 191, Th. 178, Brl. 193, Sr. 318, Ow. 262, AMS 210, 248, 272 || NrOm: Wl {C} ḡey- v. 'dawn (albeggiare)' ¶ C SO 30 || IE: *g^wh₂eny-/*g^wh₂ny- > NaIE *g^wh₂āj₁- ~ *g^wh₂aj₁- 'light (hell), bright' > Gk φατός 'gray, of any colour mixed of black and white' (< *g^wh₂āj₁wos ~ *g^wh₂aj₁sos) |||? (d.?) NaIE {EI} *g^wh₂ajdro-s 'bright, shining' > Gk φαδρός 'bright, beaming with joy' ||| Lt giēdras 'clear, serene' (of weather, sky, etc.), giedrā ~ gaidrā 'fine weather', Ltv dziedrs 'light-blue', dzidrs 'clear, serene', dzidrums 'clearness, serenity, limpidness, lucidity' ¶ If Gk φατός is from *g^wh₂aj₁sos, it may be equated with Lt gāĩsas 'glow' ¶ P 488-9, F II 981, 984, Frn. 128, EI 83 || U: FU *koye 'redness in the sky (daybreak, evening glow), light in the sky' > F κοί 'dawn, daybreak', Es d. koit id., cd. κοί-βαλγε 'evening glow' || Z кѡа кѡа, Δ k+va 'redness in the sky (aurora)' ||| ObU ≈ *kūy > pVg *k'u'y > Vg: T koy ({MK} khqj ~ khoj), NV/UL kuy, ML/LL/P {MK} khuj, N {MK} xuj {Coll.} 'morning redness', {MK} 'Morgendämmerung', {Ht.} 'зарница' ¶ But Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' and pOs *kuńǎl 'redness in the sky' do not belong here (⇔ UEW, MF 246-7), they go back to N *K'u'ñyaHÍE ~ *K'u'yñāHÍE ~ *K'u'ńāHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak' (q.v.) || Sm {Jn.} *kâyâ, {Hl.} *kaya {AD} 'sun, daylight, bright sky' > En {Ter.} kaya 'sun', Ne d.: NeT O {Lh.} χāy·erā 'leuchten', StNe T хаера-съ 'to start shining (заблестеть)', 'to become sunny' (weather), 'to clear up' (the sky), хаерё-съ 'to shine, to glimmer, to sparkle' ⇨ хаер" 'sun', Ne F {Lh.} kāyerā- 'klares Wetter sein', χay·er? 'sun', Ng {Cs.} kou 'sun', d. ⇨ kou ru? 'clear' || ?? Slq: Tz {Cs.} kueť, NP {Cs.} küeť, UO kueťe

'Hitze' | Kms {KD} k'уца, Koyb {Sp.} куця 'sun' | Mt {Hl.} *каца 'sun, day' (Mt: T {Mue} сhаја, K {Mue.} сhаї, M {Pls.} кайя id., {Mue.} сhаја 'sun') || ? Y: OY K {Bil.} сhаїl 'God', YT {Krn.} qоу-л, {Ku.} хой-л, T K/T {Jc.} хойл 'god', cds.: T {Ku.} хойнииме 'God's mother', хойн-фурцул 'divine heaven' ¶¶ Coll. 90, ≈ UEW 167 (Os < *куу-nal), ≈ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *који, Ugr *којї 'dawn'), It. #93, LG 148-9, Ht. #742, MK 116, Jn. 58, Ter. 720-1, Cs. 124, 236, KD 33, Hl. M #389, Krn. JJ 274, Ku. 304, Ang. 255, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [#22] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *gEawan 'dawn, daybreak (aurora)' > Ewk, Neg gēwan, Lm gāwan, Orc gāawan, Ud {Krn.} gāwa, gāwa, {STM} gēāwa, {Krn.} gāwa ~ gāwa, Ork gēwa(n-), Nn: Nh/KU gɽwã, B gɽwa(n-) id. ¶ STM I 145, Krn. 221 || pKo {S} *kúí 'dawn' > MKo hális-kúí, NKo häkúí ¶ S QK #467, Nam 484, MLC 1815 || pJ {S} *ka(i) 'day, period of time' > OJ ke id., -ka 'days' (sx.): patu-ka '20 days', itu-ka '5 days', etc. ¶ S QJ #1597, Mr. 430, 448 || M *geyi- v. 'beam, shine, emit light, dawn' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gei- 'shine, emit light, glitter', [S] {H} geyi- 'hell werden (Tag)', WrM gei-, HIM гий- 'shine, emit light, dawn', Brt гии- v. 'dawn', Ord gī- v. 'clear up' (weather, sky), WrO gi- 'shine', Kl {Rm.} gī- 'leuchten, klar machen' ¶ Pp. MA 169, H 50, MED 374, Ms. O 265, Krg. 773, KW 137, Chr. 153 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #531 (A *gìòyú 'day, daylight'; incl. Tg, Ko, J, as well as M *gegege 'dawn, daylight' [rdp. of M *geyi-?]) ◇ The IE lr. *H (rather than the expected *H̄), NaIE *ā and *a need explaining. We may suppose an early loss of the N vw. *E in the prehistory of IE: N *goXey ▽ > **goXy ▽ > IE *gʷhēny-/*gʷhny- and (+ suffixes) NaIE *gʷhaidro-s. Tg *gEawan and Sm {Hl.} *каца suggest a final vw. *a in N (*goXeya), which is at variance with the FU and M ev. (*-e in FU *koye, *-i- in M *geyi-) ◇ IS I 230-1 [#85]; IS compared IE, U, A, C (Or), and Om cognates, but did not adduce the S root *√gwh 'dawn' (probably because the Ar D and the appropriate EthS sources were not available to him). He reconstructed *goHya, but indicated that on the ev. of U (lack of lengthening of the vw.) this *H is likely to be identified as *h. Now the S material confirms his theoretical prediction. This is one of the cases of IS's linguistic insight similar to Leverrier's discovery of Neptune. Another case is Jb хан'ṭi 'front, front part', which was unknown in the 60's and has become a brilliant confirmation of IS's historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qanṭan 'forehead, front' (see N *qaṅṭ ▽ id.).

703. *gažV 'slanting, skew, bent' > **K**: G gez-ad 'schief, schräg, schein' ¶ Chx. 187 || **U**: FU *^okâšV > Vg N {MSz.} xusi 'curved' (of a tree) ({MSz.} 'göörbe', {Stn.} 'schief [Baum]'); Os: V/Vy qāsaγ 'schief, gekrümmt (Baum)', D/Nz/Kz χασαη 'krumm, gekrümmt, schief', Vy qāsaγ lγγ {Stn.} 'Pferd, das den Kopf aufrecht trägt' (misprint for '...nicht aufrecht...?'), D/Kr χασα 'Biegung, Krümmung' ¶ Ht. #761, Stn. D 564 || **HS**: Eg fMK gšš ({EG} gśš) 'sich neigen, schief sein', {Fk.} v. 'tilt, favour (so.)' ¶ EG V 205, Fk. 292 || **A**: M *gažī- > WrM gazi-, HIM гажи-х v. 'warp, bend, get out of shape', Brt гажа- id., 'become crooked', Kl {Rm.} gažj- 'sich biegen, seitwärts gebogen sein, schräg\schief sein'; M *gažiq > WrM gaziq, HIM гажиг, Kl һажг gažьg 'crooked, bent', Kl {Rm.} gažiq 'schräg, schief, zurückgebogen'; M *gažīγu 'crooked, curved, slanting' > WrM gaziγu, HIM, Brt гажуу id., Kl {Rm.} gažū 'krummgebogen, schief, schräg' ¶ MED 356-7, Chr. 139, KRS 152, KW 141 || ? **T**: OT {Cl.} qiyiq 'crooked, cut on a slant' (unless < *qīḏiq, as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 676, ≠ DQA #509 (A *gīγo 'notch; to cut aslant'; incl. T).

704. (2?) *g^{ra}žV 'to go; way, path' > **K** {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *gū^ržV - *gu^ržE 'tracks, path; to go, to pass') > OG gza-γ, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), 0-rz-0li 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', 0-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzugehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ zāz- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS**: S *^o-gū^rš^r- > Ak NA ✓ gωš (inf. guāšu ḏ gāšu, p. -gūš) v. 'go, come' ¶ CAD V 58 (determines the meaning of the word on the basis of recent research), ≠ Sd. 283 (gāšu "etwa 'schnell laufen'") || ? **IE**: NaIE *g^hē(j)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(j)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen') (× N *gEhōwyV 'to go\drive away' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ P 418-9 (does not distinguish this ✓ from the paronymous verb *g^hē-, *g^hēj- 'be empty, lack, abandon'), AHDI 21 (considers the stem with meaning 'go' to be the middle voice' of *g^hē- 'release, let go'), M K I 426 and II 589, M E II 813-4 (connects OI jīhītē with the root hā- 'leave' only) || **A**: ?σ NaT *k'ay- > Tv xay- v. 'make the round' ('обходить, делать обход'), 'pass by', OT qay 'street' (loanshift of meaning ['way' → 'street'] due to the infl. of Chinese kaji 'street') ¶ TvR 472, Cl. 674, Kg. AD #458 ◇ In K *gza- there is merger of the N etymon in question and of N *gū^ržV -

*g^uʾ^zʾE '↑'. The main source of the K root is likely to be N *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇] (as suggested by the K cns. *z).

705. ₂ *gæž[∇] '∈ hair, wool' > HS: S *gizz- 'wool, fleece' > BHb 𐤆𐤇𐤆 'gez 'fleece of sheep' (Dt. 18.4, Job 31.20), MHb 𐤆𐤇𐤆 'gez 'wool', Sr 𐤆𐤇𐤆^o gez'z-ā, Ak gizzu 'fleece of sheep', CS *gizz-at- > BHb 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gizzā 'fleece, wool', JEA {Sl.} 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gez'z-ā 'fleece', JA [Trg.] 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gizzat-ā, Sr 𐤆𐤇𐤆^o gizzat-ā, Md gizza id., SmA gz {Tal} n. 'shearing', Ar 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gizzat- 'wool clipped at one time; fleece'; S *gizz- ⇨ S *gzz v. 'shear, cut (wool)' > Hb, Ug, Amr, JA, Plm, Sr, Md, Ak ✓gzz, SmA ✓gzz 'shear (sheep)', Ar ✓gzz id. ¶ KB 178-9, KBR 185-6, OLS 154, HJ 219, G A 19, Sl. 273-4, 279, Tal 139-40, DM 89, BK I 285-6, DRS 110 || EC: pDI {Tk.} *gāz- 'hair' > Gln {AMS} kās-o, Cm {Hab.} gāz-o, Gwd {AMS} gēs-o id. | ?σ Sd gāze 'long (hair)' ¶ AMS 246, Gs. 117 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.} *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇]) 'hair' > Hs gāšì (pl. gāsúsúwà, gāsú, gāsúsúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gāša 'hair, beard, feather'; ?? Hs gīzō 'long matted hair on a man's head', ?? Hs gēzà 'mane' (qu. because of its pl. gířàzà) | NrBc {Tk.} *gzz- 'hair' > Cg gè'síyá, Wrj gžžáy, Kry gžžì, P' ngèzá, Mbr ngžží, My ágžžù, Sir gžží, Jmb gžža 'hair' | Ngz gùzáj (pl. gùzàzín) 'pubic hair' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} g^ωĵc, Gzg D {Lk.} ng^ωič 'hair' | Glv {Rp.} gùžā, Gdf {IL} g^ωúž[∧] id. | ?φ Tr ʿos id. | ZmD {Srp.} gēsaua, ZmB {Sa.} ngžžā wá id. ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. #66 (pCh *gasi 'hair'), Stl. ZCh 216 [#658], Ba. 370, 379, 393, Mts. G 42, Sch. DN 77, Sk. NB 25, Tk. NB 172 ¶ The presence of 3 different roots in Hs suggests that here there are several Ch roots, only one of them being the legitimate descendant of the N etymon in question ¶¶ Tk. PAA 16 (NrBc, DI), ≈ Sk. HCD 83 || A: M *gežige > WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг 'plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', MM [MA] gežige 'withers (of a horse)', Kl гижг gižag 'plait\braid of hair' ({Rm.} 'Haarzopf') ¶ M: × *gežige (< *gedige) 'nape of neck' (> WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг id., Kl гижг gižag ~ gižgə 'occiput'), akin to M *gede-η, *gede-s 'zurück' and to T *kæb id., 'back part' ¶ MED 381, Pp. MA 170, KRS 142, KW 131, 135, Rs. W 946.

706. *gū^ʾž[∇] ⇨ *g^ʾu^ʾž[∇]E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass' > K *gza- 'way, path' (× N *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇] 'to go; way, path' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S: [1] WS *-gūz-v. 'go, pass' > Ar جون ✓g^ʾwz (pf. gāza, ip. ya-gūzu) v. 'go, go through, walk, pass', SmA ✓g^ʾwz 'go across, pass', BHb ✓g^ʾwz (pf. 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gāz, pf. c.

𐎧𐎡𐎴 way¹yā-gōz) 'pass (vorübergehen)', JA, ChrPA ✓g¹wz G 'go through', JEA {Sl.} ✓g¹wz G 'cease, pass away', Sb ✓g¹wz (pf. g¹z) v. 'go, pass, pass through' ¶ KB 175, KBR 182, Tal 134-5, Lv. I 309, Sl. 268, BK I 353-4, BGMR 51, DRS 106-7 [2] S °*✓g¹zɣ > OYmn ✓g¹zɣ 'go, go away', Ar Y جزع ✓ǧ¹zɣ 'go, go away, pass by' (× S °*✓g¹zɣ > Ar ✓ǧ¹zɣ 'cut, cross'; the merger accounts for ɣ) ¶ Slw. 61 || C *g¹i₁ɣ₁z- 'road, way' > Ag: Bln {R} gid (pl. g¹iz) 'way'; Ag ? ↳ Gz g¹əɣz 'journey, wandering, walk' || pEC *g¹iz- > pLEC d. *gitt- (< gid-t-) > Af gita 'trail, road, way', Sml N {Abr.} ž¹id (pl. ž¹idad), Bn šid 'road', Rn žít (pl. žítát) 'road, path' ¶ AD SF 60-1, R WB 139, L G 175, Bl. 184, Hn. S 61, PG 168, PH 114, Oo. 71 ¶ The origin of Gz ɣ (↳ C *₁ɣ₁?) is not clear (a merger with some other ✓?) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *küć∇- v. 'follow the tracks of, follow the way' > pOs {Ht.} *k¹öć- (={Hl.} *k¹üć-) v. 'follow the tracks of; to find the tracks; to follow' > Os: V k¹öť- 'Spuren verfolgen; nicht vom Weg abweichen, den Weg finden', Vy k¹öť-, D q¹öť-, Nz/Sh/Kz/Sn q¹ús- 'Spuren verfolgen, (ver)folgen' || OHg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany; to follow (verfolgen)', Hg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany' ¶ MF 367, EWU 756-7, Stn. D 707-8 ◇ The rec. of N *¹ǰ rather than of *¹z is based on K *g¹za-, but since the latter is of ambiguous origin, N *¹ǰ is not certain.

707. ≈ *g¹UžT¹Ū (↔ ≈ *g¹UžT¹Ū) 'laugh, amuse' > HS: S °*✓g¹δl > Ar ḡaδil- 'merry', ✓ǧ¹δl (np. -ǧ¹δal-) v. 'be merry' ¶ BK I 269-70, DRS 103 || Ch (={JS} *✓g¹u₁l v. 'laugh'): WCh: Klr {J} gi¹el 'laugh' || NrBc: Sir {Sk.} ṣàtlí id. || ECh: Nd D {J} g¹ásâ, Tmk {Cp.} g¹áž id. ¶ ChC, Cp. 60 || IE: [1] NaIE *g¹h¹leu- (< IE **g¹h¹leu- < **gužlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke' > Gk χλεῦη 'joke, jest' || ON gljú 'joy', AS ȝlēo, ȝliez, ȝlīw 'mirth, jest, ridicule; music; pleasure' || Lt Δ gláuda 'a joke', gláudoti, Ltv glaudāt 'to joke' || OCS глoумъ glutъ 'a joke', R глумитъся 'to mock, to jeer' || [2] NaIE *g¹h¹o₁los 'merry, wanton' > Gt gailjan 'εὐφραίνειν, to cheer up', AS ȝāl 'wanton, frivolous', OHG gēil 'wanton, insolent, elevated', gēili 'haughtiness, insolence', NHG gēil 'luxuriant, voluptuous', ON gēilig-r 'beautiful' ¶ WP I 634, P 451-2, EI 255-6 (*g¹h¹leu- 'revel'), F II 1103, Fs. 18, Ho. 123, Kb. 323, Schz. 149, KM 242, Vr. 161, Bern. I 308, Frn. 155 || A: T *k¹ül- v. 'laugh' > OT, MQp, Cmn, XwT, Chg kül-, Tk g¹ül-, Tkm, Ggz g¹ül-, Az к¹ул- g¹ül-, Uz к¹ұл- k¹ul-, Blq, Qry Cr, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg Alt, Yk kül-, VTt, Bsh к¹өл- k¹öl-, Chv кул- kul- 𐌆 kol- id., Xk kül- id., 'smile' ¶ Cl. 715-6, ET VGD 98-100, Md. 69, 171, Rs. W

307, Jeg. 115, Fed. I 304 ◇ The IE and T cognates are likely to go back to the variant *gUŽTŪ.

708. ₂ *gUŽŪŲ ▽ 'wish, be hungry' > HS: WS *✓gŝŷ > Ar جشع ✓gŝŷ G {Ln.} 'be affected with the most vehement desire \ eagerness \ avidity', {BK} 'désirer ardemment qch., en chercher avec avidité', Jb C {Jo.} gžŝε'ŷUN 'greedy person' ¶ Ln. II 427, BK I 296-7, Jo. J 79 || EC: Sml gāžŝo, Sml N gāžŝo 'hunger' ¶ DSI 243, Abr. S 85 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bele gùhì 'hunger', gùž-àmmá 'thirst' (àmmá 'water'), Glm gúššì, ? Grm kúžžú 'hunger' | Ngz {Sch.} gžžì, Bd ʔgžžan 'thirst' | Zul {ChL} gùzumì, Plc guzum 'hunger' ||| CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ʔ|ʔoʔzʔm 'hunger' ¶ JI II 196-7, Sch. BTL 147, 155, Sch. DN 59, ChC, ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707] (*guzì 'hunger', includes words belonging to both N *gUŽŪŲ ▽ and to N *KasLʔ, ▽ 'be hungry, wish'), Lk. L 95 ||| A: Tg *guje(-n)- > Ewk, Neg gujʔn-, Lm gujʔn-, Ork gujjilʔ-, gujilʔ-, gujʔlʔ- v. 'love, caress', vt. 'pity (жалеть)', Lm gujʔn n. 'love, tenderness', Sln gujʔn- v. 'love', Orc gužʔn-, gužʔsi-, Nn B gužʔin- vt. 'pity' ¶ STM I 167-8.

709. *gŭb ▽ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to weave') > IE *xub- / *xweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubʰ-/*webʰ- v. 'plait, weave' > OI ubh'nāti v. 'laces up', 'ūrṇā-'vabhi- 'spider' (← *'wool-spinner'), Av uɓdaēna- 'made of web' ||| Gk ὕψη 'web', ὕψος n. act. 'weaving', ὕψινω 'weave' ||| ON vefa, OHG weban 'to weave, to plait, to spin', NHG weben, AS wefan 'to weave', NE weave; AS webbian 'anspinnen' ||| pAl {O} *webnya (< *webʰnyō) > Al vej 'weave' ||| pTc {Ad.} *wāp- > Tc: A wāp-, B wāp- 'weave' || Ht {Pv.} hup(p)ai-, huppiya- v. 'interlace, entangle, ensnare', hup(p)ala- 'net' ¶¶ WP I 257, P 1114-5, EI 572 (*h₂|h₃ebʰ- 'weave'), Mn. 1495, M K I 107, F II 976-7, Vr. 649-50, Kb. 1155, Schz. 312, Ho. 387-8, O 498, Pv. III 384-6, Wn. 557, Ad. 586, Ad. H 35 ||| K: GZ {K, FS} *ʔob-, {K²} *ʔweb- v. 'wattle, weave' > G ʔob- v. 'weave, wattle a fence, fence in', Mg ʔob- 'plait, fence in', Lz ʔob- v. 'plait'; ⇨ K *ʔob-e- 'wattle-fence' > OG, G ʔobe-, Mg ʔober-, Lz ʔobe(r)- id., Sv ʔweb (pl. stem ʔob-) 'beehive' ¶¶ K 205, K² 225, 231, FS K 350, FS E 393, DCh. 1354, ≠ K IEK 72-4 (K ← IE; unc.: plaiting is not a new technology [as K claimed], but one of the most ancient industrial techniques) ||| HS: S: Ar ✓ʔbn G (ip. -ʔbunu) 'fold and hem (the edge of a garment, a skin)', {BK} 'faire un pli et le coudre pour raccourir le vêtement' ¶ Fr. III 257, BK II 433, Hv. 516 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (by those who do not recognize

the legitimacy of cognates that are isolated within HS), the N etymon will be reconstructed as ***ΓÚb∇**.

709a. *ga'č'∇ (or ***gaʔic∇?**) '(leafy) branch, bough' > **HS**: S *^oϕ∇'č'- ~ *^oϕ|χa'cc'- > Ar ϕuϑn- (pl. ϕiϑan-at-) 'branch', bough, shoot', Ak M {CAD} ḫaas-u 'leafy branch' ¶ BK II 473, Hv. 526, CAD VI 12 || ?σ C: Ag: Xm {R} χaṣā (pl. χaṣ), Bln {R} a'šā (pl. aš), {Bnd.} āšā, Q {R} ašā, Aw {CR} χaṣī, {Bnd.} ϕuci 'leaf' ||| EC: Kns {BISO} hāššā id., ?σ Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} hāšše 'Kaffeeblatt, Kaffeepflanze', Cm {Bnd.} hāšše 'leaf' ¶ AD SF 157, R WB 55, BISO 34, AMS 163, 253, Blz. CL 179 || ?σ NrOm: Dwr {Bnd.} hayca, Anf {Gt.} ēčo or ēžo, She {Bnd.} aisi 'leaf', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} hayca id. (× or ← hayca 'ear, orecchio') ¶ AD SF 157 ||| **IE** *Xosd-o- 'bough' > Ht {Pv.} hasduer- 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)' || NaIE: Arm **nuun** ost (*o-stem) 'branch, bough' ||| Gk ῥύος, Gk L [Sappho] ῥυδος, Gk Ae ῥυδος 'bough, branch, twig, shoot' ||| Gt asts, OHG, OSx ast 'branch, bough' ¶¶ EI 80 (*h₂osdo-s 'branch'), Pv. III 239-40, Mn. 893, F II 353, Fs. 60, Ho. S 4, Kb. 47, EWA I 373-5, Schz. 91, KM 34, Sl. 324, IS I 277, ≠ P 785 ||| **A**: M *ačan 'bifurcated branch of a tree' > WrM aca(n), HIM aц(аН) id., 'fork', Ord ač'a 'fourche de bois, branche fourchue, bifurcation', Brt aca 'fork (in a tree\boughs), pitchfork', Kl aц aцb 'bough, branch; bifurcated, double', {Rm.} aca 'Ast, Gabelung', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} āčā 'Astgabel, Gabelstock (für Zelte)' ¶ MED 7, Ms. O 34-5, KRS 58, KW 18, Chr. 6 Wr. B 118 ◇ ≠ IS I 276-7 (*^oϕ^oč^o 'branch'; IE + unc. S *^oč^o {IS's interpretation of S *^oč^o-} 'tree' and allegedly related Eg, B, C, and Ch words). See AD PNCPh § B (discussion of the problems of comparison).

710. ?*g'oK∇š'č'∇(-R∇) '∈ canine' > **HS**: (mt.) B *^oϕ^osk'n 'jackal' > BSn, Rif, BSlh, BMn, Kb, Shw uššān, pl. uššān, Gd {CM} uššān id. ¶ Dl. 976, Hy. DFCh 93, Rn. 282 || Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N *Kač'∇ 'young dog\wolf' and N ? *kač'∇ '[young] dog'??) > SOM: Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aksān), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akši, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} kaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || S *^oϕ^ošr-b > Ar ϕušarrab- 'lion' (*-b- is a sx. of animal names < N adjectival particle ***bA** forming animal names [q.v.]) ||| **U**: FU (in ObU only) *^oϕ^ookš'∇r∇ 'fox' (× N *^oϕ^oU'ž'E,Ko ~ *^oϕ^oo'K∇ž'∇ '∈ a canine', q.v. ffd.) ||| **A**: Tg: Ewk guskā 'wolf' ¶ STM I 175 ◇ Qu., because the sound correspondences are not exact, and several supposed cognates have alt. etymologies.

711. *g'e'ɾ'ɿ'∇(-w∇) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > **HS:** S *^o✓ɿly > Ar **غلى** ✓ɿly G (ip. -ɿlī) 'boil' (of a cooking-pot) ¶ Fr. III 292 || **K:** OG **ϕelva-y** 'tempestas (aquae)' (Luke 8.24), 'waves' (Mark 4.37), G **ϕelva** 'Wogen, Wellengang' ¶ Ser. 169, Chx. 1619, DCh. 1358, ≠ K² 222 (**ϕelva** ⇨ **ϕel-** 'be nervous') || **IE:** NaIE *^oaldh- 'wave' (*^o-gr. of **eɿdh-?) > ON **alda** 'Welle', Nic, NNr, Far, OSw **alda**, ODan **aldæ** 'wave', NrGmc ⇨ F **aalto**, Vp **ālto** id., Lp L **altā** 'big wave', †Lp Sw (pl.) {Fri.} **aldoh** 'fluctus, unda maior' ¶ WP I 92, P 31-2 (≡σ: the NrGmc word ← NrGmc word for 'trough' < NaIE *aldh- 'trough'), Vr. 5, SK 1, Fri. 17, LLO 23, Qv. 88, Vs. II 54O, Ho. 84 || **D** *e'ɿ'∇v- 'a wave' > Klm **elava** 'a wave', Gnd **helva** 'a wave, flood' ¶¶ D #83O.

712. *gûl∇ (= *gûl∇?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > **HS:** S *^o-ɿūl- > Ar ✓ɿwɿ (ip. -ɿūlu) v. 'cause to perish, destroy; attack suddenly' ¶ BK II 518, Hv. 539 || C: (pC {AD} ✓*ɿwɿ or *ɿull-, {E} *ɿol- v. 'fight'): EC *ɿol- > Sml **śól** 'army, enemy', Rn **ħól** 'quarrel, argument (involving physical violence); anger', Bn B/J/K **ól** 'war, quarrel', Elm **is-olol-** v. 'quarrel', Sd {C} **ol-** v. 'fight', Hd **or-a** 'fight'; rdp. {E} *ɿolɿol- > **olōl- > Arr **lól** 'anger', **lol-** 'be angry', Or **lōl-** v. 'fight' ¶ Bl. 243, Ss. PEC 21, Hn. S 77, Hn. BD 136, PG 142, AD SF 162, E PC #492, Grg. 265-6, Hw. A 382 || **IE** *xul-/ *x^wel- 'destroy, defeat' > Ht **hulla-**, **hulliya-** {Pv.} v. 'smash, defeat' ({Frd.} **hullāi-** 'bekämpfen, niederschlagen'), **hullanza-** {Frd., Ts.} 'fight', {Pv.} 'defeat' (× N ***hûl∇** 'push, butt, pierce') || NaIE *ol- (× N ***w∇L'h'∇** 'to hit, to attack' [q.v.]?) > Gk Hm/A ὄλλῦμι (< *^oλ-νῦ-μι) 'destroy, make an end of', Gk ὀλοός 'destructive, deadly' || L **ab-olē-** 'destroy' ¶¶ Frd. HW 73-4, Frd. HW EH II 73-6, Pv. III 13-4, 363-8, Ts. E I 273-8O, WP I 87, P 777, EI 158 (***h₃elh₁-** 'destroy'), WH I 4-5, F II 378-9 (no et. of the Gk words) || **K:** GZ *ɿul- 'destroy, beat' > OG {FS} **mō-m-ɿul-ali** 'destroyed', {FS ← Abul.} 'zerquetscht, zertreten, vernichtet', G **mō-m-ɿul-ali** 'beaten (a track)', Lz **mē-ɿur-u** 'vernichten, zerstören, verwahrlosen', **mē-ɿur-as** 'will be destroyed' ¶ FS K 358, FS E 4O2, Abul. 27O || ?σ **D** (in McTm) (× N ***ɿol∇** [= ***ɿolū?**] 'starve, die'): Tm **ulaj** 'perish, be ruined', **ulakkaj** 'end, ruin, death', Ml **ulacaj**, **ulavv** n. 'ruin' ¶ D #671 ◇ One may try to adduce here A ***olū-** 'die; starve' (× N ***ɿol∇** '↑', q.v. ffd.). If Tm **ulaj** and Ml **ulacaj**, **ulavv** belong here (which is qu.), the N rec. must be ***gUl∇** ◇ The D root was added by Blz. (Blz. LB #55 and Blz. LNA #18).

713. *giļ'U' 'boy, young man' > **HS:** CS *'yala_l∇_lm- 'young man, a youth' > Hb עֲלָם 'עלם, paus. 'עלם, Ug ḡlm id., Pun {HJ} ALAM 'young_l man', Plm ʿlm 'servant'; ⇨ CS f. *'yalam-at- 'maid, young woman' > Hb עַלְמָה 'על'מā 'young woman (until the birth of her first child)', Ph ʿlmt, ALMA 'virgin, maid (demoiselle)', Ug ḡlmt 'girl (demoiselle)', Plm ʿlmt 'female servant'; ⇨ (dim.) CS *yulaym- 'boy, young man' > OA ʿlym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm ʿlym 'servant', JA עַלְמָא ʿulê'mā, JEA {Sl.} עַלְמָא ʿulê'mā 'young man', Sr ʿalay'm-ā 'boy, a youth', Ar yulām- 'young man, lad, young slave', f. CS *yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > SmHb ʿlīma 'maid', IA ʿlym'h', ʿlymt-, Plm ʿlymtʔ 'female servant', Ar yulāmat- 'young girl, female slave' ¶ KB 790-1, KBR 835, JH 214, HJ 862, FrdR § 229, A #2150, OLS 156, Sl. 847, Br. 528 || EC *il∇m- (Bl.} *ilm-) (× ⇨ EC *il- 'give birth, beget', cf. Sd, Ged, Kmb il- id.) > Or {Grg.} ilm-a 'boy', Or B/O {Sr.} ilma 'son', pSam {Hn.} *ilem- > Sml ilm-o 'child, baby', Sml N {Abr.} ílmó 'child', pBn *éleŋ > Bn J/B éleŋ (pl. Bn B/K iyâ) 'boy'; Sd {Gs.} ilme 'young of donkeys and horses' ¶ The Bn pl. form suggests that *-m- may go back to a sx. ¶ Bl. 221, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 96, Abr. S 128-9, Grg. 224, Gs. 175, Hd. 70, Sr. 332 || **U:** FU: [1] FU ≈ *i]m∇ 'person' > FΔ ilminen, Ing ilmihīn id., ?? Es inemine id. | ? pLp *zlm- 'person, man' > Lp: S almedje, P almmaš, L almatj 'person', N âlmai 'man' || Vg: K {Mu.} ēlām-χolās, W yēlm-kals, N ēlām-χōlas 'person' (χōlas, kals, χōlas 'strange') || [2] FU (att. in FL) *°ülkă 'boy, young man' > F ylkă 'bridegroom', Es {W} ülg 'Bräutigam, Mann'; pLp {Lr.} *zlkē 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} älgie 'son', L {LLO} al'hkē 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} аллък, {TI} e]:g_ă_ 'son' ¶ SK 105-6, 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. #10, Lgc. #47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24, SSA I 225, ≈ UEW 81, 627 (derives F ilminen from *y_lilma 'sky, heaven' > F ilma 'air, weather'), ≠ Ht. #189 (derives Vg K ēlām-χolās from pVg *yīlām 'weather' < ObU *yīlām 'weather, world') ¶ The labialization *i- > *ü- in *°ülkă may be caused by N *-U. The elements *-m∇ and *-kă are likely to go back to sxs. || **A:** pJ {S} *iru > J iro-to, iro-se 'brothers (родные братья)' ¶ The comparison with J was suggested by Starostin (≈ 1974) || **D** *i]∇ 'young, young man' > Tm, Ml i]a 'young, tender', Tm i]a] 'youth, tender age', Td e] 'young', Kt e] id., 'time of youth', Ka e], e]a, e]e 'tenderness, youth', Kdg ə]eə, 'youth', Tu e]atъ, e]e 'tender, not fully grown', ellyāye 'a youth, junior', Tl ela 'young,

tender', Prj ilēd 'young man, youth', ilē 'young woman, girl', Gdb ilē 'bride', ? Brh ilum 'brother' ¶¶ D #513 ◇ The rec. of N *l̥ is based on the ev. of D *l̥ (reg. from N *l̥ or *l̥) and of Vg l (reg. from N *l̥ or *l̥) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#46] (D, EC, FU) ◇ It may underly diminutive/hypocoristic suffxes in K, NaIE, and U (unless they are a reflex of the N diminutive pc. *l̥∇, see § 122) > K *il- ~ *-∇l-, diminutive sx. (Pshavi Georgian mam-il-a 'daddy, Väterchen' from mama 'father', in other Georgian dialects vocative forms: mam-il-o 'daddy!', ded-il-o 'Mütterchen'; Svan dīn-ōl- [dim. of dīn 'girl']) || IE: NaIE *-el∇-/*-l∇-, sf. of diminutives, e.g. *por̥k-el- '(young) pig' (← *por̥kō- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis id.; Old Ind. śiśūla-s 'Kindchen' (← śiśu- 'Kind'), Greek ἄρκτύλος 'small bear', Latin animula (hypocoristic from anima 'soul'), OHG niftila (dim. of nift 'niece'), Lith. tėvėlis (hypocoristic of tėvas 'father'), mergėlė 'girl' (← mergà 'maid') || U *-l̥j̥l̥∇- ~ *-l̥j̥l̥∇-, diminutive sx. > F pyörylä 'small circle, small ring' (← pyörü 'wheel'), iso-la-mpa 'a bit larger' (from iso-mpa 'larger'), Ziryene gop-al 'small pit' (from gop 'pit', Vasyugan Ostyak kulaí+ 'a small fish' (← kul 'fish'), Hg (dial.) hǎńjǎí 'ant' (from Hg hangya id.) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#46] (D, EC, FU).

714. *g'o'lpa (or *gulpa?) weak, small' > K: G Gr ὑαlp-ī 'weak', ? G I ὑλαp- 'baby' ¶ Shar. GL 71, Ghl. 582, 591 || IE *xʷelp-/*xʷlp- 'small' > Ht huelpi- 'young, new, fresh, unripe; newborn animal' || NaIE *olp- / *əlp- / ?*lp- > OI 'alpa- 'small, little' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (adduces Ht alpa(nt)- 'sick, weak' and reconstructs [with "??"] IE *h_ǵelpos 'weak'), F I 64, Pv. III 331-2, Ts. E I 259-60, Kron. EHS 266, M K I 56, ≠ M E I 129 (rejects all connections of OI 'alpa-) || A: M *ulba|u- (unless with *φ-) > WrM ulbai-, HIM улбай-, K1 улви- ulwi- 'be(come) soft, weak, limp, feeble, exhausted; waste away'; M *ulba|u-gar > WrM ulbagar ~ ulbugar, HIM улбагар, K1 улвһр ulwъpъr 'soft, tender, weak' ¶ MED 672, KRS 531, KW 449 ◇ M *ulba|u- suggests a pN *u, but in the light of the K cognate a N *o is preferable ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [#96] (K + unt. IE *help- 'weak', Tg alba 'unable', see N ?σ *'r' aL_op∇ 'weak, exhausted').

715. *gaí∇ 'cereals' > HS: S (WS?) *✓ ḡll > Ar ḡall-at- 'crops', OYmn ḡlyl ({}Slw.} ḡalīl-) 'mixture of cereals', Ar ḡalīl- {Ln., Slw.} 'date-stones mixed with قَتّ (ε trefoil) or with dough for a camel, which is fed

therewith' ¶ Hv. 531, Ln. 2278-9, Slw. 166 || **K:** G ṽalva 'zu mähendes reifes Korn'; ? ṽala 'reicher Ertrag des Feldes' (unless a loan from Ar through a third lge.) || **IE** *xel₁ṽ₁g₁h₁- ≈ 'cereals, grain' > Ht halki- 'grain, corn, grain-crop', ? Lc qelehi 'of the grain-god' || Gk ᾠλιξ 'spelt' → L (h)alica id. || Im *arzana- > NPrs أرزن ärzän, Psh ždän ({Asl.} ṛdān) 'millet' || Tc B lyeκsye 'millet' ¶¶ Pv. III 35-9, Juret 20, WH I 29 (ᾠλιξ ← ᾠλέω v. 'grind'), F I 73 (quotes the above et. of Gk as a possibility), EI 237 (IE ? *h₂h₃(e)lṽ₁h₁ 'grain' or 'millet'; Gk ᾠλιξ ← AnIE), Mrg. 106, Asl. 486, Ad. 567 || **A** *a₁ṽ > T *a₁ 'food' > OT آش {Cl., MKD} āš, XwT XIII, MQp XIV [incl. CC], Chg XV aš id., Tk aš, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, VTt, Bsh, ET, Qr, Alt aš, Qzq, Qq, Nog, SY, Yk as, Uz oш aš 'food', Az aš 'porridge, boiled grains (каша), pilaf', Qmq aš 'food, bread', Xk as id., 'corn (cereals)', Tf aš-ñem, aš-ćĩškin 'food', Tv áš-čem, áštiv-čemniš 'abounding in food' ¶ T *a₁ with a short *a on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (⇔ Cl. and MKD) ¶ Cl. 253 and MKD 14 (OT āš with unj. long *ā on the insufficient ev. of the spelling آش), DTS 62, ET Gl 210-2, BIG 32, TmR 59, TvR 78-9, Ra. 156 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #32 (A *a₁ṽ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds'; incl. T) ◇ AD NM #17, S CNM 13.

716. ₂ ***g**¹amṽ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek' > **HS:** EC: Sml řan, řam- (pl. řam-an), Sml N řán, pl. řám-án {Abr., DSI, R.} 'cheek', {E} 'inside of cheek' ¶ Abr. S 13, DSI 87, R SS II 59, E PC #475 || ? S *^oṽmm ≈ □ mouth of animal, muzzle' > Ar d. غمام ṽimām-(at-) {Hv.} 'covering for the mouth of a donkey or a camel', غمامة ṽimām-at- {BK} 'sac en cuir qu'on met sur le museau d'un chameau pour l'empêcher de manger ou de mordre', غمام ṽumām- 'prepuce' (← *'front part\muzzle of a penis') (×^oṽmm 'cover') ¶ Fr. III 292-3, BK II 498-500, Hv. 534 || ? Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} řwùmáy, My {Sk.} řwùm 'cheek' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} řúmžla 'cheek', FIG ṽwòlòmō id. (mt.?) || ECh: Mu {J} gũmí, pl. gòmām 'cheek', Mgm {JA} gàmè, Nd D {J} dá-gòm id. ¶ ChC, JS 65, ChL, RpB 96, RpM 150 || **A** *am^a 'mouth' > M *aman id. > MM [HI, MA, L, IM] aman, [S] ama(n), WrM ama(n), HIM ам(ан), Kl amṽ, Mnr H ama, Dx, Ba, ShY aman, Dg am(ã) id. ¶ Pp. MA 99, 432, Lg. VMI 16, Iw. 85, MED 35, T 314, SM 5, T DnJ 110, T BJ 133, Rm. M 22 || Tg *am₁a₁-ṽa 'mouth' > Ewk amṽa, Δ amma, Sln amma, {Iv.} amá, amaṽá, amṽá, Lm amṽa ḍ amga ḍ amṽa, Neg amṽa, Orc amma, Ud, Ul aṽma, Ork, Nn amṽa

~ aṅma, Jrc {Md.} amṅa, WrMc aṅga, Mc Sb aṅa 'mouth'; WrMc aṅga has several meanings: 'mouth, mouth of animal, mouth of a river, orifice, ravine' and hence may go back to a merger of three words: Tg *aṅa 'mouth of animal', Tg *am₁a₁-ṅa 'mouth' and a WrMc loanword aṅḡa 'fissure, cleft, ravine' (← WrM aṅ 'fissure, ravine') ¶ STM I 38-9, Kiy. SJL 124 [#494] (amḡa), Md. ChF 133 ¶¶ S AP I 79-81, II 88-9, 185, 205, Ms. H 35, Pp. MA 99, H 6, MED 35, KW 9, Iw. 85, STM I 38-9 ¶¶ DQA #34 (A *ǎmo 'mouth'; incl. M, Tg) ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 244-5: IS interprets M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg *aṅa or *aṅma (sc. *am₁a₁ṅa) 'mouth', and T *am 'vulva' (actually from N *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva', q.v. ffd.) as a pA derivative *aṅma ← *aṅa- v. 'open' (F N *ʔaṅga 'to open').

717. *g∇m∇ 'darkness, night' > K: GZ {FS} *ʔam-, {K} *ʔamen- 'night', {K} *ʔame- 'last night' > OG, G ʔame- 'night, at night', Mg ʔuma 'last night', Lz ʔoman ~ ʔoma 'yesterday' ¶ K 200-1, K² 220, FS K 342, FS E 384, Chik. 198, Q 352, Ser. 169, DCh. 1356-7 || HS: WS *√ ʔmm ~ *√ ʔmy|w 'be dark, dim' > BHb √ ʔmm *Hoph* (ip. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be darkened' (of gold) ([Vulg.] 'obscuratum est'), MHb [Tos.] ʔm̄ ʔm̄ √ ʔmm G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be dim (cease to flame)' (of coals), JA [Trg.], ʔm̄ ʔm̄ √ ʔmm G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) {Js.} 'be(come) dim', {Lv.} 'be(come) dark \ darkened', JA √ ʔmy|w G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ~ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be\become dark \ dim', ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ {Lv.} 'darkness', {Js.} 'dimness, twilight', JEA √ ʔmy G 'grow faint', Ar ʔamm- 'dark' (e.g. laḡlat-un ʔamm-un 'a dark night') (× v. √ ʔmm 'cover'), Mh ʔm̄m̄m̄ 'fog', Jb C/E ʔiūm 'heat-mist, fog', Mh C √ ʔmm *Sh* (pf. aʔm̄m̄) 'see only as a blurred image, see as in a fog', Jb C √ ʔmm *Sh* (pf. aʔm̄m̄) 'make a smoke-screen \ dust-cloud' ¶ KB 800-1, Lv. T II 223, Lv. III 661-2, Js. 1087, 1089, Sl. 870, BK II 498-500, Jo. M 137, Jo. J 86 || C: Bj {R} 'humnay ~ 'humne 'late afternoon, evening', {Rop.} himni 'afternoon, the period between 2 p.m. up to sunset' || EC: Hd hēmača 'black', Hd {Hd.} hīmo 'evening, night', Sml J hamīḡ id. (× pSam {Hn.} *hiḡēn id.?) || DhI himmate 'black' || C → Mb -háme id. ¶ R WBd 121, Rop. 196, Blz. CL 177, Hd. 282, Hn. S 63 || A Tg: Ewk Sm umulḡz 'shadowy place under a tree' ¶ STM II 270 ◇ IS MS 368 (s.v. *ʔmm 'dark'), IS SS #9.4.

718. *geḡ'ā' 'be large, be copious' > HS: WS *√ ʔny > Ar ʔanīy- 'riche, opulent', ʔinā(-n) 'riche, opulence', Mh ʔe'nay, Jb E/C 'ʔa'ni 'rich', WS *√ ʔny *Sh*†(caus.) 'make so. rich' > Ar √ ʔny *Sh*

(af'ala), Mh pf. heʕnō, Jb C pf. aʕ'ni id., Ar ✓ ʕny T 'become rich', Jb C T pf. ʕutni id. ¶ BK II 512-3, Jo. M 139, Jo. J 87 || U *eñä 'big, large, much' > F enä 'big, much' (enää 'more', comp. enempi 'more'), Es comp. enam 'more' | pLp {Lr.} *ēnē 'much' > Lp: N ædne, S jienje, L iednē, Kld jīenne- | Er íne, Mk íñä 'big' || ObU *₁ēñ 'big' > pVg {Ht.} yänəʕ > Vg: T yinəw ɘ yänəw, LK/UK yāni, MK yāni, P/NV/SV/LL yāniʕ, UL/Ss yaniʕ 'big', T yünt, P/NV/SV/LL yānt, UL/Ss yanit 'as big as', pOs {Ht.} *eñä 'big' > Os: V/Vy eñə, Ty äñə, D/K enə || Sm {Jn.} *inā 'elder brother' > Ne T dim. нинека, {Lh.} níñ·ē'k·a id., Ne F {Lh.} ppx. 1s níyɔkām 'my elder brother', En {Ter.} inā 'elder brother', Ng {Mik.} níñt 'father's younger brother', Slq NP {Cs.} irné 'elder brother' ¶¶ UEW 74-5, SSA I 106, Lr. #231, Lgc. #866, Ht. #191, Jn. 27, Cs. 107 || A: T *eñ > OT {Cl.} eñ (before adj.) '(the) most' (pc. of sprl.), Cum eñ, Tk en, Tk Δ, CrTt, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, Uz, Alt, Tv eñ, Tkm, Qmq, VTt, Bsh in, Az än, Ggz hen id., T → (?) Kl eñ 'sehr, ganz' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 45, MM 148, ET Gl 365-6, KW 122 ◇ Gr. II #236 (*ena 'large') (U, T, CK + qu. M, Tg).

719. ₂ *^rg'úñ∇ (or *₁úñ∇) drink, eat' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} *ʕun- > Sml ʕun-, Rn ħun- eat', Or {Th., Brl.} ħun- v. 'sip, take a sip, taste (a beverage), suck', Arr {Hw.} ʔun- v. 'taste, drink a small amount of' ¶ Bl. 105, 161, 207, Th. 206, Brl. 219, Hw. A 344, SF 162, Abr. S 243, PG 144 || ?σ S *^o-ʕīn- (or *^o-ʕūn-) > Ar ✓ ʕyn G (ip. -ʕīnu) 'be thirsty' || D {tr., GS} *uñ- 'drink, eat, suck' > Tm un 'eat or drink, suck (as a child)', Ml unuka 'eat (esp. rice), suck', Td uñ- 'drink, take the breast', Kn un 'eat', unike 'taking a meal', Kdg uññ- 'eat a meal', Tu un(u)pini id., 'dine, eat rice', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Mnd un-, Gnd unqāna, Knd, Png uñ-, Kui uñba, Ku ūndali ɘ un-, Mlt {Drs.} óne v. 'drink', Krx ōn- v. 'drink, eat (rice)', ? Brh kunin 'eat, drink, bite' (k- by contamination with Sindhi k^hāṅnu 'eat') ¶¶ D #600, GS 175 [#443a], 55 [#151] ◇ The rec. of N *g- is unequivocal only if the S cognate is valid, otherwise it may be N *ʕ-, *ʕ- or *g-.

720. *gar'í 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > HS: CS *ʕār- 'valley, cave' > Ar غار ʕār- 'lowland' (BK: 'terrain plat et plus bas que les lieux d'alentour, terrain encaissé, pays plat entouré de hauteurs'); 'hole, cavern, cave'; S d. *m∇-ʕarr-at- ~ *m∇-ʕār-at- 'cave' > Hb מְעָרָה məʕā'rā, Ph מְעָרָה m^ʕr t, Ug m^ʕr t, IA cs. מְעָרָה m^ʕr t, IA, Plm

em. מַעְרָתָא m^{ar}tā, JA [Trg.], JEA מַעְרָתָא mæ^{ar}ət-ā, Sr مَعْرَاتٌ mæ^{ar}t-ā, Ar مَعْرَاتٌ ma^{ar}at- ~ مَعْرَاتٌ mu^{ar}at- 'cave', Cn (Ancient Ph?) → Gk μέγαρα ~ μάγαρα nom. pl. 'sorte de cryptes dans lesquelles, aux Thesmophories, on jettait des porcs vivants', (?) Gk Hm μέγαρον 'grande salle; appartement des femmes', Cn → Eg N {Alb.} mgrt 'cave' (in syllabic spelling magarata); cp. also CS (or WS) *¹γaw₁i₁r- (< *¹γār-?) > Ar γawr- 'bottom, lowest part', Ug {OLS} ḡyr 'depresión, pozo, profundidad', and possibly Sq {Ls.} 'eyreh 'lake' ¶ KB 582, KBR 615-6, JH 163, HJ 672, Fr. II 189, Fr. III 301, Sl. 697, BK DAF II 516, Ln. 2307-8, Ch. 674, EG WÄS II 164, Alb. VESO 44, OLS 161, Ls. LS 308 || **K**: GZ *¹γare- 'gutter, furrow' > MG [VTq.] γar- 'groove' (VTq. 608), G γar- 'gutter, furrow', Mg γore- 'gutter of mill; wooden dam' ¶ K² 221, Chx. 1615, DCh. 1357 || **IE** *¹xery- → *¹xry- ({EI} *¹h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N *¹χar'ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' × [possibly] IE *¹HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' < N *¹z'a¹₁H₁r▽ 'low place, valley') > Ht hari-s (gen. hariyas) 'valley' || Lt armuō (gen. armeñs) {PiesS} 'soil, ground; precipice, abyss' ||| Arm ալբ ayf 'cavern, grotto, den, antre' ¶¶ Ts. EI 172-3, ≠ WP I 56 and P 50 (in both: Arm ayf ÷ Gk ἄντρον 'antrum', 'a cave, grot, cavern'), Pv. III 143-4 (IE *¹A₁er-y- → *¹A₁ry-), EI 96, Frd. HW 57, Čop IGW-2 135, PiesS 55, Xud. I 43, Bedr. 22 || **U**: FP *¹ar▽ in the meaning 'valley, ravine' (× N *¹ar▽ 'earth, land, place') > F arō 'vallis inter colles' | ?? pPrm *¹ar- > Vt N {UR} ur-kīrem 'ravine, gully' (kīr- 'break through, wash away'), Z k3ž-3r3m 'old river-bed in the bend of the watercourse' (k3ž 'bend of river'); of course, the other semantic variety of FP *¹ar▽ ('lowland, [?] low place, river-bed') goes back to N *¹ar▽ '↑', and the meaning 'grasbewachsenes Tiefland' of the F word arō is probably due to both sources ¶ cp. Coll. 72, SK 24, UEW 17, IG 207, UR 310, Ht. 196 [#712] || **A**: T: [1] *āra (× N *¹ar▽ '↑') 'space between 2 places' > OT ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lgs. it is used in the meanings 'space between 2 objects, interval' and 'middle': Tk ara, ET, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv ara, Uz ara 'space between two objects, interval', Tkm āra, Kr, Qmq, QrB ara id., 'middle', Az, Nog, SY, Xk ara 'space between, between', Yk āra 'in the way, one in the way between two places' ¶ The length of the first vw. (preserved in Tkm and Yk āra) can be accounted for by the initial cns. of N *¹gar'i¹ 'valley' (whence later the meaning 'interval, space between 2 places'), but the meaning suggests a merger of both etymological sources (going

back to N words); [2] another case of partial merger is probably pT *ṓr 'valley' > OT ṓz, OOSm, Tk Δ ṓz id., OT QU ṓzi 'passage between two mountains', Chv var 'ravine, valley' (Ash.: 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол'): it is likely to go back primarily to N *xar'ü' 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' (q.v.) ¶ Ash. V 167, Cl. 196, 278, 281, ET Gl 162-4, ≈ 506-8, TL 532, Pek. I 126-7, TkR 47-8, Fed. I 100-1 ◇ Čop IU-1 32 (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA #21 (N *Harī 'pond, bank'; unc. equation of IE and FU with the HS and D reflexes of N *qer₁'r▽ or *qer₁'r▽ 'brook, stream', q.v.).

721. *gor▽ 'cry, speak, produce vocal sounds' > K *ɣar-/ɣr- 'cry, sing' > OG, G mɣer- 'sing', eNG [SSO], G ɣr- (ɣr-ial-) 'shout, bellow, cry (weap loudly)', Mg ɣor- ɘ ɣvar- v. 'shout, low', Lz mɣor- id., Sv ɣar-/ɣr- 'sing' ¶¶ FS K 343-4, FS E 385-6, K 201, Q 352, DCh. 914-5, 1366, Chx. 898, 1649-5, Chik. 349 || HS: SES *ɣry > Mh {Jo.} ɣzrōy (pl. ɣzryēh), Jb C/E 'ɣa'ɣɔʔ n. 'talk, speech, language', Hrs ɣzrōy (pl. ɣzrīyɔn) 'speech, language; words'; Mh/Hrs ɣry Gt (pf. Mh 'ɣatri, Hrs 'ɣatɣri) v. 'speak', Sq ɣry Gt (pf. {Jo.} 'ɣɔtɣri) 'call', {L} pf. 'ɣetiri 'speak' ¶ Jo. M 142, Jo. J 88, Jo. H 46, L LS 326-7 || ?φ Eg {AnC} ɣrω 'crier', Eg fO ɣr 'says he, says N' (devoicing *ɣ > ɣ due to syntactically conditioned as.), Eg NK ɣrt.ω 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (× N *qU₁'r₁▽ 'to speak, to call'), ?σ Eg fP ɣrω 'voice' ¶ AnC-1 10, EG III 317-8, 324-5 || IE *x^ωe(:)r-/*x^ωr- '≈□ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr-/*ar- > L ōrā- v. 'speak, prey', Osc URUST 'oraverit' ({EI} 'he pleaded') || Gk ἄρᾶ, Gk I ἄρῆ 'prayer', Gk ἄρασμα 'pray, curse', Gk ἄρῶ 'speak, call' || Sl: R o'pa-ть 'to yell, to bawl', SCr òriti se 'to resound, to be heard' (of a sound) || Lv hīrūt- 'curse' ¶¶ Ht ar(u)wai- (not 'pray, worship', but 'prostrate oneself, fall down, make obeisance') and OI ārya-nti ({M} 'they acknowledge' rather than 'praise'), adduced by some scholars, are to be kept apart ¶¶ P 781, EI 450 (*h₁h⁴er- 'ask the gods, consult an oracle', *h₂eru- '≈□ pray, curse'), 536 (*h₁h⁴er- 'speak a ritual formula'), WH II 224, Pln. II 709, F I 127, 158, Vs. III 149, Glh. 456, Pv. I-II 183-5, M KI 78-9, M EI 172 || A *o|ur▽- > M *uri- 'shout, call, invite' > MM [HI] uri- 'call (appeler)', [MA] uri- 'invite', Dg {T} ori- 'shout, call, invite', WrM uri-, HIM ури- 'call, summon, invite', Ba {T} ure-, Dx {T} uru- 'call, invite', Mnr uri- {T} id., {SM} 'invite'; M *u|ori-la > WrM orila-, орило-х 'cry out, shout, scream' ¶ Ms. HI 106, Pp. MA 366, MED 619, 881, T 369, T DgJ 160, T

BJ 148, T DnJ 137, SM 476 || Tg *orē- > Ewk orē- 'shout, bellow', Ewk orē-, Nn B orūnda- 'imitate the beckoning call of a female Manchurian deer', Sln orē- 'call (призывать)' ¶ STM II 23 || T *orī- 'shout, outcry' > OT {Cl.}, MT XIV [IM] orī- id.; ⇨ *or-la- 'make a loud noise, shout' > OT orla- id., Xk orla- id., 'howl, bellow, emit a loud noise' (of animals), Qb {Rl.} orla- v. 'moo'; (?φ) ⇨ *uran > Qzq ұран ūran, Qq uran 'war-cry; public address (призыв)', Qzq {Rl.}, Chg {Bu., Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.} urān 'war-cry', Tlt {Rl.} urān 'Geschrei', Brb {Rl.} uran 'Schrei', uran-la- 'cry (schreien)', {Tum.} ōran 'war-cry', Shor {Rl.} uran-na- 'cry (schreien)', 'sing' (of drunk people) ¶ Cl. 197, BIG 130, Rl. I 1064, 1653-4, Bu. I 121, MM 489, Sht. 290, KrkR 67, Tum. 162, Jud. 806 || pJ {S} *úru-tápa- v. 'complain, sue' > OJ urutapa-, ItOJ [RJ] uttáp-, J: T ùttae-, uttaé-, K úttáe-, Kg ùttàè- ¶ S QJ #1487, Mr. 781 ¶¶ DQA #1582 (A *óru 'cry, shout').

722. *gUr▽ 'skin' > **HS:** WS *ǵ¹ur- > Ug {OLS} ǵr 'skin', BHb נוֹר פֹּר (pl. נוֹרוֹת פֹּרֹת) 'skin, leather', Ph ʕr t pl. 'skin', ? Ar ǵurr-at- ~ ǵarr-at- 'pli (d'une peau, d'une étoffe)', rdp.: Mh {Jo.} ǵʕrǵār, ǵʕrǵārōt 'side of throat', Jb C {Jo.} ǵar'ǵar'ar, ǵar'ǵar'ar 'dewlap', ?σ Ar ǵurǵur-at- ~ ǵarǵar-at- 'bird's gizzard' ¶ OLS 159, KB 803, Tmb. 256, Hv. 520, BK II 457, Jo. M 141, Jo. J 88, MiK I #1.106 || **D** *ur₁i- v. 'peel' > Tm uri v. 'peel (skin, bark)', Ml urikka v. 'flay, skin (a jackfruit, coco-nut)', Td ušt v. 'take off (ring, bangle, shirt, coat)', Kn uricu v. 'flay, strip off skin\covering', Tu (u)rumbu v. 'tear off (as leaves from a twig)', rumbu 'stripping, plucking', rumbuni v. 'strip\pluck off', Nkr uyp- v. 'take off (clothes wrapped round middle)', Prj uyk- v. 'slough its skin' (of a serpent), Gnd uyp- id., Δ uy- 'be flayed', uysp- v. 'flay', Krx ur-nā 'rub off the leaves of a branch', Mlt urǵre ~ urwre 'fall off' (hair), 'slip off'; D *ur₁i n. 'skin, peel' > Tm uri n. 'rind, bark, peel, skin stripped off', urivai 'skin, hide, peel', Ml uri 'skin', Ku ʒuka 'slough of snake' ¶¶ D #652 || **A:** M *örüme₁n₁ 'scum on boiled milk' > WrM örüme, HIM epem, Brt ǵpmə(ɥ) id., Dg {Pp.} ūrüm, {T} urum 'scum', WrO örömö 'cream', örömede- v. 'cream over, get scummy', Kl epm örm 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Mnr H {SM} yermiän 'cream, cream condensed by cooking'; M ⇨ WrMc oromo ~ oromu, Ewk urumu 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Yk örümä ~ ürümä id., 'film' ¶ MED 644, Krg. 150, KRS 424, KW 300, Chr. 513, SM 492, T DgJ 171, STM II 288, Z 133 || ? **IE:** NaIE ≈ *erph- (< *He₁erph-

?) / ? *wērpʰ- '≈□tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)' > Gk ἔρπος 'a skin (e.g. of a serpent)' || ?σ Arm գերփեմ gerpʰem v. 'plunder, ravage, pillage' || ?σ Sl *vьrp-/*vorp- > OR ВЪРПСТИ vьrpsti / prs. ВЪРПЪ vьrpu v. 'tear, plunder', {Srз.} 'spoliare', ChS d. НАВРАПЪ na-vrapʰ 'pillage', Kshb varpac 'reißen, ziehen', Slv {Mikl.} z-vrpati 'entreißen' ¶ Ch. 377 and F I 571 (both: no et. of Gk ἔρπος), ≈ Vs. I 355, Srз. I 462, WPI 291-2 ◇ D *-r- (usually going back to a N cns. cluster with *r) suggest that in the pN etymon there was a cns. (*w, *y, *ʔ?) adjacent to to *r, that later disappeared in the descendant lgs., but the cns. has not been identified so far.

723. *garH▽ 'crush, grind' > K: GZ *yery- v. 'grind (coarsely)' > G yery- id., Mg yarʷ- id., 'talk nonsense'; ⇨ K *yeryil- 'coarse-ground flour' > OG yeryili 'ground grains', G yeryil-, Mg, Lz yarʷil- 'course-ground grains' ¶ K 202, K² 223-4, FS K 346, FS E 388-9, Chx. 1620-1, Chik. 173 || HS: S *o✓y|χrr > Ak Λ ✓χrr (inf. χarāru) 'grind' ¶ CAD VI 92 || IE *herH- or *harH- ({EI} *h₁erh₃ye/o-) > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' > Gk ἄρῳ v. 'plough, till' || Gt arjan, ON erja, OHG erien, erren, AS ērian 'to plough, to till', NE Δ ear v. 'plough, till'; OHG art 'cultivation, aratio' || L ārā- v. 'plough' || OIr ar- (prs. airim) v. 'plough, till', aired 'arable land', W {P, Vn.} arddu (< *ary-), {YGM, Bc.} aredig, Br arat 'to till, to plough' || Lt árti (prs. ariù), Ltv art (prs. ar̃u) id., Lt artójas, Pru artoys 'ploughman' || Sl *oráti (1s prs. *ōró) 'to plough' > OCS, OR ОРАТИ ora-ti (prs. ОРѦ orjǫ), SCr òrati / òrēm, Slv oráti / orjem, Cz orati / ořu, Slk orat' / oriem, P orać / orze, R †, Uk о'рати / о'рю id., Blg o'pa v. 'plough' || Arm աբաւր aʷawʷ 'a plough' || Tc A, B āre id. ¶¶ Not here Ht hars-, harsiya- 'till the earth' (← S *✓hrθ id.) ¶¶ P 62-3, Bc. 495, EI 434, F I 147-8, WH I 69, Vn. A 43, 81, Fs. 56-7, Vr. 104, Ho. 94, EWA I 347-9, II 1129-32, Schz. 126, Frn. 17, En. 143-4, Tp. PA-D 107-8, Tr. 13, Vs. III 148-9, Glh. 456, Slr. 126, Me. EAC 152, Ad.49 || D *ar- (+ suff.) 'a plough' > Tm araka 'a plough with bullocks, etc.', Mlt are 'a plough' ¶¶ D 198 ◇ D *-r- < N cns. cluster with *r (in this case *-rH-). In IE and D the N word *garH▽ 'to crush' acquired new meanings: 'to plough' (sc. 'to crush soil') and 'a plough', connected with the appearance of agriculture.

724. ₂ *g▽R▽b▽ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE {P} *ēreb^(h)-/*ōrob^(h)- 'dark' > Gk ὀρϕνός 'dark, dusky', ὀρϕναῖος 'dark, murky', ὀρϕνη (Gk I ὀρϕνᾶ) 'the darkness of night', ὀρϕίνος 'brownish gray' || ON iarpr

'brown', OHG {OsS} *ērpf* 'fuscus', AS *earp* 'dusky, dark', *eorþ* 'swarthy' ¶ P 334, F II 431-2, Vr. 291, Sw. 48, 52, Ho. 93, OsS 150 || HS: S * \checkmark *ʔrb* 'dark' > Ar \checkmark *ʔrb* G (pf. *غَرِبَ ʔariba*) {Ln.} 'be black', {BK} 'être très noir', Ak fOB *erēpu* 'to become dusky\dark', StB *erpu* (~ *erbu*) 'dark', BHb *בַּרְבֵּי* 'ערעב' 'evening'; (× S * \checkmark *ʔrb* 'enter' [> Ug, Ph \checkmark *ʔrb*, Ak *erēbu* id.], responsible for the unexpected ʔ-): Ug *ʔrb* 'sunset', Sb *mʔrb* 'west' ¶ BK II 449, Ln. 2240, CAD IV 234-5, 279-80, 304, OLS 87-8, KB 830-1, BGMR 18, Rk. IQ 123 || C: Ag: Bln {R} *arəb-* 'be black\blue', *arə'ba* 'blackness, black colour' || EC: Sa {R} *ôr'bā*, *war'bā* 'a cow with black spots' ¶ R WB 47-8 ¶¶ R l.c. (C, Ar).

725. **guʔrirʔ* (or **guʔ* - **guʔrʔ* - **guʔrʔrʔ* - **gurʔrʔ*?) 'skill, ruse, deceit; to deceive' > K **ʔor-* v. 'deceive, tell lies' > G, Mg *ʔor-* id., Lz *ʔor-* v. 'tell lies, lie to', *ʔord-*, *ʔerd-* 'deceive', Sv *ʔr-* 'tell lies, deceive' ¶¶ K 205-6 and K² 232 (G, Z), Chik. 350, FS K 351, FS E 394, Chx. 1543, Q 351-2 || HS: WS * \checkmark *ʔrr*, **-ʔurr-* ~ **-ʔrur-* v. 'deceive' > Ar \checkmark *ʔrr* G (ip. *-ʔurr*, msd. *ʔurūr-*) 'deceive, allure', *ʔarrār-* 'deceiver', Mh, Hrs, Jb E/C \checkmark *ʔrr* G 'deceive' (sbjn.: Mh, Hrs *ʔʔʔrʔr*), Jb C *šʔʔrʔr* 'be led astray' ¶ BK II 445-7, Jo. M 139-40, Jo. H 45, Jo. J 87 || A **uʔr-* > T **ūr* > NaT **ūz-* > OT *ūz* 'skilled craftsman', Alt, Tv *us*, ET *uz* 'master, skilful, skilful craftsman', Xk *us* 'skilful craftsman', Yk *ūs* id., 'craftsman', Tk *uz* 'good, fit', Tkm † *ūd* 'good, excellent, beautiful', Qrg *uz* 'skilful; skilled craftsman' ¶ Cl. 277, ET Gl 569-70 || M **ura-*: M **ura-n* 'skilful; art, craft, skill' > MM [HI] *uran* 'artisan', [MA] *uran* 'skilful, masterly', [IM] *uran* 'handicraft', WrM *uran*, HIM *ур(ан)* n., adj., adv. 'artisan, master; art, craft; artistic(ally), master(ly), Ord *uʔran* 'habile, habile(té), Kl {Rm} *urṅ* 'Künstler, Meister; Handwerker', Mnr {SM} *uran* 'dexterité, habileté', Dx {T} *uran* 'master', Dg {T} *uran* id., 'skilled craftsman'; Kl {Rm.} *uržṅ* 'Meisterin, sehr geschickte Frau'; M **ura-la-* 'do skilfully, use artifice' > WrM *urala-* 'do\make (sth.) artistically\skilfully', *urālaci* 'artist', WrO {Krg.} *urala-* v. 'contrive, use artifice; be master of, be a craftsman'; WrM *uracud*, HIM *урчуд* pl. 'artisans, craftsmen', WrO *uraci* 'craftsman' ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 365-6, 449, MED 879-90, Rm. W 451, SM 473, T DnJ 137, T DgJ 171, Krg. 179 || ?σ D: McTm **orru-* 'spy out' > Tm *orru* v. 'spy out', Ml *orru* 'private intelligence, secret information', *orran* 'a spy' ¶ McTm **o-* (for the expected D **u-*) needs investigating (cp. SD **o* < D

*u before a derivative *a, *see* Zv. 65-70) ¶ D #1022 ◇ D *-r̥r̥- and S *-r̥r̥r̥- suggest the presence of a second *r in the N etymon. T *-r̥- is probably from *-ry- < N *-rir-?

726. ₂ *gotK̥∇ 'popliteal space (back of the knee), armpit' > HS: S *^o✓y̥t̥k̥ > Jb C {Jo.} y̥at̥'k̥et (pl. 'y̥e't̥j̥k̥t̥z), Jb E {Jo.} y̥at̥'k̥et 'popliteal space', Mh {Jo.} y̥z̥t̥'k̥ay̥t (pl. y̥z̥t̥z̥k̥t̥z̥n) 'hollow at the back of the knee' ¶ Jo. J 90, Jo. M 144 || A {S} *oK̥∇ 'popliteal space, armpit': M *ogu-da-sun 'armpit gore of clothes' (or *φ-?) > WrM {Kow.} oγud̥asun id. ('chateau de l'habit de dessous le bras'), Kl {Rm.} oγū̇d̥ḃṡṅ, oγḋḃṡṅ 'Ärmelzwickel' ¶ KW 283, Kow. 365, S AJ 243 [#254] ¶¶ S AJ 297 [#594], SDM97 s.v. *ɔk'∇, KW 283; S l.c. suggests a Ko cognate *òkóm 'popliteal space' (> MKo òkóm, NKo oγim id., Ko Kw oγumpē {Vv.} 'the inside curve of the knee\elbow'), but Vv. AEN 16 rejects it on morphological grounds: òkóm ({Y} ωòkωóm) ← ok- 'bends (inside) with a nominal sx. -óm || AdS of IE: NaIE *aks- → *aġ̃(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (< *XakEC∇ 'shoulder [Achsel], armpit'): *aks- > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, üehse 'armpit'; with a *-n-sx.: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS ðaxn 'armpit'; with a *-t-sx.: ON óst, óstr 'throat-pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ òste, AS ocusta ~ òxta id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE *aġ̃s-el- → *aks-el- >) ON qxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel || L āla (< *aks̥la) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx. -illa); ↳ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm ʷān̥l̥p̥ anuth (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE *^ook- without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ǵeḱs- 'shoulder[-joint]; axle'; *h_ǵeḱsleh_ǵ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ On the connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' *see* below. Connection with IE *aḱs- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶ The connection between *aks- 'armpit' and *aks(-el)- 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation, or semantic change [and if so, in which direction?], or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). In any case, connection with IE *aḱs- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is hardly acceptable for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶¶ The IE root may belong here if N *t̥K̥ may yield IE *ks (cp. AD SShS) or if IE *-s- is a sx. ◇ In AD NM #107 I reconstructed the

N word as *g_o|at_ḲE (> HS, A, IE), S CNM 12 (: "*Go|at_Ḳe ... The A and IE forms point rather to *Ho|a_Ḳe"; this is a misunderstanding: here "*Go|at_Ḳe" is S's notation for N *g_o|at_ḲE. N *g yields regularly A zero and IE *H; there is a contraction *t_Ḳ (from N *-t_Ḳ-) > *K, so that *Ho|a_Ḳe is a reduced variant of N *got_Ḳ∇); Vv. ANE 16 (rejects the Ko cognate; misquotes my former rec. of N *g_o|at_ḲE as *g_o|at_ḲE).

727. *gužê '≈□ sheep, goat' > HS: S: Ar d. ḡaḡīy-, ḡaḡawīy- 'kid (young of goats)', ḡaḡ(aḡ)īyū-l-māli 'young of camels' ¶ BK II 445 || Ch: it is tempting to adduce BT (Bl {Mk.} ošī 'billy-goat', Krkr ṛōčī, Ngm {Mk.} ošī id.), but in the light of the Krkr pl. ṛōkāj 'goats' it seems more plausible to equate the BT forms with Jmb àk^ωá 'goat' and similar forms of other Ch lgs. (< N *H'o'kE 'goat' [q.v.]) || U: FU {Db.} *ūče, {UEW} *uče 'sheep' (or 'ε an animal resembling a sheep') > F uuhī (gen. uuhēn), Es utt (< prt.), Δ uhe 'ewe' || Mk yča uča, Er Kd uča 'sheep' || Chr: Lyжга už'ša, Uf/B užša, H ыжга 'bžša 'fir coat' || Prm {LG} *ūž > Z, Vt ыж +ž 'sheep' || ObU {Ht.} *āč id. > pVg *āš id. (> OVg E TM oścḥ, Vg: LK oš, MK/UK oš; OVg W P/Sl oшъ, Vg: P oš [du. oššēš], NV/ML oš, SV/LL oš / ošī; OVg N: SoG/Ber oāścḥ, Chd/SoO oшъ, Vg Ss oš; OVg S: Vt ачь, SSS аścḥ, oōtsch), pOs *ač id. > Os: V/Vy ač, Ty/Y ač, D oš ɔ oč, K oš, Nz/Kz oš, O as ¶ The long *ū- (suggested by F uuhī) may be accounted for by the loss of the initial *g- ¶ UEW 541, Sm. 552 (FP *uuhī 'sheep'), Db. OS xxxii, Ker. II 178, MRS 625, 762, IG 328, Ht. #4 ¶ UEW reasonably remarks: "Das Vorhandensein des Wortes für 'Schaf' in der FU Grundsprache ist noch kein Beweis für die Schafzucht, aber durchaus für das Kennen eines schafähnliches Tieres". Since wild Oves, Caprae, and Capreoli are (and were) absent in the presumed homeland of FU (both sides of the Urals, Northwestern Siberia), but are typical of the Turan and the mountains of Southern Siberia, this word suggests a southern (Turanic, South-Siberian?) ancient habitat of the early pU lge. Napolskikh (Nap. IU 122-3) suggests a possibility of reconstructing pFU *oča and supposing that it is a loan from Indo-Iranian *aža (> OI a'ja-ḡ 'male goat', a'ja 'goat') < IE *ag̃(a) 'goat'. But his *oča is at variance with the phonetic laws (F uuhī cannot go back to *oča), so that his hyp. is untenable || A: NaT *učkü ~ (dis.?) *ečkü 'goat' > Chg ≥xv üčkü, Tv öškü 'goat', ET öčkä ~ ečkü, Xk öskü 'goat, he-goat', Ln öčkü, SY üškö, Sg üskī ~ üskä 'he-goat', OT e|äčkü, XwT XIV ečkü, MQp, MOg, Tk Δ, Uz, Kr, Qmq, Qrg ečki, Alt ečki, VTt Δ ички, Nog, Qq eški, Qzq eškī 'goat' ¶ Cf. T *k'äçi 'goat' < N

*k'ä'ćU or *k'ä'ć∇w∇ 'wild goat', 'ε antelope' (q.v. ffd.) (mutual infl. of both T roots?) ¶ NaT *-kü may go back to a dim. sx. ¶ Cl. 24, ET VGD 35-6, Shch. Zh 117-8.

728. *gUž∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg G ɤz v. 'smell, hear', Eg fMK ɤz v. 'perceive' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 || S *°✓yδδ > Ar yāδδ- 'sentiment, sens, faculté de sentir' ¶ BK II 443 ¶¶ Acc. to Tk. (Tk. I 176-86 and 263), the Eg cognate of *δ is z rather than ž. This is true about the word-initial position, but for for the Inlaut Tk. quotes only two lexical correspondences: [1] Ar ✓šδf 'obtain, get' ÷ Eg žzɸ 'empfangen, entgegennehmen, ergreifen', [2] Ar ✓ħδw 'be over against, opposite to' ÷ Eg ħzɸ 'face aggressively, meet (enemy), turn back, turn away'. The example [2] is highly suspicious, because the real meaning of the Ar word (acc. to BK) is 's'asseoir, se placer en face, vis-à-vis à qn.'. Eg ɤz contradicts Tk.'s law of sound corr. (for the Inlaut position) and suggests the necessity either of reformulating it or to find explanation of ž in ɤz || A: M *üže- v. 'see' (× N *hUžE(-g∇) 'look, see', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *°o]∇ > Lm Ol o]w, Lm O w]w 'heat (of animals) ¶ STM II 7 || NaT *üδ- v. 'feel passion, sexual desire' (× N *h'ot∇ 'to smell [odorare, to get the odour of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odour\scent]', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} üδ- 'feel sexual desire' (?); ⇨ *üδ-ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT uδig id., XwT uδüg 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50 || IE *Hwed-, *Hod- > NaIE *od- v. 'smell (sth.)', *od-mā n. 'smell' (× N *h'ot∇ '↑') ◇ Qu., because the IE, T, and M cognates have alt. etymologies.

729. (₂?) *y'a'č'∇ 'bite, chew' > K (K or GZ) *yeč'- v. 'chew' > G yeč'-, Mg yač'-, Lz yvanč'-, Sv yarč'- id.; acc. to Mach. (Gm. SSh 21), Mg yač'- goes back to pre-Z **yač'k- with subsequent loss of *k due to dis. (in the presence of *y) ¶ Acc. to FS, Sv yarč'- is a loan from Mg ¶¶ Gm. SSh 21 (G, Zan), K 202-3, K² 224, FS K 347, FS E 389, DCh. 1359, SSO II 250 || HS: S *°✓fθθ 'bite' > Ar عَضَّ ✓fθθ L 'bite each other'; ??? (with secondary lateralization?) عَضَّ ✓fθθ 'bite' ¶ BK II 276-7, 291 || ?φ A: Tg: WrMc ašu 'put into one's mouth, hold in one's mouth, chew', Mc Sb ʔasʔmʔ, ʔašumʔ 'hold in one's mouth' ¶ Z 29, Hr. I 62, STM I 60, Y #1538.

730. ?φ *Γäč'U' (= *Γäč'o or *gäʔič'U'?) (ε) grass' > K *°yič'∇ > G yič'a {Chx.} 'Sonchus, Gänsedistel', {DCh.} 'осот, серпуха полевая (Sonchus, sawwort)', -G K/Kx/P yič'-i 'wolfberry (Lycium)' ¶ Chx. 1635, DCh. 1363 || U **äčU > FP *äč∇ ~ *äč'o 'meadow, grassland' > F aho 'meadow', 'clearing (left waste)', {SSA} 'aufgegebene Schwende

(clearing), Brache, trockenenes offenes Gelände', Krl aho 'old clearing on which a young forest has grown', Es Δ ahu 'useless barren field' | pPrm {LG} *ežā 'turf (Rasen, дерн)', 'fallow land (залежь)', 'meadow' > Z əžā ežā 'turf, virgin soil, fallow land, meadow, grass', Yz ižā, Vt ožo ožō 'grass' | LG 331, SK 6, SSA 54 || ?φ **A**: NaT *ot 'grass, vegetation' > OT, Chg ot id., Tk ot, Tv ot, Uz wt, Xlj ūot, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk ot, Ux wt, VTt † ut, Chv ud_б ~ vud_б & od_б id., QrB ot 'poison', Tf ot' 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)'; KW 291 mentions Kl ot₀ 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', probably a loan from T | Róna-Tás suggests Tc origin of the T word (Tc A/B āti 'grass' < IE *ados 'cereals') (see Dm. NTE 172) | Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-20, Ra. 213 || ?φ **HS**: SC: Irq {MQK} gičō 'grass' | MQK 40, Blz. SCL s.v. 'grass' ◇ The T word is a dubious cognate (the supposed change N *č̣ > T *t has no parallels in other N words). Irq {MQK} gičō (if it belongs here) suggests that N *Γ äč̣'U' is to be interpreted as *gäč̣'U'. The vw. *o in NaT *ot may be due to regr. as. (N *ä...o > *o...). The vw. *i in K *°ϕič̣∇ and in Irq gičō may be interpreted as suggesting the presence of the vw. *i within the N etymon (*gä°ič̣'U'?). Irq g- from N *g-??

731. *ϕōč̣∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > **HS**: S *'ṣaḥam- 'bone, (?) backbone' > Hb ḥṣḥ 'ṣeḥem (pl. ṣāḥā'mōt), SmHb 'ṣāḥām (pl. ṣāḥā:māt), Ph ṣḥm, Ug ṣḥm, Ar ṣaḥm-, Ak eḥemtu, Eb {Krb.} a-za-mu-um 'bone', Sr ṣaḥmā {Br.} 'coxa, latus', {JPS} 'thigh, side', JPA {Sl.} ḥḥm 'thigh of an animal', Md aḥma 'thigh, side, flank', Mh ṣāḥamēt, and Hrs ṣaḥmet 'back', Gz ṣaḥm ~ ṣaḥm 'bone' (either lateralization of the sibilant due to the infl. of SS *✓ṣḥḥ 'bone' [> Jb C 'ṣiḥḥ, Jb E 'ṣayḥḥ, Mh, Hrs ṣāḥayḥ 'bone'] or a purely spelling variation due to the merger of ḥ and ḥ in New EthS [acc. to Voigt]) | KB 622-3, KBR 869, BH IV 215, A #2082, OLS 96, Br. 520, JPS 410, DM 13, Sl. P 401, Js. 1063, LG 58, Jo. M 14, 39, Jo. J 39, Jo. H 6, 14, MiK I #1.25 || ?φ Eg G ḥḥ 'bones' (dis. *ṣḥ > ḥḥ?) | EG III 210 || NrOm: Mj/Shk {Fl.} ṣus 'bone' | ≈ Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL || ECh: Lele {Grgs.} ísī, Kbly {Cp.} ṣḥs, Skr {Sx.} ṣsīḥī, {Lk.} óssenḡi, Mgm {J} ṣassú, Mkl {J} ṣòssé, Jg {J} ṣasó, Brgt ṣásó 'bone' | ChC, JI II 37, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bone' || **K**: G ṣōž-i 'fang, a large tooth' | Chx. 1646, DCh. 1365, K² 232 (G ṣōž-i ← Zan ṣež- 'swine'?) | -ž- for the expected -č̣- due to as.? || **IE** *x^west_lh₁- ← *x^wost_lh₁- ({EI} *h₂ost [gen. *h₂est-s]) 'bone' > OI asthi-

, Av *ast-* id. || Gk ὀστέον id. || Los (stem *oss-*) id. || Clt: OIr *asna* 'rib', MW *ass-en* 'rib, lath'; W, OCrn *asen* 'rib', Brtt cd. {RE} **askornos* 'bone' > MW *ascwrn*, W *asgwrn*, OCrn, Crn *ascorn*, MBr *asco(u)rn*, Br *asko(u)rn* id. (a cd., with the second element seen in W *mi-gwrn*, Br *mi-gourn* 'cartilage', W *llos-gwrn* 'tail') || pAl {O} **ašti|a* > Al *asht* 'bone' || Arm **սկր** *oskr* id. ({EI} < **h₂ost-wr*) || Tc B pl. *āsta* 'bones' || Ht *hastai*, *hasti-*, Lw *has(s)a-* 'bone' ¶ P 783, EI 77, M K I 67, M E I 150-1, WH I 225-6, F II 436-7, Vn. A 94-5, RE 84, O 11, Ad. 45-7, Pv. III 233-7, Ts. E I 202-3, Ivn. SA 153 || R **ūč_l'a* 'back, backbone' (× N **hU_lw_lč_l∇* [or **hUw∇č_l∇*] 'loins, lap') > NaT **ūča* 'sacrum, coccyx, backbone, back (dos)' (× N **hU_lw_lč_l∇*) > OT *uča* {Cl.} ≈ □ 'loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV *ūžā*, [CC] *uča* 'back', OOsM XV *uča* 'buttocks', Chg **اچا**, **اچو** *uča* 'back (dos)', Tkm *ūža* 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} *ūža* 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk *уца* [*uča*] 'coccyx', VTt **оча** **б'са**, Bsh **оча** **б'са** 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt **уча** *uča* 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *uča* *uča*, Shor/Sg {Rl.} *uča* 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} *uča*, *ūža* 'rump', QK {Rl.} *čža*, Tb *uča*, Qmn {Rl.} *čža* 'back (dos)', ET, Ln *uča* 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt *uča* 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg *uča* 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY *ūža*~*uča*, Nog *uša*, VTt **б'са**, Bsh **Δ** **б'са** 'loins', Tv *uža* 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk *uha* 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} **ыса шамми** *č_za š_šmmi* 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thigh-bone', {ET} **ыса ч_za** 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288. Tkm *ū* provides ev. for a long pT **ū*, while Yk *u* is likely to point to a pT short *vw*. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe - *F* Pp. J 55) ¶ T *č* → M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] *uča*, WrM **уцуса** 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM *ūc* id., Brt *ūsa* 'croup, sacrum', Kl *ūca* 'sacrum, back (dos), hind quarters', Ord *ūč'a* 'hind quarters of animals', Mgl *uča* 'back (dos)'. The opposite direction of the borrowing (M **ūča* → T **uča*) is hardly acceptable for two reasons: [1] chronological difficulties: the T form *uča* is attested from the 8th c. A.D., sc. long before the Mongolian conquers; [2] pM long vowels lose their length in HIM, Brt, and Kl, while here the *vw*. of these lgs. is long; so that the only possible solution is to accept Ligeti's proposal (Lg. VMI 71) of the T origin of the

M word] ¶ Cl. 20, Lg. VMI 71, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288 || Tg *u|oç∇ka 'fish fin' > WrMc uciqa 'fish fin on the belly', Neg oçaxa & oçaka 'fish fin on the back' ¶ Z 165, STM II 29, 290, Hr. 942 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2720 (A *ūc'∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') ◇ The A and SS reflexes of the N word suggest an ancient meaning 'backbone' that coexisted with the wider meaning 'bone'.

731a. ≈ *yay'e'c'∇ seek, look for' > HS: S *o'✓'ŷŷŷ (~ *✓'ŷ'ŷŷŷ?) > Ar ✓'ŷŷŷ (pf. ŷaŷŷa) v. 'seek, acquire'; ? Gz ✓'χŷŷ (js. yəχŷəŷ) v. 'seek, look for, desire' (a loan from an unknown C source **✓'ŷŷŷ with further as. *-ŷŷŷ- > -χŷŷ-?) ¶ BK II 259, LG 266 || C: HEC *has- v. 'want, seek' > Brj hās-, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd has- id. ¶ AD SF 153 (s.v. *hAŷŷ- 'искать', 'хотеть'), Hd. 163, 195, 244, 281, 320, 369, Ss. B 88 || U: FU (att. in BF) *e'c'c'∇- > F etsiä v. 'seek, look for', Krl A ečči-, Krl Ld ečči-, Vp eč-ŷa, ec-ŷä, Vo зccia, Es otsi-, Es Δ ōtsi-, Lv v0'ččä id. ¶ SK 42, Kt. 506 ¶ SK equates the BF word with Lp N oocāt v. 'seek' (< pLp {Lr.} *ooc id.), but acc. to the reg. sound laws Lp *ooc does not belong here, but is akin to F udella v. 'be curious, inquire' < FU *učc'∇, F Krh. 159, SSA I 109, Lr. #799 || IE: NaIE *aj̥s-, *aj̥s-sk̥- v. 'seek, wish' ({EI} IE *h₂ej̥s- 'wish for, seek out') > OI 'ēṣati 'seeks, looks for', ē'ṣaḥ 'wish, choice', ic'chati (< *aj̥s-sk̥-) 'looks for', Av iṣa'ti 'wishes' || Arm այց այս' (< *aj̥s-sk̥ā-) n. 'search, inspection' (→ 'visit') || L aerusc-ō /-āre v. 'beg, ask', Um EISCURENT 'arcessierint' || OHG eiscōn v. 'search, question, require', OSx êscon, ēscian v. 'require', AS āscian v. 'try, require, ask (a question)' (> NE ask) || Lt íeškau / ieškoti 'look for', Ltv iēškāt 'to louse' || Sl *j̥bškā-ti 'to look for, to seek' > OCS ИСКАТИ iskatī (prs. ИСКѦ isko ~ ИЩѦ ištq), R и'с'к'а'т'ь (prs. и'щ'у) id., Blg 'ища 'I look for', 'искама 'I want', SCr i'skatī 'to wish' (prs. i'stēm), Slv ískati, OCz iskatī 'to look for', P i'skać 'to louse, to seek, to search' ¶ Dv. #14, P 16, H 629, M K I 85, WH I 19, Bc. G 333, Ho. 7, Ho. S 17, EWA II 1022-3, Kb. 196, Frn. 182, Slr. 366, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Glh. 278 || A: M *i'ca- (unless it is *φi'ca-) 'hope' > WrM, WrO i'ca-, Kl иц-ic- v. 'hope for, expect', WrM i'caq, WrO i'caq, Kl ицг i'caq n. 'hope' ¶ Gl. I 190, MED 397, Krg. 99, KRS 275, KW 211-2 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #588 (A *i'c'∇ 'hope, see' > incl. M) ◇ M *i- < N *-y'e' -?

732. ***ʷAĉ̌** ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > K *^oʷeĉ̌- > Mg ʷeĉ̌- 'cut (hair), cut' ¶ Q 49 || HS: WS *^oʷĉ̌w 'divide, separate' > Ar عضو ^oʷĉ̌w (ip. - ʷĉ̌ū) 'dépecer (un mouton, etc.), séparer par membres\parties, partager'; S d. *ʷiĉ̌- 'piece, portion' > Ar ʷiĉ̌-at- id., Gz ʷəĉ̌, ʷəĉ̌ā, Tgr ʷəĉ̌, Tgy ʷəĉ̌a, ʷəĉ̌a 'lot' ¶ BK II 283, L G 57 || ?σ C: [1] Irq {MQK} haĉ̌á? 'different, other', haĉ̌īĉ̌īm- 'differentiate, sort out', {E} haĉ̌a 'other'; [2] ??φ SC: Irq {MQK} haĉ̌īt- 'share, receive one another, take turns', {E} haĉ̌it- v. 'share' ¶ ≈ E SC 336 (reconstructs SC *haĉ̌- v. 'be separated, divided up'), MQK 47, 49 || Eg fOK ʷĉ̌ {EG} 'hacken', Eg MK {Fk.} ʷĉ̌ 'hack up, destroy' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 ¶ Hardly akin (⇔ Tk. I 44, 249) to Sa {Wlm.} -uʷuġ- v. 'dig', Ang {Flk.} oġ 'dig', Li ʷaġi 'dig' || D *aĉ̌- v. 'cut' > Gnd aĉ̌ānā v. 'cut off (hand, foot, etc.), split, saw', Mlt asye v. 'chisel' ¶¶ D #46 || ?φ IE *^oġat- 'cut, pierce' > Ht haĉ̌t- 'make a hole (in), pierce, stab, slash'; AnIE → Arm հատ hat 'cut, cutting; fraction, fragment, piece', հատանել hatan-eł 'to cut' (not an inherited word because of -t-, while in an inherited cognate one expects -t' < IE *-t-) || OIr áith adj. 'cutting, piercing' ¶¶ Pv. III 248-255, Ts. E I 215-7, Grp. IVAA 53, Vn. A 54 ◇ The rec. of N *^oʷ- is based on S *ʷ-, Ht h-, and K *^oʷ-. The IE reflex is qu., because it has not been proved that N *-ĉ̌- yields IE *-t-.

733. ₂ ***ʷrūd** ∇ 'to tie; thong' > K *ʷwed- 'thong, belt, leash' > OG ʷwed- (ʷued-) 'thong, leathern tie of a yoke', {K} 'leash of yoke', G ʷved- 'thong; leathern belt', G J ʷved- 'leathern tie of a yoke', Mg ʷve(n)d- 'thong, saddle-girth', Lz ʷved- 'thong, leathern belt', Sv ʷwed 'thong, strap' ¶¶ K 203, K² 225-6, ≈ K IEK 74-5 (K *^o ← IE), GP 269 || IE: *Heuđh-/*Houđh-/*Hwedh- v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong': [1] *Heuđh-/*Houđh- > Lt inf. áusti (1s prs. áudžiū), Ltv aūst (prs. aūzu) 'weave', Lt ūdis 'einmaliges Gewebe' || R Δ ʷc'no 'web in the initial stage of weaving' ||| Arm զօղ z-ôđ 'withe, band; tie, bond', զօղեմ z-ôđem v. 'tie, bind, fasten, attach' (on the prepositional element z- see Me. EAC 94), յօղ ʷ-ôđ 'bond, tie, link; articulation, joint, juncture', յօղեմ ʷ-ôđem 'I tie, bind, unite', ? օղ ôđ 'shoe' (Arm o ô < eArm ay) ||| [2] *Hwedh- 'attach, tie' > OI 'vadhra-h 'leathern strap' ||| Gk [Hs.] ἐθμοί · πολλοί, δεσμοί, πλόκαμοι ({Mn.} 'chains', 'ropes', or sim.) ||| OIr fedan 'Gespann, Geschirr', {Mn.} 'yoke, team', OIr fedil, W gwedd 'yoke' ||| Gt ga-wīdan* 'verbinden' (3s p. ga-wap), OHG

ωέταν vt. 'to yoke, to join' ¶ P 75-6, 1116-7, Mn. 1497-8, FI 448, Fs. 211-2, Kb. 1186, OsS 1132, Frn. 26, Vs. IV 171, Slr. 290-1, ≠ Ach. III 412-3 and IV 607-8, M K IV 137 (rejects the connection of OI 'vadhr̥a- with IE *wedʰ-) ◇ Not here WrM üde- ~ üdü- 'fasten with thongs, cord, or thread passed through a hole or holes', because it goes back to pM *wüde- (> Ba {MYC} χudu-), see KW 455, MED 995, MYC 688 ◇ IS MS 364 (*gudā 'связывать'), IS SS ##3.13, 9.2.

734. (₂?) *ΓUL∇ 'knee, elbow' > IE *xʷel- or *Xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id. (×N ?φ ≈ *goŋʰ'äI∇ ~ mt.: *goIʰ'∇ñ∇ 'forearm'?) > Gk ὠλένη, ὠλήν 'the arm from the elbow downwards, elbow', [Hs.] ὠλλόν 'elbow' || LuIra 'elbow bone, half ell' || Gt aleina 'ell', ON qln 'forearm, ell', AS {Ho.} éln id. (> NE ell), OHG elina 'elbow, ell, ulna' > NHG Elle 'ell' || OIr uilen 'elbow, angle', W, MCrn elin, Crn elyn, MBr elin, Br ilin 'elbow' || OI a'ni-ḥ ~ ā'ni-ḥ 'the part of the leg just above the knee', ?? NPrs ارن ārān 'ell' || ?σ Tc: A ālem du. 'palms of the hands', B alyiye 'palm of the hand' || Ht haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect', halihla(i)- v. 'genuflect' ¶ P 308, EI 176 (IE *h₃el∇n- 'elbow, forearm'), WH II 812, M K I 72, F II 1146-7, Vn. U 18, YGM-1 214, Hm. 394, Fs. 35, Vr. 686, Ho. 90, Kb. 197, EWA II 1044-9, Horn 5, Ad. 27, Pv. III 28-9, 31-2 || K: Sv: UP yuläy (gen. yuläiš, pl. yulär ~ yulār), LB/Ln yulä, L yulay 'knee', L {Dn.} li-ywlay-e 'to kneel' ¶ TK 797, Ni. s.v. колѣно, Dn. s.v. yulay, GP 269 || HS: ? EC: Sa/Af {R} helūf ~ holūf 'elbow, ell' (Sa/Af {R} h = [ḥ]?) (Sa/Af ḥ- is a reg. errepresentative of N *Γ- [cp. Af ḥéray 'pigs' < N *Γ∇R∇ 'wild boar', q.v.]) ¶ R S II 181.

735. *Γuñ∇ 'bend, be bent, sink, fall' > K: GZ *yūn- > OG yūn-/yōn- 'bend', G yūn- 'biegen, krümmen', Mg yūn- 'bend' ¶ Abul. 129, 303, Chx. 1655-6, K² 22-3 (adduces OG byūn- 'bend' and reconstructs GZ *byūwen-/byūwn-) || HS: Ch: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} wōŋlì 'bend' ¶ ChC || A: M *una- v. 'fall' > MM [MA, IM, L] una-, WrM una-, HIM yna- v. 'fall, fall down', Mnr {SM, T} unā-, Mgl {Rm.} unōna, Dx una-, Ba nā- v. 'fall' ¶ Pp. MA 363, 449, Pp. L II 1261, MED 875, SM 471-2, T 368-9, T DnJ 137, T BJ 143, Rm. M 41 || Tg *ōŋk- 'fall flat \ lie on one's back, (?) turn over' > Ewk ōŋkān- 'fall on one's back', Ewk Np ōŋnī- vi. 'turn over', Lm ōŋkī, Neg óŋkankī, ōŋkiskī, Ul ōndi, Ork ōndon, Nn Nh ónžl, Nn B unžl, WrMc oncoxon '(lying\falling) on one's back', Mc Sb {Y} ?ončžhan, ?ončuhun

'facing upwards', {Mrm.} ονᾶχον 'ausgebreitet, auf dem Rücken liegend' ¶ STM II 21, Y #525, Klz. MS 238.

736. *Γονᾶ, ∇, ga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > **HS:** Eg fOK ʿn.t 'fingernail, claw; thumb' > DEg ʿn.t 'fingernail, claw', Cpt Sd eine, ine, Cpt B iri 'thumb; hache à deux tranchants, instrument du charpentier' ¶ EGI 188, Er. 63, Vc. 64-5) (< *ϣ|gon∇) || **K:** G I/Lch/Gr ϣvanϣv-al-i {Chx., Ghl.} 'hook\peg for hanging up baskets' ({Chx.}: 'Haken [zum Aufhängen von Körben]', {Ghl.} 'grip of a basket') ¶ Chx. 1622, Ghl. 587 || **IE** *H^ωeng_LH_o / *H^ωnog_LH_o- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^ω_LH_o-, *nog^ω_LH_o-, ? *anog_LH_o- id.), ({EI} *h₃nog^h(ω)-) > OI na'kham 'finger-\toe-nail, claw', pIrn *naħa- > Oss I ных нзχ, D niχ 'fingernail, claw', ZrPhl n^hω n, NPrs نأخون nāχon ~ نأخون nāχūn, Ygn naχna id., KhS nāhune 'nails' || Arm եղունգն eł-ungn 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, iron hook' (< a cd. *ełn-ungn 'hind's/roe's hoof?') || Gk ὄνυξ, gen. ὄνυξ-ος 'fingernail' (acc. to Bks., υ is due to dis.: ὄνυξ- < *onog^h- < *H₃nogh [sc. *H^ωnog^h-]) || L unguis, gen. pl. unguium, [ϣ] unx 'finger-\toe-nail' || OIr {P} ingu, inga, ionga, {Flr.} ingen, OW eguin, W ewin, OBr {Flr.} euin ~ eguin, Br ivin 'fingernail' || pGmc d.: ON nagl, OHG nagal 'nail' (> NHG Nagel) (cp. Lung-ul-a 'hoof'), OSx naga, AS næȝl 'nail, claw', NE nail || BSl: Lt nāgas, Ltv nags 'finger-\toe-nail', BSl d. (dim.?) *noguti- > Lt nagūtī-s 'finger-\toe-nail' (dim.), Pru nagutis 'finger-\toe-nail', pSl *nōgьtь (gen. nōgьta) id. > OCS ногъть ногъть, R 'ноготь, Cz nehet, P † nogieć, Slv nōhet, Blg 'нокът, pl. 'нокт-и, SCr nōkat, gen. nōkt-a (Blg and SCr -kt- < *-gt- by as. in the oblique cases and in pl. with subsequent generalization of -kt- in the declension paradigm) | BSl *nog-ā 'hoof' > Lt nagà id., Ltv nagas pl. 'both hands, hands and feet', Pru nage 'foot', pSl *no'ga 'leg, foot' > OCS ногa noga, R но'га (accus. ногу), Blg но'га, SCr nōga, Slv nóga, Cz, Slk noha, P noga || ?ϕ pTc {Ad.} *mekwā > A maku pl., B mekwa pl. '(finger\toe-)nails' ({Ad.}: *m- < *n- by as.) ¶ P 780, Mn. 879, EI 389, Flr. 169, Frn. 478-9, En. 213, Glh. 440, Vs. III 78-80, Ma. CS 321-2, M K II 124, M E II 4, Ab. II 217-8, Bai. 181, WH II 818-9, Vr. 403-4, Kb. 711, Schz. 219, Ho. 230, Ho. S 54, KM 501, Bks. IELG 47, Slt. 147-8, VI. II 1271-2, F II 398-9, Ad. 467 ¶¶ IE *-ng^hωH- < pre-IE *-ngH- < *-ng- regularly || **U:** FU *oηt∇ 'thorn, spear' > Chr L {Ü} умдо umdo, ундо undo, Chr M unto 'spear, sting of insects', Chr Uf unδъ 'bayonet, sting of insects', Chr B

unδo 'Bärenspieß, spear, sting' || ObU: pOs *oŋtə(p) ({{Hl.}} *ǣŋtə(p)) 'Bärenspieß, spear' > Os: V/Vy oŋtəw, Ty/Y ǣŋ^wtəp, D oŋtə, Sh ɔŋtə, Kz oŋti, O uŋti, N {Ahl.} oŋti, uŋti id.; pVg *ǣwtǎ 'spear' > Vg: T awtā, LK/P owtə, Ss owtə, ML {Mu.} ǣwtä ~ ǣwté id. || ? Sm *ǣŋtǔ 'blade (Schneide)' > Ne Т нянд, Т О {Lh.} ńǎ':nt, Ng {Mik.} ŋatə, En {Cs.} Kh eddo, En {Cs.} B naddo, Slq Tz {Prk.} āŋti, oŋti, Slq Tm {KD} āŋd, Mt {Hl.} *ǣndä (misprinted as *ǣndā) id. (Mt K {Pl.} éndide id. [+ ppa. 3s]) -> Mt {Hl.} *ǣndəkā (misprinted for *ǣndəkä [?]) 'sharp' (Mt M {Sp.} андыка) ¶¶ Coll. 105, UEW 342, Sm. 542 (FU *o|uŋtǣ 'spear' > IP *oŋtə, Ugr ? *uŋtə), Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 20-1, Hl. M #74, Stn. D 144-5, MK 399 || ?φ D *ǣñi 'nail, peg' > Tm ǣñi 'nail, small spike, peg, linchpin', Ml ǣñi, Tu ǣñi 'peg, nail', Kt ǣñy 'nail of metal or wood', Td ǣñy 'nail', Kn, Tl ǣñi 'nail, linchpin' ¶¶ The word is etymologically connected with OI ǣñiḥ 'pin of the axle' and Pali ǣñi- 'linchpin, bolt, peg', but the direction of the borrowing is not clear: Caldwell suggests that the OI word is from Dravidian, while the 2nd ed. of the Dravidian Etym. Dict. assumes the opposite direction of the borrowing. Since the IE et. of OI ǣñi- (presumably from IE *el-ni-, whence OHG lurn 'bolt, nail of a wheel' and NHG Lürnse < *]-ni, as suggested with a query by Mayrhofer) is highly qu., the D origin of the stem is still rather plausible. If D *ǣñi is an inherited N word rather than a loan from IAr, its *ǣ- (for the expected *o-) remains enigmatic ¶¶ Cald. CGDL² 454ff., DED #295, D app. #10, M KI 72 ◇ But GZ *nek_lu_j- 'little finger' is not related to the abovementioned IE root [⇔ Blz. KM 138], because the change 'finger' → 'little finger' contradicts the laws of semantic typology; on the origin of *nek_lu_j- see N *ŋiḱu 'small, little'.

737. *Γαῖν'ç'U 'cheek' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} ɣunçə, Irq {MQK} ɣunçə 'inside of cheek', {Mgw.} ɣunçə 'cheek', Brn {E} ɣuçə 'cheek' (and/or Irq {MQK} ɣançəmo, {Wh.} ǎnçəmo 'molar', Brn {Wh.} ǎçimo 'tooth' [pl. ǎço]?) ¶ AD SF 307, E SC 278, Mgw. 115, Wh. IC 26, Wh. SI, MQK 15, 112 || U: FU: pOs {Ht.} *ōñčəy 'jaw' > Os: V/Vy oñčəy, oñčəy, Ty ðñčəy, Y ðñčəy, D/K unšə, Kz wŋñšī, O onsi id. ¶ Ht. #39 (* ÷ Vg *ǣnəx 'jaw') ¶ The final *-əy in Os may be explained by the infl. of ObU *ǣ^wnəy 'jaw' (< N *Xǣñǎkǎ [- *Xǣŋkǎ?] 'jaw, palate', q.v.) || K {FS, K²} *ɣaçw- 'cheek' > OG ɣaçu- 'cheek' [Mt. 5.39], 'jaw' [Ψ 31.9], G ɣaçv-i 'cheek', ɣaçu 'the upper part of a cheek', Sv Lx ɣāçə 'cheek', Sv π ɣāç-ol (with a dim. sx.) id. ¶¶ FS K 344, K² 222 || A: NTg *ançə

'cheek' > Sln ančā, Lm A ańči, Lm B/O ańčln, Neg ančān id., Ewk ančān & hańčan 'cheek, cheek-bone' | ? (cd., d.) AmTg *andasj 'cheek' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh andast ◊ Not here B *g^{ra}z̥z̥ 'cheek' (> Ah aǵaz̥, pl. iǵaz̥z̥an, Gh aǵaz̥, Gd aǵez̥z̥, pl. ǵez̥z̥en) because of the initial *g-. It guancia 'cheek' does not belong here either, because it goes back to a loan from a Gmc lge. (probably Gt *wango 'cheek', attested in a derived word: Gt waggarja dat. 'Kopfkissen') (see KM 837, ML #9499).

738. *rōnt 'heat; to heat' > K: GZ *ϕwent- v. 'melt (wax, fat)' (× K {K²} *ϕwent- 'stream down' > Sv ϕwēnt 'drop'?) > G ϕvent- (inf. daϕventeba) 'melt', Mg ϕvant- v. id. ¶¶ K DE2 175, K² 226, Fn. KW-1 #72, FS K 348, FS E 390 || IE *Xend- 'be hot; set fire to' > Ht hantais- n. 'heat', Pal (bf.) hā- 'be hot' || NaIE *^ond- (= *ond-?) > OIr and- v. 'kindle' (prtc. andithe 'accensus', vb. n. andud) ¶¶ Ped. H 48 (Ht, OIr), Pv. III 107, Ts. EI 154, Vn. A 75 (no satisfactory et. for OIr) || U: FP *onta 'heat, warmth' > Prm: Z öдзд (obl. зды-) 'embers in a stove; speed', {Rog.} öдд 'heat in a sauna', Vt öды зд+ 'strength' | Lp Pa {TI} ođ:·b_ 'Anlage; Eifer' | BF (with an irreg. *i-): Es Δ iñd (gen. iñna) 'rut, heat' (of animals) ('kiima'), F iñta 'desire, lust' ('halu, himo'), iñto 'eagerness, ardour, zeal' ¶ UEW 719 (suggests that the irreg. BF *i- is due to as.), TI 312, SK 108, LG 209 ◊ The absence of the expected labialization in IE (*x^we- > *o-) still requires explanation.

739. *rūrū 'to flow, to stream' > K: GZ ≈ *ϕwar-/*ϕwr- > G ϕvar-/ϕvr- 'pour (out)', ϕvar-i 'stream' ('Regen-\\Gieß-bach, Strom [von Schweiß, Blut, etc.]'), Mg {Q} ϕvarϕval- vi. 'flow, leek, boil', ϕvarϕval-i 'stream, strong current, boiling', ? Mg/Lz {Chik.} ϕvar- v. 'get soaked (промокать, мокнуть)' ¶ Chx. 1622, 1628-9, Q 350, Chik. 347 || IE *Xwr- '≈□ sprinkle' > Ht hurnaj-, hurniya- v. 'spray, sprinkle', Pal huwarninai 'sprinkles' || NaIE *w^{rn}-/*ūr-/*aur- v. 'rain, to drip, to trickle' (× N *w^{ra}qr̥ [or *w^{ra}rqr̥?] 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' [q.v.] and possibly N *war̥ 'stream of water' [q.v.]) > Gk βάλλω 'I sprinkle' (< *w^{rn}-y-ō), βάλλς (gen. βάλλςος) n. 'drop' || L ūrīna 'urine' (semantic infl. of Gk οὔρον 'urine' < NaIE *wors-/*wers- 'rain, dew' < N *^wVR̥3̥ - *^wVR̥3̥R̥ 'pour, flow', q.v.), ?σ ūrīnor / ūrīnāri v. 'dive' || ON úr 'light rain, moisture', ON úrigr 'dewy', AS ūriz 'moist', ON aur-r (?) 'moisture, wetness' || Pru wur̥ (< Blt *ūras) 'pond' (× NaIE wer-/*ūr- 'flowing water' < N *war̥ '↑') ¶¶ Pv. III 402-4, P 80-1, 1182, F II 639-40, WH II 840, Vr.

20, 635, Ho. 372, En. 278, ≈ EI 636 (IE **wel̥pHr* 'water') || **A** (?**uRU* 'flow'): M **urus-* 'flow, run, stream' > MM [MA, IsV] *urus-* id., WrM *urus-*, HIM *урса-х* id., 'float; dissolve', Ord {Ms.} *u'ru's-* 'couler', Mnr {SM} *urosз-* v. 'flow, leak', {T} *urose-* 'flow, stream', Dx {T} *urusu-* 'flow' ¶ Pp. MA 368, Lg. VMI 71, MED 886-7, SM 478-9, T 369, T DnJ 137, Pp. IM 203 || ?σ NTg **urU-* > Ewk *urigdə(n)* 'creek, back-water (заводь), slow stream (тихое течение)', Lm *urzn-* 'schmelzen, umschmelzen' (Blei, Erz) ¶ STM II 284, LW 1062 || ?σ pJ {S} **urù-p-* > OJ {S} *urùp-*, {Mr.} *uruφu*, J: T/Kg *uruó-*, K *úrúó-* {Kenk.} 'be moistened, be(come) wet/damp' ¶ S QJ #363, Mr. 780 (pJ **uru-pa-pa-*) || T: [1] Yk *üräk* 'river, brook' |[2] T **örs-* (> NaT **ör∇s-* ~ **öz-*) 'river', v. 'flow' > Yk *örüs*, *üös*, Tk Δ *öz*, Chv *var* 'river', Az Δ *üz-* v. 'flow, stream'; ↗ T **örsän* (> NaT **özän*) 'river, river bed' > Tk Δ, Qmq, Qzq *özen*, Kr *özen* ≙ *özän* ~ *ezen*, CrTt *ozeń*, 'river', Qrg *özön*, Uz *ўзан wzan* 'river bed', QbB, Nog *özen* 'valley' (← *'river bed'), Tv *özen*, Chv *vazan* 'ravine (ложбина, лог, лощина)', VTt *üzän*, Bsh *üðän* 'valley, depression (дол)' ¶ ETGI 510-2, UzR 579, TkR 499, Pek. 1968, 3168, AzDDL 399 ¶¶ Pp. VG 102 (M, Tg), DQA #1584 (A **oruso* 'river; to flow': M, T **örs-*); the J cognate was suggested by Starostin (p.c., 1975) || **D** **ūr-* v. 'spring, flow (as water in a well), ooze' > Tm *ūru* id., Ml *ūruka* v. 'spring as water, ooze', Kn *ūru*, Tl *ūru* id., 'leak out', Td *ur-* 'spring forth, ooze', Kdg *utt-*, Tu *ūrjunī*, *ūruni*, Gdb *ūr-ēr-* v. 'ooze', Klm *ur-* '(house) leaks', Nkr *ūr-* v. 'leak, drip', Gnd *ūsā* 'flow of water, flood', Knd *ūsa* 'spring', Kui *ur-pa / ur-t-* v. 'ooze, spring up', Ku *ūta* 'spring, fountain', Mlt *orbe* v. 'fall in showers' ¶¶ D #761 ◇ IS I 240-1 (K, D, A + qu. S). It is worth paying attention to Sq {Ls.} *ʿeyreh* 'lake' and Ug {OLS} *ɣur* 'depression, well' ('depresión, pozo, profundidad'), but they are more likely to belong together with Ar *ʿawr-* 'bottom, lowest part' < CS **ʿawir-* < CS **ʿār-* < N **gar¹* 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' (q.v.).

740. ₂ **Γ∇R∇* 'wild boar' > K: GZ **ʿor-* 'swine' > G *ʿor-*, Mg, Lz *ʿež-* id. ¶ K 205, K² 232, FS K 351-2, FS E 394-5 || **HS**: EC: Af {PH} *ḥéray* 'pigs' (snglt. *ḥeráytu* 'pig'), {R} *ḥərāy*, Sa {R} *ḥərā* coll. 'wild boars' (snglt. *-yṯā*) Or {Brl.} *eria* 'wild boar'; C ↗ Gz *ḥarāwya* 'swine' ¶ R S II 19, PH 128, L G 244, Brl. 138.

741. **ʿer?∇* 'eagle' or sim. > IE **ǵer-/ǵor-* 'eagle, big bird' > NaIE **er-/or-* > OIr *irar* ~ *ilar*, W *eryr*, MBr *erer*, Br/Crn (hpl.?) *er*

'eagle' || Gmc {P} *aran- > Gt ara, ON arí, qrn (< Gmc *arnuz) 'eagle', AS ear n, OHG aro id., NHG Aar 'big bird of prey'; MHG adel-ar (lit. 'noble eagle\bird of prey') 'eagle' > NHG Adler id. || BSl d.: Lt erēlis, Δ arēlis, Pru [El.] arelie (*ce.* for arelis), Ltv ērglis (< *ērdlis) 'eagle' | Sl *o'r̀b̀l̀b̀ (gen. *o'r̀b̀l̀a) 'eagle' > OCS oрbлѣ oрbлѣ, Blg o'pел, SCr o'rao (gen. o'rla), Slv o'rel (gen. o'rla), Cz orel, Slk orol, P orzeł, R o'pēл (gen. o'p'лa), Uk o'pел || Gk ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιθος), Gk D ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιχος) 'bird; cock, hen', Gk ὄρνειον 'bird' || Arm nրոր օբօբ 'sea-mew, sea-gull, cob', nլրուր uբuբ 'buzzard' || Ht haras, haran-, Pal haras(-) (gen. ḥaḥranas) 'eagle' ¶ P 325-6, E 173 (*h₃or- 'eagle'), F II 421-2, LP § 256, Fs. 54-5, Vr. 13, 688, Ho. 86, Kb. 44, EWA I 341-4, KM 1, Frn. 122, En. 143, Tp. P A-D 101-3, Glh. 455-6, Bedr. 570, 580, Pv. III 137-9, Ts. EI 170-1, Carr. P 8-9 || HS: S *sar₁a₁y- > Ak OB/MB/NB erû (~ arû) 'eagle', Ak LB arâniš 'like an eagle', OA {HJ} (?) ʿr 'bearded vulture', JA [Trg.] ʿr ʿar, em. ʿr ʿar 'y-ā {Js.} 'e bird of prey' (prob. 'bearded vulture, Gypaëtus barbatus'), {Lv.} 'e eine Adlerart, Aar' (but {Dlm.} ʿr ʿar, em. ʿr ʿar 'r-ā 'e bird of prey') ¶ CAD I/2 231 and IV 324-5, Sd. 247, HJ 884, Lv. TM I 239, Js. 1109, Dlm. 307 || C: Bj {R} 'ērʔe 'white-tailed sea-eagle' ¶ R WBd 28 || D (in McTm) *oeruvay > Tm eruvaj 'e kite', Ml eruva 'eagle, kite' ¶ D #818 ◇ D *-r- goes back to N *r-clusters, which suggests the presence of an additional cns. after N *r. In the light of Bj 'ērʔe and IE it is likely to have been N *ʔ. The IE evidence favours N *ʔ, because it is the only lr. lost (rather than yielding NaIE *ə) in interconsonantal position (*see* Gk ὄρνις).

742. ?σ *ʔERgE 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE *x₂r̥k̥to- ~ *x₂r̥k̥o- 'bear' ({EJ} *h₂r̥t̥k̥o-s) > Ht hart(ag)ga- (= {Pv., EJ} hartka) 'bear' || NaIE {WP, P} *r̥k̥p̥o-s id. > OI 'r̥k̥sa-, Av arša, Oss ars id. || Gk ἄρκτος id. || Arm արջ arž id. || L ursus id. || OIr art, W arth id. || pAl {O} *ar (> OAl XVII [Bgd.] ar) ⇨ pAl *arina > Al arí, pl. arinj id. || Lt irštvà 'bear's den' ¶ Pv. III 201-2, WP II 322, P 875, EI 55-6, FI 141-2, LP § 28, Vn. A 91, WH II 84, Slr. 131-2, O 8-9, ≈ Frn. 187 || A ({DQA} *j̥argi|o 'wild beast of prey'): pKo {S} *írhi 'wolf' > MKo írhi, NKo iri id. ¶ S QK #273, Nam 406, MLC 1327 || Tg *j̥arga 'leopard' > WrMc yarga ~ yarqa 'leopard (with black spots)', Jrc {Kiy.} yarha 'panther', Ud yaga ~ yağä 'leopard' ¶ STM I 337, Kiy. 105 [#148] ¶ ≈

DQA #627 (Tg, Ko) || HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rg}$ > Ar عرّاج $\text{ur}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{g}}$ - pl. 'hyenas', $\text{ur}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{?}$ -u 'hyena' (the vowels belong to derivational patterns) ¶ BK II 210 ◇ DQA l. c. (A, IE).

743. * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{o}^1\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\hat{\text{o}}$ 'bend, be bent\crooked' > K: OG, G $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ id., OG $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{k}}\text{i}l\text{-}$ 'crooked', Mg $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{o}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$, Lz $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{l}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{v}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{l}}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ v. 'bend', Sv $\text{v}\check{\text{w}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ v. 'wind' ¶¶ K 206, K² 229 (GZ * $\sqrt{\text{v}}(\text{w})\text{r}\text{e}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/*\sqrt{\text{v}}(\text{w})\text{r}\text{-i}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}/*\sqrt{\text{v}}(\text{w})\text{r}\text{-}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$; Sv $\text{v}\check{\text{w}}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{e}}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ "derives from a G source"), FS K 353-4, FS E 397, Chx. 1647, Chik. 270-1, Marr 201, IS I 240 || IE * $\text{herk}^{\omega}\text{-}$ \rightarrow * herku- ({EI} * $\text{h}_{\text{a}}\text{erk}\omega\text{-s}$) > NaIE * $\text{ark}^{\omega}\text{-}$ \rightarrow * $\text{ark}^{\omega}\text{-}$ 'a bow', v. 'be bent' (\times N * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{u}^1$ 'sinew' [q.v. ffd.]) > OL gen. $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{u-}\bar{\text{i}}$, L arcus , $\text{-}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}$ n. 'bow', Um $\text{ar}\check{\text{c}}\text{lataf}$ 'articulatas, circular cakes' || pGmc * $\text{ar}\check{\text{x}}^{\omega}\bar{\text{o}}$ (*'belonging to a bow' \rightarrow) 'arrow' (ffd. see N * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{u}^1$) ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Fs. 56, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, FI 142-3 || HS: CS * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{l}$ v. ' \approx twist\distort; stray from the right way' > JA [Trg.] ערְקַל $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{l}$ (pf. $\text{ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}\text{el}$) {Lv.} 'verkehren, krümmen, verdrehen' ($\text{gab}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}\text{el}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\text{ mill}\hat{\text{o}}\text{u}^1\hat{\text{i}}$ 'ein Mann, dessen Worte verkehrt sind', Trg. of Prov. 29.19), Sr عرّك $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{l}$ {PS} 'torsit, implexit, irretivit' ($\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}\text{el} \text{?}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}\hat{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'tortuosam reddit semitam'), Ar عرّقل $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{q}}\text{l}$ (pf. $\text{ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{q}}\text{ala}$) v. 'stray from the right course; distort' ({Fr.} 'deflexit a proposito; distorsit [sermonem]') (semantic infl. of * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{l}$ 'turn, twist' [Aram\Sr "Par'el conjugation"]) ¶ Lv. T II 247, PS 2964, Fr. III 145 || Eg: it is tempting to adduce Eg fOK $\text{ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}$ 'bend', but Cpt Sd/B $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{k} \bar{\text{o}}\text{l}\text{k}$ 'plier, courber, contracter' suggests an Eg word-medial * l rather than * r (Vc. reconstructs the pronunciation of Eg $\text{ar}\check{\text{r}}\check{\text{k}}$ as * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{l}\check{\text{k}}$), so that the Eg verb belongs here only if HS *- $\text{r}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ yields Eg *- $\text{l}\check{\text{k}}\text{-}$ ¶ EG I 211, Vc. 249 || A: Tg * $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{u}^1$ vt. 'bend', adj. 'crooked, slanting' (?) > WrMc $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{u}$, $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{ur}\text{i}$ {Z} 'crooked, slanting', {Hr.} '(zu)geneigt, schief', $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{u-}$ 'zur Seite neigen, schief sein', Lm uru- , Ork urru- \sim uru- vt. 'bend', Ewk $\text{urik}\bar{\text{z}}\text{n-}$, Neg $\text{uyix}\bar{\text{z}}\text{n-}$, Ul $\text{ur}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n-}$, Nn uriz- $\text{u}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{z}}$ - vi. 'bend' ¶ STM II 285, Hr. 969, Z 173 ¶ The absence of any reflex of N * $\check{\text{k}}$ (and Tg * $\check{\text{x}}$) in NrTg and AmTg is puzzling || D * $\bar{\text{o}}\text{r-}$ 'crooked' > Td $\text{w}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ry}$ ({Em.} $\text{w}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ry}$) 'steep hillside', Kn $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra}$, $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'state of being aslant, oblique, bending; declivity, crookedness', Kdg $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'slanting', Tu $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'crooked, bent', Tl $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra}$ 'oblique, sidelong, bent', Knd $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra ki-}$ v. 'bend slantingly' ¶¶ D #1062 ◇ The N vw. * $\bar{\text{o}}$ of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the

rec. *ʕw- is right). The final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *kʷ ~ *-ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (*ǵarḱu > IE, K) ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the rec. *ʕw- is right). The N final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *kʷ ~ *-ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (*ǵarḱu > IE, K).

744. $\text{₂}^* \text{ʕ} \nabla \text{R}_1 \nabla \text{P} \nabla$ 'cloud' > HS: S *ʕarap(-at)- (~ *ʕpṛr-) 'cloud' > Ak fOB erpetu ~ Ak YB urpatu, Ak \wedge erpu 'cloud', Ug ʕrpt, Mh {Jo.} ʔāfōr, Jb C ʕaʕor id., Hrs ʔāfōr 'cloud, dusty wind' (× WS *ʕaʕar- 'dust' > Hb ʕāpār-, Ar ʕafar- 'dust'); but we should keep apart (because of the pS cns. *ʕ-) the word *ʕaraʕill- 'dark cloud' > BHb עַרְפֵּל ʕārāʕel (pl. MHb עַרְפֵּלִים ʕarpilīm) id. (> NHb עַרְפֵּל (ʕ)araʕel 'fog'), Ug ʕrpl 'nube, nubarrón', Sr ʕarpeʕl-ā 'dark fog, mist, thick darkness' ¶ Sd. 243, 1432, CAD IV 302-4, OLS 90, 160, A ##2102, Jo. M 15, Jo. H 7, Jo. J 8, KB 840-1, Br. 549, JPS 429 || C: Bj B {Alm.} 'afrat, Bj {Rop.} afrad (pl. afrada), {R} 'afra 'cloud' ¶ Alm. BS III 2, R WBd 9, 358, Rop. 145 || K: MG [VTq.], G ʕrub-el-i 'cloud' ¶ Chx. 1652, DCh. 1567 ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CCS II 149 and Bm) NaIE *erbʰ-/orbʰ- 'dark' and S *ʕrb (~ *ʕrb??) 'evening, sunset', see N *ǵrṛbṛ (or *-p-) 'dark' ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #25c (does not distinguish between these two N etyma).

745. ($\text{₂}^?$) $\text{₂}^* \text{ʕ} \nabla \text{R}_1 \nabla \text{ḡ} \nabla$ 'to gnaw' > HS: CS *ʕrḱ v. 'gnaw' > BHb ʕrḱ (G sprtc. pl. m. עַרְקִים ʕōrḱīm) 'gnaw away', Sr ʕrḱ G 'gnaw, crunch', Ar ʕrḱ G 'strip (a bone) of the flesh' ¶ KB 841, KBR 808-9, Br. 550, JPS 429, Hv. 466 || K: GZ *ʕery-, *ʕry-wḡ-, {FS} ʕry- v. 'gnaw' > G ʕryṇ-, Mg ʕiryṇ-, Lz ʕiryṇ-; G ʕery- ¶ K 207, K² 235, ≠ 223 (*ʕery- not distinguished from *ʕery- 'grind'), FS K 356 || ?φ possibly IE (with several assimilative transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) *ǵʷruk̑k- ~ *ǵʷru(:)ǵʰ-/ǵʷrouǵʰ ~ *ǵʷru(:)ǵ-/ǵʷrouǵ- v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N *kiRûh,ǵæ 'to gnaw') > Gk βρύκω 'I bite, eat greedily', βρύχω 'I gnash my teeth; I bite' || BSl (< *ǵʷrouǵʰ-/ǵru(:)ǵʰ-) > Lt gráužti (1s pres. gráužiū), Ltv graūzt 'to gnaw' || pSl *grīz-ti / pres. *grīz-ŋ v. 'gnaw' > OCS ГРЪЗЪ grīzŋ / ГРЪСТН grīsti v. 'bite, gnaw', Blg Гри'за 'gnaw', SCr grīsti, Slv grīsti, Cz hrůzti, P gryźć, OR, RChS ГРЪЗТН grīzti, R Грызть 'to gnaw' || Arm Կրծես kərceṃ (< *kurceṃ < NaIE *ǵʷruǵ-) v. 'gnaw, nibble' ¶ P 485-6, F I 272-4, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, Glh. 237.

746. (₂?) **o** *Γ∇RΓ∇H₂T∇ (= *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇?) 'ε waterbird' > **K** *ȳarȳād- 'goose' > OG ȳerȳed- ~ ȳerȳeȳ- id., Mg ȳorȳonǰ-, Lz ȳorȳoǰ-, Sv: UB ȳarȳād, LB ȳarȳad, L ȳarȳānd id. ¶¶ K 201, K² 221, Chik. 103, TK 792-3 || **IE** *Her₁H₁e|oHd- 'ε waterbird' ({EI} ? *h₁orHdeh_h- ~ *h₁r(o)Hdeh_h- id., 'heron [?]) > NaIE *ǵarōd-/ǵarad- > Gk ἑρῳδιός, ῥῳδιός, ἄρῳδιός 'heron' || L ardea id. || ON arta, OSw ärtā 'teal (Kriekente, Anas crecca)', AS earte, ON d. ertla 'wagtail (Motacilla)' || SCr rōda 'stork' ¶ WP I 146-7, P 68, EI 268, FI 572-3, WH I 64, Mn. 31, FI 572-3, Vr. 15, 105, Ho. 86 || ?ϕ **HS**: S: **o** Ar ȳarȳarat- 'female partridge' ¶ BK II 457 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #67 (K, IE). If Ar ȳarȳarat- belongs here (rather than is an independent **o**), the N rec. must be *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇.

747. *ȳ'ü'š∇ 'live' > **IE** *xwes-/*xeus- 'live, dwell, stay' ({Pv.} *A₁éws-/*A₁wés-) 'live', {EI} *h₂wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay') > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be\stay alive', ᵚLd {Gsm.} veśfa- 'living (?)' || NaIE *wes- 'be, live, dwell' > OI 'wasati 'dwells, lives, stays', Av vanha'ti 'verweilt' || Gt wisan 'to be, to remain', ON vesa, vera, NNr vera, Sw vara, Dn være, AS wesan (whence NE p. was, pl. were), OSx, OHG wesan 'to be', NHG p. war 'was', prtc. gewesen 'been', Wesen n. 'being, essence' || Mir fó(a)id 'passes the night, stays', {SB} foss 'Bleiben, Ruhe', MW, W gwesti 'lodging', W gwest 'lodging, rest' || Arm qnj gōy 'is, there is', qnū gōn '(they) are', wqwnhuf aganim 'spend the night' || Tc B wäs- v. {Pv.} 'rest, reside', {Ad.} 'dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)' || ? Gk λάω (νύκτας) (< {Pv.} *A₁i-A₁ew-s-) / aor. ἄεσα (νύκτα) (< {Pv.} *A₀wes-s-ṃ) 'pass the night, sleep' (⇔ F I 706, Ch. 454) ¶¶ Pv. III 332-41, Ts. EI 265-6, P 1170-1, EI 171, 281, M K III 171-2, SB 277-8, YGM-1 265, Fs. 567-8, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Kb. 1183, Schz. 320-1, KM 854, Gd. 41, KT 210, Wn. 564-5, Ad. 597-8 || **HS**: WS *-ṽīš- 'live' > Ar ✓ ṽyš G (ip. -ṽīšū) 'live' ({Fr.} 'vitam duxit'), عيش ṽayš- 'life', Mh ✓ ṽyš (3m pf. ṽāyōš, sbjn. ṽāyēš), Jb ✓ ṽyš (pf. ṽēš, sbjn. ṽṽš) 'live, survive' ¶ Fr. III 249-50, Jo. M 38, Jo. J 20 || **D** *uč-, {GS} *us- v. 'live' > Tm uy- 'live, subsist', Ml uyir ~ uśir, Kn usir, usur, usiru, Tu usuru, usulu, Tl usuru, usuru, Knd usur 'life, breath', Kt učr, Td ü'r, usir 'life', Kdg usir† 'breath', Krx uššš- 'have life, reside, become animated', Mlt ušš v. 'live', n. 'life' ¶¶ D #645, Zv. 56, 75, 112, GS 124-5 [#320], 53 [#133].

748. (₂?) ***ʿ**ʿ¹**i**š¹**∇**b¹**∇** 'to grow; vegetation' > **HS** ***√**ʿšb 'grass; to grow' > S ***√**ʿšb v. 'grow luxuriantly' (grass) > Ak inf. *G ešēbu* id.; S ***ʿ**iš¹u¹b- 'grass' > Hb **בְּשֵׁב** 'ešēβ, pl. **בְּשֵׁבוֹת** ʿišbōt 'herbage, weed', BA **אֲשֵׁבָא** ʿis'bā, JA {Js.} **בְּשֵׁבָא** ʿis'bā 'herbage, grass', JEA {Sl.} **אֲשֵׁבָא** ~ **עֲשֵׁבָא** ʿis'bā 'herb', Plm ʿšb¹ pl. 'herb', Sr **عشبة** ʿa'sεb / **عشبة** ʿεs'bā 'green herb, grass', SmA **עֲשֵׁב** ʿεs'b 'grass', Ak *išbabtu* 'ε grass\weed', Ar **أشبه** ʿušb- 'green grass'; Cn **→** Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ʿa-ś-bu 'grass (?)' ¶ KB 842, KBR 889, HJ 890, Js. 1097, Sl. 860, Tal 648, JPS 420, BK II 260, Sd. 253, 392, CAD VII 233, Hlk. #39, SivCR 78 || B ≈ *a-kš¹u¹β > Gd a-ššəβ 'herbe bonne pour le bétail', Ty, ETwl a-ḵᵛsa, pl. i-ḵᵛsatən, Ah a-kasa, pl. i-kasātən 'herbe fraîche et abondante' ¶ Lf. II #0167, GhA 101, Fc. 909 || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} ʿsbá 'grass' ¶ ≈ JS 123, ChC || ?σ EC: pSam {Hn., Bl.} *ʿusub 'new' > Sml ʿusúb 'new, fresh', Rn ḥusúb 'new' ¶ ZMO 73, PG 144, Hn. S 78, Bl. 243 || **¶** **A**: Tg *iseb- v. 'grow, vegetate' (× N ***w**iš¹?**∇** 'to grow'??) > Lm isu- v. 'grow, vegetate', Neg is3w- id., Ewk is3w- v. 'grow', Ud {Krm.} yūu-, {Shn.} y3Hu- v. 'grow' ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 242 || ?φ **K**: G Kx ᵛ0ᵛ0š-i 'junges Gras; Trieb des Keimes' ¶ Chx. 1646.

749. (₂?) ***Γ**¹**o**¹**w**¹**∇** 'wild sheep\goats', (→ or ←) 'wild game' > **HS**: Eg fOK ʿw.t 'small cattle (goats and sheep)', 'wild game', 'quadrupeds' ¶ EG I 170-1, Fk. 39 || ?? Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} ***∇** 'goat' > Su {J, Hf.} ᵛ3, Ang ʿᵛ {Hf.}, Ywm ʿ3, {J} Gmy ʿᵛ {Hf.} | Ron: Fy {J} ʿó id. | ? Wrj {Sk.} áwáy id. || CCh: BB: Nz {Mch.} hᵛwε, d Bt G {Srp.} hū́é id. | Mdr: Nkc oʿw¹a {Blg.}, Glv ʿágwà {Kr.}, ágwà {Rp.}, Dgh ʿwè {Frk.}, ʿwè {Kr.} id., pMM {Ro.} *aw(-ak) id. > Gzg ʿáw, Mada, Myn, Mkt, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk; McMs: Zm {Srp.} hu, ZmB {Sx. in ChC} úh¹wú id. || ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} ā-tú (pl. áw-tí) 'wild mountain goat', EDng {Fd.} áw-kò id. ¶ JI II 166-7, ChC, J R 88, J S 67, ChL, Hf. AG 25, #226, Stl. VZCh A #8, RpB 4, Lk. G117, Ro. 260 [#311] || **IE** ***h**₁**w**₁**o**wi- (EI) ***h**₂**o**wi-s, gen. ***h**₂**e**wy-os) 'sheep' > Ht {Ts.} UDU-iš [*haw-is], Lw xawi-, HrLw {Mer.} ha-wa-s, Lc xawã id. || NaIE ***h**₁**o**wi-(s) 'sheep' > OI 'avi- id. | Wx yobc (< Irn *āvi-čī-) 'ewe' || Gk ὄvis, Gk A οἴς, Gk Arg ὄvis 'sheep' || Lovi-s id., Um OUI, accus. pl. uvεf 'oves', uvεm accus. 'ovem' || OIr ói 'sheep' || ON ær 'ewe', OHG ou, (?) ouwi 'ewe', OSx éwi, AS éowu, éowe 'ewe lamb', NE ewe, d.: Gt awistr 'sheep-cote, sheep-pen', awepi 'flock of sheep' || Lt avīs, Ltv avs 'sheep'; Lt āvinas,

Ltv àuns, Pru [El.] awins 'ram' || Sl *ovb-'ca (accus. *ovb-'cǫ) (← dim.) 'sheep' > OCS **ОВЬЦА** овьца, SCr, Slv óvca, Cz ovce, Slk ovca, Rowca, Blg, R ов'ца, Uk вівця 'sheep'; Sl *ovb'ňb 'ram' > ChS, OR **ОВЬНЬ** овьнь, SCr óvan ~ óvan, Slv óven, Blg о'вен, Cz oven || Arm **հովիտ** hoviw (< *_howi-pā-) 'shepherd'; in addition, Mn. and Grgv. adduce OArm **աւղիք** aw-di-k^h 'sheep' (pl.) (di 'flesh, body', -k^h marker of pl.) || Tc B **eyē** ({Ad.}: < *_howēj̥s) 'sheep', pl. awi 'ewes' ¶¶ WP I 167, P 784, EI 510, Mn. 897, M K I 59, M E I 135, F II 367-8, WH II 329, Bc. G 340, Vn. O 14, Mn. AIE 56, 179, Me. EAC 31, Grgv. BEO 128 (believes that OArm awdi 'sheep' goes back to a Phr loan from DM), Slt. 174 (denies the existence of Arm reflexes of this IE √ rather than hoviw, but does not mention awdi), Vr. 681, Fs. 70-1, Schz. 230, Kb. 751, 754, OsS 134, Ho. 93, Ho. S 17, Frn. 28, En. 149, Tr. APS 679, Tp. P A-D 178-80, Vs. II 113, 116, Glh. 461-2, Ad. 92, Ts. E I 230, Mer. HHG 58-9 || ?σ,φ **Α** *āb∇ 'wild game, hunt; to hunt' (× N ***χ**awi₁?∇₁ 'drive, chase, pursue', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 265 [#252] (IE, Eg) ◇ ≈ AD NM #42, S CNM 10 (compares A *āba with IE *awā v. 'wound, hurt' [which I reconstruct as *wā-/wā-] and equates it with Eg **ω**ħ̥̥ 'hew [stones]; pluck; cut [crops]'); ÷÷ ST, Yn), ≠ Vv. AEN 17 (rejects the A cognate because of unj. doubts about the metonymy 'wild game' → 'hunt' in A).

750. *Γου∇ 'carry, bring' > K {K} *ϕw- 'have, carry', {K²} *ϕ(w)- 'take, take away', {GM, FS} *ϕ- v. 'carry' > OG ϕw-, G ϕ(v)-, Mg ϕ- / ϕv- 'take, carry, have (sth.)' (msd. ϕvena 'have'), Lz ϕ-, Sv ϕ-/ϕw- 'have (sth. inanimate); take off (some article of clothing)' (msd. liϕwēne 'to have', liϕe 'to take off') ¶¶ K 203 (*ϕw-), K² 224, Chik. 343-4, Q 347-9, Schm. 138; FS K 341 and FS E 382-3 (in both *ϕ-), GP 175 || **HS**: B *✓Hw¹ > Ah awi 'carry, bring', Gh {Nh.}, Snd {Prv.} awi d 'bring' (3s aor. iwīd; d 'her-'), Izn, Rf, SrSn, Sll awi 'carry (away)', awi d 'bring', SrSn T uwī id., Zng 3m aor. yuwa-ddāh 'brings' ¶ Fc. 64, Nh. 123, Prv. 99, Rn. 283, Ds. 18, 226, TC FL 2 || ??φ C {AD} *✓ħyw 'give' > Bj {Rop.} -hi(w)- 'give' (pret.: 1s a'hε, 2m 'thīa, 3m yi'he[~] 2p 'thīna, 3p yi'hīn, inv. m. 'hīa, neg. inv. m. 'bahīwa, n. act. mīaṁ), Bj A {AD} -hiy-/ -he || Ag *?ɜw- 'give' > Bln {Bnd.} ɜw-, {R} uw-, Xm {R} (i)ew- ~ uw-, Xmt {CR} iɣw-, Q {R} yuw-, Aw {Hz.} ɜy- || EC {AD} *-hiw-/*-ħuw-/*-ħuy- 'give' > Sa {Wlm.} -u-ħoy-/ -o-ħoy-/ -a-ħay-, pf. -o-ħoe, inv. uħu, Af {Ss.} -eħe-, {PH} 1s pf. eħē (inv. aħuw /

aḥuy / uḥuy), HEC {Ss.} *uʷ(ʷ)-, {Hd.} *uʷʷ- > Sd {C} uʷ-, (ʷ)oy-, {Mrn.} o- ~ u-, Hd/Ged {Hd.} uʷʷ-, Brj {Ss.} uʷʷ- id. ¶ Blz. CL 179, AD SF 151-2, Rop. 79, Ss. EDB 185-6, 230 (EC *-huʷ-), PH 95, Hd. 70, 224, 264, 302 || **D** {tr., GS} *oy- 'carry, drag' > Tm oy- v. 'drag along' (as a flood), 'launch (as a boat), 'send forth, give', Td üy- v. 'chase', Kn oy, uy v. 'carry off, carry, convey', Tu oyipuni v. 'draw, pull, drag', Knd o- 'carry, take away', Prj uy-, Gnd oy-/ō- id., 'take', Png ō-, Mnd ū- 'take', Kui opa / ot- 'lead away, take away (persons)', Ku oḷyali-, ō- 'take away, remove', Krx hoʔo 'take, receive, transport', Mlt oye- 'take away' ¶¶ D #984, GS 72 [#233].

751. **l** ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis) (\leftrightarrow N ***h^re¹** 'hic' [proximal deixis] \leftrightarrow N **l** ***h^ri** 'iste' [or 'hic] \sim N **l** ***h^ru** 'iste' [intermediate deixis?]) > **HS**: WS ***hā-** > Ar **hāḏa** 'this', (\times N ***Hañ∇** 'other'?) > ***han** (\sim ***h^ra¹**?) 'this' > df. art.: BHb **ha-** + gmc., Ph, M^b, Amn, Ed, Lh, Sf, Tmd **h-**, Hdr **-h^rn**, Sb, Mn, Qt **-n**, ?? Ar **ʔa¹-** ¶ KB 225-6, HJ 263-4, GBr. JJAP 49-50, GBr. DJA 177-8, Bst. 31, \neq BLH § 262 (Hb **ha-** < ***hā**) || C: Ag: Aw **á-n** 'that' (\leftrightarrow **á-n** 'this') || Af {PH} **a** 'this\these' (proximal dem. prn.) ¶ Hz. NSA 134, PH 27, 235 || NrOm: [1] (an inversion of the relation?): Wl {LmS} **ha** 'this' ({C} **a**) (\leftrightarrow **he** 'that'), Zs {C} **ā** 'this' (\leftrightarrow **ē** 'that'), Gf {Bnd.} **ha** 'this', Bsk {Bnd.} **hā** 'this' m., [2] Ym {Lm.} **a** 'der\die da' ¶ LmS 81-4, Bnd. MO 16-7, C SO 15, C SE III 190, Lm. Y 85-7 || Berber ***-ā**, a dem. pronominal sx. ({Pr.}: an anaphoric dem. suffix [\approx 'the', 'ce'] of the 'état libre' = {Pr. **PE**} 'nominative [absolute] case'), Tmz, Kb **a** ({Dl., MT}: dem. sx. of proximal deixis) ¶ Pr. M I-III 191, Pr. **PE** \forall , Dl. 1, MT 1-2 ¶¶ But the collective prn. B ***ā** > Tw **a** is more likely to go back to the N pc. of plurality ***ʔa** (q.v.) || **K** ***h_ra** 'this' > G **a-ka** 'here', **a-se** 'so', Lz **ha** \sim **a**, Mg **ašo-** 'here' (direction), **aš^ri-** 'so', Mg, Lz **a-k** 'here', Sv **aš** 'so' ¶¶ K 41, 44, 46, K² 1, 4, Schm. 92, Shan. G 51-2 || **IE**: ***ʔ^ro/e-no-**, {Pv.} (?) ***o-n-yo-**, ?? {El} ***h_{ra}en-** 'that' (\times N ***hEñ∇** 'iste' \times N ***Hañ∇** 'other'; the element ***-no-** or ***-n-** may be alternatively explained as going back to the N genitive pc. ***nu**) > Ht **an(n)i-** 'ille' (remote deixis), **annaz**, **annisan** 'formerly, once upon a time', **anna(l)i-**, **anna(l)a-** 'former, earlier, old', Pal **anni** (dem. prn.) || OI **a'n-ēna**, **a'n-ayā** instr., OPrs **anā** instr. '(with) this', Av **ana-** 'this' || Lt **añs**, Δ **anàs** 'that' || pSl ***on-** 'that' (m. ***onъ** / f. ***ona** / ntr. ***ono** / pl. m. ***oni** / pl. f. ***oně**) > OCS **онъ** **онъ** 'that, he' / **она** **она** 'that, she' / **ono** **ono** 'that, it' / **онн** **они** 'those, them' (m.) / **онѣ** **онѣ** 'those, them' (f.); later 'he, she, it, them': m.: R m. **он**, Uk **вн**, SCr **ōn** (\sim **ōn**), Slv **òn**, Cz, Slk, P **он** 'he', f.: R m. **она**, Uk **вона**, SCr. **òна**, Slv **ónа**, Cz, Slk, P **она** 'she', ntr.: R **оно**, Uk **воно**, SCr. **òно**, Slv **onô**, Cz, Slk, P **оно** 'it', but still with remote deixis: R **во время оно** 'long ago, jadis' (lit. 'in illo tempore'), Blg **он-зи** (f. **онази**, ntr. **онова**) 'that'; prnl.: OCS, OR **онѣн** **онѣн**, SCr **ònāj**, Blg **оня** 'ille' || Clt: OIr **an-d** 'here' || ? Gk D **τῆνος** 'ille' (< ***τέ-ενος** or ***τή-ενος**, cd. with the dem. prn. ***te/o-**) || OHG U **enēr** prn. 'that', ON **enn** \sim **ʔφinn** id. || Arm **unjū** **so-yūn** 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< ***kō-eno-**) ¶¶ Pv. I 51-5,

Carr. P 50, M K I 32, 56, Schz. 123, Kb. 522, Vr. 286, KM 332, Frn. 10, ESISJ-SGZ II 529-34, 565-6, Chr. II 5, Glh. 454, 461, Vs. III 116-7, 140-1, Srz. II 673-4, ≈ Bks. 202 (BSI **on-* < **h₂en* 'there'), FI 476, 515, II 894, EI 458 ¶¶ It is possible that IE **ʔe-* 'this\that' (> Ht *a-* 'this, that', -*a-* 'he, she, it', OI, Av *a-* 'he' in the obl. cases: gen. m. sg. OI *a-sya*, Av *ahe*, dat. m. sg. OI *asmāi*, Av *ah-māi*, etc., *F* Pv. I-II 3-7, P 281-3) goes back to a merger: N **ha* 'that, ille' × N **h'e'* 'this' (hence the distance-deictically undifferentiated meaning 'he, she, it') || U **a*, **an* 'that' > FU **a* id. > Hg *a-z* 'that', pChr **ā-* > Chr H *a-ń-ǔš*, Chr L *o-ń-ǔš* 'dorthin', ? Prm: Z Ud *ata* 'here' (?) || pY {IN} **an-* pc. of distal deixis > Y: K/T *aduŋ*, K *aduben* id. ({IN} < **an-tuŋ*, *an-tuben*) ¶¶ Coll. 73, IN 218-9, ≠: UEW 332 and MF 102-4 (Hg and Z < U **o* ~ **u*) || D **ā* ~ **a* 'that, yonder' (dem. base for remoter persons or things) > Tm *a-*, *aʋʋ-*, Ml *a*, *ā* id., Kt, Td *a-* 'that (distant from the speaker)', Kn *a-* (remote dem. base), Kdg *a'-* 'that' (adjective prn.), *a-* 'that' (m. *aʋaŋ*, f. *aʋa*, inanim. *adI*), Tu *ā-*, *a-* 'that', Tl *ā-*, Klm *a*, Nkr, Prj *ā* 'that', Knd *aya* 'that' (adjectival pronoun), Kui, Krx *a-* 'that over there', *ā* id. (in adjectival function), Mlt *ā* (= *ā* ?) id. ¶¶ D #1 || A {SDM95} **a* 'that' (deictic √) > T **°a* (> SY *a* 'that'), T **a-n-* (obl. cases of the prn. **oI* 'that') > OT *an-* (gen. *an-Iŋ*), Tk *an-*, Az, Tkm, Qrg *an-* 'that', Chv gen. *уҺӕҺ un-ɔn ɔ* *on-ɔn*, etc. ¶ Rs. W 19, Cl. 165, ET Gl 444-6, ≈ 147-9 || pJ **á-* 'that' (distal) > OJ *a-* id., J: T *àre*, K *áre* 'that, he\it', T *à-no*, Sh *á-nù*, Ns *á-ŋ*, Kg *ái* 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [#76], S QJ #76, Mr. 376 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **a* 'that'), ⇔ DQA # 406 (qu. pJ **á* < A **é*, see N **h'e'* 'this') ◇ Cp. IS I 258-9. I do not share IS's opinion that S **ha*(:)- 'this' has a secondary **h-* for the original **ʔ-*: Aram *-ā* 𐤀, 'the' (adduced by IS as an argument) provides no information as to the identity of the original initial *lr*. The S and Om cognates point to the HS and N initial **h-*. The apparently deviant loss of the expected IE strong *lr*. (regularly from N **h*) is due to the grammatical use of the particle (its history may be described as N **ha* [× N **h'e'*] > pre-IE **ʔ* > pIE **ʔ₁e*). Cp. Gr. I 87-91 ("demonstrative A ~ E" [in IE, U, A, Ainu, Gil]).

751a. ₂ **h'a*, particle of collectiveness > HS: B: pB {Pr.} **ā* (or **ha*) > Tw *a*, indefinite collective prn. ('pronom d'appui collectif') ⇔ Tw *i*, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7, Vc. UB 321 (Tw indefinite and relative prn. *a*) || S (× N **ʔa*, pc. of plurality?): nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix **ʔa-*: Ar *أرجل* *ʔa-rǧul-un* 'feet' (←*d-*

riġl-un 'foot'), ʔa-yūām-un 'days' (← ʔawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки'), ʔamṭār-un 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ʔbʕl 'owners' (← bʕl 'owner'), ʔhgr 'towns' (← hgr 'town'), Gz ʔa-znāb 'tails' (← zanab 'tail'), ʔadbār 'mountains' (← dabr 'mountain'), ʔaṣṭrār 'enemies' (← ṣarr 'enemy'), ʔabyāt 'houses' (← bēt 'house'), ʔaḥḳūl 'fields' (← ḥaḳl 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg. | S *-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-ā, nom.*-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen.*-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. *-ā > Ak -ā (marṣ-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": *mawit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar māṭ-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar bānātun nom. bānātin accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōṭ 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* || IE *-h₂ / (with thematic nomina) *-e/o-h (*e/o- belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE *-ə / -ā > OI -ā / -ī, Gt -a, pSl *-a, Gk -α, L -ā, e.g.: with *-e/o-stems: *yugā 'yokes' (↔ sg. *yugō-m) > Vd yu'gā, Gk ζυγά, L iuga, Gt juka; with consonantic stems: *bʰer-ont-ə acp. pl. ntr. 'carrying' (> OI 'bharant-i, Gk φέρωντ-α), *nōmen-ə 'names' > Av nāmən-i, cp. Gk ὀνόματ-α 'names' || AnIE: Ht -a (genuwa 'knees' ↔ sg. genu; aniyatt-a 'Leistungen' ↔ sg. aniyaz; salla 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. salli) and a zero ending with lengthening of the preceding vw. in the stem (compensatory lengthening?) (uddār 'words, things' ↔ sg. uttar); acc. to Rsk., in Lw, Lc, and Ld the ending of ntr. pl. is also -a || IE *-he within the pIE "primary" ending of 2p *-the ({Bks.} th,e): OI -the, pSl *-te (> OCS -тє -te), Lt -te, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -þ, OIr -the (e.g. beirthē 'fertis'), Ht -teni ¶¶ Brg. KVG 393-4, Schmidt PN ∇, Szem. IEL 160, 186, Rsk. 54-63, Kron. VLFL 107, Bks. 232-5 ◇ The pN etymon is tentatively reconstructed with *h-, because it is the only lr. that may turn into *ʔ- and zero in S and be vocalized as *ə in NaIE. The AnIE representation of *h- as zero is probably conditioned by the

grammatical functioning of the morpheme (unlike autosemantic words\roots where N *h- usually yields Ht h-).

Cp. on one hand N *ha 'ille', N *h'i 'iste' (or 'hic'), N *hEñ∇ 'iste', N *hæ₁?₁w¹U¹ 'to fall, to sink' (partially grammaticalized in Ht), where N *h yields Ht zero, and on the other hand N *ha1∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice', N *hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce', N *hû?En|η∇ 'wave', N *huP₁U 'bad', N *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die', and N *haR₁Q₁a 'hold\grasp', where N *h is represented by Ht h. The particle *h'a may be etymologically connected with N *?a'h'a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (q.v. ffd.).

752. ?₂ *h'æ ~ *o'h'U, dual marker (for nomina animata) > IE *-H(e) ~ *-Hy, dual ending (nom., animate gender) > [1] (with consonantic stems) *-H(e) > Av -a, Gk -ε, OIr -∅, [2] (with *-o-stems) *-o-H ~ *-o-Hy > OI -ā ~ -āu, Av -a ~ -ā, Gk -ω, L -ō (ambō 'both'), Lt -ū, OCS -а -a, [3] (with *-u-stems): *-u-H > OI -ū, Av -u, OIr {Bks.} *-ū, Lt -ū, OCS -ѣ -i, [4] *dwo-H^ω ~ *dwo-Hy 'two' nom. > OI dvā ~ dvāu, Gk δύο, L duo, OIr dá ~ dau (or dáu), Gt ntr. twa, AS ntr. tū ~ twā, OHG ntr. zwā ~ zwō, Lt dū, OCS ДѢВА двѣа, [5] NaIE *wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N *w∇y∇ 'h'æ [with *w∇y∇ 'we']) > OCS vě, Lt vė(-du), Av G vā, OI Vd vām (= vā-am), AS wit (-t goes back to the IE numeral *dwo-H^ω 'two') ¶ Bks. 194-5, 214, Brg. KVG 364, 387-8, 399 (Übersichtstabelle), Hirt UG II 108-9, Me. VIEJ 306-7, 342 || HS: S *-ā, marker of the dual number (nom. and pred.) of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, *-ā-ni (marker of nom. dual df. [with the determiner *-ni < N *nE, dem. dual prn., q.v.]), *-ā, marker of du. in verbal forms > Ar -ā / -āni in nouns (nom.), -ā in pronouns and verbal forms (2nd and 3rd persons), Gz -ā in 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 ʾāšr-ā 'twenty', Ak nom. du. -ā-n (with the ancient determiner *-ni > -n), Ak OB/OA nom. -a(:) in šena 'two', ešr-ā 'twenty' ¶ Br. G I 455-9 [§ 244], Sd. G §§ 61c, 63h ◇ This marker of dual (< prn.) is used for nomina animata or for the active case, while there is a different N marker of dual *yi (q.v.) for the nomina inanimata or for the non-active cases (> S *-ay [du. ending for oblique cases], IE *-o-i / *-i(:) [du. for nomina inanimata], T palatalization [**y in **r+y > *r'] for paired nouns). Cf. also the N dem. dual prn. *nE ◇ The variation of vowels (N *h'æ ~ *o'h'U) still needs explaining. Qu. because of the problem of vowels.

753. **ι *h^re¹** 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > **K** *_lh_je > G K/R/Lch/I/A e 'hic, iste', G Ing he 'this', OG e-se, G e-s(e) 'hic', OG e-ge, G e-g(e) 'iste', Mg e 'this', e-na 'this one, he', Lz he 'that', he-m id., he-a- 'that one, he'; *e-g-, dem. pronominal stem: OG ege, G eg- 'this', Sv ežī, ežā, Sv U ažā id.; K *e-š- > G ese 'so', Mg ešī, Lz eše 'so, there', Sv eš 'so' ¶¶ K 77-8, K² 45, 47, Mrtr. N 146, Ghl. 216, Chx. 333, 351, Q 192 s.v. אֶתְּךָ , אֶתְּךָ , Marr 25-6, TK 244, Shan. G 51-2; acc. to IS I 271, K *e- did not change into a- in Mg and Lz due to the deictic nature of the stem || **HS** *^rh¹E > NrOm: Wl {LmS} he 'that, those' (prn. of distal deixis) ¶ LmS 81-3 ¶ Inversion of the opposition *hic* ↔ *ille* (see s.v. N ***ha** 'ille') || C: Ag: Aw á-n 'this' ¶ Hz. NSA 134 || **IE** *^re- > NaIE *e- (gen. *e-sy₀) *'he, this' may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI asya, Av ahe 'of this', the dat. OI asmāi, Av ahmāi 'to this', OLat em 'him', L ecce (<*e-d-ke), Osc ekkum (<*ed-ke-um) 'item', Sl *e sb, *e se 'ecce' (> OCS ѣсе je-se, OR оце ose, Uk оць id., Blg Δ ece 'this, ceci [БОТ ЭТОТ]', Slv esej / esa / eso 'this'), Sl *e tь (f. *e ta, ntr. *e t₀) 'voici, this' (> Blg ето , SCr ѣто 'voici', Sln ete / eta / eto 'this', but hardly R этот / эта / это 'this' [a new interjection э + prn. ТОТ / ТА / ТО 'that']), as well as IE *^re¹-tos 'from here' > OI a-'taḥ 'von hier'] NaIE *^oe-m- (× N ***ha** 'ille') > Brtt {RE} *em- 'he' > OW em, MW e, ef, W ef, fe, Crn ef, OBr em, MBr eff, Br heñ ¶¶ WP I 43, 99, P 282-4, M KI 13, 27, WH I 390, 399-400, Bc. G 315, RE 102, ≈ ESSJ VI 8 || **U** *e- 'this' > FU: Er e- \acute{t} e (pl. e- \acute{h} e) 'this', e- \acute{s} e (pl. e- \acute{s} - \acute{h} e) 'that', Mk e-sa 'da, dort', pPrm * \acute{e} -: * \acute{e} - \acute{z} 'БОТ ТАК, in this way' > Vt o \acute{z} , Yz $\acute{í}$ ži id., pPrm * \acute{e} -ti \acute{s} 'from there' > Vt oti \acute{s} id., Hg e-z, e 'this' (↔ a-z 'that') || Sm: ? En {Prk.} eke, {Ter.} ekkε 'this', eo 'hierher' || pY {IN} *e(-n)- 'this, hic' > YK e \acute{d} i η id. ¶¶ UEW 67, LG 332, Lt. 134, ≈ MF 167-9, KP 73-4, IN 219 || **A** {SDM97} *e 'this' > M *e-g \ddot{u} n- 'this' (stem of obl. cases) correlating with *ene nom. and *ene-n- for obl. cases (< N ***hE η ∇** 'iste' [q.v.]); pl. M *e-de 'these' (> MM/WrM ede, etc.) ¶ ffd. see Pp. IM 226-8, IS I 272 || Tg *e-, proximal deictic stem (e.g. *e-du/e 'in this, here', where*-du/e is a locative sx.) > Ewk 3-r 'this', $\text{3-d}\bar{u}$, $\text{3-l}\bar{i}$ 'here', Sln 3(j)j3 , 3r(i) 'this', $\text{3}\acute{í}$ 3 'here', Lm 3r 'voici', 3du 'here', Neg $\text{3-d}\bar{u}$ 'here', 3y 'this', Orc 3du 'here', $\text{3}\bar{í}$ li 'through this place', 3i 'this', Ud 3ji , Ul, Nn 3j , Ork 3j3 , 3r(i) 'this', WrMc ere, Mc Sb 3r3 , 3ji 'this', WrMc e-de, Mc Sb 3-d3 'in this, here', Jrc {Md.} e(r)se 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2, Ci. 267, Md. ChF

133, Krm. 313 ¶¶ DQA #406 (A *é 'that' [deictic root]; incl. M, Tg, J), S AJ 111-2, 277 [#141] ◇ The particles of pronominal deixis *ha 'ille', *h'e' 'this', *h'i 'iste', and *h'u 'iste' form a paradigm of N deictic particles. Therefore it may be tentatively suggested that not only *ha (in which *h- is reflected by S *h-), but all particles of this paradigm (even those, in which N *h- cannot be demonstrably distinguished from *?-) had a N *h-.

754. ı *h'i 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. > HS: B: Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7 || ?? Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness (× N *h'e' 'this'): Dr gám-î: 'the ram' (↔ gám 'ram'), Zr g+mān-i 'the husband' (↔ g+mān 'husband'), EDng àk-í 'the fire' (↔ àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || EC *-i_ı, marker of the theme → marker of the subject case (nom.): Or -n-i, -i ({HW} nam-ni nom. ↔ abs. nama 'man', nom. fārd-i ↔ abs. fārda 'horse', nom. mūk-i ↔ abs. mūka 'tree'), Sd -i ({Mrn.} nu'gus-i aǰǰaǰino 'the king ordered', 'mi-n-i mi'namino 'the house was built'), Rn nom. (of f.) -è, Sm nom. -i (láf-ì nom. ↔ láf abs. 'bone', ðàgħàn-ì nom. ↔ ðàgħán abs. 'stones', with dem. endings: nom. -kàn-ì 'this' ↔ abs. -kàn 'this'), as well as Sml -ī within the df. art. of the remote type: m. -k-ī, f. -t-ī || ? Ag: Xm {Ap.} -i/-y-, def. art. m. (in the obl. case, preceding the case ending): †ǰ†r-i-z y†wun 'I gave it to the man' ¶ HW 145, Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. NBLK 224, PG 17, 106, AD KJ 34-5, Anr. DSN 119, Ap. DAX 16-22 || K *h_ıi 'that' (distal deixis) > G Im/R/Lch/Mt/P/HA i 'that', G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi- 'that', Sv i- id.; K *i-ma- (deictic stem for remote objects) > G ima-, Mg imu, Lz (h)imu- id., Sv im-eg 'there' ||| GZ *-i, marker of nom. (> OG, G, Mg, Lz -i), which in the final account goes back to a dem. pronominal pc. (article?) *i ¶¶ K 99-100, K² 80-1, Q 230 s.v. ıııı, Chx. 519-533, Ghl. 257 || IE: AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' ¶ Mer. HHG 61-7 ||| IE *?e_ı-/?i (or *h_ıe_ı-/*h_ıi- ?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (× N *y_ıi 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric], q.v.) > OI a'y-am m., GAv ay-ē m., OI i'y-am f., OI i-'d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' ||| Gk Cp ἔν 'eum, eam' ||| L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') ||| OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< *i-s), ed ~ hed (< *id or *id-ā) 'it', pl. hé ||| Gt i-s 'he', accus. in-a, ntr. ita 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu eR, iR, iAR rel. 'that, which', ON es, later eR, OHG eR 'he', iǰ ~ eǰ 'it', NHG eR m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' ||| Lt jī-s

he', jì 'she' | Sl *j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. *jъ, f. nom. *ja, ntr. nom.-accus. *je > OCS, OR m. и і, f. ѡ ja, ntr. ѣ je; Sl *j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. ѣго jęго 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. ѣмоу jęму 'to him, to it', etc. || U: Sm *i- 'iste' (> En {Cs.} inô[?] 'dorthin', Kms {KD} īdā 'dieser da, der dort', Mt {Hl.} *idi 'jener' [Mt K {Mll.} iđi-]) may go back either to U *i- or to U *e- || FU *i- 'this' (from the functional point of view a variant of *e- 'this', FN *h'e' 'this') may be discerned in Es i-ga 'such', Hg i-tt 'here' (↔ o-tt 'there'), i-đe 'here' (direction) (↔ o-đa 'there' [direction]), így 'so', pOs *i- (proximal pronominal stem) > Os: V/Vy/Ty in, Nz ĩn 'just now', Os K {Ps.} in 'der, er' (von einem nicht näher Bekannten, Entfernten), Os Sh/Sn ĩn, LK {Ptk.} īn 'этот, dieser, jener' (von einem oder etwas schon Erwähnten), V/Vy/Ty/Y it 'now (jetzt)', O {Stn.} ittā 'sofort' ¶¶ UEW 67-8, Jn. 26, Hl. M #336, Stn. D 2-3, ≈ MF 167-9 || A *i 'iste' > pKo *í > MKo í, NKo i 'this' ¶ Rm. SKE 66, S QK #88, Nam 397, MLC 1316 || pJ *i 'iste' > OJ {S} i ({Syr.} 'thou' mostly in deprecatory speech), as well as possibly the first element i- in the OJ {Mill.} spacially indefinite dem. idu- (in the dem. prn. idure, place adv. idu-ku 'there\here', direction word idu-ti 'thither\hither') ¶ Syr. DJ 92, Mill. JL 341-2, S QJ #235, Mr. 420 || T *i- in Xk іди idi, Sg {Rl.} i-dā 'so'; *in- in dem. pronouns\adverbs (< N *h' i nu [with the N genitive pc. *nu]): Yk innik (*in-lik) 'such', injä 'so, there', Blq in-ol 'that', Az, Chg {Rl.}, Brb {Dm.} indi, SbTt Tb {Tum.} инде (= [indь?]) 'now', Bsh инде indь 'now, already', VTt инде indь 'already' ¶ Pek. 240, 256, BIG 65, Rl. I 1450, 1506, Hüs. 147, Dm. JBT 139, Tm. 56, BR 206, TatR 169, Ktw. PLA 20-3 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *i > Ko, J, as well as T *ō' 'inside'), ≈ DQA #582 *i (a deictic √; Ko, J, T + T, M i- 'he'; no distinction between reflexes of N *h' i 'iste' and N *y i 'he') || D *i 'hic (the nearer to the speaker)' > Tm i-, iᵛᵛ-, Ml i, ī, Kt, Td i- 'this, hic', Kn i-, proximate dem. base, ī 'this', Tu ī, Klm i', Nkr, Prj, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku, Krx ī, Knd iya, Mlt í (= ī?) 'this', Brh i-, a base declined for case ¶¶ D #410 ◇ Sm and J suggest the original meaning 'iste', while other lgs. point to the meaning 'hic' ◇ The N initial *h- is tentatively reconstructed on the analogy of N *ha 'ille', because the paradigm of the deictical particles is likely to presuppose their similar phonological structure ◇

Cp. IS I 270-2 (combines together N *^hi [incl. our *^yi] and N *^he' as two variants of the same word *^ʔi/(?)^ʔe).

755. ι *^hu 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > HS: C: Bj Hd {Rop.} \bar{u} (df. art. nom. m.), \bar{o} (accus./obl. m.), {R} $\bar{u} \sim \omega \bar{u}$ (df. art. nom. m.), $\bar{o} \sim \omega \bar{o}$ (accus. m.) (allomorphs with ω - when preceding a noun beginning with ^ʔ-, otherwise allomorphs without ω -), Bj B {Alm.} \bar{u} (df. art. nom. m.), \bar{o} - (accus. m.), Bj A {AD} ^ʔ $\bar{o} \sim \bar{u} \sim \bar{u} \sim h\bar{u}$ (df. art. nom. m.) (e.g. ^ʔ \bar{o} gaw 'the house' nom., \bar{u} 'tak' 'the man', \bar{u} 'haḏa' 'the lion', $h\bar{u}$ 'ḏor' 'son, boy, child', $h\bar{u}$ 'ḏēw' 'the kudu antelope', $h\bar{u}$ 'ḏab' 'the kid'), ^ʔ $\bar{o} \sim \bar{u} \sim \bar{u} \sim h\bar{o} \sim h\bar{o}$ (obl. m.) (\bar{u} 'tak' 'den Menschen', \bar{u} 'haḏa' 'den Löwen, dem Löwen', ^ʔ \bar{o} gaw obl. 'the house', $h\bar{o}$ 'ḏawi' obl. 'the stone', $h\bar{o}$ 'ḏor' 'den Jungen, das Kind'); the variants with h- occur when the article precedes a noun beginning with ^ʔ-, otherwise the variants with ^ʔ- are used || EC: Sd {Mrn.} marker of subject case (nom.) '-u (nom. $nugus-u \leftrightarrow$ abs. $nuguse$ 'king', nom. $maga'n-u \leftrightarrow$ abs. $maga'no$ 'God'), Bn J - \bar{u} nom. ($\acute{r}-\bar{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow \acute{r}\exists$ abs. 'goat', $m\bar{o}f-\hat{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow m\bar{o}f\exists$ abs. 'snake', $b\hat{a}l-\hat{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow b\hat{a}l$ abs. 'feather'), Sml -u (marker of nom. with dem. suffixes of nouns: - $k\grave{a}n-\grave{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow -k\acute{a}n$ abs. 'this' m., - $t\grave{a}n-\grave{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow -t\acute{a}n$ abs. 'this' f., - $k\grave{e}r-\grave{u}$ nom. $\leftrightarrow -k\acute{e}r$ abs. 'that' m.) || ? Af $w\bar{o}$ 'that/those' (remote for both speaker and addressee) ¶ Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. BD 28, PG 146, AD KJ 35, PH 235 || LbB: B * $w-a$ m. sg. / * $w-i$ m. pl., dem. and rel. prn. > Shl, Tmz, ASgr wa sg. / wi pl. 'this', relative 'that of, which', B * $w-i$ m. pl. (> Tw $w\bar{a}$ -), px. of the dependent state (état d'annexion, that Pr. proposes to call 'cas subordonné'), typical, among others, to the postverbal subject noun (* w - is likely to go back to a thematic focalizer or "singulatif défini", acc. to Pr., or df. art., acc. to Vc. \leftarrow dem. prn.), compound pronouns: Tmz/ASgr $wa-n$, Shl $wa-hin$, Kb $wa-hi$ 'that' || Gnc gwa (< * wa) 'that of', $guan$ id. (< * $wa +$ nota genitivi * n): $guan$ $chinec$ 'that of Chinec, the man of Chinec' ¶ Pr. M IV-V 11-6, Pr. PE \forall , Ai. SKBJ I 17-22, 49-52, AiM 176, 210-1, 218, Brugn. EAB, Brugn. SNBO ¶¶ In my opinion, we may adduce here the HS ending of the subject case ** $-u$ > pS * $-u$ (> Ar, Ug $-u$), ending of the nominative case sing. (\leftarrow thematic focalizer \leftarrow dem. prn.), pEC * $-u$ (\sim * $-i$) id.; the S morpheme group * $-u-m$ - nom. df. (> OAk $-um$ nom. st. r., Ar $-un$ nom. indf., Ug $-u$ nom. abs.); it would be tempting to equate S * $mu't-u-m$ 'the man' nom. df. (> Ak $mutum$ 'man' st. r.) with Hs $mutum$ [$m\grave{u}t\hat{u}ŋ$] 'man' (< AncHs * $mutum$, the final * $-m$ reconstructed

on the ev. of the gen. *mutumīn* [mùtúm-ìn]) and thus to suggest that the ending *-um existed already at the pHS level. We may also adduce the ending *-u of the pS relative mood (= Dk.'s pS "subjunctive", used in subordinated clauses) > Ak -u (rel. mood = traditionally called "subjunctive"), CS *-u of the new ip. (> Ar -u id.); its semantic prehistory: N dem. ***h**¹**u** > rel. *-u 'that which' > *-u of the rel. mood ¶¶ F Ss. CCSB 111-126; on the pS endings and their meaning F AD MN ∇ and AD PhSS 7, fn. 12; on S *mu¹tu-m F AD PhSS 3; on the pS rel. mood see Dk. JDPa 254, 304, ≈ Eil. SA ∇ (equates the Ak -u-mood with the Ar -u-ip., but believes that the pS *-u-mood is indicative) || K *u-'it', marker of the objective version of the verb having a recipient of the 3rd pers. > G, Mg, Lz u-, Sv u-~o-: OG χ-u-ḡo ~ h-u-ḡo 'er tat es ihm\für ihn', NG u-ḡer-s 'il l'écrit pour lui', u-ḡer-t 'il l'écrit pour eux' ¶¶ K 185, Vogt GLG 122-3, Shan. G 74 || IE ***ʔ**u- / ***ʔ**o_u- / ***w**e- / ***w**o-'iste', deictic pc. > Ht u-ni- 'jener, der da, der erwähnte; iste'; the former opposition of degrees of proximity to the speaker and hearer ('hic' ↔ 'iste' ↔ 'ille') (that probably existed in the pronouns eni-, uni-, and anni-) was lost when these Ht pronouns became predominantly anaphorical; pv. u- '(hier)her' (↔ pe- 'hin', e.g. Ht u¹da- '(her)bringen' ↔ pe¹da- 'hinschaffen, forttragen', u¹wate- 'herbringen' ↔ pe¹hute- 'hinbringen', etc.), ? Ht -un (a rare Oht form) 'him, her' (side by side with -an) ¶ Ts. W 63, 95-8, SomF HAB 161, Frd. HEB 68, Mer. SGA 324 || NaIE *u- / *o_u- / *we- / *wo-'iste' (→ 'ille', 'hic') > Sl *o_vъ / f. *o_va / ntr. *o_vo 'that', OCS, OR **o_vъ** o_vъ 'that' (usually **o_vъ** ... **o_vъ** 'that\one ... the other'), SCr †, Δ, Sln, OCz o_v, P ó_ω 'that', prnl.: SCr ò_v-ā_j (f. ò_v-ā, ntr. ò_v-ō) 'hic', P ó_ω 'ille', OCS {Mikl.} o_vъ 'hic', {SJSS} 'hic, ille' || ? OI, Av ava- 'jener', OI u-'and, also, further, on the other hand' ||| *u in OI asa_u, Av hā_u 'ille', OPrs ha_uv 'this'; with a *r- formant: OI avah_ḥ, Av avara_ḥ 'downwards', Um ur_u 'illo'; *wē, *wo- 'on the other hand' → 'or' (× *wu 'whether') > OI/Av/OPrs vā, Gk ῆ-(*F*)έ > ῆ, L -v_ě 'or'; this morpheme is to be kept apart from the paronymous NaIE word *au_u 'or' (< N ? ***ʔ**¹**a**¹**w**¹**û** 'whether?', 'or') in Gk α¹ῦ 'again, once more', L aut 'or', autem 'but, however', Osc AUT av¹t, AUTI 'aut, autem' ¶¶ P 73-5, FI 183, 619, WH I 87, II 740-1, Bc. G 313, 350, Mikl. L 486, Mikl. E 229, ESISJ-SGZ II 558-61, SJSS XXII 508-9, Brtl. 163-76, 1730-2, M K I 58, 66, ≈ Bks. 202 (NaIE *ow- < *h₂e_u 'away, again') || U: FU *^ou-~*^oo-:

FU *^ou- is represented by Hg o-*da* 'dahin, dorthin, dort', oly 'such, so', ott 'there', *ú gy* 'so', FU *^oo- or *^oū- is reflected by Chr H {Rm.} *umpal* 'jene Seite, die andere Seite', Chr L/H {Ü} *umbalne* 'there, in the distance', *umbalan* 'there, to that place', *umbake* 'there, to that point', *umbačən* 'from there', FU *^ou- → *^oo- > pMr *^oo- in Er *ombo*, Mk *omba*, *oma* 'other, second' (Chr and Mr -mb- < FU *-mpa/ä, sx. of cmpr.); Rédei (UEW) explains irreg. sound corrns. by mixing of different deictic stems, IS attributes FU *^oo- to the infl. of the interr. *k^o- ¶ UEW 332, IS I 258 || **A** *^o ~ *^u, {SDM95} *^o 'this, that' (deictic pc.) > NaT *^o 'jener dort' > Tk o, Δ o~u, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr o, ET, Bsh u, Uz uđođ wu~hu, SY, Ln o~u 'that', Xlj o 'he, she, it, that'; but T *^ol 'that' (> OT ol, Tkm, Qzq, Yk, Tv ol, Chv *вǎл* *вǎл*) does not belong here, it is better explained as going back to N *^ʔol∇ 'that (visible)' ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Bu. I 106, DT 167, ≠ SDM97 (A *^o(l∇) 'this, that') || Tg {Bz} *^u- 'iste' in derivatives: WrMc *uba hoc*', *urala* 'hicce', Ud *uti* 'this, it' (stem *uta-*: accus. *utawa*, dat. *utadu*, loc. *utala*) ¶ Bz. 114, STM II 293-4 || pJ {S} *^ʔ- 'this' (a deictic √) > J: Sh *ú-nù*, Ns *ú-ñù*, Ht *ù-nù*, Y *ù-nú* ¶ S QJ #147 ¶¶ DQA #1554 (A *^o 'this, that', incl. T, Tg, J), S AJ 280 [#136] (T, J) || **D** *^u 'iste', deictic base and demonstrative pc.\adj. > Tm, Kn *u-* (a dem. base indicating a person\place\thing occupying an intermediate position or a position near the person[s] spoken to), Tm *u~uvv*, Kn *ū*, Ku *ū*, Krx *hū* 'iste', dem. adjective prn. ¶¶ D #557 ◇ The ancient meaning is best preserved in D. Cp. UEW 332 (U, IE, T), IS I 257-8 (considers U *^o to be a variant of the U deictic *^a, arisen due to the infl. of the interr. *k^o; adduces T *^o) ◇ On the reason of our tentative rec. of N *^h- in this and other N demonstrative particles *see* above (s.v. *^h'e' and *^h'i).

756. ₂ **hed*∇ 'to break' > HS: S *^o√hdd > Ar √hdd *G vt.* 'break, crush' ¶ Hv. 818, ≈ DRS 373 || Eg MK *hd* 'break stones' ¶ EG II 505 ¶¶ But not here (⇔ Tk.) Ch *^o√hđ 'break' (JS, Stl. ZCh 228 [#766]), because Ch *^h hardly corresponds to S and Eg *^h-; Ch *^o√hđ is more likely to correspond to S *^o√χtt (> BHb *ἡἡἡ* *ni'haṭ* 'was broken', Ug {Grd.} *χt* 'broken', Tgr *χatta* 'was torn') ¶ KB 360, LH 81, Grd. UT #1020) ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S + err. Ch) || **D** (in NED) **eṭṭ-* > Krx *eṭ-nā* 'tear in pieces, lacerate', Mlt *eṭe v.* 'deface, destroy' ¶ D #785.

757. **hûdi* 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil' > HS: WS *^o√hdy > Gz √hdy v. 'dissolve by overcooking, cook completely', Ar √hḍy *Sh pf.*

ʔahδā) 'boil meal to shreds' (←b- a S lge. with *-d- > -δ-) ¶ LG 215, Di. 18, BK II 1408 || A: M *üziire- vi. 'rot' > WrM üziire-, HIM үжрэ-(x) id., Brt үжэ-(xэ) vi. 'rot, go bad' (in Brt loss of r?) ¶ *-zi- < *-di- ¶ MED 1017, Chr. 496 || D *uṭ- > Tl uḏuku v. 'boil, seethe, bubble with heat', uḏikincu, uḏiki(l)lu vt. 'boil, cook', Gnd uḏk ēr 'hot water', Ku uḏku 'heat', Krx uṛtur- 'be boiled or cooked, be be tired up to excitement' ¶¶ D #588.

758. *hu|od_L∇_J∇ 'be motionless, sleep' (→ 'be sleepy\giddy') > HS: S: [1] WS *✓hdʔ 'be motionless, quiet' > Ar ✓hdʔ G (hadaʔa / -hdaʔu) 'take a rest, stop (somewhere)', acp. hādīʔ- 'motionless, quiet', ✓hdʔ D vt. 'calmer, apaiser, adoucir', Mh {Jo.} hōdī 'quiet' (of a person)', {Jahn} hōdī 'quiet' (of a wind)', Hrs {Jo.} hedī, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'hudi 'quiet', Sq {L} 'hyode 'se calmer', Tgr ✓hdʔ G 'se calmer'; [2] + ext.: WS *✓hdm 'be sleepy\giddy' > Ar hudām- 'giddiness' ({BK} 'mal de mer'), Gz ✓hdm v. D (pf. haddama) 'sleep, slumber' ¶ BK II 1397-8, 1402-3, Jo. M 152, Jo. H 50, L G 214, DRS 371 || EC {Ss.} *hudr- 'sleep' > Rn udur / urd-, Sml (mt.) hurd- id. ¶ Ss. PEC 40, PG 285, DSI 319 || Ch: ECh: Brg ʔōjí, Kjk auḏu, ? Mu {Lk.} hēyít, {J} hāyyàḏé 'sleep', Mgm ʔōjò 'se coucher' ¶ JI II 299, JA 113, Lk. ZSS 189 || U: FU *oḏa- v. 'sleep, lie' > pLp {Lr.} *ṽḏē- v. 'sleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} oār'e-dh, L āddā-, N {N} oadḏe-t (/ -ḏ-), Kld {TI} √ūṽ_Lḏe-ḏ / √ūāḏam / √ūwḏi· id. | Er uḏo- uḏo-. Mk uḏo-н uḏa- id. || ObU {Ht.} *wḏḏ- / ? *wāḏā- > pVg {Ht.} *ā|- / *ā|- > OVg S Vt ололанты 'I am dozing (дремлю)', OVg S Kg алалахъ 'sleep'; pOs {Ht.} *a:la- / *ol- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Os: V/Vy āla-, Ty āḏa- / ḏḏ-, Y āḏ- / ḏḏ-, D/K āt-, Kz ḏḏ- id., d.: Y āḏtə-, Nz uttə-, Kz wāḏtə-, O oltə- 'schlafen legen' ¶ UEW 334-5, Sm. 542 (FU *oḏā 'sleep' > FP *oḏa, Ugr *āḏī), Lr. #817, Lgc. #4543, Hs. 1035, Ker. II 179, Ht. #662 || A: T *uḏI- v. 'sleep' > OT uḏI-, XwT uy_Lu_J-, MQp XIII ūyī-, XIV uyI-, [CC] uyū- id., Tk uyū-, Ggz, Qmq uyū-, SY, Xk, Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {RI.} uzu-, Tv udu-, Tf ud_u-, Yk utuy- id., VTt oe- ʔyʔ- (inf. oю ʔyū), Bsh ойо- ʔyʔ- v. 'doze, slumber; grow numb' || It is possible that T *ū n. 'sleep' (> OT u_Lḏ, Xlj ū, and Yk ū) goes back to an earlier **u_Lḏ (so Cl. 2, Rs. W 508, and Pek. 3098), but the alternative et. relating T *ū to A *ḡ¹u_Lḏya- 'sleep' (< N *ḡuhy'a' 'to rest, to lie, to repose' [→ 'to sleep], q.v.) is more plausible ¶ The vw. *u in the verb *uḏI- was not long (⇔ Cl.), as evidenced by Yk utuy-; if the noun *ū

'sleep' belongs here, the length may be compensatory (for the loss of *-δ) ¶ ET Gl 579-81, DTS 605, Cl. 1-2, 42-3 (derives *uδi- from *ū n. 'sleep'), TAG 44, Ra. 236, TatR 408, 417, BR 412, Pek. 3064-5, 3098, DT 209-10, Rs. W 508 (err. initial *ū in Yk utuy-) ◇ Comparison of U and A: Rs. UAW 42, Coll. 147, IS MS 367, IS SS #1.14, UEW 334-5 (U, T + *÷ M umta- 'sleep').

759. ₂ *hak ▽ 'slow, inactive' > HS: SS *✓hky > Gz ✓hky (pf. hakaya) 'be lazy\sluggish\inactive\weary', Tgr ✓hky (pf. hakka), Tgy ✓hky (pf. hakəyə) 'be weary\indolent' (EthS ↗ Bln {R} hakay 'tired, weary', Km {CR} akēṯ 'laziness'), Mh {Jahn} ✓hky (pf. Gt 'hətkī 'abhängen, sich nach unten neigen') ¶ L G 216-7, Jahn 187, ≈ DRS 407 || A: NaT *akur- 'do slowly' > OT {Gbn.} aqur- id., {Cl.} aq(u)ru, OOSm XIV arqin ~ arqun ~ arχun 'gently, quietly, slowly', XwT XIV aqrū(n) 'quietly, peacefully', Cum aqrin ~ arqun 'slowly, quietly', QBl, Qzq, Qq, Qrg aqirīn, VTt, Bsh äkrēn 'slow(ly), quiet(ly)' ¶ Cl. 89-90, DTS 49, ET Gl 123-4, Gbn. ATG 295, Br. OTG §§ 104, 136, Rs. W 14 || M *aḡaḡi- ↗ *aḡaḡi-gu > WrM aḡazi-gu, HIM аажу 'slow(ly), M *aḡazi-m id. > WrM aḡazim, HIM аажим id.; cp. also WrM aḡašar, HIM аашар 'for a while, leisurely' ¶ MED 13-4.

760. *h|X'ä'ka 'to need, to lack' > IE *Heg|g̃- ({EI} *h₁eg- 'be in need, lack') > NaIE *eg|g̃- 'lack' > L egē- 'be in need, want' || ON ekla n. 'lack, want, need', OHG ecko-rōdi, ecko-rōdo 'just, merely (nur, bloß, allein)' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ EI) Ht ak(k)-/ek- 'die' ({Pv.}: ÷ Vnt ekupeθaris ~ ecupetaris ~ equpetars 'tombstone' < IE *₁pek-die) ¶¶ P 290, ≈ EI 343, WH I 394-5, Vr. 9, Kb. 196, EWA II 945-7, Schz. 122, Pv. I 17-23 || HS: HEC: Ged {Hd.} hāk- vt. 'lose, miss', vi. 'be unable', ?φ Brj hoq̃- 'be absent' ¶ Hd. 243, Ss. B 100 || ? S: Gz ṛakkō 'by no means, no' (unless < *ṛal-kō), Tgr ṛikon 'not, no' ¶ LG 14 || A: NaT *ägsü (× N *Xa'ṛ'ü'gæ 'to lack, to want', q.v.) 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' > OT ägsü- ({Cl.} egṣü-) id., OT (BrSc) {Gb.} ägsü-, ET ögsü-, Tk eksī-, Ln öksü- vi. 'diminish, lessen, decrease', Chg öksü- id., vt. 'diminish, reduce', Tkm eṣiθ- 'diminish, reduce', Qrg öksü- 'be lacking' ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188.

761. *h'awk'a' 'light (lux); bright' > IE: NaIE *augg- v. 'shine' ↗ NaIE *augg-ā-, -ō(n) 'light, gleam' > Gk αὐγή id., 'daylight', pl. 'sun-rays' || pAl {O} *augga > StAl T ag 'twilight, dusk', agu i dritēs 'Morgengrauen', agu i syrit 'pupil of the eye', a'goj v. 'dawn', {Ç} 'il fait jour' || NLG

auken 𐌱 ooken 'attic, garret' || ? W gwawł 'light (lux)' ({Mn.} < *auḡlo-?) || ?? pSl *juḡb 'south, southern wind' > OCS югъ juḡb, Blg, R, Uk юг, Slk juh 'south', OR оуѣгъ uḡb, SCr juḡg, Slv juḡg, Cz jíh id., 'southern wind', as well as SCr juḡgо 'south', Uk юга 'drought' ¶ WP I 25, P 87, EI 314 (*h₂eḡg- 'shine, become bright'), Mn. 41, F I 183-4, YGM-1 259, Ch. 137, Hofm. EWG 28, BFU 29, Kf. 38, Ç I 30-1, II 344, O 2, Vs. IV 526, Glh. 302 || **HS:** [1] S *^o✓ wky > Gz ✓ wky L (pf. wākaya) 'shine, glisten, glitter'; *^o✓ h|ʔkk? Ak akakūtu 'brandon, tison, rougeoiment du ciel' ¶ L G 612, DRS 537 || [2] (× N *Hänku 'fire', q.v.): Ch {Nw.} *aku ~ *ak^{wa} 'fire', {Stl.} *ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} áká, Bd {IL} áká id. | Cg {Sk.} âk^{wé}, Kry {Sk.} àkú, My {Sk.} ákú, Jmb {Sk.} ak^{wá}, Dir {Sk.} akúwá, Wrj {Sk.} kèwáy, Sir {Sk.} kúwí, Mbr kúwá id. || CCh: Db {JI} ku id. | G'nd wā-ta id. | ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔíʔí (= {IL} ʔúʔú), Cb úʔù id. | Mtk {Nw.} ak^{wa}, Mada {BrrB} okk^{wó}, {Ro.} àk^{wá}, Mofu {Brr.} áwòw, MfG {Brr.} áwàw, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavó; {Ro.}: Mkt áká, Myn àkú, Hrz, Vm ák^{wà}, Zlg àk^{wá}, Mlk àkó id. | Msg {Trn.} àfú id. | Lmn {Lk.} ùu^{vù} id. | Suk {IL} k^{hù} id. | Ms {Nw.} aku-da, {J} kúdá, ZmD {KND} kú, {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} kú, LamP ku, Lam k^{wu}, Bnn ku-da id. || ECh {Stl.} *ʔako|uw- > EDng {Fd.} àkò, Bdy ʔàkò, Mgm {JA} ókkò, Mkl {J} ʔùw^{wó} id. | Skr {Sx.} òkó, {Nw.} óko id. | Jg {J} ʔǎk, Brg {J} ʔàkù, Mu {J} kēwí id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [#48], Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [#271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14, Blz. EChWL. #27 || C (× N *Hänku 'fire'): EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔēg, Elm 'ēk, Yk iku, {E} ʔeku 'fire', ?σ Dsn ʔége 'ashes' || Dhl ʔēga 'fire' || SC: Asa {To.} yogot, {E} yogo 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 128, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 204, ≈ AD SF 262-3, E PC #106, E SC 318 || **A:** T *āk 'white' > OT, Tkm āq, Tk ak, Az aʔ, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Shor, Tv, ET aq, Uz aq, Tf aq, Xk aχ id. ¶ Rs. W 12, ET Gl 116-7, TL 679-80, Ra. 154 || pJ {S}: [1] *aka- 'be bright; red, bright' > pJ *áká 'red, (?) bright' ({S} *áká-rú 'bright') > OJ {Mr.} aka- 'red, bright', {S} 'red', [RJ] áká- 'red', J: T/K àkai-, Kg akaka, Ns há-, Sh àká-, Ht ágà-, Y ágá-ntáí id., OJ {Mr.} akaruv. 'get bright\red', áká-ru 'bright, light', akasu 'red, bright'; [2] *àkà- v. 'dawn' > OJ aka-/ake- id. ¶ S AJ 110 [#58], 267 [#60], S QJ #60, Mr. 675, 825 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #634 (A *jǎka 'light, white': incl. T, J) ◇ The tentative rec. of N *h- is based on indirect ev.: the only N lrs. liable to disappear in S are *h- and *ʔ-, but N *ʔ- yields IE *ʔ, which is unable to produce

colouring effect on vowels. Hence the only N lr. to be reconstructed is *h-.

762. ₂ *hUwäkê 'move, walk' > HS: S [1] WS *-hūk- > Gz ✓hwk (js. -hūk, pf. hōka) v. 'stir, stir up, move', ? Ar ✓hwk TD (pf. tahawwaka) 'tomber dans qch. par étourderie ou témérité'; [2] ?σ S {KB} *°-hāk- > OA ✓hk 'go' (1s ip. ḥk, 3pm ip. ḥkṛn), IA, EpJA ✓hk, BA ḥḥ' yā-'hāk 'go' ¶ L G 220, Di. 10, BK II 1458, KB 1697, HJ 281-2 (s.v. ḥk), ≈ DRS 387 || U: FP *wäke 'run, walk' or 'come' > pLp {Lr.} *vēkə- 'run, walk' > Lp: L {LLO} v i e h k a- 'run, walk', N {N} v i e k k â- / -g- 'run' | Prm *v0- 'come, arrive' (→ 'ripen') > OPrm v0-, Z B0- v0-(n+), Z US v0-n+, Yz v0-n^ id., Yz v0is 'he came', Vt BУ-ЫНЫ v0- reach, arrive, ripen' ¶ UEW 817, Lr. #1395, Lgc. #8670, LG 63 ◇ Qu.

763. *hakʕ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > HS: S *°✓hkʕ > Ar ✓hkʕ G 'take rest, halt' ¶ BK II 1433, Hv. 831 || C {AD} *✓ʔk v. 'be, become' > pAg {Ap.} *ʔak-/ʔax- id. > Bln {Plm.} ʔax-/ʔak-, {R} ax-, Xm {R} ax-, Aw {Plm.} -aʕ- v. 'be' ||| EC *-ik(k)-/*-ak(k)- id. > Sml {Abr.} ah- v. 'be', Sa, Af -ekk-, sx. of stative (← copula), HEC {Hd.} *ik- v. 'become' > Brj ih-, Sd ik-/ikk-, Hd, Kmb ik- id. ¶ AD SF 131, 260, Ss. B 103-4, Hd. 25 ¶ The vw. *i in EC *-ik- may go back to the 3m prefix *y- (*y-ak- > *ik-) || ?φ U: Sm: Kms {Cs.} ig- 'be': igäm 'sum', igäl 'es', igä 'est', etc., inv. iʔ 'be!' (sg.), inv. pl. igä, {KD} īgεm 'sum' ¶ Cs. GSS 576-7, KD 22 || A: NaT *āg- v. 'rise' (← *'stand') > OT āʕ- v. 'rise (from sth.), climb (up sth.)', Tkm āʕ- v. 'climb (over), overflow, exceed (a stated period)', Osm, Chg aʕ- v. 'rise', Osm aʕ- v. 'rise, evaporate', QrB āw- v. 'climb (over)' ¶ Cl. 76-7, DTS 16, ET Gl 68-9, Rl. I 142, Tkr 22, Rs. W 7 || D *āk- v. 'be, become' > Tm āku (āki-) v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml ākuka v. 'be that, become that', Kt a·g- v. 'become', Kn āgu v. 'come into existence', Kdg a·g- v. 'become', Tl agu ~ avu v. 'be, become' ¶¶ D #333 ¶¶ It is not clear if D *ā- (> Tm ā- v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Kt a·- v. 'become' [gerund a·y, a·ty], Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ā- v. 'be, become', Gnd ā- v. 'be', Kui āva- v. 'become, be, happen') is originally a morphophonemic variant of the same word (with N *-k- > D *-∅-) or a different verb ◇ T *-g- < N *-kʕ- regularly (cp. N *tekʕ∇ 'to touch' > T *tēg- id. and N *ĉEkʕ∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T *çigrū- 'trample').

764. ₂ *hoḲU 'copulate' > HS: S *°✓hḳḳ > Ar ✓hqq (pf. haqqa) 'cohabiter avec une femme avec violence' ({Fr.} 'vehementer inivit

[feminam]), hāqq- 'vehementer futuens' ¶ BK II 143O, Fr. IV 398 || B {ʒPr.} *✓wq^h (*wqu^h-) v. 'copulate' (× N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want'?) > Izn {Rn.} əqqi, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əqqu, Sll {Ds.} cqu^o (pf. i cqu^o), Izd qqu 'copulate', Izd t-uqqu-t 'cohabitation, acte d'amour' ¶ Rn. 372, Mrc. 54 || A: M *oqu- 'copulate' > MM [MA, IM] oqaba p. 'copulated' (of humans and animals), WrM oqu-, HIM oxo-x, Kl {Rm.} oχ^o-χα vl 'copulate' (of humans), Ord {Ms.} oχo 'copulate' (of a man) ¶ Pp. MA 266-7, 443, MED 626, KW 284, Ms. O 508 || Tg: Ewk oko- 'copulate' (< M?) ¶ STM II 10 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1564.

765. o? *hal∇ 'call out, call, utter magical words, rejoice' > IE: [1] {Pv.} *xel-t-/*xl-et-, d. *x^o]t^oye/o- ({Pv.} *H₁]tyé/ó-) ≈□ call > AnIE{Pv.} *halt(i)ya- > Ht halzai- v. 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, read; call, summon, invoke', Lw (3s prs. md.) hal-ti-it-ta-ri || NaIE: acc. to Pv. II 5-64, NaIE *lō'tā (< IE {Pv.} *xlo'tā) > ORu lapu n. 'call, summons, invitation', ON lqǫ, AS laǫu 'invitation'; ⇨ Gt lapōn, ON laǫa, AS laǫian, OHG ladōn 'to invite, to call' (> NHG (ein)laden 'invite') || ? OL lessus, accus. sg. lessum 'wailing, lamentation' (acc. to Čop, < *lets-tu-s < *H*lets-tu-s) || [2] ?o: Gk ἄλαλή, Gk D ἄλαλά 'war-cry', and Gk H ὀλολύζω v. 'cry with a loud voice' (so Ts. E) ¶¶ F I 63, Pv. II 53-64, Pv. EA 88, Ts. EI 139-40, Čop IGW-8 96-7, Fs. 323, Ho. 196, Vr. 343, 373, Kb. 585 || HS: S *✓hll '≈□ rejoice, cry with exaltation' > BHb ✓hll G 'be boastful, infatuated', v. D 'eulogize', 'praise (God)', MHb ✓hll D 'praise', Aram ✓hll G (pf. halla) 'rejoice', SmA ✓hll D 'praise', Sr ✓hll D 'sing, praise', BHb hillū^l-īm 'festival exultation', MHb הילול hillū^l, JA hillū^l-ā {Js.} 'singing praises', JEA {Sl.} הילול hillū^l-ā 'festivity, wedding feast', IA [Eleph.] {KB} hi|allūlat 'noise', Gz ✓hll T (pf. tahałala) 'jubilate, utter cries of joy', Ak fOB ✓hll: atlulu 'to shout alāla, to brag, to boast', ǫūlulu 'to hail, to acclaim, to utter a cry' ¶ KB 235, 238-9, KBR 245-9, Js. 346, 353, Sl. 378, Tal I 210, Br. 176, BK II 1434-5, LG 217, CAD I/1 331-2, DRS 414-5 || B *✓hʔl ({Pr.} ✓h₂h₁l) v. 'diriger un salut (vers un absent)' > Ah, Tnsl, ETwl, Ty uhał, pf. yəhuł, Gh pf. yəhuł ¶ Fc. 576-8, Pr. H #218, GhA 78, 251 (Pcj. II B 3) || U: FU *al∇- v. 'utter magial words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N *f'a'∇ 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result' [q.v.]) > Er {Bd.} alta-, alvta- v. 'promise', {ERV} alta- v. 'promise, dedicate', {Jv.} alta- 'doom',

{Bd.} alsta- 'versprechen, zusagen, weihen; verwünschen' | Chr {Szil.} ulte- v. 'prey', Chr L {MRS, Ü} ul'ða-š 'to prey, to say one's prayers' || pOs *al- > Os: V/Vy al+l- v. 'curse, scold', Vy al+l- v. 'bewitch', V al+lta kōl 'Fluchwort, malediction', al+m- v. 'curse, call down curses upon' | OHg áld- v. 'sacrifice, opfern', Hg áld- v. 'bless, consecrate', áldoz- v. 'sacrifice, offer; devote to' || ? Y: Y {Jc.} ilēte- 'beschimpfen, schelten', Y K {IN} íltz-, Y T {Ku.} ílete- 'scold' ¶¶ UEW 7, MF I 81, ERV 45, MRS 628, Stn. D 75, Trj. 13, KC 16-7, Jv. 19, Ü 225, EWU 24, ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [#58] (Y ←b U) || ¶ A *al- > NaT *alka- v. 'bless, praise, conjure (supernatural spirits)' > OT alqa- v. 'praise' (both in the religious and the ordinary sense), v. 'bless', Qmq, Qrg, Qzq alqa-, Tv alṽa- v. 'bless', Xk alṽa- v. 'bless, thank', StAlt alqa- v. id., Yk alṽa- v. 'bless, praise, prey, conjure (supernatural spirits), cast a spell' → Ewk alga- v. 'bless, pray', alga 'blessing' ¶ Cl. 138, Rs. W 17, ET Gl 137-8, Rl. I 349, Pek. 74 || Tg *algj-n 'fame, rumour' > Sln algī 'rumour', Mc algjn, Mc Sb algjan 'fame, rumour'; Mc algj-, Mc Sb algja- v. 'become famous' ¶ ≈ STM I 30 || M *aldar 'fame' > MM [S] aldar id., WrM aldar, HIM алдар 'fame, renown, reputation', Kl {KW} aldr̥ 'fame', Dgr {T} aldar ~ aldūr id., 'news', 'honorific name' ¶ H 5, MED 30, KW 6, T DgJ 120.

766. *haI∇ 'this' > HS: S *hal-, dem. prn. > Ar ḥal- (df. art.) and -al- as a component in compound pronouns (e.g. ḥālīka 'this'), Ak A allû 'jener', Ug hl {A} 'this', {OLS} 'he aquí, mira!', hlruy, (AkSc) {Hnr.} hallinīya 'here, now then', ? Ar هههالا ~ هههالا 'here' (in ḥayya hala ~ ḥayya halā 'come here'), ??? CS *haI∇?-(aš), *la 'haI∇?i' 'further, onward, thither' (with the directive case ending *-aš or with the preposition *la 'to') (× N *h' aI∇?E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Sd. 37, A #87, OLS 164-5, Hnr. 121, BK II 1435, KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1009 || (× N *h' aI∇?E 'that [visible]'): EC *hI∇- > Gdl ḥēle (nom. ḥēlu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ḥummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || ¶ K: Sv: UB ala, LB ali, L/Ls ale 'he/it' (near the speaker); 'this', Sv al 'this' ¶ TK 39-40, GP 40, Top. SJ 83 || ¶ IE: NaIE *al- (× N *h' aI∇?E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) in NaIE *al-iō-s 'other' ({EI} IE *h₁el₁ō-s), *oal-ter 'the other from two', IE *o|al-nej > Sl *olni 'last year' ¶ P 25-6, EI 411, Brg. D 107, FI 76-7, Vn. A 31-2, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Slt. 270, Fs. 39, Vr.

100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 || **A**: ? NaT *°al 'that' > Qrg, Tb al 'that', unless it is a secondary variant of T *°al 'ille' (F N *°ʔ'ol̄ʔ '↑').

767. *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright' > **HS**: WS *✓hll v. 'shine' (of a heavenly body), 'be bright' > Ar hall- 'clair' (se dit des étoffes d'un tissu léger et clair), ✓hll (pf. halla) v. 'appear' (of a new moon, of a heavenly body appearing over the horizon), ✓hll v. TD (pf. tahallala) 'shine', 'be bright (face, cloud)', hall-at- {Fr.} 'vas, quo ellychnium et oleum continetur', sc. 'lampas', {BK} 'lampe', {Hv.} 'lamp', BHb ✓hll הכל Sh (Hiph.) v. (ip. הַלֵּךְ yā'heḷ, 3pm ip. הַלֵּךְ yā'hellū) 'flash forth, light, shine', Tgr ✓hlhl D (pf. **חלחל** halhalə) v. 'blaze (modern, flammen), **חלחלת** halhalta n. 'blaze (Lohe, Flamme)', ?? Gz {DRS ← ?} ✓hll G 'être clair, se rasséréner' ¶ Fr. IV 400-1, BK II 1434-6, Hv. 832, KB 238, KBR 248, BDB #1984, LH 1-2, DRS 415 || B *°✓Hll > Izn {Rn.} iulalla pl. 'lightning' ¶ Rn. 287 || **K** *₁h₂el- v. 'lighten' (× N *ye₁ay₂∇ 'to shine; light [lux]', q.v.) > OG, G el-, G Ing heḷ- v. 'lighten', Lz A al- v. 'sparkle, lighten', Sv heḷ- ~ el- / -hl- (masdar li-el-e 𐤋 li-hl-) v. 'lighten', Sv. IB heḷ 'lightning' ¶¶ ≈ K 78-9 and K² 46-7 (both: *el-; K adduces Mg/Lz val- 'lighten'), ≈ FS K 122 (adducing Mg/Lz val- and reconstructing K *wel-); on Mg/Lz val- see N *w'e'1∇ 'to shine, to lighten', IS MS 362-3, IS I 281-2 || **D** *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *XaLb∇ 'white') > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} ále 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D #261, Pf. 184 ◇ To be distinguished from N *ʔ|g'æ'hīu or *r'æ'hīu 'reddish, yellow, brown' (q.v.).

768. ₂*hiL∇ (or *hEyL∇??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star in the sky') > **HS**: CS (or WS) *hilāl- (~ *°haylil-?) > BHb הַיֵּלֵל hē'lēl 'morning star' (scriptio plena of the first ē, as always in BHb, points to a former *ay), Ug hll {A} 'crescent', {OLS} 'e divinidad astral', Ar hilāl- 'new moon', 'moon at the end of the lunar month', as well as Gz {L} hālāl 'new moon' and Amh hālāl 'moon' (both from Ar?) ¶ KB 235, OLS 165, A #832, BK II 1435. L G 217 || B: Ah {Fc.} tallit (pl. tilil), Ttq {Msq.} tallit (pl. telil), 'new moon, lunar month', Tw Ud {Sdl.} tallit (pl. tilil) 'moon, month', Gt {Nh.} tallit (pl. čillil) 'month', Kb {Dl.} tallit 'moment imprévis: un instant, quelque jours' ¶ Fc. III 982, Msq. 178, 197, Sdl. 307, Nh. s.v. 'mois', Dl. 441 ¶¶ Cf. also CCh: Bdm {Cfr.} h^yillúgú, {Lk.} hílogu 'star' (unless from Knr šillogu id.) (ChC, Lk. B 104) || **A**: Tg: Lm lān 'moon', 'month' (← *'new moon') ¶

STM I 306 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #19 (S, B *÷ Sa, Af alsā 'moon, month', AnIE, D, Tg words for 'day', 'light', 'burn, kindle' [see N *hA1V 'to shine; bright', *ye1ay, V 'to shine; light (lux)', and *yilV 'burn, kindle']).

769. ₂ *hiL'U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have') > HS: WS *✓hlw 'be, exist' > Gz ✓hlw D (pf. Uḥw hallawa ~ Uḥo hallō) 'be, exist; there is', Tgr pf. Uḥ halla, Tgy pf. ḥḥo ḥallo, Arg pf. halla, Amh pf. ḥḥ alle id., Hmr ḥl 'be', Ar Y {Mü.} pf. hallō, {Slw.} hall- 'there is' ¶ LG 217-8, LH 5, Mü. rEDG 399, Blv. XJ 69-72, Slw. 214-5, Bns. NJ I 23, DRS 412 || B: Ty ilu (3s pf. ila) [Pcj. I C 2] 'have', ETwl ɓlu [Pcj. I A 9-11], Ah əl (pf. ilā) [Fcj. 12 = Pcj. I A 11] 'have', Kb əl (pf. ila) 'have, belong to' ¶ Dl. 437-8, Fc. 974-7, GhA₂ 108, Pr. M VI-VII 119-26 and 143-4 (on conjugations) || C: EC: Elm -e1 p. / -a1-a prs. 'stand', Arr -e11- pf. / -a11- ip., Sml -ī1-~ -i11- 'live, be' (3m p.: Sml yī1, Sml N 'yī1, 3s prs.: Sml N 'yā1, Sml C yā1(1a)), Rn {PG} -ī1-/-ā1- 'live, dwell (wohnen)', pBn pf. *-ī1- / ip. *-ā1- 'stay' (Bn J 1s p. àkí-ṛ-ī1ḏ, 3m p. àkí-y-ī1ḏ, 1s prs. àká-ṛ-ā1ḏ, 3m prs. àkḏ-ṣ-ā1ḏ, Bn K 1s p. kí-ṛ-ī1ḏ, 3m p. kí-ṣ-ī1ḏ, 1s prs. káṛ-ā1ḏ, 3m prs. kḏ-ṣ-ā1ḏ), Dsn yā1 'stand' ¶ AD IPSV, Bell 32, 59, Anr. VVMS, Mrn. SS 100-7, 272-7, 357-8, Abr. S 1962, Ss. OKSV 164-9, Ss. G 426-7, Ss. D 211-2, Hn. S 33-6, Hn. BD 35-9, 57-61, 76, PG 59, 150, Schlee 17-20, Hw. A 267-9, Vg. rSimO 165-7, To. DL 532, HL 67 (pEC *-ā11- 'stand, be present') ¶¶ Coh. 80 [#20] || A (*°iL V 'stand [up]', {DQA} *i1 V 'stand, become'): Tg *i1i|u- 'stand up, stop still' > Orc, Ud ili-, Ul i1i-~ i1y, Ork i1i- ~ i11i-, Nn i1i-, Ewk i1-, Lm, Neg i1-, WrMc ili- id., Mc Sb yili- id., y1la- id., 'halt', Sln i1- 'stand up', Jrc ili-bun 'standing, vertically' ¶ STM I 302-3, Y ##537-8, Kiy. 121 [#424], 131 [#604], Gru. SSJ #424, Md. ChF 135 || ? pKo {S} *īr- 'become, happen' > MKo īr- 'become', NKo irə1-na- id., ī1- 'happen' ¶ S QK #733, Nam 405, MLC 1351, 1356 ¶¶ DQA # 596, Rm. SKE 71 (connects Ko with Tg ī- 'enter') ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. бытъ ('be') *1e (U, HS + unc. K *r- 'be') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #29 (*1e 'be', incl. Y, CK, EA, U *1e- ÷ IE *1e(i)- 'provide, obtain').

770. *hûL V 'push, butt, pierce' > IE *Xwel-/*Xul- v. 'strike' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- v. {Pv.} 'smash, quash, defeat', {Ts.} '(nieder)schlagen' (× N *gûL V 'to destroy, to fight; war') || NaIE *wel- v. '≈□push, wound, damage' (× IE *welX- 'strike' < N *wV L'h' V 'hit, attack', q.v.) > L volnus, vulnus (gen. volneris, vulneris) 'wound' || Gk οὐλή 'a wound scarred over, a scar', ἀνάλισκω (< *ἀνα- Fαλίσκω) 'waste, spend' ¶¶ Phv. II 363-8 (distinguishes between IE

*Xwel-h^w- [{Phv.} H₁wel-A^w₁ > Ht hulla-] and *wel-_h- [{Phv.} *wel-(A₁)- > *walh-], Ts. EI 275ff., P 1144-5, F I 74 and II 443-4, WH II 744-5, 827, Fs. 564, Vr. 642, ≈ EI 567 (see N *w^w∇L^h∇ 'to hit, to attack' and N *^l_lw^rA^l_li_y∇ 'to draw, to pull out\off') || HS: S *^o✓h_lw v. 'push' > Jb C {Jo.} ✓h_l? ({Jo.} ✓h_lw) (pf. 'he^le?) v. 'push (animals) into a pen\cave' ¶ Jo. J 97 || A: M *oli- v. 'butt' > WrM oli- v. 'butt' (of a goat, ram), HIM оли-х 'to butt (with one horn)', Kl {KRS} олѡх ол-хъ, {Rm.} олj- 'butt (with horns)' ¶ MED 609, Luv. 297, KRS 396, KW 285 ¶ The M √ belongs here unless it is *φoli- (which cannot be ruled out, because no reflexes are known in the lgs. distinguishing between *φ- and an initial zero). If this M root belongs here, its vw. *o (for the expected *u or *ü) needs explaining.

770a. *^hal_l∇?E 'on the other side' > HS: C: SC: Irq {Fl., E} alu 'behind, after', {MQK} ?alu 'behind, reverse', {Wd.} alu 'back (side), reverse (side)', Alg {E} alu 'behind', Brn {E} aluḡ 'after, behind, in back of', Kz {E} alale 'afterwards' ¶ E SC 315-6 s.v. SC *?ála 'behind, after', Wd. ##269, 746, MQK 13, cp. AD SF 222 || ?σ CS *^hal∇?-(aš), *^la^hal∇?_li_l 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending *-aš or with preposition *^la 'to') (× N *^ha^l∇ 'this', q.v.) > BHb הַלְּאֵה הַלְּאֵה 'hālə?-ā 'further (on), onward, thither', JA לַהֲלֹךְ לַהֲלֹךְ lə-hallā, לַהֲלֹךְ לַהֲלֹךְ lə-hallān id., Sr لَآلِ lə-hal 'afar, beyond, thenceforth', Ar هَالِ hālā 'forward, on!', but we must keep in mind possible infl. (or even alt. et.) of deictic particles and pronouns, cp. CS *^hal 'this' [> Ug hl, (AkSc) al 'this', Ar df. art. ?al-] ¶ KB 235, KBR 245, BDB #1973, PS 1009, OLS 164 || IE *?al-, *?ol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' ({EI} *^ha^elnos 'beyond') (× NaIE *ol- 'that [remote]' < N *^rol^l∇ 'that [visible]') > L uls 'on the other side' || OIr al, all 'beyond', Gl alla 'other', allos 'second', and allo- in the ethnonym Allo-broges (allo- + broga 'pays?'), Brtt {RE} *allos 'other' > Br all id., W all-tud 'exile', d.: OBr alall, allall, arall, MBr, Br, MW, W arall, Cm aral 'other' || OI 'ārād 'aus der Ferne', 'araṇa 'fern, fremd'] NaIE *al-i_o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *^ha^el_io-s) (× N *^ha^l∇ 'this') > OIr aile '(an)other', MW eil, W ail, OBr, Br eil 'second', Gl ALLOS, ALOS 'second', ALLA 'other' || L alius id., Osc ALLO 'alia' || Gk ἄλλος '(an)other' || Arm ալլ ay_l id. || Gt aljis id., aljar 'anserswo', ON elliga(r) 'sonst', ellar, ella id., 'otherwise', AS elles, OHG alles, elles 'otherwise'] Other

derivatives: L alter 'one of two, the other of two', Osc ALTTRAM 'alteram'; Gt alla 'aluid', allos 'the second one' | pSl *olni (< IE *o|al-nej) 'last year' > ChS ЛАНН lani, Blg лани, Cz loni, P łoni, R Δ ло'ни(сь), SCr, Slv lani | P 24-6, EI 64, 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, EWA I 162-3, Vn. A 31-2, 57-8, 61, RE 117, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Billy 6-7, 35, Slr. 270, Fs. 39, Vr. 100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 | Here, as in S, there may be infl. of deictic and other dem. elements || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *äl̥, *äl̥_l-m̥ 'the other side' > pObU {Ht.} *āl-, *āl̥am > pVg *āl- > Vg LK ȳl̥wə (lative case) 'hinüber, auf die andere Seite des Wassers', pVg *āl̥am > (in cds.) Vg: T āl̥am, LK/UK ȳl̥am, P/LL ȳl̥am-, Ss āl̥am- 'on the other side of..' (e.g., Vg: T āl̥ampālt, LK ȳl̥ampȳlt, Ss āl̥ampālt 'hinter, auf der anderen Seite [des Wassers]', P āl̥ampāl 'das jenseitige Ufer'); pOs *āl̥am- > Os: Yāč̥am, Os: D/K/Kr āt̥am 'the other (side)', D/Kr āt̥am-pel̥ak 'the other side of a river\lake' | Hg Δ el̥v, el̥ū, el̥ 'jenseitige Gegend', postposition el̥vé, el̥vett̥ 'on the other side', el̥vōl̥ 'from the other side' | UEW 836, Ht. 125 [#19], Stn. D 78, MF 150 || A *a_l̥- 'on the other side, across' > M *alu-s 'on the other side, across' > MM [S] alus id., WrM alus, HIM als id., 'farther, beyond; more than', Kl алс al̥s 'at some distance', (with gen.) 'across, over', {Rm.} 'über, auf der anderen Seite'; M б̥ > Yk olus ~ alis 'extremely, very much, more', Qzq алыс alis 'distant, far' | H 6, MED 33, Klz. MJ 16, KRS 36, KW 8, MM 31 || Tg: WrMc aldaŋga 'far, distant; from a distance (издали)', ?σ Mc Sb ʔaləduŋə 'queer, unusual, weird' | Hr. 33-4, Z 39-40, Y #2560 || ?σ pJ {S} *asu 'steep bank, precipice' > OJ asu (азу) id. | S QJ #1203 || d.: A *ā́la- (< *al-ya-, with compensatory lengthening due to the contraction of the cns. cluster *-ly-?) v. 'cross (mountains)' (S AJ 197 [#259], S VL) > T *ā́l- v. 'cross (a mountain\mountains)' > OT āš- v. 'cross, Chg aš- v. 'exceed, surpass', Tkm āš- v. 'cross (mountains, other obstacles)', OOsM, ET, StAlt aš-, Xk as- id., v. 'overflow', Tk aš-, Az, Qrg, VTt, Ln aš-, SY as- v. 'cross (mountains)', Qzq as- v. 'overflow the banks' (← v. 'cross the banks'), Qq as- v. 'overflow', ET, StAlt aš-, Xk as- v. id., 'cross (mountains)', Yk ās- v. 'cross, pass' | Cl. 255, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 212-4, BT 23-4 || Tg *ala-, *ala-n- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)' > Ewk Skh/Urm/Uc ala-, alan-, Ewk Ald/Z/Tr alan-, Lm O ala-, Lm Ol/B/P ol̥n-, Neg alan- id.; Tg *ala-n 'mountain pass, crossing of a mountain ridge' > Ewk Urm alan 'mountain pass', Lm Ol al̥n, Lm O alan id., 'crossing of a

mountain pass' (n. act.), Nn *alā* 'mountain pass' ¶ ≈ STM I 27-8 ¶¶ DQA #65 (A **ālā* 'cross [a mountain]') ◇ Cf. IS MS 372 (IE **he*l- 'over, above', A **āl*- v. 'cross a mountain'), ⇔ AD LRC #64 (IE **a*l-~**o*l- equated with A **o*lam- v. 'wade' and S **ʕ*a|l- 'on, above, top') and IS I 274-5 (N **ʕ*al|*ʕ* 'to cross a mountain' > A **ālā*- id., HS ✓**ʕ*l v. 'cross a mountain, climb, summit', ? IE **he*l- 'from\on the other side'). Today, when it has been shown that HS **ʕ*a|l- had a meaning different from IS's interpretation and has a better alt. et. (*F* s.v. N **ʕ*A|*ʕ* 'height, top', 'climb, go up'), we must revise the rec. formulated in IS I 274-5 ◇ If CS **ʕ*al|*ʕ*?- belongs here, the N rec. will be **ʕ*al|*ʕ*?E, but if this S cognate is rejected, we have to reconstruct a less specified N **ʕ*?|*a*lE.

770b. ₂ **ʕ*h|*a*l|*w*?|*ʕ* 'elephant' > HS: B **ʕ*h|*w* id. > Ah {Fc.} *ē*lu (pl. *ē*l*wān*), ET*w*l {PGG} *e*l*w*, Ty {PGG} *i*l*w*, Gh {Nh.} *a*lu, Zng {Nic.} *a*ž*ə*h, {Bs.} *i*ž*i*t (pl. *ā*ž*ā*ž*ə*n) ¶ Fc. 982, PGG 201 || ?ECh: Mkl {J} *ʔ*ēl*b*í 'elephant', pl. *ʔ*ēl*b*ì*ḏ*í; *ʔ*ēl*b*ì*s*ó 'female elephant' ¶ J LM 96 || ?*μ* EC: pBn {Hn.} **ā*l*ī*š*ī* 'female elephant' > Bn: J *al*í*š*í, K*j* *al*í*š*š, K *al*é*s*s*ə* id. ¶ For the element *-*š*í cp. Mkl *ʔ*ēl*b*ì*s*ó 'female elephant' ¶ Hn. BD 104 || ?*σ* S: Ak Bg/LB *al*ū 'bull (as a mythological being)' ({Blz.} 'mythical giant bull') ¶ CAD I/1 377, ASal. J 167, Dk. ESA 32 ¶¶ Cp. also Gk ἑλέφανς (gen. -*ντος*) 'elephant' (a loan from some HS [perhaps Libyan] source?) ¶¶ Blz. EH 3-4 || D: McTm **all*iyān > Tm *all*iyān 'stray elephant separated from the fold', Ml *all*iyān 'female elephant' ¶ D 258 ◇ N **ʕ*h| is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Ak (*a*-rules out all laryngeals other than **ʔ*- and **h*-) and B (Ah long *ē*-favours a lr. other than **ʔ*-). If Ak does not belong here, we have to reconstruct an unspecified N **H*|*Q*- ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#50].

771. ₂ **ʕ*h|*a*l|*ʕ*?|*u* 'to step, to walk' > HS: S **ʕ*h|*k* v. 'go, walk' > BH*b* ✓*h*l*k* *G* id. (pf. *ḥ*l*k* *hā*'l*a*k, inv. *ḥ*l*k* *l*e*k*, 3m ip. *ḥ*l*k* *yē*'-l*e*k), Ph ✓*h*l*k*, Pun pf. *ḥ*l*k*, inv. LECH, M'b 1s ip. *ʔ*h*k*, inv. *l*k, Ug *G* ✓*h*l*k*, Nab, Plm ✓*h*l*k*, Ak ✓*ʔ*l*k* *G* (inf. *al*ā*k*u) id., IA ✓*h*l*k* *D* 'walk', Md ✓*h*l*k* *D* 'proceed, go forward, travel, walk', Ar ✓*h*l*k* *G* (pf. *hal*aka) 'perish, pass away', Sq {L} 1p *Gt nah*'t*ilok* 'we perish' ¶ KB 236-8, KBR 246-8, HJ 280-2, OLS 165, DM 148, BK II 1439-41, Sod. 31-4, CAD I/1 300-28, DRS 413-4 || B (mt.) **ʕ*h|*k* v. 'walk' > Wrg {Dlh.} *ak*əl (3m pf. *yuk*əl) 'follow, walk, travel', Tm*z* {MT} *ak*əl *ḏ* *a*š*əl* (pf. *uk*əl *ḏ* *u*š*əl*) 'marcher sur, piétiner, fouler', Skn *ak*əl 'cheminer', BMn {Bs.} *k*əl (3s pf. *i*kl*a*) 'walk', d. verbal stems: Ah *sik*əl 'marcher au pas' (of animals), Gh

{Nh.} šikəl 'marcher droit son chemin', ds.: n. act.: Ah tēkle 'marche au pas', Gh čikəlt (pl. čikkal), BSn tišli, BMn hišli, Zww {Bs.} tikli, Wrs {Bs.} tičli, Nf tikli 'walking (marche)', Kb tiшli id., 'allure', Shnw {La.} hiikli 'la marche, le pas' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dlh. Ou. 142, La. S 193, La. Ch 143, Nh. 176, MT 331, Dl. 40, Bs. ZOu 145 || A: M *alqu- v. 'step' > MM [MA] alqu-, WrM alqu-, HIM алха-, Dgr alku-, ShY alḡə- id., Kl {Rm.} alχa- 'steigen, treten, schreiten'; -d> *alqum 'a step' > WrM alqum, HIM алха(м) 'step, pace, gait', Kl {KRS, Rm.} алх алχъ, алхм алχъм, Mnr H {SM} argu ~ ? χargu, MM [MA] alqu, Mnr H {SM} χargu, argu, {T} χalqu, Dx hanku 'a step' ¶ Pp. MA 99, MED 34, KRS 38, T 372, T DnJ 139, SM 13, 161, KW 7 ¶ Mnr and Dx χ-, h- is probably accounted for by Md.-Hl.'s law of a Mnr/Dx initial aspiration induced by the root-medial vl. cns. || pJ {S} aruk- v. 'walk' > OJ aruk-, arík- id., J: T arúk- 'walk, go on foot, step', K arúk-, Kg aruk-, Ns àkk^u-, Sh átč-, Ht arùg-, Y àig- 'walk' ¶ S AJ 270 [#84] ¶¶ S AJ 268 [#84] (*aluk'▽), S QJ #84, Mr. 677 ¶¶ DQA #22 ◇ HS *k < N *k̥ (HS deglottalization) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #178 (*al 'go') (A, J + unc. IE, Sm, CK).

772. *hAÍUK'a' 'be in need (hungry, thirsty), covet' > IE: NaIE *elk-/*olk- (or *alk-?) v. 'hunger, be hungry' > Lt álka-ti, Ltv aĩk-t 'to hunger', Pru alkīns 'nüchtern' ({Tp.} 'sober-minded'), Lt álkanas 'one on an empty stomach' || SI *olka-ti 'to hunger' > OCS ЛАКАТИ lakati ~ АЛЪКАТИ alъkati 'to hunger, to fast', OR ЛАКАТИ lakati (prs. ЛАУѢ) 'to hunger, to be thirsty', Slv lákati 'to hunger', Cz lákati, Slk lákati' 'to attract', P łaknać 'to hunger, to be hungry; to covet, to long for' || OHG ilgi 'famine' ¶ P 307, Frn. 8, En. 140, Trp. P A-D 75, Vs. II 452, SJSS I 27-8, Trt. 6-7, Kb. 496 || HS: WS *✓hlk > Ar ✓hlk G (halaka / -hlaku) 'être extrêmement avide de qch.', Mh h3'ł3kt 'thirst', Mh ✓hlk (pf. hīł3k) 'be very tired and thirsty', Jb C ✓hlk (pf. 'helk) id., 'miss so. who has died', Tgr {DRS} hēlkəy 'tired' ¶ Jo. M 156-7, BK II 1439, DRS 413-4 || A: T *aíuk- > NaT *ašuk- > OT ašūq- v. 'long for'; ??σ → NaT *ašuk- 'be in a hurry' > OT, Ln ašūq-, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg ašiq-, VTt, Bsh ašbq-, Nog, Qzq, Qq asiq-, Uz ašiq-, ET ošūq- id. ¶ Cl. 239, DTS 64, ET Gl 217-8 ◇ S *k is due to deglottalization of N *k̥.

773. *h'▽mP'i' 'venomous vermin\(?)reptile' > IE: NaIE *empi- ~ *emb^hi- 'stinging insect' > Gk ἐμπίς (gen. ἐμπίδ-ος) 'mosquito, gnat' || AS imbe 'swarm of bees', OHG imbi, NHG Imme id., NGr Wf īme

'bee' ¶ WP I 125, P 311, EI 312 (IE *h₁em'pī-s 'gnat, stinging insect') ≠ FI 506, ≠ Ch. 344, ≈ Ho. 187, Schz. 173, OsS 443, KM 325, Kb. 496 || **D** *umm∇]- 'ε stinging insect' > Kn ummuṛi 'ε insect', Tu umil° ~ umbli 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ **D** #638 || **HS**: WS *✓hmm > Ar hāmm-at- 'venomous vermin\reptile (scorpions, serpents, worms, lice)', Jb {DRS} hām 'big snake' ¶ BK II 1443, Hv. 834, DRS 424 || Ch {Nw.} *ami 'bee' > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ama > Gzg {Lk.} ?amam, {Ro.} amám, MfG {Brr.} amam, {Ro.}: Myn àmú, Mlk àmóm, Zlg amúm, Mofu úwàm id. || ECh: Jg {J} ?ímó, Brgt {J} ?imiyú, Mu {J} ?úm 'bee' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #70, Lk. G 117, Ro. 209 [#57], Brr. MG II 75 || Cp. also the N word group *η∇í∇ 'h'∇mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (q.v. ffd.; the initial component may be connected with N *ń∇í∇ [or *ń∇ı∇] 'ε insect', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The assimilation N *-mP- > HS **-mm- (> S *-mm-, Ch *-m-) still needs inquiring.

774. *han∇ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > **HS**: Eg G hrn 'head', hrn 'bis hin nach...' (unless < Eg fP hrn 'box, chest'???) ¶ EG II 491-5, Fk. 158 || S *o'h'ana > Ak ana, an 'towards, to' (Sd.: 'zu, [in der Richtung] nach'), ? Gz nē 'away to', 'towards' ¶ Sd. 47-8, LG 380 || C: HEC *hana 'over, above' > Sd āna 'over, on', Hd, Ged hana id. || ? Bj {R} -na 'mit, bei, an, auf' || C → Mb {Fl.} aná 'above' ¶ Hd. 109, R WBd 176 || ?? CCh: Gudu {IL} yin 'head' | Tr {Nw.} jin id. ¶ Nw. WLT 37, JI II 182-3 || **IE** *^rx'an ~ *^rx'anu ~ *(^rx'a)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf' > Av ana, OPrs anā 'über ... hin', 'entlang, auf', Av anu, OPrs anuv 'nach, gemäß', 'längs, entlang', OI 'anu 'after, along, according to' || ? Arm (h)am- verbal px.: (h)am-paṛnam (h)am-baṛnam 'I raise up', (h)am-beṛem 'ich ertrage' (-m- for *-n- due to generalization of the variant preceding a nasal cns. of the √) || Gk I/A ἄνα, ἀνά 'up, upon' || Gt ana, ORu ana, an, ON á 'on', OHG ana, an 'at, on, over, in', NHG an, AS an, on 'on', NE on || ? Lt anóte, anót 'according to' ¶ P 39-40, EI 612 (IE *h₁en-h₁e 'up [onto], upwards, along'), F I 100-1, Fs. 41, Vr. 1, Mkj. DR 119, Ho. 4, Kb. 23-4, EWA I 214-5, M K I 3, Frn. 11 || **U** *nä 'towards, into, near' > FU *-nä 'towards, into, to' > Os: N -nā 'towards, into' (lative, illative): χatnā 'into the house', ? E -nāt, -nat 'with'; Vg: T -nā, -nā, LK -nə, -ən, -n, P -nə, -n, Ss -na, -n 'to, into' (direction, lative case) | Hg Δ -ni, -ní 'zu', Hg -nek, -nak 'gegen, auf zu', OHg -nāl, -nél 'zu, bei', Hg -nāl, -nél 'bei' || Sm *nä (postposition): dat. sg. *nä-η 'zu', loc. sg. *nä-nā 'bei', abl. sg.

*nä-tъ 'von' > Ng dat. {Cs.} nâη 'zu', {Mik.} nanu 'bei', En X {Cs.} dat. ne, En B {Cs.} dat. nje 'zu', Ne T {Ter.} dat. ня 'zu', loc. няна 'bei', Kms nâ:mъn 'für, wegen' ¶¶ Jn. 99, MF 461-2, ≠ UEW 300 || D (in SD) *aḥḥ- 'upper part' > Tm aḥ 'upper part', aḥa v. 'lift the hand', Ml aḥḥa 'upwards, above', Kn aḥḥe, aḥḥa, aḥa 'excellence, purity', Tu aḥāvuni, aḥḥāvuni v. 'look up, lift up the face, gaze' ¶ D #110 ¶ The cerebrality of *ḥ in the D √ has not yet been explained (*-n- + suffixal *y > *-ń- > D *-ḥ-?).

775. *hEñ∇ 'iste' > HS: WS *hinn- 'here, voici, voilà' > Ug ḥn 'aquí', 'he aquí; _mira!; así', Hb ḥn 'voici', {KBR} pc. 'behold', Ph ḥn id., Ar ḥinna 'certainly, indeed', Sb {Bll.} ḥn 'behold, lo!', Gz {L} ḥan-ka 'so then', ḥangā 'indeed' ¶ KBR 251, OLS 167, HJ 285-7, Bll. 22, LG 26, DRS 427 || B {Pr.} *-hīn, deictic nominal sx. of remoteness and position out of sight > Twr {Pr.} -(h)īn id., Kb -ihin, -ihinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible object), -inna, -yinna, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible person or object), Tmz {MT} -nn, -nna, invariable postnom. dem. prn (remote or absent), Mz {Dlh.} -n, -an, -in, invariable deictic morpheme of remoteness or absence (aržaz-an 'cer homme-là'), Wrg {Dlh.} -n id. ('that'): argaz-an 'homme-là, cet homme-là', as-s-an 'ce jour-là en question', w-an 'celui-là', t-an 'celle-là', pl. i-ni 'ceux-là', ti-ni 'celles-là' ¶ AiM 217, Pr. M III 191-2, Dl. 282, 534-5, MT 456, Dlh. M 129, Dlh. Ou 208 || eEg -n, deictic element of proximity: m. pn 'this', f. tn, ntr. nn 'this', adv. sn 'so' ¶ Lpr. 68-71 || C: Ag: Bln {R} anžā 'that', Q {Hz.} an 'this', ín 'that', Km {Hz., Ap.} án 'this', {Ap., Hz.} in 'that', Aw {Hz.} ánn 'this', án 'that'; these forms or part of them go back to N sequences *ha 'ille' + *hEñ∇ and/or *h'i (dem. pc.) + *hEñ∇, producing the opposition 'this' ↔ 'that' ||| EC: Kns {BISO} ini 'this' ||| Bj {R} ūn nom. this' m. (accus. on, pl. nom. ān, pl. accus. ēn) ||| SC: ? Irq {Nb.} -sīη 'iste, that near you': hē-sīη 'iste homo' (the element -s- still needs explaining) ¶ Ap. K 321, Nb. 30-2, Wh. IC 79 (Irq -sīη 'that [particular]'), Hz. AL 21, R BedS III 32-6, Rop. 150 || Ch nominal determiner (m.) *-∇n∇ > Hs dōkì-n 'the horse' (↔ dōkì 'horse'), Bd {Sch.} kʷàm-âni 'that bull' (↔ kʷàm 'bull'), Gude {Sch.} ráhá-ná 'this axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), Msg {Sch.} dif nà 'this man' (↔ dif 'man'), and with loss of gender distinction: Mkl {Sch.} étròwó-η 'the woman' (↔ étròwó 'woman'), Ke {Sch.} hělgě-η 'the woman' (↔ hělgě

'woman') ¶ Sch. ED 156-9 || IE: [1] NaIE *eno-/*ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis) (× cd. with N *ha 'ille'?) > Lt anàs, aṅs 'that, that one', an(à) 'behold' || Sl *onъ 'that, that one' (→) 'he' (f. *ona, ntr. *ono, pl.: m. *oni, f. *oně) > OCS ONЪ onъ m. 'that, that one, ille', 'he' / ONA f. / ONO ntr. / ONH pl. m. / ONĚ pl. f., in later lgs. mainly 'he' / 'she' / 'it' / 'they': R sg. oH / o'Ha / o'Ho, pl. o'Hi, pl. f. † and Δ o'He, Uk BИH / Bo'Ha / Bo'Ho, SCr ôn (~ òn) / òna / òno, Slv òn / óna / onô (~ óno), Cz, Slk, P on / ona / ono || OI ana- 'this', base of pronouns (in a'nēna, a'naṽā, a'naṽōḥ), Av ana- (anaya), OPrs instr. anā || Arm unjū so-ṽn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< *k̄o-eno-) || Gk cd. ἐκεῖνος 'that' (distal deixis) (< *ē-ke-eno-) || Lenim 'indeed, truly; namely', 'for' (explanatory cnjc.), Osc íním INIM εινεμ, íní 'and' || Gmc cd. (< IE *u-on-yos): OHG jenēr 'that one', NHG jener 'that, ille', AS h.l. zeon, OFrs jen, MLG jene id., ON inn ~ enn 'the', Sw, Dn -(e)n id. || Ht an(n)i- 'that, yonder' (sg. com. annis), annaz 'formerly, once upon a time'; acc. to Pv., ann- < *on-yo- ¶¶ P 319-21, Frn. 10, Vs. III 140-1, Glh. 454, M KI 32, FI 476, 515, WH I 404-6, Bc. G 317, Vr. 286, Kb. 522, KM 332, Pv. I-II 51-5, E 458 (*h_ǵen- 'that') || [2] ? IE *h₂ēn (or *?ēn) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà' > Gk ἦν, ἡῖν, L ēn id. (× N *s₂ōy₂n̄ 'see, look' [q.v.]) || A: M nom. *ene 'hic' ('this', 'he, she, it' [hic-deixis]) / declension stem (of the obl. cases) *ene-n (× N *h₂e¹ 'this', deictic pc. [q.v.]) (with suppletion: *ene nom., *egün- for obl. cases and possibly *ede pl. 'these') > MM [S, MA] ene / obl. [MA] enen-, WrM ene, HIM энэ / obl. энэн-, Brt энэ e'ne / obl. энэн- e'nēn-, Mgl enā / obl. enān-, Dg энэ, Kl enə, Mgr {Pp.} nīē / obl. {SM} enūn-, {Pp.} nīān ¶ Pp. IM analyzes M *ene as *e-n-e (*e- + element -n- that "occurs in all pronouns": *mi-n-u, *či-n-u, *i-nu + deictic *-e); Pp.'s analysis is untenable, because *-n- in *minu 'of me', etc. occurs in gen. (not in nom.) and goes back to the N genitive pc. *nu (q.v.), while *-n- in *ene occurs in the nom. and hence belongs to the stem ¶ MED 316, ≈ Pp. IM 225-7, Pp. GMPJ 82, GBJ 141-3, SM G 40-1, Snz. SMJ 53-5 || ? K: GZ *-n, subject marker of 3 sg. in verbs > OG, G, Mg, Lz -n ¶ K 144-5.

776 ₂ *h₂u?En|n̄ 'wave' > HS: Eg N h₂n₂ω 'wave; flood (of the sea)' > Cpt: Sd z₂o₂eim ho₂eim, z₂o₂ime ho₂ime, B z₂wimi h₂ōimi, coll. z₂imh h₂imê 'wave' ¶ EG II 481, ≈ Vc. 292 || ? C: Bj {R} ha₂y₂mo 'wave' || IE *xun- / ? *xwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', hunhunessar/n- id., ?

hunhumazzi- id. || NaIE: pGmc *unθiō, *unθu- 'wave' > ON unnir, uðr (pl. unnir), OSx ūthia, AS ūð, OHG unda id. || L unda id. ¶ ¶ ≈ P 79-80, Ts. EI 287, ≠ WH I 816-8. Vr. 635, Ho. 413, Ho. S 82, Kb. 1070.

777. *hAwη∇ 'sense, mind, soul' > HS: S *^o✓hwn, *hawη- 'sense' > Sr ^ohaw'n-ā 'mens, intelligentia', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} ^ohāwā'nā ~ ^ohāwō'nā 'Vernünftigkeit, Einsicht', JPA ^ohwn 'sense'; ??σ CS *✓hwn 'be easy' (if from *'savoir faire'?) > Ar ✓hwn (pf hāna) 'become easy', BHb ✓hwn Sh (3p watta'hīnū) 'regard as easy'; ???σ Ph hwn 'wealth', BHb ^ohōn 'wealth, sufficiency; enough' ¶ Br. 173, Sl. P 161, Lv. I 458-9, Lv. T I 196, KB 232, BDB 22, HJ 276-7, DRS 388-9 || **U:** FU (att. in FL) *^oa|āηe 'spirit, ghost' (× N *^oʔaηq'i' 'breathe' [q.v.]) > F aave, Δ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita vt. 'feel\smell', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' | Lp I vūēηηēž 'spirit (water-spirit, wood-spirit, incumbent, gnome, etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || **A** ≈ *āη∇ > T *āη, {Md.} *āη 'mind, intellect, consciousness' > OT, Chg aη 'understanding, intelligence', Osm {Bu.} ^oank (= aη?) 'intelligence; intellect, mind' ('сметливость; умъ, понятие'), Tk an, Tkm āη, Uz aη, ET aη, QrB, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aη, Chv ^oan ^o 'mind, intellect'; T *āη- v. 'remember, call to mind, understand' > OT, MQp, XwT aη- id., Chg xv aη- 'understand', Tk an-, Tk Δ, CrTt, Kr Cr aη-, Az an- an- 'remember, call to mind', Tkm āη- 'understand, guess, recognize, feel'; ⇨ T *āη-la- v. 'understand' > OT anla-, Tk anla-, Chv ^oanla- ^oanla-; acc. to SDM97 (s.v. *a|e|u|ok'∇ ~ *ā|ö|u-), WrM aηzira- ~ anzira- v. 'know, understand, comprehend' (MED 46-7) is a loan from *aη-sira-, a word in some Turkic (SDM: "Siberian Turkic") lgs. ⇨ T *āη- with the sx. *-sira- (denoting uncomplete action) ¶ Cl. 165, 168, 186, ET Gl 153-4, Dr. TM II #565, Rl. I 123, Bu. I 73-4, Md. 104, 159 || ?σ Tg *^oeηē- > Lm ^ozēli-, ^ozēt/ç- 'peep, observe, spy out, find out (разведывать)' ¶ STM II 458 || pJ {S} žmž-p- v. 'think' > OJ òmòp-, J: T omó-, K ómó-, Kg òmò- ¶ QJ #160, Mr, 471 ¶¶ S AJ 286 [#243] (A *āη∇), DQA #462 (A *ēη∇ 'think, understand' > incl. T, Tg, J) || **D** *uηη- 'think, consider, look' (× N *^ožōyñ∇ 'see, look; eye', q.v. ffd.).

778. *hUP_U 'bad', 'error, sin' > IE *x^wep-/*x^wop-/*xup- '≈□evil' > Ht {Ts., Pv.} huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad', {Phv.} huwapp- v. 'ill-treat, harrow, harass, disfigure, spoil', huh(h)upa- 'evil', huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless', HrLw hupasanu- v. 'cause to be harmed' || NaIE: Gk ὕβρις

'insolence, outrage; wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion' (← IE ≈ *xuwappar- / *xuppar-?) || Gmc (< *xupelo-): Gt *ubils*, OSx *uvil*, OHG *ubilo*, NHG *übel* adj. 'evil, bad', AS *ufel* 'evil', NE *evil* || OIr *fel* 'bad' (< *xupelo-) ¶¶ EI 43 (IE *h₂h₃wop- 'treat badly'), F II 954, Fs. 508, KM 799, Kb. 1061, Ho. 412, Ho. S 82, Ts. EI 290, Pv. III 358, 360, 430-2, Juret VELH 71, Szem. JHS 154 (Ht. ÷ Gk) || HS: B *^o✓^rH¹f > Ah *əhəf* 'dévier' ¶ Fc. 521, Pr. H #162 || ?σ S *^ohūp- > Ar *hūf*- 'homme lâche et paresseux; peureux; sot, imbécile'; ??? Ar *tahfīf*- 'lâche, poltron; sot, imbécile' (unless ← ✓^rhff 'léger') ¶ BK II 1428-9, 1458 || A: NaT **ubut* n. 'shame' > OT {Cl.} *uvut* 'modesty, shyness', {DTS} *ubut* 'shame', MT XII-XIII {Brv.} *ovut* ~ *oyut* id.; variants: **ubat* ~ **uyat* (< **ubyat*?) 'shame' > OT T {BG} *uwyat*, ET Δ {Jr.} *ubat* ^ḍ *uwat*, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, ET, Alt, Xk *uyat*, Qzq *ūyat*, VTt, Bsh *ūyat*, Tv *iyat*, Yk *sāt* id.; NaT **ubat*- ~ **uyat*- 'be ashamed' > ET Δ {Jr.} *ubat*- ^ḍ *uwat*- ^ḍ *uyat*-, Tk Δ, Xk *uyat*-, Tv *iyat*-, Yk *sāt*- id. ¶ Cl. 6, ET Gl 561-3, Brv. T 230, 252, Jr. 321, BG AI 467 || Tg *^oüb- (or *^oi-), {DQA} *^oüb- > Ewk *ibja*- ^ḍ *iwja*- 'be ashamed' || pJ {S} **zɜzɜz*- 'perturbed, taken aback' > OJ *opopo-si*- ¶ S QJ #1525 ¶¶ DQA #669 (A **iupo* 'be ashamed, taken aback'; incl. T, Tg, J) ◇ The apparent discrepancy between T **u*- and Tg *^oü- (if the latter is the right rec. of pTg) may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of the T and pre-Tg vowels of the second syll.).

779. *her ▽ 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > HS: CS *^rhr ~ *^rhyr v. 'disintegrate, be destroyed, hurt' > Ar *هير* ✓^rhyr (pf. *هَيَّرَ* *hayyara*, *D* with factitive meaning) v. 'destroy' (BK: 'détruire, faire crouler, démolir'), {BK} *هور* ✓^rhwr (ip. -*hwar*-) 'démolir, abbatre (une maison)', 'crouler, tomber en ruines' (dit d'un édifice), {Hv.} ✓^rhwr (ip. -*hūru*) v. 'fall to pieces', 'crumble down' (of buildings), 'crush down' (of people), JA, Sr ✓^rhr *Sh* ṭv. 'do harm, hurt' (Sr pf. *شَرَّهَ* *ʔa-har*, ip. *n-a*(^ʔ)*har*, acp. *ma*(^ʔ)*har*), JA [Trg.] acp. sg. f. *מַחֲרֵרָה* *mah^arā* 'beschwert' (*кړۍۍۍ mhrh lby^ʔ dgbr^ʔ* 'Die Krankheit beschwert das Mannesherz') ¶ BK II 456, 466, Br. 182-3, JPS 106, Lv. T I 205, Hv. 839 || IE *^her(H)- (> NaIE **er*₁-/**ar*₁-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться') > OI '*ardh-ah*' 'part, side, half', Av *arəša*- 'side, half' || Gk *ἐρήμος* (< *^herēn-) 'desolate, lone(ly). solitary' (← *'separated') || Lr *ārūs* (< *^herēn-ro-?) 'sparse, not dense' (→ 'rare') || Lt *ir-ti* 'to disintegrate, to fall to pieces, to break down' (with

innovating accentuation), Ltv {ME} *īr̃t* 'sich auf-\nos-trennen, sich bröckeln', Lt *ardýti* (caus.) 'to unrip, to destroy, to demolish' ({Frn.} 'Zusammengefügtes lösen, auftrennen, zerlegen, abbrechen'), Ltv *ēr̃st* (1s p. *ēr̃du*) 'auseinanderbringen, reffeln, trennen' || pSl *ori- (caus. with the *0-grade of apophony and with the sx. *-i-) > OCS **орити** *oriti* 'destroy', Blg **оря** 'I ruin'; ⇨ Sl *ob-ori-ti > OCS **оборити** *oboriti* 'to destroy, to demolish', SCr *obòriti* 'to fell', Cz *obořiti* *se* 'to come down, to collapse'; Sl *orz-ori-ti 'to ruin' > OCS **разорити** *razoriti* '(δλα-)λύειν', SCr *razòriti*, R **разорить** id. ¶ IS I 246, EI 158 (IE *h₂erH- 'destroy'), F I 557, M K I 51, M E I 119, WH II 418-9, Frn. 15-6, ME I 576, 710-1, ≠ P 332-3, Vs. III 152-3, 435 || **u**: FU *erä(-) '(*) to disintegrate' > F *erä* 'part, share', *erässä* 'separately', Es {W} **ära** ~ **era** 'Besonderes, Getrenntes, Eigentümliches', Es S *erä* id. || Lp N {N} **æra** 'another' || Chr L {MRS} **ир-аш** *ir(e)-* vt. 'disintegrate, pull apart, destroy, break' ('разваливать [что-л. сложное], разрушать, ломать') || pPrm *ōr- vt. 'tear off' > Vt *ur-*, Vt SW: Vt *Ur/Shm ùr-*, and Vt B *oʀr-* ({Lt.} *er-*) vi. 'tear off', 'break' (of an abscess), Z *or-* vi. 'tear off, be torn', Z US *or-* id.; Lytkin (LG) reconstructs Prm *ōr-, but the SW ds. of Vt (the only ds. distinguishing between pPrm *ō- and *ō̄ - F Lt. 75) provide ev. for *ō̄- || pOs *är- > Os {Stn.}: V/Vy *ärəʃ*, Ty/Y *ärʃə*, Nz/Kz *ara*, O *ārri* 'separately, apart' ('getrennt, auseinander') ¶ Cf. IS I 246-7, SK 40-1, W EDW 71-2, N III 870, MRS 137, Stn. D 155, ≠ LG 207 || **а**: T *erü- (~*ärü-?) v. 'melt, become liquid' (of ice, fat, wax, etc.), 'boil soft in cooking' > OT {Cl.} *ärü-~äri-* v. 'melt, become liquid', OXwT *äri-*, Chg *eri-*, MQp XIV *eri-~äri-*, Cum *iri-* v. 'melt', Tk *eri-*, VTt **эр(е)-** **ыр(ь)-**, Ggz *jeri-* id., Tkm **Δ erī-**, Qrg, Qq, Uz, StAlt, Tv *eri-* v. 'dissolve', Chv *ir̃b̃-* vi. 'melt', v. 'turn to ashes' (of charcoal), v. 'ravel out, come to pieces' (of clothes); the Chv stem goes back to a merger: T *erü- × T *e|är- v. 'knead, mash' (DTS 192, Rl. I 887). The latter T stem may, too, go back to the N etymon in question ¶ The origin and the age of the variant with unexpected *ä- in *ärü- (if it does exist) are not clear. The stem-final *-ü- is probably a sx. of intransitivity; Chv *ir-* vt. 'dissolve' may go back to an underived T transitive verb *oer- ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 289-90, DTS 177, 182, Rs. W 47-8, BT 193, Ash. III 131-5 || ?φ **D** *iṛ° v. 'break in pieces, smash' > Tm *iṛu* (*iṛuv-*, *iṛṛ-*) v. 'break, snap (as a stick)', *iṛu(-pp-, -tt-)* v. 'break off (as a branch), snap asunder, break in pieces', Ml *iṛuka* v. 'break, snap', Tl *iriṛu* v. 'be broken, smashed', Kui *renga*

v. 'be broken in pieces', Krx $\epsilon\sigma\eta\bar{\alpha}$ v. 'break, divide by force' (a stick, a tooth, etc.), 'quell, crush' ¶¶ D #520 ◊ D *i (for the expected *e < N *e, suggested by U and T) needs explaining ◊ Cf. IS I 246-7: IE, U- A, D. The root-final lr. in IE (rec. of EI) is probably an innovation (< sx.?), because both S and D do not suggest any lr. Another solution is N *herh|ʔ▽ with loss of N *h|ʔ in S and in pre-D (D *-r̥- < intervocalic *-r-).

780. *hoR'i' 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' > IE *H^wer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born' > Gk νε-ορτός 'new-born' ||| Arm **որդի** ordi (gen. pl. **որդւոյ** ordwoy) 'son' (< *ord^hijo-) || ?? Lorior / orīri / ortus 'be born' (× orior 'rise' < NaIE *or-/*er- 'rise' < N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') ¶ ≈ P 326-8, Sl. 324-5, WH II 222-3, ≈ F II 423 ||| **HS:** S *✓hry 'conceive, be(come) pregnant' > Hb הרה ✓hry, Ug ✓hry, OA ✓hry, Ak fOB/OA inf. arû ~ erû, Eb ʔà-rí-tum = {Krb.} harītyum id., Sb {MiK ← BGMR} ✓hry 'be pregnant', hry 'pregnancy' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255-6, OLS 169, HJ 293, CAD IV 325, Sd. 72, Krb. 23, DRS 452-3, MiK I #2.21 ||| B *✓Hr^w v. 'bring forth, bear (a child), beget' > Ah aru (pf. yerəw), ETwl aru (pf. erəw), Ty aru (pf. yarəw), Gd āraw, Izd aru, Tmz {MT} arew, Kb {Dl.} arəw (pf. yurəw), Mz aru (pf. yirū), Si {La.} iru 'enfanter, accoucher', Gh {Nh.} aru (pf. iru) 'enfanter', aru (3f pf. čiru) 'accoucher'; in nouns: Ah āra 'child, young of animals', Wrg {Dlh.} ara 'progéniture, enfant', Mz {Dlh.} ar(ŕ)a 'progéniture, bébé', Tmz {MT} ara 'agneau d'un an', Ah āraw, Ty {GhA} arraw 'boy', Kb arraw 'enfantement', Tmz arraw 'progéniture', Si {La.} tarawain pl. children', Kb, Wrg tarwa 'postérité, enfants', Mz tarwa id., 'baby', Tmz tarwa 'enfantement, naissance', Si tarwa 'postérité, descendance; enfantement', Gd tarwa 'fils, progéniture' ¶ Fc. 1647-51, GhA 164, 246 (Pcj. I A), Mrc. 13, Lf. II #1385, MT 559, 591, Nh. 123, 156, Dl. 736-7, Dlh. M 168, 176-7, Dlh. Ou 266, 280, La. S 230 ||| C: Ag: Bln {R} er-t- 'conceive' (of a cow) ||| Bj A {AD} (hu) ʔōr, pl. (hu) ʔar, Bj {R} ʔōr, pl. ʔar 'son, boy' ¶ R WB 46, R WBd 27-8, ADP BFN, ≈ AD SF 82-3 ||| Eg fOK iwr v. 'conceive (a child), become pregnant' ¶ EG I 56, Fk. 13, Vc. 248 ||| ECh: Nd D {J} ʔárá 'be pregnant', Tmk {Cp.} ùr̄z̄r̄ 'make (a woman) pregnant, be pregnant' ¶ ChC, Cp. 97 ¶¶ Coh. 80 [#90], OS #1200 (S, ECh), Tk. I 278 (S, Eg, Bln, ECh) ||| **A:** M *ori (unless it is *o^uori) 'young' > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ori, HIM {Luv.} opb adj. 'young', WrM {Rm. SKE} ori 'young, boy; young man' ¶ Qu., because not attested in the available sources of lgs. outside WrM and HIM ¶ Kow. 439, Gl. I 262,

Luv. 310 || pKo *à₁r₁- 'young' > MKo à₁r₁-, NKo a₁ri-(ta) adj. 'young' ¶ S QK #958, MLC 1128 || Tg *or^ro^r-kan 'young of an animal', *or- (+ other sxs.) id. > Neg oyokon, Orc orko ~ oroko ~ oroko(n-) 'young of bears', Nn Nh orōkã, Nn KU orokō 'young of animals, Ud {Krm.} oṛ 'animal', Ewk oronāt 'female bear (three-year-old)', WrMc orχoca, orcun 'small; newborn (baby)' ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273 || ? NaT *ur₁ϣ₁ 'child, son' (× A *p^ruri 'child, offspring[s]' < N *pōr^ri^r 'child, offspring' × N *H|wur▽ 'male person\animal') > OT ur₁ 'male child, son'; (× T *uruϣ 'clan'): Tv uruϣ 'child, girl', Tf uruϣ 'child' ¶ Cl. 197, Ra. 237, ET Gl 604-6 ¶¶ DQA #630 (A *j₁aru 'young of an animal' > incl. M, Tg, Ko) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. зачатъ *h₁u/r₁ (IE, HS). Cp. N *H|wur▽ 'male'.

781. *he₁ʔ|y₁r^rE^r 'male' > HS: Eg fP h₃y 'husband' > Cpt Sd/B ʔai hai id. ¶ Belongs here unless the variant h₃y (presumably underlying the verb h₃y 'act as a husband') is the original one (as Vc. supposes) and is akin to Bj {R} hi₃yō 'husband'. An alternative hyp. is that h₃y 'husband' and the v. h₃y are not connected etymologically ¶ EG II 475, Vc. 240, Tk. I 81 || C: EC: Gdl hēro 'male, man', Or hēr-um- ps. 'marry' (of a girl) | AdS of EC {AD} *ʔar- and Ag: Aw {Hz.} ṅära (< *ṅi-ara) 'her husband' (< N *ʔaR▽ 'member of one's clan\family', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, Grg. 206, HL 70 || Ch: Bks {J} re (pl. ʔarya) 'man' (× the abovementioned N *ʔaR▽) ¶ J R 145 || AdS of NrOm: Anf {Gt.} arō 'man' (< N *ʔaR▽, q.v. ffd.) || A: T *ēr ~ *ār 'male, man' > OT er, Tk er, Tkm ār, VTt, Bsh ir, Qq er adam, Tb ēr, Xk ir, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, SY, Tv er, Yk är, Xlj här, Chv ar 'male person', Az är, ET er 'husband' ¶ Chv a- and Tkm ār provide ev. for a pT *ā^r-, but VTt/Bsh i- is likely to point to a pNaT *e₁ʔ₁- ¶ Cl. 192, Rs. W 46, Dr. TM II ##178-9, ET Gl 321-2, DT 129, TL 561, 661 || M *ere 'male person, male animal' > MM [HI, LV, IM] ere 'male', [IsV, MA] ęre 'man', [S] ere 'husband' (pl. eres 'men'), WrM ere, HIM эр, Ord {Ms.} ere 'male (person, animal)', Kl {Rm.} erə 'man, male', Mnr H {SM} rē 'mâle non châtré' (of animals); 'masculin, de sexe mâle', MMgl ęrra, Mgl irrâ 'male', Dx {T} ere(kun), Ba ere kuṅ, Dg {T} er 'male person' ¶ H 45, Ms. H 55, Lg. VMI 32, Pp. MA 161, 437, Pp. L II 1262, KW 123, MED 321, SM 313, Iw. 102, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 140, T BJ 152 ¶¶ DQA #2764 (*āri ~ *ēra 'man'), S AJ 54, 283 || D *ē₁ʔ₁ 'male, bull' (× N *qer▽ '[wild] ox') > Tm ē₁ʔ₁ 'bull, male of certain animals (pig, deer, buffalo, tiger,

lion)', MI ēru 'bullock', ēran 'bull', Kt e·r 'male buffalo', Td e·r id., 'bull'; ? (× N *?aR∇ 'member of one's clan/family'): Brh arē 'man (vir), person, husband' ¶¶ D #917 || ? Acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE *h₁ers-/*h₁rs- (≈ {AD} *h₁pers-/*h₁rs-) 'male' > OI r̥ṣa-'bha-ḥ 'bull', Av, OPrs aršan- 'man (vir), male animal' ||| Arm այր պԿ (gen. առն ա՛րն) 'man', առնի ա՛րն-ի 'virile' ||| Gk I/Cr ἄρσην 'male', Gk ἄρσην id. ¶ ≈ P 336 (unc.: ← *ers- 'flow' [→ 'semen emittere']), FI 152-3, M KI 125, M EI 260-1, Sl. 121 ¶ The IE stem belongs here only if *-s- is an ext. (according to IS l.c., induced by the synonymous IE *H₂ers- 'male' [→ OI v̥r̥ṣaḥ 'bull', Av varəšna- 'male']) ◇ The long *ē in A and D suggests the presence of a N lr. (*? or *h, to judge upon the HS cognates) or of *y after the N vw. *e. The T variant stem with *ā- is puzzling ◇ IS I 247-8 [#108] (misprint ἄρσην for ἄρσην) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #259 (*er 'man') (T, M + err.: IE *r̥sen, U, Ko, Gil; cf. N *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal').

782. *h₁o¹R∇b∇ 'run' > HS: S *✓hrb v. 'flee' > Ar ✓hrb G (ip. -hribu) id., Sb hr̥b id., Mh, Hrs ✓hrb (pf. Mh hōrəb, Hrs h̥rōb) 'put to flight, smuggle', Jb E hurb, Jb C o¹hurb 'smuggle; run away (from prison)', Ak {Sd.} ar̥bu 'fugitive' ¶ Fr. IV 382, BK II 1409, BGMR 56, Jo. M 159, Jo. H 52, Sd. 66, DRS 447 || ?ϕ amb Ch {Stl.} *r̥w-/*r̥y- 'run' > WCh: Ngz r̥aw̥u id. | Dir riya, Cg rey id. ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} r̥ōr̥o 'galopper', Jg {J} rer 'go' ¶ Belongs here unless akin to Ar ✓rwḥ 'go, go away' ¶ Sch. DN 138, Stl. IF 133, JA 120 ||| K: OG rb-i, mi-rb-i v. 'run', G rb- 'run (laufen, rennen)' ¶ Ser. 1049-51, Chx. 132 ||| U: FU *¹ow¹rE- 'run' > Er ardo-ms, Mk ардомс arda-ms 'to run' (of animals), 'fahren', Mk арнемс arñə-ms frq. id. | Prm *ūr- > Z {W} †rmaś- v. 'hurry', Z †rsk†bt†- 'begin to run, start with a jerk (рвануться)', Z Ss †rsk†pt†- 'vor Schreck in Galopp fallen' (of a horse), Vt †rgat- 'anreizen, hetzen (den Hund)' (← *'make run') ||| OHg *ir- (OHg XIV iruele) 'laufen, rennen', OHg, Hg †iram- 'rennen', Hg iram-od- 'rennen, schnell laufen', iram 'pace, speed', ir-ul- 'entweichen' ¶ MF 322, EWU 621-2 ¶¶ Mr a- and Hg i- apparently suggest FU *ō-, while Prm *ū- can be accounted by FU *ū-, but all these vowels together may be accounted for by a pFU *ow-. ◇ Hardly here M *orgu- 'flee, escape' (> WrM orgu-, HIM орго-) (if from **orβu-?), which is more likely to belong together with Nn orgoč̣i- v. 'incite'.

783. (₂?) *hūrč̣∇ '≈□ wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > **HS:** CS *✓hrs, *-hrus- > BHb ✓hrs (ip. -h^aros) v. 'tear down' → 'annihilate', M'b ✓hrs G 'destroy', Ar G ✓hrs, -hrusu v. {Hv.} 'bruise, bray, crush down', {BK} 'battere, piler avec force'; cp. also S *✓hr̥ŝ > OYmn ✓hr̥ŝ (={Slw.} har aḏa) 'tear (cloth)' ¶ KBR 256-7, BK II 1412, DRS 456-7, Slw. 213 || **A:** M *ürč̣iy- (unless ir is *φürč̣iy-) > WrM ürc̣ii-, HIM үрчий-х v. 'become shrunk and wrinkled; to frown; to wrinkle one's face', Kl {Rm.} ürč̣ī- 'sich runzeln, Grimassen machen'; the cognate is valid unless in pM there is an initial *φ- ¶ MED 1011, KW 459 || **IE:** ḫt {Ts.} har s- 'aufreißen' ¶ Frd. HW 59, Ts. W 17, Ts. E I 182-3, ≠ Pv. III 184-5 (believes that har s- 'aufreißen' [= {Pv.} v. 'pound'] is a stylistic usage of the Ht verb har s- v. '≈□ till the soil' [which he considers to be a loan from S *✓hr̥θ id., see s.v. N *XaRč̣∇ 'rub, scratch'])).

784. *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' > **HS:** WS *✓hr̥g v. 'kill' > BHb, M'b, Yd, OA ✓hr̥g G id., Ar {Fr., BK} هرج ✓hr̥g G (hariḡa / -hriḡu) 'kill', Sb, Mn ✓hr̥g 'kill, slaughter', Qt ✓hr̥g v. 'kill, murder' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255, BK II 1410-1, Ltm. rRSE-VII/3: 377, BGMR 56-7, Rk. 47, DRS 448 || **IE** *xer̥g^h- 'disappear, die' > Ht har(a)k- 'get lost, disappear', {Ts.} 'umkommen, zugrunde gehn' || NaIE: Tc: B erkau 'cemetery', A {Wn.} *arkāmn- id. (→ adj. arkāmnāṣi) || Clt (× NaIE *perg- 'smite, destroy, kill' < N *Pārga 'to split'): Gl ORGE inv. 'kill!', OIr org- 'smite, slay', OIr [ʃ] orn 'murder', W orn 'killing, destruction' ¶¶ Hardly here Arm հարկանեմ harkanem (aor. haḡi) 'smite, slash' (probably from *perg- < N *Pārga) ¶¶ Ts. W 175-6, Pv. III 157-68, P 818-9 (*perg-), Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, Wn. 150, Sl. 257-8, EI 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy'), Ad. 95-6 || **D** *iḡ- v. 'die' > Tm iḡa 'die', Ml iḡu n. 'riun'; D *iḡ∇kk- v. 'kill' > Tm iḡakku id., Kn irku ~ ikku 'kill, destroy', derivatives: Ml iḡakkuḡa- v. 'die', ? Kui eḡga- v. 'die in childbirth' ¶¶ D #514.

785. (₂?) *haRḲa 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > **HS:** SWS *✓hr̥k v. 'take as booty, loot' > Sb mhr̥k 'booty', Gz māharkā 'booty, spoils, plunder', ✓mhr̥k (pf. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢 māhraka [mahraka]) v. 'take as booty, plunder, loot, rob, pillage', Tgr pf. mareka, Tgy pf. marək̆e, Am pf. marrək̆e id.; EthS → Aw marex^ωa, Xm, Q mirek id. ¶ BGMR 57, LG 334 || **IE** *xark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have' || NaIE *ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a

distance, hinder, prevent', $\alpha r \times$ 'stronghold, fortress' || Gk $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'ward off, keep off' || ? Arm $\omega p q t l n l u'$ *argelum* 'hinder, restrain, hold back' ¶¶ Pv. III 145-57, Ts. W 173-5, P 65 (*arek-), EI 270 (* h_2erk - 'hold back [to prevent of doing sth.], contain'), FI 141, WH I 62-3 || A: ? σ NaT * \circ arkuk- > OT *arquq* 'obstinate, refractory' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 55.

786. * $h^1 a\hat{s}^1 o^1$ 'burn' (of fire) > HS: C {E} * $\bar{a}\hat{s}$ vi. 'burn' > EC: Bs {HL} *elen* 'fire' || SC: Irq {Wh.} $\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$, {MQK} $\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$, Grw/Alg/Brn {Wh.} $\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$, (\rightarrow) Mb $m\omega-\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$ 'fire' || ?? σ †Ag {E} * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}l$ 'burn': Km {CR} $\bar{a}l\bar{a}l$ - v. 'be in heat' (of a horse), but of course not Bln {R} $\bar{a}l\bar{a}l$ - 'rosten' (not 'rösten', as Ehret has misread it); I have my doubts about the Km word as well: it is likely to belong together with Xm {R} $\bar{i}e\bar{l}e\bar{l}$ - v. 'neigh', so that both belong to the C \checkmark in question only if the semantic development was as follows: vi. 'burn' \rightarrow v. 'be in heat' (of a horse) \rightarrow v. 'neigh' ¶ \approx E SC 297 (s.v. SC * $\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$ \rightarrow * $\bar{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$ 'fire'), EPC #341, AD SF 290, Wh. IC 23, MQK 16, PB 137, HL 67, Gs. 19, R WB 26, R Ch. II 23, CR LK 163, Blz. SCL s.v. 'fire' || ??? Eg XX $\bar{i}\check{s}f$ ' \approx \square verbrennen' ¶ EG I 135 || K * \circ H ∇ $\check{s}\omega$ - > Sv: L {Dn.} \checkmark : $\check{s}\omega$ v. 'light\kindle a fire' (aor. 1s $\circ\chi\omega\bar{a}\check{s}\omega$, $\circ t\omega\bar{a}\check{s}\omega$, prs. 1s $\chi\omega\bar{i}\check{s}\omega e$ 'разводить огонь', $m\bar{i}\check{s}\omega e$ 'у меня горит огонь'), Sv UB {GP} \checkmark : $\check{s}\omega$ / $\check{s}u$; masdar UB/L $\bar{l}\bar{i}\check{s}\omega e$, LB/Ln $\bar{l}i\check{s}\omega e$ (vt., 2nd version) v. 'set fire to', (vi., 1st vers.) v. 'catch fire' ¶ GP 179, Dn. s.v. \checkmark : $\check{s}u$, TK 491 || IE * χes - \rightarrow * χas - 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry' > Ht $has(\bar{s})$ - 'ashes', *hassa*- 'fireplace, hearth, fire-altar', Lw $\chi a\check{s}\check{s}aniti$ 'hearth' || OI $\bar{a}sa\check{h}$ 'ash, dust' (\leftarrow 'burnt') || L $\bar{a}ra$ 'sacrificial altar', Osc *aasaí* 'in ara', Um *ase* 'arae'; ? L $\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ - 'be dry', *aridus* 'dry, arid' || ON *aska*, OHG *asca* 'ashes, dust', NHG *Asche* 'ashes', AS *asce*, *æsce* 'ash, dust', NE *ash* ¶¶ Acc. to Pv., the paradigm of Ht $has(\bar{s})$ - (nom. sg. *ha-a-as*, accus. sg. *ha-as-sa-an*, instr. sg. *ha-as-si-it*, accus. pl. *ha-s-su-us*) reflects IE nom. sg. * $A_1\bar{e}s$, accus. sg. * $A_1esm\check{u}$ ¶¶ P 68-9, Mn. 38, \approx EI 32 (* h_2eHo-s 'ash' \leftarrow \approx \square burnings'), Pv. III210-2, 221-4, Ts. EI 196-7, M K I 83, M E I 182-3, WH I 61, 65, Schz. 91, KM 33, Vr. 15, Ho 12, Kb. 46, EWA I 364-6 || A (** $\hat{a}\hat{s}\hat{a}$ -?): M **asa*- (unless it is * φasa -) vi. 'burn, catch fire, ignite' > WrM *asa*-, HIM *asa*-, Kl *as*-, Brt *aħa*- ¶ KW 16, MED 55, Chr. 67 || NaT **as*- v. 'cook' > Alt, Tlt, Shor, CrTt, Qzq *as-id.*, ? Tkm *aħ*- v. 'cook' (in the expression *naħar aħ-(maq)* v. 'cook a meal' [*naħar* is 'meal'], etc., unless from *aħ*- 'hang' in contexts like *eħ aħ*- v. 'cook meat' \leftarrow v. 'hang meat [over the fire]') ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 533-4, TkR 54, NogR 50, TatR 42, Jud. 74,s MM 43 || ? Tg: Ork *aladu*- v. 'roast

(поджаривать)' ¶ STM I 29 ¶ Tg *-l- suggests a pA *-ŝ- (??) < N *-ŝ-, but this is doubtful because in other N words (such as *hiŝE 'to break') N *-ŝ- yields Tg *-s- ¶¶ F KW 16: M, T *as- v. 'cook'; on M *-s- and Tg *-l- as reg. reflexes of N *-ŝ- see AD PNPh; S AJ 288 [#283], ≠ DQA #54 *ase (¬ *p'ase) 'catch fire; hot' (incl. M) ◇ Otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. *pasa 'fire' (not distinguishing between the N word in question and N *pūs▽ 'fire'). I reconstruct N *h- on the joint ev. of HS and IE: the only cns. yielding χ- in Ht and zero in C is N *h- ◇ Gr. II #53 (*as 'burn') (IE, A, CK).

787. *hiŝE 'to break' > HS: S *^o✓hŝŝ > Ar hašš- 'fragile'; +ext: S *^o✓hŝm > Ar ✓hšm G 'crush, bruise' ¶ Ln. 2894, Hv. 328, Dz. II 757, BK II 1422, 1424, DRS 462 || A {S} *is▽- v. 'break, break into pieces' > Tg *ise- (or *χise-?) v. 'break' > Ewk Δ išz- id., Neg isi-ktz- v. 'slap (in the face)', WrMc isele- v. 'butt each other, rival, compete, argue' ¶ STM I 336 ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless it is *χise- || pKo *isir- v. 'break into pieces, crush' > NKo isira- id. ¶ S AJ 256 [#142], S QK #142, MLC 1287 || pJ {S} *ùsú 'mortar' > OJ ùsú, J: T úsu, K ùsú, Kg usú ¶ S QJ #962, Mr. 564 || ?σ NaT *isir- v. 'bite' > OT isir-, Tk isir-, CrTt, Kr, Tf isir-, Xk, Tv izir-, Yk itir- id. ¶ ET Gl 671-2, Ra. 240 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [#149], DQA #610 (A *ìsú 'crush, grind; bite') || D (in NED) *içik- v. 'crack' > Krx isbg-nā v. 'open in long slits, chap, crack', isigkā 'crack, slit, chink', Mlt isge v. 'be well parched (as grain), be cracked (as the skin)' ¶ D #423, Pf. 185.

788. (₂?) *h¹ot▽ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odour of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odour\scent)' > HS: B *^o✓Hwt > Ah awt v. ps. 'sentir (une odeur)' ¶ Fc. 1536 || C: EC *pudg- ¬ *puzg- 'fragrance' > Sml udg-ōn id., Rn ùyûg or úyûg 'pleasant smell, fragrance', Or urg-aw- sv. 'exhale fragrance' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, PG 288 || IE *gʷ¹ed- 'odour' (× N *gUž▽ 'feel, smell [sth.]', q.v.) > Arm hnut hot 'odour, smell', hnuti hotim 'I smell (sth.)' || Gk ὀζω, Gk D ὀσδω vi. (pfc. ὀδωδα) 'emit an odour, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμή, Gk D ὀδμᾶ 'smell, scent' || L odor 'smell' || pAl {O} *admā > Al G amē {AlBED} 'scent, fragrance', Al T d. am-ēz 'food odour; smell (of freshly ploughed ground, of fire)' || Gmc: Sw os 'odour, smell of charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)', Dn, Nnr os (< *od-s-0-) 'Dunst, erstinkender Dampf' || Lt ūodžiū (inf. ūosti) vt. 'smell, sniff', Ltv ôžu (inf. ôst) vt. 'smell', vi. 'smell (of)' || OCz jadatai 'to search, to

inquire' (< *'to smell out') ¶ P 772-3, EI 528 (*h₃ed- v. 'smell'), Dv. #164, F II 353-5, Slit. 313-4, WH II 203, Wnt. AE 102-3 (Arm hot may point to the IE lr. *O- = *g^w-), Frn. 1167-8, AlbED 13, O 4 || ?σ,φ A: T (NaT?) *üδ- v. '≈□feel lust' (× N *gUž∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ EC *ʔ- points to a N *h- or *ʔ-, but if Arm h- goes back to an IE lr., it cannot be N *ʔ-. Hence a tentative preliminary rec. of N *h-.

789. ₂ *hawt∇ 'call, speak' > IE *heud- > NaIE *oaud- > Gk αὐδὴ 'voice, speech', αὐδάω 'I speak' ||| NaIE *wed- 'utter sounds, speak' (< IE **hwed- [{M} *a₂ued-] × IE *wed-/ud- < N *wot_L∇ʔ_LE - *wot_LEʔ_L∇ 'speak, utter sounds; [ʔ] organ of speech', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 251-2, P 76-7, M K III 133-4, F I 184, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, Ts. W 97-8 || HS: S *√hwt (*-hūt-) > Ar √hwt D 'call after so.', Hb √hwt Pol 2 p ip. תהוהתתו תהוהתתו tə-hōtə'tū 'overwhelm with reproofs' ¶ KB 247, GB 178, BK II 1455 || Eg RT/G hwt 'jammern, klagen', {Alb.} 'cry' ¶ EG II 485 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S).

790. *haw∇ 'to desire, to love' > HS: CS *√hwy (*-hway-) v. 'love, desire', n. abstr. *hawway- 'desire' > Ar هوى √hwy (hawiya / -hawā) G 'love, desire', n. abstr. هوى hawā(-n) 'desire, passion, love', Ug √hwy¹ G v. 'desire' (ip. 3f thw), Hb √ʔwy ~ √hwy: D ip. 3f תאָפּאָו'ווע' təʔaw'wē 'desires, wishes, will wish\desire', 3m pf. תאָפּאָו'ווע' təʔaw'wā 'desired', תאָפּאָו'ווע' n. 'desire', תאָפּאָו'ווע' haw'wā n. '(evil) desire' (KB: 'Willkür, Gier'), Amr {G} √hwy v. 'desire' ¶ KB 20, KBR 20, 232, A #820, OLS 170, G A 19, Fr. IV 420, DRS 386 || C: ???φ Bj {Rop.} √ywy 'be thirsty' (× N *Lûb∇ 'be thirsty, be hungry' [q.v. ffd.]) and/or akin to S *√χwy 'be hungry' ¶ R WBd 243 ¶¶ Cal. 36 (S + Eg fP hɜy [spelled OK h, fMK hy, Eg N hɜy] 'husband' + unc. Bj {Rop.} hiyi 'husband, wife', {R} hiyo id. [Rop. 200, R WBd 133]); Vc. (l.c.) rejects the comparison of these Eg and Bj words with CS *√hwy v. 'love'; I am inclined to support Vc.'s criticism both on semantic grounds (the semantic connection between 'husband' and v. 'love, desire', though quite natural today, is rather unlikely in an archaic society, like that of ancient Hamito-Semitic people) and on phonetic reasons (S *h- is not likely to correspond to Bj h-) || IE *hew- (or *ʔaw-) ({EI} *h₁e₁u- 'favour') > NaIE *aw- v. 'like, favour, want' > OI 'avati 'is pleased, strives', 'avi- 'favourable' ||| Gk Ep/Hm ἐν-ηής (gen. ἐν-ηέος) {LS} 'kind, gentle', {F} 'mild, sanft, wohlwollend', Gk αἴτης, Gk D {Ch.} αἴτης 'jeune homme aimé' ||| Arm ալիւն awiwn 'libido, fury, enthusiasm' (>

NArm **ալյուն** *avjun* 'inspiration') || Lavē- v. 'long for, desire' || W **ալյոս** 'to desire', **ալյո** 'desire, eagerness', **ալյոս** 'will' || ORu **ալյա** 'good fortune', Gt **ալյա** 'thanks' ¶¶ The connection with Ht **ալյա**- 'Weh, Leid, Not, Schwierigkeiten' (proposed by Mann) is not plausible. Since the AnIE reflexes are unknown, we cannot determine if the initial lr. was heavy or light. We reconstruct here a pIE unspecified *a-coloured lr. (denoted as *H-) or *ʔ- ¶¶ P 77, EI 197, Mn. 45-7, M K I 57, WH I 81-2, FI 47, 515-6, LS 565, Ch. 40, 348, Slt. 133, YGM-1 37, Ts. W 98 s.v. **ալյա**- || D *āV- v. 'desire' > Tm **āvu**, Ml **āvikka** v. 'desire', Tm, Ml **āval** n. 'desire', Td **ōf+1** 'desire to eat', Tl **āba** 'eagerness' ¶¶ D #394 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #80 (IE, HS), IS I 241-2 (IE, HS, D with references to earlier literature).

791. *how^ri¹ 'become, appear' > HS: S ***√hwy** (*-hway-) id., 'be' > Ak **√Hwy/w** (inf. **ewûm**, OB p. **īwe** < *yi-hwī) 'turn (into), werden (zu), geschehen, sein', BHb **√hyw** (pf. c. **wayyāhī**, js. **yāhī**, ip. **yih'yē**, pf. **hāyā**) 'become, be (werden, sein, bleiben)', Yd **√hwy** (pf. 3f **hw̄t**, 1s **hw̄t**) 'be, happen', OA **√hwy** id. (**h̄w̄t** 'she was', ip. **y-hwh** 'he will be'), IA, BA **√hwy** (pf. **חָיָה** **hw̄h**, **חָיָה** **hw̄h**) 'be, become, happen', Sr **√hw̄** 'fuit, factus est' (with accus.: 'happened to ...'), Ar **√hwy** 'se lever, paraître', 'rise' (star) ¶ Nld. NB 92, KB 232-4, GB 177-9, 903, Deg. 76-8, Seg. AAG 303-7, BK II 1461, Hv. 841, Sd. 266-7, Sd. G 153, CAD IV 413-5, HJ 271-6, DRS 386 || B ? ***√HwH** v. 'appear' > Sll **agg^w** (pf. **yugg^wa**) id. ¶ Ds. 18 ¶ Cp. B ***√hʔʔ** 'be in' < N ***ʔ|Γaʔ∇** 'grow, become' (q.v.) || C: [1] Bj {R} **hāy-** / **-hē** 'be, exist' (3m p. **ī-hē**, imv. 2m **hāy-a**) || SC ({E} pSC ***haw-** 'stay'): Irq {MQK} **hōt-** 'reside, stay', Irq {E}, Alg **hōt-** 'live, dwell', Asa **hūt-** v. 'stand (still)' (acc. to E, -t- is a sx.) || EC: ? Sa {R} **hāy-** 'live' (if R's transcription of the lr. is valid and unless the word is not a loan from EthS; if it is a valid cognate, it may have contaminated with HS **√hyw** 'live' < N ***Xay^rü¹** 'live' [q.v.]) || [2] the EC, Bj, and Aw sxs. of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs have developed from prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs), which may have been either ***-hay-** 'be' (akin to S ***√hyw** 'be' and going back to N ? ***how^ri¹**) or ***-Ha-** (< N ***ʔa** 'become, be' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, R WBd 132, R S II 200, AD SF 156 || IE: NaIE ***-ew-(ō)**, ***-eyw-(ō)**, ***-eyy-(ō)** 'be X', sx. of denom. verbs > Lt prs. **piemeniauju** / inf. **piemeniaũti** 'be a shepherd' (akin to **πιεμιο** 'shepherd'), Gk **βασιλεύω** 'be a king' (< **βασιλεύς** 'king'), **θεραπεύω** 'be attendant, do service' (< **θέραψ**, **θεράπων**

'attendant'), OCS *slugujq / slugovati* 'be a servant' (← *sluga* 'servant') ¶ Mn. 256, Me. SC § 234 || А: Tg *ō- 'become, happen' > WrMc o-, oo- v. 'become, be', Mc Sb o- id., Ewk ō- (ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear, happen', Sln ō-, Lm ō- (ō-dъ-m, ō-d-nл) v. 'become', Neg ō- (ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear', Orc ōdoli-, Ud o-do-, Ul o- (o-sl-nл-), Ork o-sl-id., Nn o- v. 'become'. The stem should be kept apart (as it is done in Vas., but not in STM and in IS) from the homonymous stem *ō- v. 'make' (> Ewk ō- [ō-ra-n] v. 'make', Sln ō-, Lm ō- [o-rъ-m, ōn], Neg ō- [ō-ya-n], Orc ō- [ō-y-ni], Ud o-~ō- [ō-i-ni ~ō-ri-ni], Nn o- v. 'make'). The etl. relations between the two stems (if any) are not yet investigated ¶ STM II 3-4, Vas. 312-3 ◇ N *i is tentatively suggested by IE *-y- in *eyy-(ō)-, by S *y in *-hway- and by Bj -y- in hāy-.

792. *h^ow[∇] 'pit, depression' > HS: CS *haw(∇y)- 'pit, abyss' > Sy |^oo^o haw'-t-ā (pl. |^oo^o ha'wē) 'an abyss, deep; great cavern', Ar hāwiy-at- 'deep valley, abyss' ¶ JPS 103, BK II 1462, ≈ KB 232 || IE: NaIE *ałowent- 'well, spring' > OI ава'та-η (*ałownto-s) 'well', ава'та-η 'cistern' || Ltv авōt-s (*ałowontos) 'spring' || ? Clt: Gl Aventura (name of a well nymphe) and nomina loci ¶ P 78, EI 539 (? *h_aew(o)nt- 'spring'), M K I 57, M E I 130-1, Kar. I 93-4 ¶ Pokorny reconstructs IE *a- on the precarious ev. of place names and the nymphe name Aventura; outside this ev. the distinction between NaIE *a- and *o- is impossible || А: Tg *ooba 'depression, hollow in the ground' > Lm Al/O owa, Lm Sk oba id. ('впадина, котловина'), Lm O owa 'spring (in mountains)' ¶ STM II 4 || NaT *o^oba 'lowland' or 'plain' > Tk ova 'plain, valley', Δ ova 'plain', Az ova 'plain', Ggz uva 'uncultivated field', ET ova, Uz uwa 'valley', Tv howu 'steppe' (with a puzzling h-), ?σ Nog ova 'трясина' ('marsh' or 'quagmire') ¶ ET Gl 403-4, Rl. I 1166, Bu. I 106, 161 || ?σ pJ {S} *úwa- 'to plant (pflanzen)' > OJ úwa-, J: T ùe-, K ùè-, Kg ué- ¶ S QJ #687, Mr. 777 ¶¶ DQA #653 (pA *jub^ou^o 'to dig, hole').

793. *hæ₁w^U 'to fall, to sink' > HS: WS *✓hawy (*-haw[∇]y-) v. 'fall' > Sr ✓hawylw 'fall' (pf. |^oo^o ha'wā), Ar ✓hawy G (pf. هوى hawā / ip. -hawī) 'fall', 'go down, set' (of a star), Hb ✓hawy (inv. הָרַחַק ~ הָרַחַק h^ewē) 'fall' (of snow), 'fall upon (so.)', Mh ✓hawy (pf. hawū, vb. n. hōwi), Jb C ✓hawy (pf. hē, sbjn. 'i'hi, vb. n. 'hbet) v. 'fall, swoop', Hrs ✓hawy (pf. ha₁wō, sbjn. ya₁hawī) 'fall (upon sth.)' ¶ KB 231, KBR 241, K

II 1461, Hv. 841, Jo. M 162, Jo. J 100, Jo. H 53 || B *✓HhH (pf. *-HhīH-) > Ah i-hī v. 'fall' ¶ Fc. 498 || Eg fP h̄ɜy v. 'come\go down, descend', Eg fMK h̄ɜy 'fall' > Cpt: Sd ɜε he, B ɛε χε, A ɜε χ₂ε v. 'fall' ¶ EG II 472-4, Fk. 156, Vc. 285 || SC: Irq {MQK} hūʔ- 'drop, fall, tumble', Irq/Brn/Alg {E} hu- 'fall', Asa huʔ- 'fall' (of rain) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, AD SF 243 || Ch: CCh: Glf {Por. ← Sö.} hawai v. 'fall', Bdm {Lk.} hai, hey 'absteigen' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} áwé v. 'fall', ? Jg {J} ʔō 'hinabsteigen' ¶ JI II 131, Eb. 29. Por. IKK 70 ¶¶ Vc. 285 (Eg, Ar) ¶¶ Tk. I 72, Tk. SCC 98 [#28.6] || IE *h̄xou̯(e) 'down, away' > NaIE *o|au̯(e) 'down (herab), away' > OI 'ava 'down (ab, herab); off' (pv. and prep.), Av, OPrs pv. ava 'down', OI avah 'herab' || Pru, Lt, Ltv au- 'away, down' | possibly Sl *u- 'away, down': *u-pasti 'to fall down' (> OCS оупастн upasti, Slv upásti, R у'пасть, P uрасьс), *u-běžati 'to run away', *u-xoditi 'to go away', *u-jęti 'to take away, to catch hold of, to seize' (> OCS ujęti 'to take away', P ująć, Slv ujęti 'to catch hold of, to seize'), *u-nesti 'to carry away', OCS ubežati, R убе'жать, SCr ùbeći, Slv ubežati, P ubieżeć 'to run away', ChS оуходити uхoditi, R ухo'дить, P uchodzić ip. 'to go away', R уй'ти, Cz ujíti, Slv uíti pf. inf. 'to go away', R унес'ти, Cz unésti, P unieść 'to carry away', etc. || Ht awan in awan arha 'away, off', awan katta 'down' ¶¶ No connection with N *χawi,ʔ∇, 'drive, chase, pursue' because N *χ- does not yield zero in Ht ¶¶ P 72-3, EI 37 (*h⁴eu 'away [from]'), M K I 56, ESISJ-SGZ I 261-2, Vn. O 1, Frn. 24, Tr. P A-D 142-3, ≈ ESISJ-SGZ II 261, Pv. I-II 245 || A: Tg *ebu- v. 'descend, go down' > Ewk ɜw- ɜb-, Sln ɜwū- ~ ɜgū- ~ ɜʔū, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn ɜw-, Orc, Ud, Ul ɜu-, WrMc ebu-, Mc Sb ɜbu- id. ¶ STM II 433-4 || ?φ M *ibE1- (unless it is *oφibE1-) v. 'descend' > WrM ibil- ~ ibel-, HIM ивлэ-х v. 'descend, come\go down' (unless ← *ibE1- v. 'flow') ¶ MED 397.

794. ₂ *ho,wa,ʔa (or *ho,wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' > HS: WS *✓hwa ~ *✓hy v. 'flow' > Ar هوع ✓hwa G (ip. -hūʔ-, -hwaʔ-) v. 'vomit', هيع ✓hy (ip. -hīʔ-, -hyaʔ-) v. 'fuse (lead)', Sb ✓h(y) v. 'flow, run (water)', hy-m 'flow of water, libation' ¶ Fr. IV 418, 424, BGMR 57-8, Bll. 109-10, DRS 404 || C {E} *waʔ- v. 'run, flow' > Bj {R} wīya 'rainy season', wāt 'pus' || SC: Irq {MQK} wāʔ- 'vomit, flood, overflow, flow', Irq/Alg/Brn {E} waʔ- v. 'vomit', Irq {E} waʔam- v. 'flow, trickle', Brn {E} waʔamu 'well', Alg {E} waʔamu 'river', Kz {E} waʔamuko id.,

(C →) Mb {E} -wā v. 'urinate' ||| EC: Sa/Af {Ss.} wēf 'flowing water', Af {PH} wēfa 'flood, torrent of water', ?? HEC: Hd w0?0, Kmb wā?a, wī?a, Sd wā, Brj 'wā (gen. wayin-) 'water' (× N 'wetê '[flowing] water', q.v.); ? EC *ya₁:f- v. 'flow away' > Sml yāf- v. 'run away', Gdl ye?- v. 'fall down in particles, sprinkle down', Or {Grg.} yā?- , Brj ya?- v. 'flow' ¶ E PC #586, E SC 313 (s.v. SC *wa₁:f- v. 'flow'), MQK 113, Grg. 404, ≈ Ss. B 186 (a wrong et. for Sa/Af wēf), Ss. B 192, PH 211 ||| U: FU *r¹wa (~ *uwa??) 'stream; to stream' > F vuo 'stream', Es {W} voo 'Strömung, Wellengang', ? Lv: E 3va', W i va', Lv Slc ūva 'Strom, Strömung' | Lp OSw {LÖ} uwe, uvwe 'flumen placide fluxus', Lp N {Fri.} uvve (gen. uve) 'flumen placide labens, fluvium' ||| pObU *ōw- v. 'stream', *ow 'stream' > pVg *ōw-, *ōw > Vg: T/LK/MK/P/Ss ow 'stream', Ss ow- v. 'stream'; pOs {Ht.} *oy-, *oy ({Hl. *āy-, *āy} > Os: V/Vy oy, Ty āy^w, Y/K/O āw, D/Nz/Kz ōw 'a stream', V ōya-, Ty āy^w-, Y/K/O āw-, D/Nz/Kz ōw- v. 'stream' ¶ Cp. Coll. 125, UEW 544-5, SK 1813-4, Fri. 790, Kt. 51-2, W EDW 1386, Ht. 123-4 [#8], Hl. rHt 71. The variant with *r¹- is represented by F and ObU, while Lv and Lp are likely to suggest a variant with initial *u- (from *o- → *ō- under the ass. infl. of *-w-?) ||| Cf. also NaIE *a|owent- 'well' (P 78), which is better accounted for by N *h¹o¹w∇ 'pit, depression' (q.v.) ◇ Cp. IS I 256: IS equates the FU stem with A. He adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by him as *ū(ā) 'wave' and the M word for 'water' (WrM usun 'water', etc.). In the light of extant data this is untenable, because the Tg stem is to be reconstructed as *ūge [= *ōgɜ] (or *ūpe) and in pM there was an initial *φ-: Mnr H fuzu and ShY xsun ~ husun provide ev. for pM *φu-sun 'water'.

794a. ? *h∇ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > HS: S *ohay > Gz hē, ≈ directive-locative pc.: k^walla-hē 'everywhere', k^walla-hē 'in every direction' (k^wall- is 'all, every') ¶ LG 213 ||| IE: NaIE *-ej₁ 'to', ending of the dative case > *ped-ej₁ 'to the\ a foot' (> OI pa'd-ē, L ped-ī), *mātr-ej₁ 'to the mother' (> OI mātr-ē, L matr-ī, OCS МАТЕРИ mater-i), dat. of *dyeu- '(god of) daylight' > OI di v-ē, Gk Δι(F)εῖ- (in Δι(F)εῖ-φιλος), L Iouī; the dative of thematic nouns underwent morphological changes (metanalysis, etc.), resulting in the following forms: (dat. of *w₁k^w0-s 'wolf') OI v₁k-āya, Gk λύκοι, L lupō(i), Lt vilkuī, OCS ВЛЪКОУ v₁ьku ¶ Szem. IEL 160-92 ||| A: Tg: [1] *-ya as a designative pc.: -ya-n 'for him' in Lm mō-yā-n 'einen Baum für ihn, Holz für ihn' (mō is 'tree, wood', -n is 'he'), Neg mō-yā-n 'Holz

für ihn'; [2] *-ya, ending of indefinite accusative: Ewk, Sln, Neg -ya ~ -a, possibly here also the Orc ending of the designative case -ya ~ -a ¶ Ci. 256-7, Bz. 82-3 || ?σ M *-yi, accusative ending > MM -yi / -i, WrM -i (possibly pronounced as [-i̯] after vowels and [i] after consonants) (unless from ppM *-igi / *-igi, as supposed by Poppe on the basis of comparison with OT), pM *-yi in *ĉi-ma-yi accus. 'thee' and *i-ma-yi accus. 'him' (see s.v. N *mA [pc. of marked accus.]) ¶ Pp. IM 191-3 || ?? K *-a-, causative (← designative) verbal px. (that follows the personal prefix for objects ['me, thee, him']): OG, G -a-, Mgr, Lz -o-, Sv -a-. e.g. OG m-a-su 'er tränkete mich, gave me a drink' (m- 'me' + -a- + su 'drink'), Sv χ-a-tre 'er tränkete ihn' (χ- 'him' + -a- + tre 'drink') ¶¶ Kl. 42, Dt. 73-6, 207 ◇ Qu., because the S, K, and A cognates are not irreproachable.

795. *H₂i, pc. of past (preterite) > HS: B (one of several alternative interpretations): *-ī- (marker of the past tense) > Shl -i- in the pret. (ft-i-ŷ 'I went away', t-ft-i-t 'you [sg. m.] went away' ↔ aor. 1s ftuŷ, 2m tftut) || U: FU *-i-, sx. of the pret.: F sano-i 'he said', Lp N gullâ-i-mek 'we heard', Lp S {Hs.} gōl-i-b ɖ gōl-i-m 'I fished', Er күнд-ы-нь 'I caught' (↔ күнд-а-н 'I catch'), Chr Луж-ы-м 'I saw' (↔ уж-а-м 'I see'), Chr G лыд-ы-м 'I read' pret. (↔ лыд-а-м 'I read' prs.), Z гиж-и-м 'we wrote' (↔ гиж-а-м 'we write'), Prmk муh-i-м 'we went' (↔ муh-а-м 'we go'), OHg men-í-k ~ men-é-k, Hg men-é-k 'I went', ül-é-rik 'we sat' ¶ Sz. 122-3, Hs. 141-54, Fkt. EJ-66 187-9, Kov. LV 231-2, Kov. GM 248, Lt. KZJ 291-2, Lt. KPJ 309 || D *-i-, sx. of the past tense > Tm -i- (ańz-i-ṛēṛ 'I was scared' from ańz- v. 'fear'), Td -y-, Kdg -i-/-t-, Kn -iδ- ({{An.}} < -i- and *-d-), Tu -iy-/-ty-/-t-, Tl -e-/-i-, Krx, Mlt -y- ¶¶ An. SG 322-35, An. GTJ 113-7 || K *-e / ? *-i (? < **-e̯ / **-i), sx. of the aorist (in the 1st and 2nd persons) > OG -e, ? Mg -i, Sv -Ø ¶¶ GM SAKS 62-73 || ? IE *e-augment of the past tenses > OI a-, Gk ê-, Arm ɫ- e- ¶ IS I 249-50 [#111] tried to connect this IE *e-augment of the past tenses with the vw. *i or the cns. *y, which serve as affixes of the pret. in B, K, U, C, and D (see above) ◇ This preliminary comparison may become valid only after reconstructing the prehistory of the corresponding morphological structures (verbal tenses, etc.). In some cases forms of the past tense are likely to have been based on analytical constructions with verbal nouns. In any case, a direct comparison between *i, *e, and *y as markers of past seems is premature and too shaky to be reliable. There is also a phonetic

difficulty: the reg. NaIE reflex of N $*H_2i$ should have been $*e_i$ rather than $*e$, but this apparent irregularity may be due to generalization of $*e$ before a sonant (where $*e < N *i$ regularly).

796. $*H_1i\acute{c}\chi\nabla \rightarrow *-c\acute{-} \rightarrow *H_1i\acute{c}\Gamma|h\nabla$ 'father, head of a family' (\rightarrow or \leftarrow 'master, lord') $>$ IE $*h_1\acute{e}s\chi o-s$ ({EI} $*h_1e's'h_2o-s$) 'master' $>$ Ht $i\acute{s}h\alpha \sim e\acute{s}h\alpha$ 'master, lord'; AnIE \rightarrow Arm $իշխան$ $i\acute{s}\chi an$ 'prince, sovereign' || NaIE: OL $esa, Lera$ 'mistress', $Lerus$ 'master of the house\family, lord, owner' ¶¶ WH I 419, WP I 161 (both: no satisfactory et. of the L words), Pv. I-II 385, EI 371-2 || **U** $*i\acute{c}\acute{a}$ 'father' $>$ F $i\acute{s}\acute{a}$, Es $i\acute{s}a$ id. | pLp {Lr.} $*z\acute{c}\bar{e}$ 'father' $>$ Lp: S {Hs.} $aattjie$, L {LLO} $ahtttj\bar{e}$, N {N} $a\acute{c}'\acute{c}e$, Klt $e\acute{c}\acute{c}$, Kld \acute{e},\acute{c}' ; T $y\bar{i}e\acute{c}\acute{c}e$ id. | ? pMr {Ker.} $*u\acute{c}\acute{a}$ $>$ Mk $оця о\acute{c}\acute{a}$ 'father's elder brother', Δ 'father, grandfather' | Chr: H $\acute{y}za$ 'aza, KB $\acute{e}z\acute{a}$, L $i\acute{z}a$ 'za, Uf $i\acute{z}a$, M $i\acute{z}a$ 'elder brother; father's younger brother' || Vg LK/P {Kn.} $\bar{a}\acute{s}$ 'mother's brother' | OHg $\acute{o}s$ 'grandfather', Hg $\acute{o}s$ 'ancestor' || Sm {Jn.} $*eys\acute{a}$ 'father' $>$ Ne T $\acute{n}is\acute{y}$, Ne F {Lh.} $\acute{n}\bar{i}\acute{e}s:\acute{a}\acute{a}$, Ng {Cs.} $jase$, {Ter.} 'десы, En {Cs.} $e\acute{s}e$, Slq Tz $z\acute{s}+$ id. || pY {IN} $*e\acute{c}\bar{e}$ 'father' (more probable than from N $*Ha\acute{c}|c\acute{c}'i$ [= $*X|Q|ha\acute{c}|c\acute{c}'i$?] 'father') $>$ OY: OY XVII {Wts.} $otj\acute{e}$, OY K {Bil.} $etchea$, {Merk} $aittsche$, {Lnd.} $otsch\acute{e}$, OY Ch {Mat.} ete id., OY O $e\acute{z}em\acute{b}$ '(my?) father'; Y K $e\acute{s}\bar{e}$ 'father' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 78, Db. OS xxxi, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, Hs. 220-1, MF 516-7, It. #369, MRS 125, 768, Ker. II 102, Jn. 22, KKIИ 109, IN 217-8, 299, \approx Rd. UJ 35 [#9] (Y \leftarrow U) \diamond This word may be one of the etl. sources of the N pc. $*\acute{c}a \rightarrow *c\acute{a}$, a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lgs.: \rightarrow sx. of adjectives and singulatives [\rightarrow diminutives]) (q.v. ffd.). Cp. a similar usage of Ar $\acute{p}ab\bar{u}$ 'father of' \diamond Gr. II #141 ($*e\acute{c}e$ 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK).

797. $*Ha\acute{c}|c\acute{c}'i$ (or $*X|Q|ha\acute{c}|c\acute{c}'i$?) 'father, ancestor' $>$ **U** $*\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{a}$ 'father' $>$ pLp {Lr.} $*\bar{a}\acute{c}\acute{c}\bar{e}$ \approx $*\bar{e}\acute{c}\bar{e}$ 'father' $>$ Lp: S $aattjie$, L $ahtttj\bar{e}$, N $a\acute{c}'\acute{c}e$, Kld {SarS} $адж\acute{b}$, K {Gn.} $\acute{a}\acute{z}\acute{z}$ id. || ObU $*\bar{a}\acute{c}$ $>$ pVg $*\bar{a}\acute{c}(\nabla)$ 'grandfather' $>$ Vg: T $\bar{a}\acute{c}\bar{i}$, K $\bar{i}\acute{s}$, UL $\bar{a}\acute{s}$; pOs $*\acute{a}\acute{c}i$ 'father' $>$ Os: Ty $\acute{a}\acute{t}i$, Nz $a\acute{s}a$, Kz $a\acute{s}i$, O $\acute{a}\acute{s}i$ id. || Sm: Nn T BZ {Ter.} $\acute{h}z\acute{c}y\acute{a}$, Nn T Y $\acute{h}z\acute{a}c\acute{y}a$ 'daddy', Nn T O {Lh.} $\eta\bar{a}\acute{c}e\acute{p}$ voc. 'daddy', 'father!', En K {Mik.} $a\acute{c}a\acute{p}$ 'father' || ? Y: Y K {Jc.} $e\acute{c}ie$, {IN} $e\acute{s}\bar{e}$ 'father' (\times N $*H_1i\acute{c}\chi\nabla \rightarrow *-c\acute{-} \rightarrow *H_1i\acute{c}\Gamma|h\nabla$ 'father, head of a family') ¶¶ UEW 22, Lr. #2, Lgc. #129, SaR 20, Ht. #1, Ter. 391, 425, Lh. 20, \approx Rd. UJ 34 [#4] (Y \leftarrow U) || **A**: T $*\acute{a}\acute{c}i$ 'ancestor, elder relative' $>$ OT {Grøn.} $e\acute{c}i$ 'a close male relative younger than one's father and older than ego', Chv $a\acute{c}a$ $a\acute{z}a$ 'father' (+ppas.: $a\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{p}$,

ačǎvǎp 'your [pl.] father', aшшě 'his\their father'), 'male (animal)'; but Tk † ece 'old man' (and Tk Δ eže 'elder sibling?') may be a loan from M *ežen 'lord, master' ¶ Cl. 20, Grøn. TSK, Rs. W 35, Jeg. 35-6, TrR 259 || M *ečige 'father' > MM [S] ecige, [MA, IsV] ečige, WrM ecige, HIM эцег, Dg {T, Pp.} ečig, {Iv.} ецѣге, {Mrm.} e'čihe ~ e'čige, {Mr.} ecihe id. ¶ MED 292, H 41, Lg. VMI 28, Pp. MA 151, T DgJ 141 || NrTg *ači 'ancestor, elder relative' > Ewk Vtm ači 'ancestor', Ewk {Cs.} ač i 'cousin', ? ı Sln {Iv.} a'č a 'father' ¶ STM I 59 || pKo {S} *ăčΛ- 'aunt, uncle' > MKo ăč'ámí 'aunt', ăč'apí 'uncle', NKo ažă 'aunt, uncle', ažumăni 'aunt', ažăbi 'uncle' ¶ S QK #978, Nam 341, MLC 1076-7 ¶¶ Hardly here M *ežen 'lord, master' (rather belonging to N *pediN∇ 'pater familias' or 'owner' [q.v.]) ¶¶ DQA #4 (A *ăč'∇ 'ancestor': T, Tg, Ko), S CNM 9, Vv. AEN 9 || Gil: Gil A 35 / 32- 'lord, owner' ¶¶ ST 466, ST RN 448 || D *ačč'aj 'father' > Tm accaŋ, Ml accan id., Kt až ayñ 'very old man' (and až av 'very old woman'), Kn ajja, Kdg ažžə, Tu ajje 'grandfather'; d. words for 'mother': Ml acca (bf.), Kn acci id., Kn, Tu ajji, Krx ažžī 'grandmother', Mnd aži 'father's mother' ¶¶ D #50 (unc.: probably from OI ārya-, / Tu. #1347) || ??σ IE: Ht hassu 'king' ¶ Ts. EI 207-9, ≈ Pv. III 240-6 (Ht hassu- 'king' ← 'Born One' or 'Begotten One' ← Ht has(σ)- 'beget'), EI 330 ◇ If Ht hassu belongs here (⇔ Pv.'s qu. et.), we may reconstruct a pN initial *X|Q|h-, otherwise the quality of the initial lr. (or uvular cns.) remains unknown. If this lexeme is a Lallwort, typological considerations point to an initial *ʔ- ◇ Several scholars (including AD) equated the A √ with U *ičä 'father' (i.e. N *H₁ičχ∇ - *-č- - *H₁ičΓ|h∇ 'father, head of a family'): ≈ AD NM 90 [#66] (*÷ M *ežen instead of M *ečige), S CNM 8-9 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 9-10 (WrM ecige ÷ U *ičä), but in the light of recent research it is preferable to adduce the A root here (because of its vw.). The original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *a (still preserved in Tg), while the U, T, and M front vw. (U, T *ä, M *e) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final front vw. (*i?) ◇ Gr. II #141 (*ece 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK) (without distinguishing it from the relexes of N *H₁ičχ∇ - *-č- - *H₁ičΓ|h∇).

798. *H₂eč'U' (or *H₂eH₂ič'U'??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip' > K: GZ *č(ω)- v. 'dip' > OG, G č-, Mg č(∇)- (n. act. geçuapa), Lz nç- (msd. o-nç-u) id. ||| Cp. GZ *ča- pv. 'down, away' and *ča-re ~ *ča-le adv. 'downward' (< N *čä v. 'away, downward' [q.v.]) ¶ K 241, K² 294, FS K

438, Chik. 391, Q 378, Marr 217 || **U** *ećć∇- v. 'sink' (× N q'ê' ĉ_l∇_l∇ 'sink') > Prm *'ŏ' ś- v. 'fall' > Z uś- v. 'fall', Z Ud uśz 'falls', Vt uś-, Vt SW ūś- v. 'fall' || Hg es-ik v. 'fall, rain' || pObU *Es- > pVg *īs- v. 'alight' (of a bird) > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/UL/Ss is- id.; pOs {Ht.} *es-ə|-({JHl. *ă s-ə|-) v. 'let' ('lassen') > Os V/Vy ěsel-, Ty ă səl-, Y ă sφə-, D/K estə-, Nz esəφ-, O esəl- id. (*-ə| is a transitivizing sx., / Majt. SM 367) || Sm *∇s- > Kms {KD} ūzŭ́-εm v. 'fall, go down (fallen, niedersteigen)', Sq Tm {KD} äs- v. 'fall', caus.: Sq Tz {KKIH} zst+-, Sq Ke äset'ta-, Sq Nr {Cs.} äs-ta-u, Sq NP {Cs.} äsa-p'ta-m, Slq UO {Cs.} äs-'ta-m v. 'let fall, bring down' ¶¶ UEW 71, Coll. 10, Lt. 221, LG 298, MF 162-3, Ht. #67, Hl. rHt 71, Cs. 104, KD 82, KKIИ 109 ¶¶ The rec. of a geminated *-ćć- is based on Prm *-s- (while *-ć- would have yielded Prm *-z-) || **A:** M *iće- v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N *q'ê' ĉ_l∇_l∇ 'sink'?) > WrM ice-, HIM ичи-, Kl ич-(x) ič-xə 'retire into hibernation' ¶ MED 397, KW 212, H 80, Ms. H 62 || **D** (in GnD) *iće- vt. 'soak, steep' > Kui ihpa (p. iht-) id., Png ih- (p. ist-) 'soak, steep (grain for preparing landa)', Mnd ih- v. 'soak, brew (landa)' (landa is beer made from rice or mandeya [BB PnL 227]) ¶ D #426, BB PnL 196 ◇ M *i- and D *i- are puzzling. The problem can be solved by supposing a pN etymon *H₂eH₂ić'U' with loss of the internal *-H₂i- in K and U.

799. *H₂Ud∇ (= *hUd∇?) 'sister', 'ε female relative' > K *_lu_lda 'sister' > OG, G da-, Mg, Lz da(l)- id., Sv UB/L udil-, Sv LB widil- 'sister (in relation to another sister)' ¶¶ K 69, K² 36, FS K 92-3, FS E 97 (all of them reconstruct K *da-), TK 725 || **U** *'ŏ' δ∇ > Es ǫde 'sister' || Slq Tz †lenta, †lta 'younger niece-in-law, wife's sister, husband's sister' ¶¶ KKIИ 195 ¶¶ The Sq cognate was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1975) || **HS:** S: Ar hadād-at- 'wife' (unless ←d ✓ hdd 'empêcher d'approcher') || Ch: Ke ádíðè 'daughter-in-law \ mother-in-law (of a woman); grandmother' ¶ Eb. 23.

800. *Hüwd∇ (= *rüwd∇?) 'evening, night' > **U** *yüt∇ 'night' or 'evening' > Chr: L йүд yüδ, B yüt, Uf jüt, H {MRS} йыд, {Ep.} йыт yüt 'night' || pObU *_ly_līt(∇) 'evening' > pVg *_ly_līt, {Ht.} *īt > OVg S Vt етъ, Vg T yīt ǫ īt, Vg LK/MK/UK/NVg/LL īt, Vg P ēt, OVg N Ber атъ, OVGN SoG êt, Vg Ss ēt id.; pOs {Ht.} *ät 'night' > Os: V ät, Ty/Y/D/O ât, Nz/Kz at id.; pOs *_ly_litən, {Ht.} *itən '(in the) evening' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D itən, Nz/Kz yetən id. || Sm {Hl.} *ü_ht∇ (= *ūt∇) 'evening' > Slq: Tz {KKIH} üt+, Nr {Cs.} ūd, Kr {Cs.} ūte, Chl {Cs.} ütö 'evening',

Tur {Lh.} ūtit '(in the) evening'; Kms {KD} nūdí, Koyb ni ude, Mt {Hl.} *ń|nūd∇ 'evening' (Mt T {Mll.} njúde 'evening', Mt M {Mll.} njúde id., {Sp.} нѠдѠ 'late', нудюнь 'evening', Mt K {Pl.} njuuude id.) ¶¶ Coll. 20, UEW 99, MRS 155, Ep. 33, Ht. #72, KKIH 194, Ps. B 70, Cs. 110, Hl. M #777 || A *üt|d∇ > M *üden 'evening, in the evening' > MM [S] üde, üdeši id., 'late', [MA] üdeši 'evening', üdešin 'of the evening', 'vesperinus', WrM üde, HIM үд, Brt үдэ 'noon', WrO üde, Kl үд üdә, {Rm.} üdü, Dg {T} udu 'noon, midday', Dx {T} udu, Ba ude(r) 'day', WrM üdesi, HIM үдәш, Brt үдәшә '(in the) evening', WrO üduši 'evening', Kl Ö {Rm.} üdüš 'in the evening' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 373, MED 995-6, Chr. 494-5, Krg. 190-1, KRS 545, KW 455, T DnJ 136, T DgJ 170 ¶ The semantic shift 'evening' → 'noon, day' in the modern M lgs. may have been influenced by M *edür (> üdür ~ ödüjör) 'day' (WrM edür, HIM әдәр, WrO ödür ~ ödür ~ ödur, Kl әдр, {Rm.} ödr, Dg udur, Ba ude(r) id., F MED 295-6, KRS 412-3, Krg. 139, KW 293, T DgJ 170) || Tg: Ewk Nor {Cs. ← Mdd.} ödürn 'evening' ¶ Cs. T 119 || ?σ NaT *ö:₁δ 'time (point\period of time)' > OT ö:₁δ ({Cl.} öδ) id., 'hour', MU XIII öz 'time', eChg [Rbg.] ۆډ| öδ, MT [IM], Tlt {Rl.} öy, ET Tar {Rl.} öt 'Zeit, Zeitpunkt'; -d> *ö:₁δ-läg 'time' → 'noon' > Chg {Rm.} özläk, Tk öyle (spelled öğle), Kr Cr, Nog üyle, VTt Δ ülä, Slr üle, Tkm öylän, Ggz ülen 'noon' ¶ Cl. 35, 55-6, DTS 376-7, 395, Br. MT 138, KW 455, Rl. I 1172, 1259. ET Gl 516-7, TL 68-9 ¶ Cl. postulates an OT long vw., probably on the basis of the Ar plene spelling, which is not a reliable source; Tkm öylän suggests a pT short *ö (unless *ö > Tkm ö in a closed syll.) || HS: C *✓ Hwd 'evening, night' > Bj A {AD} (?u) 'hawād 'evening (after the sunset), night', -hawid v. 'come late in the evening', {R} hawād 'night', hawid- v. 'spend the evening\night', rest' || Ag: Q {R} awāda 'late evening, night' || EC {AD} ≈ *Hawed- > Sml N {Abr.} řāwa 'tonight', řāwēysīn 'time from 7 p.m. to bedtime', Gdl {Bl.} aw'wedđ, Brj {Ss.} 'yedi, {Blz. ← ?} (hi)yedi 'night', Or {Grg.} (h)eda 'last night', Or BI {Sr.} ēda id., ēdana 'tonight' || DhI {To.} heddo 'evening' ¶ AD SF 239-40, Abr. S 17, Bl. G 6, Ss. B 192, Grg. 133, Sr. 300, To. D 135, Blz. CL 179 || ?φ B *✓ βđ? ({Pr.} *h₂dḥ₁) 'night' > Gd {Lf.} ēβed, {CM} iβad, Awj aβot, Ntf id ~ iyad, Nf uaṭ, Ah {Fc.} ehod, Ty, ETwl ehḥd, Gh ihad, Izn, Izd id, Kb iḡ, Sll īd, BSn {Bs.} ēd, Si iṭ, Zng {TC} īd 'night' ¶ Pr. H 21, #145, Fc. 516, Dl. 170, Dray 339, Lf. II #0032, TC Z 306, NZ 26, 436-7 ¶ The B √ may belong here only if *-β- is a reflex of *-w-; the emphatic *-ḡ- is still

puzzling ◇ IS I 257 [#120] (*Hütʰ 'rest hours'; U, M, Tg + qu. T *öð-
le 'noon'), Sauv. 76 (U, A) ◇ The N precon. *w is responsible for the
length of the vw. in pSm (and pU), as well as for the vl. *t in U (N *d >
U *t in the postcons. position). Sml ʃ- and Dhl h- are likely to suggest
something like initial N *Γ- (*ʎ- or *g-).

800a. (₂?) *HogE 'top, above' > HS: B *√H|wǵH 'be on the top' > Ah
{Fc.} aǵǵ (pf. yuǵǵa), ETwl {GhA} aǵǵu (pf. oǵǵa), Ty {GhA} aǵǵu (pf.
yǵǵa) 'be above (sth.), be higher than (sth.)', Adgg aǵǵ- 'être au-
dessus de', Gh yuǵǵa 'il est élevé \ haut', Sll {Ds.} iǵǵi 'on', Tmz {MT} aǵǵ
'see\look at sth. from above' ¶ Fc. 381, 2001 (Fcj. 17 = Pcj. I B 5), GhA
47, 248, MT 144-5, Ds. 94, 269, ≈ NZ 698-700 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔaʎʎ-
{AD} *ʔaʎʎ- 'top, head' > Q {Ap.} aʎa, {R} aʎā, Km {CR} aʎā, Aw
{Ap.} aʎa, Bln {R} aʎáʎ, Xm {R} ʎǵā 'top, Oberteil'; Ag {AD} *ʔaʎʎ-ʎt
({Ap.} ʔaʎʎ-ā r) 'head' (× N *ʰh₂'ôkU 'head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ap. AV 3, R WB
19, R Q II 23, CR K 162, 172 || A {SDM97} *oǵi 'up, above' > M *öʎe-
id. ⇨ [1] *öʎe-de 'upwards' > MM [S] o,ede 'entgegen, gegen den
Strom, aufwärts', WrM ögede, HIM eed 'upwards, uphill, upstream',
Kl {Rm.} ödb, ödān, {KRS} eedān 'upwards', Ord {Ms.} ödö id.,
'upstream', Brt eedə, MMgl {Iw.} ödē 'upwards, above', Mgl {Lg.} ô:da
~ yôda, {Rm.} ôādā, {Iw.} ödé 'upwards'; ⇨ [2] M *öǵsü- 'ascend, go
upstream' > WrM öǵsü- id., HIM eǵcə-x, Brt ǵǵcə-xə 'to ascend, to
go upstream', Kl {KRS} eǵcə-xə, Kl Ö {Rm.} öksb-xə id., 'to go
uphill' ¶ H 121, MED 630, 633, KW 294, 303, Iw. 121, KRS 412, 419,
Chr. 367, 490 || Tg *yǵE- 'top, above, up' > Ewk uǵī 'top', Lm oy ʎ uy
id., 'upper', oʎəʎ ʎ ôǵôʎ ʎ uǵzǵ 'upper', Sln öǵ ~ uǵ 'bank (of a
river)', Neg uʎu ~ uʎu ~ uu 'upper', uʎi- ~ uʎi- ~ uʎi- v. 'ascend', Orc
ui- ~ uʎi- v. 'raise', ui-lǵ 'above, up', Nn Nh/B uʎz 'upper side, space
above (sth.)', Ul, Ork ui-lǵ, Nn uʎz-lǵ ~ ui-lǵ ~ uʎ-lǵ 'above', Ork
uʎwē ~ uʎu ~ ui 'upper, upper side, high', Ud ui-xi 'up' ¶ STM II 245-
6 || pKo {S} *ùh > MKo ù / ùh-, NKo wi 'up, above' ¶ S QK #620, Nam
388, MLC 1258 || pJ {S} *ú-pa- id. > OJ úpe, J T ue ¶ S AJ 15, 81, Mr.
247 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. A *oǵi 'up, above', S AJ 15, 81, DQA #658 (A *jüǵu
'up, above' > M, Tg, Ko, J + unc. T *jüǵ- in NaT *jüǵelärü 'upwards', see
Cl. 915-6, ET J 215, 263-4), Rm. SKE 284 || ?φ,σ U: Y T {Ku.} waya
'face' (< *'head'), wayadīlīe 'kerchief', wayadīr 'head part of a bridle
for reindeers (недоуздок)', wayane, wayine 'own' (< 'of oneself' <
'of [one's] head') ¶ Ku. 37-8 ◇ Not here NaIE *agro- 'top, point,

uppermost (oberstes)' and Ht {Phv.} həkur 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' (P 8-9, Phv. III 287-9), which belong to N *χako|aR∇ '≈□□top part, tip, extremity' (q.v.).

800b. ₂ *HAK∇ 'leaf', (?) 'branch' > HS: EC: Sd {Gsp.} ho'ga 'leaf of the wêse plant', Gln/Gwd {AMS} āχ-itté (pl. áχe) 'leaf', Sa/Af {R} hək, Sa I {Hw.} hək 'branch' ¶ R S II 179, Gsp. 162, AMS 234 ||| D *āk 'leaf' > Kn āku id., 'young sprout', Tl āku 'leaf, petal', Gnd āk ɖ āki(:), Knd, Kui āku, Png, Mnd āki, Ku akkū, āku 'leaf' ¶¶ D #335 ◇ Blz. LB #98b (N *hək∇), ≈ Blz. DA 160 [#84].

801. *H'o'kE (= *H'o'kü or *H'o'kæ?) 'goat' > IE: NaIE *o|aġ- 'goat' ('he-goat?') > OI a'ja-h 'he-goat', a'jā 'she-goat', YAv aza- 'he-goat', ZPhl ʔz 'goat' ||| Lt ožỹs, Ltv āzis 'he-goat', Pru wosee 'goat' ||| pTc {Ad.} *ās(e) 'goat' > Tc: A ās id., B aṣiye 'pertaining to a goat' ¶ Not here (⇔ P) Al dhi 'goat' (< pAl {O} d. *ajziyā ÷ Gk ἄξ id.; acc. to E 229, from IE *Hejġ-s 'goat') ¶ ≈ P 6-7, M KI 23, M EI 51, Bai. 6, Frn. 519, O 83, Ad. 32, EI 229 (*h_ṛe'ġo-s 'he-goat') ||| HS: Ch ≈ *ʔak^w∇ 'goat' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔak^wi 'he-goat' ({AD} 'goat') > Hs àkuyà 'he-goat', àk^wíyà 'goat' | Kfr {Nt.} ɔk id. | Ron {J}: Df ʔāh, Btr āχ, Klr ʔāh id. | Krkr {Lk, J} ʔōč'í (pl. ʔōkàj), Krf {Sch.} wùčč'í, Bl/Ngm {Mk.} ɔš'i id. | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrij áwáj, Kry àhùn, My áhú, Jmb {Sk.} àk^wá 'goat' | Ngz {Sch.} ākù id. ||| CCh: BuP {Mk.} k^wi, Klb {Mk.} k^wa, Mrg {Hf.} kú id. | HgNk {Mk.} uk^wε, FIK {Mk.} ku id. | Gude {Srp.} oχōá, {Mk.} oh^wa, Nz {Mk.} hoε, Bt {Srp.} hué, Bcm {Sk.} hōtó id. | Lmn {Lk.} ógù id. | Glv {Rp.} āg^wà, Dgh {IL} jýè id. | Gzg D {Lk.} ʔaw, {Ro.} áw; {Ro.}: Mada, Mkt, Myn, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwák id. | ZmB {Sa.} úh^wú id. ¶ JI II 166-9, J R 212, 350, ChC, ChL, Ro. 260, Stl. ZCh 231 [#789] ||| A: M *uquna (~ *u^guna?) 'he-goat' > MM [HI] uṽuna ~ [MA] أوقونة uquna, WrM uquna ~ uqana, HIM ухна, Mgl {Rm.} uqōna, Dg {T} ukan id., Brt ухана, Kl Ö {Rm.} uxuna 'young he-goat' ¶ MED 892, Pp. MA 365, Ms. H 105, T DgJ 170, Rm. M 41, KW 447, Chr. 483 ¶ The variant with M *-q- still defies explanation ◇ Ch ≈ *ʔak^w∇ and M *uquna suggest a labialized vw. in the pN second syll., while IE *o|aġ- point to a pN front vowel (*ä or *e); we can suppose here a hypothetic pN *ü, if in the prehistory of pIE this *ü may have lost its labiality. In the prehistory of M we may suppose repeated assimilation of vowels: N *o...ü > *o...u (synharmonism) > *u...u ◇ The initial zero cns. in some Ch lgs.

(including WCh) may serve as a highly tentative suggestion of a N weak lr. (*H₂-), if compared with WCh {Stl.} *h- in N *X^oṭⁱ'i' 'ε fish' (> Wrj ṽḗdáj, Cg hâtì, Kry ṽḗdè, My ṽḗdí), but this issue is still to be investigated.

802. *H₂'ôkU 'head' > HS: C: Ag {AD} *ʔak^w-(at), {Ap.} *ʔaɣ^w-(ar) 'head' (× N *HogE 'top, above') > Bln {Ap.} ʔax^war, {R} ʔax^war (pl. ʔax^wat-), Xm {Ap.} aωɜr, {R} aωr, Xm T {CR} aωúr, Km {Ap.} aɣ^wäy, {CR} aωē, aɣ^wäy (pl. aɣ^wät), Dmb {R} aɣ^wē, aɣ^wē 'head', Q {R} aɣ^wē, aωē 'head, oneself', {Ap.} awa 'top', Aw {Ap.} aɣa 'top', {CR} aɣā 'head, lord' ¶ R WB 19, CR K, Ap. AV 3 || U {UEW} *u|ok∇ 'head' > FU: ObU {Ht.} *ūɣ∇, {Hl.} *f̄w∇ id. > pVg *f̄w∇ 'bear's head' > LK {Kn.} āwt, P {Kn.} ɜwt, MK {MK} äw id., pVg *f̄wā {Ht.} 'bear's crane' (AD: or 'bear's head') > UL {Ht.} āwa 'bear's crane', Ss āwa {Ht.} id., {Mk.} 'bear's head'; pOs *ɔɣ 'head' > Os: V/Vy ɔɣ, Ty oɣ^w, oɣ, Y oω, D/K/Nz uχ, Kz/O õχ id. || Sm {Jn.} *ukɔ 'tip, front part' (× N *f̄'ok̄i 'sharp point\edge', q.v.) > En {Ter.} ubō, ub, {Cs.} 'uɔo 'tip, front part', ? Ne T d. ɣɣɣɣ, {Lh.} ɣu'χūō, ? Ne F {Lh.} ɣūχuntf̄ ɔ ɣūχūt̄t̄ǣ' 'upper lip' (← 'top'), Slq Tz {KKIH} ūk+ 'nose (of humans\animals), beak, front part, tip', Slq NP {UEW ← ?} ugɔ 'tip (Ende), lip', Slq Nr {Cs.} ūg 'Ende, Schluß' ¶¶ UEW 542-3, ≈ Ht. #9 (without data of Vg LK/MK/P and with pVg *f̄w∇ 'bear's crane'), MK 59, Hl. rHt. 73, Jn. 30, KKI 191, Cs. 108; Coll. 44 and Hl l.c. equate the ObU word with Lp N oai'vɛ 'head' and hence with U *oywa 'head', but UEW l.c. rejects it on phonetic grounds, because U *-yɣ- cannot yield ObU *-ɣ- or *-w- (f̄ UEW 336-7 s.v. U *oywa 'head') || E: El uk-ku, uk-gi 'head' ¶¶ HK 1206, 1210-4 ◇ An initial weak lr.*H₂'- is tentatively suggested by Ag *ʔ- ◇ On the possible connection with N *ʔ'o'kE (= *ʔ'o'kü?) 'self' (whence rec. of a N etymon *ʔ'o'kü 'head' → 'self') see s.v. N *ʔ'o'kE.

803. *H'i'Kæ 'eat' > IE *heḱ- v. 'eat' > OI aś- (3s prs. aś'nāti) 'eat', 'aśana 'eating, food' || ON, NNr, Dn, Sw agrn 'bait, lure' || ??μ Gk Hm ἄκολος 'a bit, morsel' ¶ Cp. N *f̄'æ'go 'drink' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ IS I 275-6 s.v. *f̄EK̄u ¶ MK I 60, M EI 136, FI 55, Vr. 3, 681 || HS: EC: Yk {Hn.} -ek- 'eat', éktó 'food'? (× N *f̄'æ'go 'drink') ¶ Hn. YII 124-5 || ?φ ECh: Nd {J} yígâ v. 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119 ¶¶ Not here B *f̄HksH v. 'eat', which is more likely to belong to N ?σ *f̄EK̄∇'z'∇ '≈ to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) (q.v. ffd.) || A: T: OT igiō- v. 'feed (a

person, animal), [MhK] igdil- v. 'be nourished, fed' (× N ?σ * ξ E ξ ∇'3'∇'↑) ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

803a. ≈ * $\text{H}_2\text{e}1\text{V}$ 'sprout, twig' > HS: S: ? Ak \wedge elû 'sprout' (unless derived from S * $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{ly}$ 'rise') (× N * ξ |g σ 1 ∇ y ∇ 'leaf'?? or derived from S * $\sqrt{\text{f}}\text{ly}$ 'rise') ¶ CAD IV 114 || SC {E} *h| β alēm- 'branch' (unless akin to Sml β alēn- 'leaf' < N * ξ |g σ 1 ∇ y ∇ 'leaf') > Irq halmi, Alg elemi, Brn alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336 || U: FU (att. in FP) *e| ∇ 'sprout, twig' > Er ílév 'twig', Δ íley, ííiy, Mk ííi 'Rute' ('rod, twig') || Prm *ul 'twig, sprout' > Vt ∇ ul 'bough', Δ {Wc.} ul 'bud, sprout', Z ∇ uv, Δ ul, Prmk, Yz ul 'bough, twig' ¶ UEW 624, LG 295, UZS 446 || D *e1- 'leaf' > Tm ilai 'leaf, petal', Ml ila, Kt el, Td e ξ , Kn ele, e1a, Kdg elakaḥḍa, Tu e1æ 'leaf', Gnd koṛk-ila 'new leaf' (koṛk 'sprout') ¶¶ D #497.

804. * $\text{H}_3\text{iL}'\text{i}$ (= * $\text{h}iL'\text{i}$?) (or * $\text{H}_3\text{iL}'\text{y}_L'\text{i}$??) 'entrails' > IE: NaIE *e $\dot{\text{i}}$ li- / *ili- / ? *jeli- (or *īli-) 'entrails' > L īliā / -ium (pl.) (> īlium sg.) 'entrails, guts; loin, womb, Schamgegend', (EM: 'flancs, parties latérales du ventre qui s'étendent depuis le bas des côtes jusqu'à la naissance des cuisses') || Gk [Hs.] ἴλια · μόρια γυναικεία '(private) parts of women' (unless to be read δῶρα γυναικεία, as in some codexes), ἴλιον · τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφήβαλον δηλοῖ ('it means: woman's pubes') || Sl {P, WH} *jelito, {ESSJ} *elito 'gut(s), entrails' > SCr jelito 'sausage', Δ 'gut', Slv jelita 'ε sausage', Δ olito 'gut', Cz jelito 'ε sausage', Slk jelito 'sausage, stomach, gut', HLs jelito 'sausage', HLs Δ jělto, LLs jelito 'entrails', P jelito 'gut, sausage', Slvnz älēta, Uk яли'ти 'entrails', Blr я'літы 'testicles (of animals)' ¶ WH I 678-9, P 499, F I 722, EM 308, ESSJ VI 21-2, Brū. 206, ≠ EI 356 (L īliā < IE *isǵ^his 'loins') || K: G ilao {Chx.} 'ε intestinal disease', {DCh.} 'colics' ¶ Chx. 523, DCh. 579 || HS: HEC {Hd.} *hillē 'intestines' > Hd hillenna, Kmb hillēta, Sd hel'le ¶ Hd. 84, 282, 321, 371 || A: Tg * $\text{o}i$ len 'spleen' (and 'liver?') > Ewk PT/VI/Nr īl3n 'spleen', Ewk Y īl3n id., 'gall', Ewk I īl3n '≈ liver' (unless a loan from some M lge., cp. Brt эльгэ(н) id.) ¶ STM I 312 ¶¶ But MM eligen, Brt эльгэ(н) 'liver', WrM elige, HIM элэг 'liver, belly' do not belong here, because (on the ev. of MM [LV] and Mnr) the pM word is * φ eligen (F SM 152) ◇ C suggests that the initial lr. is probably to be reconstructed as * h -. If the IE etymon is *īli-, the IE and Tg long *ī- suggests the presence of some lengthening factor after *i (it is likely to have been either *y or a laryngeal; in the light of the K, Sl, and HES zero reflexes of this lr. it

may have been *?). But if the IE etymon is *eǵli- / *ili- / ? *jeli- (which is preferable in the light of Sl) and if the length of Tg *ī is of prosodic origin, no pN lengthening factor is needed.

804a. *H^rä^rí∇ (= *χ|q^rä^rí∇?) 'female' > HS: EC *hal(1)- 'female' > Sa {Wlm., Ss.} al-a 'goats' (general and female), Sml hal, Sml N {Abr.} háł, Or hal-ā 'she-camel', Rn al-ó 'female camels', Af {PH} ala 'female camel which has given birth', Bs {Fl.} hilel ~ hulel 'woman' ¶ Ss. PEC 37, 39-40, ZMO 178, PG 6, PH 37 || NrOm: Male {Bnd.} lāli 'woman' || ECh: Gdr hālā 'girl' ¶ ChC ¶¶ AD SF 137, 193 (EC, NrOm) || A: T: OT [MhK] išī or (Cl.'s alt. interpretation) ēš 'lady', MT XIV [IM] išler (to be read eš-lār?) pl. 'women' ¶ Cl. 256 || D *-a], SD *-va], marker of fem. in pronouns and nouns > Ml a-va] 'that woman' (↔ a-vaŋ 'that man' ↔ a-tu 'that thing'), Td aVa 'that woman' (↔ {Shanm.} avēn 'that man'), Kt aV] 'that woman' (↔ avŋ 'that man'), Tu ā]u 'that woman' (↔ āye 'that man'), Kn Bd aVa] 'that woman', iVa] 'this woman', Tm, Ml mak-a], Kn mag-a] 'daughter', Kn kiri-y-a] 'girl', kandal-a] 'Geliebte', Kn madu-v-a], Prj koṛ-a] bride', OTI VII manamar-ā]u 'granddaughter', MTI kōḍ-alu 'daughter', celi-y-alu 'younger sister', (?) Png -el, fem. sx.: toṛnd-el 'sister', harukad-el 'small woman', Kui -ali, marker of fem.: mṛīg-ali 'female cousin', kū-ali 'Kond woman', gah-ali 'sweeper (woman)', Klm -a], fem. ending: komm-a] 'daughter', koṛ-a] 'younger brother's wife', pod-a] 'spouse's sister', Prj, Gdb kēt-a] 'widow', murtal 'old woman', Gdb koṛ-a] 'son's wife' ¶¶ *-v- in SD *-va] may be due to analogy with the marker of masc.*-vaŋ that occurs in the same context: Tm a-vaŋ 'that man', a-va] 'that woman', i-vaŋ 'this man', i-va] 'this woman', oru-vaŋ 'one man', oru-va] 'one woman' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 30-140 ◇ According to AD's hyp. (AD WIL), EC *h- goes back to pHS *χ-, sc. to N *q-.

805. *H₃am^rU^r 'be/become quiet, enjoy' > K: G am- vt. 'quieten, calm, allay (pain)' ('beruhigen, stillen'), 'please (so.)' ¶ Chx. 15-6, DCh. 25-6, NCh. 36 || A *ām^ru^r-, {SDM97} *ām∇ 'be quiet' > Tg *ām- 'sleep, be sleepy' > Ewk āmɜ-, Neg, Ork āma-, Ul amasɜ- ~ amasu-, Nn Nh āmasɜ-, Nn B āmostɜ- 'be sleepy', Ewk āmī, Ul, Ork amɜ, Nn {Pt.} āmi n. 'sleep', Ewk āmɜ, Neg āma, Ud {Krm.} amahi imprs. 'there is sleepiness, one is sleepy (спать хочется)', WrMc amɜa- ~ amɜa-, Mc Sb aməhə- v. 'sleep, doze' ¶ STM I 2-3, Pt. 16, Krm. 206 || M *amu- vi. 'rest, feel contentment, be relieved' > MM [IM] amu- v. 'rest', [HI] 'rest,

be quiet', [MA] 'rest, feel pleasure', [S] {H} amu- 'ruhig sein, aufhören', WrM amu-, HIM ама-х vi. 'rest, relax, feel contentment\joy, be relieved'; M *amur > WrM amur, HIM амаp 'peace, quiet, calm, rest; pleasure', Ord amu'r 'rest'. Kl аmp amrə 'calm, well-being, rest (покой)', {Rm.} амr̄ n. 'quiet (Ruhe), peace', adj. 'quiet, peaceful, healthy, comfortable'; M *amu-ra- 'relax, rest, be relieved, feel contentment\joy' > WrM amura-, HIM амаpax id., Ord amara- vi. 'rest, be quiet', MM [S] {H} d. amurli- 'be\feel calm\secure', amurul- vt. 'calm', MM [HI] d. amraq [amray] 'loving each other', Mnr H {SM} χamurā- vi. 'rest, calm, recover, go out (fire)', {T} χambura-, Ba hamera-, Dx {T} hamura- vi. 'rest', Kl аmp- amr- 'rest', {Rm.} амr̄- 'ruhen, Ruhe bekommen, ausruhen' (Mnr χ- and Ba, Dx h- are due to contamination with the √ of Mnr H {SM} χamuli-, {T} χambuli- vt. 'extinguish, efface') ¶ Pp. MA 101-2, 432, Ms. H 35-6, H 7, MED 40, KRS 41-2, KW 9-10, SM 153-4, T 373, T DnJ 139, T BJ 150 || NaT *a₁m-ur̄il (with the derivational sx. *-l [Cl. XIII]?) > OT amuril 'quiet, mild, peaceable', Tk Δ imil ~ umul 'quietly, gently'; NaT *a₁mira- vi. 'calm, be at peace' > OT {DTS} amra- v. 'love', Tv amira- vi. 'calm, take comfort, be glad', Tlt/Qmn {RL} amira- 'sich beruhigen', Alt {RL} amra- id., 'in Ruhe leben'; -d→ NaT *amur-t- v. 'quieten, calm (sth., so.)' > OT XI amurt- vt. 'calm (sth.)', Tk Δ amurt- vt. 'quieten, calm'; -d→ NaT *amr̄il- 'be at peace' > OT VIII-XIII amr̄il- id.; NaT *amir > (or M *amara- b→) Tv, SY amir, Qzq Δ äm̄ir n. 'calm, peace', Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qb/Kü {RL} amir id., 'rest (Ausruhen, Erholung)', Xk amir 'peaceful, quiet' ¶ Rs. W 19, Rl. I 647-51; ≈ Cl. 160-3 (claims that *am(∇)r- is based entirely on a loan from M amara-, which is highly doubtful because derivatives from *am(∇)r- are attested in pre-Mongolian OT from the VIII c. on; the idea of M origin may be valid for the T noun amir only, because it is not attested in OT), ≈ ET Gl 59-60 (does not distinguish between *abra- and *amra-), DTS 41, TvR 58-9 ¶¶ DQA #72 (A *ā m∇ 'be quiet, sleep'), KW 9, S AJ 292 || D (in SD) *am- 'be(come) still\quiet' > Tm amaḡ 'become still\quiet, abide, remain', amar- 'v. 'abide, remain\become tranquil', Ml amaruka v. 'subside, settle, be settled, rest on', amarcca 'calmness, self-government', Tu amaru-ni 'to become quiet\calm; to settle', amapu-ni 'to quiet' ¶ D #161 || ?σ IE: NaIE *am- v. 'love' > L amā- (amō, -āre) v. 'love', amor 'love', amīcus 'a loved one, friend', Mrc AMATENS 'voluerint'

|| ?φ Phr [Hs.] ἄδαμεῖν · τὸ φιλεῖν 'to love'; [Hs.] καὶ φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν 'Phrygians call a loved one ἄδαμνα' ¶ WH I 40-1, ≠ P 36
 ◇ If the IE cognate is valid, the initial N lr. may be *ɸ-, *h̥- or *h- (N *ɸ|h̥|ha- > IE *he- > NaIE *a-), but not *ʔ- (N *ʔa- would have yielded IE *e-/zero).

805a. *Homgʷi 'breast' > **HS**: C ≈ *ʔʷngʷ/*ngʷ- 'breast' > Ag {Ap.} *ʔʷngʷ-/*angʷ- id. > Bln ʒngʷi, Xm *ʒkʷ, Km *ʒngʷʒ, Aw angʷ id. ||| EC: Sa, Af angu ({Ap.}: <b- Ag), Sml J {Blz. < ?} ʔenek id. ||| Bj nūg, nūgʷe 'female breast' (× the etymon of EC *nūg, Ag *ʔʷngʷ- 'suck the breast', unless the verb is derived from the noun) ¶ Ap. AV 4, Blz. CL 177, R WB 35 (Bln ʒn'gū ~ ʒn'gū-ī 'nipple') ||| **D**: SD *oŋk- 'woman's breast' > Kn oŋgu 'teat, pap', ? Tm oŋci ~ oŋci 'woman's breast (nursery)' ¶ D #943 ||| **A**: NaT *ömgen (× NaT *ömge:ɲn ≈ neck' < N *ɸomKê '[ε part of the] neck', q.v.) > Brb {Tm.}, SbTt Tv {Tm.} ömgän 'horse's chest', Qzq öŋmen 'breast, oesophagus' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315, ET Gl 537, Tm. 165.

806. (₂?) *H'e¹m∇ñ∇ (= *ʔ'e¹m∇ñ∇?) 'oak, tree' > **IE**: OIr omnae 'tree, oak' ¶ Vn. O 22 ||| **A**: T *emän 'oak' > Tkm imen, Uz eman, ET emän, VTt, Bsh imän, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg emen, Kr amän, Alt ermen, Chv юман yuman ɹ yoman 'oak' ¶ r in Alt still needs explaining ¶ Rs. W 42, Dm. NRTAJ 185-6, Jeg. 348, Fed. II 485, Md. 115, 165 (T *ɹaman ~ *emen, NaT *emen), TL 124 (*ermen) ||| ? **HS**: Eg fO ɹmʒ 'ε fruit-bearing tree (date-palm?); 'ε sacred tree; wood used for statues and tools\utensils' ¶ EG I 79 ◇ If the Eg word belongs here, the N rec. must be *ʔ'e¹m∇ñ∇.

807. *Hañ∇ 'other' > **IE**: NaIE *a|on- (× N *ha 'ille?') -d→: [1] NaIE *a|on-yo- 'other' > Ir *an̄o-s 'other, different' > OI an'ya-h̄, Av anyō, OPrs aniyā id., Oss annä 'the other (of two, of many)' ||| ? Gk ἔννη (ellipsis from ἔννη ἡμέρα [with ἡμέρα 'day']) 'the day after tomorrow'; [2] NaIE *a|ontero-s 'the other (of two)' (built on the analogy of *al-tero-s id.?) > OI 'antara-, Oss ändär 'other' ||| Gt anpar 'other, the second', ON annarr (pl. aðrir), OHG ander, AS oðer 'other', NE other ||| Lt añtaras ~ añtras, Ltv òtrs, Ltv E ūtors 'other', Pru antars ~ antars 'other, the second' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, ≈ P 37-8 (unc.: *anios and *anteros <-d *an 'there, on the other side'), ≈ EI 411 (*h̄en- ~ *h̄on- 'that', *h̄on-tero-s 'other'), Frn. 12, En. 142, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2 ||| **U**: Sm {Jn.}

*ān∇- 'other' > Ne Т Һани, Ne Т О {Lh.} ḡāhī 'other, different', En {Cs.} ańi? 'aufs neue', Ng {Mik.} ḡonə 'and', {Cs.} ḡanaí 'aufs neue, noch' ¶ Jn. 1, Ter. 383 || **A:** NrTg *aḡ- (unless it is *xaḡ-) > Lm aḡli 'other, different', Neg anɫsk̄ ~ aḡɫsk̄ id., 'otherwise' (may have been influenced by Tg *xaḡgi 'side', whence Neg anɫɫ ~ aḡɫɫ 'aside, far') ¶ STM I 46 || ?σ **HS:** WS *han (dem. prn.) (× N *ha 'ille') > IA/EpJA hɾ {HJ} 'this', BHb ha- +gmc. 'the', Mo, Ph h- 'the', Ar {Nld.} han 'der da, das da' ¶ HJ 287-8, KB 225-6, ≈ Nld. NB 119 (unc.:Ar han 'iste' ← han- 'thing') ◇ If WS *han belongs here, the N rec. is *hañ∇, otherwise we remain with an unspecified *H- (N *Hañ∇) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #288 (*ena 'other') (IE, U, ?? Gil + err. J, A + unc. CK, EA).

808. *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *eḡn- > Sl *jъnъ(jъ) (f. *jъна, ntr. *jъно) 'other, different' > OCS **HNЪ** ińъ (f. ina, ntr. ino), OR, RChS **HNЪ** ińъ, R и'ной, Uk 'иний, SCr ìn, ìnī, Cz jíný, Slk ińý id., Blg 'иный, ин (f. ина, ntr. ино), Slv in, OP iny, P inny 'different' ||| Ir *aḡn- > Oss I иннæ īnnä 'the other one (from two)', the other (from many)', Xwr inī 'other' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, Frn. 12, En. 142, ≈ ESSJ VIII 233-4, Glh. 277, Bern. I 432, Me. *MSL* X (1898): 254-5, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243 || **D** (in SD) *°ēḡ- 'other' > Tm ēḡaí 'other, the rest' ¶ D #919 || **Gil:** Gil A/ES enā- 'other, belonging to another person, strange', A ena-], ES ena-nd 'be other, belong to another person, be strange' ¶¶ ST 482-3, Km. N 493 || **HS** *-(i)ḡEn- within the cd. *ʔaniḡEn-n∇ 'we' (aut. prn.) (*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc., forming autonomous pers. pronouns] + *(i)ḡen- + *nu∇ 'we, our' [< N *ñ∇ 'we' excl.]) (× N *XAñ∇,ʔ∇ 'together, with' [q.v.]?) > S *ʔa'niḡnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) (> BHb ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnū, Ph ʔnḡn, BA ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā, IA ʔnḡn(h), Plm ʔnḡnω, JA ʔnḡḡ(ḡ) (ʔa)naḡnā, JEA {Sl.} ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā ~ ʔnḡ ʔa'nan, Sr ʔnḡḡ nāḡan ~ [an obsolete form ʔnḡḡ] [unvocalized ʔnḡḡn, presumably to be vocalized as ʔnḡḡḡ] ʔanaḡnan], Ar ʔnḡḡ naḡnu, Gz nāḡna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nḡhā, Jb E 'nḡa, Jb C 'nḡan ~ 'nḡa, Sq {Jo.} ḡan ~ 'ḡanhḡn, Ak (a)nīnu id.), Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nneḡ 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', etc. This is one of two alternative etymologies of HS *ʔaniḡEn-n∇ 'we'. It presupposes that *ʔaniḡEn-n∇ originally meant 'we others' (like Sp nosotros, Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L pl. accus. nos alteros 'we others', cp. also Fr nous autres). The other alternative explanation

presupposes that *ʔanihEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together', with *-hen- going back to N *XAñ₁∇₁∇ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) (> Eg fP ħn^ε 'together with, and') ◇ IE points to a N *i. Tm ē- for the expected reflex of a D *i- or ī- still needs explaining.

809. o *Hañ^g∇(t∇) (or *Hañ^g∇(t∇)??) 'duck' > IE *H₂ñHti- / *HenHti- ({M} *h₂ñh₂'ti-, {EI} *h₂ñh₂ti- / *h₂enh₂ti-) > NaIE *anəti 'duck' > L anas (accus. anatem ~ anitem) id. || Gmc *anud- ~ *anid- 'duck' > ON qnd, OHG anut (~ aneta), nom. pl. enti, NHG Ente, Dt eend, OSx anad, AS éned || OI m. ā'ti-h, f. ā'tī 'duck', KhS āce 'aquatic birds, geese', Oss acc {OsR} 'wild duck; male duck' || Gk I νῆσσα, Gk A νῆττα, Gk B νᾶσσα 'duck' (< *νᾶττα) || BSl *ānt- (< *anət-) > Lt ántis, Pru antis id. | Sl *ǫtī (gen. *ǫtǐve) 'duck' > ChS ꙗты qtī (gen. ꙗтѣве qtǐve), OR ѣты utī (gen. ѣтове utove), SCr ұтва, R Δ ут'ва, Slv {Vs.} ôтва, {Glh.} óтва, Uk утва, Blr вутва, уць, (dim. →) R 'утка ¶ P 41-2, EI 171, M KI 72-3, M E I 163-4, Bai. 16, Ab. I 27, OsR 61, WH I 44, F II 317-8, Vr. 687, EWA I 291-3 and II 1075, Kb. 39, 200, KM 167, Frn. 11-2, En. 142, Tp. P A-D 95-6, Vs. IV 174, Glh. 568 || **u** *añ∇ 'ε aquatic bird (duck or sim.), ε game bird (Tetraonidae, Phasianidae)' > Lp: N {N} hâñηa -ññ- ~ hâñηja 'long-tailed duck; Harelda glacialis', L {LLO} hañηā ~ hañηēk ~ hañηōk 'ice duck, Harelda hiemalis', Kld {TI} añη-łon^ε:t:a 'polar duck (Harelda)', U {Schl.} añηalahka 'domestic duck' || ObU {Ht.} *ñηk 'partridge, ptarmigan' > pVg *ñηkā id. > OVg S SSs angō, anka ≈ id., Vg S: Vg T {Mu.} āñghā, Vg MK ẽñka, OVg N BerG 'anga, Vg Ss āñka 'ptarmigan', Vg P āñka id., 'partridge'; pOs *ñηk > Os: V/Vy ñηq, D/K eñx 'partridge, ptarmigan' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} џа"џо џа?ηо 'diving duck (Aythya, нырок), long-tailed duck (Clangula hiemalis, утка-морянка)', {Lh.} ñāñū 'polar duck, Anas hiemalis', En {KD} ñau 'duck', Ng {Mik.} ñañoja 'duck', Slq Tz {KKIH} ū 'partridge', {Prk.} u 'ptarmigan', Slq Nr/Yel/Kar {Cs.} ū id., Kms unja 'partridge', Koyb {Pl.} angat 'Anas rutila', Mt {Hl.} *oñg₁o 'Schneehuhn' or 'Rebhuhn' (Mt: K {Pl.} onhò 'куропатка', [in Pl. Z] 'Tetrao Lagopus') ¶¶ UEW 13, Schl. 6, TI 15, Ht. #45, Ter. 392, KKI 191, Cs. 108, Erl. 282, Hl. M #811, ≠ Jn. 19 || **a** ({ADb.} *angi-, {DQA} *añat∇ 'ε duck'): NaT *añit {Cl.} 'ruddy goose, Anas casarca' (→ names of other large birds) > OT añit {Cl.} 'ruddy goose', OOs XV añit id., MQP XIV añit 'a bird called 'al-'unaysa (in Ar)', Chg [San.] añkud, Tk Δ ankut, Qmq hankut 'ε wild duck', SY añit

{Ml.} 'wild duck with yellow feathers', Xk аат āt 'scoter (Melanitta, турпан)', ? Yk andī ~ anni 'e 'black duck', 'scoter, diving duck' (unless Yk ← Ewk aṅir) ¶ Cl. 176, TL 172, Ml. ZhU 16, Tn. SJJ 172 || Tg *aṅgji (~ *andi?) 'e aquatic bird' > Nn Nh āṅg id., Neg anṭ, Ewk anni ɖ andi ~ aṅir, Neg anṭ 'bluebill (чернеть, Aythya)' ¶ STM I 43 || M *aṅgir > WrM aṅgir, HIM aṅgir 'e yellow duck' (× *aṅgir 'yellow?') ({Cl.} 'black diver'); M → Alt {Rl.} aṅar 'an aquatic bird (smaller than a goose, with a red-yellow breast)', {BT} aṅir 'варнавка (e a bird)', Qrg {Jud.} aṅir 'красная утка, атайка' ('Tadorna?'), Tv aṅṣir, Brt aṅgir, Ewk Brg aṅir 'scoter, Melanitta (турпан)', Ewk I aṅir 'hazel grouse', Mc aṅgir ṅexex 'scoter; e yellow duck' ¶ MED 445, Cl. 176, Rl. I 184, BT 19, Jud. 60, TvR 62 || pJ {S} *anti > OJ adi 'e duck' ¶ S QJ #757 ¶¶ ADb. KL, DQA #40 || D (in McTm) *aṅṅil (= *aṅṅil) 'e bird' (= 'e duck?') > Tm aṅṅil 'e aquatic bird (OI сакравāка [= Anas casarca?])', Ml aṅṅal 'e a bird of stately walk' ¶ D #331.

810. *Hoṅka (= *hoṅka?) 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle' > OI 'aṅgam 'limb' || Arm անկիւն ankiwn 'angle, corner' || L angulus id., Um ANGLOM-E 'ad angulum' || ON ekkja 'heel', dim. →: ON qkla, OHG ancala, ancla, anchla 'ankle, ankle-joint; talus', AS anclēow 'ankle', NE ankle || Sl *oḡbъ 'angle, corner' > OCS ѡгълъ oḡbъ, Blg 'ъгъл, SCr ũgao (gen. ũgla), Slv vōgəl (gen. vōgla), Cz úhel, Slk uhol, P węgieł (gen. węgła), OR ѡг(ъ)лъ oḡ(ъ)лъ, R 'угол, Uk 'вугол ¶ ≈ P 45-7 and ≈ AHDI 3 (both do not distinguish between NaIE *ank- 'bend' [see N *x|q'a'ṅ, ∇, K∇ 'to bend'] and NaIE *o|ang-), M K I 21, M E I 48, WH I 48-9, Ho. 5, Vr. 99, 686, EWA I 260-1, Kb. 33, ≈ OsS 20, EWA I 260-1, Sl. 286-7, Vs. IV 145, Glh. 650-1 || A: NrTg *oḡṅṅ- 'corner', *oṅṅī- v. 'bend as to form an angle' > Ewk oṅṅān 'internal corner', oṅṅī- v. 'bend\break a stick in order to form an angle, bend a board (to make a ski with an arched front part)', Lm oṅṅt-~oṅṅç- v. bend (together)' ('гнуть, сгибать'), Neg oṅṅt-~oṅṅt- 'bend a board (to make a ski)', Ork o, oṅṅ 'angle, corner' ¶ STM II 19 || M *ōncūg (unless with *φ-) > WrM oṅcūg, HIM oṅcog, Kl oṅcog oṅcog, {Rm.} oṅcōg 'external corner, angle' ¶ MED 636, KRS 417, KW 296 ¶ The element (sx.?) *-cūg is of unknown origin ¶¶ DQA #1598 (A *ōni|e 'angle') || HS: C: Bj {R} 'ankʷa 'hump', {Rop.} ankʷa 'hump of camel' ¶ R WBd

24, Rop. 152 || ?σ S: Ar حَنْكَة ḥanak-at- 'colline très élevée qui se dresse comme un tour' ¶ BK I 505.

811. *HEñom∇ (= ? *hEñom∇ or ?? χEñom∇) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE {WH} *enm-/*nem-/*jem- 'take, acquire, have' (×IE *ʔem-/*ʔom- v. 'take, get, acquire, have' < N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' [q. v. ffd.] ×N *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize'): [1] *enm- > *em- > L emō, -ēre / ēmpsi / ēmptum 'take', Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PERT-EMUST 'peremerit', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) accipiantur' || OIr ar-fo-emat 'they take' || Lt prs. imù / inf. im̃ti 'take', Ltv jem̃u 'I take', Pru īmt̃ 'to take' | Sl prs. *ьm-ŋ / inf. *ję-ti 'take' > OCS prs. **ИМѦ** imŋ / inf. **ИТИ** jęti, prs. **ИМАМЬ** imamь, and **ИМѢА** imějŋ / inf. **ИМѢТИ** iměti 'have', as well as the cognate forms of other Sl lgs.; the Sl form *ьm-ŋ is proved by the OCS compound verb **ВЪЗЪИМѦ** vъz-ьm-ŋ 'I (shall) take', R **ВОЗЪИМУ** 'I shall take' || [2] *jem- > OI 'yamati 'holds' || [3] *nem- > Gt, AS niman, ON nema, OHG neman, NHG nehmen 'to take' || OIr nem 'gift' || Lt nūoma, Ltv nōma 'rent, lease', Ltv ņem̃t̃ 'to take' ¶ WH I 400-2, WP I 207, Kb. 719-20, Frn. 512, ≈ EI 564 (*h₁em- 'take, distribute', *nem- 'take\accept legally') || **HS**: Eg fP xnm (= h₁nm) 'put one's arm around, touch; join' ¶ EG III 377-81, Fk. 202 || **U**: FP *oma 'own, property' > F, Es oma id. || pLp {Lr.} *ōmē 'property; a thing belonging to smb.' > Lp OSw {LÖ} āme 'res', Lp N {Fri.} oabme 'res, pecus, proprietas', {N} oabme/-m- 'sth. which belongs to so., property', Lp L āpmē 'property, thing', Lp I {SK} oami 'own, property' || ? Vt цмой umoy 'good, fit' (← *'proper to...'), Vt G {Wc.} umoy 'good' ¶ UEW 717, Lr. #830, Lgc. #4572 ¶ The prehistory of FP *oma may have been: N *HEñom∇ > **Ē'oma > *oma ◇ It is tempting to tie in M *ōmčīn > WrM ömci, HIM өмч 'inheritance, share of property; property', Kl өнчн öñčän 'inheritance', {Rm.} ömčj ~ öñčj 'Erbteil, Anteil' (MED 635, KRS 417, KW 296), but it belongs here only if the meaning 'property' is ancient in M (which is doubtful).

812. ₂ *H'ä'ñt∇ 'kernel' > IE: NaIE *endr- 'egg, kernel' > Vd āñ'da- 'egg', du. 'testicles', āñ'di- 'testicles, OI añda- 'egg, testicle', Kls 'ōndrak 'egg' || Sl *ędro 'kernel' > OCS **ЯДРО** jędro, McdS jadro, SCr, Slv jędro, Cz jádro, Slk jadro, P jądro, R, Blr я'дро id., Uk я'дро 'grain of corn, kernel, testicle', Hls jadro 'kernel, testicle' ¶ ESSJ VI 65-6, EI 507-8 (IE *h₁en'dro-s 'egg, scrotum', err.: ← *h₁en-

'in'), ≠ P 774 (unc.: Sl < IE *oid-), ≠ M K I 26 (rejects the connection of *aṇḍa-* with Sl and supposes its Munda origin), M E I 162-3 (considers the OI - Sl connection "überlegenswert") ¶ NaIE *-r- may go back to a sx. || **D** (in SD) *aṇṭi- 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *Xāñ∇ṭ∇ 'grain, kernel') > Ml aṇṭi 'kernel, stone of mango, etc., nut', Tm aṇṭi-kkoṭṭai 'cashew-nut', Tu aṇḍi 'stone of fruit (mangoes, etc.)', Kdg maṅge aṇḍi 'mango stone'; D ⇨ Prkr aṇṭhi, Hnd āṭḥī, Bngl āṭ(ḥ)i 'kernel', Ori āṭḥi id., Hnd Bhj āṭḥī 'kernel\pip of fruit' (× OInA *aṣṭi- [> Sk aṣṭi-] 'kernel'); NInA ⇨ Krx aṭḥū 'mango stone', Mlt aṭi 'stone\seed of a fruit' ¶ D #126, Tu. #955 ◇ The positional neutralization of the N opposition *n ↔ *ṇ is denoted here by the symbol \bar{n} .

813. *HUṇ'd'∇ 'root' > HS: EC *Hund∇ 'root' > Or {Grg.} hundē id. (but not Or Wt {Hn.} hidda_ 'root', Brj 'hiddi 'root of big trees; bloodvessel, tendon', which are from EC {Ss.} *hizz- 'root', cf. Ss. PEC 20, 36) ¶ Grg. 218, Brl. 219, Th. 206, Hn. W 62, ≈ Ss. B 95 || **U**: FU (att. in FV only) *ont∇ 'root' > pLp {Lr.} *ōntē id. > Lp: L {LLO} āttēs 'the main root of a tree' ('die größte, dickste, unverzweigte Wurzel, Hauptwurzel'), ? S {Hs.} vieddie, N {N} væd'de, Kld vyeñ'd, {SaR} vyeñtēs 'root' || Mk ункс unks id., Er Δ {Ps.} unduks ~ undoks 'root, stalk (of a cucumber, etc.), sprout' ¶ UEW 719, Lr. #834, Lgc. #4541, SaR 62-3, Ps. B 130 || **A** *ōṅṭde ~ *ṅṭde 'root' > M *ündü-sün, {Adb.} *ünde-sün 'root' > WrM ündüsün, HIM үндэс, үндсэн, Kl {KRS} үндсн, {Rm.} ündüşü, Dg {Pp.} ündüş, ündüşü, {Mrm.} undusun, {Mr.} unduse, {T} undus id. ¶ MED 1007, KW 458, T DgJ 171, Klz. D II 141 || Tg *ṅṅte 'root' > Ewk ṅṅtə ɘ nṅtə, Lm ṅṅtə, Neg nṅtə ~ ṅṅtə, Orc, Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} ṅṅtə, Ud B ṅtə, Ul munktə ~ ṅunktə, Ork, Nn munktə id.; in Ul, Orl, Nn the word is reinterpreted as having a derivational sx. -ktə ¶ STM I 662, Krm. 272 || pJ {S} *mṅtə > OJ mōtò 'root, foundation', J: T/Kg motó, K mótò id. ¶ Valid only if pJ *m- is a reg. reflex of pA *ṅ- (which is not indicated in S's sketch of the J phonetic prehistory, cf. S AJ 67-82) ¶ S QJ 209. Mr. 486 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *ṅṅte 'root', S AJ 18, 39, 92, 291, Adb. KL (A *ṅṅte), DQA #1543 (A *ṅṅt'e) ◇ Tg *ṅ- and pJ *m- (< *ṅ-?) are likely to result from as. (*Ø...ṅ > *ṅ...ṅ) ◇ Adb. NNN 34 (N *ṅṅṭ∇ > A, U, IE) ◇ Hardly here NaIE *wejt- 'dyer's woad, Isatis inctoria (a plant used to produce blue dye)' (> L vitrum 'woad' || Gmc *wajda- id. > OHG weit, NHG

Waid, MLG wēd, Dt weede, AS wād, NE woad ¶ WP I 236, WH II 806, KM 833, Kb. 1164, Ho. 378), because such connection is semantically unj. (the most important part of the woad [used to produce dye] is its leaves rather than its root).

814. *HǎŋkU 'fire' > HS (× N ***h'aŋk'a** 'light [lux], bright', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Stl.} ***ʔakuw-** 'fire' || EC ***ʔēg-** > Dhl {To.} **ʔēga** || SC: Asa {To.} **yogot**, {E} **yogo** 'fire' ¶ To. D 128, E SC 318 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 95 [#26.2] || IE {E} ***Hŋg^ωni-s** > NaIE ***hŋgni-s** ({P, Dv.} ***egni-/ogni-**) 'fire' > OI **ag'ni** *h* id. || L **igni-s** id. || Lt **ugnīs**, Ltv **uguns** id. | Sl ***ognь** 'fire' > OCS **огнь** **огнь**, Blg **огън**, SCr **òganj**, Slv **ogenj** **ôgāñ**, Cz, Slk **oherň**, P **ogień**, R, Uk **о'гонь** 'fire' ¶ P 293, EI 202, Dv. #33, M K I 18, WH I 676, Frn. 1158-9, Vs. III 118-9 || U: FU {UEW} ***əŋ∇** ({IS} ***eŋk∇**) 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Chr {Szil.} **eŋ** 'fire', {Ü} **eŋdem** vt. 'I incandence (on fire), roast, burn (bricks)', Chr: L **ъ'η-aš** vi. 'smoulder' ('тлеть, истлеть'), Uf/B **eŋa-**, H **əŋgä-** 'schwelen, anbrennen, angesengt werden, verkohlen' | Z {Savv.} **ынь** 'flame', {W} **†ńal-** 'flammen, entbrennen', **†ń-ed-** 'entzünden' || Os: Vy **yāŋləl-**, Kz **yāŋəɬ-** v. 'roast on fire' | Hg **ég-** vi. 'burn' ¶ UEW 26, Ü 297, MRS 774-5 || D (in SD) ***aŋal** 'fire' > Tm **aŋal**, Ml **anal** 'fire, heat', Kn **anal** *u* 'heat' ¶ D #327 ◊ IS I 245-6 [#106] (*Henka).

815. ₂ ≈ ***HU_p∇-(t∇k|g∇)** or ***HU_LP₁t∇k∇** ~ **-∇g∇** (*H = *h or *ħ?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > IE: NaIE {P} ***a|p_L:d(e)g_L^ω** 'stalk' > OI [AthV] **adga-h** 'cane, stalk' (× N ***q∇t∇** or ***q∇p_L∇₁t∇** 'tail, hinder part' [q.v.?) || ??ϕ Lt **vedegà** 'adze' ({Frn.} 'e Axt zum Aushauen, Zimmeraxt'), ?? Ltv **vedga** 'Brechstange (mit hölzernem Griff)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, M K I 29, M E I 63, Frn. 1164-5 || HS: ?σEg **hpw.tj** 'e Gestell, Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen/hocken pflegen)' ¶ EG II 489 || C: Bj {R} ***ʔabka** 'Stiel, Handhabe' || Or **hofa** {E} 'stalk, stem', {Brl.} 'lancia con punta di legno', {Grg.} **hofā** 'spear made of sharpened wood' || SC: Brn {E} **hopi-na** 'handle, haft' ¶ ESC 309, Brl. 21, Grg. 211 || B ({ʔPr.} ≈ ***✓wdg**) > Sll **taddägt** (pl. **taddägin**) 'tige ligneuse', Shl {NZ} **addag** 'arbre, branche' ¶ Ds. 278, NZ 298 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} **udug_u** ~ **edigu** 'ein Stock z. B. zum Walken' (but {CAD} **edigu** - "meaning uncertain") ¶ Sd. 1402, CAD IV 33 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 and Tk. SCC 98 [#28.4] (Eg, C) ¶¶ The initial HS cns. is rather uncertain. Eg **hpw.tj** (if it belongs here) points to *h-, Ak YB **edigu** seems to suggest *ħ- (but its ev. cannot be decisive because Ak YB was not a really spoken lge.), while the origin of Or h- is less clear (both HS *h- and HS *ħ are not ruled out, cp. [1] Or **hēr-um-** ps. 'marry' and Eg **fP hɜy** 'husband' <

N *he₁r₁ʔ₁ʔ₁ʔ₁ʔ₁ 'male' and [2] Or hirriba ~ irriba 'a sleep' < EC *hinrib- 'eyelash, eyelid' < N *(hin₁∇-)₁rimP₁∇ or *(him₁∇-)₁rimP₁∇ id.) ◇ Qu.

816. ₂ *H₁æ₁R₁∇ 'goat, sheep' > HS: C: Dhl {EEN} hēri 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāri 'she-goat', pl. āra 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} ara 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ʔσ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm ur 'he-goat' || Ech: Ll d̄rē 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChC, ChL ¶¶ EG l.c., Ember ESS #3.b.6, OS #1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [#25.3] || IE *^rh¹er(i)- ({EI} *h₁er- 'lamb, kid') > NaIE *er-, eri- 'goat, sheep' (× N *^riR¹i¹ '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.] and N *^rerq¹i¹ '∈ ruminant' [q.v.]); I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the contamination with N *^rerq¹i¹) > L ariēs (gen. ariētis) 'ram', Um erietu 'arietem' || BSl (< NaIE *er-, *eri- × IE *^{ye}Hr- 'springtime, year' [< N *^há¹ǰ¹É ≈ young, new-born', q.v.]) > Pru eristian, Lt (j)éras, Ltv jērs 'lamb' || Sl *jarьka 'female lamb' (× Sl *jarьka ← *jaro 'springtime' < N *^há¹ǰ¹É) > OR ярѣка jarьka, R 'ярка, 'ярочка 'lamb (female)', Uk, Blr ярка, Slk jarка 'year-old sheep', P jarка 'heifer, a lamb of this year' || ? Arm որոջ օրօջ 'lamb' (initial օ- from *e- by as., according to P) || NaIE *er(i)-b^h- (with the sx. *-b^h(0)- of animal names) '∈ horned artiodactyl' (× N *^riR¹i¹ '(male, young) big ungulate', q.v.) > Gk ἔρπυρο-ς 'kid' || Clt: OIr heirp (*erb^h-ī-) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (*erb^h-ā-) 'cow', NIr earb 'goat', ScGl earb 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, FI 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. PE-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80.

817. *H₁erU 'ascend, rise' > HS: B *[√]wHu|ir 'be above' (× N *^rúr∇ or *^rurÉ 'top', q.v. ffd.) || IE *her- (or *h^wer-), *h₁eru- ({IS} *h^wer-) 'ascend, rise' (× N *^rúr∇ or *^rurÉ '↑') > AnIE: Ht arai-, ariya- '(a)rise, lift; raise, (a)rouse', Lw ari(ya)- 'raise'; Ht aru- 'high', arriya- 'rouse, stir (from sleep), awaken; start (from sleep), be awake', ar- 'stand (by), remain standing' || NaIE *er-/*or- 'rise, move, stir' > Gk ὀρνύμι and ὀρνύω v. 'stir, stir up, urge on, incite', md. ὀρνύμιαι (pfc. ὀρώρα) 'arise, start up; stir oneself', [Hs.] ἔρετο · ἠρμήθη 'was set in motion' || OI r_o-_{ti} vi. 'arises, moves', Av ar^θnao^ti vt. 'moves' || Arm յարեմս զաճեմ 'I rise, stand up' (aor. յարեայ զաբայ) || L orior v. 'rise, arise' || MW dy-gyf-or 'height, high place' ¶¶ IS I 254 (*h^wer-, in spite of Gk ὀρνύμιαι), Pv. I 104-8, 123-7, 138-9, 177-8, WP I 148-9, M K I 122, WH I 64-5 and II 222-3, F II 422-4, Vn. A 87, Slr. 103-3, ≠ EI 506 (orior < *h₁er- 'set in motion') || D *ē₁-, [GS] *ē₁d- > Tm

ēru v. 'rise, ascend', MI ērukā, Kn ēru v. 'rise, increase', Kt e'r, e're'r, e'rr 'up', Td ö'r- v. 'rise high', Kdg a₁'r- '(liquor) rises to head', Tu ēru- v. 'ascend, climb, rise', Knd ērasi 'steep, steeply rising' ¶¶ D #916, GS 217 [#532], 61 [#184] || ?ϕ A: NaT *ōr- 'rise' (× N *por'ä'ϑ 'summit, top', q.v. ffd.) || M *örni- (unless it is *ϕörni-) > WrM öрни-, HIM өрнө-x v. 'grow, increase, rise' ¶ MED 242, Pp. ICML 54 ¶ Qu., because the available sources (WrM and HIM) do not distinguish between *ø- and *ϕ- < *p- || Tg: Ewk Brg oro- v. 'climb on sth.' ¶ Vas. 327 || pKo {S} *òr'á- v. 'rise' > MKo òr'á-, òr-, NKo ori- id., {Rm.} ori- ~ oru- v. 'go upwards, rise, go up to' ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9, S QK #991, Nam 380, MLC 1199 ¶¶ The labialized vw. of the first syll. is probably due to the infl. of *U of the next syll. ¶¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 178-9 (Ko, Tg + unc. Mg *oru- 'enter' and T orun 'place, site, bed') ◇ An alt. pN rec. is *H₁orE (based on the A reflex), but it is less acceptable because of the D evidence ◇ The reflexes are sometimes hard to distinguish from those of N *ʔür'ϑ or *ʔur'E 'top' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 116-7 (*Horä with *o in spite of D *ēru-). ≈ Gr. II 9 (*or 'arise').

818. *H|wur'ϑ 'male person\animal' > HS: NrOm: WI/ZI {C} urā 'man (vir)', ZI {LmS} ūra, Gf LmS} ura 'man', WI {LmS} issi-ʔura 'someone', Kf {C} ūrō ~ wurō 'man (vir), 'person, male', ⇨ ūr-ē 'woman', Mch {L} wuró 'male animal' ¶ C SE IV 403-4, C SO 25, LM 57, LmS 292 || CCh:ʔ Mdr {ChL} ʔurà 'man, person' (unless -r- < *-d-, which is reg.) || U: FU *ur'ϑ 'man, male animal' > F uros (gen. uroon ~ urhoon) 'adult man, brave man, hero', uros (gen. uroksen) 'male animal, two-years-old male reindeer' || ? Lp: N {N} vârrēs / -r'ras- ~ vâres / -ras- 'male animal, a male', vârek '2-year-old male reindeer', I ârēk ~ varēk id., ârēs 'male animal', Kld o'ēs id., adj. 'male' || OHg úr 'powerful person; lord, God; husband', Hg úr (accus. urat) 'lord, mister; husband'; ⇨ OHg ország 'reign(ing) (Regierungszeit, uralkodás); country, empire', Hg ország 'country, state' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 545, Sm. 542 (FU *ur'á 'male' > FP *ura, Ugr *ŭra), MF 653-4, MTE II 1095, EWU 1070, 1579 || A {SDM97} *ur'ϑ {AD} 'male; young male relative' > Tg *o'ur > Ewk ur (ur-w3) 'man (vir), male animal' ¶ Vas. 450, STM II 281 || M *üre'ϑe 'young stallion' > MM [S] {H} urī,e 'three-year-old horse', WrM ürege ~ üriye, HIM үрээ, Ord ūrē '3- to 5-year-old stallion', Brt үриэ '3- to 4-year-old horse', Kl үрә ürä '3-year-old horse', {Rm.} üre 'dreijähriges Hengstfüllen' ¶ H 166, MED

1011-3, KW 459, KRS 553, Chr. 512, Ms. O 760 || NaT *urI 'male child, son' (×A *p'uri 'child, offspring[s]' < N *p̄ôr'i 'child, offspring' ×N *hoR'i 'conceive', 'newborn, a young') > OT urI 'male child, son' ¶ Cl. 197 || pKo {S} *óràpí 'brother' > MKo óràpí, NKo {S} orabi id., {Rm.} orabi ~ orābi 'brother (used by and in relation to a sister)', or-a₁mi 'brother's wife' ¶ Rm. SKE 177-8, S QK #791, MLC 1197 || ? pJ {S} *ʒtɜ 'younger brother' > OJ oto, otopi₁i, [RJ] òtòtò, J: T/Kg otóto, K ótótó ¶ S QJ #368, Mr, 513 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *ur▽ (T, M, Tg, Ko), ≈ DQA #650 (A *jòre 'male, young male' > incl. Tg, M, Ko, pJ); Rm. SKE 177-8 and Rm. EAS I 107 (in both sources Ko, T + M *ori 'young' [see N *hoR'i '↑']) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 adduces here Tg *ηur (Ewk ηur 'male dog') ({ADb} < A *ηurU 'young male animal') and reconstructs N *η₁Ir▽ 'male' ◇ ≠ Gr. II #259 (*er 'man') (U + err.: IE *r̄sen, T, M, Ko, Gil; see N *he₁?|y₁r'E' 'male').

819. *H₁âp▽r▽ (= *?a?u'r▽?) 'long, big' > IE *H_x'a|o'₁H_xr- 'long', (?) 'far' > OI ā'rē loc. 'far, in the distance', ā'rāt abl. 'from a distant place' ||| Tc A {Wn.} arɣu 'long' (of time) || AnIE: Lv {Mlc.} ārray(a)-, {Lar.} ara-, a(r)rai-, arī-, HrLv {Mer.} ara- 'long' ¶¶ Wn. 150-1 (with unc. IE etymology of Tc arɣu), Mlc. CL 26, Lar. 30, Mer. HHG 30, Ivn. SANA 153 (Lv arɣu-), WP I 79 (IE *āro- 'die Freie, Weite, Raum'), ≈ M K I 78 ||| D: SD *ar̄- 'great' > Tm arɣu_vam 'greatness, abundance', Kn a|u_mbā 'excess, greatness' ¶ D #287 ||| HS: ECh: Mgm {JA} ?ârrò adv. 'loin, loutain' ¶ JA 66 || S (+ext.) *√?rk 'be\become long' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Aram G √?rk, Ak inf. arāku id., Ar G √?rk 's'arrêter longtemps (quelque part)', BA 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤓 ?ārīk, Sr ?ar īk, Md arīka 'long', Sb ?rk '(?) duration of time' ¶ HJ 108, KB 85-6, 1674, OLS 49, Br. 49, Ln. 50-1, BK I 26, CAD I/2 223-, Sd. 83-5, BGMR 7, Bll. 27, DRS 33 ||| A *u'ra|o|u > T *u'ra- 'be(come) long' > OT uza- 'be(come) long, be long drawn out' (usually of time, less often of space), XwT XIV uza- 'be long drawn out', Chg ≥XV uza- 'be(come) long', Tk uza- 'be(come) long, last long, be\go far away', CrTt, Uz, Ln, Tv uza- 'be(come) long', Tkm uða-, Yk uha- 'get elongated', ET uzay-, Qzq ʔza- ūza-, Qq, Qmq uza- 'become longer, go away far', Kr G uza- 'be(come) long, last long', Alt uza- id., 'move far away', Qrg uza- 'go away far'; ⇨: [1] *u'ratI (gerund?) ~ *u'rata > ET uzatI 'for a long time', Qrg uzata, Alt uzada, Xk uzada id., 'further', Tv uzadI 'prolonging' (gerund), Tf uzadI 'in a drawing manner (протяжно)'; [2] *u'rak 'long' > OT uzaq 'long

drawn out, long lasting', 'far away, distant', MOsm XV uzaq 'long' (of time)', Chg ≥XV uzaq 'far away, distant', Qrg uzaq, VTt озак ъзаq, Bsh ъџаq 'long' (of time), 'for a long time', Tkm uџаq, ET uzaq, Qzq ŭzaq id., 'lasting; distant, remote', Tk uzак 'remote', Xlj {DT} uzāq, Chv вџрах vџрах 'long' (of time); [3] T *uṛuṛn 'long' (of time and space) > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV uzun, MQp XIII {Cl.} uzūn, Tk узун, Tkm uḃūn, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz, ET, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uzun, Qzq ұзын ŭzin, Nog, Qq uzın, VTt озын ъzin, Bsh озон ъџон, Yk uhun, Chv вџрџм vџрџm id. ¶ Cl. 281-3, 288-9, ET Gl 570-2, Sht. 279, Naj. 123-6, Jud. 798-9, TkR 657, BR 411, Ra. 238, DT 307, Md. 59, ≈ Rs. W 518 (unc.: T *uṛ < *puṛ-) || M *ur-tu 'long' > MM [L, MA, IM] urtu 'long', [S] {H} urtu 'long, distant', WrM urtu, HIM урт, Brt ута, Δ урта 'long' (in time and space), 'length', Ord {Ms.} uṛt'u 'long, length', Dg {Pp.} or't ~ or't'ō 'long' {MYC} ortu, Mnr E {MYC} rdз 'long'; M *uri-da 'before' (with the locative *-da?), *uridu 'former' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} uridu 'der frühere, antérieur', [MA] {Pp.} urida 'before (vor, avant)', IM {Pp.} urida 'прежде', 'передний' (mistake for 'прежний, former?'), WrM uridu, HIM урд 'former, past, old', Br урид, Kl {KRS} урд urdā 'before' (adv., postp.), Kl {Rm.} uridā 'vor, vorn; früher', MMgl, Mgl urtu, Dg {MYC} ordōn, Mnr E {MYC} urda 'before, former'; but hardly here (⇔ S, DQA) Mnr H {T} fudur, Mnr Nr {SM} fudur, Dx {T} fudu, Ba {T} fdu 'long' (see N *pU'h'ṽṽdṽ(-Rṽ) 'long, spacious, [?] far') ¶ S AJ 23 [#53], H 166, Pp. LI 1255, Pp. MA 366, 449, MED 883-5, KRS 536, KW 450, Chr. 475-9, Iw. 141, Rm. M 41, MYC 680-1, SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149 || pKo {S} *ōrá 'late, long ago' > MKo òrá, NKo orä ¶ S AJ 256 [#146], S QK #146 ¶ S AJ 23 [#53] ¶¶ S AJ 34 (unc. adduction of Mnr φudur), 283 (A *uṛA), DQA #2545 (A *ṽuṛō 'long, late'; unc. adduction of Mnr φudur and Tg *ṽxṽiṽr- [actually *xüṽir-] 'be ripe, cooked') ◇ The S cognate is not certain because of the cns. *k (from a sx., cp. T *uṛak 'long?'). If the S cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was *ʔ. The A cognate is dubious because of the deviant vw. *u. A possible solution is to suppose a N *ʔaʔuṛṽ with a syncope (loss of the internal *-u-) in IE and D and with the loss of *a in A ◇ Blz. LB #104c (IE, D, S).

820. *Haṽwṽṽṽ (= *ṽawišṽ?) 'male, male person' > HS: NrOm: Zl {CR} аџо, {C} asā, Shn {Lm.} aššā 'person, man', Bdt {Fl.} ače, Hrr {Fl.} ač i, Cha {C} asā, aččā, Gmr {Fl.} ac, {Bul.} ацъ, Bnc {Wdk.} ác, Ym

{Wdk.} àsù 'person, man (vir), Kf {Fl.} aš(š)0, {C} ašō 'person', Mch {L} ʔaš0 'man', Amuru {Fl.} as0, Anf {MYTY} aš0, Doka {CR} asš, Wl {C} asā, Drz/Malo {Fl.} asa, Oyda {Fl.} a'si ʔ ass, Male {Fl.} asi, Bsk {Fl.} as3, BMa {Fl.} ε'se 'person' ¶ The forms with č, c may be due to the addition of a snglt. sx. (*-t∇?) ¶ C SE III 68 and IV 406, Wdk. BY 97, 117, 164, Fl. OWL s.v. 'person', Lm. Sh 272, MYTY 116 || C: Ag: Xm {R} ās-aω / as-ō adj. 'male' (asō ωi'dīl 'ein männliches Junges', āsō dū'χarā 'male ass') (× [?] N *ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man' [q.v.], cp. Bln {R} nθ's-āuχ adj. 'male') ¶ R Ch. II 28 || CCh: Msg {Mch.} aωus 'man, male', Mbara {TrnSL} wūs 'husband, male' ¶ TrnSL M 281, ChC ¶ The Ch cognate has been suggested by Blz. || ʔσ S *°✓ʔayš|s- > Ar ʔays- 'sperm of a male' ¶ BK II ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OL #51 (HS *aωu,s- 'male, strength'), C SE III 68 (Om, C) || U: FP *°a|oš∇ 'male animal' > Chr: L oжo 'ož0, U/B ož0, H oжы 'ožb 'stallion', L {Ü} ož0 sōsnä 'boar' (lit. 'male swine') || Prm *už > Z, Vt už 'stallion' ¶ UEW 607-8, Sm. 552 (FP *oš∇ 'stallion'), MRS 371, Ü 140, LG 296 || A: Tg *as- + sxs.: *as-ī 'woman' (*as- *'male' + *-ī, probably a fossilized marker of female sex < N *ʔ'a'y∇ 'mother' [→ 'female', marker of fem.], q.v.): Ewk asī, Sln ašē ~ ašī, Lm, Ork ast, Neg asī, ? Orc asa 'woman', Ul ast- (with a ppa.) 'wife', Nn ast 'female (animal), ast- (with a ppa.) 'wife' | *as- + other sxs.: *asātkān 'girl' > Ewk asātkān, Lm asatqan, Neg. asatkān id., *asanta > Orc asanta 'woman', Ul aħanta 'girl, maiden', etc. ¶ STM I 55 ◇ N *-w∇- is suggested by CCh (Msg aωus). If Ar ʔays- belongs here, the N rec. must be *ʔawiš∇, otherwise it is to be reconstructed as *Ha,w∇,š∇.

821. *Haya 'pursue' > HS: Ch **✓ʔy v. 'hunt' > NrBc: P' {MSk.} nd3r ʔíyà, Sir {Sk.} ʔíyá v. 'hunt' ¶ ChL, Sk. NB || IE *Haj- (= *Hxεj-)/*Hi- > OI i'nō-ti, i'nvā-ti 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av i'nao¹ti 3s prs. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt' || ? Gk αἰνός 'terrible' ¶ P 10, M KI 87, 128, FI 41, Ch. 35 || U: FU *aya- v. 'drive, pursue' > F aja- v. 'drive, chase, pursue, hunt; ride', Es aja- v. 'drive, pursue', pLp {Lr.} *vōjē > Lp N {N} vuooggje-/-j- v. 'drive (a horse, reindeer), drive on\over', Lp L {LLO} vuođjē- 'fahren (mit Renntier oder Pferd)', Lp Kld vujje-, Lp Nt vuajje- 'fahren, lenken' || pPrm *{LG} ωy- v. 'pursue, run, rush' {≠ LG: v. 'run, rush'} > Vt C uy+- v. 'pursue', Vt N [URS] uy+- v. 'overtake (догнать)', Z вой-†voy- 'run downhill without restraint' (of a horse with a rider), Z Vm/I/Le voy-lī- 'бегать, носиться' || pObU

***_Lw_Luyt-** > pVg ***_Lw_Luyt** > Vg: MK {Kn.} woyt- 'verfolgen', UK {Mu.} vuyt- id., 'jagen' ¶ Coll. 129, UEW 4-5, Sm. 542 (FU ***_ǎjǎ-** 'drive' > IP ***aja-**, Ugr ***_ǎja-**), LG 61, Lr. #1423, Lgc. #8751, MK 744, Mu. AKE 622 ¶ IS (I 243) is right in rejecting the alleged Aryan (Iir) origin of FU ***aya-** (presumably from the stem, represented by OI **aj-** and Av **az-** v. 'drive'), because the Aryan stem was ***aź-** ~ ***aǰ-**, hence the expected FU stem should have been ***aś∇-** or the like rather than ***aya-** || **A: M** ***aya-** n 'hunt' > MM [S] **aya(n)** 'hunt, military expedition, campaign' ('Jagd, Kriegszug, Jagdzug'), WrM **ayan**, HIM **аян** 'travel, journey, expedition', Brt **ayan** 'long journey', Kl **аян** 'military expedition', {Rm.} **ayṛṅ** ~ **ayṛṅ** 'Reise, Weg, Richtung' ¶ H 10, MED 23, Chr. 40, KRS 60, KW 4 || ?σ pJ {S} ***ayùm-** 'walk' ({AD} 'step, walk') > OJ **ayùm-** {Mr.} 'step, walk', J: T **ayúm-**, K **áyúm-**, Kg **ayùm-** id. ¶ S QJ #153, Mr. 679, Kenk. 70 || Tg ***āy-**: [1] Nn {On.} **āi-** v. 'step (on sand\snow, entering deep in it)' | [2] ?σ Tg ***ay_La_L-** 'run quickly' > WrMc **aya-** 'run fast' (of a horse), 'take wing, fly', Ewk **ay_Lṛ** 'swift-footed', 'fast' (of running, walking), Ork **ayamapu(n-)** 'беговой (fast-running?)' (a reindeer, horse, dog), **ayamunǰ_L** adv. 'fast' ¶ STM I 20-1, Vas. 44, On. 30, Z 10, Hr. 62-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #62 (A ***_ǎya** 'go, walk'; qu. comparison with IE ***ej-** 'go' [< N ***_ǎe_Ly∇** 'come, arrive', q.v.]) ◇ Cf. IS I 243: IE, U, A (N {IS} ***Ha_Lya** 'pursue, chase').

822. *h₂oy∇ (= ***hoy∇**?) 'by me, my' > K ***h¹w-**, agentive px. of 1s in verbs > OG **v-** / **-w-** (after the px. **χ-** of 3s objecti), OG X **χw-**, OG H **hw-** (in the "absolute passive" forms: OG X **χw-i-ma_L-v-i** 'I hide myself', **χw-i-qa_L** 'I was'), G **v-**, G In **h-ü-** (÷ G **v-i-**), Mg, Lz **v-** (before vowels), **b-/p-/p_L-** (before cnss.), Sv **χw-** - agentive px. of 1s in verbs ¶¶ The initial lr. is probably identical with what Mach. (Mach. K 71-3) reconstructed as ***h-** ¶¶ Dt. 25-7, Fn. GAS 79, Marr 44-5 || **HS: [1] HS** ****_oay∇** > Eg **w_Ly** 'I' (enclitic prn.) (× N ***w_Ly∇** 'we'??) ||| [2] S ***_oyā-** 'me' (stem of the prn. in oblique cases): Ak **yā-ti** 'me', **ana yā-šim** 'to me' || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} **y_i-t** 'me', Bln {R} **y_i-t** 'me, to me' ||| Bj {RHd.} **-ē-** (-h-**ē**-b 'me', sx. of verbs) ||| EC: Sml N **í** 'me', **í** 'to me', Rn **i-** (verbal px.) 'me, to me', Elm {Hw.} **ye-se**, **y_o-l_o** 'I', Dsn {Hw.} **ye** abs., **y_u** nom. 'I', {To.} **yú** abs., **y_â** (subject) 'I', **ye** 'me', Arr **yé** 'I', Sd **-ē** 'me', as well as probably Hd. **i-** 'my' ||| [3] HS ***_ǎy_a** 'my' > C: HEC ***-_ǎy_a** 'my' > Sd {Hd.} **-_ǎya**, Kmb **-e**, **-ī-ha m.** / **-ī-ta f.**; LEC ***-ya** 'my' > Sml **-k-ay(-gu)**

/ -t-ay(-du), Rn {PG} -kāya / -tāya, Or -k-i(y)ya / -t-i(y)a (in Sm, Rn, and Or -k- and -t- are gender markers of the noun, Sml -gu and -du are gender-dependent determiners ['≈ the']) || SC: Irq {Mous} -ēʔ, Alg -í, Brn -ayí 'my' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} yí- 'my' || B *-y / *-ī 'my' > Kb, Shl, Tw, Si, Tmz, Wrg -i, etc. (ffd. *see* Pr. M I-III 164 and AiM 215-7) || S *-ya 'my' (> *-ī after stem-final cns.) > Ak -ya / -ī, Hb, Aram -ī, Ug -ya, Ar -ya / -ī, Gz -ya ¶ Lip. 306-7 || Eg -ya 'my' ¶ Lpr. 63-4 || Ch: Mrg -áyu, Msg -a, -ya, Hs -a 'my' ¶¶ Ap. Kh I 259, 263, Hd. HEC 258-9, Ow. 105, Sr. 121-3, Ss. D 207, RHd. B 112, AD EPCChL, AD KJ 29-31, Abr. S 125, PG 40-1, Hw. A 14, 215, To. DL 210, Mous 92 ¶¶ [4] HS *ʔ∇-, marker of 1s subiecti: S {Hz.} *ʔa- in active G-verbs > Ak a-, WS (in prefix-conjugated tenses): Hb ʔε- (before cns. clusters) / ʔā- (before single cns.), Ug ʔa-, BA ʔε-, JEA ʔi- (before cns. clusters), Sr W ʔε-, Ar ʔa-, Gz ʔa-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ʔɜ-; in the ps. verbal forms and in derived stems the marker of 1s is *ʔ- + a vw. that depends on the prehistory of the S ps. voice and derived stems (mostly *-u-) ¶ Hz. VP || C *ʔ∇-, 1s marker of prefix-conjugated verbs > Bj *ʔa-, Ag: Aw a-, EC: Sa, Af ʔu/i- (p.), ʔ-a- (prs.), Sml, Rn ∅- (Sml N iqīn 'I know' ↔ t-iqīn 'thou knowst' and y-iqīn 'knows', idī 'I say' ↔ 2s t-idī, 3m y-idī, Rn amīt 'I am coming' ↔ y-amīt '[he] is coming', t-amīt 'thou art coming') ¶¶ Dk. SHL 80-1, Lip. 370-1, Rsnt. GBA 44, Jo. MSA 15, AD KJ 50, 118, AD IPCV, PG 43 || IE: [1] PIE stative marker of 1s *-xε > Ht -hi, NaIE *-Ha, e.g. *wojǵ-Ha 'I know' (← 'seen by me') > OI vēda, Gk φοῖδα, Gt wait ¶¶ [2] PIE marker ({Bks.} *-h₂) of 1s in the medium voice (preceding the voice-marker *r) (with a complicated and obscure development, yielding Ht pres. -ha(ha)ri, p. -ha(ha)ti, L pres. -o-r, etc.) ¶¶ [3] NaIE *-ō (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the pres. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem) > OI -ā-(mi), Lt -ū, Gk -ω, L -ō, OIr -u (biru 'I carry'), Gt -a ¶¶ Kur. Ap 41-8, Kur. IC 61-2, Wtk. GIV 105-6, Bks. 238-42, Bks. OH 72-6, ≈ EI 467 (1s *-h₂eǵ, thematic 1s *-o-h₂) || D *y^ra^r > Brh ī 'I', NaD *yāñ / (stem of the obl. cases) *yañ- 'I' > OTm yāñ / eñ, MI rāñ- / en-, OKn āñ / en-, Tu yāñ ~ yēñ / en-, TI ēnu, Klm, Prj āñ / an-, Krx, Mlt ēñ / eñg-. The NaD element *-ñ- (< N *nu, marker of genitive → marker of obl. cases) is due to the levelling within the case paradigm of the prn. ¶¶ Zv. 35-6, 128, Zv. CDM 40-4, An. DL 68-74, D #5160 || E: MEI, LEI u 'I' < {Dk.} *hu id.; MEI -h (> AchEI -∅), verbal subject sx. of 1s (MEI hutta-h > AchEI utta 'I do'); Dk.'s hyp. is

based on comparison of $\text{u} \text{ 'I'}$ with this postverbal $-\text{h} \text{ 'I'}$ ($\text{h} > \emptyset$ regularly in the history of Elamite) ¶¶ Dk. JDPa 108, Rnr. EL 76, 89-90, Paper RAE 93-7 ◇ The pK ($> \text{OG, G, Sv}$) syntax (at least in the past tenses) was ergative, the agens of the transitive verb being expressed by a noun in the agentive (ergative) case. This fact suggests that the agentive px. of 1s $*(\text{h})\omega-$ goes back to a N prn. meaning 'by me'. The existence of an etymologically identical 1s px. ($*\text{?}\nabla-$) in HS suggests that in the prehistory of HS there was an ergative period, with the ergative construction being predominant in the language, hence the prevailing verb structure with $*\text{?}\nabla-$ as the marker of 1s subjecti. But it is likely to have coexisted with a HS nominative construction, as far as one can judge from its scarce traces: [1] the verb yom-mi 'I am' / yon-ti 'thou art' in Kmb, the form of the dependent verb in Hd: 1s 'yó-m-o , 2s 'yón-t-o , ending $*-\text{m}\nabla$ / $*-\text{t}\nabla$ of certain tenses in HEC (going back to the analytic construction of a verbal noun + the aux. verbum substantivum $*\text{yon-mi} / *\text{yon-ti}$, *F AD PLOG 103-10*), suggesting that verbs with $*-\text{mi}$ as the subject ending of 1s (similar to and etymologically identical with verbs in IE and U) still existed in early pHS, [2] the accus. ending $*-\text{m}\nabla$ that survived in SOm, unlike in all other HS lgs., where its absence may be explained by the predominantly ergative syntax and where patiens (later accusative) is the unmarked actant of the sentence ("actant" in I. Mel'čuk's terminology). The preverbal position of the agentive subject markers in K ($*\text{h}^1\omega-$) and in HS ($*\text{?}\nabla-$) corresponds to the syntactic rules of pN: agentive pronouns do not occupy the post-predicative (sentence-final) position (as the N subject pronouns $*\text{mi}$ 'I' and $*\text{t}^1\text{ü}^1 / *\text{s}^1\text{ü}^1$ 'thou' do), but are placed before the predicate (as all object words do). In apparent contradiction to this rule, the pIE stative marker of 1s $*-\text{x}\epsilon$ and the other abovementioned pIE endings of 1s follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. The contradiction can be explained away by supposing that these IE verbal forms go back to a pre-IE analytic construction of a verbal nominal + a prefix-conjugated aux. verbs (as in C) ◇ The N vw. $*-\text{o}-$ is reconstructed on the ev. of K (pointing to a labialized vw.) and IE ($*-\text{x}\epsilon$ rules out N $*\text{u}$ and $*\text{ü}$) ◇ For ffd. *see AD PP 67-74, 82-7, 93-103, 112* ◇ \neq Gr. I 67 (connects IE $*-\text{H}$ of 1s with "EurA" $\text{K} \text{ 'I'}$ $> \text{Hg. -k}$ 1s, etc.).

823. $*\text{h}_1\text{u}_1\text{w}_1\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$ (or $*\text{h}_1\text{u}_1\text{w}_1\nabla\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$) 'loins, lap' $>$ HS: WS $*\text{h}_1\text{u}\hat{\text{c}}\text{an-}$ id. $>$ Hb ḥoçen 'fold of garment, bosom', Amr {G} $\checkmark \text{ḥṣn}$ v. (?) 'embrace', Ar حِضْن ḥiḥṣn- {Fr.} 'pars corporis sub axillis usque ad hypochondrium aut pectore et brachiis et id quod inter brachia est', {BK} 'sein; toute la partie du corps comprise entre les bras, les aisselles, les

côtes; l'entre-bras, l'étreinte', Gz 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 (pl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨) 'bosom, womb, lap, embrace', Tgr 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'lap'; Aram (dis. *ḥ...ṣ > *ḥ...ṣ > ḥ...∅): JA [Trg.] 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'gremium, sinus', {Js.} 'lap, bosom', Sr 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'lap, privy parts', Md 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'lap, loins, embrace, privy parts'; hardly here (because of the initial ḫ-) (⇔ KB and other authors) Ak ḫiṣṣuru 'protection' (rather a derivative from the verb √ ḫṣṣ 'shelter, receive in a friendly way') and ḫuṣṣaruru 'sash, belt' (⇔ MiK) (most probably a loanword)] d-emp.: ?? S *ḥaṣṣ- > Ar ḥaṣṣa-n, ḥaṣṣwat-, ḥiṣṣwat- 'viscère (toute partie intérieure du corps)', ?φ Ak FOB ḫaṣṣū {CAD} 'lungs, belly, entrails' (the unexpected ḫ- suggests that this is loan from a WS lge.) ¶ KB 330, KBR 344, GB 252, G A 20, Js. 481, Lv. T I 269, Br. 242, PS 1317-8, BK I 435-6, 449, DM 124, Fr. I 394, L G 226, LH 102, CAD VI 129-30, 143, 203, 259, Sd. 335, MiK I ##1.128-9 || ?σ K *ḥaṣṣ- > Mg oḫiṣi 'back (of the body)', oḫiṣā 'waist of a garment'; Mg -iṣ- (< K *-iṣ-) is a sx. of gen., -i is the nominative ending, so that oḫ-iṣ-i means literally dors-ali-s ¶ Q 295 || A: T *ūḫa 'loins' or the like (× N *yôḫṣ 'bone', [?] 'backbone' × N *p'oqEṣṣ ~ *p'oṣṣqṣ 'thigh, haunch', q.v.) > OT uḫa {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūḫā, [CC] uḫa 'back', OOsM XV uḫa 'buttocks', Chg 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨, 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 uḫa 'back (dos)', Tkm ūḫa 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} uḫa 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uḫa [uḫa] 'coccyx', VTt 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨, Bsh 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 uḫa 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uḫa uḫa, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uḫa 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uḫa, uḫa 'rump', QK {Rl.} ḫḫa, Tb uḫa, Qmn {Rl.} ḫḫa 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uḫa 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uḫa 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg uḫa 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY uḫa ~ uḫa, Nog uḫa, VTt 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨, Bsh Δ 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'loins', Tv uḫa 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uḫa 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 ḫḫa ṣḫmmi 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thigh-bone', {ET} 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 ḫḫa 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288. Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT *ū, while Yk u is likely to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe - F Pp. J 55) ¶ T ḫ → M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] uḫa, WrM 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM ūc id., Brt ūsa 'croup, sacrum', Kl ūca 'sacrum, back

(dos), hind quarters', Ord ūc'a 'hind quarters of animals', Mgl uča 'back (dos)' (on the borrowing *see* s.v. N ***ʏôč̥**) || Tg *u^ʔçā 'hind part of the body' (the length of *u being suggested by the T and M cognates) > Orc uč(č̣)a 'hind part, stern of a boat', WrMc učā 'hind part, sternum, sacral bone', {Hr.} 'weichgekochter Rinder-, Schaf- oder Hirschschwanz' ¶ STM II 290, Z 165, Hr. 942 ¶¶ DQA #2720 (A *ūč'∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') (*see* N ***ʏôč̥** '↑') || D *Uṭ- 'groin, lap, waist' or the like > Ml oṭi, oṭuku 'groin', uṭa id., 'testicle of oxen', Kt oṛ 'waist', Kn uḍi, uḍa, uḍu, uḍe 'hip, waist', uḍi, uḍalu 'pouch made in front by folding or doubling a part of the lower garment', Tl oḍi 'lap (part of body or of clothing)', Nk oḍḍi 'lap' ¶¶ D #947.

824. ***hālŭ** (or ***hālŭ**) 'ε a leaf-bearing tree' > HS: S *^o✓h̥lŭ > Ar {Fr.} ?al-ḥulāwā(y) 'ε a small tree', {Ln.} ḥulāwā(y) ε a small (ever-green, or thorny?) tree' ¶ Fr. I 421, Ln. 634 || K: G alva, alvis-χe 'poplar' || IE ***helis-** 'alder' > L alnus (*als-no-s) id. || Gmc *aluz, *aliso id. > OHG elira ~ erila > NHG Eller, Erle, Dt els, ON qlr, AS alor > NE alder'; Gt *alisa ⇨ Sp aliso id.; Gmc lgs. ⇨ Bsq (s)altza, It Cl auḡinu id. || Lt aĩksnis id., Ltv àlksnis, Pru *al(i)skande (attested as abskande) 'alder' | SI *elbxa (~ *olbxa) 'alder' > SrChS **ѠѠѠѠ** jelbxa, Blg елѠа, SCr jóha, Slk jelcha, P olcha, R олѠа; ⇨ *elbša (< *elbxa-yā) id. > Slv jélša, Cz olše, Slk jelša, Polska || Mcd [Hs.] ἄλιζα 'white poplar' ¶ P 302-3, WH I 31, Vr. 686, Ho. 3, EWA II 1049-53, OsS 132, Gml. 27, ≈ ML #345a, Frn. 8, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 53-4, Vs. III 137-8, EI 11 (*^haeliso- ~ *^haeliseh_A- 'alder'), 599-600.

825. ₂ ***h̥lil** 'flower, a plant with flowers' > IE ***h̥l̥eijl-** > NaIE *leijl- ~ dis. *leijr- '≈ flower' (?? × N ***L|ž̥i|í** [= ***L|ž̥i|í**] 'reed, ε water-plant', q.v.) > Gk λείριον 'lily' || L līlium id. (⇨ Al lil id., NHG Lilie id. ⇨ Es lill 'flower', etc.) || Lt {Mn. ← ?} lielis 'spearwort, Ranunculus', lielius 'water crowfoot, Batrachium' | Cz lilék 'nightshade, Solanum' ({Ma.}: a loan from L through Gmc) || Ht {Pv.} alēl- 'flower, bloom' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 32-3, Mn. 673, ≈ WH I 801 (believes that L liliūm and Gk λείριον are loans from an East Mediteranean lge., like Eg ḥrr.t 'flower', B alili 'Oleander', but Vc. 310 rejects the Eg origin of the L and Gk word), F II 100-1, ≠ Hub. MS 37-9 (ascribes the word for 'lily' to the "Mediterranean substrat"), Masson ESG 58-9 (Gk λείριον ⇨ S), O 228, Ma. CS 270, Vc. 310 || HS:

?φ Eg fXVIII ḥrrr.t 'flower, bloom', DEg ḥrrry 'flower', Cpt: Sd ḫrhrē hrirē, B ḫrhrī hriri id. (dis. *✓ḥll > *✓ḥlr > as. ✓ḥrr?) ¶ EG 149, Fk. 176, Er. 326, Vc. 310 || B *-li_lli_l 'oleander, rose laurel' > BMn/Grr/Wrs {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.}, Tmz {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} a-lili, BSn {Ds.} ā-līli, Izn {Ds.} a-liḷli, {Rn.} a-lili, Mtm {Ds.} a-līli, SrSn {Rn.} i-lili, Rf {Rn.} a-řiři id., Kb i-lili, Gh {Nh.} i-ləl, Ah {Fc.} e-ləl id. (coll.) ¶ Ds. 167, Ds. B 174, MT 366, Dl. 441, Fc. 1071, Rn. 337, Mrc. 153, Bs. ZOu 151, Nh. 172 ◇ Cp. also Bsq lili 'flower' ◇ Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

826. ***ḥEm∇d∇** 'desire, covet' > **HS**: WS *✓ḥmd id. > Ug, BHb, IA, JA ✓ḥmd G id., Ph ḥmḍ G id., 'try to secure a coveted object', IA ḥmḍ 'sth. valuable, precious object', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} אַתְּדָדָה ḥemḍə'tā ~ אַתְּדָדָה ḥ^amīḍə'tā 'Lust, Gelüste', MHb הַתְּדָדָה ḥem'dā {Lv.} id., {Js.} 'sexual appetite', JEA {Js.} אַתְּדָדָה ḥam'dā id., {Lv.} אַתְּדָדָה ḥem'dā 'Lust, Gelüste', {Sl.} אַתְּדָדָה ḥmḍ? (unk. voc.) 'sexual desire', OCn (AkSc) ḫamudū [*ḥamūdu] 'sth. valuable, precious object' (pp., a gloss = Ak i apu 'beautiful', ÷ BHb ḥā'mūd 'darling'), Ar ✓ḥmd G 'praise', Sb ✓ḥmḍ id., 'thank', Mh ✓ḥmd (pf. ḥəmūd) v. id., ✓ḥmd (pf. ḥayməd) v. 'thank (for a gift), praise', Hrs ✓ḥmd (pf. šḥamōd) v. 'thank', Jb C ✓ḥmd (pf. ḥōd) id. ¶ HJ 380, KB 312-3, KBR 325-6. Siv. GAG 171, 223, A #936, OLS 177, Js. 475, Sl. 468, Lv. II 70, Ln. 638-40, BGMR 168, Bil. 178-9, Jo. M 180, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 111 || **K**: OG, G imed-i n. 'hope', G imed- v. 'hope', OG, G imedeuli 'voller Hoffnung', {DCh.} 'обнадеженный' ¶ Abul. 188, Srj. 96, Chx. 525-6, DCh. 580.

827. ***ḥ¹oNca** (or ***ḫoNca**) (front) end, extremity, edge, tip' > **U**: FU *ońca 'front end\part, forehead' > F oṭsa 'forehead', Krl očč'a id., 'front side', Es oṭs 'end, extremity, tip, forehead', Lv vūoṅca 'forehead' || Chr: L oHчыкc, H aHзыкы 'aHзкь 'forward', postp. 'in front of', L oHчыл, Uf ońзыл, H aHзыл 'aHзл n. 'front side\part', adj. 'front' || Prm *ož (}{LG} *ož) 'front, front part' > OPrm uož, Z водз v ož, Z US ož, Yz 'už, Vt азь až || ? OHg agy 'skull, head, brain', Hg agy 'brain, marrow' ¶ UEW 339, It. #113, LG 591, MRS 28, 383, EWU 12 || **A**: T *ūç 'tip, end' > OT ūč, Tkm ūč id., Tk uç id., 'summit, edge', CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Uz, SY uč, Alt uć, Chv вѣç v bś 'tip, end', Az už, Qq, Tv uš, ET uč id., 'tip', Ggz, Ln uč id., 'edge', VTt oч bś, Bsh bś id., 'summit', Xk us 'sharp edge' ¶ Cl. 17-8, ET Gl 611-2, TL 578, Tkr 665-6, Fed. I 119-20 || **HS**: Eg G ḫsḫ 'corner (Ecke)' ¶ EG III 400 ¶ The cns. ḫ (spelled ḥ in the tradition of Egyptology) may be explained by reg. sound changes: N

*h|χo- > pre-Eg *hu- > *hju- > Eg [x̣u-] || SC: Irq {MQK} haysō, {Wh.} hayîso, Grw {Wh.} hâyso, Alg/Brn {Wh.} hayso, {E} hayisi, Kz {E} hayisowa, Asa {E} hesa 'tail' ¶ Wh. 25, E SC 379, Blz. SCL s.v. 'tail' ◇ IS I 253-4 [#115] (U, T).

828. ₂ *h¹añd∇ (or *χañd∇) 'shade, darkness' > IE *hendh- > NaIE *andhō- 'blind, dark' > OI an'dha-h, Av andō id. || Gl → L anda-bata 'a gladiator who fought with a "blind" helmet (that had no openings for the eyes)' ¶ Dv. #320, M K I 36, M EI 78-9, Billy 11, EI 70 (*h_henidhō-s 'blind') || HS: C: Bj {R} 'andala 'shade' ¶ R WBd 22 || S (+ext.): Ar ✓ hnds 'be(come) very dark' (of a night), hindis- '(intense) darkness, very dark night' ¶ BK I 502, Ln. 655-6 ◇ NaIE *a- suggests a N lr. different from *ʔ-. Ar ✓ hnds points to the N lr. *h or *χ ◇ A comparison of the above IE root for 'blind' with Ht antara (Pv.) = andra) 'blue' and Sl *modrǫ 'blue' (proposed by Machek) is hardly acceptable, because the absence of reflexes of *ə- in Sl *modrǫ rules out an IE stem *h_hmdh-ro-; but if this difficulty is explained away, the N etymon will be *h|χamd∇ (F Pv. I-II 77-8, Ma. HS 131-2, Ma. CS 304).

829. *hU₁ñ|m₂p₃∇?∇ 'navel' > K: GZ *u₁m₂p₃e|a, {K} *o(m)p₃e- 'navel' > G upe, Lz ompa id., Mg ompa 'upper log of a roof' ¶ K 186, K² 146, IS I 248 || HS: Eg P/BD/Md x̣p₃ 'navel' ¶ EG III 365; ≠ Ebb. MÄW 61-3 (in his opinion Eg x̣p₃ meant 'genitalia' rather than 'umbilica; cord' or 'navel') ⇔ DW 62 (note 2), 682 (x̣p₃ did mean 'navel') || CCh: MsgP {Trn.} hif-na 'navel' | Ms {J} hif-dá, {Mch.} híf₃, ZmB {J} úfú, {Sa.} úfú id. ¶ JI II 251, Trn. LM 256 || C: Bj {R} tēfa 'navel' (< *t∇ hefa [*t∇ < article of f. gender]), Bj A {AD} 'tōfta 'navel' (pl. 'tēfta) ¶ R WBd 222-3, ADP BFN ¶¶ Tk. I 40 (Eg, CCh) || HS cd.: S ≈ *h∇NP∇?∇-t∇b₁b₂ūr-(at)- 'navel' (the second component identical with CS *t∇bbūr- 'navel' > MHb ṭab'būr, BA ṭib'būr) > EthS (← C??): Gz hānbart id., Tgr hāmbər ~ hānbər, hānbərt, Tgy hāmbərti, hānbərti, Amh, Argb āmbərt ~ ānbərt id.; EthS → Xm {R} her'bir and Q {R} gumbrā 'navel' ¶ LG 236 || C ≈ *h∇nt∇p∇r- id. > EC *h_halun'dub∇r (Bl., Ss.) *h_halundu₁r-) 'navel' > Af {PH} hundub, Sa {R} hāndub id. | pSam *h¹andūr (Hn.) *handūr id. > Sml hundur, Rn {PG} hāndūr, {Hn.} han'dūr, pBn {Hn.} *hà'nūr (> Bn: Bi hanú:r, J/Kj/K hanūr) | Arr {Hw.} hençur ~ hendur, Dsn hōnir, Elm únur, Or {Grg.} (h)andūr-ā, Gdl hundūr-t, Gwd hundur-te, Hr hundur-če, Ya hendero id. | Brj {Ss.} han'ūr-a, {Hd.} han'dura, Ged {Hd.} ha'nura id. || Ag: Bln {R} eteba ~ itibā 'navel' ¶ AD SF 236-7 (C *x∇nt∇p(∇r)-), R

Ch II 58, L G 236, Bl. 107, 114, 196, Ss. PEC 24, 30, 39, Grg. 199, Ss. B 91, PH 131, Hn. S 62, Hn. BD 119, 145, PG 136, Hd. 104, 196, 244, Hw. A 366, To. DL 507 || B *-Hanbūt- (< *Hanbūt-t-?) 'navel' > CA tahanbut, Ah tabūtut (pl. tibūtūtīn), ETwl tabūtut, Izn taṣabbutt (pl. ṭiṣabbuḍin), Izd tabuṭṭ, abuḍ 'navel', ETwl abutu, Ty abutut 'gros nombtil en saillie', Sll {Ds.} abūḍ (pl. ibūḍān), Shl {NZ} abuḍ, tabuṭ 'navel, navel string' ¶ Fc. 108, Rn. 378, Ds. 199, Mrc. 176, PrGG 18, NZ 29, 136, Coh. #123 ¶ EG III 365, DW 62 (note 2), 682 ¶¶ Coh. #123, OS #350, err. #1071 || IE *^hemb^h- ("base I") / *^hneb^h- ("base II") ({EI} *^h₃nob^h-) > NaIE *omb^h-/*neb^h- 'navel' > Gk ὀμφαλός 'umbilical cord' ||| OI 'nabhyaṃ 'nave of a wheel', 'nabhi-ḥ 'nave, navel, central point', Pali nābhi 'navel', Av nāfa- 'navel; family, relatives' (with -f- from an anomalous *-p^h-), nabā-nazdišta- adj. 'closest (relatives)', MPrs nāf, NPrs نَاف nāf 'navel' ||| L umbilīcus id., umbō / -ōnis 'the boss\centre of a shield' ||| OIr imbliu 'navel' (< *embliōn- < NaIE *emb^h-, based probably on bf., sc. reinterpretation of *omb^h- as an *0-grade of apophony) ||| ON nōf, OHG naba, NHG Nabe, AS nafa ~ nafu 'nave', NE nave; ON nafli, OHG nabalo, NHG Nabel, AS nafela 'navel', NE navel; (*omb^h- >) OHG ambon 'belly' ||| Pru nabis 'navel, nave', Ltv naba 'navel' ¶ P 314-5, EI 391, M K II 135, M E II 13-4, Brtl. 1040, 1062, Vl. II 1280, WH II 814, F II 201-2, Vr. 403, 414, KM 498, Kb. 710, Schz. 218, Ho. 231, Kar. I 613, En. 213 ¶¶ The anomaly in the Irn reflex with -f- (Av nāfa-, MPrs nāf, NPrs nāf) may suggest the presence of some reflex of N *ʔ || ??ϕ ʔ: NrTg: Ewk uʔ 'umbilical cord; aorta, vein', Lm O uʔ 'blood vessel', ?σ Sln ōg 'heart' ¶ This is a valid cognate only if NrTg *-g|ʔ- may go back to a labial stop (through the stage of hiatus: *uṗ∇ > *uʷ∇ > *u∇ > *uʔ∇?) ◇ IS I 248-9, AD MRV, K 186 (K, IE). The expected triple cluster **Npʔ (after elision of the stem-internal vw.) was simplified by losing the nasal cns. (in G and Eg) or the lr. *ʔ (in EthS and IE).

830. *(^hiñ∇-)^rimP∇ or *(^him∇-)^rimP∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd.?) > HS: C: EC *hinrib- id. > Sml hirrib, Sml N hírríb 'corner of the eye', Sml C hirrib 'eyelid', Kns {Bl.} hírrip-ā (↳ Gln hirrip-e), Gdl hírrip-itt 'eyelash', Yaku hereban 'eyebrow', Brj imbír-ō 'eyelid', Or {Grg.} hirrib-a ~ irriba 'a sleep', Or B/O/W {Sr.} (h)irriba 'a sleep, a nap' ¶ Bl. 165, Ss. B 105, Abr. S 121, DSI 635, ZMO 431, Grg. 210, Sr. 326, ≈ AD SF 156, Blz. DA #14 || ? B *✓nHr (mt?) > Ah anar (pl. ānāran), Gh anar,

Tnsl {ABs.} inhər, anhar, ETwl, Ty {GhA} aḡar (pl. aḡarḡn) 'eyebrow' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H #560 (*√nH₂r), GhA 149 || IE: Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow' ¶ Pv. I-II 271-2 || D *iḡapp-(aj) ~ *iḡamp- 'eyelid' > Tm irappaḡ, rappaḡ, reppaḡ, Kn rēpper, ḡappe, Tl rēppa, reppa, Knd ḡepa id., Knd ḡema, Ku reppa 'eyelash', Kdg reppe 'eyelid, hair of eyelashes', Tu rēppæ 'eyelid, eyelash', rampæ 'eyelid', (with kanḡ- 'eye'): Klm kanḡ-repa 'eyelid', Nkr kanḡle reppa 'eyelash', Gnd kanḡ reppa 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D #5169 || U (probably the second element of the N cd.) FL *rim_Lp_Lse > Frip_si, Es ripse 'eyelash' | pLp *r3m3s 'eyelid' > Lp: Ar ramas, L {LLO} ramās, N {N} rāmās, Kld pēmac rēmas id. ¶ ≈ SSA III 81, ≈ SK 809, Lr. #1006, Lgc. #5477, SaR 292 ◇ The first element of the compound (*h₁n_L∇_L-) may be discerned in SC: Irq {Wh.} hāmḡamo (pl. hāmḡāma) 'eyelash', {MQK} hamḡamō 'eye-brow\lid\lash' (MQK 48). If this Iraqw word belongs here, the N rec. must be *(h₁m∇-)rimP∇. The second element of the cd. may be somehow connected with N *'rib∇ 'to cover' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ □Blz. DA #14 (D, C, FU [BF + err. Lp L rapsa 'membrane, napkin'])).

831. *h₁op_L∇_LIE 'flow down' > HS *√h₁p_L v. 'flow, flow out (abundantly)' > S *o√h₁p_L > Ar √hf_L G 'be copious' (milk, water); 'pour torrents of rain' (sky); 'flow abundantly' (tears) ¶ BK I 460-1 || Eg P x3p v. '≈ flow abundantly', Eg fP x3p.t 'Unwetter' ¶ EG III 362 || K *op_L- 'sweat' > OG, G op_L- id., 'perspiration', Mg up(u), Lz up-, Sv wēp-, wop- 'sweat' ¶¶ K 151, K² 146 || A: NaT *öpül- v. 'be sucked in, swallowed' > OT öpül- id., (??) VTt ұбыл- ubыл- 'tumble in, collapse (в-/об-валиться)' ¶ DTS 387-8, Cl. 10, TatR 582; reinterpreted as the ps. of *op- v. 'devour, suck in' (ET Gl 464-5) || ?φ U *wop_Lpta (or *wop_Lpsa, *wop_Lśa) > Sm {Jn.} *wāptā- v. 'pour' (×N *wop_L∇ 'pour, strew', q.v. ffd.).

832. *h₁'ū_Lr_L∇_Lĉ∇ 'to scratch, to comb' > K: GZ *warc_L∇- v. 'comb' (×N *wA_Lrĉ∇ 'rub, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ⇨ [1] *warc_L∇-wn- v. 'comb' > OG, G varc_Ln-, G Gr barc_Ln-, Mg rc_Lon-, Lz (n)c_Lon- id., msd. o-(n)c_Lon-u; [2] GZ *(s)a-warc_L-ar- n. 'comb' > OG savarc_Lal-, G savarc_Lel-, Mg orc_Lonž-, orc_Lond-, Lz o(n)c_Lož- id. ¶ K 81, 169, K² 49, 173, Abul. 336, 356, Chx. 369, Chik. 180, Ghl. 60 || HS: S (CS?) *√hr_Lŝ □v. 'scratch oneself' > Ar √hr_Lš G 'scratch (gratter)', Ak ∧√xr_Lš G 'itch' ~ √xr_Lš id. (?); ⇨ CS *'har_L∇_Lŝ- n. 'scab, itch' > BHb 'heres, JA

ħar's-ā, Sr ħer's-ā ~ ħarā's-ā id. ¶ The unexpected Ak ḫ- and the variation -s- ~ -š- suggest that the Ak verb is a loan (from Aram?) ¶ KB 341, BK I 558, CAD VI 92, 96 || D *ir|ṛ|∇ĉ- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gnd irsānā 𐤀 𐤓𐤔𐤗- v. 'comb the hair', Krx irĉ- 'scratch and turn over (as fowls in the ground), poke, dig into', Mlt irĉe 'scratch the ground (as fowls do)', Brh iris 'a comb' ¶¶ D #493 ◇ Here K *ĉ is strange (taking into account that in the initial position the regular K reflex of N *ĉ̂ is *ĉ̄). Is it a special development in a cns. cluster? Unfortunately, no other unequivocally reconstructible K roots with reflexes of N *ĉ̂ (in Inlaut) are known so far.

833. *ħ'U're|í|∇ 'reed' > K: GZ *lēl- 'cane, ∈ rush' (× N *L|ž|í|í|∇ 'reed, ∈ water-plant') > OG lel-i 'cane', G lel-i 'cane, rush (Phragmites communis)'; cd. {K} *lel-ĉem-, {K²} *ler-ĉem-, {FS} *lel-ĉam- 'cane, rush; reed (Arundo donax)' > OG lerĉam- 'reed (κάλαμος), G lerĉam-i ~ lelĉam-i 'Phragmites communis', Mg larĉam-i ~ larĉem-i 'reed' ¶ K 120-1, K² 108-9, FS K 199-200, FS E 218-9, Abul. 208, Ser. 82, Chx. 677-8, Q 270; *lel-ĉe|am- is a cd. with the √ *ĉem- ({FS} *ĉam-) 'grass' (see K 249, FS K 457-8, FS E 518-9) || HS: S *ħUr|∇|l- > Ak OB/YB urull- '∈ eine Rohrt', Ar ħall-at- 'grand panier en jonc ou en roseau', ħill-at- 'natte oblongue' ¶ BK I 474, Sd. 1436 || D *∇|re|l- 'reed' > Kn re|l|u 'a reed used to write with, Saccharum sara', Tl rellu, rellu 'a reed, Saccharum spontaneum', Ku relli tuppā 'bulrush' (D *tuppā '∈ small bush' - see D #3322) ¶¶ D #5171 ¶ The initial vw. is supposed because an initial *r- (as well as *r-) is ruled out by D morphophonemics ◇ Fn. KD #50 (K, D).

834. *ħE_ušU 'faeces, filth' > HS: Eg P ħš 'excrement, faeces' (= {Vc.} [ħisy-]) > Cpt Sd 𐤒𐤁𐤕 ḥas, Cpt B 𐤒𐤐𐤕 ḥos, Cpt F 𐤒𐤈𐤕 ḥes 'fumier, excréments' ¶ EG III 164, Vc. 313 || C: Bj 'ōšā, 'ūšā(ṽ), {Rop.} išā 'urine', {R} ōš- v. 'urinate', {Rop.} oš- 'urinate, defecate' || ??φ HC *ʔus- 'contents of stomach (of ruminants)' (highly qu. as a cognate because of *ʔ- for the expected *ħ-) > Sml ūš id., Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔus-ko id. ¶ R WbD. 33, Rop. 156, DSI 597, Ss. B 185, AMS 227, 261 || NrOm {Blz.} *ʔayš- 'dung' > Kcm {CR} oṽšā 'cowdung', Gnĵ ʔāšā 'dung' || SOM: Dm {Bndd.} ʔuš 'faeces, dung' ¶ Blz. OLBP #27 || Ch {Stl.} *ħ¹esa|ī 'faeces' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔesa id. > Su {J} ʔiṽes. Ang ʔiṽēs, Gmy ʔyès, Cp ès, Kfr {Nt.} ès id. | Krkr {Kr.} išè, Dr ʔišè id. | Gj ʔišì, Buli ʔiš,

Bgm $y\bar{i}s$, Zar $y\bar{i}s$ id. || CCh: ZmB $\bar{r}\bar{i}s\bar{i}$ 'dirt, dregs' || ECh: Smr $\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{n}$, Nd $\bar{r}\bar{i}s\bar{i}\bar{n}$, Skr {Lk.} $i\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{i}$, Jg $\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{s}$, Mu (pl.) $\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{e}$, Mkl $\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{z}\bar{i}$, Ke k-usi, Kwn k- $\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{i}(\bar{n})$ 'faeces' ¶ Stl. ZCh 230 [#786], JI II 128-9, ≈ JS 97, Stl. IF 116-7, ChL, J LM 111 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, Eg; he sees here a reg. corr. of Su $g\bar{y}$ - with Eg \bar{h} -) || IE: Ht $i\bar{s}u\bar{w}a\bar{n}$ 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains' ¶ Pv. I-II 486-7, Frd. HW 92, Ts. EI 440 || D (in SD) * $e\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{c}$ -, {ǵGS} * $e\bar{c}\bar{c}$ - 'faeces, excretions of the body, remains of food (defiled by contact with the mouth)' > Tm $e\bar{c}\bar{c}a\bar{m}$ 'remains of food, spittle, dung (of birds, lizards)', $e\bar{c}\bar{c}i\bar{l}$ 'whatever defiled by contact with the mouth (saliva, spittle, remains of food), excretions of the body: faeces, urine, sperm', Ml $e\bar{c}\bar{c}a\bar{m}$ 'dung of lizards and flies', Kt $e\bar{c}\bar{l}$ 'water that has been used to wash hands after eating, remnants of food', Td $i\bar{c}\bar{i}\bar{l}$ 'pollution of food by being left as a remnant, pollution caused by death or birth', Kdg $e\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{i}$ 'scraps of food that falls to the floor during meal'; × D * enc - v. 'remain' ¶ D #780, Zv. 115 || ?σ A * $i\bar{t}\bar{y}\bar{s}\bar{\nabla}$ 'soot, smoke' > T * $i\bar{y}\bar{i}s$ 'soot, smoke' > OT $i\bar{l}\bar{i}s$ 'soot, dirty smoke', Tk $i\bar{s}$, Az $h\bar{i}s$, Uz $i\bar{s}$, VTt $\bar{b}\bar{s}$, Bsh $\bar{b}\bar{\theta}$ ~ $y\bar{b}\bar{\theta}$, Qzq, Nog, Qq $i\bar{s}$ 'soot', Qrg $i\bar{s}$ 'yellow dirt from smoke; smoking', SY $i\bar{s}$ 'soot, smoke', ET, Ln $i\bar{s}$ 'smoke', Yk $\bar{i}\bar{s}$ 'smoking', Qmq $i\bar{y}\bar{i}s$ - $p\bar{u}s$, Chv $y\bar{b}\bar{s}$ - $p\bar{r}\bar{b}\bar{s}$ {Jeg., ChVS} 'smoke, fumes' ('чад, угар'), {Fed.} 'bad smell', Chv $y\bar{b}\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{b}\bar{n}$ - v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' ¶ Cl. 254, ET Gl 379-380, TL 370-1, Jeg. 76, Fed. I 186-7, ChVS 58, Rs. W 167 || M * $i\bar{s}\bar{u}$ (unless with * \bar{p} -) 'soot' > WrM $i\bar{s}\bar{u}$, HIM $\bar{u}\bar{c}$ 'soot, black', Kl {Rm.} $i\check{s}$ 'Ruß, Kienruß' ¶ MED 417, KW 210-1 ¶¶ Rs. W 167, KW 210-1, Pp. VG 116, SDM97 s.v. * $i\bar{j}\bar{s}\bar{\wedge}$ 'soot, smoke' ◇ Blz. DA #38 (D, C, Om, Ch) ◇ Ht and M suggest a N final *-U. The labialized vw. in Bj, EC, and SOm needs explaining (traces of an internal *U in a supposed N * $\bar{h}E\bar{y}U\bar{s}U$ or the influence of the final *-U?).

835. * $\bar{h}U\bar{j}E(-g\bar{\nabla})$ 'look, see' > HS: WS * $\check{h}z\bar{y}|w$ v. 'look' > BHb $\check{h}z\bar{y}|w$ G 'see, behold', Ph, OA, IA, Plm, SmA $\check{h}z\bar{y}$ G, DA $\check{h}z\bar{w}$ G 'see', Ar {Ln.} $\check{h}z\bar{w}|y$ v. G 'divine (particularly from the flight, cries, etc. of birds)', {Hv.} $\check{h}z\bar{w}$ v. G 'augur (sth.) from the flight of birds', {BK} 'faire partir les oiseaux de l'endroit où ils se sont abattus, pour augurer de leur vol', {Fr.} $\check{h}z\bar{y}$ 'excitans aliquo loco aves ex earum volatu hariolatus est et omen cepit', {Fr.} $\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{z}\bar{i}(n)$ 'qui ex membrorum et faciei signis hariolatur', Tgr $\bar{h}H$ $\bar{h}az\bar{a}$ [$\bar{h}aza$] 'looked for'; ?σ Ug {A} $\check{h}d^r\bar{w}$ G 'nachsehen, prüfen', {OLS} $\check{h}d\bar{y}$ G 'look, watch' ('mirar,

contempar') (apparently reflecting S * $\sqrt{\text{h}\delta\omega|y}$ with an enigmatic * δ for the expected * z) ¶ KB 288-289, KBR 301, HJ 357-61, Tal 259-60, Js. 443, Ln. 562-3, Fr. I 376-7, BK I 422, A #905, OLS 174 || K: pGZ *u \check{c} q- v. 'see, know' > OG u \check{c} q- 'know', Mg o \check{r} q- v. 'see', Lz o \check{c} (\check{k})- v. 'look' ¶¶ K 186-7, K² 196 || IE: Ht a \check{u} s- v. 'see' and u \check{s} ki- id. (within the framework of the Ht morphology u \check{s} ki- is interpreted as iterative); the verb a \check{u} s- was reinterpreted as a variant of a \check{u} - v. 'see' (of different origin) ¶ Frd. HW 236, Ts. W 10, 97, Ts. E I 95-98, Pv. I-II 234-244 || A * $\check{u}\check{z}$ e- > M * $\check{u}\check{z}$ e- v. 'see, look' (× N * $\text{gU}\check{z}\nabla$ 'feel, smell [sth.]') > MM [HI, IM, IsV] $\check{u}\check{z}$ e-, [MA] (h) $\check{u}\check{z}$ e- 'see, look', WrM $\check{u}\check{z}$ e-, HIM $\check{y}\check{z}\check{e}$ -, Mnr H {SM} u \check{z} i \check{a} -, {T} u \check{z} e-, Dx u \check{z} e-, MMgl $\check{o}\check{z}\check{a}$, Mgl {Rm.} $\check{u}\check{z}\check{a}$ - v. 'see', Dg u \check{z} i-, $\check{u}\check{z}$ i- v. 'see, look' ¶ Ms. H 108, T 368, T DnJ 137, Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, SM 465-6, Lg. VMI 72, Iw. 121, Klz. D II 140 || ? NaT * \check{o} (y)- v. 'think, remember' > OT \check{o} -, Cl. \check{o} - id., Yk $\check{u}\check{o}y$ - 'remember, notice' ¶ Cl. 2-3, Rs. W 368, ≈ ET Gl 429, Pek. 3137-8 || ?? Tg *eje- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc $\check{z}\check{z}$ -, Ud $\check{z}\check{g}\check{z}$ - 'understand', Ul, Nn $\check{z}\check{z}$ - v. 'remember', Ork $\check{z}\check{d}\check{z}\mu$ 'get accustomed', WrMc e \check{z} e- v. 'notice, remember' ¶ STM II 439 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. "?* $\check{u}\check{z}\nabla$? v. 'see'", ≈ SDM97 s.v. *e \check{z} o|u 'see, understand' (an unc. rec.).

836. *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction) > **IE:** NaIE *g^we (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas' > Gk δέ (postpositive adversative-copulative pc.) 'but, whereas' ||| pSl *že 'whereas, as for; as you know; same' (enclitic pc. with adversative-thematic function, as well as with the functions of reminding the logical\causal connections of the event [like NHG doch: R Он же знал; Что же делать?]) and indicating the similarity\identity: 'same', e.g. R тот же 'the same') > OCS, OR же же, R, Uk же, P -že, Cz же J Delb. VS II 502ff., F I 353, ESISJ-SGZ II 759-60, Vs. II 39, SJSS 592-8 ||| ? **K:** OG u^hue 'же, уже' (cnjc. of causal reminder, adversative cnjc.), {Fn. in Shan. G} 'denn, folglich' (ra^h-me u^hue q^hopa^h ars čuenda 'Что же нам делать?' ['If so, what shall we do?'], vitar u^hue a^h h^hedavs 'wie sieht er denn nun?' [Ioh. 9.19], šen u^hue xara zēy x^hmrtisay 'bist du denn Gottes Sohn?' [Lc. 22.70]), u^hue-tu 'but if, if': u^huetu šen xar zēy x^hmrtisay 'but if thou art God's son' [Mt. 4.3], u^huetu ara 'but if not'); OG u^hue is probably a cd., the glottalization belonging to the first component J Ser. 169, Shan. G 169 ||| **HS:** Ag *-k^ha > Bln {R} -ğā 'nun, also, aber' (R: "wird an Worte angefügt welche als besonders bedeutungsvoll im Satze hervorgehoben werden sollen") J R WB 131 ||| **U:** FU *-k₁∇₁ 'also, the same, too': F -kin, -kaan / -kään, Es -ka 'also' ||| Er -gak / -kak / -yak id. (сон-гак сы вечерс 'he, **too**, will come to the party', сонзэ-як примизь комсомолс 'they accepted him, **too**, to the Komsomol') ||| Chr L -гак -yak in тугак tu-yak, тыгак ть-yak 'also'; ? -ак -ak 'same' after dem. pronominals (тьyay-ak 'of the same kind\quality', туšk-ak 'to the same direction') ||| ? Vt uk 'ведь, же' (cnjc. of logical reminder) (бере кылэд цук 'ведь останешься позади \ опоздаешь', '**don't forget that** you will remain behind \ be late'), ?? ik 'same' (сыче ик siče ik 'of the same kind\quality', отчы ик otč+ik 'to the same direction', тунне ик 'just today, not later than today') ||| Vg Ss -k^we, pc. of emotional attitude towards the event ('unfortunately', 'I don't care', etc.): wos-k^we mīni 'let him go, **I don't care**' (wos mīni 'let him go'), kañiko^l ti-k^we ou^hxpi '**unfortunately**, the vacation are just about to end' J RErS 372, RMarS 172, 751-2, RUdS 242, Rmb. 198 ||| **A:** T *-k|gu > ET -yu (pc. of logical reminder, 'ведь, же') ({BN} u-yu 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ba(r) yu 'ведь есть') J BN 57, 160 ||| Tg *-ka / *-ke / *-ko (a focalizing pc. that emphasizes the theme): Ewk -ka/-kz/-ko id. (bi-kz 'я-то, as

for me'), Nn -ka/-kз (ńoani-ka didesi 'as for him, he will not come', 'он-то не придет') ¶ Vas. 758, Pt. 60 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 71-3 || ? M *kü, p.c. emphasizing the preceding word (× N *K'ü' [dem. pr., q.v. ffd.] × N *ʔ'o'kE [= *ʔ'o'kü?] 'self', q.v.).

837. ₂ *kU, particle of plurality (used mostly with pronouns) > K: GZ *tkwen 'you' (pl.), 'vos' > OG tkuen, G tkven, Mg, Lz tkva(n)-; GZ *tkwen- 'your, vester' > OG tkuen-, G tkven-, Mg, Lz tkvan- id. ¶¶ *°Sk... > Sv: UB sgäy, L sgay, Ln sgä 'you' (pl.), UB isgwey, L isgwe, IB isge, Ln isķwe 'your, vester', most probably from K *tkwen influenced by K *sen 'thou' ¶¶ K 176, K² 75-6, Chik. 223-4, TK 299, 703 ¶ This prn. goes back to a cd. *t'ü 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; this suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'vester = of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou' < 'thy' [see s.v. N *t'ü' and its assibilated N variant *s'ü' on K *si]) || U *-k₁k∇₁, marker of pl. (× the N particle of collectivity *g∇): [1] with nouns: pLp {Krh.} -k > Lp: N -k, S/L -h, -h̄, -∅, I -h (pLp {Krh.} *kōdē-k 'houses' > Lp N goade-k, Rr goātieh id., pLp {Krh.} *tuntere-k > Lp N duod'darak 'mountains') || Hg -k, pl. ending of nouns ¶¶ [2] with pers. pronouns: BF (nom. case) *-k: Lv mēg ~ meg 'we', F, Es me (< *me-k); but in the oblique cases the marker of pl. is *j rather than *-k: F gen. meidä-n, accus. meidä-t, prt. meitä, iness. mei-ssä, Krl K: gen. mjän, accus. miät, prt. mej-dä, Vp gen. mīde ~ mīden, iness. mīš, Vo gen. mejye-n, prt. mej-dä, iness. mej-z Es prt. mei-d, iness. mei-s || Os (verbal pers. ending of 2p): V -taʋ/-taʃ, D -ta, O -ti || OHg XII miʋ miü, Hg mi, Δ mü ɖ mū 'we', OHg XII tiʋ [tiü], XVI thew, XVIII thü, Hg ti 'you' (pl.) (if OHg -ü < *-ʋ < *-k); cp. also Hg Δ mik ɖ mük ɖ miŋk ɖ müŋk 'we' ¶¶ [3] with possessive pers. endings of nouns: BF {Mark} (sg. possessi) *-me-k 'our', *-te-k 'your (vester)', *-se-k 'their', (pl. possessi) *-nnek (< *-n-me-k) 'nostri', *-ndek 'vostri', *-nsek 'their' > Ing Hv tejyen valassanneg 'in eurer Macht', hejyen yumalasseg 'their god', F (with loss of the final *-k) isämme 'our father', isänne 'your (pl.) father', isänsä 'their father'; Vo E-mmag 1p, -ttag 2p, F Δ -meʔ 1 pl., -teʔ 2p (palammeʔ 'we burn'), Es V -miʔ, -deʔ || pLp {Korh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *δēk 2p (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t'ü' 'thou'): Lp N ač'čamek 'our father', ač'čadek 'your (pl.) father',

ač'česek 'their father' | Mr: Er BI -mok/mek 'noster, nostra, nostrum' (sg. possessi), -nok/-nek 'nostri, -ae, -a (pl. possessi); in StEr and Mk the opposition of sg. ↔ pl. possessi is lost: StEr nok/-nek 'our', Mk -ńkă 'our' < pMr {Srb.} -n-m∇k || OHg -mk ~ -ŋk 'our' (urōmc ~ uronc 'our Lord'), Hg -nk 'our', -tok / -tök / -tek 'vester', -∇k 'their': Hg házunk 'our house', házatok 'your (pl.) house', házuk 'their house' || [4] with pers. endings of verbs: amb FU *-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p: 1p *-me-k ~ *-mä-k, 2p *-te-k ~ *tä-k > Vo E -mmag_ 1p., -ttag_ 2p, F Δ -me? 1p, -te? 2p (palamme? 'we burn'), Es V -mi?, -d_e? | pLp {Krh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *dēk 2 pl. (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t'ü' thou) | Mr Δ -m0k, ending of 1p (Er/Mk -nok id. may go back to *-n-m0k) || OHg -m0k 1p (v0gmuc 'sumus'), Hg -tek / -tok 2p | Os: (sbcj.): pOs {Ht.} *-y^ω 'we' (> V {Trj.} -öš, -y, -š, -öš, Vy {Trj.} -əw); pOs *-tby / *-təy 'you' pl. (> V {Trj.} -btby / -ətəš, MO {Stn., Trj.} -(ə)tə, Kz {Stn.} -(ə)ti) ¶ Laan. 154-6, 228-30, Krh. 280-3, Rv. N 67-9, 72, Wkm. FOUL 43, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Srb. IMMJ 52-4, Ber. GVF 325, Fkt. EJ-66 181. Fkt. MJ-66 203-4 ¶ The FU ending *-k is ambiguous, because it may belong together with FU *-kk∇, suffix of collectivity (> F -kko / -kkö id. [koiivikko 'birch forest', männikkö 'pine forest'], Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns) (see the N collectivity particle *g∇), but the close parallelism with the usage of K *tkwen- 'ye' suggests that the U - K comparison is more plausible ◇ Hardly here (for phonological and other obvious reasons) the Arm pl. ending -p -k^h in nouns, pronouns, and verbs (am-k^h 'years', me-k^h 'we', duk^h 'you' pl., beri-m-k^h 'we carry', berri-k^h 'you [pl.] carry'). But other explanations of this Arm ending are not plausible either (see Me. EAC 56-7, 66-72, 91-2, 117-9) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 101-6 ("dual KI(N)" [partially → pl.] in U, Gil, CK, EA, and Arm), 115-6 ("plural KU" in EA, CK, Gil).

838. *k∇ 'out of, from' > HS: EC: Sa {R} -ko 'from' (Man'dar-ko 'from Mandara'), used also in the system of verbal cases: ablativus-conditionalis -m-ko ~ -n-ko 'since, if'; Sa causalis (a verbal case) -k 'because', Sml ka 'from' (pv. with functions comparable with the abl. case of nouns: Sml N {Abr.} wān ka tégey 'I parted **from** him\her\it\them', lit. (indic. pc.+) 'I from parted'), 'away' (ka dúrug 'move away from it!'), Bn J ká, Bn K kí- ~ ká 'from, out' (pv.: Bn J múŋ-ka a-ká-bah-a 'I come **from** this house, lit. 'house-this I-from-come', Bn K míŋ-ka w0-h0-ká-bah-a id.), Rn ká postp. 'from' (kór ka 'from Korr'),

ká- pv. '(her-/hin-)aus-', probably also Sd {Mrn.} -ka[?]e 'when' (ra[?]we-ka[?]e wīdi'ra ful'tu 'on finishing [their work] they crossed to the other side of the river') ¶ AD KJ 34, 86-7, 89, Abr. S 143, Hn. BD 43, 67, PG 168-9 || K *-ka 'from' > Sv UB -ka 'out, through', Mg -k, -ki, -kɜ, -ku, Lz -k, -k0 (erg. case ending, presumably from an abl., as in NHG √on: agens marker in passive sentences ← 'from') ¶¶ K S 48-52, 111-3, Kiz. ZJ 66-9, Q O21-2, O133, Marr 16, GP US 93 || A: Tg *-du-ki / *-tu-ki ({Bz.} *-du-kl) 'from' (ending of abl.) > Ewk, Lm -duk/tuk, Sln -duxi/tuxi, Neg -dukkoy, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy; the element *-du/*tu is likely to go back the Tg dat.-loc. *-d^ll^l 'to, in' (< N *d_loy_a 'place [within, below], inside' and possibly N *rad∇ 'limit, edge'? [→ 'up to, until'] + N *k∇ 'out of, from') ¶ Bz. 79, Ci. 256-7, Sun. S 160-2, 210-25.

839. *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy' > HS: [1] *ku 'thee' > S: Ak ku(ω)āti > kâti ~ kâta 'thee' accus., (ana) ku(ω)āšim > kâšim 'to thee' || C *ku 'thee' > EC {Ss.} *ku ~ *ki 'thee' (no gender distinction) > Sa, Sml, Bn ku, Af kō, Rn ki, Dsn k0, Or si, Kns ke, Sd hē, Brj šē, Elm ki- pv., Dsn kúo 'thou' (subject); Arr ké 'thou' nom., kéhe 'thee' (the variant *ki may go back to HS *k-i 'thee', see below [3]) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} kó-wa 'thee' (with the accus. ending -wa) || ?? Ch: WCh: Sy gu/ga (ga belongs to [2]) || [2] *k-a 'thee' m. > S *-ka id. (verbal sx.) > BHb -k̄ā, Ar, Gz -ka, Ak -ka || B *-ək id. (sx.) > Tw -ək, Shl -ək ~ -k, Kb {Han.} -ik, Shw -ik- ~ -k̄ak, Gd -šak, Si -(i)k 'te' accus., Si -a-k, -ka 'tibi' ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 39 || C *ka 'thee' m. > Ag: Bln {R} -k̄ā (verbal sx.) || Bj -hō-k(a), verbal sx. || Ch *ka 'thee' m. > Hs ka, Bl k̄ā, Ang/Su {Kr.} ṽa, Gm ga, Bl ka, Krkr k̄a, Mu {Lk.} ka (Kr. RChP √, AD EPCChL √); probably (with loss of gender distinction): Sy gu/ga (gu < HS *ku?), Gv xa, Nkc ṽa 'thee' || possibly Eg kω ~ cω 'thee' m. (< *k∇-ω, where *-ω is a sx.) || [3] *k-i 'thee' f. > S *-ki id. (verbal sx.) > Ar -ki, BHb -k̄, Gz -k̄ī, Ak -ki || Eg cω 'thee' f. (encl.) (< *ki-ω) || C *ki 'thee' f. > Ag: Bln {R} -k̄ī (sx.) || Bj -hō-k(i), verbal sxs. || SC {∂E} *ki 'thou' (< *thee') > Irq ki, kiη, Alg ki, Brn igi 'thou'; the object prn. 'thee' f. in Irq {Mous} is i (< *ki?) || Ch *ki 'thee' f. > Hs ki, Bl šī, Ngm čî, Su yi, Mu {Lk.} ki (Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL) || [4] *k-am 'thee' f. > B *-kam 'thee' f. > Tw -kām, Kb -(i)kām, Si -im, Gd -(i)kām ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 40 || Ch *k∇m > Ngz, Du k̄im, Bade ḡim, Bdm {Lk.}

-gɛm || Eg ɔm 'thee' f. (encl.) || [5] *ku 'thy' > C: EC: Hr {AMS} -ǎhu 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Arr -k0, Dsn kú / kù (no genus possessoris) || Ag {Ap.} *kʷɜ- > Bn n̄- kʷə- (px.) 'thy', kũ-t [kʷɜt] 'thee' (-t is a sx. of accus.), Xm {Ap.} kɜ-t 'thee' accus. (→ kɜt 'thou' nom.) || SC: Brn {Wh.} 0g(ú), {E} -g/-0g, Irq {Wh.} 0k, Alg {Wh.} óg, Irq/Alg {E} -k/-0k 'thy' (no gender distinction) || Ch: Gj gʷà, Sy w a, Gude -ku/-kʷà, Mln -gu 'thy' (no genus possessoris); Bl (k)kù, Tng kò, Bdm {Lk.} -gu 'thy' (m. possessoris) || Eg amb -k 'thy' m. > Cpt -k -k id. || B amb *-ək 'thy' m. > Tw -(ə)k, with kinship nouns: Si -ək, Gd -ik, Shl {La.} -(i)k ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-70, Lf. I 351, La. CBM 47, La. S 114-5, Ai. SKBJ I 39 ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək are ambiguous: they may alternatively go back to HS *ka 'thy' m. (see [6]) || [6] *k-a 'thy' (masc. possessoris) > S *-ka id. > Hb -k̄ā, Ar, Gz -ka, Aram -k, Ak -ka || C: Bj -k̄ā id. || EC *-ka 'thy' (without genus possessoris) > pSam {Hn.} -aħa 'thy' > Rn -aħa, Bn -aha, Sml -ā || WCh: Hs -ka, Su -ɸā, ? Bl -k0 'thy' (masc. possessoris) || Eg amb -k id. (> Cpt -k -k id.) || B amb *-ək id. ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək may alternatively go back to HS *ku || Ch: Hs -ka, Su -ɸa 'thy', Krf k̄ā 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Pdk mà-ka, Glv ɸà, Klb -ɲà/-kà 'thy' (no genus possessoris) || [7] *k-i 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > S *-ki id. > Ar -ki, Hb, Aram -k, Gz -kī, Ak -kī || EC: Hr {AMS} -ǎhi id. || Ch: Hs -ki, Krf čī, Bl (š)šī id. || [8] *k-∇m 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > B *-∇m ({Pr.} *-əm) > Tw -(ə)m, with kinship words: Shl -m, Gd -im ¶ Pr. M I-III 64, La. CBM 47, Lf. I 351, Ai. SKBJ I 39-40 || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} -(g)um, {Kr.} -ɜm 'thy' (fem. possessoris), Ngz (-ā)-kɜm ¶¶ AD PP 71, Br. SS § 151, Sd. G § 41-2, AD SF 77-8, 260, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 172, Bl. 130-1, R BilS 618-20, 685-8, Ap. Kh I 263, Ap. ACA 202-11, Hz. NSA 134-5, Hn. S 30, Hw. A 185, 213, 228, AMS 91, To. DL 211, E SC 243, 245-6 (SC *ki * 'thee' f., *ku * 'thy' m., though the extant ev. point to a subject prns. *ki 'thou' f. and *ku 'thou' m.), Mous 113-7, Wh. IC 17, 58, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Brq. PS ∇, Kr. RChP ∇ || K *g- 'thee, to thee' (verbal px.) > OG, G, Lz g-, Mg g- ~ r-, Sv ž-, ža₁- ¶¶ K 57, FS K 68-9, Top. SJ 84 || A: T (after vowels) *-g, (after cnss.) *-ug / *-üg 'thy' > OT (after vowels) -ɸ / *-g, (after cnss.) -uɸ / -üg / *-iɸ / *-ig, Az Δ -ɸ / -ɸ / -uɸ / -üɸ ~ -w / -uw id. (gen. göz-üɸ-ün 'of thy eye', baba-ɸ-in 'of thy grandfater', accus. aɸ-uw-i 'equum tuum'), Chv L -u / -ü. The Chv sx. -u / -ü may go back only to rounded allomorphs *-ug / *-üg, hence I am inclined to assume that the OT unrounded allomorphs *-ig / *-ig are secondary. They are due to labial harmony of vowels, which is

a rather recent morphophonemic phenomenon. Acc. to Tekin GOT 63, "in Orkhon Turkic the labial harmony is at its first stage of development". Side by side with the allomorphs **-g / *-ug / *-üg*, there are nasalized allomorphs **(u/ü)ŋ* (~ **-iŋ/*-iŋ?*). In OT we find both unnasalized and nasalized variants of the *sx*. In most later lgs. of the NaT branch, the allomorph **(-∇)ŋ* is the only one in use. Acc. to Bz. Tsch 726-7, the nasalized variant is represented by the Chv optional allomorph *-ɲn-*, used in the oblique cases side by side with the usual **-u/*-ü*: the genitive *-ɲn-ɲn* 'of thy ...' alongside with *-u-n*. This suggests that Chv reflects the pT distribution: the allomorph **(-∇)ŋ* was originally used in the oblique cases only, and it may be conjectured that it resulted from nasalization of the *sx*. **-(u/ü)g* by the adjacent genitive ending **-n* ¶ CafD A 302, Kon. GJTRP 148, Lvt. IM 14-5, Shch. OSMI 73, Shir. VL 44-5, Tekin GOT 122-4 ◊ AD PP 71-4, 112.

840. *kɔʔi¹ 'to call' > **HS**: Ar ✓kʔy (pf. كَأَي kaʔaya) {Fr.} 'verbis dolorem affecit', {BK} 'causer à qn. de la peine par des paroles dures' ¶ Fr. IV 2, BK II 850 || Eg fNK kɜ v. 'say; invoke the name (of some deity)', Eg fXXII kɜ 'name', ? Eg fP kɜ (> Akk MB ku, Gk -κε- in Μυκερλυος, χου- in Χουακ, name of a month) 'Ka (soul, spirit, essence of a being, personality)' ¶ EG V 85-92, Fk. 283, Vc. 74 || **IE**: NaIE *gʷē(j̥)-/*gʷō(j̥)-/*gʷī- v. 'call, shout' (→ 'sing') > OI gā-: gāyati ~ gāti 'sings', gā'-tu-, gā'-ti- 'Gesang', gī'ta- 'sung', gā'tha-, 'gāthā 'song', Av gāδa 'sacral song' || Gt qainōn 'to mourn, to bewail (κόπτεισθα, πενθεῖν)', ON kvēina 'jammern, klagen', AS cwānian 'to lament, to mourn'; cwiðan 'be-lan-klagen', OSx quīthian 'wehklagen' || pSl *gaj-, inf. *gaja-ti > OR ΓΑΓΑΤΗ gayati (prs. ΓΑΓΟ gaju) 'to shout, to croak', R Δ 'Гаять 'to shout, to speak'; pSl *gajiti 'to shout, to produce noise' > R Δ 'Гайть id., Cz Δ hájit 'to cheep plaintively' (birds); pSl gajъ n. 'cry, shout' > R Δ Гай id., 'noise' ¶ WP I 526-7, P 355, M KI 333-4, M EI 482-4, Fs. 385-6, Vr. 336 (no IE et. of kvēina), Ho. 64, 66, Ho. S 59, Bern. I 291, ESSJ VI 84-6, Ped. TIE 183, 263, ≈ EI 519 (ignores Gmc; *geh₁(i)- 'sing') || **U** *kɔ|a,∇ > Sm {Jn.} *kã-, {Hl.} *ka- v. 'call, ask for' > Ne T (d.) ханзъ, Ne O {Lh.} xāńć, En B {Cs.} d. (1s obj. aor.) каґабо, Slq Tz {KKIH} qɜri-qo to call (for so.)', Mt {Hl.} *kaŋ- v. ? 'ask for' (Mt M {Sp.} каґнамъ 'I ask for, прошу') ¶ Jn. 56, KKIИ 160, Hl. M #424.

840a. *keɜi (or ***k|keɜy∇**) 'make, do' > **A**: M *kī- 'do, act' > MM [S] kī-, [PP] k'ī- id., WrM kī-, HlM хий-(x), Kl {Rm.} kī-, ke(:)-, MMgl {Iw.}

kī- id., Mnr {SM} g_i- 'do, act', Mgl {Rm.} kēnā, kinā 'power' ¶ Pp. IM 36, Iw. 112, MED 462-3 || pJ *kì-túk- v. 'build' > OJ k̄iduk-, ItOJ [RJ] k̄itúk-, J: T k̄izúk-, K/Kg k̄ízúk- ¶ S QJ #1185, Mr. 710 ¶¶ DQA #791 (A **k̄_l'j 'do, make'; incl. M, J) || D {tr., GS} *key- 'do, make' > Tm cey, Ml ceyka, Kt gey- ~ key-, Td k̄iy-, Kn key ~ kai ~ gey, Kdg, Gdb key-, Tl cēyū, Klm (prs.) ka-, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku ki-, Brh (prs. indef.) kē- (other variants of the stem in the paradigm [kar-, kannin] are due to borrowing and contamination from Blc kan- and Sin J kar-) ¶¶ D #1957, GS 59-60 [#171], 66 [#209], Bray I 155 || K: GZ *g- 'build' > G, Mg, Z *g- id. ¶ K 57, K² 24, FS E 72 || HS: B *√gH 'do, make' > Ah əǵ (pf. iǵa), Gh əǰ (pf. iǰa), Mzb əǰ (pf. iǰu), BSn, Izn əǰǰ, Mtm, BSlh əǰǰ 'do', CM {NZ} əǰ ǰ əy ǰ əǰ 'do, act', SrSn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/A {Rn.} əʃ, Kb əǰ, Shwy, Nfs əǰ, Gd εǵ (pf. iǵω) ¶ NZ 694-7, Fc. 374-82, Dl. 246, Dlh. M 67, Rn. 350, Lf. II #469 ¶ In most B lgs. there is a homonymous verb *√gH 'put' (possibly a sd. of *√gH 'do') || Ch: CCh: Gzg gē 'do, make', ? Lgn ʏǰn id., 'work', LmP {ChC} gi 'do' ||| ECh: ı Smr {OS ← ?} giya 'build' ¶ Lk. G 122, Lk. L 95, ChC ¶¶ ≈ OS #912 (HS *gay∇; incl. B, Ch) ◇ The K and B cognates are valid if K, B, and Ch *g- are from *k̄ (as.). If they are not, the N rec. (based on A and D only) will be *k|key∇. But even the latter rec. is valid unless M *-ī-, pJ *-i-, and D *-ey- may go back to *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?), while the M, J, and D words may be traced back to N *goy∇ 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ On N *-eHi- > M *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS I 309 [#182] (*key∇ 'делатъ' in D and A [T, M]).

841. ?₂ *kEǰû 'pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heyu-/*ǵ^hu- v. 'pour', *ǵ^heyu-mṇ 'sth. poured, libation' (× N *gEqû 'pour, flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448 (*ǵ^heyu-), M K I 442, M E II 821, WH I 563-4, Ad. H 37 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q or *ǰ|y) is still puzzling. One may suggest a mt. + loss of the lr.: N *gEqû > eIE *ǵ^heyu > *ǵ^heyu- || HS: S *o√k̄w (or *o√k̄y?) > Gz √k̄w v. (js. ʏak̄aw) 'pour' ¶ LG 272 || SC: Irq {MQK} kuṛūs- 'spill', Brn {E} kuṛus-, Alg {E} kuṛumis- v. 'spill, pour'; SC → Mb {E} -ku 'draw water' ¶ E SC 248 [#57] (pSC *k̄ṛ- or *k̄ṛ- 'draw water'), MQK 63 ◇ Qu., because NaIE *ǵ^heyu-/*ǵ^hu- is phonetically better explained as belonging to N *gEqû.

842. *kuǰa 'to go, to advance, to follow', (< ?) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks' > IE *g^weh-/*g^wh- > NaIE *g^wā-/*g^wā- 'go' > OI

'jigāti (P: ÷ Gk βίβησι*) 'goes', aor. 'a-gā-m 'I went (away)' (= Gk ἔβην), OAv gā́t 'soll hingehen', Av gāman-, MPrs gām, NPrs گام gām 'a step', OI gā-'tu-h 'Gang, Weg, Raum, Ort', Av gā́tu-š, OPrs gā́tu 'place, seat' ||| Arm կայ kay 'there is', կամ kam 'stand, be' ||| Gk ἔβη 'went', βήμα 'a step, pace', βάλνω 'I go' ||| Blt (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away'): Lt Δ γότι 'to go', Ltv gā́ju 'I went' (-d→ present stem *gāy- with the present tense sx. *-y-) ¶ WP I 676-7, P 463-4, ≈σ EI 115 (*g^ωeh_β- 'come'), M K I 432, M E I 482-3, Vl. II 943, Horn 198, FI 208-10, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, Tum. 407 ||| HS: S *^o✓kfy > Ar علك kāfi-n 'qui prend la fuite' ¶ BK II 909 ||| C: Ag: Aw {Beke} ka-, Aw Kk {Fl.} ka- v. 'walk', Aw {Wldm.} ka- 'go', Aw {Bnd.}, Dmt {CR, R} kas v. 'walk' ||| SC {E} *ka^ω- v. 'advance, go forward' > Irq {MQK} ka^ω 'go to' ¶ E l.c., Blz. CWL, MQK 60 ||| U: [1] FU *küy∇ 'follow, follow the tracks of' > Z Ss k+yəd-, Z Δ {SZ} k+yəd- 𐎠 k+yed- 'lie in wait for, track (game), follow the tracks of' ||| Os V {Trj.} köy- 'scurry about, dart about, run to and fro'; Vg: T küy-, UK k^ωäy-, K/MK/NV/SV/LL k^ωāy-, P *k^ωäy-/k^ωāy-, UL/Ss koy- vt. 'track (game), follow, pursuit' | OHg követ- 'follow', Hg követ- 'follow, go' ||| [2] FU *k^uy∇- v. ≈ pursuit, hunt' > Vg: K/Ss xuyt-'lead astray, drive on', P kuyt 'entice (a beast)' | ? Hg hajt- v. 'drive, propel' ¶ UEW 155, 858, SZ 185-6, Trj. VD 141, Ht. #745, IG 151, MZsFUE 203, 244-5, 378-9, EWU 826-7 ||| A: T *Kob- 'follow the tracks of, follow, pursue' (× N *gEhōwy∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 49, Rs. W 275 (both equate T with M *guyu 'ask, implore', see N *gâ₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon'] and N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') ||| D *kā- 'go' > Krx kā- 'go', Mlt (Drs.) kále 'go, come to', Brh kā- (prs. indef. kāv, kās, kāe, kā-n, kāre, kār, prs.-ft. kāva, kāsa, kāik, kāna, etc.) 'go, depart' ¶¶ D #1419 ◇ IE *g^ω- (rather than *g^hω-) points to a N *ku- (rather than *kü-). The vw. *ü in FU is probably due to vw. harmony (FU or pre-FU **küyE < *kuyE, if *-E belongs to a sx.). D *-ā- < N *-u₁a- (contraction). FU *küy∇ and T *Kob- are likely to represent the primary meaning of the N word ('follow the tracks of').

843. ₂ *kab∇ 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *gab^h- 'goat, lamb' > Clt (× IE *kapro- 'he-goat'): OIr gabor, NIr gabhar, W gafr 'he-goat', OBr {Flr.} gabr, MBr gaffr, Br {Hm.} gavr 'goat', OCrn [VC] gauar, MCrn gaver ||| Um habina(f) 'lambs' (accus. pl.) ¶ WP I 553, Bc. G

336, LP § 48, SB 105, Flr. 173, YGM-1 230, Hm. 310, EI 229 || **HS:** S *¹kabaš- 'ram, lamb', *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׁ 'keḅeš ~ (mt.) כַּבֵּשׁ 'kešēḅ, SmHb 'kābāš 'young ram', pl. BHb kaḅāš-īm, SmHb kābāšām 'lambs', Amr {G} kabš(ān)um (f. kabšatum, kibšatum) 'lamb', SmA כַּבֵּשׁ kbš 'lamb' (← SmHb?), Ar كَبِش kabš- 'ram' (→ Sr كَبِش kabš-ā id.), Mh {Jo.} 'kabš, Hrs, Jb E kabš 'lamb', Jb C כַּבֵּשׁ 'male lamb', Sq {Jo.} kubš '(?) lamb', Ak kabsu 'young ram'; S *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׂה kibšā (pl. kaḅāšōt), SmHb kābāšā id., Amr kabsatum p.n., Jb C {Jo.} kebšet 'female lamb', Ak kabsatu 'young ewe' ¶ KB 438-9, KBR 460, 501, G A 22, BH IV 134, Tal 377, Br. 317, BK II 855, Hv. 641, Jo. M 202, Jo. H 66, Jo. J 125, Sd. 418 ¶ S *¹kabaš- goes back to a N cd. (word group), accounting for the ext. *š || B *k∇b∇H 'he-goat' > Dmn ikbi, NdA akbu (pl. ikba) id., ? Gnc TEGUEVITE, TEQUIBITE, TEOFUIVITE = (Wlf.) tegebite sheep, female goat' ¶ Wlf. 489-90, Wlf. EAW 58 ◇ Wlf. l.c.; the B cognate was suggested to me by Blz. (p.c.).

844. *kab∇ 'rise, stand up' > **HS:** S *^o✓kbw > Ar ✓kbw (pf. kabā, ip. -kbū) 'rise' (dust), 's'élever en l'air (la poussière)' ¶ Hv. 642, BK II 856 || C: Ag *kib- 'stand up, rise' > Bln {R} kib-, kibb y- id., Xm {R} čib-t- 'remain, wait, stand', Xm T {CR} čibičú 'si levò in piedi' ¶ R WB 211 || **U:** FU *kawa- 'rise' > F kavua-, kapua- 'climb (a tree, over a fence), clamber (over the fence)' (-p- on the analogy of -p-/∇- stems) || Os: Vy qaḡaḡaḡ-, D χowat- 'mit dem Wasser aufsteigen', O χowla- 'rise to the surface (e.g. fat in a cooked soup, sweat)' ¶ UEW 131-2 || **A:** AmTg *kab- v. 'stand still, stop' > Ork qaw- ~ qau- v. 'stop, stand still', Ork qaw ~ qau, Nn Nh qawqa ~ qaoqa adv. 'immovable', qawun- vt. 'stop', Nn Nh kaožarača- 'remain standing still' ¶ STM I 358.

845. ₂ *kab∇ 'calabash, gourd' > **HS:** Ch: WCh ≈ *kab∇ id. (× N *Kab'E?∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel?') > Hs kābò 'a small calabash for load carried on the shoulder', kàḅákí 'ε large calabash of food', Ngz {Sch.} kámí 'small calabash bowl used especially to store grain' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561], Brg. KVG 513, 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || C: DhI {EEC} kíβo 'gourd', {To.} kíβo 'gourd, calabash' ¶ EEN 11, To. D 140 || Eg N kb 'vessel for wine and other liquids' ¶ EG V 117 ¶ OS 307 [#1407] (HS *kab- 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg kb, DhI, Hs) || **A:** NaT *Ka₂b 'pumpkin' > Tk Δ kap, QrB qab id.; → NaT dim. *Kābak 'pumpkin,

gourd' > OT qabaq 'pumpkin, gourd', MQp XIII قَبِق, XIV [CC] qabaq 'pumpkin', Tkm (aš-)qābaq, Δ qāvaq, Tk kabak, Az gabaq, Ggz kabak, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg qabaq, Uz qawoq, ET qapaq, qaVa, Ln qaVa 'pumpkin' (aš 'food' is added in some lgs. [Tkm, Qrg] to distinguish the word from its homonym for 'eyelid') ¶ Cl. 582 and DT 173 (both interpret *kabak as 'small container', as if derived from *kāb 'bag, skin' [see N *K̄ab¹E⁷∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel'], but this is a scholarly "folk et.", which is hardly probable).

846. *kib∇ 'hump, bend; to bend' > IE: NaIE *gejb^h- 'hump, bend' > L gibbus 'hump, hunch' (P: "expressive" gemination < *gībus), gibber /-a/ -um adj. 'hump-backed' || Nr Δ kejv 'schief, gedreht, verkehrt', kejva 'left hand' || Lt Δ giebus 'awkward, clumsy (plump, ungeschickt)', Ltv ġeĩba ~ ġeiba 'awkward, clumsy person' ¶ P 354, WH I 597, Frn. 143 || HS: S *√kpp v. 'bend' (× N *K̄upE [or *K̄up∇] 'to bend') > JA, MHb, Sr, Ak √kpp id., Sr كِب كِب kəp̄ī'p̄-ā 'hump', JA, Sr كِب كِب √kpw|y v. 'bow', ? Htr kpp[?] 'ε architerctural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar √kff 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', {BK} 's'entortiller les pieds, etc., avec un chiffon' ¶ Sl. 596-7, Js. 661, Br. 339-40, HJ 531, BK II 909 || A: M *°kōbüre- v. 'bend, bow down' (× N *K̄upE [or *K̄up∇] '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ In many lgs. N *kib∇ contaminates with N ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' (q.v.). This merger may be responsible for S *p (instead of the expected *b).

847. *kob∇ 'to hew, to cut' (→ 'to plane') > K: G kwab- 'in Felsen hauen (z. B. Behausung)' ¶ Chx. 1551 || HS: B: Ah ta-kūba 'sword' (pl. ti-kūba-īn), Gh {Nh.} takuba id. (pl. čikubawin); Tw → Songhai {Sk. ← ?} takuba, Hs tákōbī 'sword' ¶ Fc. 726, Ba. 981, Sk. HCD 250 || C: Bj √k^wbb pcv. 'cut' ({R} 1s: p. 'a-kbub, pqp. 'i-kbub, prs. ak^wām'bīb), n. ag. k^wabīb || Ag {Ap.} *kab-/*kāb- 'cut' > Xm {Ap.} k̄āb-, {R} kab-, Km {Ap.} kab-, {CR} kav-, Aw {Ap.} kew-/kep-, {Plm., Hz.} kew- (1s kep- < *keb-?-), Bln/Q {R} kab- ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WBd 135 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kabi 'long knife' > Su {J} kɜp 'knife', Ang {Flk.} kɜp 'ε long knife' | ?μ Hs tá-kōbī 'sword' (if ta- is a px.) ¶ Cp. also Ch *√gb 'cut' > WCh: AG: Ang H, Mnt gap, Gmy {ChL} g+p, Kfr {Nt.} gáp, Chip {ChL} gɜp || CCh: Nz g+badi id. ¶ The comparison with Ch *√gb is highly qu., because the Ch √ is likely to have more reliable connections with S *°gūp- 'cut' (> Ar √ğwf 'pierce the abdomen with a spear') ¶ ChL, ChC, Stl. ZCh 205 [#557], 214 [#641], Ba. 981, Abr. H 843, Nt. 14,

Flk. s.v. күр, Hv. 105 || **A** {ADb.} *kob- v. 'plane' > Tg *kuba- v. 'plane wood (строгать)' > Ewk kuwa-, Neg koa- ~ kowa- ~ коуа-, Orc koa- ~ ku(ω)а-, Ul kua- id., Lm quwun 'planing-knife, shaving-knife, скобель', Nn KU qoatamsa 'shavings, chips (стружка, щепки)', WrMc quwatixiya, xuwatixiya 'scrape off, plane off' ¶ STM I 421 || ? NaT *Kob₁∇₁áa- > Qrg qopšo- 'plane around, scrape off, clean the surface (with a knife, etc.)', ?σ OT [MhK] qovša- ~ qoṽša-, OT U qovušā- 'polish' ¶ DTS 452, 462, Jud. 405 || **Gil**: Gil A қзв-/к'зв- v. 'hew' ¶¶ ST 414, ST RN 374.

847a. *koh₂'ä'bv (↯ *koh₂'ä'p∇?) 'frog, toad' > **HS**: EC *kUp- > Kns kup-āta, Hr/Gln {AMS} hup-e 'toad'; HEC: Brj kōp-i {Ss.} 'toad', {Hd.} 'frog, toad' ¶ Ss. B 117-8, Hd. 204 || Om [1] Bdt koppe 'toad' (← EC?) || [2]: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gof₁r 'frog' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} gofra 'toad', gobzr-si 'frog', Kf {C} geppečč-ō, geppečč-ē id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 447 ¶ The Om voiced cns. *g- still needs explaining || **IE**: NaIE *g^ωēb^h-ā / ? *g^ωab^h- 'toad' > Pru gabawo id. (Tr.: < *g^ωab^h-) || Sl *žāba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad' > OCS жабѧ žaba, Blg, R, Uk жаба, SCr žāba, Slv žába, Cz žába, P żaba id. || ? L bufō 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶¶ IE ↷ K (GZ?) *ǵwebu- > Mg žvabu 'frog', Lz A mžvabu, Lz X(m)žvabu 'toad' ¶ P 466, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, En. APG 62 (on the derivational form of gabawo), Tr. 8, Tr. P E-H 124-7, WH I 121, Ert. ED 130, K IEK 110-2 || **D** *k'a'pp- 'frog' > Kt kepak 'frog, toad', Td kopin, Kn карре, Kn Hv keppe, Tu каррæ, Tl карр, Gnd kappe, Knd kapoki, Ku kappa 'frog', Kdg kappe 'toad' ¶¶ D #1224(a) ◇ NaIE *ē (/ *ə?) points to a N lr., that in the light of the K zero reflex must be weak (N *H₂). L -f- and K -b- suggest a pN *-b-, while Bsk, Dm -f- and Kf -pp- are likely to favour N *-p- (but the devoicing may also be due to the lr.). The discrepancy between D *a (which cannot go back to N *o or *u) and the IE and HS forms (that point to a N labialized vw.) may be explained by supposing a bisyllabic N sequence *-OH₂ä- (*ä suggested by IE *ē and D *a) ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#64] (suggested to add the EC and D data).

848. *k'a'č'U 'skin' > K *^okič|cw- > G kicv-i 'fish-scales' ¶ Chx. 1561 || **HS**: CCh: BM: Br, Ngx k₁sim, Chb k^ωucì, WMrG k^ωúčì, kúčè 'skin' ¶ ChL || **U**: FP *k'a'čca (> *käččä / *kač'č'∇?) 'skin, hide' > pLp *kāčč'ē > Lp N {N} гаč'č'е / -čč- 'skin of porpoise or whale' || Prm *kuč- 'skin' > Z кучик kučik id., Prmk кучік kučik, {W} kuč 'skin, hide', Yz kú'čik

'human skin', Vt {W} *kuɖsi* (= *kući*?) 'skin' (-k is a sx.) ¶ LG 148, N II 4 ¶ Lp N *gač'č'e* goes back to FU **käčćä*, while Prm **kuć-* points to a back vw. (*a or *o) in the first syll. of pFU; the discrepancy may be accounted for by vw. harmony: an early (pre-harmonic) stem **käčća* with subsequent as.: **käčća* > **kačća* and **käčća* > **käčćä* || A **kač'č'U* > Tg **kaču(-ki)* 'leather clothes' > Nn Nh/KU *qačol ~ qačoy ~ qaču ~ qačuy*, Nn Δ *qačiki* 'leather garment for men', Ul *qačul ~ qačuy* 'fur coat (made of dog fell)', Orc *qačui*, Orc X *kačuki* 'garment made of elk skin', WrMc *qaciki* 'old coat from shabby hide (of deer or saiga antelope)' ¶ STM I 386 || pKo {S} **kàč* 'skin, leather, hide' > MKo *kàčòk*, *kàč^h* (*kàs*), NKo *kažuk* (Rm.: = *kažok* id., Ko Sl *kažuk*, Ko N {Rm.} *kažugi*, Ko {S}: Ph *sal-gat*, Chs/Ks *kažúk*, Hm *kažúk*, Kw *kažuk* id., NKo *sal-gat* (*sal-gač^h-*) 'skin surface', NKo † *kat* (/kač^h- 'fur, leather, hide' ¶ S AJ 254 [#77], Rm. SKE 102, S QK #77, MLC 25, 63-4, 896 ¶¶ Rm. l.c., S AJ 296 [#573] (**kač'č'U* || T **k'č'äçäç* ({DQA} **kaç-(g)aç*) > OT {Cl.} *qačāč* 'ε silk fabric' ¶ Cl. 590 || ?φ M **quč'i-* v. 'cover, wrap' > MM *quč'i-* [MA] {Pp.} 'wrap (with a coat, a turban, leather)', [S] {H} 'einpacken, herumrhüllen', WrM *quci-*, HIM *хуци-* vt. 'cover, cover up; cover oneself with a blanket, WrO *хуци-* vt. 'cover, dress, wrap up', Kl *хуци-*, {Rm.} *хуци-*, Brt *хуша-* id., v. 'roof', Ord {Ms.} *quč'i-*, Dg {T} *χoci-* ~ *koč'i-* vt. cover', Mnr H {SM} *χoč'i-* 'pack\wrap up, wrap' ¶ Problematic because of the unexpected **u* (as. A **a...ü* > ***u...ü* and later M **u...i*?) ¶ Pp. MA 307, H 70, MED 979, SM 169, Ms. O 518, Krg. 29, KRS 617, KW 200, Chr. 60, T DgJ 178 ¶¶ DQA #695 (A **káč'u* 'covering, skin [шкура, кожа]') ◇ Lp proves that the N medial cns. is emphatic (*-*č|č-*). In K and CCh the word-medial cns. was deglottalized (in K due to dis., in HS deglottalization is a typical phenomenon - positional change dependent on supersegmental factors such as tones or on stress?).

849. **keč'U* ~ **k'ü'č'U* (or *-*č-*) 'knife' > HS: C: Bj {R} *kōsa ~ kūsā* id. || Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk.} *kíčà*, Ngs {ChC} *k^híčò* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'knife', ChL || U: FU **keč'U* ~ **küč'U* 'knife' > pChr {Ber.} **küč'U* ({Ber.} **küč'U*) id. > Chr: L *küçö* 'küçö, U/B *küzö*, M *küzü*, H *күзө* 'kəzə || pObU {Ht.} **kēčəy* 'knife' > pVg {Hl.} **käškēj*, {Ht.} **kāškāy* > OVg: S SSs *kotschlaj*, N SoG *kēsche*, E TM *kätschi*; Vg: LK/MK *kāsi ~ kāsī*, UL/Ss *kasay* id.; pOs {Ht.} **köčəy* > Os: V/Vy *köčəy*, Ty *kǎčəy*, Y *kǎčəy*, D/K *keča*, Kz *kešī*, O *kesi* id. | Hg *kés* id. ¶ UEW 142, Sm. 545 (FU **käci*, FP **käči*, Ugr **käč-*), Ber. 28 [#138], MRS 257, 276, Ht.

145 [#220] || **A**: Tg *kuçe(n-) 'knife' > Ul kučэ(n-), Ork kučэ(n-) ~ kučээ ~ kuti ~ kutiээ, Ud kusigэ, Nn Nh kučэ́:, Nn B kucэ(-), Mc Sb kuš́i id., Ul kučэ́э-, Ork kučэ́э-, Nn Nh kučэ́э́-, Nn B kucэ́li- v. 'prick with a knife', Mc Sb kuš́ilэ- v. 'cut with a knife', cp. Tg *kuč́i 'knife' > Ewk uč́i, Sln usxž́:, {Iv.} уцікан, учикé, уч'кó id. ¶ The variant with *x- (a regular reflex of N *K-) may be due to as. (N *k...č́ > *k...č́) ¶ STM I 441 and II 296, Krm. 253 || ?σK: G K kič́o 'meat-hook (of a butcher)' ¶ Chx. 1562 ◇ If the K cognate is valid, the N affricate is *-č́-, otherwise it is *-č́č́-. It is tempting to adduce here (in spite of the semantic distance) Bj {R} kōэ 'tooth' and Dsn {To.} káč́u id.

850. ₂ *k'ʉ'č́∇ or *K'ʉ'č́∇ 'ant' > HS: EC: Gwd kuč́ā'č́itē 'ant' ¶ AMS 229 || NrOm: Kf {C} k̄āč́ō 'ε red ant', Wl {LmS} k̄āč́uwa id., {C} k̄āč́ōā 'ant', Zl {C} k̄āč́ō, Kcm {LmS} k̄āč́o 'black ant' ¶ C SE IV 483, C SO 33, LmS 428 || Ch: CCh: Nkc {Kr.} kùš́éš́é 'termite' ||| ECh: Ll {Grgs.} gúśi id. ||| ? WCh: Hs kíyāš́í (pl. kíyāš́ū) 'ε small ant' ¶ Ba. 615, ChC, ChL || **U** *kuč́∇ 'ant' > ObU {Ht.} *kōč́yāy 'ant' > pVg {Ht.} *kāš́yay > Vg (partially within cds.): T kaš́qāy, LK xoš́xət, pl. xoš́īt, UK kośi, P koš́š́iy, NV/ML koš́š́i, UL xōssuy, Ss xōswoy; pOs *koč́yay ({Hl. *kāč́yay-) id. > Os: V/Vy qoč́y+, Ty qāč́y+, Y qač́y, D xāš́yāy, K xāš́yāy, Nz/Kz xāš́ya, O xāš́yā || Sm {Jn.} *kzč́∇ (~ *k'č́∇?) 'ant' > Slq d.: Tz {KKIH} k'ita, Tm {KD} qēž́_a id.; ⇨ Sm *kzč́∇mkā ~ *kuč́∇mkā id. > Ne T W xudumga, Ne O xūdumgæ, Kms {KD} k'ēdāmgā, Koyb {Sp.} кадума id. ¶¶ UEW 192-3, Ht. #221, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 65, KKIИ 123 ◇ If the N etymon is *k'ʉ'č́∇, NrOm *k- is due to as., otherwise (if the N word is *K'ʉ'č́∇) the EC and Ch intial cns. is due to HS deglottalization.

851. *k'a'd|t∇ 'rock' > **A** *kada 'rock, hill' > M *qada 'rock, cliff' > MM [S] qada 'Abhang, Felswand', WrM qada(n), HIM xад(ан) 'rock, cliff, crag', Kl {Rm.} xada 'rock, mountain', {KRS} xад xадь 'rock, crag (скала, утес)', Dg xад(a), Mnr H {SM} qada, {T} qada, Dx {T} qada id. ¶ H 55, MED 902, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T DgJ 172, KW 158, KRS 565 || Tg *kada > Ewk, Lm kadār, Sln xadār, Neg kadā, kada(ʉ)a 'rock (скала, утес)', Ud kada 'large stone, stone', Ul qadal, Orc kada 'rock, mountain', Ewk kadaʉa, Ork qada 'rock (скала)', WrMc xada, Mc Sb xada 'rock, peak' ¶ STM I 153-4, Krm. 244 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #699 (incl. M, Tg) || **D** (in GnD) *kāt|tī > Gnd kātī & k'hātī 'cliff, bank', Ku gāti 'precipice'; D ⇨ InA *g'haṭṭa ¶ D #1449, Tu. #4414 || **HS**: ECh: Jg{J} kokode 'stone hill' ¶ J J s.v. || B *kāt∇r ~ *gādīr: [1] *kāt∇r > Mz t-

čatar-t 'petite levée de terre, petit talus', Wrg t-katar-t 'levée de terre',
 ? Ah tā-kātar-t 'petit bourrelet de terre (naturel ou artificiel) retenant
 des eaux'; [2] *gādīr > Izn, Rf B a-ždir 'falaise, rocher à pic', Kb a-gadir
 'talus; terrain en forte déclivité, escarpement', Tmz a-gadir 'talus', CA
 {NZ} tagudirt 'colline' ¶ Rn. 351, Dl. 251, Fc. 943, MT 147, Dlh. M 25,
 Dlh. Ou 158, NZ 735 ¶ The variants *kāt∇r and *gādīr my result from
 different directions of assimilation from the original **✓kdr || EC: ???
 Sa {R} kudō 'glatt ausgewaschener Felsen über welchen ein Wasserfall
 geht' (unless derived [acc. to R] from kūd- 'laufen, fliehen') ¶ R S II
 208 || ?σ,φ S: Gz katamā 'extremity, summit' ¶ L G 298 ◇ The N rec.
 may be either *k'a'd∇ or *k'a't∇.

852. *kud∇ (or *Ḳud∇) 'to plait' > U: FP *kuḡa- v. 'plait, weave' > F
 kuto- id., Es kudu- id., 'knit' || pLp {Lr.} *koḡē- 'weave, knit' > Lp: S
 gürr'edh, U güddeet, L kātēt, N godḡe-, K {Gn.} kott'e- || Er, Mk
 кода- weave, plait' || pChr {Ber.} *kuā- > Chr: H кое- (inf. коаш), L inf.
 куаш, B/Uf kue- 'weave' || Prm {LG} *kū- > Z кы- kī-(nī) 'weave, knit,
 plait' , Prmk {Rog.} inf. кый-ны, Yz inf. kū-н∧, 1s prs kū'y-a 'weave,
 plait', Vt inf. ку-ыны 'weave' ¶ UEW 675, Sm. 552 (FP *kudā-), It.
 #183, Lr. #440, Lgc. #2512, Ber. 23, MRS 201, 235, LG 152-3, Lt. J 138
 || D *kuḡ- ({GS} *k-) v. 'plait' > Krx kud- v. 'plait, braid, twist', Prj kudp-
 v. 'weave baskets, etc. out of bamboo', Gdb kurp- v. 'plait split bamboos
 to make baskets', as well as words for wickerwork: Tm kuḡalaj
 'basket of palmleaf, cover of palmleaf (against rain)', Kn kudpu 'small
 basket', Tu kudupu 'a strainer made of wickerwork' ¶¶ D #1653 ||
HS (× N *ḡad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle', q.v. ffd.): Ch
 {Stl.} *koḡa < *ḡoda 'pot' || AdS of S *kadd- 'jar'.

853. (₂?) *kūd'a¹ 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety
 within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'male relative-in-law') > U: FU
 {IS} *küḡü 'male relative-in-law' > F куту 'husband's\wife's brother', Vp
 küdu, Es küdi, Δ küdü 'husband's brother' || ObU: pOs *kül∇ 'wife's
 sister's husband' > D kitā, O kili 'wife's sister's husband'; Os *kül∇ (×
 N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an
 exogamic system of tribes') > Os: V küli 'wife's sister's husband', niḡ-
 küli 'wife's sister' (niḡ- means 'woman'), Ty kiḡi, Nz kitā, Kz kiḡi
 'wife's sister's husband, wife's sister', Kr kitā 'wife's younger sister,
 wife's younger brother's daughter'; Os ⇨ Vg: UL kil 'wife's brother',

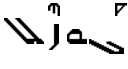
{Reg.} 'wife's sister; sister's husband', Ss kil 'wife's sister', N {Mu.} kil 'wife's brother, sister's husband; wife's elder sister' ¶ UEW 154, Trj. VD 143, Trj. S 125, Stn. D 620, MK 213 || A: T *k'üðä-gü 'younger sister's husband, daughter's husband' (-gü is an adjectival sx.) > OT küðägu ({Cl.} k'üðä-gu), Chg küyäv, MXwT küðägü, MQp küyägü 'bridegroom', [CC] küyägü 'daughter's husband', Tkm giyew, Blq, Nog kiyew, Uz kuyaw, Qrg küyö, Alt küyü, Tv küdē, Δ kütō, Tf hūdā, SY küzegı, Xk kızı id., ET küyoşul id. (cd. with oşul 'son'), Tk güvev, Ggz güvā, Az göyüm (with 1s ppa. -m), Δ kiyāw ≅ žiyāw, Qmq giyeν, Qzq, Qq küyew, VTt kiyāw, Bsh kbyāw, Chv kbrü id., 'bridegroom', Yk kütüō 'daughter's husband; sister's\cousin's husband, mother's younger sister's husband', Chv kbrü (gen. kbrv-ьп) id., 'younger sister's husband; bridegroom' ¶ Cl. 703, ET VGD 43-6, TL 297-8, Ra. 192, Jeg. 109, Fed. I 283, Pokr. TR 60-3, TvR 268 || M *quda ({Pp.} *kudā < *ku'da) 'father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law' (in pl.: 'the heads of two families related through the marriage of their children') > MM [S] χυδα, [HI] quda id., WrM quda, HIM χυδ, Brt χυδα, Mnr H {SM} gudā id., Kl {KRS} χυδ χυδб 'father of the son-\daughter-in-law (свaт)', {Rm.} χυδб 'people related through the marriage of their children'. Poppe (Pp. PLVM 8) reconstructs a long *ā in the second syll. of this M word (*kudā) and supposes that originally this *ā goes back to a stressed vw. (*ku'da). Poppe's rec. is right if his accentual theory of pM is justified ¶ MED 979, H 70, Ms. H 59, KW 194, KRS 607, SM 123 ¶¶ DQA #905 (*kude 'relative-in-law') || ?φ K *kwiš-]- 'wife's sister's husband' > G kvisl-, G Mt/M kviseli, Mg kvišil- ({IS} < *kwišol- < *kwiš-al-), Sv {TK} d.: UB me-kšwel (pl. lä-mkošla), L mekšol, Ln mokšäl (pl. lamokšala), Sv {K} me-kwšel ≅ me-kwšöl ≅ mo-kšāl (mo < *me- due to the infl. of the lost stem-final *w, sc. K *kwiš-]- yields eSv *kwšw- > Sv kšw-) ¶¶ K 198, K² 217, FS E 377 (*kwiš₁-, TK 217 ¶¶ Acc. to sound laws we expect K *kwid-. The observed pK stem *kwiš-al- may have originated from the genitive **kwid-iš- + sx. *-al- (with a contraction *-dš- > *-š-). This can be understood if we take into account the K tendency of inflexion based on case sxs. added to the genitive form, like in the case of OG ṭpil-is-i 'Tbilisi' (stem + gen. sx. + sx. of casus rectus) ◇ IS I 302-4 (N *küda), AD NM #110, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

854. *kođv ~ *kodřv 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *g^wōd^h- / *g^wēd^h- id. > Gmc *k^wād- > AS c^wēad, OFrs quād 'dung, excrement, dirt', OHG quāt ~ kōt 'dirt, manure', MHG quāt ≅ quōt ≅ kōt ≅

kāt, NHG Kot 'dirt, filth, mire, mud'; MHG quāt 'wicked, abominable', MLG quād, Dt kwaad 'wicked, ugly', ME cwēd 'bad' || SI [1] *gādъ (< *g^ωōd^h-) 'reptile, vermin, sth. also. abominable' > OCS ΓΑΔЪ gadъ 'reptile, serpens', Blg гад 'vermin', SCr gād 'disgust, nausea; snake', Slv gād 'adder (Vipera)', Cz, Slk had, P gad, OR, RChS ΓΑΔЪ gadъ 'reptile, snake', R, Uk гад 'reptile; abominable person'; [2] *žadati se (< *g^ωēd^h-) > OP žadać sie 'loath, be disgusted at', *žadъnъ-(jъ) > OP žadny, Slvnz žadnī 'ugly' | Lt gėda '(feeling of) shame', Pru accus. gīdan 'Schande', nigīdings 'shameless' ¶ Ho. 64, Kb. 577, KM 397, ESSJ VI 81-2, Bern. I 289-90, Glh. 225, Frn. 142, En. 177, 215, Tr. P E-H 231-3 || HS: S *^o✓kd̥ > Ar kud̥-at- 'vil et méprisé' ¶ BK II 875 || ? B *^o✓kyd̥ (and secondary *^o✓Hkd̥) 'détester, mésestimer' (× N *ҚаHд̥ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety', 'anger, hate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ GhA 89, 104, Fc. 749, 769-71, Msq. 87 ¶ The emphatic *d̥ is likely to go back to the cluster *d̥ || D (in SD) *kott- ({{GS}} *k-) 'dirt' > Tm kottai 'rotteness, blot, blemish', Ml kotta 'dust, dirt as on the clothes of a traveller', Tu kottæ 'trash, dirt' ¶ D #2094 ◇ D *-tt- (regularly from N *-t̥- rather than from *-d-) may be accounted for by the N cluster *-d̥-

855. o. *k|KEd̥'ś|ć'û 'to sneeze' > HS: S *^o✓kd̥ś̥ id. > Ar ✓kds G 'sneeze' (animals) ¶ BK II 874, Hv. 647 || IE: NaIE *kseu-/ksēu- (~ *skeu-/skēu-) v. 'sneeze' > OI 'kṣāuti 'sneezes', 'kṣava-h, 'kṣut, kṣuta-m n. act. 'sneezing' || SI *къха-ti, mom. *къх-нq-ti 'to sneeze' > ChS къхнѣти къхнqti id., SCr Δ kǎxnuti, kǎxnuti 'to cough, to sneeze' (phonetic irregularities due to onomatopoeia); SI *čixa-to 'to sneeze' > Blg 'чихам I sneeze', Slv číhati, ULs čičhać, LLs tśičhaś, P czchać, R чи'хать 'to sneeze' | ?φ Lt čiaudėti 'to sneeze' | The metathetic variant *ske(:)u- is represented by Lt skiáudėti (prs. ski audžiu), Ltv šķauť, šķiaũdīt 'to sneeze' ¶ P 953, M K I 287, 291, 295, ≈ M E I 429-30, Frn. 74, ≠ ESSJ XIII 176, 110, EI 133 (? *skeu- or *kseu- 'sneeze') ¶ ESSJ and M consider the OI and SI verbs to be pure onomatopoeia and reject any attempts of etymologizing them || U: [1] (+ext.) FU *kićnā- v. 'sneeze' > pLp {Lr.} *kʷsnē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gasn'edh, L {LLO} kasnēt, N {N} gās'tet, Kld kēš'neδ id. | Er kešna-, kešne-, Mk kšna- | Vt кизъны- kižn+-, Vt Sr kižn+ id. ¶ UEW 662, Lr. #329, Lgc. #1982, Hs. 573-4 || [2] *kE^tl_vś'∇ or *kE^tl_vć'∇ 'sneeze' > Sm {Jn.} *kāc∇- ⇨ *kācъlyr-, {Hl.} *kācir- id.

> Slq Tm {KD} q'āčag (1s aor.) id.; d. (augmentative) verbs: Ne F {Lh.} śā:tarās (< *käs̄r-), Ng {Mik.} katirśa, En (1s aor.: En X {Cs.} sériṅaro?, En B {Cs.} sēdiṅado? id., Kms {KD} qā:darlām 'I sneeze', Mt {Hl.} *kādār- 'sneeze' (Mt M {Sp.} кадыргамъ 'I sneeze') ¶ Jn. 63, Hl. M #448.

856. *k|gog_LU_JǰE_LʔV_J 'set fire to, burn (sth.)' > **K:** GZ *g(u)z- v. 'kindle, set fire' > OG, G gzn-, gz- id., G ma-guz-al 'charred log', guzguza cecχli 'flame (пылающий огонь)', ma-guz-, ni-guz-al- 'Glut', guzguz- 'Knistern des Feuers', Mg rz-, Lz gz-, z- v. 'kindle' ¶ K 62, K² 30, FS K 80, FS E 84, Ser. 40, Chik. 260, Q 305 || **IE:** NaIE *ks̄V̄- (or *k^ωs̄V̄-) v. 'burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J_V 'to kindle', q.v. ffd.) > OI 'kṣāyatī vi. 'burns', kṣā'tī f. 'singeing, heat', caus. kṣā'rayatī 'makes (sth.) burn' ||| ???σ Arm **gwal** c^ha^w 'pain', **gwasnūl** c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion', aor. **gwasēay** c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̄s̄āp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̄s̄-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. gor OI) ¶¶ The qu. Arm cognate (**gwal** c^ha^w 'pain', **gwasnūl** c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion'), if valid, points to IE *k̄s̄- ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M A I 430 || **HS:** S *ogawzV̄l- (< ?? *gaguzV̄l-) v. 'kindle' (att. in Aram lgs.) > Sr ✓ gwzł (pf.  gwazel) v. 'kindle, set on fire', gwazā'l-ā, gwazal-'t-ā 'flame, fiery coal, fire, heat', NENA {Orh.} gōzaltā id. (← Sr?), ? TA {Rt.} gizlayle 'Festakt am Weihnachtsabend, bei dem ein Holzhaufen in Brand gesteckt wird' ¶ Br. 111, PS 697-8, JPS 63, Rt. 177, Orh. 75, DC 107 || Ch {Stl.} *guz- 'kindle' > WCh: Tng {J} kɔzɛ 'light a fire, strike a light' ||| ECh: MfG {Brr.} mɜ-gɜdɛy 'allumer le feu', Mkl {J} gōzé 'activer\attiser le feu' ¶ Stl. IF 184, J T 102, J LM 105, Brr. MG II 279 || **A:** M *kögǰi- v. 'begin to flame, blaze up' > WrM kögǰi-, HIM хөгжи- id., MM [MA] kögǰi- vi. 'burn, shine' ({Pp.} kögǰibe sara 'the moon shone'), Kl {Rm.} kögǰi- 'auflodern, zu brennen anfangen' ¶ MED 481, KW 236, Pp. MA 220 || **D** (in NED) *ko(č)č- v. 'catch fire, inflame, burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J_V '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ S, Ch, and K *g- is either original (< N *g-) or due to as. (*k...g > *g...g). M *k- point to a N *k-. IE *k- or *k^ω- (rather than *g- or *g^ω-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K_L^ωJ_S-.

857. ι ***kaḳE** (= ***kaḳi**?) (or ***ḳ**-?) 'angry, bad' ('böse') > **K:** G **kik**- v. 'blame, reprimand' ¶ Chx. 1561 || **IE:** NaIE ***k|k̄ak|k̄**- 'bad' > Gk **κακός** id. || NPhr **κακο(υ)ν** id. (?) (unless a loan from Gk) ¶ Ch. 482, F I 758-9 || **A** {ADb.} ***kaḳ'i**- '(to be) angry' > NaT ***Kak** (~ ***Käk**?), ***KakI**- > OT **qakI**- ({Cl.} **qakī**-) v. 'be angry' and prob. {Cl.} **käk** 'a desire for revenge' (← *'malice, spite, secret hatred'), Osm {Rh.} **qaqI**- v. 'scold', Tk **kakI**- v. 'blame, scold' ¶ Cl. 609, ET KQ 223-4, Rh. 1419, Dr. TM III 1400 || ppM ***qaqI** > M ***qaki**- {ADb.} v. 'be angry' > WrM **qaki**-, HIM **хакИ**- v. 'despise' ¶ MED 915 || Tg {ADb.} ***kaḳi**- 'angry' > Ewk **kaki**- 'angry, ferocious', WrMc **χaxi**- 'hot-tempered, irascible' ¶ STM I 363 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 16 ◇ In most lgs. (except for G and Ewk) the initial cns. is due to as. (e.g. IE ****g|ḡak|k̄** > **k|k̄ak|k̄**-). G ***kik**- may be explained by mt. of the vw. ***i** (***kaḳi** > ***kik**-).

858. (ι ?) ≈ ***k'Eho'ḳa** 'green\blue, green plants' > **IE** ***keḥko**- ({EI} ***keḥko**-m) 'edible greens' > NaIE ***kēko**- 'green fodder, greenstuff' > OI **śāka**-m, Pali **sāka** 'potherb, vegetable' || Lt **šėkas** 'fresh-grass fodder', Ltv **sēks** 'fresh green forage', ? Pru **schokis** 'grass' || Gmc: [1] {Vr.} ***xag^wō** > ON, Ic **há** 'aftermath, after-grass', NNr **há**, Δ **háν**, **hov** id.] [2] ?φ ***xag^wja** 'hay' (× ⇨ Gmc ***xawwan** 'to hew' < NaIE ***kaw**-/***kāw**-/***kū**- v. 'strike, hew' < N ***ḳaxū** ⇨ ***ḳaxyU** 'to strike\push', q.v.?) > Gt **hawī**, ON **hey**, OSx **hōi**, **hōgi**, OHG **hewi**, NHG **Heu**, AS **hieǵ** 'hay', NE **hay** || Ht **kikla**- 'greenery, grass' (< ***keko**-lo-) ¶¶ WP I 381, P 544, M K III 320-1, M E II 628, Tu. #12370, RhDS 701-2, Mn. 607, Vr. 199, 226, Fs. 252, OsS 377, Kb. 462, KM 306, Ho. 158, Ho. S 35, Frn. 970-1, En. 244, Pv. IV 174, EI 620 || **A** ***kōk'e** 'green\blue' > M ***kōke** id. > MM [MA, IM] **kōke**, [HI] **kökö**, WrM **kōke**, HIM **хөх**, Brt **хүхэ**, Klm **kökö**, Dgr **kuke**, Mgl {Rm.} **küká** id., Dx **kugǐз**, Ba {T} **koge**, Mnr M {Pot.} **күко**, Mnr H {SM} **k'uguo** 'blue'; MM [MA, IM] **kōke** 'sky' is a sd. influenced by the T word for 'sky' (pT ***k'ōk**); this particular direction of infl. is suggested by the phonetic shape of the words for 'green\blue' and 'sky' in some M lgs.: MMgl **kökə** 'blue' and **kök** 'sky' (the latter obviously from ET **kök** 'sky') ¶ MED 482, KW 236, Rm. M 31, Pp. MA 220, 440, S AJ 243 [#213], T 340, T DgJ 151, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, Ms. H 72, Iw. 112, Pot. 412 || T ***k'ōk** 'blue\green' (→ 'sky') > OT **kök** 'blue, blue-green, sky', MT [IM] **gōk** 'blue, sky', Tk **gök**, Ggz **gök**, Az **göy**, Blq **kök**, VTt, Bsh **kük** 'blue, sky', Tkm **gōk**, CrTt **kóK**, Qmq **gök**, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET **kök**, Uz **kök** 'blue, green, sky', Alt,

Ln, Xk, Tv kök, Tf kǝk' 'blue, green', Yk kũũχ 'blue', Chv kǝvak, Chv MK kǝak 'blue, green, gray-blue (сизый)'; T ɸ → Hg kék 'blue' ¶ Cl. 708-9, Rs. W 287, ET VGD 66-8, TL 60, 604, Jeg. 96, Fed. I 245-6, Ra. 204, Dr. TM I 64Off., Md. 48, 169, EWU 721, Gomb. BTL 21 || Tg *kuku 'blue\green, gray' > Ewk kuku 'blue\green', Ewk I kuku-ʃin 'stone, from which green dye-stuff is produced', WrMc {Hr.} kuku 'grün, blau, grau', {Z, Hr.} kuku iħan 'a gray cow', kuku fulan {Hr.} 'blaugraues Pferd', {Z} 'dark-blue horse, gray horse', Mc Sb kuku 'gray' (kuku unihan 'gray cow') ¶ STM I 426, Z 289, Hr. 599, Klz. MS 214 ¶ Both the Ewk and the Mc words may be of M origin ¶¶ IS AG 340-1 (A *köke 'green\blue'), DQA #897 (A *kǝk'e|j id.) || HS: ?ϕ WCh {Stl.} *gaki 'grass' > Hs hákì 'grass' | Ang gǝk 'high grass on river banks' | ? P' hʔaqa 'stalk' | ? Klr {J} ʔakʔén 'Busch, Wildnis' ¶ Stl. ZCh 223 [#727], J R 350, ≈ Sk. HCD 102 || ?? E: MEI, AchEl ki-ik 'sky, heaven' ¶¶ HK 465 ◇ Tg *k- and T *k'- point to a N *k-, while IE *k̄- (for the expected *ǵ-) may be due to regr. as. ◇ The N words *k̄UkE 'dark, black' and ≈ *k'Eho'ka 'green\blue, green plants' (even without taking into account the questionable details of their reconstruction) cannot be identical for two reasons: (1) each of those words is represented in M by separate roots (M *köge 'soot' < N *k̄UkE and M *köke 'blue\green' < N ≈ *k'Eho'ka), and in M there is a phonological difference between them, which must go back to a difference in pN, (2) there is a semantic difficulty: if the basic meaning is 'dark, black', it hardly can change into 'green plants', and viceversa ◇ IE *k̄- (for the expected *ǵ-) may be due to as. (*ǵ...k > *k̄...k).

859. *k'a'la (or *kaliya ~ *kalaya?) 'vessel, boat' > K: G {Chx., DCh.} kila 'clay pot', G {Chx.} I/G kila 'ε a unity of dry measure (for corn and flour)', G {DCh.} 'weight measure (≈ 1 pud ≈ 16 kg.)' ¶ Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339 ¶ One cannot rule out the possibility of borrowing from some Aram dialect || HS: CS *kaliy- ~ *kalay- '(?) vessel' > Hb כְּלִי kə'lī 'vessel, receptacle; piece of equipment; instrument' (pausal form כְּלִי kə'lī, pl. [+ppa.] כְּלִינִי kə'lī-nū 'our vessels\utensils', MHb pl. כְּלִים kə'līm), Pun kl, M'b k'ly 'vessel', EpJA pl. klyr 'vessels', Ar O {Rnh.} kēlāw 'Krüge', Tgr {Mnz.} ከሌ kəlē 'marmite' ¶ KB 456, KBR 478-9, LH 389, Rnh. 170, Vlr. rRnh. 514, HJ 512 || Eg MK kɜy 'ε boat of Nubian type', Eg NK kr 'small ship', ≈ boat' ¶ EG V 101, 132, Fk. 283 || EC: Or {Grg.} killa 'small bowl for roasted coffee and butter', {Th.} killa (nom. killa-r ~ kill-i) 'piatto, coppa, piccolo piatto rotondo',

Or Wl {Brl.} killā 'scodella di legno per conservarvi burro e vivande; coppa; conca; piatto' ¶ Grg. 247, Th. 63, Brl. 232 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} kílé, Ngm k^uelle, Krkr k3li 'pot' ||| CCh: Bdm {Nacht.} káloē 'Gefäß' ||| ECh: Brg {J} kōlì 'pot' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. K 127, Lk. B 108 ¶¶ Coh. #192 (S, Eg k3y), OS #1423 (S, WCh, Bdm, Or; pHS *ka1∇y 'vessel') ||| A: Tg *kala(n) 'cauldron, vessel' > Ewk kalan id., 'iron bowl', Ewk Brg kalan 'vessel, cup', Ewk kawā-kan (dim.) 'kettle', Ud kala(n-), Ul qala(n-), Nn qalã id., 'saucepan' ¶ STM I 364-5, Krm. 244 ||| D: [1] *ka1- ({{GS}} *k-) > Tm kalam 'vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship', Ml kalam 'pot, vessel, ship', Kt kalṁ 'clay pot in the making', Kn kala 'pot, vessel', Kdg kala 'big pot', Tu kara 'earthen vessel', Tl kalamu 'ship', ? Brh kalland 'broken earthen pot, old pot' ||| [2] *kall- ({{GS}} *k-) > Tm kallai 'plate made of leaves sewn together', Kui kali, Mlt kale 'leaf-cup', Knd kala id., 'cup', Png kala 'leaf-plate'; D → Prkr khallaga-, khallaya 'leaf-cup' ¶¶ D ##1301, 1305 ◇ G kila, Or killa, and the WCh word (e.g., Dr kílé) may be explained by regr. assimilation (*kaliya > ≈ **kiliy∇).

860. *ka1∇ 'to lie (liegen)' (→ 'to spend the night') > IE: NaIE *gōl- / *gōl- / *gōl- 'lie (down)' > Lt guliu / guĩti 'lie down, go to bed', Ltv guĩt 'to go to sleep' (P: < *gōl-); Lt guléti 'to lie'; Lt guõlis 'bed, couch; lair, den (of animals)', Ltv gõļa 'Nest, Lager' (< IE *gōl-) ||| Arm {P} կաղաղա kaṭaṭ 'cave, lair, or some other sleeping place of wild animals' ||| Gk γωλεός {Ch.} 'tanière, trou', {F} 'Höhle, Schlucht' ||| OSw kolder, Sw kull, Nr Δ kold, kuld 'litter \ brood \ nest of young ones; children of the same married couple' ({{P}}: < 'from the same bed') ¶ P 402, Frn. 175-6 (IE *gwo1-), Hlq. 522, Ch. 244, FI 336, Sl. 310 ||| HS: EC: Gdl {Fl.} kel-aḍ- v. 'lie' ¶ Blz. CWL ||| U: FU *ka1∇ 'stay overnight' > Prm: Vt көлыны k3l+n3 'sleep, stay overnight', Z voykov / voykol- '24 hours; time including one night' (< voy 'night' + kol- 'spending the night'), Z US oyk3l-, Prmk oyk3l- id. ||| ObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'spend the night' > pVg kūl- id. > Vg: T/P/SV kōl-, LK/UL/Ss xūl-, MK/LL *kūl-; pOs *ka1- id. > Os: V/Vy qal-, Ty/Y qãḍ-, D/K χot-, Nz χot-, Kz χotḍ-, O χal- | Hg hál- id., 'sleep' ¶ Coll. 80, UEW 120-1, Sm. 545 (FU *kãlã- 'stay overnight' > FP *kala-, Ugr *kãla-), MF 251, Ht. #247, LG 61.

861. *ka1|í∇ 'to bark (a tree), to remove vegetation'; → 'bare, naked'. The etymon has two semantic variants, the second one ('bare, naked') is likely to be a sd. from the first one ('bare' as 'peeled,

barked'). If so, we have to reconstruct two semantic variants of the N word: [1] N ***ka**l|í∇ 'to bark, to remove vegetation' > D {tr., GS} *ka|v. 'weed' (× N ***qA**l|í∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck') > Tm ka| v. 'weed, pluck', MI ka|a 'weed, tares', Kt ka|, Kdg ka|e 'weeds', ka|v- 'take\scoop out, flick away dirt from (semi-)liquid (e.g. clay)', Kn ka|e n. 'weed', Brh xallij v. 'uproot (vegetables)'; but D *ka|∇p- (> Tu kalepini, kalepuni v. 'strip off, remove' and TI kalupu 'weeds') is likely to belong to N ***qa**l'ü'P∇ 'to bark (a tree), to cut off', 'bark, peel' (q.v. ffd) ¶¶ D #1373, GS 167 [#420] ||| [2] N ***ka**l|í∇ 'bare, naked' > IE: NaIE *g^oal- 'naked, bare' > Gmc *ka|wa- 'bare, naked' > OHG calo (adj. calawēr) & chalo, NHG kahl, AS {Sw.} calo (gen. calwes) 'bald', {Ho.} calu, MLG kale 'bald, bare', NE callow; AS calwa, OFrs kale, MLG kalewe, OHG cal(a)wa 'bareness, mange' ||| Ltv {ME} gāle, Δ gāla 'thin ice crust (not covered by snow); ice on the ground (in springtime)' (today in: ledus gāle 'ice crust') || SI *g^ol̥b (dadj *g^ol̥b-jb) 'naked' > OCS голъ golъ, Blg гол, SCr gōl (f. gōla), Slv gōl, Cz, Slk holý, P goły, R 'голый, Uk 'голий id. ¶ Sw. 32, Ho. 43, OsS 469-70, Kb. 526, KM 339, P 349, Kar. I 283, ME I 617, Turk. 168, ESSJ VII 14-5, Glh. 236-7, ≈ EI 45 (err. adduction of the BSl word for 'head' and rec. of IE *g^ol(H)w^o-s 'bald, bare') || U: FV: F kalju, kalja, kalea 'bare, naked, bald, smooth' || ? Mk {Ahl.} kalış 'naked, bald', kalışgada 'get bald, remain naked' (unless ← R голыш 'naked person\thing') ¶ Ahl. MM 155, SK 148 || D: Td koq̄ 'without leaves' (a tree in winter), 'half dry, half green (when tree is being killed by stripping bark)' ¶ D #1373 ◇ Td -o- still needs explaining ◇ IS I 289 [#156] (IE, D, A, C; *÷ U *ka|∇ [sc. U {UEW} *ka|w∇] 'film, thin skin', M *qali- 'bark', Or qōla 'skin, hide' [on all of them see N ***Qa**l'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark'], Or kāl̄lē 'skin, hide', A: T *Ka|ka 'bald' [see N ***Qa**l'ü 'bare, naked']).

862. *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > HS: S *kall-at- 'daughter-in-law, bride' > BHb קַלְלָה kal'lā, Ug {OLS} klt, JA קַלְלָה kallə't-ā, Sr كَالْلَا kallə'tā, Ak kallātu, Ak A kallatu ~ kallutu id., Eb {Frnz.} kallatum 'wife, son's wife (sposa, nuora)', Ug klt {OLS} 'bride', (?) 'son's wife', {A} 'Braut, mannbare Tochter', Sb hkl̄ln inf. 'to marry (a wife)', Mh kəl̄n, Jb C/E 'kəl̄n 'bride, bridegroom', Hrs kəl̄nət 'bride', kəl̄nīn 'bridegroom',

Sq {Jo} 'kɜlan 'bridegroom' ¶ KB 455, KBR 477-8, OLS 216, Js. 645, Sl. 584-5, JPS 216, OLS 216, A #1321, Sd. 426, Frnz. MLE 168, BGMR 77, Jo. M 209 ¶ The origin of the element *-n- in SES is not clear (the hyp. of a dis. *-ll- > -ln- is too speculative) || Ch: WCh: SBc {Sh.} > Gj Mg, Zem D kálì, Gj G kílì, Gj B kàlí, Zem Z kâl, Zem Ch kálèη, Sy Zk kʰèl, Sy B kèl, Sy Z kèl 'woman' || ? Hs Kc kóló 'daughters' ¶ Sh. SB 13, ChC, ChL, Ba. 620-1 || ?? EC: Dsn {Fl.} galiet 'woman' ¶ Blz. CWL ¶¶ OS #1419 (S, Ch) || K *ka- 'young woman, maid' > OG kal-i 'daughter, maid' (asa moxuda kali ese 'this maid has not died', Mt. 9.24), kala 'maid' (kala ... a ydeg 'damsel, ... arise!', Mark 5.41), G kal-i 'woman, daughter', (čemi \ šeni \ misi) kal-i '(my \ your \ his) wife' ¶ Chx. 1534, Ser. 165 || IE: NaIE *g̃l̥ōu-/*g̃l̥ōu-/*g̃el̥u- 'brother's wife, husband's sister' > Gk A γάλως 'husband's sister' || L glōs id., 'brother's wife' (secondary reinterpretation as an -s-stem, hence gen. glōris) || Phr [Hs.] γέλαρος ~ γάλλαρως (ce. : -p- for -f-?) 'brother's wife' || Sl *zǝl̥t̥ (gen. *zǝl̥v̥e) 'husband's sister' > ChS зълѡва зьлѡва, Blg зълва, SCr zàova, Slov zōlva, OCz zelva, P zełwa, zołwa, R Δ золва; ds.: R зo'ловка, Uk золвиця id. ¶ ≠ P 367-8, F I 286-7, IS I 295, WH I 610, Glh. 692-3, ≈ EI 521-2 (*g̃l̥h̥₃-wos 'husband's sister' with an unj. morpheme boundary) || U: U (or ppU) {Coll.} *kälü, ({It., UEW} *käl̥w̥, {Jn.} käl̥i-w) 'female relative-in-law' > F käl̥y 'daughter-\sister-in-law' ('Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders, Schwester des Mannes oder der Frau'), Es käl̥i, Δ käl̥ü 'husband's brother, husband's brother's wife' || pLp {Lr.} *käl̥y- 'käl̥y', *käl̥y-ēnnē 'sister-in-law' (*ēnnē 'mother') ({Lgc.} 'gegenseitige Verwandtschaftsbeziehung der Frauen zweier Brüder') > Lp S {Hs.} gaaluo- '-in-law' (in cds.: gaaluo-jeen'edjeh 'ianitricēs, wives of brothers or cousins'), Lp L {LLO} käl̥ō-ji(e)tnē 'wife of husband's brother or cousin', Lp N {N} gäl̥o-jædne 'sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife)' || pMr {Ker.} *käl̥ə > Mk кел kél, Δ kiyał 'Schwägerin', Er kíyalo кияло 'brothers' wives (in relation to each other)' (Ker.: Er kíyalo < *kyalo < *kyäl̥ < OMr *káľ < pMr *käl̥ə) || Prm {LG} *keli 'wife of husband's brother' > Z Ud/Lu keV, Z Ss/Le kel, Prmk K, Yz kelya id., Vt N káli 'wife of husband's brother (older than ego)' (address of a younger daughter-in-law to an older one) || Os: Ty kiɸi 'wife's sister', Kr kitə 'daughter of wife's younger brother'; (× N *küď'a' male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [→ 'male relative-in-law']): Os: Ty

kiϕi, V küli, D kitə, O kili 'husband of wife's sister'; Vg: Ss kil 'wife's sister', UL kil 'wife's sister, wife's brother' || Sm {Jn.} *keľb (= {Jn.} *keľā) 'relative-in-law' > Ne O {Lh.} śēř, Ne F {Lh.} śjeř 'husband of wife's sister, wife of husband's brother', En X {Cs.} sēři?, B sēři 'Schwager', Ng {Cs.} śalun, sealun 'Schwager' ('husband of the wife's sister'), Slq Tz {KKIH} šelī 'husband of the wife's sister', Slq Nr {Cs. ms., Ps.} šäl 'свояк, Schwestermann, Mann der Schwester des Mannes, Schwager' || pY {IN} *keľ- 'relative-in-law' > Y K {IN} keľ-il id. (-il is a nominal sx.), Y T {Ku.} keľil 'male relative-in-law (свояк)', {Coll.} kelil 'the husband of the wife's sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife's brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband's sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband's brother or male cousin'; cp. also OY O {Mat.} кальмо 'maid (дѣвка)' ¶¶ UEW 135-6, Coll. 23, Coll. CG 406 (U *kälü), Coll. JU 78-9, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *käläw, Ugr *kälä-, Sm *keľə 'in-law'), Lr. #354, Lgc. #1902, N II 38, Hs. 517-8, Ker. II 52-3, ERV 269, LG 120, UR 121, Jn. 67, KKIИ 174, Cs. 67, 90, 277, Ps. B 148, Ku. 107, IN 226, ≈ 245, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#19] (Y ← U) || ¶ A *k'e'lin, *k'e'li- 'female relative-in-law, bride' > T *k'elin ({Md.} ke·li·n) 'bride, son's wife' > OT kälın id., Chg kelin, OXwT kälın, MQp [CC] kelin, Az ğälin, QrB ğelin 'bride', Qmq ğelin, VTt, Bsh килєн kilьн, Alt kelin, Xk килін kilin, SY, Ln kelin 'daughter-in-law, young brother's wife', Tk ğelin, Tkm, Ggz ğelin, CrTt, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg kelin, Qzq келін kelin id., 'bride', Uz kelin 'recently married young woman, daughter-in-law, brother's wife', Tv kelin 'daughter-in-law', Chv kin 'young brother's wife' (← VTt kilьн?), Chv {Ash.} kilьнтбš 'young female relatives-in-law in a household' ¶ Cl. 719, DTS 296, Rs. W 250, ET VGD 16-8, ≈ TL 302, Jeg. 113, Fed. I 295-6, Md. 91, 167, Ash. VI 216-7, 223] The same root with a different sx. is found in T: VTt käläš 'bride, young wife', Brb {Rl.}, SbTt Tb/Tm {Rl.} käläš id., 'bride, sweetheart (Geliebte)'. Acc. to Xak., the word without sxs. is attested in OBlgh كِيَال (pronounced *kiĵäl or *kiĵal) 'wife' (possibly with vowel breaking - cp. Chv a < pT *ä). M. Erdal (Erd. √) does not confirm Xak.'s hyp. ¶ Xak. 79, Rl. II 1114 || Tg *kelin > Ewk Ag/Skh/Chmk kəlin, Ewk Urm kəli, Lm kəli (pl. kəlin-il), Orc, Nn kəli, Ul, Ork kəli / kəlin- 'husband of the wife's sister', Neg kəli 'husband of a woman from the wife's clan', WrMc keli 'husband of the wife's elder sister', 'male relative-in-law', xexə keli 'wife of the husband's brother' (xexə means 'woman') ¶ STM I 446 ¶¶

DQA #755 (A *kele|i|o 'daughter-in-law, bride') || D (in NED) *kall_i, 'female relative-in-law' > Krx xallī 'father's younger brother's wife', Mlt qali 'mother's sister' ¶ D #1318, Pf. 189 ◇ The meanings 'bridegroom', 'male relative-in-law' are demonstrably secondary and are due either to broadening of meaning (by eliminating the semantic element of female sex) or to back formation (as in Hrs) ◇ The narrowing *ä > *e in the pre-history of T (or already of A?) is still to be elucidated (cp. N *käl'h' ▽ 'to walk' > T *k'el(ü)- 'come, arrive') ◇ IS I 295-6 (with further bibliography), AD NM #109 ◇ Gr. II #338 (*ka| 'sibling-in-law') (IE, U, Y, and A [all ← IS], Gil., CK).

863. *k'o'1 ▽ 'bough, stick' > HS: C: *ka| 'stick' (× N *k'ä' |í'h'û or *k'ä' |í'h'û 'stick, hook, bar') > Kns xal-itta 'crutch, stick', Gdl hal-itt 'stick', Sml labada ka| 'the ulna and radius bones' (← *'the two sticks'), ? Dbs ka|te 'door-pole' ¶ Ss. B 114 || NrOm: Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} kallō 'wood (Holz)' (× N *k'ä' |í'h'û '↑?') ¶ C SE III 204 || IE: NaIE *g_Lω₁o| 'bough' > Arm կողր koʔr (pl կողեաք koʔea-kʰ) 'bough, branch' || OR ГОЛЬ го|ь 'branch', Cz hůl 'wand'; -> *go|bje > R Δ гол|ья, Uk гілля 'bough, branch', Blr голлє 'brushwood', Slv goljè 'boughs without leaves' (× Sl *go|b 'naked, bare') ¶ WP I 640, P 403, Sl. 423, Vs. I 434, Ber. I 326, ≈ ESSJ VII 16-7 (does not distinguish it from *go|b 'nakedness' < N *ka|í ▽ 'to bark [a tree], to remove vegetation' → 'bare, naked', q.v.), Srz. I 546 || ?σ A: NaT *°koluŋa > OT qoluŋa 'the young shoot of a plant or tree' ¶ Cl. 623-4 (supposes that the OT word is a loan from some IE lge.) || D *kō| 'thin twig, stick', {GS} *kō| 'stick' > Tm kō| 'stick, staff, branch', MI kō| 'staff, rod, stick', Kt ko'1, Td kω+·s, Kdg ko'1+, Gnd kō|ā, Klm kolā ɖ kō|a 'stick', Ka kō|, kō|u, Tu kō|b ~ kō|u, Tl kō|a 'stick, staff', Prj kō|, Gnd kō|a 'shaft of arrow', kō| 'big wooden pestle', Png kō|, Mnd kū|, Kui kō|u, Ku kō|ū ɖ kō|u 'pestle' ¶¶ D #2237, Zv. 64, GS 69-70 [#226].

864. *k'o'Li (or *k'o'Liʔu?) (= *k'o' |íi [or *k'o' |íiʔu?]) 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *glej₁- v. 'paste, smear' > Gk γλ|α 'glue', γλ|ουός 'glutinous substance, gum' || L glūs / glūtis, glūten 'glue', glis / glitis 'humus tenax' || OIr glen(a)id (< *gli-nā-ti) 'sticks fast' (p. -gíuil), W glynu 'to adhere', MBr en-glenaff 's'attacher' || MLG klei 'glue', Frs klay, AS clæǵ 'clay', NE clay; Dn klæg 'viscous loamy mud', OHG klenan 'to paint, to glue', ON klīna 'to smear' || Lt gliejù / gliēti v. 'smear, putty' | Sl *gl|b|b > Cz Δ, Slk glej, R Δ

глей 'clay', Uk глей 'sticky clay', SCr glêj 'ε clay' ||| the IE √ with exts.: *glej^h- (> OHG klēbēn, NHG kleben 'to paste, to glue'), *glej^d- (> OIr gloé^d 'glue', NE Δ clite 'glue, mud'), *glejm- (> AS clām 'glutinous substance, glue', {Ho.} 'Leim, Mörtel, Klei; Pflaster', clāman 'to smear', Lt gléimēs 'mucus, slime'), *glejn-/glin- (Gk γλίνη 'glutinous substance', Sl *glína 'clay' > Blg, R, Uk глина, SCr, Sln glína, Cz hlína, Slk hlina, P glina), *glejt- (> AS clīpan 'to adhere, to stick to', L glittus 'sticky, adhesive', Lt glitūs 'viscous, sticky, slimy'), *glejw- (Gk γλοιός 'glutinous substance', Lt gléivēs 'mucus, slime', Sl *glěvъ > R Δ глѣв 'slime of fish, slime on beverage, глѣва 'slime on fish') (ffd. see P 363-4 and ESSJ 125-6) ¶ WPI 612-4, P 362-4, Sw. 6, Ho. 50, 52, OsS 496-7, Kb. 547, Vr. 317, KM 375, FI 312-3, WH I 611-2, LP §§ 34.2, 459.2, Thr. 45, YGM-1 236, Ern. 211, 259, Frn. 156-7, ESSJ VI 121, 125-6, 162, Glh. 231, ≈ EI 108 (*glojw^o-s 'clay') || HS: B *√k^lH (*ku^l∇H) > Sll k^wli (pf. ik^wla) 'smear with soot' ¶ Ds. 109 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} k^ll^hú v. 'plaster, smear on' ¶ Sch. DN 87 || A: M *qoluga- 'rub' > WrM qoluga- ~ qolgu-, HIM холго- 'injure\damage by constant rubbing', Kl {Rm.} χολφα-χα ~ χολ^hqqa 'reiben, einreiben' ¶ MED 958, 960, KW 182 || ?σ D (in SD) *ku^li- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'wash oneself, moisten' > Tm ku^li- v. 'bathe, wash one's body', Ml ku^li 'bathing, ablution', Kdg ku^li take bath', Tu ku^lu^hkur i v. 'wet, moisten', kolambæ 'bath' ¶ D #1832 ◇ The apparently irregular D *u may be explained if we suppose a final labialized vw. in the pN source (*k^lo^ll^hi^hu) (suggested by M *qoluga-) and the regr. as. N *o...u > D *u...u. IE *g- (< N *ko-) is reg. in preconsonantal position. The N rec. *k^lo^ll^hi^h or *k^lo^ll^hi^hu is valid if the D root belongs here.

865. *ku^l∇ (or *kuwæ^l∇?) 'to work' > HS: Eg fP k^l.t n. 'work, construction', Eg fMK k^lw.ty 'ε worker' ¶ EG V 98-102, Fk. 283 || S *√k^ll > Ar √k^ll D 'faire des efforts, agir avec zèle et empressement dans qch.' ¶ BK II 918 || A: NaT *k^lu^l 'slave' > OT, MQp qu^l '(male) slave', Tk ku^l, Tkm, Az qu^l, Qzq к^lл qu^l, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET, Shor, Tv qu^l, Qzq qu^l, VTt, Bsh q^l 'slave', Xk χu^l, Yk kulut 'slave, servant', Tf hu^l 'hired farm labourer'; T ⇨ NPrs {Dr.} قول qūl 'slave', G qu^li 'slave, hired servant' (× G qu^li 'coolie' ⇨ R 'кули ⇨ NE coolie ⇨ Tl kū^ll 'hired labourer, coolie') ¶ Cl. 615, ET Q 120, TL 318, Ra. 191, TvR 263, Rl. II 966, Dr. TM III ##1519, 1572 ¶ Tf h- is not clear, it

hardly points to a pT *k'-(\Leftrightarrow IS's hyp. [IS AG] of Tf h- from T *k'-, that is not supported by recently recorded lexical stock of Tf [not yet known to IS]), cp. Tv qul (Tv q- suggests pT *k'-) || Tg *kelūme, *ke:le 'servant, working person' > Ewk kəlm̩ id., Lm Ol/Al kəlm̩ 'servant, slave', Lm A kəlm̩, Ork kəlm̩ 'industrious, hard-working, assiduous' ¶ STM I 447 || M: Kl {Rm.} kel̩ 'slave, prisoner' ¶ KW 224 ¶¶ The origin of Tg *e and of Kl e of the first syll. is unknown ¶¶ S VL #84, DQA #942 (A *kūl̩ 'servant, slave') || D *kūli ({GS} *k-) 'working for wages' > Tl kūli 'wages, hire, working for wages, kūlī 'hired labourer, coolie', Ml kūli 'hire, wages (esp. daily)', Tm kūli 'wages, pay', kūlikkāran, kūliy-ā 'hired labourer, cooly', Kn kūli 'hire, wages, day-labourer, coolie', Kdg ku'li 'wages', Tu kūli 'hire', Prj, Gnd kūli 'labourer's wages', ?φ Kt ku'z̩ 'daily wages' ¶¶ D #1905 ◇ The vw. *e in Tg and Kl may be explained if we suggests a pN etymon *kuwæ̌l̩ ◇ In T and D there may be coalescence with N *Ḳuṭ'ā' 'clan, village' (whence later 'subordinate member of the clan' → 'slave') and N *q'UṬU' 'boy, child' (whence in T and D the meaning 'servant, slave').

866. *kUṬ̩ (or *kṶhōṬ̩?) 'snake, worm' > HS: Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kωol 'male snake'; ? Dr {J} kórj 'cobra', ? Bl {Mch.} kurēdi 'snake' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} kuli, Br {ChL} kuləm̩ā 'worm' || ECh: Smr {J} kʷàlá, {Nacht.} kúla, Ll {Grgs.} kálo 'snake' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 23. Lk ZSS 79, Flk s.v. kωol || ?σ S: Ar kahūl- 'spider' ¶ BK II 940, Hv. 668 || U *kaṭ̩ 'worm' > Prm {LG} *kōl 'intestinal worm' > Z kov / kovy-, Z Lz kōl, Z US škq̩l (LG: "with a prothetic š"), Vt kōl kəlm̩ id. || Os V qu 'tape-worm' || Sm: Ne T жалы 'a long worm' (я' жалы 'earth-worm', сарё' жалы 'rain-worm'), Ne O χατ'τ̄ 'Angelwurm, Regenwurm', Slq Tz {KKIH} q̄, Tz/Tm/Ch {KD} q̄ 'intestinal worm' || pY {IN} *kel- 'worm' > OY K {Bil.} kalnindsha, {Merk} kelnyntscha, YK {IN} kel-iš̩ id. ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 227, LG 125 (U **kuṬ̩; broadening of the vw. due to the infl. of *l), Ter. 728, KKIJ 164, IN 226, 30, ≈ Rd. UJ 39 [#30] (Y ← U) || A {IS} *kuli, {DQA} *kUṬ̩ > Tg *kūlī-n 'snake', with the dimin. sx. *-kān: *kuli-kān 'worm' > Ewk kulīn, Ewk Th kulunay 'snake', Ewk kuli-kān, Ork qola ~ qoluxa ~ qolua 'worm, insect', Neg kolixān 'worm, intestinal worm', Ud kuliga, Orc kulā, Nn Nh qolā 'worm, caterpillar, snake', Ul qol̩ 'ε an insect (living on water)', qola 'worm' ¶ STM I 428 || pKo {S} kuryà,ṇí 'adder, viper' > MKo kuryà,ṇí, NKo kurà,ṇi ¶ S AJ 172 [#180], Rm. SKE 132 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 132, S AJ 293 [#438], DQA #912 (A *kuṬ̩

'snake, worm') || ?φ K *g_wel- 'snake' > OG g_wel-, G g_wel-, Mg g_wer-, ng_wer-, Lz mg_wer- id., Sv: UB/Ln {TK} u_ž-är, L {TK} u_ž-ar pl. 'snakes' (whence the bf. sg. Sv UB/Ln/L wi_ž- < *u_ž- < *u_ž-i), Sv Δ sg. hi_žw- 'snake' ¶¶ K 61-2 (adduces the Sv cognate), K² 29, FS K 79-80, FS E 83 (rejects the Sv word), TK 744, GP 103 ¶ The voicing N *k- > K *g- defies explanation || IE: it is tempting to adduce Gk χέλι-υδροσ 'snake' or 'tortoise\turtle' (the second component from ύδωρ 'water'?) and L colubra 'snake', but the comparison is prevented by the initial Gk χ- and L c- [k-] that cannot go back to the expected IE *g^w- ¶ Cp. WH I 248, F II 108, Ch. 1253 ◇ IS I 308 [#179] (Ch, K, U, A), AD GD 18 (K, U, A) ◇ Gk χ- and L c- may go back to a cns. cluster of a velar cns. with a lr., suggested by Ar kahūl- (< N *k^whōl^w?).

867. *k^wl^w 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *g_{gl}eu_l-/*g_{gl}ou_l- 'glowing coals', {EI} *geu_l- ~ gu_l- ~ *gu_l-m 'fire, glowing coals' > ON kol 'charcoal', OHG kolo ~ cholo, col, NHG Kohle 'coal', AS col id., 'glowing coal', NE coal; NGr Sw cholle 'glow (glimmen)' || Clt: OIr {WP, P} g_ual 'charcoal', NIr g_ual 'coal' (< *g_{gl}eu_l- → *g_{gl}ou_l-) || Tc B sóliye 'hearth' ¶ ≈ WP I 563, P 399, EI 104, Dnn. 387, Ho. 56, OsS 50, Kb. 554, KM 388, Ad. 635 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} kalo- 'fry', kalona 'frying-pan', {R} kilōy- scv. 'roast, cook' || SC ({E}*ka_il-) > Kz kalemuko, C → Mb ikale 'charcoal' || EC *kul- > pSam {Hn.} *k^wl^w 'heat, warmth' > Sml kulayl id., Rn kul^w 'heat', Bn {Hn.} ku^w 'heat, pain'; Sml {DSI} kul 'calore', Dsn {To.} kullá? 'hot', Arr {Hw.} kuldá 'hot', kulil- 'warm oneself', Elm {Hn.} 'kúlla? 'Hitze' ¶ R WBd 142, Rop. 203, E SC 242, EK 12, Hn. S 67, Hn. E 280, DSI 373, PG 204, To. DL 513, Hw. A 375, Blz. RL 261, Blz. DL s.v. 'warm', HL 118 || A *k^wl^w > Tg *xuldü 'warm, heat', (?) 'flame' > Nn xul^w 'be warmed', Ul xuldu 'hot', Ork xuldu- 'warm', Ud ugdi v. 'warm, be warmed', Ewk uldi, accus. uldi-w₃ 'flame'; Nn xul tay, xulun tay 'warm' (of water) ¶ STM II 260 || M *k^wl^w i- vt., vi. 'warm, become warm' > MM [MA] k^wl^w i- 'warm oneself', WrM k^wl^w i- ~ k^wl^w i- 'warm, become warm\flushed', IM {T} x^wl^w i- vt. 'heat, warm (one's hands)', WrO k^wl^w e- 'heat up', Brt x^wl^w e-, Ord g^wl^w i- ~ g^wl^w i- 'warm oneself by the fire'; →: WrM k^wl^w e-, HIM x^wl^w e-, Kl k^wl^w e- k^wl^w ä-, {Rm.} k^wl^w e- id. ¶ Pp. MA 222, MED 484-5, T VM 24, Krg. 740, Ms. O 270, KRS 315, KW 238, Chr. 619 || T *k^wl^w 'ashes, cinders' (× N *g^wl^w 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones', N *ku^wm^w [or *ku^wm^w m^w])

'smoke, ashes' and/or N ***ḲE'y|ʔ'a|a** 'to burn' [intr.], 'to burn [sth.]', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') > OT *kül* 'ashes, cinders', MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV *kül*, Tkm *kül*, Tk *kül*, Az *күл* *kül*, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk *kül*, Uz *күл* *ku|ʔ*, SY *ku|ʔ*, Xlj *kül* ~ *ku|*, Slr *ku|*, VTt, Bsh *көп* *kḅ|*, Tv *xül*, Tf *hül*, Chv *кӧп* *kḅ|*, Chv H *kḅ|* 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 269-70 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1140 (**k'uli|e* 'to heat, to burn': Tg, M, T), S AJ 281 ¶¶ A **k'*- for the expected **k-* may be due to the infl. of the reflex of the abovementioned N ***ḡULp∇** and/or N ***ḲE'y|ʔ'a|a** || D (in SD) **ko|l|*- ({ḡGS} **k-*) 'firebrand, fire' > Tm *ko|l|i* id., Ml *ko|l|i* 'firebrand, firewood', Kt *ko|y|* 'burning firewood', Td *kḡ+|y* 'firebrand, embers', Kn *ko|l|i*, *ko|l|e*, Tu *kolli*, *ko|l|i* 'firebrand' ¶ D #2158 ◇ D **o* (for the expected **u* from N ***û**) needs explaining ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #4a and ≈ Blz. LBNA #29 (both: IE, T + unc.: FU **kužm∇* 'ashes' [in fact from N **kužm∇* 'smoke, ashes', q.v.] and MKo *kírí-m* 'soot').

868. ***ka_hl∇** 'power, force; be able' > IE: NaIE **g_hal-* 'be able' > W *gallu*, Crn *gallos* 'ability, power', 'be able', OBr {Flr.} **gal* 'acte violent, activité, passion, force' (in proper names, cds., and d. words, e.g. *im-ro-galou* 'activité, travail actif'), Br *gallout* v. 'pouvoir', *galloud* n. 'pouvoir, puissance', OIr *gal* 'bravery', Gl *ḡ* → VL {Wb.} **galia*, {Gml.} **gala* 'force', {Diez} **gala* 'bravery' (> ds.: [?] Prv *galhart* '≈ brave, jovial fellow' → Fr *gaillard*, Port *galhardo*, Sp *gallardo*, It *gagliardo*) || Lt *galiù* / *galéti* 'be able, be allowed', *gõlè*, *galià* 'might, power', *gálti* 'bei Kraften sein, sich wohl befinden' ¶ WPI 539-40, P 351, SB 107, LP § 35.7, YGM-1 231, ECCE 245, Flr.173, 220, Hm. 306, Dtn. 258, Bally 76-8, Wb. IV 30-1, ML ##36511, 3657, Diez 151, Frn. 131, EI 3 (**gal-* 'be physically able') || HS: WS: [1] **-w-ka|*-, **✓wkl* 'be able' > BHb *יכל* *✓ykl* id. (3m ip. *yū|ka|*) 'be able\capable of; endure, comprehend; prevail', BA (TV) *יכל* *yə|ki|*, (BbV) *yə|kə|* 'be able, prevail', IA *✓ykl* id. (ip. 1s *ʔ-k|*, 2m *t-k|*, 3m *ḡ-k|*), ChrPA {Schlt.} *yə|kə|* 'be able, have the right to', Nbt *ḡkl* id., JA {Dlm.} *✓ykl G* (3m *ḡik'kə|*), JEA {Sl.} *✓ykl G* 'be able'; **✓wkl* (originally *D* and *Sh†?*) 'entrust to' (← 'make so. be allowed to') > Ar *✓wkl Sh†* 'se confier dans qn.', *G* (bf. from *Sh†?*) *✓wkl* 'confier \ racommander une chose\affaire à qn.', OSA *wkl* (*D* ?) 'entrust', Mh *✓wkl* (caus. stem) (pf. *aḡōkə|*) 'entrust with', Jb C {Jo.} *✓wkl* (pf. *ōkə|*) v. 'trust with, entrust to', Sq {Jo.} *✓wkl* (pf. *ōkə|*) id.; [2] **✓kh|*

'be able' > OA, IA \checkmark khl 'be able, have the right to, be allowed', BA prtc. D כָּהֵל kāl'hēl 'able', JA, Gz \checkmark khl 'be able, can', OSA \checkmark khl 'be successful, réussir', khlt 'power', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} \checkmark khl 'be able (to do sth.)', Sq {L} khel 'be able, know', ??σ Ar \checkmark khl (pf. kahala) 'reach mature age' (← *'be in position to do things'), كَهْلٌ kahl-(un) 'grown up' ¶ KB 392-3, KBR 410-1, HJ 456, 489-90, Dlm. 183, Sl. 534, Schl. G § 137, Schl. 83, BK II 1598-9, Hv. 668, Lb. III 2590, Lb. LAD 60, 66, Nld. rLb 417, BGMR 77, 160, L G 277, Jo. M 205-6, 426, Jo. J 128, 290, Jo. H 67 || C: Ag: Bln {R} kaḥal- 'be able' (← EthS?), Aw {Hz.} kal(i)-, {Plm.} kal- 'be able, can' || D *kali ({ʕGS} *k-) > Tm kali 'strength, force', Kn kali 'man noted for valour and prowess, hero', EpTI kalitanamu 'bravery'; D → EpOI kali 'hero' ¶¶ D #1308.

869. *kaṭṭ'ʔ'∇ 'to approach, to come' > HS: WS \checkmark klʔ id. > Ar \checkmark klʔ D (pf. kallaʔa) 'aborder quelqu'un, s'approcher de quelqu'un', Mh \checkmark klw (pf. kʔlū, sbjn. yʔklī) 'come, bring home (animals, a wife)' ¶ BK II 920, Jo. M 209 || C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *kālīè ~ *kālīéià inv. 'come!' > Sml kālei, Rn 'kale(y), Bn 'kālē / kālīià id. || SC: Rft ≈ *kʷal- (× N *kôíʔ'ú' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel') > Irq {MQK} qʷalāḥ inv. 'come!', Brn {Dempw.} kʷalē id. ¶ Hn. S 65, MQK 89, Blz. SCL s.v. 'come'₃ || U *k'∇|∇ > ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} qāl- v. 'run', qāltir(+)-, qāltimp+- 'walk, stroll (ходить, идти, гулять)' || pY {IN} *kel- 'come' > Y K/T kel-, K {Jc.} kel- 'come, arrive', OY XVII {Wts.} kaltei 'come' ¶¶ Gy. USz 304, KKI 159, UEW 134, Krn. JJ 273, 282, Ku. 106, AD KY, Ang. 112, 122 || A *k'āl'ü- (with the type of length based on pre-A lengthening in an open syll.) > M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' > WrM qal(u)-, HIM хала-(x), Kl {Rm.} χala- 'nahe kommen, anfallen, sich über einen stürzen', ? MM [S] qalit- 'sich annähern, anschließen'; M → WrMc χala- ¶ MED 916, KW 162, H 58 || AmTg *kāl- > Nn Nh qāl- 'come near, approach', Ul kāl- id., 'attack', Ork qal- 'sneak up to' ¶ STM I 369 || T *k'el(ü)- 'come, arrive' (× N *käl'h'∇ 'to walk' [accounting for the front vw.], q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *kè- 'come' > OJ kə-, J: T/Kg kú-, K/Ht/Y kù-, Ns kʷ-, Sh č- ¶ S AJ 265 [#13], S QJ #13, Mr. 616 ◇ In some lgs. there may be coalescence with N *gûlE 'go (away), set out' (q.v.) ◇ The front vw. of the T cognate *k'el- 'come, arrive' may have resulted from contamination with N *käl'h'∇. Alternatively, effect of vw. harmony cannot be ruled out: A *k'alü > T *k'el(ü)- and M *qal(u)-, although in this case we would have to expect *k'äl(ü)-, because under the

palatalizing infl. of vw. harmony *a usually becomes *ä rather than *e
 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*ke| 'come') (A *k'e| and Yk ke| 'come, go' + err. U
 *kälä 'wade' [that in fact goes back to N *käl'h' ▽ 'to walk, to make
 one's way with effort, to wade'] + err. IE *ke|eu- 'road', as well as Gil.,
 CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s neglect of sound laws does not allow him to
 distinguish between three N sources, which proves that his method of
 impressionistic comparison is wrong).

870. *kolpa 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE *g^wel- v. 'die, feel pain' > Lt
 gālas 'death, end', Pru golis 'death' (accus. gallan) id.,
 galintwei v. 'kill' || AS cwelan 'to die', cwellan 'to kill', OSx
 qualm 'death, murder', OHG qualm n. 'ruin, pain, torture' || OIr at-
 baill '(he) dies', OCrn [VC] bal 'pestis', MW baluent 'peste, fléau',
 W ball 'plague, death', ballu 'to die' (< *g^wl̥-n-) || Arm կեղեւ
 keḷem v. {Slt.} 'peinige, quäle', {Bedr.} 'wound, hurt' ¶ P 470-1, Ho. 64,
 Ho. S 59, OsS 692, Kb. 577, Vn. A 98, Frn. 145, En. 174, Tp. P E-H 142-5,
 275, YGM-1 39, Slt. 380-1, ≈σ EI 349 (g^wel- 'strike, stab') || HS: S
 *^o✓k|? > Ar ✓k|? v. 'come to the end' (life) ({BK} 'toucher à sa fin,
 arriver à son terme' [se dit de la vie d'un homme qui meurt]) ¶ BK I
 919, Hv. 662 || SC: Irq qāĉ {MQK} 'die' (of many) ¶ MQK 85, Blz. SCL
 s.v. 'die' || U *kōla- v. 'die' > FU *kōla- > F kuole-, Es koole- | pMr
 {Ker.} *kūl̥- > Er kulo-, Mk kulā- | Chr H/L/E kole- id. | Prm *kul- > Vt
 kul+-, StZ kuv-, Z Δ kul- || *kōl-/*kālā- id. > pVg *kāl-/ *kal-ā- > Vg: T
 kāl-/kāl-ā, LK/UL xōl-, MK/UK/SV kōl-, P/NV/LL kōl-/kol-, Ss xōl-; pOs
 {Ht.} *kāla-/ *kol- ({JHl.} *kīla-/ *kāl-) > Os: V/Vy qāla-/qol-, Ty qāĉ-,
 qāĉa-/qōĉ-, Y qāĉ-/qōĉ-, O xāl- and xālā-, D/K/Nz xāt-, and Kz xaĉ-
 id. | Hg hal- || Sm *kāp̥- ({Jn.} *kāp̥-), {Hl.} *kaḅ- v. 'die' > Ne T xa-
 сь v. 'die', xa-бэй 'dead', Ne FKs {Lh.} kā-ś 'to die', kā-p̥ 'dead', Ng
 {Ter.} кодя kuodā v. 'die', {Cs.} 1s aor. kŭ[?]am ({Cs.} kŭ[?]am) id.,
 куа'буа 'dead', En X {Cs.} 1s aor. kārō[?], En B {Cs.} kādō[?] id., En X
 {Cs.} kābe, En B {Cs.} 'kabe 'dead', Slq Tz {KKIH} qu-qo 'to die', Kms
 {KD} 1s prs. k'úlem 'I die', {Adl.} ku ↔ be 'dead', Koyb {Sp.} cmpd.
 кулягандамъ 'I die', кайма 'dea', Mt {Hl.} *kā- v. 'die' (Mt: M {Sp.}
 хадайбага 'death', K {Pl.} chaàsigaani 'to die') ↔ Mt {Hl.}
 *ka:;yuma 'dead' (Mt: T {Ml.} kchaíma, K {Ml.} gáima, {Pl.} gáhàima
 'dead', kaíma 'мертвечина', M {Sp.} кайма, {Ml.} khaíma 'dead');
 Mt ↔ Xk хама хама, хаама хāма, Qc {Rl.} qāma, qami 'carrion' ¶
 Coll. 28, UEW 173, Db. OS xxiv-xxv, Sm. 538 (U *kāxl̥- 'die' > FU, P

*kooli-, Ugr *kålĩ-, Sm *kåē-), It. #155, LG 143, Ht. #253, Ht. rHt 71-3, Jn. 56-7, Hl. M ##367, 399, KKIИ 165, Rs. W 228, Ker. II 79 ¶¶ The vowels of the first syll. in Mr, Chr, and Prm suggest a FU stem-final *a, while -e in F and Es is an innovation (the verb was transferred to a different class of conjugation) ◇ IS SS #7.4 and IS MS 370 (IE, U; not here K *qwil- and D *kōl- v. 'kill', that actually belong to N *qola 'to kill' [q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II #96 (*kola 'die') (IE, U, J, CK).

871. *kol₁∇,∇ (or *kol₁∇,∇?) 'to peel, to bark' > U: [1] FU *ko²∇ 'skin, peel' (× N *ko²∇ 'to skin, to bark [wood]', q.v. ffd.) [2] If F kolo- (inf. koloa, kolota) v. 'bark, strip, peel' is etymologically different from F kolo 'hole', it may belong here as well; in this case FU ko²∇ represents a variant with elision of an internal vw.: N *ko¹∇∇ > *ko¹∇∇ > FU *ko²∇, while F kolo- represents a var. without syncope ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 14, SK 212 || HS: S *^o✓kly > Gz ✓kly G 'pull out (the weeds), peel off, undress, strip off', Amh pf. kəlla 'take off the clothes' ¶ LG 282 || A *kol∇- v. 'bark, skin' > Tg *kola- id. > WrMc qola- v. 'take off the skin (of an animal's body), bark (a tree), break off (tile from the roof)', Mc Sb qolama ~ qoluma v. 'peel, pare, shell; peel off, pare off', Ewk kōlū- 'take off a film from sth.', Sln χōl-, χōli- 'tear off, rip off', Lm qolq̄- 'take off the skin from jerked fish' ¶ The Ewk and Sln forms may result from coalescence of the inherited Tg word with Mongolisms (← M *qayula- > HIM хуула- 'bark a tree') ¶ STM I 407, Y ##1166, 1716, Z 281 || M *qol-t-ul- v. 'peel off' > WrM qoltul-, HIM холтло-(x) 'peel off, free from covering', Kl {KRS} холтл-x χoltъ-χъ v. 'bark, peel'. {Rm.} χoltъċj-χα (< *qolta-ċi-) 'die Rinde abschaben, wegkratzen, losreißen'; M *qoli-: *qoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *ko¹∇ '[big] fish' [q.v. ffd.] × N *ko²∇ '↑'); M *qolta-sun 'tree bark' > WrM qoltasun ~ qoltusun, HIM холтос, WrO χoltosun, Kl холтхсн χltχъ-сън; ? M *^oqoli-bar- > WrO χolibar- 'fall off, peel off' ¶ MED 959-60, KRS 594, KW 183, Krg. 275, 277 || ?φ K: G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin' (× N *ke²∇ 'skin; to skin' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ G -i- belongs to the heritage of N *ke²∇ ◇ IS I 171 (U, A), AD LZL 363 (HS, U, A).

872. *käl¹h¹∇ 'to walk, to make one's way (with effort), to wade' > HS: B *^o✓kly v. 'walk' (× N *kô¹í¹û¹ 'track(s), way; to go, to travel') > Ah tēkle ({Fc.} tēklé) (pl. tākliwīn) 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Kb t̄iшli (pl. t̄iшliwin) 'marche; allure; action de marcher';

cp. B \sqrt{wkl} v. 'travel, step' (< N \sqrt{wkl} , q.v. ffd.) and B $\sqrt{wkl} \sim \sqrt{kwl}$ 'track, footprint' (< N \sqrt{wkl} [q.v. ffd.] \times N \sqrt{kwl} ?) || C: EC: Sa {R} kalāh- 'travel (verreisen, eine Reise machen, wandern)', kalāh n. 'travel (Wanderung, Reise)', ? Sml {DSI} kallah-, Sml N {Abr.} kalah- 'go (somewhere) in the early morning' || SC ({E} \sqrt{wkl}) v. 'go, travel' (\times N \sqrt{wkl} , q.v. ffd.) ¶ R S II 215, Abr. S 147, E SC 43, 265 || Ch: Ang {Flk.} kel 'wander without aim' ¶ Flk. s.v. || U: FU {UEW} \sqrt{wkl} v. 'wade' > pLp {Lr.} kālē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gaal'edh, L {LLO} kālē-, N {N} galle-, Kld kālē- id.; {UEW (with a query)}: Lp \rightarrow F kahlaa- \sim kaalaa- v. 'wade' \rightarrow Es kahla- v. 'wade, walk in water' || Er kelē-, Mk кялє- kälə- v. 'wade' || Chr: L кє'ла-ш 'walk through mud\water; wade', Uf/B kela-, H kelä- id. || Prm \sqrt{wkl} v. 'plod, make one's way (through)' > Z кєвны keV-/kel-, Yz kōl-, kel- id., Vt колыны 'beat a track\path (by walking)', Vt G kolī- v. 'wade', Vt Sr kol- 'ins Wasser treten' || ?σ ObU {Ht.} \sqrt{wkl} v. 'rise, rise ashore' > pVg \sqrt{wkl} 'rise' > Vg: T \sqrt{wkl} \sim \sqrt{wkl} -, LK/MK kōl-, NV \sqrt{wkl} \sim kal-, P kōl- \sim \sqrt{wkl} -, kal-, IL kōl- \sim kal-, UL/Ss \sqrt{wkl} -, pOs \sqrt{wkl} \sim \sqrt{wkl} 'rise, rise ashore, land' > Os: V/Vy kül-, Ty kiφ-, Y küφ-, D/K kit-, Nz kkit-, Kz kiφ-, O kil- id.; V/Vy kōləφ-, Ty keφəφ-, Nz qatīy-, Kz qaφi- 'заехать', UY keləφ- 'arrive to the shore, rise to the shore' || Hg kel- 'rise' || Y: [1] pY {IN} \sqrt{wkl} 'wade' > Y: K {IN} kil- \sqrt{wkl} - id. (- \sqrt{wkl} - is an iterative sx.), {AD} kiljiyoy 'wadable' (kiljiyoy pō'ži 'wadable river\stream', lit. 'wadable water'), {Jc.} kiljiyoi 'бродячий', Y K {Jc.} kel- 'fahren' || [2] pY {IN} \sqrt{wkl} 'come' (\times N \sqrt{wkl} 'to approach, to come', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ It. #245, Coll. 20, UEW 133-4, Lr. #347, Lgc. #2081, Hs. 514, LG 120, MF 347-8, Ht. #133, Trj. S 118, 125, IN 225-7, Ang. 112, AD YN s.v. kel-, Jc. JR, Krn. JJ 273, 282, \approx Rd. UJ 46 [#64] (does not distinguish Y \sqrt{wkl} 'wade' from Y \sqrt{wkl} 'come') ¶¶ The meaning 'rise' is a Ugr innovation: 'rise' \leftarrow 'rise ashore after wading a river' (cp. Os Ty/Y {Trj.} ma uta kiφsam 'I rose to the shore', Os UY keləφ- 'rise to the shore', Trj. l.c.) || A: T \sqrt{wkl} (ü)- ({Md.} \sqrt{wkl} = {Md.} \sqrt{wkl}) 'come, arrive' (\times N \sqrt{wkl} '↑', whence the meaning of the T stem) > OT {Cl.} käl- 'come, arrive' (aor. kälür \sim [with analogical generalization of *i] kälir), OT U (BrSc) {Gbn.} käl-, Chg XV kel- (aor. -ür, converb -ü) , pOg {Md.} \sqrt{wkl} id. ({{Md.} \sqrt{wkl}) (> Tk gēl-, Tkm gēl-, Az gäl-, Ggz gēl- id.), Qmq gēl-, Uz, Ln, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Yk, Tv kel-, ET kä(l)-, VTt, Bsh, Xk кил- kil-, Tf kēl-

id., Chv kil- id., 'walk, go (gehen, fahren)' ¶ T *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch, VTt, and Bsh kil- ¶ Cl. 715, Gbn. ATG 313, Rs. W 248, EF VGD 14-6, Ra. 203, TvR 237, Md. OJ 172 [§ 2.6.2.2] (on T *e > Chv i), 226 [§ 3.2.2.2], 276, Jeg. 112, Fed. I 292-3 ¶ IS I 294 reconstructed pT *kāl- with unj. rec. of a long vw. on the basis of Tk SW and the Brahmi spelling of OT U (but not MK's Arabic spelling without markers of length), against the decisive ev. of Tkm and Yk; the quality *ä was reconstructed on the alleged ev. of Az, but recent research (Md., Md. OJ, Adb. SR) has shown that the Az distribution of e and ä is an innovation and does not reflect the pT opposition, which has remained in Chv and Yk only, so that the correct pT rec. is *k'el- || ? pKo ká- 'go, go away' > MKo ká-, NKo ka- ¶ S AJ 254 [#72], S QK #72, Nam 2, MLC 6 || D (in NED) *ka_i:- > Krx kāl- (imv. kalā, gerund kālā, ft. kālos ~ kāos, inf. kānā < *kāl-na) 'go, lead to (as a road), progress', Mlt {Drs.} p. kálē 'go, come to' ¶ D #1419, Pf. 187-8 [#64] ◇ IS I 293-5 [#161] (IS did not take into account M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' and Tg *ka_i:- 'approach', as well as (probably therefore) did not distinguish between N *käl'h'▽ (his *kä'lh'▽) and N *kaT'?'▽ 'to approach, to come' (q.v.) ◇ The change N *ä > T *e is still to be explained (see N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > T *k'elin 'bride, son's wife') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*kel 'come') (U *kälä 'wade' [< N *käl'h'▽] + err. IE *keleu- 'road' + err. A *k'el- and Yk kel- 'come, go' [< N *kaT'?'▽ 'to approach, to come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr. neglects sound laws and therefore cannot distinguish between these N words, see above N *kaT'?'▽).

873. *kalw▽ 'together, whole' > HS: S *kull- 'totality, completeness, all of' (× N *Kul'ä' 'clan, village' [→ 'everybody'], q.v. ffd.); S *k'äl- > Amr {G} kalā 'all' and possibly SES: Mh kāl, kali 'all, whoever', Jb E kɔl, kɛl-, Jb C kɔhl (kɔl, 'kɔ), kɛl-, Sq {Jo.} kɔl, kal id.; CS *√kll v. 'unite, include' > Hb, Aram kll G id., Ug kll D {OLS} 'completar, acabar' ¶ KB 457, A #1320, OLS 213-5, HJ 500-7, G A 22, Jo. M 207, CAD VIII 504-6 || Eg fp ɛnɔ (if {Tk.} < *√kllw) 'every, jeder' ¶ EG V 377-9 || C: Dh1 {EEN, To.} ɔakkale 'all' || ?σ SC: Irq {E} kila 'very much, completely', {MQK} kila? 'truly, perfectly, very' ¶ E SC 288, EEN 20, To. D 127, MQK 60 || SOm {Tk.} *k^wull- 'all' > {Bnd., FL.}: Dm kull, Hm, Hm K wull 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kálù 'gather' || ?? Sha {J} h^walɔɔ 'alle' ¶ J R 275, Frz. P 35 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.7] ¶¶ The main source of S *kull-,

SOM $*k^{\omega}ull-$, and Sha $h^{\omega}al\text{ɜ}\eta$ 'all' may be N $*\text{Ḳuṭ}^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$, while S $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$ -, the CS verb $*\check{v}kll$, Eg $k\text{ɜ}$, Dhl, and (?) Irq words may go back to N $*kalw\text{∇}$ or to both N etyma together || A: Tg $*^{\circ}kalb\text{∇}$ (< $**kalw\text{∇}$) 'together' > Ewk Ald/Ucr $kalbuld\bar{i}$ v. 'gather (reindeers), Ewk U $kalo-kalo$ (interjection used to gather reindeers in a flock) ¶ STM I 365 || D $*kal-$ ({ḡGS} $*k-$) 'unite, meet' > Tm $kala$ v. 'unite in friendship, form friendly\matrimonial alliance with, copulate', $kalakku$ 'joint', Ml $kalappu$ 'the whole, sum', Kn $kali$, $kale$ vi. 'join; come together, meet', Tl $kalayu$, $kaliyu$ vt., vi. 'join, unite, meet, copulate', Gnd KS/RSr $kali-$, Gnd DM $kāliyānā$ v. 'meet', Knd $kali-$ 'meet, come together', Ku $kalvi$ \bar{a} - 'be united together' ¶¶ D #1299 ¶ The \check{v} is to be distinguished from D $*kal-$ v. 'mix' [D #1299] (unless 'mix' is not a secondary meaning developed from 'join') $\neq\phi$ IS SS 349 [#13.12] (HS \div K $*q(\omega)l$ 'all' [sc. $*q\omega\bar{E}l-$ 'all, one', see N $*qaywE(-L\text{∇})$ 'alone', 'entire']).

874. $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}\text{Ṭ}^{\text{r}}\text{ö}^{\text{r}}$ 'call (appeler), shout' > HS: S $*^{\circ}\check{v}kl\check{h}$ > Gz $\check{v}kl\check{h}$ (pf. $kal\check{h}a$) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har $\check{v}kl\check{h}$ (pf. $k\check{e}la\check{h}a \sim kal\check{h}a$) v. 'call so. by shouting' \rightarrow Sa {R} $kallah-$ id. ¶ LG 282-3 || ? B $*^{\circ}\check{v}wkll$ (\times N $*\text{ḲaL}\text{∇}\text{ḡ}\text{ḡ}\text{∇}$ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise') > Ah $sakkalal$ 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || C: \rightarrow Mb {E} $-kalá\check{e}$ v. 'shout' (E [SC 268]: $*\div$ Irq $k^{\omega}ala\check{r}- \sim q^{\omega}ala\check{r}-$ v. 'be joyfull\glad', Kz $\check{v}a\check{r}aliko$ 'voice') ¶ E PC #513 ($*\div$ Bj {R} $k^{\omega}ali$ 'singing', Ya $-q\bar{e}l-$ v. 'sing', and Sml $qayli$ v. 'shout, cry'; on the latter see N $*\text{ḲAyLa}$ 'shout, call') ||| This N etymon may be an AdS of HEC $*ku\bar{l}-$ v. 'tell' (see s.v. N $*qU\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\text{∇}$ 'speak') || Ch (pCh {JS} $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$ l- v. 'call') > ECh: EDng {Fd.} $k\grave{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'call (appeler)', ? $k\hat{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'shout (crier)', Brg {J} $k\grave{o}l\acute{e}$ v. 'call', $k\hat{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'shout', Jg {J} $k\acute{o}l-$ 'nennen, rufen' ||| ?? ϕ CCh: Glv {Rp.} $xul-$, Dgh {Frk.} $x\acute{w}l\grave{a}$ v. 'cry' ¶ ChC s.v. 'call' and 'cry', J J 114, Fd. 301-2 ||| IE: NaIE $*gal-$ v. {EI} 'call out, speak' > W $gal\omega$ 'to call, to summon', OBr $galu$ 'clameur' (< $*gal-w-$), MBr {Flr.} $galu$ 'appel', {Em.} $galver$ 'celui qui appelle', Br $galv$ 'appel, cri', OIr {SB} $gall$ 'famous' (< $*gal-no-s$), $gleter$ $dála$ 'die Versammlungen sind vorgeladen' ||| Gmc (\times Gmc $*kal'za$ 'calling [Ruf]' < NaIE $*gal\acute{o}l'so-s$ < N $*kaL\check{c}\text{∇}$ 'voice; to speak\cry') > ON $kalla$ 'rufen, nennen, sagen' (\rightarrow NE call), AS $ceallian$ 'to call', OHG $kallōn$ 'to chatter, to talk' ||| Sl $*gol\acute{g}ol-\text{ь}$ (< $*gal-gal-$) 'speech' > OCS ГЛАГОЛЬ $glagol\text{ь}$ 'speech, word', Blg Δ $glagul\text{ь}$, McdS Δ $glagol$ 'speech, conversation', SCr † $\text{ГЛАГОЛЬ} \sim \text{ГЛАГОЛЬ}$, OCz $hlahol$ 'speech', Cz

hlahol 'noise'; Sl *golgoli-, *golgola- v. 'speak' > OCS ГЛАГОЛАТИ glagolati, Blg † глаго'ля, SCr † глаголити ~ глаголити 'to speak', Cz hlaholiti, hlaholati 'to produce sounds, to speak' ¶ P 350, ≈ EI 89, SB 107, YGM-1 231, Flr. 173, Ern. 252, Hm. 307, LP § 256, Vr. 298-9, Kb. 526, ESSJ VI 204-5 || ?σ D *kō] 'slander, tale-bearing' (× N *Kohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie', q.v. ffd.) || A: NaT *kōl- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *gōī∇ 'look, look for, wish?') > OT, Chg, OXwT, MQp [CC], Kr qōl- v. 'ask for', MQp xv qōl- v. 'pray', Kr qōl 𐤀 kōl-, SY qōl- ~ q'ōl- 'beg, beg one's pardon', Tv (d.) qōldan- v. 'ask for, beg', qōldanči 'beggar' ¶ Cl. 616-7, Rs. W 277, ET Q 36-7, Rl. II 584-5, TvR 246 || ?φ Tg *kēl₁e₁- v. 'call, ask' > Ewk PT kēlē-, Orc kēlēgi- v. 'invite, call', WrMc χelne- v. 'go to ask, ask\call\invite' ¶ STM I 447, Z 411 ¶¶ The front vw. of the Tg √ has not yet found explanation (as., vw. harmony?) ◇ The IE guttural *g- points to the N vw. *a, while D and T suggest N *o. A possible solution may be connected with vowel as. (caused by N *o of the second syll.?). The long vw. in D may be due to compensatory lengthening (loss of the original l_r).

875. (₂?) *k∇₁∇₁y∇ 'lumbar region' > HS ≈ *kulay- 'kidney' > S *'kulay-at- id. > BHb pl. כְּלֵיֹת kəlā'y-ōt, MHb (BbV) כְּלֵיָה (ce. for כְּלֵיָה כּ?) kol'yot 'kidney' (see Yv. II 905; the Masoretic sg. כְּלֵיָה kilyā is a bf. from the pl. form), Ug klyt, Sr كَلَيْتْ kōlī't-ā, Ar كَلِيَّة kuly-at-, Gz k^walīt, Mh {Jo.} kəlyīt, Hrs {Jo.} kəlīt, Jb C {Jo.} kuž'ēt, Sq Δ {SSL} kə'lyot, Ak kalīt-um 'kidney', JA kul'yā id., 'testicle' ¶ AD PSH 48, KB 479, OLS 217, Js. 620, Br. 329, BK II 926, Hv. 664, WKAS I 337, LG 284, Jo. M 209, Jo. H 8, Jo. J 131, SSL LSNP 1460-1, ≈ MiK I #1.156 (S *k^waly-at-) || C {AD} *(m-)k^w∇₁∇₁? 'kidney' > Bj {R} ān'k^wel^a ~ un'kul^a, {AD} haŋk^walāyt id. || EC ≈ *kal(al)i id. > Sml kelli, Rn {Bl} kalasi, {PG} kālāssi ({Bl}: < *kalal-ti), Elm kal, Kns xallā, Gwd xalle, Brj kala'ttē, Or kalē, Or M {AD} kulaliti, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kalē, Or Wt {Sr.} kalēttī id., Or Wl {Brl.} kalé id., 'side of body', Arr kalan-té f., kalan-ó pl. 'kidneys' || DhI {EEN} kallu pl. 'kidneys' || SC: pRt {E} *k^wal- 'lumbar region' > Irq karutome 'second stomach', Kz kōli-ngayo 'backbone' ¶ AD SF 77, 195-6, E SC 333, 373, Ss. B 113, Ss. PEC 12, Bl. 16, 192, PG 177, Hw. A 371, Brl. 225, Sr. 343, EEN 10 || SOM: Ari G {Fl.} kela 'kidney' || NrOm: Wlt {LmS} killahuwa, Gm {Hw.} kila'ho 'kidneys', Dwr {C} killē 'liver' ¶ Bnd. AL 153, LmS 410-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'kidneys', Blz. OLBP s.v. 'kidney' || CCh: Br {ChL} kulš'i 'kidney(s)' || G'nd kùlkùlárà, Hw kùliša id.

|| ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} mo-korá id. ¶ AD SF 77, AD SEC 133, Tk. SCC 90 [#19.8], E PC #95 || ? D *kōl- 'belly, entrails' (× N *gōl₁? ▽ 'belly, entrails', q.v. ffd.) || A: Tg *kalda- 'ε internal organ' > Ul qaldamu 'ε part of stomach of the "kaluga"-fish (used as a medicine)', Ork χālda 'diaphragm, peritoneum', WrMc haldā 'spleen of fish; fish-sound; epiploon of sturgeon (used for curing furuncles)' (↳ WrM qalda 'spleen of sturgeon') ¶ STM I 361, Z 390, MED 918 ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#20].

876. ₂ *kaLč ▽ 'voice; to speak\cry\weep' > HS: S *^o✓k₁θ v. 'speak, tell' > Mh, Hrs ✓k₁θ v. 'tell, speak', Jb ✓k₁θ v. 'tell' ¶ Jo. M 209, Jo. J 130-1 || Ch: DfB {J} kalas v. 'weep' || B: Si gəls id. (× N *gōl₁ | ▽ 'to weep?') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || IE: NaIE *gā|o₁'so-s, -m 'voice, a cry' > Oss: I хъæлæс qälās, D ყälās 'voice, throat (глотка)' || Sl {IS} *gō₁sъ (gen. *gō₁sa) 'voice' > OCS гласъ glasъ, SCr glās (gen. glāsa), Slv glās, Blg глас, df. гла'сът, R, Uk 'голос (gen. 'голоса), Cz, Slk hlas, P głos || Gmc *kal'za n. (× N *k'a₁TX'o₁ 'call [appeler], shout') > ON kall 'calling (Ruf), name' ↳ Gmc verb: ON kalla 'to call', AS ceallian id., 'to shout' (> NE call), AS calla 'Rufer', OHG kallōn ~ challōn 'to chatter, to talk', MHG kallen 'to speak much and loud' ¶ WP I 538, P 350, Ab. II 288-9, ESSJ VI 219-20, IS IA 111, Glh. 230, Vr. 298-9, Ho. 43, 45, OsS 470, Kb. 526, Lx. 103, ≠ EI 89 (Sl and Gmc < IE *gal- v. 'call out, speak').

877. *ko₁u 'to fly; wing' > IE: NaIE *g^ωelu- v. 'fly' > L volā- v. 'fly', volucer adj. 'flying, winged', volucris 'bird' || OI garut'mant- 'ε bird', garudāḥ 'ε a mythical bird'; but OI *garut 'wing' (mentioned in traditional Indian lexicons) is not an attested word, but a philological abstraction from garut'mant- ¶ Cu. GGE 474, Dv. #356a, WH II 828, M K I 325, M E I 471, WH II 828 || HS: C: EC *kōl- 'wing' > Bn kōl-i, Dsn kūōl, Elm kōl, Or kōl-a, Kns xōl-a, Brj 'kōl-i, Gwd xōl-akko, Gln hōl-o 'wing', Arr kollá 'wings' (→ 'leaves?'), Hr hōl-o 'feather', Or {Bl.} kōl-a id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kōla id., 'feather', Or Wt kōlē 'feather' || DhI kōl- v. 'fly' || ? Bj {R} -kil v. 'fly' (1s p. a-'kil, prs. aḥ'kīl), ke'lāy 'bird'; but hardly here Bj {R} -kil v. 'kreisen' ¶ Ss. B 117, AMS 162, 202, 242, Sr. 346, Hw. A 374, To. D 140, E SC 245, R WBd 13, To. DL 513 || A: T *k'u₁ > NaT *k'uš 'bird' > OT quš, Tk kuš, Tkm, Az, Slr quš, Ggz, Uz, ET, Qrg, Tv quš, VTt κοω qōš, Bsh κοω qōš, Qzq qūs, Nog, Qq qus, SY gus, Xk χus 'bird', Xlj guš ~ quš 'Sperling, Spatz', Yk kus 'duck' ¶ Cl. 670, Rs. W 305, ET Q 180-1, TL 168, Dr. TM III #1561, DT 122 || ?

M *quladu_{1n} 'ε bird of prey' > WrM quladu sibagun {Gl.} "white kite" ('белый коршун'), {Kow.} 'Falco buteo (buse, busard, cassard, мышелов)' (= 'Buteo buteo?') (sibagun is 'bird'), Kl {Rm.} χυλδα 'Sumpfwaihe oder ein weißer Falke', {KRS} хулд хулдъ, Brt хулда 'harrier (лунь)'; M ⇨ Brb quladī 'vulture', Shor qiladī, Chv {Rm.} хълат 'Mäusefalk', {Ash.} хълат, Chv Δ хълат ѓ хълач ѓ хълащ 'ε bird of prey (ε hawk or kite)' ¶ Gl. II 169, Kow. 924, KRS 609, KW 195-6, Chr. 600, Rs. W 298, Ash. XVI 316-7, Jeg. 290, Fed. I 321-2 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ūíá|o|u 'a kind of big bird' (T, M + err. Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow', see N *K̄u|o|ǀ ▽ 'raven, crow') ◇ T and M *u (for the expected *o) in the first syll. may be explained by as. (N *koíu > **kuíu).

877a. *kuí ▽ 'to flow, to gush, to leak' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} kíl / kēl 'pour' ¶ J Mu || IE: NaIE *g^wel- > OI 'galatī 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' || Gk βλύω 'gush forth' ('quelle hervor'), {EI} 'well up' || OHG quellan, NHG quellen 'to gush, to well', NHG Quell(e) 'a spring' ¶ M E 329, KM 572, ≈ P 471-2, EI 207 || U: FU *kuík ▽- v. 'stream, leak' (× U *kulke- 'swim, move [sich bewegen zu Lande und zu Wasser]') > Er, Mk kólge- 'triefen, rinnen, sickern' || Lp N gqł'gâ-/lg- 'run' (liquids: water, tears, blood, etc.) || ObU {Ht.} *kūíáψ- > pOs *kuíáψ- 'rinnen\fließen (Schweiß), fließen (Wasser in einem kleinen Bach)' > Os: Vy kuíáψ-, Kz χῶφί-, O χυλί- id. ¶ UEW 198, It. #176, LG 149, Ht. #264, Stn. D 491, Trj. S 189 || D (att. in CD) *°kū]- v. 'leak', 'run from a punctured vessel' (water) > Nkr kū]- id., Klm ku'ł- (p. ku'ł-) '(wasser) run from punctured vessel or tap' ¶ D #1919.

878. *kūí ▽ or ***kuíE** 'cold; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *ǵ|gel- 'cold', v. 'freeze' > L gelū 'frost, icy cold', gelidus adj. 'cold, icy-cold, frosty, icy', gelā- v. 'cause to freeze', Osc [StB] γελαν · πάχνην (accus.?) 'hoarfrost' || ? Gk [Hs.] γελανδρόν · ψυχρόν n. 'cold' or 'cold water' (but {EI}: γελανδρόν "is widely discredited") || AS calan 'grow cold, cool down', ON kala 'freeze, make cold'; Gmc prtc. *kald- 'cold' > Gt kalds, ON kaldr, NNr, OFrs, OSx kald, Sw kall, Dn kold, AS ceald, NE cold, OHG, NHG kalt, MDt cout 'cold'; Gmc *kōlja- > OHG kuoli, NHG kühl, Dt koel, AS cōl 'cool, cold', NE cool; OHG kuoli n. 'coolness', ON kólna 'grow cold' ¶ P 365-6, EI 113, WH I 585-6, Pln. II 683, FI 294, Vr. 297-8, 325, Fs. 306, Ho. 42, 45, 56, Ho. S 40, OsS 470, 525, Schz. 179, 187, Kb. 526, 573, KM 343, 411 || K *k_lw₁ ▽- > Lz kor- ~ kir- v. 'cool', Mg {Chik.} kir- vi. 'freeze with astonishment (გაშეშეშედა, обомлеть)', ? Sv: UB {GP} li-kwēle 'to cool off (food)',

'to be cooled off' (food), Ls {Dn.} li-kwēl-e 'to cool, to let catch cold (о-/про-студить)', Ln {TK} li-kwele id., Sv {Ni.} χwi-kwel-i 'become cold', χwi-kwāl-e 'make cold' ¶¶ Chik. 338-9, GP 173, Ni. s.v. холодѣть, холодить, Dn. s.v. kwēl, TK 453 || HS: C: Bj {R} kũlínfe, kũlímfe 'rainy season' ¶ R WBd 142 || Ch (× N *K̄EL₁H₁∇ 'cold?'): ECh: Kwn {J} kǎl, Kbly {Cp.} kàlɛ, Dng {Lk.} kùlúú 'cold' ¶ JI II 80-1, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'cold' || U: FP *kũl|mä 'cold' > F kylmä adj. 'cold, cool', n. 'cold', Es külm adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | pLp {Lr.} *kɜlmē- v. 'freeze' > Lp: S {Hs.} galm'edh, L {LLO} kal'mē- 'freeze' (humans), (imprs.) 'the ground is frozen', N {N} gâl'bme- / -lm- (imprs.) 'freeze, cause a frozen crust\ice to form on snow\water', Kld {TI} kēl'me- 'become cold, freeze'; L {LLO} kalmas, attr. kal'ma, Kld kɜrmas 'cold', N {N} gâlmâs / -l'bm- 'frozen' | Er kēlme, Mk kēlmä adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | Chr: L кылме кълме, Uf/B кълме, H кылмы кәлмъ 'frozen' | Prm **kũnm- > *kũn 'frozen', *kũn / *kũnm- 'frost, cold' > Z, Vt кын k+n 'frozen', Vt Sr k+n, Vt K kɜn / kənm-, Vt G k+n / k+n- 'frost, cold', Vt, Z Ud k+nmas 'feels cold' (a person), Vt k+n+m+n 'be frozen, congealed' ¶ It. #408, LG 152, UEW 663, Sm. 552 (FP *kũlmä), SK 254, Lr. #307, Lgc. #1903-4, Hs. 555-6, TI 105, MRS 267, Ep. 55 ¶¶ In FU the palatality of N *Í was lost in precons. position || A *k₁'₁ö'∇ > M *köldē- vt. 'freeze, congeal' > WrM köldē- ~ köldü-, HIM хөлдө-(x), Brt хүлдэ-, Kl көлд-х köldəχə id.; M б→ Ewk Nr küldɜ- 'freeze' ¶ MED 485, KRS 314-5, KW 238, STM I 428 || T *k'ö'∇ > NaT *k'öš'ijüg'∇ 'feel cold, freeze' > VTt күшөг- küšbg- vi. 'feel cold, be chilled, suffer from cold\dampness, become numb with cold' (a person), Bsh küšbg- 'get drenched to the skin', Yk köhüy- [köšüy-] 'become numb with severe cold', Tv köžü- id., 'freeze', Tf kóšü- id., v. 'stiff', Qrg köšü- 'become calm, be serene\untroubled', köšüp uyquça kirgen 'he fell asleep peacefully', {Rl.} köšü- 'zittern, beben' ¶ ET KQ 127, TatR 345, JkR 182, Pek. 1172, Jud. 434, Rl. II 1306, 1151 ¶¶ Posch AAL 383, DQA #845 (A k₁'₁ü'ie 'freeze') ¶ A secondary connection with T *K'Í 'winter' (< N *g'U'∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter']) || D (in SD) *ku|- ({}GS} *k-) > Tm kuḷir 'feel cold, be cool, get numbed', Ml kuḷir, kuḷur 'coolness, cool, refreshing', kuḷukuḷu 'intense cold', Kt kuḷak in-, kuḷkuḷ in- 'feel cold' (hands, feet, body)', Kn kuḷir vi. 'be cool\cold', n. 'coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost', Kdg {D} kuḷ+ 'cold feeling is' ¶ D #1834 ◊ IS I 304-5 [#176] ◊ The lack of

reflexes of the labiality of the N vw. **ü* or **u* in IE **ǵǵel-* may be explained by the law ruling out any sequence of two sonants in a $\sqrt{\quad}$, sc. N **kū|uí* ▽ > pre-IE **ǵǵeyl-* > IE **ǵǵel-* (see AD NGIE § 12). In U the precon. **í* lost its palatality. Hardly here T **k'í* 'winter', for phonetic reasons it is better to refer it to N **gií* ▽ (> pCK {Md.} **ǵǵil* 'ice, block of ice', see s.v. **gií* ▽ #, ▽ 'd' ▽ 'ice, frost; to freeze') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #168 (**kul* ~ **kel* 'freeze') (IE, U, A, Ko, CK).

879. ₂ **koí* ▽ 'pair, one of a pair' > HS: S **✓kl*? 'pair, both' > Ug *kl̥t* du. f. 'both (hands)', BHb *כִּלְיָיִם* *kil'ayim* 'of two kinds; both', Gz *kəl̥-ē*, *kəl̥-ettū* 'two', Mh {Jo.} *kəl̥ō(h)*, f. *kəlayt*, Hrs {Jo.} *kəl̥ō*, f. *kəlayt*, Jb C {Jo.} '*kəl̥ō(h)*', Jb E {Jo.} '*kəl̥ō(h)*', Sq {Jo.} '*kala* 'both (of)', Ak *kilān*, f. *kilat̥t̥ān* 'both', (× S **kull-* 'all') Ar *kill-āni* ~ *kull-āni* 'both, the two' ¶ KB 453, KBR 475-6, A #1312, OLS 214, Rb. AWA 69, BK II 919, Jo. M 207, Jo. J 129, L G 282, Sd. 475, CAD VIII 353ff. || SC: Brn {E} *kalel-* 'be similar' ¶ ESC 366 ¶¶ Ro. 139, 245 [#240] reconstructs pMM **kal-* 'be equal', which is (even if reconstructed well) is a loan from Fulani *kala* 'pareil' (Zb. 289) || ? Eg fP *ky* 'other' ¶ EG V 110-4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.9] || A: T **k'ó* > NaT **k'óš* 'a pair, one of a pair' > OT {Cl.} *qōš* id., Tk Δ *koš* 'pair of horses', Tkm *qōš* 'pair (yoke) of oxen\horses for ploughing', *qōša* 'pair, two; double', Kr Cr, ET *qōš*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *qōs*, Xk *χōs* 'pair', SY *qōš* 'forming a pair', Uz *qōš*, VTt, Bsh *quš* id., 'double', Qrg *qōš* id., 'pair', Tv *qōš*, Tf *qōš'*, VTt, Bsh *quš*, Uz *qōš* 'double; twin, consisting of two similar parts', Yk *χōs* 'additional, the second one (of a pair)'; ET Q 91 mentions VTt *qušš* and Bsh *qōšš* ('double?') that are not registered in standard dictionaries and have a strange change of the reg. *u* into *uš*, *qōš* that resemble processes in Chv; -> **k'óš*- 'link to' > Tk *koš*- 'add, harness', Tkm *qōš*-, Qzq *qōs*-, Qrg, Alt *qōš*- 'add, link to', Tv *qōš*/*qōž*- 'add a new part (to the garment, footwear); unite in pairs', Tf *qōš'*- 'add a new part (to the footwear)'; NaT -> M: WrM *qōs* ~ *qōus*, HIM *χoc*, Kl *χōš* 'pair' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 90-3, Ra. 221, Tkr 191-2, ≠ Shch. SF 194 (T **kōš* with unjustified **ō*), MED 970, 974 || M **qolba-* v. 'couple, unite, combine, link to' > MM [MA] *qolba-* 'be combined to, add', WrM *qolba-*, *qolbu-*, HIM *χолбо-*, Kl {KRS} *χолвх χолвб-(хб)* 'unite, combine, link to', {Rm.} *χолва-* 'paaren, vereinigen', WrO {Krg.} *χolba-* v. 'couple, join', Ord {Ms.} *χolbo-*, Mnr H {SM, T} *χulō-* 'lier ensemble, joindre, unir'; M **qolbu* *ψa* 'pair, coupled' > WrO *χolbā* id. ¶ MED 957, KRS 593, KW 184,

SM 181, T 377, Pp. MA 301, Krg. 276, H 65 [MM qolba(ᵛa)ra- 'vereinigen, zusammentun'] || Tg *xulbü- '(Indian) file \ string of objects; move in Indian file, be bound together' > Ewk ᵗulbu-, Lm ulbuᵗçi-, Neg ulbul- 'move in Indian file (following one another)', Nn Nh xūēlbi- 'bind together, wrap', Ewk, Lm ulbulᵗz- 'Indian file, line\string of objects', Lm ulbukz 'vertebral column', Ork ulbumžī adv. 'in Indian file', Nn KU xulbīz, Nn Nh xulbikz 'bundle' ¶ STM II 258 || pKo {S} *kārᵇ- 'compete, match, compare, line together' > MKo kārᵇ- (kārᵇ-), NKo kalᵇ- kap-, karu- id.; *kārᵇ- > ⇨ MKo kār'ó- 'form a couple' ⇨ MKo kār'ó-kí, NKo karogí 'twins' ¶ S QK #348, Nam 21, 23, MLC 12, 48 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1115 (A *k'óíba 'couple; to couple, combine'; incl. T, M, Tg, Ko).

880. ₂ *koíHa 'oak' > IE *gʷelh-/ *gʷleh- > NaIE *gʷelə-/ *gʷlā- 'acorn, oak' > Arm կաղիւ kałin 'acorn, hazel-nut', կաղնի kałni 'oak, hazel-tree' || Gk βάλανος 'acorn' || pBlt *gīl-s (< *gʷl̥-s) [gen. *gīles] ⇨ *gīliyā ~ *gilyā > Ltv zīle, † dzīla 'acorn', Lt gīlė, gylė, Pru gile id. || +ext. *-nd- > L glāns (gen. glānd-is) 'acorn' || BSl: Lt giléndra, giléndrė 'reiche Ernte an Eichen, Nüssen, Beeren, Pilzen' || Sl *želqdb 'acorn' > ChS жєλѣдѣ želqdb, Blg жєлѣд, SCr žělūd, Slv želod, Cz žalud, Slk žalud', P żołądź, R жєлудь ¶ Acc. to P, the primary meaning was 'oak' ¶ P 472, Dv. #870, EI 407 (*gʷelhᵇ- 'acorn'), Sl. 166, Kar. II 560, ME I 556 and IV 732, FI 213, Frn. 151, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 234-5, Vs. II 44-5, Glh. 707, Frdr. PITA 131-2 || **A:** [1] (A {St.} *kúlap'∇ 'oak-tree' >) AmTg *kolopo(-kta) 'ε tree' > Orc † kolobo-kto, kopolo-kto 'ε fir-tree', kopolo 'log', Ud X kofolo-kto 'ε tree', Ud I/Sm kofolo-kto 'dry thin trunks of fir-tree or larch' ¶ STM II 407-8, Krm. 251 || pKo {S} *kārəp 'oak' > MKo kārəp, NKo karam-namu ¶ S QK #896, Nam 3 || pJ {S} kásípà 'Quercus dentata (ε oak)' > OJ kásípà, J: T kásiwa, K kásiwà, Kg kaśíwa ¶ S QJ #974 ¶¶ DQA #1113 || [2] A {ADb., SDM97} *k'óíā 'oak' (the deviant *k'- is due to the infl. of N *k'ôR, ∇, ź (∇χ)∇ '≈ oak?') > AmTg *xolonk∇ 'oak' > Nn Nh xoronqola, Orc olonkā ~ olonkī, Ud olonkō id. ¶ STM II 16, Krm. 275 || pJ *kasi 'Quercus acuta (ε oak)' > OJ kàsì, J: T kási, K kási, Kg kaśí ¶ S QJ #976, Mr. 441 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'óíā 'oak' ◇ S NSShS #30 (A, IE).

881. *kama 'peel (rind)' (→ 'dandruff', 'scab') > HS: S *°✓kmy > Ar ✓kmy (pf. كَمَى kamā) 'se mettre une cuirasse sur le dos ou une casque

sur la tête', pf. كَمِيّ kamiya 'être tout couvert d'une armure' ¶ BK II 932 || C: Aw {Beke} kamād 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gāmād 'bark' (× N *kom₁∇, t₁∇ 'to cover; lid, cover') ¶ Blz. CWL || U *kama 'crust, rind, peel' > F kamarā 'crust, scalp, callus', Es kamar 'rind, crust' || Chr: L/B kom 'crust (as of bread)', Uf kom id., 'peel (of fruit\vegetables)', H kom id., 'shell' || Prm *komeí, ({JLG} *kōmeí) 'peel, crust; > Z Lu komí, Yz 'kumí 'peel of potatoes \ turnip \ radish \ swede', StZ komzí, Z US kōmzí 'lump of heavy dough (for baking a crust of pies, etc.)', Vt kumeí 'bark of lime bast'; ? Prm *k^om > StVt kōm kōm 'crust, peel of fruit\potatoes, (egg-nut-)shell', Vt Sr/G kōm, Vt Kz kōm id., 'bark' || Hg háml- v. 'peel, scale', OHg hámt-, Hg hánt- v. 'strip, peel off (bark)', OHg hámc̄s, Hg hánc̄s 'inner bark' || ? Vg {Kn.}: LK pōksām-kōmtol, P nēr-kamtul 'nut-shell' (pōksām, nēr 'nut') || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *kām̄- '(fish-)scales' > Ne Т с я в, Ne O {Lh.} śāβ 'fish scales', Ng {Mdd.} kamū; Sq LTz {KD} qā:m 'scales', Slq Tz {Prk.} d. komtä 'fish scales' (innacurate spelling for qomtā?) → ??σ {KKIH, Prk.} qomtā 'mint, money'; Kms {KD} q'ām̄ ~ q'ām̄ 'scales (e.g. fish-scales), money' || pY *kimer 'inner side of hide' > YK kimer id. ('мездра') (-r is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ Coll. 23. UEW 121-2, Sm. 545 (FU *kāmā 'skin' > FP *kama-, Ugr *kāmā-), LG 132, MRS 212, RMarS 274, Ü 73, Ep. 46, Lt. J 135, U3S 216, EWU 522, Jn. 63, Erl. 76, 99, KKIH 162, KD 25, Hl. M #465, IN 227-8 || A: M *°qama- 'be mangy' > WrM qama- id., M *qamaγu 'scab, mange' > MM [IM] قامأوو qama:u, Brt xamyγ id. ('парша'), WrM qamaγu, HIM xamyγ id., 'scabies, itch', WrO γamou ~ γamuu 'itch, scab, mange', Kl γamū 'Krätze', Ord γamū 'scab' ¶ Pp. MA 444, MED 923, Krg. 251, KW 165, Chr. 544, Ms. O 332.

882. *kam∇ 'grasp, press' > IE: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together, grasp' > Arm ճմլեմ čmlem v. 'press, squeeze, trample' || Gk [Hm] aor. γέντο 'he grasped' (< *gen-to) || OIr {SB, P} gemel, W gefyn 'fettors' || ON kumla 'to squeeze', NNr kumla 'to knead, to press together' || Ltv gūmt (1s prs. gūmst u) 'to grasp' || Sl *žm-q / žę-ti v. 'press, squeeze' > SrChS жьмѣ жьmq / жати žę-ti, SCr žmēm / žęti, OCz žmu / *žieti, Cz Mr, Slk žmu (inf. žmat', bf. from prs.), P źmę / źąć, R жму / жать, Uk жму / 'жати ¶ P 368-9, EI 450 (misquotes Ltv gumst u as Lt), FI 297-8, SB 111, YGM-1 232, Vr. 334, Kar. I 125, Vs. II 36, 59, Ma. CS 591 || HS: B

* \sqrt{kmm} > Ah $\text{ək}m\text{əm}$ 'serrer, presser' ¶ Fc. 810 || ?? S * $\sqrt{k\text{m}\text{w}}|y$: Ak $\text{kam}\hat{u}$ 'fetters', ?? $\sqrt{k\text{m}\text{w}}|y$ (inf. $\text{kam}\hat{u}$) 'capture an enemy' (if \leftarrow *'bind' or 'grasp') ¶ CAD VIII 128-31 || Ch: Hs $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}m\bar{\text{a}}$ 'seize, catch' || Dr {Nw.} $\text{k}\bar{\text{z}}me$ 'pick (e.g. beans) one by one' || Bu {Hf.} $\text{kim}\bar{\text{t}}a$ 'wegnehmen' || ? EDng {Fd.} $\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}m\bar{\text{e}}$ 'arracher par force (des mains de qn.)' ¶ Sk. HCD 134, Nw. K 128, Hf. B 286, Fd. 310 || C {AD} * \sqrt{kmm} 'seize, take possession of, possess' > Ag: Q {R} $\text{kam}\bar{\text{e}}m$ - 'possess', Bln {R} kim 'Besitz, Macht', kim- 'sich in den Besitz setzen, erwerben, bekommen; haben, besitzen', Xm {R} kim- 'possession', Km {CR} $\text{kem}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'wealth', Aw {Plm., Hz.} kim- 'steal' || SC: Irq {Wh., Wd.} $\text{-k}\bar{\text{o}}m$ - 'possess' ¶ AD SF 217, R WB 220-1, Wh. SI, Wd. #1865 || A: Tg * kama- v. 'press (теснить, прижимать)' > Ewk kama- , Ork, Nn $\text{kama}\bar{\text{l}}$ - id., 'oppress', Lm kam- 'squeeze, vice', Neg $\text{kama}\bar{\text{l}}$ - 'oppress, forbid', Ul $\text{qama}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{l}}$ ~ $\text{qama}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'tightly (тесно)', $\text{qama}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'press (теснить)', encicle (hunted animals) ¶ STM I 369 || ?σ NaT * Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege (enemies), drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, capture' > Uz qama- 'drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, arrest', Qzq, Qq, Qrg qama- , ET qami- id., 'surround (enemies), VTt, Bsh, Qmq qama- 'surround, encircle, besiege', (× NaT * $\text{K}\bar{\text{a}}ba-$ < N * $\text{ga}\bar{\text{r}}b\bar{\nabla}$ [or * $\text{ga}\bar{\text{y}}b\bar{\nabla}$?] 'hold, seize; collect'): Chg [Rabg.] qaba- 'umfassen, umgeben, belagern'; NaT * Kamti- > Qq, Nog qamti- 'grasp', Qzq qamti- 'intercept, borrow, snatch' ¶ Rl. II 435, 479, Jud. 335, KrkR 366-8, Sht. 256, Nj. 590, ≈ ET KQ 159 || D * kam- ({ tGS } *k-) > OTl $\text{kamu}\bar{\text{c}}u$ 'hold, seize; occupy, seize by force', Tl $\text{kamu}\bar{\text{c}}u$ - 'hold, seize', ? Mlt {Drs.} kam- 'gather one by one' ¶¶ ≠ D #1326, Km. 325 [#255] (both derive the Tl word from * $\text{ka}\bar{\text{v-}}$ 'seize') ◇ IS I 290-1 [#157] (* kamu ; S, B, C, Ch, IE, ?D, T, Tg; * \div U, M, and Ko). U * $\text{kom}\bar{\nabla}(\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\nabla})$ 'hollow hand' belongs not here, but to N * $\text{go}\bar{\text{s}}m\bar{\nabla}$ ~ * $\text{gom}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\nabla}$ 'hand, fist' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #332 (IE, A, CK + err. U).

883. * $\text{kam}\bar{\nabla}$ 'full, whole, all' > IE: NaIE * gem- '(be) full' > Gk $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ v. 'be full' (a ship, etc.), $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ v. 'fill full of, load' || Sl * žьmьnь 'handful' > R, Blr, Uk жменя , Slk žmeň id., Cz žemně 'bundle of two handfuls of flax' || Um GOMIA, kumiaf accus. f. pl. 'gravidās'; Um \rightarrow L gumia 'glutton, gourmand' ¶ FI 296, WH I 626, Bc. G 336, ≠ P 368-9 (considers it a sd. from * gem- 'grasp'), Vs. II 58, Mikl. E 408, Ma. CS 593, Mul. 194, Pln. 737, ≠ EI 450 ($\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ < * gem- 'press') ¶ Coalescence (esp. in Sl) with IE * gem- 'grasp' || HS: C: EC: pBn {Hn.} * $\text{kom}\bar{\text{o}}m$ 'all' >

Bn Bi komōm, Bn Ba/J komōmo; Cm {Bnd.} xumme 'all' (if in Cm, like in other Dullay dialects, x- < EC *k-) ¶ Hn. BD 90, Blz. CWL || B *✓kmm 'gather (amasser)' > Kb щəmməm, Tmz kəmməm id., ETwl/Ty ƙəmmə̀t 'ramasser' ¶ MT 334-5, Dl. 404, GhA 93 || Eg fMK km v. 'complete; total up to, amount; put an end to' ¶ EG V 128-30, Fk. 286 || S +ext. *✓kml > Ar kamaḷ- 'the whole, totalité, le tout', Sb ḥkml caus. v. 'complete (a work), be successful', Mh ✓kml (pf. kōmɜl) v. 'finish', kōmɜl id., Jb ✓kml: Jb C kōl 'be finished, complete', caus. v. ekūl 'finish', ekmil v. 'finish', Hrs kēmɜl v. 'finish' ¶ Fr. IV 59-60, BGMR 78, BK II 930, Hv. 665, Jo. M 210, Jo. H 68, Jo. J 131 || Ch: Pr kémò v. 'fill' ¶ Ftz. P 36 ¶¶ Tk. I 43 (Eg, Pr) || A *kam∇ 'together, all' > M *qamu- 'gather together' > MM [HI] qamu-, WrM qamu-, HlH xama-x id.; M *qamug 'all, whole; everyone, everything' (←b- or →b- T?) > WrM qamug, HlM xamaḡ id., MM [HI] qamuɣ 'tous'; M qamsu- > WrM qamsu-, HlM xamca- 'be united\combined, come\be together'; M *qamtu > MM [MA, HI] qamtu, WrM qamtu, HlM xamt 'together, jointly', Mnr H {T} xamdu, {SM} xamd_i, xamd_u, Mgl {Rm.} qamtu, Dx hantu, Ba hamte 'together' ¶ Ms. H 87, MED 924-5, T 373, T DnJ 140, T BJ 150, SM 153 || ? NaT *kḷ'ḷamag 'all, whole' > OT qamaɣ 'all', Chg qamug ~ qamiḡ, MQp qamuɣ 'all', OOSm qamu 'all, the whole', Tk †, Δ kamu 'all', StAlt qamiq 'much, multitude', Xk xamiχ, Tv xamiq 'all', Yk xamiy-, xomy- {Pek.} 'gather', {JkR} 'arrange, put in order' ¶ Cl. 627, EF KQ 243-4, Rh. 1473, DTS 414-6, TvR 467, Rs. W 229, Pek. 3291-2, JkR 478. 496 ¶ The word belongs here unless it is an early loan from MPrs hmʔg [hamāḡ] (as Cl. believes), which is unlikely in view of its presence in Tv and Yk. It may also be a loan from M *qamug (F above); the latter hyp. may explain the cns. χ- in Tv xamiq 'all, whole' || Tg *kamurḷi, 'together' > Ul, Ork qamur ~ qamurɪ, Nn qamor ~ qamur 'together'; d.: Ork qamur- 'be united', Nn qamorɪgo- 'be united'; Tg *kamçi- > WrMc qamci- 'unite, gather together' ¶ STM I 371, Z 259-60 || ?σ U *k'a'mE > Sm *k'z'm- > Ng {Hl.} kamsür- 'be united with', kamsaru- vt. 'add, join (присоединить)', kamsüʔmalədəsa 'to unite with oneself (объединить с собой)' ¶ Hl. US 118.

884. *kämê (or *kamê) 'blood' > U *kaḷme 'blood' > Sm *kɜm ({Hl.} *kəm), {Jn.} *kɜḷm id. > Ne T xə́m', Ne O {Lh.} χḗm', Ne F {Lh.} kḷē'm, Ng {Ter, Mik.} kām id., En {Hl.} keʔo 'coagulated blood', En X {Cs.} kî̂ʔ, En B {Cs.} kî̂ʔ, Slq Tz {KKIH} kɜm, Kms {KD} k'z'm ~ k'əm, Koyb

{Sp.} камъ, Mt {HL.} *kəm id. (Mt M {Sp.} кемъ id., Mt K {Pl.} гомду 'his blood') ¶ Jn. 65, Hl. TO 43, Hl. M #477, KP 90 [#491], Cs. 81, KKH 116 || A: Tg *°kem- > WrMc kemīn 'coagulated blood; brain covered with blood' ¶ Z 270, STM I 448 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Tal {IL} kʰiēm, {Sch.} kʰiēm 'blood' || ECh: Smr {J} m. kʷàmǵé, f. kòmwin, pl. kʷàmǵadʰ, kòm 'red' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} kəmé 'red' || ?φ Higi {ChL}: HgF ʒəmú, FIG ʒəm(i), Kps ʒume, HgG xume 'red' || ? Eg fP cms 'red, ruddy' ¶ EG V 369, Fk. 304 ¶¶ NrOm: not here the Anf {Gt.} word 'kīma 'menstruazione' (Gt. 354), which is identical with Anf {MYTY} ʔimmo 'dirt' (MYTY 118) and belongs together with Shn kīmà 'Dreck' (Lm. Sh 326) || ?μ D *kem- ({ǾGS} *k-) 'red' > Tm, Ml cem-, Tu kem-, Tl kem- (in a few composita) ¶¶ D #1931 ¶¶ The D cognate is valid unless *kem- is an extension of D *ke- 'red' > Tm, Ml ce-, etc. (D #1931) ◇ Tg and D *e suggest a N front vw., while U *a may go back to N *ä (regr. as.). But if the D cognate is rejected, there is an alt. hypothesis: N *kamê > U *kaḷime and Tg *°kem- (regr. as. of the vw. from *kamê). The comparison with D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. C). But D *kem- is a qu. cognate both for phonetic reasons (*e instead of *a < N *ä) and because it is likely to be an extension of D *ke-, *key- 'red' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #45 (*kem 'blood').

885. ₂ *kEm∇ (or *kEmho) 'to give birth' (→ 'family') > IE {E} *ǵemH-, {Pv.} *ǵemH^ω- (= {Pv.} *ǵem-A₁^ω-) 'marry' (of a male) > NaIE *ǵem-/ *ǵme- ({ǾPv.} *ǵemə-) 'marry', 'relative, relative-in-law' > Vd jāmī-h 'related' (brother and sister), OI (post-Vd) jāmī-h 'daughter-in-law', Av zāmaoya- 'son-in-law's brother', OI 'jāmātā / jāmātar-, Av zāmātar- 'son-in-law', NPrs دَامَاد dāmād {VI., BM} id., 'bridegroom', {Sg.} 'son-in-law; wooer, lover' || Gk γαμέω (aor. ἔ-γῆμα, Gk D ἔ-γαμα) 'marry' (of males), γαμέτης 'spouse', γάμος 'marriage, wedding', γαμβρός 'son-in-law' || partially contaminated with IE *ǵenH- 'give birth' (< N *kǎnhæ id., q.v. ffd., whence L gener / -ī 'son-in-law', Ltv znõts, Lt žentas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zętb id., 'bridegroom', and AnIE: Ht kaena 'a relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld kāna (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ WP I 574-5, P 369-70, EI 369, Szem. KT § 20.3.1, M KI 430, VI. I 796-7, Horn 117, FI 287-8, WH I 590, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || HS: S *°kim- > Ak foAk, OB kimtu ~

kimatu ~ kintu 'family, kin', Ak LB kīmu 'family' ¶ CAD VIII 375-, Sd. I 479 || C: Ag: Aw {CR} kaman-, Bln/Q {R} kabān-, Km {CR} kabān- 'give birth' || Dhl kēm- id. || SC: Asa komit- id. ¶ ESC 243, AD SF 65 ◇ Identical with N *kāmē 'blood'? ◇ If Pv.'s rec. of IE *ǵemh^ω- (*ǵem-A₁^ω-) is right, the N rec. must be *kEmHo. But in this case the absence of an Inlaut vw. in Ak kimtu is strange. The only N Ir. conceivable here is *h (it is regularly lost in Ak, but yields *ə in NaIE).

886. UA₂ *kōm∇ 'sth. hollow' > U: FU *k^om∇ 'hollow' (n., adj.) > F komi, komo id. || Chr H {Rm.} kom in palkom 'sky, the vault of heaven', koman 'with vaulted surface' || Os: V kōm in r+tkom 'Raum unter einem umgestülpten Boot', D χom, Kz χōm 'hollow\concavity (e.g. under an overturned boat)', V kōmar 'hollow under ice', Vy kōmә 'concavity' || Hg homorú 'hollow, concave' ¶ UEW 227 || A {DQA} *kú|ómi 'hollow, cavity, inner angle' > Tg *kum- > Ewk kumṇa 'hollow (in a tree); hole, burrow (of an animal)', WrMc {Hr.} kumḍun 'Leere' ¶ STM I 431, Hr. 600 || pKo {S} *kùm- 'cavity (впадина), hole' > MKo kùmк, kùmú (kùmúk), NKo kumәṇ ¶ S QK #196, Na, 59, 63, MLC 201 || pJ {S} *kúma 'inner angle, cavity' > OJ kúma, J: T kumá, K kúma ¶ S QJ #255 || ?σ M *kōmeg_L > WrM kōmüḡ, kōmüḡei 'shed', 'roof' (esp. 'roof over a portico'), 'eaves; awning, canopy; overhang of a mountain', Brt жүмэг 'hollow\empty place; gorge, ravine, cleft (ущелье, теснина, расселина)', ?σ Ord k'ōmögī 'le penchant est d'une montagne\colline' ¶ MED 487, Chr. 620, Ms. O 427 ¶¶ DQA #918 (M, Tg, Ko, J) ◇ Resh. NNE #4 (A, U) ◇ Cf. also HS: S: Ar kumm-at- 'round cap', kimm- 'calyx of a flower, envelope of the palm-blossom' (BK II 927, Hv. 664), but these words are more likely to be derived from Ar ✓ kmm 'cover'.

887. *k^um∇ (L∇) '(stinging) insect' > U: FU *^okum∇]∇ ~ *^okam∇]∇ > ObU *kōm∇]∇к ~ *kāmә]әк 'beetle' > pVg {Ht.} *kōmlāk > Vg: P komlәx, Yk {Vxr.} xomlәx ~ xōmlәx, NV komlāk ≋ komlāk, SV komlāk, IL kamlāk, Ss xomlax id.; pOs {Ht.} *kamә]kay > Os: V/Vy qamә]q+, Ty qāmә]q+, Y qāmә]q+, D χōmә]χay ≋ χāmә]χay, K χōmә]χay, Nz χōmә]χa, Kz χōmә]χa 'small insect, beetle' ¶ Ht. #269, BV 137, Trj. VD 146, Trj. S 144, Stn. D 496-7 || A: T *^ok_Lumíuy > OT {Cl.} qumšuy 'louse' or 'tick' ¶ Cl. 629 || NrTg *kūmi_Lr_J, *kumi-kēn > Ewk kumikēn, Ewk Brg kumir, kumirkēn '(small) insect', Sln xumīxз 'ant'; Tg *kum∇(-ke) 'louse' > Orc kumз, Ewk, Lm, Neg kumкз, Sln χuṅкз, Nn kuṅкз, Ud X/A kumugз, Ud A kumuз 'louse' ¶ STM 430 || pKo *kā_Lmә_Lr_J 'leech' >

MKo $k\bar{a}_1m\grave{a}_1r\acute{i}$, NKo $k\bar{a}_1m\grave{a}_1r\acute{i}$ ¶ S QK #972, MLC 84 ¶¶ *÷ (⇔ S AJ 272) pKo {S} $k\bar{a}_1m\acute{i}\grave{x}$ 'spider' and pJ {S} * $k\grave{u}m\grave{u}\hat{a}$ id. ¶¶ T * \acute{i} and Tg * r for the expected * l still need explaining ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 290 [#378] (A * $k\grave{u}l\grave{u}m\check{\nabla}$), DQA #847 (A * $k\grave{u}l\grave{u}m\alpha$ 'blood-sucking insect') || HS: S * $\check{v}k\grave{u}lm \sim$ WS * $\check{v}k\grave{u}lm \sim$ WS * $\check{v}k\grave{u}ml$: [1] * $\check{v}k\grave{u}lm >$ Ak $kalmat\upsilon$ 'parasite, louse (on animals, plants, and human beings)', JA כַּלְמָא $kal'm\bar{a}$, כַּלְמָתָא $kalm\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$ 'vermin', (as. *- lm - > - nm -): Mh {Jo.} $k\grave{a}n\grave{a}m\acute{u}t$ (pl. $k\grave{a}'nawm$), Bth {Jo.} $k\grave{a}n\grave{a}m\acute{u}t$, Jb E {Jo.} 'šinit, Jb C {Jo.} 'šinit, Sq {L} 'konam 'louse', BHb כִּנְיָוִת $kin'n\bar{a}m$ 'gnats' (acc. to the versions in LXX, Vulg., Philo, and Origen) or 'lice' (acc. to Psh. and Trg.), MHb כַּנִּימָא $k\bar{a}'n\acute{i}m'm\bar{a}$ 'worm'; [2] * $\check{v}k\grave{u}ml \sim$ * $k\grave{u}lm >$ OA $k\grave{u}ml$ 'louse', JA כַּלְמָתָא $k\bar{a}lm\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$ 'vermin', Sr {PS} قَامِلَات $k\bar{a}l'm\bar{a}$ 'louse', Ar $qaml-at-$ 'louse', coll. $qaml-$ 'lice, louse', Sb $k\grave{u}mlt$, $k\grave{u}lm$, $k\grave{u}lmt$ 'insect pests, (?) locusts', Gz $k\grave{u}am\bar{a}l \sim$ $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}l$ 'louse' ¶ CAD VIII 86-7, HJ 1013, Js. 645, 1378, Sl. 1021, PS 3635, Fr. III 500, BK II 816, BGMR 105, LG 432, LLS 221, Jo. M 212, KB 461, KBR 483, BDB 487-8 [#3654] || ???σ Eg kmy 'e snake' ¶ Mks. III #4395 || C: EC {Ss.} * $kilm-$ 'tick (insect)' > Af {PH} $kilim$, - i 'ticks', Sa {R} $kilin$, Brj 'šilm- \bar{a} , pSam {Hn.} *čilim > Sml N šílin (pl. šílmó), Rn {Oo.} čilim, {PG} čilím, Bn šilm- \acute{i} 'tick', Arr silmé, Or 'silm- $i\check{r}$ & šilm- a / šilm- \bar{i} , {Grg.} silmī, Or Wl {Brl.} silmi id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} šilmī 'small tick (on cows)' ¶ Bl. 156, 190, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 173, Hn. S 77, PG 85, Abr. S 232, PH 147, Oo. 72, 393, Grg. 358, Brl. 374, Sr. 389 || Ch: CCh: Bdm komāli 'black ant' || WCh: Hs $k\grave{u}m\bar{a}$ 'flea (of rats, dogs)', Gw {Mts.} $kuma$ 'flea of dogs' ¶ ChL, Ba. 637, Mts. G 68 ¶¶ In S and WCh there is secondary glottalization (* $k\grave{u}$ - for the expected * k -) of tabuistic and "expressive" origin and/or due to contamination with different roots ◇ The vw. * a in FU * $^okam\check{\nabla}l\check{\nabla}$ (> ObU * $k\bar{a}m\alpha\check{\nabla}k$ and * $kam\alpha\check{\nabla}kay$) needs explaining ◇ IS I 308-9 [#180] (? * $k\alpha m\alpha$ 'stinging insect'; HS [S, C, Ch], A).

888. * $k\grave{u}m\hat{a}$ (or * $k\grave{u}Hm\hat{a}$) 'man, person' > K: GZ {K, FS} * $kmar-$, {GM} * $kmar-$ ~ * $kmar-$ 'husband' > OG, G $kmar-i$, Mg, Lz $komo\check{z}i \sim$ $komon\check{z}i$, Lz $kimo\check{z}i$ 'husband', Lz $i-komo\check{z}-u$ 'married' (a woman); K * $^okm-$ > Mg $komoli \sim$ $kumoli$, Mg BM $komoi$ 'man (male person)', Lz $komoli \sim$ $kimoli$ 'husband' ¶ K 198, Chik. 34-5, FS K 337-8, FS E 379, GM S 462, Q 345 || HS: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} $k\grave{u}m\grave{a}$, ? Mgm {J} $g\grave{i}m\acute{u}$, ? Bdy {AJ} $g\grave{e}n$, $g\grave{e}m\grave{o}$ 'man (person)' ¶ JI II 267, JA LM 87, AJ 77 || IE: NaIE * $g\grave{h}om-$ /* $g\grave{h}m-$ 'man (person)' > OL $hem\bar{o}$ 'person', accus. $hem\bar{o}nem$ (preserved in L

nēmō 'nobody' < **ne-hemō), L homō (gen. hominis) 'person', Osc humuns 'homines', Um homonus 'hominibus' || Gt guma 'άνήρ, man', ON gumi, OSx gumo, AS zuma, OHG gomo 'person, man'; OSx brūdi-gomo, OHG brūti-gomo, NHG Bräuti-gam, AS brūd-zuma 'bridegroom', NE bridegroom || Olt žmuō, accus. [Dk.] žmūni, Lt pl. žmónēs 'men', sg. (d.) žmogūs ~ žmōgus 'person', (d.) žmonā 'woman', Pru smūni [zmūni] 'person' (accus.?), smoy ([z-]; {P}: to read smoa?) 'Mann' ¶ But pTc *śāumo (> Tc A śom 'young man', Tc B śaumō [pl. śāma] 'person. man') is better interpreted (after Wn. and Ad.) as d. from Tc *śāu- 'live' < IE *g^uyo- 'live' ¶ P 415, WH I 654-5, Bc. G 337, Fs. 225-6, Vr. 194, Ho. 140, Ho. S 10, 29, Kb. 399, Schz. 103, 152, KM 97-8, Frn. 1319-20, En. 251, Ped. T 108, Wn. 486, Ad. 636, Ad. H 118 ¶ The irreg. *g^h- for the expected *g- is due to folk-etl. connection with a different word, possibly with *g^hdem-/ *g^hdom- ({EI} *d^hg^hom-) 'earth', like in Hb: ʔā^hdām 'person' linked by folk et. with ʔā^hdām 'earth' (in fact both going back to the S root *√ ʔdm 'red') ¶ In IE the labial element of N *kūmâ > **g^hyeum- > *g^hem-) ¶ ≠ EI 366 (*d^hg^hom-on 'man' < *d^hg^hom- 'earth'), 248 (*d^hg^hemon 'man' < *d^hgg^h(e)men 'on[to] the ground'). An alternative solution of the problem is to reconstruct N *kūHmâ with *H lost (quite regularly) in K, ECh, A, and U || A: M *kūmū-n (pl. *kūmū-s) 'person' > MM [MA] kūmūn, [IsV] kūmū, [HI] gū^hūn, WrM kūmūn (pl. kūmūs), HIM xγH. xθMγγH, MMgl kū, Dx {T} kun, Mnr H {T} kun, {SM} k'un, Dg {Mr.} xū, {T} kū ~ xū, Ba {T} kuη ¶ Pp. MA 441, Ms. H 59, Lg. VMI 52, Iw. 114, MED 501, Mr. D 25, SM 211, T 341, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, T DgJ 150 || ? Tg *komâ > Neg komo 'relatives, kinsmen', Nn B qomol 'grand-grand-grandson' ¶ ≠ SDM97 s.v. *kiηo 'person; people, country' and ≠ DQA #849 (A *ki^une; unc. comparison of M *kūmū-n with T, Tg, and J *K-n-roots) || U *k^om∇ 'man, person' > pZ *kōm- ({Lg} *kōm-) 'person' > Z, Prmk komi, Yz 'komi 'a Komi person (= Ziryene, Permyak, and Yazvian)'; Vt kum in set phrases: √+ž+ kum 'a kinsman' (√+ž+ 'root, kin'), {W} sara kum 'Ziryene people' || Vg: T kom, LK xom, Yk {Vxr.} xθM xōm, P kum, Ss xum 'man (male person)', P k+m 'husband' || OHg hírn 'male (animal)', Hg hírn id., adj. 'male' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} qum / qup 'person' (morphophonemic variants; on their distribution see KHG 143-4), Ke qum, Tur qup id., Tm {KD} kop 'person,

man, husband' ¶¶ Coll. 14, UEW 168 (reconstructs *koy(e)-m∇ without any direct ev. of *-y-, only on the basis of a supposed derivational link with *koye 'man, person'), LG 132, BV 143. EWU 559, KKIH 165 ◇ The U and Tg back *o is probably due to the infl. of the stem-final back vw.: N *kūmâ > *komâ ◇ AD LRC #154 (IE, K, M, ??U), ≠ SNSShS #5 (unc. comparison of M *kümü-n [allegedly from *k_l'uŋi] with IE *genə- 'be born' [see N *känhæ 'to give birth'] and K (GZ) *gen- 'calf [suckling]; to make suck') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #292 (*kum ~ *kun 'person') (IE, U, A, CK + err. Ko, J).

889. ₂ *k∇mç∇ (or *K∇mç∇) 'to jump' > K *°k∇nç- > Mg kenč- v. 'jump' ¶ Q 342 || HS: WS *√k̄mç ~ *°√kmz > Ar √qmṣ v. 'galoper, aller au galop', IA [Frh.] k̄mṣ 'grasshopper', Gz √k̄nṣ 'leap, spring away', Jb C/E √kmz 'jump': Jb C pf. kũz, 3m subj. ykũz, prs. yókmoz 'jump', Jb E kəmzét 'a leap' ¶ L G 435, Di. 450, Jo. J 132, Jo. M 212, HJ 1013, BK II 813 ◇ In the descendant lgs. there is progressive (N *k...ç > *k...c) and regr. (N *k...ç > *k̄...ç) assimilation.

890. ₂ *kamç∇ (or *Kamç∇) '(sth. connected with) hand/arm' > HS: S *√k̄m^ŕṣ̄ ~ *°√kmṣ̄ 'handful' (different directions of as. from *√kmṣ̄?) > [1] *√k̄m^ŕṣ̄ - > BHb 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤃 'komεç 'handful', Ak NB k̄enṣu id. (?) (←b- Aram?), ?σ Ug k̄mṣ̄ 'un montón de' (a measure); BHb, JA √k̄mç G 'enclose with the hand, take a handful/fistful', JEA {Sl.} √k̄mç G 'take a handful'; [2] *kum_l∇_jṣ̄ - > Ar kumš-at-un 'handful' ¶ KB 1036, BK II 929, Js. 1386, Sl. 1026, HJ 1036, OLS 368, CAD XIII 209 || A: M *qamç_u∇_in 'sleeve' > MM [MA] qanču(n), [IM] qanču, [IsV] qanč in, WrM qamcuī ~ qancuī ~ qancu, HIM ханцуй, Brt хамсы, WrO ханса(n), Kl ханцн, {Rm.} хансă, хансṅ, MMgl {Iw.} qamč i, Mgl {Rm.} qamč i ~ qamču, Mnr H {SM} ханž i, {T} ханž i, Dx ganžun, Ba ganžon, Dg {Pp.} ханč i id. ¶ Pp. MA 291, 444, Lg. VMI 42, MED 921, 927, Chr. 543, Krg. 233, KRS 576, KW 166, Iw. 122-3, SM 156, T 373, T DnJ 116, T BJ 137.

891. *kom_l∇_jdE 'e basket, vessel' > U: FU *konte 'knapsack of birch-bark' > F kontti id. | Prm *kud∇ > Vt kud+ 'bast-basket', Vt Sr 'eine Art großer Korb', Z kud 'bent basket of bast, (wickered) bast-basket (пукoшкo)', Z Vm kuda 'large wooden box for flour and corn, пудовкa' || ? amb ObU {Ht.} *kūnt ~ *k̄nt 'large basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt > Vg: T kōnt, LK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt; pOs *k̄nt > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q̄nt, D/K χent, Nz χ̄nt id. (× ObU *kūnt- ~ *k̄nt- 'carry on

the back' < U *kanta- 'carry') ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 124, 177-8, Ht. #292, as well as Wc. TLP 76 and LG 741 (both sources suppose a Chv origin of the Prm word) || **A:** NaT *Komṭa > QuK {RI.} qomda 'box', Qb {RI.} qomda 'coffin', SbTt Tb {RI.} qumta 'ε ein Schächtelchen', SbTt Bkl {Tm.} qumta, SbTt Ltm {Tm.} qunta 'box, bag (коробка, сумка)', Bsh qumta 'small box\case'; Volga Qp *qumta ⇨ Chv L кунтă kund_ь 'bast-basket' ¶ RI. II 671, 1050-1, Tm. 133-4, BR 347, Fed. I 307-8, ≠ Jeg. 118 (supposes a FU origin of the Chv word) || M *qobdu 'case; box; quiver' (× N *Қорṽ 'trunk, log'??) > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver for arrows', WrM qobdu, HIM ховд 'case; long and narrow box; quiver', Kl {KRS} ховд 'long and narrow box; case (футляр), quiver', {Rm.} χobda 'quiver', Brt хобто 'box, chest (сундук)' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 949, KW 181, KRS 591, Chr. 574 || ?? Tg *komṭṽ- > Neg komṭaxan 'birch-bark box for keeping small objects' (unless d. from *komṭa- v. 'close, cover', 'lid' < N *kom_ṽ, ṭṽ 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ STM I 409 || ?σ pJ *kámátí- 'door frame' > OJ kamati, J: T kamaći, K kamaćí, Kf kamáći ¶ S QJ #869, ≈ Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #876 (A *kómṭṽ 'box, frame') || **HS:** S *kand- 'jug' > Ug knd 'jug', Ak NB kandu 'ε a container of earthenware or silver, mainly for wine' (← WS?) ¶ A #1337, CAD VIII 148-9, ≠ HJ 487-8 (Ak kandu * ← WS *kadd-) ◇ UEW 177 (FU, T, M, Tg).

892. *kom_ṽ, ṭṽ 'to cover; lid, cover' > **U:** FP *komṭa 'lid, cover' > F kansi (gen. kannen) 'cover, lid, deck', Lv kōńĉ (pl. kōńĉd) 'lid (Deckel)', Es kaas (gen. kaane) 'lid, cover (of a book)' | Lp: K {Gn.} koamploš 'lid (Deckel)', T {Gn.} kīomte 'outer surface', N {N} goaw'de / -wd- 'projecting roof' | Er kundo 'lid (of a trunk, tub)', Mk {Ps.} kunda 'lid' | Chr: L/H комдыш комбъś, Uf комбъś 'lid' | Z kud 'cover, outer surface' ¶ UEW 671, Sm. 552 (FP *komṭa 'lid'), SK 157, Kt. 150, ERV 314, MRS 213, Ü 73, Ep. 46, LG 143-4, Db. OS x (FU *kamto- > *kamte- / *komṭa-) || **A:** Tg: Orc kumta- v. 'cover'; Tg *komtan 'lid (of a vessel, basket)' > Neg komtan, Orc qumta(n-), Ul qōmṭa(n-), qumta(n-), Ork qupta(n-), Nn Nh/KU qomṭã, Nn B qoṅta(n-) id.; ⇨ *kumta-la- v. 'cover with a lid' > Ul qumtala-, Ork quptala-, Nn Nh/KU qomtala- id. | Tg *kumbṽ-kte 'upper eyelid' > Neg kumbuktz, Ul kumbiktz ~ kumtз, Nn kumuktz 'eyelid', Lm {Pp.} kzmđzmkz 'eyelids'; Nn B kumul-kumul ta- 'close the eyelids tightly' ¶ STM I 409, 447 || M *kömüsge 'eyebrow(s)' > WrM kömüsge, HIM хөмсөг, WrO kümüske ~ kümüskü ~ kömüskü, Kl күмсг күмсэг, {Rm.}

kümska ~ kömska, Ord k'ömösk'ö, Mnr k'üomosg_üo; M ⇨ WrMc xumsun id. | WrM kömüg, kömügei 'shed, roof', esp. 'roof over a portico' | Brt xymэдxэ 'superciliary arcs; eyebrows', Dg {Mrm.} kumṛk 'eyelid' ¶ MED 487, Krg. 741, 754-5, KRS 324, KW 239, 246, Ms. O 428, SM 213, Chr. 620, Klz. D II 117 || ?σ pKo {S} *kùmìt 'hair on temples' > MKo kùmìt ~ kumis id.; MKo kyi mit^h (reinterpreted as 'roots of the ears') > NKO kyi mit^h [kyimit] 'roots of the ears' ¶ S QK #315, Nam 59, 65, MLC 228 || ?? T: OT [MhK] qom-: sūv qomdī 'the water was covered with waves' (legitimate cognate only if it is a bf. from **komT-through forms like *kom-dī < *komT-dī) ¶ Cl. 625 ¶¶ Pp. VG 19, 68 (M and Tg words for 'eyelid'), ≈ DQA #877 *kūmu 'wrap up, cover' (Tg equated with OT qum-, M *qumi 'fold, gather up, close tightly', pKo *kām- v. 'wind around', and pJ *kūm- 'plait, interwine, combine'), DQA #917 (A *ku|om|e 'eyebrow, hair on temples': M, Tg, Ko) || HS: S (mt. and as.) *^o✓ ktm v. 'cover, close' > Ak ✓ ktm (inf. katāmu) v. 'cover, conceal', katammu n. 'cover, lid (for a kettle or oven)' ¶ CAD VIII 297-303 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Beke} kamád 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gämäd 'bark' (× N *kama 'peel [rind]' [→ 'dandruff, scab'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 149 (FU, Tg) → UEW 671 (FU, Tg) ◇ Cp. Gr. II #82 (*kom 'cover') (A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

893. *kañ ▽ 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' > U: FP (att. in FL) *^okansa 'pair; one of a pair, comrade' > Prm *kōz ({{LG} *kōz) 'pair, couple' < Z goz / gozy-, Z US gōz, Yz 'guz, Vt kuz, Vt B ko'z ({{LG} kθz) 'pair', Z gozya 'married couple' | Es kaasa, Δ kās 'comrade; spouse' | Lp: N {N} gaз'ze 'household' (⇔ 'a single individual'), Vfs {Lgc.} nūō'rz g_äcc^uε 'young couple' (nūō'rz 'young'), Kld {TI} kāñc 'comrade' ¶ It is not yet clear if F kansa 'people' and Lp N gaз'ze 'assembly of people' belong to the same √ (with the semantic change from 'couple; married couple' to 'household' to 'folk, people'), or it is a homonymous word of a different origin (maybe a loan from eGmc *xansā [> Gmc *xansō > Gt hansa 'troop, multitude', OHG hansa, AS hōs 'troop', MHG hanse, hense 'society']) ¶ UEW 645 (FP *kansa 'Volk, Leute; Genosse, Freund'), LG 77, Fs. 245, Kb. 431 || A *k_l'an- > M *qani > WrM qani, HIM хань 'friend, companion, partner', Ord xani, WrO xani 'friend, comrade', Kl {KRS} хань 'fellow-traveller, companion', {Rm.} xañj, Brt хани, Dg {T} xani 'friend, companion'; ? MM [S] qanilqa- 'vergleichen, gleichstellen' ¶ MED 930, Ms. O 334, Krg. 232, KRS 576, KW 165, Chr.

546, T DgJ 173, H 60 || pJ *kà'nàp- v. 'match' > OJ kà'nàp-, J: T/Kg kaná-, K káná- ¶ S QJ #761, Mr. 703 || ??φ T *k_l'_lo_lu_lí 'neighbour' (unless a d. from T *k'ón- 'settle down') > OT T koñušu (= qoñušu?) 'neighbour', OT, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg xv qoñšI, MQp XIV [CC] qoñšI ~ qoñšu, OOsM ≥XIV qoñšI~qoñšI, Tk komšu, Ggz qomšu, Qrg qoñšu, Nog, Qq qoñSI, Uz qošni, Δ qoñšĉ ≙ qoñšĪ, Az ΓΟΗΨΥ qoñšu, Qmq χonšu, ET qošna ~ χošna, Xk χonšIχ id. ¶ *÷ (⇔ DQA) T *Konak ~ *Konuk 'guest' (obviously derived from T *k'ón- 'settle for the night on a journey, settle down', see ET Q 55-6, Cl. 634, 637) ¶ Cl. 640, ET Q 66-8, BIG 286 ¶¶ *÷ (⇔ DQA) Tg *xanġi-, which means not 'other', but 'side' (so in Ul, Ork, Nn), while Lm āñl_l and Neg an_lsk_l ~ a_lsk_l 'other' belong to a different N etymon (N *Hañ∇ 'other') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #985 (A *k'āno 'match, other side'; incl. M, J) || HS: S *k∇na_lwat- 'comrade, person of equal social status' > Ak kinātu ~ kinattu id., 'colleague', IA knt 'companion, colleague', BA הַנְּוֹתָּ (pl. +ppa.) kə'nāw-āṭ-ēh 'her colleagues', {GB} 'her comrades', Sr 𐤏𐤍𐤁 kə'nāṭ, 𐤏𐤍𐤁 kə'nāṭ-ā 'companion, fellow-servant, colleague' (Zimmern, Sd., Kaufman a.o. suppose that the Aram word is a loan from Ak) ¶ CAD VIII 381-3, Sod. 479, HJ 520-1, KB 1725, GB 910, JPS 220 || B *√knw 'be a twin' > Ah əknu, Kb √knw (imv. i_lniw) id.; Ah ē-kne, Sll i-kni ~ i-kinnu, Mz a-čniw (pl. a-cniwən), Kb i-_lən, Wrg i-kin, akniw, Izn i_lən, a_lniw, SnSr a_lən 'twin', Mz tačniw_l, Kb ṭi-_lən-ṭ, Wrg tikint, takniw_l 'female twin' ¶ Dl. 411, Fc. 831, Ds. 163, Dlh. M 23-4, Dlh. Ou 147, Rn. 346 ¶¶ In B and S the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N *koñi 'woman, wife' (whence the meaning 'co-wife').

894. *kañ|ñ∇(-ṭ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > HS: S *kann- '≈ stem' → 'basis' > Ak kannu 'slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)', Sr 𐤏𐤍𐤁 kə'n_ln-ā 'stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)', JA kə'n_ln-ā {Js.} 'base, stand', JEA {Sl.} kə'n_ln-ā 'stem, stalk, original position', ? BHb 𐤏𐤍𐤁 ken 'shoot; stand (base of a wash basin ki_ly_lyōr)' (the vw. e is puzzling), Md kana 'base, fundament', Tgr 𐤏𐤍𐤁 kə'n-əṭ (pl. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 kə'nən) 'rowing-pole' ¶ Br. 333, JPS 217. KB 460, KBR 483, Js. 648, Sl. 587, DM 198, LH 416, CAD VIII 157 ¶ There is probably contamination of the S word in question with a different word, meaning '≈ place' || C: Ag {Ap.} *kan- 'tree' > Bln, Xm, Q kana, Aw kani ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WB 221-2 || ?? WCh: Buli {IL} k_l'_líndè, {ChL} kíndí 'tree' ¶ ChL, ChC || D: [1] (in McTm) *kaññ- 'sprout, shoot' > Tm kaññi id., Ml kaññi 'shoot of betel vines'

|| [2] D *kañ∇kk- 'stick' > Kt kañk 'thin dry sticks', Kn kañike, kañuku 'stalk of millet', kañḍike 'stalk, stem', Tu kañaku 'firewood', Tl kañika 'stick', ? Ku kandi 'stick, twig', Krx kañk 'wood, timber', Mlt kanku 'wood' ¶¶ D ##1165, 1185, 1454-5 || U: FU *kanta 'tree stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *gUrañd∇ 'log, trunk of a tree'??) > F kanta (gen. kannan) 'tree-trunk, stem; base; standpoint; heel', kannas (gen. kannaksen) 'tree-trunk; end of sleigh-runner; neck of a land, isthmus', F kanto (gen. kannon), Es kand (gen. kannu) 'stump' || pLp {Lr.} *kōntōy 'tree-stump' >> Lp: S {Hs.} goodde, Kld kūñd: 'windfallen tree', L {LLO} kuottōi id., 'stump', N {N} guod'do 'stump' || Er kando, Mk kanda '(wind)fallen tree' || ObU {Ht.} *kīnt∇ > pVg *kīnt(∇) 'wooden pillar functioning as the vertical support of a storehouse' > Vg: P/NV/LL kēnt, UL xānta id.; pOs *kant > Os: Vy (čoməl-)qant 'each of the two horizontal beams, fixed upon the pillar of a forest storehouse and serving as its base', Ty/Y {Trj.} qānt, Kz χant 'pillar of the storehouse', D χont 'lattice base at the bottom of a storehouse (support of its floor)' ¶ UEW 123, Coll. 85, Sm. 543 (FU *kīntā 'tree stump', FP *kēnta, Ugr *kīnta), Lr. #522, Lgc. #2865, TI 166, Ht. #293, Trj. 144 || A: Tg *kende- 'threshold' > Neg kəndə, Orc kəndərku ~ kəndər(ə)xi, Ul kəndərxi(n-), Nn Nh kəndərxi, Nn B kəndətixə(n) ¶ STM I 448 || T *kāt 'layer, storey (of a house)' > OT qat, Az gat, Chv χut & χot 'layer, fold, storey (of a house)', Tkm gat, Uz qat 'layer, fold, row', Tk kət, Ggz kat, Tv qāt, Tf qāt 'layer, row, storey', ET, SY qat 'layer', Kr Cr, Qrg, Alt qat, χq χat 'layer, row', Qmq, Qq, VTt, Bsh qat 'layer, storey', Xlj qāt 'fold', Yk χat 'again' ¶ Rs. W 241, Cl. 593, ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ra. 219, TvR 223 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #764 (A *kēnt'∇ 'threshold, floor') || ? AdS of IE: NaIE *^og|ḡgenb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡonb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡnob_l^h₁- 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N *gän_l∇₁ḡ¹∇ 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) > *^og|ḡgenb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡonb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡnob_l^h₁- (× N *kañ|ñ∇ 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [→ 'log']) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', koppusteinn 'Rollstein', Dn kampesten id., NE chump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing-stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes, dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole' ¶ P 369, 378-9 ◇ The N postalveolar or

palatal ***ñ** is reconstructed on the ev. of ***ñ** in D ***kaññ-** and ***kañ**∇**kk-**; in precons. position (U ***kanta**, D ***kāmp-**) the postalveolarity is lost due to neutralization ◇ Tg ***e** of the first syll. is probably due to reg. as. (infl. of the root-final ***e**) ◇ ≈ AD NM #87, S CNM 4-5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

895. *k**onE** 'to touch' ([in K] → 'work up') > **U**: FU ***kon**∇- v. 'touch' > ObU {Ht.} ***kān-** 'anrühren' > pVg ***kān-** > Vg: T/O **kan-**, MK **kān-**; pOs {Ht.} ***kān-** ({}Hl.} ***kān-**) > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz **χān-** ¶ Ht. #276, Hl. rHt 71 || **A**: M ***kōnde-** 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N ***koñdE** 'to harm, to spoil', 'to touch') > MM [S] **kōnde-** 'anrühren', WrM **kōnde-**, HIM **көндө-** 'touch, irritate', WrO {Krg.} **kōndō-** 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} **көндө-** **kōndə-** 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} 'sich fühlbar machen' (šarχ_a **kōnd**_Ḷ**nā** 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'); M ***könüxe-** > WrM **könüge-**, HIM **көнөө-** v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', WrO {Krg.} **kōnō-** 'torment, torture, bother' ¶ H 104, MED 490, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239 ¶ The meaning of the M root suggests contamination of N ***k**onE 'to touch' and N ***koñdE** 'to harm, to spoil', 'to touch' || **K**: G (amo-)kn- {Chx.} 'rühren, schlagen (z. B. Eier), einrühren; bearbeiten\gerben (Häute); zer-quetschen\drücken', {DCh.} vt. 'full (woolen cloth), roll (dough), dress (hides)' ¶ Chx. 1566, DCh. 31 ◇ The K cognate is valid if its primary meaning is 'to touch'. If this is the case, the N initial cns. is ***k-**. Otherwise we cannot distinguish between N ***k-**, ***ḳ-**, and ***q̣-**.

896. *koñi**** (or ***kuñi**) 'woman, wife' > IE ***g^wen(-eH)** ({}EI} ***g^wenh_Ḷ** / gen. ***g^wneh_Ḷ-s**) 'woman' > NaIE ***g^wen(-ā)** / ***gun(-ā)** id., gen. ***g^wn-ās** > OI **gnā** 'goddess, divine female', Av **gəñā**, **ʒnā** 'wife, woman', OI 'jani-ḥ, Av **ǰaini**, NPrs **نن** **zān** id. || Arm **կին** **kin** 'woman' || Gk **γυνή** 'woman', Gk B **βανᾶ** (< ***g^wonā**) || Clt: OIr **ben** (< ***g^wenā**), gen. sg. **mná** (< ***g^wn-ās** 'woman, female', Brtt {RE} ***benā** > OW **ben** 'women', **benyw** id. (← 'féminin'), OCrn, Crn **benen**, MBr **benō** 'woman', Br **e-ben** 'his wife' || ??? Al **zonjē** 'lady, woman' (if from ***g^wen-yā**, as suggested by Ped. GA 324.; but O 526 derives it from IE ***wik̄-pot-ny-ā**); but Al G **grue**, Al T **grua** 'woman, wife' cannot belong here (⇔ My. 132 and P 473). because IE *-n- did not rhotacize in Al G || Gmc: (IE ***g^wenōn** >) Gt **qīnō**, OSx **quena** 'wife', OHG **quena** ~ **kwena**, MHG **quene** 'woman, wife', AS **cwene** 'woman, female serf, whore', NE **quean**; NaIE ***g^wēni-s** > Gt **qēns** 'wife', ON **kvæn** ~ **kván** ~ **kvǫn**

'woman', OSx *quān* 'woman, wife'; ON *kvinna* 'woman, wife', NNr, Sw *kvinna*, Dn *kvinda* 'woman', AS *cwēn* 'wife, queen', NE *queen*; ON *kona* 'woman', NNr *kona*, Dn *kone* 'wife, woman' || Pru *genno* 'woman' || Sl **žēna* 'woman' > OCS, OR *жѣна* *žena*, Blg *же'на*, SCr *žèna*, Slv *žéna*, Cz, Slk *žena* 'woman, wife', P *żona*, R *же'на* 'wife', Uk *π жо'на* 'woman' || pTc {Ad.} **śānā* > Tc: A *śān* (pl. *śnu*), B *śana* (obl. *śno*) 'woman, wife' || AnIE: Lv *wanatti* & *unatti* 'women' ¶¶ WP I 681-2, P 473-4, EI 648, M KI 351, 418, VI. II 44, Horn 148, F I 333-5, Vn. B 31-2, RE 147, Hamp AIEW 143, Huld 66, 136, Ped. GA 324 (Al *zonjē* < **gʷen-iā* or <† **gʷiā* 'life'), Fs. 388, Ho. 64, Ho. GEW 78, Ho. S 59, Sw. 38, Kb. 582, HDEL 1070, Vr. 325, 336-9, Schz. 189, Sl. 168-9, En. 176-7, Tp. P E-H 207-10, Glh. 708-9, Vs. II 46, StSS 216, Wn. 476-7, Chr. I 298-9, Ad. 620, Ad. H 31, 34, 42 || HS: C: Ag {AD} **kʷɜ|in-* ~ **ʔɜkʷin-* (pl. **ʔɜkʷin-*), {Ap.} **ʔaxʷin-/*ʔaxʷan-* 'woman' > Dmb {R} *kʷīnā*, Knf {TBZAC} *kuna*, Aw {Hz., Bnd.} *ɣuna*, Aw D {CR} *χuo'nā*, Bln {Plm.} *ʔaxʷina* (pl. *ʔɜkʷin*), Xm {R} *iwna* (pl. *ukʷn* ~ *iokʷn*), Xm T {CR} *eqʷen* (pl. *aqnu*), Km {CR} *ɣawīna* ~ *wīna* (pl. *ɣawīn*) 'woman' ¶ AD SF 213-4, Ap. AV 6, R WB 18, Blz. CWL || NrOm {Blz.} **k∇n-* 'woman' > Cha {C} *kontirā* 'woman', ?σ Kf {C} *kenešō*, {Msr.} *keneso* 'cognata', {HHM} *kenešo* 'brother-in-law' || SOM: Hm K, Ari G {FL.}, Ari {Bnd.} *kan* 'sister' ¶ C SE III 170 and IV 462, Blz. OL #62, HHM 295, Msr. 247, Bnd. AL 158 || B: Ah *tē-kne* (pl. *tēknewīn*), Tmz *ta-kna* (pl. *ta-kanwin*), *ta-šna* (pl. *ta-šanwin*), Kb *ташна*, Rif, SrSn *tašna*, Izn *tašna*, Wrg *takna*, Sll *tākna* (pl. *tākniwin*), Mz *ta-čna* (pl. *tačniwin*, *tičniwin*), Izn *tašna*, Rif, SnSr 'co-wife', Izn *ta-wašun-t* 'wife', Ah *əknu*, Kb ✓ *knw* 'be a co-wife' ¶ Fc. 831, MT 339-41, Dl. 409, 411, Ds. 68, Dlh. M 24, Dlh. Ou 148, Rn. 346 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} *kinītu* 'Nebenfrau (?)' ¶ Sd. 480 || Ch: WCh: NrBc {Stl.} **kina* 'co-wife' > {Sk.}: Wrj *kinai*, Jmb *kina*, My, Kry *kin*, Mbr *kinā*, Cg *kīne* id. ¶ Sk. NB 16, Stl. ZCh 256 [#120] ¶¶ In S, Ch, and B there may have been coalescence with the reflexes of N **kañ∇* 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' (> B **✓knw* 'be a twin') || A: NaT **kūni* 'co-wife' (×N **Ḳinʔu* [> as. **Ḳünʔü*] 'exercise magic', → [in descendant lgs.] 'be jealous') > OT, XwT *kūni*, Tkm *gūni*, Az *gūnu*, Qrg *künü* 'co-wife', MQP [incl. CC] *kūni* 'concubine', Tk Erz *günü* 'Freundin'; a cd. with **-taš* (> -*daš*/-*däš*) 'fellow-': Uz *кундош* *kundaš*, Qq *kündes* 'co-wife', ET *kündäš*, Qrg *kündöš*, Nog, Qzq *kündes*, VTt, Bsh *көндәш* *kündäš* 'co-wife, rival' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 105-6, Tkr 222, SD 688, Jud. 467, BR 280, Nj. 664,

UzR 224, Pokr. TR 66 ¶ Og g- points to a pT *k' || pJ {S} *kuanami 'first wife (in polygamy)' > OJ kuanamj̄i id. ¶ S QJ #1518, Mr. 456 ¶¶ DQA #921 (*kune 'one of several wives') ◇ IS I 306-8 [#178]. The meaning 'co-wife' in HS and A obviously reflects the polygamous system of marriage. But it is not necessary to share IS's hyp. (IS I 308) interpreting it as traces of the archaic kinship system in which women of one exogamous moiety were potential collective wives of men of the opposite moiety; cf. the traces of this system preserved among the Gilyaks (Shtr. GO 129-284, Krn. N 259-93) ◇ Gr. II #431 (*kun 'woman') (IE, A, J + qu. EA) ◇ The vw. *ü in T *k'üni results from regr. as.

897. *kuñä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *gou̯n-/gun- 'hair' > Av gaona- 'hair, colour of hair', Psh yūna 'hair of the body', KhS ggūna- 'hair', Oss D yun, Oss I хъуын qw3n id., 'wool', OI guṛaḥ 'thread, string, sinew, chord' (OI -ṛ- is still puzzling: a prakritism?) || ? Gt kuna-wida 'fettors (ἄλυσις)', OHG kuna-wid 'chain, fettors', cuonio-wid 'fettors', [γ] khuna-withi, chun-widi 'catenae' || ? Sl *guna ~ guña > SCr gūnja 'body hair of a domestic animal', 'ε garment', Blg гyна 'furcoat', Cz Δ huňa 'woolen cloth with nap', Cz houňa, P gunia 'ε cloak of woolen cloth', R Δ гyня 'worn-out garment' ⚡ 'furcoat', Uk гyня '(caftan of) coarse heavy woolen cloth' ¶ M K I 338, M EI 489-90, Mrg. 25, Bai. 86, Ab. III 326-7, Fs. 315-6, Kb. 569, 573, ESSJ VII 175-7, ≈ EI 252 (*gou̯r̥ / *gu'n-0s 'body hair [of animals]') || **U:** FU (att. in FP) *kūn|ñä 'hair, wool, feather(s)' > F kynä 'feather' || pPrm {LG} [1] *gūn > Z гын g+n, Z Vsh gūn 'felt', [2] {LG} *gōn > Z гон g3n 'feather(s), wool of horses\cattle', Yz gōn 'woolen mittens, felt', Vt gon 'wool, dough, hair of the body' ¶ LG 80, Lt. J 107, ≈ UEW 664 (equates BF *kūnā with Z k3yn3s 'small long coop') || **D** (in SD) *kūntal ({ǵGS} *k-) 'human hair' > Tm kūntal 'long flowing tresses of a woman', Ml kūntal 'woman's hair', Kn kūdal 'hair (of the head or body)', Tu kuzalъ 'hair of the head', Krg kūdlu 'hair'; D ⇨ OI kuntalaḥ 'hair of the head, lock of hair' ¶ D #1892, M K I 229 ◇ FU *kūn|ñä results from synharmonic as.: ***kuñä** > *kūn|ñä.

898. *k'ay'ñ∇ (or **kañ∇??**) (often in cds.) 'wing, feather' > HS +ext. (← cd.?) *k∇n∇p(∇r)-: S *ka'nap- 'wing' > Hb קנפ kā'nāp, Ug knp, (AkSc) {Hnr.} kanapu, JA קנפ kə'nāp, em. קנפ kan'əj'pā, JEA {Sl.} קנפ kan'p-ā (pl. קנפ kan'əj'pē), Sr كنف kanə'pā, Ar كنف kanaf-, Gz kənf (pl. kənaf), Tgr, Amh kənf, Tgy kənfi 'wing', Ak kappu

id. (× *kappu* < **kapp-* 'palm of hand'), Yd, IA {HJ} *knp* 'skirt of a garment'; EthS ⇨ Bln {Plm.} *kanfi* 'wing', {R} '*kanfə* 'feather', Aw {CR} *kenfī*, Qbn {L} *kānf^ωa* 'wing' ¶ Brst. 184, KBR 486, GB 353-4, A #1345, OLS 220, BK II 937, Hnr. 138, Sl. 589, Js. 651, L G 287, HJ 519, R WB 224, MiK I #1.145 || C: Ag **k∇np-* (unless ⇨ EthS): Xm {R} *kiff* 'wing', Q {R} *kamb*, *kemb* id., 'feather', Km {CR} *kəmbī* 'wing' || ??φ Bj {R} *ʔan'būr* (pl. *ʔanbir* ~ *ʔanber*), Bj A {AD} (*hu*) *ʔanbūr* (pl. *hu ʔanbir*) 'wing' || EC {Ss} **kimbir* 'small bird' > Rn *čimbír* id., Sa, Af {PH} *kimbir-o*, Bs {Ss.} *kimbir-i*, Dsn {To.} *kimírri* 'bird', Arr {Hw.} *kirmaté* 'bird(s)', Sml *šimbir*, pBn {Hn.} **šimmír* (> Bn *šimir* & *šimmir* & *simmir*), Or *šimbir-a* & *simbir-a* & *šimpirrē* 'bird' || ??φ SC: Irq {Wh.} *hâmpa* (pl. *hampêri*), {MQK} *hampa* 'wing' ¶ AD SF 30 (**kEmp∇r-* 'bird'), 65 (pC **kanp-* 'wing, feather'), Ss. PEC 13, 15, PG 85, Hw. A 373, To. DL 511, PH 147, Hn. BD 95, E PC #381 (pC **kanf-/kinf-*, MQK 48, CR K 214 || ? SOM: Ari G {Fl.} *kāfi* (< **kanfi?*) 'wing' ¶ Fl. OO 321 || ? Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} *kòpók*, {Sb.} *kòpók* 'feather' || WCh: Fy {J} *kámāk* id. || EC: Mkl {J} *kâmbirsá* (pl. *kâmbàrí*) 'wing' ¶ ChC, J LM 118, J R 87 ¶¶ AD SF 65 (S, C), OS #1426 (S, Ag) || **A** **k'ayna* 'wing, large feather' (→ 'leaf of a door\gate') > M: [1] **qana* 'ε feather' > WrM *qana* {Gl.} 'the feathers (in a wing) immediately behind the "hairy feathers"', {Kow.} 'les petites plumes des ailes des oiseaux, c. à d. celles qui sont après les quatre ou cinq premières dans la même rang', Kl {Rm.} *χana* 'die grossen Federn der Flügel, die ebene Fläche der Flügel'] [2] sd. (infl. of T?): WrM *qanan*, HIM *xana* 'section of lattice wall of a yurt; lath; wall', Kl *xana* 'lattice wall of a yurt', {Rm.} *χana* id., 'Wandstücke', Ord *χana* 'treillis de tente, mur', Brt *xana* 'wall' ¶ MED 927, Kow. 719, Gl. II 68, KRS 575, KW 165, Ms. O 332, Chr. 544 || pT {Md.} **ka.jnat∇* or {AD} **ka.jnat* or **k.janat* 'wing' > NaT **k'ānat-* 'wing' > OT *qanat*, Tk *kanat*, Az *qanad*, Tkm *gānat*, Ggz *kanat*, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, ET, Ln *qanat*, Uz *qanot*, SY {Tn.} *qana^ht* (with preaspirated t) ~ *qi.jnat*, {Mal.} *qanat* ~ *qi.jnat*, Xk *χanat*, Tv {Ra.} *qanat*, Tf *hanat* (Md.: < **kaʔnat*) 'wing', Yk *kinat* ~ *ki.jat* 'wing' (Yk I < **a* in this position is reg.) || Chv L *śunat* 'wing' (acc. to Md. OJ 72, pT **ka.j-* > pre-Chv **kjā-* > **ɣjā* > Chv L *śu-*)] sd.: Tk *kanat*, Az *qanad*, Ggz, Nog *qanat*, Uz *qanot* 'leaf (of a door>window)', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Qmn/QuK/Tb *qanat*, Xk *χanat* 'a section of lattice wall of a yurt' ¶ Cl. 635, ET KQ 252-3, TL 504, Ra. 186, Rs. W 520, Md. OJ 72, 217-8, 274, Rl. II 111-3, ESSJ KQ 252-3, S AJ 194-5 [#216], Jeg. 218, Fed. II 137, Tn. SJJ 199, Mal. ZhU 52, 63, AD AltAD

|| pJ {S} *kántuà 'gate' > OJ kád̀wò, J: T kádo, K kàdó, Kg kadó id. ¶ S QJ #898, Mr. 431 ¶¶ ≈ STM97 s.v. A *kenta 'elbow, angle' (T, Tg + unc. pJ *kàntuá 'angle, corner', see N *kámč'ó' 'to bend; bend, corner'), ≈ DQA #826 (A *kḗna 'elbow, angle'; incl. T) || D ≈ *kent- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'feather' > Gdb kenduṭ (pl. kendum), Gdb P kendiṭ 'feather', Gnd kendi, Gdb K kendiṭ, Png kḗndid (pl. kḗndil) 'hair' ¶¶ D #2002 ◇ The D vw. *e may be explained if it is supposed that N *ay contracted into Gnd and Gdb e. HS *k∇n∇p(∇r)- may go back to a cd. (N *k'ay'ñ∇ 'p'ur, y, ∇, see N *p'ur, y, ∇ 'wing, feather(s)') ◇ Blz. LB #53c.

899. *kü, y, ñûA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > HS *✓knɣ (× N *k'ũñigU 'to bend, to incline, to bow'?) > CS *✓knɣ '≈ be bent, bow, incline' > Ar kanīɣ- 'estropié de la main, qui a la main cassée', ʔaknaɣ- 'mutilé et estropié de la main', ✓knɣ (pf. kanīɣa, ip. -knaɣ-) 'contractus et corrugatus fuit', 'être contracté\tordu', kanaɣa ɣalā v. 'submit to', BHb N pf. ܢܝܩܢܝܢ ni-k'naɣ 'have to submit, be humbled, humble oneself', SmA ✓knɣ G vi. 'yield, submit, be humble', JPA ✓knɣ pp. 'depressed, modest' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935-6, KB 461-2, KBR 484-5, Tal 397, Hv. 667, WKAS K 388 ¶ The Hb and Aram verb may go back to N *k'ũñigU '↑' or to result from coalescence of both N sources || ? B *✓knH v. 'incline' (× N *k'ũñigU) > Izd pf. ikna, Sll knu (pf. ikʷna) '(se) courber', Kb əɬnu (pf. yəɬna) 'se pencher, s'humilier, se courber', Gd ɛknu (pf. yɛkna, Lcj. 22) '(se) courber' ¶ Dl. 409, Ds. 79, Mrc. 65, Lf. I 264 (on Lcj. 22) and II #0775 || IE *ǵenu-/*ǵonu-/*ǵneɥ- ({EI} *ǵonu / gen. *ǵenu-s) 'knee' > OI 'jānu, KhS yṣānuā-, Sgd zʔnʷk, MPrs zānūk, NPrs ܙܢܘܢ zānū 'knee' || Arm Ժուկ cunɣ (pl. Ժուկք cunk-kʰ) id. || Gk γόνυ id. || L genū (gen. genūs) || Clt *gnūnes (dis. > *glū-nes) > OIr glún, NIr glúin, Brtt {RE} *glūnos > MW, W, Br glin, Crn glynn || Gt kniu, OHG knio ȝ kniu, NHG Knie, AS cnéo 'knee', NE knee || pTc {Ad.} *kenw- > Tc: A kanw- (du. kanwem), B keni (du.) id. || Ht genu, g|kinu-, g|kanu- id. ¶¶ P 380-1, EI 336, M K I 429, Vl. II 107-8, Horn 144, F I 321, WH I 592-3, RE 107, LG § 268, Fs. 313, Kb. 551, Schz. 182, KM 382, Ho. 54, Sl. 165-6, Wn. 187, Ad. 193, Ad. H 137-8, Pv. IV 146-51 || U: FU *küyñä-(rä-) 'forearm, elbow' > F kyynärä, kyynäs, Δ küjñärä 'ell', kyynärpää 'elbow' (pää 'end'), kyynärvarsī 'forearm' (varsī 'stalk, shaft'), Es küünar 'forearm, ell' || pLp {Lr.} *kzrñēlē 'elbow' > Lp: S {Hs.} garnjere, L {LLO} karñel, N {N} gar'dnjel, Kld karñel || Er

кене́ре кѣне́ре, Mk кене́рь кѣне́р id. | Chr: L кыне́рвуй кѣне́р'wuy 'elbow', H кѣне́рвуй кѣне́рwuy 'elbow joint' (вуй 'head'), H кѣне́р кѣне́р 'ell' | Prm *gúr 'forearm' > Z Ud g+r 'unity of length for measuring linen (ell)', Z g+rǝǝa, Vt g+rþum 'elbow' || ObU {Ht.} *kǔñ- > pVg *kǔñxal > Vg: LK kʷänxal, UL konlōwɫ, Ss konlōwɫ 'elbow'; pOs {Ht.} *kǔññäy ({Hl.} *kǔññäy) id. > Os: V/Vy kǔññi, Ty kǔññi, Y kǔññi, D kǔññäy, K kǔññäy | Hg kǔññök id. ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 158-9, Sm. 544 (FU *kǔñärä 'elbow', FP *kǔñärä, Ugr *kǔñ-), SK 257-8, Lr. #322, Lgc. #1957, Hs. 565, MRS 269, 276, Ep. 55, MF 372-4, It. #415, SSK 257-8, LG 85, SZ 97, Ht. #281, Hl. rHt 71 || A: ? Tg *xüñcen 'elbow' (× N *kǔñčǔ '∈ part of leg', q.v. ffd.; this merger accounts for Tg *x-) ¶¶ The Tg root is unconvincingly equated in DQA #824 (A *kēñǔ 'elbow, angle'; ≈ {SDM} A *kǔyña, *k'ǔyña) with M *kai, *kan-čũ 'fronte legs, sleeve' and pJ *kanaǔ 'rule, gusset' ¶¶ DQA l.c. mentions T *Kaynat 'wing' that goes back to N *kayñǔ 'wing, feather' || ? D *kǔñ ({ǧGS} *g-) 'a bend, curve, hump on the back' (× N *k'ǔñigũ 'to bend, to incline, to bow?') > Tm kǔñ, kǔñal 'a bend, curve, hump on the back', Ml kǔñ 'a humpback', Tm kǔñan, Ml kǔñan 'humpbacked', Td ku'n 'hunchback', Kn kǔñu, Tu, Tl gǔñu 'a hump', Kn kǔña, gǔña 'a humpbacked man', Kdg kǔñ, Tu gǔñæ 'hunchback', Tl gǔñi 'humpbacked', Ku guʔu 'hump of cow', cp. also Kt ku'n- v. 'be in bowed position', Tm kǔñu- v. 'curve', Gnd guñ- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D #1927 ◇ IS I 304 (*kǔyñA = *kǔyñA), ≈ S NSShS #28 (IE, Tg + unc. M and J) ◇ Gr. II #128 (*ken 'elbow') (IE, U, A +unc. J, EA).

900. (₂?) *kǔñhæ 'to give birth' > IE *ǧenH-/*ǧneH- 'give birth' ({E}) *ǧenh₁- 'beget a child; be born') > NaIE *ǧenə-/*ǧnē-/*ǧnō- > [1] thematic present: OI 'janati 'gives birth', OL gen-ō, Gk γενέσθαι 'give birth', 3p ip. OI a-jan-anta, Gk ἐ-γέν-εντο, cp. Arm aor. ծնայ (1s prs. ծնանիմ 'I give birth, am born'), OIr gain- 'be born' (-ga(i)nethar 'is born), conj. -genathar, as well as W geni 'to be born, to bear', Br genel 'to give birth'; [2] reduplicative present: (athematic) OI jajanti, Av zizanti, (thematic) Av zizananti 'they give birth'; (zero grade): Gk γίγνομαι 'I become, appear', L gignō, -ěre 'bear, beget, bring forth', OI ft. gignethar; [3] pfc.: OI jajñē 'I am born', 3s ja'jāna, Gk γέγονα 'is born', OIr rogénar (*ǧe-ǧn-) 'natus sum'; [4] *-skō-present: L nā-scor 'I am being born'; [5] NaIE

*ġenH-o/es- ~ *ġonH-o/es- ntr. 'birth, kin' > OI 'janaḥ / janas- 'race (Geschlecht, Abkunft)', Av (in cds.) zana- 'people (Volk), human race', Gk γένος (G γένεος) 'race, stock, family', L genus (gen. generis) id., 'birth, descent, origin; kind', Arm ծիւ cin 'birth, origin', cp. OIr ganet 'birth'; [6] *-to-prtc. and sim.: *ġn̄-to-s, *-ā, *ġnō-to-s, *-ā > OI jā'ta-ḥ, Av zāta- 'born', L nātus (co-gnātus, a-gnātus) (< IE *ġn̄tos) id., 'son', Plg CNATOIS 'nātis', GI GNATUS (with a long *ā) 'son', GNATHA (with *ā) 'daughter', ON kundr 'son', Gt -kunds 'descending from', Gk γυνάτος 'a relative, brother', Ltv znōts 'son-in-law'; *ġenā-to-s, -t-ā > L genitus 'born', W geneth 'girl' (← 'daughter'), ? (× IE {Pv.} *ġemh^ω- < N *kEm[∇] [or *kEmHo] 'to give birth' → 'kin, family'): BSl: Lt žēntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zētb id., 'bridegroom' > OCS зятѣ zętb, Blg зет id., SCr zēt, Slv zět' OCz zět', Cz zet', Slk zat', P зиєć, R, Uk зятѣ 'daughter's husband'; Al: T dhëndër, G dhândërr 'groom' || AnIE (× IE *ġemH- < N *kEm[∇] or *kEmHo 'to give birth' → 'kin, family'): Ht kaena n. 'relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld kāna (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ Pv. IV 12-4 (suggests that the words for relatives-in-law belong to the IE √ *ġemh^ω- [= {Pv} *ġem-A₁^ω]), P 369-70, 375-7, EI 56, ≈ 369 (L gener and Al dhëndër < NaIE *ġem- 'marry'), M KI 415-6, M E I 567-8, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Billy 83-4, LP § 431.19, 554, Thr. §§ 549, 597, 737, 756, FI 297, 306-8, WH I 597-600, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Slr. 97-8, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. EI 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || D: [1] *kaṇ- ({ṡGS} *k-) 'bear, bring forth' (× N *Kaṇ[∇] 'begin, originate, be new') > TI kaṇu 'bear, bring forth', 'beget', Brh xaniṅ 'give birth to'; [2] D *kaṇr- 'child, young of animals' (× N *k'an'E' 'young, child', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 || ?σ HS: S *kann- > Ar kann-at- 'son's wife, brother's wife' ¶ BK II 932 ¶ ≡σ: Ltv znōts and Sl *zētb 'son-in-law' || ?σ Eg XX kn (an epithet of the Sun-god as creator) ¶ EG V 131 ◇ My preliminary working hyp. (for the time being) is that the basic meaning of this N word was 'acquire new relatives' - both through birth (whence the meaning 'give birth, beget') and through marriage; the latter meaning may be discerned in the IE *-t-derivatives meaning 'son-in-law' and in Ar kann-at- 'daughter\sister-in-law' ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (equates the IE √ with A *k₁'uni 'person; people, country' and K *ġen- 'calf; to suck the udder') ◇ D *-ṇ- (in *kaṇ- and *kaṇr-) is not a decisive ev. of a pN *-n-

because *-ŋ- in these D roots may belong to the heritage of N ***Ḳan** and ***Ḳ'an**'E'.

901. *kiñho ~ *kihño 'see, observe, examine, know' > IE ***ǵenh**^ω- / ***ǵneh**^ω- (= {EI} ***ǵneh**₃-) 'know' > [1] NaIE ***ǵenə**- / ***ǵnō**- > OI **jñā**- 'know', **jā'nāti** 'knows', Av **paiti-zānanti** 'sie nehmen sich an', thematic: 2p **paiti-zānata** 'you (pl.) recognize', OPrs 3s ipf. **a-dānā** 'he knew (kannte)', Av **zanā-t**, **zanān**, Psh **pē-žanī** 'recognizes', NPrs **داند** **dān-ād** 'is able; it is possible', (d.) **دانستن** **dānestān** 'to know, to be able', **دان** **dānā** 'learned' || Gk **ἔ-γνων** 'I knew' || Arm **ծանեայ** **caneay** 'I recognized', **անծան** **an-can** 'unknown', **ծանալք** **canawt^h** 'known' || OIr **itar-gninim**, **asa-gninaim** 'sapio' || Gt, OSx, OHG **kunnan** 'to know, to understand, to be able', ON, OFrs **kunna**, AS **cunnan** 'to know', NHG **können** 'to be able', p/prs. (< IE pfc.): Gt, ON **kann**, AS **can(n)**, NE **can**, OFrs, OSx, OHG **kan**, NHG **kann** 'can'; d.: Gt (**ga**)**kannjan**, ON **kenna** 'bekannt machen', AS **cennan** 'to explain, to determine', OSx **kënnian** '(er)kennen', OHG **ir-kennen**, NHG **erkennen** 'to recognize', OHG **bi-kennen**, NHG **kennen** 'to know' || Lt **žinaũ** / **žinóti**, Ltv **zinu** / **zināt** 'know, be aware', Ltv **zīstu** ~ **zinu** / **zīt** 'know, recognize, perceive', Pru **posinnat** 'bekennen' || Tc A {Ad.} **knānā**- 'know' || [2] NaIE pp. ***ǵnō**- 'to-s 'known' > OI **jñā'ta-ḥ**, Gk **γνωτό-ς**, L **nōtu-s** id., OIr **gnáth** id., 'accustomed', W **gnawd** 'customary', Gl Eposognatus n. pr. ('accustomed to horses'), Pru **pa-sinnāts** 'known'; [2a] variant pp. ***ǵñ**- 'to-s 'known (bekannt)' > Lt **pažintas**, Gt **kunp-s**, ON **kunnr**, **kuđr**, AS **cūđ**, OSx **kūth**, OHG, NHG **kund** || [3] NaIE n. act. ***ǵnō-ti**- > OI 'pra-jñāti-ḥ' 'knowledge (of the way to...)', Gk **γνώσις**, L **nō-ti-ō** 'knowledge', Sl ***znatь** 'the known people, aristocracy' (> OCS **знать** **znatь**, R **знать**), and inf.: Sl ***znā-ti** 'to know' (> OCS **знати**, SCr **znàti**, Slv **znáti**, Cz **znáti**, Slk **znat'**, P **znać**, R **знать**, Uk 'знати), Lt **žinóti**, Ltv **zināt** 'to know', Pru **ersinnat** 'to recognize (erkennen)' || [4] NaIE ***ǵnō-sk**- > OL **gnōsc-ō**, -**ěre**, L **nōsc-ō**, -**ěre** 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of', cds.: **co-gnōsc-ō**, -**ěre** id., 'get to know, learn', **a-gnōsc-ō** 'recognize' || Gk Epr **γνώσκω**, Gk (rdp.) **γλγνώσκω** learn to know, perceive, mark' || OPrs **cnj. xšnāsātiy** 'daß er erkenne' || Ht **ganes(s)-**, **kanes(s)-** ({EI}: < ***ǵnēh**₃-s-) 'recognize, discern, identify;

acknowledge' ¶ P 376-8, Dv. #117, EI 337-8, M K I 429, M E I 599-601, Sg. 500-1, Horn 118, Mrg. 105, Me. VP 60, 103, F I 308-9, WH I 429 and II 176-8, LP §§ 9.1, 431.3, 456, YGM-1 236, Fs. 316-7, Vr. 334, Ho. 46, 63-4, Ho. S 41, 44, Schz. 180, 185-6, Kb. 535, 569, 571, KM 364, 392, 412, SGGJ IV 412, Sl. 96-7, Frn. 1310-1, En. 232, Tp. P E-H 86, Glh. 698-9, Pv. IV 42-6, Ts. E I 478-80 || **HS:** WS *✓khn 'be clever, foretell' > Ar ✓khn (pf. kahana) v. 'foretell, soothsay', Mh 'kathən v. 'pretend (illness, etc.) to attain one's object', Jb C 'kathən id., 'be cunning'; acp. *kā'hin- 'clever person, foreteller' > Ph, Pun, Ug, IA, Nbt khn, Sr کَاهِنٌ kāhnā, Md kahna, Gz kāhan 'priest', BHb כֹּהֵן kō'hēn, JA כֹּהֵן kā'hēn / כֹּהֲנֵי kō'hā'n-ā, JEA {Sl.} כֹּהֲנֵי kō'hā'nā 'priest, kohen (member of the hereditary clergy)', Ar كَاهِنٌ kāhin- 'foreteller, diviner; pre-islamic priest; businessman', Mh kō'hən, Jb E 'kuhun 'cunning, cheat', Hrs kēhən 'grown up, adult, clever' ¶ A #1294, HJ 490-2, KB 440-1, KBR 461-2, OLS 212, Js. 615, Sl. 554, Br. 319, BK II 940, L G 278, Jo. M 206, Jo. J 129, Jo. H 67 || C *✓kʔn > Ag {Ap.} *kin-/kan- 'see, learn' > Bln, Xm kən-t- 'learn', Q kin-t-, Aw kan-t- 'see'; Aw {Hz.} a-qəṣṣ 'I know', ya-qəṣṣ '(he) knows' ||| EC: Sml (past tense stem) -iqīn- 'know': Sml N p.: 1s 'iqīn, 2s 'tiqīn, 3m 'yiqīn, 3f 'tiqīn, 1p 'niqīn, etc., prs.: 1s aqān, 2s taqān, 3m 'yaqān, etc.; Brj aqan-ḏ- 'learn', aqan-s- 'teach', ? HEC: Ged egeṣṣ-, Sd egenn- 'know'; Ya -qēnoṣ 'know' ||| Bj {R} -kān pcv. (formally md.) (1s: p. a-'kān, prs. ak'tēn) 'know (kennen, wissen)', {Rop., Alm.} -kan id. ¶ The cnss. k and q (< *k) in Aw, Sml, Brj, and Ya cannot be explained without postulating a glottalizing factor, which may have been a glottal stop *-ʔ- that clustered with *k- in the prefixe-conjugated verbal forms: 3s *y∇kʔ∇n > *y∇k∇n; that is why the cnss. *k (> q) has been preserved just in such verbal forms (in Aw and Sml), as well as in Brj and Ya forms presumably going back to similar prefix-conjugated verbs ¶ AD SF 63-4 (*✓kʔn), R WB 222, R WBd 142-3, Ap. 13, Hn. Y II 128 || ?φ Eg N cṛḥ 'blicken auf ...' ¶ EG V 384 ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (1998) (adduction of Eg) ||| **A:** M *kina- 'examine carefully, observe, trace' > WrM kina-, HIM хяна- id., 'investigate', Kl {Rm.} kin-χα 'forschen, durchmustern, sorgfältig durchgehen', {KRS} κινḫ 'be diligent, assiduous', Brt хина- 'observe; check, revise', Ord k'ina- 'faire qch. avec soin, avec circonspection, avec prudence' ¶ MED 469, KW 231-2, KRS 301, Chr. 572, Ms. O 421 ◇ NaIE ◇ N *i > pre-IE *e₁ > IE *e (loss of the glide before a sonant) ◇ ≈ IS I 296-7 [#163] (*kEN∇; C, IE + K *gen-/*gn- 'understand, feel' [which to my mind belongs to N *gAn|n∇

'see, perceive']; hardly here S *√ kny v. 'name', Eg cny 'distinguish', ? T *Kön(ä)- 'agree'), ≠ S NSShS #5 (NaIE *ġena-/ *ġnō- equated with K *gen- / *gn- and with T *Köne- 'agree, admit, acknowledge' [actually T *k'ön- 'be straight', see Cl. 726-7, ET VGD 74-5]).

902. *kän₁y₁u (or *kän₁∇y₁u) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *ġ|genu- id. > Gk ἔνυς, -υος 'jaw; side of the face, cheek' || L gena 'cheek' (instead of the expected *genu on the analogy of mala 'cheek, cheek-bone') || Clt (× IE *ġ^henu- < N *genû 'jaw, cheek'): OIr ġin (gen. ġeno) 'mouth', W ġên 'cheek, chin' (pl. ġenau) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} ġen 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} ġuen 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} *ġenowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrm ġenau, MCrm ġanow, OBr, MBr, Br ġenou 'mouth' || Gmc (-nn- < *-n_w- of the obl. cases, generalized throughout the declension paradigm): Gt kinnus, ON kinn 'cheek', OSx kinni, OHG cinni ≈ chinni, NHG Kinn, AS éinn 'chin', NE chin || Tc A śanwem^m du. 'jaws' (× NaIE *ġ^henu- due to the Tc merger of IE *ġ|g- and *ġ^h-) ¶ No cognate distinguishes between reflexes of *g- and *ġ-, hence rec. of unequivocal *ġ- is justified only if we take into account NaIE *ġonadh- '≈ cheek, jaw' (see below) ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2 (*ġenu-), EI 322 (*'ġenu- 'jaw'), F I 298, WH I 589-90, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, Kb. 551, KM 369-70, Ho. 49, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1 (Tc śanw- < *ġēnu-), Ad. H 110, EI 322 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *kōña > F kuono 'muzzle, snout, nose, mouth', Vo kōno 'muzzle, snout', Es koon (gen. koonu) id., 'chin' ({W} 'Kinn, Rüssel, Schnauze') || Mk koñä, Er koña 'forehead' ¶ Db. OS xxv, SK 240, W EDW 358 || **D** (in SD) *kaññ- ({θGS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm kaññam 'cheek, ear', Ml kannam 'cheek, jaw', konni 'cheek', Kn kanna 'the upper cheek' ¶ D #1413, #1989 (Ml konni) || **N** *kän₁y₁∇-d∇ (originally a cd.?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *ġonadh- / *gnadh- '≈ cheek, (?) jaw' > Lt žándas 'cheek', Ltv zōds 'chin' || Gk γνάθος, γναθμός 'jaw, cheek' || Mcd κάναδοι · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'jaws' ¶ Tr. 365, F I 316, Frn. 1289, P 381-2 || **HS**: Ch: Hs kúnčǐ 'cheek, side of the face' (pl. kúmātu with m on the analogy of words having the alternation of a precon. n [< *m] and prevoc. m), kúndükukì 'cheek-bone' ¶ Ba. 641 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 152 || **A**: Tg *k'a^hnt∇- > Neg koḡtovk^h ~ koḡtopk^h 'nose (of a deer\elk\bear)', Nn B koḡtoro 'nose (of a wild boar)', Ewk PT kaḡtakā-, kaḡtarat- v. 'grin, bare one's teeth', kaḡtarga- v. 'grin (скалитсяся)' ¶ STM I 375, 413 ◇ D *-ññ- and IE *-n- suggest that FV *-ń- does not go back to N *-ń-. The source of FV

(actually Mr) palatality is probably a N *-y- (lost in IE, HA, and D), which is also responsible for the long vw. in FU (complementary lengthening due to the contraction of the N cluster *-ñy-). A different solution is to suppose that Mr -ń- is due to language-specific Mr processes (a y-sx.?) ◇ FU *ō < pre-U *ā (a reg. change) < *ä: (due to harmony of vowels) < *ä with complementary lengthening). Tg *-[a]̄- < A *-ä- (regr. as., "harmony of vowels") ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [#6] (D, IE, HS *gin, gun 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *kän̄₁y₁u and N *genû '↑').

903. *ken₁∇₁c'∇d∇ 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint' > HS: S *✓knsd 'top of shoulder' > Mh kənsīd (pl. kənsōd) id., Jb C/E kən'sed (pl. kə'nabsəd), Sq {Jo.} 'kozi (pl. 'kəzho) 'shoulder', Gz kəsād ~ kəsāc 'neck' (š̂ is purely graphic, due to the merger of Oeth s and š̂ in the new EthS lgs.), Ak kišādū 'neck, throat, necklace' ↷ Md kšada {DM} 'throat', {Kfm.} 'neck ornament' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. H 69, Jo. J 133, CAD VIII 446, Sd. 490, DM 224, LG 296, Kfm. AIA 64, MiK I #1.147 || ?φ K: G I {Chx.} kinč-i 'Nacken, Widerrist', G I/Rch {Ghl.} kinč-i 'neck (γολβγρόν)' ¶ Chx. 1559, Ghl. 571 ¶ -č- < *-ct-?? || A: Tg *kende(-ke) 'shoulderblade' > Ewk kəndəkē, Lm kēndət, Neg kəndəkə, Ork kəndə id. ¶ STM I 448 || AdS of M *qonda|u- (< N *q'o'ñ∇ 'back, rear', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KW 185, MED 962, Kow. 869, KRS 596, H 66 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1103 (A *k'jūnc'ō 'sleeve, elbow; top of boot [голенище]) || D *kenṭ-, {ṢGS} *geṭ- 'joint (articulation), ankle' > Tm kenṭay 'ankle', Ml kenṭppu 'joint (articulation)', Kn giṇṇu, geṇṇu 'joint (as of a finger), knot (as of sugar cane)', Kdg giṇṇi 'joint in wrist\ fingers, knot in cane', Tu gaṇṭb, gaṇṭu 'ankle, knot in string\reed\cane', Tl gaṇṭu, gaṇṭa 'knot', Nkr kaṇḍe 'joint in bamboo'; D ↷ OI gaṇḍa-h 'joint' and pInA *gēṇḍa- ¶¶ D #1946, Tu. #3998, ≠ M KI 318 (supposes a different D source for the OI word) ◇ In most lgs. a contraction *-nCd- > *-nd-. D *ṇ is postalveolar due to the ass. infl. of the following *ṭ, which is the reg. reflex of N *d.

904. *koñdE 'to harm, to spoil', (← ?) 'to touch' > IE: NaIE *g^ωend^h-v. 'injure, damage' > OI [Dhat.] gaṇḍh-ayatē 'injures', OI [∧] gandhana- 'Verderben', Pali gandhana- 'injuring' ||| Gk δέννος 'reproach' (< *g^ωend^h-no-) ||| Lt gendū / gésti 'spoil; deteriorate', Ltv ģinstu / ģint 'be ruined; spoil, damage' ¶ P 466, Frn. 149-50, Tu. #4016; ≠ M KI 321 and M EI 461 (no etl. connections of the OI stem

outside InA), F I 366 and Ch. 263 (no et. for δένυος) ¶ The IE √ *gʷendʰ- was reinterpreted in some descendant lgs. (in Lt and probably in some others) as a present stem with a nasal infix, whence (bf.) Lt p. gedaũ, inf. gés̃ti, and some derivatives, e.g. Lt pagadas 'damage', gadinti 'to spoil' || HS: NrOm: Kf {C} gond- v. 'harm, damage; be bad', gondō 'bad', {Cc.} gat- 'destroy (demolire)', Mch {L} gondo 'bad', Shn {Lm.} gōndà 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, C SE IV 446, R K 42, Lm Sh 309 || C: Ag *gʷaḍ- > Bln {R} gʷāt- 'berühren, angreifen, Schaden zufügen', Q {R} gʷad- ~ god- 'harm; touch, attack', Km {CR} gæd y- 'damage, harm (Schlechtes antun)', Aw {CR} gʷad- 'touch, attack; destroy'; Ag ⇨ Amh ገዳ gʷædda v. 'damage, injure, harm, ruin' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gaḍē 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, R WB 165, L CAD 217, Grg. 61 ||| A: M *kōnde- 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N *kʰonE 'to touch') > MM [S] kōnde- 'anrühren', WrM kōnde-, HIM xəhdə- 'touch, irritate', WrO {Krg.} kōndō- 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} kəndə- kōndə- 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} 'sich fühlbar machen' (šarχa kōnd_lb_lnā 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'); M *kōnūye- > WrM kōnūge-, HIM xəhəθ- v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', WrO {Krg.} kōnō- 'torment, torture, bother' ¶ H 104, MED 490, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239 ◇ The voiced initial *gʷ- in Om and C and the absence of *d in M *kōnūye- are not yet clear ◇ The meaning 'touch', preserved in Ag and M, may have been primary, so that the semantic development may have been as follows: 'touch, irritate' → 'harm, spoil' ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'портить' (*kʰoṛndʷ in IE and Om).

905. UA₂ *Kʷu'ṇyaHíE ~ *Kʷu'yṇaHíE- *Kʷu'ḥaHíE 'sunshine, daybreak' > A: T *Kuḥ'āí (or *Kuyāí) {Cl.} 'blazing heat of the (midday) sun' > OT quyāš id., Chg, OXwT quyaš 'sun', MQp quyāš 'sun's rays', Tkm Δ quyāš 'sun, blazing heat of the sun', Tk Δ guyaš, Kr Cr, Qq, Qmn quyaš, Uz quyaš, VTt, Bsh qḥyaš 'sun', Nog qiyas 'blazing heat of the sun', Yk kuḥāš 'hot weather, intense heat (Sonnenglut, зной)'] (synharmonic variant of *Kuḥ'āí- with the infl. of T *k'ün 'sun, day'): T *K'ühāí ~ *K'ünāí 'sunshine' > OT künāš 'sunshine, sunny place', Chg künäs ~ künāš, Tk güneš, Δ köveš, Az күнәш günäš, Ggz, Qmq güneš, Kr Cr, Tlt küneš 'sun', Tkm güneš 'sun; blazing heat of the sun (солнцепёк)', Chv хёвел хьвел, Δ xöl 'sun' ¶ Cl. 679, 734, Rs. W 307, 309, ET Q 112-3, ET KQ 103-4, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #531 (A *g_lòyṇu 'dawn, daylight'; incl. T) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr)

*^okoyⁿ∇^í∇ 'glow in the sky' (× U *koye 'Morgenröte') > Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' (with loss of the palatality of *^í) | Os {Ht.} *kuⁿá^í 'red evening- and morning-glow in the sky' ('Röte am Himmel (morgens und abends') > Os: V quⁿá^í, Vy quⁿá^l, Ty quⁿá^č, Y quⁿá^čá, D/K χuⁿá^í, Nz χuⁿá^íá, Kz χ^{q̄}ná^íá ~ χuⁿá^í (D/K/Nz ^í < pOs *^í, -^íá^í & -^íá^č in Nz, Kz, and O may be due to inter-dialectal borrowing) ¶ Ht. #742, St. D 522-3, EWU 514-5, UEW 167 (Hg-ObU word < U koyⁿ∇ 'dawn' + an unknown *sx.*) ◇ *K^u'ⁿyaH^íE ~ *K^u'^ynaH^íE (or *K^u'ⁿaH^íE?) may be a (Uralo-Altaic?) d. from (or a cd. with) *K^unE 'sun, day' (see N *K^un∇ ~ *K^unE). An alt. hyp.: the FU word is derived from FU *koya 'dawn', while T *Kuⁿá^í ~ *K^uná^í is derived from T *k^un, so that the resemblance between T *Kuⁿá^í ~ *K^uná^í and FU *koyⁿ∇^í∇ is casual. DQA #531 tries to derive the T word from an unc. A *gⁱòyⁿu 'dawn, daylight' ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #16 (A *[÷] U *kuⁿe 'moon, month').

906. *kaⁿ|mp∇ 'soft excrescence (lip, mushroom)' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- (or *g^ωemb-) 'excrecence, tumour, lip, mushroom' > Psh yumba 'tumor, swelling', MPrs gumbad 'dome, fire-temple' (< convexity) || Lt gum[˜]bas 'bump; lump, knob; growth, excrecence, tumour', Ltv gum[˜]ba 'tumour, swelling, heap' | Sl *g^oba 'sponge, mushroom, agaric', 'lip' > OCS ГѢБА g^oba 'sponge', Blg ГѢБА 'agaric, mushroom', Slv g^oba, Cz houba, Slk hu^oba 'sponge, mushroom', SCr g^uba id., 'tinder; tetter, leprosy', HLs hu^oba 'mouth, muzzle', LLs hu^oba id., 'lip', P g^eba 'mouth, face, muzzle', OR, RChS ГѢБА g^uba 'sponge, mushroom', R, Uk г^y'ба 'lip', Blr 'г^yба 'lip, mushroom' ¶ McK 38, Mrg. 25, Frn. 176, ESSJ VII 78-80, Glh. 252, ≠ P 396 (includes the reflexes of this √ in an amorphous pool of different *geu-, *gau-, *gū-roots) || HS: B *[√]knf > BSⁿ {Bs.} t^ä-šⁿāf-t 'lip'; B *[√]knfr 'lip, muzzle' > Kb {Dl.}, Kb Z {La.} ašⁿfir 'lip', Shnw {La.} ačⁿfir 'large lip', Ntf {La.} kⁿfur 'muzzle'; B [→] Ar Mgr χanfō^rā 'muzzle' ¶ Dl. 98, La. MChB 110 || C *k[∇]mp∇r- 'lip' > Ag *k[∇]mp∇r- > Km {CR} k^əm^bər (pl. k^əm^bər-t^ən), Q {R} kan^per, Xm {R} ki[']fir (pl. ki[']fir-t) 'lip'; Ag [→] EthS: Gz ከኅፈር kanfar (pl. kanāfar), Tgr, Tgy, Amh ከኅፈር kⁿfer 'lip'; EthS [→] Bln {R} kan^fər ~ k^un^fūr (pl. ka[']nāfər ~ ka[']nāfər), Sa {R} 'kam^fer (pl. kanāfer) 'lip' (the form of pl. [typical of the EthS lgs.] proves that these words are Semitisms) ¶ R S II 217, R WB 224, R Q II 85, CR K 214, L G 286-7, LH 418, Bsn. 608 || S *^k∇np∇r- > Ar kin^fir-at- 'tip of the nose' ¶ Fr. IV 65, ≈ MiK I #1.146 || U: FV *k^amp∇(r∇)

'mushroom' > pLp {Lr.} kōmpər id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guobbere, L {LLO} kuoppar, N {N} guobbâr, Kld kūmbar, T kīmber id. | Chr (lost) *kūmba ⇨ OBlgh *kūmpā ⇨ Chv кăмпа кăмб_а 'mushroom', VTt, Bsh гəмбə gəmbə 'mushroom', and Prm *göbE ({JLG} *göbE) > Z гоб gob, Z US gōb 'Bolletaceæ (губчатый гриб)', Vt gubi, Vt Ur gūbi 'mushroom' ¶ Lr. #519, Lgc. #2852, Hs. 68O-1, SZ 81, LG 76-7, Fed. I 253, ≠ Jeg. 99 (Chv ⇨ OR gōba), Sm. 552 (? FP *ko|amp∇) ◇ IS I 291-2.

907. *kuńčê (or ***kuńčê**) (probably = ***kuńč̣i** or ***kuńč̣i**) '(finger)nail, claw' > IE: [1] NaIE *gʷisti-s (or *gʷisti-s) 'finger' > Brtt: W bys, OCm [VC] bis, bes, OBr (in ds.), MBr bis, bes, Br biz 'finger'; Brtt ⇨ OIr *biss in biss ega 'icicle' (lit. 'finger of ice') ||| ON kvistr, NNr, Sw, Dn kvist 'branch' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 53, Flr. 83, Ern. 68, Hm. 84, Vr. 339 ||| [2] NaIE *gʷosd_ho-, *gʷosd_hi- 'nail' > W both 'nave of a wheel, boss of a shield', Gl *bottos 'nave of a wheel' (⇨ VL Gl *bottos > Fr Δ bout id., d. bouton, boutin, boutel id., and possibly Fr bouton 'button'); ? Brtt ⇨ OIr bot 'tail, penis', Nir bod 'penis' ||| Sl *gvozďb (~ *gvozďb?) 'nail' > OCS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďb 'nail' ('ἥλος, clavus'), Blg гвозд, HLs hózdź, LLs gózdź, P gwoźdź, RChS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďb ~ ГВОЗДЪ gvozďb, R, Uk гвоздь 'nail', Blr гвоздзь 'wooden nail' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 73, LP § 25.5, YGM-1 51, 65, Dnn. 73, ML #1239b, Vr. 339, ESSJ VII 185-6 (* ÷ Sl *gvozďb 'forest') ¶ Here we should have expected a NaIE **y (< N *ń), which possibly really existed before elimination of **y due to the IE laws of root structure ||| U *küñče 'fingernail, claw' > FU *küñče > F kynsi / kynte- 'fingernail, claw, hoof', Es küñs 'fingernail, claw' | pLp {Lr.} *kəncə id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gadssē, L {LLO} kaddsa id., N {N} gāz'zā, Kld {SaR} kəññc, {TI} kəñ:z 'fingernail, claw, hoof' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kinčə > pMr *kinžə > Er кенже kenže, Mk кенже keñžə id. | pChr {Ber.} *küč id. > Chr: L күч küč, H кыч кəč | Prm {LG} *güž∇ id. > Z гыж g+ž (/ *g+žy-), Z Vsh/EV güž, Yz глž (gen. глž'лн), Vt гижи giž+, Vt Δ g+ž+ ||| ObU *küñč 'claw, fingernail' > pVg {Ht.} *küñš id. > Vg: T küñš, LK/UL kʷäš, MK kʷäns, UK kʷäs, Yk {Vxr.} käns, P käš, NV/SV kʷänš, UL/Ss kos, Ss {BV} кос, конс, N {Mu.} kʷass; pOs {Ht.} *köñč id. > V/Vy köñč, Ty köñč, Y köñč, D/K köñč, Nz/Kz küš, O qus || Sm {Jn.} *k'btā 'fingernail, claw' (× N *k'ü'ta 'fingernail, claw, nail' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 157, Coll. 30, Sm. 544 (FU *küñci, FP *küñči, Ugr *küñčī), It.

#409, Lr. #311, Lgc. #1870, Hs. 543, TI 102, SaR 147, Ker. II 55, Ber. 26, LG 84, Lt. J 107, Ht. #287, BV 40, Jn. 55-6 || HS: S *kin|mθ|ç- 'shin' > Ak kimṣu ~ kinṣu ~ kiṣṣu 'shin, calf of the leg' (→ 'knee'), as well as Gz k̄ʷayṣ 'leg, shin' ('shin' ← *'hoof', like in Sl *noga 'leg, foot' < BSl *nogā 'hoof' < IE *ongʰ- 'fingernail' or in OI 'aŋghr̥i 'foot' from the same IE √ *ongʰ- 'fingernail'); Gz k̄- for **k- is due to glottalizing as.]?φ S *o√ gθw/y > Ar √ ḡθw/y (pf. ḡaṯā, ip. -ḡṯiy- ~ -ḡṯuw-) 'stetit in extremis pedum digitis', {BK} 's'élever sur le bout des pieds' ¶ CAD VIII 373-5, Sd. 478-9, L G 457 (does not accept any connection between the Gz and the Ak words), Fr. I 244, BK I 253 ¶ In the highly qu. Ar cognate the cns. *g- for the expected *k- may be accounted for by neutralization of the opposition vd. ↔ vl. within a cluster of two obstruents (*-kθ- ~ *-gθ-) || Ch: Kwn M {J} k̄inžírǵí 'fingernail' (and Kwn {J} k̄ínírǵí 'finger?'), Grm {J} k̄ʷančà 'fingernail'; but hardly here Cg {Sk.} k̄in, Mnt {J} k̄àn-sáy id., and other words for 'fingernail' in the WCh lgs. without the expected sibilant and especially those with the initial k̄-, unless some contamination with a different word can explain the phonetic irregularities ¶ ChC, JI II 137, ≈ Stl. 212 [#628] || ?φ A: Tg *xosī-kta 'fingernail, claw' > Ewk osīkta, Lm ostъ, Neg ōtta, Ork xosiqta id., Ul xusta id., 'nail', Sln ušikta ~ ušikta 'fingernail, hoof', Nn Nh/B xosiqta, Nn Nh xosaqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta ~ wajikta 'fingernail', WrMc wasiχa(n), ošoxo 'claw' ¶ STM II 26-7, Krm. 219 ¶ The unexpected *x- (for *k-) and *-s- (for *-č-) are due to the association of the noun with the Tg verb *xosī- 'scratch' (STM II 26-7) || pKo {S} *koč 'spit (for roasting), skewer; awl, gimlet' > MKo koč id., NKo kot kos 'a borer, awl, gimlet', k:0ž'i 'skewer' ¶ S AJ 257 [#170], S QK #170, Nam 54, MLC 164, 174 || pJ {S} *kùsì 'spit, skewer, comb' > OJ kùsì id., J: T/Kg kuší, K kùsì id., 'broach, prod' ¶ S QJ #201, Mr. 466, Kenk. 1120-1 ¶¶ S AJ 16 and 280 [#347], DQA #1073 (pA *k'jùčù 'to scrape; claw, sharp stick') (Tg, Ko, J; proposes a connection with the A verb for [A ≈ *k'ič̣] 'scratch') ◇ If the S cognate *kin|mθ|ç- is not accepted, the reconstructed N affricate may be either *č̣ or *č̣. The NaIE cognate *gwisti- is likely to confirm the rec. of N *-č̣- (cp. N *yôč̣ 'bone' > IE *xʷest̥H₂- ~ *xʷost̥H₂-) ◇ The IE reflex of the N nasal cns. suggests that before *č̣-affricates the neutralization of the nasal cns. was not complete: N *n̄ (*n|ñ) was still distinguished from *ń. The Tg vw. *-o- for the expected *-u- still needs explaining.

908. (₂?) *kangga 'to wrap, to tie' > IE: NaIE *gengh- v. 'wind, tie, spin, plait, weave' > ON *kǫngur 'winding, wicker-work' ⇨ kǫngur-vāfa ~ kǫngul-vāfa 'spin', MHG kanker 'ε spider', NGr Δ Kanker id.; ? ON kinga 'Brustschmuck, Brosche'; NrGmc ⇨ F kangas 'web', kankuri 'weaver' ||| Sl *gǫžь > Blg гѡж m. 'bandage, turban', Slv gōž f. 'leather strap (used to fasten the flail to the handle, the yoke to the pole [Deichsel])', OCz húže 'rope', Cz Δ houž, houže 'tight plait (жгут)', OR гѡжь гужь, R гуж 'tug, leather strap or loop (used to fasten the shaft of a cart to the shaft-bow, etc.)', R Δ гуж 'rope, strap of a flail' ¶ P 380, Vr. 309, 342, SK 155-6, Lx. 103, ESSJ VII 93-4 ||| **А:** T: Osm {Rh.} قنغال qanḡal, Tk kangal 'a coil, a skein', Chg, Osm {Rl.} قنغال qanḡāl 'ein in Form eines Rades zusammengelegter Strick, ein gewundener Bündel', Osm {Rh.} qanḡalla-, Tk kangalla- v. 'coil, wind in a skein', {Rl.} qanḡalla- 'zusammenrollen', as well as possibly Tkm ганжыга qanžıya, StAlt {BT} кандьага qanžaya, Alt {Rl.} qanžıya, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qanžıya, Uz қанжиға qanžıya 'торока, der hintere Teil des Sattels, wo etwas zugebunden wird', Osm {Rh.} qanžıya 'breast-strap at the front of a saddle', Xk Δ ханҷауїла- 'tie to the торока', and Chg {Rl.} qantar- vt. 'die Zügel des Pferdes an den Sattelknopf festbinden' ¶ Rl. II 119-22, Rh. 1424-5, TkR 151, Jud. 340, BT 71, UzR 603 ||| ?σ,φ **D:** McTm *kamp- > Tm камраї 'slips of wood forming the binding of a book made of palm leaves', Ml камра 'wooden peg which goes through a native book' ¶ D #1244.

909. (₂?) *kangv 'ε waterfowl' > **А:** Tg *kangu id. > Ewk Tng kangalas 'gosling', Orc kangu 'wild duck', Nn {Pt.} к̄анго, Ul qanḡulu 'merganser (Mergus)', WrMc qanḡu ḡexe 'loon (Gavia)' (ḡexe 'duck'); Ewk ⇨ Yk ханалас 'ε goose' ({Pek.} 'гусь-стервятник') ¶ Vas. 191, Pt. 62, Sun. UJ 202, Z 252, Pek. 3310 ||| ? pKo {S} *kón 'swan' (unless a loan from Chn) > MKo kón, NKo koni ¶ S QK #292, Nam 50, MLC 136 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #721 (A *kǎnu 'swan'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 123 ||| **D** *kaḡkaḡam ({ḡGS} *k-) 'ε waterfowl' > Tm kaḡkaḡam id., Tl kaḡkaḡamu 'a large bustard with a red head' ¶¶ D #1083 ||| ?σ **HS:** Eg P krm.t 'ε ein böser Vogel' ¶ EG V 132.

910. ₂ *koŋ'3'v 'crotch (of body)' > **HS:** Eg Md kns (< *knz?) 'body part between the anus and the genitalia (= perineum?)', {DW after Dawson} 'hypogastric region', {Fk.} '(?) pubic region' ¶ EG V 134, DW II 907-8, Fk. 286 ||| **А:** M *qoŋzu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch;

back part' > MM [S] qonžiya-sun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM qonžusun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch', Kl {Rm.} χond_asn̄ id., Mnr H {SM} g_uänž_iäsə 'la derrière (des hommes, des animaux)', {T} qonžose 'back part'; behind' ¶ H 66, MED 96, KW 185, SM 123, T 325.

911. *kohp∇ 'cave, pit' > HS: S *^okahp- > Ar kahf- 'grotto, cavern; shelter' ({Fr.} 'specus, spelunca larga et ampla' → 'asylum, locus effugii') ¶ Fr. IV 67, Hv. 668 || ?φ Eg fP cṛt.t 'burrow, hole in the earth' ¶ EG V 364-6 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Hs kàfē {Ba.} 'hut made of wood (or corn-stalks) and grass', {Ba., Abr.} 'verandah fixed to a house wall', Hs {Abr.} káfì 'hut of cornstalks' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} kípl̄, Tr {Nw.} кэба, {Mch.} kɪba, Gude {ChL} kùv^ωá, {Mch.} kuva, FIM {ChL} kùvú, FIB {ChL} kùvún 'hut' ¶ Ba. 524, Abr. H 447, ChC, ChL ¶¶ ≠ OS #1430 || **K** *kwab- 'cave, hollow in the ground' > OG kwab-, G kvab- 'cave', Mg kvib- 'cave, hollow in the ground (котловина)', ? Sv (← G?): UB/Ln {TK} kwäb (pl. kwabär), L {TK} kwab, Sv {K} kwäb, kwaba 'cave'; it is possible (but not certain) that G kvab- 'cauldron' and Mg kvib- 'small cauldron' belong here as well ¶ K 197, K² 216, TK 788 || **U**: FP *kōppE or *kōppa 'pit; hollow' (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ 'hollow, empty, hole', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: Tg: WrMc qobi 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.} 'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 || M: [1] M *qobi- → WrM qobil, HIM ховил 'groove'; WrM qobiki, HIM ховхи 'ε chisel with a grooved blade', [2] *qoyu-sun 'empty' (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ) > MM [HI, S] qo_osun id., WrM qogusun, HIM хоосон 'vacuum, emptiness; empty, void', WrO χōson ~ χōsun 'empty, void', Kl хоосн, {Rm.} χōsn̄, Brt хооһо(н) 'empty', Mnr H {SM} χōž₃sn̄ 'vide, désert, inhabité', {T} χōžen, Ba {T} χoson, Dg {T}, Ord {Ms.} χōson 'empty' ¶ Ms. H 90, Lew. II 45, H 66, MED 949, 953, Ms. O 361, Krg. 272, KRS 597, KW 191-3, Chr. 574, 587, SM 169, T 375, T BJ 150, T DgJ 178 || pJ {S} *kúl_mpyá 'cavity' > OJ kúb_lu_ó, J T kubo ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 || T *Kobu 'hollow\depression between hills\mountains' (→ [1] *Kobuk 'a hollow; hollow, empty', [2] T *kobu-í 'hollow, a hollow) (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #859 (A *kóbú 'hollow, cavity'; incl. T, M, Tg, J) ◇ Eg p and U *-pp- suggest a pN *-p̄-, which is at variance with K *-b-; the apparent controversy may be accounted for by the deglottalizing (de-emphasizing) infl. of the N lr. *h.

912. *ko^ʁp∇ 'mucus, slime' ([in some B lgs.] → 'saliva'), 'filth\dirty on the surface (mould, soot)' > IE: NaIE *^og^ωēbh-/*^og^ωabh- 'slimy' ({P}

'schleimig, schwabbelig') (→ 'slimy fish') > Gmc: Nr Δ kvapa 'to secrete liquid', Sw Δ kvabba, NLG quabbeln 'von Fettigkeit zittern', NE quab; OSx {P} quappa 'burbot (Lota)' (absent in Ho. S), MHG quappe id., NHG Quappe 'burbot and other slimy fish (e.g. rockling, Enchelyopus)', OHG Δ ({OsS} OMG) quappa 'cappedo, ein Fisch mit breitem dickem Kopfe' || (× N *kOH₂'ä' b∇ [- *kOH₂'ä' p∇?]) 'frog, toad', q.v. ffd.): BSl: Pru gabaωo 'toad' and Sl *žāba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad', as well as L bufō 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶ P 466, KM 572, OsS 692, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, Ert. ED 130 || HS: S: Ar kafχ-at- 'écume abondante' ¶ BK II 913 || B *✓kfH ~ *✓kfs (partially ɫ) 'foam, saliva, slime' (× N ɫ *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble?') > Wrg {Dlh.} t-kuffi 'mousse, écume, tissu graisseux et floconneux dans les entrailles d'un animal qu'on écorche', ETwl/Ty {GhA} takæffe 'mousse, écume', Ah {Fc.} tã-kuffe 'mousse blanche (de lait qu'on vient de traire; de savon), Kb Z {La.} tikuffa 'mousse', Tmz {MT} a-kuffi (pl. akuffan) 'écume, masse blanchâtre des liquides', Gh {Nh.} takufit, Gd {Lf.} twkæffe, Kb i-kuffan, BSn {Bs.} a-kuffu, a-kufkuf, Rf Wr {Rn.} kuffi, Izn, Rf B/A {Rn.} tkuffi, Kb {Dl.} iɯuffan (pl.), Zng {Bs.} ikuffan 'foam', Shenua {La.} ixufa, BMn {La.} tixuffa 'salive', Btw {La.} kufu 'crachat', Izn {Rn.} tikuffa, Rf Tz {Rn.} ikuffän, SrSn {Rn.} ikuffän, Ntf {La.} takufas, Wrg tikufas 'saliva', Zng {Bs.} akuffo (3s pf. ikuffo) 'écumer'; ⇨ Wrg {Dlh.} -kkæfkæf-, Ah sə-kkæfkæf v. 'foam' ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, La. MChB 121, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II #0736, Bs. MS I 231 || U: FV *k'ō'pp∇ 'mould' > pLp *kōppz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} гуорре, L {LLO} куоһра, N {N} гуоррâ, Kld kūbb || pChr {Ber.} *kupъ- (={Ber.} *kupâ-) 'grow mouldy' > Chr Ch/YO/V kūrā-, K kūrā-, Chr E {Ü} купа- id., Chr L купаш ку'ра-š, Chr H кыпаш 'къра-š 'to grow mouldy, to be covered with mould' (water); Chr B {Trc.} кур 'mould' ¶ UEW 680 (FV *kâpp∇), Lr. #528, Lgc. #2904, Hs. 691, Ber. 24 [#109], MRS 246, 270, Ep. 52, Ü 85 ◇ The Gmc verb and the B ✓ have ideophonic associations, which have influenced their form.

913. *keyp∇ (→ *küyp∇?) 'light (not heavy)' > U {Coll.} *keypä id. > FU *kepä > F kepeä, keveä 'light, easy', Es {W} kebjā, kebi 'light, quick, weak' || pLp {Lr.} *kēppē 'light (levis)' > Lp: S {Hs.} g'öörpe-ke, N {N} gæp'pâd, Kld kīēppēs id., L {LLO} kiehppē 'light, easy', N {N} gep'pis 'easy' || ? Vt Sr kapčī 'leicht, mild' || Hg kevéš 'few' || Sm

{Jn., Hl.} *keyp∇- 'light (levis)' > Ne T сѣбѣ, Ne O {Lh.} sīb_lī, En {Cs.} sēbi, Slq Tz {KKIH} šēpī ~ šēpī, ?? {Prk.} sзpeη, Slq Tm {KD} šabāga id., Slq Nr {Cs.} s äbeak 'I am light', Mt {Hl.} ı̇ *kühä, ı̇ı̇ *kīhā 'levis' (Mt {Pl.} kúhe ~ kiíhe) ¶¶ UEW 146-7 (U *kepā), Coll. 24, Coll. CG 406 (*keypā), W EDW 258, Lr. #385, Lgc. #2272, Hs. 644, Jn. 67, Lh. 447-8, KKIH 174, Hl. M #570 || **A:** M *^okübki- > WrM kübki- 'be very light (of weight)' ¶ MED 195, Kow. 2582 || pKo {S} *kàp^hı̇- 'light (of weight)' > MKo kàp^hı̇-yáp-, NKo kabya_{ı̇}p- ¶ S QK #499, Nam 5, MLC 17 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #929 (unc. comparison of the Ko root with M *köbü- 'rise to the surface, float, drift' and Tg *kepu- ~ *kopu- id.; reconstructs pA *kup^e 'light [of weight], floating on the surface') || **HS:** Ch: WCh *^k∇f- > NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj k[∞]ófúrá, Cg kōfáfá, Kry k[∞]àk[∞]áfáná 'light (levis)' ||| Ech: Ke {Eb.} k3faη id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 67 ◇ If the N etymon is *keyp∇, the labialised *^k- in NrBc and *ü in M may be explained by the assimilatory infl. of N *p. If we accept the N rec. *küyp∇, the U vw. *e remains unexplained.

914. *kep_{ı̇}h₂∇ (= *kep_{ı̇}∇?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *gēp_{ı̇}H_{ı̇}- > NaIE *gēp^h- ~ *gēb^h- 'jaw, mouth' > Irn (< *gēp^h-): Av zafar-, zafan- 'mouth, jaws of animal (Maul)', Phl dahān, NPrs دَاهَان dāhān ~ دَاهَان dāhān 'mouth', Orm zānbō 'jaw' ||| OIr gop 'bill (of birds), mouth', NIr gob 'bill, protruding mouth, snout', Gl → VL Gl *gobbo- (with "expressive" gemination) > Fr gobet 'gobbet, mouthful', gober 'to gulp down, to swallow (with greed)' ||| Gmc: MHG kiuwe ɔ̄ kiwe 'jaw, jaw-bone', 'throat (Rachen) (of animals and the devil)', kiuwel, kiwel 'jaw, jaw-bone', NHG Kiefer, NLG keve 'jaw', ON kjaptr ~ kjǫp_{ı̇}tr 'jaw, jaws (of animals)' (Maul, Kinnbacke, Kiefer)', NNr kjeft, Dn kjæft ab 'mouth, throat', Sw käft 'mouth (of animals)', ab 'throat' ||| Sl *zobъ > R зоб 'crop, craw (of birds)', LLs zob, P dziób 'beak' | but NGr Δ kiefe 'gill (of fish)', NLG keve, ON káfi id., and Gmc *kēfala id. (> AS céaf_{ı̇}l, NE jow_{ı̇}l, jole, OSx kaflos) (⇔ EI) belong together with Sl *žabra 'gill' < NaIE *gēb^h- 'gill', which is likely to be a different IE √ ¶ P 382, Vl. I 944, Horn 131, Bai. 222-3, Brtl. 1657, Thr. KR 60, ML #3814, Kö. #4289, Dnn. 375, Vr. 311, Lx. 108, KM 367, Vs. II 31-2, 10, ≈σ EI 173 (*gēp- 'eat, masticate' [usually of animals]) ||| **K** *^oqap- 'chin, 'jaw' > Sv: UB/LB qap-rä-y, U/LB qaprä, Ln/L qapray {TK} 'chin', {GP} 'lower jaw, chin', Sv {Ni.} qaprä 'jaw'; d.: *ni-qap- 'chin' > OG dat. ni-qap-sa 'to the chin' (p < *p by as.), G ni-qap-i ~ ni-qap-i id., Mg n3q3- ɔ̄ niq̄u ɔ̄

nuḡu- 'chin', Lz nu(n)ḡu 'mouth, face', Sv Ln niḡpa, Sv L niḡba 'chin', Sv {Ni.} niḡpa 'jaw' ¶¶ K 148 and K² 142 (*ni-ḡap- 'chin'), FS K 169, FS E 184, Abul. 329, Q 291, Chik. 49-50, Ni. s.v. подбородокъ and челюсть, TK 342 || **HS:** Ch: DfB {J} kárâk (pl. kapák) 'cheek', Ch {Stl.} *gobi 'chin, cheek' (× N *ḡAb∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) || **A:** Tg {ADb.} *°kefe ({S} *°kewe) 'lower jaw' > Ewk kɜwɜ id., Lm kɜwɜ̄, Lm Sk kɜbɜ̄ id. 'chin' ¶ STM I 442-3 ¶ The rec. of Tg *-f- is based on A. Dybo's version of the Tg historical phonology (ADb SR), where Ewk -ɜwɜ- and Lm -ɜwɜ- ɔ̄ -ɜbɜ- go back to pTg *-efe- || **D** *kepp- 'cheek, temple' ({ǵGS} *k-) > Ml ceppi 'cheek', Kn keppate id., keppe 'temple', Tu keppæ, kebbu 'cheek, temples', gebbu 'temples', ? Tl cēpa cekkuḡu 'gills' ¶¶ D #1989 ◇ K *ḡ...ḡ < **k...ḡ (as.) ◇ NaIE *-p^h- ~ *-b^h- suggests the presence of a N lr. The absence of any lr. in K suggests N *ḡ, *ḡ, or *ḡ. Among these three the most plausible is *ḡ, because only *ḡ can account for the voicing in IE *-b^h- ◇ Cp. N *ḡAb∇ 'jaw, cheek' and N *ḡ'a'w_lo_ḡḡE or *ḡ'a'w_lo_ḡḡ∇y∇ 'skull; occiput'. In the descendant lgs. semantic and phonetic infl. of the heritage of these N words cannot be ruled out.

915. *kop∇r∇ (or *-b-?) 'many, big' > **HS:** S *✓kbr 'many, big' > Amr {G} ✓kbr 'be great', BHb ✓kbr *Sh* (caus. verb) 'increase' (ip. 3 m יִבְרַיְוּ y-a-kbīr 'will multiply [words]'), Yd, IA ✓kbr 'be plentiful', Yd kbr 'might (?)', OA kbr 'abundance', Sr كَبْرٌ kab'bīrā 'much, big', BHb kab'bīr 'strong, mighty; great, much', Ar ✓kbr 'become stout\tall, grow big', kabīr- 'great, old', JA, Sr ✓kbr (pf. kaḡar) 'abound, increase', Sb kbr 'great', Gz ✓kbr 'be honoured, great', Ak ✓kbr (inf. kabārū) 'be big, thick' ¶ KB 438, KBR 458-9, BDB 460 [##3624, 3627], JH 115, HJ 486-7, 531, G A 22-3, Fr. IV 3-4, BK II 853-4, Hv. 641, BGMR 75-6, LG 274, Sd. 415 || WCh: Hs Skt/Kc kabri, StHs káurī, Gw {Mts.} keberi 'thickness' ¶ Ba. 589 ¶¶ OS #1410, ≈ Sk. HCD 140-1 || **D** *kopp∇r- ({ǵGS} *k-) '≈ increase' > Tl kop(ḡa)ramu 'increase, rise, swell', kopparinta 'increasing', Krx xopōrxolā, xoporkā 'abundant, swarming' ¶¶ D #1731 (a) || **A:** M *°köbüre- > WrM köbüre-, HIM xγβpɜ-x v. 'grow, sprout, germinate' ¶ MED 477 ◇ The comparison with D is qu., because the D words may alternatively go back to pD *kupp- 'heap' < N *ḡuḡ∇ 'heap, hill' (q.v.). If the D root belongs here, its cns. *r (that regularly goes back to cns. clusters with N *r) needs explaining. Does it suggest a N etymon *kop∇rḡ|h∇ or *kop∇rḡ|y∇?

916. *ku_Psa 'extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g^wes-/ *g^wōs- id. > OI 'jasatē 'is exhausted' || Gk σβέννυμι 'I extinguish' (aor. σβέσ-σαι) || ?σ Gmc: Gt qistjan 'to ruin', fra-qistnan 'to be ruined', OHG quist 'torment', fir-/ir-quisten 'to destroy' || Lt gēsti id. (1s prs. Olt, Lt Zh gęsu), Ltv dzēst 'to extinguish' | Sl caus. *gas-i-ti (caus.) id. > RChS ΓΑΣΗΤΗ gasiti, Blg га'ся, SCr gāsiti, Slv ggasíti, Cz hasiti, Slk hasit', P gasić, R га'сить, Uk га'сити id.; vi. *gas-nq-ti 'be extinguished' > Blg 'гасна, SCr gāsnuti, Slv gāsнити, Cz hasnouti, Slk hasnúť', P gasnać, OR gasnuti, R 'гаснуть, Uk 'гаснути || pTc *kās- > Tc A kās-, Tc B kās-, kes- {Wn.} 's'éteindre', {Ad.} 'come to extinction, be extinguished' || Ht {Pv.} kest-, kist-, gist-, {Ts.} kist- (md. v.) 'be extinguished, die out, perish' || IS I 311 adduces here IE *k^wsep- 'dark' (presumably mt. from *g^wpes- with as. *g^ws- > *k^ws-) > IE 'kṣap- 'night', Av xšap- 'darkness', Gk ψέφας id. (with a puzzling ψ- [Specht UID 11 supposes a tabuistic replacement]), Ht isparnt- 'night' ¶¶ P 649, EI 188, M K I 285, 425, F II 685-6, Fs. 388-9, Kb. 583-4, Schz. 189, OsS 696, Frn. 149, ESSJ VI 104-5, Ts. EI 409-11, 592-4, Pv. I-II 431-5 and IV 167-8, Wn. 210, Ad. 177, Ad. H 67, 70 || HS: CS *kb_w: BHb כבה ✓kby|w G 'go out' (fire), D (pf. כִּבְּהָ kib'bā) 'extinguish', JA ✓kby|w D id., JA {Js.} ✓kby ~ ✓kb_w G, JEA {Sl.} ✓kby G 'be extinguished, go out', Ar ✓kb_w v. G (pf. kabā) 'smoulder in the ashes' (of fire) ¶ KB 435-6, KBR 457, Sl. 550-1, Js. 608, BK II 857, Hv. 642 ¶ The absence of the expected *-š- may be explained by weakening *-š- > *-h- > zero, as in grammatical morphemes and pronouns || U *kupsa- 'extinguish; die out' (fire) > Lp T {TI} kopse- id. | Es kustu- 'be extinguished, die out', Lv kis:t-² kūs:t- id. (-i- ~ -ü- [normally from BF *-ü-] is irreg.; UEW supposes dis.) | Prm *kus- 'go\die out' (fire) > Z, Vt kus- || ObU: Os: V qāwla-, Ty *kōpəφ- id.; d. (with a *t-sx.): V/Vy qowət-, Ty/Y qopət- vt. 'extinguish' || Sm {Jn.} *kəptā-, {Hl.} *kəpta- vt. 'extinguish', ı {Jn.} *kəptə- 'go out, die out' (fire) > [1] vt.: Ne T xăbtacь, Ne O {Lh.} χaptā-, Ne F kaptā-š, Ng {Ter.} kaptu-đa, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. kótabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} qapti+qo, Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. qab₂tab₂, Kms {KD} 1s prs. q'uptərǎlām ~ qu?btərǎlām, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. кубдремь, Mt {Hl.} *kabtə- vt. 'extinguish' (Mt M {Sp.} каптестъ 'I extinguish'), [2] vi.: Ne: T xăbtěcь, O {Lh.} χapť"ō, F kap'ćō (< *kəptь-yьy-), Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. kaptua-m (? < *kəptā-y-), En X {Cs.} kotiaro?, Slq Tz {Prk.} qaptey-

Kms {KD} quʔbdōlám 'go out, die out' (fire) ¶¶ Coll. 29, UEW 214-5, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kupsā-, FP *kupsa-, Sm *kəptā-), It. #180, Kt. 130, LG 147, Trj. S 159, 176, Jn. 54, KKIH 158, KD 33-4, HI. M #372 || ?φ A: AmTg *gūp- > Nn gūpuv-, Ork gupu-, Ul gūpu-, gōkpi- 'extinguish', Nn gūp-, gūkpu-, Ork, Ul gūptu- 'go out' (fire) ¶ STM I 159 ¶ The cluster -kp- is to be explained (mt. from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx.?). The voicing of N *k- (to Tg *g-) and the absence of the expected sibilant are still puzzling ¶¶ DQA #540 (pA *gūp'a|u 'extinguish'; incl. Tg) ◇ In IE the N cluster *-P_s- contracted to *-s-; IS suggested (with a query) that in Tg this cluster may have been contracted to *-p-, which is unc. ◇ IS I 311 [#185] (*KuPśa, sc. {JAD} *KuPsa; IE, U, Tg), AD SSh 297 [#1] (N *kupśa, adduces S; an attempt to explain the N word with a sibilant as a d. from that without sibilant, as in Tg and S) ◇ Gr. II #134 (← IS) (*kupsa 'extinguish') (IE, U, A + unc. EA).

917. *kar ▽ 'twist, turn around, return' > HS: WS *✓krr 'turn, twist' > Ar D {Lb.} ✓krr G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'faire un tour, rouler', Ar ✓krr G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'come back', 'follow by turns' (night and day), karr-at- 'time (mal), repetition of an action', ✓krr D 'repeat', Sb krr 'return'; with root rdp.: WS *✓krkr 'turn round' > Ar ✓krkr 'turn the millstone', Ug krkr 'tanzen lassen', {OLS} ✓krkr 'torcer, retorcer', BHb prt. מְכַרְכֵּר mə-kār'kēr 'dancing', MHb ✓krkr (p. kir'ker) 'auf- und abgehen, tanzen', כִּירְכִיר ~ כִּירְכִיר kir'kûr {Js.} 'circle, circuit, round about way; whirl', JA [Trg.] כִּירְכִיר kir'kār'ār 'dance', Tgr ✓krkr (pf. kerkere) 'roll', Gz na-kʷarkʷar, na-kʷarkʷār 'rotation, rolling, whirlpool', ✓kʷarkʷar N ʔankʷarkʷara 'roll, roll around' ¶ OLS 223, Ln. III 2562-3, BK II 878-9, 888, Hv. 648-9, LG 292, A #1383, KB 476, KBR 500, Lv. II 407, Js. 669-70 || D *kaḷ- ({}GS} *g-) 'whirl, turn around' > SD: Tm kaḷakku v. 'whirl', n. 'whirling, gyration', kaḷakku vt. 'spin (as yarn)', MI kaḷakku v. 'turn around, whirl', Kt gaḷa, gaḷagaḷa 'whirlingly, around and around', ʔ Tu garʔ, gara, garagara, garranæ 'a whirling noise', Kn gaḷa, gaḷagaḷa 'whirlingly, around and around', ?φ korī, korē v. 'whirl' ¶ D #1387 || A: M *qari- vi. 'return' > MM [HI, MA, IM] qari id., WrM qarī-, HIM xarī-, Ord {Ms.} xarī- id., 'go back', Mnr {SM, T} xarī-, Mgl {Rm.} qarīna, Dx qarī-, Ba xare- id., Kl {KRS} xap-x xār-xe, {Rm.} xār-xa 'return' ¶ Pp. MA 293-4, 444, Ms. H 88, MED 937, SM 162-3, T 374-5, T DnJ 125, T BJ 149,

KRS 590, KW 177, Rm. M 31 ◇ Not here WP's and P's erroneously reconstructed IE *ger- 'drehen, winden', based on an unc. comparison of ON *karmr* 'Brustwehr' and Sw *karm* 'Rückenlehne aus Flechtwerk' with OI *gartaḥ* 'high seat in a chariot' (WP and P arbitrarily: ← *'wicker-work') and with OI *guṇaḥ* 'thread, string' (which cannot belong here, because in the light of the Ir ev. its original meaning is 'hair', FN *kuñä 'hair') (FMKI 327, 338), as well as on adducing stems with extensions: *gerg-, *gerk-, etc., some of which have their own N connections (FN *k'a'Rka 'turn, plait, wrap').

918. *kaR∇ 'rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE *ger- 'rise' > OI 'jaratē 'wakes up, is awake' (pfc. 'jāgara, jā'gāra), (rdp.) jā'garti 'is awake, awakes', Av gārē 'zu wachen über...', pfc. jāḡāra || Gk ἐγείρω 'awake, rouse, stir up', ft. ἐγερῶ || pAl *en-gradā > Al: T ngre 'lift, raise' ¶ WP I 598 & P 390 (*ger-, *grēj-), M KI 421, 427, F I 437, Hamp AIEW 145, O 296 || HS: S *✓krr 'jump' > Mh ✓krr (pf. kər, sbjn. yəkrēr), Jb C ✓krr (pf. kerr, sbjn. 'yakkur), Jb C ✓krr (pf. 'ker) 'jump, jump on to so.' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. J 131 || B: [1] *✓wkr (< **✓w-kr, with the px. *w- of vi.) > Izn {Rn.}, Si {La.} əkkər, SrSn {Rn.} əkkər, Gd {Lf.} əkkər (pf. ikkər, Lcj. 8), Kb əщщər, Tmz AH {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} (pf.) kkər 'get up, rise, stand up', Nf {La.} əkkər vi. 'awake, wake up'; [2] *✓nkr (< **✓n-kr, with the px. *n- of vi., reflexivity, etc.) > Thg {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} ənkər 'get up, awake', Izn, Rf, SrSn ənkər 'se relever', Sll nkər, Tmz AH nšər 'get up, rise, stand up', Zng {TC} enkur / pf. yunker 'se lever' ¶ Dl. 412-3, Mrc. 155, Rn. 394, La. S 252, MT 486-7, Fc. 1377-82, Ds. 169, Lf. I 242-4 and II #O789, DCTC 289 || A: M *qarayl- 'jump, leap, skip' > WrM qarai-, HIM xaray-, WrO qarai-id., Ord xarā- 'monter (une monture)' ¶ MED 233, Krg. 264, Ms. O 339.

919. (2?) *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch' > A: NaT *k'ir- 'scrape, scratch' (× N *k'ir'X'∇ 'scrape, scratch', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr.} *kīr-, {GS} *gīr- v. 'scratch, draw lines' > Tm kīrū id., v. 'scribble, write', Ml kīrū 'a stripe', kīrūkā v. 'scratch, draw lines', Kn gīrū id., 'scrape', kīrū v. 'scratch, scrape', Tl gīrū id., Kt kīr 'a mark, line', Tu kīruni, gīruni v. 'scratch, wound slightly by nails', kīrь, gīrь, gīru 'a scratch, superficial wound', Nk k'hīr, Gdb gīri, Ku giri 'a line', Prj gīr 'a line, mark', Gnd kirwānž 'a scratch', Knd gīr, Kui gīra 'line, mark, scrape'; D ⇨ OI kiraka- 'a scribe' ¶¶ D #1623, GS 190 [#483] || HS:

B *✓krkr v. 'scratch' (→ 'itch'), 'rake' > Thg karkar 'gratter (une chose) (pour en retirer un objet qui y est enfoncé)', ETwl, Ty ✓krkr (inv. ƷʁƷʁ with secondary uvularization of r) 'gratter, être gratté', Wrg {Dlh.} kkar̥kar̥ (pf. Ʒattkar̥kar̥) 'démanger, éprouver du prurit, donner des démangeaisons \ du prurit', Shw {Hy.} a-karkar (pl. i-karkar-an) 'rake' Ʒ Fc. 874-5, GhA 98, Hy. 36, Dlh. Ou 149 || ?σ IE: NaIE *g^her- v. '≈ rake' > Lt žeriu / žer̃ti 'glühende Kohlen zusammenscharren', Lt E nu-žerti 'wegwischen, wegscharren' Ʒ ≈ P 441 (*g^her- 'kratzen, ritzen, scharren'; *÷ Gk χαράδρᾱ 'Erd-riß\spalte, Schlucht', χαράσσω, A χαράττω 'spitze, scharfe, kerbe, schneide ein'), Frn. 1302 ◊ The absence of lr. after the N cns. *r is suggested by the D cns. *-r̥- and by the accentuation in Lt.

920. (₂?) *korê ≈ 'e deer, antelope' > ?μ K: G kurciķi 'Gazella subgutturosa' Ʒ G -ciķ- remains unexplained Ʒ Chx. 1588 || A: Tg *kōrbe 'male reindeer' (< N *korê bA) > Ewk kōrbē ɖ korbo, Neg kō:rbò, Ork kōrbo ~ kurbo ~ kurbu 'male reindeer', Ewk PT/Urm kurbɜ 'female elk, female sable' Ʒ STM I 414 Ʒ The long *ō is of positional origin: it is a reg. reflex of a N vw. in an open syll. Ʒ Tg *-be apparently goes back to the N pc. *bA used in animal names (q.v.) || D *kor̥(r)e ({θGS} *g-) 'e deer' > Tl gorre in: kukka-gorre 'barking deer, Cervulus muntjac', koṇḍa-gorre ~ koṇḍa-gorre 'deer, antelope', Klm gor̥ia 'deer', Gnd KM gorre 'four-horned antelope', Gnd Mrd {Lind} gore 'deer' ƷƷ D #2165b, BB CVG #1209.

921. o? *kur∇ ~ *kar∇ 'crane' > IE *ger₁H₁- ({P, E} *ger-) id. > Arm ԿՌՆԿՆԿ k̥runk id. || Gk γέρανος, Gk [Hs.] γέρην id. || L grū-s (gen. gru-is) id. || W, Crn, Br garan id. || MLG kran(e), krōn, OHG cranuh ~ cranih, MHG kran(e), kruon, kranech 'crane', NHG Kran 'lifting crane'; NHG Kranich, MLG kranech, AS cran, cranoc ~ cornuc 'crane', NE crane || Lt gérvė, Ltv dzeŗve, Pru gerwe 'crane'; cp. also Lt garnỹs, Ltv gārnis 'heron' | Sl *žeravь > Blg 'жерав, SCr žèrav, Slv žerjav, Cz žeráv, P żóraw, Blr 'жоров 'crane'; ⇨ Sl *žeravьjb > ChS, OR жєрѧвль žeravль, R жу'равль, R Δ, Uk жура'вель, SCr ždrâl̥j > ždrâl id. (← adj. 'of a crane') Ʒ P 383-4, EI 140-1, F I 299 (no et. of the Gk words), WH I 624, Ho. 59, Flr. 173, Kb. 561, OS 510-1, Lx. 114, KM 400, Ho. 58-9, Sl̥t. 171-2, Frn. 137-8, En. 177, Tr. P E-H 223-7, Vs. II 67-8, Glh. 705, IS I 292 (supposes heteroclisis in IE), ≈ P 383-4 || HS: S (WS?) *kurk₁∇y₁- 'crane' (unless

← Ak ← Sum kur.gi 'goose') > JA {Lv.} אֲרָכָה kurkə'y-ā ~ אֲרָכָה kurkiy'y-ā, Sr كُرْكَاةُ kurkə'y-ā (pl. kurkawā't-ā), Md kurkia, Ar kurk-īy- (pl. kurākīy-) 'crane', Gz kōrkī id., k^warākī id. (Ls: ← Ar pl. kurākīy-); Ar (or EthS) → Sml {R} 'kurki id. ¶ Lv. II 405, Br. 346, Fr. IV 28, BK II 888, LG 291, R SS II 247, CAD VIII 561-2 || U [1] *kark∇ 'crane' > Lp: L {LLO} kuor'ka, N {N} guor'gâ / -ra- | Er kargo, Mk karga || Sm {Jn.} *къръ, ? d. *къръуъу 'crane' > Ne T xăpë, Ne O {Lh.} χαίρω, Ne F {Lh.} kaίρω, En {Ter.} kori (all < *къръуъу), Slq Tz {KKIH} qa'ra, Slq Tm {KD} qora, Kms {Cs.} kuro, (*къръуъу >) Kms {KD} k'uru'y'u, Koyb {Sp.} куръерокъ; Mt {HL} *körüöh (Mt M {Sp.} куроџ, Mt K {Pl.} korùh, korù) || [2] *kurk∇ 'crane' > F kurki (gen. kurjen), Es kurg (gen. kure) || pY {IN} *kur- > YK {IN} kur-čëŋ 'white crane (стерх)' (-čëŋ is a nominal sx.), {Ang. ← Jc.} kurceŋ 'Storch' ¶¶ UEW 128, Jn. 54, KKIИ 158, Hl. M #557, IN 230, Ang. 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#18] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *kar∇ 'crane' > Ewk karan, Ewk Δ karawul, karał, kraw 'gray crane'; *kor∇ > Nn {Prtd.} kopо 'crane' ¶ ≈ STM 379 (does not distinguish between the word for 'crane' and that for 'black') || D [1] *kUruk- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'heron, crane' > Tm kuruku 'heron, stork, crane', Ml kuriyan, Td košk 'heron', Tu korŋgu 'crane, stork', Tl pegguru ~ begguru (< peru-kuru) 'adjutant crane', Gnd Mrd koruku 'crane' || [2] ? *kokk- (< **kork-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'crane' > Tm, Kn kokku, Tl kokkera, Prj kokkal, Gdb kokalin, Ku kokoŋa 'crane', Ml kokku, Gdb kokkale 'heron' ¶¶ D #2125 ¶¶ Both *kUruk- and *kokk- are likely to back to pre-D **kork- with different development of the cns. cluster. D *-r- < N *r in a cns. cluster ◇ IS I 292-3 [#159] (*kar∇/*kur∇) ◇ The variability of the vw. of the first syll. is due to the onomatopoeic association of the word.

922. *ku|or∇ 'thick, fat' > IE (with exts.): [1] NaIE *g^wretso- 'thick, large' > L grossus 'thick' || Clt: W bras 'thick, large', Crn brās 'great, large', Br bras 'big, proud', OIr {Vn.} bras 'grand; vaniteux, violent' || ? [2] NaIE ġ^wrendh- 'big' ([in Gk] → 'proud') > L grandis 'full-grown, great, large' || Gk βρένθοσ 'haughty carriage, arrogance', βρενθύομα 'bear oneself haughtily' ¶ P 485, EI 574, SB 183, WH I 617-8, 623, FI 266 (no et. of βρένθοσ), Vn. B 79, Hm. 103 || K *kur- 'thick, stout' > G kur-i 'a thick cheek of a child', G Xv/P kur-i 'cheek, thick cheek', G kur-ul-a 'heap, multitude', Sv kwr-iw {FS} 'beleibt' ¶¶ FS K 340, FS E 381 || A: T *k_l'ür 'thick (dicht), dense' > Tkm gü'r 'thick,

bushy' (esp. of hair, eyebrows), Tk *gür*, Az *gür*, CrTt *gu' id.*, 'abundant', VTt, Bsh *κəp k̄r* 'fat' (cattle), Tlt {Rl.} *kür* 'fat, stout', Xk *kür ot* 'thick quick-growing grass', Tv *xür* 'well-fed', Tf {Cs.} *kür ~ hür* 'grob', Chv *kər* 'abundant', 'fat' (cattle), 'thick' (grass); T ⇨ Kl {Rm.} *kür* 'dick, fest' ¶ Cl. 735, Rl. II 447, ET VGD 106-7, Rs. W 309-10, BIG 97, ChVS 84, Cs. KKS 101, KW 246 || Tg: Ewk I *kur* 'swelling, tumour', Ewk Uc *korodop*-v. 'be swollen and cause pain' ¶ STM I 416 || ?σM **qur*- > WrM *qur-la-*, HIM *хурла-* v. 'accumulate fat in the course of a year' (animals), 'grow in clusters' (plants), Ord *χurlūl-* 'laisser engraisser (un animal)', WrM *qurtai* 'having fat accumulated during the preceding year' (animals) ¶ MED 991, Ms. O 372 ¶ Apparently a merger with M **qura-* 'gather'. The cognates are valid unless they are ds. from **qura-* 'gather' || ? pKo **kürk-* 'thick' > MKo *kürk*, NKo *kulk-kuk-* ¶ S QK #445, Nam 63, MLC 219 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #569 (A **gūri* 'wide, broad, thick'; incl. Ko, T) || D **kor̥* ({θGS} **k-*) 'fat (adj., n.), stout' > Tm *kor̥u* adj., n. 'fat', Ml *kor̥u* adj. 'fat', Td *kwaɫp* 'fat, in good circumstances', Kn *korvu*, *korbu* 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl *k(r)ovvu* 'become fat, fatten', Klm, Nkr *koru*, Gdb *ko'kuṭ ḍ koḍukuṭ ḍ koḍukuḍ*, Gnd *ko'winṅ ḍ kurwinṅ ḍ ko'venṅ ḍ ko'vonṅ*, Png, Ku *ko'va*, Mnd *k'ruva*, Kui *k'ōga* 'fat', Gnd *korū-* 'become fat', Knd *ko'vu*, Ku *korowa* 'fat of animals', Prj *ko'ḥ- ḍ ko'v-*, Png *k'ō-* 'be fat', Kui *krōga* 'fat, tallow, suet' ¶¶ D #2146 ◇ Fn. KD #87 (K, D).

923. **k'o'ɣR̥* - **k'o'R̥ɣ'ū'* (probably **k'o'ɣR̥* - **k'o'R̥ɣ'ū'*) 'be heavy, be stout\thick' > IE **gʷreHu-*/**gʷr̥Hu-* > NaIE **gʷer(ə)-*, **gʷoru-* 'heavy' > OI *gu'ru-h̄* 'heavy, important, venerable' (cmp. 'garīyan, sprl. *gāriṣṭha-h̄*), Av (in cds.) *gouru*, NPrs *گوران* *gerān* 'heavy' || Gk *βαρύς* id. || L *gravis* (< **gʷrə-w-is*) 'heavy, important', L (← OscU) *brūtus* 'heavy, immovable' || OIr **bair* ([ɣ] accus. pl. *bairi*) 'heavy', W *bryw* 'strong, vigorous' || Gt *kaúrjōs* 'heavy' (nom. pl. f. of **kaúrūs*) || Ltv *grūts* 'difficult', 'hard' (e.g. *grūti laiki* 'hard times') ¶ WPI 684-5, P 476-7, EI 264 (**gʷreH-u-*/**gʷr̥H-u-*), MK I 340, Vl. II 959-60, FI 221-2, WH I 620-1, Vn. B 8, YGM-1 59, Fs. 310, Kar. I 321 || HS: S **✓k̥s̥r* > Ar *✓k̥s̥r* G (pf. *kaṣira*, ip. *ya-k̥sar-u*) 'be big-bellied' (a child) ({BK} 'avoir le ventre tendu, gros, et être gras'), 'be fat-humped' (a camel), *kaṣir-* 'big-bellied', 'gras et qui a le ventre tendu' (a boy) ¶ Hv. 658, BK II 908 || A **KUR̥* > Tg **xurge-*

'heavy' > Ewk *urgə*, Lm *urgə*, Sln *urgərđi*, Neg *uygəgdı*, Orc *uggə*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *ugəhi*, Ul *χužəsi*, Ork *χudə*, Nn Nh/B *χuygə*, WrMc *užerŋ* STM II 283-4, Krm. 300; Tg *-rg- may go back to N ***-R̥Y-** (cp. Tg **bılga* 'throat' < N ***ba_lı_lı_ıya** 'to swallow; throat', q.v.); the initial *x- (the regular reflex of A ***k'-**) may have resulted from Altaic secondary aspiratization (***kH-** > ***k'-**) || pKo {S} ?σ **kor^h-* ~ **koro-* > MKo *kor^hoi-*, NKo *küerop-/küerow-* v. 'suffer, be troublesome\hard\painful', MKo *koro'om*, NKo *küero-um* 'suffering' ¶ S QK #176, Nam 46, MLC 189 || pJ {S} ?σ **kürù-sì-* 'hard, difficult, agonizing' > OJ *kürù-si*, J: T/Kg *kuruśí-*, K *kúruśì-* ¶ S QJ #217, Mr. 833 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1091 (A ***k'juru** 'heavy; hard, difficult'), ≈ SDM97 s.v. ***k'Ur** (both adduce Tg **xurga-*) ◇ ≈ S NSShS #18 (IE ÷ A ***k'ure** 'heavy, difficult' [***k'-** based on Tg **x-*]).

924. ₂ ***ko_lw_lr** 'embers, hearth' > HS: S ***kawr-** 'kiln' (→ 'furnace') > Ak OB/OA/MA *kūr-* 'crucible (for metal and glass), kiln, brazier' ([?] \rightarrow BHb כור *kūr*, JA *kūr* (em. *kūr-ā*) 'small smelting-furnace', Sr *kūr*, *-ā* 'a fire, furnace, kiln, crucible, refining-pot', Ar كور *kūr* 'blacksmith's furnace, bellows', 'Esse, Blasbalg'), OSA {Mü.} *kwr* 'furnace (?)', Gz *kawr* 'furnace'; Aram \rightarrow G *kura* 'forge-hearth, furnace, cooking-stove' ¶ CAD VIII 571, KB 445, KBR 466, Br. 323, JPS 211, BK II 942, WKAS K 431, Hv. 667, Müller WMT 98, L G 300, Kfm. AIA 65, Chx. 1586 || ?φ C: Ag ***k^hkr** 'hearth stone' > Bln {R} *ka'ğal* id. ¶ R WB 215-6 || A ***k'ōrâ** 'embers; burn' > NaT ***Kōr** 'embers' (× N ***k_{ar}h₂'U** 'to burn [sth.], to heat?') > Tkm *gōr*, Osm قور *qor*, Tk *kor*, Az {Äz.} *gōr*, Ggz *коор* *kōr*, Uz *қўр* *qwr*, Qrg *qor* 'glowing coal within ashes'; but T ***Kō_lı́r** (> Bsh קור *quḏ*, Qq *qoz* 'live coal', StAlt *qos* id., embers') belongs to N ***góræ** 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v.) ¶ ET Q 74-6, Tkr 189, Hüs. 84, Äz. 110, GRM 281, Jud. 405, UzR 637, Rl. II 548-9 || Tg: Ewk PT *korō-* vi. 'burn down', Ewk Nk *korowkān-* vt. 'burn down' ¶ Vas. 912, STM I 416 ◇ ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T \check{r} , together with several others, into the etymon ***gUr** 'embers').

925. ₂ ***koyR** 'male animal' > HS: C: EC ***korm-** id. > Sml *korme* 'stallion', Or B *korma* 'male (animal), bull' || SC: Irq/Brn {E} *karama* 'steer', Alg {E} *karama* 'bull', Irq {MQK} *karāma* (pl. *karmu*) 'castrated animal' ¶ DSI 371, Sr. 347, E SC 262, MQK 39 || Eg P, DEg *kə* 'Stier' > OCpt *ko ko* 'taureau' ¶ EG V 94-6, Er. 555, Vc. 71 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.5] || U ***koyra** 'male animal' (× N ***güR** 'beast' [q.v.] and

possibly a d. of U *koϥe 'male, man' < N *goy∇ 'man, people') > F koira 'dog', koiras (gen. koiraksen) 'male animal', Es koer, Vp kojr 'dog' | Prm *kūr > Z кыр kír 'male' (of carnivorous animals), StZ, Z UV/I {SZ} kír pon 'male dog' (pon 'dog'), Z I {Wc.} kír, Yz kΛr 'male dog', Z UV {FF} kír-kэр 'male reindeer', Prmk kír 'male' (of mammals and birds), Z Ud {Wc.} kírэс 'tom-cat' || ObU {Ht.} *kīr∇ 'male animal' > pVg {Ht.} **kīr id. > OVg E TM kār, OVg W P кер, OVg S Ss kähr, Vg: T kā'r, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML kэр, LK/UL/Ss xār id.; pOs {Ht.} *kar id. > Os: V/Vy qar, Ty/Y qār, D/K χor, Nz/Kz χor, O χar || Sm {Jn.} *korā 'male animal' > Ne T xopā id., 'male reindeer', Ne T O {Lh.} χōr'ā (gen. pl. χōr' < *korэ-), Ne F {Lh.} kōrrāā id., En B {Ter.} kora, {Cs.} 'kura, En X {Cs.} kuĥa 'not castrated male reindeer', Ng {Cs.} 'kuru id., {Hl.} kuru 'bull', Slq Tz {KKIH} qōr† 'male reindeer, sire bull', Kms {Cs.} kura 'bull (Ochs)', {KD} k'ora ~ q'ōra id., 'male animal', ku'ra t'ō 'male reindeer' (t'ō 'reindeer') ¶¶ UEW 168-9, LG 153, Lt. J 132, TmK 358, SZ 188, Wc. SW 109, KPR 213, FF 435, Ht. #319, Jn. 74, KP #600, Cs. 50, 81, 181, Hl. US 120, KKIH 163, KD 32, 34, 72, ≠ Sm. 543 (F koira, etc. belong to FU *kōji 'male').

926. *kūr'p'∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat' > IE: NaIE *g̃wer(ə)- 'shine; be hot' > OI jūr'ñih 'blaze, glowing fire', 'jvarati 'is feverish', jva'rah 'fever', jūr'tih 'fever' || ? MDt coorts, Dt koorts, MLG kortts 'fever' || Ltv zvērôt 'to glow, to glare, to flash' ¶ WP I 647, P 479, M K I 443, 450, Vr. N 350, Kar. II 571-2 || **HS:** S: Ak StB kararû 'brilliance of the sun at midday; midday' ¶ CAD VIII 207 || C: Ag {Ap.} *k̃war- 'sun' > Bln {Plm.} k̃wara, {R} k̃wara, Xm {R} k̃wera 'sun, day', Xm T {CR} k̃wera, Q {R} k̃wāra, Km {Bnd.} k̃wāra 'sun' || ?? EC: Sml {DSI} qorraĥ, Sml N {Abr.} qórráĥ (secondary glottalization *k > Sml q?) ¶ AD SF 77, Ap. AV 14, R WB 225, R Q II 86, R Ch. II 63, DSI 503, Abr. S 205, Blz. CL 180, ≠ Ss. B 156 (Sml qorraĥ * < EC *qorraĥ) || Ch: WCh: Bele kārā 'sun' || ECh: Kwn {J} kārpa, Kwn M {J} kárban 'morning'; Mu {J} kéré 'be hot', kérít 'hot' ¶ Sch. BTL 30, ChC ¶¶ OS #1433 (Ak, Bele) || **D** *kur(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'glisten; shining (glänzend)' > Tm kuru v. 'glisten', kuru n. 'brilliancy, effulgence', kurumaj 'lustre, brightness', Kt kurž 'beautiful\handsome person', Klm, Nkr, Gnd kuro, Nk khura 'silver' ¶¶ D #1782 || **A:** T: [1] T *Kōre- 'catch fire, flame up' > Tkm kōre- id., OOsM {Zaj.} kōr-, VTt kbjre- 'catch fire', Bsh kbjre- vi. 'burn, glow', Tk Δ d. kōrele- vi. 'start burning'

][2] T *Kōře- vt. 'poke a fire' > OT {Cl.} kōze-, Qb {Rl.} kōze- 'poke a fire'; ? Tkm kōδε- vi. {Cl.} 'burn up', {TkR} 'carbonize' (unless <† *kōz 'burning embers'; in any case, *-ř- is due to the infl. of *Kōř)][3] T *Kōř (~ *k'ōř?) 'burning coal\embers' (× N *gōřæ 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v. ffd.); T *-ř- < N *-ř- in *gōřæ ¶ ET KQ 85-6, Zaj. S II 87 || (+ext.?) Tg *kurgī 'flame', *kurgī- vi. 'burn' > Ewk kurgī 'flame', kurgī- vi. 'burn', 'scorch' (the sun), Sln xudji- vi. 'flame up', Neg kurgī-sin- 'blaze up, catch fire', ↳ Ul kuržī- vi. 'crackle and buzz' (burning firewood) ¶ STM I 435 || ?σ M *kīra^ř 'a > WrM {Gl.} kīrağa, ūr-ün kīrağa 'at\before dawn', WrM {MED} kīrağa, HIM {MED} хяраа, {Luv.} үүрийн хяраа 'dusk before dawn', үүр хяраалах 'be dawning' (ūr, үүр 'daybreak, dawn') ¶ Gl. III 608, MED 470, Luv. 597 ¶ The M stem is a valid cognate unless the meaning 'dawn' is based exclusively on ūr, үүр, while kīrağa has an auxiliary semantic function (sth. like 'border', cp. kīra, хяр 'summit, ridge', so that the literal meaning of ūr-ün kīrağa is '≈ dawn's ridge') ◇ D *-r- (regularly from N *r|ř-clusters, but not from the N intervoc. *-ř-) and the traces of the lr. in IE point to a N lr.; since the only N lrs. lost in Ak and not transforming *a into e are *h and *ʔ, the N lr. is likely to be *h|ʔ. An alt. rec. is N *kūri^ř ▽, whence later: [1] **kūriy ▽ > **kūry ▽ > T *Kōře- and *Kōř, [2] (elision of *i): **kūr^ř ▽ > T *Kōre- and D *kur- ◇ ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gūr ▽ 'embers').

927. *korǵ ▽ 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^ωer(H)- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow' (× N *kôri^hû 'throat, neck' [q.v.]?) > OI girati, gr̥ṇāti 'swallows, eats', Av jaraiti 'swallows' ('schluckt'), OI ga'raḥ n. 'drink, poison' || Arm կեր keṙ (gen. կերոյ keṙoy) 'nourishment, food, prey', եկեր e-keṙ 'ate' || Gk βιβρώσκω (aor. ἔβρων) 'devour', βору́ 'food (of a predator)' || L vorō, -āre 'eat greedily, swallow up' || OIr túarae 'food' (*to-g^ωr-iyā?) || ON krás 'dainty morsel', AS {Vr.} crās id., 'nourishment', OHD querdar, NHG Köder 'bait, lure', || Lt geriù / gérti, Ltv dzeru / dzeĩt v. 'drink' || Sl *žbrq / *žerti 'swallow, devour' > OCS пожьрѣти po-žbrěti 'swallow', RChS жьрѣ жьрq / жьрѣти žbrěti 'deglutire', SCr Sr ждрѣм / ждрѣти, SCr Cr ždrēm / ždrijéti 'eat greedily\much, fressen' (and SCr d. žderati id.), Slv žrēm / žréti, OCz žru / žrieti, Cz žeru / žráti, Slk žerem / žrat', P žrę /

žreć, Uk жру / 'жертв ~ 'жрати, Blr жру / жерць id., R жру / жрать ab 'eat' ¶ P 474, EI 175 (*g^wer(h₃)- 'swallow'), M KI 325, 335, F I 235-6, WH II 836, Vr. 329, OsS 64, KM 387, Vn. T 162, Frn. 148-9, Vs. II 62-3, Glh. 706, Srz. I 890 || HS: S *^o✓krɪ > Ar ✓krɪ 'sip in (liquid), drink by sipping in, drink with the mouth without holding the vessel' ¶ BK II 886, Hv. 651 || D *kōr- ({{GS}} *k-?) 'eat (greedily), drink' > Ml kōruka 'eat greedily', Kn κοῖλυ v. 'drink', Tl krōλυ 'drink, eat', Ku gron³- v. 'drink, guzzle' ¶¶ D #2233 || A: pJ {S} *kúrá-p- 'consume, eat' > OJ kura-p-, ItOJ [RJ] kúráφ-u, J: T kúra-, K kúra-, Kg kurá- ¶ S QJ #361, Mr. 716 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ürgo, DQA #1088 (pA *k'júrgelə 'feed, eat', that in fact does not belong here [except for the J cognate] because of the initial *k'- and because its meaning in T, M, and Ko is 'belly, stomach').

928. *kor₁h₁ 'be angry\embittered' > HS: S: [1] with loss of N *h: CS *-kūr-, *✓krw₁ly 'be distressed, be in depression' > BA ✓kry TD 3f pf. אַתְּכָרִית ~ אַתְּכָרִית ?i/εt-kar¹y-at¹ 'was distressed', JA {Dlm.} כָּרִיאַ kar¹y-ā adj. 'suffering', Sr ✓kry (pf. كَارِئ kə'rā ~ كَارِئ kə'rī) 'be sad \ displeased \ annoyed, grieve', Md ✓kr[?] 'betrübt sein'; [2] with preservation of *h: WS *✓krh 'dislike, hate, be angered' > Ar ✓krh (pf. kariha, ip. -krah-) 'disprove, dislike' (↳ Mh ✓krh [pf. kōrəh] 'dislike'), Mh ✓krh (pf. kə'rūh), Hrs ✓krh (pf. kə'rōh), Jb C ✓krh (pf. 'kerəh) v. 'hate', Mh karh ~ kerh, Hrs 'kerəh, Jb E/C kərh 'hatred', Jb C e'korəh v. 'anger'; [3] S *^okur₁h₁- > Ak fOB kūr₁u 'daze, depression, stupor', inf. kâr₁u 'be in depression, in a stupor' ¶ BDB #3735, Br. 342, Dlm. 197, JPS 224, DM 222, Nld. MG 365, CAD VIII 240, 570-1, BK II 891-2, Hv. 652, Jo. M 214, Jo J 134, Jo. H 69, ≈ KB 1727 (*✓kry|^rw¹ 'be distressed' ← *✓krw₁ly 'be short') || C: Ag: Xm {R} k^war- ~ kar-, Dmb {R} kar- 'be angry', Q {R} kār₁in 'anger'; Ag ↳ Tgy H {R} ✓k^wry (pf. ከጋረኛ k^werəyə) 'be angry' ↳ Sa {R} kūrāy ~ kūrā (sc. k^warāy ~ k^warā) 'Zorn, Ärger, Betrübnis', kūrāy- (= k^warāy-) 'zornig sein, sich betrüben, traurig werden' ||| DhI {EEN} kor- 'be in trouble' ¶ R Ch II 62-3, R Q II 86, R S II 223, EEN 12 || NrOm: Kf {C} kār- v. 'anger (adirarsi)', kārō n. 'anger (ira)', ? Anf {MYTY} kārō 'fight' ¶ C SE IV 462-3, MYTY 117 ¶¶ OS #1482 (HS *kor- 'be angry') || Ch: Su {J} k^war 'hassen, ablehnen, nicht wollen' ¶ J S 71 ¶¶ OS #1482 (S *✓krh, WCh, Ag, Om, DhI + err. Sa [in fact ↳ EThS ↳ Ag]) || ?σ IE: NaIE *^og^wer₁a₁- 'scold' (× N *kuRh₁ 'shout, cry') > Gk Lc [Hs.] δειριᾶν · λαιδορεῖσθαι 'to

abuse, to revile' ¶ ≈ WP I 585, ≈ P 478, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et.) || A *k'ōr∇ > NaT *Kō_l;r- 'feel\be humiliated, be angry' > Qzq {Rl.} qor, Qrg, Qq, Qmq qor 'despised \ humiliated by the society', Qzq {Rl.} 'Schande', Nog qor 'humiliation, abuse', SbTt Tb {Rl.} qor 'shame', SbTt B {Rl.} qor 'Angst, Qual, Trauer; Tadel, Beleidigung' ¶ Rl. II 549-50, Jud. 406, KrkR 401, Grøn. 200, TvR 484, Ra. 190 || M *qoruda- > WrM qoruda-, HIM xopdō- 'be chagrined, be grieved\sad, repent, hate', Kl xopd- 'bear malice, be resentful'; WrM qoora 'embitterment, hate'; M ⇨ Tv xorada-, Ewk korōdā- 'be angry' ¶ MED 968, KRS 599-600, Krg. 282-3, Z 282 || Tg *kōr_lu_l 'anger, resentment' > Ewk I koru 'angry', Ul qorv(n-), Nn Nh qōro 'resentment', Ul qoročt-, Nn Nh qōrost- v. 'resent', WrMc qoro- 'be grieved\sad, anger', qoro 'grief, offence', (M ⇨ ?) 'harm, damage' ¶ STM I 415-6, Z 282 ¶¶ But we cannot adduce here (for lack of reliable semantic proximity) A*k'ōr∇ 'harm' > T *k'ōr 'harm', M *qōr_la_l 'harm', *qōran 'poison' (ffd. *see* ET Q 73-4, Ra. 190, MED 968, 973) || D *kor_l- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'anger' > Tl kor_lalu 'grow angry', kor_lako_la 'angrily; anger, angry look', Tm t kor_luko_lu v. 'bubble with anger' ¶¶ D #2166, Km. 337 || U: FU *kur∇ 'anger' > Er/Mk kor {Ps.} 'Verdruß, Gram, Ärger', Er XVIII {Dms.} kop 'reproach (укоризна)', ? Mk {PI} kop 'disposition\temper, envy', ? Er kop {KC} 'disposition, temper', (ERV} id., 'self-respect' || ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg *kōr- > Vg: LK xor-, MK k^ωār-, P kor-, NV k^ωor-, SV k^ωōr-, LL k^ωār- 'scold (zanken)', SV k^ωarrakat-, LL k^ωarkat- id., {Mu} MK khārj-, khōrj- 'be annoyed\angry, become enraged'; pOs {Ht.} *korām- > Os: Vy qorām-, qāram-, Ty qōram-, D/K/Nz xurām-, Kz xūram-, O xorām- 'take offence at, be sulky', 'refuse to eat from grudge' (children) | OHg harag 'anger, angry', Hg harag 'irritation, resentment, grudge, anger' ¶ UEW 220-1, Ps. M 81, PI 126, ERV 292, Fkt. RMS 296, Ht. #308, Kn. WV 72, Stn. WV 132, Mu. AKE 297, Trj. S 173, EWU 527 ◇ IS I 301 [#172] (all relevant families) ◇ The Ar and NES forms point to a N lr. *h. D *-r_l- goes back regularly to a N intervoc. *-r-, which suggests either the presence of a vw. between N *r and *h or the loss of *h in pre-pD before the change N *-r- > D *-r_l- (in this latter case the hyp. of an internal vw. is superfluous). In A there is complementary lengthening of the vw. *o due to the loss of N *-r_l∇_lh-. The FU vw. *u (for the expected *o) needs explaining.

929. *kur₁h₁ 'hill, mountain' > IE {E} *g^worH-/*g^wrH- ({P} *g^wer-) > NaE {Wtk.} *g^wera-/g^wora- 'mountain' > OI gi'ri-h₁ 'hill, mountain, elevation', Av ga'ri-š 'mountain(s)' || pAl {O} *gura > Al gur 'rock, stone' || BSl (×N *goR₁h₁ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain', q.v.): pSl *go'ra (accus. *g^oro, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ropa gora, R, Uk ro'pa, SCr g^ora, Cz, HLs hora, P, LLs g^ora id., Slv g^ora id., 'mountain forest', Blg ro'pa 'forest, wood(s)', Slk hora id., 'woody mountain' | ? Lt girià, Lt Z gⁱrè 'forest, wood(s)', Ltv † dzirā, dzire id. ¶ ≈ P 477-8 (*÷ Gk δειράς / -άδος, Gk Cr δηράς 'ridge of a chain of hills', F I 358), Dv. #801, EI 270, AHDI 25, M K I 335, O 127, ESSJ VII 29-31, Db. SA 24, Glh. 238, ≈ Kar. I 291-2 (adduces Ltv garš 'long'), Frn. 153 || **HS:** C: EC *k₁r- > Sa {R} kōro 'Berg, Gebirge', Sml {ZMO} kur 'hill, mound', Sml N {Abr.} kúr(-tī) 'hill, mountain', Rn {PG} kúr 'small hill, hillock', Elm kōran 'mountain' || C: Bj {R} kār (pl. kar) 'hill, height' ¶ R S II 220, PG 204, ZMO 243, Abr. S 155, ≈ AD SF 80 || S: [1] S *kawr- > Sb kawr 'hill', Ar Hdr {Mü.} kawr 'mountain' ¶ BGMR 80, Mü. WMT 98] [2] Gz karīr '(round) hill' (unless ← ✓krr 'round'); ? Mh kər'mayn (pl. kərmōm) 'mountain'; Ug {OLS} krk 'pico', [Ak. sc.] ku-re-ka-at [?] ¶ LG 294, Jo. M 214, OLS 223, Hnr. 140 || Eg fN krkr 'heap of stones' ¶ EG V 136 || CCh: Nz kūròmó 'mountain' ¶ ChL || **U:** FP *kur₁h₁ 'hill, steep slope' (×N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁ 'rock, isolated mountain') > ? Es Δ kuruk (gen. kurukā) 'small ridge of hills (väike kõrkustik)' | Lp L {LLO} kār₁r₁ā 'long ridge of woody hills' | Chr: H {Ep.} кырык, L кур₁ык 'kur₁ык, k₁ырык, Uf kur₁ык 'mountain', B {Ps.} kuruk 'hill' | Prm *kūr > Z кыр k₁ыr 'high abrupt riverbank, precipice (обрыв); mountain', Yz kōr-yōlōn 'auf der Höhe' (yōl 'top, summit') ¶ UEW 677, MRS 249, Ep. 53, Ü 86, 97, Ps. OT 52, LG 153 || **D** *kur₁- ({᠑GS} *k-) 'hilly country' (×N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁ '↑') > Ml kur₁icci id., Tm kur₁am 'Kurava tribe of the mountains', kur₁inci 'hilly tract', Kn kur₁umba (name of a caste of mountaineers), Tl kor₁ava (name of a tribe of mountaineers), Gnd kurmal 'shepherd' ¶¶ D #1844 || ? **A:** amb NaT *k₁ir 'crest of the mountain, mountain, high ground; foothills, slope' (×N *K₁irH₁ [= *gⁱ'i'r₁h₁?] 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.] × [in some lgs.] N *K₁ir₁h₁ 'edge, end'; ?? ×N *goR₁h₁ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain') ◇ ≠ S NSShS #7 (IE *g^wer-/*g^wor- *÷ A *k^ori 'hill, embankment, boundary' [actually from N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁] *÷ K *gora 'small mountain, hill' [in fact from N *goR₁h₁]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (the same unc.

comparison and rec. of N *g^w-], Blz. LB #111 #c (suggested to add Sb, Ar Hdr, and EC), Blz. DA 161 [#89] (dubious equation of this N etymon with D *kur_z- 'island' and Elm kóran 'island') ◇ If the rec. of a lr. in IE (as in AHDI and EI) is right, the N rec. may be *kur_zh_z with loss of *h in S (where N *-h- is sometimes lost); the N word-medial vw. is suggested by D (because *-r_z- is from the N intervocalic *-r-). Otherwise (if pIE is *g^wer-), N rec. is *kur_z.

930. *kuRh_z 'shout, cry' > IE *g^werH- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; wail' > OI gr_o'ṇāti, gr_o'ṇī'tē 'calls, invokes, praises', Av a'bi-gar^ənte 'praises', garah- 'a praise, praise song' || OIr bard, W bardd 'bard', MBr barz 'village fiddler (ménétrier)', Gl b→L bardus id. (< *g^wṛ_o-d_l'_o-s) || pAl *grisa > Al prs. gēr'shas, aor. grisha 'invite, beckon to come' || Lt giriu / girti v. 'praise, commend', Ltv (rf.) dziĩrtiēs 'boast', Pru girtwei v. 'praise'; ? Lt gēras 'good' | Sl *gornъ, *gorno > OCS гopнъ gornъ, гopно gorno 'verse', Cz hrany pl., Slk hrana 'funeral knell', Hls hrano 'phrase, dictum', Lls grono 'speech, conversation; tale; proverb' || OHG quēran & chuēran [xwēran] 'to sigh, to moan, to lament' || Gk Lc [Hs.] δειπλᾶν λουδορεῖσθαι 'to abuse, to revile' (× N *kor_zh_z 'be angry\embittered') ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) Gk γῆρυς, Gk D γᾶρυς 'voice, speech' (see F I 305) ¶ WP I 585, P 578, ≈ EI 449 (*g^werH- 'praise'), M K I 343, Hamp AIEW 145, O 115, Vn. B 18-9, Frn. 154, En. 17, Tp. P E-H 247-9, ESSJ VII 49, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et. of δειπλᾶν), OsS 694, Kb. 582 || **HS:** B *-w-kur 'scold' (× N *kor_zh_z '↑', q.v.) > Thg {Fc.} ak^war, Gh akžar 'injurier', Izn/Rf {Rn.} akkər 'insulter', Izn t_yukk^wra, Rf t_yukk^war 'an insult' ¶ Fc. 876, Rn. 345 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} kúruwâ n. act. 'shouting' ¶ Sch. DN 100 || **D** *kur- v. 'bark, shout, groan' (× N *gur'h_z 'to bark, to howl', 'to cry, to shout', q.v. ffd.).

931. *kôri'h_zû 'throat, neck' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^wrīwā ~ *g^werwā 'the back part of the neck, nape, neck' (× N *gub_zRE 'back, back side, nape [of neck]' [q.v.]??): [1a] NaIE *g^wrīwā 'nape of the neck, neck' > OI grī'vā, Av grīvā id., Phl grīw 'neck, throat', NPrs {Vl., Sg.} گریبان gerībān, {BM} گریبان gārībān 'collar, opening\breast of a garment', Psh grēwa, grawa 'collar-bone, collar' || Ltv grīva 'mouth (of river), estuary' (← *'throat') | Sl *grīva 'mane' > RChS, OR грива grīva, Blgr, R, Uk 'грива, Blr 'грыва, SCr grīva, Slv grīva, Cz hřiva, Slk hriva, P grzywa id.; the ancient meaning '(part of)

neck' is better preserved in OR ΓΡΗΒΝΥΗ *griv̄n̄i* adj. 'of the neck', ΓΡΗΒΑ *griva*, Slv *grīvna*, and Cz *hřivna* 'necklace' || [1b] NaIE **g^werwā* > Gk A δέρη, Gk I δειρή, Gk Ls δερρά, δέρᾱ, Gk D δήρα, Gk Ar δερρα 'neck, throat' ¶ P 475, EI 391-2 (**g^werweh_h*- ~ **g^wriHw-eh_h*-), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, VI. II 990-1, BM 422-3, Sg. 1086, Mrg. 24, FI 367-8, LS 375, Kar. I 317-8, ESSJ VII 129, Glh. 247 | [2] NaIE **g^wer(ə)*- 'throat' (× N **kor̄s̄* 'eat, drink, swallow'?) > OI *galah̄* 'throat', Av *garəman* 'throat, neck', NPrs *گولو* *golū* ~ *گالو* *gālū* 'neck, gullet, throat', Psh *ṡaraj* 'windpipe, throat' || Gk βάραθρον, Gk Hm βέρεθρον 'gulf, pit' (← *'throat') || Tc B *kor* 'neck, throat' ({Ad.}: unless to IE **kuhr*- 'hole, opening') ¶ P 474-5, EI 391-2 (**g^werweh_h*- ~ **g^wriHw-eh_h*- 'neck'), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, Mrg. 26, VI. II 1026, Sg. 1096, Horn 207, FI 219 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 129-30, Glh. 247, Wn. 23, Ad. 203-4 || HS: S **✓kr̄h* > Ar *kāriḥ*-, *kāriḥ-at*- 'gosier, gorge' ¶ BK II 882 || B **✓kr̄m* 'neck, nape of the neck, back (dos)' (× N **Ḳām̄U, Ḳ̄* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade' [whence later 'nape'], q.v. ffd.) || C: Ag {AD} **✓kr̄m* 'throat, nape' > Bln {R} *kir'mā*, *kr̄mā* id. ¶ R WB 227 || D {tr.} **kUral*-, {GS} **koral*- 'throat, voice' (in Tm and Ml: × N **guṝs̄E* or **gūṝs̄* 'throat, neck') > Tm *kural*, Ml *kural*, *kural̄*, Kn *koral*, *koral̄*, *kor̄u*, *kō*, *kōlu* 'voice, throat', Kdg *kora* 'gullet, windpipe', Tu *kur̄el̄* 'nape of the neck', Tl *kr̄ōl(u)cu* v. 'sing, read out' ¶¶ D #1774, GS 221 [#539] ◇ NaIE **ī* (< **iH*) and Ar **ḥ* suggest a N lr. Among the two possible N lrs. (**ḥ* or **χ* > S **ḥ*), the first one is preferable because it is more compatible with the loss of the lr. in B, Eg (?), C, and Ch. The expected sonant **i/j̄* was lost in the IE variant stems **g^werwā* and **g^wer(ə)*- probably within clusters of two sonants (ruled out by IE morphophonemic laws). In the prehistory of D we must suppose a syncope: N **kōriḥ'ū* > **kōurHūü* > D **kur*- (D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N **r*-clusters) ◇ FU **kur̄k̄k̄* 'throat' (UEW 676) is better equatable with Tg **gor̄ka* 'uvula, palate' (STM I 161) and hence does not belong here (see N **guR'k'U* 'throat'). Neither does D **kuṝṅk*- 'throat' (D #1370) belong here, because *-ṛ- goes back to N **ṛ* (see N **guṝs̄E* or **gūṝs̄* '↑') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #390 (**kur* 'throat') (IE + err. A, U, Gil).

932. **kor̄wa* 'fade, rot, decay', 'coagulate' (blood, etc.), 'get sour\rancid\bitter' (of food) > IE: [1] NaIE (in Iir only) **ōger*- 'decay' (× IE **ōgerH*- 'grow, age, mature' < N **kiṝHa* 'old', hence the palatality of

*g̃-) > OI 'jarati 'decays', Av za'rīna 'aufreibend', Oss lä-zār3n 'to wear out' (cloth) ¶ M K I 420-2, Ab. IV 305, ≈ P 390-1 ¶ [2] NaIE *greūt- 'curds' > OIr, NIr grúth 'coagulated milk, curds' ¶ ME cruddes, curdes pl. 'curds', NE curds, NE Sc croods id. ¶ IE *g- (rather than *g^w-) is due to its preconsonantal position ¶ ≈ P #406, Dnn. 386, SB 119, HDEL 323, Skeat 149, ≈ EI 451 (? *greūt- 'compress') ¶ HS: B *√krw > Thg a-kru 'coagulated milk', karat 'be(come) coagulated' (milk, blood), ETwl k̄r̄r̄w, Ty k̄r̄r̄t 'be(come) coagulated' (milk) ¶ Fc. 842-4, GhA 100 ¶ In ETwl and Ty there is secondary (non-phonemic) emphatization of k (typical of these dialects - F GhA VIII) ¶ S +ext. *°√krz > Ar karīz- 'soft sour curds; sour milk' ('caseus mollis acidusque; lac acidum'), {BK} 'fromage aigret' ¶ Fr. IV 24, BK II 884 ¶ WCh: Jmb k̄r̄wá 'decay, rot' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 18 ¶ K: Sv {Ni.} -kwer, Sv UP {GP} kwer-/kwr- vt. 'rot' ¶ Ni. s.v. гнить, GP 174, 266-7 ¶ U: FU *ko|arwa 'bitter' > F karwas (gen. karwaan) 'bitter, acrid' ¶ pPrm *kurit 'bitter' > Z курьд kur+d, Z курьт kur+t ¶ pObU {JHl.} *koraw|y > pOs *koray (JHl. *kārāy) > Os: V qoray- 'become sour', V qoray-, Vy qoray- 'be sharp\pungent' (taste of sour or spicy food, strong vodka), 'be biting' (salt in a wound), qorayt(ə) ul 'sour berry' ¶ UEW 128-9, LG 147, Stn. D 551, Trj. S 173, Hl. rHt 71-4 (on the pOs vowels and on the problem of pObU *w and *y) ¶ A: NaT *Kor > OT qor (Cl. qōr) 'the residue of sour milk used to make yoghurt; (baker's) yeast, leaven', Tkm qor 'ferment (residue of sour milk) used to prepare čal (beverage of mare's sour milk)', Qzq qor {MM} 'ferment for kumiss (fermented mare's milk)', {Sht.} 'yeast, leaven, ferment for kumiss', Qq qor id., Qrg qor 'ferment for buza (alcoholic millet beverage) and kumiss', Bsh qur 'ferment for kumiss; malt', SbTt B/Tr {Tm.} qōr, {Rl.} qor 'yeast, leaven', ET qor ~ qo 'sorrel', Uz qwr-quť 'accumulated wealth, treasure' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 72-3, Tkr 188-9, MM 449, Sht. 267, Jud. 405, BN 125, Nj. 601, Tm. 131, Rl. II 549 ¶ M *quru-: [1] ⇨ *qurusi- 'become rancid' > WrM qurusi-, HIM хурши-х 'be(come) rancid' (chiefly of fats and meat), Kl хурш-х 'become rancid' (fats); probably also [2] M *quru-sun 'ε cheese' > WrM {Rm.} qurusun 'ε cheese (?)', WrO {Krg.} qurusun 'cheese', Kl {KRS} хурсн хурсьн 'dried curds', {Rm.} хурсн 'trockener Käse aus saurer gekochter Milch'; [3] *qurūd 'serum, sour milk' > MM [IM] qurūd 'serum', [HI] qurut (= qurud), WrM qurud, HIM хурьуд 'ε Mongolian cheese' ¶ Pp. MA 446, Ms. H 92, MED 991, Krg. 298, KW 199, KRS 612-3 ¶ D *korapp- (ǰGS) *k-)

'sour milk, curds' > Tu κουαρυ id., nir-kuγelъ v. 'curdle, coagulate', Gnd korop & korrop & kurrop & korrup 'buttermilk' ¶ D #2162 ◊ The cnss. *-t- (in IE, Prm, B), *-z- (S), *-s- (M), and *-pp- (D) are likely to go back to the second elements of N cds. (some of them functioning as derivational sxs. in the descendant lgs.) ◊ From the history of culture we may infer that this N word was originally applied to coagulating blood, to fat, to meat, and possibly to food made of corn, but only later (in the independent neolithic history of IE, HS, and D) it was applied to milk ◊ BF (or FU?) *a may be due to partial contamination with N *kaR₁∇₁?∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain'. The existence of the N internal vw. (*∇) is suggested by D *-r̥- (< N intervoc. *-r-) ◊ An alt.: two N etyma: [1] N *k'ü'R∇ 'fade, rot, decay' (> IE *g̃er-, Sv -kwer, WCh: Jmb ḳə̀̀wá 'decay, rot') and [2] N *kU|ar₁u₁wa 'coagulate, get sour\rancid' (all the rest).

932a. *kor₁∇w₁∇ '∈ a gallinacean' > HS: S *^o/krw > Ar karawān- (pl. kirwān-) '∈ partridge' ¶ BK II 892 || Ch: WCh: Sbc {Stl.} *k^wa₁r / *k∇w∇r 'hen' (or 'chicken = hen\cock') > Zar {Sh.} k^wār id., Gj {ChL} kowùl, Buli {ChL} kor, Plc {ChL} koro 'hen' || Tng {J} k^warte ~ k^watre 'guiney-fowl' || CCh: Mkt {Ro.} k^wátà-kùrúk 'francolin', Gude {Hsk.} kúrəkìnə 'chicken house', ? Gude {Hsk.} kúrəkútà, Gudu {ChL} kúrkútò 'dove' || ? Lame {ChL} kòrókú, LamP {ChL} kuruk 'dove' ¶ J T 109, Ro. 256 [#293], Stl. ZCh 264 [#24], ChL, Sh. BZ 28, Hsk. 217 || ??φEC: Brj go'r(r)-itte (pl. go'r-ōna) 'hen', Arr gorórri coll. 'partridges, francolins' ¶ Ss. B 84, Hw. A 362 ¶ ≈ OS #1505 (CCh *kurak 'dove, francolin' - S *kurk- 'crane') || A: M *qoru 'wild gallineacean fowl' (× N *KôR₁i?E '∈ a gallinacean', q.v.) > WrM qору, {Rm.} qora 'hazel grouse, gray hen', {Rm.} 'Auerhahn', WrO xору id., Kl xop 'capercaillie', (Rm.) xop 'Auerhahn'; M *qoru ⇨ the T lgs. which are or were adjacent to the Mongols: Qzq {Rl.} qur 'wild gallinaceous fowl' (generic: 'Auerhuhn, Birkhuhn, Rebhuhn'), {RKazS} qūr 'black grouse, wood-grouse, partridge', qara qūr 'wood-grouse', Qrg {Jud.} qara-qur 'male black grouse', Qq qaraqur 'black grouse' (qara 'black'); later the stem was re-borrowed from T into M in the narrowed meaning 'black grouse': WrM qur, HIM xyp, Kl xyp xуръ, Brt xypa 'black grouse', WrO xур 'heathcock' ¶ MED 968, 987, Krg. 284, 297, KW 187, KRS 597, 610, Chr. 601, Rl. II 918, Jud. 347, RKazS 131, 307, 812 || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' > Alt, Shor kürtük, Xk kürkü ~ kürtü, Chl kürtü, Kü kürtä, Tv kürtü, Tf hürt'ü, Yk kurtuyaχ id. ¶ TvR 269, Ra. 192, Rs. W 311 ¶ T *ü (<

A and N * D) is probably due to regr. as. (infl. of *-tük) || **D** * kōr- 'fowl' > Klm kōr 'hen', {SR} 'cock, fowl', Nkr kōr , Gnd kōrr , Knd kōru 'hen', Prj kōrr 'cock, hen, fowl', Gdb $\text{kōr} \text{ } \text{d} \text{ } \text{kōrru}$ 'cock', Png $\text{kōzu} \sim \text{kūzu}$, Mnd kuy , Kui kōzu , Ku $\text{koyu} \text{ } \text{d} \text{ } \text{kōyū}$ 'fowl' ¶¶ **D** #2160 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [#60] (HS, D + unc. ϕ IE * kerko- 'cock').

933. * $\text{ka}^{\text{r}}\text{ry}^{\text{v}}$ 'to dig' > HS: WS * $\checkmark\text{kry}$ > BHb, MHb $\checkmark\text{kry|w}$ (pf. כָּרָה $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ā}$) 'dig, hollow out', ? Pun 3m pf. kr^{p} ($\checkmark\text{kry}$) 'cut out, hew', Ug {OLS} $\checkmark\text{kry}$ G 'cavar, clavar', JEA $\checkmark\text{kry|w}$ (pf. כָּרָה $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ā} \sim \text{כָּרִי}$ $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ē}$) 'dig, drill', Md kr^{p} ($\checkmark\text{krw|y}$) 'dig out, excavate', Ar $\checkmark\text{krw}$ (pf. كَرَّى karā) 'dig (the earth), dig a canal', Sb kry 'pit for trapping game', Gz $\checkmark\text{kry}$ (pf. karaya) 'dig (a well, in the ground), make holes, dig up, excavate' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, BDB #3738, HJ 535, OLS 225, Lv. II 399-400, DM 222, BK II 892, Hv. 653, BGMR 79, LG 294-5 || **U**: FU * kara 'dig' > Er/Mk kara- v. 'dig; peck, pick; hollow' | pChr {Ber.} * kora- 'ausgraben' > Chr: L kope- kore- , H {Wc.} kare- v. 'make small gutters for drainage; furrow', Uf kore- id., v. 'flute' | Prm * kūr- 'dig, break through (a dam), wash away (a bank)' > Z Le kīr- 'dig (a gutter)', Z V kīr- 'dig around', Z кыр- kīr- 'be broken through', 'be washed away, collapse' (banks)', Vt кыр- kīr- 'break through the dam' (water) ||| Os: D χer- , O χir- 'dig' ¶ UEW 221-2, Coll. 85, SZ 188, ≈ LG 153, ERV 234, PI 102, Ber. 19 ¶ UEW 221-2 reconstructs either * kur^{v} (if Mr and Chr are excluded) or * kara (if they are not) || **A**: T * $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r-}$ ~ * $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{rI-}$ 'dig' > OT qaz- , Tk kaz- , kazI- , Tkm qaδ- , qaδa- , Az qaz(I)- , Ggz kaz(I)- , CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Xlj qaz- , Nog qazI- , Tt $\text{qaz}^{\text{b-}}$, Bsh $\text{qaδ(}^{\text{b}}\text{-)}$, Uz qaz- , qazi- , StAlt, Tv qas- , Tf qaş- , Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ The lenis * k^{a} is reconstructed on the ev. of Tv and Tf q- ¶ Cl. 806ET KQ 185-6, Ra. 219, TvR 218, DT 176 || **D** (in GnD) * kār- ({ GS } * k-) 'dig' > Gnd HMB/DM kār- , Gnd Mu {Bh.} $\text{kār-} \sim \text{kār}^{\text{r-}}$, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku kār- , Kui $\text{kārpa} / \text{kārt-}$ id. ¶ Most relevant lgs. and ds. provide ev. for D - r- , against the ev. of Gnd Mu, where a variation - $\text{r-} \sim \text{-r}^{\text{r-}}$ is observed ¶ D #1467 ◇ T * -r^{a} and D * -r- may be explained if a N * -ry- is reconstructed. D * -r- < N * -r- clusters (in this case of * -ry-). The original cluster accounts also for the D long vw.

934. $\text{}^2\text{*ka|æR}^{\text{c}}\text{}^{\text{v}}$ 'tie together, plait' > IE: NaIE * $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ers-}$ id. > Gk ῥέπρον 'anything made of wicker-work: oblong shield, wicker body of a cart', pl. ῥέπρα 'wattled screens\booths' ||| Sw Δ kars , karse 'basket of willow-twigs, small sack', ON kass(i) 'Weidenkorb', Sw kār^{sa} 'basket

for fish, net sack', NNr *kjessa* 'basket, basket-work of bast' ¶ FI 300-1, ≈ P 392-3 (**ǵers-* 'drehen, winden'; **ǵ-* on the ev. of the unconvincingly adducted Arm *ծառ* *cāṛ* 'tree' and *ծուռ* *cuṛ* 'crooked, bent'), Vr. 303 || HS: S **o*✓*kr's*' > Ak OB ✓*kr*s (inf. *karāsu*) 'tie, fasten' ¶ CAD VIII 209.

935. *KURc∇ 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > K: GZ **kurč-* v. 'peel, remove husk' > OG *na-kurc-eni* 'peel (of fruit)', G *kurc-* v. 'peel, remove husk', {DCh.} *na-kurc-eni* 'scales', Lz *do-kurč-ol-a* 'removing maize husk', Mg **kurč-* → G Gr {Ghl.} *kurč-el-a* 'peel of onion\garlic\maize, shell of nuts, pod of beans', {K²} *kurč-al-a* 'maize husk', G I {Ghl.} *kurč-na* 'to peel maize, to remove tassels from maize-cobs', G (← Mg ?) {Chx., DCh.} *na-kurč-ali* {DCh.} n. 'peel (of onion, garlic, etc.)', {Chx.} id., 'involucral leaves of maize-cob' ¶ K² 220, FS K 340-1, FS E 382, DCh. 966, Chx. 931, Ghl. 193 || HS: S **o**kurs|s̄∇m-* > Ak fOB *kursimt-* ~ *kuršimt-* 'scale (of snakes, of scale-cuirass)' ¶ Sd. 511 || IE: Ht *kursa/i-* 'skin, fleece, hide' || (× N **Ḳor'a*' [or **ḲoRa* and **Ḳ'orü*?] 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust'): NaIE **krūs-* 'crust' > L *crusta* 'crust, rind, shell', ?? Osc *krustatar* {P} '≈ *crusta_* (*gleba_*) *tegitor*' (but Pln: '≈ *cruentantor*', Bc.: '*cruentetur*' ?) || (× NaIE **kreus-* 'freeze, congeal' < N **Ḳär, ʔ, ūs|š∇* 'congeal'): OHG (h) *rosō* {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' ¶¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. EI 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Bc. G 314, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-3 (unc.: EI 113 (*crusta* < IE **k^wrus'tēn* '(freezing) cold'), Kb. 803 ¶¶ NaIE **k-* for the expected **ǵ-* is the heritage of **Ḳor'a*' '↑'.

936. *kiRû_hgæ 'to gnaw' > IE (with several assimilative transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) **g^wru(:)ǵ^h-/g^wrouǵ^h* ~ **g^wru(:)ǵ-/g^wrouǵ-* ~ **g^wruk|k-* v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N **ǵ∇R_l∇, ʔ_l∇* 'to gnaw') > BSl (< **g^wrouǵ_l^h-/gru(:)ǵ_l^h-*) > Lt *gráuzti* (1s prs. *gráuziu*), Ltv *graūzt* v. 'gnaw' | BSl (< **g^wrouǵ_l^h-/gru(:)ǵ_l^h-*) > Lt *gráuzti* (1s prs. *gráuziu*), Ltv *graūzt* 'to gnaw' | pSl **griz-ti* / prs. **griz-q* v. 'gnaw' > OCS *грызѣ* *grizq* / *грысти* *gristi* v. 'bite, gnaw', Blg *гриза* 'gnaw', SCr *grīsti*, Slv *grīsti*, Cz *hrýzti*, P *gryźć*, OR, RChS *грызти* *grizti*, R *грызть* 'to gnaw' || Arm *կրծեմ* *kərcem* v. 'gnaw, nibble' || Gk *βύκω* 'I bite, eat greedily', *βρύχω* 'I gnash my teeth; I bite' ¶ WP I 697-8, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, FI 272-3 || K: G I *kirkn-* v. 'chew (with a toothless mouth)' ¶ Chx. 1560 || A: Tg **kirge-* v. 'gnaw' > Ewk *kirgз-* 'gnaw (a bone)', Lm

qurǵǵ, UI kirkiču-, Ne B kǝrkǝ- 'gnaw', Ne Nh kǝrkǝli-, kǝrlǝli-, qǝrǝqǝli- id. (of mice, rats) ¶ STM I 398 ◇ SI *ǝ and Gk ũ (both from IE *ū) suggest the presence of a N lr. (*H). K *-k- may either go back to N *-Hg- or result from assimilative devoicing (N *k...g > *k...k).

937. ₂ *k'a'Rka or *k'a'Rka 'turn, plait, wrap' > IE: NaIE *gerg- ~ *gerk- 'bend, plait' > Gk γυρϑαθός ~ γερϑαθός 'wicker-basket, creel', NGk γερϑαθί 'basket' || ON krókr 'Biegung, Bucht, Haken' || SI *gǝrč- 'be bent\crooked, writhe', *gǝrčb, *gǝrča 'cramp' > Blg Δ γϑρϑβλ 'sth. bent\crooked', Blg XIX {Gerov} γρβϑβ 'writhing, convulsion, cramp', Blg γρβϑ, McdS γρϑ, SCr grč 'cramp', Slv grčiti se 'to writhe with pain', SCr grča, Slv grča, Slk hrča 'knot (cyk) within wood' (a merger with SI *kǝrč- 'squirm, writhe') ¶ ≈ WP I 593-8, ≈ P 375-80, ≈ F I 335, Vr. 331, ≈ ESSJ VII 201-2, Glh. 245 || HS: S *✓krk v. 'turn round, wind, wrap' > Sr ✓krk 'encircle, roll\wrap round', Ak ✓krk (inf. karākū) 'interwine' ¶ CAD VIII 199, Br. 345, JPS 226-7 ◇ If the N etymon is *k'a'Rka, NaIE *gerk- remains unexplained. If this etymon is *k'a'Rka, NaIE *gerg- may be due to as., and the root-final *k in S is a reg. result of deglottalization (typical in HS).

938. ₂ *kärEm∇ 'wall, walled\fenced enclosure' > HS: S (WS?) *karim- 'vineyard' (← *'fenced garden'?) > Hb קרמ 'kerem, SmHb 'kāram (pl. kā'rēmam), Ph, Amn, Ug kr m, JA [Trg.], JEA קרמ kar'm-ā, Sr كرم kar'mā, Ar karm- id., Gz karm 'vine, grapevine'; ??σ Ak karmu 'ruin, ruin heap'; Ak karmu belongs here if its meaning goes back to 'ruined settlement' ← 'walled\fenced settlement' (which is suggested by the contexts in the Ak literature) ¶ AD SNSE 78, KB 474, KBR 498, BH IV 144-5, OLS 223, Sl. 603, Js. 671, Br. 347, BK II 889, LG 293, HJ 53, CAD VIII 218 ¶ S *i of the second syll. is evidenced by SmHb pl. and Gz || Eg P/OK kǝrṇw 'vineyard' ({Vc.} = *kaṛnaw < *karmaw ~ *karnaw), Eg fXIX kǝm 'garden (with vine, flowers, vegetables)' ({Vc.} [= *kaṛmu < *karmu]) > DEg kǝm 'garden' > Cpt Sd/B 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠 cōm 'garden, vineyard, field', pl: Sd 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪 cōom, A 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪𐩠 cōome id. ¶ EG V 106, Fk. 284, Vc. 340, Er. 557 || B *-yṛm- 'walled settlement, village' > Ah a-yṛam (pl. i-yṛam-ān) 'village, ville, bourg; tout lieu habité par des sédentaires', ETwl, Ty aṛam (pl. i-yṛaman) 'ville', Ttq aṛam (pl. i-yṛaman) id., taṛamt 'village', Tmz {MT} i-yṛam (pl. i-yṛaman), Dmn {La.} 'village, ksar, village fortifié', Mz a-yṛam 'cité, ville, village entouré de remparts \ de murs', Dmn {La.} i-

ʏrām, Ntf {La.} tiʏrāmt 'maison flanqué de tours; forteresse' ¶ Fc. 1758-9, GhA 72, MT 204, Dlh. M 154, Msq. 357, La. MChB 1-2 || **A:** M *kerem 'mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure' > WrM kerem, HIM хэрэм id., WrO {Krg.} kerem, Kl Ö {Rm.} kerem 'wall (Mauer), fortress', Kl {KRS} † керм, Brt хэрэм 'wall of a fortress, fortress', Ord {Ms.} k'erim 'rempart, grande muraille'; M б→ Sln x3r3m 'town wall', WrMc keremu id., 'rampart (of a military camp)', {Hr.} keremu 'krenelierte Stadtmauer, Zinne, Lagermauer' ¶ MED 457, KW 227, Krg. 725, KRS 296, Chr. 652, Hr. 583, Z 272, STM I 482 || NaT *Kärmän 'fortress, town, city' > MQp [CC] kermen 'civitas', OOsM [AH] kärmän 'town, city', Kr Cr kerman, Kr G kermen 'town, city'; T б→ Chr L karman, Chr H kärmän 'fortress', T б→ NPrs کرمان kirmān kermān 'castle, emporium', {Vl.} 'urba munita, castrum, emporium' б→ Tk † kirman 'fortress'; T б→ OR керемень keremень 'fortress' ¶ Rs. W 256, EF KQ 52-3, TAG 97, Nm. ET 12ff., Rl. II 1108, Ash. VI 102, Dr. TM III #151 = 2096 and IV 300-2 (supposes that the Tk word is derived from T *kir- 'umspannen'), Vs. II 224, Vl. 822, Sg. 1024, Grøn. 149, Fed. I 230, Vl. II 822 || Tg *keren 'fence' > Nn Nh k3r3, Nn KU x3r3 'stall for cattle, stable, shed', Ork k3r3(n-), Neg k3y3(n-) 'fence', Ul k3r3(n-) id., 'stall', 'border, frontier', Ork, Ul k3r3n-, Neg k3y3n- v. 'fence in', WrMc heren 'stable (for horses)' ¶ STM I 482-3 ◇ N *ä is evidenced by Chv a (< T *ä < N *ä). B *ʏ- suggests a N emphatic cns. (*k|g-), but *k- in S, Eg, and Tg point to a N plain vl. *k-.

938a. *kiR∇P∇ '(ε ?) fish' > HS: Ch *kir∇p- 'fish' > WCh: Hs kífí || AG: Tal {IL} kyèp, Ywm {IL} kʰiʔapʰ id. || Klr {J} kírîf id. || BT: Dr šúrúwó, Krkr čarafù, Bl {IL} kerwo, Gera {ChL} kîrfá, Ngm {ChL} kérúwô id. || NrBc: Krf {Sk.} kârfí id. || SBc: Bg {Sh} kîp, Kir {Sh.} čir3p id. || CCh: Skr {IL} kʰíʔf || Gudu {ChC} xîʔfu, Gude {ChC} h3ʔfin, {ChL} xurʔin id. || ZmB {J} kérfé id.] (infl. of N *K01∇ '[big] fish?'): CCh *kʰi|uʔip- 'fish' > BM *k∇lf∇ > Klb kàlfi, Br k+lfa, Mrg xilif, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì id. || Higi sb.: HgNk k+lþé, HgB k+lþó, Kps kùlùpʷé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu || McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, Glv kúlfà, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc k3l3té id. || Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílíf, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. || Db {Lnh.} kílíf, Kola {Sb.} kilíf id. || Ms kuluf-fa, {Kr.} kulufna, Bnn kùlùvá 'fish' ¶ Ba. 636, ChC, ChL, Ro. 252 || **A:** Tg *kirp- > Nn Nh kirpu, Nn B/KU kirfu, WrMc kirfu 'sturgeon' ¶ STM I 399 || **IE:** NaIE *ogǵ∇rb- > Gmc *karp-

'carp' > OHG karpfo, NHG Karpfen, MDu carpe(r), Du karper, Ic karfi, Gmc (Gt *karpa?) → Late L carpa (first attested in Cassiodorus [a Latin writer of Gothic origin, 6th. c.]), Sp, Port, It, Prv carpa → Fr carpe → ME carpe > NE carp ¶ KM 354.

939. *käRt∇ 'cut (off), notch' > HS: S *✓krt 'cut off' > Hb ✓krt (pf. כָּרַת kār'rat, ip. כָּרַת' yī-'krōt) 'cut off\down, fell', Ph, M'b ✓krt 'cut', Tgy ✓krt G 'cut', Tgr ✓krtt id., Ak ✓krt G 'cut off, break off' (but Ak ✓krt 'strike' does not necessarily belong here) ¶ KB 476, KBR 500-1, GB 364, BDB #377, HJ 538-9, CAD VIII 215, L ESAC 27, LH 401, Bsn. 592-3 || **K:** G I/R {Chx.} kirčn- 'in kleine Stücke\Brocken zerteilen, zerstückeln', G Mt karčn- 'umhacken' ¶ K *č < N *t + a sibilant or an affricate (belonging to a sx.)? ¶ Chx. 1561 || **A** *k'ärt'i- > T *k'ärt- v. 'notch' (× N *kæRt∇ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces'?) > OT {Cl.} kært- v. 'gash, cut a notch in', Ggz, Nog, Qzq, ET, Alt, QK kert-, VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt-, Tf k'ert-, Chv kart- 'cut a notch', Tk kert-, Tkm, Uz, SY kert- id., 'make an incision', Tv kert- v. 'notch, carve (by chopping, cutting)', Az kærtik, Tkm kertik n. 'notch', Qmq kert, Az kært, VTt kirt 'incision', Chv kart 'notch'; the Og words (Tk, Tkm, Ggz, Az) have a vl. k-, which goes back (acc. to IS's theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k'-) to N *k̄-, hence these words formally belong to N *kæRt∇, but it is better to suppose here a partial coalescence of N *käRt∇ and N *kæRt∇, the meaning of both represented in different T lgs. ¶ Cl. 738, ET KQ 54-5, Rl. II 1102, Rs. W 257, BT 81, RAltS 267, B DLT 162, B DChT 127, TvR 238, Jeg. 91, Fed. I 231, Md. 168 ({Md.} *k'ēr't- = *k'ärt'-) ¶ Chv a points to a T *ä, while VTt and Bsh i suggest a pT *e; this conflicting ev. may be accounted for by the merger of N *käRt∇ and *kæRt∇. Tv k- provides ev. for pT k', but the Og lgs. are likely to suggest pT *k'- (acc. to IS' theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k'-); this and other cases of pT *k' > Og k- suggest that IS's hyp. of pT *k' > Og g- needs a revision (positional limitations?) || M **kerti- > *kerč'i- v. 'make incisions, notch' > WrM kerč'i-, HIM хэрчи-х, Kl kerč'- id., → Neg kətč'i- id.; but M *kerč'i- 'cut' (> WrM kerč'i-, HIM хэрчи-, Kl kerč', etc.) (× N *k∇Rč∇ 'to cut', q.v.) ¶ MED 455, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4, Cl. 738 ◇ An alternative N rec. is *keRt∇, which accounts for VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt- and for G I/R kirčn-, but cannot explain Chv kart (Chv a is a reflex of T and N *ä) and G Mt karčn- ◇ Hardly here Ht kartai- 'cut, clip, severe', because it is obviously related to IE

*ker-t- 'cut' (Vd kr̥n'tati, Av kərəntaiti, Lt kertù / kiřšti, OCS črěsti) ¶ Ts. E I 523-4, Pv. IV 109-10.

940. *keRt∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait' > IE: NaIE *ǵǵerd- > Gk γέρδιος ~ γερδιός 'weaver', γέρδις id. ||| L (← Gk?) gerdius id. ¶ FI 300, WH I 594 || **HS:** B *✓krd v. 'tie' > Ah, ETwl, Ty əkrəd id., Gd əkrəd v. 'tie, knot' ¶ Fc. 850, GhA 97, Lf. II #0799 ¶ The voiced *d is probably due to the infl. of the reflexes of N *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird' (q. v.) || **U:** FU {It.} *kert_l∇ 'tie together' > Lp I {It.} kōrt·'eδ 'anbinden (mit Schlingen)' | Prm *kärt- 'tie together' ({LG} *kert-) > StZ kərtav-, Z Δ kərtal- 'tie, attach', Vt kertt-+n+ 'tie, tie together' ||| ?φ Os V kärt-, Os Ty kárt- v. 'sew' (unless ← pOs {Ht.} *kir- 'sew, put on shoes') ¶ It. #346, LG 142, ≈ UEW 139 (attaches the Prm word to the FU ✓ *kär∇ 'tie'), Ht. #310 ◇ On the connection between the Gk word and CS *✓grd 'weave', 'web (tela, textura)' see s.v. N *gE|aRd∇ ↑.

941. (₂?) *k∇RT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *ǵred- / *ǵrod- v. 'scratch' (pointing to N *k∇Rt∇) > Gmc *krattōn (with intensivity gemination): OSw kratta, MLG kretten, OHG krazzōn ȝ chrazzōn, MHG, NHG kratzen 'scratch'; Gmc → It grattare, Fr gratter id. ¶ Vr. 331, Schz. 184, OsS 511, Diez 222, KM 401, Kb. 561, ≈ P 405 || **HS:** B *✓krđ 'scratch, scrape' (suggesting N *k∇Rt∇) > Thg əkrəđ 'être raclé, se racler', Gh əkrəđ 'racler', Sll kəđđ (pf. ik^wəđđ), Kb əw^rəđđ, Izd kəđđ 'gratter', Tmz kəđđ ȝ šəđđ '(se) peigner; racler', Tmz AH šəđđ 'gratter' ¶ Fc. 854, TM 345 || WS *✓grd 'scrape, scrape off' (pointing to N *g∇Rd∇) > BHbTD 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤃 hiṭ-gā'ređ '(he) scraped himself', Pun mgrd 'scraper, scratcher', JA, Sr ✓grd G 'scrape\scratch off', JEA ✓grd G 'scrape', MHb ✓grd G v. 'scratch, scrape, comb', Md grida 'scanty, scraped, mere', Ar جرد ✓ğrd G (pf. ġarada) 'strip (a branch of its leaves, a tree of its bark, a skin of its hair)', Jb C ✓grd (pf. 'g^wr^wd) vt. 'strip (a tree of its branches), strip so. of his uniform, disarm', Mh ✓grd (pf. g^wr^wd) vt. 'undress, strip so. of everything, cut (a branch of a tree)' ¶ KB 194, KBR 202, HJ 594, Js. 265, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299, Br. 132, DM 96-7, Ln. 405-6, BK I 275-6, Hv. 84-5, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 123-4 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kúrtí v. 'rub', Mu {J} kòròdé / kúrut 'scratch' ¶ ChC, Eb. 75 || ?σ A: NaT *k'art ≈ scab, eczema' > OT qart 'ulcer', Qrg qart 'scab on a wound', sarī qart 'eczema' (sarī 'yellow'), Tv kart 'crust', Tf qárt 'bark (of shrubs), bast, nut-shell, peel'

¶ Cl. 647, ET KQ 314-5, Jud. 316, 353, TvR 230 ◇ NaT *k'art does not solve the problem of distinguishong between N *r and *r', because in precon. position N *r' yields T *r ◇ The variation of the glottal features (*t ~ *ṭ ~ *d, *k- ~ *g-) still defies explanation [different directions of as., ideophonic influences (so called "expressivity" & "intensity")?].

942. *kuʔr∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect' > HS: B *kūr_l∇_ld- 'flea' > Kb a-šurad̄ (pl. išurdan), Tmz akurdu ~ agurdu (pl. ikurdan), BMn {Bs.} kūrād, Shl {Bs.} akurd, SrSn {Rn.} aḵurdu, {La.} aḵurdu, Rf Wr/B/A ḵorḍu, Izn šurḍu, Nf kurdi ¶ Rn. 343, La. S 284, Bs. NLB II-III 82, Dl. 416, MT 344 || Ch: WCh: Hs k^ωark^ωatà (~ ḵ^ωark^ωata), Gw {Mts.} k^ωark^ωata 'louse' | NrBc: Mbr {Sk. HCD} kurt# '(?) flea, louse' (not mentioned in Sk. NB, ChC, and ChC) | SBc: Bg {Sh.} k^ωārī, Grn {Hrn.} kúryá, Buli {ChL} kòrgúdò id. | ? Pr {ChL} kórómò id. (or to N *ḶuRm∇ 'worm, insect'?) || ECh: Mgm {JA} kùrgìtínè 'worm', EDng {Fd.} kùrgìtā 'ε worm', as well as (??) Ll {Cp.} karà 'louse', Bdy {JA} kúrāne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} kúrìlè 'larva of locust' ¶ Ba. 69O, Mts. G 72, AIJ 92, J LM 129, JA LM 102, Hrn. GP #156, Sh. BZ 3O, ChC, ChL, ≈ Sk. HCD 162 ¶ The words of Ll, Bdy, and Mkl may alternatively belong to N *ḶÔR'E' 'worm, maggot' || ? S (mt. and regr. as.?) *√gdr: Mh gǝdērǝt (pl. gǝdārtǝn), Hrs gǝdōr 'worm', Jb E gǝdi'rǝt, Jb C ǝǝdírát 'small insect that eats wood\clothes' ¶ Jo. M 114 || A: T *k'ūrt- 'worm', (?) 'beetle' (× N *ḶÔR'E' '↑') > OT, Chg, OXwT qurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd, XT gurt ǝ gōrt, gurdāq ǝ gōrdaḵ, NrXT Shi gurt daḥa, Qzq, Qq, QrB, CrTt, Qrg, Uz, Tv qurt, ET qurut, Yk ḵurt, Tv qurt, Xlj {DT} qūřt 'worm', VTt, Bsh q'ört 'worm, bee', Tf qúrt' 'worm, beetle', Yk kurjaḃa 'vermin', Chv хурт ḵurt ǝ ḵort 'insect, worm' ¶ Cl. 648, ET Q 167-8, TL 181-2, Ra. 222, Rs. W 313-4, DT 18O, DH ChT, Fed. II 367-8, ≈ Md. 68, 17O and Md. OJ 153, 28O (T **k'-) || D (in CD) *kur∇ṭ... 'leech' (× N *Ḷ'Ū'R'∇'d∇ ~ *ḶŪRṭ∇'∇ 'stinging insect') > Prj kurṭubi, Gdb kurṭum 'leech' ¶ D #1798 ◇ B and T *ū point to a N *uH (in the light of the S cognate most probably *uʔ), which may also explain D *r (< N *ʔr).

943. ≈ *kaʔo (or *k'o'ʔo?) 'onager, wild ass (?)' > HS: S *okurr- > Ar SL kurr- {Shrn.} 'young donkey, donkey colt', {Hv.} 'ass'; S *okurr- may be the source of the NaIE loanword *k^ho|ar- 'donkey' (> OI 'kharā-ḥ, Av ḥarō, KhS kharā-, Prs خَر ḵār, Oss ḵäräg id.; pAl {O} *kara > Al T/G kērr 'donkey, foal'); this IE word cannot be an inherited cognate

of the S word (\Leftrightarrow Blz. DA), because there is no genetic correspondence between S *k- and IE *k^h-, while borrowing (S *^okurr- \rightarrow IE *k^hor-) is phonetically plausible (the non-glottalized S *k- is likely to have been slightly aspirated, cp. Kartvelian: Georgian /k/ = [k^h] ¶ Shrn. 1048, Hv. 648, \approx M K I 302-3, Ab. I 57, GI 562 (fn. 2), O 183 ¶ But not here Jb C/E 'k̄e'raḥ 'male donkey', Jb C 'k̄ere'ḥeṯ 'female donkey' (possibly from \checkmark k̄rḥ 'be bald, hornless') [Jo. J 149, Jo. M 235] || NOm: Kf {C} kūrō, Mch {L} kúro, Cha {C} kūrā, Anf {Gt.} kuro, She {CR} kur, Hz {SiW} kúrur 'donkey' ¶ C SE III 171 and IV 463, L M 37, Gt. 355, SiW BA 11, CR NGS 621 || Ch words for 'donkey': WCh: BT {ChC}: Krkr koro, Ngm kórō || Ngz {Sch.} k^ωárá, Bd {ChC} koro || CCh: Tr {Nw.} kóró || BM {ChL}: Bu, Ngx k^ωara, Cb, Wmd, Mrg k^ωara, WMrg k^ωarə ~ k^ωara, Hld k^ωarà || McHigi {ChL}: HgNk, HgG k^ωarà, HgB, Kps, FIK k^ωara, HgF k^ωara || BB: Gudu {ChL} k^ωara, Bcm {Sk.} k^ωarété || Ktk: Bdm {Cyffer} kórò || Msg {GKrs.} kurék || McMs {ChL}: Ms kərta, Lame káró, LamP koro, Bnn k^ωarda, BnnM kərta || Kwn {ChC} kúrā, Kwn M {J}, Kbl {Cp.}, Smr {J} kúrā, Ng D {J} kūrō, Tmk {Cp.} kóra ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 196, ¶¶ OS #1480 (pHS *kor- > S, Ch, Om) || IE *g_l^ωorde^ho-s {EI} 'wild ass (Equus hydruntinus)' or 'onager/kulan (Equus hemionus)' > OI garda^hha- 'ass', garda^hhi 'she-ass, jenny', Tc B kerapo 'ass' ¶ EI 33-4, \approx M K I 327-8, P 214-5. Bc. #3.46, Ad. 195-6 || D *kařut- ({†GS} *g-) 'ass' > Tm kařutaḡ, Ml kařuta, Kt kařt, Td katy, Kn kařte ~ katte, Kdg katte, Tu katte, Tl gāḡida, Klm gaḡdi, Nkr gaḡdi, Prj gade ḡ garad, Gnd gāḡdi, Ku gāḡde ¶¶ D #1364 ◇ The IE element *-b^ho- in *g_l^ωorde^ho- goes back to the N adjectival pc. *b^hA (q.v. ffd.). If the NaIE initial stop was labiovelar (*g^ω-), it points to a N *^o, but if it is velar (*g-), it suggests a N *^a. The D cognate suggests that N *kařo is more plausible than *k^ořo (S and Om *u and the initial k^ω in the Ch lgs. being explained by regr. as. of vowels) ◇ In the light of the history of the ass and its domestication (in the light of archæological data) it may be supposed that the word originally denoted the wild ass or the onager. On the history of the wild ass, onager, and on domestication of the ass *see* EI 33-5, GI 562-4, Zeuner HDA, Mason EDA, CIB NHDA, Bgl. 464-7, Bökönyi 299, Vogel 119 ◇ \approx Blz. DA 157 [#55] (suggested the equation between D, HS, and the IE root of OI kharā- [considered to be a genetic cognate]).

944. *k^ořa^oř (= *k^ořa^ořU?) 'hawk, ∈ bird of prey' > K: GZ *kor- 'hawk' > OG, MG, G, Mg kor-, Lz kur-, mkur-, mki(r)- id. ¶ K² 218-9, Chx. 1576,

DCh. 1344, Chik. 103 || **A** *k|kart'∇ 'ε bird of prey' > T: [1] NaT {Cl.} *Kart'āl > OT qartal 'eagle, vulture', Osm {Rh.} qartal 'Arabian vulture, Vultur monachus', Chg qartal, Tk kartal, Ggz 'kartal, Az, Tkm Δ gartal 'eagle', SY qaltar 'ε bird of prey (living in the mountains)'; [2] Yk kīrt 'hawk' ¶ Cl. 648-9, ET Q 316-7, ≈ TL 169, Rh. 1445, Rl. II 200, Rs. W 239 || Tg: WrMc qarč'in {Z} 'vulture' ('коршунъ'), {Hr.} 'kite' ('Milan') ¶ Z 263, Hr. 575, ≠ STM I 379 || M *qarč'i (< **qarti?) > WrM {Gl.} qarč'i 'cormorant (Phalacrocorax, баклан)', Kl Ö {Rm.} χarč'i 'Wasserrabe (Phalacrocorax carbo)'; M **qartigay ⇨ Sg/Qc {Rl.} qarč'iyay 'hawk', Uz qarč'iyay, Tkm гарчыгай qarč'iyay 'goshawk (Accipiter gentilis), Tlt/Kr {Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.}, VTt, Qmq qarč'ya, Bsh qarš'ya, Qzq, Qq, Nog qarš'ya, QrB кьартджыгъа qart'iyay, ET {BN} qa(r)č'igu, Sg/Qrg {Rl.} qart'iyay, Alt {Rl.} qarčā 'hawk', Qmn qartaq, Xk, Tv χart'iyay, Tf hart'iyay 'falcon', Shor {Rl.} qartayay 'hawk, vulture', QK dim. {Rl.} qartāžaq (Rl.: < qartayay + -žaq) 'small hawk' ¶ KW 170, Rs. W 237, ET KQ 317-9, Pp. MA 293, Ms. H 88, H 61, MED 936, Kow. 850, Gl. II 135, Krg. 267, KRS 581, Rl. II 200-4, Jud. 354, ≈ TL 169 ¶¶ pA lax *k' is evidences by WrMc qarč'in, unless the latter is a Mongolism. M *qarč'igay may be analyzed as *qarti- + *-gay, possibly a nominal sx. of quality bearers which may be identical with the sx. *-gay/*-gey forming poss. pronouns from the gen. of pers. pronouns: WrM minü 'of me' ⇨ minü-gey 'mine', manu 'of us' ⇨ manu-gay 'ours', etc., as well as with *-gay/*-gey of nomina imperfecti (performer of an action that has been and still is: *yabu-gay 'one who has been walking\going'), / Pp. IM 219-21, 73. T *Kartāl is qu. as a cognate, because it may go back to a cd. with the first element T *kara, M *qara 'black' (cp. NaT *kara kuš 'eagle', lit. 'black bird') ¶¶ For more details on the word in A lgs. see ET KQ 317-9 (with further literature) ¶¶ The word was borrowed by some Sl, U, Irn, and some Caucasian lgs. (see Dr. TM I #278), incl. Chr H kəršünğəš 'hawk' and R коршун 'kite' (Rm. BT 47, Vs. II 342-3) ¶¶ *÷ Tg: Neg karax̄ 'game (ducks, geese, etc.), Nn qarqay 'ε bird' and qarmor 'sand martin (Riparia)' [STM I 379], which are better explainable as onomatopoeic and/or derived from Tg *kara 'black' (⇨ M, see N *QarhA 'black') || **D** (in SD) *kaṛu ({†GS} *k-) 'ε bird of prey' > Tm kaṛu, kaṛuku 'griffin vulture (Gyps indicus), eagle (Aquilina falconida)', Ml kaṛu, kaṛuku 'eagle, vulture', Td kər'č' 'kite', Tu kaṛu ḍ kaṛu 'vulture' ¶ D #1362 ◇ If the

final vw. of the N etymon was labialized (as in the D reflex), we may try to explain the vw. *o in GZ *kor- by regr. as. (N *k'a'íU > *kor∇).

945. *korú 'stick, log' > **IE:** NaIE *g^weru- 'sharp stick, roasting-spit' > L *verū* (gen. *verūs*) ntr. 'javelin, spit', Um *berua* pl. 'spits (*verua*)', *berus* abl. pl. 'verubus' || OIr *bir* (accus. *biur*) 'spit, spear', NIr *bior*, MW *ber*, W *bêr* 'spear, lance', OCrn [VC] *ber*, Br *ber* 'roasting-spit' || Gt *qairu* 'σκόλοψ (thorn, pointed stake?)' || ?σ Gk {Hs.} *βάρυες* · *δένδρα* 'trees' || ?σ Pru *garian* ~ *garrian* accus. 'tree' ¶ But Av *grava-* 'stick, cane', Phl *graw* 'cane', and Tc A *kru* 'reed' belong rather to a different etymon ({Ad.} ? *g_L^hrewo-m 'reed, rush') ¶ WP I 689, P 479, Mn. 357, Brtl. 529, McK 37, LS 307, FI 253 (no et. of *βάρυες*), WH II 766-7, Bc. G 330, Pln. II 729, Vn. B 51-2, YGM-1 44, Fs. 386, En. 175 (Pru ÷ Lt *girià*, Ltv *dzirča* 'forest', see N **kur_L∇h_J∇* 'hill, mountain'), EI 481 (*g_L^hrewo-m 'reed, rush'), 536 (*g^weru 'spear, spit') || **HS:** B: Sll *a-kuṣay* 'large stick for beating'; ? Thg *ã-kāra* 'petite tige de bois (qui se place dans la bouche des chevreaux pour les empêcher de téter)', Gd {Lf.} *a-kraru* 'bâton à remuer\tourner les sauces\bouillies, etc.' ¶ But B **ṣari-* 'stick' is to be kept apart, it rather belongs to N **Ḳar_L∇* '(sharp) stick, peg' (q.v.) ¶ Ds. 34, Lf. II #O793, Fc. 848 || ? WS **✓krk* > Mh *kəršədūt* (pl. *kəršēd*), Jb E *kər'šə'dət*, Jb C *kər'šə'dət* (pl. *ko'rošud*) 'knobbed club'; ? amb Ug *krk* {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S **°✓krk* < N **Ḳar_L∇* '↑', q.v.) ¶ Jo. M 215, OLS 223, Hnr. 140, Grd. #1303 || **A:** Tg **kor_i-* v. 'build (out of logs)', **kor_i* 'building' (← **'log') (× N **Ḳur_L∇* [or **Ḳur_U?*] 'plait\wattle\tie together?') > Nn *qor_L-* v. 'build out of logs', Ork *qorima*, Neg *kouma* 'made of logs', Ork *qoruma*, Neg *kouça* 'wall made of logs', Ul, Orq, Nn *Nh qor_L*, Neg *kouçan* 'log cabin (сруб) for a bear', Ul *qor_L* 'shed (хлев), stable; cage for birds', Nn *qor_L* 'storehouse for food', Orc *ko_i* (← **ko_yi* < **kor_i*) 'wooden storehouse for food; sepulchral cabin (могильный домик)', Neg *ko_y* (← **kor_i*) 'log house' ¶ STM I 415 || **D** (in SD) **ko_r-* 'bar of metal' > Tu *kor_u*, Tm *koṛ_u* id., Tm, Ml *koṛ_u* 'ploughshare', Kn *kuṛ_a*, *kuṛ_u*, *guṛ_a*, *guṛ_u* id., 'iron use in cauterizing', ? Kt *kov* 'iron point of plough' ¶ D #2147.

946. ₂ *kor_L∇ '≈ fig tree' > **HS:** B: Izd {Mrc.} *a-kurr* (pl. *i-kurr-an*), {MT} *a-kuṛṛ* (pl. *i-kuṛṛ-an*) 'figue précoce', and with secondary emphatization *k-* > *q-*: *a-quṛṛi-*, *a-quṛṛu* (pl. *i-quṛṛ-an*) id.; in other B dialects (with emphatization): {La.} Zmr, Tmz Iz *ãqorṛo* (pl. *iqorṛan*),

ASgr qorǵo, Tfl taqorrit 'green fig' | a Wanderwort presumably of Berber origin: B ≈ **✓ k^rm¹ 'fig-tree' (> Kb a-šamlal 'ε a kind of fig-tree?') → AfR *karmus → Ar Mgr {Gass.} كَرْمَة karama (pl. kiram) 'fig-tree', كَرْمُون karmūn 'fig', Ar Mrc {DMA} karmūš 'fig' → Kb lkarmus, akarmus, takarmust 'figuier de Barbarie, figue de Barbarie' ¶ Gass. 808, DMA-ME 65, Mrc. 291, MT 538, La. MChB 421-2, DI. 95, 419, ≠ Zav. LS 99 (in Ar karmūn an AfR ending *-us was added to Ar karm- < HS *✓ krm 'vine') || D: Tm koṛiṛci 'trees or plants, as the figs, which bear without blossoming' ¶ D #2254.

947. *kUṛṽ (= *kuṛṽ?) or *kuṛyṽ 'young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE *g^werbh⁻/*g^wrebh⁻ 'infant, young of an animal' (< *kUṛṽ bA or *kuṛyṽ bA with *bA of animal names) > Gk βρέφος 'babe in the womb, foetus; new-born babe; young of animals (foal, whelp, cub, etc.)' || OIr bro(m)mach 'foal' (< *g^wrombhākos), NIr bromach 'colt' || Sl *žer'b-ę / *žerb-ęt- 'foal' > OCS жрѣба žrěbę, Blg жре'бе, OSCr ždrijēbe, SCr ждрѣбе ždrijēbe, Slv žrebè, Cz hříbě, Slk žriebä, P źrebie, Uk жереб'я, Blr 'жеребе id., R pl. жере'бята 'foals', sg. (originally dim.) жере'бѣнок 'foal' || ambHt kurka- 'foal, colt', which may be alternatively equated with Phl kurrag, NPrs كُرْه korre ~ كُرْه kore {Sg.} 'colt of a horse\camel\ass (1 or 2 years old)', Arm (← Irn) քուրակ k^huṛak 'colt, foal', and Mcd [ϣ] {LS} κύρνος 'bastard' ¶ WP I 689, P 485, F I 266, LS 1014, Vn. B 95-6, Dnn. 90, Vs. II 48, Glh. 705-6, BER I 554, Ts. E I 651, Pv. IV 267-8, VI. II 826, Sg. 1026, EI 615 || HS: C *k^wṽr (~ *^okṽr?) 'young of an animal', {AD} *k^wṽrk^wṽr 'puppy' > EC: Sa {R} k^warkūr 'puppy', ? kare (pl. karuwa) 'dog', Arr kēr 'dog', kēr 'bitch' || Ag: Xm {R} coll. k^wark^war, sgl. k^wark^warā 'puppy', krw^wur id. ¶ AD SF 77, R Ch II (s.p.) 63, R S II 220, 432, Hw. A 373 || A: T *k¹īr 'daughter, girl' > OT {Cl.} qīz, Tk kīz, Δ gīz, Ggz kīz, Az qīz, Tkm qīḏ, Xlj qīz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qīz, VTt qḏz, Bsh qḏḏ, Uz qīz, Alt, Tv qīs, Tf qīṣ, Xk χīs, Yk kīs id. || Blgh هير {Erd.} hīr id. + ppa. (هيري hīr-ī'i 'his daughter'), Chv хѣр хѣр 'daughter' ¶ Cl. 679-80, ET Q 190-1, Rs. W 269, TL 195-6, TkR 227, TvR 280, Ra. 223, DT 176, Erd. 46-9, 115 (Blgh h is an "alternant" of ɣ; OBlgh ī < pT *ī), Jeg. 298, Fed. II 344, Md. 70, 168 || D: [1] D {tr., GS} *koṛ- 'young, tender', 'infant', (→ ?) 'daughter, bride, daughter-in-law' > Tm kuṛa 'young, tender', kuṛaku

'youthfulness, beauty, infant', ?σ Tu koræ 'weak, small', Tl koḏuku 'son', kōḏalu 'daughter-in-law', Klm, Nkr koVve 'young of a bird\animal', Klm korāḷ 'younger brother's wife', Nkr korāḷ 'daughter-in-law, bride', Gdb korāḷ, Gnd B koriāḷ 'son's wife, younger brother's wife', Nk kola id., 'bride', Gnd M koriāḷ, Ku kuḷia ḏ kūria 'daughter-in-law', Gnd Nr koriyaḷ id., 'sister's daughter, younger brother's wife', Prj koḷ 'very young', koḷol 'bride', Knd koḷo (pl. -k) 'female child', (pl. -r) 'male child', Mlt {Drs.} qóro 'infant', Brh xarruni 'wife' ¶¶ D #2149, GS 174 [#439] ¶¶ The D cognate is acceptable on condition that the meaning 'sprout' (present in most D lgs.) is either secondary or represents a different homonymous D √ ¶¶ [2] D *kur- ~ {tr., GS} kuḷ- 'young of an animal' (× N *gur₁E₁w∇(-T∇) 'young [carnivorous] animal?') > Tm kuruku 'young of an animal', Kt kurḷ 'young cow (up to three years)', Tu kurulæ, kurḷæ 'young pig; a baby', Png kurnḷa 'young male child', kurnḷi 'young female child', Klm, Nk, Prj kurra, Gnd kurra ḏ kurrā ḏ kura, Knd kuḷa, Ku kurra ḏālu 'male calf', Krx kurū 'colt' ¶¶ D ##1791, 1801, GS 154 [#391] ◇ The length of the T vw. *ī suggests that the original vw. was followed by a cluster (*-Ry-), while the quality of this vw. is "lautgesetzlich", because T *ī may go back to N *u. If the vw. of the N etymon is *u (as suggested by D *kur- ~ kuḷ-, by Ht kurka-, and by T *k'īr), the vw. *o in D *koḷ- is still to be explained ◇ *÷ Bj ḷōr 'child, boy' and Ag *q^ωzr-/*ḷzq^ωzr- v. 'beget, child', that underly my own err. pC rec. *k^ω∇r- 'child, son' (AD SF 82-3) (see N *hoR'i' 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' on Bj ḷōr and N *ḷ'ogU1∇ [or *H₂o qU1∇] 'offspring, child; to beget, to bear a child' on Ag *q^ωzr-/*ḷzq^ωzr-) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#45] (incl. D and T + err. C *k^ω∇r).

948. *kuhr∇ (or *kühr∇?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season' > HS: S *^o✓khwr > Ar kahwar- 'big black cloud'; +ext.: WS *✓krm v. 'rain', n. 'rainy season' > Ar ✓krm (pf. karuma) 'yield rain' (clouds), Ar Del-karamāt 'the rainy months', Gz karamt 'rainy season (Jany-July to September)' (→ 'year'), Tgy kərəmti (> Bj {R} ke'rinti), Tgr kərəm, Amh kərəmt 'rainy season'; EthS ⇨: Sml N {Abr.} káran, káran-ti 'the lesser rainy-season (in the autumn) in Western Somaliland', Sml {R} ke'ran (pl. ke'ramo) 'lesser rainy-season in October', Sml {DSI} karan 'pioggia di fine estate', Sa {R} ✓krm (3m p. 'yi-krima) 'die Erde befeuchten (der Regen)', kar'mā (pl. 'karmām 'rainy season from July to October', Af {PH} karma (pl. karmōmi) 'autumn rainy season' ¶

Fr. IV 28, 67, BK II 888-9, 939, Hv. 652, Lb. II 1455, L G 292-3, L CAD 157, LH 398, Bsn. 590, DSI 359, Abr. S 148, R SS II 247, R S II 222, PH 144 || **K**: G *kurux-* 'get covered with rainclouds', (→) 'darken, grow gloomy' (a person's face) ¶ Chx. 1587 || **A** **k'ūrE* (or **k'ūrā*?) 'autumn; rain, storm' > T **k'ūr* 'autumn' > OT *kūz*, Tk *güz*, Ggz, Qmq, Qq *güz*, Tkm *güjδ*, VTt *κəz kḅz*, Bsh *κəz kḅδ*, CrTt *kuž*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qrg, ET *kūz*, Uz *kuz*, Alt *küs* id., {Pek.} *küs orto* 'mid autumn' (*orto* 'middle') || Chv *кёр кёр*, Δ *kḅr* ¶ Cl. 757, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 94-5, Ra. 204-5, Dom. 66, BT 101, TvR 269, Fed. I 277, Md. 171, JkR 201, Pek. 1339-44 || M **qura* 'rain' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, HI, P] *qura*, WrM *qurā*, HIM, Kl *хур*, Dx, Ba *qura*, Dg *χwar*, Mnr {SM. T} *χurā* ¶ Pp. KP 156, Pp. MA 310, 445, Lg. VMI 47, Ms. H 91, MED 987, KW 197, T 377, T DnJ 116, T BJ 138, SM 184, Mr. D 29 || Tg **kỵ:re-* 'storm, strong wind' > Lm *kur* id., Ewk *kurgəkūn* 'strong wind', Ul *kūrɜ(n-)* 'storm' ¶ STM I 436 ¶ S AJ 294 [#510], DQA #943 (A **kūrē* 'autumn; rain, storm').

949. **kiřHa* 'old' > IE **ǵerH-* > NaIE **ǵerā-* 'old, (?) grown up' > OI *ja'rā* 'old age', KhS *ysar-* 'be old', OI *jarati* 'makes old, grows old', *jaran* 'decayed', *jari'man* 'old age' (heavy base), Av *a-zarəšant* 'nicht-alternd', *zarəta-* 'altersschwach', Phl *zarmān* 'old man; old age, decrepitude', NPrs *زَر* *zār* 'old person', Psh *zōr*, Oss I *zār*, Oss D *zārā*, *zārwā* 'old age', Oss I/D *zāron* 'old' || Gk *γέρων / γέροντ-* 'old man', *γραιγή* 'old woman', *γηράσκω v.* 'age, grow older' || pAl {O} **grāwā* 'old woman' > Al: T *grua*, G *grue* id. || Arm **ծեր** *ceř* (gen. **ծերոյ** *ceřoy*) 'old, aged; old man' || Gmc: ON *karl* 'man, old man', OHG *karl* & *karal* & *charal* 'man, husband, beloved', MLG *kerle* 'free man, strong man', NHG *Kerl* 'fellow', AS *céorl* 'man, free man of the lowest rank; husband', NE *churl* || Sl **zbrě-ti* (1s prs. **zbrějq*) 'to ripen' > OCS **збрѣти** *zbrěti* (1s prs. **збрѣхъ** *zbrějq*), SCr *zrěti*, Slv *zréti*, Cz *zráti*, Slk *zret'*, OP *zrzcć*, R *зреть*, Uk 'зріти id., Blg (1s prs.) 'зрєя 'ripen' || pTc **kwär-* > Tc: A, B *kwär-* c. 'age, grow old', B adj. pl. *śrārí* 'old' (of people) ¶ M K I 420-2, Vl. II 122, Sg. 612, Horn 146, Bay. 346, Ab. IV 299, 304-5, McK 98, Mrg. 103, FI 301-2, O 125, Slt. 164, Vr. 301, Schz. 179, Kb. 530, KM 365, Ho. 46-7, Glh. 700-1, Vs. II 106, ≈ P 390-1, Ad. 236, 644, EI 248 (**ǵerH-* 'grow, age, mature'), 409 || **D** (in SD) **kiř-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) 'old, aged; old age' > Tm *kiřam*, *kiřaṭu* 'old age', 'aged person\animal\thing' (contemptuous), *kiřavaṇ* 'old man', *kiřavi* 'old woman', MI

kiṛavan 'old man', kiṛavi, kiṛatti 'old woman', Kn keṛava, keṛiva 'old man', Tu kīrв 'ancient, old' ¶ D #1579; on i/e alternation in SD *see* Zv. 65-70 || HS: WCh: Hs K kíríbzá 'anything old', ? ʌ Hs kʰárárràḅē 'become old \ infirm \ decrepit' ¶ Ba. 609, 703 || It is tempting to adduce here the HS root ≈ *√kʷr (or *kʷr-?) > SC: Irq kuru, Brn kori, Alg kʷari 'year'; Ch: Zala {ChL} kʷərsì 'old' (person), Jg {J} korm- 'aufwachsen', but the HS rounded back vw. makes the comparison too shaky; it is more plausible to equate it with T *Kurt-ga- 'old woman' || A: The A reflex of this N word may have influenced the reflexes of T *K'ari 'old' (< N *garʹi 'old') in some T lgs., namely ET qeri, Xk кипi kiru 'old', ET qeri-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk кипi- kiru-, Yk kiriy- 'grow old' ◇ ≈ IS I 297-8 [#165] (*kirHΔ 'old': IE, D) ◇ Cp. N *garʹi '↑' (q.v.).

950. ? *koʹrʹiʷ, ∇ 'external ear' > A: Tg *kora-ka 'external ear (ear conch)' > Ewk, Orc korokto, Ul, Ork, Ne Nh qoroqto id., Lm qorət id., 'ear'; *koro- > Ork qoro-lon- v. 'move one's ears' (animals) ¶ STM I 416 || U: FU *korw∇ 'ear, leaf' (× N *qURiʷ, ∇ 'ear' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D *kuʹ- 'ear-ring, ear' (× N *qURiʷ, ∇) ◇ Qu., because two of the three cognates have an alt. explanation.

951. ₂ *kʹü|uS∇ 'mouse' > HS: Ch ≈ *kus∇m > WCh: Hs kūsù, Gw {Mts.} kúšū 'rat, mouse' | Su {J} kʷuzum, Ang {ChL} gùzùm, Kfr {Nt.} kázúm, Gmy {Kr.} g+s+m, {Sh.} kesem, Chip kʰž́m {ChL} 'rat' | Krkr {ChL} čàsəḅ, Gera {Sch.} kàsámí, Krf kòtòmù, Bl {ChL} kʷəsú, Dr kóm 'rat' | DfB {J} kùsúm 'mouse', Bks {J} kúším 'rat' | Kry {Sk.} kúsám, Mbr {Sk.} kúšəḅ 'rat', My {Sk.} kúsám~kúsəm, P' {MSk.} kúsánčiki 'mouse' | Bg kusam, Kir {ChL} kʷàsám, Zul kʷúsúmè, Plc {ChL} kúsùm, Gj {ChL} kúsəḅ, Zar K {ChC} kùsəḅ 'rat' | ?? Bd {ChL} kùməḅ 'rat' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ho-kuʹhʹum 'mouse' > {Ro.}: Zlg kòhóm, Mofu hʷóm, Hrz, Vm kʷám, Mada òkóm, Myn àkfúm id.; ? Mtk {ChC} kʷəm 'rat' | Msg Nh {Trn.} gusúm, Msg {GKrs.} kusúm 'mouse', Msg D {Mch.} kúsúm 'rat' | ?φ ZmB {ChC} gʷáʰzìn (= gʷaʹzìn ~ gʷaʰzìn?) id. | Gzg {Lk.} gožomo 'Hausratte' | Tr {Nw.} yum 'rat' || ECh: Brg {J} kumo, Mb {J} kumó, EDng {Fd.} kûmnò, Ke kòmòm (pl. kámám) 'rat' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI I 137 and II 270-1 (Ch *√ksm 'rat', incl. 'mouse'), Ba. 658, Nt. 19, Sch. BTL 151, Ro. 295 [#485], Lk. G 123, Fd. 303, Eb. 73, ≠ Sk. HCD 157, ≈ Stl. IF 99-100 (pCh *ku-ʰʹasami 'rat'; the err. rec. was induced by Kfr {JI} kóezúm, which reproduces Nt.'s spelling with oe for 3, *see* Nt. 1: "oe = ə") || A: NaT *kʹüske,

*KüsE 'rat, mouse' > OT {Cl.} küskū id., SbTt {Rl.}, Tlt/Tln {Rl.} küskü, Sg/Kü/Qc/Qb {Rl.} küskä, Qzl {Dom.} küške 'rat', Xk, Tv küske 'mouse', Tk Δ köskü 'mole'; VTt көсе күсь 'rat', ET küsätkä, Δ küsötkä 'field mouse' ¶ Cl. 750, ET KQ 153-4, Rs. W 312, Rl. II 1501, TatR 342, TvR 269, Shch. Zh 150.

952. ₂ *k|geHs∇ 'warm, hot, hot season' > HS: B *✓(w-)kHs 'be warm, hot' (× N ? *K̄eZ̄E 'warm, warm weather'??) > Ah ukas (pf. yakkus) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-ukəs vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} əkkus (pf. ikkus) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Nc.} góssurho 'heat', Mgm gázāńí 'heat', gázàntà ~ gásàntà 'hot (as fire)' ||| WCh: Zul {ChL} gisi, Buli {ChL} k̄is 'dry season' ¶ Lk. ZSS 33, JA LM 86, ChL || U: FV *kesä 'summer' > F kesä id. | pLp {Lr.} *kēsē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} giesie, L {LLO} kiessē, N {N} gæssē, Kld k̄iēs̄s̄ | pEr *kizə 'summer' > Er кизə kize id., Mk кизə kiza ɖ kiza 'year' ¶ UEW 660, Lr. #393, Lgc. #2294, Hs. 603-4, Ker. II 62.

953. *kasw∇ 'grow, increase; (become) big' > HS: S *°✓kš|šw|y ~ *°✓kš|š|h > OAk kasā'um inf., Ak kaš'û inf. {Sd.} 'stark zunehmen', {CAD} 'to yield profit', D kušš'û {CAD} 'to make profit, to make strong' ¶ Sd. 463, CAD VIII 294 || U: FU *kaswa- 'grow, increase' > F, Es kasva- vi. 'grow, increase' | Er како- kaso-, Mk како- kasə- id. | Chr: L кушка- kuška- id., H {Rm.}, Uf/B kuška- vi. 'grow' ||| OHg haszon 'Fruchtertrag, Ertrag von Nutztieren; (materieller usw.) Vorteil, Nutzen; Gewinn', Hg haszon 'advantage, benefit, profit, gain' ¶ UEW 129-30, Coll. 86, Rm. BT 59, Ker. II 50-1, LG 91, MF 273-4, EWU 535 || D *kač- ({}GS} *g-) 'great, big' > Tm kaɣa 'great', Ml kaɣa, Png gaʒa 'big', Tl gaja 'large', Ku kaʒa ɖ kaʒʒa 'big, great' ¶¶ D #1093.

954. *k'ü'š'∇ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > IE: NaIE *ḡeḷs- 'pebbles' (× N *K̄E'η'ĉ∇ ~ [?] *K̄E'η'ĉ∇ 'gravel, pebble[s], coarse sand') > MHG kies, NHG Kies 'gravel'; AS ciosol, cisel id., OHG kisil ɖ chisil, NHG Kiesel 'pebble', NLG keiserling, keserling, kieserling 'pebble, small stone' ||| Pru sixdo ({}En.} [zigzdo]) 'sand', Lt žiezdrà 'gravel, coarse sand', {}Frn.} 'grain of sand \ of coarse sand', Žiēzdras 'sand' ||| Phr [StB] ὄσσα 'stone' ¶ P 356, Ho. 49, OsS 492, Kb. 546, KM 368, Frn. 1307, En. 248 || K *°kwiš- > OG kwīša, mkwīša, G kviša 'coarse sand, pebbles'; G ⇨ Sv {Ni.} kwīše 'sand', {}TK} kwīšār adj. 'of sand, sandy' ¶ Abul. 459, Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339, Ni. s.v. пѣсокъ, TK 790 || HS: B *✓kwz̄ ~ *✓kz̄z̄ 'coarse sand' (× N *K̄E'η'ĉ∇ ~ [?] *K̄E'η'ĉ∇ '↑')

> Ah e-kəwəz 'coarse sand', Tmz {MT} əkzəz 'sand'; B *^ouzz > Ah ta^uəzzit 'sable gros' ¶ Fc. 838, , Cr. 430, MT 358 || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} kēsā 'sand' (unless ← Knr čésà id.) || Ech: Smr {J} kúsraín 'pebbles' ¶ Lk. B 112, ChC, Lk. KL 191 || ?^o C: Ag: Bln {R} 'qūšā (pl. qūš) 'sand' (× N ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ~ [?] ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇) ¶ R WB 245 || | U: FU {UEW} ***kâč** ∇ 'sand, gravel' > Prm ***gŭžā** 'gravel' > Vt ГЫЖЫ, ГЫЖ 'grain of sand', Z kžža, Yz 'kūžā 'gravel' || pOs ***k+č** id. > Os: V/Ty q+č, Kz/Sn χ+š, O -χis ¶ Coll. 80 (FU ***kač** ∇), UEW 226, LG 139, Stn. D 429 ◇ FU *-č- is likely to go back to ****-č-** < N ***-š?** ◇ NaIE ***gēis-** for the expected ****gweis-** is due to the infl. of ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ~ (?) ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [#12] (equates the FU root with reflexes of N ***ḳeč** ∇ 'clay, earth' and N ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ (~ ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand'.

955. ***käš** ∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel' > HS: CS ***✓kš** ~ ***kš** > BHb **𐎧𐎢𐎠** 'kašāš ~ (after the change š > s) **𐎧𐎢𐎠** 'kašas 'vexation, anger', JA **𐎧𐎢𐎠** kašāš-ā 'anger', Hb, IA, SmA, JA ✓kš 'be vexed\angry', JEA ✓kš 'be angry', Ar ✓kš (pf. kašīša, ip. -kšā-) {Bl.} 'être dans l'anxiété', {BK} 'être trouble et inquiet' ¶ KB 467-8, KBR 491, HJ 528, GB 357, Js. 656, Sl. 594, Tal 402-3, Fr. IV 38, Bl. 697, BK II 902 || | U: FU ***ḳäš** ∇ > OHg ≥XIV **késā** 'Kampf, Streit' ¶ EWU 740-1, ≠ UEW 162 || | D ***kač**- (={GS} ***ka's**-) 'quarrel' > Ml **kaçakka** v. 'quarrel, abuse', Kt **kač** 'party in a quarrel', Tu **kaccāṭa** 'quarrelling', Tl **kaçyamu** 'quarrel, dispute', Prj **kaçri** 'enemy', Gdb **kaçar** 'anger, sorrow', Kui **kāse** 'hostility, enmity, blood feud' ¶¶ D #1089 || | A ***kāles** ∇ 'suffer' > Tg ***kese-** id. > Ewk **kəsē-**, Ud **kəsē-** id., Nn B **kəsē-** 'repent', d. (caus.) Ul **kəsəuču-** 'make suffer, torment', ? WrMc **kesemburu** 'squandrel' ¶ STM I 454-5 || pKo {S} ***kīs-** v. 'suffer, undergo, experience' > MKo **kīš-**, NKo **kīš-** ¶ S QK #745, Nam 44, MLC 114 || ?^o pJ {S} ***kasika-** 'exhausted, wasted' > OJ **kasika-**, J T **kašike-** ¶ S QJ #1690 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #777 (pA ***késā** 'suffer'; incl. Tg, K), Rs. W 258 (T, M, Tg) ◇ Cf. N ***ḳašix** ∇ 'to scold'. The phonemic distinction between -s- and -çy- in Tl **kasaru** 'scold, rebuke' (< N ***ḳašix** ∇) and **kaçyamu** suggests that this distinction is of pD origin, sc. that there was a pD phonemic distinction between the D reflexes of N ***-š** ∇, **χ**- and ***-š**-.

956. ***kiš** ∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck' > HS: S ***✓kš** > Ar ✓kš v. 'peel' (× N ***kež** ∇ 'skin; to skin', q.v. ffd.) || | U: FU ***kiš** ∇ v. 'tear (off), pluck' > F **kišku-** 'jerk, twitch; pluck; tear; pull (by)' ('abziehen, los-zer-reißen'), Es **kišku-** 'tear, pull, pluck' || pLp {Lr.} ***kš** ∇ 'tear,

pull, jerk' > Lp: S {Hs.} gǎjku- 'abreißen, abbrechen', L {LLO} kai'hkō- 'zer- \ entzwei- \ los- \ nieder-reißen', N {N} gâi'ko- / -ik- 'tear, pull (sth. or at sth.)', Kld кышшкэ, K {Gn.} kīške- 'tear, tear asunder' ∥ Mk киськоря- kiśkōra- v. 'pinch', {UEW} kśteŕa- 'zwicken, kneifen', Er скиря- śkiŕa- 'pinch, nibble' ∥ ?σ Hg Δ kiśál- 'ärgern, aufreizen' ¶ UEW 162, Lr. #331, Lgc. #1884, Hs. 547, SaRS 144, PI 114, ERV 591, MF 366-7 ¶ Not here FU *keś∇- v. 'tear' (UEW 151-2) (see N *ḲEŠU (- *Ḳ'ü'ś∇?) 'to skin, to tear') ∥ D *kičċ- ({ḡGS} *kičċ-) v. 'pinch, pluck' > Tl gičcu v. 'scratch, pinch', Klm kism-, kīseŋ, Nk kis-/kičċ-, Prj kīk-, Gdb kisk-, Gnd kisk-, kism-, kičċ-, Png, Mnd kičċ-, Kui kisa, Kui, Ku kičċ- v. 'pinch', Prj kičċ- v. 'pluck (strings of instrument with finger)', Knd kis- v. 'pinch, nip, squeeze with fingers', Krx kičċ- v. 'break into very small pieces with the fingers', ? Mlt kise v. 'dig out a thorn from the flesh', Brh kiškiŋ v. 'pluck, break off' ¶¶ D #1513, Km. 343 [#363] ∥ A: M *kisu- > WrM kisu- ~ qusu- 'scrape, shave' (× N *ḲEŠU [- *Ḳ'ü'ś∇?] '↑', q.v. ffd.).

957. *kat∇ 'speak, think' > IE: NaIE *go(:)d- (~ *ḡo(:)d-?) 'speak, think' > OI 'gadati 'says, speaks' ∥ Sl *gadati 'to guess, to talk, to speak' > OCS гадати gadati, Cz hádati, Slk hádat' 'to guess, to think (to be of the opinion), to suppose', OR гадати gadati id., 'to think (meditate), to discuss', Uk гадати 'to think', R гадать 'to guess', Slv gádati id., 'to chatter', Blg гадая v. 'guess', Cz Δ gadat', R Sml гадать 'to speak', Slvnz {Lrz.} gǎdǎc 'to speak, to talk', P gadać 'to talk' ∥ Lt žǎdas 'speech, language', žōdis 'word, speech', Ltv zadināt 'to speak to'; the Blt words have an apparent reflex of IE *ḡ-, which still defies explanation ¶ M K I 319-20, ESSJ VI 77-8, Vs. I 381, ≈ Bern. 288, Frn. 1283-4, 1321-2; ≠ EI 535 (OI < *g^ωet- 'say', see N *koṭ∇ ~ *kuṭ∇ '≈ magic utterance and its results') ∥ HS: B *√kth ~ *kty 'think, remember' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} əḳtu id., Thg, Gh əktu (pf. iḳta), Gd ɛktət 'remember', Sll {Ds.} ək^ωti (1s pf. k^ωtiϣ, 3m pf. ik^ωti), Tmz {MT} ktəy (pf. kti) id. ɘ štəy (pf. *sti) 'recall, think', Izd {Mrc.} ḳti 'recall, remember', Zn {Rn.} əḳti 'recall', Zng √kty: {MH→Nic.} uḳtaɣəg-də^h 'je me rappelle (vers) ici' (= 'il me revient', 'je me prends à me souvenir [que]') ¶ Fc. 923, Nh. 208, Ds. 216, 267, MT 355, Lf. II #0835, Mrc. 214, 240, Rn. 341, GhA 207, Nic. 329 ∥ ?ϕ EC: Arr geḍ- 'say' (× N *koṭ∇ ~ *kuṭ∇ '↑') ¶ Hw. A 360 ∥ U *k^ra¹t₁t₁∇ (or *k^ra¹s|š∇) > Sm *kət- ~ *kət∇, d. *kətt∇ 'say, relate (erzählen)' > Ne: T

хѣта-сь, O {Lh.} χῆτᾶ, F {Lh.} k̄īt̄a- id.; En {Mik.} k̄ita-ś 'relate (erzählen)'; Slq Tz k̄t̄i-qo 'say', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. k̄ē'da id. ¶ Jn. 66, Ter. 803, KP 92, KKIИ 117.

958. *k̄i't̄U' ~ *k̄i't̄U' 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' > IE: NaIE *gēid- > ON, NNR kitla, Sw kittla, Dn kildre, AS c̄itelian, OSx kitilōn, Dt kittelen, OHG {KM} kizzilōn & kuzzilōn, {OsS} chizilōn, chuizlōn, NHG kitzeln 'to tickle' || ? Arm կծեմ կծանեմ kcanem v. 'sting, prick, nip, itch' ¶ P 356, EI 451, Vr. 310, Ho. 50, OsS 494, Kb. 543, 577, KM 372 || A: ւ T *Kitik- v. 'tickle' > Tk ḡid̄ik, Ggz ḡid̄iq, Az ḡid̄iq, VTt q̄b̄t̄q, Qzq q̄it̄iq, Qq, Nog, Qmq q̄it̄iq, Qrg q̄it̄iyi, Uz q̄it̄iq, ET q̄ittiq, Chv кѣтѣк кѣд̄ѣк n. 'tickling', VTt {RL} q̄b̄t̄q-la- v. 'tickle' ¶ Rl. II 787-8, Jeg. 102, MM 467 || ?σ,φ Tg *xutu- v. 'itch, tickle' (× N *k̄u|od'a'h̄∇ 'to pierce', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cp. DQA #1038 (A *k̄'j̄āda 'itching, pungent') || D [1] *kit- ({ϑGS} *k-) > Kui k̄īti 'tickling', Mnd kiti ki- id., Tu kid̄k̄il̄b̄, kid̄(̄)kel̄b̄, kid̄k̄b̄l̄b̄ 'armpit, tickling' || [2] Kt kuṭ 'clitoris' (× N *k̄ôṭ'E' ~ *koṭUṭE 'membrum muliebri, anus?') ¶¶ D ##1551a, 2049 ◇ IE *-d- and Kt ṭ suggest a N *-t-, while D *-t- points to a N *-ṭ-. The variation is accounted for by the ideophonic association of the word. The vw. u in Tg and Kt may point to a labial element (rounded vw.) at the end of the stem.

959. (₂?) *k̄'ä'pit̄∇ (or *k̄æ'pit̄∇?) 'suck, (?) eat liquid food' > IE: NaIE *ḡēid- 'suck' > Lt ž̄ind̄u / ž̄ĩst̄i, Ltv z̄īž̄u / z̄īst̄ (3s prs. z̄īd̄) v. 'suck' || Gk Hm νεο-γυλλός (or νεο-γυλλός) 'new-born, young (of animals)' (acc. to Scholia Odysseæ, γάλακτι τρεφομένης 'nourished by milk'), interpreted by Schw., F, P, and other scholars as 'recent sucker' ('seit Kurzem saugend') and reconstructed as *νεο-γυδλός ¶ Frn. 1314, Schw. GG I 323, FII 304, Ch. 744, P 356 || HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} kaḏ- (= kaḏ-) scv. 'suck' ¶ R WBd 137, Rop. 202 || ?σ D (tr., ϑGS) *kaṭṭ- 'soup (of pulses)' > Kn kaṭṭu 'the water in which pulses have been boiled, decoction of pulses', Tl kaṭṭu id., 'dal-soup', Tu kaṭṭb̄ 'essence', b̄ēleṭa kaṭṭb̄ 'decoction of pulses', Prj kaṭ 'soup' ¶¶ D #1150 ◇ Bj *-ḏ- < *-ṛṭ- < N *-ṛit- ◇ If D *kaṭṭ- belongs here, the N rec. is *k̄ä'pit̄∇, otherwise it is *k̄æ'pit̄∇.

960. *koyt̄∇ 'filthy liquid, filth' > IE: NaIE *ḡw̄ēid- id. ({EI} 'be foul \ purulent') > Gk δέψα 'slime, filth' (P: < *ḡw̄eid-s-a) || ? Gmc: ON, NNR kveisa, Sw kvesa 'bump, tumour (Beule, Geschwulst)', Sw Δ kvisa, kvesa, MLG quēse 'blood blister' || Sl *ž̄id-ькь 'watery' (liquid) (× IE

*g^wh_ei_d-/*g^wh_oi_d- > Arm գէջ gēž / gen. գիջոյ gižoy 'humid, moist') > ChS ЖИДЪКЪ židъkъ 'úδapός, (too) watery', SCr žíđak, Slv žídek, Cz židký, R 'жидкий 'watery, liquid'; SI *židja > R 'жижа 'slush, filthy liquid; liquid part of soup', d.: Blr 'жыжка 'slush; liquid food' ¶ P 469, EI 490, F I 359, Vr. 337, Vs. II 53-4, Glh. 709, Chr. 302, Ld. A 74-5 (SI ÷ Arm) || HS: CS *√k_{tm} 'be dirty, stained' > BHb (N prtc.) םתבנ ni-k'tām 'stained', JA [Trg.] םתיב kə'tīm id., MHb םתב 'kə'təm, JA םתב kī'tmā '(blood-)stain', Sr √k_{tm} G v. 'stain, defile', Ar katam- 'Isatis tinctoria as a dye for hair', {Hv.} 'plant for dyeing the hair black' ¶ KB 480, KBR 505, BDB #4387, Br. 352, WKAS I 53, Hv. 644 || ?σϱ: NrTg *kuta 'marsh, quagmire' > Ewk kuta 'peat-bog, quagmire', Ewk Nr kuta 'clay', Lm kuta 'quagmire, marsh (топь)', Neg kota 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 439 || NaT *Köter ~ *Kötre id. > VTt Mn/I, Bsh kütər 'quagmire', Bsh Δ kütər 'swamp, puddle', Sg ködre 'quagmire, marsh', Shor {Rl.} ködrä ~ küdrä, Alt {Vrb.} küdre, Chv (← VTt) kütər 'swamp' ¶ ET KQ 154-5, TTDS 286, Ash. VII 89, Rl. II 1286, 1488, Vrb. 189 || pJ {S} *kutaj 'bog' > OJ kute ¶ S QJ #1383 ¶¶ DQA #938 (*kut'iti 'bog, marsh') || D (in GnD) *koṭṭṭr- ({ṭGS} *g-) 'dirty' > Kui goṭri 'muddy, dirty', Gnd M g'honṭo, Ku groṭa' 'turbid' ¶ D #2067 ◇ Qu., because P's IE rec. is far from from being reliable, and the S cognate has an unexplained extension *m.

961. *ku't'HE (or *kü't'H∇) 'to rise; (?) high place' > ϱ: NaT *k'öt- '≈ lift up, carry (on the back)' > OT U {DTS} köti- 'rise' (not mentioned in Cl.), Az {Rl. → Rs.} ġöt- 'aufheben, abnehmen' (not registered in Hü., Äz., AzRL, and AzDDL), Az Kz {Dzh.} ġötü- 'raise', Slr {Tn.} k'öht- ~ küht- ~ küt- ~ kut- 'carry in the back', Yk köt- 'fly', kötoχ- 'lift up'; ⇨ caus.*k'ötär- ~ *k'ötür- 'lift up, raise' > OT {Cl.} kötür-, ET {Nj.} -كوتەر kötär-, Uz кўтар- kwtar-, Qmq göter-, Blq kötür-, Nog, Qzq, Qq köter-, VTt, Bsh kütär-, Qrg kötör-, StAlt ködür-, Qmn/Tb {B} ködür-, ködör-, QK {B} ködör-, SY köhtir-~köštir-~k'öhtir-, Xk көдир- ködir-, Tv ködür- id., Tkm göter- 'lift up, carry', Tk götür-, Ggz götür- 'carry (away), bring' (the meaning dependent on the case of the adverbial modifier of place), Az көтүр- ġötür- id., 'take'; T (or NaT) *kötär- ⇨ M *köter- 'lift up' > ħ WrM {Rm. ← ?} kötür-, Kl {Rm.} kötr- 'aufheben, heben' ¶ DTS 319-20, Cl. 706, ET VGD 86-8, Rl. II 1279-85, 1602, Rs. W 294, Dzh. 48, Pek. I 1174-8, Tn. SJ 397, Tn. SJJ 189, Nj. 646, TkR 204, TvR 256, TrR 352, Hü. 187-8, KW 239 || M *kütü|gür > WrM

kütügür 'elevation, hilly country', {Kow.} 'élévation, hauteur, lieu élevé; une bosse sur la poitrine' | M *kötül 'hill, mountain pass' > Kl κῆτλ, {Rm.} kötl̥, Brt xγτῆλ 'small height, hill; low mountain pass', WrM kötüł, HIM xῆτῆλ 'mountain pass, low pass' ¶ MED 493, 509, Kow. 2596, KRS 319, KW 242, Chr. 633 || Tg *°kūte- > Lm kōtəʁ n. act. 'ascent, climbing (a mountain)', kōtəʁə id., 'hill', kōtəpki 'on the top (of a mountain), uphill', kōtəʁ- v. 'climb (a steep mountain)' ¶ STM I 421 ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#288], DQA #893 (A *kōt'ī; incl. T, Tg, ≈ M), Rm. EAS I 147 (T, M + unc. Ko kə,t- 'aufsammeln, aufrollen, vollenden') || U: FU *°küδ∇ (or *külâ) > pObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'stand up' > pVg *kʷāl- > Vg: T kʷāl-/kʷäl-, LK/MK kāl-, NV kʷāl-/kał-, P kāl-/kʷal-, kał-, LL kāl-/kał-, UL/Ss kʷāl- id.; pOs {Ht.} *kül-/°käləʁ- > Os: V/Vy kül-, Ty kił-, Y küł-, D/K kit-, Nz kīt-, Kz kīł-, O kil- id. ¶ Ht. #249 || ?σ,φ D *kuṭṭ- ({ʁGS} *gudḏ-) ~ *kuntḏ ({ʁGS} *gunṭ-) 'hill, high place' > Kn gudḏa, gudḏu, Gnd guṭṭa 'mountain, hill', Tl guṭṭa id., 'heap', gudḏe 'field on mountain slopes, a high field', Knd gudḏe 'hill field', Gdb guḏiya 'small field for cultivation of vegetables', Ku guḏia 'field of dry cultivation', Png, Mnd guṭi 'bank of river', Kdg gudḏe 'heap'; a nasalized variant is present in Tm kunṭu 'small hill' ¶¶ D #1682 ¶ Both the phonetic shape (presence of a nasalized variant) and the meaning (esp. 'heap') raise doubts about the validity of this cognate || ? HS: C: SC: Irq {E} kutuω- v. 'swell' (a wound, etc.); SC ⇨ Mb -kútu 'climb' ¶ E SC 247 [#43] ◇ The fortis *-t'- in A (> T, M, Tg *-t-) and the geminated -ḏḏ- in D lgs. suggest a N lr. after the dental stop.

962. *k'o'tê 'belly' > IE: NaIE *gʷet- 'belly' > L botulus 'gut, sausage' (⇨ OscU) || Gt qīpus 'stomach, womb', ON kvīðr 'belly, womb', AS cwið(a) {Ho.} 'Bauch, Leib', {Sw.} 'womb', OHG quitī 'vulva, womb', d.: MHG kütel 'entrails' || Gk [Hs.] βύττος 'pudenda muliebria' || pTc {Ad.} *kācān- > Tc: A kāt̥s, B kāt̥so 'belly, stomach, womb' ¶ WH I 113-3, EI 2 (*gʷetus 'stomach, womb'), Ert. ED 27, 68, Fs. 390, Vr. 338, Ho. 66, Sw. 39, Kb. 584, OsS 691, ≈ WP I 560, 671, ≈ P 481, ≠ FI 278, ≠ Ch. 203, Ad. 156 || HS: Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} kʷāt̥n, Tala {Sh.} kādu 'belly' || CCh: BuP {Mk.} kuta id. | Lmn {Mk.} xudi id., {Lk.} xudī '(?) my belly' | Mdr {Eg.} húḏé, Glv {Rp.} xūda, Gdf {Sh.} xʷodà, Dgh {Frk.} xʷḏè | Suk {Mk.} xut 'belly' | Mtk {Sb.} hʷâḏ, pMM {Ro.} *hʷod > Mik {Ro.} hʷód, Mkt {Ro.} hùḏ, Mada/Myn {Ro.} hóḏ, Mofa {Ro.}, MfG {Brr.} hʷád 'belly' || Ech: Mb {J} hàt, ? Ke {Eb.} gīdà, Nd D {J} gùḏ

id. ¶ JI I 9 (pCh *✓kt and *✓kđ 'belly'), JI II 20-21, Ro. 210-1, Brr. MG II 132 || U: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *gud▽ or *gut▽ 'belly, middle', q.v. ffd.) > Chr: L кыдал къ'дал 'waist (поясница)', Н кыдал 'къ'дал id., {Rm.} къ'дäl 'Hüfte', Н кыдалаш къ'далäš, (Rm.) къ'дäläš adj. 'middle, L къ'дал'an 'in the middle', Uf къ'дал 'middle of the body, middle', В къ'дал 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *küt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *küçá > LK/MK/UK k^ωäčí, UL/Ss kočí id.; pOs {HT.} *köt > Os: V/Vy köt, Ty/Y kö't, D/K qöt, Nz/Kz qüt, O qut 'space between', d.: V kö'taw, O qutap 'middle', D qötapna 'in the middle' || OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, IP *küti, Ugr *kütī 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF 379-80, Ht. #337, Trj. VD 145 ¶¶ FU *-t- (for the expected *-tt-) is puzzling. Is it due to the merger with N *gud|t▽ 'belly, middle' (q.v.)? ◇ NaIE *g^ωet- points to a N *o, just as FU *ü (palatalized due to regr. as. *o...e > *ü...e that caused "harmony of vowels").

963. ₂ *koṭû 'to drip, to exude liquid' → 'sap, pitch' > IE: NaIE *g^ωetu 'pitch' > OI 'jatū 'lac, gum' || L bitūmen 'asphalt, bitumen' (← Clt or OscU) || OHG quitī, cutī 'glue, resin' > MHG kü't(e) > eNHG Kütt, NHG Kitt 'cement, mastic cement', AS cwidu, cwiodu, cwudu 'mastic (a gum)' ({Ho.} 'Gekautes, Baumharz'), NE cud; with apophony: ON kváða, Sw káða 'pitch', ODN kvæde, Nr Δ kvæde 'birch sap', kōða, kvæða 'beestings' ¶ P 480, EI 500, M K I 415, WH I 107, Vr. 335, Hlq. I 542, Ho. 65, Lx. 120, Kb. 584, KM 372 || HS: WS *✓kṭr 'drip; pitch' > Ar ✓qṭr (ip. -qṭur-) 'drip', qaṭr- 'resinous juice of the dragon's blood', qāṭir- 'dripping; gum', qaṭr-at- 'drop', qaṭrān- ~ qiṭrān- 'wood-tar' (→ Gz қаṭrān, Sq {L} қаṭrān, Fr goudron 'tar, pitch', Sr {PS} қаṭrān 'oleum picinum'); a merger with N *Kot▽(-R▽) 'smoke' (q.v.): JA ✓kṭr *Sh*††(pf. ʔaḳṭar) 'let the incense rise', Ar قطر ✓qṭr v. *D* (pf. qaṭṭara) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes-wood', JEA {Sl.} қаṭā'rā 'incense', BHb תַּרְטִיף қаṭoreṭ 'incense', JA қаṭur-t-ā 'incense', SCn *қаṭar-ōtu/i pl. (< **қаṭurōtu/i on the analogy of other segolate nouns) → Eg (EgSSc) қа-да-ру-та 'incense'; Sb mḳṭr 'incense altar' ¶ Fr. III 463-5, BK II 765-7, Hv. 614, KBR 1095-6, LG 454, LLS 373, PS 3597, KB 1022-4, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 1008-9, BGMR 109, Hlk. #239, SivCR 46 || C: Ag {AD} *қ^ωзt- 'be humid, wet, fresh', {Ap.} *q^ωзt- 'be wet' > Bln {R} q^ωeṭ- ~ qūṭ- (= q^ωəṭ-) 'be humid, moist', 'be green,

fresh' (grass), Xm {R} qũt̄- (= qʷət̄-) id., 'be raw' (meat), 'be unripe' (fruit), Q {R} hʷet̄- ~ wet̄- 'be humid, moist, raw', Km xotām ~ xʷātām 'humid' || ?φ EC: Or {Th.} žiḏā 'humid, soft, fresh', žiḏu 'be humid\soft\fresh', {Grg.} žīḏā 'wet, fresh', Or H {Ow.} žīḏā 'wet', Or Wt {Hn.} žīḏ- 'be wet', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} žīḏā 'wet, humid' ¶ R WB 247, R Ch. II 69, R Q II 78, CR K 209, Ap. AV 17, AD SF 256, Th. 165, Grg. 235, Ow. 265, Sr. SO 340, Hn. W 64 ◇ Ag *kʷət- may have resulted from mte. (*kʷ...t < *kʷ...t̄).

964. *koṭṭṭ ~ *kuṭṭṭ '≈ magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate') > HS: S *^o✓kṭṭ > Ar qitṭ- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' ¶ BK II 764 || C: Bj {Rop.} kʷatī 'fortunate, happy', {R} 'kʷatī 'happy (glücklich)', {Rop.} kʷatīm- 'be fortunate\happy' || ?φ EC: Arr geḏ- 'say' (× N *katṭ 'speak, think?') ¶ Hw. A 360, Rop. 209, R WBd 150 || **A** *kūt'ṭ > T *kūt 'good luck, happiness' > OT {CL.} qut 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness', Osm قوت qut, Tk kut, Tkm gut, Qzq, Uz qut 'good luck, prosperity, happiness', Alt qut 'vis vitalis, foetus', Xk χut, Yk kut, Tv qut 'vis vitalis, spirit, soul', Tlt {Rl.} qut id., 'spiritual life', Nog, Qq, Qrg qut id., 'happiness', VTt, Bsh qḅt 'soul, spirit, good fortune, happiness' || Chv kḅt 'good fortune, happiness' ¶ Cl. 594, Rs. W 305, ET Q 175-7, Rh. 1480, Rl. II 990-1, Jud. 452, BIG 294, TvR 82, Pek. 1261-3, Ash. VII 194 || M *qutuḡ > MM [HI] {Ms.} qutuḡ qutuḡ 'happiness', [S] qutuḡ ({H} ḡutuḡ) 'holy', WrM qutuḡ, HIM хутар 'sanctity, holy rank; happiness, bliss; benediction', WrO {Krg.} χutuḡ 'holyness, sanctity', Kl {Rm} χutuḡ 'Glückseligkeit, Heiligkeit'; MM [MA] {Pp.} qutuḡtu 'happy', [IM] قطفنو (misspelling for قطفنو) qutuḡtu 'blessed', [S] qutuḡtu ({H} ḡutuḡtu) 'holy, blessed', WrM qutuḡtu, HIM хутарт, Mnr {SM} χudugt'u 'saint, holy', ε title of the highest clergy ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 313, 446, H 73, MED 992, Krg. 291, KW 200, SM 174 || Ko {Rm.} kut 'magic, sorcery' ¶ Rm. SKE 132 || ?φ pJ kántuá 'ability, talent' > OJ kàdwó ¶ S QJ #886, ≈ Mr. 432 ¶¶ In Tg (Ewk kutu 'fortune', WrMc χuturi id., 'happiness', and Jrc hutur 'happiness', see STM I 440, Z 438-9, Hr. 475-6, and Kiy. 116 [#343]) the sound corr. are not regular, and the words are likely to go back to loans from M ¶¶ ≈ DQA #937 (A *kūt'á 'fortune'; incl. T, M, J) || ?σ IE: NaIE *gʷet- 'proclaim, utter' (→ 'ban') > L vət-ō 'forbid' || ON kwiḏa 'poem', kveḏa 'say, speak', Gt

qipān, OSx quethan, AS cweðan id., OHG quedan id., 'talk', ON kvēðja 'anreden, begrüßen, aufordern', ON kvíðr 'Mitteilung, Aussage, Urteil', AS cwide 'what is said, expression, statement; proverb, saying; decree', OSx quidi 'speech, word' ||| Arm կոչեմ koč'em (aor. կոչեցի koč'ec'h'i) 'I call, I name' ||| ? Irn: Sgd 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 'says' (× N ***kat**∇ 'speak') ¶ P 480-1, Mn. 358, WP II 776, Fs. 389-90, Vr. 337-8, Sw. 38, Ho. 65, Ho. S 59, Schz. 187, Kb. 576, Slt. 381-2, ≈ EI 535 (? ***g^wet-** 'say'; + unj.: OI gadati 'says', in fact from N ***kat**∇ '↑') ◇ IE ***g^wet-** and Ar qitū- belong here if their meaning goes back to something like 'magic utterance'. Otherwise (e.g. if the original meaning of IE ***g^wet-** is 'say') we have to do with two homo- or paronymous N words, one of them meaning '≈ say', the other one 'be fortunate'. There is discrepancy in vowels: IE points to a N ***o**, while T (as well as M?) suggests ***u**. A possible solution is postulating two N words: [1] ***koṭ**∇ 'public utterance' > IE: NaIE ***g^wet-** 'proclaim, utter' and HS: S ***o**✓kūt > Ar qitū- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' ||| EC: Arr geḏ- 'say' and [2] ***kuṭ**∇ 'good luck, happiness' (← 'magic, sorcery'?) > HS: C: Bj kwatī 'fortunate, happy', k^watīm- 'be fortunate\happy', A ***kūt**∇ > T ***kūt** 'good luck, happiness', M ***qutug** 'happiness'. Ko {Rm.} kuṭ 'magic, sorcery' may belong to either of these N words or to both (contamination).

965. ***k^rū¹ṭa** (or ***k_r-**?) 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'nail') > HS: S ***o**kūtṭ- (× N ***koṭ**∇ 'tip, end, sharp point') > Gz k^watṭ, k^watṭā 'butt end of spear, spear with squared iron part, slender spear' (ass. glottalization of the initial ***k-**) ¶ LG 452 ||| K: GZ ***kīt-** 'finger' (and 'fingernail'?) > Mg, Lz kīt-i 'finger', G {KEGL} kīt-i ~ kit-i 'thickened bottom part of a stalk\trunk near the root', ? G Kzq {FS} kīt-i 'stick', ??σ G {FS} kīt-i '€ kind of vine-branch' ¶ FS K 184, FS E 202, Fn. KL 179-80, KEGL IV 1219 ||| U ***o**ku^rt₁t₁a (regr. as. from ***kū^rt₁t₁a**?) > Sm {Jn.} ***k_rṭā**, {HL} ***k_rṭa** 'claw, fingernail' (× U ***kūⁿčē** 'fingernail, claw' < N ***kūⁿčē** or ***kūⁿčē** '[finger]nail, claw'?) > Ne T xāda, Ne T O {Lh.} χαδᾶ, Ne F {Lh.} kattāb 'finger-\toe-nail, claw', En X {KD} kōḏa, {Ter.} kōḏa id., {Cs.} 'kora, En B {Cs.} 'koda 'fingernail', Ng {Cs.} 'katu id., Slq Tz {KKIH} qat+ 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, hoof', Slq Ch {Cs.} 'kačē ({Jn.'s interpretation} k'āčē), Kms {KD} k'ā^oda 'claw, hoof, nail', Koyb {Sp.} кода 'fingernail', куда 'hoof', Mt {Hl.} ***kada** 'fingernail, hoof' (Mt: M {Sp.} кадамъ 'my fingernail', кадыде 'its hoof', K {Pl.} chadada 'his fingernail') ¶ Sm ***b** may go back only to U ***u** (see Sm. 484 ¶ Jn. 55-6,

Ter. 714, Lh. 16O-1, Ter. SILSJ 286, KP 97 [#541], KKIИ 158, KD 24, Cs. 48, 8O, 114, 221, Hl. M #377 || **A**: Tg *^okita-kun 'finger-toe-nail' > WrMc χιταχυν ~ χιτχυν, Mc Sb κιαταχων id. ¶ STM I 466, 384, Y #76, S AJ 208 [#22], SDM97 114 (Tg **kjata-kun; *÷ Ne B qataxι 'брысок, large bar') ¶¶ The delabialization N *^u > K and Tg *i is observed in other etl. items as well ¶¶ S AJ 290, ≈ DQA #740 (incl. Tg) ◇ The rec. of N ***k**- (rather than ***Ḳ**-) is based on the ev. of Tg. S ***ḳ**- < **k- is due to regr. as., in K one may suppose shift of glottality ***k**...**t̚** > ***ḳ**...**t̚**? An alternative hyp.: N ***ḳ**- and de-emphatization (due to an unknown cause) ***ḳ**- > ***k**- in Tg. ◇ Blz. KM 135 [#13] (adduces K {Fn.} *ḳit-i 'finger').

966. *kaṣṣṣ ▽ 'hard, dry' > **HS**: S *^o✓ḳṣṣ > Ar ✓qṣṣ G (pf. qaṣaṣa, ip. yaqṣaṣu) 'être sec, desséché, aride' ¶ BK II 782-3 || **A** ***ḳ**at' ▽ 'hard' > NaT ***ḳ**at id. > Tk Δ qat 'hard, dry', Qmn {B} qat 'firm'; NaT ***ḳ**at- 'be\become hard\firm\tough' > OT qat- id., Chg qat- 'be hard\tough', Tkm qata-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bsh, ET qat-, Chv χιτ- 'harden', Uz қот- qot-, Alt, Tv qat-, Tf qḳt'-, Xk, Yk χat- id., 'dry up', Qmq qat- id., 'freeze', Qzq qat- 'harden, freeze'; d. ***ḳ**at'ig 'hard, firm, tough' > OT qatiṣ, Tk kaṣṣ, Tkm qati id., Az qati 'dense, hard, tough', Uz, ET qattiq, VTt, Bsh qatb, Qzq qatti, Qrg qattu, StAlt qatu, Xk χatiṣ, Tv кадыг, Tf qḳt'iy 'hard, tough' ¶ Cl. 395-8, ET KQ 334-5, Ra. 219-20, Hüs. 76, TkR 163-4 || M *qata- vi. 'get dry, dry up; become hard' > MM [HI] qada- 'get dry', WrM qata-, HIM, Brt xata-, Ord {Ms.} qat'a-, Kl {KRS} xatx χatb-χb, {Rm.} χatb-χα 'get dry\hard', 'get tempered' (steel)', Mnr {T} χadā- 'get dry', {SM} χadā- 'devenir dur\sec\robuste, se raidir, s'affermir', Dgr {T} χata-, {Mr.} kaṣe- 'get dry', MM [HI] d. qata-ar 'manque de pluie, sécheresse', [MA] qatā-qsan adj. 'dried', MMgl {Iw.} d. qatād 'unobtainable'; d.: M *qata^ṣu 'hard' > MM [MA, HI] qata-u id., WrM qatagu, HIM xatuy 'hard, steadfast, tight', Ord qat'ū 'hard'; *qatan, *qatanu 'hard, strong' > MM [S] qatan 'steel', qatanu ({H} ḥatangḥu) 'hard as steel, firm', WrM qatan, HIM xatan 'hard, strong', Brt xatan 'made of steel', WrM qatanu, HIM xatanra 'strong, hard, harsh', Brt xatanra adj. 'dried, dry', Mnr {T} χadon 'hard, firm', {SM} χadōn 'dur, ferme, fort, constant'; M ⇨ Yk χatan ~ χatan 'hard, firm'; M *qata-ṣa- vt. 'dry (make dry), harden' > MM [HI] qada- vt. 'dry, make dry', WrM qataga-, HIM, Brt xataa-, Mnr {SM} χadā- id., Dg {Mr.} katā- id., {T} χatā- id., 'harden', Kl {KRS}

хата- *χata-*, {Rm.} *χatā-* 'make dry', 'temper (steel)' ¶ H 63, Ms. H 85, 89, Pp. MA 295-6, Iw. 124, MED 943-4, Chr. 560-1, KRS 582-3, KW 172, SM 146-7, T 372, Mr. D 181-2, Pek. 3399 || Tg *kata- > Ewk Ald/Z kata 'dry, meager', Ewk K kata 'firm (крепкий)', Ewk PT/Np/Nr katā 'sharp' (of a knife), Orc kata 'hard, firm', Ork qata, qatta 'firm', Ne Δ katā, Ne Nh/KU χatā 'firm'; Ewk Ald/SB/Tng/Ucr katā- vt. 'get dry (from drought)', WrMc qata- (prs, qata-mbi) vi. 'harden, get dry' (Z: 'засыхать, твердѣть послѣ сырости и просушки, высыхать, быть провялень'), Mc Sb qatə-mə 'become bone-dry'; there is partial contamination with loans from M (e.g., Neg kata- 'temper [metal], Ul χata(n-) 'sharp, firm', Ne χatā 'firm', as can be seen from their meaning]'temper'] or from their phonetic shape [χ-]) ¶ STM I 383-4, Z 255, Y #1819 || pKo {S} *kūt- 'hard' > MKo kūt-, NKo kut- ¶ S QK #614, MLC 216 || pJ {S} *kátá- 'hard' > OJ kátá- id., J: T kàta-, K kátà-, Kg káta- 'hard, firm' ¶ S QJ #560, Mr. 831 ¶¶ S AJ 70 (A *k_i'at'a 'hard'), ≈ DQA #1020 (A *k'ét'ò 'hard'; incl. T, M, Ko, J) || D *kaṭṭ- ({ṭGS} *gaṭṭ-) 'hard' > Tm kaṭṭ- vi. 'harden, consolidate', Ml kaṭṭi 'what is condensed, solid, ingot', Kt kaṭṭ 'solid lump', Kn gaṭṭi 'firmness, hardness', Knd gəṭṭi, Gdb gaṭṭin 'hard', Tu gaṭṭi, gaḍḍḍ 'firm, hard', Tl kaṭṭu 'become hard', gaṭṭi, gaḍḍḍu 'hard', Klm gaṭṭi 'thick (density)', keḍk 'hard', Kui ḍṛahpa 'be hard', ḍrai 'hard, stiff', ? Krx kaṛār-, kaḍr- v. 'congeal, freeze' ¶¶ Km. 321 (D *kaṭ-/ *kaṭṭ-), ≈ D #1148 (does not distinguish between the √ in question and homonymous roots meaning 'tie, bind', etc.) , ≈ An. SG 132 (Tm -ṭṭ- < *-ṇṭṭ-) ¶¶ D *-ṭṭ- (rather than *-t-/ *-tt- as the reg. reflex of N *-ṭ-) may be accounted for by the preceding N Ir. ◇ Tg *k- points to a N *k-, while S *k- in *^o✓kṛṣṭ is due to regr. as. (N *k...ṭ > *k...ṭ).

967. *kaw ▽ 'call (exclaim), shout' > IE: NaIE *g_ow-/*g_w- 'shout' > OI 'gavātē 'sounds', redupl. 'jogū- (gen. pl. 'joguv-ām) 'praising' || Gk γόος (< γόφος) 'weeping, wailing', γόω v. 'groan, weep', γόης 'incantator'; Gk βόή, Gk D βοά 'a loud cry, shout' (β- < NaIE *g_w-) || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× NaIE *g^hau(ə)- 'call, invoke', pp. *g^hu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' < N *gāw^h ▽ (or *gāw^h ▽?) to call) || OHG gi-kewen 'to call, vocare', AS cīezan 'to call, to call out, to name' ¶ WP I 634-5, P 403, M KI 331, 445, F I 247-8, 317-8, Schz. 180, Kb. 539, OsS 485, Ho. 47, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr guth < NaIE *g^wow- [> Gk βοή 'a loud cry, shout']) || HS: C: Bj {R} ikuw-, ik^w- scv. 'lament, wail, shout',

'utter a cry' (animals) ¶ R WBd 13 ¶ Initial i- is probably a rest of the personal px. that remained after restructuring the former prefix-conjugated verb into a suffix-conjugated one || D *ka_uv- ~ *ka_v(v)- ({{GS}} *k-) 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *gäw_i∇ [or *gäw_y∇?] '↑') > Tm ka_uvai 'sound, noise, roar', ka_var v. 'call, summon', Tu hauji 'noise, tumult, alarm', Prj ka_vd- v. 'curse, abuse', Krx ka_uwār 'tumult of angry voices, roudy shoutings', Mlt kawye v. 'use vile language'; here also pseudo-onomatopoeic (secondary interpretation as onomatopoeia): Kn ka_va pseudo-imitative ideophone for the sound of angry language, Tl ka_vaka_va 'aloud' (of laughter) ¶¶ D #1341.

968. *kiw_i∇, h'ê' 'stone' > HS: Ch *✓kw ~ *✓g_w (or *k^w∇? ~ *g^w∇?) 'stone' > CCh: Mtk {ChL} k^wa? 'stone', Mf {BLB} k^wa, {Sb.} k^wâ || Bdm {Cfr.} kâú, {Lk.} ka_u, Ktk Af {ChC} kao || Nz {Mch.} kwââ, {Mk.} kwaa id. ¶ ChC, ChL, BLB 198 || WS ≈ *✓kw_h > Gz k^wak^wəh (pl. kawākəh) 'stone, rock, stony ground', Ar kāh-, kīh- 'rugged face of a mountain, side of a valley consisting of the hardest and roughest stone', {Hv.} 'foot of a mountain', {BK} 'versant d'une montagne' (in the prehistory of Ar *∇w∇ > ∇) ¶ L G 280, Hv. 669, BK II 941 || K: GZ *k_wa- 'stone' > OG k_va-y, G k_va, Mg k_ua ~ k_wa, Lz (n)k_va, mk_va id. ¶ K 197, K² 215-6, FS E 376-7, Q 346, Chik. 187 || U: FU *kiwe 'stone' > F, Es ki_vi id. || Er/Mk ke_v ké_v id. || Chr L/H k_ü kü, Uf kü, B küy id. || Prm *ki 'stone, millstone' > Vt kö k₃, Vt SW ko' 'millstone', Z iz-ki id. || ObU {acc. to Hl.'s theory} *k_w 'stone' > pVg {Ht.} *k_w > Vg: T küw, LK/MK/P k_w, UK/NV/SV/LL/ML k_w, UL/Ss kaw; pOs {Ht.} *kö_y 'stone' > Os: V/Vy kö_ʃ, Ty/Y k_wʃ^w, Y k_w, D/K/Nz/Kz/O ke_w || Hg k_ó (accus. k_óvet) id. || pY *qay- 'stone' > Y T qay-í id. (nominal sx. -í) ¶ Coll. 89, It. #180, UEW 163-4, Db. OS xxx, Sm. 543 (FU *kiwi, P *ki_vi, Ugr *k_iw_i), Ht. #235, Ker. II 58, LG 123, IN 244 || ?σ IE: Ht ku(wa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N *K_{on}'h'∇ 'yellow?') ¶ Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 ◇ AD GD 16 (K, U), IS I 298 [#166] (Ch, K, U), AD NM #83, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST), Uch. p.c. [May 14, 2000] (drew my attention to the Ht word).

969. *koy∇ ~ *kay∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon' > U *koy∇ 'spoon, scoop' > Lv {Kt.} k_ōi & k_āi 'spoon' || Prm *koy (JLG} *k_ōy) 'shovel' > Z LV koy 'small shovel for throwing in hot stones into the brewery tun', Z USs k_ōy, Yz koy 'hunter's shovel', Vt M kuy 'spade'; Prm *koy- (JLG} *k_ōy- v. 'draw (schöpfen), shovel' > Z koy- 'draw liquid

(from a vessel) and pour it out' (a merger with *koy- v. 'throw'), Z I koy- v. 'shovel snow' || Sm {Jn.} *kuy 'spoon' > Ne: T Y/E xу, O {Lh.} χū; Ng {Mik.} kü; En d.: X {Cs.} kûri, B {Ter.} kuδe; Slq Tm {KD} kuyag 'spoon', ? q'ūyā 'landing-net', Slq MKe {KD} kÿy:an 'puukuppi (wooden cup\dish)'; Kms {Cs} d. kuigū 'spoon' ¶¶ UEW 117, LG 128 (s.v. кой and койны), Jn. 74, KP 103-4, Ter. SSJ 205, ≠ Sm. 552 (Vt kuy, Z koy < FP *ka|o|jwa 'dig, spade') || A: Tg *kuyE (= {Bz.} *köy∇) > Neg kuyēmi ~ kuyani, WrMc {Z} куй и, куй ни (= {Sin.} кuy-i ~ кuy-ni), {Hr.} kuili 'spoon' ¶ STM I 425, Z 288, Hr. 599, Sin. TM 358 (on the value of Mc {Sin.} ку) || M *qayiba > Ord {Ms.} χāwa t'ogō 'marmite à large ouverture et dont le bord s'avance en dehors' (t'ogō 'chaudière, marmite'), WrM qaiba 'large kettle, frying-pan' ¶ Ms. O 347, MED 911 || D (in SD) *kayūil ({ǂGS} *k-?) 'spoon, ladle' > Ml kayūil, Tu kaīl 'ladle, spoon', Krb kīlī 'ladle' ¶ D #1257 ◇ U and T point to a rounded vw. of the first syll., while M and D suggest apN *a. This discrepancy needs explaining.

970. *kä'ʔ'yu '(small) bird' > HS: Eg fXVIII қу 'bird' ¶ EG V 17 || Ch: WCh: Hs Δ қуāwā 'ε a bird'; AG: Ang {Flk.} kī 'fowl', {Brq.} kī 'hen', Su {J} kʷē, Mnt kiye id., Gmy {Hf.} kē, Kfr {Hf.} kō 'hen, chicken', cp. also {Nt.} kʷom 'bush fowl', Su {J} kʷōm 'partridge' ||| ECh: Kwn {J} kóyō 'bird' ||| CCh: ?σ Mdr kuye 'hawk' ¶ Ba. 705, JI II 23, J S I 71, Flk. s.v. kī, Hf. AG 24 [#197], Nt. 22, Brq. AP ¶¶ OS #1598 (*koy-) (Eg, AG, ECh, Mdr) || U *käy∇ (small) bird' > Prm *kay id. > Z кай kay id., Vt кыйкай kiy-kay '(hunter's) game, wild birds and mammals' (< *kiy 'catch, hunt' + *kay 'bird') (rather than *kiy 'snake' + *kay, as in UEW 133) ||| ObU: Vg Ss {Kn.} koy 'small bird (Vöglein)', wās-koy 'duckling', lunt-koy 'gosling' (wās 'duck', lunt 'goose'), Vg N {MK} koy, koyi 'Sprößling, Kind'; Os Kz qūy 'young of a fowl (duck\hen\goose\swan)' || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kay 'goose' (Mt: M {Sp.} кай, {Mll.} khai, T {Mll.} kai, K {Mll.} gai, {Pl.} гай, ghai) ¶¶ UEW 133, LG 115, Ht. #743, WVD VII 327, 464, MK 217, Stn. D 597, Hl. MTKV 21, 65, ≈ Hl. M #383 (unc.: Mt *kay ← T *kaī 'goose') || A: Tg *kuyū-ken 'young bird' > Ewk kuyūkən 'young fowl (duckling, gosling, chicken)', Sln xuyūxē, Lm kuyukən 'young bird', Neg kuyixən ~ kuyuxən ≋ kuyukən 'duck', WrMc xoyxo 'tailless chick'; *kuyū-kī > Ewk kuyukī ~ kuyzkī 'goose' (*-ken/kan is a dim. sx., *-kī is a sx. of animal names, F Vas. 761) ¶ STM I 425 ◇ The discrepancy between the words pointing to N *k- (Tg, AG, ECh) and

those suggesting N *K̥- (Eg, Hs) may be explained away by postulating a lr. (most probably *ʔ), lost in most lgs., but producing a cluster *kʔ (> *k̥) in the prehistory of Eg and Hs. The labial element in the first syll. (in some Ch lgs. and in Tg) is probably due to regr. as.

971. *kôʔʕʔyʔûʔ (most probably *koʔʕʔyʔûʔ) 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > U: FU {UEW} *koʔe ~ *koya id. > F koʔi, koʔja 'moth, maggot, mite', Es koʔi 'moth' | Lp Nt {TI} kûāʔyā, kûāʔjē, kûāʔja 'grub that gnaws clothes and food', ? Lp Kld {TI} kôʔʕā, K {Gn.} kûāʔjɤ 'moth' | Er ki 'clothes-moth' | Chr L {Ü}, B {Wc.}, M kiʔe 'moth' | Prm *käy {JLG} *kɛy 'moth' > Vt кеʔ, {W} kôʔ id., Z UV kzy 'small white hard worm (in meat)' || ObU: Vg T {Kn.} kiʔ ɔ käy 'moth'; Os V {Stn.} key id. || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kiwä 'worm, snake' > Ne: T си́бя, O {Lh.} síbʔe 'larva of a gadfly under reindeer's skin', F {Lh.} síβ:āā id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} šü 'snake', üt-š+ 'leech' (üt 'water') ¶¶ UEW 167-9, TI 141, 159, Gn. 125, Ü 67, LG 139, SZ 170, Stn. D 596, Jn. 72, KKIИ 177, 193 || **A** {ADb.} *kuyɓ (= *kʔuyɓ) 'noxious and parasitic insect' > T *kʔyā 'moth' > OT {CL} küyā '(clothes-)moth', Tk gʔve, Tkm rʔe güye, Az күвә güwä, Uz kuya, ET küyā, Qmq гюе güye, VTt, Bsh kʔyā, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt küye, Qrg kübö, Uz küya, Xk kō id., Yk d. кеʔyʔr küyūr id. ↳ HIM, Brt хyʔp 'moth', Ewk kuyur 'moth', Lm kuyur 'larva of beetles' || Chv kʔve, Δ kʔve 'moth' ¶ Cl. 754, ≈ Rs. W 297, ET VGD 94, Hüs. 189, RKumS 413, RAltS 303, Jeg. 103, Fed. I 267-8, OMT I 489, STM I 425 || Tg *kuyī-kta 'larva of a gadfly (under reindeer's skin)' > Ewk kuyīkta ~ kuwīkta ~ kuyakta ~ kuyiktɔ id., Lm kōyit, Neg kuyiktɔ, Ork kūhiktə ~ kuñittɔ 'gadfly larva'; ↳ (bf.) Ewk kuyī- v. 'penetrate under reindeer's skin' (gadfly larvas), Lm kōyin- v. 'lay eggs' (a gadfly); Ewk ↳ Yk kuyukta 'gadfly larva' ¶ STM I 424 || pKo *kújʔá,kí 'maggot, worm, grub' > MKo ¶¶ ADb. KL, Rs. W 297, Rs UAW 19 || ?σ **IE**: NaIE *gʔw̥p̥- (× *gʔw̥p̥- 'disgusting, filth') > Sl *gav-ědb, *-ěda coll. 'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin) (*-ědb is a sx. of collective and uncountable nouns) > Blg 'гавед 'small creeping animals (гады)', SCr gävēd coll. 'wild animals', Cz Δ havěd' 'parasitic insects', 'poultry', Slk havēd' id., 'rabble', P gawiedź 'small animals' (→ 'kiddies', 'gaping crowd'), R Δ 'гаведа 'creeping animals (lizards, frogs, etc.); disgusting insects' ¶ P 484, ESSJ VI 110-1, SBR 186 || **HS**: EC: Af {PH} káʔay 'flies', {R} qāʔi Sa {R} 'qāʔe n. 'fly' ¶ R S II 230, R A II 74, PH 140 ◇ The rec. of the

final vw. *û is justified if IE *^og^wōy- belongs here ◇ IS MS 349 (*g^ro¹ya 'moth' in U and A) → Gr. II #268 (*koya 'moth') (U, A, Ko, Ai), Rs UAW 19 (U, A).

972. *kouy^ro¹ (or *kuuy^ro¹) 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, to nourish')
 > HS: Eg fMK kɜ 'nourishment, food', ?? Eg fP kɜ 'the Ka (spirit as part of personality), strength' > Eg (AkSc) ku, (GkSc) χου (in the month name Χουακ) (unless from kɜ 'name', see N *koʔ^ri¹ 'to call'); Vc.'s vocalization of kɜ 'the Ka' is *ku ʃ EG V 86-91, Vc. 74 || IE *g^we^hh^w- / *g^wye^hh^w- 'be healthy, live' ({EI} *g^we^hh₃- 'live') > OI 'gayaḥ 'vital strength, life', Av gayō 'life, lifetime' || Arm Կեամ keam (aor. Կեցի keci) 'I live, am alive' (< *g^wi^y-ā) || Gk Hm ζῶω (aor. ἐβίωον) 'live' || OIr {Vn.} bíad, biad 'nourriture, tribut de vivres' (the unexpected b- due to a loan from Brtt and/or the infl. of OIr betha 'life'); W bwyd, OCm [VC] buít, OBr {Flr.}, Br boued ~ boed (< Clt *g^wei-tō) 'food, nourishment' || Lt gýti 'to get better, recover', Ltv dzîti 'to recover'; Lt ãr-gajus 'rest, Erholung' | Sl *žǐ-ti 'to live, to recover' > OCS ЖИТИ žiti id., SCr žiti, Slv, Cz žiti, Slk žit', P żyć, R жить 'to live'; (caus. >) Sl *goji-ti vt. 'to fatten, to cure' > Blg го'я vt. 'fatten', SCr gòjiti vt. 'to bring up (a child), to nurse; to fatten', gòjiti se 'to be well fed, to fatten', Slv gojiti vt. 'to nurse, to fatten', Cz hojiti, P goić vt. 'to cure', Slk hojit', R Δ 'гоить, Uk гоїти 'hojitu 'to cure (wounds)', OR ГОНТИ goiti {Srz.} 'ЖИВИТЬ' || L vīta, Osc biítam 'life' || pTc {Ad.} *śāw- ~ *śāy-ᵝ Tc: A śo-, B śāy-/śāw- 'live' ||] d. IE *g^wi^h-wō- > NaIE *g^wi(:)-wō- 'alive, living' > OI jīva-, OPrs jīva-, Av juua-, YAv juia- || L vīvus, Osc (nom. pl.) bivus id. || OIr béu, béo id.; Brtt {RE} *biwos id. > W byw, Cm bew, Br bev id.; derived verb: W byw 'to live, to dwell', Cm bewa, MBr beva, Br bevañ† 'to live' || Lt gývas, Ltv dzîvus 'alive, living', Pru gīwu, giwīt 'live', gi(j)wan 'life' | pSl *žīvъ 'alive, living' > OCS ЖИВЪ živъ id., Blg жив, SCr, Slv živ, Cz, Slk živ 'alive' | R жив 'is alive', R жив-ой, Uk жив-ий, P żywy 'living' | ? (with shortening *ī > *i) Gt qiuas 'living' || Gk βίος 'life' ʃ P 467-9, EI 356, M K I 324, 439-40, M EI 467-8, 594-5, FI 237-9, 618-9, Fs. 390-1, WH II 808-10, Bc. 313, Sl. 98, Vn. B 37, 47-8, RE 110, Flr. 88, Hm. 95, Frn. 154-5, ESSJ VI 1196-7, Vs. II 51-2, 57, Glh. 710-1, Db. SDKI (on shortening *ī > *i in Celto-Italic and Gmc), Wn. 484-5, Ad. 627, Ad. H 31 || U: FU *kuye 'fat' > F куи 'tallow, fat' | Er kuya, Mk kuya, {Ahl.} kuyä n., adj. 'fat', Er/Mk

куѡа- 'grow fat' | pChr {Ker.} *koya > Chr: L коѡа ко'ѡа, B коѡа 'fat, tallow', adj. 'fat', U коѡа, H {Ep.} каѡа n. 'fat' | Prm *^okōy ({{Lt.} *kōy) > StVt кōй кзѡ, Vt Sr кзѡ, Vt Kz kōy 'tallow, fat', adj. 'fat', Vt G кзѡ n. 'fat'; Prm *koy {{Lt.} *koy-) is represented in Vt куѡайыны kѡay-ɪnɪ 'grow stout' ||| Hg háj n. 'leaf-lard, fat' ¶ UEW 195-6, Sm. 544 (FU, P *кѡјі, Ugr *кѡјі 'tallow'), Ber. 18, Ker. II 70, MRS 229, Ep. 36, Ü 70, U3S 218, 220 ||| ?σ A: M *^oqoya > WrO {Krg.} χοϋοτā 'sated', χοϋα ũgei 'unsated' (ũgey 'not'), Kl {Rm. ← Gl.} χοϋο, χοϋοτē 'nahrhaft, reichlich' ¶ KW 181, Krg. 279, 281 ¶¶ Hardly here A *k_l'_jguy∇ {DQA} 'thick, saturated' (sc. 'thick, dense') > T *Koyu-g id., pJ *кѡá- id., pKo *kā₁-r- 'be thick, fertile' (DQA #908) ||| K: GZ *g_w- vt. 'feed, fatten' > Mg g_v- id. (v-0-g_v-an-u-an-k 'ich füttere, mäste', i-b-g_v-an-u-n-k 'ich werde fett'), Lz g_v- (g_v-an-er-i adj. 'fat', Sv g_w-/g_u- (lu-g_w-ar adj. 'fat', li-l-g_w-ar-i 'to feed (animals), to fatten') ¶ FS 76-7, FS E 80 ◇ The K voiced *g- suggests that the N lr. must have had voicing effect in the pre-history of K. It must have been *ɣ (because the other N voiced "laryngeal" *ʕ would have been reflected in K as a pharyngeal). In Eg the N lr. *ɣ must have been changed into ʕ due to an incompatibility law (k^ɣ- is not attested in any word in Eg). If the original N etymon is *kuɣɣ'ɔ' (with *u suggested by FU), the variant *kouɣ'ɔ' (underlying the M and [most probably] the IE cognates) may be due to regr. as. of vowels ◇ IS I 299 [#168] (IE, U, M); ≈ S NSShS (A, IE, K).

973. *kouH∇ 'skin, bark' > IE *g^we_jH- (*g^weH_j-?) / *g^wiH- 'skin' > NaIE *g^we_j- / *g^wi- > OI jī-na-m, jī-la-h 'leathern bag' ||| Mir {P} bian 'peau' ¶ WP I 666, P 469, M K I 437-9, ≈ Vn. B 48-9 (Ir bian *< IE *b^hei- 'couper') ||| U: FU *kouya 'bark, fruit-skin, fur' > F која, Krl која 'bark' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_uō'ye- v. 'bark (a tree)', ku'ō'y'z 'bud (of a tree or grass)' | Z {W} кзѡа 'agaric (on a tree)' ||| Os Ty qōy 'fur from the forehead of an animal (reindeer, cow, bear, etc.) used to make soles of footwear' | OHg hāj 'bark, fruit-skin', Hg Δ hāj, Hg héj 'fruit-skin, shell, bark, eye-lid, pillow-case' ¶ UEW 166, Lgc. SL #817, KrT 280, Stn. D 440, EWU 543-4 ||| A: NaT *k'uy-ka 'skin' (*-ka is a sx.) > OT {Cl.} quykā 'skin, fur', ET quyqa 'skin of the head (of humans); singed and cooked skin of a sheep's head', Nog quyqa 'tetter, mange', Bsh койка qōyqa, Qq quyqa 'singed skin', Qzq қўйқа qūyqa 'singed head of an animal', Tv куйга quyqa, StAlt куйка quyqa, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} qujya, Tlt {Rl.} quyuqa 'skin of the head', Qrg куйка quyqa id., 'skin of a

singed head (of sheep\goats)', Xk xуѣѣа хууѣа 'skin of the head (with hair)', Yk куѣаха 'skin of the head, singed hide' ¶ In ET and Qrg there is contamination with N *Ḳæ'h'uy∇ 'to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 113 || M *quyiqā- (× N *Ḳæ'h'uy∇) > WrM қиіқа, HIM хуѣх 'animal skin from which the hair has been singed; scalp', Brt хууха 'skin of the head, scalp', ?σ Kl хуух 'thick skin'; M *quyiqā-la- > WrM қиіқала-, HIM хуѣхла-, Kl хуухл- 'singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass, etc.)', Brt хуухал- 'singe (legs and head of an animal before cooking)' ¶ MED 983, KRS 615-6, Chr. 607 || Tg *kō-kta ~ *kōkton 'bark' (esp. 'bark of cork oak') > WMc ҳоқтон 'bark of young trees used in manufacturing bows; a float', ҳоқрон моо 'cork oak', Neg kōkta 'float (of a fishing-net)', kōkta mōnɪn 'cork oak', Orc kōkto, Ul qoqto 'a float', Nn Nh/KU qōqtō, Nn B qoχto 'cork oak, a float', Ud {Shn.} kōkto 'Phellodendron bark; a float', {Krm.} 'Phellodendron (a tree with light bark, бархатное дерево)' ¶ STM I 405, Krm. 250 ¶ Tg *-kta is a sx. of mass nouns ◇ The vw. *u (for the expected *o) in T and M needs explaining ◇ AD MR 261 (IE, U), IS I 299-300 (*kouHa; IE, U, ? T).

974. *kouh∇ 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > IE: NaIE *g^weyā- 'overcome, ruin', *g^wiyā 'violence' > Gk βίᾱ, βίη 'bodily strength, force' ||| ON kveita {P} 'to overpower', {Vr.} 'ein Ende machen, umbringen', ? Gt qistjan 'to destroy' ||| Ir: OI jyā, jiā 'power, violence', parama-jyā-h̄ (-ji'āh̄) 'having the greatest power', jyā- (prs. ji'nāti) {MW} v. 'overpower, oppress, deprive so. of property' ¶ The supposed Irn cognates (YAv {M} zinaṭ 'bringt jemandem um etwas, beraubt', {Brtl.} zinaka adj. 'schädigend' [?], OPrs adīn- 'entreißen, rauben', KhS ysān- 'carry off', and OI jyā- in the meaning 'deprive of property') belong here if the meaning 'deprive, carry of' is secondary (← 'overpower, ruin') ¶ WP I 66-7, P 469-70, H 158 (*g^wyeḥ_h- 'physical power; overcome, oppress'), M K I 448, M E I 602-3, MW 426-7, Brtl. 1697, Hinz 43, Bai. 350, F I 235, Vr. 337 ||| HS: CS *✓kwh̄ 'be strong', *kawh̄- 'strength' > BHb ḡḡ 'kō^ah̄ 'power, strength', EpHb kḡ 'strength', Md ✓khw̄ 'be strong', Ar ✓kwh̄ (pf. kāḡa) 'overpower', n. act. kawh̄- ¶ KB 446-7, KBR 468-9, BK II 941, Hv. 669, DM 195, 205, HJ 496 ||| K: GZ *kw̄-, *kwn- (*kun-) 'have, possess' > OG kw̄-, kwn-, G kv̄-/kon-/kn- 'have, possess', Mg, Lz kun- put on': Lz

dolo-kun-u 'to put on; clothes', Mg miḡa-kun-ali, ge-kun-al-oba 'clothes' ¶ FS E 381, Fn. G 236, Chx. 1571-4.

975. *kǎyω∇ 'to chew' > IE: NaIE *ǵyew-/*gyew- 'chew' > Irn *ǵya∇- (< *ǵyeu-) > NPrs {Horn} جاويدن ǵāwī-dān, {BM} جويدن ǵāwī-dān, Psh {Mrg.} ǵō'v-ul & ǵōyəl 'chew' || OHG kiūwan & chiūwan, MHG kiūwen, MMG kûwen (↳ NHG kauen), MDt cauwen & couwen, Dt kauwen, AS céowan 'to chew', NE chew; OHG {OsS} chuwâ & chiwâ & chēwâ, MHG kiuwe, kiwe, kēwe 'jaw' || Lt žiáuna 'jaw', Ltv žaũnas f. pl. 'jaw-bone(s)', Žaunāt 'to eat quickly and greedily; to eat slowly' | pSl *ǵuj-ǵ / *ǵva-ti 'chew' > OCS ЖУИѢ Žujǵ / ЖЬВАТИ ǵvati, OCz ǵvu / ǵvátǵ, Slk žujem / ǵvat', P žuje / žuč ~ žwe / žwać, R жу'ю / же'вать id.; Sl {BER} *žuna > Blg 'жуна 'lip' || pTc {Ad.} *śuṵā- 'eat' > Tc A/B {Ad.} śuṵā-, {Wn.} śwā-, B śu- id. ¶ P 400, ≈ EI 175 (*ǵyeuH-; unc. adduction of ON tyggja 'chew, eat', with *-H- reconstructed probably on the ev. of -ggj-; on tyggja see ON tugga 'bite', Vr. 600-2), BM 157, Horn 93, Mrg. 106, BM 157, Vr. N 309, Ho. 47, Schz. 181, Kb. 543, OsS 493, Lx. 109, Frn. 1302-3, Vs. II 39-40, Chn. I 294, BER I 559, Wn. 490, Ad. 631-2, Ad. H 65 || R *k'āb∇- 'chew' > T *k'āb(ä)- 'chew' (the stem-final *-ä- is evidenced by the OT aorist kāvār) > OT kāv- id., Osm {Rh.} gev- 'chew; mumble in the mouth, as a beast its cud', Tk {TrR} gev- 'chew by a mouth without teeth'; d. *k'ābīl 'chewing; cud' > Tk geviš id., Tkm gāvüš, Az göyüş, Bsh күйүш kǵyǵš, Qzq күйис küjīs 'cud', ↳ *k'ābīlā- 'ruminate, chew' > OT kāvše- 'chew the cud', Chg kāvšā-, Az көвшә- gövšā- ~ көjšә- göyšā- 'chew', Tkm gāvüše-, Tk Δ gevšen-, Uz kawša-, ET köyši- ~ köši-, Δ köšā-, Qmq güyše-, Bsh kǵyšā-, Nog küyze-, Qq güyse-, Qzq küyse-, Qrg küyšö-, Qrg, Alt keṵše-, Tv keṵžen- 'ruminate', Ggz gevšen-, VTt küšā- 'chew, ruminate', Xk kipsen- 'eat/ruminate (while walking)' || Chv kavle- 'ruminate' (or < *k'ābilE-?) ↳ Chr kavlem 'I chew', Er kavía-ms, Mk kavíla-ms 'to chew (slowly)'; *k'ābilE- > Tk gevele- 'ruminate', etc. ¶ Cl. 687, 692, Rs. W 244, ET VGD 5-7, S AJ 196 [#245], Rh. 1602, TrR 333, TkR 239, UzR 197, TvR 294, Jeg. 84, Fed. I 210-1, Fed. ChM 187 || M *kēbi- v. 'ruminate, chew the cud' > MM kebi-, WrM kebi-, HIM хувэ-х, Kl кеv- kew-, Mnr {SM} k'ēyi-, {T} keyi- id. ¶ Pp. MA 212, MED 439, T 338, KRS 288, KW 229 || Tg *keṵb- > Lm kēwrī- v. 'gnaw' ¶ STM I 442-3 || (??σ) Acc. to Starostin, pJ *kùp- 'eat' > OJ kup-, J: T kú-, K/Kg kù-,

Ht hò-, Y φύ- id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#119], S QJ #119, Mr. 718 ¶¶ S AJ 69 (*kābi ~ *kebi), S VL #230 (*gābi), KW 229, ≈ DQA #787 (A *kēpu 'chew'; incl. T, M, Tg) || HS: C: Ag: Bln k^war- 'chew, bite' ¶ R WB 224 ◇ IS I 293 [#160] (IE and A [T, M, Tg]), Mng. E-1 ◇ Not here D *kavu]- 'cheek' (D #1337), because the OI loanword карола 'cheek' (Tu. #2755) suggests an eD stem with a labial stop (*kabu]-, whence later *kavu]-) and thus favours an etl. connection of the D stem with N *qAb▽ 'jaw, cheek' or (less plausible) N *gab▽(-|í▽) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') (q.v.).

976. UA₂ ?φ *kouw'a' 'birch tree' > U *kouw'a' id. > F κοινυ, Es kōiv (gen. kōivυ) id. | ? Lp P {Set.} kḡāyēvū ~ kḡāivū id. | pMr {Ber.} *kiy-/*kuγ- + *l-sx. > Er килей kīley, Δ kīleη, Mk келу kēlu 'birch-tree'; *kiy-keř/*kuγ-keř (*keř 'bark') 'birch-bark' > Er кигор kigor, гигерь giger, Δ kiv-geř, Mk кевгор 'kevgar, куйгор 'kuygar 'birch bark' (-gor, -gar-, -geř 'bark') | pChr {Ker.} *ku 'birch-tree' > Chr: L куэ kue, Ug/B kue, H куги kuḡi ~ коги koḡi id. || Vg: T kēí 𐌆 kēí, LK/So xāí id. | ?? Hg һајó 'ship', Δ hi jjó, hi jó 'small trough-like boat, made of a tree-trunk' (← *'boat of birch-bark'?) || Sm {Jn.} *ko^hу 'birch-tree' > Ne: T xo, O {Lh.} xō, F d. ku'yoḡu id.; Ng {Hl., Mik.} kūā, {Cs.} 'куа; En {Ter.} koa 𐌆 'kua; Slq Tz {KKIH} qā, {Prk.} qā, qwā; Kms {KD} d. k'u'j'ú, k'o'j'ú, {Cs.} küyü, Koyb {Sp.} d. кую; Mt {Hl.} *ku_ga (Mt: M {Sp.} ко, {Mil.} kúa, K {Mil.} kùga, {Pl.} кугà, T {Mil.} кúо) ¶¶ UEW 169-70. Coll. 25, Set. FUS 42, Ker. II 60, Ber. 22, Ps. OT 50, Rm. BT 52, Jn. 73, Hl. US 120, Hl. M #565, KP 95, KKH 159 || A ?φ ({ADb.} *k'aw- 'birch-tree'): M *qu-sun ({ADb.} *kuγ-sun, sc. *quβ-sun) 'birch-tree' > WrM qusum, HIM хус, WrO ḡusum, Kl хусм ḡusm, Brt хуһа(н) ¶ Rs. UAW 27, KW 199, MED 991, KRS 613, Krg. 291, Chr. 608-9 || NrTg *kībe > Ewk kiwэ 𐌆 kīwэ 'birch-bark', Ewk Nr/K kiwэ 'birch-tree', Lm kīwэ, Lm Sk kībэ 'birch-bark' ¶ STM I 390-1 ¶¶ ADb. KL ¶¶ J kaba 'birch-tree', although phonetically resembling the A word, does not belong here, because it goes back to OJ kaniḡa < *kanipa id. (Mrt. J 431); Pröhle: the U √ (*kouwa) *÷ OJ kupa, J kuwa 'mulberry tree' (Prl. JUA 171) ◇ IS I 300 [#170]. The word may have been borrowed by the N dialects underlying U and A from aboriginal lgs. of Northern Eurasia. The details of the phonetic prehistory of M *qu-sun and NrTg *kībe are not clear.

977. *kež̥ê 'skin; to skin' > **HS:** S *^okš̥ʔ (× N *^{ki}š̥ʔ, ∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck') > Ar ✓ kš̥ʔ G (pf. qaš̥aʔa, ip. yaš̥aʔu) v. 'peel', 'écorcher, dépouiller d'écorce ou de la peau supérieure, de coque', ✓ kš̥ʔ G (pf. qaš̥iʔa, ip. yaš̥aʔu) 'être pelé/écorché de manière que la peau de dessous paraisse sous la peau extérieure' (se dit d'un outre), 'avoir la peau dure et gercée au point qu'elle s'écaille' (se dit des mains) ¶ BK II 900 || **K:** G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin (from cooked tongue), remove bristles\hair (from the hide\skin of an animal)' (× N *^{ko}l, ∇, √ ∇ [or *^{ko}l, ∇, √ ∇?]) 'to peel, to bark?') ¶ Chx. 1558 || **U:** FU *keže 'skin, leather, peel (of fruit)' > F kes̥i (gen. ked̥en) 'membrane, pellicle, film, scale', kes̥i- v. 'scale off, peel off', Es kes̥i (gen. kee) {W} 'leere Hülse\Schote; abgeworfene Schlangenhaut' || Lp I -katt (gen. -kā̄ða) in sarve's-katt 'reindeer skin', Lp T {Gn.} katt 'Fell' || pMr {Ker.} *ked̥ə > Er кедь, {Ps.} ked̥ ~ kā̄d, Mk кедь ked̥ 'hide, skin, skin of fruit' || Prm *kií (× U *kaíw ∇ < N *^{ka}í'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) > Z kií 'seed-coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff', Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' || Vg: IK -k^wā́l̄an 'hide' (in yäl̄pəŋuyk^wā́l̄an 'deer hide', lit. 'hide of a holy beast'), P -kāl̄an 'hide' (in wuykāl̄an 'bear hide', lit. 'beast hide'), NV k^wā́l̄am 'bear hide', UL -kólna 'hide' (in pupak^wkólna 'bear hide' [pupak^we is 'bear']) ¶ UEW 142-3, W EDW 269, Ker. II 58, ERV 247, LG 124 || **A:** Tg *^okel... > Ewk Tk/Tmt k̄əlk̄ə 'fur overshoes', Ewk Ucr k̄əlk̄ə id., 'fur boots (Унты) for children (made of hide on reindeer legs)' ¶ STM I 446.

977a. *kuž̥m ∇ (or *^{ku}ž̥ ∇ m ∇) 'smoke, ashes' > **IE:** NaIE *^og^we|lm- > Gmc: NHG Qualm 'smoke', NGr Gtn Quulm 'thick smoke', MLG quallem, NLG, Dt kwalm 'smoke', Dn kwal 'steam' ¶ KM 572, Vr. N 373 || **U:** FU *kuž̥m ∇ 'ashes' > pre-Mr {Ker.} *kul̄m̄ > pMr *kūl̄əw > Er кулов kulov, Δ kulow & kulon, Mk кулу kulu || ObU {Ht.} *kūž̥m ∇ id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūl̄m ∇ > OVg: W P ку(л)ма, S Tr хулма, W Sol кўльмь, Vg: T kṓl̄am, LK/Ss xū́l̄am, MK/UK/LL kúl̄am, P/NV/SV kúl̄am; pOs {Ht.} *kaȳam > Os: V/Vy qaȳam, Y qāȳam, D/K хоӯam, Nz/Kz хəӯam || Hg hamu id. ¶ UEW 194-5, Ht. #229, MF 259, It. #239, Ker. II 70-1 || **A:** T *^ok'ül 'ashes, cinders' (× N *^{ku}ū| ∇ 'glowing coals' [q.v. ffd.], N *^gULp ∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones', and N *^{ke}ʔ|y|ʔ|a|a 'to burn' [intr.], 'to burn [sth.], 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') || **HS:** S *^okuš̥ê- > ECh: Kwn {J} k̄is̄é, Ll {WeibP} k̄us̄á, {Grgs} k̄us̄á 'smoke', Ke {Eb.} k̄és̄é id., 'vapour' ¶ ChC, Eb. 65, Blz. EChWL

#77 || S *^okušš- > ? ϕ Ar kušš- 'pollen of palm-trees' (← *'dust' ← *'ashes') ¶ BK II 494, Hv. 855 ◇ Sauv. 92 (U, T), as well as ≈ Blz. IB #4a and ≈ Blz. LBNA #29 (both sources: U, T + unc. IE *geu̯l- 'coal', see N *kú̯l̥ 'glowing coals').

978. ?₂ *ka³ ' (young) dog' > HS: Eg MK czm (< Eg O *czm - *csm) 'hound, dog' ¶ EG V 409-10, Fk. 308 || B *-k³zīn- ~ *-k³zzūn- (*-k³zīn-, *-k³zzūn-...) > as. *-g³zīn- and (with secondary emphatization) *-q³zīn- ~ *-q³zzūn- '(young) dog' > Sll {Ds.} ikzin, Nfs ugzin, Skn g³zīn, Tmz ikzin ~ Δ iqzin, Izn {Rn.} aqzin, Rf A/B {Rn.} aqazzun id., Kb {Dl.} aqžun (pl. iq^wžan) 'dog' (term of abuse); Si agurzani 'dog' (a re-borrowing from a Berberism in a local dial. of Ar, to judge from the pl. algurazan?) ¶ Dl. 657-8, MT 357, Beg. N 222, Rn. 370, La. S 114, NZ 935 || C: Ag {Ap.} *g³z³η- 'dog' (*-η- < *-m-) > Bln g³d³η, Xm, Q g³z³η, Aw gs³ēη, g³s³ēη, Knfl {TBZAC} kassanη ¶ Ap. AV 11, R WB 143, TBZAC 102 || amb SOm (× N ? *^go³q³zīn- (-R³) 'e canine' × N *^{ka}q³zīn 'young dog\wolf'): Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aks³η), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akš³i, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} qaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || ECh: Brg káž³āη 'dog' ¶ JI II 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 186, Blz. OL l.c. (Om, Ag, Eg, B), Ap. AV 11 (Ag, Eg) || A: Tg *kaçl- 'young dog' (× N *^{ka}q³zīn 'young dog\wolf') > Ewk kaçi-kān, Sln xas-xā: id. (-kān, -xā: is a dimin. sx.), Lm qaça, Neg kaçl, kaçi-xān, Ud kas³anžiga, {Krm.} kasanžiga, Nn B qasqa, Nn KU qačqa 'young dog', and possibly (in spite of the aberrant vocalism) Ork k³çik³, Nn Nh k³çič³, k³çič³k³ ¶ STM I 385, Krm. 246 ¶¶ Tg vl. *-ç- for the expected voiced *-j- is puzzling ◇ Tg *k- and Eg c- point to a N plain vl. *k-. The voiced *g- in Ag and in some B lgs. is due to regr. as. (*kz > *gz). But the emphatic q- in several B lgs. remains unexplained; in any case, it cannot be ancient (pB), because HS *q, unless geminated, yields B *ç and never *q.

979. *Ka, a pc. of request > IE: NaIE {Brg.} *kā, *kom/*kem, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.) > OI kam (Vd 'tiṣṭhā 'su kam maghavan 'bleib doch sogleich stehen, oh Herr', 'avā 'nu kam 'juāyān yaj'navanasah 'helf als Stärkerer den Opferliebenden'); this emph. pc. is used after inv. (as well as after dat. and after other particles) || Lt -k, -ki, ending of inv.: eĩk, eĩki 'go!' | R -ka, Δ -ko, pc. asking for immediate fulfillment of the request/order (expressed by the inv. or otherwise), ? Slk -k- (has moved before the inv. ending): sadkaj(te) iv. 'sit down!' || ? Gk κε / (prevoc.) κεν, Gk D kā, enclitic pc. of potentiality (convergence with a homonymous particle [or particles] of different origin?) (Gk Hm ὡς κέν οἱ γαῖα χάνου! 'O, if the earth had yawned for him! [= 'had swallowed him!']) ¶ BD II/3 1000-1, ≈ P 515-6, ≈ M K I 159 (kam 'well'), MW 251-2 (kam as an affirmative particle 'yes, well'), LS 847, 933, ≠ F I 805, Vs. II 147, Bern. I 463, Ma. CS 185 || **U** *-k∇, sx. of inv. > FU: F Δ -k ~ -? (2s inv. ending) (lue-k 'read!'), F -Ø (< *-k) (ending of 2s inv.): lue 'read!' sg., Vo E lug3-g, Lv lūg id.; BF 2p inv. *-ka-ta / *-kä-tä (*-ta/*-tä pl.) > F luke-kaa 'read!' pl., Vp luge-ga-t id. | Lp N -kku-, marker of inv. in 1s and 3s (lë-kku-m 'let me be'), *-k > -Ø, inv. 2s (the former presence of *-k is evidenced by the weak grade of the syll.-initial cns.: boade 'come!' < *pota-k) | Mr -k, 2s inv.: Er soka-k 'plough!' || Sm *-k, 2s inv. > Ne T -? (-'', e.g. xай-'' 'call!'), En, Ng -?, 2s inv. (En mota-?, Ng matu-? 'cut!'), Ng -gu-, marker of inv. in 1s (matu-gu-m 'let me cut'), Slq Kt {Cs.} -k, 2s inv. (tāde-k 'set on fire!') ¶¶ Coll. CG 304-5, Laan. 235-7, Cs. GSS 524, 533 || **A**: Tg *-ka/*-ke, sx. of 2s inv. (with variants: *-kal/*-kel, *-ki) > Nn KU -ka, Orc -ka/-k3/-ʒa/-ʒ3, Sln -xa id., Ewk -kal/-k3l/-kol, Neg -xal/-kal id., WrMc -ki (neutral-polite inv. used when addressing an equal); the suffix *-ki- is use also in forms of 1s and 3s inv. > Ewk -gi-, Ul -žī-, Ud -hi- ¶ Ci. 278-9, Ci. N 35, Ci. S 236, Bz. 144-5, Vas. 726, 759, Sun. G 187-8, Sun. M 170, Sun. KUD 100, Sin. LM 272 ¶¶ Acc. to IS, here also M *-qu/*-kü within the benedictive sx. *-dqu-n/*-dkü-n, which is hardly convincing, because benedictive is actually a participle, sc. a derived noun (ffd. see Pp. IM 253-4) || ?σ **D** *-k∇, sx. of optative > OTm -ka id. (kaη-ka 'look!', 2s opt.), CITm {An.} -(u)ka (opt.: sey-ka 'let him do'), Kt -k- (sx. of optative), OKn {Gai} -(u)ge/-ke id. (tan-ge 'prosper!'), ClKn -(u)ge/-ke (sx. of opt.: keṛu-ge 'pereat!, pereant!'), Tu -k-/-g-, sx. of inv. in 1s and 1p (paṇu-ke 'let me say', maḷ-pu-g-a 'let us do'), Tl -ga (kalpuga 'let us study', bar-ka 'let us come', Tl Brh

{An.} ampugε 'let me do'), Klm -ka- opt.: vakkan(d) 'let him come', vakkar 'let them come' from va(r)- 'come', Krx -ke~ -kē, sx. of optative ("prospective") (bar-ke 'come, please'), ? Mlt {SKD} -ku, sx. of inv. ft., ? Brh -ak, emphatic pc. added to inv. (kar-ak 'do!') ¶¶ An. SG 367-71, RmA OTV 772, Sbr. DVM 497-8, Brigel GTL 52, Gai 90, Hahn KG 43, Grnr. 370, SKD 58 || ?σ HS: EC: Or -kā, emphatic pc. usually added to imperatives (translated by Grg. as 'so, then, therefore' and by Brl as 'dunque!, quindi!, perciò!, ebbene!') ({Mrn.} kottu-kā {IS} 'иди-ка', {Grg.} nagātti bullā-kā '≈ so, spend the night in peace!', sc. 'so, good-night!', {Brl.} dugi-ka 'dunque bevi!') ¶ Grg. 239, Mrn. O 117, Brl. 221 ◇ IS I 331-2 (IE, U, A, D, ? C), Gr. I 193-6 ("imperative KA" in IE, U, A, Gil, ChK, EA).

980. ? *Ka, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > IE: NaIE sx. *-k- in Ilr *a₁-ka- 'one' > MtA *a₁ka- 'one' (in Ht ayka-wartanna), OI ēka-ḥ, NPrs يك yek 'one'; OI 'asr_ok 'blood' nom. sg. (↔ gen. sg. as'naḥ) || L-k- in senex (sene-k-s) 'old man' (-k- only in nom. sg., cp. gen. sg. sen-is, nom. pl. senes) || Gk -k- in κῆρυξ 'herald' (cp. OI kār_uḥ 'Lobsänger'), μύρμηξ 'ant' (cp. Gk μύρμος, OI vamar ī id.) | NaIE *-ko- (f. *-k-ā), sx. of denom. adjectives and nouns: OI marja-'-ka-ḥ 'male', sana'-ka-ḥ 'old', OCS ВЕЛИКЪ veli-kъ 'big', ТЪНЪКЪ tьnъ-kъ 'thin'. The same sx. is probably present in the Sl pronominal adjectives and adverbs *jakъ(jь) 'what kind of?, which?', *jako ~ *ako 'how?', *takъ(jь) 'such', and *tako 'so', as well as in Lt tók-s m., tokiàf. 'such', Lt Em. tókias, f. tókia id., Lt jóks 'irgendeiner' ¶ Hirt IG III 114-8, Vs. IV 12, 552-3, Fr. 194, 1105, ESSJ I 64-5, 171 || A: T *-k, nominal sx. for concrete objects: OT qulqaq ~ qulaq 'ear', qaraq 'eyeball' (acc. to Cl., ← 'small black thing' ← qara 'black'), bičaq 'knife' (← bič- 'cut'), kesek 'piece (cut off from sth.)' ← kes- 'cut, cut off' ¶ Cl. xliv, 293, 620-1, 652, 748-9 || Tg *-k > Ewk -k for quality bearer ('the one having the quality X'), e.g. sagda-k 'the elder person; first-born one' (← sagdan- 'get older'), n. ag.: julgāk 'neighbour (person)' ← julgā- 'live in the neighbourhood' ¶ Vas. 341, 757 || U: U *-k^a, sx. of denom. nouns: Lp T {Gn.} māy_yeg, Lp K {Gn.} māy_eϑ, Krl, F Δ {Kt.} ma_{jo}ā (< *majaϑa), Er miya_v 'beaver', Lp T kāy_eeg, Lp K {Gn.} kāy_eϑ, Vp kayag, Vd kayaga, Es S kayak 'sea-gull', Os Ty {Lh.} wāsəχ 'duck', Ne T O {Lh.} ta_rē-ḥq 'squirrel', En B {Cs.} faeha 'salmo peljet' (cp. Vt paya 'abramis

brama')] FU *-k'a¹, sx. of denom. adjectives: Lp N {N} bâččâ / bâč'čâg- 'bitter, fetid', Vp vayag, Vd vayaga 'unvollständig', Chr H {Wc.} yak''šar-ʒə, Chr Uf yoš'kar-ʒə 'red, red colour' (Chr yak''šar & yoš'kar attr. 'red'), Vg LL yânt-ʒ 'big']]] U *-kk-, pronominal sx. of distinctiveness (singling out): Er šeke 'the same, that same' (←đ še 'that'), Nn T O {Lh.} čŭk·f̄ 'this', Ng {Cs.} takā 'iste' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 333-43
 ◇ Hardly here Jg {J} kē 'one', probably from N *gaywE 'alone', 'entire' ◇ ≈ Gr. I 123-9 ("absolute K" in EA, CK, Gil, Ko, T, IE).

981. *Ḷo 'who?' > U *ko- ~ *ku- 'who' > F ku-ka 'who?' (↔ mi-kä 'what?'), koska 'when?', Es ku-ɛ 'where (wohin)?', kuɦu 'where?', kui 'when?', kuidas 'how?' | Lp: N gu-, gq-, goa- in derivatives: gutti / -d̄- 'who, which', goab'ba 'which of two?', L kâbbā id., S {Hs.} güt'te 'which of many?', goâbba 'which (of two)?', Kld kū (gen. kōn) rel. prn. 'who, which' | Er kona 'which?', Mk kona 'which' (rel.), Er/Mk koda 'how?', Er kodamo, Mk kodama 'what for?', Er koso, Mk kosa, koza 'where?' | Chr: L kö, H kü 'who?', L kudo, H kъдъ 'which?', L kuze 'how?', kušto 'where?' | Prm {LG} *kod- (JLG *kōd) 'who?', 'which?' > OPrm kōd- 'who, which' rel., Z kod 'who?', kod- 'which (of two)?', Z US kōdi 'who?', Prmk kzd-, Yz 'kud-, kudik 'which?', Vt куд kud, кудиз kudiz 'which (of two)?' | ObU *kō- 'who?' > Vg: T kan, LK хон, хан, хʷan, P kon, Ss хōηka 'who?'; Os: V qoyt, D хōyə, O хōy id. | ObU {Ht.} *kūn 'when?' > pVg *kūn id. > Vg: T kōn, LK хūn, MK kūn, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kūn, UL хūn, Ss хун; pOs *kun id. > Os: D/K/Nz/O хun, Kz хōn, V/Vy/Ty/Y qunta | Hg ho- in hol, Δ hon, hun 'where?', OHg ha 'when' rel., Hg ha 'if' || Sm {Jn.} *ku- 'what\who?', 'which?' > Ne T O {Lh.} d. хu'i 'wohin, wer?', Ne T хăняна 'where?', хурка 'welcher?', какоѣ? (qualis?'), Ne F {Lh.} ku'kkf̄ 'who?', Ng {Cs.} d. куа, куніе 'welcher', En {Cs.} hōke id., Slq Tz {KHG} qay 'what?, who?', kuti 'who?' (with an irreg. k- for the expected q- < U, Sm *k-), Kms {KD} q'ăda 'how', k'ûm·en, Koyb {Sp.} куминэ 'how much\many?', Mt {Hl.} *ku- (stem of interr. pronouns) (Mt: M {Sp.} кулгү 'what for? [qualis?]', куй 'from where?'); Sm {Jn.} dat. *ku-η, loc. *ku-nâ 'where?' > dat.: Ne T ху?, Ne O хū?, Ne F {Pl.} куη, En {Ter.} кyo?, {Cs.} кû? id.; loc.: Ne T хуна, Ne F куннă, Slq Tz kun, Mt {Hl.} *kuna (Mt: M {Sp.} куна) || Y: Y T {Krn.} qadi, Y T/K {Krn.} хади (= /qadi /?) 'who?', 'which?', T qūodeban, K ходоме(ѣе) 'qualis est?', T qamlal, qabu, qabud, K хамлол, хамун 'how much\many',

K/T qa-dunūt, qa-dunūn 'which one?' (from qa- + tunūt, tunūn 'this'), K/T {IN} qon 'where?', qodo 'how?', K qay 'when?' ¶¶ UEW 191-2, Brgl. SG 61, Hs. 122-9, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 247, LG 125-6, Lt. DPJ 133, Lt. J 94, TmK 290, SZ 158, U3S 224, Ht. #279, Jn. 75, Cs. 49, 82, KHG 296-8, Hl. M ##563, 571, 576, 589, IN 246, Krn. JJ 88-91, Krn. IMJJ 234-5 || IE *k^ωo-/*k^ωe-/*k^ω-, a generalized interr. stem, used in combination with morphemes of deictic, gender-differentiating, and postpositional origin, e.g. *k^ωo-s 'who?' (with *-s, marker of nom. of the active gender), *k^ωo-d 'what?' (with *-d of the non-active gender), *k^ω-i-s 'who?' (with deictic *-i- and active nom. *-s), *k^ω-i-d 'what?' (with deictic *-i- and non-active *-d), etc.: *k^ωo-s 'who?' > OI kaḥ, Av kō, OPrs kaš, Gt has, OSw hvar, AS hwā, NE who 'who?', Pru kas, Lt kās, Ltv kas 'who\what?', Gk Hm τέο, Gk A τοῦ 'whose?' (< *k^ωe-sjō), *k^ωeĵ 'who?' > L quī, OIr cia, Brtt: OW pui, MW, W pwy, Crn pyu, MBr, Br piν, piou; *k^ωe-s 'who?' > OHG (h)wēr, NHG weēr id., as well as Al T kē, Al G kâ 'whom?' (< accus. *k^ωe-m); *k^ωo-d 'what?' > Vd 'kad, L quod, Pru ka, OW, MW, W pa; *k^ω-i-s 'who?' > Av čiš, Gk τίς, L quis, Osc pis ~ pīs PIS, Ht, Pal, Lw kuis id., OPrs čiš-čiy 'whoever'; *k^ω-i-d 'what?' > Gk τί, L quid, Osc píd, OIr cid, OW pi, MW, Crn py, OBr pi, pe, MBr, Br pe, Ht, Pal kuit, ? Lw kui 'what?'; *k^ω-u (and cds.) 'where?' > Vd 'kū, Av kū, L ubī, Osc puf, Um pufe PVFE, pue PVE 'where (wo)?', Gk Cr ὅ-που, Gk Sr πῦς (< *πυ-ς) 'where (wohin)?', MW cω, cωd 'where (wo, wohin)?', as well as ?? Ht kuwapi 'where (wo, wohin)?, when?' (but Ts.: cd. of *k^ωo-); according to Ad., in Tc the prn. for 'who?, what?' goes back to a cd. of *k^ωu 'where?' or *k^ωis 'who?' + dem. prn.: pTc *kuse (accus. *kuče) > Tc A kus (accus. kuc), Tc B kuse (accus. kuce) 'who, what?' ¶¶ P 644-8, Bks. 203-7, M K I 192, WH II 410-3, Bc. G 342, Pln. 702, F II 903-4, Vn. C 91=2, RE 145, LG § 373, Kb. 1170, KM 853, Frn. 199, En. 190, Tp. P I-K 244-58, O 207, Ts. E I 611-4, 693-4, Pv. IV 218-32, KT 165, Wn. 246, Ad. 186-8, Ad. H 156-7, EI 455-7 || HS: C: Bj {R} kā-k(̃) 'how?' (interr. kā- + -k(̃) of manner (see N *Kuya 'manner' [→ 'like, as']), {Rop.} kāk 'how?' ¶ R WBd 138, Rop. 203 || NrOm: Mch {L} kō 'who?', Kf {C} kō-ne, kō-n 'who?', kō-č 'to whom?', {HHM} koni, konoč'i 'who?', Shn {Lm.} kónnī, Anf {MYTY, Lm.} ko-nne 'who?' ¶ L M 35, Lm. Sh 328, C SE IV 282-4, R K 53, HHM 409, MYTY 113 || ?? Ch: Hs kà, kākāk 'how?', Gw kò 'how?'; the structure of kākāk may be as in Bj (interr. + *-k̄∇ 'as, like') ¶ Ba. 513, 531, Mts. G 65 ¶¶ Hardly here Mh

{Jo.} *kō* ~ *koh* 'how?', 'why?', Hrs {Jo.} *kō(h)*, Jb {Jo.} E/C *koh* 'why?' (= {Btn.} *ḵo*, adduced by IS with a query), where *k-* goes back to S **ka-* 'as, like', just as in Ar *kayfa* 'how?' (see N ***Ḷuya** '↑') || **N** **k'a-*, interr. pronominal stem > Tg {Bz.} **xa-* with *sxs.*: **xa-i* 'what?', 'who?' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh *χāl* ~ *χay id.*, WrMc *ay*, Mc Sb *ay* 'what?', 'which?', and possibly Sln *aṣū* 'who?'; Tg {Bz.} **xa-dū* 'how much\many?' > Ul *χadu*, Nn Nh/B *χado* ~ *χadu*, WrMc *udū*, Ewk, Sln, Neg *adī*, Lm *adu*, Orc *adi*; Tg **xa-lī* 'when?' (< prolicative case) > Ul, Ork *χāl*, Nn Nh *χāl*, Orc *ālā* ~ *āli*, Ewk *alī*, Neg *ālī* ¶ Bz. 114, STM I 4-5, 14-5, 32, 286-8 ¶ But Tg **ya* 'what?' does not belong here, it goes back to N ***ya** 'which?' (q.v.) || NaT **k'a-* (interr. pronominal stem, preserved in *ds.*): **k_l'a-ńu* 'which?', 'what?' (> OT *qayu* ~ *qańu*, Qzq *qay*, Tv. *qayI*, Yk *χaya* 'which?'), **k_l'ač* 'how many?' (> OT *qač*, Tk *kač*, Ln *kač*, SY *qač* ~ *qaš*, Xk *χas*, Tv *kaш* *qaš*, Tf *qđš'*, Yk *χas*), **k'ačan* 'when?' (> OT, ET, Ln, SY, Qrg *qačan*, Alt *qačan*, Tk *kačan*, Az *hačan*, Ux *qačon*, Bsh *qasan*, Qzq *qašan*, Uz *qačon*, Xk *χažan*, Tv *qažan*, Tf *qáň^hIn*, Yk *χahan*), **k'ay-sI* 'which?' (> OT, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Tf *qaysI*, Tkm *χayθI*, Uz *qaysi*, VTt *qaysъ*, Bsh *qayhъ*, Alt *qažI*, Tv *qayizi*, Xk *χayzi*), **k'ay-da* ~ **k'an-da* 'where?' (> OT *qayda* ~ *qanda*, Tkm *χanda*, Uz, ET, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf *qayda*, Bsh *qayda*, Xk *χayda*, Yk *χanna*), etc. ¶ Rs. W 226, 232, 271, Cl. 589, 632-3, ET KQ 191-3, 340, DTS 418, Ra. 217-9, Rl. II 99-100 || M **qa-* in *ds.*: **qa-ya* 'where?' (> MM [HI, S] *qa_la*, WrM *qaga*, HIM *xaa*, Kl *χā*), **qa-mi_lya* 'where? (place and direction)' (> WrM *qamiga*, {Rm.} *qamiya*, Kl *χamā*), etc. ¶ MED 895, 923, Ms. H 85, H 54, KW 164, 175 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. **k'e*/**k'a-*, KW 175 (M, T) ◇ The *vw.* **a* (for the expected rounded *vw.*) in T, M, an Tg still needs explaining ◇ The original opposition N ***Ḷo** 'who?' ↔ N ***mi** 'what?' was neutralized in IE (where N ***Ḷo** was generalized as the main interr. prn.) and partially in HS (S, Eg, B, C, where the generalized prn. was N ***mi**). The ancient opposition has been preserved in U (**ko-* 'who?' ↔ **mi-* 'what?'), in Chv (*kam* 'who?' ↔ *měh mьn* 'what?'), and in Itelmen (*ķe* 'who?' - *min* 'what for, which?') ◇ IS I 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A + ** Sml ku-ma* 'who?' [in fact *ku-* is a marker of masculine] + **÷* words for 'as, like' in HS, which are better accounted for by N ***Ḷuya** 'manner' → 'like, as', q.v., because the semantic change from 'who?' to 'as, like', though not ruled out, is too complicated to be preferable) || In U and A there are forms traceable back to N (dialectal?) ***ḶE** 'who?' (with a *hic-deixis*?) > **U** **ke-*

'who?' > F *ken* 'who?', Es *kes* (gen. *kelle*) id., 'which?' || Lp: S {Hs.} *gie*, Vfs {Lgc.} *g_īē*, *g_ēā* 'who?', N {N} *g_ī* / *g_āē*- 'who?', 'what kind of' (of persons), Kld *kīē* 'who?', 'which?' || Er *ки* *ki*, Mk *кие* *kiyə* 'who?' || Chr: L/Uf/B *kō*, H *kū* 'who?' || Prm **kin* 'who?' > Z Δ, Prmk, Yz, Vt *kin* || Hg *ki* 'who?' || Sm {Jn.} **ki-*, **kim(∇)* ~ **k+mä* 'who' > Ne T *хибѣ*, Ne F {Lh.} *kim'āā* (both from **k+mä*) 'who?', En {Mik.} *šie*, {Prk.} *sie*, {Ter.} *sēa*, Kms {KD} cd. *šün·de*, *šün·di* ~ *šin·dä*, Koyb {Sp.} *семъ*, Mt {HL} **k+m* (or **kim*) 'who?' (Mt M {Sp.} *кымъ*) || pY {IN} **kin* 'who?' > Y T/K {Krn., IN} *kin* 'who?' ¶¶ UEW 140-1, Lgc. SL 47, Hs. 122, PI 111, Ker. II 59, Jn. 69, KP #1221, KD 64, 66, Hl. M #486, Krn. JJ 87-9, Krn. IMJJ 233, IN 228 || A **k'E* 'who?' > T **k'Em* (**k'im* ~ **k'äm*) 'who?' > OT *kim* *käm*, Tk *kim*, Tkm, Az, Uz, ET *kim*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg *kim*, Slr *käm*, SY *kem* *kim*, Alt *kem*, Qmn/Tb {B} *kem*, Xk *kem*, Yk *kim*, Tv *qim*, Tf *qum* (labialization from **qim?*), Chv *kam* ¶ Cl. 720-1, Rs. W 271, Ra. 222, Jeg. 87, Tz. UIS s.v. *kim*, Fed. I 219-20 || M **ken* 'who?' (also 'which?') > MM *ken*, WrM *ken*, HIM *хэн*, Kl *ken*, Mnr H {T} *ken*, {SM} *k'än*, MMgl [Z] *keyan*, Mgl *ken*, Dx *kīēn*, Ba *каҗ* ¶ MED 457, KW 265, SM 196, T 338-9, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, Iw. 111 ◇ IS I 348 (U, A), 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A), Gr. I 217-24 ("interrogative K" in IE, U [including Y], A, Ai, ChK, EA + unc. Gil) ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., **ḲE* is a Uralo-Altaic innovation, a variant interr. word based on the analogy of the dem. particles/pronouns. The opposition of the N iste-deictic **h'e'* 'this' (≈ IS's **ʔi* / (?) **ʔe*) vs. pronouns with back vowels (e.g. N **ha* 'ille') was introduced into the system of interr. pronouns, so that alongside with N **Ḳo* 'who?' a new hic-deictic inter. prn. **ḲE* 'wer hier?' appeared. Starostin, A. Dybo, and Mudrak try to unite the A reflexes of N **Ḳo* and **ḲE* by reconstructing pA **k'a_{ly}* (SDM97 s.v.), which is not a good solution, because the difference between N **Ḳo* and **ḲE* has survived not only in A, but also in U. The variation **e* ~ **ä* ~ **i* in the U and A lgs. is still to be explained.

982. **Ḳ'ü'*, dem. prn. (animate?) > IE **kē-*, **kī-*, **kēj-*, **k(i)yo-* 'this' > NaIE: Arm *u* - *s*- 'this' (anaphoric, hic-deixis), *-u* -*s* def. art. (hic-deixis) || Gk **κε-* in *κεῖνο-ς*, *ἐ-κεῖνο-ς* 'that person\thing', *(ἐ)κεῖ* 'there', {EI}: Gk Mc *za-we-te*, Gk *σῆτες* 'in this year' ({EA}: < **k_{yeh}-wetes*) || L *ce-* in *ce-do* 'give here!', *hi-c* 'this', *hi-s-ce* 'this', *si-c* 'so', *nun-c* 'now', **kī-* in *cis* 'on this side of', *ci-tro* 'hither' || OIr *cé* 'here, on this side' (< **kēj*) (in *bith cé* 'ce monde-ci'), OIr *coi*,

Gl κούτ 'here, on this side' || Gt hi mma 'huic', hi na 'hunc', ON hann, OHG F hē, OHG [HB] hēr, AS hē 'he', NE he; OHG cds.: hiu-tu 'today' (> NHG heute), hiu-ru (< *hiu-jāru) 'this year' (> NHG heuer) || Lt šī-s, Ltv šī-s, Pru schis 'this' | pSl *sb m. / *si f. / *se ntr. (prnl. *sb-jb, *si-ja, *se-je) > OCS сь сь / сн си / се се 'this', SCr Δ sāj / sa / se, Sln sej, R †, Uk сей || Al sot 'today' (< {EI} *k̑eh_π-diHtej) 'this year' > Al si vjet 'this year' (< pAl *cyej wetej dat.-loc.) || AnIE: Ht ka- / ki- 'this' (the variants ka- and ki- distributed within the inflexional paradigm of genders, cases, and numbers), kinun 'now', Pal ka-, ki- 'this', Lc ki 'this' ntr., Car ka-t 'here (?)', Lw za-/zi-, HrLw za- 'this one' (z < IE *k̑) ¶ P 609-10, Bks. 202, Me. AAE 59-61, Gd. 107-8 (OArm so- this'), Tum. 272-7, F I 475-6, WH I 193, 222, 644-5, II 187-8, Vn. C 51, Me. AAE 59, Fs. 255, Vr. 209, Krahe GSW II 67-8, Schz. 124, 160, KM 169, 306-7, Zhr. IN 230, Ho. 150, Ho. S 31, Frn. 990, En. 243-4, Vs. III 591-2, Glh. 537-8, O 397, 399, Pv. IV 3-12, ABIV III 215-9, Shv. K 327, EI 453 (*k̑is 'this [one]') ||

HS *k∇- 'this' m. > C {AD} *k∇- 'this' m. (↔ *t- f.) > EC {Ss.} *ka (nom. *k-u) dem. prn. m. (↔ f. *t-pronouns) > pSam {Hn.} *k-, marker of m. in dem. pronouns (↔ fem. *t-) (*k-an 'this', *k-a 'this [there]', *k-ās 'that', *k-ō 'that [there]', *k-ī 'that [referred to earlier]' ↔ fem.: *t-an, *t-a, *t-ās, *t-ō, *t-ī), nom. *-k-u (> Sml [-k-] [= -k-/-g-/-h-/-h-] [marker of m. in dem./poss. pronouns and clitics, opposed to the marker of f. [-t-] = -t-/-d]), Bn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (Bn J -ka 'this' m. ↔ -ta 'this' f., etc.), Rn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (e.g., -ka(n) 'this' m. ↔ -ta(n) 'this' f.), Or Wt ka(n) 'this' (↔ t-a(n) f.), kù 'this' nom. (↔ t-ù f. nom.), kãni_ 'this specific' (↔ t-ãni_ f.), Or Wt k- - marker of masc. in possessive pronouns (-ki 'my', kía 'mine' m. possi [↔ -ti 'my', tía 'my' f. possi], etc.), Or H {MAZ} kana 'this' m. (nom. kuni) (↔ tana 'this' f., nom. tuni), k-, marker of masc. possi in possessive pronouns: k-iyya 'my' m., k-ē 'thy' m., etc. (↔ t-iyya 'my' f., t-ē 'thy' f., etc.), Dsn ka (determiner), Elm -k-, masc. gender marker in predicative demonstratives: tǒf ì-'k-âlù 'this is the snake' (tǒf 'snake' is m.) ↔ hárúwá-té ì-'t-âlù 'this is a girl', pHEC {Hd.} *ka / nom. *ku 'this', demonstrative determiner, m. (↔ *ta / nom. *ti 'this' f., dem determiner [f.]), *konne / nom. *kūni 'this', dem. prn., m. (↔ *tenne / nom. *tīni 'this', dem. prn. [f.]) > Sd {Hd.} ko(nne) / nom. kuni - dem. determiner, m. (↔ te(nne) / nom. tini, dem. determiner [f.]), Ged {Hd.}

konne / nom. kunni dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow tenne / nom. tinni dem. determiner [f.]), Kmb {Hd.} ka / nom. ku dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow ta / nom. ti f.), Hd {Hd.} ka / nom. ku(k) dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow ta / nom. tu(t) f.), Brj {Ss., Hd.} 'ka (nom. 'ku) 'this' m (\leftrightarrow ta, nom. či 'this' f.), Sd {Hd.} konne / nom. kuni 'this', dem. prn. m. (\leftrightarrow tenne / nom. tini 'this' f.) || Dhl (ʔú)k^wa 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow (ʔ)íta f.), (ʔú)ku 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow (ʔ)ítu f.) || SC: Irq {Mous} qáʔ 'that (visible)', ʔ ká 'this' (for neuter nouns) ¶ AD SF 258-9, Ss. PEC 62, Ss. B 111, To. DL 225, Hn. S 27-9, Anr. DSN 119, MAZ 11-2, Hn. BD 30-1, Hn. W 36-8, Hn. NBLK 185, 227-8, PG 40-1, C SE II 129-31, Hd. 153, Mous 90-1, To. D 39, Blz. CL 180 || SOM: Ari ko_ɛná, ka 'this', kase, konase 'that', Ari G okona, kōn- (+ sxs.) 'that', Hm ka 'this, that' ¶ Bnd AL 159-60 || WS *-ku ~ *-ka, deictic element of iste- and ille-deixis, added to dem. pronouns: BA 𐎠𐎡 dē-k 'that', f. 𐎠𐎡 dā-k, pl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 ʔil'lē-k, IA [Eleph.] 𐎠𐎡 zk, 𐎠𐎡𐎢 zrk id., Ar δāli-ka ~ δā-ka 'iste' m. (f. tāli-ka ~ tā-ka ~ til-ka, pl. ʔawlāʔi-ka), Mh {Jo.} δē-k, δay-k 'that', (as an introductory particle) δɜ-k, pl. elyē-k, Hrs δēk, δīk (pl. 𐎠𐎡k) 'that', Bth δε-k, δɜ-k, pl. 𐎠𐎡k, Jb E {Jo.} 'δɜ'kun, 'δi'kun, pl. i'zē-k, Jb C {Jo.} 'δɜ'kun, 'δukun, pl. i'zē-k, Gz {Br.} zə-'kū 'that', accus. zə-k^w-a, pl. ʔalla-'kū; CS *kā 'here, so' > Pun kʔ, (RomSc) [Plt.] CO 'here', BHb 𐎠𐎡 kō, Ug {OLS} k, BA 𐎠𐎡 kā 'here, so', Nbt, Plm kʔ 'here', DA, OA kh, IA kʔ 'thus' ¶ Br. G I 318-23 [§ 107], Br. AG 30-1, Fr. I 93, Jo. M 79, KB 439-40, 1723, KBR 461, OLS 207, HJ 483-4, 489 || Ch *k-: WCh: Hs k^wàní 'this' (ham k^wàní 'this water' \leftrightarrow ham 'water'), Ang {ChL} kò-ŋ^wì 'this', kò-p^wáná, kò-dà 'that', Ngz {Sch.} gùzìp-gú 'the slave' (\leftrightarrow gùzìp 'slave') || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} dem. enclitic KI 'this [near]' (\leftrightarrow ta 'that [far]' \leftrightarrow ná 'that [known]'), dem. prn. kí 'this one' (\leftrightarrow tá 'that one [far]' \leftrightarrow ná 'that one [known]') || Glv {Rp.} k^wàn, k^wán 'this', k^wanna 'this (one)', k^wa x(a) 'that', Gzg ha 'this' (ŋgos-a ha 'this woman' \leftrightarrow ŋgos 'woman') || Ms kayni 'this', kayna 'that', Lame k^wàmɛné 'this', k^wàmɛní 'that' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} ka [ká] - marker of masc. within demonstratives (\leftrightarrow ta [tá] fem. \leftrightarrow ku [kú] pl.), e.g. í-kà 'that (relative proximity)' m. \leftrightarrow í-tà f. \leftrightarrow í-kù 'those' pl., {Sch.} būr ǎŋ-kà 'this lion' (cp. būrì 'lion' m.), Smr ka 'this', alo-ka 'that', Ll {WeipP} kán 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tán f.), kolon 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow tolon f.), Jg {J} kô 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tô f.), Mu gán 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow dàn f.), Mgm kānè 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tānè f.), kō 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow tō f.), Bdy kānè 'this', kō 'that' ¶ ChL, RpB 56-7, Hf. M 85-8, Fd. 32, 262, Sch. ED 158-9, PG 19, Blz. EChWL ##84-85 || A *k_l'jü 'this' > T *Kö ({SDM} *K'ō without

justification of the lax *k' and the long vw.) 'that (seen) > SY {Tn.} gō ~ gu ~ kō ~ kū id. ({Ml.} 'ΒΟΗ ΤΟΤ'), Qmq {Dmt.} göne 'there (far, but seen)' ('ΒΟΗ ΤΑΜ'), Qrg ti-gi 'that (seen)' ('ΤΟΤ, ΒΟΗ ΤΟΤ'), 'he (seen)' ({Jud.} 'ΟΗ, ΒΟΗ ΟΗ'), {Rl.} τῖγῖ 'jener, der dort gegenüberliegende', Xk τῖγῖ τῖγῖ 'ΒΟΗ ΤΟΤ', Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} tigl, Brb (Rl.) ti-gi 'jener, jener dort' ||| Chv: L κῦ ku 'this', H kō, Δ κβν ɖ κβ id. ¶ Tn. SJJ 77-8, Ml. ZhU 23, Dmt. GKJ 80, Jeg. 114, Fed. I 300-2, Lvt. IM 32-4, Jud. 731, Rl. III 1353, 1419, BIG 227, 416, S AJ 192 [#149] (mentions Slr ku, not confirmed by other available sources) || pKo *kī 'this' > MKo kī, NKo ki 'this' ¶ S AJ 254 [#89] || pJ {S} *k' - demonstr. √ > (1) OJ kó- 'this', J: T kòre, K kóré, Kg kói, Ns kú-ṅ, Sk kú-nù, Ht kù-nù, Yn kù-nú id.] (2) OJ ka- 'that', J: T ká-re, K kárè 'he', Ht kà-nù, Y kànú 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [#77], S QJ #77 || ? M *kü, pc. emphasizing the preceding word, including the preceding dem. prn.: WrM ene-kü 'the same, the very same' (ene is 'this'), tere-kü 'the same' (tere is 'that'), MM [HI] kü ~ gü {Ms.} particule corroborative, [S] ku ~ gu {H} hervorhebende Partikel; M *kü may go back to a coalescence of the N dem. prn. *k'ü', N *ʔ'o'kE (= *ʔ'o'kü?) 'self', and possibly N *ko 'whereas, but, also, doch' ¶ MED 484, H 51, 105, Ms. H 57 ¶¶ DQA #895 (A *kō 'this'; the lax *k [rather than *k'-] is not justified), S AJ 56, 104, 277 [#73], Rm. SKE 114 (Ko, M), Ktw. PLA 71-3 (adduces ET ψυ 'ведь, же' [{BN} u-ψυ 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ba(r) ψυ 'ведь есть'], which may be better explained as belonging to N *ko '↑', q.v., cp. IE *gʷe 'but, whereas' of the same origin) ||| Gil: Gil A ku(-) 'that (absent, just mentioned)' ¶¶ Pnf. I 241, ST 22 ◇ HS *k- results from deglottalization of *k̥, which is likely to suggest a pN *k̥- (rather than *q-), but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could happen after the pre-HS merger of *k̥ and *q ◇ In IE, Mrg, and A (Chv, Ko) the word means 'this', which may be the original meaning, while in S and SY it has got the deictic meaning of 'iste' or 'ille'. In EC, EDng, and Gmc this word (→ morpheme in HS) has got the meaning of masc. demonstrative (opposed to HS *t̥ fem. and IE *t- ntr.), which may suggest that pN *k̥'ü' referred to animate beings only ◇ Gr. I 91-4 ("demonstrative KU" in A [including J], Gil, EA, AnIE).

983. *k̥∇ (= *k̥∇?) 'towards', directive pc. > HS *k̥∇ ~ *k∇ > WS *k∇ 'at, in' (of time), ? (in Mn only) 'to' > Mn {CR} k- 'to' (k-ʔɖɖ 'ad Asad, Asado'), OSA Sb k- 'when, lorsque', Mh {Jo.} k(ɜ)- 'at, in' (of time), Hrs

{Jo.} k-, Sq {L} ke id., Ar SA k- 'at, in' (of time) (k-sōbāḥ 'in the morning'), BHb kə-/ki- (+ infinitive) 'when' (lit. '≈ at\in... [his] -ing') (כָּבֹא kə-ḥō 'when he came' - Gen. 12.14; כִּי-שָׁמְעָה ki-š'mōaḥ 'when he heard'), כִּי-אֲשֶׁר ka-ḡ^aš'er 'when' (lit. '≈ at\in which') ¶ KB 433, BGMR 75, Jo. M 200, Jo. H 65, L LS 211, CR CAME 165 || B *ṽ (< *ḵ) 'towards, in' > Tmm {BoudL} ṽa 'to(wards)' (direction), BMn {Bs.} ṽ- id. (iruh ṽ-iχt n tala 'il alla à une fontaine'), Shl {Stm., La., Ds.} ṽ- 'in' ({Stm.} ṽ-wulīnu 'in my heart') ¶ BoudL T 505, Stm. 109, La. CBM 110, Ds. 85-6, Bs. ZOu 60 ¶ In my opinion, Rf/SrSn ḡ ~ ḡi, Si/Wrs/BMn ḡ, and Kb ḡ 'in' (Rn. 350, Ib. DRE 159, La. S 130, Dl. 133, Bs. ZOu 59-60) do not belong here, they are rather a reduced form of B *ḡīḡ and *dṽḡ ~ *ḡṽd 'in' || EC *-kṽ > Af {R} -hō, -h 'to' (dative), {Clz.} -ak 'to' (dative, directive) (**abbak** ... ṯyan 'they told **the father**' ['dissero **al padre**'], **bā^ael-ak** a'mōd ta'məta 'venne **presso il marito**', haḷ-ak '[tied] to the tree'), Sa {R} -kā, -k, {TB} -ak - marker of dat.-accus. ({R} jō-k 'to me', {TB} **fāras-ak** illō ohōya 'I gave **the horse** bread'), Sml N {Abr.} ku (/gu) (preverbal proclitic) 'on to, on, to' ('kūrsigī bū ku 'fādīstay 'he sat down on the chair', mél dōw ínankīsī ku árka 'he saw his son in a near place', 'búrso bū 'nó gu yimī 'he came to us at Bur'o'), ? Bn K -ka (loc.) in hak-ka 'there', Dsn {To.} ká 'her-, to' (adposition [= preverb\postposition] of movement towards the speaker), Elm {Hn.} -ka 'to' (dative) (precedes the indirect object), -ka- 'to, for' (benefactive) (precedes the verbal stem) (yesé nūm a'nāḡ-ka 'héle kōne 'I brought the children [hele] food', yesé nūm 'héle a'nāḡ-ka-kōne id., yesé mín hele aḡ-ká-dis-a 'I built a house for the children'), Sd {Mrn., TB} -ho 'to' (dative) (bē'tō-ho 'to the girl') ¶ R A II 854 [= 62], R S II 202, Clz. 72, Abr. S 153, Hn. NBLK 196-7, Hn. BD 54, To. DL 232-3, Mrn. S 28, TB LA 515, AD SF 259 || NrOm: Na {AY} -ḡa 'in' (isi ḡay-ḡa wūta 'he fell in [sc. 'to'] the water'), Shk {AY} -ḡa 'in' (ínčú-ḡa 'in the tree'), Bnc {Wdk.} -ḡán ~ -kan 'in, at', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} -ko 'towards' ¶ AY NG 25, AY ShM 6, Mrn. O 30, Wdk. BY 160 || ??φ CCh: Bdm {Lk.} ḡ3 prep., {Nc.} ḡe, ḡo, ḡa, ḡ 'to' ({Lk.} nača ḡ3 woli-an3 'er sprach zu einem Jungen', {Nc.} dōmō ū ḡe na 'ich komme zu dir', dōmo gateni ḡ au 'mich sandtest du nach Feuer'), Lgn {Lk.} ḡa ~ ḡā 'to' (prep. with a noun denoting a person) 'zu, chez, κ (κομy-π.): ndy 'wag3r ḡa ḡ3n3m 'I went to the woman'), ḡi, ḡī 'towards, to' (direction: ndy 'wag3r 'ḡī

ʏa'ʔa 'ich ging zum Hause hin', 'yālō 'gī ʏule'gā 'sie kamen zur Tür'), ?
 ge, gē 'in' (locative prep.) ¶ Lk. B 67, Lk. L 54 || U {Coll.} *-kk∇ / *-k∇,
 directive (= lative, {Hj.} lative-prolative) case marker > Ing -k (sx. in
 adverbs: ala-k 'nach unten'), -ʔ in F dialects and in Standard F (alaʔ
 'nach unten', lūōʔ 'towards') | Lp N dir.-loc. -g (after disyllabic stems), -
 kko, -kkō, -gō, -kō / -kē (after monosyllabics): dokkō 'thither',
 dei'kē 'hither', dâggō 'there, that way' (of a movement), bæi'veg
 'by day', ik'ko 'at night', Lp Ar {Lgc.} -k 'in' (temporalis): kirrak 'in
 springtime', iyyak 'in the night' | Mk/Er prolative ('along, по') -ga ~ -ka
 ~ -va ({Srb.}: intervoc. -v- < *-ʏ- < *-k-) | Chr L -ke ~ -ko ~ -kō
 'to(wards)' in adverbs and postpositions: oHЧЫКО 'onʒə-ko 'ahead'
 ('vorwärts'), ül-kō 'down, nach unten', čod'ra 'vel-ke 'towards the
 forest' || Os V {Trj.} prolative -öʏ / -oʏ (kiriw way-oy manwəl 'the
 steamboat sails **on** [sc. **along**] the river Vakh'), translative -əʏ / -ʏʏ, -
 ka, -qa (ač-əʏ ʏəʏiʏəʏ 'turned **into** a sheep', itn-əʏ ʏəməʏä 'the evening
 came', tələkkə ʏəməʏä 'the winter came' [lit. '**into** evening\winter it
 became]), Os Sr {Ht.} translative -ʏʏ / -ʏə (kāt-ʏʏ '[transformed] into
 a house'); Vg N {Rmb.} translative -ʏ / -iʏ (piyanēr-iʏ patsum 'I became
 a young pioneer', nāʏw-iʏ 'на дрова, to be used as fire-wood') ¶ Coll.
 CG 295-6, Sz. 58, Hj. US 220, It. LC 56, Décsy UP 70, Lgc. SWL 114, Srb.
 IMMJ 25-6, Rmb. 54-5, Trj. VD 54-5, Ht. XJ 309 || Sm: Slq Tz {HL.}
 translative -q0 (for nouns with ppas.), -t-q0 (< gen. -n + -q0), and
 possibly infinitive sx. -q0; it is interesting to note that Cs. and Lh.
 sometimes wrote the marker of translative q0 as a separate
 postposition: {Cs.} kait q0 ippand? 'warum liegst du?' ¶¶ Hl. SelJ
 365-9, 371, Kü. SUKF I 99-100; Hj. LIKSz 124, 128 and Hj. LIS 271 (in
 both papers Hajdú explains the Slq endings as going back to U *k-
 lative); ≠ Kü. SUKF I 100, 145-51 (*: Slq q0 interpreted as a prtc.
 *∇/kâ 'being') || A: T *-ka / *-kâ 'to' (dative-directive case ending) >
 OT O -qa/-kâ, OT Y/U -qa/-qä/-ʏa/-gä, OT Og -qa/-qä/-ʏa/-ga/-ja/-jä,
 OT (different dialects) (after ppa.) -a/-ä, ET, VTt, Bsh -qa/-kâ / -ʏa/-gä,
 Uz -qa/-ka/-ʏa, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog -qa/-ke/-ʏa/-ge, Shor, Tv -qa/-
 ke/-ʏa/-ʏe and (with vowel stems) -: (lengthening of the stem-final
 vw.), Qrg -qa/-qo/-ke/-kō/-ʏa/-ʏo/-ge/-gö, StAlt -qa/-qo/-ke/-kō/-
 ʏa/-ʏo/-ge/-gö and (with vowel stems) -: , Xk -xa/-xo/-ke/-ko/-ʏa/-
 ʏo/-ge/-gö/-:, Yk -ʏa with 20 positional allomorphs, Az -a/-ä/-ja/-jä-
 , Tkm -a/-ä/-:, Tk -a/-e/-ʏa/-ʏe, Slr -qa/-ke/-kâ / -(ʏ)a / -(g)e / -(g)ä,

Chv -a/-e ¶ Adj. 149-53 (wrongly interprets the Runic letter ä as e - *F* Thomsen LM), Kon. GJTRP 149, 153-4, Nas. JTPU 36-8, Isx. IS 103-19, Tn. SJ 106-7 || M: acc. to Rm. VAJ 39-40, the fossilized affix *-ʏa (< *qa) (loc. and possibly dir.) is preserved in an adv.: WrM qami-ḡa ~ qaga, HIM xaa 'where?' ({Rm.} 'wo?', 'wohin?'), to which we may add WrM qaga ʏaga 'here and there' ¶ MED 905, 923 || ?? Tg *-k- within the lative-prolative sx. *-kī preserved in some adverbs (e.g. *sola-kī 'upstream' > {Ci.} Ewk solokī, Neg soloxī, Lm holakī, Ud soloixi, Ul sōli) and in the compound sx. of the allative case *-ti-kī- (> {Ci.} Ewk -tkī, -tikī, Sln -tḡī, -tixī, Neg -tki, -tixi, Lm -tkī, -takī, Ud -tigi) ¶ Ci. 256, 268-9, Bz. 85-7 ¶¶ Ko: Rm. VAJ 41-2, Book 51, and after them IS I 369 assume that the Ko cognate of the above A sx. is Ko NW -(e)ge (dative). In fact, Ko NW -(e)ge goes back to MKo -ʌy kəy, sc. gen. ending -ʌj + dative postposition kəj 'to', e.g. arahannʌy-kəj ~ arahannʌy-kəj 'to the arhat' (*F* Lee GKS 203-4). Lee Gi-Moon (l.c.) identifies this postposition kəj with the adv. kəj 'an dem Ort'. The A et. of the Ko marker of dative is valid only if MKo kəj 'in the place' may be connected with T *-ka/*-kă, which is qu. ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 39-42 || D dative endung *-ko (postcons.) / *-kko (postvoc.) (= {Zv.} *-(k)ku) > OTm, CITm, Ml -ku/-kku, OTl -ku(n) ~ -ki(n), CollTm, Tl -ku ~ -ki, Irl -(k)ke ~ -(k)kye, Kt, Td -k/-g, OKn, CIKn -ke/-kke, -ge/-gge, Kdg -kī / -gī, Tu -k†/-g†, Klm, Prj, Gdb S -(u)ŋ (< "empty morph" -n- + *-ko), Prj N -(u)g, Knd -ŋ, Gnd -k, Kui -gi/-ki, Ku -(t)aki ~ -ki, Krx -ge(:)/-ke(:), Mlt -(i)k 'to' (dat.), Brh -ki 'for' ¶ Zv. CDM 29-31, Shanm. DN 264-368, 378-81 || ? IE: NaIE *k^u 'towards' > Sl *kъ(n) id. > OCS, OR къ, R к / ко, SCr к / кă, Slv к, Cz к / ке, Blg Δ κ; in Blg κъм 'towards' the element -м is secondary (× κъм 'near, околно' [÷ L cym 'with?']) || Sgd ku (Sgd B/M ?kω, kω, kω?, ChrSgd cω) 'to' (direction, dative), 'in' ¶¶ The IE cognate is qu., because there is an alt. et. of the Sl and Sgd forms drawing them back to IE *kom / *km̥ (> OI kam [after dative] [reinforcing pc.: dat. + kam = 'in order to': sú'bhē kam 'um zu glänzen'], Av kām [benefactive postposition after dat.] 'in favour of') ¶¶ Vs. II 146-7, LivXr SJ 505, Bn. SI 70-3, M K I 159, M K III 664, M E I 304-5, ≠ P 515-6 (an unc. hyp. drawing back Sl *kъ 'towards' to IE *ka(:) ~ *ke ~ *kom 'wohl'), ESISJ-SGZ I 99-106, ESSJ XIII 170-1, unc.: E 646 (Sl *kъ < IE *ko(m) 'with') || ?? K: MG [VTq] kēn (postposition of direction), G -kēn(a) 'to, towards' (marker of dir. case) ¶ DCh. 603,

NCh. 246, Vogt GLG 72, Chx. 365 ¶¶ The G cognate is highly qu. because this postposition\ending is added to the gen. form of the noun, which suggests that it goes back to a pre-G or pK noun ◇ IS I 368-9 (HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 137-9 ("dative KA" in A, Ko, U, Y, Gil, CK). IS I 368 sees a M cognate in the lative sx. *-g̃si / *-gsi within adverbs, which is not certain; I prefer to equate this M sx. with the FU translative ending *-ksi (> F -k̃si, -kse, Mr -ks) and to look for their common N source without necessarily connecting it to the N etymon in question.

983a. *k̃ʳAʳiʳb∇ or *k̃ʳiʳAʳb∇ 'cold, ice' > HS: Eg fP k̃b(b) 'be\become cool', Eg fMK k̃b(b) 'die Kühle', DEg k̃b 'kühl sein, kühl, sich kühlen' > Cpt: Sd KB A k̃ba ~ KB O k̃bo, B XB O B k̃h̃bo B id. ¶ EG V 22-4, Er. 533, Vc. 71 || C: EC *k̃ab- 'cold' > Sml qabow, Rn 'χόβο 'coolness; cool', Arr k̃abbanow- 'become cold', k̃abbat 'cold thing, cold', Or k̃abbana, Kns qappanāw-, Gdl k̃appanaw- 'become cool' || Ag *ka(n)b- 'be cold' (with a puzzling *n): Bln {R} kanb-~kamb-. Q {R} kab-, kanb- ¶ Bl. 180, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. EDB 112, AD SF 81, Hn. S 71 (pSam *qabō 'cold'), PG 191, Hw. A 377, R WB 223 ¶¶ AD SEC 135 and OS #332 (both: EC, Eg) || K: G q̃op̃iç̃a 'frozen ground' ¶ Chx. 613 || D (in NED) *k̃iv- > Krx k̃ibā 'frost, ice', Mlt {Drs.} k̃iw̃e 'cold, cool' ¶ D #1618 ◇ N *ʳ is suggested by K (N *-ʳ∇b- > *-ʳb- > K *-p-) ◇ Blz. LB #26c and Blz. LNA #32 (HS, D) (Blz. LNA: N *k̃ib∇).

984. *k̃oʳbE 'to fill; whole' > HS: S *°√k̃ʳb > Ar √qʳb 'boire beaucoup et se remplir de' (with min + name of beverage), 'manger\boire, prendre ce qui est dans une vase' (× N *k̃äbʳâ 'bite' [→ 'eat']), ?φ Ak g̃abbu 'entirely, all, every' ¶ BK II 656, CAD V 4-5 || ?? C (SC?) → Mb kabuna ~ xabuna 'all' ¶ ESC 249 || K: G I k̃apan- 'schwer beladen', G k̃veb- v. 'feed' ('nähren, füttern') ¶ Chx. 549, 576 || A *k̃ᵛᵛop̃E v. 'be full, whole' > NaT *k̃ᵛᵛöp̃- 'abundant, much' (× N *k̃uP∇ 'heap, hill?') > OT köp 'abundant, luxuriant, much', Chg, OXwT, Osm {Rh.} köp, ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv köp, VTt, Bsh küp, SY {Tn.} köp̃h̃ ~ кер̃h̃, Tf k̃ᵛᵛp̃ 'much, many', Tkm, Kr, Qmq köp, Uz к̃ᵛᵛт̃ к̃ᵛᵛр̃ id., 'very'; here also (?) Tv x̃öy 'much, many' ¶ Tf k- points to a pT lenis *k̃-, while Osm, Tkm k- (and Tv x-?) favour the rec. of a pT *k̃'- ¶ Cl. 686-9, DTS 317, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 107-8, Rh. 1580, S AJ 187 [#115], TvR 258, 488, Tn. SJJ 187, Ra. 204 || M *k̃öjüb-č̃in 'whole, all' > WrM k̃öb̃c̃in, HIM x̃öb̃ч, x̃öb̃чин 'whole, complete, all, everything', Ord g̃üb̃č̃in 'tout, tous', WrO k̃ü̃b̃c̃in 'entirely, wholly, all', MM [S] g̃ub̃č̃in 'ganz,

völlig, alles, insgesamt'; M \rightarrow WrMc gubci id., Mc Sb / $\text{gufac}^{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}$ / [$\text{guf}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}$] 'entire, whole' ¶ MED 475, Ms. O 273, Krg. 749, H 51, Hr. 378, Y#2812, STM I 426 || Tg: [1] $^*\text{u}_\text{pka}$ - 'all' > Ewk $\text{upkat}/\text{ç}$ -, Ewk M/Nr/Tk/Tt/Urm upka l, Ewk Tng upka-t , upka-l , Ewk Tkm opkat 'all, everybody, whole', Neg opka l, Ud ufal 'everybody' ¶ STM II 281 | [2] Tg $^*\text{kupu-}(-\text{kte}, -\text{I}\nabla)$ 'whole' > Ewk $\text{k\ddot{u}kt\check{z}} \sim \text{kuwukti}$, Lm $\text{kub}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{ç}}$, Neg, Nn $\text{kupukt\check{z}}$, Ul $\text{kupt\check{z}}$, Ork qopolo , $\text{kupukt\check{z}}$, $\text{kupu}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}$ 'whole', Sln xokkoji 'entirely', Ud kufula d $\text{kuful\check{z}}$ id., 'everywhere' ¶ Tg $^*\text{k-}$ (for $^*\text{x}$, which is expected in the N context) needs explaining (regr. as.?) || ? pJ {S} $^*\text{kup}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-pa-}$ v. 'add' > OJ $\text{kup}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-}$, J: T $\text{k\ddot{u}wae-} \sim \text{kuwae}\acute{-}$, K $\text{k\ddot{u}w}\acute{\text{a}}\acute{-}$, Kg $\text{kuwae}\acute{-}$ ¶ S AJ 271 [#176], S QJ #176, Mr. 718 ¶¶ S AJ 27, 285 [#233], DQA #884 $^*\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{p}'\nabla$ 'all (весь)' (T, M, Tg $^*\text{kupukte}$, without pJ, which was mentioned in earlier versions [SDM95, SDM97]) || D $^*\text{kopp-}$ ({GS} $^*\text{k-}$) v. 'be full' (\rightarrow v. 'fill') > Prj kopp- v. 'be full', kopip- v. 'fill up', Gdb kop- v. 'be full', kopup- v. 'fill', koppen 'full', Mnd kupki- v. 'fill', Ku $\text{kuppu}\ \bar{\text{a}}\text{nay}$ v. 'overflow'; Tm $\text{kup}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{m}}$ may go back to a coalescence: D $^*\text{kopp-}$ v. 'be full' \times $^*\text{kupp-}$ 'heap' ¶¶ D #1731(a) (does not distinguish $^*\text{kopp-}$ v. 'be full' and $^*\text{kupp-}$ 'heap'), cp. GS 50 [#124] ($^*\text{kup-}$ 'heap').

985. $^*\text{k}'\text{u}_\text{p}\text{bE}$ 'thorn' > IE: NaIE $^*\text{keub-}$ 'thorn, thorny plant' > OHG $\text{hi}\ \text{ufo}$ 'haw, wild rose, hawthorn', MHG hiefe , NHG Hiefe 'hip, haw', NNr $\text{hj}\bar{\text{u}}\text{pa}$, OSx hiopo 'hip', AS $\text{h}\acute{\text{e}}\text{opa}$ 'hip, brier', NE hip (a plant) || Pru $\text{ka}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ubri}$ ({En., Tp.}: *ce.* for $^*\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ubri}$) 'thorn' ¶ WP I 380-1, P 595 (wrong rec. of $^*\bar{\text{k}}-$), OsS 403, Ho. 157, Ho. S 34, Kb. 471, Lx. 88, KM 307, En. 186, Tp. P I-K 104-6 || HS: CS $^*\text{kubb-}$ 'thorn, a prickly plant' > MHb כוב $\text{ku}\bar{\text{b}}$ (pl. $\text{ku}\bar{\text{b}}'\text{b-}\bar{\text{i}}\text{m}$, $\text{ku}\bar{\text{b}}'\text{b-}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}$), JA [Trg], JPA כובא , כבא $\text{ku}\bar{\text{b}}'\text{b-}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., Sr $\text{כב}\hat{\text{a}}$ $\text{ku}\bar{\text{b}}'\text{b-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'spina, baculus spinosus', Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} kubb- 'salsa et amara planta' ¶ Br. 315, Lv. II 282-3, Js. 616, Fr. IV 2 || ?σ K: G Lch $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{p-i}$ 'nave, hub of a wheel (of a two-wheeled bullock car)' (\times N $^*\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{P}\nabla$ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance'?), as well as possibly G $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{bera}$ 'Ährchen (an der Getreideähre)', G I $\text{k}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{k}}\text{i}\text{pa}$ 'collar-bone', G R $\text{k}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{p}\ddot{\text{k}}\text{i}\text{pa}$ 'chickens's forked bone (furcula)' ¶ Chx. 594, 612-3, 635 ¶ The glottalization of the labial cns. may be due to as. || ? A: M $^*\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{g}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$ (if from $^*\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{b}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$) > WrM $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{g}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Kl $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{g}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{l}$, {Rm.} $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{g}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{l}$ 'blackthorn, Prunus spinosa' ¶ MED 481, KRS 310, KW 236 ◇ If the K words belong here, the N initial cns. is $^*\text{k}'$, otherwise it is $^*\text{K}'$ (i.e. * either $^*\text{q}$ or $^*\text{k}'$). The IE $^*\text{-b-}$ for $^*\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ is explained by the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same $\sqrt{\quad}$. In S there is a

deglottalized *k-. If the N etymon is ***ḱ**¹**uʔbE**, we have to assume that S and IE lost the precons. ***ʔ**, while in Kartvelian the N cluster ***-ʔb-** yielded ***-p-**.

986. *Ḳab'Eʔ'∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' > HS: S: [1] S *ḱaby- 'wickerwork; vessel' > Ak {Sd.} ḱabû 'Geflügelstall', ḱabûṯ-u 'Becher, Kelch', Sr **كَبْلٌ** ḱεḅ'ṽā 'Behälter' [2] CS *kabb- '(ε) vessel' > BHb **קַב** ḱab '(ε) a measure of capacity', IA ḱb, JA, JEA **كَبْ** ḱab'b-ā, Sr **كَبْلٌ** ḱab'b-ā id. (S ḱ → Gk κύβος id.), and ḱ Plm ḱb 'crater, bowl (?)' ¶ Ell. 147, BDB 866 [#6894], Lv. IV 232-3, Sl. 977-8, Br. 639, KBR 1060, Sd. 889-90, ≈ F I 750 || Eg fMK ḱbṽ 'jar for beer' (> Cpt B **КНБИ, КАВН** 'cruche') ¶ EG V 25, Fk. 277, Vc. 71 || WCh (mte.) *kaḅ∇ 'basket' > Su {J} kàβen 'game-bag made of leaves' || DfB {J} kàḅâ 'basket', Sha kaḅâ 'basket for millet' || (× N ***kab∇** 'calabash, gourd', q.v. ffd.) Hs kàḅákí 'ε large calabash for food' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561] (*kaḅḅ∇ 'calabash'), Ba. 515, J S 68, J R 216, 286, Sch. DN 92-3 || IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box' (IE *-p- < *-bʔ- < N *-b∇ʔ-) > Gk κύπη 'crib, manger' || L capula 'scoop', capulus 'coffin', capēd-o / -inis '(ε) an earthen bowl used in sacrifices', capsa 'box, case (for books, etc.)', capsus 'Wagenkasten' || OHG hafan, havan 'dish, vessel, kettle', NHG Hafen 'earthen pot/vessel' ¶ P 527-8, WH I 157, 162-3, F I 783, Kb. 421, ≈ OsS 361, Schz. 158, KM 280 || A: NaT *k'āb 'bag, sack' > OT qāb 'leather bag, wine-skin', OQp XIII **قَاب** qap, Cum XIV hap 'sack', Chg XV qab 'vessel, wine-skin', Osm XVI qaṽ 'a sloughed snake's skin', Tkm qāp 'sack, earthenware', Tk kap 'earthenware, dishes, vessel', Az **قاب** gab 'vessel, case', Ggz kap 'earthenware', ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Bsh, Qrg qap, Uz **қоп** qop, Xk, Tv **қар** 'sack', VTt qap 'sack of bast mat', Alt qap 'leather bag' ¶ Cl. 578, ET KQ 266-7, TAG 86, Df. III #1364, Hüs. 67 || M (d.?) *qabturgan 'bag' > MM [MA] {Pp.} qabturga 'pocket', WrM qabtagan, HIM **қавтра** 'bag, pouch, purse; pocket', Ord qab_t'arga 'small bag, purse for tabac and pipe', WrO **қабтаға** ~ **қабтаға** 'bag, pouch, pocket', Kl **қабтх**, {Rm.} **қабтаҳă** 'pocket', Kl Ö {Rm.} **қабтұғă** 'Beutel, Tasche'; M ḱ → Alt {Rm.} qaptırҗа 'small leather bag' ¶ MED 899, Kow. 760, Gl. II 86, Pp. MA 285, Ms O 282, Krg. 238, KRS 562, KW 167 || pJ {S} *kàpì 'shell' > OJ kàpìì, J: T kái, K kái, Kg kaí id.; the adduction of pJ *kàpì 'egg' (as in DQA) is unc. ¶ ≈ S QJ #149, Mr. 433 ¶ Cp. DQA #972 (A *k'āp'ā 'a k. of vessel, box': incl. T *Kapırçak and M

*qayurĉaq ~ *qayirĉaq [possibly derived words], J *kàpì 'egg, shell' || AdS of K: G *qurprieli*, Sv *qurpr* 'wine-skin' (< N **q̣'ü'ry*∇p∇ 'sack, wicker basket' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The K root suggests N **q̣-*, but since the N word in question is not the main source of the K word, one cannot distinguish between N **q̣-* and **q̣-* ¶¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. мѣхъ, TK 351, GP 132 ¶ K *-p̣- is likely to go back to N *-b∇?-

987. **q̣äbʔâ* 'bite' (→ 'eat') > IE: NaIE **ǵebʰ-* v. 'eat, gnaw, chew' > Lt *žėbiũ / žėbti* v. 'eat slowly', *žėbiũ / žėbeti* 'essen, picken' || Sl **zoba-*: pSl inf. **zōbati* 'to eat' > OCS **ИЗОБАТИ** *izobati* 'to eat up' ('aufessen, verzehren') (of a person), **ОЗОБАТИ** *ozobati* 'to eat off, to destroy (e.g. a vineyard)' (of an animal), **ПОЗОБАТИ** *pozobati* 'to eat\peck up' (of birds), SCr *zòbati*, Slv *zóbati*, Blr *за'баць, 'зобаць*, Uk **Δ** *зо'бати*, Cz *zobati*, Slk *zobat* 'to eat (esp. corn, fodder)' (of animals), Blg *зобам* 'eat (esp. corn, fodder)'; ⇨ Sl **zōbъ* 'food (corn) for animals' > Blg *зоб* id., Slv *zōb* f. 'fodder corn', SCr *zōb* id., 'oats', Cz *zob* 'fodder for birds', P *zób* 'fodder (корм)' || MHG *kifer* 'to gnaw, to chew' | NaIE **ǵembʰ-* 'bite, tear asunder' (a variant stem with a nasal infix - probably, originally a stem of the present) > Arm **ծամեմ** *camem* 'I chew' (aor. **ծամեցի** *camecʰi*), **ծամելի** *cameli* 'jaw, cheek' || OI *ǵambhatē* 'snaps at', {P} 'schnappt', caus. Vd *ǵambhayati* 'crushes to pieces', Av *hām ... zambayaδwem* 'zertrümmert!' (inv. 2p) || Lt *žėbiũ / žėbti* 'cut to pieces' | Sl **zėb-q / zė-ti* 'tear asunder, lacerate' > OCS **ЗАБЪ** *zėb-q / *zati* *zė-ti* 'lacerare', R *зябъ*, Uk *зя'бля* 'land ploughed in autumn for spring sowing' | ⇨ **ǵombʰo-s* 'tooth' (× NaIE **genbʰ-* / **gnobʰ-* 'peg, stick' < N **gän*∇, 'p'∇ 'stem, stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 369 (on **ǵembʰ-*, **ǵombʰo-*), M K I 419, F I 319-20, Kb. 527, Lx. 107, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BER I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5, and XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-1, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slt. 254-5, Wn. 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, ≠ P 382 (does not distinguish IE **ǵebʰ-* 'eat, gnaw, chew' from **ǵepʰ(-)* ~ **ǵebʰ* 'jaw, mouth') ¶¶ IE **ǵ-* for the expected **ḳ-* is due to the IE rejection of ***teǵʰ-* roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) ¶¶ The IE nasalized stem **ǵembʰ-* may have been influenced by the reflex of N **q̣em*∇ 'to bite' (q.v.) || HS: WS **√q̣bʔ* ~ **√q̣ʔb* > Ar *√q̣bʔ* 'manger, se remplir de boisson', *√q̣ʔb* 'manger et boire, prendre ce qui est dans un vase' (× N **q̣oʔbE* 'to fill; whole'); (??) +ext.: S

* $\sqrt{\text{kb}\check{\text{c}}}$ > Mh, Hrs $\sqrt{\text{kb}\check{\text{s}}}$ v. 'sting, bite' (a scorpion\snake) ¶ BK II 656-7, Jo. M 222, Jo. H 73 || K: GZ * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-}$ v. 'bite' \rightarrow * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-en-}/\text{*kb-in-}$ v. 'bite' > OG, G $\check{\text{k}}\text{ben-} / \check{\text{k}}\text{bin-}$, Mg $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibir-}$, Lz $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibin-}$ v. 'bite'; \rightarrow K * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-il-}$ 'tooth' > OG, G $\check{\text{k}}\text{bili}$, Mg $\check{\text{k}}\text{zbir-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{ibir-}$, Lz $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibi(r)-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{ibr-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{irb-} \sim \check{\text{c}}\text{ibr-}$ id. ¶ K 106-7, K² 87, Schm. 16-7, FS K 171 || A: ? ϕ AmTg * $\text{k}\check{\text{e}}\text{pu-}$ v. 'gnaw, bite' > Orc $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{puti-}$ id., 'gnaw through', Ud $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{fug}\check{\text{z-}}$ v. 'bite in pieces' ('разгрызаты') ¶ *- p- is from A *- p' - < N *- $\text{b}\check{\text{?}}$ -; Tg * k- for the expected * x- may be due to a secondary association with an onomatopoeic word (Neg, Ork $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{pur-k}\check{\text{z}}\text{pur}$ - an imitation of the sound of gnawing) unless the onomatopoeia is secondary and the Tg word goes back to N * $\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{b}\check{\text{?}}\hat{\text{a}}$ 'bite' ¶ STM I 452 || T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ v. 'bite' (\times T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ 'seize' < N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ id.) > Az, Tkm $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Nog $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$, ET {BN} $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'bite', Qq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Qzq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ id., 'seize with the teeth', Uz $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'bite' (of animals), VTt $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ v. 'take into the mouth, seize with the teeth', Qrg, StAlt $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with mouth\teeth', Bsh $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ v. 'bite', Tf $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with the mouth' (of a flying insect), v. 'bite' (of a fish), Chv $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}/\text{b}_-$ v. 'take into the mouth, eat' ¶ Rs. W 218, ET KQ 264-6, Ra. 218, Ash. XVI 84, Hüs. 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, NogR 131, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, UzR 622, BN 118, Fed. II 380 ¶ The merger of T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ v. 'bite' with T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ 'seize' explains the polysemy in Az $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'grasp, bite', Qq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Qzq $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{b-}$ id., 'seize with the teeth', Tkm $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'catch (sth. thrown in the air), seize, bite', Chv $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'take into the mouth, seize', Qrg $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with hands, seize with the mouth\teeth', etc.; there is also infl. of the onomatopoeic factor. The back vw. * ä may be explained by those two factors and/or by vw. harmony: * $\text{k}'\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\hat{\text{a}}$ > * $\text{k}'\text{äp-}$ || D * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ \sim * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$, {GS} * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ > Tm $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ (p. $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$), $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ (p. $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$) v. 'seize with the mouth', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ n. 'bite, seizing by the mouth (as dog), eating', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', Ml $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'seize with mouth, bite', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'snap at, eat as a dog or a madman', Tl $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'seize by mouth', ? Png/Mnd $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ 'bite', Kui $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{g}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'chew the cud', Ku $\text{g}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'eat fast', ? $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'eat fast like a dog'; D \rightarrow OI $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'mouthful, morsel', Pali $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'small piece, mouthful'; the variant * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ may be due to contamination with N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ 'to seize' ¶ D #1222, GS 107 [#279] || ? σ U: FU * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ > Er Δ {Jv.} $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'to swallow', Mk $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ id., Δ {Jv.} 'to take sth. into the mouth' (\times N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ (' \uparrow ')) (N *- $\text{b}\check{\text{?}}$ - > *- p- > FU *- pp- > Mr -pp-) (\times FU {Sz.} * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ \approx

grasp, take' < N ***Ḳap**∇ ~ ***Ḳap**∇ '↑') ¶ Jv. 176, PI 101-2 ◇ The vw. *a in FU *^okapp- and T *^k'ap- is due to regr. as. (N ***ä...â** > ***a...∇**) ◇ IS I 313-4 (does not distinguish between N ***ḳäbʔâ** 'to bite' and N ***Ḳap**∇ ~ ***Ḳap**∇ 'to seize') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #60 (***κερ** 'bite').

988. ***ḲæbL**∇ (or ***-Lb-**?) 'to support, to lean' ([in IE] → 'to help') > IE: NaIE ***ḱelb-** ~ ***ḱelp-** ~ ? ***g_l^h₁elb_l^h₁-** 'help' (different results of compulsory dis. from the original ***ḱelb^h-**, due to the IE root-structure rejection of ****tegh-**roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) > Gt hilpan, ON hjalpa, OSx, AS helpan, NE help, OHG helfan, NHG helfen 'to help' || Lt *šelpiũ / šēipti* v. 'support', (NaIE ***g_l^h₁elb_l^h₁-** >) Olt *gélbti*, Lt *gelbéti*, Ltv *gēlbēt* 'to help', Pru *galbimai* 'we help' ¶ WP I 447, P 554, EI 266 (***ḱelb-**), Fs. 255-6, Vr. 231, Ho. 154, Kb. 451, Schz. 163, KM 302, Frn. 144, 971-2, En. 17, Tp. PE-H 134-6 || HS: B ✓*kb̄l* v. 'support' > Ah *ək̄bəl* 'soutenir (empêcher de tomber en étayant par dessus ou par côté)', ETwl, Tyr *ək̄bəl* 'soutenir, maintenir debout' ¶ Fc. 729-30, GhA 88 || A: M ***kelbe-* (× N ***Ḳiy_l∇_lí** 'to bend, to bow'): **kelbey-* v. 'lean, bend to one side' > WrM *kelbey-*, HIM *хэлбий-* v. 'lean (to one side)', Kl {Rm.} *kelwi-xə* 'sich lehnen, seitwärts biegen', M → WrMc *kelfi-* v. 'lean, incline to one side'; M **kelberi-* > WrM *kelberi-*, HIM *хэлбэрэ-(x)* 'lean, incline'; MM [S] *kelber_lul-* (caus. of *kelberi-*) 'schiefschräg werden lassen', *kelbes* 'mir einer Wendung' ¶ MED 446, 450, 467, Kow. 2531-2, Ms. H 69, H 97, KW 224, Z 269-70.

989. ***ḳ'ä'ćU** or ***ḳ'ä'ć∇w∇** 'wild goat', 'é antelope' > K ***ḳ'icw-** ~ ***ḳ'wic-** 'female ibex', (?) 'colt' > OG *ḳ'icw-*, G Δ, Mg *ḳ'vic-* 'colt', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} *ḳ'wic-ra* 'female ibex' ¶¶ K² 95, TK 354-5, Ni. s.v. *коза* || HS: B [1] *✓*γs^γ* 'goat, sheep' > ETwl, Ty *te-γse* (pl. *ta-γsiwen*) 'goat, sheep', Ah {Fc.} *ti-γse*, Gh {Nh.} *či-xsi*, Kb *tiχsi* 'goat', Izn, Rf *ti-xsi* (pl. Izn *tiχəswin*) 'sheep'] ?? [2] *✓*kss* > Tmz {MT} *a-ksas* (pl. *i-ksas-n*) 'mouton à laine courte ou frisée', ? Kb ✓*kss* 'commencer à brouter (agneau, chevreau)' ¶ GhA 73, MT 351, Dl. 424-5, 908, Fc. 908, 1781, Rn. 366 || NrOm {Blz.} **keş-* 'goat' > Bnc {Wdk.} *keš*, Gmr {Bul.} *кэцъ* id. ¶ Blz. OL #147, Wdk. BY 105 || Ch: WCh: Hs *káčáwɛi* 'male duiker' (unless from Niger-Congo lgs., / Hehe {Sk. ← ?} *kicimba* 'dikdik'), Ngz {Sch.} *gáskâj* 'roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus koba*)' || CCh: Mkt {Sk. ← ?} *kucub̄* 'gazelle' (unless from the aforementioned Niger-Congo source), Klb *kušiši* 'goat' ¶ Ba. 586, Sch. DN 70, Sk. HCD

140 || **A**: T *k'äçi or ?? *k'äcü ({Md.} *k'eč'i) 'goat' > NaT *k'äçi or ?? *k'äcü > OT Og, Chg, Kr kăč'i, Tk kəç'i, Az, Ggz kəç'i, MQp {Cl.} kăč'i ~ kăši, Tkm, NWXT A, NrXT D1/Shu/Ze, NETX G/J/L geč'i, SEXT Chs, SWXT H/QB/SA gäč'i, SEXT XO gäčč'i, NrXT D2, NWXT ShT gečč'i, NrXT Dg geč'j, SWXT J/PK gäč'j, NrXT L, NEXT M, NrXT Q geč'i, SEXT R gatč'i, Xlj {DT} gočü, VTt kăžä, Bsh kăzä, ET K {Bu.} kăčki || Chv *кача* kăž_a, *качака* kăž_a-g_a id.; it is not clear if NaT *üčkü ~ (dis.?) *ečkü 'goat' has anything to do with this N word, it may go back to N *gužê '≈ sheep, goat' (q.v. ffd.) with the T dim. *sx* *-k∇, but mutual infl. of both etl. sources is highly probable ¶ ≈ Cl. 24, Rs. W 246, ET VGD 34-6, ≈ TL 426, DT 108, Bu. II 116, Jeg. 95, Fed. I 242, Md. 35 (pT *k'eč'i), DH ChT #123 (in word-lists of different XT dialects), Shch. Zh 117-8 ◇ The unexpected *k̄w- in K *k̄wic- is still to be explained (mt. *k̄icw- > *k̄wic-?). If the N etymon is *k̄'a'ć∇w∇ (as suggested by Ch), the final syll. was lost in T ◇ AD NM #44, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs).

990. *k̄ec∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *k̄es- v. 'cut, stab, chop' > OI *śas-* v. 'cut down, slaughter' || Gk *κεύζω* v. 'split, cleave', Gk Hm *κείων* a.c. 'cleaving' || OIr *cēs* 'spear' | ↗ NaIE {P} *k̄o.stro- 'knife, spear, javelin', {EI} *k̄os-trom ~ *k̄os-dhrom 'cutting instrument, knife' > OI *śastram* 'knife, dagger' || Gk *κέστρον* {LS} 'hammer, ε bolt' ({By.} 'marteau pointu, poinçon') || pAl {O} *cestrā > Al *thadēr* 'adze' || d.: L *castrō*, -*āre* v. 'castrate' ¶ P 586, Mn. 494, 614, EI 336, FI 806, ≈ FI 820-1 (*κέστρον* ← *κεντέω* v. 'prick, goad'), LS 944, WH I 179-80, M K III 319, M E II 626, Vn. C 79, Vr. 225, YGM-1 84, O 471 || **K** {IS} *°k̄ac-/°k̄c- v. 'cut', (?) 'chop' > Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB {IS ← Top.} *k̄č-* 'chop', {GP} *msd. li-k̄č-e* 'chop down (a tree)', {IS ← Top.} *na-k̄acw* 'scar (*рубец*)', {GP} *na-k̄acw* 'chopped; wounded with a knife', Sv L {IS ← Top.} *k̄č-* v. 'cut', {Dn.} *k̄č-/k̄ič-* 'cut off' ¶ IS I 320, GP 175, 230 (with k for k̄ due either to the idiolect of the Ige. speaker [Ms. Chato Gudjedjani] or to inaccurate recording), Dn. s.v. *k̄ič* || **HS** *k̄∇s- > amb S: [1] *°√k̄ss > ǀ BHb √k̄ss *Po* (3m ip. *ḥḥq̄i* *yəḥq̄i* 'ses') 'tear out, pluck out' [Ex. 17.1] (a qu. traditional interpretation based on the JA Targum translation *ḥḥq̄i yḥḥq̄i* 'he will pluck'), MHb {Lv.} *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* 'abgeschnittenes Stück, Erdscholle', MHb √k̄ss (pf. *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i*) 'zerkauen'; [2] S *°√k̄çç ~ *°√k̄çy v. 'cut off' (as. *k̄ç < *k̄s) (× N *k̄Uç∇ 'cut\chop into small pieces' × N *k̄oć∇ 'shorten by cutting' × N *k̄ec'ā' 'tip, end [extremity]') > BHb √k̄çç *D* (pf. *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i* *ḥḥq̄i*) v.

'chop off, trim', Ug \checkmark $\text{ḳṣ}_1\text{ṣ}_2$ {OLS} 'cut (trinchar)', Sr \checkmark ḳṣṣ (pf. ḳṣ) 'cut off', JA {Js.} \checkmark ḳṣṣ G (pf. ḳṣ ~ ḳṣ) 'cut, fell', JEA {Sl.} \checkmark ḳṣṣ G 'cut down/off', Ar \checkmark ḳṣṣ G (pf. ḳṣ) v. 'cut off', Ak {Sd.} \checkmark ḳṣṣ (inf. ḳṣṣ) 'abschleifen'; CS \checkmark ḳṣy > BHb \checkmark ḳṣy|w D (pf. ḳṣ) 'cut off piece by piece by piece, break/chop off', Pun \checkmark ḳṣy D v. 'cut, extirpate', JA {Js.} \checkmark ḳṣy (pf. ḳṣ) ~ \checkmark ḳṣw (pf. ḳṣ) 'cut, break into pieces', JEA \checkmark ḳṣy G 'cut off, set aside', Sr \checkmark ḳṣw (pf. ḳṣ), ChrPA ḳṣ (= \checkmark ḳṣw) v. 'break off (bread)', Ar \checkmark ḳṣw (pf. ḳṣ) 'couper le bout d'une oreille (d'une chamelle/brebis)', [3] S \checkmark ḳsm v. 'cut' > MHb {Js.} \checkmark ḳsm Sh 'cut', SmA \checkmark ḳsm v. G 'divide', Ar \checkmark ḳsm v. G {BK} 'casser/rompre de manière que les deux parties se séparent', {Hv.} 'divide, distribute, separate', Ak \checkmark ksm (inf. kasām) v. 'cut (trees, wood), cut weeds, cut/chop herbs' (with reg. deglottalization responsible for the absence of ḳs -roots in Ak), MHb {Lv.} ḳsm 'chip, splinter', JEA {Sl.} ḳsm 'chip' (\rightarrow NHb ḳsm ke(y)'sam id.); S \checkmark ḳsm v. 'practice divination' (> Hb, SmA, Sr, Md, Sb, Gz \checkmark ḳsm id.) hardly belongs here, it is semantically nearer to WS ḳsm 'share' (\rightarrow 'lot') (see N ḳawc 'a share' [\rightarrow 'lot', 'fate']) ¶ CAD VIII 240-1, BK II 737-9, 755-6, Hv. 605, 607, Klein 577, 585, HJ 1022, KB 1041-2, 1046, 1050-1, KBR 1116, 1125-6, BDB ##7096, 7112, OLS 376, Js. 1397, 1405, 1407, Sl. 1014, 1033-4, Tal 789, Sd. 457, Lv. IV 346-7, 362 || ?σ B \checkmark ḳs (< \checkmark ḳs), \checkmark ḳqs (\times N ḳuḳ 'cut/chop into small pieces') > Tz - ḳas - (~ - ḳaz -) 'zwicken, stechen', Izd {Mrc.} ḳqs 'piquer (insecte)', Kb ḳḳusu 'être fendu' ¶ Stm. 181, Dl. 629, Mrc. 193 || U: FU (att. in Prm) ḳḳ - v. 'cut' > pPrm {LG} ḳḳ - v. 'cut' (\rightarrow 'cause pain') ({LG} 'рубить, резать, колоть') > Vt ḳḳ - ḳḳ - vt. 'skin and chop to pieces (a carcass)', {Mu.} ḳḳ - (= ḳḳ -) v. 'cut/chop to pieces (meat, wood), Z ḳḳ 'colic', Z Sk ḳḳ 'has a stitch in his side' (LG consider the correlation Z 0 \div Vt a to be a typical reflex of ḳ when followed by a palatal cns.) ¶ LG 137 || ?φ A: Tg ḳḳ - v. 'unrip, rip up' > Nn ḳḳ -li- ~ ḳḳ -či- id., ḳḳ -k3 unripped', Ul ḳḳ -li- ~ ḳḳ -č3-, Ork ḳḳ -č3-, Orc ḳḳ -ti-, Ud ḳḳ -si-, Ewk, Neg ḳḳ - , Lm ḳḳ - / ḳḳ - v. 'unrip, rip up' ¶ STM II 439, Krm. 313 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1021 (A ḳḳ 'rip, tear apart': incl. Tg) ¶¶ The voicing of the intervoc. N affricate in Tg still defies explanation || D (in CD) ḳḳ -

({ǂGS} *k-) to shave' (with puzzling quality of the vw.) (× N ***ḲayCä** 'hair'??) > Prj **kēč-**, Gdb **kēs-** v. 'shave', Gdb **kesal** 'razor' ¶ D #1995 ◇ IS I 320-1 [#196] (HS, K, IE + *÷ U ***kǎćŋ / kećŋ** 'knife, point', ?A ***k'āsā**, ?D ***kacc-** v. 'bite'). A {DQA} ***k'āsī** 'cut; piece' (> T ***k'āsā-**) hardly belongs here because of the irreg. *s (for the expected affricate). D ***kacc-** v. 'bite' is not a reliable cognate (≠σ). The forms ascribed by IS to the U √ ***kǎćŋ / kećŋ** belong in fact to FU ***kečŋ** 'knife' (UEW 142) and to FU ***kaća** 'Ende, Spitze' (UEW 110) (actually from N ***Ḳeč'a** 'tip, end').

990a. ***Ḳečŋ** 'clay, earth' > HS: WS ***ḳačç-** > Ar **qaṣṣ-** 'gypsum', {BK} 'plâtre', Sq {L} **qas(ṣ)** [= **ḳaṣ(ṣ)**] 'plâtre, argile' ¶ BK II 745, Hv. 607, L S 382-3 || ??φ,σ WCh: Hs **ḳásā**, Gw {Mts.} **kaša** ≙ **kasa** 'earth, soil, land' ¶ Ba. 575-6 || K ***ḳec-** 'clay, clay vessel' (× N ***ḳoṛačŋ** 'basket, wickerwork', [in descendant lgs.] → 'earthen vessel') > OG **ḳec-** 'clay, earthen vessel, tile', G **ḳeci**, Mg **ḳici** ≙ **ḳeci** 'frying pan of clay', Lz **ḳic-** 'pan of stone', Sv UB/LB/ Ln/L **ḳec** 'large earthen wine pitcher (dug in the earth)', 'grand pot (creusé dans la terre)', **ḳḳḳḳḳḳ** ¶¶ K 108 (GZ ***ḳec-** 'clay'), K² 90, FS K 175, FS E 191, Abul. 197, Chx. 573, 575, Q 259, TK 347 || D: SD ***kečar-** 'mud' > Kn **kesar** 'wet soil, mud', Tu **kesar** 'mud, mire' ¶ ≈ D #2020 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [#12] (incl. K, S, Hs, D), ≈ Sk. HCD 168 (Hs, Gw + unc. parallels in branches of HS).

991. ₂ ***ḳičŋ** (or ***Ḳičŋ**?) 'thigh muscle' > IE: NaIE ***kejs-** 'thigh, forearm (Vorderarm), thigh muscle' (infl. of N ***gi'čŋ** 'hip, thigh' [q.v.]) > Dt **hijṣ**, **hijze** {vD} 'piece of smoked meat (stuk rookvlees)', {P} 'Muskel, Lendenstück, Keule', Dt Lm **hies** 'popliteal space' || Lt **kiš-ka** 'thigh, haunch', {Frn.} 'Kniekehle, Unterschenkel, Hesse, Hachse (von Tieren)', Ltv **ciš-ka** 'thigh, haunch' || ?? OI **kiṣku-** 'forearm' (Frn.: k- for the expected c- due to the infl. of **kaḳṣā** 'Achselgrube'; it may alternatively be explained as a Dravidism from ppD ***kičṭ-**) ¶ WPI 365, P 543, Frn. 260, ≠ M KI 213, MEI 355 (**kiṣku-** 'Stiel einer Axt' → later 'forearm'), Kar. I 182 (Ltv **ciška** and Lt **kiškà** < ***kikšā** through mt.) || HS: S ***kišŋ** 'thigh muscle' > Ak **kišlum**, **kašlu** 'thigh, thigh muscle (Lende, Lendenmuskel)', BHb **ḳeṣel**, JA [Trg.] **kiš**-l-ā 'loins, side', Ug **ḳṣl** {A} id. (coll.), {OLS} 'lomo, espalda', SmA (?) **ḳṣl** 'loins', Ar **kišl-** {Fr.} 'nervus dimissus de arcu', {WKAS} 'die Sehne des zum Krempeln der Wolle gebrauchten Bogens' ¶ KB 466, KBR 489, BDB #3689, Js. 654, Tal 401, Sd. 486, A

#1357, OLS 226, WKAS K 194, MiK I #1.153 ◇ Here S *k- results from deglottalization of N *k̥- (rather than of *g̥-), which suggest a pN *k̥-, but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could occur later than the merger of N *k̥- and *g̥-.

992. *k̥oć∇ (or ***g̥oc∇**) 'shorten by cutting' > K: either [1] {FS} *k̥wec- 'cut (off), cut hair' > OG {Abul.} k̥wec- v. 'cut\shear (hair)' [Acta 18.18, I Cor. 11.6], mo-k̥wec-, da-k̥wec- v. 'cut off (hair)', m-k̥wec-ari 'barber', G {Chx.} k̥wec- 'beschneiden, kürzen, stutzen (z. B. Haare)', Sv {FS} k̥wec-/k̥oc- v. 'cut off', Sv {Ni.} k̥wc- v. 'cut', Sv UB {GP} li-kwec, li-kwce v. 'cut short', verbal nouns of result: mekwce 'cut off', näkwic 'cut; fragment', Sv L {Dn.} k̥ic-/k̥c- 'cut\chop off (a small part)' ||| or [2] K *°g̥w∇č- > Sv L {Dn.} ot-g̥wīča 'he cut off (e.g. a hand)' ¶¶ FS K 183, Abul. 112, 205, 257, 267, Chx. 580, GP 173-4, 218 (with k for k̥ as in the case of k̥č- for k̥č-, / s.v. N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut'), Dn. s.v. k̥ic and g̥wič || **HS** *k̥∇c- v. 'cut, cut off' > S *✓k̥čč v. 'cut off' and ċ*k̥ss id. (× N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) || Eg RT ċk̥s 'abschneiden' ¶ EG I 138 || ? C: Bj {R ← Stz.} 'k̥ʷaša 'Beschneidung' ¶ R WBd 150 || **IE**: NaIE *°k̥l̥w̥es-/°k̥l̥w̥os- v. 'cut' > pSl *°čes-/°kosa: *°čes- is preserved only in Slv čes (gen. česa) 'splinter, chip' ('щепка, лучина'); *ko'sa 'scythe, cutting weapon' is general Slavic: ChS коса 'falx', Blg, R, Uk ко'са, Blr ка'са, SCr kòsa, Slv kósa, Cz, Slk, P коса 'scythe', OR, RChS коса 'scythe, pole-axe, battle-axe', OCz kůsa, kosa 'halberd' ¶ ESSJ IV 91 and XI 133, Glh. 335-6, ≠ P 586 (connects Sl *kosa with IE *k̥es- v. 'cut' [see N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut'] in spite of the fact that Sl *k- does not go back to *k̥-) || **D** *kučč- 'splinter', 'stump' (× N *k̥Uč∇ 'to cut\chop into small pieces', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The rec. of either N *k̥oć∇ or N *g̥oc∇ depends on our choice of the K cognate.

993. *k̥oʔać∇ 'basket, wickerwork' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'earthen vessel') > IE {E} *k̥was- 'basket' -d→ NaIE *k̥was-yo-, *k̥was-lo- 'wicker basket' ('geflochtener Korb'), 'Flechtwerk', *k̥we(:)syā 'vessel': [1] *k̥was-yo-, *k̥was-lo- 'wicker basket' > L quālu-m ~ -s id. (< *k̥waslo-m/-s, as can be seen from the dim. quāsilu-m/-s - with -s- from an emphatic *-ss-) ||| pSl *kòšb (*k̥wasjos) / gen. *ko'sa 'basket' > OCS, OR кошъ кошь, Blg, R Δ кош, SCr kòš, Slv kòš, Cz, LLus koš, Slk kôš, Hlus kòš, P kosz, Uk кіш 'basket', pSl *košelb, *košela, *košelb 'wickerwork, a wattle, Geflecht' > Lls kóšela 'wattle-fence', OP, P koszela, OR кошель кошель 'wicker basket', R ко'шель id., 'small

sack' | [2] *k^we(:)sjā 'vessel' > pSl *čǎša 'cup' > OCS, OR **Чаша** čaša, R **чаша** 'cup, bowl', Blg **чаша** 'a glass', SCr **čāša** 'bowl', Slv **čáša** 'cup, a glass', P **czasza**, OCz **čieše**, Cz **číše** 'bowl' | Pru [El.] **kiosí** 'Becher' || OI **caṣakaḥ** 'drinking-cup'; Irn **č** → Arm **ճաշակ** čašak 'cup, mug, glass' ¶ WP I 507, P 635, EI 52, WH II 397, M K I 380, ESSJ IV 30-1 and XI 187-9, 195-7, Glh. 173, 337, SPS II 117-8, En. 193, Tr. P I-K 371-3, M K I 380 || HS: S *kaʔas- 'vessel' > BHb **כוס** kōs, SmHb {BH} **kuwʷās** 'shell-shaped goblet, cup', Ug, Ph, IA, Htr **ks**, Ph **ḵs** (ḵ < *k...?), SmA **כס** ks ~ **כאס** kʔs 'cup', JA **כוס** kās-ā ~ **כאס** kas's-ā {Js.} 'cup, calyx', JEA {Sl.} **כוס** kās-ā 'cup, bowl', Sr **كاس** kās / **كاس** kās-ā, Md **kasa** 'drinking-bowl, cup', Ar **كأس** kaʔs- '(wine-)cup' ({BK} 'coup à boire [surtout remplie de vin]'), Ak **kāsū** 'drinking-bowl'; SCn *kōs- **č** → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} **ku-ci** 'cup', {EG} **kc** 'Krug aus Metall', Eg L **k3** 'vessel of silver' ¶ KB 444 (WS **č** → Ak), KBR 466, OLS 225, BH II 491 and IV 136, HJ 521, 1018, A #1348, PS 1776, BK II 849-50, WKAS I 13-4, Js. 652, Sl. 590, Tal 399-400, DM 199, Sd. 454, CAD VIII 253-6, Hlk. #265, SivCR 9, 20, 47, 86, EG V 148, Hlk. 523 [#265], Tk. AANM 1 ¶ The distribution of the vowels and the glottal stop in the lgs. provides ev. for a pS *CʔaʔaC-structure; the hyp. of Sum origin of the S word is unfounded (CAD VIII 256) || B *k^uʷss- 'pot, drinking vessel' > Ah, Gh **akus** (pl. **ikassan**) 'pot, vase pour boire', Gd **twkəs** (pl. **takassan**) id. ¶ Fc. 911, Lf. II #0317 || C: Ag: Xm {R} **kūskūšā** (pl. **kūskūš**) 'Wasserkrug'; Ag **č** → EthS: Gz **k^wask^was** 'pitcher, pot', Tgy **k^wask^wasti** 'phial of glass or metal' (**č** → Af {R} **kūš'kūsti** 'Gefäß, Krug, Schale'), Amh **k^w3sk^w3st** 'water jug' ¶ LG 296, R Ch II 63, R A II 78 ¶¶ Ap. ANH 22 and Tk. AANM 1 (both: Eg **kc** **č** → S) || K: [1] G **ḵvaçia** 'small earthen pot' ¶ Chx. 575 || [2] K *ḵec- 'clay, earthen vessel' (× N *ḵeć∇ 'clay, earth', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *koća 'basket (made of birch bark), vessel' > FΔ **kosio**, **kalakosio** 'großer Fischkorb aus Birkenrinde' (**kala** 'fish'), Krl A **kojza**, **kozja** 'kleiner Rindenkorb mit Henkel aus Birkenrinde' | Lp: N {Fri.} **guöšše** 'Rindenkorb', T {Gn.} **kišše**, K {Gn.} **kūjšš**, Nt {Gn.} **kuo;šš** 'Tragekorb aus Birkenrinde', Klt {TI} **koček** 'schmaler Korb aus Birkenrinde' | Mk **кучю**, Δ **κούου** 'spoon' || ObU *kōć- > Vg Ss {Kn.} **sān-xos** 'kleiner Rindenkorb', {BV} **санхос** 'чуманчик' (ε 'birch-bark vessel'), Vg LK {Vxr.} **sānχōs**, **sānχōsp** id. (**сан**, **sān** 'Birkenrindenschachtel', 'чуман' [ε 'birch-bark vessel']); Os: V {Trj.} **qoća** [k], A/UA/Ty/Y/UY {Trj.} **qoći**, Vy {Trj.} **qoćaq** 'a birch-bark

scoop used to drink water from and to scoop out water from a boat' ({KrT}: Ty qǒti, V qoťa]q+ 'Trinkgefäß aus Birkenrinde', Vy qǒčaq 'Rindenschachtel von der Form einer Schöpfkelle, die in die Wiege gestellt wird') ¶ UEW 192 (FU *kuć∇ 'Korb, Schachtel aus Birkenrinde'), 164 (FU *koća id., FU *koća or *kuća 'Trinkgefäß'), Gn. 194, TI 151, PI 137, BV 99, KrT 345, Trj. S 176, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU *kuc/š i 'birch bark vessel', FP *kuš i, Ugr *kǔčĩ [what does Sm. mean by Chr kuužaa, Vt kož, Z kuža, where are they registered?], *kücärη id. > FP *kǔčä-, Ugr *kǔčä-) || A {DQA} *k'āč'a 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > Tg *xaçu-xan 'cauldron' > Orc xačuan, Ul xačoa(n-) 'cauldron', Ork xaçuyā(n-) 'suspended cauldron', Nn Nh xačoχã id., Nn KU xačoχoã ~ xačã id., 'birch-bark box', WrMc xaçuyān mucen 'three-legged cauldron', ? xañcuxā ~ xañcuxān 'cauldron (for coal)' ¶ STM I 464-5, Vv. AEN 10 (believes that in the AmTg lgs. the word id a loan from Mc) || NaT *Kāça 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > ET Δ {MI.} qača 'clay bowl', {Jr.} qača ~ qačä ~ qačĩ 'bowl, vessel', Tkm qar qāžaq 'kitchen earthenware', Az qar qāžaq 'tableware, dishes, kitchen utensils', Tk kapkacak id., {Bu.} qar qačaq 'pots and pans' ¶ ET KQ 342-3, Rs. W 217, MI. UN 122, Jr. ET 235, Bu. II 1 || ???φ M: WrM küce ~ güce, HIM ryc 'small kettle used for tea, oil, etc.', WrM {Kow.} küce 'théière', Brt rycə 'small tea-kettle'; this M word makes the impression of being a loan from some unknown source and therefore is highly qu. as a cognate ¶ MED 388, 495, Kow. 2613, Chr. 166 ¶¶ S CNM 2 (A *k'āč'a) ¶¶ DQA #984 (A *k'āč'∇: T, Tg) || D (in SD) *ku|oč-a- (+ sx.) ({ǁGS} *k-, ? *-s-) 'potter' > Tm kuyam (/ kucam- as the first member of cds.) 'potter caste', kuyavan ~ kucavan 'potter', Ml kuyavan ~ kuśavan id., Tm f. kuyatti ~ kucatti, Ml f. kuyatti 'potter (woman)', Tm kō, Kn kōva, kuvāra, Tu kisave 'potter' ¶ D 1762 ◇ ≈ IS I 365 [#241] (*KucΛ = {IS} *Kuc∇): HS (incl. S *✓kwsr 'basket'), IE, U, ≈ AD NM #23, S CNM 2 (suggested to adduce the T cognate). The change of vowel quality in A (*ā for the expected *ō) is unexpected, the word may be a loan ◇ Gr. II #75 (*koca 'container') (IE, U, J).

994. ₂ *ka₁h₂c|č∇ 'young man' (→ '[grown-up] man') > K *kač-'man, person' > OG, G kač-i id., Mg, Lz qoč- id., Sv: UB/Ln čāš, L čaš 'husband' ¶¶ K 106, K² 87, FS K 170-1, Schm. 118, Chik. 43, TK 860-1 || U: FU *ka₁čā 'young man' > Chr L kače kače 'bridegroom, young man', {Ps.} kače, Chr Y {Tv.} káčь 'bridegroom' (Chr б→ Chv каччя

kaččъ 'unmarried young man'; the direction of the borrowing is suggested by the fact that the Chv word is isolated in T and A, while the Chr word has obvious cognates within U) || Vg: N {Mu.} xūś, ML {Mu.} khus ~ khus, P {Mu.} khus 'servant; knave (of cards)', LL {Kn.} kxūs, Ss {Kn.} xūz 'id., 'worker, serf', P/SV {Kn.} kuś, NV {Kn.} kūs 'knave (of cards)' | OHg hūs ~ hēs 'young man, hero', Hg hōs, Δ hēs 'hero' || Sm {Jn.} *kāḥsa (= {Jn.} *kāāsa), {Hl.} *kaḥsa 'man, person' > Ng d. {Mik.} kōdumu, {Cs.} kuajumu, En {Ter., Cs.} kāsa, Ne T xacava, Ne O {Lh.} xāsaβ'ā id., xās'e 'young man', Ne F Ny {Lh.} kas'sa 'man, young man', Kms {KD} k'uzā, Koyb {Sp.} kyza 'man, person', Mt {Hl.} *kaḥsa 'person' (Mt: M {Pl.} kasa, kaza, {Sp.} kazy, K/T {Mil.} chāssa, A {Adl.} chasa) ¶ Ps OT 57 (Chr → Chv), UEW 110 (Chr Y káčъ 'bridegroom' ← Chv), Coll. 15, MRS 184, WVD VII 133, MK 130, MTE II 159, EWU 584, Jn. 61, Hl. M #438, Fed. I 242 ◇ IS I 315-6 [#191] (*kac'ā 'man, young man': K, U) ◇ Sm *āḥ (= {Jn.} *āā = {Hl.} *aḥ) points to a additional element (most probably Ir.) within a √. This Ir. (denoted as *H₂) may be *ʔ, *h, *ɸ, or *ħ (because these are the only laryngeals that yield zero in K) ◇ AD NM #23, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs).

995. ₂ *Kaωc'∇ 'share (Anteil)' (→ 'lot', 'fate') > IE: NaIE *kaus- ({WP} *qaus-) v. 'draw lots' > Gk {LS} καυός 'lot' (*kaus-no-s) (not καῦνος, as was believed earlier, F P 537, but καυός, on the ev. of Herodianus Grammaticus) || Sl *kъšъ > RChS, OR къшь къšъ 'lot (Los), fate', ChS, OR къшннн са къšiti sę 'sortiri, to cast lots', прѣкъшннн прѣкъšiti 'to win at dice' ¶ WP I 332, P 537, Ch. 506, LS 932, HrdG I 178, Bern. I 672, ESSJ XIII 247, Srz. I 1416 || HS: WS *k'is₁∇₁m- 'share' (→ 'lot') > Ar qism- 'portion, share', qismat- 'repartition, allotment; lot/fate (decided by God)', Hb קְסָמָה 'qesem {KBR} 'prediction, survey of future events; decision (by means of an oracle)', SmA qsm 'division', JA קְסָמָה qis'm-ā {Lv.} 'Zauberei, Ausspruch', {Js.} 'divination, divining tool', JA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} קְסָמָה qsm G 'divine', JEA {Sl.} קְסָמָה qassā'mā 'diviner', Sr qesmā 'lot, sortilege, soothsaying', Plm qsm? 'soothsaying'; hence some d. verbs in descendant lgs.: Ar √ qsm G v. 'divide, distribute', SmA √ qsm v. 'divide', BHb √ qsm G (ip. -qsm) v. 'consult an oracle or the spirit of a dead person, soothsay', JA √ qsm, Sr √ qsm v. 'soothsay', Md √ ksm v. 'tell fortunes, soothsay, bewitch', Gz ḥastakāsama, ḥastakāsama 'divine by omens, foretell by means of magic'; → SmA qsm prt. G 'sorcerer',

Sb mḵsm 'oracular decision' ¶ GB 432, KB 1042, KBR 1115-6, BDB #7081, OLS 226, Js.1397, Sl. 1030, Tal 788-9, BK II 737-8, Hv. 605, DM 222, BGMR 108, L G 446 || SC: Irq {E} qasīs- 'divide', {MQK} qasīs-id., 'distribute' || DhI {EEN} qāṭāḍ- 'divide' ¶ E SC 250, MQK 85, EEN 19.

996. *ḲayCä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *kaṷs-(√r-) '(long) hair' > OI kēsarā- 'hair, mane' || Lcaesariēs 'hair of head' || Tc A sísrī (< *śisrī-) 'mane' || ? BSI (× N *ḳa'č'U 'scratch', q.v.): Lt kasà, Ltv kasa 'tress, braid' | Sl *ko'sa (accus. kòsq) 'hair of the head; tress, braid' > ChS KOCĀ kosa, Blg KOCa. SCr kòsa, OCz, P kosa 'hair of the head', OR, RChS KOCĀ kosa, R, Uk KOCa 'tress, braid' ¶ WP I 329-30, P 520, WH I 133, M K I 268, M E I 401, Frn. 226, Vs. II 345, ESSJ XI 131-3, Glh. 335, ≈ EI 251 (*k(e)h_ṛis√r- 'mane'); ≠ Čop IU IV 152 [#49] (equates IE *kaṷs- [his *kaṷ-s-] with U *kay√ 'hair') || HS: Ch: WCh: Grn G/Mb {Sh.} k^yàsàr 'hair', Jm {Gw.} kyeko id., as well as (?) Bg {J} kēbsi, Bg/Kir {Sh.} k^yâpsì id. | ?? Hs gǎšì (pl. gǎsúsúwà, gǎsú, gǎsúsúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gǎša 'hair, beard, feather' (if g- instead of ḳ- may be explained by the infl. of nearly-synonymous words like gēzà 'mane' or gìzò 'long matted hair on a man's head', F s.v. N *gæz√ '∈ hair, wool'; alternatively, it may be a loan from Ful gāsa 'hair') || ECh: ?? Kbl {Lk.} kesebo 'hair' ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. 27 [#66] (Ch *gasi 'hair'), Sh. SB 47, Ba. 370, Mts. G 42, Sk. HCD 80, Zb. 190, Lk. ZSS 92, Blz. EChWL #37 || A: NaT *k'ä'čä (or *k'e'čä) 'felt' > OT {Cl.} kăčā, Osm XVI kečä, Chg {PC, Bu.} كيجه kečä, Tk keče, Ggz kečä, Az kečə kečä, Tkm keče, Xlj {DT} kăčä, ET Δ {ML.} gǎžì ḍ gežì, Chv (← a NaT lge.?) kbśše id.; the rec. of T *ä in the first syll. is based on the OT spelling only and therefore is qu., because the old etl. distinction of *ä and *e has not been preserved either in Az or in other modern lgs. with this √ (F ADb. SR-D 51-6) ¶ Cl. 694, ET KQ 59-60, Hüs. 16, DT 146, POC 483, Bu. II 116, 174, Jeg. 110 || ?σ,φ D (in CD) *kēč- (={ḡGS} *k-) 'to shave' (× N *ḳec√ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.).

996a. 2 *Ḳäč'√ '(be) cold; freeze' > HS: S: Ak fOB kaṣû 'become cold, cool off', Ak StB/NB kaṣû 'cool' (of the evening) (deglossalization *ḳ > k- due to the Ak law of incompatibility of two glottalized cnss. in the same root) ¶ CAD VIII 269-70 || C: EC {Ss.} *ḳīz- 'cold' > Sd, Ged, Hd ḳīda, Alb, Qbn ḳī'za (deglossalization *-ç- > *-z-?) || Ag: Bln {R} ḳažḳaž-, Xm {R} ḳazḳaz-, Q {R} ḳeḳez- 'abgekühlt sein\werden, kalt sein'; Ag ⇨ EthS: Tgr ḳəzḳəzə 'be cold', Amh {L}

ҡ ʁzzʁ ҡ ʁzzʁ vi. 'cool', 'be cold' (of water) ¶ L Z 120, Ss. PEC 4, R WB 245, LH 257, L CAD 79 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} kǒčǒ ~ kǒčǒ 'be cold' | Shk {AY} ҡeç, Mj {Fl.} ҡeč-us, {AY} ҡeʔuz, ? Na {AY} ҡeʔu 'cold' (of air) || SOM: Hm B {Fl.} ҡззǐ ~ ҡззǐ, Hm K {Fl.} ҡаžа- ~ ҡаžа-mu, Bk {Fl.}, Ari G {Fl.} ҡаžǐ, Ari U {Fl.} ҡаžǐ ~ ʔаžǐ, Dm {Fl.} ҡǐžǐn 'cold' ¶ Wdk. BY 129, 148, AY WShND, Fl. OWL s.v. 'cold', Blz. OL s.v. 'cold' || U: FP *kǎc∇ 'become cold', 'freeze' (of a person)' > Chr H kiže- (inf. kižǎš) 'feel cold' | Prm *kež- > Z кǒдзыд kззǐd, Vt кезыт kež+t, Δ kež+t 'cold', Z kззǎv-nǐ 'become cold' ¶ UEW 648, Ep. 43, Ber. 17, LG 139 ◇ Not here (⇔ Sauv. 106) Mc ցեցեω 'frost' and Nn *gečǐ (actually gзкčǐ-) 'freeze' (< Tg *gekǐti-, see STM I 178) ◇ Blz. LB #26b (HS, U), Blz. LNA #26.

997. *Ҡеç'а' 'tip, end (extremity)' > HS: CS *қиçç- 'tip, end' (× N *қес∇ 'to cut') > BHb ʔǐ. ҡeç / +ppas. қиçç- (қиçç-ǐ 'his end') 'end, border', Ug ҡɚ 'end, tip', JA ʔǐ. ҡeç / ʔǐ. ҡиçç-ǐ 'end, term', Sr ڪڙي ڪڙي-ǐ, SmA ڪڙ 'end'; CS *қиçç-at- > , Ph ҡɚt cs., Pun ʔǐ. ҡɚt, Plm ҡɚtʔ 'end, border', Sr ڪڙي ڪڙي(ǐ)-t-ǐ (cs. ڪڙي ڪڙي(ǐ)-at) 'extremity, outskirts' ¶ KB 1044-5, KBR 1118, HJ 1021, A #2434, OLS 375, Tal 793, PS 1404, JPS 515-6 || U **kečǎ 'tip, point, end' > (vw. harmony) FU *kačǎ ~ *kečǎ > [1] (from *kačǎ): F kasa 'sth. protruding, end (Ecke), corner (Winkel)', Es {W} kirve kadsa 'lower tip on the blade of an axe' || [2] (from *kečǎ): pLp *kēčē 'tip, point (Spitze)' > Lp: S {Hs.} giedije, L {LLO} kiehtjē, N {N} gæčče, Kld kīēžž || Hg hēgy 'tip, summit, mountain' (× U *kaž∇ 'mountain' < N *қалғ∇ 'rock, hill, stone') || pY {IN} *kič- 'end, tip' > ǐY:K {IN} kiś-il, T {IN} kič-il id., T {Ku.} kičǐl 'end, edge', K {Jc.} kičǐl 'Ende', kič- 'Ende', K {IN} kiśi-tǎ-, T {IN} kičǐo-tǎ- v. 'finish' (-l is a sx. of deverbal nouns, -tǎ- is a sx. of vt.) ¶¶ Coll. 86, UEW 110, Db. OS x, xxxi, Lr. #379, Lgc. #2237, Hs. 591, Ang. 115, Ku. 93, IN 227, ≈ Rd. UJ 45-6 [#63] (Y ← U) || A: M *kičǐr 'ends of a bow' > WrM kičǐr, HIM хичир id., Ord nūmū g_eč'ir id. (nūmū 'bow') ¶ MED 464, Ms. O 264 ¶ M *i of the first syll. (for the expected *e) may be explained by regr. as. (*e...i > *i...i) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #125 (*kaci 'edge') (U, Ai, ? Ko + err. A *košē 'end' + unc. J).

998. *қUç∇ 'cut\chop into small pieces' > K {FS} *қuç- id. > G {Chx.} қuç- 'shred (into small pieces)', '(in kleine Stücken) zerhauen, zerhacken, zerstückeln', Mg қuçu 'small, low', {Q} қuçu-қuçu 'small, low-

statured', {FS} $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'small, low'; Sv {TK}: UB/L $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\bar{o}$, UB $\kappa we\check{\upsilon}\bar{o}$, UB/Ln $\kappa(w)e\check{\upsilon}o$ ~ $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}o$ 'little, small, a little' (< N * $\kappa U\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ × N * $\kappa U\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ 'small' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ FS K 195, K² 105 (GZ * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ -), FS E 214, Chx. 647, Q 263, TK 349-50, GP SED 131, Ni. s.v. маленький || HS * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - v. 'cut\chop to pieces' > S *- $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - v. 'cut off', (× N * $\kappa ec\nabla$ 'cut' × N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ [or * $goc\nabla$] 'shorten by cutting'): S * $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut off, cut to pieces' > BHb $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ G v. 'break off, cut off piece by piece; chop off', MHb $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ (ip. - $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}$, 2m $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$) v. 'cut (off) (e.g. one's nails, plants)', Ug $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut (trinchar)', JA [Trg.] $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut down (a tree)', JEA {Sl.} $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut down/off', Sr $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ (pf. $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$, ip. - $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, - $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$) v. 'cut short, clip (wings/beard)', SmA $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ 'cut', Mh, Jb $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'chop', Mh $a\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$, Jb C $e\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'shave\cut off (one's moustache)', Sq {Jo.} $\kappa e\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut', Ak $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ D v. 'cut short, clip (wings, nails)' (dis. $\kappa...e$ > $\kappa...e$) ¶ KB 1050-1, KBR 1120, BDB 893 [#7112], A #234, OLS 376, Js. 1339, Lv. T II 352, Lv. IV 272, 361-2, Sl. 1034, PS 3699, JPS CSD 512-3, Tal 793, Jo. M 328, Jo. J 151, Sd. 457 || B: Kb $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ (pf. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$) 'être fendu (ustensile)' (× N * $\kappa ec\nabla$ 'cut') ¶ Dl. 629 || ? C: Bj {R ← Stz.} 'k^waš a 'Beschneidung' (× N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ (or * $goc\nabla$) '↑') ¶ R WBd 150 || ? Gil: Gil A [$qo\check{\upsilon}$] in $qo\check{\upsilon} moqs$ '(chopped up) block of wood' ('чурка') (moqs is 'piece') ¶ ST RN 457 || D * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - ({{GS}} *k-) 'splinter', stump' (× N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ or * $goc\nabla$ '↑' [q.v.] and N * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}\hat{\nabla}$ 'tree' [→ 'Holz'], 'trunk of a tree') > Tm $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'splinter, bit of stick, stalk', $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'splinter, peg, stick', Ml $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'chip, piece of straw', ?Kn $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump', Tu $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump of a shrub', Prj $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, Gdb $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, Knd $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, ? Png, Mnd $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump of a tree' ¶ D #1640.

999. * $\kappa'o'\check{\upsilon}$ (or * $\kappa'o'\check{\upsilon}$?) 'bone' > IE: NaIE * $\kappa|k^wost-$ 'bone, rib' > L $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}ta$ 'rib' || Sl * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$ 'bone' > OCS $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$ $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, R $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, P $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, Cz $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$, Blg $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$, SCr, Slv $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$ 'bone' ¶ P 617, WH I 281, Glh. 336-7, Vs. II 349, ≈ ESSJ XI 167-173 (unjustified rejection of the obvius L-Sl connection) || K: G $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ -i 'ankle of the foot' ¶ Chx. 618 || HS: Eg fP κs 'bone', Cpt Sd/B $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$ $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$ id. ¶ EG V 68-9, Fk. 281, Vc. 87-8 || B * $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ 'bone' > ETwl, Ty $e\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Ah {Fc.} $e\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Gh $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Gd $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Izn, Rf $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$, Izd $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Sll $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Wrg $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$, Si {La.} $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Kb {Dl.} $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ (pl. $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ san), Zng {TC} $i\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ ¶ Fc. 1780, Lf. II #1255, Dl. 629, Dlh. Ou 246-7, GhA 73, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || EC: Dsn {To.} $\check{\kappa}\check{\upsilon}$ 'leg' ¶ AD SF 298-9 (* $\kappa\nabla\check{\upsilon}$ - 'bone'), To. DL 502 || NrOm: [1] Na {Fl.} $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'bone',

[2] ?σ {Blz.} *k̥us 'foot, leg': Na {Fl.} k̥us, HzMa k̥asi id. || SOm: Dm. {Bnd.} k̥ʊs, {Fl.} k̥us 'bone' ¶ Blz. OLBP #20, Fl. OO 317 || Ch {Stl.} *k̥as^{r1} 'bone' > WCh: Hs k̥aš^{r1} id. | Su {J} j̥es id. | NrBc {Tk.} *k̥as- 'bone' > Wrj k̥āsunà, Kry k̥āsù, My k̥úsí, P' {MSk.} k̥ás-kì, Cg k̥é-k̥ésè-n, Mbr k̥á-k̥ásè, Jmb k̥è-k̥ási id. ({Stl.}: all either from *ha-k̥asi with regr. as. or with rdp.) | DfB {J} k̥^uas, Bks k̥^uas, Klr g̥^uaš^aw 'bone' || CCh: Tr g̥^uš id. | HgNk {Kr.} g̥^uš id. | Mlw {Trn.} k̥èš-ké, Msg P {Mch.} k̥éš-ké, {Trn.} keške, Msk {Trn.} k̥íš^{r1} id. || ECh: Dng {Lk.} k̥āso, k̥ási, EDng {Fd.} k̥āsò, Ke {Eb.} k̥áskè, Kwn {ChC} k̥ísigí, Nd {J} g̥ūsé, Smr {J} g̥ūs^h, Bdy {J} k̥ás-ko 'bone' ¶ JI II 36-7, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 103, J R 217, Sk. NB 47, Tk. NB 182, Trn. LDM 26, Trn. LM 98, Lk. ZSS 17, Blz. EChWL. s.v. 'bone' || S: [1] ?φ S *^o✓k̥ss or *^o✓k̥šš > Ar ✓qss 'ronger les os' (unless a semantic derivative of Ar ✓qss 'chercher', 'seek after sth.') | [2] ??φ S *^okaçç- > Ar qaçç- 'poitrine, os de la poitrine' ¶ Fr. III 449, BK II 735, 745 ¶¶ If the glottalization in S *ç is ancient (rather than caused by assimilation), S *ç for the expected *θ (< N *č) is due to the rather frequent S (or HS) loss of a marked phonemic feature, which may explain the rareness of the phoneme *θ in S (cp. the same process in N *čawχ∇ 'to cry, to exclaim' > S *^o✓çwħ) ¶¶ OS #1557 (B, Eg, Ch, EC, Om), Tk. PAA 20 (WCh, Eg, B), ≠ Sk. CDH 168 || ?φ A: Tg *^o[x̥]ā∇ > Ew ājɜ 'bone of elk's hind leg' ¶ STM I 17 ¶ The length of the vw. a is due to a special Altaic type of lengthening of the vw. in open syllables (resulting in T short vowels and Tg long vowels). The quality of the vw. still needs explaining || D (in NED) *kōč^oL 'bone' > Krx x̥ōč^o, Mlt qoč^olu id. ¶ D #1288 ◇ Not here pMr *keskə 'sacrum (Kreuzbein)' (> Er каське kaśke, Mk кеска keskə) (it goes back to FP *keske 'middle', / Ker. II 57). If the N etymon is *k̥^{r1}o¹č^o∇, the K glottalized *-č- (and S *ç) may be due to as. (infl. of *k̥-) ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 344 (reconstructs *k̥a^o∇ 'bone': HS [Eg,C,Ch,B], IE + *÷ S and FU), AD SF (HS [C,Ch,Eg,B], IE), and Blz. DA 156 [#42]. The meaning 'breastbone' in Ar and 'rib' in L may be ancient ('≈ bone of the breast').

1000. *Kařč^o∇ 'to advance with effort' > HS: S *^o✓k̥řθ | > Ar ✓qřθ | 'tirer un pied après l'autre, comme qn. qui marche dans un bournier épais et cherche à s'en retirer', 'marcher comme un homme embourbé' ¶ BK II 776 || U: FP *kōče- v. 'crawl, clime (klettern, kriechen)', 'run' (of animals) > Lp: N Δ {Fri.} guoccat v. 'run' ('løbe'), OSw {LÖ} qwotset v. 'run' (of animals), Tn {Lgc.} kuoc-, A {Lgc.} kuoc- v. 'crawl, kriechen' (of a snake), v. 'run' (of a dog), L {Wk.} kuöca- {Wk.}

kuəɔɔa-) id., 'klettern', Vfs {Lgc.} kuöc- 'klettern', Tf kuoɔc-/kuoc- 'hinaufklettern', I {Tv.} kuos·ið 'über das Wasse hinlaufen (von Schwimmvögeln)' || Vt: {W} gþžilt- 'kriechen', Δ {U3S} гыжылт- v. 'linger, loiter', Sr/G {Mu.} gþžilt- 'langsam gehen, kriechen', Uf {Wc.} gþžilt- 'schleichen, to walk slowly', M gþžilt- v. 'crawl' (of babies) ¶ Tv. IA 70, Wk. LLW 51, Lgc. #2860, U3S 417 || A: NaT *Kaç-, {Tz.} *kač- v. 'flee, run away' > OT qač- id., Tk kaç-, Tk WAn {Tz.} qāč-, Tkm, Az гаҭ- qač-, StAlt, Tb qač-, Ggz kač-, ET, Kr, Qmq, Qrg qač-, Uz qoč-, Uz Af {Tz.} qāč-, VTt каҭ- qač-, Bsh qas-, Nog, Qzq, Qq qaš-, Tv qaž-, Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ Cl. 589-O, Rs. W 217, ET KQ 340-2, Tz. UIS 95 ¶ Tv q- (rather than χ-) suggests a pT lenis *k'- (for the expected fortis *k'-), which is still puzzling. Tz. UIS 95 reconstructs here a half-long vw. (on the ev. of Anatolian and Uz dialects) ◇ Cp. IS I 309 [#181] (*Kač̄n: U, A) ◇ U (FP) *ō (< pre-U *ā) reflects N *aɪ (in U there is no *ā).

1001. *Kâ'ɾ'ç̄lt̄ 'ram, sheep' > IE: NaIE *kʰet- (?) ({WP} *qhet-) 'sheep' > OIr cīt 'sheep (mouton)' (< *ketni-?), citén 'lamb', cetnat 'ewe' ||| Arm խոճ χoɔ 'ram' ({WP} < *qhoti-), ռչխար očʰχar 'sheep' ({WP} < *qhotjuqh-), խաշն χašn 'flock of sheep; sheep' ||| ?φ ON haðna, MHG hatele, NGr Δ hätte ɘ hättel ɘ hättel 'goat' ¶ WP I 384 (the Ir-Arm comparison is dubious and rejected by Pokorny), Vn. C 108, Vr. 200 ||| A {ADb.} *k_l'uɔ- 'ram, wether', {DQA} *k_l'oɔ'∇ 'ram' > NaT *Koç 'ram' > OT Og ≥XI qoč, Tk koç, Az, Xlj qoč, Kr qoč, Qq qoš, Uz Δ qoč ɘ qōč 'ram', Tkm qoč 'uncastrated ram; ibex', Qzq, Qq qoɔ (a quieting interjection for sheep during milking), Qrg qoč ~ qoš (an interjection for sheep), Qq d. qošaqa 'lamb', Nog d. qošanay end 'lamb, kid'; T ⇨ Hg kos, G qoč-i 'ram'; NaT *koçnar '(uncastrated) ram, sire-ram' > OT {Cl.} qoçnār ɘ qoçyar ɘ qoçuṅar 'ram', Tk koçkar 'fighting ram', Tkm qoçgar 'young uncastrated ram', Slr qoščur ɘ qoškor ɘ koškor 'ram', Chg xv qoçqar 'wild ram, ram', ET qoçqa(r), Uz, MQp [CC], Qmq, Kr qoçqar, VTt Δ quščqar ɘ qučqar ɘ qucqar, Bsh Δ qusqar, Tv qoščqar 'ram', Qzq, Nog, Qq qoščqar, Qrg qoçqor 'uncastrated ram, sire-ram', StAlt qoçqor 'wild mountain ram' ('дикий каменный баран') ¶ Cl. 592 (believes that T [Og] *qoč is a loan from M, which is hardly acceptable because the word is attested in Og long before the Mongolian conquest), Rs. W 274, ET Q 87-9, TL 432-3, TkR 190-1, DT 119, Tn. SJ 390, 465, MM 452,

NogR 175, KrkR 405-6, KRPS 372, Jud. 410, BT 80 || M *quča(n) 'ram, lamb' > MM [IM, IsV, HI] quča 'ram', [MA] quča 'lamb', WrM quca(n), HIM xуц id, 'uncastrated lamb', Ord quč'îâ 'ram', Mnr H {SM} χυζῖâ 'ram', χυζῖâ χοργα 'uncastrated lamb' (χοργα 'lamb') ¶ Lg. VMI 40, Ms. H 91, Pp. MA 307, MED 979, Ms. O 318, SM 174 ¶¶ Rs. W 274, ADb. KL 8 ¶¶ DQA #863 || HS: S *°kař'θ¹- or *°kařt- > Ar قفط qařt- 'troupeau nombreux de moutons' ¶ BK II 782 ¶ S *t (for the expected *θ) is due to defricativization of *θ (Ar ڤ) at the pS (or Ar?) level - maybe due to borrowing from Aram (where S *θ yields t) ◇ If this comparison is right, IE *kʰet- may be explained as resulting from mt. of aspiration: *kʰet- < *ketʰ-, the phoneme *tʰ going back regularly to N *č̣. If the A cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be *Kâ'ř' t ▽.

1002. ₂ *Kayeč ▽ 'heat, summer heat' > HS ({OS} *kayič-): WS *kayθ- 'summer' > OCn [EA] kēču, Hb קַיִיץ 'kayič, Ug kθ, OA 𐤎𐤃𐤍𐤏 kuyš? (= kay'θ-ā) 'summer', JA {Js.} 𐤎𐤃𐤍𐤏 kē't-ā ~ 𐤎𐤃𐤍𐤏 kay't-ā 'heat, summer', JEA 𐤎𐤃𐤍𐤏 kay'tā 'summer', Sr 𐤎𐤃𐤍𐤏 kay't-ā id., Ar قَيْظ qayθ- 'summer heat, the hottest part of summer', Sb *iq kuyθ 'summer, summer crops', Mh kayθ 'summer before the rains', Jb E/C kuθ 'spring (which is hotter than the rainy season)', Hrs kayθ, Sq {Jo.} 'kəyət 'summer' ¶ KB 1026-7, HJ 1020-1, A #2439, OLS 379, Hv. 637, BK II 847, Js. 1357, Sl. 1012, BGMR 112, Jo. M 247, Jo. J 157, Jo. H 81 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} kēč 'heat', {Bnd.} kēč 'warm', Kf {C} kēčō 'heat (hot weather)', Mch {L} kēčč i(ye), {Lm.} kēččō 'heat', Shn {Lm.} kēčá 'heat, warmth', Anf {MYTY} koco 'hot', Ym {Wdk.} kīčú 'hot', Mj {Bnd.} kēcua 'warm' ¶ Wdk. BY 106, 158, 178, C SE IV 482, L M 45-6, Lm. Sh 345, Bnd. PO 150, MYTY 121, Blz. OL #198 (pOm *koyč- 'warm') || ECh: Mu {Lk.} kàj'áw 'fever' ¶ Lk. ZSS 187 ¶¶ OS #1563 (pHS *kayič-), Blz. o.c. (pHS *kayč-) || U: [1] FU *kač ▽ 'warmth, summer heat, (effects of the) sunlight; be warm' > Prm {LG} *gōž ({}LG} *gōžl) 'full blaze of the sun' > Vt gužā-n+ 'be bleached in the sun' (cloth), Z gōž / gōžy- n. 'sunburn', gōž vōž+n '(right) in the sun', Z gōž-y+-, Z US gōž-y+-, Yz gōž-yi- v. 'spend the summer'; -d> Prm *gōž-3m 'summer' > Vt gužem, Z gōž3m, Z US gōž3m, Yz 'gōžΛm id. || ObU: pOs *kač- > Os: Vy qač-, Ty/Y qāč- 'be warm\hot', pOs *kačəm 'warm', 'maintaining warmth' (of clothes, house) > Os: V/Vy qačəm, Ty/Y qāčəm, D/K χočəm, Ni/Kz χošəm, O χasəm || [2] FU *kečä 'sun, day' > pChr {Ber.} *kečə > Chr: L/B keče, H kečə, Chr Uf kečē, B keče id. || pMr {Ker.} *kač i > Er č i, Mk š i id. ¶ UEW

114, 141-2, Coll. 80, Sm. 552 (FP *keččä 'sun'), LG 77, SZ 81, Lt. J 105, Stn. D 427-8, Ber. 13, Ep. 43, Ker. II 157 ◇ IS I 348-9 [#224] (*ḲEčċa) ◇ FU *kesä 'summer' (> F kesä, etc.) hardly belongs here (⇔ IS l.c.), but probably goes back to N *k|geHs▽ 'warm, hot, hot season' (q.v. ffd.). This is suggested by FU *-s-, which is not a reg. reflex of N *-čċ-.

1003. *Ḳa'č'U 'scratch, scrape off scales' > IE *kes-/ksey- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gk [Hdt.] κέσκειον 'tow', ξέω 'I scrape', ξύω 'I scratch, scrape' || OIr cír 'comb' ({Vn.}: < *kēs-rā) || SI *čes-āti (1s prs. *čëšq) 'scratch' > OCS ѡЕСАТН česati / ѡЕШѠ češq, SCr česati, Slv čésati, Cz česati, Slk česat', P czesać, R чесать, Uk чесати 'to scratch', Blg чеша 'I scratch' || Blt: Lt kàsti 'to dig', † 'to scrape, to scratch (scharren)', iter. † kasúti id., Ltv Δ {ME} kast (iter. kasīt) 'scharren, Erde aufwerfen, harken'] BSI (× N *ḲayCä 'hair', q.v. ffd.) Lt kasà, Ltv kasa 'tress, braid', SI *kò'sa 'hair of the head; tress, braid']? mt.: Blt *skū- ~ (+ext.) *skut- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (× NaIE *skl̥w̥ēy- 'poke\rake\stir' < N ?σ *ća|oxû '≈ mix, process grains') > Ltv skūt (prs. skuju ~ skuvu ~ skūnu, p. skuvu) 'shave'; (+ext. *-t-): Ltv skust (prs. skutu) 'scratch, shave', Lt skūsti (prs. skutu) v. 'scrape, scour, shave, peel, scale' || Ht kes-, kis(ε)-, kisai- v. 'comb' ¶¶ P 585-6, EI 570 (*kes- 'comb'), Mn. 494, FI 834, II 335-6, 341-2, Vn. C 105-6, Vs. II 345 and IV 340-50, ESSJ XI 131-3, Glh. 175, 33, Kar. II 212, Frn. 226, 823-4, ME II 168-9, Frd. HW 111, 108, Ts. E I 587-8, Pv. IV 157-9 || K *°Ḳač|čwr- (as. from **Ḳačwr-) > G Ḳačr- ~ Ḳačwr- v. 'scratch, kratzen' (× N *ḲḲr̥|Ḳč' 'to scratch') ¶ Chx. 560, DCh. 599 || HS: CS *√Ḳšš ~ *√Ḳšw' ≈ rub, scrape off' > Ar √qšš G 'broyer, écraser en frottant dans la main', √qšw v. G 'wipe (the face), bark (wood), skin (a snake)', ? Hb קַשֵּׁת קַשֵּׁת קַשֵּׁת qāšēṯ, pl. qāšēṯā'šīm 'scales'; WS *√Ḳšr 'scales' > Ar qišr- 'rind, fish scales', Gz Ḳāššār 'fish scales, shell', √Ḳšr D v. 'peel, scrape, take off scales' ¶ BK II 740, 744, Hv. 605, 607, KBR 1150, LG 448 || NrOm: Kf {C} Ḳučċ- v. 'scratch', Ḳučċō 'itch, scab', Anf {Gt.} Ḳuśá 'scabbia' ¶ AD SF 88, Gt. 358 || Ch: CCh {Stl.} *k|ec̥- 'scrap, scratch' > Gude k̥ac̥ 'scratch slightly' (a mouse) || Dgh {Frk.} xçà 'shave' || Mf k̥ečċe-k̥ečċe 'chatouille', MfG -k3č- 'gratter (la terre)' || Hs kōčà 'slight wound of abrasing' ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [#708], Stl. IF 182 || A: pJ {S} *kàsù-r- v. 'scrape' > OJ kàsù-r-, J: T/Kg kasúr-, K kásúr- ¶ S QJ #497, Mr. 705 || D

{tr.} *kačć-, {GS} *kačć- 'itch, scab' > Knd kačći, gačći, Tu gačći id., Kdg kačći 'itch', Tl gačći 'itch, scab', Kasi 'itching, desire', Nkr k'hačć, Prj kačćra, Gnd gačći ~ gačću, Knd gazi, Kui kasa 'itch', Krx k'hasrā id., xās-v. 'scratch for relief' ¶¶ D #1104, GS 90 [#262], 116 [#308] ◇ Cp. IS I 343-4 (S, IE, D, his rec. is *k̥ačć) ◇ The sibilants in most descendant lgs. are regular reflexes of N *-č̥-. The glottalized affricate in K and Kf is explained by progr. as. (N *k̥...č̥ > *k̥...č̥) ◇ T *kič- v. 'scratch (gratter), itch' and Tg *xosī- v. 'scratch (égratigner)' do not belong here (≠φ: the vw. of the 1st syll. and the Tg *-s-).

1004. *k̥ačć (= *k̥ačć) '(young) dog\wolf' > HS: WS *✓k̥š̥(m) 'hyena' > Jb C {Jo.} 'k̥e'š̥et (pl. 'k̥e'š̥ōš̥) 'wolf', Ar qaš̥- 'male hyena', quš̥ā- 'cri de l'hyène', qaš̥am- 'hyena', ?'lion' (unless the latter is from qaš̥am- 'old'), OYmn قشة qš̥h̥ (Slw.) qiš̥ša 'beast of prey', Ar Y {Slw.} qiš̥a (pl. qiš̥āt) id. ¶ Jb, OYmn, and Ar Y are likely to have lost S *š̥ ¶ Jo. J 153, BK II 743, Slw. 178-9, Rossi AS 163 || B *qq̥z̥īn ~ *qq̥z̥z̥ūn 'young dog, dog' (× N ? *kačć 'young dog') > Izd {Mrc.} a-k̥z̥in (pl. i-k̥z̥in) 'chien, chiot', Izn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/T {Rn.} aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inən), Rf B/A aq̥azzun (pl. iqz̥inən), BSn a-qz̥īn, Tmz {MT} ikz̥in (pl. ikz̥inn), ASgr {MT} iqz̥in ~ aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inn), BMn {Bs.} aqž̥un (pl. iqzan), Grr {Bs.} aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inan), Jrb {Bs.} aḡzim, Kb Z {Bs.} aqž̥un, Shw {Bs.} اقزن aqz̥in, {Hy.} agzim (pl. igz̥emen) 'petit chien', SrSn {Rn.} ta-qz̥in-t 'chienne', Kb {Dl.} aqž̥un (pl. iq̥ž̥an) 'dog' ¶ Mrc. 51, 291, Rn. 370, Dl. 667-8, MT 357, 553, Bs. NLB I 310, Hy. 21, Hy. DFCh 100 || SOm {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N ? *g̥'ok̥č̥š̥|č̥ (-R̥)) '∈ canine', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Blz.) Eg czm 'dog' and Ag *g̥z̥z̥η- id. (both from N ? *kačć '↑') ¶¶ Blz. OL l.c. (Om, Ag, Eg, B) || U: FU (att. in Prm) *°kačć (or *°k̥č̥č̥) > Prm {LG} *ku|ūč̥ 'young dog' > Z кычи kīčī, кычан kīčan, Vt кучапи kučāpi id. ¶ LG 155 || A: Tg *kač̥ 'puppy' (× N ? *kačć '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? K: one may take into account Sv {Ni.} k̥oč̥ol 'young dog' (from K ?°k̥|č̥ - and the merger with Sv {Ni.} k̥oč̥ol 'little') unless it is a sd. of k̥oč̥ol 'little' or a mistaken transcription of k̥oč̥ol 'little' ◇ The N cns. *č̥ is reconstructed as lateral on the ev. of S (and FU, where *č̥ < N *č̥ regularly) and as a vl. affricate on the ev. of U. The voiced sibilant in B may go back to a cluster: N *-č̥- > (ass. voicing) *-č̥- > *-č̥- > B *-z̥-.

1005. *kAĉ∇ (= *kǎĉ∇?) 'to burst, to crack; to split' > **HS:** S *-kīŝ- v. '≈ break, skin' > Ar ✓ qyġ G (قَاضٍ qāġa / -qīġ-u) v. 'be broken' (of an egg), 'casser (œuf, bouteille)', ✓ qwġ G (pf. qāġa / ip. -qūġu) 'défaire, séparer les parties qui étaient ensemble', {Hv.} 'destroy (a house), pull off (a tent)', BHb *Sh* ip. ʔ'ġ' y-ā-'kīġ vt. 'demolish' ({KB} 'niederreißen'), vi. 'gape open' ({KB} 'auseinanderklaffen)'), ? Ak -kūġ- (inf. kūġu) 'Haut abziehen, schinden' ¶ KB 1019, KBR 1090, BK II 834-5, 846, Hv. 633, 637 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *kaĉ∇ 'burst, tear' > Vg {Kn.}: T kün-kaśmāt-, kün-kaśl- 'bersten, reißen, abspringen (eine Schlittenkufe, ein Brett)', LK el-xaśamāt-, el-xaśl- 'sich ablösen, losgehen, abfallen', UL xot-xaśmat-, xot-xaśl- 'zerreißen, sich abnutzen, sich abtragen (Kleidungsstücke)' (kün-, el-, and xot- are preverbs) || Hg hasad- v. 'burst, crack', has-ít- v. 'cleave, split' ¶¶ UEW 854 || **K** *°kuĉġ- > G {Chx.} kuĉ- 'zerhauen, zerstückeln' ¶ Chx. 647 ¶ The K vw. remains unexplained (× N *KĚŠU [or *K'ū'ŝ∇?] 'to skin, to tear'?) ◇ FU *kaĉ∇ points to a N vw. *a or *ǎ of the first syll., S *-kīŝ- suggests that N *ǎ is more plausible than *a.

1006. *kad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build, to make pottery') ⇨ N cd. or d. *kad∇-L∇ 'wattle-fence' (→ 'wall', 'building') > **IE:** NaIE *kat- 'wickerwork, wattle-fence' > L catīrus 'dip dish\bowl', ?σ catēna (< *kates-nā) 'chain'](× NaIE *kot- 'fence, shed' [→ 'house'] < N *Kotā [~ *Kota?] 'fence, wall, hut, settlement', q.v. ffd.) > Sl *kotъ, *kot-ьць 'shed, stall' ||| Gt ηερjo 'ταμειχον, Kammer', AS heaðor 'enclosure, prison' ||| Irn *kat- 'house' > Av kata- 'chamber' ¶ P 534, ESSJ XI 211, 214-5, Horn 188, WH I 181-2, ≈ Fs. 254-5, Ho. 153, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ IE *-t- for the phonetically reg. *-d^h- is due to the IE root-structure rule that rejects **g^het-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √); in some cases the contamination with N *Kotā (~ *Kota?) '↑' may have played a role as well ||| **K** *ked-/ *kd- v. 'build' > G {DCh.} ked- 'corner-stone', Lz VAr kid-, Lz X kod- v. 'build', Mg kid- vt. 'partition with a wall' ('перегораживать'); K *kedel-/ *kdel- 'wall' > G ked-el- (gen. ked-l-is), Lz kida, koda 'wall' (loss of *-l due to metanalysis of the pl. form kidał-epe, cp. on such cases GM S 88), Mg Sn kida(la)-, Mg SmZ kзда(la)- ~ kzdela- 'wall' (< *kdel- with an anaptyctic ə ~ i), Sv: L čwed, UB/LB/L čwäd (pl. čwäd(w)-är), Lx čed id. ({IS}: *ked-]-(a) > pre-

Sv *čædw > čwe|ad(w), *F* IS rGM 129) ¶¶ IS I 316, K 107, K DE 358, K² 87-8, FS K 166, 462 (Sv čwed-, čwäd- < K *čwad-), Q 257, 261, Chik. 294, Schm. 107, Zhgh. LT (on the origin of w in the Sv noun), TK 864
 || HS: S (with a deglottalized *k-; × N *kud∇ or *Kud∇ 'to plait?'): [1] CS *kadd- 'jar, vessel for liquid' > Hb כַּד kad (pl. כַּדִּים kad'd-īm) 'pitcher', Ph kd (*kad(d)) 'pitcher, jar' [↳ Gk κύδ(δ)ος 'jar, vessel for water\wine' ↳ L cādus 'jar' and probably Mg ḫoṭo 'pot']), Ug kd, (AkSc) kaddu {A} 'jar', {OLS} 'ε measure of capacity for liquids', JA כַּדָּא kad'd-ā 'jar', [Trg.] כַּדְנָא kad'n-ā ({Js.}: *ce.* for כַּדְתָּא kaddə-t-ā?) 'jug', JEA {Sl.} כַּדָּא kad'd-ā 'storage vessel', Sr {Cst.} كَدْدَانْ kaddā'n-ā 'small narrow-necked jug' (in PS and JPS printed as كَدْدَانْ kaddā'n-ā), Ar kadd- 'mortar' (an alt. et. was proposed by B. Podolsky, who suggested that this S word is a loan from D *kiñṭ- 'jug'); [2] WS *kud∇r- 'earthen pot' > MHb כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, JA כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā ~ כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, Sr كَدْرَانْ kadrā'n-ā '(earthen) pot', JEA {Sl.} כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā 'cooking pot', Ar qidr- 'chaudron; marmite en cuivre', qadar-at- 'petit flacon', Mh kādər 'pot'; but the adduction of Ar qadd- and Ak *qadû 'pot' (IS I 316 and AD SF 67-8 after Cal. 212 and Coh. #226) is to be rejected because the Ak word does not exist, and Ar qadd- has been quoted after Cal.'s misinterpretation (repeated by M. Cohen); in fact, qadd- does not mean 'form' (as in Cal. l.c. and Coh. l.c.), but 'skin of a lamb\kid' → 'body, size' [Ln. 2491, Fr. III 404, BK II 682-3], which has no semantic connection with the N word in question; [3] N *kad∇-L∇ 'wattle-fence' (→ 'wall') may be represented in CS *kuta|l- 'wall' > BHb כַּתַּל *kət̪el* 'wall' (att.: כַּתַּלְנוּ כַּתַּלְנוּ kət̪l-ēnū 'our wall'), MHb כַּתַּל 'kət̪el, BA כַּתַּל kət̪al 'wall', JA [Trg.] כַּתַּל kət̪l-ā, JEA {Sl.} כַּתַּל kət̪l-ā 'wall', ?σ Sr كَتْلَانْ kət̪l-ā 'stern, poop', but an alt. hyp. (with better phonetic corr.) attributes this stem to N *Kōta 'fence, wall' (→ 'house') (*see* s.v. N *Kōta [~ *Kōta?]); [4] ?σ CS *kdn v. 'bind' (→ v. 'couple, yoke') > Sr {JPS} kdn (pf. kə'dan) v. 'yoke, couple, join, bind', MHb kdn (pf. kād'an) v. 'yoke', Ar kdn G {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', {Hv.} 'wrap oneself in clothes' ¶ KB 439, KBR 460, 505, BDB #3537, OLS 210, Hnr. 136, Js. 612, 614, 1318, Sl. 553, 567, 1010, Br. 318, JPS 205, PS 1068, Cst. 151, Js. 614, 627, F I 551-2, Masson ESG 44, Q 261, BK II 686, 872, 875, Hv. 647, HJ 487-8, Lv. IV 248-9, BK II 686, Jo. M 224, ≠ Pod. NHE 199-200 || Eg fp kd v. 'make earthenware, build, shape, create' > Cpt

Sd/B **кѡт** kōt, **кѣт-** ket-, **кѡт-** kot- id.; Eg Md **қд** 'pot' ¶ EG V 72-5, Fk. 281-2, Vc. 89-90, Crn. 64-5, Crum 122 || NrOm: Zs {Lm.} **қеңе** 'Zaun des Geheges', Shn {Lm.} **қаққа** id., 'Gehege für Rindvieh'. But the Om word for 'house' (Kf {C} **қе̄т̄о̄**, etc.) belongs not here, but rather to N ***Қота** (~ ***Қота**?) '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Lm. Sh 335 || Ch {Stl.} ***қода** < ***қода** 'pot' (× N ***куд** ▽ 'to plait?') > WCh: BT: Bl {Mch.} **қуда** 'pot', Gera **к^ωада** 'calabash', Krf {Sch.} **к^ωадо́** id., ? **к^ωати** 'cooking pot' ||| CCh: HfF **к^ωада** 'small pot' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} **қодà** 'a kind of small jar' ¶ Stl. IF 175, ChC s.v. 'pot', Sch. BTL 141, 151, Fd. 288 ¶¶ Coh. #226, Cal. 212, Stl. IF 175 ||| ?σ **а**: NaT ***kat-** v. 'weave, plait, twist (wool into thread)' > VTt, Bsh, Alt **qat-**, Xk **χat-** 'twist, plait, weave (threads, ropes)', SY **qat-** 'weave (a rope)', Tf **qat'** v. 'twist (ВИТЬ), plait', Tv {TvR} **qáttá-** v. 'weave, twist (a thread, rope)' (× **qáttá-** 'add layers' < **qát** 'layer'); the irreg. phonetic form is probably due to contamination with T ***kat-** v. 'mix' (< N ***қат** ▽ 'mix') ¶ Ra. 219, TvR 233, Cl. 594-5, Rs. W 219, 241, ≈ ET KQ 336-7 || **D [1]** (tr., §GS) ***kaṭṭ-**, {Km.} ***kaṭ-** v. 'tie, build' > Tm, Tl **kaṭṭu**, Ml **keṭṭuka**, Kt, Klm, Gdb **kaṭ-**, Td **koṭ-**, Kdg **kaṭṭ-**, Tu **kaṭṭuni**, Nkr, Prj **kaṭṭ-**, Nk **kaṭ-/kaṭṭ-** id., Kn **kaṭṭu** v. 'bind, tie, dam', Gnd **kaṭṭā** 'a dam in the river for catching fish', Knd **kaṭa** 'bundle (of hay)', Kui **kāṭ-** v. 'fix, fasten', Mlt **gaṭa** 'rope, cord'; [2] < (?) ***kaṭṭī** ~ ***kattī** 'mat, mat-wall' > Gnd **kaṭṭī** 'palmleaf mat', **katti(:)** & **ketti** 'mat', Knd **kati** 'wall', Ku **katti** 'mat-wall' & **kati** 'wall' ¶¶ D #1147, 1205, Km. 320-1 [#234] ◇ IS I 316-7 (***қадл** 'сплестать из прутьев', K-IE-A-Ch), AD GD 16 (Eg, K, IE), AD NM #91; S CNM 3 (÷÷ NC).

1007. (₂?) ***қ'а'д'и'** 'take, hold' > K ***қid-** 'take, hang' > OG **қid-** v. 'take, hang' (αψιқida mqarta twista 'she took it on her shoulders', Gen. 21.14), G **қid-** 'hängen, aufhängen, aufpacken', Mg **қi(n)d-** v. 'take with the hand', Lz **қid-** 'snatch, hang', Sv **қid-/қed-/қад-/қд-** v. 'take' ¶¶ K 112, FS K 171-2, Chik. 292, Chx. 586-8 || **HS:** S ***^oқdy** > Sr **қdy** D (pf. **қад'дī**) v. 'keep possession of, not let go, hold fast, retain' ¶ Br. 646, JPS 489 || Ch: ?σ WCh {Stl.} ***к[∇]t-** v. 'get' > AG: Su {J} **kàt** 'bekommen, erlangen, finden', Ang {Flk., Hf.} **kat**, Gmy {Hf.} **kat** v. 'find, get', Kfr {Nt.} **kát** v. 'meet, get, find', Mpn {Frz.} **kát** v. 'find' || Bl **kut** v. 'get', Tng {J} **kot-** v. 'hold, keep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 206 [#570] (+ Hs **kyàuta** 'present' [with a query], which is phonetically qu.), Stl. SF, J S 69, J T 102, Nt. 18, Hf. AG 23 [#188], Frz. DM 25 ||| ? **а**: M ***qadagala-** 'preserve, save, keep, take care of' > MM **qadagala-** [S] 'besorgen', [HI]

'prendre soin de, gouverner', [MA] 'take care of', WrM qadagala-, HIM хадгала- v. 'place in safekeeping, preserve, save, keep', Ord xad_agala- 'conserver, garder, avoir la garde de' ¶ H 55, Ms. H 85, Pp. MA 285, MD 902, Ms. O 321 ◇ K *i suggests that a front vw. in the N etymon is more likely than *a. In M *-a- of the first syll. may be from N *-ä- due to vw. harmony || ? E: AchEl ki-ti- 'haben, behalten' ¶¶ HK 489-90.

1008. *k'ôd∇ 'destroy, break, cut' > IE: NaIE *g^wed^h- 'destroy' (× N *gud∇ 'cut, tear' [q.v.]) > ? OI ∧ gan'dhayatē 'injures' || Gk δειννάζω v. 'abuse, revile', [Hdt.] δέυννος 'reproach' || Blt (× IE *g^whend^h-, cp. L of-fendo): Lt gendū / gésti v. 'spoil, deteriorate', gadinū / gadinti v. 'spoil', Ltv ģinstu / ģint v. 'be destroyed' ¶ WPI 665-6. P 466-7, 491-2, M KI 321 (OI < IE *g^whend^h-, cp. L of-fendo), FI 366 (no et. of δειννάζω and δέυννος), Frn. 149-50 ¶¶ IE *g^w- for the expected *k^w- due to the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ || K: GZ *kōd- vi. 'hew, hollow; cut\peck\chop\wound' (× N *kulo^d'a'h∇ [~ *kad₁a'h∇?] 'pierce', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS *√ kdd (*-kudd-) > Sr √ kdd v. 'tear\cut away', MHb {Lv.} √ kdd G 'cut, separate, perforate', Ar √ qdd v. G 'cut lengthwise, dilacerate, cut off into shreds', Gz √ kdd v. 'cut, cut open, tear apart' ¶ Br. 645, Lv. IV 244-5, BK II 682, Hv. 590, L G 420 ◇ Qu., because the IE and Ugr recs. are still open to discussion ◇ If the K cognate is legitimate, the initial N cns. is *k-, otherwise it may be either *k- or *g-.

1009. ?₂ *kUd∇ 'die' > HS: NrOm: Kf {HHM} kito v. 'die, fall' (× N *'k' oHad∇ 'dip, plunge, descend') ¶ HHM 61, 97 || K *okwed-/*okwd- 'die' > G kvd- v. 'die', OG m-kud-ari 'dead'; cp. Sv {Ni.} kwād 'loss (caused by death)' (< N *ko₁a₁d∇ 'be deprived of') ¶ ≈ K² 91-2, Chx. 575-6, Ser. 102, Ni. s.v. 'лишить, лишение'.

1010. *kA^r'û^d∇ or *kû^t∇ 'neck, (?) nape, shoulder' > HS: S: Ar qawad- 'length of the neck' ¶ BK II 832 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} ket̄t̄ō, Mch {L} kättó, Amuru {Fl.} kétto, Anf {Fl.} kεtto, {C} ket̄t̄ō, {Gt.} ket'tto, Shn {Lm.} kēt-ta, Omt {Mrn.} kōde, Wl {C} kōdē 'neck', Zl {C} kōd̄iyā id., {LmS} kōd̄iya 'throat', Gf {AIA} kōde, {C} kōdā, kuodā 'neck', {LmS} kōd̄a 'throat', Bdt {C} kōdē, {LmS} kōde 'throat', Bsk {LmS} kōça, Dk {Blz.} kōç, Cha {C} k̄i^tt̄a, Malo {LmS} kōde, Dwr {AIA} kōd̄iya, Gm {Hw.} kōd̄e 'neck', Dc {LmS} kōd̄e 'throat, neck' | BMa {Fl.} k̄itišē, Sz

{Fl.} kiṭiṣi, Sz1 {SiW} kéšè, ketéšé 'neck' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} ḳadá, ?? Dm {Bnd.} gēte 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174, IV 489, Grt. 358, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, L M 48, ≈ Blz. OLBP #84, AIA ODS 4 [#26], Hw. EG, SiW ABK 15, Fl. OWL, Bn. AL 155 || ? SC: Brn qōsa 'nape of neck' ¶ E SC 268 (pSC *ḳ^ωaṭ^{ya}) || D *kutt- 'throat, neck' > Kn kuṭtige id., Tl kuṭika, kuṭuka 'throat', kuṭtuka, kuṭtuka id., 'gullet', Nkr kuṭka, Knd gotika 'throat', Knd Sv kutu 'neck', Prj kunda gōlu 'nape of neck', Png kuta asponḍ, Mnd kuta ahponḍ, Ku kuta ve'uri ḍ kuṭha wiuri 'hiccough' (Ku ve'uri 'hiccough') ¶¶ D ##1718, 5383 || U *kūtt∇ ~ *kūtt∇ 'shoulder, back' (× N ≈ *Ḳū_u,t_u∇,P_u∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.)?? ◇ If Ar qawad- belongs here, the rec. is ≈ N *ḲA?ʾū¹d∇ with subsequent contraction *-ʾ∇d- > *-ṭ- or -ḍ- (in the prehistory of most descendant lgs.) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [#27] (incl. D, Om, SC, U + unc. equation with HS **ḳur_uti ~ **ḳur_uli).

1011. *Ḳoṣ_ua_ud∇ 'be deprived of; deprive of' > HS: S *^o✓ḳṣd > Ar ✓qṣd G : pf. 3f qasad-at 'had no husband', {Fr.} 'conjugue orbata fuit' (× qīṣād- 'conjug') ¶ Fr. III 471-2, Hv. 617 || K *^oḳwd- > Sv {Ni.} li-ḳwdune 'to deprive of', ḳwäd 'loss (caused by death)' (× K *^oḳwed-/ *^oḳwd- 'die' < N ? *ḲUd∇ 'die') ¶ Ni. s.v. 'лишить, лишение', ≈ K² 91-2 || IE: NaIE *ka(:)d- v. 'deprive of, destroy' > Gk Hm κεκαδῶν asp. 'depriving of', ft. κεκαδῆσαι 'will deprive of', Gk Δ [Hs.] aor. inf. κεκαδῆσαι · βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, φεισάσθαι, στερῆσαι ('≈ to harm, maltreat, deprive of') || OI kaḍanam 'destruction' || ?? Tc A kaṭ 'destruction (?)' ¶¶ *d- for the expected *-d^h- is due to the IE root structure laws that reject **g^heṭ-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √) ¶ WP I 341, P 516, M K I 149, FI 811, Ch. 510-1, Wn. IE 27, Wn. 190 (Tc < IE *(s)kod-) || A: ? T *^oḲo_u:ḍu^r > OT {Cl.} qoḍuz 'a woman who no longer has a husband because he is either divorced or dead', [MhK] 'femme seule ('al-mar'atu-ḍ-ḍayyib)' (unless ← qōḍ- v. 'put down, abandon') ¶ Cl. 608, MKA I 305, MKD 141 || D *koṭṭ-, {ḡGS} *goḍḍ- 'having no children, barren' > Tm koṭṭu, Kn goḍḍi 'barren woman', Kt goḍḍ 'man who has no children', goḍy 'barren woman', Kn goḍḍu 'state of being barren', Tu goḍḍu 'barren', Tl goḍḍu id., 'empty', Knd goḍu 'barren' ¶¶ D #2074 ◇ IE *k- points to a N vw. *a (suggesting a pN *Ḳoṣad∇ > [syncope] **ḳad∇ > IE *kad-).

1012. *ḲaHd∇ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ [in some IE lgs.] 'care'), 'anger, hate' > IE: NaIE *k_uḱād-/ *k_uḱad- 'troubled state of mind, anger,

hate' > Gk κῆδος, Gk D κῆδος 'caring about, anxiety, grief, trouble' ||| Osc CADEIS AMNUD 'inimicitiae causa' ||| OIr cais n. 'hate; love', OW, Crn, MBr cas, Br kas 'hate' (< *kād-si), W cas 'hateful; hatred', cas 'hater, enemy', casáu v. 'hate, detest, abhor'; W XVII [Dv.] cawdd 'offensa, ira, indignatio', Crn cūth 'sorrow, grief, trouble', MBr {Em.} cueuz, Br keuz n. 'regret'; MW cadw, cadu 'to care about', W cadw 'to keep, to preserve, to save, to guard', MBr {Em.} cuezaff 'to regret' (× N *k'ā'd'i' 'take, hold'?) ||| Gt hatis 'hate, anger', ON hatr, heti, NE hate, OHG haz, NHG Haß, AS hete 'hatred'; Gt hatan, OSx haton, OHG hazzēn, NHG hassen, OFrs hatja, AS hatian 'to hate', NE v. hate ⇨ n. hate, hatred ||| ?? Av sādra 'suffering, pain' ¶ P 517, EI 259 (*kēh_hdes- '≈ concern, hate'), M K III 61-2, F I 836-7, Bc. G 313, Vn. C 22, YGM-1 77, ECCE 229, Ern. 137, Vr. 213, Fs. 247-8, Ho. 150, 157, Kb. 440, Schz. 160, KM 292 ¶ If Av sādra belongs here, the IE etymon will be *kād-) ||| A: NaT *Kaδgu 'sorrow, grief, anxiety, care' > OT {Cl.} qaδyu, Tkm gayyi, Tk kaygi, CrTt, Kr, Qrg qayyi, Uz qayyu, Chv χuyy_h id., Qmq qayyi, VTt, Bsh qayy_h, Ln qayya 'grief, sorrow', Az gayyi, Blq qayyi 'care' ¶ Cl. 598-9, ET KQ 201-3, Rl. II 8-10, 295-6, Nj. 596 ||| D *kat-({θGS}) *k-, -t-) v. 'be angry' > Tm katavu id., Ml katam 'wrath', Kn kāti ~ kati 'anger', Klm kati 'anger, hate', ? Ku kandri 'anger' ¶¶ D #486 ||| HS: B *√kyd (and secondary *√Hkd) 'detester' (× N *kozd ~ *kodz 'filth, dirt; abominable'?) > Ah əkyəḏ 'mésestimer, avoir la rancune contre ..., avoir du ressentiment contre...', ETwl, Ty əkyəḏ 'mésestimer, sous-estimer, détester', Gh əkyəḏ (noun) 'hate', Ttq {Msq.} kîəḏ 'détester', ETwl, Ty əkəḏ id. (n. act. əkkəḏ), Ah əkəḏ 'avoir horreur (aversion extrême)', ikkəḏ 'horreur (aversion extrême)' ¶ The Tw verb əkəḏ belongs to Fcj. 66 = Pcj. I A 3, which apparently presupposes rec. of a pB stem *-Hku|id, but the Ah, ETwl, Ty noun ikkəḏ, əkkəḏ suggest that the conjugation pattern of this verb in Ah is not original, but results from morphological re-interpretation ¶ Fc. 749, 769-71, GhA 89, 104, Nh. 167, Msq. 87 || ? (mt.) S: Ar √hqd G (ip. -hqudu) 'brood a secret hatred' ¶ BK I 466, Hv. 134 || If E.'s SC reconstruction is valid, we may add pSC {E} *ka_iḏr- 'be angry' > Asa ʕaririt 'quarrel', SC ⇨ Mb -xaro 'be angry'.

1013. *K'ohad 'dip, plunge, descend' > IE *g^ωeHd^h- > NaIE *g^ωād^h- 'plunge, dip in' > OI 'gāhatē 'dives, plunges into', Av accus.

pl. *vi-gāṣṭō* 'Schluchten', *guḍa-* 'Tiefe' || OIr *báidid* '(he) plunges, drowns', W *boddi* 'to drown, to be drowned', Crn *bedhy*, *bodhy*, {ECCE} *büdh* (prs.-ft. *büth*), MBr *beuziff*, Br *beuziř* 'to drown' || Gk *βῆσσα*, Gk D *βῆσσα* 'wooded combe, glen' (< **βῆσλα*), Gk *βυθός*, *βυσσός* 'the depth of the sea, bottom' (β for γ due to the infl. of *βῆσσα*) ¶ WP II 665, P 465, EI 160 (? *g^wād^h-* 'dive'), M K I 334-5, ≠ M EI 486 (OI < NaIE **g_l^waḡ^h-*, cp. SCr *gāziti* 'treten, waten'), FI 234, Vn. B 6, ECCE 217, YGM-1 49, Ern. 65, Hm. 80 ¶ IE **g^w-* for the expected **k^w-* due to the IE morphophonemic rejection of ***tegh^h-*roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) || D (in SD) **kōṭaj* ({*ḡ*GS} **k-*) 'west' (← *'sunset?'), {GS} **kōḍaj* 'monsoon' > Tm *kōṭaj*, Kn *kōḍe* 'west wind', Ml *kōṭa* id., 'west', Kt *kēṛ* 'southwest monsoon', Td *kwaṛ* 'monsoon' ¶ D #2203, GS 68 [#217] || ?σ HS: S **√kḍh* > Ar *√qdh* G (pf. *qadaḥa*, ip. *-qdaḥ-*) 'be sunk into it socket (eye)' (× S **√kḍh* G 'perforate' < N **ḡu|od^ha^hḡ* [~ **ḡad_la_hḡ*?] 'pierce', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590, ≠ MiK I #2.35 || ?? EC: Brj {Ss.} *ḡod-* 'go down, descend', Or E {Hw.} *ḡadō* 'downhill slope' ¶ Ss. B 81 || NrOm: Kf {HHM} *ḡito* v. 'fall, die' (× N ? **ḡudḡ* 'die', q.v.) || A: T **k_l'oḍ-* v. 'put (down), let' > OT *qoḍ-* 'hinlegen, lassen' ({Cl.} *qōḍ-* without direct ev. of the length of o), Tk *koy-*, Ggz *koy-*, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Slr, Qmn, Tb *qoy-* v. 'put', Tkm, Az *qoy-* v. 'put, let', Tk WAn *qoyve-* 'freilassen', VTt, Bsh *quy-*, SY *quz-* v. 'put', Uz *quy-* v. 'pour'; with loss of -y-: Osm {Rh.} *-قو qo-* (aor. *qo-r*) 'put, place, set', Tk *ko-* ~ *koy-*, Kr {Rl.} *qo-* id. || Chv L *хур-* *xur-* v. 'put' ('кпасть') ¶ Cl. 595-6, Rs. W 273-4, ET Q 27-9, Rl. II 498-9, Rh. 1497-8, TrR 557, 564, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 361, Md. 41 || ? Gil: Gil A *xut-* [*xud*] 'be drowned', *xut-ku-* caus. v. 'drown' ¶ ST RN 421-2 | ??? Gil A [*k'ut*] v. 'fall (from above)' ¶ ST 125 ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a lr., but its identity cannot be determined by S (because of the ambiguity of S **√kḍh*) ◇ If the HS (S and NrOm) root belongs here, the N initial cns. is **ḡ-*, otherwise one cannot distinguish between N **ḡ-* and **k-*.

1014. **ḡA^hdê* 'to cover' > IE: NaIE **ka|ad^h-* v. 'protect, cover' ('hüten, schützend bedecken') > OHG *huoten* 'to guard' ('behüten, bewachen'), NHG *hüten* 'to guard, to keep, to take care of'; OHG *huota* 'hut, cover of a tent', {Schz.} 'Wache', NHG *Hut* 'hat; keeping, guard, shelter', AS *hōd* (> NE hood), OFrs *hōde* 'Obhut', ON *hōttr*, Ic *hattur*, *hōtue*, AS *hætt* 'hat', NE *hat* || L *cassis* / gen. *-idis* 'helm' (< **ka|ad^h-tis*) ¶ WP I 341, P 516, Ho. 146, 167, Vr. 282, OsS 433,

Schz. 172, Kb. 492, KM 322-3, WH I 177 ¶¶ The deviation of the **IE** incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root) still requires explanation (infl. of the Ir.?)

|| **HS: S:** [1] CS *✓kʰd v. 'hide' > BHb ✓kʰd *D* v. 'hide, conceal', *Sh*† v. 'efface; hold', Sr ✓kʰd *D* 'put to shame', *G* 'revere, be modest'] [2] ??

WS *✓kdn v. 'cover, wrap' (× N ***qad**∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle') > Ar ✓kdn: kadana bi- v. 'wrap oneself in (clothes)', {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', Ar *D* maqdana 'cover of an oven', Gz ✓kdn *G* v. 'cover, wrap, clothe', Tgr ✓kdn *G* v. 'cover, clothe', Tgy ✓kdn *G* v. 'cover' ¶ KB 447, KBR 469, BDB #3582, BK II 875, Hv. 647, LG 275-6 || C: EC: Or {Th.} qadādu v. 'cover, close', {Grg.} qadāda 'put a lid on', {Th.} qadāda, qadado 'coperchio, tappo, turacciolo', {Grg.} qadāda 'cover, vessel, gourd' || Ag *kʷzt- ~ *kʷzd- v. 'cover' > Bln {R} kūt-, kūt- v. 'cover, veil (be- \ zudecken, verhüllen)', kūt 'Deckel', Q {R} kūt-, Dmb {R} ked- v. 'cover' ¶ R WB 230, Th. 267, Grg. 314 ¶¶ AD SF 35 || **K** *°qe:ᵛt- > G (da-)qeᵛt- v. 'close' ('schließen, zumachen'), (gamō-)qeᵛt- 'einschließen, einsperren', (mi)qeᵛt- '(zu-\ver-\ab-)schließen' ¶ Chx. 571 || **U** *kāḃe (or *kiḃe, *käḃire) > Sm *ker(ḃ) v. 'put on (clothes), wear' > Ne T cepā(ḃ), Ne F {Lh.} šje'ra-ś, Ng {Mik.} šerādi id., En X {Cs.} 'seribo, B {Cs.} 'seribo 'anziehen' (1s aor. s/obcj.), Slq Tz {KKIH} šēr- v. 'put on, wear', Kms {KD} šērālām id. (1s prs.), Koyb {Sp.} cepля 'I am putting on', Mt {Hl.} *ker- vi. 'dress', d. *kerət(ə)- v. 'put on' (Mt: M {Sp.} кернамъ 'I am dressing myself' ['одеваюся'], керытьямъ 'I put on') ¶ Jn. 68, Hl. M ##470, 472, Cs. 90, KKIИ 174 || **A:** NaT *kāḃ- v. 'put on (clothes, footwear), wear' > OT kāḃ-, Tk giᵛ-, Qmq giᵛ-, Az, Tkm geᵛ-, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Ln keᵛ-, CrTt, Kr, VTt, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz kiᵛ-, Qzq kīᵛ-, Bsh kyᵛ-, SY kez-, Xk kis- kis-, Tv ket-, Tf keᵛ-, Yk kāt- id. ¶ Cl. 700, ET VGD 12-4, Ra. 203, Rs. W 246, BIG 78 ¶ The pT vw. *ä is evidenced by Yk ä ä (while pT *e yields Yk i, / Pp. J 54, ADb. SR-D 51-7) || M *kedür- v. 'wear (a garment) over one's shoulders' > WrM kedür- id., Kl көдр- id., {Rm.} ködr̥- 'über (seine Schultern) werfen, sich bemanteln'; M *kedürge '(rain-)coat, cover (Bedeckung)' > WrM kedürge, HIM хэдрэг 'coat', Kl көдрг 'raincoat', {Rm.} ködr̥gə 'Mantel, großes Tuchstück über die Schultern geworfen, Bedeckung' ¶ MD 442, KRS 312, KW 236 || ?? Tg [1] *°ᵛᵛaᵛd'u 'cloth' > WrMc adu id., Jrc {Kiy.} hatu 'dress, clothing'] [2] *ᵛᵛetu- v. 'put on, wear' > WrMc

etu- id., etuku 'garment', Lm 3tik 'upper garment of women' ¶ STM II 469, Z 31, 73, Kiy. 127 [##551, 554] ¶¶ ADb. KL 14 (T, M), DQA #806 (*kjadī or *k'ajdi 'put on, wear' > T, M, ? Tg *^ol_ladu) ¶¶ The pA lenis *k' for the expected fortis *k' is puzzling; if the Tg cognate really belongs here, the vl. *-t- requires explanation (effect of the lr.?).

1014a. *kawud∇ (r...) (or *kawūd∇ (r...)) 'tail' > IE: NaIE *kawud- (more plausible than *kouud-) 'tail' > L cauda 'tail', cōda 'tail' (> forms of Romance lgs.: Sp coda, Rum coadă, Fr queue); acc. to Ernout, cōda is an early dialectal monophthongization from cauda; alternatively, cauda may be a hyperurbanism for cōda || ? Lt kuōdas 'tuft of hair, of feather' ¶ Ert. EDVL 140, WH I 185, ≠ Frn. 311: believes that Lt kuodas is a bf. from kuodēlis 'Flachsbüschel' (← Blr ку'дзеля 'flax tow' < pSl *kǫdelb), which is less semantically plausible than to suppose that Lt kuodēlis 'tuft of flax tow' results from a merger of kuodēlis 'small tuft of hair' (dim. from kuodas) with Blr ку'дзеля, because the semantic change 'tail' → 'tuft, Schopf' is widespread (cp. below Mc irge-ce 'schopfig' < Tg *xürgü 'tail') ¶ If the NaIE stem is *kawud-, it suggests a pN *kawud∇, but if it is *kouud-, L au for the expected ū < *ow is unexplainable. Therefore the NaIE rec. *kawud- is more plausible || K *kud- / (?) *kwed-, {FS} *kwad- 'tail' > OG kud- 'tail', G kud- 'tail, end', Mg, Lz kudēl-, Sv: UB haḳwäd, LB häḳed, L aḳwed-, Ln aḳwaḷ 'tail' ¶¶ K 117, K² 103, FS K 176, FS E 192, Schm. 120, Chik. 92, GM S 311, TK 891 || HS: B *k∇w∇d- 'tail' > Izn i-šuwadū, Rf Wr/T a-šugg^waḳū id. ¶ Rn. 349 ¶ Here š < pB k (cp. Rf B/A t-ḳira ÷ Rf Tz t-šira, Izn ti-šira 'cire', Rf Bq/A a-ḳarra ÷ Rf Tz a-šarra 'grêle', etc., F Rn. 23: "š. Stade le plus avancé... d'altération de l'occlusive post-palatale {sc. k}. S'observe constamment chez les Tz et quelquefois dans les autres parlers") || ? Ch *k∇t∇r ~ *k∇d∇r > WCh {Stl.} *kitari 'tail' > BT: Tng {J} kōdor, Pr {Frz.} kéré̄t, Grm {Sh.} kītírí, Krf {Sch.} kītírí, Krkr {Al.} čātár | NrBc: Wrj {IL} k^wátáré | SBc: Kir {Sh.} kèr, Tala {Sh.} kítze, Grn {Sh.} kurau, {Jg.} kèru, Buli {Sh.} kudar, Tule {Sh.} k^yērɜ, Wnd {Sh.} čur, Zar K {Sh.} kír, Zar GL k^yír, Zar L kîr, Sy B k^yērɜ, Sy Zk kírɜ, Sy Z kier | Ngz {Sch.} kùtír^w, Bd {IL} uktír^w id. || CCh: Cb {IL} k^wudæ | Lmn {Lk.} (ù)x^tírì | Mdr kátal^ya, Gdf {IL} xóthí^wl^w, Dgh {IL} xóthòlè, Ngs {IL} x^tíí | Gdr {Mch.} kútrā | Msg P {Mch.} gídèr | Ms {J} gìdèrdà ¶ JI II 316-7, CWL, Stl. ZCh 207 [573], Sh. SB 32 ¶ Here infl.

of Nigrític lgs. is possible; cp. pBantu *-kída 'tail' (Mssn. 53) || A {S} *k'udurgi, {Adb.} *k'udur-, {SDM97} *k'üdorg∇ 'tail' > T *k_L'uduruk > OT {Cl.} quδruq, Tk кyуpуk, Az quyruq, Slr gurux, Ggz kuyruk, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, StAlt, Qmn, Tb, QK, Uz quyruq, Tkm guyruq, ET qu(y)ruq, VTt койрык q'ыргъq, Bsh q'ыргъq, Qzq q'ыргiq, Nog, Qq quyriq, Xk хузuruq, SY guz(u)ruq, Xlj qurduq, Tv, Tf quduruq, Yk kuturuk, Chv xüre, Δ хьvре 'tail'; ⇨ *k_L'udurgun 'crupper, Schwanzriemen' > OT [MhK] quδurγun, {Cl.} quδurγūn id. ⇨ M *qudurga 'crupper, breeching (harness)' ('Schwanzriemen [des Sattels und des Pferdegeschirrs für Wagen]') > MM [MA] qudurga 'crupper (harness)' ('подхвостный ремень'), WrM {Rm., Kow.} qudurgan 'Schwanzriemen', 'croupière', {MD} qudurga(n), HIM худрага {MD} 'crupper, breeching', Kl {Rm.} χudrγα, Dg χudurga 'crupper under the tail; cp. also WrM quδusqa id. (probably a loan from T, cp. Chg [MA] quуušquid id.) ¶ Cl. 604-6, DTS 463-4, Rs. W 296, ET Q 114-7, TL 145, Ra. 221, DT 180, Jeg. 313, Fed. II 377, DT 180, Pp. MA 308, KW 195, MD 980; Md. 62 and Md. OJ 99-102 (Md. reconstructs a special pT cns. *ž for the cases of sound corr. NaT *-δ- ÷ Chv -y-: pT *k'uzruk > NaT *kuδruk and Chv xüre [_< OChv *xyure], but it is easier to explain these cases, almost always preceding T *-r-, as a positional treatment of pT *δ before T *r: pT *δr > OChv *-yr-, otherwise *-δr- would have yielded Chv *-rr-, which does not exist); the pT lenis *k' (evidenced by Tv and Tf) is still to be explained || Tg *xürgü ({Adb.} < *xyurgen) 'tail' > Ewk irgi, Sln iggi ~ irgi, Lm irgā, Neg Līxi ~ iygi, Neg H idgi, Orc iggi, Ud igi, Ul xužu, Ork xudu, Nn Nh xuygu id., Mc Sb {STM} irge 'метелка' (= 'crest on bird's head, Schopf?'), WrMc {Hr.} irge-ce 'schopfig', {Z} irge-ce řexex ~ erge-ce řexex 'хохлатая утка' (= 'schopfige Ente'), {Hr.} 'mandarin duck' ¶ STM I 325, Z 88, 118, Hr. 503, Pp. VG 33 || pKo {S} *s-kòrí 'tail' > MKo skòrí, Ko: Ph/Chj kkorí, Sl korí, Chs kkóri, PhN kkonḁeḁ, Ks korandē, Hm ko_ri_ ¶ S AJ 254 [#86], S QK #85, Nam 50, MLC 140 ¶¶ S AJ 53, 284 [#208], Adb. KL 9, DQA #1074 (A *k'júdo(rg∇)) ◇ L cauda and B *k∇w∇ḁ- suggest a pN *kaw∇d∇, which in the light of K and A evidence is to be interpreted as *kawulüdü ◇ IS I 327-8 (K-IE-A-Ch); Md. OJ 101-2 (÷ err. φ D *ko||]- 'tail').

1015. *KôXAd∇ 'scold', (??) 'shout at' > IE *kouHd-/*kuHd- > NaIE *kouad-/*ku(:)d- v. 'scold', (??) 'shout at' > OI kut-'sā 'abuse, blame',

kut'sayati 'abuses, blames', NPrs **نكوهيدن** *näkūhīdān ~ nekūhīdān*
 'to despise, to blame' || Gk **κυδάζομαι** 'am reviled', **κυδάζω** 'I revile,
 abuse', **κύδος** 'reproach, abuse' || Gmc: OGtn **huta** 'to call in
 (herbeirufen)', Nr **Δ huta-** v. 'shout, make noise, shout threateningly at
 (a dog), treat with disdain', ON **hóta** 'to threaten', OSx **for-hwātan**,
 OHG **wāzān** ({P} **hwāzān**) {Kb.} 'to oppose', fir-**wāzān** 'to curse, to
 damn'; Gt **hōta**, ON **hót** 'threat'; ***kud-skō-** > AS **husc**, OHG **hosc**,
 OSx **hosk** 'insult, mockery' || Sl ***kudi-** > OCS **кудити** *kuditi*
 'vituperare', RChS, OR **kuditi** 'to insult, to blame', Blg **кудя** v. 'talk
 scandal, blame', Slv **kūditi**, Slk **kuditi** 'to blame', SCr **kūditi** id.,
 'to slander' ¶ WPI 348-9, P 595-6, M KI 228, VI. II 1345, Sg. 1423, F II
 40, Vr. 250, Fs. 286, Ho. 179, Ho. S 38, Kb. 1153, OsS 419, Schz. 312,
 WW 366, ESSJ XIII 82-3 ¶ IE *-d- for the expected *-dʰ- is due to an IE
 incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae
 and tenues in the same root) || HS: S ***√kdh** > Ar **√qdḥ** (ip. -**qdaḥu**)
 'speak ill of', {BK} 'attaquer l'authencité de la généalogie de qn.', L (pf.
qādaḥa) 'revile one another' ¶ In S (or Ar) there is mt.: N ***ḲōXAd** > S
 ***√kdh** (or Ar **√qdḥ**) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590 || U ***kot** (or *-a-, *-
tt|k|s|k|š|š|k-) > pSm {Jn.} ***kāt** v. 'scold' (× N ***ḳazix** ~ *-**ž**- 'to
 scold' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: M ****qoti-** > ***qoči-** 'blame, slander' > WrM **qoci**,
 HIM **xоч** 'mockery', ***qocila-** > WrM **qocila-**, HIM **xочло-(x)** v.
 'slander, vilify; blame; make fun of', Kl **xочл-x** **χočb|χb** 'to be
 jealous, to suspect', Kl Ö {Rm.} **χoč]-χα** 'to rebuke, to reprimand, to
 scold' ¶ MED 951, KRS 602, KW 191 || D {tr.} ***kaṭi-** v. 'reproach,
 scold' > Tm **kaṭi-** v. 'reprove, rebuke, chide', Mlt **qaṭye** v. 'reproach,
 scold, abuse' ¶¶ A less plausible D cognate: D {tr.} ***kat-√r**, {ḡS} ***gad-**
√r 'shout, scream, make noise' > Tm **kataru** 'cry aloud from
 pain\grief, scream, yell', Ml **kataruka** v. 'roar, lament', Ka **gadaru**
 'produce a loud sound', Tu **gaddala** 'noise', Tl **gadumu, gaddincu**
 v. 'rebuke, scold' ← D {GS} ***gad-** 'scream, yell, scold' ¶¶ D ##1126,
 1189, GS 25 [#7] ◇ U *-t- and pre-M *-t- (> M *-č-) (for the expected
 vd. consonants) are likely to result from devoicing within the cluster *-
Xd- < N *-**XAd-** ◇ The meaning 'shout' is represented in NrGmc (and
 D?) only. Therefore we must either suppose that this meaning belongs
 to the ancient heritage and has been lost in most lgs., or to admit here a
 typologically rare case of semantic change from 'scold' to 'shout' (the
 opposite of the reg. change from 'shout' to 'scold').

1016. *k_ul_{od}'a'h_∇ (~ *k_{ad}l_ah_∇?) 'to pierce' > ?σ IE: NaIE *k^ωe(:)d- / *k^ωo(:)d- v. 'sharpen', *^ok^ωod- 'sharp' (× N *k_{ot}∇ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.]) > Gmc {Wtk.} *h^ωatjan > ON hvætja 'to sharpen', AS hwéttan (> NE whet), MLG wetten, OHG (h)wezzen, NHG wetzen 'to whet'; AS hwæt, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || ? L triquetrus 'three-cornered, triangular' (acc. to WH, < *tri-k^ωadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 554, ≈ P 636, AHDI 33, EI 510 (*k^ωed- 'whet, sharpen'), WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || HS: WS *[✓]k_dh v. 'bore, perforate, pierce' > JA, Sr, MHb [✓]k_dh G v. 'bore, perforate', JEA [✓]k_dh G 'bore through, break through', Ar [✓]q_dh v. G 'perforate, make a hole', Sq {Jo.} [✓]k_dh G (pf. k_{ād}ah) 'pierce' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, Lv. IV 245-6, Br. 645, Js. 1314-5, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. M 223 || EC {Ss.} *k_{ud}h- ~ *k_{adh}-, {AD} ≈ *k_{ud}ah- (> [var.] *k_{ada}h-) 'thorn' > Sml qodáh, Rn k_{ud}áh (cs. ku_dakkí), Elm e_d, Arr {Hw.} k_èd_èh, Or {Bl.} k_{or}ā-tti, {Brl.} k_{or}é / k_{or}atti, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} k_{or}ā(t)tī, Gdl k_{ud}d-ēt, Kns q_ét-ta ¶ Bl. 180, Ss. PEC 49, PG 203, Hw. A 378, Brl. 346, ≈ Th. 75 (Or k_{or}e), Sr. 354, AD SF 81 || K *^ok_{od}- v. 'cut \ peck \ chop \ wound' (× N *^rk_ōd∇ 'destroy, break, cut') > OG k_{od}- 'hew (wood), G k_{od}- v. 'castrate; chop; hollow'; šemo-k_{od}- v. 'carve signs on trees', G k_{od}- v. 'wound, hurt' ('verwunden, verletzen'); ? ⇨ GZ *k_{odal}- 'woodpecker' > G k_{odal}-, Mg k_{idu}- ~ k_ɜd_ɜ, Lz k_{id}-, (m)k_{ud}- id.; G W k_{od}ara- id.; GZ *k_{od}- 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub' > Mg, Lz k_{od}- id., MG, G k_{od}- 'vessel (and measure) for dry substances, tub' ¶ K 113, K² 97-8, FS K 187-8, FS E 205-6, Chx. 605-6, Chik. 106-7, Ghl. 297 || A *k_l'_{ad}- > M *q_{ad}qu- v. 'pierce, stab, prick' > MM [MA, S] q_{at}qu- id. ('stechen, stecken'), [IM] q_{at}qu- 'strike with a spear', WrM q_{ad}qu-, HIM x_{at}ra-(x) 'pierce, stab, prick', Ord q_{ad}χu- 'piqueur', ? Mnr H {SM} q_{as}qu- id.; M ⇨ Chg {Bu.} q_{ada}- v. 'nail (sth. to sth.), pierce, prick', Qzq q_{ada}- v. 'dive (sth.) in, thrust, stick in; sew', Nog q_{ada}- to pierce, nail to', VTt q_{ada}- v. 'prick', Tv q_{ada}- v. 'stick in, thrust', Tf q_{ada}- v. 'nail to, prick'; Cl. believes that this T [✓] is a loan from M because it is not attested in the T texts previous to the Mongolian conquest ¶ Pp. MA 296-7, 444, H 63, MED 904, SM 121, Sht. 251, Rs. W 217-8, Ra. 216 || NaT *Ka_δu- v. 'stitch\sew (a garment)' > OT {Cl.} qa_δu- v. 'sew or stitch (e.g. a garment) firmly', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qay_I-, VTt qay_Ḃ- (⇨ Chv χay-), Bsh qay-, Tkm gay_a- 'sew (a garment, a

hem, etc.) with a small stitch' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 199-200, Jud. 324, Sht. 253 || ?ϕ Tg *xid̄ar- v. 'hurt by pricking; (be) prickly, bitter' > Nn Nh s̄idar̄l 'pain from a blow\needle\splinter in one's skin', Nn, Ul s̄idar̄sl 'pricking, burning', Nn, Ul s̄idar̄sl-, Ork s̄idar̄l-sl- v. 'be pricking, smart, burn (one's skin)', Ork s̄id̄ār̄ull- 'sour', Ewk Tt idar 'bitter (горько)', Ewk idari- 'feel bitter\sour\piquant taste, feel acute pain from burning', Lm ʌd̄br- be sour; turn sour' (fish), ʌd̄brsl 'pungent, bitter, sour', Neg ʌdasi 'bitter'] ?σ,ϕ Tg *xutu- 'itch, tickle' (× N *k̄'i't̄'U' ~ *k̄'i't̄'U' 'to tickle, [?] to itch'?) > Nn Nh χotor̄laq '(it is) tickling', χotor̄sl- v. 'itch', Ul χot̄ursl-, Orc xutunsi- ~ xutuñisi-, Ewk utuni ~ utuñi-, Lm ʌtuñ-, Neg ot̄oxon- id., Ud {Shn.} utuni^{Hi}, Ud Sm {Krm.} utunihi, Orc xutuñā, xutuñisi 'it itches' ¶ Tg *i in *xid̄ar needs explaining ¶ STM I 297-8 and II 294-5, Krm. 303 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1038 (A *k̄'j̄āda 'itching, pungent'; incl. Tg *xid̄ar-) || D *kutt- > Tm kuttu v. 'puncture, pierce, bore', Ml kuttuka v. 'pierce, stab', kuttu 'a stab, prick', Kt kut- v. 'pierce, prick', Td kut- v. 'pierce, stitch, sew', Tu kuttuni v. 'bore, pierce', Knd gut- v. 'stitch, pierce', Mnd kut- v. 'punch with fist', Png kund- id., 'pierce with spear', Kui kuta, Ku kut- v. 'prick' ¶¶ D #1719 ¶¶ D *-tt- may point to a presence of a vl. lr., because the D reflex of N *-t- is *-t̄- ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *i is still to be explained. Cp. a similar case: N *b̄'u'X̄ra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b̄īra 'river, brook' ◇ The variant *k̄ad̄a,h̄ of the N lexeme resulted probably from regr. as. *-u|o...a- > *-a...a-.

1016a. ₂*K̄AdX̄ ▽ 'strike fire, kindle' > HS: WS *✓k̄d̄h id. > BHb ✓k̄d̄h G v. 'set fire to', Pun D or Sh †(prtc.) {HJ} m̄qd̄h̄ 'one who lights (the lamps in the temple)', Ar ✓qd̄h v. G 'strike fire (with flint)' ({Hv.} 'strike fire with a steel'), Sr ✓k̄d̄h G 'catch fire, blaze up', JEA {Js., Sl.} ✓k̄d̄h G 'be inflamed', Mh, Hrs, Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓k̄d̄h (pf.: Mh 'k̄awd̄z̄h ~ k̄z̄d̄ōh̄, Hrs k̄z̄d̄ōh̄, Jb 'k̄edaḥ) 'strike a spark \ a light' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, HJ 986, Br. 645, JPS 489, Js. 1315, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. J 141, Jo. H 73 || D: SD *katt- ({}GS} *k-) v. 'kindle, burn' > Ml kattuka id., kattikka v. 'set on fire, burn', Kt kat- (p. katy-) vi. 'burn', 'light (lamp)', kat- (p. kat̄-) vt. 'set fire to', Td kot- (p. koty-) vi. 'burn with flame', 'light' (lamp), Kn kattu 'begin to burn with flame, cause to burn with intensity', Kdg katt- 'burn with a blaze', Krg kanti v. 'kindle' ¶ D #1207.

1017. *K̥Ud₁∇₁X∇ 'draw (schöpfen) (water), ladle out' > **HS:** WS *√k̥d̥h id. > Gz √k̥d̥h id., Ar √qd̥h v. *G* 'ladle out (soup from the pot)', qadaḥ- 'drinking cup, bowl', Sb m̥k̥d̥h '(i) cup\ vessel (for offerings)' ¶ BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, L G 420 BGMR 103, Fr. III 405 ¶¶ The √ is found in C: Bj {R} √g̥d̥h pcv. 'ladle out', Ag: Bln {R} k̥adaḥ^w- v. 'ladle, pour', Xm {R} qadaq-, Q {R} hedax- v. 'ladle', but it is probably a loan from Semitic (Ag from EthS √k̥d̥h, Bj from Ar √qd̥h) (*F* ¶ R WB 235, R WBd 91, AD SF 284) || **A:** NaT *k̥uḏ- v. 'pour (liquid)' > OT {Cl} quḏ- 'pour out', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET quy- 'pour (liquid)', Tkm quy-, Kr, Qrg quy-, Yk kut- 'pour (gießen, schütten)', VTt, Bsh q̥b̥y- id., 'shed (leaves)', 'shed (hair)' (of animals), Alt/Tlt/QK {R1.} v. 'cast (metal)', Tv qut- 'pour, pour in', Tf qut'- 'pour in' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 296, ET Q 109-11, Ra. 222, Rl. II 888-9 || AmTg *kodUrp∇n '∈ ladle' (a cd.) > UI qodurpu(n-), Nn: Nh qodoruqo/ṽ, Nh/KU qodorpō/ũ, B qodorfo(n-) ¶¶ The A lenis *k'- (> T *k'-, Tg *k-) for the fortis *k'- is still to be accounted for || **D** {in McTm} *ok̥t̥t̥- 'pour\shoot out' > Tm koṭṭu v. 'pour forth, shower down, empty the contents of a basket\sack', Ml koṭṭuka v. 'shoot out, empty a sack'; ⇨ D *kōṭi ({ḡGS} *k-) 'passage to carry out excess of water, outlet (of a tank) for surplus water' > Kn kōṭi id., Tm kōṭi 'weir of a tank, outlet for surplus water', Tl kōṭi 'outlet of tank' ¶¶ D ##2065, 2197 ◇ The N intervocalic *-d- regularly yields D *-t̥t̥-/-t̥-, but some N cns. clusters of laryngeals with *d̥ yield (under conditions, which are still to be determined) D *-tt- or *-t- (*F* N *k̥u|od'a'h∇ 'pierce' > pre-D *kud̥h- > D *kutt- id.), hence we may suppose pre-D *d̥H- < N *-d̥₁∇₁X-.

1018. *K̥'a'dK̥ud∇ 'tip, top' > **IE:** NaIE *kakud- 'peak, summit' > OI ka'kud- (nom./acc. ka'kut) id. || L cacūmen 'the extreme point, top, tip, summit' || ? Gmc *xagu- ⇨ *xagu-la > *xagila > OFrs {P ← ?} heila 'head' (not mentioned in Stl.) ¶ P 588-9, ≠ M K I 135, M EI 287, WH I 127 ||| *AdS* of NaIE *kaput ~ *ok̥[ka]put 'head' (< N *k̥'a'w₁o₁p̥E 'skull; occiput', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** S *k̥adk̥ud- ~ *k̥udk̥ud- 'crown (of the head), sinciput' > BHb קָדָקְדָ קָדָקְדָ id. (+ppa: וְקָדָקְדָ קָדָקְדָ 'his crown\sinciput'), JA אָדָדָ קָדָקְדָ id., 'summit', MNA kotke 'skull', Ug k̥d̥k̥d̥ 'crown of the head, head', Ar (a derived word) muqadd- 'le derrière de la tête; partie de la tête et du cou, comprise entre les deux oreilles', Ak k̥ak̥kadu 'head, top', Eb gag-gú-tum k̥ak̥k̥udum (= Sum SAG. IGI '≈ crown of the head' or 'front of the head')

¶ KB 1002, KBR 1071, Js. 1317, A #2392, OLS 363, Js. 1317, Sl. P 476, OJ M 180, BK II 683, Sd. 899-900, CAD XIII 100-12, Krb. EG 12-3, MiK I #1.159, HR SDW 472-3, 830-49 || **D:** [1] D *kōt̥/*koṭ̥- 'summit, top' (× N *Ḳot̥ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N *Ḳ̥R̥_l̥_{t̥} 'summit, top') || [2] NED *kukk- (× N *ḲâRḲub̥p̥ 'top, summit, crown of the head') > Krx kukk 'head, extremity', Mlt kuku 'head' ¶ D #1630 ◇ IE *d (rather than *d^h) is due to an incompibility law.

1019. *ḲakU (or *ḲokU?) 'hook', 'tooth, fang' > **K:** {AD} *Ḳaḳw- 'hook' (× N *ḲaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal') > G Ḳaḳvi 'hook' ('Haken, Håkchen'), Lz Ḳoḳ-a, Ḳoḳari ~ Ḳuḳari id. ¶ FS K 167-8 (GZ *Ḳaḳ-), Chx. 543, BU 219 || **HS:** S *kakk- '(ε) tooth, sharp stick' > JA, Sr kak'k-ā, Md kaka 'tooth, molar', JEA kak'kā 'molar tooth', Ak kakk-u(m) 'stick, weapon' ¶ Br. 326, Lv. II 325, Sl. 580, DM 197, Sd. 422 || **IE:** NaIE *kōg-/*keg- 'hook, claw' > pGmc *xōka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > OHG hāko, hāgo, hākko, OFrs hok, MLG.hōk, MDt hoek, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook; ON hækja, NNr høkja 'Krücke' || Sl *kōgъtъ ~ *kōgъtъ > OR КОГОТЬ kogotъ, R, Uk 'коготь, Cz Δ kohát 'claw', HLs kocht 'awn, костеръ (a weed cereal)' || Ht kaka-s 'tooth' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, Ho. 167, Kb. 423, OsS 365, ESSJ X 109-10, Vs. II 275, Pv. IV 14-5, ≈ EI 272 (*ko(n)gōs 'hook'; *(n) on the problematic ev. of Mlr alchaining 'weapon rack' and Lt kéngė 'hook on the wall' [← MLH henge 'Hänge' ← Gmc verb for 'hang'], see Frn. 239) ¶ The lack of labialization of the IE stem-final cns. is still to be explained (infl. of N *goPḲa '[ε] tooth, hook, sharp stick'?) || **U** *kōkka 'a protruding point, hook' > FL *kōkka > F kōkka 'sth. protruding, a protruding point; stem of a ship (Vorderstevēn); penis', F Δ kōkka 'hook, fish-hook', Krl kōkka 'hook, Vorderstevēn', Krl A kōkku 'penis', Krl Ld kōk, kōkke 'hook, penis' | pLp {Lr.} *kōkkē (× N *goPḲa '↑') > Lp: N goakke {SK} 'hoe', {N} 'hood on a cradle', L {SK} kō^okke 'ein sich rückwärts biegendes Holz, das aus dem Vorderteils des Schlittens hervorstehet', {LLO} kōhkē 'Holzbogen als Schutzdach der Wiege', Nt {TI} kō^okkē, I {It.} koakki 'hook', Kld kuəḲa id., {SaR} куэ^hкь 'hook (вешалка, крючок)', Lp K kō^okkē 'hoe, hook' || pY {IN} *kōkə 'head (of a fish\animal)' (× N *ḲâRḲub̥p̥ 'top, summit, crown of the head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ UEW 171-2 (FU, Y), Lr. #468, Lgc. #2614, Hs. 630-1, SK 208-9, 225-6, Lr. #468, IN 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Jc. JR s.v. kōka || **A:** Tg *xūkte or *xüykte 'tooth' (probably < **xūk-kte or *xüyk-kte, where *-kte is a sx.) > Ewk

īktɜ 'tooth', Neg īktɜ 'tooth, canine', Nn xukte 'tooth', ? WrMc weyxе 'tooth, fang, horn', Jrc weyhe 'tooth' ¶ STM I 300, S AJ 215 [#129], Kiy. 124 [#182] || ??φ pJ {S} *kunki 'nail, peg, hook' > OJ kùg_Lì ~ kùg_Lì, J: T kùgi, K kùgí, Kg kùgi ¶ S QJ #889, Mr. 462 ¶ On the reflexes of Tg *-kt- (incl. *-kt- > Mc -x-) F Ci. 229-30 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1128 (A *k'ōkí 'hinge, hook'; incl. pJ *kunki), Vv. AEN 11 (Tg *xūkte ÷ ItOJ kiba 'fang' < pJ *ku|q-ɫi-n'ō' -pa 'fang-tooth' [Mr. 450]; denies the connection of Tg *xūkte with the N etymon in question) || D (tr., †GS} *kokk- 'hook' > Tm, Tl kokki id., Ml kokka 'clasp, hook', Kt koky, Td kw+ky, Kn kokki, kokke, Kdg kokke 'crook, hook', Tu kokkæ 'hook, clasp', Gnd kokki 'hoe' ¶¶ D #2032 ¶ The association of this D noun with the paronymous verb *kōkk-/ *kokk- 'bend' is secondary (folk et.). It brought about merged forms like Tl kōkki 'hook' ◇ The rec. *kaku presupposes that the labialization of the vw. in U, D, and Tg is due to N *U (still preserved in K as *w); the N vw. *a is reconstructed on the ev. of K and IE (initial *k- without labialization or palatalization). The long *-kk- in U may be explained by as. (N *kaku > **kaʔu). But if we prefer to suppose that the labialized vw. in U, A, and D is ancient, the N rec. must be *kōk∇ (which does not explain IE *k- and K *-a-) ◇ Fn. KD 342 (K, D) ◇ AD NM #91; S CNM 3 (÷÷ ST; suggests to adduce here A *gek'ō 'hook', which is less plausible from the phonetic point of view).

1020. *kuke 'dark, black' > K: G I kuḡun-aḡ-i 'dark, black', G kuḡun-et-i, kuḡun-at-i 'darkness' ¶ Chx. 638 ¶ K *-k- (rather than *-k-) is probably due to as. || HS: Eg fp kkw (= {Vc.} *[kikyaw]) 'darkness' > Cpt: Sd kake kake, B xakh k^haki ¶ EG V 142-3, Fk. 287, Vc. 74 ¶¶ Blz. KM #10 suggests to add Ak kukkû 'darkness', but it is likely to be a loan from Sum ku₁₀.ku₁₀ 'darkness' (CAD VIII 499) || A: M *köve 'soot' > MM [MA] köyē, WrM köge ~ kö ~ kögege, HIM xœœ, Mnr H {SM} k'ō id. ¶ MED 478, SM 204, T 339 || Tg: WrMc {Z} kuku 'black' (× kuku 'gray, blue' < N ≈ *k'Eho'ka 'green\blue'), ? {Z, Hr.} ku 'soot on the bottom of a kettle' ('Rußansatz des Kesselbodens') (from M?) ¶ Z 288-9, Hr. 597 ¶ Mc k- (regularly from Tg *k-) instead of Tg *x- is due to as. and/or to the merger with N ≈ *k'Eho'ka ◇ Fn. SK 97 [#160] (K, Sum kuku 'verdunkelt, Finsternis'), Blz. KM 116 [#10] (K, Eg. Ak).

1021. 2 Ll. *kaqa 'penis' > IE: NaIE *kak- 'male genitalia' > AS haḡan 'genitalia', MHG {KM} hagen, NHG Hagen, NGr Δ Hegel, NGr Sb {KM} heigel 'bull kept for breeding' ('Zuchtstier'), Haksch 'Zuchteber',

NHG hecken 'to mate' (birds), NE hetch; OHG hegidruos, hegidruosa, hegidruosi 'penis, testicle, pudendum', MHG hegedruos, heidruose 'testiculus, pudenda' ||| Ltv kakale 'penis, scrotum' | RChS КОУАНЪ кочанъ 'membrum virile' ¶ WP I 334, Kb. 443, OsS 378, Lx. 83, KM 295, ME II 132; ≠ Vs. II 356-7 and ≠ ESSJ X 104-5 (both: КОУАНЪ ← кочанъ 'cabbage-head') || U: FU ɫ *°kakk- > pObU *°kāk- > pVg *kāk- 'penis' > Vg: N {Mu.} kōk, UL {Kn.} kō:k, {Kn.} Ss kōg id. ⇨ Vg N {Mu.} kōkti 'coire' (the preservation of the stop -k may be due to ideophony or to the Lallwort-association of the Vg noun) ¶ WVD VII 142, MK 218, UEW 172.

1022. *KaKu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgel' > HS: B: Ah ā-kakkawa 'stick' ¶ Fc. 777-8 || IE: NaIE *keku- {P} 'keulenformiger Stock', 'Stock mit hammerartigem Quergriff' > Av čakuš- n. 'hammer\battle-axe for throwing' ('Wurfhammer, Wurfaxt'), NPrs چکش čäkoš 'a brazier's hammer' ||| Pru [El.] queke · "Stecle" ('Tannenast als Zaunstab'), Ltv čaka {Kar.} 'a cudgel with a side-branch', {ME} 'Knüttel mit Knorren\Wurzelende als Griff' ¶ WP I 381, P 543, Brtl. 575, ≈ Kar. I 184 (connects Ltv čaka with IE *kāk- 'bough, branch', which is err., because IE *k̄- yields Ltv s-), ≈ ME I 401 (unc. comparison of Ltv čaka with Cz čakan 'morning star'), En. 200, Tr. PK-L 380-2, Vl. I 584 ¶ The irreg. Ltv č- (for the expected k-) may be due to dialectal palatalization (F Rudz. LD 306-8) or borrowing from a different Baltic lge. || A [1] (< d.): T *°Kagu- > OT qāṣīl (Cl. qāṣīl) 'a willow shoot, a rod used for chastisement' ¶ Cl. 610 (supposed that the vw. a was long on the insufficient basis of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling with the letter 'alif) || M ≈ *qāqu'ṣ'ulī 'fishing rod' > WrM qāqu(i), HIM хажуль id., 'fishhook', Kl {Rm.} qaxūli id., {KRS} хажуль φαχυλ 'fishing rod', Brt хажули id. ¶ MED 947, KW 141, KRS 162, Chr. 564 ¶ The strange shape of the word and the unexpected long vw. ū in HIM, Brt, and Kl suggest borrowing | [2] ?φ A *k'Uk'∇ 'stalk, root' > T *k'ök 'root' > OT, MU, MQp, Chg [San.], Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr, CrTt, Qzq kök, Tk kök, Tv kœk, Chv кăк кьк, Δ k'ök 'root' ¶ Cl. 708, Rs. 287, ET KQ 91-2, TL 109, S AJ 182 [#67], Md. 51, 169 (*k'ök') || pKo *kòkìrì ~ *kòkòrì 'stalk' > MKo kòkìrì ~ kòkòrì, NKo kòk'cì id. ¶ S QK #481, Nam 401, MLC 1330 || pJ *kùkù-i 'stem, stalk' > OJ kuki, J: T/Kg kukí, K kúkì id. ¶ S QJ #166, Mr. 462 ¶¶ In A *k'Uk'∇ the rounded vw. of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ DQA #1076 (A *k'juyk'è 'root, stem'; incl.

T, Ko, J), S AJ 284 [#199] (both papers tie in Tg *xūk̄te 'tooth', which is hardly acceptable [≠σ]; F N ***ḳakU** 'hook', 'tooth, fang') || K: GZ ***ḳaḳw-** 'hook' (× N ***ḳakU** '↑', q.v. ffd.).

1023. *ḲoḲe 'to look, to see' > IE: NaIE ***k^weḱ-/k^woḱ-**, ***k^weḱ-s-**, ***k^weḱ-** 'see' > OI 'kāsātē 'appears, is brilliant, shines' (medium voice, which may be interpreted as 'is seen'), caus. (ava)kāsayati 'läßt hinblicken', Av ākasat̄ 'erblickte', NPrs **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** āgōh 'aware, wary; intelligent, knowing; prudent', **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** negōh ~ **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** negāh n. 'look, aspect; glance; observation'; ***k^weḱ-s-** > OI 'cāṣtē (3p cākṣatē) md. v. 'sees, appears', Av čaš-te, -āite 'teaches', MPrs čašītan 'to teach'; Av, OPrs čašman-, NPrs **چشم** čäšm 'eye' || Gk Ep τέκμωρ, Gk τέκμωρ 'fixed sign, fixed mark, boundary' || ***k^weḱ-** > Sl *kazā-ti (1s prs. *kažq) v. 'show' > OCS **КАЗАТИ** kazati, Slv kázati, R по-казать, Δ ка'зать 'to show', SCr kázati 'to show, to say', Blg 'кажа v. 'say', RChS, OR kazati, R с-казать, Δ ка'зать, Uk ка'зати, Blr ка'заць 'to say', OCz kázati, LLs kazaś, HLs kazać 'to order', Cz kázati, Slk kázat' 'to preach, to order', P kazać 'to narrate, to preach, to order' || ?φ It is tempting to adduce here WGmc {KM} *guggjōn > OHG (?) guckan 'to look', NHG gucken 'to look, to peep', NLG kucken, Yid **קוקן** kukn 'to look', ? Dt kijken id., but both the cns. and the vowels violate the reg. sound corr. (ideophonic factor, as.?) ¶ P 638-9, M K I 204, Vl. I 45 and II 1342-3, Sg. 90, 1424, F II 66-7, ESSJ IX 168-70, Kb. 415, KM 276, Vr. N 368-9, KM 276, Glh. 314-, E 25 (***k^weḱ-** ~ ***k^weḱ-** 'appear') || HS: C: SC: Kz kekem- v. 'hear' || DhI kēk- v. 'watch, look at' || ? Ag: Aw {Hz.} **ḱkoṽṽn**, **ḱkoṽṽn**, Knf {TBZAC} eg^waw v. 'hear' ¶ E SC 243, E K 13, EEN 11, To. D 139, Blz. CWL || U: FU ***koke-** v. 'see, experience, find' (× N ***gokE** [= ***goki?**] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of?') > F **koke-** v. 'experience, find out', Es **koqe-** v. 'fear', as well as 'experience, undergo' (a recent innovation due to the infl. of F) | Lp Kld {TI} **kuo]k-ā-** v. 'inspect the fishing equipment' || Sm {Jn.} ***k0-** v. 'see, find' > En (1s obj. aor.): En X **koabo**, En B **kuabo** 'suchen, finden', Ne T **xo-cb**, T O {Lh.} **xōś** v. 'find', Ne F {Lh.} **kō-ś** id., Sq Tz {KKIH} **q0-q0** 'to find, to catch sight of, to discover', Kms {Cs.} **kuíim**, {KD} 1s prs. **k'uíám** 'I see, examine, perceive, find', Koyb {Sp.} **кубамъ** 'I see', **куламъ** 'I find', Mt {HL} ***k0-** 'see, find' (Mt: M {Sp.} **коямъ** 'I find', K {M} **ischingo** 'I do not

see' [išchin 'I do not']) 𐤇𐤇 Coll. 25, UEW 171, SK 208, Jn. 72-3, Cs. 80, 181, KKI 162, KD 34, Hl. M #513 || D *kokk- v. 'raise the head or project the neck in order to see sth.' > Knd kok- 'raise\project the head while seeing a distant object', Kui gopka (< *gok-pa, p. gōkt-) 'stretch forth, stretch the neck in order to observe sth.', Ku gōk- 'look up, await' 𐤇𐤇 D #2180 ◇ IE *-g̃- in *^ok^ωe^{g̃}- (> Sl *kazǎ-ti) still needs explaining.

1024. 𐤇 *k^o'o'k[∇] 'beak', o'†to peck' (of a bird) > K: GZ *kək- v. 'peck, poke (with the beak), knock' (× o) > G kək- id., 'snatch a hasty meal', Mg kək- v. 'pound, grind, knock', Lz kək- id.; GZ *kək-ωŋ- v. 'peck' (of a bird) > G (amo)-kək- v. 'pick up (grain from a vessel, from the ground with the beak)', (a)-kək- v. 'pick up (grain from the ground)', (da)-kək- v. 'break sth. with the beak', Mg kəkən-, kīkən- v. 'peck' (of a bird), Lz kīkən- id., 'eat a little at a time' ('есть понемногу') 𐤇 K 108, K² 88, FS K 174 (*kək-) || U: FU *k[∇]kk- v. 'peck' (of a bird) > pPrm *k^okk- id. > Z koka^v-n† v. 'peck, gouge', Z US koka^l- id., Yz kokaś- v. 'have sexual relations', Vt kukčásk†-, Vt Ur kukčásk- v. 'peck' (of hens) 𐤇 LG 129, SZ 161 || A: AmTg *xak^o'- ~ *^oxoko- 'beak' > Nn Nh xaqaã, Ul xaqa(n-) 'beak', Ud {Shn.} ?ai, {Krm.} a? ~ ?a id., Ork xooqo(n-) id., 'nose (= front part) of a fish' 𐤇 STM I 17, Krm. 203 || D *kokk- ({†GS} *k-) 'beak' > Mnd kokku 'long beak, bill', Kn kokku, Tu kokku, kokkāyi, kōkāyi 'beak, bill', Kdg kokki 'beak' 𐤇𐤇 D #2034 ◇ The absence of regular correspondence of vowels of the first syll. may be attributed to onomatopoeia and ideophony.

1025. *k^oa^l∇(-m∇) 'spot, stain; be spotty' > IE: [1] NaIE *kel- 'spot, stain' > OI kar'ka- 'white, a white horse', NPrs چرك čerk 'dirty; matter (pus, sanies vulneris)' || Gk κελλός 'gray', κελευός 'black' || [2] NaIE *kel-mo- 'stain' > OI kalmaṣa-ḥ 'stain, dirt', NPrs {Sg., BM} چرمه čärme 'white\gray horse', Krd čerme 'white' || NGr Sw Helm 'a white blaze on the cattle's forehead', Sw Δ hjälm {Hlq.} 'white blaze on the cattle's\horse's forehead', Sw hjälmig 'having a white head or a white blaze on the forehead' (of cattle\horses) || [3] ?φ NaIE *kāl-/*käl- 'stain' > Gk κηλῆς / κηλῆδος, Gk D καλῆς 'stain' || L cālidus, callidus {WH} 'mit einer Blässe auf der Stirn versehen' (of horses), Um CALERSU kaleřuf accus. pl. 'cal(l)idos, with a white forehead (oxen)', ? L caligo 'fog, darkness' || ? OIr caile, later (Mlr) gaile 'stain' || Lt kalýbas, kalývas 'white-necked' | Sl *kaľ 'dirt, mud' >

OCS, OR **КАЛЪ** kalъ, SCr **kāl** ~ **kāo** 'dirt, slime', Blg **кал** 'dirt', Slv **kāl** 'dirt in a puddle', Cz, Slk **kal** 'liquid dirt, mud', P **kał** 'dirt, puddle', R **кал** 'faeces' ¶ P 547-8, M K I 171, 184, VI. I 570, BM 163, Sg. 891, FI 813-4, 840-1, WH I 139-40, Bc. G 330, Vn. C 11-2, LP § 258, Frn. 208, Hlq. 357, ESSJ IX 127-9, Glh. 310 || **HS**: S *^o✓q̄lm 'stain' > Gz **q̄alm-at** 'stain, blemish' ({Di.} 'macula') ¶ ≈ L G 428 || **A**: M *qalī^uun > MM [S] **qalī^uun** 'brown horse with a black mane and a black tail', WrM **qalī^uun**, HIM **халиун** 'brown, isabella'; M *qaltar 'variegated, spotted' > WrM **qaltar**, HIM **халтар** id., 'blemished; having a white muzzle', Kl {Rm.} **χaltṛ** 'brown with a bright muzzle or a white mane'; M ⇨ Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qc/QK/Qb {Rl.} **qaltar** 'brown with a white mane' (of horses), R Δ **халтарый** 'bay with brighter spots' (of horses), WrMc **qaltara** 'dark-bay with a white breast, a bright muzzle, and a white blaze on the forehead' (of horses) ¶ MED 920, H 58, KW 163, Rl. II 259, Z 257-8 || T *Kaí- 'white blaze' (× T *k'áí 'bare, without hair' < N ***Ḳaíṣû** 'bare, naked') > Chg **قاش** qaš 'a white blaze on the forehead of a horse', Xk **χazar-** 'turn gray' (of hair), 'become white\bright', Tv **qažarar-** 'go gray' (of hair), 'show white (from afar)', Tlt {Rl.} **qažay-** id., **qažaj^uan čač** 'gray hair'; T *Kaí-Ka 'white blaze' > OT {Cl.} **qaš^ua** 'with a white head and darker body' or 'with a white blaze on the forehead', Tkm Δ, Az **qaš^ua** 'white blaze on the forehead of an animal (esp. horse)', Tk Δ, Uz, ET, Ln, VTt, Bsh, Qrg **qašqa**, Blq **qaš^uχa**, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY **qasqa**, Xk **χas^uχa**, Chv (⇨ a NaT lge) **χuška**, Δ **χurška** id. ¶ Cl. 671, ET KQ 350-1, Rl. II 395, 398-9, TvR 218 ¶ T *í (for the expected *l) may be due to the infl. of *k'áí 'bare, without hair; bald place' || **D** (in SD) *kaí- ({ḡGS} *k-) 'stain, spot, mole' > MI **kala** 'mark as of small-pox, scar, mole', Kn **kale**, **kali** 'scar of an old wound, mark of small-pox, stain of mud\oil', Kdg **kale** 'scar, white spot on nail', Tu **kalæ** 'scar, mark, blemish, stain'; D ⇨ OI **kalañka-** 'stain, soil, impurity', **kalanā-** 'stain, blot' ¶ D #1313, M K I 177-8.

1026. *Ḳêla (= *Ḳela?) 'stalk, a hair' > IE: NaIE ***kei-** 'stalk' (→ 'arrow') > OI (× N ***ḲERU** [= ***ḲERU**] 'hair') **śa'ra-** 'reed (Saccharum sara), arrow', **śa'la-h** 'staff', '**śala-** 'hedgehog's needle', **śal'ya-** 'spear-head, arrow-head'; (× NaIE ***ker-** 'hair' < N ***ḲERU** 'hair'?) the second part (***śala-**) of OI **ka'pucchalam** 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd. with ***kaput-** 'head') ||| Arm **սաղարթ** sałart^h 'leafy branch, leaf, long hair' ||| Gk **κῆλα** ntr. pl. 'arrows' ||| OIr **cáil**

'spear (lance, javelot)' (< *k̂l̂-yo-) || ON *hali* 'point of a shaft; tail' || Pru *kelian* 'spear' (a centum-reflex of *k̂-), unless it is from IE *kel- v. 'prick' || pAl {O} *cala > Al *thel* (< *k̂ol-ni or *k̂l̂-ni) 'big nail, spike' ¶ P 552-3, M K III 306, 313-4, M E II 615-6, 621-2, F I 838, Vn. C 10-1, Vr. 204, En. 192, Tp. P I-K 307-8, O 473-4, ≈ E I 537 (*k̂el(H)- '[spear]point') || A {S} *k'ıl̂(-ka) 'thick hair' > T *k'ıl̂k' id. > NaT *k'ıl̂ id. > OT qıl̂ 'hair' (esp. 'horse hair, bristle'), MU, Tb qıl̂ 'hair of the tail', Tkm qıl̂, Ggz kıl̂, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt qıl̂, Uz, ET qıl̂ 'hair', Tf hıl̂ 'horse hair', Tk kıl̂, Az qıl̂, Qmq qıl̂, Tv χıl̂ 'hair, bristle', VTt, Bsh qъл̂ 'horse hair, bristle', Ln qıl̂, Xk χıl̂ 'hair, wool', SY qıl̂ 'wool' || Chv хѣлѣх хьльх 'horse hair, string' ¶ Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 220-1), the pT word-final cluster *-l̂K regularly yields NaT *-l̂ and Chv -л̂k|χ or -л̂k|χ (distribution of ъ and ь acc. to the laws of vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 614, Rs. W 262, ET Q 204-5, TL 196-7, Ra. 192-3, Jeg. 297-8, Fed. II 342, S AJ 178 [#37], Md. 70, 168 || M *kilga-sun 'horse hair' > MM [S] {H} kıl̂qasun 'hair of horse tail', WrM kıl̂qasun, HIM хялгас(ан) 'horse hair', Kł {Rm.} kıl̂ұъс̂ı̂ id., {KRS} килһсн 'hair, horse hair', Dg {Mrm.} хилас, хиласе, хиласѣ 'thread, string (Schnur)' {Mr.} šilāse, {T} šilās 'thread' ¶ H 102, MED 466, Klz. D I 139, Mr. D 216, KRS 300, KW 231, T DgJ 183 || Tg *xiń-ɲa-kta 'hair', *xińɲa- 'take off the hair from the hide' > Nn {Gru.} xir̂a-xta, Nn Nh sɲa-ɲta 'wool, down', Ul sɲaɲta, Ork sɲaɲta, Orc iɲaɲta, Ewk iɲaɲta, Lm ɲɲɲt, Neg i(ń)ńakta ~ ińɲakta 'animal's hair, wool, down', Ud iɲakta 'wool, human body hair', Sln iɲakta ~ iɲatta 'wool, hair', WrMc iɲɲaxa 'down (of birds and mammals)', Ewk iɲa- 'take\scrap off the hair from the hide' ¶ STM I 247 || pKo {S} *kār(h)- 'hair, horse's mane' (× N *Kalŷ ▽ '[lock of] hair, eyebrow, eyelash') > MKo kārki 'horse's mane', NKo m̂ɹi-k̂arak, m̂ɹi-k̂aɫ 'hair (of one's head)' (m̂ɹi means 'head'), kālki 'mane', Ko: Chs k̂aɫ, PhN k:aɫ, Ks k̂áɫ, Hm k̂âɫ, Sl q̂aɫ 'hair' ¶ S QK #115, MLC 43, 608 || J: Starosin (S AJ 255 #115) adduces pJ *káɲ 'hair' > OJ ke, [RJ] ké, J T kè (S QJ #34, Mr. 447), but the word may alternatively (to my mind, more plausibly) belong to N *Kalŷ ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || D *kel(ɫ)- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'hair, feather' > Gnd kel (pl. -k) id., Knd kelu (pl. -ku), Png kel (pl. -ku), Ku kellū (pl. kelka) 'feather'. Kui kelu (pl. -ka) 'large feather, quill', Krx kalgā 'plumes' ¶¶ D #1973 ◇ The D and IE cognates point to a N *e, so that the vowels *i and *I in the Altaic lgs. are still to be explained ◇ Cp. IS I

351-2 [#228] (**Ḳila* 'stalk, a hair'; IE, A, D + **÷* FU **kalke* 'hair' [actually belonging to N **Ḳaly* ▽]).

1026a. **Ḳe* | A 'speak, say' > A: T **Kälä*- v. 'speak, say' (→ 'ask') > Chv *kala*- 'speak, say', Xk *kule*- 'ask for', VTt K *keläü* 'to prey', VTt Δ *keläü* 'to wish'; d.: NaT **Käläçü* 'speech, word(s)' > OT {Cl., DTS} *keläçü*, Chg *käläçi*, *käläçü*, Tk Δ *keleži* ≈ *geleži*, Tk EAn *gäläži* id., Blq *keleci*, Qmq *geleči* ¶ The vw. **ä* in the first syll. (unexpected in the light of the D cognate) may be due to the infl. of N **ḲAyLa* (if it actually was **ḲäyLa*) 'shout, call' ¶ Cl. 716, Rs. W 248, ET KQ 32-3, DTS 296, TTDS, Jeg. 85-6, Fed. I 214-5 || ? pKo {S} **kàró*- 'say' (× N **ḲAyLa* 'shout, call' and possibly N **ḡU₁ḡ₁▽* 'speak, call') > MKo *kàródáj*, NKo *kalodue* 'say' ¶ S QK #91, Nam 11, MLC 12 || HS: EC: Sa {R} -*kal*- ~ -*kal*- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. '*əḡe₁e₁* ~ '*əḡe₁e₁*, prs. '*aḡā₁e₁* ~ '*əḡe₁e₁* ~ '*əḡe₁e₁*) (× N **ḡU₁ḡ₁▽* '↑') ¶ R S II 232 || D **ke* | - ({*ḡGS*} **k^re¹* | -) v. 'speak' (× N **ḲAyLa* '↑?') > Tm *kiḷa*- v. 'express clearly, mention\state specifically', *kiḷavv* 'word, speech', *kiḷappu* 'speech, utterance', Gnd *kel*(l)- v. 'tell' ¶¶ D #2017b ◇ The attempt to find a common source of the above words for 'speak, say' and those for 'tongue' (our **Ḳeḡ|hi¹lé* 'tongue') (IS I 346-7, #221 [**Ḳä¹H¹ä* > U, A) and my own former investigation) is less convincing from both semantic and phonetic points of view (e.g., the discrepancy between **l* in the N lexeme for 'speak, say' and **l* in that for 'tongue').

1027. (₂?) **ḡe* | ▽ (or **ḡeḡ* | ▽) 'lack, be insufficient' > K **ḡel*-/**ḡal*- > OG, G *ḡel*-/*ḡl*- v. 'lack, be short of, diminish' (× N **Ḳa^rḡ* | ▽ '[be] few, [be] too small\thin\light', q.v.): aor. -*ḡel* (*da-v-a-ḡel* 'ich zog ab, ich verminderte'), prs. *m-a-ḡl-s* 'I lack' (literally 'to me is insufficient'), G X *ḡal*-/*ḡl*- v. 'lack, be insufficient', Mg, Lz *ḡor*- v. 'need, wish' (acc. to IS I 323, the stem-final *r* in a verb suggests a denominative origin: Zan **ḡor* 'a need' < K **ḡal*-), Sv *m-a-ḡu* 'I need' (*ḡu* < **ḡ₀*-), *ḡl*- (*x-o-ḡl-i* 'he lacks', *li-ḡl-i* 'to lack'); acc. to IS, Sv *ḡl*- is a loan from G | → GZ **m-ḡl-e*- 'deprived, lacking' (→ 'short') > OG, G *moḡle*-, G X *mḡle*-, Lz *mḡule*- 'short', Mg cd. *ḡe-ḡule* 'deprived of a hand' (with *ḡe*- 'hand') ¶ K 106 (**ḡal*-), K² 89 (**ḡel*-/*ḡl*-), 123 (**m-ḡl-e*-), Schm. 119, F KW3 24, FS K 173, FS E 189 (**ḡel*-/**ḡl*- 'diminish, be deprived of, lack'), Chik. 296, Mach. XS 270 || U **ke* | | ▽ > FU **ke* | | *ke*- v. 'need, must, shall' > pLp {Lr.} **k₃l₃*- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} *galgedh*, U {Schl.} *gal'gat* id., L {LO} *kal'kat* 'werden, sollen, müssen', N {N} *gâl'gât* 'shall, must', Kld

кэ́л:геδ 'need, shall, must' | Er † кельге- ке́йге-, Mk кельго- ке́йга- v. 'love' | Chr L күл күл (inf. күлеш), H 'келеш кел-' 'it is necessary, must', Uf күл- v. 'need, must', B күл- 'nötig sein, brauchen' | Prm {LG} *кәл- > StZ ков-ны, Z US күл-, Prmk, Yz көл- v. 'be needed\necessary; want, like', StVt күлә күлә, Vt Ur/B күлә, Vt Shm күвә 'is necessary, should be' || Hg кәлл- v. 'be wanted\necessary' || ? F келраа- v. 'fit' ('taugen, annehmlich sein') may belong to U *кәл|]∇-, but not to FU *кәл|]ке- || Sm: Slq Nr/Ch {Cs.} келемна- v. 'lack' ('fehlen, mangeln') ¶¶ Coll. 87 (*кәлке-), UEW 145 (FU *кәлке-), Sm. 543 (FU, FP *кәлки-, Ugr *кәлкӱ- 'must'), Db. OS xxxii, Lr. #305, Hs. 551-2, ERV 250, P 108, MRS 190, 258, Ep. 41, LG 125, MF 348-9, Sz. MNyH 122 || A: ?σ NaT *Kilä- ({Md.} *Kile-) 'wish, ask for' > Chv кәле кәле- id., QrB кәле- v. 'want', VTt Msh кәля- кәля- v. 'wish, want', Xk кәле- кәле- v. 'ask, care', Ln кәле-, Slr кәле- ~ кәля- ~ кәли- 'ask, wish', Slr U кәля-, Slr E кәле|ä|i- 'be required, incumbent' ¶ Tn. SJ 379, TTDS 237, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 270-1, BIG 79, Md. 75, 168 ◇ If NaT *Kilä- belongs here, its deviant vw. *i is to be explained ◇ IS I 323 (*кәл in K, U, Slr *÷ T *к'ärgä- 'be insufficient, lack').

1028. ₂ *Кәл|]а 'beat, strike' > HS: S *°кәл|] > Ar қалы (pf. قَالَى qalā, n. ag. қалы-) 'frapper qn. à la tête; renverser, abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', 'frapper le bois қалат-un avec un autre appelé miqlā?- (jeu d'enfants)' (قَالَى qulat- 'petit morceau de bois placé verticalement sur le sol et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau de bois appelé miqlā?-') ¶ BK II 808 || D *кәл- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *Кәл|]а 'to knock, to strike, to hit' and partially N *gola 'to kill') > Tm көл v. 'strike, hit', көл 'killing, murder', Ml көлкә, көл|]ikka v. 'hit', Kt көл-/кәл- v. 'pain, trouble, Td кәл|]- v. quarrel', v. '(urine) troubles' (sc. 'troubles one who wishes to urinate'), Tu көл|]pini v. 'hit', көл|]puni, көл|]puni v. 'come into collision', Klm гәл- v. 'beat, shoot with bow', Nkr гәл- v. 'strike, beat, kill' ¶¶ D #2152 || IE: in BSI the expected reflex of N *Кәл|]а (NaIE *°кәл|]ә- 'strike') is likely to have merged with IE *кәл|]ә-/°кәл|]ә- > NaIE *кәл|]ә-/°кәл|]ә- v. 'strike, beat' (< N *Кәл|]а '↑', q.v.), but the accentuation in the BSI infinitive (Lt kälti, Ltv kält, pSl *кәл|]-ti), in Lt kältas 'chisel' and kältis 'smith' points to a lr. in the IE √, so that the main source of the IE root is N *Кәл|]а.

1029. *Kōlā (or *Kōl_{ly}ä?) 'long, far' > IE: NaIE *k^wel- 'far, distant' > OI cara'ma- 'last, the outermost', KhS tcarama- 'last, even' || Gk τῆλε 'far off, at a distance, afar', Gk τηλοῦ, Gk Ae πῆλυι 'afar, far away', Gk πάλαι 'long ago' || Brtt {RE} *pellōs 'far' > OW, MW, W, Cm, Br pell 'far', OBr pell 'far (in time)' ({Flr.}: 'far in space' is not attested), W pellaf 'the outermost' ¶ WP I 517-8, P 640, M K I 377, M E I 533, Bai. 136, F II 465, 891-2, RE 93, Flr. 282 (Clt < IE *k^welso) || **U**: FV *kü|lyä 'wide, broad' > pLp {Lr.} *k₃lyē 'broad' > Lp: S {Hs.} guljeke, L {LO} kal'jē, N {N} gâl'lje | Er ke'ie, Mk ke'í 'breadth'; Er ke'ley, ke'ew, ke'ej, Mk ke'í 'broad' ¶ UEW 663. Lr. #304, Lgc. #1911, Hg. 678 || **A**: M *qola 'far, distant' > MM [IM, MA, IsV] qola, WrM qola, Hlm xολ, Klm χολῶ, Mnr {T} χολο, {SM} χολο ~ χυλο, Ba, Dx χολο, Dg χολ, MMgl qolā, Mgl {Rm.} qολο 'far' ¶ Pp. MA 306, 445, MED 956, T 376, Iw. 127 || ??φ pKo *k'ir- 'long', v. 'prolong' > MKo k'ir'ú-, NKo kirI- 'prolong', NKo k'īl- 'long' ¶ S QK #49, Nam 81, MLC 264, 279 ¶¶ unc.: S AJ 295 [#524] and DQA #829 || **HS**: AdS of Eg fP k₃y 'be high', 'high, tall', k₃.ω 'height, length' (its main source is N *k_aā'h' 'high; be high'; more likely than N *g_aʔi ~ *g_aʔy∇ 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 1-4, Fk. 275 || **D** *kōl ({{GS}} *k-) > Kn kōl, kūl 'length, largeness', Tl kōlu 'big, huge; much, very' ¶¶ D #2239 || **Gil**: Gil A k'āl- 'be long', k'āla 'long' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ The IE ev. rules out pN *-í- ~ *-ly-, because a palatal element within a N word would have brought about a "movable *s-" in IE. Therefore *y in FV and Eg is likely to go back to a sx. If the FV cognate is *külyä, its vw. *ü is due to regr. as. ◇ Blz. LB #104b and Blz. LNA #27 (suggested to equate A with D).

1030. *Kōl∇ '(big) fish' (or *Kōl∇ and *kaI∇?) > IE: NaIE *k^wolal- 'ε big fish' > KhS, YAv kara, Sgd krω kpy 'ε monster fish' || OHG *hwalis > MHG wels > NHG Wels 'sheatfish, Silurus', Gmc *x^walirōn id. > OHG {P←?} hwelira, NHG {Paul} Weller id. (but OHG walir, walira 'whale'); Gmc *x^walaz ~ *x^waliz 'whale' > ON hvalr, AS hwæł, NE whale, OHG (h)wal, MHG wal, NHG Wal, Wal-fisch id., MHG wels 'sheatfish' || Pru kalis - "Welz" 'sheatfish, Silurus glanis' | ?σ Sl {Trb.} *k_l.bъ ~ *k_l.bъ 'Gobio fluviatilis (ε small fish)' > P kielb, R Δ κολβ, κολβ id. | Lt kilbūkas id., 'fish' (unless from P) || ?? A possible cd. *Hs-k^wal- may be represented by Gk ἄσπαλος 'fish' and L squalus 'ε a big fish' ({WH} 'Meersaugfisch?') (unless we accept P's suggestion that s- in Lsqualus is based on the analogy of squatus

'e a big fish' and squāma 'scale') ǰ Bai. 53, WH II 581-2, P 958 (*^(s)k^walo-s or *k^walo-s 'eine größere Fischart?'), LS 259, F I 167-8, SevR IEShF, Vr. 268-9, Ho. 179, Kb. 1136-7, OsS 435, 1082, Schz. 307, Lx. 306, 317, KM 834, 851, Paul 719, 734, En. 188, Tp. P I-K 168-71, ≈ H 510 (*^(s)k^walo-s 'sheatfish, wels'), Trb. SE29-39: 38 || **HS**: EC: Af {PH} kúllum, Sml {DSI} kallūn, Sml N {Abr.} kállūn 'fish', kallūm- 'catch fish' ǰ PH 151, DSI 357, Abr. S 148, ≠ AD SF 81-2 || Ch: WCh: Hs kúlmā 'e large fish' || CCh *k^ri|u^rip- 'fish' (× N *kⁱR[∇]P[∇] '[e?] fish', q.v. ffd.) > BM *k[∇]lf[∇] > Kib kàlfi, Br k+lfa, Mrg xilif, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì 'fish' | Higi sb.: HgNk k+lþé, HgB k+lþó, Kps kùlùp^wé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu id. | McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, Glv kúlfà, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc kèlèté id. | Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílif, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. | Db {Lnh.} kílif, Kola {Sb.} kilúf id. | Ms kuluf-fa, {Kr.} kulufna, Bnn kùlùvá 'fish' ǰ Ba. 636, ChC, ChL, Ro. 252 || ? SES: Jb {Thm.} kāl, Mh {Thm.} kell 'whale' || ?? Ak kulīl- ~ kulull- 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' (a reborrowing from Sum or borrowing of a Sum cognate of the N word?) ǰ Thm. 100, CAD VIII 526-7 ǰ OS #1496 || **U** *kala 'fish' > FU *kala > F, Es kala id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōlē > Lp S {Hs.} gūollie, L {LO} kuollē, N {N} guolle, Kld kūll' | Er/Mk kal id. | Chr H/L/Uf/B kol id. || ObU *kūl id. > pVg *kūl > Vg: T kōl, LK/UL/Ss xūl, MK/UK kūl, P/NV/SV/LL/ML kul, pl. kūlæt; pOs *kul > Os: V/Vy quł, Ty/Y quł, D/K χuł, Nx χūt, Kx χūł, O χul | Hg hal id. || Sm {Jn.} *kālā, {Hl.} *kale 'fish' > Ne T халя, Ne O {Lh.} χā́'е, Ne F {Lh.} kā́'á'ā, Ng {Mik.} kol+, En X {Cs.} kaře, En B {Cs.} kare, Slq Tz {KKIH} qēl+, Kms {KD} k'ōřā, Koyb {Sp.} кола, Mt {Hl.} *kālā (Mt: M {Mll.} chállä, {Pl.} ghallä, галле, {Sp.} kele, K {Mll.} chállì, {Pl.} kalé, T {Mll.} kállä) || ?? pY {IN} *qal- 'fish (??)' > cd.: YT qaldawa {IN} 'scales, hide', {Ku.} 'scales, bark' (qal- 'fish [?]' + sawa 'hide, skin') ǰ Coll. 21, It. #18, UEW 119, Sm. 538 (U, FU *kālā, FP *kala, Sm *kālā 'fish'), Lr. #511, Lgc. #2886, Hs. 689, Ht. #245, Jn. 59, KKIИ 161, Hl. M #461, IN 244, Ku. 250, 295 || **A**: [1] A *k'ol[∇] 'fish' > M *oqoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *ko^l∇[∇] [↔ *ko^l∇[∇]?] 'to peel, to bark') > WrM qolisun, HIM холис(он) 'fish-skin' ǰ MED 959 || Tg *xol-sa 'fish' > Ewk ołlo, Lm olrъ, Neg oło, Orc olto, Ud {Krm.} ołoho, Ul xolto(n-), Nn Nh/KU xolto ǰ STM II 14, Krm. 275; the cluster *-ls- is reflected by Lm -lr-, Ud -loh-, etc. (in spite of Vovin's doubts [Vv. AEN 3-4]) || pKo {S} *kòràḡ 'whale',

МКо {S} kòràj, {Vv.} kuòlày, NKo korä id. ¶ S QK #1081, MLC 138 | [2] ? Tg *kali € a freshwater fish' > Ewk kali 'crucian (carp)' ('карась'), Ud kali 'cisco (Coregonus)' ('сиг') ¶ STM I 366 ¶ The unexpected *k- (for *x-) suggests borrowing || (a loanword?) М *qalimu 'whale' > WrM qalimu, HIM, Brt † халим id.; М б→ (possibly) Tg *kalima 'whale' > Ewk kalim 'whale', Ewk A kalim id., 'fish in its seasonal running in rivers (ходовая рыба)', Lm qalim, Neg kalim, Orc kalima ~ kālma, Ud kalima, Ul qalma, Ork, Nn qaluma, WrMc qalimu 'whale' ¶ MED 920, Chr. 538, STM I 366-7, Ci. 309 ¶¶ S CNM 2 reconstructs A *k'ula and suggests to adduce Ko-J (sic!) *kur∇-ra 'whale'; Vv. AEN 3-4 (does not find the reason to reconstruct *-sa in Tg *xol-sa); ≈ DQA #713 (A *kalu 'a k. of fish'), #1042 (A *k'ula 'a k. of big fish'; adduces pJ *kàra 'plaiçe') || D *koll- ({ǵGS} *k-) '€ fish' > MI kolli, Tu koleji '€ fish'; ? Gnd kīl 'fish' ¶¶ D #2139 ◇ IS I 288-9 [#155] (*kala > Tg *kalima, U, HS), AD GD #161 (U, C, Tg *xol-sa 'fish'), MichMR 8-11, AD NM #73, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn), Vv. AEN 3-4. The vw. *a of the first syll. (for the expected *o) in U *kala and in Tg *kali is puzzling, so that we may suggest two N words: (1) *kaI∇ for U and for Tg *kali, (2) *KōI∇ for the rest ◇ ≈ Gr. II #156 (*kal 'fish') (IE, U, A, Ko, Gil, CK + qu. EA + err. J).

1031. ₂ *kôL∇ (bA) (or *K-?) dog\wolf, whelp' > IE: NaIE *ok^ωol-/*okul-, *k^ωelb-/*k^ωolb- '(young?) dog' > Lt kalẽ, kãlẽ 'bitch' || Gmc *x^ωelþo-z, *x^ωalþo-z 'whelp, young dog' > ON hvelþr, Dn hvalþ, Sw valþ, AS, OSx hwelp, NE whelp, MDt welp, wulp, wolþ, OHG welpf 𐌿 welp̄h, MHG welf, NHG Welf id. || ? Gk EI [Hs.] κύλλα · σκύλαξ 'young dog' (or 'young animal') || Al kelysh 'young of animal, cub' ¶ Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Kb. 1168, OsS 438, Schz. 315, KM 851, Frn. 208, F II 47, O 176-7, ≈ EI 168 (?? *(s)koli 'young dog') || HS: S: [1] S *kaI_ab- 'dog' > Hb כַּלְבַּי 'kələḅ (pl. כַּלְבִּים kələḅ-īm), Ph, Ug, IA, Sb klb, Amr {G} kalbum, JA {Trg.}, JEA כַּלְבָּא kal'b-ā, Sr كَلْبٌ kal'b-ā (abs., cs. كَلْبٌ kə'ləḅ with ε [e] due to a late Aram distribution: the second vw. in nomina segolata is always e unless preceding a lr. or r), Md kalba, Ar kalb-, Gz kalb, Tgr kəlb, Tgy kəlbi, Ak kalbu(m) 'dog', Sq {L} kalb 'dog, wolf', Mh {Jo.} kawb (pl. kəḅlōb), Hrs {Jo.} kawb ~ kōb (pl. kəḅlōb), Jb E/C {Jo.} kəḅ (pl. 'kəḅlōb) 'wolf, dog' ¶ KB 453, A #1313, OLS 214-5, Dlm. 188, Sl. 580, BK II 921, G A 22, L LS 218, L G 282, Jo. M

208, Jo. J 130 ¶ The SES cognates (Mh *kawb*, etc.) point to S **kalb*- rather than **kalab*-, because the reg. Mh reflex of **kalab*- would have been **kaḷēb* [2] a variant without deglottalization: S **o*✓*ḳ*ḷb in OYmn *ḳlwb* ({Slw.} *qillawb*-) 'Schakalwolf' ¶ Slw. 183-4 || B: Ty {Fc.} *ākūlan* 'wolf, lycaon' ¶ Fc. 799 || CCh: BM: BuP {ChL} *klā*, Bu {ChL} *kilā*, Cb {ChL} *klɔ̀à*, WMrg {ChL} *klɔ̀a*, *kìyà* 'dog' || Ktk: Bdm {Cfr.} *kàlé*, {Lk.} *keḷi*, Lgn {Lk.} *kàlè*, {Bou.} *gàléw*, Gf {Lk.} *gàleu* (pl. *gàllē*), {Lbf.} *gèḷew*, Ktk Mk {Lbf.} *keḷew*, Ktk Ks {Lbf.} *keḷe*, Ktk Af {Lbf.} *gàḷē* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'dog', ChL, Lk. ZSS 145, 147, Lk. B 112, Lbf. VC 162 ¶¶ OS #1521 ◇ HS **k* results from deglottalization of **ḳ*, which suggests that in thim etymon the initial cns. was **ḳ*-, but **q*- is not excluded either (if the merger of **ḳ* and **q* preceded the HS deglottalization) ◇ N **bA* (within **ḳôL* ▽ *bA*) is an adjectival pc. forming animal names (see N **bA*) ◇ Cf. Trnt. NE2 20 (S, IE: Gmc, Lt), BmK 474 s.v. **k*^ω[^h]aḷp'- / **k*^ω[^h]əḷp'- (S, IE: Gmc). The identification of the rounded vw. in pN is still a problem. The Elean Gk and Tayert Tw cognates suggest N **u*. Cp. N **o*gUḥÍE *bA* (see N **gUḥÍE* ≈ canine animal').

1032. *Ḳuṯ'ā' 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') > IE: NaIE **k*^ωeḷ- 'clan, troop' > OI *kr̥'ḡt̥i*- 'man, people, race' || Gk *τέλος* 'body of soldiers' || SI **čelādь* (< ***čel-jadь*) 'family', (coll.) 'younger\subordinate members of the family' > OCS *челѣдь* *čeljadь* 'populus, familia', Blg *челяд*, *челед* 'children, family', SCr *čeljād* 'women\members of the family' (coll.), 'family', Cz *čeled'* 'servants, clan', Slk *čel'ad'* id., 'relatives', OR *челѣдь* *čelāđь* [*čelāđь*] 'slaves, servants', R *челядь* 'house-serfs' (coll.); SI **čelo-věky* 'person (human being)' (lit. 'child [**věky*] of the clan [**čel-o-*]) > OCS *чловѣкъ* *člověky*, Blg *човек*, Slv *človek*, Cz *člověk*, P *człowiek*, R *человек* 'person (human being)', SCr *човек* *čòvjek*, SCr K *човек* 'person, man (male person)', Uk *чоловік* id., 'husband' ¶ WPI 517, P 640, M KI 263-4, F II 871-3, ESSJ IV 40-2, 48-50, Glh. 181 || HS [1] C: Bj {R} 'kilmo 'Gehöft, Dorf' ¶ R WbD 142 || Ch (× N **gūṯA* 'dwelling, house?'): Ech: Ke {Eb.} *kuḷi* 'village, house', Kwn, Smr {J} *kùlù*, Li {ChC} *kúl* 'hut' || WCh: SBc: Bg *k^ωàl* 'house, hut', Kir {ChL} *k^ωàl* 'house', Buli {ChL} *k+la*, {IL} *kā̀lā* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 74 || [2] (× N **kalw* ▽ 'together, whole'): S **kull*- 'all, every, the totality' > Hb *כָּל* 'kol / -כָּל' *kull*- 'all' (cs. *כָּל כָּל*), Ph, M'b, Amn, Ug, OA, OSA *kl*, Pun *kl*, [Plt.] CHYL or CHIL,

IA, Htr kl ~ kωl, BA כֹּל kol, em. כֹּל kol¹-ā, JEA {Sl.} כֹּל kol¹-ā, BA, JA, JEA cs. כֹּל kol, Sr W कुल कुल /kull-, Sr E كل kol, Md kul, Ar كَلْ kull- id., Gz k^ωall- 'all', k^ωall-ū 'every-thing\body, all', Ak kull- aṭu 'all, totality'; S *kull- → B: Tmz kul, ku, Kb kul, mkul, -mkull (followed by a noun in état libre) 'every, all off' (the hyp. of borrowing is confirmed by a phonetic argument: in Kb the cns. k has not undergone either lenition or palatalization *k > ʃ [compulsory for intervoc. *k in Kb]); S *k¹a¹- (*-a- due to the merger with N *ka¹w[∇]): Amr {G} ka¹a 'all' and possibly SES: Mh kāl-, kali-, Hrs ka¹, kā¹, kall-, Jb E kol, kəl-, Jb C kəh¹, kə¹, 'kə, Sq {Jo.} kol, ka¹ id. ¶ KB 451-2, 1724, HJ 500-7, A #1320, OLS 213-5, Sl. 559-60, DM 206, Nld. MG § 226, Br. 326-7, BK II 918, BGMR 77, L G 281, Jo. M 207, Jo. H 67, CAD VIII 504-6, G A 22, MT 329-30, Dl. 400 || SC: Irq {E} kila 'very much, completely' ¶ E SC 288 || SOm {Tk.} *k^ωull- 'all' > {Bnd., Fl.}: Dm kull, Hm, Hm K wull 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || U: FU *kü¹l¹ä 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *gü¹A 'dwelling, house', q.v. ffd.) || A: NaT *k¹ul 'slave' (× N *ku¹∇ 'to work', q.v. ffd. × N *g¹U¹U¹ 'boy, child') || D: AdS of D *kū¹li 'working for wages' (< N *ku¹∇ '↑' × N *g¹U¹U¹ '↑') ◇ Not here Sv L q¹law 'child, boy' (⇔ S CNM 9), see N *g¹U¹U¹ '↑' ◇ IS I 362-3 [#239] (*Ḳū¹lā 'community, clan').

1033. ² *Ḳ¹u¹∇ 'brown' > HS: B *^o-y¹wā¹- 'be brown' > Ah, ETwl i¹ywā¹ 'be brown' ¶ Fc. 1746, GhA 74 || A *k¹u¹∇ > NaT *Kula > OT {Cl.} qulā 'dun with black mane and tail' (of horse's coat), Chg, Osm, Alt qula 'light brown, brown', Tk 'kulā id., 'red, russet', 'a red horse', Nog, Qzq qū¹la, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb qula, Xk xū¹la 'light bay with black mane and tale (саврасый)', VTt, Bsh qū¹la id., 'light dun, isabella', QT qula 'light dun', Qmq qula 'brown', Ggz kula, Tk Δ qula 'blond' ¶ Cl. 617, Rs. W 298, ET Q 121-2 || M: [1] (← T?): WrM qula, HIM xyl 'fawn-coloured, tawny; bay, having a black stripe along the spine, with black tail and mane' (horse), Kl {Rm.} xul¹ 'light brown with a black mane and tail' (horse) || [2] ? M *küyilen ({DQA}: dis. from **küyilen) 'gray, bluish' > WrM küyilen id. ¶ MED 498, 963, KW 195 || AmTg *xol- > Ud xoligi, xolío 'yellow', Nn Nh xogžō 'gray, brown' ¶ AmTg¹ (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ¶ STM I 469 ¶¶ DQA #1158 (A *k¹ū¹li 'yellow, brown, gray' > T, Tg, M *küyilen).

1034. *Ḳu¹o¹∇ 'raven, crow' > U *ku¹∇ > FU *ku¹∇(k[∇]) 'raven' > ObU *kū¹∇k[∇] 'raven' > pVg *kū¹āk > OVg N BerG chúlach, OVg W Sol

кѹлажъ, Vg: T kolāk, LK xolax, MK k^ωolax, P/NV/SV/LL/ML kulax, UL/Ss xolax id.; pOs *kɔlək > Os: V/Vy kɔlək, Ty koləŋk, Y koləŋk, D/K/Nz χuləχ, Kz χŵləχ, O χoləχ id. || pSm {Jn.} *kulьyь id. > Ne T xулы, Ne T O {Lh.} χu·ʎ̄ī, Ne F {Lh.} kuφī, Ng {Ter.} kulə, {Cs.} kúla, En X {Cs.} kúruke, En B {Cs.} kúreke id. | Slq Tz {KKIH} külä, Slq Tm {KD} kulä id. | Kms {KD} k'ū'li ~ k'ú:lī, Koyb {Pls.} kuillæ, {Sp.} куле id. ¶¶ UEW 200, Coll. 15, MF 292-3, Ht. #259, Jn. 77, KKIИ 122 || **A:** Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow' > Ewk ōlī 'raven', Ewk Ag ólī, Sln oíe ~ olī 'crow', Lm olunja 'ε raven (HOCAY)', Neg ōlī, Ud wali, Orc oli, Ul oli, Ork olī, Nn Nh χolī 'raven' ¶ STM II 13 ¶¶ ≠ S AJ 281 and DQA #1157 (semantically unj. comparison of Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow' with T *kūlī 'bird' and Kl χulđъ 'duck-hawk') || **HS:** ? ECh: Kbl {Cp.} gáɬəgɬ 'ε 'crow' ¶ ChC.

1034a. *Kŭl̥∇ 'fall, fall down\apart' > **HS:** S *-kīl- > Ug ✓k̥w|y| G 'fall', Ak OA/OB inf. k̥iālu~k̥ālu id. (?), Ak OA k̥īlu adj. prone'; ?? Gz k̥^ωal̥k̥^ωala 'bring down, go downhill' ¶ OLS 364-5, A #2408, Sd. 918, CAD XIII 75-6 (k̥iālu~k̥ālu "uncertain meaning"), 252, L G 430 || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} kal-, Gude {ChL} k^ωùl̥ič(a) v. 'fall' ¶ JI II 131, ChC, ChL || **U:** FU *ku̥l̥∇ (~ *kū̥l̥∇?) v. 'fall, fall down\apart, drop off, crumble away' (×FU *ku̥l̥∇- 'come to end') > Hg hūll- 'fall, fall down', Vg: IK χol-, P kul-, Ss χul- 'peel off' (bark of trees) | ObU: Os: Nz kuləy 'crumble' (ice in spring), Kz kŵl̥əm- 'zerfallen, auseinanderfallen, sich zerkrümeln'; Vg Ss {Knn.} kūlat- 'abgetragen\abgenutzt werden; zergehen, so daß nur die Graten übrig bleiben (Fische, wenn sie lange gekocht haben)' || Prm: Z g̥+laV-n̥t, Δ g̥+lal- 'fall' (of many objects), 'fall out', g̥+ɬd-v. 'drip' ¶ MF 308-9. LG 84, UEW 156, 199-200, Coll. 97 || **A:** T *k_l'ula- 'fall down, collapse' > Qzq, Uz qula-, Bsh q̥'la- 'fall, tumble down', Qq, ET qula- 'tumble down, collapse' ¶ ET Q 122-3 || Tg *_lx̥_lul- > WrMc ulu-, uləze- 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep slope, a bank), Ewk PT/Y ulul-, Ewk Ucr ul- id., Ewk PT/Y ulu 'precipice, landslide, landslip', Lm wlsa- 'collapse' (of ground, bank, etc.), ¶ STM II 263 ¶ The Tg ✓ may result from coalescence of the N word in question with N *kūš'ŕ'∇ 'to fell, to fall' ◇ ≈ IS I 358-9 [#235] (U [unc.: incl. *kula- 'come to an end'], T, Tg), Blz. LB #48.

1035. *K̥'el̥|hi'le 'tongue' > **U** *kēle 'tongue, language' > F kieli, Es keel id. | pLp {Lr.} *kēl̥ɜ 'tongue' > Lp: L {LLO} kiella, N {N} giellâ, Kld kīll id., S {Hs.} giële 'voice, language' | Er keí, Mk käl 'tongue,

language' || Prm *kũl id., 'word' > OPrm, Vt, Z Δ k+l, Z k+v, k+vuy, Yz kōl id. || ObU: Os V kōl 'word, news, language', D ket 'word', Kz keφ 'word, news' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *keɣy 'tongue' > Ne F {Lh.} śl̄ē; En d. {Cs.}: En X sioro, En B sioro; Ng d. {Mik.} śēdā, {Cs.} sieja; Slq Tz {KKIH} šē; Kms d. {KD} šekā, Koyb d. {Sp.} ceка; Mt {Hl.} *kEy (= *kāl̄ē|iy) id. (Mt: M {Mll.} ki, K {Mll.} gei, M {Sp.} каште, T {Mll.} káschtä, {Pl.} кяштя, K {Pl.} gýste 'his tongue') ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 144-5, Db. OS xxi, Sm. 538 (U *käxli, FU, FP *keeli, Sm *keoy), SK 188, Lr. #419, Lgc. #2412-3, Hs. 594, LG 149, W SDW 134-5, Jn. 66, Lh. 433, KKIИ 174, Hl. M ##450, 508 || **HS:** M *kele(n) ({IS} *kēle(n)) 'tongue, language' > MM [IsV] kēlen 'tongue', [MA] kelen 'narration', WrM kele(n), HIM хэл(эн), MMgl {Iw., Lg.} kēla, Mgl {Rm.} kelān, Mnr H {T} kilīē, {SM} k'īlīē, Dx {T} kīēlīēn, Dg keli 'tongue'; ⇨ M *kele- ({IS} *kēle-) v. 'speak' > MM [MA, IsV] kele-, WrM kele-, HIM хэлэ-, Mgl kelā-, Dx kīēlīē-, Ba kele-, Mnr H {T} kilīē-, {SM} k'īlīē- ¶ Lg. NVMI 113-5, 119, 121-4 and Lg. LML 136 (both on the M vw. e), Lg. VMI 49-50, Pp. MA 213, MED 447, Iw. 111, SM 203, T 339, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 29, T BJ 141 || Tg *xil̄jü 'tongue' > Nn siŋmu ɘ sirmu ɘ ximmu, Ork sinu, Ul siñu, Ud in̄i, Orc in̄i, in̄i, Ewk il̄ji ɘ inni ɘ in̄ji, Neg in̄ni ~ in̄ji, Sln in̄i, Lm j̄3n̄ŋb, WrMc il̄eŋü, Mc Sb (y)il̄3ŋu, Jrc {Kiy.} il̄eŋu ¶ STM I 318-7, Kiy. 125 [#499] || ?φ pKo {S} *hyá₁ 'tongue' > MKo hyá₁ id. ¶ S AJ 58 ¶ S AJ 57-8, 292 [#422] (pA *k'äl̄j̄; adduced here pKo *hyá₁ 'tongue'), DQA #1041 (A *k'j̄äl̄i 'tongue') || **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} k̄l̄à, Ll {Smn.} kilā- 'tongue' ¶ ChC s.v. 'tongue', Blz. EChWL #88 ◊ The U long vw. *ē and the Tg vw. *i suggest a pN etymon *Ḳeʔ|hil̄ê.

1035a. *ḲôHl̄ä – *Ḳôl̄Hä 'lake, small body of water' > **HS:** C: Ag {AD} *kʷɜl-/*kʷɜll- (= *kʷɜl̄-), {Ap.} *kʷɜl-/*kʷɜl- 'river, valley' > Bln {R} kūrā, {Ap.} kʷara, Xm {R} aqūal, Xm T {CR} qʷära, Km kʷzra || EC: Sml N {Abr.} kāl 'depression full of water' ¶ AD SF 198 (pC *l̄ɳ̄kʷɳ̄l-/*l̄ɳ̄kʷɳ̄ll-), Ap. AV 14 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} kʷàl 'valley' (← *'river valley') || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} k̄l̄u 'lake', {Nc.} 'kuilū 'large body of water (the Chad lake, the Shari river)', Ngl {Lk.} kuilā 'pond', Lgn {Lk.} kula 'lake, pond' ¶ J S 71, Lk. L 102, Lk. B 112, 115 || B ?? Gh {Bs.} kulama 'sea, river' || **U** *k'ü¹l̄ä 'small lake, marsh, bay' > pPrm *kōl (= {LG} *kōl) > Vt kal̄im 'puddle (of stagnant water)', {Mu.} kal̄em 'inlet or bay in a river' (LG: *o > Vt a due to the infl. of l), Z тыкōла t+kzla 'small lake' (ты t+ means 'lake') || ObU *kü]ɳ̄ 'marsh' > pOs *k̄j̄əɳ̄

id. > Os: V/Vy kǝ]əʃ, Ty ke]əʃ, D kǎlə, Kz ka]; pVg kīlǝʃ (with unexplained delabialization ****k^wī-** > ***kī-**) id. > LK kēlī (nom. pl. kelǝt), MK/UK kēlī, P/UL/Ss kelīʃ, NV/SV/LL kēli (nom. pl. kellǝt) || Sm: Slq: ? Tm {KD} kǝl (inexact transcr. for qǝl?) 'Flußbusen', Tz {KKIH} qǝls+ 'bay in a river or in the riverbed of a tributary (filled with water in spring), ? Tz {KKIH} qolt+ large river', {Cs.} tagandes-kold 'the Yenisei' (lit. 'broad river'), Tz/Yel/B {Cs.} kold, Kar {Cs.} kuld 'the Yenisei', Nr {Cs.} kold, Ke {Cs.} koltte, NP kolttu 'the Ob' ¶ UEW 134-5 (U ***kǎl**) and Ht. 149 [#258] (ObU ***kīl**) - both recs. are based on the delabialized Vg cognate without explainig Os ***ǝ**; Stn. OUV (pObU ***-ü-**, which is preferable to Ht.'s rec.), LG 140, Coll. 21-2, Cs. 118, 238, KKIH 156, 161 || **А** ({SDM95} ***k'ǝl**, [DQA ***k'ǝli**): T ***k'ǝl** 'large body of water (natural or artificial), lake, pool' > OT {Cl.} kǝl id., Tk gǝl, Qrg kǝl 'lake, pool', Tkm kǝl, Az кѳл gǝl, Ggz gǝl, Uz кўл kǝl, ET, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg kǝl, VTt, Bsh kül, Alt, Xk kǝl, Tv xǝl, Tf hǝl, Yk kǝl, Chv külb 'lake', OQp {TAG} كول kǝl 'pool' ('Pfütze') ¶ Cl. 715, ET KQ 95-6, TL 91, Dr. TM III ##1682-3, Ra. 190, TAG 100, Jeg. 123, Fed. I 321 ¶ The initial fortis ***k'-** is reconstructed on the ev. of Og (Tkm k-) and the Tv-Tf lgs. (Tv x-, Tf h-) || **з** M ***kǝl** (← T??) > Brt xγл xǝl 'lake' (used in names of lakes), WrO kǝl 'bay', Kl {Rm.} kǝl 'flood (of a river)' ('Überschwemmung, Wasserflut'); IS I 306 mentions WrM kǝl 'bay', but I have not succeeded in detecting this word in any available dictionary of WrM (Kow., MED, Gl., Boberg). Acc. to IS, in most M lgs. this word disappeared because of its homonymy with M ***kǝl** 'foot, leg' ¶ Krg. 739, KW 237, Chr. 617 || Tg ***xule-** 'channel, (whirl)pool' > Lm ūl 'deep place in a river (ομυτ)', ulgin 'a quiet and deep place in a river (заводь)', Orc, Ud ūle 'channel (протока)', Ork xulu-pti 'whirlpool', WrMc ulē-r 'canal around the ploughed field (for drainage of rain water), ditch (in ploughed fields)' ¶ STM I 477, II 257, 264, Z 158 || pKo ***kǎrám** 'lake, big river' > MKo kǎrám id. ¶ S QK #226, Nam 11 ¶ ¶ SDM95 s.v. k'ǝl 'lake, basin', DQA #1129 (pA ***k'ǝli**; incl. T, Tg, Ko) ◇ T and M ***ǝ** (rather than ***ü**) are more likely to go back to ***o|u** with subsequent synharmonic palatalization rather than to N ***ü** ◇ IS I 305-6 [#177], Blz. C (suggested to tie in Gh kulama), ≠ S NSShS #22 (A ***ǝ** IE ***g^we**l- 'spring'). IS reconstructs here N ***k-** on the apparent ev. of HS, but in HS the N emphatic cnss. may have de-emphatized reflexes, as in all grammatical words and pronouns (*see* above Introduction, § 2.2.2).

The cognates providing ev. for an original N ***Ḳ**- are found both in HS (Xm aqũal) and in A (Tkm kōl, Tv xōl, Tf hōl, the Tg √ with ***x**-). The connection with IE ***g^wel-** v. 'drop, well out' (proposed with a query by IS) is unlikely. Cp. N ***gowlu** 'deep; valley' (in some lgs. that do not distinguish between N ***Ḳ**- and ***g**-, there might have been contamination of N ***ḲôHlā** - ***ḲôlHä** and ***gowlu**).

1036. *ḲeHu^hlüHê (or ***Ḳe^hul_{ly}ê**??) 'hear' > IE: NaIE {P} ***ḱleuā-**/***ḱlu(:)-** 'hear' > OI **érō^hō-ti**, Av **surunaōiti** 'hears' ||| Gk aor. ἔκλυον 'I heard', prs. κλέ(Ϝ)-ω, -ομαι 'I hear' ||| L **cluē-** (**clueo**, -ēre) v. 'be called (heißen)' ||| OIr **cluīn-** v. 'hear' (**ro-cluīnethar** 'hears'), **clúas** n. 'hearing, faculty of hearing, ear', **cloth** 'news, rumour, fame', W **clod** 'fame', Brtt {RE} ***kluwami** v. 'hear' > MW **clɣwaf** 'I hear', W **clɣwed**, Cm **clewes**, Br **klevout** 'to hear' ||| ON **hljóð**, OHG {OsS} **hliuθ** 'Zuhören, Gehör, Laut', Gt **hliuma** n. act. 'hearing', OHG (h)**liumunt** id., 'call, rumour, fame'; (from ***ḱlū-**): OHG **lūt**, NHG **laut**, OSx, AS **hlūd** 'loud', NE **loud** ||| Sl ***slī-ti** (1s prs. ***slībV-ŋ**) 'have the reputation\name\ fame of' > OCS **словѣ** **sluti** (prs. **словѣ slovoŋ**) 'have the name, be called', Slv **slúti** (prs. **slóvem**, **slūjem**) 'be known\ famous as', OCz **slúti** (prs. **slovu**), Cz **slouti**, Slk **slut'** id., 'be called', R **слыть** (prs. **слы'ву**), Uk 'слити 'have the reputation of' | Ltv Δ {ME} **slūt** {p. **sluva**), **sluvēt** {prs. **sluv**), 'spread' (of a rumour), 'become known' ||| pTv ***klāw-** > Tc: A, B **klāw-** 'be called \ named' ||| NaIE inv. ***ḱlu-d^{hi}** > OI **érud^{hi}**, Gk **κλύθι** 'hear!' ||| NaIE pp. ***ḱlu(:)-to-(s)** '*heard' → 'renowned, famous' > OI **éruta-h**, Av **srūta-**, Gk **κλυτός**, L (with a px.) **in-clutus** id., OHG **hlot-**, **hlud-** id. (in proper names: **Hlot-hari**, **Clothilde**, **Hluderich** = Clt **Cluto-rigi**), Arm **լու** **lu** 'the hearing' (in **լու առնել** **lu arnel** 'to make known, to bring the news', **լու լինել** **lu lineł** 'to be heard of, to be made known') ||| NaIE ***ḱlewos(s)** 'fame, announcement' (→ †'speech, word') > OI **érava^h** 'glory, praise, renown' ||| Gk **κλέος**, Gk Ph **κλέϜος** 'rumour, report, news' ||| OIr **clú** ntr. 'fame' ||| pAl ***klāusná** (d. from IE ***ḱlewos**) > Al: T **quaj**, G **quaj** v. 'call, give a name' ||| pTc {Ad.} ***kälwe** > Tc B **riem-kälywe** {Ad.} 'fame' ||| BSl (L-gr.): Lt **šlově** 'glory, humour' | Sl ***slāva** 'fame, glory' > OCS **слова** **slava**, Blg, R, Uk 'слава, SCr **slāva**, Slv **sláva**, Cz, Slk **sláva**, P **sława** ||| other ds. include: ***ḱlou-sō-** > Av **sraōša-**

'hearing, obedience', Lt klausà 'hearing, ear, musical ear', Sl *slúxъ ~ *slûxъ n. 'hearing, rumour' > OCS **СΛΟΥХЪ** 'ἀκοή', Blg, R, Uk слух 'hearing, rumour', SCr slūh, Slv slūh, Cz, Slk sluch, P słuch 'hearing'; ⇨ *k̄lous- (+ sx.) > OI **śróṣati** 'hears' || Msp klaosi 'hear' || Lt klausýti, Ltv klausīt 'to hear', Pru klausiton 'to hear, to listen' | Sl *slúšati 'to listen' > OCS **СΛΟΥШАΤΗ** slušati, SCr slušati, Slv po-slúšati, Slk slušat' 'to listen', Cz slušeti 'to suit, to become (to so.)'; Sl *slīšati 'to hear' > OCS **СΛЫШАΤΗ** slīšati, R 'слышать', P sły szeć id., Cz slyšet 'to hear (of, about), to listen', SCr slīšati 'to listen to, to hear out'; Sl *slōvo (*-es-stem, see gen. *slōves-e) 'speech, word' > OCS **СΛОВО** slovo 'λόγος, ῥῆμα', R, Uk, Blg 'слово', P słowō, Cz, Slk slovo 'word', sloveso 'verb', SCr slōvo 'letter (Buchstabe)' || pTc {Ad.} *k̄ley̆s- > Tc: A klyos-, B klyaus- {Ad.} 'hear', {Wn.} 'hear, listen', d.: pTc {Ad.} *k̄ley̆cā(jä)n > A klot̄s (du. klośäm), B klautso (du. klautsne) n. 'ear' ¶ P 605-7, M K II 372-4, Thr. § 338, SB 102, WH I 237-9, F I 869-70, 877, Vn. C 124-8, RE 103, Vr. 238, Fs. 264, Ho. 164, Kl. 626, 643, OsS 47-8, Frn. 265-6, 1008-9, ME III 942-3, En. 194-5, Tp. P K-L 49-53, Vs. III 664, 673, 678-80, Glh. 558, 563-4, Chrn. II 173-8, ME III 942-3, Xud. I 476, Slt. 94-5, Wn. 218, 221-4, Wn. KTW 112-4, Ad. 222, 230, 232-3, 270, 363-4, Ad. H 16, 70-1, 137, JGH 222, EI 262 (*k̄ley̆- 'hear', *k̄lu'to-s 'known, renowned', *k̄ley̆s- 'hear'), 192 (*k̄lewes 'fame'), 534 (*k̄ley̆trom 'a sound') || **HS:** S *°-k̄u'h̄l- > Ak -k̄ūl- (inf. k̄âl̄u) 'heed, listen' ¶ Sd. 895-6, CAD XIII 72-5 || C {AD} *m-k̄w̄n̄l-/*ma-k̄k̄w̄n̄l- 'ear' (≈ {Æ} ✓ m̄k̄w̄l 'hear') > Bj A {AD} ʔan'ḡw̄īl (pl. 'ʔanḡw̄il), Bj {Bnd.} anḡw̄īl, {R} an'ḡw̄īl 'ear' || EC *maḳl- v. 'hear' > Sml maql-, Bs {HL} māl-, Dsn {To.} māl- || Ag {AD} *ʔənḳ̄w̄- 'ear' > Bln {R} ʔənḳ̄w̄á, Q {R} ənḳ̄w̄ə, Aw ənkoṽi 'ear', Aw ənkoṽ-/ənḳóq v. 'hear' ¶ AD SF 183, E PC #140, R WBd 24, R WB 40, Ap. AV 4, Bl. 261. 265, To. DL 516, HL 188 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ḳ̄w̄al- 'hear' > AG {AD} *ḳ̄'z̄l'z̄'ḳ̄-, {Stl.} *ḳ̄'z̄l'-m̄n̄k̄ 'hear' > Gmy {Hf.} ḳ̄elen, Su {J} k̄z̄lin, {Hf.} k̄z̄lin ~ k̄z̄lən, Ang {Flk.} kalüng, Cp k̄i+lin, Mnt {Hf.} k̄z̄lən, Ywm {IL} k̄z̄l, {Stl.} kal-mok, Tal {IL} k̄w̄z̄l, Kfr {Nt.} k̄z̄lən 'hear'; BT: Krkr {Kr.} k̄z̄lá, {J, Lk.} kal-, Grm ip. k̄ülã, Ngm k̄w̄z̄lí, Krf {Sa.} k̄w̄álú-w̄ò || CCh: Bt {Mch.} kl̄ḳ̄, Bcm {Sk.} k̄úlé id. ¶ JI II 184-5, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 213-4 [#639], Hf. AG #202, Nt. 19 || **U** *k̄ūle- 'hear', 'ear' > FU: F, Es kuule- v. 'hear' | pLp {Lr.} *kułz- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guvledh, L {LLO} kullat, N {N} gullât, Kld kulleḳ̄ | Er куля- kuía-, Mk куле- kuía- | Chr L/Uf/B/H kola- id. | Prm *k̄ul- > Vt, Z Δ

kīl-, Z kīv- id. || ObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'hear' > pVg *k^ωāl- > Vg: T k^ωāl 𐌱
 kāl-, LK/UL xōl-, MK kōl-/kol-, P/NV/LL kōl-, Ss xūl-; pOs *kul- > Os:
 V/Vy qul-, Ty/Y quḫ-, D/K/Nz qut-, Kz qōḫ-, O xol- || Hg hall- id.
 || Sm: Ne T xā, Ne F kā ~ ka, En X {KD} kūṛ, (Cs.) kû, En B {Cs.} kô, Ng
 {Hl., Cs.} kou 'ear' || ? pY {IN} *qol- > Y K qol-il 'sound' (× N *qU₁ṛ₁ṽ
 'speak, call', q.v. ffd.) ¶ UEW 197-8, Coll. 93, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kuuli-
 , Ugr *kulĩ- 'hear'), Lr. #492, Lgc. #2781, Hs. 705-6, It. #233, Ker. II
 70, LG 149, Ht. #246, MF 253-4, KP 93, Hl. US 119, IN 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 38
 [#24] (Y ← U) || A: T *k'ul-kāk ({Md.} *ku.lgak) 'ear' > OT qulqaq ~
 qulḫaq ~ qulaq, Tk kulak, Az qulag, Tkm qulag, Uz qulag, Qzq қўлақ
 qūlaq, VTt колак q'laq, Bsh колак q'laq, Ggz kulak, ET, Qmq, QrB,
 Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tv, Tf qulaq, CrTt, Slr qulaḫ, Xlj qulāq, Xk ḫulaḫ,
 Yk kulṽāḫ 'ear' || Chv ḫḫḫa id. ¶ Cl. 620, Rs. W 298, ET Q 124-7, TL
 204-6, S AJ 177 [#22], Ra. 222, DT 179, Jeg. 291, Fed. II 322-3 ¶ The
 lenis *k' (for the expected fortis *k'-) is still to be explained || M
 *qul(a)-qṽ 'middle ear' (→ 'earwax') > WrM qulki, qulaqni, HIM
 хулих 'middle ear; earwax', Brt холхи ~ хулхи, Klm хулх, {Rm.}
 ḫulḫ 'earwax'; other ds. of the √: *qulmay- > WrM qulmai-, HIM
 хулмай- 'have the ears laid back, be crop-eared', Brt хулмай- 'have
 the ears laid back'; *qulugur > WrM qulugur, Hlm хулгар 'laid or
 pressed back' (of ears), 'crop-eared', Kl {KRS} хулһр 'crop-eared',
 {Rm.} ḫulṽṽr id., 'having small ears', etc. ¶ MED 984, Chr. 581, 600,
 KRS 608, KW 196 ¶ The semantic prehistory of M *qul(a)-qṽ 'middle
 ear' is easy to understand on the analogy of Sp oído 'middle ear, organ
 of hearing' (< L audītus 'hearing, Gehör'): like Sp, M distinguishes
 between the (external) ear (pM *čikin, like Sp oreja) and the real
 organ of hearing (middle ear) and derives the word for the latter from
 the verb 'hear' || Tg *xūl- 'be heard, sound' (of a sound) > Nn Nh
 ḫōlžl-, Ul ḫōldl-, Lm ūldl- id., Ork ḫulžl 'echo', Ork ḫulbun, Neg olbun-
 , Ewk ūlta- 𐌱 ōlta- 'be heard' (echo). ¶ STM II 263 || pKo {S} *kúí 'ear'
 (× N *K'arē'wṽ to hear, to notice', [in descendant lgs.] → 'ear') > MKo
 kúí, NKo kuí, Ko ds.: Ph kuí, Chs kú:, Ks kuî, PhN/Chj kūi, Sl kφi, Kw kū
 'ear' ¶ S AJ 252 [#22], S QK #22, Nam 64, MLC 226-7 || pJ *kí-k- 'hear'
 (< **kil-k- < A *k'uyṽ-kṽ) > OJ kīk-, J: T kík-, K/Kg kík-, Ns kík-, Sh
 člč-, Ht sḫk-, Y k'- ¶ S QJ #37, TS 25, Mr. 708 ¶¶ DQA #1156 (A
 *k'ūyṽ 'ear; to hear') || D (in SD) {tr., GS} *kēl- v. 'hear, listen' > Tm,
 Kn keḷ, Ml kēḷkka id., Kt, Td keḷ-, Kdg k^ḷ- 'hear', Tu kēṽuni

'listen, be attentive' ¶ D #2017(a), GS 170 [#428a], 6O-1 [##174, 181]
 ◇ The discrepancy between U *-l- and D *-l- may be explained if we suppose the following prehistory of D *-l-: N *-l₁üH₁ê > **-l₁ü∇ > **-ly∇ > D *-l₁∇ ◇ Rec. of an alt. (shorter) pN etymon (e.g., *K̥e'h¹ul₁y₁ê) is possible if we admit mt. of laryngeals and/or *w/u-phonemes in the prehistory of some branches of N ◇ IS MS 366 (*q̥¹iw¹l̥). Not here (⇔ IS) K *qur- 'ear', which is better explained otherwise (F N *qUR₁w₁∇ 'ear'). Therefore in the N etymon I reconstruct an unspecified *K̥- rather than *q̥-.

1037. *K̥EHUy¹ü¹ 'testicles' > HS: S ≈ *^o✓k̥lw > Ar Mgr qəlwa 'testicle' ¶ Coh. 127 [#243] || C {AD} *k̥^w∇l(1)- 'testicle(s)' > Ag: Bln {R} k̥^welā ~ k̥^wəlā '(pair of) testicles' (pl. k̥^wəlil) ||| EC: Kns {BISO} kul-ā 'testicles' ¶ AD SF 200, R WB 238, BISO 86 || ? NrOm: Bdt {Hw.} k̥o'loppo 'testicles' (× N *qU¹í|¹E 'penis?') || ??φ Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} k̥^wàlèy 'testicle(s)' | Gdr {Mch.} g̥é|e id. | Ms sb.: Zm {J} g̥è|, {Sa.} g̥é|, LamP {ChL} g̥í g̥é| ||| ECh: Kwn {J} k̥á|á'sá, Ke {Eb.} k̥á|áñ, Kbl {Cp.} g̥á|í, EDng {Fd.} g̥ú|là, Mgm {J} g̥ó|lè, Brg {J} g̥ù|lè, Mu {J} g̥ú|lí id. ¶ ChC, ChL ¶¶ Coh. 127 [#243] ||| IE: NaIE {Bern.} *k̥ēy₁-/k̥ō(y₁)- 'testiculi, scrotum' > L cōleus 'testicle', cōleī pl. 'scrotum' (> OIt coglia, Rum coi₁u, Prov colh-s 'scrotum', OFr coil, Fr couille 'testicle'), L cōleō, -ōn-is, (γ) cūliō 'testicle' (> It coglione, Sp cojón, Fr couillon, Prv colhó, Ctl colló) ||| SI *šul̥e(t-) (< *šul-jēt with the dim. sx. *-jēt) > R (†, Δ) nt. шу'ля, pl. шу'лята, Blr шу'ляты 'testicles' ¶ WH I 244, Kö. 286, ML ##2036, 2038, Bern. IeuBS 155, ≈ Vs. IV 486 ||| U: FP *ko¹e 'testicle(s)' > Es Δ kolí 'testicle', F kollí 'dog\cat in heat; tom-cat', kollí-kissa 'tom-cat, cat in heat' (kissa means 'cat') | pLp {Lr.} *kō|z 'testicles' > Lp: N {N} guollâ ~ guol'â, S {Hs.} guole, L {LLO} kuolla, Kld kū|l | pPrm *kō¹ 'testicle' > Z Lu k̥á| {UEW} id., Prmk {KPR} k̥á| 'scrotum', Vt S k̥ó|an, Vt Uf {Wc.} k̥á|an 'testicles' ¶ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this FP√ with one of the Sm words for 'penis' - F s.v. N *qU¹í|¹E 'penis'), SK 211-2, Lr. #510, Hs. 688, KPR 192 ||| D ?σ *kou¹í¹- 'pudendum muliebre' > Ka gulli, Tu kouilæ, Tl gollí id. ¶¶ D #2138 ◇ D *l points to N *l (rather than *í), which suggests that FP *-l- is likely to go back to N *-y₁- ◇ IS SS 335 [#7.3] and IS MS 373 s.v. яичко (testiculus) *q̥o¹l̥ (in both sources U, HS + unc. K *q̥wēr- 'testicles').

1038. (2?) ***Ḳaw'hE'L** ▽ 'outgrowth, inflation, abscess, hernia' > IE: NaIE d. ***kāw₁a₁lā** / ***kūlā** 'inflation (in a body), hernia' > Gk I κήλη, Gk A κῆλη 'tumour', esp. 'rupture, hernia', 'bump (on a buffalo's back)' (< ***kāw₁a₁lā**) || ON haull, AS héala, OHG hōla 'hernia' (< ***kāw₁a₁lā**) || BSI ***kūlā** (< NaIE ***kūlā**) > SI ***kǎla** 'hernia, inflation' > ChS **кѣла** kĕla, **кѣла** kĕla, Blg 'кила, Cz kŭla, Slk kyła, P kiła, Uk 'кила, ки'ла 'hernia', SCr kĭla 'hernia, swelling, outgrowth', Slv kĭla, R кила 'hernia, outgrowth' || Lt kŭla 'outgrowth', kŭlas 'hernia' || Oss: I кѣуллау **ḳwzllaw**, D **ḳullaw** 'hernia' (the glottalized **ḳ-** needs explaining) ¶ WP I 333, P 536-7, EI 268 (***kēuH**] / gen. ***kūH**'l-os 'hernia'), F I 839-40, Vr. 214, Ho. 150, Kb. 476, OsS 414, Frn. 206, ESSJ XIII 262-3, Glh. 317, Ab. I 648 || **HS**: ? S: Ar qayl-at- ~ qīl-at- 'hernia' (unless borrowed from Gk I κήλη 'hernia'), qīllīṭ- id. (ṭ on the analogy of qalṭ- 'deformation'?) ¶ Fr. III 489, 523, BK II 848 || ? B ***g₁h₂z** > Ah a.ǧēlhah (pl. iǧālhāhan) 'hernia' ¶ Fc. 429 || **A**: M ***qolq₁u₁**- > WrM qolq₁ui-, HIM холхой- 'be inflated, have a big belly', Kl холжа-х 'be inflated' ¶ MED 960, KRS 594 ◇ In NaIE ***kāw₁a₁lā** the reflex of the Ir. (the length of *a) precedes *w, while in ***kūlā** the underlying Ir. follows *u; this controversy still needs resolving ◇ Qu., because the M cognate has an unexplained final *-q ▽ (from a sx.), while the Ar words may be of Gk origin.

1039. 2 ***ḲoXīa** 'be dry' > **HS**: S ***g₁ḳh₁** > Ar **qḥl** G (pf. qaḥila) 'become dry, dry up' ¶ BK II 828, Hv. 589 || **A** {DQA} ***k'óla**- v. 'dry, get stale' > Tg ***xolga** 'get/make dry' > Nn Nh/B **χolgo-**, Ewk, Sln, Neg olgō-, Lm olgъ- **ḍ** olga-, Ud ogo-, Orc ogipta-, WrMc olgo- ~ olxo- 'get dry', Ewk, Sln olgī-, Lm, Neg olg₁-, Orc oggi-, oggiç₁-, Ud wagisi-, Ul **χolṣu-** /₁-, Ork **χoldo-**, Nn Nh/B **χolgi-**, **χolgič₁-**, WrMc **walgiya-** vt. 'dry' ¶ STM II 12-3 || pKo {S} ***korh-** 'get stale, go bad, rot' > NKo kolh- kol- ¶ S QK #168, MLC 160 || pJ {S} ***kárá-** 'dry out, become ripe' > OJ **kárá-**, J: T kàre, K káré-, Kg karé- ¶ S QJ #493, Mr. 704 ¶¶ DQA #1114, Rm. SKE 121-2 (Ko, Tg), S AJ 290 ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equates A with K (GZ) ***gwal-** 'be (of drought)', see N ***g'U'í** ▽ 'season without vegetation').

1040. ***ḲAyLa** 'shout, call' > **HS**: Sml qayl(i)- v. 'shout, call', Sml N {Abr.} qáylo a shout' ¶ Abr. S 202, DSI 496 || **A**: M ***qayla-** v. 'call, shout, weep' > MM [S, MA, IM] qayla- v. 'shout', WrM qayla-, HIM хайла- v. 'weep, cry' ¶ MED 912, H 57, Pp. MA 287-7, 444 || ? pKo {S} ***k₁ró-** 'say' (× N ***Ḳ'e₁hi₁lé** 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || **D** ***ke]**- v. 'speak' (×

N *Ḳʿeʔ|hi'lē '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◊ Gr. II #357 (*kel 'speak') (qu. Y, Ko, Gil, CK, EA + err. IE [< N *ḳaL₁∇₁h∇ 'shout'], U, A - cp. N *Ḳʿeʔ|hi'lē 'tongue').

1041. *ḲEʿy|ʔa|a 'to burn' (intr.), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast' > A {DQA} *k'jāla 'hot, ashes', {IS} *k'jāla- 'be hot, be warmed' > M *qala- v. 'be\become\feel warm\hot' > WrM qala-, HIM xala-, Kl xala- id., M *qala-γun 'hot, warm' > WrM qala-γun, MM (ArSc) قلاوون qala-γūn, (ChSc) xalaγun, HIM, Kl xalūn, Mgl {Rm.} qalūn, qalōun, {Wr.} qalūn, M *qala-ʿy|a- vt. 'heat, burn' > WrM qalaga-, HIM xalā- ʕ MED 916-7, H 57, Ms. H 87, Pp. MA 288-9, KW 162-4, Rm. M 31, Wr. B 176 || Tg *xjal-(ta) 'embers, charcoal' > Ewk ēlla ʕ ēlda, Lm ālrʔ ʕ yaldʔ, Neg ēla, Ud yalaha, Ul sēlta ʕ sjalta, Ork sēlta id., Nn sʕal-ta ʕ sēl-ta ʕ xēal-ta ʕ jala 'coal', Ud {Krm.} yalaha 'coals that have died out'; other ds.: Ewk Np ilakan id., Sln ilgẽ 'live coals', Tg *xīalbʿu|₁- > Ewk ēlbikan 'live coals (used to roast meat)', Neg ēlbu 'live coals', Nn Nh sʕalbu, Nn B salbu 'piece of live coal', Ul sēl-bu ʕ sjalbu, Ud {Krm.} yalaha 'coal', Orc (j)āl-u- v. 'get dirty with coal', Ewk ēl-la- v. 'char, become charred', Sln ilči 'embers, coal', Lm ālrʔ ʕ āllʔ ʕ ēlla ʕ jāldo ʕ yāldʔ, Neg ēla 'coal', Mc yalmanʔi 'soot' ʕ STM I 289-90, Krm. 241 || ? T *k₁'jāla- 'burn' > Chg, Slr, ET Δ qala- vt. 'burn', Az gala-, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Qrg qala- v. 'fire (a stove, hearth)', Tkm Δ gala-, Tk Δ gala- ʕ qala-, Qrg, ET Δ, Ln qala- 'kindle (fire)', StAlt, Tlt {Rl.} qala- vi. 'burn, catch fire'; acc. to Cl. 617, these words are loans from M *qala- and *qala-γa- (hence the root is absent in the Turkic texts of the pre-Mongolian period) ʕ ≈ ET Q 228-9 (considers *Kala- 'burn' and *Kala-put' to be one word), Rl. II 226, IS I 333, Rs. W 294, ET KQ 228-9 ʕ ʕ IS I 333, DQA #1040 || ? φ pKo {S} *kírí-m 'soot' > MKo kírím, NKo kirim (or ÷ J kura 'dark') ʕ S AJ 257 [#186], but absent in S QK ʕ ʕ DQA #1040 (A *k'jāla 'hot, ashes' > M, Tg) || D {tr., ʕGS} *kā]- vi. 'burn' > Ml kāluka id., kālal 'flame', Tl kālu vi. 'burn, be baked', Prj kāl- v. 'smart' ʕ ʕ D #1500 || HS: S *√kly vt. 'roast, fry, burn' (mt. from **√kly|?) > Ak √kly|y (inf. kalū) vt., vi. 'roast, burn', BHb √kly|y (pf. הַבְּלָה kəbəlā) v. 'roast', JA, Sr √kly (pf. אֲבַלָה, Sr اَبَلَا kəbəlā), Md √kly (spelled kly?) v. 'roast, parch, fry', JEA √kly G vt. 'burn, roast', Ar √qly|w (pf. قَلَى ~ قَالَا qalā) 'frirer dans une poêle à frirer', Gz, Tgy ʕ ʕ √kly|w v. 'roast, parch', Sb TlqT tklt 'burning of limestone for plaster

(?)', Sq {L} ✓*q̄l̄∇* 'roast, fry', {Jo.} 'q̄aləʔ v. 'roast (corn)', Mh ✓*q̄l̄∇* v. 'cook, fry', Jb ✓*q̄l̄∇* v. 'fry' ¶ GB 714, KB 1029-30, KBR 1101, Lv. IV 310, Sl. 1017-8, JPS CSD 506, BK II 807-8, L G 431, L LS 375, BGMR 105, Jo. J 145, Jo. M 230, CAD XIII 69-71 || ? Eg NK *q̄rr* [**q̄∇l̄i:l*] 'holocaust (Brandopfer)' > DEg *gll*, *glyl* > Cpt *βλια* *clil* id., but not necessarily Eg fP *q̄rr* v. 'fire (pottery), broil' (that may belong to N **q̄arh₂'u* 'to burn [sth.], to heat' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 || IE: NaIE **kel-* 'warm, hot; warm weather' (× N ? **keze* 'warm, warm weather', q.v. ffd.) ¶ IS I 332-3 adduces here words meaning 'cold' as well (OI *śísira-*, Lt *šáltas* id., OCS *clana* 'hoarfrost', etc., F Mn. 634), which is very doubtful: it is difficult to imagine functioning of a lge. which has the same stem meaning both 'hot, warm' and 'cold'. In my opinion, these are rather two different etl. sources (going back to two N words), which were somehow (at least accentually or prosodically) distinguished. IE **kel-* 'cold' goes back to N **kel₁h₁∇* 'cold' (q.v. ffd.) and is not related to **kel-* 'warm, hot' ◇ Cp. IS I 332-3: S, IE, D, A (T, M, Tung.). Cf. AD AltAD #6.

1042. **q̄aīsa* (or **q̄aīsa?*) 'throw, leave' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'remain, wait') > IE **kleh-* 'lay' ({EI} **kleh_h-* 'spread out flat') > NaIE *klā-* 'lay, spread out' > Lt prs. *klóju*/ inf. *kló-ti* 'spread, make the bed', Ltv *klāju* / *klāt* id., 'lay (the table)' || SI **kladq*/ **klāsti* 'to lay' > OCS *kladq* / *kladst* *kladq* / *kladst* *kladst*, McdS *klade*, Slv *kladem* / *klāsti*, Cz *kladu* / *klāsti*, P *kłasc*, OR *kladu* / *klasti*, R *kla'dy*, 'класць' id., SCr *klādēm* (~ *klādēm*) / *klāsti* id., 'put' || Gt af-*hlapan* 'beladen', ON *hlaða*, AS, OSx *hladan*, OHD *hladan* & *hlathan*, NHG *laden* 'to put as a load, to load, to put', NE *load* ¶ P 599, EI 539, Frn. 274-5, ESSJ IX 187-9, Glh. 320, Fs. 6, Vr. 234, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, OsS 405, KM 418 || HS: WS **q̄l̄s* 'leave, throw, sling' > Mh {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, allow, leave; leave off', Hrs ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, leave', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, allow', Sq {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'drop, let fall', Hb ✓*q̄l̄s* v. 'sling (stones)', JA/Sr ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *D* 'sling', Gz ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *G* 'throw from a sling, hit a ball', ? Ar ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *G* 'pluck, snatch off; drive (sth.) away; take off (one's clothes)', 'arracher, ôter qc. de sa place', Hb *q̄l̄s* 'קֶלַס', JA *q̄l̄s* 'קֶלַס', Sr *q̄l̄s* 'קֶלַס' 'a sling', Ug *q̄l̄s* {A} id., {OLS} 'sword'; Sr *q̄l̄s* 'קֶלַס' *muqlā^o-ā*, Ar *qulā^o-at-* {PS} 'glans fundæ, globulus e funda iactus', {BK} 'pierre que l'on enlève du sol pour la lancer', Sr *maqlā^o-ā-n-ā* 'ballista, catapult, funda', Ar *miqlā^o-*, Gz *miqlā^o* 'sling' ¶ Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144, Jo. H 75, KB 1033-4, KBR 1106, PS 3638-9, BK II

8O3-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, A #4213, OLS 366 || Eg fMK ƙɜ̃ɜ̃ {Fk.} 'vomit', {EG} 'ausspeien, ausbrechen' > Cpt Sd KA BOA ka bol id. (BOA means 'außen, außerhalb') (× ÷ S *-ƙɪ̃ɪ̃- 'vomit', see GB 711-2, KB 1024) ¶ EG V 7, Fk. 275, Vc. 7O || ? B *^o✓wqɪ (= *^o✓wɟɪ) ~ ? *ɟɪ (*w- goes back to a px. of middle voice verbs) > Ah əqqəl 'wait', ? Zng {TC} aɟɟɪh 'attendre' ¶ Fc. 1713, DCTC 288, TC FL 2 || U *kaʒa- 'leave, let' (-ɬ 'remain') > pLp {Lr.} *kōðe- 'leave' > Lp: L {LLO} kuotēt, N {N} guodđet, Kld kūdd'eð | Er kado-, Mk kadə- 'leave, let' | Chr H/L/Uf/B kōðe- 'leave', kōða- 'remain' | F katoa- (inf. kado-ta), Es kadu- 'get lost, disappear, vanish' | Prm *koí- (JLG *koǵ-) 'leave, remain' > Z koí-, Z US koǵ-, Yz 'kuí- id., Vt k+í-, Vt B koǵ- ({JL.} kθí-) 'remain without sth., be deprived of; fall behind, be late' || ObU {Ht.} *kūb- ~ *kīb- 'leave' > pVg {Ht.} *kūí- 'leave, abandon (verlassen)' > Vg: T kōí-, LL/ML kūí-, UL/Ss xūí-; pVg *kūí-t- 'remain (bleiben)' > Vg: T koít-, LK xoít-, MK k^woít-, UK k^wuít-, P/NV/SV/LL kuít-, UL/Ss xuít-; pOs {Ht.} *k+y- (? ~ *kǎy-) 'leave behind' > Os: V/Vy qǎy-, Ty/Y qǎy-, D/K/Kz/O xǎy-, Nz xǎy-; pOs *k+ć- (~ *kǎć-?) 'remain behind' > V/Vy/Ty/Y q+ć-, D/K xet-, Nz xís-, Kz xís- ~ xǎs-, O xís-; pOs *kaćəy- id. > Ty qǎtəy-, K xatəy-, Kz xóśi- | Hg hagny- v. 'let, leave' || Sm {Jn.} *kǎyā- 'leave, leave behind' ('lassen, zurücklassen') > Ne T xae-сь, Ne O {Lh.} xāy·ē, Ne F kāyūīēš, Ng (1s aor. sbcj.) {Cs.} koaeʔema, En {Cs.} kae- (1s aor. kaiβo), Slq Tz {KKIH} qǎć+ id., Mt {Hl.} *koyo- 'bleiben, (?) lassen' (Mt: M {Sp.} koë-xo 'оставляю'); Sm {Jn.} *kǎy-β-, {Hl.} *kajo- 'remain, remain behind (bleiben, zurückbleiben)' > Ne T xaë-сь, {Lh.} xāy·ó-, Ne F kāyūō-š, Ng {Cs.} (1s aor.) kōuʔam, En (1s aor.) {Cs.}: En X kaijaroʔ, En B kaijadoʔ, Kms (1s prs.) {KD} qoyōlām id., Koyb {Sp.} koëgamь 'ich bleibe', Mt M {Sp.} (1s aor.) неменда-хоëгамь 'I remain' || Y: K {Jc.} kudiel vt. 'leave (lassen)', ?? T {Krn.} kudiel 'keep (хранить)', kuderel id., 'put' ¶ Coll. 22-3, UEW 115-6, Sm. 537-8 (U, FU *kǎdǎ-, FP *kadǎ-, Ugr *kǎdǎ-, Sm *kǎjǎ- 'leave'), Lr. #503, MRS 203, LG 131, It. #14, Ht. #227, MF 24O, Jn. 58, KKIИ 16O, Hl. M #531, Ang. 128, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 36-7 [#15] (Y ← U) || A *k'āla- 'remain, wait' > T {Md.} *k'jāl- 'remain' ({ʒпAD}: < **k'Ea- < **k'ǎ:l-) > NaT *k'āl- id. > OT qāl- 'remain, remain behind', MQp, XwT, Chg qal-, Tkm gāl-, Xlj qāl-, Yk xāl-, Tk kal-, Az gal-, Uz, Tf qal-, Ggz kal-, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Tv qal-, Xk xal- || Chv jul- 'remain' ¶ Cl. 615-6, ET KQ 226-8, Ra. 217, Rs. W 224, DT 174, Md.

110-1, 169 ¶ The lax cns. *k'- (for the expected tense *k'-) is not yet explained || Tg *xala- 'wait' > WrMc aliya-, Nn Nh xalačl-, Nn B xalčl-, Ul xalačl/u-, Ork xalā(t)čl, Orc alāčl-, Ud alasi-, Ewk, Neg alāt- ~ alāč-, Sln alāš-, Lm alat- ~ alač- 'wait'; WrMc aliyaqa- 'wait a little, go slowly', aliyan n. 'waiting', Nn Nh xalanpān- 'wait a little (with)' ¶ STM I 29-30 || ? J {S} *kára- > OJ kara- 'stay away, get apart', J T kara-re-ru 'be driven by, carried away by' ¶ Kenk. 851 || Not here (↔ SDM97) M *qala > WrM qala, HIM xал 'hardship; injuriousness, harmfulness, detriment', Kl Ö {Rm.} xal 'Mühe, Arbeit' (arbitrarily interpreted by STM as 'bitter life experience') ¶ MED 916, KW 161-2 ¶ S VL 199, DQA #962 (A *k'ala|u 'wait, be late'; incl. T, Tg) || ?? ¿ K {IS} *oqe| > ¿ Zan {IS} *xal- > Lz go-nxal- 'go away', Mg gī-kl-īp-u 'to remain with empty hands' ¶ Chik. 288 ◇ U *-z- < N *-īz- (*reg.*); IS reconstructed N *k- (rather than *q-) on the precarious ev. of the highly qu. K cognate (¿ Zan *xal-). If we do not rely on the K ev., the N word is to be reconstructed with an unspecified *K- (sc. *k|q-) ◇ IS I 318 (kαλα 'go away, leave'), AD LZL 358 (N *xalεa, i.e. *xalεa) ◇ The semantic history of this item may be represented as follows: [1] 'throw' → 'leave' ⇨ 'be left' → 'remain' → 'wait', [2] 'throw' → 'put sth. somewhere'.

1043. *xalεa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'slaughter') > IE: NaIE *kelə-/*klā- v. 'hew, chop' (× N *qAí|zε 'to break, to tear, to pluck' [q.v.]?) > Gk δύκελλα 'two-pronged hoe, mattock', κόλος adj. 'docked, curtal', 'stump-horned' (of oxen and other horned animals) || Lt kál-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', káltas 'chisel', kélmas 'tree-stump; sth. cut\split', Pru kalo-peilis 'Hackmesser' 'chopping-knife, chopper', preicalis {Tp.} 'anvil' || Sl *kól-ti (prs. *kól-q) 'to prick\stab, to slaughter' > OCS κλατη 'pungere', Blg 'коля v. 'prick\stab, slaughter', SCr kláti / kòljēm, Slv kláti / kóljēm id., Uk ко'лоти / ко'лю v. 'prick\stab, chop', R ко'лоть / ко'лю id., за-ко'лоть 'to slaughter', Cz kláti 'to prick\stab, to kill', Cz Δ kláti 'to split', P kłóc / kole v. 'chop\split' (*see also* N *Koz|íqa 'to knock, to strike, to hit') | Cz klát 'tree-stump, log of wood, club\cudgel' || ? (+ext.) Clt: OIr claidim 'dig', Brtt {RE} *kla(:)d- id. > Crn cledhya, clüdhya, Br klazař 'to dig', W claddu 'to bury, to dig' || NaIE *klā-ro- 'piece of wood, board' > Gk κλήρος, Gk D κλήρος 'piece of wood used as a lot, piece of wood', OIr clár, OW

claur (pl. cloriou 'tabellis') 'board', W clawr 'surface', Br kleur 'limon de charette', 'shaft of a forked thill (in a vehicle)' ¶ P 545-7, ≈ EI 431 (*k]H-ro-s 'plank' ← [unj.] *kēl- 'strike, hew'), FI 392-3, 872-3, 902-3, Vn. C 113-4, RE 88, YGM-1 87-8, Hm. 464, 466, Frn. 211-2, En. 235, Tr. P I-K 175-6, Bern. 551-2, ESSJ X 154-6, Glh. 320 ¶ SI *kól-ti 'to slaughter' belongs here rather than to N *gola 'to kill', which is proved by its acute intonation indicating an IE √ with a lr. (*kēlā- rather than *k^wel- resulting from N *gola) || K *°qal- > G q̄l-/q̄al-/q̄v̄l- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill' ¶ Chx. 597-8 ¶ The variant q̄v̄l- is probably secondary || HS: CS *√q̄l̄s > Hb √q̄l̄s v. 'carve', Ar q̄l̄s-at- (pl. q̄l̄as-) 'piece split lengthwise, morceau coupé ou fendu en long' ¶ ≈ KB 1033, ≈ KBR 1106, BK II 803, Hv. 625 || EC *q̄al- v. 'cut off' > Sa kal- v. 'cut off', Sml qal- v. 'carve up', ? Or {Th., Sr.} q̄al- v. 'flay' ('scorticare una bestia uccisa'); EC *q̄al- v. 'slaughter' (× N *gola 'kill') > Or {Th., Sr.} q̄al-, Kns qal-, Gdl q̄al-, Dsn q̄al-, Rn q̄ala, Hd alalēs- vt. 'slaughter' ¶ AD SF 68, Ss. PEC 49, Bl. 197, Bl. G 64, BISO 155, Th. 269, Sr. 351, BISO 155, PG 187, To. DL 502 || ? CCh: pBT *kul- v. 'shave' > Tng {J} kul̄ id., Pr {Frz.} kúlù id., kúlè 'act of shaving' ¶ Stl. VZCh B #119, J T 104, Frz. P 38 || A: Tg *xaldi- v. 'hew, carve' > Ewk aldi-, Neg aldu-, Orc, Ud agdi-, Ul xaldu- ~ xaldu, Ork, Nn xalž̄l, Mc anzi- v. 'hew, trim', Lm aldb- id., v. 'bark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 31 || Rm. SKE 14 equates the Tg √ with Ko aro-sägida 'to carve, to cut' ¶¶ M √ *qul- (represented in WrM qulai-, HIM хулай-х v. 'have cropped ears' and in Kl {KRS} xul-ɣar 'having cropped ears') is not likely to belong here ¶ MED 984, KRS 608 ◇ Because of the coalescence of N *q and *k̄ in some descendant lgs. (outside K) the homonymic merger with N *qAÍ|]̄s∇ 'to break, to tear' (q.v.) is possible.

1044. *q̄al̄s∇ 'rock, hill, stone' > IE {EI} *kolH-ōn- ~ *k]H-'n-os 'hill' > Gk κολώνη, κολώνος 'hill' (ω < *ow?) || L collis 'hill' || Gmc: AS hyl 'hill' > NE hill (< Gmc *xul-ni-z < IE *kolā-ni-s), MDt hill, hille 'hill'; Gmc *xulma(-z) > OSx holm id., ON holmi, holmr 'island'; Gmc *xulma- → SI *xǫl̄mъ 'hill' > OCS хълмъ хълмъ, Blg хълм, Scr hŭm, Slu. hól̄m, Cz chl̄m, P chók̄m, R холм || Lt kálnas, Ltv kaĩns 'mountain' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, EI 270, FI 906-7, WH I 245, Bc. 23-6, Frn. 209, Ho. S 35, Ho. 183, Skeat 271, Vr. 248, Glh. 271-2, Vs. IV 255 || HS: S *°√q̄l̄s > Ar qulāṣat- and qullāṣat- {Fr. after [Jh.]} 'magnum saxum in planitie extans', [Qam., Jh.] {Fr.} 'gleba, saxumve de solo avulsum ad iaciendum', {BK} qalāṣat- 'rocher séparé des autres sur

une montagne d'un accès difficile' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK II 803 || B: Kb Z {Bs.} i-ϑil (pl. i-ϑalləŋ), Kb AX {Bs.} †i-ϑil-† 'hill' ¶ Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || K *k̑lde- 'rock' > OG, G k̑lde-, Mg k̑zrde-, k̑irde- id., Sv {K} k̑aḷde, k̑(il)de id. (← G?), Sv UB/Ln/L k̑ož 'cliff, rock' ¶¶ K 113, KDE 359, K² 97, GM S 95-6, GP 131, TJ 350 || U *kaž̑ ({UEW} *kaž̑a) 'mountain' > Hg hëg̑y 'tip, summit, mountain' (×FU *kaća ~ *kečä < N *k̑ec̑'a' 'tip, end [extremity]') || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} xой 'mountain, mountain ridge, hill', Ne O {Lh.} xoy 'Landrücken (Wasserscheide), mountain ridge', En X {Cs.} kuʔeo, En B {Cs.} ku i ju 'Landrücken', Ng {Cs.} koaja 'mountain ridge', Slq Tz {KKIH} qz ({KD} k'ée) 'steep bank' ('яp', {KD} 'hoher Uferabhang'), 'mountain' ¶¶ UEW 115, Ter. 768, KKIИ 160, Cs. 48, 81, 116 ¶¶ Acc. to UEW, the front vw. in Hg may be due to the palatalizing effect of *-ž̑- (sc. the obstruent *-ǰ-). An alt. explanation is the infl. of a front stem-final vw. (vw. harmony) || D {tr., †GS} *kall̑ 'stone' > Tm kal id., Ml kal, kallu 'stone, rock', Kt, Png kal, Td kaş, Ka kal, kalu, kallu, Kdg kallı, Tu kall̑, Tl kallu, Prj kel, Gnd kal ɘ kall(i) ɘ kalu, Knd kalu, Brh xal 'stone', Nkr kʰalbada 'stone slab for pounding' ¶¶ D #1298 ◇ IS I 334-5 s.v. *k̑alı ' (поднимать(ся))' (does not distinguish between N *k̑alı and N *k̑alıh̑i 'high; be high'). U *-ž̑- < N *-ǰ- (reg.) (F AD LZL ∇).

1045. *k̑'ü'ǰ (or *k̑'ü'ǰ̑) 'dirt, mud' > HS: CS *k̑ulaş- 'mud, silt' > Sr 𐌺𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌾𐌺𐌿 k̑ulāş̑ {Br.} 'lutum, gleba', {JPS} 'lump of earth, earth', Ar qulāş- 'cracked dry mud\clay, silt' ({BK} 'boue\limon qui se crevasse pendant la sécheresse') ¶ Br. 669, JPS 494, BK II 804, Hv. 625 || ? B *o✓nkl v. 'be/make dirty' > Ah ənkəl 'souiller, être souillé' ¶ Fc. 1374-5 || K: Sv UB {GP}, Sv {Ni.} k̑ol 'excrement' (< **k̑yU-?) ¶ GP 131 || U: FU *o'k̑'ü'ǰ̑ > ObU *k̑ü'ǰ̑ ~ (with delabialization) *k̑ı'ǰ̑ 'swamp' > pOs *k̑ö'ǰ̑ > Os: V/Vy k̑ö'ǰ̑, Ty ke'ǰ̑, D k̑á'ǰ̑, Kz ka'ǰ̑ id.; pVg *k̑ı'ǰ̑ > Vg: LK k̑ēl̑ı (pl. ke'ǰ̑ət), MK/UK k̑ēl̑ı, P/UL/Ss k̑ēliş, NV/SV/LL k̑ēli, k̑el̑ət id. || A: T *k̑'ül 'ashes, cinders' (×N *k̑û'ǰ̑ 'glowing coals; to heat \ roast \ fry \ cook', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 281 [#146] ◇ The N lr. is to be reconstructed as *y if N *-ǰ̑- yields U *-ǰ̑- and if K *k̑- goes back here to *k̑y-; otherwise it must have been *ǰ̑ (FU *-ǰ̑̑ or ObU *-əş being a sx.); Altaic vw. length is due to the loss of the lr.

1046. *k̑alıh̑i 'high; be high' > IE *kel̑H̑- > NaIE *kel̑(ə)̑- v. 'be high, rise (above)' > L ante-/ex-/prae-cellō, -ēre v. 'be outstanding, excel', celsus (originally a pp.) 'high', columen 'that

which is raised on high, hight, summit' || Lt *kélti* (1s prs. *keliù*), Ltv *ceļt* v. 'raise' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, WH I 197, ≈ 249-50, Frn. 237-8, ≈ EI 270 (*columen* < **kelH-men* < **kelH*- 'project, tower up', whence **koH-ōn* 'hill' [see N **kaH*∇ 'rock, hill, stone']) ¶ The IE lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of the syllabic intonation in Lt and Ltv (IS I 334); but one cannot rule out the possibility of a later morphological restructuring in Blt || HS: S **o*✓*qll* v. 'lift\raise' ~ **o*✓*qly* 'high' > Ar {Hv.} ✓*qll* G 'lift\raise', TL††(pf. *taqālla*) 'rise high' (of the sun), {BK} 'être placé haut', *qullat*- 'top of the head, summit of a nountain', *قلى* *qulā* (✓*qly*) 'summits of mountains; tops of men's heads' ¶ Fr. III 485, 494, Hv. 622, 626, BK II 794-5 || B **✓*qly* (> *✓*qly*/*✓*qly*) v. 'rise' > Sll {Ds.} *ǎqly* (pret. *iqly*) v. 'climb, rise' ('monter [un escalier, sur un arbre\une table\etc.]), Tz {Stm.} *qulij*, hab. *ǎqāllāy* 'emporsteigen', ASgr {Bs.} *eqlij* v. 'rise' ¶ Stm. 182, Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || Eg fP *qz* (< **qzry*-) 'be high; high', Eg fP *qz* (later *qz*) 'hill, high ground', Eg fP *qz* id., Eg fXVIII *qz* id., 'arable land' (× N **kaR*∇∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain', more plausibly than with N **gaʔi* or **gaʔy*∇ 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5-6, Fk. 275 || Ch: Hs *qōlī*, Hs Kc *qōlī* 'top', Hs *qōlī(ū)wā* id. || CCh {ChL}: WMrg *kūldi* v. 'lift' | HgNg *kúlútè*, Kps *k̄ltè*, HgG *kúlúdè* id. ¶ Abr. H 534, ChL ¶¶ Cal. #322 (Eg, S), OS #1604 (S, B, Ch), Tk. I 65 (Eg, S, B, Hs) | A possible semantically dubious cognate: NrBc {Tk.} **ku*l-*ku*l- 'deep' > {Sk.}: My *ku*l*ku*l, Mbr *ku*l*ku*lo, Kry *ku*l*ku*l*na*, Cg *lu*q*z**lu*q*z* id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Tk. NB 182 || K: Sv: {Ni.} *qā*l*tχ*-i, L {Dn.} *qā*l*tχ*-i, UB {TK, GP}, L {TK} *qā*l*tχ*i, LB *qā*l*tχ*i, Ln {TK} *q*l*ätχ*i 'high', UB/LB/Ln {TK} *na*-*q*l*ätχ*i, L *na*(n)*q*l*ätχ*i 'height' ¶ GP 132, TK 355, 611, Ni. s.v. 'высокий' and 'высота', Dn. s.v. *qā*l*tχ*-i ¶ The element -*tχ*- may be an ext. (< the second component of a cd.?) || A: NaT **k*'*al*- v. 'rise in the air' (→ v. 'jump up') > OT *qal*- v. 'rise in the air', Tkm *qal*- 'stand up, rise', Alt *qal*- 'jump over sth.', Tv *χal*- v. 'jump, run', Tlt, QK, Qb, Sg *qal*- v. 'jump, jump up', SbTt Tb {Tm.} *qal*(y)- v. 'soar', Yk *kil*y- 'jump on one foot (a game)'; ->: [1] **k*'*al*-dir- 'raise' > Az *gal*dir-, T *kald*ir-, Ggz *kald*ir-; [2] **kalk*- 'rise' > Tk *kalk*-, Tkm *gal*q-, Az *galχ*-, Gg, Uz, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh *qal*q- id.; [3] OT {Cl.} *qal*iq 'air, atmosphere, (visible) sky', sc. 'space above the earth'; in spite of the English translation 'air', this word has nothing to do with the meaning 'air, wind' and therefore cannot be equated with D **kāl* 'air, wind' or with D **kāl*i 'wind' (⇔ Blz. DA 162 [#97]) (see N **gA*l|∇ 'wind') ¶ Cl.

617, 620, ET KQ 224-6, RI. II 239-40, Rs. W 226, BT 70, Tm. 117, ET KQ 224-6 || M *qali- > WrM qali-, HIM хали-(x) v. 'fly \ soar \ skim (in flying); flow over the brim of, overflow' (of a vessel\river), Kl {Rm.} xali-(xα) id., {KRS} халь-х 'to soar', Brt хали-ха 'to flow over the brim of, to overflow' ¶ MED 919, KRS 572, KW 163, Chr. 538-9 ◇ IS I 334-5 s.v. *qali '(поднимать(ся))' (does not distinguish N *qāh'i 'high' from N *qaliv 'rock, hill, stone'). If there was a lr. in the IE stem, it must have gone back to N *h (the only lr. easily lost in HS and able to yield *a in IE) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #309 (*kal ~ *kel 'rise, sky') (IE and A [← IS] + unc.: J, Gil, CK, EA).

1047. *q'ā' | | h' ū 'stick, hook, bar' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bar for locking') > HS: C *ka|- ~ ?? *qal- 'stick' > EC: [1] ḫ Or {Tut.} qala 'cudgel'; [2] {Ss.} *ka|- 'stick' (× N *k'o'iv 'bough, stick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ss. B 114, AD SF 68-9 || NrOm (× N *k'o'iv): Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} kullō 'wood (Holz)', ? Kf {C SE III} qallo 'stick (?)' (unless = Kf qullo 'sphere', 'bastone di palla') ¶ C SE III 204, C SE IV 485 || S *o'q(ω) > Ar qul-at- (pl. quluwān-) {Hv.} 'pieces of wood with which children play', {BK} 'petit morceau de bois placé verticalement et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau de bois plus grand' ¶ Fr. III 493, Hv. 626, BK II 807-8 || ? Ch {Stl.} *kolu 'hoe' > WCh: Gera {ChC} kwalli, ? Krkr kàlà 'hoe' (unless ← Hs) || Jm {Gw.} kwalo id. || ?? Hs káláj 'worn out long-handled hoe' (unless ← Knr {Lk.} kúle 'old iron-piece of a hoe') || CCh: Wmd {ChL} kùl, Hld {ChL} k'ùlù 'hoe' ¶ Stl. IF 95, Ba. 537, Lk. KL 207 || K: OG qliṭe {Abul.} 'bar (for locking), lock', {Ser.} 'key' (Luc. 11.52), G qliṭe 'lock' ¶ Abul. 200, Ser. 79, Chx. 602 || IE *kleHw- > NaIE *klāw- ~ *klēw- 'stick, hook, locking bar, lock' > Gk: D κλαῖς / -ῖδος, I κληῖς / -ῖδος, OA κλης, A κλείς / gen. κλειδός 'bar\bolt (drawn or undrawn by a lath or thong)', 'key (a kind of catch\hook, by which the bar was shot\unshot from the outside)' (→ later 'key'), 'hook or tongue of a clasp' || L clāvis 'key', clāvus 'nail, spike', claud-o, -ēre v. 'shut, close' || OIr cló (pl. clóí) 'nail', MW clo 'bolt (Riegel, Verschluss)', pl. cloeu 'clavi', OBr Γ clou {Flr.} 'aiguillon, ferrement', MBr clou 'ferrement', claou 'pointe de fer', W clo 'lock', Br {Flr.} klaou 'verrou', {Hm.} klaouern 'ferrement, bout de fer' || Lt kliūtī (prs. kliūvū) vi. 'to hook (on), to be suspended', Ltv kļāustītiēs 'to hang, to be suspended', caus. Lt kliudytī vt. 'to hang' || Sl *klúčb 'hook, key' > OCS κλυѡбъ klúčb

'key, hook (for torturing)', Blg, R *ключ*, P *klucz*, HLs *kluč* 'key', Blg Δ *kľuč* 'hook for hanging a kettle\saucepan over the fire', SCr *ključ*, Slv *ključ*, Cz *klíč*, OP *klucz*, LLs *kluc* 'hook, key'; SI **kľuka* 'hook, stick with a bent end' > R *кдю'ка* 'stick with a bent end', SCr *ključka*, Slv *ključka*, Cz *klíka*, OP, HLs *kluka* 'hook', Uk *'кдюка* 'stick with a hook, hook'; ? SI **kľuna* > SCr *ključna* 'hook' ¶ P 605-6, EI 272 (**kleh_hwi-s* 'bolt, bar, [wooden] hook'), LS 957, FI 866-7, WH I 229-31, Vn. C 121, Flr. 109, Hm. 464, YGM-1 89, Frn. 274, ESSJ X 50-6, SJSS XV 31-2, Glh. 323-4 || **U**: FU (< d.?) **kälta* > ObU ≈ **kält*∇ (× N ***gE1**∇ 'stalk, twig') > Vg Ss {Ht.} *kält* 'pole, Stange' in *pāts-kält* 'a pole of the *перевес* (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} *patəs-kält* 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs **kält* > Os: V/Vy *kält*, Ty/Ag *kāḏt*, Y *kāḏ(t)*, Kr/K *kāt*, O *kält* 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz (*перевес*) aufgehängt ist'), Nz *qat*, Kz *qaḏt* id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish-trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. #747, Trj. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶¶ The cns. *l* in Os and Vg for the expected **l* or **l̥* is accounted for by its position: since there are no ObU words with **lt* or **l̥t* (in contrast to the existing cluster **lt*, F Ht. ##590, 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition **l* ↔ **l̥* ↔ **l̥* was neutralized before **t* (a cluster **lt*) || **D** **kāla-*, {ḡGS} **gāla-* 'hook, fish-hook' > Kn *gāla*, *gāḡa* id., Ml *kālam* 'fishing hook to catch aligators', Tu *gāla*, Nkr *ga*, Prj *gēlam*, Gnd *gālam* 'fish-hook', Tl *gāla(:)mu* id., 'a many-hooked instrument for taking out anything fallen in a well'; D *ḡ* OI, Prkr *gala-*, Pali *gaḷa-* 'fish-hook' ¶¶ D #1495 ◇ Not here S **kil_l∇_l?* (> Hb *כַּלְא* 'kele [~ *כַּלְא* *ka'li*] [+ppa. of 3m: *כַּלְא* *kil'pō*; pl. *כַּלְאִים* *ka'lā'īm*] 'imprisonment, prison', Ak *kīlu* 'Festhalten. Haft', F KB 453, KBR 475), which is d. from the S verb **✓kl?* 'hold, hinder', but it is still possible that N **k'ā'j|f'h'û* 'stick, hook, bar' (→ 'bar for locking') may have influenced this S noun. The N front vw. is qu., because it is reconstructed on the ev. of Os only (D **a* < both N **ä* and **a* regularly).

1048. ₂ ***KEL_lH_l∇** 'cold' > IE: NaIE **kel-* 'cold' > OI *śisira-* 'cool season, cold', Av *sarəta-* adj. 'cold', ZPhl *sart*, NPrs *سرد* *särd*, KhS *sāḏa* 'cold', Oss D/I *sald* 'frozen', Oss I *sälɜn*, Oss D *sälun* v. 'freeze' || ON *hēla* 'hoarfrost' (< rdp. **he-hla*), ?μ AS *heolca* 'hoarfrost', Dt *hal* 'frozen ground', ? NGr B *hāl* 'slippery ice-covered ground' (× the Gmc

root for 'smooth, slippery': ON háll id., OHG hāli 'smooth') || Lt prs. šalù (inf. šálti) 'freeze, congeal; be frozen\chilly, feel cold'; Lt šáltas, Ltv saīts adj. 'cold' (< *kōlatos); Ltv saīna 'light frost on the background of warm weather (заморозки)' (e.g. 'first autumn frosts, morning frost'), Lt šalnà id., 'hoarfrost' | Sl *solnà (Gh.) *sol'na) 'hoarfrost' > RChS **CLANA**, Blg **clana**, SCr Δ **slānā**, SCr (with transformed accentuation) **slāna** id.; IS reconstructs here a pSl oxytonic accentual paradigm (preserved in SCr Δ: nom. sg. **slānā**, accus. sg. **slānū**, nom./acc. pl. **slānē**, etc.) ¶ P 551, Mn. 634, M K III 345-6, Bai. 424, Vr. 221, Vr. N 232, Ho. 156, Vl. II 273, Ab. III 27, 64, Frn. 960-1, LKV 609, IS IA 155 (on accentuation in Sl), Gh. 557-, ≈ E 112 (*kēlto- 'cold') ¶ NaIE lost the root-final *l*r. probably in forms like *kēlH∇ > *kēl∇ (the *l*r. in prevocalic position) which were later generalized || HS: EC: Sa {R} qala^ς-ō n. 'cold (Kälte), qala^ς-it- 'feel cold' ¶ R S II 232 || ? Eg P ε-βκῆ 'erfrischen' ¶ EG IV 315-6 || ECh: Kwn {J} kāl, Kbly {Cp.} kàlɜ, Dng {Lk.} kùlúú 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *küíE 'cold; to freeze' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Ember ESS #3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 #26, and Tk. AANM 1 suggest to equate the Eg word with S *k̄ar_l∇_lχ- 'ice' (see N *k̄ir_lU_lqa 'ice, hoarfrost'), which is qu. (because Eg ḥ is not cognate with S *χ) || AdS of U: FP *kūl]mā 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *küíE '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≠ IS I 304-5 [#176] (*kū́l̄ 'freeze, cold': U, D, A + K [Zan *kr̄o-] + IE *ḡr̄ge- 'cold') and IS I 332-3 [#208] (*k̄ayla 'hot; to burn' > IE *k̄el- 'warm, hot' and later 'freeze, cold').

1049. *k̄aL_l∇_lh∇ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise' > HS: WS *^o✓k̄l̄h (~ *^o✓k̄l̄χ?) v. 'shout, bellow' > Ar {Fr.} ✓q̄l̄h v. 'low repeatedly' (of camel), {Fr., BK, Hv.} ✓q̄l̄χ v. 'low' (of camel), ?? Gz ✓k̄l̄h (pf. kal̄ha) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har ✓k̄l̄h (pf. k̄el̄aḥa ~ kal̄ha) v. 'shout to call so.' ¶ Fr. III 486, BK II 798, Hv. 623, L G 282-3 (the Eth word can be alternatively (and better) equated with IE *ḡal- v. 'shout', F N *k̄'a¹ṬX¹o¹ 'call [appeler], shout') ¶ The variant Ar root ✓q̄l̄χ is likely to be secondary (due to the onomatopoeic factor or to contamination with a different root) || ? B *^o✓wkl̄l (× N *k̄'a¹ṬX¹o¹) > Ah sakkal̄al 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || K: G -k̄el-/-k̄l- (aor. 1s a-v-i-k̄eli, 3s a-i-k̄l̄o) 'ingendwo einen grossen Tumult machen, ein Geschrei erheben' ¶ Chx. 599 || IE *k̄el̄h- {E} 'call out to' > [1] NaIE *k̄el-/*k̄o.lē-/*k̄o.lā- (or *k̄l̄o-?) v. 'call, shout, make noise' > Gk καλέω (fut. Gk I καλέω, Gk A καλώ) 'I call', Gk Ae κάλημι id. || L calā- v. 'call, summon', Um kařitu, kařetu, CARSITU 'calato, appellato' (< *kalētōd) || OHG

(h)luoen, luogen 'to roar', MHG lüejen id., 'to bellow', AS hlōwan 'brüllen; OHG gi-hel 'sounding', {OsS} hēl 'loud, sounding' ('laut, tönend'), MHG hal, NHG Hall 'sound', ON hjala 'to chatter' || OI uṣā-kala 'cock' (lit. 'dawn-caller') || Clt: OIr cailech, W ceiliog 'cock' (≡σ R πετυχ 'cock' ← *'singer') || Ltv kaļōt 'to chatter', Lt kalbà 'language', Pru kaltzā, kelsāi 'sie lauten' || AnIE {ABIV.} *kalla-, *kle- > Ht kalles(s)-, kal(l)is(s)- v. 'entice, lure, evoke, summon up, adduce', Lc kileima 'fame' ¶¶ P 548-9, F I 762-3, WH I 141-2, Bc. G 330, Frn. 207-8, En. 188-9, Vr. 230, Kb. 347, 641, OsS 384, 407-8, Ho. 164, Lx. 79, ≠ KM 302, ABIV. III 219, Ts. W 32, Ts. E I 465-6, Pv. IV 22-4, Tp. P I-K 182-4 ||| [2] *klaṽ- v. 'weep' > Gk I κλάω, Gk A κλάω v. 'weep' (< *κλαF-jω, see ft. κλαύσομαι, aor. ἔκλαυσα, adj. κλαυτός) || *klaṽn-y- > pAl {O} *klaṽnya, {Huld} *kíañ- 'cry, weep' > Al: T qaj, G qarj, SG/D kyay, P čay, Ç klay, Sl kía, V káñ ¶¶ WP I 490, P 599, F I 865, O 353-4, Hamp AIEW 146, Huld 106, EI 90 (*ke|h₁-) ◇ Gr. II #357 (*kel 'speak') (IE + indiscriminate pêle-mêle of reflexes of three N words: *kaLṽ, hṽ 'shout', *KaYLa 'shout, call', and *K'eʔ|hí'lê 'tongue' in U, A, Y, Gil, etc.). Without HS cognates and without serious historical phonology nothing better can be achieved.

1050. *Kəo|íqa 'knock, strike, hit' > IE *kṽṽo|h₁-/*kṽṽleH- > NaIE *kṽṽo|h₁a-/*klā- v. 'strike, beat' (× NaIE *okṽṽel- 'strike' < N *Kəo|íqa 'beat, strike') > Lt kal-ù (inf. kál-ti), Ltv kaļu ~ kalu (inf. kaĩ-t) v. 'strike, hammer, forge', Lt káltas 'chisel', kálvis 'smith' || Sl *ko'íq / inf. *kó|l-ti v. 'split, slaughter' (× N *kaLṽa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' [→ 'slaughter'], q.v.) > Blg 'коля, Slk klat', R ко'лю / inf. ко'лоть 'split, slaughter', Slv kláti, Slk klat' 'to split, to slaughter', Cz kláti, OR ΚΛΑΤΗ klati 'to kill'; but not here the homonymous *ko'lyq / *kó|l-ti v. 'prick' that belongs to N *kaLṽa '↑' (and probably even to a different IE √ *ko|h₁-/*kleH-), though later in BSl (and Gk?) they were reinterpreted as two semantic variants of one verb; the differentiation between Sl *koltī 'to slaughter' and *koltī 'to prick' was first proposed by A. Meillet in 1907 (Me. *MSL* XIV 374) ||| Gk κλάω v. 'break'; ??φ κόλαφος 'a slap, buffet, a blow with the fist', κολαπίζω v. 'slap, buffet' ¶ Hofm. 146, 152, Ch. 538-9, Dybo SA 203, 249-50 (accentual rec. of the pSl forms), ESSJ X 154-6, Glh. 320, Frn. 211-2, F I 866-7, 897; ≈ WP I 436-8, P 545-6, and EUC 549 (*ke|h₁- 'strike') (all of them do not distinguish this √ from NaIE *ke|a- / klā- 'hew, chop, slaughter' [< N *kaLṽa '↑']) ¶ The accentuation in the BSl infinitive (Lt kálti, Ltv

kaĭt, pSl *kǫl-ti) and in Lt káltas, kálvis points to a lr. in the IE √ (*kolā- < *kolH-) || **HS:** S *^o✓k̄lχ > Ar ✓qlχ G (qalaxa / -qalxu) 'heurter, frapper un corps sec contre un autre corps sec', D (pf. qallaχa) 'frapper qn. fortement avec un fouet' ¶ Hardly here Ar ✓ql̄y (pf. قلى qalā, n. ag. qaly-) 'frapper qn. à la tête; abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', because this Ar √ has no lr. (expected in the light of external comparison) ¶ BK II 798, 808 || **U:** FP *ko^r∇- ~ *kaL∇- v. 'knock, strike': *ko^r∇ > F kolata, kolahtaa v. 'knock, strike', kolhia v. 'batter (up), maul, pound (up)', Vp koʒyta, koʒāta v. 'knock, strike', Es kolata-(ma) v. 'kock' | Z USs goǐzd v. 'clatter' ||| *kaL∇ > Mk 'kaltaǰa- v. 'knock, strike' | F kalata, kalahtaa v. 'knock, rattle' ¶ This is a √ with onomatopoeic infl. (where the meaning 'noise, rattle' is involved) ¶ SK 146, 210, LG 77, 131, SZ 82 || **D** *ko]- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *K̄o|í|a 'beat, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The K √ *k̄al-/k̄l- (represented in G k̄l-/k̄al-/k̄w- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill') is semantically and phonetically nearer to N *k̄aLfa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' (→ 'slaughter'), q.v. In several descendant lgs. the reflex of *K̄o|í|qa coalesced with or was influenced by N *gola 'kill' (q.v.).

1051. (₂?) *K̄alw∇ 'thick' > **HS:** S: Ak k̄ālū {Sd.} 'thick', {CAD} 'solid (?)' ¶ Sd. 895, CAD XIII 72 || **A** *k'āl'w' i- > T {Md.} *k'ālī > OT qalīn 'massive, dense, thick', Tk kalīn, VTt, Bsh qalēn, Tv qīlīn, Tf hīlīn, Yk χālīn 'thick' (of flat objects), Az, Tkm galīn, Uz qalīn, ET qelīn, Δ {Jr.} qālīn, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qalīn, Xk χālīn, Chv хулāн хулēн ≍ холēн 'thick, dense', 'thick' (as grass, wood) ¶ Cl. 622, Rs. W 226, ET KQ 238-9, Ra. 193, Md. 166, 103 (T ÷ M *goliy- 'thick') || M *^oqalba- > WrM qalbai-, HIM жалбай- 'be broad, wide, baggy' (esp. of garments), WrM qalbagar, HIM жалбагар 'broad, wide, baggy', ? Brt жалхагар id., Brt жалбагар 'flat and broad' ¶ MED 918, STM I 365 || Tg *_lx̄albi-n 'broad' > Ewk PT albin, Ewk Sm ilbun, ? Ewk Chmk/Skh kalbin, Neg albin, Ud agbi 'broad'; other words of the same √ (without *-n): Ewk albi-gū- v. 'broaden', Ud agbi-la-ni 'breadth' ¶ STM I 30 || **AdS** of **D** *kōl ({GS} *k-) 'long, large' (< N *K̄olā 'long, far', q.v. ffd.) || ? **E:** El ku-li 'thick' ¶¶ HK 510-1 ◇ Qu., because the Ak word is isolated within HS and both its meaning and reading (ā = [ā] or [ē]?) are questionable.

1052. *K̄aly∇ '(lock of) hair, eyebrow, eyelash' > **HS:** C {AD} *k̄∇^r∇^r∇p|b- > Ag *k̄∇^r∇^r∇b- > Xm {R} (el) qer'niḅ 'eyelid(s); Ag ⇨

EthS: Gz *qarnab* ~ *qarnab* ~ *qarnab* 'eyelash, eyelid, top of an ear of corn', Tgy *qarnab* 'eyelid, eyelash', Amh, Arg *qarnab*, Grg SI/WI *qarnab*, Grg M/Ms/Go/So *qarnab* 'eyebrow, eyelash' ¶ R Ch II 381, L G 442, L EDG III 496 || NrOm: Kf {C} *qarnab* ~ *qarnab* 'eyebrow(s)' ¶ ≈ C SE IV 285 || U: FU (in FV) **ka*||*ke* 'hair' > F *kalki* (gen. *kaljēn*) 'hair, straw' || pLp {Lr.} **kō*||*kə* 'hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} *guolge* 'hair', L {LLO} *kuol'ka* 'hair (but not the hair of the human head)', N {N} *guol'gâ* 'hair (of human head), coat', Kld *kūlg* 'old hair' || Er *καλγο* *kalgo*, Mk *kalga* 'awn, chaff (of flax\hemp)' ¶ UEW 644, SK 149, Lr. #512, Lgc. #2883, Hs. 688-9, Ps. M 72 || A: T **k'ā* 'eyebrow' > OT *qaš*, Tk *kaš*, Az *qaš*, Tkm *qāš*, Ggz *kaš*, Uz, ET, Ln, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt *qaš*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *qas*, Uz *qoš*, Xlj *qāš*, Yk *χās* id., Xk *χas* 'edge, river-bank', Tf *haš* 'hill-side, slope (κocογop)', d.: Chg *قالياق* *qalyaq* 'Haarschopf, die Stirnhaare der Pferde' (**í* > *l* in precons. position) || Old Chv {Rs.} **xu*||*ol* -> Chr *xa*||*ol*, *ol*, *ul* 'eyebrow' ¶ Rs. W 240, Cl. 669, ET KQ 34, DT 173, Ra. 186 || ? pJ **ká*||*j* 'hair' > OJ *ké*, J: T *kè*, K *kê*, Kg *ké*, Ns *kí*, Sh/Y *kí*, Ht *kí* ¶ S AJ 266 [#34] (believes that the word belongs to A **k'íl*∇(-*ka*) 'thick hair', FN **qēla* 'stalk, a hair'), S QJ #34, Mr. 447 || D (in SD) **kāl*-({*ǵGS*} **k-*) 'lock of hair in plaiting' > Tm *kāl* id., Kn *kāl* 'a strand or lock of hair in plaiting, tie-rope (used in tethering cattle)' ¶ D #1482 ◇ T **-í-* and D **-l-* point to a N **-ly-*. The contraction of this ancient cluster is responsible for the vowel lengthening in T and D.

1053. **qōly*∇ (= **qōly*∇?) 'round; to turn, to turn around, to roll (sth.)' > IE: NaIE **k^wel-* 'round, circle', v. 'turn around' > OI *carati* vi. 'moves, walks, wanders' || Gk *πέλ-ομαι* (3s prs. *πέλει*) v. 'be in motion' (< Gk Ae, hence *πε-* for **k^we-*) || pAl {O} **čel_lna* > Al *sjell* 'I turn' ('drehe'), *sjell rrotull* 'drehe herum', *sjell* 'I turn\direct to...' ('lenke auf, richte auf...'), (→) 'I bring' || NaIE **k^wek_l^wlo-* ({EI} **k^wek^wlo-m* ~ **k^wok^wlo-s*) 'circle, wheel' > OI *ca'kra-* 'wheel', Av *čaxrō*, NPrs *چرخ* *čärχ* id. || Gk *κύκλος* 'circle' || Phr *κύκλην* 'Ursa major' (lit. 'the chariot') || ON *hvel* ~ *hjól*, MHG *wël*, AS *hwéol* ~ *hweohl* ~ *hweozol* ~ *hweowol* 'wheel', NE *wheel* || pTc {Ad.} **kuk(ä)le* > Tc: A *kukäl*, B *kokale* 'cart, wagon, chariot' || **k^wolo-* 'circle, wheel' > Gk *πόλος* 'axis of the celestial sphere' || L *colus*, -*ūs* 'distaff' || OIr *cul* 'vehicle' (< du. **k^wolō* 'two wheels') || Pru *kelan* 'wheel' || Sl **kōlo* / gen. **kōlese* 'wheel, circle' (< **k^wel-os* ntr. / gen.

*k^wel-es-es) > OCS КОЛО kolo (gen. КОЛЕСЕ kolese) id., Blg коло ~ коло, SCr kōlo, Slv kolō id., Cz kolo, P koło, OR КОЛО kolo 'wheel'; generalization of the stem of the obl. cases: SCr Δ, Slk koleso, R колесо 'wheel', Cz koleso 'big wheel' ||| Tc B kele 'navel, centre' (← *'nave of a wheel') ¶ P 639-40, EI 640, M KI 366, Vr. 232-3, 270, Ho. 181, En. 191, Tp. PI-K 305-7, ESSJ X 141-4, Glh. 329, O 397, Wn. 239-40, JGH 60-1, 71, Ad. 197-8, 200 ||| K *k^we₂l- / *k^wāl- 'sth. round' > Lz kōrkōla 'curly hair; sheep-dung', Mg k^war-k^wal-ia 'round' (dis. *r...r > r...l), Sv: UB k^wāšī, L k^wāšī, Ln k^wašī 'round flat cake of maize flour' ('чупек, ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂') (Sv š < *l, F GM S 82) ¶¶ Lz, Mg *-l- is a regular representative of K *-l- ¶¶ K 110, ≈ K² 93 (Lz, Mg < GZ *k^wer-k^wer-), FS K 181, TK 353, IS I 326 ¶¶ K *k^wer- (G k^wer- 'a round flat cake', 'a round sugar-loaf, a round cheese' and Lz, Mg k^war- 'round flat cake, a round loaf [КОЛОБОК]) are to be kept apart because of the cns. *-r- ||| HS: WS *√k^wl^b 'turn over' > Ar √q^wl^b v. G 'turn upside down', 'turner, retourner', Sb √k^wl^b v. 'till, turn over (soil prior to cultivation)', Gz √k^wl^b v. 'serve, turn over, overturn', Mh {Jo.} √k^wl^b v. 'turn, return', Sq √k^wl^b {Jo.} id., {L} 'turner, rouler', Jb {Jo.} √k^wl^b v. 'turn, return, overturn' ¶ BK II 796, Hv. 622, LG 426-7, LLS 374, Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144-5, BGMR 104 || B [1] *√y^w > Ah əy^wli 'tourner autour de..., être autour', Gh əy^wli 'tourner autour de...'; [2] *√w^wq^wl (> *√w^wy^wl) 'return, become' > Ah {Fc.} əqqə^wl (3m pf. iqqə^wl) vi. 'return, become', ETwl/Ty əqqə^wl (3m pf.: ETwl iqqə^wl, Ty yəqqə^wl) 'retourner\revenir à', Gh əqqə^wl 'revenir à\chez', Kb qq^wə^wl, uy^wal v. 'become', Izd uy^wul 'revenir', ? Shl {La.} ay^wul id., Tmz {MT} ay^wul 'devenir, revenir' ¶ Fc. 1713-8, 1723-7, 2002 (on Fcj. 27), La. S 289, MT 185, Dl. 607-8, Mrc. 224, Pr. M VI-VII 92 (on Pcj. I A 2), GhA 67, 246-7 (on Pcj. I A 2) ¶ B *w- is likely to go back to the px. of intransitivity *w- ||| C: Bj B {Alm.} k^walāl 'round' ('kugelrund'), Bj {R} k^walāl 'round; ball' ('kugelrund, Kugel'), k^walēl (pl. k^walal) 'circle, circumference; bracelet, anklet' ('Kreis, Umkreis; Armband, Fußring') ||| EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōl (pl. qōlāl) 'loop', Sml {ZMO} qōl 'halter, collar, neck piece', Rn χālī 'strip of animal-hide (tied to people\animals in traditional ceremonies)' ¶ Alm. BS III 41, R WBd 141, Abr. S 203, ZMO 332, PG 188 || Ch: Hs k^wālā-k^wālā 'large and round' ¶ Abr. H 579 ||| U: FU *^okoLya 'circle' > F kolja (pl. koljat) 'necklace (made of gold\silver)', Lv kōlī: (pl. kōlīad_) 'ring' || ??φ Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} kōlā 'wheel, circle', kōlak '(go) round' ¶ F kolja < FU *koLya × ← Fr

collier, whence the F variant pl. form koljeet. The Slq cognate is highly qu. because the reg. reflex of U *k- is q- rather than k- ¶¶ SK 210, Kt. 144, KKIH 112 || A *k'ul̥- v. 'roll, turn' ({SDM95} *k'ul̥, {DQA} *k'ulo id.) > NaT *Ku_{l̥}]a- v. 'roll (down), fall down' > Qrg qula-, Qzq qūla- v. 'fall down, crash down', Qq, Uz qula- id., v. 'fall', Bsh qōla- v. 'fall, fall down', SbTt B/Tr qōla- v. 'fall', Nog qula- v. 'go straight forward (through water\silt without choosing one's way)', ET yuli- 'fall down, crash', d. yulat- 'overturn', Slr kulen- & kulen- v. 'roll' ¶ ET Q 122-3, Jud. 440, Tn. SJ 395, KrkR 408, MM 471, NogR 186, BR 337, Tm. 127, Rl. II 96, Nj. 565-6, UzR 629 || Tg *xuli- v. 'go round, be curve (way)' > Ul, Ork xōl̥- ~ xōl̥u-, Nn Nh xōl̥-, Neg ol̥sl̥n- v. id., 'etw. herum-gehen\fahren', Orc uli- v. 'go round, double (a promontory in a river)', Ewk uli-s- v. 'twist\meander' (of a river), Ewk ulikā, ulisin 'a bend\curve (of a river)', Lm ul̥na id. ¶ STM II 261 ¶¶ DQA #1141 || pJ {S} *k'ér̥-mp- v. 'roll' > OJ k_{l̥}u_or_{l̥}u_ob-, J T kòrob, K kórób-, Kg korób- ¶ S AJ 271 [#190], S QJ #190, Mr. 713 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *k'ul̥ 'roll, turn', DQA #1141 (A *k'ulo 'roll, turn'; incl. T, Tg, J), S AJ 288 [#281]. The J root is ambiguous, because it may be alternatively equated with M kōrbe- v. 'turn over, turn from one side to another', Tg: Ewk kurbu-, Sln xubbu- ~ xurb̥-, and WrMc kurbu- id., as well as with WrM kūr̥d̥ä- 'wheel' (as suggested in Rm. SKE 129) ◇ The possible D cognates are highly qu.: [1] D *kōl- 'bend, curve' > Tm kul̥v̥u id., Kui kl̥ng̥a 'be contracted, bent up', Krx xōlk^h- 'cause one to bend the head', xōlk^hr- ~ xōlxr- 'bend the head, bow', Mlt kolge vt. 'curve, bend' (D #2136; the semantic connection with the N word is not close enough) | [2] IS I 327 (← ?) mentions D *ku_{l̥}]̥- > ¿ Tm ku_{l̥}]̥al, ku_{l̥}]̥ai 'turn round, вертеться' and Mlt {Drs.} gūli 'round'; I have not been able to find the above Tm root in the available Dravidian and Tamil dictionaries; IS probably meant Tm ku_{l̥}]̥al v. 'curl' [D #1818] (the mistake being caused by the notation l̥ for l̥, which is current in literature) ◇ IE, U (as well as D *kōl-) point to a pN *o, while the vw. *u in T and Tg still needs explaining ◇ IS I 326-7. IS reconstructs *kōl̥, but the T cognate (with *-l-) rules out N *-l̥-, so that the only possible N recs. are with *-ly- or *-ly- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #402 (*kul 'turn') (IE, U, A, J, Gil, CK + qu. Ko).

1054. ₂ *kaLka (~ *kaLka?) 'to wind, to twist' > IE: NaE *kelg- vi. 'wind\twist', 'winding; crookedness' > AS hyl̥c n. 'bend, turn',

'Wendung, Drehung; Höcker', NE hulch ||| SI *čylga-ti ~ *čylka-ti, {SPS} *čǰga-ti 'to creep' > OP czołkać się, P czołgać się, Slnz {Lrn.} čěukǎc id., Uk 'човгати' 'to shuffle one's feet, to walk slowly' ||| OIr celg 'ruse, traitrise' (↳ W celg 'deceit') ||| ?φ Arm կեղծք kełc-k^h 'hypocrisy, falsification', կեղծ- kełc- v. 'feign, pretend' ||| NaIE *kļeng- ~ *kļenk- v. 'bend, wind, twist together': *kļeng- > L [Fest.] cling-ō, -ēre 'cingo' or 'cludo' ||| ON hlykkur 'Schlinge, Bucht', hlekkur 'ring, chain', AS hlenće {Vr.} 'a ring (a link) in a chain', {Sw.} 'link', pl. {Sw., Ho.} 'armour, Panzer', MHG gelenke 'Biegung', NHG Gelenk 'link (in a chain), articulation', gelenk 'flexible, pliable' | *kļenk- > BSI *kļenkj- > Ltv klencēt 'to hobble', Lt klénkti 'to walk quickly', SI *klęčiti 'to bend' > Pol klęczyć 'to bend into an arc', OR, RChS κλῆυητι kljačiti 'to bend down, to hink', R Δ 'κλεχίτι' 'to twist tight, to tighten, to tie up'; ?? SI *klęčati 'to kneel, to squat' > OCS klęčati, Slv klečati, Cz klečeti, P klęczeć, Uk клячати 'to kneel', SCr klęčati 'to kneel, to squat, to hink'; ?? SI *klękati 'to squat, to kneel' > Blg 'клякам v. 'squat', Cz klekati, Slk kl'akat', P klękać, Uk клякати, Blr 'клякаць 'to kneel'; ?? SI *klęk-nq-ti 'to squat\kneel down' > SCr klęknuti id., Blg 'клекна v. 'squat down', Slk kl'aknúť 'to squat down', Cz kleknouti, P klęknać, Uk 'клякнүти 'to kneel down' ¶ WP I 447, 498-9, P 554, 603, WH I 233-4, Vr. 237, 240, Ho. 183, Sw. 90, 98, KM 244-5, Vn. C 60, YGM-1 82, Frn. 289, ESSJ IV 141 and X 28-9, 32-4, Bern. I 166, Sls. I 124, Lrn. I 147, SPS II 21, EI 62 (*kļeng- 'bend, turn') ||| К *°kļak-wŋ- > G kļakn- ~ kļakvn- 'sich krümmen, winden' ¶ Chx. 599.

1055. *kļoLPV (or *kļoLPV) middle; 'inside, lap, sth. within an angle' > IE: NaIE *klēp- 'lap', v. 'embrace' > OHG *hlāftara > MHG lāfter 'fathom' ||| Ltv klēpis 'lap, a lapful', Lt klēbỹs 'length of an arm, fathom, armful', klēbti 'in die ausgebreitete Arme nehmen, umarmen' (↳ due to the infl. of glēbỹs 'ausgebreitete Arme', 'armful?') ||| ?φ Clt: Brtt {RE} *kalonā 'heart, (?) entrails' > W calon, OCm, Crn colon f. 'heart', Crn colon m. 'guts', OBr calon(n), Br kalon 'heart' | The variant with an initial *g- (Lt glēbỹs '↑', MHG klāfter, NHG Klāfter 'fathom') is likely to result from a merger with *gleb- v. 'embrace' (> Lt glēbti, OFrs kleppa id.); the infl. of *gleb- may be responsible for the meaning 'to embrace, armful, length of an arm\arms' in IE *klēp- ¶ P 604, Frn. 156, 267, RE 103, Lx. 108, 120 |||

HS: S: [1] S * $\text{ḳal}_\text{ḳ}b-$ ~ * ḳabal- 'middle' (\rightarrow 'heart') > Ak $\text{ḳabl-}\text{u}$, $\text{ḳabal}\text{tu-}$ 'middle, center', Ar qalb- 'heart' (\rightarrow Mh ḳāb , Jb ḳelb id., Hrs ḳalb 'sense, mind, heart', Gz ḳalb 'thought, wish') | [2] S mt. * $\text{ḳap}_\text{ḳ}p-$ 'middle' > Sr ḳāpə'lā 'armful, sheaf' ({PS} 'brachii complexus, manipulus inter brachia comprehensus'), ḳεp'l-ā {JPS} 'an inmost recess, inner chamber', {Br.} ḳap'lā 'sinus, interiora', ? Ak kappaltu 'groin, the area between the thighs' ¶ Br. 683, PS 3692-3, JPS 514, Fr. III 482, BK II 796, Sd. 444, 887, CAD VIII 184-5 and XIII 1-12, Jo. H 75, LG 427, MiK I #161 || ? **K:** G ḳalta (< ** ḳalpta ?) 'lap' ¶ Chx. 545 || **A:** T * ḳolbiç > OT qolbiç 'armpit' (a cd.?) ¶ Cl. 617, DTS 454 ◇ T * l in preconsonantal position (in a N cns. cluster) provides no ev. as to the identity of the N lateral cns. ◇ IE * k- (in the preconsonantal position) is a legitimate reflex of N * ḳo- ◇ If the G word belongs here, the N etymon must have an initial * ḳ- , otherwise it is * Ḳ- .

1056. *Ḳaí'ü|u' (= * ḳaí'ü|u' ?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE * $\text{ḳ}ḷno-$ 'callosity, hard skin' > L callum , callus 'hardened thick skin, callosity' ||| OI 'kiṇa 'callosity' (\leftarrow MI < * kr̥ṇa) ¶ The stem may have been semantically influenced by IE * $\text{k}ḷkal-$ 'hard' (\rightarrow OIr calad 'hard') ¶ WP I 357 and P 523-4 (* kalno- , * $\text{ḳ}ḷno-$ \leftarrow * kal- 'hard'), \approx EI 523 (* $\text{ḳ}ḷno-s$ 'callosity' \leftarrow * kal- 'hard'), M KI 208, WH I 140-1, EM 87, Vn. C 25-6 || **U:** FU {UEW} * $\text{kaíw}ṽ$ (< pre-U * kaíu- ?) ({Db.} * kaíe) 'film, thin skin' > F kalvo 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale , kalu , Lv kaíg 'cataract (of the eye)' || Prm * kií > Z kií 'seed-coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff' (\times FU * keže < N * kež?ê 'skin; to skin'), Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' ||| Hg hályog , Δ hajag , halyag , hálog 'cataract (of the eye)' || ObU: pOs {Ht.} * kǎí'í 'crust, scab' > Os {KrT}: V/Vy kǎí , Nz ḳǎ́ta , Kz ḳǎ́í 'scab, crust' ¶ Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, LG 124, Db. OS xxxi, MF 256-7, KrT 382, \approx Ht. #265 ¶ Not here pVg * kǎ́lap 'outer layer of birch bark' and pOs {Ht.} * kǎ́lap id., 'dandruff' (Ht. 150 [#265]), which belong (together with S * $\text{ḳ}ḷp$ 'bark') to N * $\text{ḳaí'ü}Pṽ$ 'to bark (a tree), to cut off; bark, peel' (q.v.). The Prm ḳ is ambiguous: it belongs here only if its * i is accounted for by the ass. infl. of cns.; otherwise it belongs unambiguously to FU * keže < N * kež?ê '↑'. If we take into account the traces of a front root-final vw. (F Dybo l.c.), the pre-U ḳ may be reconstructed as * kalü || **A:** M * qali-sun 'the outer layers of sth.; peel,

rind, bark, skin' > WrM φ al \bar{i} s \bar{u} n, HIM жалъс, Kl жалъсн χαίσαn, Brt χαίθα(n) id., Mnr H {SM} χαίλιζз 'pellicule, membrane, écale, épiderme' ¶ MED 920, SM 151, T 372, KRS 572 || Tg *xalu- 'pellicle' > Ud B alu 'dandruff', WrMc αλχ \bar{u} ωα 'outer pellicle (of brain\kidneys\heart), skin of fruit'; Tg *xalu-kta 'film, inner side of hide (мездра)' > Lm al̄b̄ id., Ork χαλυqta, Nn Nh/B χαλοqta, Nn KU aloqta, Ewk, Orc, Ud alukta, Neg alta 'the inner side of hide'; Tg *xalu- > Nn KU alu- v. 'remove the inner side of hide', Lm al̄b̄w- id., v. 'remove a film' ¶ STM I 33-4 || T * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ 'e|ǎ̄ > Tv keš 'skin, hide'; possibly also sd. T *k'eí 'quiver, belt' > OT, XwT XIV keš ({CL.} kēš), Kr {RL.} kǎš, Tv NE xeš, Tf héš, Yk kāsāχ (with dim. -ǎχ) 'quiver', OT Y {ML.} keš 'belt'; T \rightarrow (?) Psh keš 'cotton blanket, shawl; silk cloth (камка)' ¶ ET KQ 60-1, TvR 239, Cl. 752, Ra. 188, Ml. JPT 107, Shch. SF 195 (*keš), Asl. 713 ¶¶ DQA #963 (A *k'ǎ̄li 'napless skin, membrane', 'шкура без ворса, мездра') || **Gil:** Gil ES {Krn.} hał 'human skin', Gil A hał id., 'human body' ¶¶ ST 422, ST RN 182, Krn. N 398, 490 || **HS:** EC * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ 'ō̄l- > Bn B {Hn.} q̄ol̄z (pl.) 'bark', Gdl {Bl.} q̄ō̄le 'skin', Or {Grg.} q̄ola 'peel, pod, shell, husk', {Brl.} q̄ola 'membrana; scorza; pellicola', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} q̄ola 'bark', Sd {Gs.} q̄ō̄la 'husk, peel, bark' (\leftarrow Or?), Hr {AMS} q̄ō̄lo 'skin', Arr q̄íl 'leather', as well as ? Gdl {Blz. \leftarrow ?} q̄o \bar{a} lla 'bark' (though in Bl.'s description of Gdl there is no phoneme ̄) and Or {Tut.} kało 'tanned skin' ¶ Brl. 344, Grg. 326, Bl. G 69, Gs. 266, Hw. A 379, Blz. CWL, AMS 182, Hn. BD 93. Sr. 354 || ? ϕ **K:** G q̄rō̄l-i 'outer shell of a nut\chestnut' ◇ If the K root belongs here, the initial N cns. is to reconstruct as * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ -. N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü|u' is to be distinguished from paronymous N words, such as * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ o \hat{z} ∇ 'to skin, to bark (wood)', N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü'P∇ '↑', and N *kał|í∇ 'to bark (a tree), to remove vegetation' (q.v.). This latter N word (rather than N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü|u') is the source of D *kał- v. 'weed' (\Leftrightarrow S, / S CNM 5) ◇ AD NM #94, Vv. AEN 6, S CNM 5 ($\div\div$ NrCs, ST) ◇ Gr. II #341 (*kał 'skin') (U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1057. * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ a'í'∇ '(be) few, (be) too small\thin\light' > **HS:** S * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ all- adj. 'light, few' > BHb q̄al 'light (levis)' (f. q̄a'l'lā), Sq {L} q̄al 'young', Akk q̄allum 'light, scanty'; this adjective in its predicative form was reinterpreted as a verb (WS verbal form of the "New Perfect" and Akk stative), so that a verb ✓q̄ll came into being: Hb 'q̄al (3p q̄al'lū, 2m ka'l'lōtā) 'is small\insignificant, is fast', Ug q̄l {OLS} 'ir ligero, correr', Ar ✓q̄ll (pf. qalla) v. 'be few in number, small in quantity, rare', Gz

✓qll v. 'be light\easy\slight\swift', Jb C {Jo.} qel, Sq {Jo.} qel 'was little', Sq {L} qel(1) 'être petit', Ak ✓qll (inf. qalālu) v. 'be light'; d. WS *qa_ll'īl- adj. 'light, quick' > JA qal'īl, Sr qallī'lā, Md qalil 'light of weight', Ar qalīl- 'few, small, rare', Sb qll 'little, scanty', Gz qalīl 'not numerous, small' ¶ KB 1028-31, KBR 1100-3, OLS 365, ≈ A #2409, Js. 1376, Sl. 1019, Sd. 894, BK II 794, Hv. 621-2, LG 428, LIS 374, Jo. J 144, Jo. M 228, BGMR 105 || C {AD} *qall- > EC *qal- (or *qalʔ-) 'thin, insignificant' > Or qallā 'subtle, thin, meagre', Or B {Sr.} qallā (f. qallō) 'narrow, thin, slender', Kns qallaʔ- 'thin', Gdl qallaʔ- 'narrow', Rn xalma 'become thin' (ipv. xálām), Brj qall- ~ qalʔ- v. 'be thin\narrow', qall-anē- 'thin' ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 124, Sr. 351, AD SF 196, PG 187-8 || NrOm: Kf {C} qall- v. 'be cheap', Mch {L} qall-ī- v. 'despise', ? Dwr {L} gēla 'cheap', ? Bsk {Bnd.} gēlla 'small' ¶ C SE IV 484, LM 47 ¶¶ AD SF 196 || A **k_l'a_l- or *k_l'a_lġ- > M *qalġi- > WrM qalciī-, HIM xalciī- v. 'be(come) too thin or light' (of garment), WrM qalciġar, HIM xalciġar 'light and thin' (of garments) ¶ MED 918 || T *Ka_l'- or *Ka_lġ- > OT qašān 'lazy, underdeveloped, lean', Az {Rl.} qašān 'dünn, fein, zart, schön' (of women), Chg {Rl.} qašān 'unansehnlig, mager, abgezehrt', Chg XV {Cl.} qašān 'lazy, unpleasant', ET qašān {BN} 'lazy, obstinate, blunt', {Nj.} 'lazy, blunt', ET Tr {Rl.} qašān 'stumpf; langsam', Qrg {Jud.} qašān 'lazy, sluggish', Alt qažān, Chv (← a Qp lge) xažān 'lazy', ET {Jr., Nj.} qašār- v. 'become blunt', {Nj.} qašāt- 'make blunt', Qrg {Jud.} qašār- v. 'be lifeless' (e.g., of a country), Qq qasaṇ, Qrg qašāq 'lazy', Uz qaššūq 'poor, beggar', ? Az Sl kašī qašī 'of poor quality' ¶ Cl. 673, ET KQ 348-50, BN 119, Jr. 241, Rl. II 390-1, Nj. 585-6, Jud. 363, KrkR 383, AzDDL 253 || K {K} *qel-/ *qal- v. 'lacking, be short of' (× N *qeī∇ or *qeī∇ 'to lack, to be insufficient' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The K root suggests N *k_l-, but its evidence is not decisive (because of its etymological ambiguity). If the G word belongs here, the N etymon must have an initial *k_l-, otherwise it is *K_l-.

1058. (₂?) *k_l'ū'īl∇ 'short, (?) low' > K: GZ *-q_l- (*'shorten') ⇨ {GM} *m_o-q_l-e 'short' > OG moq_le 'short, short-armed', G moq_le, G X m_oq_le, Lz m_oq_le 'short', Mg q_ule id., xe-q_ule 'without an arm' (xe 'arm') ¶ FS K 219-220, FS K 241-2, Chx. 797-8, Chik. 229-30, GM 106-7 || D (in SD) *ku_ll- ({ʔGS} *k_l-) 'short (of stature)' > Tm ku_llam, ku_llal, Kn ku_llu 'shortness in stature', Kt ku_l 'shortness and broadness of figure', Ml kūlan 'young, short, stunted', Tm ku_llan, Ml ku_llan, Kt ku_l(n),

Kn ku]l]a, Kdg ku]l]a 'short man' ¶ D # 2137 || ?σ HS: WS *√kly (~ *√klyw?) 'deep', 'light (levis)' (← *'low') > Gz √kly (js. yə-kli) 'be deep', kəly 'deep (like an abyss)', kaaly 'depth (of river\sea)', Ar qilw- 'light (of weight)' ¶ L G 431, BK II 808, Hv. 626.

1059. *Kohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie' > IE: NaIE *k[ēl-/*k[ēl-/*k[ēl(w)- v. 'deceive' > Gk A κηλέω (with an original -η-) v. 'charm, bewitch', κόλαξ 'flatterer' || L calvor, -ī v. 'form intrigues, deceive', calumnia 'false accusation, calumny' || Gt hōlōn 'συκοφαντεῖν, to calumniate, slander', ON hól 'praise, boasting', hōla 'to praise, to boast', AS hōl 'slander', hōlian 'to slander', OHG huolen 'to deceive' ¶ WPI 446, P 551, EI 154 (*kēl- 'deceive'), WH I 143, FI 839, Fs. 267, Vr. 247, Ho. 168, Schz. 17, Kb. 490 || HS: S *°√khl > Ar √qhl (qahala / -qhalu) v. {BK} 'médire de qn.', {Fr.} 'res turpas memorans vituperavit (aliquem)' ¶ Fr. III 511, BK II 828-9 || Ch: WCh *√kʷl- ({Stl.} *kʷal/r-) v. 'lie (lügen)' > Ang {Flk.} kʷolin, {ChL} kʷolm, Su {J} kʷulap, P' {MSk.} kʷáli v. 'lie', {Sk.} kʷali 'a lie', Hs kàryā 'a lie' (Hs k < WCh *l) || Ech: Smr {J} kùlāgè 'a lie' ¶ Stl. ZCh 213 [#637], ChC s.v. v. 'lie', Ba. 574, Sk. NB 29, MSk. 169, ≠ Sk. HCD 168 ¶ The rec. of a variant with *-r- is unjustified, because Hs k is a reg. reflex of WCh *l || A: M *qulag(u)- v. 'steal' > MM [MA] qulaq-ba, [IM] qulagu-ba p. 'stole', WrM qulagu-, HIM xylgyy- 'steal', Mnr H xulaga- id., 'do sth. by stealth', MM [HI, MA, S] qulayaj, WrM qulagai, HIM xylgay 'thief' ¶ MED 983-4, SM 180, Ms. H 91, Pp. 309, 445, H 71 || T *k[ü]i- 'hide' > OT {Cl.} köši- id., rf. köšin- 'shade oneself, be hidden' ¶ Cl. 753-4 || Tg *xol- ~ xul- 'deceive', xul'e'k 'a lie, deceit' > Nn B xolto-, xoloqta-, Nn Sn xolo- v. 'deceive', Ewk ulēk, Sln ölöx ~ zlöx, Lm ölēk, Neg ölöx ≈ ölök 'a lie, deceit', Orc oloki- v. 'lie, deceive', oloko 'a liar, deceiver', WrMc uluken 'falsely' ({Z} 'ложно, болтливо') ¶ DQA #873 (A *k[ü]ia 'steal, deceive') ¶ STM I 407 and II 265-6 || D *kōl 'slander, tale-bearing, abuse' (× N *k'a'IX'o' 'call [appeler], shout'?) > Tm kōl 'calumny, aspersion, tale-bearing, falsehood', koluttu v. 'slander, calumniate', Kt kōl 'laying information about sth. heard', Kn kōl 'calumny, false imputation', Gdb gōler- v. 'abuse', gōle n. 'abuse' ¶ D #2251 ◇ The absence of labialization in IE *k- can be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE) if we suppose a stem-final sonant *w, that remained in L calvor, calumnia, but was

lost in the Gk and Gmc. In this case the prehistory may be hypothesized as N [??] ***Kohíü** > pre-IE ***kuhlu** > (diphthongization) ***kαu̯hl(u)-** (where ***α** symbolized the vw. underlying the apophony ***e/*o/zero**) > ***kαhl(u)** (loss of pre-sonantic ***w**) > ***kehl-/*kohl-/*kōhl(u)-** > ***kēl-/*kōl-/*kəl(w)-**. M ***u** (of the first syll.) (for the expected ***o**) still needs explaining.

1060. *Kiy_l∇_líi (or ***Kiy_l∇_lí∇_li?**) 'to bend, to bow' > IE: NaIE ***k̑lej-** v. 'bow, incline', {EI} 'lean' > OI 'śrayatē 'clings to, leans upon', 'śrayati {MW} 'causes to lean\rest on, lays on\in, fixes on', Av srita- 'gelehnt', sray- 'lean' || Gk κλίνω v. 'make bend\slope\slant' || L clinā- v. 'incline, bend, lean', clinātus 'inclined, bent, leaned', in-clinā- v. 'bend, incline', clīvus 'a slope, rise' || OIr clen 'tendance, inclination, désir' || Mir clé 'left; defective, bad', W cledd 'left' || OHG (h)linēn 'to lean', AS hlinian vi. (> NHG lehnen, NE lean vi.), OHG leinen, NHG lehnen, AS hlānan vt. 'to lean' (> NE lean vt.), Gt hleidumei 'left (link)' || Lt šliejù (Lt Zh šlejù), inf. šliēti 'lean against', pã-šlitas 'windschief, seitwärts geneigt', {PiesS} pa-šlyti 'lean on one side' || ?σ Tc: A klā(w)-, B klāy- 'fall'; Tc B klās-k- 'set' (of the sun) ¶ WP I 490-2, P 600-2, EI 348, M K III 388-9, WH I 234-5, Vn. C 116, FI 873-5, OsS 405-6, Kb. 601, 619, KM 431, AS 161, 164, Frn. 549, 1004, 1006, PiesS 518, Wn. 218-21, Ad. 220-3 || **HS:** C ***√k̑l̑** > EC: pSam {Hn.} ***qallōs-** v. 'bend' > Sml qallōsi, Rn {Hn.} 'χόλοχε ~ 'χόλοθε id. ¶ Hn. S 71 || ?? S: Gz qaldad 'arch, circle' ¶ Ls CDG 427 || **A** ***k'iyí'u-** > T ***Kiyí-** > OT qiš- v. 'deviate', MT XIII qiš- v. 'turn away', Osm {Zn.} qiš- 'sich krümmen, sich neigen', Tk gıṣ 'deception, swindle, perfidy', Tkm gīšiq, Qmq, Nog qiyšiq 'crooked, slanting', Nog, Qrg qiyšay-, Qq qiyşay-, ET qiyšay- vi. 'bow\bend to the side, get crooked', Qzq qiyşaqta- vi. 'bow, bend, sway' ¶ Rs. W 268, Cl. 670, Rl. II 835, Dr. TM III 571-3, Jud. 481, Sht. 272, KumRS 211-2, Nj. 631-2, DQA #1107 || M ***kilu-** > WrM {MED} kilui- ~ kilai-, HIM хялай- v. 'look askance at, squint', Kl {Rm.} kuli- 'schielen, schief auf etwas sehen'; WrM kilagar, HIM хялгар 'cross-eyed, squint-eyed; askew, slanting', WrM kilab qulub 'looking askance, giving a squinting\mean look'; M ***kilu-r** 'squint-eyed' > WrM kilu-r, Kl kulṛ id.; WrM ⇨ Tkm {Rs.} qılıy, VTt qılъy 'squint, crooked'; ? ext.: M ***kelte-** > WrM keltei-, HIM хэлтий- v. 'incline from the perpendicular, lean, be crooked', Kl {Rm.} keltε-χə 'auf der einer Seite,

seitwärts gebogen liegen', M *kelbe- > WrM kelbei-, HIM хэлбий- v. 'lean or to be inclined to one side' (× N ***ḲæbLṼ** [or ***ḲæLbṼ**?] 'to support, to lean', q.v. ffd.) ¶ MED 450, 467, Kow. 2531-2, TatR 310, KW 224, 244, Rs. W 263, Dr. TM I 472-3 || ?ϕ Tg *xīl- v. 'pass by (vorbeigehen)' > Ewk, Neg iltən-, Lm jeltən- ɘ iltən-, Lm Ar yēltən-, ?ϕ Ul/Ork/Nn sī- id. ¶ STM I 310-1 || ?σ pJ {S} *kùsù 'strange (← *'deviating') > OJ kùsù, kusi ¶ S QJ #1232, Mr. 833 ¶¶ KW 244 (M, T), DQA #1107 (A *k'īyú 'to deviate, slant') ◇ A vw. after N *y is tentatively suggested because in a precons. position the N sequence *iy is more likely to lose the cons. *y or to produce a long vw. ī (in the descendant lgs.) than in the intervocalic position (while in fact this *y survived in T) ◇ EC suggests the presence of a laryngeal (*ɣ in ***ḲiyLṼ, íṼɣi**), but then the absence of a lr. in the IE root must be explained. It is quite possible that the EC lr. does not belong to the heritage of the N etymon ◇ The K verb ***ḳlaḳ-wṇ-** (> G **ḳlaḳ(w)n-** v. 'bend, swaddle' = 'krümmen, winden', F Chx. 599) is better explained as going back to N ***ḳaLḳa** (~ ***ḳaLka**?) 'to wind, to twist' (q.v.).

1061. *Ḳaíú 'bare, naked' > IE ***ḳ]Hwō-** > ({WH} NaIE ***ḳo.ləwō-**) 'bald' > L **calvus** 'bald, without hair' || OI 'ati-kūrva-h̄ ~ 'ati-kūlva-h̄ 'entirely bald', NPrs **كَل** **kāl** 'bald' ¶ P 554 (***ḳo.ləwō-**), ≈ EI 45 (adduces Av **kauvra-**), WH I 144, M KI 243, Sg. 1039, ≈ Vl. II 802, 858 (NPrs **kāl** = **käčäl** 'bald') || HS: S ✓**ḳl̥s** > Ar ✓**ql̥s** (pf. **qalaṣa**) 'take off (one's clothes)' (unless ←d {BK} 'arracher, ôter qc. de sa place'), Gz ✓**ḳl̥s** G 'uncover, bare, open, strip, unveil', Tgy ✓**ḳl̥s** (pf. **ḳel̥e**) 'disclose, uncover' ¶ Hv. 624, BK II 802, LG 426 || A: T ***ḳ'aí** > Tf **haš** 'bare, without hair' (of a fell/hide), ? Tv **χaš** 'thin dressed leather', d.: ***Ḳaí-ga** 'bald; having a white head or a white blaze' (× N ***ḲaíṼ(-mṼ)** 'spot, stain; be spotty') > OT **qašṣa** 'having a white head and darker body', 'having a white blaze on the forehead' (on animals), Chg **qašqa** id., Qzq **qasqa** id., 'bald' (of a person)', Nog **qasqa**, Shor {Rl.} **qašqa** 'bald spot, white blaze', SbTt B {Rl.} **qašqa** id., 'bald' (of a person)', Qrg **qašqa** 'having a white blaze', 'clean, transparent', Bsh, Ln **qašṣa** 'white blaze; bald' ¶ ET KQ 350-1, Ra. 186, TvR 471, Cl. 671, Rl. II 394-5, Rs. W 241 || M ***qalca-** 'bald' > MM [MA] **qalčayaj** 'bald', WrM **qalcaqai**, HIM **халцгай** 'bald, bare, hairless, grassless, featherless (spot)', Kl {KRS} **халцха** 'grassless (ground)', {Rm.} **χal̥c̥yā** 'bar, nicht bewachsen; haarlos, graslos' ⇨ Chg [MA] **qalč+yay** 'bald'; MM [MA] **qalča**q 'having

a white blaze'; M *qalʒa-n 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' > WrM qalʒan, HIM халзан id., MM [MA] qalʒan 'having a white blaze', M б→ Tv калчан 'bald, bald spot, grassless'; WrM qalʒai-, HIM халзай- v. 'grow bald', б→ Tv калчай- id.; ? M *°qalci- > WrM qalci-, HIM халчи- 'remove unevenness, level off' ¶ Pp. MA 289, MED 918, 922, KW 163, KRS 571-2, TvR 222-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here U {UEW} *kaíw∇ 'film, thin skin' and thus to find a parallel for IE *-w-, but for semantic considerations it is better to refer the U root to N *Ḳaí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark'.

1062. *Ḳôís'ú' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel' > IE: [1] NaIE *kelw-/*kleu- v. 'travel' > Lt keliáuti, Ltv ceļōt id.; Lt kēlias 'way, road', Ltv ceļš id. (acc. to P, a bf. from the verb) ||| Gk κέλευθος 'way, path' ({Brgm.}: < *κλευθος on the analogy of ἐλεύσομαι 'I shall come\go') (a problematic word: an irreg. succession of two *e-grade syllables, unexplained -θ-; for discussion see F I 815-6) ||| [2] NaIE *kal-n∇- 'path' > L callis 'narrow track, footpath, cattle track' ||| Sl {Glh.} *kol'nъcb > SCr klánac 'narrow path', Slv Δ klanec klánac 'gorge, narrow pass (Hohlweg)' ¶ Frn. 236, F I 815-6, P 554, WP I 356, WH I 140, Frn. 236, Bern. I 547, ESSJ X 140-1 (against the comparison of Sl with L), Glh. 319 ||| HS: S *°✓ḱl̥s > Ar qulʒat- 'way' ({Fr.} 'iter, eiusque mobilitas, iter maritimum navi'), {BK} qālis- 'qui part, qui se lève de sa place' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK 803-4 || B *°✓wkl > Ah s-ukeḷ v. 'travel, step (marcher au pas)', tēkle n. 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Tz, Ntf ākəl, Zww ākul 'piétiner, appuyer avec le pied', BMn ḱel v. 'step', Kb {Dl.} aṣṣṣal 'fouler', ṭiṣṣli n. 'marche, allure; action de marcher', Si {La.} ukeḷ 'walk', Skn {La.} ukəl 'cheminer'] B *°✓wkl ~ *°✓kwl 'track, footprint' (× N *ḱäl'h'∇ 'to walk, to make one's way') > Ah tək-kil-t (-kk- < *-wk-) 'track, footprint (empreinte de pied)', a-kūkəl 'trace', BSn tīšal id., Kb ṭiṣṣal-t (pl. ṭi-kwal ~ ṭi-ṣṣal) 'fois, moment' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dl. 401-3, La. S 257, La. MChB 259-60 || SC: [1] ({E} SC *kʷāš-) v. 'go, travel' (× N *ḱäl'h'∇ '↑') > Kz kʷaš v. 'go away, depart', (C б→) Mb kʷa, kʷašú (E SC 265); see also Mb kʷa, kʷaš i 'path' (E SC 43)] [2] Rft ≈ *ḱʷal- (× N *ḱāl'ʔ'∇ 'to approach, to come') > Irq {MQK} qʷalāḡ inv. 'come!', Brn {Dempw.} kwalē id. ¶ MQK 89, Blz. SCL s.v. 'come'₃ ||| K: GZ *ḱwal-/*ḱwl- 'track, footprint' > OG ḱual-i, G ḱval-i 'track, trace', G d. ḱvle-/ḱvli-: (ga-)ḱvle/i v. 'find the way', mi-ḱvle/i- 'auf die Spur kommen, auf-\aus-spüren', Mg d. u-kul-i 'after, then', Lz i-ḱul-e 'after',

-kule ~ -kule 'after' ¶ K² 90-1, Ser. 80, Chx. 572, 583-4 || U: FU (in ObU only) *^okâí∇ (= *^okoí∇?) > ObU *kâí∇ 'track(s), sign' > pOs *kaí > Os Kz χῶφ 'Anzeichen'; pVg *kǎí > Vg: LK xâí, MK/UK kǎí, P kií, UL/Ss xií 'track, sign'. The pOs vw. *a is a reg. reflex of pFU *^o and *^{ō}, but the origin of the pVg vw. *ǎ is not yet clear. If the Vg vw. results from a conditioned change, the pFU form will be *koí∇. Much less probable as a cognate is FU *kulke- v. 'walk\travel\run' (> F kulke- v. 'walk, go, travel', Es kulge- v. 'proceed, take one's course, run' || pLp {Lr.} *kolke- v. 'run' [of water], v. 'float [with the current]' > Lp N {N} gqł'gâ-/lg-, Lp S {Hs.} gâlgedh, Lp L {LLO} kâł'kâ-, Lp Kld kol'ge- id. || pMr {Ker.} *kuíga- > Er koíge-, Mk koíga- v. 'leak' || Prm: Z kǎvt-, Z Δ kǎlt-, kǎlal-, Yx kǎlt- v. 'float' || pOs *kǎvǎl- > Os: V qǎvǎl- v. 'step', D χoχǎt-, Kz χǎχǎt- v. 'run' || Hg halad- v. 'go, advance, proceed, travel') || ? Sm {Jn.} *ku- v. 'drift\float' > Ne T ху"ла-сь, ху"лѣ-сь id., Ne T BZ хуѡ, Ne T Y хуѡ, Ne F kǎβ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', Slq Tz {Prk.} qurǎ- ~ qǎrǎ- 'tragen\treiben [der Strom]'. FU *kulke may be accepted as a cognate (d.) only if we find the factor responsible for the depalatalization *í > *l and for the discrepancy between the vowels of *kulke and *kâí∇ (where *â cannot be interpreted as *u because of the Os reflex) ¶¶ Ht. 200 [#748], UEW 198, Lr. #442, Hs. 552, LG 149, Jn. 76, Erl. 82, Ker. II 64 ◇ The non-labialized IE *k- may be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE): if the original vw. of the first syllable was *u, then N *kǎíǎ'ǎ' yielded pre-IE *kewl(ǎ)- > IE *kel(ǎ)- (loss of the *u-glide before a sonorant); but even if the N vw. was *^o, it changed into *u due to the infl. of the vw. *u|ǎ of the following syll. ◇ Hardly here M *kǎlgen '(means of) transportation' > MM [HI] kǎlgen {Lew.} 'char, véhicule', WrM kǎlge(n), HIM хѡлѡг, Kl {Rm.} kǎlgǎ 'mount or other means of transportation'; M ⇨ Qzq кѡлік kǎlik 'horse and cart; means of conveyance', Qrg kǎlǎk 'beasts of burden', Nog kǎlik id. ('тягло, тягловая сила'). It is more plausible to suppose that this is a d. from M *kǎl- v. 'harness, hitch (a draft animal) to a vehicle' (> MM [S] kǎl-, WrM kǎl-, HIM хѡл(-ѡх) id.), though a contamination is also possible ¶ MED 484-5, Lew. II 57, H 103, Ms. H 72, KW 238, Jud. 421, Sht. 133, NogR 178, Rs. W 288 ◇ Cp. Čop IU IV 159 (IE, FU) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*kel 'come') (IE + err. U *kǎlǎ 'wade' [in fact from N *kǎl'h'∇ 'to walk, to

make one's way with effort, to wade'] + err. A *k'el- and Yk kel- 'come, go' [< N *kaT'?'∇ 'to approach, to come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s disregard of sound laws does not allow him to distinguish between three N words, which proves that his method of comparison is wrong).

1063. *k'äm'o' 'to cover' > HS: B *✓yums > Izn, SrSn ✓yums, inv. әyümäs v. 'cover oneself with clothes or a blanket', ETwl, Ty әyümäs v. 'wrap\cover' ¶ Rn. 364, GhA 69 || ?φ K: Sv: {Ni.} -kwem v. 'cover', UB/LB/Ln {TK} -kwem 'put on (clothes)', UB {GP} li-kwem msd. 'put on (dress) from above' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'покрыть', TK 453, GP 173 || IE: NaIE *k'em- v. 'cover\veil', 'garment' > Gmc *xamiþja- > OHG hemidi 'shirt, garment' (> NHG Hemd 'shirt'), OSx hēmithi, AS hemeðe 'shirt'; Gmc *xamiþja- → Gl → L camisia 'shirt'; Gmc: ON {EI} hamr 'skin, slough', {Vr.} 'Hülle, Gestalt', Sw, Dn, NNr ham 'skin, husk', AS hama 'garment, dress; skin', NE hame 'undergarment' || ? OI śāmulya- 'garment (of a bride)', śāmūla- 'e garment' ({EI} 'thick woolen shirt') ¶ WP I 386, P 556-7, EI 134, WH I 147-8, M K III 325, M E II 6, Ho. 148, 154, Ho. S 32, Kb. 455, OsS 388, KM 303, Vr. 208 || A: M *°qamki- v. 'shut, close, draw together in order to close' > WrM qamki-, HIM хамхи- id. ({Kow.} 'fermer, serrer, joindre'); see also WrMc qamni- v. 'unite, close'; the word may be a loan from M, which will explain the initial unexpected q- ¶ MED 924, Kow. 813, STM I 370 ◇ The apparent reflex of deglottalization *ḳ- > *k- in Sv still defies explanation. The rec. of the N initial *ḳ- (rather than an unspecified *Ḳ-) depends on the validity of the Sv cognate. The vw. *ā in M is due to regr. as. (a kind of vw. harmony): *ā...o > *a...â. This and the palatal IE *k̄ presuppose a N *ā. The labial element in of Sv *ḳw- is due to regr. as. (infl. of a lost labialized vw. of the second syll.) within Sv (F Test. S) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #68 (*kum 'cloud') (IE *k'em- 'hide, cover' ÷ * FU *kum∇ 'cloud', etc.), Gr. II #82 (*kom 'cover' > A [M, Tg, err. T *Kunda-, in fact from N *kom_l∇_l∇ 'to cover?'], Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

1064. ₂ *K'em∇ 'to bite' > A *k_l'em∇ 'gnaw, bite' > NaT *k_l'emir- v. 'gnaw' > OT {Cl.} kāmür-, Chg kemür-, Tk gemir-, Tkm, Qmq gemir-, Az ğämür-, VTt, Bsh kimür-, Qzq кемір- kemür-, Uz kemür-, ET kemī(r)-, Ggz, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt kemir-, Xk kimür-, Tv xemir-, Tf {∂Cs.} hemir- id. ¶ Rs. W 251, ET VGD 18-9, Pp. MA 215 ¶ Tv 8- provides ev. for pT k'-, while the Og data seem to point to a pT *k- || M: [1] *kemki- 'bite, gnaw, crack with teeth' > WrM кемки-, HIM хэмхэ-

'bite, snap the jaw'., Kl кемк- 'bite' (of dogs), {Rm.} кемкi- 'nagen, fressen, kauen, Knochen zerhauen'; M б→ WrMc кемкi- 'bite, grasp by teeth'; [2] *kemi|ele- 'gnaw, nibble, chew' > MM [MA} kemile-, WrM kemeli-, HIM хэмлэ-, Kl кем]-, Ba kaməl-; M б→ Yk kömüllā- id. ¶ Pr. MA 215, MED 451-2, KRS 203, KW 225 || pJ {S} kām- 'bite' > OJ kam-, [RJ] kām-ú, J: T kamù-, K kāmīcuku, Ns kāmī-, Sh kánās, kán-, Ht kà_m_-, Y kām- ¶ S AJ 264 [#7], S QJ #7, Mr. 703 ¶¶ S AJ 112, 274 [#6], DQA #759 (A *kěma|o 'gnaw, bite') || HS: C: EC {Ss.} pcv. *-qom/*-qm- (> *qom-) 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *Ḳ'o'mh∇ [or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?] 'eat, swallow'?) > Sa pcv. -qom-, Af pcv. -okm- 'chew, bite, eat', Rn {Ss.} -aḥam-/ -uḥum- 'chew', {PG} -aḥam- 'eat (sth.)', scv.: Dsn kóm- 'eat' (k- is due to the former clustering of *ḳ and *m), Or qam- 'chew čat', Kns qom- 'chew', Brj qām- 'eat, chew', ? Sd {Gs.} qāma 'eat\drink sth. mixed with sth. else' (unless the Bj and Sd words are borrowed from EthS?), ?φ Arr {Hw.} -ohom-/ -aham- (= [-o'fi'o'm-]/[-a'fi'a'm-]) pcv. 'eat' ¶ Ss. PEC 25, Ss. B 121-2, 124, PG 62, Gs. 255, Hw. A 263-5, To. DL 512 || ECh: Smr {J} k^ωΛm 'eat', Kwn {J, Sa.} kām 'eat (hard food)' ¶ Smr k^ω- is due to contamination with N *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?) '↑? ¶ JI II 121, ChC || IE: The N word in question may have influenced NaIE *ḡembh-/*ḡmḡbh- v. 'bite' and *ḡombh^o-s 'tooth' (F s.v. N *ḳāb?ā 'bite') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #59 (*kem 'chew') (A, CK, EA + err. IE *kemə- 'hum').

1065. *Ḳom∇(-bA) (or *Ḳum∇(-bA)?) 'forehead, front part' [1] *Ḳom∇ or *Ḳum∇) > U: FU *kum∇ 'forehead, front side' > Prm *kúm-es 'forehead, face' (LG: *-es is a derivational sx.) > Z кымөс k+m3s, Vt кымес k+m3s 'forehead, face'; Prm *kúm > Z sin-k+m 'eyebrow' (sin is 'eye') || Hg hom-l-ok 'forehead, front side' ¶ LG 151-2, MF 296-8, ≠ Rd. rLG 424, UEW 201-2 (unc. hyp.: the Prm and Hg words < U *kuma 'gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage; sich beugen'), ≈ Sm. 537 (U *kumā 'face down' > FU *kumā, FP *kuma-, Ugr *kūma-, Sm *kəmə) || A: Tg *^oḲ₁omkat∇ 'forehead' > Ewk, Neg omkoto, Lm omqbt ¶ STM II 17 || [2] *Ḳom∇-bA '≈ that of the front part' (see N *bA [pc. of names of quality bearers] ffd.) > HS: B *ḡnb 'face', *ḡanbū₁b₁ 'beak' (× N *ḡUḡa (-P∇) 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ D *komp-ay ({ḡGS} *k-) 'e protecting wall' > Tm kommay 'rampart, bulwark', Kn kumbē 'wall on a flat roof that serves for a balustrade', Tl komma 'the upper part or coping of a fort-wall' ¶¶ D #2118 ◇ Tg and D point to a N vw. *o in the first syll., while

U suggests *u.†The problem created by this discrepancy still needs resolving.

1066. *K̄um∇ 'sand' > HS: CCh {ChL}: Bnn kunkùmà, Ms gumgumma, BnnM gumguma, LmP hum 'sand' || HgNg k^ωèmmè, FIG k^ωèkùma 'earth (substance)' ¶ ChL || U *kum∇ 'thin snow' > Vt G k̄im id., Vt M k̄im 'hoarfrost' || Hg hó (accus. havat) 'snow' || Sm: Ne χaw? 'thin hard snow that is over soft snow', Kms {KD} k'amo 'snow crust' ¶¶ UEW 204, ≈ Jn. 64 || A *kum∇ 'sand' > T *k'um 'sand' > OT, MQp, Chg qum, Tkm, Az gum, Tk kum, Qzq, Nog, Qrq, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv qum, VTt, Bsh q̄m, Tf hum; ⇨ pT kum-aq 'grain of sand' ⇨ M: WrM qumag, HIM xymag 'fine sand' ¶ Cl. 625, Ra. 191, ET Q 133-4, MED 985 || Tg *x̄imana- v. 'snow' > Ewk, Sln, Orc imana-, Lm um̄n-, Neg imana-, Ul, Ork, Nn sumana-, WrMc nimara- id. ¶ Tg *ī needs explaining ¶ STM I 312-3 ¶¶ Tf h- and Tg *x- suggest pA *k'- and hence pN *K̄- ¶¶ Lm kim̄wun 'sea shore' and Orc k̄ima ≈ k̄imma 'beach' hardly belong here (⇔ Gr.) ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *ī is still to be explained. Cp. similar cases: N *b'u'Xfa 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b̄ira 'river, brook', N *k̄u|od'a'h∇ 'pierce' > ?σ Tg *xid̄ar- v. 'hurt by pricking' ◇ Gr. II #323 (*kum 'sand') (U, A, Gil + qu. Y).

1066a. *K̄Um∇ 'black, dark' > HS: Eg fP km 'be black; black' (✓ kmm): [1] v. n. {Vc.} *kamām > Cpt: Sd KMOM kmom, B X MOM k^hmom, [2] adj. (qualificatif) {Vc.} *ku|ömmey > Cpt: Sd KHM kēm, B XHM k^hēm ¶ EG V 122-4, Vc. 81-2 || C: EC: Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} k̄umma, Gwd {AMS} kumma 'black', Hr/Dbs {AMS} kumm- 'become black' || ?σ Ag: Aw {CR} kemanā 'evening', kem- 'get dark, decline towards evening (вечереть)' ¶ AMS 267, ≈ AD SF 86 || ?σ NrOm: Wl {LmS} q̄amma, Dwr {Bnd.} q̄amma, Bdt {C} q̄amā, {Bnd.} q̄amma, Oyda {Bnd.} q̄āma, Bsk {Bnd.} q̄amma 'night', Gm {LmS} q̄amma 'day (of 24 hours)', Gdc {Bnd.} q̄āmanī 'night', Dc {LmS} q̄amma 'yesterday', Kcm {LmS} q̄amma-na 'evening' ¶ AD SF 86, LmS 432-3 || S: JA [Trg.] 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎, em. 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎-𐤀 'black, dark-complected', MHb ✓ ?km G (pf. 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎) 'be sun-burnt \ black' (< caus. *✓š-km) ¶ Js. 25, 64 ¶¶ Cal. #449 (Aram, Eg) || U *kum∇ 'dark' (× N *k̄um∇ (-Tä) 'fog, mist', q.v.) > Hg hi m̄aly 'obscurity, darkness'; twilight, dusk' || Z Δ k̄im̄d- vt. 'shade, screen from light' ('затенять, заслонять свет') || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kündähä 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mil.} k̄üntühä, K {Mil.} ḡünde hä) ¶¶ UEW 204-5, LG 151, Hl. M ##592-3 || A ({DQA}) *k'ume

[or *k'jume] 'black, charcoal'): T *k'ömür 'charcoal' > OT, Cmn XIV, XwT XIV kömür, MQp XIII kämür, Chg xv kemür ~ kömür, Xk kömür, Tlt kömür, Yk kömör 'charcoal', Tk kömür, Tkm, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Qrg kömür, ET kömü(r), Ln kömüy, Kr Cr kömür ~ kömir, Nog, Qq kömir, VTt, Bsh kümьr, Uz kwmür, Tv xömür, Chv к̄м̄р̄к 'charcoal' (today also 'mineral coal') ¶ Cl. 723, ET KQ 102-3, TL 365 || pKo {S} *k̄am- 'black' > MKo k̄am-, k̄am-, NKo k̄am-/k̄am-/k̄am-/k̄am- id. ¶ QK #8, Yu 48, MLC 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #14: Om, C, Ch, A + unc. D *kam- 'be singed', Ch and IE roots for 'cloud' - see N *k̄um̄(-Tä) 'fog, mist'), ≈ Blz. LNA #30 (suggested to add Aram' unc.: *÷ D *kam- 'be singed' and FV *kūma 'heiß').

1067. *k̄um̄(-Tä)/(-R̄V) 'fog, mist; cloud' > IE: Ht kammara- 'mist, fog, vapour; shade, dimness (of sight)' || NaIE: Gk [Hs.] κέμμερος ἄχλυσ, ὀμίχλη- 'mist, fog' ¶¶ Gk κემ- and Ht kam- may be explained as going back to IE *k̄m̄- < **k̄m̄- < N **k̄um̄- ¶¶ Pv. IV 35-7, Ivn. SA 154, Čop IU I-1974 99 || **HS:** Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChC} kúmbà, Glv {Rp.} ákumba, {ChL} řákumba, Hrz {Ro.} kúmbà 'cloud' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} kamrá 'clouds' coll. ¶ Eb. 62, RpB 4, ChC, ChL, Ro. 227 [#142] || B: Ah kumb-at 'brouillard humide' ¶ Fc. 807 || **K** {K} *k̄wām-/ *k̄wm-, {FS} *k̄wam- v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > OG k̄um- v. 'emit smoke' (q̄oweli igi m̄ṭay k̄umoda 'all mountains emitted smoke'), OG k̄um-, G k̄m- 'burn incense', Mg k̄um- v. 'smoke', d. o-k̄um-apu 'censer, thurible', Lz m̄qom- v. 'emit smoke', Sv {K, FS} k̄wām- id. (msd. li-k̄wāme, 3s prs. k̄wām-e) ||| ⇨ K *k̄wam̄- n. 'smoke' > OG, G k̄wam̄-i, Sv: UB/Ln {TK, GP} k̄wām, L {TK} k̄wam, {Dn.} k̄wām id. ¶¶ K 108-9, K² 91 (*k̄wām-/ *k̄wm- v., *k̄wām̄- n.), FS K 177, FS E 193-4, Chik. 161, 168, TK 352, GP 130, Dn. s.v. k̄wām ¶¶ IS I 312 tentatively adduces (to N {IS} *KūmTä) Sv UB mu-ṭk̄win 'fog, dark' (but GP SED: Sv UB muṭk̄win 'dark [colour]' without mentioning 'fog' or 'mist'); IS suggests that Sv -ṭk̄win- may go back to **k̄winṭ- (mt.), which is hardly convincing || **U** [1] *kümtâ- 'fog, haze' > F konto 'fog' (the back vw. o under the regr. ass. infl. of the final back vw.) || Prm *k'ō'd > StVt чынкыт č̄+n-k̄t 'haze (дымка, марево)', Vt Sr {Wc.} č̄v̄ṅk̄d 'mist', Vt Kz {Wc.} č̄z̄ṅk̄d 'schwacher Nebel, Dunst' (k̄t, k̄d, k̄d means 'smoke') ||| Hg köd 'fog, mist, haze' || Sm *kümt̄ 'smoke' > Ne T сюн, {Lh.} sún, Ne F {Lh.} sún 'smoke, steam', Ng {Mik.} kintə, En {Cs.} súddo, Slq NP {Cs.} súmde 'smoke', Kms d. {Adl.} schunjú id., Koyb d. {Sp.} сюнë, сюнë

'smoke (дымъ, чадъ)', Mt {Hl.} *küdü 'smoke' (Mt M/T {Mil.} kúndö, Mt M {Sp.} кюндү, Mt T {Adl.} kundo, Mt K {Mil.} gúndu 'smoke', {Pl.} gundùchanu 'mist' [chanu means 'dew, moisture in the air']) ⇨ Mt {Hl.} *kündähä 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mil.} kúntühä, K {Mil.} gúndehä) (× N *ḲUmṽ 'black, dark', q.v.) ¶¶ U *-mt- is reconstructed on the ev. of Slq ¶¶ UEW 158 (*kintṽ – *küntṽ; rejects the F cognate because of its back vowels), IS I 312 (*kümtä; does not mention the F word), MF 370, Jn. 79 (Sm *küntь), Hl. MTKV 10, 36, Hl. M ##592-3 (Sm *küntь), Cs. 162, ≈ Sm. 537 (U, FU, FP *künti 'smoke', Ugr *küntī, Sm *küntə; does not take into account the F and Slq cognates) ¶¶ [2] ? FU *kumṽ 'cloud' (× N *ḲUmṽ '↑', q.v.) > F kumuri 'small cloud' || Er k0v0l 'cloud' || Prm: Z кымөр 'cloud' || Vg Ss sēnkiy xomxatas 'es wurde nebelig', xomxatas 'es entstand ein dichtes Schneegestöber, das die Luft ganz verdunkelt' ¶ UEW 204-5, IG 151 || A: AdS of M *küdeŋ 'fog, mist' (< N *Ḳotṽ(-Rṽ) 'smoke', q.v. ffd.) || pKo *kīm 'steam, vapour, breath, smell' > MKo, NKo kīm ¶ S QK #748, MLC 281 || pJ {S} kùmuá-n 'cloud' > OJ kumyo, J: T, K kúmo, Kg kumó ¶ S AJ 264-5 [#11] ¶¶ ≈ DQA #795 || D: Gnd kum 'smoke' & kumpođ 'smoke' ¶ ≈ D #1752 ◇ IS I 312 [#187] (*KümTä in U, M [+unc. T], [?] K: Sv mu-ṭḵwin), Čop l.c. (IE, U), ≠ Blz. KM 135-6 [#14] (unc. equation of the K root with the S, Bln, FV, and D reflexes of N *Ḳumṽ '[be] hot, smoulder', q.v.), ≈ Blz. LNA #35 (CCh, IE, U, Ko, J; unc. adduction of Awn kemana 'evening' and NrOm *ḵam- 'night' [see N *ḲUmṽ 'black, dark']) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #68 (*kum 'cloud') (FU *kumṽ 'cloud' ÷ * IE *kem- 'hide, cover', etc.).

1068. *ḲU?ämṽ(-nṽ) 'a hand with five fingers' > IE *de-km̥t 'ten' ({Szem., Erh.}: < *d₁w₁e- 'two' + **kōmt 'hand with fingers') > OI 'daśa, Av dasā, OPrs *daθa, Phl dah, NPrs 𐎠𐎡𐎴 dā, Oss dās, Psh las 'ten' || Arm տասն տասն id. || Gk δέκα id. || pre-Al {Hamp} *d₁jeθat₁ṽ > Al dhjetë id. || L decem id., Um *desen 'ten' in DESENDUF 'twelve' || OIr deich n-, OW dec, W deg, Crn, Br dek 'ten' || Gmc *texun 'ten' > Gt taíhun, ON tíu, NNr tie, Sw tio, Dn ti, OSx tehan, tian, OHG zehan, NHG zehn, AS tien, NE ten || BSI (< d. *dekm̥ti- 'decade'): Lt dešimtìs, Ltv desmit, Pru dessempts 'ten', dessimpts 'tenth' || Sl *desętb 'ten' > OCS ДЕСАТЬ desętb, Blg 'deset, SCr dèset, Slv desęt, Cz deset, Slk desat', P dziesięć, R, Uk 'десять || pTc

*śäk > Tc: A śäk, B śak id. (its prehistory is not yet clear) || AnIE {Blz.} *deyanta- (< *deġnto- < *deġmto-) > HrLw tinata- 'tithe', Lc sñita 'ten' (< d. *dġmt-ā) || NaIE *ġm'tom 'hundred' (< *dġm'tom {E} 'tenth decade', {P} '(Zehner)dekade') > OI śa'tam, Av satəm 'hundred'; Irn ⇨ Sl *s̑to id.; Ary ⇨ FU *śatam id. || Gk ἑκατόν 'hundred' (< *sem ġm'tom 'one hundred') || L centum 'hundred' || OIr cét, W cant, Br kant, Cm cans id. || Gt, OSx, AS, OHG (in cds.) hund id.; cd. ('Hundertschaft' → 'hundred'): ON hundrað, OSx hunderod, MHG hunderit, hundert, NHG hundert, AS hundred 'hundred', NE hundred || Lt šimtas, Ltv simts 'hundred' || pTc *kānte > Tc: A kānte, B kante id. ¶ Szem. N 69, Bks. 213-6, EI 403-5 (*'deġm ~ *'deġm₁-t- ~ *deġu- 'ten'), ≈ EI 405 (*ġm'tom 'unit, large unit, hundred'), ≈ Erh. SIM 93, ≈ Blz. N I 290-312, P 191-2, M K II 26, F I 359-40, WH I 327-9, Bc. G 332, LP § 8.1, Frn. 91, En. 159, Tp. P A-D 332-4, Hamp AN 916-9, O 84, Fs. 471, Vr. 590, Ho. 347, Ho. S 74, Kb. 1242, Schz. 333, KM 877, Glh. 191-2, Wn. 475-6, Ad. 139, 619 || **HS:** Ch {JS, JI} *✓ ġmn 'hand' > WCh: P' {IL} kəman, ? {MSk.} dəkəŋ, Sir {Sk., IL} ġámí, Kry {Sk.} kám, Jm {Sk.} ġamá 'hand', My {Sk.} kəm 'arm' || ? Hs kámù 'arm length' || ? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ġéñ 'hand' ¶ JI I 86-7 and II 178-9, ChC, ChL || C ≈ *kU?∇n 'five' > SC {E} *koʔan id. > Irq {Wh., E}, Brn/Alg {E} koʔan, Irq {MQM} kōʔán, Kz {E} koʔana id. || EC: [1] Sa {R} kawān ~ kōn, {Bl.} kaûn, Af {PH} konoy (gen. kōna) 'five'; [2] *ken- 'five' > Bs kení, Dsn čèn, Elm kên, Arr {Hw.} čénn, Or {Grg.} šan, Or H {Ow.} šání, Or B {Sr.} šani, Or Wt {Sr.} šeni, Kns ken, Msl xene, Gdl héne, pSam {Hn.} čan > Rn čán, Sml šan, Sml J šaŋ, Bn šâŋ ¶ E SC 245, MQK 61, PH 149, Bl. 110, 147, 190, 296, Ss. PEC 12-3, Hn. S 77, PG 83, Sr. 104, Ow. 90, Hw. A 350, Grg. 368, AD SF 29-30, To. DL 489 || **U:** FU *kāme(ne) 'palm of hand' > F kämmen, Es kämmal, kämmel 'flat of the hand, palm' || Lp: N {Fri.} kiem (gen. kiemman) 'palm of hand', Nt {TI} kíāmä 'Handteller, Hand' || Os V kömən-käʔar 'hollow of the hand, fist, handful' (käʔar 'fist, handful') | U *küme(ne) 'ten' > F kymmenen, † kymmen, Es kümme (gen. kümne) id. | Er, Mk кeмeнь kemeń id. || pY {IN} *kumne- 'ten' > OY O {Mat.} кимнeль 'ten', Y K/T {IN} kuneí id. ¶ UEW 137, 679, TI 101, KrT 292, Ang. UJ 72, Krn. JJ 182, 191, 282, Krn. IMJJ 115, Ku. 102, IN 229 || **A:** Tg *xumnu 'back side of the hand, upper side of the foot (metatarsus)' > Ork χūmnū, Lm ūnmъ, Neg onmu id., Orc umnu, WrMc umuxun

'metatarsus' ¶ STM II 274 ◇ SC *koʔan and Sa kaʔan, as well as the labialized vw. in C, in Tg *xumnu, and in U *kumene suggest a tentative N rec. *ḲUʔäm∇(-n∇); the cognates without labialized vw. or its traces (in IE, Ch, part of EC, FU *käme(ne)) are accounted for by the loss of *-ʔ- and a subsequent crasis (*Uä > front vw.). The final *-n∇ may be identical with the N genitive prtc. *nu (turned to a marker of obl. cases and later generalized in the paradigm of cases).

1068a. *Ḳumʔ∇ '(be) hot, smoulder' > HS: Ch: WCh: Bl kuméni 'hot, hotness' (regular shift: Bl k- < WCh *ḳ-, see Stl. ZCh 53-6) ¶ G. Nachtigal mentions Bdm {Nc.} kómōge ~ kómege 'Hitze' and kómoguá 'very hot', but these words are likely to be loans from Kanuri (Knr {Nc.} kemége 'heat') ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 114 || S *^o✓ḳmhʔ > Ak fOB and MA ḳamû inf. (pf. iḳmi ~ iḳmu, inv. ḳimi ~ ḳumu) vt. 'burn' ¶ CAD XIII 76-8 || ? Eg km hier. *'heap of burning charcoal' ¶ EG V 122 || U: FV *kūma 'hot, glowing' > F kuma 'hot, burning', Es kuum 'hot; heat', {W} glühend, heiß, Glut', {W} kuma- 'glühen', Lv {Kt.} kūmi 'glühend heiß' | Er кумуха kumuxa, {W} kumoka 'fever' ¶ UEW 675-6, SSA I 457, W ESS 424, Kt. 171, ERV 313 || D *kum- 'be hot, smoulder' > Tm kumaj 'be hot\sultry', kumpi 'hot ashes', Ml kumuruḳa, kumiruka 'be hot', Kn kome 'begin to burn', Tu gumulu- 'be hot', Tl kumnu 'smouldering ashes', kumulv. 'smoulder, burn without flame' ¶¶ D #1752 ◇ If Ak belongs here (in spite of the semantic distance), the N rec. is to be *Ḳumʔ∇, otherwise the reconstructions *kuHm∇ ~ *kumH∇ are possible as well ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135-6 [#14] (incl. Ak, Bl, FV, and D).

1069. ₂ *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?) 'eat, swallow' > HS: S ✓ḳmh 'eat' > Ar G ✓qmh (pf. qamiḥa) 'take into the mouth and eat (parched food), drink', {BK} 'manger qc. de sec', Gz ✓ḳmh (pf. 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 ḳamḥa) 'eat (grain or other fodder), graze', Amh ḳamə 'swallow without chewing', Har ✓ḳmh (pf. ḳemaḥa) 'take a mouthful'; ⇨ S *ḳam_laḥ- 'cereals, flour' > Hb 𐤒𐤍𐤒 'ḳemaḥ, Ug ḳmḥ, JA [Trg.] {Dlm.}, Sr ḳam'ḥ-ā, JA {Js.} ḳim'ḥā, JEA {Sl.} ḳam'ḥ-ā ~ ḳim'ḥā, Ak ḳēmu(m) 'flour', Ar qamḥ- 'wheat, corn', Gz ḳamḥ 'produce, yield, fruit, leguminous plant' ¶ Lb. 2527, L G 471-2, LEDH 125, KB 1035, KBR 1107-8, A #2419, OLS 367-8, BK II 809, Hv. 626, HJ 1013, Dlm. 364, Js. 1384, Sl. 1023 || ? C: EC {Ss.} pcv. *-ḳom/*-ḳm- (> *ḳom-) 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *Ḳem∇ 'bite', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *k^ωem- 'swallow' > OI 'cāmati ~ 'camati '(he)

sips, drinks, eats' || pIrn *čjam- > Av a-šam- 'sip', šāma- 'gulp', KhS tsām- 'sip'; NPrs چم čäm 'food (cibus potusque)', Oss I цымын c3m3n, Oss D cumun 'to sup, to sip' ||| Arm քիմ-ք k^him-k^h 'palate' ||| Gmc: Ic h^voma [χōma] 'to swallow' (< *h^vāma < NaIE *k^wemō) ¶ WP I 514, P 640-1, EI 175, M KI 382-3, VI. I 589, Horn 99, Ab. I 321-2, Bv. 323, Slr. 343-4 ◇ The exstant ev. does not allow to distinguish between N *h and *χ, but *h seems more probable, because a cluster *mχ usually tends to change into *ηχ (or *nχ) by as., and as long as traces of such as. are not detected, *h is preferable.

1070. *kamč'o 'to bend; bend, corner' > U: FP *k^raⁿh^č∇ 'a bend, curve' > Er kańžamo 'popliteal space (lozenge-shaped space behind the knee-joint)' || pPrm *kōž (= {Lt.} *kōž) > Z k3ž 'bend of a river', Yz kŵž 'large bend of a river', Vt kōž 'quiet backwater in a bend of a river' ('заводь, омут', {LG} 'bay') ¶ LG 138, U3S 203 || HS: S *^o✓knθ|š|š or *^o✓kmθ|š|š > Ak ✓knš vi. 'bend', ✓kmš v. 'bend, kneel' ¶ Sd. 431-2, 435-6 || K: G k^unč- 'j-n in eine Ecke drängen' ¶ Chx. 643 || IE: NaIE *kant^ho- 'edge, bend' > Gk κανθός 'angle of the eye' ||| Clt: W cant 'rim, tyre', Br kant 'circle', Gl *kantos 'iron tyre; rim, edge (Rand, Ecke)' (in glosses and inscriptions: καντεμ, καντενα, καντεν) ⇨ L canthus 'tyre of a wheel; rim, edge' (Quintilianus: from lgs. of Africa or Spain [sc. CltI?]) and VL *kantus > Sp, Port, It canto, Prv can 'edge, rim, corner, side', OFr chant id. (⇨ chantel id.) > Fr chant 'face étroite d'un objet', chanteau 'hunk of bread' ||| Sl *kŏtъ 'corner' > ChS k^hatъ kŏtъ, Blg кѣт, SCr kŭt, Slv kŏt, OCz, Cz kout, Slk kút, Hls/LLs kut, P k^hat 'corner', OR к^oутъ kutъ 'corner in a house', Uk, Blr, R Δ кут 'corner' ¶ P 326-7, F I 777-8, Kö. #1851, Krüger GS 219, ML #1616, Vn. C 84-5 (shows that OIr céttas 'siège' does not belong here [⇔ P a.o.]), Hm. 420, YGM-1 74, GH DAF 99, Dauz. 160, Dtn. 241, Thr. KR 53, ESSJ XII 75-8, Glh. 363, ≈ EI 143 (*kan-t^h)o 'corner, a bending') || A: pJ {S} *k^hant^ua 'angle, corner' > OJ *k^haduó, J: T kádo, K kádó, Kg kadó ¶ S QJ #856, Mr. 432 ◇ N *m is reconstructed on the ev. of Ak ✓kmš, in the rest of the cognates *m > *n|ñ by as. to the adjacent affricate. The N word-final labialized vw. is suggested by J and by G -u- (regr. as. *kamčU > G k^unč-); the absence of *u or *u^h-glide in IE suggests that the labialized N vw. was *o.

1071. *k^ulym∇č∇ (or *-č-?) '(≈) shin, thigh' > HS: S *k^ulym∇^č'-(ε) part of leg' > Gz k^wəyč ~ k^wəč 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh' (a late

spelling for *k^wayç̣, *k^waç̣(?), Ak kimçu, kinçu, kiççu 'Unterschenkel' (in Gz *k^w > k^w by as. to ç or *ç̣) ¶ L G 458, Sd. 478 || C *k^wanç̣-/*kunç̣- 'buttocks' (≈ {E}: *k^wandl/*kundl) 'buttocks' or 'muscle' > Bj {Rop.} k^wandīç̣ 'buttocks of an ape' ||| SC: Irq {E} kuç̣ama 'buttocks', ?φ Kz {E} kuç̣uko 'muscle, tendon, sinew'; ?? Irq {MQK} kuç̣umō 'hip, broad backside' (× ←d kuç̣ūç̣- v. 'bulge, bent, not straight') ¶ E CR #354, E SC 367 (reconstructs pRt *kuç̣- 'large muscle'), MQK 63, Rop. 208 ||| K *^ok^w∇nç̣∇χ|q- > Mg k^winç̣ix̣e 'thigh, haunch (бедро, ляжка)' ¶ Q 256 ||| A: NaT *Köç̣ük 'buttocks' > OT {Cl} köç̣ük (unvocalized) id., köç̣ükle- v. 'beat on the buttocks', Sg/Shor {Rl.} köç̣ük 'buttocks'; this T cognate is valid unless it goes back to **köt-ç̣ük ←d T *köt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 700) ¶ Cl. 697, Rl. II 1289 ◇ If Irq {E} kuç̣ama is not valid (derived from the v. kuç̣ūç̣-), the N sibilant is *ç̣|ç̣.

1072. ₂ *Kām_LU_Jr̄∇ 'shoulder, shoulder-blade' > HS: S: Ak fMB kumār- {Sd.} 'shoulder and upper part of the arm (?)', {CAD} 'e part of the arm' ¶ Sd. 824, CAD XIII 304 || B *-krūm- 'back (dorsum), nape of the neck, neck' (× N *kôri'h'û 'throat, neck?') > Skn {La.} ta-krūm-t (pl. ta-karm-in), Nf {La.} tukrimt 'neck', Shl {La.} akrum, Nf akrūm 'back (dos)', Wrg {Dlh.} akrum (pl. i-krum-ən), takrumt (pl. tikrumin) 'neck, nape of the neck', Mtm ta-krūm-t̄ (pl. ti-karm-īn) 'neck, nape', tikarmin 'back, spine', Mz ačrum 'nape' ('nuque, haut du cou derrière la tête'), Gd {CM} takurumt 'neck' ¶ Ds. 98, Dlh. M 24, La. S 218, Dlh. Ou 153 ||| A: NaT *k'āb're 'shoulder-blade' > Chg kebze [San.] 'shoulder', {PC} id., 'shoulder-blade', Osm {Rh.} کبزہ kəbzə, Tk kebze, Ggz kebze, Tkm kebδ, Qzq kebze, Δ {Rl.} köüzö 'shoulder-blade', Az ğābzä 'handle, grip', Qq kebze 'breast', VTt käüsä 'trunk of a tree', Bsh käüδä 'trunk (of body)' ¶ TL 242-3, ADb. SR 141, 188-9, Rl. II 1198, TrR 528, Tkr 386, Rl. II 1218, San. 323, PC 455 ¶¶ ADb. SR 47, 306 equates this T √ with Tg *kende 'shoulder-blade' (which is hardly convincing) and reconstructs A *kem're (for Tg *kende cp. N *ken_L∇_Jc'∇d∇ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint') ◇ ADb. SR 306 (A *kem're ÷ IE *g^werwā / *g^wrīwa 'nape, back, arm', D *kençe 'carry under the arm'; cp. N *gub_L∇_JRE 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' and N *ken_L∇_Jc'∇d∇).

1073. *kam^t∇ 'burn (be on fire)', 'shine' > IE: NaIE *kend- v. 'shine' > OI [Dhat.] candati 'shines, is bright' ||| L candeo / candere / candui 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter', candidus 'shining

white' ||| W can 'white', cannaid 'white, luminous', OBr kann 'shining, white' (in cds.), Br kann 'd'un blanc brillant' ¶ P 526, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Frl. 95 (OBr cant 'frey-haired, shining' [quoted in P] does not exist), ≈ EI 514 (*(s)kand- 'shine, glitter') ||| HS: B *✓kmd̥ vi. 'burn' > Rf, Izn, Shl ✓kmd̥ ¶ Rn. 345 ¶ In B we may see a mte. **k̥mt > **k̥m̥t (> *k̥md̥) ||| D *kan̥r- ({{ǵGS}} ≈ *kand̥-) 'be scorched (by sun or fire), fade' > Tm kan̥ru 'be scorched\sunburnt, fade', Ml kannuka 'be scorched', Kn kandu 'be scorched by the sun or by fire, be charred', Tu kanduni 'be fade, wither', Tl kandu 'blackness\discoloration caused by scorching', kandu 'be scorched' ¶¶ D 1410 ||| K: G kamkam- v. 'shine, glitter' ¶ Chx. 546-7 ◇ If the K cognate is valid, the N etymon has *k̥-, otherwise it must be denoted as *K̥- (= *k̥|q̥-).

1074. *k̥'an'E' 'young, child' > HS: S *°✓k̥nn > Mh k̥ʒn'nawn (f. k̥ʒn'nʒt) 'child; little, young', Hrs k̥ʒnnōn (f. k̥ʒn'nʒt) 'little, small', 'small' (= 'young, of a child'): ʒp̥ōrbʒh m-hʒs k̥ʒnnōn 'I have known him since he was small', Sq {Jo.} k̥anhoh 'baby animal', Mh, Hrs mʒk̥'nayw, Jb E mʒk̥'ni 'baby, baby boy', Mh mʒk̥'nawt, Hrs m̥k̥ʒnōt, Jb E mʒk̥'nit 'baby girl', Hrs mʒk̥nī 'grandson', mʒk̥nīt 'granddaughter' ¶ Jo. M 232, Jo. H 76 ||| ? Eg XXII k̥ny 'child in its mother's lap (?)' (unless from Eg fMK k̥ny v., n. 'embrace') ¶ EG V 51, Fk. 280 ||| EC: Sml {DSI} q̥ān 'camel-foal, calf', Sml N q̥ān 'camel-foal'; Or k̥ondāla {Hd.} 'young man', {Grg.} 'young soldier; young man of "draft age"' ¶ Abr. S 200, DSI 477, Grg. 327 ||| IE: NaIE *ken- 'young; child, young of an animal' > OI Vd ka'nīna- 'young', OI kan'yā, Av kaine / kainī- 'girl, virgin', YAv gen. sg. kainīn- id., NPrs كنين k̥nīz 'maiden, girl; female slave, maid-servant', Δ kīna 'daughter', Krd kanī, kēnī 'bride', (pIrn *kan-tī- >) Oss I čʒnʒ, Oss D kinzā 'bride, son's wife' ||| OIr cano, cana 'whelp (of a wolf), puppy', MW ceneu, W cenau (pl. cenawon) id. ||| Sl *čędo 'child' (unless a loan from Gmc, cp. OHG kind id.) > OCS Чѣдо čędo, Blg 'чедo, Cz čado 'child', R, Uk 'чадo id. ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) words for 'begin, new' (OCS za-čęti 'begin', L re-cēns 'new, fresh, recent', Gk κενός, etc.) (see N *K̥an▽ 'begin, originate, be new') ¶ WP I 397-8, P 563-4, ESSJ IV 102-4, SPS II 191, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, VI. II 902-3, Sg. 1057, Horn 194, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, Vn. C 31-2, ESSJ IV 102-4, ≈ EI 213-4 (*ken- 'fresh') ||| ?φ A (+ext.): NaT *k̥'ā:;n̥ç 'child, young of an animal' > OT k̥ānč id. ({{Cl.}} k̥ānč) id., OT U VIII

kenč uri kenč kızlar 'young boys and young girls', Osm {Bu.} كنج genč, Tk genč, Ggz genč, Az ġänž 'young' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 20-1, TL 657-8, GRM 110, Rs. W 252, Sht. 124, NogR 160, KrkR 313, Bu. II 139, Rl. II 1082 || M (← T?): WrM kenze, HIM хэнэ 'child born of old parents, late-grown crop', Kl {Rm.} kenze 'late-born (child, young of animals)'; M → Chg كنجة kenže {Rl., Rs.} 'youngest daughter', {Cl.} 'a child born to elderly parents', Qzq, Nog, Qq kenže 'the youngest child; last-born young (of domestic animals)', ET känži 'last-born (child), late (crops)', Uz Δ genža ۛ ġänžä, Qmq †, Qrg kenže 'young' ¶ MED 454, KW 226, BN 83-4, ET VGD 20-1 || D *kanr- ({ʁGS} ≈ *kand-) 'child, young of animals' (= {Pf.} *kanr-) (× N *kāñhæ 'give birth') > Tm kanru 'calf, colt, young (of various animals), young tree', Ml kannu (obl. karru) 'young of cattle, young plaintain tree', kannu / (obl. c.) karru- 'calf' (esp. 'buffalo calf'), Td kor 'female buffalo calf below one year', Kn kanda 'young child', karu, kara, karuuu 'calf', kandu 'calf, young plaintain trees, foetus of beasts', Tu karñzi 'calf', Tl kandu 'infant', Gnd kararñzi 'half-grown young pig', Krx xadd 'child, young animal or plant', Mlt qade 'son' ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 || ?σ K: OG qñin-aq-i 'very small', MG, G qñin- 'small, little, tiny, insignificant', G qñin- 'diminish, make smaller' (if the semantic connection is sufficient and unless the G word is an Iranism [from an unspecified source]) ¶ Srj. 100, DCh. 620, Chx. 605 ◇ If the A cognate is valid, the vw. (*ä in T, e in M) is due to vw. harmony: N *a...E > *ä...∇ ◇ This N word may be identical with N *Qan∇ 'begin, originate, be new' (q.v.) ◇ If the K word belongs here, the N rec. must be *qan'E', otherwise it is *Qan'E' with an unspecified *Q- ◇ IS I 335-6 [#211] (*Qan∇ 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D) ||| The same N word underlies diminutive suffixes in A and possibly in IE, K, and U: A: M *-qan/*-ken, originally dim.: WrM keuken 'child, infant' ← WrM keü (> küü) 'son'; if *-qan/*-ken (> WrM -qan/-ken, HIM -хан/-хэн) derives words from adjectives, it denotes a slight degree of the quality and has a hypocoristic connotation: WrM öndörken 'slightly high', hpc. 'high' (≈ Sp 'altito') (← öndör 'high'), saiqan 'nice, good looking, fine' (hpc. of sain 'good'), ulagaqan (hpc. of ulagan 'red'); with stems of numerals it means 'only': gurbaqan 'only three' (← gurban 'three'), Brt -хан/-хон/-хэн, dim. sx.: баабгайхан

'bear-cub' (← баабгай 'bear'), басагахан (hpc. of басаган 'girl, daughter'), галхан (dim. of гал 'fire'), гэрхэн (dim. of гэр 'house'), саһахан 'a snow-flake' (← саһан 'snow') ¶ MED 369, 461, Pp. GPMJ 107, Hmb. 7, GBJ 70 || Tg *-kan/*-ken, dim. sx.: Ewk -kān/-kēn/-kōn (birakān 'small river' [← бира 'river'], ayakān]hpc. of аya 'good'], dagakān 'very near' [← daga 'near']), Neg, Lm, Ul, Nn -kan/-kэн, dim. sx. (e.g. Nn дэрэкэн [dim. of дэрэ 'table'], morikan 'foal' ← морин 'horse', tugзэкэн 'young of a lynx' ← tugзэ 'lynx'), WrMc -kan/-ken (e.g. yargakan 'more or less true' ← yargan 'true', neciken 'almost straight' and dim. of necin 'straight') ¶ Vas. 759, Pt. 23, Z 191, 220-1 || T: OT -aq / -eq / -uq (after vws. and r) -q / -k dim. sx., e.g. OT adyiraq 'young stallion' ← adyir 'stallion', özek 'small valley' ← öz 'valley', qasud 'small piece of bark' ← qa:s 'bark'); (rare) {Cl.} -qiña / -kiñe, dim. sx. ¶ Cl. xi-xii, 47-9, 278, 285, 665-6 || ? IE *-i-k(0)-, *-u-k(0)- dim. (× *-ik0-, sx. of nouns derived from adjectives: Lt jaunìkis 'young lad, bridegroom' ← jaunàs 'young') > Lt rankìkè (dim. of ranka 'hand'), mergìkè 'girl' (← mergà 'maid'), ožiùkas ~ ožùkas (dim. of ožýs 'he-goat'), Pru wosux 'Bock' (an etymological cognate of ožùkas), Lt broliùkas (dim. of brólis 'brother') || OCS градѹць gradьсь (dim. of градъ gradь 'urbs, hortus'), сынѹкъ synькъ, R сын-ок (dim. hypocoristic of сынъ synь, R сын 'son') ||| OI kumara'kaḥ 'little boy' ||| L (dim. - (i)co- + dim. -ulus, -ula): folliculus 'little sack\bag', musculu-s 'little mouse' ||| OI sísu'kaḥ 'Kindchen' (← 'sísu- 'Kind'), OI paśukā 'kleines Tier', Av pasuka- 'Haustier' (← OI pa'su-, Av pasu- 'cattle, animal'), OI aśva'ka-ḥ (dim. of aśva-ḥ 'horse') ||| Gk -ακο-, -ακ-. e.g. βῶμαξ (dim. of βωμός 'altar'), μεῖραξ 'young girl' ||| It is tempting to adduce here Gmc *-ke|in- > OSx skipikin 'small ship', mannekin 'Männchen', early NHG [Luther] Sönichen, Hensichen (hypocoristic from words for 'son', 'Hans'), NHG -chen (dim. and hpc.), but Gmc *-k- for the expected *-h- defies explanation; an alt. et.: the Gmc sx. goes back to the reflex of NaIE *ġena-to-m 'born' (OHG, OSx kind 'child', see N *kǣn̄hæ 'give birth') ¶ BD II/1: 487-96, Zhr. IN 325 ||| ? K: OG {Fn.} -aḫ- dim., e.g. mçire-aḫ-i 'tiny, small' (← mçire 'small, little'), ḫidoban-aḫ-i 'small box', G -aḫ- dim., e.g. gor-aḫ-i 'small mountain, hill' (← gora 'mountain'), çign-aḫ-i 'note-book' (dim. of

çigni 'book'), -iḳo, hypocoristic sx. (-o from the voc.): iliḳo (hpc. of ilia 'Elias'), tiniḳo (hpc. of the female name ṭina), suliḳo 'darling' (hpc. of suli 'soul') ¶ Fn. GAS 50, Vogt GLG 227 || U: FL *-kka/*-kkä, dim. sx. > F vasiikka 'calf, fawn' (← vasa 'fawn'), perikka 'whelp, puppy' (← F XIX peri 'dog' {SSA II 335}, cp. Es peri 'dog'), Ing vālakka 'whitish' (from the word for 'white', cf. F valkea 'white'); H *-kko/*-kkö, dim. > F pääkko 'small head' (← pää 'head'), Vo kotikko (dim of koti 'Sack'), čiutikkz (dim of čiuto 'shirt') | Mr: Er суркске surks-ke, Mk суркска surks-¹kä (both: dim. of суркс surks 'ring'), Mk сукскя suks-¹kä (dim. of сукс suks 'worm'), Er таташке tataške (dim.\hpc. of татай tataj 'toy'), цёрка čorka 'boy', hpc. 'son' (← цёра 'son, male person') | Prm: Vt пиоке pioke (hpc. of пи pi 'son'), нылок niлок (hpc. of ныл ni 'daughter'), Prmk нянёк náńok (dim. of нянь náń 'bread'), көчок kзчок (dim. of көч kзч 'hare') (× infl. of R dim. sx -ок) || Os: Kr -ka dim. (ewəka, dim.\hpc. of ewe 'daughter, girl'), māńakə (hpc. of māńə 'younger brother'), Ty i¹əki hpc. (addressing a young boy, cp. Os O i¹si 'younger brother'); Vg: Ss tūrka (dim. of tūr 'lake'), māńk^{wə} (dim. of māń 'small') ¶ Laan. OS 209, 222-3, PI 260, 335, ERV 649, 722, TepiL PJ 153, Sauer NBO 153 || The sx. *-ka/ä is found within FL *ülkä 'boy, young man' > F ylkä 'bridegroom', Es {W} ülg 'Bräutigam, Mann', pLp {Lr} *zlkē 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} älgie 'son', L {LLO} al'hkē 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} аллык, {TI} e:lg_ä 'son' (see N *gi¹U¹ 'boy, young man') ¶ SK 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. #10, Lgc. #47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24 ◇ The IE, K, U, and T cognates presuppose a reduction N *-k¹∇n- > *-k¹-, which makes these cognates less certain (though this kind of reduction in derivational sxs. is typical of lgs.) ◇ Öhm. 87-9 (FU, IE).

1075. *kañ¹o¹ (or *kañy¹o¹??) 'to tie' > K *kōn- v. 'tie together' > OG kōna 'bundle', MG [SSO] kōn- v. 'tie together (flowers, twigs, etc.)', G kōn- v. 'tie' (še-kōn-va 'to tie together', kōn-a 'bundle, sheaf'), Sv čwēn-/čōn-: UB li-čwēn-i {K²} 'to tie together', Sv {K²} li-čōn-e 'to be wrapped', Sv UB {GP} li-čōn-e 'to tie round, to wrap up', a-čōn-e 'wraps up', ž-an-čōn-e '(he) wrapped up', la-čōne prtc. 'wrapped up' ¶¶ K 114, K² 98, FS E 206, Abul. 201, TK 483 || HS *✓k¹n ~ *✓kn v. 'tie, plait' > B *-yān- ~ *-yūn- 'rope, band' > Ah, Gh a-yān 'corde', Ah ta-yān-t 'rêne', Tmz ta-yūni 'footwear'; *✓w¹y¹n (< *✓w-y¹n) v. 'tie' > Ah, Gh,

BSn, Si əqqən v. 'tie' ('lier'), Gd εqqən, Nf {La.} aqqən, Mz, Kb əqqən, Tmz qqən 'lier, attacher', uqun 'lien, attache' ¶ Fc. 1733-40, Dlh. M 162, La. S 197, MT 192-4, Dl. 667, Lnf. II #1283 || Eg: G քր v. 'weave', MK քր n. 'mat', MKL քրյ.ω 'weavers' ¶ EG V 48, 50, Fk. 279 || S *^okann- > Ak kann- 'fetter, band, rope, belt, wisp of straw to bind a sheaf' (× ←^ϕ ✓knn [inf. kanānu] v. 'twist?') ¶ CAD VIII 142-3, 156-7 || Ch {JS} *✓kn v. 'tie' (?? ~ *✓kn id.), {Stl.} *կՎն- 'tie to (attacher)' > WCh: SBc: Bg {Sh.} kān, Buli {ChL} k+nnu, {Csp.} kinnu, Tala {Csp.} kānu id. || ?? NrBc: Cg {Sk.} կւն- 'tie', unless from pNrBc *✓dkn (> Wrj {Sk.} դիկն- id.) || CCh: Hw kánàŋ, G'nd {ChL} k+nənč i, Gbn {ChL} k+nənč i, Bk {ChL} kènàđá, Tr {Nw.} gəni, Pdl gəna v. 'tie' || Msy {MCh} kərn id. || Lame {ChL} kənwá 'plait (mat\hair)', ZmB {ChC, ChL} kan, ZmD kán v. 'plait (hair)' || Ech: Mkl sbjn. kìní, pf. gìní, ip. kònìyó 'plait (mat\hair)' ¶ JS 269, Stl. IF 104, ChC, ChL, J LM 122, KNC 11 ¶ OS #1546 (*kən- 'plait' in Ch, B, Eg) || IE: NaIE {P} *kenk- v. 'gird, tie\bind around, tie on' > OI Λ 'kañcatē 'binds', OI 'kañcī 'girdle, belt' || Gk κλυκλίδες pl. 'lattice gates' || L cing(ēre) / cinxī / cinctus v. 'gird' → 'surround, encircle' || Lt kinkaũ/-ýti v. 'harness (horses)' ¶ P 565, EI 224 (*kenk- 'gird, wrap around'), M K I 139-40, F I 849, WH I 216-7, Frn. 255 ¶ IE *-k- is an extension (originally a sx.?) || A: M *qaŋqad- > WrM qaŋqad- 'be solidly attached' ¶ MED 929 || ?ϕ Tg *_Lx_uń- 'tie, tie together' > Ewk uńā- v. 'tie\fasten to, bandage', Lm ô:ńz- 'tie to\together', Orc uńā- 'tie together', Orc uńā, ? Ud unžū 'bundle', WrMc uríeri 'cord, bowstring' ¶ STM II 277 ◇ If the rec. *k_an_ly_o' is right, the N cluster *-n_ly- can explain both the Tg cns. *-ń- and the long vw. in K (compensatory lengthening *-[∇]n_ly- > K *-[∇]:n-). The quality of K *ō and Tg *u may be due to regr. as. (*-a_nl_yo > K *-ōn[∇], Tg *-uń-).

1076. *K_an[∇] 'to sing, to sound' > IE: NaIE *kan- id. > L cano / canēre 'sing', Um kanetu 'canito', ař-kani 'accinium, priests' chant' || Gk ἦϊ-καυός 'cock' ('morning-singer'), aor. κανάξαι 'poured with a gurgling sound', καναχή 'sharp sound', esp. 'ring, clang (of metal)' || OIr can- v. 'sing', Brtt {RE} *kanīmi 'sing' > OW cana, MW, W canu, Crm cane, MBr canaff, Br kanañ 'to sing', Br kan 'singing (chant)' || Gt, AS hana, ON hani, OSx, OHG hano, NHG Hahn 'cock'; ← Gt Cr ano, AS henn, NE hen, OHG henna, hanīn, NHG Henne 'hen', with ablaut OSx hōn, OHG huon, NHG Huhn 'hen' ¶ But Tc A

kaṃ (gen. kaṃis), B kene 'melody, tune' do not belong here (because IE *a does not yield pTc {Ad.} *e [> Tc A a, Tc B e], but goes back to NaIE *ǵʰwónos 'sound', as suggested in Wn. 186, Ad. 193, and Ad. H 27) ¶ P 525-6, EI 519, Dv. #368, FI 776, WH I 154-5, Bc. G 329-30, Fs. 243-4, Vr. 208, Kb. 431, 456, Schz. 164, OsS 370, 432, Ho. 149, 155, Vn. C 30-1, RE 128, Ern. 94, Hm. 418 || HS: S: [1] SS *°✓kny ~ *✓knw 'raise a sound of music, sing' > Gz ✓kny L (pf. k̄ānaya) 'raise a sound of music', Tgy ✓kny (pf. k̄anəyə), Tgr pf. k̄ana 'sing'; ↳ Sa k̄ana 'song'; [2] CS *✓kyn 'sing' > BHb הַנְּיָן k̄ī'nā 'funeral song, dirge', Sr كِنْيَان k̄ī'n-t-ā 'song, chant; Hymnus, Klage lied', Md k̄irta 'song', Ar {Dz.} (ʔa)qyana v. 'sing', قَائِنَةٌ qayn-at- {Hv.} 'songstress', {Bl.} 'esclave chanteuse', {BK} 'fille esclave qui connaît le chant et la musique' (× ← qiyān 'slave') ¶ KB 1025-6, KBR 1097, BK II 848, Bl. 676, Hv. 638, L G 437, Br. 664, LH 253 || A: ?φ Tg *ken|ne- 'sing, produce a sound' > Orc k̄n̄xi 'voice (of a person capable to sing)', Ewk k̄ēnā- v. 'praise, thank', Sln x̄ēnī- v. 'praise', Neg k̄ēn̄z- id., 'be proud of', Ud k̄ēni- v. 'scold', Ork k̄ēn̄z- v. 'boast' ¶ STM I 449 || D *kaṃ- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'sound' > Tm kaṃay v. 'sound (as a drum), bellow, neigh', Ml kanekka v. 'sound, low (as oxen)', Kt kaṃv- '(cow\buffalo) bellows for calf', Td kenf- (p. kent-) v. 'roar' (of wild animals, children), Kn kene v. 'neigh', Kdg kene '(act of) bellowing', Kui kanaṛi 'sound, noise' ¶¶ D #1409 ◇ The Tg cognate is qu. because of its *k- (for the expected *ǵ-) and its palatal *-ń-.

1077. *Kaṃ 'begin, originate, be new' > IE: NaIE *ken- ~ *°kan- 'begin, originate, be born, be recent\young' > Gk κατὸς 'new' || L recens / re-cent-is 'new, fresh, young, recent' || OIr cínid 'il sort de, descend de, est mis au monde', cenél 'race, peuple, espèce, genre', ciniud, OW cenetl 'gens, genus, natio', W cenedl 'nation, race', Crn kinethel 'generatio'; Gl Cintus, Cintugnātus ('Primigenitus'), OIr cētne, cēt- 'first', W cyn(t) 'erst, vor, eher' || ?σ Gmc: Brgn HENDINOS 'king' || Sl 1s prs. *čьn-q / inf. *čę-ti 'begin' > OCz 1s čnu / 2s čneš / inf. čietī; usually used with pxs.: *na-čьn-q / *na-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> OCS НАУЬНѢ na-čьn-q / НАУАТН na-čę-ti, Blg на'чена, SCr načēti, Slv načétī, OCz načietī, OP, P Δ paczác, R нач'ну / нач'ать id.), *po-čьn-q / *po-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> SCr počnēm / počēti, Cz počnu / počítī, P paczác), *za-čьn-q /

*za-čę-ti v. 'begin, conceive (of a woman)' (> OCS **ЗАЧАТИ** za-čę-ti, R за'чатъ id., P **zacząć** 'to begin'); SI *konъ 'start, beginning' (> 'end'; the semantic change is understandable in the light of SCr **od kona do kona** 'from the beginning to the end') > OCS **kon-** in **ИСКОНИ** is-kon-i 'ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning (of times)', R **искони** 'from time immemorial', SCr **kon** '↑', OR **конъ конъ** 'end', Cz **kon** (in **do kona** 'up to the end', **dokonati** 'end one's life'); ⇨ SI *kon-ъсь 'end' (> OCS **коньць коньсь**, Blg, R ко'нец, Uk кінець, SCr **kōnac**, Slv **kónec**, Cz **konec**, Slk, P **koniec**) ¶ P 563-4, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, FI 754, WH II 423-4, Vn. C 64, 103, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, ESSJ IV 109, X 195-6, XI 5-6, and XXI 226-7, Vs. II 140, 307, 310, III 51, Ma. CS 217, Brü. 423-4, Glh. 490-1, StSS 234, 265, 289-90, 357, ≈ EI 213-4 (*ken- 'fresh'; no distinction between reflexes of N ***Ḳan**▽ 'begin, be new' and N ***'ḳ'an'E'** 'young, child') || HS: S ***✓ḳny**|w > BHb **✓ḳny**|w v. 'create, acquire, buy', Ph, Pun, SmA **✓ḳny**|w 'create', Ug **✓ḳny** 'create, acquire', Amr {G} **✓ḳny**, Ar **✓ḳny** ~ **✓ḳnw** G id., IA **✓ḳny**|w 'acquire, buy', JA {Js.} **✓ḳny** ~ **✓ḳnw** 'acquire, obtain', JEA {Sl.} **✓ḳny** 'acquire possession', Gz **✓ḳny** 'acquire', Ak OB **✓ḳny** (p. **iḳnī**) 'keep for oneself', Ak NA **✓ḳnw** (p. **iḳnū**) 'acquire' ¶ KB 1038-9, KBR 1111-2, A #2426, OLS 369-70, Js. 1391, Sl. 1027-8, BK II 825-7, Hv. 631, Tal 785, G A 29, Sd. 898, Fr. III 508-9 || B ***ḳn**'r' > ETwl, Ty **ḳnu** 'être commencé, être créé', Ah **ḳnu** (pf. **-ḳni** ~ **-ḳna**) id., 'avoir son origine' ¶ Fc. 1739, GhA 69 || EC: Dsn {To.} **kâna** 'new' ¶ To. DL 509 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} **kōnū** / **kōnū** 'generate, give birth', {Lm.} **kōn-** 'gebären', {C} **ḳōn-** v. 'generate (generare)', {Wdk.} **kōntō** / **kōntō**, {Lm.} **kōn-t-**, {C} **ḳōn-t-** 'be born' ¶ C SE III 82, Wdk. BY 129, Lm. Y 353-4 || WCh: NrBc {Sk.} ***ḳzn-** ~ ***ḳan-** 'buy' > {Sk.}: Wrj, Mbr, My **ḳzn-**, P' **kʷan-**, Jmb **gzn-**, Kry **kzn-**, Cg **ḳan** ~ **ḳān** id. ¶ Sk. NB 14, Tk. NB 182 (NB ***ḳʷan-** > ***ḳan-** ~ ***ḳzn-**) || D: ***kaḳ-** 'bear, bring forth', ***kaḳr-** 'child, young of animals' (× N ***kānhæ** 'give birth', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 ◇ If the K word belong here, the N rec. must be ***ḳan**▽, otherwise it is ***Ḳan**▽ with an unspecified ***Ḳ-** ◇ This N word may be identical with N ***'ḳ'an'E'** 'young, child' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 335-6 [#211] (***Ḳan**᠒ 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D).

1078. *ḲEḳ'ḳ' 'empty' > IE: NaIE ***ḱen**_l(e)w₁- 'empty' > Arm **uḫḫ** **sin** (gen. **uḫḫj snouj**) 'empty, vain' || Gk Hm **κενε**_l**ός**, Gk Cp **κενευ**_l**ός**, Gk I **κενός** (< ***κεν**_l**ός**), Gk A **κενός** 'empty' ¶ WP I 390, P 564, Bc.

#13.22, Bois. 434, F I 189, Slr. 441, EI 179 (? *k̄e'no-s) || **HS**: C: Ag: Xm {R} gin- 'be empty, without (sth. expected)' ('leer, bar, ohne sein'), gi'nā 'emptiness' ¶ R Ch II 47 || ?σ,φ S: Gz kantū (accus. kantō) 'nothingness, empty thing, emptiness', in cs. 'vain, empty' ¶ LG 288 || **A**: M *kōŋdey 'hollow, empty' > MM [IM] kōŋdey 'hollow', WrM kōndei ~ kōndüi, HIM хөндий, WrO kōndöi, Kl көндө көндä 'hollow, empty' ¶ pM *-dei (> WrM -de i) is a sx. of nominal derivation ¶ Pp. MA 440, MED 487, Krg. 734, KRS 316 || Tg: [1] *x'entü- 'empty' > Orc kəntu, kəntuku, Lm зəтəкəз, зəтəрəн, Neg зəтəкəн 'empty', зəтəс- vt. 'empty', Ewk зəтəкəн 'not full' (a vessel), зəтəс- vt. 'diminish the amount (of liquid in a vessel)' | [2] NrTg *keŋk- > Ewk kəŋkutək 'emptiness', Lm kōŋkī- vt. 'empty' ¶ Tg *k- (for the expected *x-) in *keŋk- may be due to as. (*k̄...k > *k...k) ¶ STM I 450 and II 458 ¶¶ DQA #765 (A *k̄eŋi 'hollow, empty'; incl. M, Tg *keŋk-) ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [#226] (*k̄eñu = *k̄eñu; IE *÷ U *keñ and A *k'äñü 'light, levis').

1078a. *k̄'o'ñ 'back, rear' > **HS**: S *k̄inn- (~ *o'kayn-?) > Ak fOB/OA k̄innatu 'anus, buttocks; rear', Tgr k̄əñ 'lower\back part; vulva', Ar qayn-at- 'derrière, le bas du dos' (← d. with the dim. infix -ay-?) ¶ CAD XIII 254-6, LH 252, BK II 848 || EC: Or {Grg.} k̄īnṭī 'spine (esp. at the waist line)', {Brl.} k̄inti 'lombi, natiche' ¶ Grg. 322, Brl. 341 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} k̄əñək, Mnt k̄əñ 'back (dos)' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} k̄ūnya, Dgh {Frk., ChL} k̄w'indà, {IL} k̄w'indò, Gv {IL} k̄w'indà, {ChL} k̄w'indà, Nkc {ChL} k̄w'indà 'neck' ¶ But hardly here Hs k̄āñiyā because of the vw. ā in the first syll. and its meaning (not 'anus', as in Blz. LNA, but 'perineum, female pudenda, anus', where 'anus' is hardly the primary meaning) ¶ JI II 6, ChC, ChL, RpB 55, Ba. 552 || **U**: FU *k̄oñ (+ oblique case endings) 'rücklings, auf den Rücken' > Er кунст kunst 'backward, upon\on the back' (прамс кунст 'to fall backwards', аштемс кунст 'to lie on one's back'), Mk Δ {Ahl.} kunč 'rücklings' || ObU {ϑHI.} *k̄ñ(č)w ({Ht.} *k̄ñ(č)w) 'auf den Rücken' > pVg *k̄ānəw id. > Vg: T kanāw, IK χonī, MK/UK konī, P kōnəw, NV/SV kōni, LL kōnā, UL χōni, Ss. χōni; pOs *k̄ñčəw id. > Os: V/Vy k̄ñčəw, Ty k̄ñw+, Y konw+, K χōnčā, Nz/Kz χōnšā, O χōnsa ¶ UEW 179, ERV 315, Ht. #288 ¶ Os *ñ may be postalveolar due to as. (*Nč > *ñč) and therefore provides no ev. for a pFU *ñ || **A** {SDM} *ku|ŋt'w 'rump, anus' > T *k̄'ŋ 'buttocks, rump, thick part of the thigh' > OT [MKs.] qoŋ ät 'muscle' (ät 'meat, flesh'), Qrg T, ET qoŋ 'buttocks, posteriors', Qq, Qrg qoŋ 'meat of the thick part

of the thigh', Qzq qoŋ id., 'rump', Tv qoŋ æt 'meat without bones; carcass (of an animal), туша' (æt 'meat'); T б → WrM {Rm. ← ?} qoŋ, Klm {Rm.} χοη 'Steiß, das dicke Fleisch am Rückenende' ¶ Cl. 632, MKD 142, ET Q 58-9, RI. II 899, KW 185 || M *qoŋd∇- (DQA) *qondu-) ≈ 'rump, hind part' (× possible infl. of N *ken₁∇₁c'∇d∇ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint'?) > Klm {Rm.} χondasŋ 'die Stelle unten zwischen den Schenkeln' ({Rm.}: ÷ ζ WrM qondasun б → WrMc {Rm.} χonsun [= WrMc {Ha.} χonsun 'Hämorrhoidengeschwür'?]); WrM qondulai, НИМ хондлой {MED} 'rump, hip', {Kow.} 'cuisse, partie supérieure d'une cuisse', Klm {Rm.} χondalā 'das dicke Fleisch, Steiß, Schenkel', Brt хондолой 'buttocks, posteriors (of humans), rump (of an animal)', Ord χondolī 'croupe', χondolč'oq 'croupe, partie du dos située sous la région lombaire', Klm {Rm.} χoŋgā ~ χoŋgā 'der Steiß (der Kinder)' (in the lge. of children) (÷ ζ WrM {Rm.} qoŋgai); Klm {KRS} хондсх χондъсхъ 'rump, hind part (of an animal)', {Rm.} χondasχā 'Schenkelfleisch, Steiß, Sitz; Schenkel'; M *qoŋziya-sun 'crotch, anus' > MM [S] {H} qoŋziyasun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM qoŋzusu {MED} 'the junction of the two thighs, crotch', {Kow.} 'соединение обѣихъ лядвій, задница', 'l'extrémité des organes excrétoires, l'organ de l'excrétion', Brt {Chr.} хонзооһо(һ) 'anus' ¶ Kow. 869, 874, MED 962, 963, H 66, Ms. O 352, KRS 596, KW 185, Chr. 583-4, Ha. 595 || Tg *kuŋdu > Ewk kunŋukī ≍ kundukī ≍ kuŋnukī 'rump (of an animal); sacrum' || pKo *kuŋtuŋ- 'croup. buttocks' > MKo kuntuŋ'i, NKo kuŋduŋi ¶ S QK #760, Nam 91, MCL 222 || D *kuŋ(ɬ)- 'buttocks, posteriors, rump' > Tm kuŋɬi 'buttocks, rump', Ml kuŋɬi 'posteriors, anus', Kn kuŋɬe id., 'buttocks', Tl kuɬɬe, Gdb kund 'anus', Ku kūna 'buttock' ¶ D #1693A ◇ CCh, M, Tg, Ko, and D suggest a N phrase *K'o'ñ∇₁K|Q∇₁T∇; the meaning of the element *₁K|Q∇₁T∇ is unknown; the Ch data suggest that it is identical with *K'Aɬ'û'd∇ (or *K'ûɬ∇) 'neck, (?) nap, shoulder'; it may be also connected with N *K'ot∇ 'tip, end'. FU, T, and M point to a pN *o of the first syll., while *u in Tg and D, although within the framework of reg. phonetic correspondences (see above Introduction, _ 2.4), still needs explaining ◇ The HS-U-D equation was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #6g); ≈ Blz. LNA #34.

1078b. *K'uñ∇ 'belly, chest' > HS: NrOm: Sz {Fl.} ka'ni 'belly'; ??σ WI kanca, Dwr {Bk.} канца 'stomach', Gf {Fl.} қанца, Dc қанце 'belly', and Gm {Hw.} қанцэ 'belly, abdomen' (unless from NrOm *ganC- > Oyda

ganĉe, Zl {C}, Hrr {CR} ganĉi 'stomaco', Shk {AY} g+nŝa, Na {AY} g+nŝu, Mj {AY} ganzu 'belly' ¶ Blz. OLBP #13, Fl. OWL s.v. 'belly', Hw. EG s.v. 'abdomen' and 'belly' || Ch: WCh: Hs k̄undū 'gizzard of chicken or ostrich', tā yi k̄undū 'she is pregnant', Jmb {Sk.} kʷan 'heart, liver', Ngz {Sch.} k̄unú 'stomach (Magen)', Bd {IL} kunu 'belly' ||| ECh: Tmk {Cp.} gèḡón 'ventre' ¶ Abr. H 554, Ba. 641, Sch. ND 98, JI II 20-1, ChC, ChL, Cp. 61 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #13 || ?σ Eg fMK k̄ny 'Umarmung, Schoß' > DEg k̄n 'sein', Cpt KOYN- kun- 'sein, giron, parties sexuelles', Eg fMK k̄ny v. 'embrace' ¶ EG V 50-1, Er. 538, Vc. 82, Crn. 59 ||| U: FU *kuñà 'belly' > Z k+nzm, Prmk k+nzm, Yz k^h^am 'belly' ||| Os: V k̄ñ, D/O χ̄ñ id. | OHg XIV iunhum, yonhan- 'heart, liver', Hg Δ yoh ð yuh ð ēh ð īh 'das Innere, Bauch, Magen' ¶ UEW 208, LG 152, Lt. KY 132, Trj. VD 152 ||| D [1] *kuñt̄- (ǵGS) *g-) 'chest, heart, internal organ' > Tm kuñt̄i 'heart, kidney', Ml kuñt̄i-kk̄āyi 'cashew fruit with the nut' (analogy of kidneys), Kn gunđige 'heart', Tu gunđigæ id., 'breast', gunđe 'courage', Tl gunđe 'chest, heart', Nkr gundur-kāya 'kidney', Gnd B gundur-kāyā id., Gnd Δ gunde 'chest', gunde kaya 'heart', Knd guñda 'chest', Mlt konđa 'heart' ||| [2] ?φ *kump̄ > Kdg kumme, Gnd kummi 'stomach', Kui kūmba 'lower part of the abdomen' ¶¶ Valid if *-p̄ is a sx. (ext.); otherwise related to A {DQA} *k'ēmì 'entrails, liver' (> M *kim, Tg *xemu-gde, pJ *kìmuà) ¶¶ D ##1693,1757, DQA #1002 ◇ Suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #10a); Blz. LNA #33 (Eg, Om, WCh, U, D *kuñt̄-).

1079. *kuñ̄(í̄) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat, or sim.)' > K (GZ?) *k̄wenr- 'marten' > OG k̄uerna-, G k̄verna-, Mg k̄vinor-i, Lz k̄venur-i id.; Sv: UB/Ch/Ln k̄wen, Lx k̄en, L k̄wen ~ r̄k̄wen id. ({K²}: Sv ⇐ G Lc *r̄k̄ven-?) ¶¶ K 110, K² 92, FS K 180-1, FS E 19, TK 353 ||| IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *okeuñ-/ *kouñ- 'marten' > Lt kiáunē, kiáunē, Ltv caūna, -e, Pru caune id. | SI *kuna 'marten' > ChS {Mikl.} KOYNA kuna 'ἄλιουρος, felis', Blg 'куна, McdS кyна, SCr, Slv kúna, Cz, Slk, HLs, LLs, P kuna, OR KOYNA kuna, R Δ 'куна ~ ку'на, Uk ку'на 'marten'; SI d. *kunica id. > ChS {Mikl.} KOYHИЦA kunica 'ἄλιουρος, felis', Blg Δ 'куница 'Mustela foina', SCr kùnica, Slv kúnica, P kunica, OR KYNИЦA kunica, R ку'ница, Uk ку'ница 'marten' ¶ Frn. 249, En. 191, Tr. P I-K 279-83, ESSJ XIII 102-6, Glh. 358-9, Tr. 122 ||| HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} qaínâ?i/a, {MQK, E} qayna?i

'civet cat'; ?? SC \rightarrow Mb *kenďá* 'zorilla' ¶ Wh. SI, MQK 86, E SC 252 #24 (SC $\kappa_{\text{L}}\omega_{\text{J}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{y}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{a}} \rightarrow * \kappa_{\text{L}}\omega_{\text{J}}\grave{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}$) || ? Ch: WCh: Hs $\kappa^{\text{y}}\hat{\text{a}}\eta\omega\grave{\text{a}}$, Pr {Frz.} *kǎndà* 'cat', Bl {Kr.} *šžnwa* 'wild cat' || ECh: Smr {Nacht.} *kójna* 'cat' ¶ Abr. H 601, Ba. 702 ($\kappa^{\text{y}}\hat{\text{a}}\eta\omega\grave{\text{a}}$), Frz. P 34, ChC, Lk. ZSS 79, \approx Sk. HCD 163-4 || ? S $*\circ\kappa\text{VndVr-}$ ($< **\kappa\text{Vnr-?}$) $>$ Ar *قندر* *qndr* (with unknown vowels) 'beaver' ({Fr.} 'animal ad ripam magnorum fluviorum vivens. Exstruit sibi domum duabus portis praeditam. Piscibus alitur') ¶ Fr. III 503 || A $*\text{Küränä}$ (= $*\text{k}'\text{üränä?}$) (mt. from $**\text{Künärä}$) 'marten, polecat' $>$ T $*\text{r}'\text{ürän}$ $>$ OT {Cl.} *küzän* 'polecat', XwT, MQp *küzen*, [CC] *qara küzen* id., *küzen* 'Mustela', Tkm {Shch.} *göđen* ({Shch.} *гөзән*), Uz *сассиқ кўзан* *sassiq kwzan*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Alt, Xk *küzen*, ET *küzän*, VTt *көзән* *kǔzän*, Bsh *kǔđän* 'polecat', Qmq *gözen*, Qrg *küzön* 'marten', Tf *küzen* 'Siberian weasel', Tv *küzen* id., 'marten' || Blgh \rightarrow Hg *görény* 'polecat' ¶ Cl. 761, Shch. Zh 146, TL 163, RUzS 537, TvR 269, Gomb. BTL 72-3 || M $*\text{kürene}$ $>$ WrM *kürene*, HIM *хүрнэ* 'skunk, polecat, weasel', Kl *күрнэ* *kürnə*, *kürŋ* 'polecat', {Rm.} *kürŋ* 'iltis', Ord {Ms.} *k'ürene* \sim *k'ürine* 'espèce de putois' ({Pot.} 'Mustela putorius', sc. 'fitchew') ¶ MED 504, Kow. 2636, KRS 328, KW 248, Ms. O 439 || ?σ Tg $*\text{r}'\text{urike}$ $>$ Ewk *urikэ* 'marmot, souslik (Citellus)', ? Orc ($\mu\phi?$) *urikэ* \sim *urkǔ* 'black seal (*непна*) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ If the Tg cognate is valid, the initial pA cns. must have been $*\text{k}'$ - (the reg. reflex of N $*\text{K}'$ -) ¶¶ TL 162-3 (T, M, Tg) ◇ The word may have denoted some small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat; they are found in different parts of Eurasia, including Southwestern Asia; in modern Israel the marten is well known as *נִמְיָא* *nemi'ya*) ◇ IS MS 346 (K, IE, A), Blz. C ($\div\div$ SC, WCh, and Somray); AD NM #91; S CNM 3 ($\div\div$ NrCs, Yn), Vv. AEN 10 (the supposed mt. in A makes the comparison less reliable).

1080. $*\text{KüñV}$ \rightarrow $*\text{KuñE}$ 'sun, day' $>$ A: T $*\text{k}'\text{ün}$ ({Md.} $*\text{k}'\text{ü-n}$) 'sun, day' $>$ OT *kün*, Tk *gün*, Az *күн* *gün*, MQp, OOsm, Chg, Tkm, Ggz, ET, Ln, Qmq *gün*, XT *gīn* đ *gi'n*, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Yk *kün*, VTt, Bsh *көн* *kǔn*, Tv *xün*, Tf *hün*, Uz *kun*, Xlj *kīn* đ *kün* 'sun, day', Kr *kün* đ *kuñ*, SY *kun*, OBlgh {Erd.} *küen* ({RTF, Erd.} *küwen*), Chv L *kun* 'day' ¶ Cl. 725, ET VGD 100-2, TL 64-5, DT 152, Ra. 679, Tkr 221-2, Md. 59, 171, Jeg. 117, Fed. I 306-7, Erd. 153-4]T $*\text{k}'\text{üntür}$ ({Md.} $*\text{k}'\text{ü-ndür}$) 'daytime, midday' $>$ OT *küntüz* id., Chg *kündüz* 'day', XwT *kündüz* 'by day', Tk *gündüz*, Az *gündüz*, Tkm *gündüz*, Yk *künüs* 'daytime, by day', Qmq, Qrg, ET *kündüz* id., 'midday', Xk *kündüs* 'midday', *kündes* 'by day', VTt *kǔndüz*, Bsh *kǔndüz*, Nog *kündiz*, Qzq *kündiz*, Tv *хүндүс*, Tf

hündüs 'by day', Qrg, ET kündüz, Uz kunduz 'day, daytime', Yk күнүс 'day, by day', Chv кӑнтӑр кӑндӑр, Δ кӑндӑр 'midday, south' ¶ Acc. to Gab. and Md. (TL 78), T *k'üntür goes back to an adverb with a loc. sx. *-túr/*-tūr ÷ M loc. *-dur; cp. T *bal-tur ~ *bil-tur 'last year' (Cl. 729), but in the light of broader comparative ev. the element *-túr/*-tūr may go back to N ≈ *t'U'ri 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 729, DTS 328, ET VGD 102-3, TL 78, Ra. 192, Md. 59, 171, ≈ Jeg. 99, Fed. I 255 ¶ d.: OT күнтүн ~ күнтін 'southern' ¶ DTS 327-8 ¶ HS: WCh *k^ω∇n∇ 'day' > Hs k^ωáná 'a day (period of 24 hours)', Gw k^ωana 'day' ¶ Krkr {ChL} ?žη k^ωùní 'today' ¶ Ba. 677, Mts. G 71, ChL, ≠ Stl. ZCh 213 [#630], 220 [#701], ≠ Sk. HCD 160 ◇ Cp. N *K'u'nyahíE ~ *K'u'yñahíE ~ *K'u'ñahíE 'sunshine, daybreak' (which may be a U-A d. of the N etymon in question).

1081. ?φ ≈ *Ḳa'g'Eñā 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > HS: C (≈ *✓kḥn): EC: Af {PH} i-kḥin-e v. 'like, love, be pleased with', kaḥánu n. 'love', Sa {R} ✓kḥn 'love, wish' (p. 'akhenə ~ 'ikhenə, inv. ek'hēn), ka'han ~ ke'han n. 'love', Sa I {CR} -kahan/-kehin- 'love, wish', ?φ Arr kaḥím 'lover' m., kaḥim-té 'lover' f. ¶ Bj {R} ✓kḥn 'love' (1s: p. 'akhan, pqp. 'íkhan, prs. akan'hīn; prtc. ke'hana), Bj A {AD} -khan id., khanu n. 'love' ¶ Xm {R} eḳan 'love, wish, desire' (inv. e'ḳan, pfc. eḳa'n-un), Aw {Hz.} žnkan v. 'love, like' ¶ AD SF 63, R WBd 138, R S II 210-1, R Ch II 336, PH 134-5, 142, Hw. A 171 ¶ The pC vl. Ir. *ḥ may go back to *y due to ass. devoicing ¶ B *✓gn 'wish, desire' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} a-gna (pl. agnatḅn) 'goût, désir, prédilection', Ty {Fc.} ā-gna 'souhait' ¶ GhA 55, Fc. 459 ¶ B *-g∇n- < *-gṽ∇n- < (as.) *-ḳṽ∇n- < N *Ḳa'g'Eñā. Af ḥ- is probably from **-y- (assimilative devoicing in the cluster -kḥ- < **-kṽ-) ¶ A: NaT *KIn- v. 'desire, long for' > OT {Cl.} qIn- 'long for, covet', Sg/Shor {Rl.} qIn- 'wish', Kü {Rl.} qIn- 'fall in love', Xk xын- χIn- v. 'wish, want, love', Yk kIn- v. 'mate'; caus. v. *k₁In-tur- > OT/Osm {Cl.} qIntur- 'arouse desires (in so.)'; d.: *KInik- > Tk Δ qIniq- 'be zealous' ḍ qInik- 'do one's best to succeed', Qlt/Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} qIniq- id., 'be excited', VTt Δ qḅnḅq-, Chv χḅnḅχ- 'get accustomed', Qrg qIniq- id., 'begin to enjoy', Qq quniq- 'begin to enjoy' ¶ Cl. 632, 636, Rs. W 264, ET Q 216-7, Rl. II 725, BIG 299, Pek. 1395 ¶ ?? pJ *kžnž-m- v. 'like, wish' > OJ kònòm-, J: T konóm-, K kónóm-, Kg kònòm- id. ¶ S AJ 272 [#210], S QJ #210, Mr. 712 ¶ U: FU (att. in Ugr) *okEnt∇ 'desire' > OHg keđv 'benevolence, wish,

enjoying, temper', Hg $k\epsilon d v$ 'mood, temper; liking, pleasure' | the ObU cognate is likely to have coalesced with the reflex of N $*k\epsilon n t \nabla$ 'be angry, be in despair' (q.v.), whence pObU {JHl.} $*k\epsilon n t$ 'anger' ¶ UEW 861-2, MF 344, EWU 718-9, Ht. #290, BV 33-4 || IE: NaIE $*kenk-$ 'be hungry, long for' > OI $k\bar{a}n\acute{k}\varsigma a t i$ 'wishes, desires, longs for', 'kakatē 'is thirsty' || (* $k\eta k r u-$ >) > Gmc {Fs.} $*xun\eta r u-$ > Gt $h\bar{u}hrus$, ON $hungr$, OSx, OHG $hungar$, NHG $Hunger$, AS $hun\eta or$ 'hunger', NE $hunger$; Gt $huggrjan$ 'be hungry, suffer hunger', AS $hun\eta r(i)an$, OSx $gihungrian$ id., OHG $hungar\bar{o}n$, $hungaren$ {Kb.} 'be hungry for' || Gk [Hs.] {EI} $k\acute{\epsilon}v\kappa\epsilon l$ 'is hungry' ¶ M KI 134, 194, P 565 (*÷ Gk, ON, and Lt words for 'burn', 'pain', etc.), Fs. 272-3, Kb. 488, Schz. 171, KM 321, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Vr. 267, ≈ EI 284 ($*kenk-$ 'hunger' [← 'burn, hurt']) ¶ *÷ (⇔ EI) Lt $kank\grave{a}$ 'Qual, Pein, Marter' (← $ke\tilde{n}kti$ 'to harm', see Frn. 240) ¶¶ A possible prehistory of IE $*kenk-$: N ? ϕ ≈ $*k\grave{a}g'E\bar{n}a$ 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > (progressive as.) $*k\grave{a}g\nabla n\nabla$ > (mt.) $*k\grave{a}n\downarrow\nabla\downarrow g\nabla$ > IE $*kenk-$ || E: El $g|kari$ v. 'love, want' ¶ HK 431 || Gil: Gil A $-a\acute{\eta}n-$ 'want' ¶ ST RN 448 ◇ FU $*E$ is likely to have contracted from N $*-a\acute{\eta}n-$, while the pT back vw. $*I$ may go back to a front vw. with the infl. of the heritage of the N word-final $*-a$ (vw. harmony).

1082. $*k\grave{u}y\bar{n}\nabla$ 'bucket, basket' > U: FP $*k\grave{u}y\bar{n}\bar{n}\grave{a}$ 'wooden vessel, trough' > Es $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ 'trough', F $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ id., 'drinking trough; gutter-like brewing-vessel' (× F $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ 'feather' → 'quill' → 'gutter') | Z $k\grave{u}n\eta s$ 'kneading trough; wooden vessel for milk', Prmk $k\grave{u}n\eta s$ 'tub, vat', Yz $k\grave{o}\acute{n}is$ 'id.; to my mind, Z $-y\bar{n}-$ reflects the original cluster, while Prmk/Yz $*-\acute{\eta}n-$ goes back to $*-y\bar{n}-$ (a typologically frequent change) ¶ UEW 664-5 (reconstructs FU $*ki\acute{n}\grave{a}$ → $*k\grave{u}\acute{n}\grave{a}$ and tries to explain Z $*-y\bar{n}-$ by a "sporadic change" $*-\acute{\eta}n-$ > $-y\bar{n}-$), LG 139 || A: M $*quniya$ > WrM $quniya(n)$, HIM $xynia$ 'pot-shaped basket of birch bark' ¶ MED 986 || NaT $*k'\bar{o}nek$ (< $*k'\bar{o}ynek$) ({DQA} pT $*k'\bar{o}ynek$) 'leathern vessel\bucket\pail' > OT $k\bar{o}nek$ id., Tkm $k\bar{o}nek$, Qzq $k\bar{o}nek$, Qrg $k\bar{o}n\acute{o}k$ 'leathern milking-pail', Uz $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}k$ $k\bar{u}n\grave{a}k$ 'large skin for fermented mare's milk', Nog $k\bar{o}nek$ 'leathern pail', Brb $k\bar{o}n\grave{a}k$ 'bucket, pail', Δ $k\bar{u}n\grave{a}k$ 'birch-bark bucket', Bsh $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}k$ $k\bar{u}n\grave{a}k$ 'wooden tub (кадка), bucket', h\bar{e}t $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}ge$ $h\bar{e}t$ $k\bar{u}n\grave{a}g\bar{b}$ 'milking-pail' (h\bar{e}t 'milk'), StAlt $k\bar{o}n\acute{o}k$, Xk $k\bar{o}nek$ 'bucket (of wood or metal)', Qmn $k\bar{o}n\acute{o}k$ 'bucket', Tv $x\bar{o}nek$ $x\bar{o}nek$ 'tea-pot'; T ⇨ M: WrM {MED} $k\bar{o}r\ddot{u}g$ 'bucket, pail', {Kow.}

'bucket, wooden vessel', HIM xƏHƏΓ {MED} 'bucket, pail', {Luv.} 'wooden bucket', Kl KƏHΓ kōnōg 'vessel for milk products and araq (alcoholic drink)' ¶ Cl. 73, ET KQ 104-5, TL 52, TvR 490, MM 224, BR 294, NogR 179, Dm. JBT 161, Jud. 422, B DK 226, TkR 413, BIG 90, UzR 230, MED 490, KRS 316, Luv. 553, Kow. 2565 || pKo {S} *kùńí 'manger, trough' > MKo kùńí, kùńyú, NKo kuyu ¶ S QK #1005, Nam 60, MLC 206 ¶¶ DQA #1159 (A *k'ũńe 'ladle') || HS: CS *k̄an̄kan̄n̄- 'ε vessel' > JA {Js., Lv., Dlm.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄kan̄'n-ā 'vessel, jug (Krug)', JEA {Sl.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄k̄ə'nā, MHb {Js.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄'kan̄ 'wine-oil-vessel; cylindrical vessel let into the ground of the cellar', {Lv.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄'k̄ān̄ 'jug, long-necked vessel', ? Ug kkrnt̄ {A} 'jugs', {OLS} 'vessel, jug' ¶ Js. 1394-5, Lv. IV 342-3, Dlm. 367, Sl. 1030, A #1307, OLS 212 ◇ The Tv word points to a N emphatic *K̄-, while the HS words allow the rec. of both N *k- and *K̄- (taking into account frequent de-emphatization of N *K̄- in HS). We reconstruct N *-yn̄n̄- rather than *-ń- (suggested by the FU rec. of *k|ũńä, as proposed in FUV) on the ev. of T *-n- (because N *-ń- would have remained in pT as *-ń-) and the preceding pT (> Tkm) long vw. *ō (< **öy < N *uy [regr. as.]); regr. as. *-uyñä > pre-T **-öynE.

1083. *K̄üya, n̄ ▽ 'wolf, dog' > IE nom. *k̄w̄on- / *k̄w̄ōn, obl. *k̄un- 'dog' (in nom. the L-grade of apophony) > OI śvan- / nom. sg. śvā / gen. śun-as, Vd śuvan- / śuvā / śun-aḥ, Av spā / gen. pl. sñnam, Med [Hdt.] σπάκα, Phl sak, NPrs سگ sāg 'dog' || Arm շուն šun / gen. շան šan id. (š- is not clear) || Gk κύων / gen. κυν-ός id. || OL canēs, L canis id.; the unexpected form of the word (vw. a, etc.) has no generally accepted explanation; its hypothetical origin is traced in Leum. 124, EM 92, and other papers [listed in WH I 153]: gen. *k̄w̄anes (< *k̄w̄o'nes, F Hirt IGV 86) changed into L gen. canis (c- for *ca-) on the analogy of the nom. *kō (< *k̄w̄ō) and the accus. *konem (< *k̄w̄onm̄), subsequently the stem of canis spread over the entire paradigm, whence the nom. canis and the accus. canem || Gl kuno-, OIr cú (gen. con), Brtt {RE} *kūn (gen. *kunos) 'dog' > MW ki, W ci (gen. con, pl. cŵn), OCrn [ŷ] Kl, Crn kŷ, pl. kuen, MBr {Vn.} con ({SB} quy, pl. quon), Br ki / pl. koun || Gt hunds (< *k̄w̄n̄-to-), ON hundr, AS, OSx hund, OHG hunt, NHG Hund 'dog', NE hound || Lt šuõ (gen. šuñs), Ltv suns (gen. † suns, [in Modern Ltv] suņa), Pru sunis 'dog' || Tc A/B ku (accus.: A kum̄, B kwem̄) id. || AnIE: Ht {Pv.} kuwan- 'dog, hound', HrLw śuwanas (gen.?), śuwanai

(accus. pl.) 'dog(s)', {Pv.} zuwan- 'dog'; HrLw ś- < IE *k̂ before HrLw -u-, like in śurnā 'horn' ¶ P 632-3, EI (*k̂(u)'wōn / gen. *k̂u'n-os), M K III 402-3, VI. II 305-6, Horn 164, F II 58-8, WH I 152-3, Fs. 276-7, Schz. 172, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Kb. 488, KM 320-1, SB 92, Vn. C 257, RE 89, Dtn. 249, Billy 60, Frn. 1033-5, En. 259, Sl. 56-7, Wn. 238-9, Ad. 179, Ad. H 19, Mer. HHG 112, ABIV III 250-1 (on HrLw ś- < IE *k̂-), Pv. IV 305 || **HS**: S: Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} qānib- 'lupus latrans', {BK} 'loup qui hurle' (in all probability, from N *k̂üyaṅ + N marker of animal names *bA; in Ar the word was transferred into a 1a:2i3-pattern due to its reinterpretation as an act. prtc. (of a non-existing verb) ¶ Fr. III 502, BK II 818 || B: Gnc GC {Wlf., AiM} CUNA†'dog', Gnc T {AiM} CANCHA ~ CUNCHA 'dog, puppy' ¶ Wlf. 483-4, AiM 256 || Om {Blz.} *k̂jan- ~ *k̂yan 'dog': NrOm > Mj {C} k̂yano, Na {Fl.} k̂iano, Bnc {Wdk.} k̂yan, Shk {Fl.} keanu, Ym {Wdk.} k̂anà, Bdt/Bsk/Male/Oyda/Drz/BMa {Fl.}, Kcm/Dc/Gm/Dwr {Lm.}, BMa/GaMa {Bnd.} kana, Zs/Cha/Wl {C} kanā, Wl {Nnd.} k̂naṅAnf {MYTY, Gt.} kano, {MYTY} kenon, Kf {C} kunāno, Mch {L} k̂na·no, Shn {Lm.} kaná id. || SOm: Dm {Si.} k̂ene, Ari G {Fl.} kani id. ¶ Blz. OL #123, Blz. rLmS 148, 153, C SE III 78, 115, 170, 204, IV 462, C SO 31, 44, L M 37, Fl. OWL, Wdk. BY 106, 127, 150, Bnd. AL 148, Lm. Sh 227, ≈ HL 120, MYTY 117, 121, Gt. 354 || EC: Ya kohen 'dog', pl. kwehman ¶ Hn. Y II 123 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} k̂wēṅ 'dog' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} k̂anà, Jg {J} kañ, Brg {J} k̂ayāṅ, Mgm {JA} k̂āññà id. || ? CCh: Gmrg {Gr. < ?} kenī, {Bnt.} k̂ēnee 'dog' ¶ J R 87, J J 59-60, JI II 106-7, JA 97, Gr. N 371 ¶¶ Blz. rLmS 153 || **U**: FP *k̂üyaṅ (IS) *k̂üynä 'wolf' > Prm {IS} *k̂ōyin (LG) *k̂ōin - *k̂ion) 'wolf' > Z k̂zin, Yz k̂ōin, Vt G k̂ṽyon, in other Vt dialects wih as. *t̂y > i(y): Vt Δ k̂iyon, StVt k̂ion || Lp N XVIII {Leem} gaidne 'wolf' (Wc.: "veraltet"), Lp N {Fri.} gāidne 'devil (diabolus, fanden)' (interpreted by LG 139 and IS I 361 as gāid'ne) ¶ LG 139, Lt. J 129, Wc. EPS-1912 131, U SC 93 || ?φ A *k̂'ṽaṅ > pKo {S} *k̂āṅ- 'dog' > MKo k̂ahí (S): < *k̂āṅ-h- < *kaṅṽ-k-) 'dog', NKO k̂ā, Ko ds.: Ph/PhN/SI/NW k̂ā, Chs k̂ā, Ks k̂ē:, Hm k̂ā id.; MKo k̂āṅ'ācī > NKO k̂aṅāžī 'puppy' ¶ S QK #18, Rm. SKE 84-5, Nam 8, 28, MLC 61, 65 || NaT *k̂'ṽaṅçIk (DQA) *k̂'ṽaṅ-çIk) 'bitch' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg, Qmq, QbT, Brb, Qrg qančiq, VTt Δ qanš̂bq, SbTt qanč̂bq, MQp XIII qanč̂iq, Tk kancik, Az ганчыг qanžiq, Tkm qanžiq, Ggz kanžik, Uz, ET qanžiq, Nog qanžiq, Qzq, Qq qanš̂iq, TbTt/Qmn {Rl.} qanciq, Bsh qansay ¶ Cl. 634-5, ET KQ 255-6, TL 190 ¶¶ The A √ belongs here only if the pN etymon was *k̂üyaṅ with loss of N *-üy- in the prehistory of A ¶¶ S

AJ 296, ≈ DQA # 723 (A *kán̄▽ 'dog'; incl. Ko, T) ◇ IS I 361-2 [#238] (IE, Om, U + unc.: S *ka_la_lb- 'dog', Sa karē, Ch *✓kr and *✓kl 'dog', Tg *(η)inda- 'dog') ◇ Gr. II #105 (*kan ~ *kun 'dog') (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA + qu. Ko).

1084. *Kaḥḥi 'to hasten, to endeavour' > IE: NaIE *ken- v. 'hasten to do (sth.), strive with zeal' > Gk [Hs.] κονεῖν · ἐπειγέσθαι, ἐνεργεῖν 'to hasten to do\act', inv. κόνει · σπεῦδε, τρέχε 'hasten, run!', Gk ἄ-κονῖτί 'without effort', ἔγ-κονέω 'I am quick and active' ||| L cōnor / cōnārī 'exert oneself (eine körperliche Anstrengung machen), endeavour, attempt' ||| pClit *kān- ≈ accomplish' > MW dī-gōni 'makes, does', MW dīchawn, dīgawn, W dīchon 'can', dīgōni v. 'labour, be able' ||| ?? SI *kon-ati 'do, achieve' (× *konati 'complete, carry to an end' ← *konь 'end') > Cz konati 'do, achieve', Slk konat' 'fulfill', Slv konáti 'accomplish', OP konać 'act', P do-konać 'fulfill', R Δ конать 'do, perform', OCS ukonь 'execution, deed' ¶ P 562, WH I 262, ≈ LS 977 (unc.: κονέω 'hasten' ← 'raise dust'), ≈ Ch. 562 (unc.: ἄ-κονῖτί 'without struggle' ← ? *'without dust' ← *κόνις 'dust'), YGM-1 173, 181, ESSJ X 181-2, EI 362 (*kon- 'do, make') || **HS:** WS *✓kḥḥi 'be zealous, eager', 'be jealous, envious' > JA {Js.} ✓kḥḥi D 'be zealous for, be jealous', Gz ✓kḥḥi 'be envious \ jealous \ zealous \ eager', BHb ✓kḥḥi D (pf. **𐤀𐤊𐤍** kḥḥnē, ip. 3s **𐤀𐤊𐤍** yā-kānḥnē) (+ -𐤁 la- + noun) 'be envious\jealous of, fight for, become excited about\against', ChrPA ✓kḥḥi D 'sich bemühen um, nacheifern', Mh/Sq {Jo.} ✓kḥḥi 'be jealous' ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-11, Js. 1390-1, L G 433, Jo. M 232 ¶ In the S ✓ the meaning 'be jealous, envy' is due to the contamination with the reflex of N *Kḥḥu 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' (q.v.) || **D** *kaḥḥi- (?) 'hasten, be quick' > Tm kaḥḥa 'speedily, quickly', ? Tl kranna, krannana 'quickly, rapidly, soon, at once' (the cns. r is puzzling; ḥ for the expected ḥ may be due to as. caused by a ḥ-sx.) ¶¶ D #1181 ◇ D *-ḥ- < palatalized *-ḥ- (both N *-ḥ- and positionally palatalized N *-ḥ- or *ḥ-). Since pN *-ḥ- is ruled out by the IE reflex (because *-ḥ- would have yielded IE *y), the N word must have had a nasal *-ḥ- with a following palatalizing factor (*-i?).

1085. *Kḥḥu (> as. *Kḥḥu'ü') 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be jealous, envy') > IE: NaIE *kwen- 'exercise magic' (→ 'participate in magic ceremonies, sacrifice') > Av cmpr. span-yah 'more sacred, sanctior', sprl. spaništa- 'most sacred, sanctissimus', (with an *-es-sx. of abstract nouns) spanah-

'sanctity' || Ltv *svinēt* (prs. *svinu*) 'celebrate' || NaIE pp. **k̄wen-*to- 'magic' (→ 'holy') > Av *spānta-* 'holy' || Gt *hunsl* 'sacrifice', AS *hūs(e)l* id., 'Eucharist', ON *húsl* ~ *hunsl* 'Eucharist' || Lt *šveñtas*, Pru *swent-* (in place names) 'holy' || Sl **svĕtъ*, **svĕtъ-jь* id. > OCS **СВАТЬ** *svĕtъ*, Blg *свет*, SCr *svĕt*, Slv *svĕt*, Cz *svatý*, Slk *svätý*, P *święty*, R *святой*, Uk *святой* id. ¶ P 630-1, Brtl. 1612, 1618-23, Vr. 268, Frn. 1041-2, Kar. II 339, En. 260, Glh. 597-8, Vs. III 585, EI 493 (**k̄wen(to)-* 'holy') || **А:** M **kinu-* > WrM *kinu*, HIM *хяна-х* 'have a secret grudge; desire the death of a person', MM [MA] *kinetü ere* 'rancorous man' (*ere* 'man'), ?φ Mnr H {SM} *ć'inž'i* 'anger (colère)', *ć'inž'ila-*, {T} *č'inč'ila-* 'be angry' ¶ Pp. MA 219, MED 470, SM 451-2, T 380 || NaT **k'üni* 'jealousy, jealous; envy' > OT {Cl.} *künī*, Chg *küne* 'jealousy, jealous', ET *künä* 'envy', Tk *gürü*, Tlt {RL} *künü*, Yk *künü* 'envy, jealousy', VTt *кьнь*, StAlt *күһү* *künü* 'jealousy', VTt Δ *кьнѳ-кьѳ* 'jealous', Bsh *көнлә- кьнлә-*, Xk *күһне-* *künne-*, Sg/Qb/Qc {RL} *künnä-*, Tv *xünnä-* 'be jealous', Qq, Nog *künle-*, VTt *көнлә- кьнлә-*, Brb/Kr {RL} *künülä-* 'be jealous/jealous', Alt {RL} *künürköt-* 'make so. jealous', Kr {RL} *künüwč'i* 'jealous', Uz *kunč'i* id., 'jealous'; Tv. 8- points to pT **k'*- (⇔ DQA); (× N **koñi* 'woman, wife'): T **k'üni* 'co-wife' > Tkm *güni* id., Az *күһү* *günü* 'new co-wife', etc. (F s.v. N **koñi* (↑)) ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 104-6, Rl. II 1441-2, BN 90, BT 100, BIG 96, Pek. 1303, TvR 498 || Tg **xüni-* > Ewk *uni-* 'envy, get one's feelings hurt, be unsatisfied (with one's share)', Lm *óń-* 'get one's feelings hurt', Ul, Nn Nh *xuñi-*, Nn KU *uñi-* 'get ill (because so. ate in the presence of so. else and did not invite him to share his food)', Neg *uñi-* id., 'suffer (emotionally)', *uñi-ktɜ* 'hurt feelings', Ud *uñi-* 'get ill' ¶ STM II 273-4 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #923 (A **kuni|e* 'envy, respect': T, M) and ≈ DQA #786 (A **kēñu* 'distress, envy'; incl. M **kinu-*) || **Д** **kiñ-* ({ǰGS} **k-*) > Tm *cinä* 'be enraged, be very angry', Ml *cinam* 'wrath', Td *sinm* 'anger', Kn *kinisu* 'be(come) angry', *kinisu n.* 'anger, wrath', Tl *kinijü* 'be angry \ displeased \ irritated' ¶¶ D #1600, Km. 330 (pSD **kin-*) || **HS:** WS **✓kñ?* 'be jealous, envious' (× N **Ḳañ?* 'to hasten, to endeavour') > JA *✓kñy D* 'be jealous', JEA {Sl.} *✓kñy D* 'warn one's wife for unfaithfulness', Gz *✓kñ?* 'be jealous, envious', BHb *✓kñ? D* (pf. *ḲḲḲ Ḳin'nē*, ip. 3s *ḲḲḲ* *yā-Ḳan'nē*) (+ *-Ḳ lə-* + noun) {KBR} 'be envious of, rebel against', {trad.} 'be jealous of'), Mh/Sq {Jo.} *✓kñ?* 'be jealous'; the meaning 'be zealous, eager' of this S verb (BHb/JA/ChrPA/Gz *✓kñ?* id.) is due to the merger

with N ***Kān̄ʔi** '↑' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-10, GB 716, Js. 1390-1, Sl. 1028, LG 433, LESAC 47, Jo. M 232 ◇ The IE, T, and Tg cognates point to post-N ***Kūnʔ'ū'**, which is probably a secondary variant resulting from assimilation ***i...u > *ū...'ū'** ◇ IS I 352-3 [#229] (***Kīn'ū'** 'be angry, jealous'; S, T, M, D + ***÷** Eg **ḵnd** 'be angry' [belongs to N ***KEn̄ʔ** 'be angry']).

1086. *Kōn'h'∇ 'yellow' (or 'ε a yellow substance'?) > **HS**: Eg **fNK ḵny.t** 'ε a yellow mineral used as dye-stuff' ¶ EG V 52 || C: SC {E} ***kán-** 'yellow, tan, gray': Irq **qañ** {MQK} 'white, red, and black dotted colour of cow (with white stripes)', Asa {E} **ḵānet** 'gray clay', ?? SC **ḵ** → Mb **makéña** 'new grass', **-keña** 'young' ¶ E SC 251, MQK 84-5 || S ***o✓ḵnʔ** > Ar **✓qnʔ** 'be red', **ḵaqnaʔ-** 'red' ¶ BK II 818 || **IE** ***k^ωnh-** / ***k^ωnh₂-** > **NaIE** (+ ext.) {P} ***k_onə'ko-** (for ***k^ω_onə'ko-**) (< **IE** ***k^ωnh(o)ko-** ~ ***k^ωnh₂ko-**) 'yellow (as honey or gold)' > **OI** **'kanaka-** (< ***konh₂ko-**) 'gold', **kāncana-** 'golden', **kāncanānam** 'gold' || Gk **κνῆκος**, Gk Mc **kanako** 'saffron' (**→** Gk **κνηκός**, Gk D **κνᾶκός** 'pale yellow, tawny, saffron-coloured') || Pru **cucan** (mishearing or miswriting for ***kuncan**?) 'brown' || the Gmc word for 'honey' (× **IE** ***k^honk-s** {AD} 'honey; honey-coloured' < N ***K'U'ḵ₁H₁∇** 'bee'): **ON** **hunang**, **OSw** **hunagh**, **OSx** **huneg**, **honeg**, **OHG** **honag**, **NHG** **Honig**, **AS** **hunež** 'honey', **NE** **honey** || **AnIE** **→** Gk **Hm** **κύανος** 'cyan, a dark-blue substance (used to adorn works in metal)'; ?? **Ht** **ku(wa)nnan** 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N ***kiw₁∇₁h'ē'** 'stone') ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ **WP**, **P**, **EI**) **L** **canicae** 'bran' (adduction that leads to an unj. rec. of **IE** ***k-**) ¶¶ **WP** I 400, P 564-5, ≈ **EI** 271 (***k^honk-s** / gen. ***k^honk-os** 'honey-coloured, golden'), **M** **K** I 195, **F** I 882-3 and II 37, **Ch.** 547, **Vr.** 266, **Kb.** 478, **Schz.** 169, **Ho.** 178, **Ho. S** 38, **En.** 198, **Tr.** **P** **K-L** 349-51, **Frd.** **HW** 118, 122, **Ts.** **W** 43, **Ts. E** I 688-92, **Pv.** IV 308-11 || **A**: **M**: **WrM** **qongur**, **HIM** **xonrop** 'fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut' (of a horse) ¶ **MED** 962 || **?** **φ** **D** (in **TmM**) ***^okan₂** 'copper' > **Tm** **kan** 'copper work, copper', **kanān** 'brazier', **MI** **kanān** id. (unless a **WW**, cp. **Ht**) ¶ **D** #1402 ◇ Both the typology of colour-names and the ev. of Eg, Gk, and SD suggest that the N word in question was not a pure colour-name but rather a name of some yellow substance ◇ The N lr. that turned to **ʔ** in Ar, but survived in IE, may have been only ***h**. This lr. has left traces in M and D (N ***-n'h'** - > M ***-n₂g-**, D ***n₂**), but lost in Eg. IE and M point to a pN ***o**, therefore the D cognate is dubious because of its unexpected vw. ***-a-**.

1086a. (₂?) * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{U}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{H}_2\text{V}$ or * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{U}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{H}_1\text{V}$ 'bee' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} *kinn- ~ *kann- 'bee' > Or kann-i-sa, Or B kinn-i-sa, Kns xan-ta, Gdl han-t(a), pSam {Hn.} *činn-i > Sml šinn-i, Rn činn-i ¶ Ss. PEC 6, 24, Hn. S 77 || ? B: [1] * $\text{v}^{\text{r}}\text{kndw}$ > ETwl/Ty {PGG} kəndəwi 'miel végétal, jus d'anzan mûr (fruit de l'arbre tādant)' || [2] ≈ * $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}$ > Tmz {MT} ti-yinžgg^wa 'guêpes (vivant dans les trous)', Zn {Loub.} a $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}(\text{n})\text{ž}^{\text{r}}\text{ugg}^{\text{w}}\text{i}$ 'guêpe' ¶ PGG 158, Loub. 532, MT 496 || **D:** SD *ku|on^r'n^ri 'bee' > Irl, PaK kunni, Kt kuñy id., Tu koñi, koñđi 'a sting' ¶ D #1867 || ? **IE** * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-}/\text{*k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{k-}$ ({EI} * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-s}$ [gen. * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{k-os}$]) {AD} 'honey, honey-coloured' (× N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{on}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{V}$ 'yellow', q.v. ffd.) > Gmc *hunanga- 'honey' > ON hunang, Sw honung, Dn honning, OHG hona(n)g ~ honig, NHG Honig, OSx huneg, honeg, hanig, Du honi(n)g, AS hunez id., NE honey || ?? **AdS** of Tc B {Ad.} kro(n)kše 'bee' (< N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ERH}_2\text{V}_3\text{V}$ 'hornet, wasp') ¶ EI 271, KM 315-6, Ad. 217 ◇ If IE * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-}$ and B ≈ * $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}$ belong here (which is not obvious), the initial N cns. is * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{-}$, otherwise it may be * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{-}$. N ***H** is to be reconstructed only if the IE cognate is valid and has inherited the lr. from the N etymon in question rather than from N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{on}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{V}$ 'yellow' ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#69] (EC, D, Gmc).

1087. * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{anyV}$ 'skin, film, bark' > **HS:** EC: Brj 'kana, 'kanō {Ss.} 'bark of tree', {Hd.} 'piece of bark'; HEC d. v. *kan-s- (with the causative sx. *-s-) > Brj kān-s-, Ged kōn-š-, Kmb kan-š- v. 'peel (e.g. sugar cane)', whence Brj {Hd.} kansa 'strip of bark' and Kmb kanšanata 'strip of bark of sugar cane' ¶ Hd. 111, 203, 207, Ss. B 114 || **K** * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{an-}$ 'skin, bark' > G $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{an-i}$ {Chx.} 'skin, hide', {DCh.} 'fine skin, skin of fruit, film, fine leather, bark', Sv: {Ni.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$ 'bark', UB {GP} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$ 'skin of plants', UB/Ln {TK} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$, L {TK} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{an}$ 'skin' ¶¶ Chx. 547, DCh. 592, GP 128, Ni. s.v. 'kopa', TK 344 || **IE:** NaIE *(s)k $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{en-}$ (d-) 'skin': [1] *k $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{en-}$ (d-) OIr ceinn 'coquille, écaille', W {Vn., YGM} cen, {P} cenn (< *kend-n-) 'film, scales', OCrn cenn-en 'film, skin', OBr {Flr.} cenn-enn 'membrana (pellicule, enveloppe)', MBr quenn 'skin', Br kenn 'scurf' ('crasse de la tête, pellicules; scories'), -ken 'skin' in cds.: bu-ger 'skin of cattle', etc. || ON hinna 'thin skin, peritoneum' (< *kend-n-), Sw hinna, Dn hinde, NNr hinne 'film', AS hionne 'meninx' ('Hirnhaut') || [2] *sk $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{en-}$ 'skin' > Br skant 'scales' (< *sk $\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{to-}$) || ON skinn '(stripped off) skin, hide' (→ AS scinn 'Pelz' > NE skin), Sw, NNr skinn, Dn skind 'skin, hide, fur', MHG schint 'skin of fruit', Dt Δ schinde 'skin, hide, bark'; d.: OHG scinten d scinden, MHG, MLG schinden 'to

skin, to mistreat' ¶ WP II 563-4, P 929-30, Vn. C 55, Flr. 102, YGM-1 82, Hm. 446, 725, Vr. 228, 493, Ho. 160, 279, Kb. 884, OsS 796-7, Lx. 184, KM 650 || A: T *Kańak (~ *Kańmak > *Kaymak) 'skin of milk' > [1] OT qayaq ~ qanaq id., Xk χayaχ, Sg/Qb/Qc/Bltr {Rl.}, Shor qayaq 'butter', SY qayaq, Xlj qānaq 'cream', Yk χayaχ ~ χaŷaχ 'butter mixed with water and milk, white Yakut butter', [2] Chg, MQp qaymaq 'skin of milk, cream on the top of the milk', Tkm qaymaq, Qmq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Brb, Bsh, ET, Alt qaymaq, Ggz kaymak, Chv χьума 'cream, sour cream', Tk kaymak, CrTt, Qzq, Qrg qaymaq, Uz qaymaq 'cream', Blq qaymaq, Qzl χaymaχ 'sour cream' ¶ Cl. 636, Rs. W 231, ET KQ 200-1, TL 454, DTz. WCh 173, Md. 31, 166, BIG 266, 282, Rl. II 90, Tn. SJJ 199, Fed. II 319-20 ¶ The variant *Kaymak may be interpreted as *Kańmak with *-mak due to some lexical/morphological attraction (possibly of *Kasmaq 'skin of milk' [> VTt qasmaq, Chv χisma, etc.] or other words with the nominal sx. *-mak, which is used to build abstract nouns [→ nomina collectiva], / Rs. MTS 134-5, Jeg. 315, Fed II 383-4, Md. 103, 166) || ? pKo {S} *kʰánʰam 'cloth, material' > MKo kʰánʰam id., NKo kām 'stuff, material' ¶ S QK #967, Nam 13, MLC 49 ¶¶ DQA #2743 (A *kóńile 'cloth' > pKo *kʰánʰam, T *kʰōn 'raw hide for tanning, leather', M *kōn-ǰil, i.e. *kōnǰile(n) 'blanket, bedcover, quilt') ◇ Acc. to IS's theory, the *s mobile in IE is connected with the presence of a palatal element (here *y) within the original √.

1088. *Kǎh̄lȳû 'light (levis), thin' > U: FU (in Ugr only) *küh̄lȳü (~ *kiw̄h̄¹∇?) > ObU *küh̄əȳ-/ *küh̄əȳ- ~ *kiȳh̄¹- 'light (levis)' > Vg: T küńke-ś, LK/MK kəɣnə, UK kīɣnə, P/NV/LL kinna; pOs *kōh̄əȳ ({Hl.} *kǎh̄əȳ) 'light, easy' > Os: MY kǎh̄əɣ, Y kōnəɣ, D/K/Kr/Nz/Sh kenə, Kz keñ, Sn keñ, O qon || Hg kōrnyǔ 'light, easy' ¶ UEW 862, Stn. D 648, PD 693 ¶¶ In Ugr one may see assimilative labialization of the first vw. in *küh̄lȳü and a mt. of the labial element in *kiw̄h̄¹∇ || A: M *kōngēn 'light (levis)' > MM [MA, IsV] kōngēn, [IM, HI] kōngen 'light, cheap', WrM kōngen, HIM xəh̄gəh̄ id., Brt χūngen 'easy', WrO kōngen, Kl {Rm.} kūngŋ ~ gūngŋ, Ord k'ōngen, Mnr H {T} kōngen, {SM} k'ūnḡuān, Dx kōngen, Mgl {Rm.} kūngōn 'light' (of weight); M *kōnge- 'be(come) light' > MM [S] d. kōngelegü- 'erleichtern', WrM kōnge- 'become easy', WrO kōngü- 'be easy, light' ¶ pM *-gēn (> WrM -ger) is a sx. of nominal derivation (/ Pp. GWM 45, Pp. GPMJ 95) ¶ Pp. MA 223, 440, Lg. VMI 51, Ms. H 72, MED 488-9, KW 246, Rm. M 31, T 340, T DnJ 123, SM 214, Krg. 735, KRS 316, H 104 || Tg *xeńu ({Bz. *xāniü-), *xeń'ū' mkun 'light

(levis)' > Nn Nh/B хз́ну, Ork хз́numi, хзnumi, хзnuли, Ewk ә́nimkūn, Sln зниккӯ:, Lm зyim, зyumkun 'light', Orc хә́nimi, Ul хз́ну, хә́numu 'light, (?) easy', Ud {Krm.}: B знимзсз?, Sm знимуса? 'easy' ¶ STM II 455-6, Krm. 314, Bz. 38 [§ 51b], Pt. 151, Shn. 33, Sun. UJ 255, CiR RES 246 || T *k_l'jä- 'easy' > OT [MhK] кеҗес 'easy' (e.g., of a task), 'shallow (water)', XwT XIV кеҗес ~ кеҗез 'easy, convenient', OQp XIII кеҗез 'easy', Yk kähän 'simple-hearted, naive', Chv kanas 'idleness, rest' ('Безделье, покой, отдых') ¶ The unexpected *-η- may be due to the infl. of T *кеҗü- 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 734, Pek. 1029, Ash. VI 53 || pKo {S} *k'ánár- 'thin, fine' > MKo k'ánár-, NKo kanI- ¶ S QK #446, Nam 9, MLC 5 || pJ {S} *k'zma- 'small (мелкий, menu), thin' > OJ k_lu_lómáka-, J: T komaká-i, K kómákà-, Kg komaká-, Sh guma-, Y gumá- ¶ S QJ #127, Mr. 455, Kenk. 1037 ¶¶ DQA #1004 (A *k'èñó 'light (levis), thin': M, Tg, Ko, J, T) || HS: Ch *✓k(y)n 'small' > WCh: Hs қàнқàнè 'small, little', Mbr {Sk.} k'iyìn 'small' || CCh: Mln {ChL} k'ýèη, Bdm {Lk.} gèrã, Lame {ChL} k'wán+yǎǎ id. || Ech: Kwn {J} končé, Jg {J} kóyán, Kjr kañi id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 554, Blz. EChWL #76 || ? S rdp. *✓kñkñ > Ar qunquf- 'small, short' ¶ BK II 825 ◇ The labialized vowels of the first syll. in pU (*ü) and pM (*ö) are due to regr. as. ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [#226] (*k'eñu = *k'eñu; U, A + unc. IE *kēn- 'empty'). IS supposed that Tg *-ñ- is a reg. reflex of N *-ñ-, which is not confirmed by other examples, but is theoretically possible. I prefer a tentative rec. of *y following the nasal *ñ. FU *ü and M *ö of the first syll. are labialized as a result of regr. as. (*-ä...û > FU *-ü...ü... and M *ö...).

1089. *k_luñy ▽ 'ashes, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)ken_lH₁- id. (< ***(s)keuñ-?) > L cinis (gen. ciner-is) 'ashes' ({WH}: < **kenis) || Gk κόνης (gen. κόνητος ~ κόνητος) 'dust, ashes' || Tc B eñcuwañe kentse 'rust' (lit. 'iron ash\dust') || pAl {O} skina > Al hi ~ hî 'ashes' ¶ WH I 217-8, F II 911-2, Ad. 193-4, O 147, EI (? *kenhi-s 'ashes'), P 559-60 || U: FU *ko|un|ñ ▽ > FP *ko|un ▽ 'ashes, lye' > pLp {Lr.} *kunз 'ashes' > Lp: S guvne, L kutna, N gudnâ, Kld kunn id. | Chr: L/H/B kon 'lye' | Prm: Z Lu/I kun 'lye', Z кунва kun-va 'lye (alkaline solution)' (va 'water') || ? Yk K {Krm.} kun-te-m 'he soiled (загрязнил)' (acc. to Krm., ← kud-u-1 'dirt') ¶¶ UEW 672, Lr #406, Lgc. #2796-7, MRS 216, Ep. 46, LG 146, Krm. IMJJ 24 || A: pKo *k'ínir- 'ashes' > MKo k'ínirim, NKo kirim ¶ S QK #659, Nam 69, MLC 240 || D *kuñta, {GS} guñda 'dust, powder' > Tl guñda, Mnd guñda 'powder', Prj guñdam id., guñda 'dust', Knd guñda

'powder, dust', Png *gunḍa*, Ku *gunḍa* 𐌆 *gūndū* 'flour', Krx *gunḍā* id., 'powder', Mlt *gunḍi* 'dust'; D 𐌃𐌆 OI *gunḍaka-* 'dust, powder' ¶ D #1692, GS # 466, Tu. #4193 ◊ IE *s-* mobile and pKo **-ń-* suggest the presence of a word-medial palatal element (sc. N **y* in **Ḷuḿy* ▽). As mentioned in the Introduction (§ 2.4), N **Ḷu-* (with word-medial **y*) loses its expected labial element in IE **(s)k-* (rather than **(s)kʷ-*) ◊ Blz. LB #4c (IE, U; Blz. was the first to adduce the Yk cognate).

1090. *Ḷoḿč ▽ 'to scratch (so.'s body or sth.), to wound, to make suffer' (→ 'to suffer' > HS: S **o* ✓ *knθ* > Ar 𐌁𐌃𐌆 ✓ *knθ* *G* vt. 'grieve' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935, Hv. 667 || K: G *Ḷečn-* 'j-m eine Streifwunde beibringen, j-n streifen, ritzen', 'make incisions' ¶ Chx. 573, DCh. 606 ¶ The plain **Ḷ-* (for the expected **Ḷʷ-*) is still to be explained (delabialization connected with the mt.?) || IE: NaIE **kʷentʰ-* v. 'suffer' ('leiden, dulden') > Gk *πένης* 'suffering', *πάσχω* (< **kʷentʰ-sk̑-*) 'I suffer' (ft. *πέσομαι* < *kʷentʰ-so-*) || Lt *kēsti* (1s prs. *kenčiū*) 'to endure, to suffer' ('aushalten, leiden'), Ltv *cīest* 'to suffer, to endure' || OIr *césaid* 'he suffers', *céss(a)im* 'I suffer' (< **kʷentʰ-se/o-* or < *kʷentʰ-se/o-*) ¶ As shown by J. Rasmussen, the prs./ft. forms with **-sk̑-* and **-se/o-* (Gk *πάσχω*, OIr *céss(a)im*) point to a monophonemic origin of **tʰ*, otherwise we would have expected **ə* preceding the cnss. (like Gk **πατάσκω*, etc.) ¶ P 641, F II 478-9, Frn. 246-7, Vn. C 79-80, Ped. VG I 53, 87, 178, II 486, Rsm. AT 86, EI 413 (**kʷentʰ-* 'suffer') || ?σ U: FU **koḿč* ▽ {Rd.} 'Striche ziehen, Striche zeichnen' > Prm: Z {W} *šera koč* 'a spot (on animal's hide) (*šera* 'many-coloured, motley'), Z P/Sk/Ss/Ud {SZ} *šera koča*, Z I (*šera*) *kuča* 'pitted, motley' ('рябой, пестрый'), StVt, Vt S *kučo* *kučo*, Vt Kz *kъčo* 'motley, piebald (a horse)' ('пестрый, пегий, чубарый'), Vt Y *kúčo*, Vt Uf *křč°* 'motley, spotted' || ObU {Ht.} **kǎñč-* > pVg **kǎñš-*, **kǎñšān-* > Vg: T {Mu.} *khǎnš-*, P {Mu.} *khanš-*, T/P {Kn.} *kanš-*, K {Mu.} *khǎns-*, N {Mu.} *xans-* v. 'write', T {Mu.} *khǎn'sǎn* 'bunt'; pOs **kǎñča-* / **kǎñč+*, **kǎñčan* ({HI.} **křñča-* / - + / -an) > Os: V *qǎñča-*, V/Vy *qǎñč+*, Ty *qǎñč-*, Y *qǎñč-*, D/K *Ḷǎñč-*, Nz *Ḷaš-*, Kz *Ḷǎñš-*, O *Ḷǎš-*, *Ḷǎns-* v. 'write', V/Ty *qǎñčan*, D/K *Ḷǎñčan*, Kz *Ḷǎñšan* 'bunt' ¶ UEW 176, Ht. 152 [#283], SZ 167, U3S 236.

1091. *ḶuḿigU (= **ḶuḿigU*?) 'to bend, to incline, to bow' > IE: NaIE **kneigʷh-* vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N **Ḷa'Ḷ'igu* 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.], to hang down' [q.v.]) > L *cōniueō* (< **kon-*

knī(g)uēō) (inf. -ēre, pfc. cōnīvī ~ cōnixī, pp. cōnixus) 'close the eyes, wink, blink with the eyes', nītor (inf. nīti, prtc. nīsus ~ nixus, [Fest.] gnixus) 'lean, support oneself, rest' (nītor genibus 'I kneel', nītor cubito 'I lean on my elbows'), Um CONEGOS, kunikaz 'conixus' || Gmc *xnīʒʷ-/*xnīʒʷ-/*xnajʒʷ-: inf. *hnīʒʷ-an 'to bow, to be bent, to sink' > Gt hneiwan / p. hnaiw 'κλίνειν, declinare' (of the day) [Lc. 9.12], ana-hneiwands act. prtc. 'procumbens' [Mk. 1.7], ON hníga 'to bow, to sink, to fall', AS hnīʒan 'to bend\sink down, to bow', OSx hnīgan 'sich neigen, anbeten', OHG nīgan 'to bow (sich neigen vor, niederbücken)', NHG neigen 'to bend over, to incline' ¶ P 608, ≈μ EI 348 (*knej-gʷh- 'lean'), WH I 261, Som. L² 646, Bc. G 331, Fs. 265-6, Vr. 242-3, Ho. S 35, Ho. 166, Kb. 726, OsS 409, KM 506-7 || **U** *kuŋk^e > Sm {Jn.} *kuŋk^h n. 'curve, bend' > Ne T † xυηγ, T O {Lh.} ʒūŋk 'Bug des Bootes', ʒu·ŋgarc 'doppelt biegen', Ne F {Lh.} kuŋkarǵtaś 'gekrümmte Ränder haben' ¶ Jn. 78 || **A**: T *k'īŋ- (or *k'īŋ- ≈ *k'īyŋ-?) > [1] d. *k'īŋIR (or *kīŋIR) 'crooked, squint-eyed' > OT qīŋIR id., Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, ET Δ qīŋIR 'crooked', Tkm qīŋIR 'angry', Kr qīŋŷIR, Uz qīŋŷir, Ln qīni, Xk χīyīr 'crooked', Tv χīŷīr 'squint-eyed'; [2] Ln d. qīŋla- 'become crooked \ leaning on one side', Yk kīŋnaŷ- vi. 'incline, bend on one side'; [3] Qrg qīŋqay- 'be leaning over, become crooked'; [4] *k'īŋçIR > Chg {PC} قينچير qīnčIR, Uz ("Chg") {Rl., Bu.} qīnčir, VTt Δ qēnǵēr 'squint-eyed', Chv χēnǵēr id., 'crooked'; [5] Tkm gīyīq 'crooked, oblique' ¶ The delabialization *u > T *i is attested in several roots (cp. N *K_ul_hč_v 'worm' > NaT *°KīçI 'intestinal worm') and is still to be investigated ¶ Cl. 639, Rs. W 264-5, ET Q 220-1, PC 452, Rl. II 860, Bu II 106, BIG 298, Tkr 230 || Tg *xūŋke- > Ewk uŋkēldī- vi. 'bow (before so.)', uŋkēru- id., 'bow one's head', Ud x₃ŋkī-, Ul, Nn k₃ŋk₃l₃-, Ned k₃ŋk₃t- 'bow (before so.)' ¶ The cognates with k- are due to as. (?) ¶ STM II 278 || pJ {S} *kúnkúm- 'be curved\bent' > OJ kugum-, [RJ] kúgúmar- ¶ S QJ #1328, Mr. 715 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ūŋka 'to bend, to bow', ≈ DQA #1082 (A *k'jūŋu v. 'bend, bow'; rec. of *j is due to the unc. adduction of M *kiyi- ~ *keye- > WrM keyege 'slanting, leaning to one side', keyede- 'bend dow, lean\slant to one side') || **K** *°k_un^g- (or *°k_un₃- ?) > Zan **k_un₃- → G Gr k_un₃- 'sich bücken, ducken' ¶ Chx. 642 ¶¶ Zan *₃ goes back to patalized *g?? || **D** *kūŋ- ({^gGS} *k-) 'be in a bowed position' >

Kt ku'n- id., Tm kṽṽu- v. 'curve', Gnd guṇ- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D #1927 || AdS of HS *✓knɿ ≈ be bent, bow, incline' (< N *kū_uṽṽn̄ûɿA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *-ṽ- may go back either to N *-n- or to *-ŋ- < N *-ñig-. Therefore an unequivocal rec. of a N *-n- (*k'ṽunigU) is not justified enough. The rules and conditions of the Turkic delabialization of N *u (*u > T *I) need investigating ◇ We can be sure about the N initial *k- only if the K cognate is valid. Otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified N *K- (= *k- or *q-).

1092. *K̄an_uK_uE 'to singe, to glow' > IE: NaIE *kenk- v. 'parch, dry up, cause burning pain' > Gk Hm κάγκανος 'dry (trocken, dürr)', Gk [Hs.] καγκάλνει '(he) parches, dries (sth.)', Gk Hm πολυ-καγκῆς (δίψα) 'parching', Gk πολυ-καγκῆς 'very dry (land)' || Lt kan̄kā 'pain', keñkt̄i 'to harm, to hurt' ¶ ≈ WP I 401, ≈ P 565 (*÷ Gmc {Fs.} *xun̄xru- 'hunger'), ≠ EI 284 (*kenk- 'hunger' ← 'burn, hurt'; *÷ words for 'hunger', see N ?φ ≈ *K̄a'g'Eñā 'be hungry'), FI 750-1, Ch. 478, Frn. 240 || A: Tg *xeng- 'burn slightly, singe' > Nn Nh x̄ñḡi- v. 'singe', Ewk zḡgur̄ē- vi. 'burn slightly, singe' ¶ STM II 457 ¶¶ The front vw. is probably due to vw. harmony (A **k'añKE > *k'añK̄ > Tg *xeng-) || D *kaṽ- ({GS} *k-) 'burn, glow, be very hot' > Tm kaṽi 'be redhot, glow, get angry', kañal 'fire', Ml kanal 'live coals', k̄anal 'heat, glare', Kt kañ redhot', Kn kanal v. 'glow like live coals', Tl kanal̄u 'be angry, burn, give pain', Kui kamba 'be burned/injured by fire' ¶¶ D #1406.

1093. ₂ *K̄'E'ñit̄ > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ *k̄nid- 'louse, nit' (× N ? *ñit̄û 'worm[s], maggot[s], nit', q.v.) > Arm ախիծ anic 'nit' (c < *d-s) || pAl {O} *canidā > Al: G th(ë)'nī, T th(ë)'rī 'louse' || Gk κούγ, mostly pl. κούγδες 'eggs of lice, fleas, and bugs; nits' (o on the analogy of κόυγ 'dust?') || W pl. nedd, Cm nēth coll. (snglt. nedhen), Br nez 'nits' || AS hnit̄u, NE nit̄, OHG niȝ, MHG niȝ, niȝȝe, NHG Niß, Nisse 'nit' || In Gmc and BSl there is a variant *g^hni(:)d- 'nit' (*g^h- due to the infl. of *g^hen- 'scratch'??) > ON, Nr Δ gnit̄, OSw gnether, Sw gnet̄, Dn gnid̄ 'nit' || Ltv gnīda 'nit', ? Lt glīnda id. (dis.: < ≈ *gni_unda and/or × ÷ L lens / lendis?) || Sl *gnida id. > Blg, R, Uk Гнида, SCr gnjīda, Slv gnīda, Cz, Slk hnida, P gnida ¶ P 608, FI 912-3, Hm. 598, YGM-1 342, ECCE 774, Hamp AIEW 146, O 476, Ho. 16, Kb. 732, , OsS 410, Lx. 152, Vr. 179-80, Sl̄t. 121-2, Frn. 157-8, Kar. I 304, ESSJ VI 173-4, EI 357 (*k̄(o)nid- 'nit') ¶ The variant *g^hni(:)d- may be due to euphemistic, tabuistic, or other "expressive" modifications ||

HS: WS *kinn- 'louse' > MHb כִּנָּה ~ כִּינָה kin'nā, JEA כִּינָה, כִּינָה kin'nā 'louse, vermin (Ungezieger)', BHb כֵּן ken, pl. כִּנֵּי kin'n-īm id., {KBR} 'gnat', Jb C שִׁינִית (pl. kúnúm) 'louse', Sq {Jo.} 'kenum (pl. 'kenhawm) id. ¶ KB 461, KBR 483, Lv. II 348-9, Jo. J 133 || EC: Sml {DSI} qandířil, Sml N {Abr.} qandířil ~ qindířil 'nits' ¶ DSI 487, Abr. S 200 ¶ Sml q̄ (< *ṭ regularly) may be accounted for by an earlier glottalizing as. (*ḳ...ṭ > *ḳ...ṭ) || ? NrOm: Kf {C} č̣i r̄ndō 'small louse' ¶ C SE IV 422 || ? Ch: CCh: WMrg kʷunda, kʷutna 'worm' || (×N *ńE'ɣU' (-ŋ∇) 'larvas, worms, nit[s]', q.v.) WCh: AG: Gmy ńit, Cp r̄iɣεt 'worm' ¶ ChL.

1094. (₂?) *ḲAnt̄∇ '∈ genitalia', 'gland (esp. of genitalia: glans penis, clitoris)' > **HS:** C: Bj {Rop.} kanṭal 'penis' (ṭ = [ṭ]) || EC {ṬSs.} *ḳanṭ- ({Ss.} *k'and'₁-) 'gland' > Sml qanžid 'lymphatic gland', Rn {PG} χánid 'gland', Kns {Bl.} qanditta 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Brj {Ss.} 'ḳand-i ~ ḳan?-i 'clitoris' ¶ Rop. 205, PG 189, Ss. B 124 || SOM: Ari/Gll {Bnd.} ḳanti ~ qanti 'testicles' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || CCh: Pdl kândi, Bk kândà 'vagina' || ? ECh: Ll gúnžùló 'testicles' ¶ JI II 323, ChC, ChL || B *✓knd̄ (< *✓knt̄) > BSn ṭa-kunnīṭ (pl. ṭi-kunnīṭ-īn) 'derrière de l'homme' ¶ Ds. B 95 || **D** (in SD) *kant- ({ṬGS} *k-) ≈ membrum muliebre' > Ml kantu 'membrum muliebre', Td kod 'pubic hair' ¶ D 1210 || ?? **IE:** NPrs kun (< CINPrs kūn) 'vulva' ¶ ≈ EI 507 (IE *kuts'no-s) ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#34] (C, Om, Ch, D).

1095. ₂ *ḲEnt̄∇ 'be angry, be in despair' > **HS:** CS *✓knt̄ id. > MHb Sh חִקְרִיִּת hiḳ'rīṭ 'annoy, vex, make angry', Sr ✓knt̄ G v. 'fear', Ar ✓qnt̄ G (pf. qaniṭa ~ qanaṭa) 'despair', 'désespérer (de qc.)' ¶ BK II 823, Hv. 630, Klein 584 || Eg fMK ḳr̄nd 'be furious\angry, be angry with (so.)', DEg knt̄ 'anger', Cpt: Sd ḲWNT cōnt, B ḲWNT zōnt 'get angry', Sd ḲONT cont, B ḲONT zont 'angry' ¶ EG V 56-7, Fk. 280, Er. 565, Vc. 342 || **U:** FU *kEnt̄∇ > pObU {Hl.} *kēnt 'anger' > Vg *kānt > Vg: MK {Mu.} kānt, N {Mu.} kant 'anger', {BV} Ss kant 'απο', {Kn., BV} Ss kantə 'angry'; pOs {Ht.} *kēnt 'anger' > Y/D/K kēnt, Nz qānt ¶ Ht. #290, BV 33-4.

1096. ₂ *ḲEn̄∇ or *ḲENy∇ 'nest' > **HS:** S *ḳinn- id. > BHb כֵּן ḳen (pl. כִּינֵי ḳin'n-īm), JA כִּינָה ḳin'n-ā, Sr كِنَان k̄en'n-ā id., JEA כִּינָה ḳin'nā, Md ḳina, Ak ḳinn-um 'nest, family' ¶ KB 1036, Js. 1387, Sl. 1013, DM 411, CAD XIII 257, Sd. 922 || **A:** pKo {S} *kín- 'nest' > MKo kín- v. 'nest', kís n. 'nest', NKo kīs kit id. ¶ S QK #993, Nam 83, MLC 282 ◇

K: it is tempting to adduce here G P *ḳanaḫia* 'nest' (Chx. 547), but the structure of the word (its vowels) suggests that it is a loan (from an unknown source). If nevertheless the G word is inherited, the N initial cns. is *ḳ* ≠

1097. ₂ **ḳ'ū'ín* ∇ 'to burn' (intr.) > **A:** NaT **k'öñ-* or **k'üñ-* vi. 'catch fire, burn' > OT *küñ-*, Alt *küy-* id., Tkm *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-* vi. 'burn down', Xk *köy-* vi. 'burn, burn down', Osm *göy-*, Tk *göy-* vt. 'burn, burn up', Uz *kuy-*, Qzq, Qrg *küy-* vi. 'burn', Qq *küy-* 'burn oneself', Nog *küy-* 'be burnt' (food), 'be sunburnt', Yk *köy-* 'burn', Tv *хүюк* '(smell of) sth. burnt' ('Гарь') ¶ Cl. 726, Rs. W 286, 307, 309, ET KQ 88-9, Mng. G 746 ¶ Tkm -*ö-* suggests a pT short *-*ö-*, the length in Yk is an innovation (T **ō* yields Yk **ūō*) || M **keḫsi-* ~ **kö|ḫsi-* > WrM *keḫsi*, HIM *хэнши-* vi. 'burn slightly, brown (as food)', Kl {Rm.} *köḫšj-* *ḫ* *küḫšj-* vi. 'smell of burning'; M **keḫsi-gün* n. 'smell of burning' > WrM *keḫsigün*, HIM *хэншүү*, Brt *хүншүү* n. 'smell of frying food \ of burning', Ord *k'ēḫšū* 'relent de friture, odeur de graisse \ d'os \ de viande brûlés', WrO *keḫšöü* 'odour, fragrance', Kl *күҫшү* *küḫšü* n. 'smell of burning', {Rm.} *köḫšün* n. 'smell of burning bones/fat'; M *ḫ* → WrMc *kuḫšon* ~ *kuḫšun* adj. {Z} 'smelling of sth. slightly burnt (food, wool)', {Hr.} 'angebrannt, brenzlich', *kuḫšu-* v. {Z} 'boil milk', {Hr.} 'anbrennen (Speisen)'; Kl D {Rm.} *küḫküñ-* 'Brand-geruch\geschmack haben, abgebrannt sein', WrM {Rm. ← ?} *ḫ* *küḫküñi-* (id.?) ¶ MED 454, Ms. O 414-5, Krg. 71, Chr. 625, KRS 326, KW 246, S AJ 242, Z 289, Hr. 602 || Tg **xeḫg* ∇- > Nn Nh *ḫḫḫgi-* vt. 'singe\scorch on fire', Ewk *ḫḫḫgūrḫ*- vi. 'get slightly burnt' (of roasted\fried food) ¶ STM II 457 || pKo {S} **k'ínir-* > MKo *k'ínirim*, NKo *k'irim* 'soot', NKo *k'ii-* 'be covered with soot' ¶ S QK #659, Nam 669, MLC 240 || pJ {S} **kyànkàr-* vi. 'burn' > OJ *kyògàr-* {Mr.} 'be burning' (→ 'be passionate, yearning'), J: T/Kg *kogaré-*, Kg *kógáré-* {Kenk.} 'burn with passion for'; pJ **kyanka-sa-* {Mr.} 'burn, scorch; yearn for' > J *kogasu* {Kenk.} 'burn, scorch, singe, char' ¶ S QJ #1074, Mr. 711, Kenk. 1003 ¶¶ S AJ 11, 286 [#256], DQA #1145 (A **k'úñe* 'burn [intr.], get burnt') || **HS:** WCh **ḳ'ḫ^uan* vt. 'burn' > Hs *ḳ'ónà* id. | Wrj {IL} *ḳ'ánùnà*, {Sk.} *k'ánúná*, Cg {Sk.} *ḳ'ênú*, Kry {Sk.} *k'ánú*, My {Sk.} *k'ánú*, Mbr {Sk.} *ḳ'ánú* 'smoke' | Kir {Sh.} *k^wana*, Tala {Sh.} *k^wōn*, Buli {ChL} *kònú* vt. 'burn'; Kir {Sh.} *kən*, {ChL} *k+n*, Tala {Sh.} *kunu*, Gj {Sh.} *kùnò*, Buli {Sh.} *kunù* 'smoke' ¶ Stl. ZCh 212-3 [#629], ChC, ChL || Om {Blz} **ḳi(e)n-* 'burn' > NrOm: BMa {Fl.} *ḳ'eni*

vt. burn' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn', Blz. OL #204 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 174 ◇ Not here (⇔ DQA #1145) D *kaŋ- 'burn, glow' (see N *Ḳan_LK_JE 'to singe, to glow').

1098. ₂ *Ḳoń'ć'∇ 'bark of trees' > HS: EC *✓Ḳunč- > Or {Grg.} Ḳunčē 'peel, fibre covering on plant stem', Or S {Sr.} Ḳunčē 'bark of a tree', Ged Ḳūnč'e 'piece of bark' ¶ Grg. 336, Sr. 356, Hd. 325 || U *końćk∇ ~ *koćk∇ '∈ bark' > F kosku, koskus 'thick bark of trees', Es {W} kosk 'in langen Streifen abgezogene Fichtenrinde oder dicke Rinde' | Prm *kać(ka) '∈ bark' > Z kać 'bark of fir-tree (used as food during famine years)', Yz {Lt.} 'kaćka id., {UEW} 'inner layer of bark', Z US/LL kać 'bark of trees' || Os Ty {KrT} q+ńt 'sap layer under the bark of pine- and birch-trees' | OHg hassag, hassu 'bast, strifes of linden-bast, lime-tree forest', Hg hárs 'lime-tree' || Sm {Jn.} *käsā, {Hl.} *kāsa 'bark of trees' > Ng {Mik.} kasu, En {Cs.} 'sesa, Slq Tz {KKIH} qūst, Kms {KD} k'āzā id. ¶¶ Coll. 91, UEW 179-80, LG 119, MF 269-70, W EDW 350, Lt. J 124, EWU 533, KrT 321, Jn. 65, KKIH 164, Hl. M #474.

1099. *Ḳu_Lń'č'∇ 'worm' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} Ḳešā (pl. Ḳiš), Xm {R} eḡasā, Q {R} ḡešī, Km {CR} ḡašā ~ ḡāšā (pl. ḡas) 'worm' || DhI {EEN} Ḳūci 'bee larva' ¶ AD SF 30, E PC #613, R WB 245, EEN 19 || U *kuñča > FU *kuč∇ ~ *kuñča 'worm (within the body)' > Chr H kučъ 'intestinal worm', Chr Y kucъ, M kučo, YU kucō; ⇨ Chv L Δ {Ash.} куччă ("read as кучы") 'intestinal worm' || ObU {Ht.} *kūñč > pVg *kūñš 'intestinal worm' > Vg: T kōš, P/NV/SV/LL kunš, UL xūns id.; pOs *kuñč(∇) > Os: K ḡunč, D ḡuča, Kr pūy-ḡunč 'tapeworm', Km ḡunč 'intestinal worm (also in fish)' || ??φ pY {IN} *kōńčā 'maggot' > Y K/T kōžā 'maggot (on a reindeer)', T {Krn.} kōdeŋ 'worm' ¶¶ UEW 205, Ash. VII 57, Ht. #205, Stn. D 511, IN 229, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 47 [#69] (Y ← U) ¶¶ The unexpected Chr ć and pY *č are still puzzling || A: NaT *°ḲiçI (< **ḲiçI?) Tbl/SbTt Tv {Tm.} qIçI, Brb {Tm.} qIča 'intestinal worm', Tbl {Rl.} qIčI 'tapeworm (Bandwurm)' (unless all of them are loans from FU?) ¶ Tm. 143-4, Rs. W 260, Rl. II 792 ¶ The delabialization *u > T *i is attested in several roots (cp. N *Ḳ' uñigU 'to bend, to incline, to bow') and is still to be investigated.

1100. *Ḳuńž∇ ~ *-ńć-, *-ńś- (or *gḲuńž∇ ~ *-ńć-, *-ńś-?) 'star' > IE: NaIE *°g_Lh_Jwōj_Jsd_Lh_J- 'star' > BSl: Lt žvaigždė, Δ žvaizdė & žvaiždė, Ltv zvāi(g)zne id., L gvegždáté 'Sternchen' | Sl *gvěž'da 'star' > P gwiazda, Cz hvězda, Slk hviezda, Plb gjozdă,

HLs hwězda, LLs gwězda, OCS **СВѢЗДА** ѕвѣзда, Blg звѣзда > звезда, SCr звѣзда ѕ ѕvijězda, Slv zvezda, R звезда, Uk звiз'да ¶ Assimilation between the Anlaut and the Inlaut of this long Baltic stem may have caused variability of the initial cns. (*g...z > z...z, *g...ž > ž...ž) and the appearance of the unetymological medial g ¶ Tr. 373-4, Frn. 1324, ≈ ESSJ VII 181-3 (derives the BSl stem from IE *ǵʰwoǵ- 'shine' and believes that the Slavic *ǵv- is a secondary development from *zv-), Glh. 702-3, StSS 223 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gǫžǫ ~ gǫšǫ, Bd {IL} gusiaǫ 'star' | Bole {IL} žinžá id. | ? Tula, Kir ŋgaš id. (ŋ- is a px., as in Tera anžinžá?) || CCh: Glv kʷàžàžà, Gv kʷžžžžà, Suk gùmžà, Db {Lnh.} gìmžà, {Kr.} gǫmžà, Gudu gʷùšù, Mln gùmlá, Nz gzmleki 'star' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 62 || **U** *kuńć∇ 'star' > Prm {LG} *kǫ|ǫžil (ǫ|ǫžil) 'star' > Z кодзуб kožuv, Z US kož+|, Prmk kžž+v ѕ kžž+|, Vt XVIII кузели, Vt кизили kižíli, Vt B kožó'li ({Lt.} kəžθ'li) 'star' || ObU {Ht.} *kúńć∇ id. > Vg {Ht.} *kūńć∇ > OVg S ChusO/Vt конча, OVg S Kg конся, OVg S Sss koondse, Vg T kōńć; pOs {Ht.} *kɔs > Os: V/Vy qɔs, Ty/Y qos, D/K/Nz χus, Kz χŵs, O χos || Sm {Jn.} *k+ns∇kǫyь, {HL.} *k+ns∇kayь 'star' > Slq Tz {KKH} qǫšqǫ, Slq Kt qesaqa id., Slq Tm {KD} qžžqasey id., 'moon', Kms {KD} kúnžžey, kžžžey, k+ňžžey, Koyb {Klp.} kúnzy-gei 'star', Mt {HL.} *kinžžikEy id. (Mt T {Klp.} kinš'i-ki, {Mll.} kinschik-i, Mt K {Mll.} kinschik-ei, {Pl.} gindzschiki, Mt M {Sp.} кинджикей, {Mll.} kinschikei) ¶¶ UEW 210-1, Coll. 15, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kunsǫ, FP *kunsǫ, Ugr *kuncǫ, Sm *k+ns∇ 'star'), MF 307, Ht. #299, LG 126, Lt. 41-2, Jn. UK 263, Cs. 285, KD 35, Sp. SJM 72, Hl. M #489 || **A** ({S} k'ōsi): Tg *xōsi-kta 'star' > Nn Nh xosaqta ~ xoslaqta ~ xoslaqta, Orc xosaqta, Ul xosla ~ xosta, Ork waslaqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta, Ewk ōsīkta, Sln ōšikta ~ ōšitta, Lm ōslaqat, WrMc ušixǫ, Jrc {Kiy.} ošixǫ, {Md.} hosiǫ ¶ STM II 27, Krm. 219, Bz. 23, S AJ 104 [#119], Kiy. 97 [#O12], Md. ChF 134 ¶¶ S AJ 292 [#417], DQA #1155 (A *k'ūć∇ 'a kind of star'; incl. Tg) ◇ Tg *ō (for the expected *u:;) still needs explaining ◇ AD MR 263, Sin. USN 392-3 ◇ It is not yet clear which of the variants of the stem (that with N *K- or that with *k|g-) is the original one. If it is N *Kúńć∇ (suggested by the Tg cognate), the IE initial *ǵ_l^h- (most probably *ǵ-) is due to the IE root-structure rejection of **teǵ^h-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √).

1101. (₂?) *K'üwa'ŋsi 'ε blood vessel (with blood), blood', or sim. > **HS:** S *ō∇n_l∇_l∇- > Ar qin∇- (pl. qunu∇-) 'membrane qui entoure le cœur;

racine' ¶ BK II 823 || ?? WCh: pNrBc {Sk.} *tak^wan- 'bleeding, cupping blood' > Dir, Sir tak^wana, Mbr tak^wan, My tak^wam ¶ Sk. NB 13, S 250 [#34] ¶ In all probability, NrBc *tak^wan- < *√k|k|^wn 'blood, bleed' || A ≈ *k'üwaŋ∇ 'blood, blood vessel' > M *qana- v. 'open a vein, bleed (an animal, a person)' > WrM {Kow., MED, Gl.} qana-, HIM, Brt хана- id., Kl {Rm.} хана-ха 'zu Ader lassen', {KRS} хангдж хань-гдъ-хъ 'to open a vein (пускать кровь)', MM [S] teme₇en o cisun qana-qu 'to open a camel's vein in order to collect blood' ¶ KW 166, Kow. 719, MED 927, Gl. I 68, H 59, KRS 575 || pT {Md.} *k'jān 'blood' ({ǂπAD}: < **k'Ean < *k'ā:n) > NaT *k'ān > OT, MQp qān, [CC] qan, OT U, Chg, XwT qan, Tk k_{an}, Tkm gān, XT, Xlj {DT} qān, Slr {Tn.} qān ɘ qan, Tk k_{an}, Az gan, Ggz kan, ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt qan, Uz qan, Xk, Tv xan, Tf qan, Yk xān || Blgh {Erd.} xjān, Chv L юн jun id. | NaT *Kana- > OT qana- v. 'bleed (a patient, animal)' ¶ Cl. 629-30, 634, Rs. W 230, ET KQ 251, Ra. 217, Dr. TM III 360-1, Md. 111-2, 169, Erd. 81, 115, 123, 152-3, 163 Jeg. 349, Fed. II 486, DT 173 || Tg *xuj- v. 'flow' (of blood) > Ewk Sx/Urm uj- id.; *xuj, *xuj-kta 'blood vessel' > Ewk VI/Y uj id., Ek uj-kta, Neg oŋtā ~ oŋkta, Lm oŋtъ, Nn Nh/B xonglqta, Nn KU xonglqta, Ul xonglqta → xongoqta, Ork xumuqta, Ud umakta, umukta id. ¶ STM II 278 ¶¶ KW 166 (M, T), S AJ 261 [#151], S VL 198-9 (pA *k'uāŋ∇ > T, Tg), Cl. 634 (M qana- < T), STM97 (A *k'ōŋa > T, Tg), DQA #1068 (A *k'jāno 'blood, blood vessel' > T, Tg) || ?σ D *kuñ- ({ǂGS} *k-) 'root, tuber' > Png kūñi id., Knd kuñi, Mnd kuni 'tuber', Kui kuna 'tuberous root', Ku kunna 'yam, potatoes', kuna kuča 'radish' ¶¶ D #1683 ¶¶ The meaning 'vein, sinew' is often transferred to roots, because both veins\sinews and roots were used as ropes and bonds ◇ D *-ñ- is a reg. reflex both of N *ñ and of a palatal(ized) nasal. A N palatal nasal (*-ń-) is ruled out by the T reflex (N *-ń- would have yielded T *-ń-). The remaining option is to postulate a palatal vw. (*-i, confirmed by the Tg reflex) that followed the nasal cns. (at the pre-D level) and brought about its palatalization. By that time the N lr. (between the nasal and *i) must have been lost, which is probable if it had been *ɣ (rather than a stronger *ʏ). Tg *-ŋ- suggests N *-ŋ-. T *-n (for the expected *-ŋ) needs explaining. The length of the T vw. is due to the contraction of the A *-üwa- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #45 (*kem 'blood', incl. A, EA + unc. Sm *kem 'blood', Yk čeme id., actually from N *kämê 'blood').

1102. $\text{₂} *k\text{on}\check{c}\nabla$ '∈ part of leg' > **K:** G $\text{k}\text{an}\check{c}$ -i 'shin, shank' ('Unterschenkel', {DCh} 'голень') ¶ Chx. 549, DCh. 593 || **A** $*k'\text{on}\check{c}_L\nabla$ > NaT $*k'\text{on}_L\check{c}$ (< $**k'\text{on}\check{c}$) '(∈ part of) leg, boot-leg, leg of trousers' > MQp [CC] $\text{qon}\check{c}$ 'gamba', = (∈ part of) leg', Tkm $\text{qon}\check{c}$ 'boot-leg, leg of trousers', Tk $\text{k}\text{on}\check{c}$, Az $\text{qun}\check{z}$, VTt $\text{qun}\check{z}$, Qzq, Qq, Nog $\text{qon}\check{z}$, Tbl {RL}, Tb $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Qrg $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Alt $\text{qon}\check{c}$, {RL} $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Uz $\text{qwn}\check{z}$, ET $\text{qon}\check{z}$, Qmq $\text{xon}\check{c}$ 'boot-leg', Tv $\text{xon}\check{c}$, Tf $\text{ho}\check{z}$ u 'leg of trousers' ¶ T $*n$ (rather than $*\eta$) suggests a pre-T (or Early pT) word $**k'\text{on}\check{c}$ (with $*n < *\eta$ in the preconsonantic position) ¶ ET Q 57-8, Grøn. 199 || Tg: [1] $*x\text{ons}\nabla$ (or $*x\text{ons}\nabla?$) 'shank, shin' > Orc $\text{u}\check{s}$ i, $\text{u}\check{s}$ ui, Ul $\text{xon}\check{s}$ a, Nn Nh $\text{xon}\check{s}$ oã, Nn KU $\text{omsoq}\check{a}$, $\text{omsoqu}\check{a}$, Ewk PT $\text{u}\check{n}$ ukī, umuk i, Ewk Tt umok i, Neg $\text{on}\check{c}$ u, Ud $\text{u}\check{z}$ ku $\text{u}\check{z}$ uinki ~ $\text{u}\check{z}$ ki id. ¶ $*-s-$ may be due to the infl. of a different Tg or pA root [2] Tg $*x\check{u}\check{c}$ en 'elbow' (× N $*k\check{u}\check{c}$ u \check{h} u \check{c} 'a joint in a limb [knee, elbow]; to bend in a joint?') > Nn $\text{x}\check{u}\check{c}$ ẽ, Orc $\text{t}\check{c}$ o(n-), Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} $\text{is}\check{o}$, Ud K {Krm.} $\text{is}\check{o}$, Ul $\text{un}\check{c}\check{a}$ (n-), Ork $\text{u}\check{z}$ t, Ewk, Neg $\text{t}\check{c}$ ẽn, Sln $\text{t}\check{c}$ ẽ, Lm $\text{t}\check{c}$ ẽn ¶ STM I 336, Krm. 239 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1103 (incl. T, Tg).

1103. $*k\text{E}'\eta'\check{c}\nabla$ (or $*k\text{E}m\check{c}\nabla?$) (~ $*k\text{E}'\eta'\check{c}\nabla?$) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand' > **HS:** S $*\check{c}$ ka \check{s} ŕ- > Ar $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ - {Br.} 'sand and pebbles', {Hv.} 'pebble', $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ -at- 'small pebbles', Ar Y {Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'eine als Mörtel verwendete Mischung aus roter Erde und Kalk', OYmn {Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ D ({Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$) 'zementieren' or 'bewerfen' ¶ BK II 758-9, Hv. 611, Slw. 180-1 || B $*\check{c}$ k \check{z} ~ $*\check{c}$ k \check{z} ~ $*\check{c}$ zz 'coarse sand' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ 'gravel, [coarse] sand' [q.v. ffd.]) || C: Ag: Bln {R} $\text{k}\check{u}\check{s}\check{a}$ (pl. $\text{k}\check{u}\check{s}$), {Fl.} $\text{qu}\check{s}$ 'sand' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ '↑') ¶ AD SF 88 || Om $*k\check{a}\check{n}\check{c}$ - 'sand' > NrOm: Kf {C} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ inō, Mch {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ -o, Bnc {Wdk.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{m}\check{c}$, She {Beke} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$, Gmr (= She?) {Fl. AGC} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$, Malo {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ e, Nao {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{s}$ a || SOM: Gll {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ 'sand' ¶ Blz. OL #101, C SE IV 484, Fl. AGC 617, Wdk. BY 106, AD SF 88 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}$ 'small stone, piece of gravel' ¶ Sch. DN 90 || **IE:** NaIE $*g\check{e}i\check{s}$ - 'pebbles' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **K:** G $\text{k}\text{en}\check{c}$ -i 'a pebble, small stone' ¶ Chx. 568 || $\text{?}\phi$ **A** $*k'\nabla\eta\check{c}\nabla$ > $\text{?}**k'\nabla\eta\check{c}\nabla$ (progr. as.) > Tg $*x\text{on}\check{c}\nabla$ 'sand' > Ewk $\text{o}\check{n}\check{c}$ 'sand, dust', Orc $\text{o}\check{n}\check{c}$ to 'mud (?)' ('грязь'), Ud $\text{o}\check{n}\check{c}$ to 'sand', Ork $\text{xon}\check{c}$ to 'grain of sand', $\text{xon}\check{c}$ to 'sand' ¶ STM II 20 \diamond The original affricate may have been $*\check{c}$ (if the G word is a loan from Zan, which presupposes a pK rec. $*k'\nabla\eta\check{c}$ -). The cns. $*\eta|\check{c}$ changed into m in Bnc, into $*n$ in K (as. $*\eta\check{c} >$

nC), and disappeared in most other descendant lgs. (∇η|ńĉ > *∇ĩĉ > *∇C). In the prehistory of IE the original cluster *-^hη^hĉ- is likely to have changed into *-ńĉ- (regr. as.) > *-j̥s- (N *ń > IE *j̥ regularly). An alt. rec. is *k̥Emĉ∇, which is less probable in the light of Tg *xone∇. The cause of the de-emphatization in pre-IE (N *k̥- > *k- [> IE *ǵ]) or the voicing in IE (**k- > *ǵ-) is still not clear. The unexpected Tg *o of the first syll. still needs explaining (regr. as., as suggested by Orc ońokto, Ud ońokto, Ork xoneoxu and xoneokto?).

1104. *Kawing∇ 'shoulder joint, armpit' > **U** *kawing∇-a|]∇ (lit. 'under the shoulder-joint', with *a|]∇ 'under') 'armpit' > FU: F kainalo, Es kaenal, Vp kajnal ~ kajmol 'armpit', Es Δ kangla, kangel, kangle 'shoulder-joint (Achsel)' | pLp {Lr.} *k̄ayēl(ē) 'armpit' > Lp: S {Hs.} gaajnj'ele, Vfs {Lgc.} ḡāj̄j̄εłz, Ar {Lr.} k̄āiηgiel, Nt {TI} k̄ā·j̄nel_{qk}, Kld ka'īj̄e_l, T k̄ā·j̄j̄e_l id. | Er kaval-alks, kaval-alid. (alks, al 'being under [sth.]') | Chr: L конла коη'ла 'armpit gore in a shirt', H коныла коη'ла, B коη'ла, L/Uf конлайымал коη'лауь'mal 'armpit' (yamal 'being under [sth.]') | pPrm *konul (LG) *k̄onul > Z LV/Ud kunuv, Z P/MS k'ínul, Prmk konuvt, Yz 'kunul, Vt кунул kunul 'armpit', Z кунлӧс kunl-3s, Z LV kunul-3s 'armpit gore in a shirt' ||| ObU: pVg {Ht.} *k̄āln∇ ~ *kanal 'armpit' > Vg: T kalnā, LK xānəl, MK/UK k̄ānəl, P/NV kanəl, UL/Ss xanəl id.; pOs *kuṇan ~ *kunəṇ (as. from **kuṇəl ~ **kuləṇ?) 'armpit' (within cds.) > Os: Nz xunəṇ, Kz x̄w̄ṇəṇ, V/Vy/Ty/Y qunəṇ, D x̄ōnəṇ, K x̄ānəṇ, O x̄ōnəm | OHg holna, holnya 'shoulder-joint (Achsel), armpit', Hg Δ hólñ- (+ppa.), hóny, hany, Hg hón, hón-alj 'armpit' || Sm {Jn.} *k̄āl̄b̄η 'armpit' > Ne: T сял', T O {Lh.} śāł̄ā, F {Lh.} śēā·ł̄ ɖ śēā·ł̄ηā; Ng {Cs.} kalíη, {Mik.} kalí; En X {Cs.} séł̄i?, En B {Cs.} séri; Slq Tz {KKIH} q̄ōl̄íh̄, Slq LTz {KD} q̄āł̄áñ, Slq Tm {KD} q'āli', Kms {KD} q'āł̄əṇ, x̄āł̄əṇ ¶¶ UEW 178, 645, SK 142, ZM 170, Lr. #339, Lgc. #1886, Hs. 511, TI 81, KMS 136, MRS 220, Ep. 46, LG 146, SZ 180, 187, Ht. #282, EWU 573, Jn. 63, KKIH 164, ≠ Sm. 543 (FU, P *koni 'armpit', Ugr *konĩ-) || **A** {ADb.} *k'awing_l∇_l {AD} 'armpit, bosom' > NaT {ADb.} *k'ōyñ 'bosom, armpit' > OT qoyin ~ qoyun ~ qoy, MQp, Qmq, Qrg qoyun, Ggz koynu, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Alt qoyin, VTt кyен quȳn, Bsh quȳn, Xk xoyin, Uz qoyin, Tf hōȳ 'bosom', MU qōy, qōyun 'bosom, bosom of garment', Chg qoy(u)n, OOsM qoyun 'breast, bosom, armpit', Tk koyun 'bosom, breast, pocket', Az qoyun, ET qoyun, Ln qoyun, qoyin, qoyini, Xlj qōñ 'bosom, an embrace', Tkm qoyun 'an

embrace', Tv χοϋ 'bosom, breast', Yk {Pek.} χοῖν, χοῖν 'armpit, bosom' || Chv хбv ~ хü 'bosom' ¶ Cl. 631, ADb. SR 158-9, ET Q 26-7, Rs. W 280, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 340, Ra. 189, Pek. 3439-40, JkR 499, DT 178 || Tg *xaw∇ηι 'armpit' > Nn xawani ~ xawani, Ul xawa(n-), Orc xawani, Sln owonī ~ oxonī, Neg oxonī 'armpit', Ewk oxonī ɖ owonī ɖ ɖwɜnī, Lm oxnɪ ɖ āwnɪ ɖ ownɪ, WrMc oxo ~ oxo id., 'bosom' ¶ STM II 6 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 449, 454-5 || **D** {IS} *kavun̄k∇ 'armpit' ({ʒGS} *k-) > Kn kavun̄kur, kan̄kur(a), kon̄kur, kon̄kar(a), Tm kamukkaṭṭu (with ass. nasalization *-v- > -m-), Td komkw̄r̄, Tu kan̄kuḷa, Prj kavkor, kavkoḍ, Gnd kākri, kākriṅ 'armpit' (kāk- due to the infl. of Knd/Mrt kāk^h), Kdg kav̄ηki 'vital spot', Tl kaūṅgili 'bosom, breast, an embrace', Prj kav̄ṅgil, kaūṅgil, Gnd kal̄gil 'lap' ¶¶ D #1234 || ?φ **HS**: Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk.} kw̄ak̄w̄sé 'armpit' || ECh: Mb {J} kũgí, pl. k̄ȳak id. ¶ ChC ◊ NaT *-n (rather than *-ŋ) still needs explaining (cp. N *moyAn∇ 'neck, nape of the neck' > T *moyu|In) ◊ IS I 344-6 (*K̄aw̄inḡa 'armpit'; U, A, D), ≈ Gr. II #14 (*kon 'armpit').

1105. *K̄āηKa_h∇, 'shell, conch' > **IE**: NaIE *k̄onk^ho- ~ *k̄ok^ho- 'conch, shell' > OI śaṅ'kha- 'conch' || Gk κόγχη, κόγχος 'mussel, anything like a mussel-shell', κόχλος 'shell-fish with a spiral shell (murex), land snail', κοχλίς 'snail with a spiral shell' || Ltv Δ {ME} sence ~ zence 'e Muschel' ¶ P 614, M K III 290-1 (hyp.: the lexeme is a Wanderwort), M E II 604, F I 889-90, ME III 816 and IV 713, EI 512 (*konkh₂o-s 'mussel[-shell]') ¶ IE *k^h or *k^H still need explaining (a trace of a N Ir.?) || **A** ({SDM97} *k̄aka, {S, SDM95} *k̄iakta, {DQA} *k̄i_hakta 'shell'): Tg *k̄iakta (= *k̄iak-*kt*a), *k̄iak-*ik*ta 'conch, shell' > Ewk k̄ēkta, Orc k̄iakta 'shell', Nn qāχta, WrMc qayqari, qayqamar i 'conch', Ul qiaqta ~ kiyakta ~ k^yakta 'conch; shell (σκορλυπα)', possibly Ewk h̄ēki-*kt* ~ kiki-*kt*a 'skin' ¶ STM I 386-7 || pJ {S} *k̄ak̄î 'shell, oyster' > OJ k̄ak̄j̄i id., J: T k̄ák̄i, K k̄ak̄î, Kg kak̄í 'oyster' ¶ S AJ 272 [#219], S QJ #219, Mr. 434 ¶¶ S AJ 293 [#471], DQA #811 || **D** *k̄āk-/*kakk- ({ʒGS} *k-) > Ml kakka 'shell, cockle', Tl k̄āki cipra 'a bivalve shell', Klm k̄āke 'shell-fish, shell of snail', Nk k̄āki 'shell-fish, snail'; D ⇨ Sk k̄ākinī- ~ k̄ākinī- 'the shell Cypraea moneta' ¶¶ D #1423 || **HS**: S: Ar qinqin- 'e coquillage marin' ¶ BK II 825 || Eg XVIII k̄k̄ 'e vessel of alabaster', Eg G k̄k̄.ty '(?) bark', Cpt: Sd **kouke** kuke, B **kouki** kuki 'skin, bark', ? Eg G k̄k̄, Cpt Sd/B **kwk-** kōk- ~ **kok** kok- v. 'bark' ¶ EG V 71, Vc. 74 || NrOm: DMa {Fl.} qoqaše, Shn D {Fl.} gōqa

'inner bark'; but hardly here Shn {Lm.} gōḱa 'dried skin', Kf {C} gokko 'pelle, pellami', Shk {Lm.} gōḱḱo 'skin', which are loans from C (Sd gogā 'skin', Or {Th., Brl.} goga 'skin, bark', etc.) ¶ Fl. OAM 27, Lm. Sh 308, C SE IV 442, Gs. 126, Th. 171, Brl. 179 || WCh: Tal ḱḱḱḱ 'bark', ? Ang {Flk.} kḱk 'skin' || Klr {J} àkḱḱḱḱ 'bark' ¶ JI II 8 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 91 [#21.2] (Eg, Om, Ch + unc. Irq qaḱway 'strip of hide' and Dhl ḱawe 'eggshell', see N *ḱewḱ 'bark, crust, shell') ◇ Tg *k- (for the expected Tg *ḱ- < N *ḱ-) may be due to as. The IE palatalization of the guttural stop and D *ā point to a N *ä, which suggests that pA {SDM97} *ä (> Tg *ḱa) may go back to N *ä.

1106. *ḱ'apa 'to close, to cover' > HS: S *ḱpp, as well as +ext.: *ḱp and (with deglottalization) *ḱpr and *ḱpn: [1] *ḱpp > Ar ḱff (pf. qaḱfa) 'se fermer comme un panier'; [2] WS *ḱp > Ar ḱfl v. G 'lock (serrer)', 'ramaser et serrer dans un magasin', Gz ḱfl 'overlay, cover', Mh/Jb/Sq {Jo.} ḱfl v. 'close, lock'; [3] *ḱpr v. 'cover' > Ar ḱfr G id., BHb ḱpr v. 'smear, pitch'; [4] WS *ḱpn > Ar ḱfn v. G (pf. kafana) 'cover bread with hot ashes, shroud (a corpse)', kafan- 'shroud (linceul)', Gz ḱfn G v. 'cover, veil', Mh, Jb ḱfn 'enshroud (a corpse)' (← Ar?) ¶ BK II 786, 791, 916, Hv. 660, LG 276, 424, Jo. M 235, KB 470, KBR 493-5 || B *ḱyf > Gd εḱēf v. 'hide' ¶ Lf. I 252, 296-7, II #0732 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kḱḱ 'v. 'cover', kḱḱ n. 'cover (Deckel)' || CCh: ?ZmB {J} kḱḱ v. 'cover', ZmD {KNC} kḱḱḱ 'close the eyes' || WCh: Ang {Orm.} kḱp v. 'cover', {Flk.} kḱp v. 'close tight, shit up (a fist)' ¶ ChC, Eb. 74, Ormsby s.v. kḱp, Flk. s.v. kḱp, KNC 14 || K: G ḱapan-i 'a cover (for covering food)' ¶ Chx. 571, DCh. 605 || A *ḱ'apa- > T *ḱ'ap(a)- > Tkm Δ ḱap- v. 'close', Tk kapā-, Ggz kapā-, Kr Cr, Nog qaḱapā- v. 'close, lock', Chv L ḱup/b- id., v. 'hide'; → T *ḱ'ap-gak, *ḱ'ap-ug 'a cover, lid' > OT qaḱap 'lid, cover, eyelid', MQp, MOg qaḱap, Chg qabaḱ/q 'eyelid', OOsM qaḱap 'eyelid', Tv ḱavaḱ 'forehead', XwT qabaḱ eyelid, virgin's hymen', Tk kapak, Tkm ḱapap, Az ḱapap, Ggz kapak, Nog, ET, Ln qaḱap, Qrg qaḱapap, Qzq, Qq, Alt qaḱapap 'a cover, lid', Xk ḱaḱpaḱ, Yk ḱappaḱ, ET qaḱap id., 'eyelid', Chv ḱob_aḱ 'eyelid' ¶ Cl. 582-3, ET KQ 263-4, TL 212-3, TvR 460 || M *qaḱa- (< **qaḱa-) > MM [HI] qaḱa- v. 'close (fermer)', WrM qaḱa-, HIM ḱaa- v. 'close, surround' ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 905 || Tg: Nn {Prt.} ḱapḱy 'a cloth for covering the face of a dead person', {On.} ḱāptō 'kerchief covering the head from the chin to the sinciput; a cloth worn by a clan's judge when

investigating a case' ¶ On. NRS 455, Prtd. s.v. **χαπτῦ** || **U**: FU (in BF only) *^okapal- > F kapalo, Krl A kabalō, Krl Ld, Vp kabał, Es kapala-
 υōō 'swaddling-band', Vo kapaloittā 'to swaddle, to wrap in swaddling-
 bands' ¶ SK 159, SSA I 304 || **D** *kapp-/*kav- ({^oGS} *k-) v. 'cover' >
 Tm kappu v. 'overspread (as a cloud)', kavī v. 'cover, overspread',
 Ml kappuka id., kavīyan 'wrapper, pillowcase', Kt kavč- v. 'cover
 with a garment', Td kofč- id., Kn kappu v. 'cover, spread, overspread',
 kavī, Tl kappu, Prj kapp- v. 'cover, overspread', Tu kabīyuni v.
 'besiege, surround, overspread', Knd kap- v. 'overcast the sky' (of
 clouds), Ku kap^hanaj v. 'outflank', Krx k^hap- v. 'cover exactly' ¶¶ **D**
 #1221 ◇ Arm **կոպ** kop 'eyelid' and **կափուցանեմ** kap^huc^hanem (aor.
կափուցի kap^huc^hi) v. 'cover, shut, close' (with an irregular k- and
 irregular vowels) are likely to be loans from an unknown source ◇ The
 N initial cns. is ***κ**- unless G **κ**εpan-ī is a loanword. If **κ**εpan-ī is a loan,
 the N etymon is ***Κ**απα ◇ ≈ Gr. II #342 (*kapa 'skin, bark, cover(ing)'
 (IE, A, Ko, J, Ai + err. U)

1107. **ι** ***Κ**απ∇ ~ ***Κ**αβ∇ 'to seize' (***Κ**- = ***q**-?) (with a N variant
 ***Κ**ab∇ - possibly due to the infl. of N ***g**aɣb∇ 'hold, seize' and N
 ***κ**äbɣâ 'bite') > **HS**: S *^o✓**κ**bω > Ar ✓**q**bω (pf. qabā, ip. -qbū) v.
 'hold\take with fingers', ***[κ**p- ~ ***[κ**b- +ext.: CS *^o✓**κ**pš > Ar ✓**q**fs *G*
 'saisir qn. aux cheveux, saisir violamment une chose comme pour
 l'arracher', {Hv.} 'take hold of so. by the hair, grasp', Sr ✓**κ**pš *D* 'catch
 with the open mouth', *^o✓**κ**bθ > Ar ✓**q**bθ v. (ip. -qbīθu) 'saisir', *^o✓**κ**bç
 > Ar ✓**q**bç (ip. -qbīçu) 'take (sth.) with the ends of the fingers', *^o✓**κ**bš
 > Ar قبض ✓**q**bš (pf. qabašā, ip. -qbīšū) 'serrer\fermer la main en
 contractant les doigts', ps. (pf. qubišā) 'be seized with the hand, be
 grasped'; less plausibly WS *^o✓**κ**bl v. 'receive, accept' (> BHb ✓**κ**bl *D*
 'accept, receive', Aram, Sr, Mh, Tgy ✓**κ**bl (mainly *D*) v. 'receive', Ar
 ✓**q**bl *G* id.) which may be alternatively explained as d. from S ***κ**abil-
 'in front of' ¶ KBR 1061-2, Br. 686, BK II 657-61, 665, 670, 789, Hv.
 584-6, BDB #690, LG 418-9 || Eg P **κ**fɾ 'fassen (jems. Hände)' ¶ EG V
 32 || EC ***κ**ab- {Ss., Bl.} v. 'catch, have' > Sa {R} kab- id.; pSam ***κ**ab- >
 Sml qab- {Abr.} v. 'catch hold of, have', {DSI} 'avere, tenere', Rn {PG}
 χab- 'have, possess', χab-s- 'hold, get hold of; catch, grab'; pBn d. ***κ**ab-
 ɣd- ({Hn.} ***q**ab-ɣd-) v. 'catch, seize' > Bn K **κ**abaɣ-, Bn Ba **g**abd-, Bn J
 obɣd-, Bn Bi/Sa/Kj owd-; Or {Grg.} **κ**ab- 'have, seize', Or H **κ**ab- v. 'have,
 hold', Or S **κ**ab-~**κ**aw- v. 'have, catch, seize', Kns {BISO} **q**ap- v. 'catch,

have, hold', Gdl {Bl.} $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'catch, have'; Dsn {To.} $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\beta$ 'have', Arr $\kappa\alpha\beta$ - v. 'have', 'mate' (of a male animal); Gwd {Ss.} $\gamma\alpha\pi$ -, $\gamma\epsilon\pi$ -, Gln {AMS} $\gamma\alpha\pi$ - v. 'catch' ¶ Bl. 197, 317, Ss. PEC 14, 48, Hn. BD 97, Abr. S 196-7, DSI 479, Schlee SSR 133, Sim 16, 26, PG 186, Th. 264-5, Sr. 350, 352, Grg. 311-2, Ow. 266, BISO 156, Bl. G 65, Ss. D 216, Hw. A 377, AMS 200, To. DL 502 || ??σ NrOm: Kf {C} $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'swallow', Mch {L} $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\alpha$ v. 'finish, take a mouthful' ¶ LM 47, C SE IV 486 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} * $\gamma\alpha\phi$ - 'grasp' > P' {MSk.} $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\phi\grave{\alpha}$ 'take a handful of', Plc {ChL} $\gamma\upsilon\pi$ -tu, Ngz {Sch.} $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Bd $\gamma\alpha\phi$ 'grasp', Tng $\kappa\bar{\omega}\beta\epsilon$ 'catch a thing', ? Hs $\iota\kappa\alpha\phi$ 'the security of hold'; SBc * $\kappa\bar{\nabla}\beta$ - (mte. from * $\kappa\bar{\nabla}\beta\mid\pi$ -) > Dw $\kappa\bar{\omega}\beta\iota\upsilon$ v. 'seize', Kir $\kappa\upsilon\beta\upsilon\epsilon$ v. 'seize, hold' ¶ ChL, Stl. IF 111 (+ unc. Ang $\gamma\alpha\pi$ 'tongs'), Sch. DN 66 ¶ Plc $\gamma\grave{\upsilon}\pi\tau\upsilon$, Ngz $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Bd $\gamma\alpha\phi$ may alternatively (\Leftrightarrow Stl.) belong to N * $\gamma\alpha\phi\beta\bar{\nabla}$ 'hold, seize' || IE: NaIE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'seize' > Gk $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ v. 'gulp down', $\kappa\acute{\omega}\pi\eta$ 'handle' || pAl * $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha$ (< IE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ -) > Al $\kappa\alpha\pi$ 'I seize, grasp'; pAl * $\kappa\alpha\pi\mu\iota$ (< IE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ -mi) > kam 'I have' || L $\text{capio} / \text{-\u00e9re} / \text{c\u00e9pi} / \text{captum}$ v. 'take' || OIr cacht 'maid-servant, bondmaid' (\div L capta), Brtt (\div L captus): W caeth 'slave', MCrm caid 'captivus', Br keaz 'pauvre (ungl\u00fccklich), infortun\u00e9' || Gmc: Gt haban 'to hold, to have', ON hafa , AS habban , OHG, NHG haben 'to have', NE have ; Gt hafjan , ON hefja , OSx h\u00e9bbian , h\u00e9ffian , OHG hefjan , heffan , hevan , NHG heben , AS h\u00e9bban 'to raise', NE heave ; Gmc pp. (\div L captus): ON haptr 'Leibeigener', AS h\u00e6ft 'prisoner, captive, slave', Gt hafts 'married' (\leftarrow pp. 'behftet'), OHG haft 'hold (gehalten), tied, caught', NHG - haft (sx. of adjectives: lebhaft , schmerzhaft , etc.) || Ltv k\u00e0mp\u0161 (prs. k\u00e0mpju) 'to grip, to snatch, to seize' (generalization of the nasalized form of prs.) || OI kapa\u0161\u0304 'two handfuls' (\times N * $\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}$ 'palm of hand, sole of foot') ¶ P 527-8, EI 563, WH I 159-60, F I 783-4, Vn. C 3, O 167-9, Huld 142, 145, 167, Fs. 229-30, Ho. 143-4, 153, Ho. S 31-, Kb. 419, OsS 360, 362, 378, KM 278-80, 295, Kar. I 375-6, M KI 154 || $\iota\upsilon$: FU {Sz.} * $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi$ - ' \approx grasp, take' > Er $\kappa\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ 'to grasp, to take quickly', Δ {Jv.} 'to swallow', Mk $\kappa\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon$ - $\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$ - v. 'swallow, seize' and Δ {Jv.} 'take sth. into the mouth' (\times N * $\kappa\alpha\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}$ 'bite') || Vg: ML/LL/P/K {Mu.} kh\u00e5peji 'umnehmen, schnell anziehen (Schuhe)', N {Mu.} $\text{x\u00e1p\u00e9ji} \sim \text{x\u00e0p\u00e9ji}$ id., 'erwischen' ({Mu.} $\acute{e} \approx [\text{a}]$) ¶ Sz. 35, KC 89, ERV 233, Jv. 176, PI 101-2, MK 106-7 ¶ F kaappa - v. 'take, capture, lay hold of', Es k\u00e4ega kaapa - v. 'seize by hand', and Hg kap - v. 'get, receive' are to be kept apart as independent onomatopoeic formations (on the ev. of the

etymologically irreg. phonemes: \bar{a} in BF [F, Es] and k- in Hg) (I am grateful to Jn. who helped me to analyze the FU data) || A *k'ap'∇- v. 'seize, hold' > T *k¹ap- v. 'grasp, seize' > OT qap-, Tk kap-, Ggz kap-, CrTt, Ln, SY qap- id., Az qap- 'snatch, seize', Tkm qap- v. 'catch, grasp, seize with the teeth \ by mouth', ET qap-, Nog qap/b- 'bite', Qq, VTt, Bsh qap-, Tf qāp-, Chv χιρ- 'seize with the teeth, take into the mouth, bite', Qzq qab- v. 'grasp, seize with the teeth', Qrg, Alt qap-, Xk χap- id., 'seize', Qmn, Tb qap- v. 'seize, catch', Xlj qap- 'rob', ? Tv χavir- 'expropriate, raise (taxes), levy (a tribute) ¶ Cl. 580, ET KQ 264-6, Rs. W 218, Ash. XVI 84, S AJ 194 [#211], Hüs. 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, B DChT 123, B DK 219, BIG 273, Fed. I 380, DT 174 ¶ The meaning 'take into the mouth' is due to contamination with N *ḳäbʔâ 'bite' || M *qabu-la- v. 'grasp' > WrM {Rs.} qab(u)la-, {Gl.} qabla- 'catch by hands\mouth', WrO ḡablu- ~ ḡabla- v. 'seize in the mouth or by hands', Kl хавл-х 'catch, seize by mouth', 'nachjagen und einholen; festnehmen, ergreifen'; ?σ M *qabu 'skill (esp. in handling a bow), strength' > MM [HI] qabu- in qabutān 'bons archers', WrM {MED} qabu ~ qaba, HIM хав 'skill in hunting\handling a bow, etc.', WrM {Kow.} qabu 'exercise, exercise en tire d'arc, adresse, agilité', Brt хаб 'strength, might, ability', WrO ḡaba 'capacity, comfort', ḡab ügei 'unskilled, a bad shot' (lit. 'no ḡab'), ḡabutai, ḡabatar 'skillful', Kl хав χavb 'dexterity, marksmanship', 'Geschicklichkeit (z. B. zum Schießen)' ||| qu. (?σ): SDM97 adduces M *kab- 'pinch, squeeze, grasp' (actually *qabci- 'squeeze, pinch' [> WrM qabci- id., etc.] and *qabsi- 'put together' [> WrM qabsi- id.]) ¶ Gl. II 86, Ms. H 85, MED 900, Kow. 756, Chr. 524, KRS 561, KW 173-4, Krg. 236-8, SDM97 150 || Tg *xap-ki- v. 'strangle, suffocate' > Ewk apki-, Lm apq̄b-, Neg apku- id., Ork apq̄l ~ χapq̄l- ~ χapq̄l- id., 'catch by the throat', Ewk Sm apki- v. 'strangle, suffocate; slaughter (a reindeer)' ¶ STM I 47 || ?σ pJ *káp- 'buy, exchange' > OJ kap-, J: T kà-, K/Kg ká- id. ¶ S AJ 272 [#198], S QJ #198, Mr. 706 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#318] (T, M, Tg, J), DQA #974 (A *k'ap'∇ 'press, grasp') || D (in SD) *kapp- ~ *kaVV- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'seize with mouth' (× N *ḳäbʔâ 'ḡ') > Tm kappu v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', kavvu v. 'seize with the mouth', Kdg kabb- 'seize with wide-open mouth' (of dogs, tigers, etc.) ¶¶ D #1222 ◇ Stl.'s WCh rec. *qof- (if valid) is likely to suggest a N etumon *ḡapa ◇ IS I 313-4 (*ḳaba/ḳap'a 'хватать': HS, K *ḳb- v.

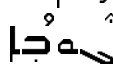
'bite', IE, U, D, A); IS does not distinguish between this √, N ***ḱäbʔâ** 'to bite' (→ 'eat'), and N ***gäsb** ∇ 'hold, seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #331 (*kap 'seize') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, Gil).

1108. *Ḳap^rä^r 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof' > HS: S *kapp- 'palm of hand' > Hb קַפַּ 'kap (pl. תַּפְּוֹתַּי kap^rpōt), OCn (EgSSc) ka-pa (= *kappa), Ug kṗ, JA [Trg.], Sr kap, em. kap^rp-ā, Md kapā, Ar كَفَّ kaff- 'palm of hand', IA {HJ} kṗ id., 'hand', DA {HJ} kṗ 'hand', Mh {Jo.} kaf (pl. kəfəf), Hrs {Jo.} kef (pl. kəfūf), Jb E/C {Jo.} 'kef (pl. ek^rfəf) 'palm of hand; paw, claw', Gz kāf 'heel, palm of hand, sole of foot', Ak (× S *kaⁿap- 'wing') kapru 'arm, hand; wing'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ka-pu 'hand' ¶ KB 468, HJ 528-9, OLS 221, ≈ A #1364, Hoch 318, Js. 657, Br. 339, Sl. P 266, JPS 222, BK II 910, Ln. 658, Jo. M 204, Jo. H 67, Jo. J 127, CAD VIII 185-9, Sd. 444, Hlk. #249, SivCR 85, MiK I #1.148 ¶ Hardly here WS *χ∇pp- 'hoof' > Ar خَفَّ χuff- 'sabot, pied (de l'autruche ou du chameau); plante de pied; bottine', Mh {Jo.} χaf (pl. χə^rfəwəf) 'hoof, sole of foot', Hrs {Jo.} χef 'paw, hoof', Jb C {Jo.} χaf 'hoof' (BK I 598, Jo. M 438, Jo. H 140, Jo. J 298, MiK I #1.135) || Eg P kb.ωy 'soles of feet', Eg fP cḅ.ω 'sole of foot', cḅ.t, cḅ.ωt id., 'sandal' ¶ EG V 118, 361-3, Fk. 304 || EC: Sml {ZMO} qōb, Sml N {Abr.} qōb 'hoof of horse \ donkey \ cattle'; LEC {Bl.} *ka|ob- 'sandal' > Or {Grg.} kopē 'sandals, shoe', Or B kóbe?, Or W kope?, Sml káb, Bn kob, Arr kob, Gdl hop-ā, Elm kop, kóp-ə?, Gwd χopé 'sandal', Gln hop-akkó (pl. hope) '(sole of) foot, sandal', Rn kób 'shoe, sandal', Af kab-eḷ, Kns xóp-ta (pl. xóp-ā) 'sandal, footprint', Gdl hóf-t 'footprint' ¶ Abr. S 203, ZMO 331, Bl. 151, 175, 192, Hw. A 374, AMS 202, 264, PG 198 || ?? NrOm: Anf {Gt.} kibbo 'arm (braccio)' || Ch: [1] Ch: Hs ḱáfà 'foot', ? Hs Kc ḱáfà 'hoof', Gw kápa 'foot, leg'; ? Ang {Flk.} kāp 'sandals' || ? ECh: Kbl, Gabri {AF} kob-in 'my hand' (-in is 'my'), Nng {AF} kebúng, Dm {AF} kobóng 'my arm' (-ng or -ung means 'my'), Kaba {AF} kobí 'arm', kabi kāsī 'hand' || [2] WCh *ḱ|qof- 'hoof' > Hs Sk ḱwáfà, Hs kófatò, Gw kòhóto 'hoof', Ang {Flk.} kωēb, {OS} k^ωēp, {Stl. IF ← ?} k^ωap 'hoof', {Sk.} k^ωep 'foot of all hooved animals except horse' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} kābē 'hoof', ? Lgn {Lk.} kḱáfe, {Mch.} kófe 'fingernail' ¶ Barg. 527, Mts. G 61, Lk. ZSS 87-92, ≠ Sk. HCD 165 ¶ OS #1428 (*kap- 'hand' > S, Eg kṗ), #1406 (*kab- shoe, sandal: Wanderwort in Eg, Ch), Blz. OLBP #1 (S, Om, Ch) || IE: NaIE *ko|ap- 'hoof' > Gmc (× N *ḲEP_∇_Z_∇ 'paw, hoof?'): ON hófr, NNr, Dn, Sw hov, OHG huof, NHG

Huf, AS hōf 'hoof', NE hoof ||| SI *kopīt-o, -a, -ъ 'hoof' (× d. from SI *kopa- 'dig?') > Ch, OR **КОПЫТО** kopīto, Blg ко'пито, SCr kōpīto, Slv kopíto, Cz, Slk, P коpуто, R копыто, Uk копито 'hoof' ||| OI караṭī 'two handfuls' (× IE NaIE *kap- v. 'seize' < N ***Қар** ▽ ~ ***Қар** ▽ 'seize') ¶ Av сафа- and OI ḥарна- 'hoof of a horse' are kept aside (they belong to IE ***к̑ор**H- < N ***ҚЕР** ▽ ▽ ▽) ¶ ≠ P 346-7 (IE ***ka**lор^ho- > □ Gmc, OI, Av), ≈ φ EI 272 (***к̑o**'ph₂o-s 'hoof'), M K I 154, Ho. 168, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, KM 318, Vr. 247; ≈ ESSJ XI 33-8 and Glh. 332 (SI *kopīto < d- *kopa- rather than < IE *ko|ap-), Ma. CS 276 ||| **U: [1] FU** (att. in FV) ***kä**ppä ≈ paw, foot' > F Δ **kä**ppä 'paw' ≍ **kä**(p)pä '(seizing) hand', Krl **kä**ppä 'bird's foot', Es **kä**pp (gen. **kä**pa) 'paw', {W} id., 'hand (of little children)', Lv **kä**p'ä 'foot (of a dog, cat); -d> BF ***kä**pälä > F **kä**pälä, Vr **kä**baí 'paw, foot' ||| Er кегге кере, Mk кягге **kä**rä 'barefoot' ¶ UEW 651-2 (***kä**rä 'paw, hand;), SK 26O-1, SSA I 474, W ESS 246, ERV 254 ||| [**2] FU** ***ka**ppp₁ ▽ > Chr H каβαί 'heel' ||| ?φ **A: pKo** {S} ***kú**p 'hoof' > MKo **kú**p, NKo kup ¶ S QK #514, MLC 22O || pJ {S} ***kù**pi-(mpi)sù 'heel' > OJ **kù**pīpīisù, J: T **kù**bisu ~ **kì**bisu, K **kù**bìsù, Kg kubísu ¶ S QJ #487, Mr. 461 || ?φ M ***qay**ira- (if from ***qay**ira-) 'kick with a hind leg' > WrM **qair**a-, HIM хайра- v. 'kick forward with a hind leg', Ord **χā**r- 'kick aside with the hind leg', WrO **χair**a- 'flail out, kick' (of horses), Kl **хә**р- **χā**r- v. 'kick with the hind legs' (of cows, bulls, and camels), Brt **хай**ра- id. (of cows, camels, sheep, goats) ¶ MED 913, Ms. O 346, Krg 253, KRS 587, KW 18O, Chr. 534 ¶¶ DQA #835 (A ***k**'₁jāpu ~ ***k**'₁e|apu 'hoof, heel') ◇ Eg b for the expected p is still to be explained.

1109. *ҚАР ▽ 'leaf' > **K: OG** ***қер**-i 'sheet (in a book)' (Jer. 36.23), G ***қер**-i 'sheet (of paper)' ||| **A** ***к**'ap ▽ ... > Tg ***xab**da 'leaf (of a plant) > Ewk abdanna, Ewk Tkm awdan, Lm zbdanrə ≍ zndəndə, Neg abdana, abdahān, Orc abdasā ≍ abdaha, χamdata, Ud {Krm.} abdehæ, Ul χabdata, Ork χamdata, Ul, Nn Nh χabdata, Nn KU abdana, Nn B χaftaṇa, χabtaca ~ χabca ~ χaftaca, WrMc abdaḡa id., Neg abda-xān 'small leaf, flower'; Tg ***к**'₁ḡapa-qa 'leaf' > WrMc {Z} afaḡa 'leaf (floating on water)', {Z, Hr.} 'sheet of paper', Mc Sb afəhə 'leaf', {Mrm.} afḡa 'leaf; sheet of paper, paper, Jrc {Kiy.} abuha 'leaf' ¶ STM I 3, 5, Z 26, 56, Hr. 12, Krm. 2O3, Kiy. 1O4 [#119], Y #2137, Klz. MS 93 ||| **HS: ECh: Kwn** {J} **kā**pī 'leaf', {Blz. ← ?} **kā**pān id. ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf'.

1109a. *k'a'p'u' 'bird' > **HS:** Om: NrOm: Kf {C} kafō, {Msr.} ka'fo, {HHM} kafo, Amuru {Fl.} káffa, Zl {C} kafō, Zs {Si.} ka'פו, Zrg {Si.} 'kapo, Wl {LmS} kafuwa_, {C} kafō, {Fl.} kafo, Gf {C} kafā, Gm {Hw.} kapó, Omt {Mrn.} kapo ~ kafo, Bdt {C} kabō, {Fl.} kaffo, Anf {Gt.} kafo, {C} kafō, Cha {Fl.} kafa, Shn {Lm.} kafá, {C} kafā, Dwr {LmS} kafwa ~ kaffo, Bnc {Wdk.} káp, Gnj {Si.} ka'ho, Gem ka'פו, Hz {Siw} kábbi, Sz I kawī?, Sz II kawī?, Malo {Fl.} kafó, Bsk {Fl.} kafa || Mj {LmS, C} kēbi, Na {C} kap^hu, {Fl.} kab, Shk {Fl.} kēbi, {LmS} kafo 'bird' ¶ C SE IV 460 and III 204, C SO 31, 44, 50, 61, 69, Lm. Sh 325, LmS 409, Wdk. BY 143, Si. ACh 12, SiW BA 10, Fsl. OWL s.v. 'bird', Gt. 354, HHM 11, Msr. 195, Hw. EG s.v. 'bird', Mrn. O 148 || Ch: CCh: Kola {Sb.} káḅárâm, FIJ xùbwàtì 'bird' || WCh: Zul kiburi, Kir kuk^wàbìr, Buli kubìr 'dove' ¶ ChC, JI II 23, ChL || ? Eg fMK k^bḥ.ω 'waterfowl' (pl.) ¶ EG V 30 ¶¶ A connection of this root with S *ka'nap-, C {AD} kanp- 'wing', and C *k∇mP∇r 'bird' is not convincing enough (see s.v. N *k'ay'ñ∇ 'wing, feather', AD SF 65) ¶¶ Blz. OL #159 || D: SD *kuppu]- 'bird' > Kn Hv kuppu]u 'a bird', Tu kupulu ~ kup(u)]u 'crow-pheasant' ¶ D #1735 || ?σ IE: NaIE (+ext.) *kops- 'blackbird' > Gk κόψ-τιχος id., Sl *kosъ id. > RChS КОСЪ КОСЪ, Blg, McdS КОС, SCr, Slv kōs, Cz, Slk, P kos, Uk Δ κικ id. ¶ P 614-5, EI 70, F I 930, ESSJ XI 175-8, Glh. 335 || K: G {Chx.} ḅapoeti ḅ ḅapoeti 'a bird older than 1 year', 'ε bird of prey', {DCh.} ḅapoeti 'a year-old bird' ¶ Chx. 550, DCh 593 ◇ The glottalized -ḅ- in Kola and Zul and the geminate *-pp- in D may be accounted for by a N emphatic *p. In Ch there is deglottalization *ḳ- > *k-. The voicing *p > Eg b defies explanation (a reflex of the second component of the underlying cd. [voiced cns. + *Vh|χ]?). SD *u of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. ◇ The equation witween Om, Ch, and D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #12b).

1110. *k'op∇ 'trunk, log' > **HS:** Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kápaḅ 'tree', Mgm {JA} kûpè '(ε) tree' ¶ ChC, Eb. 68 || ?φ S *ogūb- > Sr  gūb-ā, cs. gūb 'beam, joist, plank' ¶ JPS 62, Br. 100 || U: FU *k'o'pp'E' 'log, boat' > Vt кыпы kîpî 'log (колода)' || pObU {Ht.} *kîp∇ 'boat (Kahn)' > pVg {Ht.} *kîp∇ > OVg: S ChusO kâeba, S VT/Kg каба, S SSs kahbe, W P капъ, E TM kâp, Tb кыпъ, N SoG чар, N SoO хàабъ; Vg: T kâp, MK/OK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML kâp, LK/UL/Ss xâp id.; pOs {Ht.} *kap id. > Os: K χop, Nz/Kz χop, O χар ¶ Coll. 93, U33S 244, Ht. #302 || A: [1] *ok₁'oP∇ 'trunk, log, trough, box' > M *qobu'γ'a > WrM qobuga, HIM

хОВОО 'trough, well bucket', Kl хова χ₀ω, {Rm.} χ₀ωā 'well bucket of leather' (↳ T: Tkm q₀wa, etc.; ffd. *see* ET Q 12-3) ¶ MED 950, KRS 591, KW 191 || ?? AdS of T: > Tk gövde, Az ğövdä 'trunk (of a tree/body)' (< N *gæʔ'Up∇ 'body') ¶ ET VGD 52-3, Cl. 688 || [2] *k'op'Er∇ 'bridge' > M *köyürge 'bridge' > MM [HI] keürge, WrM kögerge(n) ~ kögürge, HIM хөөрөг, Ord k'örgö, Brt хүүргэ, Mnr H {SM} k'örg_uo, {T} kōlgo id., ?? Kl {Rm.} ğūr '(small) bridge' ¶ Ms. H 71, MED 480, SM 205, T 340, KW 140, Chr. 634, Cl. 690 (M ← T *köprüg) || T *köpür, -üg 'bridge' > [a] QrB, Kr Cr köpür, Tk Δ köpür ~ köper ≙ küper, Qzq, Qq, Nog köpir, VTt, Bsh küpür, Slr kömur, Chv kab_{er}; [b] OT {Cl.} köprüg, MQp XIII köprī, XIV (incl. CC) köprü, XwT XIV köprü(g), Chg ≥xv, ET köprük, Uz кωprük, ET kövrük, Tv k'övrüx, Tv NW xövürüg, Tf k'öprüg ~ képrüg, Tk köprü, Tkm köpri, Az körpü 'bridge' ¶ Cl. 690, ET KQ 112-3 || Tg *xururu 'bridge, rift (in a river)' > Jrc hufurun 'bridge', Nn B xurfu, Ewk öran 'rift in a river (порог, перекат, 'Stromschwelle)' ¶ STM I 479 and II 23, Dr. TM 136 [#561] || ??σpJ *kápará 'shallow sandy place in a river or on its bank' > OJ kapara, J: T kàwara, K káwará, Kg kawára ¶ S QJ #1372, Mr. 446 ¶¶ DQA #1125 (A *k'óp'ira 'rift [in a river], bridge': T, M *köyürge, Tg, J), ≠ Rm. SKE 131 ¶¶ The primary menaing of *k'op'Er∇ is likely to have been 'bridge', whence (a μφ) 'shallow place in a river (natural bridge)'.

1111. ι *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble' > IE: NaIE *keup- 'boil, evaporate' > OI 'κυρῡατι 'is excited, is angry' (← *'is boiling'), 'κōρα-ḥ 'fury, passion, wrath, anger' || Gk κάπος, [Hs.] κάπυς 'breath', Gk καπνός 'smoke' || OL uapōs (< *kuapōs), L uapōr 'vapour, steam', L cupio 'I desire, long for' (← *'boil with desire') || OIr {Thr.} ad-cobra (< *-kuprāt) 'desires' (← *'boils with desire'), vb. n. accobor || BSl: [1] Lt kvāpas 'breath, smell', kvēpti vi. 'to smell (of sth.)', kvēpti 'to pant, to breathe', Ltv kupt 'to ferment' (of wine), Pru kupsins 'fog'; [2] (with a long vw. *ū): Lt kūpūo-ti 'to pant, to breathe with difficulty', kūpētī vi. 'to boil', Ltv kūpēt-t 'to smoke, to reek, to steam' || Sl *kīpētī vi. 'to boil' > OCS кыпѣти kīpētī, Blg ки'пя, SCr кѣпети ≙ kīpjetī, Slv kīpētī, Cz kypětī, Slk kypiet', P kīpīeć, R ки'петь, Uk ки'пити id. || IE *keupH-/*kwHup- (> NaIE *kwap-) (from *keup- + sx. *-H-) > Gk Hm κεκαφῡότα θυμόν 'breathing forth one's life' (prtc. pf.) || Gmc (with anomalous Gmc *p < *pH?): Gt af-hapjan 'to suffocate, to extinguish', af-hapnan 'to

extinguish', MHG *verwepfen* 'to get stale\ropy' (of wine), ON {Fs.} *hvap* 'dropsical flesh', Ic *hvap* {Bv.} 'flabby flesh\muscle' ¶ P 596-7, M KI 230, FI 781-2, WH II 732-3, Thr. § 227, Frn. 313, 325, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 296-300, ESSJ XIII 265, Glh. 318, Fs. 7, Lx. 285, Bv. 319, ≈ EUC 529 (**k^wh_hwep-* or **k_Lw_Luh_hp-* 'smoke, seethe') || A: T **k'öp(∇)-* v. 'swell, foam, boil over' (**k'*- on the ev. of the Og lgs.) > MQp]CC] *köb-*, Osm XVI *köp-* 'swell', MQp XV *köp-* 'boil over', Az, Blq, ET, Xk, Yk *köp-*, Qmq *göp-*, Nog *köb-*, VTt *küb-* (→ Chv *күп-* *küb-*), Bsh *күбе-* *kübb-*, Qq *кep-* 'swell, be blown up', Alt/Tlt/QK/Kü {Rl.} *köp-* 'swell (anschwellen)', Shor *köp-* v. 'foam, ferment (schäumen, säuern, sauer werden)', Qrg *köp-mö* 'swollen'; → T **k'öpik* 'foam, froth' > OT *körük*, Tk *körük*, Qzq *көбік* *köbik* id., Az *көпүк* *körük*, Chg, OXwT, OQp, Ggz, Tkm, ET *körük*, Qmq *göbük*, Qq, Nog *köbik*, VTt, Bsh *күбек* *kübyk*, Qrg *köbük*, Xk *көбік* *köbyk*, Tv *köbük*, Tf {ET} *к'öpük*, Chv *кәпәк* *kəbək* 'foam', SY {ML.} *кevik* ~ *kivek* 'foam (in camel's mouth)' ¶ Cl. 687, 689, ET KQ 109-11, Rs. W 291, Bu. II 143, Rl. II 1310-1, Hüs. 174, GRM 287, Jud. 413, 426, Jeg. 100, 124, Fed. I 255-6, 323-4 || ?ϕ U: FU: Lp T {TI} *k'āvwā-* 'boil up, foam (up)' (p. 3s *k'āvai*, 1p *k'vwən*) and possibly vt. 'cook' {SK}: Lp T *k'p'te-δ*, Kld *kij't'e-δ*, Nt *k'ēj'tte-d* ¶ TI 127, SK 178, UEW 143-4, Coll. 23 ¶¶ IS I 364 suggests to adduce words of other branches of Uralic that have no traces of **p* (F *keitttää*, etc.), but this is too speculative to be accepted, the more so that they have been explained by UEW as going back to U **keye-* vi. 'boil', 'be cooked', 'be ready' (of cooked food), 'ripen' (UEW 143-4) || HS: B **✓kff* ~ **✓kfy* > ETwl *ukəf*, Ty *əkəf* 'se gonfler, être gonflé' (both from B **✓wkf* with a HS md.-ps. px. **w-*), Zng {IS ← ?} *ukfey* v. 'boil', {Bs.} *✓kf'w'* (*akuffo*, aor. *yakuffo*) v. 'foam', u-*kfuč* 'ébullition', ? *л* Kb *щщəfkəf* 'faire un bruit d'eau qui court en bouillonnant']B **✓kfh* ~ **✓kfs* (partially *л*) 'foam, saliva' (× N **ko'q'p∇* 'mucus, slime' → 'saliva' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II #O736, Bs. MS I 231 ◇ IS I 363-5 [#240] (**Ḳüpä* in IE, T, M, Zng *✓kfy*, Lp T *k'p'te-*). Cp. N **Ḳ'u'p∇* 'bubble, pustule, blister' (belongs here as a sd.?) ◇ The front vw. in T may be due to vw. harmony.

1112. **ḲupE* (or **Ḳüp∇*) 'to bend (a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.)', 'elbow' > HS: S **✓kpy* ~ **✓kpy* ~ **-kūp-* ~ **✓kpp*: **✓kpy* 'elbow' > Mh *šəf'fay* (pl. *šəfōf*), Hrs *šəffi* ~ *šəf'fəy*, Jb E *šə'fəf*, Jb C *šə'fəf* 'elbow'; **✓kpy* v. 'bend (a knee), bow' > JA {Lv.} *כפך* *✓kpy|w*, Sr

✓kpy (pf. **كأ** kə'pā) id., JBA {Sl.} ✓kpy 'bend over, overturn'; S *-kūp- > Ak StB kâpu v. 'bend (?)', JA {Js.} **כוף** ✓kwp id. (act. prtc. **כִּיפֵי** kā'ip ~ **כִּיפֵי** kā'yip ~ **כִּיפֵי** kā'yep), Sr ✓kwp id. (pf. **كأ** kāp 'flexit'), **كأ** kaw'pā 'flexio'; S *✓kpp (× N *kib∇ 'hump, bend') > BHb ✓kpp G (pf. **כָּפַף** kā'pap) v. 'bend, bow down', JEA {Sl.} ✓kpp G vt. 'bend, overcome', Sr ✓kpp (pf. **كأ** kap) v. 'bow, bend (a knee)', JA ✓kpp (pf. **כָּפַף** kə'pap ~ **כָּפַף** kə'pēp) v. 'bend, curve', Ak ✓kpp 'bend', Sr kəpī'p-ā 'hump', ? Htr kpp? 'ε architectural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar ✓kff G 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', 's'entortiller les pieds, etc., avec un chiffon' ¶ KBR 484-5, Lv. T I 378, Sl. 594-7, JPS 222, Js. 623-4, 661, Br. 323, 339-40, BK II 909, Hv. 658, Jo. M 398, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 268, CAD VIII 192, HJ 531, BK II 909 || Eg fp **κῆρ** '(Arme [in Demut]) beugen' ¶ EG V 32 || Ch {Stl.} *gufi- 'knee' > WCh: Hs **gūfīwā** id. | Ngz {Sch.} **kufú** id. | ? Buli {Sh.} **gāfìn** id. || CCh: ZmD {Srp} **giffi**, Msm **guf** id. || ECh {J}: Mgm **gìppì**, EDng **gípó**, Bdy **gèpé** id. | Jg **giφo**, Brg **gífi**, Mu **gìp** (pl. **gòbúb**) id. | Smr {J} **gùbé**, Tmk {Cp.} **gùb**, Nd D {J} **gùb'** id. ¶ Stl. IF 164-5, ≈ JI I 106 (*g∇p- < Ch *✓grp 'knee') and II 214-5 || IE: NaIE *k[̂]eyub- 'sich im Gelenk biegen' > Gk **κύβος** 'hollow above the hips of cattle', [Rh.] 'knucklebone' → 'a dice' (↳ L **cuβus** 'Kubus, Würfel, Kubikzahl'), Gk [Poll.] **κύβων** 'elbow' || L **cuβitus** 'elbow' || Gmc (× N ≈ ***Ƿūlyt, Ƿ, Ƿ** 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 589-90, Mn. 579, WH I 297-8, F II 39-40, Fs. 277-8, Ho. 184, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319 || A: M ***kō|übüre-** v. 'bend' (× N ***kib∇** 'hump, bend') > WrM **kōbüre-**, HIM **xyβpax** v. 'bend, bow down, incline' ¶ MED 477 || pKo {S} ***kōp-**, ***kup-** 'be bent' > MKo **kōp-**, ***kup-**, NKo **kop-**, ***kup-** ¶ S QK #1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 220 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #883 (incl. M, Ko).

1113. *Ƿu'p∇**, ***-Ƿ**** 'bubble, pustule, blister' > **U:** [1] FU ***kupp∇** 'abscess, tumour' > F **kuppa** 'bubble, blister, tumour', Es **kupp** 'bump, boss', {W} 'Blase, kleine Beule, Knopf; Buckel' || Mk **κοπα** *kopa* 'boil, furuncle (Geschwür, Beule), Er {W} *kopa* 'Beule; Schamgegend' || Hg Δ **hupolyag**, **hup(p)alag**, **hupojag** 'pustule, water-bubble on the skin, furuncle-like tumour; swelling (on a tree, etc.)' || [2] FU ***kupe(-n|ña)** 'fish-sound, swimming-bladder' > F **kupinas**, Krl **kupino** id. | Lp: I **ko'pp'ān**, Pa **koʒp'ēn** id. (↳ Krl?) || Vg: T **kāpən**, LK **xūl-xōpən**, P **kul-kōpən**, Ss **xūl-xōpna** id. (**xūl**, **kul** 'fish') || [3] FU ***kup'Ƿa** 'bubble, foam bubble' > F **kupla** 'water bubble, fish-sound, swelling, tumour', Es **kubel**, {W.} **kubl** 'bubble, blister, wheal' | pLp {Lr.} ***koplē** 'bubble,

fish-sound' > Lp: Kld {TI} ko₁p:lěs, Nt {TI} ko|ppa₁ǰěs id., N {Fri.} goblo, Vfs {Lgc.} g₁qbq₁ūō' 'lung' | Chr L кувыл kuwъl, Uf kuwъl, H къwъl 'water-bubble' || ObU: ?φ Os: K χōmāl 'bubble, pustule, wheal, corn (on the foot)', V qomlǽη, D χōmālsōχ, Nz χōmlasōχ 'fish-sound' (sqχ 'fell'), Vy yēηki qōmlǽη 'water-bubble, wheal', K χōmlǽχint- 'produce water-bubbles' (of burned skin); Os m is irreg. | Hg hólɣag, Δ hōjig, hojog, holag, howlag, hōlag 'bubble, urinal bladder, water-bubble', (Δ) 'fish-sound' ¶ UEW 212-4, Lr. #457, Hs. 539, W EDW 413, PI 125, TI 148, MRS 236 || D (in SD) ɫ *ko|upp-, ko|upp^a]- ({ǰGS} *gobb- ~ [?] *kopp-) 'bubble; pustule, blister' > Tm koppa₁am, koppu₁, koppu₁am id., koppa₁i, koppu₁i v. 'blister, rise in bubbles (as water)', koppū₁ 'pustule, blister', Ml koppu₁ 'bubble, pustule', Kn kupa₁isu v. 'blister', Kn T gōbbe, Tu gōbbuli 'bubble' ¶ D #2106 || A *^ok'U¹b∇(k∇) ~ ?φ *k'ab∇ > M *quβqanag 'scrotum of animals' > WrM quqanag, HIM хуухнаг, Brt хууханаг ¶ MED 993, Kow. 875, Gl. 147, Chr. 607 || ?φ T *k₁'₁abuk 'bladder' > OT {Cl.} qavuuq ~ qaγuuq, OQp XIV, Chg ≥XV qawuuq, OOsM ≥XIV qavuuq, Tk kavυk, Tkm, Az gowuuq, Uz қовуқ qawuuq, Qzq, Qq, Nog quwIQ, VTt quwъq, Bsh qъwъq, Xk χōχ, Yk χabaχ id., Osm {Rl.} qawIQ 'hollow object' ¶ Cl. 583, ET KQ 174, Rl. II 467-8 || ?φ Tg *xap- 'fish bladder' > Ewk aγ, Ul χāpa (↳ Neg L xāpɫ), Neg U āpɫ, ?φ Ewk kapata id. ¶ STM I 11, 376 ¶¶ DQA #1049 (A *k'jōba(k∇) - *k'jābu(k∇) 'bladder, scrotum') ¶¶ The vw. *a in T and Tg is puzzling (infl. of a different A root [or N word]?) ◇ Is it connected with N *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble'?

1114. *kuP₁∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance' > HS: S: [1] *^okupp- > Ar quff- 'hill, a height (terrain ou pays plus élevé que les entours); back (dos, dessus d'une ch.)'; [2] WS (or CS?) *kupp- ~ *kipp- > MHb הַפֶּה, הַפֶּה הַכִּי kip'pā 'heap, pile', Ar kūf-at- 'mound of sand', 'monticule arrongie de sable' ¶ BK II 786, 944, Hv. 619, 670, Js. 635, Lv. II 375 || SC: Kz {E} kipeto 'anthill' ¶ EK 12 || IE: NaIE *koupo- 'pile, heap, hill, mountain' > OPrs kaufa-, CINPrs كوه kōh, NPrs كوه kuh 'mountain', NPrs كوهان kuhān 'camel's yak's hump', Av kaofa- 'mountain, camel's hump' || pAl {O} *kūpa > Al qipɪ 'stack' || OSx huvil 'hill, hillock', OHG hubil 'hill', NHG Hübel 'hillock'; NNr hov 'a height, small hill' || Lt káupas ~ kaūpas 'heap, pile', kùpstas 'hill' | Sl: [1] *kupъ > OCS коупъ купъ, Blg куп, SCr кӯр, Slv kùp 'heap', Cz kup id.,

'multitude'; [2] *kupa > OR, RChS **коруна** кура, Cz, P кура, R Δ, Uk кура 'heap', SCr ку̀ра 'heap, cone', Blg кура 'heap, pile, stack' ¶ P 591-2, Brtl. 431-2, Ho. 168, Ho. S 38, Kb. 484, OsS 427, KM 318, O 361, Frn. 23, StSS 299, ESSJ XIII 107-8, 114-5 || **К** *қор- > G қор-і 'bump\lump (on one's head)', Sv {Ni.} қуер id., ? Sv UB {GP} қуер 'button of clothing' ¶¶ Ni. s.v. шишка || **А:** NaT *к'ör - *к'öp 'multitude, many' (× N *қорбе 'to fill; whole' [q.v. ffd.]) || **Д:** [1] {tr.} *kupp- 'heap, hill', {GS} *kup- 'heap' > Tm курам 'multitude, heap', Ml кура 'heap (of dirt\refuse)'. Kt кip 'heap of weeds\rubbish', Td кip 'rubbish', Tl кура 'heap, pile', Kn кура, гура id., 'dung-hill', Kdg кура 'a dropping of dung', Tu кура, гура 'heap', Prj кура 'stack, mound', кора 'small hillock', Gdb кура, Mnd кура 'heap', Gnd кора 'hill', Knd кура 'heap of grain', Png кура 'heap, stock', Kui кура 'hillock', Kw к̄ура 'mound', кура 'stock', Mlt кора 'heap, pile' || [2] *kupp- ({GS} *gubb-) 'knob, protuberance' > Kn губби id., кура, гура 'an abnormal globular excrescence of the body', Ml кура 'brass knob on tip of bullock's horn', Tu губби, губба 'stud, knob, button', Tl губба 'knob, protuberance, woman's breast', Knd корам hump of bullock', Mlt гура 'hump of ox' ¶¶ D ##1731, 1743 || ?φ **U:** FU (att. in BF) *käpü 'cone (of conifers)' > F кәру, Es кәби id. ¶ The unexpected vw. *ä needs explaining ¶ SK 261, SSA II 475.

1115. *ҚуP∇ 'box, basket' > **HS:** S *қupp(-at)- > Ak қupp-у(m) 'box' ('Kasten'), MHb הַבִּיבָה қур'пā 'basket, box' ('Korb'), IAr qph (emph. qpt?) 'basket', JPA אֲתֵבָה, הַתֵּבָה қурпә'tā 'basket, tub', NSr {PS} **قوب** қурпā 'cophinus cum manubrio instructus', NENA {Mcl.} **قوب** қурпā 'basket with a handle for marketing', Md кура, кура 'basket, round basket-boat', Ar قفة^{قفة} quff-at- 'cophinus\qualus (pec. ex foliis palmae contextus) in quo mulier gossypium reponit' ¶ Sd. 928, Lv. IV 270-1, Js. 1338-9, HJ 1019, PS 3552, Mcl. 274, DM 409, Fr. III 478 || Ch: ECh: Mkl {J} к̄п 'boîte', ??σ Mgm {JA} к̄пè '(ε) tree' || AdS of WCh {S} *kab∇ 'basket' (< N *Қаб'Е?'∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ S ZCh 205 [#561], J S 69, J R 216, 286, J LMok 126, JA LM 102, Barg. 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || ? **К:** G қубо 'coffin' (here, unless it is a loanword [from L cūpa, кура '↑?']) ¶ Chx. 635, DCh. 632 || **IE:** NaE *koupp-/ *kup- '≈ vessel' (× N *қуб'Е' 'basket', [in descendant lgs.] → 'vessel') > Gk κύπελλον 'a big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, gublet', κύπρος 'ε a measure of corn' || L cūpa 'cask' or 'butt', L [ϝ], VL

cuppa 'cup, beaker' > Rum cupǎ, Fr coupe, Sp, Prt, Ctl copa id.,
 ↳ OHG kopf & chopf 'head, mug, bowl, NHG Kopf 'head', AS
 cuppe 'cup', NE cup || Pls (?) ↳ Gk κόφος {LS} 'basket-load', κόφινος
 'basket' ↳ L cophinus 'basket, hamper' > It cofano, Sp cuévano
 id., OFr, Fr coffin id., 'coffin' (↳ NE coffin), Fr coffre ↳ NHG
 Koffer || ? Gmc: ON húfr 'hull of a ship', NLG Wph hūve, AS hūf
 'beehive', NE hive ¶ Long *ū in some lgs. may be due to the heritage of
 N *qUbr'E' ¶ P 591, WH I 310-1, Wn. P 103, FI 936-7 and II 51-2, ML
 ##2207, 2409, Vr. 265, Kb. 555, Ho. 63, 183, EUC 444 (? *kuHp- 'water
 vessel') || A *k_l'_loP∇ > M *qobdu > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver', WrO {Krg.}
 xobdo 'quiver, case', WrM qobdu, HIM xовд, Kl xовд, {Rm.} xobdā
 'case, long and narrow box; quiver', Ord xob_d_o 'coffin', Brt xобто
 'box, trunk (coffre)' (× N *qUbr'E' '↑' × N *kom_l∇_ldE 'ε basket,
 vessel') ¶ MED 949-50, KRS 592, KW 191 || Tg *xobu-r / *xebu-r 'coffin'
 > Nn Nh xzur, Nn KU xzwur, Ud xзу (< STg), Ul xzuli, WrMc xобо,
 xобор(гон), Mc Sb [hovə] [xov] 'coffin' ¶ STM I 464, 467, Y #752
 || pKo {S} *kob∇r 'coffin, box' > MKo kōr ¶ S QK #1035, Nam 54 || pJ
 {S} *k_lu_li 'coffin' > OJ k_li ¶ S QJ #1329, Mr. 449 || NaT *kobur ~
 *kabur > Chg {Rs.} qobur 'Gefäß, Etui', Kü {RI.} qoγur 'coffin'; OT [MhK]
 {Rs.} qabırçaq, {Cl.} qabırçāq 'box, coffin', OQp XIV qaburçaq 'box,
 casket', Chg {Rs.} qoburçaq 'kleine Büchse' ¶ Rs. W 235, 274, RI. II 518,
 Cl. 586-7 ¶¶ DQA #1072 *k'jubu 'box, coffin' (A *k'jubu 'box, coffin'
 with unjustified *j), Lee CSMK 112 (Ko, Tg) ◇ IE and U point to a pN
 vw. *u of the first syll. Therefore the M, Tg, and T vw. *o (< A *o?)
 needs explaining.

1116. *k_lah₂æP_l∇ (= *k_lahæP_l∇?) 'chop, dig' > K *k_lāp-/*k_lēp- ({IS}
 *k_lāp-/*k_lēp-) v. 'chop, cut': K *k_lāp- > G k_lap- (aor. -k_lap-e < *-k_lāp-) v.
 'beschneiden, stutzen; (in Stücke) zer-hauen\hacken', {DCh.} 'chop
 (wood), beat, kill', G {DCh.} k_lep- (aor. -k_lep-e < *-k_lēp-) v. 'chop, cut', Sv
 *k_lāp- > Sv UB k_lap- v. 'cut into small pieces (сечь)', Sv L l_l₁-k_lāp-₁ prtc.
 'chopped, cut'; K {FS} *k_le_l_lp- v. 'chop into small pieces' > G {DCh.} k_lep-
 ~ k_lep- 'chop, cut', {Chx.} k_lep- 'chop\cut into small pieces' (aor. da-k_lepa
 'er zerhackte in kleine Stücke', inf. k_lep-va), Sv {FS} k_lap- 'chop\cut into
 small pieces' (msd. li-k_lap-n-e id., čwad-k_lap-n-e 'er zerhackte in kleine
 Stücke') ¶¶ IS rGM 133, IS I 318, FS K 174, FS E 190, Srj. FLK 23, Chx.
 557-8, 568-9, DCh. 597-8, 604-5 || HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} kofa 'to make a
 dam', Or {Grg.} kāba 'to put soil up around a plant', Or {Vit.} kōf- v.

'dig', ?σ Or Wt {Sr.} koffa 'vagina' ¶ Sr. 346, Gs. 196, Grg. 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} қарр- v. 'chop, hew', {HHM} нѣкорро 'hew', нѣ карро 'split' ¶ C SE IV 486, HHM 118, 313 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k¹a¹p- v. 'dig, bury' > Hs káftà v. 'dig ground deeply with big hoe (preparatory to planting cassava, etc.)' || Sbc: Kir kəbe, Zul {ChL} ya kəpe, Buli {ChL} kəbu 'bury' ¶ Stl. ZCh 205 [#556], ChL, Ba. 525 || S *^o-kūb- > Ar √ qwb (ip. -qūb-) 'dig (the ground)' ¶ BK II 829, Lv. 632 || ? Eg Md kfɥ vi. 'gape' (of a wound) ¶ EG V 120, DW 904 ¶¶ The plain vl. k in Eg and C is due to the HS deglottalization || IE *ke₁h₁p- > NaIE *ke(:)p- v. 'chop, dig' > NPrs کافتن kāf-tān 'to split, to cleave, to dig', کاو kāv 'excavation, digging' || Gk κόπτω 'I cut off, chop off, fell (trees)', ft. κόψω, aor. ἔκοψα, pfc. κέκοψα (× κόπτω 'I strike' of a different origin) || pAl *kapa > (umlautized) Al кер vt. 'sharpen, hoe, dress (a stone) by flaking' || OHG habba, heppa 'vine-knife, bill-hook, scythe (Rebmesser, Sense, Hippe)', NHG Hippe 'pruning knife, scythe' (< Gmc *xēβjō) || Lt karóti, Ltv karāt 'to chop' || Sl *korǎ-ti 'to dig' > OCS копати kopati, R копать, Blg ко'пая, SCr kòpati, Slv kópati, Cz kopati, P коpać ¶ P 931-2 (does not separate this IE √ from forms belonging to IE *sker- 'split' < N *č₁ap₁ra 'beat, strike, chop', q.v.), Horn 186, Vl. II 775-6, 786, FI 915-6, OsS 272, Kb. 419, KM 310, Frn. 217-8, ESSJ XI 18-20, Glh. 331-2, StSS 290, Vs. II 317, AlbED 376, O 175 || D *kappo ~ *kāvo ({{GS}} *k-) > Kn kappu 'dig', kappu, kappa 'hole in the ground, pit', Tl kāvū 'pit, well' ¶¶ D #1223 ◇ The most probable N laryngeal (yielding IE*₁h₁, K length of vw. and a zero in S and Eg) is *h ◇ IS I 317-8 [#193] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #87 (*kap 'cut off') (IE, Sm, A, EA).

1117. *Қон₂ар¹У¹ (= *Қо¹р¹ар¹У¹?) 'bark', (?) 'skin' > HS: C ({E} *kāf- 'hull, rind') > Ag *қарр- > Aw {Bnd.} qar, Bln {R} қāf 'bark' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} qafi (pl. qafō) 'membrane, cover', {Bnd.} qafi, {E} qafa 'bark', {Wh.} qāfta 'peel of fruits', Alg {E} qafaʔi, Brn {E} qafa 'bark' || ? EC: Rn χàbqáh 'dry tree bark' ¶ AD SF 67, 233, E SC 386, E PC #145, R WB 236, Mgw. 105, PG 186, Blz. SCL s.v. 'bark', Blz. RL 257 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k^ωaHab∇ 'bark' > Hs k^ωab|p|f-tò, Ang kōp, Su k^ωaʔap, Zar K k^ωàbà, Zar GL kàbú, Sy Z kóbək, as well as possibly Gj gùp̂ŝη 'bark', Bg kòp̂ŝη id. || CCh: Tr {J} gèbà, Pdl {CWL} g+ḅzr 'bark', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) Gude {ChL} kuvvʔun and Nzn kùv^ω 'skin' || ?? ECh: Kwn {J} kəb̂zrów, Smr kəb̂zréw 'bark' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 20, Stl.

ZCh 205 [#558], Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bark' || U *kopa 'bark' > Es kōba 'fir bark' | Er κυβο 'crust, rind', Mk κυβα id., 'bark' | pChr {Ber.} *kuwə > Chr Δ kuwo 𐌆 kuwū 𐌆 kuwъ 𐌆 kūwo {Szl.} 'Hilse, Schale, Schuppe', {Ü} κυβο 'chaff' | pPrm {LG} *ku 'bark, skin' > Vt ku id., Z ku 'fell, skin' || Sm {Jn.} *kopā, {Hl.} *kopa 'skin, bark' > Ne T xobǎ 'skin (of an animal), шкyркa', Ne F L {Lh.} kōp:ǎ, Ng {Cs.} 'kuFu, En X/B {Cs.} 'koba 'skin', Slq {KKIH} qop† 'fell of an animal, skin, bark, rind', Slq K/NP {Cs.} koppa 'skin', Kms {KD} k'uba, k'upa 'skin, hide, leather', Koyb {Sp.} kyba 'skin', Mt {Hl.} *koha|o 'skin, hide, (nut)shell' (Mt M {Sp.} kō 'skin', Mt K {Pl.} κογοτο 'his skin') ¶ UEW 180-1, Coll. 25, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Sm *kopā, FP *kopa), Ber. 26, Jn. 73-4, Cs. 81, 121, KKIИ 162, KD 33, Sp. SJK 41, Sp. SJM 75, Hl. M #520 || A {SDM97} *k'āp'a 'bark, skin' > T *k'ābuk 'bark, shell' > OT qaViq, [QB] qaVuq 'bran', Tk kabuk, Az gabiq, Slr goχ, Nog, Qrg qabiq, Bsh qabъq, Ggz kabuk, Blq qabuq, CrTt qabuχ, ET {Rl.} qobuq 'bark, shell', Tkm gābiq, Qzq, Qq qabiq, VTt qabъq, Qmq qabuq, Uz qabiq, Chv L χubъ 'bark, peel (of a fruit)', Xk χabiχ, Tv χawiq 'husk' ¶ Cl. 583, ET KQ 168-70, Jeg. 305, TvR 460, Rl. II 660-2 || M *qayuda-sun (< *qabuda-sun) 'bark' > WrM {Kow., MED} qagudasun, HIM xuydas, Brt xuydaHa(н) 'sheet of paper', Kl xuydc χūdъs id., {Rm.} χūdъсη 'bark'; M *qayura- (*-y- < *-β-) v. 'peel' > WrM qagura- ~ qaura-, HIM xuyra-x v. 'peel off'; M *qayul- (*-y- < *-β-) v. 'peel' > MM [S] χa,ul-χu v. 'skin, peel' ('abhäuten, abschinden'), WrM qagul-, HIM xuyла-x, Kl xuyл-x χūl-xъ, {Rm.} χūl-χα v. 'peel off, skin, flay', Mnr H χū'li- id. ('peler, écorcher, écorcer'); 'ab-reissen\schaben\ziehen'; M *qayurqa (*-y- < *-β-) > WrM qagurqai, Kl {Rm.} χūrχā ~ χūrχā 'losgerissen, abgerissen (z. B. die Rinde, ein Blatt aus einem Buche)', Mnr H χū'rā- 'se peler, s'écorc(h)er, se détacher'; M *qobqu- v. 'peel, flay' > WrM qobqu-, HIM xovxлo-x id. ¶ MED 909-10, 951, KW 201-2, KRS 614, Kow. 744, Chr. 605, SM 180, 184, H 63 || ?σ Tg *°x₁abda- v. 'clean a tree from branches' (×N *kAPV 'leaf'?) > WrMc {Hr.} abdala- 'abbrechen', {Z} abtala- 'clean the tree from branches, clean branches' ¶ STM I 5, Z 26, Hr. 2 || pKo *kàp^h- (~ *kà₁p^h-) 'bark' > MKo kàp^hír, kà₁pč'ír 'bark', NKo k̄a₁pč'il 'skin, bark, shell', k̄a₁pteki id., 'husk, peel', Ko: Ph k̄a₁pč'il, PhN k̄a₁pč'il, Ks k̄a₁pč'ì, Hm k̄ôpč'ì, Sl k̄ôpč'íl, Chs koptégi, Kw k̄a₁ptegi 'bark', Chj k̄a₁ptegi id., 'skin' ¶ S AJ 251 [#3], MLC

103 || J: pJ *kapa 'skin, leather; bark' > OJ kàpà, J: T kawá id., Kg kawa, Ns kó, Sh kã, Yka id., K káwá 'skin', kàwá 'leather' ¶ S AJ 258 [#3], 26 [#3], S QJ #3, Mr. 445, Kenk. 880 ¶¶ S AJ 274 [#2], SDM95 s.v. *k'ápa 'bark, skin', DQA #988 (A*k'ápa 'bark, skin') ¶¶ Acc. to DQA #1007, the A √ has a variant *k'èp'à ({SDM-95} *k'èp'o) 'husk, shell' > pJ *kàpì 'egg, shell', T *k'ebük 'bran, chaff' anf M *kebe 'bran, husks'. These two variants may represent two different results of synharmonic levelling, suggesting the existence of a front vw. in the second syll. of the N word ◇ The presence or traces of a rounded vw. (*o?) in U and Ch as opposed to the presence of *a in A and C may be explained by assuming a trisyllabic etymon with both *o and *a. This hyp. is directly suggested by Su k^waɣap 'bark' and indirectly by the long vw. in T *k'āpuk. In view of Su k^waɣap the etymon *Қон₂ар'U' is preferred to *Қаһ₂ор▽ ◇ IS MS 344 (ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ 'bark'); IS proposed to equate U *kopa 'bark' with M *qobuɣa 'well bucket (usually made of skin)' (MED 950, KW 191) and with ET qobuq, qobuzaq 'bark' (which is a labialized var. of pT *k'āpuk 'bark'). His rec. of *ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ- is based on comparison with K *ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-/ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ- 'skin, fell', which is hardly acceptable (≠ϕ). The Ag *-pp- and the cns. *-ᵛᵛ- in some Ch lgs. may be explained by the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ or *ɣ). The rec. of this lr. will help resolving the contradiction between the ev. of U *-p- (suggesting N *-p-) and that of A *-p' (apparently suggesting N *-p-, but also explainable from *-ʔp- → *-ɣp-). In T *kāpuk and possibly in Ch (Sy Z kóbɜk) one may discern traces of a suffixed element. There is an interesting parallel between M *qaβ'urqay and ECh (Kwn kábárów, Smr kàbɜráw 'bark') ◇ ≈ AD NM #93 (*Қа'p|ʔ'ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ), S CNM 5, Vv. AEN 6.

1118. *қ'а'w₁o₁pE or *қ'а'w₁o₁p▽y▽ 'skull; occiput' ([in B, IE] → 'head') > HS: WS *қа'pay- 'occiput, skull' > Sr қ̄āp₁ə₁'y-ā, қ̄əpāy-ā, қ̄əppā₁'y-ā 'nape of the neck', Ar قفا qafa-n id., {BK} 'derrière du cou, nuque; derrière de la tête, occiput', قفان qafan- 'back of the head', Har қ̄əfət, Grg Sl/Wl/Z қ̄əfət 'forehead', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} қ̄əfē, Jb C {Jo.} 'қ̄əfē 'back (dos)'; cp also a S variant stem *o'қ'īᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛap- > Ar qihf- (pl. qihaf-at-) 'os de la tête qui garantit le cerveau', {Hv.} 'skull' ¶ Br. 683, JPS 513, BK II 679, 792, Hv. 589, 621, ≈ MiK I LIX, #1.164, LEDH 122, L EDG III 473, Jo. M 226, Jo. H 74, Jo. J 142 || B *ɣafi (< *қаpi or *қаp▽y) 'head' > Ty, ETwl e-ɣɜf (pl. i-ɣɜfɜwɜn), Ah eɣəf, Wrg iɣəf, iχf, Si aχfi, Nf iɣəf, Zng {TC} iʔf 'tête' ¶ Fc. 1700, GhA 65, Dlh. Ou 237, La. S

301, TC Z 310 || ECh: Jg {J} κοφο 'occiput, brain', Mgm {J} κύρο, EDng {Fd.} κόρο 'occiput', Mu {J} κόβο 'nuque' ¶ J J 114, JA LM 102, ChC s.v. 'occiput' ¶¶ OS #337, MiK I #164 || **K** *k̑ap- > Mg k̑ope ~ k̑ope 'crown of the head', USv {TK} k̑äp 'nape', Sv (rdp.): UB {TK} k̑ak̑äp, LB {TK} k̑ok̑ep, L k̑ek̑epay, Ln k̑ek̑epa 'nape, skull'; G {SSO, DCh.} k̑epa 'occiput' may have a deviant vw. e due to the merger with an Aramaism (cp. Sr k̑ap̑āy-a 'nape of neck'), while G J q̑apa 'skull' may be a loan from Ar **قفا** qafa-n (or from Aram?) ¶¶ TK 341, 343, GP 128, ≈ Fn. KW-1 34 ({Fn.} *k̑ep- 'occiput, crown of head' > G k̑epa, Sv k̑ek̑ep-a 'skull') ¶ Cp. also K *°k̑ap- 'chin, 'jaw' < N *k̑ep̑_LH₂∇ (= *k̑ep̑_∇?) 'jaw, chin' (q.v.) || **IE**: NaIE *kaput ~ *°k̑ap̑ut 'head' (× N *k̑'a'd̑ud∇ 'tip, top', q.v.) > L caput / gen. capit-is 'head' || Gmc: ON hōfuð, Gt haubir, ON haufuð, OHG houbit, NHG Haupt, OSx hōvid, AS héafod 'head', NE head || OI ka'pucchalam 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (a cd. with śala- 'hair'), kapuṣṇikā 'tuft of hair on each side of the head' ¶ But *kap̑l- 'occiput, skull' (> OI ka'pālam 'cup, skull', AS hafola 'head') belongs to N *k̑aP̑L∇ 'occiput, skull' ¶ ≈ WP I 346-7, P 529-30, EI 260-1 (*kaput), M K I 155-7, M E I 300, 302 (no et. of OI words), WH I 163-4, Vr. 279, Kb. 481, Schz. 170, OsS 420, 150, 293-4, Ho. 147, 150 || **U**: FU *koppa 'skull; hollow object' > F koppa 'the front part of the skull, forehead; basket, pannier, shell' (× N *q̑Ub̑ȓ'E' 'basket') , pää-koppa 'skull' (pää is 'head'), Es Δ kopp (gen. kopa) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' || Lp: Kld {TI} v̑š̑ne-k̑ippe 'skull', Nt ūeyv-kūeh̑p id. (v̑š̑ne 'brain', ūeyv 'head') || Mk {Ahl.} prea-kopaška 'skull' (prea 'head') || ObU: Vg (in cds.) T kap̑, LK x̑p̑, MK/P kop, Ss x̑opi 'skull'; Os Z x̑ōp̑a id. ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 181-2, SK 217, SSA I 400, TI 1730, 1744, Ht. #754, KrT 324, Stn. D 530 ◇ The hypothetical N *o is preserved in FU *koppa (with a syncope *-awo- > *o) ◇ IS I 319-20 (S, B, ECh, K, IE, U + qu. Om: Kullo {Brl.} hupea 'head').

1119. *k̑'a'yap̑∇ (or *q̑- and *-p-) 'sharp stone\rock\cliff' > **IE**: NaIE *k̑eip̑o-/*k̑oip̑o- '≈ sharp object' > OI 'śēpa-h̑ 'tail, penis' || L c̑ippu-s 'pointed pale, stake' || pAl {O} *caip̑a > Al thep 'sharp peak, sharp point' ¶ P 543, WH I 219-20, O 474, ≠ M K III 372-3 || **HS**: S *'kayap- 'stone, rock' > Ak k̑āp- id., BHb **קב** *'kēp* 'rock' (att.: pl. **קבִּים** kē'p̑īm), ChrPA **קבא** kē'p̑ā, Sr E kē'p-ā, Sr W ke'p̑ā 'stone', JA [Trg.] **קב** kē'p̑, em. **קבִּי** kē'p̑ā, JPA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} **קבִּי** kē'p̑ā 'stone, rock'

¶ Sd. 445, KB 467, KBR 492, Lv. T I 361, Dlm. 187, Js. 634-5, Sl. 577 ||
A: NaT *k'aya '(sharp) rock, cliff' > OT qaya 'rock, sharp outstanding rock or rocky cliff', Tk kaya, Az, Tkm gāya, Tkm Δ gāya, Ggz kaya, Blq, Nog, Bsh, SY, Alt qaya, Qq, Qrg qīya, VTt q̄ya, ET qīya, Uz qaya, Xk, Yk, Tv xaya, Tf haya 'rock, cliff' ¶ N *-p- (or *-p-?) has been lost (a reg. loss at the beginning of the third syll.?) ◇ S *k- results from deglottalization of *k̄-, which suggests a pN *k̄-, although N *q- is not excluded either (if the merger of *k̄ and *q preceded the HS deglottalization) ¶ Cl. 674-5, ET KQ 198-9, TL 96, Ra. 185.

1120. ₂ *K̄aP̄L̄ 'occiput, skull' > **HS:** S *o'k̄ap̄L̄- > Ar قَفْلَة qafīl-at- 'occiput, derrière de la tête' ¶ BK II 791 || **IE:** NaIE *kap(e|ē)lo- 'skull' > AS hafol, OFrs héila (< *hāvila) 'head' (× N *k̄'a'w̄L̄o, p̄E or *k̄'a'w̄L̄o, p̄ȳ 'skull; occiput') || OI ka'pālam 'cup, bowl, skull' ¶ WP I 346, M K I 155, M E I 300, Ho. 147, EI 261 (*kapōlo- '≈ head, skull').

1121. ₂ *K̄'u'P̄r̄ 'hump' > **IE:** NaIE *k̄'u'p̄r̄- id. > OHG hofar ~ hovar, AS hofer 'hump' || Lt kuṽr̄ā, Ltv kuṽr̄(i)s 'hump, hunch' ¶ P 591-2, Kb. 473, OsS 411, Ho. 168, Frn.314 || **D** (in GnD) *kup̄r̄- 'hump' (× N ? *ḡū|ub|p̄E 'heap, hump, hunchback') > Gnd koparam 'hump of bullock', Mnd gupeṽr̄ 'hump of ox', ? KK: Kui kopa 'hump, cow's hump', Ku guṽu 'hump of ox' ¶ D #1731a.

1122. ₂ *K̄aP̄L̄Sa 'box' (unless a WW) > **IE:** L capsa 'box, case' → Gk κάψα id. → MHb קַבְצָא קַבְצָא קַבְצָא id. ¶ WH I 162-3 || **A** *k'apsa > T *k̄'apsa, *k̄'apsak > MQp [CC] qapsa 'box, coffin' (unless ← L), Tk Δ qapsa 'large basket', Tk kab̄sak 'basket' ¶ ET KQ 277 || Tg *xapsa > Ewk aṽsa ḏ absa 'box, bag', Lm aṽs̄b 'small bag', Orc apsan̄ça 'long narrow bag for hunt equipment', Ork xapsaw ~ xapsau 'small bag (for women)', WrMc 'birch-bark box, boat'; Mc → M: WrM absa(n), HIM а̀вс(а̀н) 'coffin, casket' ¶ STM I 9, MED 5.

1123. *K̄EP̄z̄ (= *K̄EP̄z̄?) 'paw, hoof' > **HS:** S *o'k̄p̄z̄ > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ?aqfāz- 'anteriores pedes atque genua albicantes habens (equus)', {Br.} 'qui a les pieds de devant blancs jusqu'aux genoux (cheval)', Ar quffāz- 'long felt-gloves (up to the elbows)' ¶ Fr. III 480, BK II 788, Hv. 620 || **IE:** *k̄opH- > NaIE *k̄op̄h- 'hoof, claw' > OI śa'pha- 'hoof of a horse, hoof', Av safa- 'hoof of a horse', KhS saha-, Psh swa, Oss I/D säf-t-äg 'hoof' || ON hófr, OHG huof, NHG Huf, AS hōf 'hoof', NE hoof (× NaIE *ko|ap- < N *K̄ap̄'a' 'palm of hand, sole

of foot; hoof', q.v.) ¶ SI *kōpītō 'hoof' hardly belongs here (because of *k- for the expected SI *s- < IE *k̂-; see N *Ḳap̄'ä' '↑') ¶ WP I 346, P 530, EI 272 (*k̂o'ph₂o-s 'hoof'), M K III 297, M E II 608, Ab. III 55-6, Mrg. 71, Bai. 423, Vr. 247, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, Ho. 168 ¶¶ IE *H < N *z or *ž ||
U: FU *kEps'ä' 'paw, fell from a paw/leg' (× N *gä'p'sA 'paw, hand' [q.v. ffd.]).

1124. *kar ▽ 'curse, scold, (?) be hostile', ? 'punish' > **K**: G *krul-* v. 'curse, damn' ¶ Chx. 633 || **HS**: WS **✓krw|y* > Sb *✓krw|y* *Gt* (ip. *ϣκτρν*) 'be punished', ? Ar *✓qry* *TD* (pf. *تَقَرَّى* *taqarrā*) 'pursue (fugitives)', ??φ Jb C {Jo.} 'k̄eraṣ 'get into a rage', *kar*'ṣun 'quick to anger' ¶ BGMR 107, Bll. 467, Jo. J 148 || WCh: Su {J} *kārī*, Ang {Flk.} *kār* v. 'punish' | ?σ NrBc {Tk.} **k̄war-* > Jmb {Sk.} *k̄war*, P' {MSk.} *aḳ̄war*, Sir {Sk.} *akur* 'be angry' | ?? Tng {J} *kurm̄s* 'annoyed, vexed' ¶ J S 69, Flk. s.v. *kār*, ≈ Stl. ZCh 213 [#635], Sk. NB 10, J T 105 ¶¶ Tk. PAA (NrBc., Jb) || **IE**: NaIE **kar-* v. 'abuse, blame, punish' > Gk [Hs.] *κάρνη* 'ζημία' 'damage' or 'penalty' || L *carinā-* v. 'jeer' || OIr *caire* f. 'fault, blame', OW *cared* 'nequitiae', W *caredd* 'fault', *kerydd* 'blame', MBr *karez* id., Crn *cara* v. 'blame' || OHG *harewēn*, {Vr.} *harawēn* v. 'mock, deride' ({OsS} 'exasperare'), AS *hierwan* v. 'despise, deride, blaspheme, condemn', *hornian* v. 'insult', ON *herfiligr* {Vr.} 'verächtlich' || Ltv *karināt* 'to tease', Lt E *k̄irinti* id., Lt *k̄airinti* 'reizen, aufbringen, erbittern' | pSl **korī-ti* 'to blame', **коръ* 'blame' > OCS *коръ* *коръ* 'contumelia, ὕβρις', *оукоръ* *укогъ* id., {StSS} 'оскорбление, поношение, унижение', *корити* *koriti* 'probris onerare', OR, RChS *корити* *koriti* 'to scold, to abuse, to blame', R *ко'рить*, Slv *koríti*, SCr *kòriti* 'to reproach', Blg *ко'ря* v. 'reproach, scold', Cz *kořiti* 'to humiliate', P *korzyć* 'to reproach, to humiliate'; Sl **kara* 'punishment' > ChS *кара* *kara*, R 'кара', SCr *kára*, Cz *kára*, P *kara* ¶ WP I 353, P 530, F I 790, WH I 168-9, Vn. C 20-1, Ho. 159, 170, Vr. 223, Ho. 159, OsS 272, Mn. 474-5, Frn. 183, 203-4, ESSJ IX 151 and XI 74-7, Glh. 334, Mikl. L 304, 1046, StSS 733 || **A**: NaT **Karit* 'abuse, insult' > OT [MhK] *qarit* n. 'abuse, insult'; NaT **K'arga-* v. 'curse, invoke charms on' > OT *qargā* ~ *qirgā-*, Chg ≥XV, MQp XIV (incl. CC) *qarṣa-*, Tk *karḡi-*, Az *gargi-*, Slr, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg *qarṣa-*, Qq *qarṣa-* ~ *garṣa-*, Xk *ḡarṣa-*, Yk *kirā-* v. 'curse', Qrg *qarṣa-* id., 'invoke charms on', Tkm *garṣa-*, Bl, Nog, Uz, Alt, Tv, Tf *qarṣa-*, Kr T/G *karṣa-* 'curse; scold, insult' ¶ T **k'*- (evidenced by Tv and Tf) (rather than the expected **k'*-) is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 648, 655, DTS 428, ET KQ 304-5, DTS 426, 428, Rs. W 237 ◇ ≠φ,σ Gr. II 6 (**kor* 'angry').

1125. ₂ *KaR ▽ 'to bend; crooked' > **IE**: NaIE **ker-* 'bend' > Gk *κορῶνός* 'curved, crooked', *κορῶνη* 'anything hooked or curved', *κυρτός* 'hunched, hunchbacked, convex' || L *curvus* 'bent, bowed, arched,

curved', *curvā-* v. 'bend, arch, curve' || ?σ OIr *cor* 'mouvement tourant, détour, circuit', OBr (in cds.) *cor* {Flr.} 'cercle; courbure, torsion, repli', W *cor-wynt* 'whirl-wind', Br *cor-uent* 'ouragan, rafale, tourbillon' || pAl {O} **karnutya* > Al *kēr'rus* v. 'bow, bend' || Sl {Bern.} **kъrtьka* 'squatting position' > R 'корточки id., сидеть на корточках 'to squat', ?σ Uk *кор'татися* 'sich durchhelfen, rackern' || ? Tc A *akritär* (*akritar*) 'round' (< NaIE [+ext.] **krejt-*) ¶ P 935 (reconstructs IE *(s)ker- on the only ev. for *(s)- in Av *skarəna-* 'round' [no sufficiently near semantic connection] and in the IE stems with extensions like **skrek-* [in NHG *schräge*, etc.], which are not reliable cognates either, because the additional *-k- is not explained), ≈ F I 927-8 (*κορωνός, κορώνη* ← *κορώνη* 'crow'), WH I 317-8, Vn. C 204-6, Flr. 118, O 184, Bern. I 671, Wn. KTW 112 || HS: S **✓krr* > Mh *z̄k̄t̄z̄rūr* v. 'turn up (as e.g. sth. stolen)', Ak fOB *✓k̄lgr̄r* (inf. *k̄lgar āru*) 'sich krümmen, schlängeln' ¶ Jo. M 233, Sd. 902-3.

1126. *K'a'R∇ 'to hang' > IE: NaIE **ko(:)r-* vi., vt. 'hang' > Lt *kar i ū* / *kārti* v. 'hang, hang on the line', Ltv *kar̄u* / *kārt* vt. 'hang', Pru *pacaris* 'Riemen' 'thong' || Gk *κρεμάννυμι, κρίμνημι* vt. 'I hang' ¶ WPI 412, P 573, F II 13-4 (no et. of the Gk words), Frn. 224-5, En. 218 || HS: S **✓krr* 'remain (somewhere)' > Ar *✓qrr* (pf. *qarra*) 'substitit, mansit (aliquo loco)', {BK} 'rester, se fixer dans (un endroit)', {Hv.} 'settle in (a place)' ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 698, Hv. 594 || B: Ah *kāriri* vt., vi. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 891 || C: Ag **kaRkaR-* v. 'hang' > Bln {R} *karkar-*, Q {R} *kəkər-* id. ¶ R WB 226 || Gil: Gil A *ēro-/xro-/k'ro-* vt. 'hang' ¶¶ ST 477, ST RN 82 ◊ ≠ Gr. II 185 (**kar* 'hang') (IE + qu. J, Gil + unc. A, Ko, CK).

1127. *kaR∇ 'to fight; war, troop' > K: G *kriv-* 'boxen, mit den Fäusten kämpfen' ¶ Chx. 631 || IE: NaIE **koro-*, **koryo-* 'war, troop', **koryo-no-s* 'commander in war' > Lt *kāras, kārias* 'war', Ltv *kar̄š* 'army', Pru [El.] *kragis* (ce. for *kargis*) [*karjis*] 'troop', Pru *caryawoytis* 'Heerschau' (accus. sg.), *karigewayte* 'Ansprache an das Heer' || OPrs *kāra-* 'host, people', NPrs cd. *کارزار* *kār-zār* 'battle, battlefield' ({Vl.} 'locus pugnae') || Gk *κόρανος* (< **κοίρονος*) 'captain, ruler; king' || OIr *cuire* 'troupe, armée', Gl (in names) - *corio* (*Tricorii* 'those of three tribes', *Petrucorii* 'those of four tribes') || Gt *harjis* 'army', ON *her* (pl. *her jar*), AS *here* id., OHG *hari, heri* 'army, crowd, troop' > NHG *Heer* 'troop' ¶ P 615-6, Mn.

535, Brtl. 465, Vl. II 764-5, FI 894, Kb. 457, Vn. C 275, Frn. 220, En. 189, Tp. P I-K 221-4, EI 30-1 (*koryo-s 'war') || HS (with root-extensions) * \checkmark krb, ? * \checkmark kr₁w₁ > S * \checkmark krb 'fight' > BA, BHb כָּרַב \checkmark krāb 'battle' (Hb ←b Aram), JA [Trg.], Sr \checkmark krā'b-ā, Md \checkmark kraba id., JEA \checkmark krābā id., 'war', Ak MB takrubtu 'fight', Aram b→ Ak NA \checkmark krābu 'battle, fight' ¶ KB 1059, 1775-6, KBR 1135, Js. 1411, ≈ Sl. 1038 (Aram ←b Ak), Br. 691, CAD XIII 125-6, Sd. 1324; KB and KBR interpret Hb \checkmark krāb as 'hostile approach, battle' on the basis of their err. etymologizing of \checkmark krāb as a d. from \checkmark krb 'be near' || B ** \checkmark rp > * \checkmark urf 'people, tribe' > Ah a- \checkmark raf id. ¶ Fc. 1773 || Ch {Stl.} * \checkmark araw- ~ * \checkmark awar- 'fight, war' > Hs \checkmark āřó n. act. 'fighting (with so.!' WCh {Stl.} * \checkmark 'i'raw 'wrangle' > Hs \checkmark ērau \checkmark ērau 'wrangling' || Ang {Flk.} kōr v. 'quarrel, wrangle' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} \checkmark wára 'war' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kūrī v. 'fight', Tmk {Cp.} k \checkmark raw 'war' ¶ Stl. IF 110, Stl. ZCh 213 [#634], Flk. s.v. kōr, Ba. 572, 596.

1128. * \checkmark ärE 'trunk, (piece of) wood' > HS: S * \checkmark är-, * \checkmark ar- 'trunk of a tree, log' (× N * \checkmark uyr∇ 'wood (Holz), log') > BHb הַרְבֵּי קֹרֵי \checkmark ō'rā 'timberwork, beam', MHb {Js.} \checkmark ō'rā 'joist, beam, post; trunk of a tree', Sr em. \checkmark ar-ī-'tā, abs. karī {Br.} 'trabs, lignum', {JPS} 'beam, plank', Ar qarīyat- 'stick, yard of a ship (Rahe)', 'poutre dans laquelle on emboîte pilliers qui supportent la maison', ?σ Ak fOB \checkmark ārīt- \checkmark 'storehouse, granary' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, Hv. 603, BK II 731, Js. 1342, Lv. IV 275, JPS 519, Br. 696, BK II 731, Wehr 903, Hv. 603, Sd. 903-4, CAD XIII 132-3 || U: FU * \checkmark ärE > Prm *ker / *kery- 'log' > Z ker / kery-, Yz ker, Vt kor id. ¶ LG 121 || D {tr., GS} * \checkmark ar- 'wood (lignum)', {GS} 'stick' > Tm karāal 'firewood, fuel', Tl karra 'wood, timber', ? Kt garl 'quill of feather', Klm garr 'quill of porcupine', Prj karra id., 'tooth of comb', Gnd KM karra, Knd garri 'shaft of arrow', Gnd B karrē 'a long thin pole of a carrying yoke', Knd karu 'piece of wood\twigs used as fuel' ¶¶ D #1389, GS 153 [#389] || ?σ IE: NaIE * \checkmark red- (or * \checkmark red-?) ~ * \checkmark k₁w₁ord- 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N * \checkmark RV₁∇₁t∇ 'summit, top' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IE *k- (rather than * \checkmark -) is reg. in the precons. position ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [#15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [#75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N * \checkmark uyr∇ 'wood [Holz], log').

1129. * \checkmark är∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie" > K * \checkmark ar-/* \checkmark r- v. 'tie together, sew' > G \checkmark ar-/ \checkmark r- 'tie together' (Chx: '[zusammen]binden, fesseln'), Mg

ƙɜr-, *ƙir-, Lz *ƙor-, ƙir- 'tie together', G ƙer-, Sv ƙar-/ƙr- v. 'sew' ¶¶ K 106, K DE 359, FS K 169-70, FS E 185 || HS: S *karr- > Ar karr- 'rope' | WS *√ƙrn v. 'attach sth. to, bind together' > Ar √qrn G id., {Hv.} 'conjoin (sth. with), couple (two horses)', {BK} 'atteler (p. ex., deux chameaux ensemble avec une corde)', Tgr √ƙrn (pf. ƙerene) v. 'couple under the yoke, zu zweit anjochen', Tgy √ƙʷrn (pf. ƙʷerene) v. 'bind two things together', Amh kʷarēññe 'shackle', Gz ʔastakʷārana v. 'bind in pairs'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} ƙarən- 'einjochen die Ochsen, aneinander binden', Sa {R} √ƙrn (sbjn. e'ƙrun, p. ⇔ o-ƙronə) 'einjochen die Ochsen zum Pflügen' ¶ BK II 726-7, 879, Hv. 602, 648, L G 442, R WB 243, R S II 237, LH 242-3 || B *√qrw (> *√yʷrw) > Ah ayraw 'cordelette', ? Zng {Nic.} t-yarr-ək 'j'enveloppe' ¶ Fc. 1778, Nic. 284 || IE: NaIE *k̑er- 'cord, thread in a weft', v. 'plait, conjoin' ({P} 'Schnur, Gewebefaden; flechten, knüpfen') > Arm uարի-քsaʔi-kʰ 'cord, band, rope, sinew' (< *k̑ereyā), uարի saʔd / gen. uարի saʔdi (< *k̑rti) 'spider' || Gk κάρπος (< *k̑ryo-s) 'the row of thrums in the loom (to which the threads of the warp are attached)', κάρπω 'I make fast the threads of the warp' || ? OI εῖς ῥήκῃα 'chain, fetter' ¶ WP I 409, P 577-8, F I 756, M K III 368-9, MW 1057, Stt. 330-1 || U: FU {UEW} *käre v. 'tie, bind, tie with string' > Mk kārks 'garland, row, cord', Er {Rv.} keʔks 'Bund, Aufgefädertes', {ERV} 'bunch (of beads, ring-shaped cracknels)' || Chr H {Wc.} kerä- v. 'thread a needle, string (beads)' || pLp {Lr.} *kērē 'thread, cord' (> 'catch with a cord') > Lp N {N} gierre 'a twist (twisted cord\rope)' (= {Fri.} 'snur, tvind'), S {Hs.} d. giērestakke 'Laufschlinge (z. B. an einem Lasso)', L {LLO} d. kierastit 'mit dem Fangleine\Lasso einfangen' || ?? BF: F, Es kääri- v. 'wrap', Krl keärīe 'bunch' (adduced by IS with an assumption of a secondary lengthening *ä > BF *ā [Jn. in a p.c. rejects the BF cognate]) || possibly also Z гөрөд gɜrɜd and Vt гөрд gerd 'knot' || ObU *kīr- > pVg *kīr- 'einflechten' > Vg: T/LK/MK/UL/Ss kēr-, UK/P kēr-/kēr- id., T kērāy- & kārāy- id.; pOs {Ht.} *kir- > Os: V/Vy kir- 'put on shoes', D/O kir-, Nz/Kz kīr- v. 'sew', V/Vy kārantaʒal- 'put on shoes'; amb: V kärt-, Ty kärt- 'sew' (cp. N *keRt∇ 'to tie, [?] to plait') || Hg Δ kür- & kūr- & ker- & kör- 'einjochen, in das Joch spannen' ¶ UEW 139-40 (does not mention the BF and Lp cognates), Lr. #428, Lgc. #2439, N II 98, Fri. 223, Hs. 598, LLO 217, MF 380-1, Ht. #310, LG 142 ¶ Prm *kärt- v. 'tie together' (> Z көртау-ны, Vt керттыны) [which UEW mentions as belonging here] may be alternatively explained as going back to N *keRt∇ '↑' (q.v.) || ? D (in

McTm) *kaṛṛ- 'bundle' > Tm kaṛṛai 'collection (as of hair), bundle (as of straw, grass)', Ml kaṛṛa 'bundle (as of grass), sheaf of corn'; the D cognate is valid unless its ancient form is *kaṛṛt- = *kaṛṛr- (as supposed by An. on the ev. of Kn karṭe 'bundle'; IS tentatively ties in the Kn word by assuming that in goes back to *kaṛ-nt-) ¶ D #1400, An. SG 129 || A: T *Käräm or *Keräm 'rope' > Bsh kiräm 'flat strap, rope (used to climb boughless trees)', Blgh *käräm > Chv karḅm 'snare made of ropes'; Blgh ḅ→ Chr k'erem 'rope'; IS and SDM97 tried to adduce here T *kär- 'stretch, spread out' (supposing that the original meaning of the verb was 'strain' ← *'tie tightly'), which is unc. on semantic grounds; an additional obstacle is its initial cns. *k' in *Kär- (> Osm/Az *g- in ger-) instead of the expected fortis *k'- ¶ Chv karḅm suggests *ä in the first syll. (*Käräm), while Bsh kiräm points to a pT *e (*Keräm); the problem needs resolving ¶ Ash. VI 94, Rs. TschL 98, BR 263, Cl. 735, Jeg. 90, Rs. W 254 || M *kerü- ({DQA} *kere-) v. 'attach, tie, bind' > WrM kerü-, HIM xəpə- id., 'weave', Kl kəp- 'tie together' ¶ MED 458, KW 227, KRS 296 || Tg *xerke- v. 'tie together' > Ewk ʒrkʒ- id., Nn Nh/B xʒrkʒ- v. 'tie around', Ul xʒrkʒ- v. 'wrap' ¶ STM 369-70 || pKo {S} *kār- 'hang on, put on sth.' > MKo kār-tʰí- id., NKo kār- id.. kār-lčʰi- id., 'spread out' ¶ S QK 578, Nam 38, MLC 97, 100 || pJ {S} *kāräm- v. 'wind around, cling to' > OJ kāräm-, J: T/Kg karám-, K kárám- ¶ S QJ #53, Mr. 704 ¶¶ KW 227, ≠ Rm. SKE 104 (connects Ko kār-|l- 'hook on, fasten' with M kere-), DQA #771 (A *kèra 'bind, wind around'; incl. M, J) ◇ IS I 321 [#197] ◇ Gr. I #421 (*kir 'weave' (A, J, Ai + unc. EA + err. IE *kert- 'plait').

1130. *kæRV (or *kERV) 'horn' > HS: S karan- 'horn' > Hb קַרְן 'kæren 'horn', du. קַרְנַיִם qar'nayim, pl. (with secondary [derived] meanings of the noun) קַרְנֹת qar'ānōt, SmHb 'qārān, pl. cs. qār'āni, Ph, Ug qarn, Amr {G} qarṇum, JA [Trg.] קַרְן qar'an, em. קַרְנָא qar'n-ā, JEA קַרְנָא qar'n-ā, Sr قَرْنٌ qar'n-ā, abs. قَرْنٌ qar'en, Ar قَرْنٌ qarn-, Gz qarṇ, Mh qōn (pl. qārūn), Hrs qōn (pl. qārōn), Jb E/C qun (pl. 'kæ'run), Ak qarṇu(m) 'horn' ¶ KB 1067-8, A #2456, OLS 372, Lv. T II 389, Js. 1423, Sl. 1044-5, BK II 727, G A 29, Sd. 904, LG 442, Jo. M 236, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 149, MiK I #1.168 || Eg NK kr.ty '(two) horns' ¶ EG V 134 || NrOm: Kf {C} qarō, Mch {L} qāro, Anf {MYTY} qarō 'horn', as well as possibly Shn {Lm.} qallā and Ym {Wdk.} kalā id. ¶ Lm. Sh 338, C SE IV 488, L M 48, MYTY 118, Wdk. BY 127 || K *°kr- 'horn' (× K *rka- 'horn'

< N *r̥k₁U₁∇ 'ε horn' > Zan *kr-a > Lz kra, ka, Mg {Q} ka, {Brs.} -kra (written with an Abkhazian article a- as a-kra); more ancient forms are discernible in a derived verb: Lz n-kin- ~ n-kir- v. 'butt' and possibly (with a semantic change) Mg kirin- v. 'wave, wave sth. against so. (взмахивать, замахиваться)'; but G karassa 'horn of ibex', Sv UB {GP, TK} kārāχs, {TK} karaχs, L {TK} keraχs id., 'small horn for drinking' are likely to be loans from Gk κέρασ 'horn' ¶ Q 341, Brs. 74, ≠ K 157-8, DCh. 1327, Ni. s.v. рога, GP 266, TK 780 ¶ The deglottalization of the initial *k̥- still defies explanation || IE: NaIE *k̑er-, *k̑er-w/u-, *k̑er-as- 'horn' > Av sr̥ū-, sr̥vā- 'horn' || Gk κέρασ, Gk Ep gen. κέρσος id., Gk Mc ke-ra 'horn (material)', ke-ra-γo 'made of horn', Gk κορύπτω 'butt with corns' || Tc B karse ≈ deer, stag' (< ≈ *k̑sō- 'horned one') || Ht karāwar 'horn(s), antler(s)', Lw {E} zarwani(γa)- 'of horn' || IE *k̑no-, *k̑orn- 'horn' > L cornū id. || Clt: OIr corn 'corne à boire, trompette, cor', ? cern 'réceptif (d'une certaine capacité', Brtt {RE} ζ *kornos 'horn' > MW, W, Crn corn, Br korn 'horn', OBr [γ] corn 'scypho'; Gl [Hs.] κάρνον 'τὴν σάλπιγγα accus. 'war-trompet' (the Ir and Brtt words may be loans from L, but the root in Gl points to its original presence in Clt) || Gmc: ORu accus. horna, Gt háurn, ON, NNr, Sw, Dn, OHG, AS horn, NHG Horn 'horn', NE horn || pSl *s̑rna 'chamois' > RChS ср̑на sȓna, OR с̑рна s̑rna, R 'серна, Uk сер'на, Blg с̑р'на, McdS ср̑на, SCr, Slv s̑na, Cz sȓna, P sarna id. || OI s̑ȓnga-m 'horn' || HrLw {Melch.} zurni 'horn' ¶ P 574-7, EI 272-3 (*k̑er- ⇨ *k̑nom, *k̑erh̑₂(s) 'horn'), ≠ EI 273 (*k̑oru 'horn' instead of 'horned animal', see N *K̑ERŪ 'deer, roe'), M K III 369-70, FI 825-7, WH I 276, Vn. C 76, 210, RE 105, Fs. 251, Vr. 249, Fs. 251, Ho. 170, Kb. 479, Schz. 16, KM 316-7, Vs. III 609, Glh. 577, Ad. 145, Nsb. ∇v, Pv. IV 77-9, Iv. SA 162 ◇ IS I 350 [#227] (IE, K, HS + *÷ [with a query] U: BF *k̑irek 'occiput, crown of the head') ◇ *-n- in IE *k̑er-n- and in S *k̑aran- go back to the N genitive postposition *nu (q.v.) (> the IE marker of oblique cases *-n- in the so-called IE heteroclis, F Ptrs. H 5-7: IE nom. *k̑oru, gen. *k̑er-'n-es) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #202 (*ker 'head') (IE, Ai kirawe 'horns' + unc. CK).

1131. *k̑är∇(-ka) (= *k̑ärU(-ka)?) 'small stone' > HS: C: EC: pOr {Bl.} *k̑irr- 'gravel, small stone' > Or čír-r-ačča {Grg.} 'coarse sand', {Bl.} 'small stone(s)', Kns qír-r-itta 'small stone', qír-r-a 'gravel' || ?? Ag *k̑ȓəŋ 'stone' > Bln/Xm/Q {R} kriȓ id. ¶ Bl. 198, R WB 227, Grg. 84

|| K: GZ **ḱurḱa-* > G *ḱurḱa-* 'stone of a fruit', Lz *ḱurḱa* id., 'grain' ¶ K² 104, DCh. 636 || IE: NaIE **k̑orkā* 'gravel' > OI 'śarkarā f. 'grit, pebbles, gravel', OI Ep śarkara > Pali sakkharā-, Prkr sakara-, Hindi sakkār 'granulated sugar' (an InA source → Gk σάκχαρον), NPrs شکر šä(k)kār, Ar sukkar- 'sugar', and the words for 'sugar' in the European languages [It zuccherò, NHG Zucker, Fr sucre, NE sugar, R 'сахар, etc.)] || Gk κρόκη, κροκάλα 'abgerundeter Kieselstein am Meeresufer' ¶ P 615, M K III 308-9, M E II 618-9, Vl. II 49-O, Sg. 752, Ch. 985, F II 22, BK I 1114 || D **karṽc̑-* ({*ḱGS*} **g-*) 'gravel' > Kn garasu, garusu, Tl garusu id., Tu karñkallu id., 'hard sand' ¶¶ D #1260 ◇ K *-u- is puzzling (mt.: GZ **ḱurḱa-* < **ḱärU-ḱa?*). D *-r- (regularly from a cns. cluster with N **r*) needs explaining.

1132. (₂?) **ḱæRṽ* ≈ 'ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant' > HS: WS **ḱṽrṽḱ-* id. > Sr كَرَاتُ شَرَبِ keraṭṭ-ā 'fruit of the locust or carob tree'; S → Gk κεράτια, κερατωνία 'carob tree'; Ar قَرَاذُ qaraḏ- 'fruit of acacia', OYmn ḱrḱ ({{Slw.} qaraḏ-) 'Acacia arabica and its leaves', Tgr {LH} kərəṣ 'Acacia etbaica, Acacia mellifera', Tgy kərəṣ 'ε mittelgroßer Baum Osyris abyssinica', ??σ SmA קרֶת ḱrṭ 'grass' ¶ Br. 694, JPS 518, PS 3742, BK II 716, Ln. 2517, Slw. 177, LH 245, Tal 799 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} kerem 'bean(s)' || ECh: Kwn k̑irī, Ke k̑irī, Jg g̑ir(k) id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 71 || IE: NaIE **k̑iḱer-* 'pea(s)' > Arm uḫutnū siseṙn 'chick-pea' || L cicer id. || Gk κρούς id. (P: < **κικρούς*) || Mcd [Hs.] κίκερροι 'birds' pease (Lathyrus ochrus)' || pAl {O} **cerā* > Al thjerrë 'lentils' (from the original IE unreduplicated variant **ker-* or with loss of reduplication: **k̑iḱer-* > ***k̑k̑er* > **ker-*?); × IE **ker-* v. 'grow' (see N ?? **ḱERṽ* 'grow, be[come] big') ¶ P 598, ≠ F II 21-2 (κρούς 'chick-pea' ← κρούς 'ram'), WH I 212, Sl. 331-2, O 479, EI 106 (**k̑iḱer-* 'chick-pea' ~ 'garbanza'), 248-9 (Al thjerrë < IE **ker-* 'grow') || ?σ A **Ke|ärtṽmṽ* > T **Ke|ärtmä|e* 'pear' > MQp [CC] kertme 'pear', [AH] 'elma', QrB kertme, Nog kertpe 'pear', Qmq gertme 'wild pear (Holzbirne)'; T → OHg ≥XV, Hg körte, OHg ≥XI, Hg körtvély 'pear'; ?? Tk Δ ḡärmäšik 'red dogwood, Cornus sanguinea' ¶ Rs. W 257, Grøn. 141, Rl. II 1105, NogR 163, RKB 127, EWU 822 || ?φ M: WrO kedme(n), Kl кедмн, {Rm.} kedmḡ 'pear' (← T?) ¶ KW 222, Krg. 718, KRS 288 || pJ {S} **kù(n)tàmənə* 'fruit' > OJ kùdàmònò, J: T kudámono, K kùdàmònò, Kg kudamonó ¶ S QJ #1101, Mr. 461 ¶¶ KW 222 (T, M), ≈ DQA #836

*kǵortēme 'pear, fruit' ◇ Sem. *-θ- and A *-t∇m∇ may go back to the second part of composite nouns ◇ AD NM #61; S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs). The A cognate is acceptable if the semantic change 'leguminous plant' → 'fruit, pear' is attested in other lgs.

1133. (₂?) *KĒRŪ 'deer, roe' > IE: NaIE *k̑erwo-/*k̑rwo- 'deer' (and d.: *k̑erwā 'female deer') > L cervus 'deer, stag', cervā 'female deer' ||| W carw 'stag', Crn carow, MBr {Em.} caru, Br {P} karo 'deer' (< *k̑rwo-, {EI} *k̑eru) ||| Gmc {Vr.} *herutaz > ON hjqrtr, AS heorot, OSx hīrot 'deer, stag', OHG hiruz {Kb.} 'red deer' ||| Blt *širvis > Pru sirwis 'roe' ({En.} 'stirna') and a loanword: F hirvi 'deer, elk' | NaIE *k̑erwā 'female deer' was borrowed by BSl from a centum-lge. (acc. to Trubachev, Clt) with a semantic change 'female deer' → 'cow', whence Sl *k̑ŕva 'cow' (> ChS КРАВА krawa, Blg 'кpавa, SCr krāva, Slv kráva, Cz kráva, Slk krawa, P krowa, R, Uk ко'рoвa) and Blt: Pru curwis 'ox' and Lt k̑arvė 'cow' (with replacement of *-a by the Lt female-marking sx. -ė) ¶ ≈ P 576-7 and ≈ WH I 208 (both dictionaries derive the stem from *k̑e/or- 'horn'), ≈ EI 273 (*koru 'horn' - instead of 'deer, horned animal'), Vr. 234, Kb. 471, Ern. 100, YGM-1 77, En. 199, 248, ESSJ XI 106-112, Glh. 345-6, Frn. 225 ||| **A:** Tg *xirun 'wild deer' > Nn Nh sirũ, Ul {Sun.} siru(n-), Orc iyu, Neg iyun, WrMc iren id., Ewk Skh/Urm/Chmk irũn, Ewk O/Tkm/Urm irē id., 'male elk'; Tg *xirki > Ewk irki 'wild deer, Ud sigisa 'Manchurian deer' ¶ STM I 327-8, Sun. UJ 234 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1061 (err. comparison of Tg with T *k̑l̑'ŕl̑ 'lamb' & M *quri-gan id.) ||| ? **U:** FU: Prm: Z köp k̑r (/k̑ry-), Yz {Lt. ← Gn.} k̑ŕ 'deer' (unless this is a loan from Ne O xora 'male animal, male wild reindeer', as suggested by Rd. [UEW 168-9], see N *koyR∇ 'male animal') ¶ LG 141, Lt. KY 129.

1134. ??₂ *KĒR∇ 'grow, be(come) big' > HS: ?μ B **√m̑r > *√m̑r 'be(come) big' (× N *m̑a'K̑R∇ 'big, long') > Ah √m̑r (pf. im̑ar) 'be big', Kb √m̑r (in geminated forms m̑q̑q̑∇r) 'be/become big' (imv. im̑uȓ ~ um̑uȓ, pf. m̑q̑q̑ar), Izd √m̑r 'croître, grandir', m̑q̑q̑r 'grandir', Gh am̑ar 'be big', m̑q̑q̑r 'big', Gd {Lf.} m̑q̑q̑r 'be big' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508 ¶ pre-B *√m̑r ← *√k̑r ||| IE: NaIE *k̑er- v. 'grow, make grow, breed, feed' > Arm ut̑ȓut̑ seř(-em) v. 'breed, beget', ut̑ȓim̑ seř im̑ 'be born, grow' ||| ?σ: Gk aor. ἐκόρεσα / ft. κοπέ-σω 'sate, satiate', κόρος one's fill, satiety, Sättigung' ||| L Cerēs, -eris 'goddess of fertile land', Cerus manus 'creator bonus' (-r- in

the OL spelling stands for -rr- < *-rs-), L *pro-cērus* 'tall' (← 'grown upwards'), *creā-* v. 'produce, create', *crē-sc-* v. 'grow' || ON *hirsi*, OHG *hirso* (< **ķers-ion-*), *hirsi*, *hirsa*, NHG *Hirse* 'millet' || Lt *šeriù / šerti* v. 'feed, fodder', *pāšaras* 'fodder, forage' || ?? pAl {O} **cerā* > Al *thjerrē* 'lentils' (× N **ḲæR∇* '≈ ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant, q.v.) || **korwo-* 'adolescens' > Gk **κόρῳς* > Gk A *κόρος*, Gk Hm/I *κούρος*, Gk D *κώρος* 'adolescens', Gk Mc *κο-ωο* 'boy' || Irn: Krd *kur* 'son' ¶ P 577, WH I 204-6, FI 218-9, Vr. 229, Kb. 470-1, OsS 402, KM 311, Frn. 975, Slr. 265-6, O 479, EI 248-9 (**ķer-* 'grow'), 656 (? **korwo-s* 'youth') || AdS of D (in SD) **kir-a-* 'old (aged)' (< N **kirHa* 'old' [q.v.]) ◇ Highly qu. Valid unless B **✓mʏr* goes back exclusively to N **m'a'Ḳ∇R∇* 'big, long' (q.v.).

1135. **ḲER∇* (= **ḲERU*?) 'hair' > HS: S: Gz *ḳarnab* ~ *ḳarnab* ~ *ḳarnab*, Tgy *ḳarnab* 'eye-lash, eye-lid' ¶ L G 442 || IE: NaIE **ķer-* 'hair' > Gmc {Vr.} **xāra* 'hair' > ON *hár*, Nnr, Dn, Sw *hår*, Dt *haar*, OSx, OHG *hār*, NHG *Haar*, OFrs *hēr*, AS *hær*, NE *hair* || Lt *šerỹs* 'bristle, animal's hair', Δ *širỹs* 'hair', Ltv *sars* (usually pl. *sari*) 'bristle, hair of horse's mane\tail; mane, hair', Lt *šer-ti-s* (prs. *šeriúos*), Ltv *sērtiēs* 'to lose one's hair'; Blt **šarya* > F *harja* 'bristle' || ???φ the second part (**śala-*) of OI *ka'pucchalam* 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd. with **kaput-* 'head') (× N **Ḳêla* 'stalk, a hair'?) ¶ ≈ WPI 427, ≈ P 583, M KI 156-7, Vr. 210, Vr. N 229, Schz. 160, Ho. 145, Ho. S 31, Kb. 434, KM 278, Frn. 973, ≈ EI 252 (**ķer(es)-* '≈ (rough) hair, bristle') || A: T **k'ürk* 'fur' > OT, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV *kürk* id., Chg XV *kürk* 'fur, wool', Tk *kürk* id., Ggz, Az, CrTt {Rl.} *kürk* 'fur coat', Tkm Δ *kürk* 'sheepskin coat', Chv *кёрёк кьрьк*, Δ *кёрёк* 'fur coat' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 311, ET KQ 148-9, TL 475-6, Dr. TM III #1628, Rl. II 1457-9, Ash. VII 288, ≈ Jeg. 108 ◇ Identical with N **ḳär∇* 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie' (q.v.)? ◇ T **ü* may be due to the labializing effect of the N labialized vw. **U* of the next syll.

1136. (₂?) **Ḳir∇* 'edge, end, (?) bank (Ufer)' > HS: Eg N *ḳr* 'end (of a book)', DEg *ḳr* > Cpt *кpo* *кpo*, *кpa* *кpa*, *хpo* *к^hpo* 'bank (Ufer)' ¶ EG V 58, Vc. 85 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **ḳ∇r-* v. 'finish' > Hs *ḳāřè* v. 'complete, finish', Buli {ChL} *k^ueru* v. 'finish' || Ech: Kwn {J} *kár* id. ¶ Abr. H 486, Stl. ZCh 213 [#631], ChC, ChL, ≠ Sk. HCD 166 || A **k'ir^a* ~ **kira* > T: [1] T **Kir* > Chv *xbr-* (+ppa. of 3s: *xbr-b*, *xbr-r-i*) 'bank of a river, edge of a forest'; [2] T **Kir* (= **k'ir*?) '≈ edge, border' (× N **ḲirH∇* 'top,

summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v.] × N ***kur**₁**∇h**₁**∇** 'hill, mountain' [q.v.] × ?? N ***gOR**₁**∇** '≈ hill, [small?] mountain') > OT QU {Cl.} qIR 'dam', OT {Rs.} qIR '(river)bank, dam', Ln qIY, Uz qir 'bank of river\lake', VTt, Bsh qbr, Qmq Δ χIR, Qq qIR 'edge, facet (грань, ребро)', Tv qIR id., 'side (of a solid)', Qzq, Qrg qIR 'edge, facet', Alt qIR id., 'river-bank', Xk χIR 'edge, river-bank', Tlt/Sg {RL} qIR 'edge' ('Ecke, Kante'), QK {B} qIR 'edge, high bank', ET 'slope, hilly steppe, edge', {Nj.} qir 'boundary (between plots of land), edge (as of a table)', StAlt qIR, Xk χIR 'edge (край, грань)' | [3] NaT *KIRig > Qmq qIRIY 'edge (край)', Sg χIRIY, Xk хри χri, Yk kirī id., 'river-bank', Qrg qIRū, ? Chv хьрь 'edge (край, кромка)', VTt qbr̄y 'edge, facet' | [4] NaT *k'irgāg 'edge' > OT [MhK] qIRYAY 'the selvages of a garment and its edge', OT Og [MhK] qIRAX, Az гыраг qIRAY, Tk kirak, kiran, Xlj qIRāY, ET qI(r)Yaq, Δ {Jr.} qIRYaq, Ln qIYaq, Uz qir̄Yaq 'edge, bank', Tkm qIRA id., 'sea-shore', Uz qirra 'edge, facet', Tv χIRA 'a margin (кайма) (made of bone or metal) of the saddle pommel', qIRI 'side (of a solid), facet'; T ⇨ M: WrM kirqag 'border, edge', as well as possibly Mnr H {SM} ć'irīē 'bord, limite' and {T} ćirē 'edge, brim of a hat' ¶ Cl. 641, 653, DTS 445, ET Q 225-7, 242-4, TL 95, Md. 70, 168 (*k'ir∇ 'edge'), Jeg. 299, Fed. II 344, Tkr 233, Nj. 623, Sht. 275, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DLT 175, B DChT 134, DT 172, TvR 278-9, 500, MED 470, 473, KW 232, Rs. W 265-6, Rl. II 732-3, Br. MT 155, DTS 445, TatR 310, BR 358, KrkR 428, BIG 300, Hüs. 92, JakR 211, SM 458, T 380 ¶ T *k'irgāg has the expected initial *k'-, while in *kir the lenis *k- (evidenced by Tv q-) still defies explanation || M *^okira > [1] WrM kira, HIM хяр 'slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle' (homonymous with kira, хяр 'summit\ridge of a mountain', F N ***ḲiRH**₁**∇** '↑'); M ⇨ Tg: Ewk kira, Oc kia ~ kiya, Ud {Shn.} kṣā, {Krm.} kṣā, Ul, Ork, Nn qira 'edge', Lm qir̄y ~ qir̄n id.; [2] WrM kirbegelev. 'trim, border; furnish with a hem or fringe' ¶ MED 470-1, STM I 397 ¶¶ DQA #990 (A *k'āre 'edge'; incl. T, M) || ?σ D (in SD) *kiṛ- ({{ḡGS} *k-) > Ml kir̄i 'corner of the mouth', Kdg kiri 'lip' ¶ D #1591 ◇ Hardly here K *qur- 'edge' ([to my mind] ← K *qur- 'ear') ¶¶ K 213, FS K 374-5, FS E 420.

1137. *Ḳor'a (or *ḲoRa and *Ḳ'orü?) 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust' > HS **ḳ'ur̄m, **ḳur-: CS *√ḳrm v. 'bark; crust' > Ar √qrm v. G 'bark (a tree)', qarm-at- 'morceau de peau enlevé par incision du nez d'un chameau', MHb קרמ קרמ qə'rūm 'crust, membrane', JA קרמ קרמ

ʔarā'mā 'skin, membrane', {Lv.} 'Haut, Kruste', JEA {Sl.} ʔarā'mā 'membrane, thin skin', Sr ʔarā'm-ā, abs. ʔarām 'layer \ plate \ covering (of metal, wood, skin), bed-spread' | (× N *ʔURm{E} 'to cover'): BHb ✓ ʔrm G 'cover above' (of skin, with skin), JA ✓ ʔrm G 'overlay, cover (as skin)', Sr ✓ ʔrm v. G 'overlay, plate, encrust' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414,1421, Sl. 1043-4, BK II 723-4, Hv. 601, KB 1067, Br. 696, JPS 520 || B *-ʔurm-/*-ʔrūm- 'crust' > Ah a-ʔrum 'crust of bread', ta-ʔormit 'thick crust (of a wound)', Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} a-ʔrum, Kb {Dl.} pl. i-ʔwärm-an 'bread' (← *'crust of bread') ¶ Fc. 1758, Stm. 160, MT 203-4, Dl. 626-7 || Ch {JS} *✓kwr 'skin' > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Kir kwar, Tala, Buli kūr, Wnd kur id., Plc {ChL} kōrî 'bark' (× N *ʔORup ▽ ~ *ʔaRup ▽ 'bark of trees' [ε?], 'skin') | NrBc: P' {Grgs.} kurri 'skin (of human body)' | Hs ʔirgî 'untanned ox-hide' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} kurgumne 'outré en cuir pour transporter le mil'; ?? Smr {J} gārē, gārē, Nd D {J} gārē 'skin' ¶ JS 231, JI II 296-7, Fd. 306, Ba. 609 ¶¶ But Bj {R} 'kwarbe ({R} kūrbe) 'skin (Haut)' (R WBd 245) is better explained as going back to N *ʔORup ▽ ~ *ʔaRup ▽ '↑' || IE: [1] Sl *kora 'bark' (× N *ʔayer ▽ 'ε bark, film') > OCS kopā kora, Blg, R kopā, SCr kōra, Slv kōra, Cz kūra, P kora 'bark'; [2] ?? IE (× N *KURc ▽ 'scales, bark'): Ht kursa/i - 'skin, fleece, hide' ||| NaIE *krus- 'crust' (ffd. see N *KURc ▽) ¶¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. EI 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-3, Kb. 803, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3 ¶¶ The presence of the consonant *s suggests the importance of the etymological ties of Ht kursa and NaIE *krus- with N *KURc ▽ || U *kora- v. 'flay, skin' > ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg {Ht.} *kōr- > Vg: T kor-, IK xwar-, xor-, MK kwar-, LL kwar- ~ kwar-, P korat- v. 'peel, flay (schälen, enthauten)'; pOs {Ht.} *kōr- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qōr-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O xōr- v. 'flay, bark' || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kīrā-, {Hl.} *kīra- v. 'flay' > Ne T хыра(-сь), Ne O xīrā-, Ne F kīrrā-, Slq Tz {KKIH} kīrī-, Kms {KD} k'zīr-ālim, {Cs.} khirílim, Koyb {Sp.} 3s кырле, Mt {Hl.} *kījra- v. 'flay' (Mt M {Sp.} крїямъ 'I flay') || Y: OY K {Bil.} char, YK {IN} хаар qār 'skin', {Ang. ← Jc.} ʔar ~ (?) ʔār 'Balg, Fell, Haut' ¶¶ Coll. 26, UEW 184, Ht. #306, Stn. D 542, Jn. 69, KKIH 117, Hl. M #495, IN 332, IN RJ s.v. кожа, Ang. 252, ≈ Rd. UJ 46 [#66] (Y ← U) || A: NaT *°Kōjīrū- > Osm {Rl.} kōrū- v. 'die Haut abnehmen, abkratzen' ¶ Rl. II 1252 ¶ But T *k'ōrūk 'bellows' (> OT kōrūk, Tkm kōrūk, Yk kūrūt, etc., see ET KQ 118) is either akin with or borrowed from M *kōxerge 'bellows' (> WrM

kögerge, HIM xəəpəɾ, *see* MED 480) || M *körü-sün 'bark, peel, rind' > MM [S] korisu = körüsü 'skin, uppermost stratum of earth', WrM körü-sün, HIM xöpc(öh) id., 'peel, rind', Kl körsü 'bark, hard crust, skin' ¶ H 104, MED 491, KW 240 || Tg *xura-kta n. 'bark' > Lm urtъ, Ud wakta, uakta, Ul xoraqta ~ xuraqta, Ork xuraqta, Nn Nh/B xoraqta, ? WrMc urixə 'film, membrane'; Tg *xura- vt. 'cover with bark' > Lm ura-, Ork xura-la- ¶ STM II 282 || ? pKo {S} *kúr 'oyster' (← 'shell') > MKo kúr > NKo kul ¶ S AJ 257 [#181] || ? J {S} *kúrí '≈ shellfish (and its shell)' > OJ pama-guri > ItOJ pāmà-gùrí > J T hamá-guri 'the shellfish Meretrix meretrix L.' ¶ S AJ 272 [#218] ¶¶ S AJ 38. 128 [fn. 75], 291 [#441] (A *k'ora- 'bark, shell'), ≈ DQA #1092 (A *k'jürú 'bark, shell'; incl. M, Tg, Ko, J) ◇ NaT *°Kö:;rü-, M *körü-sün, and (possibly) IE *krus- suggest a N etymon ***Ḳ'orü**, while U *kora, Sl *kora, and Tg *xura-kta point to a N word ***ḲoRa**. It is not yet clear if these are two different N words or variants of the same word. But if *-ü- in NaT *°Kö:;rü- and M *körü-sün goes back to a sx., a N etymon ***Ḳor'a'** may be the best rec.

1138. *Ḳoru (or *Ḳorü) 'bite, gnaw, chew, eat away' > **HS:** (+ext.) CS (or WS) *✓ḳrḡ > Ar ✓qrḡ (pf. قَرَضَ qaraḡa / ip. -qriḡ-u) 'gnaw' (of mice), Ug ḳrḡ 'bite', ?σ Gz ✓ḳrḡ 'lacerate, tear away' (semantic infl. of ✓ḳrḡ 'incise, scar'?) ¶ BK II 713, Ln. 2514-5, Hv. 598, OLS 373, L G 440-1, 444 || **IE:** NaIE *k^weru- v. 'chew' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth, chews' || Gk [Hs.] πύρνος · ψωμός 'morsel, bit' || W pori v. 'graze, browse, eat, pasture', por'fau v. 'pasture, graze' ¶ P 642, F II 630-1, M K I 379, Fw. WE 49, YGM-1 366 ¶ IE *k^weru- v. 'chew' × *k^weru- v. 'crush' (< N *ḳur, ∇, ū 'to hammer, to pound') || **K:** G ḳril- 'gnaw, make holes' (of woodworms) ¶ Chx. 631 || **U:** FU *ko|ar∇- v. 'bite' > Prm *kurtc- 'bite (укусить)' > Z курччыны kurtc+ni, Vt куртчыны kurtc+ni || ?? Lp: OSw {LÖ} karva- 'rodere', Vfs {Lgc.} g_ärāwā'sti 'beißen, schnappen' (going back to a FU root variant with *ä - probably due to vw. harmony) || ?? Chr kar- 'eat' (unless from *kačk-, as supposed by UEW) || Hg harap- v. 'bite, take a bite out of sth.' ¶ UEW 129 (rejects the Lp and Chr cognates), LG 147 || **D** {tr.} *koḡ-, {GS} *koḡ- v. 'bite, nibble' > Tm koḡi v. 'nip off the husks of grain, nibble grain', Ml koḡikka v. 'nibble (as a mouse); eat grains by nipping off the husk', Kn koḡuku, koḡaku, kuḡuku, Tl koḡuku v.

'bite, gnaw', Kdg kori- 'eat grain by cracking husk' (of rats), 'strike' (of snakes), Tu korzalb v. 'gnaw' (as rats), Klm kork- v. 'bite, sting, nibble', Nkr kork- v. 'bite', Prj kork- v. 'cut with the teeth, gnaw, nibble', Gdb, Gnd kork- v. 'gnaw', Knd korrk- 'crush with the teeth, bite' ¶¶ D #2164, GS 149 [#377] ◇ IS I 358 [#234] (IE - A; supposes that N *k̥or̥ [sc. {AD} N *k̥ōr̥'E'] 'worm' is identical with the etymon in question).

1139. (₂?) *k̥'o'r̥ 'rock, isolated mountain' > HS: S *q̥ūr- > Ar (coll.) qūr- → (sg.) Ar qār-at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× N *k̥aR̥L̥V̥?̥V̥ 'point, rock, steep mountain') ¶ BK II 833, Hv. 633 || A *k'Ur̥- > NaT *k'orum 'rock(s); stones (fragments of rock)' (× ← *kor- 'crumble, collapse' [> Tkm Δ qor- id.]) > OT {Cl.} qorum 'a massive rock; pile of rocks', Xlj {DT} gurum 'Hügel, Anhöhe', ET Δ {Jr.} qoram 𐤌 qoyam 𐤌 qurām 'rock', Qzq Δ qorūm 'small stones', Qrg qorum 'pile of rocks (big rock stones); big stone (валун)', Alt, QK, Tb qorum 'fragments of rock (россыпь)', Tv xorum id., 'burial mound', Tf horum 'rock', Xk xorim id., 'very big rocks', QK/Shor/Tlt {Rl.} qorum 'Bergsturz; das Geröll, das sich durch Einstürzen von Feldmassen gebildet hat' ¶ Cl. 660, ET Q 80-1, Ra. 190, Jr. 252, Jud. 409, BT 88, Rl. II 562, BIG 279, TvR 485, B DChT 129, B DLT 166, DT 121 || Tg *xure 'mountain' > Ul xurз(н-), Sln urз id., Ork xurз(н-) 'mountain, wood(s)', Nn Nh xur̃:, Nn B xurз(н-), Nn KU ur̃ id., Ewk urз 𐤌 ur̃ 'mountain, mountain woods', Neg uỹ 'mountain, isolated hill (сопка)', Lm urзk̃zn id., 'stone' ¶ STM II 289, S AJ 212 [#79] ¶¶ DQA #1148 (A *k'ori 'hill; embankment [насыпь], boundary'; incl. T, Tg) || ? U: FP *kur̥ 'hill, steep slope' (× N *kur̥L̥h̥V̥ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd.) || ? D *kur̥- ({GS} *k-) 'hilly country' (× N *kur̥L̥h̥V̥ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ There may have been other cognates, but because of reg. phonetic changes in some descendant lgs. they coalesced with reflexes of other N words. Namely, in lgs. that lost certain vowel oppositions the reflexes of N *k̥'o'r̥ 'rock' may have coalesced with those of N *k̥aR̥L̥V̥?̥V̥ 'point, rock, steep mountain' (q.v.).

1140. *k̥ōr̥'E' (or *k̥ōR̥L̥V̥wE?) 'worm, maggot' > A: M *qor̥ > Kl T {Rm.} xor 'maggots of gadfly'; M *qoru-qay 'worm' > MM [MA] qoraṣay, [IM] qoruṣay, WrM qoruṣay, HIM xorxой, Kl xorxa, {Rm.} xorxā 'worm', MM [HI] qoroqay 'insect', [IsV] qorṣay, WrO xoroḡoi ~ xoroḡai, Dx gugi, Dgr {T} xorgo, Mnr {SM} xorguī 'worm, insect' ¶ KW 187-8, Pp. MA 302, 445, MED 970, T DnJ 116, T

DgJ 177, SM 173, Krg. 283, Ms. H 90, Lg. VMI 45 || Tg *_Lx_Jūre 'earthworm' > Ewk ūrē, Neg, Ud ууэз ¶ STM 289 ¶¶ S AJ 54, 282 [#224] || T *k'ūrt 'worm' (× N *ku^ʔr^ʔ∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1069 (*k'jōro 'worm, gadfly'; incl. M, T) || U *^okūr∇ > Sm {Jn.} *kūr 'maggot, fly' > Ng {Cs.} kīr 'maggots in tainted meat', {Mik.} kīr 'fly', Kms {KD} šūr· 'worm', d. {KD} šurǎīār, {Cs.} šüreär 'fly', Koyb d. {Sp.} сурусари, Mt {Hl.} d. *kürär(ä) 'fly' (Mt M {Sp.} куряррь, курярря id.) ¶ Jn. 79, Hl. M #605 || IE: NaE (att. in Sl) *^ok_Lω_Jwi- 'worm' > Sl *čǫrvь 'worm' > OCS **УРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, Blg 'черев, SCr cǫv, Slv čǫv, Cz, Slk čer v, P czerw, OR, RChS **УЬРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, **УРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, **УЕРВЬ** čer vь, R червь, Uk черв ¶ ESSJ IV 171-2, ≈ Glh. 167-8 (unc.: Sl *čǫrvь < IE *k^ωer- 'make'), ≠ EI 649 (Sl *čǫrvь < IE *k^ωṛmi-) || ?σ HS: ECh: Ll {Cp.} karà 'louse', Bdy kúrāne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} kūrīlè 'larva of locust' (× N *ku^ʔr^ʔ∇t|d∇ '↑') ||| WCh: Hs k_wâr_kwátà ~ kwarkwátà 'louse' ¶ AIJ 92, 156, J LM 129, ChC, Ba. 690, Abr. H 592 ◇ The Tg and T long vw. and *_w in IE (Sl) and Hs may point to a N *-w- (***ḲôR_L∇_JwE**) ◇ ≈ IS I 358 [#234] (*Ḳor_h 'to gnaw; worm': IE *k^ωṛmi-, A [M, as well as T *kūrt 'worm']). Cp. N ***ḲuRm∇** 'worm, insect', N ***Ḳ'û'R'∇'d∇** ~ ***ḲûRt∇∇** 'stinging insect', N ***ḲiRg∇** (or ***ḲiRk∇**) 'ε stinging insect', and N ***ḲERh₂∇₃∇** 'hornet, wasp' (some of them originally connected as derived or compound words?).

1141. *ḳurE(-c'∇) 'run, run away' > K (+ext.) *^oḳurc|çχl- > G ḳurcχl- v. 'run away, race, gallop' ¶ Chx. 645-6 || IE: NaE *kers- v. 'run' > L curro / cucurrī / cursum v. 'run' (curr(e)- < *kṛso-) ||| Gk ἐπί-κουρος 'assistant' (← *'running to help') (-κουρος < *korsos ÷ L cursus n. act. 'run') ||| MW carrawc > W † carrog 'torrent' ||| MHG hurren vi. 'to move quickly, to hasten' ||| Lt karšti (prs. karšiu) 'to go quickly, to run' ||| pTc {Ad.} *kwärsär > Tc B kwarsär, A kursär {Ad.} 'league; course, path' | ⇨ NaE *kṛso-s 'vehicle, chariot' > L currus 'chariot' ||| Clt: OIr carr 'vehicle' ({Vn.} 'charette, fardier, camion, voiture'), MW carr, W car, OBr carr 'vehicle', Br karr 'voiture, char', Gl [ED] {Billy} κάρρος, κάρρον 'char à l'usage militaire' ⇨ L carrus 'ε four-wheeled baggage-waggon' ¶ P 583-4, ≈ EI 491 (*kērs- 'run' with unj. *kē-), WH I 215, FI 537-8, Vn. C 41-2, Flr. 97, YGM-1 77, Billy 44, Lx. 96, Frn. 224, Wn. 245, Ad. 234, Ad. H 17 ¶¶ IE *kers- < pre-IE *ḳeurs- with loss of a glide *_u besore a sonant

|| **U** *^okū|ir|ðe > Sm {Jn.} *kūrḅ 'run away, flee' > En B {Cs.} 3s aor. simî 'er lief davon' (< *kūrwa-?), Ne T d. сюрмбă-сь, T O {Lh.} súrmbā- v. 'run' (< *kūrə-mp∇-), Ne F {Lh.} šur̄ḅa- id., ? Slq Nr {Cs.} šórmba 'es tropft, fließt', Kms {KD} šúr̄ím 'run' ¶ Jn. 79, Ter. 590-1, Cs. 132, KD 66 ¶¶ Not here F karata 'run away' (⇔ AD GD #166) || **A**: NaT *k_l'ürä- v. 'run away, desert' > OT kürä- id., SbTt Tv/Tar (= Qurdaq, Turali) {Rl.} kürä- 'auseinanderlaufen, auseinanderfließen', Yk kürā- 'flee, go away', kürän- vi. 'run away, hide, avoid' ¶ Cl. 737, Rs. W 320, ET KQ 146, DTS 238, Rl. II 1448-9, Pek. 1226, JkR 201 || NKo kīlk- [kīk-] 'run away, escape' (of a criminal) ¶ Rm. SKE 115, Gale 126, S QK #1112 ¶¶ Ewk korō- 'drive away' (< Tg *^okora-) (STM I 416) hardly belongs here (because of Tg *k- and *o for the expected *x- and *u) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #930 (A *kure 'to run, quick'; incl. T, Ko, Tg) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #319 (IE, Sm, A. Ko, Ai, Gil + err. FU + qu. CK).

1142. *ḱūr'U' (= *ḱur'U'?) 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > **A** {ADb.} *k'uru > Tg *xuru-n 'hoof' > Ewk urūn, Ork χūrū 'hoof' (of a reindeer), Orc ūḡki, Ud u, Nn Nh χōrō ~ χōrōã, Nn B χoro(n-) 'hoof'; Tg *xuru 'handful' > Ewk ur, urū, Ud ū, Ul, Orc xuru ~ xurū, Nn xoro ¶ STM II 287-8 || **M** *quruḡ|an 'finger, toe' (← 'hoof') > MM [IM] qurḡan, [IsV] quru,un, [MA, LV] qurūn, WrM quruḡun, HIM xuryy, Mnr H {SM} χuri, {Pot.} xypю, Mnr M {Pot.} кyрy, MMgl [Z] qurūn, Mgl {Rm.} qurūn, Dx {T} gurun, Dg {T} qorō 'finger, toe' ¶ MED 991, Pot. 417, Pp. MA 312, 445, Pp. L III 63, Iw. 129, Rm. M 32, SM 185, T 378, T DgJ 30, T DnJ 117 || **IE**: NaIE *kern-/*korn- (or *k̄|korn-, if the Sl cognate is rejected) 'hoof, (?) handle' > Clt: W, Crn carn 'hoof', OBr carn id. ('ungula caballi, sabot de cheval'), Br kar n 'hoof' ('sabat de bête') || ? Sl *černъ 'handle' > Blg, R 'чепен' 'handle, haft, graft', SCr crēn, Slv črēn, Hls črona, P trzon id. ¶ YGM-1 76, Flr. 97, Hm. 426, ESSJ IV 69-70, ≠ P 576 (< *k̄er- 'das Oberste am Körper'), ≠ EI 272 (W carn < IE *k̄rnom 'horn') || **U**: FP *kurm∇ 'hollow of the hand' > Chr H кормыж 'kormъž, Chr L/Uf/B kormъž id., 'handful' || Mk кyрмозь kurmaž 'handful' || Prm {LG} *kūrim 'hollow of the hand' > StZ кyрым 'hand', Z I/Ud, Prmk k+r+m 'hollow of the hand, handful', Yz k^r^m, Vt кyрым 'handful' ¶ UEW 677, MRS 223, Ker. II 73, Ep. 46, Ü 75, LG 154, Lt. J 132 || **D** {tr.} *kuḡ∇_lḡk°, {GS} kuḡuḡ 'thigh, leg, loins' (×N *gūr∇(d∇) or *gur∇y∇(d∇)- 'hip, side', q.v.) > Tm куḡaḡku, Kt korg, Tl куḡuḡu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu ɘ kuḡu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku ɘ

kurki ⚡ koχki, Knd kur̥gu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuʒu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. ⚡ kūd̥gū id., 'lap', Ml kur̥aku, kur̥avv 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D #1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [#382], 55 [#152] || HS: S *k̥ursull- 'ankle' (< N *k̥ûr̥ ∇ s̥û'ɫ' ∇ '€ bottom [bone] of the leg\foot', ffd. *see* N *s̥û'ɫ' ∇ 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom') || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' (< N *k̥ûr̥ ∇ s̥û'ɫ' ∇, ffd. *see* N *s̥û'ɫ' ∇) ◇ If the Sl cognate is accepted, the IE √ has an initial *k-, in that case the pN rec. must be *k̥ur̥'U' (N *u > *u̯ is lost in IE if it is followed by a root-final sonant). But in this case the (otherwise plausible) connection of the N etymon with the cd. *k̥'û'r̥û-ϣ ∇ c ∇ 'shin' (with a front vw. suggested by IE *k̥- in *k̥r̥ūs- > Arm s̥r̥un-kʰ 'leg[s], shank[s]') is ruled out. Otherwise, if the qu. Slavic cognate *černъ 'handle' is rejected, the N etymon is likely to be *k̥ür̥'U', in accordance with its connection with N *k̥'û'r̥û-ϣ ∇ c ∇ ◇ The D, IE, and U cognates are likely to go back to a cd. or cds. (≈ N *k̥ûr̥'U' n̄ ∇ ..., *k̥ûr̥'U' m ∇ ...) ◇ The meaning of D *kur̥ ∇ ɫ̥k̥o 'thigh, leg, loins' may be explained as a semantic change from N 'foot', influenced by the contamination with N *gúr̥ ∇ (d ∇) or *gur̥ ∇ y ∇ (d ∇) - 'hip, side'.

1143. *k̥ur̥ ∇ (= *k̥ur̥û?) 'plait\wattle\tie together' > IE: NaIE *k̥ʷer̥u̯]- 'build, make' (↔ *k̥ʷer̥u̯]- 'pot, kettle') > OI ka'rōti, kar̥ōti (pp. kr̥ō'-ta-) 'does, makes', Av čōrəṭ 'er schafft', kərənao 'they will make', YAv kərəta-, OPrs (unvocalized script) kr̥t pp. 'made', KhS kar 'do, make'; OI ca'ru- 'pot, kettle' ||| W paraf 'I make, accomplish'; OIr cruth, W pryd 'form (Gestalt)'; OIr co(i)re, W pair 'kettle' ||| ON hverr, OHG (h)wer 'kettle', AS hwer 'kettle, pot' ||| BSl: [1] Lt kūr̥ti 'to make up, to create, to build', Pru kūr̥a 3s p. 'built' or 3s prs. 'builds' | Sl *čara 'cup, bowl, goblet' > OR Чара čara, P czara id., R 'чара 'goblet', Uk 'чара, R, Uk 'чарка 'wineglass'; ??? ChS къръни къръѣji and R † корч, корчий 'blacksmith, boiler-maker' (more likely to be a loan from T, smth. like OQp *qurč-čī ↔ OQp qurč 'steel' (*see* Cl. 647)]?σ [2] (→ *'practive withcraft'): Lt kerāī pl. 'witchcraft, spell, sorcery', keréti 'to practice witchcraft' | Sl *čarъ, *čara 'witchcraft, magic, spell' > OCS, RChS, OR Чаръ čarъ, RChS, OR Чара čara 'spell, witchcraft', Cr čara, Slv čār, čára, Cz čary id., P czarъ, R 'чары id., 'charm', Blg чар 'charm', Uk чар 'magic potion' ¶ On the typological acceptability of the semantic change 'make' → 'practice

witchcraft' *see* Bern. I 136-7 and Bu. 494-6 (\equiv σ: Sp hechizo < L facticius); an alt. connection of the BSI stem for 'witchcraft' is NaE *kar- v. 'abuse, blame, punish' (< N *kar∇ 'curse, scold', ? 'punish'), because abusing and blaming may be originally perceived as magic ¶ ≈ P 641-2, EI 362 (*k^wer- 'do, make, build'), M K I 169, 258, M EI 307-9, Frn. 241-2, 319, Vs. IV 316-7, Vn. C 256, Vr. 272, Ho. 181, Kb. 1170, OsS 439, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 300-7, ESSJ IV 21-6, Glh. 171-2 || U *kur∇- v. 'fold, bind, tie with string' > F kuro- v. 'gather, pucker up (in a garment)', {UEW} 'fälteln, mit Falten versehen, kräuseln; abschnüren, schnüren', kure 'gather, pucker; wrinkle, crumple; fold' | pLp {Lr.} *kor3- 'tie together' > Lp: S {Hs.} gārredh '(an-\um-\zu-\zusammen-)binden', Vfs {Lgc.} kōrrō't 'tie together', L {LLO} kārāt 'tie\stitch together (with strings, twigs, root fibres, etc.)', N {N} gōrrā- 'tie together', Kld kōrrō-đ v. 'tie' || Sm {Jn.} *ku(y)rā-, {Hl.} *kura- v. 'tie, plait', vi. *kurъ- 'be tied, plaited' > Ne T хурась id., {Lh.} χurā 'die Last im Schlitten festschnüren', Ne F {Lh.} kur-ḥā-š id., Ng {Mik.} kūrūda 'entangle, enmesh (запутать)', Slq Tz {KKIH} kur+ id., v. 'bandage (забинтовать)', En {Ter.} 3s aor. sbcj. кураза 'he tied up, strapped (увязал)', Kms {KD} kūrīām, Koyb {Sp.} курлямъ, Mt {Hl.} *kura- v. 'plait' (Mt M {Sp.} курамъ 'I plait') || pY {IN} *kur- > YK {Jc.} курит 'сцепившись' ({Ang.} 'sich verkettet habend') || A variant FU (FP) stem *kor∇ (proposed in IS I 359) > Krl {It.} koruo- v. 'stitch' | pLp {Lr.} *kōrō 'sew' > Lp: S {Hs.} goārudh, L {LLO} kārōt, N {N} goarrot, Kld koarreδ | Prm {LG} *kōr- > Z kōp- kōr- 'gather (in a garment)' || U *kur∇ ~ *kor∇ is probably the source of some words for wicker-work: Chr E kurukš 'basket of bark' || ObU {Ht.} *kūrāy ~ *kīrāy 'sack' > pVg *kūrāy > Vg: T kōrāw / pl. ko(:)rkæt, LK xūri, MK kurī, UK kūrī, P kūrīy / pl. kurret, NV/SV kūrī, LL kūrī / kurrat, UL/Ss xūrīy; pOs *kīrāy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qīrāy, D/K xerā, Nz xīrā, Kz χīr, O χir || Sm *kor 'vessel' > Ne T хор" χōr? 'bucket, keg', 'Fass', Ne FP {Lh.} kōf 'birchbark bucket', Ng {Ter.} кур, {Cs.} kūr 'barrel', En {Cs.} ку? id., 'box (Kiste)', Slq Tm {KD} kōrñžä 'birchbark basket', Kms {KD} qōri? 'small box for fat' ¶¶ UEW 215, Coll. 29, Lr. ##459, 480, Lgc. ##2568, 2668, Hs. 566, TI 149, It. LC 115 (Lp N goarrot, Krl), LG 141, Jn. 74, 76, KKIИ 121, Hl. M #601, Ht. #321, IN 230, Ang. 130 || A {SDM97} *k₁uru 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building' > T *Kur- 'put sth. in working order, erect (a building), establish' > XwT XIII qur- 'set up',

Chg xv qur- id., 'erect', Tk kūr- 'install, build', Tkm, Az gur-, Uz, ET, Nog, Qmq qur-, VTt коп- q̄r-, Bsh коп- q̄r- 'build, erect', Qzq qūr-, Qq, Qrg qur- 'set up, establish, build' ¶ Cl. 643, Rl. II 920, ET Q 156-7 || ?σ M: [1] *qori- 'enclose, shut in' (× N ***ḶoHri** 'to cover, to protect', q.v.) > WrM qori-, HIM хори- 'enclose, shut in', Mnr χūōri- 'enfermer, enprisonner, mettre à l'étable'; M *qori^γul > WrM qorigul, HIM хориул 'enclosure, enclosed place'; M *qori^γaγan 'courtyard with houses' > MM [S] qoriya_γan 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', [HI] qoriyan 'cour avec habitations', WrM qoriyan ~ qoruga, HIM хороо 'courtyard, enclosure', Dg {T} χορέ 'courtyard, fence', {Mr.} horiē id., 'stockade for horses and cattle, corral' || [2] M *küriyen > MM [HI] {Ms., Lew.} güriyen 'enclos', WrM küriyen, HIM хүрээ 'anything girding \ encircling \ enclosed; fence; enclosure, yard', WrO kürē 'enclosure, monastery', Kl күрә, {Rm.} kürē 'monastery; circle (for games)'; WrM küriyele-, HIM хүрээлэ- v. 'fence off, enclose', WrO kürēle- 'surround, encircle' ¶ Ms. H 58, 90, MED 506, 966-7, H 67, Lew. II 39, SM 183, T DgJ 177, Mr. D 164, Krg. 758, KRS 326, KW 247 || AdS of Tg *kōri- 'build (out of logs)', 'building' (basically from N ***ko^oū** 'stick, log', q.v. ffd., as can be seen from Tg *k- < N ***k-**) || ? pJ {S} *kuru-wa 'rampart of a fortress, quarter in a city' > OJ kuruwa id., J: T kùruwa, K kúrúwá, Kg kuruwá 'an enclosure, quarter in a city; district' ¶ S QJ #891 ¶¶ DQA #931 (A *kuri 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building': T, M *küriyen, Tg, Ko, J) || D (in SD) *kur[∇]v-, *kur- 'basket' (× N ***Ḷ^ury[∇]p[∇]** 'sack, wicker basket', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: CS *Ḷ[∇]wr- 'thread' > Hb קור kūr 'thin thread, spider's web', Ar qa^wr- 'good and strong cotton-rope; new cotton' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, BK II 833, Hv. 633 ◇ IS I 359-60 [#236] ◇ D *-r- suggests the presence of some cns. following *r in the pre-history of D (reg.: D *-r- < N ***r** + another cns.) The most probable additional cns. for this case is *w or *y (the lrs. are ruled out for lack of traces in S and IE). Such pre-D *w may go back to N *-u or *-ū. Direct traces of N final *ū may be discerned in OI cā¹ru and in D (Ml kuruttī, Kn kurve, Tu kurvæ) ◇ Gr. II #258 (*kur 'make') (IE, U, A, J, Ai).

1144. *Ḷ^ur[∇] 'short' > IE: NaIE *ker-t-, *ker-... 'short' > OI kr^o'dhu- 'shortened', Av kərədušā 'in Kürze' || L curtus 'short' || Sl *kor't-ькь id. (f. *kórtrьka, ntr. *kórtьko) > ChS кратькь kratькь, Blg

'кратък, SCr *kráta*k, Slv *krátek*, Cz *krátký*, P *krótki*, R *ко'роткий*, 'короток || ?φ Gmc: ON *kortr*, *kurtr*, OSx *kurt*, OHG *kurz* \mathfrak{d} *churz*, NHG *kurz* 'short' ¶ WH I 316-7, M KI 260, M E I 393, ESSJ XI 101-4, Glh. 345, Vr. 327, Ho. S 44, Kb. 575, Schz. 187, KM 414 ¶ IE **ker-* < ***keur-* is due to the law requiring the loss of any sonant preceding the final sonant of the $\sqrt{\text{ }}$. Gmc **k-* for **h-* is still to be explained ¶¶ The connection (if any) with IE *(s)*kert-* 'cut' is secondary || HS: WS * $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* 'be short' > Sr $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* (pf. $\text{كِرْي} \text{ kārī} \sim \text{كِرْيَا} \text{ kārā}$) 'be short', Sq {L} *kiri* 'be short' ¶ Br. 342, L LS 225 || B * $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* 'be too short' (of stature, etc.) > Sll *kri* (pf. *ikri*) 'be short', Kb $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* (inv. əщrī) 'être malingre, de petite taille pour son âge', ? Ah *əkrū* 'avoir une petite figure chiffonnée', ??φ Zng {TC} *yikyīy* 'devenir court' ¶ Ds. 79, Dl. 421, Fc. 842, DCTC 291 || A **k'or*√ 'short; be diminished' > NaT **Kora-* > OT *qora-* 'be diminished, suffer losses', Qrg *qoro-* vi. 'diminish, decrease', Tlt *qoro-* 'sich verkleinern, sich verringern, abnehmen', Xk {BIG} vi. *χora-* 'diminish', Sg/Qb/Shor {Rl.} *qora-* 'sich vermindern' ¶ Cl. 645, Rl. II 551-2, Jud. 407 || M **qoru-* vi. 'diminish, decrease' > WrM *qoru-*, HIM *хор-*, Kl {KRS} *хор-* id., Kl {Rm.} *χor-* 'knapper\weniger\kürzer sein\werden', ? MM [S] *qoro-* {H} 'verbrauchen, vergeuden, abschaffen' ¶ MED 968, KW 188, H 68, KRS 600 || Tg **xurum-* 'short' > Nn *xurumi*, Ork *xurumi*, *xurdumi*, Ul *xurmi*, Orc *ūmi*, Ewk, Lm *urum-kun*, Sol. *urunku(n)* id., Ewk *urumūr-* vt. 'shorten' ¶ STM II 287-8, Ci. 326, Vas. 454 || pKo {S} *kor-* vi. 'diminish' > Nko *kol-da* ¶ Rm. SKE 122, S AJ 257 [#177] ¶¶ S AJ 292 [#435] || D **kuṛ-* ({ṢGS} **k-*) 'short' (of stature) > Tm, Tl *kuṛu* 'short, dwarfish', Ml *kuṛu* 'short, little, brief', Kt *kūr* 'shortness of stature', Td *kuṛḡ-* 'be short', *kwāṛ-* 'be reduced in size or esteem', Kn *kuṛu* 'smallness', *korē* 'grow little\less\short, diminish', Kdg *koru* 'defect, deficiency', *korate* 'diminishing', Tu *korā* 'brief, short', *kuru* 'little, small', Gnd M *kurrā* 'short of stature', Knd *kuṛi* 'short, shortness'; ?? D **kūr-* > Tm *kūrāi* 'that which is short' ¶¶ D ##1851. 1914 ◇ IE **ker-t-*, **ker-* rules out the possibility of reconstructing * \emptyset in the N etymon. Hence the T and the M vw. * \emptyset (together with pA * \emptyset) (for the expected **u*) is still to be explained. IE **ker(-t-)* is likely to go back to ***keur-* < **Ḳur*√ ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 367-8 (**Ḳur* \wedge 'short'; HS [S, Ch], D, A, ?IE).

1145. **ḲoHri* 'to cover, to protect, to guard' > A **k'ōr*√ 'protect, guard (i. a., by covering, fencing in)' > NaT **Kōri-* > OT {Cl.} *qori-* v.

'fence in, protect (a piece of ground)', Chg XV qoru- v. 'restrict, protect', Chg [MA] qoru- 'defend', Qrg qoru- 'protect (against sth.), guard, fence in', Tk koru- v. 'protect, defend, spare', Tkm qōra- 'protect (against so.\sth.), defend' ({ET} qōra-), Az goru-, Qmq, ET qoru-, Qrlq qorī-, Uz qwri- 'guard, protect, defend', Qzq inf. қоры қоруw, Nog qorī- v. 'defend', StAlt qoru 'defence, (protective) fence (ограждение)', Tv xoru- v. 'forbid', vi. 'lurk\hide out of fright' (of birds and other animals); ? Chg {Rs.} qorʕa- 'mit einer Mauer umgeben' ¶ Cl. 645-6, Rs. W 282, ET Q 76-8, TkR 189, Jud. 409, BT 88 || M *qori- 'protect; shut in, confine' (× N *Ḳur∇ [or *Ḳurû?] 'plait\wattle\tie together', q.v.) > MM [S] d. qori-laldu- 'sich gegenseitig oder einer dem andern (den Zutritt) absperren', ? qoriya,an 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', WrM qorī-, HIM xopi- 'protect, prohibit; shut in, confine', Ord qorī- 'forbid', Mnr H {SM} χūōri- 'enfermer, emprisonner, mettre à l'étable, prohiber, défendre'; MM [MA] qorī- v. 'defend' (× ← OT or MT qorī- id.) ¶ Pp. MA 303, MED 966, SM 183 || Tg *xura- ({SDM97} *xurā-) 'escape a danger\death, return to life, recover (from an illness)' > Ewk urā- ~ ūra-, Ud uya-, Nn Nh xora-, Lm ur- 'escape a danger\death', Lm ur-, Ul xora-, xura-, Ork xura-, Nn Nh/B xorago- 'regain consciousness', Ewk urā- ~ ūra- vt. 'save (so.)', Sln d. urgī-, Lm ur- 'recover (from an illness)', Lm ur, Neg oyaygī-, Orc uwa- ~ uya-, Ul xora- ~ xura- 'return to life' ¶ STM II 282 || pKo {S} *kārī v. 'cover, shield' > MKo kārī-, NKo kari- ¶ S QK #742, Nam 13, MLC 13 ¶¶ DQA #1131 (A *k'ōra|o|u 'to protect, to guard'), Rm. SKE 98 || HS: WCh: Tng kōrne v. 'protect, guard, keep, preserve, shelter' | Ang {Flk.} kīr v. 'tend (as of cattle)', Su {J} kyēr 'hüten, bewachen; füttern' | ? (× N *ḡArûh₂∇ 'keep [sth.] out of sight, hide') Hs kǎřè v. 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', kǎříyà 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit; screening off a place' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [#604] (pWCh *ka₁y₁ar- 'protect, guard'), Flk. s.v. kīr, J S I 71, J T 102, Ba. 567, 570, ≈ Sk. HCD 137 ¶ BK II 719 || ? SC: Kz kulum-vi. 'hide' (acc. to Ehret, Kz -l- goes back to pSC *-r-) (× N *ḡArûh₂∇ '↑') ¶ EK 14, E SC 254 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg XIX kṛṣ.ω 'shield', because Cpt ḡā cəl ḡā cəl points to an Eg [l] (EG V 59, ≠ Sk. HCD 137) || U: FU *kor∇ (or *-u-) 'roof, covering (Bezug) of an object' > pLp *°kōr- > Lp N {N} goarân 'hairy skin covering fastened round a reindeer's

drag-rope' || ObU *kūr > pVg *kur̄ > Vg: UL xuri 'roof of a boat', Ss xāp-xuri id. (xāp is 'boat'), xuri 'roof, birch-bark tilt of a sledge'; pOs *kōra 'roof\tilt (over a boat\sledge), cover' > Os V/Vy/Ty/Y qōra id. (V/Vy kiriw qōra 'roof a boat', pečkān qōra 'case of a rifle', Ty/Y āyʷəl qōra 'tilt of a sledge', Ty sāk qōra 'cover of a coat'), V/Y qōra 'roof (of a house), D χōra 'birch-bark tilt of a boat, leathern case of a rifle', Nz χōra, Kz/O χōr 'roof\tilt of a boat\sledge' ¶ UEW 188, Coll. 79, Ht. #313, Trj. S 184, Stn. D 548-9.

1145a. *Ka₁H₂r∇ 'sharp' > HS: EC *qar- 'point, peak; sharp' > Sml qár, Or qár-aʔ 'edge', qar- v. 'sharpen', {Grg.} qara n. 'point, sharpness', Gdl qár 'blade', qara 'sharpness', Kns qár-ta 'tip, blade, sharpness', HEC *qar- v. 'sharpen (knife)', *qare 'point; sharp' > Ged qara 'sharp', Sd qara 'point', qar-āmo 'sharp, pointed', Hd {Ss.} qāra 'sharpness' ¶ ZMO 325, DSI 489, Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 || IE: NaIE *k^har- 'sharp, pointed, rough' (× N *ćor∇ 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.] × N *qaH₂r∇ 'hard, firm', whence the meaning 'hard' in NaIE *k^har-) > OI kharā- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خار χōr 'thorn, thistle' || Gk κάρχαρος 'sharp-pointed, jagged' ¶ WP I 355, M KI 302, Vl. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102, F I 796 ¶¶ NaIE *k^har- < pIE *kHar- < (mt.) N *Ka₁H₂r∇ × N *qaH₂r∇ || D *kar- ~ kar- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'sharp' > Ml karu 'rough', karuma 'sharpness of sword', Kn karaku, karku 'sharpness', Tl kara 'sharp', karaku, karuku 'rough(ness), sharp(ness)', Gnd karkara 'sharp', Tm karaṭu 'roughness', Ml karaṭu, Kn karaḍu 'what is rough and uneven', Tu karaḍb, karaḍu 'rough, coarse' ¶¶ D #1265.

1146. *ku₁w₁r^E '(severe) cold' > HS: WS *qurr- 'cold' (noun) > BHb 𐤒𐤓 kor, Ar qurr-, Sr 𐤒𐤓 qūr-ā, Gz q̄warr id.; CS *qarr- adj. 'cold' > BHb 𐤒𐤓 qar, Ar qarr- id. ¶ BK II 699-700, L G 443-4, KB 1052-3, 1071-2 || EC *qorra > Or {Grg.} qorra 'cold, coldness', qorra v. 'freeze, make cold', {Th.} qorra 'freddo intenso, gelo', qorru 'congelarsi', Or M {AD} qorra 'cold, hoarfrost', Sd {Gs.} qorra- 'become\feel cold, freeze', qorra 'frost, hoarfrost, severe cold', Ged {Hd.} qōrra 'frost' ¶ Gs. 269, Grg. 332, Th. 280, Hd. 251 || ? B *√krr (× N *qir₁U₁qa 'ice, hoarfrost') > Rf aqarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 || K *q̄w^ar- > Sv UB/LB/L/LB {TK} qwarem, Ln {TK} qwārem 'ice', Sv {Ni.} qwarem 'frost, ice', lu-qurāme 'frozen', Sv UB {GP} qwarem 'ice', qwarmob 'frost, freezing', li-qwremi v. 'freeze' ¶ GP 130, 156, Ni. s.v. лёдъ, морозъ, мёрзнуть, мёрзлый,

TK 352 || U *ku_lw_lrâ 'hoarfrost' > F kuura, Krl A kuru id., 'white frost', Es † kuureg, Δ kuurukene (gen. kuurukese) 'kleiner, über den Weg gewelter Schneestreifen' | pLp *kor∇ > Lp L {LLO} kārālahka 'ice crust on trees, sheet ice (Glatteis)', kārō- 'hoarfrost covers the trees' | pPrm {LG} *gūr 'white frost, hoarfrost' > Vt g+r, Vt Tl g+r, Vt NE g+r id., Z r̄yöp g+r, Z US g+r, Z UV g+ver 'hoarfrost' || ? Hg † hóharmat 'hoarfrost', Hg harmat 'dew' || ? Sm: Slq UKe {KD} kur 'fine snow, hoarfrost', Kms {KD} quro 'Reif, Frost' ¶ UEW 215 (U *kura), SK 251, LLO 336, LG 85, KD 34 || A: M *kōr_lü- v. 'cool off, freeze, congeal' > MM *kōr- (MM [HI] p. pf. kōrbeḷ) v. 'freeze, congeal', WrM kōr ü-, HIM xöpö, Kl kōr- id., 'cool off, become cold', Ord {SM} k'ör-, Mnr k'uori- v. 'freeze, congeal'; WrM kōr, HIM {Gl.} xör 'snow (frozen to ice) on grass', {Luv.} xör car 'hardened snow' (absence of any final vw. due to the infl. of T *Kürt?) ¶ KW 240, MED 490, KRS 319, SM 215, Ms. H 72, Gl. III 665, Luv. 555 || T *k_l'ürt > T Δ kürt, VTt {Rs., TatR} көрт kōrt 'heap of snow, snow-drift', VTt {Rl.} kürt 'hochaufgestürmter Schnee', Shor {Rl.} kürt 'avalanche', ET Tr {Rl.} kürt 'frisch gefallener Schnee', Qmq, Alt kürt, Chv kōrt, Δ {Md.} kōrt 'snow-drift'; d.: T *k'ört'-ik 'snow-drift, deep snow' > OT, Tlt {Rl.} körtük, Xk körtük, Tv xörtük, Tk Δ, Qrg kürtük, Qzq kürtük, Nog kürtük, Yk kürjük ¶ Cl. 739, ET KQ 149-50, Rl. II 461, Rs. W 311, TatR 328, Md. 55, 170 (k'öürt'-ik) || ?φ Tg {DQA} *okuri- (sc. *kūr^ri^l-) '≈ freeze' > Ewk kurer- 'cover (windows) with ice, freeze (on windows)', kurilkэ 'snow-drift (сугроб, намёт) after a snow-storm' ¶ STM I 436-7 ¶ The Tg cognate is problematic because of the cns. *k- (for the expected *x-) (← M?) || pJ {S} *kōr- 'freeze' > OJ kōr-, J: T/Kg kōr-, K kōr- ¶ S QJ #618, Mr. 713 ¶¶ DQA 886 (A *kóre 'to freeze').

1147. *kayer∇ 'ε bark, skin' > A *k'ayEr∇ > M *qayir_l∇_l-sun 'scales' > MM [HI] qairsun 'fish scales', WrM qairsun ~ qairasun, HIM хайрс 'scales (of fishes and reptiles), Kl Ö {Rm.} xārsṅ 'scales, hard bark, callosity' ¶ Ms. H 86, MED 914, KW 180 || T: [1] VTt {Rs.} qayraq 'hard tumour' (homonymy with qayraq 'whetstone' causes a popular et.: 'tumour as hard as a whetstone'), VTt qayr̄ 'bark, lime bast (кора, луб, корьё)', Chv: L хуѣр хуѣр, H {Md.} хуѣр 'bark', ? Qzq qayraq 'hard ground\bottom (of lakes\rivers)' | [2] T *k_l'a_l'r 'bark of trees' (*r < *yr?) > OT {Cl.} qāz ~ qās, OT U qas, Qb {Rs.} qas, Tlt {Rl.} qāza

'birch bark', Az Δ *gazmaγ* 'a crust of bread which remains on the walls of the furnace' ¶ Cl. 665, Rs. W 223, Rl. II 363, TatR 212, MM 423, Fed. II 352 ¶ SDM95 (s.v. *k'ejir), SDM97 155 (pA *k'eyro) || Tg *xere- v. 'bark (a tree)' > WrMc *ere-* v. 'bark a birch-tree', Ul *χερ-* v. 'scale (dried fish skin)', Tg *xere-*kte* n. 'bark, skin' > Ewk *χερκτε* id., Neg *χερκτε*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B *χερκτε*, Orc *χερκτε* 'skin', Lm *χερτε* id., 'scales' ¶ STM II 466-7 || ? pKo {S} *k'ár-č'hjā₁ŋ > MKo *k'ár-č'hjā₁ŋ* 'young skin of a plant' (mentioned in SDM95, but absent in SDM97 and DQA) || pJ *k'árā 'shell' > OJ *k'árā*, J: T *kará*, K *k'árā*, Kg *k'árā* ¶ S QJ #480, Mr. 438 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ejrō 'bark', ≈ DQA #996 (A *k'éřā 'bark': M, Tg, J, T *K'ár), S AJ 38 || IE: NaIE *ker- 'skin, hide, bark', (-d) *kermen- 'skin' > OI 'carma 'skin, hide', Av *čaraman-* 'hide, leather', OPrs *čarman-* 'leather' || L *corium* 'thick skin, hide, bark' || Gk *κόρυκος* 'leather sack' || Clt: ? W *corwg*, *cwrwg* 'coracle' (unless ← NE *coracle*) || Pru *kērmens* 'body', ? Lt *karnā* ~ *kardā* 'lime-bast' || SI *kora 'bark' (× N *Kor'a' 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust') > OCS *кора* *kora*, Blg, R *κο'ρα*, SCr *kōra*, Slv *kóra*, Cz *kůra*, P *kora* 'bark' ¶ P 939-41 (does not distinguish between the IE √ in question and other *ker- and *(s)ker-roots), M KI 378, F II 63-4, YGM-1 100, ≈ Frn. 221, En. 192, Tp. PI-K 326-31, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3, WH I 256, ≈ EI 522 (*'kermen; unc.: ← *(s)ker- 'cut') || K: G *κρο-* 'shell of a nut' ¶ Chx. 633 || U: [1] pre-U **kayEr∇ > **kayr∇ > **kār∇ > FP *kōr∇ 'skin, bark' > F *kuor* i 'skin, peel, bark, crust, shell', Es *koor* 'shell (of eyes), peel, bark' || Er/Mk *kar* 'bast shoe' || Prm {LG} *kōrs > Z *k'irs* 'bark' || Sm {Jn.} *kär (?) 'skin, shell' > Ne T *сяр* 'skin, surface', Ne O {Lh.} *šār*? 'harte Innenfläche der Tierhaut', Ne F {Lh.} *šār*? in *nūm šār* 'Himmelsgewölbe', Slq Tz {Prk.} *qora* 'hide' || pY {IN} *qar 'skin, hide' > YK {IN} *qar* id., {IN RJ} *χār* 'skin', *šān-χār* 'bark' (lit. 'tree-skin'), OYK {Bil.} *char* 'skin', *tshangar* 'bark' || [2] pre-U **ka'yer∇ 'ε bark' > FU *kere > F *keri* 'the bark which grows on the birch tree after the first bark has been removed', Es {W} *kere* 'lime-bast' || pLp {Lr.} *k3r3 'bark' > Lp: S *g'irre*, L {LLO} *karra*, N {N} *gâr râ*, Kld *k3rr* || Er *керь* *keř*, Mk *кяр* *kär* 'bark, sheet of lime bast (лубок)' || Chr: H *кър* *kər*, L *кър* *kür*, B *kür* id. || Prm {LG} *kōr > Z *kor* / *kory-* 'peel', (in a set phrase) 'sheet of lime-bast (луб)', Z Lu *kor* 'upper layer of bark', Z US *kor* 'bark', Vt, Prmk *кур* *kur*, Vt SW *kür*, Vt B *ko'r* 'lime-bast' || ObU {Ht.} *kīr(∇) 'bark' > pVg *kīr > Vg T/LK/MK/UL/Ss *kēr* id.; pOs *kir 'snow

crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K kir, Nz/Kz/O ker id.; pOs *kär 'bark' > Os: V/Vy kär, Ty/Y/D/K/O kâr, Nz/Kz kar | OHg kér 'Zwerchfell', (in cds.) -kér 'thin skin, film', Hg kérég 'bark, crust' ¶¶ UEW 148-9, 184-5, Db. OS xxi, xxiii, Sm. 543 (FU *keri|ä 'bark' > FP *keri, Ugr *kirä), It. #308, Lr. #318, Lgc. #1963, Hs. 611, LG 133, 154, SZ 164, Ht. #317, MF 133, Jn. 64-5, IN 245, 326, 332, IN RJ s.v. 'кожа' and 'копа', W EDW 263 || One may try to adduce here HS (S *✓krm, B *krm > *✓yrm 'crust', Bj {R} k^war^{be} 'skin', Ch ✓k^wr 'skin'), but I prefer to connect this HS ✓ with N *Kor'a' (or *Kora and *K'orü?) 'to flay, to bark; bark, crust' and (in the case of Bj) with N *kōRup[∇] ~ *kaRup[∇] 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' ◇ N *-e- is suggested by U *kere; M *qayir_L[∇]_L- and Tg *xere- also point to a front vw. in the N internal syll. ◇ IS I 341-3 (*Kārä misprinted as *Kārä), Vv. AEN 6, S AJ 38, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST; suggests to adduce G k_rol-i; believes that FU *kōr[∇] belongs together with A *k'juru 'bark, shell' and is to be regarded as a different N etymon). In my opinion, this A ✓ (reconstructed by me as *k'öru-) belongs together with U *kora- v. 'flay, skin' to N *Kor'a' 'to flay' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #26 (*ker 'bark').

1148. *kuyr[∇] 'wood (Holz), log' > HS: EC {Ss.} *kor- 'wood' > Sml qor- v. 'trim timber', qor-i 'wood', Dsn g^ór 'tree, wood', Kns {Bl.} q^ór-ā, {Ss.} qoyr-a, Gdl k^ór-ā, Elm ór-ó?, Arr {Hw.} k^ór m., Or {Bl.} k^ór-āni 'wood', {Grg.} korān 'firewood', Rn {PG} χ^ór-ò id., Arr k^òr f., Dsn g^ór 'tree' ||| Dhl koro 'tree' ¶ Bl. 111-2, 197, Ss. PEC 48, Hw. A 380, Grg. 181, PG 193, To DL 502, To. D 138, Blz. CL 180 || S *kār(iy)-at- 'beam, trunk, stick' (× N *KärE 'trunk, (piece of) wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ AD SEC 135 (S, EC) || K *okwar- > G {Chx.} k^var-i 'Kienspan' ⇨ Mg {Q} k^vari 'chip of wood (лучина)' ¶ Chx. 575, Q 255 || IE {Ei} *k^wṛsto- ~ *k^wṛsti- 'woods' (× N *k^óR_L[∇]_L (∇χ)[∇] '≈ oak') > W prys 'woods', OHG horst, As h^yrst 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595 || U: FU *kuyr[∇] 'a hollowed-out log, trough, boat, wooden vessel' > F kuiru 'long and narrow boat', kuiri, kuirilo 'spoon; boat' | Prm *gūr / *gūry- 'wooden mortar' > Z g^tr / g^try-, Z Vsh/EV gūr, Yz g^lr, Prmk, Vt g^tr ||| ObU {Ht.} *kūr[∇] 'trough, wooden vessel\quiver' > pVg {Ht.} *kūrā > Vg: LK xora 'wooden quiver for arrows', MK k^wora 'box for fish', Ss xura 'trough, dish (Schüssel)', nāl-xura 'box for arrows', śäy-xura 'cup for tea'; pOs {Ht.} *kur^t 'trough' > Os (partially in cds.): V/Ty qur^t, Y quri, D kūrā, Nz χūrā, Kz χūr, O χuri id., V yu-qur^t

'mortar, trough' ¶ UEW 196, Coll. 26, LG 85, Ht. #316 || D *kuṛānṭ- 'piece of wood, log, trunk' (× N *gUrandV 'log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [#15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [#75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N *KärE 'trunk, [piece of] wood').

1149. *kaR₁V₁V₁ 'peak, rock, steep mountain' > K: G qarqar-i 'high rock, cliff, steep slope', qarqaṭovani 'steep mountain', ? qorṭox-i 'hill, high ground' ¶ DCh. 596 || HS: B: Sll i-ṽār 'hill', Ntf i-ṽir 'rock' ¶ Stm. 188, La. N 117 || ? HEC {Hd.} *qara 'edge, blade' > Hd {Hd.} qareṭalla 'edge' (× N *QarXV 'bank [Ufer], edge'), *qar- v. 'sharpen (a knife)' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 48-9, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 || Eg fP q̄ṣṣ 'hill', later q̄ṣṣ.t 'high ground' (× N *kaT'h'i 'high; be high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5, Fk. 245, Tk I 65 || S: Ar qār-at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× ← qūr- id. [coll.] < N *K'o'rV 'rock, isolated mountain', q.v. ffd.) ¶ OS ##1551-2 (*kar- 'finish', *qar- 'mountain') || IE: NaIE *ker- 'rock, stone' > Arm քար k'ar (< *kr̥-) 'stone' || ? Gk κρανώς {LS} 'rocky, rugged' || OIr carrac 'rock', OW carrecc (< k̄r̄s-?) 'rock, stone' || Gmc: Nr Δ hōrg 'round mountain-top', ON hōrgr 'heap of stones, place of heathen sacrifice', AS hearz 'heathen temple', OHG hārug 'grove, place of sacrifice', {OsS} 'lucus, nemus, fanum'; NrGmc → F hārju 'mountain ridge, cliff' ¶ P 532; F II 6 and Ch. 577 (both propose no et. for the Gk word), Vn. C 42-3, Vr. 281, Ho. 152, Kb. 438, OsS 375 ◇ N *? is suggested by the second ɛ in Eg q̄ṣṣ ◇ IS I 340-1 (*Qar ʾ 'rock, steep height' in HS [S, Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D *÷ A *kira 'edge').

1150. *keri?A 'cry, shout, call' > HS: S ✓ k̄r? v. 'call' > BHb, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} 𐤏𐤓𐤏 ✓ k̄r? 'call, proclaim, recite, read', IA ✓ k̄r? 'call, declare', JA {Js.} ✓ k̄r? ~ ✓ k̄ry G, JEA {Sl.} ✓ k̄ry G 'call, summon; read', Ph, Pun ✓ k̄r? 'invoke', Ug k̄r? 'call (rufen, anrufen), invite', Amr {G} ✓ k̄r? 'call', Ar ✓ qr? G 'read, recite, transmit salutations', OYmn {Slw.} ✓ k̄r? v. G 'call (rufen)', Sb, Mn ✓ k̄r? v. G 'order, command', Ak qarā?u ~ qarû ~ kerû inf. 'to invite', Eb {Krb.} qaraṭum (ga-ru₁₂-um ~ ga-ra-um) 'to call' ¶ KB 1053-5, KBR 1128-31, Slw. 176, BK II 701, Hv. 395, BGMR 106, MA 72, A #2448, OLS 370-1, Lv. T II 382, Js. 1418, Sl. 1039-40, G A 29, BDB #7121, CAD XIII 242-3, HJ 1025-8, Krb. EG 18ff., Krb. PE 44 || B **✓ k̄rH > *ṽrH > Ah əṽar (pf. iṽrā) 'call (appeler), mention, read', Gh əṽar pf. iṽra), SrSn, Rf Wr əṽar (habit. aqqar), Sll

{Ds.} ʏ̆ɾ (pf. iʏ̆ʷra), Izd ʏ̆ar (pf. iʏ̆ra) 'call', Tmz ʏ̆ar 'call, invite', Izn ʏ̆ar (habit. əqqar), Kb ʏ̆ar (pf. ʏ̆əʏ̆ra), Zng {TC} aʏ̆ri 'read' ¶ Fc. 1761, Rn. 361, Ds. 18, La. S 195, Dl. 621, MT 197-8, Mrc. 22, DCTC 288, TC Z 311 || K {IS} *ʔk̄īr- (or *k̄īl-) 'cry, shout' > Lz ʔir-, ʔiy-, Mg rʔi- (mt.) ¶ Chik. 297-8, IS I 328, Zhgh. ChMP 75, ≠ K 112 || U: FU *ker̄y̆ä- v. 'call; beg, ask (for)' > F kerjää-, Es kerja- v. 'beg (betteln)' || Prm *k̄or- 'call, ask' > Z kop- kor-, Z US k̄or- 'call (звать), ask, beg (betteln)', Yz kor- 'call, invite, ask', Vt курьны, Vt SW/B kur- 'ask' || Hg k̄ér- v. 'ask' ¶ UEW 149 (FU *kerä-), LG 133, SZ 165, Lt. J 128 || A: Tg {Ci.} *x̄ērī- v. 'shout, call' > Ewk ̄ērī- id., 'invite', Sln ̄ērī-, Lm ̄ērī-, Ul x̄ērsi-, x̄ērsu-, x̄ērčī-, x̄ārčū-, Nn Nh x̄ērsi- v. 'call', Neg ̄y̆ī- 'shout, call' ¶ STM II 464 || M {DQA} *kar̄i|aya- > WrM qar̄iya-, HIM, Brt хараа-, Kl хара-, {Rm.} ʔarā-, Mnr H ʔarā-, Dx qara-, Ba ʔara- 'curse, swear, abuse', WrO ʔarā- v. 'curse' ¶ MED 938, Vld. 201, Chr. 549-50, KRS 578, KW 168, SM 159, T 374, TDnJ 125, T BJ 149, Krg. 261 ¶¶ DQA #1024 (A *k'ēr̄o 'to shout, to speak') || IE (+ext.): Sl *krikъ n. 'shout' (> ChS крикъ krikъ, R крик, P krzyk, etc.) and *kričati 'to shout' (> OCS кричати kričati, R кричать, P krzyczec, etc.) may belong here, in spite of the onomatopoeic factor involved. The loss of the expected palatalization of *k- in IE is accounted for by its precon. position ¶ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6 || D *k̄īr- ({{ǰGS} *k-) v. 'shout' > Kt kir̄y-, Td kir̄č̄- v. 'shout', Kn k̄īr̄u, c̄īr̄, c̄īr̄u, Kui kihpa v. 'scream, cry out', Tl c̄īru ̄ c̄īru v. 'call', Ku k̄īr̄ 'shout, moan', Brh kireŋ v. 'abuse', Tm kir̄āv̄u 'cry (as a peacock)' ¶¶ D #1590 ◇ IS I 323-4 [#199] (*q̄erjā) ◇ S *ʔ and B *H suggest an ancient N lr., D *-r̄- rules out a N cluster *-ry-, so that *-y- in BF (if it belongs to the N heritage) is accounted for by a N vw. *i between *r and *ʔ. The N final vw. is likely to be *a (> *a in M, as well as *ä in FU due to vw. harmony). The change from N *e to D *i may be due to regr. as. (N *q̄eri- > pre-D **kiri- > D *k̄īr̄-). M *-a- of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. (*e...*a > M *a...a).

1150a. *QarûṣṢ (or *QarûḡṢ) 'female breast, milk' > IE *kruH-t- > NaIE *krūt- 'female breast' > Lt krūt̄is, Ltv krūt̄is 'breast, bosom' || W c r o t h 'breast, uterus, vulva' ¶ ≈ P 624, ≈ Frnk. 291 || HS: CS *✓kr̄s (or *✓kr̄y?) > Sr كَرَبْ كَرَبْ k̄ar̄ā'ā 'first milk after birth, curdled milk', ʔσ (×N *kor̄ṣṢ 'eat [greedily], drink, swallow'): Ar ✓kr̄s v. G 'sip in', 'humer, boire en humant, en aspirant l'eau' (← *'suck milk') ¶ Br. II

348, Hv. 651 ¶ If Ar \checkmark kr̥s̥ does not belong here, the S root is * \checkmark kr̥s̥|ʷ || B * \checkmark kruH > Ah a-kru, Tyr a-ḡru 'curdled milk' ¶ Fc. 844. PGG 161 || C: Bj kar 'butter' ¶ R Wbd 144 || D: SD *kaḡ- v. 'milk' > Tm kaḡa v. 'milk, yield milk (as a cow)', Ml kaḡakka v. 'milk to flow out, milk, give milk', kaḡava, kaḡavu, kaḡru 'milking', Kt karv- v. 'milk', Td kaḡ- v. 'milk, give milk', kaḡ n. 'milk', Kn kaḡem kaḡi v. 'milk, cause to milk', Kdg kara v. 'milk' ¶ D #1385 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#113] (HS, D).

1151. *ḡ'ir̥s̥ 'strike, hit' > HS: WS * \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ (× N *ḡur̥s̥, ū 'to hammer, to pound') > Ar \checkmark qr̥s̥ v. G 'beat, strike, knock', Jb \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ v. 'strike a spark; sting', Gz \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ 'hit the head with a stick', maḡr̥s̥ 'means of hitting the head, whip, stick' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599, Jo. J 148, LG 439 || Ch: WCh ≈ *ḡir̥- v. 'forge, pound' (× N *ḡur̥s̥, ū '↑', q.v.) > Glm {Sch.} kír 'mortar' || ? Hs ḡír̥à 'forging, smithing', ḡéřè v. 'forge', Gw {Mts.} k^uíra id. ¶ Sch. BTL 85, ChL III 11, Ba. 596, 607 || K: OG ḡr̥- (inf. ḡr̥va) v. 'strike, hit', G ḡr̥- (inf. ḡvra) trans. class (two-obj. form) prs. -ḡr̥av 'jemandem mit etw. einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß versetzen' ¶ Chx. 620-6, 654, DCh. 628-9 || IE: NaIE * \checkmark k̥reuə- *'strike' > ?σ Gmc: OHG (h)riuwān (h)riuwān 'bereuen, beklagen, Buße tun, reuen' (> NHG reuen 'regret, repent'), AS hréowan 'to cause sorrow\repentance', hréow 'grief, sorrow, repentance; sad', ON hrygg̊r 'sad (betrübt, traurig)' ¶ WPI 480-1, P 622-3, Kb. 800, Schz. 240, Ho. 173, Vr. 262-3, Lehm. GEL 213 (ON -gg̊- as ev. of a lr.) || U: FP {It., UEW} *kir̥ä- 'strike, hew', {Sm.} *kir̥ä- 'hit' (× N *ḡir̥s̥ 'to cut?') > Er keḡa- v. 'hew, fell' || Chr L kḡ'r-aš, kḡr-em v. 'beat, strike, thresh', Chr E kḡ'r-em, Chr M ki'r-em 'to strike (with a stick\hammer)' || Prm *ker- v. 'hew' > Z kerav-, Yz keral-, Vt kora- id. ¶ It. #398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97 || D {Zv., Pf.} *kēḡ-, {GS} *kyēḡ- v. 'winnow' > Ml cēḡuka, Td köḡ-, Kn kēḡu, Δ gēḡu, Tl ceruḡu, Nkr, Nk kēd-, Prj kēd-, kēḡ-, Gdb kēy-, Gnd hēč- & hēh-, Png žēč- v. 'winnow', Kt keḡr-, Klm keḡd-, Krx kēs- v. 'winnow with up-and-down motion', Png, Mnd, Ku hēč̣i, Kui sēsi 'winnowing fan', Mlt kése v. 'sift' ¶¶ D #2019, Zv. 60-1, 117, Pf. 383, GS 205-6 [#519], 151 [#383] ◇ The origin of the D vw. {Zv., Pf.} *-ē- ({GS} *-yē-) is still to be investigated.

1152. *ḡir̥s̥ 'to tear, to break' > HS: CS * \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ v. 'tear' > BHb, JEA, JPA 𐤀𐤒𐤍 \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ G v. 'cut up in pieces, tear; rip to pieces (as sign of mourning or excitement)', JA [Trg.] \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ D 'tear, rend', Md \checkmark ḡr̥? G ,

Ar Mgr {GB} ✓qrɣ 'tear' ¶ KB 1069-70, KBR 1146-7, Js. 1424, DM 415
 || D {tr., GS} *kīr- > Tm kīrɯ v. 'slit, tear, cut', kīrɯ 'gash, cut, slice,
 piece', Ml kīrɯ 'rag, shred', kīrɯka 'be slit, torn; tear, rend', Kt, Kdg
 kīr-, Td kīr-, Tl gīrɯ v. 'tear', Tu kīrɯni v. 'split', Gnd kirr ɖ kir 'a
 wound' ¶¶ D #1624, GS 44-5 [#103] || IE *kerH- > NaIE *kerə-
 'destroy, break' > OI ɛr̥ō'ṇā-ti, aor. a-ɛarī-t 'smash, crush, break' (ī
 is a lengthened grade of *i < *a), Av a-sarəta 'unbroken' || Gk
 κεραιζω 'slaughter, ravage, plunder' || pAl *cera > Al ther v. 'pierce,
 hew, slaughter' || L cariēs 'rottenness, decay' || OIr ar-a-chrin
 'falls to pieces' ¶ P 578, M K III 371-2, F I 842-3, WH I 167-8, Vn. C 237-
 8, O 474-5 ◇ The vw. (*∇) following *r in N is suggested by D *-r-,
 which is the reg. reflex of N *-r- in the intervocalic position only, while
 a N cluster *rɣ would have yielded D *-r- ◇ N *kīr∇ɣ∇ 'to tear' may
 be a semantic variant of N *kī'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit'.

1153. *kūr∇ɣ∇û 'to hammer, to pound' ([in IE] → 'to grind') > HS: S
 *°✓kɣɣ (× N *kī'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit', q.v.) > Ar ✓qrɣ v. G 'knock at (the
 door), beat (the drum), hit the butt (arrow)' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599 ||
 C: EC: Or {Grg.} kuraʔa v. 'hit, beat' || Dhl kur- v. 'mince' || SC {MQK}
 karērā pl. 'smiths', Irq {E} kareramo 'blacksmith', {E} karerus- v. 'forge',
 Bm {E} kirara 'axe', C ↗ Mb m-kirané 'blacksmith' ¶ EEN 13, Grg. 337,
 MQK 59, E SC 244 || Ch: CCh: FIJ {Kr.} kura v. 'forge' || WCh ≈ *kīr- v.
 'forge, pound' (× N *kī'ri'rûɣ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS #1610 (S, Or, Ch), ≈
 Sk. HCD 170 || K: G kver- 'kalt hämmern, (an)legen (z. B. Weg)',
 gamo-kver- v. 'forge', kver-i 'hammer' ¶ Chx. 579 || IE: NaIE *kʷeru-
 v. 'grind' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth', cūrṇa-m 'flour,
 powder' || Gk Hm πύρνον (pl. πύρνα) 'wheaten bread' ¶ P 642, F II 630-
 1, M K I 379, 397-8, ≈ F II 630-1 ¶ The IE √ has coalesced with the
 homonymous *kʷeru- v. 'chew' of different origin (N *kōru 'bite, gnaw,
 chew', q.v.) || D *kūr- ({GS} *k-) v. 'pound, strike' > Tm kūrɯ v.
 'pound in a mortar, husk', kūrɯ v. 'pound, strike', Gnd A kurka
 'pestle' ¶¶ D #1850 (a) ◇ The Ir. *ɣ in S *°✓kɣɣ is not necessarily
 ancient, it may belong to the heritage of N *kī'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit'. The D
 cns. *r̥ (that goes back to *r outside cns. clusters) may go back either
 to N *kūrû or to *kūr∇ɣ∇û.

1154. *kūr∇ɣ∇ 'sharp' > HS: S *°✓kɣɣ > Ar ʔaqrɣ-u 'very sharp and
 excellent' (of a sabre) ¶ BK II 719 || A: M *kūrū- > WrM kūrū- v.
 'sharpen an arrow' ¶ MED 1206 || D *kūr- ({GS} *k-) > Tm kūr- 'be

sharp (as the edge\point of an instrument)', *kūr* 'sharpness, pointed edge', MI *kūr* 'sharpness, point of an arrow', Kn *kūr*, Tu *kurpu* 'sharpness', TI *krūr* 'sharp' ¶¶ D #1898 ◇ IS MS 363 (D, U + *÷ HS ✓*ḳwr*), ≠ Cald. 608 (D *÷ Hb *kūr* 'to pierce, to bore' *÷ "Sanskrit *khur* 'to cut'" [he probably meant Sk Bd *khuraḥ* 'knife' ← MI *khura* < OI *ksura-ḥ* 'knife']) ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster, therefore the preferable S cognate is *✓*ḳr̥* rather than *✓*ḳwr* 'bore, pierce' (as suggested by Cald. and IS MS).

1155. *ḲarhA 'black' > HS: S *°✓*ḳrh* > Ar ✓*qrh* (pf. *qariha*) 'be black or dark blue due to blows' (of skin, body) ¶ BK II 729 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *kārā*, Wl {LmS} *karē-tta*, Zl {C} *karecā*, Chr {C} *kartā*, Zs {C} *kartc*, Gf {Mm.} *kareṭa* ~ *kareṇa*, Gm {Hw.} *karé-ccì*, Bdt *kar-ci*, Hrr {CR} *karzā* 'black', Kcm *kār-ṇa* id., *kār-* 'make black' ¶ LmS 416, Lm. Y 355, Wdk. BY 127, AD SF 206-7, Blz. OL #196 (HS **kari* 'black'), Hw. EG s.v. 'black' || IE: NaIE **ker-* '≈ black, dirty' > Gk [Hs.] *καρυμνόν* · *μέλαν* accus. sg. 'black' || OI *kardamaḥ* 'mud, dirt', *kardaḥ*, *kardataḥ* id., NPrs *جَرْدَه* *čārde* 'colour; bay horse; blackish locust' || AS *hrūm* 'soot', OSx *hrōt*, Dt *roet*, NHG *Ruß* id. ||] +ext.: **kers-n-*, **ḳrs-no-* 'black' > OI *kr̥ṣṇaḥ* 'black, dark', OPrs *kirsna-* 'black' || Pru *kirsnan* 'black' || Sl **čьrnъ* id. > OCS *чрьнь* *čr̥nъ*, Blg 'черен', SCr *cr̥n*, Slv *črn*, R 'чёрный', Cz *černý*, P *czarny* || pAl {O} **čārsnā* 'crow' > Al *sorrē* id. ¶ WPI 485-6, P 573, 583, M KI 173, 264, Vl. I 569, Sg. 391, Ho. 176, KM 616, En. 194, Tp. PK-L 26-8, ESSJ IV 155-7, Glh. 166-7, O 399, ≈ EI 69 (**k̥ṛs̥no-s* with unj. **k̥-*) || A **k̥l̥ara* 'black' > T **k̥ara* id. > OT *qara*, Tk *kara*, Ggz *kara*, Az, Tkm, SY *qara*, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf, Xlj *qara*, Uz *qara*, Xk, Yk *χara*, Chv *Лхура xura* ¶ Cl. 643-4, Rs. W 235, EF KQ 286-8, TL 592-6, Dr. TM III 426, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 362, Ra. 218 || M **qara* 'black' > MM [MA, IM] *qara*, WrM *qara*, HIM *хар*, MMgl *qarā*, Mgl {Rm.} *qarō*, Mnr {SM} *χara*, Dg *qar*, Dx *qara* ¶ Pp. MA 292, 444, MED 931, SM 158, T 347, T DgJ 28, T DnJ 125 || pJ {S} **k̥ur̥ā-* id. > OJ *k̥ur̥ō-*, J: T *k̥uroi*, K *k̥ur̥oi*, Kg *kur̥oka* ¶ S AJ 264 [#8], S QJ #8, Mr. 833 ¶¶ S AJ 54-5, 274 [#7], DQA # 734 (A **k̥l̥aru* 'black') || D: [1] D {tr.} **kar(-)* ~ **kār(-)* 'black', {GS} **kar-* > **kar(-)* > Tm *karu*, MI *kari*, *karu*, Kt *kar*, Kn *kariḍu*, Kdg *kari*, Krg *kardi*, Nk *karen*, *karan*, *kareyan* 'black', Td *kary* 'charcoal' ||] [2] **kar̥-* ({GS} **k-*) 'grow black; black' > Tm *karu* 'grow black', *kāru* 'be blackened', MI *kaṛa* 'blackness',

karu 'black', Kt kar id. (or to [1]?), karp 'blackness', Td kar 'dirt, stain', karf- 'become black\dirty', Kn karē, kari 'blackness', karāngu 'turn black', Kdg kara- 'become black', Tl karā 'blackness, a stain', kari, Gdb karkāl 'black', Knd kari 'blackness'; *kār(-) > Tm, Ml kār 'blackness, darkness', Kt kār, Klm kārī, Gnd kārīal 'black', Kn kār 'blackness', Tu kārъ, kārī 'black, dark', Tl kārū 'black\dark colour' ¶¶ D ##1278, 1395, GS 34 [#50] ¶ In the variant *kar ~ *kār the cns. *-r goes back to a cns. cluster (N *-rh-?), while in the variant *karf- the cns. *-r- is a normal reflex of a former intervocalic *r (loss of the N lr. in some position?) ◇ Ar ✓ qrh and D *kar/*kār suggest the presence of an ancient lr. (*h) ◇ IS I 337 [#213] (*kār¹) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #44 (*kura 'black').

1156. *karh₂'U' (= *karh'U') 'to burn (sth.), to heat' > HS: Ch: WCh: Gmy {Sh.} kūr, Krkr {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn' ||| CCh: Glv {ChL} kārā id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ?? Eg fP krr v. 'fire (pottery), stoke (a kiln), broil' (unless akin to Eg NK krr [*k∇lí:l-] 'holocaust, Brandopfer', which is read by Vc. as [*k∇lí:l-] on the ev. of DEg gll ~ glyl and Cpt βαια clil id.) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 ||| K: OG *kera-y 'fire-place, hearth' (↳ Sv: UB keraü, LB kera, L kerau, and possibly Sv U kārā id.), G kera id. ¶ Chx. 569, Ni. s.v. очагъ, T 346 ¶ The G vw. e (for the expectes *a) still defies explanation ||| IE: NaIE *kera- vt., vi. 'burn' > Gt haúri 'coal', ON hurr 'fire' ||| Ltv {ME} cēri pl. 'Glutsteine auf dem Gewölbe des Riegen- oder des Badstubeofens' | ? Sl {Bern.} *černъ, {ESSJ} *čerěнь > P trzon 'hearth', Uk че'ринь, Blr чарэнь 'bottom of the hearth', Blg {Ger.} чурень, черень 'upper part of the hearth', SCr MN черјен 'place over the fire' ||| ?? +ext.: (1) *-d- after the lr.: OI kūdayati 'scorches, burns' (if from *k̄d-) ||| (2) L carbo 'coal' ¶ But hardly here NaIE *k̄kert- (> OHG herd 'oven, stove', OSx herth, AS heorþ 'hearth', NE hearth), which is likely to belong to N *k̄o'R̄t̄∇ 'flame' (q.v.); but the latter N word may have influenced L carbo and OI kūdayati (hence the root-medial dental stop) ¶ P 571-2, Fs. 250-1, Vr. 275-6, Kb. 457, Kar. I 167-9, ME I 375, WH I 165-6, M K I 252, Bern. I 146, ≈ ESSJ IV 64-5 (Sl *čerěнь 'net'), EI 88 (*ker-, *k̄erH- 'burn') ||| D (in SD) *kar∇- > Tm kari (ft. -v-, p. -nt-) ({†GS} *k-) v. 'be charred, scorched, become black' (× D *kar- 'black' < N *k̄arhA 'black'), kari (ft. -pp-, p. -tt-) v. 'char', kari 'charcoal, charred wood', Ml kari, karu 'charcoal', Kt kayr 'charcoal, soot', Td

kary- (p. kars-) 'be singed, scorched', kary- (p. karč-) v. 'heat (new pot to purify it), Kn kari v. 'be scorched, singed, charred', 'fry, roast', Kdg kari- 'be singed', Tu kari 'soot, charcoal' ¶ D #1278 (a) || ? A: AdS of NaT *Kōr 'embers, burning coal' (< N *ko₁w₁r∇ 'embers, hearth', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 340 [#215] (*K̄ar ∆; HS (Eg *÷ S *÷ B), IE, D, ? U *korpe- 'burn' [qu. on phonetic grounds]), earlier: AD GD 17 (HS, IE), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (attributing the T word to N {IS} *gUR ∆ 'burning coal').

1157. *K̄irH∇ (= *ḡ'i'1r̄s∇?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE {M} *k̄r̄H-, NaIE {P} *k̄r̄- ~ *k̄ir- 'head' > OI sírah₁ [síras] / gen. sír̄s₁n̄₁-ah₁ ntr. 'head, top' (M: *k̄r̄s₂-os / *k̄r̄s₂-n-es), Av s̄āra-, sarah-, Sgd sr- 'head', MPrs sar, NPrs سر sār 'head, top', Oss sār 'head, upper part' ||| Gk κράς 'head' (Gk Hm gen. κράτος < *k̄r̄s₂-n̄-), κάρηνα ({F}: < *καρασνα) 'heads, mountain peaks', Gk κρᾶνίον 'the upper part of the head' ({P}: < *k̄r̄s₂-n̄-, {F}: < *κράσατος), Gk κάρᾱ, Gk I κάρη 'head' ({F}: < analogical *κάρασα), ἐπὶ κάρ 'headlong' ||| L cernuus 'falling headlong', cerebrum 'brain' (< *kerH̄s-ro-) ||| OHG hirni, hirn, NHG Hirn, ON hjarni 'brain', Dt hersens, hersen-en (pl.) 'brain' (WP: < *k̄ersniom), ON hjarsi 'crown of the head' (WP: < *k̄erson)||| OBr [ʏ] cirn-am 'in fronte' ({Flr} ← 'pointe élevée, sommet [de la tête]'), MBr quern, quernn 'tonsure, crâne' (actually 'crown of the head'), 'somet (d'une montagne)', qern ar penn 'crown of the head', Br kern id., W cern 'side of the head', {CSWD} 'cheek, jaw' ||| Tc B kr̄ān̄i (< *k̄r̄Hsn-i-) '(nape of the) neck' ({Ad.}: ← *'occiput') || Ht cd. kit-kar 'at the head (of)' ¶¶ WPI 403-8, P 574-7, M K III 341, M E II 638-9, Horn 160-1, Brtl. 1565, 1572, Ab. III 73-6, FI 784-5 and II 6-7, LS 990, WH I 206, Vr. 231-2, Vr. N 254, Kb. 470, OsS 402, Flr. 108, Ern. 550-1, Hm. 453, YGM-1 84, CSWD 45, Ad. 214, Pv. IV 201-2, EI 260 (*k̄r̄'reh₂ / *k̄r̄'h₂-os, snglt. *k̄orh₂s̄r̄, coll. *k̄erh₂or 'head') ||| U: FU: BF *k̄irek > F kiire, Es kiir 'sinciput, crown of the head', Lv ki²r 'occiput, crown of the head' ¶ SK 191, Kt. 129 ||| A *k̄₁'ira > M *ki₁'ra > WrM kira, HIM хяр h²ar 'summit\ridge of a mountain' (homonymous with kira, хяр 'slope; a strip attached to the edges of the saddle' [F N *K̄ir∇ 'edge, end']), Kl Ö {Rm.} kirā 'Bergwiesen', ūlin kirē, ūlin kirār 'die Seiten des Bergrückens entlang' ¶ MED 470, KW 232 || NaT *k̄¹ir 'isolated mountain, crest of a mountain' (× N *kur₁∇h₁∇ 'hill, mountain' × [in some lgs.] N *K̄ir∇ '↑', q.v.) > OT qir 'isolated mountain or block of mountains, crest of a mountain, high

ground; foothills, slope', MQp qIR 'top of a mountain', Chg {Cl.} qIR id., 'a height', Uz qIR 'high ground, hilly steppe', Qzq, Qrg, Alt qIR 'mountain ridge', Tb {B} qIR 'mountain', Qmn {B} id., 'crest of a mountain', Qrg qIR 'crest of a mountain', Qq qIR 'mountain-ridge, high ground', Xk χIR 'mountain, high ground, hill', Qrg, Tv qIR 'mountain-ridge', Qzq qIR id., 'high ground with pastures and areas under cultivation', Qq qIR id., 'a height', ? Tkm qIR 'hilly stony steppe', (?) Tk kIR, Ggz kIR, Nog qIR 'field, steppe' ¶ Cl. 641, DTS 445, ET KQ 225-7, TL 95, TkR 233, MM 463, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DChT 134, BIG 300, RI. II 732-3, TvR 278-9 || ?σ HS: S *k̄ur_l∇_lϕ- > Gz k̄^ωarϕ 'helmet, headpiece' ¶ LG 439 || ??σ K: *^oqir- > G {Chx.} qira n. 'Kopfstand', qiramala 'upside down (mit dem Kopf nach unten)', 'head foremost (kopfüber)' ¶ Chx. 1694-5, DCh. 1380 ◇ If K *qir- and Gz k̄^ωarϕ belong here, the N etymon is *q̄'i' rϕ∇, otherwise we remain with a less specific N *K̄irH∇.

1158. *k̄ir_lU_lqa 'ice, hoarfrost; to freeze' > HS: S *k̄ar_l∇_lχ- 'ice' > BHb ḥḥḥ 'k̄eraḥ 'ice, frost', Sr k̄arḥ-ā, Ak k̄arχ-u 'ice', Ak ✓k̄rχ (inf. k̄arāχu) v. 'freeze, ice up' ¶ KB 1064, KBR 1140, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 126, 131 || ? B *✓krr (× N *k̄u_lw_lR'E' '[severe] cold') > Rf akarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 ¶¶ Ember ESS #3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 [#26], IS I 353-4, and Tk. AANM 1 suggest to equate the S word with Eg P s-ḫk̄ḥ 'erfrischen' (EG IV 315-6) (Tk. AANM 1: Eg s-ḫk̄ḥ ← S), which is doubtful for both phonetic and semantic reasons (see N *K̄EL_lH_l∇ 'cold') || K: G Lch k̄ruχ-va n. 'cold' ('Kälte') ¶ Chx. 634 || IE: NaIE (with extensions) *k̄erno-s, *k̄er-m-, *k̄er-sn- 'ice crust (наледь), snow crust, hoarfrost' > Arm uwn_l saṙn (gen. uwn_l saṙin) 'ice, frost', uwn_lnl_l saṙnum 'freeze' || Gmc (< *k̄ernos): ON hjarn 'frozen snow crust', OHG hornung 'February' (← *'month of ice \ snow crust') || pSl {IS} *sérnъ (gen. sernà) (< *k̄ernos) > RChS срѣнъ srěnъ, OR серенъ serenъ, P éron ~ éron 'hoarfrost', Blg 'серен 'snow that has frozen together', Cz střín, stříní 'ice on branches of trees'; with traces of the new acute intonation: R Δ ce'pēn 'hoarfrost', Uk [Ber.] {Ves.} ce'pēn 'frozen hard snow', Slk srieň, Δ srien 'hoarfrost'; with secondary accentuation change (mobile accentual paradigm): Slv srēn, R Δ, Uk 'серен id. | Blt (< *k̄er-sn-, *k̄er-m-): Lt šer̃kšnas, Ltv sērksnis, sērsna 'hoarfrost', Lt sr̃šnūtī 'to get covered with hoarfrost', šarmà, šar̃mas, Ltv

saŕma ~ seŕma 'hoarfrost' ¶ P 573-4, EI 287 (*k̂er(s)no-, *k̂or(mo/meh_ṛ), Sl. 329-30, Vr. 231, Kb. 480, Schz. 170, IS IA 136, Vs. III 608, Frn. 965, 973-4, Kar. II 173 ¶ The absence of the expected lr. in the IE stem *k̂erno- suggests that the reflex of N *q was lost in the intercons. position (which is quite natural for a stop that cannot be syllabic) || U: [1] FU *°kir∇ > ObU *°kīr > pOs {Ht.} *kir (= {HL.} *kīr) 'snow crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K/Kr kir, Nz/Kz/O ker id. | [2] +ext.: FU *kirte ~ *kerte 'snow crust, frozen soil' > BF *kirte > F kirsi (obl. cases kirte-) 'frost on the ground, ice crust', Es {W} kirɛ 'Eisschicht'; BF *kerte > F kersī 'thin snow crust' | Chr H kært 'snow crust' || Os {KrT}: D kãrdam, Kr kãrtam 'thin snow crust', Ty p'ǫj q'ãrt'ax 'thin ice crust on the snow' (p'ǫj means 'snow crust') ¶ The variant *kerte (> BF *kerte, Os Ty kãrtax, and possibly Chr H ambkært) is due to the infl. of the FU word *kere 'bark' (UEW 148-9) ¶ UEW 150, Coll. 89, KrT 418, 435, Ht. #317 (does not distinguish pOs *kir 'snow crust' from pOs *kär 'bark' and pVg *kir id. of different origin), ≠ ItK 372 (BF *kirte ← Lt skirsti 'to be covered', apskirsti 'to freeze' [??]) → LCM. NLP 15 || A ({DQA} *k'jār∇, {SDM97} *k'äre 'snow, hoarfrost'): T {Md.} *k'jār 'snow' ({θπAD}: < **k'Eare) > Chv L юр jur 'snow' || NaT *k'ār 'snow' > OT {Cl.} qār, Tkm qār, Az qar, Ggz каар kār, Xlj qār, Tk kar, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt qar, ET qa(r), Uz qar, Xk qar, Tf qar 'snow', Tv qar, Yk хаар xār id., 'year (of age)' | d.?: Tk kirç 'abundant hoarfrost', Ggz kirč 'hoarfrost, ice crust (изморозь, наледь, иней)' | another d. or cd.: NaT *Kirlaç 'the coldest part of winter' > VTt †, Δ q̄rlaś id., Qrg qirdač 'six coldest days of the winter', Xk xirlas, Chv (← VTt) k̄rlaś ~ k̄rlač ~ k̄rlačb 'two coldest months of the year' ¶ Cl. 641, Rs. W 235, ET KQ 284-5, ET Q 237-8, GRM 311, Md. 112, 169, Ra. 218, Fed. II 490, DT 173 || M *kiryun 'hoarfrost' > MM [HI] kiray₁u, WrM kiragu(n), HIM хяруу, Ord kirū, Brt хюруу, Dx qireu id., WrO kiriyūn id., 'frost, rime', kiryun ~ kiriyū ~ kiru 'frost', kiruu 'hail, frost', Kl {KRS} kiryū 'hoarfrost', {Rm.} kirū id., 'frozen dew', M *kiryun → NaT *k'iragu 'hoarfrost' > OT [MhK] qirāyū, Chg qiraw 'hoarfrost that falls from the sky', XwT qirayū, MQp qirawū, [CC] kirou, Tk kiragī, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Xlj qiraw, VTt, Bsh q̄raw, Alt quru, Az гыров girow, Uz q̄iraw, Yk kirīā, Tv, Tf xirā 'hoarfrost' ¶ Md. and SDM97 (M *kiryun → T), Vv. AEN 15 (M → T, as evidenced by the

presence of the M gu-sx. in T), Rs. W 265-6, ≈ Cl. 656 (M *kīraγu ← T), ET Q 230-1, TL 36, DT 177]M *kīra-mag 'fine snow, first snow' > WrM kīramag, HIM хярмаг, Brt хирмаг ~ хярмаг, Kl {Rm.} kirmag id., {KRS} кирмг kirmag 'newly-fallen snow' ('пороша'). The element *-mag is a diminutive sx. (F Pp. GWM 41). M *kīra-mag → Yk kīramax ~ kīramay 'newly-fallen snow' and possibly T *kīrpaq 'first (thin) snow' (> Tkm, QrB, Qmq qīrpaq id., VTt q̄rpaq 'thin snow', Bsh q̄rpaq 'newly-fallen autumn snow', Xk χīrbīχ 'fine snow', Chv Δ χ̄rр̄к ~ χ̄rр̄χ 'thin fine snow') ¶ Pp. IM 41, MED 470, Ms. H 72, T DnJ 126, Krg. 732, KRS 302, KW 232-3, Chr. 572, 656-7, Rs. W 267, TL 28, Ash. XVI 363 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'āre 'snow, hoarfrost' (T, M + err. Tg *xīmansa 'snow'), ≠ DQA #978 (incl. T *k'jār). If pA {SDM97} *ā is a good rec., it points to a reg. change of N *ī into A *ā (supported by some other examples) ◇ IS I 353-4 [#230] (*Ḳīr ʾ 'иней': IE, U, A [T, M], HS > S *✓ḳrχ + *÷ *✓ḳrš, B *γrs [see N *ḲāR, ʾ, ūs|š ▽ 'to congeal'], and Eg s-ḳḫ 'erfrischen' [see above]); AD NM #10; S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

1159. *ḳaR'iwu 'come in contact (meet, come across, touch)' > HS: WS *✓ḳry v. 'meet, encounter; happen' (× N *gUr ▽ 'reach, enter', [→] 'happen', q.v.) > Sr ✓ḳry (pf. 𐎎𐎗𐎚 ḳə'rā) 'meet, encounter; happen', Hb 𐤒𐤓𐤗 ✓ḳry|w ~ 𐤒𐤓𐤗 ✓ḳr? id., 'happen to', Ug {A, OLS} ✓ḳry 'treffen, begegnen, sich entgegenstellen; toparse, encontrarse con, salir al paso', Ar ✓qry قرى G v. 'receive (as a guest)', Gz ✓ḳry (pf. ḳaraya) id., 'give hospitality' ¶ KB 1061-4, KBR 1131-2, 1137-8, Hv. 603, BK II 730, A #2454, OLS 374-5, L G 445 || Eg fMK ḳry {Fk.} 'draw near, attend', {EG} 'bei jem./etw. sein, sich zu jem. gesellen', 'zu jem. hinkommen' ¶ EG V 59, Fk. 280 || K: G ḳar- v. '(let) approach, touch' (Chx.: 'heran-, zu-lassen, anrühren, berühren, sich nähern') ¶ Chx. 551-2 || IE: NaE *krej- 'über etw. drüberhinstreifen, berühren' > ON hrína 'come across, touch', AS, OSx hrīnan, OHG (h)rīnan 'touch' ||| Ltv kreju, krèju, kríet 'take the cream off (from the milk)' ¶ P 618, Vr. 256, Ho. 174, Ho. S 37, Kb. 793, Schz. 239, ≠ Kar. I 425-6 ||| A **k'arw'u' > NaT *Karba- 'gripe for, touch, grasp' > OT {Cl.} qarvā- v. 'gripe for' (← 'touch'), Tk kavra- 'grasp, take hold of', Tkm garba-, Yk χarbā- 'grasp', Xk χarba- 'gripe for, grasp with hands, take a handful', QK/Sg/Kü/Shor {Rl.} qarba- 'mit den Händen fassen' (a paronymic merger with T *k'arma- 'packen, ergreifen?') ¶ Cl. 646, ET

KQ 302-3, BIG 276, RI. II 213, 216 || M *qargu- 'come across, meet' (< **qarβu-?) > WrM qarɣu- {Kow.} 'heurter contre qch., rencontrer', WrM {MED} qarɣu-, HIM xapra- v. 'meet with, encounter', Kl xaph- xapɣb- id., {Rm.} 'gegen etw. kommen, begegnen, treffen' ¶ MED 936, KRS 597, KW 169, Kow. 845 ¶¶ Altaic *w may point to a labial element at the end of the N word (e.g., N *q̣aRiwu, *q̣aRü, *q̣aRyu, or *q̣aRwi?) or go back to a sx.

1160. *ḳürw∇ ⇨ *ḳurwE 'hard roe, young of a fish' > IE: NaIE *krek- 'fish eggs, frog spawn' > ON hrogn 'roe' (⇨ ME row, NE roe), OHG rogan 'roe, spawn', NHG Rogen 'roe' || Lt kurkulaĩ, Ltv kuŗkulis 'frog spawn' || Sl *krekъ ~ *krĕkъ id. > Slv krĕk, Źabo-krĕčina, krĕk, OP, P (rare) krzek, R Δ крек, крĕк, кряк id.; in Sl there is contamination with the onomatopoeic imitation of croak, whence the unexpected variations in the form ¶ P 619, AHDI 32, EI 205, Frn. 316, Vr. 259, Kb. 801, OsS 425, KM 604, ESSJ XII 114-5, 144, Vs. II 391 || A: Tg *xurbe- v. 'spawn' > Ewk irbз 'spawning', Ewk irbз-, Ul xulbi-, Nn Nh/KU xurbз-, Nn B xurбу- v. 'spawn' ¶ STM I 324 || ?? T: Az kürü, {RI.} küri 'hard-roe' (Hüs. 176, RI. II 1454), unless a loan from Lzg kür id. < pLzg *ḳwir (S CNM 14); S CNM adduces "T *körpe 'newborn, newborn lamb'", but the T word does not belong here, because it actually means 'produced late\early in the season' (of animals and crops) (> OT [MhK] كوربا اغل körpä oγul 'a boy born in summer', körpä 'a lamb born late in the season', Qzq körpeš 'lamb born before the regular lambing-season', Qrg {Jud.} kürpöŋ 'a lamb born in winter, before the regular lambing-time', körpö 'early lucern', Qzq {Cl.} qürpi 'early crop like lucern', Tkm körpe 'youngest' [of a son], 'fresh, early' [of vegetables]) ¶ Cl. 737, Shch. Zh 114, Jud. 429, 471, Tkr 415-6 || K: G {DCh.} kvirita 'hard roe, soft roe', {Chx.} kviriti 'spawn of fish\frogs' (unless ⇨ Abkh a-ḳwart id., but G ⇨ Abkh is possible, too) ¶ Chx. 1557, DCh. 1338, DCh. RGS 128, 170, NCh. 403 ¶ The lack of glottality in the initial cns. is irreg. ◇ NaIE *krek- may be explained as going back to pre-IE **kr̥ek- < N *ḳ'ürw∇ + ext. ◇ AD NM #78, Vv. AEN 12-3 (suggests to reconstruct Tg *xürbe, which is not different from my rec., because his *ü = my *u), ≠ S CNM 14.

1161. *ḳarX∇ 'bank (Ufer), edge' > HS *ḳarh- > Eg fOK ḳᵛᵛ 'Ecke, Winkel, Seite' = {Vc.} *[ḳaᵛᵛaw] (as. *ᵛᵛ > ᵛᵛ), DEg ḳᵛ 'angle, corner, side', Cpt: Sd kooᵛ kooᵛh, B kooᵛ kooᵛh 'angle, corner' ¶ EG V 19-20, Er.

547, Vc. 91, Crn. 68, Crum 132 || HEC {Hd.} *ḳara 'edge' (× N ? *ḳaR₁∇₂∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain') > Hd {Hd.} ḳareʔalla 'edge' ¶ Hd. 131-2 || ? S *^o✓ḳrḥ > d.: Ar qurāḥītāni 'les deux flancs, les hypocondres' ¶ BK II 708 || A: Tg *ḳari 'border, hem' > Nn Nh ḳār₁-, Ul ḳarpu- v. 'hem with a border, border (clothes)', Nn N/KU ḳār₁čā, Ul ḳār(ṭ)čā 'hem, edging (of clothes)', Nn Nh ḳār₁p₁~, Nn B ḳarf₁(n-) 'hem, ornament on the border of a robe' ¶ ≈ STM I 371 || D *kar∇ 'shore, bank, edge, boundary' > Kn kare, Tu karæ id., Tm karai id., 'ridge of a field, border of cloth', Ml kara 'shore, riverside', karal 'border, margin, edge', Kt, Td kar 'stripes on end of cloth', Kdg kare 'bank', Tl kara 'shore, bank', Brh karrak id., 'brim, border', ? Gnd kar(r)um ḏ karuḡ ḏ garre 'near' ¶¶ D #1293 ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-rH- (reg.) ◇ ≈ DQA #990 (A, D).

1162. *ḳir^X∇ 'scrape, scratch' > HS: WS *^o✓ḳrḥ 'scratch, be\make bald' > BHb ✓ḳrḥ G 'have one's head shaved', ḥḥḥḥḥ ḳḥrḥā 'bald patch', JA ✓ḳrḥ G 'make bald, become bald', JPA Bz ✓ḳrḥ 'make bald', JEA ✓ḳrḥ G 'be bald', Sr ✓ḳrḥ v. G 'become bald', ḳarāḥ 'bald', Ar ✓qrḥ G 'creuser en vain la terre pour trouver de l'eau', qurḥ-at- 'white spot on horse's forehead', Gz ✓ḳrḥ D 'shave, make bald'; (× N *ḳur^X∇ 'blood'): Ar ✓qrḥ G vt. 'wound', qurḥ- 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal' ¶ KB 1063-5, Js. 1415, Sl. P 504, Sl. 1039, Br. 693, JPS 518, BK II 707, Hv. 596-7, MiK I #2.38 || Ch: Bdm {Nc.} kār₁ v. 'scratch, rub' ¶ Lk. B 110 || D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'scratch, scrape, shave' > Tm cirai v. 'shave, cut with a sickle', cirāy 'get scratched', Ml cira 'shaving', Kt kekarv, kekrv- v. 'scratch lightly', Td kerf- v. 'scratch, egg on', Kn kere v. 'shave, scrape, scratch', Tu kerepuni v. 'scrape, polish', Klm kerk-, Nk ker- v. 'shave'. Prj kir-, kirv- v. 'scratch', Mlt {Drs.} qére v. 'shave' ¶¶ D #1564 || A *k'ir(a)- > T *k'ir(a)- 'scrape, strip (hair)' (× N *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch') > OT qir- v. 'scrape, strip (hair)', Chg qir- 'scrape, shave', Tkm gir- 'rub, scrape', VTt кыр- қыр-, Bsh кыр- қыр-, Qzq, Nog qir- 'scrape, shave', Qq, Qrg, Alt qir-, ETt, Uz qir-, Xk, Tv ḳir-, Chv ḡir- 'scrape', Tf qir- 'scrape, scrape clean a hide with a special scraper' ¶ Cl. 643, ETQ 227-8, Rs. W 265, TkR 234, Nj. 624, Ra. 223, TvR 500, BT 105, BIG 300 ◇ IS I 354 adduces IE *kerH- 'destroy, break', which is actually nearer to N *ḳir∇₁∇ 'to tear, to break' (q.v.). The assumption of a N lr. is confirmed by the D reflex,

because D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *-rH-, but not of N *-r- (that yields D *-r̥-) ◇ IS I 354 [#231; HS, D, T + *÷ IE, M, and Tg].

1163. *Ḳur̥X̥ú¹ 'blood' > IE: NaIE *kreuH-/*kruH- 'blood (in the body of an animal\human)', 'flesh with blood' > OI kra'v̥iṣ- 'raw flesh with blood', kra'v̥yam 'blood', YAv xr̥ūm accus. 'piece of flesh', {Brtl.} xr̥v̥īš-γant- 'blood-thirsty' ||| Gk κρέας 'flesh, meat', κρέα 'raw flesh' ||| L cruor 'the blood which flows from a wound, gore; the blood circulating in the body', cruentus 'bloody' ||| OIr crú (< *krūs) (gen. cráu) 'sang répandu', cró (< *kruwos), MW creu, W † crau, Crm crow 'blood' ||| Lt kraũjas, Pru crauγo, accus. krawian 'blood' | SI *kr̥ī (< *kr̥ū-s) id., gen. *kr̥v̥-e (< *kreu-es) > OCS крѣвь крѣвь / gen. крѣве крѣве, Blg крѣв, SCr křv̥ / gen. křv̥i, Slv kr̥ī / kr̥v̥ī, Cz krev / krve, P krew / krwi, R кровь / 'крови ||| ?σ ON hr̥ār 'raw, fresh, juicy' (← *'with blood'), OHG (h)rāo, rō 'raw, rough', NHG roh, OSx hr̥āo, AS hr̥éaw 'raw', NE raw ¶ WP I 478-9, P 621-2, EI 71 (*'kreuH_β / *kru'h_β-os, *'kreuH_β-s, *'kreuH_β-γo- 'blood [outside of body], gore'), M K I 277, M EI 411, Brtl. 539, F II 11-2, WH I 294-5, Bc. 206, Vn. C 248-9, Frn. 290, En. 197, Tp. P K-L 159-65, ESSJ XIII 67-70, Glh. 355-6, Vr. 251, Kb. 801, OsS 422, KM 605, Ho. 172, Ho. S 36 ||| HS: Eg P/NK cr 'blood' ¶ EG V 386 (interpreted the word cr [att. in NK] as "Bezeichnung für Blut" without explicit justification), Mks. III #3496 (cr 'blood' on new textual ev.) || B *✓krHy > Ah a-karray (pl. i-karray-an) 'piece of cooked meat' ¶ Fc. 870 || S *°ḳur̥h- (*°ḳur̥h-?) > Ar qur̥h- 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal', {Hv.} qar̥h- 'wound, ulcer', (× N *Ḳir̥X̥¹ ∇ 'to scrape, to scratch') ✓qr̥h G vt. 'wound' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 596 ¶¶ Tk. I 41 (rejects any comparison with Kwn kōwār 'blood' and Ke kor id., explaining these ECh forms as containing a px. *k∇- + Ch *b∇r- 'blood') ¶¶ The HS plain *k (underlying Eg c- and B *k-) is due to HS deglottalization of *Ḳ- ||| D (in SD) *kuruti ({ḡGS} *kurudi) 'blood' > Tm kuruti 'blood, red colour', Ml kuruti 'blood', Kn kurudi 'coloured red water', Tu kurdi, kurudi 'red liquid (used for auspicious purposes) ¶ D #1788 ◇ IE *-H-, S *-h-, and D *-r- (going back regularly from N *-rH-, but not from N *-r-) suggest a lr. within the N word. The loss of the N lr. in Eg needs explaining ◇ IS I 360-1 [#237] (*Ḳur̥ in IE and D).

1164. *ḳor̥'üy¹ ∇ (or *ḳor̥í) 'lamb' > K: GZ *ḳraw-/*ḳrw- 'lamb' > OG ḳraw-, G ḳrav-, Mg ḳzrib- ~ ḳirib- ¶ K 115, K² 99-100, FS K 190, FS

E 208 || **HS:** S *karr- 'lamb' > BHb כַּר kar 'young ram', Ug {A} kr 'lamb', OAk {Sd.} kerru, Ak M {Sd.} karru 'ram', Ak {CAD} kirru '(ε a breed of) sheep' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, A #1387, OLS 222, Sd. 468, CAD VIII 410-1 || B *k[̄]r̄ar- > Ah ē-krar, Ty e-kr̄ar ({GhA} e-kr̄ar) 'ram', Nf a-krar 'billy-goat', B *karr-, *karrī > ETwl ʔ-kr̄ar ({GhA} ʔ-kr̄ar), Izn i-šarri (pl. ašrarən), Rf Wr/B/A, SrSn i-kr̄arri (pl. akr̄arən), Rf išarri, Kb, Mtm i-šarri, BSn i-šarri 'ram', Sll ʔi-kr̄ar-aʔ 'ewe'; B *k[̄]r̄w- 'lamb' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} a-karwāt, pl. ikarwātən, Ty/Twl ʔ-karw-ʔ ({GhA} ʔ-karwə) 'lamb', Sll i-kru 'young ram' ¶ Fc. 888, 890, GhA 99-100, Rn. 343, Dl. 416, La. S 204 || **EC:** Arr kāriy-té (coll. kāriy) 'heifer goat' ¶ Hw. A 371 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kīr 'fattening ram', Wnd/Sy {ChL} k̄r̄ò 'ram', Zar K {ChC} k̄r̄ò 'sheep', Tng {J} k̄r̄wa 'cattle' ¶ J T 94, Flk. s.v. kīr, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 209 [#601] ¶¶ OS #1432, Rö. SL 134 || **A** *k̄[̄]ori 'lamb' > T *Kor̄i (or *Kūri?) 'lamb' > NaT *Koz̄i (~ *Kuz̄i?) > OT {DTS} qoz̄i, {Cl.} quz̄i, MU, MOg, XwT quz̄i, MQp qoz̄i ~ quz̄i, Chg qu|oz̄i, Tk kuz̄u, Tkm quḍi, SY quz̄i ~ qoz̄i, Xlj quz̄i, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln qoz̄i, Uz qwzi 'lamb', Az guzu, Ggz kuzu, Blq qozu, VTt † quz̄ 'lamb, young sheep', ET qoz̄a 'sucking lamb', Tv κοζαγα qoz̄aɣa 'kid (of a wild goat)' ¶ Cl. 681 (*-u-), ET Q 108-9 (*-o-), Df. III #1559 (*-o-) DTS 462, Rs. W 285, ET Q 108-9, TL 433, TvR 245, Shch. Zh 113, TatR 293 || M *quri- ⇨ [1] *quri-gan 'lamb' > MM [IsV] قريقان qurigan, [S] quriyan, [MA] qurayan, WrM qurigan ~ quragan, HIM хурга, Kl χurɣ̄a, Mnr {SM} χorḡa, {T} χurga, Mgl {Rm.} qurɣana [sic], Dx qugan, Ba χurɣan 'lamb', MMgl qurɣan 'lamb, kid'; [2] *quri-sqa 'skin of a newborn lamb' > WrM {Rm.} qur̄isqan, Kl Ö χurs̄χa, Kl D xür̄s̄χa id. ¶ H 72, Pp. MA 310, MED 987, KW 198-9, Gl. II 124, SM 172, Lg. VMI 47, T 378, T DnJ 126, T BJ 150, Iw. 129, Nov. IE 118 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1061 (A *k̄[̄]īr̄o|u 'lamb, deer'; incl. T, M) || **D** *kor̄i, {GS} *kor̄-i 'sheep' > Tm kor̄i, Td kur̄y, Kdg kori, Tu kuri, OTl gor̄iya, Tl gor̄e, gor̄re, gor̄riya, Klm, Nkr, Nk gorre id., Kt kory a·r̄ id. (a·r̄ 'goat'), Ku gōri ~ gorri ~ gōre, Gnd gorre ɘ gore id., 'goat', Ml kor̄i 'ε a small kind of sheep', Kn kur̄i, kor̄i 'sheep, ram', Knd gor̄e 'goat' ¶¶ D #2165 (a), GS 153-4 [#390], 68 [#220] ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of T *-r̄- (suggesting an ancient palatal element) and that of D *k̄- (suggesting a N intervoc. non-palatal *-r-) may be removed if we reconstruct N *k̄or̄'üy' ▽, whence pre-Altaiic **kory ▽ > A *kor̄'i > T

*Korí, while in the prehistory of D the N intervoc. *-y- was lost: N *k̥orüy ▽ > *k̥orü > D *kor̥i. An alt. explanation (proposed by IS): in N we should reconstruct *-rí, but in pre-D the palatality of *-r̥- was neutralized before *-i. The K and T reflexes suggest an emphatic N *k̥-, which lost its emphaticity (was deglottalized?) in HS due to a reg. change (*k̥- > *k-) in some unknown (prosodic?) conditions ◇ IS I 3O2 [#173] (*kOr̥i), Mng. E-3 264-9 (T, D).

1165. *k̥ur̥y' ▽ 'sprout from a root' (→ 'sprout', 'root') > IE: NaIE *k̥wer-/*k̥wor- 'root' > Sl *korenь 'root' > OCS **КОРЕНЬ** korenь, SCr kòrēn ~ kòrijēn, Slv korēn, Cz kořen, P korzeń, R 'корень (gen. корня) id. || Lt kēras, Lt Zh kērė 'stump', ?σLtv cęrs 'bush, shrub' || Gk πρέμιον 'bottom of the trunk of a tree, stump', Gk [Hs.] πρέμιον · πᾶν ῥίζωμα 'any root' || ?? OIr crann 'tree; wood (Holz)' ¶ F II 59, Vn. C 222-3, ESSJ XI 62-6 and XIII 242 (on Sl *kьrb 'bush', which was erroneously interpreted by scholars as meaning 'root' and belonging to IE *k̥wer-/*k̥wor-), Bern. I 570, Glh. 333, Frn. 241, Me. SKK 85-6 || A: M *oqur > WrM qur 'shoots, sprouts from the roots' ¶ MED 987 || D (in SD) *kur- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'shoot, sprout' > Tm kuruttu, kuruntu 'sprout', Ml kuruttu, kurunnu id., kurukka 'to sprout, shoot', Kn kurule 'plantain sprout', Tu kurulæ, kurlæ 'fresh shoots of grain' ¶ D #1791 (coalesced with *kur- 'young of an animal') || ?σ HS *✓kry 'stick' (× N *k̥ärE 'trunk, [piece of] wood') > S *o✓kr̥y' 'stick' > Ar قَرِيَّة qarīy-at- id. ¶ BK II 731, Hv. 603 || B **kry > *yry 'stick' > BSn ta-yri-t, Izn ta-yreyt, Rf Tz pl. ti-yary-in, Tz {Stm.} akuray id. || C *k̥vr- 'stick' > Sml N {Abr.} qār(-tī) (pl. qārró) 'big-headed stick', Sml {DSI} qār (pl. qārró) 'clava, grosso bastone' ¶ DSI 478, Abr. S 200 ◇ The D cns. *-r- (usually from N clusters with *r) suggests an additional cns., which (on the ev. of HS) is likely to have been *y. The absence of final vw. in WrM qur needs explaining.

1166. *k̥'arb|p'i' 'belly, inside' > HS: S *k̥ar̥l̥b- (or *k̥ir̥l̥b-) 'inside' > OAk k̥erbum, Ak B k̥erbu(m), Ak OA k̥arbu ~ k̥erbu 'inside, inner part, middle', Eb {Krb.} kir-bux (k̥irbu) id., BHb קֶרֶב 'k̥erεb, SmHb k̥ērāb 'entrails, inward parts', Ug k̥rb 'inside of the body; within, in'; ? Ar qurb-, qurub- 'side, flank' (unless from S *✓k̥rb 'be near') ¶ KB 1059-60, KBR 1135, BH IV 253, OLS 371, CAD XIII 216, Hv. 596, BK II 704, Krb. EG 22, G OA 226, MiK I #1.165 ¶ Ak OA k̥arbu provides ev. for a pS *a (*k̥ar̥l̥b-), while SmHb apparently suggests *i

(*k̥ir_l∇_lb-). The controversy may be solved if we know more on the prehistory of the SmHb vowels || Eg fMK k̥ɜb 'intestine, middle (of land)', m̥ k̥ɜb 'in the midst of' ¶ EG V 9-10, Fk. 175 || B: Ah akbār (pl. ikabrān) 'bas ventre' ¶ Fc. 735 || ?φ C: Ag: Bln {R} ge'rōb, grōb (pl. ge'rōf, grōf) 'shape, body' ('Gestalt, Leib, Körper') || LEC *garb- 'belly' > Af garba 'belly', Sa {R} garbā id., 'stomach, womb', pSam {Hn.} *gáràb (pl. garb-o) > Rn {Bl.} 'gárab 'back', {PG} gáràb- 'beside', Gwd {AMS} kerpe 'breast'; (×N *gub_l∇_lRE 'back, back side, nape [of the neck]', q.v.): Sml gárab (pl. garb-ō) 'shoulder', Bn 'kárub (pl. karōb'tɜ) id., Rn {PG} gáràb id., 'shoulder-balde' ¶ Bl. 181, R WB 159, R S II 162-3, Hn. S 60, PG 121, AMS 236 ¶¶ OS #343 (*k̥ir∇b in S, Eg, Gwd), Tk. I 59 (Eg, S) || K ≈ *°karb-a 'belly' > Lz korba, Mg Sn kora, Mg SmZ kvara id. ¶ Chik. 68, Q 345 || IE: NaIE *kerp-/*krep- (or *k^werp-/*k^wrep-) 'body, belly' > MPrs karp 'body', Av kərəfš (pl. kəhrpō) 'appearance, visible shape (das sichtbare Äußere, äußere Gestalt)' (the earlier meaning 'body' is still discernible in the cd. kərəfš-x^war 'Leichenfresser'), OI 'kr̥p 'shape, beautiful apperance' || L corpus / corpor- 'body' || OIr crí ({}EI}: < *kr̥ps) 'body, flesh' || Gmc: AS hrif 'belly (Unterleib), womb', OHG (h)rēf 'lap, womb' ¶ WP I 486-7, P 620, EI 76 (*krep-s / gen. *kr̥p-os 'body'), WH I 277-8, Dv. #349, M KI 260, Brtl. 467-9, Kb. 776, Schz. 235, OsS 422, Ho. 174 || A: M *qarbisun 'uterus, placenta' > MM [S] qarbisun 'placenta', WrM qarbisun 'uterus of an animal, plecenta' ¶ H 61, MED 935 || T {ADb.} *k'arim ({}Md.} *k'ārīn) 'belly, abdomen' > NaT *k'arīn > OT qarīn id., Tk karīn, Az garīn, Qmq, Alt, Xlj qarīn, Bsh qarīn, Uz qarīn 'belly, abdomen (Bauch)', Tkm garīn, Ggz karīn, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qarīn, VTt qarīn, Xk χarīn, Tv χirīn, Tf hirīn id., 'stomach (Magen)', Nog qarīn 'womb, belly', Yk χarīn 'stomach, first stomach of the ruminants' || Chv χir̥m 'stomach, belly, womb' ¶ Cl. 661, Rs. W 238, ET KQ 321-3, TL 277, 353, Ra. 193, Md. 103, 166, Pek. 3375-6, Jeg. 314, Fed. II 382 ¶ pT *-m- may go back to *-b-n- (with *-n- < N genitive pc. *nu 'of: N *k'arb|p'i' nu > **karmn∇ > **k'arm > pT *k'arim) || pJ {S} *kárá-(n)tá 'body' > J: T kárada, K kárádá, Kg karáda id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#115], S QJ #115, Mr. 438 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [#147] (T, J + *÷ pKo *kari 'rib') || D {GS} *karb- 'uterus, foetus' > Tm karu 'foetus, embryo, young of animal', karuppai 'womb', Ml karu 'embryo, yolk', Kt karv 'foetus of animals', Td kef 'pregnant' (of animals), Tl kari 'uterus of animals',

karυυυ 'foetus', Prj kerba 'egg' ¶¶ D #1279, GS 30-1 [#30] ◇ IS I 338-40 [#214] (*Ḳar b^ri¹ 'belly, entrails').

1167. (₂?) *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĈâ (= *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĉâ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaE *krou̯s- 'push, strike' > Gk κρούω 'I push, strike' ||| ON hrōsti 'mashed malt' ||| Lt krūš̄ti (prs. krūš̄ũ) v. 'smash, crash; grind, bruise', Ltv krāusēt 'stamp, trample' | pSl *kruχъ, *kruχa 'piece' (← 'broken') > ChS **КРОУХЪ** kruχъ, Cz kruch id., Blg крyх 'piece of salt', SCr kruħ 'bread'; Sl *krušiti 'to break to pieces, to crumble' > Slv krúšiti, P kruszyc id., OR **КРОУШНТИ** krušiti, R крyшить 'to break to pieces'; Sl *krъxa 'crumble' > ChS **КРЪХА** krъxa, SCr † krħa id., R кро'ха id. (→ dim. 'крошка id.) ¶ P 622-3, F II 27-8, Frn. 302-3, Vr. 261, ESSJ XIII 41-52, Glh. 354, EI 549 (*kreu(-s)- 'strike'), Vs. II 384 || **A:** T *Ḳir̄a- > OT qir̄a- {Cl.} v. 'hit the side of', {DTS} 'задеть (brush\strike against)' (cp. also N *gaRŪĉ^ra 'crush, break to pieces') ¶ Cl. 647, DTS 445 || ?σ **HS:** ?σ S *Ḳ^rθ > Ar Ḳ^rθ (pf. qarīθa) 'grieve (affliger)' ¶ BK II 706, Hv. 596 ◇ If Ar Ḳ^rθ belongs here, the N et. is *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĉâ. IE *k- (rather than *k̄-) is due to its precon. position.

1168. *Ḳ^rū¹rŪ-ϣ∇c∇ 'shin' > **HS:** S *kurāḡ- (~ *ku¹raḡ-?) 'shin' > Ug kr̄ {OLS} 'jarrete, artejo', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} קַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kar^rāḡn, em. אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡay¹yā 'die Schenkel, Unterschenkel', JEA {Sl.} אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡā 'leg, foot', Sr קַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡ-ā 'leg\shank\shin (of animals)', BHb du. אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡ-ayim '(two) lower legs, fibulas' (from *kuraḡ- or an Aramaism), Ar kurāḡ- {BK} 'la partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou chez l'espèce ovine et bovine; os du tibia', {Hv.} 'shank, trotters (of sheep\oxen)', Ak kurītu 'shin (of animals)', Sb kr̄ 'leg of a camel', ? Gz k^warnaḡ 'elbow, forearm'; CS *Ḳ^r̄ 'buckle at the knees, kneel' > BHb, Ug {A} Ḳ^r̄ G id., JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} Ḳ^r̄ G 'bow, bend the knee', JEA {Sl.} Ḳ^r̄ G 'bow down' ¶ KB 47, KBR 500 (קַרְבֵּי *kārāḡ 'lower leg, fibula'), Lv. T I 390-1, Br. 348-9, Sl. 604, ≈ Js. 673 (אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kar^rāḡ 'knee, leg'), BK II 887, Hv. 651, Sd. 510, CAD VIII 560, LG 293, BGMR 78, ≈ MiK I #1.157 (S *k^wirāḡ-), A #1389 || **K** *Ḳ^wir̄c̄x- ~ *Ḳ^war̄c̄x-, {FS} *Ḳ^war̄c̄x-, {K} *Ḳ^war̄c̄x̄]-, {K²} *Ḳ^wi(r)̄c̄x- 'foot, bottom part' > OG *Ḳ^war̄c̄x̄l-, MG, G *Ḳ^war̄c̄x̄l- 'foot' (in OG cd. Ḳ^war̄c̄x̄lbe(r)Ḳ-, MG Ḳ^war̄c̄x̄lberḲ- 'footstool, pedestal'), OG mḲ^wir̄c̄x̄(l)-, G m-Ḳ^wrc̄x̄l- 'pedestrian', Mg Ḳ^w̄c̄x̄-, Lz Ḳ^w̄c̄x̄e- 'foot, leg', Sv UB {GP} čiš̄x̄ 'leg', Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L/Ln čiš̄x̄ 'нога, цыбн'

('foot' or 'leg'), pl.: UB/LB č̣a₁ṣ̌χär, L č̣a₁ṣ̌χär ~ č̣iṣ̌χär ¶¶ K 109, K² 95, FS K 178, FS E 194-5, Srj. 10, Chik. 63, Q 262, GP 281, Chx. 575, Abul. 201, TK 862-3 || IE: NaIE *ḳrūs- 'shin, shin-bone' > Arm **սրուկ** ṣrunk^h (pl.), gen. **սրակ** ṣranc^h, **սրուկ** ṣrunic^h 'leg(s), shank(s)' || L crūs / crūr- 'shin, shin-bone, leg' ¶ WPI 49, P 62, WH I 295-6, Sl. 431-2 || D *kurač̣- ({}GS) *g-) 'hoof' > Tm kuracu, kuraccai 'horse's hoof', Kn gorasu, gorase, gorise, gorusu, Tl gorija, gorise 'hoof' ¶¶ D #1770 ¶¶ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- (reg.) < N *-r∇H- ◇ The reflex of N *c was lost in S due to the tendency towards triconsonantic roots (sc. due to analogy) ◇ The etymon may be a N cd. with the first element *ḳ'û' rû 'foot, hoof' (see N *ḳûr'U' 'foot, hoof'), but only if the latter has a front vw. (N *û) in the first syll. (which would mean that the supposed Sl cognate *černъ 'handle' does not go back to N *ḳür'U').

1169. ₂ *ḳuR∇č̣'∇ 'sharp' > HS: WS *✓ḳrç v. 'pinch, prick' > MHb ✓ḳrç v. 'pinch', JA (incl. [Trg.]) {Lv.} ✓ḳrç 'pinch, sting, make an incision', JEA {Sl.} ✓ḳrç 'bite, sting', Sr ✓ḳrç, Md ✓grç 'prick', Ar ✓qrç G 'pinch, sting (gnat)', Gz ✓ḳrç G 'incise, scar, cut' ¶ Lv. IV 385, Lv. T II 389-90, Sl. 1046, Br. 699, JPS 520, Hv. 598, LM 97, LG 444 || A: M *qurča 'sharp, acute' > MM [S, MA, HI] qurča, WrM qurca, HIM, Kl хурц, Mnr H {SM} χuḏ₁iä, {T} χuḏa, Brt {Chr.} хурца, Kl {KRS} χурцъ id. ¶ Pp. MA 311, 445, Ms. H 92, H 72, MED 988, SM 174, T 377, KRS 612-3 ¶¶ Pp. VG 121 || NaT *Kurç 'sharp' (× T *Kurç 'tough, hard' < N *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard') > StAlt, Qmn курч qurč, Tb {B} qurč, Tlt {Rl} qurč 'sharp', Qrg qurč 'sharp, steel' ¶ ET KQ 170-1 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #944 (A *ḳür∇ 'cut out', 'sharp'; incl. T, M) ◇ Identical with N *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard' [q.v.]?

1170. *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard (жесткий)', 'to dry up, to harden' > HS: S *✓ḳrs > JA [Trg.] pp. q̣a'r īs 'hardened', MHb ✓ḳrs N, Sh†(←b- Aram?) 'zusammenschrumpfen, verhärtet werden', Sr ✓ḳrs (pf. 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 q̣a'res) v. 'dry up, harden', 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 q̣ar's-ā 'cold, dry', Ak qarsu 'dry, hard' (←b- Aram?), ?σ Ar ✓qrs (pf. qarasa ~ qarisa, ip. -qris-) 'être très rigoureux (le froid)', {Hv.} 'be severe' (winter), 'be congealed' (water (× N *ḲäR₁ʔ₁ûs|ṣ̌'∇ 'to congeal')); Ar qars- 'severe cold' ¶ Lv. IV 385, Br. 698, HJ 1035, BK II 710, Hv. 597, Js. 1425 || K: G Kx qoraç- v. 'be completely dry' (bread), qoraç-i 'completely dry bread' ¶ Chx. 613 ||

IE: NaIE *k^hers- 'hard' (partially × N *qan₂í∇ 'hard'?) > NNr herren 'stiff, hard', MHG hersten 'erstarren' || Lt šiurkštūs, šiurgždūs 'rough, coarse' || OSi: ORсерехъкъ serexъкъ 'τραχύς, rugged, rough', R Δ 'шорох 'rough surface', R шершавый 'rough', шероховатый 'rough, rugged', Cz Mr srchký 'hard' (of flax, hemp, cloth), Cz L srchlý, Slv srhek 'rough' ¶ ≈ P 583, Lx. 87, Frn. 994, Vs. IV 431-2 (misprint τραχύς for τραχύς), 467-8, Srz. III 340, Ma. CS 468 || **A:** T *Kurç 'tough, hard' > OT [MhK] qurč 'solid and hard (muşmat şalb)', kurč ärän 'hard (şila:b) men', [QB] kurč ärän 'hard\tough man', [MhK] qurča- 'to become hard', qurč tämür 'hard iron', sc. 'steel', Kr T qurč 'strong, firm', Nog qurış 'fragile, brittle'; in younger T lgs. particularly applied to metals, whence 'steel' and 'sharp' (of steel, sword) (× N *QUR∇ç∇ 'sharp'): StAlt курч qurč, Tlt {Rl.} qurč 'sharp', Qrg qurč 'sharp, steel', ET Δ {Jr.} qurč ~ quruč ~ quyuč, Uz Srt {Rl.}, Kr {Rl.} qurč, VTt корыч q̄rīš, Bsh корос q̄r̄ōs, Tbl {Rl.} kuruc, Chv L хурăç хуръś, хурçă хурś, Δ xorăś 'steel', Qzq {Sht., Rl.} құрыш qūrīš 'white steel', Uz qurč 'bronze', but also with the meaning 'brave' and sim.: Alt {Rl.} qurč kiži 'brave man', Qrg {Jud.} qurč žigit 'a daring man of decision', Qmq къурч qurč 'courageous, daring (бравый, удалой; бодрый)'; with the original meaning: Uz qurč 'dense; weighty', Bsh корос q̄r̄ōs, VTt корыч q̄rīš 'firm, strong, stable' (Bsh корос куллы кеше 'a man with strong hands') ¶ Cl. 647, 665, Rs. W 303, ET Q 170-1, DTS 467, BT 96, Rl. II 952-3, Jud. 451, UzR 632, Jr. 256, Sht. 282, BR 339, Jeg. 308, Fed. II 367, KumRS 207-8 || M *qurča 'fat\rich' (of food) > WrM qurca, HIM хурц 'too oily\greasy, rich' (of food), Kl {KRS} хурцъ, Brt {Chr.} хурса 'fat\rich, жирный' (of food) (Brt хурса мяхан 'fat meat', хурса һүн 'fat milk', хурса шүлэн 'fat soup, strong broth') ¶ H 72, Pp. MA 311, Ms. H 92, KW 199, MED 988, KRS 612-3, Chr. 602-3, SM 177, T 377]?φ M *gorž- > WrM gorzui- ~ gorzai- v. 'dry up, harden (as skin)' ¶ MED 362]? M *kōrž- (× N *QER∇č∇ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle'?) > WrM körzei-, HIM хөрзий-х 'become rough, uneven, hard' ¶ M 492.

1171. *QVR∇,ç∇ (= *QarUç∇?) 'to scratch' > IE: NaIE *kars- 'scratch, rub', {EI} 'scratch; comb (wool)' > OI kaṣati 'scratches, rubs' || Lt karšiù / karšti v. 'card, comb', Ltv kāršu / kārst id. || Sl *korsta 'scab, itching skin disease' (× NaIE *krus- 'crust' < N *kURc∇ 'scales, bark', q.v.??) > OCS краста krasta 'crusta lepræ, scab', Blg

'краса 'scabies', SCr krāsta 'scab, smallpox, leprosy', Slv krásta, Slk chrasta, R κο'ρоста 'scab', OCz krásty 'tetter', Cz chrásta 'tetter, scab', chrásty 'scabies', P krosta 'rash, scab' ||| L carr-o / - ěre 'comb (wool)' ||| MDt harst 'rake' ¶ ≈ P 532-3, EI 570, WH I 173-4, Frn. 224, ESSJ XI 93-4, M K I 190 ||| K *^oq̄ač|č̄_Lw_Jr- > G q̄ačr- / q̄ačvr- v. 'scratch' (× N *^oq̄a'č'U 'scratch, scrape off scales' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 560 ¶ mt. of N *^or and *č|č̄ || HS: WS *^oq̄rç v. 'nip, pinch' (× WS *^oq̄rç 'prick' < N *^oKuR∇č̄∇ 'sharp') > Hb ^oq̄rç Pu 'be nipped off', קָרַח קָרַח קָרַח 'q̄ā'raç 'ṣayin {KBR} 'screw up one's eyes, blink', ? Ug ^oq̄rç {A, OLS} 'gnaw (nagen, abkneifen; mordisquear, roer)', Ar ^oq̄rç G 'pinch', Mh, Hrs, Jb ^oq̄rç v. 'nip' ¶ KB 1070-1, KBR 1148, A #2457, OLS 373, BK II 712, Hv. 598, Jo. M 236, Jo. J 150, Jo. H 77 ||| A: NaT *Kurç- v. 'scratch, itch' > Osm {RI.} قورچه qurčā 'scratching (das Kratzen)', Tk kurca 'scratching, excitation', kurcala- v. 'scratch', Tb {RI.} qurčān 'scab (Grind, шелуда), Chg {VZ} قورچالمق qurčal-(maq) 'sich blutig kratzen', Qq quršānqī 'tetter (парша) of horses', Nog quršānī 'tetter of sheep', VTt корчаңгы q̄ōršānḡy, Bsh q̄ōršānḡy 'scabies' ¶ Rs. W 303, RI. II 953-4, KrkR 413, NogR 189 ||| ? D *kir∇č̄- ({{GS}} *k-) v. 'scrape' > Tu {BhK} kires̄y, keres̄y id., {Mnr.} kirejuni v. 'scrape\clear (as the ground)', Prj kirč̄- v. 'scratch', Krx xerč̄- / xirč̄- v. 'rub off, score', Mlt {Drs.} qerçe v. 'scrape' ¶¶ D #1564, Mnr. 142 ¶¶ The unexpected vw. *i may be due to the infl. of D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ v. 'scratch'. Alternatively, D *kir∇č̄- may have been derived from D *kīra (if so, it does not belong to the N etymon in question) ◇ If the pN etymon is *^oq̄arUč̄∇, the vw. *u in T *Kurç- may be due to vowel breaking: *^oq̄aruč̄∇ > *^oq̄uarč̄∇ > T *Kurç-. If the N etymon was *^oq̄ur_L∇_Jč̄∇ (as may be suggested by NaT *Kurç-) we have to suppose the loss of the glide *^ou in the prehistory of IE: *^oq̄ur- > *K∇ur- > *K∇r-, but in this case the IE vw. *ā remains unexplained, therefore *^oq̄ur_L∇_Jč̄∇ is a less probable rec.

1172. (₂?) *^oq̄ER∇č̄∇ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle' > IE: NaIE *^okerst-/*^okr̄st- 'rough hair, bristle' > Sl *^os̄r̄st̄y 'animal's hair' > SrChS, OR сьрсть сьрсть, Slv s̄r̄st, Cz, Slk srst', P sierść, R, Uk шерсть ||| OHG {EI←?} hursti 'crest' ||| L crista 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' ⇨ Al kreshtē 'mane, rooster's comb' ¶ ≈ Vs. IV 431, ≈ WH I 292, O 19, ≈ EI 252 (*^oker(es)- ≈ [rough] hair, bristle') |||

HS: S: [1] Ar qarθaī-at- 'poil fin et court chez les bestiaux'] [2] Ar qarīs- ~ qarīṣ- 'nettle'; the var. qarīṣ- is influenced by ✓qrṣ 'piquer' < WS *✓q̄rṣ v. 'pinch, prick' cp. JA ✓q̄rṣ G 'bite, pinch, sting' (see N *K̄uR̄Ṣ̄ 'sharp') ¶ BK II 707, 711-2, Js. 1425 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} aṣṣis, Tmz {MT} aṣṣis 'fils de chaîne coupés, restés sur le métier après que le tissage achevé ait été enlevé', Kb taṣṣist 'frange' ¶ Dl. 628, MT 205 || ?φ A: M *°kōr̄z̄- (× N *k̄'u'R̄Ṣ̄ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, harden'?) > WrM kōr̄zei-, HIM хөрзий-х 'become rough, uneven, hard' ¶ The M labialized vw. *ö may be due to the infl. of *k̄'u'R̄Ṣ̄ ¶ M 492.

1173. *k̄VR̄Ṣ̄ 'to cut' > **HS:** S *°✓q̄rṣ̄ > Ar قرظ ✓qrṣ̄ G v. 'cut' ¶ BK II 716 || ?φ B *✓*q̄rs > *ṣrs v. 'tear, cut, cut the throat (of a person\animal)' > BSn {Bs.} s̄a-ṣr̄as, ETwl/Ty {GhA} aṣṣr̄as 'cut', Sll {Ds.} ṣ̄ars, Si {La.} ṣ̄ar̄as 'couper des régimes de dattes', Izn, Rf ✓ṣr̄ṣ 'tear, cut the throat', Mtm q̄ars 'be torn', caus. aṣṣars 'tear', Ah, Gh, Mz, Wrg aṣṣr̄as, Izd ṣ̄ars 'cut the throat of', Gd εṣr̄as (pf. γε-ṣr̄as) 'immoler, égorger', Zng {TC} eṣr̄as̄ (pf. γεṣr̄as̄) 'égorger' ¶ GhA 72, La. S 219, Ds. 78, Fc. 1776, Dlh. M 155, Dlh. Ou 246, Mrc. 95, Lf. I 232 and II #1250, Rn. 362, DCTC 287 ¶ B *ṣrs < *✓*q̄rs < N *k̄VR̄Ṣ̄ × HS *✓q̄r̄s̄ (> S *✓q̄r̄s̄ 'cut' > Ar ✓qr̄s̄ 'couper', Ak ✓q̄r̄s̄ 'trim\carve [meat], see BK II 711, Hv. 598, CAD XIII 128), HEC *k̄oreš- 'break (bread)' (> Hd k̄oreš-, Kmb k̄ores-), see OS #1592 || K: GZ *k̄reṣ̄- / *k̄riṣ̄- / *k̄r̄ṣ̄- 'cut, cut off' > G k̄reṣ̄-/k̄riṣ̄- 'cut, cut (hair), clip' ('scheren, stutzen'), Mg k̄iraṣ̄-/k̄ir̄ṣ̄-, Lz k̄riṣ̄- ¶ K *ṣ̄ > Zan *č̄ (rather than *č̄k̄) due to the presence of *k̄ ¶ K² 100, Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 || A: M *ker̄č̄i- v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N *k̄æR̄Ṣ̄ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N *k̄æR̄Ṣ̄'i' 'cut into pieces, split, divide') > WrM ker̄ci- and HIM хэрчи- v. 'cut, slice', Kl ker̄č̄- id., {Rm.} id., 'chop into pieces', Ord ḡer̄č̄'i-, Mnr H {T} kir̄ž̄i-, {SM} k̄'ir̄ž̄i- 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx kič̄i- v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M ⇨ Ewk k̄er̄ci-, Ul k̄er̄ču/i-, Nn k̄er̄či- 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', WrMc ker̄ci- 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, SM 204, T 339, T DnJ 123, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4.

1174. *k̄ärd̄ 'breast, chest' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'heart', 'internal organs') > K *m̄ker̄d̄- / *m̄k̄rd̄- 'breast, chest' > OG, G m̄ker̄d̄- (gen. m̄k̄rd̄-is-a), Mg k̄idir-i, k̄эдэр-i, Sv: UB/Ch muṣ̄wed, Lx məṣ̄ed, L/Ln muṣ̄od id. ¶¶ K 135, K² 123, FS K 219, FS E 241, Gud. BT (on the loss of initial *m-

in Mg), T 581-2 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Hs $\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}$ 'chest, breast, bosom', Gw K $\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}$, Gw Cn $\text{g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}$ 'chest, breast' || ? ECh: EDng {Fd.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{d}}\text{o}$, {Lk.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{d}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}$ 'breast (poitrine)', Dng {Lwn.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{l}^{\text{o}}$, Mgm $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{l}^{\text{a}}$ 'heart' ¶ Ba. 610, Fd. 301, Mts. G 64, Mts. GD 32, ChC, ≠ Sk. HCD 172 || ? EC $\text{*g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'belly' (mte. $\text{*g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ < $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$?) > Arr {Hw.} $\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{?}$ (pl. $\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{o}$) 'belly, abdomen', Gdl $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Kns $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ -itta id., Kns $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ a postp. 'inside (an area)', Hr/Dbs $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}$, Gln $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{t}$, Gwd $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{t}$, Gwd D $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{i}^{\text{c}}\text{c}$ 'belly'; the rec. of EC *ḱ^{r} is justified if we find the factor responsible for the change $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ > Kns -r- , Dl -r- ¶ Bl. G 49, BISO 67a, AMS 232, Bl. 281 (on reflexes of EC *g^{r}), Hw. A 360-1 || ?σ WS $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ > Ar $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ 'neck', Mh {Ho.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ 'throat, voice', Hrs {Jo.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Jb C {Jo.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Sq {ILS} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ pl. 'throat', ??σ Ar $\text{q}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{ū}$ 'back (dos)' ¶ BK II 709, Jo. M 235, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 148, SSL LSNP 1463, MiK I #1.166 ¶ The stem structure of the SES lgs. points to the absence of a pS posttonic vw. (sc. $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ rather than $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$) || ?σ B $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$) > Ty, ETwl $\text{ti-ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ -en (pl.) 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates', ??σ: Zng {TC} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, Ntf {Dray} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ (pl. $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$), Sll $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ (pl. $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$) 'omoplate', BSn {Ds.} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'épaule', Kb $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'omoplate, épaule' ¶ PrGG 120, TC Z 310, Dray 344, Ds. 204, Ds. B 119, Dl. 625 ¶¶ MiK I #166 (S, B) || **IE** $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ / $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ / $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ / $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ -, {E} $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ / gen. $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ -os 'heart' > NaIE: Arm $\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{n}$ $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{t}}$ id. (gen. $\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{h}$ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{i}}$) || Gk $\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$) id., Gk A $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{i}^{\text{a}}$, Gk Hm $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}$ id., 'stomach' || L $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{o} / \text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{o}^{\text{d}}$ 'heart' || OIr $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{d}}\text{e}$ 'heart, middle', W {YGM} $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{i}}\text{d}^{\text{d}}$ 'centre, middle', Crn $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{e}(\text{y})\text{s}$, MBr [SB] $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{i}}\text{s}$ 'middle', Br $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{i}}\text{z}$ id., 'center' || Gt $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{o}}$, , ON $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{j}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{t}^{\text{a}}}$, OHG $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{z}^{\text{a}}}$, NHG $\text{H}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{z}}$, AS $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{o}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{e}}$ 'heart', NE $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{t}$ || Lt $\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, Ltv $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{s}$, Pru $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{y}^{\text{r}}$ (= [sīr]?) (gen. $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{s}$, accus. $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{n}$) 'heart' || pSl $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ -bce id. (with the dim. sx. $\text{*}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$) > OCS $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, Blg $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, SCr $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, Slv $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{c}^{\text{e}}$, R $\text{'c}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{e}$, Uk $\text{'c}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{e}$, Cz $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{d}^{\text{e}}$, OP $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}\text{c}^{\text{e}}$ > P $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{c}^{\text{e}}}$ id., pSl $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ -á (accus. $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ -o) 'middle' > OCS $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'middle, Wednesday' (→ R $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'Wednesday'), Blg $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, SCr $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ ~ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{a}}$, Slv $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ 'middle, Wednesday', Cz $\text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, Slk $\text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$, R ḱ^{r} , Uk $\text{c}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{a}}$ (R ḱ^{r} accus. $\text{'c}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{y}}$), P $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{o}^{\text{d}^{\text{a}}}$ 'Wednesday' || Tc {E}: A $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{i}$ 'will', B $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{y}}\text{ān}$ pl. 'hearts' || Ht {Ts.} $\text{k}^{\text{e}}\text{r}$ / obl. $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ -, {Pv.} $\text{k}^{\text{i}}\text{r}(\text{t}^{\text{i}}) / \text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}(\text{t}^{\text{i}})$ - (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ / $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$), Pal $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{-a}$ - $\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{-t}^{\text{i}}$ id. (dat.-lat. sg.), Lw $\text{z}^{\text{a}}\text{r}(\text{t})$ -, HrLw $\text{z}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ - z^{a} id. ¶¶ P 579-80, E 262-3, FI 787-8, WH I 271-2, Fs. 234-5, Vr. 232, Kb. 462, Schz. 166, Ho. 157, Vn. C 235-6, YGM-1 101, Ern. DELM 455, Hm. 487, Slt. 205-6,

Frn. 986-7, En. 245, Glh. 574-7, Vs. III 605-7, Ts. EI 556-8, Pv. IV 189-91 || **D** *kar∇]- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'internal organ (heart, bowels?)' > Tm karal, karuḷ 'lungs and heart, liver, bowels, heart', kariḷ 'heart', Kt karl 'heart, mind', Kn karuḷ, karaḷu 'an entrail, bowels; love', Kdg kari 'intestines', Tu karalḅ, karlḅ 'bowels, liver' ¶¶ D #1274 ¶¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters; D *-]- is possibly a sx. ◇ IS SS 328 [#4.14], IS I 324-5 [#200] (IE, K), ADDZ VIS (added the Hs cognate), Glh. l.c. (added the EC cognate) ◇ IE *d for the expected *d^h is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root (F IS SS 348 [#13.1]). The connection between 'breast' and 'neck' (as within HS) is quite natural in a society of hunters or cattle-breeders, having such notions as 'dewlap'.

1175. ₂ *K̲iRd∇ 'to scrape' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to comb') > HS: S *✓k̲rd > MHb ✓k̲rd D (pf. 𐤎𐤍𐤏 𐤎𐤍𐤏 𐤎𐤍𐤏 𐤎𐤍𐤏) 'curry, scrape', Ar ✓qrd G 'ramasser en grattant (p. ex. le beurre ou le lait sur les parois d'une vase)', Ak ✓k̲rd (inf. 𐤎𐤍𐤏 𐤎𐤍𐤏) 'pluck wool' ¶ Js. 1412, Lv. IV 372, BK II 709, CAD XIII 126, MiK I #2.36 ¶ Not here WS *✓grd 'scrape, scratch' (< N *kaRT∇ [~ *g∇Rd∇?]) 'to scratch, to scrape', q.v.) || **A:** Tg *x̲i^rdâ- v. 'comb' > Jrc irdihun, WrMc izifun 'a comb', WrMc izi-, Ewk igdi-, Sol idda- ~ irda-, Lm ɫd-, Neg ɫgd-, Orc, Nn KU igdi-, Ul sigdu-, Ork sigdi-, Nn Nh/B sigži- v. 'comb' ¶ STM I 296-7, Kiy. 127 [#549], Pp. VG 33 (on the reflexes of Tg *x- before *i) ◇ Cp. N *kaRT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) '↑'.

1176. ₂ *K̲i^rr̲d̲∇ 'monkey' > HS: WS *k̲i^rrad- > Ar qird- (pl. qirad-, qiradat-) {BK} 'singe', {Hv.} 'baboon, ape', Gz qard ~ qard, qardināt, Amh q̲rd 'monkey' ¶ L G 440, BK II 709, Hv. 597 || EC: Arr qārran 'vervet monkey', ? Rn káràw 'Guereza monkey' ¶ Hw. A 377, PG 180 || SOm {Blz.} *qaray > Ari {Bnd.} qa:ḷr 'vervet monkey, Dm {Fl.} qare id., Ari B {Fl., C} qara 'Capuchin monkey' || NrOm: Gongga: Mnj {Fl. after C} qeriyō 'monkey' || COmt (Gf?) {Mrn.} qarō 'monkey' ¶ Mrn. O 155, Blz. OL #122, Bnd. AL 154, Fl. OO 320 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k̲r∇ 'monkey' > Su kar, Ang ker 'monkey' || ECh: Mgm {J} mékèrḏà 'monkey' ¶¶ OS ##1568-9 ¶¶ The words for 'Colobus (monkey)' in Oromo (Or {Th.} gureza 'scimmia biancanera', {Brl.} guresa 'Colobus', goresa 'scimmia del mantello di lungo pelo bianco sul nero'), in Ari ({Bnd.} gōyr, and in Dime ({Bnd.} gūru) hardly belong here (because of the voiced g-) ¶ Brl. 182, 191, Th. 179, Bnd. AL 154 || **D** *kuraḅk- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'monkey' > Tm kuraḅku id., 'ape', Ml kuraḅḅu 'monkey' (chiefly 'macaco'), Kt

korg 'black monkey', Td kwarg, Kn koranġi, Tu kuraŋga, Tl k(r)ōti
 ¶ D #1769.

1177. *k'û'R'f'∇'d∇ ~ ***k'ûRt'∇f'∇** 'stinging insect' > **HS: S:** [1] WS *k'û'r'ad- 'tick' > Ar qurd- 'tick of camels\horses', qurād- 'tick', Tgr ⚡⚡k'erad 'tick'; [2] S *o'✓k'rdf ~ *o'✓k'rtf > Ar qirdaf-, qirdif- 'e louse (living on camels and hen)', qarṭaf-, qirṭif- 'e louse (living on camels)', qurdūf- 'small ant' ¶ Fr. III 422-3, 427, BK II 709-10, Hv. 507, LH 244 || C: Ag: Bln {R} k'ar'ad-ā (pl. k'ar'ad) 'tick'; Ag ⇨ Tgr {R} k'ar'ada, Tgy {R} k'ar'adət id. ¶ R WB 242 || **K:** G k'virṭ-i, k'ruṭ-i 'wasp' ¶ DCh. 610, DCh. RGS 222 || **D** (in CD) *kur'∇t... ({GS} *k-) 'leech' (×N *ku'r'∇t'd∇ 'worm, parasitic insect') > Prj kurṭubi, Gdb kurṭum 'leech' ¶ D #1798.

1178. *k'iRg'∇ (or ***k'iRk'∇**) 'e stinging insect' > **K:** GZ *k'k'il- 'moth' > Grk'il-, Mg k'i(r)k'il- ~ k'ik'iṭ- ¶ K 116, K² 100-1, FS K 191 || **HS: S:** Ar qirdis- 'e small flea' ({Fr.} 'parvorum culicum species') ¶ Fr. III 432, BK II 723 || B: Ah k'orkōr 'moth (teigne)' ¶ Fc. 875 || ECh: Mgm {JA} k'urgit'ine 'worm', EDng {Fd.} k'urgit'a 'ver fin et long, qui fait enfler la peau', ?σ Bdy {AIJ} k'urgā'sā 'e insect' ¶ AIJ 94, JA LM 102, Fd. 305 || **A:** Tg *x'irga(-kta) 'gadfly, horse-fly' > Ew irgakta, Ewk Tng irg'aktz, Lm lrgat & lrgot, Neg l'ygakta, Ud iga, Ul sl'žaqta ~ sl'žlqta (< *s'irgaqta < *x'irga-kta), Ork sl'žlqta ~ sl'rlqta, Nn sl'gaqta id., WrMc i'za 'gadfly, insect' ¶ STM I 325.

1179. *k'iR'g'∇ or ***k'eR'g'∇** 'e bird of prey' > **U:** FU *kerk'∇ id. > Lp P k'ierk'ē 'falcon', Lp OSw {LÖ} kirgeč 'eagle' {Lp -č'∇₁ is a derivational sx.) || Os {KrT}: V kōrāk, G kōrāk, Kz qūrāq 'eagle' ¶ UEW 149, Coll. 79 || **A:** T *K'irguu ≈ hawk, falcon' > OT {Cl.} q'ir'ūy 'sparrow-hawk, Accipiter nisus', Qzq, Qq q'ir'ūy, ET {Nj.} q'ir'ūy, ET Δ {Jr.} qur'ūy ~ q'ir'ūy, Qrg кыр'гый q'ir'ūy id., Tkm q'ir'gi id., 'red-footed falcon, Falco vespertinus (кобчик)', Az q'ir'ūi 'hawk', Osm {LCq.} qur'ūy 'e eine Habichtart', ET Δ {Mng.} yur'ūy 'Falco apivorus', ET Tr {LCq.} q'ir'ūy 'Sperber (Accipiter nisus)', q'ir'ūy 'Jagdfalk', Xk dim. x'ir'ūyax 'small hawk', Chv хёр'хи хьр'ү₁ & хьр'ү_ü 'Falco vespertinus' ¶ Cl. 654-5, ET Q 232-3, KrkR 429, Sht. 276, TkR 233, Hüs. 92, BIG 300, Jr. 256, Mng. G 721, Nj. 623, Jud. 494, Jeg. 300 || **M** (← T?) *k'ir'ūy > MM [HI] k'ir'ūy 'petit épervier', WrM k'ir'ūi {Kow.} 'small hawk, small gerfalcon' ('un petit épervier, petit gerfault; малый ястребъ, кречетокъ'), {Gl.} 'Falco vespertinus; small gerfalcon',

{MED} 'small hawk, small predatory bird', HIM хяргуй id., Kl Ö {Rm.} kirvū, kirvū 'sparrow-hawk', Kl {KRS} кирһү kirvū 'id., Falco vespertinus', WrM kiruɣucaɪ {MED} 'ε (a kind of) small hawk', {Gl.} 'ублюдок орла, ястреба и копчика' ¶ Ms. H 72, Kow. 2552, Gl. III 609-10, MED 471-3, KRS 302, KW 232 || K: G qirqita 'Falco tinnunculus (Turmfalke)', {DCh.} 'кобец, овсянка' ¶ Chx. 595, DCh. 616 ◇ If the G word belongs here and its q- is not due to as. (which is qu.), the initial N cns. is *q-, otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified velar (*K-). The U cognate points to a pN *e, while T, M and K suggest a vw. *i. The phonetic laws that are responsible for this discrepancy are still to be discovered.

1180. *Qorg|kU 'dirt, dung' > IE: NaIE *gʷorgʷ(ōr)ō- 'dirt' > Arm կոբկ korbk 'dirt-spot, dirt, filth, ordure' || Gk βόρβορος 'mud, mire, filth' ¶ WP I 694, P 482, F I 252 || HS: C: Ag *ʔakʷar > Bln {R} aɣʷar ~ ǎɣar ~ ɔɣar coll. 'dry cow-dung', Xm {R} aɣǎl 'dry dung'; Ag ʔ > Tgr {R}, Tgy H {R} ǎñ-ɕ akʷer, Tgy {R} ǎñ-ɕ aqʷer (these words are not registered in standard dictionaries of Tgr and Tgy, namely in LH and Bsn.); (Tgy and/or Tgr ʔ > ?) Sa {R} a'kʷar ~ ǎ'kar, Af {R} a'kʷar ~ ǎ'kar ~ ɔ'kǎr 'dry dung' ¶ R WB 20, R Ch II 20, R S II 24, R A II 14 || B **qʷrrāg > **yʷrrag 'dung' > Ah a-yarraǵ 'gros excrément (de quadrupède herbivore, d'insecte, d'oiseau)', ta-yarrak 'fumier, large dunghill', ETwl a-yarreg 'droppings of camels, goats, etc.', Gh a-yarraǵ 'fiente', ?? Sll ta-qʷarqʷayt 'fumier de chameaux' ¶ Fc. 1773, PrGG 121, Nh. 161, Ds. 137 || A: M *qorgu-sun 'droppings of sheep, etc.' > MM [S] qorqosun 'Stück Schafmist', WrM qorɣusun 'droppings of sheep and camels', Brt хоргооһо(н) id., Kl хорһсн хорһьсьн 'ball(s) of droppings (of sheep, goats, camels) (катыш)', {Rm.} хорһасн 'runde Kotkugel (der Schafe, Kamele, Pferde)', Mnr H {SM} хорḡḡзз 'droppings of sheep, goats, camels, hares'; M *qorgal > WrM qorgal, HIM хоргол, Brt хоргоол id., Ord (Ms.) хорḡḡl 'droppings of animals'; M *qorquy- > WrM qorquɪ-, HIM хорхой-х 'be dirty, untidy' ¶ H 67, MED 965-6, 970, SM 172, KRS 598, KW 187 || Tg *xōri-kta 'dung of reindeer' > Ewk ḡrikta, Lm ḡrut, Ork xorɪqta id.; *xōri-na- > Ewk ḡrina-v. 'defecate' (of reindeer) ¶ STM II 23-4 ¶ The long *ō may be due to complementary lengthening (Ersatzdehnung) due to the loss of *-g- || pKo {S} *kaḡrim 'dung' > Nko kaḡrim ¶ S QK #1122, MLC 82 ¶¶ DQA #1132 (A *k'ōrḡ 'dung, excrements') || D (in SD) *kor- ({ḡGS} *k-)

'mud' > Ml *kuraríri* 'mire, mud, fine clay', Kt *k0r* 'manure, filth, mud', Td *kwar* 'mud' ¶ D #2123 ¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters (in this case presumably *-rg|k-) ◇ The B and Tg cognates point to N *K̥-, while the apparent IE and C reflexes of N *k- are due to as. The N word-medial *r was probably followed by a velar stop, which is evidenced in M, B, and (indirectly) in D by reflexes of a N word-medial *g, while in IE there are traces of a N postconsonantic *k. The variation is still to be investigated. In C and Tg the word-medial velar was lost (a kind of dis. or a reg. development of the N cluster *-rg|k-?).

1181. *k̥VR̥kE 'skin, bark' > K: GZ: G *kerk-* 'bark, crust, peel', Lz Ar *kyark-* 'skin of the hand' ¶ Chx. 1548-9 || IE: NaIE *kroḡ-no- 'skin, hide' > Clt: OIr *cro(i)cenn* 'skin', Brtt {RE} *krok- id. > MW, W *croen*, MBr *crohenn*, *crochenn*, Br *croc'hen* 'skin', OCrn [ʏ] *croin* ("mastruca" 'sheepskin'), Crn *crōnek* 'skinny'; Gl ↪ L *crocina* 'leather garment' ||| Sl *k̥r̥z̥no 'fur coat' ({ESSJ}: 'cloak, Mantel, плащ') > ChS *kr̥z̥(̥)no* *kr̥z̥(̥)no* 'vestis pellicea', McdS *kr̥z̥no* 'fur', Slv *k̥r̥z̥no* 'leather, hide, fur', Cz *kr̥z̥no* 'military cloak, coat, fur coat', OR *kor̥(̥)z̥no* *kor̥(̥)z̥no*, *k̥r̥z̥no* *k̥r̥z̥no*, *kr̥z̥no* *kr̥z̥no* 'cloak'; Sl ↪ OHG *krusina*, *kursinna*, OFrs *kersna*, AS *crus(e)ne* 'fur coat' ¶ Vn. C 243-4, RE 129, WH I 296, ≈ ESSJ XIII 244 (against the Sl-Clt connection), ≈ Vs. II 327-8 (believes that the Sl word is a loan from some "Eastern" lgs: Os *k̥ar̥c* 'fur' [actually 'fur coat'] ⇔ ESSJ and Ab. I 582), Srz. I 1404, Kb. 575, P 943 (NaIE *krok-no-; supposes a connection with IE *(s)ker- 'cut') || A: M: WrM *qor̥gu* ~ *qoruu*, HIM *xyp̥y̥y* 'film, cataract, spot in the eye' (× N *k̥oRup̥ 'bark of trees' [ε?], 'skin') ¶ MED 970 ◇ In K there is as. *k...k < N *k̥...k, in Clt in the opposite direction: IE *k...ḡ > Clt *k...k.

1182. *k̥âR̥k̥ub|p̥ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > HS: S *°k̥ar̥k̥ab|p̥- 'skull' (× N *k̥'a'w̥l̥o,̥p̥E or *k̥'a'w̥l̥o,̥p̥V̥y̥V̥ 'skull; occiput' → 'head?') > JA *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥*, em. *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-ā* 'skull, head', *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-t-ā* id. (↪ MdHb *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-t* id.), Sr *q̥ar̥q̥ab̥'tā* ~ *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'tā* 'head, summit of a mountain' ¶ J. Levy supposes that JA *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥* is from the Gk loanword found in MHb texts (Mishna, Tosephtha) in the form of *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'līn* ~ *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'līp̥el* 'der Schädel dessen Haar\Fleisch abgeschunden wurde' (< Gk *kápa* 'head' and *κεφαλή* 'head?'), but Sr *q̥ar̥q̥ab̥'tā* makes Levy's hyp. untenable ¶ Lv. IV 390-1, Sl. 1046, ESh

1230, PS 3758, Br. 701, Js. 1426-7 || Eg fMK қзб.т 'skull' ¶ EG V 11 ||
 IE: NaIE *kakub^h- 'summit, tip' > OI κα'κυρ, κα'κυβ^h- 'peak, summit'
 || L cacūmen 'extreme point, top, tip, summit' (transformed on the
 analogy of acūmen 'sharp point of anything') ¶ M KI 135, MEI 287,
 WH I 127 || U: [1] U *kokka 'head; a protruding point, hook' > pY {IN}
 *kōkə 'head (of a fish, of an animal)' > Y K {IN} kōkə id., {Jc., texts}
 κοκε, {Jc. JR} 'κοκα 'head of an animal' || FL *kokka 'protruding point,
 hook' (× N *kakU [or *kokU?] 'hook; tooth, fang', q.v.) || [2] FU
 *kokk_lk_l∇p∇ 'ε hook' (× FU *kopkka < N *goPka '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp
 stick' [q.v. ffd.]) || [3] FP *kork∇ 'high' > F korkea, Es kōrge id. | Mk
 kurka 'deep' | pChr {Bwer.} *kurək 'mountain' > Chr: Н кырык кырык,
 L курык 'кырык, Uf кырык, B кырык ≙ kuruk | ? Prm *kūr > Z kīr / kīry-
 id., 'bluff, precipice', Yz KAR-γΛΛΛη 'auf der Höhe' (γΛΛ- ÷ Z γιV 'top')
 ¶ IN 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Jc. JR s.v. κόκα, UEW 672, Ber. 24, MRS
 249, Ep. 53, LP 153 || D (in NED) *kukk- > Krx kukk 'head, extremity',
 Mlt kukku 'head' (× N *k'a¹dKud∇ 'tip, top', q.v.) ¶ D #1630, Pf. 188
 [#69] ◇ In D the final syll. of the N word was lost (*-b- > *-w- >
 zero?). The loss of the reflex of N *-b|p- in U *kokka still needs
 explaining. Eg 3 (usually from precon. *r) suggests that the cns. *R is
 ancient (and lost in some lgs.) rather than an Aram innovation (though
 the epenthesis of *r) ◇ Blz. LB #77b (FL *kokka, Y, D + qu.: IE *kakud-
 'tip, point, peak' [better from N *k'a¹dKud∇ 'tip, top'] and IE {Mn.}
 *kakupit- [err. for *kaput-] id., 'head' [< N *k'a¹w_lo_lpE or
 *k'a¹w_lo_lp∇y∇ 'skull; occiput; → 'head']).

1183. *k_uRm¹E¹ (or *k_oRm¹E¹?) 'to cover' > HS: S *✓k_urm (× N
 *k_or¹a¹ [or *k_oRa and *k¹orü?] 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust?') >
 BHb, JA [Trg.], Sr, Ak ✓k_urm v. G 'cover', Ak k_urmu 'ε a garment',
 MHb {Js.} קרעם 'kerem 'fine cloth, gauze' ¶ KB 1067, KBR 1144, Js.
 1421, Lv. T II 388, Br. 696, CAD XIII 127, 268-9 || IE: NaIE *k^warmo- 'a
 cover, lid' > Gl ⇨ L parma 'a short round shield', W † {Wld.} parf-
 aes 'shield', parfa 'Schutzplatte, Feuergitter' || ON hvarmr 'eyelid'
 ¶ WP I 506, WH II 256, Vr. 269 || A: M *kürmen > WrM kürme(n),
 HIM xypem 'short jacket (worn by men **over** their long gown at formal
 occasions)' (← 'a cover'), Kl {Rm.} kürm_u 'Mongolian jacket', Brt
 xypmэ 'fur-jacket worn over one's fur-coat' ¶ MED 284, KW 248, Chr.
 626 ◇ Gr. II #434 (*kurm 'worm') (IE, U + err. A *k'jōru 'worm, gadfly',
 Gil).

1184. *K̑uRm̑ 'worm, insect' > IE: NaIE *k̑ȓmi- / *k̑erm- 'worm' > OI 'kȓmi-h̑, NPrs كرم kerm || pAl {O} *krim- id. > Al: T krimb, G krym || OIr cruim 'worm, maggot', Brtt {RE} *primis 'worm' > MBr {Vn.} preff, {Em.} preuf, Br preñv id., OW prem, MW pryf id., W pryf 'insect, vermin', MCrm Γ prif 'vermis', Cm prūf 'worm, vermin', pl. pryves 'insects' || Lt kirmis 'worm, snake', Ltv cirmis, cirminš 'worm, maggot', cirmenis 'maggot, grub', Pru girmis ({En, Tpr} [kirmis]) 'maggot'; (*k̑erm- >) Ltv cērme 'earthworm', ceŕme 'worm' | SI *č̑ȓm̑ > Slv č̑m {P} 'Karbunkel, Fingerwurm'; ↗ SI *č̑ȓm̑n̑ 'red' (red dye was obtained from cochineal insects ["worms"], cp. L vermiculus 'small worm, maggot, cochineal' > a name of the red or scarlet colour in some Romance lgs.: Fr vermeil, Prv vermelh, Ctl vermell, Sp bermejo 'scarlet', Port vermelho 'red') > OCS ҮРЬМЪНЪ č̑ȓm̑n̑, Cz čermný, č̑ȓm̑ný 'red', R Δ че'рёмный 'red-haired' ¶ WP I 523, P 649, ≈ EI 649 (*k̑ȓmi-s; unj.: + OCS č̑ȓv̑ 'worm'), M K I 261-2, Vn. C 252, Ern. 511-2, RE 148, ECCE 283, Frn. 257, En. 178, Tr. P E-H 243-5, Bern. I 169, ESSJ IV 149-50, Vs. IV 334-5, Bc. 1056, O 197, EM 725, ML #9230 || **U:** FU (att. in FL) *kȗȓm̑ ≈ larva, maggot' > F kurmu 'gadfly maggot' || pLp *kurm̑ > Lp N {N} guȓb̑ma 'larva of Oedemagena tarandi' ¶ Not necessarily a loan from Ir, as tentatively supposed in IS I 358 ¶ SK 246 (F ← Lp), N II 240 || **HS:** EC: Sa {R} qaȓma 'e fly' ¶ R S II 237 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kórómò 'louse' || ??φ,σ ECh: Kbl kúrȓ́, Ll kòré 'fly' ¶ Blz. EChWL #30, ChC.

1185. 2 *K̑EȒp̑ 'to cover' (→ 'roof') > IE: NaIE *k̑ro(:)po- (or *k̑ra(:)po-), {EI} *k̑ropo-s, *k̑ȓpo-s 'roof' > ON hȓóf 'roof of a boat house; a shed under which ships are built or kept', MDt roef 'roof, lid, deck', Dt roef 'deckhouse, cuddy (of a barge)', MLG rōf, rūf 'lid, sheltering roof', OFrs rōf 'roof', AS hȓōf 'roof, ceiling', NE roof || SI *strop̑ (< **strop̑ > *k̑ropo-) > OCS, OR строп̑ strop̑ 'roof', Blg строп 'garret', Cz, P strop 'ceiling', Slv stròp (gen. strópa) id., 'rafters' || amb Clt: OIr cráu, cró 'stall, hut, wooden partition', {EI} 'hovel, stall', W craw, Cm crow 'stall', Br kraou 'étable' (× NaIE *°kȓ- / *°krow̑- v. 'cover, hide' < N *q̑Aȓh̑₂ 'to keep [sth.] out of sight, to hide' [q.v.]?) ¶ WP I 477-8, P 616, EI 488, Vn. C 240-1, SB 96, Vr. 259, Ho. 176, Sw. 94, Tr. 309, Vs. III 781-2 || **HS:** [1] Eg ME k̑p 'Schutzdach', Eg NE k̑p.ω 'roof', Eg NE/G k̑p 'ein Gebäude bedachen'

||| [2] (× N *gA|íAb|p∇ [?] *'to cover' →] 'to hide, to conceal': Eg fXIX k3p 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' > DEg k3p 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd κωπ kōp, Cpt B χωπ khōp vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide' ¶ EG V 104, Er. 53, Crum 113-4, Vc. 84.

1186. *kōRup∇ ~ *kaRup∇ 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' > K: G kōrp-i 'bark of cork-oak, cork' ¶ Chx. 614 || HS: WS *✓k3p 'peel off' > Ar ✓qrf id., Gz ✓k3rf 'v. peel off, skin, bark'; WS *'k3rap(-at)- n. 'bark' > Ar q3rf- 'bark of pomegranate', q3rf-at- 'bark', pl. q3raf-, Gz k3raft 'bark, skin, peel, rind'; probably also WS *'k3urab- (~ *'k3irab-?) > Ar q3rb-at- (pl. q3rab-āt-) 'a large skin for milk or water', Tgy k3w3rb3t, Amh k3orb3t 'skin for milk', {L} ቁርብት k3urb3t 'tanned hide used as a sleeping mat', Tgr k33rb3t 'dressed skin; skin for water\milk\honey', Gz k3w3arb3bit, Amh k3w3arb3bičča 'leather bag', ? Gz k3arb 'eyelid' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414, BK II 704, 723-4, Hv. 596, 600, L G 440-1, LH 242, L CAD 72 || EC: Cm {Bnd.} g3arb 'skin'; C (← EthS??): Bj {R} 'k3w3arbe ({R} k33rb3e) 'skin (Haut)' || pAg *k3w3∇rb-∇t- 'skin' > Xm {R} q3w3ar'b3i 'skin, hide', Xm Wg {R} q3w3ar'b3ir, Xm T {Bnd.} kerbir 'skin', Q {R} q33rb3ē ~ k33rb3ē ~ k33rb3i 'skin, leather' ¶ R Ch II 381, R Q II 86, 91, R WBd 145, Blz. EDB 16, ≠ AD SF 67, 279 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sh.} k33r3p3, Wnd {ChC} k3w33r3p 'bark' || Ech: ? Smr {J} k3w33b33r3w 'bark' (mt.) || CCh: ??? Plc k33r3i 'bark' (× N *k3ayer∇ 'ε bark, film?') ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *kreup- 'crust, crusted', 'rough' > Clt: L (← Gl) cruppellarii 'armoured people, sc. the Gaulish gladiators who fought in full armour' || ON hrufa 'crust of a wound', NGr B Ruff 'Kruste auf rasch getrocknetem Erdreich', OHG gi-rob {Kb.} 'crude, thick', NHG grob, Dt grof 'coarse', ON hrj3fr 'crude, rough', AS hr33of id., 'leprous' (> NE rough), OHG hr33ob 'leprous' || Ltv k33a3pa 'scab, wart', k33a3pis 'scab', nu-k33r3p3s 'scurfy', Lt kraup3s coarse', Lt kr33p-ti, Ltv kr33pt ~ k33r3pt 'to become scabby' || pTc *k33rpiye > Tc: A k33rpi, B k33rpiye 'common, raw, rough' ¶ P 623, WH I 295, Vr. 261, Kb. 370, OsS 305, KM 272, Frn. 290, Ad. 164, EI 490, 523] in some IE lgs. *kreup- contaminated *(s)krep-/*(s)kerp- of different origin (> OHG scorf {Kb.} 'scab, dandruff', AS sc33orf 'scurf', Lt k33rpa 'wart'; F P 944, Kb. 889) || A: M [1] ppM *qoruβu > M *qoruγu (× N *k3∇R∇kE 'skin, bark') > WrM qoruυ, qorgu, HIM χυρυυ, Kl {Rm.} χ33r3α 'spot in eye, film, cataract'; [2] ? *qaru- vt. 'scrape\plane (wood)' > WrM qarυ-, HIM χ33ρα-χ id. ¶ MED 940, 970, KW 187, Pp. IM 98 (on *-β- >

*-ψ-) || AmTg *χαρπῶ- vt. 'plane\shave (wood)' > Nn Nh χαρπιῶ-, Nn KU χαρπιῶ-, Ork χαρπῶ- id. ¶ STM I 59 ◇ N *o is suggested by M *qoruβu, K, and WS, while M *-a- in *qaru- and Tg *-a- point to a N *a; IE *k- (rather than *k^ω-) may be due to its precons. position. It is possible that the var. with N *a is primary, while *o in N *κορυβῶ is due to regr. as. The meaning 'scrape\plane (wood)' in M and Tg goes back to *'remove the upper layer (of wood)' ← v. *'bark (a tree)' ◇ AD NM #98, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), ≈ Vv. AEN 13 (M *qoruβu is considered a "teleological reconstruction", because the attested M lgs. fail to distinguish *-β- from *-ψ-).

1187. *KüRpῶ 'to turn (round, towards)' > IE: NaIE *k^werp- ~ *k^werb_h- v. 'turn' > Gmc: ON h^uerfa, OSx hwervian 'to turn (wenden, drehen)', AS hweorfan 'sich wenden, zurückkehren', OHG werben 'wenden, kehren, drehen', Gt hwaírban 'περιπατεῖν, to walk about', AS h^warf 'circle' || Gk κύρβις (pl. κύρβεις) 'a 3-sided pyramid, turning on a pivot, on which the early laws were inscribed', ??σ καρπός 'wrist' (P: ← *'turning point of a hand') (< *κυάρπος with loss of *^u due to dis.?) || Sl *svьrdьlo, *svьrdьlь 'borer' (< **svьrb-dlo) > SrChS СВРЪДЬЛЪ svьrdьlь, Blg 'свърдел, 'сврѣдел, SCr svr̥dao, Cz svider, P świder id., R Δ 'свердел id., R свер'ло id., 'drill' || Tc B kurrp- 'be concerned with' ({Ad.}: ← *'turn oneself towards') ¶ FI 793 and II 53, WPI 472-3, P 631, EI 607 (*k^werp- 'turn'), Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Ho. S 39, Fs. 279-80, Kb. 1173, Vs. III 573-4, Ad. 184-5 || **HS:** WS *✓krb > Ar ✓krb v. G 'twist (a rope)', Mh ✓krb (pf. k^zrüb) v. 'screw' ¶ Fr. IV 21, Hv. 649, Jo. M 212-3 || Eg Md/BD/G k^rrf v. 'curve, bend' ¶ EG V 60 || **A:** M *körbe- v. 'turn over' > MM [S] körbe- 'sich umwenden, sich drehen', WrM körbe-, HIM xəpβə- 'turn overt, change', ? Kl körvül-xə 'to translate' ¶ H 104, MED 490, KRS 319 || Tg *kurbu- vn. 'turn round' > Ewk kurbu- id., Sln xubbu ~ xurbz- vn. 'turn (ворочаться), turn over', WrMc kurbu- id. ¶ STM I 435 ¶¶ Pp. VG 107, Rm. SKE 129 ¶ The unexpected Tg *k- (for *x-) may be due to as.: N *K...p > *k...p || ?φ D *kuru- ({ǰGS} *k-) v. 'curl' > Tm kuruḷ- id., Ml kuruḷ-, kurḷaḷ- 'curls', Kn kuruḷ, kurḷu 'curl, lock of hair', Tu kurumbilu 'curled hair', Tl kutulu 'hair, curls of hair'; D → Sk kurala-, kurula- 'curl' ¶¶ D #1794, Tu. #3327.

1188. *k^u'ryῶpῶ 'sack, wicker basket' > K: G k^uprieli, Sv {Ni.} k^upr, Sv: UB {GP}, UB/LB {TK} k^upr 'wine-skin' (× N *K^{ab}'E?'ῶ

'wickerwork, bag, vessel'?) ¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. МѢХЪ, TK 351, GP 132 ¶ Mt. and as. *ḳ...p > *ḳ...p || HS: S *✓krp > Ak kuruppu 'basket', karpu, karpatu 'earthen container, pot', Ug krpn 'drinking vessel', {OLS} 'cáliz, copa'; ? Gz karabō 'woven basket'; mt.: WS *kṽpṽr- 'basket, vessel' > BHb כַּפֵּי קָדָשׁ kə'pōr 'Becher (aus Gold oder Silber)', MHb כַּפֵּי קָדָשׁ kə'pōr 'plated vessel', Sr كِبْرِيَّةٌ kāpar't-ā {Br.} 'vas e libro palmae textum et picatum', {JPS} 'earthen vessel, crock', Ar kāfir-at-, pl. kawāfir- 'amphoras, jars', {BK} 'jarres de vin', Gz kafar 'basket, bushel' ¶ A #1390, OLS 224, BK II 914, Hv. 660, LG 276-7, 290, GB 358, Js. 657, Br. 340-1, JPS 223, CAD VIII 219-21, 581 || Eg MK ḳrf 'bag', Md/MP ḳrf.t 'linen bag' ¶ EG V 60, Fk. 280 || IE: [1] NaIE *krep- ~ *kreb-/*korb- 'basket, bag' > L corbis 'wicker basket' (↳ ON karfa, kqrf, OHG corb 'basket' > NHG Korb) || Lt krėpšas, krepšys 'basket, bag', kaĩbas 'basket', Ltv kārba 'bag made of alder-birch-bark' || Sl *korbъ, *korba 'basket, box' > Slv kraba 'box', P kroba 'woven basket', OR КОРОВЪ 'box, woven basket, chest (сундук)', R 'короб 'box' || Gmc *xrepaz, *xrepiz > ON hrip {Æ} 'pack basket', {Vr.} 'Rückenkorb', OHG rēf 'frame for carrying sth. on one's back', {Kb.} 'Korb, Gestell, Trag-Rücken-korb' || ? OIr criol 'sac, coffret, panier' || [2] NaIE *ōūrpa- > OI súrpa-m 'winnowing basket' ¶ ≈ WP I 487, ≈ P 948-9, EI 52-3 (*kreb-), M K III 366, Vn. C 238, SB 97, Frn. 294, TF 103, Vr. 256-7, Kb. 555, 776, KM 394, ESSJ XI 52-4, ≠ P 948, WH I 272-3 || ? A: T *ōkír > OT kiz 'box, cupboard' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 273 || D (in SD) *kurṽv-, *kur- ({ṽGS} *k-) 'basket' (× N *ḳurṽ [= *ḳurû?] 'to plait/wattle/tie together') > Tu kurvæ 'basket', Kn Hv kurve 'small basket', Ml kuriyav, kuriccān 'matbag, light basket of pandanus leaves', kurutti 'basket for catching fish' ¶ D #1779 ◇ T *r and D *-r- (reg. from N *r-clusters) point to N *-ry-.

1189. *ḳṽrHṽPṽ 'piece of leather (used esp. as footwear)' > IE: NaIE *kerap-/*krēp- 'piece of cloth, ε footwear' > L carpisculum 'ε shoe' || OIr cairēm 'shoemaker' (< **kariamōs, IE *k_orāp-), W crydd (< Clt. *ka'riyos), Cm chereor, MBr kere~quere, Br kere, kereour id. || ON hriflingr 'leather shoe', AS {Vr.} hrifeling 'lace-up shoe', MHG ribbalin 'ε boot' || Lt kūrpė, Ltv kuĩpe 'shoe', Pru kurpe 'ε shoe' || Sl: [1] *kьpa 'piece of cloth' > ChS {Mikl.} КРЪПА крѣпа 'ύφασμα, textura' ('web'), Blg 'кърпа 'shawl', McdS крпа 'rag, shawl, towel', SCr k`pa, Slv k`pa 'rag, patch'; [2] *къръ,

*кѣррь, *кѣррја '€ footwear' > Cz †, Δ κρηπ 'high boot', OCz {Zv.} κρηπес 'sandal', P Δ κίερп '€ footwear', karpie '€ footwear with a wooden sole', SCr Δ kr̥plje 'ski', SCr kr̥plja 'wooden hoop on shoes for walking on deep snow' ||| Gk κρηπίς / κρηπίδος '€ half-boot, men's high boot' ¶ P 581, WH I 172, EI (*kr̥h₁pi-s 'shoe'), F II 16-7, Vn. C 21, Ern. 150, Frn. 318, En. 199, Vr. 255, Lx. 167, Tp. P K-L 323-33, ESSJ XIII 237-40, Glh. 352-3 ||| **HS:** Ch {JS} *✓krp 'footwear' > WCh: Cg {Sh.} kàràpátàn, Mbr {Sh.} kàràkòm 'shoe' ||| CCh: Db {Lnh.} kìràp, Kola {Sb.} kráp, Msg {Kr.} harabág id. ¶ JS ChLR II, ChC ||| **D** {tr.} *ker∇pp-, {GS} *kyerp- 'footwear (sandals, etc.)' > Tm ceruppu, Ml cerippu, Kt kevr, Td kerf, Kn keravυ ~ kerahu ~ kerpu, Tl ceppu 'sandal, shoe', ? Klm, Nkr kerri 'shoe, boot', Png ċerup, ċerpu, Gnd serpum & sarpum & sarpo & sarpu & herpunb 'sandal', Knd sepu 'shoe', Ku seppu ~ seppū id., ċepunġa 'sandals', Krx k^harpā 'straps (without sole) crossed over and worn round the ankle' ¶¶ D #1963, GS 205-6 [#521], 63 [#193] ¶¶ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- ◇ AD NM #100, Zv. DP 361-2 ◇ The IE reflexes of this N etymon and those of N *k^oRup∇ 'bark of trees' (€?), 'skin' are different and hence suggest that these are separate N words. Nevertheless, their more ancient etymological connection cannot be ruled out (F S CNM 11).

1190. *KäR₁ʔ₁ûs|š∇ 'to congeal' > IE: NaIE *kreus- 'freeze, congeal; ice' > G τὸ κρύος 'frost', κρυσταίνωμα 'I am congealed with cold, I freeze', κρύσταλλος 'ice, rock-crystal', κρῦμός 'frost' (< *krusmos) ||| OHG (h)rosō {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' (× N *kURc∇ 'scales, bark'??) ||| Ltv pl. kruveši, sg. kruvesis, Δ kruesis 'frozen dung', Lt {Zp.} at-krūsti (p. at-krūsaũ) 'to come to life again' (of a frozen person) (← *'to become de-frozen' ||| pTc {Ad.} nom. *krośčē / accus. *krośčänä > Tc: A accus. krośčäm, B krośce / accus. krośčäm adj. 'cold' ¶ WPI 479-80, P 622, F II 28-9, Kar. I 431, ME II 291, Frn. 290, 303, Zp. G 124-5, Kb. 803, OsS 723, WW 238, Ad. 218-9, ≈ EI 112-3 (*k^ωrus^ttēn '[freezing] cold' with unj. *k^ω-) ¶ IE *k- < *k̄- in precons. position ||| **HS:** CS *✓k₁rš > JA קרש ✓k₁rš v. G 'congeal, become solide', MHb {Js.} קרש ✓k₁rš v. G id., 'contract', JEA {Sl.}, SmA ✓k₁rš v. G vi. 'congeal', Sr قرس ✓k₁rš 'become chilled/frozen', قْرَسُ q₁r₁s q₁ar¹š-ā 'snow', Ar قرس ✓qrs (qarasa / yaqrisu) 'be congealed' (of water) (× N *k¹u¹R∇c∇ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, to harden') ¶ Lv. IV 393, Js. 1428, Sl. 1047, Br. 701, JPS 521, Tal 803, Fr. III 423-4, BK II

710, Hv. 597 || B ***k̄rHs** > ***ȳrHs** > Ah {Fc.} *ȳarəs* 'être figé (du froid, du peur)', Tns {Pr.} *ȳurhəs* id., ETwl/Ty {GhA} *ȳur̄b̄s* 'être figé, glacé, gelé par le froid'; Ah *āȳaris* 'frozen water', BMn {Bs.} *āyr̄is* 'ice' ¶ Fc. 1759, Pr. H #585 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) ***k̄ars̄š̄** 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' (× N ***ḡER̄š̄** [= ***ḡäR̄'s̄|š̄**] 'congeal, grow numb', q.v. ffd.) || **D** (in KK) ***kač̄-** ({ǵGS} ***k-?**) > Kui *kaž̄a* (p. *kaž̄i-*) 'be congealed/solidified by growing cold', Ku *kaž̄ali* 'be congealed, become curdled' ¶ D #1102 ◇ B ***H** is either an unexplained innovation or an inherited N lr. ***ʔ** or ***h** (the only N lrs. that are liable to fall in pS).

1191. ***k̄'ü'R̄** **ś̄'ī'∇** '∈ part of the foot' > HS: S ***k̄u|arsull-** 'ankle' > BHb *q̄ar̄sol* / *q̄arsull-*, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} *q̄arsull-ā* ~ *q̄ar̄š̄ul-ā*, Sr *q̄ur̄š̄al-ā*, Tgr *q̄arso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', JEA {Sl.} *q̄arsu'lā* ~ *q̄ar̄š̄ulā* 'ankle', ? Mh {SSL} *q̄ar̄š̄āt* 'knee-cap', Ak *kursinnu* id., *kišallu*, *kišillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' ¶ KB 1069, Lv. T II 390, Js. 1423, Sl. 1045 Br. 700, LH 240, SSL LNPM 226, Sd. 511-2, 488, CAD VIII 434, MiK I #1.169, Frnz. LS2 274 [#2.94] || **K**: GZ {K} ***kurs̄-** 'heel' ({FS} ***kurs-** id.) > OG, G *kusl-*, Lz *kus-*, ku(r)- id., Mg *kurs-*, *kurc-*, *kur-* id., 'kick by hoof' ¶ K 200, K² 219-20, FS K 340, FS E 381-2, Abul. 459 ◇ For details (on S and K) see N ***ś̄'ī'∇** 'heel' ◇ The etymon is a N compound of ***k̄'ü'r̄'u'** 'foot, hoof' (see N ***k̄û'r̄'u'**) and ***ś̄'ī'∇** 'heel'. It is preferable to reconstruct here the cns. ***ś̄** (evidenced by K) rather than ***ć̄** (suggested by S) on the ev. of the N etymon ***ś̄'ī'∇**. The vw. ***r̄'ü'** is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the reflexes of the N cd. ***k̄'ü'r̄'u'-ȳ∇c∇** 'shin' that shares the first component with the compound in question.

1192. ***k̄urt∇** 'belt; to gird' (→ [in descendant lgs.] '∈ garment') > IE: NaIE ***kerd-** v. 'gird', ***kerd-so/u-** 'belt' > OIr *criDIG-* 'ceindre, entourer', [y] fo-*criDIGedar* 'accingat', *cri(u)s* 'belt, circle' (Vn.: < IE ***k̄rd-tu-**), {P} fo-*chrus* 'Gürtung', W *crys* 'belt, shirt', W *gwregys* (< ***gwe-grys** < ***gwo-grys**), MCm *grugis*, MBr *gouris*, Br *gouriz* 'belt', MCm *kreis*, MBr *eres*, Br *kreZ* 'shirt' ||| pSl ***čers̄** (Bern.: < ***kerd-so-**) 'belt' > Slk *čeres* 'belt for men', P *trzos*, Uk B *čeres*, R Δ *чepez* 'leather girdle for carrying money' (in R transformation from *čeres̄* due to the neutralization of the opposition *s* ↔ *z* in the word-final position), R Δ *чepec* 'belt' ¶ WP I 423, P 579, EI 224 (?***kerd-**), Vn. C 238-9, Bern. I 148, ESSJ IV 76-7 ||

HS: S *^oḳurṭ- > Sr **كُرْتَة** ḳur't-ā {Br.} 'cingulum, tunica', {PS} 'pallium, tegumentum e lana', {JPS} 'a woolen jacket with wide sleeves; a long wrapper'; Sr ḳur't-ā ⇨ NPrs {Sg.} **كُرْتَة** korte 'tunic, waistcoat, jacket', d. **كُورْتَاك** kortäk 'short tunic' and (through Prs) Ar **قُرْطَاق** qurṭaq- 'e a garment (vestis tunicæque species)', {BK} 'e tunique' ¶ Br. 695, JPS 498, PS 3562, Sg. 1021, Fr. IV 427, BK II 716 ¶ S *^oḳurṭ- < **ḳurt- is due to as. || **K:** GZ *ḳwart- 'e garment' > OG ḳwarti 'long shirt', Mg, Lz ḳurta 'underpants' ¶ FS K 177, FS E 194, Chik. 178 || **A:** NaT *Kur (= *k'ur?) ~ *^oKurt 'belt' > OT qur, Tk kūr, Uz Δ, Tv, Tf qur, Yk kur, SY qur ~ qor 'belt', ET qur qušaq 'adorned belt', Qrg, Alt, Qmn/Tb {B} qur, Xk χur 'belt; lace, braid (завязка, тесьма)', Qzq, Qq qūrt 'woolen band that fastens together lattices of a tent' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 150-2, Ra. 222
 ◇ The absence of labiality in IE *k- can be explained by loss of the expected glide *^u before the sonant *r (F AD NVIE, AD NGIE - on the pre-history of the IE vowels). In T *Kur we may suppose the loss of the reflex of N *t in a word-final cns. cluster. The lenis T *k- for the expected fortis *k'- has not yet been explained.

1193. *ḳUR₁ṽ₁t₁ 'summit, top' > **K:** G ḳorṭox-i 'hill, a height' ¶ Chx. 614 ¶¶ as. N *ḳ...t > ḳ...t || **HS:** CS *ka|itar- 'top, headgear' > Ar kaṭr- ~ kiṭr- 'camel's hump', BHb **כַּתָּר** 'kaṭer, JA [Trg.] **כַּתָּר** ka'tar / **כַּתָּרָא** kiṭ'r-ā 'crown, high turban (of the Persian king), head-dress (of a horse)', Cn ⇨ Gk κίταρις ~ κίταρις 'e Persian head-dress' (prob. 'tiara'), [Hs.] κίταρις · διάδημα ὃ φοροῦσι Κύπριοι 'diadem worn by Cypriots'; BHb **כַּתָּרָא** ko'teret, Pun ktrt 'capital of a pillar' ¶ KB 482, KBR 506-7, HJ 548, LS 950, Lewy SFG 90, Ch. 529, Js. 682, WKAS K 46, BK II 860, Hv. 643 || B **^uḳrd > *^uḳrd v. 'finish' > Ah, ETwl, Ty aḳrəd id. ¶ Fc. 1768-9, GhA 71 || **IE:** NaIE *^oḳred- (or *^okred-?) ~ *^oḳ₁ord- 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N ***ḲärE** 'trunk, [piece of] wood' [q.v.]) > Gmc: Gt hrōt 'roof, house', ON hrót 'roof, garret', (*krod-s-t- >) OSx hrōst '(carcass of) rafters' ('Sparrenwerk'), AS hrōst id., 'perch', Dt roest 'hen-roost', NE roost; Gmc *xrēta- > MHG rāz, rāze 'funeral pile' ||| Sl *kōrda 'wood-pile' > OCS **кpaдa** krada 'funeral pile, (?) oven', {Mikl.} 'πυρά, rofus, κάμινος', RChS **кpaдa** krada 'funeral pile, bonfire, altar', Uk Δ 'κοροδα 'pile of fire-wood', Slv kráda id., '(bon)fire', OCz krada 'Feuerzeug, Leuchte', P Δ króda 'pile of sheaves in the field, shock' ¶ WP I 485-6, P 617-8, ≈σ EI 213 *kred or *krehd- 'framework, beams'), Sw. 94, Ho. 176, Ho. S 37, Fs.

270-1, Vr. 261, Ho. 176, Lx. 164, ESSJ XI 58-60 || ? D *kōt̥/*koṭt̥- 'summit, top' (×N *Ḳot̥ ▽ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N *Ḳ'a'dḲud ▽ 'tip, top').

1194. *ḲæR̥t̥ ▽ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' > HS: WS *✓Ḳr̥t̥ > Ar ✓qr̥t̥ G 'chop\cut into small pieces', Mh ✓Ḳr̥t̥ (pf. Ḳzrūt), Jb E ✓Ḳr̥t̥ (pf. Ḳḳ'rḳṭ) 'chop' ¶ BK II 714, Hv. 599, Jo. M 236-7 || K: G Ḳor̥t̥n- {Chx.} '(aus)hacken, (be-\ab-)rupfen, grob behauen', {DCh.} 'notch\chip wood (дѣлать насѣчку, насѣкать, нарубить)' (the same meaning already in eNG {SSO} Ḳor̥t̥na 'xet mcired daḳoda'), but G Ḳor̥t̥n- 'pinch, tear feathers with the beak' goes back to GZ *Ḳr̥t̥-w̥ḡ- v. 'pluck (out), nip' derived from GZ *Ḳer̥t̥/*Ḳr̥t̥- 'pluck out' (K² 90, 101-2) ¶ Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 ¶ The meaning 'to notch' suggests infl. of the reflexes of N *k̥äR̥t̥ ▽ 'cut (off), notch' || A: NaT *k'e|ärt̥- 'chop, crumble' > StAlt kert̥- 'chop into small pieces, crumble (sth. hard)', Xk кирт- kirt̥- 'chop, crumble'; (×N *k̥äR̥t̥ ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Tk kert̥-, Tkm, Ggz kert̥- v. 'notch', Az k̥ärtik n. 'notch' ¶ BT 81, BIG 77, ET KQ 54-5 || M *ker̥c̥i- v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (×N *ḲæR̥ḳ̥'i' 'cut into pieces, split, divide' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The unexpected ̥ in G needs explaining.

1195. *Ḳ'o'R̥t̥ ▽ 'flame' > HS: S *ḳur̥t̥- > Ar qur̥t̥- 'flame', {Hv.} 'blaze of fire' ¶ Fr. III 427, BK II 715, Hv. 599 || U: FU (attested in FV) *korta- v. 'scorch, singe' > FHm kort̥ta- 'singe (a slaughtered hog)', 'scorch' (of the sun) | pLp {Lr.} *k̥ōrt̥ē- vt. 'heat (on sun\fire), roast' > Lp: N {N} goar̥'det id., S {Hs.} goārd'edh vt. 'scorch, burn' (of sun, fire), 'sunburn', 'roast on fire', L {LLO} k̥ār̥t̥ē't̥ 'be hot' (the sun), Kld k̥ōārd̥'aḳ 'singe (a plucked bird)' | Er kur̥ta- ~ kir̥ta-, Mk кр̥х̥та- k̥äR̥'ta- 'scorch, be hot' (of the sun) | Chr B kor̥ḳe- 'fumigate (before a sacrifice\prayer)' || ? Sm: Slq NP k̥ūr̥ra, UO k̥ūr̥a v. 'singe (wood)' ¶ UEW 186-7, SK 220, It. #94, Lr. #481, Lgc. #2573, Hs. 634, TI 134-5, Ker. II 62 || IE: NaIE *ḳert̥- (or *ḳ̥ert̥-) > Gmc *xer̥θ- 'hearth' > OSx, OFrs her̥th, MDt her̥t̥, Dt haard̥ 'hearth, fireplace', OHG h̥er̥d̥ 'hearth, floor of a fireplace, home', {Kb.} 'oven, stove', AS heor̥p̥ 'hearth, fire, furnace', NE hear̥th ¶ The connections with L carbo 'charcoal' and OI k̥ūḳ̥ay- 'brennen machen' are more than qu. ¶ Ho. S 33, Ho. 157, Sw. 87, OsS 390, Schz. 164, Kb. 457, KM 304-5, P 571-2, M E I 385 ¶ The absence of labiality in IE *k- may be explained by supposing either a N etymon *ḲoR̥t̥u (> *Ḳur̥t̥u with subsequent loss of

the expected glide * μ before the sonant * r [due to the IE law of eliminating clusters of two sonants]) or N * $\text{K}ur\text{t}\mu$ (this against the FU ev. of * θ), \mathcal{F} AD NVIE, AD NGIE (on the pre-history of the IE vowels and on the conditions of the loss of the glide * μ in the prehistory of IE).

1196. * $\text{K}ERh_2\nabla\text{Z}\nabla$ (= * $\text{K}ERh\nabla\text{Z}\nabla$?) 'hornet, wasp' > K: G $\text{k}razana$ {Chx.} 'wasp', {NCh.} 'wasp, hornet', {TorT} id., 'botfly', {DCh.} 'bumblebee (шмель садовый)' \mathcal{J} Chx. 626, MRKL 377, 395, 806, DCh. 627, NCh. 253 || IE: NaIE * $\text{k}r\text{os-r/-en-}$ (= * $\text{k}r\text{as-r/en-}$) {P} 'hornet (Hornisse)' > L $cr\bar{a}br\bar{o}$ (< pre-L * $\text{k}r\bar{a}sr\bar{o}$ < * $\text{k}_o.rasron-$) 'hornet' || OHG $hornuz$, $horniz$, NHG Hornisse, Horlitze, AS $hyrnet(u)$ 'hornet', NE $hornet$ || Lt $\text{\textit{širšuõ}}$ (gen. $\text{\textit{šršeñs}}$) 'e wasp, hornet', $\text{\textit{širšė}}$ 'wasp', $\text{\textit{širšuonas}}$, $\text{\textit{širšūnas}}$ 'hornet', Ltv $sirsis$, Pru $sirsilis$ id. || Sl: OR $sr\text{\textit{š}}en\text{\textit{b}}$ ~ $\text{\textit{šr}\text{\textit{š}}en\text{\textit{b}}}$ 'σφῆξ, wasp', R, Uk 'шершень' 'hornet', RChS $str\text{\textit{š}}en\text{\textit{b}}$, $sr\text{\textit{š}}en\text{\textit{b}}$, Blg 'стършел, штърсел, SCr $str\text{\textit{š}}lj\bar{e}n$, Slv $sr\text{\textit{š}}en$, Cz $sr\text{\textit{š}}eň$, OP $sierszeń$, P $szerszeń$ id. || Tc B {Ad.} $kro(n)k\acute{s}e$ 'bee' (x N * $\text{K}'U'\text{\textit{h}}_2\nabla$ 'bee') \mathcal{J} P 576, Dv. #870, Kb. 480, KM 317, Ho. 184-5, Frn. 988, En. 248, Vs. IV 432, ≈σ EI 272-3 (* $\text{k}er\text{\textit{h}}_2sr\text{\textit{h}}$ 'horn'), Tls. 575. Ad. 217 || HS: S * $\text{ok}r\text{\textit{h}}$ > Mh $\text{\textit{k}zr\text{\textit{h}}}$ (pl. $\text{\textit{k}zr'\text{\textit{h}}ayn}$), Jb E/C $\text{\textit{k}e'r\text{\textit{h}}}$ (coll.) 'mosquito, bug' \mathcal{J} Jo. M 236 \diamond The most probable N Ir. (yielding NaIE * a and zero in S and K) is * h .

1197. * $\text{K}\hat{o}R_L\nabla\text{Z}_L\nabla\text{X}_L\nabla$ '≈ oak' > HS: S * $\text{ok}urz\nabla\text{h}$ - > Ar [Qam.] $qurzu\text{\textit{h}}$ - 'e tree' ({Fr.} 'nomen arboris') \mathcal{J} Fr. III 423 || B: BMn $a-k\bar{a}rr\bar{u}\acute{s}$ 'green oak' || K * $\text{k}r\text{\textit{h}}c\chi\nabla m\text{\textit{h}}$ - 'hornbeam, Carpinus caucasica' > OG $kr\text{\textit{h}}eml-$, G $c\chi ila$, G Δ $c\chi emla$, $rc\chi emla$, Mg $c\chi emur-$ ~ $c\chi imur-$, Lz $c\chi emu(r)-$, $mc\chi ubr-$, Sv $c\chi a\text{\textit{h}}m-ra$ ~ $c\chi um-ra$ ~ $c\chi wim-ra$ (Sv -ra is a tree-designation sx.) $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ K 200, K² 219, FS K 402-3 (* $c\chi eml-$) || IE: [1] NaIE * $\text{k}^wres-(no-)$ 'e tree' ('oak?'), 'wood' (x N * $\text{k}uyr\nabla$ 'wood [Holz], log') > Gk $\text{\textit{pr}\text{\textit{h}}nos}$ (< * $\text{k}^wrs-nos-s$) 'evergreen oak (Ilex)' or 'scarlet oak (Quercus coccifera)' || Gl [GIE] $pr\text{\textit{h}}enne$ accus. 'arborem grandem (e)', W, Cm, Br $pr\text{\textit{h}}enn$ 'tree, wood (Holz)'; OIr $crann$ (gen. $cruin$) id.; W $prys$ 'Gehölz' (< * $\text{k}^wrs-to-$) || OSx, OHG, MLG $horst$ ~ $hurst$, AS $hyrst$ 'Gebüsch, Gehölz', NE $hurst$ 'a grove or wooden knoll', OHG $hurst$ 'Gebüsch, Gestrüpp, thicket'; Gmc $\text{\textit{h}} \rightarrow$ Sl * $\text{xvorst\text{\textit{b}}}$ > ChS $\text{\textit{xv}rastije}$, R 'хворост' 'brushwood', OSCr, SCR Δ $hr\text{\textit{a}}\acute{s}\acute{c}e$ 'oaks', Slv $hr\text{\textit{a}}st$ 'oak' \mathcal{J} WP I 524 (* $\text{k}^wres-no-$), P 632 (* $\text{k}wres-$ / * $\text{k}wers-$ with * $\text{k}w-$ reconstructed on the dubious ev. of Sl

ǵvorstǵ*, which he interprets as an inherited word), EI 598 (k^wresno-*s 'tree, brushwood'), F II 595, Vn. C 222-3, Billy 121, Ho. 185, Kb. 492, ESSJ VIII 130-1 (considers the Sl stem to be onomatopoeic) ||| [2] Possibly also NaIE {EI} **k^wrsto-~*k^wrsti-* 'woods' > W *prys* 'woods', OHG *horst*, AS *hyrst* 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595 ◇ In the IE roots the reflex of the N lr. was lost (possibly due to some restrictions of root structure) ◇ Attention is to be paid also to Ar *qirḡiḡ-*, name of a rare tree ('arbore rarae nomen in deserto crescentis, cuius flores flaviores sunt') (Fr. III 426), in spite of the phonetic irregularity: Ar *حڨ حڨ* does not correspond to K **c*. The non-emph. **k-* in B and K (for the expected B **ḡ-*, K **ḡ-*) is still to be explained.

1198. **ḡærḡi* 'cut into pieces, split, divide' > HS: S **ḡrḡ* '≈ cut, trim' > Ar *ḡrḡ* (pf. *qaraḡa*, ip. *-ḡruḡu*) 'couper, retrancher en coupant', {Hv.} 'curtail', Ug *ḡrḡ* {A} 'eine Abteilung, Wohnung oder Park', {OLS} 'reservado' → 'apartamento; capilla\alcoba sagrada; morada', Ak *ḡrḡ* (inf. *ḡarāḡu*) {CAD} v. 'trim\carve (meat), make dough into loaves (?)', {Sd.} 'zerschneiden' ¶ BK II 711, Hv. 598, A #2461, OLS 373, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 128 ||| K: G (*mi*)*ḡerḡ-* v. 'allot so. his share' ({Chx.}: '(jemandem etwas) zuteilen, (jemandem) seinen Anteil zukommen lassen'), *ḡerḡo(v)-* v. 'separate, isolate' ¶ Chx. 570 ||| A: M **kerḡi-* v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N **ḡærḡ* 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N **ḡvrḡ* 'to cut') > WrM *kerḡi-*, HIM *хэрчи-* v. 'cut, slice', Kl *kerč-* id., {Rm.} id., 'chop into pieces', Ord *ḡerḡi-*, Mnr H {T} *kirḡi-*, {SM} *k'irḡi-* 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx *kič-* v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M ⇨ Ewk *kərḡi-*, Ul *kərḡu/i-*, Nn *kərḡi-* 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', WrMc *kerḡi-* 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, SM 204, T 339, T DnJ 123, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4.

1199. **ḡarḡ* '(sharp) stick, peg' > HS: B **ḡari-* 'stick' > Skn {La.} *ta-ḡari-t* (pl. *t-ḡar-ta*), Nf {Mot., La.} *ta-ḡri-t* 'stick (bâton)', Gd {Lf.} *ta-ḡri-t* (pl. *ta-ḡerḡ-ēn*), {CM} *ta-ḡri-t* (pl. *taḡurḡin*) id., Snd {Prov.} *ta-ḡri-t* (pl. *ti-ḡarḡ-in*), Awj {Par.} *tāḡarīt* (pl. *tḡariwīn*) id., Ntf {La.} *ta-ḡri-t* 'pilon du mortier' ¶ Lf. II #1240, La. S 201, La. MChB 30, Mot. 104, Prov. 101, Par. A 160 || S **ḡkrk* > Ug *krk*, (syllabic script) *ku-re-ku*, pl. *ku-re-ka-at* {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S **ḡkrk* >

Mh kəršədūt, Jb E kər'šə'dət, Jb C kər'šə'dət 'knobbed club' [< N *kořû 'stick, log']?) ¶ OLS 223, Hnr. 140 (Ug ku-re-ka-at [?]), Grd. #1303 || D (in SD) *kař• ({řGS} *k-) 'pointed stick, stake' > MI kařu, kařuku 'stake for impaling malefactors', Tm kařu id., 'sharp-pointed pieces of wood strung around cow's neck; trident', Td k0'w 'point, pointed stick, wooden skewer, peg', Kn kař, kařu 'an instrument for perforating an elephant's ear' ¶ D #1361 || A: M *°qaraŋga 'long front teeth of domestic animals, small arrow' > WrM qaraŋga, HIM xapaŋga id., 'thunderbolt' ¶ MED 934 || T: Tv xarbīla 'arrow'; NaT *k'armak ~ *k'armuk 'hook', Tkm garmaq, Osm qarmuq, Tk karmuk 'hook', Chg {Rl.} قارماق qarmaq, Az garmaq, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, VTt, Bsh, SbTt B/Tb/Tr (Rl.), Tlt/Qb/Sag {Rl.} qarmaq, Qrg, Alt qarmaq, ET qa(r)maq, Ln qaɣmaq 'hook, fishing-rod', Qq, Alt qarmaq, Uz qarmuq, Xk xarmax, QK/Shor/Sag/Qb {Rl.} qarbaq, QK {B} qarbiq 'fishing-rod', Tv xarmaq 'fishing hook', Tv Δ qarmaq 'fishing rod' ¶ Tv Δ qarmaq 'fishing rod' with an unexpected q- (unlike in Tv xarmaq 'hook') may be a loan from another T lge. ¶ ET KQ 309-10, Rl. II 214-9, TvR 230, 470, OTS 243, 630, KRPS 294, RKB 653 ¶ Depalatalization N *ř > T *r in precons. position (Helimski's law).

1200. ₂ *k'ǎ'ǎ'ǎ 'be full, fill' > K: G qor- 'ein Loch in der Mauer ausfüllen, mit Bruchstein ausmauern; sich den Bauch füllen, sich voll(fr)essen' ¶ Chx. 1713 || D *kař- ({řGS} *k-?) 'be full, overspread' > Tm kařumu 'be full, abundant', Tl krammu 'spread, extend, overspread', Kui garžā 'spread out, increase' ¶¶ D #1368 ◇ G 0 still needs explaining.

1201. *Kōř'ǎ'ǎ'E 'ε a gallinacean' > IE: NaIE *k_lω₁ouř(0)- 'ε a gallinacean fowl' > OI 'cakorah' 'Perdix rufa' (< reduplicated *k_lω₁ek_lω₁ouřo-) || SI *kurъ 'cock' > OCS, OR **кourъ** kurъ, Blg, Uk, R Δ кур, SCr Δ kūr, Slk kūr, P kur id.; ⇨ SI *kur-a 'hen' > Slv kúra, OCz kura, kúra, Cz Δ kura, koura, HLs, LLs, P kura, OR **кourа** kura, R Δ кyра, R pl. 'кyры, R d. 'кyрица, Uk, Blr 'кyра 'hen'; SI compound *kuro-рѣтѣ 'partridge' (gen. *kuro-рѣтѣve) (with *рѣтѣ 'bird') > SCr †, Slk †, Cz Δ kuroptva, OCz kurotva, Cz kuroptev (gen. kuroptve), P kuropatwa, Uk кyро'патва, OR **кyропатка** kuropatka, R, Blr кyро'патка 'partridge', Slv kurnprat 'Scolopax rusticola' ¶ Ptrs. TPN 133, Bern. I 650-1, ≈ WP I 332, P 536 (*kaur- ⇨ 0 *kau-/keu-), EI 112, ≈ M K I 365, Vs. II 422,

ESSJ XIII 118, 127-30 (rejects the connection between the OI and SI roots and considers them onomatopoeic) || HS: CS *ḡāriḡ- (or *ḡawriḡ-?) 'partridge' (secondary association with the verb √ḡrḡ 'cry, exclaim') > BHb אָרִיב קָרִיב 'partridge', Ar qāriyat- 'partridge (Ammoperdix heyi)', 'bee-eater (Merops apiaster)', {Hv., BK} 'short-legged and long-beaked green bird' ¶ KB 1056, KBR 1132, Hv. 603, BK II 731 || Ch: WCh *k^ωḡar / *k[∇]ḡar / *kur- 'fowl' (× N *kor_ḡḡ '∈ a gallinacean', q.v. ffd.) || A (× N *kor_ḡḡ '↑', q.v.): M *qoru 'wild gallinacean fowl' || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' || D *kōrī, {GS} *kōr- 'gallinaceous fowl' > Tm kōrī id., Ml kōrī, Kt ko·y, Td kwī·ḡy, kwī·y, Kdg ko·jī, Tu kōrī, kōjī, Tl kōḡī, Gnd ḡōḡōrī ≋ gugōrī ≋ ḡhōḡrī ≋ ḡōḡr 'fowl', Kn kōrī 'cock, hen', 'fowl' (generic) ¶¶ D #2248, GS 173 [#433].

1202. *ḡoyaḡ_ḡi 'fat, tallow' > HS: S *^o-ḡ[∇]r- (*^o-ḡwārr-) < Ar √ḡwr (XI stem) (pf. ḡiqwārr-, ip. -a-ḡwārr-) 'be fat' (of person), muḡawwar- 'fat' ¶ Fr. III 513-4, BK II 833 || A *k_ḡḡarw- > T {Md.} *k_ḡḡarī > NaT *k'azī n. 'fat on a belly' > OT qazi 'fat on a horse's belly; rolls of fat on a man's belly', Bsh казъи қабъ, Alt, Tv, Tf qazi, Xk ḡazi, Yk ḡaha 'fat on a horse's belly', Nog, Qzk, Qq, Qrg qazi, ET qezī 'fat on a horse's belly, sausage made from such fat', Uz qazi 'horse-flesh sausage', Bsh Δ қабъ 'rolls of fat on a man's belly'; T ⇨ NPrs غازی ḡāzī {Sg.} 'sheep's chitterlings stuffed with spiceries', {VI.} 'intestina adipalia rebus necessariis referta; genus alimentorum incularum Turaniae' || Chv L jur-var 'meat\milk\eggs as food; any food other than bread' (var ÷ OT üz 'fat', F Cl. 278-9) ¶ Cl. 681, Rs. W 243, Md. 169, ET KQ 189-80, Ash. IV 352, Fed. II 490-1, Ra. 220, Dr. TM III 359-60 [#1356], S AJ 199 [#285], BM 121, Vl. II 596, Sg. 878 || M *qarbiḡ > WrM qarbiḡ, HIM харвин 'the fat of the abdomen of an animal', Kl Ö {Rm.} ḡarwḡ id. ¶ MED 935, KW 24 || pKo {S} *k_ḡḡarī-m n. 'fat' > MKo k_ḡḡarīm, NKo k_ḡḡarīm ¶ S AJ 252 [#28], S QK #28, Nam 78, MLC 359 ¶¶ Pp. VG 87 (unc. adduction of Tg *kalbiḡ > Ewk kalbiḡ 'Fettpolster unterhalb), S AJ 296 [#552], Dr. TM III [#1356] || D *koḡ_ḡḡ ({GS} *k-) > Tm koḡu adj./n. 'fat', Ml koḡu adj. 'fat', Td kwaḡp 'fat', Kn korvu, korbu v. 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl k(r)ovvu 'become fat', 'fat', Klm, Nkr koru, Kui k_ḡḡoga n. 'fat', Prj koḡ(v)-, Gnd korū- 'be(come) fat', Knd koḡvu, Mnd k_ḡḡuva, Ku korowa 'fat of animals' ¶¶ D #2146, Zv. 148.

1203. ₂ ***ḲUŠE** 'grown-up man, old (person)' > **HS:** CS ***ḱašš-** 'old (man)', ***√ḱšš** v. 'be old', ***ḱaššīš-** 'old' (× N ***ḱac** ▽ 'grey [esp. of hair], white') > MHb, Sr **ḱaš** 'has become old, is old' (WS new pf. of the verb **√ḱšš** < pS predicative adj. ***kašša** 'is old'), JEA **𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢** **ḱašš-ā** {Lv.} 'senior, senator, hoher Beamter der Regierung', {Sl.} 'elder', Sr **ḱašš-ā**, Ar **qass-**, Sb **ḱšš** 'Christian priest', Gz **qass** 'priest, presbyter', JA [Trg.], JEA **√ḱšš** v. 'grow old', MHb, JEA **𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢** **ḱaššīš** 'old', Htr, Plm **ḱšš** 'old man, elder' ¶ HJ 1039, Lv. IV 394-5, 400-1, BK II 735, L T II 395, Sl. 1048, 1050-1, Br. 702, L G 447 ¶ Ar **qass-** and Gz **qass** were semantically influenced by Sr **ḱaš** || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} **kʷasá** 'old (person)' | SBc: Tule {Sh.} **kʷōšī** 'person' | NrBc: Sir {Kr.} **kísíḡmúvwēr** 'old man', **kísíḡgùt** 'old woman', Zar K {Sh.} **kìsnì** 'old' ||| CCh: ZmB {J} **kásá** 'old' ¶ JI II 266, Nt. 22, ChL I 209, ChC || **A** ({SDM95} ***kʷuse** 'hunter, man'): Tg ***xüse** 'man, person' (× N ***Ḳülyš** ▽ ~ ***Ḳüʔiš** ▽ 'look for, desire') > Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B **xus3** 'man, male (animal, person)', Ewk **is3gdin** **ḱ** **ih3gdin**, Lm **is3rd3** 'person, hunter', Neg **is3gdin** 'hunter' ¶ STM II 332, 336.

1204. ₂ ***ḲuS** ▽ 'nut' > **IE:** NaIE ***kos(e)lo-** (or ***k̑kos(e)lo-**) 'hazel' > L **corulus** 'hazel-tree', **colurnus** 'made of hazel-wood' ||| Clt {SB} ***koslo-** 'hazel' > Gl **koslo-** id. (in proper names), OIr, OW **coll**, W **collen** 'hazel', Crn **col-widen** 'hazel', OBr **col-guid** 'made of hazel-wood' ||| ON **hasl**, OHG **hasal(a)**, NHG **Hasel**, AS **hæsel** 'hazel', NE **hazel** ¶ WPI 464, P 616, EI 260 (***kos(e)lo-s**), Frdr. PITA 73-7, WH I 280, Dv. #822, SB 92, Vn. C 157-8, Flr.114, YGM-1 97, Vr. 213, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Ho. 146 ¶¶ The absence of the expected glide ***u** (***koušelo-** ~ ***kyušelo-** > ***kʷošelo-**) is still to be accounted for || **A:** NaT ***Kusik** 'nut' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} **qušiq** 'pine kernel', Alt {BT}, QK/Qmn {B} **күзүк quzuq**, Xk **χuzuχ** 'nut', Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} **quzuq** 'cedar nut' ¶ Cl. 667, Rl. II 1019-20, BT 94, B DChT 131, B DK 227, BIG 291, Dr. TM III #1490 || M ***qusi-(gan)** 'nut' > WrM **qusi-gan** (pl. **qosi-d**), HIM **хушга** 'nut, walnut', Ord **qušiga** 'noix' ¶ MED 991, Ms. O 317 || Tg: [1] ***xusi-kta** 'acorn, nut' > Ud {Krm.} **uhikta**, Ul **osta**, Nn Nh **χosaqta** ~ **osaqta** 'acorn', WrMc **ušiḡa** 'fruit with a hard shell and an edible kernel (walnut, acorn, chestnut, etc.)', ? (× N ***Ḳülyš** ▽ 'tree'): Ewk **usikta** 'oak' (if ← 'acorn') |[2] {SDM97} ***kosi-kta** ~ ***koçi-kta** (with ***k-** and ***ç** due to contamination with another **√?**) (= {SDM97} ***koši-kta**) 'nut tree, walnut tree' > WrMc **χušiḡa** 'walnut tree', Ewk

koçikta 'nut tree', Ud kusikta 'Manchu walnut', Ul qačļaqta 'nut', Ne Nh qoçoa, Ne KU qoçiqā, Ne B koco ~ kocoā 'Manchu walnut' ¶ STM I 419 and II 291, Z 437, Krm. 303 || pJ {S} *kusi > OJ {S} kusi '€ nut', ? {Vv.} kusa 'seed' ¶ S QJ #975 ¶¶ DQA #935 (T, M, Tg *kosi-kta, J) ◇ ≈ AD NM #56 (IE, T, Tg + unj.: M *qusi 'cedar' [in fact from N *kuly₁š₁∇ 'tree'] and OLT kasulas 'Jägerspieß' [after Ndr., WH, and P]), S CNM 10-1, Vv. AEN 3.

1205. *KUs∇ 'to bend, to bow' > HS: S *^oka₁wš-, **ka₁wšat- (> *kaš₁a₁t-) 'shooting bow' > Ar qa₁ws- id.; *kaš₁a₁t- id. > Hb קַשְׁטָה 'kaššəṭ, Ug kš₁t, JA [Trg.] קַשְׁטָה 'kaššəṭ, אֶתְּ קַשְׁטָה kaš't-ā, JEA kaš'tā, SmA קַשְׁטָה kš₁t, (Arabicised) Hmr [Hmd.] {Slw.} qas₁d-, Gz kš₁t, Ak kaš₁tu(m) 'bow' ¶ KBR 1155-6, OLS 377, Lv. T II 395, Sl. 1051, Tal 806, BK II 834, Hv. 633, Slw. 178, L G 447 || Eg fP kš₁y ({EG} kš₁j) 'bend down, bow down' ¶ EG V 139, Fk. 287 || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} ksá₁všà v. 'bend' ¶ ChC || **U**: FU *^ok¹U¹sk∇- > Prm *kòsk∇- v. 'bend' > Vt kos¹kam 'cramps, contracting, bending' ¶ ≠ LG 155 || **D** (in SD) *kuč¹(č¹)- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'bend, stoop' (> 'contract, shrink') > Ka kus₁ v. 'bend, stoop, be lowered, hang down, sink', Tu kus₁i₁yuni, kus₁i₁puni, kus₁i₁puni 'to contract, to shrink in', Krg kus₁ 'below' ¶ D #1636.

1206. *küš∇ 'breathe heavily' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'pant, sigh, moan') > K *k₁wes-/*k₁us- v. 'moan' > OG k₁unes- id. (< d. *k₁us-en-with mt.), G k₁us-un- ~ k₁rus-un- (-r- of ideophonic origin?), Mg k₁us-an-s '(he) moans', k₁us-ap 'to moan', Lz k₁us-ap-s '(he) moans', a-k₁us-u 'to moan', Sv k₁wec- v. 'moan' ¶¶ K² 94, FS K 182-3, FS E 200, K 117, Chik. 300, GM S 48 || **HS**: C: Ag: Xm {R} k₁āž- v. 'breathe' || NrOm: Kf {C} kaš¹(i)- v. 'breathe', Mch {L} kaš₁a v. 'rest', Kf {C} kaš₁ō, Shn {C} kaš₁ō 'respiro', {Lm.} kašš¹- 'ausruhen', {CR} 'k₁āssō 'breath', Anf {MYTY} kaš₁ō, {C} kaš₁ō id., Hrr {CR} k₁āc- v. 'breathe' ¶ C SE IV 463, MYTY 118, ≠ Lm. Sh 332 ¶¶ AD SF 292 || **IE**: NaIE *k₁wes-/*k₁us- v. 'sigh, pant, breathe heavily' > OI 'ś₁vas₁iti 'blows, snorts, hisses', Av suš₁i du. 'the lungs', NPrs شش¹ šš¹ 'lung(s)' || L queror / quer₁ / questus sum v. 'complain, lament, bewail' || ON hvæs₁a 'hiss, sizzle, snort', {Vr.} 'zwischen, schnauben', AS hwæst n. act. 'blowing (Blasen)' || Tc B kwæs- 'lament, bewail' ¶ P 631-2, M K III 401, WH II 403-4, Vr. 274, Ho. 179, Ad. 237, EI 82 and 518 (*k₁wesH-mi 'breathe deeply, sigh' with unc. *H) || **D** *kuč¹- ({ǵGS} *k-?) v. 'whisper' > Tm kucukucu-

MI kuśukuśukku id., Kn kucu, kusa, kusu 'a sound imitating whispering', TI gusagusa 'whisper', Gnd kuskusa var̥k- vrb. clc. 'whisper' (var̥k- v. 'say'), Krx kusmusʔanā 'to whisper'; D ↗ (?) InA *kʰusu-kʰus∇- v. 'whisper' > Prkr khususkhusa id., etc. ¶¶ D #1638
 ◇ K 117 (K, IE).

1207. *Ḳü̯j̯,ṣ̯∇ – *Ḳü̯ʔiṣ̯∇ 'look for, desire', (← ?) 'be hungry?') > IE: NaIE *^ok̥|kwaj̯s- or *^ok̥|kwaj̯s- (or *^okʷa|aj̯s-) > L quaer- / pfc. quaesīvi ~ quaesī / pp. quaesīto-/-ā 'look for, ask (a question)' ¶¶ Acc. to Ped. KG II 487ff., cognate with OIr cí- (sc. ad-cí- 'see', for-cí- 'look'), which is rejected by Vn C 89-91 ¶ WP II 480, WH II 396-7 || **HS:** WS *^oḱ̥d 'look for' > Jb E/C ^oḱ̥d G 'look for', Mh ^oḱ̥d 'seek sth. out', ? Ug kšd 'look for' ('buscar'), but not here Ug kšd 'reach' ('alcanzar'), which goes back to S *^oḱ̥d (> Ak kašādu 'erreichen, ankommen; erobern') ¶ Jo. M 239, OLS 229, Sd. 459-61 || B *^oḱ̥sH 'want, wish, love' (× N *Ḳas̯ʔ,ṣ̯∇ 'be hungry, wish', q.v. ffd.) || WCh ({Stl.} *ḡuzi, *^oḡuzim 'hunger'): Kfr {Nt.} kəzəm 'hunger' | Bl {Lk.} kuzum, Krkr {Lk.} kúzəm, Pr {Frz.} kóžəm, {ChL} kʷúžəm, Ngm {ChL} kizî, {Sch.}: Dr kíyím, Glm gúšì, Gera kúzúmí, Grm kúžú, Bele gúhì, Krf kúšúnù 'hunger', Tng {J} kúm 'hunger, famine', Krf kúšúm àmmá, Bele guž-àmmà 'thirst' (lit. 'hunger of water [àmmá, àmmà]) | SBc {Sh.}: Bg kustum, Kir kùsəmšimé, Zul gúzúmí, Plc gúzúm, Gj kúzəŋ, Zar K kusɯn 'hunger' | Ngz {Sch.} ḡəžì, Bd {ChL} əgžān 'thirst' | possibly here: Hs ḱíšì 'thirst', ḱíšírwā id. (ʔSk.: = ḱíši-rūwā 'thirst of water' [rūwā is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G kísíruwa, Gw Ch kʷíhʷíruwa 'thirst'; but more probably these Hs-Gw words belong to N *Ḳas̯ʔ,ṣ̯∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707], J T 104, Sch. BTL 29, 56, 83, 117, 147, Sch. DN 59, Frz. P 36, ChC, ChL, Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD #247, ≈ Sk. HCD 172 ¶ There is no proof that Stl.'s pWCh *ḡ and *^oḡ are indeed uvular rather than velar || **A:** T *k'üse- 'wish, desire, long for' > OT küse- id., MQp XIII küse- 'long for', XwT XIII, Nog küse- 'wish', Qq küse- 'wish, long for', Uz kusa-, Qrg küsö- 'wish, want', Tv küze- (inf. küzār) id., 'dream of' ¶ Cl. 749, KrkR 345, NogR 225, UzR 225, Jud. 472, TvR 269 || M *küse- v. 'wish' > MM [MA] küse- id., WrM küse-, HIM xycə- v. 'wish, desire, long for, crave', Kl κycπ küsəl n. 'wish, goal' ¶ Pp. MA 230, MED 508, KRS 329 || Tg: [1] Tg *^oḱ̥j̯s- > Ewk uslɜ- v. 'go hungry, collapse from hunger' ¶ STM II 291 |[2] Tg *^oḱ̥j̯üse- > Ewk išiganil-, Sln išigə- 'be anxious, worry about'; possibly also *ḱ̥j̯üse- (+ sx.) 'hunter,

person' (× N ***ḲUṢE** 'grown-up man, old [person]') > Nn Nh xus3gžž, Neg is3gdin 'hunter', Ewk is3gdin 𐌺 ih3gdin, Lm is3rd3 'hunter; person', Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B xus3 'man (vir), male'; the semantic filiation is 'wish' → (1) 'be anxious', (2) 'hunt, hunter' → 'vir' ¶ STM I 332, 336 || pJ {S} *k3s- v. 'wish' > OJ -k0s- (sx. of the volitive verb form) ¶ QJ #1382 ¶¶ Tg *x- points to pA *k'- (the reg. reflex of N ***Ḳ**), while Tv k- suggests pT *k' (which is at variance with the phonetic rules known so far) ¶¶ DQA #1106 (*k'jũse- 'wish').

1208. *Ḳas_ḷṽ 'be hungry, wish' > IE *kes- 'be hungry' > Ht kast-, kist- 'hunger, starvation, famine' || pTc *kest > Tc: A kaṣt, B kest 'hunger' || Iir: OI 'kṣut / kṣudh- 'hunger', 'kṣudhyati 'feels hungry', Av ṣud- 'hunger' ¶¶ EI 284 (*Kos-t- 'hunger'), Pv. IV 121-3, Ts. EI 535-6, Wn. 189, Ad. 199, JGH 223, Pch. 55, M K I 291-2, M E I 440 || HS: B **✓kṣH (× N ***Ḳü_ḷṽ** ~ ***Ḳü_ḷiṽ** 'look for, desire') > *✓yṣH v. 'want, wish, love' > Izn əχs (pf. yəχs, hab. əqqas), Rf T/Wr/A əχs id., Wrg {Dlh.} əχs (pf. iχsa), Mz {Dlh.} əχs (hab. yəqqas) 'want, love', Si əχs (pf. yəχsa ~ iχsa), Nf yṣ v. 'love, want', Awj {Par.} a'yäš v. 'love' ¶ Rn. 366, Dlh. Ou 372, Dlh. M 155, La. S 192 || EC: Or {Th.} ḳač0 'hunger, appetite', ḳač0č- ~ ḳač0t- 'be hungry, have appetite', ḳač0ttu 'hungry' (Or -č- < *-sʔ-?) ¶ Th. 266 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} košay- 'venir fame', košā n. 'hunger', Dc {LmS} kōšā id., Wl {LmS} kōšā id., 'famine, starvation', Dwr k0č-et- 'be hungry' ¶ Mrn. O 149, LmS 418 || ?σ S *°✓kšš or *°✓kss > Ar ✓qss (pf. qassa) 'chercher, rechercher, poursuivre qn. avec persistance' ¶ BK I 795 || Ch: WCh: Hs ḳišš 'thirst', ḳišširwā id. (†Sk.: = ḳišširūwā 'thirst of water' [rūwā is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G kísíruwa, Gw Ch k'íh'íruwa 'thirst' ¶ Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD #247, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707] (*ḡuži 'hunger', adduces words belonging to N ***Ḳas_ḷṽ** 'be hungry, wish' and to N ***ḡUḷṽ** 'wish, b hungry') ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 172 || U (before vw. harmony) **kase-, **kaske- > FP *kāse- ~ *kāske- v. 'want, order' > F kāske-, Es kāski- v. 'order, command' || pChr {Ber.} *küštā- > Chr: L küšt-aš id., E {Ps.} küšt- v. 'command (befehlen)' || Prm: [1] *kōs- ({LG *kōs-}) > Z k3sy+- v. 'want, wish', [2] (with delabialization) *ke|es- > Vt k0s- v. 'compel, order', StZ kesy3d- v. 'charge (with some work), Z UV kesy3t- id. ¶ UEW 653, Sm. 552 (FP *kāski- 'order'), Ber. 28, MRS 264, PsS 58, ≈ It. #250, ≈ LG 122-3, 143, Rd. rLG 423 ¶ The final part *-ke is likely to be a sx., otherwise the Vt verb k0s- cannot be explained ◇ Ht

kas t- proves that no N lr. other than *ʔ may have followed *s, while B *✓yʁsh (with *H reconstructed on the ev. of vowels: pf. Si yəχsa ~ iχsa, Wrg iχsa) points to a N lr. *ʔ ◊ The IE velar *k- suggests that the N vw. was *a; if so, FP *ä is due to vw. harmony.

1209. *kōś₁H₂∇ 'to kindle' > K: GZ *k̄wes- 'strike fire' > G k̄ves-, Mg k̄vas- id., OG k̄ves- 'steel', na-k̄ves- 'spark' ¶ FS K 199, K² 94 (err. GZ *k̄weš-), ≠ K 111 (rejected by K²), Chx. 579 || D (in NED) *kō(č)č- v. 'burn, catch fire' (×N *k|gog₁U₁žE₁ʔ∇₁ 'set fire to, burn [sth.]') > Krx xoss-/xuss- v. 'burn without flame, catch fire, (fire) catches', Mlt qose v. 'be burnt, burn', qos-tre vt. 'burn', 'inflame' ¶ D #2042, Pf. 189 [#92] || IE: NaIE *ks̄- (or *k^ωs̄-) v. 'burn' (×N *k|gog₁U₁žE₁ʔ∇₁) > OI 'kṣāyati vi. 'burns', kṣā'ti f. 'singeing, heat', caus. kṣā'payati 'makes (sth.) burn' || ???σ Arm gwul c^haw 'pain', gwunlu c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion', aor. gwutaw c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̄sāp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̄s-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WPI 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ◊ IE *k- or *k^ω- (rather than *g- or *g^ω-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K₁^ω₁s-.

1210. ₂ *k̄Uśd∇ 'to chop, to cut' > HS: WS *✓k̄çd > Ar ✓qçd (ip. -qçudu), ✓qçd G, D 'casser un morceau de bois', {Hv.} vt. 'break asunder', Mh ✓k̄çd (pf. k̄ç'şawd), Jb C/E ✓k̄çd (pf. 'k̄ç'şçd, Jb C sbjn. 'yçk̄ççd) v. 'chop (sth. big)', Hrs ✓k̄çd (pf. k̄çşōd, sbjn. yçk̄çōd) v. 'chop', Jb C k̄ççd v. 'lop, chop' ¶ BK II 748, Hv. 608, Jo. M 239, Jo. H 78, Jo. J 151-2 || K *k̄wešt-/k̄wšt- v. 'chop, cut off' > OG k̄wet- (k̄uet-), G k̄vet-/k̄vt-, Mg, Lz k̄vat- id., Sv d.: UP me-k̄wšđe, L mek̄wešd, Ln mek̄wešdte 'short' ¶¶ K 111 (*k̄we(s₁)t-), ≈ K² 92 (*k̄wet-/k̄wt-), ≈ FS K 180 (*k̄wet-), TK 563 ◊ This is one of the roots suggesting the law: pre-K *st, *št, *št > K *št (= {K} *(s₁)t > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd): S *ʁašarat- → K *ašt- 'ten', S *χamišat- → K *χušt- 'five', N *š∇t∇w∇ 'cold weather' (> S *šitaw- 'winter') > K *štow- v. 'snow' (-d → *štow| - 'snow'), ? N *d∇št∇ 'moon' > K *d|tušte- id.

1211. *KĒŪ (↔ *K'ü'š∇?) 'to skin, to tear' > HS: S *°✓k̄šw (×N *Kōž∇ 'to skin, to bark [wood]') > Ar ✓qšw (ip. -qšū) 'peler un morceau de bois et le dégrossir; ôter la peau à un serpent' ¶ Fr. III 448, BK II 744, Hv. 607 || B *✓wks > Sll {Ds.} k̄k̄is 'enlever, ôter', BSn {Ds.} əkkəs (pf. 3m iksu) id., 'arracher' ¶ Ds. 110, Ds. B 16, 115, 256 || U:

FU *küš[∇]-/*keš[∇] (< *keš^U?) v. 'tear, bark, flay' > pPrm {LG} *kōś- ({LG} *kōś-) v. 'rind, tear' > Vt keś-'(zer-)reißen, spalten, zerschneiden', Prmk kōś- v. 'rind', Z LL kōś- v. 'tear, rind', Yz 'kuś-aI- v. 'tear' ||| pObU *kūš-/ *kūš- > pVg {Ht.} *k^ωīš- ({Stn.} *kūš-) > Vg LK küštāl- 'abziehen (Birkenrinde), loslösen (den Fisch aus dem Netz)', NV k^ωän-kūšap- 'sich lösen (z. B. der Hund)', pOs *kös- ({JHL.} *kōš-) '(zer-, nieder)reißen' > Os V kōs-, Ty kōš-, Y kōš- | OHg XIV kŭzwygnufch ~ kuzuenus, Hg köszvény, Δ köszven ∂ köszfin 'gout, podagra' (← *'limb-tearing illness') ¶ UEW 151-2, It. #370, LG 135, MF 376-7, Stn. D 690-1, RWU 824 || **A:** Tg: [1] *xesi- v. 'scrape off scales from fish' > Ork, Nn B x3si-, Nn Nh x3sisi-, Nn KU 3si-, WrMc eše- id., ⇨ *xesi-kte 'scales of fish' > Neg 3sikt3, Ork, Nn Nh x3sikt3, Nn KU 3sikt3, WrMc esixε id.; aberrant words with -k- (Ewk 3ki-, 3kiks3, Ewk 3ki-, Neg 3xi-) either do not belong here or are due to a merger with different roots ¶ STM II 442-3 | [2] ?σ Tg *_lxu_lše- ∂ kuše- 'knife' > Ewk uçi, Sln usx̃:, Ud kusig3, Ul kuč3(n-), Nn Nh kuč3: id. ¶ STM II 296 || (× N *kiš_l?_l[∇] 'tear [off], pinch, pluck'): M *kisu- ~ *qusu- > WrM kisū- ~ qusu-, HIM xyca- v. 'scrape, shave', Kl xyca- id., {Rm.} χus- 'abschaben, abkratzen', WrO d. χusulda- 'be scratched', Mnr H k'iz₃- 'ratisser, racler, enlever en raclant' ¶ MED 472, 992, KRS 614, KW 199, Krg. 291, SM 202 ¶¶ DQA #1063 (A *k'jōše 'scrape, shave'; incl. M, Tg *xuše- ∂ kuše-).

1212. (₂?) *Kuš[∇] or *Kuč[∇] 'to compensate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to pay') > IE {Pv.} *keu_s- 'compensation, price' > Ht kussan 'wages, pay, fee, salary, rental price', kusata 'bride-price', Lc qehñ 'rent' || NaIE *^okūsyā 'pay' > Gmc *xū'zō ~ *xūz(i)'jō > OSx hūria, AS hūr 'hire, wages', MHG hûr 'Miete', NHG Heuer 'hire, wages (of seamen)', NE hire; ⇨ v.: MHG hûren, MLG hûren, Dt huren, AS hūran 'to hire', NE hire ¶¶ Frd. HW 120, Ts. EI 671-4, Pv. IV 290-5, Ho. S 38, Ho. 184, Sw. 98, Lx. 96, KM 306 || **HS:** WS *✓k^ṣṣy > Ar قضى ✓q^ṣy (pf. qaṣṣā, ip. -q^ṣi y-) 'payer ce qui est due', {Hv.} 'pay (a debt) to', Hrs ✓k^ṣṣy 'pay blood-money', Mh ✓k^ṣṣy (pf. k^ṣṣō, sbjn. y3k^ṣṣā), Jb C ✓k^ṣṣy (pf. 'k^ṣe'ṣe, subj. yeṣ3ṣ) id., 'pay' ¶ BK II 762, Hv. 612, Jo. M 248-9, Jo. J 158, Jo. H 81 ¶ as. *k^ṣ - ṣ > *k^ṣ - ṣ̄ (if the N rec. is *Kuš[∇]) || C: Bj {R} - k^ωsi, {Rop.} -k^ωisi v. 'pay one's debt' ¶ R WBd 148, Rop. 209 || ?σ **A:** M *quca- v. 'save, economize' > MM [S] {H} ḥuca- id., WrM quca-

id. ¶ H 70, MED 979 ◇ The N sibilant may have been either *-š- or *-ĉ- (which is supported by the qu. M cognate).

1213. *k_ul_uš^o ▽ 'tree' (→ 'wood, Holz'), 'trunk of a tree' > HS: S *kayš- > Sr **كأش** kay's-ā 'wood (Holz)', JA [Trg.] **كأش** kē's-ā ~ **كأش** kī's-ā {Lv.} 'Holz, Scheit', {Js..} 'twig, chip, wood; tree', JEA {Sl.} **كأش** kī's-ā 'wood (Holz), twig', Ak fOAK {CAD} kīštu (pl. kīšātu) 'forest, grove', Ak fOB kīštu 'thicket' ¶ Br. 665, Lv. T II 359, Lv. IV 299, Lv. T II 359, Js. 1364, CAD XIII 272-5, 280-1 || **K** *k_wš- > Sv {Ni.} k_waš 'firewood' ¶ Ni. s.v. **дрова** || **A** *k_lus ▽ ({S} *k'usa) '€ tree' > M *qusi 'cedar, Siberian pine' > WrM **قوسى**, HIM **хуш**, Brt **хуша** id., Kl {Rm.} **χ0š** 'Zirbelfichte', {RKS} **хoшyн модн** 'cedar, Cedrus' (модн 'tree') ¶ MED 991, Chr. 609, KW 189, RKS 232 || Tg *_lx_usi-kta 'oak' > Ewk usikta id. (× N *k_us ▽ 'nut', q.v.) ¶ STM II 291 || ? pJ {S} *kasi 'oak Quercus acuta' > OJ kasi, J: T kási, K kàsí, Kg kaśí id., б→ Nko kasi 'acorn'; → pJ kási-pà 'oak Quercus dentata' > OJ kásipà, J T kásiwa ¶ S QJ ##974, 976, Mr. 441, MLC 21 ¶¶ S CNM 10-1, ≈ STM l.c. ¶¶ S CNM 10-1, ≈ STM l.c., Adb. KL, DQA #1151 (A *k'usa '€ tree [cedar, oak]') || **D** [1] *kuč^o- 'stalk, stump of a tree' (× N *k_uč ▽ 'cut\chop into small pieces', q.v. ffd.) || [2] ?? D *kūč^o- 'post' > Tm kūccam 'small post used in building', Kn **кусу**, kūca, Tl **гујју** 'post\pillar in a wall for the support of beams', Tl **кūcamу**, Png **gūž** (pl. **gūčku**) 'pillar\post', Tu **гујји**, **гујју** 'pillar\post in water' ¶ The long *ū may go down to N *uy ¶¶ D ##1640, 1878 ◇ S CNM 10-1.

1214. *k_uš^o' ▽ 'to fell, to fall' > K *^oguš|s- > OG še-gus- v. 'fell, bring down' ¶ Ser. 176 ¶¶ The K voiced *g- may be accounted for by the K creation of "harmonic complexes" (sc. a kind of obligatory mt. and as. of consonants): N *k_uš^o' ▽ > *k_uš- > *g_uš- > K *guš- || HS: S *^o✓kšf > Ar **قشع** ✓qšf (ip. -qšaf-) 'jeter qn. par terre de manière qu'il tombe la face contre la terre' ¶ BK II 742 || ? Ch ({JS} *(N)gž 'fall') > ECh: ? Skr {Sx.} **gžlé**, EDng {Fd.} **gálè**, Jg **gal**, Mgm **gálaw**, Brg **gàlí** v. 'fall' || CCh: Glv **ŋaž-**, Suk **ŋgížì** id. ¶ JS II 98, ChL s.v. 'fall' || **U**: FU *k_uš ▽ 'fall to the ground, tumble down' > pLp *kžčž v. 'fall' > Lp: S {Hs.} **gattjeth**, L {LLO} **kahttjat**, N {N} **gâč'čât**, Kld {TI} **kžžžēδ** id. || pVg *kūš- > Vg ML/P {MK} **kušepi** ~ **kušēpi** (= ≈ **kūšepi** ~ **kūšəpi**) 'fall' ¶ Coll. 79, Lr. #302, Lgc. #1877, LLO 194, MK 225 || **A**: Tg *_lx_ul- > WrMc **ulu-**, **uleze-** 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep

slope, a bank), Ewk PT/Y ulul-, Ewk Ucr ul- id., Ewk PT/Y ulu 'precipice, landslide, landslip', Lm ωlσα- 'collapse' (of ground, bank, etc.) ¶ STM II 263 ¶ Tg *-l- may go back to *-zɣ- (by as. from *-šɣ-). The Tg √ may result from coalescence of the N word in question with N *Ḳûl∇ 'fall, fall down\apart' (q.v.) || D *kuçî- ({{ɣGS}} *k-) v. 'sink, descend' > Kn kuɫi 'bend, stoop, be lowered, sink, tumble in', kuɫuku 'state of being lowered or low', Krg kusi 'below', ? Tl kuçiyu 'sink, go down' ¶¶ D #1636, Km. 334 ¶ The D √ may have resulted from coalescence with a different N word meaning 'bend, contract' (whence Tu kuçiyuni 'contract, shrink in') ◇ Cp. IS I 358-9 [#235] (Tg ÷ T *Kula 'fall down, crash down' and FU *kul∇ 'be worn' < N {IS} *Ḳul∇ 'падать, опадать' [N {AD} *Ḳûl∇ 'fall, fall down\apart', q.v.]).

1215. *ḳat∇ (or *kaʔ∇, t∇) 'mix, adjoin, gather' > K: GZ *ḳet- v. '(ad)mix, add, gather' > OG ḳet- 'decorate', G ḳet- 'make, create', Mg ḳat- 'add, mix in, gather', Lz ḳat- 'add, gather, accompany' ¶ K 108, K² 88, FS K 172-3, FS E 188, Q 250, Chik. 286-7 || HS: S: Ar ✓ qtt G (pf. qatta, n. act. qatt-un) 'mix, gather' ('mêler des aromates avec de l'huile; ramasser, réunir petit à petit'), {Hv.} 'gather, cook aromatics' ¶ BK II 670-1, Hv. 587 || A *k'at' - > NaT *k'at - > OT qat- 'mix (two things); add (sth. to sth. else)', Tk kaṯ- 'adjoin, add, mix', Tkm, Az qat-, Ggz kaṯ-, Nog, Qq, VTt, Qrg, Alt, Ln, SY, Xlj qat-, Xk ḳat- 'mix, admix', Bsh, Qzq qat- id., 'season (soup)', ET qat- 'add, harness', Tv qât/d- id., 'add, fold', Tf qât' - twist (wool into thread) ¶ Cl. 594-5, ET KQ 337, TvR 216, Ra. 219 || D *kaṯ- ({{ɣGS}} *kaṯ-) 'churn, stir' > Ml kaṯayuka, Kt kaṯv-, Td kaṯ-, Gnd karrih- 𐎎 karahṯānā 𐎎 karah-, Mlt gaṯye v. 'churn', Tm kaṯai id., v. 'mash to pulp', Kn kaṯe, kaṯi 'churn, stir', Tu kaṯeyuni, kaṯevuni 'stir up', kaṯeñcuni v. 'knead', Kui kaṯsa id. ¶¶ D #1141 ¶¶ The D root coalesced with different homonymous roots (one of them meaning 'polish, lathe') ◇ The K and S data provide ev. for N *ḳ-, which is seemingly at variance with T *k' - (< N *k - reg.). The controversy may be resolved if we reconstruct a N etymon *kaʔ∇, t∇, so that K and S *ḳ- may have resulted from a cluster *kʔ (which is inevitable in forms of a S finite verb like *ʔa-kʔ∇t and in certain verbal forms in K). Alternatively, we may try to find rules governing the mutual infl. of stops within T roots (mte. N *ḳat- > **kaṯ- > A *k'at' - > T *k'at' -?).

1216. (₂?) ***Ḳāt**∇ 'hand' > **HS:** S *^oḳāt- 'hand' > Ak ḳātu 'hand, paw' ¶ CAD XIII 183-200 || NrOm *ḳat_u- 'hand' > Oyda {Fl.} ḳatti 'palm of hand', Dk ḳassa 'upper arm', ? Anf {MYTY} kišo 'hand (palm)' ¶ Blz. OLBP #51, MYTY 118 || **U:** FU *kāte 'hand' > F kāsī / gen. kāde-n, Es kāsī / gen. kāe | pLp {Lr.} *kēt̃z 'hand, arm' > Lp: S {Hs.} giēde, N {N} giēttâ, L {LLO} kiehta, Kld κῆδτ, {TI} kī₁t: | pMr {Ker.} *kād̃a > Er keđ, Mk kād̃ 'hand' || pChr {Ber.} *kit 'hand, arm' > StChr L κιδ, Chr H/Uf/B/M/Y/V/K kit, Chr YO/Ch kat | Prm *ki / *ke- 'hand' > Z, Prmk, Yz, Vt ki id., Z ke-piš 'mitten' (lit. 'hand-mitten'), ke-kar 'back of the hand' || ObU {JHL} *kēt̃∇, {Ht.} *kēt̃∇ 'hand, fore-leg' > pVg *kāt̃∇ > OVg S ChusO kata, OVg S Kf ката, OVg SSs kaate, OVg E TM kât, OVg N SoG kat, Vg: T kât, LK/MK/UK/NV *kōt, P/SV/Liz kōt, UL/Ss kât id.; pOs {Ht.} *kōt (JHL) *kōt̃ 'hand' > Os: V/Vy kōt, Ty kōt, Y kōt, D/K ket id. | Hg kéz (accus. kezet) 'hand' ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 140, Wc. SW 100, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *kāti 'hand, arm', Ugr *kät̃i), Sz. 23, SK 263, Lr. #433, Lgc. #2452, N II 100-2, SaR 108, Ker. II 57-8, Ber. 17, MRS 195-6, Ep. 43, LG 123, Ht. #340, Hl. rHt 71 || ?σ **h:** pJ *kātá 'shoulder' > OJ kata, J T káta id. (× N ≈ *Ḳū_ut_u∇_uP∇ 'shoulder') ¶ ≠ DQA #482 (J < A *gāra 'arm') ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [#80] (*gāt̃i; FU *kāte + *÷ IE *g^hes-, D *kač̃- + qu. Om *✓ kč̃ 'hand', F s.v. N *gā'p'sA 'paw, hand') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #192 (*kati 'hand') (U + err. A, Ko, J, CK, EA).

1217. ***Ḳot**∇ 'tip, end, sharp point; cutting instrument\weapon' > **IE:** NaIE *k^ωe(:)d-/*k^ωo(:)d- 'sharp point; to sharpen' (× N *Ḳu|od'a'h∇ (~ *Ḳad_ah∇?) 'to pierce' [q.v.]) > ON hvatr 'sharp, quick', OSx hwat, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, vigorous'; ON hvetja, AS hwettan 'to sharpen, to incite', NE whet, MLG wetten 'to whet', OHG hwezzan, wezzen 'to whet', NHG wetzen 'to whet', AS hwæt, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || L tri-quetrus 'triangular' (lit. 'dreispitzig') (acc. to WH, < *tri-k^ωadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 55, P 636, WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || **HS:** C: HEC *ḳotto 'small axe, hatchet' > Sd {Gs.} ḳotto id., as well as possibly HEC *ḳotto 'digging stick, hoe' > Sd ḳotto {Hd.} id., Brj ḳotto, ḳottō, Ged ḳotto id., and even (??) the EC verb *ḳot- 'dig, plough' > Dsn gōt- 'dig', Elm ot-, Arr ḳot-, Or, Brj, Ged ḳot-, Kns qot-, Gln, Hr, Dbs ḳot-, Gdl ḳoš- 'dig, plough', Sd ḳot- id., 'cultivate', Sml qod-, Bn od-, Bs ot- 'cultivate', Rn χut- {BL} id., {PG} 'dig' ¶ Hd. 50, 208, 252, 381, Gs. 270, Ss. B 127, PG 193, Grg.

333-4, HL 27-8, Hw. A 380, AMS 219, 245, 262, To DL 503 ¶ If the EC verb *k̥ot- does not belong here, the semantic variant *k̥otto 'digging stick, hoe' may have resulted from coalescence of a derivative from this verb and the noun *k̥otto 'axe' || ?σ S *^ok̥uʈʈ- (× N *k̥'ü'ʈa [or *k̥-?] 'fingernail, claw, nail?') > Gz k̥ʷaʈʈ, k̥ʷaʈʈa 'butt end of spear' ¶ L G 452 || A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *_lx_luʈʈ-kēn (with dim. sx *-kēn) > Ewk utkēn 'hatchet (тесак, пальмá)', Lm ôtkēn id., 'sword' ¶ STM 294 || ?φ M *kituga_ln_l ~ *qutuga_ln_l > MM [LM, IM] kituɣa, [MA] qituga, [IsV] {Lg.} kiduɣa 'knife', WrM kituga ~ qutuga ~ qutaga, HIM хутга(н), {Pp.} χut'ũg 'knife, knife-like cutting tool\weapon', Brt хутага, Mnr H {SM} ć'id_og_uō, {T} ćidogo, Mnr M {T} ćitogo, Dx {T} qutogo, Ba {T} htoge, MMgl [Z] qətqaj, Mgl {Rm.} kitkεj 'knife' ¶ Pp. LM III 69, Pp. MA 299, 440, Lg. VMI 50, MED 474, Chr. 605, SM 445, Iw. 126, Rm. M 32, T 379, T DnJ 126, T BJ 151 ¶¶ DQA #1096 (A *k̥'juʈ'u 'ε knife\arrow') || D *k̥ōʈ/*k̥oʈʈ- ({ʈGS} *k-) 'end, summit, top' (× N *K̥'a' dK̥udʈ 'tip, top' and N *k̥ʈR_lʈ_ltʈ 'summit, top') > Tm k̥ōʈu 'summit, peak', Ml k̥oʈi 'top, extremity', k̥ōʈu 'end', Kt k̥oʈ 'top tuft of hair', ? k̥uʈ 'clitoris', Td k̥wʈt 'tip, nipple', Kn k̥ōʈu 'point, peak, top of a hill', k̥oʈʈu 'point, nipple', Kdg k̥oʈi 'top (of a mountain, tree, etc.)', Tu k̥oʈi 'point, end, extremity', Tl k̥oʈi 'tip, top', Klm k̥oʈi, Gnd A k̥oʈi 'point', Gnd RSr k̥oʈi 'end, tip' ¶¶ D #1049 ◇ The apparent reflexes of N *-ʈ- in S and A may be due to as. M *u of the first syll. in *qutuga_ln_l may be due to regr. as. (**o...u > *u...u), but M *i in *kituga_ln_l is still puzzling.

1218. ₂ *K̥otʈ 'to finish' > HS: S *^o✓k̥tʈw|y ~ *^o✓k̥tʈw|y > Ak ✓k̥tʈw|y G (inf. k̥atʈû) v. 'come to an end, perish, become completed', D k̥uʈtʈû vt. 'finish, complete, bring to an end' (the second cns. may go back either to N *t or to *ʈ, due to the Ak incompatibility of two glottalized cns. in one ✓) ¶ CAD XIII 177-83 || Ch ({JS} *✓k̥t): WCh: Fy {J} k̥it vt. 'finish' | Tng {J} k̥ʷaʈe id. | Sir {Sk.} k̥ʷata, Diri {Sk.} k̥úđú id. || CCh {ChL}: Wmd k̥úđurù vt. 'finish', k̥úddi vi. 'finish', WMrG k̥ʷúđèy, k̥úđè, Mrg k̥úđù / àk̥úđèrí, HgF k̥úđí, FIG k̥íđàmtí v. 'finish' ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 105 (Ch *k̥it), J R 87, J T 108 ¶ In CCh and in some WCh lgs. there is shift of glottality N *k̥...t > *k̥...ʈ, where *ʈ is the only Ch glottalized dental stop) || A: Tg *xodi- vt. 'finish, stop' > Ul χodl/ʉ-, Ork χo]]l-, χo]]l-, Nn Nh χoʒl-, Nn KU oʒl-, Orc odi-, Ud wadi-, Ewk, Lm od-, WrMc wazi- ¶ STM II 6 || ?σ,φ NaT *k̥_l'oδ- 'abandon' (× ← T *k̥_l'oδ- 'put

down, lay' < N ***Ḳ**'oHad∇ 'dip, plunge, descend') > OT qoδ-, OOSm ≥XIV, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qr, Ln qou-, Tkm, Az ɣou-, Uz qwy- 'abandon' ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 27-9 ¶¶ STM II 6, A 1110 (*k'oda|u 'to finish, to abandon') ◇ NaT *-t- belongs to the heritage of N ***Ḳ**'oHad∇ ◇ This N word may be etymologically identical with (or go back to?) N ***Ḳ**ot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point'.

1219. *Ḳot∇(-R∇) 'smoke' > IE: NaIE *k_Lω_Jed- 'smoke', v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Sl *kadi-ti 'to emit smoke\fume' > OCS кадити kaditi, R ка'дить 'to emit fume, to burn incense', Blg ка'дя 'emit fume\smoke, burn incense', SCr káditi 'to smoke sth.', Slv kadíti id., 'to emit smoke', Cz kadíti 'to fumigate, to emit fume', Slk kadit' 'to emit smoke (дымить, чадить)', P kadzić 'to burn, to incense, to fumigate, to give a stink'; SI *čadъ 'smoke, (unpleasant, suffocating) smoke' > Blg, R чад, Cz, Slk čad id., Slv čād id., steam', SCr čād '(unpleasant, suffocating) steam, caligo', P czad, Uk чад 'carbon monoxide, charcoal fumes' || Pru accodis (< *at-kodis?) 'a hole for discharge of the smoke' ||| ???σ Ir: OI 'kadru- 'reddish-brown', NPrs كهر kähär 'chestnut\bay colour (of a horse\mule)', Khw k^hadur 'dirty' (if the semantic history is: 'brown' ← 'dark' ← 'colour of smoke') ¶ P 537 (*ked- 'rauchen, rußen' with *k- on the alleged ev. of the unconvincingly adduced word for 'juniper': Gk κέδρος, Lt kadagỹs, Pru kadegis), ESSJ IV 8-10 and IX 109-11, En. 139-40, Tr. P A-D 70, Tr. P I-K 111-7, M K I 150, M E I 295, Sg. 1066, Tu. #2715 || **HS:** S ***ḳ**ut∇r- ~ ***ḳ**it∇r- 'smoke' > Ak ḳuṭru, JA {KB} **ḳ**uṭrā ~ **ḳ**iṭrā 'smoke, fume, fog', JEA {SL} **ḳ**uṭrā ~ **ḳ**iṭrā 'smoke', Ar قُتْرَة qutrat- 'tas de fumier', Ug ḳṭr 'smoke, incense', ? Amr {G} ḳatarum 'smoke, incense'; -> S ***ḳ**utār- > Ak ḳutār- 'fumigant', Eb {Krb.} ḳutāri (gú-da-rí-im) '?' (in pr. n.), Ar قُتَار qutār- n. 'smell of cooked meat \ of aloes-wood', Gz ḳattār, ḳattārē 'incense, fumigation', ? BHb **ḳ**iṭūr 'smoke, thick fog' (the irreg. ī suggests that it is a loan from a different Semitic lge.); S ***ḳ**ṭr v. > Ak **ḳ**ṭr G 'rise, billow' (of fog, smoke), D 'cause sth. to smoke, make an incense offering', BHb **ḳ**ṭr D, MHb **ḳ**ṭr v. G 'make a sacrifice (by burning one's offering), go up in smoke', JA **ḳ**ṭr Sh† (pf. **ḳ**ṭar) 'burn incense, let the incense rise', JEA **ḳ**ṭr Sh†vt. 'burn on the altar', Ar قُتْر

✓ qtr *G* 'exhale its odour' (of cooked meat), قطر ✓ qṭr *D* (pf. qaṭṭara) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes-wood', Gz ✓ kṭr *D* 'fumigate'; BHb תַּרְבִּיבָה qəṭoreṭ 'smoke/odour of burning sacrifice, incense', JA אַתְרֵבִּיבָה qəṭur-t-ā 'incense'; Sb mḵṭr 'incense altar' ¶ In Hb, Ug, Aram, and Sb there is as. *ḵ...t > *ḵ...ṭ; the Ar forms with -ṭ- are likely to be loans (from Aram?) ¶ CAD XIII 166-8, 321-7, Sd. 930-1, KB 1022-4, KBR 1094-5, BDB 882-3, v. T II 356, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 990, A #2404, OLS 378, G A 29, Fr. III 396-7, BK II 672, 765-7, Hv. 587, 614, BGMR 109, LG 452, Krb. PE 44 || **A:** M *küden (× N *ḵüm∇(-Tä)) 'fog, mist'??) > WrM küden 'fog, mist; darkening, dimness', Kl {Rm.} küdn 'Nebel, Dunst, Dunkel', Kl D {Rm.} küdn 'Nebel, Dunkel, Rauch' ¶ MED 497, KW 244 || Tg *°xojṭr-ṭa'n 'snuff' > Ul xoṣoro(n-) 'snuff (in a smoking-pipe)', Nn Nh xoṣorō, Nn KU xoṣlorā id., soot', Nn xoṣlra- 𐤌 xoṣora- 'clean the pipe from snuff' ¶ STM I 468 ¶¶ M *ü in *küden may be due to regr. as. (*°o...e > *ü...e) and to the infl. of N *ḵüm∇(-Tä).

1220. *Ḷ'aho't'o' 'bite, chew, eat' > IE: NaIE *k^hᵛjād- v. 'bite, eat' > OI 'khādati 'chews, bites, eats', KhS khaca 'food' (Bai.: < Irn *xad-čā ← *xad- 'eat'), Prt ḡʔz 'devour', NPrs خَائِدِن xāī-dān 'to chew, to gnaw' ||| Arm ԽԱԾԱՆԵՄ ḵacanem 'I bite, chew' (< *k^hᵛjād-s) ||| ? Nr Δ hatra vt. 'itch, irritate the skin', 'sting' (of mosquitos and other insects) ¶ WP I 341, M K I 308, Sg. 446, Bai. 70-2, ≠ P 634, Sl. 380 ¶ If Nr hatra does belong here, the IE √ is *k^hād- (which suggests N *Ḷa^h...), otherwise we cannot distinguish between IE *k^hād- and *k^hᵛjād-. The NaIE vw. *ā suggests the following sequence of phonetic changes: *Ḷ'aho't'o' > (ass.) pre-IE *kahat∇ > IE *k^hād- ||| **HS:** S *°✓ḵwt > Ar *G* ✓ qwt (ip. -qūt-) 'feed, nourish'; ?? *°✓ḵtm > Ar ✓ qṭm *G* 'bite', {Hv.} 'seize with the teeth', qaṭmat- 'bit, fragment' ¶ BK II 773-4, 830-1, Hvc 616, 632 ||| **C:** DhI g^ᵛaṭ'- v. 'chew' (mte.?) ¶ ≠ E SC 264, EEN 32 ||| **Ch** (pCh {Nw.} *kiḍi 'bite, chew', {JS} ✓ ḵd 'bite'): Ngz {Sch.} kiḍú 'eat sth. which requires chewing (meat, nuts, etc.)', Bl {Nw.} ḡgaḍu 'bite' ||| Tr k3ḍ3 'bite' ||| Tmk {Cp.} ḡ3d, Nd D {J} ḡ3d^h 'bite' ¶ Nw. 22, ChC, Cp. 62, Sch. DN 96 ||| **D:** [1] D *katukk- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'gorge, lap' > Tm katukku v. 'gorge, glut', Tu gud(u)kuni v. 'lap, bolt', Tl katuku, gatuku, gaḍuku v. 'lack, lick up, eat food defiled by others', Gdb katjap- v. 'lap like a cat' ||| [2] D *kott- ({ḡGS} *k-) 'bite' (of snakes), 'peck' (as a bird) > Tm kottu id., Ml kottuka 'bite (as snakes)', Kt kot-, Td kwiθk- v. 'peck, bite', Kdg kott-, Knd kot- v. 'peck',

Tu *godduni* v. 'peck or devour (as a fowl)', Kui *kospa-* v. 'peck, bite, sting' ¶ The stem belongs here only if the homonymy with **kott-* v. 'hoe, chop' happens to be coalescence of etymologically different roots. Otherwise (if **kott-* 'bite, peak' is a mere sd. from **kott-* 'hoe, chop, mince'), this D stem is not a valid cognate ¶¶ D ##1197, 2091 ¶¶ D **-t-* is a reg. reflex of N **-t̥-* and not of **-t-*; it is possible that a post-N cluster **-Ht-* (< N **-H∇t-*) yielded a fortis similar to the reflex of N **-t̥-*, sc. D **-t(t)-* || U **kat̥o̥* v. 'feed, graze' > pLp **kōtō* > Lp: N {N} *guotto* / -*đ-* id., 'feed on, graze on', L {LLO} *kuohtō-* vb. n. 'graze', *kuohtō* 'pasture, pasture-land' || Sm **кѣтъ* > En {Ter.} *Зр козына* 'they graze' (reindeer), Ne T *жадо*, Ne O {Lh.} *χαδῶ* 'winter pasture-land', Ne T Y *хѣдѣ-ць* 'to loosen snow in search of reindeer moss' (of reindeer) ¶ × Sm **кѣтъ* 'scratch' ¶¶ The traditional Uralic comparative philology does not recognize stem-final vowels other than **-a/ä* and **-e*, so that all cases of stem-final rounded vowels in the U lgs. are interpreted as sxs. (*F* s.v. N **kälû* 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'); but there are many cases in which a rec. of a U stem-final rounded vw. would fit well with data both within and outside U. In such cases I tentatively reconstruct a pU rounded vw. (with uncertainty brackets: **-^{o̥}*, **-^{u̥}*) ¶¶ UEW 131, ≠ Jn. 56 (does not distinguish the Sm *√* in question from **кѣтъ* 'scratch') ◇ IE **k^h-* points to a N lr. It is most likely to be **h*, because **h* and **ʔ* are the only N lrs. capable to be lost in S, while **ʔ* does not produce aspirates in pIE.

1221. **K̥ey₁a₁t∇* 'to fall' > IE: [1] NaIE **k̥ad-* v. 'fall' > OI *śad-* v. 'fall off, fall out' || L *cad-o* / -*ēre* v. 'fall' || Arm *ցած* *c^hac* 'low', *ցածնւմ* *c^hacnum* v. 'become\grow low, go down, fall' (P: < **k̥ad̥jo-*) || ?σ OIr *casar* 'hail; lightning' (P: < *k̥ad-t-arā*; ← 'falling from the sky?'), MW *kesseir*, W *cesair* 'hailstones', Crn *ceser*, Br *kazarc'h* 'hail' || [2] NaIE **k̥eǵd-* v. 'fall' > W *cwyddo* 'to fall; to cast down', Crn *cothe*, {ECCE} *codha* 'to fall', Br {P} *koezaff* 'I fall', {Hm.} *kouezhañ* 'to fall' || Gmc (P's interpretation): ON *hitta á* 'meet (treffen)' (lit. 'fall on ...'), *hitta i* 'get into ...' (lit. 'fall into ...'), Dn *hitte på* 'auf etwas verfallen', ME *hittan* 'auf etwas treffen, finden', NE *hit* (← 'fall [on ...]') ¶ P 516, 542, EI 191 (**k̥ad-*), M K III 294, M E II 607, WH I 128, YGM-1 84, 117, SB 75, Vn. C 46, Hm. 432, 480 ¶ P's interpretation of ON *hitta*, etc. is qu. (and not accepted by Vr.) || D {tr.} **keṭ-*, {GS} **keḍ-a-* 'lie (liegen), fall' > Tm *kiṭa* v. 'lie, lie

down', Ml kiṭakka v. 'lie, rest, dwell', Kn keḍe 'fall down', Kdg kaḍake 'bed', Tu keḍaguni v. 'fall\slip down', Tl keḍayu 'fall, fall over', Gnd ker- 'fall at the face', ? Mlt koḍe 'lie down' ¶¶ D #1524, GS 78 [#247], 162 [#400] || **A**: ?ϕ M *kete- 'lie (liegen)' > MM [MA] kete-, Mnr H {T} kidē- 'lie', {SM} k'id_īē- 'lie down' (of an animal, person), 'dwell' (as a bird in its nest), Dx {T} kiž_īē- 'lie, lie down, sleep' ¶ M *-t- for the expected *-d- may be on the analogy of the paronymous √ *keḅte- 'lie' (see N *qewy∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless') ¶ Pp. MA 217, T 339, T DnJ 123, SM 200 || **HS**: SC {E} *ḱat- 'lie down, sleep' > Irq {Mgw.} qāt- 'lie down', Alg/Brn {E} qat- 'lie', Kz {E} ḱat- 'lie, sleep' ¶ E SC 368, E K 14, Mgw. 106, Blz. SCL s.v. 'lie' || Ch: ECh: Kwn {Lk.} kodám 'lie' ¶ Blz. EChWL #48 || ? S *√mḱt (←ϕ *m∇-ḱ∇t-) 'fall' > Ak √mḱt (inf. maḱāt) 'fall down, collapse; fall to the ground', SS: Sb mḱtt 'setting of the sun', Mh me'ḱawṭ 'run off', Jb mo'ḱot 'disappear in a flash, slip away', OYmn {Slw.} mḱt 'Ende (gesagt vom Festland)' ¶ CAD X/1 240-51, BGMT 87, Jo. M 265, Jo. J 171, Slw. 200 ◇ IS I 349 [#225] (*ḱet ḱ; IE, D).

1222. *ḱutṣ∇ (or *ḱutṣ∇?) (probably *ḱut|ṣ∇) 'cut off, tear (off)' > **HS**: CS *√ḱṭṣ 'cut\break off' > MHb √ḱṭṣ G 'cut off', JA √ḱṭṣ G id., 'break off', JEA {Sl.} √ḱṭṣ G 'bite off', Ar √qṭṣ G 'cut, curtail' ¶ Js. 1351, Sl. 1007-8, BK II 767-9, Hv. 614 || C: Bj {R} √kt? pcv. 'cut\break off\asunder' ('ab\zer-schneiden\brechen') (1s: p. 'akta?', prs. akantī?), ke'tū? (pl. 'ket?ə) 'Schnitt' (here unless borrowed from Ar) ¶ R WBd 151 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *kut∇ 'tear, draw' > Hg húz- v. 'draw, tear' ; Vg: T/P ka-, LK/Ss ḱat- v. 'tear' ¶ MF 312-3, ≠ UEW 859 (adduces Os [Ty qḍp+ta- 'zerstückeln', Os D ḱāpat- 'fell trees', etc.] and reconstructs pUgr *kup∇-t∇) || **A**: T {Cl.} *ḱiḅ- or *ḱiy- 'cut, chop' (delabialized from **Kuḅ- due to the infl. of the final unrounded vw.?) > OT [MhK] qiy- (ol jiyāč qiydī 'he cut the piece of wood on the slant'), Chg XV qiy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk ḱiy- 'chop', Ggz, StAlt кый- qiy- 'cut, cut off (twigs, small trees)', Qmn qiy- 'chop, cut on the slant', ?σ Tv ḱidi- 'exterminate' ¶ Qmn -y- may be from T *-ḅ-, cp. ayaq 'foot, leg' < *aḅaq), but Xk ḱiy- 'cut, cut off' points to T *-y- (unless a loan from a -y-language) ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 200, Rl. II 688-90, BT 102, B DK 230, BIG 297, TvR 499 ◇ The Ugr cognate points to N *-t- rather than to *-ṭ-, hence *-ṭ- in CS is due to as. (*√ḱṭṣ < **√ḱṭṣ). T *-ḅ-

(for the expected *-t-) may be explained by a pre-T assimilative voicing of *-t- (infl. of *ʏ), suggesting that the N lr. was *ʏ.

1223. ≈ *K̥ü₁y₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder' > IE: NaIE *k̥up-(t-) ~ *sk̥up-(t-) id. > OI 'śuṣṭi-h, Av suṣṭi-h, KhS suta-, MPrs suft, NPrs سفت soft 'shoulder' || pAl {O} *cupa > Al {AlbED} sup 'upper surface of the shoulder; shoulder' (loss of the stem-final *-t-) || Gmc: [1] Gmc {Vr.} *skuftu > MLG schuft, Frs E, Dt schoft 'front shoulderblade (Vorderschulterblatt) of horses and cows'] [2] ? (× NaIE *keub- 'body juncture' < N *K̥upE ~ *K̥üp∇ 'to bend [a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.]', 'elbow') > Gt hups (stem hupi-), OHG huf, NHG Hüfte, AS hype 'hip', NE hip; ON aptr-huppr, Nr Δ hupp, hump 'buttocks (of animals)' ¶ P 590, 627, EI 516 [*(s)k̥up-], M K III 357, O 405, Vr. N 622, Fs. 277-8, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319, Ho. 184 ¶ The IE *s- mobile appears before the original emphatic stops in the presence of palatal elements within the N word (in this case *y [or *ü?]) (see Introduction, _ 2.2.5) || HS: WS *kit₁∇₁p-, S *ka'tip- 'shoulder: WS *kit₁∇₁p- id. > Ar kitf- id., 'shoulderblade' ({Fr.} 'scapula, omoplate', {BK} 'omoplate, os des omoplates'), Mh katf, Hrs kətf, Jb C/E kətf 'top of back, back of shoulder' (in SES the development of vowels is reg., cp. S *'birak- 'knee' > Mh bark, Jb berk); S *ka'tip- > Hb קַתִּיפָ kə'tēp, JA קַתִּיפָ kat'p-ā ~ קַתִּיפָ kit'p-ā, JEA, Sr kat'p-ā, Md kadpa 'shoulder', Ar katif- 'shoulder, shoulderblade'; here probably also (though unvocalized) DSA ktp 'shoilder' and Ug ktp id., 'collar-bone'; Ak d. katappātu 'sternum' or 'ε part of the ribs' ¶ KB 481, KBR 505-6, HJ 258, Fr. III 9, BK II 862, Hv. 644, Sl. 610, Br. 353, MD 195, Jo. M 52, 212, Jo. H 71, Jo. J 137, A #1407, OLS 230, Br. 353, CAD VIII 303, MiK I 1.154 || EC: Sd {Gs.} k̥o'te 'shoulder' ¶ Gs. 269, Hd. 133, 381 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr kàtə̀bəká, Krf {Sch.} kàbàʔá 'shoulder' | ? Hs kàfádà id. ¶ ChC ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 131 (Hs, S + *÷ other lgs.) || U *kūt₁∇ ~ *kūt₁∇ 'shoulder, back' (× N *K̥Aʔ'ū'd∇ or *K̥ūʔ∇ 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder?') > FU *ku₁∇tt∇ 'back (dos)' > Hg hát 'back (dos), backside' | ObU {Ht.} *kūt- {AD} 'behind, in the shadow of' > pVg *kūt₁∇ʏ > Vg: {Mu}: N χūtāʔ?, ML khūtā, LL khūta ~ khuta, K khuti 'behind' (direction) (LL kwäl khū₁∇ta minen 'go behind the house!', jiω-khū₁∇ta uttəm 'ich setze mich hinter den Baum'), {Ht.}: LK χūti, MK/UK kūtī, P kūtəʔ, LL kūta 'im Schatten' (= 'in the shadow of?'), 'im Schutz'; pOs {Ht.} *kutəl > Os V kutəl 'von etwas

bedeckte\geschützte Stelle', Os Y yu w kutəɬ-nə 'unter dem Baum hervor' || Sm.: Slq Tz {KKIH} qottä '(fall) on one's back'; Sm *kütъ 'shoulderblade' > Ne: T с юды, T O {Lh.} śū̄dī, F {Lh.} śū̄'tī id. (< *kütъ-уъ), Slq Tm {KD} šü'dāī lāpa id., Slq Tz {Prk.} šüt+kotī 'the top part of the spine together with the shoulderblades' ¶¶ UEW 225, MF 276-7, Ht. #335, KKIH 163, Jn. 80 || ?φ R: pJ *kātá 'shoulder' > OJ kata, J: T káta, K kàtá, Kg katá id. (× N *Kät∇ 'hand' [q.v.]) ¶ ≠ DQA #482 (A *gara), S QJ #200, Mr. 442 ◇ IE *-pt- may result from mt. (< *-tp-) or from contraction of cns. clusters (F AD SShS); in the latter case IE *-t- is a sx.; in a similar way U *-t₁t₂- may also result from contraction of the cluster *-tp-. The vowels in S *ka'tip- belong to the derivational pattern of adjectives, so that *ka'tip- may have originally meant 'referring to the shoulder'. The final syll. of *Kü₁y₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ was lost in U *kūt₁t₁∇ ~ *küt₁t₁∇, probably due to some structural limitations for roots in U.

1224. *k'a't₁∇ (or *ka?it∇?) 'kill, wage a war' (in B, C, NOM, K[?]: → 'die') > HS: Ch {JS, JI} ✓ kɬ 'kill' > CCh: Gv {IL} k^hɬɬɬgānā, Dgh {IL} k^hɬɬɬyā, {Frk.} kɬā, Gdf {IL} k^hɬɬɬgānā || Mtk {Sb.} kɬɬ, pMM *kaɬ, > Mkt {ChL} kɬɬáí, {Ro.} kɬɬ, Mofu {Brr.} -kɬɬ-, {Ro.} kɬɬé, Gzg D {Lk.} kaɬ, {Ro.} kɬɬā; Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} káɬ 'kill' ¶ JS 153, JI I 105 and II 212-3, ChC, Ro. 398 [#277] || B *✓kty > Ah kətiyat 'to die' ¶ Fc. 935 || C: Ag *kɬt- v. 'die' > Bln kɬr-, Xm kɬr-/kɬt-, Q ki-/kɬy-, Aw kɬr-/kɬt- ¶ R WB 208, Ap. AV 14 || NrOm: Kf {C} kit-, Mch {L} kiti(yé) v. 'die', Shn {C} kitə 'death' (not mentioned in Lm. Sh), Ym {Wdk.} kitú / kitù v. 'die' ¶ C SE III 78-9 and IV 465, Wed. BY 129, Lm. Y 358 || S +ext.: S *✓k₁t₁ ~ *✓k₁t₁ v. 'kill' > Hb, IA, BA, JA, Sr ✓k₁t₁, Md ✓g₁t₁, OA, Yd, Sb, Gz, Akk ✓k₁t₁, Ar ✓q₁t₁ id. ¶ KBR 1092, GB 710, HJ 1006, Js. 1349, Sl. 1006-7, BK II 673-4, Hv. 587, Br. 658, MD 87, Fr. III 398, BGMR 109, L G 451, CAD XIII 162 || AdS of K *o₁k₁wed-/ *o₁k₁wd- 'die' (< N *K₁Ud∇ 'die') > G k₁vd- v. 'die', OG m-k₁ud-ari 'dead' ¶ ≈ K² 91-2, Chx. 575-6, Ser. 102 || IE: NaIE *kat- v. 'fight' > Clt: Gl catu- *'battle' in the gentilicium Catu-rīx (lit. 'battle king'), OIr cath, W cad 'battle, army', Crn cas 'fight' || ON hqǫ 'fight (Kampf)', Hqǫ-r 'god of war', AS heaðu- 'fight, war', OHG hadu- 'battle, fight' (in proper names, e.g. Hadu-mār, Hedwig), MHG hader 'wrangle, fight' || Sl *kōtora ~ *kōtera > OCS кōторѧ kōtora 'pugna', ChS кōтерѧ kōtera id., 'quarrel', R Δ кōтора ~ кōтора ~ кōтора, Uk кōтора 'quarrel'

¶ P 534, M K III 294, Vn. C 47-8, Billy 47, Vr. 278-9, Ho. 153, ESSJ XI 20-1, EI 201 (*katu 'fight') ¶ Hardly here OI $\acute{s}at-ru-h_2$ 'enemy, rival' (possibly akin to Gk $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'spite, anger', see EI 22; M E II 607 does not find et. for $\acute{s}at-ru-h_2$) || D (in SD) *kāt- ({}GS} *kād-) v. 'kill, fight' > Tm $k\bar{a}tu$ v. 'kill, murder', Kn $k\bar{a}du$ v. 'wage war, fight, contend with', Tu $k\bar{a}duni$ v. 'quarrel, fight, wrestle', $k\bar{a}d\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ 'a fight, war, battle' ¶ D #1447 ◇ The length of *a in D, the palatality in IE, and the irreg. reflexes of the dental cns. (reflexes of *t and *d rather than of *t̥) in some lgs. suggest the presence of an additional element in the middle of the word (N * $\acute{k}a\acute{p}it\check{\nabla}$?); in this case IE *-t-, D *-t-, and Ch *-d̥- go back to a secondary *-t̥- < *-ʔt-.

1225. * $\acute{K}o\check{\nabla}a$ (~ * $\acute{K}ota$?) 'fence, wall, hut, settlement' > HS: Early pS * $\acute{k}ut\check{\nabla}_1$ - > as. S * $\acute{k}ut\check{\nabla}_1$ - 'wall' > BHb כֶּתֶל * $\acute{k}o\check{\nabla}el$ * 'wall (of a house)' (att.: כֶּתֶלֵנוּ כֶּתֶלֵנוּ כֶּתֶלֵנוּ כֶּתֶלֵנוּ 'our wall'), MHb כֶּתֶל $\acute{k}o\check{\nabla}el$ 'wall', BA pl. em. כֶּתֶלֵי $\acute{k}u\check{\nabla}l-ay\check{y}\bar{a}$ 'walls', Plm כֶּתֶל ?, JEA {Sl.} כֶּתֶלֵי $\acute{k}u\check{\nabla}l\bar{a}$ 'wall', Ak כֶּתֶל {CAD} 'rail, fence', {Sd.} 'Seitenwand', ?σ Sr כֶּתֶל $\acute{k}u\check{\nabla}l-\bar{a}$ 'stern, poop'; e-pS * $\acute{k}uta$ - 'wall, fence' → GZ * $\acute{k}edel$ - id. (× ← K * $\acute{k}ed-$ / * $\acute{k}d-$ v. 'build') > OG $\acute{k}edel$ - 'wall, fence', G * $\acute{k}edel$ - 'wall', Mg $\acute{k}ida(la)-$ ~ $\acute{k}ɛdala-$, Lz $\acute{k}ida-$ ~ $\acute{k}oda-$ id.; for S *-t- → K *-d- cf. S * $\acute{s}ab\acute{s}at-$ 'seven' → K * $\acute{s}wid-$ 'seven', F K² 251 ¶ KB 480, 1728, KBR 505, GB 368, Js. 627, Dlm. 201, Sl. 567, Br. 352, Sd. 518, CAD VIII 610, K 107, K² 87-8, FS K 166-7, FS E 181-2, LH 211 ¶ *-al- is probably a sx., cp. Tm, Ml כֶּתֶלֵי 'cow-stall, shed, hut' || NrOm * $\acute{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}$ 'house' > Kf {C} $\text{q}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{o}$, {HHM} $\text{h}\bar{m}\text{ke}\check{\nabla}$, {Mrn.} $\text{ke}\check{\nabla}$, Chara {C} $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{a}$ ~ $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{s}\bar{a}$, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} $\text{ke}\check{\nabla}$ ~ $\text{ke}\check{\nabla}a$, Zl/Gf/Bdt/Bsk {C} $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{s}\bar{a}$, Gm {Hw.} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}c\acute{c}\acute{e}$, Wl {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{a}$, Dawro {LmS} $\text{ke}\check{\nabla}a$, Dache {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}c\bar{c}a$, Zs {Si.} 'kēc, {C} $\text{k}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}t\bar{s}$, {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}c\bar{c}i$, Zrg {Si.} 'kēcɛ, Male {Si.} 'kēci, Kcm {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}c\bar{a}$, BMa {SiWd} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\nabla}d\bar{e}$ id.; ? Shn {Lm.} $\text{ka}\check{\nabla}\check{\nabla}\bar{a}$ 'pen (Gehege) for cattle, fence of a pen' ¶ Cerulli spells these words with q, which he describes as "emphatic" (sc. k) (C SE IV 22-3), but Habte Wold Habte Mikael (a native Ethiopian) spelled the Kf word in Eth script with a plain vl. k, which corresponds well to the words of the NrOm lgs. recorded by Hayward, Moreno, Lamberti, Sottile, Siebert, and Wedekind; to my mind, Cerulli's q- is an inaccurate transcription of k- ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 205, IV 488, HHM 119, C SO 34, 44, 50, 63, Mrn. O 149, LmS 420-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'house', Si. ACh 16, Si. M 9, SiW ABK 17, Lm. Sh 33 || IE: NaIE * $\acute{k}ot-$ 'shed, wall, hut' (→ 'house') (× N * $\acute{k}ad\check{\nabla}$ 'to plait, to wattle',

'wickerwork, wattle') > Sl *kotъ, *kotъ-ьсь 'shed, stall' > SCr Δ kōt 'shed for livestock', OCz kot, kót 'stall, shop (in the market)' ('будка, лавка [рыночная]), ChS **КОТЬЦЬ** kotъсь 'small room' ({Mikl.} 'νοσσιά, mansiuncula, nidus'), McdS котец, Blg 'коце 'fishweir' ('рыболовный закол'), SCr kōtas id., 'shed, partition in a shed', 'corn-bin', Cz kotec 'shed, partition in a shed', Slv kótec id., 'pigsty', 'cage', OP kocies 'enclosure for livestock\poultry', RChS **КОТЬЦЬ** kotъсь 'cage', R Δ kotec 'fish-trap (made of cane\brushwood), kotъцы 'fishweir, fishing net', Uk kotець 'round fishweir' || Gt herjo 'room (ταμειῶν, Kammer)', AS heaðor 'enclosure, prison' || Irn *kat- 'house' > Av kata- 'room, house', NPrs Δ kād, Sgd ktʔkʷ 'house', Oss kät 'stable', KhS {Bai.} kata- 'covered place, house' (× Irn *kat- 'cover'?) || Ht kutt- {Pv.} 'wall', {Ts.} 'Wand, Mauer, Seite', HrLw {Mer.} kutaś¹r- 'Mauer', ? Lc {Shev.} kuti (supposedly 'an der Wand') ¶ P 534 (*kat- 'flechtend zusammendrehen, zu Ketten, Stricken, Hürdengeflecht'), ESSJ XI 211, 214-5, Ab. I 490, Horn 188, Bai. 50, ≈ Pv. IV 297-8 (unc.: kutt- < IE *ǵʰu-t- < *ǵʰeu- 'pour'), Ts. E I 676-8, Mer. HHG 77, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ *k- (for the expected *kʷ-) is due to the merger with N *kadʷ '↑' || U: FU *kota 'tent, hut, house' > F kota 'Lappish tent, hut', Es koda 'house, home' | pLp {Lr.} *kōtē 'tent, hut' > Lp: L {LLO} kāhtē, N {N} goatte, Kld kuedd' id., S {Hs.} goādie id., 'house' | Er kudo, Mk kud 'house, home' | Chr: L кудо 'кудо 'hut, summer kitchen', H куды кудъ 'hut, house, dwelling', Uf кудо 'summer hut', B кудо 'summer kitchen' | Prm: OPrm -ko ~ -kq 'house' in the cd. viž-ko ~ viž-kq 'church', Z вичко vić-ko, Z US vić-kq, Z Ud vić-kz, Yz vić-ku, Prmk vić-ku 'church', Z -ka, -ko, -ku, -kz 'house' in cds., Z ker-ka, Prmk, Yz ker-ku, Vt kor-ka 'house; Prm d. *kwo-la 'hut' > Z kola id., Vt kuala 'hut (serving in summer as a kitchen and a dining-room)' || Os: V qat, D xat, O xat 'house' | Hg ház 'house' ¶ Coll. 130-1, UEW 190, Sm. 543 (FU *kotā 'house, hut' > FO *kota, Ugr *kātá), Lr. #487, Lgc. #2692, Hs. 627-8, MRS 240, Ep. 48, LG 115, It. #99, MFU 278-9 || A: M: [1] M *qotan 'enclosure, wall, settlement' > MM [HI] qoton 'city, town', [S] qoton 'enclosure', pl. qotat, qotot, WrM qota(n), HIM хот 'city, town, village; enclosure', Ord qot'o 'town, enclosure', K1 хотн хотьн 'village', {Rm.} хото & хоту 'city, enclosure', Dg хотон ~ qoton 'city.

town', Mnr H {T} kude, {SM} k'ud_u, Ba kute 'house, home, family'; M ⇨ WrMc χοτον, Sln, Nn χοτῶ, Neg χοτον, Orc χοτο(n-) 'city, town'; M ⇨ Uz qwtan 'sheep-pen', Qzq qotan id., 'pen', Nog, ET qotan 'enclosure for animals', Yk χοτον id., 'stall' ⇨ Ewk koton, Lm qoton 'stall, farm-yard for animals'; [2] M *kōte 'tent' > WrM kōte 'tent', Ba kete 'house, family', Dn kide id. ¶ H 98, Ms. H 90, MED 493, 972, KRS 601, T DnJ 123, T BJ 142, T DgJ 178, SM 206, KW 190, STM I 418-9, ET Q 82-3 || ?σ T *k_l'utu > OT [QB] {Cl.} qutu 'class\group of people' ¶ Cl. 596 || pKo *kót > MKo kót, NKo kos kot 'place, locality, site' ¶ Rm. SKE 127, S QK #759, Nam 50, MLC 169 ¶¶ DQA #894 (A *k_l'ot'∇ -u- 'village, locality': T *k_l'utu, M *qotan, Ko) || D {tr., †GS} *koṭṭ∇ 'hut, shed' > Tm koṭṭam 'cattle-shed', koṭṭakaṭi 'shed with sloping roofs, cow-stall', koṭṭil 'shed, hut'. MI koṭṭil 'cowhouse, shed, house', Kn koṭṭage, koṭ(ṭ)ige 'stall or outhouse (for cattle), barn, room', Kdg koṭṭi, Gnd koṭa, koṭam 'shed', Tu koṭṭa 'hut or dwelling of Koragars', koṭṭya 'shed, stall', TI koṭṭāmu 'stable', koṭṭāyi 'thatched shed', Klm koṛka, Nkr k'hoṭa 'cowshed', Mlt koṭa 'hamlet' ¶¶ D #2058; some of the words in the D lgs. are influenced by OI γοῤῥα- 'abode for cattle' and its descendant New Indo-Aryan words ◇ The N variant *Ḳota (in S, U, and D) is likely to be secondary (regular deglottalization in S, dis. in U and D?). Alternatively, we may suppose a pN *Ḳota with assimilative glottalization *-t- > *-ṭ- in pre-IE, Om, and A. The NaIE cns. *k- (for the expected *k^w-) still needs explaining.

1226. *Ḳôṭ'E' (or *koṭUṭE) 'membrum muliebre, anus' (→ 'male genitalia') > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} x^wædā 'pudenda mulieris, anus' ||| EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōd, qōdo 'penis cum testiculis', Or B {LLC} ḱutune 'penis'; C ⇨ Amh ḱiṭ 'anus' ¶ AD SF 249, LLC 145 || ?σ Ch {Stl.} *ḱoṭud 'testicles, penis' > WCh: Hs ḱōdà 'testicles' | ?? Krkr gáwjá id. ||| CCh: Gv ḱiṭi-n^wa, Mdr šè-kuḱà id. | Pdk {Mch.} kúda-ma id. | Ms {J} húḱá, BnnM {ChL} hudo-no id. | Mf {BLB} k^wúḱéč id., MfG {Brr.} k^wuḱey, Mada {BrrB} k^wḱe 'penis' | Mf {BLB} kédár 'vulva' ¶ JI II 323, Stl. IF 104, ChC, ChL, BLB 187, 200, Brr. MG II 14, BrrB 152 ||| IE: NaIE *kut- 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > L curinus (< *kut-no-s) 'pudendum muliebre' ||| Gk [Hs.] κυσός (< *kut-y-os) 'buttocks; pudendum muliebre', ? Gk κύσθος 'pudendum muliebre' ||| ? W c^wd 'scrotum' (× NaIE *(s)keṭ- 'skin', × W c^wd 'bag, purse, sack?'), W † c^wthr 'rectum, anus' ||| CINPrs kūn 'vulva' ||| perhaps Gmc: OFrs pl. hoṭhan, OHG hōdo, {OsS} haodo, NHG Hode

'testicle' (× NaIE *(s)keuṭ- 'skin') ¶ WH I 309, F II 56, Ch. 603, YGM-1 114, 117, Kb. 473, OsS 410, KM 313, ≈ P 952, ≈ EI 507 (*kut'so-s ~ *kuts'no-s 'anus, vulva') || A: [1] NaT *Kotak 'penis' > Chg قوتاق {RL} qotaq, {Bu.} qutaq 'penis', QrB {Rs.} qotaq 'horse's penis', Qzq {RL} qotaq 'penis', 'tail (Schweif)', Alt/Tlt/QK {RL} qottoq, Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb/Kü {RL} qodaq, ET {AD} qotaq 'penis'; this word for 'penis', which exists in several T lgs., is ostracized as "undecent" by the authors of dictionaries of literary lgs. and therefore lacks lexicographic fixation; d.: ET Δ {KtnM} qotaq-la v. 'begatten' ¶ Rs. W 284, RL II 606, 610-1, Bu. II 70, Mng. G 102 | [2] NaT *k'öt 'anus, buttocks' > OT {Cl.} k'öt 'buttocks, backside', MQp XIII k'öt 'buttocks ('al-'ist)', Tk göt (/göt-: göti 'his buttocks'), Ggz göt, VTt, Bsh küt, Kr Cr, Qzq {Ilm.} k'öt, Chv кут kut ≅ kot 'buttocks', Qrg, Alt/Tlt {RL} k'öt id., 'genitalia (male, female)', Uz ket 'hind part, tail'; T *k'öten 'anus, buttocks' > MQp, Nog köten, Tk Δ göden, Az gōdān, Qrg k'ötön, Alt ködön, ET Δ kutän, Chv L kud_ana id. ¶ T *k'öt belongs here if its primary meaning is 'buttocks' rather than 'backside' ¶ Cl. 700, MKD 111, ET GD 84-5, TL 281, Jeg. 121, Md. 50, 170 (T *k'öt'), UzR 210 || D: [1] SD *kūti ({ḡGS} *kūdi) 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > Tm kūti 'pudendum muliebre', Ml kūti id., 'posteriors', Tu kūdi id., 'anus', Td ku'ṡy 'anus, buttocks' || [2] Kt kuṭ 'clitoris' (× N *k'i't'u' ~ *k'i't'u' 'to tickle', ? 'to itch') ¶ D ##1888, 2049 ◇ Ch {Stl.} *k'oʔud and the long *ū in D suggest the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ?), that may account for the variation *k- (in T) ~ *k̄- (reflected in HS and IE), if it is supposed that this *k̄- goes back to *kʔ- ◇ The vw. *-o- in NaT *Kotak (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ◇ Cp. also pKo {S} *kút 'hole, pit' (> MKo kút, NKo kut, kudāni, see S QK #462, Nam 62, MLC 197, 216). If the Ko word belongs here, the primary meaning of the N word was 'hole' (see DQA and SDM97 s.v. *kot'e 'hole') ◇ Blz. DA155 [#35] (D, HS).

1227. *kUt▽ 'small' > HS: S *√k̄t̄n 'be(come) small\little\thin' > Hb √k̄t̄n 'be little', Sr √k̄t̄n 'become \ smaller \ weaker', Md √k̄t̄n 'be fine \ thin \ narrow', Gz, Tgr √k̄t̄n 'be thin \ fine \ lean', Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq √k̄t̄n 'become thin', Ak √k̄t̄n 'become thin\narrow'; Hb k̄ā'tān / f. k̄ātan'n-ā 'small', IA k̄t̄yn, JEA יִבְיָבָה k̄at't̄īn, JA/Sr كَاتِبَانِ k̄at't̄īn-ā 'something small', Gz k̄at't̄īn 'fine, thin, subtle', Ar (× √qt̄n 'reside in a place') qat't̄īn- {Hv.} 'residant slaves, servants', {BK} 'gens de la maison, domestiques', Ak k̄atru 'thin, fine, narrow, younger'; a CS

(pCn) stem $\sqrt{k}t\ddot{t}$ without extensions may be suggested by MHb {Js.} $k\dot{i}t\dot{k}e\dot{t}$ v. 'make fine' and Ug {A} $\dot{i}\sqrt{k}t\ddot{t}$ (inv. $k\dot{t}$) 'zerkleinern' (not mentioned in OLS) ¶ KB 1021-2, KBR 1092-3, BK II 774, Hv. 617, Js. 1348, Sl. 1005, BK II 774, LG 453, LH 262, Jo. M 245, Jo. H 80, Jo. J 155, Sd. 908, CAD XIII 163-4, 173, Js. 1347, A #2398 || C: Ag {AD} $*k^{\omega}ztt$ 'be small' > Bln {R} oqt ($k^{\omega}z\dot{t}$) 'be small, little, few', Xm {R} wit , Q {R} uet , it id., Bln oqt 'small number of', $oqt-u\chi$ 'few, little (quantity)' ¶ R WB 24-5, AD SF 83, Ap. AOL 3 (pAg $*oqt-/k^{\omega}at+-$) || NrOm {Blz.} $*k\ddot{o}t$ > Shk {Fl.} $k\ddot{o}ta$ 'small', Gmr {Fl.} $k\ddot{o}t$ id. ¶ Blz. OL #153, Fl. OWL s.v. 'small', Fl. AGC 601 || Eg fMK $k\ddot{t}t$ 'small', {Fk.} $k\ddot{t}$ 'pettiness', {EG} v. 'be small, little', {EG} $k\ddot{t}t$ 'child, young of a bird', {Fk.} 'girl' ¶ EG V 147, Fk. 287 || Ch {JS} $\sqrt{k}d\ddot{m}$ 'small' > WCh: Hs {Ba.} $k\ddot{a}d\ddot{a}n$ 'a few, a small quantity' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} $k\ddot{o}d\ddot{o}mm\acute{a}$ 'small' || ?? ECh: Mtk {ChL} $k^{\omega}o\ddot{t}r$ 'small' ¶ JS 238, ChC, ChL, Ba. 819, Nw. WLT 45 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1615 ($*k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}n$ 'small'), ≈ Sk. HCD 130 || K $*k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}$ 'small' > G Gr/I $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{a}$ 'boy', G I, Mg, Lz $k\ddot{u}t\ddot{u}$ 'boy's penis', Sv {TK}: UB/L $k\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}l$, UB $k\ddot{w}e\ddot{t}\ddot{o}l$:LB $k\ddot{w}e\ddot{t}\ddot{o}l$ ~ $k\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}l$ 'little, small, few' ¶¶ Cp. Sv $k\ddot{o}\check{c}\ddot{o}l$ & $k\ddot{w}e\check{c}\ddot{o}l$ & $k(\omega)e\check{c}\ddot{o}l$ ~ $k\ddot{o}\check{c}\ddot{o}l$ id. < N $*k\ddot{U}c\ddot{V}$ 'cut/chop into small pieces' (q.v.) × N $*k\ddot{U}t\ddot{V}$ 'small' ¶¶ K 118, K² 105, FS K 195, FS E 214, Q 263, TK 349-50 || A: M $*q\ddot{o}t\ddot{u}l(i)$ > WrM $q\ddot{o}t\ddot{u}l(i)$, HIM $x\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}l$, $x\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}l$ 'two-year-old marmot, young deer', Kl Ö {Rm.} $x\ddot{o}t\ddot{u}$ 'young elk, young deer', Brt $x\ddot{o}t\ddot{o}l$ 'year-old marmot, female marmot (Marmota sibirica)' ¶ MED 973, KW 190, Chr. 592 ◇ IS I 329-30 (HS, K, D), AD GD #139 ◇ It is worth paying attention to IE: NaIE $*kat-$ 'young of an animal; to give birth (of animals)' > L $catulus$, Um $katel$ 'young of an animal' || Sl $*kotiti$ $s\check{e}$ 'give birth (of mammals)' (> R $ko'tit\ddot{u}sa$, Blg $k\ddot{o}ti$ se , Cz $ko\ddot{t}o\ddot{t}i$ se , P $ko\ddot{c}i\acute{c}$ $si\check{e}$, etc.), Sl $*kot\ddot{b}$ 'brood' (> SCr $k\ddot{o}t$, Slv $k\ddot{o}t$) || ? ON $ha\ddot{d}na$ 'young goat' (P 534, Mn. 479, ESSJ XI 204-5, 211). But the unexpected IE vw. $*a$ and the lack of traces of N $*u$ prevent us from recognizing IE $*kat-$ as a valid cognate ◇ Gr. II #346 ($*kut$ ~ $*kit$ 'small') (J, CK. EA + err. A $*k'i\check{c}'\ddot{V}$ ~ $*k'i\check{c}\ddot{V}$).

1228. $*k\ddot{a}w\ddot{V}$ 'cavity, hole' > IE: NaIE $*k\ddot{e}w\ddot{u}a$ 'cavity' > pAl {O} $*cawila$ > Al $thell\acute{e}$ 'deep' (< $*k\ddot{o}wilo-$) || Gk [Hs.] $k\ddot{o}oi$ 'τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα' ('the hollows of the earth and the cavities'), Gk $ko\ddot{u}l\ddot{o}s$ adj., n. 'hollow' (< $*k\ddot{o}wilo-s$), L-gr.: Gk $k\ddot{w}o\ddot{s}$ 'cave, prison' || L $cavus$ ({P} < $*k\ddot{o}wos$) 'hollow, concave' || OIr $c\ddot{u}a$ (< $*k\ddot{o}w\ddot{u}os$) 'hollow', $c\ddot{u}ass$ 'cave', MW keu , W cau 'hollow', MBr {Em.} $queu$

'creux, cavité', Br {Hm.} *keu* adj. 'creux', n. *keu* 'caverne, grotte', {Flr., P} *keo* 'grotto' ||| Ltv {ME} *šāva* 'scheidenartige Spalte oder Höhlung am Baum' | Sl **suĵ-* > OCS, OR *сѡѡн суĵь* 'vain', Blg *cyeta*, ChS *сѡѡета* *suĵeta* 'vanity' (↳ R *cyeta*, SCr *suĵeta* id.) ||| with heterocclisis: {EI} **kuuHr* / **kuH'n-os* > NaIE {M} **keuā-r* ~ **kuā-r* / **kuā-n-* {AD} 'hole, emptiness' > OI *śūn'ya*m 'emptiness, Einöde', Av *sūra-* 'hole, lacuna' (< *kuur-*), NPrs *سوراخ* *sūrāx* 'hole, orifice' ||| Arm *սոր* *soɾ* 'hole, opening; den' (< **sovarō-*) ||| Gk *κύαρ* 'hole' (< **kuwr*) ||| ?? L *caverna* 'cave' (unless from Etr; *-erna* is considered to be an Etr sx., e.g. in *cisterna*) ¶ P 592-4, Vl. II 346, M K III 365, WH I 191-2, F I 891-2 and II 38, Vn. C 258, YGM-1 79, Flr. 98, Ern. 552, Hm. 455, ME IV 13, Sl. 206-7, Xud. II 374, O 474, Vs. III 797, Glh. 593, EI 96 (**kuuH-*, **kuuHr* / **kuH'n-os* 'hole, opening') ||| HS: CS **kaww-* 'hole, opening' > JA *カウ* *kaw'w-ā*, *カウ* *kaww-ə't-ā* 'hole, opening, window', JEA {Sl.} *カウ* *kawwə't-ā* (pl. *カウ* *kaw'wê*) 'window, small opening', Sr *كاف* *kaw'w-ā*, *كاف* *kawwə't-ā* 'opening, aperture, hole, window', Ar *كوف* *kuww-*, *كوة* *kuwwat-* 'garret-window, mural aperture' ¶ Lv. II 301, Sl. 557, Br. 320, JPS 20, Fr. IV 68, BK II 940, Hv. 669 || EC **ka:w-* 'hole' > Sml *qaw-*, Kns *qāw-a*, Gdl *qāw*, Brj *qaw-a*, Or B {Bl.} *qa-á*, {Sr.} *qā*, Or Wl {Bl.} *qāww-a* 'hole', {Brl.} *qawa* id. ('buco, foro') ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Sr. 35, Brl. 339 ||| D **kav-i* ({GS} **gavi*) 'hole, cave' > Tm *kevi* 'deep valley, cave', Kn *gavi* 'cave', Tu *gavi* 'cave, hole, cell', Tl *gavi* 'cavern' ¶¶ D #1332 ||| ?ϕ A: NaT **k'uy* > OT *quy* 'a secluded spot, cave', Alt, Tv *quy*, Tf *huq*, Xk *χuy* 'cave', Qrg *quy* 'deep ravine, rift caused by an earthquake' ¶ Cl. 674, Ra. 191 ◇ Cp. N **Qayliwa* 'to dig' (q.v.).

1229. **Q'a?e'w* 'to hear, to notice' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'ear') > IE **keu-* / **keu-* ({EI} **keuH₁-*) 'listen to, perceive, pay attention to' > OI *ka'vi-h* 'skillful, wise; seer, sage, poet', Av *čavīšī* 'ich erhoffte, versah mich' ||| Gk *κοέω* 'I notice, hear', ? *κῆδος* 'glory' ||| L *caveō* / *cavēre* v. 'guard against, beware; take care for, provide', {EI} 'take heed' ||| AS *hāwian* 'look at' ||| Sl **čŭ-ti* (1s prs. **čŭjŭ*) 'to hear, to feel' > OCS *чѡти* *čuti* 'to feel, to notice', Blg *чу-м*, *чув-ам* v. 'hear, listen, guard', SCr *čŭ-ti*, Slk *čut'*, Uk *чути*, Blr *чуць* 'to hear, to feel', Slv *čŭ-ti* 'to hear, to be awake', Cz *čítí*, P *czuć*, OR *чѡти* *čuti* 'to feel', *μ*: R *чуютъ* id. || ? Ld *kaue-* 'priest' ({EI}: < **kuu'h₁eĵ*

'seer') ¶ P 587-8, EI 361 and 418, M KI 187-8, FI 890-1, WH I 186-7, Fs. 251-2, Vr. 226, Ho. 159, Ho. S 36, OsS 417, KM 316, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 || HS: NrOm: BMa {Fl.} kēw-, {SiW} kēwá, Sz {Fl.} kiwe, Sz 2 k̄wāk̄wā v. 'hear', ? Mch {L} k̄äbbi id. (-bb- < *-ww-?) ¶ Fl. OWL, LM 45, SiW ABK 16, SiW BA 13 || ?φ EC: Cg {AMS} qabaq- 'hear', Hr/Dbs {AMS} kapaq-, ? Gln/Gwd apaq- (dis.?) ¶ Acceptable only if -b- and -p- go back to *-w-; alternatively, the Dullay and Mocha words may be tentatively equated with D *kapp- > Krx kapp- 'feel with the hand\feet, know' (D #1225), which suggests a N etymon *KAp▽ ¶ AMS 171, Ss. B 24 || U *ka|ow▽ ({Jn.} *kãw+) > Sm *kãw 'ear' > Ne xa, {Lh.} χā, Ne F {Lh.} kã ~ ka, Ng {Cs.} kou, En X {Cs.} kû, En B {Cs.} kô, Slq UTz {KKIH} qō, Kms {KD} q'u, Koyb {Sp.} ky, Mt {Hl.} *kuh (Mt: T {Pl.} γοκτα, {Ml.} gókta 'his ears', K {Ml.} guk 'ears', {Pl.} κυκτα, kúkta 'his ear', M {Ml.} gu, guk 'ears', {Pl.} κυκτα 'his ear', {Sp.} κύμα 'my ear') ¶ Jn. 62, KKI 163, Hl. M #569, unc. Sm. 538 (Sm *kãw 'ear' ÷ FP *kovra [> F korva 'ear, ? Vt kwar 'leaf, ? Z kor id.] < FU *kãwi < U *kãw+ 'ear') || A: NaT *Kū (× N *gu▽ 'to perceive' × o₂?) > OT {Cl.} kū 'rumour; fame, reputation', Qrg kū 'melody, tune', Brb {Tm.} kü 'sound, voice, noise', Az küy 'sound', Shor {Rl.} küg 'Lärm, Ton', Brb/Tlt {Rl.} kü 'Ton, Lärm, Stimme, Geschrei' (in Brb and Tlt: × T *küg 'melody' [{Cl.}: ← MChn k'jok 'song']), Qrg o†kū 'rumble, boom; fame'; ⇨ NaT *Kū-lük 'famous' > OT {Cl.} kūlük id., Qrg kūlū 'in good condition, quite fine' Sg {Rl.} külük 'hero', Xk külük 'wise, clever; wisdom', Qzl {Jk.} ku'lük 'verständig, geschickt'; T ⇨ NPrs Δ {Dr.} كولوك kūlūk 'geschickt'; T *k'jū- > OT {Cl.} kū- in the phrase küyü közeδü tut- v. 'protect and keep' ¶ Cl. 686-7, 709, 717-8, ET KQ 128-9, Tm. 105, Jud. 472-3, Rm. W 306, Dr. TM III #1686, Rl. II 1416-7, 1426, 1470-2, BIG 96, Jud. 473, Shch. SF 195 || Tg *xoyipun 'ear-rings' > Ul χοιρο(n-), Nn Nh χοιρῶ, Nn B χοιφο(n-), Ud wajga ≙ oiga, {Krm.} wayga ~ wayga, Lm olwun ~ oywun id. ¶ STM II 8, Krm. 217 || pKo {S} *kúí 'ear' (× N *KeHu'h'lüHê [or *Ke'h'u|y,ê??] 'hear', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr., GS} *kev- 'ear' > Tm, Ml, Tl cevī, Kt keyv ≙ kev, Td kifý, Kn kivī, Tu kebi, Klm, Nkr kev, Gnd kevi ≙ kawī ≙ kavi, Krx xebdā, Mlt {Drs.} qethwu, Brh xaf id. ¶¶ D #1977(a), Zv. 57, 119, 153, GS 59 [#169], 66 [#210] ◇ The comparison with Om, EC, Sm, Ko, and Tg was suggested by Blz. (p.c., Blz. DA 153 [#12]), Blz. LB #42a reconstructs pN *qabi, which excludes IE, T, and Tg.

1230. **Ḳ'oḥa'w'i'* ~ **Ḳ'oḥa'w_Li_Jy* ▽ 'sinew, thread' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bowstring') > **IE:** NaIE **g^ωi_yā*, **g^ωi_yos* 'sinew, bowstring' > OI 'jyā ~ ji'ā, Av j̄yā- 'bowstring', pIrn d. **žya-ka/-kī* > NPrs هز zeh 'bowstring, lace' and Psh žāī, žāī 'bowstring' || Gk βιός 'bowstring; bow' || amb BSl: Lt gijà, Ltv dzi_ja 'thread' | Sl **žī-ca* > OCS **жица** žica 'sinew', SCr **žica** 'sinew, string', Blg **жица** 'thread, wire', R Δ жица 'combed wool-yarn' (× NaIE **g^ωh_ejā-/g^ωh_i-* 'vein, sinew, rope') ¶ **IE** **g^ω-* < pre-IE (before the cns. shift) **k^ω-* < ***ḳh_o-* < N ***Ḳoh-** ¶ WP I 670, 694, P 481, 489, EI 78 (**g^ω(i)_yeh_h* / gen. **g^ωi_h-os*), M KI 448, Sg. 630, Vl. II 160, Morg. 105, F I 237, Tr. 87, 90, Frn. 150, Vs. II 57-8, Glh. 709 || **HS:** WS **ḳaww-* 'string, thread', **ḳw?* 'weave' > BHb ḳ ḳaw ~ ḳ ḳāw 'string for stretching and measuring', MHb ḳ ḳaw 'thread, line', → 'circle, zone', JA [Trg.] pl. ḳ ḳi^ʔ-īn 'webs', JEA (Yemenite trad.) ḳ ḳēwā^ʔē, ḳ ḳawā^ʔē 'threads', JA {Lv.} ḳ ḳaw'w-ā 'thread', pl. ḳ ḳaw'w-īn 'web (Spinnewebe)', Sr ḳawē 'woven', {Br.} 'textilis', pl. ḳawīn, ḳawayyā 'texta', Md ḳaua 'web', Sq {L} ḳa 'thread'; hardly here Ak ḳû(m) 'measure (measuring vessel, etc.)', though this Ak word may have influenced Hb ḳaw~ḳāw ¶ KB 1010-1, KBR 1081, Lv. IV 257, Br. 651, DM 399, L LS 365, Sd. 924-5 (Ak ← Sum gū), CAD XIII 288-91 || B ***ḳaH_Lw_Jy* > **yāyy-* > Ah ta-yayye 'shooting bow' ¶ Fc. 1710 || **A:** M **quyaḥ* > WrM quyaḥ, HIM хуян 'tendon, sinew, nerve', ? Ord хуян 'rheumatisme'; M **quyi* ~ **küyi* 'umbilical cord' > MM [S] qui, Ord k'ū 'umbilical cord', KI {KRS} ки kī 'umbilical cord (cut off)', WrM küi, HIM хүй id., 'navel', KI {Rm.} kī 'navel' ⇨ M **küyi-sün* 'umbilical cord, navel' > Ord k'ūsū, KI киисн kīsən id., KI {Rm.} kīsḥ, MM [MA] küysün, WrM küisün, HIM хүйс 'navel' ¶ H 71, MED 498, 983, Pp. MA 226, KRS 298, KW 234, Ms. O 365, 441 || **D** **kō-* ({*ḡGS*} **k-*) v. 'string, thread' > Tm kō-, kōr-, Ml kōkka, korkka, Kn kō-, Kdg koya-, Prj kōp- / kōt- v. 'string', Tm kōccil 'what appears like a string, pod', Kt kō·v-, Klm kō·nz-, Nkr kōn³- v. 'string, thread', Tu kō pæ 'a string of fruits', Tl k(r)ōva 'a string', ? Gnd kāč- v. 'thread needle', 'string' (of garland, beads), ? Mlt kunye v. 'string (as beads)' ¶¶ D 2176.

1231. **ḲAḥw* ▽ 'seize, grasp, hold' > **HS:** S **ḳḥw* > Ar ḳḥw (ip. - ḳḥū) {Hv.} v. 'snatch, take the whole of', {Fr.} 'cepit omnino (opes)', {BK} 'râfler, 'enlever, emporter tout' ¶ Fr. III 403, BK II 681-2, Hv. 590 || B ***ḳw_y* (> **ḳw_y* / **qwy*) > Sll {Ds.} ḳ wⁱ (3m pf. i^ḳ wⁱ, hab.

iqq^way) 'seize' ¶ Ds. 254 || K *k_aw-/*k_w- v. 'seize, hold, take' > G k_av- v. 'take, hold, occupy', da-k_av-eba 'festhalten', še-k_av-eba 'zurückhalten', da-a-k_av-a 'er hielt ihn fest', Lz k_n- v. 'seize with the hand', Mg d. k_un- ~ k_in- 'hold, draw', Lz d. k_n- v. 'grasp (with a hand), snatch', Sv {FS} k_aw-, k_w- 'take, catch': li-k_w-en-i 'anhalten, festhalten, fangen', x_w-a-k_w-en-i 'ich fange', č-ot-k_äw 'ich hielt fest', lə₁-k_äw 'festgehalten, besetzt' ¶¶ K 104-5 (*k₋), K² 84 *k_aw-/*k_w-), FS K 167, FS E 182 (both reconstruct *k_aw-), Chik. 293-4 || D *ka_v- ({ǂGS} *k-) v. 'grasp' > Tm kav_ar v. 'seize, grasp, catch', MI kav_aruka v. 'plunder, rob', Kn kav_ar v. 'take away by force, seize', Krg kam_di v. 'steal', Tl kav_aγ_u v. 'embrace, copulate', ? OTI, Tl kam_uγ_u v. 'hold, seize' ({Km.} -m- < *-v-); D ⇨ OI kav_arak_i- a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D ##1326, Zv. 45, Km. 325 ◇ Fn. KD #24 (K, D).

1232. *k_ax_u ~ *k_ax_uU 'strike, push' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hew', 'touch') > HS: EC: Or {Th.} k_u?-a (nom. k_u?an) 'colpo, percossa, bastonata', {Grg.} k_u?a v. 'chip off', ??σ Arr k_ēh- v. 'split, tear' ¶ Th. 282, Grg. 334, Hw. A 378 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} k_u?- v. 'wound' ('ferire'), k_u?-is- v. 'strike' ('percuotere'), Wl {LmS} k_u?- 'split' ¶ Mrn. O 156, LmS 427 || K: GZ *k_weχ- 'push in, fill in' > G I/Gr k_veχ- vt. {K²} id., {Chx.} 'ingendwo hinein-stecken\zwängen, einkeilen, einquetschen', Mg k_vaχ- 'push\fill in' ¶ K² 94, Chx. 580-1 || IE *ka_hw- /k_hw- ~ *ka_uh- > NaIE *k_aw-/*k_āw-/*k_ū-, *ka_ul_ə- v. 'strike, hew' (× N *qE'z'û 'to shape [an object] by chopping, beating, etc.)' v. 'form an object by chopping\hammering' > ON h_qggva, OHG houwan, NHG hauen, AS hēawan 'to hew', NE hew || Lt k_āuti (prs. k_āuju, p. k_ōviau) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', kov_ā 'a fight', Ltv n_ō-ka_ūt 'to kill, to slaughter'; Lt k_ūjis 'sledge-hammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' || Sl *kov_ā-ti (prs. *k_ūj-q ~ *k_ōv-q) 'to forge, to hammer' > OCS KOBA_TH kovati (1s prs. KOB_Ā kov_q), SCr k_ōvati (prs. k_ūjēm), Slv kov_áti, OCz kovati, Cz kouti, Slk kovat', P kuć (prs. kuję), Δ kowac, R ко'вать (prs. к'у'ю) id., Blg ко'ва v. 'forge, hammer'; pSl *k_iǰь 'hammer, stick, cudgel' > OCS K_ŷH k_iǰь, SCr † kiǰ 'hammer', Lls kiǰ 'stick, cudgel, hammer', Slv kiǰ 'large (wooden) beetle', Cz kuj 'stick, cudgel', P kiǰ 'stick', OR, RChS K_ŷH k_iǰь 'hammer, cudgel', R Δ ки'й 'stick, hammer (for stunning fish and building stoves)', as well as R ки'й 'billiard cue' (× ← Fr cueue id.) || pTc {Ad.} ka_u- > Tc: A ko-, B

καυ- v. 'strike down, destroy' ¶ WP I 330-1, P 535, EI 549 (*keh_hu- 'strike, hew'), Mn. 483-4, Lehm. GE 213 (ON -ggv- < IE -wX-), Vr. 280, Kb. 483, OsS 491, KM 293, Ho. 153, Frn. 232, En. 198, Trj. P K-L 238-41, ESSJ XII 10-1, Glh. 340, Vs. II 231, Wn. 227-8, Ad. 208 || U: FU *kayV- v. 'hit (the target), touch, push against sth., knock against' > ObU {Ht.} *kāy- id. > pVg *kāy- 'hit (the target), touch, knock against' > Vg: T kāy-/kay-, LK xōy-/xoy-, MK kōy-/koy-, Ss xōy-; pOs *kay- v. 'dash, strike, hit, hit (the mark)' > Os: V/Vy qay-, Ty/Y qāy-, D/K xoy-, Nz/Kz xoy-, O xay- || F καίωτα 'to touch, to touch upon' ¶ UEW 118, Coll. 85, SK 145, Ht. #230, MK 95, BV 13, Trj. S 143, Stn. D 437-8 || A: M *qayi- > WrM qai-, HIM xай- v. 'hew, cut, chop'; b→ M *qayi-čīn 'scissors' > WrM qaiči(n), HIM xайч id., 'tong, pincers', Mnr H {SM} χē'z̄i (misprint for χē'z̄i?), {T} χēz̄i, Mnr M {T} qayz̄i, Dx qayčī 'scissors'; b→ M *qayi-čī-la- v. 'cut, clip, shear' > Mnr H {SM} χē'z̄ila- couper avec les ciseaux, tondre' ¶ MED 911-2, SM 166, T 375, T DnJ 124.

1233. *ḲayV 'look, look for' > HS: C {E} *Ḳay- 'hunt, look for' > Ag: Bln {R} qəy-, qāy- (q = [Ḳ]) 'hunt, chase after (nachsetzen jemandem)', Xm {R} xay- 'bewachen' || EC: ??σ Ya -qaj- 'kill' ¶ E PC #153, R WB 248, R Ch II 59 || IE: NaIE *k_lω₁ey-/*k_lω₁oy- 'observe, look' > OI 'cāya-ti 'perceives, is afraid of' || SI *čaja-ti (prs. *čaj-q) 'to expect, to hope' (× N *ḲuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > OCS, OR ΥΑΙΑΤΗ čajati 'to expect', SCr čājati, Slv čājati 'to wait, to expect', Cz čajáti 'to wait for, to hope', R чаять 'to expect, to hope' ¶ OI 'cāya-ti 'respects' and Gk τίω 'appreciate, respect' do not necessarily belong here (for lack of reliable semantic ties) (they belong rather to {E} *k^ωeh₁(y)- 'fear, revere' and/or *k^ωej- v. 'take revenge, repent; worth, price', see N *ḲoyV 'to compensate, to take revenge'), hence we need not reconstruct IE *k^ω- ¶ P 636-7, M KI 383, M EI 531. ESSJ IV 10-1, ≈ EI 198 || A: M *qayi- v. 'seek, search; look all around' > WrM qai-, HM, Brt xай- id., Ord xā- 'chercher, examiner', WrO xai- 'seek, search', Kl xəə- xā- id., {Rm.} 'suchen, nachspüren' ¶ MED 911, Ms. O 345, Krg. 255, KRS 587, KW 179.

1234. (₂?) *Ḳ'E'yû 'person of the same clan' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'friend') > IE: NaIE *kēj₁w- 'person of the same clan' > OI 'śēva- 'dear, intimate' || OL ceivis, L cīvis, Osc CEUS 'citizen' || OHG hīwo 'married man, husband', {OsS} id., 'member of the clan (Hausgenosse), servant (Knecht)', AS hīwan pl. 'family, household', hīw-cund 'domestic, familiar' (> NE hind 'farm labourer'), OSx d. hīwa, OHG d.

hīwa 'wife', ON hjú(n) ~ hjón 'one of the household', pl. 'married couple, members of a family', Gt hejwafrauja 'οἰκοδεσπότης, master of the house' || Ltv siēva 'wife' ¶ P 539-40 (believes that *kēiω- is an extension of *kēi- 'lie, liegen'), M K III 376, WH I 224-5, Bc. G 314, Vr. 233, Fs 253-4, Schz. 168, Kb. 472, OsS 404, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, Fs. 253-4, Kar. II 179, EI 214 and 622 (*kēiω-s ~ *kī'ω-s 'belonging to the household') || **HS:** C: Bj {R} 'k^ωāya 'comrade, friend' ¶ R WBd 154 ¶ The labialized k^ω- is probably due to the spread of labiality *u|w (sth. like *k^ω'E'yû > **k^ωUyU > Bj 'k^ωāya) || Eg fP {EG} kyū, {Fk.} ky 'other' (≡σ: Sl *drugъ 'friend' - *drug-ъ/-оуъ 'other') ¶ EG V 110-5, Fk. 285 || **A:** ??σ M *qayalid 'second cousin of the father's side' > WrM qayalid, HIM хаялид id. (unless ← *qoyar 'two')] ??σ M *qayira 'love; grace, mercy, compassion' > WrM qaira, HIM хайр id., ← M *qayirala- v. 'love, have mercy' > WrM qairala-, HIM хайрла- id., MM [HI] qairala- 'témoigner de l'affection', qayirala- 'avoir compassion', [S] qayirala- 'have pity of, care for', [MA] qairala-ba tündü 'did him a favour', ← M *qayiran 'dear (chéri)' > WrM qairan, HIM хайран 'dear, nice; pitiable, regrettable', Ord {Ms.} χāran 'digne de pitié'. Mnr H {SM} χē'ran 'cher, chéri' ¶ MED 913, SM 167, Pp. MA 288, Ms. H 86, 89, H 64 ¶ For the semantic change 'friendship' → 'love' cp. R род'ной ('of the same family' → 'beloved').

1235. (₂?) *koy∇ 'compensate, take revenge' > IE: NaIE *k^ωej- v. 'take revenge, reprove', 'worth, price' > Av kāy- 'vergeltēn, büßen', čikayaṭ (he) carries out reprisal, punishes, takes revenge', OI 'cayatē 'revenges, punishes' || Gk A τίω, Gk Ep τίω v. 'pay honour, honour', Gk τίνω v. 'pay (a price by way of return), pay (penalty)', τίσις 'payment (by way of return\recompence), retribution, vengeance' || ? OIr cin (gen. cinad) 'faute, crime, culpabilité, responsabilité' (P: < *k^ωinu-t-s) || Sl *kǎjati 'to reprove, to blame' (→ vt. 'confess') > Slv kájati 'to reprove', OR, ChS καῖατι kajati, R Δ 'каятъ vt. 'to reprove, to blame; to confess', Sl *kǎja-ti se 'to repent' > OCS каῖατι са kajati se, SCr kǎjati se, Slv kájati se, Cz kāti se, Slk kajat' sa, P kajać się, R 'каяться id., Blg 'кая се v. 'repent' || ← NaIE *kwojnā 'compensation, price' > Av kaēnā- 'penalty, vengeance', {Brtl.} 'Strafe, Vergeltung, Rache', ZPhl kēn 'revenge', NPrs کین kīn id., 'hatred, enmity' || Gk ποινή 'quit-money for blood spilt; price, requital, penalty' || Mlr {EI} cin 'guilt, crime, payment due' || Lt

káina 'price, cost, worth'; Pru d. er-kīnint 'to liberate (from the devil)' || Sl *cě'na (accus. *cěno) 'price, worth' > OCS ЦѢНА cěna, Blg це'на, Slv céna, Cz, Slk, P cena id., R це'на (accus. цену), Uk ці'на, SCr céna & cijèna 'price' ¶ P 637, M KI 376, Brtl. 429, 464, Bai. 440, Sg. 1070, F II 573-4, 906-7, Vn. C 101, Frn. 203, En. 170, Tr. P E-H 75-8, ESSJ III 182 and IX 115-7, Glh. 162, 309-10, EI 123 (*k^woĭneh_Ā 'compensation' < *k^weĭ- 'fine, punish'), ≈ 198 (*k^weh₁(y)- 'fear, revere') || HS: B **√(w)kH 'take revenge' > Ah əqq 'être vengé, se venger', Ah, ETwl, Ty eṣa 'vengeance', BMn 1s pf. ūyī-y 'I took revenge', hab. ttaṣ ¶ Fc. 1683, GhA 64 || ?σ D (att. in NED) *°kōy- v. 'measure' > Krx *xoy- v. 'measure, ascertain the extent \ quantity \ capacity of', Mlt qoye v. 'weigh, measure', as well as ?? Gnd kah- & kaʔ- v. 'measure, count' ¶¶ D # 2227.

1236. *Ḳuṣa 'manner' (→ 'like, as') > U: FU *kuṣa 'custom, manner; as, like' > Er/Mk koy '(national) custom, peculiarity, way of life', Mk кодыма postp. 'like, similar to' || ? Es kuju 'shape, form, figure' || Prm {LG} *kod ({{LG} *kōd) 'as, like' > OPrm kōy, Z кодь kod, Z US kōd, Yz 'kuđ, Vt кадь kad || Vg {Kn.}: T kəytə, LK xojtə, P koytə, Ss xōytə ~ xōīt 'like, as (gleich, wie, nach Art)' ¶ UEW 195, Slv. 38-9, W EDW 402, LG 127 || HS: [1] *ka₁ya₁ > S *ka ~ *°kay(a) 'like, as' (preposition of comparison or identity) > OA k-, IA, BA -ḳə kə-, Ar ka- 'like, as', Hb -ḳə kā- / -ḳə kə-, מו כה kə-'mō 'like', הו כה kā-'zē 'such' (lit. 'like this'), Ug k, Amr {G} ka, ki 'as, like', Ar ka-miθli-hi 'as him' (lit. 'as his likeness'), Sb k 'as, like', Tgr kə-m 'according to, like', ? Ak kī ~ kē (< *kay] 'as, just as'), kī 'how?', Eb {Krb.} ga ka, gi kī 'as, like'; S *-ka, ending of adverbs of manner: *ʔay-ka(y) 'how?' (lit. 'which like?') > Hb ʔā-ḳə ~ ʔā-ḳā, Ug ʔā-ḳ [ʔēka], OA, Aram ʔyḳ, Ak akī ~ akē 'how?'; *ka-ka ~ *ka-kay(a) 'so' (lit. 'this like') > Hb ḳāḳ ~ ḳā-ḳā, Ak kīkī ~ kīkē ~ kīkiya 'so' ¶ KB 38, II 432-3, 458, KBR 39, 455-6, Seg. AAG 351-2, HJ 45, Br. AG 114, LH 394, Grd. UT §§ 10.9, 12.3, OLS 205-6, G A 22, Ln. 2998, BGMR 237, Sd. 468f., CAD VIII 316-29, 351, Krb. PE 84, 86 || C: Bj {R} kā-k(ṡ) 'how?' (interr. kā- [< N *Ḳo 'who?'] + -k(ṡ) of manner), {Rop.} kāk 'how?, what... like?', Bj {R} bak ~ bakṡ 'so, like this/that' || Ag *-ḳa 'as, like' > Xm {Ap.} wá-qā 'how much\many?', Km wə-xa 'how many?', wa-ʃ 'how?' (wa-, wə- is interrogative, cp. Km wā, Xm {Ap.} wír 'what?') || EC: Arr kā-kó(h) 'how much\many?' (kā of quantity [← *manner] + interr. -kó(h), cp.

mākó(h) 'when?', bukó 'which one?' m.), possibly Or: Or B {Sr.} ak(k)a 'way, manners, customs; as, like', Or H/Wt akka 'as, like' ¶ R WBd 46, 138-9, R BedS §§ 182, 192, Rop. 203, Ap. Kh I 264, Ap. K 321, Hw. A 232-4, Sr. 261-2, Grg. 13, Brl. 12-3 || B: Gd əmmək 'how?', 'de sorte que, de manière que' (interr. *m∇- + *-k 'as') ¶ Lf. II #O993 ||| [2] ? HS *°-k∇ ('as, like?') > Ch: Hs k̄àk̄à 'like' (prep.), k̄òk̄à 'as, like'; the structure of k̄àk̄à may be as in Bj (interr. + *-k∇ 'as, like') ¶ Ba. 531-2, 619 || IE: [1] NaIE *°-k_Lω_L (ending of adverbs of manner and of denom. adjectives) > Sl *-ko 'as, like' in the pronominal adverbs *ja-ko 'how?, like' (*ja- 'which' + *-ko 'like, as'), *ka-ko 'how?' (IE interr. *kω_L- + *-ko 'like'), *ta-ko 'so' (*to- 'this' + *-ko) > OCS jako, kako, tako, R как, так, P jak, tak, etc.; this et. is especially plausible if the corresponding Sl adjectives *jakъ 'qualis', *kakъ id., and *takъ 'talís' are based on the adverbs and not viceversa; but even if the basic form were adjectives, an underlying IE *-ko 'like' is not ruled out | [2] NaIE *ku_L 'how?' (< cd. *k^ω-ku_L 'which way? quo-modo?') > MLG wū, OSx hū, hū, OFrs, AS hū 'how?', NE hōw || ?φ OIr cō 'how?' || ?φ Av čū 'how?' ¶ Brg. KVG § 399, Rch. § 375, Vn C 134, Ho. 177, Ho. S 37-9, ESSJ I 64-5 (s.v. *ako / *jako?), VIII 171 [*jakъ(jъ)], and IX 118-9 [*kako, *kakъ(jъ)], ≠ P 647-8 || A: NaT *-ki ~ *-g in *täk(i) ~ *täg postp. 'like' (< dem. prn. + *-g 'as' > OT tä_Lg 'like' (postp.) (a long vw. suggested by MK's spelling), OAz täki ~ täk (sän täki 'comme toi'), Tkm däk, Uz -däk (tämir-däk 'like iron'), Tv дег 'as, like' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 468, Shch. OSMN 88, TvR 151 || Tg *-k (an ending of essive) > Ewk Urm -k (essive before the verb õ- 'become': burkiłē-k õ-mi 'become ill'), Lm -k (ending of the essive case) ¶ Vas. 757 ◇ If NaIE *ku_L, *°-ko and Hs k̄àk̄à do not belong here, the N rec. will be *k|Kuyā.

1237. *kuyē 'be hungry, desire, want' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be in heat, lust') > HS: S *°√kwy 'be hungry' > Ar √qwy (np. -qway-) 'be very hungry', قوی qaṣā- ~ قواء qaṣā? 'hunger' (× Ar √qwy 'être vide') ¶ BK II 842-3, Hv. 636 || B *√wq_LH_L (< **√q_LH_L) v. 'copulate' (× N *hoqū 'copulate', q.v. ffd.) || K {FS} *qō- 'desire' > Mg m-o-qō 'I want' (lit. 'mihi est voluntas'), g-o-qō 'you (sg.) want', o-qō 'wants', Lz qō-: b-kvat-i-qō-n 'ich möge zerschneiden', b-čar-a-qō-n 'ich möge schreiben', Sv ku-: m-a-ku 'ich möchte', ž-a-ku 'du möchtest', χ-a-ku 'er möchte' ¶ FS K 187, FS E 205 || IE: NaIE *kω_L 'desire' > OI kēta-ḥ 'desire, will, intention', Av kaēta- 'Begehren' (in a cd.) || Gk κίττα, Gk

A κίσσα 'false appetite (of pregnant women)', Gk κισσάω, Gk A κιστάω v. 'crave for strange food' (of pregnant women), 'long to do (a th.)' || Pru quāits n. 'will (Wolle)', quoi '(he) wants', Lt kviečiū / kviešti v. 'invite' ({Db.}: Lt iē points to the absence of any lr.) ¶ WPI 475-6, P 632, M K I 265, M E I 399, F I 860-1, Frn. 326, En. 200, Tr. P K-L 366-74, 384-6, Db. SA 235-262 || U: FU *küye (or *keye-) 'lust, amorous calling sounds' (×FU *kEyθ∇- 'utter the mating call' [of birds in courtship ritual], 'sing' < N *gaꝥügaæ 'covet, long for', [→?] 'mate, copulate') > Prm *koy- 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of male capercalxies, etc.) > Z Δ koy-, koyt-, Z US kōy- id., Z koy-t, Yz 'kut 'birds' mating season\place' || Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' | ObU {Ht.} *kēy- ~ *kōy- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of birds) > pVg *kǎy- 'balzen' > Vg: T kiy-, UL/Ss *kay-LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kǎy-; pOs {Ht} *köy- ({JHl.} *kǒy-) id. > Os: V/Vy köy-, Ty kǒy-, Y kōy-, D këy-, K kǎy-, Nz/Kz key-, O qoy- id. ¶ Coll. 79, Sm. 543 (FU *kiχi 'rut' > FP *kiχi-, Ugr *kĩgĩ-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. #231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167 || A: M *quyalı > WrM quyalı, HIM хуял 'lust, lasciviousness; lusty, lewd', ? Kl χῦλ 'Hure, Kewsweib (der Fürsten)' ¶ MED 263 || ???σ T *k_l'ıy- (unless ← *kiy- 'hew, cut') > OOsM [DQ] 'intend to', Ggz, Qzq, Qrg qıy-, VTt qby-, Chv хăй- χby- 'take a decision to do sth.' ¶ ET Q 197-8 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #701 (incl. T).

1238. *ꝥæ'h'ıy∇ (or *ꝥæ'h'üy∇?) to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to boil, to cook') > IE: NaIE *kēy-/*kay-/*kū- vt. 'set fire to, burn' > Gk I καίω, Gk A κάω 'I set on fire, light, kindle' (< *καF-jω), Gk Ep (med.) κηάμην, καῦμα 'burning heat (of the sun)' || pTc {Ad.} *kāun > Tc: A korñ, B kayñ 'sun' (← 'burning heat of the sun') || ?? Blt: Lt kŭlėti 'be blighted, brandig werden' (of corn), kŭlės 'brand, smut, blight (of corn)', Ltv kŭla 'last year's withered (← 'burnt') grass'; the ancient meaning has been preserved in a loan-word in BF: F kulō 'Waldfeuer, withered grass' ¶ P 595, EI 88 (? *kēh_hw- 'burn'), F I 756-7, Frn. 306-7, SK 234-5, Ad. 210-1 || HS: S *✓kwy (*-kwıy-) vt. 'burn' > BHb G prtc. כָּוָה kō'wē 'burn, scorch' (h. l. Jr. 23.29), (N ip. 2m) תִּכְוָה tikkā'wē 'be scorched', JA [Trg.], ChPA, Sr ✓kwy|w (כּוּא, כּוּ) vt. 'burn', Ar ✓kwy (pf. kāwā, ip. -kwıy-) vt. 'cauterize', ? Ak fOB ✓kwy|w (inf. kawû) vt. 'bake' (unless this is a secondary variant of kamû id., as claimed by CAD VIII 131 against the

ev. of Ak OB: *kakkartum ku-wi-i* 'bake *kakkartum*-bread') ¶ Br. 320, KB 441, KBR 463, Lv. II 302-3, BK II 946, Hv. 671, Sd. 441, 466-7 || SOM: Hm K {FL} *kaʔo* vt. 'burn', Hm B {FL} *ko·ka* id. ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn' || ?? C: Ag **kaw-* 'warm' > Bln {R} *kaw-s-* 'erwärmen', *kaw-r-* 'sich erwärmen', *kawrnā* 'die Wärme', Q {R} *kō-t-* 'such wärmen', *kaw-t-anā* 'Wärme' ¶ R WB 231 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krf {Sch.} *kàʔú-wò* vt. 'burn', Tng {J} *kawε* vt. 'fry (groundnuts, meat)'; NrBc: P' {J} *kù* vt. 'fry, roast', {MSk.} *ku* 'fry', Wrj/Jmb/My {Sk.} *kaw-*, Kry {Sk.} *kàw-*, Cg {Sk.} *kuwa*, Sir {Sk.} *kū* 'fry'; Ngz {Sch.} *kàuyú* 'fry (in oil)' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} *káwá* 'fry' || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} *kúy* 'fry', Ke {Eb.} *kí* vt. 'burn', Mu {J} *kèwí* 'fire' ¶ JI II 54-5, 154-5, 274, J T 96, Sk. NB 22, Eb. 70, Sch. BTL 55, Sch. DN 95 ¶¶ Blz. OL #103 (HS **kawu-* 'burn'), OS #1441 (HS **kaw-* 'set fire') || U **key¹e-* vi. 'boil, be cooked, ripen' > F *keittä-* vt. 'boil, cook', *kiehu-* vi. 'boil', Es *kee-* vi. 'boil, cook' | ? Lp K {Gn.} *kihte-* & *kēhte-* vt. 'cook' | Chr: L *κῦα-* *küa-*, Uf *küa-* vi. 'be cooked, baked, ripen', H *κῦα-* *küa-* 'be cooked, baked', B *küya-* 'ripen, be baked' || Hg Δ *kōved-* 'abgekocht, gedünstet, im großen und ganzen gekocht werden' || Sm: Ne F: Ks *kū-* v. 'ripen' (of berries), Ny *kūbī* 'ripe soft cloudberry' ¶¶ UEW 143, Coll. 23, MRS 256, Ep. 50 || A: [1] NaT **k'ayin-* ~ **k'ayna-* vi. 'boil' > OT *qayin-*, *qayna-* id., Tk *kayna-*, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Xlj *qayna-*, Kr *kayna-*, Xk *χayna-*, Tv *χayin-*, Tf {Ra.} *hējn-*, {TL ← ?} *χaen-* 'boil (sieden)', Az, Tkm *qayna-*, Ggz *kayna-*, Uz, Slr *qayna-* id., 'boil (be cooked)', Yk {Pek.} *kīyin-* ~ *kiyin-* 'cook, be cooked', {JkR} *kīy-* 'boil (sieden)' ¶ Cl. 678, ET KQ 203-5, Ra. 188, JkR 215, Pek. 1371-2 || M **qayira-* > WrM *qaira-*, HIM *хайра-* v. 'fry, grill, roast; singe with hot iron', Brt *хайра-* 'fry, roast; burn through while ironing', WrO *χair-* v. 'brand', Kl *xəap-χār-* v. 'singe, roast' ¶ MED 907, Krg. 257, KRS 587, KW 180, Chr. 534 || pKo {S} **kò'í-* v. 'boil, cook' > MKo *kò'í-*, NKo *kō-* ¶ S QK #536, Nam 48, MLC 137 ¶¶ The vw. *-a- (instead of *e or *ä) in T and M may be due to vw. harmony ¶¶ DQA #751 (A **k_l'eyu* 'boil, cook') || [2] ?φ NaT **k'üh-* vi. 'catch fire, burn' (if *-h- is from *-yn-, as suggested by Cl.) > OT *küh-*, Qmq *güy-*, Tkm, ET, Ln, Xk, Qc, Qb, Sg *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tlt, SY, Ln *küy-*, VTt, Bsh *көй-* *köy-*, Uz *kwy-*, Xlj *kün-*, Yk *köy-* ({ET}: < ***köỹ-*) id., Tk *göy-* vt. 'burn, singe' ¶ Cl. 726, ET KQ 88-9 || M **quyiqā* 'scalp; animal skin from which the hair has been singed' (× N **koyH∇* 'skin, bark', q.v. ffd.); M **quyiqā-la-* > WrM

quiqa-la-, HIM хуйхла- vt. 'singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass, etc.), M → (?) Qrg quyqala- 'singe (a hen, a sheep)', StAlt quyqala- 'singe (a hen, a swine), Tv quyqala- 'singe (a hide)' ¶ The Qrg, Alt, Tv verb is likely to be a loan from M, but it may have been derived within the T lgs. as well, because the verbal derivational sx. -la- is productive both in M and in T (Pp. GPMJ 135, Cl. XLV) ¶ MED 983, KRS 615-6, Chr. 607, Jud. 438, TvR 263, BT 94 || D (in SD) *kuy- ({ǵGS} *k-) vi. *'burn' > Tu куйулуні vi. 'inflammе (as the eyes or a boil)'; Kdg {Em.}: Kdg NI куйⁿ- (fts. куйууⁿ-), Kdg MV куйнд- 'feel prickly' ¶ D #1761 ◇ U *-e- of the first syll. (for the expected *ä or *a) is still to be explained (regr. as. **ä|a...e > *e...e?).

1239. *Қау, ʔ, ∇ 'wilderness, desert, woods (esp. in the mountains)' > IE: NaIE *ka₁to- {Dv.} 'uninhabited land, heath (brughiera)', {P} 'woods, uninhabited land' > OW coit, W coed 'trees, wood', OCrn cuit, MCrn coys, cos 'forest', Br koad id., 'wood (Holz)' || AS hæð, MLG hēde 'heath (land)', MHG heide, NHG Heide 'heath, moorland', Gt haiþi 'field, arable land' (< 'uninhabited land, heath, steppe'), ON heiðr 'highland', Gtn haid 'large forest, woods', Sw hed, Dn hede 'heath, uninhabited land', NE heath ¶ P 521, Dv. 165, 500 [#804], LP § 14, YGM-1 94, Hm. 469, Fs. 237, Vr. 217, Sw. 80, Ho. 146, Lx. 83, KM 297 ¶ The element *-to- goes back to a sx. || HS: S *^o✓k_wlyʔ > Ar قى qīy-, قوا qawa- (< *kaway-), قوا qawāʔ-, قوا qīwāʔ- 'desert, uninhabited land' ¶ BK II 843 || EC: Ya {Hn.} qē (pl. qēʔ) 'mountain', {Gr.} kaiet 'mountain, forest' ¶ Hn. Y II 130, Gr. M s.v. kaiet || NrOm: Male {Gr.} kaho, Cha {C} kuwi 'forest (boscaglia)' ¶ C SE III 170 || D (in SD) *kā ({ǵGS} *k-) 'forest, jungle' > Tm kā 'forest, pleasure-grove', kāṇam 'woodland, grove', Tm K kāvam 'forest', Ml kānam 'jungle', Kn kā 'forest', Tu kāna 'forest, jungle, wood'; D → OI kānana- 'forest' ¶ D ##1418, 1438, Tu. #3028.

1240. *Қуһ ∇ 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable' > HS: S *^o✓k_wlyh > Ar qāh- 'commodе, aisé' (se dit de l'état, de la vie d'un homme riche), 'obéissance', {Hv.} 'comfortable' (life), 'obedience' ¶ BK II 842, Hv. 636 || IE *k^wej_h- > NaIE *k^wej_a- / *k^wij_ē- {P} v. 'be at rest, repose' ({P} 'behaglich ruhen') > L quiē-scō / pfc. quiēvi / sup. quiē-tum 'rest from work, lie down, sleep', quiē-tus adj. 'resting', sleeping, at peace', quiēs (gen. quiēt-is) n. 'repose, quiet; repose at night, sleep; peace' || Irn *čyā- {Bai.} 'be at

rest, happy' > Av šyā- 'be glad, happy', OPrs šiyātaу-, YAv šātaу- 'Freude, Wohlbehagen, Glück', OPrs {Hinz} šiyātiš 'Glückseligkeit, Segensfülle, Wohlstand', Oss: I āncou, D āncounä n. 'rest (quies, Ruhe), rest from work; prop' (< Irn *ham-čyā-na-), I āncayzn, D āncayun v. 'stop, cease, calm\quiet down, become quiet' (< *ham-čyā-), I/D āncad adj. 'quiet, calm' ||| Arm **հանգիստ** han-gi-st 'repose; ease, tranquility; well-being, leisure' (-gi- < *-k^wi-), **հանգչիմ** hangč^him 'I repose, am at ease, rest (from work)' ||| Sl **čī-ti {SPS} 'to be at rest' in ds. and cds.: cd. *po-čī-ti 'to repose, to fall asleep' > OCS **поуити** počiti (1s prs. **поуитѣ** počiję) id., 'to have a rest', R b по¹чить, Slv počīti, SCr d. počīnuti 'to have a rest, to die', Cz spročinout 'to rest', Blg по¹чина 'have a rest, die', Uk спочити 'to take a rest, to repose', ip. *po-čī-va-ti 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose' > OCS **поуивати** počivati, P sproczywać id., R b, † почи¹вать 'to rest, to sleep', Uk спочи¹вати 'to sleep'; Sl d. *čī-la 'a while' > OCz čila id., OCz, Cz Δ včile 'now, immediately'; Sl *koj-i-ti vt. 'to lay (to rest), to calm' (caus. of *čī-ti) > Cz kojiti, Slk kojit', OP, P koić vt. 'to calm', ? Sl *kojiti 'to rear, to bring up' > SCr Δ kōjiti, Slv kojiti id., Cz kojiti 'to breast-feed'; Sl *po-kojь n. 'rest, quiet' > OCS **покон** pokoi, R, Blg по¹кой, Uk покій, SCr pòkoj, Slv, Cz, Slk pokoj id., P pokój 'peace' ||| ⇨ NaIE *k^wī-lo- 'quiet' > L tranquillus (< trans- + *k^wil-nos) (~ ı {WP, P ← ?} tranquīlus) 'quiet, calm'; the shortening *ī > *i is problematic ||| Gmc *x^wīlō 'rest, a while' > ON hvíla 'place of rest, bed', Sw vīla, Dn hvil(e) 'rest', Gt hveila, OHG (h)wīla, NHG Weile, Dt wijl, OFrs hwīle 'a while', OSx, AS hwīl(a) 'a while, time', NE while; ⇨ Gt hveilan 'cease', ana-hveilan {Fs.} 'beruhigen, erquicken', ON hvíla 'to have a rest, to let so. rest', Sw vīla, Dn hvile sig 'to (have a) rest', OHG (h)wīlōn 'sich aufhalten, bleiben', NHG π weilen 'to stay, to stop, to abide, to tarry, to linger', verweilen 'to stay, to remain, to tarry, to linger', Dt verwijlen 'to stop, to remain' ¶ ≈ WP I 510, ≈ P 638, EI 474-5 (*k^weih₁ 'rest, quiet'), ≈ M K I 390, Brtl. 1716-8, Hinz 127-8, Bai. 146, Ab. I 150-2, Vs. III 305, 347-8, SPS II 198, 218, StSS 470, 494, ESSJ X 113, Chr. II 50, 63, ≈ Glh. 310, WH II 406, 700, EM 699, Fs. 284, OsS 439-40, Ho. S 39, Ho. 182, Kb. 1198, HDEL 1453, 1525, Vr. 272, Vr. N 780, 837, KM 848 ||| **u**: FU {UEW} *kuу∇ 'lie (liegen)' > pChr {Ber.} *kiyā- 'lie' > Chr: H {UEW} kie-, {Ep.} inf. киāш kiāš, L kiye- (inf. кияш ki'y-aš), E kiye- id. (pChr *i <

*u due to the palatalizing effect of *-y-?); Chr В куца- 'fleischlichen Umgang pflegen' || Prm {LG} *кЕу|· v. 'lie' > Z куйлыны куyl|·-n|, Yx күйли-, Vt кыллыны к|й|·n| id. || ObU: pVg *күй- v. 'lie, sleep' > Vg: T/MK коу-, LK чоу-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML куу-, UL/Ss чуу- id.; Os O чоу- id. ¶ UEW 197, Coll. 89, Ber. 16, Ht. #744, MRS 199, Ep. 43, LG 144, Stn. D 440 ◇ Alternatively, IE *k^wejH-, U *куу∇, and Ar qāh- may be considered belonging to N *g^wih∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' (see N *g^wey∇ id.), but in this case the U vw. remains unexplained. But even if these are two separate etyma, some semantic infl. of N *g^wey∇ on U *куу∇ is probable ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (*Қоуа 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (*к'уца 'покоиться'), AD GD #135.

1241. (₂?) *Қау, i, wa 'to dig' > IE: NaIE *koj_u- 'pit, hole' ({Specht}: a heteroclitic noun *kaiw_u-t, {E} ? *kaj_uw_u(t) / *kaj_uw_u't-os 'cave, fissure in the earth') > OI 'kēvaṭa-h 'cave, hollow' (-ṭ- < *-rt-) || Gk καλετός 'fissure produced by earthquake', Gk D κατάδᾶς ~ Gk [Eust.] κατάτας 'a pit or underground cavern in Sparta' ¶ FI 753, M KI 267, LS 858, FI 753, Specht D 25, WP I 327, P 512, EI 96 || U {Db.} *кауω, {UEW} *коуωа- v. 'dig, draw (water), ladle (out)' (× N *kou∇ 'to draw [schöpfen]', 'scoop, spoon' [q.v.]) > F kai va-, Es каε va-, Lw коу v- v. 'dig', F kai vo, Es каε v 'well (Brunnen)', Lw kōi, kâ:i 'spoon' || pLp {Lr.} *kōy_vō 'ladle (out), dig' > Lp: L {LLO} kâi'vōt, N {N} goai'vot id., 'shovel, kick up', S {Hs.} goājvudh vt. 'dig', 'dig out with hooves' (of reindeer), 'ladle', Kld коуve- vt. 'ladle' || Er койме коyme, Mk кайме 'каymə 'shovel (Schaufel)' || pChr {Ber.} *куць- v. 'shovel (schaufeln, (с)грести лопатой)' > Chr: L куэ- kue- (inf. ku'aš), E kue-, H коэ- кое- (inf. коaš) id. || Sm {Jn.} *kāy_wā 'spade, shovel' > Ne T сива, Ne O {Lh.} śīβ'ā, Ne F śjēβ'āā 'shovel', En {Cs.} sea, Ng {Mik.} 'каybu 'spade', Kms {KD} qō 'oar' ¶¶ UEW 118, It. #16, Lr. #467, Lgc. #2610, Hs. 630, ERV 276, PI 98, Ker. II 63-4, Ber. 22-3, MRS 235, Ep. 44, Jn. 63, IS I 334 (*÷ Er/Mk каца- 'throw', Prm *коу- id., 'pour') || A: ?σ M *qayib∇ 'oar' > WrM qaiba, qaibi, qaibu, HIM хайв 'ε oar for a raft or boat', Kl хэав χᾶω, {Rm.} χᾶωi 'oar' ¶ MED 911, KRS 585, KW 181 ¶ The M √ is a valid cognate unless it belongs to N *kou∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)'; scoop, spoon' (which is not preferable because of the M vw. *a) ◇ IS I 333-4 [#209] (*Қауωа 'dig': U, IE [does not distinguish this etymon from the reflexes of N *Қäw∇ 'cavity, hole'] *÷ M *qaya-throw'), UEW 170 (U, M [borrowings]) ◇ If M *qayiba belongs here,

the N rec. must be trisyllabic: ***Ḳayiwa**. It is quite possible (even inevitable) that in some descendant lgs. the N paronyms ***Ḳayliwa** 'dig' and ***Ḳäw∇** 'cavity, hole' influenced each other and contaminated.

1242. *ḲüZ|3∇(-r∇) 'neck' > **K**: OG ḳiser-i 'neck', G ḳiser-i / ḳisr- 'neck, nape' ¶ Abul. 199, Chx. 596 || **HS**: C: EC: Sml Ji qož 'neck', ? Gdl {Bl.} ḳóřot 'front half of neck' || SC ({E} *ḳʷaṭya 'neck' [?]): Brn qosa 'nape', Kz ḳʷanzuko 'throat', SC ⇨ Mb kikoža '€ necklace' ¶ E SC 268, EK 14, EPC #162, Bl. G 132 || Om: (×N ***ḲAʔû'd∇** or ***Ḳûṭ∇** 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder', q.v.): NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} ḳuoḍē, Zl {LmS} ḳoḍiya, {C} ḳoḍiyā 'throat', Gf {C} ḳuoḍā, {LmS} ḳōḍa, {Mrn.} ḳoḍe, Bdt {C} ḳoḍē, Malo {LmS} ḳōde, Gm {Hw.} ḳóḍe, Cha {C} ḳiṭṭā, Kf {C} ḳeṭṭō, Mch {L} ḳättó, {LmS} ḳētto, Anf {Gt.} ḳettō, Bsk {C} ḳoḍā 'neck', Dc {LmS} ḳōḍe id., 'throat' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} ḳada 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 218, IV 489, C SO 33, 45, 50, 63, 65, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'neck', LM 48, Bnd. AL 155 || **A** *ḳ'üž∇ ({S} *ḳ'üžṽ) 'neck' > M *küžü-šün 'neck' > MM [S] küžü-ürn, [HI] gūžü-ürn, [MA, IM, IsV] küžün, WrM küžügürn, HIM xγzyγ, Kl κγzyγ küžün 'neck, jugular vertebra', Dx gužun, Dg kužū, {Mr.} χužū, Mnr {SM} gūžü, MMgl {Iw.} kūžün, Mgl {Rm.} kužün ¶ Pp. MA 226, 440, MED 510, Iw. 114, Rm. M 31, SM 140, T 326, Lg. VMI 52, Mr. D 25 || Tg {DQA} *kuju- ~ *kujī- 'neck; bow one's head' > Ork qožl 'neck', WrMc χužu 'bow one's head, bend down, bow low (in kneeling position)', Nn B kužū- 'bend down', Neg kujit/ç- 'kneal and boe down' ¶ Tg *k- (for the expected *x-) still needs explaining ¶ STM I 403, 424 || pKo {S} *k'íc 'collar' > MKo k'íc, NKo kiš [kit] id. ¶ S QK #29, Nam 82-3 ¶¶ S AJ 294, DQA #939 (A *küžü- ~ *kòže 'neck, collar') ¶¶ The de-emphatization in Tg (or pA) (*k- for pA *k' > Tg *x-) is still to be accounted for || **D** (in NED) *k'ē'č∇r 'neck' > Mlt qasru id., Krx xesər 'neck, shoulders' ¶ D #1996, Pf. 189 ◇ The vw. of the first syll. of the D cognate needs investigating.

1243. *Ḳ∇wž∇ ~ ***Ḳ∇ʔûž∇** (or ***Ḳ∇wž∇** ~ ***Ḳ∇ʔûž∇**) 'to draw (schöpfen); (to) ladle; (?) to dig out' > **K**: GZ *ḳowz- 'spoon' > OG, G ḳovz-, G Δ ḳobz- ~ ḳomz- ~ ḳoz-, Mg ḳz- ~ ḳiz- id., Lz ḳuz- ~ ḳiz- 'wooden spoon' ¶ G Δ ḳomz- may have been influenced by some T lge. (see MT XIV [IM] kamič 'ladle') ¶ K 113-4, Chik. 170, Abul. 201, Chx. 606, DCh. 622, Q 257, Cl. 626, Rs. W 229 || **IE**: Ht kasč- 'auslöffeln,


ausschöpfen' ¶ Ts. E I 538 (not found in Pv.) || HS: B **√kʔz > *√yʔz v. 'dig' > Ah {Fc.} əyʔh v. 'be digged', BSn əyʔ (hab. qəz), Izn, Rf, Mtm əyʔ (hab. qəz), Izd yʔəz v. 'dig', Zng {TC} aʔž (pf., aor. yəʔž) 'creuser un trou' ¶ Fc. 1702, Pr. H #565, DCTC 294 || C: Ag *okʷ∇S- v. 'dig out' > Bln {R} qũš- (= kʷəš-) 'aufgraben, durchlöchern' ¶ R WB 245 ◇ The K cns. *z suggests pN *ž, but neither N *ž is ruled out (variations *z ~ *z are sometimes found in K). The Ht reflex (if valid) points to an affricate.

1244. ? *KežE 'warm, warm weather' > IE: NaIE *kel-/k̑l- (~ *k̑l-) id. (× N *Ke'y|p'a|a 'burn, heat, be heated, roast') > L caleo, -ēre v. 'be warm' ({EM}: < *k̑l-), calidus 'warm, hot', calor 'warmth, heat' || Clt: W clyd (< *k̑l-to-) 'warm', ? W claear, Br klouar 'lukewarm' || Lt (1s prs.) šylù (1s p.) šilaũ (inf. šilti), Ltv siĩt v. 'become warm', Lt šiltas, Ltv siĩts 'warm', Lt šilumà, OLt [Dk.] šilimà, Lt E šalimà 'warmth' || Gmc: ON hlær 'mild, warm' (of weather), hlana 'to become mild' (of weather), OHG lāo, NHG lau 'lukewarm'; ON hlýr id., hlý 'warmth', AS hleow, ȝe-hleow 'warm, sunny', NE lew || Oss I sãrd, Oss D sãrdä 'summer', Psh psarlay 'springtime' (< pIrn *upa-sarada-ka), possibly also ?σ OI śa'rad- (nom. śarat) 'autumn', Av sarad-, OPrs θar∇d-, BdhSgd srδ-, MPrs sāl, NPrs سال sāl 'year' ¶ P 551, Dv. ##305, 551, Ab. III 80, M K III 304-5, M E II 616, WH I 137-8, EM 86, Frn. 959, 984, YGM-1 87, 91, Vr. 235, 240-1, Ho. 163, KM 426, Kb. 591, OsS 535, ≠ EI 112 (L caleo, calidus < *kel-/k̑l- 'cold') || U: FU (att. in FV) *kež|ðe 'springtime' > pLp {Lr.} *kiðz id. > Lp N {N} giđ'đâ, Lp S {Hs.} g'ijre, Lp U {Schl.} giđda, Lp L {LO} kitā, Pa {TI} kiððâ, Lp Kld {SaR} кыдт, {TI} k+jt: id. | pMr *kedā-y 'of spring' > Er kediy 'spring-sown' (of crops), Mk кеди сѣрот 'kedi śorat 'spring crops' (śora 'crop[s]') ¶ UEW 656-7, Lr. #399, Lgc. #2318, Hs. 607-8, SaR 139-40, TI 115, Ker. II 58 || HS: SC {E} *kās- {AD} v. 'warm oneself by the fire', {E} v. 'dry out by the fire' (as in drying meat) → Mb -kaśa 'warm oneself by the fire'; Ehret adduces here DhI -kās- v. 'harden' ¶ E SC 250 || B *okʷkHs 'be warm, hot' (× N *k|geHs∇ 'warm, hot, hot season') > Ah ukas (pf. yakkus) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-ukəs vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} əkkus (pf. ikkus) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 ◇ Qu. for several reasons: the roots of IE and B are ambiguous, SC *kās- is based on a loanword only, and U *-ž- is not the only possible rec. of the intervoc. cns.

1245. *Koz̥∇ 'to skin, to bark (wood)' > **HS:** S *^o✓k̥s̥w (× N *K̥E̥Ū [- *K̥'ü'ŝ∇?]) 'to skin, to tear', q.v.) > Ar ✓qšw (pf. qašā, ip. -qšuw-) v. 'bark (wood), skin (a snake)' ¶ Fr. III 448, BK II 744, Hv. 607 || **U:** FU *koz̥∇ 'skin, peel' (× N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ [or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?]) 'to peel, to bark') > pChr {Ber.} *kuḁakš- > Chr L кудаш- kuḁaš-, Chr P/M/Uf kuḁaš-, Chr Ch/YO/V kuḁakš-, Chr H кыдаш- кьḁaš- 'take off (one's dress, a knapsack)' | Prm *kuí- 'take off, bark (a tree), skin (an animal)' > Z kuí-id., Yz kúí- 'bark (a tree), skin', Vt k̥í+ín+ 'to take off (one's dress, shoes)' || Vg: LK xāít-, UK k̥āít-, UL xāít- v. 'peel, scutch (hemp, nettle)', T k̥āít- 'refuse\chaff (of flax\hemp)' ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 145, Ber. 22, MRS 239, 265, LG 145, SZ 179 || **A:** M [1] *^oqoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ [or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?]) '↑' × N *K̥ol̥∇ '[big] fish') [2] *qolt'ú'-sun 'bark (of a tree)' > WrM qoltusun, qoltasun, HIM холтос id.; M *qoltu- (+ deriv. sxs.) v. 'peel off' > WrM qoltul-, HIM холтлох, Kl холтлх χoltəlxə, WrM qoltura, HIM холтрох id.; acc. to KW 182, M *qol(u)- ⇨ ps. *qol-da- > Kl χolda- 'abgerieben\abgeschabt werden' and *qolu-da-sun > Kl χoldəsn̥ 'bark of trees' ¶ MED 960, KRS 594, Kow. 932 || ?σ T *k̥'ü' > NaT *k̥'uš > Qzl {Jk.} χūs, Tk куḁ 'a hairless spot (on horse's skin)' ¶ Rs. W 305 || ?σ Tg *xolda-ksa 'board (Brett)' > Ewk oldokso, Ul χoldoqso id., Lm oldus, Neg oldokso, Ud ogdo, Ork χoldoqso, Orc ogdokso 'coffin' ¶ STM II 13 ¶¶ DQA #1137 (A *k̥'úía 'bark, scales, scab' > T, M, Tg + unc. J *k̥ásá 'scab' that better matches N *K̥aí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) ◇ AD NM #99, S SN 152 ◇ This et. may be superfluous, because the Ar ✓ is explainable from N *K̥E̥Ū (- *K̥'ü'ŝ∇?) 'to skin, to tear' (q.v.), while the FU and A words in question may go back to N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ (or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?) '↑' (q.v.).

1246. *kaz̥iχ∇ (~ *-ž-) 'to scold' > **K:** G k̥icχ- v. 'scold, blame, revile' (regr. as.: N *kaz̥iχ∇ > **k̥iziχ- > G k̥icχ-) ¶ Chx. 597, DCh. 617 || **HS:** S *^o✓k̥δɣ > Ar ✓qδɣ (ip. -qḁaɣ-) v. 'revile so.' ({BK} 'dire à qn. des injures, des gros mots'), qaḁaɣ- 'foul speech' (× Ar qaḁaɣ- 'dirt') ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 695, Hv. 594 ¶ The unexpected -ḁ- (for -z-) remains to be explained (a merger with Ar {Fr.} ✓qδɣ 'percussit fuste' and qaḁaɣ- 'dirt?') || **U** *^okas|š∇ (or *-o-, *-t-|-tt-|-ks-|-kša-|-šk-|-sk-) > pSm {Jn.} *k̥āt̥- v. 'scold' (× N *K̥ôXAd∇ 'scold', [??] 'shout at' [q.v.]) > En {Cs.} d.: En X kar u'raro', En B kadudado' 'insult, scold'; Slq {Cs.}: Nr

kuedak, MO/UO kuedaŋ, Ke kuettan, Chl kuedčan (everywhere {Cs.} k = [q]); Kms {KD} d. qudṓí'ám 'I scold', Koyb {Sp.} кудолламъ id. ¶ Jn. 61, Cs. 79, 124 || **A**: M *qažǐ- v. 'scold' > WrM qazi-, HIM хажн- v. 'hate, blame, tease', Kl хаз-х хаз-ха 'to scold' (in Kl: х хаз-ха 'to bite' < M *qažǐa-) ¶ MED 948, KRS 568 || **D** *kač- ({ǧGS} *k-) v. 'scold, abuse' > Tm T kasarɯ v. 'bargain biterly', Kn gajar(ɯ) v. 'produce a loud sound, scold', Tl kasarɯ 'scold, rebuke' ¶¶ D #1089 (does not distinguish between this √ and D *kač- 'quarrel', F s.v. N *käřś∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel').

1247. *kōžǐ∇ 'tree trunk' > **K**: G kōčǐ-i 'beam', {DCh.} 'the upper beam of the roof' (unless ← kōčǐ-i 'ankle' < N *k'ō'čǐ∇ [or *k'ō'čǐ∇?] 'bone') ¶ Chx. 618, DCh. 626-7 || **HS**: CS *guδ_l∇_lř- ~ *giδ_l∇_lř- 'tree trunk' > Ar ġiδř- 'palm-tree stock', BHb 'gezař ~ 'gezař 'stump, root-stock; shoot of a stump', MHb 'gezař 'tree-trunk', Sr  guz^oř-ā 'trunk\stump of a felled tree; shoot, rod' (a Canaanism?) ¶ KB 179, KBR 187, BK I 269, Hv. 82, GB 136, Lv. I 319, Br. 112, JPS 63 || **B**: Sll agǔžǔǔa (pl. iǔǔǔǔān) 'tree trunk', ? agayyu 'dry trunk of a dead tree', Shl {NZ} agždi ~ agžži 'tronc, poutre', CM {NZ} ageždi 'piquet au milieu de l'aire à battre, auquel sont attachées les bêtes qui dépiquent', Ntf tigeždit 'solive, perche', Kb tigeždit ~ tig^ωeždit 'pilier de bois', Shw tagiždit 'colonne' ¶ Ds. 285, DMA 42, Dlh. Ou 107, NZ 754-5 || **C**: EC {Ss.} *gāzz- ~ *gēzz- 'tree' > Sml gēd, Rn {PG} gēy, Bn kēd- 'tree', Bs gā (pl. gād-ōl) 'forest, tree, wood', Dsn gā-č (pl. gāsam) 'shade, shadow', Or gādd-isa ǔ gās-sa ǔ gādd-itū, Kns kāt-a, Gdl kāt-unna id., Dbs/Gln {AMS} kāse 'Verkörperung der Seele in einer Spinne', Brj {Ss.} gādd-ō 'shadow' ¶ Ss. EDB 72, PG 123, Th. 143, To. DL 498, AMS 268 || **U**: FU *koča 'ε conifer tree, branch of a conifer' > F kataja, katava, Es kadakas 'juniper' || pLp {Lr.} *kōccēvē 'branch of a conifer' (→ 'conifer needle') > Lp S XVIII {LÖ} kātse 'ramis et folia abietis, pini vel juniperi', Lp: L kāhttsē 'conifer needle', N {N} goac'ce 'pine-needle', Kld {Gn.} kuθ_hce∇ 'branch of a conifer tree' || Vg {Knn.}: Vg E kōś 'a large conifer (pine, spruce, larch, cedar)', Vg P k^ωōśpayüw 'spit of conifer wood' (yüw is 'tree, wood'), Vg Ss χūs ū́θa 'a long, thick, branchless cedar' (ū́θa 'cedar') ¶ UEW 165, Lr. #465, Lgc. #2598 || **A**: M *qožǐ'y'ula > MM [S] {H} qožǐ,ula-s pl. 'dead standing trees, tree stumps', WrM qozugula ~ qozigula, HIM хозууль 'tree trunk, stump' ¶ MED 975, H 65, ≠ Vv. ANE 14 (M *qožǐ|ugula * ← xozui- 'be

erect, rise, stick up', but *q ≠ ʏ!) ◇ AD NM #86. The voicing of N *ḳ- in pHS may be due to as.; K *-č̣- and FU *-č̣- are from N *-č̣- (through the stage *-č̣ʔ-?).

1248. (₂?) *1A, a marker of verbal constructions (noun + *1A = analytical verb) ([in descendant lgs.] → sx. of denom. verbs) > U *-l∇, sx. of denom. verbs: Lp N {N} (together with the passive sx. -uuvâ-): šalkâ-luuvâ- v. 'harden' (← šalkâ 'hard') | Er экшеля- екше-ла- v. 'bathe' ← 'cool oneself' (← екше 'cool') | Chr L йџштылаш үүсть-ла-š 'to bathe' (← {Lw.} 'to have a cold shower-bath') ← йџштö үүštö n. 'cold' | ? Es {W} arg-le-ma 'to become shy \ fearful' (← arg 'shy, fearful') | Z {W} pзr+śl+n+ 'to get old' (← pзr+ś 'old'), Z US gзtral- vt. 'marry so. to' (← gзt+r 'wife') || Vg N āxam-l- 'be sick' (← āxam 'illness'); Os V lopal- v. 'angle (fish)' (← lop n. 'fishing-rod'); possibly also the Vg Ss sx. -l for the result of an action: Vg Ss {ChCh} yaktil 'Schnitt, разрез' (← yakt- 'cut'), posal 'Wasserriß im Fluß, прорва, промой (на реке) (a place that was "washed through" in a river)' (← pos- 'wash') || ? Sm: Ne T мириле- miriġe- 'ask an excessive price' (← мир "mir? 'price'), Ng {Hl.} (in IS II) kamз-лз- 'smear with blood' ← kām 'blood', Slq Tz {Hl.} apt-al- 'smell (sth.)' ← apt+ n. 'smell' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 161-4, Gy. WBU 40, Coll. CG 272-3, N LL I § 325, ERV 776-7, MRS 158, W EDW 39, W SDW 252, Ter. 255-7, ChCh 55, IS II 14-6 || ¶: T *-lā- / *-lā̄-, sx. of denom. verbs: OT baš-la- 'begin' (← baš 'head'), Yk -lā- / -lā̄- / -lūo- / -lūō- (sx. of denom. verbs), Chv -la- (Chv L puś-la- 'begin', cp. puś 'head') || M *-lā- / -lē-, verbal denom. sx.: WrM darqa-la- v. 'forge', Dg darxa-lā- id., cp. WrM darqan 'blacksmith' ¶ IS supposed that here Dg preserved the pM length of vowels ¶ Pp. IM 75, Pp. PLVM 13 (on pM long vowels) || Tg *-lā- / -lē-, sx. of denom. verbs > Ewk, Lm -lā- / -lē̄-, Nn, Ul -la- / -lā-, WrMc -la- / -le-, e.g. Lm mū-lē̄- 'carry water' (← mū 'water'), mō-lā- 'bring firewood' (← mō 'wood') ¶ Bz. 116, Vas. 766 ¶¶ Rm. VMT 80-2, Rm. VAJ 173-4, Pp. PLVM 9 || ? HS: traces of the denom. verbal sx. *-l- may be discerned in S: S *^o✓rbī v. (> Ar ✓rbī v. G 'multiply; have many children, flocks') presumably ← S *rabb- 'numerous, big' (> BHb רב רב / -רב rabb- id., etc.), S *^o✓šūfī v. (> Ar ضأل ✓šūfī v. G 'be lean, thin, little') presumably derived from a S adj. *^ošā'ay- underlying the Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} pf. ضأل šūfī 'tenue habit corpus' ¶ ≈ E O3C 136 (with a different semantic interpretation if the derivational pattern), Fr. III 1, BK I 812 and II 1, Hv. 239, 412 ◇ IS II 14-6 (U, A).

1249. *1A, analytical ([in descendant lgs.] → synthetical) marker of collectivity) (or N *?E1A, dem. prn. of collectivity, probably connected

with N ***?el∇** 'clan, tribe?' [q.v.] > K ***-l-**, ***-°āl-** > pSv ***-āl-** (> Sv: UB **-āl-**, LB **-äl-**, Ls **-āl-**, Ln **-al-**), verbal *sx.* for plurality of objects: Sv Ln *liprisd-al-i* 'to baptize many', pSv **-āl** (> Sv UB **-äl**), *sx.* of pl. in nouns: Sv UB *dīnāl* 'girls' (↔ *dīna* 'girl'), *mešχāl* 'black' pl. (↔ sg. *mešχe*), *mārāl* 'Menschen' (↔ *māre* 'person') (Top. SJ 81 mentions dialectal variants *mārēl* and *marol* 'Menschen'), pSv ***la-...-a** (pl. of some nouns of kinship: UB *lä-χχw-a* 'wives' [↔ sg. *χeχw* 'wife'], *la-χwb-a* 'brothers' [↔ sg. *mu-χwbe* 'brother']), pSv ***-āl-** and ***-iēl-**, pl. markers in passive participles: *la₁-mār-āl-e* 'parati, prepared' (pl.). A Zan cognate of the Sv **-l-** plural may be discerned in the presuffix **-l-** in some Lz and Mg nouns (preceding the regular pl. suffix **-epe**: Mg *kua-l-epe*, Lz *kwa-l-epe* 'stones'). As to the most productive Sv pl. ending ***-är/*-äl** (with the allomorph ***-äl** after the stem with ***-r-**), it does not necessarily belong here (because its main and primary allomorph is ***-är**). It is possible that the reflex of the N pc. ***lA** is represented in the Sv verbal marker of 1p incl. subiecti *l(ə)-...-d* (Sv UP *l-i-mār-i-d* 'we [incl.] prepare ourselves', *l-ä-r-id* 'we [incl.] exist', *lə-gem-d* 'we [incl.] stand it') ¶¶ Test. SJ, Top. SJ 81, 84, Top. SE 238, Dt. 66-8, GP US 22, 61-88, Zhgh. ChMP 171, ≈ Q O26-O27 || **HS**: EC ***-∇l-**, ***-ly₁∇l-**, formative of pl. > Sml Db **-yēl-** (*miŋ* 'house' - pl. *miŋ-yēl-†*, *b+līlāw†* 'knife' - pl. *b+līlāwi-yēl-†*), Sml N **-yāl-** (*ābbo* 'father' - pl. *ābba-yāl*, *wadno* 'heart' - pl. *wadna-yāl*, *billāwe* 'knife' - *billāwe-yāl*, *garwān-le* 'hunter' - pl. *garwān-le-yāl*, *šēko* 'tale' - pl. *šēki-yāl*, pl. of pl. and mass pl.: *nāg* 'woman' - *nāg-o* 'women' - *nāga-yāl* 'groups of women, women in mass'), Sml B **-yāl** (*furo* 'slave' - pl. *furō-yāl*, *abēso* 'snake' - pl. *abēso-yāl*), Sml Dgl **-yāl** (*ɣēl* 'well' - pl. *ɣēl-yāl*, *habaš* 'Negro' - pl. *habaš-yāl*), Sml J **-yāl** (*gū* 'year' - pl. *gūwe-yāl*), Bn **-(i)yāli** (*ábi* 'sibling' - pl. *abi-yāli*, *síddah* 'father-in-law' - pl. *sidda-yāli*, *sirir* 'bed' - pl. *sirir-yāli*), Rn **-l-** (*lúh* 'leg' - pl. *lùh-ló*), Bs **-ēl, -ōl, -āl, -allo, -olē** (*wórab* 'he-goat' - pl. *worab-ēl*, *čačaw* 'scorpion' - pl. *čačaw-ōl*, *lef* 'bone' - pl. *lef-āl*, *sūl* 'nail, claw' - pl. *sūlallo*, *gārša* 'old man' - pl. *gāršōle*), Or **-ōlē, -ōlī, -olī, -ēli, -lē** (*mučā* 'child' - pl. *mučōli* ~ *mučēli*, *mōti* 'king' - pl. *mōtōle* ~ *mōtole*, *žabbī* 'calf' - *žabbile*), Gdl **-ala, -alla** (*ḍilk-át* 'elbow' - pl. *ḍilk-alla*, *peʔa* 'young goat' - pl. *peʔ-alla*), Sd **-ulle, -ōle, -olle, -allo** (*danča* 'good' - pl. *dančulle*, *kaḳḳo* 'child' - pl. *kaḳḳulle*, *hayy-ičča* 'sorcerer' - pl. *hayyōle*, *mōt-ičča* 'lord, master' - pl. *mōt-olle*, *labba* 'male' - pl.

labballo) || ? Ag: Km -la ({Ap.} x^w3ra 'child' - pl. x^w3r-la), {CR} -li (b_{er} 'lake' - pl. b_{er}-li, tarara 'hill' - pl. tararə-li) || Bj {R} b-a'lī-r 'those' nom. m. (↔ sg. b-ē-r), b-a'lī-b 'those' accus. m. (sg. b-ē-b), b-a'lī-t 'those' nom./acc. f. (↔ sg. b-ē-t) ¶ Zab. MNPC 68-72, 93-4, 99-100, 141-2, 168, 237-8, 261, 297, PG 214, Ap. K 323, R BedS III 32 || S: WS *ʔil(l)ay 'these' (× N *ʔel∇ 'clan, tribe' [→ 'all', prn. of plurality], q.v. ffd. × N sequences *h'e' ʔA, *h'i ʔA, and *h'u ʔA [with the N deictic particles *h'e', *h'i, and *h'u, q.v.]) || A {Pp.} *-l, sx. of pl. > Tg *-l, pl. ending > Neg -l, Ewk -l, Nn (unproductive, fossilized after nouns) -l in n3gi-l 'young sisters', pTg *puri-l children > Nn puril, Sln ʔril; in most lgs. *-l coexists with (or has been replaced by) a compound pl. ending *-s'a'l > Nn -sal, Ul -sali, Sln -sul / -çul, Neg/Ewk/Lm -sal; with participles the ending *-l is the main pl. marker in Ewk, Lm, Sln, Ul, and Nn, as well as one of the pl. markers in Sln ¶ Ci. 254-5, Bz. 75-8 || M *-l, rare pl. ending, surviving in MM [S] dabā,al, {Lew.} dabāʔa-l 'mountain passes' (↔ sg. {Lew.} dabāʔa, {Pp.} dabā,an), possibly MM kimul 'fingernails' (↔ sg. kimu-sun), as well as in HIM бaгaчyул {Pp.} багаčūl, Brt багаšūl 'children' (↔ sg. HIM бaгaчyуд багаčūd), where *-l is added to the derivational sx. {Pp.} *čū (cp. qara-čū 'ordinary man' [lit. 'a black one'], and boro-čū 'uneducated person' [lit. 'a gray one']) ¶ Pp. IM 177, Lew. I 123, Chr. 74, Sin. UAP 216-7 ¶¶ Hardly here (↔ IS II 14) T *iki-lä (Cl. *ekki-lä) 'twice', because this is a shortened var. of the gerund form *ekki-läyü (or *ikiläyü) from the verb *ekki-lä- (*ikki-lä-) 'do for the second time' (← *ekki (*iki-) 'two' with a denominative verbal sx. *-la/*lä- [F Cl. xiv, 108]) ¶¶ Not here the T plural ending *-lar / *-lär, which belongs to N *īarw∇ 'together, many' (q.v.) || D *-l, pl. ending > Tm B/W iččaya 'flies' (sg. iččay), Tu tare-lu 'heads', āri-lu 'nails', OTI/TI {An.} sōmandakəm-u 'subordinated persons', TI pāṭa-lu 'songs', Krg kelesi-lu 'barbers', Klm kaye-l 'fishes', kī-l 'hands', Gdb ki-l id., Prj keyu-l id., ēnu-l 'elephants'; this ending appears within the compound pl. sx. *-(n)k∇l(u) (> ClTm āṇ-ka 'men, males', Kn marm-gū 'trees', etc.) ¶¶ An. SG 178-80, Zv. CDM 12-3 || ? U *-l|a (/ *-l|ä) sx. of n. coll. > FU: Chr Δ {Wc.} -la (sx. of collectivity, used also as pl. marker): kož'la 'pine-forest', {MRS} 'fir-forest' (← kož 'pine' or 'fir'), kornə-la 'roads' (↔ kornə 'road'), Chr Ur βož'-la 'roots' (↔ βož 'root'), ? MkMr {Ahl.} -na-l, sx. of n. coll.: sāli-nal 'elm-forest, kuz-nal 'pine-forest' (←

ɛäli 'elm', куз 'pine'); on the other hand, forms like Chr kožla may be understood as substantivized adjectives ({MRS} kož-la 'of fir-trees, еловый') || Slq Tm/Ke {Hl.} -la, marker of plural: loga-la 'foxes' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 150-1, Wc. TNB 16, Ahl. MM § 56, MRS 205, Ü 70, ≈ Cs. GSS 109, 141 ◇ IS II 14-5 [#246] (*-l^{ra}, sx. of n. coll.), Sin. UAP 214-6 (U, A), Gr. I 117-8 ("collective L" in U, A, CK).

1250. *lA, locative pc. > HS: S *la 'to, towards' > BHb -l̄ lā- (before a stressed syll.: םהל̄ lā-^hem 'to them', אלבול̄ lā-^bō 'to come') / -l̄ li- (li₁₁₁- < *la-₁₁₁-) / -l̄ la- (generalized allomorph, originally before an unstressed syll.), Ph l-, Pun l-, [GkSc.] λa-, (LSc.) [Poen.] LA- ~ LI-, Ug l-, (AkSc) li-, OA l-, IA l-, (GkSc) λa-, JA -l̄ la- / -l̄ li-, Sr la- / la-, Ar li-, Sb, Mn -l l-, Gz la-, Ak la-; the variant li- (in Ar, Ug, ? Pun) is on the analogy of the preposition (> px.) *bi 'in' ¶ KB 482-4, HJ 549-58, A #1422, Dk. JDPa 262, Br. AG 114-5, Hnr. 142, Deg. 61-2, Br. SG 82, BGMR 81, L G 303, Sd. 520 || C *-l₁∇₁ > Ag *-l {AD} marker of locative-directive case ({Ap.} dir. case ending) > Bln {R} -l, -lī dir., Xm {Ap.} -l loc., Q {R} -lī 'in, on, at, from', Km {Ap.} -al(i) loc. ||| EC: Sa {R} -l loc.-dir. 'in, to' (bā^ll̄ō-l 'im Lande, ins Land'), Af {R, Clz.} -l 'in' (bu^ll̄ā-l 'in the village'), 'to \ towards (so.)' (rē^ldan^tū-l 'zum Häuptling', yō^l 'zu mir'), {Hw.} -l 'at, in, on' (w^l bā^lqō-l 'in that country') ¶ Ap. ANH 8, Ap. K 327, Ap. Kh I 258-60, R BilS 680-1, R Q 110-1, R S II 240, R A II 873, Clz. 74-5, PH 289, TB LA 514 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Tk. I 141) Eg ∇ r 'to, towards' (EG II 386-8, Vc. 37), because it is a reduced variant of ɪr and because its r did not represent [l] (on the ev. of DEg r and most Cpt dialects) (see N *ɣil^{ra}A¹ 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > Cpt F ελα-ela 'to, towards') ||| K: Lz -le, morpheme of direction in adverbs of place: tude-le 'down (nach unten)', ga-le 'nach außen', me-le 'to the other side'; Mg -la-, morpheme of direction within compound pxs.: a-la- 'hinab-, herab-', e-la- 'hinauf-, herauf', ga-la- 'far away (hinweg-)' ||| IS II 25 adduced here Sv -la 'a person) from' (with nomina loci): ädiši-la 'a person from Ädishi', but it is semantically nearer to the N adjectivizer *le₁∇₁ (or *le₁∇₁) (q.v.) ¶ Marr 38, Q O118-O120, Dirr E 126 ||| U: FU *-lA 'on', 'in': BF *-la / *-lä sx. ('the place in \ on'): F taka-la 'the place behind' (cp. taka- 'hind' [in cds.], taka-r 'behind'), setä-lä 'uncle's home, chez l'oncle' (← setä 'uncle'), etelä 'south' (← 'place in front of'); BF *-l-, the initial element of the compound endings of the exterior local cases (denoting a position or a movement relating to the surface or the next environment of sth.) > F,

Es -l- id.: BF *-l-na / *-l-nä adessive 'on, at' (> F -lla / -llä, Es -l), BF *-l-ta / *-l-tä abl. 'from (the surface of)' (F -lta / -ltä, Es -lt), BF *-l-en allative (dat.-dir.) 'to (the surface or the environment of)' (> Ing -len ~ -llen, Krl A -le, F -lle, Δ -llen, Es -le) † Lp N {N, It.} -l, locative sx. in adverbs: √uolle-l 'farther down' (← √uolle n. 'down'), lulle-l 'farther south' (← lulle n. 'south'), -l-ɔ abl. 'from' in √uolle-l-ɔ 'from down', lulle-l-ɔ 'from the south', S {Hs.} -lie, locative sx. in dem. pronominal adverbs: daalie 'here, now', dällie ~ dillie 'then', dūōlie 'there (dort, da drüben, sieh dort)', dūvlie '(sieh) dort in der Ferne' † Er, Mk -l- in adverbs: Er икеле ikéle 'in front, before', Mk ингале ingälä 'in front' ({Lh.:} cp. Mk {Ps.} iṅkšā 'wegen, für'), Er мейле meyle, Mk меле 'mele' 'later, after that', Er васоло vasolo 'far away' (← васо vasov 'far') † Chr: L кудылнө 'küðb-l-nö, B {Wc.} 'küðb-l-nö adv. 'near, in the vicinity', 'küðb-l-kö 'to the vicinity' (cp. L кудыкө 'küðb-kö id., B {Wc.} küðb-ń 'with') (Chr -l- belongs here unless it goes back to the N adjectivizing *le₁ʔ∇₁ → *le₁ʔ∇₁ [q.v.]), possibly also in the ending of dat.-dir. ({Kov.} dat.): Chr L -лан -lan, Chr H -лан, {Wc.} -lan / -län, Chr U {Wc.} -lan / -lan, as well as in that of abl.: Chr H {Wc.} -лес, Chr U {Wc.} -leč † Vt -l- in adverbs: азьло aź-lo, {Wc.} aź-la 'at the beginning, before', азьлане aźlane, азьлань aźlan' 'forward' (← азь aź 'front, front side'), кузьяла kuža-la, {Wc.} kúžala 'lengthwise' (← кузь куз 'long'), Z UV/Sk {SZ} бэр-лаń 'backwards', Z U {Wc.} бэр-'la, бэр-'lań 'again' (← Z бөр бэр 'hind part'), in Prm {LG} *kwo-la ({JLG} *kwoḷa) 'hut' (← Prm ***kwo that is preserved in the Prm lgs. as a sx. of names of buildings\dwelling, e.g. Z кепка, Prmk кепку, Vt kopka house) > Z kola 'hunters' and fishers' small house without windows, Waldhütte', Vt kwala 'hut [tabernacle] used in summer as a dining-room') as well as possibly in Vt/Z {Wc.} case endings: adessive Vt -len, Z -lən, -len, allative Vt/Z -l+, abl. Z -l+ś, Vt -l+ś, -leś, approximative Vt/Z -lań † Vg N -l, -le in adverbs: ēla-l 'forward' (← ēla 'far away'), muḷḷa-l 'towards the front corner of the house' (← muḷḷa 'to the front corner'), kona-l 'outside' (direction), 'from the house' (← kona 'outside, out of doors'), nālwaal 'towards the body of water', alḷaal 'upstream', yolaal 'down' (direction), noḷḷaal 'up' (direction), {BV, Rmb.} yuḷ-le 'back' (direction), 'home, into the house' (cp. yuḷ-pv. 'back, home'), {Rmb.} tḷḷ-le 'in this direction' (← tḷḷ 'here'), tuḷ-le 'in that direction'; Os

Kz $\gamma\theta\chi$ - λ i 'home' (direction), in a compound ending with the abl. -t-: Os E τ a- λ -ta 'from there' | OHg {Srb. and IS) - λ an / - λ en, a locative *sx.* in adverbs ¶ Coll. CG 291-2, Lh. PUAS 149-50, Laan. 165-7, N 570-1, 810-2, It. LC 55, 181, Hs. 160, ERV 111, 206, 372, PI 92, 162, Wc. TNB 13-5, MRS 256, Kov. LV 226-7, Kov. GM 243, Wc. TT-2 113-5, U3S 22-4, 226-7, Fu. GA 135-50, LG 114, U 198-202, SZ 18, 26, Sz. MNyH 73-5, Srb. PGS 42, Srb. IMPJ 47-53, Galkin IG I 53-4, BV 148, Rmb. 188, 192 || **A**: [1] Tg *- λ ā/*- λ ē, loc. *sx.* (× N * γ i λ '**A**' 'place to stay', 'stand still, stay') > Ewk, Sln, Neg - λ ā / - λ ē, Lm, Orc - λ a / - λ z(:), Ud, Ul, Nn - λ a / - λ z (loc. *sx.*: Ewk, Sln, Neg mō- λ ā 'in\on a tree', Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn mō- λ a id., Ewk, Lm, Neg, Orc mindu- λ ē, Sln mindu λ ē, Ud, Nn mindu λ z, Ul mindu λ z 'in me'), WrMc - λ o / - λ e (loc. *sx.* in adverbs: {Hrl.} dolo 'dedans', dele 'en haut', tulle 'dehors') ¶ Ci. 256-67, Bz. 84, Hrl. 66-7 | **A** [2] * λ a- 'on this side, near' (< the N locative pc. * λ '**A** + deictic pc.) > M *na γ a > Kl D {Rm.} nā 'diesseits'; - \rightarrow : (a) loc.: WrM nagana, HIM, Brt наана 'on this side, nearer', Ord nāna 'de ce côté-ci'; (b) *na γ a-du 'situated on this side' > WrM nagadu, HIM наад, Brt наада, Ord nād λ u', Kl {Rm.} nāda, Ord nād λ ' λ 'i, Kl наадк nād λ к id.; (c) *na γ a-gur 'on this side' > WrO {Krg.} nā γ uur, Brt наагуур id., nā γ ār 'hither, to this side', Ord nāgū'r 'through this side (par ce côté-ci)', Kl нааран, {Rm.} nārān ~ nār η id., d.: WrM nagagurda-, HIM нааруурда- 'be on this side'; (d) Kl {Rm.} nā γ ās 'von dieser Seite ab'; (e) Ord nāš'i 'vers ce côté-ci, vers ici', Dg {Mr.} nā-š'i 'towards here, hither'; (f) Ord nāt'ā 'de ce côté-ci, en deça' ¶ MED 556-7, Krg. 205-6, KRS 364-5, KW 272-3, Mr. D 194, Ms. O 479-80, 483-5 || ? σ AmTg * λ aka(-) adv. 'near' > Orc λ aki id., Ork λ aqā ~ λ a χ ā ~ λ aqqa ~ λ a χ ē id., adj. 'nearest'; * λ a η adv. 'near' > Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn λ a η , Ud λ a η \approx λ a η - λ a η ¶ STM I 488, 492 ¶¶ \approx DQA #1175 (A * λ a- 'on this side, near'; incl. M, Tg * λ aka-, * λ a η) || ? **D** (in SD) *-u], loc. *sx.* > OTm, Ml -u], Kt -], OKn -u] / -o], Tu -o]u id. (× D *u] n. 'house, inside' < N * γ uh λ ∇, λ ∇ 'hut', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Hardly here SD *-ilE, loc. *sx.* (> OTm, Ml -il, Irl -li ~ -ili, Td - λ , OKn, LKn -alli, Kdg - λ t, -alli, ?? Tl -lō), because D * λ is not cognate with FU * λ]; it is more plausible that SD *-ilE goes back to the noun *il λ ∇, λ ∇ 'house, place' (> OTm il '(this) place' [D #494, An. SG 219]) and belongs together with S * γ ilay 'towards' < N * γ i λ '**A**' 'place to stay' (q.v.) ¶ Subb. 156, Cald. 304, 319, Zv. CDM 28-30, 32, An. SG 219-20, D #698 \diamond IS II 25-6.

1251. *]∇, pc. with diminutive meaning ([in descendant lgs.] sx. of diminutives) > **K** *-∇]-, diminutive sx. > G P mam-il-a 'daddy', in other G dialects vocative mam-il-o 'daddy!', together with the dim. sx. *-iḱ-: G R nazv-iḱ-al-a dim. 'fir-tree', vir-iḱ-el-a dim. 'donkey', Sv UB -ōl-: dīn-ōl- (dim. of dīn 'girl') ¶¶ Vogt ACS 104, Chinch. XT 82-4, K'ob. 161, GP US 96 || **IE**: NaIE *-e]∇-, sf. of diminutives, e.g.: (1) NaIE *porḱ-el- '(young) pig' (← *porḱo- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis '(young) pig', (2) OI vṛṣa'laḥ, dim. of 'vṛṣā 'man, male', (3) Gt barnilō ntr. 'little child' ← barn 'child', (4) Lt galvėlė, dim. of galvā 'head' ¶ BD II/1: 364-7 || **U**: FU *-]∇, diminutive sx. > Vt S {W} gopal 'small pit' (← VT гоп gop 'pit'), Z гөрдөв гərdəv, Δ гərdəl 'reddish' (← гөрд гərd 'red'), Z Δ pemdol 'a little dark' (← пемыд pemid 'dark') | F iso-la-mpa 'a bit larger' (← iso-mpa 'larger'), pite-lä-mpä 'a bit longer' (← pite-mpä 'longer') ||| Os Kz {Rus.} -]e, dim. sx.: šovər-]e (dim. of шовыр šovər 'hare'), quśar-]e (dim. of quśar 'chipmunk'), Os D {Tv.} tāgī]ə 'small piece\crumble' (← tāk 'piece, crumble'); Vg {Sz. ← ?} tārām-]ə 'Göttlein' ← tārām 'god' (but MK, WVD VII, Ahl. WW, BV, ChCh., Rmb., and all other available sources of Vg do not mention this dim.); Sz. 88 also adduces Vg kāt]ä & kāt]ä 'Händchen', but both Munkácsi (MK 202) and Kannisto (WVD VII 164) interpret the word as 'Vorderbein, Vordertatze (des Bären)', so that the original diminutive meaning of the Vg sx. remains qu. | Hg Δ {Sz.} háñjāl ~ háñjāl 'ant' (← Hg hangya id.) ¶ Sz. 88, Coll. CG 259, Lh. PUAS 145-52, Rus. SXJ 164, TmK 171, Slv. 138, W EDW 399 ◇ Öhm. (IE-U).

1252. *]e,?∇, (or *]e,?∇,?) 'being, having', analytical adjectivizer ([in descendant lgs.] → formative of adjectives and quality-bearing nouns) > **K**: [1] GZ *-l-, *-il-, sx. of deverbal adjectives > OG, G -il-, Mg -il- ~ -ir-, sx. of participles: G çer-il- 'written', Mg řaxil- 'broken', ulir- 'gone (who has gone away)', K *ḱb-il- 'tooth' (← prtc. 'biting', cp. GZ *ḱb-in- v. 'bite') > OG, G ḱbil-, Mg ḱəbir- ~ ḱibir-, Lz ḱibi(r)- ~ ḱibr- ~ ḱirn- ~ çirb- 'tooth', GZ *šwīl- 'child' (← 'born' ← *šw- 'give birth') > OG, G šwīl-, Lz skir- ~ sḱir- 'son, child', Mg oḫora-sḱil-i ~ oḫora-sḱir-i 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law' (lit. 'house's child', cp. oḫor-i 'house'); [2] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of nomina agentis: OG m-tḫov-el-i 'one who asks (bittend)', m-targmn-el-i 'who translates, translator', ma-šeneb-el-i 'who builds', me-řqw-el-i 'saying (sagend)', Mg ma-čar-

al-, prtc. prs. 'the writing one, writer', ma-ṣvil-ar-i 'murderer', ma-gurap-al-i 'teacher'; [3] Sv -la '(a person) from' (with names of villages, places): ädiši-la 'a person from Ädishi, ein Ädischer', mästiä-la 'ein Mästier, a person from Mästiä' ¶¶ K 101, 106-7, 214-7, Chik. 21-3, Fn. GAS 76-7, Q 094, 295, Dirr E 126 || IE *-l-, sx. of adjectives: L -il- id. (hum-il-is adj. 'on the ground' (< humus 'ground, earth, soil'), L -īl- (sen-īl-is 'of an old man, senile'), L -lo-, sx. of nomina agentis: legulus 'fruit-gatherer' < leg-o v. 'gather' || OHG -l, sx. of nom. agentis: tregil 'carrier' < tragan 'to carry' || Sl m. *-lb / f. *-la / ntr. *-lo, sx. of past participles: *bī-lb 'who was', *nes-lb 'who carried', etc.; later in the history of some Sl lgs. this prtc. (with the verbum substantivum *jes-/s- or with subsequent loss of this verbum substantivum) have rise to forms of past tense or composed perfective tenses (e.g. the R past tense: m. -л, f. -ла, ntr. -ло, pl. -ли) || Tc A -l, Tc B -lye, sx. of deverbial adjs. || OI pēśa'lah 'artificially formed, decorated, beautiful' < NaIE {Eul.} *poik̄∇lo- 'verziert' < NaIE *peik̄- 'hew out, carve' (> OI prs. pīm'ś-atī id., etc.); OI bahu'lah 'thick, dense, wide, abundant, cp. OI ba'huh 'much, abundant, great, large' || Gk ποικίλος 'many-coloured' (÷ OI pēśa'lah < NaIE *peik̄- 'hew out, carve'); παχυλός 'thickish' (cp. παχύς 'thick, stout') (÷ OI bahu'lah, sc. NaIE *bʰaǵʰu-lo-); the meaning of παχυλός apparently suggests that it was originally a diminutive (sc. belongs to the *l∇-diminutive [q.v.]), but the OI parallel rules it out || AnIE: Ht atta-la-, HrLw tata-li- 'father's, patrius', {Mer.} 'väterlich', Lw ulant-alliya- 'mortal' (< ulanti 'death'), Ld mane-li-ś 'Manes's' (< Manes) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 328, Eul. 118-9, M K II 267-8, 342, 424-5, Kron. EHS I 171-4, 214, 232, Ivn. OPA 49-50, Mer. HHG 126 || U *l̄ē- ({It.} *l̄ē-, {UEW} *le-) 'be, become' > Es lee- 'become', F lie-: 3s lienee 'may, perhaps is' || Lp: N lāē-, lā-, lække- 'be' (copula), 'exist, occur', S Δ {Hs.} leā-, le-, ? L liehke-, lāhke- id., K {Gn.} lea-, la-, lie-, lē-, lī-, lē-, le- 'be, become' || Chr: L liya- (inf. лияш li'y-aš), H liä- (inf. лиаш 'li-aš) 'be, become', Uf lia- id. || Prm *l̄o- ({LG} *l̄o-) 'be, become' > OPrm lo-, Z lo-, Vt lu-id., Yz lu- 'become, occur' || Hg lē-, Δ lé-, lǒ-, lǒj- 'be, become', Hg lé t 'being, existence' || pY {IN} *l̄a- 'be' > YK/T l̄a- 'be; be (there is)', l̄ī- 'have' (-ī- is a sx. of vt.) ¶¶ It. #217, Hs. 141-2, Coll. 32, UEW 243-4, MF 402-3, Gn. 1315, MRS 288, 291-2, LG 161, IN 232, Krn. JJ 274, 282, ≠ Rd. UJ 47 [#70] (Y < U) || U adjectivizing *-l- (or -l-?) 'that of X,

having X: FU: F *vetelä* 'watery, wet, fluid' (← *vete-* 'water'), Krl {Gn.} *vedelä*, Krl A {Gn.} *vedel* 'watery', Es *vedel* 'liquid, fluid', 'thin' (of a liquid) | Chr L *марла mar-'la* adj. 'a Cheremis' (cp. *ma'riy* 'Cheremis') | Prm {LG} **yum*∇1 'sweet' (← **yum* 'dough made of rye-malt') > Vt *юмал yumal* 'sweet, unleavened', Z *юмов yumov*, Δ *yumal* id., 'not sour' || Os *-l- > Os {Coll.} *šarnəŋ-qūr-yīt-ǎl* ort 'a hero with golden insteps' (*yīt* 'instep') (Coll. does not indicate the dialect of Os, which is crucial for the et. of the sx.), Os: V/Vy {Trj.} *wiŋkǎli*, Ty {Trj.} *wiŋkli* 'hook' ({Lh.} 'Haken zum Aufhängen') ← Os: V/Vy {Trj.} *wiŋtä*, Ty {Trj.} *wiŋktä* 'to hook, to be caught on (задеть, зацепиться)', ср. Os V *qiŋeltä* vi. 'to hook, to hang (задеть, повиснуть)'; Lh. PUAS 159-60 quotes some other Os words with the sx. *-l- || Sm: Ng {Cs.} *ŋamta-lā* 'horned' (← *ŋamta* 'horn'); Slq Tz -lā, sx. of gerund (deverbal adverb, like Fr *en ...-ant*): *sūr+íllā iləntak* 'by hunting I shall live', *ŋəntalp+lā laŋkalpa* 'being happy, he cried out' ¶ Cs. 44, KHG 256 || ? Y: l-suffixes of deverbal nouns, e.g. [1] Y T -ol/-ūōl, sx. of nomina resultatī: Y T *idilwey-kiyol* 'what Idilwey gave, given by Idilwey', *met-yanaspeyreyyūōl* 'what I have forgotten, forgotten by me', [2] -l, sx. of nomina actionis (masdar): Y T *saŋane-l* 'sitting, staying; to sit\stay', *ewie-l* 'doing, to do', *ke-l-u-l* 'coming, to come', Y K *ayil* 'shooting, a shoot', *yarji-l* 'bathing', *ald-u-l* 'cursing, a curse' ¶¶ Coll. CG 259-60, Cs. 44, Lh. PUAS 152-6, Trj. S 524, Gn. VK 189, Gn. A 146, LG 335, Krn. JJ 104-5, Krn. IMJJ 95-7 || | A: T *-l, sx. of deverbal adjectives (and substantivized adjectives), e.g. **ki'ri*l 'red' (> OT *qizil*, Chv *хёрлэ xbrlb*, etc.) ← **ki'ri-* 'be red, be red hot' (> OT *qiz-*, etc.), OT *ükil* 'numerous' ← *ük-* 'heap up, accumulate' ¶ Cl. 681-3, Rs. MTS 132-3, Br. OTG 115-6 || M *-l, sx. of deverbal adjectives (and quality-bearing nouns): WrM *tani*l 'familiar person, an acquaintance' ← *tani* 'know, be familiar with' ¶ MED 778 || Ko -l, -il, sx. of prtc. ft. ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 132-44 || ?? D: Mlt {Drs.} -le, sx. of past prtc.: *tuŋd-le* 'who saw' || HS: EC: Sml -le '-er, -or; owner \ keeper \ seller of sht.': *damēr-le* 'owner of a donkey', *dukān-li-hī* 'shopkeeper', *hilib-le* 'butcher', Rn *lē-aŋe* (*aŋe* is 'be', *y-aŋe* is 'is') 'have (some quality), be (of some kind)': *žîra kumurrôné lē-yaŋe* 'Jira has wealth' = 'Jira is rich', *žîra séyhó lē-yaŋe* 'Jira has lazyness' = 'Jira is lazy' ¶ ZMO 257, PG 210 ◇ The N cns. *l and *l̥ can be distinguished only on the ev. of U and D (namely some ds. of Os and certain D lgs., but not Mlt). In this case the only ev.

for N *l̥ (rather than *l) is attested in several Os stems of rather questionable interpretation; hence we cannot be sure that the U sx. and its N etymon had a cns. *l̥ rather than *l. The U long vw. *ē points to a lr. in the pN etymon. The loss of the lr. and its traces in K, EC, and IE suggests that the lr. was *ʔ ◇ IS II 20-1 (includes here both the formant of adjectives and the pc. with diminutive meaning [see N *l̥∇, diminutive pc.]), Gr. I 186-91 ("gerundive-participle L" in IE, U [Sm, Y], A [T, Ko], Gil., ChK, EA) ◇ The presence of the vw. i (and similar vowels) in K *-il-, L sen-īl-is, Gk ποικίλος, T *ük-il, *kír-il suggests a merger with N *hiī'U' 'stand, be, exist' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ The functional change from an autosemantic word to a derivational sx. may have been as follows: noun X + N *le̥∇ (or *le̥∇?) 'X-seiend, who is X, who has X' (see Rn žîra kumurrôné lé-yahe 'Jira has wealth' = 'Jira is rich', žîra séyhó lé-yahe 'Jira has lazyness' = 'Jira is lazy') → a derivational sx.: T *kír-il 'what\who is red' ← *kír- 'be red', Sml. damēr-le 'who has a donkey, owner of a donkey', Ng ṛamta-lā 'having a horn, horned', F vetelä 'watery' ← 'having water']; this sx. spread also into the realm of deverbal nomina agentis (→ participles).

1253. ₂ *luʔ∇ → *l'íʔuʷ'∇ '∈ bovine' > HS: S *liʔ- 'wild bull' (ans d. *liʔ-at- 'wild cow') > Ar لَبَّاءُ lāʔa(n) 'wild bull, buffalo', Ar laʔāt- 'wild cow', ? BHb לֵאָהּ lēʔā 'Lea' p.n. | Jb C/E {Jo.} 'leʔ 'cow', lhóti 'cows', Sq {Jo.} 'ɜlha (pl. ɛl'hitɜn) 'cow', Mh {Jo.} lɜ'haytɜn, Hbt {Jo.} lɜhētɜh 'cows' (secondary -h- in the SES lgs.?) | Ak lū(-m) (< *liʔu-) 'bull (Stier, Bulle)', f. lī-t-u ~ littu 'cow' ¶ Sd. 557-60, GB 374, KB 487-8, BK II 954, Jo. M 253, Jo. J 158 || C: Ag {Ap.} *lɜw 'cow' > Bln {R} ləwī id., Xm {Ap.} lɜwa, Aw {Ap.} ɜllwa || EC {Ss.} *lɜʔ- id., 'cattle' > Af {PH} lā (nom. lāhi, gen. lāhi), Sa {R} lā 'cattle, cows' | pSam {Hn. BD} *lɜiʔ 'cattle (cows and bulls)' > Sml {DSI} lɜʔ, Sml N {Abr.} lóʔ, Sml Jb {Hn.} ló, Rn {Hn.} 'lóilyo, {PG} lólyò ~ lóyyò, pBn {Hn.} *lòí (> Bn Bi/J/Ba/K {Hn.} lòí) id. | Or H {Ow.} low-ání ~ lóní, Or nom. lóni, {Th.} lon (nom. loni), {Grg.} lōn, Or Wt {Hn.} lawōni, Or B/O {Sr.} lōni, Kns lów-ā, Gdl lóh-a id. | Gwd/Grs {AMS} lóʔ-o, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} lóʔ-o (pl. leʔe), Cm {Hab.} lōʔo (pl. lēʔē) id. | Dsn lo- (px. of ox-names), Arr {Hw.} līt 'bull' | HEC: Sd lāl-o, Hd lār-a, Brj 'lali 'cattle' (< *laʔ + pl. marker *-l-?) || Bj {R} yuwe, {Fl.} yiwe 'young cow' ¶ Ap. AV 15, Bl. 210, Ss. PEC 52-3, Ss. B 132, PH 153-4, R S II 242, Grg. 267, Th. 227, Ow. 268, Sr. 360, Hn. W 58, Hn. S 67 (pSam *lɜiʔ, Sml lɜʔ - an err. transcription for

lɔʔʔ), Hn. BD 98 (pSam *lɔiʔ), PG 213, Abr. S 166, DSI 390, Hw. A 382, AMS 172, 211, 254, To DL 515, AD SF 169 || Ch: Dr {J} lâ, {Kr.} lâ 'cow' || Gude {Srp.} lə id. (unless l- is from *ɬ-) | ? Ch ≈ *lUʔ∇ 'animal, meat' > WCh: BT: Pr {ChL} ló, {Frz.} ló, Tng {J} lɔ 'animal, meat', Dr {J} lú, Krkr {Lk.} ló, Grm {Sch.} láu, {Sh.} léú, Gera {Sch.} láwí, {Kr.} leywi, Bele {Sch.} lóʔʔó 'meat' | AG: Su/Cp {J} luwā 'animal, meat', Mpn {Frz.} lúa id., 'flesh', Tal {Sh.} lwa^h, Ywm {Sh.} lia, Gmy {Kr.} lowa 'meat' | Ron: Fy {J} ló 'animal, meat', Bks {J} ló, DfB {J} lo(h), Sha {J} luw 'meat' || CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd {Kr.} liwa, Jr {Mk.} lu (unless from *ɬu) id. | BB: Gude {Mk.} luwa, Nz {Mk.} ljuwe, {Mch.} liwe, BtZ {Mk.} lio id. | Suk {Mk.} lwi, {IL} ywi id. (unless l-~y- < *ɬ-) ¶ JI II 92-3, 232-3, ChC, ChL, J S 73, J R 217, J T 115, Frz. DM 35, Frz. P 40, Sch. BTL 30, 118, 137, 149 || ?? Eg ∇ iʔʔ 'cattle (Rind), ox' ¶¶ This HS root and N *Lûb∇ 'be thirsty/hungry' suggest that Eg i- and Bj y- may go back to an initial *L- (palatalized by the following *i or *ju?) ¶ EG I 49, Fk. 12, R WBd 243 ¶¶ Ap. AV 15, OS #1632 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *luw∇ 'horse' > ObU {JHL} *l^rw id. > pVg {Ht.} *lūw > Vg: T low, LK/MK lo, P/UL/Ss luw, NV/SV/LL/ML lū (pl. lut) id.; pOs *loʔ ({JHL} *lǎʔ) > Os: V/Vy loʔ, Ty ɬǎʔ^w, Y ɬǎw, D/K tǎw, Nz tɔw, Kz ɬɔw, O law id. | OHg XIV low, Hg ló (accus. loʔ-at), Hg Δ lo ɬ lu ɬ lū id. ¶ UEW 863-4, ≈ Ht. #350 (unc. ObU *lūʔ), Hl. rHt 73-4 (on pObU *-w- ↔ *-y-), 75, MF 405-6, EWU 902.

1254. *L∇ɜa 'to hide, to lie hid, to lie in wait' > HS: C: Dhl {To.} lāɜ-vi. 'hide', lāɜ-at-, {EEN} lāɜ-aɬ- vt. 'hide' || SC: Irq {E} luɜ- vt. 'hide' ¶ To. D 141, ENN 41, E SC 206 || IE *leH- > NaIE {P} *lā-/lā- (/ *lāj-) 'be hidden, lie in wait' > L late-ō / latē-re 'lie hid, be concealed' (← ɬ-prtc. *lā-'to-s) || Gk [Hs.] λήτο, λήυτο · ἐπελάθετο 'was forgotten'; +ext. *-d^h-: Gk λήθω, Gk D λᾶθω v. 'be hidden', Gk λανθάνω 'lateo, I escape one's notice' || Gmc: pScn *lómur 'treasure, deception' (> Ic lómur, Nr {Vr.} lōm 'Falschheit') → Gmc: ON lóm-bragð 'List, Betrug' and lóm-geðr 'deceitful'; MHG luɔ {Lx.} 'Nachstellung, Not' || SI *lajati > OCS ΛΑΙΑΤΗ lajati 'insidiari, to lie in ambush', {P} 'nachstellen', RChS ΛΑΙΑΤΗ lajati 'to make an ambush, to lie in wait' ¶ WP II 377-8, P 651, WH I 768-9, F II 80-2, Vr. 365, Lx. 131, Bern. I 687, ESSJ XIV 21 (does not mention P's et. of SI *laja- from IE *lā-), StSS 304 || K: G l- (3s prs. e-l-is) 'wait for' (← *lie in wait) ¶ Chx. 687 ◇ Cp. also Tg *jaya- vt., vi. 'hide' (> Ewk jaya-, Lm jay- id., Sol jayannā- vt. 'go to

hide', Neg jaya-, Orc, Nn žaya-, Ud {STM} žeä-, {Krm.} žā-, U1 žay-, žaya-, Ork day-, dayā-/l- vt. 'hide' [STM I 243, Krm. 232]) and S *^o✓šh̄h̄ (> Ar ✓šh̄h̄ [pf. šah̄ha] v. 'be stingy/niggardy of' [BK I 1196, Hv. 353]) that may suggest an alt. N et. ***ḶḶha₁yḶ** 'to hide, to conceal', but the latter is less plausible in the light of the K and C cognates.

1255. *LabḶ 'grasp, get, obtain' > IE: NaIE *lab^h- / (with a nasal infix) *lamb^h- 'seize, grasp' > OI 'labhatē ~ 'rabhatē ~ 'lambhatē 3s md. (p. 'a-labha) 'seize, catch' ||| Gk λάφυρα pl. 'spoils (taken in war)', ἀμφι-λαφής 'taking in on all sides', ἀμφι-λάφεια 'wealth, abundance', ?σ λαμβάνω 'take, seize' (with a puzzling -β- rather than -φ-) ||| ? σ Blt: Lt lōb̄is 'possessions, riches', lōb̄-ti 'grow rich', but less probably: Lt lāb-as, Ltv, Pru lab-s 'good' ¶ WP II 385, P 652 (*lab^h-), EI 564, Mn. 698 (adduces Oss I läbūrən, Oss D läborun 'attack', but Ab. proposes a different et. of this verb), Dv. #571, M K III 42-3, M E II 434-5, Ab. II 16-7 (Oss I läbūrən, Oss D läborun < Irn *fra-bur- ÷ NPrs B bur 'attack'), F II 91, Frn. 327, En. 200, Tp. P K-L 401-10 ||| **HS:** Ch: WCh: AG {Stl.} *lāb v. 'receive' > Su {J}, Kfr {Nt.} lāp, Gmy {Fp.} lap, Ywm {Fp.} lāp, Mnt {Fp.} lāb id. ||| CCh: Bcm {Sk.} luwō id., Gzg {Lk.} -lup- 'carry (a child)' ¶ Stl. VZChJ A #133, ChC || S: [1] SES *✓lbb > Hrs ✓lbb: pf. ʒltʒbōb 'put on arms', Mh ✓lbb: pf. ʒwtʒbūb 'wrap oneself in a waist-cloth'; [2] +ext. *k: S (att. in Aram) *^o✓lbk > JA [Trg.] ✓lbk v. G {Js.} 'hold fast', {Lv.} 'ergreifen, erfassen', Sr ✓lbk v. G 'lay hold, take hold, seize', Md ✓lbk v. G id., 'hold fast, capture' ¶ Hardly here Ak ✓lpt ~ *✓lbt 'touch (lightly)' (adduced by IS with an untenable translation as 'схватывать, цепляться') ¶ Jo. H 82, Jo. M 250, Js. 689, Lv. T I 400, Br. 355-6, JPS 234, DM 224 || B *✓lby > Ah, ETwl, Ty -lbuy 'extraire', inv. Ah əlbi, ETwl/Ty əlbay (Fcj. 32 = Pcj. I A 1, sc. stem -12uy) ¶ Fc. 989-91, 2002, GhA 109, Pr. M VI-VII 87 ||| **A:** NTg *labā-dā- 'carry with the teeth' > Ewk lawādā-, Ewk D labādā- id., Neg lawādā- id., Sln lawada- 'seize with the teeth' ¶ STM I 485 ◇ IS II 29-30.

1256. *LabḶ (or *LayibḶ?) 'be soft' > **HS:** B *✓lbb > Wrg ilbib 'être ramolli, tendre (pain, couscous, fruit, etc.)', ulbib 'mou, ramolli, tendre (pain, fruit, etc.)', ? Izd ulwu (pf. y-alwu) 'être ramolli, se ramollir'; ?? B *^o✓l¹b¹y (× N *Lib₁Ḷ-Ḷ 'wet; be\get wet') > Izd ✓lw_y 'être lisse, mou' ¶ Dlh. Ou 163, Mrc. 157, 170, 213-4 ||| **EC:** Arr {Hw.} lāfná 'weak', (× N *LASḶ 'be weak, be worn out'): Or {Grg.} lāfā 'weak, soft', lāf- become soft', Or B {Sr.} lāfā 'weak', Or Wt {Sr.} lāfā

'ill', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} lāf- 'be weak\mild', Or H {Ow.} lāfā 'soft', ¶ Grg. 258, Sr. 357, Ow. 267, Hw. A 381 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} lə̀bələ̀bəná, Cg {Sk.} lúbùlúbùná, Kry {Sk.} lú̀bùlú̀bù, P' {MSk.} lə̀bùlú̀butì, Sir {Sk.} líllìbènní, Mbr {Sk.} lə̀bùlú̀bù, Dir {Sk.} nè lə̀bùlə̀bù 'soft' | SBC: Kir {ChL} lèlúbùlúb, Plc {ChL} lèplèp, Buli {ChL} láwùt id. | BT: Krf {ChL} lèplèpì, Ngm {ChL} liwit id. | Ngz {Sch.} lɛ́fí:ɔ́ 'softness (of skin, hide products, ground)', lɛ́báɔ́-lɛ́báɔ́ 'soft' || ? CCh: Glv {Rp.} lipe 'weak' || ECh: Smr {J} láw 'be soft', Nd {J} láw, láb' láb' (= láb' láb'?) 'soft' ¶ ChC, ChL, Abr. H 616, Ba. 723, Sch. DN 102 || S +ext. *^o√lbk ~ *^o√lbk > Ar √lbq G (pf. labaqa) 'amollir, adoucir', {Hv.} vt. 'soften', Ak √lbk (inf. labēku) 'become soft', labku 'soft' ¶ BK II 960-1, Hv. 676, Sd. 521, 526 || | K: GZ *lab- / *lb- vt. 'become tender\soft; moisten' ({K} *lb-, {GM} *lḡb-, {FS} *lab-) (× N *Libh∇ 'wet; to get wet') > OG, G lb-, Mg lib-, Ls lob- ~ lib- id., G lb-il-i, Mg lib-u 'soft' ¶ K 120, K² 106, GM S 124, FS K 196, FS E 215, Chik. 303, Chx. 673-4, DCh. 848 || | A: ?σ T (att. in NaT) *jaba-í 'mild, gentle, peaceable' (with a sx. *-í of deverbal adjectives) > OT javaš id., OOsM XIV {Cl.} javaš 'peaceable, patient, mild', Osm {Rh.} يابواش yawaš 'slow; gentle, mild; soft in sound', Tk yawaš 'gentle, weak, light (levis)', Az javaš 'quiet (a horse, etc.), mild, slow', CrTt javaš 'slow', Tkm юваш juwaš 'quiet, mild, slow', Uz ювош juvoš 'quiet' (horse, child), 'slow', ET žuvaš ɛ javaš id., 'gentle', Δ {Jr.} javaš 'good, gentle, quiet, mild', Qmq javaš 'quiet', Qzq жуас žūwas 'quiet, mild', Qrg жоош žōš id. ('смирный, кроткий'), Qq žuwas, Nog juvas, VTt юаш juaš, Bsh jъwas, StAlt {BT} дьобош žoboš, Tv чааш čāš 'quiet, mild' ('тихий, смирный, кроткий'), Xk čabas 'quiet' (animal), Sg {BIG} čabas ~ čamas 'quiet' (animal, person); T *^ojaba-l- (with a passivizing sx. -l-) > OT javal- 'betamed, calmed, quietened' ¶ Rs. LTS 125, Rs. W 175, Cl. 877, 880-1, MKD 219, ET J 51-3, Rl. III 278, 290-1, Rh. 2195, Sht. 105. Jr. 151, TkR 800, Nj. 486-7, 782, Jud. 261, BIG 304, 310 || | D *nav- 'become soft' > Tm navu id., 'be saddened by boiling, rot, decay', Kn navuru, navaru, naviru 'that is tender, soft, fine', Tl navuru, nauru 'soft, delicate' ¶¶ D ##3617-8 || (from N *Layib∇) IE: NaIE *lejb^h- '≈ weak, lean' > OSx lēf 'weak, sick', AS lēf 'weak' || | Lt laibas 'slender, slim, delicate', líebas 'lean, thin', Sl *libъ (dadj. *libъjъ) 'lean' > OCz libí, OP lubu id., 'feeble (щуплый)', Slvz lebi 'too high and weak' (of plants, animals, humans); d. Sl *libavъ > ChS ЛНБАВЪ libavъ

'gracilis', McdS либав 'weak, not hard enough', Slvz lẽbavi 'lazy', P Δ lebaωy, lubaωy, R Sml любавый adj. 'without fat' (of meat); d. Sl *liběvъ ~ *libivъ > ChS ЛИБѢВЪ liběvъ ~ ЛИБИВЪ libivъ 'λεπτός, gracilis', OR, RChS ЛИБѢВЪИ liběvui 'lean, meager', OCz liběvυ, Blg Δ либѣѣ 'without fat' (of meat), 'lean' ¶ WPI 388, ≈ Frn. 329-10, Ho. 197, Ho. S 45, ESSJ XV 70-1, 74-5 ◇ The IE root (if it belongs here) and some Ch forms suggest the presence of a vw. *i (probably N *Layib∇).

1257. *Lib∇ 'heart' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'life', 'middle') > HS: S *libab- 'heart' > BHb לב leḅ / +ppas. libb-, pl. לִבּוֹת leḅāḅ-ōt, Ph, Ug lb, DA/OA/IA lbḅ, BA cs. לבב leḅab, JA em. לבב lib'ḅ-ā ~ לבב lib'ḅ-ā, Sr לבב leḅab, Md abs., cs. lbab, em. liba, Gz læbb, Hrs {Jo.} ḥḅ-lbēb (pl. ḥḅ-labb-ḅt), Mh {Jo.} ḥḅ-wbēb (pl. ḥḅ-wbōb), Jb {Jo.} E/C 'ub (pl. eb'ḅtḅ), Sq {Jo.} 'ḅḅḅḅ, Sb, Mn, Hdr lb, Eb {Krb.} li-ḅū (libbu) 'heart', Ar لبّ lubb- 'heart, middlepart, mind, intelligence', Ak libbu 'heart, 'inside of a container', IA lbḅ 'center, inside of an object', JEA {Sl.} lib'ḅ-ā id., לבב leḅāḅ-ā 'inner part' ¶ A #1434, OLS 240-1, AD PSH 92, HJ 562-3, Tmb. 155, KB 488-90, 1730, DM 228, Sl. 616, 623-4, Nld. MG 78, BK II 674, Jo. M 250, Jo. H 82, Jo. J 159, BGMR 81, MA 56, L G 304-5, CAD IX 164-75, Krb. 22, MiK I #1.174 || Eg √, DEg לב 'heart' > OCpt √ḅ- ḅḅ- id. ¶ EGI 59-60, Fk. 14-5, Er. 26, Vc. 243, Ws. 264 || B ≈ *ḅḅḅḅ- (= {Pr.} *√ h₁lh₃) 'heart' > Ah, WTwl, Ttq {Msq.} ul, Ty {Pr.} ul ~ əwəḅ, Tnsl {Pr.}, Tw D {Sdl.} ulh, Gh {ABs.} ul, {Nh., ABs.} yul, Kb ul, Sll {Ds.} ul, t-ul-ḅḅ (Pr.): ḅḅ < *H-t), BSn {Ds.} ūl, Tmz {MT}, Izn/SnSr {Rn.}, Wrg/Mz {Dlh.}, Shw {Msq.} ul, Rf {Rn.} uḅ, Nf {Beg.}, Awj {Prd.} ūl, Si {La.} uli, Zng {Msq.} uḅ, {TC} ūy (dim. aḅ-ūl°, pl. eḅlūn) id. ¶ Pr. H 27, #482, Fc. 981-2, Sdl. 279, Dl. 440, MT 365-6, Rn. 284, Dlh. Ou 163, Dlh. M 102, Beg. 317, Prd. 164, La. S 216, Msq. 57, Msq. Z 499, TC D 4, TC Z 316 || C {AD} ḅḅḅḅ-, {E} ḅḅḅḅ- 'heart' > EC {Ss.} *lubb- 'heart, soul' > Kns {Bl.} lupp-ōḅta id., Elm rupai? 'heart', Dsn {Bl.} lúbba? 'life', Af {Hw.} lubb-i 'heart, soul, yolk of egg' (unless ← Ar lubb- 'heart, middlepart'), ?ḅ Sml {Ss.} rub(b)ad 'life' in rub(b)ad ḅar- 'kill', ?ḅ Rn {PG} rúbéy 'heart, spirit; (one)self', Or {Bl., Grg.} lubb-ū 'soul, (vital) spirit', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} lubbū 'soul, life', Sd lubb-o, Brj lub'ḅ-ō 'soul' (unless Sd, Brj lubb- ← Or lubb- ← Ar lubb- 'heart, mind, intelligence'); Sml {ZMO, DSI} lāb 'chest, breast; inner thought, emotions ("cuore" come sede dei sentimenti)', Sml N {Abr.} lāb 'chest',

Or *lappē* 'heart' || Ag {Ap.} **lābāk*- 'heart' > Bln/Q/Km {Ap.} *læbeka* id. || SC: Asa {E} *liba* 'chest' ¶ AD SF 163-4, E PC #312, Bl. 259, Grg. 262, 267, Sr. 360, Ss. B 135-6, Ap. AV 15, Ap. WLQ 10, R WB 351, ZMO 249, Abr. S 160, DSI 377, PG 250, Brl. 277, E SC 205 || Om: SOm: Ari U {Fl.} *lɒpa* ~ *lɒpa* 'heart', Ari G {Fl.} *liba* 'belly' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} *uluwa*, Dwr {LmS} *ulwa*, Malo {LmS} *ʔulo*, Gm {Hw.} *ʔulo* 'belly'; Kf {C} *ribbō* 'heart, mind', Anf {Gt.} *ɥibbo*, Shn {Lm.} *nibbà*, Ym {Wdk.} *nibá* 'heart' (unless ← EthS *labb* 'heart') ¶ Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, Bnd. AL 145, LmS 286, Hw. EG s.v. 'belly', C SE IV 477, Wdk. 132, ≈ Lm. Sh 367 || Ch: CCh: [1] Db {ChL} *libí* 'stomach', Msg {Mch.} *lib* 'belly'; [2] Dgh {Kr.} *rúvè*, *árvé*, Gv {Kr.} *ʔúrvè* 'heart', Pdk {Lk.} *arwa* 'chest', Ktk Af {Lbf.} (ə)rfu 'heart', {Stz.} *rphi h* (= {Sö.} *rfi.:*) 'soul' || ECh: Mkl {J} *ʔùlbé* 'heart' || WCh: ?σ Cp *lɒb* 'lung' ¶ J LM 189, ChL, ChC, Lk. ZSS 127, Sö. 264-5 ¶¶ OS #1668 || K: G *lib-i* 'axle (Achse)' (← *middle' ← *heart') ¶ Chx. 682 || IE: NaIE {P} **lejb^h*- or {WH} **lejb_l^h*- 'live' > Gmc {Fs.} **līb*- id. > Gt *liban*, ON *lifa*, OHG *lebēn*, *leben*, NHG *leben*, OSx *libbian*, AFrs *libba*, AS *libban*, *lifian* 'to live', NE *live*; ON *líf*, Dn, NNr *liɒ*, Sw *lif*, OSx *līf*, MDt *lijɒ*, OHG *līb* 'life, living body', NHG *Leib* 'living body', AS *līf* 'life', NE *life*; ? OHG *bi-līban*, NHG *bleiben*, OSx *bi-līvan*, OFrs *b(i)līva*, AS *be-līfan* 'remain' (≡σ: NE *survive*) || Lcaelebs 'unmarried (man)' < (hpl.) {WH} **kajwelo-lib_l^h*- 'alone-living' from IE **kajwelo*- 'alone' (< N **gaywE(-L∇)* 'alone', 'entire' [q.v.]) + IE **lejb_l^h*-; alternatively {WP, P} < IE **kajwō*- 'alone' (see N **gaywE(-L∇)*) + *lejb^h*- ¶ WP I 326, II 403, P 670, EI 12 (on *caelebs*), WH I 130, Fs. 330, Vr. 355, Ho. 200-1, Ho. S 46, 48, Kb. 596, OsS 64, 551-2, Schz. 192,195, KM 83, 429 || ?φ Gil: Gil A/ES *ηif* 'heart' ¶¶ ST 232, Krn. N 481 ◇ SOm and Db -*ɒ*-, -*ɒ*- (as well as Or *lappē*) may point to the presence of a N lr. (**Līb∇?∇?*).

1258. **L^ob∇* '∈ grass' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'medicinal \ poisonous grass?') > HS: S **olubb*- > Ar *lubb*- 'poison' ¶ BK II 955 || IE: Gmc **lubj^a* > OHG {OsS} *luppi* 'stark wirkender Pflanzensaft; Gift, Vergiftung', {Kb.} *lubbi* 'magic, poison', MHG *luppe* id., ON *lyf* 'Heilmittel, Zaubermittel', Ic *lyf* 'drug', Gt *lubja-leis* 'giftkundig', *lubjaleisei* 'φαρμακεία, Giftkunde', OSx *lubbi* 'juice, poison', AS *lybb* 'poison, sorcery', NE *lib*; OHG *luppōn*, {Kb.} *lubbōn* 'to poison' ¶ OsS 579, Kb. 638, Ho. 208, Ho. S 48, Vr. 36, Fs. 337 || A: M **nogu*- (< **noβu*-?), **nogu-yan* > MM [S] {H} *noḥo,an* 'green fresh

grass', WrM *noḡuḡan*, HIM *ноḡоо*, Ord *noḡō*, Mnr H {SM} *noḡōn* 'grass, vegetable', Brt *ноḡоо(н)*, Kl *ноḡан noḡan*, {Rm.} *noḡān* 'fresh grass, greens', WrO *noḡā ~ noḡon* 'grass'; *noḡōn*, Dg {T} *nugā* 'greens, vegetables'; MM [LM] *نوغان* *noḡān*, [HI] {Ms.} *noḡo-an*, [MA] {Pp.} *نوغان* *noḡān*, WrM *noḡuḡan*, HIM *ноḡоон*, Brt *ноḡоо(н)*, Kl *ноḡан noḡan*, {Rm.} *noḡān*, Ord, Mnr H {SM} *noḡōn*, {T} *noḡōn*, Dx *noḡon*, Ba *noḡoḡ* 'green'; WrM *noḡubtur*, HIM *ноḡоовтор*, WrO *noḡobur*, Brt *ноḡообор* 'greenish' ¶ Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 259, H 118, Ms. H 79, MED 588, KRS 380, Rm. K 278, SM 281, T 352, T DnJ 130, T BJ 144, T DgJ 158, Krg. 221, Chr. 328-9 || Tg **nab-* '(dry) grass' > Ul *nawoqta ~ naoqta ~ nauqta*, Ork *nāwuqta ~ naoqta ~ nauqta*, Nn *naoqta* 'dry grass', Lm All *nabʔtla* id., Lm Ol *nabt* 'turf (of dry grass)', Orc *nabo* 'moss' ¶ STM I 575 || ?σ D **nuv-* 'sesamum' > Tm *nū*, *nūvu*, Klm *nuvvū*, Nkr *ū*, Prj, Gdb *nuvul*, Gnd *nūḡ(g)*, Knd *nū* id., Tl *nu(:)vu*, *nuvvu* 'gingily seed' ¶¶ D #3720 ◇ The unexpected Tg **a* needs explaining. D **u* (for the expected **o*) may be due to the as. infl. of **-v-*.

1259. *Lûb∇ 'be thirsty, be hungry' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'wish, love') > HS: S **-lūb-* > Ar ✓ *lwb* (ip. *-lūb-*) 'be thirsty' ¶ Hv. 699, BK II 1036 || Eg √ *lby* id. > Cpt: Sd **εΙΒΕ**, B **ΙΒΙ** id. ¶ EG I 61, Fk. 15, Vc. 61 || C: EC: Sa {R} *luw-*, Af {PH} *luwu'te* 'be hungry', Sa {R} *lu'wā*, Af {PH} *lu'wa* n. 'hunger' || Bj {Rop.} ✓ *ḡwḡ* 'be thirsty' (1s p. 'a-ḡway, inv. *ḡiwayiḡ-a*) (× N ***haw∇** 'to desire, to love'??), {R} *ḡuwāy- pcv.* 'be thirsty', {Rop.} *'ḡawē*, {R} *'ḡawa* 'thirst' ¶ R S II 251, R WBd 243, 273, PH 157, Rop. 251 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} *lɔbɔ* (v.n. *lɔpɔ*, pl. *lɔbɔdɔ*) v. agree, accept, like', Dr {J} *law-/lab-* v. 'want', {Nw.} *lɔ́bɪ / -w-* 'agree' (if 'agree, like' ← 'love', cp. IE) ¶ J T 115, Nw. KL 129, ChC ¶¶ Not here B **✓rHf* 'be thirsty' (adduced with a query by IS as **✓rWf*), which is cognate with S **✓rɣb* 'be hungry' and Sml *rab-* 'wish' (see AD SF 170) ¶¶ EG I 61 and Vc. 61 (Eg, S), ≈ OS #1681 (Eg, S + unc. DhI *šūb* 'to sip') || IE: NaE **leubh-* / **loubh-* / **lubh-* 'desire, love, agree' > OI *'lubhyati* 'desires eagerly', *lōbha-* n. 'desire', *lub'dha-* 'avid, lascivious' || Gk [Hs.] *λυπτά · ἑταίρα, πόρνη* 'hetaera, whore' (÷ OI *lub'dha-*) (× influence of L *lupa* 'whore') || pAl {O} **laubitya* > Al Δ *laps* {Kf.} 'I wish (ἐπιθυμῶ)', {O} 'wish, want' || OL *lubet*, L *libet* 'it pleases, is agreeable', L *libīdo*, † *lubīdo* 'violent desire, appetite,

longing', Osc LOUFIR 'vel' || Gmc *leubaz (< IE *leub^ho-s) > ON ljúfr 'lieb, wert', ORu liubu (Fs.) liub^hu), Gt liuf^s, OSx liof, OHG liob 'dear (lieb, teuer)', NHG lieb, AS léof 'dear, beloved', NE lief; Gmc *lub-ō (< IE *lub^h-ā-) > OHG lupā, AS lufu n. 'love', NE love n.; OHG liubōn, NHG lieben, AS lufian v. 'love', NE love v.; Gt us-laubjan, OHG ir-louben 'to permit', NHG erlauben 'to allow', OSx or-lôf 'Erlaubnis', AS līefan 'to allow', 'lieb\teuer machen', ON leyfa 'to allow, to praise'; ON lof 'praise, permission', OSx, AS lof, OHG lob, NHG Lob n. 'praise' || Lt liaups^ẽ v. 'eulogy, praise', liaupsinti 'to eulogize, to praise' | Sl *lubъ(jъ) > OCS ЛЮБЪ ljubъ, ЛЮБЫИ ljub^hi 'gratus, dilectus, desideratus', SCr ljub, Slv ljub, Cz libý, Slk l'ubý, P lubu, Uk 'любий, Blr 'любы, R Δ 'любый 'dear, beloved', R лю'бой, Uk лю'бий, Blr лю'бий 'anyone (quilibet)'; Sl *lubíti 'to love' > OCS, OR ЛЮБИТИ ljubiti, R лю'бить, Uk лю'бити, SCr, Slv ljúbiti, Slk l'ubit', P lubić 'to love', OCz líbiti id., Cz líbiti se 'to be liked', Blg 'любя v. 'love' ¶ NaIE *leub^h- 'desire, love' is hardly from 'in Unordnung sein\geraten', as supposed by M E II 483-4; the latter meaning (as in Vd lubh- 'in Unordnung sein' and in NPRs ألفتان alof-tän [< CINPrs āluftan] 'be confounded, afflicted') is likely to be secondary (e.g. 'have violent desire' → 'be confounded, afflicted?') or to go back to a different N word, such as *Lab[∇] 'grasp, get, obtain', *Lib[∇] 'heart', or even *L'o¹b[∇] 'grass' ([in descendant lgs. → 'medicinal or poisonous grass?'] > Ar lubb- 'poison' and OHG lubbōn 'to poison'; NPRs ألفتان alof-tän 'to grow mad with love' may go back to contamination of *Lûb[∇] with some of the above-mentioned N words) ¶ WP II 419, P 683-4, EI 358, Mn. 682, 715, AHDI 37, M K III 107-8, ≠ M E II 483-4, Ch. 651, F II 146, Kf. 178, O 213, WH I 793-4, Bc. G 318, Mkj. DR 133, Vr. 361, 363, Fs. 187-8, 333, Kb. 620, 625, 628, 634, OsS 454, 564-5, 567, 573, 579, KM 440, Ho. 199, 201, 206-7, Ho. S 47-8, 57, Frn. 362, ESSJ XV 174-89, Glh. 391-2, Bern. 756-8, Vs. II 544-5 || K: G lub- 'get emaciated, lose flesh, mager werden' (of domestic animals) (← *'go hungry'), lub-i 'emaciated, lean' ¶ Chx. 694 ◇ IS II 34 (IE, S, Eg, Bj).

1260. *Lib^h[∇] (= *l¹ib^h[∇]?) 'wet; to get wet' > HS **√lb^h > Eg MKL/Md i^hb^h {EG} 'feucht sein von etw.', {Fk.} 'stream (with liquid), be suffused (with blood)', MK i^hb^h.ω 'libationes' ¶ EG I 64, Fk. 16 || B *√lb^h > ETwl/Ty ъlbu 'être trop humide pour la marche' (terrain) (Pcj.

I A 7 [12uH-stems], pointing to a pB final *H), Kb (with rdp.) l̥ub̥i 'être trempé, mouilli' (-i < *-ī < pB *-iH) ¶ DI. 443, GhA 108, Pr. M VI-VII 109 || S *^o✓ l̥sb > Ar ✓ l̥sb v. G 'drivel' (of a child), luṣāb- n. 'drivel of a child', luṣābu-l-naḥli 'honey' (naḥl- 'bee'), luṣabīyat- {Hv.} 'juice of some fruits', {BK} 'goutte de liqueur transparente sur certains fruits' ¶ S *^o✓ l̥sb < (mt.) **✓ l̥bṣ < (as.) **✓ l̥bh ¶ BK II 999-1000, Hv. 688 || Ch: CCh *✓ l̥b̥ (Stl.) *luḥa) 'moist' > BM: {ChL} Bu luḥenta, Cb lúpti, WMrg l̥bd̥i, l̥bd̥i, Ngx l̥bt̥a, Klb a l̥úbt̥ú, Hld l̥úḥúri 'moist' || Higi {ChL}: Kps l̥úḥíkè, HgF l̥úḥìš̥i id. || Db {ChL} l̥ub̥ id. || ZmD {KNC} lab̥ v. 'moisten' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} l̥úbí v. 'dip in', Smr {J} l̥áwé, Nd D {J} l̥wáp 'wet' ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 78, KNC 15 ¶¶ OS #1689 (Eg, Ch; HS *l̥ubaḥ- 'be wet') ||| K: GZ *lab- / *lb- vt. 'become tender\soft; moisten' (× N *Lab̥ 'be soft' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| IE: NaIE *lejb- 'pour, be liquid\wet', {EI} 'pour, make a libation' > Gk λείβω 'pour, pour forth; let flow, shed', ps. λείβομαι 'melt', λιβρός 'dripping, wet', λίψ* (gen. λιβός, accus. λίβα) 'stream', λίψ 'the SW. wind' ('bringing wet') ||| L l̥ībā- 'pour our, make a libation (offer [wine, oil, etc.] to gods)' (to be distinguished from the homonymous libā- 'take away from') ||| Brtt {RE} *l̥ībos 'flood', {JRE} *l̥īb- 'flow' > Crn l̥ūf, Br liñvad 'flood', W llif 'stream', W llifo 'to flow', Crn l̥ūva 'to flood, to inundate', Br liñvañ 'to overflow' ¶ WP supposed that Gk Hm ὕπρᾱ λείψαντε (the long α reconstructed on metrical ev.) provides ev. for Gk *λλ- < IE *sl-, which was refuted by Chantraine (Ch. GH I 176) → F II 97 ¶ IE *b (rather than *b^h < N *b) is due to the devoicing infl. of N *ḥ (*-bḥ- > *-pḥ- > IE *-b_LH_J-); in the prevocalic position the N lr. left no traces in NaIE ¶ ≈ WP II 393, EI 351 (> L, Gk only), F II 96-7, 120-1, WH I 794-5, RE 96 ||| A: NaT *jibi 'moist' > OT {MKD} jiba 'moist', {Cl.} jābā 'moist, moisture' (with a tentatively reconstructed ä), Chg XV ibin- v. 'become moist', ibit- caus. vt. 'moisten', Kr T/G jibi ~ ibi, Qmq jibi-, Bsh jьbь-, Uz, ET иви-, {ET} jiv̥i-, VTt žьbь- 'get wet', Qq žībī-, Alt дыби- žibi-, Shor {RL} čibi- id., 'become moist', Nog jibi-, Qrg žibi- 'become moist', Qzq жиби- žībī- (inf. жибу žībūw) vi. 'thaw', d. жибит- žībī-t- 'soak, steep' ¶ Rs. W 202, MKD 224, Cl. 872, ET J 196-7, Sht. 109, MM 185, Rl. III 532, 2154, IV 157, 162 ||| ?φ U: FU (att. in FP) *l̥joppa 'wet, moist' > Es Δ lopp (gen. lopa) 'snow mixed with water', Es loppata- v. 'rinse' || Er loppavto-, loppafto- vt. 'wet, soak', Mk лоподе- lopađe- 'get wet' || Chr: L лүпката l̥urka'ta 'moist, cool', H лыпката l̥əp'kata id., Chr L Δ

{Trc.} lup 'damp, moist' | Z lap+d 'moist, damp' ¶ UEW 693, MRS 306, 311, LG 157-8 || N *Lib_lh_h∇-K_∇ 'wet; be\get wet' > HS **✓lb^lk^l > S *°✓lbk > Ar labak-at- 'morceau de pain trempé et mitonné', ? ✓lbk G 'mêler (p.ex. du froment avec le miel)' ¶ BK II 961 || B *°✓l^lb^lγ > Kb lbubəγ 'être trempé, mouilli, dégouttant d'eau\d'huile', ? (× N *Lab∇ 'be soft') Izd ✓lwγ 'être lisse, mou' ¶ Dl. 443, Mrc. 157 ¶¶ Kb γ provides ev. for a HS *k_l, while S *k is due to the ass. infl. of the non-emphatic *p: *p_l > *pk || A: AmTg *ligb∇ (< **likb∇ < **libK∇?) > Orc libba 'phlegm (coughed up)', Ud ligba 'snivel' ¶ STM I 497, Krm. 256 ◇ FU *-pp- may go back to a cluster *-p_h- (< *-p∇-h∇?). If FU *llōppa belongs here (in spite of the irreg. vocalism), the initial N cns. is *l- or *l̥-, otherwise we are left with an unspecified lateral sonorant *L-.

1261. *L^li^lc^l∇(-t∇) 'jaw' > HS: CS *li|as-at- > MHb תבֿטֿ 'leset 'cheek, jaw', JA [Trg.] אֲתֿבֿ לִסֿ't-ā id., (here?) 'Unterleib', ? Sr לִנְסֿאֵדֿ los't-ā 'praeputium, uterus' ¶ Lv. T I 411, Js. 713, PS 1913, Lv. II 514, Br. 368 || A: Tg *lus_lu_lma 'upper jaw, 'upper lip, muzzle, snout' (× N *luhaš∇ or *lahuš∇ 'lip, mouth', q.v. ffd.); the Tg vw. *u of the first syll. belongs to the heritage of N *luhaš∇ or *lahuš∇ || IE: NaIE *°l^le_lst- '≈ edge, hem, stripe' > OHG lista 'edge, hem (Rand, Saum, Leiste)', OSx līsta 'bandformiger Streifen, Saum, Leiste', NHG Leiste 'strip (of wood, metal, etc.), trim, border', AS līste 'hem, border', ON lista 'Rand, Leiste' (unless ← ML aureæ listæ 'Ornamentstreife der Dalmatika' {Vr.}) ¶ Pokorny adduces here Al *leth 'der erhöhte Rand eines Grundstückes, Rain, Mauer, Flußufer' (sc. misspelled ledh 'embankment, river levee, dike; alluvial land, mud') and reconstructs NaIE *leisd-/°loisd- 'Rand, Saum', but En. and Orël connect Al ledh 'mud, alluvial bank' (< pAl *lajda) with Pru laydis 'clay' ¶ ≈ WP 389-92, P 672, Vr. 358 (the Gmc word ← ML), Ho. 204, Sw. 109, Kb. 624, OsS 563, AlbED 443, O 216, En. 201.

1262. *Lawč∇ 'weak, soft' > IE: NaIE *°leus-/loüs-/lus- '≈ loose' > Gmc: Gt laus 'loose, vain, empty', fra-liusnan 'to lose', ON lauss 'free, lax, vacant' (← NE loose), OHG lōs 'loose, lax', NHG los 'loose', AS léas 'loose; false' ¶ P 682, Fs. 163-4, 328, Vr. 348, Kb. 631, OsS 570, Ho. 197, Sk. 348, WW 184, ≈ EI 481 (unc.: *leus- ← *leuH- 'release, cut off') || HS: S *-lūθ- 'knead, mix' > BHb ✓lwš (ip. -lūš) 'knead'; JA, Sr, SmA, Md ✓lwš id. (← Cn?); Ar ✓lwθ (ip. -lūθ-) 'mix,

chew; soak', Gz ✓lwš G 'knead, mingle, mix', Ak lāšu 'to knead', d. līšu 'dough'; rdp.: Ar ✓lθlθ 'be weak, feeble, irresolute' ¶ KB 499, Sl. 621-2, Br. 362, DM 234, Tal 430, Hv. 699, BK II 1037, LG 321, Sd. 556 || B: BMnc i-llisu 'fané' ¶ Bs. NLB || C *l'a's- 'soft, tender' (×N *LASV 'be weak, be worn out', q.v.) > Ag: Bln {R} las- 'soft, fine, tender', Xm lis 'tender, soft' || EC *lVs- > Sa {R} lisilīs prt. 'being tender\soft' (of human skin), Sd {Gs.} lēssa 'tender' (leaf, grass); (×EC *lāf- > Arr lāfná 'weak', see N *LabV 'be soft'): ? Or {Grg.} lāf- 'be weak\soft', lāfā 'weak, soft', {Brl.} laf- 'ammorbire, ammollarsi', Or O/Wt {Sr.} lāf- 'be weak, mild', Or B {Sr.} lāf- id., 'be soft', Or H {Ow.} lāfā 'soft' (unless Or lāf- is akin to Dhl {To.} lāf- 'be tired', {EEN} *lāfune 'weak' and unless the Dhl ✓ is a loan from Or) || ??? C (SC?) ⇨ Mb {E} -lasu 'be old' ¶ R S II 250, Grg. 258, Brl. 274, Sr. GBO 203, Sr. 357, Gs. 209, To. D 141, EEN 42, E SC 327, Ow. 267 ¶¶ E PC #314 (C *lās- 'be soft, weak, limp'), ≈ OS #1669, ≈ Tk. SCC 103 [#32.10], AD SEC 136 (S, C) ¶¶ The semantic prehistory of S *-lūθ-: 'knead' ← 'make soft' || U: FU (att. in FV) *Lawčā 'soft, weak' > F lauha 'mild (as winter), genial (as climate), gentle, mellow, bland' || Lp Sw {SK} lause 'loose, soft, weak' || Er лавшо lavšo 'weak', {W} 'schlaff, matt, schwach', Mk лавча lavča 'weak' ¶ UEW 685, SK 280, ERB 323, PI 144 ◇ ≈ IS II 31-2 (*Lawšā 'слабый, ненапрянутый').

1263. *LičV 'to pass, to go away' > HS: S *°✓lθθ > Ar لَوَّجُ ✓lθθ 'éloigner, chasser de sa présence', {Hv.} 'pursue, drive away' ¶ BK II 998, Fr. IV 108, Hv. 687-8 || IE: NaIE *lejt^h- ~ *li(:)t^h- v. 'go, go away, pass', {EI} → 'die' (×N *zā'ki'dV 'move, go' [q.v.]?) > Gt af-leipan 'to go, to come', ga-leipan, OSx līthan 'to go, to pass away', OHG līdan 'to go, to travel, to pass', AS līðan, ON líða 'to go, to pass', Sw, Nnr lida, Dn lide id.; ⇨ Gmc caus. *lejtjan 'to lead' > ON leiða, OHG leiten ~ leitōn, NHG leiten, OSx lēdian, AS lædan id., NE lead v. || Av raēθ- (prs. iriθya-, pp. irista-) {Bai.} 'depart', {Brl.} 'die', KhS hārīscya 'abandonment' (< *frā-risti-) || pTc {Ad.} *lit- > Tc A lit-/let-, B lit-/lait- v. 'pass on, move' ({Wn.} 's'éloigner, tomber'), A/B litk-, B l(y)aitk- 'remove, avert' (< NaIE *lit^h-sk̄-e/0- × NaIE *lejt-/li(:)t- 'go') ¶ Tc A/B litk- (< form *lit^h-sk̄-e/0-) proves, acc. to Rsm., that there was no lr. between *t^h and *sk̄-, hence *t^h is originally monophonemic ¶ P 672, EI 228 (*lejt(H)- 'go away\forth'), Mn. 674, 698 (adduces here OI rī'tiḥ 'going, motion,

course', but it is derived from OI $\sqrt{r\bar{i}}$ - [prs. 'rīyatē 'rinnt, gerät ins Fließen']), Rsm. AT 87, Fs. 8, Vr. 330, 354, Ho. 191, 204, Ho. S 45, 47, Kb. 602, 611, OsS 545, 553, KM 435, Brtl. 1480-2, Bai. 479, Wn. 263-4, Ad. 554 || **A**: M *ničū- v. 'go back, (?) step back' > WrM ničū-, HIM няца- 'go back; give up, fail to carry through', ?? MM [S, HI] iču- 'zurück-treten\-gehen\-kehren', 'se retirer', ?? Ord i'č'a- 'se retirer devant qn. (par peur de lui)' ¶ MED 577, H 80, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 389 ¶ If MM iču- and Ord i'č'a- belong here, the loss of their initial cns. is due to metanalysis?

1264. *īewdA (or *zēwdA?) 'look for, find' > **K**: OG, G lod- / lodin- / lodn- v. 'expect, wait for' ¶ Abul. 210, DCh. 652, Chx. 867 || **U** *l̥ewδä- > FU *l̥ewδä- 'find' > F löytä-, Krl A löüdü, Vp löütä-, Vo leütä, Es leida-, Lv leüdü- 'find' || OHg XIV lewl-, Hg lel-, Δ lēl- id. || ? pY {IN} *ley- 'know' ({AD} *leyd-?) > Y {IN}: K leydī-, T leyrī- id., K/T leytay- 'recall' (-dī-, -rī-, and -tay- are sxs. of vt., but the Y forms may go back to *leyd-dī-, *leyd-tay-) ¶ UEW 247, Sm. 545 (FU, Ugr *lewdä-, FP *lewdä- 'find'), Db. OS xxxii, Coll. 95, SK 323, Sz. MNyH 151, MF 397, EWU 886, IN 231 || **D** (in SD) *nēṭ- ({{ṭGS}} *neṭ-) 'seek, look for, obtain' > Tm nēṭu 'seek, look out for, desire, aim at, earn', nēṭtam 'acquired property', Ml nēṭtam 'acquisition, gain', nēṭuka v. 'obtain', Kdg nṅḍ- v. 'earn', nṅṭa 'earning'; but Kn niṭṭisu 'look at' (adduced [with a query] in D #3766) hardly belongs here (see N *n̥idṽ '≈ eye; to look') ¶ D #3766 ¶ The long vw. *ē is likely to go back to *ew ¶ Cp. D *nāṭ- ({{ṭGS}} *nāḍ-) 'seek, desire, follow with the eyes' (D #3637) < N *r'o'dE 'to seek, to wish' ¶ IS explains D *ā (for *ē) in the variant *nāṭ- by the infl. of the open vw. of the next syll. ◇ IS II 17-8 (U, D; N ? *lewdä-; D *nēṭ- is misprinted as *nēt-).

1265. *īEga 'lie (liegen), lie down; lay, put' > **K** *lag-/*l̥g- 'lay, put, plant' > G (da-)lag- 'lay, put in order', (a-)lag- 'put away', (ča-)lag- 'put into sth., pack', log-ini 'bed', a-lag- n. 'place', Sv {K} laž- / l̥ž- 'plant (pflanzen); attach, fasten' (msd. li-l̥ž-eni), amb Mg/Lz rg- id. (× GZ {FS} *rg- 'plant?') ¶ Klimov adduces here G rg- v. 'plant', but FS separates between the K root in question and GZ $\sqrt{*rg}$ - v. 'plant' (> G, Mg, Lz rg-) ¶ K 118-9, K² 106, FS K 254, FS E 280, Chx. 656-8, GP 158 || **IE** *leg^h- 'lie (liegen), lie down' > NaIE *leg^h- > Gk [Hs.] λέχεται · κοιμάται 3s. 'lie down (esp. to sleep)', EpGk ft. λέξομαι id., Gk λέχος 'bed' || L lectus 'couch, bed' || OIr laigid 'lies (down)', lige 'bed, grave' (<

*legʰom), W lle, Cm le 'place' (< *legʰo-) || Gt ligān, OHG liggen, NHG liegen, OSx liggian, AS lićžan 'to lie (iacere)', NE lie || Lt † {Ju.} pa-lég-ti 'lay down', Lt {Frn.} palégỹs 'Bettlägerigkeit, Wochenbett' || Sl *lèg-ti (1s prs. *lègq) 'to lie down' > OCS ЛЕЩИ lešti (1s prs-ft. ЛАГЖ legq), R лечь (ft. 'лягу), SCr lèći, Slv léči, OCz léci, Cz † léc ~ léci, P lec id.; Sl *ležāti (1s prs. *ležq) 'to lie (iegen)' > OCS ЛЕЖАТИ ležati (prs. ЛЕЖЖ ležq), R ле'жать, SCr ležati, OCz ležěti, Cz ležeti, Slk ležat', P ležeć id. || Tc B lyäk- 'lie (iegen), lie down'; pTc {Ad.} *leke > Tc A lak 'bottom of a river', Tc B leke 'bed, resting place', {Wn.} 'couche' || Ht {CHD} lak- v. 'fall', {EI} lāki 'lays aslant', lagārī 'lies aslant' ¶ P 658-9, EI 352, F II 110-2, WH I 777-9, LG § 419, Fs. 330-1, Ho. 201, Ho. S 46, Kb. 613, OsS 555, Schz. 196, KM 441, Frn. 328, 350-1, ESSJ XIV 99-100, 156-65, StSS 303, Glh. 371-2, SSS 464, Wn. 254, 271, Ad. 559, 566, CHD L-N 17-8 || **U:** FU *o]iʰ∇ > ObU *o]iʰ- > pVg {Ht.} *līʰ- 'fall of' > Vg: ML lēw- 'shed\lose hair', LK/MK lēwp-, UK lewp-, P/Ss lēʰp-, NV/LL lēwp-, UL leʰp- 'fall off (abfallen, abgehen, abspringen)'; pOs *]äkən- ~ *]ökan- 'losgehen' > Os: V]ökan-, Ty]ekʷən-, D lākən, Nz]aqən-, Kz]aqən-, O]oqən- 'losgehen', {Trj.} 'вылезать, выпадать, выниматься'; this Os verb coalesced with the synonymous pOs vb. *]äkən- ~ *]ökan- id. < pOs *]öʰ- ÷ Vg N {Munk.} lēwāt- 'hervorziehen', cp. another d. of the same pOs √: Os V]oʰim-, Os Kz]awemə- 'herausziehen', {Trj.} 'вынуть, вытащить, выдернуть' = 'take out, pull out' ¶ Ht. ##347, 355, Hl. rHt 75, Trj. VD 159 || **HS:** WCh: Su {J}]è 'setzen, legen, stellen', {ChL}]è 'put down', Mpn {Frz.}]é 'put (several objects)' || SBc: Mngs {Csp.}]+gè, Kir {Csp.}]īk 'wait' || BT: Tng {J}]iyè 'put, place', Dr {ChL}]óyì 'put down', Pr]í-ʰò id. (inv.]ú) ¶ Csp. 70, ChL, ChC, J S 72, J T 115, Frz. DM 33, Frz. P 40 ◇ ObU *ī (actually Vg *ī only) suggests a N *i, which is at variance with the K data. Therefore it is preferable to reconstruct an unspecified N *E. Os *]äkən- ~ *]ökan- 'losgehen' is of ambiguous origin, hence it provides no unequivocal ev. of a FU *]-, therefore here we cannot distinguish between FU *]- and *]- ◇ IS II 35-6 (K, IE; N *Lᵛga = *L∇ga) ◇ Blz. IB #101 (suggests to add the WCh word for 'put down').

1266. *LaXga (= *Laḥg∇?) 'cut, chop' > IE: NaIE *lagʰ- (or *lagʰ-) v. 'cut, dig', 'cutting\digging instrument' > Gk λαχάινω (aor. ἐλάχηναι) v. 'dig' || OIr láige 'spade', NIr láige 'spade, mattock, the blade of a

spade', OIr {LP} *laigen*, Nir *laighean* 'spear, javelin', W *llain* 'blade, sword', *llain* 'patch' ¶ Fick II 238, WP II 881, F II 92, P 652, LP § 35.1, Dnn. 414, YGM-1 302 || U: FV **Lakśe* 'hew' > Lp N {N} *лукѣа-* / *-вѣ-* 'cut out a hole in wood (with a mortise chisel)' || Mk *лаксемс* 'lakśamś' 'to hew, to trim, to rough-hew (обтесывать, тесать)', Er *лаксе-* *lakśe-* id., carve with an axe' || Chr: L *локшинчаш* *lokšīn'ča-š* 'to hew, to trim (об-, тесать)', B *lokšīn'ča-*, M *lokšīn'ča-*, H {Rm.} *lokšīnca-* id. ¶ UEW 683, PI 142, ERV 328, MRS 294 || HS: CCh: Gude *laglč* v. 'cut' ¶ ChL || ?σ S **√lhg* ~ **√lgħ* n. 'hollow' > Ar *لَحَج* *lahǧ*- 'orbit of the eye', *لُحَج* *luħǧ*- 'socket/orbit of the eye', 'trou en terre étroit à l'orifice et s'élargissant à mesure qu'il descend', *لُجَج* *luǧǧ*- 'hollow in a valley or in a well' ¶ BK II 968, 972, Hv. 679.

1267. **Lig_{l,r}æ* 'lick, sip, suck' > IE: NaIE **leig_h*- v. 'lick' > OI *rēdhi*, *lēdhi*, *lihati* 'licks', Av 3p *raēzaitē* 'they lick', NPrs inf. *لِشْتَن* *leš-tān* / 1s prs. *لِيسَم* *līs-ām* 'lick' (-s- for -z- on the analogy of other verbs like *نَوِشْتَن* *neveš-tān* / *نَوِيسَم* *novīs-ām* 'write'), KhS *rīstā* 'he licks' || Arm *լիզեմ* *lizem* prs. (aor *լիզեցի* *lizec^{hi}*), *լիզում* *lizum*, *լիզանեմ* *lizanem* v. 'lick' || Gk *λείχω* 'lick' || L *ling-* *ō* / *-ēre* 'lick' (with the infix *-n-), *ligurriō* v. 'lick' || OIr *ligid* 'licks', W *llyfu* 'to lick' || Gt *bi-laigō** (att: 3p p. *bilaigōdēdun*) 'belecken', OSx *likkon*, OHG *lekkōn*, *lecchōn*, NHG *lecken*, AS *liccian* 'to lick', NE *lick* || Lt *liēžti* (prs. *liežiū*) 'to lick', iter. *laižyti*, Ltv *lāizīt* id. | SI **lizā-ti* (prs. **līž-q*) 'to lick' > OCS *лизати* *lizati* / *лижѣ* *ližq*, R *ли'зать* / *лижу*, P *lizać* / *liže*, Cz *lízati*, Slk *lízat'*, SCr, Slv *lízati* id., Blg *лижа* 'lick' ¶ P 668, E 351-2, M K III 72-3, M E II 463, Bai. 364, Horn 212-3, 235, Vl. II 1008, 1109, F II 102-3, WH I 801, 806, Fs. 91, Ho. 200, Ho. S 47, Kb. 604, OsS 545, KM 430, Frn. 369, Bern. I 725-6, Glh. 380, ESSJ XV 162, Sl. 92-3 ¶ The expected Ir. was lost in NaIE in prevocalic position || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} *-ligag* pcv. 'sip milk for another person (it is taboo for a man to be first to drink what he has milked himself)', rf. *a-t-ligag* 'sip fresh milk' ¶ Rop. 72, 211 ¶ The voiceless *k* (for the expected *g*) may be due to the infl. of the Bj scv. *лак-* 'lap, sip (as a dog)' (< N o **lak^u* 'to lick, to lap' [q.v.]) || WS (or SS) **√lgɣ* > Jb *√lgɣ* *G* (pf. *legaɣ*, sbjn. *ʔɔlgaɣ*) 'suck (teats)', OYmn *√lgɣ* *Sh* ({Slw.} *ʔalǧaɣa*) 'jemandem eine Backe voll zu essen geben', Ar Y {De.} *liǧɣ* 'morsel, mouthful' ¶ Jo. J

161, Slw. 193, De. 148 || Ch: WCh: Sha {J} lîg 'auflecken', P' {MSk.} likʒn 'lick' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} lèktá, Gbn {ChL} lèkté, Boka {ChL} lektʒ 'lick' (× N o *lāk'U' '↑' [q.v.]?) ¶ J R 286, ChC, ChL || A: Tg *legbe- 'eat greedily' (× N *Lûka-m∇ 'to swallow', see s.v. *Lûka 'to swallow') > Neg mt. lʒbgʒ- 'eat greedily', Nn lʒgbʒč'i- 'eat greedily' (of animals), Ul lʒgbʒ- 'eat greedily, eat enough', Ud lʒgbʒ- 'eat by large pieces\gulps' (of dogs) ¶ STM I 514, Krm. 257 ◇ Tg *e of the first syll. needs explaining (regr. as. *-i...e- > *-e...e-?).

1268. *Laguʾ∇ 'body of water' > HS: S *lugg- > Ar لُجّ luğğ- 'pleine mer, abîmes de la mer', لُجّة luğğ-at- 'masse d'eau, pleine mer' (semantic infl. of Ar luğğ- 'abondance'), Gz lagʷat- 'abyss, depth, pool of water', Tgr læggʷät-, Tgy lægʷät- ~ nægʷät- 'depth, whirlpool' ¶ BK II 967, LG 308 || LEC: Sml lāg (pl. lagag) {ZMO} 'water-channel', {DSI} 'affluente', Or B {Sr.} laga 'small river', Or O/Wt {Sr.} laga 'river', Or laga {Grg.} 'river-valley', {Brl., Ss.} 'river, brook' ⇨ Brj 'lag-i id., Kmb laga, Sd la'ga, lagga 'river' ¶ ZMO 250, DSI 378, Brl. 274, Grg. 360, Sr. 358, Ss. B 131, Hd. 124, 209, 330, 382 || A: M *naʷur 'lake, pond' > MM [S] {H} na,ur 'lake, sea', [IsV] نَاور {Lg.} na,ur 'lake', [IM] نَاور {Pp.} na,ur 'sea', WrM nagur, HIM нур, Ord, Mnr H {SM} nūr 'lake, pond', {T} nūr, Dgr {T} naur, Kl нур nur (gen. нурин nūrin) 'lake', {Rm.} nūr id., 'pond' ¶ H 114, Lg. VMI 56, Pp. MA 442, MED 558, KRS 386-7, SM 290, T 353, T DgJ 156, KW 282 || ?? OKo {Lee} *narih, MKo nāi / nāih-, NKo nā 'river' ¶ An alt. hypothetical origin: N *níhr'a' 'to stream; a stream' (q.v.) ¶ Lee GKS 80, S QK #229 (pKo *nāih). Nam 101, MLC 315 || D (in GnD) {ʒGS} *nāg|ʒur- 'river' > Png, Ku nāguʾi, Mnd nāguʾi id. ¶ D #3636, GS 191 ◇ N *-r- was probably lost in HS due to some morphological processes and/or due to the infl. of N *lāk'U' 'body of water' (q.v.) ◇ Blz. LB #96f (N *nakuʾi > M, D) and Blz. LNA #39 (N *nakuʾi > M, Ko, D).

1269. ?φ₂ *L∇'Γ'U '≈ fig tree' > K: GZ *laʷw- 'fig tree, fig' > OG λυϰω leʷwi, G leʷvi, Mg, Lz luʷi id. (⇨ G luʷi 'fig') ¶ FS E 216, K² 107, ≈ K 119 (did not distinguish this √ from the homonymous *laʷw- 'meat'), Abul. 208-9, Chik. 122, Chx. 680, DCh. 648-9, 654 || HS: ?φ Eg fP nh.t 'sycamore' ({Vc.} ≈ [*nāha-t] or [*nāhi-t]), nh.t nt dʒb 'fig tree', Cpt Sd nOYʒε nuhe, Cpt B nOYʒi nuhi 'sycamore' ¶ EG II 282-3, Fk. 135, Vc. 151 || ?μ EC: Sa {R} malaha'lō 'Ficus lutea'; C ⇨

NrOm: Kf {C} mellō 'sycamore'; acceptable, if Sa mā- goes back to a px. ¶ R S II 266, C SE IV 471 ◇ Qu., because the corr. K *-y- ÷ Eg h is not demonstrably reg. (so far).

1270. *luγ∇ 'wash, rinse' > K: o? G laγlaγ- v. 'rinse' ([im Wasser] schwenken, spülen, {DCh.} 'полоскать') ¶ Chx. 608, DCh. 644 || **HS:** B (rdp.) *✓lhl > Kb lil (pf. i-lal), Tmz lil 'être rincé, passé à l'eau', Mz ilil 'be rinsed', Wrg llil ~ il(l)il 'être rincé, être net, luire', caus.: Kb/Tmz/Izd/Mz s-lil, Wrg slil caus. v. 'rinse', Sll s-lil 'wash'; questionably here (for lack of any reflex of a lr.) Ah {Fc.} o lallwat 'be washed, wash\rinse oneself', ETwl./Ty {GhA} lallawat 'laver légèrement, nettoyer légèrement' ¶ Dl. 437, Ds. 168, Stm. 221, Mrc. 225, 395, Rn. 338, MT 365, Dlh. Ou 162, Dlh. M 101, Fc. 1073, GhA 115 || Eg ∇ iγγ 'wash' > Cpt: Sd ειω ειō, ειογε ειue, B ιωι ιōi, ιω ιō, A ειω ειō, F ιωωι ιōōi 'wash' ¶ EG I 39, Fk. 10, Vc. 60 || **IE** *louh- ({EI} *leuh₃-) 'wash, bathe' > NaIE *lou-, *lowə- 'wash' > Gk Hm λόω, Gk A λούω 'I bathe, wash (the body)', Gk Mc re-wo-te-re-yo 'for bathing' || L lav-ō / lav-ěre, lavā- (pfc. lāv-ī) 'wash, bathe', lautus prtc. 'washed' || ON lauga 'to bathe, to wash', OHG luhhen 'to wash, to rinse', NGr Sb lichen 'to wash', Dt logen 'to leach'; ON laug 'Lauge, Bad, Wäsche' (< *loukā), OHG louga 'lye, leach', NHG Lauge, AS léaz 'lye', NE lye || Arm [nqawaw] loganam 'I bathe'] ⇨ NaIE *lowə-tro- 'washing-basin' > Gk Hm λοετρόν, Gk A λουτρόν 'a bath, bathing-place' || Gl [GIE] LAUTRO- 'a bath' ({Billy} 'bain'), OIr {Thr., SB} lóathar 'basin', MBr louazr, Br laouer, Br V {Ern.} loëhér 'auge' || ON laudr 'soap, lather', AS léaðor 'lather', NE lather ¶ P 692, H 108, WH I 773-5, F II 138-9, Thr. 71, SB 249-50, Ern. 375, Hm. 505, Billy 92, Vr. 346-7, Ho. 196-7, Sw. 105, Kb. 636, 640, OsS 572, KM 427, Slt. 251-2 || **U:** FU (att. on ObU) *luw|γ∇ v. 'wash' > pObU {JHl.} d. *lōw-∇t- v. 'wash' > pVg d. *lōw-t- > Vg T/UK/MK/LK/SV/LL/UL, Ss lowt-; pOs *loy+t- ({JHl.} *lāyit-) > Os: V/Vy lōy+t-, Ty ǎōy+ta-, Y ǎōwitə-, Kz ǎoxit-, D/K ǎoxeítə-, Nz ǎoxətsə- id. || pY {IN} *loyo- 'bathe' > Y T {IN, Ku} loyo-rə- 'wash', loyo-ǎə- 'bathe' ¶¶ ≈ Ht. #349 (*loy-), Hl. rHt 73-4, Stn. WV 254, 340, KrT 1115, IN 232, Ang. 123-4, ≈ Rd. UJ 47 [#72] (Y ← U) ¶¶ The Y ev. suggests that some traces of the obstruent N *-g|γ- survived in pU || **A:** T *ju^b- (= *juw-?) vt. 'wash' > OT {Cl.} jū-, {Ml.} jū- ~ juw-, MT XIII? [Tf.] juv-, XwT XIII ju(w)-, XIV [QB] ju- ~ juv-, MQp jū- ~ juv-, [CC] ju- ~ juw-, Osm XIV-

XVI, Tk Δ juv- 𐌆 juv- 𐌆 juv- 𐌆 ju-, Tkm, Kr, Nog, Uz juw-, SY juw- 𐌆 ju-, Qmq, QrB žuw-, Qzq, Qq žuw-, Bsh jiw-, VTt юу- juw-, Az {Bu.} -يوو juw-, Az jū- ju-, Ln ju-, ET juu-, Xlj jū-, Qrg žu-, Xk, Tv čuṽ-, Tf ću-, Yk sūy- ||| Chv L šu- / šv-, Δ {Md.} šw- / šv- id. ¶ For the development of -ṽ- (< *-w- < pT *-b-) cp. pT *sub- 'water' (F N *s'ū'wĥâ - *s'Eṽuwĥ∇ 'moisture, water') ¶ Cl. 870, MI. PDP 390, Rs. W 209, DTS 277, ET J 238-9, Brv. T 163, Md. 162 (T *ju(b)-), ≈ Md. 60, RI. III 569 and IV 163, Bu. II 384. Ra. 198 ◇ If the K cognate is rejected as onomatopoeic, the N etymon may be reconstructed with *-f-, *-ṽ-, or *-g-, otherwise N *-f- is ruled out, so that the N rec. must be *luΓ∇.

1271. (2?) ≈ *L|žagU,y∇, 'fat meat' > K *°la|eṽw- 'meat' > Sv UB/LB/Ln/L leṽw 'meat' ¶ TK 413, GP 146, FS K 197, ≈ K 119 (did not distinguish this √ from the homonymous *laṽw- 'fig') || IE *lĥy- or *laj- 'fat' > NaIE *laj- 'fat', *layos 'lard, animal fat' > L laetus 'fat, rich' (of animals) → 'pleasant, fortunate', ? lāridum, lardum 'the fat of bacon, lard' ({P} < *layes-idom?) || ?? Gk λάρινός 'fatted, fat' ({Osth.}: < *layes-rīnos) ¶ WP II 379, P 652, WH II 750, 764-5, F II 85-6 || ? A: T *jāg n. 'fat, suet' (× N ≈ *ǰæ'ya'g∇ 'fat', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Not here Ch ≈ *lūṽ∇ 'animal, meat' (see N *lūṽ∇ - *l'īṽuṽ'∇ 'ε bovine') ◇ Doubtful, because the IE rec. is qu. and the T reflex *-g- of N *-g- is not demonstrably reg. (at least so far).

1272. 2 *lAKU 'circle' > HS: B *lak-: Ah tālakat 'circle', ETwl/Ty talĥkat (pl. tilĥkatēn) 'wheel' ¶ Fc. 1029, GhA 113 || ?? Eg (att. in NK) m rk.f 'neben (jemandem), um (jemandem)'; but Eg fOK m rk.f 'at the time of (so.)' may be either a sd. of m rk.f 'neben' or a direct descendant of N *r'a'kĥâ 'time, term' (q.v.) ¶ EG II 457-8 || U: FU *°lāk∇ or *°lakkU > ObU *lōk 'ring, circle' > pVg {Ht.} *lāk∞ id. > OVg S Tr (labeled "TuraG") лакъ, Vg T lāk, Vg LK lōx∞ (pl. lōk∞at), MK/UK lōx∞ (pl. lōk∞at), Vg P lax, lax∞ (pl. lōk∞at), Vg LL lax, OVg N Ber лакъ, Vg UL lāk∞, Vg Ss {Kn.} lāk, {Stn.} lāk∞, OVg SoO лякү; pOs {Ht.} *lōk > Os: V/Vy lōk, Ty lek∞, D lāk, K lok, Nz lak, Kz lak, O loχ id. ¶ Ht. #351.

1273. *Līk∇ 'be ill, suffer disaster' > IE: NaIE *leig- / *loig- / *lig- id. > Lt ligā 'illness, disease', Ltv † ligā id., 'pestilence, disaster', Lt † liegti 'be seriously ill, be an invalid (siechen)' ||| Gk λουγός 'ruin,

havoc' (of death by plague, by war), λούγυος 'pestilent, deadly, fatal' ||| pAl {O} *liġa > Al liġ adj. 'evil, wicked; bad; sick'; pAl {O} *liġā > Al liġē 'bad situation, immoral behaviour; serious disease' ||| ?φ OIr {P} líach {E} 'suffering, unfortunate', {P} 'elend, unglücklich' ¶ Hardly here (⇔ WP, P, and EI) Gk ὀλίγος 'little' and Arm աղբաւտ ałkʰat 'poor, needy, necessitous, miserable' ¶ WP II 398, P 667, ≠ EI 516 (*^h₃liġos 'ill, bad'), Mn. 689-90, 703, F II 134, Tr. 161, Frn. 370, ME II 166, Kar. 530, Bc. 302-3. AlbED 439-40, O 227 || HS: C {AD} *lak- > Ag {AD} *lak- / *lakk- ⇨ *lak-an- ({Ap.} *laϕ-än-) n. wound' > Bln la'ġār (pl. la'kār), Xm {Ap.} laḡan, Q {Ap.} naϕän, {R} naġen, Km {CR} naġan, Aw {Hz.} lagen, {Ap.} laϕen; possibly also Bln/Aw {R} laġ- 'anfeinden, beschuldigen, ausschelten', Gz (← Ag) lāk^wā, lak^wā, lak^wē 'altercation, strife, conflict', ✓ lk^wy v. TL (pf. talāk^waya) 'quarrel with one another, dispute, reprimand' ¶ AD SF 261, Ap. AV 14, R WB 251-2, L G 314 || A: T *jig 'illness, disease' > OT {Cl.} īg id., MQp XIV {TAG} jig 'an illness', ? jig kōr- 'be hateful', Tk An ig ɖ iy 'illness', Tkm īg-li 'sickly, ailing, rachitic' (of children) ¶ Cl. 98-9, Rs. W 169, TAG 20, 32, TkR 345.

1274. *Luka 'to bend', (?) 'flexible twig' > IE: NaIE *leugg- / *lug- 'bend, bind together, entwine' > Gk λυγόω, λυγίζω id., λύγος n. 'withy', λύγοι pl. 'flexible withy-twigs and withes', λυγό-δεσμος 'bound with willow-twigs' ||| L lux-us adj. 'dislocated', luxā- v. 'dislocate' ||| Lt lūgnas 'flexible' ||| ON lȳkna 'to bend knees' ¶ WP II 413-4, P 685, EI 62-3, Mn. 717, F II 141, WH I 841, Frn. 388-9, Vr. 370 || HS: B *✓lk 'be bent' (× N *ṣaíṽqU 'to bend') > Ah lakāt 'turner (changer de direction), décrire une courbe, être courbé', Mz {Dlh.} llaklak 'être ébranlé, bouger, être disloqué; plier sous le poids', as well as possibly Ah elakāt 'branche', ETwl/Ty ləkət 'être courbé en rond (en anneau)' ¶ Fc. 1028-9, 1051, PrGG 190, Dlh. M 105 || A: Tg *lōka- vt. hang down' > Sln, Neg lōko- ~ lōxo-, Lm Ol/B/P noq-, Lm A laq- id., Orc lō-m lōwo-, lōko-, Ud l'ō-, Ul lō-, lōqo-, Nn lō- ɖ loqo-, WrMc lakiya- id.; ⇨ *lō_ikān_i 'device (made of perches) to hang fish/meat for jerking' > Ewk lōwān, Neg lōwan, Orc lōkoñi, Ork lōn, Nn lōηqo id.; ⇨ *lō_ikān- 'hang down (fish, meat)' > Ewk lōwān- ¶ STM I 501-2 || M *nugṽ- ⇨ [1] M *nugul- > WrM nuḡul-, HIM нугала- vt. 'bend, fold; curve', Brt нугал-, Ord nugul- v. 'fold', WrO {Krg.} nuḡul- 'bend, fold', Kl нугл- v. 'fold', {Rm.} nuḡul- 'umbiegen, falten', Ord {Ms.} nu'yu'l- 'plier', ? Mnr H {SM} nu'ḡu'lā- 'tourner et retourner qch. entre les

mains' (× M *nigul- > WrM nigul- vt. 'bend, fold; curve'); [2] M *nugura- > WrM nugura- ~ {SM} nugara-, HIM нугара-× vi. 'bend, stoop; be folded', Brt нугар- 'be bent, folded', WrO {Krg.} nugur- 'bend, wrap, curve', Kl нугр- 'be folded', {Rm.} ну'у'ра- 'gefaltet \ umgebogen werden, sich falten', Ord {Ms.} ну'у'ра- ~ ну'у'ара- 'se plier', Mnr H {SM} ну'у'рā- 'branler, osciller'; the WrM graphic variants nigul- and nigura- (mentioned in KW 281, but not found in Kow.) may be explained as hypercorrect spelling of nugul-, nugura- (due to the regular as. -igu- > -ugu- in many other words) ¶ MED 595, Kow. 679, Krg. 227, KRS 385, KW 281, Chr. 333, Ms. O 499-500, SM 288 || T *jūkūn- v. 'bow' (× N *'ń' ūk' ū' 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *nɜki- → *nuaki- 'hanging edge of roof' > OJ n₁u₁ok₁i, J T noki ¶ S QJ #1533 ¶¶ Due to vw. harmony T has front vowels in both syllables, while Tg and M have a back vw. in the second syllable. T -k- (for the expected -g-) is due to the merger with N *'ń' ūk' ū' ¶¶ DQA #1224 (A *luke 'to bow, to bend') ◇ The deviating Tg vw. *o (for the expected *u) needs explaining ◇ ≠ S NSShs #24 (IE *÷ A *lak'u- 'bend, hang', ≈ IS III 61-6 (A *nugu ~ *nūku- 'bend' < N {IS} *N u q' ū' 'bend, bow' ≈ N {AD} *ñ ū q ▽ 'to bend, to swing, to sink').

1275. *lukê 'to gather' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to count') > IE: NaIE *leġ- 'gather, count' > Gk λέγω vt. 'gather, pick up; count' ||| L leġ-ō / -ēre 'collect, gather together, pick, read' ||| pAl {O} *ambi-leza > Al mbledh- (aor. mblodha) vt. 'gather, collect' ¶ WP II 422, P 658, EI 242, F II 94-6, WH I 780, AlbED 502-3, O 251, Huld 145, 156 || **HS:** S (+ext. *t) *✓lqt 'gather, pick up' > BHb, MHb כקט ✓lqt G 'gather, glean', JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} ✓lqt G id., 'pick up', Sr ✓lqt id., 'collect', OA ✓lqt G 'glean', Ar ✓lqt 'pick up, glean' (→ Izd laqqad 'gather'), Mh {Jo.} ✓lqt (pf. 3w'ka w't) 'pick up (a thing, sth. small)', Jb ✓lqt (pf.: Jb E 'l'k'at, Jb C l'k'at) id., 'pick up off a tree, pluck', Ak ✓lqt G (inf. laqāt) 'einsammeln' ¶ Ass. glottalization **k...t > *k...t ¶ KB 508-9, HJ 584, Js. 717-8, Sl. 632-3, Br. 370, JPS 244-5, BK II 1014-5, Hv. 693, Jo. M 255, Jo. J 164, Sd. 537-8 || **U:** FU *luke- v. 'count', *luk ▽ n. 'count, number' (→ 'ten') > F luke-, Es luge- v. 'count, read', F luku 'number; reading', Es lugu 'number; story' || pLp {Lr.} *lokē 'ten' > Lp: N {N} lqge / -kk-, S {Hs.} lūkkie, L {LLO} lākēv, Kld lokk' 'ten', N {N} lqkke / -g-, L lāhkē 'ten' (as last part of cds.), 'ten altogether'; N {N} lqkkâ- / -g-, K {Gn.} lokke- v. 'read, reckon, count'

|| Er лово- lovo-, Mk луво- luva- v. 'count; consider' || Chr: L лудаш lu'da-š, E luδa-, H лыдаш 'l̥bda-š v. 'read, count'; pChr *lu 'ten' > Chr L/E/H lu 'ten' || Prm {LG} *lũ-d n. 'count, number' (*-d is a sx.) > Z, Vt лыд l+d, Z Vsh/EV lúd id. || ObU {Ht.} *lõʷat- v. 'count' > pVg *lõwǎnt- v. 'count (rechnen)' > Vg: LK/MK/UK lownt-, Ss ловиньт-, {Ht.} lowint- 'count, read'; pOs *lonǎt- ({Hl.} *lǎǎt-) > Os: V lonǎt-, Ty/Y ʎǎǎt-, D/K tǎǎt-, Nz tǎǎt-, Kz ʎǎǎt-, O lonǎt- 'read, count (e.g. money), calculate (rechnen)'; ObU *lõʷǎʷ 'ten' > pVg {Stn.} lǎw > Vg: T {Stn.} ʎǎw, MK/Ss {BT}, UL {Stn.} low id. || ? Hg olvas- v. 'read, count' || ?? Sm: Ne T лахана-, T O {Lh.} laχnā- 'speak, talk', Ne T {Ter.} лахарю- 'say', T O {Lh.} lāχa'fũ- 'Unterhaltung, Gespräch' ¶¶ Coll. 131, UEW 253, Sm. 545 (FU *lukī-, FP *lukī/a-, Ugr *lũkĩ- 'count'), Lr. #598, Lgc. #3499, N II 555-8, Hs. 872, ERV 348, Ber. 33, MRS 298, 308, Rm. BT 71-2, PsS 66, Ü 109, LG 164, Ht. #358, Stn. D 784-5, Trj. S 216, Trj. VD 158, BV 46, Stn. WV 236, 254, 346, 357, MF 502-3, Ter. 181, Lh. 715 || ¶ A: M *nõʷe- > WrM nõge-, HIM нөө-х 'economize, save for the future; put aside, keep in reserve', WrO nõ- 'save, hoard, economize', Brt нөө-хэ, Kl нөөх nõ-хэ 'store up, accumulate, economize', {Rm.} nõ- 'sparen, verheimlichen, verhehlen', Ord {Ms.} nõ- 'faire des épargnes, amasser les biens, thésauriser' ¶ MED 592, Chr. 332, Krg. 225, KRS 384, KW 280, Ms. O 497 || T *jig- vt. 'collect, assemble' > OT jiy- id., XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC], Chg XV jiy- id., Tk ɟig- v. 'amass, accumulate, pile up', Az jiy-, SY jiy- ~ jiq-, ET jiy-, Alt дьɟ- ʒu- 'collect, accumulate', Slr jiy-, Ln jiy- ~ jiq- 'collect', Tkm jiy-, Qmq ʒiy-, Nog jiy-, Qzq, Qq ʒiy-, Uz jiy- 'collect, accumulate, harvest', VTt ʒɟy- 'collect, hide', Bsh jɟy-, Xk čiy- id., 'accumulate', Tv čiy- (inf. čīr) 'gather (e.g., people), pick (berries, etc.)', Tf čiy- 'gather (horses, cattle)' ¶ Cl. 897, Rs. W 200, ET J 271-2, TvR 560, Ra. 199 ◇ The delabialization *u > T *i is a rather frequent phenomenon, that is still to be investigated ◇ The IE vocalization may be explained as going back to pre-IE *l̥uek̥- < *lukê (see AD NVIE). In the light of the U *l- the N lateral is *l- rather than *l̥- (suggested by IS) ◇ Coll. IUS 12 (U, IE), AD GD 3 (IE, U), as well as ≈ IS MS 366 and IS SS 331 [#5.18] (*ʎokʎ = *ʎokʎ 'gather' [> 'count']: IE, U + unc. M *toʷa 'number' and D *tokk-/tokʎ- 'gather, count') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #70 (*lek 'collect') (IE, U, CK).

1276. *Tükê 'beat, strike, break' > IE: NaIE *leuǵ-/louǵ-/*luǵ- 'break, break off' > OI ru'jati 'breaks, shatters' ('zerbricht,

zerschmettert'), rug'na- 'broken', Av uruxti- n. act. 'breaking, tearing apart' || Lt láuž-ti (prs. láužiū), Ltv laūzt (prs. laūžu) vt. 'to break', Lt lūžti (prs. lūžtu) vi. 'to break, to burst' || Sl *luz- > R Δ луз- 'ну-ть mom. 'to strike, to lash' ('ударить, хлестнуть'), McdS лузна, лузно 'scar' || ? AS to-lúcan 'to destroy', {EI} 'to pull/tear to pieces' (unless ← AS to-lúcan 'to pull asunder' ← lúcan 'to pull up') || OIr lucht 'part, troop, people', W llwyth 'tribe' ¶ WP II 412-3, P 686, ≈ EI 81, M K III 64-5, M E II 465, LP § 52, YGM-1 316, Ho. 207, Sw. 109, 174, Frn. 347, Bern. I 747, Vs. II 530-1, ≈ ESSJ XVI 216-7, BER III 494 || HS: CS *√lkk (*-lukk-) G 'beat, mix (by beating)' > Ar √lkk (pf لَكَّ lakka, ip. -lukk-) 'cuff, thump so. on the neck; mix sth.', MHb √lkk G (pf. לַכְּ לֶאֱכֶק) {Js.} 'mix thoroughly, beat (oil and wine)', {Lv.} 'vermischte Flüssigkeiten quirlen', JA לִכְאָ לִכְאָ n. act. 'das Zerklopfen, mit dem Quirl schlagen, quirlen', JEA {Sl.} לִכְאָ לִכְאָ 'beating into a mixture' ¶ BK II 1019, Hv. 694, Js. 711, Lv. II 506-7, Sl. 625 || U: FU *|ǵ'e- 'strike, chop' > F lyö-, Es löö- 'strike, hit, beat' || Hg Δ löv- / lö- 'schlagen, hauen'; this FU √ is to be distinguished from FU {UEW} *lewe- 'throw, shoot' (> Chr lüye- & lüe- 'shoot', Z l+y- 'shoot, throw', pVg {Coll.} *liš- id., Hg lö- / löv- v. 'shoot') ¶ ≈ UEW (*lewe-), ≈ Coll. 96 (*lüye-), Sm. 545 (FU, FP *lexi-, Ugr *ligĩ- 'hit, shoot') (UEW, Coll., and Sm. do not distinguish the √ for 'throw' from that for 'strike') ◇ ≈ IS MS 358 (*l'ukh 'destroy'), ≈ IS SS 331 [#5.24] (in both: IE + dub. Ar √lwk 'ronger' + err. Or ilka 'tooth', which actually belongs to N *ǵEKU 'thorn, hook' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSShS #29 (IE equated with A *luk'i 'breal through').

1277. *l'ikU 'let, let go', 'move' (trans.) > HS: S *√l'ik v. 'send' > Ug √l'ik G 'send' (inv. sg. m. l'ik, ntr. 3m y'l'ik), Sb √l'ik G 'send, dedicate', Gz √l'ik G 'send' (3m js. yə-l'ik), Tgr, Tgy √l'ik G id.; ⇨ *mal'ak- 'messenger' > Ug ml'ik, Ph ml'ik, Sr מַלְאָכָא mala'kā, Ar mal'ak- id., IA ml'ik 'delegate, envoy; angel (messenger of a god\goddess)', Ak {CAD} malāχu ≈ 'e god\deity' (← a Cn lge.), BHb מַלְאָכָא mal'āk 'God's messenger, angel' ⇨ BA mal'ak* id. (with ppa. 3m: מַלְאָכָא mal'a'k-ēh), JA {Trg.}, JEA מַלְאָכָא mal'a'k-ā, Gz mal'ak id., Ar mal'ak- 'angel'; Ar √l'ik Sh (pf. ?al'aka) 'send (so.)' ¶ KB 488, 1735-6, GB 374, HJ 629, A #1432, OLS 239-40, 273, Js. 786, Sl. 676-7, BK II 952, Br. 354, PS 1874-5, BK II 952, Hv. 673, Bll. 256, LG 303, LH 42, CAD X/1 152, Sd. 593 || C *√l'ik ⇨ *√lkk 'send, let go' > EC: Sa {R}

pcv. -lāk (pf. 'i-līk-~~æ~~, inv. e-'līk) 'send', C ⇨ Amh ✓lḳḳ (pf. ləḳḳəḳə) 'let go, let free, let out', Tgy ✓lḳḳ (pf. ləḳḳəḳə) 'relâcher; abandonner, laisser, lâcher' ¶ R S II 247, L CAD 7, CS 91 || IE: NaE *lejkʷ-/*lojkʷ-/*likʷ-/*linkʷ- 'let, leave' (prs. *li'nekʷ-ti) > OI ri'ṇak-ti 'leaves, gives up, releases' (3p ri'ncanti), rik'ta- 'empty, free (from sth.)', ricyatē 'wird befreit (von etwas)', Av raēk- 'freigeben, überlassen', 'rinaxti 'räumt, läßt frei', KhS parrīj- 'deliver' (< *pari-raiḷčaya- 'leave'), eNPrs {Sg.} inf. ريختن rēχ-tān, NPrs {BM} inf. ريختن rīχ-tān / 1s prs. ريزم rīz-ām 'pour, pour out, scatter' || OIr léicid 'leaves' || Arm լքանեմ lkʰanem 'I leave, abandon, desert, forsake' (3s aor. ելիք elikʰ) || Gk λείπω 'leave, leave behind, forsake' || Llinqu-ō id., re-liquus 'left behind, remaining', liceō 'be for sale' || Gmc {Vr.} līxʷan > Gt leih-an, ON ljá, AS līon, OSx, OHG līhan, NHG leihen 'to lend' || Olt liek-mì, Lt liekù 'I am left, I remain', inf. lìk-ti 'to be left, to remain', pa-likti 'to leave', pa-laik-aĩ pl. 'remains, legacy', Ltv lìkt (prs. liēku) 'to put' (likt mierā 'to leave alone'), liēk-s 'superfluous, odd', Pru polīkins 'verliehen', polīnka 'remains' || Sl *lěkь > RChS ЛѢКЪ lěkь {Srz.} 'remainder', OCS ОТЪЛѢКЪ отьлěкь id. ('τὰ κατάλοιπα') ¶ WP II 396-7, P 669-70, EI 348-9, M K III 59, Horn 141, Sg. 601, Bai. 216-7, F II 99-100, WH I 808-9, Fs. 327, Vr. 359, Ho. 203, Ho. S 46, Kb. 614, OsS 556-7, KM 434, 7, Frn. 372-3, En. 231, Srz. II 71, Vs. II 477 and III 134, Sl. 96 || U *līkkʷ 'move' (vt.) > FU: BF d. (ps.): F, Es liikku-vi. 'move, stir' || Lp: N {N} lik'kâ- / -kk- 'change position\place, stir; shift, move', L {LLO} lihkkā- vi. 'move' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} laq†- vi. 'stir', laq†r†- vt. 'swing, loosen' ('раскачивать, шатать'), Nr {Cs.} laga- 'sich rühren', lagara- 'in Bewegung setzen, erschüttern' ¶ UEW 249 (adduces ObU *lūk- 'jump, enter suddenly', that belongs to N *lūHḳa [~ *līūḳaʷ?] 'to jump' [q.v.]), SSA II 73, KKIH 124-5, Cs. 129-30 || A (SDM97) *niko 'leave, put aside' > M ?φ *ni'ḡu- v. 'hide, conceal' > MM [S] niḡu- id., [MA] niḡū- v. 'hide, be hidden', WrM niḡu-, HIM, Kl нугу-, Brt нюгу- níū- 'hide, conceal, keep secret', Mnr H {SM, T} niū-, Dx {T} niu- id.; ⇨ M *ni'ḡuḱa 'secret' > MM [S] niḡuḱa id. (adj.), WrM niḡuḱa, HIM, Kl нугуц, Brt нюуца níusa n. 'secret, mystery', adj. 'secret' ¶ H 117, Pp. MA 257, MED 579, KRS 387, Chr. 347, SM 279, T 351, T DnJ 130 || pKo {S} *nòh- 'put, let go' > MKo nòh-, NKo noh- nò- id. ¶ S QK #699, Nam 114, MLCh 353 || pJ {S} *nèk-

'leave, put aside' > OJ *nòk(-os-)*, J: T/Kg *nokós-* K *nókós-* ¶ S QJ #632, Mr. 737 || ? *AdS* of Tg **neku-* 'carry, lead' (< N **næḱ'ü'* 'carry, bring', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM97 (A **niKo* > M, Ko, J), ≈ DQA #1426 (A **nèko*, incl. Tg, Ko, J) || ?σ D **nīkk-* 'put aside, remove' (× D **nī-* 'go away, depart?') > Tm *nīkku* 'remove, exclude, put aside', Ml *nīkkuka* 'put away, aside, remove', Td *nīk-* 'brush away', Kdg *nīk-* 'put aside, remove', Tl *nĩ:gu* ~ *ĩ:gu* 'remove' ¶¶ ≈ D #3685 ◇ The apparent reflexes of a N emphatic **Ḷ* in IE (**-k^ω-*), in U (**-kk-*), and possibly in EthS (*-ḱ-*, *-ḳ-*) are due to secondary glottalization (**-Ḷ_LḶ_Lk-* > **-ḱ-*) ◇ DQA #1426 (A, D) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #241 (IE + err. U, A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

1278. *Lo^ʔika 'cutting instrument' > IE: NaIE **sleig-* 'cutting instrument' > L *ligō* (gen. *ligōn-is*) 'mattock' ||| OIr {Vn.} *sloichreth* 'sword' ||| AS *slicc* (< **sliḱya-*) 'hammer' ¶ WP II 707, P 961, WH I 800, Vn. S 137, Sw. 961, Ho. 298 ||| A: Tg **lok^a-n* 'cutting weapon, blade' > Orc *loxo(n-)* 'sword', Ul *loxo(n-)*, Neg *loxon* id., 'sabre', Nn Nh/KU *loχō*, Nn B *loχō(n-)* id., 'poniard', Ud *lō* ~ *loHō* 'sabre', WrMc *loχo* 'sword, sabre', Mc Sb {Y} *lohз* 'sabre', Chj {Kiy.} *loho* 'blade'; **luk[∇]-ḱi-* 'cut with a weapon' > Ul *loxo-ḱi-* 'cut with a sword', Ewk d. *lukuḱiūn* [♯] (Tit.) *лукучиур* 'sword' ¶ STM I 509, Krm. 256, Z 857, Hr. 626, Y #607, Kiy. 110 [#235] ||| HS **√lḱ(ḱ)* > **√lḱ(ḱ)* > B ***li|uḱ(ḱ)-* > **li|uḱ-/l[∇]ḱ-* 'knife, poniard' > Ah {Fc.} *tē-ləq* (pl. *te-l^ḱ-īn* 'poniard', ETwl {GhA} *te-ləq* (pl. *te-l^ḱ-en*) 'small knife', Gh {Nh.} *č-ləq* (pl. *či-l^ḱ-in*) 'knife', Gd {Lf.} *tē-ləqt* 'poignard de bras' ¶ Fc. 1109, GhA 111, Lf. II #0912 ◇ Tg **-k-* and B **ḱ* (> *ḱ/q*) < ***ḱ-* < N **-Ḷik-*. The IE **s-* reflects the presence of **y* in pre-IE **Loyka* < N ***Lo^ʔika**.

1279. *Lu^ʔä_Lka 'valley, low-lying lands, plain' > IE: NaIE **louko-* 'open land, field, woods and meadows' ({Porzig} 'Lichtung im Walde', presumably connected with **leuḱ-* 'shine') > OI *lō'kaḥ* 'open space, place, world' ||| OL *louco-* > L *lūc-us* (gen. *-ī*) 'sacred grove\wood', Osc *lúvkeí* loc. sg. 'in luco, in (a\the) grove' ||| Gmc **lauhō* > MDt *loo* 'bebuschte Ebene, Wald', AS *léah* 'meadow, field', ON *ló* 'glade, meadow', Nic *ló* 'von den Wellen bespülte Strandebene', NNr *lo* 'meadow', OHG *lōh* {Kb.} 'grove, wood; Hain, Lichtung', {OsS} 'mit Gebüsch bewachsene Lichtung' ||| Lt *laũkas* 'field, acre, land', Ltv *laũks* 'field', Pru *laucks* 'acre, field' ¶ The connection with **leuḱ-* 'shine' is secondary (folk et.) ¶ Mn. 713-4, ≈ WP II 408-12, Bc. G 318,

Dv. #315, M K III 113, M E II 481, WH I 828, Ho. 196, Sw. 105, OsS 568, Lx. 177, Vr. 361-2, Frn. 343-4, En. 203, Porzig WS 303 || **а**: M *nugu 'meadow, plain' > WrM нугу, HIM, Brt нуга 'meadow in the winding of a river', ? WrM нигу 'meadow', Kl Ö {Rm.} нуу id.; the semantic element 'winding' is induced by the infl. of the verb *nugul- 'bend' (see N *Luka 'to bend'); the original meaning 'meadow, plain' is better preserved in loan-words of M origin: SbTt Tb {Rl., Tum.} нου 'plain, lowland', Tb {Rl.}, VTt {Rl.} нуу 'meadow, hay-meadow', VTt Ks {TTDS} нου 'hay-meadow' (StVTt 'чабын'), Ewk Nr {STM ← Cs.} нууу 'meadow' ¶ MED 594, Chr. 332, Rm. 280, Rl. III 693, 708, Tum. 159, TTDS 341, STM I 608 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1424 (A *neku 'lowland, water meadow' > M *nigu [> WrM нигу]) || **u**: FV *Läkä 'valley (of a river), depression' > pLp {Lr.} *lĕkĕ > Lp: N {N} lække / -æġ- 'depression, hollow (in terrain), dell, valley', S {Hs.} liegie 'Grube, Tal', L {LLO} liehke 𐌿 lāhkē 'langgestrecktes kleineres Tal mit ebener Sohle', Nt {TI} lĕ'zkkĕ 'depression, valley' | Mk ляй íäy, Er лей íey 'river', Er Iv íey 'ravine' ¶ UEW 685, Lr. #581, Lgc. #3345, Hs. 850, ERV 335 ◇ The apparent contradiction between the M and FU ev. for the N plain *k and the IE ev. for an emphatic *K can be resolved if one supposes the presence of a N lr. (most probably *ʔ, which does not yield IE *ə in intercons. position [like *louak-]). In this case IE *-k- goes back to a *-k̥- < *-ʔk-. Such conjecture helps to resolve the problems of the vocalism in view of the apparent conflicting ev. of IE and M (pointing to a N *u) and that of FV (suggesting N *ä in the first syll.). The FU word-final *-ä is from N *-a due to vw. harmony.

1280. *Lukäʔ ≈ flexible rod, thong' > IE: NaIE *lōg̃- 'rod, sapling' > Phl r az, NPrs راز rāz 'vine, vineyard, grape' || Sl *lōza 'flexible rod' (→ 'vine') > OP łoza 'rod, willow (Salix cinerea)', P łoza 'flexible rod, willow, pussy-willow, vine', R лo'за 'flexible rod (esp. of willow and vine)', Ouk лoза 'willow shrub', OCz loza 'trunk of a tree'; in the Southern Sl lgs., in Slk, and in Cz Δ the word has developed the meaning 'vine': OCS лoзa loza, Blg лo'за, SCr lōza, Slk, Cz Δ loza 'vine', McdS лoза id., 'flexible rod, creeping stalk', Slv lóza 'sprout, vine' || ?? Ht alkista(n)- 'branch' (alternatively: ÷ OI *alka- 'root fibril' in vyalkaśa- 'nach allen Seiten Wurzelfasern habend', see M K III 796); may al- reflect IE *l̥-ʔ ¶¶ The adduction (by Pv. and EI) of Gk [Hs.] ὀλόχινον- ὀζῶδες, συμπερικώς ({EI} 'branchy') is too brittle; the

word is parallel to Gk [Hs.] ὀλόπτουσι·συμπερικώς and is likely to be a cd. with initial ὀλο- 'all-' ¶ P 691, McK 71, Vl. II 28, Glh. 383-4; ≈ Vs. II 512-3, ≈ ESSJ XVI 118-23 (supposes that Sl *loza is derived from *lěz-ti 'to climb, to creep' and rejects all extra-Slavic connections), Ma. C 242, Ma. CS 277, ≈ Pv. I-II 35-6, ≈ EI 80 (*h₃loǵ- 'branch') || HS: S *°✓lk? > Ar ✓lk? 'percussit aliquem flagello', {Hv.} 'lash' ¶ Fr. IV 122, Hv. 694, CAD IX 240 || ?? C: Bj {R} lǎ'k'āy 'stick' (unless a cd. with k'ā'lay id., as suggested by R) ¶ R WBd 140, 158 || ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} lākōdi 'whip' (× N *TuKUZ' 'twig, strap, lash, whip') ¶ Sch. DN 103 || A: pre-T *jugān > NaT *jügān ~ *jugan 'bridle' (× N *yûka 'attach, tie/bind to') > OT jügün (Cl.) jügün) 'bridle', XwT XIV jügān, Chg {Rl.} jügen ~ üyen ~ uyan, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq jügen, Kr T juǵań, Kr G iygen, MQp jügen, üygen, uyan, MU, Alt üygen, OOsM XIV oyan, Tk oyan, Δ ügen ǎ uyan, Az jüyän, Tkm St jügön, Tkm uyan, Δ üyen ǎ üyön id., ET jügān, Uz юган jugan, Uz Δ jügān, VTt, Bsh jǔgān, QrB žügen, Nog jüwen, Qq žüwen, Qzq žügen, Qrg žügön, Ln yuyan, SY juyin, Xk, Shor, Tv čüxen, Yk ün, Chv jüven id. ¶ Cl. 913, ET Gl 577, Rl. I 1305, 1807, 1815, and III 593, TL 556, AzRL II 588 ¶ The existence of two synharmonic variants of the word (*jügān and *jugan) suggests the existence of a pre-synharmonic form *jugān with subsequent as. in two opposite directions.

1281. *lūk₁∇₁?A (or *lūkA?) 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to' > HS: S *°✓lk? 'affix, fasten to' > Gz ✓lk? 'imprint, coin (money); affix, nail down, fasten to' (the latter semantic variant is influenced by S *✓lkʃ [> Ar ✓lkʃ 'agglutinate on, stick to', Tgr ✓lkʃ 'fasten with nails']) ¶ LG 313, Hv. 695 || ?φ EC: Sa {R} pcv. lagam, -lgum- (p. 'u-lgum-θ) 'load one's gun (shove a bullet into it), fill one's pipe' ¶ R S II 245 || U: FU *lūkkä- 'push, shove, thrust' > F lūkkää-, Es lūkkä- id. || ObU *lūk- > pVg {Ht.} *lūk- 'pile up, heap up (fire-wood)' > Vg: LK lāk^ω- / lāk^ω-, MK lāk^ω-, UK lāk^ω-, P lāk- id.; pOs {Ht.} d. *lōlāmā- 'shove (schieben), push' > Os: D lōkāmā-, Nz likāmā-, Kz lūqāmā-, d. Os Ty lōkāmā- id. || Hg lök-, Δ lik-, lük- 'give a push\shove, thrust' ¶ Coll. 96, UEW 248-9, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *lūkkä-, Ugr *lūkkä- 'push'), MF 409-10, Ht. #354, EWU 911 || A: [1] ?φ A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *ligd- 'stick in' > Ewk ligdirēn- 'stick in (a knife, axe), push through (a stuck object)', ligdirē- 'be stuck in', Lm nid- 'press\push into, stick in' ¶ STM I 497 || [2] ?? A {DQA} *luk'ī 'hole', 'break through, make a hole in' (× N *lōwK∇∇ 'hole, opening' [q.v. ffd.]) > Tg *loktū 'hole', pJ *núk-

'pass\break through', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) M *nūken 'hole' 𐌆𐌆 DQA #1228 (A *lúk'í 'to break through') || D *nūkk- v. 'shove, push' > Tm nūkku, Kn nūku, nūgu, nūhku v. 'shove, push, thrust aside', Kdg nu'k- 'push', Tu nūku- 'thrust, push, reject', Tl nūku 'shove, push violently, thrust out', Klm nu'k- 'push so as to move' 𐌆𐌆 D #3722 ◇ If the Gz √ belongs here, the N etymon is *lūk_L∇₁∇ (U *-kk- and A *-k' < *-k̥ < *-kʔ-), otherwise it is N *lūka ◇ IS II 28-9 (*lūka [= *lūk∇] 'pierce, thrust': U, M, Tg + err. NED *tukk- 'push, thrust'). The NED √ actually belongs to D *tukk- 'push, shove' (D #3286) < N *t'ū'ka 'to thrust, to stab' (> IE *tuk- 'thrust, stab, prick', C, U, A) (q.v.). Cp. also S NSShS #29 (IE A *luk'í 'break through' equated with IE leug- [sc. IE *leuǵ-/ *louǵ-/ *luǵ-] 'break').

1282. *lūs∇ 'needles of conifer trees' > HS: S *lukš- > Ak lukšu 'needles of the cedar', MHb {Js.} 𐌆𐌆𐌆 'lekeš, JA {Js.} lukš-ā ~ lūgš-ā {Js.} 'the wooly substance of cedar twigs' (contrary to the opinion of Levy [Lv. II 477]: according to him, MHb 'legeš ~ 'lekeš, JA lūgš-ā 'eine Weide, deren Bast [Wolle] als Docht benutzt wurde' is from Gk λύγος {LS} 'twigs or withes of Vitex Agnus castus') 𐌆 Fr. IV 122, CAD IX 240, Js. 694, 711, LS 1063, F II 141 || U: FP *lūks∇ ~ *lūsk∇ 'needles\branch of a conifer' > Chr: L лүсь lūs 'branch with needles (of conifers)', M lūyūs, B lūyāš, Uf lūš id., 'needles of conifers' || Prm *lūs / *lūsk- 'n> Z лүс l+s, Z EV/Vsh lūsk- (= {LG} lusk-), Vt лүс l+s 'conifer tree, needles of conifers' 𐌆 It. #439, UEW 691, Sm. 552 (FP *lūksi 'twig (of spruce\pine)', MRS 306, LG 164 || K: GZ *lepš- 'needle' > Mg *le(p)š- ~ *li(p)š-, G Δ leps(a)- 𐌆 neps(a)- 𐌆 K 121, K² 141 (*nemš-) 𐌆𐌆 The unexpected labial cns. may be due to the infl. of another √, namely that represented by OG/G nems-, Lz lemš- 'needle' (and S *√ lmd v. 'prick?'). The cns. *p may have developed from *k in the precon. position due to the labializing infl. of the vw. (cp. Chr lupš 'whip' < FU *lūks∇, see N *lūkuž∇ 'twig, strap, lash, whip').

1282a. *LaKa (= *laKa?) 'leg' > HS: pre-B **l∇k- > B *l∇y 'leg; ∈ part of the leg' > Ah ē-ləy (pl. ēlyān) 'lower leg (from the knee to the foot), its bones and flesh', 'partie du membre postérieur comprise entre le jarret et la cuisse (chez les quadrupèdes)', Ttq {Msq.} iləq (pl. ilyan) 'lower leg (between the knee and the heel)', Mtm {Ds.} ī-ləy, Izd i-ləy (pl. a-lū-iun), Kb i-ləy (pl. i-lū-an) 'leg', Tmz i-lū (pl. i-lū-an) 'calf of the leg' 𐌆 Fc. 1108, Msq. 160, Ds. B 181, Mrc. 146, Dl. 459, MT

|| C: EC {Ss.} *lak- ~ *lik- ~ *luk- 'foot, leg' > Sa {Wlm.}, Af {PH} lak 'leg', Af {Ss.} lak 'leg, thigh', Or lúka 'thigh', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} luka 'leg', Kns loq-ta, Msl {Ss.} lux-t, Gdl lúkk-et {Bl. G}, Δ {Ss.} luhe 'leg', {Bl.} 'leg, foot', Sml lúg, Rn {PG} lúh 'leg', Bs {HL} luk 'leg, foot', Arr {Hw.} lukk, Elm lúk 'leg', Hr, Dbs luh-té (pl. luqe) 'leg, foot', Gln {AMS} luhté (pl. lúhe, lúqqe), Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} lukté 'leg'; HEC {Hd.} *lokka > Sd, Ged lekk-a, Alb lokk-a, Kmb lokk-a-ta, Hd lokk-o, Brj {Hd.} 'lukka 'foot, leg' ||| Dhl {To.} lúka 'leg (from thigh to knee)', {EEN} luka 'thigh' ({To.}: <b- Sml lug 'leg'?) ||| Ag {Ap.} *lak^w- ({Ap} *lak^w-) 'foot, leg' > Bln, Q, Aw lak^w, Xm lak^w ||| Bj {Blz. ← Rop.} lekway 'on heels' ({Rop.} t'lekway at²agīg 'I am squatting on my heels') ¶ AD SF 272 (C *lak^w-/*lak^w- 'leg, foot'), Blz. CWL, Bl. 140, 189, Bl. G 76, Ss. PEC 5, 12, 41, Ss. B 136, Sr. 360, Hw. A 382, PG 214, HL 124, AMS 173, 211, 233, 243, PH 154, Hd. 66, 210, 253, 292, 331, 382, To. D 141, EEN 42, Ap. AV 15 ¶ HL 124 ¶¶ Coh. EC #419, AD SF 272, OS #1696, Rop. 145, Blz. CL 179 ||| IE: NaIE *lak- 'foot, ∈ part of leg' > Gk λάξ adv. 'with the foot', λάξδην id., λακτίλω v. 'kick with the heel/foot' ||| Gmc *lagiz > ON leggr 'lower part of the leg, bone', arm-leggr, hand-leggr 'arm', fót-leggr, lær-leggr 'calf of the leg'; OScn ↘ ME, NE leg; Lngb lagi 'Schenkel'; Gmc *laxaz- or *lēxaz- > ON lær, OSw lār, Dn lār 'thigh'; Gmc *liŕizan- > AS līra 'fleshy parts of body (shank, etc.), flesh' ||| Pru lagnō 'trousers' ('garment for legs', cp. NHG Beinkleid) ||| ? Arm nlnp olok^h 'shinbone' (o- from the first part of a cd.) ||| ?? Lacertus 'upper arm' (obscure morphological structure) ||| ? Tc A lyäskär^h du. 'haunches' ({Ad.}: < *leks(e)ko-) ¶ ≈ P 673 (does not distinguish this IE √ from *lek- 'biegen, winden, springen, zappeln'), F II 82-3, WH I 742-3, Vr. 349-50, 372, Ho. 204, Sw. 108, ≠ WH I 743-4, En. 201, Tp. P K-L 416-8, Sl. 322-3, ≠ EI 323 (ON leggr < *lek 'jump') ||| ?σ U: Sm: Slq: Ke {Cs.} lâka, NP {Cs.} lâkka n. 'step' ¶ Cs. 129 ||| ?σ FU d. *läkte- 'start going, go, go away/out' (if ← v. 'step') (× N *zä'ki'dv 'move, go' [q.v. ffd.]) || pY *laq- > YT {IN} laqil 'tail', {Ku.} лажил 'buttocks, hind part; tail; back side (of garments)' (-il is a nominal sx.) (× N *rvg_llv [or *l-] 'foot, paw') ¶ IN 307, Ku. 119 ||| ?σ A: Tg: Ewk Brg lak^s 'knee'; Tg *lek^v- v. 'put on so.'s footgear' > Ewk lok^o- 'put on Tungusian boots (unti)', lak^m ≈ lokomⁱ 'light unti', Neg loxom^t 'footgear (made of reindeer leather)', Nn Nh lēmi 'footgear for indoors (made of fish-skin)', Nn KU lēmi 'slippers', Ul lēmi id.,

'footgear for indoors', Ud 13χ3m3 'lower part of the untī, slippers', Orc 13m113- 'wear footgear' ¶ STM I 515-6, Krm. 258 ◇ The IE reflex points to a N *-a-. If FU *lakte-, Ewk 13ks3, and/or Tg *lek^o belong here, the front Inlaut vw. (instead of *a) may be due to the ass. infl. of the vw. of the next syll. FU *ä may belong to the heritage of N *â^oKi^od^o. The labialization of *k in Ag and that of the vw. in some EC lgs. is still hard to explain (reflex of a nominative ending *-u?) ◇ This etymon is to be distinguished from N *r^og^ol^ol^o (or *l^og^ol^ol^o) '↑' ◇ IS II 22-3 (*l^oa^ol^o [= *l^oa^ol^o] 'leg' > HS, IE, U [Slq + unc. ObU] + unc. CD *tāk- 'walk').

1283. *la^ol^ou^o 'body of water (lake, river, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *laku- / *lakw- 'lake, pool, puddle, pond' > Gk λύκκος 'pond; pit, reservoir' (< *lakw^o-s) || L lacu-s (gen. lacūs) 'lake; trough, basin, tank' || OIr loch 'lake' ({EI}: < *la^oku), Crn lag-en 'pond, puddle, slough', MBr laguenn 'lake', Br lag 'puddle', lag-ern 'cloaque', Gl -loco- 'lake' in toponymy (names of lakes): P^oenne-locos, etc., ?ϕ W † l^och 'lake' || OSx lagu 'sea', AS lazu 'sea, flood, water', ON lo^ogr 'sea, water, moisture' || Sl *lok^o (gen. *lok^ov^o-e) ≈ puddle' > OCS, OR ЛОКЪ lok^o (gen. ЛОКЪВЕ lok^ov^oe) 'pool, basin', Slv lōke^o (gen. lōkve) 'puddle, pond', μ: Slv lōkva id., Blg 'локва' 'puddle', SCr lōkva id., 'swamp, lake' ¶ P 653, Mn. 661, F II 75-6, WH I 748, Thr. § 80, ECCE 263, YGM-1 314, Ern. 350, Hm. 501, Ho. S 44, Ho. 189, Sw. 103, Vr. 373-4, ESSJ XVI 10-1, Glh. 381, ≈ EI 343 (*lo^oku-s 'lake, water, pool, pond, cistern') || HS: Ch: WCh: Krf {Sch.} lōkkó 'river' || CCh: Db H {Srp.} lā^okūā 'river', Bdm {Lk.} lā^oāmi (pl. lā^oām), {Mch.} lé^oāmi id. ¶ ChC, Sch. BTL 56 || Om: SOM: Ari {Bnd.} lōk 'water', Ari B {Fl.} luqa, Ari U {Fl.} luqa ~ lo^oqa, Ari G lu^oqa ~ lo^oqa id. ¶ Blz. LO #91, Fl. OWL s.v. 'water', Bnd. AL 161 ¶ OS #1637 (C, CCh) || U: FU *lakte 'bay' > F lahti (gen. lahden), Δ laksi, laaksi, Es laht (gen. lahe, lahi) 'bay, gulf' || pLp {Lr.} *lōkt^o 'bay, gulf' > Lp: N {N} luok^otā 'creek, inlet, bay (of sea\lake)', S {Hs.} luokte 'Bucht', L {LLO} luokta 'gulf, bay (of sea\lake)', K {Gn.} lūχt 'gulf, bay' || ObU *lāk- ~ *lōk- 'bay' > pVg *lāk 'bay (in a sea\river)' > (partially in cds.) Vg KM/P lōk, OVg W I/U лoогъ, OVg N SoO лoгъ, Vg UL/Ss lōx 'bay'; pOs *lōk ~ *lōk ({Hl.} *lāk) 'long narrow bay' > Os: V/Vy/Ty loq, D lōχ, Kz lōχ, O loχ id., d.: Ty loq^o, K lōχ^o id. ¶ Acc. to UEW, ObU *-k is an irreg. reflex of FU *-kt- ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 234-5, Lr. #619, Lgc. #3626, Hs. 876, LLO 440, Gn.

1333, Ht. #346 ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #37 (N * $\acute{1}owk\check{\nabla}$ 'lake, [reservoir of] water; semantically unjustified equation of SOM, CCh, and IE with U * $\acute{1}owkk\check{\nabla}$ 'Loch, Grube').

1284. o * $\bar{T}ak\acute{U}$ 'to lick, to lap' > HS: WS * $\check{v}lk\check{k}$, *- $luk\check{k}$ - v. 'lap, lick' > BHb $\check{v}lk\check{k}$ (ip. - $lok\check{k}$ -: 3m $\text{קִּיבֵּי} y\bar{a}$ - $\acute{1}ok\check{k}$, 3pm $\text{קִּיבֵּי} y\bar{a}$ - $\acute{1}ok\check{k}\check{u}$), Ar $\check{v}lqq$ (ip. - $luqq$ -) v. G 'lap', MHb {Js.} $\check{v}lk\check{k}$ v. G 'lap, lick', $\text{קִּיבֵּי} l\bar{a}k$ adj. 'lapping, greedily', Tgr $\check{v}lk\check{k}$ (pf. $\text{לֶקַק} l\check{e}k\check{k}$) v. 'lick' ¶ KB 509, Hv. 692, Js. 716, 719, LH 36 || C: Bj {R} lak - scv. 'lap, sip (as a dog)'; ? Bj {R} - lik pcv. (3m: p. i - lik , prs. i r - $l\bar{i}k$; prtc. ' $lik\bar{a}$) 'lap, sip (as a dog)' ¶ R WbD 157 || B * $\check{v}wly\check{v}$ 'lick, suck' > Ah $\bar{a}ll\bar{a}y$ (pf. i $ll\bar{a}y$) 'lick', Gh {Nh.} $\bar{a}ll\bar{a}y$ (pf. i $ll\bar{a}y$) 'suck', Zng {TV} $elli$ (pf. $y\bar{a}lle$) 'lécher' ¶ Fc. 1101-4, Nh. 208, DCTC 286 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} $lok\check{k}$, Bks {J} lok 'lick' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} $l\bar{a}g$ v. 'lick, suck', Nd D {J} $\acute{1}z\acute{g}\acute{n}\hat{a}$ 'lick' || ? CCh (\times N * $Lig\check{r}\check{r}\bar{a}$ 'to lick, to sip, to suck' [q.v.]): G'nd {ChL} $l\grave{e}kt\acute{a}$, Gbn {ChL} $l\grave{e}kt\acute{e}$, Boka {ChL} $l\acute{e}kt\bar{z}$ 'lick' ¶ J R 144, 217, ChC, ChL, Cp. 79 || K * $\bar{1}ok\check{-}$ ({IS II} * $\bar{1}ok\check{-}$ ~ * $\bar{1}ak\check{-}$) 'lick' > G $lok\check{-}$, Mg, Lz $lok\check{-}$, Sv {K} $\bar{l}\bar{a}k\check{-}$, Sv UB {GP}, L {Dn.} $\bar{1}ok\check{-}$ ¶¶ K 121, K² 110, FS K 201, FS NE 221, Chik. 303, GM 245, GP 158, Dn. s.v. $lok\check{-}$ || IE: NaIE * $\bar{1}ak\check{u}$ - 'lick' ({P} 'schmalzend lecken') > Arm $\text{լակեմ} lak-em$ 'lick' (- k - < * $-kk$ -, with gemination due to the onomatopoeic factor) || Lt $l\grave{a}kti$, Ltv $lakt$ 'to lick' | Sl * $\bar{1}ok\check{a}-ti$ / prs. * $\bar{1}o\check{c}-q$ v. 'lick' > ChS $\text{ΛΟΚΑΤΗ} lokati$ / $\text{ΛΟΥΞ} lo\check{c}q$ v. 'lick', Cz $lokati$ 'to swallow, to drink greedily', SCr $l\grave{o}kati$ / $l\grave{o}\check{c}\bar{e}m$, Slv $l\acute{o}kati$ 'to lap', R лoкaтb id. (the standard spelling: лaкaтb), Δ лoкaтb (prs. лoчy) 'to drink greedily', Blg Δ ' лoкaм I lick' ¶ P 653, EI 352, Frn. 337-8, ESSJ XVI 6-7, Glh. 380, Vs. II 514, Slr. 379-80 || U: FP (or FU?) o * $\bar{1}akk\check{\nabla}$ 'lap, lick' > Es $lak\check{k}$ - 'lick' | Chr: L $\text{лoкaш} l\acute{o}ka\check{s}$ 'to drink greedily', {Ü} ' $\text{лaкaтb} =$ to lap' | Z $\text{лак-} lak-$ (- a - preserved due to the onomatopoeic factor?) || ? Hg $\text{j\acute{o}l-lak}$ - 'be sated' ($\text{j\acute{o}l}$ 'well') (Hl.'s hyp.) ¶ LG 157, IS II 15, MRS 296, Ü 108 || ?σ A: M * $\bar{1}agu$ - > WrM лагу- , HIM лага- 'eat greedily or gluttonously' (usually said of pigs) (the preservation of * $\bar{1}$ - [usually changed to * \bar{n} -] may be due to the onomatopoeic factor), ? Mnr H {SM} $\text{лаг\check{s}z}$ - 'eat noisily, devour', cp. Kl {Rm.} лaг in $\text{лаг лаг г\check{e}\check{z} id\check{e}\check{x}\bar{a}$ 'to eat\swallow large pieces of food' ¶ MED 515, SM 219, KW 250 || D * $\bar{n}akk\check{-}$ /* $\bar{n}\bar{a}k\check{-}$ 'lick, lap' > Tm nakku , Tu nakku- ~ nekku- id., Ml nakkuka , Kt nak- , Td nok- , Kn nakku , nekku , Kdg nakk- , Tl $\text{n\bar{a}ku}$, Klm, Nkr $\text{na}\cdot k\check{-}$, Prj, Mnd $\text{n\bar{e}k-}$, Gdb, Gnd, Knd, Png, Ku $\text{n\bar{a}k-}$, Kui $\text{n\bar{a}ka}$ v. 'lick' ¶¶ D #3570, ≠ Km. 412

◇ K *-ō- in *lōk- is puzzling (acc. to IS II 15, it may be explained by onomatopoeia) ◇ Rosen OS 69 (Sv, IE), Tromb. 287-8 (HS, K, IE, U), AD GD 3 (HS, K, IE), IS II 15 (*lak 'lick': HS [S, C], K, IE, U, D) ◇ Gr. II #243 (*lak 'lick') (IE, U + unc. EA).

1285. ₂ *Lŭka 'to shine' > HS: eB *luk- > B *-luqq- > Gd luqq (pf. ya-luqq) 'shine (briller)'; rdp. eB *✓lk- > B *✓lyly > Gh {Nh.} d. imv. amlaḡlaḡ, pf. imlaḡlaḡ 'briller' ¶ Lf. II #O913, Fc. 1105, 2009, Pr. M VI-VII 208, Nh. 164 || S *✓lwly > Ar (d.) liyāq- {BK} 'flamme, feu qui s'élève en flamme', {Hv.} 'blaze' ¶ BK II 1049, Hv. 704 || IE *leuk- 'shine' > OI 'rōcatē 'shines, is bright', rō'ka- n., rō'ciḡ n. 'light', Av raok- v. 'shine' ||| Arm [n]ju loys (gen. [n]lun] lusoḡ) n. 'light' ||| Gk λευκός adj. 'light, bright, white' ||| Llux (gen. luc-is) n. 'light', lucē- 'be bright, shine' ||| OIr {P} luchair 'Glanz', Mlr {E} lóch 'shining', W llug, Br luc'h n. 'light'; OIr lóchet, W lluched (-χ- < *-ks-), OCrn luchet, Br luc'hed(-enn) 'lightning'; W lleuad 'moon', Brtt [RE] *lugrā 'moon' > OW loyr, W lloer, OCrn luir, Cm lōr, OBr loir, loer, Br loar id. ||| Gt liuhap n. 'light', OSx, OHG liohht 'bright', n. 'light', NHG Licht, AS léohht n. 'light', NE light ||| Lt laũkas, Ltv laũks adj. 'with a white spot on the forehead' | SI *lŭča ~ *lu'ča 'ray, beam of light' > OCS, OR ЛУЧА luča, Blg † луча, SCr lŭča id., Uk Δ луча 'sun-ray'; SI *lučb 'ray, beam' > Blg лъч, † луч, OR, RChS ЛУЧЬ lučb, R луч id., Slv lŭč 'light (of fire)', SCr lŭč id., 'light, torch for lighting', OCz louč 'torch for lighting', Cz louč 'chip for kindling wood' ||| pTc {Ad.} *luk- > Tc: A/B luk- v. 'illuminate' || Ht luk(k)- 'grow bright, dawn', lukat 'at dawn'; possibly here also luk(k)-, luk(k) i/a- 'set fire to' ¶¶ P 487-9, EUC 513, M K III 76-6, M E II 463-4, F II 108-9, WH I 823-4, LP §§ 13.1, 35.3, RE 112, YGM-1 313, Hm. 532-3, Fs. 334-5, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 621-2, OsS 562, KM 439, Frn. 344-5, ESSJ XVI 160-4, Glh. 384-5, Vs. II 537, Slr. 40-1, Wn. 269, Ad. 556, Ad. H 24, 76, 102, CHD L-N 74-9.

1286. *Lŭka 'to swallow' > HS: WS *✓lk- G 'swallow' > Ar ✓lqm G (pf. laqima, ip. -lqam-) 'avalier promptement', luqm-at- (pl. luqum-) 'bouchée, morceau qu'on avale en une fois', Tgr ✓lk- G (pf. ləqmə) 'eat, devour, swallow', 'essen, verzehren, verschlingen', Tgy ✓lk- G (pf. 'ləqmə, js. -lqm) {CB} 'manger (des grains, etc.) par petites parts à la fois', {Bsn., L} 'eat roasted grain', Gz {L} ✓lk- G (pf. laqama) 'chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten', Mh/Jb {Jo.}

✓ l̥k̥m: L : Mh pf. a l̥ōk̥əm, Jb E pf. ε'lu̥k̥um, Jb C e'lo̥k̥um (sbjn. y̥z'lo̥k̥əm) 'put into one's mouth', Hrs pf. a l̥ēk̥Λm 'make so. swallow', Gt : Mh pf. 'lat̥k̥əm, Jb E 'l̥ot̥k̥um, Jb C 'l̥ot̥k̥əm 'swallow', Hrs pf. 'lat̥k̥Λm (sbjn y̥Λ'l̥te̥k̥Λm) id., 'chew, put into the mouth', Mh z̥w̥k̥əmēt (pl. z̥w̥k̥ām), Hrs Λl̥k̥z̥'met, Jb E/C l̥z̥k̥'met (pl. z̥l̥k̥am) 'mouthful' ¶ BK II 1016-7, LG 317, LH 36-7, CB 92, Bsn. 21, Jo. M 255, Jo. H 84, Jo. J 164 || C: [1] IEC *lu̥k̥- v. 'swallow' > Kns {Bl.}, Hr/Dbs {AMS} loq- id., Gln {AMS} loq- 'schlucken', ? Gdl lo̥k̥- 'lap up', Rn l̥òχχó 'throat' | [2] EC {Ss.} *lu̥k̥m- 'neck; (?) throat' > Elm {Hn.} luk (pl. l̥ūm-υ?), Arr {Bl.} lúko, Dsn {To.} l̥ū-ti (pl. lug-u) 'neck', pOr {Hn.} *lu(g)ma, Or BI {Sr.} lummē, Or Wt {Hn.} luma id., Or B {Vnt.} lumme / -ni 'bone of the neck', Or {Ss.} lumm-ē 'neck of ox', Gwd luqúm-te 'sides of neck', Hd l̥ōm-e 'Adam's apple', pSml {Hn.} *luqum (pl. *luqumo) 'neck' > Sml N {Abr.} lúqún (pl. lúqúmó), Rn {Hn.} lu'χúm (pl. luχu'mó), {PG} lùχúm (pl. lùχùmó), pBn {Hn.} nùʔún 'neck' (as. *l...n > n...n) (> Bn Bo nuʔun, Bn J/Kj/K muʔún); the ancient meaning 'throat' still survives in Or d. li̥k̥im-s- 'swallow' (↳ Ged li̥k̥in-s-, ? Hd li̥k̥-ičč- id.) ¶ Hn. S 67, Bl. 261, Ss. PEC 21, 49, Sr. 360, Vnt. 100, Hn. W 61, 69, Hn. BD 119, PG 213-4, AMS 173, 211, Hd. 147, 253, 291, To. DL 516 || Ch: [1] *lik̥g- v. 'swallow' ({JS} *✓lk̥ id.) > CCh: Ms {J} lík̥h̥á, Bnn {ChL} ligimu, BnM {ChL} liga, ZmB lík̥ id. ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} lígí 'schlucken' | [2] ECh: Tmk {Cp.} lagəm 'eat (hard food)', Kbl {Cp.} liyém 'eat (soft food)' ¶ JS 258, JI II 315, Eb. 78, ChL, ChC ¶¶ OS #1673 (*li̥k̥am-~*li̥k̥im- 'eat, swallow': S, ECh, Or), ≠ #1697 (LEC *li̥k̥-~*lo̥k̥- 'swallow' < HS *l̥∇k̥- 'lick') || K: G lu̥k̥m- 'eat with appetite, eat greedily'; but MG [VTq.] lu̥k̥ma, G lu̥k̥ma 'Bissen', 'piece', and the initial part of G lu̥k̥ma-p̥uri 'piece of bread' may have been either borrowed from or influenced by Arab luqmat- '↑' ¶ Chx. 694, AxT 194, NCh. 261 || IE: NaIE *leu̯k̥- (~ *o̯leu̯k̥-?) 'throat' > Gk λευκανύη, Gk Hm λαικανύη 'throat' ||| Lt pa-liaũkis 'dewlap of a bovine', liaukā 'gland (of the throat)' ||| ? NaIE *o̯luk̥^ω- v. 'swallow, drink' > Lt lukénti, luknóti 'to drink with the beak sunk deep in water' (of doves), ¿ {ESSJ ← ?} lùk̥inti 'to drink greedily' || Sl: Blr лкаць (↳ iter. 'лыкаць') 'to swallow, to drink', (iter. >) Cz l̥ukat̥i, P l̥ukać 'to swallow', R Δ 'лыкать, Uk Δ 'ликати 'to drink greedily'; the BSl verb is hardly connected (contra ESSJ) with NaIE *(s)leu̯g- (> MHG slucken 'to swallow', OIr slucc- v. 'hiccup, swallow', Gk λύζω 'have the hiccup, sob violently') because of the difference between IE *k and *g ¶ WP II

380, P 655 (*lauk-), F II 90, 142, ≈ Frn. 361-2, 389, ≈ ESSJ XVI 241-2 and XVII 25-7 || **A**: Tg *legbe- (if from **lekbe- < **lek'me-) 'eat greedily' (× N *Līg_lǰæ 'to lick, to sip, to suck') > Neg mt. ləbgə- 'eat greedily', Nn ləbgəč'i- 'eat greedily' (of animals), Ul ləbgə- 'eat greedily, eat enough', Ud ləbgə- 'eat by large pieces\gulps' (of dogs) ¶ STM I 514, Krm. 257 || **D** (in McTm) *nu|okar- 'swallow, eat' > Ml nukaruka v. 'swallow', Tm nukar 'enjoy, eat, drink' ¶ D #3695 ◇ In S, C, Ch, K, and possibly Tg we find N *Lûka-m▽ 'to swallow', which goes back to a N cd. *Lûka + another word (maybe *çim'ê' 'suck, swallow' [q.v.] or the like?). In the latter case this is a cd. of two synonymous or nearly-synonymous words like in Chinese, like a chain of verbs in C and other African lgs. or like Yiddish er iz ge'kumen cu 'geyn 'he came' (lit. 'he came to go\walk', sc. 'he came by walking'). In the light of the N syntax rules (AD NMI 26) we may suppose that N *Lûka 'swallow' served as a subordinate word (verb) of the N head verb *çim'ê' 'suck, swallow' and indicated the exact way of swallowing \ sucking (≈ sucked by swallowing').

1287. *lūk'æ' '∈ canine' (→ 'lynx') > **K**: GZ *leķw- 'young carnivore (whelp, cub)' > OG leķw-i 'cub', G leķv-i 'puppy, whelp', Mg laķw-i 'puppy', Lz A lač- 'dog', Lz laķ- 'whelp, dog' ¶ **K** *e and *ē regularly changes into Z a (GM S 146, 416-8), but only under certain conditions (i.a., in open syllables), while in closed syllables Z preserves the quality of the short K *e (Test. KV 66-9), which apparently suggests that the pK √ had a long *ē (*lēķw-i); however, there are reasons to suppose that K *ķw behaved as a single cns. and that the syll. boundary preceded *ķw (*le_lķw i), hence we preserve the rec. *leķw- (as suggested by K and FS). GZ *leķw- < **lweķ- (mt. of *w) ¶ **K** 120, K² 108, FS K 199, FS E 218, Chx. 677, Q 270, Chik. 85-6, Schm. 121 || **IE**: NaIE *luk̄- (~ *lun̄k̄-?) 'lynx' > [1] *luk̄-, *lūk̄- > Arm {Hb.} **լուսանկ** lusanunk^h pl. 'lynxes' (× NaIE *lun̄k̄- 'lynx' < N *Lū|uŋ'gæʔ'▽ '∈ beast of prey', q.v.) ||| OSw ló (< Gmc *luxa-), with a suffixed *-s-: OHG luhhs, NHG Luchs, AS lox 'lynx' ({EI}: WGmc *-ks- due to the infl. of the word for 'fox': OHG fuhs, AS fox, etc.) ||| Gk λύκος 'wolf' (× NaIE *w_lk^wo-s < N *w'U'z_lE_lko '∈ a canine' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| [2] NaIE *lun̄k̄- 'lynx' (× N *Lū|uŋ'gæʔ'▽ '∈ beast of prey' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ ≈ P 690 (connecting this √ with IE *leuk̄- 'shine, be bright'), EI 359-60 (luk̄-), F II 143-4, Ho. 207, Kb. 640, OsS 576, KM 448, Hü. 454, Sl. 161-2 || **HS**: S ≈ *o|v_lķ- or

*^oɸil_l∇_lk- > Ar ɸilq- {Hv.} 'wolf', {Ln.} 'he-wolf' ¶ BK I 47, Ln. 81 || **U**: Sm {Jn.} *^ol_ok∇ 'fox' > Sq d.: Tz {Prk., KKIH} loqa, Tm {KD} lo'ya, Ke {Cs.} lokka id.; Mt {Hl.} *^ol_oz 'fox' (Mt: T/K {MIL.} lu_i, K {Pl.} луй, lu_i, M {MIL.} li, {Sp.} лeй) ¶ The prehistory of Sm *^o is still to be elucidated ¶ ≈ Coll. 32, ≈ UEW 252 (connects FU *^olu_y∇ with the above Sm √, supposing that Slq -k- is a suffix), Pl. Z I 86-7, Jn. 84, KKIH 126, Cs. 131, 224, Hl. M #624 || **A** {DQA} *^ol_u'k'∇ 'lynx, wild cat', {S} 'lynx, fox, dog', {ADb.} 'young of a lynx' > Tg *^olukâ > WrMc lu_ka 'young of a lynx', Ewk luku 'polar fox', Orc loke 'lynx' ¶ S AJ 225 [#290], Z 858, STM I 509 || **M**: [1] {DQA} *^ono|ugu-ya| > WrM {Kow., Gl.} noool or nuouul ({MED} nuouul), HIM {Luv.}, Brt нoгoол 'young of a lynx' ¶ Kow. 679, Gl. II 47, MED 595, Luv. 26, Chr. 328 || [2] ?? M *^onoqay_i 'dog' (× N *^oh_ok_∇ or *^oh_aγ_ok_∇ 'ε canine', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *^onik 'jackal' > NKo niktä {MLC} 'wolf', {Gale} 'jackal' ¶ S QK #781, Gale 905, 314, Rm. SKE 169, MLC 367 || pJ {S} *^on_iak_{ya} ~ *^on_aik_{ya} 'cat' > OJ nek_{yo}, J: T néko, K nékò, Kg nekó ¶ S QJ #67, Mr. 495, Kenk. 1348 ¶¶ DQA #1233 (M *^onoqu-ya|, Tg, Ko, J) ¶¶ M *^o (rather than *^u) is still to be explained || ??φ **D** *^onakk∇ 'fox, jackal' (× N *^oh_ok_∇ or *^oh_aγ_ok_∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The vw. *^oa may be due to the infl. of D *^onari 'jackal, fox' ◇ In M and D, sc. lgs. without phonemic distinction of the original initial *L-cnss. and *N-cnss., the N etyma *^ol_uk'æ' and h_ok_∇ or *^oh_aγ_ok_∇ inevitably coincide ◇ Not here (≠φ,σ) FU {UEW} *^olu_y∇ (> Chr: L луй lu_y, H лый l_y 'marten', OVg {Pl.} loisa 'Mustela martes' [see UEW 252]) and MKo nkori 'badger' ◇ IS II 34-5, Glh. 528.

1288. *Lähaḳo 'to grow; sprout, twig' > **HS**: S *^o✓lh_k > Gz ✓lh_k G (js. ya-lh_ak) 'grow, grow up' ¶ L G 309 || **B**: [1] *^ol_o∇y_o- > Kb i-ləy_o (pl. i-l_y-an) 'branche coupée assez courte', [2] ? *^ola_lH_lk∇t- (× N ? *^oL∇'r'k∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club'??) > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} e-lakāt (pl. i-lākt-ān) 'branch', ETwl/Ty {GhA} e-ləkāt (pl. iləkāt_n) 'small fresh twig' ¶ Dl. 459, Fc. 1051, Msq. 41, GhA 114 || **IE**: NaIE *^ol_ek^ω- {WP, P < Vn.} ≈ flexible twig (× N *^ol_uk_Už∇ 'twig, strap, lash, whip'??) > AS læl 'twig, whip' ({WP, P} < Gmc *^ol_ax_lil-) || L laqueus 'trap; noose, halter, snare', (× N ?σ *^oL∇k_l∇_lh∇ ~ L∇x_l∇_lka|æ 'to grasp, to catch', q.v.) laci-ō (inf. lacēre) 'ensnare, entice' ([Fest.] lacit · inducit in fraudem) ¶ WP II 421-2, P 673-4, WH I 744-5; otherwise Ho. 191 and Mn. 676 || **A**: M *^onakiya > WrM nakiya, HIM нахиа 'shoot of

grass, leaf bud', Ord nab_c'i na^h"xā 'vegetables' (nab_c'i means 'leaf'), nab_t'as na^h"xā 'lambeau d'étoffe' (nab_t'as(u) means 'rag, tatter') > ¶ MED 561, Ms. O 480.

1289. *LEHǰæ (= *LEǰǰæ?) 'make one's way with effort (crawl, climb)' > HS: B *√_lw_llHǰ v. *M* 'crawl' > Izn inv. mullaǰ (hab. tmulluǰ), Rf Wr/B/A muǰǰaǰ (hab. tmuǰǰuǰ) 'ramper, se traîner' ¶ Rn. 338 || ??? S *o√_lǰǰ > Ar √_lǰǰ *G* 'passer rapidement' (× N *lūHǰa [~ *lǰǰǰaǰǰ?] 'to jump') ¶ BK II 1015 || IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *o^hǰǰ_l- 'crawl' > Ltv Δ {ME} lēzēt (prs. -ēǰu) 'langsam \ lauernd gehen', lēžuôt 'sehr langsam gehen, sich schleppen', lēzēties, lēžâtîês, lēžuôtîês 'to toboggan down-hill', Ltv {Ul.} lēžât 'rutschen', Pru līse 'kriecht' | Sl *lězti (1s prs. *lězǰ) 'to crawl, to climb (clamber)' > SCr † ljèsti (prs. ljèzēm), Slk liezt', R лезть (prs. 'лезу), Uk 'лізти id., Slv lęstì, Cz lézti, P leżć 'to creep, to crawl, to sneak', OR лѣзти lězti 'to creep, to crawl, to clamber; to go', Blg {Ger.} 'лѣзѣ 'I crawl, climb (je clambe)'; Sl iter. *lǰziti 'to crawl, to climb' > ChS лазити laziti, SCr lǰziti, Slv lǰziti, CVz laziti, Slk lazit', P łazić, R 'лазить id., Blg лазя 'I crawl, climb' ¶ ≈ WP II 425-6, ≈ P 669, ME II 464-5, Tr. 161, Kar. II 517-8, En. 204-5; ESSJ XV 36-8, Vs. II 476-7 (both unconvincingly adduce here ON lágr 'low', MHG lǰge, Lt lěkštas, and Ltv lēžens 'flat'), Glh. 370 || E: NEI la-gi 'vorstoßend, überquerend', la-gi-ik 'angereist', AEI la-gi-ma-na 'für ihre Reise'. la-ak 'unterwegs', la-ak-kar-ra 'ein Durchreisender', la-ki-ib-ba 'Durchreisende, unterwegs Seiende' ¶¶ HK 800, 806, 811-3 ◇ IE *o^hǰǰ_l- may be accounted for by the as. N *-ǰǰ- > *-g- (if the N lr. *H was *ǰ); alternatively (and much less plausibly) HS *-ǰ- goes back to *-k- or *-g- with secondary glottalization caused by N *ǰ (if the N lar. was *ǰ).

1290. *lūHǰa (~ *lǰǰǰaǰǰ?) 'to jump' > HS: WCh: DfB {J} luk 'jump high', 'springen (auf und ab)', Bks {J} luk 'auffliegen, fliegen' ¶ J R 144, 217, ChC || ??σ S *o√_lǰǰ (× N *LEHǰæ [= *LEǰǰæ?]) 'make one's way with effort [crawl, climb]' > Ar √_lǰǰ *G* (prm. -lǰǰ-) 'passer rapidement' ¶ BK II 1015 || IE: NaIE *lēk-/*lōk-/*lak- 'jump, leap (lebhaft springen), fly' > Ltv lēkǰ (prs. lezu) 'to jump, to leap, to hop, to spring', iter. lękǰt 'to jump (about), to skip', Lt lěk-ti (prs. lekiǰ) 'to fly', laksǰǰti 'to fly about, to jump' ||| Gk [Hs.] ληκᾶν · τὸ πρὸς ᾧδὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι 'to dance to the music of singing' ||| L lōcusta

'locust' ¶ ≈ WP II 420-1 (IE *lek- and *lēk-/ *lak-), Bc. 688, F II 115, WH I 818-9, Frn. 353-4, Kar. I 513 || U: FU *^olukk̄ > ObU {Ht.} *lūk- > pVg {Ht., Stn.} *lūk- 'enter suddenly' > Vg: LK lāk^ω-, lāk-, P lāk-, SV/LL lāk^ω-, LL/Ss lak^ω- id., d.: T lāk^ωat- & lākāt-, P/NV/SV lāxxat-, lāxxāt-, IL lāx^ωāt- v. 'jump', d. MK lāk^ωalt- id.; pOs *lök- 'aufspringen' ({[Hl.} *lūk-) > Os: Ty ʔōk-, D tōq-, Nz, Kz tūq- id. ¶ Ht. #353, Stn. WV 279 || A *l'ü'K- > Tg: Ewk Np luktin- 'run (a certain distance)' ¶ STM I 508 || ʔφ pJ *nìnká 'run away, escape' > OJ nìgá-, J: T/K nìgé-, Kg nìge- ¶ S QJ #1308, Mr. 735 || ʔφ M *^zugat|da- (or ≈ *^ziguta₁ʔa₁-) ({DQA} *^ziguta-) 'flee, run away' (> WrM *zigutaga-* ~ *zugtaga-*, HIM *зугтаа-*, Brt *зугада-* id. ¶ MED 1077, Chr. 261). The M item may belong here only if M *^z- reflects A *í- (hyp. of DQA) and N *l- (evidenced by U *l-) palatalized to *í- due to the infl. of the following A *ü ({DQA} *₁ü) ¶¶ DQA #1212 (A *í₁òki 'run away').

1291. *lōwK̄∇̄ 'hole, opening' > U *l]ōwkk̄∇ id., 'corner' > F *loukka*, *loukas* (gen. *loukkaan*) 'Schlupfwinkel', *loukku* 'Spalte, Höhle', *loukko* 'corner, grotto, cave', Krl *loukko* 'opening, hole, cave', Es *lōugas* 'stone wall (serving as a seat) in front of the hearth, hearth-stone' || Chr: L *лук* *luk*, Uf *luk*, H *лык* *lɛk* 'corner; bend, curve (of a road/river)' || Hg *лук* 'hole, opening' (unless ← M) || Sm: Ne T *ложо* 'corner, cap (in a lake/river)', Ne T O {Lh.} *лхер?* 'corner (in a house, in a lake)' ¶¶ UEW 252, MRS 299, 309, EWH 916, Ter. 193, Lh. 228, ≠ SSA II 97 || A ({SDM97} *luk'í, {DQA} *lú'ók'í 'break through'): ppM **lūken > M *nūken 'hole' (× N ***nūK̄∇** → ***nūK̄E** 'hole', q.v. ffd.); possibly ppM *lūken → Hg *лук* 'hole, opening' (Hl.'s hyp.) (unless from FU *lōwkk̄∇*) || Tg **loktū* ({DQA} **lokta-*) 'hole' (× N ***lūk₁∇₁ʔA** → ***lūk₁A** 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to?') > Neg *loktuk̄t̄n-* ~ *loktok̄t̄n-*, Ud *lotogo-* vi. 'get holed/leaky' (прорваться, продырявиться, протечь), Neg *loktoko* & *loktoko*, UI *luktu* 'hole, puncture', Orc *loktolokto bī* 'gaping' (of a hole), Nn Nh *luktuz* adj. 'having a hole, pierced', Neg *loktol-*, Ud *lotoli-*, UI *luktulu-*, Nn Nh *luktuli-* 'make a hole, pierce', Ork *luktos*, Nn Nh/KU *luktu* adv. 'through and through' ¶ STM I 502-3 || pJ {S} *núk- 'pass through, break through' > OJ núk-, J: T/Kg nùk-, K núk- ¶ S QJ #912, Mr. 502 ¶¶ DQA #1228 || HS: S *^o✓ l̄k̄s > Ar ✓ lq̄s *G* 'sting so.' (a snake) ¶ BK II 1015, Hv. 693 || IE *^oluḡḡ₁H₁-: NaIE *^oluḡḡ- ≈ hole, opening' (unless ← IE *leuḡ- 'break') > OHG *loh* (gen. *lohhes*) 'hole, opening, cave; Loch, Öffnung, Höhle', MHG *loch* 'hole,

cave; verborgenes Wohnungs- \ Aufbewahrungsort', NHG Loch 'hole' ¶ OsS 568, Kb. 629, Lx. 129, ≈ KM 444, P 686 (Loch < IE *leuǵ- 'break') ¶ IE *-gǵ_LH_J- is likely to go back to *-k_∇ǵ-.

1292. *LeqEKa 'cut, tear' > HS: [1] S *^o✓lχk_∇ > Ar luχqūq- 'trou dans la terre qui sert de repaire à un animal'; [2] ??σ S *^o✓lk_∇ > Ar لُقْ laqq- 'crevice, slit, furrow', لُقْ luqq- 'furrow', لُقُقَة laqaq-at- 'ditches narrower in the upper part' ¶ BK II 1012, Hv. 692 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg BD ρκς 'tear out (the heart)' (EG II 343), that probably belongs to N *^hük_∇ 'tear, tear out' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *lēk-/*lōk-/*lak- 'tear asunder' > Gk λακίς (gen. λακίδος) 'rent, rending', λακίζω 'tear asunder', Gk Cp [Hs.] ἀπέληκα · ἀπέρωγα 'broke off, sundered' || L lacer (f. lacera, ntr. lacerum) adj. 'torn, mangled', lacerā- v. 'tear to pieces', lacina 'lappet/flap of a garment' || ?φ NPrs رَخْنَة rāχne 'breach in a wall, hole, crack' || SI *laχъ (< *lōk-s-), ? *loχ- (< *lak-s-?) 'torn garment, rag' > P Δ λach id., Uk 'лаха, лах, Blr Δ лах 'rags', Cz L λax 'ragamuffin'; d.: R лox'мотья pl., R Δ лox'ман, лox'мон 'rags', 'лохма, 'лохмы 'torn pieces of cloth, rags' ¶ WP II 419-20, P 673 (*lēk-/*lak-), EI 568 (*lak-), WH I 742-3, F II 75, BM 243, Vl. II 27, Sg. 572, ESSJ XIV 17-9 and XV 250-5 || U *Leykkā- v 'cut, split' > F leikkāa- v. 'cut, harvest', Es lōika-, leika- id., 'carve' (BF × ← Gmc {SSA} *blajkjan 'cut a notch in a tree, lyödä pilkka puuhun'??) || Hg lék, Δ lyéκ ᄃ lík n. 'ice-hole, leak', † 'Öffnung, Riß, Spalte' || Sm {Jn.} *lekkā- (or *leč|s|tkā-) vi. 'split' > Ne: T лека-сь, T O {Lh.} íēk·āʔ-, F K {Lh.} ᄃéžkkāʔ-; En {Ter.} лэке-сь id.; ⇨ Sm *lekkāptā- (or *leč|s|tkāptā-) vt. 'split' > Ne T лекабта-, T O íēk·āptāʔ-, F L {Lh.} ᄃāžk:b_tāṅ:āt; En {Cs.} leketábo id. (obcj. 1s aor.); Mt {Hl.} *lĕgābtz- vt. 'split' (Mt M {Sp.} легептямъ 'колю') ¶¶ UEW 244, EWU 885, Jn. 83, Hl. M #620, ≠ SSA II 59 (BF ← Gmc [with a query]).

1293. ₂ *LŭK_La_H∇ 'see, know' > HS: eB *^o✓lk_H > B {Pr.} inv. *^olyūt / pf. *^oyilliŷat > Tw {Pr.} inv. ləŷat, pf. illəŷət, Ah {Fc.} inv. ləŷat / illəŷat (Fcj. 102, Pcj. V - app. I) 'faire connaître' ¶ Fc. 1105, 2009, Pr. M VI-VII 208 || IE: [1] NaIE *leuk- 'see' > OI 'lōkatē, 'lōcatē 'sees, perceives (erblickt, wird gewahr)', lō'caŷati 'beholds (betrachtet)', lō'kaŷati id., 'watches, looks at (schaut)', lōcanam 'eye' || Gk λείσσω 'see, behold, look upon' || Brtt {RE} *lukatos 'eye' > MW llygat, W llygad, OCm, MBr lagat, Cm lagas, Br lagad id.; W

am-lwg 'evident', cyf-lwg, eg-lwg 'conspicuous', go-lwg 'sight' ||| Ltv lūks 'Schauender, Freier, Kundschaftler', lūkot [lūkuôt] 'schauen, auf etw. sehen, absehen' → 'to try, to venture', Lt láukti 'to wait (for so.)', Pru laukīt 'to search, to look for', kāima-luke 'sucht heim' || ?σ SI *lučiti 'to find, to hit (the goal)' > RChS luhiti lučiti 'to meet, to receive', Blg луча 'hit (the goal)', SCr lúčiti 'to find, to receive', P łuczyc, R по-лучить 'to receive' ||| [2] NaIE *la|ok- (WP} *lak-) 'see, look' > OHG luogēn (in older dictionaries: luagēn, luegēn, luagan) 'to look, to see; lügen, schauen, erblicken', {OsS} 'aus einem Versteck hervorsehen, schauen, lügen', NHG lügen 'to look out, to spy about, to peep', OSx {Ho.} lōkon 'lügen, blicken', AS lōcian 'to see, to look', NE look ¶ In NaIE the reflex of the Ir. is lost in prevocalic position, IE *la|ok- < pre-IE *l_u∇k- ("state II") < N *LŪK₁a₁H∇ ¶ P 689, M K III 112-3, M E II 480 (unc.: probably OI lōk- 'see' ← lō'ka- 'lichter, freier Raum'), F II 110, Frn. 345, En. 187, 203, WP II 381, EI 505 (*leuk-), LP § 263.1, RE 92, Hm. 501, Ho. 205, Ho. S 48, KM 449, Kb. 641, Schz. 203, OsS 578, HDEL 769, ≈ Vs. II 538, ≈ ESSJ XVI 162-3 (SI *lučiti ← **lučiti 'illuminate' ← *lučb 'ray of light').

1294. ?σ₂ *L∇K₁∇₁X∇ ~ L∇X₁∇₁K₁a|æ) 'to grasp, to catch' > HS: S *√lqḥ 'take' > BHb √lqḥ G (ip. -kqāḥ) 'take', Ph, IA lqḥ G, Pun, Yd lqḥ G (ip. -qḥ), M'b, DA, OA -qḥ G ip. 'take', Ug √lqḥ (ip. -qḥ) 'take, grasp', JA {Lv.} √lqḥ T (3pf ip. תִּלַּקְתָּ תִּלַּקְתָּ תִּלַּקְתָּ tillakḥūn) 'be married' (of girls) (lit. 'be taken'), OCn TA (AkSc) inf. la-qa-ḥu (= *laqāḥu) 'to take', Ar √lqḥ (pf. laqāḥa) 'conceive' (female), 'be impregnated' (palm tree), (pf. laqāḥa, ip. -lqāḥu) 'impregnate', Sb √lqḥ 'take, seize, capture, arrest', Mn √lqḥ 'take \ seize illegally', Gz √lqḥ D (pf. laqḥāḥa) 'lend' || OAk, Ak A laqāḥu, Ak B leqū 'take, take a wife' ¶ KB 507-8, A #1482, OLS 246-8, HJ 580-4, Lv. II 521, Js. 717, BK II 1012-3, Hv. 692, Bll. 262, MA 57, L G 317, CAD IX 131-47, Sd. 544-6 || ?σ IE *l_hqk̑- (× N *l_hqk̑ 'twig, strap, lash, whip' [q.v.]) > NaIE *l_hqk̑- > L [Fest.] lax 'deceit, fraud' ([Fest.] lax fraus), [Fest.] lacio, -ēre 'entice' (Fest.: laciit · inducit in fraudem) (× ← laqueus 'noose, halter, snare' < N *Lāhaqo 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v.]) → ē-liciō 'lure out, entice out' ¶ ≠ WP II 421-2, ≠ P 673-4, ≠ WH I 744-5 ◇ Highly qu., because the IE √ may be explained otherwise (see N *l_hqk̑).

1295. *ĪuḶUǾ 'twig, strap, lash, whip' > **U**: FU (att. in FV) *ĪuḶšǾ 'lash, whip' > Er локшо lokšo id. ('кнут'), Mk локша lokša 'lash, whip (кнут, хлыст)' | Chr: L лупш lupš, E {It.} lupš, H лыпш лърš 'lash, whip (кнут, плетка)' | It. #220, ERV 349, PI 149 || **A**: Tg *lukš- ~ *lusk- 'trace-strap' (× N *riḡû'z'Ǿ 'to tie; loop') > Ewk lukšipka & lukšipkān '(central) trace-strap in a team of dogs (потяг, постромка)', Neg nusku ~ nuski, Nn Nh luksur, Nn B luksuri, Nn KU nuksur, Orc nuksu & noksu, Ud B nuki, Ud I/Sm nuxi, Ud K {Krm.} luxi, Ul nusku id., Ork nusku & ŋusku '(central) trace-strap in a team of reindeers' | STM I 509, Krm. 267 || **HS**: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} lakōdi 'whip' (× N *LukäǾǾ ≈ flexible rod, thong) | Sch. DN 103 || B: BSn lakkuḍ, Izn lakkuḍ 'whip' | Ds. B 138 || **IE** *leHkʷ- > NaIE *lēkʷ- {WP, P ← Vn.} ≈ flexible twig (used to make a whip and a snare for animals)' (× N *LähaḶo 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v. ffd.]) > AS læl 'twig, whip' ({WP, P} < Gmc *lāx_lil-) || L laqueus 'trap; noose, halter, snare' | WP II 421-2, P 673-4, WH I 744-5 ◇ The voiced cns. *d in B and Ngz and *H in IE suggest a N voiced sibilant (*Ǿ) ◇ The order of consonants in IE *leHkʷ- may be explained by mt. and/or by the infl. of N *LähaḶo.

1296. 2 *LiL 'water, sea' > **HS**: C: Bj {Rop.} līl- scv. 'be liquid, melt', {R} līl- scv. 'be wet\humid\liquid' | R WBd 158, Rop. 86 || LbB *līl_l 'sea, (?) water' > Lb [Hs.] λιλυ 'water', Jrb {Bs.} i-lil, Jrb / Nf / Snd / Mtm {La.} i-ləl 'sea' | Msq. Z 517, La. S 259, Vc. NN 380-1 || S {Vc.} *nīl- (dis. < **līl-) 'large river, flood, watering' > Ak nīlu(m) 'watering, flooding', Ar šaṭṭu-n-nīli (name of an ancient river-bed in Mesopotamia), ʔan-nīl-u 'the Nile of Egypt, the Nile of Kufa (Mesopotamia), the Indus' | CAD XI/2 234, Sd. 694, 790 (connects Ak nīlu- with Ak √nʔl 'befeuchten' and [?] with Ar √nhl v. 'quench thirst, drink a first draught'), Vc. ACBM 106-7, BK II 1358, 1376, Hv. 804 || {Vc.} Eg ⇨ Gk Νεῖλος 'the Nile' | Vc. ONN, Vc. NN | Vc. NN 280-1 || ?? CCh: Suk {Mch.} llau 'river' (unless to N *laḶu' 'body of water') | ChC | OS #1674 (HS *līl- 'water, be wet' > Lb, Bj + unc. Fgg ill 'weep') | Alternatively, it is possible (after IS) to explain B *līl- and Bj līl- as rdp. of N *ĪḶyḡǾ 'to pour; water' || **IE**: NaIE *līro- (dis. from *līlo-?) > Clt: OIr ler (gen. lir) 'sea', NIr lear 'sea, flood, surface of the sea', W † llŷr 'sea' | Bc. 36-7, YGM-1 318, Dnn. 426 || ??? AdS of **A**: T *ju_l:l 'spring, fountain' [< N *z'u'ḡ_lǾǾ (- *z'ḡ'u'ǾǾ?) 'flow, pour', q.v. ffd.] ◇ IS II 32-3 (*L¹Ǿ¹ḡ¹).

1297. (₂?) *L|ži|í|í∇ (= *L|žiií∇?) 'reed, ∈ water-plant' > K: GZ *lēl- 'cane' (× N *h'U're|í|í∇ 'reed') > OG, G lel-i 'cane!'; cd. *lē|r-č'em- 'reed' (cd. *lēl- + č'em- 'grass') > Mgr larč'am- ~ larč'em- 'reed' ¶ K 120-1, K² 108-9, 306 (on K *č'am-/*č'em-), FS K 199-200, FS E 218-9, Abul. 208, Ser. 82, Chx. 677-8, Q 270 || IE: NaIE *lej|l- ~ dis. *lej|r- '≈ water-plant' (× N *h∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D *∇re|l|- 'reed' (× N *h'U're|í|í∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? A: T *°jií- > Tlt jišqit 'rhubarb' ¶ Rl. III 498 ◇ If Tlt jišqit belongs here, the N etymon must be *L|žiií∇; if not, but the D word does belong, we reconstruct N *L|ži|í|í∇ ◇ Fn. KD #50 (K, D). Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

1298. *Īum∇ 'magic, spell, fortune' > U: FU (att. in FV) *|]uma- v. 'charm, bewitch' > F lumoa-, Es lumma- id. | Lp N {N} lâbmo- / -m- 'get bewitched, bewitch', Lp Pa {TI} lqm'ā- v. 'charm, bewitch' | Chr H sanzām l̄mem, Chr U šinč'am lumem 'to blind (so.) by withcraft' (lit. 'to bewitch the eyes') ¶ UEW 694, TI 221 || A *|]n'Um∇ > T *jom ~ *jum 'luck, omen, magic device' > Chv {Ash.} śam 'medicine'; MT [AH] jom 'omen, divination' (Tk 'fal'), Tk yum ~ yom 'luck', Tk Δ jom 'omen, predicion; tale, legend' ⇨ T *jom-(y)ak 'tale' > SY łomaq id. (preservation of the ancient *l- or its apparent restitution resulting from phonetic laws of SY?), Kr, Qmq jomaq, Nog jumaq, Xk nimaχ id., Qrg žomoq, Uz žwmbaq 'legend', Qzq žūmbaq 'riddle', Tkm jomaq 'wit'; T *jom ⇨ M *dom 'sorcery or ceremony for ridding of diseases or calamities; magic formula of cure' > WrM, HIM dom id. ¶ The T vw. *o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained ¶ ET J 220-1, Rs. W 206, SDD III 1537, Tn. SJJ 190, Ash. XII 35, Jeg. 69, MED 260 || pJ {S} *nəm- > OJ nom- v. 'pray' ¶ S AJ 69, 276, ≈ DQA #1213 || HS: S *°√lmm > Ar lamm-at- 'sort, fortune; mauvaise fortune', lamam- 'folie; obsession, commencement de la folie attribuée à l'action des démons' ¶ BK I 1022-3, Hv. 695 ◇ Rs. W 206 (Tu, M, FU).

1299. *Īä?_∇_ m'U' 'crust, scab' > HS: S: Ar √l?m G 'dress (a wound)', la?m-at- 'breast-plate (cuirasse)' ¶ BK II 952-4, Hv. 673-4 || U: FU (att. in FP) *|]äm'U' '≈ scurf, scab' > Er лем íем '∈ eczema on the head', Δ {Rv.} íeme 'rash, scurf (esp. on the head of a child)' | pChr {Ber.} *líma > Chr: Uf lümö 'Schorf', L лүмө 'lümö 'sore, scab', H лим lim id. | Prm *lōm 'scurf, scab' ('струп, короста') > Vt лом lom id., Z лөм lzm id., 'mange' ¶ LG 162, UEW 686, ERV 337, Ber. 36, MRS 289,

305, Ep. 61 || **A**: M *namur-sun > WrM namu(r)sun 'herpes, tetter; dead tissue; scab; ulcer', Ord namu's(u') 'espèce d'ulcère qui se développe sur le visage', Brt намарна(-н) 'scab' ('струп') ¶ MED 564, Ms. O 483, Chr. 320.

1300. *l̥E'g'umê (= *l̥i'g'umê?) 'wet\cold weather, dew' (→ 'wet snowfall' → 'snow') > **HS**: B mt. *l̥∇muH- > Wrg {Dlh.} ta-lmu-t 'brume basse, brouillard léger des bas-fonds', Ah tã-lãmu-t 'dew', Kb a-lãmlum 'temps gris, brumeux'; ? llãmlãm v. 'être gris, brumeux, nuageux (temps)' ¶ Fc. 1077, Dl. 453, Dlh. Ou 169 || C: Ag: Km {CR} lugom 'fine rain' ||| EC: ?? Or {Th.} ligidi 'very cold weather (freddo glaciale)' ¶ CR K 223, Th. 225 || **U** **l̥i'ume > FU *l̥i'ume 'snow' > F lumî (gen. lumen), Es lumî 'snow' || Lp N {Fri.} lobma, lobme, Lp S {Hs.} lubme, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} łupmз 'snow', Lp T lã'mma- v. 'fill with snow' || Mk, Er лов lo∇, Er A/LP loŋ 'snow' || Chr: Н лым l̥m, L лум lum, Uf, B lum id. || Prm *l̥um > Z лым l̥+m (obl. l̥+my-), Z Vsh/EV l̥um, Vt лымы l̥+m+ id. ||| OHg XVIII lom 'hoarfrost', Hg lom, lam n. 'wet; floating ice (in spring on rivers)' || Sm {Jn.} *yom- v. 'snow' > Nn T ëmze- id., ëmзя' 'soft fluffy snow', T O {Lh.} yõmćę?, T F {Lh.} yũmśśãk'ãt 'dünnere spärlicher Schneefall', Ng d. {Mik.} 'jumu v. 'snow', Slq Nr {Cs.} čom'na 'it snows', Slq UO {KD} łopsa v. 'snow in large flakes' ¶¶ The discrepancy between FU *l̥i'- and Sm *y- points to a pU palatalizing factor (*i after the initial cns.?) ¶¶ UEW 253-4 (*lume), It. #186, IS III 34-5 (*luńe), Sm. 538 (U *lom+ 'snow', FU, FP *lumî, Ugr *lũmĩ, Sm *jom), 552, Hs. 868-9, Ker. II 81, LG 164, MF 408, EWU 906, Jn. 46 || **A** {SDM97} *lũh̄∇ 'snow' > NTg *lũhe 'wet snow' > Ewk lũh̄з, Neg luńз id., Ewk lũh̄з- v. 'snow' (of wet snow), Neg luńi- v. 'snow in flakes' (of wet snow) ¶ STM I 510 || pKo *nũn 'snow' > MKo nũn, NKo nun 'snow' ¶ Rm. SKE 172, S QK #216 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *lũh̄∇, ≈ DQA #1232 (A *lũh̄i; incl. Tg, Ko) ◇ Rs. UAW 31 (U, A), IS MS 366 (*lurige 'snow': U, A), IS III 34-5 (*lurige 'snow': U, A) ◇ N *-E'g'um- > FU *-m- ~ (in Mr) *-ŋ-. N *-E'g'um- (= *-igum?) > ≈ *-g̃m- > *-h̄g- > NTg *-h̄- ◇ Sm *y- points to the presence of a palatalizing factor after *l-. It may be *l̥i- < N *l̥E'g'- ◇ The original meaning is likely to have been '≈ bad\rainy weather', but in U and A (due to the climatic conditions) the meaning changed to 'wet snowfall, snow'.

1301. *l̥ahm'U' 'swamp; body of water' > **HS**: S: Ar [Gol.] lahim-, luham- 'mare amplum', [Qam.] liham- 'big sea' ¶ Fr. IV 131, BK II 1034

|| B *l̥m̥u¹ 'big swamp, humid grass-land' > SrSn {Rn.} a-lmu 'prairie', ṭa-lmu-ṭ 'trou d'eau, marais, prairie marécageuse', Rf A {Rn.} ṭaḥmaṭ id., aḥma 'grande mare, prairie', Kb alma 'prairie naturelle', ṭalmaṭ 'prairie; endroit marécageux, humide et herbeux' ¶ Rn. 340, 354, Dl. 454 || K *^ola_im- > G lam-i 'silt, dampness', {DCh. 641} lam-vt. 'wetten, moisten' ¶ DCh. 641, Chx. 661 || IE *leHmeH > NaIE *lāmā 'puddle, swamp' > L lāma 'bog, slough' ||| Blt (× IE *lem- v. 'break'): Lt lomā (accus. lōmā) 'depression, low place, valley', Ltv lāma 'puddle, swamp, pit' ¶ WP II 385-6, P 653-4, WPI 753, Tr. 162, ≈ Frn. 385 (unc. rejection of the links between the Blt word and L lāma) || U *l̥ampe 'small body of water, puddle, pond, bog' > F lampi 'small lake, pond', Es {W} dim. lammi¹kas 'Schlammfütze, Moor' | pLp *lōmpɜ > Lp N {N} luobbâ / -b' b- 'small lake through which a river runs', Lp Kld лāммьп, K {Gn.} lāmpe 'swamp, marsh', pLp {Lr.} d. *lōmpɜl 'small lake, pond' > Lp: N {N} luobbâl, S {Hs.} luobbele, L {UP} luoppal, Kld lūmbal id. | Chr L лоп лор 'wet depression \ lowland' || Sm {Jn.} *^ol̥mpā- 'be swampy' > Ne T лымба- id.; Ne T лымбад 'swamp', Ne T O {Lh.} ṭu^omb_āδ 'Schlamm, naßer Ton', Ne F {Lh.} 'naßgiebige Stelle (im Moor)', Slq Tz {KKIH} l̥mpä 'swamp' ¶¶ Coll. 30, UEW 235, Lr. #620, Lgc. #3609, Hs. 873, MRS 295, SaR 154, Jn. 83 || A *lāmU 'body of water, swamp' > Tg *lāmu 'sea' > Ewk lāmu 'sea, the Baikal lake', Lm, Neg nām, Lm A lām, Orc nāmu, Ud namu, Ul, Ork namu, Nn Nh namo ~ namu, Nn B/KU lamu, WrMc namu 'sea, ocean' ¶ STM I 490-1, Krm. 265 || M *namug 'swamp' > WrM namug, HlM намаг 'marsh, swamp, mire, bog', Brt намаг, Kl намг namъg id., {Rm.} namg 'Sumpf, Teich'; M *namurgan > MM [S] {H} namurḥan 'puddle', Brt намарган 'swamp, marsh' ¶ MED 563, Chr. 230, KRS 367, KW 271, H 113 || JK: Kgr {DQA} nuami 'pond, sea' ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *lāmō, ≈ DQA #1187 (A *lāmōlā 'sea, wave'; incl. Tg, M, Kgr) ◇ IS II 29-30 (*LaHm/u/ 'swamp': K, IE, U, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #375 (*lama 'swamp') (IE, U, A, J, Ai + err. Ko).

1302. ₂ *L¹U¹m[?]∇ 'lion' > K {GI} *lom- id. > OG, G lom-i, Sv {Ni.} lwem, {GI} lōm id. (← G?) ¶¶ DCh. 652, Chx. 689, GI IJI II 510, Ni. s.v. левъ || HS: CCh: McMs: Lame {ChL} lúmú, LamP {ChL} lum, ZmD {ChC} lúm, {KNC} lúm 'lion'; less probably here the forms in BM {ChL}: Klb lēvārí, Hld lúvárì, Mrg lívav̄ 'lion', in McHigi: HgNg {ChL} līvèrí, HgF lùvèrí id., as well a FIM lùvārí id. because they are obviously akin to

Dgh {Frk.} rʋířè, {ChL} àrʋířè, Db {Lnh.} ʒrʋàřè, Mdr {ChL} ʔúruvʷʒèri, Glv {Rp.} árʒvarà 'lion', and further to Eg, DEg rʋ 'lion' and CS *ʔarʲyʲay- id. (see N *ʔ'ü'í'∇w∇ 'large feline') ¶ ChC, ChL, KNC 15 || S *labuʔ- 'lion' > BHb לַבְיָאִים labā'īm pl. 'lions', Ug lbʔu, Amr {G} labw-um, labūm, IA lbʔ, Sb lbʔn, OAk, Ak OA labʔu, Ak fOB lābu, Ak labbu 'lion', d. BHb לַבִּי לַבִּי lā'bī 'lion' (originally an adj. 'having the qualities of a lion'), S d. *lab∇ʔ-at- 'lioness' > Ar labuʔat- ~ labwat- ~ lubaʔat-, BHb labī'ā (μ on the analogy of לַבִּי לַבִּי lā'bī), Ug lbʔit, OAk, Ak √ lābatu, Ak YB labbatu id. ¶ KB 490-2, HJ 562, A #1435, OLS 241, G A 24, BK II 956, Bll. 256, Sd. 526-, CAD IX 23-5 || Eg: NEg {Spg.} ≈ lb 'the god Min (represented as a lion)', NEg {Psn.} rby or lby 'lion', DEg lby 'bear; lion', Cpt Sd/B ΛΑΒΟΙ laboi 'lioness, female bear' ¶ Vc. 94, Er. 262, Psn. NO √ ¶¶ In S (and Eg?) *-bʔ- < **-mʔ- like in S *√nbʔ 'name, give a name' < N *'nimʔ∇ 'name, word' (q.v.) ¶¶ The above S name for 'lion' (or Eg rʋ 'lion' with the original *r, see DEg rʋ [Er. 243] and N *ʔ'ü'í'∇w∇) was borrowed by IE either at the pIE level (as suggested in GI IJ II 507-10) or later, at the level of the dialects. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov reconstruct pIE *lew- 'lion' > pGk *lewont- (Lej. MPM 165) (> Gk Mc rε-ωο-, Gk λέων [gen. λέοντος] 'lion'), Gmc *liuʷ-az id. (< *lew-os) (> OHG lewo, MHG lewe, louwe, NHG Löwe, π Leu id.), Tc lu 'beast' (Wn. 267-8), ??φ Ht/Lw walwa ({GI}: partial rdp.); Gk ↷ Lleō; Gmc ↷ pSl *lbvь 'lion' (see ESSJ XVII 05-7). But the hypotheses of S (*√lbʔ) or Eg (rʋ or lb) origin of the IE word do not explain irreg. phonetic changes: S or Eg *-b- > IE *-w- (if the origin is S *√lb or Eg lb) and Eg r- > IE *l- (if the origin is Eg rʋ).

1303. *lām, ∇, d∇ 'low' > IE: NaIE *lendʰ-/*londʰ- 'plain, lowland' > OIr {P} land 'open place', {EI} lann 'open land', GI *landa (↷ VL {ML} *landa 'moor, heath, barren land' [> Itl, Ctl landa id., Fr lande 'moor, heath, waste land'], and ↷ Bsq landa 'field'), MW llan 'area', W llan 'parish, village' (→ 'church'), Crn lan 'enclosure, monastic close', MBr, Br lann 'Heide, Steppe (lande)' || Sw Δ linda 'fallow land', OHG lant, NHG Land, Gt, ON, Sw, Dn, NNr, OSx, Dt, AS land 'land', NE land || Pru accus. lindan 'valley' || Sl *lędo (~ *lęda) {ESSJ} 'terra inculta' > Blg 'ляда 'waste land, field', Cz lado, lada 'waste land', OR ЛЯДО ľado, R Δ 'лядо 'a place (in a forest) cleared and stubbed for an arable field'; ↷ Sl *lęd ína > ChS ЛЯДИНА lędina 'ager incultus', Blg лe'дина, ля'дина 'waste land, a meadow\clearing in a wood', SCr

lédina, Slv ledína 'terra inculta', R Δ 'лядина, ля'дина 'an arable land formed from a cleared and stubbed place in a wood' ¶ WP 438-9, P 675, EI 200, Mn. 678, YGM-1 302, Ern. 351-2, Hm. 504, ECCE 263, ML #4884, Fs. 321-2, Vr. 345, Kb. 590, OsS 533, KM 421, Ho. 194, Ho. S 45, En. 204, Vs. II 549, ESSJ XV 41-8, Glh. 372 || **У** *l]amte 'low; lowland' > F lansi (gen. lannen) 'low, lowland', lantea 'low', Es laas '(primeval) forest', {SK} 'thick deciduous forest on moist ground', Δ land (gen. landu) 'stagnant pool' || ? pLp {Lr.} *lōmtē 'lie down, rest' > Lp: K {Gn.} lūm:de-δ id., N {N} luow'de- / -wd- 'lie down flat' (of animals), 'lie down resting on one's knees and elbows', L {LO} luob'tē- ~ luog'tē- 'sich mit eingeknickten, untergeschlagenen Beinen auf den Leib legen (von einem Renntier)', 'lie down resting on one's knees and arms' || Er, Mk ландя- lańda- v. 'squat down' || Chr Н ландака вәр lan'daka vār 'low place, depression (котловина)' (вәр 'place') || Prm *lud > Z луд lud 'small meadow\pasture (in a forest)', Vt луд lud 'field' || Sm {Jn.} *lōmt∇-, d. *lōmtьy 'low' > Ne: T ламдо, T O {Lh.} lāmty-, T d. ламдик 'low', FL {Lh.} ramtū id.; En: T {Pl.} лодду, M {Pl.} роддо, X {Cs.} loddu, B {Cs.} luddu, {Ter.} лодо 'low'; Slq: UO {Cs.} lamdi, Nr {Cs.} lamdek id. || pY {IN} *lamd∇- 'low' > OY: Ch {Mat.} лаудапъ adv. 'low (низко)', NW {Lnd.} namdātschit adj. 'low' ¶¶ Coll. 31, UEW 235-6, SK 275, Lr. #621, Lgc. #3611, ERV 331, MRS 280, Ep. 59, LG 163, Jn. 81, Ter. 174-5, Ter. EJ 446, Pl. 205, KP 109, Cs. 130, IN 230-1 || **А**: M *ōnamda- > WrM namda-, HIM намда- 'become lower'; M *nam 'low' (*-m < *-md in Auslaut) > WrM nam, HIM, Brt нам id., WrO {Krg.} nam 'low, small, minor', Kl нам nam, Kl Ö {Rm.} nam 'low', Kl нам һазр nam hazьr 'lowland'; d. M *namt∇yi- 'be flat\low' and *nabtar ~ *namtar 'low, not high' (> Kl {Rm.} namtā-, namtī- 'be flat, low', WrM nabtar, HIM навтар, Kl {Rm.} namtr̥, Brt набтар naptār, Brt A/NU namtār 'low') result from the merger of *nam with the M reflex of N *laPT∇ 'flat, low' (q.v.) ¶ MED 555, 562-3, Krg. 208, KRS 367, KW 270-1, Chr. 320-1 ◇ IS II 30-1 (*Lamd/i/ 'low': IE, U, M), Glh. 372.

1304. *Lüm∇g∇ 'ε eat, swallow' > HS: CS *o✓lmg ~ *o✓lgm id. > Ar لِمَج ✓lmğ (ip. -lmağ-) 'eat with the extremity of the mouth', MHb d. הַגְּיָמָה ləgī'mā n. act. {Lv.} 'das Schlucken, Kosten', {Js.} 'quaffing, taking a draught; eating and drinking' ¶ BK II 1023, Hv. 696, Js. 692, Lv. II 476-7 || **А** *lüm_lE_lK∇- v. 'swallow' > Tg *lümŋe- id. > Nn B lumgз-, Nn Nh, Ul luŋbз-, Ork numgз~ nuŋbз-, Ud {Krm., Shn.} X/B/K/Sm niŋmз-,

Ud I {Krm.} iŋmэ ~ liŋmэ-, Orc hímmэ-, Ewk, Neg nimηэ-, Sln niηэ-, WrMc nuηgi- ~ nuηge- id. ¶ STM I 595, Krm. 267 || pKo {S} *nəmku- > Ko nəmgu- 'swallow' ¶ S AJ 254 [#74], S QK #7, Rm. SKE 164 || pJ {S} nəm- 'drink' > OJ nom-, J: T nómu, K nòm-, Kg nóń, Ns nùmj-, Sh núm-, Ht/Y nùm- ¶ S AJ 111, 265 [#16], S QJ #16, Mr. 737 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *lǝme 'to swallow, to drink'), DQA #1219 (A *|ǝmǝ 'to swallow, to drink'), Pp. VG 74, S AJ 19, 69, 105-6, 274, Rm. l.c. (Tg, Ko) || **D** *nuηk- v. 'swallow, devour' > Tm nuηku-, Kn nuηgu- id., Brh nuṣuṣiη id., 'gulp down', Tm noηku, Tu niηgu-, niηguḏu-, nuηgъ, Krg nuḥudu, nunu, Mlt nuηge v. 'swallow', Kt nuηg-, Td nug- 'gulp down', Krx nunuḡ- 'swallow without chewing, gulp hastily, devour' ¶¶ D #3697, Zv. 52 || ?φ IE: NaIE (o?) *√(s)lung- / *√(s)leug- '≈ swallow' > OIr {P} -lungu 'eat, drink', W llewa 'to devour, to drink, to gulp' (< *lugamā) || ?σ Gk λύγξ (λυγγ-ός) 'a spasmodic affection of the throat, hiccough, hiccup', λύζω 'have the hiccough/hiccup', λυγμός n. act. 'swallowing' || Nr slūka, MHG slucken, NHG schlucken 'swallow' || SI *lǝga-ti > Cz r lǝgati, P ლუგაც, Uk 'лигати, Blr лыгаць id. ¶ P 964, F II 142, KM 659-60, ESSJ XVII 25-7, YGM-1 308 ¶¶ *-g- (for the expected *-gʰ-) may be due to the onomatopoeic factor; *(s)- may be due to the influence of paronymous IE roots, such as *(s)lu(n)k- / *(s)leuk- (> OIr slucc-, W llyncu, Br lonka- v. 'swallow', Gk [Suid.] λυγκάινω 'sob', Cz lǝkati 'swallow', see P 964, KM l.c., Vn. S 139, ESSJ XVII l.c.).

1305. (₂?) *L|ǝań ▽ 'side (of body)' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *lendʰ- 'loins, kidneys', {E} *londʰu / gen. *lŋdʰw-os 'loins' > L lumbī 'loins' (later sg. lumbus id.) || Gmc {Vr.} *lendwiō > OHG lentī 'kidney', pl. lentī(n) 'kidneys, loins', NHG Lenden pl., AS lēndenu pl. 'loins', ON, Nr lend, Sw länd, Dn lænd id. || SI *lǝdv-a, *-o, *-b(je), *-bje 'loins, kidneys; hip' > ChS ЛАДВЬ lǝdvъ, ЛАДВНІА lǝdvija, ЛАДВНІЄ lǝdvije 'loins, kidneys', SCr Ch лѣдва 'side, hip', SCr лѣѣа 'back (dorsum)', lǝḏa 'lumbus, renes, dorsum', Sln lǝdje, OCz ledvie 'hips', P lǝdzwie 'loins, reins', R † лядвея 'hip' || OI randhrām (by as. from *randhvam) '≈ loins' ¶ WP II 438, P 675, H 356, WH I 832, Vr. 352, Ho. 198, Kb. 605, OsS 546, KM 436, ESSJ XV 48-50, Glh. 372-3, Tls. 236 || **A:** (1) T *jān > Chv L џум śum 'side (of the body)' and NaT *jān 'hip, pelvis' ({Cl.} → 'side, flank') > OT {Cl.} jan 'hip', Tf {Ra.} ḥān 'pelvis' ('тазовая часть тела человека'), Xk nan 'upper part of the hip', Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ, Xlj jān, Tk џан, Az, Qmq, Nog,

VTt, Bsh, ET, SY, Ln jan, Uz jan, StAlt дѡан ѓан, QrB, Qrg žan 'side (of body)', VTt d. jantъq id.; (2) ? NaT *jan- vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.}, ET, SY, Ln, Chg jan- id., Uz ěн- jan- vi. 'return' (unless related to Tg *ηenu- vi. 'return') ¶ Cp. also N *ǰań ▽ b, ▽ 'tail, back' ¶ Cl. 940-2, Ra. 208, ET J 111-4, TL 157, BT 46, DT 218, Fed. II 135, TatR 711 ¶¶ ADb. SR 13 (T *jan- ÷ Tg *ηenu-) || ?σ D *nañ- 'approach' (← *'move to the side of') > Tm naññu 'draw near, approach', Gdb nan- ɘ nann- 'enter' ¶¶ D #4588 ¶ The semantic change 'side' → 'to the side of' → 'approach' is parallel to that of the cognate T derivatives: T *jān 'side' → Tk yana dat. 'to the side, towards' → Tkm jānaš-, Tk yanaš- v. 'approach' ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (N {ADb.} *η₂Ań ▽ 'take with oneself' > D, A {DQA} *ηāńi 'take with oneself', IE *neǵ- 'führen).

1306. *leyña (or *leyña?) 'soft, weak' > HS: WS *-līn- 'be soft' > Ar ✓lyñ (ip. -līn-) G 'be soft, tender, smooth', 'be mild, kind', 'be relaxed' (of belly), Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓lyñ G (pf: Mh lzyōñ, Jb C/E lēñ, sbjn: Jb C 'ylyñ) 'become soft', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} ✓lyñ Sh (pf: Mh, Hrs alyīñ, Jb E/C ɜlyin) vt. 'soften', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ɜlyōñ 'soft' ¶ BK II 1050, Hv. 704, Jo. M 259, Jo. H 86, Jo. J 167 || Eg fMK rny {EG} 'be tired/lazy', {Fk.} 'be weary/inert', fLMK rny.ω 'fatigue, feebleness', {Fk.} 'weariness, inertness' ¶ EG II 275, Fk. 134 || WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} lern 'fine, thin' (of flour), 'weak' (of wood), Gmy {ChC} lēn, Cp {ChC} lēñlen 'soft', Kfr {Nt.} lēñ 'soft' (of cloth) ¶ ChC s.v. 'soft', Flk. s.v. lern, Nt. 24 ¶¶ Cal. 65 (S, Eg), OS #360-1 (S, Eg, Ch) || IE: NaIE *leǵn-, *leǵ- 'soft, tender, weak' > Gk {LS} λιπό-σαρκος 'with soft/tender body', Gk λιάζον {Ch.} 'relâcher les câbles', ? Gk [Hs.] {P} λει-ρ-ός (conjecture for the ms. λειρώς) · ὁ ἰσχνός καὶ ὠχρός 'withered and pale' || OIr {SB} lían (*leǵ-no-) 'sanft' || ON linnr 'soft, flexible', Sw lern 'soft, tender', ? Dt lenig 'flexible' || Blt *leinas ~ *leilas > Lt leinas 'slender, slim', leilas id., 'thin', Ltv lēins 'bow-legged' || Sl *liněti ~ *liña-ti vi. 'weaken, lose strength' > Blg ли'нея, McdS {TIS} линее, SCr línjati id., R Δ ли'нять 'disappear imperceptibly' (here also *liněti ~ *liña-ti 'shed hair, cast the coat, fade, lose colour?') ¶ P 661-2, LS 1051, Ch. 638, ≈ F II 119, SB 248, Vr. 358, Vr. N 392, Ho. S 45, Frn. 329, ESSJ XV 70-5, 108-11 Vs. II 499 || U: FU *leyña 'weak, loose' > F leina 'soft, weak' (× ← Blt *leinas) || Prm: Z лѡнь lǝń 'quiet, calm' || ObU *l'í'ń > pVg *liń > Vg UL {Kn.} liń 'loose' (of a rope), N/ML {MK} liń 'loose (locker)' (of a thread, rope), lińmi 'get loose (locker werden)'; pOs *l'ěń ({JHl.} *l'í'ń) >

Os {Karj.}: Kr liń , Kz ľǎń, O leń 'schlaff' ¶ UEW 242 (*leń∇), LG 157, 162, MK 26O, Karj. VES 223 ◇ IS II 26-7 (*ǰejna = *ǰeyna in HS, IE, FU; he is right in reconstructing U *ǰ-, though he does not mention the Os reflex, which is the only ev. of *ǰ-) ◇ The N etymon may have been either *ǰeyńa or *ǰeyńa. In the former case N *-ń- yields IE *ǰ, so that *-n- in *leǰn- is a suffix. If the N etymon was *ǰeyńa, N *-yn- could yield IE *ǰ (*-yn- > *-ń- > IE *ǰ, as suggested by IS), as well as remain *-ǰn- (hence the variants *leǰ- ~ *leǰn-).

1306a. *ǰENd∇ 'to fly' (→ 'bird') > U: [1] FU *Lentä- id. > F lentää 'to fly, to soar', Krl lendeä ǰ lendiä, Es lennata 'to fly' [2] FU *ǰint^a 'bird, flying animal' > F lintu 'bird', Es lind (gen. linnu) 'bird; poultry', 'flying insect' (esp. 'bee'), 'game', Lv lin:d (gen. līnda) 'bird, game, bee'; acc. to UEW, F, and Es -u is a sx. ||| Os: V/Vy ǰünti, Ag/UA/Ty/Y ǰinti, D lintā, Nz līntā {Stn.} 'снегирь, Emberiza nivalis, Schneeammer' (according to BSE XXIII 1878, снегирь is Pyrrhula pyrrhula) ¶ UEW 249-50, SK 287, 296-7, KrT 485, Trj. S 239-40, Stn. D 837 ||| A: Tg *ǰendu- v. 'fly, flutter' > Ewk ǰndutǰ- ǰ ǰnduldǰ- v. 'fly, flutter (летать, порхать)' (of insects), ǰndulǰ- 'flutter in the wind' (of clothes, branches), ǰndū- 'swing from wind' (of trees) ¶ STM U 517 ||| HS: NOm: Oyda {Fl.} landǰ 'bird' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'bird' || ?ϕ Eg MK nn.t 'ε bird' ¶ EG II 272 || ??ϕ WCh: Sir {Gw.} liǰinčǰ 'bird' ¶ JI II 22 ||| IE: It is tempting to adduce here Sl *let- (inf. *let-ěti) v. 'fly' > OCS ЛЕТѢТИ letěti, Slv letěti, Cz letěti, P lecieć, R лететь. The adduction may be valid unless the questionable equation of Sl *let- with Lt lek- 'fly' is accepted (see ESSJ XIV 147-8). Sl *let- is controversial as a cognate because of the unexpected vl. *-t- and the absence of *-n-; the latter may be explained if the N etymon was *ǰEńT∇ (> IE *ǰeǰt- > [Schwebeablaut] *ǰǰet- > *let-) ¶ ESSJ XIV 145-8 ◇ Hardly here (because of *ǰ- [evidenced by Os V ǰ-] and *u) FU *lunta 'wild goose' (UEW 254), that may be tentatively equated with Tg *ńuńńa 'goose' (STM I 646-7) and pKo {S} *ńǰńǰ 'bustard (Otis)' (> MKo ńǰńǰ, NKo ńǰsǰ, see S QK #258, Nam 104) (on pA see DQA #1508) ◇ Suggested in 1989 by Blz. (Blz. LB #12a) (FU, Tg, Oyda).

1307. *Lü|uŋ^gǰæ?¹∇ 'ε beast of prey' > HS: C: SC: Alg {Fl.} longǰi 'civet cat' ||| Bj {R ← Mnz.} lengig 'leopard' ¶ R WBd 160 ||| IE: NaIE *lunǰ- 'lynx' (× N *ǰuk^ǰǰæ¹ 'ε canine' [→ 'lynx']) > Gk λύξ (gen. λυξκός) 'lynx' ||| OIr {P} luǰ (gen. loga) id. ({IS}: -g- < *-nǰ-?) ||| BSl: Blt

*lunši- > Lt Z lūnšis, Lt lūšis, Ltv lūšis, Pru luysis id. | Sl *rīsb (*ī < *ū < *un) 'lynx' (*r- due to the infl. of *rīsb 'reddish, fawn-coloured' > Cz rýsy, HLs rýsy) > SrCS, OR рѣсь rýsb, Blg рис, SCr rīś, Slv rīś, Cz, Slk rýs, P rýś, R рысь, Uk рись || Arm լուսանկնիք lusankunk' pl. 'lynxes' ¶ ≈ P 690 (connecting this √ with IE *leuḱ- 'shine, be bright'), ≈ EI 359-60, F II 141-2, Ped. VG I 186-8, Frn. 392-3, En. 206, Vs. III 530-1, Glh. 528, Slr. 161-2 || A: Tg *li|eŋg∇ > Orc liŋgapu 'wolverine'; ?? AmTg *yeŋgu > Ul yzŋgul(i) 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU yzŋgur, Nn B yzŋguru 'wolf', ?φ: Orc níŋgu, Ud níŋgu id. (× N *ǰi w∇ m∇ gE 'leopard') ¶ STM I 498, 639.

1308. ₂ *L AŋK∇ 'tongue, (?) palate' > HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *lanḱ- id. > Bln {R} 'lanḱī, Xm laḱ, Q {R} lanḱ 'tongue', Aw {Ap.} lanq 'palate'; Ag ⇨ Amh ለንቅ lanḱa 'palate' ¶ Ap. AV 14, R WB 257, ≈ Blz. CL 180 || Ch: ECh: Kjr {DB} aliŋati 'tongue' ||| WCh: Gj {IL} lǎká, {Sh.} leka, Tule {Sh.} lāga id. ¶ Blz. EChWL #88, JI II 328 ||| D *nāŋku ~ *nāḱku 'tongue' (× N *ńaŋgü 'tongue', q.v.) > Tm, Ml nāḱku, Gdb nāŋgu id.; AdS of D *nāḱk∇ 'tongue' (see N ḱ *ńāḱ∇ 'tongue') ¶ D #3633, Zv. 128, 131 || IE: possibly AdS of L lingua 'tongue' (< N *ńaŋgü 'tongue', q.v.).

1309. *l'o'ŋḱa 'to bend' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'a bow') > HS: Ch: WCh: Hs lánḱwāsā vt. 'bend']???φ Ch ≈ *r∇nK ~ *l∇nK 'shooting bow' (× N *ræw, ḱæ 'sinew' [in descendant lgs. → 'cord, rope']; to tie', q.v. ffd.) > WCh: Krkr {J} rǎnká, Ngm {Mk.} rǎnka, Dr {Kr.} rúḱà, {Mk.} ruga, Krkr {J} rǎŋká, Gera {ChL} rìká, Ngm {ChC} rǎŋkà 'bow', Tng {J} riga v. 'hunt with bow and arrows' ||| CCh: BM *laga n. 'bow' > Mrg {Hf.} lágà, Klb {Mk.} laga, Wmd {ChC} lǎhà, Hld {ChC} lágà id. | McHigi {ChL}: Kps rǎgi, FIG rǎge (< *nr∇g-), FIK iŋv-nu?, HgG ŋgi, HgF rigi, HgNk rǎgi id. | BB: Bcm {ChL} rǎgáy, Nz {ChL} rǎgáy, FIM {ChL} rǎgú, FIB {ChL} rǎgún, FIJ {ChL} lǎgìy, Gudu rǎgá id. | BB: Gude {Mk.} raga, {ChL} rǎgá, FIM rǎgú, FIB rǎgún, Mln rǎgú id., possibly also FIJ lǎgìy id. | ? Lmn {Mk.} lǎxε id. | McMdr: Gv {ChL} lǎḱà, Dgh {Frk, IL}, Glv/Dgh {ChL} lǎḱà, Mdr {ChL} rǎlǎkà, {Mch.} àḱa, {Mk} ḱà id. | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} lǎléŋ, {Ro.}: Mofu {Ro.} lǎlàn, Gzg {Ro.} lék, Myn {Ro.} àḱá, Mkt {Ro.} áḱàk, Hrz {Ro.} lǎká, Vm {Ro.} lǎgà, Mlk {Ro.} mǎŋgè-lék, Mada {Ro.} élèkéḱ, Zlg {Ro.} lǎkéḱ, Mf {BLB} lekéḱ, Mtk {Sb.} lǎkêḱ id. ¶ Ro. 215 (pMM *lǎka), Brr. MG II 157, BLB 212, ≠ Sk. HCD 185, Stl. IF 134-5 (Ch *ni-ra'ǎ'- 'shooting bow'), JI I 18 (Ch *√rg) and II 38-9, Nw. 23, ChC, ChL,

Sch. BTL 17 ¶¶ Gr. LA 53, Tk. I 249-50 || Eg fP rωz 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (× N *ræ_lw_lκæ '↑' [q.v.] × [possibly] N *ζa_lκ_l'u' 'sinew' [→ 'bowstring, bow']; for phonetic reasons the connection with N *ræ_lw_lκæ is preferable) ¶ Tk. I 249-50 || IE: NaIE *lenk- v. 'bend' ({IS} 'сгибать, отгибать'), *lonko-s 'a bow' > Blt: (*lenk- >) Lt leñkti (1s prs. lenkiũ) v. 'to bend, to crook, to curve; to bow'; (*lonko-s >), lankas 'shaft-bow; hoop', Ltv lõks 'bow, arch, arc, shaft-bow', {ME} 'wheel rim', Pru lonki - "Steig"; Lt liñkti 'to bend', {Fm.} 'sich neigen, sich bücken, sich biegen', linkéti (1s prs. linkiũ) 'to wish' (← 'sich neigen zu'), Ltv līkt 'to bend', līks 'crooked, curved, bent'; Pru lunkis 'corner' ("Winkel") || SI *lęk- v. 'bend' (< IE *lenk-) > ChS ЛАКЖ lęk-ǝ / ЛАЩН lęštī v. 'flectere', R Δ 'лякий 'crooked, curve'; (IE *lonko-s >) SI *lókъ (gen. *lók-a) 'arc, bow' > OCS ЛАКЪ lǝkъ, Blg лѣк, R лук 'shooting bow', SCr lūk, Slv lōk, Cz, Slk luk, P łęk, Uk лук 'arc, bow' || Gmc *lanxa- > AS pl. lō(a)n 'in sceaft-lō(a)n 'straps attached to shaft of a missile' (sceaft means 'shaft of spear\arrow'), ON lengja 'strap (Riemen, Streifen)', Dn længe 'Seilstrippe' ¶ P 676-7, ≈ EI 62 (*lenk- 'bend; traverse, divide'), Ho. 206, Sw. 146, Vr. 352-3, Frn. 356-7, En. 205-6, Trt. 159, ESSJ XV 62-3 and XVI 148-9, Vs. II 531, Glh. 387 || U: [1] *l^hānka- (~ *-l-) 'dull arrow' > Vg P/SV lax (pl. lanxat) id.; Os: Ty lānk, D lēnk id. || Sm: Ne T BZ локы, Ne T Y лукы 'dull arrow (Klumpffeil)', Ne O {Lh.} lūk^hī id., Ne F K/Ny {Lh.} luh^hk^hī 'arrow', En B {Cs.} loku 'round-pointed arrow, Klumpffeil' || Y: T/K {Jc.} łokił 'arrow', {Coll. ← ?} lokkil 'an arrow with a rounded head made of bone or wood, used for squirrel hunting in order not to spoil the skin', K {IN} lukil 'arrow of a toy bow' ¶¶ Coll. 30, Ht. #765, Ter. 192, Lh. 229, Cs. 17, 84, 259, Ang. 143, IN 266 || [2] BF *lonk- > Folla longallansa 'to lie on one's side', lonko- v. 'hang', Es lonk: silmad longus 'die Augen sind gesenkt', kōrvad longus 'die Ohren hängen' ¶ UEW 256, Ht. #363, Coll. 94, IS II 27-8 || A: NrTg *lunke- v. 'bow' > Ewk lunkin- v. 'bow the head', Lm nōnkə- id., 'bow down (склониться, наклониться)' ¶ STM I 510-1 ◇ IS II 27-8, Coll. 145, AD NM #27, Sin. TAE 543-4 (Sm, Y, ObU words ← Tg), Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the Tg cognate, because it is isolated within A), ≈ Gr. II #17 (*lonk 'arrow') ◇ Hardly here M *tonga- 'hang' and D *tonku- id., because the connection of N *l- with M and D *t- has not been proved by other etymologies.

1310. ${}_2$ UA *LaP ∇ 'stick to; mould' > U: Sm: Ne T лăбце- vi. 'stick to, be pressed tightly to', лăбцѐ- vi. 'stick together', Ne T O {Lh.} lapćē- 'festkleben', rf. 'sich anheften'. Ne F P {Lh.} φapśēś 'to stick together' (of two flat surfaces) ¶ Ter. 165-8, Lh. 220 || A: T *jap- > Az jap- 'mould (bread, pieces of dung) for baking or drying', OT [MhK] jap- v. 'stick' or 'fix' (both: of bread in the oven), 'build (a wall)', MQp jap- 'make (bread)', XwT jap- 'build'; T rf. *jap-íċ- 'stick to' > OT [MhK] {DTS} ċ jap- vt. 'stick to' (išlār ötmäk japtı 'the woman stuck the loaves [to the wall of the oven]', but MKD interprets this verb as 'bake'), d.? *japíċ- or *japíċ- > OT {CL} japíš ~ {MKD} japuš- 'adhere, stick to', MQp XIV japíš- 'adhere', Chg XV japuš- id., 'stick to', Tk цapıŋ-, Ggz, Az, Trm japíš-, Kr japíš- ~ japuš- & jabuš-, Uz japiš-, ET jepiš- ~ jopuš-, Qmq jabiš- ~ jabuš-, Nog jabis-, Qzq, Qq žabis-, VTt jabъš-, Bsh йəбеш- jəbъš-, Qrg žabiš-, Alt d. žapšın- 'stick to'; cp. T *jip-íċ- id. (< N *LiP ∇ h ∇ a 'to stick, to stick to', q.v.) ¶ Hüs. 376, Cl. 870-1 (connects *jap- v. 'stick, build' with NaT *jap- v. 'shut [a door], cover [things]'), 880-1, DTS 236, MKD 214, ET J 132-4, BT 47 || Tg *lap-gan- 'stick to' > Neg labgan-, Lm nabgan-, Ud lagban- 'stick to' ¶ STM I 484, Krm. 255 || ppM {Pp.} *niḡa- > M *niḡa- 'stick to' (× N *LiP ∇ h ∇ a '↑', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *nàġmpà-r- ~ *niġmpà-r- v. 'glue, stick' > OJ nemari, J: T nebár-, K nébár-, Kg nèbàr- ¶ S QJ #904, Mr. 734 ¶¶ DQA #1210 (A *lġap^{re} 'to glue, to stick to'; no overt distinction between the reflexes of N *LaP ∇ and those of N *LiP ∇ h ∇ a, but with a suggestion of this distinction) ◇ There may be an original connection with N *LiP ∇ h ∇ a '↑' (as. *i...a > *a...a, as supposed by IS II 29 for Sm and T) and obviously contamination with it.

1311. *l'æ^{re}pA 'spleen' > HS *H ∇ \perp ∇ -l ∇ p > C: EC: Af {Clz.} ale'fū (pl. a'lef-it) id. || SC b> Mb {E} lubúra id. ¶ Clz. LA 105, E SC 205 || WCh: pAG *ġlap 'spleen' > Su {J} ġlap, Kfr {Nt.} lāp, Mnt {Hf.}, Ang {Hf., Flk.} lap ¶ J S 73, 213, Nt. 23, Flk. s.v. lap, Hf. AG 21, Stl. ZCh 243 [#57] ¶¶ The element *H ∇ \perp ∇ - in Ch is typical as the first component of compound names of body parts, it appears in some WCh words as *h ∇ - (e.g. WCh {Stl.} *h ∇ -gari 'tooth' [Stl. ZCh 222, #717]) ¶¶ ≈ OS #1651 || U *läpp ∇ (or *lepp ∇) 'spleen' > FU: Chr lepə & lep id. || pPrm *lɔp > StVt lup, Vt SW lup, StZ lop / lopt-, Z US lɔp, Yz lop id. || pLp **δapδe id. (by as. from *lap-δe with a sx. -δe) > Lp N {N} dawıde & dadıve, Lp S {Hs.} daabrie, Lp U {Schl.} hābıdee, Lp L {LLO} tabıtē, Lp Klt {Tl}

tāb'dd, Lp Kld {TI} tām̄p:(ǎ), {SaR} тām̄mьп || Os Ty φḗpatne id. | Hg lép id. || Sm: Ne F: P φαρḗsa, Ny raḗḗsa id. ¶¶ UEW 242, Lr. #220, Lgc. #7685, N I 465, 505, Hs. 398, TI 571, SaR 344, Ber. 29, LG 161, Lh. 235, It. 213 (on FU *ǎ~*e in this word) || A: Tg: Ork lipçe 'spleen' ¶ STM I 499 || M *niβ'alta 'spleen' > WrM nigalta ~ nagalta, HIM наалт ¶ MED 557 || NaT *°jɪpaɪ (or *°japaɪ?) id. > Tf {Ra.} čáp'al, Tv Tj č'ival, Tv (d.?) čavana id. ¶ Ra. 194, TvR 505 ¶¶ DQA #1208 (A *ljap'∇ 'spleen'), S CNM 5 || ?σ IE: NaIE *lep- 'liver' > Gmc *lip-r-ō > ON lifr, Sw, Dn lever, AS lifer, NE liver, OHG lēbara, MHG lēbere, NHG Leber id. || Arm Լեարդ leard / gen. Լերդի leɾdi id. (< *lep-r̥-t) ¶ ≈ P 504, Vr. 355, Hlq. 570, Ho. 20, Kb. 595, OsS 552, Lx. 123, Sl. 157-9 ◇ IS II 17, S CNM 5, ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. 'селезенка'. IS equates Lp N daḗve and Lp S háb'die 'spleen' (actually Lp U háb'dee) [referred by him to U *žā'ž'wä] with A *tāl∇ 'spleen', which is untenable [F N *t'äxā ~ *t'āīxa or N *t'axāE ~ *t'aīxE 'spleen']).

1312. *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' > HS: S *°lipi'y'- (or *°lipi|h-) (*-iy- may be a derivational sx.) > Ak fOB lipû ~ lipiū ~ līpu ~ lēpû 'adipose tissue, fat, tallow', JPA Bz לִיבָהּ lybh 'fat, butter', ? Md lupata pl. 'fat, tallow', ??σ MHb לִיבָהּ lip'lūp 'glutinous substance, pus' (presumably < *√lpɪp v. D) ¶ CAD IX 202-5, Sd. 555, DM 243, Sl. P 281, Js. 715, ≈ MiK I #1.180 || ?σ B *√l:f (= {ḡPr.} *√wlf) > Kb T itǎllaf 'masser', S ssalf 'passer la main sur; frictionner doucement; caresser', Tmz {MT} ǎllaf 'masser' ¶ Dl. 445, MT 445 || EC: Hd {Hd., L} lab- 'anoint, smear', lap̄p- 'anoint oneself' ¶ L ANK 986, Hd. 290-1 || IE *lejp- v. 'smear, smear with fat', n. 'fat' > OI rip- ~ lip- (prs. lim'pati) v. 'smear', ?φ Srk rofam 'beschmiere' || Gk λίπος n. 'fat', λιπαρός adj. 'fat, oily', ἀλείφω 'anoint with oil' || ? L liprus 'having inflamed/watery eyes' || ?? SI *lěpí-ti caus. 'to plaster, to glue, to mould' > OCS ЛѢПИТИ lěpiti 'conglutinare', SCr лепити њ lijépiti 'to lime, to glue, to paste, to stick, to gum', Slv lepíti vt. 'to plaster', Cz lepiti, Slk lepít' 'to glue together', P lepíc 'to glue, to plaster, to mould', R лепить 'to mould (as of clay), to sculpture', Blg {Ger.} лѣпѣ vt. 'plaster, model (as of clay)', Blg Δ 'λεῖψ 'smear', 'λεῖψα 'paint white (a house)' || Ht {EI←?} lip̄p- 'smear, paint' (not mentioned in CHD and Ts. W) ¶¶ P 670-1, ≈ EI 528 (*lejp- 'adhere, stick; smear'; no distinction between reflexes of N *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' and N *LIP_ħ_a 'to stick; sticky, glue'), M K III 60-1, M E II

460, F II 126-7, WH I 811-2, ESSJ XIV 217-9, Glh. 375-6, Drd. 270, Tls. 237 || **U**: pY *lep- > Y K lep-nə- 'smeared with clay' ¶ IN 231-2 || **A**: Tg: Ewk Z lipa- 'smear around', Ewk I niptэрэн- 'wipe clean (hands, dishes)', Nn nīptэгi n. 'fat, animal fat (жир, сало)' ¶ ≈ STM I 498, 598, On. RN 65, 213 || M *niβ'a- 'smear' (× N *LiP_lh₂a '↑') > MM [S] ni₂a- 'anleimen', WrM nigа- ~ нага-, HIM наа-, Dx niа- 'paste, smear', WrO {Krg.} nā- v. 'paste, affix', Brt няа- nā-, Kl наа- nā- 'smear' (Brt хилээмэндэ тоһо няаха, Kl өдмгт тос наах 'to butter bread'), Kl {Rm.} nā- 'leimen, beschmieren', Mnr H {SM} niā- 'revêtir d'une couche (de mortier, etc.)' ¶ H 116, MED 566, SM 269, Krg. 205, KRS 365, KW 27 ¶¶ Pp. IM 64, Pp. IAL 39, T 347, T DxJ 130 || **D** *nīv- vt. 'stroke, smear' > Tm nīvυ id., 'rub gently, wipe off', Td ni'f- v. 'stroke', Kt nīv- v. id., 'massage', Kn nīvυ, Kui nēra- 'rub softly, stroke', Tu nēvaripuni 'fondle, caress', Tl nīvυrυ, nīmυrυ v. 'stroke, pass the hand over gently', ? Klm nīgeη v. 'massage', ? Krx nīr̄iηnā 'besmear' ¶¶ D #3691 ◇ It is hard to determine if N *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' and N *LiP_lh₂a 'to stick; sticky, glue' are originally semantic variants of the same N word or two different words ◇ IS II 18-20 (*lip'α 'sticky': HS, IE, Sm, A, D + qu. Ne lapce- + unc. K *lap-/*j̥p- 'dirt' + unc. FU *Lip∇ 'slippy' (see N *Lüpi?∇ 'to slip'); he does not distinguish between N *Lip∇ and N *LiP_lh₂a '↑').

1313. ₂ *LiP₂∇ 'crawl, clamber' > HS: SES *✓lpy|w > Mh ✓lfy|w: 3 m pf. 3wfū, 1s pf. 13fk 'be able to climb up (a ladder, a mountain) easily', Jb ✓lfy: Jb C 3m pf. εl'fe, sbjn. y3l'fe id., Jb E3m pf. 'lfe id. ¶ Jo. M 254, Jo. J 160 || **IE**: NaIE *lejp- 'climb, clamber' > Lt li̇p-ti id., Ltv Δ lip-t, frq. lip-ît id. || Gk [Hs.] ἄλιψ· πέτρα 'unclimbable (rock)', Gk αἰγί-λιψ 'steep', {F, P} sc. 'climbable only by goats' (but not here, if we accept LS's interpretation: 'destitute even of goats') ¶ FI 31, ≈ P 670-1 (does not distinguish this verb from *lejp- 'be sticky' < N *LiP_lh₂a 'to stick'), Frn. 376.

1314. o *La?p∇ '≈ to gulp, to eat (esp. liquid food), to eat greedily' > HS: S *✓l?p 'eat greedily, gulp' > Gz ✓l?f (js. -l?af) 'take a morsel, gulp, eat greedily', ʎʒʒ lāʔf [lāʔf] 'food, morsel, bait', Sq {Ls.} ✓l?f G 'eat', Ar ✓l?f G (ip *-lʔaf-) 'eat becomingly' ¶ Ls. CDG 303, Ls LS 228, BK II 952, Hv. 673 || EC: Arr lébʰe 'throat' ¶ Hw. A 381 || **IE**: o NaIE *lab- ~ *lab^hp^h- v. 'gulp, swallow' > Gk λαφύσσω 'I swallow greedily, gulp down', (× NaIE *lab- ~ la₂p^(h)- 'lick, lap' < N ? o *L'a₂p_lH₂∇ 'to lick'): AS lapian 'sup up (liquid with bread)', OSw lapa 'trinken,

schlürfen' || Gk λάπτω 'drink greedily' || ?? BSl: Lt lapénti, lap(n)óti, lapséti 'eat\gulp greedily' (of pigs) | Sl *lopa-ti 'to eat greedily \ much' > Blg лапам, McdS лоппа 'I eat greedily \ much, devour', SCr Δ λόπατι 'to eat greedily, to gulp food without chewing', Slv lôpati 'to eat\drink greedily', Cz Δ ღოπαč 'to drink', R 'лопаты' 'to eat much \ greedily' ¶ P 651, F II 85, 91-2, Ho. 195, Sw. 104, Frn. 340, ESSJ XVI 45-6 || A: M *labsi- > WrM labsi-, HIM лавши- 'eat greedily', o 'champ', ? o Mnr H laqšš- 'faire du bruit en mangeant, manger goulûment, dévorer' ¶ MED 513, SM 219 || Tg: Nn KU ჳპსი- 'eat (liquid food, such as soup)' ¶ STM I 518 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1193 (A *leb∇ 'eat greedily', incl. M); see STM I 514.

1315. *l̥eʔ'äpa 'leaf, foliage' > HS: S *o✓lapp- 'thick foliage' > Ar laff- 'arbre touffu, plante touffue' ¶ BK II 1008 || C *laHaʔ¹- 'leaf' > EC: Gdl {Bl.} 'lapitt-, Msl {Bl.} lahapitt- id. || ???φ SC ≈ *loh∇ʔ- 'leaf' > Brn lohiʔa, Irq {MQK} lōʔi (pl. lōʔō), Alg loʔi- id. ¶ Bl. G 73, Blz. CL 179 (pKns *labah-), MQK 67-8, Blz. SCL s.v. 'leaf', Bl. 299 || IE: NaIE *lep- 'leaf' > Lt lāpas, Ltv lapa id. | Sl d. *lepenъ ~ lepenъ 'leaf' > OR ΛΕΠΕΝЬ lepeń, Slv lépen, OCz, Cz lupen 'leaf', Slk lupen 'petal' || pAl {O} *lapā- > Al lapē 'piece of skin\hide, leaf blade, leaf' (× IE *lep- v. 'bark, strip off' < N *l̥up̥∇,ʔa 'bast, bark [q.v.] || ? AS læfer 'rush, bulrush', NE †, Δ levers 'Iris Pseudacorus L.; any sword-bladed plant', ζ OHG {Ho. ← ?} leber 'Binse' (not mentioned in OsS and Kb.) ¶ Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XIV 119-21, IS IA 48-9, Bern. I 701-2, Srz. II 17, O 213, Ho. 191, OED VI 228, ≠ EI (Lt lāpas < lep- 'peel') || U ≈ *l̥eʔ'äpä > Sm: [1] Sm {Jn.} *yäpä 'leaf' (*yä- < *lyä- < *leä-) > Ne: T {Ter.} вэба wэba, T O {Lh.} βωэбä (< *wэpā), F L {Lh.} βj̥e.p̄ā̄ (< *wepā); En M {Pl.} дэве, {Klp.} déwe; Slq Tz {KKIH} ćōp̄+; Kms {KD} dába & tába, Koyb {Sp.} джаба id.; [2] ? Sm {Jn.} *lämpä, {Hl.} *le|ämpä|e 'leaf' (with an unexplained *m) (or to N *l̥a,q,pa 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat?') > Ne: T лембя 'blade (of a spade, oar), T O {Lh.} lémb_e id., F L {Lh.} řj̥emp̄ä 'shoulder-blade'; Slq: Tm {KD} la·mb_ 'Vorderteil des Stiefels', Tz {Cs.} laamb 'Fußblatt'; Mt {Hl.} *nämbä 'leaf' (Mt T/K/M {Mll.} nembä id., {Sp.} намбэда 'leaf of a tree') || FU *l̥e¹p∇ ~ *lap∇ 'leaf' > F leve (gen. lepeen) 'splinter, scale, small leaf' || Er lopa 'leaf' (< FU *lap∇, unless ← Blt) || ObU: pVg *lapta (~ *lupta?) 'leaf' > Vg {Kn.}: T laptā & lāptā, LK/MK ღopta, P ღuptā, NV/SV/LL laptā, ML luptā, UL/Ss lūptā (the forms with u due to the labializing effect of p?); pOs

*]ipət id. > Os: V]i+wət, D/O lipət | OHg leuél 'leaf, paper (document)', Hg leuél 'leaf, letter (Brief)' ¶¶ Jn. 41, 82, KP #249, SW 36, KKIH 106, HI. M 86, 317 [#736], UEW 259, SSA II 66, ERV 350, Kn. WV 182, MF 401-2, EWU 894-5, LG 157 || ¶ {S AJ} *l̥ap'∇, (SDM97) *läp'e, {DQA} *l̥äp'ä' 'leaf' > NaT: [1] *japurgak 'leaf' > OT japurṽaq ({Cl.} -ṽāq) 'leaf', OT U, MOg [IM] japirṽaq, MQp japraq, Chg xv japray, japraq, japurṽay, japurṽaq, Tk çaprak, Tkm, CrTt, Kr Cr, Bsh japraq, VTt jafraq, Qmq, Nog japiraq, Uz japraq, Az jarpag, SbTt Tb jabraq, Qzq, Qq žapiraq, QrB čap(ı)raq, Qrg žapiraq, Yk säbirdäx id., a variant *japirgan > Chg {RL} japirṽan ~ japurṽan, OOsm japirṽan id.; [2] *°japurmak id. > ET jopu(r)maq, ET Δ japormaq ≍ jupurmaq ≍ juputmaq, ET X jopurmaq id.; [3] variants with a secondary l (infl. of T *jalbi- 'flat?'): OT jalpirṽaq, jalbirmaq, MQp japıldıraq, Qrg žalbıraq, Alt žalbıraq 'leaf', MQp [CC] jabuldrak 'leaf, foliage' ¶ Both *japurgak and *japurmak may have had a secondary connection with T *japur- vi. 'flatten' < N *l̥a, q, p̥a 'l̥' (q.v.), which may have influenced their form (a kind of folk et.), but they hardly go back to *japur- 'flatten' ¶ Cl. 879-80, ETJ 130-2, Rs. W 188, TL 111-2, S AJ 179 [#46] || M *°laba 'leaf' > MM [IM] لَبَّ labā; id.; d. *labč̣in 'leaf' > MM [MA, IsV, HI] nabč̣in, [PP] nabč̣'in, WrM nabci n, HIM навч, Ord nab_č̣'i, Brt набша, Mnr H labṣ́_ī, {T} laṽč̣i, {Prn.} лпчи, ShY lapč̣ik, Dx [T] lač̣+n, Ba {T} labč̣oŋ, Dg {Pp., T} larč̣i ¶ Lg. VMI 55, Pp. IM 100, Pp. KP 154, Pp. MA 244, 441, Ms. H 77, Ms. O 479, MED 555, Chr. 317, SM 218, T 342, T DgJ 152, T DnJ 127, T BJ 142, S AJ 253 [#47] || ?φ pKo {S} *n̥ip̥h > MKo n̥ip̥ / n̥ip̥h- 'leaf', NKo ni p̥h, Ko: Ph/Chl/Chj ip̥, Hm îp̥, Sl/PhN ip̥sagūj̥, Ks ip̥sági id. ¶ S AJ 253 [#47], S QK #47, Nam 126, MLC 1370 || pJ {S} *n̥ap̥aj̥ 'sprout' > OJ n̥ap̥è, J: T n̥ae, K n̥ae, Kg n̥ae ¶ S QJ #462, Mr. 490 ¶¶ Though the root connections of the T and M words are rather obvious, the derivational prehistory of T *japurgak and M *labč̣in remains unknown ¶¶ DQA #1209 (T, M *labč̣i, Ko, J) ◇ S and IE suggest that the pN lr. was *ʔ, because this is the only N lr. that does not cause vowel lengthening in NaIE and because *ʔ and *h are the only N lrs. liable to be lost in pS roots. Therefore -h- in Msl lahapitt- may be understood as a hiatus-filling lr.: *l̥eʔä- > *l̥a, a- (̣ = "syll. boundary") > laha-. If the pN lr. was *ʔ, one must reject the etymological connection of this N word with DhI šābu 'leaf, leaves' and Ch *ṣ̌∇p- ({AD} *√ ṣ̌₂p) id. (> My, Kry ṣ̌ipí, Sir ṣ̌âpí leaf, ZmB ṣ̌ápá or ṣ̌aḅ, Lame, LamP ṣ̌ab, Mdr

{Mk.} †apa). Even if one admits that \hat{S} may go back to a cluster *lH (with a voiceless lr. like *h), this is unlikely to be the case with lʔ (l + glottal stop). Therefore the above Dhl and Ch word is more likely to belong to N * $\hat{c}^{\prime}ay^{\prime}P_{\nabla}$ 'vegetation, leaves' (q.v.) $\diamond \approx$ IS II 23-5 (* $\hat{t}ap^{\prime}a$ 'flat'), \approx AD SShS 297-9 (* laP_{∇} 'flat, leaf'); both sources do not distinguish between the N word in question and N * $\hat{l}a_{\downarrow}q_{\downarrow}pa$ 'palm of hand; sth. flat'.

1316. *LahP ∇ 'flame; to burn, to shine' > HS: S * $lahab-$ 'flame' > BHb לָהַב 'lahab, JA [Trg.] לַהֲבָא lah^ab-ā, Ak laʔbu 'flame', Ar لَهَب lahab- 'blaze, ardour of fire', 'flamme (pure, sans fumée)'; S * $\check{v}lhb$ > Ar $\check{v}lhb$ v. G (pf. لَهَب lahiba) 'blaze fiercely' (of fire), Gz $\check{v}lhb$ vi. G 'burn, blaze, flame' ¶ KB 494, BK II 1029, Hv. 697, Lv. T I 403, Js. 693, BK II 1029, Hv. 697, L G 308, Sd. 526 || Eg BD rhb n. 'Glut des Feuers', Cpt Sd/B ελζωβ elhōb 'steam' ¶ EG II 440, Vc. 42 || C: EC: Hr {AMS} lup- vi. 'burn' || Ag: Km {CR} S ləb-aš, ləb-aš- caus. v. 'put on fire, heat, cook' || Bj {R} -luw pcv. 'burn, burn up, light' (1s: p. a'luw, pqp. 'īluw, prs. an'īlīū; prtc. 'luwa), {Rop.} -liw vt. 'burn', rf. -laa 'be burnt, burn' (intr.) (× N * $\hat{c}^{\prime}\nabla\chi\nabla$ 'to burn' [trans.]) ¶ CR K 222, AMS 135, R WBd 160, Rop. 213, Blz. CL 177 ¶¶ OS #1670 || K: G laplap- 'shine, give light, glitter' ('glänzen, leuchten, schimmern'), laplap-i n. 'shining, glitter' ¶ Chx. 664 || IE *lahp-/*lhp- > NaIE *lāp-/*lāp- vi. 'shine, burn' > Gk λάμπω 'give light, shine' || Lt lópē n. 'torch, light', Ltv lāpa 'torch', Pru lopis 'flame' || Ht lap- v. 'glow', lappiya- 'fever, incantation of the fire', Lw lapassa- 'fever' || NaIE *lāp-s- > OIr lassa(i)r n. 'flame', MW llachar 'coruscus, igneus', W llachar 'flashing, glittering, bright, brilliant' || ? Gk λουπύς 'torch' || NaIE *lāp-sk- > OIr losc- 'burn', Brtt {RE} *loskīmi id. > MW lloski (3s llysc), W llosgi, Crn lesky, losky 'to burn', OBr lescsit 'burns' (3s of *loskim), MBr lesquiff, Br leskiř 'burn' (trans.) ¶¶ P 652-3, EI 513 (*lap-), F II 79-80, LG § 25.1-2, YGM-1 300, RE 85, Hm. 511, Frn. 386, En. 205, CHD L-N 39-40, 44, Ts. E II 32, 42.

1317. * $\hat{l}a_{\downarrow}q_{\downarrow}pa$ 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat' > HS: WCh: Mpn {Frz.} lāp sār 'palm of hand', Ang {Flk.} lep-sar id. (sār, sar 'hand'), lep-š i 'sole of foot' (š i 'foot') ¶ Frz. DM 32, Flk. s.v. lep || C: EC: Arr {To.} lāba 'hand' (not mentioned in Hw. A), Dsn {To.} lebič (pl. Tēbim) 'shoulder-blade' || SC: Kz {E} lupa?-iko 'hand', Asa {E} lupa?-ok 'upper arm' || ??σ Dhl {EEN} líppa pl. 'feathers' (sg. líppane) ¶ E SC 207, EEN 42,

BlzT D 1 [#27a], To DL 514 || ?σ S *^olaχ₁∇₁p- > Ar laχf-at- 'petite pierre plate', ? laχf- 'couche très mince de crème sur le lait' ¶ BK II 981 || ? B *^olfs > Ah əlfəs 'aplatir', ETwl/Ty əlfəs id., 'appliquer' ¶ Fc. 1001-2, GhA 110, PGG 184 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 102 [#32.7] (SC and Dh1 + unc. Eg уру 'fly') || IE *lehp- or *lahp- 'palm of hand, sole of foot' > Krd K پ ه ل eр 'palm of hand, paw', Krd Sr leр 'paw' || Gt lōfa, ON lófi, Nr, Sw, Dn love, OHG laffa 'palm of hand', MHG, NGr Δ laffe 'flat hand' || Lt lópa, Ltv lāpa, lēpa 'paw' || SI *lapa 'paw, sole of foot' > OR ΛΑΠΑ lapa id., R, Blg 'лапа, P лapa, Slk laba 'paw', SCr Δ lāpa 'sole of foot (of a bear, dog)'; ?? AdS of SI *lopata 'spade' [< NaIE *lēp-/*ləp- 'spade, shovel' < N *^olēh₂p₂∇ ⇨ *^olēh₂ep₂∇ (or *LEh₂p₂∇ ⇨ *Lih₂ep₂∇?) ≈ spade, shovel', q.v.] ¶ WP II 428, P 679, EI 209 (*lehp- eh₂- 'foot, paw'), KrdJ 591, Far. 294, Fs. 336, Vr. 363, Kb. 586, OsS 568, Lx. 120, Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XIV 26-7 and XVI 39-43 || U: [11] U *lapp∇ 'flat surface, flat object' > F lape (gen. lappeen), lappi 'flat side', lappea, lappia id., 'flat', Es {W} lapp 'flat' || Er lapuža, Mk lapš adj. 'flat'; Mk lapa 'paw' (unless ← R лапа id.), piǵǵā lapa 'sole of foot' || Chr H/L лaп лap 'low' (of objects), L лaпka лap'ka, B лapka adj. 'low, flat', H {Ep.} лapa 'palm of hand', kid лapa 'hand' (lit. 'palm of arm') || Vt лaп лap 'low' (of objects), 'gently sloping, squat', лaпeг лapeг 'low' (of things), 'short' (of humans) || ObU *^olǽp- ~ *^olǽp- > pOs *lǽpsæk ~ *lǽpsak > Os: Ty/Ag/Y/UY lǽpsəq {Trj.} 'flat', {Stn.} id., 'platt', V {Stn., Trj.} lǽwsəq, Sn lǽpsəχ 'flat, low', Z lǽpsəq 'oar-blade', Nz lǽpsəχ, Kz lǽpsəχ, O lǽpsəχ 'flat', 'low' (of vessels and boxes), 'platt (broad and not high)' (any or both variants of the ObU √ may belong to [2] as well) || Hg лap 'surface', 'plate, sheet; page', лapoc 'flat; plain, even' || Sm: Ne T лaбцeй 'flat, flattened', лaбцaр-цa 'become flat (сплющиться, приплюснуться)', пe' лaбцa-кo 'palm of hand' (пe' id.), Ne T O {Lh.} лapcā- 'eben\platt hauen (z. B. mit der Hanfläche, einer Schaufel)', Ne F P {Lh.} лapśā 'Platte (breit und glatt)', Slq Tz {KKIH} лapcā 'flattened (приплюснутый, сплющенный)', лapā 'even, flat, smooth' || [2] U *lāpa 'flat surface (Fläche)' > F лapa 'blade (of an oar, ax, leaf), shoulderblade', Es laba 'flat surface\side of sth., rough-hewed side of a beam', Vp laba 'metatarsus' || pLp {Lr.} *lāpē > Lp: N {N} lappe / -āb- ~ -āv- 'broad\flat termination of sth. (esp. of the sole of the foot)', L {LLO} (s)lāhpē 'broad\flattened termination of

sth.', T lēppe 'shoulder-blade' | Prm: Z лопт lop /lopt-, Z US loṗ, Yz lop 'blade (лопасть)', Z pań-loṗ 'bowl of a spoon', Z pelis-loṗ, Prmk peṽis-loṗ 'oar-blade' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *lɔpṽ ~ *lɔpā 'oar' > Ne: T лабѧ, T O {Lh.} łab_e', F Ny {Lh.} d. raṗṗzã v. 'row'; En: X {Cs.} lóba, B {Cs.} lóbi 'oar'; Ng {Cs.} d. labarḡ id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} lapṫ, Nr (Cs.) lãb, Ke/NP {Cs.} lappu 'oar, Tz {Prk.} lappo, Tm {KD} lap:a 'spade'; Mt {Hl.} ≈ *lähä 'oar' (Mt M {Sp.} лѧ id.) ¶¶ UEW 236-7, W ESS 457, ≈ Lr. #570, Lgc. #3263, ERV 332, PI 144, MRS 281, Ep. 59, Ü 104, U3S 252, Ht. #769, MF 387-9, Jn. 81, Cs. 55, 85, 130, KKIИ 125-6, Hl. M #621, Ter. 167-8 ¶¶ Not here (because of the initial *l-) U *lapṽ 'flat' (< N *laPTṽ 'flat, low') || A *l'ap'ṽ 'a flat object' (× N *laPTṽ 'l') > T {ET} *jap- 'flat' ⇨ [1] NaT *japI-k > Az japIṽ 'flat, flattened', Tkm japI 'slope' (← *'gently sloping'), Qrg žabIq 'depression (of ground)', [2] NaT d. *jap-ur- (with caus. sx. *-ur-) v. 'smooth and level' > OT japur-id. ([MhK] ol yērig japurdi 'he smoothed and levelled the ground'), {Cl.} d. japrit- or japriṽ- vi. 'flatten', Qb/Qc {Rl.} jabir- 'become low', Qrg žapir-, Qzq, Qq žapir- vt. 'press/fell down (a plant) to the ground', Sg čabir- vt. 'press down, ram'; [3] NaT *jap-I|ur' 'low, flattened' > Qrg žapiz id., Alt žabis, Xk čabis, Tv čawis 'low'; [4] other derivatives: Qmq jap-alaq 'flat, flattened', ET Tr {Rl.} jap-čuq 'flachnasig', Tv čaw-it 'low' (as a house), 'dwarf' (a tree) ¶ Cl. 879, ET J 16-7, Hüs. 376, Rl. III 271, 280, TvR 506 || pKo {S} *nāp- ~ *nāp- 'level, wide' > MKo nāp- ~ nāp-, NKo nap-čak ¶ S QK #66, Nam 99, 105, MLC 311 || pJ {S} *nīpá 'yard (Hof)' > OJ nīpá {S} id., J: T nìwa, K níwá, Kg níwa 'yard, courtyard, garden, ground' ¶ S QJ #594, Kenk. 1375 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1180 (A *láp'ì 'flat, broad', incl. T, Ko, J); Rm. SKE 160 (Ko, T, Tg, M) and ≈ Pp. VG 37 (both: no distinction between the reflexes of N *l_a_l_p_a and those of N *laPTṽ) ◇ The existence of two different reflexes in U (*jappṽ and *l|japa) creates a problem. The latter variant may have developed on the basis of generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation. It is also possible that there were two N words, distinguished by the quality of the labial (*p and *p) and possibly by that of the initial lateral (*l and *l), but since both oppositions are completely or partially neutralized in most descendant lgs., we cannot distinguish between these two paronymous and nearly synonymous N words ◇ ≈ IS II 23-5 (*láp'a 'flat'), ≈ AD SShS 297-9 (*laPṫṽ 'flat, leaf'); both sources do not distinguish between the N word in question and N *le'ṽäpa 'leaf, foliage' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #159 (*lap 'flat') (IE, U, A, Ko, J + unc. CK).

1318. *LayP_∇ 'good, beautiful' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSl) *^ola|ojp- id. > Ltv laĩpn-s 'kind, friendly' ¶ ME II 410 || SI *lěpъ (f. *lěpa, ntr. *lěpo, dadj. *lěpъ-jь) 'beautiful' > OC, OR ЛѢПЪ lěpъ, Blg леп, {Ger.} лѣпый, SCr lěper, Slv lěp, Cz, Slk lepu, R † лепый id., R нелепый 'preposterous, absurd' ¶ ≈ ESSJ XIV 25-8, Vs. II 485 (both prefer to derive the Sl root from IE *leip- 'kleben, smear'), Glh. 375 || Possibly (but not necessarily): NaIE *lejp- 'covet' > Gk λιπτομαι id., Pru pallaipsītwei 'begehren', ?σLt liēpti (prs. lieripū) 'to order' ¶ WP II 404, P 671, Tr. 155, Frn. 367, 530 || A {DQA} *lābō 'more, better' (× N *rab_∇ 'much, big', q.v. ffd.) || HS: CCh: Msy {Mch.} lāw 'good' ¶ ChC || ?σ EC {Ss.} *la|eb- 'big, many' (HEC {Hd.} *loba) (× N *rab_∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., because all presumed reflexes other than IE and Ch are explainable otherwise.

1319. *lup_∇pa 'bast, bark, film (e. g. of a plant)' > HS: S *^o✓lp? > Ar ✓lfp v. G 'bark (a tree)', 'strip (the flesh) from a bone', lafi?-at- 'piece of meat without bone' ¶ BK II 1009, Hv. 691, ≠ MiK I #1.180 (Ar lafi?at- < S *li/ap_∇?- 'fatty, fleshy tissue', see N *Lip_∇ 'fat') || B *^o✓lflf > Ah ã-liflaf 'a film on a new-born camel\lamb' ¶ Fc. 999-1000 || IE: NaIE *leyp- ~ *leyb- ~ *lep- (< **lyep-) v. 'bark\peel', n. 'bark, skin': [1] *leyp- > Lt lūp-ti 'to bark (a tree), to peel, to skin', laup-ti 'to pluck off, to strip off, to tear', laupūt-ti 'to bark a tree and to pluck off the leaves' || SI {Glh.} *lūp-ī-ti 'to bark (a tree), to peel' > ChS {Mikl.} лoupити lupiti 'deträhere', SCr lūpiti 'to peel, to bark', Δ lūpīt 'to peel maize', Slv lūpiti, P ჭupიც 'to peel', R (об-)лупить id., 'to shell (an egg)', Cz loupiti, Slk lūpīt 'to plunder', Blg 'лупя, McdS лупи v. 'peel'; ⇨ SI *lupъ 'bark, peel' (sc. 'sth. barked, peeled') > SCr lūpъ 'shell of a nut', Slv lūp 'rind (of fruit and vegetables)', Cz lup 'husk, dandruff', OP wəḡowu ჭup 'snake's slough' (wəḡ 'snake') || OI prs. lum'pati, iter. lō'payati {MW} 'hurts, injures, spoils, breaks, violates' (← *'strips') || ?σ Gmc {Zlz.} *laub-a-z m., *laub-a-n ntr. 'leaf, foliage' > OHG loub id., ON lauf, NHG LauB 'foliage', Gt accus. lauf, pl. laubōs, OSx lôf, Dt loof, AS léaf 'leaf', NE leaf (the semantic development may be due to the infl. of NaIE *lep- 'leaf' (see N *le'p'äpa 'leaf, foliage') || [2] *leyb- > L liber (< *luber) 'inner bark of a tree' → 'book' || SI *lubъ 'bark of trees' > Blg, R, Uk луб 'inner bark', SCr, Slv lūb 'bark of a tree', P ჭub id., 'lime-bark' || Lt laũbti 'to peel off', lūbena 'peeled off skin, peel

of fruit', lūoba 'rind, peel', lūobas 'bast', Ltv lobs [lūōbs] 'Schale', lōbt [lūōbt] 'to peel', lōbî t 'to shell, to hull, to pod, to peel, to husk', luba 'bark of lime\fir-tree' || OIr luib (accus. lуб(а)е, pl. accus. lубi), NIr luibh 'herb, grass, plant' || ON laupr, AS léap 'basket' (< *'made of inner bark'), MLG lōp 'small wooden vessel' || [3] *lep- > Gk λέπω v. 'strip off the rind \ husks; peel, bark', λοπός ~ λόπος 'shell, husk, peel' || pAl {O} *lapā- > Al lapē 'piece of skin\hide\flesh, leaf blade, leaf' (× IE *lep- 'leaf' < N *leʔ'äpa '↑' [q.v.]) || Lt lōpas 'patch' || Sl *lap-, *lapъtъ > OR, R лапотъ 'bast shoe', Δ лапик, Ук лапотъ, SCr Δ lāpat 'rag\shred', P łapcie 'bast shoes' ¶ P 690-1, Я 550 ('louḃh-o/-eh_h- 'bast, bark'), 567-8 (*leyp- 'peel', *lep- id.), M I #19.24, WH I 790-1, F II 105-7, LG § 47, Thr. 186, Dnn. 450, Zlz. M I #19.24, Zlz. M II 169, Fs. 323-4, Vr. 346-8, Vr. N 410-1, Ho. 196-7, Ho. S 48, Kb. 633, OsS 571, KM 426, Frn. 343, 385-6, 388, 391-2, ESSJ XIV 32-4 and XVI 156-9, 177-8, 180-8, Vs. II 459, Bern. I 691, Glh. 384, 388-9, M K III 108-9, M E II 482, MW 904, F II 105-7, O 213 || u: FU *l|âpp∇ 'vessel\basket made of bark' > Chr {Szil.} lupō 'knapsack made of bast' || Vg LK {Kn.} lap 'birchbark receptacle, looking like a knapsack', lapsop 'birch-bark vessel used in fishing' ¶ But Er polā 'leaf' (adduced in IS II 34) belongs to FU *lap∇ < N leʔ'äpa 'leaf, foliage' (q.v.) ¶ Col. 96, UEW 256-7, Ber. 35 || ?φ К: GZ *l∇pan- 'bast' > G lapan- '(lime-)bast', Mg lipon-i 'bast board (лубок)'. It is to be distinguished from G lapan-i and Mg lipon-i 'Pterocarya (лапина, крылоорешник)', name of a nut-bearing tree, which is probably a loan from a European source ¶ DCh. 643, Q 273 ◇ The IE variant *leub- suggests a pN *p (rather than *p̥), while IE *-p- in *leyp- goes back to *-p̥- < *-pʔ-. The vw. between *p and *ʔ is suggested by the preservation of the reflexes of *-p- in IE and U (otherwise the cluster *-pʔ- would have inevitably contracted in *-p̥-). The vw. of the first syll. in the K lgs. (G a, Mg i) is puzzling ◇ IS M 351, IS II 33-4 (*Lop'а; HS, IE, FU, K).

1320. *L'ü'piʔ∇ (~ *Lip'ü'ʔ∇) (> later *L'ü'py∇?) 'to slip; slippery' > К: G lipi 'slippery, smooth', lip- 'be\make slippery\smooth' ¶ Chx. 684, DCh. 650 || HS: ?σ WS *✓lpy|w ~ *°✓lby > Gz ✓lfy G 'err, move here and there', ✓lby D 'err, be ignorant, blunder', ? Ar ✓lfw v. G G {BK} 'faire une reduction dans ce qui est dû à qn., amoindrir la part qui lui revient', {Hv.} 'wrong so.' ¶ L G 306-7, BK II 1012, Hv. 692 || IE: NaIE *sleub_l'- 'slip; slippery' < L lubricus 'slippery' || Gmc *sleyp- > Gt sliupan (p. slaup, prtc. slupans) 'slip, creep into', AS slūpan

'to slip', Dt *sluipen* 'to sneak', OHG *int-slupfen* 'to slip away, to escape', NHG *schlüpfen* 'to slip, to glide', *schlüpfzig* 'slippery'; Gmc **sleip-* > OHG *slīfan* ~ *slīphen* sv. 'to glide', *sliffan* ~ *slipfen* wv., MHG *slipfen* 'to glide away', NHG *Schleife* 'slide, sledge', Dt *slippen* 'to slip, to escape', AS *slipor* adj. 'slippery', ME *slippen* (weak v.) vt. 'slip', NE *slip* v.; ? OScn **slempan* sv. 'to glide', **slampjan* wv. 'to let glide, to let go' > ON *sleppa* sv. 'to glide', Ic *sleppa* sv., Sw *slippa* 'to slip out, to escape', ON *sleppa* wv. 'to let glide\escape', Ic *sleppa* wv., Nr *sleppe*, Dn *slippe* 'to let go\escape' ¶ WP II 710, P 963-4, EI 527 (**sleub^h-* 'slide'), WH I 822-3, Fs. 438, Ho. 299-300, Skeat 571, Kb. 914, OsS 822, 828, KM 660, Vr. 515, Bv. 652-3 || U **°Lipa* > FU (att. in BF) **°Lipa*, d. **Lipeða* > F *lipa*, Es *liba* 'slippery', F *lipeä* 'lye, slippery', Vp *libed*, Es *libe* (gen. *libeda*) 'slippery' ¶ SK 297-8, ≈ IS II 19 (unconvincingly refers BF **lipa*, **lipeða* to N **lip'ʰ* 'sticky') ◇ IE **s-* suggests a **y*-element within the prehistory of the IE √, sc. either N **L'ü'py* or N **L'ü'pi?* > **L'ü'pya*. K **-p-* suggests a N lr. **?* (N **-pi?* > **-p?* > K **-p-*). Hence the preferred N rec. is **L'ü'pi?*. K **l-* and U **L-* may go back either to N **L-* or to **ǵ-*, but S *l-* and IE **s-* can hardly point to a N **ǵ-*.

1321. ? o₂ **L'a'p₁H₁* 'to lick' > HS: EC: Sml *lēf-* v. 'lick' ¶ AD SF 235, DSI 386, ZMO 257 || IE: NaIE **lab-* ~ *la₁p^(h)-* 'lick, lap' > Arm *լափեմ* *lap^h-em* 'I lap up, lick up' || Gk *λάπτω* 'lap with the tongue' (of wolves), slurp', ft. *λάψω*, pfc. *λέλαψα* (× NaIE **lab-* ~ **lab^hp^h-* v. 'gulp, swallow' < N o **La?p* ≈ to gulp, to eat greedily') || pAl {O} **lapa* > Al *lap* v. 'slobber, lap up' || Ic *lepja* 'to slurp', OHG *laffan* 'to lick', OSw, Sw *lapa*, AS *lapan* 'to lick, to lap up', NE *lap* || ? (with a nasal infix) L *lamb-ō* / *-ēre* 'lick' ¶ WP II 383-4, P 651, EI 352 (**lab-*), F II 85, WH I 754, AlbED 437, O 212, Kb. 584, OsS 530, Ho. 195, Hlq. 560, WH I 754, Slr. 251 ◇ Doubtful (because onomatopoeic origin is possible).

1322. **LiP₁h₁a* 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to make earthenware') > HS: S **°√lbh* > Gz *√lbh* G 'make earthenware' ¶ L G 305 || IE: NaIE **leip-* 'be sticky' (× N **Lip* 'fat; to smear with fat?') > OI *rēp-* 'an etwas kleben', *lip'ta-* {MW} 'sticking \ adhering to', {M} 'angeklebt' || Lt *līpti* (prs. *limpu*) 'to stick', Ltv *lipt* 'to stick, to adhere' || SI {ESSJ} **°lbp-nq-ti* > SI **°lbq-ti* vi. 'to stick to' > OR *Λβνϋτη* *lbnu^ti* 'to cling \ stick to', R *льнуть* 'to cling

to', OCz *lnúti* 'to cling \ stick to', Cz *lnouti* 'to adjoin (closely) to'; SI **lip-nq-ti* > Cz † *leprouti*, *lírrouti* 'to cling to', Slk *lipnúť* 'to cling \ stick to', R 'липнуть', Uk 'липнути' 'to stick to'; SI **ľrě-ti* (prs. **ľrjǫ*) v. st. 'to stick \ adhere to' > OCS, OR **ЛЪПѢТИ** *ľrěti*, R Δ *ли'петь*, Slv *lepéti*, Cz *ľěti*, *ľíti*, OP *lrieć* id.; SI **ľěri-ti* caus. > OCS **ЛѢПИТИ** *ľěriti* 'conglutinare', eBlg † **ЛѢПНА**, Blg *лепя* v. 'paste, glue, model', Slv *lepíti*, Cz *lepíti*, Slk *lepít'* vt. 'to glue, to glue together', P *lepić*, R *ле'пить* 'to model' ¶ P 670-1, M W 902, M E II 460 (does not distinguish between OI *rēp-* 'smear' and *r|lēp-* 'glue, stick'), Frn. 375-6, ESSJ XIV 217-9 and XVII 91-3 ¶ The loss of the expected *lr.* in IE may be due to the infl. of N ***Lip∇** 'smear with fat' || A: T **jip(-íǰ)-* (infl. of T **jap-*, **japíǰ-* 'stick to' < N ***LaP∇** 'stick to; mould', q.v.) > Tv *čip-iš-* v. 'stick to', Chv *čypǎč- síb-ъś-*, ? Yk *sisin-* id. ¶ Jeg. 225, Md. 99, 160 (T **žǰrǰć-*) || M: pM {Pp.} **niβa-* > pM **niγa-* 'stick to' > MM [S] *ni,а-* 'zusammenleimen', {MA} *ni,а-* vi. 'stick to', d. *ni,аqči-* 'sticky (липкий)', d. *na,aldu-qu* 'be stuck to (приклеиться)', WrM *niга-* ~ *нага-*, HIM *наа-* 'glue, stick', WrO {Krg.} *nā-* v. 'glue', Kl *наа-* *nā-* id., {Rm.} *nā-* 'zusammenkleben', Ord {Ms.} *nā-* 'coller', Mnr H {SM} *niā-* 'coller; se coller, s'attacher, s'adhérer', {T} *nā-* v. 'glue, mould (клеить, лепить)', Mgl {Rm.} d. *niōldu-* vi. 'ankleben' ¶ H 116, Pp. MA 244, 249, Pp. IM 64, MED 566, SM 269, Ms. O 478, Krg. 205, KRS 365, KW 272, Rm. M 34, T 347, T DnJ 130 ¶¶ Pp. IM 64, Pp. IAL 39 || Tg **lipa-* v. 'smear around, coat', (here?) **lipan* n. 'mud' > Ewk *lipa-* v. 'smear around, coat', Ul *лpa(n-)*, Nn B *лpa* ~ *лfa*, WrMc *lifan* 'mud' ¶ STM I 498-9 || J: OJ {S} *nìbè* 'fish glue' ¶¶ DQA #1210 (A **ljap'ē* 'to glue, to stick to'; the reflexes of N ***Lip,ħ,a** and those of N ***LaP∇** 'stick to; mould' are not distinguished, but a possible distinction is suggested) ◇ IS II 18-20 (**lip'ā* 'sticky': HS, IE, A + qu. D **nīv-* and HS **lp-* 'smear' + qu. Ne *lapće-* + unc. K **lap-/*ǰp-* 'dirt' + unc. FU ***Lip∇** 'slippy' (see N ***Lüpi?∇** 'to slip'); does not distinguish between N ***Lip,ħ,a** and N ***Lip∇** 'fat; to smear').

1323. (2?) ***laPT∇** 'flat, low' > U ***lapt∇** 'flat' > F *lattea*, F Δ *latakka* id., Es *latakas* 'broad and flat', *latak* 'a broad and flat object' | Chr: Uf {Wc.} *lapte* 'platt, flach', L *лаптыргаш* *laptyr'ga-š* 'to become flat (сплющиться), to squat \ kneel down', E {Ps.} OT *laptartem* 'platt machen', *laptarγem* 'abgeplattet werden', H *лаптыра* *lapty'ra*

'not high (приземистый)' (e.g. of trees) || pOs *lap̄tək > Os: Kz φартəχ 'flat', V/Vy law̄təq 'even, smooth, gently sloping', Nz təptəχ 'flat, low' (of a plate, bowl) || Sm {Jn.} *l̄əptā, {Hl.} *l̄əpta 'even, low' > Ne: Т лабта, Т О {Lh.} łaptā 'low, even', 'lowlands', F {Lh.} rāāptā id.; En {Cs.} lota 'ebene Stelle'; Mt {Hl.} *labta 'low' (Mt: K {Pl.} lap̄tā, M {Mll.} l̄ápta adj. 'low', {Pl.} лaптa adv. 'low') ¶¶ UEW 238, Coll. 31, Coll. CG 70, MRS 282, PsS 62, Stn. D 795, Hl. M #617 || А: М *labtayi- ~ *nabayi- > WrM nabtai-, HIM навтай-х v. 'flatten out, become low or slanting', ? WrM labtai-, HIM лавтай- v. 'sprawl, stretch oneself'; WrM nabta-gar, HIM навтгар 'slanting, sloping; low, short', WrO nabtağar 'saddlebacked, stocky, squat'; d. M *nabtar ~ *namtar 'low, not high' result from the merger of the reflexes of N *laPT̄ ▽ 'flat, low' and N *l̄am̄, ▽, d ▽ 'low' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ MED 355, Krg. 206 || Tg *lap̄ta- 'low, flat' ~ *l̄nepte- 'flat, even' > Ewk I lap̄ta-кта, Ewk PT naptama- 'low' (of place), 'flat', Orc нэртэнгэ 'even, smooth', Ud нэртэлэ 'flat' ¶ STM I 584, 624, Krm. 268 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1180 (A *l̄áp̄'i; incl. M, Tg) and ≈ Pp. VG 37 (both do not distinguish between the reflexes of N *l̄a, q, p̄a 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat' and N *laPT̄ ▽) || ?σ HS: S *^o✓ lbd > Ar ✓ lbd G (pf. labada, ip. -lbud-) 'squat on the ground' (× ✓ lbd v. 'stick', whence the meaning 'être par terre et presque collé au sol') ¶ Hv. 675, BK II 957 ◇ AD SShS 297-9 (*laP̄t̄ ▽ 'flat, leaf' in U, A + err. S *l̄t̄?), ≈ IS II 23-5 (*l̄ap̄'a 'flat') (does not distinguish this N word from N *l̄a, q, p̄a '↑', in spite of the different initial laterals), IS MS 355 (*lap̄t̄ ▽ 'flat' as a variant of [or a derivative from] *lap̄ ▽ id.).

1324. *L ▽ qU 'be moist\liquid, flow' > K *leq̄w-/*laq̄w-/*lq̄w- v. 'thaw, melt' > G l̄x̄v- / l̄x̄-, Sv {FS} leq̄w- / laq̄w- / lq̄w- id. (msd. li-leq̄w; leq̄w-ni 'es taut\schmilzt', a-lq̄w-eb-i 'es wird tauen', a-laq̄w 'es taute\schmolz') ¶¶ K² 109, Fn. KL 178, FS K 201, FS E 220 || HS: S *^o✓ l̄x̄x̄ ~ *^o✓ l̄h̄h̄ 'be moist, fresh, humid' > BHb הַלֵּב laḥ (pl. הַיְהוּבִים la'hīm < *laḥ-hīm) 'still moist, still fresh' (of plants), MHb הַלֵּב laḥ 'fresh', JPA ✓ l̄h̄h̄ vt. 'moisten', ChrPA לַמַּד ~ לַמַּד l(y)ḥ? 'moisture', Ar ✓ l̄h̄h̄ caus. (pf. ?alāḥḥa) 'give a continuous rain' (of a cloud), ? Ak Ḍ l̄āḫu 'young sprout'; Gz l̄āḥlāḥa 'become moist', laḥāḥa 'be humid, damp, soft' ¶ KB 499, GB 383, Hv. 679, BK II 971, LG 310, Sd. 528, CAD IX 45 (Sd. and CAD interpret Ak l̄āḫu as a loan from WS) ¶ The cns. ḥ in Ar

and Gz (for the expected *χ) is hard to explain (a loan from a different S lge.?) || Ch: CCh: Ms {Mch.} ləw 'rain', {Caīt.} ləw' 'rain; god of rain', Dw {ChL} ləwəwəw 'rainy season' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ləw vt. 'wet' || ? WCh: Ang lè 'pour' (× N *l̥y̥h̥ 'to pour; water') ¶ ChC, ChL, Caīt. 106, Cp. 80 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1659 (Tmk + Ang lè 'pour' + Sa laye, Af lay, le 'water', which are more likely to belong to N *l̥y̥h̥) || IE: Ht lāh- 'pour, pour out (liquids)', lah(h)u- / lah(h)uwaḡ vt. 'pour (liquid, salt, etc.)', vi. 'overflow' || ??? OIr {SB} ló-chasair 'rain' (unless < N *pu̯lu 'to spring forth', q.v.) ¶¶ CHD L-N 4, 13-5, Ts. E II 3-8, P 692, Bm. TPN 123, SB 249-50 (pCl̥t *leuô 'ich spüle') || ? A: AdS of T *jag- v. 'pour down, pour rain' (< N *yak̥ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water', q.v. ffd.) || Gil: Gil A loqr(-) 'raw, fresh' (meat, food) ¶¶ ST 162, ST RN 380, 416 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 116 [#11] (incl. K, S, IE + unc. ObU *lōy- 'wash' (see N *lu̯ 'wash, rinse') and Om *l̥k- 'wet, water').

1325. *LAqû 'tender, mild' (→ 'sweet') > K: GZ *l̥a̯q- 'tender, mild, sweet' > G Gr luqi, luq-e 'nicht scharf, mild', Lz loq-a 'sweet' ¶ The labialized vw. in G Gr (Western Georgia) may be due to Zan infl. ¶ FS E 221 || HS: B *l̥y̥y̥ ~ *l̥w̥y̥ 'soft, tender, mild' > Kb ilqiq 'être moultendre', aləqqaq 'tendre\mou (à toucher)', lləy̥ləy̥ 'être ramolli', Izn aləqqaq, Rf aləqqaqy̥ 'tendre, mou, doux à toucher', Sll iluiy̥ 'être tendre', Izd lwiy̥ 'être lisse\moultendre', BSn aləqqaqy̥ 'mou, lisse, tendre' ¶ Ds. 276, Ds. B 200, 230, 340, Rn. 339, Dl. 458, 460-1, Mrc. 157, 170-1, 248 || D (in KK) *l̥akk- 'be sweet' > Kui napka (< *nak-p-) (p. nak-t-) 'be sweet', Ku {Slz.} lakne, {Fzg.} rakhne 'sweet', Ku Su {BB, Isr.} rak- 'be sweet' ¶ D #5180 || IE: NaIE *d̥l̥k̥u- 'sweet' (< N *da̯ 'tasty, sweet' + N *LAqû) > L dulcis (< *d̥l̥k̥wi-s) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk γλυκύς, γλυκερός 'sweet' (P: γλ- < *δλ- due to dis. from the word-medial -κ-) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 (*d̥l̥ku-s ~ *gluku-s), WH I 379-380, F I 314-5, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46.

1326. (₂?) *larw̥ 'together, many' > K *larw- > G larv-i 'a field sown by different kinds of seed', larva v. 'baste together (сметывать)', Sv UB sx. of pl. -larw (mu-larw 'fathers' ↔ mu 'father', di-larw 'mothers' ↔ di 'mother' ¶¶ Chx. 643, GP US 51 || A *la̯är > NaT *-lar / *-lär ({Grøn.} sx. of nomina collectiva → plural sx. of nouns and finite verbs) > OT -lar / -lär, Tk -lar / -ler, Az, Tkm, ET -lar / -lär, Uz -lar, Qmq, Nog -lar / -ler, VTt -lar / -lär / -nar / -när, Bsh -lar / -lär / -tar / -tär / -dar / -där / -ðar / -ðär, Qzq -lar / -lär / -tar / -tär / -dar

/ -där, Qrg -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör, Alt -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör / -dar / -där / -dor / -dör, Xk -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -nar / -ner, Tv -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -dar / -der / -nar / -ner, Tv -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -dar / -der / -nar / -ner, Yk -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör / -dar / -där / -dor / -dör / -nar / -när / -nor / -nör, plural sx. of nouns and finite verbs ¶ Grøn. S §§ 65-6 (*-lar/*-lär as a sx. of n. coll. → sx. of pl.), Gbn. ATG 84 ("in sorgfältigen Handschriften [of OT] wird dies Formans mit dem Nomen nicht verbunden geschrieben"), Dmt. KCh 65-7, 69-71 || M *-nar / *-ner, suffix of pl. > MM -nar / -ner id. (with nouns denoting people and anthropomorphous beings), WrM -nar, HIM {Pp.} -när, Ord, Brt -nar, Kl -nr; it may be genetically identical with WrM nar in nar-mai 'all, everything' (Cincius's hyp. - CiL MA 220) ¶ Pp. IM 181-3, H SMD 55 || ? Tg: WrMc lar seme 'densely, in multitudes' ({Z} 'густо, часто, толпою') (seme is an adverbializing word, lit. 'saying') ¶ Z 851 ¶¶ ≈ CiL MA 222-4 (denies the connection of T *-lar/*-lär with M *-nar) || D (unless a variant of the sx. -ar): OTm -nar, -r̄nar, pl. sx.: vilai-nar ~ vilai-r̄nar 'merchants', makir-nar 'chieves of the agricultural tract', munai-r̄nar 'warriors', kilai-r̄nar 'relatives', vinai-r̄nar 'farmers, servants', pakai-r̄nar 'enemies' ¶ Shanm. DN 40-1.

1327. ?₂ *L∇r¹k∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' > IE: NaIE *lorgā, *lorgi- 'stick, club, cudgel' > OIr {P} lorc (lorg) 'club, cudgel, penis', OIr ({LP}: Mlr) lurgā 'shin-bone' (× N *r∇g₁∇₁∇ [or *l¹-] 'foot, paw' [q.v.]), MW llory 'club', W llory 'club', MW llorf 'leg of a harp', W llorf id., 'column', OCrn lorch 'Stab', Crn lorgh 'pilgrim's staff, walking-stick, pole', Br lorc'hern 'pole/shaft of wagon (Deichsel)'; Clt ↪ AS lorȝ 'pole; weaver's beam' ||| ON lurkr, ODN lyrk, NNR lurk 'cudgel, club', Sw lurk 'a blockhead' ¶ WP II 443, P 691-2, EI 112 (? *lorgeh_h- 'club'), LG § 37.2, YGM-1 312, ECCE 265, Vr. 368-9, Hlq. 597, Sw. 109, Ho. 206 ||| ?φ HS: S: Ak fOB larû 'branch' ¶ CAD IX 103-4 || ?φ B *la₁H₁k∇t- 'branch, twig' (× N *LāhaḶo 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ N *r (more probable than *r̄) is reconstructed on the ev. of IE, because the presence of a palatal element (in N *r̄) is likely to cause an IE *s- mobile ◇ Doubtful.

1328. *LAS∇ 'be weak, worn out' (or *LAś∇ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken') > HS: C *l¹a¹s- (× N *Lawč∇ 'weak, soft' [q.v. ffd.]) > EC *las- > SC {E} *lās- 'old, worn-out' ↪ Mb -lasu v. 'be old' ||| Or B {Sr.}

lāfā 'weak', Or Wt {Sr.} lāfā 'ill', (× EC *lāf- > Arr lāfná 'weak', see N *Lab▽ 'be soft'): Or {Grg.} lāfā 'weak, soft', lāf- 'become soft', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} lāf- 'be weak\mild', Or H {Ow.} lāfā 'soft' ¶ ESC 327, Grg. 258, Sr. 357, Ow. 267 || IE: NaIE *les-/*los- 'weak, damaged, bad' (possibly × N ? *lūš▽ 'weak') > L [Plt.] sub-les-tus 'sick, weak' || Gt las-iw-s 'weak', ON lasinn 'loose, slack, weak', Ic lasinn 'sick, damaged', laraðr 'tired, exhausted', MHG er-leswen 'to become weak', NHG laß 'lax, weary', MLG lasich 'schlaff', NE lazy || SI *lošb(-jъ) > ChS лoшb лoшb 'macilentus', Blg лoш, 'лоший, McdS лoш 'bad', SCr loš 'unfortunate, bad, miserable; weak', R Ks 'лоший 'bad', Slv d. lošen 'bad' || L sub-les-tus 'ill, weak' || Tc B leswi pl. 'attacks of weakness' ¶ ≈ P 680 (*lās-), EI 637 (*losiw0-s 'weak'), WH II 618, EM 1167-8, Fs. 322, Vr. 346, Lx. 47, Skeat 333, Bv. 396, ESSJ XVI 92-4 (rejects the abovementioned IE connections of SI *lošbъ as "semantically unjustified"), Glh. 383, Ad. 560, IS II 16 (adduces L sublestus) || D {Pf.} *nač- '≈ wear out, decay, be ill' > Tm naci- 'be worn \ frayed (as cloth)', naceу 'disease', Kn naci v. 'wear out\away, waste away, wither, decay', Tu neiluni v. 'fade', Krx nas- 'cause men\cattle to sicken\languish\die', nasr- 'be ill, pine away' ¶¶ D #3575, Pf. 124 [#1038] || It is worth paying attention to K: GZ *les- v. 'rub, whet, sharpen' > OG les- 'whet, sharpen', G les- 'rub, whet, sharpen', Mg las- 'rub out, destroy', Zn d. *las-ir- prtc. 'whetted' ⇨ Mg lasir- v. 'whet' ¶ K 121, FS K 200, FS E 219-20, Chx. 678-9, DCh. 648, Q 270-1 ◇ The K root is semantically distant. But if nevertheless the K √ belongs here, the N etymon must be *LAs▽ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken' ◇ IS MS 365 s.v. 'слабый' (IE, D), ≠ IS II 16-7 (*lAs▽ (= {IS} *lAsΩ) v. 'rub, damage': IE, D, K *les- v. 'rub, sharpen'), Glh. 383.

1329. *Lis▽ 'to gather' > IE: NaIE *les- v. 'gather, pluck' > Gmc *lēsan > Gt lisan sv. 'to pluck, to harvest', ON lesa 'to gather, to pluck', OSx lesan 'to gather, to pick up\out', OHG gi-lesan 'to gather', NHG auf-lesen 'to gather, to pick up', aus-lesen 'to select, to pick out', AS lesan 'to collect, to gather, to pick, to glean', NE lease 'to glean'; (a loan translation of L legere 'to read' ← 'to gather'): ON lesa, OSx, OHG lesan, NHG lesen 'to read' || Lt lēs-ti (prs. lesù), Ltv lest 'to peck, to pick up by pecking', iter.: Lt ap-lašyti 'to pick out, to select', Ltv lasīt 'to gather, to pick, to glean' and (loan translation from NHG) 'to read' ¶ WP II 440, P 680, EI 222

(*lese/o- 'pick up'), Fs. 331, Vr. 353, Sw. 107, Ho. 200, Ho. S 46, Kb. 607, OsS 550, KM 436-7, Tr. 160, Frn. 359 ¶¶ N *Lis̄ > *lj̄es- > IE *les- (see AD NVIE) ¶¶ U: FV *Lis̄ä v. 'add, increase' > F lis̄ä 'addition, increase', Es lis̄a 'addition, supplement', F lis̄ää-, Es lis̄a- 'add' ¶ pLp {Lr.} *l̄s̄ē 'addition, increase' > Lp: N {N} lâsse / -s- id., L {LLO} lassē id., Kld {SaR} лашшь, {TI} †ššē 'additional supply (Zuschuß, Wucher, добавка)', N {N} lâseti 'add, put on, increase', S {Hs.} d. l̄ssanidh vi. 'increase' ¶ Er лезэ́ léze n. {Ps.} 'addition, increase (lis̄ä)', {MRV} 'help, profit', лезэв́ lézev 'useful', Mk {Ps.} léza 'lis̄ä', {PI} лезкc n. 'help, assistance', Er лезда́- lézda- {Ps., ERV} v. 'add, increase, help', Mk лездо́- lézda- {Ps.} 'add, help', {PI} v. 'help, support' ¶ UEW 691, Lr #554, Lgc. #3179, Hs. 840, TI 195, SaR 156-7, ERV 335, PI 145, SK 298-9 ¶¶ ? HS: S *°√l̄šš (or *°√l̄ss) > Ar √l̄ss (ip. -l̄uss-) v. G 'graze (cattle), eat, lick (a vessel)' (× N *L̄√šš 'to lick' [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 989, Hv. 685 ¶¶ A: Tg: WrMc nisiḡay 'together with, also', {Hr.} 'mitsamt, dazu, insgesamt' ¶ STM I 600, Z 231, Hr. 710.

1330. (₂?) *Lis̄â 'small, little, thin' > IE: NaIE *lejs- / *lojs- '≈ small, thin' > Gmc *laḡsiz 'less' > OSx l̄ēs, OFrs l̄ēs, AS l̄ǣs, NE less; Gmc cmpr. adj. *laḡsiza 'less, smaller' > OFrs lessa, AS l̄ǣssa; sprl. OFrs l̄ērest, l̄ēst, AS l̄ǣst, l̄ǣrest, NE least; Gt Cr lista 'parum, zu wenig' ¶¶ Lt líesti, lýsti 'become thin, lose flesh', líesas 'lean, thin, skim', Ltv líess 'lean, meager' ¶¶ ?? Gk Hm λαρρός 'soft and warm' (of a wind), 'balmy' (of sleep) ¶ ≈ WP II 387-9, P 662 (*lejs- = *lej- with an ext.), Fs. 331, Ho. 192, Ho. S 46, F II 120 (no definite et. for λαρρός), ≈ Frn. 329, 376 ¶¶ A: Tg *nijs- 'small' > Ewk nisima 'small, fine (as beads), minute (as hand-writing), thin (as seam)', Lm n̄lsa 'beads', Neg n̄lsmkūn 'small, fine', WrMc nisiḡay, nisiḡa 'small fish' ¶ STM I 600 ¶¶ ??σ K: G R lisa 'sand' ¶ Chx. 684 ◇ If G lisa belongs here, the N etymon is *Lis̄|š̄â.

1330a. ? *l̄iš̄√ 'eat; food' > HS: S *°√l̄ššw > Ar √l̄sw G 'eat greedily'; S *°√l̄šš > Ar √l̄ss G 'eat, graze' (× Ar √l̄ss 'lick' from N *L̄√šš 'to lick' and possibly N *luḡaš̄√ or *laḡuš̄√ 'lip, mouth') ¶ BK II 989, 992, Hv. 685 ¶¶ U: FU (att. in FL) *l̄iḡša 'meat, flesh' > F, Es liḡa, Vp líhā, Krl K liḡa, Krl Ld líhā 'meat, flesh', Lv leḡa 'Leib' ¶ d.: pLp {Lr.} liškē 'human skin, flesh' > Lp: S liḡkee, L {LLO} lii'hkē, N {N} lii'ke, Kld {SaR} л̄шшьк †ššk 'human skin', {TI} †šške id., 'flesh, body' ¶ SSA II 72, SK 292, ZM 289, Kt. 187, Lr. #588, Lgc. #3395, LLO

420, SaR 1175, TI 215 || IE: NaIE (att. in InA) *^o||res- v. 'taste' (× N *L∇š∇ 'to lick', q.v. ffd.) || K: GZ *l∇š- > G lošloš- 'eat (greedily)', lošloši 'gieriges Fressen', Mg r3skon- ~ riskon- {K} 'fressen (жрать)' (× N *L∇š∇ 'to lick') ¶ K² 111, Chx. 691, Q 314 ◇ Not here G leši 'corpse, carrion' (← NGr λέσει 'carrion') ◇ Qu., because its most reflexes (all but FU) are also explainable as those of N *L∇š∇ 'to lick' ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #36 (err. equation of FU with G leši).

1331. ?₂ *l̥uš∇ 'weak' > IE: NaIE *l^os-/*l^es- 'weak, damaged, bad' (× N *LAS∇ 'be weak, be worn out' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU (att. in FP) *l̥||uška 'weak, loose' > Chr: L лyш 'weak, loose', L лyшкaш luš'ka-š, H лышкaш 'l̥bška-š v. 'become weaker' | Z лышкыд l̥šk̥t̥d 'generous, not stingy' ¶ UEW 694-5, MRS 302, 310, LG 164 ◇ This N etymon is hardly *z̥uš∇ (though IE and U *l- may go back to N *z̥- as well), because *z̥...š would have undergone assimilation ◇ Qu., because the alleged IE cognate has an alt. etymology.

1332. *L∇š∇ 'to lick' ([in descendant lgs.] → v. 'taste', 'tongue') > K: GZ *l̥š- v. 'lick, devour' > OG luš- {Chx.} '(ab)lecken' (Num. 22.4: aḡ-luš-os 'will lick up, will eat [it] up'), G luš- id., lošloš- 'eat (greedily)'; GZ *l̥š-wḡ- v. 'lick' > OG lošn- / lušn- id. (pres. vḡlošni, aor. vlošne, lušna) 'lick', G lošn- v. 'kiss with moist lips', {K²} 'kiss (rudely)', Mg r3skon- ~ riskon- {K} 'fressen (жрать)', {K²} 'gorge, nibble', {Q, K} 'gnaw (грызть)' ¶ K 122, K² 111, Vogt NEG 68, Chx. 691, Ser. 82, Q 314 || HS: S *^o✓lšš > Ar ✓lss v. 'eat, lick' (× N ? *l̥iš∇ 'eat; food', possibly × N *luḡaš∇ or *laḡuš∇ 'lip, mouth' and *Lis∇ 'to gather'), ⇨ S *lišān- 'tongue' > BHb cs. לָשׁוֹן lā'sōn, abs. לָשׁוֹן lā'sōn, Ph [Diosc.] λασουν, Ug lšn, (AkSc) {Hnr.} la-šā-nu, OA, SmA lšn, IA לָשׁוֹן lšn, (AkSc) li-iš-šā-an, BA, IA לָשׁוֹן liššān / em. لَشَان lāšān, Sr W لَشَان lēšān, Ar لسان lisān-, Sb nSl lšn, Gz لاسان lasān, Mh 3wšēn, pl. l3šōn, Hrs lēš3n, pl. l3šōn3t, Jb E lšín, Jb C elšén, pl. elšín, Sq {L} léšín, pl. líšhen, Ak lišān-, Eb {Krb.} li-sa-nu = lišānu ({AD}: lišānu?) 'tongue'; the replacement of *i by a (> BHb ā) in the Cn lgs. is due to some phonetic and analogical process(es); e.g., in Hb and Ph it may be explained as a bf. from cs. based on the analogy of the by far more numerous nouns of the CāCōC-pattern: cs. lā'sōn - abs. lā'sōn like cs. šā'lōm - abs. šā'lōm 'peace, well-being') ¶ KB 509, KBR 536, OLS 249, Eil. FN 81, Tal 445-6, BK II 989, 991, Br. 371, Lv. II 530-1, Fr. IV 102-3, BK II 989, 991, Sd. 556, CAD IX 209ff., Krb. EG 8, MiK I #1.181

|| Eg fP r̥s 'tongue' = {Vc. VLE} *[lis-], {Smsz.} *[li.s-] > DEg l̥s 'tongue' > Cpt: Sd/B/O ΛΑC, A/F/L ΛεC id. ¶ EG II 320, Fk. 139, Er. 263, Vc. VLE I 110, 123, Vc. 99, Vc. GÄSW 395-6, Smsz. PCV 44 || B *ʔi-lis (pl. *ʔilisaw̥n) ({Pr.} *hilis / *hilisaw̥n) 'tongue' > Ah īl̥as / pl. il̥asāw̥n, ETwl il̥as / il̥asaw̥n, Ty il̥as / pl. əlsaw̥n, Gh {Nh.} il̥as / ilsaw̥n, Gd {Lf.} ēl̥as / elsaw̥n, Kb, Nf il̥as-, Sll ils / alsiw̥n, Mz, Wrg il̥as / ilsaw̥n, Si īl̥as / ilsān, Zng {TC} ał̥ši id. (-ł̥š- < *-yš- < *-ls-) ¶ Fc. 1124, Pr. M IV-V 124-5, GhA 118, Lf. II #0922, TC Z 313 || ʔφ C: EC: Arr {Hw.} leč̥-, Rn {PG} laž̥a v. 'lick' || ʔʔφ Ag: Bln {R} lanž̥- id. ¶ Hw. A 381, PG 308, R WB 258 || ʔ Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} liliz̥d̥en 'he licks', liçu imp. 'lick!' || ʔ NrOm: Cha {Fl.} hals-os 'he licked', hals-na inv. 'lick!' ¶ Fl. OO 319 || Ch: [1] Hs lās̥ā (× HS *√l̥hs 'lick'), Gw r̥iš̥é v. 'lick' || [2] {JI, JS} *√ls̥₃ 'tongue' > WCh {Stl.} *ħa-lisi-(um) 'tongue' (probably, lit. 'head-tongue', because the px. *ħa- of body parts is likely to go back to WCh *ħama- 'head') > Hs hářš̥è, Hs Skt halš̥ē (pl. halusa) 'tongue' | pAG *lis > Su, Mnt, Kfr, Tal l̥is, Ang {Hf.} l̥is, Ywm {J} lis id. | Ron {J}: Fy l̥és, DfB l̥is, Bks ʔalis, Klr {J} ʔalúš̥ id. | pBT {Stl.} *lisim > BI {IL} lisim, Dr lus, Krkr {J} l̥ús̥m, Grm {Sch.} l̥ímš̥i, Krf {Sch.} íl̥ímš̥í id. | SBc.: Zar {Sh.} r̥is̥ín, Grm {Jg.} laš̥i, Bg {J} η̥eles, {IL} η̥il̥is id. || CCh: √n̥š̥ id. (dis. from √l̥š̥?) in Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} n̥š̥ì, pl. š̥àš̥àn (< *l̥∇š̥∇n ?) and in Mbara {Trn.} náš̥ày, as well as √ls (dis. from *√l̥š̥?) in Msg {Trn.} àl̥és and in Msg Ng {MB} el̥esi 'tongue' || ECh *l̥is- 'tongue' > Mu {Lk.} l̥is̥í, {J} l̥ěs̥í, Brg {J} l̥is̥ì, Jg {J} l̥ěs̥ó, Mkl {J} ʔ̥l̥z̥é, EDng {Fd.} l̥ěs̥é, Smr {J} d̥i-l̥es̥é, Kwn k̥í-lis̥í id. ¶ Ffd. see JI I 169 (pCh *√ls̥₃- 'tongue') and II 328-9, AD ChCS #22, ChL ¶¶ It is possible to reconstruct an additional HS root *√l̥hs ~ *√l̥hš̥ 'lick' (> Ar, Gz, Tgr, Mh √l̥hs, Ar √l̥hs [b̥→ B̥j {R} lehas-], Ak l̥āš̥u, Hs l̥āsa 'lick') ¶¶ Vc. 99, AD PSH § 6.3 [#181], BK II 973, 1032, L G 311, Sd. 540, OS #1666 (pHS *les-), #1640 (*lahas- 'lick'), Tk. I 187-8, ≈ Sk. HCD 108, 186 || IE: NaIE (att. in InA) *o|res- v. 'taste', 'tongue' > OI rasati, ra'sayati, rasyati '(he) tastes, relishes', OI [Yajñ.], OI EpSk rasanā- 'tongue', OI EpSk [MBh], Pali, Prkr rasa- m. 'taste', ? Vd, OI ClS, Pal, Prkr rasa- 'juice, sap' ¶ MW 869-70, RhDS PED 566, Tu. #10650, ≠ M K III 48, ≠ M E II 441-2 ¶ In the OI/Pali/Prkr noun rasa- 'juice, sap' there may have been contamination with IE *ros- 'dew'.

1333. *luhaš̥∇ or *lahuš̥∇ 'lip, mouth' > K: GZ *laš̥- 'lip' > OG laš̥- 'lip' (in laš̥-parto 'large-lipped'), G P/Mx/Kzq {Ghl.}, G Kx/P/X {K} laš̥-

'lip (of animal), mouth', G laš-daʕebuli '(one) with an open mouth', Mg lečkʷ-, Lz lešk- 'lip' ¶ K 120, K² 107, Chik. 52, Chx. 670, Ghl. 325 || **HS**: S: [1] S *✓lhš 'lick' > Ar ✓lhš G 'lick', Ak G inf. lāšʔ 'lick'; [2] WS *✓lhš 'whisper, murmur' > BHb ✓lhš D '(Schlangen) beschwören', TD 'unter sich zischeln, flüstern', MHb {Js.} ✓lhš G, JA {Js.} ✓lhš G 'whisper', Sr ✓lhš G 'whisper, murmur', Gz ✓lhš G 'murmur' ¶ BK II 973-4, GB 384, Js. 704, Br. LS 364-5, JPS 240-1, LG 311, Sd. 340 || **U**: FU *°ʔʰušs∇ (or *°ʔʰa|ošs∇) > pOs *ʕuʕ 'mouth' > Os: V luʔ, Vy juʔ, Ty/Y ʕuʕ, D/Nz tut id. ¶ Stn. D 753, Trj. S 218 || **A**: Tg *lus∇ma 'upper lip, muzzle, snout' (× N *Lʰiʰc∇(-t∇) 'jaw?') > Nn Nh losoã, Nn KU lōsoma 'upper lip (of an elk\horse), upper part of the nose (of an elk)', Ork lōsɪma 'upper lip (of an elk), muzzle, snout', Ud X {Shn.} liʰimo, Ud I/K/Sm {Krm.} lūhimo ~ luʔimo 'muzzle, snout; nose (protruded part of the face) of a dog\elk\pig', Ewk lusmā 'upper jaw, nose, front part of the muzzle (of a deer\elk)', Lm nusma 'muzzle, snout' ¶ STM I 513, Krm. 257.

1334. *Lʰaʰt∇ 'skin\leather, bark' > **HS**: Ch {JS} *°✓lt v. 'skin' > WCh: Fy {J} lūt v. 'skin (häuten)', Klr {J} led v. 'skin (abreißen, häuten)' | Zar {Sh.} lāt, {ChL} lāt, {IL} læd (or lāéd?) 'skin (of humans)', Sy {Csp.} lāt n. 'skin, leather', Sy Zk {Sh.} lāt, Zar K {Sh.} lāt, Zar GL/L {Sh.} lāt n. 'skin', Zar K {Sh.} lut v. 'skin' ¶ JS 233, JI II 296, J R 87, 353, ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 31, Csp. 56, 65, Stl. ZCh 237 [#838] (*l∇d 'skin, hide') || Eg L/G ntt, Eg Md {EG} ntrnt, {DW} ntrn.t f. 'skin' ¶ EG II 356-7, DW I 490 (shows that -t is a sx. of f.) || ? S *°✓litt > Ar lutāt- 'crumbled tree-bark' (× ✓litt vt. 'bray, crumble'); +ext.: [1] *°✓ltp > Sr ✓ltp G 'bark (a tree)'; [2] ?? *°✓lṭm > Ar milṭam- 'pièce de cuir que l'on étend par terre sous un panier à dattes' ¶ Fr. IV 85, 107, BK II 963, 998, Br. 365 ¶¶ OS #1655 (*lat- 'skin': Eg, WCh) || **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) *leθra- 'leather, skin' > OIr lethar, W lledr 'leather', OBr [ʕ] d. ledr,ṛin, 'cartilagini', MBr lezr, B ler 'leather' || Gmc *leθra 'leather, (?) skin' > ORu lepro id., ON leðr 'skin, leather', NNr lēder, Sw läder, Dn læder, OHG lēdar, NHG Leder, OSx lethar, MLG led(d)er, MDt le(d)er, Dt leder, AS leðer 'leather', NE leather ¶ WP II 428, P 681, EI 269 (*leθrom 'leather'), YGM-1 305, Flr. 238, Ern. 365, Hm. 511, Vr. 349 (rejects the hyp. of a Clt origin of Gmc *leθra), Vr. N 387, Ho. 200, Ho. S 46, Kb. 596, OsS 540, KM 430 || **A**: Tg: WrMc latiṅi 'rags, (pieces of) old bast mats' ¶ STM I 495, Z 847.

1335. * $\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$ 'exercise magic forces against so., detest; suffer from' > **HS:** CS * $\text{-lū}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ > Sr $\checkmark\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ (pf. $\text{lā}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$, ip. $\text{-lū}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$) {Br.} 'detestatus est', {JPS} 'curse' (μ from * $\checkmark\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{y}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$, $\text{-lī}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ -), BHb לֵאמֹר^{h} $\text{lā}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{-ī}^{\text{h}}\text{m}$ 'sorcery' ¶ Br. 361, JPS 273, KB 501 || **IE:** NaIE * $\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ v. 'detest' > OIr {P} $\text{li}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{s}^{\text{h}}$ 'aversion, abomination' (< * $\text{lit}^{\text{h}}\text{-tu}^{\text{h}}$ -) || ON $\text{lei}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ r adj. 'verhaßt, leid', Dn $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ 'bothersome, boring', Sw $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ id., 'repugnant, Δ 'ugly', Dn $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$, OSx $\text{lē}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ 'suffering; hostility', OHG $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ 'nicht lieb, verhaßt; sad, bad, painful', NHG $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ 'disagreeable', AS $\text{lā}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ 'hostile, hated, hateful', NE loath; ON $\text{lei}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ a n. 'Unlust, Wudermwille', NNr $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ a, Sw $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ a, Dn $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ e 'repugnance', OHG $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ 'Leiden, Böses, Betrübniß', NHG $\text{Le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ 'harm'; ON $\text{lei}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ a 'verhaßt machen, verleiden', OHG $\text{lī}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ a n, NHG $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{d}$ en 'to suffer', AS $\text{lā}^{\text{h}}\text{ð}^{\text{h}}$ a n 'to hate, to cause to shun, to revile', NE loathe || ?σ Gk $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ~ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'sinner', $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ v. 'sin' ¶ P 672, Vr. 350, WW 177, 180, Sw. 103-5, Ho. 193, 195-6, Ho. S 26, Kb. 599, OsS 541, 553, KM 433, F I 67, ≈ EI 259 (* $\text{h}_1\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ ≈ do sth. hateful\abhorrent) || **U** * $\text{o}^{\text{h}}\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{tt}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$ (unless it is * $\text{o}^{\text{h}}\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ss}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$) > Sm * $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{3}^{\text{h}}\text{tt}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$ (or * -čč^{h} -, * -ss^{h} -) 'suffer, endure' > Ne F {Cs.} $\text{re}^{\text{h}}\text{ä}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{ng}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}$ 1s aor. 'ich stand aus, ertrug, litt', Slq Tm {KD} $\text{lē}^{\text{h}}\text{'t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{b}^{\text{h}}$ 'suffer, endure (kärsiä)', {Prk.} $\text{lät}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{+mp}^{\text{h}}\text{+}$ 'endure (терпеть)', $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{3}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{+mp}^{\text{h}}\text{+}$ 'endure, утерпеть' ¶ Jn. 83 ◇ On the Gk prothetic vw. and underlying prosodic phenomenon (denoted as * ' -) see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1336. * $\text{Lu}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$ 'mud' > **IE:** NaIE * $\text{lut}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ 'mud, mire' > L $\text{lut}^{\text{h}}\text{um}$ 'mud, mire; moist earth' || OIr $\text{lo}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ 'dirt', {SB} 'palus, coenum', W {SB} $\text{llud}^{\text{h}}\text{ed}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}$ 'muddy' || Lt † {Ruh., Nsl., Krsch.} $\text{lut}^{\text{h}}\text{yn}^{\text{h}}\text{as}$ (Frn.'s emendation: $\text{li}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{yn}^{\text{h}}\text{as}$) 'quebbiger Ort, Pfuhl, Lehmpfüte' ¶ Frn. 380, Nsl. 376, WH I 840, SB 250, ≈ WP II 406-7, ≈ P 681, ≈ EI 160 (* $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ 'dirt', see N * $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ 'dirt, silt') || **K:** Mg $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ 'dirt, clay', Lz $\text{le}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ 'earth' ¶ Q 273, Chik. 186 || **HS:** B * $\text{-lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ (unless \leftarrow L $\text{lut}^{\text{h}}\text{um}$) (\times N ? ϕ * $\text{w}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{L}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}$ 'moist, moisture?') > Gd a- $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$, Shw {Hy.} $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$, BSn {Ds.} $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$, Izd {Mrc.} a- $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$ (pl. $\text{ila}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$) 'boue', Kb a- $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$ 'boue (plutôt liquide), grosse boue', Tmz a- $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$ (pl. $\text{alu}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$, $\text{ila}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$) id., 'glaise, eau boueuse', Mz $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$ 'limon, vase' ¶ Lf. II #0878, Hy. 326, Ds. B 46, Dl. 445, MT 369-70, Dlh. M 103, Mrc. 75, Msq. Z 493 ¶ The pB long * ū suggests an underlying * $\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{\text{h}}$ || CCh: Dgh {ChL} $\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$, {Frk.} $\text{l}^{\text{h}}\text{3}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$ 'dirt' ¶ ChC, ChL ¶¶ B * $\text{-lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ may be suspected as being a loan from L $\text{lut}^{\text{h}}\text{um}$, but the voiced emphatic * $\text{-ḷ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ and the Ch cognate ($\text{lū}^{\text{h}}\text{ṽ}^{\text{h}}$) make the hyp. of loan less

plausible ¶ Flk. AM, ChL ◇ B *-lūǵ- suggests the presence of some lengthening element after N *u, which is most likely to be *ʔ (a lr., that can be lost in pIE without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vw.). Mg and Lz e may go back to some vw. that followed *ʔ (N *Lu₁ʔ∇₁ʔ∇ > pre-K *l∇ʔ∇ (with loss of the initial syll.) > Mg, Lz leʔa) ◇ IS II 31 (*L¹ǵ¹ʔ∇: IE *lat-, K, WCh + unc. S *✓rʔw 'moist').

1337. *liwǵ|ħa 'dirt, silt' > IE *leuH- > NaIE *lewə- / *lū- 'dirt, filth, mire' > Gk λῦ-μα 'dirt', λῦ-ματ pl. 'filth, off-scourings; moral filth' (but λῦματ 'water used in washing' and possibly λῦματ 'rain' belong rather to NaIE *lowə- 'wash' < N *luΓ∇ 'wash, rinse' [q.v.]), ?? λῦ-μη 'brutal outrage', ?? λῦμαίνοματ v. 'treat with indignity, outrage', Gk λύθρον or λύθρος 'defilement from blood\gore', {F} λύθρος 'geronnenes, dickes Blut' (the short u may be due to the merger with NaIE *lut- < N *Lu₁ʔ∇₁ʔ∇ 'mud' [q.v.]||| L polluo / pollui / pollūtum / -ēre 'befoul, defile, pollute' ||| OIr {SB, P} con-luan 'dog's excrements', MBr {Ern.} louan 'moisi', Br louan 'dirty' ||| Lt liūnas 'quag, quagmire', Ltv ļūns 'moorige, sich bewegende Stelle', ļūnis 'swamp' ¶ ≈ WP II 406, ≈ P 681, EI 160 (leu₁- 'dirt'), F II 144-5, ≈ WH I 840 and II 334 (all of them connect the L v. with lutum [see N *Lu₁ʔ∇₁ʔ∇ 'mud']), SB 250 (Clt *louno- 'dirt'), Ern. 374-5, Hm. 528, Frn. 380-1 ¶ Cf. also N *Lizû 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime' ||| HS: S *°✓lǵ|ħw or *°✓lǵ|ħy > Ak fOB lu^ʔû 'to dirty (an object), to defile\desecrate (a sanctuary, a rite)' (D p. ula^ʔi ~ ule^ʔi, prtc. mula^ʔû ~ mule^ʔû, OB stative luχχu), Ak LB lu^ʔû (f. lu^ʔûtu, lu^ʔītū) 'soiled, dirty, unclean, sullied' ¶ CAD IX 258-9 ||| K: G lia 'silt, mud, quagmire, dirt', G K/Kx lia 'puddle', OG {Abul.} liempalo 'mud' ¶ Chx. 681, DCh. 650, Abul. 209 ||| U: FU *liwa 'mud, sand' > F liiva 'pulp, mash', Δ {SK} 'bog, mud', Es liiva, Vo liiva 'sand' ||| Prm *lúa 'sand' > Z лѡа l+a, Z Vsh/EV lúwa, Vt luo ||| Os Kz lǵwǵ 'mud, quagmire' ¶ Coll. 95, UEW 250 (*liwa), SK 294, LG 163 ||| A: Tg *lijbin ~ *leben 'boggy swamp, marsh, quagmire' > Ewk l3w3̄ ǵ l3b3̄, Neg l3w3̄ id., Lm A liwin 'puddle', ? WrMc lebenḡi 'boggy, swampy', lebenḡi derneχun 'wet (covered with water) low-lying lands'; *lib∇- ~ *leb∇- 'be bogged down' > Ul liwu- ~ liwi- ~ liw3-, Ork f, Nn liw3-, Ewk, Neg l3w3̄- id. ¶ STM I 514 ◇ N *ǵ|ħ is reconstructed on the joint ev. of the IE lr. (causing a NaIE vw. lengthening), K zero, Ak ʔ, and the Ak transformation of the adjacent *a to e ◇ ≈ IS II 27 (IE, U, K, S; *liwa = *liwa; does not distinguish

this N etymon from the reflexes of N *Lu₁?∇₁t∇ 'mud'), AD GD 3 (IE, U).

1338. *L'a'χ∇ 'to strike, to fight' > HS: CS +ext. *√lh̄m 'fight' > BHb √lh̄m G (inv. םחב לא'ham) vt. 'fight', N (pf. םחבני ni-l'ham) vi. 'fight', M'b v. *Dt* or *Gt* l'hm (1s ip. ?lt'hm) 'make war, fight', Md G √lh̄m v. 'gather for fighting \ attacking; threaten, attack', √šlh̄m 'fight, attack', Ar √lh̄m G ps. (pf. لُحِمٌ luḥima) 'be killed, slaughtered', TL (pf. تَلَّحَمٌ talāḥama) 'kill one another'; CS *malḥam(-at)- > BHb מלחמה milḥāmā 'war', Ar مَلْحَمَةٌ malḥamat- 'fight, army', مَلْحَمٌ malḥam- 'slaughter, fight' ¶ KB 500, HJ 571-2, DM 231, 467, BK II 977-8, Hv. 681 || IE *laX- (or *lex-/*lox-?) ≈ attack, fight' > Ht {CHL} lahha- 'military campaign', la(h)hiyai- v. 'attack, make war on, operate against', lahiyatār- 'military expedition, campaign, military obligation' (to distinguish from the homonymous root: lahha- 'journey, trip', la(h)hiyai- v. 'travel, wander'; a merger of both roots: la(h)hiyai- 'go on an expedition'), HrLw laha- 'attack', Lc {Ts.} laxa- 'strike (schlagen)' || ? Gk λεία, Gk I ληΐη, Gk D λῦα 'booty', Gk ληΐς (-ίδος), Gk D λαΐς id., Gk ληΐζομαι 'plunder' || ?μ,σ Phr lawagtaei 'military leader' ¶¶ CHL L-N 4-10, Ts. E II 8-11, F II 96, H 31 (*leh₂- '≈ military action') || K: G laX- / ga-laX- 'verhauen, verprügeln'; 'unterkriegen (z. B. beim Ringkampf)', OG laxuari, G laxvari 'spear' ¶ Chx. 672, DCh. 645-6, Abul. 280, Ser. 82 || ? E: NEI la-ha-na 'nachdem geschlachtet worden sind', ME la-h-lu-uš 'er zerhämmerte, zerschlug', la-h-lu-h-[pi] 'ich hämmerte für sie (pl.)' ¶¶ HK 808-9.

1339. *LEχ|qo 'be ill; ache' > K *°leχ|q- 'be ill' > Mg laX- id., laX-a-la 'illness', leX 'sick' ¶ Q 271 || HS: C: Bj {R} leh- scv. 'be(come) sick\ill', {Rop.} leh- ~ lah- ~ ilh- id., 'hurt, pain' (part of the body), {R} 'lēh-ani ~ 'elh-ani 'I am becoming sick\ill', {R} 'lēha ~ 'elha, {Rop.} laha adj. 'sick\ill' || EC: Sa {R}, Af {Clz.} lā'hō 'illness, pain', Sa {R} lā'hō-s- caus. v. 'make ill; pain, hurt', T lā'hō-t- 'become ill', Af {PH} laḥaw n. 'being in labour, fait d'être en couche', ? laḥuW 'stinging tail (of fish\bee)'; ?? C ⇨ Gz lāḥ 'mourning, grief, dirge', √lh̄w (pf. laḥawa ~ lāḥawa, js. yaḥaw) 'mourn for, lament, bewail' ¶ AD SF 168, PH 154, R S II 246, R WBd 155-6, Rop. 211, Clz. 126, LG 312 || Ch: pAG {Hf.} *lā 'be painful\sick' > Ang {Flk.} le 'sick; sickness, pain', {Brq.} lé

'ailing', {Hf.} lē v. 'pain', Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} lā id., Sa {J} lā id., n. 'wound', Kfr {Nt.} lā 'painful', Mpn {Frz.} lā 'pain; wound' ¶ Hf. AG #129, Flk. s.v. lē, J S 72, Frz. DM 32, Nt. 23 || ? B {ṢPr.} **√w|H v. ⇨ *w√laH 'fever' > Kb {DL.} tawwla (pl. tiwliwin), Kb Z {La.}, Izd {Mrc.} tauḷa, Tmzg tawla (pl. tiwliwin), SrSn {Rn.} tauḷa, Sil {Ds.} täḷa 'fever' ¶ The B word belongs here if *w√- goes back to the HS prefix of intransitivity ¶ Dl. 863, MT 760, La. S 238, Rn. 423, Ds. 127, Mrc. 117 ¶ ≠ OS #1631 (WCh *laʔ- 'be sick' ÷ S *√lʔy 'be tired, slow') || D *nō- (< *lō-?), {GS} *hō- 'feel pain, ache; illness' > Tm nō id., Ml nōka v. 'pain', noi, nōi 'weakness, pain', nōvu 'pain, ache', Kt nōv 'disease, pain', Tl nu' 'sickness', Kn nō, Kdg nō-, Tl noccu v. 'pain, ache', Klm oḡ- '(wound) hurts, pains', Nkr oḡ-, Prj, Gdb nōḡ-, Png, Ku nō-, Kui nōva 'be painful', Nk oḡ-, Gnd nō- vi. 'hurt', Knd, Mnd nū- nō- v. 'pain, ache', Ku {Isr.} lunʔ- v. 'ache, throb with pain', luh- v. 'cause pain', Krx nuhʔ- v. 'smart, pain', Mlt nunʔe v., n. 'pain' ¶ D #3793, GS 144 [#369] ¶ l- in Ku lunʔ-, luh- may have remained from pD (*lō-?) ◇ It is worth paying attention to H: M *niyan 'epidemic' > WrM {Kow.} niyan 'peste, épidémie', WrM {MED} niyan, HIM нян 'infection; epidemic' (Kow. 666, MED 583) ◇ IS II 36 ({IS} *L ḥ; C, K).

1340. *LawXV '(piece of a) trunk, bough' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'board, plank') > HS: S *lawh- ~ *lūh- 'plank, board' > Ak fOAK lēʔu '(wooden) board, writing board, sheet of precious metal', BHb ḥiḥ 'lūaḥ 'plank, board; tablet', Pun lḥ 'tablet', OCn TA [Akkadianized] lēxu, Ug lḥ 'writing board' → 'message', IA lwh 'board, tablet', Nbt lwh 'tablet', JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} ḥiḥ lūh-ā 'tablet, board', JEA {Sl.} ḥiḥ lāwḥā ~ ḥiḥ lōhā 'wooden plank', Sr ḥiḥ lūh-ā (abs. lūh) 'tablet, writing tablet', Ar ḥiḥ lāwḥ- 'board, plank; tablet' (⇨ Gz lawh 'board, table; parchment'); Mh/Hrs {Jo.} lawh 'board', Jb E/C ḥiḥ id., Sq {L} lōh 'planche' (all ⇨ Ar?) ¶ CAD IX 156-9, KB 497, A #1449, OLS 243, HJ 569-70, Lv. II 482, Js. 696, Sl. 619, JPS 227, Sd. 246, BK II 1039, Hv. 700, L G 320, L LS 229, Jo. M 258, Jo. J 166, Jo. H 86 || EC: Af {PH} laḥdi 'shelf inside a grave on which a corpse is placed' ¶ PH 154 || IE: NaIE *lōlāw- 'board, plank' > Sl *lavā 'bench' > ChS ḥiḥ lāva, OCz, Cz lāva, P ḥiḥ lāva, R ḥiḥ lāva, R d. 'лавка id., OR ḥiḥ lāva 'a broad bench; small bridge', Slv lāva 'a low sideboard' ¶ Lt lōva 'bed', Ltv lāva 'sweating shelf (in steam bath); plank bed, bunk'; Blt ⇨ Sw

lavē 'sweating shelf, bench (in bath), plank bed, wooden box for seedlings' || pScn {Vr.} *lōwan > ON lófi, láfi 'threshing-floor', Sw loġe, Dn lo id., Nr lǽve id., 'barn, granary' ¶ ≈ Mn. 667 (IE *lāw-(ā)), ESSJ XIV 52-5, Frn. 387. Tr. 153, Bern. I 695, ≈ WP II 407, Hlq. 563, 585-6, Vr. 363 || U: FL *lawā 'board' (× ← BSI ??) > Flava 'platform, scaffold; stage; bed', Es lava 'stage, platform', tapalava 'scaffold', pLp {Lr.} *lōvē 'board, scaffolding' > Lp: L {LLO} λουυυέ 'scaffolding for keeping hay or fodder', Ar {Lgc.} λυυυυέ 'auf Pfähle gebautes Aufbewahrungsgerüst', N {N} λουυυε 'kitchen shelf', Kld λυυυυτ 'board' ¶ SK 282, Krh. 132, SaR 166, Lr. #632, Lgc. #3660 ¶ The FL word may be either semantically influenced by or even borrowed from a BSI lge., but the common origin of inherited words is equally possible and semantically plausible || A: Tg *laba 'bough' > Ewk Tmt lawā 'tine made of a reindeer's horn', Ewk Ald laparā 'many-tined'; Tg → Yk labā 'bough, branch' ¶ The direction of the borrowing must have been from Tg to Yk and not viceversa, because Yk words of T origin (just as pT words) never have an initial l- ¶ STM I 485.

1341. *L'o'yxiʔa 'cheek' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'face') > K: G loqa 'cheek' ¶ Chx. 691, DCh. 653, SSO I 423 (loqa 'animal's cheek') || HS: S *lahiy- 'jaw, cheek' > BHb ʔḥi ʔḥī, paus. ʔḥi ʔḥī 'cheek, jaw', Ug lḥ (du. lḥm, pl. lḥt) 'cheek, jaw', JA [Trg.] ʔḥi ʔḥī 'jaw', JPA Bz P {Sl.} ʔḥi ʔḥi 'cheek', Ak fOA/OB lētū ~ lītū 'cheek, side', Ar ʔḥi ʔḥi- {Hv.} 'chin, underjaw, part on which the beard grows', ʔḥi ʔḥi-n (pl. ʔḥi ʔḥi-) {BK} 'côté de visage où la barbe pousse, bas de la joue', d. ʔḥi ʔḥi-at- (pl. ʔḥi ʔḥi) 'beard', ? Gz d. maltāḥt (= Maltaḥt) 'jaw'; a CS lge. (Aram?) → Ak LB/Nz laḥû 'jaw' ¶ KB 499, GB 382-3, OLS 243, BK II 979, WKAS II 401, 408, Hv. 682, CAD IX 44-5, 148, Sd. 546, Lv. T I 407, Sl. P 280, Js. 702, LG 319, MiK I #1.178 (S *liḥ(a)y(-at)-) (|| IE: NaIE *lejk- 'face, cheek' > Blt: Pru laugnān (< *laiknan) id. || Sl *lice 'cheek, face' > OCS лице lice id., Slv líce, P lice id., OCz líce 'cheek', Cz, Slk líce, Blg лице 'face', Blg Δ pl. 'лици 'cheeks', McdS лице, SCr líce, R, Uk лицо 'face', R OI/Ar/Vlg/Rz лицо, OUk лице, Uk Δ лицо 'cheek'; Sl *likъ 'face' > OR ликъ likъ id., 'portrait (of a saint)', Blg π, McdS лик, SCr līk, Uk лик, Blr лік 'face', Slv līk 'shape' || ? OIr lecco (gen. leccōn), NIr leasa 'cheek' ¶ WP II 395-6, SB 251 (pClit *lik'kōn 'cheek' < **lik'nōn-), Bs. 223 ({Thr.}: OIr leccōn ← leth 'side' + conn,

cern 'head'), En. 201, Bern. 719-20, ≈ ESSJ XV 75-8, 106 (denies the above IE et. of Sl *lice, likъ), Glh. 377 || **А:** M *niϕur 'face, cheek' > MM [S, MA] ni₁ur 'face', [IM] ni₁ūr, [IsV] niyur, [L] nawur, WrM niϕur, HIM HҮҮP, Ord nūr, Brt HҮҮP nūr, Kl HҮҮP, {Rm.} nūr, Mnr H {SM, T} niūr, Dx {T} niu, Ba {T} nōr 'face', Mgl nūr id., 'cheek' ¶ H 117, Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 262, 442, Lg. VMI 57, MED 580, KRS 389, Chr. 345, Ms. O 504, SM 280, T 351, T BJ 144, T DnJ 130, Rm. M 35, KW 283 ◇ K *-q- and IE *-k- go back to *-q- < *-χʔ- < N *-χ∇ʔ-. M *-ϕ- is likely to go back to *-χʔ- < N *-χ∇ʔ-. S *-ħ- goes back to N *-χ-, the glottal stop being lost.

1342. *|a₁ʔ₁y∇ ⇨ ***|a₁y₁ʔ₁∇** 'not; to disappear' > **HS:** C: Ag {Hz.} *-la 'not' (verbal sx.): Aw prs.-ft. 1-3 sg. -¹a-la, Bln prs.-ft. 3s -¹e-lā, p. 3m -lā, Q 3m: prs.-ft. -e-lā, p. -lā, Km {CR} prs.-ft. 3m -a-lā ||| EC: Sa {R} pcv. -lay (p. ¹a-le_y(u)ϕ, inv. e¹le_y) 'fortziehen auf nimmer wiedersehen, verschollen gehen, verkommen', Af {PH} -e₁le_y- pcv. be lost, stray'; Rn lā ~ lā ~ lān 'without', Sml {ZMO} laʔ 'less, without', {Abr., ZMO} laʔā 'be without, lack' ¶ Hz. AL 30-1, Vet. OA 270-4, R S II 251, PH 95-6, PG 206-7, ZMO 249, Abr. S 160 || S: [1] S *lā or *laʔ 'not, no' (unless from N *ʔāla, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation [q.v.]) > Ak lā, BHb אָל lō (spelled lōʔ), Ug l, (AkSc) lā, IA lʔ, BA אָל ~ הָל lā (spelled lāʔ, lāh), JA/Sr אָל / ʔ lā (spelled lāʔ), Md la-, Ar ʔ lā, Mh, Jb E/C laʔ 'no', Mh ʔal lā, Jb ʔal ... ʔal 'not', Hrs lā, laʔ, la 'not', Mn lʔ 'not'; [2] ? S *^o✓lwy > Ar ✓lwy G (pf. لَوِيَ lawā, ip. -lwiy-) 'nier, désavouer (p. ex. une dette)', Sh 'faire périr qn. (la mauvaise fortune)', 'être fané' (unless ← *✓lwy 'tordre, courber') ¶ The SS lgs. provide ev. for the S lr. *ʔ that was lost in (most) CS lgs. and in Ak ¶ KB 486-7, 1729, A #1426, Hnr. 141-2, HJ 558-60, Deg. § 47a, Seg. AAG 539, BK II 954-5, 1045, Sl. 613-4, Br. 354, DM 227, BK II 951-2, 1045-6, Jo. M 249, Jo. H 84, Jo. J 158, MA 56, Sd. 520 ||| **IE:** Ht lē 'do not!', 'not' || NaE *le₁- 'disappear, shrink' > ON linna 'aufhören lassen, hemmen', AS linnan 'to desist, to part from' (-nn- < *-nw-) ||| ? Gk λιάζομαι 'shrink back, go aside, withdraw' ¶¶ WP II 387-8, P 661-2, Fs. II 119, Vr. 358, Sw. 108, Ho. 203, Ts. E II 50-2, CHD L-N 55-7 ||| **K:** OG mo-le_v- 'be used up \ spent' (Mk. 5. 26), MG [VTq.], G le(v)-/ li- / liv- 'wear out, exhaust, finish' ('abnutzen, beenden; sich abnutzen, zu Ende gehen'; 'истощать, -ся, ослаблять, -ся') ¶ Chx. 674-7, DCh. 647, Ser. 106 ||| **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *|â₁y∇ 'little, small, weak' > ObU: pVg *|ā₁y > Vg {MK}: ML lä₁, N lai₁ 'little, weak' ('klein, zart, kraftlos,

schwach'); pOs: Os Kz ļoyamtj(yə)ᄑ- 'grow weak\decrepit' (senile infirmity) | OHg XI leān, XII leājn, Hg lēány 'daughter, girl' ¶ UEW 864-5, MK 246, EWU 878 || **а**: Tg: WrMc laya- v. 'fade', 'umsinken, welk herabhängen', layfara 'be exhausted, weakened, fade', 'weich\welk werden, einschrumpfen' ¶ STM I 487, Z 841, Hr. 613, 619
 ◇ It is quite possible that there are two different N words: *L^{ra}ᄑ 'not' and *layᄑ 'disappear, shrink'.

1343. ₂ *l̥yᄑhᄑ 'to pour; water' > HS: EC: Sa {Wlm.} lae, Sa I {CR} laye, Sa A {CR} lay, ley, Af {PH} lē (pl. lelwa) 'water' ¶ PH 155 || B *l̥y_h 'body of water' > Shw {Hy.} tala (pl. tiliui) 'marais, mare', {Msq.} tala 'lake', Zng {Bs.} el, eli (pl. ellun) 'sea', {MH→Nic.} el, el (pl. ellun) 'sea, big river, lake' ¶ Bs. MS I 142, Nic. 429, Hy. 482 || Eg {Mks.} ry v. 'fill with water', ryw 'primordial ocean' ¶ Mks. II ##1974-5 ¶ IS II 32 adduces here Eg fP rwy.t 'water, flood' and Eg fMK rwy 'water' (EG II 221), which is more questionable because of the unexpected w (better to N *rᄑwᄑ 'water' [q.v.]) || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} le 'pour (out)', {ChL} lē 'pour' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} lāw- vt. 'wet', ? Skr {Lk.} ileo 'pour in' ¶ Lk. ZSS 34, Cp. 80, Flk. s.v. le, ChL ¶ OS #359 (Ch, Sa, Af; HS *lay 'water, pour') || **IE** *lejh-/ *liH- > NaIE *leja-/ *lī- ≈ flow, pour' > OI lī- / prs. layati {MW} 'melt, liquefy, dissolve', [AV] {M} (vī-)līyatē vi. 'löst sich auf, zergeht, schmilzt' || OIr {P} liē, {LP} liae, W {P} lli (both from *lījant-s) 'flood, sea', MBr livat 'inundation', W llif 'flood, deluge, current', Crn {P} lyf, {ECCE} lūf id., 'flood' || Gt leipu 'σύκερα, fruit wine', OHG līd 'Trank, Getränk, Obstwein, Wein', OSx līth 'fruit wine, wine', OFrs līth 'alcoholic beverage', AS līð id., 'apple wine', ON líð 'beer' || Lt líeti (prs. Olt léju, Lt líejū) 'to pour', lūti (3s prs. lījā) v. 'to rain', Ltv liēt 'to pour', līt 'to rain' | Sl *lī-ti / prs. μ *l̥j̑ 'pour' > OCS лѣти liti / ѡльѣ ѡльѣ, SCr liti / lījēm, Slv líti / líjem, Cz líti / líji, Р ла́с / ле́е, R лить / лью, Uk 'лити / 'лию ~ илью 'pour', Blg 'лея id. ¶ WP II 392, P 664, MW 903, ≈ M K III 102-3, ≈ M E II 475, LP § 146, YGM-1 309, ECCE 266, Fs. 229, OsS 553, Kb. 611, Schz. 196, Ho. 204, Ho. S 47, Frn. 368, Glh. 379-80, ESSJ XV 157-9, Vs. II 504 ◇ We reconstruct N *-h-, because it is the only lr. that yields IE *H and may be lost in Eg ◇ ≈ IS II 32-3 (*L^{ra}yᄑ 'water', vi. to pour'). Cf. also N *LiLᄑ 'water, sea'.

1343a. *L'a|æ'yw₁Ey₁∇ 'crooked', 'to bend, to twist' > IE: NaIE *la₁w₀- 'crooked' → 'left (gauche)' > Gk λαίος 'left' || L laevus id., L [ʏ] laevi (boves) 'quorum cornua terram spectant' || Lt išlai^óti 'Biegungen machen' || pSl *lěvъ / *lěvъjъ 'left' > OCS ЛѢВЪ lěvъ, Blg лѣв, SCr lijevī ≈ лѣвѣ, Slv lěv, Cz levý, Slk ľavý, P lewy, R левый, Ul лівий id. ¶ P 652, WH I 750-1, ESSSJ XV 29-31, Glh. 376-7 || **HS:** WS *√lw₁y G 'twist, bend' > Ar √lw₁y G vt. (pf. lawiya, ip. -lawiy-) 'twist (a rope), bend (sth.)', Mh √lw₁y G vt. (pf. lawū) 'bend', malwayīt 'winding mountain pass', Jb C/E mal'bet 'corner', Hrs √lw₁y G vt. (pf. lawō, subj. yalwī) 'bend, wrap up'), ??σ BHb הַיָּבִיב liw'yā 'wreath' (if ← 'twisted') ¶ BK II 1045-6, Hv. 702, Jo. M 258-9, Jo. H 86, BDB 531 [#3880], ≈ KB 498 (unc.: liw'yā ← √lw₁y 'accompany') || **A:** M *°lebe₁y₁ > WrM lebei- 'become ill-proportioned' ¶ MED 515 || ? Tg: Ork nəwtəz 'to the left!' ¶ STM I 615 ◇ Blz. LB #99a (IE, Ar, Hb).

1344. *Lizû 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime' > K: GZ *ležw- 'saliva, mouth foam' > G ležv-i 'saliva, slaver, mouth foam' ({Chx.} Speichel, Geifer', {DCh., NCh.} 'saliva'), Mg ležva- 'foam (on horse's mouth)', Lz lažv-er-i 'slobbery boy' ¶ K² 108, FS 198-9, Chx. 677, DCh. 647 || **HS:** B *√lzz > SrSn {Rn.} i-ləzzaz-ən, Ntf {La.} i-ləzzāzān 'bave' ¶ Rn. 337, La. MChB 121 || **A:** M *nisun 'nasal mucus' (× N *ñiśu 'smell [odorare], breathe heavily' [sth.]) > MM [HI] nisun, WrM nisun, HIM нус, Mnr H {SM} nū'sōḥ 'nasal mucus', WrM nisuta-, HIM нуста-х v. 'discharge mucus', ? WrM nisugū 'abscess, boil' ¶ Ms. H 79, H 117, MED 586, SM 291 ◇ Cf. also IE *leuH- *lewə- / *lu(:)- 'dirt', but it is preferably connected with N *liw₁ḥa 'dirt, silt' (q.v.).

1345. *L∇ž∇ (or *L∇wž∇) 'ε nut', 'nut-tree\bush' > K: G leža 'green walnut-shell' ¶ Chx. 681 || **HS:** S *°lūδ|z or WS *lawδ|z- 'almond tree' > BHb לִבְז לūz, Cn ⇨ Aram: Sr לְבִז lū'z-ā, SmA לִבְז lwz, Md lūzā; Aram ⇨ Gz lawz id., Ar lawz- 'almond (tree and fruit)', Har lāz 'groundnut' ¶ KB 497, KBR 522, L G 322, Nld. NBSS 43, Tal 428, Js. 696, BK II 1040, Hv. 701, Br. 361, DM 232, Fr. II 135, Frn. 145 || **IE:** NaIE *lasd- 'hazel bush' > Lt lazda ~ laza 'hazel-stick, hazel-bush', lazdy¹nas 'hazel-bush', Ltv la(g)zda, lazds, legzda, legzds 'hazel-bush', Pru laxde id. | d. Sl *lěs-ka 'hazel (bush)' > Blg лес'ка, SCr лэска ≈ lijéska, Slv lěska, Cz Δ ľaska id., Cz leska 'a bush with small hazel-nuts', Slk lieska 'ε a hazel-bush', P laska 'stick;

hazel-bush', Blr 'ляска 'stick'; (× Sl *lěsъ 'forest'): SCr lēš, R Δ лѣша 'hazel (bush)' ||| ?σ Arm 𐎂𐎗𐎍𐎎𐎎 last '(wooden) raft; ship; bedstead' ¶ WP II 387, Frn. 348, En. 203, ESSJ XIV 239-41, Jokl LKU 203-5 (adduces Al lajthi 'hasel-nut, hasel-tree'), O 211 (shows that Al lajthi, Al BE lakθi does not belong here), Slr. 421.

1346. *í√ (< *ʔâí√?), pc. in deverbal nominal constructions that nominalizes verbal action ([in descendant lgs.] → sx. of nomina actionis) > K: GZ *-il-, formant of nom. actionis (masdar): OG, G -il- (OG 𐤓𐤓𐤌𐤍-[act of] weeping', 𐤆𐤀𐤆𐤌𐤍 n. 'shout'), Mg -ir- (𐌆𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹-ir- 'act of reading, questioning', 𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺-ir- '[act of] bying') ¶ Dt. 217, K 101 || IE: NaIE *-l√-, sf. of nomina actionis > Arm -l, e.g. սիրելի siṙel 'to love' ||| possibly *sed-(o)lo- ~ *sed-(o)lā 'seat' (n. loci ← n. actionis?) > Gk Lc ἐλλά 'seat', Gl -sedlon (in caneco-sedlon 'goldner Sessel?'), L sella 'seat, chair', Sl *sedьb-lo 'saddle' (> OCS d. оседѣлати oseedьl-ati vt. 'to saddle', ChS, OR сѣдѣло sedьlo, Bg, R сед'ло, Uk сид'ло, SCr sèdlo, Slv sédlo, Cz, Slk sedlo, P siadło 'saddle'), Gt sitl-σ 'θρόνος, κατασκήνωσις (Sitz, Stuhl)', OHG sēz̄zal 'seat, throne', NHG Sessel 'seat', AS seotul id., NE settle 'large wooden bench', but (acc. to KM} Gmc *saðula 'saddle' (> ON sǫðull, OHG satul ~ satal, NHG Sattel, AS sadol id., NE saddle) is a loan from another IE lge. (where pIE *-d- was not devoiced) ¶ Fs. 425, Kb. 846, KM 625, 704-5, Vs. III 589-90, BD II/1: 362 || A: T *-í / *-í / *-ú / *-ü-, sx. of n. act., {Cl.} 'a way of (doing sth.)' > OT alqış n. 'praise' (← alqa- v. 'praise'), ülüş 'share, portion' (← üle- 'divide [into shares], distribute'), arviş 'magic spell, a charm' (← arva- 'make magic, cast spell'), busuş 'grief, sorrow' (← *busa- v. in d. busan- v. 'grieve, be sorrowful') ¶ Cl. xiv, 127, 137-8, 153, 199, 374 || M *-l, sx. of abstract nouns: WrM qural n. 'meeting, gathering' ← qura- v. 'gather, assemble' ¶ Pp. GPMJ 99, MED 967 || D *-u]-, sf. of abstract nouns: Tm akal-u 'width, expanse, greatness' (← akal v. 'spread, widen, extend'), iyavū 'leadership, god, way' (← *iya- found in Tm d. iyavū 'way, leading'), ceyyū 'action' (← ceɣ v. 'do, make'), pāyttū 'a spring, leap' (cp. pāy v. 'spring, leap'), vikku n. 'hiccup' (← vikku v. 'hiccup'), verpu 'heat' (cp. verpu id.), D *ĉir-u 'darkness' (> Tm, Ml iru, Tu irı, irı, Tl irulu id., Kt irı, Td i, Kn iru, irı, irı, irı 'night', Kdg irı 'night-time') (← *ĉir-

'be dark; black' > Tm *irū* 'black, MI *irū* 'dark', Klm *čiryṃ* 'very dark'), D **aruḷ* 'grace, mercy, favour' (> Tm *aruḷ* id., MI *aruḷ* 'frace, favour', Kt *arḷ* 'voice of god spoken through diviner', Tl *aruḷu* 'tendernss, affercion' (D #227 suggests that it is connected with D **ār-/*ar-* in Tm *ārvam* 'affection, love', *ārvu* 'desire', MI *āromai* 'darling', Kn *arume* 'love', Tu *arti* 'fondness', Tl *ariti* 'love, affection', Ku *armeli* 'period of heat in animals'); less probable (as found in Kn only) OKn {Ktl.} *-al*, NKn {Jns.} *-alu*, sxs. of the inf.: OKn *ir-al* 'to be', *uṇ-al* 'to eat', NKn {Jens.} *māḍ-alu* 'to make', *kare-y-alu* 'to call', *koḷḷ-alu* 'to take' ¶¶ Hardly here D **-talai*, sx. of nomina actionis: Tl *dala* (MTl {MhS} *-dala: arugu-dala* 'digestion' [\leftarrow *arugu* v. 'digest'], *paṭṭudala* 'perseverence' [\leftarrow *paṭṭu* v. 'hold']), Tm *-talai*, Kn *tale*, Td *-taḥ / -daḥ*; D **-tala* is hardly an acceptable cognate because of the unexplained **-ta-* and the cns. **-l-* (nor cognate with T **-l̥-*) ¶¶ Em. SDNF 164-9, Ktl. G 120-1, Jens. GK 91, MhS 111, D ##8, 227, 381, 2552, 5517 ◇ N **í* (rather than **l* or **ḷ*) is reconstructed on the ev. of T and D. In K, T, and D the lateral is preceded by a high vw. (**i* in K, **i/i/u/ü* in T, **u* in D), which suggests a N **Hâí∇*. The absence of NaIE **ə-* (a reflex of most N laryngeals) points to a N **ʔ-* (that yields zero in the preconsonantic position). Hence we may tentatively reconstruct a pN **ʔâí∇*.

1347. **íihç∇* (or **ī-* ?) 'to press, to squeeze' > HS: CS **√lhç* > BHb *ḡṇḷ√lhç* 'push (so. to a corner, against sth., etc.); oppress, torment', MHb *√lhç G* 'press, squeeze', SmA *√lhç* 'be narrow; oppress', Ar *√lhç D* (pf. *lahḥaṣṣa*) 'put so. in (a strait)', {Fr.} 'in angustias redegit, pressit', {Hv.} *lahīṣ-* 'straitened, narrow' ¶ GB 384, KBR 524, Js. 704, Tal 433-4, Fr. IV 91, Hv. 680 || Crn. equates the S *√* with Cpt B/Sd *Λωχζ* *lōzḥ* 'effacer, broyeur, écraser', which is highly doubtful because of the semantic distance between the words (Vc. admits a possibility of root contamination: "une certaine confusion entre plusieurs verbes de signification[s] différentes qui ont pu s'influencer mutuellement") ¶¶ Crn. 76, Vc. 102 || U: FP **íic∇* v. 'press, squeeze' > Flitsaa-, litso-, Krl *liččoa-* v. 'squeeze, press together', Es *litsu-* 'press, squeeze' || Chr E {Wc.} *Δ laz̄rte-* *ḍ lz̄rte-* *ḍ lz̄rte-* 'zerdrücken, quetschen' || Z *личкы-* *líck+* v. 'press, press to (давить, прижать)' ¶ LG 160, UEW 690 (believes that Z *l̥-* is from **l-*) || K **leçç-* > G *leç-* 'dreschen; zerschmettern, zerstören, einschlagen' ¶ Chx. 681 || ?φ IE: NaIE **la|aK-*

> Gk $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$, $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'pestle' (without convincing IE et.) ¶ P 673 and Hofm. 173 (both equate it with NaIE * lek- ~ * lēk- /* lək- 'biegen'); F II 82, and Ch. 619 (no IE et.; they connect it with Gk $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$ 'mit dem Ferse\Fuß') || ?σ D (in NED) * nič- v. 'smooth down (earth); smooth' > Krx nišbġ- / nišg- v. 'overlay with a coating of earth carefully smoothed down', Mlt nišge v. 'smooth', nišgro 'smooth' ¶ D #3666 ◇ FP * í- goes back to a pN * í- or (which is less probable) results from assimilative palatalization (caused by *-i-) of a N * l- or * ɫ- ◇ NaIE * °la|aK- is a valid cognate if the N postcons. * č̣ may yield an IE * K .

1348. * $\text{í'ü'k}_{\text{ɫ}}\nabla$ 'thick' (of liquids), 'dense', 'narrow, tight' > HS: S * $\text{°} \checkmark \text{kk}$ > Ar likāk- 'presse, pression (p. ex., des hommes en foule dans un espace étroit)', lukk- 'qui a chairs compactes (homme)' ¶ BK II 1019-20 || B * $\checkmark \text{lglg}$ > Kb (inv.) lāglāg v. 'be thick' (of liquid), ETwl/Ty alāglug (pl. iāglāg) 'lieu touffu (couvert de végétation touffue)' ¶ Dl. 447, GhA 110 || U: FU {Coll.} * $\text{íükk}\nabla$, {UEW} * $\text{íek}\nabla$ v. 'be narrow (of space), thick, dense' > Vt íuk+t 'narrow' (of space) || pObU * íükk 'thick (of liquid), tight, narrow' > pVg * íükk > Vg UL/Ss íak^{ω} id.; pOs * íökk ({JHl.} * íükk) > Os: VK íök , Ty/Y č̣ök , Nz tūq , Kz č̣ūq id. ¶ Coll. 96, UEW 260-1, Ht. #162 || A: NaT * jigi 'close, compact', * jigtür- v. 'squeeze, compress' > OT jigi ({Cl.} jigī) 'close, compact' → '(tightly sewn) seam', {DTS} 'thick' ('густой, частый, густо'), 'dense' ('плотный, плотно'), Qzq жиі žiyi 'thick (dense), frequent, often', Qq жиий žiyi 'often, more often', OT jigtür- {Cl., DTS} v. 'squeeze, compress' ¶ Cl. 911-2, DTS 260-1, MM 176, KrkR 251 || M: [1] M * lüg 'thick' (of fog), 'stuffy' (of weather) > WrM lüg , HIM лүг {Rinc.} 'thick' (of fog) ({MED} WrM lüg kizü budanta- v. 'become foggy', HIM {Luv.} лүг жийж будантав {Luv.} 'густо стелился туман') || [2] M * niġ > WrM niġ , HIM няг, ниġ adj./adv. 'solid(ly), dense(ly), condensed', Kl {Rm.} niġ 'dicht, hart, fest (z. B. Tuch)'; M * niġta adj./adv. 'thick(ly), dense(ly), compact(ly)' > WrM niġta , HIM нягт id., Kl {KRS} ниġт niġta 'thick (dense), firm', {Rm.} niġta ~ niġta 'dicht, fest aneinander, ohne Zwischenraum'; M ⇨ Qzq, Qq, Nog niq , VTt, Bsh ньк ньġ 'firm, solid', Chv нăк ньġ, Qrg ык iq, ньк niq id., ньк тойгон 'having eaten one's fill' ¶ MED 518, 578, Luv. 231, Rinch. 123, KRS 376-7, KW 276, MM 255, KrkR 485, NogR 238, Jud. 558, 925, Jeg. 138 || Tg * lügk- ({Jbz.} * lögk) 'dense, thick (густой)' > Ud luktu , Ork lugjē , lugji , Nn Nh lugžī 'dense, thick (густой, частый)'

(of a forest), Ul *lugdi* 'thick (густой)' (of grass, fur, animal's hair), *lugbu-* v. 'become thick (густеть)' (of grass), WrMc *luqdu*, *loqdi* 'dense, thick' (of forest, vegetation, etc.) ({Z} 'густой, частый, спросійся, плотный', {Hr.} *loqdi* 'dichtstehend, buschig, üppig', *luqdu* id., 'dichtgedrängt') ¶ STM I 508, Krm. 257, Z 857-9, Hr. 626, 629 ¶¶ STM I 508 (Tg, M), DQA #1221 (A **l̥u^hk^hu* 'thick (dicht), dense') || ?σ,φ D (in SD) **nik-* ({ǵGS} *-gg-) v. 'fill up (as a hole)' > Ml *nikakka*, *nikaḷuka*, Kn Hv *nigi* id., Tu *neggi* 'full, complete', *nigyuuni* 'be levelled, filled up as a pit' ¶ D #3658 ◇ S, T, and M (as well as possibly B) point to N *-k-, while U *-kk- apparently represents N *-k̥-. The solution of the problem may be found in supposing a Nlr. *-ʔ- following the velar stop and lost everywhere, but responsible for the emphatization *-k- > *-k̥- in the prehistory of U and Tg.

1349. **l̥ayUí|l̥* (= **l̥ayUí|l̥*?) 'to sleep; sleeping-time' (← Ll.) > HS: [1] S **layl-* ~ {KB} **laylay-* 'night' > BHb π לַיַל *layil* ~ לַיַל *l̥ēl*, BHb לַיַל *laylā* (cs. לַיַל *l̥ēl*) id., M'b, DA lh, OA, Yd em. *layl[?]*, BA em. לַיַל *l̥ēl_ə'y-ā*, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Dlm.} לַיַל *l̥ēl-ā* ~ לַיַל *l̥ēl_ə'y-ā*, JEA {Sl.} לַיַל *l̥êl'y-ā*, Sr abs. {Nld.} *laylē[?]* & *laylay*, Sr E *l̥ēl'yā*, Sr W לַיַל *li_ə'yā* ~ לַיַל *l̥ēl'y-ā*, SmA {BH} *l̥īli*, Md *lilia*, Ar *layl-*, *layl-at-*, Qt *layl*, Gz *l̥ēlī-t*, Tgr *lali*, Amh *let*, *lelit*, Mh {Jo.} *'laylɜt*, *l̥lɜt*, Hrs {Jo.} *l̥ēlɜt*, *'lɜyɜt* (pl. *l̥ēl*, *lɜy*) 'night', Sq {Jo.} *'lilɜn* 'last night', Ak *l̥īliātu*, *l̥īlātu* 'evening, night'; EthS ⇨ Aw D {CR} *liēlā'gī* 'night' | [2] S (att. in Cn) **o-l̥ūl̥in-* 'pass the night' (dis. from ***l̥ūl-* or **l̥īl-*, a verb derived from **layl-* or **laylay-* 'night, time to sleep') > BHb ✓*lwn* / ✓*lyn* G {pf. לָן *lān*, ip. -*l̥īn*, inf. לִין *l̥īn* ~ לִין *l̥ūn*) 'stay overnight', MHb ✓*lwn* / ✓*lyn* id., 'take night-lodging, be kept overnight', Ph ✓*lwl̥yl* TD (3p ip. *ytlrn*), Ug ✓*lwl̥yn* 'pass the night, sleep'; d. Cn **mal'a^hw^hn-* > BHb מַלְוֹן *mālōn* 'camp for the night'; d. Cn **malū^h-at-* > BHb מַלְוֹנָה *mālū^hnā* 'watchman's hut' ¶ KB 502-3, 556, 1731-2, Lv. T I 409-10, Js. 899-900, Sl. 626, HJ 574-5, A #1470, Grd. UT #1376, OKLS 246, Br. 366, Nld. SG § 146, Nld. MG 127, DM 236, BK II 1050, LG 314, Jo. M 259, Jo. H 86, CAD IX 184-5 || EC: Sml {ZMO} *lulow-* 'feel sleepy', *lulo* 'sleepiness', *lulmō* 'drowsiness, sleepiness', ? Or Wl {Brl.} *lu^hyu* 'sleep-walker' ¶ ZMO 262, Brl. 285 || K: GZ **lul-* 'sleep, doze' > OG dis. *ru^h-* 'dozing, Schlummer', *ru^h-* v. 'doze', G *lul-* {Chx.} 'die Augen halb schließen, blinzeln', *ru^h-* 'light sleep, dozing', *h-ru^h-s* 'is asleep', Mg *ki-di-ru^h-i* 'fell asleep', mt. *lur-*: *lur-s* 'is asleep',

lur-enǰ-i 'schlafend', Lz lir- v. 'doze' ¶ K 123, K² 110-1, FS K 202, FS E 222, Chik. 302, Chx. 697, 1077 || **D** *na]-~*nā]-, {GS} *ńā]- 'night' (probably from eD *La₁]-, as suggested by Ku words) > Tm na], Klm a'le, Nkr ā]e, Nk ā]en, Knd nā]a, Png nā]a, Kui nā]anggi, Ku lā]a'ana ǰ la'a'ana, Brh nan 'night', Prj nendu na] 'midnight', Mnd nā]aŋ 'darkness, night' ¶¶ D #3621, Zv. 132, GS 142 [#361] || **A**: ?σ T *jo₁]- > OT još 'twilight', OOSm XIV još 'dimmed (by weeping)', 'dazzled by the sun' (of eyes) ¶ Cl. 976 ◇ N *í]ayUí]▽ (= *íayUí▽?) is originally a Lallwort (cp. NE lullaby). The N word-medial *-í] (or *-í-) is reconstructed on the ev. of D *-]- (and possibly T *-í-), while the N initial *í] (or *í-) is conjectured on a typological basis: in Lallwörter the medial cns. is usually identical to the initial one ◇ ≈ IS MS 367 (*lu]a 'sleep': HS [C, ?S], K).

1350. *í]amX]▽ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead' > **HS**: S *°]h̄m > Gz]h̄m G 'be tender, soft' ¶ L G 311 || ? B *]m̄g v. 'be soft, tender' > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}]m̄g 'be soft', ETwl/Ty {GhA}]m̄g 'be soft, easy', Kb a]am̄g i 'tendre (legume)'; B *]m̄g > Gh {Nh.}]m̄g 'be weak' ¶ Fc. 1079-80, Msq. 203, GhA 116, Dl. 455, Nh. 159 || ? C: Ag *]m̄f ~ *]m̄m 'be verdant, fresh, mild' > Km {CR} rf. l̄am̄y-t-, Q {R} l̄al̄am-, Xm {R} lilem-, Xm T {CR} lamlim- 'be verdant, fresh', ⇨ EthS: Tgr]m̄f (pf. l̄em̄fa), Tgy]m̄f (pf. l̄emmāfe) 'be green, tender', Gz]m̄m (pf. lamlama) 'be verdant, fresh, mild, become soft' ¶ R Q II 94, R Ch. II 74, CR K 225, L G 315 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} l̄m̄i:s 'soft, as a cushion', Bd {ChL} l̄mal̄mađà 'soft' || Ang {Flk.} l̄ōm 'soft, pliable' (of leather, cloth), 'thin' || Hs láyšī, Δ lamšī 'softness', 'tenderness' (of meat), 'fineness' (of ground flour), Gw {Mts.} lawšī 'softness', 'fineness' (of grain) || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} lamđá, L {Grgs.} l̄ōmđī 'soft' || ? ZmD {KNC} l̄l̄um 'mou, tendre, doux à toucher', ZmB {Sa.} l̄l̄um 'soft', Azm {Pc.} lum, lam 'softly', lulumađa, lulumiđa 'humble, meek', lulumuna id., 'quiet' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 102, Ba. 723, KNC 15, Pc. 264, 274 || **IE**: NaIE *í]lem̄a]- 'weak, mild' > OIr {P} lem adj. 'fade, töricht, impotent', MW {P} llyveithin 'weak' (< *lemekt-) || OHG luomi 'matt, schlaff, mild', MHG lüemen 'erschlaffen, ermatten', NHG Δ lumm 'schlaff'; ? ON lamí, OS, OHG, MHG lam (< *lom-), NHG lahm 'lame, crippled', AS lama 'crippled; weak, sick', NE lame || Gk νωλεμές, νωλεμέως 'unceasingly, without pause' ({F, P}: from ν(ε)- privativum + *ύ-λεμος with prosthetic ύ-) ¶ ≈ P 674, F II 331,

Vr. 345, Kb. 642, OsS 532-3, 578, Lx. 121, 130, Ho. 194, H. S 44 || U:
 FU * $\acute{\lambda}$ am ∇ 'weak(ness); to knead' > F λ ama 'weakness of cattle because
 of hunger; week in the feet', lamassa 'palalyzed, stunned, crippled',
 Es {W} lame (gen. lameda) 'weak, not intensive' || Lp: N {N} labme / -
 \bar{a} m- 'weakness of birds in the moulting season', labmo- / - \bar{a} m- v.
 'become incapable of flying' (of a bird), 'lose one's vigour, become
 tired out (of work)', L {LLO} lapm \bar{o} - 'become unable to fly because of
 moulting' (of birds) || pPrm * $\acute{\lambda}$ am- > Z Ss $\acute{\lambda}$ am mun- 'entkräftet
 niedersinken, wenn man einen hefrigen Hieb\Schlag bekommt', $\acute{\lambda}$ ama \bar{a} -
 'angedrückt, niederdrückt werden', Prmk $\acute{\lambda}$ ama ∇ - 'von einem Hiebe
 entkräftet werden, so daß man nicht gehen kann', ? Z лям- $\acute{\lambda}$ am- v.
 'blunt a blade (затупить, иступить [лезвие])'; Yz $\acute{\lambda}$ am- 'quetschen' ||
 ?? Hg lankad- (< * λ an-kad-) v. 'weaken, grow faint\feeble; grow
 languid', (?) here also lankad- v. 'flag, droop' (the Hg supposed
 cognate is qu., because the change from FU * $\acute{\lambda}$ - to Hg l- is not attested
 elsewhere, as indicated by UEW) ¶ UEW 684 (ignores the ev. of Prm * $\acute{\lambda}$ -
 and reconstructs * λ ama), LG 165, W EDW 453 || ? D * $\acute{\eta}$ am- 'press,
 squeeze' (x N * $\acute{\eta}$ am \bar{o} 'squeeze, grasp', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS II 21-2 (* $\acute{\lambda}$ ama
 'разминать, размягчать': HS [S, WCh + unc. Ak ✓ lmm 'chew'], IE, U,
 D + unc. K: G lam- /lm- 'hurt'). IE, C, and FU cognates suggest that N * \mathbf{m}
 was not preceded by a lr. (but probably followwd by it), while Gz ✓ lhm
 may be explained by mt.

1351. *mA ({IS} *-mA), pc. of marked accusative > IE *-m / *-m̥, accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender > AnIE: Ht -n / -an, Lw, HrLw, Pal, Car -n, Ld -v id. || NaIE *-m (accus. of m. and f.) > OI, L -m, Gk -v, OLT nasalization of the stem-final vw.; after stem-final cns. *-m̥ > OI -am, Gk -α, L -em, Lt -i ¶¶ Bks. 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, Rsk. 54-5, Kmh. HPL 193-7, 301, Hb. L406-9, KrlSh. XLJ 19, 25, 62 || **HS:** Om: SOm {FL.} accus. ending *-m > Ari {Hw.} -m, Dm {FL.} -im, Hm {Ldl.} -(d)∧m / -(d)∧n (positionally conditioned allomorphs, in which, acc. to Hw. CO 28, -m/-n go back to *-m) ||| NrOm: Krt {Hw.} -m- within the predicative forms of pers. pronouns: ta-m-akk0 'it is I', ne-m-akk0 'it is you (thou)', nu-m-akk0 'it is we' (pred. ← accus., as in NE it is me and Fr c'est moi), Bnc {Brz.} -m as a dative-benefactive ending of pers. pronouns: ta-m 'to me' (dat.-ben. ← generalized oblique case ← accus., as in M *č̣i-ma- obl. of 'thou' < N *ṭ'ü⁷ mA 'thee', see below); but, acc. to Hw. CO 26-9, hardly here the NrOm accus. ending *-n (> Kf/Bsk/Ym {C} -n, Mj {All.} -n) (see N *nu 'from, of') ¶ Bnd. MO 167-8, Hw. CO 26-30, Fl. OO 316, Fl. D 518, Hw. NAL 443, Ldl. H 412, All. D 390, Zab. CO 625 ||| **U** *-m, *-m∇, accus. of definite nouns > FP *-m, accus. > F -n, Lp J -m, Lp S {Hs.} -m ∂ -b, Chr L/H -m (F kala-n, Lp J guole-m, Chr kolə-m 'piscem') ||| Vg {Lml. ← Kn.}: SV/LL/ML -mā, -m, LK/MK/UK -mā, -m, T -mɜ, -mi, -m, marker of accus. of definite object || Sm: accus. ending: Ne T -m̃, Slq Tz -m, Kms -m, Mt M {Sp.} -m; ending of definite accus.: Ng -m ¶¶ Wkm. FOUL 11-2, 24-5, 56, 63-71, 145-9, Coll. CG 284-6, Hs. 97-103, Lml. HFW 24-41, Beronka II 146-7, Mu. VNYJ II 56, III 363, IV 158, Lav. TJM, Rmb. MJ-93 290, Srb. PGS 70-2, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter NgJ 80-2, Hl. SelJ 364, Hl. MTKJ 377, Kü. KJ 383 ||| **A:** pTg *ba/*be / (after a noun-final *n) *ma/*me, postp. of accus. of definite nouns > NrTg and AmTg accus. ending *-ba / *-be, (after a stem-final n) *-ma/*me- > Ewk -ba/-bɜ, (after a vw.) -wa/-wɜ, (after a nasal) -ma/-mɜ, Lm -w, -m, Neg -wa/-wɜ, -pa/-pɜ, -ma/-mɜ, Nn, Ul, Ork, Sln -ba/-bɜ, (after a vw.) -wa/-wɜ, Ud {Krm.} -wa/-wɜ/-w0/-ma/-mɜ/-m0, WrMc be (marker of accus., still preserves traces of the original analytical status of N *mA, evidenced by the lack of vowel harmony) ¶ Ci. 256, Bz. 78-9, Hrl. 35, 74-5, Krm. 86 || pJ {ʃS} *bɜ, {Vv.} *b0 > OJ, CIJ w0, accus. and emph. (focalizing?) pc. > J 0 id.; b- is still preserved in some Ryukyu ds. (Rbt., p.c., 2003) ¶ Vv. LDROJ 106, Mur. KAJ 130, Mill. JAL 25-7, BBl. 52, 57, 96, Hag. W ∇, Syr. DJ 106-8 || M *-ma- in the accus. and other

oblique cases of pronouns: M *²ci-ma-yi 'thee' (originally accus. *²ci-ma 'thee' + nominal accus. *-yi that was added by analogy [see s.v. N ? *h∇ya 'for']) > MM ²imaiyi, WrM cimai, etc., M *i-ma-yi 'him' accus. (demonstr. *i + accus. *ma + M nominal accus. *-yi). The prehistory of these forms may be reconstructed as follows: N *²t'ü' mA 'thee' (= *²t'ü' 'thou' + *mA accus.) > ppM *t'ima 'thee' > pM *²ci-ma-yi 'thee', the form *²ci-ma- being generalized as the stem of the oblique cases, whence the dative *²ci-ma-dur, the ablative *²ci-ma-ča, etc. ¶ AD PP 78-9, Pp. IM 209-14 ¶¶ Mng. JA 11, 14 || ? D *-n (if from *-m), accus. case ending > Kt -n, Td -n, -n, OKn -a(:)n, Tulu -nɔ, OTI -n (-v), -i n (-i v) - n u, Klm -(u)n, Prj -(i)n, Gdb -(i)n ~ -(i)ŋ, Knd -ŋ, Png -iŋ, Krx -in, -an, -an, Mlt -e(n), -i(n). Traces of the former ending *-m may be discerned in OKn accus. ending -am ¶¶ Zv. CDM 27-30, MhS 165, Shanm. DN 370-1, Ktl. G 43, Gai 42, An. SG 202-5, Rmn. OT 191 ◇ IS II 48-51 (*-mA > IE, U, A, D), AD PP 92, Mng. MP 21-36, Coll. IUS 21, Coll. HUV 130, Ivn. VNZN 148 (on the original analytical status of this accus. ending), Gr. I 129 (IE, U, A, incl. J). I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the Om cognate. In IE the nouns of the non-animate (neuter) gender do not distinguish between nom. and accus. (and hence have no accus. ending), because there is no syntactic necessity for it: nouns of the non-animate gender do not usually appear as subjects of a trans. verb, therefore in sentences with trans. verbs they always function as their object. In other words, in IE (as in many lgs.) the marker of accus. is used only when it is necessary for syntactic distinctions. It is a trace of an old N syntax that had no obligatory grammatical categories (unlike in later IE lgs. with their grammatical categories of compulsive usage - even when not necessary for communication). In F the morpheme of accusative is not used after the imv., which reflects the same original situation: the form is not used wherever the syntactic function (object of the verb) is obvious from the context. In Sm and Tg this case marker denotes a definite object. All this suggests that originally N *mA denoted a marked accusative.

1352. *mA, a marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis, and other derived nouns > HS *m∇ - prefix of derived (mainly deverbal) nouns: S: [1] S *m∇- as a px. of prtcs.: (α) *mu-1a2¹2i3-, act. prtc. of the D - stems > Akk mu1a22i3-, Ar mu1a22i3-, BHb mə1a2¹2ē3, Aram mə1a2¹2e3, Sr mə1a2¹2ε3 (on the meaning of ε in Sr cf. *Phonetic symbols and other signs used in etymological entries*, III, B), Gz

ma1a22a3 id., (β) *mu-1a2'2a3-, ps. prtc. of the *D*-stems > Ar mu1a22a3-, Sr ma1a22a3, BHb (with an analogical u) ma1u22a3, (γ) *mu-ša1'2i3-, act. prtc. of the *Sh*-stem (causative) > Ak muša12i3-, Ar mu12i3-, BHb ma2'2ī3, Sr ma2'2ε3, etc. | [2] S nomina actionis *ma12a3- > Ar maʔka1- '(act of) eating', BHb מַאֲכָל maʔa'kāl 'food', מַסָּע mas'saʕ 'trip' (← √nsʕ 'fahren'), Gz maṣṣar 'the front part exposed to view' (← 'looking at' ← √nšr 'look [at]'), whence nomina loci *ma12∇3- > Ak maškanum 'place, tent', BHb מִשְׁכָּן miš'kān 'dwelling(-place)', Sr marbaʕ 'womb' (← √rbʕ 'lie down'), Ar maqbar- 'cemetery' (← √qbr 'bury'), Ak mūšabum 'seat, dwelling place' (√wšb 'sit, reside'), BHb מוֹשָׁב mōšāḅ; nomina abstracta *m∇12∇3-at- > Hb מִלְחָמָה milhā'mā 'fight, war', Ar maḥmidat- n. act. 'praise', Gz mangašt 'government, kingdom', JA ma12a3 - inf. of the *G*-stem., Ak mūrakum 'length' (√ʔrk 'be long'), etc. | [3] S *ma12i3- ~ *ma12a3-at- - patterns of nomina instrumenti > BHb מַפְתֵּחַ map'tēaḥ 'key' and Ak niptētum id. (both ← √pṯh v. 'open', Ak n- < *m-), BHb מֶרְכָּבָה merkā'bā, JA מַרְכָּבָתָא markab't-ā, Sr مَرْكَبَةٌ; مَرْكَبَةٌ markab't-ā, and Ak narkabtum 'chariot' (*√rkb v. 'ride, voyage') | [4] ? possibly a S sx. *-m-: Ar fušum- 'wide', šadqam- 'wide-mouthed' ¶ Br. G I 375-82 [§§ 195-203], JB NB 233-73, Sd. G 64-6, Js. 844, Br. 731, MSUS 80-3 || Eg m∇-, px. of derived (deverbal and denom.) nouns (nomina loci, instrumenti): mzwṯ 'food made of wheat' (← zwt 'wheat'), msxn 'abode (of gods)', msxnṯ 'bearing-stool; necropolis' (← sxnṯ 'descend'), mḫṣt 'balance (Waage)' (← ḫṣṯ v. 'measure'); m∇-, px. of prtcs. and nomina actoris: mnhyw 'bewachende' (← nhzy 'wake'), mḥnk 'Beschenker' (← ḥnk v. 'present so. with') ¶ Ed. 109-10, Fk. 119 || C: Bj {R} ma- / me- / (before sibilants) mi-, px. of n. act.: ma-'dir ~ ma-'dēr n. act. 'killing' (← -dir 'kill'), 'ma-fnik ~ ma-f'nēk ~ mefnek 'Biß, das Beißen' (← -fnik 'bite'), mi-'sāʔ ~ mi'saʔ 'seat, sitting' (← -sāʔ 'sit, sit down') || Af m-, px. of derived abstract nouns (n. act., etc.): mābaka 'birth, being born' (← ōboke 'be born'), mabul 'observation, sight' (← uble 'see'), midir 'possessions' (← eddere 'possess') || Ch: Hs ma-...-ī (m. pl. ma-...-ā, f. sg. ma-...-iyā, f. pl. ma-...-iyaj) - circumfix of nomina agentis (madinkī 'tailor' [← dinka 'sew'], maginī 'builder' [← gina 'build'], maḫērī 'smith' [← ḫēra 'forge'], mažiyī 'ear' [← ži 'hear']), ma...-ī (pl. ma-...-aj) -

circumfix of nomina instrumenti (mabūdī 'opener, key' [← būda v. 'open'], maḍaukī 'handle' [← ḍauka v. 'lift']), ma-...-ī and ma-...-ā (both pl. ma-...-a] - circumfixes of nomina loci (mašigī 'ford' [← šiga v. 'enter'], mak^ωančī 'lair' [← k^ωanta 'lie down'], mafitā 'exit' [← fita 'come out'], makarantā 'school' [← karanta v. 'read']) || Mrg m₃-, px. of nomina loci: m³čīb³ 'corral, fence' (← čīb³ v. 'fence [in]'), m³-nd³lā 'escape-hole' (← nd³lā 'go\break through'); *m₃...-i, circumfix of nomina agentis: m³š³ž³ž³b³ 'pupil' (← š³ž³ž³b³ 'learn, teach'), Msg/Gdr {Mch.} m_u-, Pdk {Mch.} m_a-, sx. of derived nouns ¶ Taylor 63-4, Hf. M 48-9, Mch. VCQP 67-8 ¶¶ Zab. HSP 35-8 ¶¶ HS *^o-m[∇], nominalizing suffix > C *^o-m[∇] > EC: Af {Hw.} nominalizing sx. -m / -im, e.g. y^o h^oate-m 'the one(s) who helped me' (← h^oate 'help'), řasám 'the red one(s)\thing(s)' (← řasa 'red'), iyyínim 'whose one(s)\thing(s)' (← iyya 'who'), nammám 'two, the two, both' (← nammay 'two'); it functions as nominalizer of sentences (≈ infinitive, gerund): **is ká digibta-m** máfađđa 'she doesn't want **to marry him**', **yamāté-m kāk** fađen 'they wanted **him to come**', **gīrisám** duddah 'she can (is able) **to swim**', **úsuk y^o yuble-m** āđigeħ 'I know **that he saw me**'; Sml -mo-, sx. of nomina actionis (and nouns denoting the result of an action): dīd-mo(-da) 'refusal' (← dīd-i v. 'refuse, deny'), ħir-mo(-da) 'bundle, sheaf' (← ħir- v. 'tie'), deg-mo(-da) 'settlement, camp' (← deg- v. 'live [in a place], reside'); Sd {Gs.} -umma ~ -imma, sx. of nomina abstracta: dančumma ~ dančimma 'beauty, goodness' (← danča 'good, beautiful') || SC: Irq {Mous}: -īma sx. of denom. abstract nouns (dařari?īma 'prosperity' ← dařār-mo 'rich person'), -ēma sx. of abstract nouns derived from adjectives (ĉērēma 'length' ← ĉēr 'long') ¶ R BedS IV 15, R WBd 80, 194, PH 157-68, 236, 287-8, Dbn. 70, ZMO 89, 93, 431, Gs. 67, Mous 77, 81-2 || K: [1] *m-, *me-, px. of prtcs. and nomina agentis > OG m- (m-çe 'helper', m-dgom-i 'who stands'), G m- (da-m-çer-i 'author', m(e)-br₃o₁-i 'fighter', prtcs. 'fighting'), Lz m- (me-m-ž³on-i 'leader'), Sv m_a₁- (m_a₁-çer 'striker', m_a₁-çed 'who sees', UB m_a₁-māre 'who prepares', Sv m_a₁-š³id 'smith'); GZ *me-çwel- 'milch (cow, etc.)' (← *çwel- v. 'milk') > G meçwel, Mg maçwal-, Lz mançwal-u; [2] *m-...-e, me-...-e, circumfix of prtcs. > OG m-ž₁-e(-y) 'mighty one', G m-çip-e 'ripe', Lz m-š³in-e 'who remembers', Sv m_a₁-tr-e 'who drinks', m_a₁-gč-e 'who catches'); GZ *me-up-e- 'owner, possessing' (← *up-

'possess') > OG *meupe-*, G *mepe-*, Mg *mapa-* 'king', Lz *mapa-* 'king' (in a place name); [3] GZ **m-...-el-*, circumfix of prtcs. (OG *m-çap-eli eḫlisa* 'chariot driver', G *m-çed-eli* 'smith', Mg *m-çkad-u* id., Lz *m-šum-u* 'drinker'); [4] GZ **m-...-el-*, circumnfix of gentilicia > OG *m-egwipt-eli* 'an Egyptian (person)', G *m-ruv-eli* 'bishop of Ruisi', *m-egr-el-i* 'a Megrelian', Mg *m-arg-al-i* id.; [5] **ma-*, derivational px. (px. of nomina agentis, nouns\adjectives of quality bearers, etc.) > OG *ma-* (*ma-ruxw-i* 'destroyer'), G *ma-* (*mar-rǝv-e* 'geschickt, geeignet', etc.), Mg, Lz *mu-* (Mg *mu-rǝgv-i* 'successful'), Sv *ma-* (*ma-qād* 'harvest', *ma-šād* n. 'helper', *ma-zwāb* 'spring of water') ¶¶ K 123-4, 131-3, K² 111-3, Dt. 224-5, FS K 204-5, FS E 224-8, Chx. 225, 738-44, Q O94, Top. SE 220, GM 322, GP US 96 || IE **-mo-*, sx. of denom. and deverbal derivatives: NaIE **d^hū-mo-s* 'smoke' (< **d^hū-* v. 'blow') > OI *d^hūmah₁*, Gk *θūμός*, L *fūmus*, Lt pl. *dūmai*, Ltv pl. *dūmi*, Pru *dumis* 'smoke', Sl **dīmb* id. (> OCS, OR *ДѢМЪ* *dīmb*, Blg, Uk *дим*, SCr, Slv *dīm*, Cz *dým*, Slk, P *dym*, R *дым* id.), Tc B -mo (*pālka-mo-* 'brilliant, splendide', F Wn. 357), Tc A -m(o) || AnIE: Ht {Ts.} *werite-ma* n. 'fear' (< *werite* 'be afraid') ¶¶ Brg. KVG 343-8, P 261-2, Ts. W 105, Kron. EHS I 177-81, Glh. 196 || U **-ma/*-mä*, derivational sx. of deverbal and denom. nouns\adjs. and of prtcs. (e.g. FU **oða-ma* n. 'sleep, dream', **šur(e)-ma* 'death') > F *juo-ma* 'beverage', *kalja-ma* 'skating-rink' (< *kalja* 'smooth'), *kuole-ma*, *sur-ma* 'death', Es *surm* id., *sure-ma* inf. 'die' | Lp N *ællem* (< **elä-mä*) 'life' | Er *нилима* *nili-ma* n. act. 'swallow', *udomo*, Mk *udoma* n. 'sleep' | Chr H *кау-мъ* (past prtcs.) 'gone away', Chr U *о'мъ*, Chr L *udomo* n. 'sleep' | Vt *kule-m*, Z *kulz-m* 'dead', Vt *um* n. 'sleep' || OHg *almu* ~ *alom*, Hg *álom* n. 'dream, sleep' | ObU {Ht.} **wūðam/*wūðm∇* 'dream' > pVg **ūlm∇* id. (> OVg S: Kg *олма*, Vt *олмъ*; Vg S: T *ōlām*; Vg E: Lk/MK/UK *ūlām*; Vg W: P *wulām*, NV/SV/LL *ulām*; OVg N Chd *цлмъ*, Vg N: UL/Ss *ūlām* id.); pOs **wulām* 'dream' > Os: V/VY *ulām*, Ty *uḫām*, D/K *otām*, Nz *utām*, Kz *wūḫām*, O *wulām* 'dream'; pOs **alām* n. 'sleep' > V/Vy/O *alām*, Ty/Y *āḫām*, D/K *otām*, Nz *ṽtām*, Kz *ṽḫām* id. || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} *χḗε·β·ḗ* n. act. 'going away', T F NI {Lh.} *kḗem:ḗ* id., Ng {Cs.} *matu-mu-naḡ firam* 'I can chop', En {Hl.} *badī-ma* n. act. 'hunt for wild reindeer', adj.: Slq Tz {KKIH} *ćōrī-m/p* 'thick' (< *ćōrī* 'thickness'), Koyb {Sp.} *джярямъ* 'thick' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 82-113, Sz. 87-8, Coll. CG 266-9, Srb. IMPJ 114, 153-4, UEW 489-90, MF 85-6, EWH 30, Ht. #664, KKIH 107 || A: T **-m*

/ *-im / *-im / *-um / *-üm, sx. of n. act.: OT öl-üm 'death', ičim 'a single drink', Tk bil-im, Az, Tkm, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qrg bil-im, Qz bīlīm, VTt, Bsh бълъм 'knowledge', Yk kül-üm 'a smile', Chv -ӓм -ӓм (sx. of n. act.); T *-ma / *me- > Chv inf. ending -ма/-ме; the same sx. is preserved in NaT *-mak / *-mäk (> OT -maq/-mäk, etc.), sx. of n. act. (in most lgs.) and inf. (in the Og lgs., in Qmq, ET, Uz, etc.) ¶ Cl. xlii-xliii, Cl. TMS 148, 154, Rs. MTS 133-4, ET B 139 || M *-m in n. act.: WrM naḡadum 'play, game' (< naḡad- v. 'play'), barim n. 'grip' (< barī- v. 'seize'); M *-ma / *-me, sf. of deverbal adjectives and nouns: WrM ḡaiqa-ma, HIM ḡaiḡam 'wonderful, astonishing, surprising' (< WrM ḡaiqa-, HIM ḡaiḡa- v. 'wonder, marvel'), MM daqa-ma 'menstruation' (< daqa- 'follow'), Mnr H {SM} ḡurma 'braided hair' (< ḡuru- < *ḡürü- v. 'braid, weave') ¶ Pp. IM 261-2, Pp. GWM 48, MED 345, SM 143-4 || Tg *-ma / *-me, sf. of deverbal and denom. adjs. > Nn nay-ma 'human', Ewk ḡirku-ma 'pedestrian' (< ḡirku- v. 'walk'), çulama- 'green' (< çula- v. 'be green'), Tg *mō-ma 'wooden' (< *mō 'wood') > Ewk, Neg, Ul, Nn Nh mōma, Ork mōma ~ mōmo, Orc, Ud mōmo 'wooden' ¶ Bz. 91, Vas. 769, STM I 540-1 || Ko unproductive sx. of deverbal nouns: çuḡam 'corpse' < çuḡ- 'die' ¶¶ Rm. NM 255-64, Rm. KhK 94-5, Rm. VAJ 192-4, Pp. NSM 102, 120-1, Grz. 44-5 || D *-may, sx. of derived abstract nouns > Tm -maiḡ (poḡu-maiḡ 'patience, self-control' < poḡu v. 'bear, sustain, endure'), Ml -ma (poḡu-ma 'patience'), OKn -me ({Gai} mudī-me 'dominance' < {D} mudī- 'advance in growth, increase'), Tl -mi (mudī-mi 'old age' < mudī 'old') ¶¶ ≈ Cald. 541, D ##4565, 4954, Gai 96, Ktl. G 200-1 ¶¶ D *may- may go back to N *mA + N *yi 'he, (?) that' (pc. forming construction with adjectival meaning) (q.v.) (see IS II 47) ◇ The N nominalizer *mA may be etymologically connected with the N prn. *mu₁w₁∇₁ 'this, that' (q.v.) (cp. Af nammá-m 'the two' and the S determiner *-m) ◇ U, A, and D provide evidence for a final *a or *ä ◇ IS II 45-8 (*mA), Gr. I 169-73 ("nominalizer M" in IE, U, A, ChK, EA, Ai).

1353. *mä ⇝ ***mäh^o** 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative) > **HS**: S *^omā 'not' > Ar mā 'not'; ? ✓ mhmh (pf. mahmaha) v. 'prevent from', TD (pf. tamahmaha 'abstain from' ¶ Br. G I 500 [§ 253e], BK II 1052, 1163, Hv. 737 || Eg ∇ m 'do not!', prohibitive pc.; survives in Cpt as the initial element of the negative Cpt Sd pc. **мп̄ωρ** mp̄ōr and B **м̄φωρ** mp̄^hōr 'do not!', as well as some negative verbal pxs.: Cpt Sd

МПР- mpr-, Cpt B **МПЕР-** mper- 'do not...!', the px. **МПЕ-** mpe- of the negative perfect I, the px. **МПОУ-** mpu- 'you (f. sg.) did not', the Cpt Sd px. **МПАТЕ-** mpate- (and Cpt B **МΠΑΝΤΕ-** mpante-) 'not yet', Cpt Sd **МАРЕ-** mare- ~ **МЕРЕ-** mere- ~ **МА-** ma- ~ **МЕ-** me-, B **МПАРЕ-** mpare- ~ **МПА-** mpa- (px. of the negative aorist) ¶ EG II 3-4, Vc. 118-9 || ? B: Tz 'amia 'nothing' ¶ Stm. 100, 164 || C: EC: Af ma- and Sa mā- - negative px. of verbs (incl. the prohibitive form: Af ma-...-in, Sa mā-...-in), Sml ma (Sml N má) 'not', ma- - negative px. of verbs, Bn {Hn.} mǎ- (negative verbal px. of the pfc.), Elm {Hn.} má-/m- (negative px. of verbs), Rn {PG} má 'not, is not', Arr {Hw.} ma (with allomorphs m- a. o.) (negative pc. of verbs: má yek(k)ení inv. 'do not swallow!', ma yék(k)éní he did not swallow', ma-na nék(k)eno 'we did not swallow') ||| SC: Irq {Wh.} ma (/m- before a vw. of the next morpheme) 'do not!' prohibitive (e.g. má dâqawar 'don't go!' sg., má dâqawara 'don't go!' pl., m-í gâsar 'don't kill me!'), {Mous} m- proh. pc. (m-u aminus-ār 'don't believe him!') ¶ PH 258-78, TB LA 548, Abr. S 168, 271-2, PG 214, Hn. BD 55, Hn. NBLK 190-5, 232-6, Hw. A 261-5, Wh. IC 47, Mous 151-2 || Ch: Tng {J} -m 'not' (negation of verbs and nouns: na wê-m 'I shall not see', na sânl-m 'I am not eating', mu-m 'not a man, nobody', wa-m 'not a thing, nothing', Ang {Flk.} man(ta) 'don't, let not' (+ vb.) ||| Mrg {Hf.} māi 'not' ¶ J T 61, Flk. s.v. man(ta), Hf. M 22, 178-80, 233, RK 123 || IE *meH̄ ({M} *meH₁, {EI} *mē > NaIE *mē, prohibitive pc. (with the inv.): OI, Av, OPrs mā, KhS, Oss ma id. ||| Gk A/I/D μή, Gk El μᾶ 'not' proh. ||| Al ↓ mo id., StAl mos id. (< pAl {O} *māč < *mē-k^ωe 'and do not') ||| Arm ւի mi 'not' (neg. pc.) ||| pTc {Ad.} *mā > Tc A/B mā 'not' (neg. and proh.) ¶ P 703, EI 395, Brg. KVG 612-4, M E II 343, F II 222, O 274, KT 172, Sl. 399-400, Wn. 282-3, Ad. 445-6, Ad. H 19 ||| K *mā- ~ *mō-, prohibitive pc. (or {K} *mad id.) > Lz {Marr} mo id. (mo çarem 'don't write!', mu mečam 'don't give him!', mo muler 'don't come!'; {FS, K < ?} moč, prohibitive pc.; Sv L {Shr.} mā ~ mō, {Dn.} mā (pc. of negation), Sv UB {GP} māđ (pc. of modal negation), mōđ(e) (pc. of negation) ¶¶ FS K 206-7 and FS E 227 (*ma), K 124-5 and K² 113 (*mad, a verbal prohibitive pc.), Marr 168, Shr. UNS 289-327, Dn. s.v. mā, GP 209, 221 ||| A: T *-ma-/*-mä-, negative infix in verbal forms > OT, Az, Bsh, ET -ma- / -mä-, Tkm, QrB -ma-/-me-, Qzq, Xk -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be- and -pa-/-pe-), Tv -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be-, etc.), Uz -ma(-), VTt -m∇-, Qrg -ba-/-

be-/-bo-/-bö-, Chv -ma-/-me-/-m- ¶ Rm. supposes that the T negative forms with *-ma-/*-mä- go back to a verbal noun with *-m + negative verb *e- (cp. U and Tg negative verb *e-, M *e-se-, see N *ʔe 'not') ¶ Lvt. IM 53, Rm. VAS 210-1, Rm. VAJ 101, Pp. L 1266, Pp. MA 87, 169 || M *bū 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) > MM [LM, IM, MA] bū, WrM бүү (Lg. reads it as bū) ~ бүү (б > Ord {Ms.} b_ū'), HIM бүү ({P.} bū), Dg {Pp.} bū, Brt бүү ({Pp.} bū), Mgl {Leech} bî, bey, {Rm., Wr.} bi ¶ The denasalization *m- > *b- is reg. in M monosyllabic words (without an additional nasal cns.) ¶ Pp. IM 290, Rm. VAS 198-9, Rm. M 24, Lg. VMI 22, Lg. NVMI 135, MED 141, 153, Chr. 119-20, Wr. 143, Ms. O 88 || STg *ume 'do not' (proh.) > WrMc уме, Mc Sb emə, Jrc {Kiy.} ume id. ¶ STM II 272, Z 163, Hr. 960, Y#3005, Kiy. 123 [#472] || Ko {Rm.} neg. mō- 'not, un-', pKo {S} *mō-t > MKo {S} mōt 'impossible' ({Rm.} Ko mōt 'no'), NKo mōs mōt 'not (possibly), definitely not' ¶ Rm. SKE 150, S QK #631, Nam 215, 217, MLC 647 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1234 (pA *ma [a negative pc.], incl. T, Tg, Ko) || D: Gnd {Grr.} -mā (prohibitive sx.: kē-mā 'don't do' sg., kē-mā-ṭ 'don't do' pl. < kī- 'do'; āyī-mā 'don't be ...! < {Grr.} āyā, {D} ayā- 'be' (aux. verb), man-mā 'don't be..., don't stay!' < {Grr.} māyā- 'be, stay') || ? Tm -mal in negative adverbial sx. -amal || NED: Krx mal 'not', mal-nā 'not to be (so)', malʔa 'not, no', Mlt mala 'not, no', mal- 'be not' ¶¶ Grr. IV 487, D #4743, Pf. 194 [#184] ◇ AD GD 2 (HS, K, IE), IS II 56-7 (*mä prohibitive in HS, K, IE, D, A), Gr. I 213-4 ("negative M" in IE, T, ?? Ai). ◇ In IE, K, D (Gondi), Irq, and M the particle functions as prohibitive, in Ar it is negative (of the indicative mood), while in C, Ch, and T it is used in both functions, so that we have no definite ev. to determine which of the two functions was primary, though it seems preferable to suppose that originally it was prohibitive. The length of the vw. in Ar, NaIE, K, M, and D (Gondi) suggests the presence of a lr.; the only lr. that may have been lost in S is *h, hence we tentatively reconstruct a *h of the second syll. (suggested also by the Ar reduplicated verb ✓ mhmh). The ev. of most lgs. suggests the vw. *A (sc. *a or *ä) of the first syll., but M points to a front vw. (probably *ä). The labialized vw. in M *bū and in the Sv variant mō, mōd(e) point to the infl. of a labial factor (final *o?), but the IE e-coloured lr. *h̄ (for the expected labialized *h̄^ω) still needs explaining.

1354. *mi 'I' > IE: [1a] *-mi 'I', "primary" verbal ending of 1s subjecti (in the present tense of the athematic verbs) > OI -mi, Gk -μι, L -m, Gt -m, Lt -mi, OCS -мь -мь, Ht -mi || [1b] *-m 'I',

"secondary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti (in the past tenses): aorist OI -m, Gk -ν, L -m, OCS -ѣ -ѣ, Ht -rн [2a] *me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. accus. *mē, *me(:)-m (with the accus. case ending *-m): OI mā, mā-m, Gk με, L mē, Gt mi-k, OHG mi-h, Sl *me ~ *me̋ > OP miē, OCS ~~MA~~ me; there is a variant *r̥he-me (with an additional element *r̥he-): Gk ἐμέ accus., Ht ammū-k accus. 'me', Arm րմ im gen. ('of mine, my') (*F* below at the end of the entry); Gt -k, OHG -h, and Ht -k are likely to go back to the enclitic (focalizing?) pc. *-ge ~ *-gē (> Gk γε in ἐμέ-γε, ? OCS жє žє); in Clt this prn. is used as aut. prn. (nom.): OIr mé, Brtt {RE} *me > OW, MW, W mi, Crn me, my, OBr, MBr, Br me, Br V mi [2b] gen. *me-ne ~ *mej-ne 'of me, my' (< N *mi nu, sc. N *mi 'I' + N gen. pc. *nu) > Gt meina, OCS mēne mene, Av mana, OI 'mama (< *mana) gen. 'of me', Gt meins, NGH mein, NE mine, Lt māno 'my, mine' [3] the N postnominal usage of *mi as a poss. prn. 'my' survives in AnIE: Ht -mi- ppa. 'my' (nom. com. -mīs, nom./accus. ntr. -met, voc. -mi, accus. com. -man, gen. -mas, gen. anim. -man, dat./lat. -mi, etc.), HrLw (enclitic poss. prn.) (a)mi- (nom. com. (a)mīs, accus. com. (a)min, nom./accus. ntr. amaza, dat./lat. (a)mi, etc.), Lc, Ld ēmi- ¶ Brg. KVG 407-13, 589, Bks. 207-11, 222 (on the pc. *gē), 232-57, LP §§ 337-49, RE 105, Rsk. 66-72, Mer. SGA 316-21, Mer. HHG 18-22, ≈ EI 454 (*'h₁eme / encl. *h₁me 'me') || U: [1] *mi nom. 'I' / *min∇ (obl., which is based on N *mi nu 'of me' - form of gen., that was generalized for all oblique cases) > Prm: Z/Prmk/Yz me 'I' / obl. (stem of obl. cases) men- || Os {Vrt.}: nom. V/Vy mā·, Y mā·, Ty/Kz ma·, Nz ma·, Sh mā, Cng/O {KrT} mā 'I' / obl.: V/Vy män- (accus. män-t, dat. män-ä), Y män- (accus. mā·n-t, dat. mānt-e·m), Kz {Vrt.} män- ~ ma·n- (dat. mān-em), Nz män- (accus. mān-t, dat. mān-e·m), Cng {KrT} män- ~ m(ə)n- (accus. män-t, dat. mān-e·m ~ mn-e·m), O {KrT} mā·n- (dat. mā·n-em); in pVg the stem is {JHt.} nom. *ām / obl. *ām(ā)n- (mt. > *ānm-) > Vg: T nom. εm / accus. ε'mān ~ ε'nām / lat. ε'mān, P nom. am / accus.-lat. amnān, UK nom. ɔm / accus. ɔñnəm / lat. ɔmna·n; a similar development may be supposed for Hg: FU *ä-mi-n∇ (stem for the obl. cases), whence (acc. to MF) pre-Hg *εmEnE > *εmnE > *ennE > *enn > OHg en en ~ ên ēn > Hg érn || pY {IN} *mat 'I' > Y K/T mat, OY Ch {Mat.} мота 'I' || In most U lgs. the stem of the obl. cases was generalized for the whole

declension paradigm: F nom. *mīnā*, gen. *mīnun*, accus. *mīnut*, prt. *mīnuā*, Vp nom. *mīnā*, gen. *mīnun*, Es nom. *mīnā* ~ *mā*, gen. *mīnu* ~ *mu*, prt. *mīnd* | pLp {Wk.} nom. **munna*, **mun*, ill. **munn-* + case ending, gen.-accus. **mun* (> **mū* in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a back formation) > (1) nom.: Lp: N {N} *mon* ~ *mōn*, L {LO} *mānne*, {Wk.} *mon*, *monno*, Ar/M {Wk.} *mon*, Kld {Kert} *monn* ~ *munn*, T/Nt/A {Wk.} *munn* ~ *mun*, (2) gen.-accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} *monε*, T {Wk.} *munj*, N {N} *mu* ~ *mu*, L/Ar {Wk.} *mū*, *muwwa*, L {Schl.} *mū*, M/Nt/A/I {Wk.} *mū*, (3) in other cases **mun* (with or without traces of **n*), e.g. Lp N ess. *mūnen*, Kld {Kert} ess. *monεñ* | Er/Mk nom. *mon*, gen. *moñ* | Chr H nom. *МЫНЬ маñ*, gen. *МЫНЬЫН маñын*, accus. *МЫНЬЫМ маñым*, Chr L nom. *МЫЙ тьу*, gen. *МЫЙЫН тьуын*, gen. *МЫЙЫМ тьуым* (у < pChr **ñ*), Chr B nom. *mīn* | Vt nom. *mon*, gen. *monε*, accus. *mīnam* || Sm **mьn* 'I' > (partially from compound forms) Ne T *мань маñ*, Ne F {Lh.} *маñ*, En {Ter} *moji*, *moj*, Ng {Mik, Ter.} *'mənɜ*, Slq Tz nom./gen. *man* (~ *mat* from a sandhi variant), Kms {KD} nom. *man* / obl. *mana*, Koyb {Sp.} *монь 'I'*, *мăнь 'my'*, Mt {Hl.} **mɜn 'I'* (Mt M {Sp.} *мынь*, {Mll.} *mɛn*, Mt T {Mll.} *mɛn*) || Y: OY O {Mat.} *меня 'I'* || [2] U {Coll.} **-m* ~ **-mi*, verbal ending of 1s subiecti > F -n (*palan 'I burn'*), Es -n (*maga-n 'I sleep'*), Lp N -m (*buolam 'I burn' < *pala-k-mi*), Lp S {Hs.} -m & -b (*b'isseem & b'isseb 'I wash'*), Er/Mk -n (*vanan 'I see'*), Chr -m (*wiðem 'I lead'*), pVg **-∇m*, verbal ending of 1s subiecti (Vg: Ss {Rmb.} *tē-ɣ-am 'I eat'*, *tē-s-am 'I ate'*, LK {Vxr.} *wærrām 'I do, shall do'*, *wærsam 'I did'*), pOs **-m*, verbal ending of 1s subiecti (Os: V *tuləm* [{Trj.} *tuləm*] 'I bring', *tuɣəm* [{Trj.} *tuɣəm*] 'I brought', Vy *wěləm 'I take'*, *wějəm 'I took'*, D *waxtam 'I ask\call'*, *waxəm 'I asked\called'*, K *pāntam 'I put\do'*, *pānəm 'I placed\did'*, Sh *mātəm 'I give'*, *māsəm 'I gave'*), Hg -∇m (in the -ik-conjugation and in the -t-past: *eszem 'I eat'*, *ettem 'I ate'*, in the conjugation with a definite object: *ismerem Péter t 'I know Peter'*); Sm **-mⁱ*, -m: Ne T -*mⁱ*, -β, Ng -*mə*, Slq Tz -m (*qoŋam 'I find'*, *qōsam 'I found'*), Kms {Kü.} -m (*nuɣam 'I stand'*, *nub^ɣam 'I stood'*), Mt {Hl.} **-(∇)m* (Mt T {Mll.} *chandi jum 'I sleep'*); Es -n and Lp N -m suggest the presence of a final vw., because the FU word-final **-m* is regularly lost in these two lgs. || [3] U {Coll.} **-mi* 'my' > F/Es -*ni* (< **-n-mi*), FI -*mi*, FΔ -m (*pojkam 'my son'*), Vp -m ~ -*jn* (*tatam* ~ *tatajn 'my father'*), Lp N -m (*čæccam 'my uncle*

[younger brother of my father]', ак'кум 'my grandmother'), Lp S {Hs.} -me / -mme (viielleme 'my brother'), Lp Kld -m ({Kert} puazam 'my reindeer'), Er -m (kudom 'my house'), Chr L -m (knigam 'my book'), Chr H -m, -em (sola-m 'my village', tängg-em 'my friend'), Vt accus. -me 'my' (↔ accus. -de/-te 'thy', accus. -ze/-se 'his'), loc./ill. -am 'my' (↔ -ad 'thy', -az 'his'), pOs *- (∇)m 'my' (> Os: V/Ty qut-ъm, Kz xat-em, O xat-am 'my house', V qatqam, Ty qatlam, Kz xatqam, O xatlam 'my houses', V köx-äm 'my stone', köxläm 'my stones', kür-im 'my axe', D xot-em 'my house', xottam 'my houses', Sh {Trj.} mis-em 'my cow', mis-ta-m 'my cows'), Hg -om/-am/-em/-öm 'my' (madar-am 'my bird', etc.), pl. possessi -i-m/-ai-m/-ei-m (madar-ai-m 'my birds'; -i-/-ai-/-ei- is a marker of pl.); Sm *-m¹, {Hl.} *-m / *-mä > Ne T -mi ~ -β 'my' (sg. possessi), Ng -mä, Slq Tz -mi id., Kms -m (tura-m 'my house'), Mt M {Hl.} -m (after vowels), -ma/-mä (after css.) ¶¶ Vrt. ∇, UEW 294, Stn. WV ∇, Coll. CG 299-302, 308-10, Wkm. FOUL 19, Laan. 181-3, 191-4, Hs. 118-20, 141-56, Wk. EUL 278-86, It. LC 46-9, 144, Schl. 554, Kert SJ 156-60, 173, Fkt. EJ-66 181-5, Fkt. MJ-66 208, Kov. LV 227, 230, Kov. GM 244-6, Ber. 37, Lt. KPJ 308, Lt. J 61-2, Tepl. UJ 265, Rmb. 115-44, BV 208-21, Ht. CO 107-40, Trj. XJ 324-7, MF 154, Jn. 86, Ter. NJ 333-4, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. EJ 447, Ter. NgJ 96-102, 161, KHG 288-9, Hl. SelJ 365-9, Hl. M 164-5, 298, Hl. MTKJ 377-8, Hl. M 141, 164, #627, Kü. KJ 383-7, ≈ UEW 294 (*mʒ [sc. *mE] 'I'), IN 234-5, 310, 329 || **а:** M nom. *bi (< N *mi) / gen. *minü (< N *mi nu) 'I' > MM nom. bi / gen. minu ~ mini, WrM nom. bi / gen. minu, HIM nom. Би bi / gen. миний minī, Brt nom. Би / gen. минии, {Pp.} me'ñī ~ me'ñi, Kl nom. Би / gen. мини, Mnr H bu 'I' / H mune, {SM} muni 'my', Mnr M bi 'I' / mini 'my', Dx nom. bi 'I' / gen., accus. mini ~ miyi, Dg nom. bī 'I' / gen. minī, Ba nom. be 'I' / gen. mene, Mgl {Wr.} nom. bi 'I' / gen. mini (> -mini ~ -mni ~ -mi 'my', ppa. 1s). In Brt, Kl, Dg, and Mgl the pers. prn. *bi, when used in a postpredicate position as a marker of 1s, has turned into an ending of 1s (of both verbal and nominal predicates): *bi 'I' > Brt -b (epaxə-b 'I shall come', багша-б 'I am a teacher'), Kl -в -w (йов-на-в 'I go', багш-в 'I am a teacher'), Dg {T} -bī ~ -bē (ičim-bē 'ich fahre, werde fahren'), Mgl -bi (irā-nān-bi 'I come, am coming') ¶ Pp. IM 208, MED 101, 539, GBJ 139, Snz. GKJ 57, 83-5, T 319, 347, SM 30, 247, T DnJ 28, 112, T BJ 43, 79, 135, T DgJ 53, 63-8, Rm. M 24, 56-7, Wr. 121-37 || Tg nom. *bi 'I' / obl. *min- > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn B/KU nom. bi 'I' / obl. min-, Nn Nh nom.

mi 'I' / obl. min-, WrMc nom. bi 'I' / obl. min-] Tg *bi in postnominal position meant 'my' and in the NTg and AmTg lgs. became a ppa.: {Bz.} Ewk, Neg -w, -bi 'my', Sln -bi, Ud, Nn -i ~ -bi] In the NTg and AmTg lgs. (but not in Mc) there is a verbal ending of 1s, reconstructible as *-bi (Lm b̄u-ri-w 'I gave' < *b̄u-ri-bi), with the tense sx. *-n-: *-n-bi > *mbi (Sln, Ud w̄a-mi 'I kill', Neg wa-m id., Nn w̄a-ja-mbi, Ewk w̄a-ja-m 'I shall kill') ¶ Ci. 270-1, Bz. 108-10, 129-41, STM I 79, Krm. 90, Avr. GNJ I 145, 248-250 || pT nom. *(E)mi (> *(E)bi) / obl. *m̄än(-) (*b̄än(-)) > Chv nom. эпѣ eb_b / gen. маһӑн маһьн ~ маһ маһ, dat., accus. маһа маһа || NaT (with generalization of the stem of the obl. cases) *m̄än > OT {Cl.} män ɖ b̄än, Tk ben, Az, LN, ET män, Tkm, Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor, SY, Tv men, Tf mén, VTt, Bsh, Xk, Yk min, Slr men (~ män ~ mē) 'I'; the same stem is in gen. (OT m|b̄äniŋ) and later in other obl. cases, except dat. > NaT accus. *mini > OT mini ~ bini; the same stem in OT loc./abl. min-tä ~ mindidä (F Gbn. ATG 91, Rs. MTS 13, 16)] NaT dat. *maŋ-a (< **m|ban-ga?) (*-a- under the ass. infl. of *-a of the case ending?) > OT baŋa ~ maŋa, Tkm, ET maŋa, as well as Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Xk, Shor maŋa (restructured on the analogy of the nominal dat. ending -ŋa)] NaT *m̄än 'I' as a postpredicative subject prn. was a separate word in OT (män) and still is in Tv (men), but in most lgs. it has turned into an agglutinated ending of 1s of verbs and predicative nouns (the so called "full" ending), e.g. ET -män, Uz -man, Qmq -men / -man, VTt -mьн / -mьн (today in verbal forms only), Bsh -mьн / -mьн / -m̄ьн / -m̄ьн, Qzq -min / -m̄in / -bin / -b̄in / -pin / -p̄in, Qrg -min (with synharmonic allomorphs), Alt -min / -min / -bin / -bin / -pin / -pin, Xk -mьн / -min / -bьн / -bin / -pьн / -pin, Yk -bin / -bin / -pin / -pin || In a similar way Chv eb_b has been agglutinated to the verb (prs. and ft.) as a 1s ending -ьр / -əp] pT *-(∇)m 'I', old ("short") ending of 1s in verbs > OT -im/-im/-um/-üm (with the t-pret. of verbs), in most T lgs. -im/-im/-m or -im/-im/-um/-üm/-m, ET -m, -∇m, VTt/Bsh -m / -im / -ьm / -ьm / -ь̄m, Qzq/Qrg/Xk -m, Tv, Yk -(∇)m, Chv -ьm / -ьm (1s ending in -t-/-r-pret. and in inv.); in some lgs. this ending *-(∇)m has spread to the function of 1s marker of nominal predicates (partially through contamination with the reflexes of *-m|b̄∇n 'am'), whence Tk -(y)im / -(y)im / -(y)um / -(y)üm, Az -(y)am / -(y)äm 'am' (cp. Deny OMTT 199; Kon. GTJ 222 tries to trace Tk -(y)∇m back to Tk ben 'I'), Tkm -in, -m (Bazin T 313)] pT *-m / *-im / *-im 'my',

postnominal possessive affix > Chv (after vowels) -m / (after cnss.) -bm / -bm || NaT (after vowels) *-m / (after cnss.) *-im / *-im / *-um / *-üm > Tk, Tkm, Qmq -m / -im / -im / -um / -üm, ET -m / -im / -um / -üm, Uz -m / -im, VTt/Bsh -m / -bm / -bm, Qzq -m / -im / -im, Qrg, Alt -m / -im / -im, Xk -m / -im / -im ¶ The ancient vw. *i (of N *mi) was preserved in the OT accus. mini ~ bini and in the loc.-abl. mintä; in pT gen. *män-in (> Chv man(б)n, OT mänin) and in NaT nom. *män the ancient vw. *-i- was replaced by *-ä- due to unknown factors (hardly due to the "reduction of the final vowel", as supposed in IS II 65, because this NaT reduction is younger than the pT change i > *ä) ¶ Cl. 346, Isx. M 208-35, Tn. SJ 127-8, Tn. SJJ 76, B SS √, JN II √, Dmt. IAS √, Dmt. GBJ 51-7, 140-57, Gbn. ATG 90-9, 112-3, Rs. MTS 9-26, Lvt. IF 14, 29-30, 57-8, ChVS 314-7, Kon. GTJ 222-51, 387-8 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 4-6, Rm. EAS II 79 || OJ {Mill.} mī 'I' ¶ Mill. JAL 158 ¶¶ Altaic nom. *bi 'I' < N *mi with the reg. change *b- < *m- in monosyllabic CV-words (cp. N *mu₁w∇₁ 'this, that' > **mū > A *bū, N *mä prohibitive > A *bE- > M *bū id.) (IS II 56-7, 65, 70-1) ¶¶ DQA #126 (A *bi/*mi-ne 'I') || K: [1] K c. rect. *omi / *me (< *mi / *mje < N *mi) / obl. *men- (< N *mi nu) 'I' > Mg ma / obl. *man-, Lz ma, Lz Ch man, OG men ~ me, G me, G P/Mt/Ing/ArX men(a) 'I', Sv mi 'I', mi-šgwi ɖ mi-šgu 'me'. The ancient distribution of the allomorphs *me and men- survives in Mg, while in OG and Lz Ch the form *men has spread to the c. rect. ||| [2] K *m- 'me, to me', verbal px. of 1s obiecti > OG, G, Sv m-, Mg, Lz m- / p- / p-/ b- (allomorps conditioned by the following phoneme) ||| [3] K *č(w)e-m- 'my' (< N *č'ü' 'that of..., that which' + N *mi 'my') > OG čem- (deday čemi 'my mother') ~ čeym-, G čem-, Mg čkim-, Lz čkim- ɖ škim- 'my', Sv: LB/L mi-šgwi, UB mi-šgu ~ mi-šgwi, Ln miškwi 'me' ¶¶ K 123, 132 (*me(n)- 'I'), K² 119, 255, FS K 203-4, 212-3, FS E 223-4, 233-4, Dt. 28, Gm. SSh 44, GImn. AXK 324, Fn. GAS 80-1, TK 570-1, Top. SJ 83, GP US 45 || HS: C: N *mi survives in HEC as a sx. of 1s subiecti: Kmb {Mrn.} yom-mi 'am' (↔ 2s yon-ti ↔ 3s yoʔi ↔ 1p yom-mi ↔ 2p yon-ta); this verbum substantivum (with *-m∇ as an ending of 1s) functioned as an aux. verb within an analytical construction underlying HEC tenses of indicative (prs. and p.): HEC 1s *it₁∇₁ y₁∇n-m∇ 'I eat' > Alb itam, Sd {Mrn.} itemmo, itam, Kmb, Hd itommo (↔ 2m *it₁∇₁ y₁∇n-t∇ 'edis' > Alb ittanti, Sd itatto, Kmb ittanti, Hd itotto), HEC *it₁∇₁ y∇n-m∇ 'I ate' > Sd itommo, Kmb iččem(i), Hd itammo ¶ AD PLOG √, Mrn. ApCA 269-79, Mrn. S, L K √, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, Coh. VS √, Sim DHEC 434-5 || ?

Ch: SBc: Tala L/Sh/Z mi 'I', Zar K/GL/L mia-, Gj Mg ami, Gj G àmì, Gj B amì, Sy Zk/B/Z ami- 'I' ¶ Sh. SB 41 ¶¶ AD PP 73, ≠ Ap. ANH 10 |||| On N *mi ʔa 'we' (*mi 'I' + *ʔa of plurality) *see* below N *mi ʔa. On Ch {Kr.} *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. (probably < N *omi n̄'ä'), *see* N *n̄'ä', prn. of collectivity and plurality. On N *mi ʔ'ü' 'we' incl. (N *mi 'I' + N *ʔ'ü' 'thou') *see* below s.v. N *mi ʔ'ü' ◇ In IE, FU, and Chv there is a variant form N *HE-mi (> Gk ἐμέ, Ht ammυ-k 'me', Arm im 'my', pVg *ām [obl. *ām(ā)n], Hg éṛ 'I', Chv әпӓ eb_б 'I'). IS II 64 identifies the N additional element *HE with the N deictic pc. *h'e' (his *ʔe) (indicating the nearest object), which is not obvious and poses a phonetic problem: Vg *ā- suggests U *ä, which is not the reg. reflex of N *e ◇ IS II 63-6 [#299] (*mi 'I'), 52-6 [#290] (*mä 'we'), AD PP ∇, Gr. I 61-7 ("first-person M" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1354a. *mi ʔa 'we' (N *mi 'I' + N *ʔa of plurality) > IE: [1] *-me, verbal ending of 1p subiecti; OI, Av, and Clt have preserved the ancient distinction between the "primary" ending *-mes ~ *-mos (*-s is originally a marker of pl.) and the "secondary" ending *-me (specialized for different verbal tempora): "primary" in OI -mas(i), in Av -mahī, and in the Ir absolute -mi (*-mes i), "secondary" in OI -ma, Av ma, Ir conjunct -m; in other lgs. the functional distinction is lost, but the form *-mes is still preserved in Gk D -μες, L -mus, OHG -mēs; in other descendant lgs.: Gk A, I, Ae -μεν, Al -mī, -mē, Gt, ON, OHG -m, Lt -mē, Sl *-mъ (> OCS -мъ -mъ, R, Blg -m, Cz, OP -m) ~ *-m† (on the analogy of *m† 'we' or [according to Meillet] being originally a positional variant of *-mъ before *j- of the next word) and *-me ~ *-mo (possibly from the "primary" *-mes ~ *-mos) (> Cz -me, SCr, Slv, Slk -mo, Uk -mo, e.g. Cz jsmē, SCr jesmo, Uk esьmo jeśmo 'we are') ||| [2] NaIE Δ *me-^{r̄s̄} 'we', pers. prn. of 1p > Arm ւեք mek^h 'we' (if Arm -k^h is connected with IE *s-) ||| Blt *me-s 'we' > Pru mes, Ltv Δ mes, with secondary lengthening (due to the infl. of Lt/Ltv jũs 'ye'): Ltv mēs (gen. mūsū, dat. mums, accus. mūs), Lt mes (gen. musū, dat. m̀m̄s, accus. m̀s) | Sl *m̄† 'we' (with *-† induced by *v† 'ye') > OCS мѣ m̄, Blg, Uk ми, R мы, SCr, Slv m̄, Cz, Slk, P m̄ ¶¶ In Early proto-Indo-European the prn. *me-s 'we' probably lost its status of a separate word (displaced by synonyms), but survived as a verbal ending; later it was probably reintroduced as a separate word (on the analogy of the verbal ending) in Arm and BSl ¶¶ BD II/3 616-23, Brg. KVG 591, the table to the p. 596, ≠ 408, Szem EVS-70 216-7, Frn. 441-2, En. LG 377-

8, En. CPh § 305, En. APG 133, Me. EAC § 59, Me. SC §§ 339-41, 516, Glh. 407-8, Bks. 208-9 || **K**: GZ *m- 'us' > OG m- id. (še-m-i-çqalen čuēn 'have pity on us!'), Mg, Lz m- (with positional allomorphs: p-, p-, b-) (Mg čki m-iγuna 'nobis est') ¶ K 123, Q O8O || **U**: [1] **mⁱä¹ 'we' > *me ~ *mä ~ *miy∇ ({It.} *me ~ mi) > Lp: Rr miye, N {N} mī, L mij, S {Hs.} mijjēh (gen. mijj'ēn), Kld miy 'we' pl. | Er, Mk минь miń | pChr {Ber.} *m

e

Error!, B/M me, H mä mä (gen. māmnan, accus. māmnam) | Prm *mi 'we' / gen. *miyan > Z ми mi (gen. miyan), Z Δ miyз ≙ miз, Prmk miyз ~ mi (gen. miyan), Yz 'meyΛz (gen. mi¹yan), Vt ми mi (processive case miya, gen. mi¹am); Vt -m†, Z, Prmk -n†-m, Yz -ni-m 'our' ('noster, nostra, nostrum, nostri, nostrae') (-n†-, -ni- is the marker of pl. possessoris for all persons) || ? Sm *me- (and *me- + sx.) 'we' > Ng {Mik.} m†η, Slq Tz mē, Kms {KD} mi? ~ mē, {Kü.} mi?, Koyb {Sp.} me; but Ne T maña[~] 'we' (pl.), En B {Ter.} 'modina?, and Mt {Hl.} *mendä (Mt M {Sp.} мэндэ, {Pl.} мендя) id. are derivatives from the prn. of 1s (Ne mań, En modí, Mt {Hl.} *mэn) ¶¶ Lp Rr miye, Lp Kld miy, Prmk/Z Δ miyз, and Prm gen. *miyan (and possibly Es meie) are likely to go back to the bisyllabic (and conservative) variant *miy∇ (< *mⁱA¹ < N *mi¹a) ¶¶ -n, -ń, -η in different lgs. are accounted for by generalization of the stem of obl. cases (with the N *nu, pc. of gen.) ¶ The element -N in Mr miń goes back to the N genitive pc. *nu (it represents the stem of obl. cases < N *mi¹a nu, best preserved in Prm gen. *miyan); in some lgs. the stem of the obl. cases was generalized throughout the case paradigm of the prn. ||| [2] ??? Sm ({Hl.} *-mat/*-met 'our' (pl. possessoris) (×N *mi¹t¹ü¹ 'we' incl. [N *mi¹T + N *t¹ü¹ 'thou']), unless it goes back exclusively to N *mi¹t¹ü¹, q.v. ffd.) ||| [3] The same U prn. **mⁱä¹ 'we' (pl.) (sometimes together with additional affixes) is used as a personal sfx. of verbs (1p of the subject) > Mk (sbcj.) -ma -ma, -me -mé | Prm: Z -m, Prmk -m, -mз, Yz -mΛ, -m, Vt -m† id. ||| Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -m†t/n (1p ending), Ng {Ter.} -mu? / -mü? / -m†? / -mi? (1p ending, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. objecti), Ne T {Ter.} -wa- id. (prs. -wa-?, p. -wa-ć), En {Ter.} -ba- / -a- id. (prs. -a-? / ba-?, p. -ba-ç), Kms {Kü.} -be? ¶¶ The Chr nominal possessive ending -na (Chr L -na, Chr H -na/-nä) 'our' and the verbal ending -na 'we' may either go back

to *-mn∇ (also + sx.?) or be connected with N *ñ∇ 'we' excl. (q.v.) ¶¶ UEW 294-5, ≈ IS II 54-5, Hs. 118, Ber. 36-7, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 171-2, Lt. J 61, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, Jn. 91-2, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Ter. GNJ 342-57, 364-5, 371-9, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Hl. M 144, 303 [#655], Kü. KJ 383-6 || A nom. *büa / gen. *m'üa'nu (or *bia / *m'ia'nu) 'we' pl. excl. > Tg nom. *büe ({Bz.} *büä) / obl. *mun- id. > Ul bū ~ buз / obl. mun-, Nn Nh buз / obl. bun-, Nn B bū, Nn KU mū / obl. mun-, Orc, Ud, Sln bu / obl. mun-, Ewk, Lm bu / obl. mun- ¶ STM I 98, Bz. 108, Krm. 91 || M *ba / gen. *manu / dat. *man-a 'we' excl. > MM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana, WrM nom. ба / gen. ману / dat. mana id., Dg bā / gen. māñī id., Mgl -ū 'we' (sx.), mōni 'of us, our', HIM маһай {Pp.} man^{aē} 'of us' excl., Ord {Pp.} mani, Brt {Pp.} manā, Kl {Pp.} manā, mañ id. ¶ Pp. IM 215-8, 220 || pJ {S} *bà-'I, we' > OJ wa-, a-, J: Ht bànù, K wàte, Kg ói, Ns/Sh wàñ, cd.: ItOJ [RJ] wátákúsí, JT wàtaší id. ⇔ OJ wa(re) 'we', K wàtére, Ht bàimà, Y bán-tá id. ¶ S AJ 266 [#38], S QJ #38, Syr. DJ 90-1, Mr. 569, Mchz. ∇ (J watakusi < *wa-tu-(a)ku si 'my place direction') ¶ But pKo *úrí 'we' is likely to go back to a combination of N *mi with the N plural marker *r∇ yE (see s.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 57, 276 [#36] (pA *bä 'I'), DQA #126 (A *ba/*mju-n- 'we') || HS: ? C: HEC *-m∇, verbal ending of 1p > Sd -mo, Hd -mo, -miya, Hd Lb -mina, Kmb, Alb -mi ¶ The ending may go back either to N *mi ?a or (acc. to Blz.) to the HS *(?an)muni 'we' with *-muni as a compound form parallel to the 2p *(?an)tun∇ 'ye' ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 1-4 ¶¶ IS II 53 tried to adduce here the Ch pers. prn. of 1p incl. *mun (reconstructed by IS as *m(n)). But in the light of Chadic comparative ev. and the existence of the Ch prn. *kun 'ye' it is more likely that Ch *mun is a pCh (or pHS) innovation based on *m (1 person) + *-un (pl. ending). The pCh system may be reconstructed as follows:

	sing.	pl.
1 pers.	?	*mun∇
2 pers.	*ku (2m)	*kun∇

This suggests a prn. of 1s *m∇ (< N *mi [q.v.]) and the composite origin of Ch *mun∇ 'we' incl. ¶¶ Blz PPCh, Kr. RChP, Brq. PS, AD EPCChL || D *ma-~*mā- 'we' excl.: > Tl mā- ~ man- obl. 'we' excl., ma-namu / obl. mana- 'we incl.; Gnd mā- obl. 'we' excl., Knd mān / obl.

mā- 'we' (no opposition incl. ↔ excl.), Kui, Ku mā- obl. 'we' ¶ An. DJ (table 10 after p. 60), D ##3647 and 5154 ◇ Cf. N *ʔa, pc. of plurality ◇ ≈ IS II 52-6 (*mä, 1p incl.) ◇ Unlike IS, I do not believe that this prn. (N *mi ʔa) was originally specialized as either incl. or excl. In M and Tg it was opposed to the inclusive M *bidanu and Tg *miti ~ *minti (both from N *mi t'ü' 'I + thou' and *omi nu t'ü' 'I + genitive pc. + 'thou') (Pp. IM 220, MED 102, Bz. 107, STM I 539) and therefore acquired the meaning of an exclusive 'we'.

1354b. *mi t'ü' 'we' incl. (N *mi 'I' + N *t'ü' 'thou') is found in M, Tg, Gil, and probably in Y: A: M *bida (~ *bide?) 'we' incl. > MM bida, WrM bide ~ bida, Ord bida, Dg {Pp.} báda id.; in most modern lgs. the opposition excl. ↔ incl. has been lost, so that the extant forms mean 'we' without this opposition: HIM Бид, {Pp.} bid:a, bʔadda, Brt Бидэ, {Pp.} be'dé, Kl bidə and Бидн (< gen. *bida-nu), Mgr {Pp.} buda; gen.: *bida-nu > MM bidanu, WrM bidan, Dg bádanī 'our' incl., HIM {Pp.} bidnī ~ biddānī 'our' ¶ The final *-a is on the analogy of M *ba 'we' excl. (< N *mi ʔa) ¶ Pp. IM 215-7, Pp. MA 118, MED 10, KRS 97, SM G 36-8 || Tg *m|biti (gen. *minti) 'we' incl. > Ewk mit(i), Sln mīti, Lm mut, Neg bitta ~ bit, Orc biti, Ud minti, WrMc muse (-s- on the analogy of si 'thou' or a trace of the ancient N [regional?] var. *mi s'ü' 'we' incl.?) ¶ *-n- in *minti is from N *nu genitive, but the detailed history of the form is not yet clear ¶ Ci. 270-1, Bz. 1057 (Tg *münti 'we' incl.), STM I 539 || **Gil:** Gil A mer ~ mir 'we' incl., Gil ES mirn ~ mern id. (r and R are reg. reflexes of *t and *t) ¶¶ Pnf. I 231-40 || ? U: ? pY {IN} *mit 'we' > YK/T mit, mit- (before a noun), mit-íe 'our'; OY XVII {Wts.} mitɕjé, mitin ¶ Krn. JJ 72-80, Krn. JJ-T 440-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 144, IN 235, 310 || Sm ({HL} *-mat/*-met 'our' [pl. possessoris]): Ng {Ter.} rect.-gen. -mɨ? / accus. -nɨ? (pl./du. possessi nom. -nü? 'nostri' / gen. -nu?), Ne T rect./accus. -ba? ~ -wa? / gen. -na? 'noster' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect./accus. -ba? ~ -a? / gen. -na? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect.-gen. -na? 'nostri'), Slq Tz {KHG} {-mɨt₂} = -mɨn/t 'our', Kms {Kü.} -wa? / -ba? 'our' (pl. possessoris), Mt {HL} *-ma₁? / *-mä₁?; benefactive forms of 1p of nouns: Ng -mu? (taðə-mu? tu?o 'the reindeer came for us', lit. 'cervus-nobis venit'; satarəta-mu? koðə?amu? 'we obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for ourselves', lit. 'vulpem-nobis praedati sumus') ¶ This Sm morpheme belongs here if

Hl.'s rec. of Sm *-t is justified. Otherwise it belongs to N ***mi ʔa** 'we' ¶
For references *see* above s. v. N ***mi ʔa**.

1355. *mi 'what?' > HS: S ***mī** 'what?' > Ak **mī-n(u/a/i-m)** || Gz **mī** 'what?' | CS ***mah** 'what?' > Ug **mḥ ~ m**, Hb **-ḥ ma +gmc. ~ ḥ mā** 'what', Pun **mʔ [= mu]** (< ***mā**) 'what' (attested as rel. prn.), [Poen.] MU, DA, IA, Plm, Nbt **mḥ**, Htr **mʔ**, JA **ḥḥ mā** (< ***mah**), Sr **ما mā**, Md **ma**, Ar **māh ~ mā** 'what?' ¶ CS ***mah** goes back to N ***mi ʔaʰa** 'what thing?' (= N ***mi** + N ʔσ ***ʔaʰa** 'thing(s)') | The pronouns for 'who?' go back to cds.: S ***miy∇** 'who?' (either from N ***mi yi** = N ***mi** 'what?' + N ***yi** 'he' or from N ***mi ya** = N ***mi** 'what?' + N ***ya** 'which' [as a rel. prn.]) > Hb **ḥ mī**, Ug **mḥ** ({Dk.}: = [miḥ;ya]?, {Siv.}: = [mīyu/a/i]), OAk **mīn**, Ak **mīn-u(m)** (declined as an adj.); S ***manḥn-ḥ** (< N ***mi mānū** lit. 'what man?', F. N ***mānū** 'man') > Ak **mann-u(m)**, Amr {Dk.} **manna**, BA **ḥ man**, Sr **ما man**, Ar **من man**, Gz nom. **mannū** / accus. **manna**, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} **mōn**, Jb E/C {Jo.} **mun**, Sq {Jo.} **mon** 'who?' (cp. It **cosa** 'what?' < ***ke** 'kosa 'what thing?'); this etymological explanation is more plausible than to suppose a semantic change 'man' → 'who?'; *see* also Ug **m n** 'what? which?' (adjectival function), rel. 'that, which' ¶ KB 522-3, 1732-4, HJ 599-600, OLS 266, 281, 310, Siv. U 42-3, Br. 372, Br. SG 50, Sd. G 48 [§ 47], Dk. AkJ 91, Dk. XAU 115, Jo. M 267 || Eg fOK **m** 'what?', **m** 'who?' ¶ EG II 4, Lpr. 70, Ed. 90 || B ***maḥ** ({Pr.} ***mā**) 'what?' (< N ***mi ʔaʰa** 'what thing?', cp. above CS ***mah** 'what?') > Ah {Fc.}, Ty {GhA}, Gh, Wrg {Dlh.} **ma**, Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} **ma** (in cds. like **ma** + prep. + **mi**); ≈ ***ma+tta** ({MT}: lit. 'what he?'): Tz **mat**, Zkr **matta**, Kb {Hann.}, Shw {Hy.} **mata**, Mz {Dlh.} **matta**, Jrb, Snd **mata** 'who?', Tmz {MT} **matta** 'which?', 'who?'; B {Pr.} ***mī** 'who?' > Ah, Ty, Gh **mi** 'who?' (cp. S ***miy∇** id. < N ***mi ya**), Tz **mīt** id.; Mz {Dlh.} **man-t** 'lequel?', **man-ay-u ~ man-ay-an** 'who?', Ah **manəkk** 'lequel est?' (cp. S ***manḥn-ḥ** 'who?' < ***mi mān∇** [lit. 'what man?'], as well as Tmz **man**, **mani**, Shw **mən**, Jrb, Snd **man** 'who?' [unless ← Ar **man**]) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-21 (analysis of the interr. pronouns at the pB and Tw level), Fc. 1140-3, Dlh. M 113, Dlh. Ou 181, MT 394-5 || C: EC: Brj **'miya** 'what?' (cp. S ***miya** 'who?' < N ***mi ya** or, as suggested by Ss., ***maʔ + *yā** 'it is'), EC {Ss.} ***maʔ** 'what?' > Kmb, Alb, Sd **ma**, Ged **mā** < **maʔa** (cp. CS ***mah** 'what?' < N ***mi ʔaʰa** 'what thing?'); EC {Ss.} ***maḥa** 'what?' (< {Ss.} ***maʔ waḥa** 'what thing?') > Af **maḥa**, Sml **maḥā**, Arr **méh** (/ sentence-

final me), Rn {PG} máhà ~ méhè, Bn mahā, Bs me (-e < *-aḥ), Hd maha, Dsn {To.} mēte 'what?'; Dsn {To.} māyya 'who?' (< *mi ʔayy-a, with N *ʔäy ▽ 'which?', 'what?', q.v. ffd.) || Dhl māka 'what?' (cd. with -k ▽, cf. íko 'who?') || SC: Irq {Mous} m-, a px. that turns a statement into a question asking 'what?' (lārí m-a ʔay-ān 'what are we eating to-day?', m-i kahi 'what does he say?', ma-t(a) kahi 'what do they say?'), Alg mi 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, PG 217, 222-3, Hw. A 232-3, HL 126, Mous 150-1, E SC 158, To. DL 517, To. D 40 || Ch *mi 'what?' > WCh: Hs mē id. | Dr mí, Krkr mīyá, Ngm mīyà id. | Fy {J} mī, Bks {J} *ʔá-mī, Klr {J} *ʔamû, ? Sha mà, má id. || CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd, Gbn, Boka mí | Mrg, Klb mī, Bu mī...ri id.; cd.: Bu {Hf.} mān 'what?' | Gzg, Mtk {ChC}, MfG {Brr.} me, Mofu {Ro.} méy, Mf {BLB} mé, Mada/Mkt {Ro.} má, Myn {Ro.} mám, Hrz ámà, Mlk {Ro.} máy, Glv {Rp.} мз-р id. | Mdr me id. | BB: Gude mí id. | ? Msg má id. | McM: Lame mī id. || ECh: Mb {J} mî:, Mjl {DB} mî, Jg {J} mē 'what?' | Li mē id. | ? McDng.: Bdy má, EDng mǎ, Mkl {J} mọ̄: 'what?' | Mgm mē~mē 'what?' | Ke {Eb.} ma (.....mó) 'what?' (where mó is a general marker of question, which is used in all interr. sentences), mīntí (.....mó) 'who?' ¶ ChC, ChL, J R 259, J J 115, Eb. 78, Lk. G 42, Hf. M 93, Hf. B 168, 182, RK 92, 163, Ro. 358-9 (pMM *ma), BLB 219, Brr. MG II 419, J LM 141, Fd. 108, AIJ 96, JA LM 161, Blz. EChWL #96 || **U** *mi 'what?' > F mi-kä (gen. mi-n-kä, prt. mi-tä, ill. mi-hin, iness. mi-ssä) 'what?', 'which?', Krl K mi (gen. mi-n, prt. mi-ďä), Vp mi (gen. mi-ń, prt. mi-ďä), Es mi-s (with additional -s, as in ke-s 'who?') (prt. mi-da), Δ mi ɖ me, Es SW meä 'what?', Lv mi-s: (prt. mi-da) (cp. ki-s: 'who?') | Lp: N {N} mī / obl. mǎ- 'what?', 'which?', 'what kind?', L mi j id., S {Hs.} mi j, Kld мī, {Kert} mí (obl. мε-, e.g. gen. мεnn) 'what?' | Er мезе 'me-že, Δ meye, мейсэ mey-se 'with what?', 'in what?', мень меń 'which?', 'what kind?', Mk мезе 'mežä 'what?' | Chr: L мо мо 'what?', Uf/B мо, H ма id. | Prm: Vt ма ма 'what?', Z мый m+y, Δ мзy ɖ muy ɖ muya, Yz мΛy id. || ObU {ʔHL} *mē- (a reg. reflex of FU *mi) 'what?' (or 'which?') > pOs {Ht.} *mē- > Os: V/Vy mọ̄xi, Ty mẹ̄xʷa, Y mẹ̄wə, D mēy, Nz/Kz mūy 'what?', V/Vy mēttä, Ty/Y mēttā, D/K mētā, Nz/Kz mǎta, O mǎti 'which?'; pVg {Ht.} *mǎ-nǎ 'which?' > Vg: P/NMV/SV/LL män, UL man, Ss mana id. | OHg, Hg mi 'what?' ¶¶ Chr мо ~ ма, Vt ма, and Z m+y ɖ мзy ɖ muy are likely to go back to N cds. (possibly *mi ʔa^ha 'what thing?', cp. CS *mah and B *maH 'what?') || Sm {Jn.} *мз- 'what?' > Ng {Ter.} ма, {Cs.} mǎ id., En {Cs.} mī[?] (gen.

miʁo) id., Kms {KD} mo, mō? 'weshalb?', Koyb {Sp.} мола 'what for?', Slq Tz {KKIH} m† 'something'; also possibly Ne T {Ter.} мы, T O {Lh.} m̄ 'something to eat', Ne F {Lh.} m̄ id., 'merchandise', Ne T d. мым 'a useful thing' ¶ Coll. 34-5, UEW 296 (*m∇ 'what, thing'), Laan. 200-2, N 654, Hs. 127-8, SaR 188-9, Kert SJ 174, ERV 371-7, LG 181, MF 445-6, EWU 975, Ht. #375, ≈ Jn. 91 (+ unc. *mз- 'give, be'), KKIИ 134 || A *m¹i 'what?' > T *^omin > Chv мён мын 'what?', d.: мице miže, Δ {Rm. ← Ash.} миңце minše 'how much, how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mičä), мёнле mənle 'what kind, which?', мё(н)скер mə(n)sker 'what?'] Chv ма ма 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' (in a dialog: Иван! - Ма? 'Ivan! - What?') ¶ Ash. VIII 151, 249, 334-48, Lvt. IM 35, Jeg. 133-4 ¶ Chv ма may be akin to Chr мо ~ ма, Vt ма, CS *mah, and B *maH 'what?' (< N *mi ʔa^ha '↑') ¶ S AJ 255 [#99] || pKo {S} *mi 'what?' > MKo mi id., in modern Ko cds.: PhN miət, Ph muə₁t, Chs muót, Ks mûə₁t, Hm mω¹t, Chj mɔiŋga, Sl būət, Kw mō 'what?'; NKo mjə₁t 'how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mi-čä) ¶ S QK #99, Nam 225, MLC 663 || ??σ pJ {S} *mз'-si ({S} "interrogative-dubitative p.") > J mośi 'if' ¶ The A suffix *çä in Ko mjə₁t and Chv мице miže & minže 'how many/much?' (Jeg. 134) is identical with NaT *ka-ç 'how many?' ¶ The comparison with pJ {S} *mз'-si is legitimate because the latter means 'if (provided that)' (possibly from 'when') ¶ ≈ Rm. EAS II 79 [§ 43] (pA *mi 'what?'), ≈ Rm. SKE 147, ≈ S AJ 297 [#581] (A *m∇ [interr. stem]), DQA #1379 (A *m∇ id.), Hmb. 75 || D: SD: Brgd mī 'what?', Kkd midā id. ¶ Grr. IV 334, 343 || K: [1] *may 'what?' (< *mi ʔay- < N *mi 'what?' + N *ʔäy∇ 'which?', 'what?' [q.v.]) > Mg, Lz mu-, Sv: UB/LB mäy & mä, L may, Ln ma 'what?'; ? in the OG and G cd. rome-l- 'which' ¶ K 124, K² 112 || [2] K (att. in Zan) *^omin 'who?' > Mg, Lz mi / (before a vw.) min ¶ Q O47, Marr 28, ≈ K 135, ≈ FS K 124 and FS E 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 554-5, GP 211, Dn. s.v. may || IE {EI} *mo-/*me-, {Ped., IS} *mo- '≈ what?' (< pre-IE **mje/o- < N *mi?) > NaIE: Clt: MBr ma 'which' (rel. prn.: ar guchenn arc'hant m'oant denet da glask 'la somme d'argent qu'ils étaient venus chercher', bon tat ... ma emaouch en Én 'pater noster qui es in coelo'), 'that' (cnjc.), (possibly also the obscure OBr ma in tre ma > Br dre ma 'par ce que'; Br Vn tre me viw 'tant qu'elle vit'), Br ма 'where?', ма 'that' (cnjc.), OIr ма, má 'if', Br mar, {Vn.} ма 'if', Crn mar 'if' || ? Tc: A mänt, B mäkte 'how?', A mäksu 'who?' || Ht masi- 'how many?' ({Ped.}: < gen. *mo-syo-),

mahhan 'how?', cnjc. 'when, as', m̄an 'how?', cnjc. 'when, if, as', Lw {Mlc.} m̄an 'if, when(ever)', {Lar.} man 'if', ? Lc {Mlc.} mē 'if (condition), {Carr.} mēi id. ¶¶ Acc. to AD, not here Tc A m̄ant and Tc B m̄akte 'how?' and Tc A m̄aksu 'who?' (the element ma- ~ me- being akin to the Gk pc. μέν and not to an interr. stem) ¶¶ Flr. 248, 319-20, Ern. 382-3, 711, ≈ Vn. M 1, Hm. 537, 547, KTI 168, Wn. 286-9, Ped. H 38, Ivn. OPA 193, Ts. E II 86-9, 116-7, 158-9, CHD L-N 100-11, 143-61, 205, Lar. 67, Mlc. CL 135, Mlc. L 43, Carr. SP 76, Ad. 186-8, 439-40, 451 (denies connections of the Tc words with an interr. stem), EI 457 (*me/o, interr.\rel. prn.) ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Rm. EAS II 79, DQA #1379, IS) the T interr. verbal sx. *-mi- (a typologically improbable semantic change 'what?' → general interr. indicator 'does [he] ...?'). The same is true of the Sml interr. indicator ma ◇ IS II 66-8 (*mi 'what?' in HS, K, IE, U, A, and D), Schrd. DU 107 (D, U), Gr. I 229-31 ("interrogative M" in IE, U, A, ChK, Ai, qu. EA).

1356. LI. ? *ma^ʔa(-y▽) 'mother' > IE: NaIE *mā-, *mā-yā 'mother' > OI ∧ {MW} mā id. ||| Gk μῆ 'mother!' (μῆ γῆ 'mother Earth' [Aischylos]), 'nurse', Gk I/A μῆτα 'mother, nurse' ||| MLG mōje 'mother's sister', OHG holz-mōwa ~ holz-mūwa 'female wood-goblin, wood-witch' (← *"wood-mother") (holz 'wood'); ⇨ OHG muoma 'mother's sister', NHG Muhme, Yid מומה 'mume 'aunt' ||| d. NaIE *mā-ter 'mother' > OI mā'tar- (nom. 'mātā), Av mātar-, KhS māta-, NPrs مادر mōdār id. ||| Arm մայր mayr (gen. մօր mōr < *mawr < *mātr-os) id. ||| Gk A μήτηρ, Gk D μάτηρ id. ||| L māter (gen. 'mātr-is), Osc gen. maatreis, Um gen. MATRER id. ||| Gl {Billy} MATIR, OIr máthir id., W modrydaf 'beehive' (with bydaf 'nest of wild bees') ||| Lt mótė (gen. motėĩs) 'wife, mother', Ltv māte, Pru mūti, mothe 'mother' ||| Sl *māti (gen. *māter-e) id. > OCS МАТН mati (gen. МАТЕРЕ matere), Blg 'мати, SCr māti (gen. mātēre), Slv māti (gen. mātēre), Cz māti (gen. mateře), Slk mat' ~ mati (gen. matere), OP, P † ма́, R мать (gen. 'матери), Uk 'мати (gen. 'матери) id. ||| Gmc *mō^her > ON móðir, OHG muoter, NHG Mutter, OSx mōdar, AS mōdor id., NE mother ||| pTc {Ad.} *mācer > Tc: A mācar, B mācer id. ||| pAl {O} *māter > Al motēr 'sister' (← *'elder sister', because elder sisters assumed the role of child-rearing in the household {My.} or because in the framework of certain kinship systems of ancient Albanians the word for 'mother' was extended to [elder] sisters and female cousins {Huld}) ¶ WP II 221-2, 229-30, P 694,

700-1, EI 385-6 (*^lmeh_hter), M K II 619-20, M E II 345-6, Horn 213, MW 771, Bai. 328, F II 154, 159, 232, WH II 49-50, Bc. G 317, 338, Me. EAC 81-2, Billy 104, Vn. *M* 25, Vr. 391, Ho. 224, Ho. S 53, Kb. 477, 704, OsS 415, 629, KM 497, Tr. 168, 170f., Frn. 465-6, En. 212, ESSJ XVII 237-69, Glh. 400-1, O 275, My. 287-8, Huld 95-6, Slt. 50-1, Wn. 283-4, Ad. 447, Ad. H 20, 44, 124, Zhr. IN 298 || **HS**: Eg √ mω.t 'mother' (= {Spg.} *ma₃wet, {Vc.} *māwi-t [possibly active ptc.]) > DEg mω.t > Cpt: Sd **MAAY** maaw, B **MAAY** maaw 'mother' ¶ Eg -t is a sx. of the fem. gender ¶ EG II 54, Vc. 126, Spg. LMS 104-5, Crn. 95 || B *mā (< *ma^h?) > Gd mā, Ah ma, matt 'mother'; but Izd mma 'mother', Awj {Prd.} mmā, Snd yamma, Zww imma id., and similar forms are likely to represent pB *y∇-mmā 'my mother' (*y∇- 'my') with the element *-mmā which may go back to the N etymon in question, or to N ***ʔemA** 'mother' (q.v.), or to a merger of both N words; the possessive sx. may be added after the √: Si umma_h 'my mother' ¶ Fc. 1434, Lf. II #O950, La. S 259, Prd. 168 || C: SC: Asa {FL} maj 'wife', mayito 'woman' ¶ Fl. AA 13, Blz. CWL || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} máhá_h, Kry {Sk.} máh₃, My {Sk.} má₃, Sir {Sk.} mā 'mother' | Ngz {Sch.} mà_h id. || CCh: Gudu {ChL} m₃ id. | HgB/Kps {ChL} mà id. | ?? Tr {Nw.} mànk_h id. | Mdr {Mch.} mu id. | Gzg {Lk.} ma- id. | Db {Lnh.} mā- id. | Gdr {Srp.} mōk_h id. | Bdm {Lk.} mā-, Lgn {Lk.} mā- id. || ECh: Mgm {J} mēdé id. ¶ The element x∇ ~ h∇ in the NrBc lgs. is a sx., cp. the words for 'father': Kry bá_h, My bá₃, and probably Wrj bá₃ná ¶ Stl. ZCh 259 [#159] (pNrBc *ma^h'a 'mother'), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 32 || **D** *ma_hy > Gnd mai ɘ māī ɘ māyi 'woman, wife', Krx maī 'female child', way of addressing girls, ? Kdg mayma 'cross-niece, daughter-in-law' ¶¶ D #4791 and p. 513 [#53] || ? **A**: T *bē ~ *bEyE (< *may_hE) 'mare' (← *'female, mother animal', cp. NHG Mutterlamm 'ewe-lamb') (× **A** *bey∇ 'an ungulate animal' < N ***bEΓ_h∇_h∇** 'ungulate animal [deer and sim.]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The pN variant *ma^h'a-y∇ (> Gk I/A μᾶλα, MLG mōje, D *may, Ngz {Sch.} mà_h, and possibly T *bē ~ *bEyE) may be a form with an endearment morpheme ('Mütterchen') or a form with a possessive of 1s ('my mother').

1357. *mA^h∇ 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)' > **HS**: Eg fP m₃ 'antelope' ¶ EG II 11 || **D** {Pf.} *mā, *mā-kk- 'ε ungulate (deer, antelope?)' > Tm mā 'animal, beast' (esp. 'horse, elephant'), mā_h 'deer, beast', Ml mā_h, Kt ma·v, Td mo·f, Klm ma·g 'deer', Tl māv u 'horse', Gnd ma u ɘ māv(i), Knd māv, Png mānges, Mnd mānggeh, Ku māyu 'sambar', Kui

māzū (pl. māṅga) 'elk', Krx māk 'antelope, red deer', Mlt máku 'stag' ¶¶ D #4780, Pf. 23 [#93] || A: Tg *^omeṅ- 'deer' > Ewk mənətu (𐌆 mənəti 𐌆 mənətu 𐌆 mənətkū 𐌆 mənəti 𐌆 mənəti) 'wild reindeer', Ewk Ald mənətu, Ewk Skh mənəti 'elk' ¶ Alternatively, Tg *meṅ- may have developed from Tg *meṅ 'gray' (of animals) (> Lm mənəti, Ork mənəguri id.) ¶ STM I 570-1 ¶¶ If Tg *meṅ- belongs here, the vw. was *ä. Did Tg *-ṅ- go back to *ʔ-n- (N *mAʔν nu with the N genetival *nu > marker of obl. cases > generalized part of the stem)?

1358. *^omUʔæ (probably *^omUʔe) 'cut, reap (→ 'mow') > HS: Eg mǝ (phonetic meaning of the character H that represents a sickle) ¶ EG II 6 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} má 'cut', ? Lgn {Bou.} mīyó 'knife' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE *^omē- v. 'mow, cut' > Gk ἄμῶν 'I reap, cut (reeds, etc.)' ||| OHG māen 'to mow, to cut', NHG mähen, MDt maeyen, Dt maaien, AS māwan 'to mow', NE mow ¶ WP II 259, P 703, F I 88, Kb. 649, OsS 584-5, KM 453-4, Ho. 216, Vr. N 419, Mn. 474, GI II 691 [*meH(i)-], ≈ EI 258 (*h₂meh₁- 'mow') || A: Tg *m^lʔ₁- ({{ʔBz.} *mü-) v. 'cut' > Nn Nh mui- 'cut oneself, cut one's hand with a knife', Ul, Nn ŋui-, Ewk, Neg, Ork mī-, Orc mi-, Ud {Shn.} minə-, Ud Sm Krm.} mində- 'cut', WrMc meyle-, meyele- id., meyte- 'cut an animal's carcass into parts' ¶ STM I 535, Krm. 260 || pKo {S} *míj- 'tear a hole', 'get torn' > MKo míj 'get torn', NKo mij- id., mī- id., 'tear a hole' ¶ S QK #1137, Yu 344, MLC 687 ¶¶ DQA #2758 (A *mùjν 'to cut, to tear') ◇ Hardly here T: OT bī '≈ knife', which belongs to N *P₁iʔν 'sharp edge, blade' (q.v.), unless <- Chn p^oi 'split' (as supposed by Cl. 291) ◇ In IE the labial glide (< *U) was lost after the sonant *m (*meʔ- < **m_ueʔ-, see AD NVIE) ◇ ≈ BmK #517 (*miʔ/*meʔ- 'to reap, to harvest': Eg, IE) ◇ On N and IE *^o- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1359. (₂?) *ma₁ga 'good' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} *ma₁ᶜ- > Af {PH} meᶜe 'be good, be right', Sa {R} maᶜ-¹ē 'Güte, Edelsinn; Schönheit', maᶜ^om 'was gut\schön ist', -maᶜ 'Gutes erweisen, edel\gut sein', Sml maᶜ-ān-, Dsn méʔ 'sweet', pOr {Bl.} *meᶜ- > Or {Grg.} miʔ-a^o- 'be sweet\flavoured', Or H {Ow.} miʔa^o- 'be sweet', Or B {Sr.} miā / miōfta id., miā 'sweet, tasty', Kns/Gdl {Bl.} meʔ-ā^o-, Bss {Bl.} miʔ-a^o-, Turo {Bl.} me-ay- 'taste good' ¶ Bl. 111, 136, 203-4, PH 167, R S II 254-5, Grg. 28, Ow. 264, Sr. 366, To DL 517 || IE: NaIE *mā- 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', d. *^omā-n^o- 'good, early' > OL mānus 'good', māne, mānī 'in the morning' (< *early), mānic-ō / -āre 'get up early'; d.

*mā-t∇- > L Mātūta 'the goddess of the early morn', mātūtīnus 'pertaining to the morning', mātūrus 'timely, ripe, mature; grown up' || OIr maith, Gl {Evn.} mati- (in proper names), Brtt {RE} *mati-s > OCrn mat, Crn mās, OBr, MBr mat 'good', Br mat 'good, well', mad 'well', MW mad 'happy, lucky', W mad 'good, seemly, lucky' || ? an unspecified lge. (Gk Δ?) [Hs.] ματῆς · μέγας 'great' ¶ FBS II 199, WP II 220-1, P 693, EI 235-6 (? *meh_h(t)- 'good'), WH II 25-6, 53-4, F II 185, Vn. M 12-3, Evn. 228-32, Billy 104, RE 100, Flr. 251-2, Hm. 537, 554, YGM-1 320 || ?σ D (in SD) *mā 'bravo!' (an exclamation of admiration) > Tm mā (an expletive), Ml, Kn mā 'bravo!' (interjection of wonder) (unless an interjection without etymology or a sd. from D *mā 'great' < [?] N *mEkǣ [or *mEǣkǣ] 'big', q.v.) ¶ D ##4787.

1360. *mUč∇ 'to press, to squeeze' > HS: S: [1] WS *√mčw|y 'squeeze out, wring out' > BHb הצח √mčy G 'wring out (wet fleece)', 'slurp (from a cup)' ('ausschlürfen'), IA, JA √mčy G, D 'squeeze\wring (esp. blood)', Sr √mšy G 'draw\suck out (esp. blood)' (× S *√mšš 'suck'), D 'squeeze out', SmA √mšy T 'be drained' (blood), 'expire', ? G 'shed (blood)', Ar √mšš 'suck, sip in', 'lente et sugendo bibit', Tgy √mšy G v. 'suck'; [2] S *°√mw|y^rč^r v. 'squeeze out' < BHb פ'ח mīč (< *ma^lwič-) 'pressing (for milk), pressing the nose for anger', MHb פ'ח mīč 'juice, sap' ¶ KB 547, 587, KBR 578, 621, Js. 825-6, Lv. III 209-10, Fr. IV 184, Hv. 723, Sl. 699, Br. 398, JPS 293, Tal 482 || K *°muč|č- > G I/G muč- 'zusammenkneifen, zusammenpressen (Lippen)', ? G (← Zan?) muč- 'ballen (Faust)' ¶ Chx. 859 ¶ If the G verb muč- is a loan from Zan, the pGZ rec. must be *muč-, ergo N *mUč∇ || U: FP amb*mUč∇ v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N *muž_L∇, y∇ 'fist; to squeeze with a fist', q.v.) > F musertaa v. 'crush, smash', Krl A mužuo v. 'press, crumble', Vp mučoida v. 'twist (fingers)' || ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} močtetet, moččot v. 'break, be breaking off' || Z Δ mžž+r 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} mžž+rt- 'clench one's hand\ fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || ?? D (in SD) *muč^(č)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' > Tm mucī v. 'be torn\crumpled (as a garment), Ml mušiyuka v. 'frow faint, weary, be worn out', Tl musincu v. 'be spoiled' ¶¶ D #4903.

1361. *muč∇(-k∇) 'to immerse, to wash' > HS: S *°-mūč- (*√mwč) ~ ? *°√msh (= *°√msh^h?) v. 'wash, cleanse' > Ar √mwš (ip. -mūšu) id., ?? Ak A masā'u(m), Ak B mesû(m) id. ¶ BK II 1168, Hv. 740, Sd. 647-8, CAD X/2 30-5 || C ({AD} √myč) > EC: Sml {ZMO} mayđo

'wash, bathe', Sml N {Abr.} mayd- v. 'wash', Or {Grg.} miččā v. 'wash (clothe, objects)', Or B/O/W {Sr.} mīčā id., v. 'squeeze', Kmb {L, Hd.} mečč-, Qbn {L} meččiyo', Sd {Hd.} mēč- v. 'wash', ? Ged mīč- v. 'squeeze', ?? Or {Sr.} mičīra- v. 'wring out (clothes), squeeze' (↔ Brj {Hd., Ss.} mičīr- v. 'wring out') ¶ AD SF 308, Grg. 285, Sr. 366-7, Hd. 164, 212, 255, 333, 385, Ss. B 144 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.}, Wl {C} meč-, Kf {C} māč- v. 'wash', Ym {C} meʔ-, {Wdk.} mēʔu / mēʔu, māsó / māsó id., Bnc {Wdk.} mās(k)- vt. and vr. id. ¶ AD l.c., Wdk. BY 107, 131 (the verbs in Omt [= Gf?], Wl, Kf may be loans from Or) || Ch: CCh: Msg {Lk.} mas-, {Mch.} māṣ id., {J} mūsnā v. 'wash (things)' || Ms {Caīt.} mūs, BnnM {ChL} mbusa, Azm {Pc.} mbūsā v. 'wash' || ?? Mrg {Hf.} rṇṇ v. 'immerse, plant' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. GML 126, 131, Caīt. 109 s.v. mūs 'laver', Pc. 292-3 || IE: NaIE *mesg- v. 'immerse', {EI} 'dip under water, dive' > OI 'majjati 'sinks' || L merg- v. 'dip, plunge (into liquid), immerse' || Blt iter. *mazg- v. 'plunge in, wash' > Lt mazgótī, Ltv mazgāt v. 'wash' ¶ P 745-6, EI 160, WH II 76-7, M K III 548-9, M E II 291, WH II 76-7, Frn. 421 || U *muśke v. 'wash' > FP {UEW} *muśke > Es mōske id. || pMr {Ker.} *mūśka- > Er μυςκε- muśke-, Mk μυςκο- muśka- v. 'wash (clothes)' || pChr {Ber.} *muśk- > Chr: L μυσκ- muśk-, H мышк- мѣск- v. 'wash' || Prm {LG} *múś-, *múśk- > Z miśkīnī v. 'wash', miśśīnī v. 'wash (oneself)', Vt miśkīnī v. 'wash, bathe (so.)', miśtaśkīnī v. 'wash (clothes, oneself)' (Vt i for *ī due to the infl. of ś) || Hg mos- v. 'wash', mos(ako)d- v. 'wash oneself' || Sm *mās- v. 'wash' > Ne T macā-cy, Ne T O {Lh.} māśā id., Ne F {Lh.} inv. 2s māś?, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. masuabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} musīttīqo v. 'wash, wash oneself', Slq Tm {KLD} muz-, mus-, Kms {KD} bāzālam, buzāloṃ id., Koyb {Sp.} бызла 'washes', Mt {Hl.} *masa- 'wash' (Mt: M {Sp.} 1s мазіямъ, K {Pl.} maāsīsin 'I wash') ¶¶ UEW 289, It. #189 (*muśke), Coll. 35, Sm. 538 (U *mośkī-, FU *mośki-, FP *mo|uśki-, Ugr *moskī-, Sm *mās- 'wash'), MF 450-1, Ker. II 91, Ber. 39, MRS 337, 343, LG 184, Jn. 89, KKIH 133, Hl. M #642 || D {IS} *muč(č)- v. 'wash' > Kui musa v. 'wash the head', mīspa v. 'bathe, wash (another person)', Krx mūč- v. 'wash the face of', Gnd mičnā, mīh- v. 'bathe another'; the D cognate is valid unless this is a derivative from D *mī- 'wash' (< N *mūhi 'water, fluid', q.v.) ¶¶ D 4878, Pf. 41 (Krx mūč- < D *mī-nč-) ◇ Cf. UEW 189 and P 745-6 (both draw attention to the U-IE parallel), IS II 71 (*muč v. 'wash'). U *ś for the expected *č is due to its precon.

position. In IE mesg- the element *-g- belongs together with U *-k- in *muśke (a final element in a N cluster of words?).

1362. ?σ₂ *m∇č'∇w∇ '€ rodent' > HS: C: pAg *ʔ3nč'3w 'mouse' > Bln {Ap.} ʔ3nš'3wa, Xm {Ap.} 3č'wa 'mouse', Q/Km {Ap.} 3nš'äwa id., 'rat'; Ag → EthS: Gz ʔanšawā, ʔanšēwā, ʔansōwā 'mouse, weasel', Tgy ḥḥḥḥ ʔanč'3wa, Tgr ḥḥḥḥ ʔanšay ~ 0ḥḥḥ ʔanšay 'mouse'; EthS → Sa {Wlm.}, Af ʔandawa id. || ? EC: Or {Grg.} hantūta, {Brl., Th.} antuta 'mouse, rat', Or B/O {Sr.} hantūta 'rat' ¶ R WB 41, Ap. AV 3, Ap. WLQ 13, AD SF 142, 222-3, G L 32, LH 476, Brl. 24, Th. 20, Grg. 200, Sr. 323 || NrOm: pGng {Ap.} *inč- > Kf {C} ič'čō, Mch {L} īč'č'e, Anf īnčo 'mouse', Shn {Lm.} īnč'ā id., 'rat', Bnc {Wdk.} úč, She uč, Hrr ērēč'ē, Cha {C} učā, Wl {C} eč'ärē, Zs {C} eč'erē, Dwr {Ap. ← ?} ečere, ečeria, Bdt {C} ereč'ē 'mouse' ¶ Ap. AV 3, AD SF 142, Wdk. BY 112, Lm. Sh 269-70 || ? CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} mocod, Gzg Mj {Lk.} močod 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} máčad, móčod '€ mouse', ? Db {Lnh.} mašay 'mouse' (× N *muks'a' - *mugz'a' '€ rodent') ¶ Lk. G 130, Brr. MG II 163 || K: G {DCh.} mčav-i '€ beaver, otter', čav-i, čvav-i 'beaver, otter', {NCh.} mčavi, čavi, čvavi 'otter', {GL, Chx.} čav-i 'otter, Fischotter' ¶ DCh. 927, 1629, NCh. 306, Chx. 2099, SSO I 534 and II 362, GL 570 ◇ The comparison is doubtful, because common origin of words for 'mouse' and for 'beaver, otter' is questionable.

1363. (2?) *meč'XA 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)' > HS: Eg MKL mžh v. 'hew timber', Eg OK mžh(ω) 'carpenter', Eg XXVI mžh.t 'behauenes Holz' ¶ EG II 189-91, Fk. 124 || EC: Kns {BISO} mīssa 'bush, bush country', ? Hr, Dbs, Gwd mandō 'forest' (acc. to Lm. Sh 360, mt. from *mič'an-) ¶ BISO 116, AMS 174, 278 || Om ({Blz.}): NrOm: Kf {C} mičō 'tree, wood (albero, legno, legname)', Mch {L} mīčō 'wood, tree', Anf {C} mič'čō, miššō, Shn {Lm.} mīttā, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} miča ~ miča (miz a) 'tree, wood (legno), firewood', Bdt {C} mitsē, mitsi, Wl {C} mittā, Cha {C} mitsā, Gf/Bdt {C} mitsē ~ mitsi 'tree, wood (Holz)', Zl {C, CR} mič'čā, Malo mič'ā, {Lm.} micci, Male {Si.} 'miči, Dwr mič'ī, Gnj {Si.} 'muc, Krt {Si.} mucε, Zrgl {Si.} 'minca 'tree', Zs {Si.} m'ncā 'tree', {Lm.} minča 'tree, firewood', Kcm {Si., Lm.} 'mici id., Dumo {CR} mič'ē 'plant, tree, wood (Holz)', Dc {Lm.} mič'č 'tree', minčā 'wood (Holz), firewood' ¶ Blz. OL #117 (Om. *mič- ~ *mič'- 'wood'), AD SF 250, C SE III 172 and IV 475-6, C SO 33, 44, 62, Mrn. O 152, LM 43, Si. ACh 21, Si. M 11, Lm. Sh 360 || ??σ S *majish|f- > Ak

mēs-u 'ε a native tree and its wood' ¶ CAD X/1 33-4 ¶ The deglottalization *ç > Ak ε may be due to regr. as. (caused by *h|ç) ¶ ¶ AD SF 250 (Om, Eg; *÷ S: Hb maṭ|ṭē 'stick'), Blz. OL #117 || ?σ K *°miç|ça- > OG miça-y, G miça 'land, earth' ¶ Ser. 101, Chx. 782 || U: FU {Coll.} *meććä, {UEW} *mećä 'forest' → 'remote place' > F metsä 'forest, wood (Wald, Forst)', Es mets 'forest' | pLp {Lr.} *mēććē 'far away; go far way' > Lp: L {LLO} miehttjēn, A mieh'tijen, I {It.} meččīn 'weitweg', S {Hs.} mietttjie- ~ mietts'e- 'sich entfernen' (× mietserne 'behind, far in the northern side?') || OHg, Hg messz-e 'far off\away' (-e is a sx. of lat.) ¶ Coll. 98, UEW 269-70 (semantic interpretation of the FU word as 'Rand'), Lr. #654, Lgc. #3811, Hs. 925, EWU 970.

1364. *muč₁∇ 'damage, (physical) defect, illness' > HS: S *°✓mθç > Ar ✓mθç (ip. -mθuç- ~ -mθaç-) 'avoir une démarche disgracieuse' (se dit d'une femme qui marche comme une oie) ¶ BK II 1060 || U: FU *muč∇ '(physical) defect, illness' (→ 'guilt') > pChr {Ber.} *mužb 'evil spirit causing illness; illness' > Chr: L 'мужо 'mužo, H 'мыж 'mъž id. | Prm {LG} *mūž 'illness as punishment' > Z мыж mīž 'guilt, fault (проступок), crime', Yz {Gn.} m^ž 'guilt', {Lt.} m^ža 'guilty', Prmk mīž'a 'punishment \ illness sent by God \ by the deceased parents', Vt S mīž 'unkept sacrifice vow; illness inflicted by deities as punishment', mīžt+nī v. 'send illness' || pObU {Ht.} *māč ~ *mōč > pVg *māš 'illness, defect' > LK māš, UK mās, LL maš, Ss mos id. ({Mu.} 'scrofula, illness, deficiency', {BV} 'illness'); pOs *mōč 'illness, wounds' ({Stn.} "general name for illnesses and visible wounds") > Os: V mōč, Ty moč, Nz muš, Kz mōš, O mos id. | ? OHg máz 'epilepsy', Hg Δ hagymáz 'hitziges Fieber, wobei man immer phantasiert', 'typhus' ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 283, It. #225, ≈ Sm. 553 (FP *muš∇ 'illness'), Ber. 40 [#202], MRS 333, 340, Ep. 73, Ü 124, Lt. 194, Lt. J 148, LG 181, Ht. #378, MK 315, BV 56, Stn. D 890-1 || D (in SD) *muč- > Tm mucī v. 'faint', Ml mušiyuka v. 'grow faint', Kn muccuṛu v. 'become torpid\stupified, lose conciousness, faint away' (× D *muč(č)- v. 'be torn, crumpled' < N *mUč∇ 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) ¶ D #4903 ◇ IS II 72 [#305] (*muč₁, sc. *muč|č∇ 'порча, недостаток': U, D).

1365. *mô'č|š₁∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' > HS: Eg XX mšç 'cut off (abschneiden) [?]' ¶ EG II 156 || S *°mšç > Ar ✓mšç G (ip. -mšaç- ~ -mšīç-) {Fr.} 'eripuit', {BK} 'arracher\enlever violamment',

{Hv.} 'steal (a th.) away', 'card (cotton)' ¶ BK II 1262, Fr. IV 182, Hv. 722 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} muḏḥ- 'strip off, undress, despoil', Sml {R} muḏaḥ- 'strip off the skin' ¶ The devoicing *ḥ > ḥ id probably due to as. (pC *ḥ > *ḥ) || Bj {R} ✓ mšʔ pcv. (1s: p. 'amšaʔ, prs. amaḥšīʔ; prtc. 'mešʔa) 'tear to pieces, split, divide', {Rop.} ✓ mšʔ pcv. vt. 'split' || SC: Irq musa {MQK} 'pestle, mortar stick', {Wd.} 'mortar', Kz {E} musikō 'pestle' ¶ Abr. S 182, R WBd 175, Rop. 219, E SC 159, Wd. #611, MQK 75 || NrOm: Kf {C} mačč- 'tagliare, incidere', Gm {Hw.} múço ¶ C SE IV 468, Hw. EG || U *mʷuʷC₁C₂a > Sm *mḅčā- 'cut' > Nn: T мада- v. 'cut', T O {Lh.} maḏā- 'durchschneiden', F NI {Lh.} mattaʔ-ś id.; Slq: Tz {KKHI} māti- v. 'chop, cut, cut to pieces', Tm {KD} mažāb- 'cut'; Kms {KD} 1s prs. baḥḅḅom ~ baḥḅḅom ~ buḥḅḅom 'cut' ¶ Jn. 84, KKHI 129, KD 7 || D (in NED) *mōč- 'cut into pieces' > Krx mōč-nā 'cut up into convenient pieces any object too large for use, give a cut in\through', Mlt {Drs.} móce 'cut (as meat)' ¶ D #5130, Pf. 195 [#194] || A: Tg *mōsa- v. 'grind' > Nn B mōso 'millstone', Nn B/KU mōsola-, WrMc mosela- v. 'grind (cereals)', Nn Nh mōsolaqu, Ul mosoloqu ~ maysalaqu, WrMc moselaqu 'mill' ¶ STM I 547 || ?σ T *bič- ~ *bič- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *bič∇ 'cut, crumble, crush', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC, Bj, and Tg point to N *-š-, while EC, Om, and U suggest a N affricate. The exact sound corrs. are still to be elucidated.

1366. *muč∇ 'cupped\clenched hand' > HS: B *₁u₁m∇z- 'fist, cupped hand' > Kb {DI.} tummazt (pl. tummaz) 'fist', Sll {Ds.} amaz id., tummazt (pl. tummaz) 'cupped\clenched hand (poignée)', Izd {Mrc.} tummitz (pl. tummaz), Gd {Lf.} tammazt (pl. tammaz, tammazēn) id., wamaz 'prendre à poignée' ¶ DI. 529, Mrc. 196, Lf. II #1054 || K *omuč- > G muča 'hollow of the hand, handful', muč-i id., 'fist', muč- 'ballen (Faust), eine Handful von etw. nehmen, in der Hand halten' ¶ DCh. 911-2, Chx. 859 || U: FU *mučk∇ 'fist' > pMr {Ker.} *muškъ id. > Er мокшна mokšna, Mk мокшенда mokšenda id. (sc., acc. to Ker., the mt. occurred in the prehistory of Mr) || pChr {Ber.} *muškъndъ id. > Chr: L мушкындо 'muškъndo, Н мышкынды mḅškъndъ || Prm {LG} *mūžik id. > Vt мыжык mīž+k id., Z LV mīž+k n. 'blow with the fist, cuff, punch (удар кулаком, тумак)' || pOs *mēčak ({{JHI.} *mīčak) 'fist' > Os: Ty/D mēčak, O māsak id. ¶ UEW 704 (unc.: Os ← Z), Coll. 99, It. #221, Sm. 553 (FP *mukš∇ 'fist'), Ker. II 89, Ber. 39, MRS 338, 343, IG 181, SZ 230.

1367. *mučř∇ 'end' > **HS:** S *^o✓mθř > Ar مَطْفَعَةٌ maṭṭaʿa-at- 'la fin, le reste du discours' ¶ BK II 1125 || **U:** FU *mučř∇ 'end' > pChr {Ber.} *muč-akš (*-akš is a nominal sx.) > Chr: L мучаш mu'čaš, V mučakš, H мычаш 'mъčaš 'end ('Ende, Spitze)'; pChr muč- with a locative ending > Chr H мычны 'mъč-nъ 'at the end of' || pObU *m'ō'č (/ *moč- ?) 'up to' > pVg *m'ā'č id. > Vg: T miš, LK mǎš, MK/UK mās, P/NV/SV moš, IL maš, UL mos, Ss mus; pOs *moča ({[HL.} *māčə) id. > Os: V/Vy moča, Ty/Y mōčə, Km māša, O māšə ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 283, Ber. 38, MRS 330, 342, Ht. #780 || **A** {DQA} *m'u'č'i > AmTg *mučā 'end, edge' > Ul muča, Ork mūtča ~ mučča, Nn moča id. ¶ STM I 561 || T *muč-gak, *muč-mak {DQA} 'external angle' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} bučyaq 'corner', MQp XIV, Chg XV, OOsM XIV bužaq, Tk бучак id., Az bužaq, ET Δ bužek ≡ bužek, Chv pǐsmex id. ¶ ≈ Cl. 294, ET B 282-3 || pKo {S} *mʰčʰ- v. 'finish' > MKo mʰs-, mʰčʰ-, mʰčʰʰ-, NKo mačʰi- id.; pKo {S} *mʰčʰ- n. 'finish, end' > MKo mʰčʰʰm ¶ S QK #661, Nam 198, 205-6, MLC 568 ¶¶ S AJ 76, DQA #1372 (pA *mōč' 'a|u|o 'end, edge') ◇ Resh. NNE #5 (U, A).

1368. *m'A'čř∇g∇ 'be foolish, be mad, be intoxicated' > **HS:** S *^o✓mḡṣ > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} مَضَاعَةٌ maṭṭaʿāṣ-at- 'fatuus', {BK} مَضَاعَةٌ muṭṭaʿāṣ-at- 'sot, imbecile', {Bel., Hv.} مَضَاعَةٌ maṭṭaʿāṣ-at- 'mad, insane' ('fou, insensé') ¶ Fr. IV 188, BK II 1120, Bel. 774, Hv. 724 || EC: Or {Grg.} maččā(w)a 'be\get drunk', maččī 'drunkenness', Arr maččé id., maččow- 'get drunk', Ged {Hd.} (← Or?) maččō?- 'be drunk', Sd {Gs.} maččarara 'be mad\crazy', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} maččār- 'be crazy'; Or → (?) Kf {C} maš-, Mch {L} maša 'be drunk' ¶ ≈ AD SF 305-6, Grg. 272, Brl. 286, Hw. A 383, Gs. 217, Hd. 45 (HEC *maččārār- 'be crazy'), 254, 293, 331, 384 || **A:** Tg *močř∇ 'awkward, stupid' > WrMc moco 'slow-witted, dull, awkward', Ul močřo 'it is awkward, uncomfortable', Nn Nh/KU močřo 'awkward', B moco naɫ 'an awkward, clumsy man', Orc močřolā- 'be unable, clumsy', Ork motčouɫ 'awkward, uncomfortable' ¶ STM I 547 ¶ The vw. *o may be due to the infl. either of the second syll. (a rounded vw.?) or of the initial *m- || **D** *mač- 'be intoxicated; intoxicating beverage' (× D *may- 'mix, be\make unsteady' < N *magy'E' 'to swing, to wave, to sway', q.v.) > Mlt méca 'an intoxicating beverage prepared of corn', Krx māyā 'malt prepared for making beer, beer in its preparatory stage, arrack made of rice', Tl maiḡamu 'intoxication, inebriation', maiḡa 'intoxication', Tm

macakku vt. 'charm, bewitch, confuse, perplex', macakkam 'dullness, swoon', macakkaḷ 'morbid longings of a pregnant woman', mayakku v. bewilder, make one swoon', myakku n. 'mental delusion', maiyala 'infatuation of love, madness', MI mayanṇuka 'be drowsy, giddy' ¶¶ D #4706.

1369. *mAdû 'honey' > IE: NaIE *medʰu- 'honey' > OI madhu- 'honey, mead', Av maθu 'berry wine', Sgd accus. mθw 'wine', Oss I mɔd, D mud 'honey' || Gk μέθυ 'wine, alcoholic drink' || OIr mid (gen. medo), W medd, Br mez 'mead', OCrn medd Γ 'sicera (ε alcoholic drink)' || ON mjǫðr, OHG mētu ɹ mito, NHG Met, AS medu ~ meodu 'mead', NE mead || Lt medūs, Pru meddo 'honey', Ltv mēdus id., 'mead' | SI *mēdb (gen. *medu) 'honey' > OCS МЕДЪ медъ, Blg мед, Cz, Slk med id., SCr mēd, P miód, R мёд, Uk мед id., 'mead'; the ancient root-final *u is preserved as *v in derived and compound words (as ChS МЕДВЪНЪ медвнъ, R мед'вяный 'made of honey', SI *medv-ědb 'bear' ['honey-eater'], etc.) || Tc B mīt [mit] 'honey' ¶ P 707, M K II 570-2, M E II 302-3, Bai. 340, Ab. II 134-5, F II 191-2, Vr. 390, Ho. 218-9, Kb. 680, KM 476, Frn. 425, En. 209, ESSJ XVIII 62-72, Vs. II 588-9, Glh. 402-3, Vn. M 48, Wn. 298, Ad. 461, Ad. H 17, ≈σ EI 271 (**'medʰu 'mead') || **D** (in SD) *mat̥t̥o 'honey, sweetness' > Tm mat̥t̥u 'honey, toddy, sweet juice', MI mat̥u 'sweetness, honey', mat̥t̥u 'nectar', ? Tu mit̥t̥i 'sweetness' ¶ D 4662 || **HS:** ECh: Mkl {J} máddé 'bee, honey' ¶ J LM 136 || NrOm {Blz} *mat̥t̥/C̥- 'bee, honey' > Shn maç̣'ça 'honey', Kf māṭo 'bee', Mch maṭi 'bee, wasp', Anf maç̣ç̣o ~ maş̣ş̣o, Zs, Dc maç̣ç̣ 'bee', Gm {Hw.} mácc̣i, Wl matta, Cha meca id. ¶ Lm. Sh 363, C SE III and IV 475, Blz. OL #177, Hw. EG ◇ Ar مَادِي māḍīy- 'miel blanc, vin' (BK II 1166) is hardly an inherited cognate (because Ar ḍ does not go back to N *d), it is more likely to go back to an Iranian source (cp. Phl maḍ 'wine') ◇ The S root *√mt̥k̥ 'sweet' does not belong here (against the opinion of some scholars) and is likely to be connected with Ht mit̥gaimi- 'sweet, sweetened' (acc. to Ts. E II 221, originally a Lw word [← Lw *mit̥ga(j̥)- 'sweeten']) ◇ AD NM #79, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *madʰu- 'honey' *← NrCs *hwm̥iṣ̥ō 'honey'; therefore S rejects the N et. in question) ◇ In the chart "Main phonetic correspondences in the Nostratic languages" in AD NM 102 and in AD NMI 21 there is a misprint: the IE reflex of N *-d- is misprinted as *d for *dʰ, which caused Coleman's remark (CIm. R

117): "The derivation of PIE *medhu- 'honey' from PN *madu is incompatible with the table of reflexes".

1370. $_2$ *mAdU 'lake' ([in descendant lgs.] → pond') > HS: B *md(ʷ)- 'lake, pond' > Sll {Ds.} 'tamda (pl. timduin), BMn tamda id., Kb tamda (pl. ti-madw-in) 'mare, réservoir, bassin', Tmz {MT} amda ~ anda (pl. imdwan ~ indwan) 'pond (étang), lake', tamda & tanda (pl. timdwin ~ tindwin) 'small pool, puddle' ('mare, flaque'), mdu (pf. mdi ~ mda) v. 'be filled with water' (of a basin, well, pit, ditch), 'stagnate' (of water) ¶ Ds. 165, Ds. B 190, La. S 234, Dl. 486, MT 402-3 || ? CCh: Bu {ChL, Hf.} manda, Ngx {ChL} mändà 'lake' ¶ ChL, Hf. B 76 || **D** *maṭu ({ǵGS} *-ḍ-) 'pond, lake' > Tm maṭu 'lake, pond', Ml maṭu 'deep place, pool', Kt maṛv 'deep pool in a stream', Kn maḍu ~ maḍa 'water', Tl maḍuḡu 'pond, tank, lake' ¶ D #4658.

1371. *mud∇ 'finish', 'to end' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{mdy}}$ > Ar مَدِيَّة mady-at-, مَدَى mada(n) 'terme, limite', مِيدَاءٌ mīdāʔ- 'terme, limite extrême' ¶ BK II 1079 || B * $\sqrt{\text{mdH}}$ (most probably * $\sqrt{\text{md?}}$) > Ah {Fc.} amdu (3m pf. imdā, Fcj. 14 = Pcj. 1 A 8) 'finir, achever', 'être fini, se finir', Ty ʔmdu (= {jGhA} āmdu) 'être complet \ entier \ fini \ achevé', ETwl ʔndu id., Kb timmad 'le fait d'être entier', Gd {Lf.} amdu (3m pf. imda) 'achever, compléter', Izn {Rn.} amḡa 'être passé \ terminé' (secondary emphatization of *d?), Sll {Ds.} S smad / pf. ismad 'vt. 'achever', Zng {Nic.} 3m pf. i-mad 'was finished' ¶ Acc. to Pr.'s morphonological rec., verbs of this conjugation have a final lr. (here *-mduH / pf. *-mdaH); the S cognate (* $\sqrt{\text{mdy}}$) suggests that the lr. was secondary, most probably *ʔ (as in Ar mīdāʔ-) ¶ Fc. 1154-7, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 118, Rn. 385, Lf. I 265 and II #0966, GhA 123, Nic. 206 ¶¶ ≈ Coh. EC 180 || **A**: Tg *mudan 'finish' > Ewk mudan, Ewk Tkm/Hng mōdan, Neg modan, Sln mudā, Lm mudʔn & mudon & mudon, Nn modā, Ud muda(n-), Ul muda(n-) id. ¶ SDM I 550, Vas. 258 ¶¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 139 (Tg, Ko mač^hi-da 'finish', but SDM97 rejects the Ko cognate as containing *-s- [MKo mʌs-ta]) || **D** *muṭi₁- ({ǵGS} *-ḍ-) vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' > Tm muṭi (p. -v-) id., 'die', muṭi (p. -pp) vt. 'end', Ml muṭiyuka 'come to an end', muṭikka vt. 'finish, spend, destroy', Kt muṛč^o v. 'finish (work)', Kn muḍi vi. 'end, come to an end, become extinct', Tu muḍusu- vt. 'eat up, consume', Tl mūḍu, mūḍu vi. 'end, terminate', Gnd muṛi 'end, termination', Ku {Isr.} muṭ-, {Slz.} muth'nai v. 'complete' ¶¶ D

#4922 ◇ In Tg and D (due to the merger of N ***-d-** and ***-t-**) the reflexes of N ***mud** merged with the those of N ***mût** 'die' (← 'go away, be removed?') (q.v.) ◇ IS II 72-3 (***mud** in B, D, and A [Tg + Ko *mətč̣i-*]), ≈ IS MS 344 (***mut** 'finish' [vi.] in A, D, and HS) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 4 (***muta** 'all', untenable comparison of Tg with forms of other lgs., like MM *mōci* 'just enough').

1372. (₂?) ***mæ'h'ûd** 'speak' > HS: Eg *mdw* v. 'speak', *mdw* 'word, speech', *md.t* 'spoken words, speech', DEg *mt* 'speak; speech', Cpt: Sd **МОУТЕ** *mute*, B **МОУ†** *muti* v. 'call, speak' ¶ EG II 179-82, Er. 184, Vc. 124 ¶ Probably positional loss of the expected lr. (***h?**) || B {Pr.} ***mūh₂ud-** / pf. ***-mūh₂ad-** 'prey' > Ah *muhəd* 'réciter en priant' (Fcj. 39, Pcj. XII A 1), ETwl *muđ* (Pcj. XII A 4), Ty {ABs.} *muđ*, Gh {ABs., Nh.} *muhəd*, Gd, Awj *mūd* 'prier' ¶ Fc. 1137-8, 2003 (on Fcj. 39), Pr. H #516, Pr. M VI-VII 242, GhA 122-3, 268, Lf. II #O965, Prd. 172 || Ch: WCh: P {MSk.} *mùndé*, Dir {Sk.} *ndà* (< ***md**) 'say' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} *ndáhá* id. | Msg G {MB} *muđ* ~ *mɜđ*- id., Msg P {Trn.} inf., pl. *miđi* / sg. *mɜđa* 'say, speak', Mlw {Trn.} *miđi* (✓ *m`đ`*) id. | Mrg {Hf.} *ndɜ* (< ***md**) id., Br {Hf.} *ndir* 'word' || ?σ ECh: Jg {J} *mād-* 'ask (a question)' | ? EDng {Fd.} *índé* 'ask for, ask (a question)' ¶ ChC, ChL, Hf. M 226, Hf. B 57, 151, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 306 ¶ OS #387 (***mud-** 'speak' in Eg, EC, Ch, B) || IE: NaIE ***mēud^h-**/***maud^h-**/**mūd^h-** 'speak' (→ 'think') (semantic infl. of NaIE ***med-** 'think' < N ***mæt** 'feel, realize?') > Gk *μῦθος* 'speech, word, talk; tale', *μῦθήομαι* 'I say, speak' || Gt (*ga*)*maudjan* 'remind' || Lt *maũsti* (prs. *maudžiu*) 'to long for', 'to miss' (× *maũsti* 'to ache') | Sl: Cz *mdlíti* (po...) 'to desire (sth.)', Sl d. ***mīsl̥b** f. (gen. ***mīsl̥i**) 'thought' (< ***mūd-tli-s**) > OCS **мѣсль** *měsl̥b*, Blg 'мисъл', SCr *mīsaō* (gen. *mīsl̥i*), Slv *mīsel*, OCz, Cz *mysl*, Slk *mysel*, P *mysł*, R 'мысль', Uk 'мисль' id. ¶ WP II 255-6. P 743, ≈ EI 158 (? ***mouđ-** 'desire strongly'), F II 264-5, Tr. 171-2, Fs. 350, ≠ Frn. 420, ESSJ XXI 44-51, Vs. III 25, Glh. 412 ¶ The intonation in Lt *maũsti* (suggesting an IE short diphthong) is probably secondary (due to the merger with *maũsti* 'to ache' of a different origin?) || ? U (possibly) ***omuđ** > Sm: Slq UTz {Hl.} *mul+-mp+*- v. 'speak' ¶ KKH 133 ◇ The primary meaning may have been 'speak' (whence 'think', as in Hb way *yōmer bālib'bō* 'and he said in his heart' → 'he thought') ◇ ≈ IS II 76-7 (***mud** 'think' in Eg, Ch, IE, Sm + unc. S ***✓?md** [> Ar *ʔamad-*

'extreme point', Aram \checkmark ?md 'form an approximate estimate, guess', etc.]).

1373. $_2$ *med₁∇₁X∇ '€ fig tree' > HS: S: Ar mudah- 'Ficus religiosa' ¶ BK II 1077, Hv. 712 || D *mēt₁i₁ ({ǵGS} *-d-?) '€ fig-tree' > Kn mēđi 'glomerous fig tree (Ficus racemosa Wall. = Ficus glomerata Roxb.), opposite-leaved fig tree (Ficus oppositifolia)', Tl mēđi, Klm mēri 'glomerous fig tree' ¶¶ D #5090.

1374. $_2$ *magê 'earth, land' > IE: NaIE *mag^hg^h- 'land, earth' > OIr mag 'plain, free field, field', Nlr mag 'earth' || Gl n. 1. Argantomagus, Clt d. *magestu > W maes 'field', Crn mēs 'open field', Br mæz 'champ, campagne' || ? OI ma'hī 'earth, ground, soil, land; earth (as substance)' (× adj. ma'hī 'magna') ¶ ≠ P 709, M K II 610, M E II 337-9 (OI ma'hī 'earth' ← ma'hī 'magna'), MW 83, Vn. M 8, Hm. 540 || U *maǵe 'earth, land' > F, Es maā 'land' | ? pChr {Ber.} *mūy 'ground, earth' > Chr: M mū-nō ~ mū-nō ~ mūy-nō 'unten, auf dem Boden, auf der Erde', mū-ǵō 'auf die Erde, auf den Boden hinunter', K mülānđə, U mǵlanđe 'earth, ground', B mǵlanđe, melanđe 'land' | Prm {LG} *mu 'earth' > Z, Vt mu 'earth, ground, land' || ObU *m∇y- 'earth, land' > pVg {Hl.} *mē > Vg: T mā', LK/UL/Ss mā, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML mē id., 'place'; pOs {Hl.} *mēy > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mēy, Nz mīy, Kz mūw 'earth, ground, land' || Sm {Jn.} *mǵyǵ 'Erde, Gelände', {Hl.} *mǵya 'land, landscape' > Ng {Ter., Mik.} mǵū, {Cs.} mou 'earth' ('Erde, föld'), Slq Tz {KKIH} mač' 'forest', {Pr.} mači 'forest, tundra', Slq Nr/Yel/B/Tz {Cs.} mač, Slq Kar mač, Slq Ke matte, Slq Ch matteä 'forest', Kms {KD} mǵy·ε, {Cs.} mi ja 'mountain', Koyb {Sp.} мыя, {Pl.} mu ja, Mt {Hl.} *biyā id. (Mt: A {Msr.}, M {Pl.} bia, M/T {Mil.} bīe, K {Mil.} búie) ¶¶ Coll. 33, UEW 263-4, Sm. 546 (FU *mǵxi, FP *mēxi, Ugr *mǵgi 'earth, land'), Ber. 41, LG 177, Lt. 203, Ht. 202 [#775], Hl. rHt 74, Hl. MTKV 57, Trj. S 272, BV 50, Jn. 85, Cs. 75, 172 (equates Slq mač 'forest' with F metsä), 192, Hl. M #124 (misprint: *bijā for *bi jā) ◇ IS SS 334 [#6.25], IS MS 342 (*mag^h 'земля' > IE, U) ◇ Gr. II #118 (*mag 'earth') (IE, U, Ai, EA + err. Y + qu. Gil).

1375. $_2$ *magU 'bad' > HS: C: Bj {R} -māg (1s p. a-'māg, prs. at'mīg) pcv. md. 'schlecht\böse werden', caus. -sō-mig 'Schlechtes zufügen' || Ag: Bln {R} mǵlā (= mǵ^wlā) 'Vergehen, Verbrechen; schlecht, unbrauchbar, verdorben' || EC: Or {R} māg-, magǵ- 'schlecht sein', {Brl.} mog-ač č u 'avvilirsi, corrompersi, guastarsi', ?σ: Or O {Sr.}

mōga 'idiot', Arr {Hw.} mōk 'stupid, ignorant' ¶ R WBd 163-4, R WB 268, Brl. 307, Sr. 369, Hw. A 385 || WCh: Hs mūgù 'bad, evil', Gw {Mts.} múgu 'bad' | NrBc (<b- Hs?): Cg {Sk.} mūguntí, Kry {Sk.} mūgúnzèhè, Jmb {Sk.} mūgúntáǰú 'bad' ¶ Ba. 797, Abr. H 680, ChC s.v. 'bad' ¶¶ OS #1705 (*mag- 'be bad'; forms of Bj, Or, and Hs quoted earlier in IS) || **A:** M *maγu 'bad' > MM [LV] {Pp.} maγui, [HI] ma₁u 'bad', [S] ma₀u(n) 'schlecht, übel', [IM] {Pp.} ma₁ū 'stingy, damned; bad', WrM magu, HIM mγy mū, Ord, Brt, Kl, Mnr H {SM} mū, Dx mau 'bad, evil' ¶ Pp. IM 83, Pp. MA 441, Pp. L III 69, KW 269, Ms. H 74, H 107, MED 520, SM 243, T 346, T DnJ 128 ◇ IS II 38 [#275] (*magu > HS [C, Ch], M).

1376. *mig∇ 'make a present' > **HS:** S *√mgn 'make a present' > Ph √mgn D 'offer', BHb √mgn D (pf. 𐎎𐎗 mig'gen) 'give up, hand over', Ug √mgn G 'make a present, donate', {OLS} id., 'show hospitality', Ug, Pun, Plm mgn 'gift, present', Pun mgnh 'gift, offering', JPA, SmA, MHb 𐎎𐎗 mag'gān '(undeserved) gift, present; gratis', Ar مَجَان mağğān- 'gratuitious, jolly', مَجَانًا mağğān-an 'free of charge, gratis', Ak NA/NB/Bg/Nz magannu 'gift, present', ana maganna 'gratis' (the unexpected -nn- may be due to reborrowing, possibly pre-Ak or Archaic Ak *magan- → Hur {Lar.} maganni 'gift, present' → Ak magannu); the hyp. (Sd., CAD) of an Iir origin of the word (cp. OI magha-) is hardly acceptable (Laroche is right to reject it and to suggest that the word is of S origin), also because no word resembling *maghann- is known in Iir ¶ KB 517, A #1513, OLS 264, HJ 593-4, BK II 1066, Hv. 709, CAD X/1 31-2, Sd. 574-5, Lar. GLH 164, Speiser H 39 || **IE:** NaIE (att. in Iir) *meg₁ω₁^h- 'present, gift', *omeng₁ω₁^h- prs. (with a nasal infix of prs.) 'make a present, grant' > OI ma'gha-h 'gift', Av maga- 'gift, grace'; OI 'mamhatē 'gives, grants, bestows', Av maza.raii- 'Reichtum spendend' ¶ M K II 538-9, 545-6, ≈ M E II 286, 289-90 || **U** *miṣe- ({Jn. *mexi-}) 'give, sell' > F mγy-, mγō-, Es müü- 'sell', Lv {Ktn.} mī- 𐌶 mū- id., mīmāz, Lv I {Ktn.} mīm ~ mūm 'gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom' | pLp {Lr.} *mēkэ- 'sell' > Lp: Kld м̄Гкэ, {TI} m̄₁kε-, Nt {TI} m̄₁k:ε- id. | Er, Mk мие- miye- 'sell' | Prm d. *med ({LG} *mēd) > Vt мед med 'wages', Z мед med id., 'reward' || ObU {Ht.} *mī-, *mīṣ-/ *mīy- 'give' > pVg *mī-, *mīṣ-, *māy- > Vg: T mā- / māy- 𐌶 māw- / māy-, LM/MK/LK mi- / miṣ- / māy-, P mi- / māy- /

māy-, LL mi- / māy-, UL/Ss mi- / miš- / may-; pOs {Ht.} *mē- / *mēy- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mē- / mēy-, Nz/Kz mā- / mīy-, O mā- / miy- id. || Sm {Jn.} *mi- 'give, sell' > Ne: T d. inf. ми-ць, Т О {Lh.} mí-ć, F mířš; Ng d. 1s aor. obcj. mījiʔema, p. mīsiʔema; En inf. ми-ть, {Cs.} d. 1s aor. obcj. miʔebo; Slq Tz {KKIH} inf. mi-qo; Kms {KD} 1s p. mḗlem & mǎ́lem & mǐ́lem, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. мелямъ id; Mt {Hl.} *mi- 'geben, hingeben' ({Sp.} миямъ 'I give') ¶¶ Coll. 37, UEW 275, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *mexi-, Ugr migĩ-, Sm *mi- 'give, sell'), SK 356-7, Ktn. 226, Lr. #663, SaR 189, TI 250, LG 171, Ht. #378, Jn. 94, KKIИ 130, KD 40, Hl. M #667 ◊ BmK 636 (IE, S, U) ◊ ≠ Gr. II #194 (*ma-n ~ *ma-k ~ *ma-r 'hand/give/mrasure') (U, Gil + err. IE, A, Ai, Y, Ko, J, CK).

1377. ₂ *mUʔiʔig∇ (= *mUʔig∇?) 'snake' > HS: C: LEC *māg-a > Kns {BIO} māk-ā, Gdl {Bl.} māk-a 'snake', Or {Th.} māga, {Brl.} maga 'intestinal worm(s)', {Grg.} māgā 'ascarid (roundworm)' ¶ BIO 104, Bl. GD 77, Th. 231, Brl. 287, Grg. 270 || NrOm: She {CR} māg 'ε snake' ¶ CR NGS 621 || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} māšī 'snake, worm', {Mch.} māgi 'snake' || ? Msg {Mch.} walaḷa mōgo id. || WCh: ? Ngz {Mk.} mikḷa, {Sch.} mbīkḷa id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 242, Lk. L 106, Sch. DN 114 ¶¶ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake' || S *^o✓ mʔg > Ar ✓ mʔǵ TD 'ramper, s'avancer en décrivant des courbes' (un serpent), 'serpenter, couler en serpentant' (un ruisseau) ¶ BK II 1125 || A ≈ *mUyK∇ 'snake' > Tg *muiki (DQA *mūkū) 'snake' > Neg L mīxi, Neg {PSchm.} miyki, Orc mīki, Ul mui, Nn Nh/B/KU muyki, WrMc meyxε, Mc Sb mejε 'snake', Ork mui ~ muyši id., 'worm', Ud miki {Shn.} 'small snake', {Krm.} 'adder' ¶ S AJ 217 [#181] (pTg *mūkū), ≈ STM I 537-8, Krm. 260 || M *mogayi 'snake' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, LM] moyai, WrM mogai (pl. mogas), HIM, Brt moyoi, Ord mogō, Kl moha moyā, {Rm.} moyā ~ moyā, Mnr H {SM} mu'g-uē', {T} muguē, MMgl {Iw.} moyāi, Mgl {Rm.} mayōi, Dg mog°g, Dx mogi, Pa moyai id. ¶ Pp. MA 238, 442, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 54, MED 541, Chr. 297, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 128, T BJ 142, Iw. 116, KW 263, Rm. M 33, Mr. D 183 || T *^omökäle > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} bökä 'a big snake' ¶ Cl. 324, TL 180 || pJ {S} *múkátai ~ *múkátja 'centipede' > OJ múkádè, J: T mùkade, K mùkádè, Kg mukáde ¶ S QJ #344, Mr. 487 ¶¶ S AJ 36, 257 [181], 293 [437], and DQA #1332 adduce Ko Ph mək-kuri 'ε big black snake' (NKo mək kurəḷi), but the latter is obviously a cd. of mək '(black) ink' and kuri, kurəḷi 'snake' (see Rm SKE 145 and MLC 609 s.v. mek kwulengi [mək kurəḷi]) ¶¶ ≈ S AJ l.c., SDM97 (A *mūk'o

'snake'), DQA #1332 (A *mīūko id.) ◇ The long vw. in C and the Tg diphthong *u_i point to the presence of a N lr. The lr. is *ɤ or *ʏ, provided that Ar ✓ mɤǵ TD belongs here. The glottalization of N *-g- to *-k- underlying Tg *mu_ik_i suggests that the lr. was *ɤ.

1378. ₂ *mæhgæ 'young, small' > IE: NaIE *mēg^h-/*mōg^h-/*māg^h- 'young (person), little, small' > Clt *magus (× NaIE {Huld} *mag^hus 'young man') > Gl *magu- 'young', magulus 'servant', OGIr maguno- '≈ slave, servant (?)', OIr mug (gen. mog-a) 'boy, servant', {IEC} 'male slave\servant', Crn маω 'youth, servant', MW meu-dwy cd. 'God's servant, ascetic, hermit'; f.: Crn mowes 'maid-servant, girl', Br маоуез 'woman' ||| Gmc (× NaIE {Huld} *mag^hus 'young man'): Gt magus, OSx magu 'son', ON mōgr 'son, young man', AS маго (pl. mæc^zas) 'son, man, servant'; d.: AS mæz 'wife, mother, maiden', NE мау; Gmc {Wtk.} d. *magadi- (< NaIE d. {Wtk., P} *mag^ho-ti-) > Gt magap-s 'young woman', OSx magath, OHG magad 'maid, girl, virgin', NHG Magd (↔ dim. Mädchen 'girl'), AS mæz(e)ð 'girl, maiden, wife', NE maid; dim. *magadin- > AS mæzden 'virgin, maiden, female servant' > NE maiden ||| Lt māž-as 'small, few', Ltv maz-s 'small', Pru massais 'less', Lt mōžis 'smallness' | Sl *mězinь / *mězinь-jь 'small', 'young' (of a child) > OR МѢЗНЪИМ мѣзинуѣ 'smallest, youngest', R Δ 'мизин' 'small, little (klein)', OUK ми'зиньий 'youngest (младший)', Blr Δ 'мезиньий' 'little finger, smallest, youngest', Slk Δ meženi pal'ec 'little finger' (pal'ec 'finger'), OCz mēzený prst 'the fourth finger (adjacent to the little finger)' (prst 'finger'), P † miezinu 'smallest' (of fingers); ↔ [1] Sl *mězinькъ 'youngest son', 'little finger' > SCr mežínak, Slv mežínak 'favourite son (the youngest one)', P Δ мизунок id., 'little finger', Uk ми'зинок 'little finger', Δ мизинок 'youngst child'; [2] Sl *mězinьсь 'youngest child, little finger' > OR МѢЗНЪЦЬ мѣзіньсь 'youngest son', R ми'зинец 'little finger', SCr mēzimas 'youngest son', mjēzinac, mīzinac, Slv mēzinec id., 'little finger' ||| ???φ Av маҗава- 'unmarried' ¶ Hardly here (↔ Jokl and P) Al T makth 'leveret' ({Or.}: Al T makth, Al G mâkth id. ← Al mang 'small [of animals], urchin' [supposedly ← L mancus 'maimed, infirm']); not here Av маҗава- 'unmarried' (< NaIE {Huld} mag^hus 'young man') ¶ WP II 228 (*māg^hl₁- 'sth. small', *mag^hu- 'boy, unmarried'); AHDI 38 (*mag^hu-), P 696

(*mag^h-os, f. *mag^h-ā), EI 656 (*mag^hus 'young man', *mag^hwih_β- 'young woman') (all of them do not take into account BSI); Vn. *M* 70-1, Billy 102, Vr. 400, Fs. 339, Ho. 210, 214, Ho. S 49, Kb. 649, OsS 582, KM 452-3, Frn. 422-3, En. 208, ESSJ XVIII 227-31, Srz. II 240, Vs. II 620, O 242-3 || **HS**: S: Ar mahk-at- ~ muhk-at- 'young age' (-hk- < N ***hg-** [as.]); less probably ʔamḥaqu 'petit, qui n'a pas grandi' (presumably ← ʔamḥaqu 'unprosperous' from ✓mḥq 'efface, deny blessings of God' ʔ BK II 1068-9, 1162, Hv. 710, 738 || B *mīk (< **miHk- < **miHg-??) 'few' > Sll {Ds.} imik(k) (imikk wamān 'un peu d'eau'), Izd imik 'few' (originally 3s m. of the verb *mīk-), ʔ Tmz imiq 'peu, un peu, un peu de' ʔ Ds. 218, Mrc. 191, TM 415 || ʔ Eg XVIII mgḅ 'young warrior' ʔ EG II 164 ◇ Hardly here D *mak₁a 'young person, child', which is likely to be connected with N ***maḲU** 'baby, son' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. 443 (IE, D).

1379. *'müyga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE *'mei_gḥ- / *'migh- id. > OI mē'gha- 'cloud, cloudy weather', 'mih- 'mist, fog', Av maēḡa- 'cloud', Phl, CINPrs {Vl., Sg.} مَيْغ mēḡ, NPrs {BM} مَيْغ mīḡ 'mist, fog, cloud', Oss I mīḡ, Oss D meḡä id. || Arm միգ mēg (gen. միգի migi) 'mist, fog, haze' (← Irn?) || ON mist-r (Gmc *mīxstaz) 'cloudy weather', NNr mīstr, mōstr, Sw, Dt mist, AS mist (< *mīxsta-) 'fog, mist', NE mist || SI *mьga > 'mist, cold fog' > R Δ мга 'hoarfrost, snowstorm, cold mist', 'fog in warm summer', SCr Δ мегá 'drizzle', Cz mha 'mist, fog', R Δ мжитъ, P Δ mžyć, Cz mžítí 'to drizzle' ||| d. NaIE *migh^h-₁∇₁lā > Gk ὀμίχλη (≠ Gk A ὀμίχλη) 'mist, fog' ||| pAl {O} *meg₁u₁lā > Al mjegull 'cloud' ||| BSl: Lt mi_glā, Ltv mi_gla 'fog' | SI *mь'gla 'fog' > ChS, OR мьгла mьgla, R, Uk мгла, Blg мь'гла, SCr mā_gla, Slv mā_glā, Cz mlha, Δ mhla, Slk hmla, P mgła 'mist, fog, haze' ||| here?: Gmc: Dt Δ miggelen, miegelen, NGr WF miggelje v. 'drizzle' ʔ ≈ WP II 246-7, ≈ P 712, ≈ EI 110 (*h₃mei_gḥ-, *h₃migh^hleh_β- 'drizzle, mist'), M K II 680-1, M E II 374-5, MW 831-2, Horn 226, Vl. II 1256, Ab. II 117, Bai. 341, F II 387, O 269, Vr. 389, Vr. N 446-7, Ho. 223, Vs. II 587-8, ESSJ XXI 92-7, 182-3, Ma. CS 301, 315, Glh. 394, Slt. 186 ||| ʔ **U**: FU *'mük∇ > Es SVI {W} mügar 'large thin clouds' (unless ← Es mǔgar 'protuberance') ʔ W EDW 704 ||| **HS**: C: Bj {R} 'mag^wa 'cloud, rain-cloud' ||| ʔσ EC: pSam {Hn.} *múgdì 'darkness' > Rn múgdì, Sml {ZMO} mu_gdì 'darkness, dark days of the month (period of the waning moon)', pBn {Hn.} *múgtè 'darkness' (> Bn: Bi



múttz, Sa múgti, J/Kj múgtz, K múʔuttz) ¶ R WBd 164, Hn. S 91, Hn. BD 101. ZMO 295, PG 228 || A: M {S} *^omöki > Ba {BuL} mokz 'cloud' ¶ S AJ 239 [#125] || T *mūg 'steam, fog, cloud' > Tkm būʔ 'steam', Osm {Zen.} buʔ, Tk Δ buʔ ɖ boʔ 'cloud, steam', ET {Nj.} buʔ, Qrg буу bū, Nog був buw 'steam', Qzq бу buw, Chg {Rl. ← VZ} موغ muʔ 'steam, perspiration (Dampf, Ausdünstung)' ¶ ET B 229-30, Rl. 1799, 1804, 2174, TkR 116, Jud. 163, Nj. 220 ¶¶ S AJ 295 [#532], SDM95 (A *mök'∇ 'cloud' > Ba), and DQA #1341 (A *mök'∇ > Ba) || D *muk∇l- ({ǵGS} *-g-) 'cloud' > Tm, Ml mukil, Tu mugalъ ~ mugalъ, Tl mogulu ~ moyilu, Klm morgar, Prj malgur, Gnd moyol ɖ moyol ɖ moyyelid., Td niş muxulm 'mist on hills in morning', Kn mugil, Gdb mogul ~ moggul 'cloud; sky' ¶¶ D #4892 ◇ The cns. *k in FU and M is accounted for by their original postcons. position (postcons. *g > *k). The element *-l∇ in IE *migh^h-l∇lā and in D *muk∇l- may belong to the ancient heritage: a N compound (→ derived word?) *^o'mūyga-l∇ ◇ On N and pIE '- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Blz. LB #63 (suggested to adduce Sam *mugdi).

1380. (₂?) *mag_li_za 'liver' > HS: Eg fP myz.t 'liver' ({DW} id., {EG}: 'ein inners Organ, neben Lunge und Milz; vermutlich die Leber') > DEg myz 'liver' > OCpt μαοϋς maos id. ¶ DW I 357-8, EG II 44, Er. 187, Vc. 127 || NrOm {Blz.} *mayz- 'liver' > Bnc {Wdk.} māy 'heart, liver', She {Fl.} may 'liver', Cha {Fl.} mayya, Bdt, Kcm mayye, Gdc māyye, Gnj, Zs, Zrg maye, Male māyzi, {Fl.} mayz, Bsk māyzz, {Fl.} mauz, Dk mayz 'liver' ¶ Blz. OLBD #78, Wdk. BY 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 80 ¶¶ The origin of *y for the expected guttural is not clear || U *maksa 'liver' > F maksa, Es maks id. | pLp {Lr.} mōksē > Lp: S {Hs.} müöksie, U {Schl.} müeksē, Vfs {Lgc.} müök'si id. | pMr {Ker.} *maksъ > Er makso, Mk макса maksə id. | pChr {Ber.} *moks > Chr: L/H мокш mokš, E/U/B mokš, M moks id. | pPrm {LP} *musk- id. > Z, Vt myc mus || pObU {Ht.} *m̄ʔəθ > pVg *m̄ʔət / m̄ʔt- id. > OVg S Vt матъ, OVg S Ss maat, OVg N SoO маитъ, OVg W Sol метъ, Vg: T mayət, LK māt, MK/UK/SV/LL mēt, P mat, NV mēt ɖ moyt, UL/Ss māyət, nom. pl.: LK/P moyt-ət, MK/UK māytət, NV/LL maytət; pOs *muʔəθ id. > Os: V/Vy muʔəl, Ty muʔəθ, Y muwəθ, D/K/Nz muχət, Kz mōχəθ, O māχəl || Hg máj id. || Sm {Jn.} *m̄tъ id. > Ne: T мыд, T Sd {Lh.} m̄δ, T O {Lh.} mūδ, F {Lh.} m̄t̄; Ng {Mik.} 'mitə; En X {Cs.} mur o, En B {Cs.} mud o; Slq Tz {KKIH} m̄t̄t̄, Slq Tm {KD} m̄t̄d̄; Kms {KD} m̄t̄; Koyb {Sp.} м̄тт̄ id. ¶¶ UEW 264, Coll.

33, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 538 (U, FU *m̥ks̥ā, FP *m̥ks̥a, Ugr *m̥kθa, Sm *m̥t̥θ 'liver'), MF 417-8, It. #27, Lr. #688, Schl. 98, Hs. 950, Ker. II 83, Ber. 37, MRS 328, Ep. 70, PsS 72, Lt. 208, LG 179, Ht. 163 [#382], Jn. 93-4, Lh. 266, KKIИ 134 || ?φ A: T *bag̥r 'liver' > OT, Chg, Tkm, Osm, Az, CrTt, Slr baγ̥r, OQp bāγ̥r, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, Qzq baw̥r, Qrg, Tv, Tf bār, Alt būr, ET beγ̥r, Xk pār, Yk biar id.; with front vowels Chv пѣвер p̥aver id. ¶ Does Chv p̥aver suggest a pre-harmonic OT *bag̥r? ¶ Cl. 317, ET B 17-20, TL 278-9, Jeg. 155 ¶ The T cns. *-r and the absence of any reflex of N *-z- (unless *-r is this reflex) are not yet explained.

1381. *magy^rE¹ 'to swing, to wave, to sway' > HS: S *^o√m̥ym̥ > Ar √m̥ym̥ D (+ prp. fī) 'shake sth. in (water)', {BK} 'agiter qc. çà et là, p.ex. un linge dans l'eau, pour faire en aller les saletés' ¶ Hv. 727, BK II 1133 || IE *meH(j̥)-/*moH(j̥)- v. 'wave, swing' > Lt m̥o-ti (1s p. m̥ó j̥au) 'to wave (one's hand, etc.)', Ltv m̥â-t 'to wave, to beckon' | Sl *maj̥á-ti (1s prs. *m̥āj̥q) 'to wave, to beckon' > SCr m̥āj̥ati 'to beckon (with the hand, head), to move quickly to and fro', Slv m̥áj̥ati 'to move to and fro, to swing, to shake', OR МААТН maati 'agitare, vibrare', МААТН maj̥ati id., 'to wave (hand)', Uk 'маяти vt. 'to wave', vi. 'to flutter'; Cz m̥ávati 'to wave' || Gk μῖμος 'imitator, mimic; actor, mime' ¶ IS III 35-44 (with further details), ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against the distinction between Sl *maj̥ati 'to wave' and *maj̥ati 'to linger' [in fact from NaIE *m̥ā|ō(j̥)- 'be\make tired\exhausted' < N *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, be worn out']), Frn. 466-7, F II 241 (no decision about the et. of μῖμος) || A {AD} *m̥āyi-, {IS} *mayi- > M *mayi-: *mayimar > WrM maimar, HIM маймар, Kl {Rm.} m̥ām̥ṛ 'unsteadily' (of gait), *mayimari- > WrM maimari-, HIM маймра-, Kl м̥әәмр- m̥ām̥ṛ- v. 'walk unsteadily, reel'; WrM maimagar, HIM маймгар, Kl {Rm.} m̥ām̥aγ̥r adj. 'having an unsteady gait'; *mayiga > WrM maiga, HIM майга 'bandy-legged, crooked-legged, in-toed', Kl м̥әәһг m̥āγ̥ṛ 'crooked' (of legs), {Rm.} 'kuhbeinig'; Brt майзагар 'bent, crooked' ¶ MED 522-3, KRS 346, KW 259, Chr 290 || T: [1] *m̥āy- 'bend, swing' > Tkm m̥āy̥r 'cripple', adj. 'crippled', may̥m̥iq 'curved\bent', Qzq may̥is-, Qrg may̥iṣ- vi. 'bend oneself\itself'; [2] T *may-r- vt. 'bend, sway' > Tkm may̥r- vt. 'cripple, mutilate', Qzq may̥r- vt. 'bend', 'за-\с-гибать', Qrg may̥r̥y- 'get crooked\bent' ('кривиться'); [3] T *may-ba- 'walk unsteadily, have an unsteady gait' >

Qrg maypay- v. 'waddle, walk slowly', maypar 'having sick legs, stumble' (of horses); [4] Qrg maytar- vt. 'bend (a point\spike)' ('загнуть') ¶ ≈ Cl. 348, 772-3, MM 233-4, Sht. 139, Jud. 511-2, TkR 439-40 || Tg *māyi ~ *mēyi- 'sway, swing' > Ewk mzy- vi. 'swing, rock', Lm mēi- ~ mzyi- vt. 'swing', WrMc maymada- ~ maymida- vi. 'stagger, hobble', miyaχude- ~ miyeχude (STM} máχude ~ méχude) vi. 'frisk, jump' (of animals), 'rush about, rush (to attack so.)' ¶ STM I 543, 564, Z 863 || pK {S} *mūj-/*mùj'ú- v. 'shake, sway' > MKo mūj- /mùj'ú-, NKo † mui- ¶ S QK #563, Nam 224, MLC 685 ¶¶ DQA #1270 (A *meyu 'to shake, to sway') || D *°may- 'mix, be\make unsteady' > Kdg me·k- vt. 'mix thoroughly' ||| D (in SD) *may- 'be bewildered, confused' (× D *mač- 'be mad, be intoxicated' < N *m'A'ĉ∇g∇ id., 'be foolish', q.v.) > Tm maya v. 'mistake, misunderstand', Ml mayakku 'perplexity, doubt', Kn mayamu, maymu 'bewilderment, perplexity' ¶ D #4706 ◇ IS III 35-48 (*mahy'e' in IE, D, A + [with a query] S roots *✓my + cns.) (with detailed information on the reflexes in individual lgs. within IE, A, and D); the D cognate (absent in IS MsN) was proposed by the editors of IS III.

1382. *mûhi (or *mûhyi?) 'water, fluid' > HS: S: [1] with loss of *h: S *may- ~ *māy- (~ *^lma_w a₁y-??) 'water' > OAk {G} nom. pl. t. mā[?]ū, Ak OA {Sd., CAD} mā[?]ū, Ak B/fMA mû nom. pl. t., Eb (SumSc) {Co., Rnb.} ma-u₆ (= {Co.} [māyū], ma-ωu ({Frnz.} [māwū]), OCn (AkSc) abs. du. t. or pl. t. mēma, mumi, BHb  'mayim pl. t. (cs. 'ṁ, mē), Ug my, pl. mym, OA cs. my (+ ppa. 3m mωh), IA abs. myn, IA, Nbt em. my[?], JA may'y-ā, Sr  may'y-ā, Md mia, mai, Ar nom. sg. mā[?]-u (~ māh-un) (-? < *-y- reg. , see Br. AG § 64e), Sb mω sg. (< *mā[?]u?) 'water', ⇔ (?) Sb/Mn pl. mωy, Gz māy, Mh {Jo.} ħe-mōh (dim. mīyāhen), Hrs {Jo.} ħə-'myōh, Jb {Jo.} C 'e-'mih, Jb E {Jo.} 'e-'mi, Jb C/E dim. 'miyōh, Bth {Jo.} muh id. ¶ The alternative S reconstructions *ma_wy- and *ma'way- are highly qu., because the reg. reflexes of *a_w or *a'wa are at variance with those attested (e.g. the reg. Gz reflex of *ma_wy- and *ma'way is *mōy rather than māy) ¶ G OA 166-7, Sd. G §§ 54b, 61a, CAD X/1 149-56, Co. SQF 172, Frnz. EL 145, 156, Rnb. 92, KB 546, HJ 620-1, A #1559, OLS 266-7, BK II 1164, 1169, Sl. 662-3, Br. 383, DM 242, 265, BK II 1169, BGMR 88, MA 63, LG 376, Jo. M 274-5, Jo. H 92, Jo. J 176 ¶ In several lgs. the word was reinterpreted as du.\pl. due to its stem-final *y (resembling the sx. of du.) |[2] with preservation of *h: WS *✓mhω 'be watery\clear' (of a liquid)' > Ar

✓mhw G (pf. مَهْوُ mahūwa) 'be watery' (of milk), (pf. مَهَا mahā) 'be white-haired' (of a beast)', مَهْوُ mahw- 'clear milk', Gz ✓mhw G (pf. mähwa ~ mahawa, js. yamhaw) vi. 'melt, be liquefied \ dissolved', ? Ug mh 'water' (a variant form) ¶ LG 334, Hv. 738-9, OLS 266-7 || Eg ∇, DEg mω ({Vc.} < *mωy) (= {Vrg.} *mawy-), myw 'water' (originally pl. t.) > Cpt: Sd **MOOY** mou, B **MWOY** mōu (= {Vc.} mow), F **MAΥ** maw id.; Eg Md mωy 'be wet' (of a wound), Eg fMd mωy.t 'moisture, wetness', possibly also Eg Md mωy, mωy.t 'urine' (which is uncertain, because the reflexes in DEg m̄ and Cpt: Sd/B **MH** mē, Cpt Sd **MI** mi 'urine' are different from those of mω 'water') ¶ EG II 50-3, DW I 353-68, Er. 147, 154, Vc. 107, 126 || C: DhI {To., EEN} maʔa, {E} māʔa 'water' || SC: Irq {Wh.} māʔay, {E, MQK} maʔay, Grw {Wh.} máʔay, Brn/Alg {Wh., E} maʔay, Kz {E} maʔaya, Asa {E} maʔa, {Fl.} maya 'water'; SC ⇨ Mb {E} maʔí id. || Bj {R} mūʔ (pl. miʔ) 'Feuchtigkeit, Nässe', {Rop.} miʔa 'damp', {R, Rop.} miʔ- scv. 'feucht\naß\flüssig sein', 'be\become damp' || ? Ag: Xm {R} maw- 'fließig werden' (← EthS?) ¶ R WBd 161, R Ch II 83, Rop. 213, Wh. IC 26, E SC 156, MQK 68, EEN 36, To. D 142 ¶ Sml māḥ 'water that accumulates in a well; spring' (ZMO 266) (adduced in IS II 62-3 in R's inaccurate transcription māḥ-i 'fresh flowing water' [R SS II 289]) hardly belongs here because of its lr. ḥ; it may rather belong together with Ar pf. māḥa (ip. yamīḥu) 'descend into a well for drawing water' (Hv. 741) || Ch: WCh: SBc: Grn {Sh.} mā 'water' | AG: Ang {Flk.} mωē 'sap, milky juice', yit mωe 'tears', Su {J} yit-mwān 'tears' (in both lgs. cd. with yit, yit 'eye[s]') || CCh: BB: Gude {IL in ChC} māʔin, FIM {ChL} māʔi, FIB māʔin 'water' ¶ Flk. s.v. mωē and yit, J S 89, JI II 340-1, ChC, ChL ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here the B word for 'water' (Ah amān, Kb, Shl, etc. aman), but in the light of the Gnc glossas AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (where H is a sign for hiatus, acc. to the spelling norms of Sp and Fr) the stem is not *m- → *maH-, as reconstructed by Pr. (Pr. M IV 146), but *-ʔamaḥ- (sc. *-ʔamaH|w|y-) related to S *yamm- 'body of water' and Ch *Ham- 'water' < N *yām∇ 'body of water' (q.v. ffd.); but the HS √ *ma₁y₁w- may have contaminated with *yam- and is likely to account for the long vw. of the last syll. (as reflected in Pr.'s rec. **Ha-māH-an, that in the light of the Gnc data we modify to *ʔa-ʔamaḥ-an) || IE: NaIE *meyā- / *mū- '≈ plunge, wash' > BSl: Sl *mī-ti (1s prs. *mьjъ ~ *mījъ) v 'wash' > OCS

МЫТИ mīti / **МЫИЖ** mījɔ, SCr mīti / mījem, Slv mīti / mījem, Cz mýti, P myć^{~R} **мыть** / 'мою id., Blg 'мия v. 'plunge, wash' | Ltv Δ maūt 'to plunge, to swim', Lt māudyti 'to bathe', Pru aumūsnan 'Abwaschung' || Arm -**մոյն** -moyñ 'plunged in' || Gk Cpr μυλάσασθαι vi. 'to wash oneself' || ? MDt moy, Dt mooi, LG moi(e) 'beautiful' (← *'clean' ← *'watery, clear') ¶ ≈ WP 249ff., ≈ P 741, F II 268, Frn. 417, ESSJ XXI 76-9, Vs. III 26, Glh. 413, Kar. I 573-4, Vr. N 453-4, EI 108 (*m(e)uH- 'wash [in urine]') || **А**: Tg *mū 'water' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ork mū, Lm mō, Ul mū ~ муз, Nn Nh муз 'water', Ud mu- 'water' in ds. mudз 'inundation', mudз sinз 'water-rat', Jrc му ({Lg.} = [mü]) 'water', WrMc d. mukē id. ¶ STM I 548, Krm. 262, Kiy. 100 [#051] || JK: pJ {S} mī(-n-tú) 'water' > OJ midu, J: T mīzu, K mīzu, Kg mī], Ns mùží, Sh mīžì, Ht mīzì, Y mīñ || ?? Kgr {Lee} *mie 'water' ¶ Lee GKS 37, S AJ 268 [#87], S QJ #87, Mr. 483 ¶¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278, and SDM97 (s.v. *mú:ri) suggest to connect the Tg and J words with M *mören 'river', which is hardly convincing. On the M √ see N *moRE 'body of water' || **D** {GS} *mī- 'wash' > Td mī-y- v. 'bathe', Kn mī, mīyu v. 'take a bath, bathe', Tu mī-pini id., v. 'wash oneself', Prj mī-, Gnd miy-, mī- 'to bathe', Kui mīva v. 'lave\bathe\anoint oneself', Ku mīali 'bathe (oneself), mī- 'bathe', ? Krx mūž- v. 'wash the face of' (Pf.: < D *mī-nč-), Mlt munže v. 'wash another's face', munžre v. 'wash one's own face' ¶¶ GS 49 [#121], D 4878, Pf. 41 ◇ IS II 62-3 (*mEωυ 'water, moisture': HS, IE, Tg), AD GD 1.

1383. *mäkê, *mäkê-tE 'top, head, hill' > **HS** (× N *muk▽ 'top, head, hill[ock]'): CCh: McMsg: Msg {Rlf.} máge-ni 'his head', {Ov.} muk 'head', Mnj {Trn.} mok id. ¶ AMS 253, Ss. B 148 || ?? C: EC *mug- 'head' (unless from N *muk▽) > Cm {Hw.} múga?-te, Brj {Ss.} múg-a 'head' ¶ Blz. CWL, ≈ Ss. B 148 || **U**: [1] U *mäke 'hill' > F mäki (gen. mäen) 'hill, mountain', Es mägi (gen. mäe), Krl, Vp mägi id., Lv mä'g 'mountain' || Os: Vy müʒ, Ty miʒ^ω, Y miw 'grassy hummock' ('Bülte, kleiner Rasenhügel', 'кочка'), d.: Os Sl məʒəstə id. ({Stn}: < *miʒəstə) || ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} makka 'small woody hill', Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makka, Nr maka 'grassy knoll (Rasenhügel)', d. Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makkal, Nr makal 'hügelig, mit Rasenhügeln versehen' || Y: OY Ch {Mat.} maka 'stone', ?? (× N *muk▽ '↑?'): pY {IN} *mug- 'hill, (?) rock' > K T mug-il 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' || [2] U *mäkte 'hill, grassy knoll' > F mätäs (gen.

mättään), Es mätas (gen. mätta) 'hummock, tussock' || Lp N {N} miek'tä 'a species of Carex which forms tussocks and grows on bogs' || Sm {Jn.} *mekť 'small hill, grassy hillock' > Nn FNl {Lh.} мѣтѣ 't id., Slq Tz {KKIH} mektti 'hummock, hill', LTz {KD} mäkte 'small hill', Slq Tm {KD} mēq_d_ə 'grassy hillock (kleiner Rasenhügel), Slq Ke mäktə 'heap, pile', Kms {KD} mek'te 'grassy hill, hillock (Rasenhügel, Erdhügel)', ? Koyb {Sp.} бакты 'hillock', ? Mt M {Sp.} нѣхтѣ 'grassy hummock' ¶¶ UEW 266 (FU *mäke 'Hügel, Berg', U *mäkte 'Rasenhügel, Hügel'), Set. FUS 37 (equates BF with Slq mak(k)а), SK 358, ZM 342, Ktn. 238, Stn. 903-4, Trj. S 259, KKIH 128, 130, Cs. 171-2, 261, Jn. 92, KD 88, Hl. M #769, IN 236 || A: Tg *megdin 'steep river-bank' > Lm mɛɣdin, Neg mɛgdin, Orc, Ul, Ork mɛgdi(n-), Ud {Krm.} moǰǰoʔ, Nn Nh/KU mɛǰǰi, Nn B mɛǰǰi(n-) id., Ewk mɛgdin 'terrace bank', WrMc mudun 'mountain slope with a low ridge' ¶ STM I 553-4, 563, Krm. 260 ◇ Rs. UAW 33 (U, A), IS MS 371 (*mäkʌ 'hill' > Tg, BF), IS MsN s.v. *mäkʌ (BF, Slq, Tg).

1384. ₂ *'mi'k'o 'carry, bring, give in exchange' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} mūx-r- 'carry', mūx-r-ā 'load, burden' ¶ R WB 267-8 || NrOm: Kf {C} miy-, Mch {L} miya- 'carry on the back', Kf miyō, Mch miyo 'load' ¶ C SE IV 476, L M 43 || IE: NaIE *'meigʷ- 'exchange' > Gk ἀμείβω v. 'exchange', ἀμοιβή n. 'requit, recompense' ({Ch.} 'don en retour') || L migr-ō / -āre (← *migʷ-ros 'wechselnd') 'change' (omnia migrant 'all things change' [Lucretius]), 'remove from one place to another' ¶ WP II 245, P 712, F I 90, Ch. 73-4, WH II 86-7 ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ IE *-gʷ- suggests that the N word-medial consonant was *k, while the glottalized k̥ in Bln is still to be explained.

1384a. *muk▽ 'top, head, hill(ock)' > HS: C: EC *mug- 'head' > Cm {Hw.} múgaʔ-te, Brj {Ss.} múg-a id. ¶ Blz. CWL, AMS 253, ≈ Ss. B 148 || CCh: McMsg: Msg {Ov.} mɔk, Mnj {Trn.} mɔk 'head' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 102, Trn. LM 106 || U: pY {IN} *mug- 'hill, (?) rock' > K T mug-il 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' ¶ IN 236, Ku. 157 || A: Tg *muku_l_ > Lm O mukul 'steep slope, precipice (on the seashore), WrMc muxu 'hill'; NrTg *muk- 'grassy hillock' > Ewk mūkɜ id., Lm muqɔlɔ id. ¶ STM I 563 || D *mukaʔ-, *muka]- 'top' > Tm mulaʔu 'top, highest part, ridge of roof, hump of a camel', Ml mukaʔu 'head-end of a cloth', muka] 'top, summit, ridge', Kt moy], Td muxu], Kn mogaʔu,

mogaļu, Tl mogaðu 'ridge of roof', Tu mugili 'turret, top as of a temple', Gnd mukur 'comb of cock'; D ⇨ Sk mukuṭa-, OI BHS, Pali makuṭa, Prkr maula 'crest, diadem' ¶¶ D #4888, Tu. #10144 ◇ Is this etymon a var. of N *mäkê 'top, head, hill' with the N vw. *u due to the labializing infl. of N *m-? ◇ Blz. DA #153 [#5]-(D, HS).

1384b. *môʔ¹k∇ 'tree, (piece of) wood' > HS: EC *mukk- > Or muka {Grg.} 'tree, bush, woody plant', {Th.} 'tree, wood (legno), plant', Sml {DSI, ZMO} mukay 'ε large tree that grows along a stream\river' || Bj [← Mz.ʔ]} mokʷa 'curved tent pole' || SC: pRt {E} *muka 'stem, stalk' > Brn muka 'chaff', Asa mogeŋgera 'root' ¶ Grg. 293, Th. 249, ZMO 296, DSI 445, E PC #101 (pC *mukʷ- 'stick'), E SC 343 || ?φ Eg P mʒc.t 'ε plant, ε tree' ¶ EG II 34 || D *mokk- 'piece of wood' > Tm mokkaḷ id., 'stump', Tl mokka 'stub of wood', Gnd meka 'stump' ¶¶ D #5109 || A: Tg *muk- (+ sxs.) 'stick, club' > Neg mukoçan, Sln muḡšã: 'club (weapon)', Ul mukča 'stick (part of fishing device)', WrMc {Z} muqšan 'stick, cudgel, fishing-stick (лѣщина)', Lm moqol, muqamṭ 'harpoon haft' ¶ STM I 553, Z 901 || T: ? Qrg buqa 'stick (of wood or horn) used to untie knots' ¶ Jud. 156 ◇ EC *-kk- (evidenced by Sml -k-, Tg -k-, D -kk-, and Eg -ʒc- suggest the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ?) within a cns. cluster (N *-ʔk-?) ◇ Blz. DA #159 [#76 (incl. EC, SC, D).

1385. *moʒkE 'to press' > HS: S ✓ mʒk 'press, squeeze' > BHb ✓ mʒk G (inf. -mʒok) 'press, squeeze', MHb ✓ mʒk G, D, JA ✓ mʒk D 'crush, dissolve by rubbing', Ar ✓ mʒk G vt. 'rub' ¶ KB 579, BDB 590, Js. 816, Fr. IV 193, Hv. 727 || IE: NaE *māg̃-/ *mōg̃- 'knead, smear' > MBr mezaff 'to knead (pétrir pâte)', Br mezañ 'pétrir, faire du mortier', W maeddu 'to beat, to foul, to mix by pushing', OIr maistr- v. 'churn' ('baratter') || Gk μαγ- (prs. μάσσω, aor. ps. ἐμάσην) 'knead dough' || Sl *máza-ti (prs. *máž-q) 'to smear' > OCS MAZATI mazati, SCr mǎzati, Slv mǎzati, Cz mazati, Slk mazat', P mazać, R 'мазать, Uk 'мазати 'to smear', Blg 'мажа 'I smear' ¶ ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725 (all of them include here Gmc *mak- 'make', see N *meḷh,kê 'to make, to work'), F II 180-1, Vn. M 11-2, Flr. 256, Ern. 414, Hm. 567, YGM-1 321, F II 180-1, Ch. 670, ESSJ XVIII 21-37, Vs. II 557-8, Glh. 401-2, ≈σ EI 649 (Sl, Clt, Gk < ? *maḡ- 'work with the hands, form, shape', see N *meḷh,kê '↑') || D {tr., ʒGS} *mukk- v. 'strain, make great efforts, press' (× N *muŋka|û [= *muŋka|û?] 'to make great efforts, [?] to be heavy?') > Tm mukku, Kt muk- v. 'strain

as a woman in travail, make great efforts', Ml mukku_ka v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', mikuk_a v. 'press, strain at stool', Kt muk- v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain to deliver child', Td muk- v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn mukki_ri, mukka_re v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu mukku_ru- v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl mukku- 'strain', Png mūk- v. 'lift with effort' ¶¶ D #4896(a) || A: T *bog- (*mog-) v. 'strangle, choke (so.), tighten (a knot), squeeze' > OT bo_ʕ- 'strangle, choke', MQp XIII bo_ʕ- 'strangle', Chg XV bo_ʕ- 'strangle, squeeze (the throat)', Osm {Rh.} bo_ʕ- 'choke, strangle, suffocate; constrict by binding', Tk boğ̃-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, ET, Ln bo_ʕ-, Alt b_u-, Tf b_oʕ-, Xk po_ʕ- 'strangle, suffocate', VTt bu-, Bsh b_ʷ- id., 'tie up', Tv b_oʕ- 'strangle, choke, tighten (a knot)', Nog bu_ʷ- id., 'fasten (a loop)', Qzq bu_ʷ(I)-, Qq bu_ʷ- v. 'tie, tie together, pack', Qrg b_u- 'tie up, constrict by binding', Chv п_ав- р_ьв- 'strangle, suffocate' (with irreg. -_ьв- due to morphological generalization [ffd. *see* Md. 44]), p₊-mak 'constricted \ narrowed place (перехват, сужение)' (with a reg. -₊- < T *-og-) ¶ Cl. 311, Rs. W 78, Rh. 404, ET B 164-5, TvR 112, Ra. 163, Sht. 58, Jud. 163, Md. 44, 174.

1386. *me_hkê 'to make, to work' > IE: NaIE *^omāg̃|g- > Gmc *makkōn 'to make' > OHG mahhōn, NHG machen, OSx makōn, Dt maken, AS macian 'to make, to build', NE make ¶ ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725, ≈ Ho. 209 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from *māg̃|g- [their *māg̃-] 'press', *see* N *mo_ʕkE 'to press'), F II 180-1, Vr. N 424, Ho. S 49, Kb. 652, OsS 585, KM 451, Hth. AE 209, ≈ EI 649 (? *māg̃- 'work with the hands, form, shape'; includes reflexes of NaIE *māg̃-/*mōg̃- 'knead, smear' < N *mo_ʕkE (↑)) || U *meke- v. 'make, do, work', n. 'work, thing, deed' > OHg mi_u 'Handlung, Arbeit, Werk', Hg m_ú (accus. m_úvet), Hg Δ mí_v 'work', Hg m_úvel- v. 'work' || Sm *mey- 'make' > Ne T ми-сь, Ne T O mi-ś, Ne F {Lh.} m_íédzã, Ng {Cs.} 1 s aor. obj. m_é'áma, En {Cs.} 1 s aor. obj. m_ébo 'make', Slq Tz mē- 'make, build' ¶¶ UEW 270, MF 454-5, EWH 1009, Jn. 92, KKH 129 || HS: CCh: Mdr {ChL} m_ègùnām_ègà 'do' ¶ ChL || ?σ S *^o✓mhk > Ar ✓mhk TD (pf. تَمَهَكَ tamahhaka) 'perform the work becomingly', {BK} 'faire qc. en artiste' (unless derived from ✓mhk G v. 'pound, bruise') ¶ Hv. 738, BK II 1162 ◇ ≈ BmK 670-1 (*mak'-/*mak'- 'to handle, to work with the hands': IE, U + err. HS: Hd mi_qess- 'to touch', Kmb me_qess- 'to snatch', Irq min_qis- 'to squeeze') ◇ The meaning of Gmc *makkōn 'to

make' is usually explained by a semantic change 'knead, press' → 'make, build' in the history of IE (or Gmc), but the exact parallel in FU and CCh make that hyp. less probable (unless we presuppose a parallel semantic change in Gmc, FU, and CCh).

1387. *mEkʷæ (or ***mEʷkæ**) 'big' > IE *meǵHχ-/*meǵoHχ-/*meǵHχ- 'big' (accus. sg. m. *^lmeǵoHχ-m, nom.-accus. sg. ntr. *^lmeǵHχ-, gen. sg. *me^lǵHχ-os, in cds.: *mǵHχ-) > NaIE *meǵ- / *meǵ^h- 'big' (accus. sg. m. *^lmeǵ-ō-m > Vd accus. sg. m. mahā́m; nom.-accus. sg. ntr. *^lmeǵā > Vd 'mahī, Gk μέγα; gen. sg. *me^lǵ^h-os > Vd ma'ha-h ÷ Av G mazā [ffd. see Rsm. AT 84]). The representation in lgs.: Vd 'mahī ntr. 'great, big'; Ir {M} d. *maž^hānt- / *maž^hat- > OI ma'hān / accus. sg. ma'hānt-am / nom.-accus. ntr. ma'hat 'great, large', Av accus. m. mazā́nt-əm, ntr. mazaṭ id. || Gk m. μέγας, ntr. μέγα, f. μεγάλη 'great, big', sprl. μέγιστος || Arm մեծ mec 'great, large, big' || L magnus 'big' (< NaIE *meǵ-no-s), magis, [Plt.] mage 'bigger' || pAl {O} *maza > Al madh 'big, large, tall' || OIr maige 'great, large', mochtae 'big, powerful' || Gt mikils, ON mikill, OHG mihhil, OSx mikil 'big', AS micel, mycel 'big, much' > NE much || pTc {Ad.} *mākā > Tc: A mā́k, B mā́ka 'many, much' || Ht mekk(i)- 'much, numerous' (< IE *meǵHχ-īHχ-) (nom.-accus. ntr. mekki, adverbial abl. meqqayaz), mekki adv. 'greatly, much', ı Lw {Lar.} maia- id. ({Lar.}: IE *-ǵ-, -ǵ^h-, *-ǵH- > Lw -Ø-; Mlc. CL 145 rejects the existence of the word), ? HrLw {Ts.} man (< *mayan-) 'much' (not mentioned in Mer. HHG) ¶¶ WP II 252, P 708-9, EI 344 (*meǵh_ǰ-), M K II 609-10, M E II 337-9, F II 189-O, WH II 10, EM 378-9, Vn. M 58, Fs. 358-9, Vr. 386-7, Kb. 684, OsS 608, Schz. 212, Ho. 221, Ho. S 52, Huld 88-9, O 240, Slt. 70-1, Ad. 446-7, Ts. E II 181-5, CHD L-N 245-9, Lar. 65, Ivn. SA 153 (accepts Lw maia) || **HS:** S *^o✓mʷk > Ar ✓mʷq 'be deep' (of a well), 'be far distant' ¶ BK II 129, Hv. 727 || Ch: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} mákz 'long (a long time)' || CCh: Msg G {BM} mogó, Msg P {Trn.} mogó (f. muguwíy, pl. mogókay ~ mogoway), Msg Ng {Ov.} mo'gó 'long', Msg {GKrs.} mogwa (f. mugu'í, pl. mo'gwaíkai) 'long, high', {Rlf., Röd.} 'mogó 'large, big (groß)', a-na 'mogó 'it is large/big', Mlw {Trn.} múgò (f. múgùwí, pl. múgòkáy) 'long, deep', ? Msk {Trn.} màwà 'large/big (grand)' ¶ JS 169, Lk. DQM 68, ChC s.v. 'long', ChL, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 286, Trn. Musk. 22 || ? EC: Rn m'íǵ 'strength, heaviness' (× N *mañǵa [or *maǵa?] 'strong, numerous') ¶ PG 224 || **A:** Tg *^omēk∇ > Lm A mēkz 'big' ¶ STM I 566 ||

D [1] {tr., †GS} *mik(k)- 'exceed, grow, great; increase' > Tm mīku v. 'exceed, grow; increase', mikka 'great, much', Ml mīkuka v. 'surpass, abound', mikka 'the greater part', Kn mīkku 'grow abundant, increase', Tu mīgguni, mīkkuni 'surpass, exceed', Tl mīkkili 'great', Knd mis- 'increase' ¶¶ D #4838; or [2] ?? *mā- 'great' > Tm, Ml mā id., Ka mā id. in: mā-gelasa 'great work', mā-māyi 'great mother', Kn Hv mā 'big, great', Gnd Δ māy(i) 'very big', maḡali 'big' ¶¶ D #4786 || ?φ K: GZ *maḡe- ~ *manḡe- 'heavy' ({IS}: < **mwanḡ-) (× N *muḡḡa|û 'make great efforts, (?) be heavy'??) > Mg moḡa- ~ monḡa-, Lz monḡa- 'heavy', G maḡe 'heavy with young' (of a female animal) (× N *maḡU [= *maḡU?] 'baby, son; [?] be pregnant', q.v.); ⇨ GZ *maḡen- 'get heavy\pregnant' > OG, G maḡen-/maḡn- 'be conceiving', Mg, Lz monḡan- 'grow heavy' ¶ The additional *-n- in Zan may have been induced by contamination with N *mañ▽ga (or *maḡga?) '↑' (q.v.) ¶ K 125, K² 113-4, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, 304, Q 281, Schm. 122 ◇ N *ʕk - *kʕ > S *ʕk, K *k (positional glottalization?) ◇ ≈ IS MS 331 (*magḡ 'big' > IE + K *magar 'strong', D *mā), ≠ IS SS 334 [#6.24] (K *magar-, D *mā).

1388. *mâk_l▽,ḡa '(nape of the) neck, back' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} mōk (pl. maka) 'nape, throat', {Rop.} 'front side of the neck' || Ag: Bln {Lm.} makk^ωa, {R} mā^āk^ωā 'buttocks', Ag ⇨ Amh {R} mak^ωa 'id. (?)' || EC: Af {PH} makuḡ ~ mukuḡ 'spine, spinal cord', Ya {E} muk 'lower side of the body', Rn {PG} mókkòlò '(bones of) the lower spine; small of the back', Bn J/Ba {Hn.} múkkə 'buttocks' ¶ R WB 267, R WBd 167, Rop. 215, Hn. BD 97, PH 162, 171, PG 227 || Eg fXVIII mkḡ 'occiput, hind part of the head' > DEg mḡḡ 'Hinterkopf, Nacken, Hals' > Cpt Sd MAKḡ makḡ {Vc.} 'nape, neck', {Crn.} 'neck' ¶ EG II 159, Er. 183, Vc. 111, Crn. 80 || **U** *muka 'back (dorsum)' > FP *^omuka 'back, hind part, back side, following (seuraaminen)' > F muka- in fossilized case forms: mukaan 'according to', mukaa 'accordingly', mukana 'with, together with', muassa 'with, accompanying', d.: mukainen 'agreeing with, in accordance with' || Sm {Hl.} *mḡka, {Jn.} *mḡkâ 'back (Rücken)' > Ne T маха, Ne T O {Lh.} ma·ḡā, Ne F {Lh.} mḡāā, En {Cs.} maḡa, Ng {Ter.} mḡku, Slq Tm {KD} mḡḡ, Slq Tz {KKIH} d. moḡal id., Kms {KD} d. bēḡəḡ, Koyb {Sp.} d. бягалъ, Mt {Hl.} *baga id. (Mt: K/M {Mll.} bága 'dorsum', T {Mll.} bagáda 'his back') ¶¶ Jn. UK 223 (U *mukâ), Sm.

538 (U, FU *mukā, FP *muka, Sm *məkā), SSA II 175-6, ≈ SK 350, Jn. 85, KKIИ 131, KD 9, Hl. M 213 [#90] || **A**: pKo {S} *mòk 'neck' > MKo mòk, mòkàj, NKo mok id. ¶ S QK #987, Nam 214, MLC 821 || Tg: Ewk muka n. 'hide from reindeer's neck' ¶ STM I 551 || T *òbakan > OT baqan 'necklace'; ???σ NaT *bogmak 'necklace' (> OT, Osm xiv boϕmaq) (unless derived from *bog- 'choke, tie around', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 315-6 ¶¶ DQA #1242 (A *mĭák'ù 'neck': T, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ *múk- 'turn one's head'), Rm. SKE 15, STM I 551 (Tg, Ko) || **D** (in CD) {tr., †GS} *makk- 'neck' > Klm mak, Nkr makk id. ¶ D #4622 || **IE**: Irn: Pmr: Shgh, Wx māk, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of the neck, neck' ¶ Mrg. EShG 44, Blz. LNA #38 (supposes that the Pmr word is due to "a Dravidian-like substratal influence") ◇ The equation between D, HS, U, and A was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 154 [#22] and Blz. LB #6a [Eg, C, U, Ko, D + T *bogmak], ≈ Blz. LNA #38 [N *muk|qa ~ *mak|qu 'neck']).

1389. ₂ *mAks'a' 'give, reward' > **HS**: S *'mik_L∇_Ls- ~ *'mak_L∇_Ls- 'tribute' > Ak mīksu 'tribute', BHb מַכְסֵי 'mekes, Sr مَكْس mak's-ā, Md maksa id., IA, Plm mks 'tax', JA mīk'sā 'toll, tax', SmA mks 'toll', Ar (← Aram) maks- 'market-tax, custom-duty' ¶ KB 550, Js. 783-4, Sl. 676, Tal 468, Br. 385, Sd. 165, Hv. 730, HJ 625 ¶ The Aram and Hb words may be (but not necessarily are) loans from Ak (see Zmr.² 10, Kfm. AIA 72) || **U**: FV *maksa 'give, pay' > F, Es maksa- v. 'pay, reward'; BF ↪ pLp {Lr.} *māksē- v. 'pay, cost' > Lp: N {N} mak'se- / -vɛ-, S {Hs.} maaks'edh, L {LLO} maksē- 'pay, reward', Kld {SaR} mākkьсэ v. 'pay', māккс 'payment' || Er, Mk максо- 'give' ¶ UEW 698, Lr. #644, Lgc. #3747, Hs. 888, SaR 180-1.

1390. *muks'a' ~ *mugz'a' (or *ma|on₂uks'a' ~ *ma|on₂ugz'a'?) 'ε rodent (mouse, mole, or sim.)' > **IE**: NaIE *mūs 'mouse' > OI mūh (obl. mūɛ-) id., Blc mušk, MPrs, NPrs موش mūš {VI.} id., {BM} id., 'rat', Psh mažak 'mouse, maža 'rat', Oss: I mɛst, D mistä 'mouse' || Arm մուկն mu-kn (gen. մկան mkan) 'mouse' (on the nominal sx. -kn [dim.?] see Ld. A 82-3 and Mn. 821) || Gk μῦς (gen. μύος) 'mouse, rat' || pAl {O} *mū(s) > Al: T mī, G mî 'mouse' || L mūs (gen. mūr-is) id. || ON múss, OHG, OSx, AS mūs, NHG Maus, Dt muīs 'mouse', NE mouse || Sl *mĭšb f. (gen. *mĭši) id. > OCS мышь mĭšb f. (gen. мыши mĭši), Blg миш f., R мышь f., Uk миш f. (~ 'миша), SCr mĭš (today m.), Slv mĭš (gen. mĭši), Cz, Slk myš, P mysz || Tc B pl. ма́с і́тсі 'mice, rats' ¶ WP II 312-3, P 752-3, EI 387 (*'mūs ~ *'mus-s

/ gen. *mu¹s-os), M K II 668, Mn. 821-2, M E II 369-70, Horn 223, VI. II 1228, BM 542, Ab. II 142-3, Bai. 337, F II 275-6, WH II 132-3, Ho. 227, Ho. S 54, Kb. 708, OsS 631-2, KM 469, Vr. 396, Vr. N 458, O 265, Huld 91-2 (O and Huld: the A|G nasalization is secondary), ESSJ XXI 55-72, Glh. 412-3, ZVSZ 258, Vs. II 27-8, Slit. 189-90, Ad. 143 ¶ The compensatory lengthening of the vw. *u is due to the loss of the velar stop in the cluster *-gз- || U: FU *^oma|ōksa > Er максазей maksa-žey, максака maksa-ka 'mole', Mk максака 'maksa-ka 'hamster' ¶ ≈ Coll. 97, ≈ UEW 264 (*maksā; adduces Os мау̇ ≈ маχ 'beaver', but he does not mention Os Δ -ηq ~ -ηχ and does not take it into account; cf. N *^m∇ηK∇ 'beaver'), ERV 358, KC 128, PI 154 || A: Tg *muktu-_{r/n} 'mole, ε mouse' > Neg muktuy 'short-tailed mouse', Ork muktuli 'mouse, mole', Nn KU muktur 'mole', WrMc муқдун ~ муқтун 'tailless field mouse, mole' ¶ STM I 552 ¶ Tg *-tu- seems to be a derivational sx. (see Ewk -do in nouns for insects: lore-do 'butterfly' related to lorukī 'small butterfly [мотылёк]' - see Vas. 239, 754) || pJ {S} *mūnkura 'mole' > ItOJ [RJ] ùgùrò-mòtì, ugura-, J: T mògura, mùgura, K mùgùrà, mùgùrá, Kg mugurá ¶ S QJ #1459, Mr. 484, 560 ¶¶ DQA #1362 (A *^mūk'∇ 'mole') || ? K *^omuž- > Sv {Ni.} mužulid 'bat' (a cd.?) ¶ Ni. s.v. летучая мышь || ?? HS: CCh: Db {Lnh.} mašay, ? Gzg D {Lk.} mocod, Gzg Mj {Lk.} močod 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} máčad, móčod 'ε mouse' (× N *^m∇č'∇w∇ 'ε rodent' [q.v.]) ¶ ChC, Lk. G 130 ◇ FU vw. *a (or *ō) in *^oma|ōksa suggests (as a possible solution) a pN etymon *^{ma}|oH₂uks'a¹ ~ *^{ma}|oH₂ugz'a¹. If Sv mužulid belongs here, the N rec. is *^{mu}gz'a¹ or *^{ma}|oH₂ugz'a¹, otherwise the best N reconstruction is *^{mu}ks'a¹ (or *^{ma}|oH₂uks'a¹). Tg *-kt- and pJ *-k- (reflexes of N *-ks- or *-gз-?) are still to be explained.

1391. *maḵU (= *maḵU?) 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE *^omak^w- > Clt: OGr gen. μαϑϑ^wi, OIr macs, Nlr mac 'son'; Gl MAPO- 'son' (in proper names: Mapo-no-s, etc.), Crn map / mab 'son', OBr {Flr.} mab, map 'child', OW map, MW, W, Br mab 'son, boy' ¶ ≈ P 696, Vn. M 1-2, Dnn. 454, Billy 103, Flr. 249, ECCE 268, SEv. 31, Loth 180, YGM-1 320, Schm. KGP 244 || ? K: OG, G maḵ- 'make\get pregnant\conceiving', MG, G maḵe 'heavy with young' (of animals), Mg monḵ-at-a¹-a 'pregnancy' (unless from K *maḵe- [or *manḵe-] 'heavy' < N *^mEksæ [or *^mEskæ] 'big') ¶ K 125, K² 113-4, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, Q 281 || HS: S *^o✓mḵḵ > Ar ✓mqḡ G (pf. مَقَّ

maqqa, ip. -muqq-) 'impregnate (a female palm-tree)' ʃ BK II 1134, Hv. 728 || **D** *mak(k)- 'child, son' > Tm maka 'child, infant, young of animals; son\daughter', Ml makan 'son', makkaḷ 'children; the young of animals', Kt mog 'child', Td mox 'child, son\daughter', EpOKn makan 'son', Kn maga 'son, male person', Kdg makka 'children', mo·vaḡn 'son', mo·va 'daughter', Tl maga, moga 'male', Gnd maga sinḡu 'boy child' (sinḡu 'son'), Kng moga koḡo 'boy child', Mnd gāḡ (< *mgāḡ) 'daughter', na-mgāḡ 'my daughter', Krx maka (voc. used to daughters\sisters), Mlt maqe 'boy' ʃʃ D #4616, Zv. 120 || ??φ,σ **A** *muk'∇ 'male' > Tg *muke- ~ *muka- 'male person, male animal' > Neg muxḡti ḡ mukḡti 'male (dog, fox, sable)', Orc muḡti, Ud mugḡti, muḡti 'male' (of some animals), Nn B moxa(n-) 'male animal, male person', WrMc muxḡn 'male (tiger, leopard)' ʃ STM I 543, 554, Krm. 262 || pJ {S} *mùkūâ 'son-in-law, bridegroom' > OJ mùkwó, J: T múko, K mùkô, Kg mukó id. ʃ S QJ #933, Mr. 487 || M *muqa- > WrM {MED} muqali, {Gl.} muquli, WrO muxala, muxalai, muxuli, Kl मुखला, {Rm.} moxlā 'slave, serf'; the WrM variant buḡul id. (Gl.) is a re-borrowing of the M word from some ancient T lge., where m- > b- and the final vw. is lost (cp. Chg {Rm.} bulḡun 'slave, servant'); ⇔ SDM97, not here Kl {Rm.} muxur 'penis' (← muxur 'blunt, blunted') (Rm.: "Penis, eig. abgerundet") ʃ MED 553, 1209, Krg. 611, KRS 363, KW 263, 268, Gl. III 314 || ?? T *buka 'bull' (× N *buḡa 'bovines' [q.v. ffd.]) ʃʃ S AJ 293 [#452], DQA #1375 (*mūk'∇ 'male' > T, M, Tg, with unjustified long *ū in T) ◇ Altaic *muk'∇ 'male' is a highly qu. cognate both because of its vw. *u and because of its meaning. It may be alternatively compared with S *°√mhk (> Ar muhkat- ~ mahkat- 'jeunesse, jeune âge', see BK II 1162, Hv. 738), which suggests a pN *muhḡ∇ ◇ If the K √ belongs here, we reconstruct pN *-ḡ-, otherwise it is *ḡ (= *ḡ|ḡ) ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CL) OHg magw, Hg mag 'Nachkomme, Nachkommenschaft', which is obviously from mag(w) 'seed, kernel' (see EWU 920-1, MF 414) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#43] (incl. D, IE), ≈ BmK # 545 (IE, D).

1392. ₂ *moḡ∇ 'blunt' > **A**: M *moqu- 'be\become blunt' > WrM moqu-, HIM, Brt moxo-, Dg mogo- id.; d. M *mo|uqur- 'blunt' > WrM muqur ~ moqur, HIM मुखар, Ord {Ms.} mu'xu'r, Mnr H {SM} mu'ḡur, Kl {Rm.} moxḡ ḡ muxur id., Kl {KRS} moxp moxar 'short, blunt', Brt मुखар '-less' (xḡл मुखар '[a person] without legs'); d. M

*moqudag 'blunt' > [HI] {Ms.} moqodaq, [MA] {Pp.} موقداق moqadaq, WrM moqudag, HIM мождог id.; d. M *moquṣa- 'make blunt' > WrM moquga-, HIM мохоо- id., WrO {Krg.} moxo- 'get dull'; d. M *moquṣa 'blunt' > WrM moquga, HIM мохоо, WrO moxo, Brt мохоо, Dg mogō; d. Dx mogutu 'blunt'; MM d. [S] {H} d. muqutqa- 'abschneiden' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111, Pp. MA 238, MED 544, 553-4, KRS 356, KW 263-4, 268, SM 244, T DnJ 128-9, Krg. 6O2-3, Chr. 3O1, 3O4 || D {tr., ṡGS} *mukk- > Tm mokku, mokkai 'bluntness', mokaṭṭai 'that which is blunt', Tl mokka 'blunt, pointless, not sharp' ¶¶ D #5106.

1393. *müḲṶ or *muḲE 'a bend, corner, hump' > HS: S: Ar {Fr.} ماق māqi(n), māqy-at- 'internal angle of the eye', {Fr., BK} maʔq- id. (× ✓ mʔq 'weep'), Ar māqiʔ- ~ mūqiʔ- 'the front/back part of the eye' ¶ Fr. IV 197, 199, BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || U: FP *m'ü'kkṶ(rṶ) (= *mEkku(rṶ)?) 'hump; bent' > F Δ {Lnr.} mykky 'hump', Es mügar 'protuberance, tuber' | Chr: L myгыр муыр, H мыгыр мыр 'hump' | Prm {LG} *mükir > Z мыкыр m+k+r n. 'humpiness, stoop', m+k+ra 'stooping', Vt мыкырес m+k+res id., Z Izh/Ud, Vt m+k+r-t- v. 'incline, bend' ¶ LG 182, SK 355-6, ≠ UEW 705 (considers Chr мыр and similar words to go back to onomatopoeia) || A: Tg *mүke- > Ewk mukē 'humpbacked, 'hump', mukē- vi. 'stoop, arch one's back', WrMc mexu- id., 'bow one's head, be bent'; ⇨ Tg *mүкe- v. 'stoop, bend (under a load)' > Ewk мэқэз- vi. 'bend under a load', мэқэмэ 'hump', Lm mōktz- v. 'stoop', Ul moqčozu/- ~ muqčuz- 'stoop, bend one's back', Ork moqčoron- ~ muqčurzn- id., Nn Nh mukčurzn-, mukčurzngu- id., Nn KU mukčurzn- vi. 'bend oneself' ¶ STM I 553, 565 || pJ {S} *mánká- v. 'bow, bend' > OJ mágá-(r-), J: T màgar-, màeg-, K mágár-, mágé-, Kg magár-, magé- id., J Sh {Mr.} magari-, J Ht {Mr.} mankgar- 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ #927, Mr. 719 || T *bük (*mük) 'corner' (× N *bүḲ'a' 'to bend; bent') > OT bük corner, the corner post of the house', Tk Δ bük, Alt Δ {Verb.} pük 'corner'., StAlt бүк b_ük, Yk bük 'bend of a river' (see ET B 290-1); T *bük- v. 'bend' > OT {Cl.} bük- id., etc. (× N *bүḲ'a' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (s.v. *mäk'o 'to bow' (A *mäk'o 'to bow'), DQA #1301 (A *mṡók'ú id.) (equates the Tg and T roots with M *meküyi-, with Tg *mṡaku-r-, and with pJ {S} *mánká-, see N *mæHaḲṶ 'to bend, to turn') || D {tr., ṡGS} *mukk- 'corner' > Ml, Tu

mukku 'corner, lane', Tm mukku id., 'hook', Td muk 'edge', Kui mudgu 'corner', Krx mūxā 'edge, brink, margin' ¶¶ D #4898.

1394. $_2$ *m^{ra}ʔ_L∇_JΚ∇ 'cry, shout' > HS: S *^o✓mʔκ > Ar ✓mʔq G 'sob' ¶ BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || A: T *mākīr- 'shout, bellow' (× N *w^{ra}ʔo 'to call'??) > OT {Cl.} bāqīr- 'shout, bellow', Osm XVIII baṽīr- 'shout', Tkm bāṽīr-, Tk baḡīr-, Ggz bair-, Az baṽīr-, Bsh, Qrg baqīr- 'shout, bellow', CrTt baṽīr-, Alt b_aṽīr-, Qmn maṽīr-, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt baq̄r-, Uz baq̄īr-, Kr baqīr- ḍ maqīr-, Chv мақăр- maḡ_r- 'shout' ¶ Cl. 318, ET B 20-2, B DK 231.

1395. $_2$ *m∇_ςΚa|æ or *m^{ra}ʔ_LΚa|æ 'plain, steppe, field' > HS: Eg XVIII-XXII mκκ 'ε arable land' ¶ EG II 159 || S *^omaṽκ- > Ar maṽq- 'a tract of land without vegetation (terra omni carens planta)' (unless a sd. from maṽq- 'distance') ¶ Fr. IV 193 || IE: NaIE *māk|κo- or *mok|κo- / *mak|κo- 'plain, steppe' > ON mór (< Gmc *mōxa-z) 'sandy plain, open woodland', NNr mo 'sandy land', Sw mo 'sandy heath' || OIr macha 'pasture land (pâture pour le bétail), fenced field (champ clos)', in nomina loci macha 'plain, field', Nlr macha 'lawn; a field where cows are kept at night' ¶ WP II 226, Vr. 392, ≠ Torp N 429, Hlq. 654-5, ≈ Vn. M 3-4, Dnn. 454 ◇ If Ar maṽq- belongs here, the N etymon is *m∇_ςΚa|æ (then the absence of ς in Eg is puzzling), otherwise it is *m^{ra}ʔ_LΚa|æ.

1396. *mæHaΚ∇ 'bend, turn' > A [1] *mak[∇] > M *makiyi- > WrM {Cev.} makii-, HIM махий- vi. 'bend, curve (гну́ться, из-лвы-гибаться)', Kl māki- mākī- id., 'be bent', Kl D {Rm.} mākī- 'verrenkt \ verdreht \ ungelenk sein' (Kl -ä- due to the infl. of тăки- tākī- 'huddle oneself, скрючиваться') ¶ Cev. 335, Luv. 239, KRS 346, KW 258 || Tg *makti- > Neg makçinda-, Orc makčinda-, Ul maqtilla-, Nn B maḫçira- v. 'twist a rope', Orc makčī, makčixī, Ul makti(n-), Ud maktigi, Nn B {Sem} maḫçlxl, Neg makçlxlh 'rope-twister (a device)', ? WrMc maci- 'tuck up (roll up) one's clothes' ¶ STM I 523, Sem BD 172 || pJ *mak- v. 'wrap, wind around, tie into' > OJ, J K/Kg mák-, J T màk- ¶ S QJ #675, Mr. 720 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *mak^a > M, Tg, J) and ≈ DQA #1263 (A *ma^ko 'wind, twist, bend', incl. M, Tg) || [2] A ≈ *mEak^U (*mEak^U?) > M *^omeküyi- v. 'bow, incline, bend' > WrM meküi-, HIM мэхий-, мөхий- id.; WrO d. mekelze- v. 'tuck up, bend the neck under the load' ¶ MED 534, Krg. 598 || Tg *mjaku-r- 'bow (before so.)' > Neg {PSchm.} mjaḫuru- 'kneel', Neg L miḫzrzt/ç- 'bow (before ...), pray',

Orc *māxurana-* id., {PSchm.} *māxurana-* 'kneel', Ud {STM} *māula(sī)-* 'bow (before ...)', Ul *méχorači-* id., *méχoron-*, {PSchm.} *mākurandi-* 'kneel', Ork *mēχoran-* id., Nn Nh *mιχoran(go)-* id., *mιχoračl-*, Nn KU *mιakora-* 'kneel before (so.)', WrMc *ńakura* id., *ńakun* n. act. 'kneeling', Chj *miyākuru* v. 'kneel' ¶ STM I 536, Kiy. 123 [#466] || ???σ pJ {S} **mánká-* v. 'bow, bend' > OJ *mágá-(r-)*, J T *magaru* id., J Sh {Mr.} *magar-*, J Ht {Mr.} *mank|gar-* 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ #927, Mr. 719 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **māk'ó* 'to bow'), DQA #1301 (A **mǰók'ú'* id.) || | D **mak_lk_l-*, {GS} **mag-* 'turn' > Tm *makiṭi* 'be overturned', Kt *maṽṅ-* vi. 'overturn', *maṽṭ-* vt. 'overturn, roll over', *maki'r-* '(tree) is unrooted and falls', Kn *magur*, *mogar* vi. 'turn round', Tu *magъpu-*, *magupu-*, *magucu-*, *mogapu-* vt. 'turn round', Tl *maguḍu* 'turn back, return', Klm *maguḍ-* & *maguṛ-* & *maguḷ-*, Nkr *maguṛ* 'vomit', Knd *mak-* 'turn over\upside down', Ku *meg-* 'fall down\off', (of a tree) 'fall' ¶¶ D #4617, GS 188 [#480], 31-2 [#36, 40] || | HS: C: Af {PH} *make* scv. 'bend, distort, twist' ¶ PH 161 || ?σ Eg fXVIII *mṣḥ* v. 'tie (a band\diadem\garland) round one's head', Eg OK/MK *mṣḥ* 'girdle', Eg fMK *mṣḥ* 'head-band' ¶ EG II 189-90 ◇ Eg *mṣḥ* may be explained by mt. (then it points to a pN **mæXaK̄*) ◇ Compare N **müK̄* or **muK̄E* 'a bend, corner, hump'.

1397. ₂ **mU_lHa_lḲa* 'frog' > A: T **bāka* (**māka*) 'frog, tortoise' ({ADb.} **bākka* 'frog') > OT *baqa*, MQp, XwT *baqa*, Chg *baqa* ~ *baqqa*, Tk *baḡa*, Az *baḡa* 'frog, tortoise', Tkm *gur-bāga* 'frog', Xlj {DT} *bāqa* 'tortoise', Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Qrg, Qmn *baqa*, QrB *maqa*, ET *baqa* & *paqa*, Alt *b_aqa*, Ln *paqa*, CrTt, Kr *baqa* & *baḡa*, Xk *paḡa*, Yk *baḡa*, Tf *b_aḡa*, Tv *p'aḡa*, SY, Slr *paḡa* 'frog' ¶ The vw. *ā* in Tkm *gur-bāga* and Xlj *bāqa* suggests pT **ā* (but cp. Yk *baḡa* with a short *a*) ¶ Cl. 311-2, Rm. W 58 (pT **bāka*), ET B 40-2, TL 179-80, TkR 211, Hüs. 30, Shch. Zh 152-3, Ra. 72, Pek. 323-4, DT 86 || M **mekeleyi* ~ mt. **melekeyi* 'frog' (× N **mæqUR̄* 'frog, toad' or 'ε reptile\amphibian') > WrO {Krg.} *mekele*, Kl *meklā* *meklā*, {Rm.} *meklē* 'frog', WrM *melekei*, HIM *мэлхий* 'frog, toad', Ord *mele* *h"ḡī*, Dg {T} *melek*, {Mr.} *meleke* 'frog', ? Brt *мэлхэй* 'tortoise'; WrO {Krg.} *melekei* 'frog, amphibian' (← WrM) ¶ Krg. 597-8, MED 534, Ms. O 461, KRS 348, Rm. 260, T DgJ 154, Chr. 311 || ?σ Tg: Ewk Brg *mokoloçī* 'bat' ¶ STM I 544 || pKo {S} **mà_lkúri* 'toad' (× N **mæqUR̄* '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A **mök'ó*

'frog') and DQA #1299 (A *mĭák'ō id.) (both: T, M, Tg, Ko) ¶¶ The vw. *e in M (and *a₁ in Ko?) is due to the merger with N *mæqURV || D (in NED) *mūk- 'frog' > Krx mūxā, Mlt mūqe id.; ? D → OI mūkaka- id. (unless an independent onomatopoeia) ¶ D #5023, Pf. 194 [#185], M K II 662 ◇ The long vw. in T and NED suggests the presence of a N lr.; the pM vw. *e may be accounted for by the infl. of N *mæqURV; the quality of T *ā may be due to vowel harmony (infl. of the N final *-a).

1398. *maX'Kæ 'thin\lean and long' > IE *mehk̄-/ *mhk̄-/ *mhek̄- > NaIE *māk̄- / *māk̄- / *mak̄- 'thin and long, slender' > Av mas- 'long' (cmpr. masyā, sprl. masišta); masah- 'Länge, Grösse', masita 'groß, umfangreich', OPrs maṣišta- 'greater', KhS māsta- 'great', mase 'in size\greatness\amount' (accus. of reference) (÷ Av masō 'in size') || Gk A μήκος, Gk D μήκος 'length', Gk μύστων cmpr. 'longer, greater' (-σσ- < *-k-y-) || L maciēs 'leanness, thinness', macer 'lean', macē- 'be lean', macer 'lean, meager, thin' || ON magr, OHG magar 'meager', NHG mager, AS mæzer 'lean', NE meager || Ht mak-l-ant- 'thin, meager' (of animals) ¶¶ WP II 223, P 669, Bks. IELG 183, Bn. CH 140, 295, Brtl. 1154-5, Bai. 325-6, 333, F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1, WH II 2, Vr. 375, Ho. 21, Kb. 650, OsS 582, KM 453, Ts. E II 98-9, CHD L-N 121-2, Kron. EHS 265, EIC 357 (*meh_hk-), 574 (mh_h'kro-s 'thin, long') || HS: ? S *^o✓ mħk > Ar maħīq- 'very sharp, sharpened' (Fr.: 'extrematus et acutus') (× acp. of ✓ mħq 'efface, erase') ¶ Fr. IV 155, BK II 1069, Hv. 710 (maħīq- 'sharpened' [spear-head]) || A: M *^omegde- > Kl {Rm.} megdə- 'be\become lean', {KRS} меґдә- 'be lean (быть подтянутым, худым)'; bf.: WrM {MED ← Rm.} meḡ 'lean' (of domestic animals), WrO meqteq 'thin, scrawny', Kl {Rm.} meḡ 'ganz abgefallen, mager (vom Vieh)'; M *megde- may have been influenced by the homonymous verb, represented by WrO meqde- v. 'suffer, hunger' ¶ MED 533, Krg. 598, KW 260 ◇ If Ar maħīq- belongs here (sc. unless it is derived from ✓ mħq 'efface, erase'), the N lr. was *X, otherwise the N rec. must be *maHKæ (with an unspecified lr.) ◇ M *e of the first syll. in *^omegde- may be due to regr. as. (*e...e < **a...e).

1398a. (1) *muK₁V₁HV 'mouth' > HS: C: Ag *mVkyV 'mouth, lip' > Xm {R} 'mīk-ā, Dmb {R} məkīyā, Q {R} makīyā, Km {CR} məkəy 'mouth, lip' ¶ R Ch II 392, R Q II 98, CR K 228 || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} mokó, Mln {ChL} mágì, Msk {Lk.} mágu 'mouth' ¶ JI II 245, Lk. ZSS 143, Trn. LDM 18 || IE: NaIE: Ir: OI muk^h- 'mouth, face' (infl. of Dravidian?),

Orm, Prc muχ, Psh مڭ m3χ 'face', Oss I mūķū (usu. pl. mūķūtā), Oss D moķo ab 'face, snout' (possibly infl. of some NrCs lgs., like Gunzib moķo 'beak') ¶ M K II 648-9, Asl. 801, Mrg. 48-9, Ab. II 131 || D *mu|ok- 'face, mouth' > Tm mukam, Kn moga id., Ml mukam id., 'front', Tu moga 'the front', Tl moga 'the front part, mouth of a river', Klm, Nkr mokam, Prj, Knd mokom, Gnd mukam ɘ mukum ɘ mokom, Png mūm, Mnd mūmb, Ku mūkā 'face' ¶¶ D #4889 ◇ Blz. DA 153 [#9] (Ag, CCh, D, IE), LB #112f (Ag, CCh, D) ||| (2) Another semantic var. of this N etymon (or a different etymon?): N *muķ₁∇₁∇ 'eat\drink (greedily, in large mouthfuls)' > HS: S: Ar ✓mqf G 'avalier avec avidité (un liquide), téter sa mère (un petit)', Gt (ifta'ala) 'boire tout le lait qui se trouvait dans le pis' ¶ BK II 1135-6 || A {DQA} *m^rū¹k'è {AD} '≈ fill one's mouth with food\water' > T *bö₁k- (= *m₁ö₁k-) 'eat one's fill' > OT {DTS} bö₁k- id., 'be fed up with', {MKD} bü₁k- 'be fed up with, be filled to nausea', Tv p₁ök-, SY p₁ek- 'eat one's fill', Qrg bö₁k-, Tf p₁ök- 'be sated with fat food', Qzq, Nog bö₁k- 'eat too much', Bsh bü₁ge- 'overeat' ¶ DTS 117, ET B 211, MKD 83, BR 124 || Tg *muku- 'fill one's mouth with water' > Lm muq-, Neg moxon-~mokun-, Ud mukun- id., Ewk muku-, WrMc muk₁u- 'hold water in one's mouth', Ewk muku- 'swallow', Sln moxo- 'swallow water' ¶ STM II 552 || pKo {S} *m₁ä₁k- 'eat' > MKo m₁ä₁k- 'eat', NKo m₁ä₁k- 'eat, drink' ¶ QK #19, Nam 211, MLC 609 || pJ {S} *m₁äkà-nàp- 'feed, provide meals' > OJ makanap-, J: T makaná-, K m₁ákáná-, Kg m₁àkànà- ¶ S QJ #1233, Mr. 719 || ??? M: Dg {T} mekē-, {Pp.} mekē- 'suck' (unless derived from Dg {Pp., Mr.} meke 'woman's breasts') ¶ T DgJ 154, Mr. D 190, Klz. D II 120 ¶¶ DQA 1384 (*m^rū¹k'è 'suck') ||| D *mukk- 'eat in large mouthfuls' > Tm mukku 'eat in large mouthfuls', Kn mukku 'put food into the mouth with the hollowed hand and gobble', Tu mukku- v. 'gobble, swallow, devour', Kui muka 'cast food into the mouth with the hand'; D *mukk∇]- 'mouthful' > Kn mukku₁|(e) 'mouthful of water for rinsing the mouth', Tu mukku₁i ~ mukku₁i 'mouthful of liquid', Kui mukal 'mouthful' ¶¶ D #4897 ||| ? E: ma-ak-, ma-k₁∇ 'verzehren', ma-qa 'Verzehrtes' ¶¶ HK 848-50, 875, 861-3 ◇ The semantic pre-history of the latter N source may be: 'mouth' → 'mouthful' → 'eat\drink in large mouthfuls'.

1399. ₂ *muķč₁∇h₁∇ 'arrive' > HS: S *✓mθy ~ *✓mθ? ~ ? *✓mθh 'arrive', ? 'go' > Ug ✓mθy G 'arrive, come to', BA ✓m₁ṭy (pf.: 3m Ḫ₁ṭṭ)

~ הַבֵּן *məṭā*, 3f תַּבֵּן *məṭāt*; ip. אֵבֵן *'yi-m'ṭē*) 'reach, come, arrive', IA *mṭ*? (sc. **✓mṭy|w*) (2m pf. *mṭt*), JA *✓mṭy G* (pf. 'בֵּן *məṭē*, אֵבֵן ~ הַבֵּן *məṭā*), SmA *✓mṭy G* 'arrive, reach', Sr *✓mṭy G* (pf. **ص** *məṭā*, acp. m. **ص** *māṭē*, acp. f. **ص** *māṭyā*) 'come, arrive, reach', Md *✓mṭy G* (pf.: 3m *mṭa*, 3f *mṭiat*) 'arrive, reach', Sb {BGMR} *✓mṭ*? *G* 'go, proceed, march', Mn *✓mṭ*? 'se trouver dans un endroit', *✓mṭ*? *Sh* (pf. *šmṭ*?) 'arrive', Qt {Rk.} *✓mṭ*? *G* (b-*mṭ*?) 'enter, go through', Gz *✓mṣ*? *G* 'come, happen to', ? Ar [Qam.] *✓mḡh G* (pf. **م** *maḡaha*) {Fr.} 'abiiit (per terram)', {BK} 's'en aller et s'enfoncer dans l'intérieur des terres' ¶ A #1627, OLS 265-6, KB 1735, BDB 1100, HJ 616-7, Js. 767, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381-2, JPS 266, Tal 462-3, DM 264, BGMR 89-90, MA 64, Rk. D 140-1, LG 369-70, Fr. IV 191, BK II 1125 || **U** **mukča-* v. 'walk, cross (a river, a place)' > pLp {Lr.} **moksē-* (~ **mokcē?*) > Lp: L *mok'se-* / *movse-* 'come, arrive, take one's course', I *mo'hce'*-, Kld {TI} *mḡkse-* 'cross rapids (rowing)', T {Gn.} *mok'se-* 'cross a water' ('über ein Wasser fahren') || Sm: Ne T **מ** *madā-* 'cross (a place, water-course), go through', Ne T O {Lh.} *madā-* 'cross (a water-course)', Kms {Cs.} *mākteṛ-lām* 'schreiten' ¶¶ Coll. 35, UEW 284-5 (**mukča-* 'über das Wasser fahren'), Lr. #674, Ter. 214, Cs. 192
 ◇ The rec. of N ***h** is valid only if the Ar root *✓mḡh* preserved the ancient N lr., which was lost in Ug, in Aram, and in the SS lgs., but replaced in SS by a hiatus-filling *? ◇ IS MsN (S, U).

1399a. ₂ ***m'a'KVRV** 'big, long' > **IE:** Gk *μακρός* 'long, large' ¶ F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1 || **HS:** B **mūr* > Izd *✓mūr* 'être grand, grandir' (2s inv. *imqqor*), amoqran m. sg. 'grand', Gh *amūr* 'be big', *məqqar* 'big', Gd {CM} *meqqur* 'be big', {Lf.} *amqwr* (pf. *meqqwr*) 'être grand, vieux, notable', Ah *✓mūr* (*imūr*) 'be big', Kb *✓mūr* (*imūr*) vq. 'be big, grow', Zng {TC} pf. *yemūr* (aor. *yumūr*) 'grandir' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508-9, Ds. B 156, CM 124, Lf. I 288 and II #1019, DCTC 296 ◇ Doubtful. Valid unless Gk *μακρός* is a derivative that goes back to **IE** **māk-* / **maḱ-* 'thin, slender' (see N ***ma'X'KE** 'thin\lean and long') and unless B *✓mūr* goes back to N ?? ***KERV** 'grow, be(come) big'.

1400. ***mAIV** 'another, second' or 'two' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} 'mallo *♁* 'malo, {Rop.} 'male 'two', {R} before m. nouns *mal'lē* 'two'; construct forms: {Rop.} 'malo-b 'two' m., 'malo-t 'two' f., Bj A {AD} *malō-b* m., 'malō-t f. 'two', Bj {R} 'malū-a, {Rop.} 'malī-a 'the second', Bj {R} *malhō-* 'yān 'two of us', *malhō-* 'yāk 'two of you', *malhō-* 'yās 'two

of them' ||| ?? EC: Af {PH} malhīn, Sa {R} malehən 'seven' (if derived from the word for "two" in the framework of the quinary numeric system) ¶ R BedS III 6-11, R WBd 168, Rop. 21-3, PH 162, R S II 266, AD SF 196 ||| **D** *mal 'other, next, second' > Kn mala id., Tl malu 'next, second' ¶¶ D #4732 ||| **EA** ≈ *mallaQ- 'two' > Esk: SbY malɣ(uɣ), CSbY {Rb.} malɣ(uk), CAY, WGI malɣ(uk), MkI malləɣ(ok) ||| Ale {Men.} allax 'two'.

1401. *malV 'incline, bend' > **HS**: WS *-mīl- > Ar pf. māla / ip. ya-mīl-u 'lean, incline to', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓myl (pf. mēl, sbjn. yīl) 'turn sidewise, incline to one side', Mh {Jo.} ✓myl (pf. mɜyūl, sbjn. yɜmyēl) id., 'look sideways', Hrs {Jo.} ✓myl (pf. mɜyōl) 'turn away\aside' ¶ BK II 1174-5, Hv. 742, Jo. M 276, Jo. J 179, Jo. H 92 ||| **A**: Tg ma;lt- v. 'bend, fold' > Ewk maltu-, Lm maltʔ- id., Sln malta-, Neg maltu- v. 'fold', Ork d. mältuma 'folding knife' ¶ STM I 524-5 ||| **D** (in SD) māl- 'bend, turn\look sideways' > Kn mālu 'bend', māla, mālu 'sloping, slanting', mālisu 'look obliquely, bend to one side', Td malf- 'look sideways' (of a buffalo), Tu mālu- v. 'lean, incline' ¶ D #4825 ◇ The long vw. in Tg and D may suggest the presence of an additional element, which in the light of the S ev. is likely to be identified as *y (N *maylV?).

1402. *mæLV (= *mæIV?) 'to hide' > **K**: MG [VTq.], G mal- v. 'hide, hide oneself' ¶ Chx. 708-9, DCh. 662-3 ||| **HS**: ? EC: Sml maldah- v. 'hide, veil, conceal', ?σ Rn {PG} mälləḏà (imv. mällāw) 'get\be lost', Or {Brl.} milliḳ-, {Th.} miliḳ- 'schivare, evitare, usar sotterfugi' ¶ ZMO 274, PG 218, Brl. 304, Th. 244-5 ||| **IE**: NaIE *mel- (*s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken' (possibly ×N *meylV 'mind; be clever' [q.v.]) > Av mairya- 'betrügerisch, tückisch, schurkisch' ||| ? OIr mellaid 'il flatte, séduit, trompe' (unless ← mell 'pleasant' [acc. to Vn.]) ||| Lt mēlas, Lt Z mālas 'lie, falsehood', Ltv meli n. 'lie', Lt melúoti, Ltv melôt 'to lie' ||| Sl *militi 'to involve in error, to mislead' > P, HLs mylic, Cz mýliti, R Δ 'мылить, Lls mylis id., P mylic sie, Cz mýliti se, Uk милитися 'to err, to be mistaken' ({Frn.:} the irreg. *† is due to the infl. of the synonymous verb *x†b- [> Cz chybiti 'to err', P chybiac 'to miss, to fail']?) ||| Arm մեղ mel 'sin, fault' ||| ?? Gk βλασ- (*'falsehood') in βλάσ-φημος 'evil-speaking, slanderous', βλασφημέω 'speak ill, slander' (φη- 'speak'), ? μέλεος 'miserable, fruitless, vain' ||| ? Tc A smale 'a lie', smālok 'liar' ¶ ≈ WP II 291. ≈ P 719-20, Brl. 1151-2, FI 241-2 (no et. of the Gk words), Vn. M 31-2,

Frn. 430, Ma. CS 314, ESSJ XXI 39-40, Vs. III 23, Slr. 181-2, Wn. 431, ≈σ EI 155 (*mel- 'fail', *melos 'bad', *meles- 'fault, mistake') || A: Tg *mel- vi. 'hide' > WrMc mele- vi. 'hide', steal away', Ewk PT mēltilz- vi. 'hide, shrink into one's shell' ('прятаться, съёжиться, уйти в себя') ¶ STM I 567 ◇ If the Tc words smale, smālok belong here, they suggest an IE root with *(s)m- and therefore a palatal element within the N word (hence N *mæí∇) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here the FP word, represented by Z мылѡс mīlzs 'a piece of bark used to cover the load of a boat (to protect it from the rain)' and by Chr melāž 𐌺 malъž 'lid of a bee-hive (in a hollow of a tree-trunk)' (LG 182, ≈ UEW 289-80). If this FP word belongs here, the original meaning of the N etymon must be 'cover' (whence 'to hide').

1403. ?? *m'æ'LV ≈ eye' > HS: Eg fKD mr.t 'eye(s) (of a god)' ¶ EG II 107 || IE: NaIE *om∇l- > Clt: OIr mala (gen. malach) 'eyebrow', NIr mala id., π mala-porc 'eye', MBr {Em.} malvenn 'eyelid' ¶ Vn. M 14, 33, Dnn. 461, Ern. 386-7 || ? A: M: WrM hon.†melmei 'eye(s)' (unless ← melmei- 'be full, shine') ¶ MED 535 ◇ Qu. because of the honorific (hence originally metaphoric?) character of the WrM and Eg words.

1404. *moī∇ (or *moīh∇??) 'to pound, to gnaw\smash into pieces' > IE *mel-, *melh̄- v. 'grind, pound' > Ht malla/i-, malliya/i- v. mill, grind' || NaIE: Arm մալեմ malem vt. 'bruise, mash, crush, break to pieces' || Gk μύλη 'mill' || pAl {O} *melwa > Al miell 'flour' || L mol-ō, -ēre v. 'grind' (-> Al bluanj id.) || OIr mel- 'grind', W malu, MBr malaff, Br malañ, Crn mala 'to grind' || Gt malan to grind', OHG malan id., 'to rub', NHG mahlen, ON mala 'to grind'; Gmc *mulwjan > ON mylja 'to grind, to crush', OHG mullen 'to oppress, to break into small pieces, grind, destroy' || Lt málti 'to grind' || Sl *mél-ti id. > OCS млѣти mlěti (1s prs. meljq), Blg 'меля, SCr Cr mljèti / mèljem, SCr Sr млѣти / мѣльѣм, Slv mléti, Cz mléti ~ mlíti, P mleć / mieleę, OR МОЛОТИ, R мо'лоть / ме'лю || pTc {Ad.} *meíw- > Tc: A malyw-, B mely- {Wn.} 'presser fortement, broyeur, écraser', {Ad.} 'crush, squeeze', {JGH} 'press' || ? OI mṛṇāti 'crushes, grinds' (× IE *mer- 'crush' < N *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut') ¶ P 716-7, EI 247 (*melh₂-), F II 268-70, WH II 104-6, M K II 673, M E II 319-20, Ch. 721, Vr. 377, 397, Schz. 206, 216, Kb. 654, 699-700, OsS 586, 625, KM 454, Vn. M 32, Hamp AIEW 147, O 30, 265-6, ESSJ XVIII 89-91, Vs. II 597, Glh. 417, Wn. 278-9, Ad. 470, Ad. H 73, JGH 203, Slr. 99-1, CHD L-N 125-6, Ts. E II 102-3,

Ivn. OPA 108-9 || **HS:** CS * \checkmark mll 'crush, squeeze (e.g., for husking the grain)' > MHb, JA, Md \checkmark mll v. 'crush, squeeze, rub ears for husking the grain', BHb מַלִּילָא mālī'lā, JA מַלִּילָא mālīlā't-ā 'Reibähren (noch milchige Ähren, deren Körner man ausreibt)', MHb {Js.} מַלִּילָא mālī'lā 'ripe ear of corn', Ar \checkmark mll D 'presser, activer', ? G 'bâtir une pièce d'étoffe' ¶ KB 558, KBR 598, Js. 790-2, BK II 1141 || **U** *mo|| ∇ v. 'crumble, break to pieces', n. 'crumble' > pLp * \circ mō|| ∇ > Lp N {N} moallo 'crumb, little, bit, piece, morsel', moallâni- ~ mōllâni- vi. 'crumble away' || Sm {Jn.} * $\text{m}\bar{\text{b}}||\nabla$ - v. 'break' > Nn T Ym ма́ль-сь, Nn T BZ ма́лье-сь, Nn T O {Lh.} ма́ль v. 'break, smash'. Slq Tz {KKIH} mala- v. 'gnaw (грызть)', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. malāab id., Kms {KD} boḏ·dāláam ~ buḏ·dāláam vt. 'break', Koyb {Sp.} блаламъ 'I gnaw', Mt {Hl.} *balə- v. 'gnaw, bite' (Mt M {Sp.} бальямъ 'I gnaw', баліямъ 'I bite') ⇨ Mt {Hl.} *bilabtə- v. '(?) break' (Mt M {Sp.} пиляптымъ 'I break') ¶¶ Coll. 35, UEW 278, Jn. 86, KKIИ 128, Hl. M ##97, 125 || **A** ({AD} *mo|E, {IS} *möl ∇ , {DQA} *mó|e 'bite, gnaw'): M *mölž̥i- (< *möl-di-) 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' > MMgl mölž̥i- 'gnaw', WrM mölž̥i-, HIM мөлжи-, Brt мүлжэ-, Kl мөлж- mölž̥i- 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' ¶ MED 546, Chr. 305, KRS 357, Iw. 116 || Tg * \circ mul- > WrMc muliyan 'jaw', ?σ{Z} muliya- v. 'swallow' ¶ Z 908, Hr. 677 || pKo {S} *m̄ir- v. 'bite' > MKo m̄ir-, NKo mul- ¶ S QK #7, Nam 229, MLC 677 || ?φ,σ pJ {S} *músír- v. 'pluck out, pick out' > OJ músír-, J: T mùsíru, K músír-, Kg mušír- ¶ S QJ #844, Mr. 720 ¶¶ DQA #1343 ◇ In the light of the S cognates the Ir. in IE *melh̥- is likely to be a root-extension rather than an ancient part of the root. An alt. solution (N * $\text{mo}\bar{\text{h}}||\nabla$ > CS * \checkmark mll [with loss of N *h]) is less likely, albeit not ruled out ◇ IS II 69-70 (*moL Δ 'раздроблять', AD NM #63, S CNM 7 (suggests the Mc, Ko, and J cognates; ÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 18 (the segmentation of M *mölž̥i- as *möl- + *-ž̥i- is considered a "teleological reconstruction", F AD NMI-2 § 7.7), Glh. 417. J *-s- suggests pA and N * $\acute{\text{r}}$, which is at variance with the U evidence. Hence our N rec. is with * $\bar{\text{r}}$ (= *|| $\bar{\text{r}}$) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #186 (*meli 'grind') (IE, U, EA + unc. Ko, CK + qu. A {Gr.} * $\text{m}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'cut', J).

1405. * $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\bar{\text{h}}||\nabla$ (or * $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\bar{\text{y}}||\nabla$) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE * $\text{m}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{o}}$ - ~ ?? *smelo- 'small, little' > Sl * $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{b}}$ adj. (dadj. * $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{b}}$) 'small, little' > OCS, OR малъ malъ, Blg d. малък, SCr mào (f. mälā), Slv dadj. mālī, Cz, Slk dadj. malý, P dadj. mały, R dadj. 'малый, pradj. мал

(f. ма'ла) || ?? Gmc *smal- 'small, narrow' > Gt smal-ista sprl. 'smallest', OSx smal 'small, little' ('klein, gering'), OHG smal 'small, narrow', NGH schmal 'narrow', AS smæl id., 'slender, small', NE small || ?? Lt smũlkus, smulkus 'small, fine, thin', Ltv smaļk-s 'fine, thin' ¶ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (does not distinguish it from *mēlo- 'sheep and goats', cp. N *mU₁w₁ī∇y∇ '€ animals, meat'), ESSJ XVII 167-83, Bern. II 13-4, Vs. II 564, Vr. 519, Ho. 301, Ho. GEW 93, Ho. S 68, Fs. 439, Kb. 916, Sw. 156, Kar. II 238-9, Frn. 849-50, ≈ EI 23 (*meh₁- 'small animal') || HS: SC: ? Brn {E} mēla 'house of unmarried young men', ? SC ⇨ Mb {E} mīlo 'child', mīli 'heifer' ¶ E SC 17 || U: FU *^om^o∇ (or *^om^o∇ < *^omā∇?) *'child' or 'little' > ObU: Vg K mōli 'boy, dear boy'; pOs *mō∇ ({Hl.} *mū∇) 'little' (in cds.): Os: Ty mōl+, K/Kr -māla, Nz -mōla, Kz mōli, e.g. Os: Ko/K ewa-māla 'little girl', pāχ-mala 'little boy', K moχ-mālit 'children', Nz ay peŋ-mōla, Kz peŋ-mōli 'kleiner, eben ein wenig aus dem Zahnfleisch hervorgekommener Zahn' ¶ Ht. #777, Stn. D 927 || A: T *bāla (*māla) > NaT *bāla 'young bird, nestling; young of an animal' > XwT XIV, Chg XV bala 'young of an animal', Tk bala, Tk Δ, Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ bāla, CrTt bala id., 'child', Az, Qmq, VTt bala, Uz бoлa bala, Slr b₁ala id., 'nestling, young bird', QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg, ET bala 'child, baby' ¶ Cl. 332, Rs. W 59, ET B 47-9, TL 306-7, TkR 69 ◇ The N vw. *a (suggested by T) is represented in FU by a tentatively reconstructed vw. *^o, which may be due to the labializing infl. of *m-; if the FU etymon is *^om^o∇ (which is still to be investigated), its *^o may go back to an earlier *ā (because any pre-U *ā yields U *^o) ◇ If the Gmc and Blt roots (and hence IE *smel-) belong here, it suggests a palatal element in the N etymon, which cannot be *í (on the FU and T ev.), hence the N rec. *m^{ra}y∇. If so, the long *^o in IE does not go back to a vw. + lr., but represents the apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe), while N *y is lost in IE due to its prenasal position. If IE *smel- does not belong here, the N rec. is *m^{ra}H∇ (corroborated by the long vowels in NaIE *mōlo- and T *bāla).

1406. *mUhl∇ (~ *-Lh-) 'slow, quiet' > HS: WS *√mhl 'be slow, quiet' > Ar √mhl {BK} id., {Hv.} 'act at leisure, without haste', Mh √mhl Sh (pf. amōhɜl), Jb √mhl Sh (pf. ōhɜl) vt. 'ease, lighten', Mh Gt (pf. mɜthūl) 'become easier/lighter', Sq {L} 'muhēle 'delay', {Jo.} 'mehɜl 'delay, respite' ¶ BK II 1162-3, Hv. 738, Jo. M 262, Jo. J 169, LLS 239 || IE: NaIE *mel- 'linger, delay, be slow' > Gk μέλλω 'delay, intend

to do' || L [Fest.] *prō-mell-ō* / -*ěre* 'litem promovere, adorn a (legal) action', [Pl.] *re-melīgō* 'delay (Verzögerung)' || OIr *mall* (< **m̥l̥-sō-*) 'slow, lazy', W {Vn.} *mall* 'lent, mou, flétri' ¶ WP II 292, P 720, F II 202-3, WH II 370, 427-8, Vn. *M* 15 || A: Tg: Ewk *mulu-* 'be silent' ¶ STM I 555 ◇ NaIE **mēl-* (without traces of the expected *lr.*) may go back to **mULh* ▽ with subsequent loss of **a* in the prevocalic position.

1406a. **meH'a*'I ▽ 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > HS: C: Bj {R} *me*'*pāli* ~ '*m*'*pāli*, {Rop.} *m*'*pāli* 'brother\sister-in-law' ¶ R WBd 162, Rop. 216 || ECh: Kwn *M* {J} *mōlō* ~ *mōló*, ? Kbl {Cp.} *magzłzj*, Ll {Grgs.} *malgyī* 'female relative-in-law', Mkl {J} *mālsá*, Tmk {Cp.} *mžlá* 'sister-in-law'; Kwn *M* {J} *kū-mālé* ~ *kž-māli*., Kbl {Cp.} *ka-mžłzj*, Ll {Grgs.} *kū-māli* 'male relative-in-law', Mkl {J} *mžlé* 'brother-in-law' ¶ ChC, J LM 211, Cp. 105 || D (in NED) ≈ **me*||*k-* > Krx *melk*^h*ō* 'husband's brother's wife; concubine', Mlt *melqo*, *melqor* 'two or more contemporary wives' ¶ D #5081, Pf. 195 [#190] || A: T: [1] **bōlä* 'cousins' (children of two sisters)' > Qzq, Qq, Tv Tj *bōle*, Qrg *bölö* ~ *bülö*, Xk, Shor *pōle* id., Nog *bōle*, Uz *bwla*, Δ *bōlä*, Tk Δ *bola* & *bullā* & *bülem* & *bele*, Qmn *bölö* 'cousins', Alt {BT} *b_ölö* 'children of sisters; cousin', Yk {Pek.} *aymax-bilä* 'relatives, neighbours'; T ⇨ M: WrM *bülü* ~ *bōle*, HIM *б_γ_π* 'cousins' (of children of two sisters only) || [2] T: Tk Δ {THDS} *bal* 'girl; brother'; ⇨ T **bāl-t'ir* 'wife's younger sister' > OT, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *balđız*, Bsh *balđıđ* id., Tkm *bāldıđ* 'husband's sister', Tk *balđız* 'wife's\husband's sister', Az, CrTt, Kr Cr *balđız*, Uz *balđız*, Chv *puld_ır* 'wife's sister' ¶ ET B 53-4, 217-8, TL 293-4, BT 34, Pek. 463. MED 14, Cl. 334, THDS II 495, Jud. 104 ◇ The rounded **ö* in T **bōlä* may be explained by the assimilating infl. of **b*. T **-ā-* in **bāl* is probably from N **-eHa-* ◇ The equation between D, Bj, and Ch was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 157 [#48]).

1407. *'mi*hLi* ⇨ *'mi**L***hi* 'be weak' > HS: CS **✓mhl* > Sr *✓mhl* *G* 'weaken', Ar *✓mhl* *G* 'be barren (land, year)' ¶ Br. 381, BK II 1069-70, Hv. 710 || IE: NaIE *'m*l̥*ē*j-* / *'m*l̥*ī- / ? **-mle*;_{i,j}*u-* '≈ weak' > W *blin* (< **mlī-no-*) 'tired', OBr *blin* {Flr.} 'mou, uncertain, négligent', MBr {Em.}, Br {Hm.} *blin* 'faible, débile' || Ltv Δ {ME} *blīnis* 'a tired person who cannot move' || Sl **mlit-* 'weak, flabby' > McdS *млитаѡ* 'flabby, languid, apathetic', SCr *mlitav*, *mlit*, *mlitak* 'feeble, slack, lax', *mlitati* 'be lazy' || Gk *ἀμβλύς* 'blunt, weak' and possibly *ἀμαλός* 'soft,

weak, feeble' (× N ***mel**^h₁¹∇ 'soft' [q.v.]) || Ht **malisku-** ~ **milisku-** 'weak; 'light, unimportant (?)' ¶¶ ≈ P 716-9, Flr. 86, Ern. 71, Hm. 87, YGM-1 47, ME I 316, ESSJ XIX 68, FI 85, 89-90, CAD L-N 130, Ts. E II 106-7 || **A: M: WrM milmerē-** 'grow weak \ feeble' ¶ MED 539 ◇ The N etymon in question may be identical with ***mel**^h₁¹∇ 'soft' (which in that case must be reformulated as N ***melhi**, with M *i [in WrM **milmerē-**] due to the assimilative infl. of the final *-i).

1408. *mU₁w₁∇y∇ '∈ animals, meat' > **HS: C** ***māl-** 'livestock, meat' > HEC {Hd.} ***māla** 'meat' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd **māla**, Hd **māra** id. | Rn {PG} **māl** 'female camel on loan', Sml N {Abr.} **māl** 'livestock', Sml {ZMO} **māl** 'goods, wealth' (× ← Ar **māl-** 'flocks, wealth') ¶ Hd. 98, 210, 257, 292, 331, 383, Ss. B 137, C SE II 213, Abr. S 172, ZMO 264, PG 214-5, Hv. 740 || NrOm: Bdt {C} **mālē** ~ **māli** 'cow' (← or → HEC?) ¶ C SO 62 || B ***māl**∇y (pl. ***mūl**∇y) > Ah a-**māli** (pl. i-**mūlay**), ETwl ə-**maləy** (pl. i-**mulay**), Ty ə-**meləy** (pl. i-**mulay**) 'male (non castrated) domestic animal' ¶ The long vw. goes back either to *∇H or to *∇w ¶ Fc. 1199, GhA 128 || S ***o-m**∇l- (*-**mūl**-?) → ***o**ma¹wal- 'having flocks' > Ar **māl-** 'rich \ wealthy (person)', ✓ **mwl** G (pf. **māla**, ip. -**mūl**-) 'be rich in flocks', **māl-** 'flocks; wealth, personal property' (originally a n. coll., derived by means of the -ā-infix) ¶ BK II 1168, Hv. 740 || **IE: NaE** ***mēlo-** 'sheep and goats, young\small animal' > Gk Ep, D, A μῆλα pl. id., → sg. μῆλον 'sheep, goat' || OIr **míl** 'animal, small animal', NIr **míol** 'louse', Brrt {RE} ***mīlon** > MW **mil-eit**, W -**mil**, OCrn, OBr, Br **mil**, Crn **myl** 'animal' || Gmc: OFrk [LxS] **māla** 'cow', Dt **maal**, Dt G **maole** 'young cow' || Arm **մալ** **māl** 'wether, mutton' (× ← **malēm** v. 'castrate, geld' ← 'bruise, break') || Ht {Ivn.} **miluli-** 'meat' ({Ts.} **miluli-** ~ **maluli-** 'Körperteil, Weichteile') ¶¶ But not here (⇔ P 724) Uk **маль** 'sheep and goats, young sheep' (coll.) and R Δ **малич** '∈ a Crimean sheep', which are loans from a Turkic lge., most probably from CrTt **māl** 'livestock' (← Ar **māl-** 'flocks') (see RI. IV 2035-6) ¶¶ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (***mēlo-** 'kleineres Tier'; + err. Sl and Gmc words for 'small, little' and L **mālus** 'bad'), F II 226-7, Vn. M 51, Flr. 256-7, RE 79, Vr. N 419, Bern. II 13-4, ≠ ESSJ XVII 156, 176 (Uk **маль**, Р Δ **малич** ← Sl ***malъ** 'small'), EI 23 (***meh₁**- 'small animal'), Ts. W 53, Ivn. SL 153 || **A** {DQA} ***mula** '∈ deer' > T ***bulan** 'elk' > OT **bulān** ({Cl.} **bulān**) '∈ large wild animal which is hunted' (Cl.: obviously 'elk'), MQp xv **bulan** 'wild ass, onager', Qzq **бұлан** **būlan**, VTt, Bsh **болан** **būlan**,

Xk pulan, Qb {Cl.} bulan 'elk', Tv b_ulan, Qrg f bulan 'elk, deer', Uz hist bulan 'wild horse', No, Qrg bulan 'ε gazelle', Chv L пӓлан рӓлан, Chv H рӓлан 'stag', Δ 'elk' ¶ Cl. 343, ET B 260, TL 154, BT 35, Rl. IV 1374, Shch. Zh 141, Dr. TM II #810, Jud. 157, NogR 90, BT 35 || NrTg *mul- (dim. *mul-kan) 'deer, elk' > Ewk mulkan 'castrated reindeer (of 1.5 to 2 years)', mul-kaçān 'male reindeer, elk, Manchurian deer (of 2 to 3 years)', Lm mułqan 'domesticated\wild reindeer (of 1 year)', mułqaçan 'wild reindeer, elk' (of 2 to 3 years)', Neg mołkān 'wild reindeer' (of 1 to 2 years)', Ewk mul-ta 'herd of wild reindeers, a wild reindeer', Ewk PT melele, Ewk Nr mēlan 'young elk, ε small reindeer' ¶ STM I 534, 555 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1363 (A *mula, incl. T, Tg) || U: pY {IN} *mol- > Y K mol-il 'trunk of body' (nominal sx. -il) || FU *mâł]yâ 'breast; breast (meat)' (semantic infl. of the paronymous U √ *mäłʒe 'breast' < N *'mäłgê [or *'mäłkê?] 'breast, udder' [q.v.]) > Vt mǝ́la, mǝ́l 'breast, breast (meat) of an animal (ox, etc.), Vt S mǝ́la, K mǝ́la 'Bauchteil unter den Rippen' || OHg XII-XIII malos, maly 'breast', Hg Δ mál ǎ máj ǎ mály 'Bauchfell eines Pelztiers' ¶¶ UEW 289-90, MF 418-9, EWU 928, IN 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y ← U) ¶¶ The supposed semantic pre-history of the word: 'meat' → 'trunk of a body' → 'breast (meat)' → 'breast' ◇ The factor of lengthening in B has been interpreted as a N *w (rather than a lr.) on the ev. of S (absence of a lr. and presence of *ū/w). The palatalized ǎ in Vt and OHg points to the presence of a palatalizing element, but T *-l- rules out a pN *ǎ́, so that a N *-L∇y- remains the best solution (supported by the B ev.): in T the former intervoc. *-y- was lost, while in U the cluster *-Ly- yields Vt ǎ́ and Hg -ly-.

1409. (₂?) *me_l_y_ǎ́∇ 'mind; be clever' > HS: EC *mal- > LEC {Bl.} *mal- > Sml mál-e 'a thought, guess', mal-ay- caus. v. 'think (about sth.)', Rn {PG} mál 'thought, idea', mal-d-a v. md. 'think, plan', Bs {HL} ma;ll- 'reflect, think about', Or {Grg.} mal- vt. 'plan, design', Or Wl mal- {Bl.} 'come up with a plan', {Brl.} 'pensare, escogitare, ordire, macchinare', Kns {Bl.} mal- 'apply a tactic', Gdl mal- 'prepare a plan of action' || HEC: Sd {HL} mal- 'give advice, ponder, consider' ¶ Bl. 163, Brl. 291-2, Grg. 275, ZMO 274, Abr. S 172, PG 217-8, HL 127 || EthS *√myl (← C?) > Tgr 𐌆𐌗𐌕 mela 'trick, wile, artfulness', Tgy 𐌆𐌗𐌕 'mela 'prudence, habilité' ([?] → Bln {R} mil- 'zum Besten halten, in schalkhafter Weise hintergehen, betrügen; geringschätzig behandeln'), Amh mēla 'prediction, opinion, occasion' (× EthS √, represented in Gz 𐌆𐌗𐌕

malaya v. 'separate, divide, distinguish'); Amh ? ⇨ Or {Th.} mala 'avviso, parere, opinione, idea'; Har {L} mēla 'ways and means', Grg Ez/Gt/Mh/SI/So mēla, Grg Ch mēlla, mēla, Grg Wl mēlē, Grg Ed malē, Grg En mala 'chance, guess, ways and means' ¶ LH 138, CS 123, R WB 269, Th. 233, L CAD 15, L G 346, L EDG III 401 || ?σ IE: NaIE *mel- 'deceive' ¶ WP II 291, P 720 (× N *mæL∇ 'to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU *mēl]e > FP *mēle 'mind, sense' > F mieli, Es meel id. | pLp {Lr.} *mēlз 'mind, sense' > Lp: S {Hs.} miēle, Vfs {Lgc.} m̄f̄z̄z̄ 'wish, will, sense', N {N} miellâ / -l- 'disposition, temper; desire, wish; opinion', (pl.) 'sense', L {LLO} miella 'mind, temper; understanding; opinion', Kld мйлл m̄ll 'mind' | Mk мяль m̄l 'wish, opinion', Er мель mēl id., 'thought' | Prm *m̄l > Vt мыл m̄l 'wish'; Prm cd. *m̄l-k̄d > Z мывкыд m̄vk̄d, Yz m̄l'k̄t 'mind', Vt m̄lk̄d 'temper, desire' (*k̄d 'mind, conscience'); Prm (d.?) m̄lp- v. 'think' > Z Δ мзвр̄v- 𐌆 m̄lpal- 𐌆 m̄r̄p̄-, Vt малпаны malp- ¶ The Prm vw. *ū (unlike *ō) is irreg. and still unexplained ¶ UEW 701-2, Sm. 553 (*meeli 'mind'), LG 173, 180, Lt. J 148, It. #356, Lr. #665, Lgc. #3875, Lgc. SL 85, Hs. 920-1, SaR 189-90, ERV 374, PI 170-1 ◇ The long vw. *ē in FU and the EthS root *✓m̄yl may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting the presence of a N *y (hence the etymon is *me_ly_l∇).

1410. *mālʔ∇ 'full, much' > HS: S *✓m̄lʔ G 'be full' > BHb, Ug, Mh, Hrs, Sq ✓m̄lʔ G id., Jb E/C ✓m̄lʔ G (pf. 'miṣ̄i) id., Ar ✓m̄lʔ G (pf. maliʔa) id., ✓m̄lʔ G (pf. maluʔa) 'be rich\wealthy', ✓m̄lʔ G (pf. malaʔa), BA ✓m̄lʔ G 'fill', JEA ✓m̄ly G 'be full\complete; fill', Md, Gz ✓m̄lʔ G 'be full, fill', Ak ∇ ✓m̄lʔ G (inf. m̄alû) 'be full'; ⇨ S *✓m̄lʔ D 'fill' > Ug, OA, IA, BHb, JA, Sr, Ar, Ak ✓m̄lʔ D id.; ⇨ S *ma'liʔ- 'full' > BHb מלא m̄l'ē, Ug ml̄ʔ, JA [Trg.] מלא m̄l'ē, JEA מלא ~ מלא m̄l'ē, Sr مملأ m̄l'ē id., Ar pf. (< pred. adj.) maliʔa 'was full', Sb mlʔ n. 'total sum (of money)', Ar NY T malān 'much', Ak ∇ malû 'full, covered, complete'; Qt d. mlʔt 'period, duration' ¶ KB 552-4, 1735, A #568, OLS 273, Lv. II 118-20, Lv. T III 39, Sl. 678-9, Br. 388-9, HJ 627-8, DM 272, BK II 1141-2, Hv. 731, Bns. NJ I 171, BGMR 85, MA 60, Rk. 96, L G 342, Jo. M 265-6, Jo. J 171, Jo. H 88, CAD X/1 173-89 || IE *mel- 'much, very, (?) strong' > NaIE *mel- 'much, very' > Gk μάλα 'very', cmpr. μάλλον 'more', sprl. μάλιστα 'most' || L cmpr. melior / ntr. melius 'better', mult-us / -a / -um / pl. mult-i / -ae / -a 'much, many' (< {Mul.} *m̄l'to-), Osc MOLTO nom. sg. f. 'multa',

MOLTAS gen. sg. f. 'multae', MOLTAM accus. sg. f. 'multam', Um MOTAR gen. sg. f. 'multae', muta nom.-accus. sg. 'much' || Ltv Δ {ME} milns 'very much' || ?? Ht {CHD} mālant- 'powerful (?), vigorous (?)', mal n. (a quality desirable for men in combat, such as boldness, ferocity, skill) ¶¶ WP II 292, P 720, ≈σ EI 235 (*mel- 'good'), F II 165, Bc. G 320, 338, WH II 63-4, 124-5, Mul. 274, ME II 627, Ts. E II 100, CHD L-N 124-8, Frd. HW 133 (mal 'viel' [??], 'Fülle' [??]) || **A: [11]** ? M *mel > WrO {Krg.} mel 'complete, whole', Kl мел 'completely, quite', {Rm.} mel 'gerade, ganz' (unless < *men-1 < men 'gerade', as suggested by Rm.), Ord {Ms.} meḷū ~ meḷē 'beaucoup, très, en grand nombre, en grande quantité'; M *melmeyi- > WrM melmei-, HIM мэлмий-, Kl {Rm.} melmē- 'become very\completely full', WrO {Krg.} melemelze- 'be full, overflowing' ¶ MED 534-5, Krg. 597, KW 260, Ms. O 462 || pJ *már- 'fill, heap up' > OJ mór-, J: T mór, K/Kg mór- ¶ S QJ #1152, Mr. 277 || Tg: Nn B malda- v. 'fill' ¶ STM I 524 || ?σ,φ T *mōl 'abundant' > Tkm Δ, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET {Rl.} mōl, Tk бол, Tkm, Az Ggz, CrTt, Qmq bol, Uz mωl, VTt, Bsh mul ¶ The T rounded *o is due to the infl. of *m- ¶ ET B 184-5, Rl. IV 1669, 2125, Bu. II 287-8 || **[2]** d.?: A ?φ *milt'∇ ({DQA} *milt'e|i) or *melt'∇ > M *melteyi- > WrM meltei-, HIM мэлтий-, Kl мелтә- meltā- 'be full to overflowing', Ord meḷč'irme 'rempli jusqu'au bord' ¶ MED 535, KRS 349, Ms. O 462 || Tg: Lm miltarз 'full, whole', Ork miltз-miltз 'full' ('полно') (< M?) ¶ STM I 536-7 || pJ *mīt- 'full' > OJ mīt-, J: T mićí-, K/Kg mićì-, Ns mič-, Sh mī-, Ht nč- ¶ S AJ 111, 268 [#94], S QJ #9, Mr. 725 ¶¶ S AJ 111, 278 [#88] (A *milt'∇ 'full, to fill'), SDM97 (A*mil(t)e 'full, fill'), ≈ DQA #1312 (A *mijólo 'full, to fill, thick'; incl. M, J, T) and #1294 (A *milt'e|i 'full, fill') || **D** (in SD?) *mal- v. 'abound, become full' > Tm malar- id., mali- 'abound, be full\plentiful', Ml malika 'v. 'abound, overflow', Kn malya, Tu malla 'great, big', ? Tl malayu 'spread' ¶¶ D #4729 ◇ The vw. *i in Tg still defies explanation ◇ (⇔ IS): Ar ✓ mlh 'be good' hardly belongs together with IE *mel- 'much, abundant', it is most probably a sd. from ✓ mlh 'be salty' (from pS *'milh- 'salt') (Hv. 732), cp. Ar malīh- 'salted, good'. Neither does Eg mnyx 'convenient' belong here ◇ ≈ IS II 41 [#273] (*mal∧ 'numerous, abundant': IE, D + unc. HS: Ar ✓ mlh, Eg mnyx); ≈ IS MS 331 (*mal∇ 'big' > IE, D + unc. HS *✓ mlh¹ 'good'), ≠ OS #1816 (Ar ✓ mlh, Eg mnyx) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #262 (*mel 'many, much') (IE, A, Gil + qu. J + unc. Ko, CK, EA).

1411. *mAl₁ϛ₁∇ 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding' > IE *mel₁H₁- > NaIE *mel- ≈ high bank, mountain' > pAl *mala > Al mal 'mountain' and ↗ Rum mal 'bank'; pAl d. *mal-yā > Al majë 'summit, peak' || Ltv mala 'bank, river\lake-side, beach; edge, rim', Lt † malà 'Land, Landschaft', d. pa-mal-is 'edge', Lt jūr-mala, Ltv jūr-mala 'sea-side, sea-shore' (Lt, Ltv jūra 'sea') || ? Sl: RChS HZMOΛETH iz-mol-ěti 'to protrude', Slv moleti moléti 'to project, to jet out, to overhang' || ??σ OIr mell (< *mel-no-) 'round object (hill, ball, etc.)' (semantic infl. of OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule?'); ? (× N ?? *m'æ' L ∇ ≈ eye'): OIr, NIr mala 'eyebrow', MBr {Ern.} malvern 'eyelid' (possibly from 'protuberance') ¶ ≈ P 721-2, Bc. 219, Vn. M 14, 33, Ern. 386-7, O 243, Frn. 400-1, ≈ ESSJ IX 49, ≈ Bern. II 74 || **D** *mal, mal-ay 'hill, mountain' > Tm malaḡ id. Ml mala 'mountain, raised land, hill-land', Kt mal a'è, Td maṣ o'è 'high downs on western half of Nilgiri plateau', Td mal 'the Nilgiri mountains', Kn male 'mountain, forest', Tu malæ 'forest, hill overgrown with forest', Tl mala 'mountain', Klm ma'le ~ mālē 'hill', Prj malang 'forest', Gdb mare ɘ māre 'hill(ock)', Brh maš 'hill, mountain' ¶¶ D #4742 || **HS:** B *omūl- > Mz a-mul (pl. i-mul-an) 'crête (supérieure, d'un coq, etc.)' ¶ Dlh. M 118 || Ch: Kwan {J} mōlḡo 'mountain' ¶ ChC || Eg MK/XVIII mɘɘ 'bank of river\lake' ¶ EG II 25, Fk. 102 ◇ IS II 51 (*mAL₁; IE, D) ◇ The long vw. in B and the lr. ɘ in Eg suggests a N lr. *ɘ.

1411a. *mæL∇ψ|χ∇ 'lizard, small reptile' or sim. > **HS:** EC *mul∇ɘ- > Af {Clz.} m₁l'ɘitā 'worm', {R} mul'lū'ɘit 'ε lizard', Sml {ZMO} m₁laɘ 'ε small lizard', Sml N {Abr.} m₁laɘ 'ε lizard', {Lm.} m₁l₁ɘ, Sml My {Lm.} m₁l₁ɘ?, Sml Db {Lm.} m₁l₁ɘ?, Sml T {Lm.} m₁l₁ɘ? 'lizard', Rn {PG} mulúh 'small grey lizard', possibly also Sml malow, Sml N málow 'ε lizard' ¶ Clz. 127, R A II 89, ZMO 275, 296, Abr. S 172, 182, Lm. SD 270, PG 228 || WCh: Bks {J} mulúsūs 'lizard' || CCh: ? Nz {Srp.} mālawā 'chameleon' ¶ ChC, J R 144 || ??? B: Kb a-mulab, BMn/BSlh {Ds.} m₁lāb 'green lizard' (× ← Ar Mgr [cp. Mz cd. bu-lab 'ε green lizard', Mtm cd. b₁lāb 'green lizard' with bu-, b₁l- from Ar ?abū 'father of' → 'having the quality of']) ¶ Dl. 496, Ds. B 198, Dlh. M 102, Bs. NLB V 174 ¶¶ OS #1792 (HS *muluɘ- > EC, WCh) || **K:** GZ (mt.?) *mχul- 'lizard' > OG, G mχuliv-, Mg χvi(l)ar-, χolar-, χvelar-, Lz mtχola(r)-, χolura- || G muχluχ-i G muχluχ-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N *mAlAnk∇ 'eel', [?] 'worm, snake') ¶ K

144, K² 134, FS K 232, FS E 255, DCh. 912, 939, Chx. 861 || IE: NaIE *mol- / (?) *mel- 'small reptile' or sim. > Arm մողէզ molêz 'lizard' || Gmc: OSx, MLG mol, OHG mol, molm, molt, MHG molle 'salamander', NGr d. Molch id. || (× N *mAlAηk∇ 'eel', [?] 'worm, snake'): ??σ OI malūka-h 'ε worm' ¶ Kb. 695-6, KM 485, ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h) || A: M *melek(eyi) 'frog, toad' > WrM melekei, HIM мэлхий id., Kl меклә meklä id., {Rm.} meklē, Ord {Ms.} meleχ"ī 'frog', WrM lag melekei, Ord lag meleχ"ī, Kl {Rm.} yaq melkē 'tortoise' (lit. *≈ firm frog?), Brt мэлхэй 'tortoise', Dg {MYC} мэлзг 'frog, toad', {Lg.} мэлэг, {Mrm.} meleχ, {Mr.} melexe 'frog'; the M word was probably influenced by the paronym *menekeyi 'frog, tortoise' (> MM menekei id., [HI] nag menegei 'tortoise') ¶ MED 534, MYC 484, Klz. D II 120, Mr. D 190, KRS 348-9, KW 2650, Chr. 311, Lg. VMI 53, Ms. H 75, Pp. MA 235, Ms. O 442. 461 ◇ The equation between K, HS, Arm, and Gmc was suggested by Blz. (Blz. KM 137, #19); ≠ Blz. DA 158, #66 (unc. adduction of D *mal₁ηk₁- 'eel', see N *mAlAηk∇ 'eel').

1412. *mel¹h₁∇ 'soft' > IE *mel¹h₁- (or *mel¹h₁-) > NaIE *₁melā- 'soft' > OI 'mlā-ya-ti 'withers, fades', Vd pp. mlā-'ta- 'made soft by tanning', Av mrāta- 'tanned' || Gk ἀμαλός 'soft, weak, feeble' (× N *mi¹h₁li ~ *mi¹l₁hi 'be weak' [q.v.]), μαλακός 'soft' || Arm մեղմ melm 'soft, mild, gentle' || Gmc: OHG mol(a)wēn 'to dwindle, to decay, to pine away; tabere', MDt malsch ~ mals 'reckless, soft', MHG molwic 'weich, staubartig', NHG mollig 'soft', molsch ~ mulsch 'too mellow, over-ripe' (of fruit) || ?σ OIr mlén ~ blén 'groin' (≡σ: NHG Weichen) || ?ϕL molli-s 'soft' || ? Ht mīluli ~ maluli ~ melu₁li₁- 'soft tissue' (?), 'skin' (?), 'flesh'(?), {Gtz.} 'Weichteile' ¶ P 716-9, EI 532 (*melh₁- 'soft'), M K II 698, M E II 388-9, WH II 103-4, F I 85 and II 165, Vn. M 56-7, Kb. 695, OsS 619, KM 480, CHD L-N 130, 253-4, Ts. E II 210-1, Gtz. T 77 || D *mel(l)- 'soft, tender' > Tm, Kn mel id., Tm mella, mel₁la 'softly, slowly, gently', Ml mel 'slender, tender', Kt melg- vi. 'soften', Td meşx- 'become soaked and softened', Kdg melle 'lightly, slowly', Tu mella 'slow, soft, gentle', Tl mella, melamella 'slowly, gently', Gdb mellaga, Knd meleka 'slowly', Kui m¹ērna 'soft, quiet, gentle' ¶ D #5078 || A: M *milčayi- > WrM {MED} milcaī-, HIM мялцай- 'become soft\wet' (unless ← M *milčayi- 'become flat \ flat-faced' [> WrM {Kow., Gl.} milcaī- id.]

(M *i due to the infl. of N *‘miḥLi – *‘miLḥi 'be weak?'), ?σ M *°melmeyī- > Kl melmā- melmā- 'be quiet' (of a person)' (unless ← M *melmeyī-, Kl {Rm.} melmā- 'be full') ¶ MED 539, KRS 349, Rm. 260, Kow. 2025, Gl. III 308 ◇ If the Ht words belong here, they suggest an IE weak lr. (*Hχ) and a N *H₁. If we adduce here some other roots for 'weak' (S *√mḥl, NaIE *‘mlēj-/*‘mlī-, and Ht malisku- 'weak'), we may reformulate the N rec. as *‘mēlḥi 'soft, weak' (see N *‘miḥLi – *‘miLḥi 'be weak').

1413. ₂ *m^{ra}Ld∇ 'young, soft\tender' > IE: NaIE *mald^h- id. > Pru lmalḍai nom. pl. 'young men, adolescents', maldian accus. sg. 'foal', maldūnin accus. sg. 'youth' ('Jugend'), maldenikis 'child' || SI *mōldь m. (*moldà f., *moldьjь dadj.) 'young' > OCS МЛАДЪ mladъ, Blg млад, SCr, Slv mlād, Cz dadj. mladý, P dadj. młody 'young', R dadj. молодой id. / pradj. 'молод 'is young' ||| Clt: W blydd 'tender, juicy, soft' ||| Gk μάλθων (gen. μάλθονος) 'weakling' (of a person), μαλθακός 'soft', μαλθάσσω 'I soften' (× μαλακός 'soft', μαλάσσω 'soften' < N *mel^{rh}∇ 'soft'), but not βλαδύς 'slack' ¶ ≈ WP II 284-90, ≈ P 716-9, ≈ EI 532 (*m_ldu-s with unj. rec. of *d on the ev. of Gk βλαδύς), F II 167, En. 207, ≈ ESSJ XIX 174-9, ≈ Glh. 415-6 (all of them do not distinguish IE *mald^h- from similar stems [*melə-, *meld-, etc.] for 'soft', 'weak', 'crush', etc. that go back to different N words) || HS: S *°√mld > Ar mald- 'tender, delicate' (youth), 'soft' (bough), √mld G (ip. -mlad-) 'be tender', {Fr.} maladān- 'iuventus, adolescentia' ¶ Fr. IV 205, Hv. 732-3.

1414. *‘mālgê (or *‘mālkê?) 'breast, udder' > HS: S *°√mlg > Ar ملج √mlg v. G 'suck (one's mother)' (of a child) ¶ BK II 1143, Hv. 731 || ? Eg ∇ mnz 'female breast, breast', Eg RT/G 'udder' > Cpt B MNOT əmnot, MNO† əmnoti 'breast'; but Vc. p.c. and Tk. EAAT suggested alt. etymologies: Vc. interpreted Eg mnz as *m-ynk (cp. S *°√ynk 'suck'), Tk. connected it with C *nug 'suck' ¶ EG II 92-3, Fk. 110, Vc. 117, Crn. 86, Crum 176 || EC: Sml, Rn māl- v. 'milk' ¶ Abr. S 172, DSI 396, ZMO 264, PG 215 ¶¶ Cal. 64, ≠ Tk. EAAT 232 || IE: NaIE *‘melg- v. 'milk' > Gk ἄμέλω 'I milk' ||| pAl {O} *melga > Al mjel (aor. mola) v. 'milk' ||| L mulge-ō / mulgēre v. 'milk' ||| OIr mlig- ~ blig- v. 'milk', pfc. do-om-malg ||| OHG mēlcān, mēlchan, NHG, Dt, NLG melken, AS meolcan 'to milk'; Gmc {Zlz.} *meluk- ~ *melik- 'milk' > Gt miluks, ON mjqlk, OHG miluh ~ milih, NHG Milch, Dt melk,

OSx miluk, AS mioluc ~ meolc, AS A milc id., NE milk; ⇨ ON molka v. 'milk'; Gmc ⇨ SI *melko > OCS МЛѢКО mlěko, Blg 'мяко, SCr млéко ≙ mlíjéko, Slv mléko, Cz mlēko, mlíko, P mleko, OR МОЛОКО moloko, R, Uk моло'ко 'milk' || Lt mėl̃žu / mėl̃žti v. 'milk' | SI *melzti / prs. *melzq v. 'milk' > RChS МЛѢЩИ mlěšti / МЪЛЗѢ мълзq, Blg Δ мъл'зя, SCr mŭsti / múzēm, Slv mlésti / mólzem id., Slk mlzť 'to suck' || pTc {Ad.} *mälk- v. 'milk' > Tc A mälklune n. act. 'milking'; pTc *melk-ā > Tc: A malke, B malk-wer n. 'milk' ¶ P 722-3, ≈ EI 381 (*h₁melg̃- v. 'milk'), O 270, Huld 94-5, Frn. 434-5, FI 91, Vn. M 57, Fs. 360-1, Vr. 389, 392, Vr. N 436, Ho. 219, 223, Ho. S 52, Kb. 673, 686, OsS 601, 610, KM 473, 478, Zlz. II #30.31, WH II 121, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 84-8 (tries to deny the Gmc origin of SI *melko), 95-6, Glh. 416, 429, Wn. 284, Ad. 442 ¶¶ IE *g̃ for the expected *g̃^h is puzzling; on the prosthetic vw. in Gk and on IE and N *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 || U *mäl̃ve 'breast' > FU *mäl̃ve id. > F mälvi, Es mäl̃v 'breast of a bird/fowl' | pLp {Lr.} *mēlk̃ 'breast of an animal' > Lp: L {LLO} miel'ka 'breast-bone, breast of reindeer', N {N} miel'gā 'breast/chest of an animal' | Er me'lk̃ 'lungs', Mk māčkā 'breast' | Chr: H/Uf/B mel id., L mel 'Brustöffnung des Hemdes' | Vt m̃ 'breast' || ObU {JHl.} *mē̃va 'breast' > pVg {Ht.} *mā̃va > Vg: T māw, LK m̃, MK mā̃, LL mã, NV/SV/UL/Ss mā̃; pOs {Ht.} *mō̃va id. > Os: V/Vy mō̃va, Ty mā̃^ωə, Y mā̃wə, D/K mẽət, Nz mewə, Kz mewə, O mewə | Hg mell 'chest, breast, bosom' || pY {IN} *mel- > YK {IN} mel- ut 'breast' (-t is a nominal sx.), {Jc.} mẽu, mẽut id., OY: K {Bil.} mēlud, {Lind.} mēlut, Ch {Mat.} малыть, O {Mat.} мелурь id. ¶¶ UEW 267, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *mälki, Ugr *mälkī 'breast'), Ht. #383, IN 234, 310, IN RJ 9, Ang. 152-3, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#75] (Y ⇨ U) || D (in SD) {GS} *mo|ul-aj 'female breast' > Tm mulaj 'woman's breast, teat', Ml mula, Td mĩ id., 'udder', Kt mel, Kdg mōle 'breast', Kn mōle 'female breast', Tu mīræ 'breasts, nipple, teat of animal' ¶ D ##4985, GS 79 [#252] ¶ The unexpected vw. *o may be due to contamination with D *mōl- 'waist' (D #4986, GS 74 [#241]) ◇ If Sm.'s phonological hyp. and his rec. of FU *mälki are accepted, it may point to a N *'mälkê, whence regularly IE *melg̃- and FU *mälki and a secondary voicing in Ar ✓ ml̃g ◇ IS II 57-8 (*mälgi 'breast, udder' > HS, IE, U) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #281 (*melk 'nurse' v./ 'breast') (IE, U, Y, EA + err. A, Ko, J, CK).

1415. $_2$ ***mUL**∇**kâ** (= ***muL**∇**kâ**?) '≈ think, deliberate, come to a decision' > **HS**: S * \checkmark mlk G > Ak fOAK \checkmark mlk (inf. malāku) 'give advice; ponder, deliberate, come to a decision', IA \checkmark mlk G, DA \checkmark mlk T, Plm \checkmark mlk Sh 'promise', JA {Dlm.}, ChrPA \checkmark mlk G 'decide', JEA \checkmark mlk T, JPA Bz \checkmark mlk G 'consult', T (אִתְּמַלְכֻן \checkmark ytmlkwn) 'reconsider', Sr \checkmark mlk G 'persuade, promise'; → S * \checkmark mlk G v. 'rule, hold power, possess' > Ug, BHb, M'b, Ph, Amr, Yd, OA, IA, JA, JPA Bz, Md, Tgr \checkmark mlk G 'reign', Ar \checkmark mlk G 'possess, become the owner of', Sb \checkmark mlk G 'become king; own, possess', Gz \checkmark mlk G 'own, possess, rule', Mh \checkmark mlk G (pf. mālūk, sbjn. yṣmlēk) 'possess, keep for oneself', Jb C \checkmark mlk G 'own', Ak RS \checkmark mlk G (← a WS lge.?) 'rule, hold power'; ⇄ S *malik- 'ruler, chieftain' (→ 'king') > BHb מֶלֶךְ 'mēlek, SmHb mālāk (pl. mālāk-am), BA מֶלֶךְ 'mēlek, em. מַלְכָּא mal'k-ā, Ed, Ph, Pun, Yd, OA, IA mlk, Ug mlk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} malku, JA [Trg.] מֶלֶךְ 'mēlek, JA [Trg.], JEA em. מַלְכָּא mal'k-ā, Sr مَلِكٌ mal'k-ā, Md malka, Ar ملك malik-, Qt mlk, Sb, Mn mlk (pl. \checkmark mlk) 'king', Gz d. אֱלֹהִים \checkmark amlāk 'Lord, God' (← pl.), Ak fOAK malku 'king, (foreign) ruler', Eb ma-li-gú-um or (cs.) ma-lik = malik-(um) 'king' ¶ CAD X/1 154-8, 166-9, Dlm. 226, KB 558-61, 1736-7, HJ 633-44, G A 25, Hff. 230-1, OLS 275-6, Hnr. 147, T II 41, Schlt. 112, A #1577, Sl. 680-1, Sl. P 310, Br. 391-2, DM 243, BK II 1150-2, Hv. 734, AD PSH 93, 101, 107, 114, BGMR 85-6, MA 60-1, LH 109, Jo. M 266, Jo. J 171, Krb. EG 3, Frnz. EL 145, 155 || **A**: NrTg *mulgâ 'thought, quick-wittedness, wisdom' > Ewk PT mulgīt/ç- 'use/be cunning', Lm mūlgъn 'thought, quick wits', Lm A mūlgъn 'wise', mūlgъ- v. 'invent' ¶ STM I 554-5.

1416. ?σ ($_2$?) ***m**∇**L**κ**â** '≈ to erase, to undo, not to do' > **HS**: WS * \checkmark mlk > Ar \checkmark mlq vi. G (ip. -mluq-) 'erase', {BK} 'effacer', N (pf. ṣinmalaqa) 'escape from', Tgy \checkmark mlk^w G (pf. mēlḫ^w) 'get loose, get disintegrated' ¶ BK II 1150, Hv. 734, ≈ L G 345 || **IE**: NaIE * \circ m]k_l^w - > Sl *mьlčǎ-ti 'to keep silence' > OCS МЛЪЧАТИ mlčati, SCr múčati, Slv mólčati, Cz mlčeti, Slk mlčat', P mlczeć, HLs mjelčeć, Lls mēlcaś, R мол'чать, Uk мов'чати id., Blg мъл'ча 'keep silence'; Sl *mьlk-nq-ti 'to get silent' > ChS МЛЪКНѢТИ mlъknqti, SCr múknuti, Cz mlknouti, Slk mlknut', P mlknać, HLs mjelknuć, Blg † {Gerov} млъкнѣ, Blg 'мълкна, cds.: RChS УМЪЛКНѸТИ u-molknuti, R у'молкнуть, Slv za-mólkniti id. || ?σ Lt mūlkis 'fool' ¶ Vs. II 643, 648, ESSJ XXI 99-108, Glh. 427, Frn.

471 || ? **A:** M *möltüre- (if from **mölk-tü-re-?) v. 'undo, detach, loosen' > WrO möltör- 'undo, unsnap, detach', WrM möltüre- 'loosen, detach; escape'; M *möltü > WrM möltü, möltüs, HIM мөлт 'slightly, somewhat, superficially', in a set phrase: Brt халта мүлтэ 'slightly, superficially' ('чуть-чуть, поверхностно, бегло'), Ord ǵalt'u' malt'u' 'à moitié, incomplètement' ¶ MED 546, Krg. 606, Ms. O 290, Chr 539.

1416a. *mAlAŋk∇ 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake' > **D** *mal_lŋk_j- 'eel' > Tm malaŋku 'eel', Tl maluga 'e eel', malaŋj(i) 'eel-like fish', ?φ: Kui mrāu (pl. mrānga), Ku mñiya, Krx miñž 'eel' ¶¶ **D** #4737 || **A:** pJ {S} *mùnánkí 'eel' (× N ? *m∇ñi 'e fish', q.v.) > OJ mùnágíí, J: T ùnagi, K ùnàgí, Kg unagí 'eel' ¶ S QJ #340, Mr. 562 || **IE:** ?φ OI malūka-h 'e worm' (× N *mæL∇ψ|χ∇ 'lizard, small reptile' or sim.) ¶ ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h) || **HS** (mt.): B: Skn i-maklām 'worm' || ?? Eg G mḵr.t 'e a holy snake' (× N *mæqUR∇ 'frog, toad' or 'e reptile\amphibian', q.v.) ¶ EG II 159 || **K:** ?φ G muχluχ-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N *mæL∇ψ|χ∇ '↑') ¶ Chx. 861, DCh. 912 ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 158 [#66] (suggested to equate the D word with the reflexes of N *mæL∇ψ|χ∇ '↑') ◇ The eel is likely to have existed in South-West Asia (proto-Nostratic habitat), to judge from the presence of words for 'eel' in JEA {Sl.} אֶלְבָּחַי cəlōb'h-a, {Lv.} אֶלְבָּחַי cəlōb'hā (or cəlāb'ā'hā?), MHb אֶלְבָּחַי cəlō'pāh, and Ar ǵilbāh-, ǵirīy- 'eel', see Ln. 401, BK I 272, Sl. 964, and Lv. IV 190.

1416b. *m∇í∇ 'e small predator' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: Bg {Csp.} muli, Tala {ChL} māmálè, Zul {Grgs.} mamal, Buli {ChL} mùmàlè, Sha/DfB/Bks {J} mùrùm, Sir {Sk.} mḡbálí, ??μ Tng {ChL} àmíltòmi 'hyena' ||| **ECh:** Skr {Nc.} melā 'cat' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 55, J R 145, 219, 287, Lk. ZSS 36 || **K:** GZ *mel- (< K *me_l]-) 'fox' > OG mel-, G mel-i, mela-i (→ Mg mela-, Lz mel- id.), eMg *mal- → Sv: UB/L māl, LB malw, Ln mau id. ¶ K 125-6, K² 119, DCh. 699 TK 559 || **A:** M: WrM malur, HIM малар 'striped wild cat, Felis sylvestris', → ET molun 'wild cat'; d.: M *malu-qayí (> WrM {FLD} malu-qai 'wild cat') → WrMc malaxi 'wild cat', {Ha.} 'gefleckte gelbliche Wildkatze' ¶ The back vw. *a may be due to vw. harmony ¶ MED 525, Kow. 1995, Nov. IE 122, FLD III 4919, Nj. 712, Rs. W 326, Z 871, Ha. 636, STM I 523 || T *m^rü'í > OT QU mü_lš {Cl.} 'wild cat', SY miš 𐤌 miš, T → Kl мис, {Rm.} mīs, Kl Ö mīš 'cat'; → NaT *mišik ~ *p'išik '(wild?) cat' (with a dim.[?] sx. *-ik) > MOsm, Chg

pišik, Tk Δ pišik ɖ pišik ɖ pušuk ɖ mišik, Xlj pušuq, Az, Tkm pišik, Δ mišik, Slr mišix ɖ müšük ɖ mešux, Qmq mišik, VTt Δ mǝžǝq, Bsh bǝšǝy, Nog, Qzq mišiq, Qq pišiq, Qrg mišiq, Uz mušuq, ET möšük, SY mišik ɖ mišiq, Chl miziq ɖ mižiq 'cat' ¶ The variations may be due to the infl. of the child lge. and to foreign influences (*see* Sgd mωškyšč 'wild cat') ¶ The rather late date of the spread of domesticated cats in Asia suggests that NaT *mišik ~ *p'išik originally denoted wild cats ¶ ET 191, Rs. W 332, Cl. 774 (supposed that OT müš is a loan from an unidentified lge.), KRS 353, KW 263 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1243 (A *mále 'wild cat': T, M, Tg + unc. pJ *músásà(m)pì 'flying squirrel' || IE: NaIE {E} *meli- > L mēlēs ~ mēlis 'marten, badger' ||| Sl *melьcb > Kshb {Lrn.} mɛlc 'badger' ¶ Blz. IZT 15-7, EI 45 (Sl. *melici-), ≈ WH I 474, EM 394 (no et. of mēlēs), Lrn. PI 501, Ma. CI 225 ◇ The short *e in the Sl root suggests that IE *e was short (the L long ē representing the L-grade of apophony?), hence there was no lr. in the N word ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136-7 [#17].

1417. *mAÍHo (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > HS: B *√mlǝǝ > Ah tamǝǝiq (pl. timǝǝaǝ) 'part of the skull over the forehead', Kb amǝǝiǝ 'sommet de la tête, os de la crâne' ¶ Fc. 1204, DI. 500 || IE: NaIE *m_olōdh-/*moladh- 'head, top' > OI mūr'dhā (/ mūr'dhan-) 'head', Av ka-mərəθa- 'head of a supernatural being (daēva-)' (lit. '[sth.] like head ...') ||| Gk μέλαθρον 'ceiling of a room, beam that bears the ceiling', ? βλωθρός 'tall, stately' (of trees) ||| OFrs melde-ke 'head' (with dim. sx. -ke), AS molda 'top of the head', NE mould † id. ||| OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule, tête', mul-lach 'top of the head', Br {Vn.} melle 'sinciput', mellenn an penn 'top of the head', MBr {Em.} melle-gouzouc 'cervix', mell-gouzouk, Br {Hm.} mell-ar-c'hil 'nuque', mellenn(-gein) 'vertèbre' ||| Tc A malto 'at first' ({Wn.} 'en premier lieu, d'abord') ¶ WP II 295, P 725, M K II 666, M E II 368, F I 246 and II 198 (no et. for μέλαθρον), Ch. 182, 680, Ho. 225, Vn. M 74, Ern. 402, Hm. 558, Wn. 278 ||| A *maí∇ ~ *m^ráí∇ > T {Md., DQA} *baíç 'head' > NaT *baš > OT, Az, ET, Ln, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg baš, Tk baš, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Yk bas, Alt, Slr b_aš, Uz бow baš, Tv báš, Tf b_áš id. ||| Chv L пyç ruś 'head' ¶ Cl. 375-6, ET B 85-8, Ra. 159, Md. 30, 173, TL 194 ({ADb.} *bałç 'head') || M: [1] M *mala-gayi (derived with the M sx. *-gayi / *-qayi) > WrM malagai, HIM малгай, Ord {Ms.} malaga 'headgear; head (of a nail, pin, etc.)', Brt

малгай, Kl Ö {Rm.} malχā, WrO {Krg.} malaχai ~ malaχa ~ malaχai, MMgl {Iw.} malγay 'cap, hat', Mgl malγey ~ malγāy id., with mt.: MM [IM] {Pp.} مَفْلَة maḡala, [S] {H} maqalay 'headgear', WrO {Krg.} maχalai ~ maχalā 'hat, cap', Kl махла, Kl D/Ö {Rm.} maχlā, Mnr H {SM} marqa, Dg {Pp.} maḡāl id., possibly also M {Rm.} *malayi- > Brt малай-, Kl {Rm.} malā-χα 'be bald' [2] M *malžan 'bald spot (on the forehead of an animal), broad forehead' (semantic infl. of the rhyming stem *qalžan 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' < N *Ḳaíṣû 'bare, naked' [q.v.]) > WrM malžan, HIM малзан 'bald spot (on the forehead of a horse), broad forehead', Ord χalžā malžan 'having a bald spot on the forehead' (of a horse \ camel \ ox \ goat), Dg malžin 'bald' ¶ MED 524-5, KRS 344, Ms. O 327, T DgJ 153, Pp. GMPJ 101-2, 109-10 (on the sx. -ḡai / -qai), Pp. MA 441, H 106, Iw. 115, Krg. 589, 591, KW 254-5, Chr. 291 || pKo {S} *mà,rí 'head' > MKo mà,rí, NKo mə,rí, Ko Δ: PhN məri, Sl mərí, Chs móri, Ks má,rí, Hm mə_ri id. ¶ S AJ 253 [#40], S QK #40, Nam 210, MLC 608 || Tg *meli- 'sinciput, nape of the neck, spine' > Lm mɜlimki 'jugular vertebra', Ork mɜlimu id., "orifice of the skull" (= 'foramen magnum?'), 'nape of the neck', Ul mugže 'sinciput', Nn Nh/KU mulgiktɜ, Nn B mɜygiktɜ, Orc muggikta 'skeleton of a fish' ¶ STM I 549-50, 567 ¶¶ S AJ 31-2, 282 [#174], SDM97 s.v. *meíA (T, M *malžā-, Ko, Tg; A *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Tg), ≈ DQA #1274 (A *mǝ́ǝ́ǝ́|a 'head'; incl. T *malja and M *malžā, but does not explain Ko, Tg, M *mala-gayí and *malay-) ◇ Tg *e may either go back to N *ä or result from regr. as. (*a...E > *ä...E > Tg *e...i).

1418. *mAn̄∇ 'herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)' > HS: Eg fMK mnmn.t 'herd, domesticated animals (Herdenvieh) and birds', {Fk.} 'cattle' ¶ EG II 81, Fk. 109 || NrOm: Kf {C} mī mō, Mch {L} mi·mí 'cow', {Lm.} mīn-žō 'cow, bovine cattle (Rindvieh)', Shn {Lm.} mīn-zà id., Anf {MYTY} min-žō 'cow', {C} min-cō 'bovine cattle', Kf {C} minžō id. (in minž-ífō 'cowdung'), Wl {LmS} mīza 'livestock, cattle', Bsk {C} mīza 'bull', Gm {Hw.} mīzi, Zl/Dwr {LmS} mīza, Gf {LmS} mīzza, Dc {LmS} mīzzi 'cow' ¶ Lm. Sh 355, LmS 477-8, C SE IV 471-3, LM 41, MYTY 118, Hw. EG || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *mān̄∇ 'herd, gregarious animal(s)' > Os Nz mañəŋ 'herd (of reindeer, horses, bovines)' † OHg XIV, Hg mēn 'stallion', OHg ménes 'horse', Hg ménes 'stud(-farm)', Δ mines id., 'horse' ¶ UEW 869, Stn. D 937, MF 433, EWU 959-60 || A: Tg *man_l_

'flock of birds' > Ewk, Neg man, Orc mañi, Ud mani, Ul mandu, Ork mandu, Nn Nh/B mando ~ mandu id., Ewk Skh 'crowd' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259 || D *manta_u ({{GS}} *-nd-) 'flock, herd' > Tm mantaj, Tl manda, Prj, Gnd, Ku manda id., Kn mandi, mande 'flock of sheep\goats, herd of cattle\buffaloes', Knd manda 'herd' ¶¶ D #4700 (a) ◇ Hardly here Km {CR} miy_{en} 'young cow' (CR K 235); obviously not here Eg mn⁵.t 'Milchkuh' (mistranslated in OS #1773 as 'cow'), which is derived from mn⁵ v. 'milk'.

1419. *mAn̄∇ 'hut, dwelling' (sd. of N *mäñ∇ 'remain, stay'??) > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *min-/*man- 'house' > pSam {Hn.} *min > Sml N † min 'bridal house', Sml S {Ss.} min 'room', pl. minan 'house', Sml C {ZMO} min 'house, hut, room', Sml J {Hn.} miñ 'house', Rn {PG} mín, pBn {Hn.} *míñ (> Bn: Bi/Kj/K míñ, J múñ) id.; Bs, Elm min, Arr {Hw.} mín, pOr {Hn.} *mana ~ *mina_u, Or {Grg.} mana 'house', Or B {Sr.} mana, Or B/O {Sr.} mina id., 'hut', Or Wt {Hn.} mina_u, Kns, Gdl mana, Gwd, Gln, Dbs, Grs mano 'house', HEC {Hd.} *mine > Sd, Ged, Hd, Kmb mine, Alb mino, Brj mina id. ¶ Ss. B 145 suggests that *man- goes back to the pl. form with an *-a-infix (cf. Or AM {Hw.} mina 'house' ↔ man 'houses') || DhI {To.} mini 'house' || ?? SC: Kz {E} munzalimo 'young man's house' || Ag {Ap.} *η3n- 'house' > Xm, Km η3n, Aw η3n, Bln (dis.) l3η ¶ Ss. PEC 24, Ss. B 145, ZMO 291, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 113, PG 225, Grg. 276, Sr. 364, 368, Hn. W 60, 68, HL 128, Hw. A 385, Hd. 81, 212, 255, 294, 386, AMS 247, To. D 143, EPC #436, EK 4, Ap. AV 16 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} mána 'house, home', Dr {J} m3na, Pr {Frz.} mínà, Kwm {Leg.} máná, Kpt {Leg.} mán 'hut, house' ¶ JI II 202, J T 119, Frz. P 42, Leg. KK 21-8, Leg. KYB 172 || ??σ Eg P ymn 'create; bilden, schaffen' (if ← *'build a house') ¶ EGI 83 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99 [#29.5], OS #1723, Tk. I 395 (C, Ch ÷ Eg ymn) || D *man_u- 'house' > Tm manaj 'house, dwelling', Ml mana, Kdg mane 'house', Kt man devr 'household god', mantanm 'affairs of household', Td man 'family, household', Kn mane 'habitation, abode, house', Tu manæ 'house, home', Knd poñden mane 'cowshed' ¶¶ D #4776 || A: T *man 'fence, enclosure' > StAlt {BT} man 'fence', QK/Tb {Rl., B} man id. ('Zaum'), QK/Tb/Sg {Rl.} mana- v. 'fence in' ¶ BT 108, Rl. IV 2015-6, B DChT 136, B DLT 177, Rs. W 325 || pKo (< d.) *màñárh 'village, vicinity' > MKo *màñárh (*màñárh-), NKo mañ ¶ S QK #383, Nam 196, MLC 564 || ??φ pJ (< d.) *múra 'village' > OJ múrà, J: T murá, K múrà, Kg múra ¶ S QJ #394, Mr. 488 || ?φ M *mayi-qan 'tent' (unless ← Chn, as

supposed as a possibility in KW) > WrM maiqan, HIM, Brt майхан, WrO {Krg.} maiχan, Kl мәэхн māχη, Kl Ö/D māχan, Dg {T, Mr.} maikan 'tent', Ord māχu'n 'tente de voyage'; M ⇨ WrMc мауқан 'tent' ¶ MED 523, T VM 166, Chr. 290, Krg. 592, KRS 346, KW 259, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 45, Z 862 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1279 (A *meñ'ō' 'dwelling place, village'; incl. Ko, T, J) ¶¶ Ko *-ń- and M *-y- ({DQA}: < *ń-) go back to *-n-y- with *-y- of a sx. Acc. to DQA, the Ko, and J stems are derived with a *-r|l-sx. || ? K: MG [VTq], G {DCh., SSO} mena 'dwelling, abode (жилище)' (unless a loan from an Iranian lge) ¶ DCh. 702, SSO I 463 || ? IE: Psh {Mrg.} mēna 'house', Ygn {ALP} mayn, meyn, men 'village', KhS m̄na 'abode' ¶ Mrg. 44, ALP 285, Bai. 335.

1420. *mäñā 'remain, stay' > HS: Eg √ mn 'remain; be firm \ established \ enduring; reside', DEg mn 'bleiben', Cpt Sd/B **MOYN** mun 'stay, remain' ¶ EG II 60-2, Fk. 106, Er. 159, Vc. 114 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} mun 'sit down, reside, live; remain', Sha/Klr {J} mun n. 'place' (× N *mAñ∇ 'hut, dwelling'), ? Bks té-mun 'sit down' (te 'an einem Platz sitzen, leben') ||| CCh: Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} mine 'sich befinden' ¶ J R 146, 219, 287, 354, Lk. DQM 67 ¶¶ Coh. 83, ≠ Cal. 63 (Eg, S *√?mn 'be faithful, true') || IE: NaIE *men- (prs. *mimne/o-) 'remain, stay' > Vd man- 'wait, stay, hesitate', {EI} 'delay, stand still', Av man- 'bleiben, warten', OPrs amānaya 'er erwartete', MPrs mān-dan, NPrs ماندن mōn-dān 'to remain', KhS māñätä 'he stays', mānda- 'remained' ||| Arm մնամ mnam 'I remain, wait' ||| Gk μένω, μίμνω 'stand, stay fast, abide' ||| L maneō / manēre 'remain, stay' ||| OIr ainmne, MW anmynedd, W amynedd 'patience' (F: all < *an-menjā?) ||| ? pTc *mäsk- > Tc A, B mäsk- (< *mṅ-ske/o-) 'be, become' ¶ WP II 267, P 729, EI 482, M K II 573, M E II 306-7, Horn 215-6, Bai. 327, F II 208-9, WH II 26, Sl. 262, Vn. A 37, Ad. 458-9 ||| D *mañ-, {GS} *man- 'remain, be permanent, stand fast' > Tm manñu 'be permanent, endure, remain long, stay', Ml manñuka 'stand fast, ersevere', Tl manñu 'live, exist', manñu v. 'last, be durable', Nkr, Png, Mnd, Ku man- 'be', Prj men-, Gdb man- 'be, stay', Knd man- id., 'dwell', Gnd man-, Kui manba 'remain, abide, be', Krx man- 'become, come off, be', Mlt mene 'be, become, grow, or be produced', Brh manñing 'become, be' ¶¶ D #4778, Pf. 108 [#814], GS 34-5 [#54] ||| A ({AD} *mäna-): Tg *men- 'remain, lead a settled life' (↔ 'nomadize') > Ewk mññ- 'lead a settled life', 'remain in the same place for a long time' (of a nomad camp), mññ adj. 'settled'

(↔ 'nomadic'), Lm мэнэwјзк id., мэнэ 'a settled Lamut', Ork мэнэžі- 'remain', Neg мэнэјз- id., caus. мэнэw- vt. 'leave, abandon', Ud {ǝShn., Krm} мэнэјз- 'remain at home, remain working in the settlement' (↔ 'go hunting to the forest'), 'домовничать' ¶ STM I 569, Shn. 50, Krm. 264 || M *mana- 'keep vigil' > MM [HI] mana- 'veiller', WrM mana-, HlM мана-, Ord mana- 'keep vigil, hold a night watch', WrO mana- v. 'guard, watch', Dg mana- v. 'guard, keep watch over (стеречь, охранять, караулить)', Brt мана- id., 'graze herds in the night', Kl ман-х id., {Rm.} мапъ- 'Nachtwache halten' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 525, KRS 342, Krg. 586, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 452, Chr. 292, KW 256 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1279 (A *meń'ǝ' 'dwelling place, village': equates Tg with M, Ko, and J roots that belong to N *mAn∇ 'hut, dwelling', q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS II 51-2 (*mAn∇ 'оставатся на месте, прочно стоят' > HS [Eg, Om, Ch], IE, D, ? Tg, ? G mena 'dwelling' (see N *mAn∇ '↑'); + err. S *✓ʔmn 'be faithful, true').

1421. *mañû 'man, male' > HS: B: Zng {MH→Nic.} mīn (pl. māñ), man 'person', {Bs.} mīn 'homme', man 'gens', ? B *-māñ 'soul, oneself' (× N *me,y,ñû 'oneself, one's own', 'body' [q.v.]) ¶ Nic. 205, Bs. MS I 245, Msq. Z 515 || EC *m∇n- 'man, male' > HEC {Hd.} *mana 'man, person' > Sd, Hd man-čǝ, Kmb man-čǝ, Ged manžǝ), pl. *manna 'men, people' (> Sd, Hd, Kmb, Tmbr manna id., Brj {Ss.} 'mēna 'people', {Hd.} mēna 'people, man, person'; Sml {DSI} mūn '(adult) male monkey, (young) male ass', Sml Hw {C} mɯn 'male (animal)' ¶ Hd. 96, 212, 254, 293, 384, Ss. B 143, ≠ 133, ≠ Ss. PEC 24 (unc.: *man- < EC *nam-), DSI 453, ZMO 300, C SE III 80 || NrOm {Blz.} *man- 'male; people' > Wl {C} mīnō 'warrior', Ym {C} monō 'people (gente)'; not here Kf {C} manō 'brother' and Ym {Lm.} manó 'male twin' (probably loans from Nilotic, cp. Masongo {C} maŋa 'brother') ¶ Blz. OL 85, C SE III 80, C SO 33, Lm. Y 365, C SE IV 472 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul mǝnì 'man', Plc mǝnì, Grn {Sh.} mándàn, Gj mmǝnì, Tale mǝŋǝ, Dw mǝnì (pl. min) id. | Krkr {Lk.} mún 'people, persons', Pr {Frz.} mánnà 'spouse' | Ngz {Sch.} mànámín (term for Hausas, Kanuris, Fulanis used in order to conceal their commonly known names when speaking to other Ngizim) (cp. MHb 𐎎𐎗𐎍 gō'yīm 'gentiles', Modern Hb 𐎎𐎗𐎍 go'yim, and Yid 'goyim 'non-Jews' ← 'peoples') || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} mēni 'person', {Mch.} méni 'man' | BB: FIM {ChL} mundu, FIB {ChL} mündín, Gudu mándù, Nz {ChC} munde 'person' | Ms: ZmD {ChC ← Srp.} mānyí, cǝ-mānyí 'person', {ChL} sou-manji

'man' ({KNC} sù 'un homme') ¶ JI II 266-7, ChC, ChL, KNC 23, Frz. P 41, Sch. DN 110, ≈ Stl. ZCh 232-3 [#801] ¶¶ OS #1722, Blz. BKTA 105 ¶¶ ? sd. HS *man- 'who?' (< *mī man- 'what [for a] person?', cp. It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?') > S *man₁n₁- 'who?' > OAk man, Ak ∇ mann(u/a/i-m) 'who?', Sb mn rel. prn. 'who, whosoever', Qt mn 'he who, whoever', Mn {MA} mn rel. prn. 'qui, quiconque', Gz mann-ū (accus. mann-a), Tgy mən ~ mən, Tgr mən, Amh man 'who?', CS *man₁n₁∇₁ > DA, Yd, OA, IA, Plm, Nbt mn, BA, JA, Sr, Ar man, Md man 'who?', pCn *man > Amr {G} manna 'who?', ? Ug mn 'which?', 'that, which, who' rel. ¶ ≈ Lip. 328-9, CAD X/1 213-8, G A 24, G OA 177-8, LG 348, HJ 648-9, KB 1738, OLS 281-2, Lv. T III 45, Sl. 636, DM 246, BK II 1154, Br. AG 32, BGMR 86, MA 61, Rk. 97 || Acc. to Ai. MCB 50, there is a B prn. (reconstructible as *m∇n 'who?' opposed to *matta, etc. 'what?') > Mz man, manaj₁n, Shw mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?', although there are alternative possibilities of analysis of these pronouns. For the time being, the question of B interr. pronouns remains open || IE: NaE *ma|onu 'man, person' > OI 'manu-, 'manuṣ- 'person, man', Av, MPrs Manuš 'Manush, ancestor of mankind' || Gmc *manwaz 'man' > Old Gmc [Tacitus] Mannus p.n. ('ancestor of the Germans'), Gt manna, mann- (gen. mans, dat. mann), ON maðr ~ mannr, OHG man, NHG Mann 'man', OSx, AS mann 'man', NE man; d.: Gt mann-isk-s, ON mennskr, AS mēnnisc, OSx mēnnisk, OHG mennisc adj. 'human, of a person', OSx mēnnisko, OHG mennisco 'man, person', NHG Mensch 'person' || Sl *mqžb (< d.) 'man' > OCS мѣжь mqžb, OR мѣжь mužb, Blg мѣж, Slv mqž, OCz, Cz, Slk muž, P maż 'man, husband', SCr mūž, R муж 'husband', † 'man (vir)' ¶ WP II 266, P 700, M K II 575-6, M E II 309-10, Fs. 344-5, Vr. 374-5, 384, Ho. 215, 219, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656, 675, OsS 587, 590, KM 459-60, 471, ESSJ XX 158-61, Glh. 429-30, Vs. II 670-1, EI 367 (*manu- 'Man, ancestor of mankind') || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *mańće 'man, person' > pObU {Ht.} *māńć ~ *māńć 'a person (man?) of ego's tribe \ exogamous moiety' > pVg *māńśī 'a Vogul' > Vg: T māńśī, LK/MK mōńś, P/LL mōńś, UL/Ss māńśi id.; pOs {Ht.} *mańć (name of one of the Ostyaks' phratrias) > Os: V mańť, I mońť, Kz moś, O maś || OHg, Hg magyar 'Hungarian'; the var. Megyer (in n. l.: Békásmegyer, PusztaMegyer, Megyercs, Megyered) goes back to the name of an old Hungarian tribe known in Byzantian sources as ΜΕΥΕΡΗ ¶ The variant with a palatal vw. (pVg *māńśī, Hg Megyer) is due to vowel harmony ¶ Coll. and UEW

unconvincingly suppose an Ir origin of the word (cf. Av *Manuš*) ¶ Hardly here ($\neq \phi$) F *mies* and Es *mees* 'man (vir)', that can be traced to N \approx **meXaz* ∇ 'man (vir), male' (q.v.) (\Leftrightarrow Tv. \rightarrow Coll., SK, IS a. o.) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 866-7, MF 415-7, Ht. #398, SK 345 || D: [1] D **maṅ* 'man (vir), warrior, chief (of a family \ clan \ tribe)' > Tm *maṅ* 'king, kshatriya, warrior, chief, husband', *maṅṅan* 'king, lord, chief, husband', Ml *mannan* 'king', Kn *manneya* 'chieftain, commander', Tl *manniya* 'lord, suzerain, chief(tain)' ¶¶ D *4774 ||| [2] D **mant_i* 'persons, people' > Kn *mandi*, *mande*, Tu *mandi*, *mandæ* id., Tl *maḍi* 'crowd, collection of persons', Klm *mandi* 'men' \sim *mandi* 'man', Png *mananakar* 'people belonging to the same side or party', ? Krx *mēt* \sim *mēt* 'adult man, husband', ? Tm *māntar* 'persons, male persons' ¶¶ D #4700 (b), \approx D #4791 ||| [3] D **mañ* ∇ > Prj *mañza* \simeq *mañña* 'man', Gnd *manza* 'man, person' ¶¶ \approx D #4791 ◇ In FU **manće*, D **mañ* ∇, Ged *manžo* (and OI 'manuṣ-?') one may see reflexes of an ancient cd. (\approx **mañû* *ç|ç*a) possibly with an adjective-forming (or individualizing) pc. **ç*a \rightarrow **ç*a (a marker of relative constructions), see above Gt *mann-isk-s* and NHG *Mensch* ◇ IS II 58-9 (**mān* ∆ 'man, male') ◇ \approx Gr. II #294 (**mon* 'person') (IE, U + unc. J, Ai).

1422. **m'æ'ñ* ∇ 'front' > IE **men-* '≈ front' > Ht *meni-*, *mena-* 'face, cheek', cd. *mēnahhanda* \sim *menahhanda* adv., prep. 'before, against, in front' (< N **m'æ'ñ* ∇ *qañ* ∇ 'face to face, vis à vis' [see N **qañ* ∇ 'forehead, front']); Ht *meni-* 'cheek' may have been influenced by **ment-* 'chin' < N **mAn* ∇ 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' (q.v.) || NaIE **men-* v. 'protrude, project', 'mouth' > L *ē-mineō* / *-ēre* vi. 'project, stand out', *prō-mineō* / *-ēre* id., 'jet out' ||| ON *mæna* 'stand out, project (emporrigen)', ON *mæni r*, NNr *møna*, BNr *møne* 'ridge of a roof' ||| Av {Brtl.} *fra-man-* 'Vorsprung gewinnen' ||| Clt: OIr *mén* 'opening of the mouth, open mouth', Crn *myn* 'mouth', Br *min* 'museau, mufle' ¶¶ CHD L-N 274-90, Ts. E II 194-8, WP II 263, Vn. M 36, P 726, WH II 108-9, Brtl. 1125, Vr. 400, Ark. 557, \approx Po. LmanE (Ht *meni/a-* ÷ Lw *mana* 'see') ||| D **muṅ-* 'front' > Tm *muṅ* 'in front, previous', *muṅai* 'front, face', Ml *mun*, *munnam* 'priority in space and time; first, former; before', Kt *mun-* 'front, fore', Td *mud-k* 'in front' (-k, sx. of dat.), *muda:l* 'first', Kn *mun* 'that which is in front \ before', Kdg *miñña* 'in front', Tu *mundana* 'priority, first', Tl *muni* 'first, former, front', Klm *mut*, Nkr *mund* 'before', Nk *muṛ*, Knd *muṅgal*,

mundala 'in front (of)', Prj mundi id., muna vanda 'forefinger', Gdb mundēl 'the front', Gnd munnē 'before, in front', Ku muu 'point (of needle, etc.)', Krx mundd^h, mund 'first, ahead of, before', Mlt mundi 'formerly' ¶¶ D #5020(a), Zv. 51 || HS: EC: Rn {PG} mīn 'forehead', Kns {Bl.} mīn-tá 'forehead, face', Gwd {AMS} mīn-té, Hr/DbS {AMS} mīn-čé id., 'front', Cm {Hab.} mūn-te, Alb, Kmb mīne 'face', ? Ya maṇa 'eyebrow', ? Af minin id. ¶ PG 223, Lm. SKE 533, BIO K s.v., AMS 175, 244, 271, 278, PH 169 || CCh: Db H {Srp.} maneno 'forehead' ¶¶ Blz. DA #7 || A: M *maṇlayi 'forehead' (d. or cd. with the vw. *a [of the first syll.] due to as. to the vw. of the next syll.) > MM [LM, IsV, HI, S] maṇlay, [MA] maṇqlay, [IM] maṇlay 'forehead', WrM maṇlai, HIM маҥлай id., 'front', Mnr H {T} maṇlī, {SM} māṇlay, Dg {Pp., T, Mr.} maṅgil, Dx {T} maṇleu 'forehead', WrO {Krg.} maṇlai ~ maṇnai id., 'top', Klm маҥна маҥна, {Rm.} maṇnā, Kl Ö {Rm.} maṇnā 'forehead' ¶ Pp. MA 233, 441, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 53, H 107, Ms. H 74, MED 527, T 344, T DgJ 153, T DnJ 128, Mr. D 183, Krg. 588, KRS 342, KW 257 || J Y mīm̄būrū 'head'; but pJ {S} *mīm̄ 'ear' (> OJ mīm̄, J T mimí) cannot be reliably adduced here (the semantic is too distant) ¶¶ Not here (⇔ DQA) T *beyṇi 'brain' (see N *beṇ₁ '≈ head') ¶¶ AED1239 (A *màynì 'temple, forehead, ear'; incl. M, J Y mīm̄būrū) ◇ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that *men- 'protrude' is the √ of the stems *mṇ-ti, *moniyo- 'mountain(s)' (sc. N *mu|oñ ∇ 'mountain, hill'). If they are right, both N etyma are identical. In that case the semantic development may have been: 'hill' → 'hillock' → 'protrude as a hillock' → 'front'. The vw. *u in D may be due to the labializing infl. of *m- ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [#7] (D, C, Ch, IE), ≈ BmK #533: *mun-/*mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first', etc. (IE, D, + err. Eg mn 'mountain, stone hill' [in fact, from N *mu|oñ ∇ '↑']; adduces words with highly qu. semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin').

1423. *menê 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE *men- 'go, walk' (× N *m'ä'ñ₁ ∇ 'to rumple, to bend', q.v.) > OIr men- 'go', W myned, Crm mones, OBr (in a cd.) -minet, MBr monet, Br mont 'to go', MBr, Br tre-men 'passer', W tre-myn(u) 'to walk, to wander', Crm tre-mene 'to pass' || ? L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ItL [LxS] minō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mîna 'drive [cattle]') (× NaIE *me₁- 'go, pass' < N *m ∇ y ∇ 'come' or 'go, pass', whence L -i-) ¶ Vn. M 35-6, Flr. 257, Hm. 578, WP II 263; ≈ ML

#5585 and Kö. # 6185 (Romance lgs. < L *mināre* 'drive cattle'), ≈ P 726 || **HS**: pCh ({JS} **✓mn* 'come'): WCh: pAG **mwān* 'go, walk' > Gmy *mwān*, Kfr {Hf.} *mwān* id., {Nt.} *mwān* 'go', Mpn {Frz.} *mūan* 'walk', Ang {Hf.} *mwen* 'go, walk', {Brq.} *mwen*, Su {J, Hf.} *mwān* v. 'travel' || SBc: Zar {IL} *mʌn*, Zar K/L {Sh.}, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.} *man*, Sy {Csp.} *mān* 'come' ¶ II II 82, ChC, JS 74, Hf. AG #54, J S I 76, Nt. 28, Frz. DM 38, Sh. SB 34, Csp. 45 || **U** **mene-* 'go' > F *mene-*, Es *mine-* 'go' || pLp {Lr.} **m3n3-* 'go' > Lp: S {Hs.} *m'innedh*, Vfs {Lgc.} *mānnʌt* 'go, walk', L {LLO} *mannat*, N {N} *mānnâ-* / *-n-* 'go, journey', Kld *мЭННЭ*, {TI} inf. *mʌnnā-* / *mʌna-* 'go' || pChr {Ber.} **miyə-* 'go, come' > Chr L *мием* / inf. *миаш* *mi'yu-aš* 'come, arrive', Chr H inf. {MRS} *миаш*, {Ep.} *миаш* 'miäš', {Rm.} *miäš* id., Chr {Ü} *miyem* 'I go (gehe, fahre)', Chr E {Ps.} *miyem* 'I go, visit, come' || Prm {LG} **mĕn-* (Lt. 220-3: Prm **E* < **ü*?) > Vt *mĭn-* (Lt. 222: unstressed + < **u*), Z, Yz *mun-* 'go', Z Ud *mun3* 'goes' (Lt. G: Z Ud -3 suggests FU **-e*) || ObU {Ht.} **mĭn-* 'go' > pVg **mĭn-* > Vg: T *miń*, LK.MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL, UL/Ss *min-*; pOs {Ht.} **mĕn-*, {JHl.} **mĭn-* > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K *mĕn-*, Nz/Kz *mān-*, O *mān-* id. || Hg *mĕn-* (3s pres. *mĕgυ*) 'go (gehen, fahren), pass' || Sm {Jn.} **min-* 'go' > Ne: T *мин-* *зь*, T O {Lh.} *miń-ć*, F {Sm.} *miń-š*; Ng {Ter.} *мынсы*, {Cs.} 1s aor. 'mendem id. || Kms {KD} *məŋgɛm* 'I go' | ⇨ (?) Sm {Hl.} **mentV-* 'go past\by' > Ne T *мене-ць* 'to pass' (of a misfortune, danger)', 'to dwell for a long time (in one place)', Slq Tz {KKIH} d. *mĕntĭ-* 'go past\by, overwalk', Mt {Hl.} **mində-* 'pass, elapse' (Mt T {Mll.} *ор'ha mĭndunga* 'annus' (← 'one year has passed', with *ор* 'one', *ha* 'year') || pY {IN} **men-* > YK *men-mə-gə-y-* 'jump up (подпрыгнуть)', *men-šĭ-ń-* iter. 'jump, leap' ¶ For the meaning 'jump' cp. below WrMc *muŋgire-* vi. 'gambol' (suggesting a semantic change 'go, run' → 'jump') ¶ Coll. 34, UEW 272, Db. OS xxxii (**mene-*), Sz. 31, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP **meni-*, Uhr **minĩ-*, Sm **min-*), SK 340, Lr. #636, Lgc. #3692, Lgc. SL #1188, Hs. 930-1, LLO 493-4, SaR 201-3, TI 246, MRS 323, 325, Ep. 70, Ü 119, Rm. BT 78, PsS 71, LG 178, Lt. KG 56, Ht. #392, MF 428-9, EWU 954, Jn. 92, 94-5, KD 40, Hl. M 306 [#677], 425, IN 234, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [#33] (Y ← U) || **A**: T **maŋ* n. 'running, trot' > Alt {BT, Rl.}, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} *maŋ* id., Tv *maŋ* 'running, speed' ¶ Rl. IV 2006, BT 108, TvR 288 || Tg **meŋ-* 'hurry' > Lm *m3n-* vi. 'hurry', caus.: Lm *m3nu-*, Ewk *m3niw-* ⇨ *m3ŋiw-* vt. 'hurry\hasten (so.)'; ?φ **munŋ-* (or **mulŋ-*): Lm *munŋən-*, Lm Al *mulŋ3n-* 'run around', 'run away from

its owner' (of a dog), Lm Okh munη3n3S3n 'run away to look for a game', WrMc munηgire- ~ munηre- vi. 'gambol' (of cattle) ¶ STM I 556-7, 569 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1281 (A *mēṇa 'to run, to trot', incl. T) ¶¶ A *-η- may go back to *n-K- (*K belonging to a sx.) ◇ AD GD 1, IS II 61 (*mene 'ступать' > IE, U) ◇ The vw. *a in Tk *maṇ still needs explaining ◇ ≈ Gr. II #410 (*men 'walk') (IE, U, Y, A, CK, EA).

1424. ₂ *meṇ ▽ 'tear, tear into pieces, divide' > U: FU (in Ugr only) *°meṇ ▽ 'tear, tear into pieces' > ObU *mēṇ- ({Ht.} *mēn-) v. 'tear' > pVg *mäñ- > Vg: ML mānit-, UL maniṽt- id., T mānəm, Ss manəm- id., T/MK mänəmt-, LK mānəmt- id.; pOs {Ht.} *meṇ-, {JHl.} *mäñ- > Os: D mēnemə-, K mānimə-, Nz/O menəm-, Kz meṇəm- 'abreißen', D mēñč-, K māñč-, Nz māñšə-, Kz māñšī-, O {Hl.} māñsi- 'zerreißen' | Hg Δ ki-mēnyül- 'verrenkt werden, sich verrenken', ki-mēnyít- 'ver-/aus-renken' ¶ UEW 870, Ht. #391, Hl. rHt 71, 75 || HS: S *manay-, *manat- 'share' (× S *√mny 'count') > BHb mṇṇ māñā, Ug mnt, IA/PIm mnh 'share, part, portion', JEA em. مانت mānāṭ-ā (cs. مانت mānāṭ) 'share', Ar مانی mana-n 'fate' (→ 'death'), du. manawāni ~ manayāni 'two pounds (unit of weight)', Ak fOAK manû ~ manaṽu 'mina (unit of weight)', Ar √mnw TL (pf. تامانی tamānā, ip. يتامانی yatamānā) 'se partager qch. en séparant avec les doigts', Ak √mnw|y G (inf. manû), D 'assign', BHb √mny|w D (pf. مین min'nā) 'assign (a share), zuteilen', Mn {MA} √mnw 'attribuer', ? Sb mn 'bénifice' ¶ KB 567, A #1600, OLS 264, HJ 657, Lv. T III 49, Js. 802-3, Sl. 688-9, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 735, CAD X/1 219-27, MA 62 ◇ The comparison is valid unless the S words are derived from S *√mny v. 'test, count' (< N *moñ ▽ 'to test, to think' [q.v.]).

1425. (₂? *mEN ▽ (= *mEñ ▽?) 'from' > HS: S *min (or *minu?) 'from, out of' > BHb, BA, JA min ~ mi-+gmc., Ph mn ~ bn, OA, IA mn, IA (AkSc) mi-in, Sr مین mēn, Md mn, min-, Ar min, Sb mn, Tgr m3n, ? Gz amanna ({Rgr.}: < rdp. *minmin), am, Mh {Jo.}, Jb E/C {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} m3n, Hrs {Jo.} m3n, m, Eb {Krc.} min₁u₁, {Lmt.} minu id. ¶ Br. G II 494, 497-8 [§ 252], KB 565-7, 1738, Br. 393, Js. 796, Sl. 683-5, BK II 1154-5, BGMR 86, LH 126, LG 22, 25, Rgr. B 22, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Krc. 72-8, Lmt. 69-70 || Eg fP m 'aus etw. heraus, von einem Ort an', ?? Eg fP m 'in' ¶ EG II 1 || K *-man, ending of the ergative case > OG -man, G -m, -ma, Sv -m id. ¶¶ K S 49-67 || ?σ IE: NaIE *-mis instr. pl. > Lt -

mis, Sl *-мь (> OCS -мь, etc.); NaIE *-mis × dat. pl. *-mos > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. *-miz > OWGmc {Kluge} -m(i)s (in n. pr. *Vatvims* 'Vatviabus', *Aflims* 'Afliabus', *Saitchamim(i)s* 'Saithamiabus'), Gt, AS -m, ON -mr ¶ Brg. KVG 396-8, Bks. 117-8, 173, Kluge U 197, En. APG 159 ¶ The final *-s in *-mis may go back (through the infl. of other cases of pl.) to IE *-(e)s of pl. (see N *ʔ' ▽ ▽ 'they') ◇ The loss of *-N- in IE may be accounted for either by the reg. change N *ń > IE *j̥ (if the N etymon is *mEń ▽) or by reduction in a grammaticalized (hence unaccented) word → morpheme ◇ Gr. I 139-44 ("locative M" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, CK + err. U *maʒe 'earth' and qu. the Vg sx. -ma for place of action, that probably belongs to the U derivational suffix *-ma/*-mä of deverbal nouns [see N *mA, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions, nominalizer] and is cognate to the *m-sx. of the same meaning in IE and other lgs.).

1426. ₂ *mEñ ▽ 'tell a lie, deceive' > HS: WS *-mīn- 'tell a lie, deceive' > Ar ✓ *myn* (pf. *māna*, ip. -*mīnu*) 'tell a lie', *mayn*- n. 'a lie', Gz *mīn* 'cunning, fraud, trickery, ruse', ✓ *myn TD* (pf. *tamayyana*) 'deceive' ¶ BK II 1175, LG 376 || IE: NaIE *men- 'tell a lie, lure' > L *mendāx* / -*āc-is* 'lying, mendacious' | Sl *maní-ti ~ as. *mamí-ti 'to deceive, to lure, to entice' > ChS **MANHTH** *maniti* 'decipere' ~ **MAMHTH** *mamiti* 'to lure, to deceive', SCr *mámiti*, Δ *mániti* 'to lure, to entice', Slv *mámiti*, Δ *mániti* id., 'to tempt', HLs *manis* 'to deceive', P Δ *manić* 'to delude, to beguile', P *mamić* id., 'to dazzle', Cz *mámiti*, Slk *mámít* 'to deceive, to entice', Blg 'мамя 'I beckon'] *AdS* of Pru *mēntimai* 'we lie (lügen)' and L *mentior* / *mentīri* 'tell a lie' (both from IE *ment- < N *meñ'ṭ' ▽ or *meṅ'ṭ' ▽ 'miss one's aim', q.v.) ¶ WH II 68-9, Vs. II 569, ESSJ XVII 197-9, Chr. I 508, Mikl. E 182, Glh. 397-8, ≈ Frn. 454-5, En. 210.

1427. *moñ ▽ 'many, much' > HS: C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} *ménč* 'many, much', Knf {TBZAC} *menč*i 'many' ¶ Hz. NSA 139, TBZAC s.v. *menč*i || ECh: Mgm *māní*, Bdy *mání*(i) 'beaucoup' ¶ AIJ 97, JA LM 105, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'many' || U: FU *mon|ñe 'much, many' > F *moni* (gen. *monen*) 'many a, numerous', pl. *monet* 'many', Es *mōni* 'some, a few' | Lp: N {N} pl. *moanâk* 'more than a couple, a good many', L {LLO} *mānah* 'some, a couple', Klt *mūānas* 'some' | Prm *mūn 'quantity' > Z, Vt *мында* *m+n-da* 'about (approximately)', in cds.: Z *кымын* *k+m+n* 'how many?', *сымын* *s+m+n* 'so many', *комын* *ko-m+n* '30', *нелямын* '40',

ветымын '50', квайтымын '60', Vt куамын kua-mi:n '30', Prmk mun-da 'how many?' || ObU: Vg: (in cds.) -mən ɘ -man / -pən, e. g. LK/P nālman, Ss naliman '40', K/P ätpən, N atpən '50', etc. | ? Hg -van / -ven in compound numerals: negyven '40', ötven '50', hatvan '60', etc. ¶ FU *o < *a (labializing effect of *m-?) ¶ Coll. 133, UEW 279-80, It. #103, TI 262, LG 182-3, Kn. WV 147 || A: pKo {S} *mān_h- 'many, much' > MKo mān-h^h-, NKo {MLC} mānh-(ta) 'be many\much', manh-i 'many, much', mān-, Ko {Rm.} manhi id., man-t^ha 'be many' ¶ Rm. PKE 106, MLC 578, S QK #52, Nam 199, MLC 578 || pJ {S} *mana_j- 'many' > OJ mane- ¶ S QJ #47 || T *mu|on∇ > Chv ма́н мѣн, ма́нѣ мѣнѣ, Δ {Md.} мѣнѣ 'big, great' (× N *mañ∇ga [or *manga?] 'strong, numerous'); Ch ǎ [b̥] goes back to pT *u, as well as to pT *o before nasal consonants (cf. Md. 41) ¶ Jeg. 130 || ??φ M *mandugur > WrM mandugur, HIM мандгар 'big, fat, stout', Brt мандагар 'large, big' (unless ← M *mandu- 'rise, become higher', *'grow' [> WrM mandu- 'rise, become higher'], cp. MM [HI] caus. manduyul- 'faire croître', WrM mandugul-, HIM мандуул- 'raise, lift up') ¶ MED 526, Ms. H 74, Chr. 292 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 106 (Ko, Ch) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1249 (A *mana 'many, big', incl. Ko, T, M) || ?φ D *meñt̥- 'much, full' > Tm meñt̥u 'abundance, plenty, much', Gnd mēñd̥ 'full' ¶¶ D #5060 ¶ The D vw. is puzzling ◇ If pA vw. is *a (as reconstructed in DQA), its quality may be explained by the infl. of N *mañ∇ga ◇ ≠ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (U ÷ IE *meng^h-/*m_onog^h- 'numerous'), ≈ IS II 41-2 (*manga > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N *mañ∇ga; DQA #1249 (A, D, U + unc. IE).

1428. *moñ∇ 'to test, to think' > HS: S *√mny ~ *√mnw vi. 'test, reckon, count' > Ar √mny ~ √mnw G (pf. مَنَا ~ مَنَى manā, ip. yamnū ~ yamnī) vt. 'test (so. by sth.), determine (upon sth.)', Ak √mnw|y (inf. manû) 'consider (sth., so. as belonging to a certain class), count', Sr √mnw G (ip. 3m نَحَدُّ nεm'nē) 'reckon (be of the opinion), count', BHb, BA √mny G (BHb pf. הַנָּהּ mā'nā, ip. הַנָּהּ yj-m'nē, BA pf. הַנָּהּ mə'nā, JA [Trg.] הַנָּהּ mə'nē ~ הַנָּהּ mə'nā), Md mn[?] vi. 'count', Qt {Rk.} mtr-n 3p 'agree, consent'; Ug mnt {A} 'Aufzählung', {OLS} 'repartición, recuento, lista'; Ak FOB mīn-u 'number, amount'; IA, ChrPA mnyr, JA [Trg.] הַנָּהּ min'yān, JEA {Sl.} הַנָּהּ minyā'nā, Sr

𐎎𐎠𐎹𐎡 menyā'n-ā, Md miniana, MHb 𐎎𐎠𐎹𐎡 min'yān 'number' ¶ BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, KB 567, 1739, A #1600, OLS 284, Lv. T III 47-8, Js. 801, Sl. 687, DM 268, 274, Nld. MG 176, 179, Dlm. 240, Br. 394, JPS 281, CAD X/1 221-7 and X/2 96-7, Rk. D 142 || B *^om̄n- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} te-men-t (ann. t̄b-men, pl. ti-men-en) 'esprit, intelligence' ¶ GhA 129 || EC: Sml mān, Sml N m̄n (pl. m̄nán) 'mind, intelligence' ¶ Abr. S 172-3, ZMO 265 || Ch: WCh: pAG *man 'know' > Ang {Brq.} m̄n, Gmy {Hf.} man, Kfr {Nt.} m̄n id., Su {J} man id., 'recognize (so.)', Mpn {Frz.} m̄n 'know, be able to' || BT: Krkr {Lk., J} ment-, BI {Lk.} mon- 'know' || SBc: Buli {Sh.} man, {ChL} m̄n̄, Zem {Sh.} -mani, ? Bot {Sh.} minš̄i id. || ?? CCh: Lame {Sa.} m̄n 'observer, analyser (pour le devin)'; ???σ: Lame {Sa.} m̄n 'hear, understand', ZmD {KNC} m̄n 'hear, understand, listen' ¶ JI II 216, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG #41, J S I 73, Nt. 26, Sh. SB 36, Sa. L II 317, KNC 17, ≈ Stl. ZCh 153 [#84] (combines WCh *^om̄n and *^ob̄n and reconstructs pWCh *m-ban-; a view rejected later by Stl. in OS) ¶¶ OS #1721 (*man- 'know, test': S, Ch, Sml) || IE: NaIE *men- 'think', {EI} id., 'consider' > OI 'manyatē, manu'tē, Av ma'nyete 'thinks', OPrs maniyaiy 'ich erwäge', MPrs mēnītan 'think' || Gk μνήμη 'remembrance, memory', μμνήσκω 'remind, put in one's mind', Gk A μνήμα, Gk D μνᾶμα 'memorial, remembrance' || Arm 𐎎𐎠𐎹𐎡 i-manam 'I understand, know, conceive' (< *m_onā-mi) || L meminī 'I remember, recollect' || OIr men- 'think', menme 'spirit, mind', domoiniur 'I believe, think (am of the opinion)', cuman, cuimne, MW covein 'memory', W co-f (*kom-men) id., mynnu 'to will, to wish' || Gt inf. munan / p. munda 'believe, be of the opinion', munan, ga-munan 'remember', ON muna id., OSx munan p./prs. 'think', AS munan p./prs. (prs. man, p. munde) 'be mindful of; think, esteem', ȝe-mun 'remembering'; Gt muns 'thought, opinion', ON munr 'mind', AS myne 'memory'; Gmc d. *majn-j-an > MDt mēnen, Dt menen 'to mean, to think', OSx mēnian, OHG meinen 'to think, to have an opinion, to mean', MHG, NHG meinen, AS mēnan 'to have an opinion, to have in mind', NE mean || Lt miñti (prs. menū) 'to recall, to remember', manýti 'to think', mēnas 'memory' (→ 'art'), Ltv minēt 'to guess, to mention' || Sl *mьněti ~ *mьniti (1s prs. *mьńq, 3s prs. mьni-tь) 'to think (esteem)' > OCS, OR **МЬНѢТИ** mьněti / **МЬННѢ** mьnjq, SCr mnīti, Slv mněti ~ mnīti, Cz † mněti id., R мнить 'to imagine', Blg мля, мня 'I think

(esteem)'; Sl *po-mъnĕti 'to remember' > OCS ПОМЪНѢТИ pomъnĕti, R 'помнить, P pomniĕć, Slv pómni ti id., Blg 'помня 'I remember' ||| Тс: A mnu '≈ spirit, appreciation, desire', B mañu 'desire' (× IE *men- < N *mАуñ∇ 'ask, desire' [q.v.]) ||| NaIE d. *men-os / *men-es- > OI 'manas- 'mind, intellect, understanding, thought', Av manah- 'mind' ||| Gk μένος (gen. μένεος) 'spirit (Geist), intent, purpose' -> δυσ-μενής 'full of ill-will' ||| ? pre-L *menes-wā > OL Menerua, L Minerua (name of the goddess of handicraft) ||| NaIE d. *mḡ-ti-s (~ *men-ti-s) 'mind, thought' > OI ma'tiḡ 'thought', Av -ma'ti- id. (in anu-ma'ti- 'in Gedanken Wiederholen') ||| L mēns (gen. mēnt-is) 'mind' ||| d.: Gt gamunds 'remembrance, memory (μνημοσύνη, μνεία)', OHG gimunt 'memory', AS ǰemunt 'intention' ||| Lt mintis 'thought' | Sl d. *pāmęť 'memory' > OCS ПАМЯТЬ pamęť, R 'память, P pamięć, Cz pamět', Slk pamät', Blg 'памет id., SCr pāmēt, Slv pámet 'intellect, sense, mind' ||| NaIE cd. *mens-d^hē- / *mḡs-d^hē- 'learn, become wise' (lit. 'put the mind') > Av/OPrs {M} mazdā-, Av maždra- 'wise', Av maz-dā- ~ maž-dā- 'notice, bear in mind' | OI mē'dhā 'wisdom' ||| Gk μαθηάνω (aor. μαθεῖν) 'learn' ||| Sl *módrъ (jъ) 'wise' > OCS МЪДРЪ mōdrъ 'φρόνιμος, σοφός', OR МЪДРЪ mudrъ, R pradj мудр, dadj мудрый, Blg мъдър, SCr múdar, dadj. múdr ī, Slv moder módar, P maždry, Cz moudrý, Slk múdry 'wise' || Lw {EJ} mimma- (< *mimne/o-) v. 'regard, favour' ¶¶ ≈ WP II 270-1, ≈ P 730 (*mend^h- < *men-d^hē- 'seinen Sinn worauf richten, lebhaft sein', *m(o)nd^h-ro 'munter'), EI 575, M K II 583-4, 685-6, M E II 296-7, 305-9, 378-9, Brtl. 1160-1, 1181, F II 170-1, 208, 238-41, WH II 65-70, Vn. M 35, 37-8, YGM-1 95, 340, Fs. 194, 366-8, Vr. 395-6, Ho. 211, 227-8, Ho. 51, 54, Kb. 361, 669, OsS 258, 599-600, KM 472, Trt. 181, Frn. 455-6, ESSJ XX 126-34 and XXI 112-5, Vs. II 633, 670, and III 195, Glh. 417-8, 427-8, 466, Ad. 437 ||| U *monñ∇ > FV *mon∇ > pLp *mōñз- 'suppose, guess' > Lp: L {LLO} mānna- id., S {LÖ} muone- 'nominare', {Hs.} muonedidh v. 'guess', {Fri.} moanna- 'guess (conjecture, divinare)' | pMr {Ker.} *mūnā- (sc. *mūñз-?) > Er муня- muña-, Mk {Ker. ← ?} muña- (Mk {UEW} *māñā-) 'conjure, bewitch' ¶¶ UEW 290-1, Coll. 33, Szin. 33, Lr. #690. Lgc. #4013d, Fri. 436, Hs. 950, Ker. II 91 ||| ? R (× N *mАуñ∇ 'desire, ask', q.v. ffd.): pJ *mānám, p- 'learn', Tg *man^rs¹u- 'try, attempt' ¶¶ DQA #1250 (A *māna 'to learn, to try') ◇ IS II 42-3 (*manu 'think' > HS, IE, U, ? D) → ≈ BmK #519

(*man-/*mən- 'divide, apportion': IE *man-/*mon-/*mno- 'reckon, consider, think', U *mana- or *mona- 'consider', S *man-/*mən- [sc. ✓ mny|w] 'divide, count, reckon') ◇ Gr. II #127 (*men 'think/say') (IE, U, A, J + err. Y, CK) (< N *moñ ▽ × N *mañ₁ ▽ y₁ ▽ 'speak').

1429. *muñ ▽ (-t|d ▽) 'egg' (→ 'testicle') > U *muña 'egg, testicle' > F, Es muña 'egg' | pLp {Lr.} *monē > Lp: S {Hs.} mūrnie, L {LLO} mānnē, N {N} mānne, Kld {SaR} маһһѣ мѣһһ(ə) 'egg' | Er/Mk mona 'testicle' | Chr: Н мыны mənə, L/Uf muno 'egg', B muno id., 'testicle' || ObU {Ht.} mōñ 'testicle' > pVg {Ht.} *māñ id. > Vg: T/LL man, LK/MK māñ, P/UL mon, Ss mūñi id.; pOs {Ht.} *moñ 'penis' > Os: V/Vy moñ, Ty/Y mōñ, D/K/Nz mun, Kz mōñ, O mon id. | Hg Δ mony 'egg, testicle' || Sm {Jn.} *mъnā, {Hl.} *mъna 'egg' > Ng {Mik.} mзnu, En {Cs.} mona, Kms {KD} mun·əj ~ mun·uj, Koyb {Sp.} муһы 'egg', Slq Tz {KKIH} man†, Slq Tm {KD} man'·, Slq B {Cs.} māne, Slq Y (Cs.) man 'penis' ¶¶ Coll. 36, UEW 285-6, Db. OS xxx, It. #191, Sm. 538 (U, FU *munā, FP *muña, Ugr *mūna, Sm *mənā), Lr. #677, Lgc. #3690, Hs. 949, SaR 182, MRS 334, 341, Ü 125, Ht. #394, MF 449-50, Jn. 86, KKIH 129, KD 41, Hl. M #639 || **HS:** CCh: ζ Msg {Rlf.} муη 'testicles' (unless it is Rohlf's faulty transcription of a word identical with Msg G {Trn.} mōhom 'testicles' [= Msg {Röd.} mohom, {Mch.} mōhqom]; but Rohlf's record may represent a dialect different from Msg G recorded by Trn. and probably by Röder and Mouchet); on the other hand, Msg G mōhom may belong here as well ¶ Lk. DQM 99, ChC, Trn. LM 107 || **EC:** ? Or {Grg.} mundō 'penis' (× N *mAñ ▽ y ▽ or *MAñ ▽ 'ε genitalia') ¶ Grg. 295 || **D** (in SD) *m'ul'ñt- ~ *m'ul'tt- 'egg' > Tm munṭaj ~ mutṭaj, Ml mutṭa, moṭṭa, Kt moṭ, Td muty, Kn/Tu moṭṭe 'egg', Kdg mutṭe id., 'testis' ¶ D #4939, GS 83 [#258] (err. *moṭ-aj), 195-7 (on the reflexes of pD *-ñt-) ¶ The D cognate is valid only if the variant *moñt- is original; in this case *-t- is likely to go back to a sx. equatable with Sl *-d- in *mqdē 'testicles' || **IE:** NaIE *mond₁h₁- > Sl *mqd-o 'testicle' (du. *mqd-ě) > ChS **МѦΔO** mqdo, Blg **МѦ'до** (new spelling **МѦдо**), SCr múdo, Slv módo, OCz múd, Cz moud, Hls/LLs mud, OP maḍo, meḍo, P † maḍo, OR **МѦΔO** mudo (du. **МѦΔѦ** mudě), R Δ му'до (pl. [sc. du./pl.] му'де), Uk 'мудо id. ¶ ESSJ XX 123-5, Glh. 428 || **A:** Tg: Lm A maḥa 'testicle', ? (mt.) Ewk Y nāma id. ¶ STM I 530, 581 ◇ The vw. a of the first syll. in Lm and Ewk is aberrant and has to be explained ◇ Glh. 428 (IE, U, D) ◇ Gr. II #127 (*mun 'egg') (IE, U, CK, EA + unc. A, Ko, Ai).

1430. *mûñ ▽ 'defect, damage, physical defect' > **IE** *mend- '≈ defect' > L *menda, mendum* 'fault, bodily defect' || OI *mīn'dā* id. (M: < **man'dā* due to contamination with *nīn'dā* 'Schmähung'), Kshm *m̄jōndu* 'leprous, leprosy' || ? OIr *mennar* 'stain, defect' ('macula', {Vn.} 'tache, faute'), W *mārn* 'stain on the skin' || AnIE: Lc *mēte-* 'damage, harm' ¶¶ WP II 270, P 729-30, EI 155 (**mend-o-*, *-eh_α-* '≈ [bodily] defect'), M K II 637, M E II 356, Tu. #10122, WH II 69, Vn. *M* 39 || **HS:** WCh: Hs *mūnì* 'ugliness; vice, evil', {Ba.} *mūnānā* 'render ugly, spoil', *mūnānā* 'be(come) ugly \ unpleasant \ spoiled' | Su {J} *m_wèn* 'stupidity' (× N **meñ't' ▽* or **meḡ't' ▽* 'miss one's aim' [q.v.]?) ¶ Ba. 800-1, Abr. H 683-4, J S 207 || **A: [11]** T: (a) NaT **mū:;n* > OT {Cl.} *būn* 'defect', Qzq *mīn* *mīn* 'shortage, deficiency, defect, roughness', Qq, Nog *мин* *mīn*, Qrg *mūn* ~ *mūn* 'defect, deficiency' ¶ Cl. 347, Sht. 145, Jud. 543-4 || M **munda-* 'lack, be(come) insufficient, come to an end' > WrM *muḡda-*, HIM *munda-* 'become insufficient; come to an end', WrO *munda-* 'exhaust oneself, finish off', Kl {Rm.} *mund_a-* 'fehlen, mangeln, zu Ende sein' ¶ MED #551, Krg. 610, KW 268 || pJ {S} **màntù-* 'poor' (× N ?σ **mañza* 'to cease', 'to delay' [trans.], 'to finish') > OJ *mādù-si*, J: T/Kg *mazu-ší-*, K *m̄zúšì-* 'poor' ¶ S QJ #1334, Mr. 834 ¶¶ DQA #1365 (A **mùne* 'defect, lack') | ?? pJ {S} **múná-si-* 'empty, useless' (× N ?σ **mañza* '↑', q.v. ffd.) || [2] ?σ A {DQA} **múnu* 'wrong, mad, uneasy', {AD} 'stupid, mad' (× the A reflex of N **meñ't' ▽* or **meḡ't' ▽* '↑') > T **m_un-* 'be mentally deranged \ disturbed' > OT *mun-* (*m_un-*) id., 'be senile, feeble-minded, lose control of oneself', MQp *bun-* 'be senile', Tk *Δ bonul-* 'be feeble-minded', Yk *mun-* 'lose one's way, roam'; T d. **m_undur* > OT {Cl.} *munduz* 'senile, feeble-minded', [QB] *munduz* 'ignorant, stupid man', [MhK] {Dnk.} *bunduz* 'simpleton', MQp XIV [CC] *munduz* 'simple-minded' ¶ Cl. 348, 767-8, Pek. 1620, MKD 119, Rs. W 344 || M **munu-* > WrM {Kow.} *monon-* (sc. *munu-*) 'become weak \ senile', {MED} *munu-*, HIM *мунa-* 'become weak \ feeble-minded', Ord {Ms.} *mu'nu'* 'become stupid', Kl *мунx* *mun-x_β* 'become senile', {Rm.} *mun_a-x_α* 'become stupid, old'; WrM {Ms. ← ?} *μ_unuq*, Ord *mu'nu'q* 'stupid, qui a l'intelligence obtuse', Kl {Rm.} *munag* 'altersschwach (körperlich und geistig)'; M **muḡqag* 'stupid' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *muḡqay*, [S] {H} *munḡah* [*munxay*] id., [IM] {Pp.} *منفق* *munḡaq* 'ignorant', WrM *muḡqag*, HIM *мунхаг*, Ord. {Ms.} *mu'ḡxag* 'stupid, stupidity', WrO

μυηχαρ ~ μυηχυρ 'stupidity, 'ignorance', μυηχαρ 'ignorance',
 Brt мунхаг 'ignorant, stupid', Kl муњхг муηχъg id., {Rm.} муηχῦ
 'stupid', Kl Ö {Rm.} муηχαρ 'dumm, blödsinnig', WrO муηχαρ- 'get
 disturbed', WrM муηqара- 'be(come) stupid \ ignorant, 'become
 dull' (of the mind), Ord му'ηχара- 'be disturbed \ perplexed, lose
 memory' ¶ H 112, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 475-6, Pp. MA 442, Kow. 2028-9,
 MED 551-2, Krg. 610-1, KRS 362, KW 268-9, Chr. 302 || Tg: Ewk
 монмон 'stupid', Ul монл, Nn Nh/KU монлã 'uncomfortable (unbequem,
 неудобный, неловкий)' ¶ STM I 544-5 || MKo {Lee} маηт'аη'и
 'stupid' || ???σpJ {S} *múntú-ká- 'difficult' > OJ mútuká-si, J: T
 mùzukaśi- ~ muzukaśi-, K múzúkásì-, Kg muzukaśi- ¶ S QJ #942, Mr.
 835 ¶¶ The M (and T?) forms may have been influenced by MChn {S}
 *mūη 'dark, stupid, ignorant' ¶¶ DQA #1366, KW 268, Pp. VG 35 ◇ IS
 III 55-6 (*murE 'drawback, defect, deformity').

1431. *mu|oñ∇ (or *mu|oñ,∇, T∇?) 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE *m̥nt-,
 *moniyo-, {EI} *men- 'mountain' > Av mati (< *m̥nti-), {Brtl.} matay
 'foothills', {Brtl.} 'promuntorium, Vorsprung des Gebirges' || L mōns
 (gen. mōntis) 'mountain' || Brtt {RE} *moniyos id. > W mynydd, OCr
 menit, Crn meneth, OBr monid, MBr mened, menez, Br
 menez id. ¶ WP II 263, P 726, EI 270, Dv. #802, Mn. 781-2, RE 113, Flr.
 259, GI 666, Brtl. 1112-3, WH II 108-9 || **HS:** Eg G mn.ty du. 'the two
 mountain ridges on both sides of the Nile valley', ? mn.t 'sky' (←
 'height, high place') ¶ EG II 69, Fk. 108 || **A:** Tg: WrMc муηgan, r.
 муηга 'hill, burial mound' ¶ Z 898, STM I 557 || ? M: WrM {Kow.}
 mondaga 'high ground, steppe, ?? {MED} mündürge 'embankment,
 bank', {Koz.} i monduq 'mountains, peaks', Brt мундарга 'woodless
 rocky summit (голец)' ¶ Kow. 2028, MED 551, 554, Gl. III 310, Chr.
 302, KW 268, Ms. O 475 ◇ WP and P suggest (at the pIE level) that the
 √ in question is identical with IE *men- 'protrude' (sc. N *m'æ'ñ∇
 'front' [q.v.]) ◇ ≈ BmK #533: *mun-/*mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be
 first', etc. > IE, Eg, D (adduces words with very loose and qu. semantic
 ties, such as L mentum 'chin', as well as ghost-words like * Eg mn,
 mny 'mountain, stone hill' [Bm.'s interpretation of Eg MK {Fk.} mn
 'kind of stone', {EG} 'Art kostbarer Stein?').

1432. ? *m∇ñi '∈ fish' > IE: NaIE *m̥ni- '∈ fish' ({EI} *m̥ñH- '≈
 minnow, small fish') > Gk μάλνη '∈ a small sea-fish, which was salted',
 {EI} 'Maena vulgaris' (↔ L maena id.) ↔ μαινίς 'sprat' || SI *mьнь
 'burbot, Lota lota' > SCr Δ mǎnj, OCz, Cz meň, Slk mieň, P Δ mień,

OR **МЕНЬ** *мень*, R, Uk, Blr *мень* id. | ?? Blt d.: Lt *mėnkė* 'cod' (unless a fem. form of the adj. *mėĩkas* 'poor, small'), Ltv *mėĩca*, *mėĩce* 'cod' || ? Gmc d.: OHG {Ho., KM, Vr.} *muniwa*, *muniwa*, MHG {KM} *mūnwe*, NHG *Münne*, Dt *meun*, AS *myne* 'minnow', NE *mirnow* ¶ WP II 367-8, P 731, EI 205, F II 160, WH II 8, Ho. 228, Vr. N 441, Kb. 701, KM 494, ESSJ XXI 117-9, ≠ Frn. 438, Kar. I 581-2 || **HS**: B **m̃n* > ETwl *e-m̃n* (pl. *i-m̃n-an*), Ah *e-m̃n* (pl. *i-m̃n-ān*) 'fish', Shl Sm {Ds.} *a-mun* '€ gros poisson comestible' ¶ PGG 218, Fc. 1207, Ds. 225 || **D** **m̃n* > Tm *m̃n*, Ml, Kn *m̃n*, Kt, Td, Gdb, Gnd, Knd *m̃n*, Kdg *m̃n*, Tu *m̃n*, Tl *m̃n*, Prj *m̃n*, Png, Mnd *min*, Kui, Ku, Mlt *m̃n*; D *m̃n* > OI *m̃n* id. ¶¶ D #4885, Zc. CDPH 50, 175, Tu. #10140a || ? **U**: FU **m̃n* > Lp Klt {TI}: Lp Pa *m̃n*, Lp Snk *m̃n* 'Coregonus lavaretus (big whitefish, сиг, Felch)', Lp Klt {Coll.} *m̃n* 'Coregonus' ¶ Coll. 99 mentions Mr, Chr, and Hg nouns for 'Lota lota': Er *mentuk*, Chr H *men* 'Lota lota', Hg *m̃n-hal*, *m̃n-hal* id., 'Namacheilus barbatulus' (*hal* 'fish'), but they are certainly loans from Sl (Er *mentuk* < R Δ *ментюк* [Dal II 318], etc., Chr H *men* < R *мень*, Hg *m̃n*-, *m̃n*- < the Sl source of Slk *m̃n* and Cz *m̃n*) ¶ Coll. 99, Ü 131, MRS 321, TI 238, EWU 963 || **A** {DQA} **m̃n* (< ≈ **m̃n-yuk*-') '€ fish' > T **m̃n* > Yk *mayagas* ~ *maĩagas* 'white-fish (сиг, Coregonus), щокур (Salmo lavaretus Berg)' ¶ Pek. 1507 || M {SDM97} **m̃n* 'Alburnus (bleak, ablet, уклейка [a kind of fish])' > WrM *m̃n*, HlM *m̃n*, Kl *m̃n* id. ¶ Luv. 249, Sev. 350, KRS 363 || Tg [1] {SDM97} NrTg **m̃n* 'trout' > Ewk *mayma*, Lm *manma* ~ *manma*, Neg *manma* id., Tg *m̃n* > Yk *mayba* '€ salmon'; [2] Tg **m̃n* 'ленок' (€ 'trout') > Ewk *m̃n*, Ud *m̃n*; [3] Nn *m̃nksə* '€ fish', [4] WrMc *m̃n* 'crucian (carp)', [5] WrMc *m̃n* 'frozen снятки (€ fish)' ¶ STM I 531-2, Z 892, 898 || pKo {S} **m̃n* 'trout' > MKo {S} *m̃n* id., NKo {S} *m̃n* id., {MLC} *m̃n* 'catfish, wels, horned-pout' ¶ S QK #291, Nam 213, MLC 616 || pJ {S} **m̃n* 'eel' (× N **m̃n* 'lizard, small reptile' or sim., q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #1254, S CNM 8 (suggested to adduce the A word to the N et.) ◇ IE *-n- rules out N *-ń-, hence A *-ń- is likely to go back to *n-y- (with *-y- of the sx. ≈ *-yuk'-) ◇ Doubtful, because no consistent correspondence between vowels is observed, and the abundance of names of different kinds of fish leaves much room for chance similarities ◇ AD NM 62-3 [#75] (IE-D-U), Blz DA 158 [#67] (added B

to the D-I-U equation), S l.c. (÷÷ ST *ma_ɹːn 'eel, shark', Yn *boŋ 'herring').

1433. *mAn̄∇ 'desire, ask' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *^omejn-/*^omojn- > OIr mían 'desire, object of desire', W ar-o-fun 'avoir l'intention, se proposer', go-funed 'to desire', clamuro (< *do-am-mun-) 'to wish', ? mwyn 'pleasure' ||| NaIE *men- (loss of the glide *j preceding a sonant) 'wish eagerly' (× *men- < N *moñ∇ 'to test, to think' [q.v.]) > OI ma'nā 'devotion, zeal', manah / manas- ntr. 'will' ||| Gk μέμωνα 'wishes eagerly, yearns', μενολυή 'eager desire', μενολυάω v. 'desire eagerly', ? μυάωμαι 'woo for one's bride, sue for, solicit' ||| AS myne n. 'desire, love', OFrs minne, OSx minnea, OHG minna, NHG Minne 'love', MHG, NHG † π meinen 'to love', ? ON munr 'pleasure, joy' ||| Tc A mnu ≈ esprit, appréciation, désir', B mañu 'désir' (see N *moñ∇ '↑') || ?? OIr menme n. 'wish' (unless ← 'mind, thought' < N *moñ∇ '↑') ¶ WP II 264-6, P 726-8, M K II 583-4, F II 206-8, 238-41, 247, Ho. 228, Kb. 687, KM 472, 480, Vn. M 37-8, 47, Wn. 301, ≈ EI 410 (Clt *mejno- < IE *mejno-/*mojno- 'opinion'), ≈ EI 575 (words for 'desire' ← *men- 'think, consider') || HS: S ✓mny 'wish, desire' (× N *moñ∇ '↑?') > Ak menû inf. 'to love, to be(come) fond (of so.)', Ar ✓mny G 'let flow sperm (as in copulation)', ✓mny G ps. (pf. مَنِي muniya) 'be favoured in', TD (pf. تَمَنَّى tamannā) 'desire, wish', Gz ✓mny TD (pf. tamannaya) 'wish, desire, be eager for', manuy 'who wishes ardently; wished for, desired', Mh pf. 'matni, Hrs pf. Amtōni, Jb E/C pf. 'mutni (Jb C sbjn. yzm'tin), Sq {Jo.} pf. 'mɔtɛnɛ? (sbjn. l-im'tɛnɛ?) v. 'wish' ¶ LG 352-3, CAD X/2 19, Sd. 645, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, Jo. M 268, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, MiK I #2.41 || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} mìn 'wish, desire, love', Azm {Pc.} minda v. 'will, desire, like' ¶ Caīt. 104, Pc. 296 || D *mañ 'petition, request' > Tm mañu 'petition, request, prayer', Kn manave, manuve 'petition, request, solicitation', Tl manavi 'humble \ respectful representation, request, prayer' ¶¶ D #4775 || A *man∇ > Tg *man's'u- 'try, attempt' > Ewk mannūw- ~ mandūw-, Lm manru- ~ mandu-, Ork mandu- ¶¶ DQA #1250 (A *mána 'to learn, to try') || pJ *máná(m)p- 'learn' (× N *moñ∇ '↑?') > OJ manáb-, J: T mánabu, K mánábú, Kg manáb- ¶ S QJ #935, Mr. 720 ◇ Compare also N *mAñd∇ 'excitement, wish, desire' ◇ BmK #541 (IE, S + qu. D *mañ- 'be united, mingled' → 'marry').

1434. *me₁y₁n̄û 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone, one'): **(1)** > IE *monwo- / (?) *menu- 'alone' > NaIE *^omonwo- > pGk *μόνος > Gk A μόνος, Gk I μοῦνος 'alone' || ζ Ht mīru {Frd., Ot., Neum., Ts.} 'alone' ¶¶ Frd. HW 143, Ot. T 48, Ts. E II 212-3, CHD L-N 290-1 (rejects the meaning 'alone' for Ht mīru without proposing anything instead), F II 253-4 || **HS:** ECh *m̄n 'one' > Kwn {Mch., J} mín, mín, m̄n, Ke {Eb.} m̄nà, Smr {J} m̄n, Nd D {J} m̄n, Tmk {Cp.} m̄n ¶¶ JI II 263, Eb. 81, Cp. 83 || Eg fP m̄n 'a such and such' ({Vc.} 'un tel') (× N *mañû 'man, male') > Cpt B -MAN -man in παφμαν pap^hman, παθμαν pat^hman, etc. 'a certain person \ thing' ¶ EG II 64-5, Vc. 114 || C: Dhl {To.} móni 'self' || EC: Sd mann-imma 'body' ¶ Hd. 384, To. D 142 || ? B *-mān 'soul, person' (× N *mañû '↑') > Ah imān pl. 'soul, person', imān īn 'myself', Kb imān, Nf imān +ppa. '-self' (myself, himself, etc.', Gd {Lf.} iman (reinterpreted as grammatical pl.) 'person', '-self' ¶ Fc. 1138, Dl. 503, Lf. II #1007, Beg. 300 ¶ The B form is conceived as pl. because the final -n is reinterpreted as a sx. of pl. But if this final -n is a genuin ending of pl., B *-mān does not belong here || S: [1] ? S *-ma (emphatic enclitic pc.) (× N *mu₁w̄n̄, 'this, that', dem. prn.?) > Ak {Sd.} -ma 'and then', 'only', Ug -m̄n̄ (emphatic pc.), Amr {G} -ma, -mi, Sb -m, -mω, -mυ (enclitic pc., {Bst.}: "which is facultatively added to the end of a word, without perceptibly modifying the sense of the word or the sentence"), Gz -mma 'precisely, quite' (emphasizes the word to which it is attached) ¶ OLS 251-2, G A 24, Sd. G § 123, Di. 142, LG 323, Bst. 47-8 || [2] ? S *^omīn- 'kind' > BHb mīn* n. 'kind (of)' (att. with ppa: 𐤁𐤍𐤏 mīn-ō 'his kind', 𐤁𐤍𐤏 mīnāh 'her kind'), MHb 𐤁𐤍 mīn 'kind (of)', Ug {Drv.} m̄n 'kind', {OLS} 'especie (animal)' ¶ KB 547, DrvG CML 161, OLS 282 || **A:** Tg *mēn 'oneself, one's own' > Ewk mēn 'one's own', mēnзкэw̄n 'oneself', Sln m̄: id., Lm mēn 'one's own', Neg mēn id., mēn + ppa. 'oneself (sich, себя)', Orc mэмi id., mēn 'one's own, to oneself', Ud мэниḡī, Ork мэнэ 'one's own', Ud, Nn мэнэ, Ul мэн(э) id., 'oneself (selbst, сам)', WrMc menī menī 'anyone, each, by oneself (всякий, каждый, сам по себе)' ¶ STM I 568 || M *mön 'the very same, real, true' (× *mō|ün 'this, that', dem. prn. < N *mu₁w̄n̄ id., q.v. ffd.) || pKo *móm 'body' > MKo móm, NKo mom ¶ S QK #137, Nam 218, MLC 645 || ?σ pJ {S} *m̄n̄è 'thing, method, being' > OJ mōnò, J: T/Kg monó, K mōnò ¶ S QJ #1102, Mr. 485 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1293 (A *mēnò 'self, body'; incl. Tg, M, Ko, J), S AJ 280 [#125] || **D** *mēñi ~ *mēñu 'body' > Tm

mēni, MI mēni 'body, shape, beauty', TI mēnu, Klm me'n, Nkr, Nk, Prj men, Gdb mēnu 𐌆 mēn, Gnd mēndur, Krx mēd ~ mēd, Mlt mēθ 'body', Knd mēndol 'human body' ¶¶ D #5099 ◇ The long vw. in Tg, D, and B may be due to the loss of a cns. The HS data and the lack of lengthening of the vw. in IE rule out the presence of a lr. (*meHn̄u); Ht minu suggests that the cns. was *y) ||| (2) This N word may underly reflexive-passive formatives in the IE, HS, and Tg verb: IE: NaIE {Brg.} *-meno-/*-mno-, sx. of medial-passive participles > OI bōdha-māna-ḥ 'wachsam', Gk πευθό-μενο-ς 'aware', participia praesentis mediopassivi from OI bodh-, Gk πευθ-; L fē-mīna 'woman' (← *'sucked one'), alu-mn-us 'nursling, foster-child' (← *'fed one'), as well as 2p passivi -mīni (finite verb for, ← participle); Sl *-mъ m., *-ma f., *-mo ntr. (OCS ВЕЗОМЪ vezo-mъ, prtc. praesentis passivi 'transported'), Lt neša-ma-s 'carried'; possibly AnIE: Lw kes-ama- 'combed', HrLw asīma- 'loved' ¶¶ Brg. KVG 316, M K II 449, Szem. IEL 320-1 || HS: C *m-, prefix of the passive-reflexive (and collaborative) form (stirps) of verbs: Sa -umuṣug- 'be buried' ← -uṣug- 'bury', -imfiteḥ- 'be untied' ← -ifteḥ- 'untie', -ommokōm- 'take part in a race' ← -ukum- 'win'; in Bj it means 'do together with so., help doing sth.' (← reflexive): -mōlāw- 'burn sth. together (with so.)' ↔ -liw- vt. 'burn', -mdabāl- 'gather together (with so.)' ↔ -dbil- 'gather'; in Af this affix is a sx.: fiyyīme 'be swept' ← fiye 'sweep', kamadime 'be tied tightly' ← kamade 'tie tightly' ¶ PH 247, AD KJ 94-5 || B *m-, px. of the reciprocal-reflexive-passive stirps: Rif m-ḡarn 'ils se sont vus' ← -ḡar- 'see', Tw {Pr.} m̄nk̄ḡ 'être coupé' ← ank̄ḡ 'couper', m̄k̄š 'be eaten' ← ɔk̄š 'eat', mak̄ɔr 'be stolen' ← ak̄ar 'steal', with the meaning of reciprocity: m̄ḡbn 'faire halte' ('kneel together with the camels') ← aḡan 'kneel' (of camels) ¶ Cadi 48-50, Pr. M VI-VII 61-2 || A: NTg *m- > Ewk Δ -m-, verbal sx. of the passive voice: Ewk ɕukɕa-m- 'be broken' ← ɕukɕa- 'break', Ewk PT yaḡgu-m- 'be broken' ← yaḡgu- 'break', Lm -m-, sx. of the passive voice ¶ Vas. 769 ||| Gr. I 237 mentions M sx. of reflexivity -βen, that I have not been able to find in the available literature ◇ Cf. Gr. I 237 ("reflexive M" in Tg, in the M reflexive sx. *-βen, and in the EA refl. possessoris -mi/-mi-k).

1435. *m̄¹ā¹ḡ¹▽ 'rumple, bend' (trans.) > IE: NaIE *men- 'squeeze, press, trample' (× N *menê 'walk, go' [q.v.]) > W mathru 'to trample', W {Vn.} mantalon, Gl *mantalo- 'road' (← *'trampled

[ground']) (in n. l. Petro-mantalon ['four roads'] and Mantalo-magus ['road field']), MBr, Br mantra- 'accabler, navrer', ζ Br {Mn. ← ?} mantra 'way, road' || Ltv mīt (prs. mīn-u) v. 'to tread, to tan', Lt mīn-ti (prs. mīn-ū) 'to tread, to trample down', 'to brake (flax, hemp)', Pru mynix · "Gerber" 'tanner, leather-dresser' || Sl inf. *mę-ti / prs. *mьn-ǫ vt. 'rumple, crumple' > ChS МАТН męti / МЬНѦ мьнǫ, Slv méti / mán-em, OCz mieti / mnu, Slk mät' / mnem, P miąć / mne, R мять / мнѹ, Uk 'м'яти / мнѹ || OI carma-mnaḥ 'tanner' (carma 'leather') || Gk ματέω* 'tread': Gk Ae [Sph.] μάτεσαι prs. prtc. pl. f. 'those who tread', Gk [Hs.] ματέϊ · πατέϊ 'treads' ¶ WP II 263, P 726, Mn. 756 (adduces here Ht mīnu-, mienu- {CHD} 'make mild \ pleasant; heal', interpreted by him as meaning 'soften', but Ts. E II 214 believes that this is a factitive d. of miu- 'mild, weich'), Vn. M 35-6, Billy 103, Frn. 454-5, En. 211, Ern. 392, Hm. 546, Vs. II 634, ESSJ XVIII 18-9, F II 184-5; ≠ M K I 379 and M E I 537-8 (rejects the connection of OI carmamnaḥ with this √), CHD L-N 291 || HS: B *√mnǫ > Sll √mnǫ M (mmunǫǫ, pf. immunǫǫ) 'be rumpled', Tmz {MT} √mnǫ (imv. munnǫǫ) 'être tordu, enroulé, entortillé' ¶ Ds. 125-6, MT 423 || ?σ S *o√mn? > Ar √mn? 'macérer la peau avant de la tanner', mani?-at- 'peau qui reçoit la première préparation; la macération' ¶ The meaning 'soak hide' is likely to go back to 'soften the hide by pressing' (cp. below Tg) ¶ BK II 1156 ¶ B *√mnǫ (< *√mnṭ) may go back to *√mn?- + sx. *-t- || U: FU *m'ā'ñ∇- 'bend' or 'be bent' > Er meñe, Mk mañe- vi. 'be bent' || pOs *māñay- v. 'bend' > Os: V/Vy māñi, Ty frq., Kz, Sn māñi-, D māñay-, Kr māñay- ~ menay-, K menay-, Nz maniy-, O māñi- 'be bent' ('sich biegen, sich [ver]beugen'), Os *miñ > Os V/Vy/Ty miñ 'Krümmung, Knick (an einem Baum)', Kz meña 'Krümmung, Biegung' || ? Hg Δ mén, mény 'Brunnenschwengel' || Sm {Jn.} *mun∇ ~ *m+n∇- 'bend' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. objc. muni'pema, p. munijuama, En {Cs.} 1s aor. objc. 'munuabo ≈ munabo 'bend sledge runners', Slq {KKIH} m+nñī'- 'be bent' ('согнуться'), Kms {KD} mún'am vi. 'bend', d. múnú'í'o'm vt. 'bend', Koyb {Sp.} мунублямъ vt. 'I bend' ¶ Stn. D 932-3, PD 126, ≈ Ht. 101 (Os *māñay 'be bent' ← *miñ 'Krümmung' + *-ay-), ≈ UEW 275-6 (*min∇ with *i based on the Os E forms like Os V miñ 'Krümmung', which to my mind is the secondary [high-vowel] grade of the East Ostyak apophony, see Ht. 73-103), Jn. 95-6, KKIИ 134 || A: Tg *mon,ṭ- 'rumple, knead, soften

(hide) by pressing' > Ewk *moni-* v. 'mash (berries)', *mḗnḡī-* 𐌆 *monḡī-* 𐌆 *monḡī-* vt. 'soften hide or sinews by pressing (preparing leather and threads)', Lm *monḡb-*, Orc *mon(ḡ)iči-*, Ul *monḡčlčl-* ~ *monḡčvčv-* ~ *mḡḡiči-* 'soften hide by pressing (to dress leather)', Nn *monḡčlčl-* id., *mḡḡčlčl-* 'be rumpled', Neg *monḡl-* ~ *monḡn-* 'soften hide by pressing, rumple', Lm *monḡzi-* ~ *menḡzi-* 'soften (hide) by pressing, rub, knead (dough), trample' ¶ STM I 545 || pJ {S} **mám-* ~ *myám-* knead, rumple' > OJ *m_lúóm-*, J: T *móm-*, K/Kg *mòm-* ¶ S QJ #576, Mr. 726 || ?σ M **muna* 'wooden club, mallet' > WrM *muna*, HIM, Kl *мyна* id., Kl *Ö munu* 'Keule, Streitkeule', Brt *мyнca* 'mallet, pestle' ¶ MED 551, KRS 362, KW 268, Chr. 302 || ?σ T **mḡḡ* 'mallet' (← M?) > Tv *monḡ* 'mallet used to beat skin in order to soften it (to dress leather)', Tf *mḡḡ* 'mallet, stick used to knock down cedar cones' ¶ TL 383, Ra. 207 ¶¶ The M and T words belong here if their primary meaning is 'a mallet for beating skin (in leather-dressing), for pounding, etc.' ¶¶ TL 383 (T, M, Tg), ≈ DQA #1346 (A **móḡḡ* 'knead, press, stroke'; incl. Tg, M, J) ◇ The rounded vw. in A and *-u- in Sm **mun*∇ may be due to the labializing infl. of *m- ◇ The OI, Ar, and Tg ev. suggest that this N word was used, i.a., to denote the first phase in preparing leather (softening by pressing) ◇ If Ar ✓*mn?* belongs here, the N rec. is **m'ä'ḡ?*∇, otherwise it is **m'ä'ḡ*∇. Tg *-*nḡ-* may represent pN *-*ḡ?*- ◇ IS MS 350 s.v. *мять* **mā́r̥* (IE, U).

1436. ?σ **mañsa* 'to cease', 'to delay' (trans.), 'to finish' > HS: WS *✓*mnḡ* 'withhold, refuse' (partial merger with N **mæñs*∇ 'hold, carry', q.v.) > BHb, Yd, IA ✓*mnḡ* G 'hold back, withhold, refuse', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓*mnḡ* G 'withhold, refuse, refrain', JEA {Sl.} ✓*mnḡ* G 'deprive, prevent, refrain', Md ✓*mnḡ* G 'keep away, withhold, refuse', Ar ✓*mnḡ* G 'hinder (so.) from, deny (sth.) to', Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} ✓*mnḡ* G 'prevent, ward off', Tgr ✓*mnḡ* D 'withhold, refuse' ¶ KB 570, HJ 61, Js. 802, Sl. 687-8, DM 274, BK II 1157, Hv. 736, LH 129, BGMR 86, MA 61-2, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172 || A: Tg **mana-* 'spend all, come to an end' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn *mana-* 'spend all, wear out', Ewk *mana n.* 'end', Sln *mana-* 'come to an end', WrMc *mana-* 'be worn out, come to an end', Jrc *manala* 'destroy' ¶ STM I 526-7, Kiy. 144 [#839] || J: [1] pJ {S} **màntù-* 'poor' (× N **mûñ*∇ 'defect, damage, physical defect', q.v. ffd.) | [2] ? pJ {S} **múná-si-* 'empty, useless' (possibly also a merger with N **mûñ*∇) > OJ *múná-si-*, J: T *mùnaśi-*, K

múnásì-, Kg munaśí- ¶ S QJ #923, Mr. 835 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1267 (A *mānu 'useless, insufficient'; incl. Tg, J *múná-si-) || D *māŋ- > Tm māntu 'be ruined, perish, die, be extinct', Kn māndu 'stop, cease; stop, ward off', Tl mānu 'cease, stop' ¶¶ The stem-final cns. *-ŋ- (required by D morphophonemics) yields Tl n and Tm/Kn precons. n ¶¶ D #4811 ◇ IS II 41 (*mana 'прекращать, задерживать').

1437. (₂?) *mæñŋ (= *mæñ|ŋŋ?) 'hold, carry' > HS: WS *✓mnŋ id. > Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓mnŋ G (pf. 'mīnaŋ) 'hold, take hold of', Mh {Jo.} ✓mnŋ G (pf. mūna, sbjn. yzmnē) 'catch, get, take', Hrs {Jo.} ✓mnŋ G (pf. mōna, sbjn. yzmnē) 'take, catch, hold', ? σ Sr ✓mŋ G 'bring, lead, arrive' ¶ Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, Br. 395, JPS 282 || Ch: WCh: pAG *maŋ- 'take' > Gmy/Ang {Hf.} maŋ, Kfr {Nt.} māŋ 'take, grasp', Su {J} mān 'auf-lüber-nehmen, in Besitz nehmen', Mpn {Frz.} māŋ 'pick up, carry' ¶ Hf. AG #42, Nt. 26, J S I 73-4, Frz. DM 35-6 ¶¶ OS #1725 (HS *manŋ- 'hold, take': SES, WCh) || A: NrTg *men- or *meŋ- > Ewk NB mənŋ- (i.e. mənŋ-?) 'bring', Sln mənŋ- 'carry, carry\drag over' ¶ STM I 569 || ?? IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce here L mīnō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ItL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] mīnō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rum mīna 'drive [cattle]'); the L word has no satisfactory IE etymology, but a connection with NaIE *men- 'go' (represented in Clt) and N *menê 'walk, go' (q.v.) is rather plausible ¶ ≈ WH II 90, ≈ EM 403-4, ML #5585 ◇ The cns. *-ŋ- in AG *maŋ- suggests that the N lr. was *ŋ (N *mæñ|ŋŋ) rather than *ŋ.

1438. *maŋŋ 'paw, foot\leg of animals' > HS: Eg fP {EG} mŋ.t 'Schenkel' (mostly du.), Eg MK mŋ.t {Fk.} 'thigh of man' (usually du.), Eg Md {DW} mŋ.t 'Oberschenkel' (← *'leg?'), {EG} mŋ du. 'die beiden Oberschenkel' ¶ EG II 68, 76, DW I 370-1, Fk. 107 || SC: Asa {E} mongok 'arm' ¶ E SC 160, Blz. CWL s.v. 'hand' || IE: NaIE *manŋ- (or *manŋ-) 'hand' > L manu-s (gen. manū-s) 'hand', Osc accus. sg. MANI-M, Um abl. sg. MANI, manī, loc. sg. MANUVE id. || W mŋ 'hand' (Ped.: < du. *menū) || ON, AS mund, OHG munt 'hand' || ??σ Ht maniyahh- 'hand over' ¶¶ WH I 34-59, 338, Mul. 256 (L -u- is secondary), Bc. G 125 (abl. sg.: Um -ī, Osc -īd), 132 (Osc -l- for *-u- on the analogy of abl.*man-īd), 319, 338, Ped. VG I 384, Vr. 395, Ho. 227, Kb. 702, WW 205, ≈ WP II 272, DEv. #270, Mn. 732, CHD L-N 163-7, ≈ EI 254-5 (*'mehŋ / *mŋ-n-os 'hand') || A: Tg *mana ~ *maŋa 'paw, leg of

animals' > Ewk *mana* ḍ *maña* id., Lm *māna* ḍ *mana* id., 'flipper (of seals, walruses, etc.)', Neg *maña* 'bear's foreleg', Orc *māñaka*, Ul *mañ* ~ *maña*, Nn Nh *māl* ~ *māya* 'bear's paw', Ud *mana* 'paw of waterfowl'; some Tg lge. (or lgs.) \rightarrow Ne T *маѠа* 'bear's foreleg, front flipper of seals and walruses', Ne T O {Lh.} *mān·ã* 'paw, foot (of wolves, bears, etc.)', Ne T Δ {Lh.} *mān·æ* 'flipper' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259, Ter. 226, Lh. 253 || T **mañ* 'foot' > ds.: Xk *maymaχ*, Sg/Qb {RI.} *maymaq* 'footwear', Tkm *maytıq* 'lame', ET {Nj.} *maytuq* 'bow-legged', *maymaq* 'in-toed, bow-legged', taš *maymaq* 'walking with toes outward', ič *maymaq* 'walking with toes inward and heels outward', ET Tr {RI.} *maymaq* 'mit auseinandergespreizten Beinen', Qzq {RI.} *maymaq* 'beim Gehen auf die Sohlen tretend' ¶ The rec. of *-ń (rather than *-y) is suggested by the preservation of *m- as m- (conditioned by the presence of a nasal cns. in the stem) ¶ Tkr 440, RI. IV 1991, Nj. 699-700, Rs. W 323 ¶¶ DQA #1252 (A **māña* 'paw, thigh') || D **mañ_li₁*- 'forefoot' or 'hand' (in a compositum with **kaṭṭ_ṽ* 'knot, bundle' [D #1147], \equiv σ: NHG *Handgelenk* 'wrist'): **mañ_li₁-kaṭṭ_ṽ* 'wrist, ankle' > Tm *mañikkaṭṭu*, Ml *mañikkaṇṭam*, *mañikkeṭṭu*, Kn *mañikaṭṭu*, Tl *mañikaṭṭu*, *manikaṭṭu* 'wrist', Tu *mañiganṭu* 'ankle', Klm *menekṭi*, Gdb *manḍa*, Gnd *maṭṭa*, Krx *mulguṭā* 'wrist', Tl *manḍa* id., 'back of the hand'; D \rightarrow Mrt *maṅgaṭ* 'wrist, ankle', OI *mañi-bandhaḥ*, Pali *mañibandha-* 'wrist' (*bandha-* is an OI translation of D **kaṭṭ_ṽ*), OI (late) *mañī*, \wedge *mañi-* 'wrist' ¶¶ D #4673, M K II 555-6 \diamond IE *-n- rules out N *-ń-. Therefore T and Tg *-ń- must go back to a N cluster *-ñy-. D *-ñ- suggests a N *-ñ-. The original meaning is likely to have been 'animal's foot/leg' (whence 'hand' in one dialectal area of IE and possibly in D) rather than 'hand' (that would have involved a semantically implausible change 'hand' \rightarrow 'thigh'). The anatomy of animals was sometimes more important for ancient hunters than that of humans $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II #194 (**ma-n* ~ **ma-k* ~ **ma-r* 'hand/give/measure') (IE, A + qu. Ai + err.: U and Gil [both from N **mig_ṽ* 'make a present'], Y, Ko, J, Gil, CK).

1439. **mañ_ly₁_ṽ* 'speak, call, invoke magic forces' > IE: NaIE **mon-* 'warn, admonish; remind' (\times IE **men-* 'mind' < N **moñ_ṽ* 'to test, to think' [q.v.]) > L *monēō* / *monē-re* 'admonish, warn, remind' ||| Gmc: OHG *manōn* 'admonish, remind, call', NHG *mahnen* 'remind', AS *manian* id., 'claim, advise' ¶ \approx WP II 265, \approx WH II 107, KM 454, WW

190, Sw. 11, ≠ EI 575 (L moneo < *men- 'think, consider') || U *man|ñ∇ 'say, call, invoke magic forces' > F manaa- v. 'summon (to appear), conjure, exorcize, swear', Es mana- 'evoke, call up; exorcize, conjure, curse' || Chr L/H ма̀на- mana-, Uf/B mana- 'say' || Hg mond- v. 'say, name', Hg Δ mond- 'speak' || Sm *mān- 'say' > Ne: T ма̀нзъ, cngt. ма̀н" man?, T O {Lh.} mānć, F {Lh.} mānś id., Ng {Ter.} -мунса in кун-мунса 'what to say', En ма̀дъ ма̀з (cngt. ма̀н" man?) 'say' || Slq Tz {KKIH} момпа рс. 'they say, man sagt' || Kms {KD} 1s прс. ма́ем, ма́ем 'I say' ¶ The variant stem *mā- (in Kms) may be due to the loss of the preconsonants. *n || pY {IN} *mon- 'say' > Y K {IN, Jc.}, T {IN} mon- id. ¶¶ ≈ UEW 290-1 (does not distinguish this √ from FU *mon|ñ∇ (see N moñ∇ '↑') and therefore fails to reconstruct the U vw. of the initial syll.), Coll. 33, SK 332-3, Szin. 33, MF 448-9, Jn. 88, KKIH 130, IN 235-6, Ang. 164-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [#34] (Y ← U) || D (in SD) *mañ₁i₁ v. 'talk, speak' > Irl mañi id., Kt mayñ v. 'talk, scold, abuse', Tu mañipuni, manipuni 'speak, utter' ¶ D #4671 || ? HS: Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} mánté 'call, require' ('rufen, verlangen') || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} mra 'talk' ¶ Eb. 79, ChC || A: T (< cd.?) *mañra- 'shout' > OT {Cl.} mañrā- id., MQp XIV [CC] mañra- v. 'bleat', Chg XV mañrā- v. 'low, bleat' (of a cow, sheep, etc.), Osm XIV bañla- 'shout, call to prayer', Uz ма̀ра- māra- v. 'bleat, low', Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog mañira-, Qrg, Alt māra-, Xk mara- 'bleat', Yk mañira- v. 'low' ¶ The meaning 'low, bleat' is due to the infl. of the paronymous verb *mūñrā- id. ¶ Cl. 770, Rs. W 327, UzR 256, Jud. 507, KrkR 446, BT 107, Pek. 1526 ◇ D *-ñ- < *-ń- < N *-ñ₁∇₁y- ◇ Gr. II #127 (*men 'think/say') (IE, U, Y, CK + err. A, J) (cp. N *moñ∇ 'to test, to think').

1440. ₂ *mAñ∇y∇ or *mAñ∇ '∈ genitalia; copulate' > HS: EC: Bs {Hw.} man-to 'penis', man-tīti 'vagina', Ged {Hd.} mī?no 'penis', Or {Grg.} mundō id. (× HS ≈ *muNd- 'testicles' [> Msg муη id.] < N *muñ∇(-t|d∇) 'egg'), Brj 'munna 'vagina', ? Or {Grg.} munnē 'anus'; ¶ Ss. B 149, Grg. 295 || ? B *^o√mny > Ah {Fc.} mānay v. 'copulate' (× mānay 'meet together' ← ani [< B *^o√nHy] 'see') ¶ Fc. 1357 || S *^o√mny (*^ominay-?) > Ar منى ~ منى minā(n) 'sperme; liqueur de la femelle qui se mêle au sperme', mānīy- id. ¶ BK II 1159 || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} *māñi 'penis' > Tm, Ml, Ka māñi id. ¶ D #4805 ◇ S *^ominay- (?), B *^o√mny, and the long vw. in D suggest N *mAñ∇y∇ ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#33] (D, EC).

1441. *miñ₁i₁yä (or *miñä) 'woman, female relative' > HS: C: EC *m¹e¹nt- 'woman' (< **m¹e¹n- + *-t- [sx. of fem.], [partially] × *man- 'man, person') > Dsn {To.} min-ni (< *min-t-i) 'woman', Brj {Ss.} man'd-ē, {Hw.} man'd-ay (pl. man'd-annā) 'virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman', HEC {Hd.} *mento 'woman' > Hd mento id., ment-iččo ~ {Hd. 294} ĭ (misprint?) mēnt-ič(č) 'female', Kmb ment-ičču(-ta) (pl. mēnto) 'woman', Sd pl. mēnto 'women', Alb {L} menčú-ta, Qbn {L} mančú-ta 'woman' ¶ Ss. B 140, Hd. 170, 254, 294, 385, LM 39, To DL 518 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} māyñ 'woman', She {CR ← Mnt.} mainn, Shn {Abb.} māñ id. ¶ Wdk. BY 107, CR NGS 621 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bl {IL} mǝndu, {Mk.} mundu, Krkr {Lk.} mēndò, {IL} mēnday, Ngm {ChL} mǝndù, {Mk.} mēndu ~ mandu 'woman', Gera {Sch.} mǝndù, Grm {Sch.} mǝnà, Bele/Krf {Sch.} mǝndò, Glm {Sch.} mǝndì (pl. mǝnnà) id., 'wife'; ĭ Ngm {IS ← ?} mīno 'one of the wives (in polygamy), man0 woman!' (addressing one's wife or female relative) ||| CCh: Gude {Hsk.} mīn3 (pl. makin3) 'woman, wife', {Mk., IL} min, {Srp.} mīna 'woman' | Msg P {Trn.} mǝniy, Msg Ng {GKrs.} muni 'woman', Mlw {Trn.} múní id., 'wife' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 157, Mk. II 283, 286, Lk. DQM 69, Trn. LM 105, Trn. MVM 200, Hsk. 243 ¶¶ Gr. LA 64 ||| U *miñ₁i₁yä 'daughter-in-law, young woman' > FU: F miniä, Es minia 'daughter-in-law' | pLp {Lr.} *mǝñē 'daughter-in-law' > Lp: S {Hs.} mǝnnjaa, Vfs {Lgc.} mǝñǝ 'younger brother's \ son's wife', Kld mǝññ 'son's wife', N {N} mǝnnje / -nj- 'daughter-in-law, wife of one's sibling's son', L {LLO} mǝnnjē 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, nephew's wife' | Prm *mǝñ ({{LG}} *mǝñ) 'daughter-in-law' > Z mǝññ moñ, Z US moñ, Yz 'muñ id., Vt ичимень íci-meñ 'younger brother's wife' (lit. *'little daughter-in-law') ||| ObU {Ht.} *mēñ 'daughter-in-law' > pVg *mǝñ > Vg: T miñ, LK mǝñ / +ppa. 1s mǝñǝm, MK mǝñ / mǝñǝm, UK/P/NV/SV/LL mǝñ, UL/Ss mǝñ; pOs {Ht.} *meñ, {{HL.}} *mǝñ > Os: V/Vy, D/K/Nz/Kz/O meñ, Ty/Y mǝñ id. | OHg mény 'daughter-in-law, bride, young woman', Hg mény 'daughter-in-law' || Sm {HL.} *meñä, {Jn.} *meñyä 'daughter-in-law' > Ne T мѣя, Ne T O {Lh.} mēy'e id., Ne F L mje·dáæ; Ng {Cs.} meai, meae id.; En {Cs.} mē id., 'son's wife'; Kms (d.?) {Cs.} mēji 'Schwiegertochter', Koyb {Sp.??} меимъ id.; Mt {HL.} *mǝñä, *mǝyä 'daughter-in-law' (Mt M {Sp.} маемъ 'my daughter-in-law') ¶¶ Coll. 35, Db. OS xxxi, UEW 276 (*miñä), Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *miñä, Ugr *mǝñä, Sm *meñä), Lr. #637, Lgc. #3695, Lgc. SL #1225, Hs. 906-7, SaR 182,

It. #373, LG 174, Ht. #396, Hl. rHt 68-9, MF 436-7, EWU 962-3, Jn. 92, Cs. 279, Hl. M #650 (misprint: *mārñā, mājā with ā for ä) || A: pKo {S} *mjānīrī, OKo {ʒLee} *mjānōri, MKo {S} mjānīrī ~ mjānari, NKo myenuḷi mjāniri ({Rm.} mjānari ~ mjāneri), Ko Ks S {Mazur} minuri 'daughter-in-law' ¶ S QK #894, Nam 213, MLC 619, Rm. SKE 147, Mazur KD 212 ¶¶ IS II 68-8 ({IS}: Tg *bene < **mene) || D *miñt- ({ʒGS} *-ñd-) 'woman of nubile age, lusty female' > Kn miñdi id., Kdg muñḍa id., muñḍigarati 'mistress', Tu miñḍi 'incontinent woman', Tl miñḍata 'unchaste woman, adulteress', Brh {Bray} miñḍ 'female dog'; derived words of this √ denote libertine men as well: Kn miñḍa 'man who does not restrain the animal passion, libertine', Kt miñḍḥ, muñḍḥ, Tl miñḍhūḍu 'paramour'; D ⇨ OI 'mēnā 'concubine' ¶¶ D #4858, Bray II 206, ≈ M K II 686, ≈ M E II 379 ◇ The dental (rather than postalveolar) *n in ancient D (as suggested by the OI Dravidism 'mēnā), the forms of BF (F miriä), of Ko, and of some HS lgs. (Msg P mɔniy, Bnc māyḥ) point to the presence of a *y (pN *miñḷiyä) rather than of *-ñ- (N *miñä); the cns. -ñ- in most FU lgs. goes back to contraction of the cluster *-Ny- ◇ The cns. *d (> Ch *d, D *ṭ) in some Ch and D lgs. may represent a sx. or the second component of a cd. ◇ IS II 68-9 (*miriä: HS, U, D, Ko + err. Tg *bene '[male\female] relative-in-law', which is most likely to belong to N *wāñḍ 'relative of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [q.v.]).

1442. (₂?) *mAñḍḥ 'excitement, wish, desire' > IE: NaIE *mendh- 'be excited, wish' > OHG mendī 'joy, pleasure', menden 'to rejoice', mendōn 'to be glad', ON munda 'to aim (with a weapon)', Gt mundrei 'goal' || Clt (× N *mAyñḥ 'desire, ask'): W mynru 'to want, to wish', Crn mennaf 'I want' ¶ Hardly here Gk μαρθάνω (aor. μαθῆν) 'learn' and Sl *mqdrb 'wise' (see N *moñḥ 'to test, to think'), as well as NaIE *men- 'wish eagerly' (see N *mAyñḥ 'desire, ask') ¶ WP II 270-1, P 750, F II 170-1, Fs. 367-8, Kb. 674, ≠ EI 348 (Gmc and Clt < *men(s)-dh(e)h₁- 'learn' ← place in the mind) || D *māñt- {ʒGS} *māñd- v. 'like, wish' > Gnd māñḍ- v. 'like', Kui māñḍa 'intend, aim at, desire, wish', Ku māñḍinaḷ v. 'profess', māñḍinaḷ v. 'agree, sanction, wish', māñḍ- 'marry', ? Krx māñḍ- v. 'select' ¶¶ D #4807 || ? K: Sv: UB {TK} mand, L {Dn.} manda n. 'wish, will (желание, воля)', Sv {Ni.} mand

'love' (unless = px. ma- + nd- 'wish', see N ***ṇid** ▽ '≈ eye, to look') ¶ Ni. s.v. любить, Dn. s.v. manda, DCh. 977-8.

1443. *mañ ▽ **ga** (or ***manga**?) 'strong, numerous' > **HS**: C: EC ***mang-** > Af {PH} mango 'be many\much', Sa {Bnd.} mango 'many', {R} man'gō ~ mān'gō 'Fülle, Menge', -mang- pcv. (p. 'ə-mengə) 'be full, numerous', ???σ,φ Rn {PG} mī'g 'strength, heaviness'; ?? EC {Ss.} ***mig-** /***mug-** 'full(ness)' > Sa mige 'fullness', Sml {R} mug 'Fülle, Vollheit', {ZMO, DSI} mug 'capacity, volume, amount a vessel can contain', Bs {HL} mig- 'be full', {Ss.} mig-i 'full', Or {Ss.} moga 'fullness', {Ss.}, Or B {Sr.} miž-ū, Or M {LLC} mižū 'full'; ? EC {Ss.} *-mg- pcv. 'fill'; (× N ***mEk** fæ ~ ***mE** f kæ 'big' [q.v.]?) > Sa {Ss.} -meg- 'fill', Or Wt {Hn.} imēk-, Kns immak- 'fill'; the loss of the stem-medial *-n- may be due to morphological levelling in the system of EC verbs; Ya {Hn.} -mōže? 'many' may belong either to EC ***mang-** or to EC {Ss.} ***mig-** /***mug-** ¶ PH 163, R S II 258-60, R SS II 288, Ss. PEC 25, Sr. 333, 367, LLC 82, DSI 444, ZMO 295, PG 224, HL 127, Hn. W 59, Hn. Y II 129 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} mangá, Anf {MYTY} mango, Kf {C} maggo, Mch {L} maggo 'heavy', Kf magg-, Mch mǎggi- 'be heavy'; Hrr {Abb.} mōno 'forte', Gf {Mrn.} min- 'be strong \ firm (essere forte)', mino 'forte', Dk {CR} mirín-irē 'forza, fu forte', Malo {CR} minō 'forte' ¶ Mrn. O 152, CR H 654, CR LLR s.v., Lm. Sh 349-50, MYTY 118, C SE IV 470, LM 40, ≈ AD SF 256-7 || ? **K**: Mg mangar-i 'firm, strong', mt. marg- v. 'strengthen', OG, G magar-i 'strong, firm', magr- 'be strong, firm, steady' ¶ DCh. 358, Abul. 211-2, Chx. 701-4, Q 275-6 || **IE**: NaE ***mengh-** /***m** negh- /***m** nogh- 'numerous' > OIr me(i)nic adj. 'abundant, frequent', W mynych, Crm menough 'frequent; often' || Gmc: Gt manag-s, ON mangr, Sw mången, Dn mängen, OSx manag, OHG manag, manīg 'numerous', AS maniz id., pl. manize, maniza 'many', NHG pl. manche 'several', NE many; Gmc ***managīn** 'multitude, great number' > Gt manag-ei 'Menge, Volk', OSx menigi 'Menge, Schar', OHG managī(n), menigī 'multitude, crowd', NHG Menge 'great number', AS menīio, ON mengi id., 'crowd' || Sl ***тъногъ** (jъ) 'numerous' > OCS **МЪНОГЪ** (Н) **тъногъ** (i), SCr, Slv mnōg, Cz, Slk mnohý, R 'многий id.; adv. ***тъного** 'much, many' > OCS **МЪНОГО** **тъного**, Blg, R 'многo ¶ ≈ P 739, EI 3 (***menegh-** 'abundant'), Vn. M 37, Fs. 343-4, Vr. 378, 384, Ho. 214, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656-7, KM 458, 471, Vs. II 633-4, Glh. 418 || **A**: Tg ***maṇa**

'strong, firm, hard; very' > Orc maṅga 'strong', Ud {Krm.} maṅga ~ maṅa 'strong, firm; strongly, very much', Ul maṅga 'difficult', Nn maṅga id., 'strong, firm', Ork maṅga 'strong, firm', 'hard', Ewk maṅa 'hard, firm', Lm maṅ id., 'difficult', Sln mandē, mandī 'difficult (adv.), very', mandīj 'very', WrMc maṅga, meṅge 'hard, strong', Mc Sb {Y} maṅa, {Mrm.} maṅa 'difficult, hard to', Jrc {Kiy.} maṅga 'difficult' ¶ STM I 529-30, Krm. 259, Y ##1845, 2516, Kiy. 136 [#702], Klz. MS 221 || pJ {S} *manki- 'big' > J: Sh mágí-, Y máí- ¶ S QJ #151 || T: Chv ма́н ма́н, ма́на ма́на, Δ {Md.} mǎnǎ 'big, great' (× N *moñ∇ 'many, much') ¶ Jeg. 130 ¶¶ DQA #1256 (A *maṅga|o 'big, strong': Tg, J) || Gil: Gil: A {ST} maṅg-] '(be) strong, firm, difficult', ES {Krn.} maṅg-d '(be) strong, vigorous' (← Tg?) ¶¶ ST 175, Krn. N 677 ◇ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (IE, U), IS II 41-2 (*maṅga > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N *moñ∇ 'many, much' ◇ Gr. II #260 (*manka 'many') (IE, A, Ai, Gil, EA + qu. Ko + err. U).

1444. (₂?) *miñt'û' 'jump, (?) run away' > A: NTg *mundu- 'jump' (as. from *mindu-?) > Ewk mundu- 'jump'; d. *mundu-kān 'hare' > Ewk munnukān ≍ mundukān, Lm munruqan ≍ munduqan ≍ munnuqan, Neg monoxān ≍ monokān 'hare' ¶ STM I 556 || D *miñt-/ *miṭṭ-†{ǾGS} *miñt- 'jump' > Kn mīṇṭu v. 'jump, bounce', muḍi v. 'leap, bounce, hop', Tl miḍiṅu v. 'jump, leap forward, flash/fly off (as a chip)', miṭṭu v. 'jump, leap', Klm miṭ- v. 'leap', Nkr miṭṭ- v. 'jump', Gnd mirr- ≍ mir- 'run, flee' ¶¶ D #4850 (a) || ??σ HS: S *^o√ mtn > Ar √ mtn G 's'en aller, s'éloigner pour un voyage' ¶ BK II 1058.

1445. *m'ō'nt∇ - *m∇tñ∇ 'to be slow, to last' > IE: NaIE *me|ondo- 'slow' > OI manda-ḥ {MW} 'slow, tardy, moving slowly, idle, lazy', OI Λ mandar a- 'slow, tardy' ||| Sl *^omōd- > OCS ма́дънъ mōdъnъ 'slow', ма́днѣ mōditi 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (unless a secondary variant of OCS мору́дънъ mōrūdъnъ 'slow', мору́днѣ mōrūditi 'to be slow', as suggested in ESSJ XX 167-70) ¶ WP II 305-6 (Ary, Sl), StSS 341-2, MW 787-8; M K II 581 and M E II 312 (no IE etymology for OI manda-) || HS: CS *^o√ mtn 'stay, be immobile, slow' > MHb √ mtn G 'be slow/long; wait', Sh (pf. הַיְתַיְתוּ him'tīn) v. 'last, wait', Sr مَطْنٌ mātṭī'n-ā 'slow, sluggish, dull, inert', Ar √ mtn G (pf. matuna) 'être ferme, solide, robuste et résister aux fatigues', (pf. matana) 's'arrêter dans un lieu' ¶ Js. 863, Br. 410, JPS 319, BK II 1058-9 || D *mōṭ-

/*moʦt̥- ({{GS}} *moʦt̥-?) 'dull' (of a person) > Tm mōʦu, moʦʦaj 'stupidity, dullness of intellect', moʦʦajyan 'dullard, idiot', Ml mōʦʦu 'obstinacy', Kt meʦ 'dullness of senses', meʦn̄ 'dull man', Kn mōʦa 'stupidity', Tu mōʦe 'ignorant man, silly fellow', Tl mōʦu 'rough, rude, dull, stupid', Brh mōʦ 'foolish' ¶¶ D #5135.

1446. *mAñt̥ 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE *mento- 'chin' > L mentum id. ¶¶ OIr mant̥ {Vn.} 'gum, jaw', {P} 'the place of a tooth that has fallen out; gum', W mant̥ 'jaw-bone, mouth' ({{Vn.}}: <b- OIr) ¶¶ Gt mun̥ps, ON muðr, munnr, OHG mund, NHG Mund, AS mūð 'mouth', NE mouth ¶¶ Hardly here the √ of L mand-ō / -ēre 'chew, bite' and Gk μασάομαι id. (P's unjustified rec. *menth- v. 'chew', 'mouth', based on the err. comparison of these words with OI math- 'entreißen, rauben' [that P translates as 'fressen']) ¶¶ Connection with Ht mēni-{{CHD}} 'face, cheek' (not 'chin' [⇔ EI]) is not plausible enough ¶¶ ≈ P 726, ≠ 732 (Gmc *munθ- 'mouth' < ***menth-), ≈ EI 107 (?*men- 'chin'), 453, WH II 72-3, Fs. 868, Vr. 396, Ho. 227-8, Kb. 700, KM 493, Vn. M 17, CHD L-N 289-90 ¶¶ **U:** Sm {HL} *munt̥ʦoyk|t̥ʦ̥n̄, {Jn.} *munt̥ʦ̥byk|t̥ʦ̥n̄ or *-n̄ʦ- 'beard' (cd. or d.) > Ne: T муноць, Ne T O {Lh.} mu'n̄ōć, FNI munnūś:əŋ, Yr {Pl.} му'дуть, En {Cs.} muddu'te?, Ng {Mik.} mündüśa, {Cs.} munduiśəŋ, Kms {KD} muʦzen, {Cs.} müiʦzen 'beard', Mt {HL} *munduč̥n̄ id. (Mt: M {Mll.} mundutschen, {Sp.} мундучень, Mt K {Mll.} mundutsjin, {Pl.} mündutin id., Mt T {Mll.} mundutschēnda 'his beard') ¶ Jn. 96, Hl. M 311 [#703] ¶¶ **D** (in SD) *mañt̥-(aj) 'skull, cranium' ({{GS}} *mand- 'cup, vessel') > Tm mañtaj 'skull, cranium', 'head, begging bowl', Ml mañta 'skull', Tu mañdæ 'skull, head, large earthen vessel', Kt mañd, Td mađ, Kdg mañde, Krg mañda & mañde 'head', Kn mañde id., mañdage 'big jar'; D <b- OI ^ mañda- 'head' ¶ D #4682, ≈ GS 28 [#18] ¶¶ ? **HS:** EC: Bs munže {Hw.} 'mouth', {HL} 'lip, mouth' (unless akin to Sa/Af {R} min'gāgā 'jaw, cheek') ¶ HL 128, Hw. B II 127, R S II 269 ◇ The apparently irreg. D *ʦ̥ (for the expected *t̥ < N *t̥) still needs investigating (a special development within a cns. cluster?). The rounded vw. of the first syll. in Sm (Sm *u most probably from U *o) may be explained by the assimilative infl. of *m-.

1447. *meñ't̥'ä' (or *meŋ't̥'ä') 'miss one's aim' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be mistaken', 'forget') > IE: NaIE *ment- '(in) vain; liar, deceit' > Gk μάτην 'in vain, fruitlessly', μᾶτη 'fault' ¶¶ (× N *mEñ̄ 'tell a lie,

deceive') NaIE *ment- v. 'lie (lügen)': L mentior / mentīri 'tell a lie', mentītus 'false' || Pru mēntimai 'wir lügen', epmēntimai 'wir belügen' ¶ IS II 52, ≠ WH II 68-9, F II 185, Frn. 455, En. 210 || U *mentā- > FU {UEW} *mentā- v. 'miss one's mark, be mistaken' > pLp {Lr.} *mentē- id. > Lp: Lp N {N} mæd'det v. 'miss (not hit), mistake (one's way)', S {Hs.} mieddedh 'fehlen, irren, sündigen', L {LO} mieddē- ~ mæddē- 'fehlen, Fehler machen, fehlgreifen, sich irren', Lp Kld {TI} mēānda 'weg, fort' (← *'vorbei') || Os V/Vy mintəxtə- v. 'miss one's aim (in shooting)'; ?σ Vg: ML {Mu.} mǎnt ~ mǎntā ~ mǎnti, K {Mu.} mǎnt ~ mēnt, P {Kn.} mǎntl 'längs, entlang', Vg {IS without specifying the dialect and source} ām mǎntsəm 'passing by me' ('прохождение мимо меня') || pY {IN} *mōnte- > Y K {IN} mudeda- 'pass (away), elapse' ('проходить, миновать'), {Jc.} mudede- 'elapse' (malɣijelokun pozer'xo mudedeige 'when 8 days will elapse' ¶ Coll. 97-8, UEW 272, Lr. #657, Lgc. #3812, Hs. 917, TI 244, Trj. S 256, MK 298, WVD VII 197, IN 235, Ang. 167, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#76] (Y <- U) || HS: Ch *✓mnt ({Nw.} *✓mn) 'forget' > WCh {Stl.} *mant- v. 'forget' > Hs {Ba.} mǎnčē / mǎntā, Gw {Mts.} mǎči id. | Gmy men, Mnt mun, Su {J} mander id. | Bl mont-, Krkr mantau, Bele mōntú, Krf mǎnd-, Gera mǎnè-, Grm mǎn-, Ngm {ChL} mǎntét, Glm {Sch} nǎnd- id. | My {Sk.} man- id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} mǎnà, Pdl {ChL} mǎnèha id. | Bcm {Nw.} myentz id. ¶ Ba. 767-9, Stl. ZCh 233 [#802], Nw. 26 [#53], ChC, ChL || A: T *mǎn- > Chv man- 'forget' ¶ ≠ Jeg. 128 || ?σ M *men̄de > WrM men̄de-, HIM мэндэ-, мэгдэ- 'be(come) excited \ worried \ embarrassed; become stupid', Brt мэгдэ- 'get excited \ embarrassed, lose one's head', Ord {Ms.} men̄de- ~ meg_d_e- 'avoir des soupçons', d. caus. men̄d_ē- 'faire perdre contenance', Kl {Rm.} men̄da- 'aufgeregt sein (über etw.)', {KRS} d. † меңдкүр men̄däkür 'sorrow, distress' (the unexpected voiced *d [for *t] needs explaining); ? M *mene- > WrM menere-, HIM мэнэрэ- 'become stupid \ dull, faint', Kl {Rm.} men̄- 'lose consciousness, faint', {KRS} id., 'grow numb', Brt мэнэр- 'grow dull, lose sensitivity', WrM menen̄ ~ meneg, HIM мэнэн, Kl {Rm.} menəg_ 'stupid', Ord {Ms.} menen, menek (in menen t'anan 'stupid', t'enek menek 'stupid' [infl. of MChn {S} *mūŋ tūŋ 'stupid']) ¶ The absence of the expected *t in M *mene- needs explaining ¶ MED 536, Ms. O 462, Chr. 309, 312, KW 261, KRS 350 ◇ IS MS 357 s.v. промахнуться (*ment̄; IE, U), IS III 52 [#357] (*men̄ 'промахнуться, пройти

мимо, быть тщетным \ напрасным \ безрассудным \ ложным \ лживым' > IE, U, Ch, M *menǵe, *men-; *÷ A *munǵ 'be mistaken, mad' [actually belonging to N *mûnǵ 'defect, damage', q.v.] ◇ If M *menǵe belongs here, the N rec. is *meŋ'ǵ'ä', otherwise it is *meñ'ǵ'ä' ◇ The vw. *ä in T *män- may be due to regr. as. (N *meñ|ŋ'ǵ'ä > **mäntä > T *män-).

1448. *m'ǵ'wE'ñ'ǵ 'entrails, belly' > HS: C {AD} *mǵn- 'entrails, intestines' > Bj 'mana {Rop.} 'viscera, bowels, intestines', {R} 'Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide', Bj A {AD} 'mana 'guts' || EC: pSam {Hn.} minǵi'qar 'intestines' > Sml Δ {Hn.} minǵiqir id., Sml C {ZMO} minǵiǵir 'viscera, part of the intestine', Sml N {Abr.} mǵiǵiǵir 'the large intestine', Rn {PG} mǵǵǵǵǵ 'intestine', Bn {Hn.} minǵi'ǵir id., mineǵer 'part of intestines', Bs {Hw.} menǵēr, {HL} minǵēr 'intestines'; Arr {Hw.} merǵe id. || DhI {EEN} máni 'large intestine' ¶ EEN 37, AD SF 182, To. D 142, R WBd 170, Rop. 217, ZMO 291, Abr. S 180, PG 225, Hn. PS 69, HL 128, Hw. B II 125, Hw. A 384 || CCh: ?? FIB manǵev+ñ 'entrails' || U *mUñǵ 'belly' > Sm *m'ǵ'ñǵ > Ne T мЫНЬ 'fish belly (брюшная часть рыбы)', 'smoked belly of sturgeon (тёшка)', {Klp.} мун 'Bauch', T O {Lh.} муñ 'Fischmagen', муñć 'stomach', {Klp.} муn 'Bauch', En B {Cs.} 'munedi, En X {Cs.} 'munori 'Magen', En T {Klp., Pl.} му'nuri, En M {Klp.} münäde, {Pl.} munjade 'belly', En {B} муñобо, En X {Cs.} муñabo 'Fischmagen', Ng {Cs.} mina, minaiku 'Fischmagen', minadâ 'Magen', {Klp.} mi no'wa 'Bauch' || pY {IN} *mon- 'belly' > Y T {IN} mon-il id. (*-il is a nominal sx.), {Ku.} moñiǵ 'belly, {Krn.} moñiǵ 'belly; stomach (Magen)', {Jc.} moniǵ 'Magen', OY Ch {Mat.} маняло 'belly' ¶¶ Coll. JU 83, Ter. 266, KP 130, Klp. SA vii, SWV 36, Cs. 75, IN 236, 311, Ku. 150, Krn. JJ 275, Ang. 165 || A: {DQA} *mõbina > NaT *mögän ({DQA}: < **möben) 'entrails, ε intestine' > OT [MhK] būkän (= *[bö|ügän]?) 'ε part of the entrails, coecum', XwT XIV būken (= *[bö|ügen]?) 'entrails', Tkm böwen, Qq büyen 'large intestine', Qrg, Alt, Tv mōn, Bsh būbän 'duodenum', Xk pōn 'coecum' ¶ Cl. 328, ET B 205, DTS 132 || NrTg *mõmaña (as. from **mõbaña) 'ε intestine' > Ewk mõmaña 'large intestine, stomach (Magen)', Lm mōmuna 'sausages (reindeer's intestines filled with suet)', NrTg ⇨ Yk momunaǵ 'suet on guts' ¶ STM I 544 || ???φ Ko mānhwa 'spleen and pancreas' ¶ MLC 578 ¶¶ DQA #1349 (A *mõb|pinǵ 'large intestine' > T, Tg) ◇ U and Tg point to a N *-ñ-, while T suggests *-ñ|ñ-. In U and Tg there is infl. of the

reflexes of N ≈ *mEʔawUń ▽ 'breast, heart' ◇ IN 236 (Y, Ko), Blz SNE I #16 (C, U, Ko) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #37 (*man 'belly').

1449. ≈ *mEʔawUń ▽ (or *mUń ▽?) 'breast, heart' (→ 'middle') > **HS:** SC: Irq {Wh.} mûna (pl. mûnε), {MQK} mûná, {Mgh.} mûna, Brn {Wh.} mûna 'heart', {E} munaʔi 'chest', Grw/Alg {Fl.} mona, Kz {Fl., E} munako, Asa {E} munok 'heart'; SC ↷ Mb mûna id. || Ag: Bln {R} mǎngǔ (mang^w) n. 'middle' ↷ Tgy ᄆᄆᄆ 'mango 'middle, centre' ¶ E SC 159, Mgh. 115, MQK 75, R WB 271, Blz. ADB 21, AD SF 182, CS 161 || S: Ar maʔan-at- (pl. muʔun-) 'part of the belly surrounding the navel; fat covering the inner surface of the peritoneum' (← *'middle?') (× N *m'o'wE'ń ▽ 'entrails, belly?') ¶ BK II 1054, Hv. 706 (Ar maʔan-at- 'navel and its surrounding parts'), ≠ MiK I #1.183 (Ar maʔan-at- ← S *mʋ(?)n(-at)- 'tendon, sinew, muscle') ¶¶ But Eg mnz 'breast' is more likely to go back to N *'mälgê 'breast, udder' (q.v. ffd.) || **A:** Tg *mjāban 'heart' > Ewk, Neg mēwan, Lm māwun, Orc māwa(n-) ~ mjāwa(n-), Ud māwa(n-), Ul, Ork mēwa(n-), Nn mǫawã ɖ mǫau 'heart', Sln mēvã ~ mīvã id., {Iv.} má'wań ~ mēwan 'breast' ¶ The depalatalization *ń > Tg *n is still puzzling ¶ WrMc rāman 'heart' hardly belongs here (unless one reconstructs pTg ≈ *mjābānam), but is more likely to be akin to MKo nǰà,m-t'òŋ 'heart' (acc. to Lee) and possibly to FU *ńime- 'suck the breast' (Coll. 15-6, MF 153, It. #368) || pKo {S} *màńàm 'heart' > MKo mǎńàm, NKo maím ¶ S QK #42, Nam 196, MLC 564 || pJ {S} *múnà-i 'breast' > OJ múnè, J: T muné, K múnè, Kg múne ¶ S QJ #202, Mr. 488 ¶¶ ≈ DQA *1315 (A *mjóńù 'heart, breast'; unjustified rec. of the Tg root as *mjāńam) || **D** (in SD) *mUńńi, ({ʔGS} *-ńć-?) > Tm moŋŋi, mońci 'breasts', Tu muńńa, muńńæ 'breast' (as called by children) ¶ D #5111 ◇ If Ar maʔan-at- and Tg *mjāban do not belong here, the N rec. may be *mUń ▽.

1450. *moyAŋ ▽ 'neck, nape of the neck' > **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} mungo 'nape' ¶ ChC || **IE:** NaIE *mon- 'nape of the neck, neck' > OI man'yā 'nape of the neck', Av manaoθrī- 'neck, nape', pa'ri-mānya- 'Nackenschutz'; d.: OI ma'ŋiḥ 'necklace, pearl, jewel', Irn *manya-ka- 'necklace' (↷ Arm մանեակ maneak id., 'collar', Gk [Pol.] μανιάκης 'necklace, torque [worn of gold by Persians and Gauls]', JA [Trg.], JEA 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 mənī'k-ā 'necklace') || OIr muin 'neck, upper part of the back', muinéil 'neck', muin-torc 'chain for the neck', Brtt {RE} *mon- 'neck' > OW [ʏ] minci 'necklace, collar', MW mwn, W

mwnwgl, mynwgl, OBr mun 'neck' || L monīle 'necklace, collar'
 || Gk D μάννος, μόννος 'necklace' || d. : Gmc *manja- > ON men, OHG
 menni, AS mēne 'necklace'; Gmc *manō 'mane' > OHG mana 'mane,
 neck', ON mōn, Sw man, NHG Mähne, MLG mane, OFrs mona,
 mana, AS manu 'mane', NE mane || d.: Sl *monisto 'necklace' > OCS,
 OR **МОНИСТО** monisto, Blg {Gerov} ма'нисто, McdS, R, Uk
 мо'нисто ¶ WP II 305, P 747-8, EI 391 (*monis ~ *moneh_g- 'neck'), M E
 II 556-7, 584-5, Dlm. 230, Js. 801, Sl. 687, Vn. M 72, RE 114, Loth
 190, WH II 108, F I 171, ≈ Ch. 664-5 (μάννος, μόννος ← [bf.]
 μανλάκης), Vr. 384, 401, Kb. 656, 675, KM 454, Ho. 215, 219, ESSJ XIX
 209-11, Vs. II 650 || **А** ({SDM97} *mōy_lu_lη∇, {DQA} *mōy_lηo 'neck'): T
 *moyu|in ({DQA, TL} *bōy_lη) 'neck' > OT boyin ~ boyun id., MU, MQp XIII,
 XwT XIV, OOs_m ≥XIV boyun, Chg xv boyin ~ boy_ln, MQp [CC] boyin o r
 boyun, Tk boyun, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, ET boyun, Uz бўйин b_wyin,
 VTt мѹен тѹцън, Bsh тѹцън, Alt, Xk moyin, Qrg, Ln, Tv moyun id., Tf
 mōēn id. (+ppa: moy_ln-ī 'his neck'), Yk мой mōy 'neck' (+ppa: moy_ln-um
 ('my neck'), {Md.} mōy / moñ- 'neck' | Chv: L/MK ма̋й т̋ѹ, Chv H
 т̋ѹ, Chv V тѹ ~ тѹ 'neck' (< *mōy_lu_lñ < as. *mōy_lu_lη) 'neck' | (< d.?)
 T *moy_lnak > OT boy_lnaq 'narrow pass', Qrg moy_lnoq 'camel's neck;
 mountain pass', Qzq moy_lnaq 'skin of camel's neck', Qq moy_lnaq 'sand-
 hill in a desert' ¶ Cl. 386, Rs. W 80, ET B 180-2, TL 233-4, Ra. 207, Pek.
 1580-1, Jeg. 129, Md. 46, 174 (pT *bōy_lu_lñ), Jud. 529-3, MM 242, KrkR
 462 || ???σ M *mundaγa 'withers, place between the shoulder-blades (of
 animals)' > WrM mundaga {Gl.} id., {Kow.} 'withers of a horse\mule',
 {MED} 'withers of a horse', HIM, Brt мундаа, Ord mu'ndā, Kl Ö {Rm.}
 mundā id. ¶ MED 351, Kow. 2028, Gl. III 310, Ms. O 47, KW 268, Chr.
 302 || Tg *moηa(n) 'neck' > Ewk, Neg moηon, Nn Nh/KU moηgō, Orc
 moηo(n-), Ork, Ul moηgo(n-), WrMc moηgon ¶ STM I 546 || Ko: [1]
 pKo {S} m̋à_l-k 'neck, throat' > MKo, NKo m̋à_l-k id. (÷ T *moy_l-nak); [2]
 MKo m̋à_l-á_l 'yoke, harness' (σ≡: pT *moyuntirik 'yoke', see ET B 182)
 ¶ S QK #58, Nam 213, MLC 619 ¶¶ SDM97, ≈ DQA #1336 (incl. T, M,
 Tg, Ko) || **D**: McTm *manñ- > Tm manñaj 'throat, neck', Ml manna,
 menna 'neck' ¶ D #4779 ◊ D *a may go back to N *A with loss of
 the word-medial *-oy-.

1451. *mAn_lg_l∇ ~ *mAN_li_lg_l∇ 'monkey' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} mōngò
 'small black monkey' ¶ J Mu, ChC || **А**: Tg *moño > WrMc moño
 (spelled moniyo) {Z} 'e yellowish monkey with a short tail'

('обезьяна, желтоватая съ короткимъ хвостомъ'), {Hr.} 'kurzschwänziger Affe', but on p. 511 Zaxarov refers to *monio* as 'common monkey' ('обыкновенная обезьяна'), Mc Sb {Y} /moni/ [mɔ́nʲ] 'monkey', {Mrm.} *moniu*, Mc N {Rdn.} *MEHУ m3nu* 'monkey'; Mc \rightarrow Sln *monjō*, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn *monio* 'monkey'; there is also a variant STg word **bonio* 'monkey' > WrMc *bonio* {Z} 'large monkey', {Hr.} 'monkey', Jrc *dobi bonon* 'monkey' ¶ STM I 94, 545, Krm. 260, Z 510-1, 890, Hr. 111, 665, Y#2212, Klz. MS 226, Rdn. 7, Kiy. 105 || **D** (in SD) **manjk-* {ǰGS} **manjg-* 'monkey' > Ml *monja*, Kn *manja*, Krg *manji* 'monkey', Tu *mange* id., 'ape' ¶ D #4666 \diamond The origin of NE *monkey* and of the Romance word **monna* (> Sp, Port *mona*, -o 'monkey', OIt, It *monna*, Fr *monne* 'female monkey') remains unknown. They may be loans from an unknown source (but hardly from Prs [sc. CINPrs *maymūn*, NPrs *māymūn*] 'monkey', as believed by ML #5242). For other unconvincing etymologies (e.g., < It *madonna*) see Pian. 872-3. Nothing is known about their possible connection with N **mAn₁g¹∇* 'monkey' \diamond Tg **o* goes back probably to **a*, that was labialized due to the ass. infl. of **m-* \diamond AD NM #6, ≠ S CNM 12, ≠ Vv. AEN 7 (rejects the Tg cognate because of the irreg. Mc -ń-, which, however, may be explained if we assume pN **mAN₁i₁g¹∇*).

1452. UA ₂ **m∇ηK∇* 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?) > **U:** pOs **manjk* 'beaver, mole' > Os: V/Vy/Vrt *maɣ*, Ty *māɣ* (+ppa. 1s *muɣəm*), Y *māɣ* 'beaver', K *maχ*, Nz *mɔηχ*, Sh *muηχ-*, O *maηχ*, {Ahl.} *monk* 'mole', Kz *mōηχ*, Sn *mɔχ* 'rat, mole' ¶ For *-ηk > V/Vy/Ty/Y -ɣ/-ɣ, K -χ/-x ср. Ht.'s reconstructions: pOs **mɔηk* 'Axtrücken' (> Os: V/Vy *mɔɣ*, Ty *moɣ^ω*, K *moχ*), pObU **č∇:ηk* 'Eiskruste' (> Os V/Vy *toɣ*, Ty *ta¹ɣ^ω* 'thin ice'), pObU **čünk* 'fog' (> Os V/Vy *čüɣ*, Ty *č¹ɣ^ω*), pObU {Ht.} **θōηkəl* (sc. **θōηkəl*) (> Os V *loɣə*, Vy *yoɣə* 'Rübe, Zwiebel'), pOs **čɔηk-* 'ausschlagen' (> Os V/Vy *čɔɣ-*, *čɔɣ-*, Ty/Y *čɔq-*), etc., see Ht. ##80, 107-8, 149. 401 ¶ Stn. D 897, ≠ UEW 264 (equates Os *maɣ* \approx *maχ* 'beaver' with Mr *maksa-* 'mole' and reconstructs FU **maksa* without taking into account the Os Δ forms with -ηχ) || **A:** M **miηžin* 'beaver' > WrM *miηžin*, HlM *minž* *miηž*, Kl *miηž* *miηžə* id., Brt *f mənžən* *xaljuɣn* 'water mole, desman' (*xaljuɣn* 'otter') ¶ MED 539, KRS 352, Chr. 312 || ?? T: Tv *möndele* 'young of a marmot' ¶ TvR 301, Shch. Zh 148.

1453. **muŋka|û* (= **muŋka|û*?) 'make great efforts; (?) be heavy' > IE: NaIE (att. in SI) **monk_L* > SI **mŋka* 'torment, hard work' > OCS *мѣка* *mŋka*, Cz, Slk *muka*, R, Uk 'мѣка, Slv *múka* ~ *móka* 'torment', SCr *mŋka*, P *męka* id., 'work', R Ps/Sml/Tmb 'мѣка 'hard work', Blg 'мѣка 'torment', 'property' (← *'result of hard work'); SI ⇔ Rum *muncă*, Hg *munka* 'work' ¶ ESSJ XX 136-8, Vs. III 7, EWU 1004, ≠ P 731 || D {tr., ṽGS} **mukk-* 'strain, make great efforts' (× N **moŋkE* 'to press') > Tm *mukku*, Kt *muk-* v. 'strain as a woman in travail, make great efforts', Ml *mukkuka* v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', *mikuka* v. 'press, strain at stool', Kt *muk-* v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain to deliver child', Td *muk-* v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn *mukkiṛi*, *mukkare* v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu *mukkurū-* v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl *mukku-* 'strain', Png *mūk-* v. 'lift with effort' ¶¶ D #4896(a) ¶¶ The absence of the expected *n*-consonant in the D root may be due to the heritage of N **moŋkE* || A: T ***mŋk* > [1] T **mŋ* > OT {Cl.} *bun* & *mŋ* 'grief, sorrow', MQp XIV *mŋ* ~ *bun*, Osm *bun* 'pain, distress', Tk *bun* 'crisis, difficult situation', Ggz *bun-* 'be tired (of travelling), be discontented', Qzq *мѣн* *mŋ*, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Uz b, ET {Nj.} *mŋ* 'melancholy, sadness, sorrow', ET {Rs.} *mŋ* 'Mühe, Leiden, Sorge, Kummer, Trauer', Yk *mŋ* 'torment, suffering' ('мѣка, мучение, страдание'), d. *mŋ-nā-* v. 'torment' (⇔ Ork *mŋna-* vt. 'torment', Ewk *mŋ-*, *mŋan-*, Neg *mŋnan-* vt. 'torment, beat'), ? Xk d. *мѣнѣс* *mŋŋs* 'sorrow(ful), sad(ness)', *мѣнек* *mŋnek* 'sad, sorrowful'; [2] ? T **muk* > Qrg *бѣк* *bŋ* 'melancholy, depression' ('тоска, угнетенное состояние'), Alt/Shor {Rl.} *mŋan-* 'sich abquälen, abmühen, sorgen', Xk {BIG} *мѣхан-* *mŋan-* 'suffer (e.g. from an illness)' ('мучиться, страдать'), Osm {Rl.} *موقايمن* *mŋay-(maq)* '(to) suffer, toil, fatigue oneself'; here the initial *m-* suggests the (former?) presence of a medial **n* (**mŋnk*?) unless these words are loans from an unknown source ¶ Cl. 347, Rs. W 344-5, Sht. 146, GRM 97, Nj. 719, BIG 110-1, Jud. 156, 538, Rl. IV 2171-2, Pek. 1625-9, STM I 557 || ? M: MM [S] {H} *mŋ* 'Schwierigkeit, Not' (*mŋ tani-qu* 'Not erfahren, in Schwierigkeit sein'), WrM *mŋda-*, HIM *mŋnda-* 'be in trouble or in difficult circumstances' (unless ← *mŋda-* 'become insufficient, come to an end') ¶ MED 551, H 112 ¶ The monosyllability of MM *mŋ* suggests a

possible loan from T 𐌆𐌆 Pp. VG 71 (T, M + err. Ewk *mūnaja-* 'suffer' [in fact, a loan from Yk]), Nm. UT 79 || ?ϕ K: GZ (or Zan?) **man̄ḡe-* ~ **maḡe-* 'heavy' (× N **mEkɛæ* or **mEɛkæ* 'big' [q.v. ffd.]) 𐌆 {IS}: K **man̄ḡ-* < **mwan̄ḡ-* ◇ For the semantic connection between 'work' and 'torment' cp. L *trepalium* 'instrument of torture' ⇨ VL {ML} **tripaliāre* 'to torture' > Fr *travailler*, Prv *trebalhar*, Sp *trabajar*, Prt *trabalhar* 'to work' (ML #8911), and, on the other hand, Ft *travail* 'labour of childbirth' (⇨ NE *labour*) ← Fr *travail* 'work' ◇ {IS}: the cognates without a medial nasal (in K, D, T) may be accounted for by dis. ◇ IS MS 369 (**mυ(η)κῆ* 'труд': IE, T, D, ?K), IS II 73-4 (K, D, T).

1454. **muni*'H'órk̄v̄ (or **muni* {a'rk̄'u'}) '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew' > HS: EC *mur̄ḡ-* (~ **morg-*) 'gristle, tendon, sinew' (× N **mUr̄ḡv̄* 'root, root-crops, edible roots', → 'sinew') > Or {Brl.} *morga* 'tendon', {Th.} *morg-aya* id., 'nerve', Or B {Sr.} *morgā* 'tendons, muscles', Kns *murq-a* 'tip of the nose', Gdl {Bl.} *mork̄-a* 'bone of nose, keecap, soft part of ensete', Sml *murūq-* 'muscle', Arr {Hw.} *morgí* 'tendon, sinew', Brj *mor'ganka* 'mič'a 'ankle', Rn {PG} *mórōgò* 'string', Ya {Hn.} *morž-i?* (pl. *morž-ei*) 'sinew of neck' 𐌆 Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 54 (EC **mur̄ḡ-* 'gristle'), Ss. B 148, Th. 248, Brl. 309, Sr. 369, PG 227, Hw. A 385, Hn. Y II 133 || Ch: WCh: SBC: Zar {Sh.} K/GL *mòri*, Zar L {Sh.} *hérì*, Sy {Csp.} *ńěri*, Grn {Hrn.} *myáw*, {Jgr.} *mʰàw*, {Gw.} *miyaw* 'horn' || ?ϕ NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} *múwí* id. || ?ϕ Ngz {Sch.} *mākím* 'horn blown in hunting to call other hunters; trumpeting with horn' || ?ϕ CCh: Msg P {Trn.} *miyok*, Msg {MB} *ámíyók*, Mlw {Trn.} *àmōk*, Msk {Trn.} *mìyòt* 'horn' || Ms {Caît.} *mìyok* (df. *mìyók-ḡá*), {J} *myóggá*, {Mch.} *myok*, ZmD {KNC} *miék*, ZmB {Sa.} *méké*, {J} *mék* 'horn' 𐌆 JI II 192-3. MB 59, ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 25, Sch. DN 109, Csp. 54, Hrn. #141, Jgr. 185, KNC 17, Caît. 115, Trn. LDM 20, Trn. LM 106 || U: FU **ńōrke*, {Db.} **ńorke* 'gristle' (× N **ńax̄i,rU(-k|gê)* 'cartilage [→ 'cartilage of the vertebra]', q.v. ffd.) || A: T **muyḡur* 'horn' > NaT **muyḡuz* (> **mühüz*) > OT {Cl.} *mühüz* ≠ *müyüz* ≠ *büyüz*, MQp/MOg XIII *buynuz*, Chg xv *bühüz*, Tk *boynuz*, Ggz, CrTt *boynuz*, Tkm *buynud*, Az *buynuz*, Uz *mugiz* ~ *muguz*, Kr, ET *mühüz*, ET Δ *muñuz*, Slr {Kk.}, SY *moḡus*, Ln *mügüs* ~ *müyüs*, VTt *mөгөз mǫǫz*, Δ *mǫǫs*, Bsh *mөгөз mǫǫs*, Qzq *мүйіз müyüz*, Nog, Qq, Qrg *müyüz*, Tb *münüs* ~ *mūs*, Alt, Xk *mūs*, Tv *miyis*, Tf *mīs*, Yk *mūos* ≠ *moyūos* ({Md.} *moỹōs*) 'horn' || Chv *mьyrag_a*, Chv Δ: V {Md.} *miraga* ~ *mұrag_a*, MK {Md.} *miraga* 'horn'

¶ The variant with back vowels suggests the rec. **muynur* (with the front-voweled NaT variant **müñüz* due to the infl. of *y*) ¶ Cl. 352, Rs. W 347, ET B 243-5, TL 148 (NaT **buyuz*), Jeg. 130, S AJ 179 [#42], Ra. 207, Md. 46, 174 (pT **bōñ'or*), Pek. 1584 || M **mö(η)gere-sün* 'cartilage' > WrM *mögeresün*, HIM *mөгөөрс(өн)*, Ord *mörös(ü)*, Brt {Chr.} *мэнгээрхэ(н)*, Δ {SM} *mönöröhön*, WrO *mör̄sün*, Kl *mөөрсн mör̄sən*, {Rm.} *mör̄sñ*, Mnr H {SM} *muñgirзз*, Dx {SM} *muñörsön* id. ¶ MED 545, Ms. O 471, Chr. 312, Krg. 608, KRS 358, KW 268, SM 248 ¶¶ Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 [#177] || Tg: Ewk *muñi* 'sinew at the end of a muscle; muscle' ¶ STM I 557 || ?ϕ (adduced by DQA) pKo **mìj'ìm* 'gums' > MKo *nì-s-mìj'ìm ~ nì-s-mìj'òm ~ ni-s-mì'im ~ ni-s-mìj'òm* 'gums' (ni- 'tooth') ¶ S QK #316, Nam 127 ¶¶ DQA #1359 (A **múyni* 'horn; cartilage, tendon'), Rm. EAS I 120, Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 || **Gil**: Gil A [*murgi*] *murķi* 'horn' ¶¶ ST 107 ◇ The presence of a word-medial velar element (surviving in M *-g- ~ -ηg-, T *-ń-, and Ewk -η-) rules out an intervoc. *-ń- (sc. **muñorķ*) and points to a combination of a velar nasal and palatal elements (*-ηy- or more plausible *-ηiH-) that later (in U) contracted into *ń. The unusual length of the etymon suggests that it goes back to a compositum, e.g. N **muñi řarķ'u* with the second component **řarķ'u* 'sinew' (q.v.), which may account for the semantic variant 'sinew' in some descendant lgs. In such a case the vw. *o in U **ñorke* must be explained by the ass. infl. of some adjacent phoneme. In Tg the second component of the original cd. was lost either by bf. or (in prehistory) by ellipsis.

1455. *'miqU₁∇₁ 'to push, to fell' > HS: CS **✓mχ|ħ?* 'push, strike' > BHb *✓mħy|w ~ ✓mħ?* (pf. *ħħħ mā'hā*, ip. 3pm *ħħħ' yī-mħ^aħ-ū*) 'push, strike, clap (hands)', OA, IA *ħħħ ✓mħ?* (✓*mħw|y*) 'beat', JA *ħħħ ✓mħy ~ ħħħ ✓mħw G* 'smite, wound', JEA {Sl.} *ħħħ ✓mħy* 'strike, hit', Sr *ħħħ ✓mħw|y G* 'strike, smite, beat' ¶ KB 537, HJ 610-1, Js. 756, 760, Sl. 655-6, Br. 380-1, JPS 263 || Eg G *mχz* {Vc.} v. 'pierce a prey or parts of its body' (of a spear) > (×Eg *mχy* 'fight') DEg *mχy ~ mχχ* v. 'strike, fight' > Cpt: Sd *miše*, B *miši* id. ¶ EG II 131, 176, Er. 176, Crn. 96, Ws. 108, Vc. 128 || SC: Irq {MQK} *mūx-* v. 'fight, beat, spank', {Wd.} *muχ-* 'fight' ¶ Mgw. 115, MQK 75, Wd. 42 [#403] ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99-100 [#29.7] || **K** **mqu-* 'overturn, overthrow' > OG *mqu-* (aor. *da-a-mqu-a*, prs. *da-mqu-eb-a*), G *mχ-* / *mχv-* id., Mg *χu-* / *χv-* id., 'lay, lay face down', Lz *χu-* 'throw, splash out', Sv *nqu-* v.

'overturn; fall' (msd. li-nqʷ-e; 3s prs. {TK}: UB/L χ-ānqʷem, LB χ-anqʷe, Ln χ-ānqʷe vt. 'overturns [աՅորդՅեցեցեծն, լծածս, -սծրտնցեծն]) 𐌆𐌆 K² 134-5, FS K 233, FS E 256-7, Chx. 885-6, ≈ K 149 (*nqʷ-), Q 396, TK 136 || IE *meuH- ~ *mjeuH- > NaIE *meu(ə)-, *mjeuə-/*^lmīu- 'push, push away' > OI mīvatī 'moves, pushes', Av ava-mīva- 'remove', Oss I mi, Oss D miwä 'deed, work, affair' ({Bn.} < *mīva-) || Gk D ἀμεύομαι 'surpass, outstrip; pass over' ({P} ← *vi. 'push ahead'), Gk ἀμύνω 'keep off, ward off' ({F, P} ← *vi. 'push off') || L moveō / -ēre / pfc. mōvi / pp. mōtus 'move, set in motion, stir', Um COMOHOTA (abl. sg.) 'commota_, oblata_' || Lt māuti (1s prs. mauti) {PiesS} 'to put\get on, to don; to rush, to dash', Δ movéti, mūvéti 'to wear (clothes)', Ltv Δ {ME} maūt (prs. mauju, maunu) 'an-lauf-ziehen, zäumen' || MLG mouwe 'muff', NHG Hemds-mauren 'shirt sleeve' || pTc *miw- > Tc: A mew-, B miw- vi. 'shake, quake' || ???σ,φ Ht mau- / mauss- / mu- v. act. and mp. 'fall' 𐌆𐌆 WP II 252-3, P 743, EI 388 (*meu(H)- 'move'), M K II 645, Ab. II 112-3, Bn. ELO 89, F I 92, 97, WH II 116, Bc. G 331, Frn. 421, ME II 570, Ad. 463, ≈ Ts. E II 166-8, CHD L-N 211-3 ◇ The absence of lr. in the Ht verb (if it belongs here) is puzzling ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1456. (₂?) *maga (or *maḱa?) 'humid, wet' > HS: B *^lwmʷ (> *mm∇ʷ) > Izd mməʷ (pf. imməʷ) v. 'wetten (mouiller)', Tmz mməʷ 'se mouiller, être mouillé \ trempé' 𐌆 Mrc. 171, MT 407 || ? S (+ext.) ^lmḱl > Ar ^lmql, -mql- 'plunge (sth.) into water', maql- 'urinatio, descensus in aquam; quidam lactandi modus' 𐌆 Fr. IV 198, Hv. 729 || ?σ K: G -mqaq- 'faulig\moderig werden', mqaqe 'stagnierend, faul(ig), moderig' 𐌆 Chx. 865-6 || IE: NaIE ≈ *mak-/ *māk- 'wet', 'moisten' > pAl {O} *makā > Al maké 'film that forms on a liquid; scum\skin (on milk, etc.)' || ? Arm մօր mōr 'mud, mire, slime' (< *ma_lk-ri-) || Lt makoné 'Pfütze', makénti, maknóti 'durch Kot waten' | Sl *mòkrъ(-jb) 'wet' > OCS мокръ мокръ, Blg 'мокър, SCr mōkar, Slv móker, Cz, Slk mokrý, P mokry, R 'мокрый id.; Sl *močǐ-ti vt. 'wetten, moisten' > OCS, OR МОУНТИ, SCr mōčiti, Slv móčiti, Cz močiti, P moczyc id.; Sl *mok-nq-ti vi. 'get wet' > SCr † moknuti, Slv mókniti, Cz moknouti, P moknąć, R 'мокнуť id., L-gr.: Sl *makati (prs. *makayq) vt. 'to dip' > ChS, OR МАКАТИ makati, SCr mákati, Cz mákati, R ма'каты id., Blg макам 'eat by dipping sth.

in a liquid' ¶ P 698, Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XVIII 138-9 and XIX 81-2, 129-30, 144-7, Glh. 419-20, O 242.

1457. (₂?) ***mæqURV** 'frog, toad' (or '∈ reptile\amphibian') > **K**: OG mqv̄ar-i 'toad' [Ex. 8.3], G mqv̄ari {GL} id., {Chx.} 'spade-footed toad (Pelobatidæ, Krötenfrosch)' ¶ DCh. 916, GL 374, Chx. 866 || **A**: pKo {S} *mà,kùri 'frog, toad' (× N ***mU,HajKa** 'frog') > MKo {S} mà,kùrí 'frog, toad', Ko {Rm.} mə,gIri 'frog' ¶ Nam 209, S QK #179, Rm. SKE 144 || M *mekeleyi ~ mt. *melekeyi 'frog' (× N ***mU,HajKa**, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *mök'ó 'frog') and ≈ DQA #1299 (A mjăk'ó 'frog') (both SDM97 and DQA incl. Ko, M), ≈ Rm. 144 (Ko, M) || **HS**: ?σEg G mḱr.t '∈ a holy snake' (× N ***mAlAḱkV** 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake', q.v.) ¶ EG II 159.

1458. ₂ ***maRV** 'sand, dust, earth' > **HS**: SS: Gz marēt 'earth, dust of the ground, dirt', ✓mrt G 'become soil\rusty', Sb {Bl.} mrt 'clay, clayey soil', Qtb {Rk.} mrt 'limestone, gypsum' ¶ LG 361, Bl. 285, Rk. 99 || **A**: pKo *mòr'áj 'sand' > MKo mòr'áj, Ko: Sl/Ph/PhN/Kw morä, Chs morá, Ks môre, Hm mo_rá, Chj mollä id. ¶ S AJ 254 [#70], S QK #629, Nam 218, MLC 629, Rm. SKE I 151 || *AdS of T* *bōr '∈ (barren) soil\ground' (× N ***bohrV** 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd. × N ***bōri'y'U** 'loose earth, dust' × N ***bArV** 'earth, land; dust') || M *marayā > WrM {Rm. ← ?} maraḡa, Kl Ö {Rm.} marā 'Sodaerde, Salzsteppe', Brt Δ maraa(н) 'солонцы (salty ground\land)' ¶ KW 257, Chr. 293 || ? Tg: Ewk Ald/Urm mar 'peat-bog' ↗ Yk mār 'moss-grown swamp, swampy tundra' ¶ STM I 531 || ??φ pJ {S} *mana-n-kyā 'sand' ({S} ass. nasalization from **mara-n-) > OJ mana-gyo ¶ S QJ #134 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 288 [#291] and ≈ Rm. SKE I 151 (Ko, T *bōr 'chalk'), DQA #1268 (A *māro 'sand, stony earth, marsh').

1459. ***mAr'U'** 'trace, path; to follow, to trace' > **A**: M *mör 'trace, trail, way, path' > WrM mör, MM (ChSc, ArSc), HIM, Brt mēp 'path, trail', Kl mēp mör 'trail, path', Ord mör 'trail', Mnr H {SM} mōr (the length is secondary), Mgl {Rm.} mōr, {Wr.} mor, Ba mor 'way, path'; M *mörde- v. 'trail, trace, follow' > WrM mörde-, HIM mēрдə-, Brt мүрдэ-, Kl мēрд- ¶ SM 240, T 345-6, T BJ 143, MED 548, Chr. 307-8, KRS 358-9, KW 206, Rm. M 34, Wr. 173, Pp. MA 239, H 110, Ms. H 76, S AJ 237 [#73] || pKo *mōr- v. 'pursue, follow, chase' > MKo mōr-, NKo mol- ¶ S AJ [#126], S QK #126, Yu 325, MLC 641 || pJ *mítí 'road' > OJ mjítí, J: T mìcí, K mící, Kg mí], Ns mìčí, Sh mícì, Ht mìč̀̀, Y àmítí

¶ S AJ [#61], Mr. 481 || T *bār- 'go' > Xlj bār |T *bar- v. 'walk, go' ({Md.} *bār- ~ *bār) (× N *barq∇ ~ *barX∇ 'to go, to go away, to step', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ S AJ 277 [#59] (A *m̄jōr∇), SDM97 (A *m̄óri 'road, track; follow'), DQA #1319 (A *m̄jóri 'road, track; follow') || D (in McTm) *maṛuk° 'ē road' > Tm maṛuku 'street, narrow street, lane', MI maṛuku 'street' ¶ D #4770 || HS: Eg fMK mrr.t 'street', Eg G mrr.t 'way' ¶ EG II 108, 110, Fk. 112 || S *✓mrr v. 'go away, pass' (× N *muR∇ 'go away, perish, die', q.v. ffd.) || CCh: Pdl {Mk.} mirvi 'path' || ECh: Jg {J} morφ ~ morb 'way, path' ¶ ChC s.v. ◇ M *-ō- < *-ä|a- (labializing as., caused by *m- and/or possibly by *-û) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #17.

1460. *mer∇ 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine' > HS: B *✓mry > Sll amarryu (pl. i-marryu-an) 'spark', s-murri v. 'sparkle (briller)', ? Izn ṭamiri 'moonshine' ¶ Ds. 46, 118, Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE *mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter, flash', {EI} 'shine, shimmer' > OI 'marīci-h̄ 'particle of light, shining mote\speck in the air, ray of light' || Gk μαμαίρω, μαμαρίζω v. 'flash, sparkle' || L merus 'pure, unmixed' (← *'clear') || AS (ā-)mērian 'to purify (esp. melted metals), to test' || ? SI *marъ (× *marъ '≈ mirage, dream') > R Sib маp 'blaze of the sun (солнечный жар, солнечный зной)', ds.: Blg мара'ня 'very hot weather', Δ marina 'heat', R 'маревево 'mirage in hazy and very hot weather; haze' ¶ WP II 273-4, P 733, EI 514, M K II 589, WH II 78, Ho. 220, ESSJ XVII 215-8, SRNG XIII 367 || ?φ A: Tg: Ul mūrzn- v. 'glitter' ¶ STM I 560 ¶ The unexpected vw. ū needs explaining (ass. infl. of m-?) || D {tr., GS} *meṛ- 'shine, glitter' > Kn miṛugu v. 'glitter, flash, sparkle, shine', miṛu 'shining, sparkling', meṛe v. 'shine, gleam, glitter', Tu merēpi-, merēyu-, merēvu- v. 'shine', Tl meṛacu v. 'glitter', Prj marp-¶Klm merp- v. 'lighten', Klm mirṇūḍ 'spark', Nkr merp-v. 'flash, lighten', Gdb merč(i) er-†'glitter', mers 'lightning' ¶¶ ≈ D #5074 (ties in D *mer- > Tm meruku 'smoothness', etc.), GS 153 [#388].

1461. *moRE (= *moRi?) 'body of water' > HS: Eg fP mr 'canal, artificial lake', Eg M mryu.t 'Uferdamm am Fluß \ am Meere; Stelle am Ufer, wo Schiffe landen können', DEg mr 'Hafen, Uferland', mryu.t 'Hafen' > Cpt Sd mpw 'landing stage, port' ¶ EG II 97, 109, Fk. 111, Er. 169, Vc. 119 || IE: NaIE *mor-, *mori / *mōri 'sea, lake' > L mare 'sea' (< *mōri-, generalization of the originally unstressed stem variant, as in gen. sg. *mōr'j-es; the pure root stem is found in OL gen. pl. mar-um,

/ EM 689) || Clt *mori- 'sea' > OIr muir (gen. mora), Brtt {RE} *mori
 > OW, MW, OCrn, MBr, Br mor, W môr, Crn mōr id. || Gmc: Gt
 marei 'sea', OHG {Kb.} meri, {OsS} marei, NHG Meer 'sea', ON
 mar-r (gen. mar-ar), AS mere 'sea, lake'; the L-gr. *mōr- means
 'lake, swamp': OSx mōr 'swamp', OHG muor 'lake, swamp', NHG
 Moor 'bog, fen, swamp' || Pru mary 'the Curonian Lagoon (Kurisches
 Haff)', Lt pl. mārės (gen. mārios) id., 'sea', Ltv mare (gen. mara)
 'the Curonian Lagoon' (and 'lake' in names of lakes, e.g. Ltv {En.}
 Tuosmare); Blt b→ F, Es meri 'sea' || Sl *moře 'sea' > OCS морѣ
 morje, Blg морѣ, SCr mōre, Slv morjê, Cz moře, Slk more, P
 morze, R 'морѣ || Oss mal 'deep standing water; deep place in a
 lake\river', {OsR} 'омут, лужа' || Ht marmar(r)a- {Ot. → E}j
 'swamp, marsh' (if Ot.'s interpretation is right) ¶ P 316, EI 503-4
 (*'mori 'sea'), WH II 38-9, Vn. M 73, RE 126, Fs. 346, Vr. 379-80, Kb.
 676, OsS 591-2, 628, Schz. 216, Frn. 409-10, En. 208, Kar. I 557, SSA II
 160, SK 341, ESSJ XIX 227-32, Glh. 422-3, Ab. II 68-9, HCD L-N 192 (Ht
 marmarr(a)- 'ε terrain') || K *mo|a|er- > Zan *mo|ar-ey > Mg mere
 'lake' || A: M *mören 'large river, lake, sea' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gen.
 mörenü 'of the sea, of a large river', [IsV] {Lg.} mören 'large river
 (fleuve), stream of water', [HI] {Ms.} mürin 'river (fleuve, rivière)', WrM
 mören, HIM мөрөн 'large river or lake', Kl {KRS} мөрн mörän 'river
 (falling into a sea)', {Rm.} mörn 'breiter Fluß', Ord mörön, Mnr H {SM}
 murōn 'river', Mnr M {Pot.} murun 'the Huanghe', Dgr mür(ü) 'river' ¶
 MED 548, Pp. MA 240, Ms. H 76, Lg. VMI 55, SM 250, T 347, T DgJ 155,
 KRS 360, KW 267 || pKo {S} *mír 'water' > MKo mi|, NKo mu| ¶ S QJ
 #97, Nam 229, MLC 675 || ?φ pJ {S} *mí(-n-tú) 'water' > OJ mjídú, J: T
 mizu, K mizu, Kg mí], Ns mùží, Sh mížì, Ht mìžì, Y míń ¶ S QJ #87, Mr.
 483, Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (< *mi- < *mi_lri) ¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278, SDM97
 (s.v. *mú:ri), DQA #1335 (A *mjùri 'water'), Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (all of them:
 M, Ko, J + unc. Tg *mū 'water' [see N *mûhi 'water']; in addition, Vv.
 adduces Tk *-mur in *jaγmur 'rain') ◇ IS II 60-1 [#294] (*mārä
 'moisture, moist'; does not distinguish between this etymon and N
 *mAr√ 'rain, cloud' [q.v.]) → S CNM 3. The presence of the specific
 meaning 'body of water (sea, lake, river, pool)' in Eg, IE, K, and M
 suggests that this is not an independent parallel semantic change, but is
 the ancient meaning of the √, so that it must be distinguished from N
 *mAr√ '↑'. Connecting words for 'sea' and 'cloud' is hardly justifiable
 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #415 (*mor 'water') (IE, A, Ko, J + unc. CK).

1462. *mur ▽ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie' > **HS**: C: LEC {Bl., HL} *mar- {HL} 'be round \ wrapped, turn \ twirl' > Or {Grg.} mara vt. 'wrap', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} mara 'go round, turn, spin a tread, wrap', Or Wl {Bl.} mar-ata 'cloth wound around head and waist', Gdl {Bl.} mar- 'coil, roll up', Kns {Bl.} mar- 'roll up, meander', Sml {ZMO} ku mar- 'tie sth. up with sth. else', mar(-ta) 'woman's belt', {Bl.} mar-m-ad- (caus. + ben.) 'put on clothes', Rn mar- {PG} v. 'go round, circle, revolve', {HL} 'be round', Bs {HL} mara-mut- vi. 'turn', Arr {Hw.} mar- 'be wrapped \ wound round', Af {PH} maro, marmāru 'circle', marrōwe- v. 'encircle', mārrow 'encirclement', marmarite- 'go round' ¶ Bl. 156, PG 219, HL 129, Grg. 278, Sr. 364, ZMO 277-8, Hw. A 383, PH 164, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 || Om: SOm: Ari {HL} mār- v. 'twirl' || NrOm: Ym mar- {HL} v. 'gird', {Lm.} 'einen Verband anlegen' (← Or?) ¶ HL 129, Lm. Y 366 || CS *-mūr- > Ar ✓ mwr G (ip. -mūr-) vi. 'move to and fro', 'move within a wounded person' (of a sword), 'be in commotion' (sea), BHb inf. N הַמֹּר him'mōr 'schwanken', N pf. (paus.) נִמְרָה nāmār vi. 'he altered', Sh pf. הִמְרִיחַ hēmīr vt. 'he exchanged, altered', JEA ✓ mwr Sh (pf. אָמַר אֶמְרָא ā'mēr) vt. 'exchange' ¶ KB 531, Js. 748, Hv. 739, BK II 1166-7 || Eg fMd, DEg mr v. 'tie', Cpt ΜΟΥΡ mur, ΜΕΡ- mer-, ΜΟΡ mor- id. ¶ EG II 105, Er. 106, Vc. 119 || WCh: Pr μέρυ-ρῶ, Su {ChL} μυϋer, Ang {ChL} myer, Gmy {ChL} mīyòr 'twist' | Possibly Ch *✓ mrđ ~ *✓ mrkđ 'twist' > Hs múrdā / múrdē, Gw {Mts.} míríña, Klr {ChL} móřújì, Krkr {ChL} mùrdú, Ngm màrdít, Bl {Lk.} markuđ-, My a murđuszy, Jmb {Sk.} mǎrgžđ-, Dir (← Hs?) mǎrdà, Zar {Sh.} (← Hs?) mùrdí, Bd mǎřdâtu id. ¶ ChL, ChC || **K**: G mor- {DCh.} 'round off (округлять)', {Chx.} 'zu Rundholz machen' ¶ DCh. 831, Chx. 809 || **IE**: NaIE *mer-, (+ext.) *meragh- ~ *mergh- 'tie together, twist': [1] *mer- > Gk μηρύομαι (Gk D μαρ-) 'zusammen- \ aufwickeln, winden' ({LS} 'draw up, furl [sails]; wind up [the strands of a torsion-engine]'), μέρμις (gen. μέρμιθος) 'cord, string, rope' || MDT marren. MLG mōren 'to tie', ON merðr, OSw mierder, miärdhe, Sw mjärd, Δ mjärde 'fish-basket (Fischreuse)' || [2] NaIE *meragh- ~ *mergh- > Gk βρόχος (< *μρόχος) 'noose', μόροττον 'basket made of bark' || Ltv mařga 'Geländer, Bäume zum Anbinden der Pferde', ? Lt mǎřka ({P} < *meragh-ska) '(bed)sheet, fishing net' | Sl *meržā > OCS мрѣжа mrěža 'net, snare', Blg 'мрежа 'net', OR мрежа mereža ⚭R Δ ме'рѣжа ⚭ ме'режа, Uk ме'режа 'fishing net', R dim. ме'рѣжка 'drawn-thread-work', SCr mrěža 'net; trap,

snare', Slv *mréž*a 'net', Cz *mříže*, Slk *mreža* 'grating, lattice', OP *mrzeža* 'ε (hunting \ fishing) net' || OIr *brága* 'prisoner, hostage' ¶ P 733, EI 64 (*mer- 'braid, bind'), F I 272, II 211, 231, Frn. 412, ESSJ XVIII 102-3, Glh. 425-6, Vr. 384, ≈ Vn. B 76 (OIr *brága* 'prisoner' ← *brága* 'throat, neck') || **A** *mur∇ > M *mura > MM [MA] *mura* 'bent', ? Kl {Rm.} *mur* 'uneben'; M *muruyi- > MM [IM] *muruy-* 'be bent \ crooked', WrM *murui-*, HIM *муруй-* v. 'bend, be crooked, turn, meander', Ord *mu'ruī-* 'être courbe \ tortu' Mnr H {SM} *murī-* 'être incliné d'un côté, être sinueux \ tortu'; M *muruyi > MM [MA] *murū*, [IM] *مورو* *muruy*, WrM *murui*, HIM *муруй* 'awry, slanting, bending', Ord {Ms.} *mu'ruī*, Mnr H *murī* 'incliné d'un côté, sinueux, tortu', Kl T {Rm.} *mu'ru* 'schief, sich schlingernd, biegend' ({Rm.} < *muruyi or d. *muri-gu) ¶ Pp. MA 241, 442, MED 552, Ms. O 476, KW 269, SM 249-50 || Tg *mūr- 'go round, turn aside' > Ewk *murū*- id., Lm *mərək-* v. 'return', Ul *murū* adv. 'in the shape of a circle \ sphere (кругло, шарообразно)'; Tg d. *mūr_ukī, *mūrg- 'round' > Ewk *muruku*, *murukē* 'circle', WrMc *murgiyeken*, *murgiyen* adj. 'round', *murki-* v. 'make round'; other derivatives: Ewk *murālī* 'around', Lm *mərətī* 'circle', Ork "moroliqtu 'round; circle', morolimə adj. 'round' ¶ STM I 559 || T *būr- (= *mūr-) ~ *bur- (= *mur-) v. 'twist' (× N *būr∇ 'to turn round, to rotate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -ū- are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. *būryi 'to cover' (q.v.) and *bôr'a' 'to pierce, to bore' (q.v.) || Ko: [1] (acc. to DQA) pKo {S} *muri* 'halo, ring (around the sun or moon)' > NKo *muri* ¶ S QK #842, MLC 658] [2] ? pKo {S} *mìrì- v. 'return' > MKo *mìrì-*, NKo *muri-* id. ¶ S QK #129, Nam 226, MLC 657 || pJ {S} *márz 'round' > OJ *maro*, J: T *màruì*, K *máruì*, Kg *mári*, Ns *màrù-*, Sh *màrú*, Ht *múrù-*, Y *màrú-nká* ¶ S AJ 269 [#98], S QJ #98, Mr. 834 ¶ ¶ SDM97 (A *mure [or *-r-] 'round; turn, return'), DQA #1369 (A *múra id.; rejects the adduction of pKo {S} *mìrì-) || **D** (d.?) *muṛukk- v. 'twist, twirl' > Tm *muṛukku* v. 'twist (as a rope), twirl, spin (as a potter his wheel)', *muṛuku* v. 'wriggle, twist', Ml *muṛukku* n. act. 'twining, twisting, writhing', Kn *muṛuku* 'twist (the face) out of its natural shape, distort (it), give a different shape (to it)', Tl *muṛakaṭamu* 'turning', Klm *muṛgaḍileṅ* v. 'twist (a limb)', Krx *murkaṭā-* v. 'sprain' ¶¶ D #5012 || D *muri- 'bend, curve' > Tm

muri v. 'bend', *muri-muri* v. 'curve, bend', Kn *muri* v. 'bend, be bent, grow crooked', Tu *muri* n. 'curve, circle', Tl *murincu*†vt. 'turn', Prj *murg-* 'be bent', Gdb *murg-* 'bend (while peeping); bend down', Gnd *muřitana* 'be dislocated'; D ⇨ Prkr *muria-* 'twisted', OMrt *murad-* v. 'turn, twist' ¶¶ The variant **mur-* (if it belongs here) must go back to an extended stem (< **mur-Hi-†*muwri-*?), because D *-*r-* goes back to N **r-* clusters rather than to a N intervoc. *-*r-* ¶¶ D #4977 || ?? U: FU **m^or-* > Er *мурда-* *murda-* 'turn aside, return from (свернуть, возвратиться)', {Ps.} 'um- \ zurück-kehren', Mk *мрда-* *mьrda-* vi. 'return' ||| OHg XVI *marjul-* 'become sprained \ dislocated (verrenkt werden)', XIX *ki-maritt* 'sprain, dislocate (verrenken)' ¶ ERV 394, PI 169, Ps. M 97, MTE II 846, EWU 938, IS II 74 ◇ It is not clear whether FU **m^or-* with its aberrant vw. **o* (for the expected **u*) belongs here ◇ IS II 74-5 (**muri* 'скручивать' > HS, IE, U, A, D, K).

1463. **mur*∇ 'break, crush, cut' > HS: EC **mur-* 'cut' > Dsn *múr-*, Or B, Kns, Msl, Sd, Kmb *mur-* id., Hd *mur-* 'cut, reap', Brj *mur-* 'cut, castrate', Gdl *mur-* 'cut person's genitalia to take trophy', Elm, Arr d. *mur-i* 'short', Arr *muras-* 'shorten' ¶ Bl. 294, Ss. PEC 23, Hd. 214, 294, 334, 387, 418, Grg. 295, To DL 519, Hw. A 386 || ?? NrOm: Kf {C} *murēččo* 'eunuch' ||| K G *mor-* v. 'trim (fallen trees)', Sv UB {IS ← ?} *mur-in-* v. 'break' (-*in-* is a caus. sx.) ¶ IS II 74, Chx. 809 ||| IE **mer-* v. 'crush, crumb' > L *mortārium* 'mortar' (<† **mṛ-* 'tos 'rubbed away, pulverized') ||| ? Gk *μαράνω* 'make so. waste away, wear sth. out', ps. ft. *μαρανθήσομαι* 'die away, waste away, decay' ||| ON *merja* (p. *marđa*) 'schlagen, zerstoßen' ({EI} 'prick, sting'), OSw *morþ* 'bröckelige Masse, Abfall', Ic *mor* 'dust', ¿ OHG {Vr.} *meren* 'zerschlagen' (not mentioned in Kb. and OsS) ||| Sl **mьrva* 'crumb(s), small bit(s)' > Blg 'мръва' 'piece of meat', Δ 'мръва' ≅ 'мьрва' id., 'fine dust', McdS *мрва* 'crumb, small piece of meat', SCr *mъ̀va* 'crumb', Slv *mъ̀va* 'crumb, small bit', OCz *mrva* 'fragment', Cz *mrva* 'small pieces, litter', Slk *mrva* 'hash, litter', P *mierzwa* 'short-straw, straw litter', OR *мєрва* *merva* 'small waste of flax\cereals', 'refuge in wax', R Δ 'мерва' 'small waste of flax' ||| OI *mṛṅāti* ~ *mṛṅati* 'crushes, grinds' (× IE **mei-* 'grind' < N **moī∇* 'to pound') || Ht {Ts.} *mariya-* 'zerstückeln, zerkleinern' (not mentioned in CHD) ¶¶ P 735-7, EI 142, WH II 112; F II 174 and Ch. 666 (in both no clear et. of *μαράνω*), Vr. 385, ESSJ XXI 151-4, Glh. 427, M K 672-3, M E II 319-20, Ts. W 51 ||| A:

T *mor- > VTt мур- mur- 'become rotten (as wood)' ('трухляветь'), {RL} 'mürbe werden, verrotten', ? ET {RL} پور pur 'verdorben, verfault'; (+ sx. *-t) T *mort □ 'fragile, brittle' > Tkm port, Uzмўрт murt id., Bsh murt, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg mort 'fragile, frail, brittle', StXk, Sg/Qb {RL} port, VTt murt id., VTt {RL} murt, SbTt Tb {RL} mort 'mürbe, morsch', d. StAlt bortiq, QK {B} portiq 'fragile', Chv L муртак murdak id. ¶ TatR 379, Jeg. 135, TkR 532, Jud. 532, BT 33, B DLT 189, BIG 158, RI. IV 1271, 1365, 2125, 2190, 2194, Cl. xliii (on the sx. *-t), Jeg. 135 || ?σ Tg: Ewk PT murdunə- v. 'bark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 558 || D: [1] *mur- 'break' > Tm mur̄i (p. -v-) vi. 'break, give way as a branch', mur̄i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break (as a stick), cut', Ml mur̄i 'fragment, piece of cloth', mur̄ikkā vt. 'break, cut', Kn mur̄i vt. 'break (off/down), crush, severe by fracture', Tl mur̄iyu 'be broken, severed', n. 'piece, crumb' ¶¶ D #5008 | [2] D *mur- 'break' (× N *muhr▽ 'part, piece' [q.v.]) > Tm mur̄i (p. -v-) vi. 'break off, snap off, perish', mur̄i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break off, snap off', Ml mūrūkā vt. 'cut, cut up (a hog, etc.), reap', Kt mury vi., vt. 'break' (of stick-like things), Td mūr̄y vi. 'break in two (a stick)', vt. 'break', Kdg mur̄i 'make a cut', Tu mur̄i 'an incision, notch', mūr̄un̄i vt. 'mince, cut up', Tl mur̄iyu v. 'break', Klm murk- 'split (wood), break', Nkr vi. 'break', Png mur- 'cut (horizontally)', Kui mroku inba 'snap off, be broken off', Krx muruk- v. 'abscind, amputate, cut in twain', mur̄r- 'get broken', Mlt murkē 'cut in bits, cut across' ¶¶ D #4975 || U *mura- v. 'crumble away, crumble to pieces', *mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N *muhr▽ 'part, piece') > F muren(e) 'crumb, particle, bit, fragment', muru 'crumb', murea 'crisp', murakka 'crispness', murtaa 'break, crack, crush', Es mure (gen. mureda) 'crumbly, friable' | Lp: N {N} moarrâ- / -r- 'break to pieces (ice or frozen surface of snow)', mqrre / -r- 'crumb, small bit (e.g. bread)', L {LLO} mur̄hka- 'become brittle \ friable' (of wood, etc.) ||| ObU {Ht.} *mūr- vi. 'break, be broken' > pVg *mūr- > Vg: LK/MK mor-, UK/Ss mur- id., d.: LK/MK morl-, UK/Ss murl- vt. 'break partly, murtaa'; pOs {Ht.} *mōray- ~ *maray- > 'break to pieces (zerbrechen)' > Os: V/Vy mōr̄i-, Ty mor̄i-, Y mori-, D/K moray-, Kz mōr̄i-, O mari- id., Ty mort- ~ inv. m̄irta id., ds.: V/Vy mōrayəl- id., Ty mōraq̄nt- id. | Hg mar- v. 'bite, corrode, mill' || Sm {Jn.} *m̄r̄b̄- vt. 'break' > Ne: T d. m̄r̄da-, T O {Lh.} m̄r̄b̄ā id., F {Lh.} vt. martā- 'stark schlagen', d. T m̄r̄kadā-, T O

mark·æðā vi. 'plötzlich durchbrechen', F mar_gkāttīē vi. 'zerbrach plötzlich'; Ng {Cs.} 1s obj. maru¹ama, p. marajuama 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen'; En X {Cs.} more¹ibo², En B {Cs.} more²ebo 1s obj. 'break'; Slq MTz {KD} murā_lta- v. 'crumble', Tm {KD} morānab_l, Slq Ch {KD} mōrna_u 1s aor. id.; Kms {KD} b̄ru_lūjābā_lam 1s prs. 'I break, break to pieces' ¶¶ Coll. 36, UEW 288, SK 352-3, Ht. #406, Jn. 87-8, Cs. 74, 306 ¶¶ The variability of the vw. (Lp N q < *u, but qa < *u_l;) may be somehow connected with the merger of two N words within this U √ ◇ The vw. *0 (for the expected *u) in T *m_or- is still to be explained ◇ IS II 75-6 (*mur_o 'break, crush' > HS, IE, K, U, D, A; ties in some reflexes of N *muhr_o '↑' and N *m_oR_l∇_lC∇ 'to crumb, to crush' [q.v.]), UEW 288 (U, IE).

1464. *muR_o (= *mur_o?) 'go away, perish, die' > HS: S *√mrr G 'go away, pass' (× N *mAr_o'ū_l 'trace, path; to follow, to trace'?) > Ug √mrr G 'go away', {OLS} 'partir, marchar', Ar √mrr v. G (pf. مَرَّ marra) {Fr.} 'transivit, præterit; abiit', {Hv.} 'elapse' (of time), 'pass', Jb C√mrr v. G (pf. mirr, sbjn. 'yummur), Jb E√mrr v. G (pf. mir), Mh √mrr v. G (pf. m̄r) v. 'pass', Hrs √mrr (pf. m̄r) 'continue, go', Ak √mrr v. 'go away' ¶ A #1658, OLS 292, Fr. IV 163-4, Hv. 713, BK II 1082-3, Jo. M 268, Jo. J 173, Jo. H 89, Sd. 609 || C: EC *mar- 'pass, go' > Sml mar- 'pass (through\by\along)', Rn mar- 'move across (to one side of the house)' (of a woman after childbirth); Af {PH} mare scv. 'continue, live'; HEC {Hd.} *mar- 'go' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.}, Sd {Gs., Hd.} mar- 'go' ¶ ZMO 277, PG 219, PH 164, Hd. 71, 211, 254, 293, 332, 385, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 (err.: *mar- 'go' < 'go round' [cp. N *mur_o '≈ twist, roll, turn round']) || IE *mer-/*m_or_o- 'die' > OI mri_oyatē 'dies' (aor. a-m_or_o-ta, pf. ma'māra), OI BdhSk maratī, Av miriyeite (= mē_orye_oite) id., OPrs a-mariyatā 'he died' || Arm մեռալիս me_oranim 'I die' || L morior / inf. mori 'die' || Lt mi_orti (prs. mi_ortu), Ltv mi_ort (prs. mi_ortu) 'to die', Lt d. mēris, mēre 'death', mēre 'dead' | Sl inf. *mer-ti (1s prs. *m_or-q) 'to die' > OCS мрѣти m_orēti (prs. мѣрѣ мѣрѣ), SCr мрѣти m_ori_ojēti (prs. m_orēm), Slv m_orēti (m_orēm), Cz m_ořiti, Slk mriet', P mrzec', OR мѣрѣти mereti id., R мѣреть 'to die' (of many people) (prs. мрѣ), with pxs.: умереть+помереть 'to die', Uk 'мерти (мрѣ) 'to die', Blg мрѣ > мра 'I die'] ⇨ NaIE caus. *m_or-ej-

'cause to die' > OI 3s prs. *mā'raya-ti* || SI **moriti* id. > SCr *mòriti*, Slv *moriti*, Cz *mořiti*, Slk *morit'*, P *morzyć*, R *морить*, Uk *морити*, OCS cd. **оуморити** *u-moriti* | Lt *marinti* vt. 'starve (verhungern lassen), exterminate; attend a dying person' | NaIE d. (pp.) **mṛō-to-* 'dead' > OI *mṛō'ta-*, Av *mərəta*, OPrs *marta-* id. || Lt *mirtóji dienà* 'day of death' | NaIE **mṛt-u-o* (< **mṛō-to* × **mṛō-u-o*) 'dead' > L *mortuus* || SI **mьrtvъ* (jъ) 'dead' > OCS **мрътвъ** *mṛtvъ*, Blg **мъртъв**, SCr *mṛtav*, Slv *mṛtev*, Cz *mrtvŭ*, Slk *mṛtvu*, P *martwu*, R 'мёртвый', Uk 'мертвий' | NaIE **mṛō-to-* ~ **mor-to-* 'dead', 'mortal' → 'human being' (× N **marī?* ▽ 'young man'?) > Gk βροτός 'human being' (← *'mortal'), 'dead', [Hs.] μορτός (or μόρτος) 'human being; dead', d.: [Hs.] ἔμορτεν aor. 'died', OI 'martaḥ' 'man, mortal', Av *marəta* id., Sgd *mṛt mṛt* 'jedermann', NPrs **مرد** *mārd* 'man', Arm **մարդ** *maṛd* 'person' | NaIE **ṇ-mṛō-to-* 'immortal' > OI *a'mṛōta-*, Av *aməša-*, Gk ἄμβροτος | d. NaIE **mṛō-to-m* 'death' > OI *mṛō'ta-* id., ON *morð*, OHG *mord*, NHG *Mord* 'murder', AS *morð* id., 'death' | d. NaIE **mṛō'ti-* 'death' > Vd *mṛō'tyu-ḥ*, OI *mṛō'ti-ḥ*, Av *mərəti-* id. || L *mors* (gen. *mort-is*) id. || Lt *mirtis* id. | SI (cd.) **сь-мьртъ* id. > OCS **сьмрътъ** *сьmṛtvъ*, Blg **смърт**, SCr, Slv *smṛt*, Cz *smrt*, Slv *smrt'*, P *śmierć*, R, Uk **смерть** | d. NaIE **mṛō-ḥō-* 'dead' > Clt: OIr *marb*, NIr *marbh* 'dead', Brtt {RE} **marwos* id. > Crn *marow*, MBr *maru*, *marf*, Br *marv*, W *marw* 'dead' | d. NaIE **mor-o-s* 'death' > OI *māra-* ~ *mara-* id. || Gk μόρος id., 'corpse', (here?) 'doom' || Lt *māras* 'plague, pestilence' | SI **morъ* id. > OCS **моръ** *morъ*, Blg, R **мор**, Uk **мір**, SCr *mōr*, Slv *mòr*, Cz, Slk † *mor*, P *mór* || Ht {CHD} *merr-*, *mirr-*, *mar-* 'disappear, go away, vanish, be\get lost, cease to exist', {Ts.} id., 'die off' ¶¶ WP II 276, P 735, EI 150 (**mer-* 'die', **mṛō-to-s* 'dead, mortal', **morto-s* 'person, mortal', **mṛō'ti-s* 'death', **mṛō-to-m* id., **moro-s* id.), M K II 594, 674-5, 696-7, M E II 318-9, 327-8, 371-2, MW 811, 827, F I 270-1, II 257, LS 331, 1147, Ch.197-8, 713, WH II 112-3, Kb. 696, KM 487-8, Ho. 226, Vn. M 19, RE 88, Hm. 552, Frn. 409, 457-9, ESSJ XVIII 101-2, XIX 250-1, and XXI 140-51, Glh. 423, 426-7, 567, Vs. II 602, 606, 651, 655 and III 685-6, Slt. 180, CHD L-N 293-5, Ts. E II 199-201 || **U**: FU (att. in Os only) **mur* ▽ - > pOs **mur* ▽ > Os K {PD} *mür-* 'be starving, starve almost to death' ¶ PD 1303, Stn. D 953 || ? **D** (in SD) **muṛ-* > Tm *muṛi* 'perish, cease to exist', Kn *muṛi* 'destroy, put an end to, do away' (unless ← D

*mur̥- v. 'break') ¶ ≈ D #5008 ◇ If D *mur̥- belongs here, the N rec. must be *mur̥ ▽ ◇ In IE the glide *u (< N *u) was lost due to phonetic laws: *mu̯- > *m- and *-u̯ > zero before a sonant (ffd. AD NVIE and AD NGIE) ◇ The semantic difference between this N word and N *mæR₁h₁ ▽ 'be wounded, ill' and the phonetic difference (between their vowels) prevent us from identifying them as the same etymon, as long as we cannot explain Os *u as cognate with M and Sm *e ◇ ≈ IS 59-60 (*m^{ra}r̥ 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N *mæR₁h₁ ▽ '↑' [q.v.], and N *m^{ra}R₁ ▽ 'be ill, wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (*mir-/ *mer- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. equation of IE *mer-/ *mor-/ *mr̥- 'die' with S *mar-at¹ [sc. *√mr̥] 'be[come] sick, fall ill', Eg mr̥ 'be ill; *die [a ghost-meaning]', and D *mer̥- 'oppress, pierce').

1465. *m ▽ R ũ 'ant' > IE: NaIE *morwi- 'ant' > Av {Brtl.} maurvay- (/maori-), Sgd ʔmʔwrč, NPrs مور mūr id. ||| OIr moirb, MW myr, pl.: MW myrion, MBr merien, Cm muryon id. ||| Sl *morvъ 'ant' > Blg Δ мрaф, McdS Δ мрaв, SCr, Slv mrāv, R Δ 'мурав 'ant', Blr 'мураў 'anthill'; d. Sl *morvъjъ 'ant' > OCS мрaвнн mравii, Blg мравей, R мура'вей, Δ мора'вей ||| mt. *mouro- / *meyro- > Gmc: ON maurr, Dn myre, Sw myra, Dt mier 'ant', ME mīre id., NE mire id. (in pis-mire) (← ON?), Gt Cr miera ||| *morm- ({P}: tabuistic transformation) > Gk μύρμος, μύρμηξ 'ant' ||| ? L formīca id. ({WH}: dis. from *morm-?) ||| Arm մրջիւն mʁžiw̄n ~ մրջիմն mʁžim̄n 'ant' ¶ WP II 306-7, P 749, EI 24, Brtl. 1152, Horn 222-3, Vn. M 60, Vr. 380, Vr. N 442, Fs. 357, ESSJ XIX 241-50, Glh. 425, Blz NSS 361-2, F II 272-3, WH I 531-2, Bedr. 489 ||| **K** *m ▽ r̥s̥- > Sv: UB {GP} m̄a₁r̄š̄k̄, UB/LB/Ln m̄a₁š̄k̄ 'ant' (× N *m ũ s̥ ▽ 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. муравей ||| **HS**: Ch: P' {MSk.} mamárì 'black ant' ||| MfG {Brr.} mámbzrzáy 'ant' ¶ Brr. MG II 177, ChC.

1466. *m ▽ R ▽ '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE *mar- 'hand', *mar-n- v. 'grasp' > Gk μάρη 'hand' ||| pAl {O} d. *mar-na- > Al marr (aor. mor a) 'take, grasp' ||| Vd mr̥^{na}ti, mr̥^{na}ti 'robs, seizes' ¶ ≈ P 740 (IE *m̄a-r / gen. *m̄a-'n-es, m̄n̄^{to}s 'hand'), F II 175, Ch. 667, O 246, Huld 89-90, Dmr. 257-8; ≈ M K I 673 and ≈ M E II 320 (* ÷ Gk μάρνασθαι 'fight'); ≈ EI 254-5 (*₁meh_{ra} / *mh_{ra}'n-os 'hand', see N *mañy^{ra} 'paw, foot/leg of animals') ||| **HS**: S *_o√mwr (*-mūr-)

*'acquire' (< **'grasp by hand') > Sr ✓ mwr (ip. -mūr) G 'buy (corn)',
 Aram → Ak NB mārū 'to buy' ¶ Br. 377, CAD X/1 317, JPS 259, HJ
 605 || C: Bj {R} ✓ mry (~ ✓ mrw?) G pcv. (inv. meri ~ meru, 1s: p.
 'amri ~ 'amru, prs. aman'rī; prtc. 'merya, 'mēra) 'take', {Rop.}
 miri, meri pcv. 'find, get' ¶ R WBd 171-2, Rop. 218 || ??? Eg G
 mǝw.ty (?) 'arms' (-ty is a sx. of f. du.) ¶ EG II 28 || U: FU (in Ugr
 only) *m∇r∇ 'hollow hand' > OHg XIII marok 'hollow hand, handful',
 Hg marok, Δ marék ∂ morok ∂ marák '(hollow of the) hand', Hg
 markol- v. 'grasp, grip, clutch, seize' || pOs *murās > Os: K {Ps.} murās
 'distance between the lower edge of the palm of hand to the tip of the
 thumb (as a unit of length)', D murās 'vershok (a Russian unit of
 length)', Ty/Y f {Trj.} murās 'distance between stretched fingers,
 четверть (a unit of length)' ¶ UEW 872, EWU 940, PD 1296, Stn. D
 964-5, Trj. S 270 || E: ma(r)-ri 'grasp, hold, catch' ¶¶ HK 881, 884-8
 ◇ ADb. MRS 22 (IE, U + err. D).

1467. *muΓra 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)' > K: MG, G mṽera
 'song, singing (Singen, Gesang); play', G mṽer- {Chx.} 'sing', si-mṽer-a
 'song' ¶ DCh. 914-5, Chx. 863-4 || U: FU *mura- 'shout, sing' > Er moro,
 Mk mor 'song', Er/Mk mora- v. 'sing, play music' || pChr *murъ ({Ber.}
 murā) > Chr: L мураш mu'r-aš, Н мыраш 'mър-aš 'to sing', B/Uf mure-
 'sing', L муро 'mur-o, Н мыры 'mъръ, B muro 'song', Uf muro 'Gesang'
 || Os: Vy mora- v. 'shout (at the arrival of rowers to the village, bringing
 an official)', V morāṽ- 'make big noise' (of people)' (× N *m'ur'∇
 'make loud noise' [q.v.]) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 287-8, It. #272, Ber. 39, MRS
 334-5, 342, Ep. 73, Ü 129, Stn. D 956-7, Trj. S 262 || A: AmTg *mura-
 v. 'shout' > Ork mura-, Ul, Ork mura-, Nn Nh/B/KU mora- id. (× Tg
 *mo|ura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' [of animals] < N *m'ur'∇ '↑'?) ¶ STM I
 546-7 || D *mur- > Tm mural v. 'emit sounds, cry, sing', Kdg moraḍ-
 v. 'weep', more 'lamentation', Tu moræ v. 'cry', muriya n. 'cry,
 weeping', Klm moray- v. 'produce musical sound' (bell, etc.), morp- v.
 'play (flute), ring (bell)', Mlt mure v. 'speak, say yes or no', possibly
 also Tl morayū, Nkr moray- v. 'sound', Ml muraluka, muruluka,
 Kn moral v. 'hum, grunt, growl' ¶¶ D #4973 || ?σ HS: S *✓mry > Ar
 ✓mry Sh (pf. ṽamraṽa) v. 'chat', {BK} 'bavarder, babiller' (× ← Ar
 ṽamraṽa v. 'slaver') ¶ BK II 1094, Hv. 716 ◇ IS MS 345 s.v. 'кричатъ'
 *mur∆ (U, D) ◇ If the Ar verb belongs here, the N rec. must be
 *murga → *mugra (unless the Ar root is explained by mt.).

1468. *muhr∇ 'part, piece' > **HS:** WS *¹muhr₁∇₁r- 'dowry, marriage portion; property' > Ar mahr- 'dowry, nuptial gift', ✓mhr G (pf. mahura, ip. -mhur-) 'assign a dowry to a woman', BHb מְהָר 'mohar 'dowry, bride price', Ug {OLS} mhr 'dowry' ('dote, precio\compensación por la esposa', {Grd.} 'marriage price'), IA מְהָר mhr[?] 'dowry', JA [Trg.] {Js.} מוֹהָרָא muh'rā 'bride price; the wife's settlement, widowhood', JEA {Sl.} מוֹהָרָא muh'rā 'an endowment pledge collectable upon the dissolution of the marriage', Sr مَهْرٌ mahrā 'marriage portion, gift from the bridegroom to the bride; marriage dowry', Sb mhr t 'wealth, possessions', ✓mhr Sh (pf. hmhr) (?) 'levy payment, imposer un paiement', Mn {MA} ✓mhr 'fixer le dot', Qt {Rk.} mhr t 'possessions' ¶ Fr. IV 216, BK II 116O-1, Hv. 737, KB 525, HJ 6O1-2, Grd. UT #1441, ≈ A #1531, OLS 267-8, Br. 376, Br. G I 194 [§ 74b], Js. 739, Sl. 646, JPS 256, Ln. 274O, MA 6O, Rk. 94 || B **-muhr- > *-mūr- 'part, portion' > Kb, Izd a-mur (pl. i-mur-ən) id., Tmz a-mur (pl. i-mur-ḡ) id., 'share' ¶ Dl. 513, MT 427-8, Mrc. 186 ¶ The long vw. (reflected in the B lgs. as u) suggests the presence of a N lr. || **D** *mur- 'piece' (× N *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut' [q.v. ffd]) > Tm mur i 'piece, bit broken off', Kt mur y 'small piece', Tu mur ku 'fragment, piece, bit', Tl mur i, mur i y a 'a bit, piece', ? Nkr mur nḡe 'a quarter (of bread)', ? Ku m u k a 'small piece' ¶¶ D #4975 ¶¶ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *-r-clusters (in this case of *-hr-) || **U** *mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N *mur∇ '↑' [q.v.]).

1469. *mari∇ 'young man, young male' > **HS:** S *ma(:)ri∇- 'man, male person' (→ 'husband, lord', 'boy') > OA, IA, Nbt, Plm מְרִא mr[?] 'lord'; the var. *māri∇- (> *māriy- with a *-y-, appearing in hiatus after the loss of -r-) > BAרְמִרָא mārē 'lord', +ppa. מְרִאִי mār[?]-ī 'my lord', Sr مَرْأٌ mār-ā ~ مَرْأٌ mār(ə)'y-ā (with the former marker of definiteness -ā, which lost its meaning), Hmr {Rb., Slw.} mārīy- 'lord'; the variant *¹mari∇- (whence, due to the law of posttonic syncope, *¹mar∇-) > Ar مَرءٌ mar[?]-(un) 'man, husband', Ak: OAk mar[?]-um ~ mer[?]-um, Ak OA mer[?]-u(m) ~ mar[?]-u(m), Ak OB mār-u(m) 'son, boy', OAk mar[?]-at-um 'girl' (d. with the marker of fem. -at-); denom. verbs: Ar ✓mr[?] 'den Männchen spielen', ✓mr y v. 'be male' ¶ JH 166-7, HJ 682-9, Sd. 615-6, CAD X/1 3O8-16, KB 596, Br. 4O1, BK II 1O85, Rb. AWA 28, Slw. 197-8 || ? Eg fOK mr.t 'Hörige, Untertanen'

(‘so.’s men’), Eg MK/XVIII *m̄r* ‘Angehörige jemds., seine Anhänger, seine Parteigänger’ ¶ EG II 98, 106 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **mar^ri* ‘slave’ (← *‘so.’s man) > NrBc: Mbr *mar*, Sir *mar-cək̄i*, Jmb *marž̄u* ‘slave’ || Ron {J}: DfB *mō̄r*, Klr *mahór* (-*h*- is secondary?), Sha *mōh* (-*h* regularly from **-r*) ‘slave’, ? DfB *má̄ra* ‘male’, *mâ̄r* ‘boy’ || CCh: ? BB: Nz *mùré*, Bt {Mch.} *mure* ‘man, male animal’, FIM *mur̄u*, FIB *mùr̄ín*, Bcm {Sk.} *mùré*, Mln *múrò*, Gudu {IL, JI} *m+r̄*, {ChL} *mɜr* ‘man (vir)’ ¶ Stl. ZCh 233 [#805], J R s.v., JI II 230-1, J R 218-9, 353, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 40 || IE: NaIE **meryo-*, **mer-* ‘young man’ (→ ‘husband’) > OI **marya-h̄*, Av *mairya-* ‘young man’, OI **marya’kaḥ* ‘Männchen, Jüngchen’, MPrs *mērag* ‘young man, husband’, Bct *μαρηγο* ‘servant’ || Gk *μεράκιον* ntr. ‘young man, lad’, *μεῖραξ* ‘young girl, lass’, (later) ‘lad’ || L *marītus* ‘married man, husband’, lit. ‘one possessed by a wife’ (← **m̄r̄-ī* ‘wife’, «муж-няя») || W *merch* ‘girl, daughter’, Br *merc’h* ‘girl, woman’, pl.: W *merched*, Cm *myrhes*, Br *merc’ed* ‘maidens’; OBr, OCrn *moroin* (< **morignā*) ‘virgo = girl’, Cm *moren*, W *morwyn* ‘maiden, virgin’ || ? Gt Cr *marzus* ‘wedding’ (< **marθ-hūs* ‘≈ marriage house’?) || Lt *martī*, Pru *mārti-n* (accus. sg.), *mārtan* ‘bride’; ?? +ext.: Lt *mergà* ‘peasant girl’, dim. *mergēlē*, *mergáitē* ‘girl’, Ltv *mērga* ‘girl’, Pru *mergo*, *merga* ‘virgin’ ¶ WP II 281, P 738-9, EI 656 (*‘*merjo-s* ‘young man’, *‘*merih_ḡ*’ ‘young woman’), Mn. 760, IS II 39, M K II 596-7, M E II 329, F II 195-6, WH II 40-1, YGM-1 331, Fs. 348, Flr. 260, ECCE 105, LP § 271, Frn. 412, 439-40, En. 208 || D **maṛi-*, {GS} **maḍ-i* ‘son, child, young of animals’ > Kn *maṛi* ‘young of an animal, child’, Tm *maṛi* ‘young of ungulate (sheep, horse, deer, etc.); female ruminant; deer’, Ml *maṛi* ‘offspring, young of animals, young deer’, Kt *mayr*, Td *maṛy*, Tu *maṛi* ‘a young animal’, Tl *maṛaka* ‘kid’, Gnd *maṛi* *ḍ* *mari* *ḍ* *maṛi/maṛ* *ḍ* *maṛi* ‘son’, Knd *maṛin* ‘son’, *mē-mari* ‘husband, man’, Png *mazi* ‘son’, Kui *m̄riēnž̄u* *ḍ* *m̄riēnž̄i*, Ku *miṛesi* *ḍ* *m̄riēsi* ‘son’, Brh *mār* ‘son, boy, lad’ ¶¶ D #4764, GS 157 [#392] || ? K: pSv *amb***māra-i* ‘person, man’ (*-i nom.) > Sv L/UB *māre*, Sv LB *māre* id., unless a loan from the Nakh lgs. (Chechen *mār*, Batsbi *mar* ‘husband’) ¶ GM S 166, Dn. s.v. *māre*, GP 212, Dn. s.v. *ᲙᲗᲚᲗ*, IS II 40 || A: Tg: Nn *Δ marin-* v. ‘marry a man’ (STM I 539); see also the Tg stem **m̄rēn-* v. ‘marry’ (of a woman) > Ork *m̄rən-*, Ul *mirən-*, Ewk *mirēn-*, and Lm *m̄erən-* v. ‘marry a man’ (F Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). If it belongs here, its

*ī may be accounted for by regr. as. caused by the N vw. *i of the second syll. IS reconstructs the N etymon as *māyṛ∇, which is based on an untenable rec. of the Tg √ with *ay. Closer examination proves that there is not enough ev. to reconstruct here a cns. *y. The only apparent ev. is the diphthongoid ^he in Lm in the verb m^herān- v. 'marry' (of a woman) and in the related Lm nouns m^herān 'marriage (of a woman)' and m^herānnə 'bride' (STM I 538-9, LW 690-1). But acc. to the sound laws established in Tg historical phonology (Ci. and Mng. TS), the Lm diphthongoid ^he goes back not to the pTg diphthong *jā (which, acc. to IS, goes back to N *ay), but to the pTg vw. *ī, hence the Tg verb in question must be reconstructed not as *mjār∇-, but as *mīrə-n- to 'marry' (of a woman) (whence the abovementioned reflexes in Ork, Ul, Ewk, and Lm) (F Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). As to the Tg diphthong *jā, it regularly yields quite a different vw. in Lm, namely ^hæ (sc. æ with palatalization of the preceding cns.) (Mng. TS 34) ¶ ≠ DQA #1305 (A *mjār|ṛā 'male, mature': unc. comparison of the Tg √ with pJ *mārā 'penis') ◇ IS II 39-40 (#277) (N *majra 'young male') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #63 (*mer 'child') (IE, U, Ai).

1469a. (₂?) *maRi?∇ (or *maṛi?∇) 'animal fat' > HS: S *√mr? v. 'fatten' > Ug √mr? G vi. id., Ak √mr? (inf. marāṁu, marû) id., BHb d. מֵרֵי מֵרֵי mā'rī 'fatling' (← pp. 'fattened one'), Ar √mr? G {Hv.} 'be wholesome' (of food), {BK} 'profiter à qn., tourner à la santé de qn.' (les aliments sains) ¶ A #163, OLS 288, KB 600, CAD X/1 306-8, 316-7, Sd. 617, Hv. 714, BK II 1085 || EC: Or {Grg.} mōra 'fat, cattle fat', Kn {BISO} mōr-a 'abdominal or kidney fat', Brj {Ss.} mōr-i 'id. ({Ss.} ← Amh), Alb mōr-a 'ε fat', Gdl {Bl.} mōr 'stomach fat', Sml mōr 'sealing-wax', Rn mōr 'fat around the intestines and stomach', C → Amh ጠራ mora 'animal fat, subcutaneous fat covering the ventral region' ¶ Grg 291, PG 237, L CAD 19, Ss. EDB 147, ZMO 94, BISO 118, Bl. G 83, Blz. RL 258 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Srp.} mār'é n. 'fat', {MCh.} mārē id., 'oil', Bcm {Mch.} mare n. 'fat', {Sk.} mār'é 'oil', Gude {Hsk.} mārá, {IL} māra, Gudu {IL, ChL} mar, Nz {Mk., ChL} mare, FIM {ChL} mīru, FIB {ChL} mārín 'oil' || Tr {Nw.} mar 'oil' || WCh {Stl.} *mawṛ∇ ~ *miwra 'fat', {AD} 'oil' > pAG {Hf.} *mω'z'ir 'oil' > Su {J} mω'ir, Ang {Brq.} mω'ir, {Hf.} mwir, Gmy {Hf.} mωor, Kfr {Nt.} mω'or, Cp {ChL} mōr id. || Klr {J} mār, DfB/Bks {J} bār id. || Krkr {J} marù, {ChL} mārù, Gera {Sch.} mori, Grm {Sch.} mōrì, Ngm {CgL} mōr, Krf {ChC} mùrú, Bl {Mk.} mōr id. || Kir {Sh.} mār, Tala

{Sh.} mīr, Zul {Sh.} miri, Buli {Sh.} mír, Zem D {Sh.} mīer, Zar {Sh.} mīr id. | Ngz {Sch.} mīrāk (pl. mīrārín) id. || ECh: Suk {IL} mīr id. ¶ JI II 133, ChC s.v. 'fat' and 'oil', ChL, Hsk. 233, Stl. ZCh 233 [#803], Hf. AG #53, J S I 76, Nt. 28, J R, Sch. DN 105 || **A**: M *mariya- > MM [S] mariya(n) 'flesh (of a person), body', WrM mariya, miriya, HIM maria 'body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess', Brt maria(н) 'corpulence, stoutness, fatness', WrM mariyazi-, HIM mariaжи-, Mnr H {T} maraža- 'become fat, pudgy, or stout', {SM} maražīä- 's'engraisser, prendre de l'embonpoint', mara 'chair, corpulence', maradu adj. 'fat' (esp. of animals), {T} mara 'stout' ('полный, дородный') ¶ H 108, MED 529, Chr. 294, SM 233, T 344 || possibly also IE: NaIE *smeru- n. 'fat, ointment' (× N *Sämīr▽ 'fat' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N *meṛûq▽ 'to smear' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II 61-2 (? *meṛh 'fat, to smear': HS (including an unc. comparison with some S roots), ? M; does not distinguish this N etymon from N *meṛûq▽) ◇ Not here **D** *mu(:)r- > Tm murāncu 'be full, abundant', mūrī 'strength, greatness', Tu mūrь 'fat, stout, corpulent', Tl mūr u 'increase, be full'. This D √ (or at least Tu mūrь) may be connected with N *mur₁?₁▽gE 'animal fat, brain' (q.v.). If nevertheless (in spite of the semantic distance) the D √ belongs here, the N reconstruction may be ≈ *maw^rī?▽ (for *-w- cp. WCh *ma|iwr▽) ◇ NaIE *s- may be either original (sc. pointing to a N *-r- in N *maṛī?▽) or due to the contamination with N *Sämīr▽ and N *meṛûq▽ '↑' (in such case the N rec. must be *maRī?▽).

1470. *mæR₁h₁▽ (= *maṛ₁h₁▽?) 'be wounded, be ill' > HS: Eg fMd mr {EG, DW} 'be ill, ache; illness', {Fk.} 'sick, ill, diseased; painful', Eg fP mr.t {EG} 'krankhaftes, Krankheit; Böses, Schlimmes' ¶ EG II 96, DW I 376-82, Fk. 110 || S *^o√mr₁h₁ > Ar مَرِهَ marih-un 'ill, sick', marihu-l-fuṭādi 'affected with heart-disease', √mrh G (pf. mariha, ip. -mrah-) 'be weakened' (of an eye) ¶ Fr. IV 173, Hv. 717 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} mēro 'illness', {Lm.} mēro id., 'pain' ¶ Wdk. BY 131, Lm. Y 366 || **U** *m^re^rr▽ > Sm {Jn.} *merьyь 'wound' > Ne: T mēpē, T O {Lh.} mēṛw, F NI mīṛṛw 'wound, sore'; Ng {Cs.} 'mearun, mearu id., {Mik.} 'meru 'pimple (pattanás)'; Kms {KD} mērw 'wound', mēraalam vt. 'I wound' ¶ Jn. 93, Ter. 249 || **A**: M: MM [S] mer 'wound', HIM мэр adv. (indeclinable word) denoting dull pain: мэр гэж өвдөх 'feeling of dull pain within one's body (chest, stomach, etc.)', ? WrM (< d. or cd.?) mermerki- 'feel a slight pain at the pit of the stomach or in the

chest' ¶ H 109, MED 537, Luv. 253 || Tg: Ewk murdul- v. 'slaughter (a reindeer) ¶ STM I 558 || ?σ,φ pJ *m̥jar- → *majr- v. decrease, diminish, drain away' > OJ m̥l̥j̥er- id., J: T meri n. 'loss, waste, leakage' ¶ S QJ #1200, Mr. 475, 723, Kenk. 1213 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1317 (A *mj̥ore 'to hurt, to damage, to wound'; incl. M, Tg, J) || ?? IE: ḡ NaIE *(s)mer- (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness' > L *morbū*s (< *mor-b^ho-s) 'disease, sickness' ||| Gmc *smert- 'pain' > OHG *smērzo* ~ *smērza*, NHG *Schmerz*, MLG, MDt *smērte*, *smarte*, NE *smart* 'pain' ¶ ≈ WH II 110-1, Kb. 917, OsS 833, ≈ KM 663-4 ◇ At the present state of research we cannot yet establish any genetic relationship between this N word and N **muR*∇ 'go away, perish, die' ◇ If NaIE *(s)mer- 'belongs here, the N rec. must be **mærl̥h*∇, otherwise we remain with an unspecified **R* (N **mæR*∇) ◇ ≈ IS II 59-60 (**m^rä^r∆* 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N **muR*∇ '↑' [q.v.], and N **m^rä^rR*∇∇ 'be ill, be wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (**mir*-/**mer*- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. comparison of Eg *mr* 'be ill' with IE and D [see above s.v. N **muR*∇]).

1471. **māriq*∇ 'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > HS: S **mr̥χ* > Ar *ʔamraχu* 'bigarré, tacheté de taches rouges et blanches' ¶ BK II 1088 || IE: NaIE **mer*∇₁-/**mor*(u)- 'dirty, dark' > Gk *μоруχ*-* v. 'soil, defile' (attested: prtc. pf. *μεμоруχμένος* 'soiled, blackened'), *μоруχώτερον* adv. cmpr. 'more obscurely' ||| Lt *morā* pl. 'mould' | Sl **marati* 'to soil, to stain' > Hls *marac*, *mórac*, P *marac*, OR *μαρατι* *marati*, R *ма'рачь* id. ||| Arm *մրայլ* *mṙayl* 'mist, darkness, obscurity' ¶ WP II 279-80, P 734, F II 257, Frn. 464, ESSJ XVII 207-9 ||| A: Tg **mer*- '(be) motley, spotted' > Ewk *mərīmz*, *mərīlz*, *mərīktz* 'spotted, striped, skewbald, motley', *mərīkz*- 'make (sth.) motley', Lm Ol *mārgl*- 'be motley', Lm Okh *mergl*- vt. 'ornament', WrMc *mersen* 'small spots on feathers (пятнышки, пестринки), freckles', *mersenḡe* 'motley, freckled' ¶ STM I 571-2 || M **meriyen* > WrM {Pp.} *meriyen* 'bunt, scheckig, Schecke', Ord *erēn merēn* id. (unless a secondary M **m*-rdp. of **eriyen* 'motley, variegated') ¶ Pp. VG 35, MED 327 || T **beṛä*- v. 'ornament, adorn' > OT *be|äzä*-, Tk *beze*-, Tkm *beḡe*-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq *beze*-, Az *bäzä*-, Uz *beza*- ~ *beža*-, VTt *bizä*-, Bsh *biḡä*- ¶ Cl. 390, 392, Pp. VG 35 (on the NaT d. **be|äzän*-), ET B 105-6 || pJ {S} **múra* 'spot(ted)' > ItOJ [RJ] *mura*, J: T *múra*, K *múra*, Kg *múra* ¶ S QJ #1083,

Mr. 488 ¶ S AJ 74, DQA #1286 (A *mer|řu 'spot = пятно'; doubts about the adduction of T *bär ä-, sc. *beřä-), Pp. VG 35 (T, M, Tg) || D *mař- 'dirty spot, stain' > Tm mařu 'stain, blot, spot (esp. on the moon), stigma', Ml mařu 'spot, freckle', Tl mařaka 'stain, blot, spot', Gnd marrō ɖ marror 'black mole' ¶ D #4767 ◇ T *-ř- < *-ry- < N *-riq-. T *e (rather than the expected *ä) may be due to the palatalizing infl. of ř. If the T cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be *mär▽q▽ ◇ IS II 52 (*mAr ʌ 'spot, dirty': IE, D) → BmK #539 (IE, D).

1472. *m^ra^rwê '€ tree' > HS: CS *^omar_u▽_w- '€ tree' > Ar marw- {BK} 'sorte d'arbre (macrua)', {Fr.} [Kam.] '€ tree' ('nomen arborum'); S → Eg fOK mrw, Eg fXVIII mrɥ '€ red wood of a coniferous tree from Syria' ¶ BK II 1097, Fr. IV 175, EG II 108-9 || Eg OK/NE mr.t '≈ desk', Eg NE mr.ɥ '€ a useful kind of wood (Holz)' ¶ EG II 108 || EC: pKns *múr-a 'forest' > Kns, Gato múra, Gdl múr id. ¶ Bl. 255 || WCh: DfB {J} mêr 'tree' ¶ J R 218 || U: FU *m^ro^re '€ tree' > pLp {Lr.} *mōrɜ 'tree, wood (Holz)' > Lp: L {LLO} muorra, Kld m̄pp m̄rr id., S muore id., 'board', N {N} muorra â / -r- 'tree, wood, stake, pole' || OHg mórágy, ı morágy '€ wood (Wald) \ forest' (preserved in OHg XIII and modern Hg toponymy) || pOs *mōr▽ 'bush, shrub, thicket' > Os: V mōr† 'Busch', D mōrây id., 'Strauch', Ty mōr† id., 'Dickicht, junger Nedelwald', Nz mōra 'Haufen, Menge (Bäume u.a.)' ¶ The Lp vw. may go back to *o or *a, the Hg vw. may be from *o, while Os *ō are likely to point to *u (< *o due to the infl. of some labial phonemes of the word) ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 281, ≈ 291-2, Lr. #92, Lgc. #4020, LLO 536-7, Hs. 951, SaR 198, MF 450 || A: pKo {S} *mòró 'wood, forest; mountain' > MKo mòró id. ¶ S QK #55, Nam 215 || pJ (S) *mórí 'forest' > OJ mórí, J: T mòri, K móri, Kg móri ¶ S QJ #213, Mr. 485 ¶ ≈ DQA #1377 (*mūro 'tree, forest'; incl. Ko, J) || D *mar-, {GS} maran- 'tree, wood' > Tm, Ml marām id., 'timber', Kt marm, Td me·n̄, Kn, Tu mara, Kdg mara, Tl m(r)ānu, m(r)āku, Klm ma·k, Nkr mak, Prj meri, Gdb mar ɖ marin ɖ māren, Gnd mara ɖ maṛa ɖ maṛā ɖ māra, Knd maran, Png, Mnd mar, Kui mrahn̄u ɖ mrānu, Ku mārnu ɖ marnu ɖ mara, Krx mann, Mlt manu 'tree' ¶ D #4711, GS 224 [#549] || ?? IE: Ht marmarr(a)- {CHD} '€ terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht' (acceptable if Frd.'s interpretation is true; but Ot. and El interpret it as 'swamp, marsh', cf. IE *mor- < N *moRE 'body of water', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 137, Frd. HW EH III 24, Ts. E II 140-1, CHD L-N 192 ◇ IS II 45 (*mar ʌ 'tree' > U, D, ? S) ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns.

cluster (*-rʷ-?); U *o (tentatively reconstructed in the UEW) (for the expected *a) points to the presence of a N labializing factor (*ʷ?); D *a may go back either to N *a or to *ä, but the back vw. in the FU cognate suggests that N *a is more plausible. The N cns. *ʷ survives in S ◇ ≈ Gr. II #207 (*mor 'hill') (U, A, J + unc. Ai, Gil, CK).

1473. *maR₁y₁∇ '(mul-, black-) berries' > IE: NaIE *mor- 'mulberry, blackberry' > Arm մոր mor 'blackberry, mulberry' || Gk μόρον id. || L mōrum id., mōrus 'mulberry-tree' (ō proves that it is not a loan from Gk) || OIr mer (pl. mera) 'mulberry' ({Vn.}: ← Brtt?), W merwydd 'mulberry-trees', sgl. merwydden (cd. with gwydd 'tree?') || ? Ht muri-, muri(ya)n- 'cluster of grapes or other fruit' ¶ ≠ P 749, EI 388 (*'morom 'blackberry'), F II 256, Bois. 645, EM 738, WH II 114, Vn. M 40, YGM-1 331, CHD L-N 333 || **HS:** ζ Eg {Budge} mr 'mulberry tree (morus tree)' (Palermo Stele, F Schäfer BAA IV 1149) ¶ Budge I 314; the word is not confirmed by EG, Mks., and other reliable sources and is therefore qu.; Tk AAN 2 identifies the word with Eg mr.ʷ 'Lebanese cedar (cedrus Libani)' (Hng. 348) (= Eg fOK {EG} mrʷ ~ mrye 'coniferous tree?') || **K** *marçqʷ- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} մարչյճmarçqʷ-i, eNG, G մարչյճomarçqʷ-i, Sv UB/Ln bäsqi, UB/LB bäsqi id. ¶ K 127, K² 115, FS K 209, FS E 230, SSO I 444, Chx. 675, TK 147, GP 91 ¶ This is a cd. of N *maR₁y₁a + N ? *ć∇mqU '∈ fruit, berry' (a N etymon represented by K {FS} *cimqʷ- 'strawberry or bilberry' > G cmqʷa, Mg cəmɸwa, cimɸwa 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} cīnqa, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} cīnqa, Ln {TK} cīnqa 'bilberry' - F K 224 [*cīnqʷa], FS K 400, FS E 450 [*cimqʷ-], TK 838, GP 277) || **U:** FU *marya 'berries' > F marja, Es mari id. | pLp {Lr.} *mōryē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} muörjie, L/N {LLO, N} muor'je, Kld {TI} mūry | Er/Mk ma' 'berries' (in cds.) | Chr: H mör 'berry', B mör, Uf mörö 'garden strawberries' || ObU *m∇:r- > pVg *mār̄ > ML {Mu.} moār̄i, N {Mu.} mār̄i 'Stengel der Beere', N moriη/p pil 'büschelige Beere'; pOs *murap 'bunch of berries' > Os: VK murwa, Ty/Y/O murap, K/Kr mūrāp, Nz/Kz mūrāp id. ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 264-5, It. #28, Ht. #407, Trj. S 270, Lr. #693, Lgc. #4018, Hs. 952-3 || **A:** pKo {S} *mār̄'új 'grapes', {Vv.} 'wild grapes' > MKo mār̄'új, NKo mār̄ru, Ko SW {Mazur} mōrā 'grapes', ? Ko Chl {Vv.} melgʷu, Ko Chj {Choy} melguy 'wild grapes' ¶ S QK #246, Nam 212, MLC 608, Vv. AEN 10-1 || ?? T *bürü-lgän '∈ Rubus (berry)' (analyzed by IS as *büri- + sx. -lig- + ancient plural parker -∇n) > Qmq бүрүлген 'blackberries', VTt qara

bǝrǝlgän id., qǝzɹl bǝrǝlgän 'bramble', Chv пёрлѣжен ырлѣxen id.; acc. to IS, T *bürü-lgän ⇨ WrM bürülgene, HIM bürälgəna 'Viburnum, калина'; Az Qb müri 'strawberry' (quoted in IS II 44 and in AD NM #59) is rejected by Starostin (S CNM 4) as a loan from Lezgian and by Pp. (Pp. rISOS-II 223) who believes that it "is certainly not Altaic") ¶ TatR 93, KumRS 89; Jeg. 157, Dm. NRTAJ 175, 186, Rs. W 93 || Tg {ADb.} *meruŋu > Ewk мороŋo 'cloud-berries' (⇨ Ne T ма́раңга́ id.), Nn {On.} mīrǝŋkulǝ 'mountain-ash tree (Sorbus)' ¶ STM I 547, On. 263, Ter. 235 || ? M: WrM {Cev.} maril, HIM марил 'ε red round fruit of a plant' ¶ Cev. 333 ¶¶ DQA #1285 (A *méra 'ε berry'), ADb. {p.c., 2002: drew my attention to the Nn cognate) ◇ AD GD #2 (IE, U, K), IS II 43-5 [#282] (*marja 'berry' > IE, K, U, A), Bm. NM #432 (IE, Eg, U), Pp. rISOS-II 223 (rejects the adduction of WrM bürülgene and HIM bürälgəna 'Viburnum, калина', proposed by IS), AD NM #59, Vv. AEN 10-1 ◇ If T *bürü-lgän belongs here and its vowels can be explained, the N etymon is *mar₁y₁∇.

1473a. *mAr₁y₁∇ 'horned mammal' > HS: Eg MK mr 'Kampfstier' ¶ EG II 106 || S *^o✓mry > Ar مَارٍ māri-n 'jeune veau tout blanc', māriy-at- 'jeune veau femelle au pelage blanc', مَارِيَّة māriy-at- 'antilope blanche', {Hv.} مَارِي māriy- 'white smooth-haired calf' ¶ Qu. because of the semantic component 'white' (infl. of Ar ✓mry 'presser les pis de la chamelle pour en tirer du lait', miryat- 'lait qui sort du pis de la chamelle?') ¶ BK II 1097-8, Hv. 718 || EC: Sa {R} 'mārū 'sheep, ram (Schaf, Schafbock, Widder)', mārū 'ewe', Af {PH} maruw ~ maruy 'ram'; Af marfa 'male lamb' ¶ R S II 271, PH 164 || NOm {Blz.} *mar₁r₁- 'buck, ram' > WI {LmS} mara 'lamb, kid', Omt {Mrn.} mārā 'giovane d'animale', Bdt {C} marrē 'pecora', Gm {Hw.} mārā 'calf', Shn {LmS} merēra 'sheep' ¶ Blz. OL #154, LmS 465, Hw. EG, Mrn. O 151 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} mārī, Plc {ChL} mār, Buli {ChL} mar, {Grgs.} maro, Tala {Csp.} mār 'goat', ?σ Sy {Cm.} māriyá 'harness antelope' ||| CCh: Mtk {ChL} mari 'bull' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 19, 40 ||| **D** *mar- 'ε deer' > Tm marai 'sambar, Indian elk; bison, wild cow', Kn mare 'ε deer', Gnd maramām 'sambar'; OI ⇨ OI marūka- 'ε deer' ¶¶ D #4724 ||| **A**: M *maral 'female deer' > MM [S] {H} maral id., WrM maral, HIM марл, Brt марал 'red deer (Cervus elaphus sibiricus)', Kl марл mar] {Rm.} 'female deer'; M ⇨ Tkm, ET, Qrg maral 'female deer', Shor paral 'deer',

Qzq maral, R маpал 'red deer' ¶ H 108, MED 529, KW 257, Chr. 293, Rs. W 327 ◇ N *-r₁y₁- is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D (D *-r- suggests a N *r-cluster), Eg (the absence of lr. in Eg mr rules out N *-rH- or *-Hr-), S *^o✓mry, and Af maruy (suggesting the presence of N *y) ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#53] (HS, D).

1474. *m^oR₁∇₁C∇ 'to crumb, to crush' > HS: S: [1] *^o✓mrθ > Ar ✓mrθ v. D 'crumb with fingers', or [2] ? *^o✓mrš̂ > Ar ✓mrš̂ G 'scratch and tear with fingernails' ({BK} 'gratter et déchirer avec les ongles'), {Hv.} 'scratch (the face)' ¶ Fr. IV 166, 169, BK II 1091, 1986, Hv. 714, 716 || IE: NaIE *mers- 'crush, grind' > OI maṣam̄ kār-, maṣma'ṣākar- 'grind to powder' || OHG morsāri 'mortar' (reshaped from L mortārium id.), MHG zermürsen 'to crush, to squash (zerdrücken, zerquetschen)', MDt zermorschen, NGr Sw morsen, mürsen 'to bruise, to crush, to pound (in a mortar)', MHG, NLG mursch, murs, NHG morsch 'decaying, frail', Dt (ver)morzelen 'to smash to pieces, to crush' ¶ P 737, M K II 604, ≈ M E II 335, Kb. 697, OsS 621, KM 488-9 || U: FU: Hg morsza 'crumb, breadcrumb(s); morsel, bit', morszol- v. 'crumble' ¶ MF 421-2 ◇ If the legitimate Ar cognate is ✓mrθ, the N sibilant is *-č-, which rules out the Hg cognate. If, however, Ar ✓mrš̂ and Hg morsza belong here, the N sibilant is *š̂ or *č̂, but in this case the semantic connection is less plausible.

1475. (2?) *m^a'ā¹R₁∇₁ĉ₁∇ 'be ill, be wounded' > HS: S *^o✓mrš̂ 'be(come) sick, fall ill' > Ug ✓mrš̂ G 'be sick', mrš̂ n. 'illness', Amr {G} ✓mrš̂, OA ___ mr̄k (= mr̄χ), IA mr̄ 'illness', JA ✓mr̄ G (pf. מַרְבָּ מַרְבָּ) {HJ} 'be ill', {Js.} 'fall sick, be(come) weak', מַרְבָּ מַרְבָּ adj. 'sick, suffering', JEA {Sl.} מַרְבָּ מַרְבָּ mar'ā (cs. מַרְבָּ מַרְבָּ) 'illness', Sr ✓mr̄ G (pf. مَرَضَ, ip. مَرَضَ) nēm'ra^o, SmA ✓mr̄ G 'fall ill, become sick', BHb prt. N מַרְבָּ nim'rāç {BDB} 'sore, greivous' (← 'made sick'), {KB} 'schlimm, schmerzhaft', Ar مرض ✓mr̄ G 'be diseased\ill', Sb ✓mr̄ 'suffer from disease', Mh {Jo.} ✓mr̄ (= {Jo.} ✓mr̄) (pf. mēr̄š̂, sbjn. y₃mr̄š̂) 'be ill', Jb E/C ✓mr̄ (pf. 'mir̄š̂, sbjn. y₃m'r̄š̂ = {Jo.} m'ir̄š̂ / y₃m'r̄š̂) id., Hrs {Jo.} ✓mr̄ (pf. {Jo.} mēreš̂) 'be unwell, be ill', Sq {L} ✓mr̄ Sĥ (pf. hemr̄š̂) 'guérir', Ak √ ✓mr̄ G 'fall ill, have a disease' ¶ A #1683, OLS 292-3, HJ 694-5, G A 25, Js. 845, Sl. 710, Br. 405, JPS 302-3, Tal 486-7KB 604, BDB 599, Fr. IV 169, BK II 1019, Hv. 716, BGMR 87, Jo. M 271, Jo. J 174, Jo. H 9,

L LS 271, CAD X/1 269-76, Sd. 609, MiK I #2.42 || U: FU: Chr: L merće-, H merce-, inf. L мерчаш mer'č-aš, H мерцаш 'merc-aš 'be\grow ailing\sickly', {MRS} '(за)хиреть, (за)чахнуть', H {Ep.} мэрцѣк 'mercək 'chronic disease; desabled person, invalid', {Ü} 'sickly (болезненный)', {Ps.} merčē- 'kränklich \ gebrechlich sein' ¶ MRS 322, Ep. 70, Ü 131, PsS 71 || ?σ IE: NaIE: Lt merđéti 'agonize' (if Lt đ may be a reflex of *ĉ after a sonorant) ¶ ≈ Frn. 457 ◇ Chr e suggests a FU *ä and hence a N *ä ◇ ≈ IS 59-60 (*m^rä^r 'be ill, die'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N *muR∇ 'go away, perish, die' [q.v.], and N *mæR_h∇ 'be wounded, be ill' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK #525 (*mir-/mer- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain', etc.: unc. comparison of S *√mrġ with Eg mr 'illness', IE *mer- 'die', and D [see above s.v. N *muR∇]).

1475a. ₂ *m^rū^rrg∇ 'ε (male?) horned animal' > HS *mu|irg- > EC *mirg- > Or mirg-ō 'half-grown male calf' (↳ Hd mirg-ō? id., Brj mirg-ō 'ox'), Gdl mirk-ot 'young bull trained for farming', Gln mirk-iyā 'gazelle' ¶ Ss. B 145 || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} mūr̄gō 'he-goat' ¶ ChC || D *mūr- 'bovine' > Tm mūrī 'buffalo; ox, bullock', Ml mūrī 'bullock, ox', Ln murī 'bull, ox', Gnd mura ~ mute ~ mūrā ~ mūrā 'cow' ¶¶ D #5041

1476. *mur_h∇gE (probably = *mur_h∇gæ) 'animal fat, brain', (?) 'marrow' > IE: NaIE *mreġ^h-/*mrġ^h- 'brain; skull' > Gk βρεχμός, βρέχμα ~ βρέγμα ntr. 'forehead, top part of the skull' || MLG bregen ~ bragen, OFrs brein, AS bræzen ~ brezen 'brain', NE brain || Av {Ch. ← Bnv.} mərəzav-, mərəzu- 'vertebra of the neck and nape', Awr möł, Krd möl(ł), Luri mul 'nuque', Psh {Mrg.} warmēž (with the px. *fra-), {Asl.} or^lmež 'neck' (semantic prehistory: *'brain' → *'skull' → *'nape of the neck') ¶ ≈ WP II 314, ≈ P 750, ≈ EI 79-80 (*mreġ^hmen- ~ *mreġ^h(m)n-ō- 'brain' with unj. *ġ^h), Brtl. 1173-4, FI 266-7, Ch. 195, Ho. 32, Bn. AM 80, Brtl. 1174, Mrg. 89, Asl. 87 || HS: S *muḵ∇r- 'marrow, brain' > JA {Trg.} מוקר-ā moḵ^r-ā id., JEA {Sl.} מוקר-ā muḵ^r-ā 'cranium, brain', Sr موكر-ā muḵ^r-ā 'yolk of the egg', Md muḵra 'marrow, sperm, brain, gelatinous matter, living substance, plasma', Ak {Sd.} muḵār^u(m) 'eine weiche Masse (?)' ({CAD} "meaning uncertain") ¶ Lv. III 56, Lv. T III 18, Sl. 649, Br. 400, PS 2047, JPS 259, DM 262, Sd. 674, CAD X/2 212 || A: Tg *burġu (< *burge) 'fat' > Ewk burġu 'subcutaneous fat', Ewk, Sln burġu adj. 'fat', Lm bərgə 𐤁

börgö 𐌺 burga, Lm A burgz, Neg boygo ~ bzygz, Orc boggo, Ud bogo, Ul božo(n-) ~ bužu(n-), Ork bod(d)o(n-), Nn Nh buygu id. ¶ STM I 112, Krm. 213 ¶ The denasalization *m- > Tg *b- has not yet been explained || D: [1] *mūr- > Tu mūrъ 'fat, stout, corpulent' || [2] ?φ *mū]- (~ *mūr-?), {GS} *mū]- 'brain, marrow' > Tm mūlai, Ml mūla id., Kt mi·], Tl mūlaga, Klm mull, Prj nulli, nūlgum, Gnd muře, muṛgonzi, Knd muṛva, muṛi, Krx murmā 'marrow', Kui nīli id., kāḍa-mūla, mūla, Tu mūle 'brain', Brh milī 'marrow, brain, kernel of nut' ¶¶ D ##4970, 5051, Pf. 40 [#233], GS 52 [#130] ¶ The origin of D *-]- (< *-r?-??) is not yet clear ◇ The glottalization *-g- > *-ḡ- in S and D *-r- (regularly from a N *r-cluster) suggest the presence of a N glottalizing cns. (sc. *ʔ). Cf. N *maRiʔ▽ (or *maʔiʔ▽) 'animal fat'.

1476a. (₂?) *mäRḡkḡ▽ 'think, believe, be clever' > HS **√mrk > Eg fOK mḡc 'erdenken, ersinnen', Eg MK mḡc 'preisen' ¶ EG II 35 (mḡc 'erdenken': "eigentlich mḡwḡc zu lesen") || U: ?φ FU (in Ugr only) *mär▽- 'believe, trust' > Vg {MK}: Vg T/P/K mār-, LL mār-, ML mār-, mar- 'glauben, vertrauen' || Hg mer- 'dare, adventure' ¶ UEW 869, Gomb. ES 74 || A: Tg *merge- 'think' > Ewk mḡrgz-, Lm mḡrga-, Neg mzygz- 'think', Ork mḡrgz 'conscious (сознательный), clever', WrMc merki- {Hr.} 'sich besinnen auf, sich bewußt sein' ¶ The WrMc vl. k is still to be accounted for ¶ STM I 571, Hr. 653 || M *merge-: *mergen 'wise, sagacious' > MM (hPSc) {Pp.} mergen id., WrM mergen, HIM мэргэн 'a good marksman; wisdom; wise, learned, sage; apt', Mnr H {SM} mīergän 'habile, adroit, sage, intelligent', {T} mergen 'wise, good marksman', Dx {T} mergen id.; WrM mergezi-, HIM мэрегжи- 'become learned\wise', WrM {Pp.} merge 'Treffsicherheit' ¶ MED 537, Pp. PP 127, SM 23, T 345, T DnJ 129 ¶¶ Pp. VG 35, 88, 125 ◇ The loss of N *k in Ugr (or pFU, pU?) still defies explanation.

1477. *marʔoʔkE 'side (of body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE *morḡ-/*mroḡ-/*mṛḡ- 'edge, border' > Av marəza 'border country' ('Mark, Grenzgebiet'), NPrs مَرز mārZ 'border\boundary of a country; region, country' || L margō / margin- 'border, edge' || OIr mruig > bruig 'territory', OBr bro 'pays, région', W, Crn, Br bro 'district', Gl BROGA 'country' (in *Scholia ad Juvenalem*) || Gt, OSx marka 'border, frontier', OHG marca 𐌺 marcha 'border', NHG Mark, OFrs merke 'boundary, frontier, border-country', ON mqrk 'forest, wood' (forests

served as frontiers between political entities), Sw *mārk* 'district', AS *mearc* 'mark (district); end, limit of given space, boundary', NE *mārk* (← 'boundary, landmark') (< **mōrġā*) ¶ WP II 283-4, P 738 (**mereġ-*), EI (**mōrġ-* 'border'), Brtl. 1153, Horn 218, Vl. II 1160, Sg. 1214, WH II 39-40, Vn. *M* 67-8, Billy 35, Flr. 90, Fs. 347, Vr. 401, Sw. 114, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, Kb. 662, OsS 593, KM 462 || HS: Ch: ECh: Kwan *mórgó* 'bank of a river' ||| WCh: Sir {Sk.} *máržn* 'side of body' ¶ ChC || S **mr̥k* (< ***mr̥k*?) > Ar *mr̥q* *G* (ip. -*mruq-*) 'miss the goal' (of an arrow), 'stray from the orthodox religion', *Gt* (pf. *ʔimtarāqā*) 'go out quickly from' ¶ BK II 1094-5, Hv. 717 || D **maruŋk-* 'side, side of the body' > Tm *maruŋku* id., 'limit', Ml *maruŋŋu*, Kt *magl*, Kn *maggal*, *maggil*, *maggul*, Png *marŋgar* 'side', Td *magil* 'slope of hill', ? *maṛ* 'side', Tu *mārgil̥* 'side, flank', Tl *mākka* 'side of the part of the body just above the hip', Prj *mākka* 'burroch', Gnd *marŋg* 'side', *maruŋ* 'ribs of mat', *maṛgi* 'rib bone' ¶¶ D #4717 || U **mar̥* - **m̥r̥* 'side, side of the body' (loss of **-r̥k-* due to bf.?) > Hg Δ *mar̥t* 'bank, shore; edge\side of a ditch; hillside' || ?φ Sm **m̥ra* 'edge, bank', {Jn.} **m̥r̥ā* 'edge' > En: X {KD} *mōra*, {Cs.} 'moṛa, B {Cs.} 'mora 'bank, beach, shore'; Ne: T *mapa*, T O {Lh.} *mar̥a* 'low sand beach, sand'; Ng {Hl.} *māru* 'bank, shore', {Mik.} 'māru 'part'; Kms {KD} *mār̥ā* 'edge, end' ¶¶ Coll. 34, Coll. CG 124, ≈ UEW 280-1 (unconvincingly rejects the Hg cognate and reconstructs U **mōrt̥*), 288 (unc. comparison of Hg *mar̥t* with *mar-* 'bite' < U **mura-* 'Stück'), Jn. 88, Hl. US 121, KP 125 ¶¶ Ugr **-t-* is likely to go back to a sx. ◇ In U the N final syll. **-kE* was lost due to some restructuring of the root in the prehistory of U (reinterpretation of **-kE* as a sx.?). Ugr **-t-* is likely to go back to a sx. Sammallahti's historical phonology of Uralic (Sm. 484-5, 500, 513-5) suggests a pU vw. **†* in a closed syll. (sth. like pU **m†Hr̥* or **m†r̥H*), the latter alt. being compatible with pre-U **m̥r̥r̥* (i.e. N **m̥r̥r̥kE* with loss of **-kE*) ◇ The N labialized vw. of the second syll. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D and S; it was probably **o* rather than **u*, because N **u* would have yielded a glide in IE. This **o* may have had labializing effect on the U (>□ Sm) vw. of the first syll. The lr. is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of S (glottalization of N **k*), D (D **-r-* goes back to a N cns. clusters rather than to an intervoc. **-r-*), and IE (any other N lr. would have yielded NaIE **ə* in the intercons. position) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here NrOm: Kf {C} *mallekkō*

'side of body', Hrr {CR} mīllē id., but there is no proof that Kf and Hrr -ll- may go back to *-r-.

1478. *m^ru^rr_q∇(-η_q∇) 'root, root-crops, edible roots', (→?) 'sinew' > K *^omur_q- > G mur_q-i 'stump of cabbage' ¶ Chx. 855, DCh. 907 || IE: NaIE *mr_qk- (~ *br_qk-) 'edible roots, (in descendant languages [→?] carrot)' > AS more, moru 'edible root, carrot, parsnip', OHG moraha, NHG Mohrrübe, Möhre 'carrot' ||| Sl *mьrk+ / *mьrkъv- 'carrot' > SCr mřkva, Slv mřkev, mřkva, OCz mrkev, Cz mrkva, OR морковь morkovъ, морква morkva, R мор'ковь ||? Blt {IS} *burkū > Lt burkūnas 'carrot', Ltv buřkāns id., 'Aetusa cynapium' ||| Gk [Hs.] βράκανα τὰ ἄγρια λάχανα ("wild vegetables") ¶ P 750, EI 620, Sw. 120, Ho. 226, Kb. 696, OsS 620, KM 484-5, IS MT 16-20, Vs. II 564-5, ESSJ XX 247-9, Glh. 426, FI 263, Ch. 192, ≈ Kar. I 155 (Ltv buřkāns ← Frs E bura, bure 'a conical root' + dim. sx. -ken- < *-kan) || HS: EC *mur_q- (~ *morg-) 'tendon, sinew, gristle' (× N *muŋi^rH^or_q∇ '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew', q.v. ffd.) || D *mur∇ηk- > Tm muruηkaī 'Moringa pterygosperma, Indian horse-radish tree', Kn nugga, nuggi, Tu nurige, nurge, Tl munaga, Prj mungga, mulŋga, Gnd Δ mulgē, mungē id., Knd muŋna maram, muluŋa mara id. (mara, maram is 'tree'), Ml murīηηa 'Hyperanthera moringa, Indian horse-radish', Krx muŋgā 'e a shrub, the fruits and leaves of which are eaten as curry'; D → OI muranŋi-, murunŋi- 'Moringa pterygosperma' ¶¶ D #4982, Tu. #10209 ◇ The same N word is used both for the root and the sinew, which is explained by their common technical functioning as ropes. D *-r- suggest a N cns. cluster with *r (here most probably *-r_q-) ◇ ≈ AD NM #62, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs and ST).

1479. (₂?) *m∇R_l∇_lka 'moist, liquid; to moisten' > IE: NaIE *merk- (or {P} *merk- ~ *merak-) v. 'soak; become wet', *mr_oku- ({P} *mraku-) 'swamp' > OIr mraich ~ braich, W, Cm brag 'malt' (sc. 'soaked corn'), Gl BRACUS 'marais' → VL Gl {ML} *braku-s / -m 'morass' (> It braco, brago, Fr brai, Prv, Ctl brac), W brag-wellt 'e swamp-grass', Gl → L mercasius 'swamp' (> OFr marchais), ?? Gl [Hs.] ἐμβρεκτόν (a word of uncertain meaning, interpreted by WH as 'Brühe zum Eintunken') → L imbractum ~ embractum 'e sauce'; *mrakno- > OIr (Mlr) brén (< older *mrēn) 'fetid, rotten', W braen 'decayed, rotten', MBr breyn 'rotten' ||| MHG mēr(e)n, MDt meren

'to dip bread in wine\water' || Lt *meĩkti* (prs. *merkü*) 'to soak (flax)', *miĩkti* (prs. *mirkstu*) 'to soak, to be steeped in water', Ltv *mērk̃t*, *mērcē̃t* 'to soak, to steep', *mē̃rka* 'moisture', *mē̃rce* 'sauce' || Sl **mork-/ *mьrk-* '(be) moist, soaked' in derivatives: [1] **mьrk-nq̃-ti*, **mьrka-ti* > Cz *za-mrknouti* 'to soak and to be spoiled' (of wood), Uk Δ *мерчит* 'it drizzles', Uk P *m̃r'čati* 'to drizzle', R Ks *marakun* 'light rain', Blg Δ *'мръцкам* v. 'dip (sth. small) in water\liquid'; [2] **morčь*, **merčь* > R Δ *'морочь* 'light rain', *'меречь* 'ε swampy ground', *мереча* 'swamp'; [3] **mork̃t*, **morka* > Uk Δ *морок'ва* 'quagmire, swamp', Blg Δ *мра'ка* 'wet lowland' ¶ ≈ P 739-40, Vn. B 84-5, M 66-7, Billy 33, 71, Ern. 80, YGM-1 52, WH I 681, EM 310, ML ##1258a, 5515a, OsS 603, Lx. 138, Frn. 440-1, ESSJ XIX 218, 231, 234 and XXI 135, Ma. CS 310, Ma. C 380 || HS: WS **ma'raḡ-* 'broth' (* ← 'liquid?') > BHb *k* *קַרְקַר* *mā'raḡ*, *q* *קַרְקַר* **mā'rāḡ*, Gz *marag̃*, Tgy *m̃r̃eḡ* 'broth', Ar *مَرَق* *marag̃-* id., 'gravy', Tgr *m̃r̃eḡ* 'gravy soup' ¶ KB 603, Fr. IV 171, Hv. 717, LG 359, LESAC 32, LH 114 ¶ The vocalic pattern of this stem (*Ca'CaC-) is typical of adjectives, hence the original meaning is probably 'liquid' || B **√mr̃y* > Tmz *i-m̃r̃y-an* pl. 'bouillon pour arroser le couscous' (the cns. *y* suggests that it is hardly a loan from Ar *marag̃-*) ¶ MT 431 || A: ? T **bürk-* (or **pürk-*?) v. 'spurt, sprinkle' (× N **bu'ru(-ḲU)* 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If in the NaIE √ there was *ə (which is doubtful), the N rec. must be **m'ü'r'h'ḶḲa* (because *h is the only lr. that is liable to disappear in S, but yields *ə in NaIE). But, in my opinion, it is preferable to reconstruct both the pIE root and the pN etymon without lr.

1480. *mAr'Ḷ 'rain' (← or → 'to drop?'), 'cloud' > HS: S: BHb {GB, KB} *מַר* *mar* 'drop' (?) (h. l. in Is. 40.15) ¶ GB 457, KB 595, ≈ KBR 629-30 (*מַרְרֵה* 'myrrhe') || ECh: Smr {J} *m̃:ri* 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #1733 (HS **mar-* 'drop, rain') || D (in SD) **maḡ-ay-* 'rain' > Tm *maḡaj* 'rain, cloud, water', Ml *maḡa* 'rain', Kt *may*, Td *maw*, Kn *maḡe*, Kdg *maḡe*, Tu *maḡe* 'rain' ¶ D #4753 || K: Sv: UB/L {TK, GP, Dn.} *mēre*, LB/Ln {TK} *mere*, Ln {TK} *meri* 'cloud' ¶ TK 570, GP 217, Dn. s.v. *mēre*, Ni. s.v. *облако* (*māre*), ≈ IS II 60 (Sv L *māre*, UB *māre* < **mar-ej* or **maraj* 'cloud') || ? A: pKo {S} **m̃r* 'water' > MKo *m̃r*, Ko: Sl/Ph *muḷ*, Ks *m̃ḷ*, Hm *muḷ* ¶ S AJ 255 [#97], S QK #97, Nam 229, MLC 575 ◇ IS II 60-1 (does not distinguish between this etymon and N **moRE* 'body of water' [q.v.], reconstructs **mār'ä* 'moisture, moist') → S CNM 3. It is

too shaky to adduce here forms with an additional cns. (\Leftrightarrow IS), such as CS $\sqrt{mr\theta}$ (Ug $mr\theta$ 'grape juice', Ar $\sqrt{mr\theta}$ 'soften'), and Ltv {ME} $m\ddot{e}rka$ 'Feuchtigkeit'.

1481. $?\phi_2$ $*mA'r'\nabla$ 'pluck out hair, make bald' > HS: (+ext.?) S $\sqrt{mr\ddot{t}}$ id. > BHb $\sqrt{mr\ddot{t}} G$ 'plusk out hair, make smooth', JA, Sr $\sqrt{mr\ddot{t}} G$ 'pull out/off (feather, hair)', Ar $\sqrt{mr\ddot{t}} G$ (pf. مَرَط *marāṭa*) 'pluck out hair', (pf. مَرَط *marīṭa*) 'have little hair', Ak $\sqrt{mr\ddot{t}}$ 'abschaben' ¶ KB 600, Br. 404, Sl. 706, BK II 1092, Hv. 716, Sd. 610 || D $*ma'r'$ - 'shave' > Tm mar_i 'shave (esp. the head)', Knd $ma\grave{n}$ - v. 'shave' ¶¶ D #4748 ◇ Qu., because there is no good explanation for the S $*\ddot{t}$ (except for postulating an extension in S or formulating an *ad hoc* rule of N $*-r'\ddot{t}$ - that yields D $*-r'$ -).

1482. ${}_2$ $*me'r'\nabla$ 'hoe' > HS: S $*marr$ - 'hoe, spade' > Ak fOB $marru$ 'spade, shovel', JEA {Sl.} مَرْر *mar'r-ā* 'spade', {Js.} hoe, rake', Sr مَرْر *mar'r-ā* ~ مَرْر *ma<?>r-ā* 'mattock, hoe, mallet', Ar $marr$ - {Hv.} 'iron-shovel, spade', {BK} 'pelle en fer'; S \rightarrow L $marra$ 'a hoe for rooting up weeds' ¶ CAD X/1 287-90 (Ak \leftarrow Sum), Sl. 703, Js. 834, BK II 1083, Hv. 713, Br. 400, JPS 247, WH II 43 || Eg mr *hier.* {Gard.} '*hoe', {EG} '*holzerne Hacke' ¶ EG II 98, Gard. 516 || ECh: Smr {J} $m\grave{a}r\acute{a}$ 'hoe' || WCh: Bl mar , Ngm $mira$ v. 'hoe', $??\sigma$ Ngm $marra$, Glm {Sch.} $m\grave{a}r\acute{a}$ 'farm' || $??\sigma$ Ang {Flk.} $m\bar{a}r$ v. 'farm', n. 'farm', $??\sigma$ pAG {Hf.} $*mar$ 'farm' > {Hf.}: Gmy $m\bar{a}r$, Kfr mar , Su, Ang $m\bar{a}r$ id. ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 233 [#804], Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. $m\bar{a}r$, Sch. BT 86 ¶¶ OS #1738 (S, E, ECh + err. * Hd $mor\bar{a}ra$ 'hook of the plough' for $mof\bar{a}ra$ 'type of plough', see Hd. 213), ##1735, 1739 || D $*m\ddot{e}r$ - 'plough' > Tm $m\acute{e}r_i$ 'plough', Ml $m\ddot{e}r_i$, Kn $m\ddot{e}r_i$, $m\ddot{e}r_i$ 'plough-tail', Kt $m\ddot{e}y$ 'handle of plough', Knd $m\ddot{e}r_i$ id., 'plough-tail', Tl $m\ddot{e}d_i$ \ddot{d} $m\ddot{e}:\ddot{d}_i$ 'hind part or handle of a plough', Ku $m\ddot{e}r_i$ 'plough handle' \ddot{d} $m\ddot{e}r_i$ 'plough' ¶¶ D #5097 || Cp. Sumerian mar 'hoe' ◇ Borrowing (S, Eg, Ch, D from Sum?) cannot be ruled out ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#108].

1483. $*m'u'r'\nabla$ 'make loud noise' > D (in SD) $*mu\grave{r}$ - > Tm $mu\grave{r}a\eta ku$ v. 'roar, thunder, make loud noise', Ml $mu\grave{r}a\eta\eta ka$ v. 'roar, reverberate', Kt $m\ddot{o}r\vee$ 'a child's continuous crying', Kn $m\ddot{o}ra\eta u$ v. 'sound' (certain musical instruments), 'roar, thunder' ¶ D #4989 || U: FU: Os Ty/Y $m+r$ - v. 'low' (of cows), as well as (\times N $*mu\grave{r}ra$ 'emit vocal sounds [shout, sing]') Os V $m\ddot{o}ra\psi$ - 'make big noise' (of people) ¶ Stn.

D 953, 956-7 || **A**: Tg *mo|ura- v. 'low, roar, bellow' (of animals) (×N *muΓra) > Ewk Np moro-, Ewk Np/Nr mɜrɜ- v. 'roar, bellow' (of beasts), Ewk Y/Np/Uc mɜrɜw- v. 'low' (of cows), Ork mura- v. 'roar, bellow', WrMc mura- id., v. 'low' ¶ STM I 546-7.

1484. *mûq₁E₁ři 'shoulder' > **K** *mqar- id. > OG mqar-, G mχar- id., Mg χuž-, Lz (m)χuž-, pχuž- id., Sv UB {GP, TK}, Ln {TK} meqär, LB {TK} meqra, L {TK} meqer, {Dn.} meqar {Dn., K, FS} 'part of the arm between shoulder and elbow' ({TK} 'arm'); ? eNG [SSO] mqare, G mχare 'side, side of the body, edge' ¶¶ K 144, K² 134, Chik. 57-8, FS K 232-3, FS E 256, Q 409-10, SSO I 552, DCh. 935, NCh. 308, TK 569, GP 220, Dn. s.v. meqar || **U** *^om∇rk∇ > Sm {Hl.} *mьrk|ь 'shoulder' > Ne: T ма́рць, T O {Lr.} marć, FNI marěś id.; En {Ter.} modí; Ng {Ter., Mik.} mərɜ; Mt {Hl.} *marg∇ id. (Mt: M {Sp.} маргомъ 'my shoulder', K {Pl.} márahada 'his shoulder') ¶ Hl. M 300 [#640], ≈ Jn. 88 (Sm *mьrkä) ¶ U *-rk- < N *-qr-? Or U *-k- goes back to a sx.? || **A**: M *mörin 'shoulder' > MM [MA] möri, [HI] mürü id., [S] muru id., 'shoulder-blade', WrM mör ü(n), HIM мөp(өн), Ord mörö, Brt мүрə, мүр, WrO möri, Kl {Rm.} mörŋ, Dg {Pp.} mürü, {T} mur(u), {Mr.} mure 'shoulder' ¶ Ms. I 77, H 112, Pp. MA 240, MED 549, Ms. O 471, Chr. 308-9, Krg. 608, KW 267, T DgJ 155 || Tg *müyre, {ADb.} *müyre 'shoulder' > Ork muyrɜ, Orc miyɜ, Ewk mīrɜ, Lm mīr 'shoulder, shoulder bone', Sln mīri, mīrɜ, Neg mīyɜ, Ul ŋuyrɜ, {PSchm.} муирə, Nn Nh/B/KU mɜyrɜ, WrMc meyrən 'shoulder', Ud {STM} müö, {Krm.} mō ~ müö 'neck' ¶ STM I 538, Krm. 262 || pKo {S} *mā₁ī- 'carry on the shoulder' > MKo mā₁ī-, NKo mē- ¶ Nam 212, MLC 616, S QK #600, Nam 212, MLC 616, Rm. SKE I 145 || ??σ pJ *mət- 'carry, hold' > OJ mət-, J: T mót-, K/Kg mət- ¶ S QJ #1204, Mr. 728 ¶¶ Pp. VG 35, 142, SDM97 (A *müre 'shoulder'), DQA #1331 (A *mi₁üyre id.), S AJ 291 (A *müre), ADb. MSR 11 (A *möjre id.), Rm. l.c. || **D** *muři 'elbow, shoulder, joint' > Tm му₁ri 'joint as of the body', mo₁ri 'joint as of wrist, knee, ankle, etc.', Tm, Ml му₁am 'cubit', Ml му₁ri 'knuckle, joint', Tu mo₁a, mu₁a, Tl mū₁a, Prj mū₁a 'cubit', Kn mo₁a id., 'joint', му₁y 'upper part of the arm, shoulder(blade)', Klm mu₁a, Gnd mo₁ri 'elbow', Knd mi₁va 'knee', Kui miru, mriu, me₁du 'knee-joint', mireka 'a cubit's length', ?? Kt mo₁m, Kdg mo₁a; ⇨ D *mu₁ri-mpo 'shoulder' > Tm moympu, Ml му₁ippu, Krb mirpu, Knd mipi, Mnd mūpa id., Kui mōpo 'upper arm', Kn му₁(i)vu, му₁upu id., 'shoulder(blade)', Kt mu₁r, Tu му₁ü

'shoulder joint', Tl $m\bar{u}\bar{\rho}\mu$ 'upper part of the back, shoulder', Ku $m\bar{o}\rho a$ 'outer edge of the shoulder' ¶¶ To judge from the derivative * $mu\bar{r}i\text{-}\mu\rho\circ$, the original meaning of D * $mu\bar{r}i$ was 'shoulder' ¶¶ D ##4990, 5122, ≈ Pf. 41-2 [#241] ◇ ADb. MSR 11 (U, A, D).

1485. * $me\bar{r}\hat{u}q\bar{\nabla}$ 'to smear' > HS: WS * $\check{r}mr\chi$ v. 'smear' > BHb $\check{r}mr\check{h}$ G 'smear, anoint, rub', JPA {Lv.} $\check{r}mr\check{h}$ D '(ein Gewand) reiben, glätten', JEA {Sl.} $\check{r}mr\check{h}$ G 'plaster, level a pile' (← Hb?), Ar $\check{r}mr\chi$ (pf. مَرَّح $maraxa$, ip. $-mra\chi-$) 'anoint (the body)', Jb C $\check{r}mr\chi$ (pf. $'mir\text{z}\chi$) 'throw sth. sticky on sth., smear (paint, etc., on sth.) with one's hands' ¶ KB 599, BDB 598, Lv. III 248, Sl. 705-6, Hv. 715, Jb. JL 174 ¶¶ But not here Eg $mr\check{h}$ and $mr\check{h}.t$ 'Salböl' (← $\omega r\check{h}$, $salben$ ', see EG II 110-1) || IE: NaIE * $smeru-$ 'ointment' (× N * $S\bar{a}mir\bar{\nabla}$ 'fat [Fett]' × N * $ma\bar{r}i\bar{\nabla}$ 'animal fat' [see * $ma\bar{R}i\bar{\nabla}$]) > Gk $(\sigma)\mu\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ v. 'rub with ointment\unguent, anoint', ? $\sigma\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$ 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)', as well as probably $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ 'unguent, perfume, sweet oil' (× Gk $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\rho\alpha$ 'myrrh' ← S * $murr-$ id. [> OCn, Ak $murr\mu$, BHb $\bar{m}\bar{o}r$, Ug mr , JA מִרְרָא $m\bar{u}'r\bar{a}$ id., etc.]) || ON $smyria$, $smyrva$ 'bestreichen, salben', Sw $sm\bar{o}rja$, Dn $sm\bar{o}re$, NNr $smyrja$ id., OHG $smirwen$ 'to smear, to anoint', NHG $schmier\bar{e}n$ 'to smear, to grease', AS $smierwan$ 'to anoint', NE $smear$ ¶ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 521, Sw. 15, Ho. 302, Kb. 918, OsS 834, KM 663-5, ≈ EI 194 (* $smeru-$ 'oil, grease'), Js. 748, Sl. 649 || D {tr., GS} * $me\bar{r}-$ 'smear' > Tm $me\bar{r}ul\mu$, Kt $mek-$ v. 'cleans floor with cowdung solution; smear as the body with paste; varnish', Ml $me\bar{r}\mu$, $me\bar{r}uku$ 'wax', $me\bar{r}ukuka$ v. 'anoint', Irl $m\bar{a}kku$, Td $m\bar{o}sk$ 'wax', Kt mek 'bee-wax', Td $m\bar{o}sk-$, Klm $me\bar{g}-$ v. 'smear with dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification', Kdg $mukk-$, Tl $m(r)\bar{e}gu$, $mr\bar{e}vu$ v. 'smear', Nkr $m\bar{e}gh-$ 'apply', Knd $mi\bar{r}is-$ v. 'rub and clean utensils with ashes', Kui $mr\bar{a}nda\bar{v}$. 'plaster, smear', Ku $mr\bar{i}spi\ k\bar{i}nai$ 'polish', Brh $mi\bar{r}ing$ v. 'plaster'; it is not clear if one may adduce here Prj $mer-$, Gdb $mar-$, and Gnd $marehtana \sim marahtana$ v. 'rub' (-r- < D *-r-, *-r̥-, or *-r̄-?) ¶¶ D ##5082, 4709, GS 65-6 [#203] ◇ On the word-initial laryngoid * \bar{e} - as the source of the NaIE * $s-$ mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ IS II 61-2 (? * $me\bar{r}\hat{u}$ 'fat, to smear': HS [including an unc. comparison with some S roots], D, ? M) → ≈ BmK #536 (IE, HS + qu. D * $mar-$ 'rub').

1486. **mār̥∇ċ∇* 'contents of animals' stomach\intestines' > **HS:** C: EC: Arr *mèrdé* 'intestines' ¶ Hw. A 384 || ? S **o*∇*m̥r̥* > Ar *maṣīr-* {BK} 'intestins où s'élabore le chyle', {Hv.} 'intestin, gut', ? {BK} *maṣr-* 'reste de lait dans les pis d'une femelle' ¶ BK II 1116, Hv. 723 || **IE:** NaIE **smerd-* 'excrement; to stink' > L *merda* 'excrement' || Lt *smirdėti* 'to stink', Ltv {ME} *smiŗdēt* vi. 'to stink, to smell', Lt *smārdas* 'stench, smell', Ltv *smārdš* n. 'smell', Pru *smorde* 'Faulbaum' (called so because of the smell of its wood) | Sl **sm̥rděti* (1s prs. **sm̥rdjō*) 'to stink' > OCS **СМРЪДЪТИ** *sm̥rděti*, SCr *sm̥rdjeti*, Slv *smrdėti*, Cz *smrděti*, Slk *smrdet'*, P *śmierdzieć*, R *смердеть*, Uk *смердіти* 'to stink', Blg *смърдя* v. 'stink'; Sl **smōrdь* 'bad smell' > OCS **СМРАДЪ** *smradь* (↳ R *смрад*), Blg *смрад*, df. *смрадът*, SCr, Slv *smrād*, Cz, Slk *smrad*, P *smród*, R **Δ** *смород*, Uk *сморід* || Gk [Hs.] *σμóρδωνες* pl. (acc. to Hs., an abusive nickname of the *μορίοι* [members of the council?]) (if ← 'stinkers') ({Ch.}: "an obscure erotic term") ¶ WP II 691, P 970, WH II 74-5, Frn. 840, 847-8, En. 251, Vs. III 685, 691-3, Glh. 566-7, F II 75, Ch. 1028 || **U:** FP **mār̥∇ċċ∇*- 'cud, to ruminate' > **QFΔ** *māreh*, *māreh*, *māre* 'Wiederkäuen, Kauen bis zum Wiederkäuen', Es {W} *māletse-* ~ *mālitse-* 'chew the cud' | ? Lp: N *smīriži-* id., L *smieriti-*, *smietitji-* & *smieritsi-*, T {TI} *mīrede-* id. ¶ ≈ UEW 700-1 (FP **mār̥∇-*, no rec. of the sibilant), It. #256, SK 359-60, W EDW 585, TI 559 ¶ Thr initial s- in Lp is puzzling. The quality of the sibilant is not clear: Es and Prm suggest *-ċ-, while FΔ and Lp point to *-č- ◇ On the word-initial laryngoid *'- as the source of the NaIE *s- mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1487. **muś∇* 'to cover, to conceal, to clothe' > **K** **mōs-* v. 'cover, get dressed, put on' > OG *mōs-* v. 'get dressed, put on' (Mt.11.8, Lc. 16.9), v. 'conceal' (Jud. 8.5), G *mōs-* 'bekleiden, bedecken', *šē-mōs* 'be dressed', Sv {FS} *li-mšw-i* msd. 'to conceal, to cover (oneself with), to get dressed' ¶¶ K² 124, FS K 221, FS E 244, Chx. 811-2 || **HS:** Eg N/G *mšy* ({EG} *mśj*) 'e garment' (↳ BHb *mēšī* 'fine cloth for garments'), Eg XVIII *mšš* {EG} 'Panzerhemd', {Fk.} 'tunic', Eg N *mšš.t* 'e garment (shirt or sim.)', ? Eg G *mšd* ({EG} *mśd*) 'bekleiden' ¶ EG I 143, 149, 152, Fk. 118, KBR 645 || **IE:** NaIE **mus-*/*mōus-* v. 'steal, conceal' > Vd *muṣṣ'natī* '(he) steals, robs', *muṣṣa'yatī* 'robs, takes away', OI *mōṣatī* 'steals', KhS *muśśa* (< **muśya-*) 'robbers', Wx *müš-*, *mōšt* v.

'conceal' ||| Gmc: OFrn [LxS] *chrēo-mōs-ido* 'grave-robbery' ¶ Not necessarily here Tc A, B *mus-* 'lift, move aside' (may be akin to IE **meu-* 'fortschieben', Av *ava-mīva-* 'put aside, remove') ¶ EI 543 (**mus-* 'steal'), M K II 658-9, M E II 383-4, Bai. 338-9, Gnt. AM 193, ≠ P 743 (**meu-s-* ← **meu-* 'fortschieben'), Ad. 463, 466 ||| D **mučč-/muč-* v. 'cover' > Tm *muccu*, Kt *muč-*, Td *müč-*, Nkr *mus-* id., Tu *muccuni* v. 'shut, close, cover', Kn *muccu* id., v. 'conceal', Tl *mūyu* id., Kdg *mučč-* v. 'close', *mučči* 'lid, cover', Klm *muns-*, Nk *muč-*, Kui *musa* v. 'close, cover', Prj *muy-* v. 'cover oneself', Gdb *muy-* v. 'cover oneself with wrapper', Gnd *muččānā* v 'cover; wrap sth. round one's body', *muč-* v. 'cover', Knd *mus-* id., v. 'close with lid, bury', Mnd *muč-*, Ku *muh-*, *mūssali* v. 'bury', Krx *mučč-* to close door/lid, shut', Mlt *muče-* v. 'close, shut up', Brh *must* 'shut, closed' ¶¶ D #4915, Pf. 35 [#176] (**muč-/muy-*); Km. 468-9 [#1016] (**muy-*) and GS 52-3 [#132] (**muy-*, **muy-c-*); if Km. and GS are right, either D **-y-* may go back to N **-ś-* or the D √ does not belong here.

1488. *mûs ∇ (= **mûs* ∇?) 'insect, fly, ant' > IE: NaIE **mus-/mou-* 'fly' > Gk *μῦα* (< **mus-iā*) 'fly' ||| L *musca* 'fly' ||| Gmc: Gtl *mausa* (< **mūsa*), Dt Fl *meuzie* (< **musī*) id. ||| Lt *musė*, *musis*, Ltv *mūsa*, *muša*, Pru *muso* 'fly' ||| Sl **mu'xa* id. > OCS *мѹха* *муха*, Blg *му'ха* ~ 'муха, McdS *мува*, SCr *mùha*, Δ *mùha*, Slv *múha*, Cz *moucha*, Silk, P *муha*, R, Uk 'муха id., ds.: OCS *мѡшница* *мѡш-и-ца* 'gnat', R 'мошка 'small insect', *мош'ка* 'mosquitoes, gnats' ||| ? Arm *մուս* *mun* (gen. *մւսոյ* *mnoy*) 'flesh-worm; gnat, midge, mosquito' ({Mn.}: < A of **mus-iə*) ¶ ≈ P 752, F II 265-6, EM 424, WH II 133, Frn. 474, En. 212, ESSJ XX 170-2, Glh. 428, Mn. AIE 15, ≈ EI 207-8 (*mus-* ~ **muH-* 'fly, gnat, midge') ||| A {SDM97} **mus* ∇ > pJ {S} **músí* 'worm, insect' > OJ *músí*, J: T *mùsí*, K *músi*, Kg *mú_ši*, Ns *mùsí*, Sh *múšì*, Ht *mùsì*, Y *mùčí* id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#106], S QJ #106, Mr. 489 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **mus* ∇) ||| D: [1] **muč-* ({ǵGS} **mus-*?) 'ε ant' > Ku *muh'iri* id., Kui *muci trāku* id., *mužorì* ≙ *muraṛi* 'large red ant', Tm *mučiru* ~ *muyiru* 'red ant', Ml *mīru* id.; [2] ??φ (in SD) **mučañt-* ({ǵGS} **-ž-*?) 'ε small bee' > Tu *mujañtæ*, *mujjiñti*, *mojañti* id., Kn *mujañti* 'ε honey (very small bees)' ¶¶ D ##4906, 4908 ||| ?φ K **m∇s-* (or **m∇r̥s-*?) > Sv: UB/LB/Ln *mə,š̥k̥*, UB {GP} *mə,r̥š̥k̥* 'ant'; the origin of UB *-r-* may be connected with the infl. of N **m∇Rû* 'ant' (q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni.

s.v. муравей || HS: Eg L msttt 'ε scorpion' ¶ EG II 152 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} míseñin 'ant' (for the meaning cp. D and K) || ?? WCh: Cp {Kr.} nsì, Ang ~šì 'fly' ¶ ChL, ChC ◇ Sv š goes back to K *š < N *s. Eg s < N *s, *ś, or *š reg. If the Sv word belongs here, the N sibilant was *s ◇ ≈ Gr. II #163 (*mus 'fly' n.) (IE, J, Ai + unc. U).

1489. *maṣis ▽ '≈ rub, polish' > HS: S *^o✓mṣš|s > Ar ✓mṣs 'rub (leather, etc.) strongly'; the variant root ✓mṣš 'rub slightly' (registered in the Qāmūs, but absent in the classical lge.) may be due to borrowing from a related lge or dialect that preserved pS *š as š ¶ Fr. IV 192, BK II 1127, Hv. 727 || U: FU (att. in FV) *mays ▽ '(be) polished' (→ 'beautiful') > Lp N {Fri.} μυοισσα- 'speciem pulchram habere (de re obsoleta polita)' | Er мазы mazi ~ maze, Mk мази maži ~ мазы mazi 'beautiful' ¶ UEW 697, Fri. 447, ERV 357-8, PI 154 || D *māč- / *mač- v. 'rub, polish, sharpen' > Kn mase 'rub, grind, whet, sharpen', Tm māy v. 'grind and sharpen', Tu masiyuni, masevuni, maśevuni 'whet, sharpen', Krg maža & maže, Klm, Nkr, Nk may- 'sharpen', Prj, Gnd mayp- id., Prj maykip- 'rub', Gnd mesītānā v. 'polish', masītānā 'sharpen a razor\knife', mesi- 'whet' ¶¶ D #4628.

1489a. ₂ *m_Ah_∇s_∇ 'snake' > HS: EC: Sml mas, Sml N {Abr.} mās 'snake', Or {Th.} maska 'horned boa snake' | ??φ HEC {Hd.} *hamasa 'snake' > Brj {Ss.} hamási ~ {Hd.} homasi, Hd {Hd.} hamašša (< *hamas-čā), Sd hamaššo id., Kmb hamāsu 'roundworm' ({OS}: HEC *hamasa < *maHas- [mt.]; it may also go back to a cd.) ¶ ZMO 282, Abr. S 176, Th. 239, Hd. 137-8, Ss. B 90-1, Ss. WOKS 127 (EC *_h∇_{maš}-) || Ch: WCh: Hs mēsà, Gw {Mts.} méše, Tng {J} mīzò 'python' || ?? ECh: Bdy māzila 'serpent rouge' ¶ Ba. 790, Mts. G 81, J T 120, Sk. HCD 200, AIJ 96 ¶¶ Budge I 323 quotes Eg Gr mṣ ({Budge} mēs) 'serpent', but EG's interpretation of this hieroglyphic orthographeme is only "von der Brut des Apophis" (EG II 140) ¶¶ OS #1757 (HS *meḥas- > EC, Hs + unc. σEg mzḥ 'crocodile') || D *māč- 'python' > Tm mācuṇam, Prj māyonḍ bam id., Gnd māsul & māsoṛ id. & māsuḷ 'rock python' ¶¶ D #4793 ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#63] (EC, ECh, D).

1490. (₂?) *m_∇ś|ś|Cka'h' ▽ 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE *mosg-o/en- ~ *mosg^ho- id. > OI majjā /majjan-, KhS mājsā 'marrow', Av mazga- id., 'brain', MPrs mazg, NPrs مغز māyuz id. || ON mergr, NNr merg, Sw mǎrg, Dn marv, OSx, OHG marg, NHG Mar k, AS mearz 'marrow', NE marrow || SI *mōzgb (gen. *mozgu) id., 'brain' > SrChS,

OR **МОЗГЪ** mozgъ, Blg 'мозък, SCr mōzak (gen. mōzga), Cz mozek (gen. mozku), Δ mozg, Slk mozog, P mózg (gen. mozgu), R мозг (gen. 'мозга), Uk 'мозок, 'мізок id., Slv mōzg (gen. mōzga) 'marrow'; BSI d. **mozgēno- adj. 'of marrow' > SI *moždžanъ > OCS adj. **МОЖДААНЪ** moždānъ 'μεμυελωμένος, medulla impletus' || Pru musgeno 'marrow' ||| Tc A māśśunt 'marrow' ¶ WP II 309 (*mozg^h-), P 750, EI 370 (*mosg^ho-s), M K II 549-50, M E II 291-2, Horn 221, VI II 1198-9, Sg. 1280, Bai. 332, Vr. 385, Kb. 663, OsS 592, KM 462, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, En. 212, Vs. II 638, Glh. 424-5, ESSJ XX 94-7, 104-5, ≈ Wn. 293 ¶ IE *g^h (for *g) in the var. *mosg^ho- may be due to the N Ir. || **HS:** EC: pSam *mi|zskah̥ ({Hn.} *misqaḥ) 'brain' > Sml C {ZMO, DSI} maskah̥, Sml {R} mas'kaḥ, Sml N {Abr.} máskáχ, Sml {Hn.} masqaḥ (is q a mistake?), Sml J {Lm.} massihz, pBn {Hn.} *máskáh > Bn: Bi mzska(h), Sa/Ba mzskaḥ, J mskáh, K makáh ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 176, ZMO 283, DSI 425, Hn. BD 96 || SOm {Blz.} *makč̥- 'brain' > Ari {Bnd.} makca id. ¶ Bnd. AL 146 || ?σ Ch: Hs máskī̄ {Abr.} 'greasiness' ¶ Abr. H 664, Ba. 779 || ??σ D: Knd musku 'topmost part, upper side (of sth.)' ¶ ≈ D #5128
 ◇ If Hn. is right in recording q in Sml and in reconstructing pSam *misqaḥ, the ancient cns. must have been *K̥. If this is so, we have to suppose that in pre-IE the cns. *K̥ was de-emphatized (= deglottalized?) due to as. to *ḥ (*K̥ḥ > *k > IE *g) ◇ Blz. DA #5 (D, C, Knd). Cf. pLzg {StN} *masq̄_Lω_J∇ 'brain, marrow'.

1491. *meʔiś̂∇ 'hide', (→) 'clothes' > **HS:** S *maʔiś̂|θ- 'hide, leather' > Gz māʔs maʔs, Tgy maʔsi, Tgr mēʔas, Amh mas 'hide, leather' || ?? Ak maʔiś̂- 'a breed of sheep' | ? +ext.: S *^o✓mś̂r > Ar maśr-at- 'vêtement, habits', ✓mś̂r D v. 'clothe so.' ¶ CAD X/1 116, L G 324, BK II 1109-10, Hv. 721 ¶ The Gz spelling with the letter s rather than the expected ś̂ may be due to the infl. of the new EthS lgs. (mother tongues of the scribes) that lost the distinction between Old EthS *s and *ś̂ ¶ The alt. spelling māʔs of the Gz word may be a mistake of Amhara scribes caused by the loss of OEth *ʔ or *ʕ in Amh which is suggested by the presence of ʔ in Tgr and Tgy which preserved the ancient lrs. ¶¶ But Bj {R} mesik 'hide of an animal' and Eg fXVIII msk̄ 'skin of an animal, leather' (EG II 149, Fk. 118) are likely to belong to a different HS etymon, which explains Eg s rather than ś̂ (the reg. reflex of N and HS *ś̂). Sa {R} -mʕes-/-mʕis- (pf. 'ፀ-mʕesፀ, inv. emʕis) v. 'tan hide' and Ar ✓mʕs ~ ✓mʕś̂ v. 'rub' are likely to belong to a diferent etymon,

too (*F* BK II 1127, *R S* II 257) || **IE:** NaIE *mo|aj̥s̥o-s* 'hide, fleece' (× **mo|aj̥s̥o-s* 'sheep' < N **mi̯ǵ̥i̯* 'sheep, goat' [q.v.]) > Vd *mē̯ṣa-*, *mē̯ṣī-* 'fleece, fell' (× *mē̯ṣa-* 'ram', *mē̯ṣī-* 'sheep' < N **mi̯ǵ̥i̯*) || BSl: Lt *máišas* '(large) sack', *máišė* 'bag knitted of cords, large sack for hay', Ltv *māiss* 'bag, sack', Pru *moasis* 'smith's bellows' | Sl **měxъ* (gen. **měxa*) 'fur; animal's skin used as bag; bellows' > OCS **МѢХЪ** *měxъ* 'pellis, uter', 'fur, wine-skin', Blg *мях* 'animal's skin used as a bag; bellows', SCr *měxъ* *mi̯jēh*, SCr Δ *ми̯јех*, SCr W *mīh*, Slv *mēh* 'sack, wine-skin, bellows', Cz *měch* 'leather-bag', Slk *mech* 'bag, sack', pl. *mechy* 'bellows', P *miech* 'bag, smith's bellows', OR **МѢХЪ** *měxъ* 'whole hide of an animal, tanned hide with fur, fur; bellows; skin', R *мех* 'fur', pl. *мехи* 'smith's bellows', Uk *міх* 'bag, wine-skin, smith's bellows' || ON *meiss* 'basket', OHG *meisa* {Kb.} 'Gefäß, Tragkorb', {OsS} 'Gestell zum Tragen auf dem Rücken', MLG *mēse* 'Tonne' ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (**moj̥s̥o-s* 'ram, sheep; fleece, skin'), M K II 689, ≈ M E II 380 (Vd *mē̯ṣī* 'sheep's fleece' ← *mē̯ṣī* 'sheep'), Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320, 323, Ep. 70, Frn. 397, En. 212, ESSJ XVIII 156-9, 220-1, Chrn. I 528, Glh. 408, Vr. 382, Kb. 671, OsS 600 || **U:** FU **meš̥* 'clothes; to wear clothes' > Lp: N {Fri.} *māccu* 'pallium', T {TI} *māca*^g, Kld {TI} *māceh* 'ein hemdförmiges, äußeres Sommerkleid aus grobem Wollentuch oder Leder' || pVg **mäš-* > Vg: T *māš-*, LK/P *māš-* 'kleiden', So *mas-* 'anziehen, ankleiden' | Hg *meztelen*, *meztelen*, Δ *mestelen* 'naked, bare' (lit. 'clothe-less') ¶ UEW 869-70 (rejects the relationship between Lp and Ugr for alleged semantic reasons: "stößt auf semantische Schwierigkeiten", which is not convincing), MF 444-5.

1492. *mæt̥ 'feel, realize' > **IE:** NaIE **med-* 'think' (× NaIE **med-* v. 'measure' < N **mAt̥d̥* → **mAd̥t̥* 'to stretch', [in descendant lgs.] → 'to measure') [q.v. ffd.] > Clt: OIr *mid-* 'juger, adjuger, estimer', Brtt **medami* 'say' (← **think*) > W *meddaf* 'I say', C *meth*, MBr *emez* 'say', Br *eme* / *emez-* 'inquit', MW *meðylgeist* 'you thought', W *meddul-* 'think' ¶ WP II 259, P 705, Vn. *M* 48-9, RE 138 || **HS:** C: EC **m̥t̥* > Sml *mōd-* 'think, guess, suppose' ¶ Abr. S 181, ZMO 293-4 || **U:** Y: Y K {IN} *medī-*, Y T {IN} *merī-*, OY K {BM} *moedik* 'hear', Y {Ku.} *metu-* 'let know, inform' ¶ IN 309-10, Ku. 163 || **A** **m̥t̥e-* 'feel, know' > M **mede-* 'know' > MM [LV, MA, IM] *mede-*, [IsV] *mēde-* 'know', WrM *mede-*, HIM, Brt *мэдэ-* 'know, understand, perceive, find out', Ord *mud_e-*, Mnr H {SM} *mud_īe-*, {T} *mude-*, Mnr M

{T}, Ba {T} mede-, Dx {T} mežīē- 'know' ¶ Pp. L III 70, Pp. MA 234, 441, Lg. VMI 53, MED 531, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 129, T BJ 143 || Tg *mede- 'feel, recognize' > Ewk, Neg mэдэ-, Lm mэд- 'feel, guess', Sln mэдэ- 'learn (erfahren, узнать)', Orc mэдэ- 'feel', Ud mэдэ-, Ork mэддэ- ~ mэдэ- 'feel, notice', Orc mэдэ, Ud, Nn mэдэ, WrMc mede 'news, information', Jrc medige 'tidings' ¶ STM I 563-4, Krm. 264, Kiy. 124 [#483] || ? pKo {S} *mīt- 'believe' > MKo mīt-, NKo mit- id. ¶ Rm. SKE I 149, S AJ 257 [#184], S QK #184, Nam 234, MLC 695 ¶ STM I 503-4 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ DQA) T: Yk bit ~ büt 'sign, omen', because it is obviously derived from T *bit'- 'draw (lines)' → 'write; determine the fate' (Pek. 478-9, ET B 155-8) ¶¶ S AJ 15, 294 [#498] → SDM97 s.v. *m^utu 'know, believe' → DQA #1383 (A *m^uti 'know, believe'; incl. M, Tg, Ko) ¶¶ An alt. et. of Ko *mīt- 'believe' is a possible N etymon ≈ *^omü_Hṭ ▽ > D *mūt- 'establish with ev., confront with proof' (D #5040) ◇ IS II 62 (*metA 'ощущать, сознавать' > IE, A [M, Tg]) ◇ Gr. II #387 (*met 'think') (IE, Y, A, Ko, Ch + unc. Gil, EA).

1493. *mUt ▽ (or *mUt_H ▽) 'man, person' (→ [in A] ?σ 'people, tribe') > HS: S *mut- 'person, man' > OAk mutum, Ak √ mutu(m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb mu-tum = mutum, Ug mt 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} mutum 'man', BHb pl. מַתְּיָם mət-īm, pl. cs. מַתְּיָם mətē 'men, people (homines)', Gz mət 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-6, Sd. 690-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-8, A #1705, Grd. UT #1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs mutum [mùtùŋ] (pl. mútānē) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. ḡtāni 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdù, WMrg {ChL} mdà 'person'. Br ḡdà id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} ḡdí 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} mède || Ech: Skr {Lk.} máti, {Sx.} máti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} mètā 'person', mítìkò 'man (vir)', Bdy mīdò, Mgm {J} mīḡì, Brg {J} mīdìwó, Jg {J} mītó id. ¶ Ba. 807, Abr. H 690, JI II 231, ChC, ChL || Eg G mt 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis?') Eg fP mtω.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. ṭṣj) || ?φ B {Pr.} *mīdid-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middan, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} midden ~ miḡḡen, Ty/ETwlm meddān, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midān 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddān, Kb maddān, Sll {Ds.} 'maddān, Tz {Stm.} mēddān ~ müddān ~ middān, Gd {Lf.} mēddēn, Awj {Prd.} miḡḡen 'les gens' ¶ Pr. M IV 414 reconstructs here a form *mīdid-an; an alt. rec. may be *mīd-wān ~ *med-wān (with a typical pl. sx. *-wān and with the reg. change *-dω- >

*-dd-). The voiced cns. *-d- (for the expected *-t-) still needs explaining
 ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn.
 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128,
 Lf. II #0971, Prd. 166 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1806 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS
 {OS} *mawut- 'die') || D *mut 'aged man' (→ 'old') > Tm muttu
 'old, ancient', Ml muttu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ,
 muθy 'old', mu'tπ 'old age', Kn muttu, mudi id., Kdg mudi 'old', Tu
 mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old'; Tl
 mutta, muttu 'old person', d.: Tm mutiya(ᵛa)ṇ, Ml
 mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudika₁, Tu
 muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor ɘ muytonq 'old man', Nkr
 mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' ¶¶ D #4954 || A: NaT
 *boδ 'self' (× N *bod∇ 'body, belly') > Alt {BT} boy (+ ppas.) '-self', Qzl
 {Jk.} pōs, Tf {Ra.} boṭ, Tv b_ot 'self' (+ ppas.: bodum 'myself', boduṇ
 'yourself' sg., etc.); NaT ?σ *boδ 'clan' (against Cl. and in accordance
 with DTS, hardly identical with *boδ 'stature, the size of a man, body')
 > OT boδ 'clan, people', MOg bo:ᵛy 'clan, tribe; the people', OOsM XIV
 boy 'clan'; ⇨ NaT *boδun 'people, populace' > OT boδun 'tribal
 community, people' ({Cl.}: ← 'clans'), SbTt boyun 'servant' (but Qzq
 *bodan 'subject [Untertan], prisoner, slave' cannot belong here
 [⇔ Musajev in TL 316]) ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306, DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, TL
 316, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II #812, S
 AJ 196 (#247), Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M ?σ *muži (< *mudi) 'people
 (Volk), province, region' > Kl Ö {Rm.} muži 'people (Volk), province',
 WrM muži, HIM мѣж 'province, region, area', Brt можо 'a party in a
 conflict', † 'region', WrO {Krg.} müzi 'province, district', Ord {Ms.}
 mu'ž_i 'province', Dg {T, Mr.} moži 'province, region' ¶ KW 268, MED
 554, Chr. 298, Ms. O 473, Krg. 612, T DgJ 155 ◇ D *t suggests N *t̥
 (*mUt̥∇), while the M root (if it belongs here) points to a N *t
 (*mUt∇). NaT *-δ- belongs to the heritage of N *bod∇ ◇ ≡σ of the
 semantic change 'person' → 'people': [1] Nlr daoine 'people, public'
 ← daoine 'homines', pl. of duine 'man, person', [2] Lt P {Krsch.}
 žmonės 'people, nation' ← žmonės 'homines', pl. of žmogus 'man,
 person' (Bc. 1314) ◇ An alt. et. of the IE and D roots: N *mUt̥∇ 'man,
 person, a young' (see item 1503a).

1494. (₂?) *mūt∇ 'die', (←?) [?] 'go away, be removed' > HS *mūt-
 'die' > S ✓ mwt, prm. *-mūt- G 'die' > Ak, Ug, Ar, Gz -mūt- (Ak 3m p.
 i mūt, Ar 3m ip. yamūt, Gz 3m js. yamūt, etc.), BHb, Aram -mūt- (BHb

3 m ip. yā'mūt) id., Pun, Amn, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Sb, Mn ✓ mwt id., Mh, Hrs ✓ mwt id. (pf. mōt, sbjn. Mh yzmīt, Hrs yz'met); S *'mawt- 'death' > Ak mūt(u(m), BHb תָּוַת 'māwēt (originally a pausal form), cs. תָּוַת ,mōt, BA, JA תָּוַת mōt, אָתָּוַת mō'tā, Sr مَوْتٌ maw't-ā, Md muta, Ar مَوْتٌ mawt-, DA, Sb, Mn mwt, Gz mōt, Mh mawt, Hrs he-mōt, Jb E/C 'mit id., Sq {Jo.} mayt 'mortal illness' ¶ KB 532-4, A #1703, OLS 303-4, HJ O5-7, 707, Js. 751-2, Sl. 650-1, Br. 378, DM 263, Nld. MG 337, BGMR 89, BK II 1165-6, MA 64, LG 375-6, Jo. M 275, Jo. H 93, Jo. J 176, CAD X/1 421, Sd. 634, MiK I #2.43 || Eg √ mt, mwt v. 'die' > Cpt Sd/B/A/F מוּת mu 'die', qual.: Cpt Sd מוּוּת mouṭ, Cpt B מוּוּוּת mōuṭ, Cpt A/F מוּוּוּת mawṭ 'be dead'; Eg √ mt, mwt 'death' > DEg mwt, Cpt מוּוּת mu 'death' ¶ EG II 165-7, Er. 157, Vc. 107 || B *_lw_lmt 'die (mourir)' > Ah {Fc.} əmmət v. inv. (3m pf. yəmmut), Tw {Pr.} ämmät inv. (3m pf. yämmut) 'die', Ty/ETwl {GhA} ܘܡܘܬ (3m pf. immut), Gd {Lf.} əmmət (3m pf. yəmmūt), Awj {Prd.} mmut (3m pf. im'mut), Gh əmmət (3m pf. immut), Izd {Mrc.} mmət (3m pf. immut), Nf əmmət (3m pf. immət), Sll ämmət (3m pf. immūt), Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əmmət (3m pf. immut), Kb {DI.} əmmət (3m pf. yəmmut), Nf {Beg.} 'əmmət (3m pf. yəmmət) 'die', Si {La.} immūt 'is dead', Zng {TC} aor. int. yitmetteh 'die', n. act. iməttənt, ?φ yemṣiḥ 'il est mort' ¶ Fc. 1131-3, 2026, GhA 134, Lf. I 270 and II #0959, Rn. 389, DI. 524-5, Pr. M VI-VII 197-8, Beg. 288, Prd. 169, ABs. LBV § 167, TC Z 308 || EC: Rn {PG} ip. -amūt(-) (3s yàmūt) / p. -umuy and -umāt- (3s yùmuy, 1p nùmuy, 3p yùmātèn) 'die', Gdl {Bl.} mūt- v. 'become very weak and close to death'; Sml mōtan 'dead' ¶ Hn. R 214, Hn. S 35, 52, PG 64, 284, Bl. GD 85, ZMO 294, AD SF 246-7 || Ch: WCh: Hs mútú 'die' || Su {J} mūt, Tal {IL} mú:t, Ywm {IL} mwt^h id. || Fy/DfB/Bks/Klr {J} mot id. || Tng {J} mude, Krkr {J} mēt, Grm {Sch.} mótú-kò, Krf {Sch.} múk-kò (vb. n. mùtó), Glm {Sch.} máz-àlá, Gera {Sch.} múdù-mí, Glm {Sch.} mút-álà, Bl {Lk.} mot- id. || Dir {IL} mótú, {Sk.} matu id. || Ngz {Sch.} mètú, Bd {IL} mútù id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} məḍi id. (vb. n. mətá) || Mrg {IL} mūt^hòy id. || HgNk/FIK {Kr.} mte id. || Nz {Kr.} mute id. || Lmn {Lk.} mt- id. || Mdr {Mirt} mc-a, Glv {Rp.} mc-, Gdf {IL} mç(ə)gana, Dgh {Frk.} mčà, {IL} mcáyà id. || Mtk {Sb.} mčca, Myn {Ro.} mt-, Mkt {Ro.} mčc, MfG {Brr.} 'mčč-, mé-mččey, {Ro.} mččé, Mf {BLB} mčca, Gzg D {Lk.} moc, {Ro.} múč, Mada {BrrB} á-mat, Mada/Mlk {Ro.} mát id. || Db {Lnh.} mčč, Kola {Sb.} múty id. || Bdm {Cfr.} màtá, Lgn

{Lk.} mti id. | Msg {Trn.} m`r´ id. | Ms {J} mítná, ZmB {J} má́t id. || ECh: Skr {Sx.} m̀téd id. | EDng {Fd.} màtè, Mgm {J} mǎ́tó id. | Jg {J} mǎ́t, Brg {J} mǎ́tí, Mb {Lk} mǎ́t, {J} inf. mǎ́dé id. ¶ JI II 102-3, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 142, Sch. DN 106, BLB 235, Brr. MG II 163, 175, BrrB 194, Ro. 237 (pMM *mac) ¶¶ OS #1751 (*maʷut-), Tk. I 227 || **D** *muṭ- 'die' (× D *muṭṭi- vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N *mud∇ 'finish', to end' [q.v.]) > Tm muṭi (p. -v-) v. 'die' ¶ D #4922 || ?σ IE: Ht mutai- v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(ε) 'garbage, scraps' (← 'sth. removed') ¶ CHD L-N 335-7, Ts. E II 235-6 ◊ Because of phonetic circumstances (coincidence of N *-t- with the reflex of either *-d- or *-ṭ- in most cognate lgs.) the N word in question was doomed to contaminate with paronymous words, such as N *mud∇ 'finish', to end' (q.v.). Ht mutai- v. 'remove' belongs here if the meaning 'die' (attested in HS and D) developed from an earlier (pN) meaning 'go away, be removed'.

1495. *matʔ∇ ~ *maʔ't∇ 'approach' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'meet', 'enter') > HS: CS *√mṭʔ > IA √mṭʔ G 'arrive at, reach' (? is a real lr. rather than a mater lectionis, as confirmed by forms such as 3p pf. mṭʔ [*mə'taʔū]), Plm √mṭʔ G 'come', Ar √mṭʔ G (pf. مَطَأَ mataʔa) 'inivit (feminam)'; the √ was transformed in *√mṭw|y in BA (3m pf. אָבַח ~ הָבַח mə'tā, 3f pf. תָּבַח mə'tā-ṭ) and in later Aram: JA [Trg.] √mṭw|y G (אָבַח mə'tā), JEA {Sl.} √mṭy G, Sr √mṭw|y G (3m pf. ܐܒܚܐ mə'tā) 'come, arrive at, reach'; in Aram the verb contaminated with √mṭʔ ~ √mṭw|y (< S *√mṭʔ 'find'), but the meaning 'arrive, come' is still present ({KB} 'kommen über' and 'eintreten, da sein' in BA [Daniel], in JA and Sr) ¶ HJ 616-7, KB 1735, Lv. T II 26-7, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381, JPS 260, BGMR 88, Fr. IV 189, BK II 1121 || EC *√mt, *-mtī, *-(i)mit- 'come' > Af {PH} pcv. 1s pf. emēte 'come', Sa {Wlm.} pf. -emēte / ip. -amate id.; pSam {Hn.} *i-mit 'arrive' > Rn {PG} ip. -amīt(-) (3m yàmīt, 3p yàmītīn) / pf. -imiṭ and -imāt- (3m yìmiṭ, 1p nìmiṭ, 3p yìmātēn), Sml C pcv. p. -imid- (3m ʔyimid(ey)) / prs. -imād- (3m yimāda) 'come', pBn {Hn.} pf. *-imid- / ip. *-imād- 'come' (> Bn: K -imid-/-imād- ~ -ibid-/-ibād-, Bi/J -īd- / -iyād-); Bs {HL} ēmet- 'come, arrive', Dsn {To.} -i(:)mī/-i(:)meḏ- 'come'; HEC: Brj {Ss.} int-ay 'come' (< p. *imt-), Alb {HL ← ?}, Kmb {Hd.} amēt- id. || Ag {Ap.} *ʔnt-/*-∇nt- 'come' > Bln ʔnt-, Km ʔnt-, -t-, Aw -nt; -d→ Ad *ʔnt-āt- id. > Bln *ʔnt-er-, Xm (ʔ)tʔr- ¶ Ss. B 105, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 99, PH 96, PG 42-4, Vg. rSimO 165-7, HL 69, Ss. OKSV, Ss. Hd. 307,

AD IPCV, AD SF 246, To. DL 201, Ap. AV 5 || IE: NaIE *mād-/*mād- (or *mōd-/*mōd-) 'approach, meet' > Arm մատչիմ matč'im vi. 'gain access, approach, draw near' (aor. մատեսայ mateay), մատուցանեմ matuc^hanem vt. 'draw\bring near' || ON mót, MHG muoz, AS mōt n. 'meeting, assembly', NE moot; Gt ga-mōtjan, ON mæta, Dn mōde, Nr mōta, Sw mōta, OSx mōtian, AS mētan[†]to meet', NE meet ¶ WP II 304, P 746, Fs. 193-4, Vr. 393-4, Ho. 225-6, Ho. S 53, Skeat 370 || U (att. in Prm only) *^omatt∇ > FU: pPrm *matin, *mate 'near' > Z, Vt mat+n adv. 'near', Z matɜ 'near' (adv. of direction), Z LL matɜd- vi. 'approach', Vt mate 'approximately' ¶ LG 170 || ?σ A: NrTg *mata 'newly arrived person' > Ewk, Lm mata id., 'guest; foreigner' ¶ STM I 533, Vas. 29 || ? Ko {Rm.} mat 'mate, friend', manna-da 'meet' ¶¶ Rm. SKE I 142 ◇ S *^om^ot^o? ~ *^om^ot^ow|y and U *^omatt∇ suggest a N rec. *mat^o∇, while the long vw. in IE *mā|ōd- points to a N rec. *maHt∇ (= *ma^o?^ot∇?).

1496. *mat∇^o?^o∇ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE *mad- 'wet, moist, liquor', v. 'drip' > Gk μαδάω 'be moist \ sodden' (of diseased fig-trees), μαδαρός 'moist' || L madeo / madēre 'be wet \ moist' ¶ Not here OI 'mada-, 'madya-, Av maḍa-, ma^oḍya- 'exhilarating \ intoxicating drink' (<cl- mad- 'exhilarate, intoxicate') ¶ WP II 231-2, P 694-5, ≈ EI 638-9 (*m(e)h_{ad}- 'become wet\moist\fat'), M K II 568, M E II 299-300, F II 157-8, WH II 6-8 || HS: Eg NE mty.t 'flood' ¶ EG II 169 || C: SC: Brn madiḥ 'rainy season' || HEC: Qbn, Kmb {Hd.} muṭa 'wet', Kmb {Hd.} muṭ- 'be wet', maṭō 'rainy season' ¶ E SC 153, Hd. 332, 334 || Ch *m∇ḍ- 'dew' (× N *m^oṭ^o∇ 'drop', q.v. ffd.) || A: T *mat 'thick liquid' > OT bat 'thick juice of pressed dates', Qrg {Jud.} bat 'glue, paste, starch' ¶ Cl. 296, Jud. 116 || N d. or cd. ₂ *mat∇^o?^o∇R∇ 'rain' or 'rainy season' > HS: S *ma^oṭar- 'rain' > BHb מֵטָר mē^oṭār, Ug mṭr, IA mṭr(?), Htr mṭr?, JA [Trg.] מֵטָר ~ מֵטָרֵי mē^oṭar-ā, Sr مَطَرٌ mē^oṭar-ā, Md miṭra id., Ar مَطَرٌ maṭar- 'shower, heavy rain', Ak LB miṭru 'small canal, ditch', Ak FOB d. miṭir tu 'ε canal, ditch; ε field \ orchard'; WS *^omṭr v. 'rain' > Amr, Ug ^omṭr G, Ar ^omṭr G, BHb ^omṭr N id.; WS ^omṭr → Ak RS miṭar 'field irrigated by rain' ¶ KB 544, A #1555, OLS 308, HJ 619, Js. 769, DM 265-6, BK II 1122, Hv. 725, Sd. 663, G A 26, CAD X/2 144-7 || Eg fAm mṭr 'flood, water' (Eg G 'inundation water') ¶ EG II 174 || K: GZ *za-mtar- 'winter' > OG, G zamtar-i, Mg zotonž-i id.;

*za-mtar- is a cd. with the component *za- (originally 'year') used in names of seasons (cp. G za-pχu-l-i 'summer'); the pK stem *-mt_lar_j- may be discerned in Sv UB/Ln li-ntw and Sv L lu-nt 'winter' ¶¶ K 86-7, K² 56, Q 228, FS K 128, 217, FS E 138, 239, TK 443, GP 162 ◇ The N Ir. was lost in IE, Eg, and K, but preserved (as glottalization or its traces) in S, EC, and Ch (*tʔ > *t̥ > S *t̥, HEC *t̥, Ch *d̥) ◇ ≈ BmK #537 (IE, HS [S, HEC, NrBc, but not Eg]; the Eg cognate is not mentioned deliberately, because it is at variance with Bm's preconceived theory about IE *d [his *t'] < N *t̥) ◇ The semantic change 'rain' → Eg 'flood' is easily explained by the special geographical conditions of Egypt (absence of rains, importance of the Nile flood), while the change 'rain(y season)' → K 'winter' provides ev. for the climate of the Nostratic original habitat (Southwestern Asia with the rainy season in November-February, *see* AD NM).

1497. *met∇ha 'head, top, summit' > **HS:** C: EC {Ss.} *math- 'head' > pSam {Hn.} *matah > Sml madáh, Sml J mádiʔ, Rn {Hn.} ma'tah, {PG} mátaḥ (cs. mátaḥkí), pBn {Hn.} *mádah > Bn {Hn.}: Bi máda(h), J/K/Kj máda; Bs {HL} mete, Or mátaʔ, {Grg.} matā, Kns {Bl.} matta, {Lm.} mattá, Msl {Lm.} matta, Di/Mos {Lm.} maššá, Gato {Fl.} mätta, Gdl {Bl.} mašš(a), Dsn mé (pl. met-u), Bs {Lm.} mete, Elm méteʔ, Arr {Hw.} mettéh, Ya {Ss.} míteh id. ||| Bj {R} mat 'crown of the head' ||| ?φ Ag: Bln {R} mācd-, mad- 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen' (×N *mu₃∇₁∇₁∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze/hit with a fist, to punch on the head') ¶ AD SF 182, Bl. 157, 185, 250, 317, Ss. PEC 5, 8, 10, 36-7, 57, 63, HL 131, Grg. 282, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 111, PG 221, Lm. SKE 532, Hw. A 384, R WB 263, R WBd 175, Blz. EDB 21-2, To DL 517 || Om: SOm: Dime met, {Fl.} mət, Ari U mätá, Ari {Bnd.} matá, Ari G {Bnd.} m^ta, Hm mät-, Hm K met, Banna {Blz. ← ?} mäte 'head' ||| NrOm: Dzd {Blz.}: Na {Fl.} mot id., Shk {Fl.} mōto, mūtu 'head, brain' ¶ Blz. OLBP #60, Blz. EDB 21-2, Bnd. AL 152, Fl. OWL s.v. 'head' || CCh: Pdk {Blz. ← Mch.} mudara, Msg P {Trn.} mədiy (cs. midi-), Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} máda, maídí, mídi, Msg {Mch.} mada 'head', Mlw {Trn.} măt id. (with pos. prns.: m̀dà á 'my head', m̀d̀d̀ ǹ 'his head', m̀d̀d̀ k̀ 'thy [m.] head', etc.), ? Mbara {TrnSL} mbòt 'head' ¶ Lk. DQM 65, Trn. LM 105-6, Trn. MVM 186-7, TrnSL M 299 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #60 and Blz. EDB 21-2 (C, Om, Ch + err. Ak muttu [Holma NK 35: *'front, forehead', but in fact 'front side']) ||| **K:** OG mta-y, G mta 'mountain' ¶ Ser. 92, DCh. 719-20, Chx. 765 ||| **A:** Tg *m̃jata 'hide from the animal's head; skin of the head' >

Neg, Ork *mēta*, Ul *mēta* ~ *māta* id., Lm *māt* & *mēt* & *māat*, Orc *mīata*-*ksa*, Ul *mēta*-*ksa*, Nn Nh *māta* 'hide from the animal's head', Ewk *mēta* id., 'scalp', Sln *mēta* 'face' ¶ STM I 535 ¶ Tg **ja* < **e* due to vowel breaking (as. of the second part of the vw. to the vw. of the next syll.) || T **bet* 'face' > OT [TT] *bet*, Tk *bet*, Az *bät*, Tkm Δ, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, ET *bät*, Δ *bet*, Alt *b₂et*, ET *bät*, Chv *pit* 'face', Chg, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz *bet*, VTt, Bsh *bit*, SbTt *pit* 'face, cheek', Tv *b₂eti* 'this side', Tf *b₂ét* 'front side', Yk *bättäχ* 'here, on this side' ¶ DTS 10, ET B 121-2, TrR 111, Ra. 162, ≈ TL 207 (**bät* 'face'; the rec. of **ä* is unc. because of VTt and Bsh *i*) || M **metü* 'similar(ly), as' (← *'face of'?) > MM [S] {H} *metü* 'such as, as', [HI] {Ms.}, [PP] {Pp.} *metü*, WrM *metü*, HIM *мэт*, Brt *мэтэ* 'similarly, as', Kl *мет*, {Rm} *metə*, *metü*, MMgl [Iw.] *metü*, Dg {Mr.} *mε'tu* 'similar(ly), as', Ord {Ms.} *möt'ü*, Mnr H {SM} *mad_u*, {T} *madu*, Dx {T} *mutu* 'as (comme)' ¶ H109, Ms. H 75, Ms. O 472, Pp. KP 153, MED 538, Chr. 313, KRS 351, KW 262, Mr. D 172, Iw. 115, SM 229, T 343, T DnJ 129 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 79, KW 262, DQA #1307 (A **mjat'i* 'head skin, face') || D: [1] **meitt-* 'top, upper part of the house' > Td *midy* 'upper storey', Tm *mettai* id., 'storied house', Ml *metta* 'terrace', Kt *med* 'upstairs room', Kn *metti* 'the upstairs', Tu *mettigæ* 'pavement \ boards of the floor of an upper storey', Tl *middiya*, *midde* 'flat roof, terrace', Knd *mide* in *mēra mide* 'terraced building' || [2] **mēt-* 'raised place' > Ml *mētā* id., 'tower, upper storey', Tm *mētai* 'platform, raised floor, terraced house', Png *mēr* 'storied house', Tl *mēda* id., 'upper chamber', Gnd *mērā* 'large house', Knd *mēra* in *mēra mide* (*see* above), Ku *mērā* 'upstair building', D ⇨ OI λ *meṭa-*, Prkr *meḍaya* 'whitewashed storied house'; [3] **māṭ-* 'upper storey, terrace' > Tm *māṭi* 'terrace', Tm, Ml *māṭam*, Tl *māḍugu* 'house with an upper storey', Kn *māḍa*, *māṭa*, *māḍi* 'upstair house', Kdg, Klm *māḍi*, Gnd *māḍi* 'upper storey', Tu *māḍb* 'roof', Nkr *mārī* 'large house', Nk *mārā* 'raised platform', D ⇨ OI λ *māḍi* 'palace' ¶¶ D ##4796, 5069 ◇ Tg -*t-* and D **-tt-* (usual reflexes of N **-ṭ-*) are likely to represent the cluster **-tḥ-* (< N **-tṽḥ-* with elision of the vw.); D **-ṭ-* goes back to N **-t-* (here probably from **-tṽḥ-* without vowel elision) ◇ The N vw. after **t* is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of D **-ṭ-*.

1498. **mAtṽdṽ* ⇨ **mAdṽtṽ* 'to stretch' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to measure') > HS: S **√mdd* 'stretch, measure (the length)' > Ak

✓ mdd v. *G* (inf. madādu, 3m pret. i-mduḏ) 'measure (using a measure of capacity\length), pay, measure the length', BHb ✓ mdd (pf. מִדְּדָה mā'dad, ip. -mod) v. *G* 'measure (length\surface)', Pun mdd acp. 'measurer', Ar ✓ mdd v. *G* 'spread (a carpet), stretch (one's arm), strain (a rope), lengthen by stretching', madda ʔumra (fulānin) 'lengthen (so.'s) life' (of God), Gz ✓ mdd v. *G* (pf. مَدَدَ madada) 'spread, level', Tgr ✓ mdd *G* (pf. مَدَدَ mēdde) 'stretch, spread', Mh ✓ mdd (pf. mɛd, sbjn. yɜmdēd) 'stretch out, stretch (one's limbs)', Hrs ✓ mdd (pf. mʌd), Jb C ✓ mdd (pf. midd, sbjn. 'yummud ~ yūd), Jb E ✓ mdd (pf. mid) id.; d. CS *'madd- 'stretching', (→ *'measure of cloth' →) 'garment' > Ar مَدَّ madd- 'reach of the sight, prolongation (of vowels \ voice)', BHb mad*/madd-* 'garment' (attested: sg. +ppa. מִדְּדָה mad'd-ō 'his garment', pl. +ppa. מִדְּדָהּ mad'dāw 'his garments'), Ug mɔ {A} '€ garment', {OLS} 'capa, cubierta', JEA מִדְּדָהּ mad'd-ā {Sl.} 'garment', {Js.} 'priest's cloak'; WS *mu|idd- > Ar مَدَّ mudd- '€ measure (of various standards)', Tgr מִדְּדָה mɛdd '€ measure of corn'; WS *midd-at- > Ar مَدَّةٌ mudd-at- 'length, space of time', BHb מִדְּדָה mid'dā 'measurement (of length)' ('Meßstrecke'), Sb mɔt 'period', Tgr מִדְּדָה mēddet 'spice of time, period', Jb C mɛd'det 'period' ¶ CAD X/1 5-9, KB 518-20, HJ 595, A #1516, OLS 259-60, Js. 731, Sl. 642, BK II 1075-7, Hv. 711-2, LG 329, BGMR 83, LH 141-3, Jo. M 260-1, Jo. H 87, Jo. J 168 || IE: NaIE *med-v. 'measure' ({EI} id., 'weigh') (× NaIE *med- 'think' < N *mæt√ 'feel, realize' [q.v.]) > OI ʌ 'masti-ḥ < *med-ti-s?) n. 'measuring, weighing' ||| Arm միտ mit (gen. մտի mti) 'mind, intellect, sense' ||| Gk μέδομαι 'think on, provide for, am mindful of, bethink one of' (hardly connected with μέδων 'guardian, lord') ||| L modus 'a measure, standard of measurement', modo adv. 'by measure, according to a limit', medit-or / -ārī 'think over, consider', modius '€ a Roman corn-measure (16 sextarii, rather less than 2 gallons)', Um meʔs, MERS 'ius' (< *med-os), mersus 'ex moribus', Osc med-díss 'magistrate' (< *medo-dik-s), gen. medíkeís ||| OIr midiur (p. ro-mídar) 'cogito, judico', airmed 'measure', mess 'judicium', med 'balance', W meddwl 'animus, mēns, cogitatio'; on Brtt *medami 'think, say' see N *mæt√ '↑' ||| Gt mitan, OHG mē(̅)zan, NHG messen, AS metan 'to measure', ON meta id., 'evaluate, count', met 'measurement, weight', OSx met, OHG mēz, NHG Maß, AS met

'measure', AS *mitta* 'ē a corn-measure' (÷ L *modius*) ¶ WP II 259-60, P 705-6, ≈ EI 374 (includes reflexes of IE **med-* 'think'), MK II 607, ≈ F II 191, WH II 55-6, 99-100, Bc. G 319, 338, Vn. *M* 27, 42-3, 48-9, Fs. 363-4, Vr. 25-6, Ho. 220, 224, Ho. S 52, Kb. 682, OsS 606, KM 465, 475-6 || **D** (tr., ṽGS) **maṭṭ-* v. 'measure' > Tm *maṭṭu* 'measure, quantity, standard', *maṭṭam* 'measure, evenness, flatness', MI *maṭṭu* 'measure, limit', *maṭṭam* 'ē measure of length', Kt *maṭm* (obl. *maṭṭ-*) 'level place, all', Kn *maṭṭu*, *maṭṭa*, *maṭa* 'measure, extent, height', Tu *maṭṭu* 'measure, extent, limit', *maṭṭa* 'carpenter's \ bricklayer's square, level, measure', Tl *maṭṭu* 'limit, bound, measure', *maṭṭamu* 'level, a levelling instrument' ¶¶ D #4660 || **A**: M **badara-* v. 'spread, expand' (× N **paṭh* ▽ 'to be open, to open', q.v. *ffd.*).

1499. ₂ **matR* ▽ ~ **maRt* ▽ 'midday' ([in ObU] → 'south') > HS: Eg MKL *mtr.t* ({Vc.} = **mitra-t*) 'midday' > DEg *mtr* id. > Cpt: Sd **meere** *meere*, B **meri** *meri* id. ¶ EG II 174, Er. 192, Vc. 119 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) **mart* ▽ > ObU {Ht.} **mārt* ▽ (y) 'country where migratory birds spend their winter' > pVg **mārtī* id. > Vg (partially in cds. with *mā* & *mā* 'land', *sām* 'region', *lonk* 'way', *woy* 'beast'): MK *mōrt*, LL *mort*, UL *mōrti*, Ss *mōrti* 'country where migratory birds spend their winter', d. P *mortam* id. || pOs **martī*† (in similar cds.): Ty/Y *mārtī*, D *mōrtā*, K *mārtā*, Nz/Kz *mōrtā*, O *marti* id. ¶ Ht. #412, KrT 543-4, ≈ UEW 280-1.

1500. **maṭ* ▽ 'to bend' > HS: WS **-mīṭ-* ~ **-mūṭ-* '≈ shake, waver, turn away' > Ar ✓ *myṭ* (pf. *māṭa*, ip. *-mīṭ-*) 'turn away, retire from, deviate', BHb ✓ *mṵṭ* (pf. *māṭ*, ip. *-mūṭ*) 'totter, shake', MHb ✓ *mṵṭ* *Sh* (pf. **חִיָּבָה** *hē* 'mīṭ') 'bend, shake', JA [Trg.] ✓ *mṵṭ G* 'inline, waver, decline; give way, bend', {Lv.} 'wanken, zum fallen neigen', Sr ✓ *mṵṭ G* 'totter, lean over, stagger', Gz ✓ *myṭ G* (js. *-mīṭ*) vt., vi. 'turn, turn aside' ¶ KB 526, LG 377, BK II 1173, Hv. 742, BDB 536 [#4131], Js. 740, Lv. TM II 14, Br. 376, JPS 207 || **A** **mat'a* vt. 'bend' > M **mata-* > WrM *mata-*, HIM, Brt *мата-* v. 'curve, bend', Kl {Rm.} *mata-χα* 'biegen, bogenformig machen', ds.: WrM *matai-* *matayi-*, HIM **матий-**, Kl **мати-** *matī-* vi. 'bend, curve', Kl {Rm.} *matī-*, *maṭā-*, Kl Ö {Rm.} *matā-*, *matā-* 'sich biegen, sich schief drehen', Ord *mat'ā-* 'etre contourné \ courbé', WrM *matailga-*, HIM **матийлга-** vt. 'bend, bow, curve', Dg *mat'ien* 'bent, curved' ¶ MED 530, Chr. 294, KRS 344, Rm, KW 258, T DgJ 154, Ms. O 456 || Tg **mata-* vt. 'bend' > Ewk *mata-*,

WrMc *mata-* id. ¶ But not here (⇔ DQA) STg **mita-* > WrMc *mita-* vi. {Z} 'turn\bend back, turn over back; give back', {Z, Hr.} 'unbend, zurückschnellen' (of a bow after removing the bowstring), Jrc {Kiy.} *mita-* vi. 'retreat', because the basic meaning here is 'backward' rather than 'bend' ¶ STM I 533, 539, Z 887, Hr. 659, Kiy. 120 [#414] || ?φ pJ {S} **mætɜr-* vi. 'bend, deviate' > OJ *motor-* vi. 'bend', J: T/Kg *motór-*, K *mótór-* 'deviate\depart from, run contrary to' ¶ S QJ #929, Mr. 727, Kenk. 1273 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1306 (A **mĭat'è* 'to bend'; incl. M, J) || **Gil:** Gil A [mod-] (prs./p. *moṭ-ç*) 'lie with one's head on the cushion' ¶¶ ST 193 || **D:** [1] D **maṭank-* vi. / **maṭakk-*, {ǵGS} **maḍaṅk-* vt. 'bend, fold' > Tm *maṭaṅku* 'become bent as the arm or leg, be closed\folded as a knife or table', Ml *maṭaṅḡuka* 'be bent \ folded', Kt *maṛk*, Kdg *maḍak-* vt. 'fold', Td *moṛy-* vi., vt. 'fold neatly', *moṛx-* vi. 'bend', Kn *maḍate* 'folding, a fold', Tu *maḍatæ* 'a fold, crease', *maḍi* 'fold, a quantity added', Tl *maḍakā* 'fold, plait', *maḍagu* 'bend, fold, be bent\folded', Prj *maḍkip-* 'fold, roll up', Gnd *maṛp-* v. 'fold' || [2] (in SD) **māṭ-* ({ǵGS} **-ḍ-*) > Tm *māṭai* 'being bent downwards as horns of cattle', Ml *māṭa* 'cow with horns bent downwards', Kt *maṭ et* 'bullocks with horns curving back', Tu *mōḍæ* 'ox\buffalo with curved horns' ¶¶ D ##4645, 4799, Sbr. DVM 64 ¶¶ The cns. **-ṭ-* for the expected **-t-* has not yet found explanation (suffixes that were lost due to D sound laws ruling out stop-initial clusters?).

1501. *mAt∇ '≈ increase, make long/broad' > **HS:** S **^o✓mṭṭ* > Ar *✓mṭṭ G* (pf. *maṭṭa*) 'tendre et allonger une chose en la tirant avec force; allonger (les joues, les sourcils)' ¶ BK II 1121 || **K** {Fn.} **maṭ-* > G *maṭ-ul-* / *maṭ-* (ft. *i-maṭ-eba*, inf. *maṭul-oba*) vi. 'increase, become larger' ¶ Chx. 727-8 || **D** **mat-*, {ǵGS} **mad-* > Tm *matippu* 'growing fat' (of a person), 'growing leafy' (of a plant), *matukay* 'strength', Tl *maḍincu* 'become fat' ¶¶ ≈ D #4687 (+ err. D **mat-*, {GS} **mady-* 'be furious, excited' - cp. GS 148-9 [#508]) ◇ Fn. KD #25 (K, D).

1502. *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals' > **HS:** Eg *mṭ* (reading of the character representing male genitalia), DEg *mṭ* 'phallus', as well as possibly (× N **mUt∇* 'man, person') ? Eg fP *mṭw.ṭ* 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9, Er. 184 || EC: HEC: Sd {Hd}, Hd {L} *muta* 'penis', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} *mut-* v. 'sprout', Hd {Hd.} *muta* 'awl for basketwork' | LEC: Or {Grg.} *muṭ-* v. 'sprout, blade' (of crop) ¶ LrCoh. 315, Hd. 141, 387, Grg. 295 || NrOm: Zl/Dc {Lm.} *mute* 'penis' ¶¶ Tk. I 227 || **K:** eNG {SSO} *muṭ-e-l-i*

'membrum muliebre' (× N *mû₁ŕ₁ṭ∇ 'woman, female', sc. an adj. 'that of a woman, muliebre'??) ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] || A *mot'É (or *met'É?) 'pudenda; bird's crop' > Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'vulva' (unless from N *mû₁ŕ₁ṭ∇ 'woman, female', q.v.) ¶ STM I 547 || T: VTt ḅḅṭbg 'vulva', Qz ḅöṭäḳä 'kidneys of animals', Yk ḅöṭög̣ö 'bird's crop, crow', Chv {Ash.} п̣у̣те̣ке puḍeg̣e id., 'kidneys of animals' ¶ Rs. W 8, Ash. X 44 || pJ {S} *miṭya > OJ ṃiṭyo 'pudenda' ¶ S QJ #482 ¶¶ DQA #1289 (A *ṃét'í(-rk∇) > incl. T, Tg, J) ¶¶ T and Tg suggest a rounded vw. of the first syll., but in the light of the J cognate the T/Tg rounded vw. may be due to as. || D *mot(t)-, {ǵGS} ≈ *modd- '≈ trunk, straw' > Tm ṃuṭal 'stump, lowest part of stem', Td ṃiθ 'straw', Kn modḍu 'log of wood', Tu maḍaḍ̣ḅ 'log, trunk', muḍeḷḅ 'stubble, stump of a tree', Klm moḍal 'tree trunk', modda 'log', Nkr moḍhal, Prj moḍel, Gnd moḍol, modal, Knd moḍol 'tree trunk', Nk maddum 'stem of tree' ¶¶ D #4951.

1503. ₂ *mô₁ṭE 'whole, complete' > A: T *büt- (= *müt-) 'be complete \ all' > OT büt- 'be complete', XwT XIV büt- 'be completed, achieved', Qrg, ET büt-, Tk bit-, Ggz, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Uz bit-, Qq pit-, Qzq ḅiṭ-, VTt б̣ет̣- ḅbṭ-, Bsh б̣ет̣- ḅḅṭ-, Yk but-, Chv L п̣ёт̣- p̣bṭ/ḍ-, Chv H p̣ḅṭ/ḍ- id., 'be finished', Alt ḅüṭ-, Tf ḅ_č̣ṭ-, Xk püt- 'be completed, achieved', Tv ḅüṭ- 'come true, be realized, occur', d.: Qmn {B} ḅüd-ir- vt. 'complete, finish'; ⇨ T *müṭün (> *büṭün) 'complete, entire' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV, Osm XIV bütün id., Tkm büṭin, Δ müṭin, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qrg bütün, Qq pütin, Qzq б̣ү̣т̣и̣н büṭin, ET, Ln pütün, VTt, Bsh б̣ө̣т̣ен̣ ḅḅṭын̣, Xk püdün, Alt, Tv ḅüdün, Tf ḅ_č̣ṭün, Chv: L п̣ёт̣ём̣ p̣bḍ_ьṃ, H p̣ḅḍ_ьṃ id.; T ⇨ M: [1] MM d. [S] {H} ḅüte₁e- 'erledigen', [MA] {Pp.} ḅütē- ~ ḅütü-, [IM] {Pp.} ḅütē- v. 'achieve, complete', WrM ḅüṭü-, HIM, Brt б̣ү̣т̣э̣-, Kl б̣ү̣т̣- büt- 'be(come) formed \ fulfilled \ executed', Ord {Ms.} ḅüt'ü- 'se produire, se faire, s'achever, réussir', Dg ḅute- 'be fulfilled, realized', [2] MM [MA] bütün, WrM ḅüṭün, HIM, Brt б̣ү̣т̣эн̣, Kl б̣ү̣т̣н̣ bütən, Ord ḅüt'ün 'whole, complete, entire' ¶ Cl. 298-9, 302-4, ET B 152-4, 302-4, Ra. 167, TvR 125, Md. 64, 175, Pp. MA 128-9, 434, H 24, MED 152-3, Ms. O 107-8, SM 30, T DgJ 128, KRS 131, Chr. 126 || Tg *ṃute- 'be able' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Mc Sb, Nn Nh/B muṭz-, Nn KU ṃəṭz-, WrMc muṭe- id. ¶ STM I 561, Krm. 263 || pKo {S} *ṃòt- 'all, whole' > MKo ṃòṭλ̣, Ko: Sl moḍú, Ph/PhN/Kw moḍu, Ks/Chs ṃódu, Hm mo₁du, Chj ṃəḍ̣ə id. ¶ St AJ 245 [#1], 251 [#1], S QK #1, Nam 214, 217, MLC 641 || pJ {S} *muta > OJ

muta 'together with' ¶ S QJ #1 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 58, S AJ 27, 70, 86, 274, ≈ DQA #1371 (A *mūt'i 'to complete, to gather together'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J) || D *mott-, {GS} mot- 'all, total' > Tm mottam, Tl mottamu 'sum, total, whole', Ml mottam 'whole, total', Kn motta 'heap, multitude' ¶¶ D #5119, GS 82 [#256] ◇ N *ô > T ü due to the front vw. of the next syll. An alt. rec. of a N *müt∇ is ruled out by the D cognate with *o.

1503a.*mUt∇ 'man, person, a young' (an alternative to *mUt∇ or *mUt∇ 'man, person', q.v.) > HS: S *mut- 'person, man' > OAk mutum, Ak ∇mutu(m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb mu-tum = mutum, Ug m̄t 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} mutum 'man', BHb pl. מַתְּיָמָה mə't-īm, pl. cs. מַתְּיָמָה mə'tē 'men, people (homines)', Gz mət 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-6, Sd. 690-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-8, A #1705, Grd. UT #1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs mutum [mūtûŋ] (pl. mūtânē) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. ḡtāni 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdù, WMrg {ChL} mdà 'person'. Br ḡdà id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} ḡdí 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} m̄d̄e || ECh: Skr {Lk.} máti, {Sx.} máti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} mètà 'person', mítìkò 'man (vir)', Bdy m̄dò, Mgm {J} m̄dì, Brg {J} m̄dìwó, Jg {J} m̄tó id. ¶ Ba. 807, Abr. H 690, JI II 231, ChC, ChL || Eg G m̄t 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis?') Eg fP m̄t̄ω.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. ṭ̄j) || ?φ B {Pr.} *m̄did-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middan, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} middden ~ middden, Ty/ETwlm medd̄n, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midan 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddan, Kb maddan, Sll {Ds.} 'maddan, Tz {Stm.} maddan ~ müddan ~ middan, Gd {Lf.} meddēn, Awj {Prd.} middden 'les gens' ¶ Pr. M IV 414 reconstructs here a form *m̄did-an; an alt. rec. may be *m̄d-wan ~ *med-wän (with a typical pl. sx. *-wan and with the reg. change *-d̄w- > *-dd-). The voiced cns. *-d- (for the expected *-t-) still needs explaining ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn. 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II #0971, Prd. 166 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1806 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS {OS} *mawut- 'die') || D *mut 'aged man' (→ 'old') > Tm muttu 'old, ancient', Ml muttu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ, muθy 'old', mu'tπ 'old age', Kn muttu, mudi id., Kdg mudi 'old', Tu mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old'; Tl mutta, muttu 'old person', d.:

Tm mutiya(va)ṅ, Ml mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudikə₁, Tu muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor & muytonḍ 'old man', Nkr mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' ¶¶ D #4954 || A: T *mōt'U' or *bot'U' 'camel colt, (?) boy' > OT botuḥ, 'camel colt', MQp, Chg bota, XwT boda, Tk pōta, Δ potuk ~ putuk, Qq, Qzq, Nog, Kr, ET bota, Qrg boto, Qrg S bodo, VTt, Bsh buta id., Uz bwta id., 'child', ET {Zn.} bota 'boy', Chg {Bu.} buta 'son' ¶ Cl. 299, ET B 198-200, TL 448, Bu. I 272, Shch. Zh 106 || M *botugun 'camel colt' > WrM botugun(n), HIM ботго, Kl ботхн id., 'young camel in its first year', Brt ботогон 'camel colt' ¶ MED 125.

1504. ₂ *mûṭṭ (or *mûKṭ?) 'drop', 'tear(s)' > HS: B *mṽṭṭ- 'tear(s)' > Ah {Fc.} amiṭ (pl. iməṭṭawən), BSn/Sll {Ds.}, Gd {Lf.} aməṭṭa (pl. məṭṭawən), Gh {Nh.}, SrSn {Rn.} aməṭṭaw, Izn/Rf {Rn.} aməṭṭa, Kb {Dl.}, Tmz {MT} iməṭṭi, Izd aməṭṭi, Si {La.} pl. iməṭṭawən, Nf {Beg.} məṭṭīn (pl. iməṭṭīwən ~ iməṭṭāwən), Zng {Nic.} əṅḍawən, {Bs.} əṅḍawən 'tears' ¶ Fc. 1163, Dl. 527, MT 445, Rn. 385, Ds. 167, Ds. B 193, La. S 252, Beg. 239, Lf. II #1049, Nic. 208, Bs. MS I 134 || Ch *mṽḍ- 'dew' (× N *matṽ'ṽ' 'moisture' [q.v.]) > WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} mād-āḷ, Kry {Sk.} mādḷ, My {Sk.} ámadí, P' {MSk.} máḍá, Dir {Sk.} mādá, Sir {Sk.} mūdé, Jmb {Sk.} àmadá 'dew' || Ngz {Sch.} mādāwà, Bd {ChL} maḍāwân 'dew' || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} mād i í [= mādí?] (df. mādí-ná), {ChC} maḍajta, ZmB {ChC} miḍa, ZmD {KNC} mbḷḍà, Lame {Sa.} mbḷḍá, Azm {Pc.} mbaḍīḍa id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Sch. DN 108, ChC, ChL, Sa. L II 311, Caīt. 113, KNC 17, Pc. 286 || D *mutt- (< *mukt-?) 'drop', 'tear' (n.) > Tm muttu 'pearl, tear', Ml muttu 'pearl kernel', Td mut, Kn muttu, Kdg mutti, Tl muttiyamū, muttemū 'pearl', Tu muttu id., 'a drop', Kt mut 'woman's ear-ring'; D ⇨ OI mukṭā 'pearl' ¶¶ D #4959.

1505. ₂ *mṽṭ'ṽ' 'to pull, to pull out (a plant, etc.), to uproot, to reap' > HS: S *ṽmṭw > Ar ṽmṭw (pf. مَطَّ maṭā, ip. -mṭuḥ-) 'pull (a rope)' → 'urge a beast' (of a rider) → 'hasten, hurry the walk' ¶ BK II 1124, Hv. 725 || EC: ?ḥ Sd mid- {Mrn., Hd.} 'reap', {Ss.} 'mow, cut', Ged mid- v. 'uproot, weed', Brj mid- {Hd.} v. 'pull, uproot', {Ss.} 'uproot, dislocate', 'extract' (of tooth), Kmb mid- 'reap, uproot, drag'; Gdl {Ss.} mit- v. 'snap a string, yank a leaf off a tree' ¶ Hd. 212, 255, 333, 386, Ss. B 144 || IE: NaIE *met- v. 'reap, harvest' > L met-ō / -ēre / messum 'reap, mow, harvest; pluck off (abpflücken)' || Clt: W medi

'to reap, to harvest', medelw̄r 'reaper', OCm midil 'messor', OIr [ʏ] meithleorai 'messores', methel, OIr meithel 'a party of reapers', OW medel id. ¶ ≈ WP II 259, ≈ P 703, ≈ EI 258 (*h₂met-'mow'), ≈ WH I 82-3, Vn. M 45, SB 206.

1506. *m'aʔi't̪∇ (or *m'oʔi't̪∇?) 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > **HS:** C: EC {□|AD} *miṭ- > Sml {R} miṭ 'Würmchen in Wasserpfüten', Sml N {Abr.} miṭhārēdād, Sml C {DSI, ZMO} mirahārēdād 'mosquito larvae (in water)', Or {Th.} miṭi 'ant', {Brl.} miṭi, {Grg.} miṭi 'tiny black ant', ? {Th., Brl.} minni 'tenia, verme solitario', Arr mīnne 'tapeworm' (← Or?) ¶ AD SF 250, R SS II 287, Abr. S 179, ZMO 292, DSI 438, Th. 245-6, Brl. 305-6, Grg. 289, Hw. A 385 || Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} māḍāḍ 'worm' ||| ECh: Kwn {Cp.} miččā, Mgm {JA} mēčémēčé 'termite' ¶ ChC, JA 106 ||| **K** *maṭ-ḷ- 'worm' (× *ma-t̪-ḷ- 'worm' ← *t̪-ḷ- 'gnaw') > OG, G maṭl-i, Mg, Lz munṭur- 'worm', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln maṭ 'worm (in fruit)' ({IS}: < *muṭ < *maṭw) ¶¶ GM 82, K 129, ≈ K 117 (*ma-t̪-ḷ- ← *t̪-ḷ-), Schm. 123, TK 595, GP 223 ||| **IE:** NaIE *mat- (or *mot-) 'worm, larva' > Gmc *maṭa-n 'worm, larva' > Gt маpa 'worm', OSx matho, OHG mado 'worm, maggot', NHG Made 'maggot, mite, worm', AS maða 'worm, maggot', NE moth; dim. ON maðkr 'maggot'; ? (from a d.) MHG matte, motte, NHG Motte 'moth'; Gmc → F mato 'worm, maggot', Es madu 'snake' ||| SI *motiǎ (~ *motuǎ) 'ε larva, ε insect' > Cz motýl 'Lepidoptera', Slk motýl 'ε a motley-winged insect', P motyl 'butterfly', R мо'тыль 'mosquito grub', dim. мо'тыль 'small butterfly', Uk мо'тиль id., Slv motýlj 'butterfly' ||| OI matkuṇaḥ 'bug', ?? Av мабаха- 'grasshopper' ||| ?φ Arm մաթիլ matʰil 'small louse' (unless from OZan, cp. pK *maṭ-ḷ- 'worm') ¶ EI 650 (*mat- '≈ worm, maggot, insect'), M K II 564-5 (no et. for matkuṇaḥ), Vr. 374, Fs. 349, Kb. 649, OsS 581, KM 452, 489-90, Ho. 216, ESSJ XX 82-6, SK 337, ≠ P 700 ||| **A:** T *mīyt (*biyt) ~ *mit (*bit) 'louse, vermin' > OT, MQp, MU, Chg bit 'louse', MQp XIII bit 'bug', OOsM {Zn., Bu.} بیت ~ بيت bit 'worm, vermin', Tk bit, Az, Tkm, Uz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Qrg bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет бѣт, Alt b_iyt, Xk pūt, Yk bit, Tv b_it, Tf b_īt', SY pišt, Slr bišt, Chv пыйтă piyḍ_a id., Ggz bit 'bug' ¶ SY, Slr ṣ̌ < *y (unvoiced before voiceless cons.). The back vw. i in Tv, Tf, Yk, and Chv may be due to a final back vw. (vw. harmony) or to dis. in front of y) ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, TL 182, Bu.

I 241, TvR 131, Ra. 73, Md. 75, 174 (*bīt'▽; suggests a positional lengthening of the vw. before *t') ◇ The C and T vowel i (~ I) and *a in IE and K cannot go back to the same N source, hence a sequence like *-aHi- (or *-oHi-?) can be a solution. The absence of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the N hypothetical word-internal lr. was *ʔ (the only lr. that does not cause lengthening of the preceding NaIE vowels) ◇ IS II 77 s.v. *m^ht^h (K, IE, C).

1507. *m^hu^ht^h▽ 'woman, female' > **HS:** B *m^hu^ht^hu^h - 'woman' > Ah {Fc.} tāma^h, {GhA} tamā^h, Gh {Nh.} tamā^h 'woman, wife', Ty tamā^h, Gd {Lf.} tamā^h - tamā^h 'woman', Kb {Dl.}, Izn {Ds.} ta-mā^h (pl. timā^h), Rf {Rn.} ta-mā^h & ta-mā^h, BSn {Ds.} ta-mā^h, Tmz {MT} tamā^h 'woman, wife', Mz {Dlh.}, Izd {Mrc.} tamā^h (Mz pl. timā^h), Nf {La.} tamā^h, {Beg.} tmā^h, Skn {Sarn.} tamā^h 'woman', Wrg {Dlh.} tamā^h id., 'female', Zng {Bs.} تمتى temti 'femelle', {MH→Nic.} tamti (pl. tūmtaʔn) 'woman, female (animal)' ||| Gnc CHAMATO 'woman, wife' ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 134, Lf. II #0953, Dl. 527, Rn. 385, Ds. B 129-30, MT 445, Dlh. M 125, Dlh. Ou 201, La. S 236, Beg. 230, Bs. MS I 116, Nic. 208, Wlf. 406 || S ? *^o✓m^ht^h > Ar ma^hāʔ- (pl. mu^hāʔ-) 'genitalia of a woman' (if the interpretation as a f. from ʔam^hāʔ- 'shaved, without hair' is folk-etymological) ¶ BK II 1128 || NrOm: Anf {Fl.} ma^hʔo, {Lm.} maco, Shn {Fl.} ma^hʔu 'woman', {Lm.} mācà 'wife', Gm {Hw.} máčča, Kcm {CR} māčo 'woman', possibly Kf {C} maččē, Wl {C} maččē, Zl/Gf/Bdt {C} maččo, Gm {Hw.} maččo 'woman', Anf {Lm.} maččo 'wife' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'woman', ≈ Lm. Sh 360, Hw. EG, Gt. 360 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Sx.} mèḍē 'woman' ||| WCh {Stl.} *mata 'woman, wife' > Hs māčē (pl. mātā), Gw {Mats.} māčē (pl. mata) || Su, Tal {ChC}, Cp {ChL} māt, Ang {ChL} mat, Gmy {ChL} mət, Grk {ChC} mōt 'woman' ||| CCh: Nz {Sk.} madeší, BtD {Srp.} moičé, Bcm {Sk.} mêtò, Gudu {IL} mad^h(:)c^h id., Gude {Hsk.} máđánz 'bride' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 232 [#796], Hsk. 234 || **K:** eNG {SSO} mu^h-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N *mo^ht^hE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals') ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [#191] || **A:** Tg: Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N *mo^ht^hE '↑') ¶ STM I 547 || **D** (in SD) *mū^h-/*mu^h- ({ʔGS} *-d-) 'female' > Tm mū^htu 'ewe', mu^huku 'female elk', mu^hu^hal 'bitch', Kdg mu^hdī 'girl' ¶ D #5036 ¶ D *-^h- is a reg. reflex of N *-t- and *-d- (rather than *-^h-); the de-emphatization is probably due to the adjacent lr. (suggested by El and Ar) || **E:** MEI mu-h-ti-ir-ri 'his wife', AchE mu-ti 'woman,

wife; female', *mu-tur* 'woman, wife' ¶¶ HK 948, 961-2 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here NaIE **māter* 'mother', but the quality of the vw. **ā* suggests lack of labiality (even if **ā* goes back to **e|aH*); therefore NaIE **māter* hardly belongs here (**mā-* is likely to belong to the N L. ? **maʔa* 'mother', q.v.); cp. Ari/Hm *ma* 'woman, female' (Bnd. AL 162), Skr {Lk.} *mā* id. (Lk. ZSS 35). The N lr. was a weak one (most probably **ʔ* rather than **ʕ*, to judge from the absence of **ʕ* in K). Both Ar *maʔtāʔ-* 'female genitals' and K *muʔ-el-i* id. go back to adjectives (lit. 'weib-lich'), because both the Ar pattern **1a23āʔ-** and the G sx. *-el-* are usual derivational devices that form adjectives ◇ Blz. KM 116-7 [#12] (K, HS, E, D) and 130 [addition to #12] (added Tg), McA 105 (E, D).

1508. **mʔäyʔ* ∇ 'earth, land, place, place of residence' > HS: S **māt-* > Ak ∇ *māt-u* 'country, land (↔ 'sea'), flat country' ¶ CAD X/1 414-28 || ?? (+ ext.): B **o*✓*mḍr* > Kb *ṭa-mḍiṣ-ṭ* ~ *ṭa-mḍaṣ-ṭ* (pl. *ṭi-mḍiṣ-in*) 'parcelle de terre', Tmz *tamḍirt* (pl. *timḍirin*) 'parcelle de terrain délimitée par des sillons qu'on doit labourer en une journée'; B ↗ Ar Mgr {Mrç.} *mṭira* id. ¶ DI. 488, MT 406, WMrç. 488 || IE: NaIE **mēj̥t*(^h)- 'live (wohnen), remain; 'stay, residence; place of residence' > Av *maēt-* (prs. *miθna-*) 'remain', *maēθanəm* 'place of residence of humans and gods, dwelling, house', Phl *mēhan* 'home', NPrs *ميهن* *mīhān* 'one's native soil, home; wife and children'; KhS cd. *par-mihā-* 'village' || Ltv *mis-t* (1s prs. *mít-u*) 'live (wohnen), reside, stay, abide', *mitināt* 'give lodging and board', Lt *mīsti* (1s prs. *mintu*) 'feed (on), nourish oneself, live (on), live, exist', Pru *maitā* vt. 'feeds'; the meaning 'nourish oneself, earn one's livelihood' is secondary (← 'live', as in NE *live on*; in Blt there is contamination with NaIE ≈ **mēj̥t*- 'fat' (> OIr *méth* [gen. *méith*] adj. 'fat', Ic *meið* 'das Fetteste vom Speck des Walfisches?') || Sl **město* 'place' > OCS, OR **мѣсто** *město*, Blg 'място, R 'место 'place', McdS **место**, SCr **мѣсто** & *mīsto* & *mjěsto*, Slv *město*, Cz *město* 'place, town', Slk *miesto* 'place, settlement, town', P *miasto*, Uk 'місто 'city, town, place' ¶ Sl *-st- < IE *-t-t- ¶ WP II 242, P 715, Brtl. 1105-7, Horn 227, Vl. II 1260, Sg. 1365, Bai. 219, BM 549, Tr. 185, Frn. 459-60, En. 207, Vs. II 608, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 203-6, ≈ Glh. 415 || U **mätt* ∇ 'house, hut' > Chr: H {Rm.} † *mæt*, U *mьt* 'house, family' || Prm **mat-in*, **mat-e* 'near' > Vt, Z **матын**

mat+n locative adv. 'near', Z матö matз directive adv. 'near', Vt матэ mate 'approximately' ¶ UEW 269, LG 170, Rm. BT 84 || Sm {Jn.} *mät 'tent, home' > Ne Т мя" má? / мяд- mád- id., Ne FL {Lh.} múāt id., En {Ter.} мε? / мεδ-, Ng {Mik.} ма? (gen. маδə) id., Slq Tz {KKIH} mōt, Slq Tm {KD} māḍ id., Kms {KD} má? (gen. māḍan), {Cs.} ма?ḍ id., Koyb {Sp.} матъ id., Mt {Hl.} *māt ~ *ma?n 'house, tent, home' (Mt T/M/K {Mll.} mat 'house, tent', {Sp.} менъ id., M {Pl.} мять 'house') ¶¶ Jn. 90-1, Hl. M 304 || ¶ *m∇t'∇ 'earth, place' > Ko: [1] *mut 'dry land' > MKo mut, NKo mut^h mut [2] ??? pKo {S} *mat_h 'place, enclosure, yard' (× A {DQA} *múgdà 'bank, earth?') > MKo màt, màt^h, NKo † mat (mat, mat^h), NKo mataḥ madaḥ 'place, enclosure, yard' ¶ S QK 238, 948, Nam 199, 206, 223, MLC 560, 578, 596, 685, S AJ 256 [#136] || pJ {S} *mita ~ *-u- 'earth' > J: Ns mìčá, Sh ṅčá, Ht ṅtá, Y ṅtá id. ¶ S AJ 259 [#22], 270 [#122], S QJ #122 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#44], DQA #1357 (A *m_iot'ì ~ *-u- 'land': J, Ko *mut), DQA #1358 (incl. Ko *mat_h) || ¶ D *maṭi, {ǰGS} *maḍi 'field' > Kn maḍi 'the bed of a garden, division of a field', Tl maḍi 'field, garden bed', Knd maṛi 'paddy field' ¶¶ D #4655 ¶¶ D *ṭ for the expected *t has yet not been explained ◇ The N cns. *y was lost in S and U (simplification of the N cluster *yṭ or monophthongization?), in D it was either lost or underwent mt. (*yṭ > *ṭi).

1509. *'meyṭ∇ 'throw' > IE: NaIE *(s)mejt-/ *met- 'throw, cast' > Av maēθ- (*(s)meit^h-) 'send' ({Brtl.} 'mittere'), hamista- 'niedergeworfen, unterdrückt' (P: < *ham-, *_hmista-) || L mitt-o, -ēre 'send, let go', [Fest.] Γco-smitt-ēre 'committere' || BSl *met- 'throw' > Blt: Lt mèsti (1s prs. metu), Ltv mest (3s prs. met) 'throw, cast', Lt mētis, Pru metis n. 'throw (Wurf)', Ltv meṭs 'sketch, project, design', Pru pomests 'unterworfen', pomettewingi 'Untertan' || Sl *met- (1s prs. *met-q, inf. mesti) 'throw' (to distinguish from the homonymous verb *met- 'sweep!') > Slv mésti / métem, Cz † mésti / metu, P mieść, Slvz mesc 'throw', OR МЕСТИ ЖРЕБИИ mesti žrebii 'to cast a lot'; d. Sl *meta- 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS МЕТАТИ metati / МЕЩА meštq, Slv mémati / méčem, Uk ме'тати id., Cz metati, Slk metat', P miotać 'throw', R ме'тать / ме'чу 'cast, fling', SCr mètati / mècēm 'put, throw'; Sl *met-nq-ti mom. 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS МЕТНѢТИ metnqti, Cz metnouti, P miotnać, R мет'нуть id.,

SCr *mètnuti* 'put' || OFrs *smīta* 'to throw', MLG, MDt *smītan*, Dt *smijten* 'to throw, to fling', NNr *smīta*, Dn *smide* 'to fling'; sd. 'to smite': MHG *smīzen*, NHG *schmeißen*, NE *smite* ¶ WP II 687-8, P 968, EI 582 (? **smejt-* 'throw'), Brtl. 1105-6, 1778, Bai. 219, WH II 97-9, PF 67, Mul. 432, EM 407-8, Frn. 442-3, Kar. I 586, En. 210, 231, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 105-15, 120-1 (all of them do not recognize the connection between *(s)*mējt-* and BSl **met-*), Hlq. 1003, Lx. 200, KM 603, Ho. 302, Vr. N 658-9 ¶¶ The variant stem **met-* goes back to pre-IE **mjet-* (AD NGIE 17-9), so that the relation of *(s)*mējt-* to **met-* is that of Bn.'s "state I" to "state II" of IE roots (Schwebeablaut). This legitimate alternation removes the argument against the connection between the verb in BSl and that in L and Av || HS: B (+ ext.) **✓mǵr* ~ **✓mǵr* (< **✓mǵr*) 'throw' > Izn {Ds.} *amǵar* (hab. *mǵǵar*), {Rn.} *amǵar* & *amǵar*, Mtm/BSlh {Ds.} *amǵar*, Ntf {La.} *amǵar* 'throw', Kb {Dl.} *amǵar* 'jeter à terre', Gd {Lf.} *amǵar* 'abattre, faire tomber' ¶ Lf. II #1100, Dl. 583-4, La. S 249, Ds. B 184 || A: AmTg **met-* (~ **mut-*?) v. 'throw, fling' > Ork *mǵtǵ-* v. 'fling a stone', *mǵtǵ(ǵ)ǵ-* 'throw', *mǵtǵǵi-*, *mǵtǵǵǵi-* 'throw, throw away', Ul *mutuka* 'a sling (for casting stones)', ? Orc *muǵkǵdǵ-* ~ *mǵǵkǵdǵ-* 'throw\bandy (objects from one to another)' (of several people) ¶ STM I 544 ¶ The vw. u of the first syll. in Ul and Orc may be due to the ass. infl. of m- || D **met-* 'throw, cast (into an enclosed space)' > Gdb *medd-*, Mnd *met-* vt. 'plant', Png *met-* 'cast (as a fishing net), put in (e.g. rice into a pot)', Kui *mespa-* 'cast, put into', Ku *met-* 'throw, put inside' ¶¶ D #5067 ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE **s-* mobile (here in *(s)*mējt-*) is connected with palatal elements in the N word (here **y*). On the word-initial laryngoid **ʰ-* as the source of the NaIE **s-* mobile before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1510. **mu₁w∇₁* 'this, that', dem. prn. > HS: S **-m*, determiner (≈ df. art.) in sg. forms (as well as in **-āt-* and **-ūt-* pl.) of nomina > Ak *-m*, ending of st. r. in sg. (nom. *-u-m* / accus. *-a-m* / gen. *-i-m*), in m. pl. of adj. (nom. *-ūt-u-m* / accus.-gen. *-ūt-i-m*), in **-āt-* pl. (f. pl. of adj., pl. of f. nouns and some m. nouns) (nom. *-āt-u-m* / accus.-gen. *-āt-i-m*), Ar *-n*, ending of the st. idt. in sg. (nom. *-u-n* / accus. *-a-n* / gen. *-i-n*) and in *-āt-* pl. (nom. *-āt-u-n* / accus.-gen. *-āt-i-n*) ¶ AD TPSL, Sd. G 3*⁵ || Ch: WCh: traces of the determiner **-m* in Hs *mutum* 'person' (÷ S **mut-u-m* 'man') | Fy {J} *mí* / *mú* 'he' (preverbal subject prn. 3m), DfB {J} *mà*, Sha/Klr {J} *má* (genitival linker of 3m of the head noun), DfB

mà, Sha mí, Klr mú (genitival linker of 3p), Sha m. mà / f. mù 'this', pl. mî 'these', m. ma-nò / f. mú-nò / pl. mî-no 'that/those' visible, m. múnó / f. múnò / pl. mínò 'that/those' invisible | Su {J} mój, Ang {J} mŵá 'they' (aut. prn.), Ang mŵá (with ip.) / mŵá (with pfc.) / mŵà (with ft. and sbjn.) 'they' (subject prn.), Cp mu 'they' (aut. prn.), Cp mumú, Mnt mój 'they' (subject prn.), Cp {ChL} m+stí 'this', Gmy {Kr.} mŵip 'their', mŵipa 'them' | Tng {J} mɔ, mój 'this', Dr {ChL} mē 'this', me 'that', Pr {Frz.} -mù and -mò (dem. pronouns), Bl màté 'they' (aut. and subj. prn.) | Kir {ChL} mínì 'this', mono 'that', Zal {ChL} muntu (múntú?) 'this', múntà 'that' | Buli {ChL} m+inna 'this' | Bd {ChL} mǝčô 'this', mǝčíyù 'that' || ? CCh: FIB {Kr.} miž(i)tu 'they', Boka {Kr.} mul-lan 'he' ¶ ChL, PorS 375-81, J R 370-1, 414, J T 121, Kr. RChP 80, 85, 93-4, Frz. P 42 || **K** *ma- (< ≈ **mŵa-) 'he, she' > OG ma- id.: erg. ma-n, gen. m-is, dat. ma-s (ma-n hr ku a ma-s 'he told her'), G ma-, Mg mu 'he, himself', Lz mu-k 'he'; pK *a-ma 'this' (*hic*-deictic *a + *ma-) > G ama-/am-, Lz (h)amu-k 'this', Mg amu- (in compound adverbs), Sv: LB {TK} ami, LSv {TK} ame 'this', Sv UP/L aməɲ, L aman, UP/L amis 'to this', UB/L amša ~ amiš 'of this', amaŵ 'till here, up to now'; pK *i-ma- 'that' > OG, G -i-ma- (erg. i-ma-n, dat. i-ma-s), Lz (h)i-mu, Mg i-mu- (in cds.: imu-dyas 'in that day', t-imu-seri 'in that night'), Sv i-m- in Sv {K} i-m-eg 'there' ¶¶ K 44, 101-2, 124, K² 2-3, 81, 112-3, FS K 206, FS E 226-7, Q 2, TK 40, GP US 47, GP 44-5, Dn. s.v. am, ame, ami || **U**: FU *mū 'other, that (jener)' > F, Es muu '(an)other' | pLp *nu-mbē- 'the other (of two), other' (dis. from **mu-mbē- with the sx. of cmpr. *-mbē) > Lp: N {N} nub'be / -bb- 'one (of two), the other, another, the second', L {LLO} nubbē 'the second, another, the other, T {TI} num:p(ε), Kld {TI} num:p̄ 'the second' | Chr: Н молы молъ 'other things', моло 'still, more (noch)', L мolo molo, Uf/B molo '(an)other' | Prm: [1] *mō-d ({JLG} *mōd) '(an)other' > Vt мьд m+d, Yz 'mūd id., Z мөд мэд 'the second, (an)other'; [2] *muked 'other', '(all) the other' (pl.) > Vt мукет muket 'other', Z мукөд mukэд 'another, different' || ObU {Ht.} *mī-/ *mā- > pVg *māt-/ *mīt- 'another, strange (fremder)' > Vg: T māt, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/UL mōt, Ss mīt 'strange (fremder), other, the second'; T mā't, LK māt, MK/UK mēt 'a stranger'; pOs {Ht.} *makay- 'earlier' > Ty/Y mǎqǎ, D/K/Nz māχa, Kz māχ, mōχa id.; another Os stem: Os O {Páp.} mōχ- (attested: pl. mōχət) 'jene; other people', Kz f {Stn.} mōχəf 'much', {Páp.} mōχol

'more, other' | OHg *mā* 'now', Hg *mā* 'today'; OHg *mās* '(the) other, next', Hg *mās* 'other, another', OHg *māsod* 'the second, next, other', Hg *māsodik* 'the second' ¶ Coll. 100, UEW 281-2, TI 287, MRS 329, Ep. 70, LG 175, 177, Ht. #376, Stn. D 902, 904, MF 424-5, EWU 917, 941-4 || **A** **bū-* (< ***mū-*) / obl. **mu-n-* > T **bū-* / obl. **mū-* 'this' > OT *bū* / obl. *mun-* ~ *bun-* 'this', Bdot *bō* / obl. *mun-* ~ *mūn-*, MQP XIII *bu* / obl. *mu-n-*, Tkm *bū* / obl. *mun-*, Tk *bu* / obl. *burn-*, Az, CrTt, Kr, Uz *bu* / obl. *bun-*, VTt *by* *bu* / obl. *mon-* *mōn-*, SbTt B *pu-* / obl. *mun-*, Qmq *bu* / obl. *mun-*, Qzq *būl* (× *ol* 'that') / obl. *būn-*, Qrg, ET *bu(1)* / obl. *mun-*, StAlt *bu* / obl. *min-*, Tv *bo* / accus. *mon-u* / dat. *maḡā* / gen. *mōḡ*, Xk *pu* / obl. *min-*, Yk *bu* / obl. *man-* ¶ Cl. 291-2, ET B 225-8 || **M** **mōjū-* (~ *mu-*?) 'this\that same' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *mūn* 'celui-là, ceci même, cela même' (pl. *mūt* [mūd]), [S, PP] *mun* 'he, himself, the same one' (pl. [S] *mūt*, [PP] *mud*), WrM *mōn*, HIM *mōn* 'real, the very same', Ord {Ms.} *mōn* 'the very same' (marking the identity), 'that in question', 'precisely', WrO {Krg.} *mōn* 'is, are, is indeed, namely', Brt *mūn* 'real, true; is', Kl *mōn* *mōn* id., 'truly, really', MMgl [Z] *muna* 'this', *muta* 'that' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111-2, MED 547, KRS 357, Chr. 306, Ms. O 469, Krg. 605, Iw. 117 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **m∇* 'this, that') ¶¶ Altaic **b-* < **m-* (*reg.* in monosyllabic stems without other nasal cnss.); in the obl. cases **m-* survived due to the presence of **-n-*; in M **m-* was generalized throughout the case paradigm || ? **IE**: NaIE: Crn *-ma* *sx.* (← *encl.*) 'this', W *yma* 'here, this', Br *ma(ñ)* 'this' ¶ ECCE 267, YGM-1 43, Hm. 545, LP 272 (§ 367.2) ◇ IS II 70-1 (**mū*, dem. prn.: K, U, A, ?HS, ?IE). In spite of the long *vw.* in U and A, IS preferred to reconstruct a monosyllabic etymon, because a bisyllabic form "would have contradicted the typical monosyllabic structure of the non-autosemantic stems (незнаменательные основы)". But the monosyllabicity of pronouns and other non-lexical words in the attested lgs. is not necessarily due to their original shape, it is often due to the universal diachronic tendency of their shortening (e.g. *L ecce iste* > Fr *ce*, *L illōrum* > F *leur*, Sl **azь* > R я 'I', AS *tōweard* > NE *toward* [tōd], pS **šuʔa* > BHb *hū* 'he', etc.). In the light of the extant ev., IS was right in supposing that this prn. did not take part in the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *ille*, so that the *hic*-deixis of the prn. in T and the *ille*-deixis in FU must have developed within these descendant lgs. due to the opposition to other dem. pronouns.

1511. **moy∇* 'give, give back, restore' > **IE**: NaIE **mej-* 'exchange' > OI Ep *ni-* 'mayatē' 'exchanges', Vd *mi'nāti* id. || Ltv *mī-t* (prs.

míju) 'to (ex)change' ||| Possibly (but not necessarily) d. *moj-no- n. 'exchange' > Lt maĩnas, Ltc mains id., Sl *měna n. 'exchange' > OCS, OR **МѢНА** měna, R мена, Blg {Ger.} мѣна > мена ~ м, SCr мѣна & mijéna, Sln měna, Cz měba, Slk mena, P miana ¶ Not here Gk ἀμείβω v. 'change, exchange' (see N *'mi'k'o 'carry, bring, give in exchange') ¶ WP II 240-1, P 710, M K II 635-6, ≈ M E II 314-5 (adduces Gk ἀμείβω and reconstructs IE *h₂mej-), Frn. 395-7, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XVIII 171-4, Glh. 408-9, F I 90 ||| This N word may underlie the pre-IE postposition *m∇ 'to' (dative), preserved [1] in the NaIE ending of dative pl. *-mus (reconstructed so by Beekes after Kortlandt) > Gmc *-mus (> Gt brōþru-m 'to brothers', gibō-m 'to gifts, talents'), BSl *-mus (> Lt dukterí-ms 'to daughters', OCS materē-mъ 'to mothers', Lt rasóms, OCS rosamъ 'to dew' [pl.]), as well as in pronominal endings: Lt tíems, OCS těmъ, Gt þaim 'to those', Lt jums, OCS vamъ 'vobis' dat., [2] in the NaIE ending of dative du. *-me|oH (??) > Lt vilka-m, OCS vlъko-ma 'to two wolves'; the elements *-s in *-mus and *-H in *-me|oH (?) are markers of numbers (*-s of pl., *-H of du.) ¶ Bks. ONI 143-6, Krtl. SA 50, Bks. 173-91, 204-8, Brg. KVG 386-99, 404-6 ||| D *moj- 'present(s), gift, requital' > Tm moy 'presents', Kn moy(i) 'requital', Tu moyi 'gift at a wedding', Knd moy 'contribution' ¶¶ D #5121 ||| HS: WCh: Hs máy dà 'give back, put back, restore' (dà 'with'), Cg {Sk.} mâ- 'sell' ¶ Ba. 748, Abr. H 638-9, ChC.

1512. ₂ *mu|oy∇ 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)' > HS: S *^o✓myw|y > Jb C ✓myw|y (pf. 'mi, sbjn. 'ymε, ip. 'i'mi) 'touch' ¶ Jo. J 177 ||| U: FU *mu|oya 'touch, feel' > Vp mua- 'touch, feel by touch, taste', Krl A {Gn.} mua- v. 'taste', F d. muistā- 'remember, call to one's mind, think of', Es d mōistā- 'understand, conceive, realize, see', Lv d. mōistā ({{Ktn.} moistā) 'verstehen, merken' || Er мые-мс мые-ms, Mk му-мс му-ms 'to find' || Chr: L, U mua-, H moa- v. 'find' || Prm *mád > Z мойд moyd, Prmk mód '(fairy) tale', Vt N мадь маđ 'song', Vt S маđ 'proverb' ||| Os: V muywət+, D moyəptə, Nz mūyəptə 'riddle' || ? OHg d. mut- 'show, indicate', mutat- 'indicate, let see, show', Hg d. mutat-, Δ mútat- vt. show' ¶ Coll. 99-100, It. #190, UEW 284, ZM 335, Ktn. 232, ERV 393, PI 169, MRS 326, 332-3, LG 173, MF 453-4, EWU 1007 ◇ Qu., because it is isolated in HS.

1513. ₂ *m∇y∇ 'come' or 'go, pass' > HS: Eg ∇ my 'come!' inv. ¶ EG II 35 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} máj, Pr {Frz.} mé- vi. 'return', Bl {OS ← ?} mā

id. || CCh: Mrg {ChL} мзѹ, Wmd {ChL} mây 'go' | Gzg {Lk.} me 'dorthin zurückkehren' | Ms {ChL} maĭ 'come', ZmD {KNC} mbù 'come', Azm {Pc.} mbeya inv. 'come!', msd. mbāḍà 'to come' ¶ Nw. KL 129, Frz. P 41, ChL, ChC, Lk. G 128, Caīt. 118, KNC 18, Pc. 285, 288 || ?? EC *am∇ 'come!' inv. (unless from *a-m∇t ← * -m∇t- 'come') > Sa {R} -maω- 'kommen, anlangen' (2s inv. a'mō, 2p a'māω-ā), Af am 'come!' 2s inv., Brj 'āmu id. (2p 'āme), Sd 'amu id. (2p 'āmmē), Ged 'amo (2p 'āmmē), Alb 'ami (2p 'āmmēhe), Kmb ami (2p amme) id. ¶ R S II 277, PH 96, Ss. B 21, Hd. 43 ¶¶ OS #1752 (Ch, EC + Eg rmy 'go'; mentions Arr maye 'come', not confirmed by Hw. A and other available sources; pHS *may 'come, go') || IE: NaIE *mej- 'go, pass', {EI} *mejH- > L meā- (1s prs. meō, inf. meāre) id., 'wander' || SI *mьjā-ti 'go\pass by' > OCz míjěti, Cz míjeti, P mijać id., Slk Δ míjam sa 1s; ↗ SI *mi-nǫ-ti (1s prs. *mīnǫ) 'go\pass by, elapse' > OCS МННѢТИ minǫti 'transire, praeterire', SCr mínuti, Slv miníti 'go\pass by, finish', OCz minúti, Cz minouti, P miņać, R 'минуть, мимо'вать 'pass by, elapse', Slk minut' id., 'spend'; P miņać 'pass by'; ↗ (with the sx. *-mo) SI *mimo adv.\prep. 'past, by (vorbei, praeter)' > OCS ММО mimo, Blg †, R мимо, SCr mīmo, Slv mīmo ~ mímo, Cz mimo ~ mímo, P mimo || AdS of L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)' (< N *menê 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.), which explains L -i- ¶ P 710, EI 228 (*mejH- / prs. *mineh_α- ~ mej_αHeh_α- 'go'), WH II 73, EM 398-9, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XIX 31, 50-3, Vs. II 622, 624, Glh. 41.

1514. *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > HS: S: [1] *^o✓mħħ > Ar ✓mħħ G 'be worn out' (of garment); ? [2] WS *✓mħy|w 'wipe out\off, efface, (?) destroy' > BHb הַחַב ✓mħw|y G 'wipe out', JA [Trg.] ✓mħw|y id., 'blot out', Ph ✓mħy|w 'efface', Ar ✓mħw (pf. مَحَا maħā) 'erase; be effaced', {Fr.} 'delevit, obliteravit', Ug ✓mħy|w {OLS} G vt. 'clean, efface (limpiar, borrar)', ?σ Gz ✓mħw G 'uproot, pluck out'; but hardly here Ak {Sd.} maʔû 'wegstoßen (?)' (Ak -a- rules out S *ħ) ¶ Fr. IV 142, 156, BK II 1066, 1071, Ln. 3018, Hv. 709-10, KB 537-8, HJ 612-3, Js. 759-60, Lv. T II 24-5, Sd. 637, OLS 268, ≈ A #154, L G 337 || IE *meHj- > NaIE *māḱō(j)- 'be\make tired\exhausted' > Gmc: Gt af-mauips* (attested nom. pl. af-mauīdai) 'ἐκλυόμενος', {Fs.} 'ermüdet' (pp. of *af-mojan 'to tire out'), OHG muo-en vt. 'to labour, to urge, to tire out' ('anstrengen,

bedrängen, abmühen'), NHG *sich mühen* 'to take pains\trouble (about sth.)', d.: ON *móðr*, Dn, NNr *mod*, OSx *mōthi*, MDt *moede*, *muede*, OHG *muodi*, NHG *müde* 'tired, exhausted', AS {BosT} *mēðe* 'weary' ||| Sl **maja-ti* 'to tire out, to make suffer, to detain' > R Δ *'маять* 'to tire out, to torment', R *'маяться* 'to suffer, to languish', Blg *'мая* v. 'detain, linger' ¶ Fs. 9, Kb. 703, OsS 627, Schz. 216, KM 491, Vr. 391, BosT 682, ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against distinction between the above Sl verb and Sl **majati* 'wave, swing') ||| A {IS} **may∇-* 'weaken, disappear, vanish' > T **ma:ɹy-* ({DQA} **bAńi*) (× T **bayi-* v. 'set' [of heavenly bodies] < N **wayH∇* 'to descend; below'?) > Qzq *may-* 'be exhausted\weak', Qrg *mayi-* 'be damaged', Osm {RI.} *باييمق* *bayi-*(maq), Kr/Qzq {RI.} *bayi-* 'elapse, pass away (vergehen)', VTt {RI.} *bayъ-* id., OT *mayiř-* (coop. of **may-*) '≈ collapse', *mayil-* (ps. of **may-*) 'be over-ripe, go bad' (of fruit), Tk *bayil-* vi. 'faint, swoon (away)', Kr {RI.} *mayiř-* 'collapse', Chg *mayruq* 'weak, meager', Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb {RI.} *mayiq* 'matt, müde, mager', Sg/Qrg {RI.} *mayiq-* 'ermüden, ermatten', StXk {BIG} *mayix-* 'get tired, exhausted, lose force', *mayil-* 'get tired', Qc/Sg/Qb/Qz {RI.} *mayil-* id., 'schwach\mager werden', Sg {RI.} *mayan* 'welk, unbeholfen, langsam', StXk *mayin* 'weak, languid', Qzq *maymaq* 'clumsy', *maymanda-* v. 'hobble, toddle, stumble along'; a T lge. (Xk?) -> Mt {HI.} **mayə-* 'get tired' (Mt M {Sp.} *маямъ* 'got tired') (unless an inherited Sm word) ¶ Cl. 772-3, RI. IV 1468-9, 1986, 2011, 2014-5, BIG 101, Sht. 139, MM 233, Rkh. 338, HI. M #634 ||| Tg **maya-* 'disappear' > Ork *mayə-* 'fail to be caught, disappear' (of game\animals in hunting), Ewk, Neg *mayə-*, Lm *may-*, Nn Nh *mańa-* id., 'be unsuccessful', Orc *maymaki* 'there us not, is absent', WrMc *mayə-* 'disappear', 'be past' (of danger) ¶ STM I 521 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1237 (A **maya* 'to miss, to fail; bad luck'; incl. T, Tg) ||| D **māy∇-* 'disappear, vanish' > Tm *māy* id., 'hide, be annihilated, die', Ml *māyuka* 'grow dim, vanish', Kt *ma·yṃ*, Kdg *ma·yaⁿ*, Tu *māya* 'disappearance', Kt *ma·n²*- 'disappear' (of menstruation in menopause), 'keep secret', Td *m0·3-* 'hide (information, secret)', Kn *māy-* 'be hidden, disappear, pass away', Tu *māyuni* 'be extinguished, evaporate', Tl *māyuy* 'be destroyed, perish', Prj *māy-*, Gdb *māyṃ(g)*- 'get lost, disappear', Gnd *māy-* 'be lost', Knd *māya* 'vanishing, disappearing suddenly' ¶¶ D #4814 ||| ? U ≈ **may∇* 'suffer' > FU: Er *майсе-* *may-še-* 'suffer, languish, lose time

(мучиться, маяться, проводить время даром)' (hab. of *mau-) | Z mau-iš in ds.: майышт- mau+išt- vt. 'grieve, cause distress', майшась- maušas- 'worry' || Sm {Hl. Jn.} *māyā- (= {Hl.} *maua-) ⇨ *māyāta- 'make suffer, grieve, cause trouble, kill' > Ne: T мауаба-, T O {Lh.} māyēbā 'he killed', StNe T маядаряй 'having been tortured, having suffered' (from so. strong\mighty); *māyāntь- > Ne T маяндо- vi. 'suffer, be in distress', En maedo 'suffer (мучиться)'; *māyākko- > En maeku- 'make suffer', *māyā-η > Ne T мая' / маян-, En мае' 'trouble, suffering', Ne F {Lh.} māy·ā kommī 'he suffered' (lit. 'found suffering'), En maуan-, maуam- 'be tormented, suffer from an accident'; *÷ Mt {Hl.} *maуa- 'get tired' (a loan from T, see above) ¶¶ LG 169, ERV 358, P 154, TmK 407-8, SZ 215-6, Ter. 245-7, Lh. 250, SamEMGU, Hl. M 299 [#634] ◇ IS III 48-52 (with further details about the reflexes in the IE and A lgs.) (*maHyA: IE, U, A, D; the etl. comparison and the reconstructions have been proposed by the editors of IS III).

1515. ≈ *meXAŽ ▽ 'man (vir), male' > HS: S *^o✓mħz|δ 'young man' > Gz መሐዘ maħazā 'young man, adolescent, lover', Tgy መሐዘ mēħaza 'one of the same age', Har mṣḥṣz mēlāḳ 'best man in a wedding' ¶ LG 338, CS 121 || WCh {Stl.} *mižī 'man (vir), husband' > Hs mīžī (pl. mázā) 'husband', Gw {Mts.} mīžī (pl. mažā) 'male' | Su {J} miš, Gmy {ChL} mīs, Cp {ChL} mis, Tal {ChC} (in cds.) mīs 'man (vir)' | BT: Krkr {Lk.} mṣzī, Ngm {ChL} mīzī 'man (vir)', Bele mīhī (pl. mūhà), Glm mī mūšī (pl. mṣṣṣnà), Gera {Sch.} mīzī (pl. mazīnī), Krf {Sch.} mīžžī, Grm {Sch.} mīžī id., 'husband' | Ngz {Sch.} mṣsṣk (pl. mṣsṣkín) 'husband' ¶ Stl. ZCh 232 [#799], ChC, ChL, Ba. 791, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 148, Sch. DN 106 || IE ≈ *^omehs / *^omḥs- > NaIE *^omās / *^omās- > L māś (gen. mār-īś) adj./n. 'male' ¶ WH II 46-7, EM 388 || U: FU (att. in BF) *mēs|še 'man (vir)' > F mies / gen. miehēn, Es mees / gen. mehe, Krl mīēš / mīēhe-, Lv mīez id. ¶ UEW 866-7, ≈ Coll. 99, ≈ SK 345, Kt. 223 || D *māč > Klm māś 'man, husband', Nk māś 'man', Knd māsi 'husband' ¶¶ D #4791 ◇ IE *s is likely to result from devoicing of the original voiced sibilant under the ass. infl. of N *χ|ħ.

1516. *m^rE°χaž ▽ 'ε berry, fruit' > K: GZ *mχal- 'vegetables' > OG mχal-i, G mχal-i ~ pχal-i 'greens', Mg χul-i {FS K²} 'ε a kind of vegetables' ('ertgvari mxali'), {Q} 'greens, swede', {FS E} 'Futerrübe' ¶ K 143, Q 407, FS E 254-, FS K² 346 || U *mo|ež ▽ > FU {ḍSm.} *mežī, {UEW} *mož ▽ 'ε berry of some bush' > Chr H муды мубъ, Chr L/Uf

модо модо 'bilberries' | Prm {LG} *moíi ({Lt.} *moíi) 'berry, stone of a fruit' > Vt мульы 'stone of a fruit', Vt Sr muí†, Vt Kz moíz 'berry, nut', Z húr-moí 'cranberries' (húr 'swamp'), moí 'button, stone of a fruit', Yz tAr-'muíi 'cranberries' || pOs *wír-maí 'red-currant' (*wír 'blood') > Os: Ty wirmə́, D wěrmə́, Kz wūrmə́ | Hg mēggγ 'morello cherry (Prunus cerasus) || pY {IN} *maí- > Y K maí-ǰə 'cloudberries' (-ǰə is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ If we reconstruct FU *mê∇, it involves labialization of the vw. in Chr (due to *m-), while FU *mô∇ presupposes ass. palatalization in Ugr (due to the following palatal *̂) ¶¶ UEW 279, Coll. 98, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *međi, Ugr *miđĩ), Ep. 72, MRS 327, 333, Ü 120, LG 173-4, Lt. 53-4, Ht. #706, IN 233, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#77] (Y <- U) || A: Tg *mile-kte ~ (?) *moíi'-kte 'rowan berry' > Ewk Z molikta, Neg miktan, UI/Ork milzktz, Ork miktz ~ mittz id. ¶ STM I 536 || T *mele(í) 'rowan (Eberesche)' > VTt милеш milbš, StAlt bele, QK pele, Tkm {AB} мелеш id.; VTt Δ *bilbš <-> Chv пилеш pileš id. ¶ Jeg. 160, RAltS 672, Bask. DLT 187, RI. IV 2159 || M *moγil 'bird-cherry' ({DQA}: regularly from *moilil-) > WrM moil, HIM, Brt мойл id., Kl Ö {Rm.} mōl id., 'bird-cherry tree' ¶ MED 542, Chr. 298, KW 267 ¶¶ S CNM 11 (suggested to adduce T), DQA #1277 (A *mēlu 'ε berry') || IE *meh₂l- > NaIE *māl- 'apple' > L mālum id. (<-> Al mollē id.), mālus 'apple tree' || Gk μῆλον, Gk D μῆλον || Ht mahla 'branch of a grapevine \ apple (?)' ¶¶ WP II 296, EI 25-6 (*meh₂lom 'apple'), WH II 18-9, EM 381 (L <- Gk), Ch. 694, F II 226 (all of them suppose that the word *māl- is a loan from an unknown source), Mn. 730, O 272, CHD L-N 112-3, Ts. W 49.

1517. *mî₁w₁∇-(k∇) 'mix, stir' > HS: [1] S *°-mīš- > Ar ip. -mīšu (pf. مَاشَ māšā) 'mix (sth. with sth.)' ¶ BK II 1173, Hv. 742 || B *√msy ({ṢPr.} *-msuy) > Ah əmsi / pf. imsəj 'mix (fresh milk with sour milk)' (Fcj. 32, Pcj. I A 1), Ty əmsəy 'mix (mélanger)' ¶ Fc. 1249, 2002 (on conj. 32), Pr. M VI-VII 86, GhA 133 || [2] CS (or WS?) *√mšg ~ *√mzg ~ *√msk 'mix' > Ar مَشَجَ √mšġ (pf. مَشَجَ mašāġa, ip. -mšūġu) 'mix, confuse', مَزَجَ √mzġ (pf. mazaġa, ip. -mzuġu) 'mingle (a liquid) with', IA √mzg G 'mix', MHb, JA [Trg.] √mzg G 'mix' (esp. 'mix wine with water\spices, temper'), JEA √mzg G 'mix, dilute', MHb √mzg 'pour (liquid)', Sr √mzg G (pf. مَزَجَ mā'zag, ip. -mzuġ) 'mix (esp. wine with water), mingle, blend, temper', Md √mzg G 'mix, combine', BHb

𐤀𐤓𐤂 'mezeg 'mixed wine, spiced wine', MHb 𐤀𐤓𐤂 'mezeg 'mixture', JA [Trg.] 𐤀𐤓𐤂 mi z'g-ā 'mixture, mixed wine\drink', Sr 𐤀𐤓𐤂 mēzā'g-ā 'a mixture, a drink, wine and water', Md mzaga 'mixing, mixture', Ug msk v. 'mix', BHb ✓msk G 'mix, produce by mixing', 𐤀𐤓𐤂 'mesek 'mixture, admixture of spices', MHb ✓msk v. 'temper, mix wine; cast metal'; ? Tgy {CS} ✓msg^ω G (pf. 'mēsēg^ωe) 'oindre de beurre frais la tête; enduire sa tête\chevelure d'une couche graisse' ('anoint' ← 'pour liquid' ← 'mix'); S ⇨ Cpt: Sd **𐤌𐤐𐤕𐤁** mu zc, B **𐤌𐤐𐤕𐤁** mu zt, P **𐤌𐤐𐤕𐤁** mu zχ₃ vt., vi. 'mix' ¶ S *šg < *žg < as. *žk; S *zg ~ *sk < *zg ~ *ck < as. *zk < *žk; the delabialization *ž > *z may be due to positional factors or to the infl. of a different √ ¶ A #1611, OLS 295, BK II 1098-9, 1109, Hv. 718, 721, HJ 608, KB 535, 572, BDB 587, Js. 752-3, 807, Lv. T II 19, Sl. 651-2, JPS 261, DM 263, Frnk. 172 (Ar ⇨ Aram), CS 139-40, Vc. 133 [suggests to compare the Cpt word with DEg mzg 'ε vessel (cratère?)'], Er. 195 || B *^o✓msk 'mix' > Gd εmsak id. ¶ Lf. II #1037 || IE: NaIE *misg- / *mejsg- 'mix' (> as. *misk- / *mejsk-) ~ mt. *mejgs- ~ *mejg- (zero < *Z?) > OI mikṣ- 'mix': prs. mēk'sayati 'stirs up, mixes, mingles', miś'rah 'mixed, mingled, blended', miśrayati 'mixes, mingles, blends, combines', Av minašti 'mixes', myāsaite 'they mix' (vi.), MPrs hamistak 'mixed' || Gk μείγνυμι ~ μίγνυμι 'I mix' (aor. ps. ἐμίγην), μίσγω 'I mix' || L misce-ō / miscē-re / miscui / mixtum v. 'mix' || OIr mesc- v. 'mix, dip in', W mysgu, Crn mysky, MBr mesca, meski, Br meskañ 'to mix' || WGmc *miskan (⇨ L??) > OHG misken, MLG, NHG mischen, AS miscian 'to mix', NE mix || Lt miẽš-ti 'to dilute', mišras 'mixed', mišrainė 'salad', maišyti / maišaũ 'stir, agitate' (→ 'hinder'), Ltv m̃aisīt 'to mix, to stir', mistrs 'mixture; mixed corn; barley and oats mixed', Pru maysotan · "gemenget" 'mixed' | Sl *měšī-ti / prs. *měš-ŕ 'mix, stir' > OCS **МѢСИТИ** mesiti / **МѢШѦ** měšŕ, Blg 'мѣся', SCr мѣсити / мѣсѣм & mijésiti / mijēsīm, Slv mĕsiti, OCz miesiti, Cz mísiti, Slk miesit', P miesić / mieszę, R ме'сить / † ме'шу, Uk мі'сити id.; d. *měšāti id. > OCS **МѢШАТИ** měšati, SCr мѣшати & mijéšati, Slv méšati, Slk miešat', P mieszać, R ме'шаты id.; the latter Sl verb means also 'to hinder' (← 'to mix?') ¶ WP II 244-5, P 714, ≈ EI 394 (*meik-, *meik-ske/o-), M K II 632-3, M E II 373-4, Brtl. 1190, F II 192-3, WH II 95-6, Vn. M 42, Ern. 409, Ho. 223, Kb. 689, OsS 612-3, KM 480-1, Frn. 431-2, Tr. 175, En.

207, ESSJH XVIII 199-201, 210-7, Vs. II 606-7, 615, Glh. 409 || A: T *bīl- ~ *biíl- 'stir up (milk, butter)' > Qrg biš-, Bsh bbš-, Qzq pīs-, Qq pis-, Alt, Tv b_lš- 'stir', SbTt πеш- рьš- 'churn' ¶ ET B 309-10, Tm. 173 || Tg *melbi- v. 'row' > Ul, Nn málbi- id., WrMc v. 'row, boat by rowing'; -d> Tg *melbi-ken, ? *málbun 'short oar (for noiseless rowing during the hunt)' > Ewk málbikэ, Neg málbixэn, Orc mэbbu(ku), Ud {STM, Krm.} mэг(b)u, {Shn.} мэ(л)бу, Ul málbikэ(n-), málbu(n-), Ork málbi, Nn málbiš, melbjэкš, WrMc melbiku id. ¶ STM I 566, Krm. 263-4 || ??φ pJ {S} *mànsi-(p) v. 'mix' > OJ màzìpa-, màza-, J: T màžié-, màžé-, K màžíé-, màžè-, Kg màžíé-, màžè- ¶ S QJ #940, Mr. 722 ¶¶ Tg *-e- and pJ *-a- are still to be explained ¶¶ DQA #1275 (A *mèl|pa 'to stir up, помещивать': Tg, J) || ?σ D *mičuk-, {GS} *mis- 'stir, move from position' > Kn miсuku 'move, stir, quiver', Td miсx- vi. 'move slightly upward from position, budge', Kt mičk- 'yield to importunity' (for the semantic change cp. Lt and Sl), Tu miсku- 'move, venture; interfere with, meddle', Tl miсiku v. 'move' ¶¶ D *-č- is likely to go back to a N devoiced affricate (positional devoicing?) ¶¶ D #4839, Km. 461, GS 42 [#82] ◇ IE *s is probably a reg. reflex of N *ž before a cns. An alt. rec.: N *mič̥-(k̥); it does not explain the voiced *z in S *√mzg and the IE variant stem *mejǵ-. On the other hand, D *-č- < N *-ž- has not yet been established as a reg. reflex. D *-u- and A *-b- suggest the presence of N *w.

1518. ₂ *miž̥̄ (or *miž̥̄) 'sheep, goat' > HS: S *om̄v̄r̄v̄z- > Ar mařz- ~ mařaz- 'bucks and goats', māřiz- {BK} 'sheep or goat' ¶ BK II 1127, Hv. 726 || B: SrSn {Rn.} i-mži 'kid (chevreau)' (× *√mžy > SrSn məžžey 'jeune, petit') ¶ Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE *mo|aj̥so-s 'sheep' (× *mo|aj̥so-s 'hide, fleece' < N *meʔiš̥̄ 'hide', [→] 'clothes', q.v.) > OI mē'sa-ḥ 'ram', Av maēša- m., maēšī- f. 'sheep', CINPrs میش mēš, NPrs میش mīš 'sheep, ram'; Ary -b> FU (att. in FP) *meš̥̄ 'sheep, ram, bock' > Chr L/U меж mež, Chr H miž 'wool of sheep and goats', Z mež 'ram', {W} 'sheep' (the Chr word is not an inherited cognate, because in an inherited word we have to expect the vw. b < pFU *e; in Z mež the cns. ž may be explained only if the word is a loan) || ?σ Ht maista- '≈ bale of wool' ¶ The N lr. was lost in IE in the prevoc. position ¶¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (*moj̥so-s 'ram, sheep'; no distinction from *moj̥so-s 'fleece, hide' < N *meʔiš̥̄ 'hide'), M K II 689, M E II 380, Horn 226, Vl. II 1255, Sg. 1362, Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320,

323, Ep. 70 ◇ NaIE *^omo|a_iso-s suggests that in pN the vw. *i was immediately followed by a sibilant (*-iS- rather than *-iHS-), which means that the S root *[✓]mʕz underwent mt. of consonants. Alternatively, we can reconstruct a N etymon *miʕz̄ and suppose mt. in the prehistory of IE.

1519. *mu₃∇, ʕ∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head' > K: [1] GZ *mž̄iʕ- 'fist' > OG mž̄iʕ- 'fist' (an old loan from Zan?), eNG [SSO] mž̄iʕ- 'fist', Mg ž̄iχ-, Lz mž̄iχ-, nž̄iχ- 'fist, handful']]] [2] K *mž̄ʕw- 'press, squeeze, crumble' > Sv {FS} -mž̄ʕ- (msd. li-mž̄ʕ-une) id., G R -mzʕv|- {K} 'break': {Chx.} inf. da-mzʕv-l-eba vt. 'zerreißen' ¶¶ K 142, K² 122, 130, Chik. 62, Fn. KW-3 27, FS K 217, FS E 238 || HS: S *[✓]mzʕ > Ak OA/MA/LB inf. mazû 'squeeze, produce a liquid', 'auspressen', Ak ∧ mēzû 'beer brewer', Ar [✓]mzʕ G {Hv.} v. 'pick (cotton) with the fingers', {BK} 'éplucher et séparer avec les doigts le coton, etc.' ¶ The apparently irreg. a in Ak mazû (for the expected e) may be accounted for by the Assyrian dialectal preservation of a even near pS *ʕ ¶ CAD X/1 439-40 and X/2 46, BK II 1099, Bel. 767, Hv. 718 || C *maz- > EC: Or {Grg.} madā(w)a v. 'wound', madā n. 'wound', {Brl.} mada 'ferita, piaga, ulcera', mad-awu '(im)piagarsi, ferirsi', Arr {Hw.} madá n. 'wound', madēss- v. 'wound'; HEC {Hd.} *maz-, {L} *maz- v. 'wound' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Hd {Hd.} mad-, Kmb maz- id.; HEC {Hd.} *maza, {L} maza n. 'wound, sore' > Kmb {Hd.} maza-t, Brj {Ss.} ma'dā id., Hd {Hd.} mada, {Ss.} madaʔa, Sd mada 'wound' || ?? Ag: Bln {R} mācd-/mad- 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen (jemandem)' (× N *met∇ha 'head, top, summit') ¶ R WB 263, Grg. 223, Hw. A 383, Gs. 278, LZ 121, Hd. 170, 417 || IE: NaIE *mus-ti- 'fist, clenched hand' > OI muṣṣ'ti-ḥ id., Av muštī-(masah-) 'Faust(größe)', NPrs مشت mošt 'fist, handful' || Tc B maśce (< *mus'tēj-s) 'fist' ¶ EI 255, M K II 658, M E II 363, Horn 220, Vl. II 1181, Ad. 443 ¶ The absence of any traces of the expected *a may be accounted for by NaIE derivation: the stem was derived from *mus- that had no traces of lr. because of its the stem-final (prevoc.) position || U: FP *mUć∇ v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N *mUć∇ 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) > Krl KA {SK} muž̄ū- v. 'press, crumple', Krl Ld mučurdada 'to compress' ('pusertaa kokoon'), F muser taa 'to crush, to smash', Vp mučoida 'to twist (fingers)' | ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} močetet, moččot v. 'break, be breaking

off' | Z Δ m3ž+r 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} m3ž+rt- 'clench one's hand\fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || ?φ D: [1] *muṭṭ-, {GS} *muṭ- v. 'blow with knuckles of the fist or with the fist' (→ v. 'hammer', n. 'hammer') > Kn muṭ- v. 'rap the head (of another) with the knuckles of the fist', Tl moṭṭu 'give a blow\stroke with the knuckles', Ml muṭṭu 'knocking', muṭṭi 'hammer', Tm miṭṭikai 'jeweler's small hammer', Kt muṭṭi 'small hammer', Prj muṭka 'blow with fist', muṭṭ- v. 'hammer', Png, Mnd, Ku muṭla 'hammer', Krx muṭgaṭā- 'deal a heavy blow with the fist', muṭkaṭā- 'hit\hammer at with the fist', muṭgā ~ muṭkā 'clenched hand or fist, hammering with the fist'; [2] D (in SD) *muṭṭ- v. 'press' > Ml muṭṭikka id.; the meanings 'dash against, butt' (as in Tm muṭṭu, Ml muṭṭuka id., Kdg muṭṭ- v. 'bump against') may be due either to semantic broadening or to contamination with a different pD √ ¶¶ D #4932, GS 51 [#126] ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [#27] (K, IE, D + err. FU *muč̣ṭ 'fist' that in fact belongs to N *muč̣ṭ 'cupped\clenched hand', q.v.).

1520. *mež ∇ 'sun, light; 'to shine' > K *mž-e 'sun' (*-e is a sx. as in *(ša-)dʷ-e 'day') > OG, G mze, Mg bža, Sv UB/LB/Ln miž, Sv Lmә,ž 'sun', Lz mžora ~ mžura (with a sx.) id., Lz bžaçħa, Mg žešħa 'Sunday' (< *bžā-š dʷa 'Sun's day') ¶¶ K 133-4, K² 121, Schm. 124, FS 216-7, TK 571, Dn. s.v. mәž, GP 220 || HS: ? Ch: CCh: HgG mąšé, HgNk, Kps mąšké, HgF mamąški, FIG {ChL} mąkší 'morning' ||| ECh: Suk {Mk.} mašin id. ¶ ChC, ChL || S: the second element of S *šamaš- 'sun' < N *šom ∇ mež ∇ ('= hot\burning sun\fire') (with N *šom ∇ 'be hot', 'sun', [?] 'flame', q.v. ffd.) || B *-missi- 'fire' > Ah te-mse, pl. ti-məs, ETwl te-mse, pl. ši-məss, Ty te-mse, pl. ti-məssa, Gh či-msi, Kb ti-məss, Si tə-msi, Skn, Snd, Mz ti-msi, Izn, Rif, SrSn θi-məssi 'fire' ¶ Fc. 1247, Dl. 520, GhA 132, Nh. 160, La. S 237, Rn. 85, Dlh. M 123 || U: FU (in Prm) *m^ré¹ž ∇ (or *m^ré¹í ∇) > Prm *m^ró¹í- ({LG} *m^rǫ¹í-) to shine, beam' > Vt maíd+n+ v. 'be dazzled (by light)', maíd+mon 'dazzling', Z moí+d 'glossy, smooth', Z Ud us+s moíz 'beams with joy' ¶ LG 174 || A: M *meliyi- > Brt мэлий- 'be glossy, shine', ? HIM мэлий- 'be smooth'; M *melm ∇- > WrM melmeger, HIM мэлмгэр 'bright-eyed; the shimmer of a brimming body of water', Ord melmeger 'brillant, qui a les yeux brillants', Brt мэлмэн 'shining (reflecting light)', Brt мэлмы-, Kl мелмә- melmā- 'shine' (of glassy water surface), Ord melmī- 'reuire, briller au soleil', Kl б мелмә melmā 'lustre, glitter (блеск)' ¶ MED 534,

Luv. 252, KRS 349, Chr. 311, Ms. O 461-2 || Tg: Ewk millūn- 'shine, be bright' (of eyes) ('поблескивать') ¶ Vas. 252 || ? pKo {S} *mār̥k- 'clear, transparent' > MKo mār̥k-, NKo malk- [mak-] ¶ S QK #69, Nam 203, MLC 587 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1303 (A *m̥jali(-k'a) 'bright; to shine': M, Ewk, Ko), ≠ Rm. SKE 139 (Ko, T) || | D *mel(∇k)- v. 'lighten', v. 'flash' (of light) > Prj melk- v. 'lighten', Δ malk- '(light) to flash', Gdb mel- '(lightning) to flash', Png malkā- v. 'lighten' ¶¶ D #5079 | Less plausible: D *māṭṭ- v. 'kindle (as fire), burn' > Tm māṭṭu id., Kt maṭ- v. 'make (fire) burn', Td mōṭ- v. 'put fuel on fire', Tl māḍu, māḍu v. 'be burnt', Gnd mās- v. 'kindle fire' ¶¶ D #4801 || | ??? IE: NaIE *mōlk- 'fire, firewood' (< *mōl- 'fire?') > OIr molc {WP, Vn.} 'fire' || | Lt málka 'log, fuel', pl. málkos 'firewood', Ltv maíka 'firewood' ¶ WP II 308, Mn. 792, ≈ Frn/ 401-2, ME II 558, Vn. M 62.

1521. *mayz̥∇ 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'honey', 'milk') > K *mz̥∇ > Lz mža 'milk, buttermilk' ¶ Marr 168-9 || **HS:** EC: Sd mal(?) 'sweet', Af {PH} malab, Sa {R} malāb, pSam {Hn.} *'málàb > Sml malab, Rn {PG} málàb, Bn 'málub, Bs {HL} malab(a) 'honey'; HEC *malabo > Hd marabo, Sd malawo, Ged malebo, Alb {HL}, Kmb malabu id., Arr {Hw} mǔl 'liquid part of raw honey' ¶ C SE II 214, PH 162, Mrn. S 228, Hn. S 68, DSI 410, Oo. 68, PG 218, Hd. 81, 417, HL 127, Hw. A 386 || | IE *mel-i-(t) / *mel-n- 'honey' > Arm մեղր mełr (gen. մեղրու mełu) id. || | Gk μέλι (gen. μέλιτος) id. || | pAl {O} *melita > Al mjaltë id. || | L mel, gen. mell-is (< *mel-n-) id. || | OIr mil (< *meli) (gen. melo ~ mela), W mêl, Cmn, Br mel id. || | Gt milip id., AS milsćian 'to sweeten with honey', milisć 'sweet' || | Ht milit- 'honey' ¶¶ P 723-4, EI 271 (*'melit / *mli't-os), Bn. IEIS 31, F II 200-1, WH II 61-3, Vn. M 50-1, YGM-1 329, Fs. 359-60, Ho. 222, Slr. 182-6, O 268, CHD L-N 250-2, Ts. E II 207-10 || | **U:** FP *mayz̥∇ 'sap of trees' (→ 'milk') > F maito 'milk', F Δ majto 'birch sap', Es Δ majt 'cream (Sahne)' || | Vt Δ mǎl 'tree honey, tree sap' ¶ UEW 697 || | **A:** T *bal (*mal) 'honey' > OT bal ({Cl.} bāl), Tk bal, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg bal, Uz bāl, Slr pal, Chv pıl ¶ ET B 47, Cl. 330 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1248 (A *male 'honey, vegetable oil' > T) ◇ IS II 38-9 [#276] (*majλΔ) (C, IE, U, T), AD NM #21, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate; T ← IE?) ◇ Gr. II #213 (*mal 'honey') (IE, U, CK).

1522. * $\bar{n}^{\bar{a}}$, prn. of collectivity and plurality > **U**: FP * $n^{\bar{a}}$ 'these, they', plurality prn., correlating with the sg. pronouns of the * t -series and with the prn. * $\acute{c}e$ 'that' > F $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ pl. 'these' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'this', $n\bar{u}o$ pl. 'those' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{u}o$ 'that', ne pl. 'those' \leftrightarrow se 'that', Es $nemad \sim nad$ 'they' \leftrightarrow $tema \sim ta$ 'he\she\it', $need$ 'these' \leftrightarrow see 'this', $nood$ 'those' \leftrightarrow too 'that', Vo $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'they' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'he\she' | pMr {Ker.} * $n\bar{a}$ > Er $\acute{n}e, \acute{n}e\acute{t}, \acute{n}e\acute{t}he$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $\acute{t}e$ 'this', $nonat$ 'those' \leftrightarrow $tona$ 'that', Mk $\acute{n}\bar{a}, \acute{n}\bar{a}t$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $\acute{t}\bar{a}$ 'this', $nona(t)$ 'those' \leftrightarrow $tona$ 'that' || Chr L $\eta\upsilon\eta\omicron$ $nuno$, Chr H $\eta\beta\eta\beta\iota$ $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'they' \leftrightarrow Chr L $\tau\upsilon\delta\omicron$ $tu\delta o$, Chr H $\tau\bar{y}\delta\bar{y}\bar{i}$ $t\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'he\she\it'; Chr L $\eta\eta\eta e$ $nine$, Chr NW {IT} $n\bar{e}n\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow Chr L $\tau\eta\delta e$ $ti\delta e$, Chr NW $t\bar{e}\delta\bar{a}$ 'this'; Chr K {Wc.} $\eta\eta\eta\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $'ti\cdot\delta\bar{a}$ 'this', $\eta\eta\eta\bar{a}$ 'those, they' \leftrightarrow $'t\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}$ 'that, he', Chr U {Wc.} $\eta\eta\eta\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $'ti\cdot\delta\bar{a}$ 'this', $\eta\eta\eta\bar{a}$ 'those, they' \leftrightarrow $'tu\cdot\delta\bar{a}$ 'that, he' || Prm: Z $n\bar{a}y\bar{z}$ (/ $n\bar{a}$ - in the obl. cases) 'they, those' \leftrightarrow $s\bar{i}y\bar{z}$ (/ obl. $s\bar{i}$ -) 'he\she\it, that', Prmk $\eta\eta\eta$ $n\bar{i}y\bar{a}$ (/ obl. $n\bar{i}$ -) \leftrightarrow $s\bar{i}y\bar{a}$ (/ obl. $s\bar{i}$ -) 'he\she\it, that' ¶ UEW 300-1 (* $n\bar{a}$ [\sim * $n\bar{e}$ \sim ?* $n\bar{i}$] 'dieser, ? der, jener'), 306 (* $n\bar{o}$ 'jener') (does not recognize that the * $n\bar{\nabla}$ -pronouns have plurality meaning even at the pFP level), SMJM 135-6, Ker. II 93, Lt. KZJ 290, Lt. KPJ 307-8, LG 185, 193, Wc. TT ##645, 652, 1190, 1222, Ps OT 78-9, 149, 151 ¶ In most cases the vw. of the * n -pronouns coincides exactly with that of the corresponding sg. pronouns, hence it is system-induced rather than original. The only exception is Z $n\bar{a}$ -, $n\bar{a}y\bar{z}$ 'they, those' < pPrm * $n\bar{a}$ - (Lt. 169), which suggests that the pFP prn. was * $n\bar{a}$ (Prm * a < FP * \bar{a} *reg.*) ||

HS: Eg $p\bar{z}$ 'this, the' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{z}$ f. \leftrightarrow $n\bar{z}$ abstr. (Eg M pl.), $p\bar{\omega}$ 'this' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{\omega}$ f. \leftrightarrow $n\bar{\omega}$ abstr. (Eg M pl.), $p\bar{n}$ 'this (near me)' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{n}$ f. \leftrightarrow $n\bar{n}$ abstr. (\rightarrow pl.), $p\bar{f}$ 'that' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{f}$ f. \leftrightarrow $n\bar{f}$ abstr. (Eg M pl.); in Eg O (*see* Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251) $n\bar{\omega}$, $n\bar{f}$, etc. were abstract pronouns: $n\bar{\omega}$ 'Dieses, Dieses da', $n\bar{f}$ 'Jenes' ({Lpr.} 'this, these things') probably going back to collective pronouns, but later they acquitted the function of pl. forms of pronouns (*see* Gard. 85); the original connection of the Eg O n -pronouns with plural is evidenced by their syntactical agreement with pl. of prtcs. and relative forms; in Eg M they function as pl. only ¶ Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251, Lpr. 68-71 ||

IE: "primary" verbal ending of 3p *-(e)nti (\leftrightarrow *-ti 3s) (e.g. * b^h ero-nti 'they carry' > OI 'bharanti, Gk $\varphi\acute{\epsilon}ρουσι$, L $ferunt$, Gt $ba\acute{i}rand$ id., OCS $\beta\epsilon\rho\bar{\nu}t\bar{b}$ $ber\bar{q}t\bar{b}$ 'they take', cp. the AnIE ending of 3p: Ht -nzi, Lw, Pal -nti), the pIE "secondary" ending of 3p *-(e)nt (\leftrightarrow *-(e)t 3s) (as in the NaIE form *(e-)b h eront 'they carried' > OI 'abharan, Gk $\acute{\epsilon}φερον$ id., cp. OCS $\beta\epsilon\bar{z}\bar{\nu}$

v e z o 'they transported'; AnIE: Lw, Pal -n t a, Lc nasalized vw. + -te) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 592-6 (incl. a synoptic table), Bks. 232-49, Rsk. 80-1 ¶¶ The word-final elements *-ti and *-t in the IE personal endings of 3p are induced by the analogy with the endings of 3s *-ti and *-t || K (× N *nE, dem. dual prn., 'they [two]'): [1] GZ *-en, sx. of 3p > OG -en (čam-en da swam-en 'edunt bibuntque'), Mg -an (koχen-an do koγurçul-an 'they sit and sing') ||| [2] OG -(e)n, sx. of the plural of objects: v-i-χil-en 'I saw them' (↔ v-i-χil-e 'I saw him'), gω-i-χil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally incl.), m-i-χil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally excl.), g-i-χil-n-a 'he saw you (pl.)' ¶ K 79, FS K 114-5, FS E 123, Dt. 44-6, 61-5, Shan. G 75, Fn. GAS 81 ||| Nominal endings of pl. in some branches of N: K: GZ *-n-, marker of pl. in the casus rectus (subject of vi. and object of vt.) > OG -n- (κac-n-i 'men') ||| Mg Sn -en-, sx. of pl. in the ergative and dative: erg. gur-en-k, dat. gur-en-s (Mg gur-i is 'heart, chest') ¶ K S 10-1, Marr GDGJ 34, Q O25, O30-3 || HS: S *-ān- > Ar -ān-, sx. of collectivity (fursān- 'riders' ↔ fāris- 'a rider'), Gz -ān (pl. of masc. nouns and adj.: κasīs-ān 'priests'), Ak nom. -ān-u (later -ān-ū) / accus.-gen. -ān-i, sx. of "individualizing plural", denoting a number of individually recognizable objects (OB il-ān-ū 'personal gods (each with its own name)' (↔ il-ū 'gods in general, Pantheon'); but Aram pl. f. ending -ān hardly belongs here, it is rather an innovation (rare on OA, but typical in later Aram) based on the analogy of pl. m. -īn (< obl. pl. *-ī- + df. art. *-ma, like BHb -īm); S *-na, marker of the rel. mood in 2pm and 3pm of verbs > CS ending of ip. indc. (in 2pm and 3pm) > Ar -na (ta-ktub-ū-na 'you [2pm] write \ will write', ya-ktub-ū-na 'they [m.] write \ will write'), BHb -n (optional ending added to the ip. form of 2pm and 3pm of verbs) ¶ MSUS 91-2, ≈ Lip. 239-40, Gtz. AMP 121-30, Sd. G 77, Cer. ArJ 214, Zewi ∇ || LbB: B pl. ending {Pr.} *-an, *-īn > Ah {Pr.} -ān ~ {Fc.} -īn (= {GhA} -en), in most other B lgs. -ən, -in (Shw irgāz-ən 'homines' [↔ sg. argāz], Sll tiləγm-in 'she-camels' [↔ sg. talγam-t], BMn ifri-wān 'wings' [↔ sg. afri], Kb isālm-an 'fishes' [↔ sg. asālm], Si iṭar-ən 'legs' [↔ sg. ṭar], Gd durar-ən 'mountains' [↔ sg. adurar], Zng {TC} tanqud-ən 'points' [↔ sg. tanqud]) ||| ? Gnc {Mi.} -en, ending of plural and collectivity: Gnc GC ta-har-en-em-en 'dry figs', ta-hau-n-en-en 'ripe figs', Gnc T i-riχh-en 'wheat, corn' (÷ B *ird-∇n), Gnc GC ta-moc-en 'barley' ||| ONum -n (= *-∇n), pl. ending (nbb-n 'workers' in one of the Dhugga inscriptions) ¶ Pr. M IV-V 50-2, 55-61, TC Z 312, AiM 175, 209-10, Fv. LJ 420 || the C nominal marker of pl.

*-∇n- > Ag *-An > Bln -an, Q/Km {R, CR} -ən, Xm -ān; *-t-An > Xm {R} -tan, Xm {R} -tān, Km {CR}, Q {R} -tən || EC *-an(∇) pl. > Sml -an, -ān, Rn {PG} -ńe (àbtíńè 'maternal uncles'), Bn -ńi, O -an, -ān, Gdl -ana, Arr -n, Dsn -anu, Dbs/Gln/Gwd -āne, Gwd/Cm -īne, Ya -an, -en, -n∇, Brj -ana, -āni, Sd -ane, -anna, Kmb -annu || ? Dhl -ni pl. ¶ Zab. MNPC 73-5, 82-3, 92-3, 111-2, 128, 138-41, 169, 179-80, 191-4, 211, 238-40, 255-9, 295-6, PG 60, Hw. A 170-1, To. DL 91 || Ch {PorS} *-∇n, pl. sx. of nouns > WCh: Hs -una, -anni, -ina, -oni || BT: Dr {Nw.} -ìn, -àn, -en, -yen (and enlarged [due to metanalysis?] -iyán/ -uyán, -ńžén / -ńžín, -ngin), Gera {Sch.} -nà, -nì, -nè || Bd -ɜn, Ngz {Sch.} -ín (with rdp. of the stem: wákàk-ín 'trees' ↔ s. wákà) || Fy {J} -an || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} -en || ECh: Jg {J}, Tmk {Cp.} -nán ¶ PorS 335, Sch. BTL 94-5, Sch. DN xviii, Nw. KL 82-4, Lk. L 18-9, Cp. 28 | HS: marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: Ch pl. sx. *-n in pers. pronouns: [1] {Kr.} *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. > {Kr.} CCh *mun id. > BM: Mrg nà-mɜr 'we' incl., mɜr 'our' incl., Cb muri 'we, us' incl., -mùrì 'our' incl. (-r, -r- < *n), Wmd na-mùn 'we' incl., -mùn 'our' incl., Klb -mun 'our' incl., mun 'us' incl.; FJ màmun 'we' incl., FIM -mù 'our' incl. || BB: G'nd gùmùn 'we' incl., -mun / -mɜn 'our' incl. || McMdr: Mdr miyà 'our' incl., Dgh m̀re 'us' incl., (here?) mundà 'we' excl. || {Kr.} WCh *mun 'we, us, our' (without distinction between incl. and excl.) > Hs m̄ / (completive past) mun 'we' || Dr mini 'we', m̀ni 'us', Tng (ha)m̀ni 'we', Ngm mẁnì 'we' || SBc: Zul min 'we' || AG: Gmy {Kr.} t-m̀n 'we', m̀n 'our', Ang {Kr.} muni 'we', mun 'us', Su {J, Kr.} mun 'we, us'; [2] Ch *ku-n 'ye', 2p prn. > Hs k̄, Ngz kun, Tr kun, Mgm {JA} k̄, Mkl {J} k̀nè, etc.; [3] WCh *su-n 'they' (> Hs s̄, Dw su) ¶ Kr. RChP 74-94, AD EPCChL, J S 75, Brq. PS || ?? EC: Dsn m̄ni 'we' incl. ¶ To. DL 211-2 ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 2-4 (Ch-Dsn parallel: Ch *muni, Dsn m̄ni) || HS *-n∇, marker of pl. (~ f. pl.) in pers. pronouns: [1] S *ʔantin-na 'ye' f. pl. > Ak attina, BHb ʔat'tennā ~ ʔat'ten, Sr ʔat'ten (spelled ʔantêṇ), Ar ʔantunna, Gz ʔantan || C: EC {Ss.} *ati-n (~ *iti-n?) 'ye' pl. > Sa átin, Rn atín, Sml idín-ku, Dsn {To.} ʔitíni, Gdl inna-t, as well as the var. ≈ *isi-n 'ye' pl. > Af ísin, Or isani ~ isini, Kns íšina ¶ Bl. 131, Ss. PEC 11, PG 70, To. DL 483 || [2] S *š̄in-na 'they' f. pl. > Ak š̄ina, Ug hinna, BHb hen, BA ʔin'nan, JEA ʔin'nūn, Sr ʔin'nēn, Ar hunna || A *- (∇)n, sx. of pl. > M *-n, pl. sx. > MM -n ([S] noqan 'dogs' [↔ noqay 'dog'], [PP] {Pp.} élč'i-n 'messengers',

yabuqu-n 'those going' [\leftrightarrow sg. yabuquy sg.]), PCIWrM -n (with nomina actoris ending in -гци and nomina actoris futuri in -қун [pl. қу-н]), in WrM -n, pl. of a few nouns: gergen 'wives' (\leftrightarrow sg. gergei), with professional names (üyledbürici-n 'workers'), WrM -ta-n (from nouns with -tai: mori-ta-n 'equestrians'), HIM -n with professional words: хөдөлмөрчи-н 'workers'), Ord гаха-н 'hogs' ¶ Pp. IM 175-7 || T *-an/*-en > OT [MhK] rare pl. morpheme: är-än 'men', оу́л-ан 'sons' (probably with the meaning of collective plurality), preserved in ethnonyms: suvarin, quman ¶ SIGTJM 15-6, Prc. TschPS § 35, Nm. QQ 100, Kon. PSM 146, Rs. MTS 54, Br. OTG 150, Gbn. ATG §§ 56, 171 || Tg *-(a)na / *-(e)ne, pl. of kinship terms and other animate nouns: Nn, Ul ama-na 'fathers', Nn agā-na 'elder brothers', bariana 'comrades', andāna 'friends'; Tg *°-nān/*-nēn, dual-plural (\times N *nE, dem. dual prn.) > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nēn / -nön, sx. od du.\pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two brothers', girKī-nēn 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh goxinān 'twins' (goxi 'pair') ¶ Ci. 254-5, Ci. MChT ∇, Vas. 778, ≠ CiL MA 225-31 (unc.: the Tg sx. < Tg. {CiL} *nau, sc. Tg *ńjarj ~ *ńarj 'man', see N *'ñ∇yär∇ 'man') || Ko: MKo -naj, NKo {MLC} -nēy [-ne] {MLC} 'the group, all of', {Mazur} sx. of the "representative pl." of animate nouns ¶ Rm. SKE 224, MLC 337, Mazur KJ3 376 ¶¶ ≈ Rm. VAJ §§ 25-6, Pp. PSA 74, Mng. TLP 111 || ? U: a pl. sx. *-n|ñ∇ can be seen in the pl. forms with ppas.: Vg K küäl-ān-em 'my houses' (\leftrightarrow küäl-em 'my house'), Vg Ss xāp-an-uv 'our boats' (\leftrightarrow xāp-uv 'our boat'), Er čora-n-t 'thy sons' (\leftrightarrow čora-t 'thy son'); Serebrennikov tries to explain in a similar way the Z forms with ppas.; Sinor supposes a similar situation in Ancient BF || Sm: Slq Nr {Cs.} loga-ni-l 'thy foxes' \leftrightarrow sg. loga-l 'thy fox', loga-ni-t 'his foxes' \leftrightarrow loga-t 'his fox', etc.; pSm {Hl.} *-nъ- (sx. of pl. possessi + 1s possessoris) in *-y-nъ 'mei, meae, mea' (with the marker of pl. *-y-): Mt {Hl.} *ayā-nE 'my children' (Mt M {Sp.} аине) \leftrightarrow *ayam 'my child' (Mt M {Sp.} аимъ), Ng {Hl.} ŋüä-ŋä 'my children' \leftrightarrow ŋüä-mä 'my child' ¶¶ Sin. UAP 206-7, Srb. IMPJ 106, Hl. M 145, Cs. GSS 304-25 ◇ IS's hyp. about *-NA as a sx. (rather than a separate word) does not bear scrutiny, it is refuted by the position of FP *n- and Eg n- as the **first** (word-initial) elements of dem. pronouns, which proves the original mobility of N *'ñ'ä' and hence its original status as a word. IS supposed that *-NA marked pl. of animate nouns only; this hyp., although not immediately concincing, deserves investifation. The hyp. of the opposition of *-NA to {IS} *-t∇ (pl. of inanimate nouns) is based on

unproved (and probably erroneous) interpretation of {IS} *-t∇ as connected with inanimateness (*see* s.v. N *t∇ [postnominal marker of plurality]) ◇ ≈ IS II 94-6 [#333] (*-NA, pl. suffix of animate nouns), Sin. UAP (U, A), Heg. MÜ 79-81 (U, HS, K, A + very qu. parallels in IE nouns).

1523. *nE, dem. prn. of duality, 'they (two)' > **HS**: S *-ni, marker of df. in dual (nom. *-ā-ni, accus.-gen. *-ay-ni) > Ar nom. -āni, gen.-accus. -ayni (ending of du. abs.), Ak nom. -ān, gen.-accus. -īn, and Ak OA gen.-accus. -ēn (du. abs.), Aram -ēn in trēn 'two' ¶ Sd. G 76, 81 || ? B: Tz {Stm.} mārāw-i-n 'twenty' (cp. mārāw 'ten') ¶ Stm. 101, AiM 214 || **K**: GZ *-en, sx. of 3p, OG -(e)n, sx. of the plural of objects (× N *n̄'ä', prn. of collectivity and plurality, q.v. ffd.) || **U** *-n|ñ, marker of du. (mainly in pers. pronouns → du. of ppa., du. subjecti of verbs) > Lp Pt {Coll.} bódiimen 'we two came', bódalimen 'we two would come', bódiiden 'you two came', bódaliden 'you two would come' || ObU *-īn, marker of du. in pers. pronouns > [1] pVg {Stn.} *-īn id.: *mīn 'we' du. (> Vg: Ss {Rmb.} mēn, Ss/UL {Stn. ← Kn.} mēn, ML/LL {MK} mīn, K {MK} mīn, T {MK} mēn id.), *nīn 'you' du. (> Vg: Ss/LL {Rmb.} nēn, ML/LL {Vrt. ← Mu.} nīn, K/P {Vrt. ← Mu.} nēn, T {Vrt. ← Mu.} nēn), *tīn 'they' du. (> Vg: Ss (Rmb., Ht.) tēn, {Ht.}: LK tin, MK/UK/NV/LL ten, P tin ~ ten, SV/UL tēn); [2] pOs *-in, marker of du. in pers. pronouns: pOs *mīn 'we' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O mīn, Nz/Sh mēn, Kz/Sn mīn), pOs *nīn 'you' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O nīn, NMz/Sh nen, Kz/Sn nīn); Os {Ht.} *ϕin 'they' du. (> Os {Ht.} V/O lin, Vy yin, Ty ϕin, D tin, Nz ten, Kz ϕīn) || Sm *-'n', marker of dual: [1] dual in pronouns > Ne T -ṽ du. in mani-ṽ 'we' (du.), p̄dari-ṽ 'you' (du.), p̄di-ṽ 'they' (du.), En 1d 'modiniṽ, 2d ūdiṽ, 3d budiṽ (↔ 1p 'modinaṽ, 2p ūdaṽ, 3p buduṽ), [2] dual possessoris of nouns and dual subjecti in verbs: Ne T -m̄i-ṽ 'our (du.), we (du.)', -r̄i-ṽ 'vester (du.), you (du.)', -d̄i-ṽ 'their (du.), they' (du.), En -ṽ (dual possessoros, dual subjecti) (1 du. -yṽ ~ -b̄iṽ, 2d -r̄iṽ, 3d -ḡiṽ), [3] possibly in (compound?) markers of dual in nouns: pSm {HL} *-k̄b̄n̄ > Ne T -haṽ / -ḡ(a)ṽ / -k̄(a)ṽ, En -h̄+ṽ / -ḡ+ṽ / -k̄+ṽ ¶¶ Coll. CG 301-2, Ter. EJ 442-51, Ter. NJ 380-8, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. V 369-70, Rmb. 99, Stn. WV 220-1, Stn. D 884, 1004, MK 305, 337, 642, Vrt. tables I and II, Ht. ##142, 393, 430, Hl. M 134 || **A**: Tg *°-nān/*-nēn, dual-plural (× N *n̄'ä' '↑') > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nēn / -nōn, sx. of du.pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two

brothers', *girkī-nēn* 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh *goxinān* 'twins' (*goxi* 'pair') ¶ Vas. 778.

1524. **n̥i* 'not' > HS: Eg *n* 'not', Cpt *n̄* *an* 'not' ¶ EG II 195, Vc. 135 || **K** **nu*, **numa* 'do not!' (prohibitive) > OG/G *nu*, Mg *nu*, *numu*, *nəm* id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln *no* id., UB {GP} *nom* id., UB/L {TK} *nōm* ~ *nūm*, LB {TK} *nem* 'do not' (prohib.), UP *num(a)* (negation with imv. and sbjn.) ¶¶ K 148-9, K DE 173, K² 144, FS K 243, FS E 267, Top. SJ 90, TK 635, GP 237 || **IE** **neǵ*, **ne* 'not', **ne-* 'un-, -less': **[1]** NaIE **neǵ* negative pc. (not a clitic) > Av *naē-* 'not, no-' (in cds. with encl. particles and pronouns: *naē-čis* 'none, keiner', *naē-kay* 'nobody, nothing', *naē-ča* 'and not, etc.) || OL *nei*, L *nī* 'not, that not, unless', Osc *nei* 'not' || Gt *nei* 'not', ON, OHG {Vr.} *nī* 'no' ('nein') (= OHG {Kl.} *nī* 'nein?') || Lt *niẽ-* *kas* 'nobody, *neĩ ... neĩ* 'neither ... nor', Ltv Δ {ME} *nei ... nei* id., *nei* 'auch nicht, nicht einmal' || Sl **ni* 'not' > OCS **нн** *nī* 'not' (stressed: **НАН НН** 'or not'), 'and not', OCS **нн ... нн** *nī ... nī* 'neither ... nor', Blg, R **ни ... ни**, SCr, Slv, Slk *nī ... nī* id. || **[2]** NaIE sentence negation **ne* (→ word negation in some lgs.) > OI *na* 'not', Av, OPrs *na-* id. || Gk *νε-* 'un-, -less' + adjectives with initial vowels (contraction of -ε + the initial vw. of the adj.): *νήκουστος* 'not hearing' (← *νε-* + *ἄκου-* 'hear'), *νόνημος(ν)ος* 'nameless' (← *νε-* + *ὄνημ-* 'name'), *νηλεής* ~ *νηλής* 'pitiless, ruthless' (← *νε-* + *ἔλεος* 'pity'), *νήκεστος* 'incurable' || L *ne-* in cds.: *ne-sciō* 'I do not know', *neuter* 'neither (none of two)' (< *ne-uter* 'not any of two'), etc.; L *ne-que*, Osc *ne-p*, *nei-p* 'and not', Um *neip* 'non', *neip ... nep* 'neither ... nor' || Clt: CltI *ne-*, Gl *ne*, OIr *ní*, Brtt {RE} **ni* > OW *nī*, MW, Crn *ny*, W *nī*, OBr *nī*, ne, MBr, Br *ne* || Gt *nī*, OHG, OSx *nī*, ne, AS *ne* 'not' || Pru *nī*, Lt *ne* 'not' || Sl **ne* 'not' > OCS **не** *ne*, SCr *ne*, Blg, R **не**, Slv, Cz, Slk *ne*, P *nie* 'not'; Sl **ne* (< **ne je*) > OCS **нѣ** *ne* '(there) is not' || **[3]** NaIE **ne-* 'un-, -less' (privative and negative px.) > OI, Av, OPrs *a-* (before cns.) / *an-* (before vowels) id. || Gk *ἄ-* (before cns.) / *ἀν-* (before vowels) id. || OL *en-*, L *in-*, Osc *AN-*, Um *A-* / *AN-* id. || OIr *in-* (before mediae) / *é-* (before tenues) / *an-* (before vowels), W, Crn, Br *an-* id. || Gt, OHG, NHG, OSx, AS, NE *un-*, ON *ó-*, *ú-*, NNr, Dn *u-*, Sw *o-* id. || Tc: A *a(n)-*, B *e(n)-* 'un-' || Ht {Ts.} cd. *natta* 'not', *nawī* 'not yet' ¶¶ P 758, Bks. 222, EI 395 (**ne* 'not'), M K II 120, Brtl. 1030-5, FI 1 and II 314-5, Ch. 1-2, 336, 750-1, WH I 686-7 and II 150-1, 166, Bc. G 320, 339, Pln. I 319-20, 369-70, 563-4, II 469-70, 676, 726, Billy 112, LP § 8, RE 116,

Fs. 374-5, 516, Vr. 415, Ho. 376, Kb. 724, OsS 647-8, 1001, KM 803, Frn. 488-9, 491, ME II 715, Glh. 435-6, Vs. III 52, 71-2, ESSJ XXIV 91-3, ≈ XXV 96-7 (err.: Lt *nei* and Sl **ni* < **ne* + **i* 'and'), Frn. 48-9, En. 214, Ad. 83, Ts. W 56, CHD L-N 400-19, 421-24 || **U** **ni* 'not' > FU **ni*, **nim* 'not' > Hg *ne*, *nem* 'not' || pOs **nem* ~ **nöm* ({JHL} **näm-* ~ **nöm-*) > Os: Nz *ñem* χ̄yāt, Kz *nem* χ̄yāt 'nobody' (χ̄yāt, χ̄yāt means 'anybody'), Nz *ñem*ϕ̄t:ʒ, Kz *nem*gō̄tī 'nowhere' (χ̄t:ʒ, χ̄tī 'wohin'), Nz *ñem*ϕ̄t:ʒ, K *nem*ϕ̄t 'nothing'; Vg: N *nēm*-x̄ātpā 'nobody', *nēm*-mat x̄ātpā 'nothing' (x̄ātpā 'somebody, anybody', mat 'some-anything'), Ss *nēm*at 'keinerlei' || ? Prm: Vt G *no*-kin-*no* 'nobody', *no*-m̄r-*no* 'nothing', Vt G *no*-k̄t̄š 'nowhere' (kin 'who', mar 'what', k̄t̄š 'woher'), ?? Z P *ni*-n̄m 'nothing' (n̄m 'a bit, чутъ') (unless *ni*- is a loan from R НИ) || Sm negative and prohibitive verb: En *ñe*-, Ng *ni*- 'do(es) not, did not' (proh. and neg.), Ne *ni*- prs.\past 'do(es) not', 'did not', *no*- proh. 'do not' ¶¶ Coll. 38, MF 464, ≈ UEW 301 (unc.: the neg. stem may go back to U **nä* ~ **ne* ~ [?] **ni* 'this'), LG 196-7, Ter. NJ 389, Ter. EJ 452, Ter. NgJz 431-2 || **A**: pJ {S}: [1] **nà*- 'lacking, non existent' > OJ *na*, J T *náj*, Kt *náj*, Kg *na*-ká, Ns *né*-, Sh *né*-; [2] **(a)n-* 'not' (verbal negation) (× N **ṛāyñā* 'nothing, there is no...', q.v.) > OJ *-(a)n-*, J: T *na*-, Ns/Sh *-n*, Ht *-nē* 'not' ¶ S AJ 267 [#56], S QJ #56, Mr. 835 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #74 (reconstructs pJ **nà*-, but unconvincingly derives it from A **ñni* 'not', negative verb) ◇ AD GD #3 (Eg, IE, U, A), Gr. I 212-3 ('negative N' in IE, U, A, EA, Ai).

1525. *nu (or **nū*?), postp. and pv. 'from', postp. 'of' > **U** **-n*, genitive case ending > F *-n*, Vp *-n* / *-ń*, pLp **-n* > Lp S *-n*, Chr L *-n*, *-ɛn*, Chr H *-n*, *-ɛn*, *-ən*, Er/Mk *-ń* (F *kalā-n*, Lp S *guole-n*, Chr L *kōl-ɛn* 'of [the] fish', Er *kudo-ń* 'of the house'), Ne T, En *-ñ*, Slq Tz, Kms *-n*, Mt M *-n*, Y T/K {Krn.} *-n* (distinguished by IN from the indf. gen. *-n/-d* < **nsä*); the unabridged U allomorph **-nu* survives in pronouns: F *mi-nu*-*n* 'my', *si-nu-n* 'thy' (*-nu-* is a presuffix in all oblique cases), Es *mi-nu* 'my', *si-nu* 'thy' ¶¶ Coll. CG 282-4, Hl. SelJ 364-6, Hl. MTKJ 377, Krn. JJ 36, IN 191 || **A**: M **-nu*, marker of the genitive case > WrM (reflecting OM norms) *-nu* (*modunu* 'of the tree'), MM *-ni*; pM {Pp.} **mi-nū* 'my' (> WrM *minu*), **ci-nū* 'thy' (> WrM *cinu*), **ma-nu* 'our' (> WrM *manu*), **ta-nu* 'votre' (> WrM *tanu*), **i-nū* 'his/her' (> WrM *inu*) ¶ Pp. IM 185-94, 219-22 || Tg {Bz.} **-ñī*, marker of the genitive case (< **-n* + adjectival **-ki*, related to WrM *-ki* in *ende-ki*

'being here, belonging to this place' from *ende* 'here') > Nn, Ul -ηgi, Orc, Ud, Ewk -ηi, Sln -nī, Neg -ni ~ -ηi, WrMc -i / -ni ¶ Bz. 78-9 || T *-η (presumably from *-n + an adjectival *sx.*, as in Tg), gen. ending > OT {Gbn.} -η ɘ -n, after *cns.* -iη / -iη ~ -aη / -an ɘ -∇n, in later Og lgs. -n / -in / -In / -ün / -un, in most other lgs. -niη / -niη / -nüη / -nuη (with a denasalized allomorphs in some lgs.: -d∇n or -t∇n) ¶ Gbn. ATG 87, Sev. KP 47-8 || Ko: Rm. mentions traces of the ancient gen. ending -n in the form *hΛj̄n* (acc. to Rm., gen. of *hΛj̄* 'day') ¶ Rm. VAJ 35 || J: postposition of genitive: pJ {□S}*n3 > OJ n3 > J n0; in J the ancient N marker of genitive still remains an analytical postposition ||| The ablative meaning 'from' survives in T *-t̄an/*-t̄än 'from, out of' (< N ***d̄**oy,a 'place, inside' + N ***n**u) as compared with the T locative ending *-t̄a/*-t̄ä 'in'; this *-t̄an/*-t̄än is represented in all T lgs: OT (after l, n, r) -tan / -tän, (after other *cns.* and vowels) -dan / -dän with a dialectal var. -tin / -tin / -din / -din; the var. -dan/-dän/-tan/-tän survives in most later NaT lgs., in Yk it is -tan/-tän/-ton/-tön (due to palatal and labial harmony of vowels), in Xk and Shor it is -daη/-taη/-deη/-teη/-doη/-toη/-naη/-neη; in Chv the same ending has the form -ran/-ren/-tan/-ten. The variant with closed vowels (-din/-diη/-tiη/-tiη/-duη/-düη) survived in ET and Chg ¶ Gab. ATG 88-9, Sev. KP 55-7, Kon. GJTRP 158-9, Andr. ChJ-66 48, Karpov XJ 432, BabD ShJ 470-1 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 33-5 || IE: *-n 'from' within *-d^he-n survives in Gk πó-θεν 'where from?', οὐρανόθεν 'from the sky' (compare with the loc. *-d^he in OI i'ha, Pali i'dha 'here', OI 'ku-ha, OCS кѣде кѣ-де 'where?', OCS сѣде сѣ-де 'here', Gk ἔνερθε 'beneath') ¶ Brg. KVG 454-5 ||| *-n-, the marker of oblique cases (presuffix, a morpheme preceding the case endings) in heteroclitic nouns, e.g. IE {Bks.} *^lwed-η-s 'of water' (↔ *^lwod-or 'water') > Ht wētenas, Gt watins, Gk ὕδατος gen. (↔ *^lwod-or nom. 'water' < Ht 'wātar, Gt watō, OHG waz̄z̄ar, Gk ὕδωρ) ¶¶ Bks. 188, 220 ||| NaIE adv. and prep. *nō 'from, away' > Blt prep. (with gen.) (> Lt nuō 'from, off, out of', Ltv no [nūo] id.) and preverb 'hinaus-' (> Lt nuo-, Ltv no-) ||| Msp {Mlw.} no 'from' ¶ The long vw. *ō suggests that NaIE *nō goes back to a compound with a N deictic *h∇ (most probably ***o**nu h^re¹ 'this [one] from'), but this is not necessarily the case with Msp no, that may also represent N ***n**u 'from' without additions ¶ Frn. 511, Kar. I 629-30, Mlw. M 206 ||| D *-∇n-, a presuffix of oblique cases ("inflectional increment"): OTm, Tm, Ml, Kn -

iŋ- (OTm {Shanm.} *kanav-iŋ-āl* 'by the dream', *nánŋr-iŋ-oṭu* 'with time', Kn gen. *guruṽ-iŋ-a*, instr.-abl. *guruṽ-iŋ-inda* from *guru* 'guru'), Toda -ŋ- (instr. *†r-ŋ-a* from nom. *†r* 'buffalo'), Kdg -n- (accus. *baṭṭe-n-a*, instr.-abl. *baṭṭe-n-iŋi* from *baṭṭe* 'road'), Tu -n-, Tl -ŋi- / -ŋa- (*pustakā-ŋi-ki* 'to the book'), Klm, Nkr, Gdb, Png -n-, Prj -n-, -in-, Gnd -n-, -ŋ-, -iŋ-, Kui -ni-, -n-, Ku -n-, -na- (presuffixes of oblique cases), Brh -n-, -an- in gen. ¶¶ An. SG 184, 189-91, Shanm. IID, Shanm. DN 196-249, Zv. CDM 18-19 || HS: N *nu with the ablative meaning survives in B *n, an ablative (en)clitic 'from' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Sll, Tz, Dmn, ASgr, Kb, and many other B lgs. the ablative n 'from' is opposed to the directional d 'towards' (< N *d_oy_a 'place', q.v.): Kb *aŋi-n* 'carry away' ↔ *aŋi-d* 'bring', Tz *idda-n* 'go away' ↔ *idda-d* 'come', Ntf *əkšəm n v.* 'come out' ↔ *əkšəm d* 'come in', Ah *āns-īn* 'lie down there' ↔ *āns-ād* 'lie down here' ¶ AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-8, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff. || Om: *-n∇, genitive ending: NrOm: Ym {Lm.} -ni (*asú-ni* 'eines Mannes'), {C} -n, -ni; *-n(∇) as a generalized marker of oblique cases > NrOm *-n(∇), marker of accusative (Ym *nā-ni* 'a child' accus., Mj {All.} *wéte-n* 'vaccam', *ḡankas-n* 'dogs' accus., Kf {C} *ḡaṽō-n* 'pontem', Shn {Rtl.} *bī-n* 'him' accus., *tān* 'me' accus.); in Ym {Lm.} -ni- is the initial element of some markers of oblique cases: dative-benefactive -ni-k (*asú-ni-k* 'to\for a man'), directive -ni-ki (*asú-ni-ki* 'zu einem Mann') (just as in the IE heteroclitic nouns); a similar origin may be supposed for Kf «caso modale» -ne and for the marker of the instr. case in Kf {C} (-nā) and in Shn {Lm.} (-nḡ) || SOM: dative-benefactive (Ari *kī-n* 'for him', *ī-n* 'mihi', Dm *is-in* 'for me', Hm {Ldl.} *šonya-na* 'to the guests', *ḡḡn-n* 'for sorghum': *ḡḡn-n ḡḡ muda ḡḡḡḡ* 'Let us go on an exchange-trip for sorghum!') ¶ Hw. CO 22-31, Lm. Y 65, 73, Lm. Sh 65, 86, Rtl. ShM 193-7, Zab. CO 621, C SE III 50-1 and IV 299-301, Ldl. H 410-2, Fl. D 518 || EC: Sd {C} -ni, Ged -n-kā (m. possessi) / -n-tā (f. possessi), Dsn -n (marker of genitive in two nouns; not mentioned in To. DL) ¶ Zab. CO 621, Mrn. S 86, Ss. D 206 | Much more questionable is the origin of the prepositional *nota genitivi* *n∇, found in LbB, Eg, and Ch, but the transformation of the N postposition *nu 'of' into a preposition is only one of the alt. explanations, less plausible than the hyp. drawing back the *nota genitivi* to N *ŋ^U 'thing' (q.v. ffd.) || K: the element *-n in K *°-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (used as a postpositional ending) (< a cd., possibly N *gay∇ nu 'from the side' or N *gānh∇ nu 'from the

side' [with N ***gay** ▽ 'side' or N ***gānh** ▽ 'side of sth.', q.v.) ◇ In pN the marker of genitive ***nu** could be followed by other postpositions (former nouns) or by nouns serving as postpositions. Such N constructions (noun + ***nu** + case postpositions) underly the IE forms for oblique cases of the heteroclitic nouns, the corresponding D forms with the presuffix ***-▽n-**, as well as some forms in the Om lgs. These constructions are explained as former (pN) genitive phrases (noun + ***nu** + another noun) ◇ ≈ IS I 10 and II 78-81 (N ***-n** of oblique cases in IE, K, HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 130-7 ("genitive N" in A, J, U [incl. Y], IE, Gil, CK, Ai). IS treated this morpheme as a suffix, although its mobility (its functions as a postnominal case marker as well as an analytical particle [in B and Blt]) and its analytical status (in B, in the Blt prep., and in J) suggest that it was originally a word rather than a sx.

1526. *ñ ▽ 'we' excl. > K: Sv **n-**, **nə₁-** 'us' excl. (object px. of verbs), Sv UB **nəy**, L **nay**, LB/Ln **nä** 'we' excl., Sv UB **ni-šgwe-y**, Sv LB **ni-šgwe** ~ **ni-šge** 'our' excl.; the element **-šgwe** goes back to K ***čwe-** (a component of possessive pronouns) < N ***č'ū'** 'that of ..., that which' {q.v. ffd., see also s.v. N ***w** ▽ **y** ▽ 'we' and N ***g'U'** 'we' incl.) ¶¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Tt. 18-9, 22, TK 626, GP 229, 237, Dn. s.v. **nəy**, Dt. 34 || IE ***ne-/nō** 'we' (stem of oblique cases), e.g. [1] accus. ***nō-s** ~ ***nō-s** > Ht **anzas, nas**, OI **nas**, Av **nā̎**, L **nōs** (accus. → nom.), Gt **uns(is)** (**uns** < ***nōs**), OCS **нѣ** **nĕ** (and **наѣ** **naĕ** < ***nōs-om**, originally gen. with the gen. pl. ending ***-om**), Clt (stem of obl. cases → nom.): OIr **sní** (< NaIE ***s-nēs**), **ní**, Brtt {RE} ***nī(s)** > OW, MWE, W, OBr, Br **ní**, Crn **nȳ** 'we'; ***nōs-me-** > Gk Ae **ἄμμεϛ**, Gk A **ἡμεῖϛ**, OI **as'mān** 'we' nom.; Lw {Mlc.} **ānza** 'we, us' (dat., accus., and possibly other cases), [2] other oblique cases: Ht dat. **anzas, nas**, L dat.-abl. **nō-bis**, Gt dat. **uns(is)**, OCS dat. **наѣ** **naĕ**, [3] poss. prn. 'our' > HrLw **azis** (< **nōs-**), L **noster**, OCS **наѣ** **naĕ**, Gt **unsar**, IE ***nōs-mos** > Gk Ae **ἄμμοϛ**, OI **as'māka-**, Av **ahmāka-**, [4] accus. du.: OI **nəy**, OCS **наѣ** **naĕ** 'us two', as well as Gk A **νῶ** id. (Cowg.: < ***νωFέ**) and OI **ā'vām** accus. 'us two' (Gk ***νωFέ** and OI **ā'vām** are from IE {Cowg.} ***nōH'we** < N ***ñ** ▽ 'we' excl. + the N dual pc. ***o'h'U** [see N ***h'æ** ~ ***o'h'U**]); Cowg. postulates here a morpheme ***-^lwe** (probably from N ***o'h'U**) ¶¶ Bks. 208-11, Brg. KVG 410-3, BD II/2 412 (*: OI **ā-** in **ā'vām** is an IE px. ***ē-**), Cowg. EG 169-70 and fn. 57, EI 454 (***^lnōh₁** 'we two, us two', ***nōh₁^lwe** 'us two'), M K I 67, M E I 176, LP §§ 337-57, Vn. S 150-1, Thr. § 403, RE 144, Mlc. CL 20 || HS: [1] HS ***n** ▽ -, px. of 1p in verbal conjugation: S {Hz.} ***ni-** (with verbs *G*,

active voice) > Ak *nī-*, BHb *nī-/nā-*, Ug *n∇-*, BA, JA *nī-/nā-*, Sr *nē-/nā-*, Ar *nā-*, Gz *nā-*, etc. (according to Hz., in the WS lgs. the original vw. *i in *nī- [with G, active voice] was partially replaced by the reflexes of *a due to levelling within the conjugation paradigm, while in the ps. voice and in the derived conjugations the vw. *i was replaced by other vowels [Ar u, etc.] due to morphological processes) || B *n∇- > Ah, Kb, Shl, Si *n(∇)-*, 1p px. of verbs || C *n∇- (1p in verbs of prefix conj.) > Bj *nī-'liw* 'we burned', *nī-d'bil* 'we collected', EC: Af *n-udūreh* 'we returned', *n-a-dūreh* 'we return', Sa {Wlm.} *n-anu* 'we are', Bn *á-n-ùhùṅṅè* 'we ate', Sml N *n-iḏi* 'we said', Rn *n-imiy* 'we come', *n-ahe ~ n-ehe* 'we are', as well as the Cushitic 1p presuffix *n-, sc. personal px. of the former aux. verbs in periphrastic constructions underlying the suffix conjugation in EC, Bj, and Ag (e.g. Aw {Hz.} *des-n-áṽá* 'we study', Km {Ap.} *was-n-əkʷ* 'we hear', Af *miṣi-n-oh* 'we are good' ↔ *miṣi-t-oh* 'thou art good', Bs *day-n-e* 'we descended', Rn *karsanne* < **kars-ad-n-e* 'we cook') ||| [2] HS *n∇, short prn. (mainly sx. or clitic) of 1p: S postnominal *-n∇ (= *-nu ~ *nī?) 'our' > Ak OB *-nī*, BHb *-nū*, Ar *-nā*; S postverbal *-n∇ 'us' (direct object): Aram, Ar, Gz *-nā*, BHb *-nū*, Mh *-n*; S *-n∇, marker of 1p subiecti in predicative nomina (> WS perfect) > Aram, Ar, Gz *-nā*, BHb *-nū*, Mh *-ṣn*, Ak *-ānu*, Ak A *-āni* || C: EC: Sa {Wlm.}, Af {PH} *nī* 'our' (prenominal prn.) | EC: Sa {Wlm.} *nī*, Af {PH} *ne / nē* 'us' (preverbal prn.), Dsn {To., Ss.} *ńí-* 'we, us' excl., Bn J/K *nú-* 'us' (preverb), Bj {RHd.} *-n* 'our', Ya {Hn.} *-nī* 'our', *-inī-* 'us', *n-...-∇n* 'we' (combination of a px. and a sx. in verbal conjugation) || Eg *-n* 'we, our' (postverbal and postnominal sx.), *n* 'we' (dependent prn.), OEg *nṽ* 'we' du. (with the marker of dual -ṽ) ||| [3] HS prn.: [a] *ʔaniḥEn-n'ú' 'we' excl. (aut. prn.) (*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc. → marker of autonomous pers. pronouns < N *ʔoḥ∇ 'self, the same'] + *-(i)ḥen- [< N *XAḥ∇, ∇, ∇ 'together'] + HS *n'ú' [< N *ḥ∇ 'we' excl.]) (survives in S, B, and C), [b] the var. *ʔan∇-n'ú' (*ʔan- + *n'ú') (preserved in Eg and possibly in C); these HS compound pronouns gave rise to: S *ʔa'niḥnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ* ʔ^a'naḥnū, Ph ʔnḥn, BA *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ* ʔ^a'naḥnā, IA ʔnḥn(h), Plm ʔnḥnṽ, JA *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ* (ʔ^a)'naḥnā, JEA {Sl.} *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ* ʔ^a'naḥnā ~ *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ* ʔ^a'nan, Sr *سب* ḥə'nan ~ (archaic) *سب* {Nld.} ʔ^a'naḥnan, Ar *نحن* naḥnu, Gz *naḥna*, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} *nṽḥā*, Jb E 'nḥa, Jb C 'nḥan ~ 'nḥa, Sq {Jo.} ḥan ~ ḥanhən, Ak (a)nīnu || C: Bj {RHd.} *hi'nin*, {Rop.} *he'nnen* 'we,

us', {R} ha'nān, han'in, he'nin 'we', {R} he'nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōn, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han'nē & he'nē 'our' || Ag: Q {R}, Km {CR} anən, Km {Ap., Ss.} an-diw & an-niw & {Ss.} anən-diw (-diw is a marker of pl., cp. ʒntə(n)diw 'you' pl., naydiw 'they'), Bln {Hz.} yʒn, Xm {Ap.} yʒn 'we' (obl. yʒna ~ yʒnə-, poss. yʒna- 'our'); Km {Ap.} anə 'our' || EC: Sa/Af {Wlm., PH} nanu 'we' (aut. prn.), Dsn {To.} nīni 'we' excl., Arr {Hw.} ʔonó 'we', -na (bound subject prn.), Rn náh 'we' excl., innó 'we' incl., Sml N {Abr.} anná-k-u ~ anná-g-u 'we' excl. (↔ inná-k-u ~ inná-g-u 'we' incl.) (-k- ~ -g- is a marker of m., -u is a nom. ending), anná-k-a ~ anná-g-a 'us' excl. (-a is an accus. ending), Bn K anó, J un(ə) 'we' (focus-marked K anó, J un-é), Bs {Hw.} no 'we, us' (dat.-ben. nōn), Kns {BISO} íno 'we, us', Gdl {Bl.} ínno 'we' (ínno- obl.), Or B nū, nu(h), {Sr.} nū (nom. nuya, nuwinī), Or O nū (nom. nūti, nutini), Or Wt nū (nom. nuti, nutī), Or Wl nuy (obl. nu-), Or H nu 'we', 'us', Hr/DbS {AMS} íno, Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} íne 'we', Hr/DbS/Gln {AMS}, Cm {Hab.} -inna- ~ -ino-, Gln {AMS} -ine- 'us' (verbal second px.), Brj {Hd.} nānu, Ged {Hd.} noʔo, Kmb {Hd.} naʔōti, Brj nin-si, Hd/Kmb {Hd.} ne(:)-s 'us' (whence Hd nēse 'we'), Sd {Hd.} ninke 'we, us' (from gen. with the marker of masc. possessi *-ke, cp. Brj nin-ka m. 'of us, noster' ↔ nin-ta f. 'of us, nostra'), Ya 'nīniʔ 'we' || DhI nāni 'we' ¶ Rn náh and Bj hinin certainly reflect HS *ʔaniḥEn-n^u, while some of the forms without clear traces of a lr. may reflect *ʔan∇-n^u || Eg N írri 'we' (= {Satz.} *yanan, {Vc.} *yanā-na) 'we' > DEg írri > Cpt: Sd/B ANON, A/F ANAN || [4] HS *ʔaniḥEn-n^u-k∇ (and *n∇-k∇?) 'we' du. > Ch: Ron {J}: Klr yiḡi:n, Fyer kon 'we' du., Sha ḡḡn id., proclitics: Klr ḡí, Bks kú id. || ECh: Mgm - (y)en 'us' du., -t-èḡ 'our' du. (-t- is a marker of possessive forms) || B *hanā-y 'us, 'to us' > Tw {Pr.} ānɔy & hānɔy id.; postnominal sx. *-naɔ 'our' > Tw -nɔy, Kb, Shl -nəy, Si, Wrg -nnəy, etc.; postverbal sx. *-∇y & *-(∇)n∇y 'us' > Ah -nɔy, Kb, Shl, Wrg -ay, Si -anay, Zng {MH→Nic.} -nəḡ^h ¶¶ This compound prn. is likely to go down to HS *ʔaniḥEn-n^u (and *n∇ 'we?') + reflex of N *yEgi or *y^ugi 'both, two' (q.v.) ¶¶ AD SF 174 and Tk. I 125-6 (in both: C, Om, S, Eg, Ch), Blz. PPCh2 40-53; on S: KB 69, 1669, Sl. 144-5, PS 250, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Hz. VP 35-40, Lip. 360-1, 370-1, 378-83, Sd. G 41-6, 5*, 8*-9*; on Eg: EG I 97, II 194-5, and 200, Satz. EPP 53-4, Ed. 70-9, Er. 35, Vc. 13, Lpr. 64-7; on B: AiM 216-7, 221-2, Pr. M I-III 164, 167, 170-3 and VI-VII 11, 16, Stm. 52, Hz. VS 12-7; on C: R BedS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2, 119-22, PH 234-8, 259-83, Hz. AL 49-50, PG 40, HL 132, Grg. 178, Sr. 119-20,

Ow. 98, BISO 46, Bl. G 42, PG 40-52, Hw. A 215, 220-1, Hw. B I 553-66 and II 110, Ss. D 207, Hn. S 30, AMS 97-8, 280, Hd. 256-9, Hn. Y II 39, 42-50, E SC 386, Eld. SC 289, To. D 37, EEN 40, To. DL 211-4 ||| [1,2,3] NrOm: prn. of 1p (hard to make etl. identification with the above points [1], [2], or [3]): Kf {C} nō, nū 'we, us, our', Shn {Lm., Rtl.} nō / nō 'we', nō 'our', Anf {MYTY} nuši 'we', nuna 'our', Cha {C} nu, nōka, Bsk/ZI/Gf {C} nū, Wl, Dc nū- 'we', Bdt {Hw.} nu 'we' (clitic with verbs), nu-mba 'we' (abs.), 'us', nū 'us', nu-ni nom. 'we', Gm {Hp.} nuni nom., nuna accus., {Hp., Hw.} nū (gen. and the short form), Zs {Hw.} nī 'we' excl. (and nu(y) 'we' incl.?), Gnj {Si.} nūna, Kcm {Si.} nuna, Krt {Si.} nunt, Zrg {Si.} 'nuna, Male {Si.} 'nūni 'we', Bnc {Wdk.} nū, nūnā 'we' excl. (abs., subject), {Brz.} nū 'we' excl. abs., nūn 'we' excl. (subject) (and {Wdk.} nūn, {Brz.} nūn 'we' incl., nī {Wdk.} 'our, us' incl.?), Ym {Wdk.} ìnnò & ìnnò 'we', HzMa {SiW} nungà 'we' excl. | Dzd: Mj {All.} inu 'we', in 'us', ín- 'our', Sk {AY} náta 'we', ŋ- 'our' (px. of nouns), 'we' (px. of verbs), Na {AY} nákis 'we', nákná 'us' (-na is a marker of accus.), náknú 'our', ín- 'our' (prenominal) ¶ C SE III, IV 53-9, 477, Mrn. O 33, Lm. Sh 365, Rtl. ShM 196, Hp. 371, Hw. EG, Hw. CO, Hw. NKL 229, Hw. NZL 266-9, MYTY 105, Wdk. BY 108, 126, 182, Brz. PhGG 11-4, All. D 383, AY ShM 3, 7-8, AY NG 6-7, Si. ACh 22, Si. M 11, SiW ABK 17 || Ch: prn. of 1p excl. (hard to identify with the points [1], [2], or [3] - because of phonetic reduction and the complicated morphological and phonological history): [a] absolute (aut.) prn.: CCh: Higi {Kr.}: HgNk ye, HgF ỵẓ-g̣yo, HgG ñiyè, HgK ỵẓ-ŋ̣ye, HgB ỵyè, FIK ỵỵ, FIG ỵỵỵ, FIJ ỵỵin, FIM ỵỵ(ù), FIB ỵỵỵ | BB {Kr.}: Gude (?)in, Gudu in, Bcm, Mln ỵỵ | BM {Kr.}: Wmd na-?ỵà, Mrg, Klb nà-?ỵà, Hld na-ỵàŋ, WMrg ỵẓ?à, Cb (i)ỵàr, Bu yeru (BM *-r- < Ch *-n-) | Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd ngà?an, Boka ka-nɔŋ, Hw kàn | Lmn {Wl.} nàyỵin (abs. prn.), -yỵin 'we' excl. (postverbal subject sx.) ||| ?φ WCh {Kr.}: Bd a-ẓ̌à, Ngz ẓ̌à 'we' excl. ||| ECh: Bdy {AlJ} -níŋ / -nìŋ (suffixed subject marker of 1p excl.), Mgm {JA} nî:, nî:-t̄à (abs.), ní / nī (subject prn., clitic), EDng {Fd.} nì, {Ebob.} nīn(íŋ) 'we' excl. (abs.), {Ebob.} nī 'we' excl. (subject), ?φ Mkl {J} k̄aỵè (abs.), ?ây- / ?áy- (subject pref.) 'we' excl. ||| [b] possessive 'our' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.}: Bcm -aynò, Gude -giyin / -gèn, Mln -guỵnò | Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk -yè, HgF -ŋiỵyo, HgG -ŋiỵè, HgB -ŋgỵè, FIK -ŋỵí, FIG ỵẓỵi, FIJ -ngĩ, FIM -kuḍ(ù) | BM {Kr.}: Hld, Klb -?ya, Wmd -?ỵà, WMrg -?à, Cb -ỵàr, Bu -yeru, Ngx -yerù | Tr sb. {Kr.} G'nd -ya?an / -?ɔn, Gbn ỵẓ?ɔn, Hw -nɔn, Boka n̄ani | Msg G/P {MB} -ỵí, Mlw {Trn.} -ỵí, Mbara {TrnSL} -í | Lmn {Wl.} -yỵin ||| ?φ WCh: Bd -ẓ̌à, Ngz (-ā)-ẓ̌à ||| ECh: Mkl {J} -ỵèy- (m. possessi), -d-èy- (f.

possessi; -d- is a marker of f.), Mgm {JA} (-t)-ínì 𐀓𐀓 [c] 'us' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.} Bcm nε-ynò, Gude -g-lyln / -k-εn(a), Gudu bi-in (nε-, g-, k-, bi- are markers of the object case) | Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk yε, HgF nìg̃yò, HgG ìyè, HgK ʔyε(-ndε), HgB ʔyè / rì, FIK ʔíy, FIG nlyi, FIJ ηʔà-yĩ, FIM gè-ḍa (ηʔà-, gè- are markers of the object case) | Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd -gaʔan-čì (-čì is a marker of accus.), Hw -kə̀n, Boka -ʔani | Msg G {MB} -i, Msg P -yì, Mbara {TrnSL} -í | Lmn {Wl.} -ni(y)- || ?φ WCh: Ngz/Bd {Kr.} žà || ECh: Mkl {J} -àyn(ì)-, Bdy {AIJ} -nìη, ʔinìη, Mgm {JA} -ni 𐀓 Blz. PPCh2 40-53, Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL, MB SMSM 106, TrnSL M 166, Trn. MVM 183, Wl. L 85, J R, JA LM 32-42, AIJ 35-9, Fd. 217, Ebob. MVOB 30-4 𐀓𐀓 HS *ʔaniḥĒn-n'ú' 'we' (aut. prn.) is likely to go back to a cd. *ʔan- (focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns) + *(i)ḥenɿ- 'together' or *(i)ḥ∇n- 'other' + *n'ú' 'we, our'. The element *(i)ḥenɿ- 'together' (if it appears here) is cognate with Eg fP ḥnɿ 'together' (EG III 110-1, Fk. 172) and goes back to N *XAn̄₁∇₁ɿ∇ 'together' (q.v.). In this case *(i)ḥĒnɿ∇-n∇ originally means 'we together'. An alt. conjecture is to suppose here the presence of the element *(i)ḥ∇n- 'other' < N *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' (q.v.). In the latter case the original meaning of the pronouns is 'nous autres' (like Sp *nosotros* and Ctl *nosaltres* 'we' < L accus. pl. *nos alteros* 'us others') || **Gil:** Gil A ḥə̀η, Gil ES niη 'we' excl. 𐀓𐀓 Pnf. I 231, ST 219 || ? **D** *nām / (obl cases) *nam- 'we' incl. > OTm nām, Tm, Ml nām, OKn nām ~ nāvu, obl. nam-, Tu namo, Krx, Mlt nām 'we' incl, Brh nan 'we' (without distinction between incl. and excl.) 𐀓𐀓 Zv. CDM 37-8, 47, An. SG 251-5 || ? **A** {S} *na 'I' > M *na-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s || Ko {S} *nà 'I' > MKo nà, Ko Ph/Chs na, Ko S nā, Ko Kw/Chj nā, 𐀓𐀓 S AJ 253 [#44], S QK #44, Nam 85 ◇ The original meaning of 1p excl. survives in K, C (Dsn, Rn, Sml), Ch, and Om (e.g. Zs), but in D we find the meaning of 1p incl. ◇ Both the D and the A pronouns may be alternatively explained as a shortened form of D *manāmu (> Tl manāmu 'we' incl.) and A *māna- 'we' incl. < N *mi ʔa 'we' (q.v.) + N *nu genitive. D *-āmu / *am- may be explained by analogy with D *tām (obl. *tam-) 'they' and *yām 'we' excl. A *-a in **māna- is probably a marker of case. If this is true, D *nam 'we' incl. and A *na 'I' do not belong here ◇ IS I 7 (D, IE, K, HS), ≈ Gr. I 70 (hesinantly connects **IE** and Gil markers of 1p\d).

1526a. *ñ∇, a marker (pronoun) that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles ([in descendant lgs.] → derived passive verbs) > **IE**: NaIE *-no-, sx. of passive participles and deverbal adjectives: NaIE {Brg.} *p̄-^o-no- ~ *p̄lē-no- 'filled, full' > [1] *p̄-^o-no- > OI pūr'na-h, Ir lán, Gt fulls, Lt p̄ilnas, OCS плѣнъ plēnъ, [2] *p̄lē-no- > L plēnus, OI prāna-h ||| Productive sxs. of descendant languages: OI prs. prtc. bhind-ā'na-h and pf. prtc. bibhid-ā'na-h ← bhid-'bind', Gmc *-ono-/-eno-: Gt waurp-an-s, OHG gi-wortan, ON orðenn 'geworden', Gt bit-an-s 'bitten', as well as OCS неценъ nes-en-ъ 'carried, getragen', забвенъ za-bъv-en-ъ 'forgotten' ¶ Brg. KVG 316-7 || **HS**: S px. of passive-reflexive derived participles and verbs: [1] *na-, px. of passive-reflexive participles and (in the WS lgs.) of the new perfect (← verbal adjectives) of the passive-reflexive N -pattern (Hb niph'al, Ar 'infa'ala, 7th form): BHb נִשְׁבַּר ni-š'bar 'broken', נִשְׁבַּר niš'bar pf. 'was broken', Ak naprusu (verbal adj.) 'divided'; [2] *-n- (following the personal px.) in the finite verb (Ak præt., WS new imperfective): Hb יִשְׁשָׁבֵר yiššā'ber (-šš- < *-nš-) 'is \ will be broken' (new imperfective), וַיִּשְׁשָׁבֵר wayiššā'ber '(and) was broken', Ar ya-n-qaṭilu 'is \ will be killed', Ak ipparis (-pp- < *-np-) 'was divided'. In Ar the pf. form was restructured on analogy of the ipf., hence -n- in the pf.: ?in-kasara 'was broken into pieces', ?inhazama 'was beaten' ¶ Br. G 536-7, Br. AG 38-9, Sd. G § 90 (117-8), Dk. JDPa 293-4 || **K** {K} *na-, px. of past passive participle: OG na-ban-i 'washed, gewaschen', na-guem-i 'beaten'. na-kuet-i 'abgeschnitten', na-šob-i 'born', Sv na-ḵwem 'getragen' (of garments), na-sduḡ 'geflochten' ¶¶ K 145, Shan. G 157, Dt. 227-8 || **A**: Tg: Ewk {Vas.} -na/-nə/-no, result of an action: dukū-na-w 'written by me' (lit. 'my written') ← dukū- 'write' ¶ Vas. 706 || **T** {Cl.} *-(∇)n, e.g. OT [MhK] {Cl.} tev̄rēn 'threads which are twisted to make waistbands' ← tev̄ir- v. 'twist' ¶ Cl. xlv, 443 || ??σ M: WrM {Pp.} -n, sx. "denoting a quality caused by an action" (in Pp.'s words): WrM siḡgen, HIM шингэн 'thin (in consistency)', 'weak' (of liquid) ← WrM siḡge-, HIM шингэ- 'be dissolved' ¶ Pp. GPMJ 101, MED 711-2.

1527. *ñafE 'go' (→ 'go to do sth.') > **HS**: Eg ∇ n̄y v. {EG} 'go/move/sail (somewhere)', {Fk.} 'travel' ¶ EG II 206, Fk. 126 || S: [1] the verb *-nūf- vi. 'move, shake, dangle' > BHb √ nwf G (ip. נִנְיָּ nūāf) 'shake' (intr.), 'dangle', MHb, JA {Trg.} √ nwf G 'move' (intr.), ? Ar √ nwf G (ip. -nūf-) 'expand the wings for darting on one's prey' (of

a falcon), *TD* (pf. $\text{tana}\omega\omega\text{a}\text{f}$) 'walk ahead', as well as possibly CS $*\text{-n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{f}$ - > Ug {A} rf 'verlangen' (absent in OLS!) and Ar $\checkmark\text{n}\omega\text{f}$ (ip. $\text{-n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{f}$ -) 'demander, solliciter', $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{f}$ - 'thirst' [2] S $*\checkmark\text{n}\text{f}\text{y}\text{w}$ > Gz $\text{na}\text{f}\text{a}$ (f. $\text{na}\text{f}\text{-}\bar{\text{i}}$, m. pl. $\text{na}\text{f}\text{-}\bar{\text{u}}$) 'come!', (with loss of $*\text{f}$): BHB $\text{X}\bar{\text{u}}$ $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ (particle of request or encouragement) '≈ please', Ug n , Amr na , Sr b (~ b) $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ id., Ar $\checkmark\text{n}\omega\text{y}$ 'se proposer une ch., avoir l'intension de ...' ¶ L G 382, JB ES 18, KB 620, Grd. UT #1586, A #1804, Hff. 236, Lv. T II 98, Br. 410, BK II 1368-9, 1373, Hv. 808, 810 || ? One of possible sources of the -n- infix of the present tense in Bj ¶ ≈ AD NEPGF 237-40 || K $*\text{n-}$ v. 'want, desire, wish' > G, Lz n- id., Sv US/L/Ln n- id. ($\chi\text{-o-n-i}$ 'er will, er ist dafür') ¶¶ K 145, K² 135-6, FS K 234, FS E 257-8, Dn. s.v. n-^5 || IE: [1] ?? NaIE $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ - 'help, be useful' (× N $*\text{'n}\nabla\text{qa}$ 'assist [help, protect]' [q.v. ffd.]) || [2] One of the possible sources of the $*\text{n-}$ infix in the IE verbal imperfective\present forms ¶ Brg. KVG²² 509-15 || A: Tg $*\text{-n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}/\text{*}\text{-n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-}$ (verbal sx.) 'go to (do sth.)' > Ewk $\text{duku-n}\bar{\text{a}}$ - 'go to write' (from duku- 'write'), Ud $\text{k}\bar{\text{z}}\text{p}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{z}}\text{-n}\bar{\text{z}}\text{-mi}$ 'I go to lie down' (from $\text{k}\bar{\text{z}}\text{p}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{z}}\text{-mi}$ 'ich liege'), $\text{wak}\check{\text{c}}\text{a-na-mi}$ 'I go to hunt', WrMc taci-ne- 'go to learn' (taci- 'learn') ¶ Vas. 777, Shn. 77, 141, Hrl. 251 |||| As indicated above, this N word may be one of the possible sources of the verbal imperfective\present forms in IE ($*\text{-n-}$ present) and Bj ($*\text{-n-}$ present). Another source may be represented by the HS imperfectivizing construction $*\text{?an}$ + verbal stem ¶¶ ≈ AD NEPGF 237-40.

1528. $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{X}\nabla\text{b}\nabla$ (or $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}\text{b}\nabla$?) 'hungry and thirsty', 'not to drink' (→ 'to be sober') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} $\text{na}\text{f}\text{ab-}$ 'be hungry\sober', ' $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}\text{eb}$ n. 'hunger, sobriety' ¶ R WB 279-80 || Eg MKL/NK $\text{n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{b.t}$ n. 'wish, desire' ¶ EG II 294 || IE: NaIE $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{h}}$ - 'sober, hungry and thirsty' (× NaIE $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{g}^{\omega\text{h}}$ - 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{Hgo}$ ~ $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{g}\nabla\text{?o}$ 'hungry, thirsty?') > Gk $\nu\acute{\eta}\phi\omega$, Gk D $\nu\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ 'drink no wine, be sober' ||| Arm $\text{uop}\bar{\text{h}}$ $\text{n}\hat{\text{o}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$ (< $*\text{na}\omega\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$) 'fasting, hungry, famished, starved' ({F}: <d eArm $*\text{na}\omega\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ < $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{-t-}$) ¶ F II 318-9 ($*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{h}}$ -), Slr. 355-6, as well as ≠ WP II 317 and P 754 (both reconstruct IE $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{g}^{\omega\text{h}}$ - without explaining the Arm cns. ω), ≠ EI 175 ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ < $*\text{n}'\bar{\text{e}}\text{g}^{\omega\text{h}}\text{-e/o-}$ 'not drink') ◇ The Eg evidence suggests a voiceless lr. ($*\text{X}$ > Eg $\bar{\text{h}}$), while the voiced lr. f in Bln is probably due to as. ($*\text{h}\text{b}$ > $*\text{f}\text{b}$).

1529. $*\text{'n}\nabla\text{Xib}\nabla$ 'thin, meagre' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'weak') > HS: WS $*\checkmark\text{n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{p}$ ~ $*\text{o}\checkmark\text{n}\bar{\text{X}}\text{b}$ 'be thin \ meagre' > [1] WS $*\checkmark\text{n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{p}$ > Ar $\checkmark\text{n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{f}$ G (pf. $\text{na}\bar{\text{h}}\text{ifa}$ / ip. $\text{-n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{afu}$ ~ pf. $\text{na}\bar{\text{h}}\text{ufa}$ / ip. $\text{-n}\bar{\text{h}}\text{ufu}$) 'be naturally lank \

meagre', *nāhīf-* 'mince et maigre naturellement', Mh/Jb ✓ *nħf*: Mh *nə'hayf*, Jb E/C *nħif* 'lean, thin'; [2] S **o*✓ *nXb* > Sr ✓ *nħb* G 'grow lean, waste' (pf. **نَحِيْفٌ** *nə'hεb*), **نَحِيْفٌ** *nāh'bā* 'lean, meagre' ¶ BK II 1216, Hv. 755, Jo. M 291, Jo. J 186, Br. 422, JPS 336 ¶ as. *✓ *nħb* < **nħp* || C: Bj {R, Rop.} pcv. ✓ *nħw* {Rop.} 'become weak\thin', {R} 'schmachtig, mager, schwach sein' ({R} p. 'anħaw / prs. anan'hīw) ¶ R WBd 182-3, Rop. 223 || Ch: CCh {Stl.} **nuf-* 'soft' > Wmd {ChL} *nòñòfú* 'softness' || Mf {BLB} *néf-néffeʔe* ~ *náf-náffaʔa* 'fin, moulu finement (pour une farine), léger\fin (pour un tissu)'; Ch **→** Ar Ng *nafnaf* 'soggy, moist, soft'; CCh **nuf* partially contaminated with CCh **luf-* 'soft' < (?) N ***Lab** ▽ 'be soft', q.v. ffd.), whence Msm {Vnb.} *louloufouʔ* 'softness' and Mf {BLB} *léf-léffeʔe* ~ *áf-láffaʔa* 'fins (pour les cheveux)' ¶ Stl. IF 131, ChL III 217, BLB 211, 251 || IE: NaIE *(s)*nēb^h-ri-* / *(s)*nōb^h-ri-* 'narrow, thin' > Arm **սուրբ** *nuʔb* 'subtile, fine, slender, thin, slim; narrow' || Dn *snever* 'eng, knapp', NNr Δ *snøver*, *snøv* id., ON *snæfr* 'flink, rasch', *snæfr* 'rasch' ¶ WP II 698, P 973-4, Vr. 527-8, Sl. 440 ¶¶ IE **s-* mobile points to a presence of a palatal element in the pre-IE dialect of N: *(s)*nēb^h-* < **hnējb* ▽ < N ***‘n** ▽ **Xiba** || A: T **jubka* 'thin' (of flat objects) > OT {MKD} *juwqa* 'thin', {Cl.} *juvkā* ~ *juvgā* '≈ slender, insubstantial, thin', MQp XIII {Cl.} *jupkā*, XIV [CC] *joga*, Chg XV *jupɣa* 'thin, slender', OOsM XIV *juɣa* 'thin', Osm {Rdh.} **يوفقة** *yufqa* 'thin (of flat objects), poor', Tk *yufka* id., 'fine, weak', Tkm *jūqa* ~ *juqwa*, Az *juɣa*, Nog, VTt *juqa*, Bsh **йочка** *jōqa*, SY *juqa*, Kr G *juwɣa*, Uz *jupqa*, ET *jupqa* **چۇپقا** *čupqa* **چۇقا** *juqa*, Qmq *juqqa*, Qzq, Qq *žūqa*, Qrg *župqa* **چۇقا** *čūqa*, Alt *žuqa*, Xk, Tv *čuɣa*, Tf *čuɣa*, MChv {Md.} ***śu** *ɣa* > Chv L/MK **çýxε** *śúɣε* 'thin' (of flat objects) ¶ Cl. 874, MKD 235, ET J 241-2, Rdh. 2216, AzRL II 585, Ra. 198, Rs. W 209, Md. 62, 134, 162 (T ***žuyka** ~ ***žubka**), ≠ DQA #2630 (unc.: T < A ***žǔjbe** 'weak, bad', see N ***žo'ʔ'aw** ▽ or ***ž'a'ʔ'ow** ▽ **≈* of poor quality; weak, bad'). The rounded vw. **u* in pT may be due to the infl. of the adjacent **b* ¶¶ Comparison with M **nimgen* 'thin' (of flat objects) and Tg **nem(i)* 'thin' is hardly acceptable (⇔ SDM97). M **nimgen* and Tg **nem(i)* may be cognate to T **jīnç-* 'be narrow, thin' (Cl. 945-6) || D **navur-* 'tender, thin' (× N ***ñäp** ▽ **r** ▽ 'tender, beautiful', 'thin [not dense]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IE **s-* mobile before an initial sibilant may be interpreted as a palatalized variant of pIE **‘-* (see Introduction §§ 2.2.5-6).

1529a. ?₂ ***neč**∇ 'plait, tie together' > **HS**: S +ext. ***nsk** ~ ***nsǵ** (< N ***neč**∇ × N ***śäk**∇, ?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' [q.v.]) > BHb **nsk** (pp. f. G **נְסַח** *nəsū'kā* v. 'entwine, plait, weave', IA **nsk** 'plait, weave', JA **נִסְכָּא** *nis'k-ā* {Sl.} 'thread of a woof', {Lv.} 'Gewebe', Ar **نَسَج** **nsǵ** v. 'weave (cloth), plait', {BK} 'tisser une étoffe, tresser' ¶ KB 664, KBR 703, Js. 917, Lv. III 408, Sl. 752, Fr. IV 272, Hv. 765, BK II 1247 || B (+ext.) ***ns** > Si *sənsəl* v. 'plait (leaves) in order to weave baskets' ¶ La. S 305 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} **ancéw-** (1s *ancép-*) v. 'tie, bind', Bln {R} **inšaw-** v. 'tie, tie together', Q {R} **enšēw-**, Km {CR} **anšäw-**, Xm {R} **iecuw-** v. 'tie' ¶ Hz. VS 105, Plm. VSA 293, R WB 41, AD SF 299 || D {Pf.} ***neč**-/***ney-**, {Km.} ***neč**-/***eč-** > ***ne(:)y-**, [†GS] ***ne's**- v. 'weave, plait' (× N ***rec**∇**ga** 'to tie, to plait', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., but indispensable to explain the S cns. ***s** (*reg.* from N ***c**).

1530. ???₂ ***N'a'č**∇ 'falcon' > **HS**: CS ***na|içaç-** > BHb **נַחַשׁ** *neç*, (BbV) **נַחַשׁ** *neç*, SmHb **נֶאֱשׁ** 'falcon', JA (BbV) [TrgO] **נַחַשׁ** *naç'čā* id., JA [TrgJ] **נַחַשׁ** *naç'čā* ~ **נַחַשׁ** *naç'čā* (*[*niçə'čā*]) id. (lit. 'son of a falcon'), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **נַחַשׁ** *nā'čā* or **נַחַשׁ** *nē'čā* 'Habicht' or 'Sperber', JEA {Sl.} **נַחַשׁ** *naç'čā* (unk. voc.) 'falcon', Sr **نَسْر** *neš'šā* {Br.} 'hawk (Accipiter)', SmA **נַחַשׁ**, **נַחַשׁ**, **נַחַשׁ** '∈ bird', Ug **נַחַשׁ** {Grd.} 'falcon', {OAS} '∈ bird (of prey?)' (possibly 'hawk, falcon'), ?σ Ar **نَصَة** *naṣṣ-at-* 'female sparrow'; OHb fem. ***neç'čā** (> ***niç'čā**) 'female falcon' (Job 39.13) was transcribed in LXX as *νεσσα* and translated by Aquila as *ἰέραξ* and by Hieronymus (Vulgata) as *accipiter*, while the Tiberian Masoretes read (and vocalized) the word as **נַחַשׁ** *nō'čā*, interpreting it as a wrong spelling for **נַחַשׁ** *nōčā'tah* 'its (= stork's) feather' (**נַחַשׁ** in their "Masora parva" comment) within the context **חַשׁוֹן** *hāsī'dā w nōčh* which they understood as 'stork and its feather', while acc. to Aquila and the Vulgata it meant 'stork and (female) falcon'. This Masoretic misinterpretation is responsible for the strange vocalization (with unexpected *ō* and lack of gemination of *ç*). KB 676 preserves the traditional Masoretic vocalization as **נַחַשׁ** *nō'čā*, but accepts (after G. Hölscher) the semantic interpretation of **נַחַשׁ** *nōčh* as 'female falcon'. The LXX translators were probably not sure about this difficult place and preferred to transcribe it (instead of translating) as *ασιδα καὶ νεσσα*. The vw. of the first syll. of the word is not clear: both its Tiberian and Babylonian vocalization of BHb point to pS ***i** (***niçaç-**), while SmHb and Ar suggest pS ***a** (***naçaç-**) ¶ KB 674, 676, KBR 714-5, Hölscher H 99, Yv. II 779, Grd. UT

#1682, OAS 333, Lv. T II 123, 126, Spr. BA I 181 (Lev. 11.16), 316 (Deut. 14.15), Sl. 771, Br. 442, Tal 545, BK II 1267, Hv. 772 || amb **A**: ? M *načīn ~ *lačīn 'falcon' (unless ← 'Latin or European falcon' ← a European word for 'Latin') > MM [HI] lačīn 'falcon', WrM nacīn, HIM нач, Kl начн načən id., Brt нашан 'gyrfalcon, falcon' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 556, KRS 370, KW 272, Chr. 325 || ? NaT *lāçīn 'falcon' (← ?) > OT, Chg, XwT, MU, MQp lačīn 'falcon', Qzq lašīn, Sg/Shor {Rl.} lačīn, Xk lāčīn, Az, Qmq, Tv, Shor lačīn, Tkm lāčīn, VTt laš'bn, Bsh lač'bn ~ ьласьн, Nog, Qzq, Qq lašīn ~ lāšīn, Alt lačīn, ET lačīn id., Osm {Rh.} lačīn 'female peregrine falcon', Tk laçīn (i because of a folk-etl. connection with European lgs.) ¶ The irreg. initial *l- (for the expected *j-) may be explained either by borrowing (from which source?) or by internal phonological processes (not identified so far). The unexpected preservation of the final *-īn (which is not typical in T) suggests a borrowing either from some unknown lge. of the Altaic family or from a non-Altaic lge. ¶ Cl. 763, Rs. W 313, TL 170, 651, Rh. 1617 || ?? Ko {Rm.} načəṗn 'a special kind of hunting falcon' ¶ Rm. SKE 135 ¶¶ KW 272, Rm. SKE l.c. ◇ This word in M, T, and Ko may be a loan from the European word for 'Latin' ('falcon' ← "Latin falcon") or represent merger of the A word with the loanword. In the former case the N etymology is to be rejected.

1531. *ṅAd∇ '(the whole) clan' > **HS**: S *^o✓ndw|y > Ar ✓ndw G 'convoquer à une réunion', {Hv.} 'assist at a meeting', {BK} ?andiyat-(pl.) 'réunion, assemblée' ¶ BK II 1229-30, Hv. 760 || **K**: GZ *nad- 'collective assistance in agriculture' > OG, G nad-, Mg nod-, Lz node(r)-id. ¶ K 145, K² 136 || **D** *nāṭ-, {GS} *nāḍ- 'village' > Tm nāṭu 'country, district', Kn nāṭu 'cultivated land; the country' (↔ 'city'), Ml nāṭu id., 'kingdom, district', Kt nāṭ 'country, settled area', Td nōṭ 'sacred place', Tu nāḍu, nāḍḅ 'district, village', Tl nāḍu 'a country', Gnd nār ɘ nār, Knd nārū, Png nāz / nās (obl. nāṭ-), Mnd nāy (obl. nāṭ-, Kui nāṣu, Ku najyū ɘ nāyu 'village'; D → Mrt nāṭ 'place' ¶¶ D #3638, GS 161 [#395].

1532. (₂?) *ṅid∇ '≈ eye; to look' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to look for, to seek?') > **A**: M *nidūn 'eye' > MM [LM, MA, IM, IsV, HI, S] nidūn, WrM ničūn, HIM нүд(эН), Ord {Ms.} nūdū, Brt нюдэ(н), Kl нүдн, {Rm.} nūdṅ, MMgl {Iw.} nidūn, Mgl {Rm.} nūdūn, Dg {T} nidū, Dx {T} nudun, Ba {T} nedon, Mnr H/M {T} nudu, Mnr H {SM} nud_u id.; *nidüle- v. 'look' > WrM ničüle-, HIM нүдлэ- id., Dg {T} nidlē- id., 'examine', Kl нүдл-

× 'to notice', {Rm.} nüd]- 'mit den Augen sehen', Brt нюдэл- v. 'recover one's sight, get the habit (of visiting, going somewhere)' ¶ Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 249-51, 442, Lg. VMI 57, H 116, Ms. H 78, MED 578, Chr. 342-3, KRS 388-9, KW 282, Rm. M 35, SM 287-9, Iw. 120, T 353, T DgJ 157-8, T DnJ 131, T BJ 144 || D: SD *niṭṭ-, nēṭ- > Kn niṭṭiṣu- v. 'look at', as well as (× N *TewdA 'look for, find') Tm nēṭu 'seek, look out for', Ml nēṭuka 'obtain, get', Kdg nāṭ- v. 'earn' ¶ D #3766 || ?σ K *nd- v. 'wish' > OG nd-, G nd- 'wish' (OG, G msd. nd-oma, 3s prs. unda), Sv χwi-ndwn-e 1s 'I wish'; × K *n- 'wish' (OG, G, Lz, Sv n-) ¶ The adduction of K is legitimate unless *nd- is derived from *n- ¶¶ Abul. 326, Fn. KD #5 (*nd-), K 145 (*n-), FS E 257-8 (*n-) ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #5 (equates the D √ [inaccurately reconstructed as *nāṭ-/nēṭ-] with K *naṭ-/neṭ- [without specifying its reflexes; he obviously means G naṭvr-/naṭr- 'wünschen, ersehnen, begehren', Chx. 927-8]).

1533. *ñiṭṭuḍa or *ñiṭṭuḍa 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *nedh- v. 'tie' > OI *nadh-, pp. nad'dha- (< *nadh-ta-) 'tied', 'nahyati 'binds' || L nōdus 'a knot' ({KM, Vr.}: < *noz-do- < *nodh-do-; WH rejects this hyp.) || OIr naidm 'fait d'attacher \ de lier, contrat', nasc- (< *n_od-sk̄-) v. 'tie, attach', Br naska- 'attacher (les bestiaux par les cornes)' || ON nista 'to attach' (with the sx. *-st-), OHG nestilo, nestila 'lace, band', ?φ AS nostle 'fillet, band' ¶ WH II 172-3, EM 772-3, M K II 147-8, M E II 31-2, Vn. N 1-4, Vr. 408, 410, Kb. 723, OsS 647, Ho. 238, ≈ P 758-9, ≈ WP II 825, ≠ EI 336 (L nōdus < IE *ned- 'knot' with unj. *d) || U: FU (or FP?) *ñiṭṭa|ä- (or ñiṭṭa|ä-) 'bind together' > F nito- v. 'stitch, sew, bind', Es niṭṭu- 'connect, bind together' | pLp {Lr.} *ñiṭṭē- vt. 'fasten, join\stitch together' > Lp: L {LLO} njatēt id., N {N} njâdḍe- / -ḍ- 'tack\lash on\together, join together by tacking\sawing (skin traps, etc.), fasten (scythe) on the handle', Kld ñâḍte- 'binden (mit einer Wurzelfaser), nähen' | Mk недя- ñeḍa- vi. string (as beads)', Er недя- ñeḍa- id., 'hang on\up, haft', {Ps. [but not mentioned in ERV]} ñeṭa-, ñäṭa- 'anfügen, aufreihen, umbinden, mit Stricken befestigen' || Ps. FI 23 adduces here Hg nyaláb 'bundle', but MF 476 and UEW 713 reject it and (rather unconvincingly) connect nyaláb with Hg nyolc 'eight' ¶ The hyp. of the Iir origin of the FU √ is hardly acceptable because it fails to account for the palatalized *ñ and for the vw. *i in FU ¶ ≈ UEW 713 (FU ← pre-Iir *n_od- or *nedh-), Set. Fud 382, SK 386, Lr. #751, Lgc. #4300, TI 292, ERV 408, Ker. II 95, PI 178, Ps. FI 23 || HS: Ch: WCh: Zar {ChL} nṭṭu, Zar K {Sh.} nṭṭ v. 'tie' || CCh: Mdr {Mg.} ṇwoḍa / ṇuḍa,

{Mch.} ηud, {ChL} ηudanaηuda, Glv {Rp.} ηγud-, Gv {ChL} ηγùδαενúfà, Dgh {Frk.} ηγwđà id. ¶ ChC, ChL || Eg fMd ηwđ.t 'baby's napkin' ¶ EG II 225, DW 451-2 ◇ Ps. FI 23 (FU ← Ary), IS II 88 (*'r' i da) (IE, FU) ◇ The Ch and Eg data suggest the presence of N *w or *u. The initial η- and the glottalized *đ in Ch may point to a N lr., most probably *ʔ (sc. N *n̄i_lʔU_lda ~ *n̄i_lʔU_lda). In IE the N lr. *ʔ is regularly lost without traces (such as vowel lengthening). The pN rec. *n̄i_lʔU_lda is justified if the FU palatal *n̄- goes back to N *n̄- with ass. palatalization (caused by *i). The alt. pN rec. *n̄i_lʔU_lda presupposes pre-IE depalatalization *n̄- > *n- (neutralization of the palatality feature before the palatal vw. *i?).

1534. ₂ *n̄aHgo (or *n̄ag∇ʔo) 'hungry, thirsty' > HS: Eg fMK ηz̄z̄ v. 'parch with thirst', n. 'thirst' ¶ EG II 377, Fk. 144 ¶¶ Tk. I 56 || S (+ext.) *o✓ngr > Ar ✓nğr 'être pris d'un violent accès de soif', nağar- 'accès de soif violent' ¶ BK II 1202-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 56 || IE: NaIE *nāg^wh- 'sober; hungry and thirsty' (× IE *nāb^h- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N *n̄aX_l∇_lb∇ 'hungry and thirsty', q.v.) > Gk νήφω, Gk D νάφω 'drink no wine, be sober' ||| OHG nuohturn ~ nuohturn 'sober, with an empty stomach', NHG nüchtern, MDt nuchterne, Dt nuchter id. ¶ WP II 317, P 754, Kb. 738, OsS 661, KM 515-6 (qu.: OHG nuohturn ← L nocturnus 'by night, nightly'), F II 318-9 (rejects the Gmc cognate and reconstructs IE *nāb^h-), Vr. N 47, ≠ EI 175 (νέφω < *n'ēg^wh-e/o- 'not drink') ◇ The Eg cognate is valid unless its primary meaning is 'ersticken' (cp. EG: ηz̄z̄ 'ersticken, verdursten; Dursten, Durst').

1535. *nig_lE_lXä 'to butt, to push, to pierce' > HS: CS *✓ngħ, *ngah(-) v. 'butt' > JA [Trg.] ✓ngħ G (pf. nā'gaħ) id., JEA ✓ngħ G 'gore', BHb ηηη ✓ngħ (ip. -ggah) 'gore' (of oxen), ? Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ✓nğħ Sh ʔanğāha {Fr.} 'superavit et vicit', {Hv.} 'overcome' ¶ KB 630, KBR 667, Fr. IV 241, Hv. 750, Js. 873, Sl. 729 || IE: NaIE {IS} *neǵ^h- v. 'pierce' > OIr nēs(ς) 'coup, blessure' (< *niǵ^h-s) (× N *n̄U_l∇ 'to strike, to peck, to hit'?) ||| Sl *nъz-/niz-, *nъz-ti 'penetrate, pierce' > OCS NHCTH nistī (prs. Nъzъ nъzъ) 'penetrate', OR NHZTH nizti (prs. Nъzъ nъzъ) id., 'pierce', OCS BъNHCTH vъ-nistī (prs. BъNъzъ vъ-nъzъ) 'I stick\thrust into'; caus. *noziti > R Δ назитъ ђ назитъ 'be a draught, penetrate' (of wind), RChS BъNOZHTEH vъ-noziti, R во-нзитъ v. 'stick\thrust into'; Sl *noz- (acc. to IS, an

apophonic **o*-grade based on the analogy of other verbal roots, like **b̥rati* / **borb*): R *за-ноза* 'a splinter in one's hand, foot, etc.'). Uk *за'ніз* (gen. *за'нозү*) 'a stick put through the ox-yoke'; Sl **nožb* (< pre-Sl **noz-jō-s*) 'knife' > OCS, OR *ножь* *ножь*, Blg *нож*, SCr *но̄ž* (gen. *но̄жа*), Slv *nož* (gen. *но̄жа*), R *нож* (gen. *но'жа*), Uk *ніж*, P *но́ж* (gen. *но́жа*), Cz *nož* id. ¶ P 760 (**neǵ^h-*), ≈ Vn. N 11 (Ir *nes(s)*) < IE **nek-*, Vs. I 348-9, II 78, and III 80, Glh. 443, SJSS VI 307, ESSJ XXVI 19, 68-9, ≈ EI 537 (OCS *ножь* and Mir *nes(s)*) < IE ? **h₁neǵ^h-es* 'spear' < IE **h₁neǵ^h-* 'stab') ¶ The N lr. must have coalesced with **ǵ^h* without leaving traces (N **-ǵ_Lǵ_LX-* > **-ǵH-* > IE **-ǵ^h-*) || U: FU **nikkā* vt. 'stick (in), pierce' > pLp {Lr.} **nākkēt(t)ē* vt. 'stick (in), push' > Lp: S {Hs.} *nākkiedidh* 'schieben, einherschieben, stoßen', N {N} *nākketi-* v. 'stick, put', Kld {TI} *nā:k:χe-* 'hinein-stecken\-schieben' || ObU {Hl.} **nēk-* > pVg **nāk-* > Vg MK *nāk-* in *al-nāki-* 'fortschieben', *nāknāk-* 'aufrütteln, erwecken'; pOs *nēk-* 'stoßen' > Os: Ty/Y *nēk-*, Kz *nākī-* '(leicht) stoßen (z. B. beim Aufwecken)', d.: Kz *nākāmā-* 'anstoßen', Ty *nēkāmā-*, VK *nēkāmā-* '(an)stoßen' ¶ Coll. 101, Coll. CG 79, UEW 304-5, Lr. #701, Lgc. #4058, Hs. 967, TI 272, ≈ Ht. #424 (pObU **nāk-/nēk-*; + unc. Vg T *nāk-* 'treten'), WVD VII 210, MK 350 (Vg *nāk-* & *nāk-* 'treten') ◇ IS II 96-7 [#334] (**NEǵ_L 'вонзати'*: HS, IE). IS adduces here S **✓ngp*, **✓ngš*, and B **✓ngs*, which is less convincing because of the unexplained third cns. I prefer to equate S **✓ngš* and B *✓ngs* with IE **neǵ_Lǵ_Ls-* (> OI *'nikṣati* 'pierces', etc.) and to reconstruct N **nīgES∇* 'butt, pierce' as a separate N etymon. The pN rec. **nīg_LE_LXä* enables us to equate S and IE with FU **nikkā* v. 'stick, pierce' (where the long cns. **-kk-* is likely to go back to **-ǵχ-* [or **-ǵ^h-?*]). The connection between N **nīgES∇* and N **nīg_LE_LXä* (if any) may belong to the realm of pre-N (or N?) derivation.

1536. **nīgES∇* (= **nīgEś∇*?) 'butt, pierce' > HS: S **✓ngš* > JA [Trg.] *✓ngš G* (3m ip. *نيزه* *nīze* v. 'attack, gore'; ?? S **✓nkš* (as. **-kš-* < **-ǵš-*) > SmA *✓nkš G* 'gore', Ar *✓nks* (ip. *-nkus-*) {BK} 'renverser', {Hv.} 'reverse, invert, throw upside down' ¶ KB 633, Lv. II 92, Js. 876, Tal 528, BK II 1341, Hv. 798 || B **✓ngs* > Ah *anǵās*, Sll *anǵās* v. 'butt so.', Kb *✓ngs: nājǵās* 'bousculer' ¶ Fc. 1339, Dl. 556 || IE: NaIE **neǵ_Lǵ_Ls-* v. 'pierce' > OI *'nikṣati* id., Av *naēza* 'point (of a needle)', CINPrs {Sg., Vl.} *نيزه* *nēza*, NPrs {BM} *نيزه* *neize* 'short spear, demi-lance, javelin, dart, pike', {Vl.} 'lancea, hasta' ¶ M K II 158-9, M E

II 41, VI. II 1386-7, Sg. 1442, BM 576 || D *nīk- ({{ǰGS}} *-g-?) > Tm nīcuni v. 'go through, pierce', Tl īǰu 'enter, penetrate', ? Klm īkeŋ 'pierce, thrust in (knife)' ǰǰ ≠ D #3686 || ? U: FU: Vg MK {Kn.} nākās- 'stossen, rasseln (?)' (unless derived from Vg MK nāk-, cp. əl-nāki- 'push') ǰ WVD VII 210 ◇ If Vg MK nākās- belongs here, N *S may be identified as *ś ◇ The D root lost its sibilant (probably *-igES- > **-igS- > **-ikS- > D *-i:k-) ◇ IS II 96-7 [#334] (*NEgΛ 'вонзатъ': HS, IE).

1537. *nūh₁ǰæ¹ - *nūwǰæ¹ 'now' > IE *nuh₁ 'now' > Ht {Ts., CHD} nu 'now, and, but', {CHD} nūwǰa- 'still, yet' || NaIE *nū 'now' > OI 'nu, 'nū, Av nū 'now' || Gk νῦ 'now' (as well as νυν, νῦν id. < *nu-m?) || L num 'nun noch, nun jetzt', → 'whether' (interr. pc.), nudius (< *nu- + *dyeus 'day'): nudius tertius 'the day before yesterday' (lit.: 'it is now the third day'), nudius quartus 'it is now the fourth day', etc. || Gt nu, ON nú, OSx nū, OHG, AS nū ~ nu, NGr Δ nu, NHG nun 'now', NE now || Lt nū 'now, today', Ltv nu ~ nū 'now', Pru -nu in tei-nu 'now' || Sl *nъ 'but' > OCS нъ нъ, Blg нь, но, R но, SCr Δ no, Slv no || pTc {Ad.} *nū > Tc: A nu {Wn.} 'now' → 'just, but', B {Ad.} no 'however, but' ǰǰ Ts. E II 339-43, CHD L-N 460-70, P 770, EI 397 (*nu), M K II 175, M E II 52-3, WH II 184-6, F II 325, Fs. 380, Vr. 412, Ho. 239, Ho. S 56, Kb. 737, OsS 660, KM 516, Frn. 509-10, En. 264, Vs. III 77, ESISJ-SGZ II 508-10, ESSJ XXVI 50-1, Wn. 320, Ad. 347 (Tc B no 'however, but'), Ad. H 19, 26, 34 (Tc nu ǰ no 'now, therefore') || A: Tg *nē 'now, immediately' > Ul nз, Nn nэ, Ork n+ ~ nэ 'immediately', Ud nз id., 'without fail (непрерывно)', WrMc ne 'now' ǰ STM I 614, Krm. 266 || U: FU (att. in FP only) *n|ñü:ǰ 'now' (partially ×FU *n|ñük∇ < N *ñük∇ - *ñukE 'now') > F nyt, F Δ ny, nyу 'now, at the present time', Es nūǰd, Δ nūǰ 'now', Lv ni id. || Er híy, Mk hí id. || Prm *hí ~ *ni 'already' > Vt ni, ini, Z Ud hí ~ ni id. ǰ SK 406-7, ≈ UEW 707, IG 192 || N *nūh₁ǰæ¹ nu (N *nūh₁ǰæ¹ + N genitive pc. *nu) '(of) the present time' > IE *nuh₁-n∇ > NaIE {P} *nū-no- 'jetzig' > OI nū'nam 'now', MPrs nūn, NPrs كُنُونْ ak-nūn, كُونْ ko-nūn id. || BSl: [1] Lt {Herm.} nūn ~ nun 'now', [2] a fossilized case form of the adj.: Lt nūnaĩ 'today, now' || Sl *n+ñě 'at the present time' > OCS, OR нынѣ nñě, R 'ныне, Blg нине, OP, OCz nynie, C, Slk nyní, P ninie, var. *nъñě > OR нынѣ nñě, R Δ none || ? L nunc 'now' (< *nun-ke

or *num-ke) ¶ P 770, M K II 176-7, VI. I 117 and II 902, WH II 187-8, Frn. l.c., Herm. LS 365, Vs. III 77, 82, 91, ESISJ-SGZ II 510-2, ESSJ XXVI 57-63 || **HS:** C: Ag *n̄n 'now' > Bln/Q {R} n̄n, Xm n̄n 'now' (jetzt) ¶ R WB 284 || **U:** Z n̄n, Z Δ nin 'already' ¶ LG 192 ¶ The delabialization of *ü in Z (or already in pFU?) needs investigating ◇ IS II 97 reconstructs here *Nüq̄ 'now' (> IE, U). The N cns. *-q- was reconstructed by IS on the alleged ev. of U *Nük̄ 'now' > F r̄yky- adj. 'present' (of time), supposing that U *-k- is a reg. reflex of N *-q-, which is at variance with the numerous cases where N *-q- yields U zero (e.g., N *p̄oqi 'to cover' > U *p̄oȳ 'be wrapped', N *taq̄ozi 'to plait, to wattle' > U *tos̄ 'basket, vessel', N *š̄äl̄,̄,̄q̄U 'to cleave, to cut asunder' > U *š̄äl̄ü- 'cut', N *son̄ 'q̄' 'ü' 'sinew, tendon; root' > U *s̄ōne 'vein, sinew' a. o.) as against two cases of U *k < N *q in U cns. clusters (N *p̄'ož̄ 'q̄ 'q̄ 'thigh, haunch' > U *p̄očk̄a 'Schenkel' [see s.v. N *p̄'oq̄Ež̄ ~ *p̄'ož̄ 'q̄ 'q̄] and N *m̄ûq̄,̄E,̄í 'shoulder' > U *m̄rk̄ id.). N *-q- is ruled out by the Ht cognates n̄u and n̄uwa, because the reg. Ht reflex of N *-q- is -h-. F r̄yky- may be equated with Ht n̄ukku 'now' and Ag *n̄kk- 'today' and hence go back to N *n̄ük̄ ~ *n̄uk̄E (q.v.). On the possible connection (or identity) of the N etymon in question with N *n̄æw̄,̄,̄ 'new' see s.v. N *n̄æw̄,̄,̄ ◇ ≈ Gr. II #280 (*nu 'now') (IE, Ai, Gil + qu. EA + err. U + err. A, J, which belong to N *n̄æw̄,̄,̄).

1538. *n̄'i'h̄w̄ (or *n̄'i'h̄w̄, *n̄|n̄oh̄īw̄?) 'to lead, to direct (oneself) towards' (→ 'carry [somewhere]') > **HS:** S *√n̄h̄w̄ 'lead, guide' > BHb √n̄h̄y|w̄ G (pf. n̄h̄j̄ n̄ā'h̄ā, inv. n̄h̄j̄ n̄ā'h̄ē) 'lead, guide', Ar √n̄h̄w̄ G (pf. نَحَا n̄ā'h̄ā, ip. -n̄h̄u- ~ -n̄h̄a-) 'direct oneself towards', n̄āh̄w̄- n. 'side, tract' ¶ KB 647, GB 497, BDB 634-5 [#5148], Fr IV 252-3, Hv. 756 || **IE** *nejh̄x- '≈ lead, direct towards' (× N *n̄ań̄ 'take so. with oneself, lead') > NaIE *nejh̄- > OI 'n̄ayati '(he) leads', pp. n̄ī'ta- 'led (ductus)', Av n̄aye'ti 'brings, leads', OPrs a-n̄aya 'he led\brought', Phl n̄ītan 'führen, treiben' || Ht {CHD} n̄ai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (and also vi., vt. 'turn?'), {Ts.} 'lenken, leiten, richten, schicken, wenden', (× N *n̄æñ̄E 'go [away]') n̄anna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren', vt. 'treiben, fahren' ¶¶ WP I 321, P 760, EI 346, Dv. #452, M K II 137, M E II 17-9, Ts. E II 253-7, 271-3, CHD LN 347-50, 357-8, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (believed that n̄anna- is a rdp. of n̄ai- 'lead') || **A:** Tg *n̄eb- 'carry away' (× N *n̄ib|p̄ 'to bend down, to

sink' [q.v.]) > Ewk η3w- 'carry away', Ud {Krm.} η3ugi- 'bring\carry back, carry away' ¶ STM I 667, Krm. 268 || ?φ U: FU: pPrm {LG} *nu- 'carry, lead' > Z нц- nu- 'lead', Vt нц- nu- (inf. нцынн) 'carry, lead, lead away' ¶ LG 196, ≈ It. #105, ≠ UEW 710; both It. and UEW adduce (hesitantly) F nou̯ta- 'follow the traces' and reconstruct FU *o; for F nou̯ta- see N *ńoŋuda 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue' ◇ If the Tg word belongs here, the pN rec. will be *ŋ'í'ħw∇. The prehistory of Tg *-e- still needs investigating. N *ŋ- regularly yields S *n- (rather than *ɣ-) in the presence of a lr. Something similar is likely to have happened in IE, but the positional reflexes of N *ŋ- have not yet been investigated. If the Prm word belongs here, the N rec. may be *ñ|ŋoħi w∇, but in this case the absence of any trace of a lr. before *j̥ in IE and the vw. *e in Tg are puzzling.

1538a. *ñAk∇ 'woman' > IE *neK- > Ht nega- ~ neka- 'sister' ¶ Ts. W 56 || HS: EC *nā'k' - > Sml nāg 'woman, wife', ? Dl: Gwd {Bl.} nahāyye, Gwd/Grs {AMS} nahaye, Hr/DbS {AMS} nah̄te (pl. nah̄ad̄de) 'wife' ¶ The Dl words belong here either if {AMS} ħ (for the expected h) is due to inaccurate recording or if ħ of the Dl lgs. may go back to EC *-k- under still unknown conditions ¶ ZMO 301, Bl. 306, AMS 238 || D *nāk- 'female' > Tm nāku 'female calf\fish\snail, heifer, female fish; femininity', Ml ā-nāku 'heifer', Kt nā'g, Td nō'x 'female buffalo between two and three years old', Tu nāku 'female calf', Tl ela-nāga 'damsel' (ela < D *i]a 'young'), Prj nēva 'female pig' ¶¶ D 3634 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [#49] (equated D with EC and IE + err. Tg *nekūn 'younger relative' [see N *ñeK̄U 'relative[s] of a younger generation']).

1539. *ñEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover' > IE: NaIE *nog^w- (-d̄ > *nog^wod_lh_o-, *nog^w-no-) 'naked' > ON nōkkva 'to denude, to bare' ||| *nōg^w-os- > BSl: Lt núogas, Ltv Δ nōgs [núōgs] 'naked' || SI *nāgъ / *nagъ-jъ id. > ChS НАГЪ nagъ, SCr, Slv nāg, Cz, Slk nahý, P nagi, R на'гой (pradj. наг), Uk нагий | -d̄ > *nog^w-od^(h)o- (~ *nog^w-to-) > L nūdus 'naked' ||| Gt naqap-s, ORu {Krs.} nAkďa, ON nōkkuiđr (< Gmc *nakwiθaz), OHG na(c)kot, NHG nackt, MDt naect, nake(n)t, Dt naakt, AS nacod id., NE naked | d. *nog^w-to- id. > OIr nocht, W noeth, Cm noeth, noyth, nôz, MBr noaz, Br noazh | d. *nog^w-no- 'naked' > OI nag'na-, Av maχna- id. ||| Gk mt. γυμνός id., 'bare', [Hs.] λυμνός * γυμνός id., Gk Cp [Hs.] d. ἀπολύγματος * ἀπογύμνωσις 'stripping bare' ||| ON nakinn, NNr, Sw naken, Dn

nøgen, OFrs naken, Dt nakend 'naked' || Ht nekumant- (nikumant-) 'naked' (of humans, gods), 'uncovered' (of horses) ¶¶ WP II 339-40, P 769-70, EI 45-6 (*ne/og^hno-s 'bare, naked'), Vs. 370, Vr. 404, 414, Vr. N 461, Krs. R #54, Mkj. 135, Kb. 714, OsS 638, KM 501, Ho. 229, Frn. 511-2, Glh. 432, ESSJ XXII 70-3, WH II 185, Vn. N 19, Ern. 446, M K II 126-7, M E II 5-6, F I 332-3, Ch. 241-2, Ts. E II 307-9, CHD L-N 433-4 || HS: S *^o✓nk? ~ *^o✓nky G 'uncover' > Ar [Qam.] ✓nk? G {Hv.} 'take off the scab of (a wound)', {Fr.} 'eschara nudavit (ulcus) antequam sanatum esset', {BK} 'enlever la croûte de la plaie avant qu'elle soit guérie' (with the accus. denoting the wound); Ar ✓nky (pf. نَكِيَ nakā, ip. -nkiy-) {Fr.} 'escharam detraxis (ulceri)', {BK} 'ôter la croûte qui recouvre la plaie' ¶ Fr. IV 330, 336, BK II 1336, 1345, BKIG IV 617, Hv. 796 || C: Ag *?3nk- vt. 'open' > Bln {R} ernk-, i nk-, Q {R} enš-, Xm {R} iek-, ek- ¶ R WB 37 || A *n^eḱe- > M *neve- vi. 'open' > MM [S] {H} neke- [nege-], WrM nege-, HIM, Brt нээ- nē-, Kl hee- nē-, {Rm.} nē-, Ord, Ba {T} nē-, Dx {T} nie-, Mnr H {T} nē- id., {SM} nīē- 'ouvrir, déboucher' ¶ H 114, MED 568, KRS 374, KW 275-6, Chr. 341, SM 272, T 349, T DJ 130, T BJ 144 || Tg ≈ *nigⁱ- vt. 'open' > Ud X {STM} ḡīgi-, Nn níx3li-, Orc, Ul, Ork ní-, Ewk, Neg nī-, WrMc ney- vt. 'open' ¶ STM I 588.

1540. *nuk^u∇ (= *nuk^u?) (or *nuk_L∇?∇?) 'darkness, night' > HS: S *-nīk- 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (← *'spend the night with') (× N *'nⁱüḱ^u' 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') > Ak prm. -nīk [inf. niāku(m) > nāku] {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar ✓nyk G (ip. -nīk-) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nēk, 3m sbjn. yink), Hrs {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. n3yōk, 3m sbjn. y3'nek) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. n3yūk, sbjn. y3nyēk ~ y3nīk) id., 'copulate with' ¶ Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100, Jo. M 309, MiK I #2.53 || IE: Ht {CHD, Ts.} neku- 'es wird Abend', 'become evening', {Ts.} neku- 'evening', nekut 'evening, night', {CHD} nekuz(a) 'evening, nightfall; dawn, twilight', {CHD, Ts.} nana(n)kuss- 'be(come) dark\obscure\gloomy' || NaIE *nok_Lṽt- / *nuk_Lṽt- 'night' > OI nom. nak, accus. 'nakt-am, Wx naγd id., Av d. upa-naxtar 'an die Nacht angrenzend' || Gk nom. νύξ, gen. νυκτ-ός 'night' || L nom. nox (gen. noct-is, gen. pl. noct-ium) id. || OIr in-nocht, MBr he-noez, Br he-nozh, MW he-noeth 'tonight' (lit.

'this night'), MW *peu-noeth* 'every night', W *beunoeth* 'nightly'; Brrt {RE} **noxts*, {P} **noKt-stu-* 'night' > OW, MW, W, OCrm, OBr, MBr *nos*, Br *noz*, Crn *nōs* id. || Gt nom. *naht-s* (gen. *naht-s*), ON *nátt*, *nótt*, NNr *natt*, *nott*, Dn *nat*, Sw *natt*, OFrs, Dt *nacht*, OSx, OHG *naht*, NHG *Nacht*, AS *niht* ~ *neaht* 'night', NE *night* || pAl {O} **nakti-* > Al *natē* id. || Lt *nakt-īs* (gen. pl. *naktū*), Ltv *nakts*, Pru accus. *nakti-n* 'night' || Sl **nòkǫb* id. > OCS **нощь** *noštʹ*, Blg **ношт**, McdS **ноќ** *noç*, SCr *nōć*, Slv *nōč*, Cz, Slk, P **noc**, R **ночь**, Uk **ніч** || Tc A *nokte* 'at night', *noktim* 'last night', B *nekciye* 'last night, at night' | ? NaIE **neuk-* > Lt *niūksõti* 'appear\be gloomy, be murky', ? *niaukūs* 'cloudy, dark, dim' || NaIE **nuḡhḡh-* or **nuḡhḡh-* 'night' > Gk [Hs.] *νύχᾱ* · *νύκτωρ* 'by night', Gk d. *νύχλος*, *νύχειος*, *νούχαϊος* 'nightly'; the quality of the cns. *χ* (< **ḡhḡh* or **kḡh*?) is still puzzling ¶ Ts. E II 273-4, 301-9, CHD L-N 394-5, 432-7, WP II 337-8, P 762-3, EI 394 (**nekʷt-* ~ **nokʷt-*), M K II 121-2, M E II 2-3, F II 327-8, WH II 181-3, LP § 52, Thr. § 221, RE 115, Flr. 271, Ern. 558, Fs. 368-9, Vr. 405, Vr. N 462, Ho. 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 713, OsS 636, KM 500, O 282-3, Frn. 481-2, 499, 505, En. 213, ESSJ XXV 175-7, Glh. 439-40, Vs. III 86-7, Ped. TIE 222, Wn. 319-20, Ad. 342, JGH 50, 103 ¶ The unusual apophony **o*/**u* in NaIE is explained by AD's hypothetic prehistory of the IE vowels (**noKt-*/**nuKt-* < **nyoKt-*/**nuKt-* < **nyoKt-*/**nuKt-* < N **ñuk* ▽ 'tǎ' [a phrase with N **tǎ*, dem. prn. of inanimate objects, like '**das** Dunkle, **the** dark?'], see AD NGIE 17-9); Ht *neku* goes back to **nyoKu* < N **ñuk*'*u*' or **ñuk* ▽ + sx. **-u* || U: FU (att. in FL) **ñukk* ▽ 'sleep' > F *nukku-* v. sleep, be asleep', Vo *nukkua* id., Krl A *nukkūō* ~ *ñukkūō*, Krl Ld *ñukkuda*, Vp {ZM} *nukta* ȝ *nukkuda* 'be drowsy', Es {SK} *nukku-* id., 'be slumbering, sleep' | pLp {Lr} **nokz-* 'be drowsy\sleepy, fall asleep' > Lp: S {Hs} *nākkedidh* 'be sleepy\drowsy\asleep', L {LLO} *nāhkkāt* 'fall asleep', N {N} *nqk'kāt* / -kk- id., 'go to bed', Kld {SaR} *nohke-* 'be drowsy' ¶ The vw. **u* for the expected **ü* may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of the back vw. of the next syll.) ¶ SK 397-9, ZM 367, Lr. #734, Lgc. #4204, Hs. 966, LLO 654, N III 119, SaR 215, ≈ Blz. SNE #18 (err. rec. FU **ñukk-* + err. Hg *nyugod-* 'tranquil' [belonging together with *nyugsz-* 'lie, take a rest, repose'], which in fact goes back to FU **ñun* ▽ 'ruhen', see UEW 328) || A: Tg: Lm *ñzçzñz-* 'dark, black' ¶ STM I 650 || Yk *nuktä-* 'be drowsy' and *nukariy-* v. 'fall asleep' (Pek. 1759-60) are likely to be loans from some Uralic (or unknown Altaic?) source; they cannot be

inherited T words, because in that case the original initial *N- would have yielded Yk s- || CK: ChK {Md.} *naki 'night' > Kor naki-, nakinak, Aly naki-, Chk nki-, naxirit id.; Itl nkznk || Im W nkank id. ¶¶ Md. БСК 98, Zh. RKS 275, MoIII 85-6, KEMGU NS, MoII IR s.v. НКӘHK ◇ The unexpected gemination of *k in U and the cns. -χ- in Gk suggest the presence of a N Ir. that is likely to be a "light" one: *h or *ʔ, because *ʔ leaves no traces (*ə) in the intercons. position in NaIE, *h may have influenced the quality of the velar cns. (*Kh > NaIE *k^h > Gk χ) and because *ʔ and *h are the only Ir. consonnants that can disappear in S (and Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. SNE #18 (IE, U, Yk ← U), Glh. 439-40 (IE, U, CK, EA: Esk unuk 'evening', unuak 'night') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #278 (IE, U, CK + qu. EA + unc. J).

1541. *nük∇ → *nukE 'now' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} ni'kī 'to-day, then, now', Dmb {R} nekī, Q {R} ney 'to-day' ¶ R WB 283, R QW 106 || ?? S: Gz ʔanKa 'yet, now then' (unless ← ʔan-ka 'so, then!, therefore' ← ʔan [÷ Ar ʔinna 'certainly, indeed', {Br.} 'siehe, wahrlich', Hb הן hen 'voici' < N *hEñ∇ 'iste'] + -ka) ¶ L G 29-30 || IE: Ht nukku 'jetzt, sofort' ¶ Ts. E II 345, ≈ CHD L-N 471 (nukku = nu conj. + -(k)ku) || U: FU *nük∇ 'now, already' (× FU *nük∇ < N *nūh₁'æ' 'now') > F nyky- 'present' (in cds.: nyky-aika 'the present time', nyky-polvi 'the present generation', nyky-kansa 'the people of to-day'), nykyään 'at present, now', Es nüüd, Δ nüü 'now', Vp nügüd 'now' | Er ней hey 'now, at the present time', Mk ни ni 'already' | Prm {Lt, LG} *ni ~ *ni 'already' > Vt ни ni, Z нин nin, Z Ud ni ~ ni id. ¶ UEW 707, ERV 409, PI 180, LG 192.

1542. *naKa 'fell, skin' > IE: NaIE *nak- id. > Gk νάκος 'fleece', νάκη 'wooly/hairy skin, goatskin', [Hs.] νακύ(δ)ριον · δέρμα 'skin' || AS næsc {Ho.} 'deerskin', {Sw.} 'skin' (< *nak-s-ko-) || Pru nognan 'leather' ¶ WP II 316, P 754, F II 287, Ch. 733, Ho. 230, En. 216, Sw. 122, EI 269 (? *₁nak(es) '≈ pelt, hide') || HS: Eg fMK rkr {EG} 'mit Fell bespannter Schild', {BnH} 'Fell (beim Schild)' ¶ EG II 346, BnH s.v. rkr || +ext.: S *✓nḱp > BHb ✓nḱp D (pf. הַקֶּפֶת niḱ'ḱep 'schinden\zerfetzen (Haut)' (Job 10.28), Gz ✓nḱf G (pf. naḱafa, sbjn. ʔanḱaf) v. 'peel, bark', Tgr ✓nḱf G (pf. nḱfə) 'detach \ strip off (the leaves)', Tgy ✓nḱf G (pf. nḱfə) v. 'bark', Sq {L} ✓nḱf G (pf. neqof) 'scrape', Jb C {Jo.} ✓nḱf (pf. nḱaf, sbjn. ʔunḱaf) 'pick off', 'fall off' (scab), e¹nuḱaf 'uncover, pick the scab off' ¶ KB 681, ≈ BDB 668 [#5362], LG 399, LH 329, Jo. J 190

|| **A:** M *nekeyi 'sheepskin (\goatskin?) with its wool' > MM [S] {H} nekei 'sheepskin', [HI] {Ms.} nekei 'fourrure', [IM] نچا {Pp.} nekej 'fur coat', [MA] nekej dēl 'fur coat made of sheepskin', nekej̄n ebesün 'grass used for tanning sheepskin', WrM nekei, HIM нэжий 'sheepskin with its wool', Ord {Ms.} ne^hʷxī 'peau de mouton préparé servant de fourrure', WrO nekej 'sheepskin', Kl {KRS} некә nekä 'untanned sheepskin (with its wool)', Kl Ö {Rm.} nekē 'bereitetes Schaffell', Brt нэжэй 'made of fur', нэжы id., 'long-haired' (of sheep)', нэжы дэгэл 'fur-coat, sheepskin coat', Mnr H {SM} nik'ī id., 'goatskin; fur (fourrure)', {T} nikī (d̄jēl), Mnr M {T} nekej 'fur coat' ¶ H 114, Ms. H 78, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Ms. O 489, Krg. 214, SM 276 || ? Tg *nakita 'bear's hide' > Ewk nakita, Neg naχata, Ud nʃata, Ork natta id., Lm naqʷt id., 'bear', Ewk Skh/Tt/Urm/Chmk nakita 'bear'; the cognate is valid unless the primary meaning was 'bear' ¶¶ DQA #1393 (pA *nak'ī|o "a k. of skin", sc. 'ε hide').

1543. *nǣkæ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war, kill' > **IE:** NaIE *neḱ- 'kill; corpse' (× N *n̄UK̄ǂ 'to strike, to peck, to hit', q.v.) > OI 'naśyati 'is lost, disappears, perishes', Av nasyeiti 'verschwindet', našista 'verderblichst', nas- 'calamity', nasu- 'corpse' ||| Gk νέκυς, νεκρός 'corpse', [Hs.] νέκες · νεκρός 'corpses' ||| L nex, necis 'death, murder', necā- v. 'kill' ||| pTc {Ad.} *näk- > Tc A, B nāk- vt. 'destroy', vi. 'perish' ||| NaIE **n̄k̄- (× N *qEñ|n̄K̄ǂ 'to strangle, to kill', q.v. [?]) > OIr éc (< *n̄k̄(u)-) 'death', Btn ankou, Crm ancow, MW angheu, W angau, Cm ancow, Br hano id. (< *n̄k̄(t)u-), Ir écht {P} 'Totschlag, {EI} 'killing' ({EI} < *n̄k̄-ti-) ||| Gmc *anhtō ({EI} < *onk̄teh_ǂ-) > OHG āhta 'hostile persecution', AS oht id., 'oppression', NHG Acht 'outlawry, ostracism' ¶ WP I 60, P 782, Dv. #469, EI 150 (*neḱ- 'death', *neḱ-u-s id., 'dead'), M K II 146-7, M E II 28-9, F II 299-300, WH II 153-5, LP § 8, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, Wn. 313, Ad. 335 ||| **HS:** B *√n̄yH v. 'kill' (× N *n̄UK̄ǂ 'to strike, to peck, to hit') > Ah, Gh an̄y (3m pf. in̄ya), ETwl/Ty ɛn̄y (3m pf. ETwl in̄ya, Ty yānyā), Kb nāy (pf. yānyā), Izd nāy (pf. in̄ya), Mz, Wrg nāy (pf. yānyā), Nf/Si {La.} an̄y, Gd enn (pf. yennw) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II #1072, Mrc. 256 || ?? S (+ext.) *√n̄km 'take vengeance' ¶ GB 520, LG 274, Br. 446 ||| **A:** M *neke- > MM [S] neke- 'verfolgen, hetzen, überfallen', [HI] neke- 'fondre à l'improviste sur', WrM neke-, HIM, Brt

нэхэ-, Kl нек- nekā- 'pursue in order to seize, seek, require', Ord ne^hxe- 'exiger la remise de qch., réclamer' ¶ MED 572, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Ms. O 489 || Tg: Ewk PT нэкэ- v. 'fight, wage war' ¶ STM I 618 ◇ IS MS 357 (*n^häḱ' ḱ 'pursue [the enemy], M, Tg, S, B, IE *Hnek̄- + err. IE *Henk̄- [actually belonging to N *qEñ|ḡḶḶ '↑']).

1544. *ñæḱ'ü¹ 'carry, bring' > IE: NaIE *nek̄-/ *ḡk̄-/ *enk̄- 'carry' > Gk ps. aor. ἦ-νέχ-θῆν 'was carried', ἐνεύκεῖν 'to carry' ({F} 'herbeischaffen, davontragen'), aor. ἐνέυκατ || BSl: Lt něš-ti (1s prs. něš-ù), Ltv nes-t 'carry, bring' || Sl *nes-tì (1s prs. *nes-ò) 'to carry, to bear' > OCS, OR **нестн** nesti (prs. nesq), SCr nèsti, Slv nésti, Cz nésti, Slk niest', R, Uk не'сти id., Blg не'са 'I carry'; iter.-dur. *nosí-tì (1s prs. *noš-q) > OCS **носитн** nositi (prs. nošq), SCr nòsiti, Slv nòsiti, Cz nositi, Slk nosit', P nosić, R но'сить 'to carry', Blg 'нося 'I carry' || pTc *enk- > Tc: A ents-, B enk- 'take, grip, seize' || ? Ht ninink- {CHD} 'mobilize \ set (people) in motion; move, remove, transfer (sth., so.); set in motion', {Ts.} 'in Bewegung setzen, antreiben; bewegen' ¶¶ F I 512-3, Ch. 346, Frn. 497-8, Vs. III 67, 85, ESSJ XXV 19-23, Glh. 441, ≈ P 316-8, Ad. 77-8, Ts. E II 328-32, CHD L-N 438-41, ≠ EI 35 (BSl, Gk, Tc < *h₁enek̄- 'attain') || **HS:** C *√nḱ > Ag *nḱ- {Ap.} 'give here' > Bln {R} nāḱ- 'give', Xm {R} naḱ- 'geben, darreichen', Aw {CR} naḱ- 'give (here)'; +ext. *nḱ-s- 'bring' > Bln {R} nāq-s-, Xm {R} nḱ-s- id. || SC: Irq {Mgw.} nuqūs- 'pick up' || ?σ EC: Or B {Sr.} naḱ- 'put on\into, pour into', Or {Grg., Brl.} naḱ- id., 'add to', Arr {Hw.} naḱ-aḱ- vi. 'return' ¶ R WB 284, R Ch II 85, Ap. AV 16, Mgw. 116, E PC #457, E SC 185 (adduces Dhl {E} niḱḱiḱ- 'raise the eyebrows' = {To.} niḱid- 'wink at\to'), To. D 144, Brl. 318, Grg. 299, Sr. 373 ¶¶ Ar √nq| G 'convey, transmit, transfer' (Hv. 795) is qu. as a cognate (because of the unexplained ext. *l and a plausible interpretation of *n- as a historical px.) || **A:** Tg *nekḱ- 'carry, lead' (× N *Tī?ḶḶKU 'let, let go', 'move' [trans.]??) > Nn KU nuku- ḱ noku- 'carry, lead', Ud {STM} нэку- id., 'bring', ? Lm нэкар 'a present (подарок, гостинец)', {CiR} нэкар 'a present, sweets; reserve\stock (запас)' ¶ STM I 619, CiR 152 || T *jük 'a load' > OT jük id., Tk цүк, Tkm, Qmq, Nog, ET, SY, Ln jük, VTt, Bsh jḱk, QrB žük, Alt žük, Xk čük, Tv čǫk, Tf čǫk', Chv: L ḱǫk śḱk, H śḱk ¶ ≈ Cl. 911-2 (unt.: T *jük ← pre-T **jü- 'carry' - a conjecture based on comparison of *jük with T *jüḱ- 'carry' [in fact from N *žed_hü|u 'pull, drag, draw']), ET J 262-3, Ra. 199, Md. 69, 163, Serg. 120 ◇ The

phoneme *u/w in the expected PIE *neku/w- is likely to have been lost on a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1545. *næ̌ǩ∇ 'to plait, to tie' > **U:** FU *nā|eǩ∇ (att. in Ugr) 'tie, plait' > Ugr {UEW} *nā|eǩ∇ > Os Kr {KrT} nēwəy- 'die Zettelfäden des Gewebes «flechten»'; pVg *nī̌ʃ- 'tie' > Vg: LK/Ss nē̌ʃ-, P nē̌w- 'binden' | OHg x n̄yék '(?) hedge (Zaun, Hecke)' (← *'wattle fence'), XIII n̄yék 'hedge (Hag); enclosed place in a wood (e.g. 'kitchen-garden)', Hg Δ n̄yék 'wattle fence' ¶ UEW 874, Stn. D 1026, KrT 564, EWU 1038 || **A:** M *neke- v. 'knit, weave' (× N *ræ̌w̄|ǩæ̌ 'sinew', 'to tie?') > MM [MA, IM, S] neke- 'weave', WrM neke-, HIM нэхэ-, Brt нэхэ- 'weave, knit', Ord ne^hʒe- v. 'tisser, tresser', Mnr H {SM} nīk'ī-, {T} nekī-, Dg {Mrm.} nekū- 'weave', Kl нек- in ds.: некх некə-хə 'cloth, weft', некəч 'weaver', неклнн n. act. 'weaving'; M б→ Ewk Brg/Np нэкэ- v. 'knit (stockings)' ¶ H 114, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, Chr. 341, KRS 374, Ms. O 489, SM 276, T 350, , Klz. D II 124, STM I 618 || **HS:** Eg {Mks.} нс 'ficeler', Eg fOK нсс v. 'fetter, be fettered', {Mks.} 'ficeler, entraver', Eg fP нсс n. 'fetter', Eg ME {Fk.} нсс.ω 'bonds', Eg G {EG} нсс 'das Seil an der Harpune' ¶ Mks. I ##2257, 2274, EG II 367, Fk. 143 || ? Ch: Zar {ChL} ηgun, Zar K {Sh.} ηgēn v. 'plait', ? Kir {Csp., ChL} ηane, Kir Mn {Csp.} ηān v. 'tie' ||| Msg {ChC ← Mch.} nága v. 'tie', {GKrs.} nīgi- 'binden' ¶ ChC, ChL, Csp. 69, Lk. DQM 71.

1546. *nē̌ǩu 'relative(s) of a younger generation' > **HS:** S (+exts.): [1] WS *nā|iǩ∇|d- 'progeny' > BHb נַדְּנָה 'nē̌ǩed 'progeny, posterity', (+ppa. 1s) נַדְּנָה נֶעֱקְדִי 'my posterity', MHb נַדְּנָה 'nē̌ǩed 'offspring, grandson', Gz nagad 'tribe, clan, kin, progeny', Tgr, Amh nē̌gəd 'race, tribe'; [2] S *o'naǧ∇|d- > Ar نَجَل naǧl- 'genus, stirps, propago', 'natus, filius', {Hv.} 'offspring, child' (merger with Ar نَجَل ✓ nǧl v. G 'beget' [unless the verb ✓ nǧl is derived from naǧl-]) ¶ KB 658, BDB 645 [#5220], Js. 910, L G 391, Fr. IV 246, Hv. 752-3 || **A** *nek'ū(n) 'younger relative' (× N *nī̌ǩu 'small, little?') > T *jegen > OT {Cl.} je|ägen 'son of a younger sister or daughter', Tk үеḡен 'son of a sister or of another female relative', SY jeven, ET Δ {Mal.} jāgin, Uz жиян žiyan, Δ žīān, Alt žēn, Tb {RI.} hān, Xk čēn, Tf cēn 'nephew', Tv чээн čēn 'nephew, niece', Nog jiyen, Qq žīyen, Qrg žēn 'nephew, grandson (daughter's son)', Bsh ейән j̄yān 'grandson', Yk sīān 'daughter's\sister's child\grandchild', SIyan 'cousin, second cousin' ¶ T *-g- (for the

expected *-k-) is still puzzling ¶ Cl. 912-3, ET J 166-7, TL 291, Rl. III 317, 631, 1960, Ra. 73, TvR 561, Pek. 2189-90 || Tg *nekun 'younger relative' > Ewk nɜkũ 'grandchild', as well as a word used when addressing younger relatives, Sln nɜxũ, Orc, Nn Nh nɜku, Nn KU nɜkũ 'younger sibling', Ul nɜku, Ork nuk(k)u id. (address word), Lm nō 'younger sibling', 'younger cousin from mother's side' (used with ppas.), Neg nɜxun ~ nɜkun 'younger sibling\cousin, nephew, niece', Jrc {Kiy.} niyohun 'younger sister'; ?? Ewk n̄ikī 'a relative', ??ϕ Lm n̄ōɜɜ 'younger sister's child; a child of father's\mother's younger sister', Lm O n̄ōɜɜ 'member of ego's clan' ¶ STM 617-8, 637, 644, Kiy. 113 [#291] || M: {Pp.} *nekün '(male\female) slave' > MM [S] nekün 'servants, slaves' ({H} 'Hausleute, Dienstboten, Sklaven'), [L] نڪون بول {Pp.} nikün bōl 'female slave'; ?? *nekeleyi > WrM nekeleyi, HIM нэхлий, Mnr H {SM} nik'ilī, Qrg T (← M) nkeley 'bastard', 'illegitimate' (of a child), Kl некля neklä 'adoptive child', {Rm.} nekəlē 'unechtes Kind'; M → (?) Qzq {Rl.} nekäsi 'illegitimate child' ¶ Pp. VG 38, Pp. L III 72, H 114, MED 572, SM 276, KRS 374, KW 274, Jud. 556, Rl. III 671 ¶¶ Pp. VG 38 (M, Tg), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *n̄ik'ē 'nephew' (T, M *nekeleyi, Tg: they adduce only Ewk n̄ikī 'relative' rather than Tg *nekun), ≠ DQA #2380 (pA *nek'ō [unc.: 'friend, relative'] > Tg *nekun), ≈ DQA #1484 (pA *n̄jōgè 'son-in-law, nephew', incl. Lm n̄ōɜɜ, T) || IE: NaIE *nepōt- 'grandson, nephew' (if from **nekpōt-, a cd. with the second element *pōt- induced by other words referring to the clan membership, such as *dems-pōt- 'head of the clan') > OI 'napāt' 'offspring, son, grandson', Av napā nom. / napāt-, OPrs napā nom. / napāt- obl. 'grandson, descendant', NPrs نواده nāvōde 'grandson' || Gk Hm νεποδες pl. 'offsprings (?)' || L nepōs (gen. nepōt-is) 'grandson, nephew' (→ Al nip id., OFr neveu 'grandson, nephew' → NE nephew) | OLT nepuot is {Fm.} id. || Gmc {Vr.} *nefōd ~ *nefēd > ON nefi 'nephew, relative', OSx nevo 'nephew', AS nefā 'sister's son, grandson, stepson', OHG nēvo, nēfo 'grandson, kinsman, maternal/paternal cousin', NHG Neffe 'nephew' || OIr nia ~ niae 'sister's son, grandson', MW nei, W nai, MBr ni, Crn noi 'nephew' || d.: Sl *nestera (< *nept-ter-ā) 'niece' > RChS, OR нестера nestera, SCr nēstera, OP nieściora id. || → *nept-yo- > Av naptya 'offspring' || Gk ἀνεψιός 'first cousin, cousin' (< *sm̄-neptyo-) || Sl *netъjъ ({ESSJ} *neptъjъ)

'nephew' > ChS, OR **нѣтнн** *netiji* ~ **нѣтн** *neti* 'nephew', Cz Δ *net'*, OP *nieć*, Uk *нетий*, SCr † gen. *netja*, d.: SCr *něćak*, Slv *nečák* id. ||| \rightarrow **nept-ī-* 'granddaughter, niece' > Av *naptī-* 'granddaughter', OI *nap'tī-ḥ* id., 'daughter' || L *neptis* 'granddaughter, niece' || OIt *neptē* id. || OIr *necht*, MW, W, OBr *nith*, MBr *niz*, Crn *nyth* 'niece', Br *niz* id., 'nephew' || Gmc {Vr.} **nefti* > ON *nift* 'female close relative, niece', OHG *nift* id., 'stepdaughter' (\rightarrow *niftila* 'niece' > MHG *niftel* id.), MDt, MLG *nichte*, NHG (\leftarrow NLG) *Nichte* 'niece' ¶ WP II 331-2, P 764, DImr. 40, EI 239 and 392 (**nepōt-s* / gen. **nepot-os* 'grandson', [?] 'sister's son'), 394 (**neptih_ḡ*- 'granddaughter, [?] 'niece'), M K II 132-3, M E II 11-2, Horn 234, Vl. II 1360, Sg. 1429, FI 106 and II 307-8, WH II 161-2, O 300, Vn. *N* 15, Ern. 445-6, YGM-1 342, 345, Vr. 406, 410, Kb. 718, OsS 643, 650, KM 506, 510, Ho. 233, Ho. S 55, Zh. IN 355, Frn. 494, Glh. 436, ESSJ XXIV 224 and XXV 18-9, Mikl. E 214, Srz. II 433, Vs. III 67-8.

1546a. **ḡiḡu* 'small, little' > K: GZ **neḡ_Lu_J*- 'little finger' > OG, G *neḡ-i* id., G X *niḡora titi* id. (*titi* 'finger'), M *naḡu-* 'little finger' ¶ K² 141, Abul. 327 || HS: [1] (+ext.) HS * \checkmark *nḡs* 'little, small' > WS * \checkmark *nḡç* 'be small \ insufficient' > Md \checkmark *nḡḡ* 'decrease', Ar \checkmark *nḡḡ* G vi. 'decrease', ζ Sb {Bil.} \checkmark *nḡḡ* *Sh* (*ḥ-nḡḡ*) vt. 'diminish' (but BGMR interpret the word as 'cede, concede'), Sb {BGMR} d. *mḡḡ-m* 'loss, damage', ??σ Tgr \checkmark *nḡḡ* G 'become weak, deteriorate', Jb C \checkmark *nḡḡ* G (pf. *nḡḡḡ*) 'become short, of small amount', 'do sth. petty and undignified', Sq {Jo.} \checkmark *nḡḡ* G (pf. *nḡḡḡ*) 'grow less', Jb C {Jo.} *nḡḡḡ* 'insufficient' (of milk, water), Mh \checkmark *nḡḡ* G (pf. *nḡḡḡ*) 'be of small amount \ incomplete, be disgraced, do sth. mean' ¶ BK II 1326, Hv. 793, Bil. 400, BGMR 98, Jo. J 191, Jo. M 298, L G 400, LH 329 || Eg fP *nḡḡ* 'klein, gering' (\times N **ḡUÇ* 'small, few'??) ¶ EG II 384-5 || C: Bj {R} \checkmark *nks* (p. *an'kās*) 'be(come) small \ short', *ne'kās* 'small, short', {Rop.} *nakas* ~ *nakaš* 'short, small in stature' ||| EC: Sa {R} \checkmark *nqs* (p. *'unqusa*) 'weniger \ geringer sein' ¶ R WBd 183-4, R Sa II 291, Rop. 224 ||| [2] ??? Bj {R} *nākū* 'zart, schwach, dünn', {Rop.} *n'akw* 'soft, fine', *a-n'ákω* 'be soft \ fine' ¶ R WBd 183, Rop. 224 ||| A: M **nigun* 'boy' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *ni'un* 'boy', WrM *nigun* ~ *nugun*, HIM *нугун* 'boy, son', Brt †, b *nugan* id. ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 580. 595, Chr. 333 ¶ The de-emphatization **ḡ* > **k* (underlying M *-g-) is still to be explained.

1547. *n̄UK̄∇ 'strike, peck, hit' > **HS**: WS *√nky (prm. *-nkiy-) 'hurt, hit' > OA √nky *G* (inf. nkḥ) 'beat, hit', Sr √nkω|y v. *G* (pf. **נָכַח** nā'k̄ā) 'harm, hurt, injure', EpHb √nky *Sh* (3p pf. ḥkω) 'beat, hit', BHb √nky|ω *Sh* (pf. **הִכָּה** hik'k̄ā) 'strike, smite', **הַכָּה** nā,k̄ē adj. sg. cs., **מַכָּה** nē'k̄īm adj. pl. 'smitten, stricken', d. **מַכָּה** mak'k̄ā (< *ma-n'k-at-) n. 'blow, wound, slaughter', Ar √nky *G* (pf. **נָכַח** nakā, ip. -nkiy-) 'wound, hurt' ({Fr.} 'afficit noxâ, nece, vel vulneribus'), Gz √nky (pf. nakaya, 3m js. yā-nkī) 'injure, hurt, damage, harm', Qt {Rk.} nky v. 'injure, diminish', Sb d. nky, nkyt 'mischief (malveillance, tort)', Jb C {Jo.} √nky|ω (pf. en'ke) 'hurt, hit on a sore spot', Sq d. {Ls} 'monkeʔ 'coup (de couteau)' ¶ HJ 730, BDB 645-6 [#5221-3, 4347], Br. 428, JPS 339, Fr. IV 336, Hv. 799, LG 397-8, LLS 267, Rk. 105, BGMR 96, Jo. J 189] ?? S *[n̄k̄- +exts.: [1] CS *√n̄kd 'stechen' > MHb √n̄kd *G* 'sting, puncture', Ar √n̄qd *G* 'peck (a grain)' (bird), 'crack (a nut)', [2] S *√n̄kr v. 'peck, prick' > BHb √n̄kr *G* 'dig out, peck out', √n̄kr *D* 'gouge out (the eyes), pierce', Ar √n̄qr *G* 'strike', Gz √n̄k̄ʷr v. 'peck, prick, pierce', Ak √n̄kr v. 'hew out', (× N *n̄ūK̄∇ – *n̄ūK̄E 'hole') Ar √n̄qr *G* 'hollow out (a stone)', [3] ? WS *√n̄kz 'puncture' (× N *n̄ūK̄∇ – *n̄ūK̄E '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 679-82, KBR 722-3, Hv. 791, BK II 1321-2, L EDG 399-401 || B *√n̄yH v. 'kill' (× N *n̄æK̄æ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war') > Ah, Gh aṅy (3m pf. iṅya), ETwl/Ty ʔṅy (3m pf. ETwl iṅya, Ty yānyā), Kb nāy (pf. yānyā), Izd nāy (pf. iṅya), Mz, Wrg nāy (pf. yānyā), Nf/Si {La.} aṅy, Gd enn (pf. yennw) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II #1072, Mrc. 256 || **IE**: [1] NaIE *neuk-/nuk- 'hit, push' > Gk νύσσω, Gk A νύπτω 'touch with a sharp point, prick, spur, pierce' (< *nuky-) || Lt niùkinti 'push, urge on', niùkas, niùksas 'punch, cuff' || Sl *nuk- (× ←d interj. *nu) > ChS **ноукати** nukati 'hortari', R по-нукать (× ←d instigating interj. ну), Uk 'нукати, 'нбокати 'to drive on, to urge on', Cz nuknouti 'to impel', P nukac 'to drive on, to impel, to set to work', SCr nu`kati 'to persuade, to talk into (doing sth.)' || Gmc *nukk- > MLG {Paul, KM} nucken 'drohend den Kopf bewegen', {KM} nuck(e), NHG {KM} Nücke, pl. Nücken 'versteckte Bosheit, unfreundliche Laune', MDt nucke 'cunning, guile', Dt nuk 'whim, caprice' || [2] NaIE *neḱ- {Dv.} 'harm; to kill', {P} 'kill', *neḱu-s 'dead person, corpse' (× N *n̄æK̄æ '↑', q.v. ffd.) > OIr nes(s) 'coup,

blessure', (?σ Brtt: W {Vn.} *nych* 'peine, chagrin', Br *nec'h* 'peine, angoisse', MBr *nec'hif* 's'affliger' ||| for other cognates within IE see N **nækæ* ¶ F II 329, ≈ Frn. 505 (Lt *nīuk-* as *o*), KM 516, Paul 439, Vr. N 477, ≈ IS III 64, ESSJ XXVI 43-4 (Sl **nukati* <ϙ interj. **nu*), Vs. III 326, Vn. N 11 || U: FU **nokke* v. 'peck', **nokk∇* 'beak' > F *nokkia-* v. 'peck', *nokka* 'beak' || Lp Kld {TI} *nũgak-ã* v. 'peck' (acc. to SK, a loan from F, bur acc. to Db, a genetic cognate of F) ||| ObU **nũk-* v. 'peck' > pVg **nřk^ω*- > Vg: LK *nāk^ω*-, MK/ML *nēk^ω*-, P *nēk-*, Ss *nāx^ω*- id.; pOs **nok-* > Os: V *nok-*, *noqa-*, Vy *nok-*, Ty *noq-*, Y *noq-*, D/K/O *nox-*, Nz *nux-*, Kz *nōx-* id. ¶ Db. OS xxvii [#102], Ht. #425, Trj. S 288, SK 390-1, TI 288 || D **nokk-* v. 'indent, scratch' > Ml *okkuka* v. 'indent', Tu *okku* v. 'scratch, make furrows', Tl *nokku* v. 'pinch, indent' ¶¶ D #3780 ◇ FU **nokke*, D **nokk-*, and NaIE **nek-* can be explained by postulating pN **o* (**nok^e*), but NaIE **neuk-/nuk-* points to a N **u* or **ü* (**nũka*). The problem still needs investigating.

1548. ₂ **nũk∇* ~ **nũk^e* 'hole' > A: M **nūken* 'hole, grave' (× ppM **lūken* < N **lōw^k∇∇* 'hole, opening') > MM [MA] *nūken* 'pit', [IM] *nūken* 'grave', [L] {Pp.} *nūket* pl. 'holes', [IsV] *nūken* 'hole', WrM *nūke(n)*, HIM, Brt *nyx(əh)* 'hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice', Kl *nykh* 'hole, opening, pit, burrow', {Rm.} *nūkn* 'Loch, Öffnung, Mündung', Ord {Ms.} *nũh'x'e* ~ *nũh'x'ü* 'trou, enfoncement, terrier, fosse', Mnr H {T} *nok^e* 'pit, hole', {SM} *nok'ūo* 'hole, opening, pit, well', Dg {Pp.} *nũgũ*, *nũk'ě*, {Mrm} *nug^u*, *nug*, *nuh* 'Öffnung, Loch', Dx {T} *nukun* 'pit, hole, opening'; d. **nūke-le-* 'make\drill a hole, pierce' > MM [S] {H} *nūkele-* 'ein Loch bohren', WrM *nūkele-*, HIM *nyx^lə-*, Brt *nyx^əl-* 'make holes, drill a hole, pierce, perforate', Kl *nyx^lə-* {Rm.} *nūk^lə-* 'make a hole, pierce', Mnr H {SM} *nok'ūo* id., Ord *nũh'x'e^{le-}* ~ *nũh'x'ū^{le-}* 'trouer'; d. **nūket-* v. 'pierce' > MM [LM, IM] *nūket-* id. ¶ Pp. MA 262, 443, Pp. L III 72, H 120, Lg. VMI 59, Pp. MDG 89, MED 597, KRS 389, KW 282, Ms. O 503, SM 282-4, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131, Klz. D I 125, Chr. 335 || HS: S **√n^kq* 'cleft, crevice' > BHb *q̄q̄* **nā'q̄īq̄* (att.: pl. cs. *q̄q̄ nāq̄īq̄ē*) 'cleft', Pun *nq̄* 'cave, rock cleft (?)', Gz *nāq̄āq̄* 'cleft, crevice'; +exts.: [1] WS **√n^kq̄* > MHb *q̄q̄* 'nēq̄ā^{q̄} 'cleft, cavity, ravine', Sr *q̄q̄* nēq̄^{q̄}-ā 'cave, hole', Gz *√n^kq̄* G 'be split, cleft', (?σ) Ar *√n^kq̄* G 'déchirer (par exemple, sa chemise)', {Fr.} 'diffidit, laceravit (sinum indusii)'; [2] (× N **nũk∇* 'to strike, to peck, to hit') **√n^kq̄* 'dig, hew out, make a hole' > BHb *√n^kq̄* v. G

'gouge, pick out (e.g. the eyes)', *D* 'gouge, bore out', MHb {Js.}, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓nḵr v. *G* 'dig, chisel', JEA {Sl.} ✓nḵr *G* 'pick out, hew, pluck out', Sr ✓nḵr *G* {JPS} 'hew out, hollow out', Md ✓nḵr 'dig', Ar ✓nqr *G* 'hollow out (a stone), engrave (stone\wood)', 'pierce the egg for letting out the chicken' (of a hen), Gz ✓nḵʷr (pf. naḵʷara, js. ya-nḵʷar) 'prick, pierce, make a hole', Mh {Jo.} ✓nḵr (pf. n3ḵawr) 'dig with an entrenching tool\adze', Jb C {Jo.} ✓nḵr (pf. nḵor) 'dig with a small tool or the fingers', Ak fOB ✓nḵr *G* (p. iḵḵur) 'hew out, carve' (and 'tear down, demolish?'); [3] CS *✓nḵd 'stechen, picken, hacken' (×N *ḥUKḶ ḥ) > BHb d. נִקְדַּד nāḵod / -נִקְדַּד nāḵudd- (pl. nāḵud'd-īm, nāḵud'd-ōt) adj. 'speckled', נִקְדֹּת nāḵud'dōt n. pl. '(glass-\silver-)beads', MHb נִקְדָּה nāḵud'dā 'point, dot, drop', Sr نِقْدَةٌ nuḵdā'tā id., Ar نِقْطَةٌ nuḵtat-, Md nuḵṭa 'point, dot' (as. *-ḵd- > *-ḵṭ- in Ar -ḵṭ- and Md -ḵṭ-), Ar ✓nqd 'crack (a nut) with the fingers'; [4] WS *✓nḵz (×N *ḥUKḶ ḥ) > MHb ✓nḵz *G* v. 'puncture', *Sh* (pf. ḥiḵḵīz) 'let blood, be bled', JPA {Js.} ✓nḵz *Sh* (pf. ḥiḵḵīz) id., Sr ✓nḵz *G* v. 'point, add vowel-points', نِقْزٌ nuḵz-ā n. 'point', nuḵzānayā adj. pl. 'with vowel-points', Ar {BK} nuqz- 'well', Sb ✓nḵz 'excavate\dig (as a grave)', Qt nḵz n. 'well', Gz ✓nḵz *G* 'be worm-eaten'; [5] S *✓nḵb 'pierce' > BHb ✓nḵb *G* 'bore, pierce', Md ✓nḵb id., 'make a hole', JEA ✓nḵb *G* 'pierce, perforate', Ar ✓nqb *G* v. 'pierce (a wall), bore', Sb {BGMR} ✓nḵb 'cut\excavate (a channel)', 'creuser (un canal)', Qt {Rk.} ✓nḵb 'bore a hole, pierce', Mh {Jo.} ✓nḵb (pf. nīḵḵb) 'be cracked', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓nḵb (pf. ḥiḵḵb) 'crack, break', Ak fOB ✓nḵb *G* (p. iḵḵub) 'deflower, rape'; hence d. (ps.) adj. f. with the meaning 'female' (← 'perforata'): BHb נִקְבָּה nāḵēbā, Md nuḵ(ub)ta, Sr نِقْبَةٌ neḵāb'tā 'female'; d. *ḥUKḶ ḥ > Md niḵba 'hole, stone bored with a hole', BHb נִקְבָּה nāḵēb 'tunnel, mine', MHb נִקְבָּה nāḵēb 'hole, perforation, incision', JA נִקְבָּה nīḵb-ā id., JEA {Sl.} נִקְבָּה nīḵb-ā 'perforation, body orifice', Sr نِقْبَةٌ neḵb-ā 'hole, opening, hollow, burrow, tunnel', Ar نَقْبٌ naqb- 'hole in a wall, breach; tunnel; ulcer', Sb nḵb 'channel, passage', Qtr nḵbn 'channel' ¶ KB 678-82, HJ 756, Js. 931-5, Sl. 753, 772, 776, LG 399-401, Br. 444-6, JPS 350-2, DM 294, 299, 396, Fr. IV 318-26, BK II 1318-24, 1329, Hv. 790-4, BGMR 97-8, Rk. 111, Jo. M 296-7, Jo. J 187, 190, CAD XI/1 328-9 || ?? B (with an ext.) *✓nḵr > Kb ✓nḵr *G* (imv. anḵar)

'perforer, trouer' (unless borrowed from Ar \checkmark nqr), Wrg \checkmark n \checkmark r
 'raciner, s'enfoncer, se perdre dans le sol', ? Ah d. $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ 'serrure en
 bois' ¶ Dl. 570-1, Dlh. Ou 223, Fc 1409.

1549. *näk₁∇₁hē 'see, perceive' > HS: S * \checkmark n \checkmark h > Ar \checkmark nqh G (pf.
 naqaha, ip. -nqah-) 'catch the meaning of', {Fr.} 'intellexit (sermonem)',
 inv. $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{q}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{h}}$ $\text{\textcircled{l}}\text{\textcircled{i}}$ sama $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ ka 'listen to me!', 'lend me thy ear!', naqih-
 'intelligens, percipiens sensum verborum', \checkmark nqh Sh (pf. $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{q}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$)
 'make so. understand (a speech)' ¶ Fr. IV 329, Hv. 796 || Ch {JS} * \checkmark ng
 'see' > WCh: Hs n $\text{\textcircled{i}}$ g $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'perceive' | (\times N \approx * $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{1}}\text{\textcircled{E}}\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'see') Su {J} n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$, Ywm
 {IL} n $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{?}}$, Kfr/Gmy n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'see' | Mbr {Sk} na \checkmark -, Wrj {Sk.} n $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$, Kry nah $\text{\textcircled{3}}$ id. ||
 CCh: Lmn {Lk.} n \checkmark - id. | Glv {Rp.} na \checkmark -, Dgh {Frk.} n \checkmark ínè / n \checkmark a id. | Lgn
 {Lk.} n $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{w}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$, {Bou.} $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{3}}\text{\textcircled{n}}\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{\textcircled{3}}$ id. ¶ JS 219, \approx JI I 144-5 (Ch * \checkmark ngn 'see') and
 II 284-5, Ba. 519, ChC, ChL || **U:** FU *näke 'see' > F näke- 'see, notice',
 Es näge- 'see' | pLp {Lr.} *nēk $\text{\textcircled{3}}$ n. 'dream', *nēk $\text{\textcircled{3}}$ - v. 'dream' > Lp: S
 {Hs.} niēgedidh v. 'dream', L {LLO} niekati- id., niehkō n. 'dream',
 N {N} niekko / - $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ - id., nie $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ ādīt v. 'dream', T {Gn.} níikka- id. |
 pMr {Ker.} *ñä $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ e- > *ñä $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ e- > Er hee- ñeye-, Δ ñii-, Mk h $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ e- ñä $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ a-
 'see, catch sight of' | Vt B {Wc.} na $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ l- v. 'look at, regard' || ObU {Ht.}
 *nī-, *nī \checkmark - > pVg d. *nī $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ -l- 'be seen\visible' > Vg: T ñäw $\text{\textcircled{1}}$ -, LK/MK/ML
 ni $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ l- $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ /LL nīl-, UL/Ss nē $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ l-; pOs {Ht.} *nü-, nü \checkmark - id. > Os: Ty ni-, ni $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ ω-,
 Y nü-, D/K niw-, Kz nī-, O ni- | Hg néz- (with a sx. -z-) 'look, see' ¶
 Coll. 101, UEW 302, Db. OS xxxiii, It. #257, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *näki-,
 Ugr *näki-), SK 410, Lr. #731, Lgc. #4190, N III 32-3, Ker. II 93, ERV
 408, PI 184, Ht. #418, Trj. S 294, MF 470 || **A:** pKo {S} *n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ḱí- ~
 *n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ḱí- 'consider, regard' > MKo n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ḱí, n $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ḱí-, NK0o $\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ḱi- ¶ S QK
 #774, Nam 103, 106, MLC 316, SKE || **D** *nek- ({ $\text{\textcircled{v}}$ GS} *-g-) > Tm nikar
 v. 'shine, be visible', Kn negar $\text{\textcircled{r}}$ 'become manifest\notorious\nwell-
 known, cause oneself to appear', Tl nega $\text{\textcircled{d}}$ u 'be published, be well-
 known' ¶¶ D #3659, Zv. 66-70 (on D e and *i in SD and Tl) || AdS of
 K * $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ χ- 'see' (< N \approx * $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{1}}\text{\textcircled{E}}\text{\textcircled{x}}\text{\textcircled{a}}$ 'see', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The de-emphatization
 of the original * $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ in the prehistory of U and D is due to as. (*- $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ h-> U, D
 *-k-). It is worth paying attention to S * \checkmark nkr (> Ar nakr-, nukr-
 'acuteness of mind', BHb \checkmark nkr Sh [pf. $\text{\textcircled{h}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ hik'kīr, ip. $\text{\textcircled{y}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ yak'kīr]
 'recognize, erkennen', JA, ChPA \checkmark nkr Sh [JA pf. $\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ $\text{\textcircled{p}}\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{k}}\text{\textcircled{r}}$ id.),
 though it cannot be ruled out that the \checkmark goes back to \checkmark n-kr with the

ancient prefix *n∇- ◇ The D vw. *e for the expected *a (< N *ä) still needs explaining ◇ Gr. II #328 (U, Ko + qu. J).

1550. $\text{₂}^* \text{n} \text{oh} \text{I} \text{∇}$ 'to walk\lead; way' > HS: S $\text{✓} \text{nhl}$ (*D* ?) 'lead (esp. to a watering-place); lead (a herd), guide' > BHb $\text{✓} \text{nhl}$ *D* 'lead to a watering-place; lead\bring to a station\goal', נַחְלָה nah^ala 'pasture' (or 'watering place'), MHb $\text{✓} \text{nhl}$ *D* 'lead', Ar manhal- 'watering-place', {BK} 'aiguade, endroit dans le désert offrant quelque verdure et de l'eau', {Dz.} manhal-at- 'station, stage of the road', Ar nāhil-at 'going to the water' (of men\beasts), Sb mnhl 'watering-place, well' ¶ KB 638, BDB 624-4, Js. 881, BK II 1358, Hv. 804, BGMR 94 || A: T *jōl 'way, road' > OT {Cl.} jōl, {TL} jol, MQp, MU, XwT, Chg, OOSm jol 'road, way', Tk ɣol, Tkm, XT {DH} jōl, Xlj {DT} ju^ol, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET, Slr, Ln jol, Uz jawl, VTt, Bsh ɣol ju^l, QrB, Qrg žol, Qzq, Qq žol, Alt žol, Xk čol, Tv čol, Tf ćol, Qzl húl, Yk sū^ol, Chv L šul id.; T ⇨ AncM *žōl > WrM žol, HIM žol 'good luck, fortune', Kl Ö {Rm.} † zol 'Glück; glückliche Reise, Erfolg' ¶ Cl. 917, Rs. W 205-6, Ra. 102, ETJ 217-9, TL 531, DT 229, KW 475 || ?φ Tg *nulgī- 'nomadize' > Ewk, Neg nulgī-, Sln nūlgī-, Lm nūlgā-, Orc nugguwu-, Ul húlžu/i-, Ork nuldi- ~ nulji- id., Ewk, Neg nulgī-, Lm nūlgā-, Ork nuldi ~ nulji n. 'nomadizing, distance of one day's migration', Orc nuggi, Ul húlžī 'family' ¶ The Tg stem belongs here unless it is borrowed from M (WrM negūlge- 'move, cause to nomadize', see MED 569) ¶ STM I 609-10 ◇ Qu. because of the semantic distance, but preferable to alternative comparisons (e.g. T *jōl ÷ Ar -zūl- 'pass away, retire from [a place]' [that does not explain the T long vw.]).

1551. $\text{*} \text{n} \text{ô} \text{f} \text{m} \text{∇}$ 'pleasant, gentle, fine' > HS: S (or CS) $\text{✓} \text{nf} \text{m}$ > BHb $\text{✓} \text{nf} \text{m}$ (3 m ip. paus. ɣi-nfām) 'be pleasant, lovely, charming', Amr {G} $\text{✓} \text{nf} \text{m}$ 'be pleasant', Ar $\text{✓} \text{nf} \text{m}$ 'be green and tender; lead an easy life; rejoice'; BHb נִיְחַם nā'fīm 'pleasant', Ph, Pun n^fm 'agreeable, good, favourable', Ug n^fm {A} 'lieblich, gut', {OLS} 'apuesto; agradable; benéfico; bueno', Amr {G} na^fm-um, ni^fm-um 'pleasant', ? Eb na-īm (in pr. names), Cn ⇨ Eg [EgSSc] na-^f-mu, na-^fa-ma4 (= {Hoch} *na^fl_imu) 'dear, pleasant'; Ph, Pun n^fm n. 'good, fortune', Ug n^fm 'gracia, donaire; delicia', Amr {G} na^fm-um, nu^fm-um 'pleasure' ¶ KB 666, HJ 738-9, A #1806, OLS 314-5, G A 26-7, BK II 1298, Hv. 783, Krb. PE 98, Hoch #244 || U: FP *num∇ (~ *hnum∇?) 'soft, tender' > Chr H НЫМЫЖ 'нѣмьжъ' 'tender' || Prm *nūmí ~ *hūmí > Z UVc h+mles 'soft,

free of lime' (of water), Vt numiles ~ númiles 'soft' (of water), 'not tightly twisted' (of yarn) ¶ Prm *núm+l may have a palatal *ń- due to the infl. of FU *ńäm▽ 'soft' (see N Լ *ńäǰm▽ 'soft') ¶ MRS 364, LG 199 || A: M *nomu-qan 'peaceful, meek, gentle' > MM [MA] nomuqan ~ nomuqan {Pp.} 'смирный' (translating Chg jabaš 'tame, docile' or 'kindly, peaceable'), [HI] nomuqan 'doux', WrM nomuqan {Kow.} 'doux, tranquille, apprivoisé', {MED} 'peaceful, meek, gentle', HIM номхон id., WrO {Krg.} номоқан 'quiet, peaceful', номоқон 'bland, placid, calm, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} номхан ~ номуан 'friedlich, zahm', {KRS} номһн номуън 'quiet, tame (смирный, спокойный, тихий)', Brt номгон id., Dg {T} номхон id., {Pp.} номхӓн, {Mrm.} номокон, {Mr.} nomehon 'gentle, mild' ¶ Pp. MA 259, Ms. H 79, MED 591, KRS 381, KW 279, Krg. 223, Klz. D II 125, Mr. D 200, T DgJ 158, Chr. 330 || T {ǰMd.} *ǰIm▽ǰa- ({AD}: or *ǰu-?) ⇨ T {Md.} *ǰIm▽ǰa-k ({AD} or *ǰu-?) 'soft' (× N Լ *ńäǰm▽ 'soft', q.v. ffd.) ¶ T *I often goes back to N *u, this delabialization needs investigating || Tg *ńum- > Lm Ol númən- 'quiet' (of water surface) (ń- due the infl. of Tg *ńemǰu- 'soft' < N Լ *ńäǰm▽ 'ń') ¶ STM I 646, 652-3 || ?σ,φ pJ {S} *nāmǰà 'slippery, smooth' > OJ nāmǰǰè, J: T naméraka, K námérakà, Kg nameraká (× N Լ *ńäǰm▽?) ¶ S QJ #457, Mr. 492 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1487 (A *nǰùmà 'warm; soft, mild'; incl. T, M, J, and Tg *ńum-).

1552. *ńim?▽ 'name, word' > IE *ńo(:)m-n(-)/*ńom-n(-) 'name' > OI 'nāma, Av nāma, OPrs nāman- id. || Gk: A ὄνομα, D ὄνομα id., in proper names D Ἐνυμα- || pAl {O} *e|inmen > Al T emēr, Al G emēn, {LP} êmēn id. || Arm ախուխի anun id. (Me.: < *anuwn < *onomno-), gen. ախուխի anuan || Lnōmen, Um NOME, numem id. || OIr ainm n- (gen. anme, pl. anman), Brtt {RE} *anman > OW anu (pl. enuein), MW enu, enw, W enw (pl. enwau), Cm hanow (pl. hanwyn), MBr hanu, hanff, Br anv id.; W e- on the analogy of the pl. forms || Gt namō (accus. pl. namna), ON nafn, NNr, Sw namn, Dn navn, OSx, OHG namo, NHG Name, AS nama id., NE name || Pru emnes (ce. for emens?), emmens, accus. emnen id. || Sl *ǰǰmę (gen. *ǰǰmene) id. > OCS ИМѦ imę (gen. ИМЕНЕ imene), Blg име, SCr ìme (gen. ìmena), Slv imē, R имя (gen. имени), Uk им'я, P imię, Cz jméno, Slk meno || Tc A ñom, B ñem (pl. ñemna) 'name' || Ht lāman id. (dis. from *nāman?) ¶¶ WP I 132, P 321, Mn. 851, ≈ H 390 (*h₁nomǰ ~ *h₁enǰmǰ ~ *h₁nehǰmǰ 'name'), M K II 153, M E II 35-7,

F II 396-7, Ch. 803-4, WH II 173-4, Bc. G 339, LP §§ 8.2, 75.4, Vn. A 36-7, RE 113, Hm. 38, Antt. SA 126-7, IS II 82-3, Fs. 369-70, Vr. 403, Kb. 715, OsS 639, Ho. 231, Ho. S 54, KM 502, O 87, Huld 61-2, LamP 148, Ivn. PiILX, Me. EAC 48, 142-3, 150, Me. AAE 55, Slt. 23-4, Grgv. BEO 128 (believes that Arm *anun* is a Phr loanword from DM - because Arm *a-* is a reg. reflex of IE **o-* in DM, but not in Arm), Fs. 369-70, Ho. 231, Vr. 403, En. 165, Tp. P E-H 28-30, Stang VG 225, ESSJ VIII 227-8, Glh. 276-7, Vs. II 129-30, Vn. A 36-7, Wn. 327-8, Ad. 270-1, Ad. H 28, 117, CHD L-N 31-6, Ts. E II 27-9 ¶ The initial vw. in Arm, Al, OIr, and Pru (and possibly in Gk?) is based on **ḡmen* or **onmen* (with an initial non-phonemic vocoid). On the possible prosodic origin of Gk *ō-* (and on IE and N ‘-’) *see* Introduction, § 2.2.6. The initial long vw. in L, Iir, and Ht is a grade of apophony or is due to the influence of **ḡnō-* v. 'know' (in L). The existence of an initial lr. is ruled out by the ev. of OI [RV] cds. 'sā-nāman, sap'ta-nāman, 'ahi-nāman, etc. without lengthening of the final vw. of the first element (*F* Cowg. EG152). I agree with Cowg. and Bam., who reconstruct the IE stem as **nomnō* / gen. **ḡmen-s* and do not see any reason to suppose the existence of a lr. in either the initial or the medial position ¶¶ On the discussion *see* Hamp GPV 60 and Wnt. TE 202-3 (both hypothesize **a₁nomnō* = **Enomn*), Cowg. EG 156, Bam. SLT 140-1, Szem. S 238-49, Ei. UWHM 162 (fn. 77) (**a₁noa₃mōn*), Schn. ANS 263 (**a₁néa₃mḡ*), Jas. NS 376 (**a₁na₃mēn*) and Bks. IELG 47, 229-31 (**ona₃-mēn*/**ena₃-men-mḡ*/**noa₃-mn-ós*), CHD L-N 31-6, Ts. E II 27-9 ||

HS: Som: Ari {Bnd.} *nām-*, *nāmi* 'name', {Fl.} *nam* id., Gll {Fl.} *lāmi* 'name' (in Gll dis. from *nāmi*, as in Ht), Hm {Ldl.} *nam-* ~ *nab-* 'name', Dm {Fl.} *nāb-*, {Bnd.} *nāp-* 'name' ¶ Bnd. AL 155, Bnd. LE 263-4, Bnd. MO 168, Fl. Somot. ms. || S **√nb?* v. 'name, give a name' > Ak *√nb?* (inf. *nabû*) v. 'name, give a name, appoint', BHb *nāb̄ī* (spelled *נְבִיא* *nabiy*?) 'prophet' (originally ps. prtc. 'named one, appointed one') (→ BA, JA *נְבִיא* *nabiy*'y-ā, Sr *نَبِيّ* *nabiy*-ā, Ar *nabīy-* 'prophet' → Gz *nabiy* id.), Ar *√nb?* *G, D* 'announce' (semantic infl. of *nabīy-*?), Jb *√nb*y~*√nb?* v. 'name', Sq {Jo.} *נְבִיא* (*√nb?*) v. 'name'; in S we must assume that **n...m* was dissimilated to **n...b* ¶ CAD XI/1 32-9, Sd. 697, 699, KB 622-5, KBR 661-2, Br. 411, Nld. NB 34, BK II 1179, 1191, Fischer 131, Jo. J 179, LIS 255, L G 385 || **U** **nime* 'name' > F, Es *nimi* 'name' | pLp {Lr.} **n3m3* > Lp: N {N} *nāmmâ* 'name, reputation', S {Hs.} *n'immē*, L {LO} *namma*, Kld *n3mm* id. | pMr {Ker.} **limā* 'name' > Er *лem* *íem*, Δ *lām*, Mk *лem* *íem* | Chr H *lām*, Chr U/B *lüm* | Vt/Z *ńim* 'name' ||| pObU **nēm* id. > pOs {Ht.} **nem* (= {HL.} **nām*) > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz *nem*, Ty/Y *nām*;

pVg *nām̄ ▽ > OVg S Kg на(м)ми, OVg S Vt намъ, OVh S Tr намя, OVg N Ber нема, Vg: T/LK nām, MK/UK/NV/SV nām, LL nām, UL/Ss nam | Hg нѣв 'name' || Sm *nim ~ *nüm {Jn., Hl.} 'name' > Ne T níim?, húm?, Ne F, Ng híim, En híī?, hú?, Slq Tz {KKIH} nīm, Slq Ke nim, Kms nim, nam, Mt {Hl.} *Nim ~ *nüm 'name' (Mt M {Sp.} нуммеде 'his name') || pY **nim ({IN} *niw) 'name' > OY XVII {Wts.} nim, OY K {Merk} ni i v, {Bil.} пewe, OY Ch {Mat.} ныва; Y: K {Krn.} níu, {Jc} ni u, {IN} níū 'name' ¶¶ Coll. 39, UEW 305, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *nimi, Ugr *nīmī, Sm *nim), Lr. #702, Lgc. #4066, Hs. 980-1, Ker. II 77, Ht. #428, Jn. 102, KKH 136, Hl. M #756 (misprint: *nūm for *nūm), IN 240, 318, Krn. JJ 236, Ang. 182, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [#35] (Y ← U) || ¶ A: Tg *nim-ḡan, {Brk.} *hím-ḡa- 'fairy tale' > Ewk nimḡā-kān, Lm híim-ḡan, Nn Nh nḡmā, Orc híima, Ud {STM} híimʔaḡku, Ork nḡma ~ híimḡa 'fairy tale', Ul híimḡa(n-) 'fairy tale; beginning of an extatic incantation (камлание)' ¶ STM I 594, SAP II 224-5, Brk. LDK 66-7 || ? φ pJ *ná₁N₁ 'name' > OJ nà, J: T nà(mae), K nâ, Kg ná, namáe, Ht nàḡ 'name' ¶ S AJ 69, 266 [#50], S QJ #50 ("all modern dialects point unanimously to nán"), Mr. 490 || ? φ pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story' > MKo *ni'jaki, NKo ijagi ¶ S QK #916, Nam 123, MLC 1333 || ? M: [1] *nim in MM [MA] nim niken 'each other' (niken is 'one') ¶ Pp. MA 253-6 [2] WrM nim 'mark, sign'; but the variant *im id. (> WrM im, Kl им, Ord em ~ im 'sign [a cut in cattle's ear]') is akin to T *im 'mark, sign' and to Ewk him id. (Rm. W 171 traces it back to A *rim) ¶ MED 409, Kl 269, KW 208, Ms. O 237, ET Gl 632-3, STM II 324 ¶¶ S AJ 24 and SDM equated Tg *nim-ḡan and the J words with T *jom 'omen, legend, tale, magic device'. DQA adduced pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story'. Earlier (S AJ 24) Starostin interpreted the sound corr. of T *o ~ *u and Tg *j (~ *i) as a reflex of the pA diphthong *ju; later (StDM95) Starostin, ADb., and Md. reinterpreted it as a reflex of A *ā before *o of the second syll. In SDM97 they preferred to reconstruct pA *lāmo (→ DQA *lūōmo(ḡa) 'name; spell, divination'). Actually T *jom, M *dom (← T), and pJ {S} *nəm- (> OJ nom- v. 'pray') belong to N *Tum ▽ 'magic, spell' (q.v.), rather than here ¶¶ S AJ 69, 276 [#48], ≈ SDM95 (A *nāōmo 'name; spell, divination'), ≈ DQA #1213 (*lūōmo(ḡa), incl. Tg, Ko, J) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (IE, U, J), IS II 82-3 (*nimi 'name' > IE, U, S with an inaccurate semantic interpretation of the S √; the SOM and Altaic cognates were not adduced [in 1960's the SOM

cognates were not yet recorded)) ◇ On N and pIE *⁶- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Gr. II #273 (*nim ~ *nom 'name') (IE, U, Y, J, CK).

1553. * $\bar{n}\nabla N\hat{\nabla}\nabla_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}$ 'high, big, strong' > HS: ≈ ** $\bar{n}\nabla^{\uparrow}\eta^{\uparrow}\hat{\nabla}\nabla_{\downarrow}$? > Eg N $n^{\uparrow}\check{s}$ v '≈ be strong' ¶ EG III 209 ¶ It is likely that Eg \check{s} may go back to * η || S * $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$ v. 'be high, lift up' (→ v. 'carry') > Ar $\check{v}n\check{s}?$ v. 'grow up', 'become older' (of a child), 'be high in the sky' (of clouds), Sb $n\hat{s}?$ v. 'arise, take action; build up, raise', OCn $na\check{s}\check{s}a$ / $\bar{y}ina\check{s}\check{s}i$, BHb $\aleph\aleph$ $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$ 'carry, lift, lift up', Ug $\check{v}n\check{s}?$ G 'lift up, put on', Ph, Pun, M'b, OA $n\check{s}?$ $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$, IA $n\check{s}?$ (= $\check{v}ns?$) v. 'lift up, carry', BA $\aleph\aleph$ $\check{v}ns?$, JA [Trg.] $\aleph\aleph$ ~ \aleph $\check{v}nsy|w$ G 'hoch halten', SmA {Tal} $\check{v}n\check{s}y$ G 'take, carry', Sb $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$ 'arise, take action', Mn {MA} $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$ 'entreprandre; édifier', Gz $\check{v}n\hat{s}?$ v. 'lift', Ak $na\check{s}\hat{u}$ v. 'lift, carry', Eb $\check{v}n\check{s}?$ ≈ id. ¶ KB 683-4, 1749, KBR 724-7, HJ 760-4, A #1859, Grd. UT #1709, DrG 153, OLS 334-5, Lv. III 402-3, Lv. T II 114-5, Tal 533, BK II 1255-6, Hv. 768, HJ 760-3, L G 404, Sd. 762, BGMR 98-9 || C: Bj {R} $\check{v}ns?$ (1s: p. $a-n^{\uparrow}\check{s}\bar{a}?$, prs. $a\check{t}nas\bar{i}?$) pcv. md. 'get up, rise' ('sich erheben, empor-lauf-steigen') ¶ R WBd 185 ¶¶ In addition, there is a WCh word deserving attention: WCh {Stl.} *nan 'big' > AG: Su {J} nan, Ang {Flk.} nan 'big, large', Mpn {Frz.} nán v. 'grow big', nánán 'large' | SBc: Sy {Sh.} nūη, noη 'big' | ? Ron: Fy {J} nán 'brother' ¶ Stl. ZCh 235 [#821], J S 76, Flk. s.v. nen, Frz. DM 41 || **U** * $\bar{n}|\hat{n}\hat{a}\hat{n}\hat{c}\nabla$ 'big, strong, hard' > Hg nagy 'big' || {UEW}: ?σ Z US/LL/LV/MS, Yz naž 'stingy' (← *'hard'), Z LV/Sk nać 'completely' || pY {IN} * $\acute{n}\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{c}\acute{e}$, > Y K {Jc.} ránće 'big' (ránće 'połuteużel keżuż 'Ein großer Greis ist gekommen') ¶¶ UEW 310, MF 461, Lt. J 150, SZ 103 s.v. дзик, 340 s.v. скуп, Ang. 172, IN 238 || **A**: M: WrM naicigar 'coarse, thick' ¶ MED 1207 || ?φ T: MQp [BMTQ, L, AH] jüče 'high', Tk $\check{v}\check{u}\check{s}e$, Kr {Rl.} jüžā id., ? Az užā id. ¶ Rs. W 212, Zaj. VAKBM I 27, TAG 109, Rl. III 614-5, ET J 263.

1554. * $\bar{n}i\eta^{\uparrow}u^{\uparrow}$ 'hair (of animals)' ([in U] → v. 'unhair, pluck out hair\feathers') > **U** * $\bar{n}i\eta a$ - 'unhair; lose hair' > F $n\bar{i}\check{v}o$ - 'deprive of hair, unhair a skin; shed hair', Krl $n\bar{i}\check{v}o$ 'Stelle, wo die Haare abgenutzt sind' | pLp * $n\check{z}\check{v}\bar{e}$ - 'shed\lose hair, deprive of hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} $n\check{y}\check{v}\check{v}'edh$ '(sich) haaren, die Haare verlieren', L {LLO} $nav\check{v}\bar{e}t$ '(ein Fell) enthaaren, pälen (man reißt zuerst die Haare aus, dann schabt man sie mit dem Messer)', N {N} $n\hat{a}\check{v}\check{v}e$ - / - \check{v} - 'pluck off the hair of a skin', T {TI} $na\check{v}\check{v}ede$ 'unhair a skin' | Er $nev\check{e}le$ - $\acute{n}ev\acute{e}le$ - 'grow bare (облезть), lose hair\feathers', Mk {Ahl.} $nev\check{i}la$ - 'sich abnutzen' ||

ObU: Vg {Kn.}: P nãʒt-, Ss noʒt- 'das Leder\Fell schaben'; Os: Kz ñɔw-, O nãw- 'free of hair, unhair (a reindeer-hide)' || Sm: [1] Ne F P {Lh.} ñewā- 'be worn out (as the hair of fur boots)'; [2] Sm {Jn.} *nɪŋk̄- ~ *niŋk̄- 'pluck out (rupfen)' > Ne: T ниңгă-сь 'pluck (a bird), pluck out (feathers, hair, grass)', T O {Lh.} nɪŋk̄ā-, F Ks {Lh.} ñiŋk̄ā-ś 'pluck (a hen), pluck out (grass)'; Slq Tz {KKIH} ñiŋqɪl- 'pluck out (feathers, grass)'; ? Kms nɪŋgə- 'reißen, scharren', Koyb {Sp.} ls prs. нынгылямь 'деру'; Mt {Hl.} *Niŋgə- 'pluck out (rupfen)' (Mt M {Sp.} нингїямь 'щиплю') ¶ UEW 306 (*niwa- or *niŋa-), Coll. 39, Coll. CG 73, 127, 166, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU *niwā-, FP *niwa-, Ugr *niŋga- 'unhair [skin]'), Lr. #706, Lgc. #4087, Hs. 1012, LLO II 585-6, TI 1205, ERV 406, Jn. 101-2, Ter. 314, Lh. 288, KKIИ 141, Ptp. 38, 99, Hl. M #761 || A *nuŋâ (DQA) *nũŋu) 'wool, down' > T *juŋ 'wool' > OT, MQP XIII juŋ, Tk Δ, ET, Slr juŋ, Az Δ, Kr T/G, SY, Ln juŋ, Uz žun, Tkm jüŋ, SY juŋ ~ jüŋ ~ jüʒ, Tk цүн, Ggz jün ~ ün, Qrj, Qmq, Nog jün, Qzq žün, Tv čuŋ, Xk nuŋ, Tb {Rl.} ñuŋ, Yk suŋ, Chv: L çăm śьm, H śьm 'wool', Qrg žün, Qq žün, VTt йон jьн, SbTt, Bsh jьн 'wool, hair (of human body)', Alt źuŋ 'feather', Yk suŋ 'wool/feathers that were shed from animals' ¶ Acc. to Cl. 941 and TL 146, the variant with ü is due to the infl. of T *jũg 'feathers' ¶ Cl. 941, Rs. W 211, ET J 267, TL 148, TatR 190, Md. 58, 163 (T *žum ~ *žuŋ), BT 58 || M: [1] *noʒu-sun 'wool, down' > WrM nogusun, HIM ноос(он) 'wool, down', Ord nōs, Br нооһон, WrO nōsun, nosun, nōs 'wool', Kl ноосн нōсн, {Rm.} nōсн 'wool; hair (of human body)', Dx {T} nogosun, Shrn {Pot.} ногусун, Ba {T} nogsuŋ 'wool'; M *noʒulur > WrM nogulur, HIM ноолуур 'soft wool, down', Br Δ ноолуур 'down', Kl Ö {Rm.} nōlʀ 'soft fine hair, down', Kl D {Rm.} nōlūr 'Flaum, Hauthaar, Daune', Ord nōlūr 'duvet laineux (des chèvres)'; ? M *noʒur-sun > WrM nogur-sun, HIM ноорс(он) 'down, fluffy feathers' (× M *noʒura- 'become tattered, threadbare, worn out, frayed?'); [2] M *nũŋga-sun 'wool' > MM [S] {H} nuŋgasu (spelled nuŋh̄as̄u) 'wool (of sheep)' ¶ The M cognates with *-ʒ- are valid if A *-ŋ- yields M *-ʒ- (as suggested by S and ADb.) or if *n...ʒ < *n...ŋg by dis. ¶ Clauson (Cl. TMS 234, Cl. 941) unconvincingly claimed that MM nuŋgasu is a loan from T (being an ardent anti-Altaist, Clauson tried to ascribe most common elements of T and M to borrowing) ¶ H 120, MED 588-9, Ms. O 496-7, Krg. 222, KRS 381-2, KW 279-80, Chr. 330-1, 431 T DnJ 130, T BJ 144, Pot. 422 || Tg: WrMc nuŋgar i {Z}

'down, soft wool', {Hr.} 'Flaum', {Z} *nunneri* 'down, fluffy thin hair', {Hr.} *nun̄neri funiyehe* 'Flaumhaar', Mc Sb *nuṅan* 'downy hair, floccus; down, pile, eider down' ¶ Z 239-40, Hr. 723-4, Y##144, 2283 || pJ {S} **núnūá* > OJ *nún_uó*, J: T *nùnó*, K *nùnó*, Kg *núno* 'fabric, cloth' ¶ S AJ 271 [#177], S QJ #177, Mr. 502 ¶¶ DQA #1514, Pp. VG 73, 123, S AJ 285 [#235], KW 279, STM I 611 || D (in SD) **niñ-* 'string, tying, bondage' > Tm *niṅa* v. 'tie up, fasten, braid', *niṅavai* 'tying, bondage, that which is plaited', Td *niñ* 'twisted string', Kn Hl *nehe*, Kn G {KG} *nēṅE*, Tu *niṅæ*, *neṅæ*, *niṅæ* 'a wick' ¶ D #3668 ◇ A **u* (> T, J **u*, M **u* ~ **o*, WrMc *u*) is due to as. (N **ñiṅu* > ***nunū* > A **nunâ* [{DQA} **nūṅu*]) ◇ Cf. also Jb C 'nōṽ 'long fine hairs' (more plausibly from N **ñāwga* 'hair, down' [q.v.]).

1555. **ṅap* ∇ 'move to and fro, sway' > HS: WS *-*nūp-* > BHb ✓*nwp* *Sh* (pf. *ḥiṅḥ* *hē'nīp*) 'move to and fro, brandish' ('hin und her bewegen, schwingen'), MHb ✓*nwp* *G* 'move in the air, soar', JA [Trg.] ✓*nwp* v. *Sh* (pf. *ḥiṅḥ* *ḥā'nēp*) 'erheben, schwingen', JEA {Js.} ✓*nwp* vi. *G* {Js.} 'wave', {Sl.} 'sway to and fro', vt. *Sh* {Sl.} 'wave (an offering)', Sr ✓*nwp* *G* (pf. *nāp*, ip. *nə-nūp*) 'bend, waver to and fro', *Sh* 'lift up, beckon', MHb *ḥiṅḥ* *nāpā*, JEA {Sl.} *ḥiṅḥ* *nāp*-*ā* n. 'sieve', Sq {L} ✓*nwf* *G* (pf. *nef*) 'make a sign (with the hand?)', Mh {Jo.} ✓*nwf* *Sh* (pf. *ḥənwūf*) v. 'beckon so.'; with rdp.: MHb *ḥiṅḥ* *niṅp*-*nep* v. 'swing, fan' ¶ KB 644, HJ 741, 744-9, Lv. T II 98, Js. 888-9, 922-3, Sl. 738, JPS 333, LLS 262, Jo. M 306 || D **nāv-* v. 'winnow' > Tm *nāv* v. 'winnow, clear grain from stones', Ml *nāvuka* 'cleanse rice from stones', Krx *nāb-* v. 'thresh rice, winnow' ¶¶ D #3769, Pf. 99 [#727] || A: M **nabta-*: WrM *nabtalza-*, HIM *навталза-* v. 'wobble, sway\move from side to side (as a dog)', O *nab_t'ā-* 'pendre et flotter au gré du vent', Brt *набтагана-* v. flutter' (about sth. hanging down) (infl. of M **nabtaji-* > WrM *nabtai-*, HIM *навтай-* 'hang, hang down?') ¶ MED 555, Ms. O 479, Chr. 316.

1556. **nop*'E' 'breathe, blow' > HS: Eg N *nfū* v. 'breathe out, exhale (ausatmen, hauchen)', Eg fNK *nf* 'breath (Hauch des Mundes, Atem)', Cpt: Sd *ni čē nife*, B *ni čī nifi* 'to breathe', n. 'wind' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || S (+ext., originally from cds.): [1] S *✓*npš* 'breathe' (< N **nop*'E' 'breathe' + N *ṽ* **Puš* ∇ 'to blow' [q.v.]) > BHb ✓*npš* *N* 'draw breath, breathe freely, recover', Sr ✓*npš* *G* 'breathe, be alive, have life', Gz ✓*nfs* *G* 'blow' (wind, spirit), Sq ✓*nfš* *G* 'respirer, vivre, se ranimer', Mh pf. *nḥfh* 'recover from a faint', Ak ✓*npš* *G* 'breathe

freely, relax', Ar \checkmark nfs *TD* 'breathe, respire'; \dashv S *'napaš- n. 'breath, soul' > BHb נַפְּשׁוֹ 'nəpəš 'breath, breathing, throat; soul, person, self', EpHb nṗš 'life, soul, person', Ug nṗš 'throat, gullet; soul', Ph, Pun, OA nṗš 'person', Yd nṗš id., 'soul', JA [Trg.] נַפְּשׁוֹ nə'pəš / נַפְּשׁוֹ nṗš 'soul, person, will', JEA {Sl.} nṗš 'soul, body, self', Sr نَفْسُ nṗš 'soul, person, will', JEA {Sl.} nṗš 'soul, body, self', Sr نَفْسُ nṗš-ā (cs. نَفْسُ nə'pəš) 'breath of life, soul', SmA nṗš 'soul', Ar نَفْسُ nafs- 'soul, person, -self', نَفَسُ nafas- 'breathing', Mn nfš id., Sb, Qt nfš id., 'life', Gz nafs 'soul, person, breath', Sq {L} 'nofoš '-selves' (rf. prn., in pl.), Ak LB nṗš 'life, breath', OAk napašt 'life, breath', Ak ṽ nṗš 'life, vigour, good health; person', ? SES (if *š > *h > zero): Mh nōf / df. ḥz-nōf 'self', ḥznōf-i 'myself', ḥznaf-k 'yourself', ḥzn'fayhzm 'themselves', Hrs {Jo.} ḥz-nōf- '-self' (nōfi 'myself', nōfzh 'himself'), pl. ḥz-nyzḥōf- '-selves', Jb C {Jo.} 'nuf / df. 'e-'nuf 'self', ḥa-'nuf 'to oneself', Sq {Jo.} nṗf-, nḥṗf- 'self'; [2] S * \checkmark nṗχ 'breathe, blow, inflate' (< N *nop'E' + N ?φ o *P_uq∇ 'to let out air\gas' [q.v.]) > Ar, Mh, Jb E/C \checkmark nṗχ G 'blow, inflate', Hrs \checkmark nṗχ G 'blow', Gz \checkmark nṗχ G 'blow, breathe on', Ak \checkmark nṗχ G 'blow upon; blow (sth.), hiss', amb BHb/Aram/Sr \checkmark nṗḥ v. G 'blow' (× CS * \checkmark nṗḥ), \dashv WS *man'pax- 'bellows' > Ug mṗx, du. mṗxm, BHb nṗḥ map'pāḥ, Gz manfāx id.; [3] CS * \checkmark nṗḥ v. 'blow' (< N *nop'E' + N o *puḥ∇ 'to blow [blasen]' [q.v.]) > Ar \checkmark nḥ G 'blow' (of wind), Gz \checkmark nḥ G 'blow', (× S * \checkmark nṗχ) amb BHb/JA/Sr \checkmark nṗḥ v. G 'blow', and SmA \checkmark nṗḥ G 'become swollen', *Sh* vt. 'blow (breathe of life), inflate'; [4] WS * \checkmark nṗθ > Ar \checkmark nḥ G 'puff\blow upon', Qt {Rk. D} \checkmark nḥ 'spit out; proclaim', {Rk.} 'appoint' ← 'spit, blow on sth.'; [5] Ar \checkmark nḥ G 'blow strongly' (wind) ¶ HJ 744-9, KB 669-74, BDB 655-6, 659-61, A ##1815, 1826, OLS 285, 327-8, Lv. T II 122-3, Js. 922, 926-7, Sl. 770, Br. 435, 441, JPS 346-7, BK II 1304-6, 1309-11, Tal 536-7, 541, Hv. 785-7, BGMR 93, MA 66, Rk. D 157-8, Rk. 110-1, LG 388-9, LLS 271, Jo. M 283-6, Jo. H 94, Jo. J 181-3, CAD XI 263-70, 288-91, 296-304, ≈ MiK I #1.200 (*napa/iš- 'throat'), ##2.45-6 (* \checkmark nṗχ, * \checkmark nṗš) || C: LEC {Bl.} *nef- '≈ breath, soul' > Sml náf 'soul, self', Sml N {Abr.} nēf 'breath', Arr {Hw.} nafá 'body', Or {Th.} nāfa, Or B/O {Sr.} naf-a, Or Wt {Hn.} nafa id.; ≈ *nef|bs- 'breath, soul' (unless ← Ar): Or B {Bl.} 'nabse? 'soul', Rn {PG} nēbsí 'a breath', Rn nēbs-aḏ-, Sml nēfso v. 'breathe' ¶ Bl. 166, Bl. G 86, Sr. 372, Hn. W 57, Th. 253, PG 233, ZMO 307, Abr. S 188, Hw. A 387, AD SF 177 || u: FU *on'o'pt∇ > ObU {Ht.} *nopət 'lifetime' > pVg *nāt id. > Vg:

T/P/NV/SV/LL nat, LK/MK nāt, UL/So not; pOs {Ht.} *nopæt, {ǾHI.} *nǎpæt (< *nǎpæt) > Os: V/Vy nowæt, Ty/Y nǒpæt, D/K/Nz nupæt, O nopæt id. ¶ Ht. #435 || **A** *n'ǒb'∇- > M *nǒvele- 'come in gusts' > WrM nǒgele-, HIM нөөлө-х id., WrM nǒgele-kü salkin 'a gust of wind' ¶ MED 592 ¶ ≠ DQA #2735 (pA *nǒ|ǒbo; M + semantically unc. comparison with T, Tg, and J).

1557. *nǒp, ∇, 'h' 'i' 'fog, cloud' > **HS:** Eg G nifj 'fog' (?) or 'darkness' (?), Cpt Sd/B **NI** ч nif 'fog' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || EC: Dsn {Flm.} ḥeḥo (~ ḥ^ḥo?) 'cloud' ¶ Fl. GO, Blz. DL s.v. 'cloud' || **IE** *nebʰ- ⇨ **[1]** IE *nebʰos / *nebʰes- ntr. 'cloud, fog, sky' > OI 'nabhaḥ / obl. 'nabhas- 'vapour, cloud, mist; sky', Av nabaḥ- pl. 'air space, sky' || Gk νέφος n. (gen. νέφεος) 'cloud' || Clt: W, Crn nef 'heaven', Br neñv id., 'sky', ?ϕ OIr nem (s-stem) 'sky' || Sl *nebo / obl. *nebes- / pl. *nebes-a 'sky' > OCS **НЕБО** nebo / obl. **НЕБЕС-** nebes- / pl. **НЕБЕСА** nebesa (↳ R 'небо), Blg не'бе / pl. небе'са, SCr nēbo / pl. nebèsa, Sln nebō / pl. nébesa, Cz nebo / pl. nebesa, Slk nebo / pl. nebesá, P niebo / pl. niebiosa, Uk 'небо 'sky', R 'небо 'palate (roof of mouth)' || Lt debesìs, Ltv debesìs 'cloud', debess 'sky' (Blt *d- due to the contamination with a different word, possibly the Blt cognate of Gk δνύφος 'darkness, dusk, thick clouds') || Ht nepis-, nepisa- 'sky' || **[2]** NaIE *nebʰ-elā 'cloud, fog' > Gk νεφέλη 'cloud' || L nebula 'vapour, fog, mist' || OIr nél 'cloud'; W niwl, nifwl, Crn niwl id. (↳ L nebula?) || Gmc *neβla-, *niβula- 'fog, mist' > OSx neval, OFrs nevil id., OHG nebul 'fog, darkness', NHG Nebel 'fog, mist', AS nifol 'dark', ON nifl- id. (in cds.: niflvęgr 'dunkle Straße', niflhel 'underworld'), njól 'fog, night', AS nofol 'dark' ¶¶ P 315-6, EI 110 (*nebʰes- ~ *nebʰ-el- 'mist, cloud, sky'), Bc. 52-3, 1484, MK II 134, ME II 13, F II 309-10, WH II 151-2, YGM-1 342, Vn. N 8, IP § 97, Schz. 220, Kb. 718, OsS 642, KM 505, Ho. 236, Ho. S 55, Vr. 409-10, Vs. II 53, ESSJ XXIV 100-4, Glh. 436, Frn. 85, Ts. E II 310-5, CHD L-N 448-53 || **A:** Tg *nup- v. 'smoke' > Ewk nuw-, Lm nūb/p- 'be smoked (elaborated by smoke)' (of a hide), Ewk nuwç̣ē 'smoked hide, ровдуга (leather made of reindeer hide)', Neg nūp- vi. 'smoke' (of a lamp), Lm nūbgit- vt. 'smoke (a hide to dress leather)', Neg nūpkit- id., v. 'smoke (fish, meat)', Orc ḥuči id., Ud {ǾSTM} ḥūpçu- vi. 'emit smoke', vt. 'smoke (sth.)', ḥiupti- 'be smoked', Ork nūputči- ~ ḥūpučci- 'be smoked' (of a hide), 'be covered with soot', Nn ḥupči vt. 'smoke,

elaborate by smoking' ¶ STM 607-8 || pKo {S} *n^hlⁱ 'smoke' > MKo *n^hlⁱ, NKo nā ¶ S QK #80, Rm. SKE 158, Nam 102, MLC 315 || pJ *n^hlⁱǝp-v. 'smell (of sth.)' > OJ n^hlⁱǝp-, J: T n^hlⁱó-, K n^hlⁱó-, Kg n^hlⁱò- ¶ S QJ #234, Mr. 736 || ? T *j^hlⁱpar 'smell, fragrance' (→ 'musk') > OT {Cl.} j^hlⁱpār 'scent' (in QB), 'perfumes, musk', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] j^hlⁱpar 'musk', Tk Δ j^hlⁱpar, Qq ž^hlⁱpar, Qrg ž^hlⁱpar 'scent, pleasant odour', Yk s^hlⁱbar ~ s^hlⁱmar 'odour, stench', Bsh йофар j^hlⁱfar, SY šuvar 'musk' ¶ Cl. 878-9, KW 469, ET J 284 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 77, Rm. SKE 158 (Tg, Ko), S AJ 297, ≈ SDM97 (A *n^höbⁱ, incl. Tg, Ko, J), ≈ DQA #1477 (A *n^híbi|e- 'to smoke, to smell', incl. Ko, J) ◇ Dsn -b^h- and NaIE *-b^h- point to N *-p^hlⁱ∇₁h- (probably *-p^hlⁱ∇₁h-) with loss of the l^r. in Eg and IE (the loss of IE laryngeals in the prevocalic position is reg.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #67 (*nep 'cloud') (IE, CK, EA).

1557a. ₂ *N∇p₁∇R∇ 'bank, shore, edge' > HS: Eg fMK {EG} npr 'edge; bank, shore', {Fk.} npr.t 'brim (of well)' ¶ EG II 249, Fk. 130 || K: G napir- 'bank, shore; edge' ('Ufer, Küste, Gestade; Rand'), {DCh} id., 'border (of a country)' (unless d. from K *p^hir- 'lip, edge' with the px. of pp. *na- [K 145], although the semantic interpretation of napir- as a ps. participle is hard to understand) ¶ Chx. 92, DCh. 958.

1558. ₂ *n^hūq∇ 'to bend, to swing, to sink' > HS: S *-nūχ- 'lie down, sink; rest, repose' (→ 'have rest') > OCn [EA] nūχ- 'be at rest' (of so. who is in safe condition), BHb ✓ n w^h G (n^h nā^h / n^h n^h yā-'nū^h) 'settle, rest, repose; have rest, wait', Ph *Sh* 3m pf. y nχ 'erect (an altar)', Ug {A, OLS} ✓ n wχ 'rest, have a rest', nχt {A} 'Ruhsitz', {OLS} 'diván', Amr {G} ✓ n wχ v. 'rest', nūχum 'rest', IA d. nū^h n. 'rest, tranquility; resting place', EpJA ✓ n w^h 'be at rest', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ n w^h G 'rest, lie', JEA {Sl.} ✓ n w^h G 'rest, be calm', Sr ✓ n w^h G (pf. nā^h, ip. -nū^h) 'rest, be at rest, stay quiet', Ar G ✓ n wχ (nāχa/-nūχ) 'kneel' (of a camel), *Sh* ✓ n wχ 'make (a camel) to kneel', Mh {Jo.} ✓ n wχ *Sh* (pf. h^h w nēχ) 'give so. a rest from working', š^h w nēχ v. (pf.) 'rest', Hrs {Jo.} 'š^h w n^hχ / yāšōnāχ, Jb E {Jo.} 'š^h in^hχ id., Gz ✓ n wχ (pf. nōχa, js. yā-nūχ) 'repose, linger', Ak √ n wχ (inf. nāχu ~ nuāχu, p. inūχ) 'be slow\still; relent, be appeased; rest, repose' ¶ HJ 721-2, 729-30, KB 642-3, 1745, A #1772, Grd. UT #1625, OLS 323, Hff. 237, G A 27-8, Js. 885-6, Dlm. 265, Sl. 735-6, Br. 419, JPS 331, BK II 1363-4, Ln. 2864, LG 409, Jo. M 307, Jo. H 99, CAD XI/1 143-50, Sd. 716-7 || Eg XX nχnχ 'knock down (the attacking enemy)' (of a lion), 'throw back (an enemy) with its horns' (of a bull), Eg G nχχ 'repulse (an attacking enemy)' ¶ EG

312, 314 ¶ Semantics: ← vt. 'sink, fell, knock down' || C: Bj {R} $\text{nu}^{\text{?}}\text{-scv}$. 'senken, sinken lassen, niederlassen' || ??φ Ag: Bln {R} $\text{na}^{\text{c}}\text{y-}$ 'auf den Rücken liegend emporschauen', $\text{na}^{\text{c}}\text{-s-}$ vi. caus. 'auf den Rücken legen' ¶ R WBd 178, R WB 279 || Ch {Stl.} $*\text{n}\nabla\chi\text{-}$ 'wait' > CCh: {ChL} HgB $\text{nà}\psi\grave{\text{u}}\grave{\text{d}}\acute{\text{ó}}$, Kpf $\text{nù}\psi\grave{\text{u}}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{é}}$ 'wait' ¶ Stl. IF 124, 211 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1837 (HS $*\text{na}\eta\text{-}$ 'bend' [intr.]: S, Bln), ≠ #1907 (HS $*\text{n}\nabla\omega\nabla\eta\text{-}$ 'rest' v.: S ÷ AG $*\text{nuk-}$, see N $*\text{r}'\acute{\text{u}}\text{K}'\acute{\text{u}}$ 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') || IE $*\text{neuh-}$ > NaIE $*\text{neuh-}$ vi.\vt. 'bow, nod' > L $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-tus}$ 'gravitation, downward movement', $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-}\bar{\text{o}} / \text{-}\bar{\text{e}}\text{re}$ (pfc. $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{i}}$, pp. $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-tum}$) v. 'nod', $\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-men}$ 'a nodding with the head, nod' || Gk $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (aor. $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$) 'bow the head, nod, beckon, bow in token of assent' (< NaIE $*\text{neuh-s-?}$) || Lt {Frm.} $\text{nia}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{sti}$ (prs. $\text{nia}\text{us}\text{i}\tilde{\text{u}}$) 'neigen, beugen' ¶ The absence of the lr. (or its traces) in the stem $*\text{neuh-s-}$ is accounted for by IE morphological laws (NS PK 301) ¶ The editors of IS III (← P 767) adduced OI $\text{navat}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'moves', which, acc. to M E II 23, does not exist; in any case, the Iir words for 'move' (adduces by P and the editors of IS III) are not semantically close enough to justify the comparison ¶ P 767, EI 394 ($*\text{neuh-}$ 'nod'), WH II 189-90, F II 309, Frn. 500 ◇ Ffd. see IS III 61-6 ($*\text{N}\text{u}\text{q}'\acute{\text{u}}$ in HS, K, IE + unc. A + err. [?] NED $*\text{o}\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k-}$ 'bow, droop'). IE $*\text{n-}$ provides ev. for a N $*\text{n-}$ ($*\text{n|}\grave{\text{n}}\text{-}$) and rules out N $*\text{r}'\acute{\text{u}}\text{-}$.

1559. $*\text{n}\nabla\text{qa}$ 'assist (help, protect)' > HS: Eg fMK $\text{r}\chi$ v. 'protect (so.), help' ¶ EG II 304 || IE: NaIE $*\text{o}'\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$ 'help, be useful' > Gk $\delta\upsilon\lambda\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$, $\text{-}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ (ft. $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\omega$, Gk D aor. ps. $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu$) 'profit, benefit, help, assist', $\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Gk D $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$) 'use, profit', Gk Mc $\sigma\theta\theta\sigma$ 'profit' ¶ Hardly here OI $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'t}\text{ham}$ 'help', $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'t}\text{h-}$ 'Zuflucht suchen' (which is better explained as going back to NaIE $*\text{net}\text{h-}$ 'help, grace, favour' < N $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\text{h}_1\text{V}$ 'to seek, to seek help; to help' [q.v.]) ¶ WP II 315, P 754, M K II 151-2 (no definite et. of $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-t}\text{ha}$), M E II 33; F II 395-6 and Ch. 803 (both find no convincing IE et. of $\delta\text{-}\nu\lambda\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$) ◇ On pIE and N $*\text{c-}$ see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1560. $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\acute{\text{u}}$ 'thin, narrow' > IE: NaIE: Gmc $*\text{nar}\text{wa}$ 'narrow' > OSx naru adj. 'eng, kummervoll', $\text{nar}(\text{a})\omega\sigma$ adv. 'eng', AS $\text{near}\text{u|}\text{o}$ (gen. nearwes) 'narrow, confined', NE narrow; d.: MHG $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{lich}$ 'gering, wenig, notdürftig' ¶ Ho. S 54, Ho. 232-3, Sw. 123, Lx. 149 || A $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r-}$ 'thin' > M $*\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{in}$ 'thin, narrow, fine (not coarse)' > MM $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{in}$ [L, MA, IM] {Pp.} 'thin', [IsV] {Lg.} 'mince', [S] {H} 'fein, genau', WrM $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{in}$, HlM $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{ijn}$ 'fine (not coarse); narrow, tight; thin', Mnr H

{SM, T} *narin* id., Brt *нарин* 'thin, narrow', Kl *нәрн* *närŋ* id., {Rm.} *närŋ* 'fine, narrow', Ord {Ms.} *narīn* 'fin, effilé, étroit', MMgl [Z] *nārin*, Mgl {Rm.} *nōrin* 'thin, fine', Dg {T} *narin* 'thin, narrow, flexible', {Pp.} *na'īn* 'thin', Ba {T} *naron*, Dx {T} *narun* id.; M **narida-* > WrM *narid(a)-*, HIM *нарийдах* 'become thin, slender, narrow, tight', Kl *нәрд-* 'become thin', Brt *нарида-* 'become thin\narrow', Ord *narīda-* 'être trop étroit\fin'; Mnr H {SM} *narind_i-* 'être\devenir fin\étroit\menu' ¶ Pp. L III 71, Pp. MA 246, 442, H 114, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565-6, KRS SM 258, Iw. 118, T 348, T BJ 144, T DnJ 130, T DgJ 156, Chr. 322-3 || Tg: WrMc *narχun* 'thin', Jrc {Kiy.} *narhun* 'slender' ¶ STM I 585-6, Kiy. 134 [#672] || T **jar-* > Qrg *žarō* 'wiry, lean, поджарый' (of a horse) (unless from T **jara-* 'be fit', whence 'be well trained' - of a horse); T **jargak* 'lean', 'dressed hide without hair' (if ← 'thin hide\skin') > Qrg *žarγaqtay* 'lean', Qmq Δ *jarγaq* 'lean, skinny', Uz Δ *žarγaq* 'dressed hide of a lean goat\sheep', Tkm, Nog, Bsh *jarγaq*, Qzq, Qq *žarγaq* 'dressed hide without hair', Qrg *žarγaq* id., 'membrane (перепонка)', ET *ja(r)γaq* 'dressed hide without hair', 'parchment', Alt {Rl.} *jarγaq* (*žarγaq*) 'shabby hide', Chv *šurχax* 'membrane, threadbare\shabby coat' ¶ T **jargak* belongs here if its primary meaning is 'lean, thin' rather than 'hide' ¶ ET J 141-3, TL 384 (NaT **jarIγ* 'hand-made leather'), Nj. 772, Jud. 236, MaM 162 || ??φ pKo **yā,rp-* 'thin' > MKo *yā,rp-*, NKo *yā,lp-* ~ *yālp-* ¶ S QK #110, Nam 376, MLC 1182 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1437 (pA **nēra* 'thin, flat' > M, Tg, T, Ko) || K: MG [VTq.] *narnar-i* 'tender', G *narnar-i* 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N **ñärH₂ê* - **ñāH₂rê* 'unripe, tender, weak') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923.

1560a. **no'ɟ'r∇* 'moist, mud; (?) to gush' > HS: EC: Dsn *ńuru* 'wet', (??) Arr {Hw.} *ńōr* 'mud' (× N **ñaRU* 'swamp?') || SC: Irq {MQK} *nāɟ-* 'be wet', *nāɟari* 'wet land along river bank', Alg {EC} *nāɟ-* 'get wet' ¶ Hw. A 389, To. DL 523, E SC 352, MQK 76, Blz. DL s.v. 'wet', Blz. SCL s.v. 'wet' || S **o'ɟnr* > Ar *ɟnr* G 'gush forth', *nāɟār-* 'wound gushing with blood, vein spurting with blood' ¶ Hv. 781, BK II 1293 || A: M **no,ɟ,r-* > MM [IM] {Pp.} *nor-*, WrM *nor-* 'become wet, soaked, damp, moist', Ord {Ms.}, Kl *nor-*, Brt *норо-*, Mnr H {SM} *nōri-*, {T} *nori-*, Dx {T} *noro-* 'get wet', M d. (caus.) **no,ɟ,rga-* > WrM *norga-*, HIM *норго(-x)* vt. 'wet, moisten, soak', Ord *norgo-*, Kl *норh-* *norγъ-*, {Rm.} *norγā-* ~ *norγǎ-*, Brt *норго-*, Mnr H {SM} *nōrga-* vt. 'wet' ¶ IS II 89 reconstructs M **ō* on the ev. of Mnr *ō*, but the regularity of the Mnr reflex of the pM

vowel length is not yet evident ¶ Pp. MA 443, MED 591, KRS 382, KW 279, Ms. O 497, Chr. 331, SM 284, T 352, T DnJ 131 || pJ {S} *núrá- 'get wet' > OJ núra-, StJ nurasʉ 'to wet', nureru 'to get wet', nureta 'wet, soaked', J: T nùre-, K nùré, Kg nuré- 'get wet' ¶ S QJ #491, Mr. 738 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1490 (M and J < A *ñjúré 'become wet, soak') || D (in SD) *no|ur^ra¹mb^o > Tm nurambu 'mud, mire', Tu nurumbu 'alluvium' ¶ In pSD before a derivational sx. *a the contrast *o ↔ *u was neutralized (Zv. 65-6) ¶ D #3707 || ? U: FU: Vt húr 'dampness' (on other possible connections of Vt húr see N *háRU 'swamp') ¶ ≈ LG 201 ◇ ≈ IS II 89-90 (*róhr△ 'humid; to flow'; equates M *nōr(u)- 'soak, moisten' with S ✓nhhr 'river, stream', U *hōr▽/*hōr▽ 'moist, swamp, flow', ? D *hīr 'moisture, water' [see N *hīhr^ra¹ 'to stream; a stream, liquid']).

1561. *ñaher▽ 'day, sun, daylight' > HS: WS *nahār- ~ nāhar- 'day' (× N *ñeh^rU^ri¹ 'light, fire?') > Sr ;^rñā⁹hār cs. 'morning', Ar nahār- 'day, day-time', Mh, Hrs nzhōr 'day', nzhōrən '(at) midday', Sq {Jo.} 'znhor 'days', Jb C 'nhē^rε? 'at midday' ¶ Br. 417, Fr. IV 343, BK II 1354-5, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Jo. J 186 || A *ñhar▽ 'sun, dawn, day' > M *naran 'sun' > MM {MA, IM, IsV, PP}, MMgl naran, WrM naran, HIM нар(ан), Kl narŋ, Ord, Mnr nara, Mgl, Dx, Ba naran, Dg. nar ¶ Pp. MA 245, 442, Pp. KP 154, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565, KRS 368-9, KW 272, SM 357-8, Iw. 118, T 348, T DnJ 130, T DgJ 185, T BJ 144 || T *jarIn 'early in the morning' > OT jarIn 'early in the morning; to-morrow', Tk çarIn, Kr Cr, SY jarIn, Yk sarsin 'to-morrow', Ggz jārin 'morning, to-morrow', Qzq Δ, Qq žarIn 'next year', Chv irān 'to-morrow' ¶ Rs. W 190, Cl. 970, DTS 241, ETJ 147-9, Jeg. 343, Fed. II 473 || pKo {S} nár 'sun, day, weather' > MKo nár, NKo na¹ ¶ S QK #186, Nam 95, MLC 302 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *nar▽ (~ *neru) 'day, sun' > T, M, Ko), ≈ DQA #1439 (pA *ñèrá 'day, sun, light'; incl. T, M, Ko) || D *nēr- 'sun, day, time' > MI nēram 'sun, day, time', Tm nēram 'time, season, opportunity', Kdg ne^rra 'sun, time', Brh dē 'sun, sunshine, day, time'; the pD meaning 'daylight, morning' may be discerned in Kdg ne^rrate and Tu nērçæ 'early in the morning' ¶¶ D #3774, ≈ GS 178 [#451a] (D *nē- 'time, sun') ¶¶ D *-ē- < N *-ahe- ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. день *nahr△ (> A, S), ≈ IS II 85-6 [#320] (pN *rāra 'fire; to flame'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N *ñaher▽ and those of N *ñeh^rU^ri¹ 'light, fire').

1562. *nē^q∇r∇ 'forehead, front of the head, (?) nose' > **HS:** B ✓*nyr ~ *✓y^rn ~ *✓rny 'forehead' > Izn {Rn.} ʔa-nyēr-ʔ (pl. ʔaniriwin), {La.} ʔi-njer-ʔ, Kb Ir {Pic.} anyir, Rf A {Rn.} mt. aynār, Gd inar, Sw {La.} i-nīr (pl. inīran), Tmz {MT} -i-nir, Zw {La.} anir, Izd ayirni (pl. iy^rnan) ~ aḡrri (pl. iḡrra), Nf arnay, Mz arnay (pl. irnayān) id. ¶ La. S 242, Mrc. 123, Rn. 391, Dlh. M 174, La. MChB 112 [fn. 2], Pic. 432, MT 495 || S *✓nχr: S *naχ(r)īr- 'nose, nostrils' > BHb נִיְרִיָּא *nāḥī'rayim* pl. (< du.) 'nostrils' (att.: +ppa. נִיְרִיָּא nāḥī'rāw 'its nostrils'), MHb נִיְרִיָּא nāḥī'r 'nostril', JPA, JEA {Sl.} נִיְרִיָּא nāḥī'r-ā 'nostril', Sr نِسْر نِسْر nāḥī'r-ē (pl.) 'nose, nostrils', Ak naχīr- 'nostril'; SES *naχrīr- 'nose' > Sq {L} nāḥrīr, {Jo., SSL} 'naḥ'rir, Mh {Jo.} nāχrīr, Hrs naχ'rer, Jb C {Jo.} naχ'rer, Jb E {Jo.} nāχ'rer id.; S *°nuχar- > Ar nuχar-at- ~ nuχr-at- 'snout, forepart of the nose', nuχr-at- 'nose', nuχar- (pl.) 'nostrils'; ds.: Ar manχar- 'nostril, nose', manχūr- 'nostrils', but these nouns or some of them may have also derived from *✓nχr 'snore, snort' (o?) or *✓nχr 'pierce' (*naχīr- as pp. 'pierced') (cp. Ar ✓nχr [pf. naχira] 'être usé et troué', nāχir- adj. 'percé et offrant un passage au vent') ¶ KB 648, 651-2, Lv. III 371-2, Sl. 741, Br. 424, JPS 335, BK II 1220, Hv. 757, L LS 265, SSL LSNP 1468, Jo. M 308, Jo. H 99, Jo. J 199, Sd. 714, MiK I #1.198 || C: Ag *ḡar-, {E} *ḡar- 'head' > Aw {Hz.} ḡāri, Kfl {TBZAC} ḡk^huri, Dmt {CR, R} ḡarī id. || LEC {E} *ḡār- 'forehead' > Arr {Hw.} ḡār id., Or {Grg.} ḡāra 'eyebrow' ¶ EPC #466, Hw. A 388, Grg. 301, Brl. 321 || **U:** FU *ḡnēre 'nose, beak, foremost' > pLp {Lr.} *nēre 'cheek' > Lp: L {LLO} nierra, Kld nīrr id., N {N} nierrā id., 'side of face' | Er ḡer, Mk ḡār 'beak, snout, mouth (of animals)' | Chr L/E/H ner 'nose; hill between depressions' | Prm {LG} nūr > Z, Vt ныр n+r 'nose, beak, snout, muzzle' || ObU *°ḡnīr > pOs *°ḡīr > Os: V/Vy ḡir 'cap\promontory in a river (мыс; Kap, Landzunge, Vorsprung des Steilufers zwischen zwei Bächen)' (like in R нос 'nose' → 'cap') || Sm {Jn.} *ḡerъ 'point, extremity (Spitze, Ende)', 'in front (of)' (adv., prep.) > Ne: Т нєрня, Т О {Lh.} ḡje·rḡ'e 'in front', Т нєр" 'earlier', не'ры adj. 'front, preceding, former', Т О {Lh.} ḡērʔə adj. 'front', F NI {Lh.} ḡje·r 'vorher'; Ng {Hl.} ḡerə 'place in front (of sth.)', {Mik.} ḡerə loc. 'in front'; Slq (cd.?): Tz {KKIH} ḡennä 'forward, in front', Tm {KD} ḡenne 'forward'; Kms {KD} ḡēr 'Gipfel, Spitze', {Cs.} r̄er 'Spitze', r̄jerimnā 'forward, front (впередъ, передній)', Koyb {Sp.} +ppa. нерде 'its end'; Mt {Hl.} *irзn 'earlier, long ago' (Mt M {Sp.} герень, ирень),

*irnE- 'in front' (Mt {Mil.}: M irnénde, K írning, T órning 'antrorsum', {Pls.} írñjadu 'in front' (-nde, -ing, -nde are case endings) || pY {IN} *naδ- (misprint for *ńaδ-?) ⇨ *ńaδ-ya- 'face' (with the nominal sx. *-ya) > Y {IN}: K ńaśa, T ńačǝ 'face'; OY: K {Bil.} neatsha, {Klc.} ńячага, Ch {Mat.} ńяча, {Boe.} ńятяпо id. ¶¶ Coll. 39, UEW 303-4 (*nere [*nēre]), Db. OS xix, ≈ Lr. #732, Lgc. #4192, SaR 213, LG 197, Lt. 195, It. #361, Trj. S 310, Stn. D 1070, Jn. 110, Ter. 302-4, ККИН 140, Cs. 185, Hl. US 125, Hl. M ##80, 353, 355, 359, IN 238, 312 || D ≈ *nerri, {GS} *neṭ-i 'forehead, head' > Tm nerri 'forehead, front', Ml nerri, Kt neč, Tf nity, Kdg, Klm, Nkr netti 'forehead', Kn netti id., 'head', Gnd nēč, Knd neti, Mlt nitlu 'crown of the head', Tu netti id., 'forehead', Tl netti 'head', Gdb nediđe 'scalp' ¶¶ D *-rri- < **-r̥r̥- (from *-r̥- + a sx.?) ¶¶ DED #3118, D #3759, GS 59 [#166] ◇ Ag *ŋ- suggests the presence of a lr. or uvular cns. (*nH- or *nq->*ŋ-), which accounts for the length of the FU *ē. If the S cognate is valid, the N rec. must be *ñeqr̥, otherwise the rec. is less specified (N *ñeHr̥) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. *neqr̥ 'перед (головы)', IS II 82 (*ne^rH^ri 'front part of the head, forehead'.

1563. *ñiXR̥ 'hollow (in the ground, in a tree), hole, pit' > IE: NaIE *na|o|ar-/*nēr- 'hole, hollow in the ground' > BSl: Lt nāras 'cave, hole', Frn.} 'Höhle, Bau (wildlebender Tiere)' || Sl *nora '(animal's) hole' > OR **ноpa** nora, R, Uk но'pa, Cz nora, P nora, nura || Gk [Hs.] νηρίδας 'τὰς κοίλας πέτρας 'hollow rocks' accus. pl. || ? OI 'nāra'ka- ~ naraka-ḥ 'hell, underworld', Pali naraka- 'Abgrund, Spalte' ¶¶ W II 334, P 766, Frn. 495, ESSJ XXV 184-5, Vs. III 82-3, Chn. II 577, F II 315-6, M K II 138, M E II 37 || HS: S *o✓nhr > Jb C {Jo.} 'naḥar (pl. 'nḥehr) 'hole in a tree-trunk in which animals may nest', naḥ^lrun 'having a big hole' ¶ Jo. J 186-7 || A: Tg: Ewk niru ~ nirū 'small hollow\pit' ({Vas.} 'ямка, впадинка') ¶ Vas. 296, STM I 600.

1564. ₂ *ñúr̥ 'to penetrate' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) *oner- 'penetrate, plunge, dive' > Lt nér̥ti (prs. ner̥iù) 'to dive, to plunge' ⇨ nāras 'diver (ε duck), Ltv nirt 'to dive', niret, nirdat 'to plunge' || Sl *ner- / nor- / (R-gr.) *n̥r-~*n̥r- 'dive, plunge' → L-gr. (iter. stem) *nir-~*nir- id. > Cz nořiti, Slk norit' 'to dip', SCr Δ {Chn. ←?} nōriti 'id. (?), ChS cd. **вѣнрѣти** v̥-nr̥eti / **вѣнрѣ** v̥-n̥r̥q 'παραεισδύεσθαι, penetrate', **изнѣретъ** iz-n̥ret̥ 'ἐκδύνει, emerges (from)', Slv pondréti / pondrēm vt. 'dip'; ⇨ Sl iter.-dur. *nir̥ati

~ *nir̥ati ~ *nir̥ati > RChS **ннр̥ятн** nir̥jati, R ннр̥ятъ, Uk ннр̥яти 'to dive', Blg Δ 'норвам I dive', 'норна 'dive', SCr р̥onir̥ati 'to lose oneself into subterranean passages of the chalk formation' ¶ W II 334, P 766, Tr. 197, Frn. 495, BER IV 653, 685, ESSJ XXV 188-9, XXVI 65, Vs. III 91-2, Chrn. II 581-2, Drd. 525 || D: [1] *nu̯r̥ 'creep in, penetrate; insert' > Tm nu̯ra̯i 'creep through a narrow passage, penetrate', nu̯r̥unt̥u 'insert, stick in', nu̯ra̯i 'narrow way, opening, cave', Ml nu̯rayuka 'creep in, squeeze through', Kn нор̥е 'creep in', Tu nūr̥u- id., nurump̥æ 'hole', Knd řug 'enter, steal in, get into, enter through a passage', Png, Kw řug- vi. 'hide', Kui řupka- (< *řuk-p-) / řukt- 'thrust in between, insert', Krx nu̯r̥-, Mlt nu̯ḍe- 'hide, conceal' ¶¶ D #3714 || [2] ? *nu(:)r̥- 'force one's way through, shove in' > Kn nūr̥u 'force one's way through', Krx nurūg- 'push back into the fire unburnt ends of logs protruding', nurg- 'shove in, insert', ?σ Mlt nurge v. 'drag, draw (as a net)'; the decerebralization *-r̥- > *-r̥- (or earlier depalatalization *-r̥- > *-r-?) may be due to a suffix (reduced to zero acc. to the laws of D phonology that rule out cns. clusters) ¶¶ D #3711 ◊ IS MD 357 (*nur̥: IE, D).

1565. *n̥yār̥ 'man (vir), male animal' > A ≈ *ñjāri ({SDM97} *ñari|a, {DQA} *ñjār̥i) 'man, young man' > Tg *ñjari ~ *ñar̥i 'man, young man' > Nn nal ~ nay 'person', Nn KU n̥ra 'male animal', n̥ra b̥yuz 'male person', Ork nar̥, Orc ñā ~ ñī 'man (person, male person)', Ud {STM, Krm} nī, Ud A {Shn.} ñē '_hombre!' (address word for a person), Ul ñī 'person', Ewk A ñōr̥ī, Ewk V/Np ñērawī, Ewk PT/I nirawī ~ ñirawī '(young) man, husband', Neg ñēyaw̥, Lm ñar̥, Sln nir̥ō 'male person', Jrc {Kiy.} niyarma 'person' (in phrases: hadi niyarma 'nobleman', hehē niyarma 'woman', faši niyarma 'carpenter', andahai niyarma 'guest', etc.), WrMc niyalma 'person', Mc Sb {Mrm.} ñalma ~ nalma ~ ñalm ~ nal̥m 'person, man, somebody' ¶ STM I 598-9', Krm. 266, Kiy. 112-6 [##273, 281, 299, 330-333, 336-7, 339], Z 244-6, Klz. MS 231, S AJ 213 [#92] || pKo {S} *nár̥-ná 'brave' > MKo nár̥-ná, NKo nallä- id.; ?? MKo {Nam} n̥j̥ > NKo n̥ä 'man, person' ¶ SDM95, S QK #615, Nam 96, 102-3, MLC 303, Rm. SKE 158; the enigmatic loss of *-r̥ (F IS II 93) suggests a change of the word-final *-j̥r̥ into -j̥ || T: [1] T *j̥arm̥k > Chr çarmăk śarmăk ~ çampăk śamrăk 'young, young man', Blgh б̥: OHg g̥yermek 'young man, child' (> Hg g̥yermek 'child'), VTt/Bsh Jermăk p.n., Oyr B {Vld.} žermegej 'young person, child' ¶ Rs. W 198,

Ash. XII 36-7, 66, Md. 36, EWU 495-6, Rm. SKE 28 [2] ? T *jeŕne '(elder) brother-in-law' > NaT *jezne > OT {Cl.} jǎznǎ|e 'the husband of one's elder sister or of one's father's younger sister', MQp XIII {Cl.} jezñā 'son-in-law, bridegroom', XIV [CC] jezne~jizne 'brother-in-law', Chg ≥XV jǎznǎ 'sister's\daughter's husband', Tkm Δ jezne, Az jeznā, VTt жизни žizni, Kr G ježne, Kr T jezña, Bsh езнә јьδñä, Nog, SY jezde, Uz žeznā ~ žezdä, Qzq, Qq žezde, Qrg žezde, Alt žeste, Tv česte, Xk čiste 'husband of an elder sister or of an aunt' ¶ Cl. 988, ETJ 169-70, TL 298, Pokr. 64-5; TatR 761 ¶¶ S AJ 291 [#394] (*ńjari) (Tg only), ≈ SDM97 (incl. Tg, Ko), ≈ DQA #1471 (incl. Tg, Ko, T) ¶¶ IE *ner- 'man, male animal' > Vd 'nā (< *nār) (accus. naram, nom. pl. 'naraḥ) 'man, person', Av nā / nar- id., μ: OI 'naraḥ 'man, husband, hero', Av narō 'man'; Blc nar, Phl nar 'male', NPrs نر nār 'husband, male', Oss nāl 'male animal, man (vir)' (< Irn d. *nar-ya-) ¶¶ Arm ալր ayr, gen. առն արն 'man, husband' (< *nr-?) ¶¶ pAl {O} *nera > Al nje'ri 'man, human being', Al SG/D/P/Be/Ç né'ri, A 'ner ¶¶ Phr αναρ 'man' ¶¶ Gk ανήρ, gen. ανδρός 'man (male person)' (probably merger of the expected nominative *νηρ with the stem variant of the oblique cases: gen. *ἀρ-ός <*nr-ós) ¶¶ L[γ] neriōsus 'resistens, fortis', Osc niir 'vir, princeps, procer (title of rank)', gen. pl. NERUM 'virorum' ¶¶ OIr ner 'wild boar', MW {Flr. ← ?} ner 'lord', W nêr 'lord, Lord; hero' ¶¶ ?? Lw annarummi, Ht innarauwant- 'strong' ¶¶ P 765, EI 366 (*h_ṛner / gen. *h_ṛnr-0s 'man, person'), Mn. 837-8, IS II 92-3, M K II 138, 148-9, Bai. 174, Ab. II 165-7, F I 107-8, WH II 164-5, Bc. G 320, Vn. N 10, YGM-1 343, Flr. 266, O 304, Huld 100-1 (IE *A₁ner- > pAl *neri), Slt. 121, Pv. I-II 366-73, Lar. 27 ¶¶ HS: C: Ag: Aw η3rži 'male person' ¶¶ EC: Arr herdé 'young man' and/or EC {Bl.} *nirig- 'camel foal' > Dsn hír-ín 'newborn donkey\camel', Sml nirig, Sml N nírig, Rn híraχ 'male camel foal' ¶ E PC #470 (pC *ηerž 'man, young man'), Bl. 260, ZMO 308, Abr. S 188-9, Hw. A 389, PG 237, To. DL 522 ¶¶ ??? Eg nr 'people (homines)' (mentioned in IS II 93) is qu. according to EG II 279; nr.t is {EG} a "spielende Schreibung für rmt 'Menschen'" ¶¶ K *nar- > G nar-i 'male camel' ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 ◊ AD LRC #19: IE, Tg; IS MS 349 (*nājR 'male person') and IS II 92-3 (*NājR 'male person, male') (in both: IE, A [Tg, Ko], HS [Eg, C]). IE *n- rules out pN *ń-, hence the Tg palatal cns. (or cluster) *ń-|ńj- must be explained by postulating a word-internal *y

in pN. It may be also responsible for Arr *ń- and pAg *ŋ∇- (< **n∇?∇- < N *ń∇y∇-) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1566. *ńus∇ 'to breathe' > HS: S (+ext.): [1] CS *√nšm 'breathe' > Sr, Md √nšm v. G id., BHb √nšm v. G 'pant, puff', {GB} 'heftig atmen', MHb, JA √nšm v. G 'breathe', JA {Lv., Js.} √nšm v. T (pf. ʔi t̄ nə'šam) 'take breath, rest', Sr √nšm v. G 'breathe', Ar √nsm v. G (ip. -nsim-) 'blow gently' (breeze), 'diffuse itself' (aroma); ⇨ CS *naša'm-at- > BHb אָנָחָה nāšā'mā 'movement of the air; breath, breath of life; living being', MHb nāšā'mā 'soul', BA אָנָחָה nišmā'tāk 'thy breath of life', JA [Trg.] אָנָחָה niš'mā, אָנָחָה nišmā'tā, Sr اَنْسَمَ nāšam'tā 'breath, spirit, soul', Md nišimta 'soul', Ar nasamat- 'breath of lime, soul; asthma'; words of the root √nsm in Mh, Hrs, and Jb (Mh nəsēm 'breath, soul', etc.) are loans from Ar [2] S *√nšp 'blow, winnow' > Ak √nšp v. G 'blow away, winnow', BHb √nšp G 'blow, blow upon', JEA {Sl.} √nšp G 'blow', JPA Bz {Sl.} √nšp G 'blow, breathe', Ar √nsf G 'winnow', 'scatter (dust) (of wind) ¶ KB 730, 1749, Js. 941, Lv. T II 131-2, Sl. 779, Sl. P 361, Br. 451, DM 300, 307, BK II 1250-3, Hv. 766-7, CAD XI/2 56, Sd. 758, MiK I ##2.50-1 || EC *n∇ss- 'breath' (× EC *neb|fs- id. < N *nop'E' 'breathe, blow'?) > Arr {Hw.} nassé 'breath', Kns nessa 'soul, breath', Gdl nass 'voice, character', pSam {Hn.} *nas v. 'rest' > Sml, Rn nas- id. ¶ Hn. S 69, ZMO 305, Abr. S 187, PG 231, Hw. A 387 || IE: NaIE *neus- v. 'smell sth.' (× N *ńiśu 'smell, breathe heavily' with mt.) > Sl *ńuxa- ({ESSJ *ńu|qxa-) vt. 'smell (sth.)' > R 'нюха-ть, Uk 'нюхати, P niuchać, Blg 'нюшкам, 'нюшна, SCr njüšiti, njüškati, Cz Δ njuchati id., Cz če-nichati vt. 'to smell' (of an animal) || Gmc: AS néosian, niusan 'to find out, to visit', OSx niusian, niuson, OHG niusen 'to try, to endeavour', NHG nüschen 'mit der Schnauze wühlen', ON nýsa 'untersuchen, spähen', njósna 'spähen', Gt bi-niuhsjan 'κατασκοπήσαι, to spy out', niuhseins 'ἐπισκοπή, visitation' ¶ Vs. III 93, ESSJ XXV 156-9, P 768-9, Ho. 234, 237, Ho. S 56, Kb. 730, OsS 654, Vr. 410, 413, Fs. 93, 377 || U: FV *nuska- 'sniff, breathe heavily' > F nuuskaa- v. 'snuff', nuuski- v. 'snuff, smell, scent', Es nuuska- 'blow one's nose', nuuski- 'sniff, snuffle, sniffle' ¶ ErMr носка- noska- v. 'pant, breathe heavily and moistly through the nose' ¶ The long vw. ū in F and Es ({UEW} "sekundäre Dehnung") still needs explanation ¶ UEW 711, SK 405-6, SSA II 244-5.

1567. * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s_{\downarrow}y_{\downarrow}\nabla$ 'woman' (general term), 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > **HS: S** * $\tilde{n}\hat{i}\check{s}$ - 'woman' (used in pl. and with pl. endings only) > Ar $\tilde{n}\hat{i}s\text{-}\tilde{u}na$ 'women', $\tilde{n}\hat{i}s\bar{a}?$ - id. (and through metanalysis: $\checkmark nsw$, whence $\tilde{n}\hat{i}s\omega\text{-}at\text{-}un \sim \tilde{n}\hat{u}s\omega\text{-}at\text{-}un$ 'women'), Sr $\tilde{n}\hat{u}n\check{s}(\check{s})\text{-}\bar{e}$, SmA $\tilde{n}\hat{u}n\check{s}$ 'women', BHb $\tilde{n}\hat{u}n\check{s}$ $\tilde{n}\hat{a}'\check{s}\text{-}\bar{i}m$ (* \bar{a} < an apophonic * a -plural correlating with * $\tilde{n}\hat{i}\check{s}$ -, cp. * $\tilde{b}an$ - 'sons' - a plural stem correlating with * $\tilde{b}in$ - 'son'), Ak $\tilde{n}\hat{i}\check{s}\text{-}\bar{u}$ 'people' (- \bar{u} is a marker of pl.; semantic contamination with * $\tilde{p}\hat{i}na\check{s}$ - 'person' - * $\tilde{p}\hat{u}n\bar{a}\check{s}$ - 'people') ¶ KBR 93, 729, Br. 450, Tal 550-1, BK II 1254 || CCh: McMDr: Dgh {Frk.} $\tilde{n}\hat{i}\check{s}\bar{e}$, Gv {Kr.} $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$, Gdf {IL} $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$, Glv {Kr.} $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$ 'woman' | Tr {Nw.} $\tilde{n}\hat{u}\check{s}u$ id. || **K: GZ** * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$ 'son's wife' > Lz $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$, Mg $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$ \neq $\tilde{n}\hat{i}s\bar{a}$ id., OG $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}\text{-}dia$ 'uncle's wife' ¶ Ch. 988, Q 289, \neq AD IEH 21, K KON ¶ The word may be either a loan from IE or an ancient K inherited lexeme. In the latter case GZ * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}$ must go back to pre-K ** $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{a}\nabla$ < ** $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{y}\bar{a}$ < ** $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{y}\bar{a}$ < N * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s_{\downarrow}y_{\downarrow}\nabla$ || **IE: NaIE** * $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}s\bar{o}\text{-}s$ 'son's wife', {EI} id., 'brother's wife' > OHG $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}r$, NHG † $\tilde{s}chnur$, Yid $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}r$ \neq $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}r$, AS $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}r\bar{u}$, ON $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}r \sim \tilde{s}n\hat{u}r$ 'son's wife', Gt Cr * $\tilde{s}chnos$ (cn. for $\tilde{s}ch\hat{u}os$) 'sponsa, fiancée' || Gk $\tilde{v}\hat{u}\acute{o}\zeta$ 'son's wife, bride' || Arm $\tilde{u}n\hat{u}$ $\tilde{n}\hat{u}$ (gen. $\tilde{u}n\hat{u}n\hat{u}$ $\tilde{n}\hat{u}oy$) 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother's wife' || L $\tilde{n}\hat{u}r\bar{u}s$, $\text{-}\bar{u}s$ 'son's wife, grandson's wife, young married woman' (μ < * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}r\bar{u}s$, $\text{-}\bar{i}$ on the analogy of $\tilde{s}oc\hat{r}\bar{u}s$, $\text{-}\bar{u}s$ 'mother-in-law') | $\rightarrow \mu$ * $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}s\text{-}\bar{a}$ > OI $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\zeta\bar{a}$ 'son's wife', Sgd $\tilde{s}w\hat{n}\check{s}h$, CINPrs $\tilde{s}un\hat{u}h$, d.: CINPrs $\tilde{s}un\hat{h}\bar{a}r$, NPrs $\tilde{s}on\hat{h}\bar{u}r$, Psh $\tilde{n}\hat{z}\bar{o}r$ 'daughter-in-law' || Sl * $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$ (* $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$) 'son's wife' > SrChS, OR $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$ $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$, Blg $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$, Slv $\tilde{s}n\hat{a}ha$, $\tilde{s}n\hat{e}ha$, R $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'\chi\bar{a}$ id., P d. $\tilde{s}neszka$ id., SCr $\tilde{s}n\hat{a}ha$ 'son's\brother's wife' ¶ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE initial * s reflects a palatal element (* y) within the original \checkmark . Another explanation is phrasal metanalysis: in phrases * $\dots(0)s \tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{o}\text{-}s$ '(so.'s) son's wife' (where * $\dots(0)s$ is the genitive ending of the preceding noun) * $\text{-}s$ was reinterpreted as belonging to the following noun * $\dots(0)s \tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{o}\text{-}s$ > * $\dots(0)s \tilde{s}n\hat{u}s\bar{o}\text{-}s$ ¶ In OI and Sl the word got a standart feminine ending * $\text{-}\bar{a}$ ¶ WP II 697, P 978, EI 148 (* $\tilde{s}n\hat{u}'s\bar{o}\text{-}s$), M K III 535, M E II 771, Sg. 704, Mrg. 57, F II 328, WH II 190, Fs. 414, Kb. 923, OsS 841, Ho. 305, Vr. 528, Vs. III 700, Glh. 568, O 302-3 (Al $\tilde{n}\hat{u}s\bar{e}$ 'bride, young daughter-in-law' \leftarrow L * $\tilde{n}\hat{u}p\hat{t}ia$, a local variant of $\tilde{n}\hat{u}p\hat{t}a$ 'married womn, bride'), Slt. 194-5 || **U: AdS** of FU * $\tilde{n}\hat{i}s\bar{a}\nabla$ 'woman, wife' (< N * $\tilde{n}\hat{i}z\bar{a}'\bar{u}$ 'female'

[q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The vw. *ī and the cns. *-s- in FU do not correspond to *u in K and IE, therefore the etl. connection of FU *nīś∇ with N *nīzʻrʻu 'female' is preferable ◇ On the N word-initial laryngoid *ʼ- as the source of the NaIE *s- mobile before root-initial sonorants *see* Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ AD NM #98, ≠ S CNM 12 (unc.: IE *snusi- ← NrCs *nūsa; ÷÷ NrCs *nū|ōsa 'daughter-in-law', ST *nō 'female relative').

1568. *nīśu 'smell (odorare), breathe heavily' > **HS: S** *°√nśw > Ar √nśw v. 'smell (sth.)', naśwat- 'odour', nuśū?- 'good smell' ¶ Fr. IV 278, 284, BK II 1255, 1266-7, Hv. 772 || ?? B *°√nzw v. 'sneeze' > Nf, Si anzu (pf. inzu) id., Sll, Nf, Si tinzi 'a sneeze' || **IE: NaIE** *neus- v. 'smell (sth.)' (with mt.) (× N *nūs∇ 'to breathe') || **U: FU (in FV)** *n|ñiś|štā- (more plausible than *n|ñistā-) v. 'pant, puff, snuff (a burning object), blow one's nose' > F niistā- v. 'snuff (a candle), blow one's nose', Es niistā- v. 'snuff ('a candle, etc.)' | Chr: L нѣшталаш, U/B nūštala-, H нышталаш v. 'blow one's nose' ¶ UEW 708, SK 378 ¶ Rd. (UEW) reconstructs *s (*nistā-) on the ev. of the alleged Lp cognate: Lp N {N} nīsteti- v. '(happen unintentionally, because one is not careful enough' →) 'let go, let slip out of one's hands, let fall', Lp T nište'e- 'wegschnappen'. But the adduction of the Lp word is to be rejected for semantic reasons (even Rd. is close to recognizing it: "Die Zugehörigkeit des lapp. Wortes is aus semantischen Gründen sehr unsicher"), hence there is no reason to reconstruct *s. More than that: *ś- in the Eastern dialects of Chr (U, B) usually (but not always) goes back to FU *ś or *ś rather than to *s || **A: M** *nisun 'nasal mucus' (× N *Lizû 'saliva, mucus', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ **D** *nēč- ~ *nēhč- (or *nēk- ~ *nēhák-) v. 'breathe, breathe heavily' > Tu nēsa 'asthma', Prj nēh(č)-, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Ku nēhč-, Gnd nēč-, Kui nēhča v. 'breathe', Knd nēhč- v. 'sigh, respire when exhausted or tired', ? NED: Krx nāx-na, Mlt nēgye v. 'breathe' ¶¶ D #3765. The velar reflexes x in Krx and g in Mlt are likely to point to a D *k (= lateral *č?) ◇ The D vw. *ē needs explaining.

1569. *nātʻoʻ 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) > **HS: S: [1] CS** *°√nṭw 'bend, incline' > BHb √nṭy|w G (pf. הַבָּי nā'tā, ip. הַבָּי יי-ṭ'tē) id., EpHb √nṭy vt. *Sh* (pf. הַתָּה) 'incline', JPA √nṭy ~ √nṭw G (pf. הַבָּי nā'tā ~ אַבָּי nā'tā) 'incline, hang over', JEA √nṭy 'incline', ? Ar √nṭw G 'weave (a fabric)'; [2] μ S *°-nūṭ- > Ar √nwṭ G (pf. nāṭa, ip. -nūṭ-) vt. 'hang, suspend' ¶ KB 654-5, HJ 728, Lv. III 377-8, Js. 890, Sl. 744, Hv. 779, 808, BK II 1287, 1367-8 || B *n∇_LH_Jd 'pli', *°√wnḡ 'plier, tourner'

> Sll {Ds.} i-niḡ-i (pl. i-nāḡ-ān) n. 'pli', v. caus. snuḡu ({Ds.} snuḡu) 'plier', Wrg {Dlh.} annaḡ 'tourner, entourer', Kb {Dl.} annaḡ '(s')enrouler; tourner, tourner autour', Ah annaḡ (pf. {Fc.} innāḡ) vt. 'tourner, changer de direction', Twl/Ty {GhA} annaḡ (pf. innāḡ) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction)' ¶ Ds. 222, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212, Fc. 1298, GhA 140, 346 (on the conj. 1 A.2), ≈ Pr. #531 || IE: NaIE *^onet- 'lie down, rest' > Gmc (×NaIE *neth- 'help, favour' < N ***n̄aḡ₁ṽ** 'to seek, to seek help; to help'): ON náḡa 'Ruhe', pl. náḡar 'Ruhe, Ruhe des Schlafens' (ganga til náḡar 'sich zur Ruhe legen'), OHG {OsS} gināda ~ ganāda 'Niederlassen in der Absicht zu ruhen; Ruhe', MHG genāde 'Ruhe', (×NaIE *neth- 'help, grace, favour' < N ***n̄aḡ₁ṽ** '↑'): NHG Gnade, Dt genade 'favour, grace, clemency, mercy', OSx {Ho.} (gi-)nātha 'Gnade', gi-nāthēri 'Erbarmer' (ē = Umlaut of a) ¶ ≈ WP II 327 (does not distinguish between this IE √ and the abovementioned NaIE *neth- 'help, favour'), Vr. 403, Vr. N 195, OsS 259, Lx. 61, KM 263, Ho. S 54 || A: NaT *jat- 'lie down' (× N ***ǰ¹A¹ṽ** 'to lie [liegen]') > OT jat- 'lie down', 'lie down to sleep', 'settle down' (of nomads), MQp XIII jāt- ~ jaḡ-, Chg XV jat- 'sleep', XwT XIII jat- 'lie (down)', Tk ɟat-, Ggz, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, SY, Slr, Ln jat-, Xlj jat- ~ jāt-, Qq žat-, Qrg žat-, Alt žat-, Xk čat-, Tv čit-, Tf čit-, Yk sit- 'lie', Tkm, Az, Kr jat-, Uz ɛt- jat-, Qzq žat- 'lie, (go to) sleep' ¶ Cl. 884, Rs. W 192, ET J 156-8, Ra. 200, DT 221, Md. 105, 160 || M *^onatuyi- > WrM natui-, HIM натай- 'bend down, hang, hang over', {Kow.} 'pendre, être suspendu' ¶ MED 567, Kow. 613 ◇ The N word-final lavalized vw. cannot be *u or *ū (because it does not yield *u/*w in IE), hence the tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. is *o.

1570. *n̄a₂ḡ¹o¹**** 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sister-in-law') > HS: B *n¹ḡ- > Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} ṭanuḡṭṭ (pl. ṭinuḡin), Kb {Dl.} ṭa-nuḡ (pl. ṭi-nuḡ-in) 'husband's brother's wife' ¶ Dl. 546, Rn. 392 || C: EC: Or {Grg.} naḡḡēn (pl. naḡḡō) 'woman, lady', Or B {Sr.} naḡēni 'woman (married)', naḡittī 'woman' || DhI naḡa 'woman' ¶ Grg. 298, Sr. SO 372, Th. 252-3, To. D 144, Blz. CL 181 || ??φ NOM: Mc {L} nūtā 'one of two wives of the same husband in relation to the other one' ¶ L M 44 || U *n|ḡato 'sister of husband\wife' > F nato 'spouse's (husband's \ wife's) sister; brother's wife', Es naḡu

~ *nado* 'husband's sister' | Lp: Rr {Lgc.} *no:ṭz* 'younger sister of one's wife', Vfs {Lgc.} *nōt'z* 'elder brother's wife' | Chr: H {Ep.} *нуды нубъ* 'spouse's sister', L *нудо* 'нудо, Uf/B *нудо* 'spouse's younger sister' || Sm {Jn.} **nāt|čъ* 'sibling-in-law' > Ne: T *надо*, T O {Lh.} *nāḍū* 'spouse's younger brother', F L {Lh.} *nāttu* id., 'spouse's elder brother's son', T {Ter.} *не надо*, F *ñēn nāttū* 'spouse's younger sister' (*не ñе* 'woman'); Kms {KD} *nado*', {Cs.} *nado*, *nadu* 'spouse's brother' ¶¶ Coll. 38, It. #30, UEW 299-300, Sm. 539 (U, FU **nātiw*, FP **nātiw*, Sm **nāte* 'in-law'), Lgc. #4238, Lgc. SL #1366, MRS 361, Ep. 77, Ü 135, Ps. OT 78, Rm. BT 88, Jn. 98, KD 42 ¶¶ U *-t- (rather than *-tt-) reflects postcons. *t || D **nāt-/*nātt-/*nānt-* 'husband's sister, brother's wife' > Kn *nādani*, *nādini*, *nāduni*, Ml *nāttūn* id., Tm *nātti*, *nāttūṇ*, *nāttanār* 'husband's sister', Kt *na·tu·py* 'a woman's sister-in-law \ female cross-cousin', Knd *nāṅra*, Mnd *nāṅzār* 'wife's younger sister', Ku {Isr.} *nāṅzo* id., {Fzg.} *nanžo* 'sister-in-law', Kuir *nāṅza* 'younger sister-in-law', Krx *nāsgo* 'elder brother's wife'; D → OI *nanāndrō-*, *nandīni-*, *nandā-* 'husband's sister' ¶¶ D #3644, Pf. 74 [#455] (D **nāt/-tt-*, **nāt/-tt-/-nt-*, **nāt-∇k-*), Tu. #6946 || K: Sv: {Ni.} *nāti* 'своиственникъ (relative-in-law?)', UB *nāti*, LB/Ln *nāti*, L *nāti* 'kinsman' (unless somehow connected with Sv G *natesavi* id.) ¶ TK 632, GP 226, Ni. s.v. *своиственникъ*, Dn. s.v. *nāti* || ? A: [1] Tg: Ewk PT/Skh/Uc *ñāti* 'female relative', 'daughter, sister', Ewk B *ñātz* 'sibling, one's child' ¶ Here the palatality of the Ewk cns. *ñ-* cannot be of pN origin, because pN **ñ-* is ruled out by the U initial **n|ñ-* ¶ STM I 627 || [2] ??? Tg: WrMc *несе* 'wife's elder brother's wife' (the vowels are influenced by WrMc *неуе* 'wife's younger brother's wife', see N **nayE* 'woman') ¶ Z 220 ◇ B and D provide ev. for a N emphatic **t̥*. The U and K cognates point to **t̥* (most probably from **t̥* under the de-emphatizing ass. infl. of **h₂* (especially if it was **h̥* or **hʷ*?) ◇ In Sm and K the word broadened its meaning: 'female relative-in-law' → 'relative(\sibling)-in-law (irrespective to his\her sex)', as well as in ds. of Sv: → 'kinsman' ◇ IS II 81-2 (**nāt'o* in U, D), ≈ Blz. KM 17-8 [#20] (added Ewk *ñāti* and Mc *nūtä*).

1571. **nāt̥h₁∇* 'to seek, to seek help; to help' > K {Fn.} **naṭ-* 'wish' > OG *naṭr-* 'beatum/am dicere, benedicere' (Lc. 1.48, ψ 71.17, ψ 143.15) ({Ser., DCh.} 'ублажать'), G {DCh.} *naṭra n.* 'wish', {Chx.} *naṭvr-/naṭr-/naṭrul-* v. 'wish, long for, desire' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 963, Ser. 124, Fn.

KD #5 || IE *netH- 'help, grace, favour' (× NaIE *^onet- 'lie down, rest' < N ***nāṭ'o**' 'to bend, to bow, to incline' [intr.]) > OI *nā'tham* n. 'help, refuge', *nā'th-* v. 'seek help, Zuflucht suchen' || Gt *nīpan* 'to support', [L-gr.] ON *náð* 'grace, favourable attitude, compassion', Sw *náð* 'grace', OHG *gināda* 'mercy, grace, reconciliation', NHG *Grade*, OSx (*ge*)*nātha* 'favour, favourable attitude, grace' || Ht *nut-* '≈ Glück, Wohlbefinden, Ansehen' or sim., *nūt-* ~ *nū-* '€ desirable condition', 'contentment (?)' ¶¶ Mn. 839, ≈ WP II 327 (does not distinguish between this IE √ and IE **net-* 'lie down, rest'), MK II 152, ME II 33-4, Fs. 376, Vr. 403, Kl. 361, Ho. S 54, Ts. E II 352-4, CHD L-N 476 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *^o*hāt*∇- > ObU {Ht.} ***hāt-** 'help' > pVg ***hāt-** id. > Vg: T **hāt-**, LK/MK/UK/UL **hōt-**, P/NV/SV/LL **hōt-/hōt-**, Ss **hōt-**; pOs {Ht.} ***hāt-** id. > Os: D/K **hōt-**, Nz/Kz **hōt-**, O **hāt-** ¶ Ht. #477 || D ***nāṭ-** ({*ǵGS*} **nāṭ-*) 'seek, look' (× N ***r'o'dE** 'seek, wish' × N ***īewdA** 'look for, find') > Tm *nāṭu* v. 'seek, inquire after', Ml *nāṭuka* 'follow with the eyes, covet, seek', Tu *nāṭu-* 'search, seek', Gnd *nāṭ-* 'see, look at' ⚡ *nād-* 'gaze' ¶¶ D #3637 ◇ ObU (or pFU, pU) ***h-** may result from palatalization **n|h-* > ***h-** caused by unknown factors. If D ***nāṭ-** belongs here, D ***-ṭ-** (the reg. reflex of N ***-t-**) for the expected ***-t-** (< N ***-ṭ-**) may be due to the de-emphatizing infl. of the N Ir.†***H₁** or to coalescence with N ***r'o'dE**. A less plausible alternative: N ***hātH₁**∇ with IE **n-* due to contamination with N ***nāṭ'o**' 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) ◇ Fn. KD #5: K, D **nāṭ-/nēṭ-* 'see, look').

1572. ₂ ***nā'h'w'E'** 'vessel' > HS: S *^o√*nwy* > Gz *nawāy* 'vessel, utensil' ¶ L G 410 || IE: NaIE **nāy-* 'vessel (made of a trunk), boat' [(in descendant lgs.) → 'ship'] > OIr *náu* 'ship', MW {Vn.} *noe* 'large vase, auge', W *noe* 'kneading-trough, flat vessel, dish', Br *neo* id. (< **nauyā*) || Gmc: Nr *nu* 'a trough hollowed out from a tree trunk', ON *π nór* 'ship', AS d. *nōwend* 'shipman', OHG *nuosc* 'slot, tub, canal', {Kb.} 'Nüsch, Röhre, Rinne', {OsS} 'gutter (Rinne), gutter-shaped trough for cattle', MHG *nuosch* id., 'tube', NGr B {Grimm} *nuesch, nuescht, nousch* 'Rinne, Gerinne, Kanal, Trog', OFrs *nōst* 'trough', MLG *nōste* 'cattle-trough, water-trough' || OI *nāu-h* 'boat', OPrs d. *nāv iyā* 'fleet', OPrs *nāv āžā-*, Av *nav āza-* 'shipman', Phl *nāv*, CINPrs {Sg.} *نāv* *nāv* 'trough; drain-pipe, boat, small ship', NPrs {BM} *نāv* *nāv* 'channel; ship', KhS *nō* 'boat', ChrSgd *nw*, BdhSgd *nʷh* 'boat', Oss I

naw, Oss D nawä 'ship' ||| Arm նաւ naw 'ship, vessel, boat' ||| Gk Hm νηϋς (gen. νηός < *nāwós), Gk A ναϋς (gen. νεώς) 'ship' ||| L nāvīś id. ¶ WP II 315, P 755-6, EI 74 (*'neh_β-s / gen. *nh_β'w-os 'boat'), M K II 181, M E II 59, Bai. 192, Ab. II 162, Sg. 1382, BM 557, F II 292-3, WH II 148-9, Vn. N 5, YGM-1 3, Vr. 411, Ho. 238, Kb. 738, OsS 661, Grimm VII 1008, Lx. 154 ◇ The Clt and Gmc data prove that the primary meaning of the IE word was 'wooden vessel, trough', whence later 'boat' and 'ship'. Therefore the tempting comparison of IE *nāw-s 'ship' with Eg n⁵, n⁵ϣ 'come, go, arrive, journey, travel, sail' (where the meaning 'to sail' is by no means the primary one) [BmK #569] is untenable: serious etymology cannot be based on comparison between secondary derived meanings. Hence this comparison cannot serve as an argument for V. Ivanov's daring hyp. of paleolithic navigation (Ivn. LDDM 236). On the Eg verb *see* s.v. N *nāfE 'go' ◇ N *h is the only lr. that may be lost in S and causes lengthening of vowels in NaIE.

1573. *nāw₁ϣ ▽ 'new' > IE *newo-/*nowo- 'new' > OI 'nava-, new, fresh, young', Av nava-, CINPrs نو nau, NPrs نو nou, Oss nāwäg 'new' ||| Gk νέ(Ϝ)ο-ς 'new, young', Gk Mc νε-ωο id. ||| L novu-s 'new' ||| OLT *nava-s (in n. l. Navikai), Pru nauuns 'new' (influenced by jauns 'young'), dadj. neuwenen ||| Sl *nòvъ(-jъ) 'new' > OCS NOVЪ novъ, Blg нов, SCr, Slv nòv, Cz, Slk nový, P nowy, R 'нов-ый (pradj. 'нов), Uk 'новий ||| pTc {Ad.} *nāwe > Tc: A nū, B nūwe id. ||| Arm d. նոր noʀ 'new, fresh' ||| Ht newa-, Lw {Melch.} nāwa/i- 'new' ||| NaIE *newyo-/*nowyo- 'new' > OI 'navya- id. ||| Gk I νεός 'new' ||| Clt: Gl nevio-, novio- in n. l. Neviodunum, Noviodunum (lit. 'new town'), OIr nuae, nóe 'new', Brtt [RE] *nowiyos id. > OW nouid, MW, W newydd, Cn nweth, newyth, nowyth id., OBr [ϣ] nouuid, neuid- id. (in the d. neuidter 'nouveau'), MBr, Br nevez 'new' ||| Gmc *niujaz > Gt niujis, ON nýr, Dn, Sw, NNr ny, OSx, OHG niuwī, NHG neu, AS nīewe, nīwe 'new', NE new ||| Lt naũjas id. ¶¶ WP II 324, P 769, EI 393 (*'newo-s), M K II 144-5, M E II 25, Horn 234, Ab. II 175, F II 306-7, WH II 181, Vn. N 23-4, RE 115, Flr. 266, Fs. 377-8, Vr. 413, Ho. 236, Ho. S 56, Schz. 224, Kb. 730, OsS 655, KM 509, Frn. 487-8, En. 213-4, ESSJ XXV 225-39, XXVI 7-14, Glh. 441-2, Slt. 229-30, Me. EAC 50, 91 (on Arm noʀ), Wn. 328, Ad. 269, Ad. H 34, Frd. HW 150, Ts. E II 320-3, CHD L-N 455-8, Melch. CL 157, Ivn. SA 154 ||| A {DQA} *nébi 'new' > Tg {S} *njab- 'young, new' > UI nāwǰa(n-), Nn Nh naonǰoã, Nn KU naoǰoã 'young', Ud I/Sm {Krm.} nāʔula, Ud K {Krm.} nāola 'boy\girl (adolescent)', Ork naoǰoqqa(n-) 'boy'; Lm nēyi 'new,

fresh' ¶ STM I 616, 636, Krm. 269, S AJ 221 [#223] || pJ {S} *nǐpǐ 'new' > OJ nǐpǐ, J: T nǐi-, K nǐí-, Kg ni-ke, Ht nǐ̄- id. ¶ S AJ 270 [#130], S QJ #130, Mr. 497 || ??σpKo {S} *nā̄- 'younger relative' (in cds.) > MKo nā̄-s-harmi 'wife of grandfather's younger brother', NKO nā̄- 'younger brother (in cds.)' ¶ S QK #772, Nam 105, MLC 336 ¶¶ S AJ 110, 279 [#121], DQA #1418 (incl. Tg, J, Ko) || HS: B *✓yny (prm. {Pr.} *-ynāy) 'be new' > Tw imv. inaḷ (3m pf. {Pr.} ḷä-ḷnaḷ) 'be new \ recent', Ty imv. iyḷay (3m pf. yḷ-yḷay) 'be new' ¶ Fc. 701-2, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 157, GhA 206 ¶ It is tempting to equate it with IE *yow-en- 'young', but it is hardly tenable because IE *-en- is a sx. || NrOm (unless akin to C *✓ngʷ 'suck' [acc. to Lm. W 481-2]): Gm {Hw.} naʔá 'child, boy', Wl {Lm.} naʔa 'boy, son', Malo/Zl/Gf/Bsk {Lm.} naʔa 'boy, child', Dwr {Lm.} nā, naho id., 'son', Kcm naʔa, Zl {C} nāyē, Gmr {Bnd.} náʔ 'boy', Bnc {Wdk.} náʔ 'child', Ym {Bnd.} naʔo, {C} naʔō 'boy', {Wdk.} nā-ní 'our child', {Lm.} nā 'boy, son', Shn {Lm.} naʔa, Bdt {Lm.} nāʔa, nāye 'boy, son', Mch {Lm.} 'naʔo 'child, boy', Kf {C} naō 'slave, servant' (← 'boy'), Cha {Lm.} nā 'child', Anf {MYTY} naʔo 'baby' ¶ Bnd. PO 156, Wdk. BY 108, 132, Lm. Y 369-70, ≈ Lm. W 481-2, LM 43, Hw. EG s.v. 'boy' and 'child', C SE IV 477, MYTY 118, Hw. EG ◇ An ancient connection between N *ñūh₁ǵǵ' - *ñūwǵǵ' 'now' (q.v.) and N *ñæw₁y₁ǵǵ' 'new' (the latter supposedly derived from or even identical with the former) is hardly plausible because of the different vowels of these N words (reconstructed on the U and A ev.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #280 (*nu 'now') (IE, A, J words for 'new' + err.: no distinction from words for 'now'; see N *ñūh₁ǵǵ' - *ñūwǵǵ').

1574. *naye (probably = *nayi) 'woman' > IE: NaIE *-nī, derivational marker of the female sex (deriving words for women from the corresponding words for men): *pot-nī 'domina' (← *pot- 'dominus, owner') > OI 'patnī, Av paθnī-, Gk πότνια (transformed into a standard -ā-stem of feminine nouns), Olt -patni (in cds.: viešpatni 'Frau' ← *'hostess, hospes [f.]), as well as Olt viešni 'female guest' (← viešis 'guest'), OCS -ѡИИ -iŋji: БОГѡИИ bogiŋji 'goddess' (← БОГЪ bogъ 'god'), ДРОУГѡИИ drugiŋji 'amica', ГОСПОДѡИИ gospodŋji 'δέσποινα, domina' ¶ BD II/1 215, 283, Frn. 551, 1244-, Vnd.¹ I 424 || U: FU {UEW} *naye 'woman, wife', *naye- v. 'marry' > F d. nainen (gen. naisen), Es naine (gen. naise) 'woman, wife', F nai- v. 'marry' || ObU {Ht.} *nāy > pVg *nāy >

OVg S SSs naije, Vg: T nāyī, LK/MK nōy, P/NV/SV nay, UL/Ss nāy 'gentlewoman'; pOs *nāy > Os: Sh nay 'wife\daughter of a hero\prince', VK nāy 'wife of an official', V nāy, Ty/D/K nāy 'queen (in playing-cards)' | ? Hg nō 'woman, wife', neje 'his wife' || Sm {Jn.} *ne 'woman' > Ne {Ter.} He, Ne T O {Lh.} hē, Ne F hē, Ng {Mk.} nī, {Cs.} nē, En {Ter.} ne, {Cs.} nē id., Slq Ch/UO neä 'Frau', nie 'Tochter', Kms {KD} nē ~ nē 'woman, wife', Koyb {Sp.} нэ 'woman' ('баба, женщина'), Mt {Hl.} *nā 'woman' (Mt A {Msr., Strl.} nah 'ein Weib', Mt K {Mll.} ne 'wife', Mt M {Mll.} ne 'woman') ¶ UEW 297-8, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *nāxi, Ugr *nāgī, Sm *ne 'woman'), Ht. #420, Jn. 100, Cs. 139, KD 44, Hl. M #727 || A: Tg: WrMc neye 'wife's younger brother's wife' ¶ Z 216 || HS: WCh: Sy {Csp.} hī 'daughter' ¶ Csp. 46 || ???σ possibly Eg G ny 'ein Klageweib' ¶ EG II 201.

1575. (₂?) *nizʻiʻU 'female' > K *než|zʻ- > G nezv-i 'female animal (esp. pig, goat, sheep)', (↳) Mg nezv-i 'female' in nezvi yeži 'sow' ¶ Chx. 951, Q 288, 350 || U: FP *nīs∇ 'woman, female' (× N *'nūs, y, ∇ 'woman') > pLp {Lr.} *nisōn 'woman' > Lp: U {Schl.} niisuna, L {LO} nisōn, N {N} niso (gen. nisson), Klt nezzan, Kld nīzan id., S {Hs.} n'ūjsen- in cds.: n'ūjsen'ājjaa 'woman, wife', n'ūjsenes-tjuppe 'woman's hat', n'ūjsenes-∅uoddeh 'woman's boot-laces' | Er hīz-aña 'wife's mother' (hīz- 'wife' + aña 'mother'), {Ps.} hīzaka 'female animal' ¶ It. VFUMr 264 (*nīs∇), UEW 708 (*nis∇), Lr. #729, Lgc. #4180, Hs. 1018-9, Stn. FUV 61 || ?σ HS: S: Ar nazīf-at- 'woman married out of her tribe' (unless derived from ✓nZf 'ôter, enlever'), ?? nuZZaf- (pl.) 'female animals (sheep, etc.) agitated by sexual desire' - possibly × ✓nZf 's'ébranler et se mettre en mouvement (surtout avec une agitation qui témoigne d'un désir)' ¶ BK II 1235-7, Hv. 762 ◇ The lr. in the N etymon explains the length of the U vw. One may consider adducing here WrMc neye 'wife's younger brother's wife', but it is more plausibly connected with N *nayE 'woman' (q.v. ffd.).

1576. *nežʻiʻi 'finger, toe; ? knuckle of a finger' > HS: B ✓nsy 'toe, foot of ungulate animals' > Ah ti-nse (pl. tinsawīn), Gh činči id. (pl. činčawin), Wrg {Dlh.} ti-nsi (pl. ti-nsa) 'pied et bas de la patte d'un quadrupède (la chèvre, la brebis, l'âne, le chameau, etc.)', Mz {Dlh.} ti-nsi (pl. ti-nsa) 'pied d'animal (surtout ovin)', Kb ti-nsa pl. 'sabots de bovidés', Shl {La.} tinsit (pl. tinsa) 'pied de toute bête de somme' ¶ Fc. 1415, Nh. 184, Dlh. Ou 225, Dlh. M 140, Dl. 576, La. MChB 120 (fn.3)

|| **A** {AD} *ń|n^re¹lŋu 'finger's breadth, knuckle of a finger' > T **_{jj}el-lig (> *illig ~ *ellig) (ADb.) > OT elig 'finger's breadth', Chg äli(k) 'finger's breadth as unit of length', ET Δ {Jr.} ilig id., 'finger', ET H {ML} elek 'finger's breadth', ET ikki elik 'breadth of 2 fingers' (ikki is 'two'), QrB, Nog. Qq, Qrg eli, Qzq e¹lī, VTt illb, Brb {RL} iliy, Bsh ilb, Alt {BT} elü, Alt\Tlt {RL} ölü, ET X {ML} elek, Qb/Sg {RL} eliṣ, Tv iliṣ, Yk ilī 'finger's breadth as unit of length', Alt ölü 'vershok (Russian measure of length, ≈ 2 inches)', Uz tört elli 'breadth of 4 fingers' ¶ RL. I 814, 816, 819, 1248-9, 1489, Cl. 14O-1, ET Gl 263-4, TL 259, ML. X 9O, ADb. SR 178, BT 119, 191 || Tg {ADb.} (att. in AmTg) *ńiŋŋu (= *ńiŋŋu < *ńiŋu) > Orc ńiŋi 'finger (as measure of length)', Ud X niŋi, Ud Sm ńini 'finger knuckle's breadth (measure of length)' ¶ STM I 639, Krm. 267 ¶¶ ADb. MSR 13 [#61] (A *ńilŋu). ADb. SR 47 (A e_{jj}lgi) || **D** **l** *neṭi or *noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and middle finger; cracking of the finger joints' > Tm, Ml noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and the middle finger', Tm noṭi- v. 'snap with the thumb and the middle finger', Ml ńoṭi 'snap of fingers', Tl neṭika 'a knuckle cracking or snapping of the knuckles' ¶¶ D #2936 ◇ Tg *i is still to be explained (assimilating infl. of the ancient vw. *i of the next syll.?) ◇ ADb. MSRM 22 [#31] (N *ńe¹λu > A, D).

1577. ₂ *ńab^ʔ∇ 'warm, heat' > **HS**: Eg fP nby, fBD nby.t 'flame, live coals', fP nby vi. 'burn' ¶ EG II 244 || C: Bj {R, Rop.} ✓ nb^ʔ pcv. ({R} 1s p. 'amba^ʔ, 1s prs. anam^bī^ʔ, prtc. 'neb^ʔa) 'be\become hot', {R} 'be hot' (sun), 'neb^ʔa 'heat, heat of the sun', {Rop.} nab^ʔa 'hot' || ? +ext.: Ag: Q {R} embelaw-, Km {CR} enbeleu- 'be hot' (← EthS?) ¶ R WBd 179-8O, Rop. 221 || ? +ext. or cd.: S *✓nbl_l 'flame' (× N *bEÍ∇ 'boil, cook') > Ug nbl_l, Gz nabal, Ak nablū 'flame' ¶ A #1739 (Ug nbl_lt), OLS 316, L G 383, Frnz. LS7 626, CAD XI/1 25-7 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. I 9O (HS *✓nbl > Eg nbj, S, Ag *✓nbl, as well as *✓bl in C, B, and Ch, actually N *bEÍ∇ '↑' and N *biīU 'to be warm, to burn; warm') || **A** *ńaba > NaT *jaba > OT {Cl.} java 'warm' ([MhK] java jēr 'warm place', jawa 'warm'), Yk sabān ~ samān 'heat', 'warm summer', 'warm' (of summer) ¶ Cl. 872, MKD 219, Pek. 2006, 2061 || Tg *ńama 'warm' (as. *ń...b|p > *ń...m and × N *ńäzm∇ 'soft') > Ewk, Orc, Ul, Nn ńama, Lm ńam, Neg ńam, ńamagdu, Ud {Krm.} ńamahi, Ork namā 'warm, warmth', Sln namagdi 'warmth' ¶ STM I 63O-1, Krm. 269 ¶¶ ADb KL (A *ńapa 'warm'), STM I 631 (Tg, T); ≠ SDM97 (*ńamo 'warm, soft, mild') and ≠

DQA #1487 (A *nĵùmà id.) (in both the Tg root *ńama 'warm' is equated with M *nomu 'soft' and with J and T reflexes of N *ńăǰm ▽).

1578. ? (₂?) *ńaǰχ ▽ 'wet, moist' > HS: S *^o✓nθĥ > Sb ✓nθĥ v. 'provide irrigation (?)' ¶ BGMR 102 || U: FU *ńačk ▽ 'wet, moist' > F nahkea 'damp' (but not nahkea 'leathery' ← nahka 'leather') | pLp {Lr.} ńōckε 'wet, raw' > Lp: N njuoskâs, njuoskâ- 'get wet', S njuotskes, L njuoskas, Kld {Gn.} ńūckas 'wet, raw' | Er načko, Mk načka 'wet, moist' | Chr: L нoчкo 'nočko, Uf nočko, H načkε id. || Os: Kz ńāšax, O ńāsaχ 'raw' ¶ Coll. 102, UEW 311, Lr. #787, Lgc. #4471, MRS 358 || possibly also ?σ IE *yes- v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (×N *ńoĉ ▽, q.v. ffd.) ◇ A phonetic var. of N *ńoĉ ▽, q.v. '↑'? ◇ Qu., because the HS root is represented by uncertain data of one lge. only.

1579. *ńoĉ ▽, q.v. 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle' > HS: WS *^o✓nšχ v. 'sprinkle' > Ar ✓nšχ 'aquā conspersit', {Hv.} vi. 'wet, sprinkle'; našχ-at- {BK} 'une ondée', {Hv.} 'a shower'; Sb nšχ v. 'defile, sprinkle with impurity' ¶ Fr. IV 291-2, BK II 1278-80, Hv. 777, BGMR 92 || U: FU *ńoĉač ▽ 'moist' > pPrm *ńuĉ id. > Z ńuž 'moist', 'viscid' (of clay), 'flexible', Yz ńuž 'moist' ¶ LG 200 || ?σ IE *yes- v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (← *v. 'become moist'?) (×N ? *ńaǰχ ▽ 'wet, moist'??) > OI yas- (prs. yas-yati) v. 'boil, become hot, foam', Av yah-, KhS jiš- v. 'boil' || Gk ζέω 'I boil, seethe' || OHG {OsS} iësan 'to boil, to foam' ('effervescere'), {Kb.} jesan ~ gesan 'gären, to ferment', AS zist 'foam, yeast', NE yeast || W ias n. act. {LP} 'boiling, intense heat\cold', {YGM} 'thrill, shiver', ? OIr es(ε) 'cataract' (← *'foam') || ?? Ht is(sa)na-, essana- 'dough' ¶¶ WPI 208, P 506, Mn. 444, E 77 (*yes- 'boil'), M K III 13, M E II 406-7, Bai. 111, F I 612, OsS 464, Kb. 330, LP § 20, YGM-1 295, Wn. 595, Pv. I-II 381-5 || D *noĥ- 'wash' (×N *r ▽, q.v.) > Tm nuṭakku 'wash, wipe off moisture, dissolve', Tu neḏi, niḏiyuni, niḏipini, Bel noḏi, Prj noḏ-, Gdb nor- id., Gnd nor-, norr-, Knd nor-, Png noz-, nuz-, Kui nobga (< *nog-b-), Ku nor-, Mlt nórē if. ¶¶ D #3783 ◇ If the Ht word belongs here (which is not certain), S *-χ- must be an extension, because it cannot reflect N *-q- for lack of the expected correspondence in Ht. But if the Ht word (or IE *yes-) is not a legitimate cognate, *-q- (> S *-χ-) belongs to the N etymon.

1580. ₂ ***ńug**∇ ≈ 'ε deer, antelope' > **HS:** Eg OK/MK *nωζω* 'addax antelope (Addax nasomaculatus)' ¶ EG II 226 || ? Ch: Mdr {ChL} *cd.*? *nágìgúrè* 'antelope' ¶ ChL || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) ***ńu**∂|ω∇ > ObU ***ńō**∂|ω 'elk' > pVg ***ńō**ω 'Elch' > Vg: T **ńō** ({Ht.} misprint **nō**), MK **ńo**ω id.; pOs ***ńō**∂ 'elk' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Sl **ńō**∂, Y **ńō**ω, K/Kr {Stn.} **ńō**χ id. ¶ Ht. #442, Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on the reflexes of FU *-∂- and *-ω- in ObU), Stn. D 1029, Trj. S 317.

1581. (₂?) ***ńahæg**'ü' (or ***ńah**₁∇₁**gE**?) 'drive, chase' > **HS:** WS ***ń**nhg (prm. *-nhag-) 'drive (game), follow (tracks)' > BHb **ń**nhg *G* (ip. -nhag) vt. 'drive (an animal), drive away, drive on; lead, lead out', JEA {Sl.} **ń**nhg *G* vi. 'follow a practice\custom, lead', Ar **ń**nhğ *G* (pf. *nahağā*, ip. *ya-nhağ-u*) 'follow (the tracks of)' ⇨ **نہج** *nahğ-* '(plain) road' ⇨ **ń**nhğ *G* 'trace a road', Gz **ń**nhg *G* (pf. *nahaga*) 'lead to pasture', *Sh* (pf. *ʔanhaga*) 'push forward (herd), drive (herd)' ¶ KB 637-8, Js. 880-1, Lv. III 347-8, Sl. 731-2, BK II 1352-3, Hv. 802, LG 393 || **IE:** NaIE ***yāg**h- 'chase, hunt' > Gmc: OFrs *jagia*, OHG *jagōn* 'to hunt, to persecute; jagen, treiben, verfolgen', NHG, Dt *jagen* 'to chase, to drive, to hunt'; ⇨ OHG *jagid* (> MHG *jaget* > NHG *Jagd*) n. 'chase, hunt, pursuit', MDt, Dt *jacht* id. → Dt *jacht* 'yacht' (← 'hunting ship, Jachtschiff') || ?? Vd *yah'va* {MW} 'restless, swift, active' (but {Bt.} 'der jüngste, neueste', {Cpl.} 'der jüngste, ewig jung\munter'), {MW, Bt.} *yah'vat*(-ī) 'ever-flowing' (of a river)', {MW} *pra-yakṣati* '(?) is quick, speeds on', {Bt.} 'vorwärts eilen, streben; (einer Sache) nachtreiben, erstreben, erreichen', {Cpl.} 'vordringen, eilen, streben'; the OI words are valid cognates if their interpretation by MW (and WP, P, partially Bt. and Cpl.) is right ¶ WP I 195-6, P 502, Kb. 519, OsS 461, M 329, Vr. N 284, MW 838, 849, Bt. V 114, 134, Cpl. 343, 349; M K III 1-2, 13-4 and M E II 391, 407 (M interprets Vd *yah'va* as 'young, vigorous', *yah'vat-ī* as '(?) youngest', and '*pra-yakṣati* as 'displays', rejecting the connection of the OI words with Gmc) || **A:** ?σ M ***ne**∂- 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (× N ***ηæ**ñE 'go [away]') > MM [HI] {Ms.} *ne*₁- 'transhumer', [LM] {Pp} *ne*₁- 'reisen', [MA] {Pp} *nū*∂ē- (Pp: read *ne*'ū-), *nū*- 'nomadize away', [IM] *nū*- 'wegfahren', [S] {H} *ne*[∂]*u*- *ne*₁- 'sich auf den Treck begeben, trekken', d. *ne*[∂]*uri* *ne*₁*uri* 'Treck, (Karren-)Zug, Karawane', WrM *neg*ū-, HIM, Brt *нγγ-*, Kl *нγγ-* *nū*- v. 'nomadize, move from place to place; trek, migrate', Ord *nū*:- 'déménager', ? WrO {Krg.} *nē*- 'move, go past', Dg {T} *neu*- 'nomadize,

migrate' ¶ Ms. H 78, Ms. O 503, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 262, 443, H 116, MED 569, Chr. 335, KRS 390, KW 282, T DgJ 157, Krg. 212 ◇ If the M √ belongs here, the N etymon must be **ńahæg'ü'*, otherwise we remain with some unspecified vowels (N **ńah₁∇₁gE*) ◇ The phoneme *u/w in the expected pIE **yāg^hu/w-* is likely to have been lost on a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1582. **ńogü₁∇* (or **ńogü₁||í∇?*) 'tear out\asunder, pinch' > HS **√ngl* > S **^o√ngl* > Ar *√ngl* G (pf. *نَجَّل* nağala, ip. -ngūlu) 'rip up, skin (a beast) from the hocks, till (the ground); *√ngl* G (pf. *نَجَّل* nağala, ip. -ngīlu) 'erase (a writing)', 'strike off pebbles' (camel), 'pierce (with a spear)' ¶ Fr. IV 246, BK II 1207, Hv. 752-3 || Ch: MfG -'ngz₁- 'cueillir, arracher', Mf {BLB} *ńg^ωalala* 'fête de récolte' ¶ Brr. MG II 211, BLB 262 || ? Eg G ngz 'die Glieder zerfleischen, den Augapfel ausreißen', Eg P ngz 'kill, slaughter' ¶ EG II 348 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1896 (¿ Ar *√ngl* 'mow, reap' ÷ Mf ngz₁- 'cut') || A: M **no^ry¹ula-* vt. 'tear to pieces, tatter' > WrM *nogula-*, HIM *нооло-* id., Kl *ноол-* 'pull (at\about), pluck' ('тормошить, трепать, теребить'), Brt *нооло-* 'pull (at\apart)' ('теребить, раздергивать); → M **no^yura-* > WrM *noyura-*, HIM *нооро-* 'become tattered, worn out', Brt *нооро-* 'become worn out' ¶ MED 588, KRS 381, Chr. 330 || D **nu₁]*- v. 'pinch, pluck, nip' > Tm *nu₁]* id., Ml *nu₁]*uka v. 'pinch, pluck', *nu₁]*a 'a pinch, bit', Kt *nu₁]*y-, Kn Δ *nu₁]* v. 'pinch', Tl *nu₁]* id., *nu₁(u)cu* v. 'pinch, nip off, squeeze' ¶¶ D #3717 || ?σ,φ U: FU **ńülke-* v. '≈ skin, flay, lose hair' > F *nylke-* v. 'skin, flay, strip the skin off', Es *nülge-*, *nülg_i-* v. 'skin, flay' || pLp {Lr.} **ńzlkz* 'get the hair separated from the hide' > Lp: S {Hs.} *njälgedh* 'die Haare durch Auswassern der Felle lösen \ abtrennen', N {N} *njâl'gâ/ -lg-* 'get the hair\feathers torn or scraped off in a certain place' || Er *нельге-* *ńe¹ge-*, Mk *нельго-* *ńe¹gâ-* 'take away, take by force (entreißen, wegnehmen)' ||| pOs **ńy₁lam-*, {θHL.} **ń¹y₁lam-* > Os {Ps.}: Y *ńěx¹am-*, K *ńěx¹atmâ-* v. 'moult, lose\shed hair' || pY {IN} **ńel-* 'flay' > Y K *ńel-bâ-t-* id. ¶¶ UEW 319, ≈ 329, SK 407, Lr. #755, Lgc. #4310, PI 179, Ker. II 93-4, PD #1461, IN 238-9 ◇ D **-u-* and FU **-ü-* go back to N **-ogü-* ◇ If the problematic U cognate is valid, the N lateral cns. is likely to have been **₁*, which is responsible for both D **₁* and for U **₁* (< **₁* in precons. position). If the U cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be **ńogü₁||í∇*.

1583. ?σ,φ (₂?) ***ńägoR∇** (or ***ñägoR∇**) 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas, and sim.)' > **IE**: NaIE *neg^{ωh}ro-s 'kidney(s)' > Gk νεφρόν (pl.) 'kidneys' || Ite {Mul.} *neχ^ωro- 'kidney' > L Δ [Fest.] nefrendēs 'kidneys' or 'testicles', L Prn [Fest.] nefrōnēs, L Ln [Fest.] nebrundinēs id. || Gmc {Vr.} *neyr(i)an > ON nýra, OSw niūre, ME, MLG nēre 'kidney', OHG nioro id., 'loin', NHG Niere 'kidney' ¶ P 319, Dv. #263, EI 329 (*(h₁)neg^{ωh}ro-s), F II 310, WH II 156, Mul. 285-6, Vr. 413, Kb. 728, OsS 651, KM 511 || ?φ **U**: eU *ńārmä 'groin' (× N *ń∇... + *^ʀaR_{H₂}∇m∇ [*H₂ = N *h?]) 'upper part of a limb' [q.v.] > IP *ńārmä > F näärvä 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ näärän (gen. näärämen) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es nääre (gen. nääreme) 'Halsdrüse' || Lp T {Gn.} ńā¹rme 'Schambug, Schamleiste' || pObU {Ht.} *ń¹rm∇ > pOs *ńarām 'Leistengegend, Ende des Oberschenkels' > Os Nz ńarām, Os O ńarem id.; pVg *ń¹rām 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO нѡрмѣ, Vg N {Mu.} ńārēm ≈ [ńarām] ¶ eU *ā < **ā < *-ägo- ¶ Coll. 101, UEW 312, Sm. 546 (FU *ń¹rmā, FP *ń¹erma, Ugr *ń¹rma 'groin, hip'), TI 571, Ht. #475 || **A**: NrTg ≈ *ńerun 'gland' > Ewk ńzrin, Ewk Ald ńirun, Lm ńiruń, Lm B ńzruń id. ¶ STM I 654 || M *noyir (= *no^ʀir?) 'fat adhering to the intestines, pancreas' > WrM noir, HIM {MED} нойр id., {Gl.} 'long piece of fat adhered to guts of a pig', HIM {Luv.}, Brt {Chr.} нойр 'pancreas', Kl {Rm.} nōr 'Darmfett', {KRS} нѡр nōr 'pancreas' ¶ MED 589, Luv. 270, Chr. 329, KW 280, Gl. II 44, KRS 384 ¶ M *-o^ʀi- is probably from *-o^ʀo- < (by as.) *-ä^ʀo- ◇ The discrepancy between IE *n- (regularly from N *n- or *ñ-) and *ń- in FU and Tg may result either from pre-IE depalatalization *ń- > *n- (caused by unknown factors) or from secondary palatalization *ñ- > *ń- in U and Tg (or pA) (caused probably by some lexical interaction, e.g. the infl. of N *ń∇...^ʀaR_{H₂}∇m∇) ◇ Ernits KSTM, Ernits PSTM (Lp, TM).

1584. ***ńuk∇** 'shake, swing, tremble' > **HS**: WS *^ʀnknk > Gz ^ʀnknk v. 'shake, agitate', Ar ^ʀnkk (pf. nakkā) v. 'urge (a debtor)', {BK} 'insister, presser, importuner', ^ʀnknk v. 'importuner son débiteur', ? Sq {L} negneg v. 'shake' ¶ L G 396-7, BK II 1336, 1345, Hv. 796 || Eg N (XX) nωc '≈ to tremble' ¶ EG II 225 || ?? C: Ag *^ʀng^ωd v. 'tremble' > Bln {R} nāgūād- 'zittern, beben (die Erde)' (× Ag *^ʀng^ωd 'thunder' < C {AD} *^ʀnk^ωd id.) ¶ R WB 281-2, AD SF 176, 240, L G 182 || **U**: FU *^ońu^ʀ∇ v. 'tremble' > pObU *ńō^ʀ-/ńū^ʀ- > pVg *ńōw-/ńūw- > v.

'tremble (beben)' > Vg: T $\acute{n}ow\bar{e}t-$, MK $\acute{n}owt-$, P $\acute{n}ow\bar{e}t-$, Ss $\acute{n}owit-$ ~ $\acute{n}uwit-$ 'schaukeln'; pOs $*\acute{n}o\psi a-$ (={Hl.} $*\acute{n}\bar{a}\psi a-$) > Os: V/Vy/Ty $\acute{n}o\psi a-$, Y $\acute{n}owa-$, Kz $\acute{n}o\chi a-$ vi. 'move'; V/Vy $\acute{n}o\psi a\bar{l}-$, Ty $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi a\bar{t}-$, Y $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega a\bar{t}-$, D/K $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi a\bar{t}a-$, Nz $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi a\bar{t}-$, Kz $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi a\bar{t}-$, O $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi a\bar{l}-$ 'schaukeln' ¶ Ht. #443 || D (in NED) $*nukk-$ v. 'shake' > Krx $nuk-n\bar{a}$ v. 'shake, cause to oscillate', Mlt $nuke$ v. 'shake' ¶ D #3696, Pf. 192 [#147] ◇ IS II 91 ($*\acute{n}\bar{u}k\kappa$ 'трясти, теревить' > U, D).

1584a. $*\acute{n}a\zeta o$ 'laugh, be amused' > U: FU $\approx *n\acute{a}k\bar{\nabla}$ (or $*nak\bar{\nabla}$ -?) 'laugh' > F $nauraa$, Δ $nakraa$ id., Ing $nagr\bar{a}$, Krl K $nakraa$, Krl Ld $nagrada$, Lv $na'gr\bar{a}$ id. ||| pOs $*\acute{n}\bar{a}\psi-$ 'laugh' > Os: Ag/Ty $\acute{n}\bar{a}\psi-$, Nz/Kz/O $\acute{n}\bar{a}\chi-$ id., Ag/Ty/Y $\acute{n}\bar{a}\psi$, Nz/Kz/O $\acute{n}\bar{a}\chi$ 'laughter, a joke' | ? OHg $\geq XVI$ $n\bar{e}w\bar{e}t-$, Hg $n\bar{e}v\bar{e}t-$ 'laugh' (influenced by [albeit hardly cognate with] OHg $\geq XV$ $m\bar{e}w\bar{e}t-$ id. < Ugr $*m\bar{e}k|\psi\bar{\nabla}$ - 'laugh' [> Vg: T $m\bar{a}v\bar{a}\acute{n}\acute{t}-$, LK/P $m\bar{a}\psi\bar{a}\acute{n}\acute{t}-$, Ss $mowint-$ id.] ¶ SK 369, SSA II 209-10, Stn. D 1028, Trj. S 300-1, \approx UEW 872, \approx EWU 1024 || D $*nak(k)-$ v. 'laugh, smile' > Tm $naku$ id., $nakkal$ 'laughing, mockery', Ml $nakekka$ v. 'laugh', Kn $nagu$, $nage$, Tl $nagu$ v. 'laugh, smile', Prj $n\bar{a}v-$, Gdb $nag-$ \bar{d} $nagg-$ 'laugh' ¶¶ D #356, Zv. 119, 129 || IE: NaIE $*\psi ek^{\omega}-/*\psi ok^{\omega}-$ 'laugh, play, be amused' > L $ioc\bar{u}s$ (gen. $ioc\bar{i}$) 'a joke, jest' ||| Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}$ 'game played with pebbles' ||| Lt $ju\bar{o}k\bar{a}s$ 'laughter, joking', Ltv $j\bar{o}k\bar{s}$ 'jest, joke, fun' (unless borrowed from L $ioc\bar{u}s$, as supposed by WH, WP, and P; but, acc. to Būga, this is an inherited L-grade of the IE stem), \rightarrow Lt $ju\bar{k}d\bar{y}ti$, $juokinti$, Δ $ju\bar{k}inti$ 'make laugh' ¶ Better (for semantic reasons) than the alt. hyp. (of WP): L $ioc\bar{u}s$ < NaIE $*\psi ek-$ 'speak' (< OHG $j\bar{e}han$ 'say, speak, MW $i\bar{e}ith$, Br $i\bar{e}z$ 'language', etc.) ¶ \approx P 503, WH I 716-7 (both: L $ioc\bar{u}s$ < IE $*\psi ek-$ 'speak'), Frn. 197, Bg. SBE #88 (= Bg. RR I 446), Bg. PDK 432 ◇ Os $\acute{n}-$ and IE $*\psi-$ point to a N $*\acute{n}-$, D $*n-$ may go back either to $*n|\acute{n}-$ or to $*\acute{n}-$, while Hg is likely to suggest a N $*n|\acute{n}-$ (depalatalization due to a still unknown cause?) ◇ Schrd. DU 95 [#45] (D, U), \approx Blz. LB #97 (U, D).

1585. $*\acute{n}ok_{\bar{l}}\bar{\nabla}_{\bar{l}}\bar{\chi}\bar{\nabla}$ 'be in front, take the lead, precede, be first' > HS: S $*\acute{n}ok_{\bar{l}}\bar{\nabla}_{\bar{l}}\bar{h}-$ > BHb $\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{n}$ $\bar{n}ok\bar{a}h$ n. cs. 'in front of, facing' ¶ Hb \bar{h} is regularly from $*\bar{h}$ or $*\chi$, but $*-k_{\bar{l}}\bar{\nabla}_{\bar{l}}\bar{\chi}-$ is ruled out by one of the S incompatibility laws ¶ GB 505, KB 660 || (+ext.) B $*\sqrt{}nk\bar{d}$ > Ah $\bar{a}nk\bar{a}d$ 'aller en avant' ¶ Fc. 1368 || A: Tg $*\acute{n}\bar{o}g-$ (~ $*\acute{n}\bar{o}k-$?) 'taking the lead, precede, be first' > Sln $\acute{n}\bar{o}g\bar{u}$ 'first, former', Lm $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi$ adj. 'front, first', Ewk $\acute{n}o\psi\bar{i}$ \bar{d} $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\bar{u}$ id., $\acute{n}\bar{o}-$ v. 'precede', Neg $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi\bar{u}$ ~ $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\bar{u}$ 'first, taking

the lead, front', 'in front', Orc $\acute{n}\bar{o}ki$ adj. 'front, initial', Ud H/A $\acute{n}\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon \sim \acute{n}\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon$, Ud Sm $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi\alpha$ 'first, front', Ork $\acute{n}\alpha\omega\upsilon$ 'first, going in front of others' (a reindeer in a team) ¶ STM I 641-2 || **Gil:** Gil: A $nu\chi i-$, ES {Krn.} $nu\chi ind$ adj. 'front', A $nu\chi i$ adv. 'in front' ¶¶ ST 213, Krn. N 479 || **D:** GnD $*n\bar{o}k-$ 'be in front of others, precede' > Png $n\bar{o}k-$ 'go first, precede', Kui $n\bar{o}ka$ 'precede, go ahead of', $n\bar{o}ki$ 'ahead, in front of', Ku $n\bar{o}k-$ 'precede'; ? Kn $n\bar{o}!$ 'precede, take the head' ¶¶ D #3799 ◇ The Tungusian vowel length is compensatory (N $*-ok_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}X-$ > Tg $-\bar{o}k-$).

1586. * $\acute{n}'a'k\bar{o}$ 'soft parts of the animal's body (liver, marrow, suet)' > **HS:** S $*\check{v}n\check{q}y/\omega$ > Ar $niqy-$ 'marrow', $naq\omega-$ 'bone of the arm, bone full of marrow', $\check{v}nq\omega/y$ v. 'extract marrow from a bone' ¶ Fr. IV 329-30, BK II 1335, Hv. 796 || **IE:** NaIE $*\check{y}ek^{\omega}-r_{\circ}(t-)$ / gen. $*\check{y}ek^{\omega}-n-es$ 'liver' > OI $\check{y}akr_{\circ}t$ (/ gen. $\check{y}ak'nah_{\downarrow}$), Av $\check{y}\bar{a}kar\bar{a}t$, NPrs جگر $\check{z}eg\bar{a}r$, Oss $i\check{g}\bar{a}r$, Ydg $\check{y}\bar{e}\check{y}\bar{a}n$ id. || Gk $\acute{\eta}\pi\alpha\rho$ (gen. $\acute{\eta}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$) 'liver' || L $iecur$ (gen. $iecoris \sim iecinor-is$) id. || Blt $*\check{y}ekn\bar{a}$ id. > Olt $j\check{a}knos$, Lt (j) $\check{e}knos$, Ltv pl. $aknas$ (\leftarrow bf. sg. $akna$), Δ $j\check{e}knos$ pl., Pru {En., Tr.} $iagno$ (emendation of the ms. *ce. Lagno*) || ??σ SI $*\check{y}bkno \sim *j\check{y}kra$ 'hard-roe': [1] $*\check{y}bkno$ > LLs $j\check{y}kno$ id.; [2] $*j\check{y}kra$ id. > ChS, OR **HKPA** $i\check{k}ra$, Blg $'ikra$, SCr $\grave{i}kra$, Slv $\acute{i}kra$, Cz $j\check{i}kr\check{y}$ pl., $j\check{i}kra$, Slk, P $i\check{k}ra$, R $и'kra$, Uk $i'kra$ ¶ P 504, EI 356 [$*\check{y}ek^{\omega}r_{\circ}(t)$], M K III 1, M E II 391, Brtl. 1282, Horn 95, Vl. I 521, Ab. I 541-2, Bai. 108, FI 639, WH I 673, Frn.192-3, En. 183, Tr. P I-K 11-4, ESSJ VIII 216-20, Glh. 275 || **U:** FU $*\acute{n}\acute{o}k|y|\omega\nabla(-\hat{z}\nabla)$ > ObU {Ht.} $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\check{y}\bar{a}\hat{z}$ 'meat' > pVg $*\acute{n}\check{a}\check{y}\bar{a}\acute{-}$ > Vg: T $\acute{n}\check{a}\omega\acute{!}$, LK $\acute{n}\omega\omega\acute{!}$, $\acute{n}\omega\omega\acute{!}$, MK/P/NV/LL/UL $\acute{n}\omega\omega\acute{!}$, SV $\acute{n}\check{a}\omega\acute{!}$, Ss $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\acute{!}$; pOs $*\acute{n}\acute{o}\check{y}\dagger$ ({JHl.} $*\acute{n}\check{a}\check{y}\dagger$) id. > Os: V/Vy $\acute{n}\acute{o}\check{y}\dagger$, Ty $\acute{n}\check{a}\check{y}\omega\dagger$, Y $\acute{n}\check{a}\omega\dagger$, D/K $\acute{n}\bar{o}\check{y}\bar{a}$, Kz $\acute{n}\bar{o}\check{y}\bar{i}$, O $\acute{n}\bar{o}\check{y}\bar{a}$ ¶ Ht. #445 || **A:** NaT $*\acute{o}jakrI$ 'suet, fat (of an animal)' > OT $jaqr\dagger$ ({Cl.} $yaqr\bar{t}$) 'fat, suet' (semantic infl. of T $\check{y}\bar{a}\check{y}$ 'fat') ¶ Cl. 905, DTS 238, \neq Rs. W 177 ($jaqr\dagger$ within the entry of $j\bar{a}\check{y}$ 'fat'), \approx ET J 59 ($jaqr\dagger \leftarrow j\bar{a}\check{y}$ 'fat?'), AD NM 26 ($*\acute{n}'a'k\bar{U}$ > T $*\check{y}akr\dagger$), \approx Vv. AEN 18 (misunderstanding of my inconsistent notation: the entry quoted in NM was written long ago, when I used different phonetic symbols; in fact T $*\check{y}akr\dagger = *jakrI$; Vv. points to a morphological problem: the element $*-rI$ is not a living sx. in OT, but it may go back, just as extensions in IE, S, etc., to earlier structures, including N derivation or composition of word groups, cf. IE $*\check{y}ek^{\omega}-r_{\circ}$ 'liver' - F AD NMI § 5) ◇ FU $*\acute{o}$ (for the expected $*a$) may be due to the assimilative infl. of N $*-o$.

1587. *ńôḶḶ or *ńaΓôḶḶ '€ canine' > U *ńukḶ ≈ fox' > Sm {Jn.} *nokã 'fox' > Ne: T нохо, T O {Lh.} noχo' 'polar fox', T accus. pl. носи (> *nokã-y), FL {Lh.} noχã̄ id.; Kms {Pl.} nagabai 'lynx', Koyb {Pl.} nagameida, {Sp.} нагамайна id. (майна 'bear') || ? FU {UEW} *ńukḶ-śḶ or *ńukśe 'sable, marten' (← *'fox'?) > F nois in a n. l. Noisniemi = R Соболино (← R соболь 'sable'), F nokko 'sable', Es nugis 'common marder (Martes martes, Baumarder)' | Z Lu {UEW}, Yz níz, Vt {W} níz ~ naž 'sable' || ObU *ńōkəs 'sable' > pVg *ńokəs > Vg: Tńoks, LK/MK/LLńoxs, UK/P/NVńoxʷs, SVńaxʷs, ML/UL/Ssńoxəs id.; pOs *ńōʷəs > V/Vy/Tyńōʷəs, Yńōʷəs, D/Nz/Kzńōχəs id. | Hg nyuszt 'marten' ¶¶ Coll. 102-3, UEW 326-7, LG 190, Lt. 180, Ht. #449, MF 491-2, Jn. 84 || A *ńok'Ḷ (and *ŋok'Ḷ?) 'dog, wolf' > M *noqayḶ 'dog' > MM [L, MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} noqajḶ, [IM] {Pp.} noʷajḶ, MMgl {Iw.} noqajḶ, WrM noqai, HIM нохой, Ord {Ms.} noχḶ, Kl ноха, {Rm.} noχã, noχã, Mgl {Rm.} noqεḶ, Dg {Pp.} nogo, Dx {T} nogi, Ba {T} nogui, Mnr H {T} noχuē, {SM} noχuē'; the root may have merged with the descendant of N *ṽuk'æ' 'canine' (→ 'lynx') (q.v.) ¶ Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 259, 442, Pp. MDG 186, Lg. VMI 58, Iw. 119, MED 592, KRS 382, Ms. O 495, KW 278, Rm. M 34, SM 282, T 352, T DnJ 130, T BJ 144 || Tg *ńoke ~ *ŋoke ({SDM} *ńōke, {DQA} *ŋoke) 'wolf' > WrMc niyoxe, Mc Sb {Y} yuxz, yuxu 'wolf', Lm ŋōkz ɖ ŋōka ɖ ŋoka ~ ŋuzkē ɖ ŋēzkē 'male canine (dog, wolf, fox, polar fox)', Orc ŋōksyö 'wolf' ¶ STM I 665, Z 223, Y #2203 ¶ The front vw. in Lm and Orc may be due to as. (infl. of the next syll.) ¶¶ SDM97 (A *ńōk'o 'dog, wolf'), ≈ DQA #1540 (pA ŋjãk'u; incl. Tg, M) || D *nakkḶ 'fox, jackal' (× N *ṽuk'æ' '€ canine' [→ 'lynx']?) > Kn nakke, Tl nakka 'jackal', Klm nakka 'fox', Gnd nakka, Ku nakka ~ naka 'jackal', Knd naka id., 'fox' ¶¶ ≈ D #3606 || ? HS: WCh: Bg {J} náŋ, Kir {Sh.} náŋ, {ChL} náŋ 'dog' ¶ ChC, ChL ¶¶ Cf. S: Ar naqāθ- 'hyena' [BK II 1320] ◇ D *-a-, the initial ŋ- in Lm and Orc and the final ŋ in Bg and Kir suggest something like N *ńaΓôḶḶ (*ńŋ- or *ńʷ- > Lm, Orc ŋ; *-ΓḶ- > Bg, Kir -ŋ). Otherwise, the D vw. *a may be due to the infl. of D *nari 'jackal, fox' (> Tm nar i, etc., see D #3606).

1587a. ?σ *ńuḶḶ (+ an additional N word) '€ small fur-bearing animal' > U *ńukḶ-śe (or *ńukśe) 'marten, sable' > FU {UEW} *ńukḶśe or *ńukśe 'marten, sable' > F nois 'sable' in the n. l. Noisniemi (= R Соболино ← R соболь 'sable'), Δ {Kil.} nokko 'sable', Es nugis (gen. nugise) pine marten, Mustela martes' | Prm *ńíž 'sable' > Z Lu

{UEW} $\acute{h}i\acute{z}$, Yz $\acute{h}i\acute{z}$, Vt $\text{нйзъ } ni\acute{z}$ id., Yz $\ve a\text{-}\acute{h}i\acute{z}$ 'otter' (lit. 'water-sable')
 || ObU {Ht.} $*\acute{h}\check{o}k\acute{a}s$ 'sable' > pVg $*\acute{h}\check{o}k\acute{a}s$ > Vg: T $\acute{h}oks$, LK/MK/LL $\acute{h}oks$,
 UK/P/NV $\acute{h}ox^{\omega}s$, SV $\acute{h}ax^{\omega}s$, ML/UL/Ss $\acute{h}\check{o}x\acute{a}s$ id.; pOs $*\acute{h}o\check{v}\acute{a}s$ ({[Hl.]}
 $*\acute{h}\check{a}\check{v}\acute{a}s$) > V/Vy/Ty $\acute{h}\check{o}\check{v}\acute{a}s$, Y $\acute{h}\check{o}\omega\acute{a}s$, D/Nz?Kz/O $\acute{h}\check{o}\check{h}\acute{a}s$ id. || pY {IN}
 $*noq\theta\acute{a}$ - 'sable' > Y {IN}: K $noq\check{s}\acute{a}$, T $noqs\acute{a}$, K {Jc.} $nox\check{s}\acute{a}$, $nox\check{s}\acute{o}$ id. ¶
 Coll. 102-3, UEW 326-7, SK 389, LG 190, Lt. 180, Ht. #449, MF 491-2,
 IN 237, Ang. 184, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [#40] (Y ← U) || A: pKo {S} $*n\acute{a}k\acute{o}ri$
 'badger' > MKo $n\acute{a}k\acute{o}ri$, NKo $n\acute{a}g\acute{u}ri$ ¶ S QK #773, Nam 103, MLC 329 ||
 ? HS: S $*\check{v}n\check{k}\theta$ > Ar $naq\bar{a}\theta$ - 'hyena' ¶ BK II 1320 ◇ This etymon may be
 genetically identical with (or derived from) N $*\acute{h}\acute{o}k\check{\nabla}$ '∈ canine'.

1588. $*\acute{h}\acute{u}k\check{u}$ 'lie down, sink, bow (down)' > U $*\acute{h}\acute{u}k\check{u}$ - vi. 'bow,
 bend down' (× N $*\eta\acute{a}^{\check{r}}i\check{g}u$ 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.],
 to hang down'?) > FU: pLp $*\acute{h}\acute{z}k\check{\nabla}$ - 'bend down' > Lp: N $n\acute{z}\acute{a}k\check{k}\acute{a}$ - / -g-
 'bend down, stoop down' (of person), 'sink, settle, get crooked' (of a
 house), L {LLO} $n\acute{z}\acute{a}k\check{e}t\acute{i}$ - vi. 'bend, bow, writhe' (of a tree, person), Kld
 {SaR} $нигк\check{l}\acute{z}$ v. 'bow, bend down'; pLp {Lr.} $*\acute{h}\acute{z}k\check{e}$ 'crooked, bent' >
 Lp: N $n\acute{z}\acute{a}k\check{k}e$, K {Gn.} $\acute{r}\acute{i}h\check{k}$ || Sm: Sm {Hl. → IS III} $*\acute{h}\acute{i}ku$ ~ $*n\acute{+}ku$, {Jn.}
 $*n\acute{+}k\check{b}$ ~ $*n\acute{i}k\check{b}$ - 'bend \ bow (the head), nod' > Ne T {Ter.} d. $нихи-$
 $ра-сь$ ~ $нихи-р\check{e}-сь$ 'to turn back one's head (быть с откинутой
 головой)', Ne F {Lh.} $\acute{h}\acute{i}h\bar{u}\omega$ - $\acute{h}\acute{i}hu\check{r}$ - $\acute{h}\acute{i}hi\omega$ -, Ne F P {Lh.} $\acute{h}\acute{i}\check{h}\acute{i}\beta\acute{s}$
 'bow, bow low (before so.)', En {OSIPL} $n\acute{+}xu\acute{s}$ 'to pray', Ng {Cs.}
 $\acute{r}\acute{i}g\check{u}t\check{m}$ v. 'beten, den Kopf biegen', Slq Tz {KKIH} $n\acute{+}k\check{a}l\check{t}i\check{m}p\acute{i}$ - v. 'nod'
 || pY {IN} $*n\acute{i}\check{v}(i)$ - vi. 'bend' > YK $n\acute{i}g\acute{i}\text{-}bu\text{-}y$ - id. ¶ Coll. CG 402, UEW
 317-8, Lr. #752, Lgc. #4380, Hs. 1000, N III 46, Gn. 1091, TI 301, Ps. B
 284-5, Jn. 101, Ter. 316, Lh. 323, KKH 138, SaR 211, IN 236-7 || A: T
 $*j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - 'bow, kneel' > OT $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - 'bow, do obeisance to; worship', XwT
 XIV $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - v. 'bow, worship', MQp XIV $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - 'serve kneeling', MQp XIV
 [CC] $j\check{u}g\check{u}n$ -, OOsM XIV-XVI $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - 'kneel', ET $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ - v. 'bow, kneel', Qq
 $\check{z}\check{u}g\check{i}n$ -, Qrg $\check{z}\check{u}g\check{u}n$ - v. 'bow', Qzq $\check{z}\check{u}g\check{i}n$ - $\check{z}\check{u}g\check{i}n$ - 'sit cross-legged;
 worship, admire', Qmq $j\check{u}g\check{u}n$ -, VTt Δ $\check{z}\check{b}g\check{b}n$ -, Bsh $j\check{b}g\check{b}n$ -, Uz $j\check{u}k\check{u}n$ -, Yk
 $s\check{u}g\check{u}n$ -, $s\check{u}g\check{u}y$ - 'kneel', Chv: L $\check{z}\check{a}k\check{a}n$ - $\acute{s}\check{b}g\check{b}n$ -, H $\acute{s}\check{b}g\check{b}n$ - 'bow, curtsy'
 ¶ Cl. 913, ET J 264-5, Sht. 107, Jud. 972, Pek. 2379-81, Ash. XIII 8, IS III
 64-6, Rl. III 504 || D (in NED) $*n\check{u}k$ - 'bow, droop' (× N $*\acute{h}\acute{o}w|Ha^{\check{r}}i$ 'to
 bend, to be crooked') > Krx $n\check{u}x$ -, $n\check{u}k^h$ - 'bow (the head), keep down (the
 eyes); silence, defeat, put down', Mlt $n\check{u}ge$ v. 'droop, walk\behave
 without energy' ¶ The length of $*u$ results from D morphophonemic
 alternation (probably "the rule of Krishnamurti", Zv. 184) and/or from

coalescence with N ***ń'ow|Ha'Ḳi** ¶ D #3723, Pf. 193 [#149] || ?σ HS: WCh: Hs **nōḳè** 'draw back (as a tortoise drawing its head into its shell), retire, withdraw' || AG: Mpn {Frz.} **nók** v. 'stop (doing sth.)', Su {J} **nōk** 'stehenbleiben, bleiben, aufhören' (but Su **nōk** 'ausruhen' is likely to be akin to Mpn **nōk** 'breathe') ¶ J S 77, Frz. DM 44-5, Ba. 822 || ?σ S ***-nīk-**, ***√nyk** G 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (×N ***ń'u'kU** [or ***ń'u'k,∇?,U??**] 'darkness, night', q.v. ffd.) > Ak prm. **-nīk** (inf. **nīāku(m)** > **nāku**) {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar **√nyk** G (ip. **-nīk-**) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} **√nyk** G (pf. **nēk**, 3m subj. **yīnk**), Hrs {Jo.} **√nyk** G (pf. **nzyōk**, 3m subj. **yzynek**) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} **√nyk** G (pf. **nzyūk**, subj. **yzyēk ~ yzyīk**) id., 'copulate with' ¶ Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100, Jo. M 309, MiK I #2.53 ◇ ≠ IS III 61-6 (T and D + unc. HS, K, and IE reflexes of N ***ńūq∇** 'to bend, to swing, to sink' [q.v. ffd.]; he reconstructs N ***Nūq'ū'**) ◇ In descendant lgs. (e. g., T) contamination with the reflexes of N ***ńūq∇** '↑'?

1589. *ń'ow|Ha'Ḳi (= ***ńoqaḲi**?) 'to bend, to be crooked' > U: Fp ***ńokke** 'crooked, bent' > Mk **нокла** 'nokla 'slope, declivity (as of a road\way)', {LG} **нокзл, нокзла**, {Jh.} **нокол, нокола** 'sloping, inclined' || Prm: Z **нюкыль** **ńuk'í** n. 'bend, curve (сгиб, изгиб, выгиб, загиб)', Z V **ńuk'í**, Z Ud **ńukií** 'Biegung, Krümmung, Haken; krumm, gebogen', Z Ud **ńuk'ir-ńuk'irzn** 'writhen, huddled up (from pain)' ¶ UEW 714, PI 181, LG 200 || A: M ***naki-yi** > WrM **накі-**, HIM **нахий-х** v. 'bend; cave in, be shaky', Kl **накі-** vi. 'bend, bow, incline forward', {Rm.} **накī-** 'sich ein wenig seitwärts biegen'; 'schaukeln, schwanken (z.B. Gras)', Brt **нахī-** vi. 'be bent, bend down, cave in'; M ***naki-gar** > WrM **накігар**, HIM **нахигар** adj. 'bent, bending, flexible', Kl {Rm.} **накiγār** 'ein wenig schief gebogen' ¶ MED 561, KRS 366, KW 270, Chr. 324 || D (in NED) ***nūk_lk_l**- v. 'bow' (×N ***ń'üḲ'ü'** 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) || ? HS: S ***o√nχg** > Ar **√nχğ** G 'agiter dans tous les sens le seau descendu dans le puits, pour l'emplir de l'eau' ¶ ***-χ(∇)g-** < ****χ(∇)Ḳ-** (dis.)? ¶ BK II 1220 ◇ The hypothetic N sequence ***-ow|Ha-** can explain the apparent discrepancy between the FP ev. of a N vw. ***-o-** and the M ev. of ***-a-**. If this hypothesis is rejected, we remain with a less specific N etymon ***ńo|aḲi**. If the Ar cognate is accepted, the N etymon is ***ńoqaḲi**.

1590. $\text{₂}^* \acute{n}\ddot{u}k\text{ᵛ}$ (or $\text{₂}^* \acute{n}\ddot{u}k\text{ᵛ}?$) 'tear, tear out' > **HS:** Eg BD $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tear out (the heart)' ¶ EG II 343 || WS $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tear' (\rightarrow 'split') > Ar $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ v. *G* 'tear (one's own garment), slaughter (a camel for guests), kill', *Gz* $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ v. *G* 'be split, have cracks, become torn'; \rightarrow WS $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'a crack, split' (\times N $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ \rightarrow $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'hole') > *Gz* $n\text{ᵛ}$ n. 'split, crack', Sr $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'cave, hole', MHb $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'cleft, cavity, ravine' ¶ LG 399, \approx KB 681, Js. 934, BK II 1329, Hv. 794 || **U:** FU $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ v. 'tear, jerk' > F $n\text{ᵛ}$ -, Vp $n\text{ᵛ}$ - id. || pObU: pVg $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - 'pluck (rupfen, zupfen)', {BV} v. 'nibble (grass)' > Vg: T $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ -, LK $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ -, P $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ -, Ss, MK {BV} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - v. 'pluck, nibble' || Hg Δ $n\text{ᵛ}$ - $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - 'shred (flax), pluck (raufen), wear out (a garment)' || Sm {Jn.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - \sim $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - 'pull out' > Ne T $n\text{ᵛ}$ - id., Ne F {Lh.} $n\text{ᵛ}$ - id., En X {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'take', Ng {Mik.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - 'take, seize'; Slq Tz {KKIH} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ - 'pull (тянуть, дергать)'; Koyb {Sp.} $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'натягиваю (I stretch)' ¶ UEW 318, Coll. 103, Sz. 152, SK 406, Kn. WV 201, Stn. WV 25, BV 68, Jn. 100, KKIИ 136, Hl. M #338.

1591. $\text{ᵛ}^* \acute{n}\ddot{a}l\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue' > **U:** FU $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id. > pLp {Lr.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'mouth' > Lp: S {Hs.} $n\text{ᵛ}$, L {LLO} $n\text{ᵛ}$, N {N} $n\text{ᵛ}$ / -lm-, Kld $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id. || Chr: P {Gn.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, H {Ep.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, L $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, Uf/B $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue, language' || ObU {Ht.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue' > pVg $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id. > OVg S: ChusO $n\text{ᵛ}$, Kg $n\text{ᵛ}$, SSs $n\text{ᵛ}$, Tr $n\text{ᵛ}$, OVg E TM, OVg N SoG $n\text{ᵛ}$, Vg: T/P $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, LK/MK/UK $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, NV/SV/LL $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, UL/Ss $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id.; pOs {Hl.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, {Ht.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id. > Os: V/Vy $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, Ty/Y $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, D/K $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, Nz $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, Kz $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, O $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ || Hg $n\text{ᵛ}$ id., 'language' ¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxx, UEW 313-4, It. #287, \approx Sm. 546 (FU, Ugr $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, FP $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'mouth'), Lr. #763, Lgc. #4352, \approx Ber. #24 (pChr $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, but $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ is at variance with the ev. of Chr P $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$), MRS 161-2, 166, Ep. 34, Ht. #463, MF 480-1 || **D** $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ -($\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$) 'tongue' > Kt $n\text{ᵛ}$, Kn $n\text{ᵛ}$, $n\text{ᵛ}$, Tu $n\text{ᵛ}$, $n\text{ᵛ}$, Tm, Ml $n\text{ᵛ}$, Tl $n\text{ᵛ}$, $n\text{ᵛ}$, Klm $n\text{ᵛ}$, Nkr $n\text{ᵛ}$, Knd $n\text{ᵛ}$ id. ¶ D #3633, Zv. 128, 131 || **HS:** WCh: Grn {Hrn., Sh.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, as well as possibly Wnd {Sh.} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$, {L} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ and Dw {ChC} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ id. (unless going back to $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ \leftarrow $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue', cp. Bg {J} $\text{✓}n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue') ¶ JI II 328, ChC, Hrn. EG s.v. 'tongue' || **? IE:** ᵛ Ht $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue', Lw {Lar.} $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue (?)', {Mlc.} $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'tongue, gossip'; but Ht $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'harmful speech, slander', $n\text{ᵛ}$ - v. of speech, HrLw $n\text{ᵛ}$ 'word, speech', and Ld {Gsm.} $n\text{ᵛ}$ '(aus)sprechen'

do not necessarily belong here, but may be independent onomatopoeic stems ʃ l- for the expected *y- is due to the ideophonic factor ʃ Ts. E II 20-1, CHD L-N 21-6, Mer. HHG 78, Lar. 62, Mlc. CL 122.

1592. (₂?) ***ńoɣlê** (or ***ńaɣlê**) 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow' → 'arrow'), 'to tie together', ([in HS] → 'to put on footwear') > **HS:** S: [1] ***ńaɣl̥∇**]- 'sinew', → 'tie' (noun) > Ar **ńaɣl**- 'nerf, boyau, morceau de cuir avec lequel on entoure l'arc au haut de la cambrure ou sur les côtés; chaussure, soulier, sabot', BHb **נבנב** 'ńaɣal 'a sandal', Ug {A} **ńɣl** 'sandal' (but OLS 313-4 and Mrgl. BM 18f. interpret Ug **ńɣl** otherwise), Sr **𐎠𐎡𐎢** **ńaɣl-ā** 'horse-shoe', Md **ńala** 'shoes, sandals', Mh {Jo.} **ńɣā**, Jb E **ńɣal** 'sandals', Sq {Jo.} 'ńaɣal, {L} **ńaɣal** 'chaussure'; [2] ***ńɣl** v. G 'tie' > BHb **ńɣl** v. 'secure (a door by straps), fasten sandals on one's foot', Ug **ńɣl** 'binden, schließen', JA [Trg.] **ńɣl** v. 'tie a shoe', Md **ńɣl** v. 'shoe a horse, bind up, tie', Ar **ńɣl** v. 'give sandals to so.; wear boots; shoe (a horse, a camel)', Gz d. **ńaɣūlt** 'widow whom the late husband's brother marries by levirate' (lit. 'a tied one [f.]') ʃ BK II 1296, Hv. 782, KB 666, KBR 705, A #1805, Br. 435, Lv. T II 118, DM 283, L G 382, L LS 629 || **U** ***ńōle** 'arrow' (← **'bow' ← **'bowstring' ← **'sinew') > F **ńuoli** 'arrow', Es **ńool** 'arrow, bow' || pLp {Lr.} ***ńōlɜ** 'arrow' > Lp: S {Hs.} **ńjuole**, L {LLO} **ńjuolla**, N {N} **ńjuollâ**, Kld **ńūll** || Er/Mk **нал** **nal** id. || Chr L **нӧлӧ нӧлӧ** 'arrowhead made of bone' || Prm ***ńōl** / ***ńōly-** 'arrow' > Z **ńɜv** / **ńɜvy-**, Yz 'ńūl, Vt **ńɜl**, Vt B **ńel**, Vt SW **ńoɣl** || pObU ***ńɣl∇** 'arrow' > pVg ***ńɣl∇** > OVg: S ChusO **ńiôla**, S VT **нела**, S SSs **ńjela**, E TM **ńjel**, OVg N SoG **ńjäl**, N SoO **нялъ**, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML **ńēl**, LK/UL/Ss **ńāl**, MK/UK **ńɜl** id.; pOs ***ńal** > Os: V/Vy/O **ńal**, Ty/Y **ńáɸ**, D/K **ńot**, Kz **ńɔɸ** id. || Hg **ńyíl** (accus. **ńyilat**) id. || Sm ***ńɜɣy** ({Jn.} ***ńeɣy-**) 'arrow' > Ne T -**ни** ({Lh.} -'ń·i) in **түни** **tūńńi** 'gun' (lit. 'fire arrow'), Ne F {Lh.} -**ńī** in **ńńńī** 'Stellbogen' (ńńń-'bow'), En {Mik.} -**ńiy** in **tūńiy** 'gun', Slq Ch {KD} -**ńī'** in **q'ēs'áńī'** 'arrow for shooting at birds', Kms {Cs.} **neā**, **ńjă** 'arrow', {KD} 'ńâ 'bullet', Koyb {Sp.} **не** 'arrow; копейцо у стрелы; bullet', Mt {Hl.} ***ńey** or ***ney** 'arrow' (Mt: K {Mll.} **ńéi**, M {Mll.} **ńèi** id.) ʃʃ UEW 317, Sm. 539 (U ***ńɣxlɜ**, FU ***ńɣɣli**, FP **ńooli**, Ugr ***ńɣlĩ**, Sm ***ńěəj**), Lr. #789, Lgc. #4462, Hs. 1009, LG 197, Ht. #459, Jn. 108-9, Hl. M ##729, 746 ||] Another line of semantic changement: FU ***ńoɣl∇** (or ***ńaɣl∇**) v. 'tie together' > Hg **ńyaláb** 'Bündel, Bund' || pOs ***ńula** 'together' > Os: V/Vy **ńula**, Ty **ńuɸa**, D **ńuta**, Nz **ńutâ**, Kz **ńūɸa** ʃ MF 476, 488 || **A:** ?ɸ Tg

*^ońu_;lge (or *y_{u;}lge) > Ewk Tmt ńulga ~ julga ~ yulga, Ewk Z/Tng/Urm/Ucr yūlgз 'arrow, iron arrowhead' ¶ STM I 350.

1593. *ńūǎ 'pluck, tear out (hair, branches), pinch' > HS: S *^o✓nɣl > Ar manɣal- 'arraché de son tronc avec enlèvement de sa base (rameau, branche)' ¶ BK II 1296 || A ({SDM97} *ńūli- 'to shave'): NaT *jūl(i)- > OT jūli- 'shave', MQp XIII [LM] {Hou.} jūlī- ¶ XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jūlü-, OOs_m jūlü- ~ jūli- ¶ Tk ɣūlū-, Qmq юлю- jūlü-, Tv ɟylɣ- čūlü- 'shave' ¶ Rs. W 213, Cl. 919, KumRS 383, TvR 551 || ?ϕ M *ǎulmu- 'pluck (a bird); shed skin\hair\feathers' > WrM ǎulmu-, HIM ɟulma- id., Brt ɟulma- 'shed hair' (of wool), 'shed skin' (of snakes), 'scale off' (of skin) ¶ MED 1079, Chr. 262 ¶ Valid if M *ǎ- regularly represents A *ń-. Otherwise it may be a loan from a T d. of *jūl(i)- || Tg *ńūli- v. 'scrape (hide)' > Ewk, Lm ńūl- 'scrape (the inner side of hide)', Neg ńūl- vi. 'soften (the hide by scraping it)', Ork ńulu- 'scrape off hair from the hide' ¶ STM I 645 || ?pKo {S} *ń_;īr- 'clear out, rinse' > MKo īr-, NKo il-, Δ nil- ¶ S QK #1453, Nam 405, MLC 1351 ¶¶ Hardly here T *jalaŋ 'naked' (> OT jalaŋ, jaIŋ) that is equated in SDM97 with M *ǎul(m)- 'exuviate, fade', Tg *ńiwl- id., pJ *nǎar v. 'tan' (> J neru), and Ko *nir- (= the abovementioned Ko *ń_;īr); in fact T *jalaŋ (and Tg *ńiwl-?) may be equated with N *ńagǎ (or *ńagǎ?) 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled' (q.v.) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1507 (Tg < A ńǎlo -u- 'pluck, pick out [срывать, выдергивать]') || ?σ U *ńⁱǎǎ- '≈ get loose (bark, skin), peel off, bark' > F {SK} niloa, nilota 'to get loose (bark, skin)' || pLp {Lr.} *ńǎǎ v. 'bark a tree' > Lp: S {Hs.} njalledh 'separate, loosen', L {LLO} njalla- '(leicht) losgehen, sich (leicht) lockern, lösen (Rinde in der Saftzeit)', N {N} njǎllǎ- 'flake off, get loose and peel off' (of skin, part of body), 'peel' || Prm (?) *ńūl- > Z P ńiild+n+, Z Ud ńiivd+n+ 'to skin (an animal)', Z LV ńiivm+n+ 'to be barked', Vt Sr ńi+lal-, Vt Kz ńǎlal- v. 'bark a tree', Vt ńbьлд- ńi+ld- v. 'scrape off, bark, skin', Vt Kz ńǎl 'bark of a tree' || pOs {ϑHt.} *ńǎl-, {ϑHl.} *ńi+l- > Os {Stn.}: VK ńǎl-, Vrt ńǎǎ-, Nz ńǎt-, Kz ńǎǎ- 'lose Birkenrinde'; pOs {ϑHt.} *ńǎl-, {ϑHl.} *ńi+l- v. 'bark' > Os: VT/Vy ńǎl- id., Os ps.: Lk ńǎǎam-, Nz ńǎtǎm-, Kz ńǎǎam- 'vi. peel off (birch bark)'; Vg: T ńal-, LK/SS ńií-, P ńií, ńií- 'schälen, ausnehmen (Fische)', N ńolip- 'sich abtrennen (z. B. Baumrinde)' || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} ńaǎe- 'lose\shed hair' (of reindeer, dog, fur) ¶¶ ≈ UEW 29, SK 380-1, Lr. #754, Lgc. #4314, Stn. D 1041-2, IG 191, U3S 309, KKIИ 139 || D *nu]]- v. 'pinch, pluck' (× N *ńogǎǎ [or

***nogû|í∇?** 'tear out\asunder, pinch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If **U** *^hí|ü|∇- belongs here, the N lateral cns. is *-l- (while D *-l|l- is inherited from N *^hogü|∇), otherwise it is either *-l- or *-l|- ◇ IS II 91-2 (*^híü|∇ > D, A + U *^hü|ke [see N *^hogü|∇ or *^hogû|í∇ '↑']).

1594. *^hag|∇ (or *^hag|∇?) 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled' > **HS**: S *^o√nψ| > Ar √nψ| G (pf. naψila, ip. -nψalu) 'be spoiled in tanning' (hide), 'be ulcered' (wound) ¶ Fr. IV 308, Hv. 784-5 || **U**: FU *^ha|∇- 'get spoiled' (skin) > Prm {LG} *^hog|l- > Z НѢЛЪЗЪЫ- ^ho|z|-, Z HS ^ho|z|l- vi. 'become flushed because of sweat\damp' (of skin, particularly of a baby), 'spoil because of sweat\dampness' (skin), 'rub off' (skin) ||| ObU {θHt.} *^hã|l-, {θHl.} *^hĩ|l- > Vg K {Zsil.} ^hã|tt- 'become leprous', Vg {Coll. < ?} ^hũ|lt 'leprosy, scab, tetter'; pOs *^hã|ə- ({θHl.} *^hĩ|ə-) > Os: VT ^hã|ə- 'come out, fall out' (hair), ^hã|əψ- vi. 'scale, peel off', O ^hã|əm 'sich lösen (Schleimhaut im Mund), ausgehen (Haare)', Kz ^hõ|məϕ- 'fall ill with scrofulosis', Ty ^ha|əmtə-, Nz ^hõ|əmt-, Kz ^ho|əmt- 'fall out' (hair from a poorly dried hide), 'have a disease in which the skin (esp. that of the head, behind the ears, and on the temples) scales off, bleeds, and festers'; Coll. 41 (< ?) quotes Os Sr ^haθəm- and Os S ^ho|təm- id., which (if not mistakenly recorded) points to a pOs (and hence pFU and pN) *-l- rather than -l|-, evidenced by more reliable data of Stn. D ¶ Coll. 41, LG 189, Stn. D 1051-2 || **D** *^hna|l- > Tu ^hnalagu- 'fade, wither, be reduced by sickness', Tm ^hnalī v. 'waste, pine away, suffer, fail', ^hnaləŋku 'grow faint, wilt, lose stiffness', Kn ^hnalagu, ^hnalugu 'become rumpled \ ruffled (as cloth)', ^hnalavυ, ^hnaluvυ 'weakness', Tl ^hnalãgu, ^hnalugu, ^hnalivυ 'be crumpled \ rumpled', {Km.} 'fade, wither' ¶¶ D #3611 ◇ There is conflicting ev. about the quality of the N lateral cns.: D and Coll.'s data on Os point to a N plain *-l-, while Stn.'s Os data provide ev. of a N postalveolar *-l|-. Is the solution connected with the infl. of the adjacent N *^g or of a final N *ⁱ (suggested by the Prm palatal *^l) or with contamination of two roots in D (e.g. **^hna|l- 'fade, wither' and D *^hna|l- 'crush, squeeze' [> Knd ^hnalp- id., etc.], which may go back to a hypothetical N *^hNaP^h|l|∇, preserved in Jb √nfl v. 'break off a chip, splinter of stone, cut a sliver (of wood)]')?

1595. *^hog^hã^h|l,y|∇ 'slime, tears (?), moisture, fluid; raw' > **HS**: SES *^o√nψ| > Mh n3ψ3|īt (pl. n3ψā|), Hrs 3nψā|, Jb C naψ|t, Jb E 3n'ψ|3t 'sweat' ¶ Jo. M 288 || ? ECh: Smr {J} nū|, Nd D {J} nū|^h 'weep' (if <

'shed tears' ← a word for 'tears') || IE **ye̯h₂lo-*/**yǵh₂lo-* > NaIE **yēlo-*/**yǵlo-* 'unripe, raw' > Ltv *jēls* 'raw; undercooked; sore', *jēlsa vieta* 'sore/raw place' || ?σ SI **jǵloVъ* 'unfruitful' (soil), 'barren' (× **ǵloVъ* id.) > ChS *ЮЛОВЪ jalovъ* 'sterilis', OR *ЮЛОВЪ jalovъ*, R 'яловый', Uk 'яловий', Blg 'ялов, 'ялъв, SCr *jǵlov*, Slv *jǵlov*, Cz, Slk *jalový*, P *jałowcy* 'unfruitful' || ??σ Clt: W {P} *ial* 'clearing, glade' (← *'waste plot'), Gl *ialo-* *'clairière' in n. l., e.g. Nanto-*ialo-* 'valley-glade' > Fr Nanteuil ¶ P 504-5, Kar. I 355, Vs. IV 554-5; Glh. 286-7 and ESSJ I 66-70 (SI **ǵloVъjъ*); Mikl. E 99 (**jal-*), Mikl. L 4, Billy 88, Dtn. 262 || U: FU **h₂oǵjǵ* 'moisture, slime, fluid' > Er XVIII {Dms.}, Er Δ *noḷa* 'sap' || Chr: L *ноло noḷo* 'moisture, moist, sap', *ноḷьк* 'season of sap flowing (when the bark is separated from the tree)', H {It.} *naḷь*, Uf/B *noḷь* 'sap' ('juice'?) || Lp I *njalē* 'sap, birch sap' || Os: V *ńǵl̄t̄*, D *ńǵt̄a* 'rust', K *ńǵt̄a* 'slime', Kz *ńǵl̄t̄* 'rust, slime' ¶ UEW 318-9, Ps. B 92, ERV 415 || A **h₂ǵǵ* > T **jǵǵ* 'fresh, moist; moisture' > [1] **jaǵǵ* > NaT **jaǵǵš* 'fresh, moist' > OT *jaš* id. (*jaš tananī* 'fresh sesame seed', *jaš ot* 'fresh forage', *jaš süñüklāri* 'moist bones'), *jaš* 'green vegetables', XwT XIV *jaš* 'young, fresh, MQp XIII *jǵš* 'green', Osm {Rh.} *ياش jaš* 'wet; moisture', Alt *ǵaš* 'fresh, green', Bsh *jǵš* 'fresh', Ggz *jaš*, Qzl {Jk.} *šas* 'fresh, moist', Xk *čas* 'fresh, young', Tk *уаs*, Az *jaš* 'moist', CrTt, ET *jaš*, Uz *jaš*. VTt *jǵš*, Nog *jas*, Qzq, Qq *žas*, Qrg *ǵaš*, Tv *čaš* 'young', Kr T/G *jaš* id., 'moist, juicy'; [2] T **jǵǵ* > NaT **jǵš* 'tears' (× N **ǵǵ* [or **ǵǵH*] 'dripping fluid', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} *jǵš*, XwT XIV *jaš* 'tears', Tkm, Uz Δ, Xlj *jǵš*, Tk *уаs*, Ggz, Az, Qmq, ET *jaš*, Uz *еш jaš*, Kr *jaš* ~ *jas*, Qzq, Qq *žas*, Xk *čas*, Tv *čaš*, Tf *caš* 'tear(s)' || Chv L *күсүцүль kuś-śul* id. (compd.: *kuś* 'eye' + *śul*) ¶ Cl. 975-6, Rs. W 192, ET J 161-4, Rh. 2186, BRS 243, BT 50, BIG 312 || Tg **h₂ǵǵ* 'moist' > Ewk *h₂ǵǵ* 'moist' (wood), 'not dry' (undressed hides, raw leather), Neg *h₂ǵǵ* 'raw, not cooked\baked sufficiently' (food, bread), 'unripe', Nn Nh *h₂ǵǵ* ~ *h₂ǵǵ* ~ *h₂ǵǵ* ~ *h₂ǵǵ* 'fresh, raw, uncooked' (meat, fish), 'moist' (wood), Ud {Krm.} *h₂ǵǵ*, {STM} *h₂ǵǵ*, Ul *h₂ǵǵ(n-)* ~ *h₂ǵǵ(n-)* 'moist, raw' (meat, fish, wood), Lm *h₂ǵǵqça*, *h₂ǵǵq* id., 'undressed' (hide), Ork *h₂ǵǵ* ~ *nǵǵ* ~ *h₂ǵǵw* id., 'uncooked' (food), 'unripe' (fruit, vegetables) ¶ STM I 630, Krm. 268 || pKo {S} **nǵr* 'sth. raw, moist' > MKo *nǵr*, NKo *naḷ* ¶ S QK #140, Nam 96, MLC 302 ¶ S AJ 256 [#140] ¶¶ S AJ 76, 280-1 [#145] || D **h₂oǵ* 'saliva, sticky liquid' > Tm *h₂oǵ* 'saliva', *h₂oǵ*

'slaver; glutinous fluid in fish\fruit\snails', Kn $l\bar{o}l_a$, $l\bar{o}l_i$, $l\bar{o}l_u$, $l\bar{o}l_e$ 'saliva, slaver, tenacious mucus, phlegm', $n\bar{o}l_i$ 'sticky (juice)', Tu $n\bar{o}n_e$ 'saliva, spittle', $r\bar{o}l_i$ 'anything sticky, gummy, viscous; saliva'; D \rightarrow OI $l\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ - 'saliva, spittle, slobber' ¶ D #2937, Tu. #11027 ¶ The cns. l - in words for 'saliva' may be due to the ideophonic factor [Ll.] ◇ IE $*\hat{h}$ points to a following front vw., while T (and pA?) $*\bar{a}$ may go back to $*oHa-$ < N $*-og\bar{a}$ - rather than to $*-oHe-$; hence the tentative rec. of pN $*\bar{a}$ in the N etymon ($*\acute{n}og\bar{a}'l_{ly}\nabla$). T $*-l'$ and D $*-l-$ point to a N palatalized $*l'$, while U $*-l-$ may go back only to the plain N $*l$; the contradiction may be removed by postulating a N cluster $*-ly-$ ($\rightarrow **-l'$ \rightarrow T $*-l'$ and D $*-l-$) and by supposing that in the prehistory of the U root the N cns. $*y$ was lost ◇ \approx IS MS 365 s.v. $*\acute{r}o_{H,l}\Delta$ 'слизь' (IE, A, D + unc. U $*\acute{r}o_{l}ke$ 'slime, saliva, mucus' and ? U $*\acute{r}o_{l}e-$ 'lick').

1596. $*\acute{n}ihla$ 'moist, slippery' > HS: S $*\check{r}nhl$ 'give water, make wet, give to drink' > Ak LtB $\check{r}n^{\check{r}}l$ (inf. $na^{\check{r}}\bar{a}lu$) v. 'water, make wet', BHb d. נַהֲלֵי $nah^a\bar{l}\bar{o}'l-\bar{i}m$ pl. 'watering-places', Ar $\check{r}nhl$ G (pf. $nahila$, ip. $nhalu$) 'drink a first draught; quench (thirst)', {BK} 'goûter un peu d'un breuvage; étancher la soif, avoir bu à sa soif' ¶ CAD XI/1 6, Sd. 694, KB 638, BK II 1358, Hv. 804 || Ch: CCh: Ms {OS \leftarrow ?} ηul 'moisten', {ChC} $\eta ulumo$ 'moist' (OS: Ms η < $*n?$), Azm {Pc.} $\eta\bar{u}l\bar{o}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ 'damp' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} $\acute{n}\hat{a}l\bar{o}$ 'couler (la pluie à travers le toit', ζ Smr ("Sibine") {OS \leftarrow ?} $\eta w\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ 'rain' ¶ JA LM 112, ChC, Pc. 322 ¶¶ OS #400 ||| U: FU $*\acute{n}ila$ 'slime, mucus' > F $nila$ 'bast, bass', 'slime, mucus', $koivun nila$ 'birch-tree sap', $nilja$ 'slime, mucus', Krl $\acute{n}ila$ 'sap', ? Es $nilane$ (gen. $nilatse$) in $nilane lats$ 'helpless baby' (if \leftarrow 'snivelling child') | amb Lp: L {LLO} $njall\bar{e}$ 'etwas Glattes oder Schlüpfriges; der Baumsaft, wenn er sich zwischen Stamm und Rinde gesammelt hat, so daß es «rinnt»', Nt {TI} $\acute{n}\hat{a}l'a / -l-$ 'slippy\smooth place' | ? ϕ Er {Rv.} $nola\check{z}a$ 'smooth' (soil, ice, etc.) ||| ObU $*\acute{n}i'l / *n'i'l$ > Vg N {Mu.} $\acute{n}\hat{a}l$ 'slime of a tree', Os: O $\acute{n}el$ 'sap-wood (Splint), sap (of willow, birch-tree)' || Sm: Ne T {Cs.} $ny'l_u$ 'juice', $ho-ny'l_u$ 'sap of a tree' ($y = [+]?$), Ne FL {Lh.} $\acute{n}\hat{i}l:\bar{i}$ id.; ? ϕ Nn T O $\acute{n}al\bar{u}$ 'soft and moist white layer under the bark of a tree' ¶¶ IS II and the editors of IS II adduce here FU words for 'slime, moisture, sap' with back vowels in the first syll. (Er {Dms.}, Er Δ $nola$, Chr $nolo$ \approx $nalb$, etc.), explaining their back vowels by the infl. of the stem-final $*-a$ (while Rd. in UEW explains it by onomatopoeia), but external comparative ev. suggests the presence of a different N etymon,

reconstructible as ***h**og'ä'ly, ▽ 'slime, tears (?), moisture, fluid; raw' (q.v.); contamination with the latter may account for 0 in Er nolāža 𐤍𐤍 Coll. 102, UEW 318-9, 329, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU ***h**ilā, FP ***h**ila, Uhr ***h**ila 'sap-wood'), SK 380-1, TI 294, LG 198-200, Ht. ##789, 790, Cs. 18, 27, Lh. 295 || **A**: M ***h**il(a)- > MM [MA] {Pp.} **h**ila- v. 'plaster (walls with alabaster)', **h**ilaqu 'plasterer's trowel', Kl {Rm.} **h**ilā- (< ****h**ila-yi-) 'be sticky, slimy, watery (klebrig \ schleimig \ wässerig sein)', WrM {Kow.} **h**ilcuim 'glutineux, visqueux (comme les phlegmes, la colle, la bile, etc.)', 'клейкій, клеєватий, липкій, слизистий', {MED} **h**ilcuim-a 'sticky, adhesive', HİM нялцайм id., WrM {MED} **h**ilcaī-, **h**ilcuī-, HİM нялцай- 'become sticky, clammy', {Luv.} нялцай- 'be sticky, slimy'; M ***h**ilbu ~ ***h**ilmu > MM [IM] **h**ilbu 'a spit', Dg {Mr.} **h**ioleme ~ **h**iolome 'spit, spittle, saliva', M ***h**ilbu-sun ~ ***h**ilmu-sun 'saliva, spittle, mucus, tears' > [HI] **h**ilbusun 'saliva, tears', [S] {H} **h**ilbusu(n) 'tears', [LM] نَبْسُونْ **h**albusun (fallacious vocalization for نَبْسُونْ **h**ilbusun?), [MA] **h**ilbusun 'spittle', WrM {Kow.} **h**ilbusu(n) 'larme; saline, bave', {MED} **h**ilbusun, **h**ilmusun, HİM нулмас id., 'mucus', {Luv.} нулимс(ан), Kl {Rm.} nu_lmsu, Brt нёлбоһон 'tears', MMgl [Z] **h**ilbusut pl. 'tears', Mgl {Rm.} **h**ilbusun, Mnr H {T} **h**ilbuse Mnr Nr {SM} nump'uzз, Ba nemsoη 'tears', Dg {Mr.} **h**iolemose, {Pp.} **h**ombosu, {T} **h**om(b)os; (bf.?) M ***h**ilbu- ~ ***h**ilmu- v. 'spit' > MM [LM, MA] -**h**ilbu-, [S] **h**ilbu-, WrM **h**ilbu- ~ **h**ilmu-, HİM нулма-, {Luv.} нулима- 𐤍 Pp. L III 72-4, Pp. MA 253, 442, Ms. H 79, H 117, KW 276, Rm. M 34, Kow. 663, MED 583, Gl. II 38, Luv. 276, 269, Iw. 119, SM 290, T 351, T BJ 144, T DgJ 158, Mr. D 199-200, Klz. D II 125 || Tg: Ewk **h**illi 𐤍 **h**ili 𐤍 **h**ildi 'slime (on fish)' 𐤍 STM 593 𐤍 IS II 88-9 (***h**ilā > U, A), Rs. UAW 49-50 (U, A).

1597. *h'eq'la, l ▽ 'bed of a torrent, valley' > **HS**: S ***h**axal- 'wadi, gorge, ravine' > Ak **h**axallu, **h**axlu id., BHb **h**ḥal 'torrent, torrent-valley, dry bed of a torrent', Ug **h**xl {A} 'torrent, wadi', {OLS} 'torrent', [AkSc] {Hnr.} **h**axal_lu 'wadi, ravine (?)', JA [Trg.] **h**ḥal nəḥal / **h**ḥal_l nəḥal^a-ā id., 'valley', JEA {Sl.} **h**ḥal_l nəḥal^a-ā 'wadi, stream', Sr **h**ḥal_l nəḥal^a-ā (cs., abs. **h**ḥal_l nəḥal^a) id., 'gorge'; Cn **h** → Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk.} **h**axal 'stream, brook' 𐤍 KB 648-9, BDB 636, A #1773, OLS 323, Hnr. 152, Js. 894, Sl. 741, Br. 423, CAD IX/1 124-5, Hlk. #143, SivCR 82 || **D** ***h**ēl- or ***h**āl- {GS} ***h**ēl- 'field, flat land' > Gnd **h**ēli 𐤍 **h**ēl 𐤍 **h**ēli 'field', ne·l 'ground, earth, flat land', Tm, MI **h**ālam, tl **h**ēla

'earth, land', Klm e'l, Nkr e'l 'earth', Knd nēle id., 'ground', Png nēla 'ground, Png, Mnd nēl 'hill-field', Kui nēla 'plot of high ground for cultivation', Ku neʔla {Fzg.} 'field (for cultivation)', {Isr.} 'dry field', Krx nāl 'fields, terraced fields'; D ⇨ OI nāla- 'field under cultivation' ¶ D #2913, GS 143 [#364] || K: G (← Zan?) nol-i 'fruchtbares Anschwemmungsland an einem Fluß; mit jungem Gras bewachsenes Wiesland' ¶ Chx. 964 ¶ The vw. 0 (< K *a) suggests the Zan origin of the word, but the loss of the expected χ (< K *q) is puzzling.

1598. *Regional* ₂ ***h̄**äl̄y∇ 'four' > U: FU *h̄elyä id. > F neljä, Es neli (gen. nelja) | pLp {Lr.} *nēlyē (or *h̄elyē?) > Lp: S {Hs.} nieljije, U {Schl.} nēl'ja, L {LLO} nieljje, {UEW} nielya, N {N} njæll'jē, I {It.} nelji, Klt {Lr.} nellj, Kld h̄īēll' id. | Er h̄īē, Mk h̄īē id. | Chr L нѣл ѣл, H нѣл нѣл id. | Prm {LG} *h̄ōl̄ ({LG} *h̄ōl̄) id. > Z нѣль h̄ōl̄, Z US h̄ōl̄, Yz 'h̄ūl̄, Vt нѣль h̄ī, Vt Shm/Kz/B h̄ūl̄, Vt: Sr h̄īl̄, Y h̄īl̄, Kz h̄ūl̄ || ObU {Ht.} *h̄īl̄∇ id. > pVg *h̄īl̄∇ / *h̄āl̄(∇)-: *h̄īl̄∇ > Vg: T h̄īl̄ī, LK/MK/UK h̄īla, P niīa, NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss h̄īla 'four'; *h̄āl̄(∇)- is represented in the word for 'forty': Vg T h̄ēlaw, LK/MK/UK/Nv/SV/LL h̄ālmān, P nālmān, UL/Ss naliman; pOs *h̄ēlä ({Hl.} *h̄īlä) 'four' > Os: V/Vy h̄ēla, Ty/Y h̄ēfa, D/K h̄ētā, Nz h̄ītā, Kz h̄āf, O h̄īl̄ | Hg négy 'four' ¶ Coll. 102, It. #322, UEW 315-6, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *h̄eljä, Ugr *h̄īljī), Ker. II 96, Ht. #460, Lr. #720, Lgc. #4372, Hs. 978, Schl. 99-100, Ep. 78 || D *nāl- 'four' > Tm/MI/Kn nāl, nālū, Kdg na'lī, Tu nāl̄, Tl nālūgu, nālūvu, Gnd nālū, Kui nālgi, nāl 'four', Klm na'līg 'four things', na'l udul 'four days', Nkr nālīg 'four things', Nk nālī, Knd nālgi 'four' (non-masc.), Prj nel 'four', nālū(k) 'four things', Gdb nalug ̄ nālīg 'four' (neut.), Krx nāx '4 things', naib 'four' (of animals and things) ¶ D #3655, Zv. 133 ◇ The FU vw. *e for the expected *ä may be due to the palatalizing infl. of *h̄- and *-ly-.

1599. ***h̄**ūl̄y₁K₁∇ (= ***h̄**ūl̄y₁K₁∇?) 'marrow, brain' > HS: S: Gz nālā, Tgr, Tgy, Amh nala 'brain, skull' || ? Ch: WCh: Krkr ndulaka, Ngm ndàlakù 'brain' | Wrj {Sk.} ndžl̄īnā, Kry ndžl̄áy, My ndžl̄ī, Sir {Sk.} ndžl̄īm id. | Zar žōngā id. | Ngz {Sch.} žánák (pl. žánánin), Bd àžànán id. ¶ ChC, ChL || A ({ADb.} *h̄ūl̄y₁): NaT: [1] *julun ~ *jülün (< pre-T **julun **jülün?) 'spinal marrow' > OT julun {MKD, Cl} 'spinal cord', {DTS} 'spinal marrow', ET Δ {Jarr., Mng., Rl.} julun, Uz Δ jülün ̄ jülūn, Nog julin, Qzq жұлын žūlin, Qq žūlin, Qrg žülün, Alt žülün, Tf {Cs.}

čilen, Yk sülün 'spinal marrow', Tv čün id., 'nerve', Bsh Δ jǐlǐn id., jǐlǐn 'spinal cord', Shor {Rl.} čilīn '(spinal\bone) marrow', Xk člln, QK {B} jülün 'marrow' | [2] *jülik or *jilik 'marrow of bones' > OT, MU, MQp [incl. CC], XwT jilik, Chg (j)ilik, Tk ilik, Uz Δ jülik ɘ jülük ɘ jilik, Tkm jülük ~ jilik, VTt žilbk ~ jlbk, Az, Kr, Uz ilik, QrB žilik, Alt žilik ~ juluq, Tv čilig, Yk siläk ~ säli ~ silī id., Qmq jilik, Qrg žilik 'hollow bone', ET jilik ~ žilik 'marrow, hollow bone', Nog jilik, Qq žilik 'shin-bone' ¶ Though MhK translated the word as 'نُخَاع' (= 'spinal cord'), the ev. of many other Tlgs. suggest that the original meaning was 'spinal marrow' ¶ Cl. 927-8, 930, MKD 233, ET J 265-6, TL 263-4, ADb. SR 314, DTS 278, Rs. W 245, Jr. 160, Mng. G 739, Rl. III 556, 2086, and IV 170, Jud. 274 || Tg *^oñuḡi (< **ñuḡi) > Ewk PT ñuḡī, Ewk Tk nuḡī 'marrow' ¶ STM I 646 || M *ziluyā ({ADb.} *žiluga) 'brain' (or 'brain, marrow') > MM [IM] žolā id., Brt жоллоо 'baby's fontanel' ¶ Pp. MA 439, Chr. 232, ADb. SR 314 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 448 [#35], 453, ADb. SR 47, 314 || | D *nūL∇g∇ ~ *mū]∇g∇ 'marrow, brain' > Prj nulli, nūlgum, nūlguṭ, Kt mi·], Tl mūlaga, Klm mull, Gnd muṛe ɘ muṛgonṣi, Knd muṛva, Krx murmā 'marrow', Tm mūlai, Ml mūla id., 'brain', Brh milī id., 'kernel of nut', Tu mūle, Mnd mūra 'brain', Kui mula id., ? nīli 'bone marrow' ¶¶ D #5051 ¶¶ D *m- (side by side with the expected *n-) may result from the infl. of D *mū]∇ 'bone' (D #5050) ◇ The vowels of NaT *julun ~ *jülün may go back either to the vowel sequence *-ū...u- or to *-u...ū, but M *ziluyā suggests that the sequence *-ū...u- is the only acceptable one ◇ If D *mū]∇g∇ belongs here, the N rec. is with *-l-, otherwise it has an unspecified N *-l- ◇ ADb. SR 314 (A, D).

1600. *^h∇í∇ (or *^h∇l∇) '∈ insect' > A: AmTg *^hé|ile- 'nit, small louse' > Ul ḥilz-ktz 'nit', Ork nɜliɜz, Ud ḥɜžigɜ 'small louse', Nn ḥilzktz id., 'nit' ¶ STM I 616, Krm. 271 || | D *nu]- 'stinging insect' > Tm nu]l]al, no]l]al 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', Kn no]a, no]avv 'a fly', Krg nurḡi, Prj nuṛḥi ɘ uṛḥi, Gnd DM nulē, Gnd HMS nūle 'mosquito', Gnd B {Tr.} nullē 'a flea (esp. one which damages kodon and kutki flowers)', Gnd M nulle 'gnat, Klm nulle 'a fly' ¶¶ D #3715 || | HS: B: Ah a-nəlluḡ 'ant', ETwl a-nəllug 'small ant' ¶ Fc. 1387, GhA 147.

1601. ₂ *^hiḡUí∇ 'scrape, scrape off, rub, polish' > HS: S *^o✓nχl > Ar niχlīy- 'morceaux de chair qui sont restés sur la peau d'un animal écorché et qu'on enlève en préparant le cuir', ? ✓nχlG 'trier\séparer

les parties viles et enlever les meilleures' ¶ BK II 1223 || A *níwîâ 'scrape, polish' > T *jī́- 'rub' (× N *ǰíLǰ∇ 'to shove, 'to knead\stir'??) > NaT *jīš-, *jīšI- v. 'rub': *jīš- > SbTt {Tm.} jīš- v. 'wipe, smear, rub, plane (wood)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Rl.} jīš- 'glatt machen, polieren, hobeln', StOir дъыш- ǰīš- v. 'rub, rub on', Xk čīš-, Qb {Rl.} jīš- id., v. 'rub up (sth. with)' ('натереть'), Qrg жышы- ǰīšI- id., 'rub off', QrB, Qmq išI-, Qzq, Qq īš-, Alt ǰīš-, QK {Rl.} jīš- 'rub up (sth. with)' ('натереть'); NaT *jīšI- > Qrg ǰīšI-, QbB išI-, Qmq išI- id. |eT *jī́lg- b→ M *ǰīlgü- v. 'wipe, polish, dust; rub\brush against' > WrM ǰūlgü- ~ ǰīlgü-, HIM, Brt Δ зүлгэ-, Kī зүлг- id. ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl 667-8, BT 62, Rl. III 496, 498, Tm. 92, BIG 327, Jud. 285. MED 1085, KRS 259, Chr. 268 || Tg *ńīǰl'ǎ- 'rub, polish, smear, dye' > WrMc nīla-, nīle- 'rub, polish', Neg ńīǰl- ~ ńīll- 'smear, rub', Ul ńīli- v. 'smear, dye', Nn Nh ńīulz- ~ ńūlz- v. 'dye', Ork ńīlitčī- ~ ńīliččī-, Ud X {STM} ǰulz- v. 'dye' ¶ Z 232, ≈ STM I 638.

1602. *ńam'o' 'squeeze, grasp' > IE: NaIE *ǰem-/ǰm̥- 'hold, hold fast, grasp' > OI ǰam- (aor. 'ǰamati, 'ǰamat, prs. 'ǰacchati [< IE *ǰm̥-skē-], pp. ǰa'ta- [< IE *ǰm̥-to-]) 'hold, lead, controle', Av ǰam- (aǰama'te 'mag sich zuziehen'), Av, OPrs ǰasa- (Av ǰasōiš 'du sollst zulassen', OPrs āǰasatā 'nahm an sich'), Av, OPrs pp. ǰata- || pTc *ǰām- > Tc A ǰom-, B ǰām- 'achieve, obtain; reach' || ??? Gk ἥμερος, Gk D ἄμερος 'tame, tamed' (← *'held') || SI *ǰm̥-q / inf. *ǰe-ti 'take' (× N *ǰem∇ 'seize, hold', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 505, EI 270-1 (*ǰem-), Mn. I 443, M K III 2-3, M E II 399-400, F I 235-6, Wn. 27, 503-4, Ad. 497-8, Ad. H 22, JGH 61-2, 303, IS I 133, ESSJ VI 71 || U {IS} **ńamo > *ńoma- ~ *ńam∇- 'squeeze, hold fast' > Lp L {LLO} nǰāmmō- 'umschlingen, umfassen, mit den Händen um etw. greifen' | Chr {Szil.} ńumorgem 'zusammengepreßt werden', {Ü} numurgem 'сжимаюсь' ('I am pressed together' or 'I am squeezed'), {LG ← Trc.} ńumergem 'I squeeze (сжимаю)' | Prm: Z нямравны ńamrav-nī, мом. нямыртны ńamīrt-nī 'to squeeze', Prmk ńamlav-nī 'to knead (dough, clay)' || OHg XIV nǰom- 'pressen, (zusammen)drücken', Hg nǰom- v. 'press' || Sm: Nn T O {Lh.} ńamā- grasp ('fassen, ergreifen, packen'), En {Cs.} nopa- v. 'catch' || pY {IN} ńōm- 'squeeze, press' > YK ńum-ušāy- ~ mum-ušāy- id. (-ušey- is a sx.) ¶¶ Coll. 40, 103, UEW 322 (U *ńoma- 'fangen, ergreifen' > Lp, Sm), 330 (FU *ńam∇ 'zusammendrücken' > Chr, Prm, Hg), ≠ 876 (Hg nǰom- < Ugr *ńo∇

'drücken'), Sm. 546 (FU *ńomã-, FP *ńoma-, Ugr *ńãma- 'seize, grasp'), Ü 135, LG 202, TmK 479-80, EWU 1045, ≈ MF 488-9, Lh. 296, Cs. 86, IN 240 || **D** *ńam- 'squeeze, press' (× N *ńamX₁∇ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead'?) > Ml ńamun₁uka 'squeeze, knead', Tm ńemir / -pp- / -tt- 'press with the hands', ńemir / -v- / -nt- 'be crushed \ compressed', ńemi vi. 'break, give way as under a weight' (← *'be crushed'), ńemi₁tu vt. 'crush, press out with the hands', Kdg ńav₁nd- (IS) < *ńam₁nd-) 'squeeze', Tu naun₁tu 'squeezing, pinching', nau₁tu₁ni 'to pinch', Ku nabgali (IS) < *ńamuk-) 'press down' ¶¶ D #2926, Km. 187 ◇ IS II 85 (*ńam₁; IE, U, D), IE MS 339 (*ńom₁ 'to hold': IE, U, D + unc. ?A [M *nomu-qan 'peaceful, calm', T *jum- 'press'])).

1603. **u** *ńã₁m∇ 'soft' > HS: S *ń₁m 'be soft \ smooth' > Mh {Jo.} n₁ʔaym, n₁ʔaym₁t 'soft, smooth', Jb E ń₁im, Jb C ne₁im id., Hrs n₁ʔ₁m id., ne₁am v. 'soften', Ar ń₁m (pf. na₁uma, ip. -na₁mu) 'be soft \ mellowy', {BK} nã₁im- 'doux, souple, melleux (vêtement, etc.), doux au toucher, tendre' ¶ Jo. M 278, Ho. HL 92, BK II 1298, Hv. 783 || **u** {UEW} *ńãm∇ ~ *ńãm∇, {Sm.} *ńãm∇kk∇ 'soft' > Lp S {LÖ} nemok id. || ObU {Ht.} *ńãmæk id. > pVg *ńãmæk, *ńãmækam > Vg: N {Mu.} ńãmek, IK {Kn.} ńãmækam, MK {Kn.} ńãmækam id.; pOs *ńãmæk > Os: V/Vy ńãmæk, Ty/Y/D/K ńãmæk, O ńãmæk id. || Sm {Jn.} *ńãm∇- (or *ńãm∇-?) 'soft' > Ng {Cs.} d. ńaman, ńamagâ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ńam+k, Kms {Cs.} d. ńõmür, {KD} ńãmür id.; acc. to UEW 330, the Sm vw. is irreg. and is a reflex of a back vw.; the irregularity of the Sm vw. (if any) may be explained by the ideophonic factor or by the infl. of *ń- ¶¶ Coll. 38 (*ńEm∇), UEW 314 (*ńãm∇), 330 (*ńãm∇ on the ev. of the questionably adduced Ne T O ńũ₁ηk 'hurtig, flink, geschickt' and En B ńuggo 'soft'), LG 201, Ht. #464, Jn. 106, KKIH 139, Cs. 185 || **a**: T [1] NaT *ń₁Im 'quiet' (× N *dũm∇ 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet', q.v.) > QK {Rl.} čIm, {B} šIm 'quiet', {Rl.} čImča- v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} čIm 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} čIm 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} čIm 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv чымааргай čImār₁γay adj. 'quiet, shy', чымаарар- čImār₁ar- v. 'become quiet, shy' ¶ Rs. W 201, Rl. III 2102-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAltS 756, TvR 557; [2] *ń₁Im₁u-₁ča- v. 'be\become soft' (× N *ńõ₁m∇ 'pleasant, gentle, fine', q.v.) > NaT *ń₁Im₁u₁š₁a- 'become\be soft' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg XV jumš₁a- 'be soft \ quiet', Qmq, Ggz jImIš₁a-†Tk yumš₁a-, Osm {Rl.}

jum(u)ša-, Tkm, Uz, ET jumša-, Qq jimša-, Qrj Cr jimša-†Nog jumsa-, VTt j̣mša-, Qzq ж̣мса- ẓ̌msa-, Qrg ẓ̌umša-, Qb/Qc {RL} jimja-, Alt {Bu.} ẓ̌imīža-, Xk н̣имза- nimza-, Tv čimča-, Tf čimža-, Yk simnā- 'be\become soft', Alt {B}, Tlt {RL} ẓ̌imža- vt. 'soften', Chv ч̣емѣч- ṣ̌emś/ẓ̌- 'become soft'; ⇨ T *jimī-ĺčak (< *ńimīĺcaq) ({Md.} *ẓ̌im∇ĺčak, {SDM97} *jim-ĺčak) 'soft' > OT {Cl.} jimšaq ~ jumšaq, Xk н̣имзаχ, MQp XIII, Chg XV, Tkm, ET, Ln jumšaq, Ggz jimīšak, Osm {RL} jum(u)šaq, Tk ɣumšak, Az jumšaq, Uz jumšaq, SY jumsaq, CrTt jimšaq, Qmq jimīšaq, VTt, Bsh j̣mšaq, Qzq, Qq ẓ̌umsaq, Alt ẓ̌imžaq, Sg čimžaq, Qb/Qc {RL} jimjaq, Tv čimčaq, Chv ч̣емче ṣ̌emž_e id. | ? Chv ṣ́m̄m̄l 'light (in weight), easy' ¶ MKD 233, Cl. 938-9, ET J 252-3, DTS 279-80, Ra. 200, Rs. W 201, Rl. III 500-1, 580-6, GAJ 181, Bu. II 384, Ra. 200, BIG 120, Rxs 385, 801, Ash. XIII 26, Md. 83, 161 || M *nemexün > WrM nemegün, HIM н̣эмγγн 'soft, gentle; pliable', Kl {Rm.} nemün 'soft, pliable' ¶ MED 574, KW 275 || Tg *ńem∇- > Ewk ń̄zmu-m̄z 'soft, tender (to the touch)', Nn ń̄zm̄ri, WrMc n̄meri 'soft' ¶ STM I 652-3 || ??σ,φ pJ (S) *n̄am̄j̄à > OJ n̄am̄l̄j̄è, J T nameraka 'smooth' (× N *ń̄ô̄im∇ '↑', q.v.) ¶¶ Rs. W 201 (T *j̄'Im ÷ WrM nomugan, sc. nomuqan 'peaceful, meek, gentle, calm', see MED 591), SDM97 (A *ń̄amo) ◇ The T vw. *I in *j̄'Im and T *l̄u in *j̄l̄um̄l̄u-ĺca- need explaining (assimilating infl. of the adjacent consonants?) ◇ IS II 86-7 (l̄ *ń̄äm̄ > U, A).

1604. *ń̄a,ń̄č|č̄∇ 'grass' > U *ń̄ač∇ 'ε grass' > Lp: N {Fri.} n̄juöcco-rasse, -rase 'horsetail (plant)' ('equisetum, kjæringrok, kjæringsnelde'), L {LLO} n̄joh̄tsō 'blättrige Pflanze, die in Mooren ... wächst und nach der der Renntier gelüstig ist' | Prm *ń̄ača > Z Ud н̄ятша ń̄ača 'ε soft low grass in wamp meadows', Z LV ń̄ača 'мокрица (Stellaria media, winterweed)', Yz ń̄ača id., 'звездчатка (Stellaria, chickweed)' || Sm *ń̄āč̄'ь|ā' 'grass' > Ne T т̄яда, Ne T O {Lh.} ń̄āδā, Ne F {Lh.} ń̄z̄āttāq 'cuo moss, Renntierflechte (ягель, Cladonia rangiferina)', Ng {Mik.} ń̄ota 'moss', En X {Cs.} 'nara, En B {Cs.} 'nada id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ń̄ūt+ 'grass, hay', Slq Tm {KD} ń̄ūž, Kms {KD} no'?, {Cs.} no'd, no'n 'grass', Koyb {Sp.} н̄отъ 'grass', но 'hay', Mt M {Pl.} н̄отнь id. (mentioned by Jn., but absent in Hl. M) ¶¶ UEW 311, Fri. 496, LG 202, Jn. 105, KKIH 142, Cs. 185 || | A: Tg *ń̄ajaka ~ *ń̄anç∇ka 'grass' > Ul, Nn Nh ń̄āz̄axa, Nn KU n̄l̄āž̄axa 'grass, weeds', Lm ń̄anc̄ix̄a 'grass, greens' ¶ STM I 627 || | D *n|ń̄āń̄č- 'poison' (< *'poisonous grass', like NE

grass for 'marihuana') > Tm, Ml nańcu, Td noз, Kn nańju, Tl nańji, nańju, Prj neńž 'poison', ? Krx mǎńž 'vegetal poison used for intoxicating and catching fish', ? Mlt manžraha 'benumbed'; D ⇨ Mundari manžom 'prepared poison; to poison' ¶¶ D #3580, Pf. 114 || ?σ K *°nač̣- > G nač̣-i, G Gr nača 'green shell of a hazel-nut' ¶ Chx. 942, DCh. 974.

1605. ₂ *ńuη∇ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep' > HS: S *-nūm-, *√nwm 'slumber, sleep' > BHb, JEA √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'slumber, be drowsy', Sr √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'slumber, sleep heavily', Ar √nwm, ip. -nūm- 'sleep', 'abate' (wind, sea), Gz √nwm, prm. -nūm- 'sleep, take a rest', Ak OB {Sd.} √nwm (inf. nāmū) 'slumber', Ug d. nħmmt 'sopor, desvanecimiento' ¶ KB 643, Lv. III 359, Br. 420, Sl. 737, Js. 887, JPS 332, Ln. 3040, Hv. 809, OLS 321, L G 409-10, Sd. 729 || U *ńu;η∇ 'take the rest, repose, sleep' > FU *ńu;η∇ 'take the rest, repose' (UEW: 'ruhen, rasten') > Er, Mk нyвa- nuva- 'slumber, doze' ({PI} '(по)дремать'), Er нyвce- nuvsé- vi. 'doze', {Rv.} 'dösen, vor sich hin träumen', нyвa- nuva- 'doze' (in ds.: нyвaзя 'sleepy, sleepy-head, drowsy-head', нyвaзeвe- inch. 'doze', etc.) || ObU: pVg *ńūnt- 'take a rest' (× pVg *ńūn- 'stretch' > Vg {BV}: Ss нyнc-, MK ńuns- 'stretch oneself', Ss нyныcл-аңквe, MK ńunsí- ~ ńusí- 'draw out, вытянуть') > Vg: LL ńont-, N ńūnt- vi. 'rest', T il-ńōnt- 'sich ausruhen (bzw. ausstrecken)', Vg {MK}: N/ML ńunti, LL ńonti, T ńontant- ~ ńōntant- '(take a) rest' (= 'ruhen', (Hg) 'pihen'); Os N {PápB} ńoɣol-, ńoɣol- vi. 'sleep, rest' || OHg XIV nyug- vi. 'rest, lie, sleep', XV nyug- 'Ruhe halten, ruhig verbleiben', Hg nyug(o)sz- (/ nyugod- / nyugv-) 'lie (liegen), take a rest, repose', OHg ≥XIII nyugol(o)m, Hg nyugalom 'rest, stillness, quiet(ness), peace', nyugta 'peace' || pY *ńuηe- 'sleep' > OY NW {Lnd.} núngrnee 'I am asleep' ¶¶ UEW 328, Pl 182-3, ERV 420, MF 489-90, EWU 1047-8, MK 374, IN 240, 314.

1606. *ńAγη'í' 'ε coniferous tree' > IE: NaIE *yoǵni- 'juniper' > L iūniperus 'juniper' ({Ld.}: < *yoǵni-peros) || ON einir, Sw en, Dn ene, Nr einer id., Nr eineber, Dn eneber 'juniper berry', MLG eynberenholt, NLG, ēn(e)ke 'juniper', NLG ēnberen 'juniper berry' ({Ped.} < *yaǵnia-) > ¶ WP I 208-9, P 513, ≈σ EI 481 (L and Gmc < *yoǵni-s 'reed, rush'), WH I 731, Vr. 97, Hlq. 183 || U: FU *nǎη∇ 'larch (Larix sibirica)' > Z U/I ńia, Sk ni-pu, Lu ńeya-pu id. || ObU {Ht.} *nīηk∇ 'larch' > pVg *ńík id. > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML ńix; pOs *nǎηk

id. > Os: V/Vy nāŋk, Ty/y/D/K/O nāŋk, Nz/Kz naŋk ¶ UEW 302, LG 190, Ht. #432 || **А** {ADb.} *ŋāŋe ({DQA} *ŋjāŋe) 'fir-tree (Abies)' > Tg *ŋāŋt'a' id. > Ewk ŋāntз, Lm ŋāntъ ѓ nāŋta id., Neg ŋāŋta 'Abies, Picea', Ud ŋanta 'coniferous tree (Abies, Picea, etc.)', Ul, Nn Nh waŋta, Nn KU ŋanta 'Abies', Ork waŋ(ɫ)ta mōŋɫ 'Abies, Pinus', WrMc waŋtaqa 'coniferous tree' ¶ STM I 657-8, Krm. 272 || pJ {S} *māmi or *mūami 'fir-tree' > OJ m₁u₁omi > ItOJ [RJ] mōmi, J: T mōmi, K mómí, Kg momí ¶ S QJ #270, Mr. 484 ¶¶ ADb NN 35, ≈ DQA #1528 (> Tg, J; rec. of Tg *ŋjāŋ-ta with an unjustified *j) ◇ If D *vaŋŋi 'prickly tree' (D #5330) belongs here (as suggested by ADb.), the N rec. may be ≈ *ŋiwaŋŋ'i' (cp. w- in some Tg lgs. and Eg ω⁵ɾ 'Nadelholz') ◇ A *ŋ- is due to as. (N *ń...ŋ > *ŋ...ŋ). FU *n- for the expected *ń- still needs explaining ◇ ADb. NNN 35 (N *ńayŋ∇ > A, U, IE + qu. D).

1607. *ń'e'ŋH∇ '≈ woman' (and 'woman from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes?') > **U** *ńiŋā 'woman, wife, female animal' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *niŋēlзs > Lp: S minŋeles, L niŋēlis, Kld ниңлэсс 'female animal', N njinŋalâs ~ njinŋēlâs id., 'a female' | Er ни ní 'woman, wife' | Z Vm ŋin 'female' (ŋin ćeri 'female of salmon [сёмга]) || ObU {Ht.} *nī > pVg *nī > Vg: T nī, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/UL.Ss nē 'wife, woman, female animal'; pOs *ni > Os: V/Vy ni, Ty/Y/Nz/Kz ne, D/K neŋ, O niŋ id. | Hg rǔ 'woman, wife', rēje 'his wife' (× N *nayE 'woman?') || Sm {Jn.} *ne 'woman' (× N *nayE '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Coll. 41, UEW 305, Lr. #727, Lgc. #4388, SaR 213 || **А** ≈ *neŋ∇ 'female relative (sister or brother's wife)' (partially Ll.) > T *jeŋā 'wife of one's elder brother or of one's father's younger brother' > OT {Cl.} jāŋā, {DTS} jeŋgā id., Chg XV jeŋgā 'woman who adorns the bride and presents her to the bridegroom', ET jāŋgā, Uz jeŋgā, Qzq, Qq žeŋgā 'elder brother's wife', Tkm jeŋge, Slr {Tn.} jeŋgo ~ -u ~ jeŋqo ~ -u, Nog, SY jeŋge, VTt жингә žingä, Ln jeŋgä, Alt žeŋe, Xk niŋe, Tv čeŋge id., 'wife of an elder relative', Yk saŋas 'wife of an elder relative', Az jeŋkә yeŋgä 'bridesmaid (woman accompanying a bride to her bridegroom's house)', Tk yeŋge id., 'brother's\uncle's wife' ¶ Cl. 950, ET J 189-90, TL 313, Rs. W 197-8, TatR 769, MM 175, Hüs. 121. Pokr. TR 65 || Tg *oneŋe > Ewk nзŋ́з 'sweetheart' (but hardly here Ewk nono 'grandmother' and Ewk {Rm.} ŋ́з́з-ge ~ nзnз-gä 'aunt', {STM} ŋ́з́з-кэ 'grandmother', actually ← Ewk {Rm.} ŋ́́e ~ nзne 'mother', {STM}

ἡβῆτις 'grandmother, mother' [obviously Lallwörter]) ¶ STM I 605, 622
 ¶¶ Hardly here (≠φ) M *nagačũ 'maternal uncle; relatives on mother's
 side' (MED 556) and pKo {S} *nũ'iĩ '(boy's) sister' (> MKo nũ'iĩ, NKo
 nuĩ, see S QK #345, Nam 115, MLC 358) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 s.v. *neŋu
 'brother's wife', ≈ DQA #1434 (pA *nēŋu 'female relative [sister or
 brother's wife]'), Rm. EAS I 76, Df. IV 207 || IE: NaIE *yena-ter /
 *yona-ter- 'wife of husband's brother' > OI yātā / yātar-, CINPrs یاری
 yārī, Psh yōr (pl. yūhē) id. || Gk ἐνάτηρ id. (pl. Gk A ἐνάτερες) || Phr
 accus. λαντερα id. (?) || L ianitrices 'wives of brothers' || Arm
 ներքեր (etymologically correct ներքեր) / gen. նիրի րիւի 'wife of
 husband's brother or another wife of the same husband' || Lt jentė
 (gen. jenters) 'husband's brother's wife', Ltv ietere, Cur jentere id.
 || Sl *jětrī / gen. *jětrьve 'wife of husband's brother' (*-ī/ьve due to
 the infl. of *svėkrī/ьve 'husband's mother') > ChS ятры jetry, Blg
 етрява ѓ ятрява, SCr jětrva, Slv jětrva, OCz jatrev, P†
 jaṭrew, R†, Δ ятров, Blr d. ятроўка, Uk d. ятрівка ¶ P 505-6,
 ≈ EI 522 (*h₁yenh₂-ter-), Szem. KT 26, M K III 15-6, M E II 410, Mrg.
 100, Sg. 1525, FI 464, Ch. 323, WH I 668, Frn. 193, ESSJ VIII 188-90,
 Glh. 300, Sl. 193-4 ¶¶ NaIE *yena-ter is derived from pre-IE **yena- (<
 N *ń'e'ŋH∇) with the sx. *-ter of kinship names ◇ The A and IE
 cognates suggest a pN *e, while the vw. U *i may be due to the
 assimilating infl. of the N initial *ń- ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (A, U, IE + err. D
 van- 'elder brother's wife', see N *wān∇ - *₁X∇, wān∇ 'relative [of a
 younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety
 within an exogamic system of tribes').

1608. *ńoŋuda (or *ńoŋüda?) 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue',
 'move quickly' > HS: CS *-nūd- > BHb ✓nwd G (ip. -nūd, pf. nād) 'sway
 (schwanken)', 'be\become homeless', Sh 'shake', MHb ✓nwd G
 'move, be unsteady', JEA ✓nwd G id., 'shake', Md ✓nwd G 'shake,
 quake, tremble', Sr ✓nwd G id., 'sway to and fro (as a reed\branch),
 stagger', Ar ✓nwd G (ip. -nūd-) 'move one's head; nod the head from
 sleepiness', TD (pf. tanawwada) 'swing (bough)'; (?) μ: WS *✓ndd ~
 *✓ndnd > BHb ✓ndd G 'wander about; flee, take to flight', Ug ndd G
 'go, wander, be in a hurry', {Lip.} 'go to and fro', MHb/JA {Js.} ✓ndd G
 'move, shake, chase', Ar ✓ndd G 'run away' (camel), Tgr ✓ndnd† 'shake'
 ¶ KB 635, 640, Lv. III 353, Js. 877-8, 883-4, Sl. 734-5, A #1755, Grd. UT
 #1615, OLS 318, Br. 419, JPS 330, DM 293, Fr. IV 257, 350, BK II 1223-

4, 1364, Hv. 758, 806, LESAC 33 || Eg fMd nwd vi. 'move; step back, retreat', '≈ stagger (wanken)' ¶ EG II 225 || B: Tmz {MT} nyuddu ~ nwdudu 'marcher, se promener', Iz {Loub.} njuddu 'se promener', n. act. tanjuddut ¶ MT 544, Loub. 577 || Ch: WCh: Krkr {Lk.} nd-, Krf {Sch.} ndòʔò, Ngm {ChL} ndon, Bl {Lk.} ði 'go' | Wrij {Sk.} ñdák- id. | Wnd {IL} *ñzǐ 'go' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} nžā, nžau 'go' ¶ JI II 162-3, ChC, ChL ¶¶ SYv. ES IV 72 (S, Eg), OS #1826 (S, Eg, B, WCh, CCh) || IE: NaIE *yeudh- / *youdh- / *yudh- 'stir, move' ({P} 'in heftiger Bewegung sein') > OI 'yudhyati 'moves, fluctuates' (as water)' (≠ 'yudhyati 'fights'), ud-yudh- 'boil up' (as water), Av {Brtl.} ya0z- 'in unruhige Bewegung geraten', OPrs {Brtl.} yaod- id., {Hinz} yaud-atim apr. accus. f. sg. 'in hellem Aufruhr', Blc {Brtl.} žuzay vi., vt. 'move' || Lt judéti 'to move, to stir, to budge', Ltv jūdīt 'zanken machen, verhetzen', jūdīt 'langsam treiben, unruhig machen' | Sl *judi-ti '≈ to instigate, to beckon' (← 'to cause to move') > P Δ judzić, Uk 'юдити 'to instigate, to incite, to seduce', Blg 'юдя 'beckon, seduce' || L jubēō 'order' (← 'cause to move') || ? Tc A yutk- 'be anxious' ¶ Hardly here (≠σ) OI yudhyatē, Av yūḡḡeḡti 'fights', and related words (⇔ WP, P, EI, and IS) || Possibly also (with pre-IE depalatalisation *ń- > *n-?) Ht {Ts.} nuntar- 'Eile, Hast', {CHD} nuntaras adv. 'promptly, without delay, soon', nuntaras gen. 'of haste, of swiftness', nuntariya-, nu(t)tar(r)iya- adj. 'swift', nuntarriya-, nuntarriye- v. 'hasten, be quick', nu(n)tarnu- v. 'hurry, hasten' ¶¶ WP I 203, P 511-2, Mn. 446, 453-4, MW 854, Brtl. 1231-2, Hinz 152, ≈ M K III 20, WH I 724-5, Frn. 195-6, ESSJ VIII 191-2, ≈σ EI 201 (*yudh- 'moved, stirred up, fight'), CHD L-N 472-4, Ts. E II 347-50 || U *ñoḡ|wða- 'follow (the tracks of)' > Fnouta- / nouða-ñid., 'fetch, overtake', Krl A nouḡo- ~ nouḡo- 'follow (e.g. the tracks of)', Es nõuda- 'strive for, aspire to, be intent (on), require', nõue / nõude 'requirement' || ObU {Ht., [Hl.]} *ńūwəl- v. 'pursue, hunt' (more likely than *ńūḡəl-) > pVg *ńīwəl- / *ńāwł- 'pursue' > Vg: T ńawł-, LK ńāwł- / ńāwł-, MK ńowł-, UK/P/NV/SV/ML ńiwl-, UL/Ss ńāwł-; pOs *ńoḡəl- > Os: V ńuḡəl-, Vy ńoḡəl-, ńuḡəl-, Ty ńoḡəḡ-, ńuḡəḡ-, Y ńowəḡ-, D/L/O ńoḡəl-, Nz ńuḡət-, Kz ńōḡəḡ- id., 'chase, hunt' || Sm: [1] Sm {Jn.} *ńor∇- 'pursue' > Ne T ńěpaky-цъ, Ne T O {Lh.} ńōrok·ūč 'pursue, overtake', Slq Tz {Prk.} ńor+- 'treiben, verfolgen'; [2] {Hl.} *ńota-, {Jn.} *ńotā- 'pursue' >

Ne T нѣда-сь, Ne T O {Lh.} $\acute{n}\bar{o}\delta\bar{a}$, Ne F {Lh.} $\acute{n}\bar{o}tt\bar{a}\check{s}$, Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{n}\bar{o}t\bar{i}$ - 'pursue, overtake', Mt {Hl.} $*\acute{n}\bar{o}d\bar{a}$ -, $*nod\bar{a}$ - 'pursue, chase' (Mt M {Sp.} мнежа_{нода} гайтыгымъ 'I pursue a beast' [мнежа 'beast'], нодаштам 'I chase') ¶¶ But Sm {Jn.} $*\acute{n}\bar{o}$ - 'pursue' and pY {IN} $*n\acute{n}\bar{a}\omega$ - 'watch, follow\pursue (an animal)' belong rather to N $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\iota\iota\omega\nabla$ 'to hunt, to pursue' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Coll. 41, Coll. CG 408 ($*\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\delta\bar{a}$ - = $*\acute{n}\bar{z}\omega\delta\bar{a}$ -), UEW 323-4 ($*\acute{n}\bar{o}\eta\delta\bar{a}$ - or $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\delta\bar{a}$ -), ≠ Sm. 539 (U $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi\bar{i}$ -, FU, FP $*\acute{n}\bar{u}\chi\bar{i}$ - and Ugr $*\acute{n}\bar{u}\check{g}\bar{i}$ -, Sm $*\acute{n}\bar{o}$ - 'pursue' without distinction between the reflexes of N $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\eta\bar{u}d\bar{a}$ and those of N $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\iota\iota\omega\nabla$), SK 385, Ht. #446 ($*\acute{n}\bar{u}\check{\gamma}\bar{a}l$ -), Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on pObU $*\omega$ and $*\check{\gamma}$), ≈ Jn. 111, Hl. M #766, Prk. 119, ≠ IN 236 and IN UASJu 84 (the above U $\sqrt{\div}$ pY $*n\acute{n}\bar{a}\omega$ - 'следить, преследовать'), ≠ Rd. UJ 40 [#37] (Y $*n\acute{n}\bar{a}\omega$ - ← U $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\eta\omega\delta\bar{a}$ -) || ? A: Tg: Lm $\eta\bar{z}\bar{e}d\bar{i}$ 'track' ¶ STM I 667 || ??φ OT {Cl.} jind- 'search (sth.), seek (sth.)' ¶ Cl. 946 ¶¶ The front vw. in both Tg and T is puzzling || D (in SD) $*n\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ - vt. 'stir, obtain (sth. out of sth.), dig out' > Tm $n\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ 'stir, dig out, grub up, root out, pick off as the scab of an ulcer, pick out as wax from the ear, pilfer, pluck as an ear of grain', Ml $n\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{u}k\bar{a}$ 'to stir, to dig, to tease', Tu $n\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{a}v\bar{u}$ -, $n\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{a}d\bar{r}\bar{u}$ - v. 'rake up, stir' ¶ Semantics: 'stir' ← $*\text{'make move'}$ ¶ D #3795 ◇ The cns. $*\text{-}\eta$ - was lost (partially due to dis.) in NaIE and HS ◇ The original meaning (connected with hunting) still survives in U and Tg, but is lost in HS, IE, D, and T (due to the loss of the hunters' way of life?) ◇ IS II 90-91 s.v. $*\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\delta\bar{a}$ (all cognates, except Ht and A).

1609. ι $*\acute{n}\bar{a}\eta\bar{g}\bar{u}$ 'tongue' > IE: NaIE $*y\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ - ~ $*d\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ -/ $*d\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{w}\bar{a}$ ~ $*\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ - id. > Arm **լեզու** lezu id. (× IE $*le\check{j}\bar{g}\bar{h}$ - v. 'lick'?) || OL **lingua**, L **lingua**, Osc {Vtr.} FANCVA, FANGVAM 'tongue' || Clt {RE} $*tangw\bar{a}to$ - > OIr **tengae**, Brtt {RE} $*taw\bar{a}tos$ > MW {Vn.} **tauawt**, {RE} **tafawt**, W **tafod**, OCrn **tauot**, Crn **tavas**, MBr **teaut**, Br **teod** id. || Gt **tuggō**, ON, NNr, Sw, OSx **tunga**, Dn **tunge**, OHG **zunga**, NHG **Zunge**, AS **tunze** id., NE **tongue** || BSl $*(y)in\check{z}\bar{u}$ - (< IE $*y\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ -) > Pru **insuwis** [inzuvis], Lt **liežuv̄is** id. (× **liēžti** 'to lick') | Sl $*j\bar{e}z\check{z}k\bar{b}$ 'tongue' > OCS **языкъ** $j\bar{e}z\check{z}k\bar{b}$, Blg **език**, Δ **jazik**, McdS **јазик**, SCr **језик**, Slv **језик**, Cz, Slk, Hls **jazyk**, Lls **jězyk**, Plb **jōzěk**, P **język**, R, Blr **я'зык**, Uk **я'зык**; in pSl the initial $*\check{e}$ is regularly preceded by prosthetic $*j$ -, hence here the rec. of Sl $*j$ - is synchronically superfluous, but etymologically justified || pTc {Ad.} $*k\bar{a}nt\bar{w}\bar{o}$ (mt. < $*d\eta\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{w}\bar{a}$) > Tc A **kāntu**, Tc B **kantwo** 'tongue' || ? Ir: OI **ji h'vā**, Av

hizū-, hizvā id. ({P} < as. *ġiġ^hwā, and Irn *sizvā- < *zizvā- due to dis. of sonorants), OPrs hizan-, Phl uzvān, Oss: I 3vzag, D ävzag id. ¶ WP I 1792, P 223, GI 814, EI 594 (*d_hġ^huh_h-), MK I 436-7, ME I 591-3, Bai. 290, Ab. IV 279-80 WH I 806-7, EM 360, Mul. 147, Vn. T 50-1, RE 140, Fs. 482, Vr. 600, OsS 1301-2, Schz. 337, KM 892, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1266, Frn. 369-70, En. 184, Tp. P I-K 55-9, Fs. 482, ESSJ VI 74-5, ≈ Glh. 300-1, Sl. 159-61, Wn. 204, Ad. 139. Ad. H 118 ¶ The variants *d_hġ^hū- and *l_hġ^hū- are accounted for by ancient dis. (prior to the denasalization *ń > *y, sc. *ń_l∇_lġ^hú- > *d_hġ^hū- ~ *l_hġ^hū-); in the case of *l_hġ^hū- the ideophonic factor and the infl. of NaIE *leġ^h- 'lick' and esp. of its nasalized present stem *linġ^h- have played a role (see N *Liġ_læ 'to lick, to sip, to suck'; an additional source is probably N *LAnġ∇ 'tongue', ? 'palate' [q.v.]). The voiceless *t- in Clt and Osc {Vtr.} F- are still puzzling || K *nena- 'tongue, word' > OG ena- 'tongue', G ena- id., 'language', Mg nina-, Lz nena- id., 'word', Sv UB/KB/L/Ln nin (/ pl. UB/KB/Ln nən-är, L nən-ar) 'tongue, language' ¶¶ K 147, K² 141, Q 289, TK 635, GP 237; FS K 239 and FS E 264 (*nen-) ¶ The palatal vw. *e may be due to the infl. of the former palatal *ń- || U *ńanġcé(m∇) 'tongue' (→ 'hard palate', 'gills') > pLp {Lr.} *ńōkćэм 'tongue' > Lp: S {Hs.} njuoktjeme, L {LLO} njuoutjav, N {N} njuovčâ / -k'čâm-, Kld {SaR} ńūχχčém, K {Gn.} ńūχ:čém id. | ?σ Chr: L/Uf/B nošmo 'hard palate', H нашмы našmъ 'gills' | ?σ Prm *ńoġkćim (= {LG} *ńoġkćim) 'gills' > Z нёкчим ńokćim id. || ?σ ObU *ńġ_lġkćam∇ ({Ht.} *ńġ_lġkćam∇) 'gills' > pVg *ńġkć∇m id. > Vg: UK ńaxśam, P ńaxśam, NV/LL ńaxśam, UL/So ńāxśam id.; pOs *ńanġkćam id. > Os: D ńanġśam, K ńaxśam, Nz/Kz ńoġśam id. || Sm: Ne: T ҺИҺЗИ' ńińziĩ, T O {Lh.} ńińci?, F NI {Lh.} ńiński, F {Ppv.} ńinśiku 'palate'; Kms {KD} nēniĩ?, nēni, {Cs.} nēni Koyb {Sp.} няни id. ¶ The primary meaning of the U √ must be 'tongue' (⇔ UEW), whence (by metonymy) 'hard palate'; the meaning 'gills' appears in pFU due to fishing as an important economic occupation of the pFU community ¶¶ Coll. 40 (*ńanġcé 'tongue'), ≈ UEW 311-2 (*ńanġcé [?] 'hard palate', [?] 'gills'), Lr. #788, Lgc. #4458, N II 104, SaR 222, MRS 351, 359, Ep. 75, Ü 133-4, LG 189, Ht. #444, Ter. 313, Lh. 235, Ppv. 67, KD 44, Ptp. 44, Cs. 184 || D *nāġku ~ *nāġku 'tongue' (× N *LAnġ∇ 'tongue', ? 'palate', q.v.) > Tm, Ml nāġku, Gdb nāġgu id.; AdS of D *nāġk∇ 'tongue' (see N l *ńāġ∇ 'tongue') ¶ D #3633, Zv. 128, 131 || ?σ A *ńġiġ∇ 'curse, swear' > Tg *ńġiġi- v. 'curse, invoke a harm to' > Lm ńiġi-, Ork niġiçi- id., Ewk niġi- ~ ńiġi-

v. 'curse, swear', 'omen harm', Sln n. '(religious) curse' ¶ STM I 598 || pJ {S} *nánósír- 'curse, swear' > OJ nónosír-, J: T/Kg nonosír-, K nónosír- ¶ S QJ #950, Mr. 737 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1469 (A *nǝǝne 'to curse, to swear'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ The U cognate goes back to a cd. (or d.?). The prehistory of the Tg (and A) vw. of the first syll. needs investigation ◇ IS MS 373 (*rǝanǝgǝ 'tongue'; IE, U, K).

1610. *nǝǝsǝi 'dirt, dirty liquid' > HS: S *o√ngǝǝs v. 'be dirty' > Ar نجس naǝs- {BK} 'sale, malpropre; impur, immonde', {Hv} 'impure, unclean', √ngǝs G v. 'be unclean, impure, filthy' ¶ BK II 1204, Hv. 752 || IE: NaIE *nǝsi- 'dirty-coloured; dirt, mud' > OI 'asi-taǝ 'black' || Gk ἄστος (gen. ἄστος) f. 'mud (of a river), slime', ἄστος 'muddy' ¶ P 771, M K I 64, F I 162 || U: FP *nǝsǝ 'dirt, (dirty?) liquid' > Z Vm/I/ Ud nǝsti 'dirt' || F [Agr.] nǝsi 'liquid, juice', F nǝste id., Krl A nǝzevǝ, nǝzevǝ 'moist', nǝstǝü v. 'become wet', Es nǝstǝtada, nǝstǝtada v. 'moisten' ¶ BF *e suggests to a FP *e, while Prm *a points to a FP *ǝ || A: Tg *nǝǝsǝ 'dirt' > Ewk nǝǝnǝ 'dirt, dirty', Lm nǝǝsǝ, Orc nǝǝsa, yaǝsa ~ nǝǝsa, Ork naǝǝsa ~ naǝsa, Nn yaǝsa ~ nǝǝǝsa ~ nǝǝsa id. ¶ STM I 633-4 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1405 (Tg < pA *nǝǝǝ 'dirt; to smear') ◇ The loss of the expected *-ǝ- in FU (FP) still needs explaining.

1611. *nǝǝpa 'face', (?) 'nose' ([in A] → 'front') > HS: EC: Sa {Bl. < ?} nef, {R} nǝf, nǝf, Af nǝf / nǝf- 'face' ¶ ≠ Bl. 166, R S II 286, PH 174 || S *onǝp- > Ar AT/Mrc {Bss., DMA} nǝf 'nose' → Kb nnǝf 'nez, amour-propre' ¶ DMA I 102, Dl. 548 || A ({SDM97} *nǝǝǝ 'front, in front'): Tg *nǝǝǝ- ≈ front, forward' > Ewk PT nǝǝǝ 'in front', 'forward', Orc nǝǝǝ ~ nǝǝǝ id., 'at first', Ork nǝǝǝ- ~ nǝǝǝ- 'go forward \ in front (of others)' ¶ But Tg *nǝǝǝ- 'be in front, first' is more likely to belong to N *nǝǝǝǝ 'be in front, precede, be first' (q. v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 627, DQA #1483 (Tg *nǝǝǝ- ~ *nǝǝǝ-) || ?pJ {S} *mǝǝǝ 'front, before' > OJ {S} mǝǝǝ, {Mr.} mǝǝǝ, J: T mǝǝ, K mǝǝ, Kg mǝǝ id., {Kenk.} 'the front' ¶ The change *nǝ- > *m- is still to be accounted for (as. *nǝ...p > m...p??) ¶ S AJ 267 [#65], S QJ #65, Mr. 469 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *nǝǝǝ), S AJ 297 [#585], ≈ DQA #1483 (A *nǝǝǝpǝ 'front, in front, front side'; incl. J, Tg *nǝǝǝ-).

1612. nǝǝǝǝ 'tender, beautiful', 'thin (not dense)', 'sparse' (of hair, wool) > HS: Eg v nǝǝ 'good, be good, (be) beautiful' ({Vc.} acp. *nǝǝǝ), Cpt: Sd nǝǝǝ nǝǝǝ, B nǝǝǝ nǝǝǝ 'good, beautiful' ¶ EG II 253-6, Vc. 150 || D *nǝǝǝ 'fine, tender' (× N *nǝǝǝǝ 'thin,

meagre'??) > Kn *navuru*, *navaru*, *naviru* 'that is tender \ soft \ fine', Tl *navuru*, *navuru* 'soft, delicate' ¶¶ D *-r- for the expected *-r- suggests that in pre-D the root was followed by a *sx.-cns.* ¶¶ D #3618 || mt. **U** {Coll.} **ńärpä* 'thin (not dense), sparse' > FU: pLp {Lr.} **ńärpē* id. > Lp: S aadj. *njäärbes*, U *njārbee*, , N d. *njar'bâd*, L *njar'pē* id., Kld *ñäppn* 'thin' (of liquids), 'sparse' (hair, wool) || Sm: Ne FN {Lh.} *ńjē'rβä* 'lichtmaschig' (Netz) ¶¶ Coll. 40, SSA II 254, Lr. #767, Lgc. #4367, SaR 209-10, TI 294-, Lh. 315.

1613. *ńiq'u' 'grind, crush, rub, rub down\off, rub to powder' > HS: Eg fOK *nɜ* ({Vc.} **✓nɜy*) id. (EG: 'ver-\zer-reiben, mahlen') > DEg *nɪ* id. > Cpt: Sd/B **NOYT** *nuɪ* / Sd **NAɪ**- *naɪ*-, B **NOɪ**- *noɪ* v. 'grind'; Cpt F stt. **NAɪ** *naɪ* < Eg {Vc.} stt. **naɜyew*; ⇨ Eg fMK *nɜ*, *nɜy.ω* ({Vc.} **naɜ3aω*) 'flour' > DEg *nyɪ* > Cpt: Sd **NOEIT** *noeɪ*, B **NWIT** *nōɪ*, F **NAIT** *naɪ* id. ¶ EG II 369-70, Fk. 143, Er. 131, Vc. 141, 145 || Ch {JS, JI} *nɪq̣*- 'grind' > WCh {Stl.} **niq̣*- 'grind' > Hs *ńiḳā* id. | Fy {J} *niḳ*, Bks {J} *nuk* id. | Bg {Sh.} *nok*, Zar K {Sh.} *nɪk* id. ¶ JS 125, JI I 82 and II 170-1, Stl. ZCh 235 [#818] || ?? B (with ext.) **✓nɪd* 'écraser, broyer, réduire en poudre' > Tmz {MT}, Kb {Dl.} *✓nɪd* *G* (imv. Tmz *ənɪd*, Kb *ənɪd*) id., Mz {Dlh.} *✓nɪd* *G* 'broyer, piler', Izn {Ds.} *✓nɪd* *G* 'écraser', BSn {Ds.} *✓nɪd* *G* (imv. *ənɪd*) 'broyer' ¶ MT 479-80, Dl. 368, Dlh. M 138, Ds. B 52, 108 ¶¶ OS #1871 (HS **niq̣*- in Eg and WCh) ¶¶ Tk. I 320 || **K**: OG *naq*- v. 'pound' (DCh.: 'толочь'), G *naq*- '(zer-)stampfen\stoßen, kleinstoßen, klopfen (z. B. Steine)' ¶ Chx. 933, DCh. 967 ¶ The vw. *a* is probably due to apophony || **A** **ńik'u* 'grind, gnaw' > NaT **jik*- 'demolish, destroy' > OT *jiq*- id., MQp XIII *jiq*- 'demolish', XwT XIV, Chg XV *jiq*- 'destroy', Tk *ɟik*-, Ggz *jik*-, Tkm, Qmq *jiq*-, Az *jiχ*- 'destroy, demolish', Xlj *juq*-, VTt Δ {θRI.} *ǰɪq*- 'destroy' ¶ To distinguish from T **jik*- 'throw down' (in some lgs. contamination of both roots) ¶ Cl. 897, Rs. W 200, ETJ 273-4, RI. IV 116, Bu. II 358, GRM 221, TkR 376, HüS. 161, KumRS 158, DT 230 || M **niqu*- 'rub, crumble' > OM **niqu*- (⇨ Ewk *niku*- v. 'grind'), WrM *niqu*- ~ *nuqu*-, HIM *nyxa*- v. 'rub, massage; mash, press; crumble', Brt *nyxa*- *nyxa*- 'knead, mash, rub, mix by rubbing', Ord {Ms.} *nu'χu*'- 'pétrir, malaxer, masser', Kl *nyx*- 'knead, rub, mix by rubbing', Kl {Rm.} *nyxu*- 'kneten, zerreiben, zermalmen', Mnr H {T} *nuqu*- 'knead' ('месить, замесить'), {SM} *nu'qu*- 'pétrir, broyer qch. entre les mains', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} *nuqu*- v. 'pound', ¶ MED 586, KRS 388, Ms. O 500, SM 288, T 353, Iw. 120, Chr.

346 || Tg *ń¹U¹ki- '≈ gnaw, pound' > Ewk ń3ki- 'gnaw, crack (by teeth)', Sln ńuxuŋki n. 'pestle', WrMc d. niyoχu-, niyoχule- v. 'pound (in a mortar)', niqca- 'destroy, demolish' ¶ STM I 591, 637 || pKo {S} *ńikì- 'knead, mix' > MKo ńikì-, NKo igi- ¶ S QK #777, Nam 119, MLC 1319 ¶¶ DQA #1451 (A *ńik'ú 'grind, crunch; knead'), Pp. VG 39 ||| A reduplicated variant is attested in WCh (Sha {J} nûŋ, Klr ńiŋ 'grind') and in pJ {S} (*nènkè-p- → *nùnkù-p- 'rub, wipe (off)' > OJ nògòp- > J: T nugú-, K núgú-, Kg nùgù-, see S QJ #682, Mr. 738) ◇ The B cognate is qu. because it is not attested in its pure form (without extensions).

1614. ₂ *ńoqa 'lowland, depression' > K (GZ?) *noqa- > G noqa- 'bog, marsh, swamp', ? G G/I noqo 'langsam fließendes, sumpfiges Wasser'; Tümpel'; {acc. to K and K²} Mg noya-, noyo- 'branch of a river, plain', {K} 'low place, river-bed', Lz noya 'lowland, bank' (K believed that the change *-q- > Zan -y- is reg. [see *d(1)aqw- 'elbow' > Lz xe-duy- id.], but FS refer this Zan word to the K√ *noy- 'lowland, swamp') ¶ K 148, ≈ K² 144 (*noya-), Chx. 965, FS K 242 ||| **U:** FU *ńokka 'ravine, depression' > Prm {LG} *ńuk id. > Z MSs ńuk, Z ńuk3s 'depression\ravine with a river', Vt ńuk 'ravine (овраг, лог)' ¶ LG 200, Lt. 208.

1615. *ńaRU 'swamp' > **U** *ńor^o 'swamp' > ? F noro 'swampy valley' || pPrm {Lt.} *ńür 'swamp' > Z ńur, ńurv+v, Vt SW ńür, Vt ńur id. (Prm *ü for the expected *u due to the palatalizing infl. of *ń-?); but Vt ńur 'dampness' may go back to N *ńo^r 'moist, mud; (?) to gush' (q.v.) as well ||| ObU {Ht.} *ńürm∇ > pVg *ńürm∇ 'meadow' > Vg: ML ńuram id.; pOs *ńoram 'swamp' > Os: V/Vy ńoram, Ty/Y ńoram, D/K/Nz ńuram, Kz ńūrām id.; UEW suggests a different Vg cognate: pVg {UEW} *ń+r > Vg: T/P ńēr, LK/Ss ńār 'swamp' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} ńar+ 'tundra', UTz {KKIH} ńar+ 'swamp', Ke {Cs.} njār 'tundra', Tm {KD} ńār 'swamp, Moorwald' || pY {IN} *ńorā 'swamp, puddle' > Y: T {IN} ńor-íí id., K {IN} ńoro-í 'puddle', {Jc.} ńoroł-ca(ge) 'swamp', ? ńorod-ōzi 'puddle (Wasserpfüte)' (ōzi 'water') ¶¶ UEW 324-5 (U *ńor∇), SK 393, ≈ IG 201 (Prm *ńEr), Lt. 221 (Prm *ńür), Ht. #476, KKIH 129, Ang. 184, IN 239, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [#38] (Y ← U) ||| **A:** Tg *ńa_;ru 'swamp' > Ewk ńārut ɘ narut ɘ ńāru 'small swamped lake, swamp, swampy glade in a forest', Lm Al ńaruqāy ɘ ńaruqāw 'swamp, puddles', Nn nīārō ɘ nīrū ɘ ńarō ɘ ńarū, Ud ńau 'swamp, swamp in taiga (марь)', WrMc niyarī 'marsh, quag' ¶ STM I 636, Krm. 269 ¶ S AJ 257 [#169] ||| **HS:** S (+ext.): Ak OB,

LB *nārīt-* 'morass, marshland' ¶ CAD XI/1 353 || EC: Arr {Hw.} *hōr* 'mud' (× N **ḡoʿr* ▽ 'moist?') ¶ Hw. A 389 ◇ U *-o- is due to as. (infl. of the final rounded vw.)? ◇ Gr. II #376 (**nur* 'swamp') (U, Y+ err. A, J, Gil).

1616. **hīr* ▽ 'rub, scratch, scratch\draw\make a sign' > U **hīr* ▽ 'scratch, scrape' > Prm **hīr-* 'rub' > Z *нирт-* *hīrt-* 'rub, scratch', Δ *hīrav-* ≍ *hīral-* v. 'rub, massage', Vt {U3S} *ниръя-* *hīrya-* 'anoint', *нирт-* *hīrt-* 'rub sore, wipe off' || ?σ OHg xv, Hg *nyír-* v. 'clip, trim, cut, shear' || Sm: Ne F {Lh.} *hīra-* 'gnaw; plane with a scraper' ¶¶ UEW 320-1, LG 192, U3S 301, EWU 1042-3, Lh. 324 || ¶ A **nhīr* ▽ > Tg **hīnīru-* 'draw (a picture, lines)' > Sln *nīruʿan* 'a drawing', Neg *niyuyit*, *niyu-*, Orc *hīru-* ~ *hūru-* v. 'draw, write', Ul *hūru-* ~ *hūri-*, Ork *nuří-* ~ *hīru-* ~ *hūru-*, Nn Nh *hīru-* v. 'write', WrMc *nīru-* 'draw (a picture), draw lines, paint' ¶ STM I 600, Hr. 709-10 || T **jīʿr-* ~ **jaʿr-* ({Md.} **jaʿr-*) 'draw a sign' (× N **yaʿr* ▽ 'to draw\scratch a sign', q.v. ffd.); the variant **jīʿr-* is represented by Blgh **žīr* > Chv *џыр* *šīr* 'write' and the M loanword *zīru-* 'draw, paint' || ??σ pKo **nīrk-* > MKo *nīrk-*, NKo *ilk-* v. 'read, recite, chant', Ko Ph *ik-* 'read' ¶ S QK #724, Nam 125, MLC 1361 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **hāre* 'draw' > T **jaʿr* ~ **jāʿr*, Tg **hīru-* 'draw', and MKo *nīrk-* to read'), ≈ DQA #1470 (T, Tg, and Ko < A **hājāre* ~ *-ī-? 'draw [zeichnen]') || HS: S **nīr-* > Ar *نير* *nīr-* 'marque de fabrique à l'étoffe; tracé bien distinct de la route', ✓ *nyr* (ip. -*nīr-*) 'marquer une étoffe de la marque *nīr-*' ¶ BK II 1375-6, Fr. IV 357-8.

1617. ₂ **hūR* ▽ 'become very hot, shine' > HS: S **nūr-* 'light, fire' (× N **ḡehʿUʿrʿi* 'light, fire') > Ak fOAK *nūrū* id., Eb *nu-ru*₁₂-um (= *nūrum*) {Krb.} 'Licht', IA F *nwr*, JA [Trg.], JEA *נורה* *nūr-ā*, Sr *نور*₁₂ *nūr-ā*, Md *nura* 'fire', d. BHb *נר* *nēr* 'small clay lamp filled with oil' (< adj. **naʿwir-* 'shining'), Ug {DLS} *nr*, [AkSc] {Hnr.} *nēlīru* 'lamp (?)', {OLS} 'brillo, resplendor' → 'lámpara', BHb *מנורה* *mānōrā* 'lampstand', Ar *nūr-* 'light, luminous body', ✓ *nwr* (ip. *ya-nūr-u*, pf. *nāra*) 'shine, glow', *nār-* 'fire', Mh *nawr* 'light, glamour', Gz *nār*, *nūr* 'light, fire' ({L:} ← Ar), ✓ *nwr* D {L} 'be lit\lighted, illuminate'; a secondary variant: WS **nīr-*, *✓ *nyr* > BHb *נר* *nīr* 'light, lamp', Ar *niyār-* (pl. of *nār-*) 'lights', Jb *eʿnyer* v. 'glow' (of light) ¶ GB 489, 494, KBR 600. 697, 723, A #1850, DLS KTU IV 284, Hnr. 152, OAS 331, Lv. III 363, Lv. T II 99, Sl. 738-9, Br. 421-2, DM 294, Nld. MG 118, Fr. IV 350-1, BK II 1364-5, Hv. 806-7, Jo. M 307, Jo. J 198, LG 401, 410, CAD XI/2 347-51, Frnz. LS3

144 || **A:** NrTg *ńūre- 'incandence' (of metal) > Ewk ńūrз vi. 'incandence, become hot', Neg ńууз- id., Lm ńō̄rŋi- & ńō̄rgi- & ńō̄rga- & ńūrŋi- vt. 'incandence, ńō̄:enĵib- vi. 'incandence' ¶ STM I 649 || Ko: [1] Ko {Rm.} nur- vi. 'burn (as cloth before a fire)', {MLC} nulli-ta 'scorches, burns, sings'] [2] ? pKo {S} *nūrí- 'have a burnt smell' > MKo nūrí- id., NKo nuri-, nori- 'be rank, foul-smelling' ¶ Rm. SKE 173, S QK 911, Yu 162, MLC 364-5, 342, 357, S QK #911 || M *nurma 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (× N *ŋeh'U'r'i' 'light, fire', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *nìrà(n)k- 'temper (metal) by putting heated metal into water' > OJ nìràg- ¶ S QJ #967, Mr. 736 ¶¶ DQA #1448 (A *ŋjō̄ri 'to heat [нагревать, накаливать] > M, Tg, J) ◇ IS MS 337 s.v. 'гореть' *ńūrŋ ◇ Qu., because S *nūr- may alternatively go back to N *ŋeh'U'r'i'.

1618. *ńāʔRä (or *ńäʔRA?) 'pungent, strong' (of sensations, feelings, etc.) > **HS:** S *°√nʔr > Ar √nʔr v. 'être excité au point de se jeter sur quelqu'un' ¶ Fr. IV 226, BK II 1176 || **U:** FP *ńärä 'heartburn' and sim. > F nārä 'angina, ardor stomachi, nārästys 'heartburn, acid dyspepsia' | Z ńzra in set phrases: Z Lu/Skt ńzra viyз, Z UV ńzra viye '(it makes) heartburn, sinking sensation in the pit of the stomach (сосёт под ложечкой)' (vıyз, viye 'kills, strikes') ¶ UEW 713, IG 190, SK 415 || **A:** Tg *°ńar- > Orc ńarakta 'very' ¶ STM I 635 || **IE:** NaIE *yūr- (an apophonic grade of *yēr-?) 'strong, violent' > Gk ζωρός 'pure, sheer' (of wine without water) ||| Sl *jarъ(jb) > OCS **яръ** jarъ 'amarus, austerus', SCr jār 'hot, cruel', jār 'anger, fury; passion', Slv jār 'ardent, furious', Cz jarý 'fresh, ardent', Slk jarý 'full of strength, fresh', HLs jěrų 'pungent', P jarų 'pure, bright, vigorous' (woda jara 'pure water', światłość jara 'a pure unadulterated light', dzień jarų 'bright day', stary ale jarų 'old but vigorous' [of an old man]), OR, RChS **яръ** jarъ 'anger', R 'ярый 'ardent, violent'; Sl *jarъkъ(jb) 'bright (esp. of colours, light)' (× N *z'a'hr∇ [- *z'a'hr∇ - *z|z'a'hr∇] 'shine, be bright', q.v.) > Blg 'ярък, SCr jārak, R 'яркий bright (esp. of colours, light)', Slv járek id., 'shining', OR, RChS **яръкын** jarъkĵi 'severe, furious; bright' (but Cz jarý 'young' is connected with N *°ńařÉ ≈ young', q.v.) ||| ? CINPrs |ار یārā, NPrs yara {Sg.} 'boldness, courage; strength, force', {Pl.} 'robur, potestas, audacia' ¶ Mn. 452, Vl. II 1501, Sg. 1525, F I 618, ESSJ VIII 176-80,

Bern. I 447-8, Glh. 288, Vs. IV 562-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here T *jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT jaru- id. (Cl. 956-7), but for semantic reasons it is more plausibly connected with N *z'a'hr▽ (→ *z'a'hr▽ → *z|z'a'hr▽) 'shine, be bright' (q.v.). In any case, a coalescence of both etymons in T *jaru- remains a possibility ◇ If the N etymon is *ñaʔRä, U *ñärä is explained as going back to **ñarä (regr. as.).

1619. *ñE'Γ'Ar▽ 'sprout' > U {UEW} *ñEr▽ ~ *ñâr▽ ~ *ñârke, {IS DU} *ñâr▽, {Db.} *ñōr▽ 'rod, young sprout' > Chr {Szil.} nörʒa 'sprout' ('Sproß, Sprößling'), nörʒö 'twig' ('Zweig'), Chr L {Üp} nörpḡö 'young sprout', {MRS} 'young' (of a sprout), Chr H {Rm.} nörʒa 'young tree', {Ep.} nōra, nörʒa 'flexible sprout, young sprout' | Prm *ñōr ({LG} ñōr) 'rod, twig (лоза, ветка, прутик)' > Z ньөр ñzr / ñzry- id., Yz ñūr 'rod (прут)', Vt ньөр ñzr 'twig, branch, birch rod (ветка, розга)' || ObU {Ht.} *ñīr 'Rute' > pOs *ñēr(i) ({JHl.} *ñīr(i)) > Os: V ñērām id., D ñērām id., 'Zweig, dünne Weide', Ty ñēr 'auf einem abgebrannten Platz aufgewachsener Hain', Kz ñār 'Laubholzhain', Laubholzdickicht', ñārām, Y ñēr 'gerissener Baum'; pVg *ñīr 'Rute' > Vg: T ñär, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML/Ss ñir | Hg nyír 'birch tree', Δ nyír 'young sprout (junger Schößling)', meg-nyír-ez- v. 'mit Ruten schlagen' || Sm {Jn.} *ñzr- 'willow' > Ne T неpo, Ne T O {Lh.} ñērū, Ne F {Lh.} ñērū; Sm {Jn.} *ñerkā (~ *ñvrkā), {Hl.} *ñzrka ~ *ñvrka id. > Ng {Adl.} nerki, En {Cs.} nigga, {Mik.} niga', Ne T нерка, Ne T O {Lh.} ñērka'ä id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ñarq†, Kms {Cs.} narga, {KD} nǎrga ≙ nǎrga id., Mt {Hl.} *ñ|nerg▽ id. (Mt T/K {Mk.} néрге, M {Mil.} nérgö 'salix', K {Pl.} nergà 'тал', M {Sp.} нарга 'ивняк, тальник') ¶¶ Coll. 43, UEW 331, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU, FP ñeri, Ugr ñirī 'twig'), IS DU, Db OS xxii, xxiv, Ü 134, MRS 360, Ep. 77, Ht. #470, Hl. rHt 75, KrT 629, PD 1466-7, Jn. 108, KKIИ 139, Hl. M #748 || D *ñāz- 'sprout', {GS} *ñēd- v. 'appear, sprout, shoot forth' > Ml ñāz- 'young plant fit for transplanting', Tm nāz- v. 'sprout, shoot forth', ñāz- v. 'appear, arise', Kt nā't, Knd nāru 'seedlings for transplantation', Knd nēz- v. 'rise from the seed' (a plant), Kn Gl nāz- v. 'sprout', Kdg nāz- 'become tall, straighten oneself so as to become tall' (of a plant), 'rise up and come to view', Tu nēji 'nursling, young plant of rice', Tl nāz- 'young sprouts or plants which are to be transplanted', Gnd nēr 'rice-seedlings', Png nēz-, Mnd nēy-, Ku ney- v. 'sprout', Kui nēzā- id.,

'germinate and shoot up' ¶¶ D #2919, GS 142 [#363] || K *^onoϣr- (× *^hna^zre ≈ 'young, new-born') > G Gr {IS ← ?} noϣr- 'young grass' ¶ IS MS 349 ◇ IS II 83-5 (includes the D √ into the etymon *^hna^zra 'young, new-born'), IS MS 349 (D *^hna^zr- and G noϣr- < N *^hna^zra). In the light of my recent phonological research (suggesting that D *-^z- goes back to N *-r- and is not akin to T *-^z-) D *^hna^zr- 'sprout' is to be kept apart from T *^hna^zr 'springtime'. In U *^hno^zrke 'sprout' *-ke is a sx. G Gr noϣr- is absent in the standard dictionary of Georgian dialects (Ghl.) and therefore remains qu. Hence *Γ in the N rec. is within uncertainty brackets ' '. If GS's rec. of a pD *e is right, the N etymon must have been *^hne^zΓ^z∇r∇. D *-^z- (the reg. reflex of the intervocalic *-r-) points to a vw. before N *r.

1620. *^hnihr^za^z 'to stream; a stream, liquid' > HS: S *na^hhar- 'stream, river' > BHb נהר^z nā^hhār id., Ug nhr {OLS} id., {A} id., 'flood', OA nhr 'river, water-course', JA [Trg.] נהר^z nah^zr-ā 'stream', JEA {Sl.} נהר^z nah^zr-ā 'river, canal', Sr nah^zr-ā, Ar nahr- ~ nahar- 'river', Sb ^znhr pl. 'irrigation channels', Ak nāru 'river, canal; vein'; WS *^znhr v. 'stream' > BHb ^znhr G id., Ar ^znhr G 'flow abundantly' (blood, river), Gz ^znhr G 'flow, go down' ¶ KB 639, GB 489, A #1762, OLS 321-2, HJ 720, Lv. T II 95, Js. 882-3, Sl. 734, Br. 417, BK II 1354, Hv. 803, BGMR 94, CAD XI/1 368-76, L G 394 || U *^hi^zra 'stream, liquid' > FU (att. in BF) *Nira 'brook' > F nira 'small brook with a rapid current, brook in a forest', Es nira 'brook' || Sm {Jn.} *^hne|^zr 'liquor' > Ne T hep^z 'egg-white', Ne T O {Lh.} ^her^za^z 'sap of a tree', Slq Ke {KD} ^hzr 'liquid produced during copulation (vätska, som alstras vid samlag)' ¶ SK 384, Jn. 109-10 || D *nīr, {GS} *^hīr- 'water, liquid' > MI nīr 'water, juice, moisture', Tm nīr id., 'sea, liquor', Kt, Td nīr, Kn nīr, nīru, Kdg nīri, Klm i^zr, Nk, Nkr īr 'water', Knd nīr masu 'mist, dew', Kui nīru 'juice, sap', Brh dīr id., 'water, food-water' ¶¶ D #3690, GS 144 [#368] || ?φ A: It is worth paying attention to Ko: OKo Sl {Lee} *narih, MKo nā^z / nā^zh-, NKo nā 'river' ¶ The unexpected vw. *a (> MKo ā) needs explaining; an alt. hypothetic origin is N *^zla^zΓ^zu^z 'body of water (lake, river)', q.v.) ¶ Lee GKS 80, S QK #229 (pKo *nā^zh). Nam 101, MLC 315 ◇ IS MS 369 (*^hri(h)r^z∇ 'to stream, to flow': ?U, D, S).

1621. (₂?) *^hne^zH^zr∇ 'plain, ground' > HS: B *nēr > Ah tenere, Gh činiri 'plain, desert', ETwl, Ty teṇere (pl. tiṇariwen) 'plaine désertique' ¶ Fc. 139, Nhl.150, 190, GhA 149 || A: T *jer 'earth' > OT jer ({Cl.}

jēr) 'ground, earth, land, soil', Tk ʎer, Az, Tkm, Uz, SY, Nog, CrTt jer, Ggz jeř, ET jä(r), VTt ẓ̌br, Bsh ep ʎbr, Qzq, Qq žer, Xk чир čir, Xlj jer ~ je·r, Tv čer, Tf ć'er, Yk sir, Chv çěp šar 'earth, land', Kr jer, Alt žer id., 'country' ¶ Cl. 954, ET J 191-2, TL 87, Rs. W 198, S AJ 177 (#23), BIG 317, Sht. 67, Ra. 195, DT 222-3, Jeg. 211, Fed. II 110 || ?σ Tg: Lm ḥ̣zrkz 'place under the hearth or close to it; hearth' ¶ ≈ STM I 355 || ?φ pKo {S} *nārā(h) 'country' > MKo nārāh, NKo nara ¶ The vowels still defy explanation ¶ S AJ 257 [#169], S QK #169, Nam 87, MLC 287 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 290 [#359] (A *nār_Li_L 'earth, land': Ko, Tg *nā 'earth, land, dry land'), ≈ DQA #1441 (T and Tg < A *ñēra 'earth, floor'), STM l.c. || ?φ U: Chr: L нур nur, H ныр нър 'field' (unless to U *ñor'ō' 'swamp' < N *ñaRU id.) ¶ Ü 135-6, Rm. BT 88.

1622. *ñaX_Li_LrU(-k|gê) 'cartilage' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cartilage of the vertebrae', 'backbone') > HS: S (WS?) *'naħ_L∇_Lr- > Ar naħr- 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum', ? Tgr nēħar 'breast', ? Jb C {Jo.} 'naħar 'windpipe and lungs', Sq {L} 'naħar 'avoir mal à la gorge' ¶ BK II 1213, LH 324, Jo. J 187, L LS 264, MiK I #1.196 || U: FU *ñōrke, {Db.} *ñorke 'gristle' (× N *muñi'H'ōrK∇ [or *muñi ʎarK'u']?) 'gristle, horn') > pLp {Lr.} *ñōrkēs > Lp: N {N} njuorges / -r'ga 'gristle' (also of separate rings of the windpipe), L {LLO} L {LLO} njuorakis ~ njuor'kēs 'cartilage in the nose, nose meat of fishes', K {Gn.} ñoargas 'cartilage' | Chr L Höpgrö nörʁö, Uf/B nörʁö, H {Ep.} Höpgṛi nörʁə 'cartilage' || ObU {Ht.} *ñ̄rk∇ id. > pVg {Ht.} *ñ̄ræʁ id. > Vg: T ñēr̄kē ʁ ñēr̄æw, MK ñ̄ri, P ñ̄riʁ, Ss ñ̄riʁ; pOs {Ht.} *ñarak > Os: Vy ñaraq, Ty/Y ñ̄araq, D/K ñora, Nz ñora, O ñar id. | ? OHg XVI n̄yír, Hg Δ n̄yír (+ppa. 3s n̄yírja) 'flesh ("frog") in the horse-hoof' ('Strahl am Pferdehuf') (semantic infl. of n̄yíl id. ← n̄yíl 'arrow', which is a loan-translation from Sl or German) || Sm {Jn.} *ñzr 'gristle' > Ne: T нер", T O {Lh.} ñērʔə id., F NI cd. puyyeñ-ñje·rr̄f 'gristle of the nose', d. ñ̄ēʔ:ʔk̄u 'gristle'; Ng {Ter.} нир id.; En {Ter.} ныр" n̄r / ныр- n̄r- id.; Slq {KD}: LTz ñ̄r̄, Ch ñ̄r id. ¶¶ Db. reconstructs the pFU (and pU) vowels as *o...e on the basis of his theory (Db OS xxvi-xxxiv) of two corr. sets for pU *o: [1] in *-e-stems (those with a final *-e) *o > F o, Lp N uo, Mr o, Chr ü, ö, Prm *u, Vg ɜ (~ a), Os a, o (preceding ʎ?), Hg í, [2] in *-a-stems FU *o > F o, Lp L oa, Mr u, Prm {JLt.} *u, *o, Vg ū / ā (/ ũ), Os a (/ô / u / ã), Hg a (/ á). UEW reconstructs here U *ñzrk∇ = {JUEW} *ñ̄er̄kz or *ñ̄örke ¶¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxvi, UEW 317, It. #62, Sm. 546 (FU *ñ̄irki, FP *ñ̄er̄kʎ-, Ugr

ńĩrkĩ* 'cartilage'), Lr. #794, Lgc. #4467, N II 99, LLO 628, ≈ Ber. 43, MRS 360, Ep. 77, Ü 134, LG 187, Ht. #317, MF 485, EWU 1043, Jn. 108, Ter. 305, Ter. SILSJ 287, Lh. 314, KP 144 || **A **ńĩru(k∇)* (or **-ř-*) > Tg **ńĩri(-kta)* 'vertebrae, spine' > Ewk *niri* ~ *ńiri*, Sln *nērdz*, Orc, Ud {STM} *ńĩkta* id., Ud {Krm.} id., Lm *ńĩru* id., 'back (dos)', Neg *nĩkta*, *nĩukta*, Ul *ńeřaqta* ~ *ńeřlaqta* ~ *ńĩruqta*, Ork *ńĩrukta*, Nn Mh/KU *ńĩruqta* 'spine' ¶ STM I 639-40, Krm. 266 || **M** **nĩruçun* 'back (dos), spine' > MM [S] {H} *nĩru₁un* ~ *nĩri₁un* id., [IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} *nĩruçun*, [L, MA] {Pp.} *nĩrūn* 'back (dos)', [HJ] {Ms.} *nĩrisun* (err. spelling of *nĩruçun*?) 'spine', WrM *nĩruçun*(n), HIM *ńĩruçun*(n), Brt *ńĩruçun*(n) 'back, spine, backbone', WrO {Krg.} *nĩrūtūn* 'spine', Kl *ńĩruçun* *nĩruçun* id., 'back', {Rm.} *nĩruçun* 'Rücken', Ord *nĩrū* 'back (dos), vertebrae', Dx {T} *nĩrun* 'back (dos)', Dg {T} *nĩrō* id., 'spine', Mnr H {T} *nĩru* 'back (dos)', {SM} *nĩru* id., 'fish-bone', *nĩru ças* 'spine' (*ças* 'bone') ¶ H 117, Pp. MA 257, 442, Pp. L III 72, Lg. VMI 57, Ms. H 79, MED 585, Krg. 221, KRS 386, KW 282, Chr. 343-4, Ms. O 502, SM 291, T 353, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 306 (A **nĩruç-* 'back, backbone'), Pp. VG 39, 116 (M, Tg + qu.: OT {Cl.} *ńĩr* 'north' [acc. to Pp., 'north' ← †'behind one's back']), ≈ DQA #1457 (M and Tg < A **ńĩra* 'spine') || **D** {Pf.} **nar-* 'sinew, tendon, nerve' > Tm *narampu*, Ml *ńarampu*, Kn *nara*, *naravun* id., Kt *narb* 'muscle, sinew', Td *narb* 'muscle, vein', Tl *naramu* 'vein, nerve, tendon', Tu *nara* id., *narambu* 'sinew, nerve', Klm, Knd *naram*, Prj *nerub*, Gdb *narub*, Gnd *naral* 'vein', Kui *ńrambu* 'tendon, sinew', Kw *nromi* 'nerve', Mlt *nāru* 'the veins', ?? Krx *narī* 'pulse' (unless ← InA: cp. OI *nādī* 'pipe, tube, pulse', Npl, Ass *nāri* 'pulse', Hnd *nārī*, *nārī* 'vein, pulse') ¶¶ MI **ń-* may suggest a pD **ń-* (< N **ń-*), but the existence of this D phoneme in the initial position is by no means evident ¶¶ D **-r-* goes back to **r-* clusters (in this case to **-Xr-*; if pN had **-X∇r-*, the vw. was syncopized in pre-D) ¶¶ D #2903, Pf. 174 [#8] (Krx *narī* ← InA).

1623. *ńār₂ê (or *ńā₂rê?) 'unripe, tender, weak' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} *nĩrō* 'soft, tender', Mch {L} *ńĩra(yé)* 'be soft, loose, flexible' ¶ C SE IV 150, L M 44 || **K**: MG [VTq.] *narnar-i* 'tender', G *narnar-i* 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N **ńar^rŭ¹* 'thin, narrow?') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 || **U**: FU **ńāre* 'raw, unripe' > F Δ, Krl Ld, Vo, Es Δ *nāre* 'young fir-tree' || pPrm **ner* (= {LG} *ner*) > Z *ner* 'weak, unripe, not grown up (невозмужалый)', Vt *nored* 'unripe, young' || ObU {Ht.} *ńār* 'raw' > pVg **ńār* > Vg: T *ńār*,

LK/MK/UK/NV $\acute{n}\bar{r}$, P/SV/LL/ML $\acute{n}\bar{r}$, UL/Ss $\acute{n}\bar{r}$ 'raw'; pOs $*\acute{n}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{v}$ > Os: V/Vy $\acute{n}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{v}$, Ty/Y $\acute{n}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{v}$, D/K $\acute{n}\bar{r}\bar{a}$, Nz $\acute{n}\bar{r}\bar{a}$, Kz $\acute{n}\bar{r}$, O $\acute{n}\bar{r}$ id. ¶ SK 414, LG 199, Ht. #469 || A: Tg: WrMc $n\bar{i}yere$ {Z} 'weak, feeble, thin, not solid', {Hr.} 'ungefüttert, dünn (Kleider)', Mc Sb $n\bar{i}r\bar{a}$ 'weak, weakly, feeble' ¶ Z 249, Hr. 718, Y#2502 || D $*nar-$ 'be deficient in growth' > Tm $n\bar{a}r\bar{u}\eta ku$ id., 'grow lean as a child', $n\bar{a}r\bar{u}\eta kal$ 'stunted growth', Kn $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ 'become deficient or stunted in growth', Tu $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{b}$ 'stunted(ness)', Krx $n\bar{a}r\bar{m}\bar{a}'\bar{a}$ - 'soften down, reduce in point of stoutness' ¶¶ D #3608 ◇ D $*-r-$ is a reg. reflex of N $*r$ -clusters, therefore we may suppose the presence of a N lr. (preferably after $*r$, otherwise we would have to expect lengthening of the preceding vw.); the absence of lrs. in the K word suggests that the N lr. was $*H_2$ (= $*\bar{r}|\bar{h}|\bar{r}$) (unlike the "strong" lrs. $*\chi$ and $*\psi$ that survive in K).

1624. ($_2$?) $*\acute{n}'a'R\bar{q}a|æ$ (= $*\acute{n}'a'R\bar{q}a|æ$?) '€ deer' > IE: NaIE $*york|\bar{k}$ - 'roe deer' (× N $*\bar{X}'iR\bar{g}\bar{\nabla}$ '[horned?] artiodactyl', q.v.) > Gk $\zeta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\xi}$, $\zeta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\zeta$ 'roe, gazelle'; the variant $\delta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\zeta$ is being explained by F and P by folk-etl. connection with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{o}\mu\bar{\alpha}\iota$ 'see' ||| Clt: W {YGM} $i\bar{w}r\bar{c}h$, $i\bar{y}r\bar{c}h\bar{y}n$ 'roebuck', $i\bar{y}r\bar{c}h\bar{e}s$ 'roe', OCrn $y\bar{o}r\bar{c}h$ · "caprea", Crn $y\bar{o}r\bar{g}h$ 'roebuck', Br $y\bar{o}u\bar{r}c'h$ 'roe deer'; {F}: Gk [Opp.] $\zeta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{o}\zeta$, [Hs.] $\zeta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$, $\zeta\acute{o}\rho\bar{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ 'roebuck, gaazelle' may be loans from Galatian (a Clt lge. in Asia Minor) ¶ WP I 209, P 513, EI 155 ($*york-s$ 'roe deer [Capreolus]'), LP § 3.2, YGM-1 298, ECCE 310, Hm. 837, LS 445, F I 410, Ch. 293-4 || A: Tg $*\acute{n}\bar{a}r\bar{k}|\bar{g}$ - 'young elk' > WrMc $n\bar{i}y\bar{a}r\bar{\chi}u\bar{c}a$ id., Ewk Tmt $\acute{n}\bar{a}r\bar{g}\bar{u}$, Ewk M/Urm $\acute{n}\bar{a}r\bar{g}\bar{u}\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{n}$ 'two-years-old male elk', Lm $\acute{n}\bar{a}r\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{n}$, Neg $\acute{n}\bar{a}t\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{n}$, Orc $n\bar{a}g\bar{u}\bar{c}\bar{a}$, $n\bar{a}g\bar{u}\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ 'first-year young elk' ¶ STM I 635 || T $*jargun$ > OT {CL} $\bar{j}a\bar{r}\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ '€ wild quadruped'; Early pT \rightarrow M $*\bar{z}\bar{o}r\bar{g}\bar{u}l$ > WrM $\bar{z}\bar{o}r\bar{g}\bar{u}l$, HIM $\bar{z}\bar{o}r\bar{g}\bar{o}l$ 'one-year-old deer' ¶ Cl. 963, MED 1071 ¶¶ DQA #1409 (A $*\acute{n}\bar{a}r\bar{g}\bar{u}$ 'young male deer/elk' > T, M, Tg) || possibly also ?? HS: B $*\check{n}Hr$ 'mohor antelope' (= {Pr.} $\check{n}H_3r$, where $*H_3$ is a "strong" lr.) (< $**n\bar{\nabla}qr$ - < $**n\bar{\nabla}rq$ - resulting from de-emphatization of $*\acute{n}'a'R\bar{q}a|æ$?) > $*n\bar{i}r$ - > Ah {Fc.} $e-n\bar{i}r$ 'mohor antelope' (pl $i-n\bar{i}r-\bar{a}n$), Tns {ABs.} $ti-n\bar{h}i\bar{r}$ -t, Twl/Ty {GhA} $e\bar{n}er$ (pl. $i\bar{n}er\bar{c}\bar{h}n$), Twl {ABs.} $i\bar{n}ir$, $t\bar{i}n\bar{i}r\bar{t}$, $a\bar{n}\bar{a}r$, Ty {ABs.} $e\bar{n}ir$ (pl. $i\bar{n}ir\bar{a}n$), $a\bar{n}ir$ 'antelope dama' ('mohor antelope') ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H #559, GhA 254.

1625. $*\acute{n}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{E}$ '≈ young, new-born' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'springtime') > HS: S: Cn $*\acute{n}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{\nabla}_1r$ - 'young person (boy, a youth)' > BHb $\acute{n}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}r$ id., Ph $n\bar{s}r$ 'servant', Ug $n\bar{s}r$ 'boy; servant'; Cn (pl.) \rightarrow Eg

[EgSSc] {Hlk.} na-^сa-rú-na 'warriors, soldiers' ¶ KB 668, A #1808, OLS 315, HJ 739-40, Hlk. #136 || IE *^уeh^hr- > NaIE *^л₁у^еr- / *^уōr- / *^л₁у^аr- 'young', 'springtime' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'year') > Sl *jaro ~ *jara ~ *jarь 'springtime' > RChS, OR **яра** jara, R Δ яра, SCr jār, Cz, Slk Δ, LLs, OP jaro, P jar, Uk Δ яр id.; d. *jarь f. > Slk jar f., Uk ярь f., P jarz id., OR **ярь** jarь, R Δ, Uk ярь, Slv jār f., Cz jař 'spring crop', SCr jar 'spring barley'; Cz jarý 'young'; d. *jarьka 'young animal' > Blg 'ярка, Slv jārka 'young hen', SCr jārka 'a hen that laid for the first time', Slk jarка, Uk 'ярка 'year-old sheep', OR **яръка** jarька, R, Blr 'ярка 'young sheep' || W iâr, Br уar 'hen' (< *у^аr-ā) (← 'young hen', ≡σ: above Blg) || OI *у^аr- 'year' in paу^аrīnī '(a cow) that calves for the first time in a year', Av у^аr- 'year', OPrs duš(i)-у^аra- 'unfortunate year (Miß-Jahr)' || Gk ώρᾱ 'season, hour' (↳ L hōra 'hour'), ώροσ 'time, year' || L hōrnus adj. 'of this year, this year's' (← *hō у^ōr- 'in this year') || Gmc {Vr.} *jēra- 'year' > Gt jer, ON ár, Sw, Dn, NNr år, OSx jār ~ gēr, OHG jār, NHG Jahr, AS zēar (z- = [y-]) 'year', NE у^еar || Lw {Mlc.} āra/i- 'time' ¶¶ P 296-7, ≈ EI 654 [*^(h)у^еro/eh^а- 'year, new season'], M K II 227-8, M E II 98-9, F II 1150-1, WH I 658-9, LP § 119, YGM-1 295, Hm. 835, Ho. S 4, 25, Ho. 141, Vr. 12, Fs. 301, Kb. 520, OsS 4622-3, KM 330, ESSJ VIII 175-81, Glh. 288-9, Vs. IV 559, Ad. 271, Mlc. CL 24, Mlc. LL 41 (fn. 28) || **u**: FU *ñōre 'young, new-born; springtime' > F nuori / nuore-, Es noor 'young' (↳ Lp N nuorâ- id. [↔ SK 401]) | pLp {Lr.} *ñōrз 'weak, tender' > Lp: U {Schl.} njuaras, Ml {Schl.} ñūaras 'thin', L {LLO} njuoras 'tender, soft, not yet hard' (of plants, children), 'fresh' (of vegetables), N {N} njorâs 'soft, not woody yet' (of plants), 'weak in the body, not able to stand' (of babies), Pa {TI} ñūōrēs 'weak', 'tender' (of babies, reindeer calves); ↳ Lp: U {Schl.} njuarahka 'zart', njuarahkadtja 'Kind im zarten Alter', L {LLO} njuorak 'tender, little' (of babies), N {N} njorâk 'young reindeer calf', njuorâk- (in cds.) 'new-born, suckling, baby' | Chr {Ber.} *nōrā > L {Ü} hōrō 'nōrā, E {Ber.} nōrō 'flexible and weak', H hōrβī 'nōrā 'flexible and young' (of a sprout, a tree); *nōrgā (× N ***ñEΓ**Ar∇ 'sprout', q.v.) > L 'hōrgō 'nōrγā 'young sprout; young', H hōrgβī 'nōrγā 'flexible and young' || ? Sm: Mt {Hl.} *ñarha, *narha 'new' (Mt K {Pls.} njáarha, Mt M {Sp.} нара); possibly also (↔ Jn. and Hl.) Mt *nara 'springtime' (Mt K {Pls.} nára id., {Mll.} nār amua 'it is springtime') ¶¶ ≈ SK 401, Lr. #793,

Lgc. #4469, Schl. 101, LLO 628, N II 98, TI 309, Ü 134, Ep. 77, MRS 360, ≈ Ber. 43, ≈ Hl. M 314-5 [##722, 724], unc. Jn. 98 || **A** {SDM97} **ńā́r̄* 'a', {SDM95} **ńā́r̄* ▽ 'young; spring, summer' < T **ńā́r̄* > NaT **jāz* 'summer, spring' > OT *jāz* 'summer', MU *jaz* id., 'spring', MQp [CC] *jaz*, Tkm *jāδ*, Az, VTt *jaz*, Bsh *jaδ*, Qrg *žaz*, Alt *žas*, Xk *časχ*₁, Tv *čas*, Tf *čas*, Yk *sās* 'spring', Tk *ɥaz*, Ggz, Kr, Nog *jaz*, Qzq, Qq *žaz*, Blq *zaz*, Uz *juz* 'summer' || Chv *Lśur* 'spring', Blgh **ńār* ⇨ Hg *nyár* 'summer' ¶ Cl. 982, ETJ 71-2, TL 73-4, Ra. 134, Jeg. 219, Fed. II 138-9, EWU 1037 || M **nirayi* 'new-born; new, fresh' > WrM *nirai*, HIM *нярай*, Kl {Rm.} *nirā* ~ *nirā*, Brt *нарай* id., ?φ: Mnr H {SM} *nargē* 'jeune, en bas-âge, tendre', {T} *nargē* 'young' (of trees); M ⇨ Yk *niräy* ~ *ńiräy* ~ *ńiray* 'new-born, baby' ⇨ Ewk *niray* ~ *ńiray* id. ¶ MED 585, KW 277, STM I 639, SM 258, T 348 || Tg **ńargu* 'young, new' > WrMc *niyaraxun* ~ *niyarxun* 'new\fresh' (of grass, vegetation), 'young', 'greens', *niyarxuca* 'young of an elk', Lm *ńarçän*, Neg *ńatçan*, Orc *naguça* 'young elk (of the first year of life)', Nn *ńargi* ~ *nłargi*, Orc *ńargi* 'young willow' ¶ STM I 635, 639 || pKo {S} **ńjā́r̄*-m 'summer' > MKo *ńjā́r̄*-m, NKo *jā́r̄*-m id. ¶ S QK #190, Nam O7, MLC 1163 || pJ {S} **nátù* id. > OJ *natu*, J: T *nacú*, K *nácù*, Kg *nácu* ¶ S QJ #241, Mr. 494 ¶¶ S AJ 74, SDM97 (A **ńā́r̄*[a]), DQA #1476 (A **ńjā́r̄* 'a' 'young; spring, summer') || **z** K amb **noɥr*- (× N **ńE* 'r' **Ar** ▽ 'sprout', q.v.) > G Gr {IS ← ?} *noɥr*- 'young grass' ◇ IS II 83-5 (**ńa* 'r' **Λ** 'young, newborn') and IS MS 349 (**ń* 'o' 'r' **Λ** 'young'). IS adduces here D **ńā́r̄*- 'young plant, sprout', which is preferably connected with a different N etymon (see N **ńE* 'r' **Ar** ▽ '↑') ◇ S *-*r̄*- < N **r̄* or **ɥ*. Lw *āra/i*- 'time' suggests a weak lr. (**r̄*), while G *noɥr*- (if real) points to a N **ɥ* ◇ M **i* and K **o* need explaining. M **i* may be due to assimilating infl. of the palatal cns. **ń*- ◇ On N and pIE **ē*- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Gr. II #362 (**nyar* 'spring [season]') (IE, U, A, Ko + qu. Gil + err. J + unc. Ai, CK).

1626. **ńitūr* ▽ 'q' ▽ 'fist, knuckles of fingers; to strike with the fist\knuckles, hold in the hand' > **U**: FU (att. in BF) **Nürkk* ▽ 'fist, knuckles of fingers' > F *nyrkk* 'fist', Δ {Lnr.} *nyrkkä*, Vp {ZM} *ńürk* 'fist', Krl *nürkki*, Es K *nürk* 'knuckles of fingers' ¶ SK 408, ZM 370 || **A**: **ńitūr* _u _k _g 'fist' > T **ńutūr*uk ~ **ńitūr*uk > NaT **juṭūr*uk 'fist' > OT {MKD} *judruq*, {Cl.} *jiδruq* _ḍ *juδruq*, {DTS} *jidruq* _ḍ *juδruq*, MQp [CC] *jurruq*, Tkm Δ *judruq*, Kr *juduruk* ~ *juduruχ*, Qzq, Qq *žüdiriq*, Nog *юдырык* *judiriq*, VTt *йодрык* *jōdr̄yq*, Bsh *jōdr̄ōq*, Qrg *žuduruq*, Alt

{B} дьудрук (new spelling јудрук) žudruq, Qmn {B} judruq, QK {B, RI.}, Brb/Tlt {RI.} judruq, Tv čuduruq, Tf ħudruq, SY uzruq, Yk suturuk, as well as Qmn {B} ħunduruq ~ ħunturuq and Xk munzuruχ (< *ħuń^rd^ruruq < *ħu^ruruk (possibly ×T *jumruk 'fist' [lit. 'clenched'] ← *jumur-, caus. of *jum- v. 'shut, clench') ¶ TL 253 and ADb. SR 182, 317 (both: T *jɪŋδruk), Cl. 892, MKD 232 (OT judruq), DTS 265, 277, ETJ 248-9, RI. III 565, BT 57, KrkR 259-60, BR 222, B DK 213, 235, Ra. 210 || M *nidurga 'fist' > MM [HI] {Ms.} nudurga, [MA] {Pp.} nudurqa ~ nudurça [nudurga], WrM nidurga, HIM нудрага, Ord {Ms.} nu^rd^ru^rrga, Brt нударга, Mnr H {SM} nudurg_a, {T} nudurga id., Kl {Rm.} nudr̥γα 'geballete Faust', d.: Kl нудрма, {Rm.} nudr̥mα 'fist' ¶ Ms. H 80, Pp. MA 261, MED 578, KRS 385, KW 280, Chr. 342, SM 288, T 353 || Tg *ńurga 'fist' > Ewk ħurka, Sln nor'ga ≅ nuru'ga, Neg nelga ~ nouga, Ork nugga, {PSchm.} nurka, Ul ħugžā, ħugžaku, ? WrMc nuzan id. ¶ STM I 590 || ?σ pJ {S} nínkír- 'hold in the hand' > OJ níǵíír-, J: T nìgir-, K níǵír-, KLG nìǵír- ¶ S QJ #948, Mr. 735 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *nidurgi 'fist' + 'hand'), KW 280 (T, M), DQA #1463 (A *nǵúurgi 'fist' > T, M, Tg, J), ADb. SR 317 (T, M, Tg) || K: MG, G r̥t̥q- 'beat, hit' ¶ DCh. 1042 || ?? HS: S *✓tr̥k ~ *✓tr̥k ~ (Ak) *✓tr̥k > Ph tr̥k G 'strike', JEA ✓tr̥k G 'strike (with the knuckles of fingers)' ([BT] tr̥k lyh b[?]s̥k̥w̥t̥l[?] {Lv.} 'er schlug ihn mit dem Fingerglied'), Ar ✓tr̥q G 'knock (at the door), beat, play with the fingers upon (a musical instrument)', Ak fOAK ✓tr̥k G (inf. t̥ar āk̥u) 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ HJ 1233-4, Lv. II 198, BK II 75-6, Hv. 431, Sd. 1324-5 ¶ The initial *n- was lost probably due to its reinterpretation as a derivational px. of the N -pattern; *t̥ (alongside the expected *t) is due to regressive as.: (N *t...ǵ >) *t...k̥ > *t̥...k̥; Ak -k- is due to progressive as. (*t...k̥ > t...k) ◇ If G r̥t̥q belongs here, we reconstruct a N cns. *ǵ, otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *K̥ (N *ńitûr▽K̥▽) ◇ ADb. SR 317 (A, U).

1627. *ńe^{t̥}▽ 'stalk, stem, trunk' > A: Tg *ńeti 'log, beam' > Ewk ħ̥ɛtiŋ 'cross beam on the ground in the middle of a chum (Tungusian yurt)', 'seating place (made of rods) close to the walls of a chum', Ud Sm {Krm.} ħ̥esiǵi 'the lower part of the wall of a chum', Ud X/Sm {Krm.} ħ̥esiǵi 'a log close to the inner wall of a hut that serves for keeping bedclothes, a log for keeping dishes' ¶ STM I 655, Krm. 271 || D (in McTm) *ńe^{t̥}̥ 'stalk' > Tm n̥e^{t̥}̥t̥u 'stalk, peduncle', Ml n̥e^{t̥}̥t̥u, n̥e^{t̥}̥t̥i 'footstalk of a leaf or fruit' ¶ D #2925 ¶ D *t̥ for the expected *t (due

to a sx.: **hēt-t-* < **hēt-tʔ*? || **HS**: S: Ar *نطأة* *naṭā-t-* (pl. *ṭanṭaṭ-*) {Hv.} 'stalk of unripe dates', {BK} 'pétiole d'une datte non mûre' ¶ BK II 1287, Hv. 780.

1628. ₂ **hō₁ɣ₁w∇* (or **hōɣw∇*?) 'to hunt, to pursue' > **HS**: Eg fOK *nw* 'hunter' ¶ EG II 218 || ? S **hō₁ɣ₁w* ~ **hō₁w* > Gz *hō₁w* G (js. -*nɣa₁w*) 'hunt, lay snares', Tgr pf. G *nɣa* 'hunt', Ar *hō₁w* G (ip. -*nū₁-u*) 'expand the wings for darting on its prey' (of birds of prey) ¶ LG 382, BK II 1368, Hv. 808 || **U** **hōwe* > Sm {Jn.} **hō-* 'pursue' > Ne T d. *hētā-cs* 'to pursue (гнаться за кем/чем)', Slq: Tz {KKIH}, Tm {KD} *hō-* 'pursue, chase' || pY {IN} **hōw-* 'watch, pursue' > Y: K {IN} *nob-dī-* 'watch (следить), pursue (преследовать)', T {IN} *naw-rī-* id., {Ku.} *naw-rī-* 'watch, observe' (-*dī* & -*rī* is a sx. of vt.) ¶¶ This U (Sm, pY) *hō* does not belong (⇔ Rd., IN) to U **hō₁wδa-* (that goes back to N **hō₁ɣ₁w∇* or **hō₁ɣ₁wδa*?) 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue' ¶¶ Sm. LM #115, Sm. 539 (U **hōx-*, FU, FP **hōxi-*, Ugr **hōgī-*, Sm **hō-* 'pursue' without distinction between the reflexes of N **hō₁ɣ₁w∇* and those of N **hō₁ɣ₁wδa* or **hō₁ɣ₁wδa*), Jn. 111, Ter. 308, KKI 141, ≠ UEW 323-4 (Sm **hō-* < U **hōwδa-* 'follow, pursue'), ≈ IN 236 (pY **hōw-* < U **hōwδa-*), Ku. 164, ≠ Rd. UJ 40 [#37] (Y **hōw-* ← U **hō₁wδa-*) ◇ If the S lr. is of N origin, it is most likely to go back to N **h* (rather than **ɣ*), because the loss of the "light" N lr. in Eg is more plausible (though still enigmatic) than that of the "heavy" cns. **ɣ*.

1629. **hāwga* 'hair, down' > **HS**: S {Jo.} **hōwɣ* > Jb C {Jo.} *hōɣ* 'long fine hairs (not only of camels)' ¶ Jo. J 198 || **U** {IS} **hāwa* 'hair, down' > F *naava*, Krl *hōāva*, Krl Ld *hūāv* 'beard-moss' (← 'fine hair, down'); the ancient meaning is preserved in Lp {SK} (← eF): Lp L *nāva* 'down, fine hair', Lp Ar *nāvā* 'hair on a human body') || Lp: N {N} *njavve* / -v- 'long hair \ beard under the throat of a male reindeer \ he-goat', L {LLO} *njaavie* 'long hair under the throar of a reindeer' || Sm {Hl.} **hā-* (< **hāwa* with the reg. loss of *-w-) > d.: Ne T *hānz*, Ng *hānsa*, En X *hōdo* n. 'down', Ne T *hāng* 'a fine hair of nap (ворсинка), nap (начёс)', Slq Tz *hālg* n. 'down' ¶¶ SK 364, LLO 986, N II 65, Ter. 352-3, KKI 139 || **D** (in SD) **navir* 'man's hair' > Tm *navir* id., *navitam* 'man's tuft of hair, (crown of) head', Kn *navir(u)* 'hair' ¶ D #3615 || **A**: ? T (< cd.): OT {Cl.} *jowlač* 'fine goat's hair', {MKD} *jowlič* (= *jowlič*) 'goat's down' ¶ Cl. 876, MKD

231 ¶ 0 for the expected a is due to the infl. of the adjacent w (?) ◇
Schr. UDM 756 (U, D), IS II 87 (?*rǎʷH¹a 'hair': U, D).

1630. ≈ ***r¹Eχa** 'to see', ? 'eye' > **A: [1]** (A {DQA} *ñǰǎ 'eye') > Tg {DQA} *ñǰā-sa, {AD} *ñǰā-sa(l) 'eye(s)' > Nn KU/Nh nasal, Nn KU ūsal, Orc isa, Ud {Shn.} yeHæ, Ud X/A/B/Sm {Krm.} yāh ~ yeḥä, Ud I {Krm.} yāh, Ud K {Krm.} yahä, Ul ūsal, Ork ūsa, ūsal(a), Ewk ēsa ɖ jēha, Sln ūsal ɖ 'eša ɖ 'yesa, Lm æsɔl ɖ yāsal, Neg ēsa, WrMc yasa, Mc Sb yasa, Jrc {Kiy.} yaš'i, {Md.} ŋǰaçi ({JMd} ŋiaçi) id. ¶ STM I 291-2, Krm. 242, Kiy. 124 [#496], S AJ [#38], DQA #1473 || M: Mnr H {SM} nū'- v. 'look'; but M *nidün 'eye' goes back to N ***ñid∇** '≈ eye; to look' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ The Mnr vw. ū' needs explaining ¶ SM 287 || ?? pKo {S} *núñ 'eye' > MKo núñ, NKo nun, Ko Hm nûñ ¶ S AJ [#27], S QK #27, Nam 115, MLC 359 ¶¶ SDM97 (A ñǎ: 'eye'), DQA #1473 (Tg, Ko) || **[2]** The A cd. {DQA} *ñǰā-*mjūri 'tears' (← *ñǰā 'eye' + *mjūri 'water') (the first component going back to N ***r¹Eχa** 'see; ? eye', to N ***ɣōyñ∇** 'see, look' [or 'eye'], or to N ***ñid∇** '↑') > Ko: MKo núñ-mír 'tears' ¶ SDM95 || pJ *nà-mì(n)tá 'tears' > OJ nami-ta ~ namida, [RJ] nàmídá ~ nàmítá ¶ S AJ 88 ¶¶ The Tg words *íña-mū- v. 'weep' and *(i)ña-mu-kta 'tears' are likely to go back to N ***ɣōyñ∇** + N ***mūhi** 'water, fluid' (ffd. *see* N ***ɣōyñ∇** '↑'). The M and T words for 'tears' are of different origin (⇔ DQA #1473): M *nil-mu-sun 'tears' is identical with M *nilbu-sun ~ *nilmu-sun 'saliva, spittle, mucus' (< N ***ñihla** 'moist, slippery', q.v. ffd.), T *jǎl 'tears' (> NaT *jǎš, Chv L кыҫҫуль kuśśuǎ [< *kuś-śul-ь, lit. 'tears of the eye'; Chv кыҫ is 'eye'] is identical with T *jǎl 'fresh, moist; moisture' (< A ***ñǎl∇** < N ***ñog'ǎ'ly,∇** 'slime, moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd., probably × N ***ǰaíX∇** ~ ***ǰaíH∇** 'dripping fluid' [q.v. ffd.]), *see* Cl. 972, 975-6, Rs. W 192, S AJ 195 [#230], Jeg. 120-1, Fed. II 13, Rh. 2186, BR 243, BT 50, BIG 312 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 30-1, 275 [#21] (A ***ñiā** 'eye', ***ñiá(í)-mūri** 'tears'), ≈ DQA #1473 || **K** *oñax- > OG {Abul.} ñax- 'see', G ñax- / ñaxul- / ñaxv- 'see (so.), look at, visit', {Chx.} id., 'find' ¶ Abul. 325 and SSO I 586 (OG and eNG ñax-, providing ev. for -χ- rather than -q-), DCh. 974-5, Chx. 945-6 || **HS** *√ñhy v. 'see' > S *o√ñhy > Ar نحي √ñhy (ip. -ñhy- ~ -ñhay-) v. 'direct one's looks towards' (with semantic infl. of the paronymous verb نحو √ñhw v. 'direct oneself towards' < N ***ñ'i'hw∇** 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards') ¶ BK II 1218, Fr. IV 257-8, Hv. 756 || B *o√ny, H, (× N ***ɣōyñ∇**

'ŋ', q.v. ffd.) > Ah əni (habit. hānneŋ) v. 'see' ¶ Fc. 1357 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *nah- v. 'see' (× N *nāK_L∇_Lhê 'see, perceive'?) > Su {J} nã, Ywm {IL} nã?, Kfr/Gmy nā 'see' | Mbr {Sk} naɸ-, Wrj {Sk.} nãhã, Kry nãhã id. | Gmy, Kfr nã, Cp nã, Su nã id. | Krkr ná, Krf nê, Gera nî, Grm nê id. || CCh: Glv naɸ, Dgh nɸ-ínè, nɸa 'see' | McTr: Pdl na, Gbn ni, Hw nãɸɸɸ id. | HgB nɸyò id. | Bcm ná v. 'see' ¶ ChC s.v. 'see', ChL, J S 76, Stl. ZCh 235 [#820] || ??φ Eg XVIII nω v. 'see, look' ¶ The loss of HS *χ is puzzling ¶ EG II 218, Fk. 127 ¶¶ Tk. I 126 ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #3.

1631. *ńE'yU'(-ŋ∇) (= *ń'äyU'(-ŋ∇)?) 'larvas, worms, nit(s)' > U *ńiωŋe 'maggot(s), worm(s)' > FU *ńiωŋe id. > Lp: N {N} njiω'dnjâ / -ωnj- 'nits', njiωnjâ / njiω'dnjâg- 'ε a small white\grayish insect found e. g. in books; ε an insect which comes on thick sour milk', L {LLO} njim'nja 'young louse' || ObU {Ht.} *ńĩŋk ~ *ńũŋk 'maggot' > pVg {Ht.} *ńĩŋk^ω- id. > OVg S Vt нюхъ, OVg N BerK нынкъ, Vg: LK *ńix, *ńex^ω, MK/NV *ńix, UL/Ss *ńĩŋk^ω; pOs *ńĩŋk id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O niŋk, D/K *ńĩŋk, Nz nĩŋk, Kz ñĩŋk id. (Os Kz ñ- still defies explanation) | Hg nɸyú (accus. nɸyúv-εt) 'maggot', Δ 'worm, louse' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} *ńēñ+ 'earthworm', Tm {KD} *ńēñ 'worm', Nrm {Cs.} *ńei, MO/Ch {Cs.} *ńei, UO {Cs.} *ńäi, NP {Cs.} *ńeju, Ke {Cs.} *ńeiju, B {Cs.} *ńeie, Kar {Cs.} *ńiń 'angle-worm'; Kms {KD} nejmã, nejme id. ¶¶ Coll. 93, UEW 320, Ht. #467, MF 493, KKIH 140, Cs. 141, 197, KD 44 || **A** *ń|ńey∇ or *ń|ńäy∇ 'louse' > Tg *ń|ńey- > Ewk nɸykɸ ð *ńɸykɸ ð *ńɸykɸ ð *ńɸyikɸ 'small louse' ¶ STM I 616 || pKo {S} *ńí 'louse' > MKo ní, Ko: Ph i, SI/Chl/Hm/Chj/Kw ī, Ks î: ¶ S QK #50, Nam 119, MLC 1316 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 165 tried to reconstruct pM **ni-sün 'louse' on the ev. of its presumable d. *nise| (actually *nisa|) 'kill lice, crush with the thumb' (> WrM nisa|, HIM *nas|, Kl нисл- nis|), but Rm.'s hyp. is untenable because in fact M *nisa|, *bogesün nisaċi- 'kill lice with fingernails\fingers' is a sd. from *nisa| 'hit\snap with the fingers', *nisaċi- 'press\squeeze with fingernails or between fingers' (see MED 586, Gl. II 33, KRS 379, KW 277) ¶ S AJ 253 [#50], DQA #1422 (A *neyi 'louse, nit', incl. Tg, Ko) || ?φ **D** *ń|ńāŋk...- 'worm' > Tm nāŋkɸɸ, nāŋkɸɸ 'earthworm', nākkɸ-ppūci id., 'roundworm, tapeworm', Ml *ńāŋŋūl, *ńāŋŋūl, nāŋŋūl, Kn Hl nənɸūli, Kn B nakk+|+hu]a, Gnd M nārṽānɸ 'earthworm' ¶¶ D #2906 || **HS**: WCh: Tng {J} ŋaŋa (df. ŋaŋi), Krkr {ChL} *ńɸw-ńɸw 'mosquito' ¶ J T 126, ChL.

1632. ₂ ***ńaʒir**∇ 'sun', '≈ sunshine, heat (hot weather)' > **A**: M ***naʒir**∇ 'summer' > Brt **нажар** *nažar*, Dg {T, MYC} *nažir*, {Mr.} *nažire*, {Mrm} *nažir* ~ *nađir* id. ¶ Chr. 317, T Dg 156, MYC 463, Mr. D 194, Klz. D 122 || ? pKo {S} ***ńáč** 'day, day-time' > MKo **ńáč**, NKo **ńac** *ńac* ¶ QK {S} #992, Nam 101, MLC 312 ¶¶ But T ***ja** 'summer' is more likely to go back to N ***źaH₂y**∇ 'summer' (see N ***źaH₂y**∇ ~ ***źaH₂y**∇) (⇔ Blz. LNA) || **D** (in SD) ***ńāčir**, {GS} ***ńēsir** 'sun' > Tm **ńāyir** ~ **ńāyir**, Ml **ńāyir** ~ **ńāyar**, Td **ńō**, Kn **ńēsar**(u), Tl **ńes**рр 'sun' ¶¶ D #2910, GS 221 [#540] ◇ Suggested in Blz. LNA #40 (M, Ko, D * ÷ T).

1633. ***ŋ^rU^r** [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from ***ya ŋ^rU^r** or ***ʔäy**∇ **ŋ^rU^r** 'which thing?') > **HS**: C: Ag: Xm {R} **ŋā** 'property, thing' ||| Bj {R}, Bj B {Alm.} **na** 'thing', Bj {R} **ńā** 'which?' ¶ R Ch II 86, R WBd 177, Alm. BS III 49 || ? EthS: Gz **na**wāy 'vessel, utensil, property' (← *'thing'), Tgr **ŋe** *na*y 'belonging to', 'of' (nota genitivi), Tgy **ŋe** *na*y 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶ L G 410, LH 337 || ? WCh: Ang {Flk.} **ne** 'who, which, whom' (rel. prn.) || Tng **ńē** 'what?', **nú**ŋ 'who?' || SBC: Wnd **nínìn**, Zar **ŋnè** 'what?', Wnd **núnò**, Zar **ŋnò** 'who?' ¶ Flk. s.v. **ne**, ChL ||| ***ŋ^rU^r** may be one of the possible sources of the LbB, Eg, and Ch prepositional nota genitivi: LbB ***n**∇ > ONum nota genitivi **n** ||| B ***n_r**∇_r (nota genitivi) > Tz **n** 'of' (*a*fus *n* *t*m_yart 'the hand of a woman'), Zgg, ASgr, Izn, Wrg, Ah, Gd, Nf, Si, Zng **n**, Shw **ən** 'of' ¶ AiM 181, 230, Ai. MCB 170-6 || Eg **n**, **ńj** (f. *n*.*t*) 'of' (nota genitivi), Cpt **ń**-*ən*-, px. of gen. ¶ EG II 196-7 || Ch {Gr.}: Mrg **na**, Lgn **n**, Mrg **r** (← ***n**) 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶¶ Gr. LA 47 ¶¶ This source of the LbB, Eg, and Ch nota genitivi is more plausible than N ***nu** 'of' (q.v.), as suggested by its position: **A** + nota genitivi + **B** '**A** of **B**' (while N ***nu** is postnominal: **B** ***nu** **A** '**A** of **B**') ||| **K** ***on**∇ > Lz **na**, **na**-mu (pl. *na*-*ni*) 'what' (relative), Mg **ni** 'that, which' (relative), Mg **namu** 'which, what' relative (Marr: *na* + marker of 3 pers. *mu*) ¶ Marr 32, 172, Q O47, 289 ||| **A** {SDM97} ***ŋ^rU^r** 'what?, who?' > NaT ***ne** 'what?' > OT **ne**lā (Cl. *nā*), XwT, MQp, Chg, OOsM **ne**, Tk **ne**, Az **nā**, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, StAlt **ne**, VTt, Bsh **ni** id.; a cd. ***nEmE** > OT {Cl.} **nā**-**mā** 'something, anything', Chg {Cl.} **nemā** 'thing', MQp {Cl.} **neme** 'thing, anything', in later lgs. 'what?': Tkm **nāme**, Qzq **nemene**, Bsh **nāmā**, Uz **nima**, ET **nimā**, Xk **nime** 'what?'; another cd. is found in Xk, Shor **nō** 'what?' ¶ Cl. 774-5, 777-8, Rs. W 352, Isx. M 235-6 ¶ The presense of the nasal sonorant in the initial position in T

contradicts reg. phonetic laws. One of possible explanations is to suppose that in ppT the word still preserved an initial vw. (ppT * ∇ ne < N * $\text{ya } \eta^{\text{U}}$ 'which thing?' or N * $\text{?}\check{\text{a}}\text{y}\nabla \eta^{\text{U}}$ id.). The delabialization of the vw. in the T word may be connected with the former non-initial position of the syll. (maybe unstressed syll.?) within ppT * ∇ ne || Tg {SDM97} * $\eta\bar{u}$ 'who?' > Ewk $\eta\bar{i}$ (the higher synharmonic series), Sln $n\bar{i}$ - $\times\exists$, Lm $\acute{n}\bar{i}$ $\approx \eta\bar{i}$, Orc $\acute{n}\bar{i}$, Ud {Krm.} $n\bar{i}$, {STM} $n\bar{i}$ $\approx \acute{n}\bar{i}$, Ul $\eta\text{ui} \sim \eta\text{uy} \sim \text{uy}$, Nn Nh/B $\text{ui} \sim \text{uy}$, Nn KU $\acute{n}\bar{i}$, WrMc $\omega\epsilon$, Mc Sb {Y} $\text{v}\exists$ id. ¶ STM I 660-1, Krm. 266, Y #2895 || pKo {S} * $n\acute{u}$ - 'who?' > MKo $n\acute{u}$ -, Ko: Ph/PhN/Chj $n\text{u}$ - $g\text{u}$, Chs/Ks/SI $n\text{u}\acute{g}\acute{u}$, Hm $n\acute{u}$ - $g\acute{w}\acute{a}$ ¶ S AJ 255 [#101], S QK #101, Nam 114, MLC 356 || pJ {S} * $n\check{\nabla}$ 'what?' > OJ $n\grave{a}n\acute{i}$, J: T $n\acute{a}n\text{i}$, K $n\grave{a}n\text{i}$, Kg $n\acute{a}\acute{i}$, Rk ds.: Ns $n\acute{u}$, Sh/Ht/Y $n\acute{u}$ id. ¶ S AJ 104, 268 [#88], S QJ #88, Mr. 493 ¶¶ S AJ 55, 278 [#84], SDM97 (A * $\eta^{\text{r}}\check{\text{o}}$ 'what, who'), DQA #1552 (A * $\eta^{\text{r}}\check{\text{i}}\nabla$ 'what?, who?') ¶¶ SDM97, DQA, and S AJ adduce here M * $\text{ya}\check{\text{y}}\text{un}$ 'what?' (and * $\text{ya}\check{\text{y}}\text{uma}$ id.) without justification (if they had been right, it would have been the only case of M * y - < A * η -). On M * $\text{ya}\check{\text{y}}\text{un}$ see s.v. N * ya 'which?' || ? U: YK/T $n\text{eme}$ 'what?' (Y T {Krm.} $n\text{em-}\eta$, $n\text{eme-}\text{le}\eta$) ¶ IN 271, Krm. JJ 87-9 || ? D: Krx $n\bar{e}$ 'who?', Mlt {SKD} $n\bar{e}r\text{-}$ 'who?' m., $n\bar{e}r\text{i-}$, $n\bar{e}$ - 'who?' non-m. ($n\bar{e}$ -k obl. for both m. and non-m.), Brh $d\bar{e}r$, $d\bar{e}$ 'who?' (sg. and pl.) (if Emeneau is right in postulating that Brh d - is from * n -, which he attributes to the "NDr." proto-Ige.) ¶¶ D 467 [#5151], Hahn KG 29-30, SKD 44-5, \neq Pf. 49 ("Original PNDr * \bar{e} was enlarged by * n -), Em. BDCG 14-5 ("We must assume that ... this whole NDr. group has n - [of whatever origin] as its one secondary peculiarity"), 65 \diamond IS MsN s.v. * $n\bar{a}$ interrogative (T, K, D, C, Ang), \approx Gr. I 232-4 ("interrogative N" in T, Y, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko + err. Ugr).

1634. (?) * $\eta\text{i}b|\rho\nabla$ (or * $\eta\check{\text{a}}\text{y}b|\rho\nabla$) 'bend down, sink' > IE: NaIE * $kne\check{i}b$ - ' \approx bend down, decline' > Gmc * $xn\bar{i}p$ -/* $xn\text{i}p$ - > ON $hn\bar{i}p\bar{a}$ 'to hang one's head, to be despondent, to be sullen\gloomy', AS $hn\text{i}p\bar{i}an$ vi. 'to droop, to bend down', MHG $n\bar{i}p\bar{f}en$ 'einnicken' || Lt $kn\bar{i}b\bar{t}i$ (1s prs. $kn\text{u}m\bar{b}\bar{u}$ 'to fall, to descend, to lose elasticity, to decline' ¶ P O8, Vr. 243, Ho. 166, Sw. 91, Lx. 151, Ju. III 183, \neq Frn. 277-8, \approx IS III 57 || HS: S * $\text{o-}\check{\text{y}}\bar{i}b$ - > Ar $\check{\text{y}}\bar{y}b$ (3m ip. $\text{y}\bar{a}\text{-}\check{\text{y}}\bar{i}b$ -, pf. $\check{\text{y}}\bar{a}b\bar{a}$) 'set, disappear' (of the sun), 'be absent, hidden from' ¶ BK II 520-1, Hv. 540 ¶ Belongs here if the meaning 'to set' is primary || ? σ A: Tg * ηeb - 'carry away' (\times N ? * $\bar{n}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\omega\nabla$ [\neg * $\eta^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\omega\nabla$ \neg * $\bar{n}|\eta\text{o}\check{h}\text{i}\omega\nabla$?] 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) \diamond If the N etymon is * $\eta\text{i}b\nabla$ or * $\eta\check{\text{a}}\text{y}b\nabla$,

the IE cns. *-b- may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out vl. cns. and vd. aspirate in the same root ◇ The pN rec. ***ṛib|p**∇ does not account for the Tg root ***ṛeb-**. Therefore, if Tg ***ṛeb-** is a legitimate cognate, we must prefer the N rec. ***ṛæyb|p**∇.

1635. ??? ***ṛUc|c**∇ (= ***ṛUc|c**∇?) 'late, evening, night; (?) delay' > HS ≈ ***ṛu¹c-** > S ***o**✓**ṛs|š:** (G prm. ***o**-**ṛuss-** → ***o**-**ṛušš-**) > Ar ✓**ṛss** G (ip. -**ṛuss-u**) v. 'patrol \ go to the rounds by night', 'come late' (of news)', **ṛass-** 'patrol, night-watch', S ***o**✓**ṛws|š** (G prm. ***o**-**ṛūs|š-**) > Ar ✓**ṛws** (ip. **ya-ṛūs-u**) 'prowl about by night' (of man, wolf) ¶ BK II 248-9, 407, Hv. 471, 509 || Ch: Ngz **ḡèstú** 'be late' ¶ Sch. DN 126 || IE: NaIE ***o**'**wes-** 'sunset' > OSx **west** 'in the west', AS **west** id. ('westlich'), NE **west**; ON **vestr** 'west, to the west', OSx, OHG **westar** 'westward'; OHG **westan**, NHG **Westen** 'west'; ON **vestan**, OSx **westan(a)**, AS **westan(e)** 'from the west', OHG **westana** id., {Kb.} 'westward'; OHG **westar**, AS **westerra** 'western', NE **western** (unless ÷ OI **a¹vas** 'down' (direction) ← NaIE ***au-** 'down') || NaIE ***wesperos** 'evening' > Gk **ἑσπερος** id. || L **vesper** (gen. **vesperis**) id. || It is possible (but not certain) that this etymon took part in the creation of IE ***wes-** 'dwell, pass the night, stay' (together with N ***u¹š**∇ 'live') (P 1170-1) > OI **vasati** 'stays, spends the night', OIr **fó(a)id** 'spends the night' ¶ P 73, 1170-4, Vr. 658, Ho. S 87, Ho. 391-2, Kb. 1185, OsS 1132, Schz. 321, WH II 770-1, F I 575, EI 184 (***wespero-s** ~ ***wekero-s** 'evening') || A ***ṛo¹c**∇ 'evening, late' > pKo {S} ***nìc-** 'late' > MKo **nìc-**, NKo **nìc-**, Ko Ph **nìt-** / **nìžI-n** id. ¶ S QK #212, Nam 90, 118, MLC 375 || ? Tg: Ewk **uçē** 'long time ago' ¶ STM II 295 || pJ {S} ***nžtì** { ~ **nžtí**? } 'after, afterwards' > OJ **nòtì**, J: T **nočí** ~ **nòci**, ?K **nóci**, Kg **nočí** ¶ S QJ #288, Mr. 501 || ? NaT ***oçig** 'youngest, latest, smallest' (× N ***ṛUc**∇ 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here WrM **öcigen** 'yesterday' and the related M words, but this is unt. because of the cns. h- in MM [IsV] **höcken**, [LV] **hečegen** and MM [McSc] **xecige udur** (P SD I 10) suggesting an initial pM ***u-** (F Lg. VMI 33, Pp. L III 74, Iw. 436, T 379) ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A ***ṛoč'e** 'late, evening'), ≈ DQA #1420 (A ***ṛ|eč'e** 'late', incl. Ko, J) || ? K ***o**∇**nž** > Mg **onž-** 'fall' (of night), 'вечереть', **onžua** ~ **onžwa** ~ **onižua** 'evening' ¶ Chik. 303, Q 293-4 || ? D ***načc-** > Tm **naccu** 'delay, procrastination', Tl **naccu** 'delay, slowness' ¶¶ The unexpected D vw. *-a- needs explaining ¶¶ D #578 || ???φ U: FP {UEW, Sm.) ***ńoča** 'slow, sluggish (träge)' > pLp ***ńōcē** id. > Lp:

L njāhtsē 'langsam, träge (beim Gehen)', N njоассе 'slow, dilatory', Nt nūğšš 'langsam (beim Arbeiten)' | Prm {LG} *ńóž- > Vt нѣжъя-ńóžya- v. 'stretch out (words)', Z Vm/I ńзž, StZ ньѡжѡ ńзžyз 'slowly, quietly' ¶ UEW 713, Sm. 553, Lr. #777, Lgc. #4420, LG 198 ¶ The U cognate is qu. because U *-č- is not the reg. cognate of S *-s|š- and K *ž. The palatality of FP *ń- needs explaining ◊ Cf. ADb. NNN 35 (N *η₂Oč∇ 'late, slowly' > A, D, U *ńoča + err. IE *nās- 'live, dwell') ◊ The whole etymology is tentative, because both IE *wes- (in Gmc) and the T word have alt. explanations. T oči ~ očuy is found only in the T lgs. neighbouring the Mongolian language area and may be a loan from M (F WrM öcükən, HIM өчүгүхэн 'little, small'). If the K (Mg) word belongs here, the N rec. must be *ηUc|ç∇ ◊ On N and pIE *- see Introduction, § 2.2.6. This etymology suggests that N *ηU- may yield IE *we-.

1636. ₂ *ηUc|ç∇ 'small, few' > HS: Eg fP rзс 'klein, gering', fOK rзс 'der Kleine' (× HS *✓nks 'little, small' < N *ηikū 'small, little') ¶ EG II 384-5 || ?φ S *°✓wylʔʔ > Ak fOB/OA -wīš- (inf. wīʔāš u) 'wenig, (zu) gering sein\werden' ¶ Sd. 1496, DRS 482-3 || A: Tg {S, SDM} (att. in AmTg) *ηūçi- 'small' > Orc ηīči, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} ηíca?, Ud B/I {Krm.} íca?, Ud A {Shn.} ičʔa, híčʔa, ? Ul nuči ~ nūči, ? Ork nūçi 'small' ¶ STM I 589-90, Krm. 272 || M *üčü-ken ~ *öčü-ken 'small, little' (× N *Xüʔw¹ iñc∇ [or *Xü¹ ñc∇?] 'thin, narrow') > MM [HI] ücüg|ken 'small, little' ('petit'), [IM] ücügen ~ üčüken, [S] {H} ucügen ~ ucugan, [MA] öcükən id., [MA] öčön 'peu', WrO ücükən, üciükən, ücöükən, ücüükən 'small, little', ücüügükən 'trifle', WrM ücükən ~ öcükən, öcügükən, HIM өчүгүхэн, Kl үчүкн 'small, little; few', MMgl ūčikä 'light (levis)', Dg {Pp.} ūčēk, {T} učēk, {Mrm.} učeke 'peu', {Pp.} ūčīkēn, üčīxen, {T} učēken 'small, little' ¶ Ms. H 107, Pp. MA 273, 449, H 157, Krg. 195, MED 629, KRS 558, Iw. 142, T DgJ 171 || NaT *oḷçIḡ (probably *ōç-Iḡ) 'smallest, youngest, latest' > Qb {Rl.} očuy, Sg {Rl.} oči, Shor {Rl.} oča, QK {Rl.} oži 'youngest, smallest, latest', Xk {BIG} очы oči 'smallest, youngest (child in the family)', Tb {B} oči 'the youngest (girl)', ?σ Alt {BT} očo čecen 'fourth finger'; *ōç- > Yk {JkR} ūōhun-, {Pek.} ūōsun- v. 'diminish, reduce', {JkR} n. act. ūōstū 'diminishing, reduction' ¶ Rs. W 356, Rl. I 1133-7, B DLT 179, 182, B DChT 141, BIG 133, BT 118, BIG 133, JkR 440, Pek. 3051 || pJ *úsú 'thin' > OJ úsú, J: T ùsu, K úsu, Kg úši, Ns ùsú ¶ S QJ #104, Mr. 843 ||

??σ pKo {S} *n^hl^h- 'low, inferior' > MKo n^hl^hs-kāp-, n^hl^h-, NKo nac- nat- ¶ S QK #616, Nam 100-1, MLC 312 ¶¶ ≈ S VL 228, ≈ SDM97 (A *ñi^hč^h'i and *ñi^hč^h'e), ADb. NNN 34, cp. ≈ DQA #1544 (A *ñi^hč^hu thin, small' > T *ōč^hu- [sc. *o₁:₁č^hu^h] 'smallest', M *öč^hü-, Tg *ñi^hš^hi, pKo *n^hl^h-, pJ *ú^hsú-) ◇ NaT *o- suggests a pA and a pN back vw., while M *ü- and Tg *ū are likely to be due to ass. (infl. of the pA *i of the next syll.).

1637. *ña^hʔ^hi^hgu 'to bow, to bend (down), to hang (by sth.), to hang down' > A *ña^hyigu, {IS} *ña^hygu- 'bow, hang down' > Tg {ADb. in IS} *ña^hy^hu- (= {ADb.} *ñ^hǰ^hj^hɣ^hu) 'descend, decline' > Ewk ñēw- v. 'lie down lower on the slope, lie down closer to the hearth\fire', d. ñeyūr- vt. 'move\put (sth.) closer to the fire\chimney', WrMc wasi-, Mc Sb waš^hi- vi. 'descend, go\get down', 'set' (of the sun), 'alight'; possibly also d. *ña^hy^hū n. 'slope', adj. 'being in a lower place' > Ewk ñēyū ɘ ñēwū 'lower, being on the river-bank \ on the edge', Sln nēx, Orc ñāa '(river-)bank', Lm ñāy ~ ñēy ~ ñāy ɘ ñlay adj. 'being on the bank\coast\edge', ñēwu ɘ ñēwu 'lowest', Ork ñowwē, ñou 'coastal, coast', Ul way^h 'lower (riverside) part of the village', Nn Nh wayi, Nn B wal 'riverside' ¶ STM I 659-60 || M *^ona^hyigu- †bow down, stoop' > WrM naigu-, HIM найга-ж id., 'hang down (as branches, leaves)'; ??σ M *na^hyigu- †reel, walk unsteadily' > WrM naigu, HIM {Luv.}, Brt найга- 'stagger, reel (шататься, качаться)', Ord ñāgu- 'se balancer' (plantes sous l'action du vent), 'chanceler' (personne ivre); M ⇨ WrMc {Z} na^hy^hu- 'hang (over), hang down, bend down' ¶ MED 558, Cev. 362, Luv. 258, Chr. 318, Ms. O 485, Z 207 ¶¶ IS III adduces here T *ja^hka- 'shake', which is highly qu. for both semantic and phonetic (*-k-) reasons. M *na^hyigu- 'flutter in the wind; quiver; shake, sway' (> WrM naigu- id.) is likely to be related to T *ja^hka-, but its connection with N *ña^hʔ^hi^hgu 'to bow, to bend' is qu. ¶¶ HS: S *^oʔa^hwig- 'crooked, bent' > Ar عوج ʔawīǧa G pf. 'was\became crooked, bent, distorted', d. (?) *^oʔ^hwg > Ar ʔ^hwg vt. G (pf. عالج ʔāǧa) 'turn aside (a beast, with the rein)' ¶ Fr. III 239, Hv. 507 || K: Sv {Ni.} -n^hɣ^h-/-ne^hɣ^h-, Sv L {Dn.} -n^hɣ^h-/-ni^hɣ^h v. 'bend, bow', Sv UB {GP} -ne^hɣ^h-/-n^hɣ^h-/-nī^hɣ^h-: msd. li-ne^hɣ^h 'to bend', li-n^hɣ^h-e (pfc. o^h-nī^hɣ^h-a) vt. 'to bend' ¶ Ni. s.v. гнуть, Dn s.v. ni^hɣ^h, GP 162, 249 ¶ -ɣ^h- < *-ɣ^h- || IE: NaIE *kneig^hω^h- 'bend, bow' (× N *k^huñig^hU 'bend, incline, bow' [q.v. ffd.]) || U *ñik^hu^h- vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N ?

ǵ'ń'üǰ'ü'** 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 350 (řiǵʌ** 'наклоняться = bend down' > IE, U), IS III 56-61 (***řajǵu** 'bend down, bend, hang down' > IE, U, A with further details), ADb. NNN 38 (A, U, IE) ◇ Sv -ǰ- and U *-k- suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably *ǵ) that caused glottalization in Sv and devoicing in U; in IE the N stem-internal *ǵ (not preceding a cons.) is lost without traces.


1638. *ńiǰa (more probable than ***ńiǰa**) 'cervical vertebrae, neck, nape of the neck' > U ***ńika** 'vertebra, joint [of a body], neck, nape of the neck' > FU ***ńika** > F **ńikama** 'vertebra, node of a stalk' || Hg **nyak** 'neck' || Vg: T **näk**, LK/MK **näx** (pl. **nākt**), UK/NV **nax**, P **näk** (pl. **nākt**), UL/Ss **nak** 'node of a stalk, joint'; Os Kz **ñāk** id. || Sm: Slq: Tz {Hl.} **nuk+** 'collar-bone', Nr {Cs.} **nyg**, Kt **nykka** 'occiput'; hardly here Ne **ńixirǵ-** 'den Kopf nach hinten biegen, быть с запрокинутой головой' (adduced by IS), which rather belongs to Sm {Jn.} **ńika-** ~ **ńika-** 'den Kopf biegen' ¶¶ IS II 92, Ht. 202 [#781] (adduces Os V/Vy/Ty **nǵy**, Kz **nǵw** 'bough', but not Os Kz **ñāk**), Jn. 101 || A {IS} ***ńika** 'neck, vertebrae', {DQA} ***ńiǰke** > M ***ńigur-sun** 'spinal marrow, spinal cord' > WrM **ńigursun**, HIM **нигарс(ан), нигас**, Kl **nyhrcn nyǵrsǵn** '(spinal) marrow', {Rm.} **nyǵursn** 'spinal marrow, cartilage between vertebrae'; ? MM [HI] **ńirusun** or **ńirisǵn** 'spinal cord' (acc. to Ms., a slip of the pen for ***ńiyursun**, but Lew. may be right in considering it a misspelling for **ńirusun** 'back, spine') ¶ MED 580, KRS 385, KW 281, Ms. H 79, Lew. II 64 || Tg ***ńik-**, ***ńikin-** 'neck' > Ewk Brg **ńikin** 'neck, vertebrae of the neck', Ewk **ńikinma** ~ **ńikinma** ǵ **ńikimna** ~ **ńikimna** ~ **ńikimna** ~ **ńikimna** ǵ **ńikimna** id., Ewk Chmk **ńikin** 'throat', Sln **ńixama** ~ **ńixima** 'neck', Lm **ńiqǵn** ǵ **ńikǵn** ǵ **ńikan** 'back of the neck, vertebrae of the neck', Neg **ńixma** ǵ **ńikimna** ǵ **ńikma** 'neck, vertebrae of the neck', Ul **ńiqǵ(n-)** id., 'back (dorsum)', Ork **ńiqǵ(n-)** 'neck part of a fish head', **ńiqǵmna** 'neck of a reindeer', WrMc **ńikde** {Z} 'place of the saddle on horse's back (at the end of the mane and of the front shoulder-blades)', 'nape', {Hr.} 'der den Sattel tragende Teil des Rückens bei Pferd, Maultier und Esel; Sattelage' ¶ STM I 591, Z 231, Hr. 698 || ? T ***ǵaka** 'collar' > OT **ǵaqa**, Tk **ǵaka**, Az **ǵaǵa**, Tkm, VTt **ǵaqa**, Qzq, Qq **ǵaǵa**, Nog **ǵaǵa**, Qrg **ǵaqa**, Alt **ǵaqa**, Uz **ǵaqa**, Yk **saǵa**, Chv L **ǵyxa** **śuǵa** 'collar' ¶ The T word is homonymous with ***ǵaka** 'edge, border', but it is not clear if the words are etymologically identical ('collar' → 'edge' or 'edge' → 'collar?'); if the original meaning is 'edge, border', the T √ does not belong here ¶ ET J 82-4, Jeg. 222, Fed. II 146-

7, Cl. 898 ¶¶ If the T word belongs here, SDM's rec. *näk'a or *näk'e may be justified ¶¶ SDM97 (A *näk'e 'neck, vertebra'), DQA #1464 (A *ñjǎke 'neck, vertebra') || IE: NaIE *knok(k)o-/*knek(k)o- 'nape of the neck, hill' (× N *gυη'K'E ~ *güη'K'∇ 'nape [→ 'neck'], rear part of the head', q.v.) > ON hnakki, hnakkr 'nape', OHG {Kb.} nac 'summit, crown, neck', {OsS} hnach & hnacch 'nape, occiput', MHG {KM} nac(ke), NHG Nacken, MLG necke, MHG ge-nic, ge-nicke, NHG Genick 'nape of the neck', AS hnecca 'nape, back of the head, neck', NE neck || Clt: OIr cnoc 'protubérance, colline, mont', NIr cnoc, W cnwch 'protubérance', cnwch y gwegil 'la bosse de la nuque', OBr cnoch 'tumulus (hill)', MBr knech, Br krec'h, krec'h 'hill' || Tc A křiak 'neck, nape' ¶ Vr. 242, Ho. 166, OsS 408, Kb. 714, Lx. 61, KM 248, 500-1, Vn. C 132 (IE *knokko-), Wn. 225, ≠ P 558-9 (*kneu-g-, -k-) || ? HS: S *'ɣun_lu_ɣ- ~ *'ɣin_lu_ɣ- 'neck' (× N *ɣomKê '[ε part of the] neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ There may be two alt. hypotheses for this √: [1] N *η- yields IE *kn- and U *ñ- (or zero in some positions), while T *j- and Tg *ń- are positional reflexes of A *η- before *i; [2] IE *kn- reflects N *ñ-. I find the first hyp. more natural because of the presence of a velar\lr. feature in IE, which is parallel to A *η- (found in similar roots not before *i, e.g. in N *ηa'ɣ'igu 'to bow, to bend', N *η'U' 'thing; what?', N *η∇'∇ 'h'∇mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito'). The second hyp. does not cope with the fact that N *ñ- (allegedly evidenced by U) yields IE *n- rather than *kn- in several N words (*ñi 'not', *ñUK∇ 'to strike, to peck, to hit'). IE *n- (rather than *kn-) in *nehs- 'nose' (< N *ηäqasâ id.) and NaIE *nāu- 'dead body' (< N *ηaɣw'i' 'dead, dead person') may be due to the presence of a N lr.; n- in Ht nanna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren' (< N *ηæñE 'go [away]') may be due to as. ◇ AD NM #108, Vv. AEN 7, ADb. NNN 38 (A, U, IE).

1639. *η'iwo'∇ 'extend, stretch, become long' > HS: S *o-ɣū|- > Ar √'ɣw| (pf. ɣāla, ip. -ɣū|-) 'deviate from the right course', ɣāla fī... (ip. yāɣūlu fī...) 'extend the bounds in', {BK} √'ɣw| G 'dépasser\excéder le chiffre \ la mesure' ¶ BK II 411, Hv. 510 || A *ηō|∇ (S) *ηō|∇, {S VL} *ηō|∇) 'long; to extend' > M: WrM nolig, HIM нолиг 'long\boring' (of a conversation) ¶ Luv. 270, Cev. 380 || Tg {S} *ηō|i' 'be long' ⇨ *ηō|∇mi 'long' > WrMc golmin, Mc Sb gollin 'long, extended', Ul walmu ~ wolmu ~ ηolmu, Orc ηoñ(i)mi, Ud {Krm.}

wanimi, {STM} wanimi 𐌚 wañimi, Ork, Nn Nh ḡoñim, Ewk ḡōnim, Sln ninomi, {Iv.} ΓΟΗΌΜ, Lm ḡonɔm, Neg ḡonom id.; d. *ḡōl_mi-la 'length' > Ul ḡolmila, Orc ḡoñila, Ud wanila, Nn ḡonlā- (+ppa.) id. ¶ STM I 664-5, Krm. 218 || pKo {S} *nár- 'be extended, extend' > MKo nárí-, NKo nīl- ¶ S QK #123, Nam 92, MLC 372 || pJ {S} *nàn-kà 'long' > OJ nàgà-, J: T naǵái, K náǵai, Kg náǵe, Ns nàgà-, Sh náǵá-, Ht nà-, Y nǎ- ¶ S QJ #44 ¶ S AJ 109, 276, DQA #1546 (A *ḡōla 'long; to extend'), S VL 227-8 || ? U: FU: amb Hg n $\text{y}\acute{\text{u}}$ l(-ik) 'stretch, extend, expand', unless it is related to n $\text{y}\acute{\text{u}}$ jt- id., which goes back to FU *há $\text{y}\nabla$ 'stretch, extend' ¶ Coll. 103 (tentatively equates Hg n $\text{y}\acute{\text{u}}$ l- with Vt húyał- 'stretch, extend'), UEW 309 (explains the Hg and Vt forms as derived from the reflexes of FU {Rd.} *n $\text{h}\acute{\text{a}}\text{y}\nabla$ 'stretch, extend' [> Vt M nuyal- id., Z hóykał- 'such erweitern, sich ausdehnen']) || D *nīl- 'be long; extend' > Tm nīl 'be long', nīl 'length', Ml nīla, nīlē, nīlavē 'far', nīlam 'length', nīluka 'extend oneself, become long', Kt ni·r-, ni·ñ- '(iron) becomes longer by expansion', ni·t- 'lengthen (iron)', Td ni·l- 'be stretched out straight' (rope), 'stretch oneself over\into', Kt, Td ni·t- 'stretch out' (limb), Kn nīl 'grow long\high, extend, extend oneself', Kdg ni·la 'length', Tu nēlyā 'great, large', nītū- 'stretch out\forth', Tl nīlugu 'stretch, stretch one's limbs', Knd nilba 'straight, erect', Kui nīlba 'be standing' (corn), Ku niluwu 'long (in measuring)' ¶¶ D #3692 ◇ ADb. NNN 35 (A [*ḡōla], U, D), DQA #1546 (A, D).

1640. *ḡ ∇ í ∇ 'h' ∇ mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (\approx N *h ∇ í ∇ 'ε insect' + N *'h' ∇ mP'i' 'venomous vermin'?) > A: Tg *ḡalma- 'gnat' > Ork ḡalma-qta ~ nalma-qta ~ nalpa-qta ~ namma-qta, Ud ḡama-kta, Orc ḡama-kta, Ul ḡalma-qta ~ ḡarma-qta, Nn B ḡalma-qta ~ ḡarma-χta ~ ḡarma-qta, Nn Nh/KU ḡarma-qta, Ewk, Neg ḡanma-kta, Sln nama-kta ~ namma-kta ~ namma-tta, WrMc ḡalma-n, Mc Sb [ḡaləmən] [ḡaɬmən] id. ¶ STM I 657, Krm. 271, Y #2259 || pJ *àmû 'gadfly' > OJ amu, ItOJ [RJ] àbú, J: T ábu, K àbú, Kg abú ¶ S QJ #1512, Mr. 376 ¶¶ DQA #1525 *ḡalma 'a stinging insect': Tg, J) || D: [1] (in McTm) *nu]amp- 'mosquito, gnat' > Tm nu]ampu 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', Ml nuṛampu 'gnat, eye-fly' ¶ D #3715 || [2] D *umm ∇]- 'ε stinging insect' > Kn ummuṛi 'ε insect', Tu umilō ~ umbli 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D #638 || HS: [1] (mt.) S *'nam_a]l- 'ant', coll. *namā]- > Ar naml- ~ numl- 'ant(s)', snglt. naml-at-, BHb הַנְּמָלִים nəmā'l-ā 'ant', MHb pl. נְמָלִים

nəmā'l-īm 'ants', Sr  nāmā'lā 'ant nest', Mh {Jo.} nōmīl (pl. nōmōl), Hrs {Jo.} lōmēl (pl. lōmōl), Sq {Jo.} 'nəmħel, Ak nāmālu, namlu, lamattu (< *la'manatum < *na'malatum) 'ant' ¶ BK II 1349, KB 662, KBR 701, Br. 431, Sd. 533, 725, Jo. M 299 ¶ [2] S *nimm- > Ar nimm-at- 'ant, louse' ¶ Fr IV 337, BK 1346 ¶ The change *n...lm- > *n...mm- and the mt. *√nlm > *√nml are due to the S incompatibility law that rules out a sequence of two dental sonorants in the same √ || Ch: ? WCh: Su {J} ḡgum, Ang ḡgum 'insect' ||| ECh: Jg {J} lólmó 'ant' ¶ J J 114, Stl. ZCh 218 [#680] || U: FU *íâm∇ ~ *n|ḡ|ume 'small fly or mosquito': [1] FU *íâm∇ (= íum∇?) > pChr {Ber.} *lum- > Chr: H l̄me, Y l̄mey, M lumiy, B lume 'a very small fly' ||| pVg *í'ū'məy/*í'ū'məy 'gnat' > Vg {Knn.}: LK íoməy, MK *íōməy, P íoməy ~ íaməy, Ss íūmūy ~ íōmuy id.; [2] Prm *nomi 'mosquito' > StZ nom / nomy- 'mosquito', Z USs nom 'gnat' (Мошкá'), Yz num 'mosquito', Vt n+m+ 'gnat', Vt C n+m+ 'mosquito' ¶ UEW 262, 710-1, Ber. 34, LG 193, Lt. 56 ◇ Ffd. see N *ń∇í∇ (or *ń∇l∇) 'ε insect' (the difference in the initial nasals [N *ń- ≠ *ŋ-] still needs explaining) and N *'h'∇mP'i' 'venomous vermin'.

1641. *'ŋ' amT∇ 'to give' > HS: S *√ntn ~ *o√ndn ~ (?) *o√ndy v. 'give' > BHb √ntn (pf. nā'tan, ip. -tten), Amn, Ed, Yd, OA, IA, BA, JEA, Nbt, Plm, JA, Md √ntn G, Ug {OLS, A}, Ph, Pun √ytn G, OCn Sn t n, Ar NY S (← SS?) √ndy (pf. ?anda, ip. yandi), JA [Trg.] √ntn G 'give, present (schenken)' √ddy (pf. ?addi ip. yiddi) 'give', Jb ndoh 'give it here!', Akk √ndn (inf. nadānu) 'give' ¶ The variant ytn in Ph and Ug goes back to metanalysis of the Cnn ip. *-ttin- < *-ntin- ¶ KB 692-4, 1750, KBR 733-5, HJ 478-9, 766-70, Alb. PSI 44, A #1255, Grd. UT ##1169, 1716, OLS 543-4, Lv. T II 133, Sl. 780-1, DM 307, Jo. J 180, Bns. NJ I 191, Sd. 701 || WCh: pBT {Stl. ZCh} *un, {Stl. VZCh} *on v. 'give' > Bl {IL} ḡnó id., Tng oni, Ngm ona, Maha oni v. 'give' ¶ J T 127, Stl. ZCh 247 [#47], Stl. VZCh B #14 || U: FU *amta v. 'give' > F anta- v. 'give, give as present', Es anda- v. 'give', pLp {Lr.} *vōmtē > Lp: N {N} vuow'de- / -wd-, L {LLO} vuob'tē- ~ vyogtē- v. 'sell', I {It.} vyebdiδ, Pa {TI} uḡ'd·e-, Nt {TI} uḡ't·ē- v. 'give' || pMr *andə- > Er андо- ando-, Mk андо- anda- v. 'nourish, feed' || pPrm *ud- v. 'feed, give to drink' > Z, Prmk ud- id., Vt ud+ v. 'give to drink' ||| Hg ad- v. 'give, give as present' ¶ UEW 8, Coll. 72, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (FU *ĩmtā- 'give, sell' > FP *ëmta-, Ugr *ĩmta-), LG 295-6, SK 20, Lr. #1440, Lgc. #8716, TI 704, Ker. II 34-5 || ? A: pJ {S} *átápá- v. 'give' > OJ átápá-, J:

T àtae-, K átáé-, Kg ataé id.; ⇨ OJ átápi 'price' ¶ S AJ 112, 269 [#117], S QJ #117, Mr. 387, 678 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#109], SDM97 (A *amta 'give' - rec. based on the external comparison with U) || D *amm- v. 'sell, give away' > Tm ammu v. 'sell, send', Gnd amanā, mamanā, omm- v. 'sell' ¶¶ D #186 ◇ We reconstruct N *ŋ- on indirect ev.: *ŋ- is the only N phoneme responsible for the correlation S *ŋ- ÷ U, D *∅-.

1642. *ŋæñE 'go (away)' > HS: Eg P/CT rny v. 'go, go away' ¶ EG II 276 || amb IE: (×N *ñ'í'hw∇ 'to lead?') Ht nanna-, nanniya- vi. 'drive, ride in an animal-drawn vehicle', vt. 'drive (animals, persons, evils)' ¶ CHD L-N 391-3, T E II 271-3, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (believed that nanna- is a rdp. of nai- 'lead') || A ({DQA} *ŋēni 'go') > Tg *ŋene- 'go, walk' > Ewk ŋɜnū- 'go (gehen, fahren), walk', Ewk ŋɜn̄-, Neg, Ud ŋɜnɜ-, Ork ŋɜ(n)ɜ- vi. 'move (somewhere), go', Sln nɜnɜ- 'set off, leave (отправиться)', Lm ŋɜn- ɘ ŋön- ɘ ŋən- vi. 'move, go away', Ork ŋɜn- 'go away', Ul ŋɜnɜ-, Nn ɜnɜ- vi. 'move, go, go away', WrMc gene- 'go, set off' ¶ STM I 670-1, Krm. 273 || pKo {S} *nàñ(Á) 'go, move forward' > MKo nàñ-, nàñÁ-, nās-/nañ-, NKo nas- = nat-, nā-ka- ¶ S QK #174, Nam 88, 99, 101, MLC 292, 311 || pJ {S} *ín- 'go away' > OJ ín- id. ¶ S QJ #214, Mr. 697 || ? M *neʝū- 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (×N *ñahæg'ü' 'drive, chase', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1533 (A *ŋēni 'go [down, away]', incl. Tg, Ko, J, M), S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292.

1643. *ŋań∇ 'take so. with oneself, lead' > HS: S *o✓ ŋny|w > Ar عَانِ fāni-n 'captive' ¶ BK II 390-1, Hv. 505 || IE *neǵh₂- > NaIE *neǵ(ə)-/*nī- v. 'lead', Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (×N *ñ'í'hw∇ [- *ŋ'í'hw∇ - *ñ|ŋohiw∇?] 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) || A {DQA} *ŋāñi 'take so. with oneself' > AmTg *ŋāni- v. 'fetch, go to take so./sth.' > Nn Nh ŋānɫ-, Ul ŋanǰu-/ɫ- 'go to fetch sth. ¶ STM I 657 || ?σ pKo {S} *nīñ- 'combine, continue' > MKo nīñ-, NKo iɜ- = it- ¶ S QK #998, Nam 127, MLC 1369 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1529 (A *ŋāñi 'take so. with oneself', incl. Tg, ?σ Ko) ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (N *ŋ₂AríV 'take so.\sth. with oneself' > IE, A {DQA} *ŋāñi + err. D nañ- 'approach, join').

1644. *ŋ₄∇w₁ań∇ 'sky, cloud' > HS: CS *ŋanān- ~ *oŋanan- ~ *oŋa'w¹ann- 'clouds' > BHb 𐎧𐎡𐎴 fā'nān 'clouds, cloud-mass (Gewölk)', BA 𐎧𐎡𐎴 fā'nān, Sr 𐎧𐎡𐎴 fānā'n-ā 'cloud', Ar {BK} fānn-at-, {Hv.} fānn- 'cloud' (< *oŋa'w¹ann-), fānān- 'rain cloud' ¶ KB 811-2, Br. 533, JPS 420, BK II 377, Hv. 502 || A {DQA} *ŋańa {AD} 'sky, clear sky' > Tg *ñanña

'sky' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud $\acute{n}a\eta\acute{n}a$, Lm $\acute{n}a\eta\eta\eta$ $\acute{n}a\eta$, Ork $n\bar{a}\eta na$ 'sky', WrMc $n\eta ya\eta ni ya$ 'sky, clear sky' ¶ STM I 634, Krm. 269 || T * $a^{\acute{n}}$ - > [1] T * $a^{\acute{n}}a^{\acute{r}}$ 'cloudless sky' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} $ay\bar{a}z|s$ 'cloudless, bright', MQp XV $ayaz$ 'clear weather', XIV [CC] $ayaz|s$, Chg XV $ayaz$ 'a clear cloudless night', Qmq, ET $ayaz$, Tv $ayas$, Bsh $aya\delta$, Chv L $uyar$ 'clear weather', Tkm $aya\delta$, Tk $ayaz$, Az, VTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg $ayaz$ 'frost'; [2] Bsh Δ $ayat-$ 'become clear' (weather), [3] SbTt $ay\eta q$ 'clear' (of weather); ? [4] NaT * $ay\eta iq-$ 'become clear' (of sky, weather)', 'recover (from illness), get sober' > Qzq, Qq, Qrg $ayiq-$ id. (\times T * $a\delta i-$ represented by OT $a\delta i\psi$ 'sober') ¶ Cl. 46, 276, ET Gl 102-3, TL 13, Rl. I O, 218 || ?? pJ {S} * $\acute{a}m\hat{a}j$ 'sky, rain' > OJ $\grave{a}m\grave{e}$, J: T $\acute{a}me$, K $\grave{a}m\hat{e}$, Kg $am\acute{e}$, Ns $\grave{a}m\acute{f}$, Sh $\acute{a}m\acute{i}$, Ht $\grave{a}m\acute{i}$, Y $\grave{a}m\grave{i}$ ¶ S QJ #59, Mr. 381 ¶¶ DQA #1526 * $\eta\check{a}na$ 'clear sky' || D * $v\bar{a}na$ 'sky, cloud, rain' > Tm $v\bar{a}\eta$, $v\bar{a}\eta am$, Gnd KM {BB} $v\bar{a}na$ id., MI $v\bar{a}n(am)$, Kt $va\cdot nm$, Td $po\cdot n \sim fo\cdot n$, Kn $b\bar{a}n(a)$, $b\bar{a}\eta a$, Tu $b\bar{a}na$, $b\bar{a}\eta a$, Krg $b\bar{a}\eta a$ 'sky', Tl $v\bar{a}na$, Klm $va\cdot na$, Nk $v\bar{a}na$, Prg $v\bar{a}n-i$, Gdb $v\bar{a}y\grave{i}n$ 'rain' ¶¶ D #5381 ¶¶ D * $v\bar{a}na$ suggests the loss of the N initial * $\eta\nabla-$ with compensatory lengthening of the vw. ¶¶ Cp. D * $v\grave{i}n$ 'sky' < * $wE\eta\acute{n}|\grave{n}\nabla \sim *wE\acute{n}|\grave{n}y\nabla$ 'daylight' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N * $\eta_1 a^{\acute{n}}\psi$ 'sky' > A, D).

1645. * $\eta eh^{\acute{u}}r^{\acute{r}}i^{\acute{i}}$ 'light, fire' > HS: CS * $\check{r}nhr$ 'light', v. 'shine' (\times N * $\eta aher\nabla$ 'day, sun, daylight' and N * $\acute{n}uR\nabla$ 'become very hot, shine') > BHb $\check{r}nhr$ v. 'shine, be radiant', $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $n\acute{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ 'light' ('Licht, heller Schein'), BA $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $n\acute{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, JA $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $n\acute{a}h\bar{a}r$, em. $n\acute{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, Sr $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $n\acute{u}h'r-\bar{a}$ (cs. $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $n\acute{a}h\bar{a}r$), Md $nhura$ 'light', Sr, Md $\check{r}nhr$ v. 'give light, shine', Ww $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ v. *Sh* 'illuminate', Plm $nhyr$ 'illustrious' ¶ JI 720-1, KB 639-40, 1744, KBR 676-7, BDB 626, Br. 417-8, DM 291, Nld. MG 118 || A: [1] Tg * $\eta\bar{e}ri$ 'light' > Ewk $\eta\bar{e}r\bar{i}$, Lm $\eta\bar{e}ri \sim \eta\bar{e}rin$ n. 'light (lux)', adj. 'light (hell)', Sln $n\bar{e}r\bar{i}$ 'daybreak (aurora)', Nn Nh $\eta\bar{e}run-$ v. 'be dawning' ¶ STM I 671-2 ¶¶ Pp. IAL 25, S AJ 18, DQA #1439 (pA * $\eta\bar{e}r\acute{a}$ 'day, sun, light': Tg + unc. T, M, and Ko roots that belong to N * $\eta aher\nabla$ '↑', q.v. ffd. + ?? ϕ J * $\acute{a}r\acute{i}-$ 'dawn') || [2] M (d.?) * $nurma$ 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (\times N * $\acute{n}uR\nabla$ '↑') > WrM $nurma$, HIM $нур\acute{a}м$, $нур\acute{a}м$ 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire, campfire', WrO $nurma$ 'cinders, ashes', Kl † $нур\acute{a}м$ $nurm\grave{o}$, Brt $нур\acute{a}м$ 'hot cinders, embers' ¶ MED 59, Krg. 229, KRS 386, Chr. 333 || D: [1] D * $ne^{\acute{y}}u^{\acute{r}}$ - > Krx $n\eta y\bar{u}r$ 'embers, live coals, brand', Mlt $n\acute{a}re$ 'flame' ||| MI $\acute{n}eri$ 'heat, burning,

pungency', Tm *neruppu*, Ml *nerippu* ~ *nerippu* 'fire', Kt, Td *nep* 'live coal' || Tl *nippu* 'fire', Nkr *nirkip-* v. 'kindle', Gdb *nirik-* ~ *niruk-* v. 'light a lamp', Gnd *nirwānā* vt. 'burn', Kui *drē* 'ignition, a flare' ¶¶ D #811 | ? [2] D **er_{1j}*- 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Tm *eri* 'fire', *eri-* vi. 'burn', Ml *eri* 'heat, burning, pungency', Kt *erv-* vi. 'shine brightly' (of anything except sun), Td *er-* 'be very bright', Kdg *eri-* 'have burning\astringent sensation' (of mouth), Tu *eri* 'the glare\heat of fire', *eriyu-* 'glare, be hot', Tl *eriyu* v. 'burn, grieve', Klm, Nkr, Nk *erk-* v. 'light (fire)', Prj *erip-* 'burn the mouth', Gnd *ers-* & *ars-* v. 'taste pungent', Knd, Ku *er-*, Kui *ērpa* v. 'kindle, light' ¶¶ D #2929 ◊ N **η*- yields S **n-* (rather than **ɣ* or **ʝ*) in the presence of a laryngeal in the same root (*see* Introduction, § 2.1) ◊ ≈ IS II 85-6 [#320] (**riara* 'fire; to flame'; does not distinguish between the reflexes of N **neh^Urⁱ*' and those of N **naher[∇]* 'day, sun' [q.v.]).

1646. **ṇāqaśa* 'nose' > HS: the S root **✓nχś* ('nose?') is attested in a derived noun meaning 'bone of the nose': Mh *n3χśīś*, Jb E *n3χśēś*, Jb C *naχ¹śēś*, Hrs *n^χśīś* id. ¶ Jo. M 308-9, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100 || IE **neh_s-* (> NaIE **nās-*), in oblique cases **neh_s-* 'nose' (**H* = traditional **H₂*) > OI *nāsā* f. 'nose' (Vd [RV] gen. du. *na's-oḥ*, [AthV] instr. sg. *na's-ā*), OPrs accus. *nāham*, Av *nāṇha* ~ (?) *nāh-*, BdhSgd *nns* || L *nāris* 'nostril' (pl. *nārēs* 'nostrils, nose'); OL *nasum*, L *nasus* ({WH}: < ex. gem. **nasso-*) || Gmc: ON *nos*, Nr *nos*, Dn *nøse*, Sw *nāsa* 'nose', Sw *nos* 'muzzle, nose', OHG *nasa*, NHG *Nase*, OFrs, Mdt *nose*, Dt *neus*, AS *nosu* 'nose', NE *nose* || Lt *nósis* 'nose', Ltv *nāss* 'nostril', Pru *nozy* ({En.}: = *[*nōsi*]) 'nose' | SI **nōs^ъ* id. > OCS **НОСЪ** *носъ*, Blg, R **НОС**, Uk **НІС**, SCr, Slv *nōs*, Cz, Slk, P *nos* ¶ The structure of the word and its paradigm were reconstructed by Lub. on the basis of archaic forms: nom. **neh_s-* > Ltv *nāss*, Vd du. *nāsā*, accus. **neh_s-m* > Ltv *nāsi*, OPrs *nāham*, L *nārem*, obl. **neh_s-* > ChS, OR **НОСЪ**, Vd gen. du. *na'soḥ* ¶ WH II 143, 145-6, Lub. AP*a 60, P 755, ≈ EI 395 (**Hnas-s* ~ **Hnās* / **Hna's-os*), Mn. 827, M K II 146, 157, M E II 30-1, Gersh. G 39, 139, Bai. 210, WH I 143-4, Kb. 716, OsS 640, KM 503-4, Ho. 238, Vr. N 469, Vr. 415, Hlq. 707, 717-8, Frn. 509, En. 217, ESSJ XXV 212-6, Glh. 440-1 || A **ṇāk^sa* 'nose' > Tg **ṇjaks¹a*, **ṇjaksi-n* 'nose' > Nn Δ *ṇoqso* 'nose', Orc *ḥiqso*, Ud {Krm.} *ṇuhö* ~ *ṇōh*, Ork *naqsa*, Ul *ṇaksa* ~ *waqsa* id., Lm A *ḥēs* ~ *ḥēs* 'nose, beak', Neg *ḥasin* '(bear's) nose' ¶ STM I 587, 636, Krm. 273, S AJ 218 [#173]; on the reflexes of

Tg *j₁a and *ks see Ci. 106-8, 194-7, 229 || pKo *n^hčh 'face' > MKo n^hč^h ~ n^hs, NKo nac^h [nat] id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#182], S QK #182, Nam 100-1, MLC 313 || ?? M *nakčar-: derivatives with this √ denote some part of the nose: WrM nagcarqai ~ nagcirqai, HIM nagčirhay 'posterior (internal) nostrils', Kl nakcrχα 'bridge of the nose', Brt нагсагар 'having a flat bridge of the nose' (F Cev. 362, Luv. 258, KW 270, Chr. 317, KRS 367, S AJ 244 [#240]), the cns. *č in M is likely to go back to a sx. and not to belong to the pA stem (unless we accept SDM's hyp. of a pA *č > M *č and Tg *s) ¶¶ SDM97 (A *ŋäkča), S AJ 18, 293 [#454], DQA #1538 (pA *ŋjākč^h 'nose, some part of the nose') ◇ Here N *ŋ- yields IE *n- rather than *kn- (the regular reflex of N *ŋ-), which may be due to the presence of a lr. The a-coloured IE lr.*_h points to a N vw. *a after *q. ADb reconstructs the N etymon as *naŋk^h 'nasopharynx' ◇ Cf. AD PNPh, AD AltAD #8.

1647. (₂?) *ŋ^hi^h 'Hat^ha^h' 'ε sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite/cut' > R: *ŋ|nat^ha (~ *ŋ|nit^ha^h?) 'ε knife', 'cut' > NaT *^oja₁t 'big knife; weapon' > Osm {Rh.} يات yat 'arms, weapons; armour', Tk уат 'armour', as well as possibly d.: Tk уатаған, Az yatağan 'ε long knife' ¶ Rs. W 192, Rh. 2179, AzRL I 516, Rl. III 190, 199] less plausible (??σ): NaT *jitig 'sharp' > OT jitig, jit(t)i, Kü/Qb/Qc {Rl.} jidig id., Xk čitig, Tv čidig ¶ Cl. 889, Rl. III 526-7 || pKo {S} *nát > MKo nát 'sickle', NKo nas nat id., 'scythe' ¶ S QK #409, Rm. SKE 162, Nam 94, MLC 311 || pJ {S} *nátá > J: T nàta ~ natá, K nátá, Kg nàtà 'hatchet' ¶ S QJ #416, Mr. 494 || M *nitul- v. 'cut' > MM [S] {H} nitul- 'cut' ('ab- λ durch-schneiden'), WrM nitula-, HIM нятла- 'kill, slaughter (cattle)', Ord nu^tu^l- 'kill' ¶ H 117, MED 586, Ms. O 503 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *net^ha > T, M, Ko, J), Rm. SKE 162 (Ko, J), ≈ DQA #1461 (A *nìt^ha 'sharp weapon', 'ε knife': Ko, J, M, T *jiti) || IE *knehd- > NaIE *knēd- / *kenəd- 'bite, cut with a sharp instrument' > Gk κνώδων (gen. -οντος) 'sword' (originally an acp. *'biting'), pl. κνώδοντες 'two projecting teeth on the blade of a hunting spear' || Lt kàsti (1s prs. kàndu) 'to bite' (< *konəd-), Ltv kôst (1s prs. kôž u, kôd u) id., 'to be sharp, to cut', Lt kañdis n. 'bite, sting' ¶ ≈ P 560, ≈ F I 887-8, ≈ Ch. 349-50, Frn. 227 ¶ The apophonic grade *kenəd- (< *kenhd-) is a secondary formation based on *knehd- (most probably from earlier *knjehd- [see AD NVIE] < N *ŋ^hi^h 'Hat^ha^h') || HS: ? Ch ≈ *ʔađ^h 'bite; eat (hard food)' (in some lgs. contamination with the reflex of N *ʔitê 'eat' [q.v.]) > AG: Su {J}, Gmy at, Tal àt, Ang {ChL} ʔàt,

Cp {ChL} ʔɜt 'bite' || BT: Grm {Sch.} àḍ- 'bite', Dr {J} aḍ-, Krf {ChC} àḍḍá-wò, Pr {Frz.} áḍḍò 'eat (hard food)', ? Krkr {Lk.} haḍ- id. || CCh: BB: BtG {Mch} aḍo, Bcm {Sk.} áḍè, Gudu {ChL} ó:dù, ? Nz *ʔid- 'bite' || ECh: Brgt {J} ʔàḍḍí 'eat (hard food)', Mkl {J} ʔâḍímá / ʔâḍí id., ʔáʔídá 'bite' ¶ ChC, ChL, J LM 55-6, Frz. P 18 ◇ The cognates in the A lgs. and in Ch suggest a mt. N *-Hat- > *-t_Lṽ_Lh-, whence M *-t- and Ch *-ḍ-.

1647a. ? *ḡitû 'worm(s), maggot(s), nit' > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ *k̂nid- 'nit, louse' (× N *Ḳ'E'ñitṽ 'louse, nit') || HS: S *ṽṽṽṽṽ > Ar SL ʔaṽṽ- 'moth, tick, mite' ¶ Hv. 451 || WCh: AG: Gmy ñit, Chip riṽṽṽṽṽ 'worm' ¶ ChC, ChL || A: M *ötün 'worms, maggots' (unless with *ṽ-) > WrM ötü(n), HIM ḙṽ id., Kl ḙṽH öṽṽ, Brt ṽṽṽ(H) 'worm(s); M *ötü- v. 'develop maggots' > WrM ötü-, HIM ḙṽḙ- id., Brt ṽṽḙ- id., 'begin to breed' (of maggots\worms), Kl ḙṽ- öṽ- id., {KW} *ötö- 'Würme haben' ¶ The absence or presence of pM *ṽ- cannot be checked on the extant data. M *ö- < *i- (ass. infl. of *-U) ¶ MED 646, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW 302 ◇ Qu., because IE *knid- ~ *k̂nid- has a good alt. et. (N *Ḳ'E'ñitṽ) and with the extant data the absence of pM *ṽ- cannot be proved.

1648. *ḡaṽw'í 'dead, dead person' > HS: S *ṽṽṽṽṽ > Ar ṽṽṽṽṽ (pf. نعى naṽā, ip. -ṽṽṽṽṽ) v. 'announce the death of so.' (the direct object being the dead person) ¶ BK II 1300, Hv. 784 || IE: NaIE *nāṽ- 'dead body; death' > ON nā-r 'corpse', Gt nau-s (gen. nawiš 'dead person', AS nē(o) id., 'corpse', nēobedd 'death-bed' || SI *navь, *navьje > ChS, OR НАВЬ navь, SCr nav, R Δ НАВЬ 'dead person', OCz nav (gen. navi) 'grave; next world', d. unaviti v. 'kill', Slv nāv 'soul of a dead person', Slv nāvje, Blg Δ НАВИ 'souls of unbaptized children', Blg НАВИ 'ε evil spirits' || Ltv nāve 'death', Pru nowis 'Leib' 'body' (← *corpse!); ? Lt nōvė 'death, pangs of death', nōvyti 'to destroy, to torture to death' (× nōvė 'Bedrückung', nōvyti 'bedrücken') ¶ P 756, EI 150 (*neh_ṽwi-s 'corpse'), Fs. 372, Vr. 405, Ho. 232, Frn. 509, En. 217 (Pru nowis 'trunk of the body'), Vs. III 35, ESSJ XXIV 49-52 || A {DQA} *ḡiñābi 'dead person' > Tg *ḡiñābi- 'dead person' > Ewk ḡēwi id., 'spirit of a dead ancestor', Lm ḡṽbi 'invisible person', Ul ḡṽwu- ~ ḡṽu- v. 'bury', ḡṽwi 'burial' ¶ STM I 658 || ? pJ {S} *mè or *mṽà (or *mṽ, on the ev. of modern J ds.) > OJ m_Lṽò, J: T mò, K/Kg mó 'funeral, mourning' ¶ S QJ #1071, Mr. 484 ¶¶ SDM97 (A

* $\eta\bar{a}we$ 'dead man'), \approx DQA #1539 (Tg, J < A * $\eta\bar{j}abi$ 'deceased') ¶ S, Md., ADb. (SDM97), and DQA adduce here an alleged pT {SDM, DQA} * $\eta\bar{j}ebeg$ (sc. * $\eta\bar{j}ebeg$) 'cemetery, grave', presumably yielding Yk $\bar{s}ibi\bar{a}n$ 'ghost' and Chv $\bar{s}bva$ 'cemetery, grave', which is unt.: in fact Chv $\bar{s}bva$ is akin to OT $\bar{j}o\bar{y}$ 'funeral feast' < pT * $\bar{j}o\bar{g}$ < ppT \approx * $\delta\bar{o}g$, as attested by the Gk gloss $\delta\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ (MenP, 3rd c.); cp. OChv * $\bar{s}uva$ (\rightarrow R Δ $\bar{c}yba$ 'Chuvash cemetery' [Dal IV 382]) (F Rs. W 197, Cl. 895, Jeg. 204, Fed. II 89, Mrv. II 112) $\diamond \approx$ ADb. NNN 35 (A, IE + unc. SD * $\bar{n}av-aj-$ 'be troubled, perish' and an unc. OHg-F parallel: OHg $\bar{n}yuvad-$ vi. 'ersticken, ertrinken' and F $\bar{n}uutua$ 'be tired', see EWH 1049, SK 406).

1649. * $\eta\bar{u}w\bar{a}y\bar{v}$ 'long hair' > HS: CCh: Mrg $\eta^{\omega}i$ 'beard' ¶ ChL || A * $\eta\bar{u}ye-$ \approx 'long hair (of animals)' > Tg * $\eta\bar{u}ye-lse$, * $\eta\bar{u}ye-n$ 'long hair under the neck' > Ork $\eta\bar{i}w\bar{z}lt\bar{z}$ \sim $\bar{n}\bar{i}w\bar{z}lt\bar{z}$ 'long hair under reindeer's neck', Lm Sk $\eta\bar{o}y\bar{z}ld\bar{o}$, Lm M $\eta\bar{o}y\bar{z}lda$, Lm O $\eta\bar{o}y\bar{z}ll\bar{z}$ \sim $\bar{n}\bar{o}y\bar{z}ll\bar{a}$, Lm OI $\bar{m}\bar{o}y\bar{z}lr\bar{a}$ \sim $\eta\bar{o}y\bar{z}lr\bar{a}$, Ewk $\bar{m}uy\bar{a}ll\bar{z}$ \approx $\bar{m}\bar{u}y\bar{z}ll\bar{z}$ \approx $\bar{m}uy\bar{a}lr\bar{z}$ id., $\bar{m}uyan$ \approx $\bar{m}\bar{u}y\bar{z}n$ id. ¶ STM I 551 || ϕ pJ {S} * $\bar{b}\bar{z}$ (\rightarrow * $\bar{b}y\bar{a}$) 'tail' > OJ $\bar{w}\bar{o}$, J: T/Kg \acute{o} , K \bar{o} , Sh $\bar{y}\bar{u}$ id. ¶ S AJ 267 [#75], S QJ #75, Mr. 503 ¶ \approx DQA #1545 [Tg, J < A * $\eta\bar{u}ye$ 'long hair'] || U * $\bar{w}\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ 'long hair (of animals)' > Chr H $\bar{w}\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ {Szil.} 'die längeren Haare an Fellen', {Rm.} 'Verbrämung aus Lammfell' || Sm: StNe T $\bar{e}j\bar{t}\bar{e}-$, Ne T BZ {Lh.} $\bar{y}\bar{e}j\bar{j}\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{e}-$, Nn F $\bar{\beta}\bar{j}\bar{e}y\bar{y}\bar{z}-$ v. 'adorn with long white hairs of a reindeer', '(mit Renntierbart) Muster sticken', Ne T O {Lh.} $\bar{y}\bar{e}j\bar{j}\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{e}-$ '(mit Garn) Muster sticken' ¶ UEW 562, Ter. 91-2, Lh. 107 \diamond ADb. NNN 34 (N * $\eta\bar{i}A\bar{y}\bar{v}$ 'long hair of an animal' > A * $\eta\bar{o}ye$, U).

1650. * $\eta\bar{u}hy^{\bar{a}}$ 'to rest, to lie, to repose' (\rightarrow 'to sleep') > HS: S (att. in EthS) * $\check{v}nhy$ 'repose, be quiet', (?) 'lie down to sleep' > Gz $\check{v}nhy$ v. G (pf. $\bar{n}\bar{a}hy\bar{a}$, js. $-n\bar{h}ay$) 'repose, feel relieved, be quiet; recover', Tgy $\check{v}nhy$ \sim $\bar{n}h\bar{w}$ G (pf. $\bar{n}\bar{e}hay\bar{e}$ \sim $\bar{n}\bar{e}h\bar{a}w\bar{e}$) 'feel relieved, relaxed', Har $\bar{n}\bar{e}^{\bar{a}}$ 'sleep', Amh $\bar{a}n\bar{h}\bar{e}$ v. Sh 'put to sleep', Grg {L} (v. G 3a pf.): Ch $\bar{n}\bar{z}ya$, Ez $\bar{n}\bar{z}y\bar{e}$, Ed $\bar{n}\bar{e}^{\bar{e}}$, Gt $\bar{n}\bar{i}^{\bar{e}}$, En $\bar{n}\bar{e}^{\bar{e}}$ 'sleep, lie down to sleep' ¶ LG 394, L EDG III 466 || ϕ AdS of Eg fMK $\bar{e}^{\bar{e}}w$ v. 'sleep', Eg {Mks.} $\bar{e}^{\bar{e}}w$ n. 'sleep, drowsiness' (< N * $\bar{z}aw^{\bar{a}}\bar{o}y^{\bar{v}}$ 'spend the night, sleep' [q.v.]) ¶ EG I 169, Mks. I #0587 and II #0647 || C: Bj {R} $\bar{n}\bar{a}y-$ scv. 'spend the night, sleep, rest' ¶ R WBd 187 || Ch: WCh: Klr {J} $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ vi. 'lie, sleep', Sha {J} $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ (pf. $\bar{n}\bar{a}h-\bar{i}$) vi. 'sleep', {IL} $\bar{n}\bar{a}$ vi. 'lie (liegen)', ? Dr $\bar{n}\bar{o}n$ 'sleep' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} $\bar{n}\bar{u}n\bar{e}$ 'lie (liegen)' || Ech: Tmk {Cp.} $\bar{n}\bar{e}n$ 'se coucher' ¶ J R 267,

354, ChC, ChL || **A**: Tg {S} * $\eta u_{\downarrow}y_{\downarrow}a$ - v. 'sleep' > Ork ηua -, Ud {Shn.} $\eta u^H a$ -, {Krm.} ηua - id., d.? Ewk $nin\bar{a}$ - \bar{a} $\acute{n}in\bar{a}$ - id. ¶ STM I 597, 666, Krm. 272, S AJ 221 [#227] || M * $noyir$ n. 'sleep; drowsiness' > MM [S] {H} $noyir$ n. 'sleep', [MA] {Pp.} $noyur$ 'sleepy', WrM $noir$, HIM, Brt $ноѣр$ n. 'sleep; drowsiness', Klm $нѣр$ $n\bar{o}r$, {Rm.} $n\bar{o}r$, Mnr H/M {T/SM} $n\bar{o}r$, MMgl [Z] {Iw.} $no\eta ir$, Ba {T} nor , Dx {T} no n. 'sleep', Mgl {Rm.} $noir$ ~ $neir$ id., 'drowsiness' ¶ Pp. 26O, H 12O, Ms. H 8O, SM 284, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 13O, T BJ 144, Chr. 329, KRS 384, KW 28O, Rm. M 34 || NaT * \bar{u} n. 'sleep' > OT $u_{\downarrow}:$, Xlj \bar{u} , Yk \bar{u} id. ¶ Cl. 2, 42-3, Pek. 3O64-5, DT 2O9 ¶ T * \bar{u} may be (but not necessarily is) somehow connected with T * $u\delta i$ - v. 'sleep' (* \bar{u} \leftrightarrow * $u\delta i$ or bf.: * $u\delta i$ \leftrightarrow * \bar{u} ??); cp. N * $hu|od_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} \eta \nabla$ 'be motionless, sleep' || pJ {S} * $\acute{u}i$ n. 'sleep', * $\acute{u}i$ - v. 'sleep' > OJ i n. 'sleep, dream', wi -na- v. 'sleep', ItOJ [RJ] $w\acute{i}$ - $n\acute{e}b\acute{u}r\acute{i}$, J: T $ineb\acute{u}ri$ ~ $inebur\acute{i}$, K $\grave{i}n\acute{e}b\acute{u}r\grave{i}$, Kg $inebur\acute{i}$ 'drowsiness', T ne - (< * i - ne -) v. 'sleep' ¶ S QJ #15O, Mr. 697 ¶¶ \approx DQA ##1551 (A * $\eta\acute{u}yu$ 'to sleep', incl. M, Tg, J) || **U** * $\acute{h}u_{\downarrow} \eta \nabla$ 'take the rest, repose, sleep' (\times N * $\acute{h}u\eta \nabla$ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep', q.v. ffd.) \diamond M * \emptyset (for the expected * u) still needs explaining.

1651. *p^rä¹ 'ille, another (animate)' > **HS:** Eg fOK p-, marker of m. sg. of the dem. pronouns p_n, p_ω ~ p_y, p_f, and p₃; Eg OK p_ω, unchangeable copula in a nominal sentence ¶ Ed. 83-8, EG I 505, Hng. 275, Tk. II 375-6, 433 || ? C: Bj {R} bē- (pl. balī-) 'that, ille' (sg.: nom. m. bē-n, accus. m. bē-b, nom./acc. f. bē-t; pl.: nom. m. balī-n, accus. m. balī-b, nom./acc. f. balī-t; Bj -b, marker of masc. (abs.) in accus., -b-, marker of masc. in the pred. case ¶ AD KJ 27, 31-2, 109-110, 116 || WS *pā (or *pa_ω) ~ *b∇ 'here' > Hb הַבּ pō 'here', OCn [EA] pū * [pō] id., Pun [Plt.] PHO, Ug p 'here', Mh bō, Jb C בֹּחַ, Sq boh 'here'; probably also WS *pa 'and, and then' > Ug p [p∇], Ar fa-, Plm, Nbt p-, Sb, Qt f- ¶ KB 866, KBR 916, HJ 898-9, 902, A #2178, OLS 340, Jo. M 58, BGMR 42, Rk. 127-8 ¶¶ Tk. II 376 unconvincingly rejects the comparison of Eg p with WS *p∇ because "Eg *p- in p₃, p_f, p_n was a marker of masc. gender, while the deictic function was carried out by the attached second element (-3, -ω, -f, -n, resp.)". Tk.'s argument is unc. because the change of a dem. prn. into a marker of gender is a common phenomenon in lgs. (e.g. in the history of the Sl marker of masc. in adjectives, that of df. articles in NHG, Fr, Sp., etc., that of HS *y- [3 m. marker in verbs], etc.; practically all markers of the masc. gender in lgs. go back to demonstrative elements); this is further confirmed by the unchangeable copula p_ω (not connected with gender) || **U:** FU *pä 'ille, other', whence a modal or\and focalizing pc. > pOs *pä 'another', 'and', focalizing pc. > Os: Vy pä ... pä, Ty pä ko ... pä ko, Sh/Kz pa ... pa 'der eine ... der andere', Ty/Y pä-ko, Kz pa-χo 'ein anderer Mann', Sn pa 'and', Sh/Sn/Kz pa - focalizing (thematizing) pc. 'as for...' (R '-то') ||| F -pa/-pä, focalizing pc., translatable by R -то, а вот, -ка, же or by German doch, eben (F mutta hänpä ei tiennytkään 'а он-то и не знал', F minäpä tiedän 'а вот я знаю', F katsokaapa 'посмотрите-ка', F koirapa sieltä tulee 'da kommt doch ein Hund her'), Krl -bua(h) (hematizing pc.: tuíimbuah mie teiää 'ich kam doch zu euch'), Vp -p (kutap void 'wie geht es dir denn'), Es -p (seep see on 'das ist es ja eben') || Prm {LG} *pε, pc. of quotation > Z p3, Vt pe id. ('мол, говорит, дескать') ¶ LG 227, Laan. 293-4, Stn. D 1085-7 || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} pa in na pa 'voici, вот что, вот оно как' (na is 'this') ¶ KKH 135 ||| **A:** OJ pa > J -wa, focalizing pc. of the topic ¶ Syr. DJ 108 ◇ I am grateful to Helinski and Starostin for suggesting the F and Slq cognates (Hl. p.c.) and the J cognate (S p.c.).

1652. $\text{₂} *P_{-}i'_{\nabla}$ 'sharp edge, blade' > **HS:** S $*pi'_{\nabla}$ -at- 'sharp edge, blade' > Hb הַאֲזָרָה $pē'ā$ 'corner, side', Ug $p_{\nabla}t \sim p_{\nabla}t$ (pl. $p_{\nabla}t$) {A} 'Saum, Grenze, Gefilde', {OLS} 'temple (Schläfe); limit, border', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} $pi_{\nabla}tu$ 'corner (?)', MHb הַאֲזָרָה $pē'ā$ 'corner', JA [Trg.] אַתְּרָאָה $pā'tā$ 'äußerste Ende, Ecke', Sr פְּאִי־אֶרֶץ $pa'_{\nabla}tā \sim \text{פְּאִי־אֶרֶץ}$ $pa'tā$ 'side, blade (of a sword)', Ar فَيْءٌ $fi'_{\nabla}at$ - {Ln.} 'portion\division\party of men, company of soldiers', {Fr.} [Qam.] 'agmen', {Fr.} 'agmen a tergo exercitus collocatum', {BK} 'troupe d'hommes', {Hv.} 'detachment, party of soldiers' (← '≈ side, corner?'), Ak OA/NB $pāt_{\nabla}$ 'Rand', Ak M $piāt_{\nabla}$, Eb {Frnz.} $bí$ -a-tum (= $pi_{\nabla}atum$) 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ GB 631, BDB 802 [#6285], A #2181, OLS 341-2, Hnr. 164, Lv. T II 251-2, Js. 1130-2, Ln. 2326, 2468, Fr. III 384, BK II 651-2, Hv. 581, Br. 554, Sd. 849, 861, Frnz. EL 138 || C: SC: Alg/Brn {Wh.} $fayu$ (pl. $faye$) 'arrow' ¶ Wh. IC 22, ≈ AD SF 42-3 || ? WCh: Bks $\tilde{y}à$, DfB $\tilde{y}àh$ 'arrow' ¶ J R 147, 222 ¶ OS #788 (HS $*fe_{\nabla}$ - 'arrow': C, Ch, S) || **A:** pJ {S} $*pi_{\nabla}$ > OJ {S} pi_{∇} 'edge, shore', {ðMr.} φ_{∇} 'shore, boundary, side' > J {S} -e - ending of the directive case ¶ S p.c. [≈1974], Mr. 403 || NaT $*bī$ 'blade' > OT $bī$ 'knife, blade', Yk $bī$ 'blade'; $\rightarrow *bī-lā$ - vt. 'sharpen (a knife, etc.)' > OT $bilā$ -, XwT, MQp [incl. CC], Oosm, Chg {PC} $bile$ -, Tk $bile$ -, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qmq, Nog $bile$ -, Az $bülö$ -, Kr $bile$ - $\neq bilā$ - $\neq biā$ -, ET $bilā$ -, Alt $bilü$ -, Xk $p_{\nabla}lö$ -, Sg $p_{\nabla}le$ -, Dlg $bī-lā$ - id. \rightarrow Tkm $bilew$, CrTt $bilev$ 'whetstone' ¶ Cl. 291 (unc.: OT $bī$ \leftarrow Chn p'_{∇} 'split'), 332-3, DTS 97, 99, ET B 142-3, TL 398, PC 189 ◇ Cf. N $*pix|y_{\nabla}$ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' and IS MS 352 s.v. острие $*pi'_{\nabla}$.

1653. $*pu_{\nabla}$ (~ $*bu_{\nabla}$?) 'tree, bush' > **HS:** Eg fOK $b_{\nabla}.t$ 'bush' > DEg b id. > Cpt Sd/B/F BW $bō$, A BOY b_{∇} 'tree' ¶ EG I 416, Fk. 77, Er. 109, Vc. 24, Tk. II 16-9 || ? S: Ak {Sd.} $pā_{\nabla}u \sim p_{\nabla}$ 'chaff, Spreu' (← $*stalks$ of plants) || AdS of B $*fay$ 'forest' (← N $*po_{\nabla}|g_{\nabla}$ 'wooded bank [of a waterway]', q.v. ffd.) || Ch ≈ $*pu_{\nabla}'i$ or $*fu_{\nabla}'i$ 'tree' > WCh: Pr {Kr.} $f_{\nabla}u_{\nabla}$ id. (but {Frz.} $pūrō$ id.) || Krkr {J, ChL} b_{∇} 'tree' (b_{∇} < $*p_{\nabla}$) || CCh: McMrg: Cb $f_{\nabla}à$, Mrg {ChL} w_{∇} , {IL in ChC} w_{∇} , MrgM {Mk.} f_{∇} , Klb {Mk.} u_{∇} , w_{∇} , {ChC} w_{∇} , Bu {Mk.} f_{∇} 'tree', Hld {ChL} w_{∇} , Wmd {ChC} w_{∇} id. || McHigi: HgNk {ChL} f_{∇} , HgF {ChL} f_{∇} , FIK {ChL} f_{∇} , FIJ f_{∇} , FIM f_{∇} 'tree' || Gude: Nz {ChL} f_{∇} id. || McMdr: Glv {Kr.} $ú_{\nabla}$, {Rp.} $ú_{\nabla}$ 'tree', Dgh {Frk.} p_{∇} 'tree, wood' || Suk {IL in ChC} f_{∇} id. ¶ ChC ChL, Mk. I 176, 210, 243, Frz. 48 || **U** $*pu_{\nabla}$ 'tree, wood (Holz)' > F, Es p_{∇} 'Baum, Holz' || Chr L/H/E p_{∇} 'firewood, wood (Holz)' || Prm $*pu$

'tree, wood (Holz)' > Z pu id., Vt pu id., 'firewood' || Vg (within compound names of trees) -pāḍ-pāḍ-pā 'tree': {Kn.} Vg T sḅíť-pā 'lime-tree', Vg P wuí-pā 'Pinus cembra', {Mu.} ML tip-pā, UL tippā, P tippē [tippə] 'Sandweide, тальник', P khəppē, L khəppā 'aspen-tree' | Hg fā 'Baum, Holz' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *pā 'wood (Holz), tree, forest' > Ne T п̄я, {Lh.} p̄ā:, Ne F Ny p̄ěā 'Baum, Holz', En {KD} X fā, En K fā, pā, En B {Cs.} fē 'tree', Ng {Cs.} fā, {Ter.} xḡa, Slq Tz {KKIH} pō 'tree, wood (Holz), firewood', Slq Tm pō 'tree, wood', Kms pā 'tree, forest', Koyb {Sp.} п̄а 'tree', Mt {Hl.} *hā 'tree, wood, forest, stick' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} hā, K {Mll.} hō 'sylva', K {Pl.} chū 'tree', che 'firewood', M {Pl.} hāh, ḡя, {Sp.} xa 'tree') ¶ UEW 410-1, Sm. 539 (U *pu|o|äx+i, FU, P *puxi, Ugr *pũgĩ, Sm *pā 'tree'), LG 230, MK 400, 647, Jn. 117, KKIИ 151, Coll. 53, MF 174, Ü 165, MRS 462, Wc. SW 216, Hl. M #267 || A *p'iy∇ '∈ tree' > ? T *o|h̄I 'bush, tree' > OT {Cl.} I 'bush, shrubs' (sg. or coll.), {Ml.} 'forest, tree' ({Cl.} īIḡač 'shrubs and trees'); acc. to S AJ, DQA, and ET, T d. *I-gač 'tree' ({Md.} *j̄a-gač ~ *Igač) ({ET}: with an augm. sx. *-gač) > OT Iḡač, XwT Iḡač ~ jIḡač, Chg jIḡač, MQp [incl. CC], OOsM aḡač, Tk aḡač, Az aḡač, Tkm agač, VTt aḡač, ET jaḡač, SY jIḡač, Qzq aḡač, Qrg žIgač, Tv ĩjaš, Yk mas 'tree', Chv jIḡbś, Chv MK južb 'tree, firewood' ¶ Cl. 1, 79-80, Ml. PDP 442, Ml. PMK 106, Md. 116, 165, Jeg. 83, S AJ 184 [#85] || Tg *p̄ja 'birch tree' > WrMc fiḡa, Nn p̄ja, Ul, Ork pē ¶ STM II 36, ≈ DQA #1875 (Tg *pōy-, *pōy-ki- > pia-ki) || pKo *p̄a₁- 'birch' > NKo p̄a₁-n-namu ¶ S QK #799, Rm. SKE 199 || pJ *p̄í 'Japan cypress' > OJ p̄i, p̄i-nö-kī, ItOJ [RJ] p̄í > J T h̄inoki, h̄inoki id. ¶ S AJ 271 [#178], S QJ #178, Mr. 407 ¶¶ DQA #1875 (A *p'j̄üḡy '∈ tree'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J). Acc. to DQA, T *I-(ḡ)gač is a cd. equatable with Tg *p̄a₁y₁k'ḡ'a 'wood (Holz)' [STM II 331]; the second component of the compound is related to MKo k̄áčí ~ k̄áčí 'branch' and (?) M *ges-i-ḡūn id. ¶¶ Not here (because of the vw. *o) M *p̄oyi 'forest' (see N *p̄oḡ |ḡy∇ 'wooded bank') ◇ IS I 184 [#19] considers the Eg, Ch, and U stems to be a sd. from N *b̄uHi ({AD} N *buHi) 'grow', which is possible, but not necessarily true. In the etymon in question the N initial *b- is suggested by Eg (and Krkr?) only, while A suggests N *p̄-, and most HS branches suggest either N *p̄- or *p̄- ◇ Resh. NNE #6 (A, U).

1654. ₂ *p̄oḡ |ḡy∇ 'wooded bank (of a waterway)' > HS: Eg fN p̄ḡy, p̄ḡ.t {EG} '≈ bank (of waterway)' ('Ufer o.ä.'), {AnC} 'land susceptible



of irrigation' ¶ EG I 504, AnC-1 ##12-3, ⇔ Tk. II 389, 423 (Eg p^ϵу < Eg P p^ϵт 'irrigable lend') || B *fay 'forest, bank' (× N *p^hu^hi 'tree, bush'??) > Ah e-fay (pl. ifayən) 'forest', ETwl efъу (pl. ifъууън) 'bord', Ty e-fъу (pl. i-fъуу-ън) id., 'small forest' ¶ Fc. 299, PGG 73, NZ 682 || Ch: Db {Lnh.} p^hay, Kola {Sb.} p^hay 'forest' ||| ECh: Nd D {J} p^hay 'bush (forest)' ¶ ChC, ChL || A *p^hoy₁ > M *φoyi > MM [HI, S] hoi 'wood, forest', WrM oi, HIM ой 'woods, forest, grove', Mnr H {SM} fē' 'forêt, arbres constituant un forêt', Mnr M {T} хoi, {Pot.} хой 'forest', Dx хoy id., Ba xi 'mountain', M б→ Yk oy 'small forest, grove' ¶ Pel. 218-9 [#31], MED 603-4, H SMG I 9, H 77, Ms. H 61, T 369, SM 99, Pot. 416, S AJ 242 [#196] ¶¶ Hardly here T *₁h₂oy 'pit, low place, depression', which belongs to N *P₂oΓi 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ADb. KL 2, Pp VGAS 99.

1655. *p^hoy^hu 'small', 'child', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: Eg fOK p^ϵ.t 'men, mankind' ('die Menschen, Menschheit') (← *'children') (= {Vc.} *[pēret], *[pa₁ret], Eg (GkSc) 'ορπαῖς = iry p^ϵ.t 'prince'), OCpt πH pē 'hommes' ¶ EG I 503, Fk. 88, Vc. 158, Tk. II 421-2 || WCh: Ron: Fy {J}, DfB {J} fyè 'child, boy', Bks {J} fú 'child', Klr {J} fo, fwè 'child, boy' || AG {Hf.} *p₁wē v. 'be new' > Gmy {Hf.} p₁ē 'new', Kfr {Hf.} pfwō, Su {J} p₁ō, Ang {Brq.} p₁ō, {Hf.} p₁ō 'new' ||| ?? CCh: ZmB {ChC} v₁ay, ZmD {KNC} v₁ay 'child', Zm {ChL} v₁ej 'boy', LamP {ChC, ChL} vay 'son' ¶ Hf. AG 17, J R, J S 80, ChL, ChC, Ji II 74, KNC 29 ||| IE: NaIE *p₁ō₁/*p₁ō₂-/*p₁ū- 'little, child, a young of an animal; few' > Gmc *fawa-(z) > Gt fawai (pl.) 'few', ON fár 'wenig, wortkarg', OHG fō, fōh, {OsS} fao 'wenig, dünn gesät', AS féa (pl. féawe) 'little, few', NE few ||| Gk A [epigr.] παῖς (gen. παῖδος) 'child' (↔ Gk παῖς / gen. παιδός, Gk L/B πάῖς 'child') < {Ch.} *πα₁-t₁-δ-) ||| EpL pouero, L puer (< *puwer) 'child, boy' ||| with sxs., e.g. NaIE *pu-tlo- 'child' > OI pu'tra- || Av puθra 'son, child', OPrs {Hinz} puça 'son', Oss: I fərt, D furt 'sun' ||| Osc puklo- 'child', Pæl puclōis (dat. pl.) 'pueris' ||| cd.: L pauper 'poor' (< *pawo-par-s 'acquiring little', {WH} 'wenig erwerbend') ¶ The absence of the expected vw. lengthening in *pu-tlo- is still to be explained ¶ P 842-3, EI 200 (*pa₁- 'little, few'), 533 (*put^hlo-s 'son' ← *p(a)u- 'small' + dim. *-tlo-), Szem. KT #3.1, M K II 304-5, M E II 142-3, Hinz 123, Ab. I 500, Fs. 147, Vr. 112, Kb. 270, OsS 161, Ho. 98, WH II 267-8, 382-3, Pln. II 702, 715, 719, F II 462-3, Ch. GH I 29 ||| U: FU *poy₁, *poyka 'son, boy' > F poika 'son, boy, young of an animal', Es

p o e g 'son, young of an animal'; F p o j u e n d 'little boy, sonny', F Δ p o j a
 'son, boy' | ? Er b u y o, p i y o 'grandchild' | ? Chr p ü in cds.: Chr K p ü e r x a, B
 p ü e r x b 'male person (man or boy)', YU p ü e r x b 'boy, male person' | Prm
 *p i > Z p i 'son, boy', Vt p i 'boy, a youth' || ObU: Vg: P/TY, P p ü w, TCh
 p ä w, LK/MK/UK p ö w, NV/SV/LL p ü, UL/Ss p i x 'son'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y p ä y,
 D/K/O p ä x, Nz/Kz p ö x 'son' | Hg f i ú, f i 'son, boy, child, young of an
 animal' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 390, It. #116, Dybo OS xxx, Sm. 547 (FU, P
 *p o j i Ugr *p o j i 'boy'), LG 221, MF 206-7, Ht. #796 || A {SDM95}
 *p ö y ∇, {SDM97} *p ö y u, {S AJ} *p i 'ü y ∇ 'child, young of animals' > Tg
 *p u y u, *p u y -k t e 'small, child' > Ewk h u y u k ü n 'small, younger', h u t e
 'child; son, daughter', Neg x u t z (pl. x u y i l), Ork p u t t z, U l p i k t z i d., N n
 N h p i k t z, N n B f i k t z, N n K U f u t z i d., 'nestling, young of animals' ¶ ≈
 STM II 338, 357-8 || T *b ö y -t a k 'young ram\goat' > T k m {A B} b ö y d a q
 'one-two-year-old kid\calf', Q z q b o y d a q q o y 'castrated ram more than
 1 year old' (q o y is 'sheep, ram'), Q z q b o j d a q {R l.} 'young ram', {S h c h.}
 'two-year-old castrated ram', E T T {R l.} b o y t a q, C h g {R l.} بويداغ b o j d a y
 'young ram' || Chv: п у т е к L p u d _ e k, H p o d _ e k, Δ p u d _ b z p i d _ e k z p o d _ a k
 z p i d _ a k ({M d.} p u d _ e k) 'lamb', ?? B l g h b → V T t b ä t i 'lamb, young ram',
 Chr L п а ч а, Chr H п а т я; this T word is to be distinguished from *b o d -
 t a k / η 'unmarried man' (> Q z q {S h t.} b o y d a q, B r b {R l.} p o j d a q 'unmarried
 man', Q K {B} p o y d o η 'bachelor, bridegroom', S h o r / S g {R l.} p o s t a η
 'unmarried man') ¶ Rs. W 77-8, R l. IV 1291, 1644, J e g. 169, F e d. I 455,
 S h t. 55, S h c h. Z h 153, M d. 47, 131 || p J *p i t z 'person' > O J p i t o, J: T
 h i t o, K h i t o, K g h i t o, S h t c u i d.; O J p i i -k u o 'great-grandson; prince', p i i -
 m j e 'princess' ¶ S A J 264 [#58], S Q J #58, M r. 410 || p K o *p u t h i a,
 (presumably 'child') > M K o n u n s -p u t h i a, 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'eye
 child', the first component means 'eye'), N K o n u n -p u c h a, 'pupil of the
 eye' ¶ S Q K #311, N a m 116, M L C 363 ¶¶ S A J 80, 107, 277 [#56], STM
 II 338, 357-8, D Q A #1672 (A *p ö y u 'child, young of animals') || D (att.
 in G n D) *p U y > M n d b u y, K u b o y 'girl' ¶ D #4532 ◇ R s. U A W 8, S u v. 27,
 I S M S 360 s.v. p e б e н o k *p o j a (U, T g), B l z. L B #22 (added the D
 cognate). E g p - and A G *p w - suggest N *p -, while A *p - (which is
 acceptable only if T *b ö y -t a k belongs here) points to a N *p - ◇ ≈ G r. II
 #61 (*p o 'child') (U, A, C K, A i).

1656. *p A ? i c ∇ 'axe, hammer' > H S: S *p a ? i a s - 'axe' > S r {B r.}
 | N w a s † p w s t ? 'ascia, securis' (unknown vocalization), A r f a ? s -

'pick-axe, hoe', {BK} 'hache', Mh fōs 'matchet, axe', Jb C/E fōs id., Ak OB pāšu, pāštū ~ pāltū 'Beil, Axt' ¶ Sd. 846, Br. 585, BK II 529, Hv. 543, Jo. M 86, Jo. J 51 || U *pāyć∇ 'axe, hatchet' > Vg T pāćt id., Vg {Reg.} pašting, pašning 'mit einem Axt\Beil versehen' || Hg fejsze, Δ fēyse, fēysi, fēsi, fēci, fēcō 'axe, felling-axe' || Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pićt 'axe', Slq Tur {Lh.} pīći, {UEW ← ?}: Slq Kt pittje, Nr pedš (= {MF} pež) id. ¶ UEW 416, MF 190, KKIH 149 || A: T *^ob|pa;su > OT basu 'sledge hammer' ¶ Cl. 372 ◇ T *-s- for the expected *-ç- is still to be explained.

1656a. ?φ P_aCk|K∇ (= paCk|K∇?) 'hand' (→ 'handful') > HS: S *p∇š_l∇_jk- > Sr  pεš'k-ā,  pə'šɛk 'handbreath', Ak IB pušku id. (←b- Aram?) ¶ Br. 612, JPS 458, Sd. 883 || B {Pr.} *-fuʔs- {AD} 'hand, handful' > Kb, SrSn afus, Izn, Wrg fus id., Ah, Gh a-fus, ETwl āfus, Shl, Tmz afus 'hand, arm', Ntf afus, Mzb fus, Shw fus (pl. ifassan), Gd w̄fess (pl. fessən), Awj afus 'hand', Snd fus 'the right hand', Zng afuš 'hand' ¶ Pr. Z #308, Fc. 362, NZ 653-5 || CCh: ECh: Dng {Fdr.} p̄isè, {Lk.} p̄sindin, p̄sínkən 'hand', Mgm {J} píssí, Mu {J} f̄ósó, {Lk.} f̄ósó 'arm', Mnj f̄oso, Kjk fusó, Bdy pése, Smr ḅ̄sáý 'hand', ?? Skr {Nc.} p̄ít- 'arm' ¶ JI II 179, ChC, Blz. EChWL #38 ¶¶ B, Ak -u- may be due to the ass. infl. of *p- > *f- || A: M *p̄atqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N *p̄aḥ∇ 'to be open, to open' × N *p̄a'g'd∇ 'leg, foot'??) > WrM adqu, HIM атга 'hollow of the hand, handful', Ord adχu' 'closed hollow of the hand, handful', Kl атх atχь, Brt атха, Dg {Mrm.} χatku ~ χatok 'handful'; ⇨ M *p̄atqu- 'hold in one's hand' > MM [S] {H, Pp.} hadqu-, WrM adqu-, HIM адга-, Ord adχu', Kl атх- atχь, Brt атха- id. ¶ Pp. VG 11, 50, H 75, MED 12, Ms. O 3, KRS 56, KW 17-8, Chr. 32-3, Klz. M 138 || ?σ D (in NED): Krx bakkā 'claws of a crab', {Hhn} 'forceps, shears', Mlt b̄ake 'forceps' ¶ D #3814, Pf. 193-4 ◇ N *-Ck|K- > D *-kk-. Simplification of the N affricate *C > HS *s, M (or pA) *t within the N cns. cluster *-Ck|K-?

1657. *P_uç_l∇_j∇ 'to press, to squeeze, to crush by squeezing' > K: GZ *pχuç- v. 'squeeze, crumple' > G pχuç- id., {K} 'pucker', {Chx.} 'etw. faltig\runzelig machen', pχuçwili 'folded (cloth)', Mg {FS} χuç- 'faltig machen', χuç-il-i 'faltig' ¶ F KW1 36, FS K 328, FS K² 482, FS E 368, K² 210, DCh. 1322, Chx. 1527 || HS: CS *✓pçɣ v. 'injure\crush by striking or squeezing' > Ar ✓fçɣ v. {∂ Ln., ∂ Hv.} 'squeeze (dates, figs) out of their skin' ({BK} 'presser une ch. entre ses doigts pour l'amollir ou pour

faire sortir ce qui est dans l'intérieur'), JA [Trg.], JEA ✓pʃʃ v. 'split' ('spalten'); (× S *✓pʃʃ v. 'wound'): BHb 𐤎𐤆𐤍 ✓pʃʃ v. {GB} 'durch einen Schlag verwunden', {KBR} 'wound, injure' (-> 𐤎𐤆𐤍 'peʃaʃ n. 'wound'), MHb {Js.} ✓pʃʃ v. 'split, crack or squeeze open; wound' (the root *✓pʃʃ is represented by Ug ✓pʃʃ G {KB} 'die Haut zerstoßen, verwunden', {A} 'aufschlitzen' - 'zerquetschen', {OLS} pʃʃ [*pāʃiʃu] prtc. 'el que se lacera, lacerante') ¶ KBR 954, GB 563, OLS 360, A #2255, Lv. T II 282-3, Sp. 924, Js. 1205-6, BK II 600-1, Ln. 2405 || IE: Ht pasihai- {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (× N *P-ûšʔ 'rub, smear', q.v. > Ht {CHD} pes(s)- 'rub, scrub [with soap, etc.]', {Frd., Ts.} pes- 'einreiben [mit Waschmitteln]') ¶ The prehistory of the Ht vw. a still needs investigating ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 205, 315, Frd. HW 108, 164 || U: FU *pućVrtV v. 'press, squeeze' > F puser̄ta- 'press, squeeze', Es puser̄da- vt. 'squeeze (out), wring (out)' | Prm *púʒir- > Z пыдзырт- púʒirt-, Prmk púʒirt- id. ('выжать, отжать'), Z Ud púʒz- v. 'squeeze out, wring', Yz púʒʌrt- id., Vt пызырты- púʒirt- v. 'squeeze out (juice, water)' || Os {Stn., KrT}: VK/Kr posar-, Sh pusremā- v. 'press, knead' | Hg facsar- v. 'wring' ¶ UEW 397, ≈ Sm. 547 (FU *puśā- 'squeeze' > FP *puśa-, Ugr *pűsa-), Coll. 110, LG 235, KrT 743, Stn. D 1232.

1658. *P-ʔiʔV 'stalks of plants and their fibres used for plaiting' > U: FP *pâćV 'fibres of plants' (→ 'hemp') > Prm *púć- 'hemp, fibres' > Z, Vt пыш púć 'hemp, oakum' | Chr: L пачаш pa'čaš, Y {Wc.} pö'čaš 'male hemp' ('посконь') ¶ LG 238, Lt. 196, ≈ UEW 412-3, ≈ Ber. 46 ¶ The labialized vowels in pPrm and Chr Y may be due to the labializing infl. of *p- || HS: S (att. in Cn) *o'pīθ-at- f. 'flax' > EpHb פשתן pš̄t, BHb פשתן *peš̄et* 'flax, linen' (+ppa.: 1s פשתן piš̄t-ī; pl. פשתן piš̄t-īm), פשתן piš̄t-ā 'flax, linen', Ph [Diosc.] ζεραποιστ (*zr̄ pš̄t) 'seed of flax', Pun pš̄t, Ug pθt 'flax' ¶ KB 923-4, A #2296, OLS 359, JH 238, HJ 947 || WCh: DfB {J} p̄is 'Totentuch' ¶ J R 219 || D *pic-/pīć- ({ʔGS} *p-) 'fibre' ¶ Tm picir id., Tl pīcu 'fibrous parts of plants', Gdb (← Tl?) pīsu 'fibrous matter of fruits' ¶¶ D #4133.

1659. *pocV 'to plait' (→ 'sth. plaited, cloth') > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *pući 'sth. plaited' > Ngz {Sch.} būćî 'mat plaited from strips of palm fronds', DfB {J} p̄is 'shroud' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} m-buča 'cloth' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} pesi 'Gürtel, der den Lendenschurz der Frauen hält', Tmk {Cp.} būćî 'natte en rônier' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#34], Sch. DN 27, J R 219, Eb. 87,

Cp. 50 || ?σ Eg MK/NK pš.t 'carpet, matting of reeds' (adduced by Stl. on the assumption that Eg š is a spelling representation of č [which is at variance with the reg. history of N *č, that usually yields Eg š]; š is probably an ext.) ¶ EG I 555, Fk. 95, Tk. II 513-5 ¶¶ OS #1975 (*pič- 'cloth') || U *po|ačk∇ v. 'plait', ?? *opač∇ 'plaited cloth' > Chr: L почкынчаш роčkъn'č-aš 'to spin\|twist (threads)' ([c]сучить, [c]крутить), 'роčkъnčъmo 'spinned, twisted' (of threads), YU роskъnce-, U šürtъm püčкъńce- v. 'plait yarn' (šürtö 'yarn'), B роčkъńce- 'zwirnen (die Schnur)'; H пач раč 'a piece of linen cloth, piece of cloth' | Prm *pučк- 'spin (сучить) threads' > Z, Prmk пүтшкы- pučк+- id., {U} 'flechten, zwirnen (Garn)', Yz {Lt.} pučki- 'n∧ 'to spin (threads)' || ? Sm: Slq Kar {Cs.} pačkalnam 'flechten, zwirnen', ?? patkalnam 'umwickeln' ¶¶ UEW 346, MRS 412, 449, U 304, LG 234, Lt. J 171, Cs. 164 || D *poč- ({ǰGS} *p-) v. 'plait, twist' (partially × N ≈ *bUḲčE 'to tie', 'tie' [→ 'rope'], q.v.) > Kn pose 'twist, plait, make ropes', Kn H hose v. 'twine', Tu роуipini 'to twist (as rope)', Kui роžā v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku роč i- wrap', Ku P роžā- 'tie up in a cloth', Krx роžž- 'wrap (cloth, paper) round so./sth.', Mlt роže 'wrap, twist, entwine' ¶¶ D #4479.

1660. ?φ *puč,∇,ń∇ 'worm, snake' > HS: S *paθan- ~ *baθan- '(ε) snake' > Ug bθn 'snake', JA [Trg.] pεtεn / em. פִּתְנָא pit'n-ā {Js.} 'asp, adder', {Lv.} 'vipera, adder', SmA ptn 'ε snake', Sr {Br.} פִּתְנָא pat'n-ā 'vipera, aspis', {PS, JPS} פִּתְנָא pattā'n-ā 'asp, deaf adder', NNEA {Mcl.} pat'n-ā 'asp, adder', Aram б→ BHb pεtεn (pl. פִּתְנָא pεtā'nīm) 'horned viper', SmHb pl. fā'tānām id.; Ar {Fr., BK} بطن bθn 'coluber' (unknown vocalization) | ES *baθm- > Ak bašmu 'ε a mythical poisonous snake', Eb {Frnz.} baθmum (ba-ša-mu-um) 'snake' (ES *m for *n is puzzling) ¶ A #611, Grd. UT #546, OLS 123, KB 930, Js. 1255, Lv. T II 309, Tal 718, Br. 618, PS 3345, JPS 471, Mcl. 261, Fr. I 84, BK I 85, Sd. 112, Frnz. EL 154 || (mt.) Eg fp fnc 'worm, snake' > Cpt Sd/A q̄NT fənt, B чENT fent 'worm' ¶ EG I 577, Fk. 98, Vc. 280, Tk. II 574-5 || U *puńe (or *puy|ńe) > Sm *pu,у,ńь 'ε worm' (× N *p'у'Am∇ 'snake') > Ne: T {Ter} пүй 'ε beetle's larva', T O {Lh.} pu'y 'ε a black worm with many legs', F {Lh.} pu'y 'ε small black worm'; Slq MTz {KD} pūńa 'ε small white vermin, worm, ant' ¶ Jn. 131 || D (in SD) *pūčči 'worm, insect' (× N o *būž∇ 'ε insect?') > Tm

pūccī 'insect, beetle, worm', Ml pūccī '(any) insect', Kn pūcī ~ būcī 'worm, insect' ¶ D #4357 ◇ Simplification *-čń- > U *-ń-?

1661. *Puč̣∇ 'to fall' > HS: S *°-pūθ- > Ar √fωθ̣ v. G (pf. فَاظَ fāḏa, ip. -fūθ̣u) 'die', faωθ̣- 'death' ¶ BK II 646 || ?φ WCh: NrBc: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} p̣ẓ- v. 'descend, unload' ¶ Sk. NB 18 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 17 (NrBc ÷ Sb f̣ẓy 'enterrer' [BGMR 47]) || **U** *puč̣∇- 'fall (down\in)', {UEW} 'pour (out)' ('[aus]schütten, [aus]-gießen') > Prm: pZ {LG} *buẓ̌- 'collapse, fall in' > Z бужды- buždī- 'fall in, crumble away (обвалиться, осыпаться)', n. act. buẓ̌d, Z UV buẓ̌ed ('обвал, осыпь') | Er počodo-ms, Mk 'počada- 'scatter on (посыпать, осыпать)' | ? F puṭoa- (inf. puṭa) 'fall (down), come down, drop', Es pudene-, puḍu- 'crumble, fall off, spill'; UEW rejects the BF cognate because of its supposed identity with Lp N bqđo ~ bqđō 'separated from its natural connection, deviating from the rule', but even if the BF - Lp connection is right, it does not rule out coalescence with the other source of the BF word - FU *puč̣∇ || Sm: Ne: T пыдара- 'spill out (высыпаться), fall off (опадать)', T O {Lh.} pudarā-, pidarā-, F Ny {Lh.} putarā- '(her)abfallen'; En {Ter., Mik., Cs.} bata- vt. 'pour out'; Ng {Cs.} ба?бта?а id., 'ausschütten' ¶ Coll. 53, Coll. CG 408, UEW 399-400 (U *puč̣∇- '[aus]schütten, [aus]gießen'), ERV 507, PI 217, LG 41-2, KP 31 || **A**: NaT *uḥ- 'fall' (× T *uḥ- 'fly') > OT [MhK] uc-, Tk uḥ-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr uḥ-, Xk Δ us-, Tv uṣ̌- ¶ ET GI 612-3, Cl. 19, DTS 603-4 ◇ Rs. UAW 45 (U, A) (+ unc.Tg *puḥ- 'jump' and T *uḥ- 'fly'), IS MS 353 s.v. падать *p̣uḥ̣'č̣' (U, A).

1662. *peʎy,ič̣û (or *piʎeč̣û) 'ε coniferous tree' > K: G pič̣vi 'pine' ¶ Chx. 1482, DCh. 1310 || **IE**: NaIE *piṭu,- 'ε coniferous tree' > OI 'pītu-dārūḥ 'Pinus deodora', pInA (Tu.) *pītsa- 'pine', ? Drd: Shm {Tu. ← ?} -wič̣ in ɬyē-wič̣ 'pine' || Gk πίτυς 'pine, stone pine' || pAl {O} *pīsa (Jokl) < *pīt-s-ya) > Al pishē pine' || L pīnus, -ūs 'fir, pine, stone-pine' (< *pit-s-nu-s) || OCrn iteu 'log for burning', Crn etew id., 'firebrand' ¶ P 794, Mn. 942, Frdr. PIT 34, Frdr. PITA 31-8, EI 428 (*pit(u)- 'ε conifer' [≈ pine']), DImr. 172, M K II 293, M E II 137, Tu. #8236, LS 1409, F II 546, WH II 308, Jokl LKU 32, O 328, ECCE 241 || **U**: FP *peč̣ä (~ *penč̣ä) 'pine' > F petäjä id., Es pedajas 'Scotch pine (Pinus silvestris); sehr harzige, harte, nicht hochgewachsene Kiefer' | pLp {Lr.} *pēcē 'pine' > Lp: N {N} bæcse, L {LLO} piehtsē 'Scotch pine, pinus silvestris', S {Hs.} biedsie, Kld {SaR} педзь pīēc̣ 'pine, Kiefer' | pMr {Ker.} *pīč̣ä > Er пиче річе, Mk пиче річа 'Pinus

silvestris' | pChr {Ber.} *pünčə 'Kiefer' > Chr: L 'пүнчо, U pūhčö, KB pānčə 'pine' | Prm *pōžem (= {LG} *pōžem) id. > Z пожом роžэм, USs роžэм id., Vt пужым руž+м {U3S} id., Vt Δ {UEW, W} руž+м ɘ руžим ɘ руžъм id., 'fir (Picea, Abies)' ¶ UEW 727, Sm. 553 (FP *pēčä 'pine'), Lr. #901, Lgc. #4825, Hs. 309, Ker. II 115, MRS 478, Ber. 56, LG 223, TmK 546, U3S 361 ¶ The cns. *n in Chr and pPrm may be due to the infl. of a different root (found in pChr as *pīn 'zum Pflanzen gelassene Fichte; Kiefer', F Ber. 49; contamination of both roots is found in Chr H пынэжы рәнеžə 'pine forest', F Ep. 101) || A: NaT *pöçš ~ *päçš 'cedar-tree, pine' > Tv пөш p'öš, Tf p'öš, Alt möš 'cedar-tree', Yk bäs 'pine-tree' ¶ Ra. 165, TL 726, Pek. 444 ◇ T *ö < *e (labializing infl. of *p-); the T vw. *ä remains unexplained. If FP *e can go back to N *i (an unknown phonetic change), the N etymon may be *pičû ◇ IS MsN (K, U, T) → Trnt. NE 16O-2 (incl. K-U-T; err.: K → IE).

1663. *pač∇ 'to open' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hole, slit'), to be widened, to spread' > K *opeč- > Mg pač- vt. 'open' ¶ Q 365 || HS: WS *√pšw (~ *√pšš?) 'spread, be open' > BHb √pšw|y G (pf. פָּשַׁא pā'sā, ip. פָּשַׁא יִי-פָּשַׁא 'spread' (of the symptoms or the development of a disease), MHb פָּשַׁא √pšw|y v. 'spread, be extended', JA √psy (pf. פָּשַׁא pā'sā, inv. פָּשַׁא pā'sē) 'spread, be extended, split, break', Ar √fšw (pf. فَشَا fašā) 'scatter (cattle) in a pasturage; spread (news)', {Ln.} 'pasture at large' (cattle), ? Ar √fšš 'open a door (without key)', {Ln.} 'open the mouth of a skin, so that the wind comes forth from it', {BK} 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre; ouvrir une serrure sans se servir de clef'; Sq {L} fišî 'être en abondance, écartier, éteindre', Jb C {Jo.} fšš'šet 'squirting everywhere' ¶ KB 920, KBR 979, Js. 1194, Ln. 2399, 2402, BK II 595, 598, Hv. 563-4, Jo. J 64 || Eg fOK pšš {EG} (eine Laube) ausspreizen, sich schützend über jem. breiten, über jem. ausgebreitet sein', {Fk.} 'straddle, spread oneself, spread out' ¶ EG I 560-1, Fk. 95, Tk. II 522-4 || C: DhI {EEN, To.} piš- 'lay open' || SC: ?φ,σ Kz {E} pil-it- 'take from concealment' || Or B/Or {Sr., BrI.} faččā 'be scattered', Or {Grg.} faččā- id., 'be sown' ¶ *-č- under the ass. glottalizing infl. of *p- ¶ E SC 145, EEN 7, To. D 145, Grg. 13, Sr. 302, BrI. 139 || CCh: BM: Bu {Hf.} pašā 'pull aside the outer covering in order to inspect the contents', ??φ pBM *√psy v. 'release' > Bu {Hf.} psi, Mrg {Hf.} psia id. || Mada {BrrB} āpaš 'décortiquer, écorcer, ouvrir (gousse, yeux)' ¶ Hf. LBM 470, BrrB 227 ¶¶ Cal. 63 (S, Eg), SSAAJ I #15 (S, Eg, Ang, Or), AD SCLC 204, BrrB 227, Tk. SCC 74-5 [#2.1], Tk. PAA 1 ¶¶ AD SCLC 204 (C,

S), ≈ Tk. PAA 1 (Dh, Ch, S *√pšš ~ √pšw 'spread' < pHS *p-š 'to spread') || U *paš|ś ∇ v. 'open, widen' > P, Z Vm/I/LV/Ud paš id., Vt paš id., 'hole, orifice', paš kar+n+ v. 'open', ds.: Z paška v-n+, Z US/LL/P/MS paška l-n+, Prmk paš'kav- vi. 'widen' ({UEW} 'sich erweitern, sich ausbreiten'), Vt paš'ktt+ vt. 'widen' || Sm {HL} *pšs+ 'slit, cunnus', {Jn.} *pšs 'Riβ' > Ne T O {Lh.} paš+ 'vulva', Ne F Lm p+s+ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} paš+ 'crack' ('трещина'), Slq Tm {KD} pāzβ 'Riβ, Sprung, Bost', Slq MKe paš 'Loch, Öffnung', Kms {KD} buz_oi, {Cs.} puzoi 'Spalt', Mt {HL} *bisigä ~ *biskä 'cunnus' (K {Mil.} bischi'gä, {Pal.} pi'siga M {Mil.} bischi'ga, {Sp.} бишке id., T {Mil.} bi'schigedä 'her cunnus') ¶ UEW 357-8, LG 217, SZ 276, Jn. 114, KKIH 147, Hl. M #129 || A: T *aç- (= *h₁aç-?) vt. 'open' > OT ač- id., Tk aç- v. 'open', Tk Δ hačik adj. 'open', Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg, ET, SY, Ln ač-, Alt ač-, VTt aš-, Uz ač-, Qzq, Nog, Qq aš-, Xk, Yk as-, Tv áš-, Tf áš'-, Az Δ {Cf.} hač- v. 'open', Xlj hač- 'öffnen, ausbreiten', Chv: L yç- uš/ž-, H oš/ž- v. 'open' ¶ Cl. 18-9, DTS 3-4, ET Gl 209-210, Rs. W 3, Ra. 156, DT 123, Jeg. 277, Fed. II 292-3, Caf. AL 33 || Tg *opaç- > Lm haç- vt. 'open (the wall of a tent), make a hole (in the wall of a tent)', haçlq 'slit, gap, window' ¶ STM II 319 ¶ ≈ DQA #1696 (A *p'ač'∇- v. 'open, split up'; incl. T, Tg) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #286 (*pa(n)te 'open') (A + *err.* IE, U, A, J).

1664. *P_uĉ^o 'hair' > K: GZ *p|beçw-, {FS} *peçw- 'a hair' > OG beçv- i 'a hair', G beçv-i 'a hair, fibre; fur', beçv-a 'a hair, a fur hair, Mg {Q} piçv-i 'eyelash', {FS} paçv-i ~ piçu 'fur, hair, fibre', do-paçv-a 'to blink eyelids'; Fähnrich and Sarjveladze explain G b- (for p-) by dis. ¶ FS K 318-9, FS E 357, DCh. 105, Chx. 81, Q 337 || HS: S *√pšš > Ar {BK} fašūš- {BK} 'cloth of thick wool', {Ln.} fašš-, fašūš- 'a garment of wool that is thick in texture and fine in the yarn' ¶ Ln. 2400, BK II 595-6 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *m-P∇^ĉ- 'hair' > Sbc: Sy {Csp.} bīššə, Zar K {Sh. in JI} bēžīn, Zar {IL in JI} mbīššə, {Kr.} mbúšùə, Gj {Sh. in JI} màžə, {IL} mžžə, {Luc.} mžžə, Gj Mg {Sh.} mžšə, Gj G {Sh.} màžə, Gj B {Sh.} mèšə, Zem Z {Sh.} myežī, Zem Ch {Sh.} mèšə, Tule {Sh.} mèžīnə id. ¶ JI II 176, ChC, ChL II 183, 208, Csp. 53, Sh. SB 47 || IE: NaIE *pous-/*pus- 'body hair, down' (× N *P_uh^ĉ id. [q.v.]) > Lt Δ paustis 'animal hair' || Sl *pūxъ (< *pous-0) 'down, fluff, fine hair' > Blg пух, Slv pūh, Cz, P puch, R 'пух (gen. 'пуха, loc. в пуху), Uk 'пух (gen. 'пуху) || pAl {O} *puša > Al pusch 'fluff, down' || ??σ OI 'pucchaḥ, 'puccham' 'tail, hinder part' ¶ ≈ WP II 82, ≈ P 849 (*peuk-

), M K II 298-9, M E II 140, Frn. 554, ≈ Vs. III 414, ≈ EI 251 (*pou-m-s [human] body-hair'), ≈ O 351 (IE *poukso-) || **A:** M *φūsün 'hair' (× A *p_l'uñe 'hair' < N *P_un_lE_lya 'hair'?) > MM [HI, IsV, WrM, IM] hūsün 'hair', [S] {H} hūsu(n) [hūsün] 'hair (of the body, of the head)' (but [MA] already ūsün), WrM ūsūn, HIM γc(εH) 'hair, fur', Ord {Ms.} ūsū 'hair (of the hair/body), wool', Kl γcH, {Rm.} ūsŋ 'hair', MMgl {Iw.} ūsū 'hair of the head', Mgl {Rm.} ūsūn, Mnr H {SM} fu₃3, {T} s₃e ~ fu₃e, Dx usŋ, Ba suŋ, Dg {Pp.} ūsū, {Mr.} huse, {T} χusu, ShY h₃sun 'hair' ¶ Pel. 234-5 [#62], H 80, Ms. H 62, Pp. MA 382, 438, Pp. L III 76, Lg. VMI 35, MED 1013, KW 460, Iw. 145, SM 102, T 359, T DnJ 138, T BJ 147, T DgJ 180, S AJ 235 [#39] ¶ M *φūsün is likely to go back to earlier **φüč²-sün (with a M nominal sx. [Dr.'s "Singularsuffix"]) *-sun/*-sün, *F* Dr. SB 62).

1665. *pa'g'd ▽ 'leg' (or 'ε part of a leg'), 'foot' > **HS:** ? Eg fXVIII p_d 'knee' (and Eg fO p₃d id.), DEg p_t 'knee, foot', Cpt Sd **πατ** pat, B **φατ** p^hat 'knee, foot, leg, thigh' (< *pit, acc. to Till) ¶ EG I 500, Fk. 96, Er. 142, Vc. 165, Till KDG 9, Tk. II 407-10 ¶ Egyptian p₃d belongs here if N *-**g'd**- may have yielded Eg -₃d- || B *-fuHd- (pl. -faHdd-) 'knee, leg' > Kb afud (pl. ifaddan) 'jambe, membre inférieur', BSn fūd, SrSn afud, pl. ifaddan, Shnw fud, pl. ifaddan, Izn, Rf fud, pl. ifaddan, BMn fūd, Sll 'afūd, pl. ifaddan, Zn afud, pl. ifaddan, Si fūd, pl. ifaddan, Skn {Sarn.} fūd, pl. ifaddan, Mz fud, pl. ifadən, Wrg fud, Ah, Gh, Ttq, Izd afud, pl. ifaddan, Nf {Beg.} uféd, pl. iféd²den, Awj afud, Gd w̄fəd (pl. fēddən), Zng {TC} oʔfuδ 'knee' ¶ Fc. 301, Dl. 191, Lf. II #0374, La. S 243-4, La. Ch 140, Dlh. M 48, Dlh. Ou 72, Bs. MS I 226, Loub. 534, Rn. 297, Sarn. S 19, Msq. 138, Beg. 235, Ds. B 141, Bi. Ou 54, Mrc. 128, TC D 5, NZ 523-4 || C: Bj {R ← Mnz.} fedig 'sole of a shoe' ¶ R WBd 76 || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} pādāllā 'inside of the thigh' ¶ CR H 656 || ? Ch (× N ***p'oqEž** ▽ ~ ***p'ož** ▽ q ▽ 'thigh, haunch' × N ***p'oŋ'd** ▽ '≈ leg, foot'): ECh: Brg {J} fādì, Jg {J} pādo, Mu {Lk.} fūdí, pl. fōdàt, {J} fūdí, pl. fōdàt 'thigh' || CCh {OS} *f ▽ Hud- 'thigh' > McTr {ChL}: Hw fùdàra, G'nd fùdátà, Gbn fìdžtè, Bk fùdžtè id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 189, JI II 324-5, ChL ¶¶ Hardly connected with Hb paḥ^adayim 'testicles' ([Vulg.] 'testiculi', {GB, KB, KBR} * 'thigh, haunch', *F* GB 639, KBR 923) ¶ Cf. OS #1931 (*paḥud- 'leg, thigh', but there is no unambiguous ev. of *p- rather than *f-); the dictionary of OS erroneously adduces the Syr and Mhr reflexes of WS *p ▽ χ i δ- 'thigh' (misinterpreting them as going back to S

*paχud- 'thigh'), as well as Hb paḥ^adajim *'thighs' (in fact, paḥ^ad-āw 'his testicles', cf. s.v. *Puqd∇ 'leather bag, scrotum') || IE *pe(:)d-/*po(:)d- 'foot' > OI pad- ('pāt, accus. 'pādam, gen. pa'daḥ) 'foot', Av pad- id. || Arm nup ot-k^h 'feet', nunū ot-n 'foot' (gen. nunḥū otin), ancient dialectal ḥtun het (gen. ḥtunnj hetoy) 'trace, track, foot-mark' (× NaIE *ped-o-m 'ground' < N *pat∇ 'ground, plain', q.v.) || Gk πῶς, Gk A ποῦς 'foot', gen. ποδ-ός || L pēs id., gen. pēd-is, Um accus. peřu, abl. peři PERSI 'foot' || OIr ís 'lower part' || Gt fōtus, ON fótr, Nr, Sw got, Dn fod, OHG fuoz, NHG Fuß, OSx, AS fōt 'foot', NE foot || BSl: Lt pėdà, Δ pėdas 'foot, sole of the foot, foot-mark', Ltv pēds 'Fußstapfe, Spur', Lt pādas 'sole of foot\shoe', Ltv pēda 'foot' || Sl *pěxъ (< NaIE *pēd-su loc. pl. 'in feet', sc. 'by foot', or d. from *pēd-) > Cz pěchou, pěchem adv. 'by foot', R пехота, P piechota, Cz pěchota 'infantry'; Sl *pěšb(jb) 'walking by foot, pedestrian' (< Sl *pěxъ or < NaIE {Vs.} *pēd-syos < *pēd-) > OCS пѣшь pěšъ, Blg пеш, пеши, Slv pēšji, Cz, Slk pěší, P pieszy, R пеший adj. 'walking by foot, pedestrian', SCr pjěšē 'by foot', d. пѣшāk ѓ pjěšāk 'pedestrian, walker, foot-soldier' || pTc {Ad.} *pej-ne du. 'two feet' (< IE du. *'pode id.) > Tc A perñ nom./accus. du., Tc B paḥne id.; Tc A pe accus. sg. 'foot', peyu nom./accus. pl., pes accus. pl. 'feet', Tc B paḥye nom. sg. 'foot' || Ht pata-, Lw {Mlc.} pāta-, HrLw {Mer.} pati-, Lc {Mlc.} pede- 'foot' || NaIE *ped-om 'footprint' (× N *pat∇ 'ground, plain; bottom'): Lt pėdà, OI pa'dam, Av paḥam 'track', Arm ḥtun het 'footprint, track', L pēda 'sole, footprint', ON fet (< Gmc *fatya-) 'step' ¶ P 790-1, EI 208-9 (*'pōd-s / accus. *'pod-ṃ / gen. *pe'd-os 'foot'), ≈σ EI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), M K II 249, M E II 77-8, F II 857-8, WH II 293-5, Pln. II 749, Bc. G 341, Fs. 159-60, Vr. 139, Ho. 113, Ho. S 22, Kb. 302, OsS 233, KM 226, Sl. 53-4, Frn. 561-3, Vs. III 254, 257, Ma. CS 364, Glh. 482, Ad. 401-2, Frd. HW 165, Ts. W 62, CHD P 231-5, Mer. HHG 96, Mlc. CL 173-4, Mlc. L 52 || A {S, SDM95} *p'agd∇, {SDM97} *p'agdi 'foot, foot sole' > Tg *pagdi(-kī), *pagdi 'sole of the foot' > Ewk Sm haḡdi, Ewk haḡdi-kī 'foot, sole', Ewk Y/Np haḡdi-kī 'bear's foot\leg', Neg xaḡdɪk̄ ɔ xakkɪ ɔ xaku 'sole of the foot (of animals and human beings); animal's foot, paw', Orc xaḡdi, xaḡdiqi '(sole of the) foot, paw', Ork paḡže, Ud {Krm.} xaḡdigi, Nn KU xaḡdɪk̄ 'sole of the foot', Ul paḡžɪla- 'flee, begin to run', Nn Nh paḡžɪala-, Nn KU faḡdala- id. ¶ STM II 308, Krm. 303, S AJ 221 [#241]

|| T *haδ-ak 'foot' > OT aδaq, MU, MQp, XwT aδaq ~ ayaq, Chg, OOsM, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Alt, ET ayaq, SY, Shor azaq, Xlj hada'q 'foot', Tk ayaq, Az, Tkm ayaq, VTt, Bsh, Kr, Nog, Qzq, Qq ayaq, Uz ayuq, Xk Qc azaχ, Yk ataχ, Chv ypa ura 𐌆 ora 'foot, leg', Tv adaq 'bottom'; see also T *aδi' 'palm of hand' > Tv, Tf adiš, Yk itis id. ¶ Cl. 45, Rs. W 5, ET Gl 103-4, TL 288, DT 123-4, S AJ 178 [#32], Jeg. 275, Fed. II 283. TvR 30, Ra. 151 || M *_lpa_ladag 'end, estuary, lower part of a river' > WrM adag, HIM, Brt адар 'end, finish; estuary, lower part or mouth of a river', Kl адг adag id., Ord ad_aq 'fin, extrémité, dernier'; ?? AdS of M *patqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (< N ?_φ PaCk|K_∇ 'hand' [→ 'handful']) ¶ MED 9, Chr. 30, S AJ 241 [#179], KRS 27, Ms. O 3 || ??_φ pJ *p'ín,túma_l -ja 'hoof' > OJ [RJ] p'ítúme, J: T hízume ~ hízume, K hízumé, Kg hizumé ¶ S QJ #980, Mr. 413 ¶¶ Not here Ko patak in pal-(p)patak 'sole of foot' (pal is 'foot') (Rm. SKE 180-1, MLC 703) (obviously pal-(p)patak means literally 'bottom of foot', where patak 'bottom' is from A *p'át'a 'bottom' [S AJ 282, DQA #1719] < N *pat_∇ 'ground; bottom', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #1700 (A *p'agdi 'foot, foot sole) and S AJ 282 [#169] (both sources reject the comparison with Ko patak), Pp. VG 52, Rs. W 5 (T, M, Ko), Rm. SKE 180-1 (Ko equated with Nn pata 'runner of a sledge', WrMc fatan 'bottom', etc., see N *pat_∇ '↑'), ≈ Str. LPA 22, ≈ Mill. OJL 137-8, 201-2 || D [1] *paṭa ({_φGS} *p-) 'sole of foot' (→ 'palm of hand') > Tm paṭam 'instep', Ml paṭam 'flat part of the hand or foot', Png paṭa key 'palm of hand', Mnd paṭa kiy id., paṭa kāl 'sole of foot', Ku paṭa naki 'palm of hand'] [2] d. (?) *paṭ_li_l ({_φGS} *p-) 'step' > Tm, Ml paṭi 'step, stair', Kt paṭikaṭ 'steps leading up to veranda, steps of ladder', Kn paṭi 'stirrup', Tl paṭi-kaṭṭu 'a stair or step' ¶¶ D ##3843, 3850 ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. 'ступня' *pat_∇, IS SS ##2.23 and 10.10, AD SShS 305-6 (*paQd_∇ 'стопа' or 'нога'), Sin. OuAIE 228; Eg p and A *p'- point to a N *p- ◇ B *H provides ev. of a N lr. or uvular cns., Eg 3d and the IE lack of precon. lr. suggest a N uvular stop (*-gd- > Eg 3d, IE *-d-, see AD SShS 305-6), while Tg *-gd- (usually a reflex of N *-gd-) may go back to N *-g|_∇d- (cp. N *ba_ll_iya 'to swallow; throat' > M *balgu- 'to swallow' and Tg *bi_lga 'throat') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #166 (*pad ~ *pat 'foot') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, CK).

1665a. *pU'h'_l∇_ld_∇(-R_∇) 'long, spacious, (?) far' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ✓fdn pcv. (3m pf. 'ifdine, sbjn. af'danō) 'ausgedehnt \ weit \ breit

\ ferne sein', prtc. fi'dīn 'weit, breit, ferne', Af {PH} fidsināne 'spaciousness, wideness', fiddinōwe-, Af S {PH} ✓ fdm pcv. (pf. ifdime) 'be spread out', Sml fidsō- 'expand, enlarge', ? fad 'large cloud, large puece (of...)' J R S II 129, PH 102, 133, ZMO 131, 139 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} pād 'long, tall', pād 'long, very tall', She {Bnd.} pād 'long' J Wdk. BY 109, Fl. CWL || ? S: Ar fawhad-at- 'jeune fille grandie et grasse', (??) fudur- 'jeune homme gros et qui est prêt d'atteindre la maturité' J BK II 555, 641 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg, Cb pɪdɪm, Ngx pɪdɪm, Wmd pɪdɪm 'far' || WCh: NgzB (< BM?): Ngz pɪdɪm 'distant, far', Bd {ChL} pāwām 'far' J Sch. DN 130, ChL || A: M *pudu_lr₁- 'long' > Mnr H {T} fudur, {MYC} sɪdur, Mnr Nr fud_{ur}, Dx {T, MYC} fudu, Ba {T} fdu, {MYC} ftɜ 'long' J SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149, MYC 681 || D *poɫ- (= *poɫ-?) 'high, long' > Kn poɫe 'extension, length, height', Tl poɫugu ~ poɫuvu ~ poɫavuvu 'height, tallness, length; high, tall, long', Klm poɫam 'long' (of a jump), Nkr p^(h)oɫdam 'length, height' JJ D #4484 || AdS of U *pɪðe(-kä) 'high, long' (< N *bêž_U(_L-q_∇) - *bêž_L∇₁q_∇ 'big, high') ◇ Bnc and She p- (< *p + ?) and Ch *-ɫ- (< lr. + *d) suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably *?) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #104d and ≈ Blz. LNA #46 (both: D, NrOm, U).

1666. *P_uqd_∇ 'leather bag, scrotum' > HS: CS *paχd- (or *paħd-) 'testicle' > BHb יְדִיָּהּ paħ^ad-āw 'his testicles' (Hi. 40.17) (this interpretation is based on the Vulgata translation testiculi: Hb יְדִיָּהּ paħ^ad-āw yəšō^lrāgū is translated as nervi testiculorum eius perplexi sunt, while the Septuaginta does not translate the word at all: τὰ δὲ νεῦρα αὐτοῦ συμπλέκται), JA [Trg.] pħdyn ~ pħtyn, {Lv.} יְדִיָּהּ paħ^adīn ~ יְדִיָּהּ paħ^adīn ~ יְדִיָּהּ paħ^atīn 'testicles'; CS *a for the expected *u (> Hb ɔ) is probably due to the infl. of S *paχid- 'thigh' (< N *p¹oqEž_∇ ~ *p¹ož_∇q_∇ 'thigh, haunch') J GB 639, ≠ KB 872, and KBR 932 (all of them translate the Hb word as 'Schenkel, Keule; thigh, haunch' on the basis of direct etl. comparison with Ar faχδ- ~ faχid- 'thigh', which is untenable because Hb d is not cognate with Ar δ), Lv. II 258, ≠ MiK I #1.211 (does not distinguish between S *paχd- [or *paħd-] 'testicle' and S *p∇χid- 'thigh'; MiK's S rec. is *paχ(i)δ- 'hip, thigh') || U *puða 'leather bag, scrotum' > Lp N {Fri.} budda 'sacculus ex pelle factus', {N} budda -dđ- 'testicle', (pl.) 'scrotum', Lp L {LLO} pottah 'scrotum of a reindeer' || Sm: Ne T пад 'sack', Ne T O {Lh.} pāðæ 'Beutel, Sack, Hodensack', En {Cs.} foadai

'Sack', {Mik.} ἡδῶσῃ | Kms {KD} бѣра, бѣра, бѣра, бѣрѣ 'Sack' ¶ UEW 400, Lh. 348, KD 9, Ter. 428 || **A** **p_L'u^k'ta (by as. from **p_L'u^k'da) > Tg *puta 'sack' > Ewk huta-kān 'small bag', huta-l- v. 'open (a bag, package)', Sln υτχᾶ 'a skin (for liquid)', {Iv.} υταγᾶν 'suitcase', Neg xota-kān 'small bag of fish-skin', Ul pota-čān id., puta(n-) 'bag (мешок), paper bag', Orc xuta, xutaka, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} xutaʔa, Ud B {Krm.} putaʔa 'bag (сумка, мешочек) made of hide', Nn Nh pōta-ča, Ork putā id., 'bag (мешок, сумка)' ¶ STM II 356, Krm. 307 || ? M *puḡuta 'sack' > MM [HI] huḡuta (= huḡuta), [ZhY] fuda, [MA] أوتة ūta, [IM] hūta, WrM uḡuta 'bag, sack', HIM уут id., Dx, Ba fuda, Mnr H {SM} fūd_a 'sack' ¶ Pel. 226 [#54], MED 865, SM 101, T 370, Pp. MA 372, 438 || **D** *puḡḡ-, {GS} *buḡḡ- {AD} 'testicle' > Tm puḡḡā, puḡḡai 'swelled testicle, elephantoid scrotum', Kn buḡḡe 'swollen testicle; rising or swelling', Tl buḡḡa id., 'bubble', Prj buḡḡa 'genitalia', Klm buḡḡe id., 'testicles', Ku {Fzg.} būdda 'animal's testicle', {Isr.} buḡa 'testicle, penis' ¶¶ D #4266, GS 106 [#276], 110 [#287] ◇ IS MS 349 s.v. 'МОШОНКА (scrotum)' (U, D).

1667. *P_{ed}∇_g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound' > **HS:** CS *✓pdḡ v. '≈ break (esp. a body part), injure' > JA [Trg.], JEA ✓pdḡ (pf. pə'ḡaḡ) v. 'wound', JA [Trg.] 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎡 piḡ'ā n. 'wound', JEA {Sl.} piḡ'ə'tā 'open wound', Sr ✓pdḡ v. 'break (e.g. the head), smash', Ar ✓fdḡ (pf. fadaḡa) vt. 'break, crush', {BK} 'casser, briser, écraser (un corps creux en dedans, comme le crâne ou un pot)' ¶ Lv. IV 9-10, Lv. T II 255, Sl. 888, Br. 558, JPS 435, BK II 556, Ln. 2352, Hv. 551 || ? C: DhI {To.} fuḡḡēd- v. 'tear, rend' (unless -ēd- is a sx.) ¶ To. D 133 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} pēḡ- v. 'tear' ¶ Mrn. O s.v. pēḡ- || Ch: (1) Hs {Abr.} fīḡīyē v. 'castrate' or (2) Hs hūdā 𐎧 fūda v. 'pierce', Mrg {Hf.} bdā v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey), MfG {Brr.} -pḡtk^w- 'percer (un bouton pour faire sortir le pus, un citron pour extraire le jus)', -pḡḡk^w- 'percer (un abcès)' ¶ Abr. H 265, Ba. 319, ≈ Sk. HCD 112, Hf. M 28, 118, Brr. MG II 216, 222 ¶ MfG -p- (for the expected -f-) still needs explaining || ?φ **K:** G pχoḡ- 'sich die Wangen (vor Kummer) zerfleischen' ¶ Chx. 1522; G -ḡ- is still to be explained || **U:** FU *peḡe- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *bed'ē' 'to pierce, to prick' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A:** Tg ?φ *pi'dḡ'a (> *pinḡa) 'a wound, scar (from a wound)' > Ewk Skh hinḡa, Lm hlnḡn, Neg xlnḡan 'scar', Ewk I hinḡa 'wounded', Ork pḡna 'wound (in a fish)'; Tg (??) *op'e'd- > Ul {PSchm.} pōḡōu 'strike, slaughter, kill' ¶ STM II 325, PSchm. O 275 ||

D: [1] D *peṭ- ({{ṭGS}} *p-) v. 'break, burst' > Ml piṭaruka v. 'burst', OTl {Km.} peṭ(u)lu, peḍulu v. 'break, crack, burst' || [2] SD *peṭ- v. 'prick, insert' (× N *bed'ê' '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D #4390, Km. 435 [#845] ◇ Tg *i needs explaining ◇ IS MS 357 and IS SS ##3.12, 11.1 (*peḍa 'протыкать'), AD GD 15 ◇ IE *b^hed^h- 'stechen, graben' (adduced in IS MS, IS SS, and AD GD) hardly belongs here (≠φ: *b^h- and no lr.), but goes back to N *bed'ê' '↑'. FU and D < N *P_{ed}∇,g∇ × N *bed'ê' (q.v.), due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops. Tg *i in *pi'dṅ'a (for the expected *e) is puzzling ◇ Qu. because of the ambiguity of the U and D reflexes.

1668. (₂?) *p*'i*'g∇ 'to pour; rain' > HS: ? S *°-pūg- (or *°-pīg-) > Ar ✓fωǧ (ip. -fūǧ-, pf. fāǧa) {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (se dit des arômes), {Hv.} 'spread the perfume' (musk) ¶ BK II 643, Hv. 578 || Ch {JS} *✓pǧ v. 'pour' > CCh: McTr: Hw fèṣṣà 'rainy season', G'nd fèkta, Gbn fèkté, Bk fèktá id. || Lmn {Lk.} pṣṣ- v. 'pour away' || Mdr {ChC} pṣṣ-a id., Dgh {Frk.} pṣà id., pṣ-dúwè v. 'pour out', Gzg Mj {Lk.} pi '(hin)eingießen' || Bcm {Sk. in ChC} púkù v. 'pour' || Ms {ChL} fɔkamo id. ¶ JS 206, ChL, ChC, Lk. G 133 || **A:** Tg *pigi-n 'storm, rain with storm' > Ewk hiṣin 'whirlwind, storm, rain with storm', Neg xiṣin~xiyin, Ud sī 'whirlwind, storm', Ork siy 'storm', Ul piw-su(n-) 'gust of hurricane' ¶ STM II 322, Krm. 383 || pKo *pí 'rain' > MKo *pí, Ko: Ph/Chs/Kw pi, Ks pî, Hm pi_, Sl pī id. ¶ S AJ 254 [#65], S QK #65, Nam 275, MLC 848 ¶¶ S AJ 34-5, 283 [#196], ≈ DQA #1770 (A *p'jaḡe 'rain'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 200 || ? **D** *pey-/*poy- v. 'rain, pour' (× N *b'e'∇hy∇ 'to pour', q.v. ffd.).

1669. ?φ *pU_{gi},η∇ (or *p-?) 'faeces, filth' > K: OG puna (nom. puna-y), pune 'faeces, dung', G pune {DCh.} id., {Chx.} '(cow-)dung' ¶ Abul. 448, Chx. 1506, DCh. 1318 ¶ Not here G XIX {DCh.} pinti 'dung, faeces', which is better interpreted as a sd. of G pinti {Chx.} 'mies, miserabel, lausig, schlecht', {DCh.} 'дрянь, гадость; гадкий, мерзкий', which is a loan from Arm փնրի p^hnt^hi [p^hənt^hi] 'dirty, filthy' (F DCh. 1306, Chx. 1475, GTG 364, Bdr. 728) || **HS:** ? Eg Md fgr ~ Eg BD fǧǧ v. 'defecate and urinate' (of human beings) ¶ EG I 580, Fk. 99, Tk. II 589-90 || Ch: WCh: Sha {J} puaṅ 'Exkremente' || ? Ngm {ChL} mbwàná 'faeces' || Mnh. SH 236 mentions Hs findi 'faeces', but I cannot detect this word in Ba., Abr. H, and Sk. HCD || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} pīn 'dirt' ¶ J R 288, ChL, ChC || ? C *f∇n∇T- 'dirt, filth' > Bj {R} findo

~ fiṇḍo 'dirt' || Ag: Xm {R} fəndi'yā (pl. fən'dī, -t) 'Mist, Kot; Ag (?) → Amh fandiya 'excrement (of horses\donkeys)' || EC: Sml fānto {DSI} 'cow-dung', {Abr., ZMO} 'dung', Or {Th.} fando, {Brl.} fandò '(horse-)dung', Hd {PB} fīnda 'dung of horses'; Or → Ged {L} fāndo, Qbn {L} fanduta 'dung', Mch {L} fāndo 'dung of horses\donkeys' ¶ AD SF 41, AD GDS 59, R Ch. II 43, R SS II 151, DSI 210, Th. 128, Brl. 143, LM 45 || A *p_l'u|oŋgu 'stench, bad smell' (× N *P_u|uñyE ~ *P_u|uñi 'smell' ['odour']) > M *p_uŋgu- (~ *p_uŋga-?) v. 'break wind' > MM [LM, IsV, MA] huŋgu-, WrM uŋga-, HIM, Brt yHra-, Kl {Rm.} uŋgɔ-, Ord u'ŋgu'-, MMgl [Z], Mgl uŋgu- id.; M *p_uŋgu-sun (~ *p_uŋgasun?) 'wind of the bowels' > MM [LM] huŋqusun, [IM] huŋgasun (spelled with a mistake as huŋra's'un) id., [S] {H} pl. huŋsí'ut 'Gestank', WrM uŋgasun, HIM yHraç, Brt yHraha(н), Kl {Rm.} oŋgaŋ, Ord u'ŋgu'su', Mnr H {SM} uŋgu'sɜ 'wind of the bowels' ¶ H 79, Pp. LIII 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, Lg. VMI 34, MED 876, Chr. 470, KW 287, 450, Ms. O 736-7, SM 472, Iw. 140 || Tg *poŋgu 'musk (of musk deer)' > Ewk hoŋgo, Ul, Nn Nh poŋgo| id.; Orc puŋgu, Ud puŋu id. are probably loans from a p-preserving lge.; Ewk huŋulū, Orc xoŋgolo, Lm hoŋgaçan 'male musk deer', WrMc {Z} foṛio ~ foṛio 'female musk deer, female saiga', ? {Hr.} foṛio 'doe (female roe deer)' ¶ STM II 333, Krm. 279, Z 1060, Hr. 303 || pKo {S} *pāŋkui 'wind in the bowels' > MKo pāŋkui, NKo paŋgui ¶ S QK #339, Nam 250, MLC 736 ¶¶ DQA #1682 (A *p_l'uŋga ~ -ju- 'musk smell, bad smell'), Pp. VG 72 (M, Ko) | A: ?φ T *_lh_j|öñ|y∇ *'bog, slush' (→ 'quicksand', 'sediment in wine') > OT {DTS} üyüç 'quicksand, bog, quagmire', {Cl.} öyüç 'quicksand', {DTS} üyüç-, üyüç- vi. 'stick (in bog, quicksand)', {Cl.} öyüç- v. 'sink (in quicksand)', XwT XIV أويوك öyüç 'sediment in wine' ¶ Cl. 271, DTS 623, Faz. II 188 || D (in CD) *pi_l:ŋ- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'faeces' > Gnd pīŋ ɘ pīŋg ɘ pīŋgu ɘ pin 'human ordure, excrement', Knd (pl.) pīŋgu, Png, Mnd pīŋ, Kui piu (pl. pīŋga), Ku piŋa ɘ pīŋga 'excrement' ¶ ≠ D #4210 (does not distinguish *pi_l:ŋ- from the D √ *pī 'faeces') ◇ The T √ is highly qu. because there is no internal ev. of either *h- (< N *p-) or medial nasal cns. (the attested OT and MT medial cns. -y- may go back to either N *-y- or *-ń-). If Eg fgrn ~ fgɜ belongs here, it provides ev. of N *p-, against the ev. of Sha p- and T *_lh_j- > ∅- that point to N *p- (albeit T *_lh_j- > ∅- may go back to *p- as well).

1670. *P_oΓi 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out' > K: GZ {FS} *puϕ- 'cavity' > G puϕ- 'hollow of tree-trunk', ? Mg puϕ-u 'mole' (← *puϕ- 'mole's burrow') ¶ FS K 325 || A: NaT *_h̄ōy 'pit, low place, depression' (× N *qow'i' 'orifice, hole; to make a hole' × N *p_oϕ|gy∇ 'wooded bank [of a waterway]'?) > OT {Cl.} ōy 'hole, cavity, valley', {DTS} oy 'pit, depression (яма, углубление)', MQp XIII {Cl.} ōy, Ln oy 'valley', Tkm ōy, QrB, Tv oy 'low place, lowland', Qzq, Alt oy 'low place, depression', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt oy id., 'hollow (Talkessel)', Xk oy id., 'valley', ET oy 'depression (valley or sim.), low-lying lands', SY oy 'valley, settlement (населенное место)', VTt Δ uy 'rut (рытвина)', Bsh uy 'broad and deep valley between mountains'; NaT *_h̄ōy- v. 'hollow out' > OT ōy-, Chg xv oy-, Tk oy-, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg oy-, VTt, Bsh, Ln uy- id., Tkm ōy-, Uz ц̄й- wy- 'id., 'dig out', Nog, Qq oy- 'hollow out, hew\cut through', Kr, Tv oy- 'hollow out, make a hole' ¶ ET Gl 425-8, TL 98, DTS 365, BR 570, Cl. 265-6 || NrTg *p̄ōy 'swamp, tundra' (← *'lowland') > Ewk h̄ōy 'swamp, tundra', Sln ōi 'swamp, bog' ¶ STM II 330 ¶¶ ≠ STM ibid. (÷ M *φoyi 'forest') || HS: C: Dhl fuϕε̄δ- 'bore hole\burrow' ¶ EEN 23 ◊ M *φoyi 'forest' does not belong here (⇔ ADb. KL 2 [A *p'oy 'forest [in river valleys)]), but is akin to B *fay 'forest, wood; bank' and goes back to N *p_oϕ|gy∇ 'wooded bank' (q.v. ffd.). ADb.'s et. requires unnecessarily complicated semantic changes. Dhl f- points to N *p-, while T *∅- is likely to suggest a N *p-.

1671. *p̄ä'y'üwA 'fire' (→ 'heat', 'daylight, day') > HS: Eg BD/L p^ϕw 'Feuer, Glut', {Fk.} 'flames (?)' ¶ EG I 503, Fk. 88, Tk. II 424-6 || ?φ S *^o✓p̄h̄h > Ar fuḥḥ-at- 'pungency of pepper' ¶ -ḥ- < S *-ϕ- (devoicing due to unknown factors) < N *-ϕ- ¶ Fr. III 319, Hv. 548 || B ≈ *-faHw- 'fire, light' > BSn t-faw-t̄, Izn t̄-faw-t̄, Sll a-faw, Gd wfa 'lumière', Ah āfa 'lumière, clarté', BMn t̄a-fa-t̄ 'sunlight', Izd a-fa, Awj a-fiw 'feu', d.: Ah ufu, Izd -ffu(w) 'se lever (le jour)', Sll i-fiw/i-ffaw 'être lumineux' ¶ Fc. 298, Lf. II #0768, Beg. 258, Mrc. 148, NZ 675-7 || Ch: [1] d. (with the HS sx. *-t-): Ch {Nw.} *fati 'sun, day', {Stl.} *fati/a, *faʔat- ~ *fawat- 'sun' > WCh: Bl {Mk.} fati, Dr {J} p̄óří, Ngm {ChL} fótî, Pr {Kr.} fórìy, Krf {Gw.} fiti, {Sch.} fiččí, Glm {Sch.} p̄ìzì, Gera {Sch.} p̄ìšì, Grm {Sch.} fiččé 'sun', Tng puda id., Tng B {J} p̄údà 'day', Krkr {J} fatí 'sun, day' | Wrj {Sk.} fáí 'sun', P' {MSk.} fei 'sun', Diri {Sk.} fātā 'sun, day' | Tal {Sh.} pidi, {ChL} p̄ùtè, Plc {ChL} p̄ìḍì, Grm {Sh.} fùdì, Buli {Sh.} pit, Sy {ChL} f^wut, Zar K {Sh.} fītù 'sun' | Klr {J} fat 'sun, day', Fy {J} vi-vát

'sun' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} f3dà 'sun, day', Pdl {ChL} f+da 'sun' | ? Klb {Mk.} p3ci, {ChL} p3ci | Nz {ChL} f+te, FIM {ChL} f+tu, FIJ {ChL} fiti, Mln {ChL} fótó | Glv {Rp.} fáčiy, {ChL} fàčya, Gv {ChL} f3čiyà, Dgh {Frk.} fíčè | Suk {IL} p^hís | Mtk {ChC} pâc, {Sb} páčây 'sun' | Db K {Sb.} pít 'sun, day' | MSg P {Mch.} fúti 'sun' | Ms 'j' fáttà, fátà, ZmB {J} fátá 'sun' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pátò, Mgm {J} pátó id. | Mkl {J} pèdó | Jg {J} pót, Brg {J} fótó 'sun', Mb {Lk.} fāt 'fun, day', Mjl {DB} fāt, Kjk {DB} fātì 'sun'] [2] ??? CCh: Lgn {Lk.} fū~ffū 'fire' (Lk. L 91); this word is a highly qu. as a cognate, because within the CCh context this word is more likely to belong to CCh *?∇f∇ 'fire' (> Msg {Trn.} àfú, Gdr {Mch.} affa, ofq id.) ¶ Stl. IF 47, JI II 312-3, Nw. #126, ChC, ChL, Sch. BTL 155, J R 90, 352, Blz. EChWL #81 ¶¶ Tk. II 424-5 || K *-pχ_Lw_J- 'warm, clear' (of weather), att. in ds. only: [1] in words for 'summer' > G za-pχ-ul-i, Mg zapχul-i (← G?) id., Sv L {Dn.} lupχw 'springtime and summer', Sv UB {GP, TK} lupχw 'springtime', [2] in K *mē-pχ-e 'clear (sky, weather)' > Lz ma-pχ-a 'fine weather, clear sky', Sv mē-pχ-e 𐌆 māpχe 'clear sky', Sv L {TK, Dn.} mēpχe 'clear sky', Sv LB/Ln {TK} mepχe id., Sv UB mēpχe {TK} id., {GP} id., 'clear space' ¶¶ K 194, ≈ K² 209 (*pχ- 'be clear' [of weather]), K² 120, FS K 327, FS E 366-7, Chik. 188, TK 498, 570, GP 198, 218, Dn. s.v. lupχv and mēpχe ¶¶ In the light of external comparison, the meaning 'clear' is secondary (⇔ K²) || IE *peXw-r/n- 'fire' > AnIE *paxur/n- 'fire' > Ht pahhur, gen. pahhwen-as, Lw pāhūr 'fire' || NaIE *pewōr~ *pu(:)r ~ *peu-n- 'fire' > Gk πῦρ (gen. πῦρός) id. † || Um PIR pír 'fire', accus. PUROM-E 'into fire', Osc aasaí purasiaí 'in ara igniaria' || Pru panno (En. < *panu) 'fire' | Sl *pír- 'glowing embers' (< *pūrya-) > Cz † pýř id., P perz, R пырей 'a hollow for embers in front of the stove', P perzyna 'embers, ashes'; HLs pyrić, LLs pyriś 'to stoke (a stove)', SCr pírjān 'stew', Cz pyřit se 'to blush' || Gmc *feur-az ~ *fun- 'fire' > ON fyrr, fúrr, funi, Ic funi, OSx, OHG fiur, NHG Feuer, Dt vuur, OFrs fiūr, fiōr, AS fūr, Gt fōn (gen. funins, dat. funin) || Arm հուր huř 'fire', հւոց hn-oc^h 'stove, furnace' || pTc {Ad.} *puwār > Tc: A por, B {Ad., JGH} pūwar 'fire' ¶¶ P 828, EI 202 (*¹peh₂ur), Mlc. CL 163, ABIV I 27-31, CHD P 12-6, F II 627-9, Pln. II 702, 749, Vr. 147, 149, Vr. N 80-8, Fs. 158, Ho. 120, Ho. S 202, Kb. 258, OsS 201, KM 195, En. 219, Ma. CS 410, Vs. III 419, Sl. 175-6, Ad. 392-3, Ad. H 34, Wn. 382-3, JGH 130-1, 207-12 || U *päywä 'warmth, fire, sun' (→ 'day') > FU *päywä ~ *päyā

'fire': [1] *pāywä > F pāivä, Es pāev 'day, sun', pLp {Lr.} *pējvē id. > Lp: N {N} bæivē / -iv- id., L {LLO} peivē ~ pāivē, Kld {SaR} пēйв [pēy:v], {TI} pēj:v^e id., S {Hs.} biejjie 'sun, daylight, day'] [2] FU *pāyā > ? Lp: N {N} bājan, L {LLO} pajān 'thunder' | Prm *bi₁y₁- 'fire' > OPrm bi, Z bi id., biw-/biy₁: biwa k₃rt 'steel for striking fire' ('fire-iron'), biya iz 'flint' ('fire-stone'), Z V bia, biya 'feurig', Yz bi'a 'mit Feuer versehen, feurig' || ? Os: V pāy, D/O pāy 'Donner, Gewitter', Y/K pāy 'thunder, lightning' || Sm {Jn.} *peywä 'warmth, warm' > Ng {Ter.} loc. sg. (тәнә) хейбытәны 'in (summer-)heat', {Cs.} d. 1s aor. feabeme'am 'sich erwärmen', Slq Tm {KD} pō 'warmth' ¶ UEW 359-360, Sm. 540 (U *pājwä 'sun, warmth' > FU *pājwä, FP *pājvā, Sm *pejwä), LG 39-40, Lr. #905, Lgc. #4834, Hs. 312-4, SaR 252, TI 350, Jn. 120 || A: M *peṣū- vi. 'warm in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) ('палить') (< N *pākō 'to heat [on fire]', 'to be hot'?) > MM [S] he'ü- [he-ü-] (he'ü-śiye- 'suffer from the heat', {Pel.} 'ne pas supporter le climat', WrM ege-, HIM, Kl ē- v. 'warm, dry in the sun or by fire; bake' (said of the sun), Mnr {T, SM} xē- v. 'dry in the sun or by fire, warm oneself', Dx šie- 'get warm, expose sth. to be warmed', Ba hē- vi. 'warm in the sun', ShY hii- ¶ Pp. IM 97, MED 296, S AJ 240 [#154], SM 166, T 375, T BJ 150, T DnJ 14, H 76, ≠ Pel. 216 [#23] || ?? Tg *pigi- ({SDM97} *pigi-) v. 'be warmed, bask' (?? < N *pākō '↑') > Ewk hiṣit-/hiṣiç-, Lm hiṣat-/hiṣaç- v. 'bask in the sun, bask near the fire', Ewk hiṣ3- 'approach (sth.) to the fire (in order to warm it), hang (sth.) over the fire', ? WrMc fō- 'be sun-tanned' ¶ Z 1064, STM II 322 (does not distinguish this √ from Tg *pik'í- 'bake, roast, warm' < N *pākō '↑') ¶ This Tg √ belongs here unless one can prove that (⇔ Bz. 27-9) Ewk/Lm -ṣ- may go back to Tg *-k-, in which case Ewk hiṣit- and Lm hiṣat- belong to Tg *pik'í- and hence not to this A and N etymon || pJ {S} *pí 'sun, day' > OJ p₁í, J: T hì, K òhísan, Kg oxisá id. ¶ S QJ #73, Mr. 404 || pKo {S} *pāj in MKo sāj-pāj 'dawn' (with sāj v. 'dawn'); cp. NKo sāj-bāj 'dawn' with a secondary suffixation ¶ S J 267 [#75], Nam 295, MLC 922 ¶¶ S AJ 113, 277 [#69], SDM97 (A *p'ige 'hot; sun, day'), DQA #1774 (A *p'jag∇ id.) || ?φ D *pū^v- 'spark of fire, burning coal' > Tm pū 'spark of fire', Kui pūvala id., pua 'embers', Ku pūya id., pu₁ya ɘ puva 'spark', pu₁yā 'burning coal' ¶ D #4347 ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. ОГОНЬ *p₁içw₁, IS SS #10.6, AD GD 13, Blz. DA 162 [#102] (suggested to add

D). Ch *f- (if reconstructed correctly) for the expected *p- may be explained by the infl. of the Ir. (*p...¹ʰ > *f-). For M *-ʃ|g- and Tg *-g- < N *-ʃ- cp. N ***ba_ll_iʃ¹a** 'to swallow; throat' (N ***ba_ll_iʃ¹a** > M *balgu-* 'swallow' and Tg **bilga* 'throat') $\diamond \neq$ Gr. II #153 (**par* 'fire') (IE **peXw-r* ÷ [err.] A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko, see N ***p_or¹ʃ¹û** 'to heat with fire, to burn').

1672. *pa¹H_l∇₁ʀ¹ʰü¹ (= ***paq∇ʀü?**) 'strike, split, chop' > HS: C: DhI *pañ-* {E} v. 'hit, strike', {EEN} 'hit, shoot', {To.} 'beat'; hardly here DhI *puh-* v. {EEN} 'pierce', {To.} 'sting' (interpreted by E as 'strike [with a sharp instrument]') || SC {E} **puh-* v. 'strike (with tool)' > Brn *puh-* v. 'pound (grain)', Alg *puhum-* id., Kz *puxumis-* v. 'hit', Mb *-pú* v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ E SC 144, 146, EEN 7, To. D 145, AD SF 44 || Eg fMK *pxɜ* 'spalten, durchschlagen' (inf. {Vrg.} [¹paχʀ-]) > Cpt Sd **пwꝛ pōh**, B **φωϋ** *p^hōχ* 'fendre, partager, déchirer' ¶ EGI 542-3, Vc. 167, Vrg. GC Ib 42, Tk. II 496-8 || K {K} **p_u-* {K²} 'chop, hack, cut to pieces' > G **p-* (inf. *p-oba*) id., 'split' || Sv {K, K² ← ?} *nā-pu* \approx *nā-pu* 'piece, lump' (literally 'chopped'), Sv UB {GP} *nāpu* 'mouthful' ¶ K 154, K² 152, FS K 249, FS E 274-5, Chx. 993, GP 229 || IE **peHw-/*p^hu-* > NaIE **pēw-/*pəu-/*pū-* v. 'beat, strike, cut' > L *pāvi-ō* v. 'beat, ram', *dē-puv-* v. 'beat down' || Gk *παίω* v. 'beat' || Lt *pjáuti* (prs. *pjáujū*) (< **pēuyō*) 'to cut, to carve, to slice, to slaughter', Pru *piuclan* 'sickle' || NLG {WP ← Fick} *fūen* 'mit dem Fuebusch schlagen (Fastnachtsgebrauch)' ¶ WP II 12, P 827, Mn. 933-4 (rejects the comparison with Lt *pjáujū*), Frn. 584, En. 227, WH II 267; Hofm. 249, F II 464, Ch. 650 (these three authors accept the present et. of Gk *παίω* with reservations and doubts); if the Lt and Pru cognates are rejected, the *e-grade **pēw-* loses ev. || U **pa¹y¹e* > Sm {Jn.} **p_ɔy-*, {Hl.} ? **p_ɔy-* v. 'chop, split' > Ne T *πῆ-ць*, Ne T O {Lh.} *pāē-čě* 'Brennholz spalten', Ne F NI {Lh.} *payyeś*, {Sm.} *pađaš* v. 'split', Ng (aor. 1s objv.) *faj¹s¹uʔama* 'zuhauen' || Slq Tz {KKIH} *pačal-* 'fell (trees), chop (up)', *pač+t-* 'chop (wood)' || Mt {Hl.} **hāyäl-* v. '(?) chop' (Mt K {Pl.} *chejalze* (inf. or p. + 3s objv.) 'рублю, секу') || pY **pay-* 'strike' > Y: K/T {IN} *pay-* id., K *paydu-* 'beat' ¶ Jn. 112, KKIИ 145-6, Hl. M #277, IN 240-1 ¶ The Sm \sqrt belongs here if the U rec. is **paye* rather than **paLe* or **paže* (which are equally possible) || ? A: Tg: WrMc *fe-* v. 'mow (grass)' ¶ STM II 304 || pKo {S} **pà₁hí* 'cut, reap, sever' > MKo {Yu, Vv.} **pà₁hí-*, Ko {Vv.} [*pə₁y-*] 'cut as with a sharp-edged instrument' (att. in Ko Ks/Chl {Choy} *pī-* \approx *pí-*), NKo {S} *pē* 'cut, reap, sever' ¶ S QK

#494, Nam 255, Vv. AEN 6, Yu 377, Choy 1371, MLC 773 ¶ Rm. SKE 200-1, Z 1047 ◇ E χ points to a N pharyngeal *q, which suggests a vw. after *q (otherwise the cluster *qʔ would have produced a glottalized cons. *q̤. IE *-h̄w- suggests that the N word-final vw. was *ū ◇ IS MS 362 (s.v. 'рубить' 2), IS SS 10.27, AD GD 13; IS adduces Tg *pū- v. 'saw', which is untenable both for semantic reasons and because in the light of extant data (STM II 336) the Tg rec. must be *pup- ◇ T *h̄ōy- v. 'gauge, hollow out' and Tg *puyē 'wound' should be kept apart, because T *h̄ōy- is semantically nearer to N *P_οΓi 'cavity, valley; to hollow out' (× N *qow'i 'orifice, hole; to make a hole'), while Tg *puyē is nearer to N *P_ûXy∇ 'to be sick; wound' (q.v.).

1673. o *puh∇ 'blow (blasen)' > HS: WS *-pūh-, *√pwh v. 'blow', vi. 'smell' > Ar √fwh, -fūh- {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (un arôme), 'sentir (bon ou mauvais)', {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), Tgr fəhōt n. 'smell, stench'; (× S *°-pūχ-, *√pwx < N ʔ o *P_uq∇ 'to let out air\gas', [ʔ] 'to emit smell'): BHb √pwh, ip. ḥiḥā (yā-)pūāh 'blow' (of a wind), 'appear' (of a morning breeze) (hay'yōm yāpūāh lit. 'the day will blow', sc. 'the morning breeze will blow'), MHb √pwh G 'aufblasen', {Js.} 'blow, blow up', JA [Trg.] √pwh 'ausgehaucht werden', {Js.} 'evaporate', ḫḥiḥ pūh-ā 'wind, breath (Hauch)', JEA {Sl.} ḥiḥ √pwh G 'breathe, blow up', Sr √pwh (pf. Sr W pāh) 'flavit, spiravit, respiravit, olfecit' ¶ KB 866, KBR 916-7, Js. 1152, Lv. IV 12, Lv. T II 256, Js. 1140, Sl. 888, BK II 644, Hv. 578, Br. 559, LH 654, MiK I #2.54 || C: Bj {R} fūʔ 'Geruch', fiʔ- scv. 'smell, emit smell' (riechen, Geruch verbreiten) || SC: Kz fiʔ- v. 'sniff' ¶ R WBd 95, E PC #185 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Gr.} fī v. 'blow (blasen)', Su {J} fī 'blasen (Instrument, Feuer)', Gmy {Hf. in ChC} fī, Cp {ChL} fi v. 'blow' || Ngz {Sch.} fīyú v. 'blow (horn)', ? fōwâ 'stench, terrible odour' || Bks {J} fuʔ 'blasen', DfB {J} fūʔ v. 'blow' || NrBc: Wrj {JI after SIL} fwayò, Kry {Sk.} fay-, My {Sk.} fay- v. 'blow' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr. in ChC} fá, Lgn {Lk.} fa id. || Ms {J} fōnā, Bnn {J} fóʔ, {Sa.} fóʔó, MfG {Brr.} -f- id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} pò id. ¶ IS Ch. 21, Gr. LC 300, J S 65, 206, J R 141, JI II 32-3, Sch. DN 58, ChC, ChL || K *pu- 'inflate, rise (as dough)' > G pu(v)- 'rise' (of dough), Mg, Lz pu- 'boil (sieden)', Sv pu-/pwh- id. (msd. UB li-pw-e, LB/LSv lipue v. 'boil'), UB/L li-pū-l-i, LB/Ln lipuli v. 'blow at so., st' ¶ K 192, K² 206, FS K 322-3, FS E 361-2, Q 338-9, Chx. 1505, TK 452, GP 171-2 || IE: NaIE *pu(:)-/peu-/pou-/phu- 'breathe, blow' > OI phūt-

ka'rōti 'puffs, blows, shrieks', OI Λ pu ρ phula- 'Blähung' ('blowing up') ||| Arm **հոգի** ~ **նոգի** (h)ogi (< *pouyo-) 'breath, soul, spirit', **հեւաւմ** hewa-m (< *pewā-) v. 'pant, puff' (aor. **հեւաւցի** hewac^hi) ||| OIr úan, Nlr uan, W ewyn, MBr, Br eon 'foam' (< *pow-ino-), OBr [ʏ] eonoc d. 'foamy' (÷ Br eonek) ¶ WP II 11-2, P 847, M K II 398 (denies any genetic connections of the OI word), Sl. 341, Bedr. 404, 412, 557, Vn. U 7, Flr. 169, Dnn. 771 ||| **U** *puw ∇ (or *pu ∇ -) v. 'blow' > Er puva- 'blasen, an-, weg-blasen' | Chr U/B pue- 'blasen, wehen' ||| ObU *pūw|ʏ- ({Ht.} *pūʏ-) v. 'blow (blasen)' > pVg *pūw- id. > Vg: T pow-, NV, Ss puw-, LLz pu-/pūw- id.; pOs *pōʏ- ({JHl.} *pūʏ-) id. > Os V/Vy/Ty pōʏ-, Y/K pōw-, D pēw- id. | Hg fúj- / fú- v. 'blow (blasen, [an]wehen), blow\play (trumpet, etc.)' || Sm {Jn.} *pu- or *pu β y- 'blow' > Nn T пу-ць pū- 'blasen' (ein Mensch), 'wehen' (ein Wind), En {Cs.} X fue η a-, B fuasa- 'blasen', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obj.) f η a-rúma 'I blew', Slq Tz {KKIH} pū-(qo) v. 'blow', Kms {KD} p'úʔ-, {Cs.} p η úʔ-, Koyb {Sp.} пу-бля, пу~~ж~~-бля id., Mt {Hl.} d. *hal- v. 'blasen' (M {Sp.} жалнамъ 'дую' ['I blow'], жалзы 'надуваю' ['I inflate'], жалгамъ 'пушаю дымъ' ['I discharge smoke']), Mt K {Pl.} chás \ddot{u} maiha 'пержу' ('I fart') || pY {IN} *pu ∇ - > Y K pu ∇ - 'blow (blasen)' ¶¶ UEW 411, Coll. 12, Sm. 547 (FU *pu ω i-, FP *pu ν i-, Ugr *pūgĩ- 'blow'), Ht. 174 [#495], MF 219, Jn. 128-9, Cs. 73, 95, KP #1162, KKH 154, Hl. M ##255, 264, IN 244 ||| **A** *pū(-) > T: OT b \bar{u} 'steam' (× T *būg 'steam', see ET B 229-30) ¶ Cl. 292, DTS 119 || Tg *pū- (or *pūb- with *-b-< *-w-) > Ewk huw-, Lm hū- v. 'blow (blasen), fan (fire), blow out (fire)', Ewk Np huwar 'draught (wind)', Sln, Ul, Nn Nh pū- ūgū- 'blow', Neg xūw-~pūw-, Orc hū-~pū- 'blow out (fire)' ¶ STM II 336 \diamond IS MS 339 s.v. дуть *p ∇ ʏ ∇ \diamond The A data (pA *p- lenis > T *b-, Tg *p-) suggest a N non-emphatic *p-. In BHb, Aram, Bj, Ch, IE, U, and A (lgs. that merge N *q and *h) the reflexes of this N word are undistinguishable from those of N ? ϕ o *P ∇ uq ∇ 'to let out air\gas', (?) 'to emit smell' (q.v.) (cf. the meaning in Mt).

1674. *pik'ü' 'to press' (→ 'to crush') > HS: ? σ Eg XVIII fk 'bedrückt sein (o.ä.) durch übermässige Abgaben' (unless ← fk 'wüst sein, brach liegen') ¶ EG I 580 ||| **K** *pek ω -/*pk ω - v. 'grind' > OG, G pkv- id., Mg k(u)- id. (inf. ku-ala, 1s p. do-p-kī), Lz mk(v)- id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln pek 'flour', UB {GP} pek 'meal (flour)', d. (prtc.) K *pk ω -il- 'flour' (lit. 'ground [molita, moulu]') > OG, G pk ω -il-i, Mg k(w)ir-, Lz pkwer-

~mkwe(r)- 'flour' ¶ K 193 (*pkw-), K² 201, 208 (*pekʷ-/ *pkʷ-); FS K 317-8, FS K² 465 and FS E 355-6 (*pek-/pk-); Ser. 165, Chik. 305, TK 75, GP 263 || IE: NaIE {P} *pu^ʔk̑- 'zusammendrängen, eng umschließen' > Gk πυκάζω 'make close, cover\wrap up thickly', πυκνός 'close, compact, firm, solid', ἄμ-πυξ (gen. ἄμπυκος) 'a woman's head-band, snood', adv. πύκα thickly, solidly' || ?σYAv pusā- {Brtl.} 'diadem', {Bai.} 'headdress', {P} 'head-band', MPrt T pws g ≈ crown'; Irn ⇨ Arm **պսակ** psak 'garland, crown' || ? pAl {O} *puca > Al T puth {AlBED} 'kiss', {Kf., Ç} puth 'I kiss, embrace', {Ç} pu'thit, puth'toj 'joindre, emboîter, serrer', Al G {LP} puth 'I kiss', D {Cim.} puθ-i 'j'embrasse' ¶ P 849, Brtl. 911-2, Bai. 280, FI 96 and II 622-3, Ç II 55, 441, Kf. 287, LamP 159. Cim. 115, 160, O 352 (Al puth is 0) ¶ The rec. of *k̑ is justified only if the Irn cognate is valid, otherwise we remain with NaIE *puk̑- || D *pīk- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'press, crush' > Prj pīk- v. 'crush', ? Krx pīx-nā v. 'press out (oil), squeeze', ? Mlt pīqe v. 'wring or squeeze out, milk' ¶¶ DED #3458, ≠ D #4135, Bur. PDr 67, Pf. 33 [#164] (Krx pīx-, Mlt pīqe < D *piṛ-∇-k-) ◇ The IE cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: *-k̑- (for the expected *-ǵw-) defies explanation so far ◇ IE *pu^ʔk̑- from N *pik^ʔū^ʔ can be explained by mt. of vowels.

1675. (₂?) *poka 'side of a body, side' > IE: NaIE {P} *pog-/ *pōg-, *po(:)k-s- 'Achsel, Hüfte, Lende, Seite': [1] *pōg- 'side of a body', (?) 'arm' > OI {MW} pājas 'yam 'the region of the belly (of an animal); the flanks, side' || NaIE *pōg-yo- > Sl *paža > Cz paže, Cz M 'paža 'arm', Cz podpaží 'armpit' (← 'under the arm'), HLs paža 'armpit, upper arm', LLs paža 'armpit', (in set phrases) 'arm' (na pažoma 'auf den Armen', pod pažu wześ 'unter den Arm nehmen') || [2] NaIE *po(:)k-s- 'side, flank' > OI pak^ʔsaḥ 'wing; flank, side', 'pakṣaḥ ('pakṣas) 'wing, side, side of a carriage', Oss I/D faχs 'side of body, side, slope of a mountain' || Ltv paksis 'corner of the house', (Blt ⇨ ?) R Ng/Ar pak^ʔša 'left hand' || Sl *paχъ > R παχ 'groin', R Δ, Uk па'ха, P pača 'armpit, armhole', OCz páchy 'pendants of sleeves (přívěsky vedle rukávů)' ¶ P 792, EI 517-8 (*pok^ʔso-s 'side, flank' < *pog^ʔso-s; *pōgyo-), M K II 184, 244, M E II 62, ≈ M E II 116, MW 614, Ab. I 426, Kar. II 11-2, ≈ Mikl. E 224, ≈ Vs. III 189, 220, Ma. CS 348, 358, HIK 268, Jak. 223, Šw. 225 || HS: CS *pakk- 'cheek, side' (→ 'jaw') > Sr **пак'к̑** pak^ʔkā {Br.} 'mala, bucca; maxilla; latus (altaris)', {JPS} 'tusk; jaw, cheek; side (of the altar)', JA [Trg.] **پاک'ک-آ** pak^ʔk-ā 'Seite, Pfofte (einer Tür)', Ar fakk- {BK} 'partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et

l'inférieure', pl. ʔafkāk- 'jointure de deux mâchoires' , {Hv.} fakk- 'jaw; bit of a horse' ʔ Br. 567, Lv. II 264, JPS 445, Fr. III 366, BK II 624, Hv. 572 || CCh: BM: Bu pukúm, Ngx pʷzhəm 'cheek' | McHigi: HgF puki, HgNk piki, HgB piku, HgG puḡ+y, FIK p+kumuʔ id. ʔ ChL ʔʔ The HS √ was possibly influenced by HS *buk̥∇ 'cheek' (> EC *buk̥- 'cheek', B *b∇qqā > Mz abaqqā 'cheek', etc.) < N *buk̥∇ 'cheek' || A: ʔσ Tg *poḡ∇ > Ewk PT/Ald/Ucr hogo 'hip' (× Tg *oga id.) ʔ STM II 5, Vas. 483 ◇ The comparison is qu. If this N word (or variant of a word?) did exist, its reflexes were influenced by the paronymous words that go back to N ? *b∇qā 'side of body, side' (q.v.) and N *buk̥∇ 'cheek' (q.v.).

1676. *P_a'h'k∇ 'spring of water; to spout' > HS: S *o√pk̥y, *o√pk̥k 'drip' > BHb מַפְּקֵי məpək'-īm D prt. m. pl. {KB} 'dripping', {GB} 'quellend, rieselnd', MHb √pk̥pk 'ooze, drip' ({Lv.} 'tröpfeln, tropfenweise auslaufen', {KB} 'hervorsprudeln' ʔ KB 875, GB 641, Js. 1174, Lv. IV 44, PS 3128, Mcl. 251 || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ḫok v. 'rain, pour', ??? Jg {J} bóḡ 'sky, god', bóḡ páká 'it is raining' (lit. 'the sky is falling') ʔ Lk. ZSS 187, 189, J J s.v. bóḡ || IE: NaIE *pāḡḡ- > Gk πηϋή, Gk D πᾶϋά 'spring of water' ʔ WP II 4, F II 525, Ch. 894 || ? A: Tg *paK- > Lm haϋʔʔn 'intermittent rain' ʔ STM II 308 || D *pukk- ({ʔGS} *bugg-) > Tm pukkaḯ 'spring-pond', Kn bugge 'spring of water, source of a river', Tl buggā 'spring of water, fountain' ʔʔ ≈ D #4533 ◇ The N Ir. is reconstructed on the ev. of NaIE *ā (NaIE *ā < IE *a|eH) and D *-gg- (from a cluster with a lr.). N *h is preferred to all other lrs. because it is often lost in S and is more likely than N *ʔ to cause lengthening of preceding vowels in NaIE. The vw. *u in D is puzzling. Is it due to the infl. of N *p|p̥- or to a labialized vw. in the N word (then reconstructible as *P_a'h'Uk∇) (with *U lost in the pre-history of IE?) ◇ This supposed N etymon is isolated in HS, IE, and A, which diminishes the reliability of the comparison.

1677. *P_ā¹Hak∇ (= *P_ā¹qak∇?) 'hut, village' > IE: NaIE *pāḡḡo- > L pāḡus 'community of peasants, village, country district' ʔ WH II 236, ≈ EM 475, EI 133 || A: AmTg *peḡu,la 'a building on posts (for storing food), a stand for hanging dried fish', Orc pʔulʔ 'unroofed store-hut, a building on posts for storing food', Ul pʔulʔ(n-), Ork pʔulʔ, Nn Nh pʔulʔ, Nn B fʔulʔ ~ fulʔ 'a stand for hanging dried fish', Ork pʔwulʔn- 'lay sth. (belongings, food) in a "labaz" (a building on posts)' ʔ STM II 360 || D *pākk- ({ʔGS} *p-) 'hut, village' > Tm pākkam 'seaside village, town, village', Tl pāka 'hut, hovel', -pāka (sx. of village

names), Knd *pāka* 'hut'; D \rightarrow OI *pakkaṇa*- 'hut of a village inhabited by barbarians' ¶ D #4047, Tu. #8313 || HS: B *-buHk- > Ah {Fc.} *ā-buk* 'petitte tente, abri misérable', ETwl {Nic.} *ə-buk* (pl. *i-bəkk-ən* 'gîte de lièvre, case misérable' ¶ Fc. 48, Nic. VE 62, PGG 7 || ?? S: Ak *paṗāḫ*- 'Cella; Kultraum; Heiligtum' (if Ak -ḫ- < S *-ḫ- < *-ḫk- < N *-q∇k-) ¶ Sd. 823 || C: Bj {Rop.} *bak*^w 'place of shelter, repose' ¶ Rop. 161 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *bákâ* ~ *bágâ* 'shelter made of vertical poles with cornstalks or mats' ¶ Sch. BTL 19 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 114 [#77] ◇ D **ā* < *reg.* N **äHa*. NaIE **ā* < IE **eh*|*x* < N **äHa*. Tg *-g- is a *reg.* reflex of N *-k-. If Ak *paṗāḫ*- belongs here (which is not certain), the pN etymon must be **Päqak∇*.

1678. **p'a'k₁∇,?∇* (= **pakU?∇?*) (partially *u*) 'to split' > HS: S: [1] WS **✓pkk* v. 'break, cleave' > Sr *✓pkk* (ip. *𐤐𐤀𐤍* *nə-ṗuk*, pf. *𐤐𐤀𐤍𐤏* *ṗak*) v. 'break, bruise (the head)', Ar *✓fkk* (pf. *fakka*) {Hv.} vt. 'loose, disjoin, separate; break (a seal)', {BK} 'dégager, défaire, briser, séparer', 'fregit, dissolvit', Tgr *✓fkk* (pf. *fəkkā*) v. 'split, break', Tgy *✓fkk* (pret. *𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏* *fəkkə*) 'öffnen'; EthS \rightarrow Bln {R} *fakak*- 'öffnen, einen Spalt, Riß in etw. machen', Sa/Af {R} *fak*- 'öffnen'; [2] WS **✓pḳ?* ~ **✓pḳʕ* v. 'slit, cleave' > Ar *✓fq? G* {BK} 'fendre, rompre et séparer deux parties l'une de l'autre', {Hv.} 'split (a pimple), burst (a pomegranade) open, hull (a nut)', Gz *✓fḳ?* ~ *✓fḳʕ* v. 'cleave, split asunder', Tgr *✓fḳ?* ~ *✓fḳʕ* v. 'split, hit on the head', MHb *✓pḳʕ G* (pf. *𐤐𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏* *pā'ḳaʕ*) 'sich spalten, auseinandergehen', {Js.} 'split, burst', JEA *✓pḳʕ G* (pf. *𐤐𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏* *pā'ḳaʕ*) {Lv.} 'hervorbrechen, abspringen', {Sl.} 'split, rupture, burst', Sr *✓pḳʕ* (pf. Sr W *𐤐𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏* *pā'ḳaʕ*) vi. 'burst open, break asunder; be wide open (as the legs)' ¶ Br. 567, 590, JPS 445, 456, BK II 617, 623-4, Hv. 570-1, Lv. IV 91-2, Sl. 925-6, Js. 1210, L G 163, LH 663, 670, R S II 130, R WB 119-120 ¶ The cns. **ʕ* of the variant root **✓pḳʕ* may have been induced by the synonymous S roots **✓bḳʕ* and **✓pḳʕ* || Eg N *fḳʕ* 'ausreißen, ausrotten', ?? Eg XX *fḳ, fḳw* id. ({EG}: 'vom Löwen, dessen Krallen und Zähne das Wild zerreißen') ¶ Secondary glottalization *k* > *ḳ* due to as. caused by *ʕ*? ¶ EG I 578-9, Tk. II 585-6 (Eg ÷ Sb *fḳl* 'reap crops') || C: (1) **✓pkk* > Bj {R} *✓fkk* (p. 'afkik, prs. *afan'kīk*) v. 'open an infibulated girl' | C **✓pḳ* ({E} **fāḳ-/fīḳ-*) v. 'cut apart, break open' > Ag: Bln {R} *fak*- 'durchbrechen, aufreißen, ein Loch stoßen', ?? Aw {CR} *paḫ-s-* 'tear to pieces, split' ||| EC: Rn {PG} *fuḫḫ-*, Ya {E} *-pāq-* vt. 'break' ||| SC: Irq {E} *fiqit-* v. 'slice yams' ¶ AD SF 46, E PC #178, PG 116,

R WB 120 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ḥak- v. 'cut into pieces, split' > AG: Su {J} ḥāk 'teilen, (sich) loslosen, trennen', ? Ang {Flk.} bǎk v. 'make a slit, cut with a knife' | Ron {J}: Fy ḥāk 'spalten, hacken (Holz, etc.)', Sha bāk 'zerbrechen (Töpfe, etc.)', Bks ḥāk 'brechen, schneiden' ||| CCh: Dgh {Frk. in ChC} ḥákà v. 'cut' | ? MfG {Brr.} -bèg w- 'partager, diviser, couper en deux' ¶ Stl. ZCh [#115], J S 59, J R 84, 140, 283, Flk. s.v. bǎk, Brr. MG II 81, ChC s.v. 'cut' ¶ The glottalized WCh *ḥ- goes back to *p + *ʔ ¶¶ OS #772 (*fak- 'pierce, tear') ||| A *p'Ug∇ ~ *p'Uk∇ v. 'chop, cut, tear off' (one or several roots) > (1) Tg *pōg- v. 'chop, cut off' > Ewk hōx-, Ewk V ok-, Ewk Brg hok- 'chop\cut off', Neg xonɛ- 'chop off; fell (trees)', Or, Nn xol-, Ud xuan- 'cut off'; (2) ?? Tg *pak- > Ewk hakū- 'smash, crush (e.g. nuts), break to pieces' (unless ← *pak- 'kernel' [> WrMc faxa]); (3) ? Tg *pegde- 'be torn' > Orc, Nn xəgdə- id., ds.: Ewk həgdəlī-, Lm həxdək-, həxdəl-, Neg xəgdə- ~ xəldə- vt. 'tear' ¶ STM II 311, 329, 360 || ?σ T *bügtelä > OT {Cl.} bügdā 'dagger' (× N *P_{ot}K∇ 'to split, to cut', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ,σ pKo {S} *pəḥí- 'cut, reap, severe' > MKo pəḥí-, NKo pē- ¶ S QK #495, Nam 255, MLC 773 || pJ: (1) pJ {S} *pəkə- 'pole\battle-axe' ¶ S QJ #771; (2) pJ {S} *pənk- 'tear off' ¶ S QJ #764, Mr. 683 || M *pəqta- ({Pp.} *pəktal-) (× N *P_{ot}K∇ '↑' [mt.], q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 54, 99, ≈ DQA #1668 (A *p'ək'è- > M, Tg, T, pJ *pəkə-) and #1869 (A *p'ügé-, incl. Ko, Tg *pōg-/ *peg-de-, pJ *pənk-) ¶¶ Highly qu. Probably influenced by and partially coalesced with different N words ||| D {Pf.} *pak- ({ʔGS} *pag-) > Tm paku (pakuν-, pakk-) v. 'be split', paku (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'distribute, divide, cut to pieces', Ml pakuka v. 'be separate', pakukka v. 'divide', Td paχ- (paχθ) v. 'be divided', paχ- (paχt-) v. 'distribute, divide', paχy 'division', Tu pagiyuni vi. 'split', Tl pagulu v. 'break, crack, go to pieces', Nk pay- v. 'break', Knd pag- (-it-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Png pag- (pakt-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Mnd pak- v. 'split (firewood)', Ku pak- v. 'cut open', Krx pāx- v. 'expand by main strength, force open' ¶¶ D #3808, Pf. 25 [#115], Zv. 119-120, ≠ Km. 422-3 (+ Kui paj-, Prj payp- v. 'divide', etc.; pD **pay-) ||| U: FU *pakka- vi. 'burst' > F pakku- 'burst, crack, burst asunder, become loose', Es pakata- vi. 'burst' ||| Os: Ty pāy- 'crack, burst', O paχ- 'Risse bekommen (?)', V paʔən-, paqən-, D/O paχən- 'aufplatzen, aufgehen (Geschwür)', O paχən- 'plötzlich aufgehen und fließen (Fluß, Bach)' | Hg fakad- vi. 'spring, have its source' ¶ UEW

349-350 ◇ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg f- and (tentatively) A *p- (> T *b- [?], M *φ-, Tg *p-) ◇ D and U suggest a pN *a, while the labialized vw. in A may be due to the assimilative infl. of the initial *p- and/or of the ancient labialized vw. of the next syll. (preserved as w in MfG 'bègʷ- 'partager, diviser') ◇ N *-ʔ- is preserved in S *✓pʔ and Eg fʔ. The root *✓pʔ in EthS, Hb, and Sr is probably a WS innovation.

1679. *pākō 'to heat (on fire)', 'to be hot' (→ 'to cook, to bake', 'to dry') > HS: Eg NK pʔ '(den Weihrauch) räuchern', Eg G pʔ 'jemanden beräuchern', Eg G pʔ 'Weihrauch' (unless akin to Ar -fūǧ- 'exale an odour', Gz ✓fgg 'have a bad odour') ¶ EG I 568, Tk. II 545-6 || Possibly (but not necessarily) here: B *-fūk(k)- 'sun' (if ← *'heat, hot weather') > Ah ta-fuk (pl. ti-fukk-īn), Gh tafuk, Izd tafuyt ~ tafušt, Izn t̄fūkt̄, ETwl, Ty tafuq (pl. tafuqan) 'sun', Zng {MH → Nic.} taũfukt, tũfukt 'sun', ĩéffék 'il fait jour', Kb tafukt̄ 'lumière du jour, lumière diffuse du soleil' ¶ Fc. 299, Dl. 201-2, NZ 547-8, Nic. 197 || K *p̄vʔw- vt. 'dry' > Sv L {Dn.} -puʔw-/pʔw- id., Sv UB lipʔwe vt. 'to dry', UB/L/Ln puʔw-i, LB piʔw-i adj. 'dry' ¶ TK 768, Dn. s.v. puʔvi, GP 171, 264 || IE: NaIE *pekʷ- v. 'cook, bake, prepare food on fire' > OI 'pacati, Av pača'ti 'cooks, bakes, roasts', NPrs پَز پَز-ād vt. 'boils, cooks', inf. پختن poχ-tān 'to boil, to cook' || Gk πέσσω, Gk A πέττω (aor πέψα) 'cook, bake, soften, ripen' || L coqu-o/-ēre v. 'cook' (c- by as.) || W pobī 'to bake, to roast', Cm pobas, Br pobaň, pibiň 'to bake' || Gmc: AS ā-fiʒen 'roasted' || pAl {O} *peka > Al pjek- (aor. poqa) v. {AlBED} 'bake, roast, broil' || Sl inf. *pek-'ti/ prs. *pèk-q 'bake' > OCS пещи peštī / пекъ pekq, Blg prs. пе'ка, SCr pèci / pèčēm, Slv pèci / pèčem, Cz pèci / peku, P pìec / pìekę, R печь / пе'кy, Uk пе'чи || pTc *pāk- > Tc: A, B pāk- vt. 'make ready for eating: cook, boil, ripen', vi. md. 'become ready for eating: sc. cook, boil, ripen' ¶ P 798, EI 125, M K II 185-6, M E II 64, Horn 64, Sg. 237, BM 89, F II 519-20, WH I 270-1, LP § 56, YGM-1 365, Hm. 640, 651, Ho. 104, O 329, En. 225, Glh. 474, Wn. 355, Ad. 368 || U *pākk'e' 'hot' > pLp *pākkэ 'hot, heat' > Lp: L {LLO} pahkka id., S {Hs.} baakke, N {N} bak'kâ 'heat', N bakkâs, attr. bak'ka 'hot', Kld {TI} pākas, attr. paḡk'a id. || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} fekagâ, fekutea 'hot' (of a day, stone, water), fekútem 'be hot' ¶ Lr. #882, Lgc. #4746, N I 114, Hs. 263, TI 332, ≠ SK 468, Cs. 71, 233 || A {DQA} *p̄'ek'u 'hot, warm' > Tg *peku

'hot' > Ewk həkū 𐌿 həkū, Sln d. zħū-gdi, Lm hōk, Neg xəkū ~ xəxu, Ud B {Krm.} xəkūhi, Ud Sm {Krm.} xəkūhi ~ xukui, Ul d. pukzuli, Ork d. xəkusi, xəkūli 'hot', Orc xəkū, d. xəkusi 'it is hot\warm (il fait chaud)', Nn Nh pəkū, Nn B fuku ~ fəkū, Nn KU fəkū id., 'hot', WrMc d. fiyakiyan n. 'warmth (of the sun), heat'; Tg *peku- 'be hot' > Ewk həkū-, Lm hōk- id., WrMc fiyaka- 'be hot' (of the sun), 'be dried, sun-dried' ¶ STM II 362, Krm. 397 || M *pešü- vi. 'warm in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) ('палить') (× N *pǝ'γ'üwA 'fire', q.v. ffd); M *-š- suggests that the main source of the M root is not N *pǝkō || pKo {S} *pukh 'warm' (of weather) > NKo pʰuk-ha- 'be warm' (weather) ¶ S QK #814, MLC 1762 ¶¶ DQA #1737, ≈ Rm. SKE 116, 215 (Ko, Tg + unc. M) ◇ AD GD #88, IS SS 341 #10.11, IS MS 337 s.v. горячий *pǝ'k'ʰ (IE, U, Tg) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #76 (*peku 'cook') (IE, Y, Tg, Ko, CK, ES + qu. J).

1680. *P'ǝ'k'ǰ 'to scratch, to comb' > IE: NaIE *peḱ|k-, *peḱ|k-t- v. 'comb', peḱ|kten- n. 'comb' > Gk πέκω v. 'comb (wool)', κτεῖς (gen. κτεν-ός) n. 'comb (in the loom)' (< *πκτεν-), πεκτέω 'comb' || L pecten 'comb', pect-ō / -ēre vt. 'comb, card (wool)', Um petenata accus. f. 'pectinatum, comb-shaped' ¶ ≈ WP II 16-7, ≈ P 717, EI 570 (*peḱ- 'pull out [e.g. wool], comb out [e.g. wool]), Dv. #721, ≈ F II 33-4, 492-3, WH II 269-70, Bc. G 341 ¶ WP, P, WH, F, and EI do not distinguish this √ from IE *peḱ- 'cut\pluck out hair, shear' and *peḱu- 'cattle' (< N *pǝkǝ 'herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle', q.v.) || D *pǝk(k)- ({ǝGS} *b-) v. 'scratch' > Nk bokṛip- id., Gnd A/B bokkānā 'to itch', Gnd Mn bokkānā id., 'to scratch' ¶¶ D 4464 || HS: EC: Or {Brl.} fǝk-u 'conciare pelli, grattare, raschiare', {Grg.} fǝkē 'comb', fǝkis- vt. 'comb', {Th.} fǝki 'conciapelli' (unless Or ← EthS ✓ fḱ 'scrape' < N *pǝxkǰ 'rub, scrape') ¶ Brl. 143, Grg. 137-8, Th. 127, L G 157.

1681. ₂ *pǝkǝ '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' > IE: NaIE *peḱu / *peḱwe- 'cattle' > OI pa'su-ḥ (gen. paś'vaḥ) ~ 'paśu 'cattle, animal', Av paśu- 'livestock; sheep and goats' || L pecū (gen. pecūs), pecus (gen. pecoris) 'cattle, livestock', Um PEQUO 'pecuum' (gen. pl.?) || Gmc: Gt faíhu 'Besitz, Vermögen', OSx fehu, NHG Vieh 'cattle', OHG fihu 'livestock, property, money', AS feoh, ON fé id., 'money', NE fee || Lt pēkus, Pru acc. pecku ~ peckan 'cattle' ¶ P 797, EI 23 (*peḱu 'livestock'), M K II 239-40, M E II 108-10, WH II 270-1, Bc. G 340, Fs. 135-6, Vr. 1142, Kb. 240, OsS 193-4, KM 820-1, Ho. 101, Ho. S 19, Frn. 564-5, En. 221 || A: T *hǝkǝr-

/*₁h₁okuř- ({Md.} *ök'ür) 'bull, ox' > OT öküz 'ox', MQp öküz, Qrg ögüz 'ox, bullock', SY kus~qus, ET öküz, Δ höküz, Uz hwkiz 'ox', Tk öküz, Tkm öküδ, Az, Ggz öküz, Kr Cr ögüz, Kr T ögüz 'bull, ox', Qmq, QrB ögüz 'ox', CrTt ogüz, Ln ögüs 'bull', Qzq, Nog, Qq ögiz 'ox', VTt ügbz, Bsh ügbδ 'bull, ox', Yk oγus 'ox, male domestic animal'; T → Ewk hōkəs 'raw hide of a cow', Yk → Ewk oγus, Δ oγus, Δ ɜγus, Neg oγus 'bull' || Blgh > Chv вăкăр вьг_ьр 'bull'; Blgh → Hg ökör 'ox, bullock, steer' ¶ Cl. 120 (*qu.* : T ← Tc A oκsο), ET Gl 521-3, TL 439-40, IS III 126-7, Sht. 291, Md. 52, 172, Jeg. 48, Fed. I 105-6, EWU 1080 || M *φūker 'bovine animal (bull, ox, cow)' > MM [HI, IsV, etc.] hūker, [MA] ūker 'large cattle', WrM ūker, HIM, Brt γxəp, Kl ūkr̥, Mgl ūkār, Dg B xūkūr, Dx fugie(r), Mnr H {SM} fug_uor 'bull, ox' ¶ Pel. 240 [#77], MED 1003, SM 104, T DgJ 179, T DnJ 138, T 370 || NrTg (← M?) *pūkur / *pūkun > Ewk hukur, Δ ukur, Δ ukun, Δ ɜkun, Sln uxur, Lm O hōkən, Lm Sk hōkōn 'cow, (bovine) cattle' ¶ STM II 341, Iv. 143 ¶¶ Sin. ANB 315-8, DQA #1822 (A *p'ōk'ije(-r'∇) 'ox, cow') || AdS of HS: Ch: ECh: Nd D {J} pāgār 'antelope' < ECh *b∇g∇r id. < N *buḲa 'bovines'; the infl. of N *pōḲū may account for Nd D p- instead of the expected b- (cp. the ECh word for 'blood': Brg {J} bārà, Jg {J} bar, Mgm {J} bārà, EDng bār, Nd D bār) ¶ ChC ◇ Yk oγus and Chv вăкăр вьг_ьр suggest a back vw. in the initial syll. (*o rather than *ū); NrTk *ō is also more likely to go back to *o (> *ō under the infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) rather than to *ū ◇ IS III 126-8 (*p'ōk̥wε 'cκoτ'). In the original ms. text IS equated IE with A only. According an unconvincing hyp. of the editors of IS III this N etymon was represented in HS by the root *√bḱr (> S *baḱar- 'large cattle', *buḱār- 'a bovine animal', B *√būr v. 'be rich'), which is phonetically deviant: S, B *b- for the expected S *p- and B *f-. It is preferable to equate HS *√bḱr with A *buk'a 'bull' (> T *buka, M *buqa) and IE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bowk- 'bull' and to draw it back to N *buḲa 'bovines' ◇ AD NM #48, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 3.

1682. ι *po'k'∇ 'bladder, blister' > K {Fn.} *°pakl- > OG pakl-i 'φλυκτίς' ('blister') [Ex. 9.9], G † {DCh.} pakl-i 'abscess, matter in a sore\abscess' ({NCh.} 'cτpυπ) ¶ NCh. 393, DCh. 1297, SSO II 186, Fn. KD #19 || A *pok'∇ ({ADb.} *poku-) > NaT *bokak (< {ADb.} *bokagu, {DQA} *bokak) 'swelling (esp. in the throat), goitre, bird's crop' > OT {Cl.} boquq id., Tki {Rl.} poqaq 'goitre', Tkm buγoq id., 'throat', Tk boğak 'tonsillitis, quinsy', Qmq buγaq, ET poqaq ~ poχāk, Ln poqoq, Alt

boʻoq, Uz buqoq 'goitre', Qzq, Qq bũʻaq, Qrg boʻoq ~ boqoq, Yk moʻoq id., 'double chin', Blq boʻaq 'Adam's apple', Xk poʻo, Bsh bʻʻaq 'bird's crop', Tb {RI.} pōq, Shor {RI.} puʻaq id., Alt/Tel {RI.} poʻōq id., 'Adam's apple' ¶ Cl. 13-4, ET B 202-3, TL 150, RI. IV 1264-5, 1362, BT 32, Jud. 137, 140, MM 116, KrkR 119 || M (← T?) *baqaʻu 'goitre' > WrM baqagu ~ baquu, HIM бахуу, Ord бахū' 'goitre', Kl баху бахū id., 'exophthalmic goitre' ¶ MED 93, Ms. O 45, KRS 86 || Tg *pu|oka(n) 'blister' > Ul poqo ≙ puqa(n-) 'bubble, bird's crop', Ork puqa ~ puqqa 'corn (callosity), paumch (рубец)', Nn Nh poqa, Nn KU foqa 'blister', WrMc fuqa 'bubble, blister' ¶ STM II 42-3, Z 1073 ¶¶ Semantic infl. of A *bUka ({DQA} *bòká) 'throat' ¶¶ ADb. KL 9, DQA #1676 (A *púk'a 'crawl, crop'), #182 (A *bòká 'throat') || D u *pokk- ({ʁGS} *pokk- ~ [?] *bUgg-) > Tm pokuʻʻu n. 'bubble', pokku 'be blistered', pokku|am n. 'boil, bubble, blister', pokku|i v. 'rise in blisters', MI pokku|a, pokki|a 'blister, vesicle, bubble', Kt pogl, Kn pugul, ? bokke, Kdg pokka|a, Tl pokku, Klm pokk, Png poka 'blister', Tu pokkæ id., 'pustule', Mnd puka 'boil', Mlt poka 'blister, blain', Krx pokk^h- / puk^h- 'get blistered, swell', Td pig, Tl buqqa, Klm buqqa, Ku buqqa ≙ būga 'bubble'; D ⇨ Npl pʰoko 'blister, boil' ¶¶ Some of these forms (esp. those meaning 'bubble') are ideophonic ¶¶ D #4455, Tu. #8391 ◇ ≈ Fn. KD #19 (equates K with D *pakku 'Krätze, Räude', which probably belongs to N *pʻaqEʻ∇ or *pʻaq,∇,ʻE 'skin, film, bark' or results from a merger of both N words) ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. пУЗЫРЬ *pōʻkʻʻ (Tg, D).

1683. (o?) *pEχk∇ 'rub, scrape' > K GZ *pχek-/pχik- 'scrape (schaben)' > OG, G pχek-/pχik- id., G a-pχek- 'scratch off (ab-\wegkratzen)', pχakun-i, pχak-ur- 'scrape, scratch (scharren, kratzen), make a scraping\scratching noise', Mg, Lz +ext. χakar-ua 'to scrape off (hair from hide)', ??σ Sv {FS} pχak-/pχk- 'strike, scrape (klöpfen, scharren)', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} pχik n. act. 'scratching' ¶ K² 210, FS E 367, Fn. KW-3 #46, Chx. 1517, 1519-20, Chik. 419, TK 772 || HS: S *^o✓ pħk > Gz ✓ fħk (js. yəfħak) v. G 'scrape, erase, scratch, polish, wipe off\away, rub off' ¶ LG 157 || EC: Sml N {Abr.} fīq- v. 'sweep; sharpen', Sml {ZMO} fīq- id., 'peel' ¶ Abr. S 80, ZMO 139 || A ({S} *pʻækʻ∇ v. 'file, polish, rub'): T *ägā-, {S} *ākā- v. 'rub, file' > OT {Cl.} ägā- v. 'file (a metal object)', {DTS} ege- ~ ige- id., MQp xv {Cl.} ägā- v. 'file', Tv eʻe- 'rub', Qrg ege-, VTt, Bsh igā- id., Nog ege- id., 'sharpen (a saw)', Qq ege- 'saw with a

file', Xk *ige-* v. 'saw, file', Sg/Qc/Qb {RI.} *egä-*, Alt/Tlt {RI.} *äṽä-* 'feilen', ET T {RI.} *äkä-* id., 'glatt feilen'; \rightarrow NaT **äg-ü|äk* n. 'file' > Chg {Brv.} *egäk*, Tkm *ī xe*, Tk *eḡe eje*, Az *ājä*, Ggz *ija*, ET *ekäk* \rightarrow *igäk*, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq *egäw*, Uz *egaw*, VTt, Bsh *igäw*, Qrg *egō* \rightarrow *ögō*, Alt *egü*, Tv *eṽē*, Yk *igī*, Chv *йёкев уьг_ев* id. ¶ Cl. 101, DTS 165, 20, ET Gl 326-8, RI. I 676, 695 || NrTg **p|iki-* 'rub, rub off' > Ewk *hiki-* id., v. 'rub with\on (натирать), iron', Lm *huk-* 'rub', Neg *ḡixi-* 'rub (with\on) (на-рас-тирать) ¶ STM II 323 || pJ {S} **rik-* {AD} 'rub, file' > OJ *p|ik-* (in d.: *p|iki, p|iki-ri* 'rubbing wood for producing fire'), J: T *hik-*, K/Kg *hik-* v. 'file, saw' ¶ S QJ #254, Mr. 689 ¶¶ DQA #1810 (A **rik'è-* \rightarrow **-k-* v. 'file, polish, rub').

1684. (₂?) **p'E'K̄y∇* (or **p∇K̄y∇*) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaE *(s)*pek̄-* ~ *(s)*peḡ-*: [1] *(s)*pek̄-* 'look, observe' > OI *spaśati*, *paśyati* 'sees', *paṣṭ* 'observer', Vd *spaś-* (pfc. *paspa'sē*, aor. *aspaṣṭa*), KhS *spāśś-* 'look', Av *spasye'ti* 'erblickt, erspäht', OI *paṣṭ*, Av *spas-* 'observer' || L *specio*, *-ēre* 'look at, behold, see', *spectā-* 'look at carefully, watch' || OHG *spēhōn* 'to spy' (\rightarrow MFr *espier* 'to spy' \rightarrow ME *spie* > NE *spy*), NHG *spähen*, MDt *spien* 'to scout, to watch', ON *spá* 'to prophesy', OSx *spāh(i)*, OHG *spāhi* 'clever, wise' || pTc **pāk-* > Tc A, B *pāk-* 'intend'; pTc **pākω-* > Tc: A *puk-*, B *pākω-* 'expect' || AdS of Gk *σκεπτομαι* 'I look (at)' (< NaE **sk|ker-* < N **ć'o'P_∇* 'to watch, to look out, to spy', q.v.) || [2] *(s)*peḡ-* \approx 'look, look after' > ON *spakr* 'clever, experienced', *spekt* 'wisdom', *speki* id., 'Verstand' || Sl **pāziti* (s̄) 'see to, look' > ChS *пазѣти* *paziti* (prs. *пажѣ* *pažq*) {Mikl.} 'achtgeben', SCr *pāziti* 'be attentive, pay attention to' (Glh.: \leftarrow *'look'), Slv *pazíti* 'be attentive, pay attention to, take care of, see to, look after' ¶ WP II 659, P 981, 984, EI 505 *(s)*pek̄-*, Mn. 1253, M K II 240-1 and III 536, M E II 107-8, Bai. 436-7, F II 725-6, WH II 570-1, Vr. 531, 5332, Kb. 928, 931, OsS 846, 849, Ho. S 69, HDEL 1251, Mikl. E 234, Glh. 471-2, Kmc. 713, O 425-6 (rejects the adduction of Al *pashē* 'I saw'), Ad. 368-9 ¶ The voiced cns. **-ḡ-* in *(s)*peḡ-* (for the expected **-k̄-*) remains unexplained || HS: S **√p̄qy|w* 'follow the tracks \ footsteps of', 'pay attention to' > Ar *√fqw G* (pf. *faqā*) 'follow the tracks \ footsteps of', Ak *puḡḡu* inf. *D* 'pay attention to' ¶ Fr. III 365, Ln. 2430, BK II 623, Hv. 571, Sd. 879-80 || ?σ **A** **p'Ek'ye* ({SDM} **p'æk'e*) 'follow, be next' > pKo {S} **pā,kí* 'next, following' > MKo **pā,kí*

id., NKO pə,giM 'the second in order, next' ¶ S QK #151, Nam 254, MLC 758 || pJ {S} *pʒəká 'other' > OJ p_Lu_Jòká, J: T hòka, K hòká, Kg hoká ¶ S QJ #168, Mr. 413 || ? T *_Lh_Je|ikki 'two' (× N *yEgi or *y'u'gi 'both, two [persons]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM97 (A *p'æk'e 'next, following'), ≈ DQA #1785 (A *p'jòk'e id.: T, Ko, J + err. M *iki|ere 'twins', see N *yEgi or *y'u'gi '↑'), Rm. SKE 195, Rm. EAS I 92-3 ◇ ≈ Glh. 471-2 (IE *spek̄- ~ *speġ- < N *p'vygV ~ *baykV) ◇ If the A √ belongs here, the N etymon has a front vw. (*E) and an empathic *p̄. Otherwise the rec. must be less specific: N *p̄∇K̄y∇. In any case, IE *(s)p- points to a N *p̄- (see Introduction, 2.2.5) ◇ Not here D *paka| (↔ *b-) 'visible' (see N *baK̄∇ 'to look').

1685. *p̄'ò'K̄∇'d∇ (or *p-?) 'to run' > HS: WCh: Wrj {Sk. in ChC} fʒkèt-, {IL in ChL} fókítì v. 'run' ¶ ChC, ChL || CS *√pd(d) > Ar *√fdd (pf. fadda) v. 'run', Sr √pdd G (pf. paḍ) {Br.} 'evanuit, discessit, deficit', {JPS} 'stray; miss' ¶ Ln. 235O, BK II 554, Br. 557, JPS 434 || Eg fXVIII ? pḍ 'run' > DEg pṭ v. 'run, flee' > Cpt Sd pōt, B p^hōt 'courir, s'en aller, fuir'; the association with Eg fXVIII pḍ id., DEg pṭ 'knee, foot' (if any) is secondary (folk-etymological) (see N *pa'g'd∇ 'leg' [or 'e part of a leg'], 'foot') ¶ EG I 500-1, Er. 141, Vc. 165, Tk. II 537-9 ¶¶ In the prehistory of the HS languages one may suppose as. **-K̄d- > *-gd- (> S *-dd-, Eg ḍ) and (?) > *-kt- > *-t- || U {UEW} *pukta-, {Coll.} *pokta- v. 'hop, run' ('hüpfen, laufen') (× N *buk'o' 'run, run away?') > Chr L пок'т-аш 'drive, turn out, pursue (гнать, -ся)', Chr H, Chr {Ü} пок'тэ-, Chr Uf/B pokte- 'treiben, verjagen, verfolgen' ||| Os V/Vy pot-ta {Trj.} 'run, run away, flee' | Hg f u t- id. || Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pakti-qo 'to run', ìnnä pakti-qo 'to jump up', Slq Tz/Kt {KD} pakta- 'jump', Slq Tm pakta- 'jump, hop, run', Slq Tur paktiṛti- 'jump over', ? Kms baktə- v. 'come' ¶¶ UEW 402, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406, Trj. S 371, KKIH 146, MF 223, IS I 181 (*pok-t∇), SK 470 || A: Tg *pukti- ({Jbz.} *pökti-) v. 'run' > Ewk hukti- v. 'run, flee' (of an animal), Sln uktɔlī~utlī- 'run' (of a horse), uktilɔnɔ 'a fugitive', Neg xukti- v. 'gallop', Orc xukti- 'run' (of an animal), Ud xukti- 'run, gallop' (of an animal)', {Krm.} v. 'run jumping', Ul pukti-, Ork pukçi- ~ Δ fukçi- ~ Δ fukti- vi. 'gallop', Nn Nh pukči-, Nn KU fukti-, Nn B fukči- id., WrMc feksi- ~ fekce- v. 'gallop, run at full speed' (of a horse), Mc Sb fɔkšī-, fɔkšē- 'run, gallop' (of a horse) ¶ STM II 340-1, Vas. 491, Ci. 158, 329, Krm. 306 ◇ The Eg cognate is phonetically dubious (loss of N *K̄), and WCh suggests N *p-

hence the rec. of N ***ṛ̥**¹-(base on Eg p̥d) is not certain ◇ IS I 181 (*bok^{ṛ̥} 'run away'), AD SShS 395-6 (*puQt̥).

1686. ***P̥iK̥V̥Ž̥** 'sticky liquid, pitch' > IE: NaIE *pik- (< ppIE *pik̥V̥H̥V̥) 'tree-pitch' > pGk *pikjā id. > Gk πίσσα (↳ G pis-i id.), Gk Α πίττα || L pīx / gen. pīcis 'pitch, tar' (↳ MLG picck, pek, OHG pēh 'pitch' > NHG Pech) || SI *p̥k̥b̥l̥b̥ 'tree-pitch' > OCS пьцѣль p̥c̥s̥l̥b̥, RChS пькль p̥k̥l̥b̥ ~ пекль p̥k̥l̥b̥ ~ пеколь p̥k̥o̥l̥b̥ 'pitch', SCr d. op̥akliti 'to smear with pitch, to resin', p̥aklina, {Glh.} p̥aklin 'pitch, tar' | Lt p̥ikis 'tree-pitch' (↳ NLG pik id.?) ¶ ≈ P 794, EI 500, Frdr. PITA 31-8, F II 544, WH II 312, EM 511, KM 536, StSS 559, Srz. II 893, Glh. 463-4, ≈ Mikl. E 270, Frn. 589 || **U:** FU *piška ~ ? *pikša 'sticky liquid, pitch' > F p̥ihka 'pitch, resin, gum', Es p̥ihk 'sticky liquid, pitch' || pOs *piʒaʔ > Os: Ty piʒaʔ 'Flicken an einem Boote (gewöhnlich einem Einbaum)', piʒaʔ-i, V/Vy piʒl-i- d. 'mit Harz verstopfen (Spalten in einem Boot), mit erhitztem Harz dichten' ¶ UEW 384-5, Coll. 107, Stn. D 1122, Trj. S 359 || **D** *pič- 'sticky \ viscous liquid' (× homonymous roots or N words for 'be moist, greasy') > Tm p̥icin 'gum, stickiness, viscousness', p̥icupicu 'be viscous, adhesive', p̥icukku 'sticky substance', Tu bijibiji 'gummy, sticky', Tl pisunu 'gum, resin'; D ↳ OI picchā- 'gum' ¶¶ D #4134, Tu. ##8154, 8156.

1687. ₂ ***P̥al** ' (ε ?) tooth' > A {DQA} *p̥₁ala 'tooth' > AmTg *pal 'molar' > Nn Nh {Pt., On.} paloa, Nn B {Sem} falo, Ul pal, {PSchm.} pali, palu id. ¶ STM II 313, Pt. 100, On. 323, Sem BD 195 || pKo *par in MKo ni-s-par 'teeth' (compound with ni 'tooth') > NKo vl ip̥al 'tooth' ¶ Rm. SKE 185, S AJ 256 [#127], S QK #127, Nam 127, MLC 1369 || pJ *pa 'tooth' > OJ pa, J: T/Kg há, K hâ, Ht p̥á ¶ S AJ 268 #81, S QJ #8, Mr. 394 ¶¶ DQA #1615, Rm. EAS I 55-6, Rm. AKE 14, S AJ 109, 278 [#77] || **D** {Pf., GS} *pal 'tooth' > Tm, Kn pal, Ml pal, pallu, Kt, Nk, Nkr, Gnd, Konda, Mnd pal, Td paʔ, Kdg pall̥, Tl pal(l)u, Prj pel, Gdb pal, pallū, Kui paḍu, pallu, Ku pallū, pal(l)u, Krx pall, Mlt palu 'tooth', Tu paru 'animal's tooth', Klm pal 'tooth' (esp. 'front tooth') ¶¶ D #3986(a), Pf. 131 [#1118], GS 29 [#21], 33 [#46] ◇ IS III 95-6 [#370]: D, A (Tg, Ko). IS l.c. tentatively adduces HS: EC: Sml N {Abr.} fōl 'incisor tooth', but this word (Sml {DSI} fōl 'each of the two central superior incisor teeth') is most probably a sd. of Sml fōl 'front, face' < EC *fōl- 'front, face' (F DSI 234, Abr. S 81, Ss. B 175).

1688. *pǎǎ¹A¹ 'time (mal, fois), once, one' > HS: C: Ag: Aw Dng {Hz} ʒmpɜl 'one' || CCh: Mdr {Eg. in JI II} pállé, {ChL} pɛle, Mdr Mr {CIm.} pállé, Glv {Rp., ChC} pállà, Nkc {ChL} pala 'one' | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} pál 'one', Gzg {Lk.} pal 'eins' | BM: Mrg, Wmd paśu, Cb {Hf. in ChC} páśú, {ChL} pátù 'one' | McHigi: HgNk {ChL} paśε, HgB {ChL} paśɜw, HgG {ChL} pažε 'one' | Ktk {Lbf.}: Ktk Af/ Mkr, Glf pal 'one' ¶ ChL, JI II 262-3, ChC, Brr. MG II 217, RpB 75, Lk. G 133 || **K** (in Zan only) *^ope_lu₁ > Mg {Q} palo, {FS} palo, paluo 'simple, single, only, sole, one', Lz palu 'one, simple' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [#52], Q 334 || **U**: FU *pǎǎ¹ǎ > FP *pǎǎ 'time, once' > pLp {Lr.} *pǎǎē > Lp: N {Fri.} bale 'tempus, aetas', N {N} *balle -ǎl- '(definite) time, duration' (used in obl. cases: accus. b_ǎle ~ b_ǎle, etc.), L {Wk.} pallē 'Mal', S {Hs.} baalie '(bestimmte) Zeit, Mal', T {TI} pǎ:llē 'Zeit', Kld {SaR} пǎлль 'time, deadline, high time', {TI} pǎ'll'ē 'time' || Prm *pǎǎ 'a time (mal, pǎǎ)' > Z pǎǎ, Yz pǎǎ id., Vt pǎǎ in ogpǎǎ 'once' (og is 'one'), kǎk pǎǎ 'twice' ¶ UEW 726, Lr. #885, Lgc. #4758, NI 125, Hs. 267, TI 335, SaR 247, LG 227, Wk. LLW 87 ◇ Blz. KM #13 (K, HS: C, Ch).

1689. *pǎǎ¹o¹ 'open ground, plain' > HS: S *^o✓pǎǎ¹w¹ > Ar فَلَآة falā-t- (pl. فَلَآَات falawāt-) {BK} 'désert sans eau', {Hv.} 'desert, waterless plain' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575 || CCh: Gzg {Lk.} pala 'Ebene im Busch ohne Bäume', MfG {Brr.} pǎǎláh, papǎláh 'plaine, endroit plat' ¶ Lk. G 133, Brr. MG II 217 || ?φ EC {Ss.} *bal- 'field, plain' > Gdl {Bl.} pǎǎ¹-a 'a field (for playing in)', ?σ Kmb {Hd.} bali, bali-ta 'valley; cliff, precipice' (if 'valley' is the primary meaning) ¶ Ss. B 32, Bl. G 93, Hd. 309 || **IE**: NaIE *pǎǎ- 'field, plain' > Sl *pǎǎē > OCS полѣ polje 'field, plain', R 'поле 'field, steppe', P, Cz, Slk pole, HLs polo, LLs pǎǎlo, Slv pǎǎlje / poljē, SCr pǎǎlje (пǎљe), Blg по'ле 'field' || Arm {Bdr.} հող hoł 'soil, earth, land' || OSw, Sw π fala 'plain', {P} 'Feld, Heide', NHG -fal- in n. l. Westfalen, Ostfalen | Derived stem *pe_la₁-t- (× ← *pe_la- /pǎǎ- 'broad') > Gmc *fe_lθ > OSw d. ur-fjælder 'plot (of land), OSx feld, OHG fēld, MHG velt, gen. veldes, NHG Feld 'field', AS feld 'field, plain', NE field || OIr {P} láthar 'place, site, spot' (< *pǎǎ-) > Nir láthair 'open place, site, spot' ¶ Jah. OSK 8 [#1.211], 94, Shvl. 208 (on *í in *pǎǎē), SJSS XXVII 148, Glh. 495; ≠ Vs. III 307-8, P 805-7 (both do not distinguish between the ✓ in question and *pe_la- 'broad and flat'); Mn. 918, Dnn. 420, Kb. 232, OsS 176, Lx. 266, KM 191, Ho.

100, Ho. S 19, ≠ EI 133 || **А** {SDM97} *p'ā1∇, {S} *p'ā1∇ 'field, level ground' > T (att. in NaT) *_lh₁ala-ŋ 'flat open ground' > OT alaŋ, Tk alan id., Tkm alaŋ 'small height, mountains', VTt {Bu.} alan 'clearing in woods, meadow', Nog alaŋ 'open (ground)', alaŋ er 'glade, lawn', Qzq, Qq alaŋ 'a clearing in woods (поляна)', Tv alāq id., alandi 'thawed patch (проталина)', Yk alā-s 'round field, clearing in woods', Alt ɟalaŋ 'plain (Ebene)' ¶ ET GI 134-5, Cl. 147, Bu. I 79, Pek. 67, NogR 36, TvR 51, Sht. 20, KrkR 36, RKazS 570 || Tg *opa₁lin- 'level ground' > Lm OI/P hā₁lnr̄, Lm O hal₁nr̄a 'a clearing in woods, woodless level ground'; Tg *palaŋ 'ground, floor' > Ork pālla(n-), Nn Nh palã, Nn B ɸala(n-), Nn KU ɸalã 'floor', Ul pala(n-) 'floor, board', WrMc falaŋ 'floor, courtyard within the house'; ↗ Ud pala(n-), Neg palaŋ 'floor'; in addition, the infl. of Chn fa-lan 'fence' (as supposed by Z) cannot be ruled out ¶ STM II 32, 313, Krm. 276, Z 1032 || pKo {S} *pá₁r(h)- 'field, meadows' > MKo p'há₁ri, Ko Ph pə₁l~p'hə₁l, NKo {MLC} pə₁l, {Rm.} pē₁l 'plain, open field, prairie, even ground', NKo {MLC} p'hə₁l 'a wide expanse of land, vast plain, prairie' ¶ Rm. SKE 196, MLC 764, 1744, BKR I 545, S QK #202 || pJ *pàrà 'level ground, plain' > OJ pàrà, J: T/K hára, Kg hàrà ¶ S QJ #269. Mr. 399 ¶¶ S LV #93, DQA #1723 (*p'ā₁là 'field, level ground [plain]'), ≠ Rm. SKE 196 (equates Ko pē₁l with Ewk hilɜ-kɜn 'open field', ? WrMc fila 'a plate', Ul, Nn {PSchm.} pila, pili id., J hira, Ai hira 'a plain') || **Д** *pol- ({{GS} *p-) 'arable field' > Tm pulam 'arable land, rice field; place, region', pulan, pulavv 'arable land', Ml pulam 'cornfield; place', Kn pola 'plough-field; place', Tu pula 'pasturage', Tl polamv 'field, place of cultivated land', Klm polam 'field', Prj polub, Gdb polub, pollūb 'village' ¶¶ D #4303 ◇ D *-o- is probably due to the assimilative infl. of *p- and/or of an ancient *-^o. EC *b- still needs explaining.

1690. *pā1∇ 'inside, entrails, liver' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Gmy {ChL} fɜ́lɜ́, {Sh. in ChC} fɜ́lep^h, Tal {ChL} fɜ́lɜ́k, Cp {ChL} fɜ́lɜ́k, Tmbs {Sh.} fwàlɜ́k 'liver' || ? CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg mbɜ́l, Klb m̀b̀l̀l̀à, Hld mbúlu (pl. mbòlà), Wmd mbɜ́la id. | Mofu {Ro.} mɜ́vél, MfG {Bn} mɜ́vél, Gzg {Lk.} mevelid. || Skr {Sx.} pèlsà 'liver' ¶ ChC, ChL, ≈ Ro. 284 (unc.: pMM *ma-givir) || ? HEC *afale 'liver' > Sd {Ss.} affale, {Hd., Gs.} afale, Brj {Ss.} affala, {Hd.} af(f)ala, Kmb {Ss.} afelita, {Hd.} afalita, Hd {Hd., Ss.} afare ¶ Ss. B 24, Hd. 93, Bnd. LE 258-9 || NrOm (↔ HEC?): Ma S {Ss.} a'fāro, Shn {Lm.} afarà, Mch {L} aɸa'ro, Anf {MYTY} aparo, {Fl.} afa'ro 'liver' ¶ L M

17, Lm. Sh 261, MYTY 120, Fl. OWL || ? S: Ar *bāl-* 'heart, mind' ¶ Ln. 277, BK I 180, Hv. 52 ¶¶ Cf. OS #775 (**fal-/ful-* 'liver, lungs', adducing WCh **ful-* 'lungs' and CCh **fa-ful-* 'lungs') || U: FU **pā|*∇ 'internal, entrails' ({UEW} 'das Innere') > Prm: Vt *pol-*, *pāl-*: Vt Sl *polin* 'in, im Inneren, zwischen', Vt Sr *pāl+*, Vt Kz *pole* 'in, zwischen' (direction)', Z *pāls-~pāv-*: Z Lu *miyan pālsin* 'among us' || OHg *bél* 'das Innere', Hg *bél* (accus. *belet*) 'gut, kernel (of a nut), wick', *-be / -ba* into', *-ben / -ban* 'in', *-ból / -ból* 'out of' ¶ UEW 364, MF 105, LG 227 || A: M **φeligen* 'liver' > MM [L] *هَلِكَانْ* *helegen*, [S] *helige(n)*, [IM] *helige*, [MA] *eligen* 'liver', WrM *elige*, HIM *элэг* id., π 'breast, belly', Kl *elkḡ*, Ba *helgə* ({T} *хэлгэ*), Dg {Mr.} *helehe*, {T} *хэлэг*, ShY *helehe*, Mnr H {SM} *xaljege*, {T} *xelige*, Mnr M {T} *xalige* 'liver' ¶ Pel. 211-2 [#14], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 152, 438, H 75, MED 309, KRS 697, KW 119, SM 157, T 375, T DgJ 17, Mr. D 159 || Tg **pēlbu-* 'be pregnant' > Ewk *hēlbu-* id. ¶ STM 363 || pKo **páj* 'belly' > MKo *páj*, NKo *pā* ¶ S AJ 25 [#4], S QK #4, Nam 21, MLC 742 || pJ **pàrà* 'belly' > OJ *pàrà*, J: T/Kg *hará*, K *hàrà* ¶ S AJ 264 [#4], S QJ #4, Mr. 399 ¶¶ DQA #1632 (A **p'ēyló* 'belly, liver'), SDM94 (A **p'ēlō*) ¶¶ T: ʔʔ Chv {KW ← ?} *al* 'Niere' (not confirmed by Ash. and any other available sources) (a ghost word?) ¶ KW 119.

1691. *P₁il∇ 'a hair, tuft of hair, feather' > IE: NaIE **pilo-* 'hair' (with as.: **pulo-* id.) (-> **pil-t-* 'felt') > L *pilus* 'a hair' || Mir *ul* (< **pulu*) 'beard', Brtt (× N **pīl∇* 'eye?'): OW {Flr.} *ail*, W *ael* 'eyebrow', OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd. with GUOR- 'upper') || Gk *πύλιγγες* 'hairs of the body' || OI *pulakāh* pl. 'bristling hairs of the body' || Irn: Krd *pūr* 'headhair' || ? Gmc (× Gmc **folti-* 'gestampftes'): OHG *filz*, MHG *vilz*, NHG *Filz*, OSx *filt*, AS *felt* 'felt', NE *felt* || NaIE **pils-/pils-* 'felt' > L *pilleus* (< **pils-eyo-*) 'felt cap' || Gk *πῖλος* 'wool\hair made into felt' || Sl **pǎlstь* 'felt' > OR **ПЛЪСТЬ** *pǎlstь* 'felt, felt carpet', Blg *пльст*, SCr MN *пѹст*, Slv *pōlst* (gen. *pōlstī*), Cz *plst* (gen. *plsti*), Slk *plst'*, P *pilść*, Uk *повсть* (gen. *повсти*) 'felt', R *полсть* (gen. *полсти*) 'felt-cloth, cloth', d. *полстина* 'felt' ¶ H 251 || NaIE **pleu-k-*, **pleu-s-* 'feather, hair, wool' (× NaIE **pleus-* 'pluck out', **pleuk-* 'flock') > [1] **pleu-k-* > Lt *pláukas* 'a hair', *plaukaĩ* pl. 'hair', *pluksna*, Δ *plunksna* 'feather'; [2] **pleu-s-* > L *plūma* ({Thr.}: < **plusma*) 'downy part of a feather; small, soft feather', pl. *plūmae* 'down' || Gmc {Vr.} **fleusaz* > MLG *vlūs*, *vlūsich*, MHG

{KM, Vr.} vlius, NHG Vlies, MDt vlies, vluus, Dt vlies 'fleece', AS flīes, flēos id., 'wool, hide', NE fleece, as well as NLG vlūs(e), vlūsich, NHG Flaus, Flausch 'tuft of wool\hair, fleecy woollen material', ??σ Nr Δ {Ar.} fluret 'dishevelled\bristling' (of hair), {Ho.} flūra 'zottiges Haar' || Lt plūskos pl. 'tufts of hair, hair', Lt † plāuz(d)inis ~ plā(u)zenis '(Deck)bett', Pru plauxdine 'eider-down' || ¶ P 830, ≈ 837-8, EI 569, EM 516, ≈ F II 536, WH II 303-5, 324-5, Vr. N 7920, Kb. 243, ≈ KM 197-8, KM 203, 822, Ho. 100, 108, Ar. 274, ≈ Frn. 607-9, 634, En. 227, Vs. III 318, Ma. CS 378, Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt *aili), Bc. 220, EI 251 (*pilo-s, *pulo-s '[a single] hair [of the human body]'), 569 (*pil-so- ~ *pil-to- 'felt') || ? HS: ? B *bil_h-, *bilh|φ-i_{tt}- 'eyelashes, (→) eyelid' > BSn abəl, Izn ābəl 'eyelid', BMn abəl 'eyelash', Mtm abliwān 'eyebrow', Ah abīlāt 'eyelid'; acc. to NZ, in most B lgs. anf ds. it means 'eyelash' ¶ Fc. 69, Pr. H #25, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} fīl 'tail' || Ag: Xm Wg {FI} felfela 'feather' ¶ Hw. A 358, Blz. CWL || D [1] D *pīl- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'peacocks's tail, peacocks's feather' > Kn pīli, Kdg pīli id., Tu pīli id., bīla 'tail', Tm, Ml pīli 'peacock's feather', Tl pīli 'rudder, peacock's feather' ¶¶ D #4226 || [2] *pil_∇ka ({ǵGS} *p-) 'a tuft\knot of hair' > Tl pilaka id., Knd pilka, pilika 'pigtail, dangling ends of hair', Ku pilka 'lovelock (worn curled under the ear by males)' ¶¶ D #4179 || K: Sv {Ni.} pīl 'tail' (not confirmed by other available sources) ¶ Ni. s.v. хвостъ.

1691a. *pUIE 'be much\big, increase' > HS: ? S *^o✓pwl > Ar ✓fwl TD (pf. tafayyala) 'grow up' (plant, youth) ¶ BK II 655, Hv. 582 || A: M *φüle- v. 'be too much\big, be superfluous', *φüle-ϣü- 'superfluous, left over', *φülemzi 'more, much, many' > MM [L] hülūwülebe 'vermehrte sich', [S] hulegu 'übrig sein', WrM üle-, HIM үлэ- v. 'be left over, be superfluous', WrM ülemzi, HIM үлэмж 'more, much, many; great, huge', Ord ilū, ilgū, ülgū 'superflu, plus de, davantage', Mnr H {SM} fuliū 'superflu, en surplus, plus de, de trop' ¶ Pel. 236-7 [#64], MED 1004-5, H 78, Iw. 144, Ms. O 384, SM 107 || Tg *pule- ({Bz.} pölä-) v. 'be superfluous' > Ewk hulz- ~ hɜlz- 'happen to be superfluous (остаться в излишке)', Lm hul- id., 'be(come) superfluous', Sln ulz- id., ulzɣ 'the remainder, surplus', 'magnificent', Ul pulz, Ork pullz ~ pulz ~ pulzɣz 'sth. superfluous, surplus', Neg xulzɣz id., 'extra, more, better', Orc xulz 'superfluous, surplus', xulz aya 'the best', Ud {STM} xulʔa 'superfluous', Nn Nh pulz, Nn KU fulz,

ful3k3, Nn B ful3x3 'superfluous, surplus, redundancy', WrMc fulu 'superfluous, surplus; too much' ¶ STM II 364-5 || NaT *_hulug 'great, big' (× N *wuloa 'big, large, multitude', see ffd. N *wAa [or *wuloa?] id.) > OT, OOsM XIV uluϣ, XwT XIII ulu(ϣ), MQP XIII ulū, XIV [CC] ulu, Chg XV, ET uluϣ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluϣ, Tkm, Slr uli 'large, big, great', Tk ulu, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олы ъль, Bsh оло ъль 'large, big; old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluϣ, Qzq ҫлы ъли, Qq ulli, Alt ulu, Uz uluϣ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 || D *poli 'increase, abound' > Tm poli 'flourish, prosper, abound, increase', Ml poli n. 'increase', Kn hulisu v. 'increase in bulk, thrive, grow rich', Kdg poli- v. 'increae', Tu poli n. 'interest in kind, increase, abundance', Tl poli n. 'gain' ¶ D #4550 ◇ Is there etymological connection with N *palyû 'much, superfluous'?

1692. *puļu (or *puļû?) 'to spring forth' (→ 'to flow'), 'to plunge in water' > HS: WS *√p|p| ~ *√p|l| ~ *-pūl- > Gz √flfl (pf. falfala) v. 'gush out, spring forth', falfal 'fountain', Sr √p|l| (pf. 𐎓𐎎 pal) 'sprinkle', √pwl (pf. 𐎓𐎎 pāl, ip. -pūl) id.; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} fəlfəl- 'gush out', Qbn {L} fəlfello', falfalla id.]Not here (⇔ Blz.) S *palag- 'canal, small stream' (← S *√p|lg 'split asunder', see ffd. N *Pä'ṭ'ṽkṽ 'to split lengthwise, to divide') ¶ L G 158-9, Br. 560, 569, JPS 437, 445-6, ≈ Blz. LB #60 || IE: [1] NaIE *pol-/*p̥o- v. 'pour\stream' > Lt pilti (pres. pilu) 'to pour', Ltv {ME} piļt (prs. piļstu, pilu) vi. 'tröpfeln', Ltv pilēt 'to drop, to drip, to trickle, to dribble', pali (Δ palas) 'flood, inundation', pile 'a drop', Lt aĩpalas (< *aĩt-palas) 'water frozen on the ice' || Sl *opol- v., *opolъ n. > ChS {Mikl.} полъ 'ἐπαρυστήρ, Schöpfgefäß', Slv {Mikl.} plati, poljem 'haurire'; the connection with R 'полая вода, поло'водье 'Hochwasser' is highly qu., the R stem is more likely to derive from пол- 'full' < N *PoiXæ 'to fill' (or reflects a merger of both N words) || Arm հեղում hełum 'I pour, pour out, empty' (< *peł-nu-mi), զեղում zełum (< *z-hełum) vt. 'I shed, pour out (lasse strömen)' || W llanw n. 'flow of tide', OBr lanu, MBr lano, lanv, lanu 'flux', Crn {ECCE} lanwes 'flow, raising tide' ¶ ≈ P 798-801 (does not distinguish between this √ and IE *peh̄-/ *pleh̄- 'to fill'), LP § 19, YGM-1 302, Flr. 236-7, ECCE 264, Frn. 592, Kar. II 13-4, 48, ME III 59, 214-6, Mikl. L 616, F II 547-8, Slr. 384-5, ≠σ EI

201 (Arm *heḫum* < **peh₁*- 'fill') ||| [2] NaIE **pleu-* 'flow; swim' > OI 'plavatē 'floats, swims', caus. plā'vayati 'causes to swim, bathes, submerges', plu'ta- 'floated, bathed' (÷ Gk πλυτός 'washed'), pluti- 'overflowing, flood' (÷ Gk πλύσις n. act. 'washing') ||| Gk πλέ(ν)ω 'swim, float, sail, go by sea', πλύνω 'I wash' ||| Arm [n]uawān luanam 'I wash', aor. [n]uagh luac^hi ||| L pluit 'it rains', pluuius, pluor 'rain', replu-ō 'durchnässe' ||| ? Clt: OIr {SB} ló-chasair 'rain' (× N *L∇qU 'be moist/liquid, flow', q.v.); ??? Brtt: MCrn glaw, Crn gwlaw > glaw 'rain', MBr glauaff 'to rain' ||| ON flóa, AS flōwan 'to overflow', OHG flewen (← caus.) 'to wash', ON fley 'ferry, ship', OSx flōd 'flood, river', AS flōd 'flowing, stream; tide; river, sea; flood', Gt flōdus, ON flœð, flœðr, flóð, OHG fluot, NHG Flut 'flood', NE flood ||| Lt pláuti (p. plóviau, prs. pláuju) (< caus.) 'to wash, to rinse' | SI *plu-ti (prs. *plōvq) 'to swim, to float' > OCS ПЛОУТИ pluti / prs. ПЛОВѦ plovq, OR pluti / plovu, SCr Cr plūti / plovēm, Slv plúti / plóvem, OCz plúti / plovu, Cz plouti / pluju, Slk plut'; SI *plī-ti (< *plū-) / prs. *plǐjq 'swim, float' > R плыть / плы'ву id., SCr Sr плїти / плїјем id., P pływac 'to swim, to float', Blg prs. пливам 'I swim' ||| pTc {Ad.} *plu- > Tc: A plu-, {Wn.} plau-, B {Wn.} plu-, plyew- 'planer, floter', B {Ad.} plu-, plyew- 'soar, fly up', plewe {Wn.} 'raft, boat', {Ad.} 'raft' ¶ P 835-7, M K II 383-6, M E II 194-6, F II 559-60, WH II 326-7, Bc. 68 (no et. of the Brtt words for 'rain'), Ern. 258, ≠ SB 249-50 (pClt *leuō 'ich spüle'), Vr. 131-3, 1350, Kb. 262, 268, OsS 203-4, 206-7, KM 210-1, Sw. 60, Ho. 109-10, Ho. S 21, Slt. 94, Frn. 609-10, Vs. III 288-9, Glh. 488, Wn. 377, 379, Ad. 428, Ad. H 17, 99 ¶¶ N *u is not reflected in the IE root, because in the prehistory of IE the glide *u after *p was lost (**pu- > *p-) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) *pâ]∇ (= *pu]∇?) spring forth, flow' > ObU *pō]- > pOs *pǎ]- ~ *pō]- ({HL} *pǎ]- ~ *pū]-) > Os: Nz pōlīy-, Kz pōlī-, O pǎli- 'spring forth (hervorquellen)', Kz pōlśī-, pōlśemə-, D pǎltemə- 'plätschern'; pVg *pǎ]- > Vg: T/LK/UK poĺśit-, P/NV poĺśt-, IL paĺśt-, UL poĺśat- v. 'splash, ripple', Ss połx- 'plätschern' (xāpñol połxanēt suyti 'das Plätschern der Bootspitze ist zu hören'), połxalt- 'plätschern' (matər połxaltawe 'etwas plätschert') | OHg, Hg folu- 'flow, stream' ¶ UEW 881, Ht. #511, MF 212-3, EWU 406-7 ||| A *bulA- or *būla- 'make (a liquid) flow', *bulak∇ source, spring' > T *°bula- > Qzq {RL} bula- 'fließen, hervorströmen, entspringen (Fluß)', {Sht.}

бѣла- būla- 'weep, shed tears; foam a horse by fast riding'; NaT *bulak 'spring (of water)' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp [CC] bulaq, Tk bulak, CrTt, Qmq, Qq, ET, SY, Ln bulaq, Az булаг bulag, Uz buloq id., Tkm bulaq 'irrigation ditch', VTt болак бѣлаq 'brook', Tv булак р'улаq 'spring of water; brook (in a steppe); source (of a river)', Tf р'улаq 'ice crust (наледь) near a spring'; T б→ M: MM [IsV, HI] bulaq, [S] bulaχ, WrM булаг, HIM булаг, Ord b_u'laq, KI булг bulъg, {Rm.} buluq, Mnr H {SM} b_u laq, Mnr H/M {T} bulag 'spring, source' ¶ Rs. W 87, Dr. TM II ##770, 809, RI. IV 1836, Sht. 64, MM 113, ET B 257-8, Cl. 336, TvR 121, Ra. 72, 165, Lg. VMI 22, Ms. H 43, H 21, MED 133, SM 32, T 320, KW 59 || Tg: [1] *bulku- > WrMc булqu- vi. 'spout, jet' (of a spring), 'splash', {Hr.} 'von unten nach oben hervorkommen (Wasser), heraussprudeln, hervorquellen', ? Ewk Ald/Z bulku- 'wash oneself', ? Nn Nh болqо- ~ булχо- v. 'rinse (one's mouth)']?? [2] *°pulK∇- > WrMc фулχa- {Z} 'suppurate, discharge pus', 'burst' (an abscess), 'bleed' (a wound), {Hr.} 'eitern', {Am.} 'lorsque le pus sort d'un plaie'] [3] *bi_lku- vt. 'moisten, wet' > Ewk bilki-, bilkiptan- 'moisten (a hide to dress leather)', Ud beäku-, Nn Nh булχо- 'moisten (runners of a sledge to improve sliding)' ¶ STM I 82, 108, Hr. 124, 315, Am. I 214, Z 1088, DQA #146 (Tg *b'ü'lkü-) || M: [1] M *bulqa- vt. 'dip in water' > WrM булqa-, HIM булха- vt. 'dip in water, rinse', KI булхх булχъ-χъ, {Rm.} булχa-χǎvi. 'to dip in water'; [2] ?σ,φ M *bilqa- v. 'overflow; be too full' > WrM bilqa-, HIM бялха- id.; d. *bilqayī- > WrM bilqai-, HIM бялхай- 'be overfilled', KI {Rm.} bilχā- 'dick und voll werden, über den Rand überschwabben' ¶ M *bilqa- has more plausible semantic connections with the roots of T and Tg, while M *bulqa- 'dip in water' is justified in the framework of N (see IE *pleu- 'swim') ¶ MED 105, 136, KW 45, 60, KRS 119 || pKo {S} *purī- (or *pīri-) 'soak, make wet' > NKo purī-, pulli- ¶ S QK #883, Rm. SKE 211, MLC 836 || pJ {S} *pūrè or *pūryà 'bath' > OJ pūr_у_ò, J: T φύρο ~ φуро, K φуро, Kg φуро ¶ S QJ #1658, Mr. 418 ¶¶ DQA #146 (A *bi_ü'lo v. 'soak, gush forth') || D (SD) *pu_l- v. float' > Tu pu_lāvuni, Krg bo]a id. ¶ D #4321 ◇ The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) in Tg *bi_lku- is still to be explained (see Introduction, § 2.4).

1692a. ₂ *pûL∇ 'to blow (blasen)' > HS: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} fā] v. 'blow' || ECh: Kir {ChL} f^ωale id., Ke {Eb. in ChC} fēlé id., {Eb.} fūlí 'blasen, wehen' ¶ Eb. 46, ChL, ChC || HEC {Hd.} *fōl- 'breathe' > Sd fōl-, fō?]- id.; HEC *fōle 'breath' > Sd {Gs.} fōle id., 'odour, smell', Brj {Hd.} fōle

'odour, smell', Kmb *fōli*, Hd. *fōre* 'life, soul' ¶ Hd. 31, 190, 278, 316 ||
A: M **ʰūliʒe-* v. 'blow (blasen)' > MM [MA] *hülē-* id., WrM *ūliye-*, HIM
γλᾶᾱ- v. 'blow, inflate', Dx *fulie-* v. 'blow', Ba *file-* v. 'blow' (of wind)
 ¶ MED 1006, Pp. MA 190, T DnJ 138, T BJ 148 || Tg **pυl(i)gi-* v. 'blow
 (blasen)' > Nn B/KU *fulgi-* id., Nn B *fulgiči-* v. 'inflate', WrMc
fulgiye-, Mc Sb *fulgi-* v. 'blow, fan (fire)' ¶ STM II 336 || pKo **pūr-* v
 'blow (blasen)' > MKo *pūr-*, NKo *pūl-* ¶ Rm. SKE 209, S QK #554, Nam
 267, MLC 835 || pJ **pūk-* v. 'blow' > OJ *pūk-*, J: T/K *φúk-*, Kg *φúk-* ¶ S
 QJ #515, Mr. 694 ¶¶ DQA 1852 (A **p'ūlgi* -o- 'to blow').

1693. *p∇Lu (or ***p∇Lü?**) 'lungs, pluck' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J}
fə̀lòk, Ang {Flk.} *fωolok*, Gmy {ChC} *f+l+l*, Mpn {Frz.} *flòk,†fùlfúk*
 'lung(s)' || Ron: Bks {J} *fòlòk* id. ¶ J S 65, J R 141, Flk. s.v. *fωolok*, Frz.
 DM 18, ChC ¶ Infl. of N ***pAí∇,gæ** ~ ***pAí∇,gæ** 'spleen' is possible
 ¶¶ Cf. OS #775 (**fal-/ful-* 'liver, lungs', adducing HEC **afal-* 'liver'
 and Om **afār-* 'liver') || **K:** GZ **pe|iltw-* / **p]tw-* 'lungs' > G *piltv-* id.,
 {DCh.} id., 'pluck', Mg *pirtv-* (ir < *], Zan ⇨ OG *pirtw-*, G *pirtv-*
 'lungs', and [??] Sv UB/LB/L {TK, GP} *peršwda*, Sv Ln {TK} *peresřwa* id.;
 the stem-final *-tw-* ^d *-dw-* may be ancient (cp. IE **plew-tyo-* in BSI) ¶
 ≈□ K 189 (**pir(š)tw-*) and K² 201-2 (**pirtw-* 'lungs' with a "secondary
 substitution" l for *r in G), ≈ FS K 319-20 and ≈ FS E 358 (**pirtw-*),
 DCh. 1306, SSO II 193 (*pirtw-*), ≈ Gel. 108 (substitution l for r), TK
 681, GP 253 || **IE:** NaIE **pleu-mon-/plu-m(o)n-* 'lung', **opleu-tyā-* ~
 **plou-tyā-* 'lung(s)': [1] NaIE **pleu-mon-/plu-m(o)n-* > OI *klōman-*
 'the right lung', pl. 'lungs' (acc. to P and F, dis. **p...m* > **k...m*), Pali
kilōmaka 'the pleura', Kls *krōma* 'lung' (< var. InA **krōman-*) || Gk
πλεúμων 'lung' || L *pulmō*, mostly pl. *pulmōnes* 'lungs' || [2] NaIE (in
 BSI) **pleu-tyā-* ~ **plou-tyā-* 'lungs' > Lt *plauščiai*, Ltv *plàušas* (m.
 pl.), Pru *plauti* 'lungs' || Sl {Glh.} **p'lutje* / pl. **p'lutjá* 'lung(s)' > OCS
плюща *pljušta*, [Supr.] **плогща** *plušta*, OR **плюча** *pljuča*, SCr
pljuća, Sln *plúča*, OCz *pliúčě*, Cz *plíce*, Slk *pl'úca* 'lungs' ¶ P
 837-8, ≈ EI 359 (**pleumōn* / **plum'n-os*; BSI < **plou-ty-e/oh_h*; unc.: ←
 **pleu-* 'float'), M E I 419, F II 558-9, WH II 386-7, Frn. 607, En. 227, StSS
 452, SJSS XXV 6, Glh. 489 || ?φ **D** **poϣ∇l-* ({ϑGS} **p-*) 'lungs' > Irl *poϣo]i*
 'lungs', AIK *poϣo]di* id., ? Gnd *posa* id., Knd *poRo* (= [poʀo]) 'lung(s),
 Png *počla*, Mnd *būlan* id., Ku *bo'la* id. ¶¶ D #4569 ¶¶ D **poϣ∇l-* results

from dis.: *p_oɣ₁- < **p₁ɣ₁- ◊ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of AG *f-.

1694. *p¹i¹ɣ¹L₁ 'strong' > HS *√¹pɣ¹ (or *√¹ph¹) > S: Ak B/NA ɓaɣ̄ālu(m) 'abnormal groß, lichtstark sein', 'be abnormally large, become bright, shine brightly', Ak YB ɓaɣ̄lu 'abnormal groß' ¶ Sd. 93-4, 100, CAD II 1 || ? Eg fOK fɣ̄ω {EG} 'Macht', {Fk.} 'magnificence, splendour' (*f₁ɣ̄₁ω₁ < *f₁ɣ̄₁ɣ̄₁l₁ω₁??) ¶ EG I 575, Fk. 98, ⇔ Tk. II 558-9 (Eg ÷ Hb √ pɣ̄₁ D 'zieren, verherrlichen' and related S and Ch words for 'adorn, praise') || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ɓala 'strong, big' > pAG {Hf.} *ɓal v. 'be strong, hard' > Su {J} ɓáal 'fest, gewaltig, mächtig; Stärke, Gewalt', Ang {Hf.} ɓal v. 'get better after illness', Gmy {Hf.}, Mnt {Hf.} ɓal, Kfr {Nt.} ɓáal 'hard, strong', Cp {ChL} ɓal 'strong', ɓalɓal 'hard' || BT: Tng B {Kr.} ɓél 'many', Tng {J} ɓel 'full' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} ɓɛl- 'big' (m. ɓɛlán, non-m. ɓɛléí), Dir {Sk. in ChC} nɛ ɓúlà 'big', {Stl. ← ?} ɓula 'size, height (величина, высота)' || SBc: Krf {Sch.} ɓúllí 'many' || CCh: BM: Mrg {Hf.} ɓàɓàl 'hard', {ChL}: Klb ɓáɓálu, Wmd ɓaɓalɣ̄ω, Hld ɓàɓálu, Bu ɓuɓɛl, Cb ɓàɓɛl, WMrg ɓúɓàl, ɓuɓal, Ngx ɓɛɓɛl 'hard' || HgNk {ChL} ɓiɓiɓiɓi 'hard' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} ɓɔɓló m. 'groß' || Nd D {J} ɓɛl 'big', Smr {J} ɓɛllé 'big' ¶ The cns. ɓ is likely to result from glottalization (reflecting N *ɣ) of the initial labial cns. ¶ J S 59, Stl. ZCh 158 [#25], Hf. AGG 17 [#18], Nt. 2, MSk. 168, Sch. BTL 148, ChL, ChC, Hf. M 23, Eb. 33 || IE: NaIE *bel- 'strong' > OI 'bala-m 'power, strength, might', 'balīyān 'stronger', 'balisṭha-s 'strongest' || Gk βελτίων, Gk Hm βέλτερο-ς 'better', βέλτιστο-ς, βέλτατο-ς 'best' || L dē-bilis 'powerless, feeble, weak' || Sl *boǔbyjь, f. *boǔbšī, ntr. *boǔe(je), adv. *boǔe 'greater, bigger' > OCS БОЛНИ боліи (boǔbyjь) 'größer', f. БОЛЬШН боǔšī, adv. БОΛЄ boǔe 'magis, plus', R 'большой 'bigger' (-> большо́й 'big'), Uk більший 'bigger', SCr ɓòljī 'better' ¶ P 96, Dv. #456, EI 550 (*'belo-s 'strong'), M K II 416-8, M E II 215, FI 232, WH I 326-7, Bern. I 72, ESSJ II 193-4, Glh. 140-1† || A *p₁'₁iL¹a¹ - > Tg *p₁l- 'firm, hard' > Ork p₁ljī 'hardy, healthy' (a person), 'firm, hard' (wood), WrMc fili 'firm, dense, hard' ¶ STM II 38 ¶¶ Not here WrM іла-, НІМ яла-, Brt ила- v. 'conquer, win a victory, overcome', because on the ev. of MM [S] ilah- 'besiegen' the M √ has no *φ- (see MED 401-2, Chr. 277, H 81) || K *°p₁- > G p₁l-: p₁l-oba (prs. v-p₁l-ob) 'besitzen, beherrschen', v-i-p₁l-ob (aor. 1s da-v-i-p₁le, 3s da-i-p₁lo) 'sich (einer Sache) bemächtigen, (v.

etw.) Besitz ergreifen' ¶ Chx. 1384 || ?σ D (in KK) *p̄li- (={GS} *p-) v. 'be big, high' > Ku pli- v. 'be big', plīnay v. 'grow', Kui p̄ihpa v. 'be tall, high', p̄īpa- v. 'be tall', p̄īsa 'tall, high' ¶ D #4192 ◇ NaIE *bel- < **bjel- < N *p̄i'ʔ'ʔ'LV. On the loss of postconsonantal glides in the prehistory of IE cf. AD NVIE. If D *p̄li- belongs here (which is uncertain), the N etymon is *p̄i'ʔ'ʔ'LV.

1695. *p̄UʔE'LV (or *p̄-?) 'stinging insect' > HS: Ch: WCh: Df/Btr {Sh.} b̄wàlè 'louse', Bks {RLC} b̄wele 'lice' || CCh: Glf {Lk.} f̄elej, Mbara {TrnSL} f̄ulày ~ f̄uláy 'mosquito', ? Mlw {Trn.} àvli, ? Msg {Mch.} avuli, {Rlf.} áfili id. ¶ ChC, TrnSL 261, 294, Lk. ZSS 150, Tk. EDE II 411-2 || WS *√ply > Ar √fly G v. 'louse (the head), hunt for fleas', f̄aliy-at- 'black-beetle spotted with white and black', Hrs √fly|w G (pf. f̄alō), Jb C √fly|w G (pf. 'fe'le) v. 'delouse', Mhr √fly|w G (pf. f̄alō) id., 'look for and remove bugs on an animal' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575-6, Jo. H 33, Jo. M 95, Jo. J 58 || EC: Hr filláyye, Glg filáyye 'flea' (× N *paLuCV 'stinging insect?') ¶ AMS 157, 199 || NrOm: pGng *p̄illo 'flea, bedbug' > Kf {C} pilló, {R} pillo ~ p̄illo id., Gjb {Fl.} b̄illo 'flea' ¶ C SE 481, Fl. PG 158 || ?φ Eg Md p̄j, Cpt: Sd пнi p̄ēi, B фнi p̄hēi 'flea' ¶ EG I 502, Crn. 124, Vc. 158 || U: [1] *p̄E'LV > ObU *p̄ēlam 'horsefly (Bremse)' > pVg *p̄ālm̄ > OVg W P пелыма, OVg N BerG p̄ālem, OVg Ber п̄лма, Vg T, Vg MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML p̄ālam, LK p̄ālam, UL/Ss palam id.; pOs *pelam > Os: VK, D, Knd pelam, Y p̄āfam id. || Sm: Nn T piú, Nn FL {Lh.} piṛú, Ng fil̄ti id. || [2] FU: Chr H пыйылмы p̄yŷm̄ 'bumblebee (Bombus, шмель)', Chr {Szil.} p̄yŷm̄ 'wasp' ¶ ≈ UEW 416, Ht. #515, MRS 484, Ep. 97 || A: M *φil'u'ʔa 'fly, gnat, gadfly' > MM [S] {H} d. hilu'atu- 'von Fliegen gestochen werden', WrM ilaga(n), HIM ялаа(н) 'fly, gnat, gadfly', WrM {Kow.} ilaga 'œstre, sorte de taon, mouche', Ord {Ms.} ilō 'taon', Kl d. илэсн 'мошка', {Rm.} ilē-sŋ 'Motte, kleine Fliegen\Mücken', Brt илааһан 'midges (мошка, мошкара)', Brt W ilāhan 'flies', Dg {T} χilā 'fly', {Mrm} χila 'Bremse, Pferdebremse' ¶ Pel. 217 (MM hiluqat- 'être excité par des mouches'), H 76, MED 402, Kow. 294-5, KRS 267, KW 206, Chr. 277, Ms. O 384, T DgJ 176, Klz. D 139 || Tg *pulmī:-(kte) 'midges' > Ewk hunmī-ktz, Lm humtāçzn, Neg xunmuçzktz, Orc, Ul, Ork pumiktz, Ud xumuktz, Nn Nh purmiktz, Nn B xumiktz, Nn KU xurmzktz ¶ STM II 348 || pKo {S} p̄hár, p̄hárì, NKo p̄hāri n. 'fly' ¶ QK #1183, Nam 463, MLC 1730 ¶¶ DQA #636 (A *p̄'j̄o|í 'fly, midge') ◇ Eg p̄j (if it belongs here) point to a N initial

p̥-**. But CCh cognates suggest that the N cns. was ***p-**, which is a stronger argument. The glottalized cns. ***p̥-** and **ḃ-** in Om and the WCh lgs. and Chr **-ḃḃ-** suggest a N intervocalic laryngeal (most probably ***-ʔ-**). The sequence ***pUʔE-** (or ***p̥UʔE-**?) in this N word is suggested by Df/Btr **ḃwàlè** and Bks **ḃwele**, as well by the discrepancy between the front vw. of the U and M first syll. and the vw. ***u** in Tg. But if we ignore the WCh data, the above discrepancy may be accounted for by mt. in Tg (pilu > *puḷ-**) $\diamond \approx$ Blz. LNA #48 (HS, U, A; ***÷** Ag {Blz.} ***filut-/fālāt-/fālat-** [sc. ***f3llʊt-**] 'flea', that is better explained as going back to N ***paLuC∇** 'stinging insect').

1696. $_2$ ***P̥'Ey̆L∇** 'to fly, to soar' > HS: NrOm ***p̥∇l-** > Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} **pal-** v. 'fly', Wl {C} **fāl-**, {LmS} **fāl-**, Dwr {Lm.} **fāl-**, Ym {Lm.} **ful-** id., {Wdk.} **fùlù ~ fùlù** v. 'run off' ¶ Mrn. O 155, LmS 353-4, Lm. Y 341, Wdk. BY 123, Fl. OWL || **а** (***p̥'Ey̆Le-** v. 'fly, soar'): M ***φele-** v. 'soar, float in the air, fly up' > HIM **элэ-** 'float in the air', Brt **эли-** 'float in the air' (birds), Dx **h3l̥3-** id., 'take wing, rise', Kl **el-xə** 'be scattered in the air (by wind), sich (im Winde) zerstreuen' ¶ KW 119, Luv. 670, Chr. 762, T DnJ 140, Cev. 875 || Tg ***p̥jele-** v. 'fly', 'float in the air' (of birds) > WrMc **fiyele-** ({Z} **ф̆ле-**) id.; (× N ***p̥ĭy̆,ṭâ** [or ***p̥ĭṭy̆,â?**] 'to fall'): Nn Nh **p̆īluzn ~ p̆īruzn** 'fly, float in the air', 'fall from a tree' (of leaves) ¶ STM II 38, Z 1100 $\diamond \approx$ IS III 97-106 (***p̆'ä̆j̆l̆a** 'to fall') (A ***p̆'Ey̆le-** v. 'fly' + IE ***(s)p̆h̆ōl-** [sc. ***(s)p̆h̆ol-**] 'fall' [in fact from N ***p̆ĭy̆,ṭâ** id.] + unc. D ***v̆ēl-** 'fly, descend').

1697. ***p̆ĭy̆,ṭâ** (or ***p̆ĭṭy̆,â?**) 'to fall' > HS: S: [1] S ***√npl, *-npul-** v. 'fall' > BHb **√npl** (ip. **y̆i-p̆'p̆ol**) 'fall (accidentally)', Ug **√npl**, BA, Sr **√npl** (pf. **nə'p̆al**) v. 'fall', OAk p. **-ppul** '(Steine) brechen (im Gebirge)', Ak **nap̆ālu** (p. **-ppul**) 'zu Fall bringen, (Gebäude) abbrechen, zerstören'; [2] S ***°√[ṣ̆]pl** v. 'set' (of celestial bodies) > Ar **ʔafala** (ip. **-ʔfil-u ~ *-ʔful-u**) {Fr.} 'occidit (sol), abiiit (lac lactentis)', {Hv.} 'set' (star), 'have no more milk' (woman) ¶ Fr. I 44, Hv. 10, KB 670-1, KBR 709-11, GB 535, 926, A #1820, OLS 326, Br. 436-7, Sd. 733-4, G OA 203 || NrOm ***°p̆∇l-** > Kf {C} **hol(1)-** v. 'fall' ¶ C SE IV 455 || Ch: WCh ***pal-** v. 'fall' > Ang **pa(:)l** 'stumble, fall', Su {J} **paḷ**, Cp {ChC, ChL} **paḷ**, Mpn {Frz.} **pāl** v. 'fall' || CCh: McTr: Hw {ChL} **f̆+l** id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#26], J S 78, ChL I 43 and II 18, ChC s.v. 'fall', J S 208, Flk. s.v. **p̆āl**, Frz. DM 48 ¶¶ S ***n-** and ***ṣ̆-** (> Ar ***ʔ-**) in S ***√npl** and ***√[ṣ̆]pl** go back to stirpes-forming (verbal derivational) prefixes || IE: NaIE

*(s)pʰol- v. 'fall' > Gk σφάλλω v. 'make fall', aor. ps. ἐ-σφάλην 'I was made to fall, I fell' (probably, the basic form from which other forms of the verb developed) ||| Arm **փլանիմ** pʰlanim 'I fall, fall in, crumble' (aor. **փլայ** pʰlay), **փուլ** pʰul n. 'falling, fall; crumbling' ||| Gmc *falla/e- v. 'fall' (< *falna/e-) > ON falla 'to fall/fell', OSx, OHG fallan, NHG fallen, AS feallan 'to fall, to perish, to die', NE fall v. ||| Lt pùlti / prs. pùolu v. 'fall', Ltv pult / polu id. ¶ WP II 103, P 851, EI 191 (*pʰōl- or *pʰHōl-), Frn. 666, Me. EAC 35, Sl. 391-2, Vr. 1100, Kb. 218-9, OsS 159, KM 182, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, ≠ F II 827-8, Ch. 1074-5 ¶ Ffd. see IS III 98-105 ||| **𐌱** *oʰpʰilâ- > NaT *_hil(u)- > OT il- (aor. ilu-r) v. 'descend (from sth.)' (er tāydan koḏi ildī 'the man descended [نَزَلَ] from the mountains'), Qrg ildiy adv. 'down', ? Qzq ildiy 'depression', Qq ildiy 'low ground, dell' ¶ Cl. 125, Sht. 24, Jud. 929, KrkR 756 || Tg (× N *P̄'Ey'L∇ 'to fly, to soar', q.v.): Nn Nh pīluzn ~ pīruzn 'fall from a tree' (of leaves) ¶ STM II 38 ◇ The IE *s- mobile suggests the presence of a palatal element (*y?) within the N etymon. The origin of the aspiration in NaIE *(s)pʰol- still needs investigating ◇ ≈ IS III 97-106 (*pʰ'ä'j]Λ 'to fall') (IE + A *p̄'jEyle- v. 'fly' [in fact from N *P̄'Ey'L∇ '↑] + unc. D *vēl- v. 'fly, descend') ◇ Identical with N *P̄'Ey'L∇ '↑' ('to fly' ← 'to fall', as in R ↓ лeтeтb)??.

1698. *P̄eʔê - *P̄eʔê 'side of body, side' > K: Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} p̄il 'edge, (river-)bank; lip' (× N *per∇ 'lip, edge?') ¶ TK 681-2, Ni. s.v. край and берегъ, GP 213, ≈ K² 150-1 (Sv p̄il < K *p̄ir 'edge') ¶ Sv p̄il < *p̄∇ ||| **IE:** NaIE *p̄ol- 'side of body, side, half' (× N *P̄ä]qA 'half, part', q.v. ffd.) > pAl {O} *palā > Al palē 'fold, set, couple' ||| Sl *p̄olъ 'side' > OCS полъ полъ 'side\bank of a river' (**ѡ дрѣвѣи полъ стоѡща** 'alterā stantes ripā' [Legend of St. Venceslaus Nicolensis 23.37]), онъ полъ 'trans, alterum latus, altera ripa', оба poly 'ex utraque parte' (SJSS XXVII 144), Slv p̄ol 'side'; Sl *p̄olъ 'half' (× N *P̄ä]qA '↑') ¶ Mn. 974, Vs. III 306, Ma. CS 406-7, O 309, Kf. 250-1, ≠ P 986 (does not distinguish between this IE√ and *(s)p(h)el- 'spalten') ||| **U** *p̄ē]e 'side' > F -pieli (gen. -pielen) in cds.: suupieli 'Mundwinkel' (suu- is 'mouth'), poskipieli 'Kinnbacken' (poski 'Backe, Wange'), cf. ds.: pielos, pielus 'Rand', pieltää 'sich seitwärts neigen' | pLp {Lr.} *p̄ēlē > Lp: N {N} bælle -æll- ~ bællē ~ -æll-, L {LO} piellē ~ pällē 'side', S {Hs.} bielie 'half, side', T/Kld

{TI} pīēll^e 'half, side' | pMr {Ker.} *pāl 'side' > Er postp. пеле pele 'on the side of (в\на стороне)', Mk postp. пяле pālā 'near, y' (the vw. influenced by pMr *pālā 'halb, Hälfte' < U *pāl|lä 'half') | Chr U pel 'side' (e due to the infl. of pChr *pelā 'half' < U *pāl|lä 'half') || ObU *°pē] 'side' > Vg *pāl id. > Vg: T pāl, LK/MK/UK pāl, P/SV/LL pāl, NV/UL/Ss pāl 'side'; Vg T pält 'bei'; Os *pe]æk ({{HI.}} *pāl]æk) 'side, half' (> Os V/Vy pe]æk, Ty/Pm pāl]æk 'side, half', D/K/Nz/O pe]æk, Kz pe]æk 'half, direction'); Os *pe]æk (*pāl]æk) may either contain a sx. *-∇k- or (less probably) belong together with K *peliḱ- 'vierteilen' and S *√plg v. 'split' (presumably from N *P_E]∇'g?']∇, cf. below s.v. *P_ä']∇k∇~ -'g?']∇) (or result from coalescence of both N words) | OHg, Hg fé]l 'half, side' || ? Sm: Kms {KD} p'ī]l, p'jē]l 'side' ¶¶ UEW 362-3, Sm. 539 (U *pexli 'edge, side' > FU, FP *peeli, Ugr *pālī, Sm *piəj), Lr. #907, Lgc. #4842, Hs. 316-7, Ker. II 108, Ht. 716 [#508], Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 1159-1161, MK 404-6, U3S 329, LG 227, TI 366, FF 757-7, MF 194-6, KD 53 ¶ UEW 362-3 describes both this √ and *pālā 'half' together as one etymon, but recognizes the possibility of distinguishing between them: "Möglicherweise haben diese Wörter eine ursprüngliche Doppelform bewahrt (*pālā 'halb, Hälfte' - *pē]e 'Seite')". In several lgs. and branches within FU (Lp, ObU, Hg) both U roots have coalesced || ?σ A {S} *bē]kege 'waist, slope' > M *belkeḡe-sün 'waist', pT {TL} *bē]k 'waist', and Tg *belge 'lap' (× N *beLk∇g∇ 'belly, waist', q.v. ffd. × ? N [?] *weH|yL∇ (or *weLH∇?) ≈ hip, waist) || D *pē]∇ ({{θGS} *b-) 'half' > Td pa·ḑ 'each seed section of a jackfruit', Kn bē]e 'half of a seed of the guñja (Abrus precatorius)', Kdg be·]e 'each of the halves of a seed that can be divided', Tu bē]æ 'split pulse', bō]æ 'seed of a jackfruit', ? TI bē]ḑalu (pl.) 'split pulse' ¶¶ D #4444 || HS: ? EC: Sml bāl {DSI} 'lato, estremità', {ZMO} 'side, edge', Sml N {Abr.} bāl 'side'; the word cannot be identical with bāl 'wing, feather' (different tones) ¶ DSI 33, ZMO 23, Abr. S 25 ¶ The irreg. b- for the expected f- still needs investigating ◇ ≠ Gr. II #190 (*pāl 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai), no distinction from N *P_ä]qA 'half, part'.

1698a. *P_uL_∇_]_3∇ 'e tree (poplar or sim.)' > HS: S *°bul_aj]h- (~ *p-?) > Ak MA bulā?u ~ bulû ~ pulû 'firewood, dry wood and reed' ¶ CAD II 312-3 || SC {{E}} *paʔal- 'wood': Irq paʔal-mo 'board, slat, lath', Kz paʔaluko 'stool' ¶ ≈ E SC 143 (adduces DhI pó]aʔi 'medicine in the form of an amulet', which strains the credulity) || IE: NaIE (?) *pel-

'poplar' > Oss D färwa, Oss I färv 'alder-tree' || L pōpulus 'poplar' || ?φ Gk Δ [Hs.] ἄπελλόν · ἄλγειρος 'black poplar' ¶ WH II 340, Ab. I 455-6, Bois. 920, LS 185, ≠ WP II 55 || A *p'uL∇ 'poplar, aspen' > Tg *pula id. > WrMc fuлxа mоо 'aspen, poplar', Ork pυлu, Nn Nh роlо, Nn KU xоlо, Nn B foлo, Sln uлu, Lm hυl id., Ewk hula id., 'ash-tree', Ud xulu, U1 pυлu ~ pυлu 'aspen' ¶ STM II 342-3, Krm. 306 || M *φuliyā-sun 'poplar, aspen' > Dx {T} χulasun 'aspen', WrM uliyā-sun (and {Rm. EAS ←?} ; ulagasan), HlM улиас(ан), Brt уляаһа(н) ulāha(n) 'asp', ? уляангир ulāngir 'poplar', Ord {Ms.} ulāsu' 'poplar', WrO {Krg.} ulasan 'aspen, poplar', WrO ulāsun 'aspen', ulasun 'quaking poplar, aspen', Kl уласн 'poplar', {Rm.} ulāsŋ id., 'aspen' ¶ MED 873, KRS 531, Chr. 468, KW 448, Krg. 171, Ms. O 829, T DnJ 139 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 55 (Tg, M), ADb. KL (*p'uli 'aspen, poplar': Tg, M), ≈ DQA #1801 (A *p'jule 'ash tree'; incl. Tg, M) || D *pu]]- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'small stick\twig, piece of (dry) wood' (× N *b'ü']] ∇ 'a shoot', q.v. ffd.).

1698b. *pоl̥iεE (or *pоl̥iυE?) 'to split' > HS: S *^o✓p̥l̥ε > Ar ✓fl̥ε G 'split, cut' ('fendre, couper') ¶ BK II 631, Hv. 574 || B *^o✓fl̥H > Ah əfləh 'fendre', Kb əflu (pf. yəfla) 'trouer, perforer' (× B *^o✓fl̥y 'split' < N *p̥eL̥i, yA 'to split, to separate') ¶ Pr. H #58, Fc. 324, Dl. 204, NZ 567 || ? C *^o✓fl̥? v. 'bore hole, pierce' > Bj {Rop.} fil̥(ə) pcv. 'bore, pierce; deflower' || EC: Or {Grg.} fulla?- vi. 'break through, pierce through' || SC: Irq ful- v. 'bore hole' ¶ Rop. 180, EPC #512, Grg. 149, Brl. 153 || IE: NaIE *(s)p̥h̥el- '≈ split' (? × N *p̥eL̥i, yA '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'phalati 'bursts, splits' (↔ OI p̥halaka-m 'board, lath' × ← D *paL̥∇k- v. 'cut lengthwise', see N *P̥ä'] ∇ k̥∇ 'to split lengthwise') || Gk [Hs.] σφαλάσσειν · τέμνειν, κεντεῖν 'to cut, to prick', ? Gk Ae σπαλῖς, Gk A mt. ψαλῖς (gen. ψαλίδος) 'ε pair of scissors' || NaIE *p̥l̥h̥el-, *p̥l̥h̥ol- 'board (Brett), log of wood' (× N *P̥uL̥∇, ε∇ 'ε tree') > Gmc *felō > ON fj̥ql 'Diele, Brett', Ic, Sw fj̥öl, Dn fj̥æ̆l, Nr fj̆el, Δ fj̆øl 'board (Brett)' || Sl *pol̥ěno 'billet (split piece of wood)' > ChS, OR полѣно pol̆ěno, R, Blg по'лено, Uk по'ліно, Slv pol̆ěno, Cz, Slk poleno, P polano id.; amb Sl dim. *pol̆íca 'shelf, board' > ChS/OR полница polica, R Δ по'лица, Uk по'лиця, Slv pol̆íca, Cz police, Slk, P polica 'shelf', Blg по'лица 'shelf, cornice', SCr pol̆ica 'lath in a wall'; Sl amb d. *pol̆ьka > R 'полка, P rółka 'shelf'; amb ; Sl (in ESl only) *pol̆ь 'board' (unless from Sl *rod-л̆ь) > OR полъ pol̆ь 'basis, bottom, floor', R пол (gen. 'пола) 'floor', Uk піл (gen. 'пілу), Blr {Prb.} поў

'plank-bed' || OI phalaka- 'board, lath' (*see above*) ¶¶ WP II 677, P 985, M K II 393-5, M E II 201-2, F II 1128 (on ψαλίς without et.), Ch. 1285, Vr. 125, Hlq. 217, Bv. 172, Vs. III 306-10, Glh. 493, Prb. II 101, Chrn. II 50-3, Kmc. 730, ≈σ EI 512-3 (IE *spelō-~*spelh_ǵ- 'shield') || U *pož̂∇ 'split, divide' (× N *b'u'ĉ̂∇ '≈ to tear to pieces'?) > FU *pož̂∇ > Lp: N {N} bqđ'đī- 'take to pieces; separate from; cut loose\away', bqđo 'separated from its natural connection', L {LLO} pãddi- 'ein geschlachtetes Stück Vieh zerlegen, zerstückten; in mehrere Teile teilen', Kld {TI} pođa 'los, getrennt', (pl.) 'zerstücktes Fleisch' || pObU *pōí- > pVg *póí- 'span' > Vg: {Mu.} T/P poí, K {Mu.} paí, NV {Kn.} póí, IK {Kn.} paí, SV/LL {Kn.} poí (pl. pō:ít) 'Span', Ss {ChCh.} poliš- 'in small pieces' ('намелко, на кусочки, раз-') || Sm {Jn.} *pъy- 'chop, split' > Ne: T d. пѣ-ць 'chop firewood', T O {Lh.} pãē- id., F {Lh.} payy-eś & paj-aś id.; Ng {Cs.} d. 1s obj. faiśuʔama 'zuhauen'; Slq Tz {KKIH} pačal- 'chop', pač+t- 'chop, split', Mt {HI.} *hāyāī- 'hauen' (Mt K {Pls.} chejalze 'рублю, секу') ¶¶ ≈ UEW 389-90 (+ unc. Prm *peí- 'split off'), MF 176, Lr. #942, Lgc. #5202, N I 215-6, Kn. WV 178, TI 389, Stn. WV 131, 239, ChCh. 91, Jn. 112, KKIИ 145-6, Hl. M 242 [#277] || A: T *_hülä- 'divide' > NaT *ülä- > OT {Cl.} ülä- 'divide into shares and distribute', Tkm üle- id., Alt, Xk, Tv, ET {RI.} üle-, Tb {B}, Brb {RI.} ülö- 'divide' ¶ Cl. 127, Rs. W 520, ET Gl 627-9, RI. I 1845, 1849 || D (in SD) *po|l- ({{GS} *p-) v. 'split' > Tm po|i v. 'chisel, split (as a stone), dig', Ml po|i v. 'split, chip', Kdg po|i- vi. 'break' (of a stick-like thing, tree), Tu poliḡuni 'be broken', polipuni vt. 'break' ¶ D #4560 ◇ N *po|iεE (rather than *po|εE) is suggested by T *-l- in *_hülä- and by U *-ž̂- in *pož̂∇ (*see* Introduction, § 2.1, remark 10).

1699. *^rp'u|ε|ħu or *^rp'u|ε|ħa 'red, yellowish, pale' > HS: ? S *^o✓p|ħ|ε > Ak pel-û(m) 'to be red', pelû 'red' ¶ Sd. 853-4 || CCh: Msg {Röd.} fēl 'red', {Mch.} fēl 'blood', Msg P {Trn.} fēl id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'red' and 'blood', Trn. LM 87 || IE *p]Hw-, *po|_hw- > NaIE *p]w-/*po|(ə)w- 'light yellow, blond, pale, dun' > Gk πολτός 'gray' || SI *po|v̂(jb) 'light yellow, blond' > OCS плавъ plavъ {StSS} 'light, of golden colour (žlutavý, plavý)' (fields of ripe corn), Blg Δ плав 'light blue, light' (colour), 'fair-haired', SCr plāv 'blue, blond, fair-haired', Slv plāv 'blue', Cz plavý 'blond, fair-haired', OR половы polovy, R по'ловый 'light yellow' (of animals), P płowу 'light yellow, light gray' || Lt paĩvas 'light yellow' || Gmc *falwa- > OHG falo 'fallow,

yellow', NHG fahl 'pale, fawn-coloured, dun', AS fealu~fealo / pl. fealwe 'dull-coloured, yellow, bay' (> NE fallow), ON fqlr (accus. sg. falvan) 'bleich, fahl', {EI} 'fallow, dun' || L pallē- 'grow pale', pallidus 'pale' || ? Mir {EI} líath, W llwyd 'gray' || Arm ալիք alik^h 'gray beard, gray hair' ¶ P 804-5, Mn. 967, 975, EI 641-2 (*p_h₃- 'dull white, pale'), ZVSZ 329, Glh. 485, Vs. III 313, StSS 448, Frn. 534, F II 575-6, WH II 239-40, Vr. 150, Ho. 99, Sw. 55, Kb. 219, KM 180, Ma. CS 372. Slit. 19-20 || A: M *pula-yan 'red' > MM [L, MA, IM], MMgl hulān, WrM ulagan, Dg xulān, Dx xulan, HM улаан, Kl ulān, Ba fulaṅ, Mnr H fulān, Mnr M {T} hulān, Dx hulaṅ, Ba felāṅ 'red' ¶ Pel. 223-4 [#47], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, MED 869, KW 448, Iw. 140, T 370, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149 || Tg *pula- 'red' > Ewk hulama, Sln ularin, Neg xolayun, Lm holaña, Ud {Krm.} xulala, Nn folgā(n), WrMc fulgiyan, Mc Sb {ǂY} /fɜlɜgian/ [fɜlɜjān] ~ /fulɜgian/ [fulɜjān] 'red', Jrc fulagiyan 'red, vermilion', WrMc fulaxun 'reddish, pink', Ud {Krm.} xulala 'brown (бурый), rust-coloured', {STM} xulaligi 'red' ¶ STM II 343-5, Y #2419, Z 1081, 1086, Kiy. 131-2 [##617, 624], Krm. 306 || pKo {S} *p_irk- 'red' > MKo p_irk-, NKo pulk- puk- 'red' ¶ S QK #66, Nam 274, MLC 844 ¶¶ S AJ 213, 236, 257, 291, KW 448, DQA #1678 (*p_ipu|íe - *-o-e 'red') || D *pulla- ({ǂGS} *b-) 'yellowish, brown' > Tm pul 'tawny colour', pullai 'dull, yellowish colour', Ml pulla 'a yellowish colour of cattle', Kt bul 'liver-coloured', Tl pula 'yellowish' ¶¶ D #4310 ◇ IE *p_hw-, *p_hu_hw- suggest a pN final *u, while M, Tg, and D point to a N final *a. The discrepancy can be explained if IE *-w- goes back to a sx. The N Ir. is suggested by the NaIE length of the syllabic sonant *_h and by the vw. e in Ak (in Ak the S vw. *a changes into e in the presence of the lost pS epiglottal cnss. *ɜ [_h N *ɜ and *ɜ_h] and *h [_h N *h and *h_h]). To judge from the semantic usage of the reflexes of this N word in descendant lgs., it denoted "warm" colours, sc. colours of the shorter waves of the spectrum, as well as light colours. In pre-IE *pu- > *p- (see above the entry #1693 s.v. *p_hLu 'lungs, pluck' and AD NVIE §6). N *p- (rather than *p_i-) is suggested by Msg.

1700. *pa|_hg_h 'settlement, home, wall' > HS: EC: [1] *_hbal- > Kns {BISO} palēta 'village, town', palēse 'this village'] [2] ?ϕ LEC *bu_h|- > Sml būl {DSI} 'capanna malfatta o rovinata', {ZMO} 'hut, nest', {R} būl 'hut, house', {DSI, ZMO} būlo 'village', {R} būlal, būlo 'village, hut', ? Or bul- {Grg.} 'stay the night, pass time, live, stay', {Th.} 'passare la notte, abitare, dimorare', {Brl.} 'dormire, pernottare, albergare' ¶ BISO

136, DSI 70, ZMO 48, Grg. 65, Th. 50-1, Brl. 66-7, R SS II 82 || IE *p_olH-/*p_oh₁- 'fortified settlement' > OI 'pūr / (before vw.) pur- f. (nom. pūr_h, accus. 'puram, gen. pu'ra_h, loc. pu'ri, instr. pl. pūr-'bhi_h) 'wall, rampart', 'puram 'wall, fortified settlement, city', Λ puri_h 'city, town' || Gk πόλις (gen. Gk A πόλεως, D πόλιος) 'city' || Lt pilis, Δ pilis 'castle', Ltv pils 'castle, palace', in place-names -pils '-burg', cd. pilsēta 'city' (pils + sēta 'fence') ¶ Hofm. 279, M K II 327, M E II 145 (IE *p_oh₁-), EI 210 (*pelH- 'fort, fortified place'), F II 577, Frn. 590-1, ≠ P 799, WP II 51 (the √ *_o ÷ *pelH- v. 'fill'; F l.c. is quite right in his evaluation of such attempts: "Die wiederholten Vorschläge, dieses uralte Wort für 'Burg' mit Verben für 'füllen' [πύμπλημι; seit Pott] oder für 'schütten' [lit. pīlti ...] zu verbinden, haben als unbeweisbare Hypothesen kein größeres Interesse") || U: FU *pal_o∇ 'village' > Krl palvi 'Wohnstätte', F palva- (in toponymy: Palvala, a village in Finland, and Palvajärvi [lit.: 'village lake'], a name of two lakes in Finland) || pObU *pū_o∇ (or pūw_o) 'village' > pVg *p_o∇w_o-/*p_o∇y_o- > OVg: N SoG, E TM paul, S Chus beōl, S Vt peo_ol, S Ss peōl, W Sol πόιλъ; Vg: T pawl, LK/UL/Ss pāw_o, MK/UK p_o∇w_o, P p_o∇w_o ~ p_o∇l, SV/LL p_o∇l 'village', +ppas.: LK/MK p_o∇y_o-əw, P p_o∇y_o-əw, SV/LL p_o∇y_o-əw 'our village'; pOs *pu_o∇ 'village' > Os V/Vy pu_o∇, Ty pu_o∇ə, Y puwə, D/K pu_o∇ət, O po_o∇əl id. || Hg falu (pl. faluk ~ falvak) 'village' ¶ Coll. 77, UEW 351, Sm. 548 (FU *p_o∇w_o 'village; idol' > FP palva, Ugr *p_o∇g_o), Ht. 175 [#502] || A *pal_o∇g_o∇ 'wall (of a settlement), fenced settlement' > NaT *balik_og or *p_o∇alik_o 'wall, town' > OT, MT baliq, Chg xv balı_o 'town, province', MU baliq ~ {Rl.} palıq, [OQ] baluq 'town, fenced settlement, fortress', SY {Ml.} paluq ~ palıq 'adobe wall/fence' ¶ Cl. 335-6, DTS 80-1, ET B 59, TL 485, Rl. IV 1166, 1498, Ml. ZhU 86-7 ¶ DQA reconstructs pT *b_o∇alik on the unreliable ev. of Chv p_o∇ler (name of the town of Билярск ← Chv p_o∇l- v. 'fence' < T *b_o∇l-, see Ash. X 77-9, Jeg. 171) || M (← eT?) *balaga-sun (pl. *balagad) 'town, wall of a fortified settlement' > MM [S, HI, IsV] balagasun (pl. balaga-t ~ -d), [IM] bal_o∇asun 'city, town', [L] بلقسون balqasun id., 'village', [MA] bal_o∇asun 'wall; city, town', WrM balgasu(n), HIM балгас 'city, town; ruins, site of an ancient town', WrM balgad, HIM балгад 'city, town; government department', Ord {Ms.} balgasu' 'ville murée', Kl балгасн bal_o∇as_o∇n 'city, town', {Rm.} bal_o∇as_o∇ 'village, town', Kl Ö {Rm.} bal_o∇ad id., 'house', Mnr H {SM}

b_{arg}ās̄s̄ 'mur, rempart d'une fortification', {T} balgāse, Mnr M {T} bargāse 'wall, fence' ¶ H 12, Ms. H 38, Lg. VMI 18, Pp. MA 110-1, 443, Pp. L II 1265-6, MED 80, Kow. 1077, KRS 79, KW 31, SM 21, T 316 || Tg {ADb.} *opalga > WrMc falga 'group of houses, village' ¶ STM II 298 ¶¶ ADb. KL 14, DQA #1645 (A *pǎlaḡ 'fortress, group of houses') || D *pa]]- ({ǧGS} *p-) 'hut, settlement, village' > Tm pa]]i 'hamlet, herdsman's village, temple, palace', Ml pa]]i 'hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, public building', Td pōly 'secret dairy, matrilineal sib, Badaga house', K pa]]i, ba]]i 'settlement, hamlet, village', Kdg pa]]i 'hut of low castes', Tu ha]]i 'hamlet, small village', pa]]i 'mosque', OTI (inscr.) pa]]i, TI palli 'village, hut', Png palli 'village' (in toponymy), Krx eṛpā-pallī 'household' (eṛpa 'house'); D ⇨ OI Sk pallī-, palli-, pallikā- 'small village (esp. a settlement of wild tribes), hut, house' ¶¶ D #4018, Tu. #7972 ¶¶ D *-]]- < *-lg-? ◇ ≈ IS MS 356, ≈ IS SS 340 [#10.5] (*pal̄ḡ¹ with a different interpretation of A) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #409 (*palg 'village') (IE, U, A, Ea + qu. Gil).

1701. *pa]ʏ ▽ 'mud, swamp, lake' > HS: Ch: WCh *pa] ▽ ({Stl.} *pali) 'lake, marsh' > Hs fálámí 'a pond, the water of which does not dry up' || BT: Dr {Nw.} pólí 'marshy ground', Bl {ChL} pàlí, Ngm {ChL} fàlì, Pr {Frz.} pali, Glm pal 'lake', Tng {J} pāl] 'large body of water, lake' || Klr {J} ʔapìlìṅ 'großer Teich' || NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} fálá 'lake' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} bēli (pl. bālál 'Teich, See', Mgm bâlè (pl. bállállì) 'pool' ('mare'), Bdy {AIJ} bállé ~ bâlè 'mare, marigot', EDng {Fd.} bùlà 'large flaque d'eau près d'une rivière qui a débordé', ??σ: Bdy bōlá (pl. bōlòl) 'vallée' et Mkl {J} pōllè 'fossé, vallée' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#25], Ba. 294, ChC s.v. 'lake', J T 128, J LM 162, JA LM 68, AIJ 56, 59, Nw. KL 131, ChL, Frz. P 44, Sch. BTL 87, Lk. ZSS 180, Fd. 104 || K *bʏal- > G bʏal- 'beschmutzen, besudeln' ¶ Chx. 126, DCh. 126 ¶ In K the lrs. tend to move to a position after the next (mainly initial) stop or affricate, with subsequent as. of the glottalic feature (voiced ↔ vl. ↔ glottalized) and appearance of a "harmonic complex". In this case it is N *p-...ʏ > *pʏ- > K *bʏ- || IE *bolH- ~ *pelH-: [1] *bolH- '≈ swamp, pool' > Gmc *pōla- > OHG pfuol, MHG phuol, NHG Pfuhl, Dt poel, AS pōl 'pool', NE pool; *polja > Nr pøla pōla, Sw pōl, Dn pøl pō'l 'puddle'; other grades of apophony: Dt peel 'morass', AS pyll, NE Δ pill 'creek, backwater' || Lt balà 'marsh, bog, slough; morass', Ltv Δ bala 'swampy valley', Pru *bal- (in proper names) || Sl *bó]to 'swamp' > OCS

БЛАТО blato, Blg 'блато, SCr blàto, Slv bláto, Cz bláto, Slk blato, P błoto, R, Uk бо'лото id. || pAl {O} *baltā > Al baltē 'muddy place, mud; ground' | Thr and/or Iir ⇨ DIm balta 'swampy lake', Rm 'baltā 'swamp', Blg Δ балта, NGk βάλτος id.; Blg or Rm ⇨ Ggz balta id. || Cf. ?? OI jam-bālah 'mud, clay, marsh' (Uhl. AI s.v. jambāla: "OI jambālah is from jam- 'earth' + *bāla-s 'Pfuhl'", but M K II 427: "bālah 'Pfuhl(?)' ist aus jambālah gewiß nicht zu gewinnen") ¶ ≠ P 118-120, Ho. 248, 251, Vr. N 511-2, 534, Lx. 1600, Kb. 763, KM 547, Ho. 248, Ç I 511-2 and II 349, O 15-6, Frn. 30-1, Tp. P A-D 184, ESSJ II 179-82, BER I 54, Glh. 134 || [2] *pelH- 'swamp' > OI palva'la-m 'pool, pond, small tank' || L palūd- (palus, palūdis) 'swamp' || Lt pālios f. pl. 'vast swamp, bog', Ltv palas, paļi m. pl. 'marshy river-side'; d.: Pru pelky 'marshy ground', Lt pėlké 'swamp', Ltv peļce 'puddle' ¶ Frn. 532-3, 567, En. 222, IS II 97 (reconstructs IE *H on the basis of the intonation of Sl *bǫlto and Blt *pélkē), ≠ P 799; ≠ M K II 237 and M E II 105 (both sources suggest that OI palva'lam goes back to IE *pel- [name of a colour], cp. Lt paļvas 'blaßgelb') ||

A: T **pal- (~ **bal-) in ds.: [1] NaT *bal-īk 'mud' > OT [MhK] balīq, OT Ar bālīq, Yk bīlīk 'mud (in the roads)'; [2] T *pal-çik ({Md.} *bæ-l-çik ▽ *bāl-ćik-Λ) 'mud' > OT QU {Cl.}, MU, MOg balčīq 'mud', OT Og XI balčīq 'liquid mud', Chg xv palčīϕ, {PC} balčīq 'mud', ET balčuq, ET S palčīq, Uz balčik, Cmn balčuk, MQp Mm, OOsM balčīq, Qmq balčīq 'liquid mud', Qmq {Rs.} palčīq, Az палчыг palčīq, Tk balçīk, Tk Qrpp palčīχ 'mud', Nog balšīq, VTt Балчык balš'ьq, Bsh Балсык balš'ьq 'clay, earth (as stuff)', Tkm palčīq 'clay', Qzq balšīq 'clay, dirt', Chv пылчак pīl-ž'ьk, Chv H pul-ž'ik 'mud'; T ⇨ M: WrM balciq, HIM Балчиг 'swamp, march; mud, clay', KI {KRS} Бальчг balč'æg 'mud', R Балчуг (a street in the historical center of Moscow); [3] *bal-kaš 'liquid mud' > Tf p'alhaš, StAlt b_alqaš, Qb palgas, VTt balqaš id., Tv b_alʕaš ~ maʕaš id., 'swamp', Qzq balqaš 'swampy land' ¶ Rs. W 60, Cl. 333, 336, TL 374-5, PC 154, TatR 56, BR 74, Md. 98, 173, Ra.158, Jeg. 173, Fed. I 464-5, MED 80, KW 60, KRS 80 ¶ T *p' has preserved its voicelessness in Chg, Az, dialects of ET and in some Xk ds. || Tg *būle 'swamp' (× N *buL ▽ 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ewk, Lm bułz 'swamp, mud, dirt', Orc bułz 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 109 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #134 (A *bǫālu 'dirt, mud'; incl. T, M, Tg) || **D** *paļ]a' ({}GS} *p-) 'low ground, pond, body of water' > Tm paļlam 'lowness, low land,

valley, ditch', MI paļļa 'cavity, pit, hole', paļļam 'pit, low ground, low shore', Irl paļļa 'river', Td paļ 'valley', Kn paļļa 'depth, pit, low ground, stream', Tu paļļa, palla, pallā 'shallow stream, pond, low spot', paļikæ 'valley, pond', TI pallamu 'pit, low ground, wet land', Gnd palla 'plain, meadow'; not here (⇔ IS) Brh pāl v. 'get wet' and pālun 'moist' (see N *p̥U̯IH̯ ▽ 'be liquid, be wet') ¶¶ D #4016 ◇ The IE and T cognates suggests a N cns. *p̥-, while the Ch ev. of the quality of the initial labial cns. is controversial ◇ IS II 97-8 [#336] (*p̥'al̥ in IE, A, ?D: Brh pāl v. 'get wet' and pālun 'moist'); OS RPV I 68 added WCh (Hs and BT) to the N comparison. T *l and D *l̥ suggest N *l̥.

1702. *p̥U̯IH̯ ▽ 'be liquid, be wet' > A: NaT *hōl 'damp, moist' > Tk Δ hōl, Chg هول hωl, Tkm Δ hōl ɘ hōl, Uz hωl, ET, Qq hōl, XT {DH} hēl id.; in other Tk lgs. the word lost its h- (OT {Cl.} ōl 'damp, moist', MQp/OOsm XIV ōl 'moist', XwT XIV ōl 'moisture', Tkm ōl, Tk öl, Qrg, Xk, Tv öl, ET yöl, Alt ül, Yk ūöl, Chv vil, etc.) and coalesced with the reflexes of T *ōl 'moist, damp' (< A *ōl'i'- < N *w̥'i'̥l̥i,q ▽ 'liquid; moist, damp', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 124 ("a recently acquired prosthetic h-"), ET Gl 524-5 (recognizes the possibility thar h- is ancient), Rs. W 371, Nj. 764, BS 318, Jr. 122, Shaw 188, Rl. II 1798 ¶ Tkm and Yk suggest a long *ō || pKo {S} *p̥irh- 'green' > MKo p̥h̥irí-, NKo p̥h̥urí-; ⇨ pKo *p̥irh 'grass, herbs' > MKo p̥h̥ír, NKo pulh 'grass, herbs' ¶ S AJ 253 [#37], S QK #37, Nam 464-5, MLC 1761-3, Rm. SKE 215 || Tg *°pu̯l- > Ewk hu̯lu- v. 'melt' (of ice on a river/lake) ¶ STM II 346 ¶¶ Rm. SKE l.c. (Ko, T + M *ōleŋ 'grass' [though no traces of A *p̥'- are found in the M word]), ≈ DQA #1836 (A *p̥'ōle) || D: Brh pāl- v. 'get wet', pālun 'wet, damp, moist' ¶ The quality of the vw. ā needs explaining ¶ Bray II 227-8 || IE: NaIE *°p̥l̥ad- > Gk πλάδος 'abundance of fluids', πλαδάω 'humid, fluid', πλαδαρός 'wet, damp' ¶ F II 547-8, Ch. 909, ≈ P 800.

1702a. *p̥U̯IH̯, H̯U̯, 'grass' > IE ≈ *p̥el̥oH̯-/ *p̥eleH̯-, *p̥el̥H̯, o̯y- 'straw, chaff' > NaIE {WH} *p̥el̥ō(w)-, *p̥ole'w̥'- > L palea 'chaff' || Lt p̥ēl̥ū-s, Ltv p̥elus ~ p̥el(a)vas, Pru pelwo id. | SI *p̥elva > OCS ПЛѢВЪ plěv̥i pl., Blg плява 'straw', SCr pljěva, Slv plěva, Cz pléva ɘ pleva, P plewa, R Δ полова ɘ пелёва, Uk полова 'chaff'] → μ (loss of the *w̥-element) Lt p̥elaĩ pl., Ltv peli 'chaff', OR instr. pl. ПЕЛЪМН p̥el̥-mi id. || OI pa'lāvās 'chaff, husk', 'palālam 'stalk, straw' ¶ P 802, EI 104, M K II 233-4, WH II 238-9, Frnk. 568-9, Tr. 213, Vs. III 312, Glh. 489-90 || HS: Ch: WCh: Bks {J} fálá(h) 'Unkraut, Gras'

|| CCh: ? Dgh {Fk.} b̄lé, {Kr.} b̄ulé 'grass' ¶ ChC, J R 141, ChL III 104 || A: ?σ Tg *^opul > Lm Sk hul 'horsetail (Equisetum)' ¶ STM II 342 || pKo {S} *p+rh- 'grass' > MKo p^hřr, NKo p^hul id.; ? ⇨ OKg {Mill.} p̄a(l)l̄a_k- 'green', MKo p^hřř-, NKo p^hur+- id. ¶ Mill. OKA 9, QK #37, Nam 464-5, MLC 1761-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1836 (A *p^ole 'wet, succulent; grass, plant' > Lm, Ko + err. T *öl 'wet' (actually *ōl) (obviously from N *w^oi^ol^oq^o 'liquid; moist, damp', q.v. ffd. + N *p^ol^oh^o 'be liquid, be wet', q.v. ffd.)) || D *pul 'grass' > Tm pul 'grass; grass family (e.g. bamboo)', ?φ pillu 'grass', Ml pul 'grass, hay, straw', Td pul 'thatching grass', Kt pul id., 'grass', Kn pul 'grass, straw', Kdg pilli, Tl pul(l)u ~ pillu 'grass', Tu pullu 'a rush, ∈ grass', Ku pilka 'grass, bunch of grass' ¶¶ D #4300 ◇ The adduction of T *öl (sc. *ōl) 'wet' (DQA for pA, Blz. for N) is untenable: it may belong to the above pA root only if the original meaning of the latter was 'wet', but in this case A cannot be related to D *pul 'grass' and go back to a N word meaning 'grass'. The Lm word may belong here only if in some Lm (or pTg) cultural context Equisetum was/is the grass *par excellence* ◇ ≈ Blz. DLA #49 (D. Tg, Ko + err. T).

1703. *PälqA 'half, part' > IE: NaIE *p^ol_a- 'side of body, side, half' (× N *P^el^oē - *P^el^oē 'side of body, side' [q.v.]) > Sl *p^ol^o / gen. *p^olu 'half, side' > Slv p^ol id., OCS полъ p^ol^o, Blg, R пол, SCr p^ol, Cz p^ol, P p^oł 'half', ⇨ OR половина, R, Uk половина 'half' (on Sl *p^ol^o 'side' see s.v. N *P^el^oē - *P^el^oē) ¶ Vs. III 306, Ma. CS 406-7, Glh. 493, ≠ EI 83 (unc.: Sl *p^ol^o is related to IE *p^ol^oth₂u- 'broad, wide' and *pleth₂es 'breadth') || U *pälä 'half' > pMr *pälä > Er пеле pele, пель peí, Mk пяле pälá || pChr *pelə 'half, one of a pair' > Chr: L пеле 'pele, Uf 'pele, B pele, H пелы́ pełə id. || Prm *p^ol 'half, one of a pair' > Vt пал pal id., Z п^oв p^ov 'half, part' || Ugr (× *pēle 'side' < N *P^el^oē - *P^el^oē '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *P^al^o 'to split lengthwise, to divide' [q.v.]): Os *pelək ({}Hl.} *pälək) 'side, half' > Os: V/Vy pelək, Ty pälək id., Y pälək, D pelək 'half', Nz/O pelək, Kz pēlək 'half, direction' (⇨ Slq Tz {KKIH} pēlāk id.) || OHg, Hg fél 'half, side' || Sm {Jn.} *pelä, {Hl.} *pele 'half' > Ne: T пеля, T O {Lh.} pēl'e 'half, part'; En: X {Cs.} fele, B {Cs.} ferie 'halb'; Ng {Cs.} fealéa, {Ter.} желыз id.; Slq: Vy {KD} pēle 'halb'; Kms {Cs.} phiel id., {KD} p^ol, p^ol id., 'side' (× U *pēle 'side' < N *P^el^oē - *P^el^oē?), Koyb {Sp.} d. пелдой 'a half'; Mt {Hl.} *hälä 'a half, half-' (Mt M {Sp.} холя 'a half', {Mue.} hällà-chaià 'meridies' [chaià 'day']) ¶ UEW 362-3, Ber. 48, MRS 416, Ep.

89, LG 237, Lt. 138, Jn. 120 (Sm *pelä 'Hälfte, Stück'), Ter. 457, KD 53, Cs. 71, 94, 190, KKIH 148, Hl. M 242-3 [#278], Hl. PH ##19E and 21C, Stn. D 1159-61, Stn. OV 69, 100 || **D** {tr.} *pāl, {GS} *pāl- 'part' > MI pāl id., Tm, Kn pāl, Tu pālъ 'part, portion, share', Tl pālū id., 'lot, fraction', Kt pa'lm, Prj pēla 'portion', Tf po'lm 'share', Kdg pa'li ma'd- 'divide, distribute' ¶¶ D #4097, GS 179 [#454] || **HS**: CS *√p|χ 'split in two parts' > Ar √f|χ {BK} 'pourfendre, couper en deux', {Hv.} vt. 'split', CS *'p'a'l|∇|χ- > MHb {Js.} חֲבִילָה 'pelaḥ 'slice, segment', JPA {Js.} אֶחָדָה pīl'hā 'slice, portion', ? BHb חֲבִילָה 'pelaḥ, JA [Trg.] pīl'hā 'millstone', cp. Ar faylaḥ- 'meule d'un moulin à eau', 'stone of a water-mill' ¶ KB 878, Js. 1178, BK II 629, Hv. 574 ◇ IS MS 356 (*pāʔa 'half': IE, U, D + unc. the U reflex of N *P_e|ʔé - *P_eʔé 'side') ◇ D *-l suggests that N *l may yield D *-l (under not yet defined conditions, possibly in pN preconson. position) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #190 (*pāl 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai), no distinction from N *P_e|ʔé - *P_eʔé 'side of body'.

1704. *pelqé 'to tremble, to fear' > **HS**: S *√p|χ 'fear' (→ 'worship?') > OAk, Ak √p|χ (p. -plaχ) v. 'fear', Ak FOB puluχ-t-u(m) n. 'fear, fearfulness', Ak MB pulχu (used most in pl.) 'fearfulness', Ak LB 'fear', possibly also (× S *√p|χ 'work, serve [a person]'): Ak √p|χ (p. -plaχ) v. 'worship, serve', IA √p|h, JEA G √p|h id., BA חֲבִילָה pāl'hān, JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, MHb (← Aram) pul'hān 'worship, religious service, ritual' ¶ × S *√p|h 'till (earth)' ¶ Sd. 812-3, 878-9, G OA 214, HJ 914, Js. 1141, 1178, Sl. 912, KB 1765, Br. 572 || **IE** {IS} *pelH- / *pleH- '(make) tremble, fear' > Gk πάλλω (aor. ἔπηλα) v. 'poise, sway (a missile before it is thrown), brandish', παλτός 'brandished, hurled', πειλεμύζω 'shake, make quiver\tremble' || Gmc: ON fæla 'to scare away, to chase off', Ic, NNr fæla 'to fear', Nr Δ, ODn fæle 'to frighten', AS eal-fēlo 𐌺 æl-fæle 'dire' (of poison), ON fála 'female troll, witch', MHG vālant 'devil'; +ext. *-m-: Gt us-filma 'frightened, astonished' (Fs.: 'erschrocken, entsetzt'), ON felms-fullr 'scared', felmta 'to be scared', NNr felm 'to scare' || +ext. *-s-: Sl *polъ ({IS}: < *polHs-o-) 'fear', *polъ(jъ) 'fearful; frightening' > RChS плахъ плахъ id. ({IS}: pla- < *polH-), Blg плах n. 'fear', adj. 'fearful, shy, timid', Cz, Slv plachý id., SCr plāh 'quick, harsh', Slv plāh, f, pláha, P płochoy 'wild, wanton', R Δ {Dal} по'лох 'alarm', Uk по'лох 'fear'; Sl d. *polšiti 'to scare, to frighten' > RChS плашнть плашнть, OR полошнть pološiti, R Δ поло'шнть, SCr

plăšiti, Slv plášiti, Cz plašiti, P płoszyć id., Blg 'плаша 'I frighten'; R пере-по'лож 'alarm, commotion, flurry', вс-поло'шить 'to startle, to agitate' ¶ P 801, F II 469, 497-8, Vr. 110, 117, 149, Sw. 4, Ho. 95, Fs. 530, Lx. 263, Vs. III 317-8, Glh. 482-3 ¶ The PIE *H, proposed here by IS, is qu. (in view of Gk παλτός and other forms without expected traces of a lr., which however may be accounted for by contamination with IE *pel- 'swing' > Gk παλμός 'Schwingung', etc., see P 801) || U *pele- 'fear' > F pelkää- / pelä-, Es pelga- v. 'fear', F pelko n. 'fear' | pLp {Lr.} *pələ- v. 'fear' > Lp: S {Hs.} b'illedh, L {LLO} pallat, N {N} bâllât, Kld pəlleδ id. | Er пеле- pe'le-, Mk пеле- pe'la- id. | Prm *pəl- ({JLG} *pəl-) id. > Z pov-, Z US pol-, Yz 'pul-, Vt Ks {W} pul+-, Vt MU {Wc.} puw+- || ObU {Ht.} *pīl- id. > pVg *pīl- > Vg: T/LL pi'í-, LK/MK/UK/NV/SV/UL/Ss pil-, P pil- ~ pi'í-; pOs *pēl- ({JHL} *pīl-) id. > Os: V/Vy pēl-, Ty/Y pēč-, D/K pēt-, Nz pāt-, Kz pāč-, O pāl- | OHg, Hg fé'l- v. 'fear' || Sm {Jn.} *piy- id. > Ne T {Ter., Lh.} pi'na- pi-na- id., pi'l- pi-l- 'be frightened', Ne F {Lh.} pi'na- v. 'fear', En {Pu.} pi-, {Cs.} fi-, Ng {Cs.} filiti- id. ('fürchten'); -> Sm {Jn., Hl.} *piy-m- (or {Jn.} *piy-ym-) 'be frightened' > En {Cs.} fim- & fi'm-, Ng {Cs.} fēm-, {Ter.} xым-, {Mik.} hīm-, Kms {KD} p'im-, Koib {Sp.} пым-, Mt {Hl.} *hi:mar- (Mt M {Sp.} имер-) ¶¶ UEW 370, Coll. 47, Db. OS xxxiii, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *peli-, Ugr *pilī-, Sm *pij- 'fear'), SK 516-7, Lr. #855, Lgc. #4650, Hs. 332, Ker. II 109, IG 223, Ht. #509, MF 198, EWU 372, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 465, Cs. 72, 224-5, KP 169, KD 53, Hl. M #300 || A: T d. *be'ali-η n., d. *be'aliη-lā- v. > OT belij ~ bālij n. 'panic, terror', be'aliη-lā-, (BrSc) pāliηla- 'be panic-stricken, terrified', Tkm belij al-maq 'to fear, to be scared' (lit. 'to take fright'), ? Tk belin 'astonishment' ¶ Cl. 343-4, DTS 94, TrR 86 || ?σM *belbesü(-re)- v. 'mourn, observe mourning' > MM [MA] belbūsüle, ūl- 'express condolences', belbūsüre-n, WrM belbesüre-, HIM бэлэвсрэ- 'observe mourning', Ord b_elbesere-, Kl белвср- belwsr-, Brt бэлбэхэр- 'become widow(er)', WrO belbesere- ~ belbesüre- 'be a widow'; M *belbe-sün 'widow' > MM [MA], WrO belbisün, belbesün, WrM belbesün, HIM бэлэвсэн, Brt бэлбэхэ(н), Dg {T} belbisen, ShY {Ktw. ← Mnrh.} pelvısin id., Kl белвсн belwsn 'widow(er)', MM [IM] belbesün 'unmarried woman' ¶ Pp. MA 116, 433, H 14, Ms. H 40, MED 96, Ms. O 62-3, Krg. 34, KRS 94, KW 42, Chr. 131, T DgJ 126, Ktw. OuJ 456 || NrTg *belin(-) > Ewk

b3līn- 'be scared, startled', b3lin 'hysterics', Neg b3lin 'nervous disease' ¶ STM I 124 ¶¶ DQA #119 (A *be|∇ 'hysterics, panic, mourning'), STM I 124 (Tg, T) ¶¶ IS II 99 reconstructs A and pT long *ē, which is unc.: Tkm belin points to a short *e|ä, while the transcriptions of OT (USc, MnSc, BrSc, ArSc) provide no definite ev. (⇔ IS). He reconstructs pT *p- (*pēlin-) and A *p- (*pēli-) on the only ev. of OT (BrSc), as well as on misinterpreted Tlt pälinḍä-, that does not belong here because it does not mean 'be timid' (as in IS), but 'an der Nachähmungssucht leiden' (RI. IV 1244-5, the same meaning in Alt {BT} belinde-) ◇ IS II 98-9 (*pelHi: IE, U, A, S + unc. D), AD GD 11 (IE, U, A), Coll. 146 (U, A) ◇ N *q is reconstructed on the ev. of S *χ (> Ak χ). T *b- suggests N *p- ◇ Gr. II #144 (*pel 'fear') (IE, U, A, J).

1705. *P̄iLEqi (= *P̄i|íEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare' > IE: NaIE *plēj-/ *plāj-/ *plī- 'bare, naked' > Gmc: Nr Δ flein 'bare, naked', 'kahler Fleck', fleina 'be uncovered, become bald', Sw flen 'bloß, nackt, kahl' || Lt plūnas 'even, smooth, bare (kahl)', plūnė 'open field (without trees), uncultivated plain', Lt plikas 'bald, bare, naked', Ltv pliks 'naked, nude, bare' | Sl *plěšь 'bald spot\patch' > OR ПЛѢШЬ plěšь, R плешь, Uk пліш, Slv plěš, Cz pleš, P plesz id., *plěš-ivъ adj. 'bald' > OR ПЛѢШНВЪ plěšivъ, R плешивый, Uk плішивий, Blg плешив, C, Slk plešivý; Sl *plъx-, *plěxъ > P plech 'bald spot', d. Cz plechatý, Slk plechavý 'bald' ¶ P 834, Frn. 611-2, Vs. III 281-2, Ma. CS 378 || A: Tg *pile- 'naked, uncovered' > Ewk Brg hil3k3n 'open (land) among mountains', WrMc filitaχun, filtaχun, filfin 'open, without vegetation (of land), naked', filfil beje 'naked body'; ? Tg *pile(-) 'thawed patch of land' > Ewk hil3, Lm hil3η3, Neg xil3x3 id., Ud sil3η3gisi- 'thaw up to form a thawed patch' ¶ STM II 324 || HS: S *°√ plχ > Ar √ flχ G 'faire voir, mettre au jour' ¶ BK II 629 || ?σ D *pil- 'be\burst open' (× D *pil- 'burst, crack, split' of different origin) > Tm pil- 'burst open', pīl'al 'pudendum muliebre', Ml pilukuka v. 'open (the lips)', Kui plīpa (p. plīt-) 'cause to open, hatch, create', ?? Png p̄rī- 'be split open', 'hatch' (egg) ¶¶ D #4194 ◇ If the D root belongs here, the N lateral is *-l- or *-l̄-, otherwise one must reconstruct an unspecified lateral *-L-.

1706. *p'a'lx∇ 'spade; to dig; pit (sth. dug)' > IE: NaIE *be|a₁- ~ *°bəl- v. 'dig, hollow' (× IE *be| 'hollow out, dig' < N *poí∇ 'hollow, empty') > Arm պղեւ բըլեմ v. 'hollow, excavate; dig, delve' || Vd

'bilam 'cave, hole, pit; hollow (of a dish), bowl (of a spoon\ladle)', OI
 ∧ billa- 'pit, hole, reservoir' ||| ?σ OIr belach {P} 'Kluft, Paß, Weg',
 {Vn.} 'passage, défilé, route' ||| ? L pāla 'spade' (< IE *^opaHl- mt. < N
 *p^ra¹lX∇?); L ⇨ Crn pāl 'shovel', B: Sll {Ds.} a-fāla (pl. i-fāla-tan)
 id., 'pelle à fourrer' ¶ P 96; M K II 431-2 and M E II 225 (no et. of
 bilam); MW 732, Tu. #9245, WH II 236 (no et. of L pāla), ≠ EM 723,
 ECCE 277, Ds. 216, Vn. B 29 ||| **U**: FU *p^ra¹l∇ 'spatula, spoon, small
 hammer for shamanistic rituals' > Os: V/Vy paļəńtip, Ty/Y pāļəńtəp
 'Rührlöffel, Teiglöffel, Spatel, Schlegel zum Zaubertrommel' ||| Lp {Fri.}
 balləm, LpL † bālləm 'a small hammer of reindeer horn with which
 the shaman drum was beaten' ¶ Coll. 74, Stn. D 1159-61, Stn. OV 69,
 IOO ¶ The phonetic irregularity (the vw. in Lp does not correspond to
 that of Os) may be explained if we suppose borrowing in Lp ¶ The
 authors of UEW (p.c. to Stn.) reject the comparison between the Os
 word and Lp K balle(d)əm 'take part or assist at the shamanistic
 performance' ||| **HS**: CS *[✓]p^lh 'dig, till' > MHb [✓]p^lh G id., JA [Trg.]
[✓]p^lh G, Ar [✓]f^lh 'till the ground' ¶ Lv. T II 267, Js. 1178, BK II 628-9,
 Hv. 574.

1707. *pa^riX¹ä¹ '€ fish' > **U**: FU: Krl Ld pāll (gen. pāllä) ~ päll (gen.
 pällä) '€ salmon', Vp pāll 'Salvelinus lepechini, lake char (€ trout)', BF
 ⇨ R 'палия id., R 'пелядь 'Coregonus peled (a salmonide freshwater
 fish in Northern Russia and Northern Siberia)' ¶ Hardly here Vg T {Mu.}
 paıl, paуil 'crucian carp' (UEW: < U *pay∇ '€ fish') ¶ UEW 348-9, ZM
 397, ≈ Coll. 47 ||| **A** {DQA} *pāli > T: [1] *pālik 'fish' > OT baııq, MQp
 XIII, Tkm bāııq, Δ pāııq, Tk baıık, Qzl {Jk.} pāııx, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB,
 Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln, Tb, Yk baııq, VTt, Bsh baııq, Az baııq, Alt, Tf
 b_ııq, ET beııq, Slr baııx, Ln baııq ~ baluq ~ walıq, Xk paııx, Chv пулă
 pulъ ≍ polъ; T ⇨ Kl balυα zaυasη '€ fish', Brt baıı̄ zagahun id. | [2] ?
 NaT *bel 'Salmo taimen' > Tv b_el, Tf b̄_el, Xk pil, Yk bil, VTt {Rs. ← ?} ı
 bəl id., Alt b_el 'salmon', Δ 'Salmo taimen' ¶ Cl. 335, ET B 59-60, TL
 177, Rs. W 61, 68, Ra. 159, 161, Ash. IX 278, BT 29 || Tg *pa^rıılu '€ fish'
 > WrMc falı {Hr.} 'Schwarzbrasse', {Z} 'a flat and broad bream-like
 fish', ? Ewk paııwāne ≍ pulwāne 'orfe (Leuciscus idus, язь)' ¶ Hr. 207, Z
 1033, STM II 43, 298 || pKo {S} *par- 'carp' > MKo parkaŋ'i, NKo
 palgaŋi ¶ S QK #793, Yu 368, ≈ MLC 724 (← 'the red one', which is err.,
 because its MKo vowel is a, not ∧ as in the word for 'red') || pJ {S}
 pírámájı ~ *-ıá 'fluke, plaice' > OJ p_Lıııram_Lıııe, J: T hírame, K hìramé, g
 hiráme ¶ S QJ #335 ¶ ≈ DQA #1624 (A *pāli '€ fish'; incl. T, Tg, Ko, J),

≈ Rs. W 61 (T, Mc + err. Kl and Brt [which are loans from T]), ≈ Rm. SKE 185-6 (Ko, T + M *balgu zigasun*) || HS: EC: Sml *fōl̥hun* (df. *fōl̥hunta*) coll. '€ fish' ¶ ZMO 143 ◇ Krl, Vp -íí(∇) < *-ly∇ < N *-LiX∇. A *ā - with compensatory lengthening due to the loss of the lr. The vowels *e in T *be1 and *ä in Krl Ld *päíí* ~ *päll* are due to the infl. of the next syllable(s) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T *be1).

1708. *r̥p̥¹ōīχ|q|Γ a 'broad and flat' > HS: B *✓flH(y) > Izd *fliy* (pf. -*flay-*), CM {NZ} -*fliy-* 'être large', CM *ufliy* 'broad', Zn *ti-fju-t* (pl. *ti-fa]w-in*) 'planche, porte' ¶ Mrc. 153, Loub. 540, NZ 575 || IE *pleχ- 'broad' > Ht *palhi* 'wide, broad' || NaIE *plā-/pelə- 'broad and flat', +ext. *-no-: *plā-no-/pelə-no- 'flat' > L *plānus* 'even, level, flat' || Clt: Gl Medio-*lānum* ({P} lit. 'mitten in der Ebene?') || Ltv *plāns* 'flat, even, thin', Lt *plónas* 'thin' | Sl (× Sl *polnina 'mountain region' ×? {Ma.} *polnъ 'empty, unfruitful'): HLs *płon* 'plain', Cz *pláň* 'plain, prairie', *planý* 'unfruitful, Feld-, Wald-', Slv *plān*, f. *plána* 'frei vom Bauwuchs' || ζ Gk πέλαγος (if Solmsen's and P's interpretation as 'flache Opferkuchen, flache Münze' is right) ||| +ext. *-k-: NaIE *plā-k-/plə-k- > Gk πλάξ (gen. πλακ-ός) 'flat surface, flat land' || AS *flōh* 'flagstone', OHG *fluoh* 'rock, cliff', {OsS, KM} 'wall of rock', NHG *Fluh* 'mass of rock; layer', ON *flaga* 'thin layer of earth', Ic *flaga* 'plate, flat piece of stone', Sw *flaga* 'abgespaltene Scheibe', ON *flá* / pl. *flǣr* 'Felsabsatz; Tal im Hochgebirge mit schwacher Neigung' (< Gmc *flax-iz ÷ Gk πλάκ-εξ), *fló* 'layer' || L *plācā-* v. 'soothe, calm, quiet' || Lt *plākanas*, Ltv *plakans* 'flat', Ltv *plācenis* 'flat cake', *plūoku* / *plakt* v. 'become flat' | ? Sl *ploskъ(jъ) 'flat' (< *plak-sko-?) > OCS *плоскъ* *ploskъ*, Blg *плосък*, Slv *plōsk*, R, Uk 'плоский', Cz, Slk *ploský*, P *płaski* id., d. SCr *plōsan* id. (< *plosk-нъ) || Tc: A, B *plāk-* 'be in agreement' (← *'be even') ¶¶ EI 205-6 (*pelh_αk- 'spread out flat', *pleh_αnos), Frd. HW 156, Ts. W 58, CHD P 65-6, P 805-7, 831, WH II 318, F II 493-4, 550-1, Ho. 109, Vr. 127-8, 1320, Kb. 268, OsS 208, KM 210, ≈ Frn. 602-3, Kar. II 57-8, Vs. III 284-5, Glh. 484, 488-9, Brü. 422, Ma. CS 370-1, Ad. 423 || A: T: OT *bulaq* 'broad-backed' (of a horse) (cp. above NaIE *plā-k-/plə-k-) ¶ Cl. 336 ◇ If OT *bulaq* belongs here (which is not certain), the N initial cns. is *p̥, otherwise *p cannot be distinguished from *p̥-.

1709. *P_olXæ 'to fill' > HS: WS *✓pl̥h *Sh* v. 'have eaten just enough' (→ 'satisfy oneself, succeed') > Mh ✓fl̥h *Sh* (pf. *flēh*, ip.

y3fōl3h, sbjn. y3hafil3h) v. 'have eaten just enough', Jb E ✓ flh (pf. flaḥ) id., Jb C ✓ flh *Sh* (pf. e'flaḥ, ip. 'yfoḷaḥ, sbjn. 'yεflaḥ) v. 'eat just enough', v. 'satisfy oneself, be happy' | ?σ Ar ✓ flh *Sh* {BK} 'réussir; avoir du bonheur, du succès', {Hv.} 'be successful, lucky' ¶ Jo. M xxxvii, 93, Jo. J 57, BK II 628, Hv. 574 || IE *pelh̄-/ *pleh̄- v. 'fill' > NaIE *pelā-/ *plē- > OI 'piparti / piprō'maḥ, prō'ḡāti ~ prō'ḡati v. 'fill, nourish, sate', aor. 'aprāt (< *-plē-, see Gk aor. πλῆτο), inv. pūr'dhi, Av par- 'fill' || Gk πύμπλη-μι 'I fill' (< *πύ-πλη-μι, with -μ- on the analogy of πύμπρημι 'burn [up]'), ft. πλή-σ-ω, aor. πλῆτο 'füllte sich' || L plē- v. 'fill', (in cds.: complē-, implē- v. 'fill', replē- 'fill up\again') || Lt pīl̄ti (pres. pīl̄u) v. 'fill', ḡ Ltv {ME} pīl̄t (unknown accentuation) v. 'become full (?)' || NaIE pp. *plē-to- 'filled, full' > OI prā'ta- [prtc.] || L-plētus (in cds. such as re-plētus 'filled, full', com-plētus 'complete') || pAl {O} *plāta > Al T plotē 'full' || NaIE *plē-no- ~ *pō-no- (< IE *pleh̄-no- ~ *pōh̄-no-) 'full' > OI prāḡa-, Av frāna- 'Füllung', OI pūr'ḡa- 'full', Av pərəna- 'filled' || L plēnus 'full' || Gt fulls, ON fullr, OHG fol / foll-, NHG voll, OSx, AS full 'full', NE full || OIr d. lín-aim 'I fill', lín(t) pp. 'filled', OIr lín 'number', OIr lán 'full', Gl {Evn.} *lano- (in n. pr.), Brtt {RE} *lānos 'full' (> OW laun, MW, W llawn, Crn lūn ~ len ~ luen ~ leun, OBr [in cds.] -lon, MBr, Br leun), Crn {LP, ECCE} lanwes 'abundance', {ECCE} lenwel 'to fill, to replenish' || Lt pīlnas, Ltv piĩns 'full', Pru pīlnan 'whole (ganz)' | Sl *pǫl̄nъ > OCS ПЛѢНЪ pl̄nъ 'full', R 'полон 'is full', полный, Blg пълн, SCr pūn, Slv pōln, Cz, Slk plný, P reḡny 'full' || Tc B pāllew 'full-moon' || *plē-yo- > Arm լի li 'full' || Gk Hm πλεῖος, Gk A πλέως 'full' || *plē-mḡ n. act. 'filling' > Gk [Hs.] πλῆμα · πλῆσμα id. ('impregnation?') || L [γ] d. plēmīnā-bantur 'replebantur' ¶ WP II 55, P 798-800, IS IA 74 (on *pō-¹no-s), EI 201 (*pelh₁- 'fill'), 214 (*pōh₁no-s 'full'), M K II 282-4, 324, M E II 89-90, F II 537-8, WH II 322-3, LP §§ 12, 32, ≈ § 19, Thr. §§ 43, 58, 215, 267, RE 98, Evn. 215, Billy 92, Flr. 246, ≈ 237 (on Crn lanwes), ECCE 264, 266, Fs. 171-2, Vr. 146, Ho. 118, Ho. S 230, Kb. 270, OsS 231, KM 223, 824-5, O 335, Sl̄t. 93-4, Frn. 591-2, En. 226, VW AI 117, 119, Glh. 512, O 335, Ad. 379 || D (in CD) *pōl̄- ({ḡGS} *p-) > Prj pōl̄- v. 'finish, complete', Gdb pōl̄- v. 'finish, be finished' ¶ D #4598 ◊ ≈ Gr. II #172 (*pal 'full') (IE, U, Ko + unc. Y, J, Gil, CK; Gr. does not distinguish between *P_o1Xæ 'to fill' and N *palyû 'much, superfluous').

1710. *palyú 'much, superfluous' > HS: Ch: Ang {Flk.} pīl 'very' ¶ Flk. s.v. || IE: NaIE *'pelu- 'great, many' / *p_o'lu- 'much' > OI pu'ru-, Av pouru-, OPrs {Hiz} paruω 'much' || Gk πολύς id. | OIr (h)il 'much' | Gmc {Vr.} *felu > Gt filu 'much, very', OSx, OHG filu, filo, NHG viel 'much, many', AS fela (/felu-), feala, feola id., 'very', ON fiql- 'much', 'Menge' (in compd. nouns) ||| d. NaIE {P} *plē-yōs 'more' > OL plous, L plus 'more' ||| OIr lía id. ('plus, plures') ||| ON fleiri 'more' ||| Av frāyah- 'more', OI prā'ya- 'mostly, commonly' ||| d. NaIE {P} *plē-yōs-tos 'most' > Gk πλεῖστος 'largest, most' ||| Brtt {RE} *liāstos 'many' > OW, MW liaus, W lliaws, Cm lūes, OBr lios, Br lies ||| ON fleistr 'most' ¶ P 800, ≈ EI 3 (*'pelh₁u-s / gen. *p_l'h₁ouys 'much', *pleh₁uos 'more'), M K II 311, M E II 148-9, Hinz 118, WH II 327-8, LP §§ 29, 164, RE 111, Vr. 1300, Kb. 242, KM 821, Sw. 55, Ho. 100, F II 577-8, Fs. 152-4, Vr. 125, Ho. 100, Ho. S 20 ||| U *pal]yU ({UEW} *paly∇) 'much; thick (dense)' > F paljo, paljon 'much, a lot', Es palju 'much, plenty (of), a lot' | Chr: KB pülä 'rather much\many', H {Ep.} πύλα, {MRS} πύλα 'rather much, rather great' ||| pVg *pāl > Vg: LK pāl, Yk {Vxr.} pāl, P/Ss pāl 'thick' (of forests, grass), 'dicht, dicht belaubt' (UEW: pVg *ā < *a due to the infl. of *-ly-) || Sm {HI.} *pāl̥ > Nn T паль" / пальд- pāl? / pāld- 'thick' (of a forest, liquid), 'fine-tooth' (of a comb), Nn T O {Lh.} pāl? 'thick' (of a wood, hair, porridge), En {Cs.} fođe-me ~ fođe-ma 'dick werden', Mt {HI.} *hāldi 'dicht' (Mt M {Sp.} жалды 'густой') || pY {IN} *poy- 'much, many' > Y: T {IN} poy- id., {Krn.} poyūō- 'be many\much': poyūōn 'many' (keden poyūōn 'homines multi sunt', lit. 'homo multus est'), poyūōde-gzdek yabel 'many people died'), poyūōler 'many (people)', {Ku.} poyumu vi. 'become more numerous' ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 350-1, Ep. 97, MRS 478, BV 76, Ter. 440, Lh. 337, Cs. 95, HI. M 243, Krn. JJ 193, Ku. 224, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [#42] (Y ← U) ||| D *pal'a', *pala∇ ({ϑGS} *p-) 'many, several, diverse' > Tm, MI pala id., Td peş id., 'a large number, many', Kn pala, palavu 'many, several, various', TI palu id., Mlt palware v. 'be multiplied, be bred' ¶¶ D #3987 ||| ?σ A *_lp'á' > T *_lh₁á' v. 'enlarge, increase' > OT aš- v. 'enlarge, increase (sth.)', Uz aš- vi. 'increase', ET, Alt aš- id. (Cl. 255, ET Gl 212-4, UzR 312, Nj. 38, BT 23); ET Gl does not distinguish it from NaT *āš- v. 'cross (a mountain)' (< A *āla- id. < N *_h'a_l∇?, E 'on the other side' [q.v.]); this supposed cognate is highly qu., because here the initial A *p' is only possible, but not evidenced ◇

IS MS 348 (*p̄al̄ 'much, many' > IE, A, U, D, Ch, unc. K *pr-), IS SS #10.3, AD GD 11, Coll. 145-6 (U, A), UEW 350-1 (U, A, IE).

1711. *peL̄i,y∇ 'to split, to separate' > **HS:** WS *✓ply > Gz, Tgy ✓fly, Tgr ✓fly (pf. fēla) *G* 'divide, separate' (↳ Sa {R} falay- 'scheiden, sondern, trennen'), BHb ✓ply|w *N*: ... מן ונפלינו ונפלינו wə-ni-p'ī-nū min... 'and we shall be distinct from...', *Sh* 'make separate, set apart', MHb ✓ply|w *G* (pf. פָּלָה pā'lā) 'search; search one's garment for vermin', JA ✓ply (pf. פָּלָה pā'lā ~ פָּלָה pā'lā) 'split, open up', Ar ✓fly vt. *G* 'louse (the head); scrutinize (an affair); study the meaning of (a poem)' ¶ LG 161, KB 878, BDB 811, Js. 1181, Sl. 912, BK II 635, Hv. 575, Ln. 2445, R S II 133 || B *✓fly (× *✓fl̄H < N *pōliʔE [or *pōliʔE?]) 'to split') > Ah {Fc.} afl̄i (pf. ifl̄ay) 'fendre', Ttq {Msq.} fallāî 'fendre (du bois)', Tnsl ifl̄ā 'déchirer brusquement', CM {NZ} flej / fl̄i id., 'déchirer, lacérer', Si fl̄i 'fendre' ¶ Fc. 324-5, Msq. 124, NZ 574-5 || C: LEC *fil- {Ss.} 'separate' > Or {Grg.} fil- 'comb', Or Wl {Brl.} fil- v. 'chose, separate, discern; comb' ({Ss.}: not akin to Brj sil-ʔ- v. 'comb'), Kns {BISO} fil-, Rn {PG} filā v. 'comb', Arr {Hw.} fil- v. 'comb, separate out', fil-aḏ- v. 'comb one's hair', filā n. 'comb', Af {PH} fīl-0 ~ fil-0 'act of combing'; ?? Sml fullāʔ vi. 'detach, be separated, come off' ¶ Ss. B 166, Bl. 166, PH 102-3, Grg. 144, Brl. 147, PG 115, Hw. A 358, BISO 32, ZMO 144 ¶¶ ≠ OS #845 (S ÷ B *f̄∇|∇w- 'pierce') || **IE:** NaIE *(s)plej-, *splej-d- 'split, split off' (? × N *pōliʔE [or *pōliʔE?]) 'to split' [q.v.]) > Ltv Δ {ME} plītes 'small crumbs (kleine Brosamen)', {ME} plivina 'abgelöste flatternde Baumrinde; Schelfer' || OIr {Vn.} sliss 'copeau, éclat de bois', d. slissiu 'copeau, éclat; planchette' || MHG splīzen, OFrs splīta, MDt splīten, Dt splijten vi., vt. 'split, be split', MDt, Dt splitten vi. 'split' (↳ NE split {OED}: originally a nautical term); d. Gmc *splita- > MHG splitter 'splinter', d. v. MLG splitteren, Sw splittra 'to split, to splinter' ¶ WP II 684, P 1000, Vn. S 136, Vr. N 681, OsS 853-4, OED X 645, ME III 347, 349 || **U:** FU (att. in Prm) *opē∇ 'divide, split, crush' > Prm *pēl- ({LG} *pēl- 'slit' > Z пель- pēl- vt. 'split, slit off lengthwise', Yz pēl-d- 'scale off', Vt пильыны pīl-+n+ vt. 'split' (hardly from FU *pōb̄z [= *pōz̄∇] 'Span, spalten, splitteln' because of its vw. [⇔ UEW]) || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} filmia, filmiʔa 'little bit, fragment' ¶¶ Coll. 49, LG 219, ≠ UEW 389-90 ◇ The IE and other cognates suggest that Prm *l̄ goes back to *-liy- ◇ IE *(s)p- points to a N *p̄- (see Introduction,

2.2.5). On the origin of IE *sp- see s.v. N *^rp¹ü₁û₁y₁∇ 'to wash' and Introduction, 2.2.5.

1712. (ɫ?) *puLy∇ 'bubble, blister, round swelling' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} pōl 'tuber' ¶ J T 133 || IE: NaIE ɫ *bul-/*bou- 'round swelling' > L bulla id., 'water bubble' || Gmc: OHG {OsS} paula 'pustule, blister', but words with b- (AS bȳle, bȳl 'boil, carbuncle', OHG būlla 'pustule, blister', MLG būle, NNr bulle, Sw bula 'bump, lump, Beule', NHG Beule 'bump') may be of L origin (or influenced by L) || Slv búla 'tumour, bump, a boil, carbuncle' (unless <b- L) || OIr bolcha accus. pl. (< NaIE dim. *bulakā) 'pimples, pustules' ¶ ×IE *b^heyl- 'swell' (in lgs. without the opposition *b- ↔ *b^h-) ¶ WH I 122, Frn. I 63, M K I 439-40, Bern. I 100, Vr. 340, Kb. 130, OsS 90, 683, KM 71-2, ≈ Ho. 39, Vn. B 66, Vs. I 239 || U: FU *pu^ríy¹∇ 'bubble' > F Δ ɫ pullo 'bubble, soap-bubble', Es {W} pull pull 'blister, vesicle' ('Blase, Wasserblase'), Vo pullu ~ pu^rílu 'bubble', Lv búl ({Kt.}: < *puli) 'vesicle' (in F and possibly in other BF lgs. there is infl. of Sw bula?) | Lp {Fri.} buljaras, buljokas 'bubble', Lp N {N} bul¹-jâr âs n. 'bubble' | Prm *pó¹ ({LG} *pó¹) 'bubble, round swelling' > Vt пуплы пу¹ 'bubble, blister', Yz pól 'bubble', Prmk va-pól 'water-bubble' (va 'water'), Z польö pó¹z 'a young (bulb of) onion', d. польк pó¹k 'bubble' || OHG XVIII, Hg † buggū 'Luftblase' ¶ SK 636, W EDW 890, Kt. 31, Fri. 97, N I 249, LG 224, EWU 144, Sándor Sf. VII 173 || A: Tg *pυ₁∇n 'boil, abscess, furuncle' > Lm hulān id., Orc pōlonko 'ulcer, unhealing wound', ??φ W_rMc furdan 'wound, ulcer' ¶ STM II 344 ◇ Hl. (p.c., 1976): IE, U.

1713. *^rp¹ü₁û₁y₁∇ 'to wash' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} palu v. 'wash (body)' || Ech *-p^ri¹- v. 'wash' > Kwn {J in JI} pèlè v. 'wash (body)' | Kbl {Cp. in JI} pǎ¹, Li {Grgs. in JI} pǎ¹ v. 'wash' | Tmk {Cp.} pǎ¹ id., Nd {J} pǎ¹∧ v. 'wash (things)' | Mgm {JA} (inf.) pàpìlò id. (passé absolu pàpìlé, progr. pàpállá) | Mkl pfv. púpí¹è v. 'wash' (subj. (t)òpí¹è) ¶ ChC, AIJ 53, JA LM 54, 66, J LM 241, JI II 339, Cp. 90, Nw. #140 || IE: NaIE (att. in WGmc) *^ospel- v. 'rinse, (?) wash' > OHG ir-spuolen 'to rinse', MHG spüelen, NHG spülen, MLG spōlen, Dt spoelen, AS āspylīan 'to rinse, to wash'; MLG ↗ Sw spola, Dn spula, NNr spyle id. ¶ OsS 860, Lx. 2070, Kb. 945, KM 733-4, Ho. 314, Vr. N 681-2, Hlq. 1048 || U: FU *pi¹ü^ríw¹∇ (or *pi¹w¹∇?) v. 'bathe' > Prm *pól- v. 'bathe' > Vt пыласьк-, Vt Ks pulaśk- v. 'wash oneself, bathe in a river', Z

ПЫВСЬЫ- pɪvʂɪ-, Z Ss pɪlʂɪ-, Yz 'pʉlʂɪ- 'take a steam-bath (in a sauna)', Z ПЫВСЯН 'sauna' || ObU *pēʎal- 'sich baden' > pVg *pǎʎl- id. > Vg: T pǎwɫ-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL pǎʎl, UL/Ss puwɫ- id.; pOs *pöʎal- ({HL} *pǔʎal-) id. > Os: V/Vy pöʎal-, Ty pǎʎwǎʎ-, Y pǎwǎʎ-, D/K pexǎt-, Nz pexǎt-, Kz pexǎʎ-, O pexǎl- id.; ObU *-ʎal- may go back to FU *-lǎk-, -lǎʎ- -lǎw- | ? Hg fūröd-, fūrɔ- 'baden, sich baden', fūröszɪ- vt. 'baden' ¶ UEW 380-1 (*pɪlkɔ [*pülkɔ]), LG 234-5, Lt. J 172, Ht. 175 [#502] || D *puɫ-ɔm- ({ʃGS} *p-) v. 'wash\ clean' > Tu polampuni v. 'clean, wash, rinse', Tl pulumu v. 'rub and wash with the two hands, scour' ¶¶ D #4549, Km. 433 [#836] ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., IE *sp- < N *p̥-...-y- or *p̥- + palatal sonorant (see Introduction, 2.2.5). Since the N lateral is not *-l̥- (to judge from the U and D ev.), the only solution is to suppose an additional stem-medial N *y.

1714. *paLuCɔ (or *paLüCɔ?) 'stinging insect (flea, mosquito, tick)' > HS: C ≈ *fɔllɔt- 'flea' > EC: Gdl fillét id. (coll.); ?? Hr {AMS} filláye, Gwd {AMS} filláye 'flea' (× N *p'UʔE'ɪɔ 'stinging insect') || Ag *fɛɫɫɔt- (= *fɛllɔt-), {Ap.} *fɛɫɔt- > Bln {R} fəlúta, Xm {R} fəɫta, Q {R} peleyə, {Flad} pelea, Km {Ap.} fäläy 'flea' ¶ Ap. AV 9 (Ag *fɛɫɔt-), Ap. WLQ 8, AD SF 45 (Ag *fɔllɔt- or *fɔrrɔt-), R BilS 122, Bl. G 20, AMS 157, 242 || Ch (× N *pürgU(-čɔ) ~ *pürčɔgɔ 'flea, gnat, mosquito?') > CCh: Gudu {ChL} vɛɛɛɛɛ, Msy {Mch.} vɛɛɛ, Db {ChL} vɛɛɛɛɛ, {Lnh.} vɛɛɛɛ, Kola {Sb.} vɛɛɛ, Bdm {Cy.} bäläšì, {Nw.} pélačé, {Lk.} hóláčì, Lgn {Bou.} fɛɛɛɛ, {Lk.} vɛɛɛɛɛ, Ms/BnM {ChL} furutna, Ms {J} húrúttá, Zm {ChL} vursu 'mosquito' || WCh: Dir {Sk.} avúltú id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 104, IS II 99 (Ch. *bɔllɔč) || IE: NaIE *b_llus- ~ *plus- 'flea': [1] *b_llus- > Lt blusà, Ltv blusa id. | SI *bl̥'xa > OR БЛЪХА bl̥'xa, R, Uk бло'ха, Blr блы'ха, Blg бъл'ха, SCr bùha, Slv bóha, Cz blecha, Slvj blcha, P mt. pchła id. || Arm [nl lu (gen. [nlɛɛ luoy) id. || Gk mt. ψύλλα id. (or to [2]) || [2] *plus-/*pleus- 'flea' > OI plusi-h̥ id. | Irn: Prc ruč, Psh 'wrzž̥a (< *frušā), Ydg fr̥ɪʎo (< *fruši-kā) id. || pAl {O} *pleusta > Al T plesht id. || ? L mt. pūlex (< *pusl-ek-) / gen. pulic-is id. ¶ ≠ P 102, EI 206 (*plus- ~ *b^hluseh_h- 'flea'), M K II 386-7, M E II 197-8, Mrg. 91, Sl. 41-2, Frn. 51-2, Bern. I 62-3, Vs. I 177, ESSJ II 129-30, Glh. 155-6, F II 1140, WH II 385, O 333 || A: Tg *opaɫ'çuka ~ *baɫçuka 'tick (insect)' > Neg baɫçuxa & baɫçuka, U1 baɫçuxsa ~ beɫçuxsa, Nn Nh paltoxa ¶ STM I 71 ◇ The variations are due to ideophonic, euphemistic, and/or other factors (F II 1141 on IE:

"die vielen Varianten beruhen auf euphemistischer, spielerischer und volksetymologischer Verdrehung") ◇ IS II 99-100 (? *puṛč̣n(ǵn) / pülc̣n(ǵn) 'flea').

1715. ₂ *P'Ū'li'č̣'∇ (or *P'Ū'íi'č̣'∇?) 'gray, gray-haired' > IE: NaIE *pelit- 'gray' > Gk πελιδνός, Gk A πελιτνός 'livid' ||| OI pali'ta-ḥ 'gray, hoary, aged', pali'tam 'gray hair' ¶ F II 498, LS 1357, M K II 234-5, M E II 103-4 (IE *pelh₂it- without explicit justification of *h₂), ≠ EI 641-2 (the above words * < *p_oh₃- 'dull white, pale', see N *'p'ulǵ|ħu or *'p'ulǵ|ħa 'red, yellowish') ||| D *pu]∇č̣- '(become) gray' > Nkr pu]s-, Klm puḷs- (p. pulust-), Prj puḷč̣-, Gnd piṛs- & piḍč̣anā & piṛč̣anā & piṛč̣-, Koya piṇsk- 'become gray' (of hair), Krx puḥḥnā 'become hoary, gray in hair', Mlt ponḍe id. ¶¶ D #4325, ≈ Pf. 170 ◇ N *-ḷ- is more plausible than *-ḷ', because the latter is likely to cause an IE initial *s mobile.

1715a. UA ₂ *pA'Ū'y'ak|g∇ 'foot' (and 'sole of foot?') > U: FU *páik∇ 'foot' > pMr {Ker.} *pī́igə > Er пильге pílge, Mk пильге pílge 'foot' ||| Vg: LK pöáikant, MK pöáikant 'side hoof, false hoof (of a reindeer), kleine Klaue (bei der Kuh, dem Elentier, dem Rentier)' || ?? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} päl+ 'thigh' ¶ UEW 364, IS III 67, Ker. II 113, KKIH 148 ||| A: NaT *balak 'trouser leg, sole of foot' > Osm {RL} balaq 'trouser leg', Tk balak 'trousers', Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh balaq, Az balag 'trouser leg, ankle', QrB balaq 'sole of foot, trouser leg', Qzq balaq 'trouser leg, leg of an animal (esp. bird)' ¶ Rs. W 59, ET B 51-2, RI. IV 1492, Dr. TM #762, ≈ TL 478 || Tg *palga-n 'sole of foot' > Nn Nh palgã 'sole of foot or of shoe', Ul palẓ̌a(n-), Orc xagga(n-) id., Nn B falga 'sole of foot of a bear', Neg xalgan, Sln alga(n), Ork palẓ̌a(n-) 'sole of foot', Ewk halgan 'foot, hoof, sole of foot' ¶ STM II 312, IS III 67-8 || pKo {S} *pár 'foot' > MKo p^hwat [*pal], NKo pal 'leg (lower than the ankle)', pal-gup 'hoof' (kup 'hoof'), Ko Δ: Ph/SI pal, Ks pál, Hm pa_l ¶ S QK #33, Nam 245, MLC 722 || pJ {S} *pànkì 'foot, shin' > OJ pàgì {Mr.} 'shank (lower leg)', StJ {Kenk.} hagi 'leg' ({S} J: T/Kg hagi, K hagi 'shin'), J: Ns hagi, Ht pán, Y hán 'foot' ¶ S QJ #131, Mr. 395, Kenk. 414 ¶¶ DQA #1616 (*pàlgà 'foot') ¶¶ The discrepancy between the ev. of U (suggesting N *í) and that of T (suggesting *ī) may be avoided by suggesting a N cluster *Ūy (with loss of *y in Altaic) ◇ Cf. IS III 66-70 (*pálq̣n 'sole of foot': U, A + *÷ K *perq- ~ *berq- 'foot, step'). IS III adduces M *u₁alku- 'step', which is in fact *alqu- < N *haL∇K₁u₁ 'to step, to walk' (q.v.). The rec. of N *q is unt. because N *q usually does not yield U *k and M *k. The

whole comparison is highly qu., because the U and Tg stems may well belong to N ***paíχ|ϑ** 'thumb, big toe'. T ***paímak** 'shoe' (> OT bašmaq, Tk başmak, etc.) and Ko parmak 'footgear worn by small gentry' apparently suggests an A word ***paímak** '(ε) shoe', which is unlikely to be derived from A ***p_l'_lalK** (because of the cns. *í in ***paímak**). In this case the infl. of N ***paíχ|ϑ** may be a solution.

1716. *paīUQü 'axe, hammer' > IE: NaIE ***peleku-** 'axe' > OI para'suh 'axe', pIr ***parasu-** > OPrs {Bai., Ab.} ***paraθu-** → KhS paḍa 'axe' and Oss färät 'axe, hatchet' || Gk Mc pe-re-ke-ωε, Gk πέλεκυς 'axe' ¶ EI 37, Mn. 915, Dv. #462, M K II 213-4, M E II 87, Ab. I 451, F II 497 || HS: S ***√p_lq** 'axe' > OAk {G} d. naplaḳtum 'battle-axe'; Sr **پلقة** pel'qā 'axe' (unless ← Gk) ¶ G OA 215, Br. 569-71, 574, Sd. 813, 863 || A ***paluk'∇** 'hammer' > NaT ***balu_lka** id. > Brb {Rl.} palṽa, Qq, Qzq balṽa, SbTt {Tm.} palṽa ≍ palkä, {Gig.} balṽa, Qrg, ET {Rl.} **بالقا** balqa, ET {KtnM} balaqa, ET Δ {Jr.} bolqa, Ln baloqa, balqa, Uz болґа болṽa id., Bsh balṽa 'sledge-hammer', QrB balqa id., hammer-axe', Chg {Rl.} **بالقا** balṽa 'eine Keule mit einem langen Stiel'; T → M: Kl {KRS} балh bal'ḅ, {Rm.} balag, balṽa 'large flat knife, table-knife' ¶ ET B 57-8, Rs. W 61, Rl. IV 1169, 1498, 1500, UzR 80, Jud. 105, Tm. 167, KRS 79, KW 31 || M ***paluqa(n)** > MM [IM] {Pel., Pp.} haluṽa (misspelt **هالقا**), WrM aluqa(n), HIM алx(ан) 'hammer, mallet' (→ Sln alḅa), Ord alu'ḅu' ~ alu'ḅa 'small hammer', Kl алx алḅ, {Rm.} alḅa 'hammer', Dg ḅaldugu id. (× reflex of N ***paī∇_lṽ** 'to split', 'axe'??), Brt алха '(small) hammer' ¶ Mel. 153, Pel. H #90, Pp. MA 434, MED 34, Ms. O 18, Chr. 45, KRS 37, KW 7, T DgJ 173 || Tg ***paluka** 'hammer' > Ul pala(ω)u(n-) ~ paloa(n-), Nn Nh paloa, Nn B falō(n-), Orc ḅalu(ω)a, Ud xaluga, Ewk halka ≍ aluka, Lm halqḅ, Neg xalka, WrMc folḅo ¶ STM II 313, Krm. 306 ¶¶ Pp. VG 11, DQA #1617 (A ***pāluk'∇** 'hammer'), Ci. EApk 30-1, ≠ Rm. SKE 185 ◇ If the pN word was trisyllabic (***paīUQü**), the loss of ***-Qü** in pU (or pFU) may be accounted for by the adaptation of the word to the reg. U √ pattern (if the U √ is inherited or borrowed). But if A ***p|baltu** 'axe' belongs here (rather than to N ***paī∇_lṽ** 'to split; axe' [q.v.]), the pN etymon in question is to be reconstructed as ***paīU(-Qü)**. Several scholars have treated this lexeme as a Wanderwort and have tried to explain its occurrence in many lgs. by borrowing (Krtm. E 105f., Dr. TM II #710, KW 31, Rm. SKE 185, Pp. AKAS, Mng. ZAL 300ff., etc.). Their hyp. is only

partially correct. The long-hold hyp. about the Mesopotamian (Ak and Sum) origin of IE *peleku- 'axe' had to be rejected when it was found that Ak pilakku meant 'spindle' rather than 'hammer', and Sum balag meant 'ein paukenartiges Musikinstrument' (see Wüst IAB). In fact, the spread of the word throughout vast regions of Eurasia is due to both inheritance and borrowing.

1717. *Pä'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ' (or *PEǵ'ǵ'ǵ') to split lengthwise, to divide' > **HS:** S: [1] CS *√pǵ v. 'split' > Ar √flq v. G 'split, cleave, divide lengthwise, cut in two halves' (→ Mz falǵ 'chop\split [wood, etc.]), JEA √pǵ G {Sl.} 'split, smash', {Js.} 'split, create a gaping wound', JA [Mdr.] פִּלְקָא pal'kā {Js.} 'fissure, wound', {Lv.} 'Riss, Spalt', Jb {Jo.} √flq (3s sbjn. 'פִּלְקָא) 'split, crack (like a skull)', intens.-conat. e'folq 'split into pieces'; [2] S *√pǵ > Ak {Sd.} √plk G '(Gebiet) abteilen', pilku 'Abgrenzung, Gebiet' → MHb פִּלְקָא 'pələk, JA [Trg.] {Js.} פִּלְקָא pə'lak ~ פִּלְקָא 'pələk / em. פִּלְקָא pil'kā 'district'; [3] S *√plg v. 'split, share' > Ar فَلَاح √flǵ G 'split asunder, share, allot sth. amongst', BHb √plg: N pf. נִפְלַג nip'lag 'was divided', D (pf. פִּלְגָא pil'leg, inv. פִּלְגָא pal'leg) vt. 'split, furrow', פִּלְגָא 'pələg 'division' [Gn. 10.25, I Chr. 1.19], EpHb/IA {HJ} √plg 'half', MHb פִּלְגָא 'pələg 'part, share', Ug √plg G or N vi. 'be divided, disintegrate', IA, Plm √plg G or D, JA √plg vt. G, D 'divide, share', JA [Trg.] פִּלְגָא pə'lag / em. פִּלְגָא pal'gā, Sr فَلَاحٌ pələ'gā 'part, half', Sr √plg vt. G 'divide, separate', Gz √flg (js. -falǵ) G 'divide, split', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) pa-la₂-ga v. 'divide, share'; → S *'palag- 'ditch, canal, small stream' > Ak fOB {Sd.} palgu 'ditch, channel', BHb פִּלְגָא *pələg, Ug plg 'canal, small stream', IA {HJ} plg[?] s. e. 'canal', Ar فَلَاحٌ falagǵ-, فَلَاحٌ falǵ- 'streamlet, brook', Gz falag 'river, brook, valley' (→ Gz √flg G 'flow'), Mh {Jo.} falēg 'watercourse', Jb E {Jo.} 'fe'leg 'stream', Jb C {Jo.} 'fe'leg 'oasis' ¶ The causes of voicing *k > *g are not yet clear ¶ OLS 349, Fr. III 70, GB 641-2, BK II 627-8, 631-3, Ln. 2436-8, 2441-3, Hv. 573-5, Sd. 813, 815-6, 863, KB 877-8, HJ 911-3, Js. 1175-6, 1182, 1185, Lv. IV 57, Lv. T II 266, 270, Sl. 914, Br. 569-71, Jo. M 93, Jo. J 57, L G 159, Hik. #73, SivCR 79, ≈ Blz. LB #60 (equates S *'palag- 'canal, stream' with the reflexes of N *puǵu 'to spring forth' [→ 'to flow', q.v.) || **K:** G pelik-i 'Stück der Fleischseite des Schlachtviehs; Viertel eines geschlachteten Tiers', G R pelik-i 'Hälfte eines der Länge lang halbierten Schweins' ¶ Chx. 1460 || **U:** FU *pǵ'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ' > pOs *peǵ'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ' (-{Hl.} *pǵ'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ') 'half, side' (× U *pǵ'ǵ'ǵ'ǵ')

'half' < N *P_älqA 'half, part' [q.v. ffd.] × U *pē]e 'side' < N *P_elʔê ~ *P_eʔ]ê 'side' || D *paL∇k- ({ʔGS} *p-?) v. 'split, cut lengthwise' > Krx pałk- id., 'crack (the earth, a wall)', Mlt palke v. 'cut up (as fruit\vegetable)', ? Prj pałva 'split piece of wood'; D ⇨ OI phalaka-m 'board, lath'? (unless ⇨ OI 'phala- 'burst' ¶¶ D #3991, M K II 392-3
 ◇ S *√plg v. 'split, share' suggests that the original N etymon was *P_El∇'gʔ'∇ with subsequent contaction *-gʔ- > *-k- ~ *-k- > S *k and *k (n S *√plk and *√plk), K *k, U and D *-k- ◇ An etl. connection with N *paTUKü 'axe, hammer' is possible, but not certain.

1718. *paT_l∇_lt∇ 'to split', 'axe' > HS: SS *√plʔ 'split' > Gz √flʔ G 'separate, divide, split', Sb √flʔ 'assign (land)' ¶ LG 161, BGMR 44 || EC: Sa {R} √flʔ (p. 'æ-fle]æ, sbjn. a-'fla]ō, prtc. fa'lē]') 'split (spalten, entfalten)' (influenced by or borrowed from EthS?), Sml fallid 'splinter, chip' ¶ R S II 132, ZMO 133 || K *plet-/*plit-/*p]t- 'tear to pieces' > G plet-/plit- id., 'wear out', (Chx.) 'zerreißen, zerfetzen, zerfleischen', G da-plet-il- 'worn out', G X da-pit-a aor. 'he wore\tore out', Mg {K²} pat- 'wear out (?)', Lz plat- 'get worn out, tear to pieces', Sv pet-/pt- v. 'scutch wool' (UB/L li-pt-i, Ln li-pet-i, L ft. 1s oχ-pot-ne ~ oχ-pet-ne) ¶ GM S 200, FS E 358, ≈ K² 202 (*plet-/plit-/plt- 'wear out'), Chx. 1485, TK 451-2, Dn. s.v p t- ¶¶ The deglottalization *t > t is still to be explained || A *p'alt'a]u 'axe' > NaT *paltu]a 'axe' > OT baltu ({Cl.} baltū), MQp, XwT balta 'axe, battle-axe', OT Og baldu 'axe', Chg baltu, Tk balta, Tkm, Qmn, SbTt palta, Tb {B}, Brb {Dm.} palta ~ balta, Slr palto 'axe', CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qrg balta, StAlt {BT}, Shor malta, QK {B} malta ~ palta, Uz balta, ET palta ~ paldä, Δ {Jr.} paltu ~ paldu, ET X {Ml.} palta ~ palti, Ln palti ~ palto, Xk palti, Tv baldi, Chv purtǔ 'axe', Qzq, Qq balta 'axe, battle-axe', Yk balta 'forge hammer, molar' ¶ TL 397, Cl. 333, MKD 64, Jr. 223, Nj. 245, TkR 512, Tm. 167, Jud. 106, 605, B DK 240, B DChT 106, 143, B DLT 185, BIG 142, Dm. JBT 133, 173, Ln. 249 || M *balta (⇨ T?) > WrM balta, HIM балт 'big hammer, sledge hammer, axe', Brt балта 'hammer, sledge hammer', Kl балт baltǔ 'battle-axe'; M (or Yk) ⇨ Ewk balta 'hammer' ¶ MED 81, Chr. 84, KRS 80, KW 31-2, STM I 71 ¶¶ KW 31-2.

1719. *PaL_t∇q∇ 'broad and flat' > HS: EC *balʔ-/ *ballāʔ- 'wide, broad' > Rn {PG} ballāʔdǐ, {Hn.} bal'lāʔ-i 'width', {PG} ballāʔdǎn, Sml ballāʔ-an ~ balāʔ-an, Bn baqār-, Or {Grg.} balʔ-ā ~ ball-ā, Or H {Ow.} bál]á (f. bál]ó) 'wide', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or M {LLC} ballā, Or Wt {Hn.} ballaʔ

'broad, wide', Or B {Bl.} balḏ-, ? Or Gj {LLC} badda 'wide', Or Wl {Brl.} balda 'spiazzo, largura', Kns, Gdl palḏ- 'broad', Bs {HL} balḏ-, Brj balḏ- v. 'be broad', {Hd.} 'be wide', balḏ-an-ē {Ss.} 'broad', {Hd.} 'wide', Ged {Hd.} baḏḏa (< *balḏa) 'wide', baḏḏ-at- 'be wide' ¶ Bl.196, Ss. PEC 7, 22, Ss. B 33, Grg. 33, Sr. 270, LLC 26, 231, Brl. 41, Vnt. 17, Hn. W 58, 64, Hn. S 53, PG 74-5, HL 83-4, Hd. 167-8, 179, 232 || B (mte.?) *✓flṭy > Ah {Fc.} fəltəy v. 'be broad and flat', ETwl, Ty fəltəy (pf. fəltəy) v. 'be flat', fəltəy id. ¶ Fc. 330, GhA 39, NZ 572 || IE *pletHu-/*pḷtHu- > NaIE *plet(h)u-/*pḷt(h)u- 'broad and flat', IE *pletH-/*pḷtH- > NaIE *plet(h)-/*pḷt(h)- v. 'extend, spread' > Gk πλατύς 'wide, broad, flat, level' || Arm [ալյա] layn 'broad' (< *pl̥tə-no-) || W lled, Cm les, Br led 'breadth, width', Br ledañ, OIr leth- 'extend, spread, widen'; MW {SEv.} llet, W lled (< *plet-is), OIr letha 'broader, wider', d. lethet 'breadth, size'; *pḷt̥no- > OIr lethan 'broad', Brrt {RE} *litanos 'wide' > MW, W llydan, Cm {RE} ledan, OBr letan ~ litan, MBr, Br ledan 'wide, broad', Gl n. l. Litana silva (lit. 'Wide forest') and Litanobriga || Lt platūs, Ltv plats 'broad', Lt plōtis 'width' || Iir *pletHu/*pḷtHu- > OI pṛ'thu-, Av adj. pərəθav- 'broad, wide' (adv. pərəθu), OI 'prāthati 'spreads, extends', 'prathas-, Av fraθah- 'width' ¶ P 833-4, EI 83 (*pḷ'th₂u- 'broad, wide'), M KI 333-4, 362-4, M E II 161-2, Brrl. 892-3, 983, Bai. 302, F II 553-4, LP §§ 7.1, Thr. §§ 215, 226, 259, RE 146, SEv. 41, Slt. 224-5, Flr. 241, 244, Hm. 509, Frn. 606-7 || K: GZ *pṛt̥q-el- 'flat' > G br̥t̥qel-i, G Δ pṛt̥q-el-i 'flat, even', Mg bir̥t̥qa- 'flat (and round)' ¶¶ as. *t̥q > *t̥q ¶¶ K² 19, 151, Chx. 107, DCh. 119 || A: M: WrM baltai-, HIM балтай- v. 'be(come) flat' ¶ MED 81 ◇ The N stem may be akin to N *r̥p̥'ōt̥x|q|ra 'broad and flat'. If IS is right in assuming that N *r̥' may yield G r, the N unspecified *L is to be understood as *r̥'.

1720. ₂ *P̥∇LhE'ʒ'∇ or\and *P̥∇L,h,Eç|ç'∇ 'split up, separate' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓plhδ v. 'separate' > Sr ✓plhd (pf. ^افلاط pal'həḏ) 'dispersit, separavit', Ar ✓flδ G (pf. ^افلاط falaḏa) 'cut a slice of', D (pf. ^افلاط fallaḏa) 'cut into pieces, couper en morceaux', فلذ filḏ- 'morceau', {Hv.} فلذة filḏ-at- 'piece (of meat, metal)' | [2] WS *✓plç > MHb {Js.} ✓plç N 'be split\cracked', Ar ✓flṣ D 'deliver, save', Gz ✓flṣ G 'divide in two, split, separate', fəlṣ 'broken piece'; EthS ✓flṣ → Aw {Hz.} felec- v. 'separate' ¶ Js. 1185, Br. 571, BK II 629-30, Hv.

574, L G 161, ≠ AD SF 42 (pC $\sqrt{\text{pl}}\check{\text{č}}$ v. 'separate, divide'; C \rightarrow Gz $\sqrt{\text{fl}}\text{š}$) || IE: NaIE $\sqrt{\text{plēs-}}/\sqrt{\text{plās-}}$ 'splinter off, tear off' > ON *flasa* 'dünne Scheibe, Splitter', NNR *flasa* 'to splinter off, to split off', Ic *flaska* 'to be split' || Lt *plāskanos* pl. 'dandruff' ¶ P 834, Vr. 129, Frn. 604 ◇ The IE $\sqrt{\text{pl}}$ includes a *lr.*, which suggests a connection with CS $\sqrt{\text{plh}}\delta$.

1721. $\sqrt{\text{pe}}\acute{\text{í}}\text{ł}\nabla$ (= $\sqrt{\text{pe}}\acute{\text{í}}\text{ł}\nabla$?) 'pigeon' > IE $\sqrt{\text{pe}}\acute{\text{r}}\text{ł-}$ (~ $\sqrt{\text{be}}\text{ł-}$?) 'pigeon' > Gk *πέλιεα* 'pigeon', esp. 'rock pigeon, *Columba livia*' || L *palumbēs* 'wood-pigeon, ring-dove' (infl. of L *columba* 'dove\pigeon') || Pru *poalis* 'pigeon' || ? OI *bālāgra* 'dove-cot' ¶ ≠ P 805, ≠ F II 496, ≠ WH II 242 (all of them unc.: 'dove' ← $\sqrt{\text{grey}}$), Dv. #860, EI 169 ¶ The root may have been influenced by $\sqrt{\text{pe}}\text{ł-}$ 'grey', but it is hardly its main source (see the D cognate) || D $\sqrt{\text{pe}}\text{ł-}$ ({{GS}} $\sqrt{\text{b-}}$) 'pigeon' (× N $\sqrt{\text{b}}\nabla\text{L}\nabla$ 'dove') > Kn *beļava*, *beļuva* 'wild pigeon', Tl *beļava-guvva*, *beļava* 'ring-dove' ¶¶ D #4420 ◇ If OI *bālāgra* 'belongs here, it suggests an IE $\sqrt{\text{b-}}$ < N $\sqrt{\text{p-}}$ ◇ ≈ Blz. 160 (equates D with HS $\sqrt{\text{b}}\nabla\text{ł}\nabla$ [see N $\sqrt{\text{b}}\nabla\text{L}\nabla$ 'dove'] and does not take account of the IE cognate).

1722. $\sqrt{\text{po}}\acute{\text{í}}\nabla$ 'hollow, empty' > HS: ECh: Smr {J} *pól*, Nd D {J} *pálâ*, Kwn {J} *pě*, Kbl {Cp.} *pāl* v. 'hollow out' (= 'creuser, évider') ¶ JS 140, ChC s.v. 'hollow out' || IE: NaIE $\sqrt{\text{be}}\text{ł-}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{po}}\text{ł-}$: [1] $\sqrt{\text{be}}\text{ł-}$ v. 'hollow out, dig' (× IE NaIE $\sqrt{\text{be}}\text{ł}_\text{a}\text{-}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{ob}}\text{ł-}$ v. 'dig, hollow' < N $\sqrt{\text{p}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ł}\times\nabla$ 'spade; to dig; pit [sth. dug]') > Arm *պեղեմ* *peṭe-m* v. 'dig' || OIr *belach* 'passage, defile, route', NIr *bealach* 'road, way, path, mountain pass', Clt {P} $\sqrt{\text{bol}}\text{kó-}/\sqrt{\text{ā-}}$ > W *bwlch* 'gap, notch', Br *boulc'h* 'entamure, entaille, brèche', OIr *bolg* 'fente, crevasse, brèche' || [2] $\sqrt{\text{po}}\text{ł-}$ 'hollow, bare' > OR *полъ* *polъ*, R *полый* 'hollow', OCz *polo* 'empty place' || Blt: the Blt word ≈ $\sqrt{\text{pa}}\text{łya-s}$ (nom. sg. m.) has not been found so far in the attested Blt lgs. and dialects, but is preserved as a loan in BF: F, Es *paljas* 'bare, uncovered, naked', Vp *paílaz* id., Lv *pā́laz* (pl. *pál'ьd*) 'kahl, nackt' || ?? L *palam* 'openly, publicly' (← $\sqrt{\text{'uncovered}}$) ¶ Vn. B 29, 67, YGM-1 62, Hm. 97, Dnn. 59-60, Chrn. II 54, ≠ Vs. III 320, SK 473, Kt. 307, ZM 397-8, Ach. HGB 919-20, Jah. 21, 52, ≠ WH II 237, unc.: EI 255 (L *palam* < $\sqrt{\text{po}}\text{łh}_\text{a}\text{m}$ 'palm of hand'); I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the F loanword || A: T $\sqrt{\text{bo}}\acute{\text{í}}$ 'hollow, empty, free' > OT [MhK] *boš* 'free, loose, empty', Tkm, CrTt *boš* 'empty, hollow', Tk *boš*, Az, Qmq, ET, Slr *boš*, Kr *boš* ≈ *bos*, Bsh *buš*, Alt *b_oš*, Nog, Qzq *bos*, Xk *pos*, Xlj *boš* 'empty', Uz *boš* 'empty, without a load,

vacant, unoccupied, free', QrB b0š, SY, Alt Δ {Vrb.} p0s, Tf b_žš 'empty, loose', VTt, Bsh buš id., 'without a load, non busy, free' (↳ Chv πϋϖ puš ɖ poš, πϋϖă puž_ɖ ɖ pož_ɖ 'empty'), Tv b_0š 'loose, shaky', Qq b0s, Qrg b0š 'empty, weak' ¶ ET B 203-5, STM II 203-4, Cl. 376, Ra. 164, Rs. W 82, DHST 190, DT 94, Jeg. 170, ≈ Fed. I 458 ¶¶ Not here Tg *pile-naked, uncovered' (belonging rather to N *P_iLEqi (= *P_i||íEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare', q.v. ffd.).

1723. *pe_ɽ_íû(-ńE) 'dust, ashes' > HS: Eg P f3.t 'dust (?) (unless akin to Mkl {J} pūrē 'dust') ¶ EG I 575, Tk. II 553 (Eg, Mkl) || WCh: NrBc {Stl.} *puli 'ashes' > Wrj {Sk.} p_3lí-ná, {IL in ChC} p^ω_3lèná, Kry {Sk.} p_1lí, My {Sk.} p_3lí, {ChL} p_1lí, Jmb {Sk.} b_4lí id. | SBc: Plc B {Sh.} b_3l_3η id., as well as possibly Zar GL {Sh.} b_1šâr, Zar {IL in ChC} b_1šâr, Sy B b_3š_ēr_3 'ashes' ¶ Sk. NB 13, Stl. ZCh 248 [#10], ChC s.v. 'ashes', JI II 4, ChL s.v. 'ashes', Sh. SB 20 || K: G perpl-i 'ashes' (dis. *l...l > r...l?), perpli χορβλιστα 'husk of wheat' ¶ DCh 1302 || IE: NaIE *pel(ω)-, *pe'lōy-s / *pe'l'w-os 'dust' > L pulvis (gen. pulvis) 'dust', VL pulver 'ashes' || Gk πύλη 'fine dust, the finest meal', παλύνω v. 'strew, sprinkle (meal, dust, snow, etc.)' || Clt: OIr lúaiθ 'ashes', Brtt {RE} *lou̯twos id. > W lludw, Crn lūsow, Br ludu id. | *pel-en- (from N *pe_ɽ_íû-ńE with depalatalization N *-ń- > IE -n- [still to elucidate] or from N *peɽíû + genitive *nu) > L pollen, -in-is 'very fine meal (Staubmehl)' (< nom. *polen, gen. *poln-es with subsequent as. *polnes > *polles and generalization of the stem variant *poll-) || ? Blt (×IE *pelH-/*pleH vi. 'burn, be warm' < N *paí||H'ä' 'burn' [intr.]): Pru pelanne, Lt pelenaĩ (pl.), Ltv p_ėlni 'ashes'; but hardly here Sl *p_1lb and *p_1lb 'dust' (> R пыль, Cz pyl id., etc.), which is derived from *p^hū- 'blow, blasen' (so Vs. III 418, HIK 307 ⇔ Ma. CS 409) || I am not sure that IE *polt- 'soup\porridge of meal' (> Gk πόλτος 'porridge', L puls / gen. pultis 'porridge of flour', OIr {P} littiu 'soup of meal, pulmentum', W llith 'pap, mash') belongs here || ?σ (here?) *p^e'lw- 'chaff, husk' > L palea 'chaff' ('Spreu, Stroh, Getreidehülse') || OI m. pl. pa'lāy-aḥ 'chaff, husk', ?? palā'lī-, palala 'stalk, straw', Λ palaḥ 'straw' (unless loans from a pre-IE source) || BSl *pelū-, *pēlwā- 'chaff' > Lt pl. p_ėlūs, (pl.) pelaĩ (sg. p_ėlas), Ltv pl. p_ėlus, p_ėlavas, p_ėļevas, Pru pelwo, Ltv pelvas (pl.) id. | Sl *pelva 'chaff' > OCS плѣвѣ plěvĕ (pl.), R, Uk по'лова,

R Δ пелева, SCr плѣва & pljèva, Slv pléva, Cz pléva, pleva, Slk pleva, P plewa id. ¶ P 802, EI 104 (*pelō/h_h- ~ *pelou- chaff'), 441 (*polt- 'pap, porridge'), M K II 233, M E II 103, F II 467, 470, WH II 238, 331-2, 388, LP § 162, RE 79, ECCE 266, Frn. 566-9, En. 226, SJSS XXV 58, Vs. III 312, Glh. 489-90† || U: FP *peíme 'dust, ashes, dirt' > F pelme (gen. pelmeen) 'dirt', pulmuа- 'aufwirbeln, qualmen, aufstauben' || Prm {LG} *peym, *peyn- 'ashes' > Z пөим pзim, Z Ле pзin, Vt пень peñ id. || ??σ,μ F pöly, Krl, Vp pölü 'dust' ¶ UEW 728, U 341, SK 696, SSA II 467 || A *p₁'ULñE 'ashes', (→) 'gray' > M *φüne-sün 'ashes' > MM [MA, IsV] hunesün, [S] hunesü, WrM ünēsün, HIM үнс(эн), үнэс, K1 үмсн ümsñ, Ord ünisú, Mnr {T} funise, Mnr H {SM} funjēsз, {Pot.} фунисы, Mnr M {Pot.} хунисы, Dx funjēsun, Mgl {Iw.} ünēsün, Dg хuns, ShY henesän id. ¶ Pel. 238-9 [#70], MED 1009, Iw. 144, H 79, Pp. MA 191, Lg. VMI 35, T 71, T DnJ 138, SM 111, Pot. 414, S AJ 233 [#2] || Tg {S, DQA} *pulñe 'ashes' > Ewk hulз-ptžn, Neg xulžptžn, Sln uluktž, Lm hultžn, Nn Nh puñžktž, Nn KU fuñžtž, Orc xulžptž, Ud {Krm.} xulžptž(n) ~ хunžptž, Ul punžktž(n-) ~ puñžktž, Ork punžktž(n-), WrMc fulerji, Jrc fulerji id. ¶ STM II 347, Krm. 307, S AJ 207 [#3] || NaT *o₁ñy 'dun' (colour of horse's coat), 'dust- or ash-coloured' > OT o₁y ({Cl.} ðy) 'dun', MQp XIII oy 'dust- or ash-coloured', Xk oy 'dun, light bay (буланый, соловый)', Shor {Rl.} ау-оу 'light bay', Tv oy 'dun' ¶ Cl. 266, Rl. I 969, BIG 124, TvR 315 ¶¶ S AJ 257 [#167] and SDM97 (s.v. *pulñE) adduced pKo {S} *puñā₁- 'gray, ash-coloured' (> NKo пууā₁-t^ha id.), but in DQA the Ko cognate was not mentioned ¶ DQA #1824 (A *p₁'oñe 'ashes, gray' > T, M, Tg), Pp. VG 12 || Gil: Gil A plžng 'ashes, soot' ¶¶ ST 263 ◇ The glottalized consonants in the WCh lgs. (p̣-, ḅ-) suggest the presence of a glottal stop *ʔ. The initial zero cns. in T may go back to *p̣- < *p̣ʔ- ◇ The A labialized vw. may be due to the infl. of *p₁'₁- and of the labial vw. of the second syll., while U *-e- cannot be explained away, therefore I prefer to reconstruct the N etymon with the vw. *e (*pe₁ʔ₁íû(-ñE)) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #4b (IE, U, A, Ch), ≈ Blz. LNA #45 (N *p̣elʔ 'ashes' > IE, U), ≈ Blz. DNA #50 (N *p̣ulʔ 'ashes, dust'; *÷ D: Tm pūr₁i 'ashes, sacred dust' [transcribed as pūr₁i], Tu пууе sand').

1724. *p₁'iʔ₁í∇ 'slit' > HS: C: Sa {R} bōl 'Kluft, Erdsfalt, précipice' ¶ R S II 79-80 || IE: NaIE *bul₁i₁- 'vulva', '*anus' (→ 'buttocks') > BdhSk bu'li-h, OI ^ bu'ri-h 'buttocks, vulva' || Lt {Frn.} bulis, bulè,

bulē 'Hinterer, Gesäß', {EJ} 'rump' ¶ P 99, M K II 439-40, Frn. 63-4, E 88 (*bulis ≈ rump') || U: FU *pií∇ 'slit, cunnus' > F pillu 'cunnus', Vp pižu, Es pilu 'slit' || Vg N {Mu.} pií 'Bunze' ('cunt'), pileyaxti v. 'copulate with' ¶ Coll. 108, SK 564, ZM 418, MK 440 || A: pKo {S} *piā,r- 'precipice, road above precipice' > MKo piā,ro, piā,r, NKo piā,raŋ, piā,re, piā,ru ¶ MLC 775, Nam 258, MLC 775 || ?σ Tg *pile 'thawed patch (проталина)' > Ewk hiłz, hiłzkz, Lm hiłzŋz, Neg xiłzχz id., Ud siłzŋzgiŋsi- v. 'thaw out' (a patch of ground amidst a frozen snow-covered country), WrMc fili-ta-χun 'open (ground)' ¶ STM II 324 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1793 (A *p'jōlo 'way, path; patch, precipice' > Tg, Ko) ◇ The pKo diphthong *jā and the conflicting ev. of the IE and C back labialized vw. and the vw. *i in FU and Tu point to a pN bisyllabic sequence *-iHû-. The lack of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the tentatively reconstructed N Ir. was *?.

1725. *paí|H'ä' 'to burn' (intr.), 'to be heated on fire' > HS: B *√f1Hw ~ *√f1Hy v. 'shine, sparkle' > Ah fāluwat 'scintiller', Izd s-flili 'briller', Kb flali 'briller' (the meanings 'surgir', 'subiter' of the same Kb verb are likely to go back to a different HS root or a different N word) ¶ Fc. 326, Mrc. 39, Dl. 208, NZ 574 || WCh *√fy| ~ *√fw| v. 'boil' ({Stl.} *faw|y| v. 'cook, boil') > AG: Su fił, Ang {ChC} fuł, Kfr {Nt.} fyał, Cp {Kr.} fiyeł, ? Gmy {Kr.} fulc v. 'boil' || BT: Gera pili-, Bl {Lk.} ?i-fulo, ? Krkr {Kr.} fultz id. || SBc {ChL}: Kir fule, Gj hùlùwì, Buli fulu, Plc òr fùlú id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 160-1 [#143], ChC, ChL, Nt. 14 || IE: [1] *peh̄-/ *pleh̄- > NaIE *pela-/ *plē(w)-/ *plō(w)- vi. 'burn, be warm' > ON flór 'warm, luke-warm', Nr flø 'luke-warm' || SI *polēti > OCS полѣти polēti vi. 'φλέγεσθαι, to blaze', Slv poléti id., SCr Ch spoliti 'to kindle, to light', caus.: SI *paliti (1s prs. *pāljq) > палити paliti vt., vi. 'to burn', R палить, Uk палити, P palić, SCr, Slv páliti vt. 'to burn', Blg паля vt. 'burn'; SI *polm̄ / G *polmene 'flame' > OCS пламы plam̄ / пламене plamene (→ R 'пламя / пламени), OR ПОЛОМА polome, R f, Δ полымя, Δ поломя, Uk полум'я, Blg плам, SCr plâm, plãmēn, Slv plámen, Cz plamen, Slk plameň, P płomień] [2] if the N word-internal lateral was *-l-, then the expected IE form with initial *(s)- has coalesced with some other sources (N words?) in NaIE *(s)p(h)el- v. 'shine' > OI sphuli r̄iga 'spark' (M K III 545 without definite et.), Arm

փայլ p^hayl (gen. **փայլից** p^haylic^h) n. 'shine, brilliancy, glitter',
փայլեմ p^haylem v. 'shine, glitter, gleam' ¶ WP II 59-60, 679-80, P
 805, 987 (the Arm forms misquoted with p- for p^h-), Vr. 133, Hü. 500,
 Me. EAC 35, Slr. 210-1, StSS 441, 448, 474, Glh. 465, Vs. III 192-3, 273,
 Chrn. I 617-8 and II 38 || **U**: FV *paLa- vi. 'burn' > F, Es pala- id. | pLp
 {Lr.} *pōlē > Lp: N {N} buolle / -l- vi. 'burn, be on fire, burn down, up',
 S {Hs.} buōl'edh, L {LLO} puollē vi. 'burn', Kld {SaR} πῦλλε, {TI}
 pū'llē- id. | pMr {Ker.} *paľ- vi. 'burn' > Er пало- paľo, Mk пало-
 paľa- id., and possibly the (derived?) verb Er пультa- pul'ta-, Mk
 плхта- paľta- vt. 'burn', which most probably belongs together with
 F polttaa id. ¶ In FU there is also a √ *paľa- v. 'freeze' (a homonym
 of different origin or a semantic development of the √ in question) > F
 palele- 'Kälte empfinden, frieren', Lp N {N} buolâš / -ll- 'frost', Mk
 пало- paľa- 'erfrieren, frieren', Hg faɣy 'Frost, frieren', Vg: T pāĺ-, LK,
 P pōĺ-, Ss pǔĺ- 'erfrieren'; for semantics cf. R от мороза горит
 лицо, the metaphor being based on similarity of physiological
 reactions to intense heat and frost ¶ Coll. 106, UEW 352 (FU *paľa
 'Eiskruste, Frost, frieren, gefrieren'; he considers the meaning v. 'burn'
 to be secondary), Lr. #994, Lgc. #5310, Hs. 382-3, TI 407, SaR 270-1,
 Ker. II 104-5 || **D** *pa]∇ ({ǧGS} *p-) v. 'glitter, shine' > Tm paḷapaḷa
 id., Ml paḷapaḷa 'gleaming', paḷuηηuka v. 'glitter', Kn paḷakane,
 paḷac(c)ane, paḷańce 'with a glitter, with pure brightness', Tu
 paḷḷena v. 'light, shine', TI paḷapaḷa 'glitteringly' ¶¶ D #4012 ◇ IE
 *h̥ and U *-a point to a pN *ä (with synharmonic levelling *a...ä > U
 *a...a) ◇ AD GD 11 (IE, U), IS MS 337 (*paĺa 'гореть'), IS SS #10.15
 (in both latter sources IE, U, D); WCh (AG) data suggest a N initial *p-.

1726. *pāĺχ|ϑ∇ 'thumb, big toe; (?) finger' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: MrgP, Mrg
 L {Mk.} pıl, Klb {Mk.} pılu 'fingernail' | HgMd {Mk.} billi, HgMk
 {Mk.} billə, HgSn bille id., HgWl {Mk.} pılla 'finger' | Suk {Mk.}
 pılak 'fingernail' ||| ECh: Jg {J} φίλλό, Jg Kf {J} pıλλό id. ¶ Mk. I, ChC, ChL
 || **K**: Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln pχule, U pχole 'finger' ¶ TK 773-4, GP 265, Dn.
 s.v. pχule ¶ In K the lr. was attracted to the initial stop, bringing about
 a "harmonic cluster" *pχ- < *p|p...χ|ϑ || **IE**: NaIE *pōl- 'thumb, big toe' >
 L pollex, -icis id. (with -oll- < -ōl-, acc. to WH II 333) ||| Sl d. *paľ-ьк-
 ь > *paľ-ьс-ь id. > ChS {Mikl.} пaľьць paľьсь id., Blg 'палец, Cz, Slk,
 Slv palec, SCr pālac id., P palec, OR paľcь paľьсь, R 'палец, Uk
 'палець 'finger, toe'; underived Sl *paľь is found in R бес-'пальный

'fingerless', шести-палый 'having six fingers' ¶ WH II 332-3, EI 255 (*'poliko-s 'finger, thumb', *'poliHo-s 'pertainig to a finger'), ZVSZ 300, Ma. CS 350, Vs. III 191-2, Glh. 464-5 || U *pā́l̥ 'thumb' > FU d. *pā́l̥-kā id. > pLp {Lr.} *pḗlkē 'thumb, big toe' (suggests FU *-e-) > Lp: N {N} bǽl̥ge / -lg-, L {LLO} pié́lkē, Kld {TI} pié́l̥:g id., S {Hs.} bielgie 'thumb' | pMr *pā́lkā ;thmb, big toe' > Er пелька ré́lka, Mk пялькя pā́lkā (suggests FU *-ä-) | Prm *pEl(k) > Z pev / pev̥- 'thumb', Δ 'big toe', Z UV/US/LL/P/MS peł, StVt pэл̥t, Vt Sl {R} pэл̥t, Kz {R} pól̥b 'thumb' || Sm *p̥t̥y̥-, {HI.} *p̥t̥y̥- 'thumb' (< U *p̥t̥y̥|y̥|e) > Ne T O p̥t̥k̥e, En X fī́tu, B fī́du, Ng feʔaya, Kms pidi, Mt {HI.} ≈ *hegābti id. (Mt K {Pl} egebt̥i) ¶¶ UEW 363, Lr. #909, Lgc. #4840, Hs. 316, LG 217, Lt. 226, SZ 278, Ker. II 109 (postulates pre-Mr *pḗl̥a-kā > pMr *pā́l̥a-kā > *pā́lkā), Jn. 123, HI. M #275.

1727. *p̥Ál̥g̥æ ~ *p̥Ál̥g̥æ 'spleen' > IE *b̥l̥h̥j̥H̥g̥h̥en- ~ ≈ *(s)p̥l̥H̥g̥h̥en- > NaIE *b̥l̥h̥j̥ḁg̥h̥en- ~ *(s)p̥el̥ḁg̥h̥(-en, -ā) ~ *(s)p̥len̥g̥h̥- ~ *(s)p̥le(:)g̥h̥- 'spleen' > ? Blt: Lt blužn̥is, blužn̥é, Pru blusne 'spleen' | Sl *selzena, {Vln.} *s̥ylezena > SrChS слѣзена slězena, Blg 'слезен, d. 'слезенка, 'слезка, SCr slezina, Slv slezēn, slezēna, Cz, Slk slezina, Cz Δ slezena, OP śleziona, P śledziona (secondary ś), R d. селе'зэнка, Uk d. селе'зінка || OI plī'hā / plihan-, Av sparəzan-, KhS s̥puljei, MPrs spurz, NPrs سِپِرْز soporz ~ سِپِرْز osporz 'spleen' || Gk σπλήν / gen. σπληνός id. (< *σπληνχ, cp. σπλάγχνα nom. pl. 'entrails') || Arm փայծաղի p̥haycałn 'spleen' (→ G paçal-i, Lz paçala) || L liēn / gen. liēnis 'spleen' || OIr selg, OBr, MBr felch, MBr felc'h id. ¶ The deviations from the expected reflexes in several lgs. are due to simplification of a complicated proto-form (and possibly to tabuistic replacements of sounds) ¶ WP II 680, P 987, ≈ EI 538 (*spełg̥h̥-), M K II 385-6, M E II 196-7, Bai. 415, Vl. I 89 and II 204, Horn 155, F II 769-70, Ch. 1039-40, WH I 799, EM 357-8, Vn. S 81, Flr. 170, Frn. 52, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 236-8, Vs. III 594-5, Vln. SS 66-7 (IE *sp̥l̥H̥g̥h̥en- with simplifications in branches of NaIE), Brü. 530-1 || D *pałl̥- (or *pall̥-) ({ǵGS} *b-?) 'spleen' > Tu pallæ, Prj bella, Ku balla & bella & bela 'spleen', Tl balla 'enlargement of the spleen' ¶¶ D #3995 || HS: WCh: AG: Tal {IL} f̥l̥l̥òk, Cp {Kr.} f̥l̥l̥òk, Tmbs {Sh.} fwàl̥òk, Gmy {Kr.} f̥l̥l̥è 'liver' ¶ ChC, ChL || ?σ,φ U *p̥al̥g̥h̥ > Ne: T p̥al̥ă 'gut', T O {Lh.} p̥al̥ă 'großer beutelartiger Darm, wohl Dickdarm' ¶ Ter. 437, Lh. 335, UEW 364 ◇ IE

*(s)- suggests the presence of a palatal cns., sc. N ***í**, so that we expect *-**ǰ**- in pD, but the extant ev. of the D lgs. does not distinguish between D *-**ǰ**- and *-**ll**-. The zero reflex of N ***g** in Sm suggests a vw. before ***g** (because the N intervoc. *-**g**- yields U *-**ǰ**- > Sm ***∅**). The AG word (if it belongs here, in spite of the semantic distance) and the Baltic cognate point to the initial N cs. ***p**-, while IE *(s)p_ǝHǵ^hen- suggests a N initial ***p**-. This discrepancy still needs explaining ◊ The IE, D, and Ch data allow a reconstruction of either N *-**í**- or *-**ǰ**-, but Sm *-**l**- rules out N *-**ǰ**- (which regularly yields Sm *-**y**-, see N ***súǰǰǰ** 'finger(s), hollow hand' > U ***suǰǰǰ** 'finger' > Sm {Jn.} ***otǰǰǰ**, {Hl.} ***otǰǰǰ** id., N ***bUyǰǰ** 'ε fur-bearing animal' > U ***poǰǰ** 'ermine' > Ne Т пия, and N ***šüǰǰ** 'heart' > U ***šüǰǰ** id. > Sm {Jn.} ***seyǰ** or {AD} ***šeyǰ** id.).

1728. *pǰǰǰ 'palm of hand' > IE *p_ǝHm- > NaIE *p_ǝmā 'palm of hand, hand' > Gk παλάμη, Gk D παλάμη id. ||| L palmā 'palm of hand' ||| OIr {Thr.} lám 'hand, arm', Nlr lámh, Brtt {RE} *lāmā 'hand' > OW lau, MW llau, llaw, W llaw, OCrm lof, lau, MCrm lef, læf, Crn lüf, OBr lom-, lou- 'hand' ||| OHG folma, AS folm(e) 'palm of hand', OSx folm 'hand' ¶ WP II 62, Mn. 965, EI 255 (*'p_ǝhm / *p_ǝhm- os 'palm of hand'), WH II 240-1, F II 466, Ho. 112, Ho. S 210, Kb. 274, OsS 212, LP §§ 12.2, Thr. § 215, RE 102, Flr. 237, Bc. 238-9 ||| **A** {AD} *p'ǰǰǰ (IS) *p'ǰǰǰ, {S, SDM95} *p'ǰǰǰ (with length of the 1st type [yielding a T long vw. and a Tg short one]) ({SDM97} *p'ǰǰǰ, {ADb.} *p'ǰǰǰ) 'palm of hand' > M *φαλαγα(ν) 'palm of hand' > MM {Pel.} halaqan, [L] halaga, [MA] alaqan, WrM alaga(ν), HIM алга, Brt альга(н), Mnr {T} χαλγα, Mnr M χαῖγα, Mnr H {SM} χαργα, Dx hanga, Ba χαλγε, Dag alaga, ShY halaḡan id., Kl {KRS} альхн а́χън id., {Rm.} а́χан 'palm of hand, handful'; M ⇔ WrMc falanḡu 'palm of hand', Mc Sb falandu 'clap one's hands' ¶ Pel. 209 [#11], T 372, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149, Iw. 147, SM 161, Pp. MA 97, Pp. L III 76, Pp. MDG 5, KRS 39, MED 26, KW 7, STM II 312 || ? pKo {S} *pār 'armful' > MKo pār, NKo pāl ¶ S QK #990, Nam 245, MLC 723 || NaT *hǰǰǰ (or *hǰǰǰ?) 'palm of hand' (× N ***p**'ǰǰǰ 'palm of hand, [sole of] foot' [q.v.]) > OT aya id., MU, XwT, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, OOsM ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV aya, SY ḡaya, ḡayan, Tkm, Uz Δ, Uz XrOg āya, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Xk aya, Tk Δ aye 'palm of hand', Qzq aya 'the middle of the palm of hand', Bsh aya 'comb (for carding goat-down)' ¶ Cl. 267, ET Gl 100-1, TL 252, THDS I 413, Rs. W 10 || Tg *paḡḡa or *paḡḡa 'palm of hand' (× N ***p**'ǰǰǰ '↑') > Nn Nh

payṅa, Nn B faiṅga, Nn KU faṅṅã, Orc xaṅa ~ xaṅṅa, Ud {Krm.} xaṅa?, Ork pana ~ paṅa, Ul paṅa 'palm of hand', Ewk hanṅa ~ haṅṅa, Lm hanṅḅ id., 'hand' ¶ STM II 314, Krm. 304 ¶¶ DQA #1725 (A *p'áṅa|e 'palm of hand'), Rm. SKE 213, ADb. SR-D 259 || HS: Ch: WCh: Su {Kr.} pāl, Mpn {Frz.} bâl 'arm' || CCh: Flk {Mk.} pilla, {ChL} p̄la, HgB/HgG/HgNk {ChL} p̄là 'arm' ¶ ChL, Frz. DM 5, Mk. I 306, ChC s.v. 'hand' and 'arm' ◇ IS III 93-5 (*p'aliHma 'palm of hand' > IE, A + unc. U *p'eȳṅ̄ 'handful, palm of hand' [in fact from N *p'ṅ̄ṅ̄iṅ̄U' 'palm of hand', q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II #291 (*palaṅ 'palm') (IE, U, A, Ko).

1729. *p'u'yAm̄ ('b' ṅ̄) (with the component *bA of animal names) 'snake' > A: Tg *p'u'yum̄ 'dragon, monster' > Ork pomol 'a mythical monster resembling a boa', Nn Nh puymur, Nn B himur ~ simuru 'dragon, a crocodile-like monster', Orc himu ~ simu 'e monster', Neg ximṅu ḁ ximu 'e mythical monster resembling a sheatfish' ¶ STM I 466 || T *°h,uman > Chv аман ъман, Δ ḅman 'earthworm' ¶ Ash. IV 39 || pKo *p'lyam̄ 'snake' > MKo p'lyam̄, Ko pām (spelled paum) ¶ S AJ 255 [#109], S QK #109, Nam 242, MLC 756 || J: pJ {S} *pāim̄(p)ṅ̄ 'snake' > OJ pēmí, J: T hébi, K hēbí, Kg hé], Ns hàbú, Sh hábù, ? Ht pà_kù id. ¶ S AJ 91, 269 [#103], S QJ #103, Mr. 404, Mr. KJ 251 || M: WrM {Rm. ← ?} yamu, Kl {Rm.} yama 'worm (i.a., causing toothache), disease', {KRS} ям 'disease of the teeth' (= or × M *yama > WrM yama 'strangles, glanders', HIM ям {MED} id., {Luv.} 'glanders?') ¶ Valid only if the meaning 'worm' is primary ¶ KW 214, KRS 709, MED 426, Luv. 693 ¶¶ DQA #1876 (A *p'ṅ̄ṅ̄yam̄ 'snake'), S AJ 91, 278 [#96] || D *pāmp̄ ({ṅGS} *p-) 'snake' > Tm, Ml pāmp̄u, Kt pa·b, Tf po·b, Kn pāvu, Kdg pa·mb̄, Tl pām̄u, Klm pa·m, Nk pām, Prj bām, Gdb bām ḁ bāmb id., Tu pāmbol̄u 'e flat, long fish' ¶¶ D #4085 || HS: Eg Md pnd 'e intestine worm' ¶ EG I 511, Tk. II 455-6 || Ch: pAG {Hf.} *paṅ 'e snake' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.}, Su {J} paṅ, Ang {Hf.} p̄aṅ id., Ang {Flk.} paṅ 'e poisonous large snake', Mpn {Frz.} pāṅ 'Gabon viper' ¶ Hf. AG 17 [#1], J S 78, Flk. s.v. paṅ, Frz. DM 48 || ? U: Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pünä 'e mythical monster' ¶ KKIH 154 || U *puṅe (or *puylíne) > Sm *pu,ylíḅ 'e worm' (× N ?ḅ *puč̄,ṅ̄,ḅ 'worm, snake' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #47 (unc. equation of D and A with Su/Fy púpwap̄ 'fish') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #352 (*pam 'snake') (A, Ko, J + unc. Ai).

1730. *peñ∇ (or *peñ₁i₂∇) 'small dog, whelp' > K: G pinia 'small dog', Mg pinia, pinie, pina 'small dog, poodle' ¶ Q 336, Chx. 1475 || U: FU (att. in FP only?) *pen|ñe (or pen|ñi) 'dog' > F peni (gen. peni-n) 'whelp', penikka 'puppy', Es peni 'dog', pLp {Lr.} *pēnзк 'dog' > Lp: N {N} bānâ, L {LLO} pāna, S {Hs.} biēnje, Kld {TI} p̄jennāš || pMr {Ker.} *peñā > Er пине riñe, Mk пине riñā id. || Chr L пий rij, E {Ps.} rij, H пи pi, KB punī, K рѣнь 'dog' || Prm {LG} *pöni id. > Z pon, ponj-, Z US pwn, Yz pun, Vt pun+ || ??? Hg fene 'wild, graulich, scheußlich' ¶¶ UEW 371, Sm. 553 (FP *penä 'dog'), SK 517-8, Lr. #911, Lgc. #4853, Hs. 318-9, Ker. II 113, PsS 93, Wc. TT 83, LG 224-5, TI 369 || A *p'enü- (k'∇) 'whelp, dog' > NaT *h₁enük 'whelp, puppy' > OT {Cl.} änük, {DTS} enük 'the young of a carnivorous animal (cub, puppy, etc.)', MQp enük, OOsM enük ~ enik, Tk enik, irik 'young animal (dog, bear, etc.)', Chg ^أينوك enük 'young of a carnivorous animal', Az Δ äniš, Ggz jenik, Tv, Tf enik, Shor {Rl.} ünäg-äš id., Tb {B} önögöš 'young dog', QK {T} önöžek, Yk ünügäs 'puppy' ¶ ET Gl 281-3, TL 190-1, Rs. W 44, Cl. 183, B T 142, B DLT 183, Bu. I 214, Rl. I 1820, Shch. Zh 129 || Tg: Ewk hžnnukā 'dog (returned from the hunt)' ¶ STM II 30 || AdS of M *pūnegen 'fox' (< N *P₁ūñ'ä' or *P₂ūñā 'red colour, [?] fox', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 70, Rs. UAW 24 || ?σ D *peñ- 'female animal, a female (woman, girl)' > Tm peñ id., M peñ 'a female (woman, girl)', Kt peñ, Klm peñtī 'female', Td peñ 'woman', Kn peñ 'female, woman', Kdg poññ+ 'wife, female', Tu poññu 'girl, female', Tl peñtī 'female animal\plant', Gdb peñti 'female sheep', Nkr penli, Gnd penḍul 'marriage', Prj pinḍrul, Kui pondri rindī 'married couple' || (φ) D *peṭṭ- 'female animal, female young animal' > Tm peṭṭai 'female animal, woman', Ml peṭṭa 'female of birds\asses\camels', Krb poṭṭi 'hen', Tl peṭṭa, Klm peṭṭa 'female of birds', Nkr peṭṭy 'female animal\bird', Png peṭi 'female kid', Ku peṭi mila 'female young (of sheep, pig)', Mlt baṭgo 'female of birds', baṭg 'virginal' ¶¶ D *peñ- belongs here only if the primary meaning was 'female animal' (< *'small animal') ¶¶ D #4395 ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. 'собака' *penψ (U, D, K), Rs. UAW 24 (U, A).

1731. *p'i'ñ∇ 'piece of wood, trunk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'log, board, pole') > HS: B *^o✓fnṽt > Ah a.fañṽtat (pl. ifañṽtat) 'grosse pièce du bois mort', Tdq afañṽtāt 'grosse pièce de bois' ¶ Fc. 332, NZ 583 || ? DEg pn.t 'threshold' (pn.t n pr 'Schwelle des Hauses'), Cpt

Sd ПННН pnnē, ПНН pnē, Cpt B ВЕННН bennē 'montant de la porte, seuil, marche', ?? Eg N brn 'Balken', Eg L brn.t 'threshold (of a door)' ¶ Er. 131, EG I 460, Vc. 160, Tk. I 44 (Eg brn, brbn < HS *b∇l) and II 231-2 || K: G {Chx.} pīn-i 'dicke Stange, Barre', 'Balken' ¶ Chx. 1475 || IE: NaIE *pīn- 'piece of wood, trunk' > OI 'pīnāka-m 'staff', later 'bow, club' || Gk πίναξ (gen. πίνακος) 'wooden board, plank (of a ship); tablet for writing on; panel, picture' || OHG witu-fīna 'pyre, pile of wood', MLG vīne 'pile of wood' || Sl *рънь > ChS {Mikl.} ПЬНЬ рьнь 'truncus', OR ПЬНЬ рьнь, R пенъ (gen. пня) 'tree-stump', P rień 'trunk\stock of a tree', SCr pānj (gen. pānja) id., 'tree-stump', Slv pānj (gen. pānja) 'tree-stump, stock', Blg ПЪН 'tree-stump, block of wood, log', Cz peń 'trunk of a tree' ¶ P 830, EI 44 (*pīn- '≈ shaped wood'), M K II 281-2, M E II 132, F II 539, Kb. 1217, Mikl. L 758, Vs. III 233, Ma. CS 361, Glh. 467 ¶ L pīnus 'fir, pine, stone-pine' is kept apart because of the long vw. ī which suggests a following cluster of cns. (*pīt(s)nos, *pit(s)nus or *piksnos) (÷ Gk πίτυς 'pine' < N *p₁eʔ|y₁ičǔ 'ε coniferous tree' [q.v.], see WH II 308) || U: FU *pEn|ñ∇ 'ε coniferous tree' > Chr H {Ü} пѣн рѣн 'pine-tree', {Ep.} пѣн-жѣн рѣнѣ 'pine forest' | Prm *p₁oñeí 'young coniferous tree' > Vt pumeí 'sprout; young tree, young growth (поросль)', Z p₁oñeí 'young coniferous trees (хвойная поросль), young fir-tree\spruce' || Hg f₁eñyǔ 'pine, spruce, fir-tree' ¶ UEW 416-7, Coll. 78, LG 225, TmK 551, Ep. 101 || A: Tg *p₁ina 'wooden yoke behind the shoulders which is used for carrying load' > Ewk hina, Neg xina, Ud sina, Ul, Nn Nh p₁na, Ork p₁nā id., Orc xina ~ sina 'knapsack', WrMc fiyana (< *fina?) {Hr.} 'zwei durch Stricke verbundene Bretter, die zum Tragen von Lasten auf dem Rücken dienen' ¶ STM II 325, Krm. 285, Hr. 297 || ? D *p₁unn- ({ǧGS} *p-) 'mast-wood, trees Calophyllum and Rottlera tinctoria' > Tm p₁unnai ~ p₁innai 'mast-wood, Calophyllum inophyllum', Tl ponna id., Ml punna id., 'Rottlera tinctoria', Kn punnike, ponne, honne 'Terminalia tomentosa', Tu ponnæ 'Rottlera tinctoria'; D ⇨ Sk p₁unnāga id., 'Calophyllum inophyllum' ¶¶ D #4343, Tu. #8244 ◇ The N initial cns. is *p₁- (rather than *p-) if Eg pn.t belongs here. D *U < *i (ass. infl. of *p-?).

1732. *P₁o'ñ∇ 'path, ford' > IE *'ponto-h-s, gen. *p₁noth-os 'way, path, ford' > OI panthañ, -ā (instr. sg. pathā) 'path', Av pantā, panta 'path, space', OPrs accus. sg. paθim 'path', KhS pande 'way, path,

road', NPrs پَند pänd 'road', Oss I/D (← dim.) fändag 'road'; Iir → ? FU {UEW} *pänt∇ 'way, path' > Z pad- in pad-vež 'cross-roads' (vež 'cross, across'), ? Os: D pēnt 'Weg (der Menschen\Tiere)', Kz pānt 'way, path, tracks (of an animal)' ||| Arm հուխ hun (gen. հնի hni) {Bdr.} 'ford, shallow passage, way' ||| Gk πόντος 'the (open) sea' ({EI}: ← 'path through the sea'), πάτος 'path, trodden or beaten way' ||| amb Al NG pēndē 'weir, dam' (unless a loan from L) ||| L pōns (gen. sg. pōntis, gen. pl. pōnti-um) 'bridge, gangway, deck of a ship, Steg, Prügelweg durch Sümpfe' ||| OSx fāthi, fōthi (i o-stem) 'going, step', OHG fendo 'pedestrian, infantryman' | Gmc *paθa- 'path, way' (← another IE descendant lge.?) > OHG pfad ~ phad, MHG phat (gen. phades), NHG Pfad, MDt pat (pad), Dt pad, AS pæð id., NE path ||| pBSl {Rsm.} accus. sg. *'pant-in, gen. sg. *pan't-es > Sl *pǫtь (gen. *pǫ'ti) > OCS пѣть pǫtь (gen. pǫti) 'road, highway', R путь (gen. пути), Uk путь, Blg път, SCr pūt, Slv pǫt, Cz pouť, Slk pút', P pać 'way' | Ltv pañts 'line of verse', {ME} 'row, line, rank of soldiers', Pru pintis 'way' ¶ Acc. to Rsm. AT 82, IE nom. sg. *'pontoh-s > Av pantā, IE gen. sg. *pŋ'th-os > Av paθō, OI pa'thaḥ; in OI nom. 'panthaḥ the cns. th is due to generalization ¶¶ P 808-9, ≈ EI 202, 487 (*'pontōh₂-s / *pŋ'th₂-os 'untraced path'; unc.: ← *pent- 'find one's way' > Gmc: Gt finpan 'recognize, learn', ON finna, AS findan 'find', NE find, etc.), Mn. 975, Mn. AHG 40, M K II 210-1, M E II 81-3, Bai. 211, Ab. I 445-6, UEW 364-5, Coll. 135, WH II 336-7, F II 578-9, Ho. S 18, Ho. 244, Kb. 234, 757, OsS 177, 671, Lx. 158, KM 540, Vr. N 500, Me. EAC 36, 181, Slt. 175, Rsm. AT 82, Vs. III 413, Glh. 513, Kar. II 16-8, En. 226, ME III 78 ||| HS: S: Gz fannā 'way, path', fānt 'way, path, road, journey' ¶ L G 163 ||| K *p'ō'n- '≈ ford' > MG, G pon-i {Chx.} 'ford', † 'reißender Bach', {DCh.} 'ford, pond', eNG {SSO} pon-i 'mdinaris gasavali' ('passage through a stream?'), Sv {Ni.} la-pān 'ford' ¶¶ Chx. 1488, DCh. 1312, Ni. s.v. бродъ ◇ The origin of IE *tH is not clear (the second component of a N cd.?). If FU *pänt∇ is not a loan from the Iir word, but its inherited cognate, the N rec. must be *P_äñt∇, H, ∇. If so, the loss of N *t in S and K is puzzling.

1733. *P_üñ'ä¹ or *P_üñā 'red colour, (?) fox' > U: FU (att. in BF) *pun|ñā 'red colour, fox' > Es punane 'red animal, fox', 'red', 'blood', F puna 'red colour, blood', Lv pu'n:i 'red' ¶ SK 640-1 ||| ? A *p'ünE > M *pūnegen 'fox' (× N *peñ∇ 'small dog, whelp') > MM [MA, IM, S, HI]

hünege[n], [L] هُنْكَانُ hünge[n], WrM ünege(n), HIM үнэг, Brt үнэгэ(н), Mnr H {SM} funig_e ~ χunig_e, {T} funige, Dx {T} funiege 'fox', Kl үнэгн üngñ id., 'female (wild animal)' (e.g. үнэгн чон 'she-wolf') ¶ Pel. 235-6 [#63], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 191, 438, H 79, Ms. H 62, MED 1008, KRS 551, Chr. 508, SM 108, 183, T 371, T DnJ 149 ¶¶ Against Pp. VG 70, Yk ünügäs 'puppy' ('Junges eines Hundes') does not belong here, but rather to A *p'enijü-(k∇) 'whelp, dog' (< N *p'en∇ '↑' [q.v.]), cp. Shor {Rl.} ünäg-äš, Tb önögöš 'puppy' || HS: WCh: AG *b|b∇ñ 'red' > Gmy {Kr.} бэñ, {IL in ChC} bàñ, Tal {IL in ChC} bán | NrBc {Stl.} *m-bin∇ 'red' > Wrj {Sk.} m̄bīnā, Kry {Sk.} mbīnā, My {Sk.} bî:ní, P' {MSk.} bihân, Cg {Sk.} bunan ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [#18], Sk. NB 25, ChC, ChL ◇ We cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is identical with N *P_un_E_ya 'hair' (as suggested at the A level by Pp. and at the FU level by Rédei and IS III), their common ancient meaning being 'abundant hair, fur, fur of a fox'. If the WCh √ belongs here, the primary meaning of the etymon is 'red'. Neither can we rule out the possibility that the A √ is identical with A *p'enijü-(k∇) 'whelp, dog' and thus belongs to N *p'en∇ '↑' (q.v.).

1734. *pa_∇_nê 'put, lay' > HS: CCh: Msg (Trn.) f'ín', {Mch.} fáná máy, Msg Ng {GKrs.} fána v. 'lie' || ? WCh ({Stl.} *p∇n- v. 'give'): AG: Ang {ChC} pэn v. 'give', {Flk.} pün, pan, Tal {IL in ChC} pεn, {Sh.} p'εn, Mnt {J} pē, Gmy {Luc.} pínì, Kfr {Nt.} pэn v. 'give' | NrBc {Stl.} *p'∇un- v. 'pay\ransom' > My p+n-, Sir punu, Jmb bэn- ¶ Stl. ZCh 148 [#36], ChC, ChL, Nt. 33, Sk. NB 34, IS ChL 22 [#2.13] || ?σ S *°√pэn > Ar pifya?anna ({BK}: for pifta?anna) pf. 'stand up' ('se dresser, se mettre debout') ¶ BK II 530 || K *°pan- > Mg pōn- vt. 'put\lean (against)' ¶ Q 299 || U {UEW} *pane- v. 'put, lay' ('legen, stellen') > F, Es pane- 'setzen, legen, stellen' | Prm *pōn- ({It.} *pōn-, {Lt.} *pōn-) v. 'lay' > Vt pon+n+ v. 'to lay, to put, to put on', Z Le/I pэn- v. 'copulate with' || ObU *pṽn-ā- 'put, lay' > (1) pVg *pūn-ā- 'stellen, legen' > Vg: T poń-, poń-ā-, LK/MK pon-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML pun-, UL/Ss pin-; pOs *pāna- ({Hl.} *pāna-) 'lay' > Os V/Vy/Y/D/K/O pān-, Ty pān-, pāna-, Kz pōn- || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *pэn- 'legen' > StNe T пэ\$н-зъ, T O {Lh.} pē·n-ć id., Ne F L {Lh.} pḗz·nt 'put (it)' inv., Ng {Cs.} fanŭama (1s aor. obj.) 'I put (it)', En {Cs.} fuηabo id., Slq Tm {KD} pэnnab_ id., Slq Tz {KKH} pín- v. 'put, lay', Mt {Hl.} *hэn- 'legen' (Mt M {Sp.} хеннамъ 'кладу', аннам 'закладываю') || pY {IN} *pōn- 'put, lay' > Y: K/T pōnī- id. (sx. *-ī- of

vt.), T {Krn.} pońi(1) 'leave (оставить)', K {Krn.} poni- id., K {IN} pońō-, {Krn.} pońo-, T {IN} pońā- 'remain', OY {Wts.} ponkatsj imv. 'leave (verlasse)', poniatsjok 'we leave' ¶¶ UEW 353-4, Sm. 539 (U, FU *pīni-, FP *pēni-, ? Ugr *pīni-, Sm *pēn- 'put, lay'), LG 228, Ht. 177 [#521], Jn. 118, KKH 149-50, Ptp. 75, Hl. M #288, IN 24, 318, Krn. JJ 276, 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 41-2 [#43] (Y ← U) || ? D *pañ- v. 'lie, lie down' within 3 derived stems: [1] (in SD) *pañ_lñ_la_l ({ǵGS} *p-) 'lair of an animal' > Tm pañai 'lair', paññai 'lair, sleeping place of a beast', Kn pañe 'haunt or lair of wild beast' ¶ D #3893 | [2] (in SD) *pañ-i ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'be low in height, bow' > Tm pañi (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) id., v. 'be lowered, make obeisance', pañi (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'lower, lead down', Ml pañiyuka v. 'worship, salute, acknowledge superiority', Kn Δ hanuku v. 'bend, bow' ¶ D #3888 | [3] *pañ- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'lie down' > OTl pañḍu v. id., 'sleep', Tu pāñṭa, pāñṭu 'fatigue', Prj pañḍ- v. 'be(come) tired', Gdb pañḍ- v. 'be(come) tired' ¶¶ D #3900, Km. 425 [#788] ¶¶ D *-ñ- < **-ń- < **-ḷn-? ◇ K, NrBc *p- < N *p...ṷ, ◇ IS MS 344 *p̄an̄ 'класть', IS SS #10.17 (Ch, K, U).

1735. *P_Uṷ_ṷN_ṷ (= *P_Uṷ_ṷñ_ṷ?) 'meat, (?) blood (as food)' > HS: SC: Irq {Mgw.} fùṷnì, pl. fùṷnāy, {Wh.} fuṷûni~fuṷûnaj 'meat', {MQK} fuṷ(u)nāy id., fuṷ(u)ni 'piece of meat', Grw {Dmw.} fuṷunāḷ, Alg {E} fuṷumi, Brn {E} fuṷumaj id. ¶ Mgw. 100, Wh. SI s.v., MQK 36, Dmw. 310, E SC 386, Blz. SCL s.v. 'meat', AD GDS 61 [#2.22] || U: FU (att. in FP) *pân|ñe or *pân|ñye 'meat' (?) > ? Chr H pay 'meat' | Prm *pun > Prmk pun 'sinew' ¶ LG 232 || A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *puñel > Ewk huṷṷl 'dried blood as food', Lm huṷṷl 'blood' ¶ STM II 350-1 ◇ Qu.

1736. *P_{un}E_{ya} 'hair' > HS: S *^o✓pny~*✓pyn > Ar أفنى^أ fafnā (✓fny) 'très abondant' (la chevelure, les cheveux), fanwāṷ- f. 'qui a une chevelure abondante' (femme), fayn-ān- 'qui a une chevelure abondante' ¶ BK II 636, 640 || U: FU *puna 'hair, wool, feathers' > pMr {Ker.} *p̄na > Er пона пона 'wool', Mk пона пона 'wool, body hair' | Chr L pun 'wool, feathers, body hair' ||| ObU *pūn 'hair' > pVg *pūn id. > OVg: N SoG, E TM pun, W P/Sl, S Vt пуһъ, S SSs бурн; Vg: T/LK/MK pon, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss pun 'hair'; pOs *pun id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O pun, D pūn, Nz/Kz pūn | Hg fan, Δ fon 'pubic hair', Δ fanoš 'hairy' ¶ UEW 402, Coll. 78, Sm. 547 (FU *pu/ānā 'hair' > FP *puna, Ugr *p̄ana), Ker. II 117, ERV 498, PI 215, MF 181, Ht. #520, KrT 706-7, PD

#1958, Trj. S 383 || **A:** STg *pu_iñe- > WrMc furíexe 'hair, wool, fur, down', Mc Sb {Y} f3ñx {fenixə}, {Mrm.} funixə 'hair', Jrc {Kiy.} funirhe_i, {Md.} fu-nir-xie 'hair, fur' ¶ STM II 303, Klz. MS 171, Z 1069, Hr. 320-1, Y ##2, 2282, Kiy. 124, 126 [##493, 515], Md. ChF 135 || M *φüsün 'hair' (× N *P_uĉ'o' 'hair' [q.v. ffd.]?) || pJ {S} *pánáj 'feather' > OJ páné, J: T hâne, K hánè, Kg háne, Ns háné, Ht pà_nì ¶ S QJ #24, Mr. 398 ¶¶ S AJ 275 [#22], DQA #1858 (A *p'úñe 'hair, feather'; the unambiguous rec. of A *p'- is not justified, because M *φ-, Tg *p-, and J *p- may go back both to *p'- and to *p- ◇ Cf. IS III 81-4 [#366] (*p/u/ř/a = *p'u'ñ'a). IS adduces D *p_iūta 'hair, wool, down, small fethers', which is unacceptable; the D stem can be better traced to N *P_{ut}∇ 'feather, hair' (q.v. ffd.). The adduction of D is based on IS's hyp. about N *-ñ- (IS's *ř) > D *-t-. But in this N word there is no *-ñ- (as unequivocally proved by U and namely Os), and the very hyp. about N *-ñ- > D *-t- is hardly provable ◇ Gr. II #146 (*puna 'feather') (U, A, Ko, J).

1737. *P_{un}∇_{ya} (i.e. *p_{un}∇_{ya} ~ *p-?) 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (→ 'to plait') > **HS** *√p|pny v. 'turn, twist, spin' > S *√pny v. 'turn' > BHb √pny (pf. 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pā'nā) 'turn to the side, turn round, turn to (sth.)', Ug {A} √pny (pf. pn) (not mentioned in OLS), JA [Trg.] √pny (pf. 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pā'nā ~ 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pā'nē), Sr √pny|w (pf. 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pā'nā) vi. 'turn to\from', 'sich wenden', Ar √fnj (فنى) v. 'pass away, disappear', Gz √fnw D (pf. fannawa) v. 'send', Ak OA panû 'sich wenden an', Ak B panû 'vorangehen' ¶ KB 885, KBR 937-8, GB 645-6, A #2230, Js. 1187-8, Hv. 577, BK II 639-40, Ln. 2451, Lv. T II 272-3, Ls CDG 163 || Eg P/G ifn ≈ umwenden, (das Gesicht) zuwenden, sich umwenden' [EG I 70] (× N *P_äñ∇ 'forehead' [q.v.]); possibly Eg OK pn ≈ spindle' (Name eines spindelartiges Gerätes) (EG I 508, Tk. II 436-7) || Ch *√p|fn > Hs fūñi 'covering mouth and nose with the long part of turban' || ECh: Mu {J} 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pāwán, ? Brg 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pāyí v. 'tie' (< *p∇p∇n, where *p∇- is a px.) || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 𐤐𐤍𐤁 pān v. 'tie' (< *p∇p∇n), Bdm {Cfr.} fánáj id. ¶ Abr. H 273, Lk. ZSS 29, 40, 170, ChC s.v. 'tie' ¶¶ Cal. 62 (S, Eg), Vc. HÄ 43 (Eg, Ch) || **IE:** NaIE *(s)pen- v. 'plait, spin, tie' > Arm հանում hanum (aor. hanay), հենում henum (aor. heni), հիներմ hinem v. 'weave, warp, plait' || Ltv pīt (prs. pinu) 'to plait, to braid', Lt pīnti (prs. pinu) id., 'to weave, to twine', Lt pāntis, Ltv pinekls, pineklis 'hobble, horse-lock', Pru panto 'Fessel' || Sl *pōto > OCS пѣта pōta pl. 'пѣтаи,

fetters', R pl. пyты, Uk пyто, SCr pŭto, Slv pótō (pl. póta), Cz pouto, Slk púto, P рѣто 'fetters' || Gmc (< *spenwō): ON spinna, Gt, OHG, AS spinnan, NHG, Dt spinnen, v. 'spin', NE spin ¶ P 986 and Vr. 535 (both do not distinguish this √ from the homonymous √ *(s)pen- v. 'stretch, strain'), ≈ EI 571-2 (*(s)pin- 'draw, spin'), Sl. 258-9, Frn. 59, En. 219, Vs. III 412-3, Fs. 445-6, Vr. 535, Ho. 310-1, Kb. 936, OsS 852, KM 727 || U: pre-U **pun₁∇₁ya- > U *puna- ~ *puña-: [1] U *puna- v. 'spin, plait' > F pуно- 'drehen, zwirnen' | pLp {Lr.} *ponē > Lp N {N} bādne ~ bōdne / -n-, Lp L {LLO} pātñē- 'Sehnenfaden spinnen, die Sehnenfasern zu einem einzigen Faden zusammendrehen, Garn spinnen', S {Hs.} būdn'edh 'spinnen, zwirnen (Sehnenfaden); spleißen' | pMr {Ker.} *рѣна- > Er пона- рона- v. 'twist (a rope), plait', Mk пона- рона- v. 'twist (a rope), braid' | pChr {Ber.} рунъ- ({JBer.} *runā- 'zwirnen, flechten' > Chr L pune (inf. пyна-ш 'puna-š'), Chr KB {Ber.} рѣне- (inf. пyна-ш рѣ'на-š), Chr U/B pune- 'twist (ropes), 'braid (one's hair)' | Prm *pūn- 'twist, plait' > Vt pun+- id. ('winden, flechten'), Z Le p+n- 'twist (ropes)' || ObU *pōn- > pVg *pōn- > Vg T/Ss pon- 'drehen, winden, bauen'; pOs *pon- ({JHl.} *pān-) 'zwirnen' > Os: V/Vy ponəl-, Ty pōnəϕ-, Y pōntəϕ-, D/K punttə-, Nz puntəl-, Kz pūntəϕ- id. | Hg fon- v. 'spin, plait' || Sm {Jn.} *рѣн- v. 'plait' > Ne T (augm.) панор-ць, {Lh.} pan·ōr-ć id., {Lh.} paan·ṛ 'Gezwirntes', Ne F L {Lh.} panmōt·ā's 'straff zwirnen', Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obcj. fonu'ama, {KD} fonu'a- id., Slq {KD} LTz/MTm par-, MKe panpa- v. 'plait', Slq Tz {KKH} paṅš 'braid, braided hair', Slq Tm {KD} pan·š id., Kms pūn- 'zwirnen', Kouy {Sp.} пандлямъ 'верчу' ('I twist, ich drehe') || ?σY: K {IN} pundu-, {Jc.} pundu-, punedu vi. 'erzählen' | [2] FU {UEW} *puña '? Windung, ? gedreht; wickeln, winden' > F puna 'Windung, gedreht' | pLp {Lr.} *pońz > Lp: N {N} bōdnjâ-/nj- v. 'twist, turn, screw; turn, change direction', L {LLO} pātñā- 'drehen (Faser, Rute), zusammendrehen, sich drehen\wenden', S {Hs.} būdnj'edh id., 'winden (z. B. eine Weidenrute), zwirnen', Pa {TI} pōññā- 'drehen, winden (z. B. eine Rute)', Kld {TI} poññā- 'drehen, winden', {SaR} pōñne- 'twist, twist together' | ? Chr ŭп-пy'нем 'plaited hair, braid', {Szil.} ūp-рѣнем 'Haarflechte' (ŭп ūp 'hair') | Prm *piń- (< *pūn-) vt. 'curve, twist, wrap' > Vt biń-+n+ 'twist together, wrap, wind together \ around', Z pińov '(wood) with slanting layers, knotty', Z Ud/Le pińovt- 'bend', Prmk pińlal- vt. 'bend, rumple' || Os: V pōñ-, D pāñ- 'wickeln,

umwickeln' | Hg *bonyolód-*, Δ *banyalít-* 'become complicated, get entangled \ involved in' ¶¶ UEW 402-3, Sm. 539 (U **punã*/+-, FU **punã*-, FP **puna*, Ugr **pűna*-, Sm **pën*- 'plait'), Lr. ##949, 952, Lgc. ##4663, 5073, Hs. 376-7, LG 221-2, 236, TI 394, SaR 261, It. #196, SK 643, Ker. II 118, MRS 468, 486, ERV 498, PI 215, Ht. #519, MF 213, Jn. 113, KKIH 146, Ang. 219, IN RJS s.v. *рассказатъ*, \approx Rd. UJ 43 [#49] (Y \leftarrow U) || | A: ?? ϕ NaT **e|änir-* > OT {Cl., Gbn.} *änir-* v. 'spin', Chg *enir-* 'surround'; there may be a partial merger with NaT **egir* 'spin' (ffd. *see* ET Gl), which is reponsible for the unexpected vw. **e|ä-* ¶ Cl. 113, Gbn. ATG 298, ET Gl 227-31 || pJ {S} **pìnjàr-* 'twist, twirl' (\times N **pìń_l∇_lγa* 'to turn, to plait', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #1805 (A **p'jùŋi* v. 'twist, twirl') || | ? D (in SD) **puña-* ({ ϕ GS} **p-*?) v. 'tie, unite' > Tm *puṇai* v. 'unite, tie', *puṇai* v. 'bind', *puṇai* ~ *puṇai* 'fettors', ?? Kn *poṇar* 'be joined\united' ¶¶ D #4160 (b) \diamond On the possible etl. connection between this N word and N **pìń_l∇_lγa* '↑' *see* s.v. N **pìń_l∇_lγa*; F IS SS #10.8 (HS, IE, U, D), IS MS 354 ('плести' **pu^rny^l* Δ > HS, IE, U, D). IS does not distinguish between the two N words (IS SS #10.8 adduces Eg *pr^r* without explaining the lr. ϵ) \diamond IE *(s)p- and Eg OK *prn* (if it belongs here) suggest a N **p-* (*see* Introduction, 2.2.5), while Eg *ifrⁿ* points to a N **p-*. This discrepancy still needs investigating \diamond Gr. II #298 (\leftarrow IS) (**pin* 'plait') (IE, U, A, J)

1738. **r^luñ|nyû* 'to breathe; wind, smoke' (\times N **P_u|uñyE* \rightarrow **P_u|uñi* 'smell' [q.v.]) > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} *fingiyā* ([EthSc] \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{S} *fāngiyā*) 'Wind, Sturm' (acc. to R, a derived relative noun analyzable as *fingiyā* and related to Xm *fig yā* 'blasen') || | DhI {EEN} *funṭ-* 'breathe' ¶ R QW 57, EEN 23 || WCh: Kfr {Nt.} *fəfoŋ* 'south wind', Gmy {ChC} *fañut* 'storm'; ? AG **f^wan* 'rain', (* \leftarrow) 'storm' > Gmy {Hf.} *fṅ_lān* 'rain', Su {J} *fwan* 'rain', Ang {Brq.} *fwan*, {Hf., Flk.} *fwan* id., {ChC} *k^wif^wan* 'storm', Mnt {Hf.} *fan* 'rain' ¶ Nt. 12, Hf. AGG 18 [#34], J S 66, ChC, ChL, Flk. s.v. *fwan*, Brq. AP, Pod. AWL || | IE: NaIE **pney-* 'breathe, blow' > Gk *πνέω* (ft. *πνεύσομαι*) v. 'blow' (of wind and air), 'breathe', *πνεύμα* 'a blowing, a wind, breath, spirit' || | Gmc: (1) **fne(:)h-* 'breathe, pant' > OHG *fnēhan* 'to breathe, to snort', MHG *phnēhen* 'to breathe, to pant, to gasp', (2) **fnēs-/fnōs-/fnas-*: AS *fnæst* 'breath, breathing, panting', OHG *fnāstōn* 'gasp, snort; anhelare', as well as partially onomatopoeic words: ON *fnýsa*, *fnasa*, *fnæsa* 'to pant, to puff', MHG *phnūsen* id., 'to sneeze' (ph- [= pf?] for **f-* due to

onomatopoeic infl.), AS *fnéosan*, *fnesan* 'to pant, to sneeze' ¶ P 838-9, F II 566-7, Kb. 269, OsS 209, Lx. 160, Ho. 110, Vr. 136, ≈σEI 82 (**pney-* '≈ snort, sneeze') || A {S AJ} **p|p'uh̄n̄*, {DQA} **póne* (↔ **p'-*) 'smoke' ({AD} 'smoke, snow-storm') > M **φuni-n* 'smoke' > MM [HI] *hunin*, [S] *hūni* id., [IsV] *huni*, WrM d. *uniyar* {MED} 'mist, haze, vapor', {SM} 'vapeurs qui s'élèvent du sol échauffé par le soleil', HIM d. *цниар* 'mist, haze, vapor', Brt *uñeη*, Dg *xoñi*, Dx *funiē*, Mnr H {T, SM} *funi* 'smoke', Ba {SM} *fune*, {T} *f3n3* 'smoke' ¶ Ms. H 60, SM 107, T 371, S AJ 237 [#85], ≈ Pel. 238 [#69] || Tg: (1) **puñ-* v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Ork *pun-* id., Orc *puña* 'smoky', Ud *puñkisi-* vt. 'smoke out' (a loan from a *p*-preserving lge.), Ul *puña-puña* adv. 'emitting smoke, raising dust, *puñžiči* v. 'smoke (дымить)', *puñguču-* vt. 'smoke (food)', Nn Nh *puñk-*, Nn B/KU *foñk-* v. 'smoke, smoke out', (2) Tg **puñge* 'snow-storm' > Ewk *hunη3* ~ *huη3* id. ('вьюга, метель'), *hunη3-* ~ *huη3-* 'begin\be a snow-storm, block the road with snow', Lm *hūnη3* ~ *hūnη3-* 'storm, snowstorm', Neg *xuñη3*, Orc *xūη3* 'snowstorm' ('вьюга'), Ud *xuñg3-* 'be a snow-storm, skim over the ground' (snow), Ul *puñaalilil* 'whirlwind (carrying sand \ snow \ leaves)', Ork *pūnd3* 'snowstorm, blizzard, blizzard with ground wind', Nn *pūngiktu-* 'covered with snow\sand brought by the wind' ¶ STM II 43-4, 348-9, Krm. 307, S AJ 225 [#297] ¶¶ S AJ 295 [#517], DQA #1680 (M, Tg + unc. *pKo* {S} **pìñà,k* 'kitchen' ({S} ← 'smoking place') ◇ This N word may be connected (or identical) with N **P_ü|uñyE* ↔ **P_ü|uñi* 'smell' (q.v.). N **p-* is suggested by the WCh data.

1739. (2?) **P_ü|uñyE* ↔ **P_ü|uñi* 'smell (odour); to smell (sth.)' > HS: C: Bj {R} *fīrn* 'Geruch', *fīrn-* 'schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen (das Wildtier), riechen, schnuppern' || Ag: Bln {R} *fūr* *u-* 'smell sth.' ('schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen, schnuppern'); Ag ⇨ Tgr {LH} *fin* *bəle* v. 'sniff\scent', {R} *fun* *bəle* id., ? (× EC **sun-* < N **s'ü'η* 'to smell') Or *fūnf-ađđa* v. 'smell sth.' ¶ R WBd 79, R WB 122, LH 666 || *AdS* of B **fñnfān* 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (< N **pññč* 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]); the absence of reflexes of the N affricate may be accounted for by the infl. of N **P_ü|uñyE* ↔ **P_ü|uñi* ¶¶ The apparent traces of this etymon in Ch are too qu.: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} (3s p.) *fáunú*, sbjn. *fáwán* (Sch. DN 57) v. 'smell at, sniff at' is probably to be analyzed as *fáu-n-ú* (cp. Ngz *fówâ* 'stench, terrible odour') || A: M **φünir* 'odour' > MM [IM, MA] *hünir*, WrM *ünür*, HIM *үнэр* 'odour,

smell, fragrance, aroma', Kl үнр ünər, Brt үнэр, Mnr H {SM, T} funir, Mnr M {Pot.} хунир 'odour'; M *φūnis- v. 'smell sth., smell at' > MM [MA] hūnis- id., WrM ünūs-, HIM † үнс-(эх) v. 'kiss, smell', Mnr H {SM, T} funis- v. 'smell sth.' ¶ Pel. 237-8 [#68], S AJ 240 [#152], Pp. MA 192, MED 1010, KRS 552, T 37, SM 108, Pot. 414 || Tg *pūh- v. 'smell' > Ewk Brg huñḡuktə- v. 'smell sth.', Sln ū: 'odour', Lm hīnəmsi 'bad odour (of mouldy meat)', Neg xun 'odour', Orc xū(n-) ~ xūh, Ud xu(n-), Ul and Ork pū(n-), Nn Nh pū:, Nn KU fū, Nn B fu(n-) id., WrMc fun 'aroma' ¶ STM II 349, Krm. 305, S AJ 220 [#207] || ?? pJ *páná 'nose' (× N *p∇nč∇ 'nose' [q.v.]??) > OJ páná, J: T hāna, K háná, Kg hána, Ht pà_nà id. ¶ S AJ 267 [#55], S QJ #55, Mr. 397 ¶¶ S AJ 78, 277 [#53], DQA #1679 (*p'uhé v. 'smell', n. nose) ¶¶ A (d.?) *p'ul|ongu 'stench, bad smell' (× N ?φ *pU_lgi_ḡ∇ [or *p-?] 'faeces, filth', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D *puḡḡ- ({{θGS} *p-) v. 'know' > Klm, Prj, Gdb, Png, Ku pun- id., Gnd pund-ḡ pun-, Kui punba id. ¶¶ D #4344 (a) ◇ Connection (or even identity?) with N *'p'uh|ḡyū 'to breathe; wind, smoke' (q.v.) cannot be ruled out.

1740. (₂?) *p∇nč∇ 'nose' > HS: Eg fOK frɔ 'nose' ¶ EG I 577-8, Fk. 98, Tk. II 575-8 || C: unknown C source → Amh ነፍሳን ገሳን 'nose'. as well as possibly Gz fəʂəm 'front, forehead' and Grg: Ms/Go/So fənčə, Ch/Ed/M finčə, En/Gt fīnčə 'forehead' ¶ LG 169, LEDG III 729 || ? B: (1) *f∇nz∇r 'nose', v. *✓fnzr ≈ 'have the nose injured' > Fgg funzər 'nose', Kb ffunzər, SrSn, Rf funzar, Shw funzər, Gd fənzər 'saigner du nez', Ah fuñhər 'avoir la narine coupée', ETwl, Ty fənžər 'avoir le nez déchiré', Ty efinžər 'coupure de narines', Gd fənzər, Awj fənžər 'saigner du nez' ¶ Fc. 1355, GhA 39, Dl. 211, Pr. H #60, Lf. II #0399, NZ 587 | (2) ? Kb afənniš (pl. ifənnišən) 'homme au nez trop court, aplati, camard', ffunnəš 'avoir le nez camard, écrasé', CM {NZ} fənnəš 'avoir le nez épaté', Shw afənniš 'camard; camus' ¶ Dl. 209, NZ 578 || K: OG pinči, G † pinčvi, pinči 'nostrils'; K (and/or another lge. of the Caucaso-Mesopotamian region?) → Arm պինչ pinčʰ 'nostrils', Oss I fənɔ, Oss D finɔ(ä) 'nose, tip', Abkh a-pənča 'nose', and even Blc pʰonɔ 'nose' (an argument for the ancient migration of the Baluchis from a more western area) ¶ Abul. 339, Chx. 1006, DCh. 1001, Ab. I 497, Bai. 236, Ach. IV 83 ¶ The glotalizaion in p- may be secondary or result from metathesis of glottalization (cp. Abkh a-pənča). Alternatively, the K word may be a loan from Arm pinčʰ || IE: ?σ NaIE {P} *bend-/*bnd-no- 'vorspringende Spitze' > OIr berrn 'mountain peak, horn, point, tip (of

a lance)' (< *bŋd-no- or *bend-no-?), bennach 'pointed, horned', Nlr beann, MW bann 'mountain peak, horn, point' (< *bŋd-no-), OBr bann 'horn', MBr ban 'éminence, saillie, hauteur', Br bann 'ray' || Dt Fl W pint 'Spitze', MHG {WP} pinz 'subula', MLG, MNG {Lx.} pint, NNr {P} pintol, ODN, AS pintel 'penis', NE pintle ¶ The IE √ belongs here if *-nd- may be an IE reflex of N *-nč- ¶ WP II O9-10, P 96-7, Vn. B 35-6, Flr. 78, Hm. 65, Dnn. 61, Lx. 160, Ho. 246, Vr. N 522-3 || ? A: pJ *páná 'nose' (× N *P_u|uñyE - *P_u|uñi 'smell') > OJ páná, J: T hána, K háná, Kg hána, Ht pá_nà_ ¶ S QJ #55, Mr. 397; S AJ 78, and DQA #1679 prefer to derive it from A {DQA} *p_l'úne 'nose, smell' (< N *P_u|uñyE - *P_u|uñi 'smell' ['odour'], 'to smell [sth.]' which is phonetically preferable because the J word has no traces of N *č̣ or *č̣) ◇ Eg fr̥z and NaIE *bend-/ *bŋd-no- point to pN *p-; OG p̥inč̣i and G p̥inč̣(∇)i may be explained by a pre-K mt. of glottalization: N *p̥∇nč̣∇ > *p̥∇nč̣∇ ◇ Cf. AD LRC #109.

1741. ₂ *p̥'ona'd̥∇ '≈ leg, foot' > HS: WCh: BT *pund∇ 'thigh' > Bl {Bnt.} pundo, Krf {Sch.} fòndo, Glm {Sch.} pèndá, Gera {Sch.} fìndí, Dr {J} púđó, Krkr {Kr.} fúntəw 'thigh', {J} fùndò 'leg', {AL} pəntó, Pr {Frz.} púndé, Krf {J} fəntáw 'leg', {JI ← Sch.} fòndó 'thigh' || ECh (× N *pa'g'd∇ 'leg' [or 'e part of a leg'], 'foot'): Jg {J} pādo, Brg {J} fādí 'thigh', Mu {J} fūdí (pl. fōdàt) 'thigh', {Lk.} fūdí (pl. fōdàt) 'Schenkel' || ?? CCh (× N *pa'g'd∇ '↑'): McTr {ChL}: Hw fùḍàrà, G'nd fuḍàtā, Gbn fìḍàtá, Bk fùḍàtá 'thigh' ¶ ChL, JI II 324-5, Bnt. 19, Frz. P 47 || U: P *pont∇ 'leg, foot' > Prm *pod 'foot, leg, basis' > Vt p̥id 'foot, paw, hoof', Vt Shm puden, Vt B po'do'n ({LG} pəðəŋ) 'by foot', Z pod 'leg' (in: pod vužrsz oz ažžt 'has very weak eye-sight', lit.: 'does not see the shade of his own legs'), 'stem (of a mushroom)', podəŋ 'by foot', Z US p̥ud 'basis', Yz 'puda 'pedestrian', 'pudəŋ 'by foot' | Er/Mk poŋks ({U}: < *pondâks) 'trouser leg', pl. poŋkst 'trousers' ¶ LG 223, U3S 369-70, UR 256, Wc. WC 93-4, U SC, U 117, Wc. SW 210, Ps. M 112.

1742. *P_u∇n_l∇_l-š∇ (~ *-ṣ̌∇?) '∈ insect' > HS: CCh {ChL}: BM: Br, WMrg p̥nẓ̌u, Cb p̥nẓ̌ù, Ngx p̥nẓ̌ù 'mosquito' | McHigi {ChL}: HgG f̥l̥yènzí, HgNk, Kps v̥l̥nzé, HgF v̥l̥nzó, HgB v̥l̥g̥l̥nzəw, FIK v̥l̥nzúm, FIG v̥l̥nzú id. || CS *pa|išp'a'š- (~ *opašš-) '∈ bug' > MHb {Dlm., Lv., Js.} 𐰇𐰪𐰸𐰸 piš'pāš, {ESH.} 𐰇𐰪𐰸𐰸 piš'pēš, NHb 𐰇𐰪𐰸𐰸 piš'peš 'bed-bug', Sr {JPS} 𐰇𐰪𐰸𐰸 pašpə'sā 'small reddish bug', {Br.} 𐰇𐰪𐰸𐰸 pešpə'sā 'bug', Ar fašfas- ~ {Hv.} fass- 'bug' ¶ Dlm. 339, Lv IV 150,

Js. 1248, ESh. 1110, Br. 613, JPS 458, Nld. BSS 122 (unc.: Ar ← JA), BK II 594, Hv. 561 || **U** ≈ *pañC∇ > FU: Mk панжам 'panžam 'ant' || Sm: Ne T BZ {Ter.} пәнзе"э panžeʔa, Nn {Cs.} pansie, panže, pande 'louse' ¶ PI 199, Ter. 441 || ? **A**: Tg *punjim- > Nn ponžim ~ pznžimэ 'small winged blood-sucking insects (мошкá, мелкая мошкара, гнус)', WrMc funžima ~ funima {Z} 'white insects on dung (навозная бѣлая мошка)', funžima {Ha.} 'ε Kriebelmücke, Simulium', funima {Ha.} id., 'giftige Sandfliege' ¶ Thr absence of ʒ in funima is still to be explained ¶ STM II 41, On. 3, Z 1069, 1071, Ha. 320-1 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1860 (incl. Tg + unc. parallels in M, Ko, and J) || **D** *pēn_l∇ 'louse' > Tm pēn, Ml, Kn pēn, Kt, Klm pe'n, Td pō'n, Kdg pe'ni, Tu pēn_l, Nkr, Nk, Gdb pēn, Prj, Knd pēni, Png, Mnd pen, Ku pēn, Krx pē:n, Mlt {Drs.} pénu 'louse', Kui pēnu, Ku pēnū 'flea' ¶¶ D 4449 ◇ D *-n- (regularly from intervocalic *-n-) suggests a vw. after N *n (with loss of the final syll. *-š∇ or *-ž∇ in D) ◇ There may have been a change N *nš > nž (in some Ch, U, and Tg lgs.) due to post-nasal affricatization of sibilants (a typical phenomenon in lgs., cp. Yid menč < *menš 'person', unž < *unz 'us'), the voicing *nš > nž, nž may be due to as. ◇ It is tempting to adduce here Fr punaise, Occ {Alib.} punaisa & penaisa (Alib. 568), Gsc püžnaze, and Frl pudjese 'bed-bug', but ML #6879 derives this word from VL *pūtināsius 'stenching' ◇ Schrd. DU 93 [#30] (D, U), Blz. LB #105b and Blz. LNA #44 (in both: BM, D, U).

1743. (₂?) *Pañt_l∇h∇ 'belly' > IE *pant(∇)x- > NaIE *pant- ~ *p∇nd- 'belly' > Ltv Δ {ME} penderis & penders 'stomach (Magen)' || L pantex 'belly, paunch', pl. pantic-ēs 'bowels' || Ht panduha- {Ts.} 'stomach (?)', {CHD} 'bladder (?)' ¶¶ The NaIE variation *t ~ *d may be due to the lr. (surviving in Ht) ¶¶ ≈ EI 2 (*pant- 'stomach, paunch'), ≠ WH II 248, EM 479-80, ME III 199-200, Frd. HW EH II 19, Ts. W 59, CHD P 95 || **D** *pañt_l∇ > Tm pañti, pañtam 'belly, paunch, body', Ml pañti 'stomach', Ku bañdi 'belly' & bañdi 'stomach'; D ↔ Sk phāñḍa- 'belly' ¶¶ D 3898 || ?σ **HS**: ı B *√'φ'ḡn ({Pr.} *√H|zḡn) 'middle' > Ah a-haḡun 'the 15th night of a lunar month' (× N *bu_lw_lt_l∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') ¶ Fc. 518, Pr. H #296 ◇ D *-t_l- (that regularly goes back to N and pre-D *t) is due to the de-emphasizing infl. of the lr. *h (N *-t_l∇, h- > *-t- > D *-t_l-).

1744. *P₁ŪN₁ǰ '∈ part of the leg of animals' ('knee', 'foot?') > **HS: B** *✓fnz 'foot (of ungulate animals)' > Sll {Ds.} a-fanzu (pl. i-fanz-a) 'pied de veau', ta-fanzu-t (pl. ti-fanz-a) {Ds.} 'pied de mouton', {La.} 'sabot des chèvres et des moutons', BSns θi-fanzi-θ (pl. θi-fanz-a), Ntf i-fanzi (pl. i-fanz-a), Mz tifanzət id., CM {NZ} ifanzi 'pointe de pied (les orteils)' ¶ Ds. 219, La. S 291, NZ 586 || **U** *puńća ≈ knee-cap' > Lp N {N} bužes-~bužos-: b.-dak'te 'the small bone in the pit of the femur in the hind leg of a reindeer, the patella (knee-cap)' (dak'te is the Lp for 'bone'), Lp L {LLO} putttjēs 'the Kniescheibe (patella) des Rentiers' || Sm: Ne T O puncū 'weiche grubenförmige Stelle unterhalb des Kniescheibes des Rentiers' ¶¶ UEW 403-4 || **A** (¿**p₁insa [{SDM95} *°pinsǰ]): pJ *pínsá 'knee', > OJ p₁ízá 'knee', J: T híza, K hízá, Kg híza 'knee', Sh físa 'foot' ¶ S QJ #96 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. "? *pinsǰ 'knee'".

1745. *p₁A₁ń (= *p₁ǎń?) 'hollowed-out vessel' > **U:** FU *peńǰ 'spoon' > Er/Mk пенч péńč, Er Δ {Ps.} pǎńč id. | Prm {Lt.} *pǎń- > Vt пуньы puń+, Z pań id., Z Vm/I/LV/Ud pań 'spade, small spade (лопата, лопаточка)' || ObU *°pěńǰ (or *°p₁ńǰ) > Os *pěń ({JHl.} *p₁ń) 'spoon, scoop' > Os: V/Vy/Lk/MY/Ty/Y pań id., Lk/MY yätte-pań 'flache Schöpfkelle, mit der Fische aus dem Kessel geschöpft werden', Vy k₁ūyām-pań 'Trommelschlegel' ¶ UEW 372, Coll. 106, LG 216, Ps. M 108, ERV 470, PI 204, SZ 274, Stn. D 1183 || **A** ({S, SDM97} *p₁ǎńǰ 'vessel, boat'): NaT *₁h₁ańak 'vessel' > OT ayaq 'vessel' (particularly 'a drinking vessel: cup, goblet, bowl'), Yk aǰaχ 'big goblet for frinking fermented mare's milk', Tf aǰač 'big cup, bowl', Tv аяк аyač 'cup, drinking bowl (чашка, пиала)', Qrg, Qzq, ET, SY, Ln аyač 'cup, bowl (чашка, чаша)', Uz ayac, Xk аyač id., QrB аyač 'bowl, wooden bowl', Bsh аyač 'big bowl' ¶ Cl. 643, Rs. W 265, S AJ 193 [#186], ET Gl 105, Pek. 55-6, JkR 33-4, Ra. 152; Tf and Yk -ǰ- provides ev. for a nasal *-ń-; OT, Tv, and Xk medial -y- proves that the internal cns. is not pT *-δ- || pKo {S} *p₁ńǰ 'boat' > MKo p₁ńǰ, NKo pǎ id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#164], S QK #164, Nam 251, MLC 743 || pJ *p₁úná-i 'boat, vessel' > OJ p₁úné, J: T fúne, K fúné, Kg funé ¶ S AJ 272 [#193], S QJ #193, Mr. 418 || ? M *°fay-i-žagan > MM [IM] هيجفا hayižaxa 'ship' ¶ Pp. MA 437 ¶¶ S AJ 67, 288 [#296], DQA #1775 (*p₁o₁ńǰ 'vessel, boat': M, Ko, J), SDM97 (A *p₁ǎńǰ id.: T, Ko, J) || **D** *pāñ ~ *pāńǰ 'pot' > Tm pāñi 'large earthen pot', pāñā

'large rounded pot', Ml *pāna*, *pāni* 'water pot', Kt *paṇy* and Kdg *paṇi* (measures of capacity), K *pāne*, *hāne* 'pot (of metal/earth)', Tu *pāṇi*, *pāṇæ* 'a large pot', Tl *bāna* 'a large earthen pot, boiler, kettle' ¶ D #4124 || HS: Eg fOK *pnk* {EG} 'schöpfen', {Fk.} 'bail (out of s boat)' > DEg *pnq*, *pnk* 'schöpfen, ausschöpfen', Cpt Sd **𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎣** *pōng* ~ **𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎣** *pōnk* ~ **𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎣** *pōnc*, B **𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎣** *p^hōnk* 'puiser', Cpt **𐎱𐎠𐎢𐎣** *pnkf* '≈ bottle' (with the sx. -f) ¶ EG I 510-1, Fk. 89, Er. 132, Vc. 160 ◇ The D permutation *-ŋ / *-ṅ- may be explained as follows: in the word-final position all nasal cns. yielded D *-ŋ (the only nasal admissible in this position); in the intervoc. position D *-ṅ- is the reg. reflex of N *-ṅ-; later *-ŋ- was generalized in some stems (whence -n- in those lgs. where *ŋ yields n) ◇ The narrowing *A (= *ä?) > FU *e may be due to the infl. of the adjacent palatal cns *ń.

1746. *pEX|Qńa 'keep, protect' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *pan- v. 'keep' ('хранить') > Ang {Flk.} *pan* v. 'keep' || Ron: DfB {J} *fen* 'Kornspeicher' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [#18], Flk. s.v. *pan*, J R 214 || IE *peXy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' > NaIE *pā(y)-/*pō(y)-/*pī- v. 'protect, graze (cattle)' > OI *pā(y)-* v. 'protect, preserve, keep', 3s prs. *pā-ti* 'protects, preserves, keeps', Av *pāiti* 'protects', OPrs *pādiy* 'beschütze!', *pātuv* 'er soll beschützen', KhS *pā-* v. 'protect', Sgd *p²y-* id.; Irn d. *pāy-us > OI *pāyuh* 'protector', Av *pāyuš* id.; Irn *pāθra- > Av *pāpra-*(vant-) 'Schutz (gewährend)', NPrs **پهره** *pāhre* (coll. **پهر** *pāhr*) 'guard, watch of the night; protection', {VL.} 'custodia, vigilia' || Gmc *fōðra- 'sheath, covering, cover' (< NaIE *pōtrom, see OI *pātram* 'holder' × Na IE *pō- v. 'cover' < N *pōqi 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || L *pā-sco* (pfc. *pā-vi*, sup. *pāstum*) v. 'graze (cattle)', *pāstor* 'herdsman' || Gk *πῶν*, gen. -εος 'flock (of sheep)', *ποιμῆν* 'herdsman, shepherd', *ποίμην* 'flock' || W *pawr* 'meadow' || Lt *piemuõ* 'herdsboy, herdman' || Sl *pǎsti (1s prs. *pās-q) v. 'graze (cattle)' > OCS **пастн** *pasti* / **пасѣ** *pas-q*, SCr *pásti* († *pǎsti*) / *pásē*, Sln *pásti* / *pásem*, R *пастн* / *па'сy* || Arm **հաւրան** *hawran* 'herd' || pTc {Ad.} *pāsk- > Tc A *pās-*, B *pāsk-* v. 'guard, protect' || Ht *pahs-* / *pahhas-* 'protect, keep, guard' ¶ P 839, EI 198 (*peh₂- 'guard, protect, cause to graze'), 268, Mn. 897, 905-7, 971-2, M K II 250-3, M E II 112-3, Bai. 228, F II 573, WH II 260, Frn. 585, Glh. 469-70, Sl. 173-4, Wn. 353, Ad. 367, Ad. H 20, Ts. W 58, CHD P 2-10;

IS III 106-8 considers NaIE *pā(y)- to be a different root, but it may be suggested that NaIE *pā(y)- is an *e-grade of the same root, NaIE *ā going back to *eχ (the non-palatalized Ir. *χ is explained by its original precons. position); this attempt to distinguish between *pō(y)- v. 'graze, protect' and *pā(y)- v. 'graze, feed' is at variance with the observed distribution of these two meanings: NaIE *poy-wā 'means 'fodder, meadow grass' (> Gk ποίη, ποία, πόη 'meadow grass', Lt pīeva 'meadow of mowing grass', F Mn. 972), while Ht pahs- / pahhas-, which acc. to IS III l.c. belongs to *pā(y)-, means v. 'protect, keep' || U *pīhá~*puhá ({UEW} *pâhâ, {IS} *pīhá [= *p+há] < **pēhá) v. 'observe, protect' > Lp: T {TI} p+há- 'bewahren, verwahren, schützen, beobachten', Kld {SaR} пынне 'keep, take care of (беречь, хранить)', {TI} p+há- 'bewahren, hüten, pflegen' || Sm {HL} *p+há-r- v. 'graze, guard, keep' (*-r- is a sx. of multiple action) > En {Cs} X foñeĥo (1s prs. fóneneĥero), B foñiro (1s prs. fónineĥedo) 'hüten, weiden', X fonedde, B foñidde 'herdsman', En T {OSIPL} poner- (1s prs.) poneĥedo') 'be busy with, maintain, hold', Ne {Cs} prs. 3s paer-ĥa 'hold, use, protect', Ne T O {Lh} p+há-r-č 'tun, sich beschäftigen' ¶ UEW 413-4, Cs. 95, IS III 108-110, TI 356, SaR 277; the variant *puhá- (> Sm *p+há-) is probably due to labializing as. caused by the initial *p- || D *pēh- ({ġGS} *p-) v. 'protect, take care of' > Tm pēĥ 'protection', pēĥu v. 'treat tenderly, protect, care of', Ml pēĥuka v. 'foster, take care of', Tl pen(u)cu v. 'nourish, foster, support' ¶¶ D #4436, Km. 436 [#848] || A: T *hjá'há- v. 'preserve (sth.), look after sth. carefully' > OT {CL} ayā- id., v. 'treat (so.) with respect' (OT QU XI 01 tōnīn ayādī 'he looked after his clothing [etc.] carefully'), Tkm, Uz, Qmq, QrB, Kr, VTt ayā- 'keep, spare', Qzq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Xk ayā- 'spare, take care of', Ln ayā- id., 'preserve, guard', Chv: Lця- уя-, H оя- vt. 'keep (customs), preserve, respect' ¶ Cl. 267-8, Rs. W 11, ET Gl 101-2, Tkr 62, UzR 47, Ash. III 171, Jeg. 280, Fed. II 298 ¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. is probably due to vowel harmony: *hjá'há < **pēhá ◊ Ffd. see IS III 106-111 [#373] (*p'eHhá 'пасти [graze], защищать, заботиться' > IE, U, D). Cf also IS MS 354 (*pīhjá'há 'пасти' > IE, U) and IS SS #10.26 (IE, U). The meaning 'to graze (cattle)', although present in two sub-branches (NaIE and Sm), should not be ascribed to the pN level, but rather considered a parallel development in IE (or even NaIE) and in Sm (or U?).

1747. *pín_l∇_lya 'to turn, to plait' ([in descendant languages] → 'to spin, to weave') > **HS**: Eg fP pɾɪ^s v. 'turn upside down, turn the eyes' ({EG} 'umwenden, sich umwenden') ¶ EGI 508-9, Fk. 88f., Tk. II 437-9 || **K**: GZ *pχin- v. 'spin, weave' > G X pχin- 'weaving instrument', Lz pχen- ~ mχen- 'spindle' ¶ Fn. KW-2 44 [#34] || **A**: pJ {S} *pìnjàr- v. 'twist, twirl' (× N *P_{un}_l∇_lya 'to turn, to twist, to tie'?) > OJ p_l_lìnèr-, J: Thinér-, K hínér-, K_g hìnèr- ¶ S QJ #1345, Mr. 689 || **D** *piñ- ({ǾGS} *p-) v. 'plait, weave' > Tm piṛṇu v. 'plait, braid, lace, knit, weave, entwine, bind', Ml pinnuka v. 'plait, twist, wreath', Td pin- '(hair) is matted', v. 'weave (basket), plait (hair)', Brh pinning v. 'be twisted'; ?? D {Km.} *piñ- ({ǾGS} *p-) v. 'entwine, tie together, link', *piñ-aṅk- v. 'be twisted' > Kn peṇe v. 'unite\tie different things together, interwine, twist, plait, braid', piṇil 'braid of hair', Tm piṇai (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) vi. 'entwine', v. 'unite; tie, fasten', piṇai (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'link, unite, tie'; Ml piṇa 'tying, yoke', Kt piñ- 'become entangled' (of ropes, wrestlers' legs), Tl pena 'a twist of ropes, tie, bond', OTl {Km.} penăcu v. 'twist', Tl {BE} penu vt., vi. 'twist, entwine', 'twist two or three single threads into a thick thread' ¶¶ D ##4207, 4160 (a), Km. 435-6 [##846-7] ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 117 [#15] (adduces the K √ to the Nostratic comparison). Some kind of etl. connection between this N word and N *P_{un}_l∇_lya 'to turn, to twist, to tie' is possible. It may be explained either by supposing that one of these two N etymons goes back to a compound or by pre-Nostratic derivation ◇ The K vl. harmonic cluster *pχ- goes back to N *p- + *Y rather than to *p_l- + *Y (where no as. is likely to bring about a vl. unglottalized cluster).

1748. *P_{ay}ú∇_lq∇_l 'to press, to squeeze, to close' > **U** *payú∇ vt. 'press' > F paína- v. 'press, weigh down; stamp', Es paína- v. 'press' → 'obsess, haunt', 'мучить, угнетать, удручать' || Prm {Lt.} *poń- > Z pońta√/l- √ pońtal- 'pressen, weigh down', Vt SW puńña-~púńña- v. 'lock', Vt Kz pań^hrt- 'drücken, zerdrücken' || Vg: T poń^hawt-, LK pańayt-, P pońat-, Ss pońi^ht- 'drängen, drücken', LK pańs-, P/Ss pońs- v. 'press\weigh down' || ? Sm: Kms paṅdā-, paṅgorā- id., v. 'press' ¶ Coll. 105, UEW 348, LG 225 || **A**: M *φani- 'close' (of an opening), 'close one's eyes', *φanisqa 'eyelid' > MM [MA] hanisba nidüni 'closed his eyes', WrM ani-, HIM ани- v. 'close one's eyes', vi. 'close' (of a wound, crack, fissure), WrO {Krg.} ani- v. 'close up, close eyes, squint', Kl ань-, {Rm} аńь- ~ аń-, Brt ани- 'blink\close one's eyes', Ord {Ms.}

anī- 'close one's eyes', MM [HI, MA] hanisqa, [L] hanišqa, [IsV] hanasqa, Mnr H {SM} χanasqa, {T} χanesqa, Mnr H/M {Pot.} ханиска 'eyebrow', WrM anisqa, HIM анисга, WrO {Krg.} anisqa 'eyelid'; the etl. connection between *φani- 'close (one's eyes)' and the noun *φanisqa suggests that the latter originally meant 'eyelid' (as in WrM, HIM, and WrO) rather than 'eyebrow' (as in the MM texts and in Mnr) ¶ Pp. L III 31, Pp. MA 181, Ms. H 60, Lg. VMI 31, Pel. 206-7 [#9], MED 46, Krg. 2, KRS 45, KW 11, Chr. 53, Ms. O 25-6, SM 155, ≈ T 373, Pot. 411 || HS: S *^o✓pnχ > Ar ✓fnχ v. G 'bruise (a bone within the body), contusionner l'os dans le corps', 'soumettre, abaisser et humilier' ¶ BK II 637, Hv. 573 ||? WCh: Gmy {Kr., ChL} fum 'close'; ?? WCh {Stl.} *f₁w₁n vt. 'close' > Krkr f3na, Klr fwan (unless d. from WCh *f¹u¹- [Krkr {Lk.} f-, Klr fu v. 'close', etc. < Ch *✓pH < N *p^oqi 'to cover, to close', q.v.]?) ¶ Stl. ZCh 160 [#137], ChC ◇ Cf. IS MS 364 s.v. 'сжимать' *paj¹n¹ (U, A), Rs. UAW 45.

1749. *P_un|nčê 'body hair, down, (?) feathers' > K: GZ *pačw- 'hair', esp. 'hair on the body' > G {DCh.} pačvi 'hair on human body', OG {Abul., DCh.} pačunieri 'hairy', MG, G pačvnieri 'hairy, shaggy', Zan **počkw- 'hair' influenced the vw. of G Gr počvi 'hair', G Gr/I {Chx.} počvi, G {DCh., NCh., Chx.} poči 'fringe hair/fibres (бахрома), tassel', {DCh.} 'leaved branch' ¶ DCh. 1299, 1313, NCh. 396, Chx. 1456 ¶ To be distinguished from GZ *pečw- 'a hair' (< N *P_uč¹o¹ 'hair', q.v.) || IE: NaIE *pous-/*pus- 'body hair, down, fell' (× N *P_uč¹o¹ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FV *punče 'down, feathers' > Es S puts (gen. pudzu) 'down' | pLp {Lr.} *poncz 'feather' > Lp: S {Hs.} baddse, K {Gn.} pon:з, Kld {SaR} pōnnc pōn:c id., N {N} boз'zâ 'lower, thick end of a feather; large wing-feather, flight-feather' | Chr: L пыстыл рѣс-тъл, E, U рѣš-tal 'feather' (pChr *š for the expected *č because of the precon. position?) (тъл, tal < U *tulka 'feather') ¶ Tv. IA 207, Lr. #947, Lgc. #4610, Hs. 276, N I 210, SaR 265 ◇ Ffd. IS III 80-1 [#365] (*¹p¹unčê 'body hair' > IE, K, U + D *počč^o 'hair, down, wool', see N *boз¹ 'hair, feather'). The variant rec. with N *¹n can explain the loss of the nasal cns. in IE.

1750. *¹p¹äη∇ 'forehead' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'face', 'head') > HS: S *pan- > BHb pl. pā'nīm 'front (of the head), front, surface, face', M'b l-pny 'in front of', Ph l-pnm 'earlier', Ph cs. pn 'face', Pun cs. fffpn, FANE, FENH 'face', Ug pl. pnm 'face', l-pn 'in front of', IA pnh 'in front' (lit. 'his front'), Sr d. pānī'tā 'Seite, Gegend', {Br.} 'latus,

regio', Ar **فِنَاء** *fināʔ*- 'cour devant une maison', Sb *friw* 'space outside, immediate surroundings, front (of building)', Mh *f3n3*- (in cds.): *f3nf3nw*- 'in front of, before', *fōn3h* 'earlier, before', Hrs *fēn* 'before, in front of; earlier', Jb E *fεnε* 'face, front part', *f3'n-ε-*, *f3'n-ɔ-*, Jb C *fεnε ε* 'in front of, before' (ε is 'of'), Sq {Jo.} *'fan3*, *'f3nh3n* 'face, front part', Ak *pārnu* 'front side', pl. 'face'; the vi. **√pny* 'turn' (in Hb and several other S lgs.) is likely to belong to N **Pun₁∇₁ya* 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (q.v.) ¶ KB 886-890, KBR 938-44, Br. 578, GB 646-7, JH 229, HJ 918-20 (*err. rec.*: pS **√pnh*), A #2230, OLS 351-2, BK II 640, BGMR 45, Sd. 818, Jo. M 96, Jo. H 33, Jo. J 59, SSL LSNP 1455-6, MiK I #1.215 || ?σ Eg P/G *ifn* '≈ umwenden, (das Gesicht) zuwenden, sich umwenden' (× N **Pun₁∇₁ya* '↑' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 70 || B **f∇nfān* 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (× N **p∇nč∇* 'nose') > Ah *āfunfan*, ETwl *afānfan*, Ty (pl. t.) *ifānfanb̄n* 'museau, nez (d'animal)', ʟ Wrg *ffānfān* 'nasiller, parler du nez, avoir le nez bouché' ¶ Fc. 331, GhA 39, Dlh. Ou 78, NZ 578 || C ({AD SF} **p∇n*- 'forehead') > Ag: Aw {CR} *fēri*, *fēn* 'forehead, face' || SC: Alg {Wh.}, Brn {Wh.} *pār-ča* 'forehead' ¶ AD SF 45 || ECh: Ke *pānāy* 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ Eb. 88 ¶ ≈ OS #417, ≈ MiK I #215 || U **pāne* 'head' (× N **beη₁χ₁i* ≈ head' [q.v.]) > F *pää*, Es *pea*, Δ *pā* id. || ? Lp N {N} *bagηe* / -āη- 'the thickest part of the reindeer antler, by the head' || pMr **peʒə* > Er *πε pé*, Δ *ῥᾶ*, Mk *πε pe* 'end, edge' ('конец, грань') || Prm {Lt.} **pōη* 'end' > StVt *pum*, Vt Uf/MU/Y/M *puη* 'end (bout, fin), limit', Z *pom* 'end, tip' (Ende, Spitze), Z LL/Sk/MS/US, *pon* 'end (bout, fin)', Prmk *pom* 'end', Yz *pon* id. || pObU **pēη₁k₁* > pVg **pāηk* ({Stn.} **pēηk*) 'head' > Vg: N {MK} *puηk* ~ *poηk*, ULz {Kn.} *puηk*, Ss {Kn.} *puηk*, {Stn.} *poηk*, ML/LL {MK} *pāηk* ~ *pāηk*, P {MK, Stn.} *pāηk*, LK/MK/UK {MK, Stn.} *pāηk*, T {MK, Stn.} *pāη* id. || Hg *fej*, *fó* (accus. *fejēt*) 'head' || Sm: Ng *feai*, *feae* 'Ende, Gipfel, Äußerstes', Sm {Jn.} **pā* v. 'begin (?)', {Hl.} **pā*- 'tun, vorhaben' > StNe T *πᾶ-ς*, Ne T O {Lh.} *ῥᾶ:-ś*, Ne F Ny {Lh.} *ῥᾶ:-ś*, Ng {Cs.} -*fā*- ~ -*feā*-, sx. of inchoative (e.g. *~amafantuma* 'ich gehe essen', *~atadafeatem* 'ich gehe zaubern'), En {Mik.} 3s aor. obj. *peza* 'he began it', Slq Tm (1s aor.) {KD} *pūab* 'tehdä' (v. 'do'), Kms (1s prs.) {Cs.} *pḥálím*, {KD} *hálam* (Jn.: ← Mt M) 'machen', Koyb {Sp.} *палемъ* 'I do', Mt {Hl.} **hā*- 'do, make, be able' (Mt M {Sp.} *аямъ* 'дѣлаю', 'могу') || Y (← Vg??): K {IN} *puηkə*, {IN RJ} *pūηke*, {Jc.} *puηke* 'hill', T {Ku.} *punke* 'hillock, hummock' ¶ UEW 365-6, Coll. 47, It. #263, Sm. 548 (FU, FP **pāηi*, Ugr **pāηkī* 'head'), Ker. II 106, LG

224, Wc. SW 211-2, TmK 549-550, KPR 355, Lt. J 166, SZ 291-2, U3S 64, Stn. WV 268, Kn. VW 33, MK 479-480, MF 188, Jn. 117-8, Hl. M #268, IN 276 (Y ÷ Vg), IN RJ s.v. xолм, Ang. 219, Ku. 237, Rd. UJ 42 [#44] (Y <- U) || **A** *p'ü'η∇ (~ p'äη∇?) > T *_lh_löη 'face, front' > OT {Cl.} öη 'the front (of anything)', Qrg, Qq, ET öη 'face', Qzq öη 'face, right side (of cloth)', StAlt, Yk öη 'right side (of cloth)', Tk öη 'front, space in front of sth.', Az, Tkm öη 'front', OT äη 'cheek', Osm {Rl.} äη 'complexion', Chv уМ um ^д om 'front, breast' ¶ Cl. 166, ET Gl 534-5, Rs. W 372, Rl. I 710, TrR 702, Jeg. 274, Fed. II 280 ¶ The labialized vw. *ö is probably due to the infl. of A *p'- || ? pJ (?) *öpin- > J Kg bintá 'head' ¶ S QJ #152 ¶¶ M *emüne 'front, south' (> MM [S, MA] emüne 'in front of', [HI] emüne 'south', WrM emür-e, HIM өмһө, Kl өмһ өмнә 'front, south', WrM emünesi, HIM өмһөш 'forward, southward', Kl өмһәс 'from the front side' [H 44, MED 314-5, Pp. MA 155, Ms. H 54]) hardly belongs here, because in the MM documents there are no traces of the expected M *φ- || **D**: ??amb Tm pamparam 'top', Ml pamparam 'top for play' (unless <- OI Sk bhramaraka 'humming-top') ¶¶ D ##1, 410(a), 494, 557(a), 3930 ◇ T *_lh_löη and Ke pánáy suggest a pN *p-, while Eg ífn (that can point to a N *p-) is not a decisive proof, because its origin is ambiguous.

1751. (2?) *P_lüηû (or *P_lüηE) 'ε a game bird of medium size (grouse or sim.)' > U *püηe '≈ grouse' > F pyy {Coll.} 'hazel grouse, wood grouse' ({UEW} 'Hasel-, Rothuhn'), peltopyy 'partridge', Es püü, Es S püvi 'Feldhuhn, Rebhuhn', Lv {Kt.} pi'k'i, Lv W † {Kt.} pü'k'i, Lv E pi'uk'i 'Feld-, Reb-, Haselhuhn', pLp {Lr.} *pзηkūy 'hazel grouse' > Lp: N {Fri.} baggoi (= bâggo), L {LLO} pakkōi, K {Gn.} pēḡgav, Klt {TI} pēg:a | pMr {Ker.} *puχъ > *puvə > Er пово пово, Δ pov 'Tetrao bonasia (hazel hen)', Mk (dim.) повня {Ps.} pov-ñä 'partridge' || Os V/Vy pēḡk 'hazel grouse' | Hg fogoly, fogumadár 'partridge' (madár 'bird') || ?φ Sm: Slq {KD}: LTz pēke, MKt pāke, Tm pēkä 'hazel grouse' | Kms {KD} p'üžε id. || pY {IN} *poη- > YK poηžu-bə 'capercaillie' (-bə is a sx. of animal names, see N *bA, pc. of names of quality bearers and animal names) ¶ Coll. 53, UEW 383, Sm. 547-8 (FU, FP *püηi, Ugr *püḡkī 'grouse'), Kt. 296, Lr. #860, Lgc. #4620, TI 326-7, Ker. II 121, Stn. D 1188, KD 55 || **A**: Tg *pi'η'ü 'hazel grouse' > Ewk hinu-kī, Δ inz-mī, Lm hini-ki id., Orc xi(m)muī, Ul pinu~piñu~pimu, Ork pinu ~ piñu, Nn Nh pimu, Nn B fimi, Nn KU xiη-ki id., Neg xīnkī~xiη-kī id., 'female wood grouse, female black grouse' ¶ STM II 325 || ?σ **HS**: Eg bn hier. *ε bird

(wagtail [Bachstelze]?) (pictorial representation for br), 'ε a holy bird in Heliopolis' ¶ EG I 457, Hng. 252, Tk. II 195-6 || ? B: Shl {Stm.} walbēnna, talbbēnna 'wagtail' (← cd.?) ¶ Stm. 229, 240 ¶¶ Wlf. EAW 144, Tk. II 195-6 ◇ The HS word for 'wagtail' is a qu. cognate (the semantic distance and the unexpected *b-).

1752. ***ṛ**¹∇_ζiη¹U¹ (= ***ṛ**¹o_ζiη¹U¹?) 'palm of hand, (sole of) foot' > **HS:** S ***ṛ**¹pa_ζ∇_ζm- (~ ***ṛ**¹pa_ζ∇_ζn-) 'foot, step' > Ph **ṛ**⁵m 'foot', **ṛ**⁵m **ṛ**⁵m 'step by step', Pun **ṛ**⁵m 'foot; time (Mal)', BHb **ṛ**⁵m 'pa_ζam 'foot, step, time (Mal)', Ug **ṛ**⁵n 'foot', ? **ṛ**⁵m[†] (pl.) 'times (Male)', Mh {Jo.} fē⁵m, Hrs {Jo.} fā⁵m, Jb C {Jo.} fa⁵m 'foot, leg', Ak fOB {Sd.} pē⁵mu ~ pē⁵nu 'thigh (Oberschenkel) (of humans and animals)' ¶ KB 807, HJ 928-9, A ##2185, 2243, Grd. UT #2076, OLS 342, Jo. M 87, Jo. H 31, Jo. J 51, Sd. 854, MiK I #1.207 || SC: Kz pa⁵amuko 'foot' ¶ E SC 147 || ?σ WCh: Grn {ChC} fwane, {Hrn.} fû⁵ v. 'walk' ¶ ChC, Hrn. G #250 || **U** ***ṛ**¹i¹η∇ ({θAD} ***ṛ**¹i¹ηU¹?) 'handful, palm of hand' > F **ṛ**¹ivo 'handful', Δ **ṛ**¹ijo, **ṛ**¹io 'handful, middle (дно) of the hollow of the hand, palm of hand', Krl Tv **ṛ**¹ivo, Krl L **ṛ**¹ivo ~ **ṛ**¹io ~ **ṛ**¹iyο, Vp N/S **ṛ**¹iyο, Vp C **ṛ**¹io, Vo **ṛ**¹ivo 'handful, **ṛ**¹iho 'hollow of the hand, handful', Es **ṛ**¹ihu, Δ **ṛ**¹eo, **ṛ**¹ego, **ṛ**¹ōgo 'palm of hand, handful', Lv **ṛ**¹iyuv, **ṛ**¹iyu, **ṛ**¹zy 'handful' || Sm {Jn.} ***ṛ**¹er 'flat hand (flache Hand)' > Ne T **ṛ**¹e[?] **ṛ**¹e[?], Ne F {Lh.} **ṛ**¹je[?], {Ppv.} **ṛ**¹er, Ng {Cs.} **ṛ**¹er, {Mik.} **ṛ**¹er, En {Cs.} X **ṛ**¹eo, B **ṛ**¹e ~ **ṛ**¹er, Slq MKe {KD} **ṛ**¹er, Kms {KD} **ṛ**¹er 'palm of hand', {Cs.} **ṛ**¹er id., Koyb {Sp.} **ṛ**¹er 'my palm of hand', **ṛ**¹er 'hollow hand', Mt {Hl.} ***ṛ**¹er 'flat hand, hollow hand' (Mt M {Mll.} **ṛ**¹er 'his hand', [Sp.] **ṛ**¹er 'my hollow hand', **ṛ**¹er 'my palm of hand') ¶ Coll. 49-50, Coll. CG 143, Sm. 539 (U ***ṛ**¹er 'hollow hand' > FU, FP ***ṛ**¹er, Sm ***ṛ**¹er), Jn. 121, Ter. 460, KD 52, Ppv. 99, Hl. M #309, UEW 384 (***ṛ**¹er) || **A** (× N ***ṛ**¹er 'palm of hand' [q.v. ffd.]): NaT ***ṛ**¹er (or ***ṛ**¹er?) 'palm of hand' and Tg ***ṛ**¹er ~ ***ṛ**¹er id. || ?σ **D:** NED ***ṛ**¹er > Krx **ṛ**¹er-nā 'to run, to run away', Mlt **ṛ**¹er 'run, flow' ¶ Pf. 194 [#180], D #4473 ◇ The SC and T cognates point to a pN ***ṛ**¹-, but the T ev. is not decisive (because the T word is of ambiguous origin). S *-m- ~ *-n- and the labial elements in C, Ch, and probably in U suggest that the final vw. of the N etymon was labialized. If NED ***ṛ**¹er belongs here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as ***ṛ**¹o_ζiη¹U¹.

1753. ***ṛ**¹er_ζk∇ 'joint, shoulder joint' > **HS:** S ***ṛ**¹er_ζknk > Ar fanīk-, **ṛ**¹er_ζknk 'junction of the two jaws; root of a bird's tail' ¶ BK II 639, Hv.

577 || **U:** FU *paŋka 'shoulder (Achsel), shoulder-bone, wing' > F pancka (gen. panka-n) 'arm, shoulder (Achsel), wing' | ? Z bugun '(playing) knuckle-bone' || ObU *pāŋkəl > pVg *pāŋkəl 'shoulder-bone' > Vg: T paŋkəl, LK poŋxəl, MK/UK/NV/LL poŋkəl, P poŋ^wkəl; pOs *paŋkəl 'shoulder-blade' > Os: V/Vy paŋqəl, Ty/Y pāŋqəð, D paŋxət, Nz poŋxət, Kz poŋqəð ¶ UEW 355, SK 482, LG 41, Ht. #528 || ? **A** *p'Éŋs'a' (Adb. SR-D) *p'aŋsa) 'shoulder-blades or part of the back' > NaT *_hənsä 'shoulder (?); back side of the neck\head' > MT ä|ensä (كسبه |, ενσè, ኔህህኔ) 'back of the head, nape of the neck', Chg ينكسه | ensä 'withers (of a horse); nape of the neck (Nacken)', MQp {Houts.} äŋsä 'back of the head', [CC] eŋse id., 'nape', OOs, Osm eŋse 'upper part of the back; behind, after', Az äŋsä 'occiput, withers of a horse', Ggz ensä id., 'neck', Tkm jəŋθe 'occiput, withers, back (dorsum)', CrTt {Rl.} äŋsä 'nape', Slr eŋse(ŋ) 'occiput', Kr äŋsa ~ eŋsa ~ ense id., 'back of the neck', VTt иҥсе iŋsə 'shoulder', Δ 'occiput' (→ Chv eŋse 'occiput'), Nog eŋse 'part of the back between the shoulder-blades', Qzq 'body', {Rl.} 'Nacken', StAlt eŋze, Qmn {B} äŋze 'hunch', QK {B} eŋze 'shoulder' ¶ Adb. SR 126-8, 186-91 (T *äŋse), TL 236-8 (T *äŋsäle), Rl. I 718-9, 748-9, Tkr 307, Jud. 956, B DLT 230 || Tg *pisa {Adb.} 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' > Ewk I hišaki 'shouler-blade', Ewk V/Tk/Tmt/Tng isakī id., 'wing', Ewk Ald/Z/Urm/Uch ihakī 'shoulder-blade, bird's humerus', Sln isaχi, Neg (PSchm.) хесаки, Orc xisai, Ud {STM} s^ʔäi, {Krm.} sãŋi (~ säŋi), Ul, Ork, Nn Nh pusa, Nn B fusə(n-) 'shoulder-blade', Lm fisa, Mc Sb fisa, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} fisa (fēi-sāh) 'back (dos)' ¶ STM II 329, Krm. 282, Kiy. 125 [#503], Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ Adb. MSR 9 [#9] (*p'eŋsa), Adb. SR 47, 306 [#9], Adb. SR-D 455 || **D** *pāŋk- (Adb. SR-D) *p-) 'side' > Tm pāŋku, pāŋkar, Ml pāŋku, paāŋŋu 'side', Kn pāŋgu 'manner, form', Knd pāŋi in: gitoŋi pāŋi 'temple of head' ¶¶ D #4053 ◇ The A stem belongs here if *-s- goes back to a sx. (*p'Éŋs'a' < *p'Éŋk-s'a'). The vowel narrowing (N ***A** [evidenced by U and D] > T *e and Tg *i) is still to be accounted for. It is likely to be due to the impact of a N internal front vw. (presumably *i), possibly through the stage *paŋŋ... (cf. A. Dybo's rec. of an A *p'aŋsa and a pT **äŋse).

1754. *P₂oŋś ▽ 'dust' > **HS:** WCh (Stl.) *pucī 'ashes': NrBc: Cg {Sk.} púsən, Sir {Sk.} včəčki, {IL in ChC} vččíkí 'ashes' | Sbc {Sh.}: Grn bũši,

Mbaru bũší, Zem mbòcèṅ id. || CCh: BM {IL in ChC}: Bu p̄nz̄u, Mrg p̄ȳĩnz̄dw id. | (?) McHigi {ChL}: HNk p̄c̄uri, HgF p̄s̄ḍ̄i, Kps p̄s̄uḍ̄i, FIG p̄s̄uḗ, HgG w̄s̄uri id. | (?) McMdr: Glv {Rp.} ǎfçà, Gv {IL} fç^hà, {ChL} f̄icà, Dgh {Frk.} fçùḍé, {ChL} f(+)^çuḍè, Nkc {IL} fçú, {ChL} f̄ica id. || McMtk: pMM {Ro.} *vitay > Mada {Ro.} ẓftá, {BrrB} áftà, ẓftà, Myn {Ro.} v̄z̄té, Mkt {Ro.} fcká1, Mlk {Ro.} v̄it̄é, Zlg {Ro.} b̄it̄ék^wé, Gzg {Lk.} ʔafco, {Ro.} fúçù, Gzg Mj {Lk.} fuçu 'ashes' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [#31], Sk. NB 11, Sh. SB 20, ChC s.v. 'ashes', JI II 4-5, ChL, RpB 4, Lk. G 117, 122, Ro. 203, BrrB || IE: NaIE *pēs-, *pēns- 'dust, sand' > OI pām̄'su-ḥ 'dust, sand, crumbled soil', Av p̄asn̄u-š 'dust, rubbish', KhS phāna 'dust, mud', Oss I fānz̄k, Oss D funuk 'ashes' || Sl *pēs-ькь 'sand' > OC, OR ПѢСЬКЪ p̄ěs̄ькь, Blg 'пясък, SCr пѣсак ѓ pi jésak, Slv p̄ésak, Cz p̄ísek, Slk p̄iesok, P p̄ias̄ek, R пe'cок, Uk пi'cок ¶ P 824, M K II 243, M E II 114-5, Bai. 261, Ab. I 449, Vs. II 249-50, Glh. 478 || U: FU *puš|ć∇-n∇ or *pušn∇ 'flour', v. 'strew' ('schütten') (× N ? *bUš|ć∇ 'to rub, to grind' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg *poṅsa-(n-) 'dust' > Nn B foṅsan̄ 'dust', Nn Nh poṅsoṅqo/ḡ, Nn KU foṅsaqtḡ 'turbid, smutty (закопченный)', Nn KU foṅsaṅḡ- 'get dusty', WrMc foṅson, foṅsoṅgi ~ foṅsuṅgi 'dust, soot', foṅso- 'be covered wuth soot' ¶ STM II 41.

1755. *p̄oqi 'to cover, to close' > HS: S (1) *^o✓p̄xy|w > OAk paḡā'um, Ak p̄eḡû ~ paḡû 'verschließen'; (2) CS *paḡḡ- 'trap' > BHb ḡḡ paḡ 'trapping-net', JA [Trg.] {Js.} p̄ā'hā id., 'snare', Sr كسْوَ p̄aḡ'h-ā 'laqueus, snare', Ar faḡḡ- 'snare for birds' ('filet pour prendre les oiseaux'), {Hv.} 'trap, snare, net' ¶ Sd. 853, KB 871, KBR 921, Js. 1150, Lv. T II 258, Br. 562, Fr. III 321, BK II 551, Hv. 549 || Eg N p̄ḡḡ 'Vogelfalle aus Holz' (× Eg fOK p̄ḡḡ 'Platte') ({EG}: ḡḡ Hb and Aram, {Vc.}: ḡḡ S) > DEg p̄ḡ > Cpt Sd паш̄ paš, B фаш̄ p^haš 'lacet, trappe, piège' ¶ EG I 543, Vc. 166, Tk. II 498-9 || Ch *^o✓p̄H > WCh ({Stl.} *pah): AG: Ang {ChL} p̄è, Su {J} p̄ā v. 'cover' | BT: Gera {Nw.} fē, {ChC} fe-, Grm {Lk.} f-, {ChC} fa-, Bl p̄ā, Krkr f- v. 'close' | Ron {J}: Klr fu, Fy pa v. 'close', Bks v̄0 v. 'close, cover', DfB v̄0h, Klr fu, Sha v̄u v. 'close' | NrBc {Sk. NB and Sk. in ChC}: Cg, P', Jmb, Mbr pu(w)-, My p̄úwá vt., vi. 'hide', Kry p̄ágwú vi. 'hide' || CCh: Lmn {Nw.} f0, {ChC} f- v. 'close', ? Lgn {Bou.} fàgá v. 'cover' ¶ Nw. 24 [#25], Stl. ZCh 147 [#27], ChC, J S 78, J R 88, 147, 289, 352 ¶¶ SSAAJ I ##23 (S, Ch, Eg) || ?σ K: G P p-ev-/pi- 'sich eine Wunde mit etw. ausstopfen (zur Blutstillung)' ¶ Chx. 1458; the

absence of the expected G -χ- (< N *-q-) defies explanation, therefore it is doubtful that the K √ belongs here || IE: NaIE *pō- v. 'cover' > Gk πῶμα (< *pō-mḡ) 'lid, cover' || Gmc *fōðra- 'sheath, covering, cover' (× NaIE *pō(i)-/i/*pāi-/*pī- 'hüten, schützen, 'Vieh weiden' < pIE *peXy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' < N *pEX|Qña 'keep, protect') > Gt fōðr 'θήκη, sheath', ON fōðr 'case (Futteral), sheath', AS fōðor id., 'container (Behälter)', MLG vōder 'Futter (des Kleides)', OHG fuotar 'Futteral, case', fedar-fuotar 'tube of a plume (canna)', NHG Futter 'lining, coating; sheath' ¶ P 839, M K II 252-3, M E II 119, VI. I 385, Sg. 261, Horn 76, F II 634-5, Fs. 157-8, Vr. 136, Ho. 110, Kb. 229, 302, OsS 232, KM 227 || U *poy∇ (or *poí∇?) > Sm {Jn.} *pāy- 'be wrapped' > StNe T d. πᾶβτα-σβ 'be wrapped, get tangled', Ne T O {Lh.} p3'ptā 'wickeln, verwickeln', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obj.) fuikālī'pema v. 'wrap', En {Cs.} X 'foho'rabo, En B 'foho'rabo id., Slq Ch {Cs.} pūuang, Slq NP {Cs.} pūugan 'sich verwickeln', Slq Tm {KD} aor. 1s pūdag 'svepa in sig' ('wrap oneself') ¶ Jn. 115, Ter. 500, Cs. 168, 170 ¶¶ Here only if the U etymon is *poy∇ ◊ AG *p- and Eg p- (unless the Eg word is a loan) suggest a N *p̥-.

1756. ?φ o₂ *Puq∇ (or *Püq∇?) 'to let out air\gas', ? 'to emit smell' > HS: S *o-pūχ-, *√ pωχ > Ar √ fωχ, -fūχ- 'se répandre partout' (se dit d'une odeur), 'lâcher des vents'; (× WS *-pūh-, *√ pwh v. 'blow', vi. to smell' < N o *puh∇ 'blow [blasen]') Sr √ pwh (pf. pāh) v. 'exhale, give out odour' ¶ BK II 644, Br. 559, JPS 436, MiK I #2.54 || S *√ npχ 'breathe, blow' (originally a cd. N *nop'E' 'breathe, blow' + *Puq∇ 'let out air', see s.v. N *nop'E') || K *pouq- > G da-puq- 'aus etwas (Aufgeblasenem) entweicht die Luft' ¶ The glottalization *q > *q̥ may be due to the onomatopoeic factor ¶ Chx. 1510 || Cf. also N *puh∇ '↑', especially for Bj, Ch, IE, U, and A cognates (where one cannot distinguish between N *puh∇ and N *Püq∇, because in these lgs. the reflexes of N *h and *q have merged).

1757. *r¹aqE?∇ or *r¹aq_L∇₁?E 'skin, film, bark' > HS: S *o¹paq_L∇₁?- > Ar faq?- 'membrane envelopping the head of the foetus', faq?-at- 'membrane envelopping the head and the nose of the foetus' ¶ BK II 618, Hv. 570 || C: SC: Kz {E} pa?uko 'bark' ({Tk.}: -?- < *-k-?) || Dh1 {EEN} páqo 'tree bark' || ? EC: Kmb {Hd.} buku(ta) '(piece of) bark' || Ag: Aw pāq 'bark' ¶ E SC 143, E K 2, Hd. 312, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 176, EEN 7 || NrOm {Bnd.} ≈ *poq- 'bark' > Omt {Bnd.} foqo, Ym {Bnd.} fōča id.,

Gnj/Kcm {Si.} po'ko id., Wl {AIA} poḵ-uwa, {LmS} fokuwa, Gf {AIA} foḵo, Gm {Hw.} poḵó ~ peḵé, {AIA} poḵeδ, Drz/Cnc {AIA} poḵo, Dwr {AIA} poḵ-uwa, {LmS} fokoa 'bark'; NrOm *poḵ- v. 'peel' > Gm {Hw.} póḵo, Wl {LmS} fōḵḵ-, Dc {LmS} foḵḵ- id., ?? Ym {LmS} fōč- 'rub, peel, whittle' (unless = Ym {Wdk.} fōčá v. 'wipe, massage'); SSAAJ I #18 mentions Omt foq (= foḵ-?) v. 'tan leather' (without indicating the dialect and the source) ¶ Bnd. PO 149, Blz. OL #149, Si. ACh. 3, AIA ODS 5, Hw. EG s.v. 'bark' and 'peel', LmS 351-3, Wdk. BY 122 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} fákût, Klr {J} fakut, {IL in ChC} fák^hŵt^h 'skin' || Ang {Flk.} poḵ v. 'peel, skin' || Ngz {Sch.} pà-pkú 'scrape (bark)' || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} vḡḡà, vḡḡè, {ChL} vùḡè id. || ? Mofu -poḵ^w- v. 'peel', to-poḵ^w 'husk' || Bnn {ChL} pák tónù 'skin (of body)', Zm {KNC} bók 'peau que les vieux attachent comme cache-sexe', Ms {Cait.} bàk (df. bàk-ḡà) 'skin', Azm {Pc.} bākà 'animal skin' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} pḡg hum†to skin' (hum 'skin'), ?? bḡḡōn 'bark' || ? Ke {Eb.} póké 'auszupfen, Baumwolle ernten' || EDgl {Fd.} pòkkìyè 'décapsuler' || ? Mkl {J} pàkírté 'écorce' ¶ Stl. IF 31-2, Cp. 51, Eb. 88, ChL, KNC 2, Cait. 48, Pc. 81 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 75 [#2.5]; OS #1935 (Ar, CCh, Dh), ≠ SSAAJ I #18 || K *^op^rq¹a > G pḡa 'Nagelhäutchen' ¶ Chx. 1517, DCh. 1321 ¶ *^rq¹ for the expected *q due to as.: **p^rq¹ > **pḡ || IE: NaIE *poḵo-/*peḵo-, *peḵu- 'fleece' (→ 'wool, hair') > Gk πόκος 'sheep's wool, fleece', πέκος / gen. -ους 'fleece', ποκή, Gk Mc poka 'sheep's wool' (× ← πέκω v. 'comb\card wool') || AS fieht ~ feht 'fleece', Dt vacht 'wool, hide', OSw fæht (< *fahti-) 'wool, fleece', Gmc *fahsa- > OSx fahs, AS feax '(head)hair', OHG fahs id., 'curl (Locke)', ON fax 'mane' || Arm ասք asḡ (gen. ասու asu) 'sheep's wool, fleece' || NPrs پشم pāšm 'wool, pubic hair', OI pakṣman- ntr. 'eyelashes', Av pašnam 'eyelid' ¶ P 797, M K II 184, M E II 62-3, F II 492-3, Ch. 872, Vl. I 366, Me. EAC 82, 142, 152, Sl. 125-6, Ho. 100, 103, Ho. S 17, Vr. 114, Vr. N 762, Kb. 216, OsS 158, ≈ M K II 184 (IE *peḵ- 'Wolle zupfen'), ≈ EI 570 (the above words < *peḵ- pull\comb out (wool)'), Grgv. BEO 128 (derives Arm asḡ from IE *poḵu- 'Vieh' + *-r-, but believes that Arm asḡ goes back to a Phr loanword from Daco-Moesian - because Arm -a- is a reg. reflex of IE *-o- in DM, but not in Arm); in some IE lgs. there is a merger: N *^rp¹aḡE?∇ or *^rp¹aḡ_L∇,?E × IE *peḵ- v. 'comb, pull out (hair, wool)' (< N *pEXḵ∇ 'rub, scrape' [q.v.]) × IE *peḵu / *peḵwe- 'cattle' (< N *poḵü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.]) || D *pakk^o ({ḡGS} *p-) 'scab, crust (dried portion of a bodily secretion)' > Tm

pakku 'scab of a sore, dried mucus of the nose', Kn hakku 'crusted or dry mucus of rheum, scab', hakkaļe 'an incrustation', Tl pakku 'scab', Gdb pakku 'dried portion of any bodily secretion, scab' ¶¶ D #3811 ◇ Ang pok v. 'peel\skin' provides ev. for a N *p̥-, but this is not enough because the Ang word is isolated within WCh and because its meaning (alternatively derivable from different N words, e.g. *p̥Eχk̥∇ '↑') makes the connection *qu*. Tg *p̥üg- v. 'fly' (> Nn Nh, Ork puyi-, Ul puyu-, Orc, Ud sī-, Ewk, Lm hiʒ-, Neg. xiʒ-, F STM II 323, Krm. 283) hardly belongs here because both its vw. and its voiced medial cns. are not expected in reflexes of N *p̥'agE?∇ or *p̥'ag̥∇,?E. On the Altaic connection of this Tg root *see* DQA #1799 (A *p̥'j̥ùg̥∇ 'fly, cut').

1758. *par∇ 'to fly, to jump' > HS: WS *√pr̥r v. 'fly' (× N *p̥Ar̥y̥∇ 'to run, to flee', q.v.) > Jb √frr (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'yɔffɜr) v. 'fly, jump up quickly', Mh √frr (pf. fɜr, sbjn. yɜfrēr) v. 'fly, jump up', Hrs √frr (pf. fɜr, sbjn. yɜfrēr) v. 'fly, jump, spring', Sq {L} f̥er 'voler, planer'; rdp.: Ar O {L} ip. yfarfur 'voltiger' ¶ Jo. J 59, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, LLS 341-2 || Eg fOK p̥ɜ v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 494, Fk. 87 || B *√fr̥H~*√frr~*√?fr̥ v. 'fly, fly away' > Nf {Beg.} f̄ār (pf. if̄ār) v. 'fly', Sll {Ds.} firri (pf. ifarra), Izd {Mrc.} afru (pf. yafru), ZAS {Loub.} afru (pf. yifru ~ yufru) v. 'fly', Wrg af̄ar imv. (pf. yuf̄ar) v. 'fly, fly away', Ah far̄ar̄at 's'envoler'; B *√fr̥fr̄ 'voler, s'envoler, voleter' > SrSn far̄far̄ 'voler, s'envoler', Shl Sm far̄far̄ (pf. iffair) 'voleter', ı Kb ff̄ar̄ff̄ar̄ 's'envoler, voler' (infl. of the onomatopoeic verb ff̄ar̄ff̄ar̄ 'battre les ailes'), Mz ff̄ar̄far̄ 'voler, s'envoler', Wrg ff̄ar̄far̄ 'voler de ci et de là, voleter'; ? Kb √fr̄ws (imv. friw̄as, pf. yafraw̄as) 'sursauter' ¶ Dl. 216, 229, Ds. 297, Fc. 355, Rn. 299, Loub. 535, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 50, La. S 313, Beg. 265, NZ 597-8 || C {AD} √p̄r(r) v. 'fly, jump', {E} *par-/ *pir-/ *pur- id. > Bj {R} fir, f̄ir (~ b̄ir, bir) 'Flug', Bj {Rop.} f̄ār- scv. 'hop, spring, jump', {AD} far-, {R} far- v. 'jump' ('springen, hüpfen'), f̄ār (pl. far) 'Sprung, saltus' || Ag: Bln {R} fir ɥ- v. 'fly', Aw {Hz.} p̄rr v. 'jump' || EC: Ya {E ← ?} peri v. 'fly', Sml {ZMO} fatanfardē 'jump, gambol about', Sml N {Abr.} faranfardáyayā prs. 'gambol about' || SC: ↳ Mb {E} p̄ru v. 'fly', -p̄rup̄ru v. 'hop' ¶ AD SF 45-6, E PC #65, R WBd 50, 81, Rop. 180-1, ZMO 134, Abr. S 77, E SC 321 || Om: SOM: Dm {FL} far(ım) v. 'fly' || NrOm: Bsk {FL} f̄r, Gemu {FL} fir, Gm {Hw.} pir̄aḍo v. 'fly' ¶ Fl. OAF 89, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG s.v. 'fly' || Ch *√pr̄ v. 'jump, (?) to fly' (≈ {Nw.} *p̄ar̄ v. 'fly, jump') > WCh: AG: Gmy {Hf.} p̄ār v.

'jump', Kfr {Nt.} pār id. | Hs fìr'á v. 'soar into the air' (of a bird) ||| CCh: Bdm {Bou.} f'ár id., Msg {Trn.} p'ár', fMSg G {MB} p'ár- v. 'jump', ? Gude {Hsk.} p'ár ~ f'ár 'flying away' (of bird) (verbal ι) ||| Smr {J} p'ár v. 'jump', Kwn {Lens.} p'árè v. 'jump' (pl.) ¶ JI II 210-1, ChC, Nw. 26 [#51], Abr. H 268, Ba. 323, Hsk. 184, 255, Lens. 111 ¶¶ Tk. I 55, Tk. SCC 75 [#2.3], Tk. PAA 1 ||| K: [1] K {K} * p^{er} - v. 'fly' > Sv li- p^{er} v. 'fly' (UB {GP} 'start to fly'), p^{er} -n-i '(he) flies', Sv UB nã- p^{r} 'bird', Sv LB nã p^{w} r (small) bird'; [2] GZ {K} * $\text{p}^{\text{ren-/*prin-}}$ v. 'fly' > OG, G pr-in-/pr-en-, Mg purin-, Lz purtin- id.; FS reconstruct K * par- (tacitly considering * prin- to be a d.) on the alleged ev. of OG prte 'wing' (which hardly belongs to the same $\sqrt{\quad}$, cf. N * $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{ur}_{\text{L}}\text{y}_{\text{L}}\nabla$ 'wing, feather(s)'); [3] ? G parpaṭ- 'sachte fliegen, schweben, gaukeln' ¶ K 152-3, 190, K² 149, 203, FS K 247-8, 312, FS E 273, 348-9, Chx. 1450-1, TK 444, 626, GP 164, 229 ||| IE: NaIE * per- v. 'fly', {Bn.} 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace' > SI * $\text{per-}/$ * $\text{p}^{\text{ra-}}$ v. 'fly' > ChS $\text{p}^{\text{er}}\text{r}$ $\text{per-}\text{q}$ (inf. $\text{p}^{\text{(b)}}\text{r}\text{a}\text{t}\text{i}$ $\text{p}^{\text{(b)}}\text{r}\text{a-}\text{ti}$) v. 'fly', SI iter. * $\text{par-}/$ * pari- > ChS, OR inf. $\text{p}\text{ar}\text{i}\text{t}\text{i}$ $\text{par}\text{i}\text{t}\text{i}$ 'to fly' ('πέτεσθαι') ({Srz.}: RChS $\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}\text{c}\text{a}$ $\text{p}\text{ar}\text{a}\text{c}\text{i}\text{a}$ na $\text{z}\text{em}\text{li}$ 'πετελνὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς', Gen. 1.20), R $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{y}\text{o}$, $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{i}\text{t}\text{y}$ v. 'float in the air' (birds) ||| Irn {Bn.} * per- > NPrs $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{i}\text{d}\text{an}$ 'to fly' ¶ Not here Ht partawar 'wing' (\Leftrightarrow Trb. in Vs. III 207), see N * $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{ur}_{\text{L}}\text{y}_{\text{L}}\nabla$ '↑' ¶ Bn. HR 36-41, Vs. III 207, Mikl. L 565-6, 659, Mikl. E 240-1, Srz. II 881, Chrn. II 6, VI. I 354, Bai. 231, ≠ P 817 ||| U * $\text{p}^{\text{ar}}\nabla$ 'jump' > Sm: Ne T {Ter.} $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{t}\text{am-}$ 'jump quickly to one's feet', {Lh.} partam- 'plötzlich aufspringen', ? {Ter.} $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{omb}\text{a}$ 'in a hurry, hurriedly', Δ $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{omb}\text{a}$ - v. 'hurry', ? {Lh.} paro- , poromba - 'be in a hurry', porola - 'beschleunigen, zu Eile antreiben' ¶¶ Not here pObU * $\text{p}^{\text{or}\text{ar}}\text{-}$ v. 'jump, fly', that belongs to N * $\text{p}^{\text{ur}}\text{ur}_{\text{L}}\text{g}\text{ä}$ 'to jump' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ UEW 414, Ter. 449-450, Lh. 339, 358, Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U * ω and * k [{AD}: and * r -] that suggests that ObU * $\text{p}^{\text{or}\text{ar}}\text{-}$ does not belong here), Ht. #538 ||| A * $\text{p}^{\text{ar-}}$ > Tg (att. in NrTg) * par- v. 'float in the air' (of birds) > Ewk $\text{h}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{i-}$ v. 'float in the air, fly together' (birds), Ewk Tng (h) $\text{ar}\text{i}\text{k}\text{ta-}$ 'fly high up' ('залететь высоко'), Neg $\text{x}\text{z}\text{y}\text{w}\text{z}\text{n-}$ 'float in the air' (a bird), Lm $\text{harwan}\text{çala-}$ id., 'fly down (circling in the air)' ('спускаться кружась') (of a bird) ¶ STM II 317 ||| D * $\text{p}\text{ar-}/$ * $\text{p}\text{ar-}$ ({ p GS} * p-) v. 'fly, run' > Tm $\text{p}\text{ar}\text{a}$ v. 'fly, flutter', $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{u}$ v. 'run, flee', Ml $\text{p}\text{a}'\text{r}\text{uka}$ v. 'fly', $\text{p}\text{ar}\text{akka}$ v. 'fly, flee', Kt parn- v. 'fly, run without stopping', Td $\text{p}\text{or-}$ v. 'fly', Kn pari , $\text{p}\text{ar}\text{u}$ 'flying, running swiftly',

pār, pāru v. 'leap up, run, jump, fly', Kdg pār v. 'fly, leap', Tu pāruni v. 'run, fly, escape', OTI {Km.} pāru v. 'run, flee', TI pāru v. 'run, flow, fly', Gnd parī- & porī- & pari- & paṣi- v. 'fly', Kui pāsk- id. ¶¶ D #4020, Km. 429 [#815] ¶ The meaning 'flee, run' may be due to the infl. of the D √ *par∇ 'run, flee' (D #3963) < N *p₁Ar₁y₁∇ 'run, flee' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #164 (*par 'fly' v.) (U + IE, Y, A, J, Gil words for 'feather', without distinguishing this N word from N *p₁ur₁y₁∇ 'wing, feather[s]').

1759. *P₁A₁R∇ 'finger' and ***P₁AR₁∇,ŋ|ñak∇** 'finger, thumb' > HS: C {AD} *p∇r- > LEC *fer- 'finger' > Af {PH} fēra, Sa {R} ferā id.; pSam *farr- ({Hn.} *far-) 'finger' > Sml {DSI} far (pl. farro), Sml J far (pl. far-ña), Bn far (pl. farə) 'finger', Rn fár (pl. {PG} fàrró, {Hn.} far'ró, {Oo.} fa'ro), Bs {HL} fer 'finger, toe', {Fl.} pēr 'finger', Elm fárrit, fârr, Arr farrit (pl. farró) id. ¶ AD SF 41-2, Bl. 117, PH 101, DSI 217, Hn. NBLK 205, Hn. S 59, Oo. 67, PG 113, Hw. A 357, ≈ HL 93 (Bs fer < C *(z)eber 'finger') || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} furap-sár 'fingers' (sár means 'hand') ||| Ech: EDng {Fd.} pĕrné 'finger' (pĕrmé in JI II 137 is a misprint), Mgm {JA} pùrrùn (pl. pòrònná ~ pòrìnná) 'ongle, griffe', Mu {J} fĕrí 'finger' ||| CCh: HgWl {Mk.} piri 'fingernail' (to be separated from the reflexes of N *p₁áíχ|y∇ 'thumb, [?] finger' in the Higi gr. [HgWl {Mk.} pùlla 'finger', HgMd {Mk.} bulli, HgMk {Mk.} bu||ə, HgSn bu||ə id.] and in other CCh lgs. [see s.v. N *p₁áíχ|y∇]) ¶ ChC, JI II 136-7, ChL, Fd. 59, Nt. 13, JA LM 117, Mk. I ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Blz. OLBP 13 [#36]) NrOm *parṭ-/*parç-/*birad- 'finger' (< N *P₁∇R∇ć₁x₁∇ 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]) || IE [1]: Tc A prār, B prāri 'finger' ¶ Wn. 390, Ad. 414-5, Ad. H 120 | ? [2]: mt.: NaIE *openkro- ({WP, Bc.} *penk^ωro-) (< N *P₁AR₁∇,ŋ|ñak∇ 'finger, thumb') > Gmc *fingra- 'finger' (× NaIE *penk^ωros 'a group of five' [> OI cóicer id.] ← *penk^ωe 'five') > Gt figgrs, AS finger, ON fingr, OSx, OHG fingar, NHG Finger, OFrs, Sw, Dn, Nrw finger 'finger', NE finger ¶ WP II 26, P 808, FT 218, F 150, Bc. 240, Fs. 150, Vr. 120, Kb. 245, Ho. 105 || A [11] *p₁äränä 'thumb' > T: NaT *_härnæk 'finger' or 'thumb' ({Cl.} *ärnäk, {Adb. SR} *ärnäk, {Adb. NPAJ} *ärnek) > OT ernek ~ ernä, Chg ernek ~ ärmäk 'finger', MU ernäk [Rbg.] 'finger', [IM] 'thumb', Alt ergek ~ erkek, Tb/QK {B}, Shor ergek, Xk irgek, Tf erĕek, Yk ärbäχ 'thumb', Tv erĕek 'thumb, small finger' ¶ Adb. NPAJ 1-7, Cl. 234, ET Gl 299-300, TL 253-4, Adb. SR 318, BT 193 || M *p₁erekeyi

'thumb' > MM [S] heregaу, WrM er(е)кеі, HlM эрхий, Brt эрхы, Kl эркә erkä, Ord ere^hхī, Dg B хергі, Dg Hl ergi 'thumb'; but Mnr H χuri and Ba χur 'finger' belong to M *quruу∇n 'finger' ¶ Pel. 29-10 [#13], ADb. NPAJ 38-9, ADb. SR 321, H 75, MED 322, KRS 703, KW 125, Ms. O 243, T 378, T DgJ 75 || Tg *perenēn ~ *purenēn 'thumb' > Ewk huruxun, Sln zrgũ ~ zrgĩ, {Iv.} or'gun ~ ur'gun ~ uru'gun), Lm hōrъън, Neg хōузнз, Orc хōηо(n-), Ud хуз, Ul poro / poron-, puru / purun-, Nn Nh pэрхз, WrMc ferхе 'thumb' ¶ STM II 354, Krm. 307, ADb. NPAJ 40 ¶¶ DQA #1750 (A *p'er∇ 'thumb') ||| A [2] *par_lnaK_l 'finger' > T *par_lnak ({Md.} *p'ja·r_lnak) > NaT *parmaq ~ *parnaq 'finger' > MU, Chg, XwT barmaq, OOsM barmaq ~ parmaq, Tk parmak, Δ barmaq, ET barmaq ɘ pamaq, ET H parmaq, Ggz parmak, Az barmaq, Tkm, Bsh, Qmq barmaq, Slr parmaχ, VTt barmaq, Δ barnaq 'finger', Qzq, Qrg, ET barmaq 'thumb' ||| Chv pürne 'finger' ¶ ADb. NPAJ 1-7, ET B 66-7, TL 253-5, ADb. SR 319-21, Md. 113, 174, Fed. I 461-2, Dr. G 449, ≈ Jeg. 172 || Tg *°pargan > Ewk hargan 'unity of length (≈ 1 cm)' ¶ STM II 317 ¶¶ DQA #1648 (A *p_lari 'finger, finger width [a measure]', incl. T, Tg). ADb. 319-21 (T, M, Tg) ||| E: NEI pu-ur 'finger' or 'thumb' ¶¶ HK 241-2 ◇ The difference between A *a and ä in *par_lnaK_l vs. *p'äränä may be accounted for by vowel harmony (different results of regr. as. from the pN word, if it was *P_aREη|ñak∇ or *P_äRâη|ñak∇). N *P_aR_l∇_lη|ñak∇ 'finger' survives in A *par_lnaK_l, *p'äränä, and probably (with mt.) in Gmc *fingra-, N *P_a'R_l∇ 'finger' is represented in C, Ch, and Tocharian. N *P_aR_l∇_lη|ñak∇ is probably a cd. with N *P_a'R_l∇ as its first component, which is the only reason of our tentative rec. of N *A in *P_a'R_l∇ ◇ In T and in Ch there is variation between the regular reflexes of N *p- and of N *p̄-. It needs investigating ◇ Cf. IS III 70-7 (*p_a'r_a' 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and N *P_a∇R∇ć_lχ_l∇ 'fingernail, claw') → Glh. 507.

1760. *P_arû 'stone, rock' > IE *perw-/*peru- 'rock, mountain' (× N *p_{or}'ä'∇ 'summit, top', q.v.) > Ht peru-, peruna- 'rock, cliff, boulder', ? pırwa- {Frd.} 'rock', {Ts.} 'eine bestimmte Felsgottheit' || OI 'parvata- 'rocky' (< *perw_{nto}-), 'parvataḥ 'mountain, rock', Av pa^ur_vatā- 'Gebirge' ¶ Frd. HW 68, Ts. W 63-4, CHD P 314-5, M K II 228, M E II 99, EI 547 (*peru 'rock') ||| HS: Ch: CCh: Hw {ChL} fera, fèrè, Jr {ChL} vere 'stone' | HgNk {ChC} pırre, {ChL} pìré, Kps {Mch.} pere, {ChL} pùré id. | Gude {Mch.} farun, {ChL} fàrà, FIM {ChC, ChL} fara, BtG

{Mch.} fqrę, BtZ {Mch.} furra, BtM {ChL} fúrà 'stone', Bcm {Sk.} fàrà 'stone, rock' || Gv {ChL} fùràḏà, Glv {ChL} furḏexa 'stone', Glv {Rp.} fərḏaxa 'rock' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} p̄rki 'stone, rock, mountain', {Eb. in ChC} p̄rgí 'rock' ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 88 || D *pār- 'rock, large stone' > Tm p̄raḏi 'rock, crag, hillock', ? (< d.?) p̄ar 'rock', Ml p̄ra 'rock, large stone', Kdg pa're 'flat stone, stone slab', Tu p̄adæ, Krg hāde 'rock', Prj p̄ara 'skab of stone', Gnd p̄arum 'rock, boulder' ¶¶ D #4121 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [#86] (D, CCh + unc. NrOm *pa|- 'stone').

1761. *p̄'e'r∇ ~ *p̄ûHr∇ (both from *p̄û'p̄'e'r∇?) 'fruit' > HS: S: [1] WS *p̄iriy- 'fruit' > BHb (paus.) פְּרִי 'p̄ērī, (ctx.) פְּרִי p̄arī 'fruit, offspring', SmHb 'fīri id., Ph pr 'fruits', Ug pr ({Hnr.} = *pirū < *piryu), Sr } ; פְּרִי p̄e'<?>'r-ā, Md p̄ira, Gz f̄arē 'fruit'; [2] WS *√pry (*-pray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful, fertile' (× N *P̄Ar̄,∇ 'bring forth, give birth', q.v.) > BHb פְּרִי √pry (pf. פְּרִי p̄ārā, ip. פְּרִי 'yi-'p̄rē) 'be fruitful', JEA √pry 'grow, bear fruit', Sr √pry 'be fruitful', Gz √fry (js. -fray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful', Tgr √fry (pf. f̄era) 'Frucht tragen' ¶ KB 907, 910-1, KBR 963-8, Br. 555, HJ 936-7, A 2261, Hnr. 288 (fn. 93), OAS 353, JH 234, Js. 1225, Sl. 932-3, LH 659 || Eg fOK pr.t 'fruit', DEg pr 'Korn, Getreide' (× Eg fMK pr.t 'Same, Nachkommenschaft' < N *P̄Ar̄,∇ '↑') ¶ EGI 530-1, Fk. 91, Er. 135, Vc. 39 || C: Bj √fry pcv. ({R} p. 'a-fri, prs. a-fanrī) 'Knospen, Blüten treiben', fār (pl. far) 'Blüte, Blume, Knospe' || Ag: Bln {R} frī-/friy- v. 'bear fruit', fri'y-aḏ 'fruchbringend, fruchtbar', Xm {R} fir- 'bear fruit' (a tree); pAg *f̄ar- ({Ap.} *f̄ar-) 'fruit' > {Ap.} Bln/Xm f̄ara, Q f̄ari || EC: Sa {R} -fara 'blossom, bear fruit', fi'rē 'Blüte, Frucht', ??φ Sml {ZMO} birre 'spear of grain (with husk), grass flower' (unless ÷ Rn b̄ir 'tip, peak of sth.') ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch. II 43, R S II 137, ZMO 41, PG 78-9, Ap. AV 10 || B: Gnc AFARO = {Wlf.} a-farō 'Korn', ? Ty uf̄ar, ETwl uff̄ar 'pain en farine de jujubes', ?? Rf af̄arfur 'couscous de sorgho; soupe de maïs' ¶ Wlf. 502, Z 606, NZ 606. 609 ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJ I #31 ¶ In S, Bj, and Ag the verb *√pry (> *√fry) v. 'bring fruit' coalesced with *√pry v. 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' (see ffd. N *P̄Ar̄,∇ 'bring forth, give birth') || U: FU *per∇ ~ *pār∇ 'cone, bud' (× N *bār̄â 'bud, leaf' [q.v. ffd.], whence the variant *pār∇ and the meaning 'bud') || A *p̄uri 'seed, fruit' > M *p̄üre 'fruit, grain' (× M *p̄üre 'child, posterity' [whence WrM üre, HIM ḡp 'posterity', and Kl ürn̄ 'child, baby', FN *p̄ôr̄i' 'child, offspring']) > MM [HI] hüre 'seed' ('semences'), [PP] hüre

'fruit', WrM *ürē*, HIM *γρ* {MED} 'seed, grain, fruit', {Gl.} 'fruit, grain, seed', Mnr H {SM} *furjē* 'semence, graine, fruit', Dx *fure* 'seed, grains', Ba *fure* 'seed' ¶ Pel. 237 [#65], Ms. H 62, MED 1011, Gl. I 331, SM 110-1, Pp. PP 124, T DnJ 138, T BJ 149, T 371 || T **h₁urug* 'seed' ({Md.} **u.rug* 'seed') > OT {Cl.} *uruṽ* 'seed, pip, kernel', Chg *uruq* ~ *uruṽ* 'relatives, clan', MQp *uruq* 'clan', [CC] 'clan, progeny', OOsM *uruṽ*, *uruq* 'seed, progeny', Qzq *üriq*, *ru* 'seed', Qrg *urū*, Ln *uyuy* ~ *oyoq* 'seed, clan', Uz *uruṽ*, Qq *uriq* ~ *uruw* id., 'tribe', ET *uruṽ* 'seed, grain', Tkm {TkR} *uruṽ*, Az Δ *uruṽ*, Nog *iruṽ*, VTt *iru*, Bsh *iriw*, SY *oruṽ* 'clan', Tk *uruk* 'tribe', Kr *uruw* 'clan, tribe', Yk *urū* 'relatives, kinsmen, litter of animals', Tv *uruṽ* 'child', Chv: L *вӱрӱ* *вӱрӱ*, H *вӱрӱ* 'seed'; T *↳* M: WrM *urug* 'wife's relatives; relatives', HIM, Br *ураг*, Kl *ург* 'relatives' ¶ Cl. 214-5, ≈ ET Gl 604-6 (err. Tkm *urūṽ*, pT **urūṽ*), TL 115-6, 307-8, 323-4, Jud. 807, Ash. V 313, Jeg. 49, Fed. I 109, Md. 59, 182, ET Gl 604-6, Ra. 237 || pKo {S} **pòrì* 'barley' > MKo *pòrì*, NKo *pori* ¶ S QK #935, Nam 260, MLC 790 || ? pJ [1] {S} **pə́* or **pə̀* 'ear of grain' > OJ *p₁w₁ò* > J: T/Kg *hó*, K *hǒ* ¶ S QJ #378, Mr. 413 [2] ?? J {S} **pú* 'growth, поросль' > OJ *pu*, J: T *φù*, K *φú*, Kg *φú* ¶ S QJ #1147, Mr. 416 || ? *AdS* of Tg **pūr-* ({Bz.} *pör-*) 'woman with her children, family, female with its youngs' < N **pôr'i* 'child, offspring', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The meanings 'child' (in Tv) and 'posterity, progeny' (in many lgs.) of this √ is partially due to coalescence with the heritage of N **pôr'i* '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ DQA #1829 (A **p'ūrì* 'seed', incl. T, M, Tg, K, pJ **pú*) || IE: NaIE **pūrō-* 'corn, grain' > Gk *πύρος* 'wheat', Gk D *πύρην* 'stone of fruit' || Lt *pūras* 'grain of winter-wheat', pl. *pūrai* 'winter-wheat', Ltv *pūrī* id., Pru *пуре* 'Trespe, bromegrass (*Bromus secalinus*)' || Sl **pǫrь* 'ε cereal' > RChS *пъро* *p̄ro* 'óλυρα (ε cereal), millet', Cz, Slk *pýr*, P *perz*, Hls *пур* 'Triticum repens', d.: R *пырей*, Uk *пирій* ~ *перій*, Blg *пирей*, Cz *pýř*, Lls *pyr* id., SCr *p̄r*, Slv *p̄r* 'spelt' || AS *fyr(e)s* 'furze', NE *furze* ¶ WP II 83, ≈ EI 639 (**puH'ro-s* 'wheat'), F II 631, Tr. 232, Frn. II 671, Vs. III 419, Brü. 402, Trof. 240, Ma. CS 409, Ho. 120 ◇ DQA #1829 (A, IE).

1762. *P_eR∇ 'ground, earth' > HS: CCh: G'nd *fírtà*, Bk *fúrtà* 'ground' ¶ ChL || S: Ak *parattu* 'Festland' ¶ Sd. 832 || U: FU **per'a* ~ **pora*: [1] FU **per∇* 'mud, swampy place' (× N **beR∇* 'mud, swamp', q.v. ffd.); [2] FV **pora* > F *porikko* 'aufgeschwollene Erde' || Mk *'pora* 'grove' ¶ UEW 374-5, MF 106, PI 215, LG 220 || A: M **φiru-γαl* (~ *-

уар) 'ground, soil, bottom' > MM [S, HI] hiruʔar [hiru₁ar] 'Boden, Grund', WrM irugar ~ irugal 'bottom, ground', HIM ёроол, Ord irōl, K1 йорал yorāl, Brt оёор 'bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base' ¶ H 76, Ms. H 60, Pel. 217 [#26], MED 415, Gl. I 196, KRS 280, Chr. 350, Ms. O 387-8, S AJ 241 (#178) || Tg *pere 'bottom (of a vessel, river), floor' (× N *P_{er}∇ 'bottom, buttocks', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ S AJ 12, 282 (#160) (A *p_{er}∇), SDM97 (A *p_{er}∇), ≈ SDM97 (A *p_{er}i 'floor, ground, earth', incl. M, Tg] ◇ FU *-o- in *pora and M *-i- in *φiru- are still to be explained ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with *P_{er}∇ 'bottom, buttocks'?

1763. *per∇ (= *per^o?) 'lip, edge' > HS: C *p_{er}- 'lip' (→ 'face') > Bj {R} fir 'face (Gesicht, Antlitz)', {Rop.} fīr 'face, surface' ||| EC: Sml farūr {ZMO} 'lip', {DSI} 'lip; hare-lip', Sml N {Abr.} fārūr 'hare-lip, (camel's) split lip', Rn {PG} fūrūr 'lip, edge' ¶ R WBd 81, Rop. 180, Abr. S 77, ZMO 136, DSI 222, PG 117, EPC #181 (*far-/*fir- 'lower face' > Bj, Sml; *÷ Aw p₃n 'face' [F AD SF 45]) ||| K *p_{ir}- 'lip, edge' > OG, G p_{ir}-i 'mouth, edge, lip', Mg p_iž-i 'mouth; face; edge; bank, shore', Lz p_iž-i 'mouth; face; bank, shore'; (× N *P_el_{er}ê → *P_el_{er}ê 'side of body, side') Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} p_il 'lip; edge, (river-)bank' ¶ K 153, Chik. 50-1, Q 299, Marr 179, TK 681-2, GP 253, Dn. s.v. p_il-, Wrđ. 613, 1010-1 ||| IE: [1] Ht puri 'lip; rim, edge, border' | [2] IE *per- (with a hardly identifiable meaning; {P}: 'das Hinausführen über'), a noun used (in its different case forms) as adv., pv., and prep., which goes back to a merger of several N words, including N *per∇ 'lip, edge'; a contribution of this N word is the meaning 'in front, forward, before': (2a) IE *pro, *prō 'in front of, forward, before, forth' > OI 'pra- px. id., Av frā, fra-, OPrs px. fra- 'vorwärts, voran' ||| Gk πρῶ (pv., prep.) 'in front of, before', πρῶ-πέρισι 'two years ago' ||| L prō prep., prō-, prō- (in cds.) 'before, in front of; for', prōnus 'inclined forward' ||| Gl [GIE] hro 'nimium' (read by Vn. as rō), MW r_y, Br re 'too (zu)', Crn re- (in rewan 'too weak'), W r_hy 'too, very', OIr ro-, W r(h)_y-, OBr ro-, ru-, MBr, Br ra-, pv. and px. of intensity (OIr ro-már 'too big', W r_hy-fawr 'very big') ||| in the Gmc px. (Gt fra-, OSx, AS for-, OHG fir-, far-, NHG ver-) it is hard to define its exact meaning and to distinguish between semantic components of different origin: N *per∇ 'lip, edge' (→ 'front') and N *P_{er}∇∇ 'to cross, to pass through' ||| Sl *pra- 'Ur-', e.g. OCS прадедъ pradedědъ, R, Blg 'прадед, SCr пра-

дед d $\text{pr}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-djed}$ 'grand-grandfather' (lit. 'for-grandfather'), Cz prales , P pralas , Uk пpаліс 'primeval forest, Urwald', Blg пра-майка 'mother of mankind' || Ht {Frd., Ts., CHD} $\text{peran} \sim \{\text{Ts.}\} \text{piran}$ (adv., prec., postp.) 'before, in front of; previously' || (2b) NaIE $*\text{pr}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'early, in the morning' > OI $\text{pr}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'tar}$ ($\text{pr}\bar{\text{a}}\text{'ta}\text{h}$), Gk πρωί , Gk A πρῶ id., OHG fruo 'early, early in the morning, soon', fruoī , MHG vrūeje adj. 'early' || (2c) NaIE $*\text{prai}$, $*\text{p}\text{.}ra\text{ī}$, $*\text{prei}$ -, $*\text{p}\text{.}ri$ (dat. of direction from $*\text{per-}$) \approx forward, in front of, before' > Gk Hm παρά , Gk $\text{πάρα} \sim \text{παρά}$ 'beside, by, near', Gk πρῖν , Gk Hm πρῖν , πρῖν 'before' || pAl {O} $*\text{para}$ > Al $\text{para} \sim \text{parē}$ 'foreward', prep. 'in front of, before', 'parē' adj. 'first', adv. 'earlier', Al G {Lamp} para 'vor' || L prae (adv.) 'before, in front', (prep.) 'before', prae- 'voran, voraus, überaus', Osc prai , Um pre PRE 'prae' || Gl are- 'before, by, east', W er- , OIr air- 'before, for', OIr anair 'from the east' ('east' as the front side of anyone who orients himself towards the rising sun) || Gt faír- , AS fyr- , OHG furi- 'before', OSx, OHG furi 'before, for, because of, in advance' (> NHG für), ON fyr 'vor, für', AS for id., NE for ; empr.: OHG furiro {OsS} 'der frühere, vordere', {Kb.} 'greater, more', sprl.: OHG furist {Kb.} 'first' (adv.) mostly', MHG vürst 'the first, most eminent', AS fyr(e)st 'first, vorderste' (> NE first) || Lt priē , Lt Zh prū 'at, by, near, in the presence of', Ltv priē(k)ša 'das Vordere' (< $*\text{preutyā}$), piere 'forehead, front side', Pru prei 'to' | Sl $*\text{pri}$ 'near, in the presence of' > OCS при pri , Blg, R, Uk при , SCr, Slv, Slk pri , Cz při , P przy ; Sl $*\text{pri-}$ preverb (approching, adding) > OCS при- pri- , etc.; possibly Sl $*\text{prě-}$ 'Ur' > OCS прѣотьць prě-otъcъ 'forefather', прѣдѣдъ prědēdъ 'grand-grandfather' || ? OI pa'rē thereupon' | [3] IE $*\text{pr}_\text{o}$ - (nom. or loc. without sx. ?) 'hervor', $*\text{pera}(\text{:})$ (instr.) 'in front' > L por-tend- v. 'predict, presage, indicate' || Gt faúr , OSx for , fur 'vor, für', AS for , ON for- 'before', Gt faúra , OHG, OSx fora 'in front of, before', NHG vor 'before, in front of', OSx fora , and AS fore (prep.) 'before', NE before || Irm: OI pu'rā 'formerly, before', Av $\text{parā} \sim \text{para}$ 'before' || Ht {CHD} parā pv. 'out (to), forth, towards, further', postp. 'out of, from' ¶ P 810-4, EI 60-1 ($*\text{pr}_\text{o}^{\text{h}}\text{h}_\text{e}\text{h}_1$ and $*\text{pr}_\text{o}^{\text{h}}\text{h}_\text{e}\text{e}\text{j}$ 'in front of' and 'before' [of time], $*\text{pro}$ 'forward, ahead, away'), Frd. HW 158, 170, 173, Ts. W 59, 64-5, CHD P 109-30, 291-311, 384-6, Mer. SGA 374, M K II 310, 350-3, 376-7, M E II 173-4, 188, F II 472-3, 595-7, WH II 351-7, 364-5, Bc. G 323, 343, Kb.

295, 304-6, 825, OsS 213, 229-30, 234-5, 274, KM 225, Ho. 112, 120, Ho. S 21, 24, Fs. 145, 160, Vr. 137, 148, Frn. 652-3, Vs. III 351, 362-3, 370, StSS 497-8, Glh. 502, ESISJ-SGZ I 205-8, 210-20, Vnd.² II 313, Vn. R 35-6, Dtn. 213, Billy 87, AlbED 623, O 311, BFU 373, 386-7, Ç II 5, 430, Kf. 252-3, LamP 157 || **U** *pe|är∇ 'side', d. *pe|ärt∇ 'edge, side' > pY {IN} *pere 'side' > YT pere-n 'at the side' (-n is an adverbial ending) || FU *pe|ärt∇ 'edge, side' > Prm *berd- 'sth. near sth., wall' > Z, Yz berd-, Vt bord- 'near' in postpositions (Z berd-з, Yz 'berd-∧, Vt bord-+ 'towards', Z berd-+ś 'from', Yz 'berd-+n 'bei', Vt bord-ož 'up to'), Z {W} berd, Vt bord 'wall' || ??σ ObU: Vg: Ty pārt, Ss pārt 'board' (← *'wall'?) ¶¶ IN 242, UEW 374, LG 39, Lt. J 88, UR 50 || **A** *p^ʳe¹r- > NaT: [1] *erin 'lip; brim' > OT, MU, XwT, MQp [incl. CC] erin, Chg ≥xv ern, eriη, Tkm, Qmq, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt erin, Qzq erin, Uz irin, VTt, Bsh irьn, Xk irьn 'lip', Kr, Tv erin id., 'brim (of a vessel)' ¶ Cl. 232-3, ET Gl 292-3, TL 226-7, Rl. I 766-7k, Bu. I 791, KRPS 665] [2] *ernä- > Bsh irnä- vt. 'edge\fringe with, frame (окаймлять, обрамлять)'; *ernäg 'brim, edge' > Tkm erηek, Qmq, Qzq ernew, Qq, Tk Δ ernek, Chg اَيْرِنَاك {Bu.} ernäk 'edge', {Rl.} ärnäk 'Rand, Kante', Qrg erdō (< *ernew < *ernäg) 'brim of a cup', VTt irnäw 'thick brim of a vessel', {Rl.} 'brim of a pot\cup\barrel' ¶ ET Gl 301, Rl. I 787, 1468-9, Bu. I 191, BR 213, KumRS 377 || M *φir- > WrM ir, HIM ир 'blade, edge of a knife' ¶ MED 413 || pJ {S} *p̄jārì 'edge, brink' > OJ p̄l̄j̄èrì, ItOJ {Mr.} φerì 'rim, brink', J: T/Kg herí, K hérì 'edge, verge, brink' ¶ S QJ #1560, Mr. 404 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1747 (A *p^ʳèrì 'edge' > T *erneg, M, J) ◇ The tentatively suggested N *-r̄o¹ can be responsible for the labialized vw. in Ht puri. M *i in *φir- is still to be explained ◇ Gr. II #123 (*pere 'edge') (IE, U, A, J), ≈ Gr. II #155 (*pir 'first') (IE, Ko, Gil + err. T, M, J).

1764. *P_er∇ 'bottom, buttocks' > A: Tg *pere 'bottom' (× N *P_eR∇ 'ground, earth') > Lm h̄r, Sln žri, Neg хзүз, Ork p̄r̄z̄z̄, p̄r̄z̄l̄, Nn Nh p̄r̄z̄g, p̄r̄z̄l̄ 'bottom, bottom of a vessel\river', Ewk h̄r̄z̄ id., 'floor', LMc fer̄e id., 'bottom of a boat', Nn KU хзрз, Nn B фзрз 'bottom of a vessel \ pit \ river', Ul p̄r̄z̄(̄g) id., Ud х̄z̄ id., 'foot of a hill\mountain' ¶ STM II 370-1, Vas. 511, Pt. 109, Krm. 308, Z 1049, S AJ 221 (#236) || **U: FU *perä- 'rear part; bottom' > F perä 'rear end, back end, hinder part, end', Es p̄ara 'rear; butt (end), rump; bottom (of a vessel)' || ?? pMr {Ker.} *p̄īr̄ä > Er пря p̄ra, f p̄ira, Mk пря p̄r̄ä 'head, summit, ear (Ähre)' || Prm {Lt.} *ber- 'hind part' > Vt ber, Z b̄r 'hind, hind part', Z**

bær, Yz bōr id. || ObU {[HL]} *pēr-∇ʌ ~ *pēr-t∇ʌ 'back (zurück)' > pVg *pāræʌ > Vg: T pāræw ~ pūræw, LK pārī, MK/UK pāri, P pār, pāræʌ, NV/LL pār 'zurück'; pOs *pērtäʌ ({[HL]} *pīrtäʌ) > Os: V/Vy pērtäʌ, Ty pērʌi, Kz pārta, O pārtā id. (ObU *-t∇ʌ, -∇ʌ - sxs. of the lative case) ¶ UEW 373, Sm. 553 (FP *perä 'back'), LG 41, Ht. 179 [#541] ¶ This FU √ is likely to have been semantically influenced by FU *pur∇ < N *'b' uXr∇ 'back, rear' || D *°pīr̥- 'anus' > Tm pīr̥u id. (variant of D *pūr̥- id. < N *'b' uXr∇ '↑') ¶ D #4379 ◇ D *ī- in *°pīr̥- is still to be explained ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with N *P_{er}∇ 'ground, earth'?

1765. *pīRo(-K̥æ) 'to ask' > IE: NaIE *prek̥-/°pr̥k̥- v. 'ask (a question); ask for sth.' > OI ✓ praś-: 3s prs. pr̥c'chatī (aor. 3s 'a-praṭ) 'asks, seeks', Av prs. act. 3s pərəsāiti, prs. md. 3s pərəsaite 'asks, questions' || Arm հարցաւնեմ harcʰanem 'I ask', aor. 3s եհարց eharcʰ, inv. հարց harcʰ || L posco (< *pr̥k̥-sk̥-) 'I ask earnestly, I reflex', precor 'I beg, entreat, request, prey, invoke', precēs pl. 'requests, entreaties', procus 'wooer' || OIr arco- 'beg, ask' (arco fuin 'posco veniam'), W archaf, Cm arghaf 'I ask, beg', MBr archas 'il commanda' || Gmc *frexna- v. 'ask (question)', p. 3s *frax > Gt fraíhnan (p. 3s frah), ON fregna (p. 3s frá), OSx fregnan, AS freġnan ~ friġnan, NE Δ fraín 'to ask (fragen)', OSx gi-fregnan 'to learn', OHG gi-fregnan 'to inquire'; Gmc *frēʌð, *frēʌðn 'question' > Dt vraag, AS freġn, OHG frāga, NHG Frage id.; ⇨ OHG frāgēn, frāgōn, NHG fragen, OSx frāgon, Dt vragen 'to ask (a question)' || Lt pir̥šti (1s prs. per̥šù) 'to woo, to ask in marriage', prašýti 'to ask (for sth.)' (< iter.), Ltv prasīt id., 'to ask (a question)' || Sl *prosīti (< BSl iter.) > OCS просити prositi, R про'сить, Uk просити, SCr pròsiti, Sln prósiti, Cz prositi, Slk prosit', P prosic' 'to ask (beg)', Blg prs. прося 'ask' || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- > Tc A pärk-/prak-, B pärk-/prek- v. 'beg, pray, ask (a question)' ¶ P 821-2, EI 33 (*per̥k̥- 'ask, ask for [in marriage]'), M K II 329, M E II 183-4, WH II 346-7, Vn. A 86, Me. EAC 106-7, 114, 119, 179, IS III 112-119 (a detailed history of the stem and its ds.), Fs. 161-2, Vr. 140-1, Vr. N 803, Ho. 115-6, Ho. S 22, Kb. 282, 286, OsS 218, Schz. 139-40, KM 214, Frn. 598-9, Vs. III 377-8, Glh. 505-6, Wn. 386, Ad. 371-2, Ad. H 79, 82-3 || A *p'ir|r̥U(ke)- v. 'ask (beg), pray' (≈ {SDM97} *p'iro 'pray, bless'): Tg *pīrugē- v. 'pray, predict' > Neg ḫīʌḫḫ-

'pray for happiness\success', Ewk Brg *hiruṣē-*, Ewk UL/SB *irɜwɜ-* v. 'prey, bless', Ewk *hiru-* vt. 'scold', Sln *irugɜ-* 'pronounce a blessing of good wish for so.' ('произносить благопожелание'), Lm *hirgɜ-* 'prey to spirits\god for happiness\success', WrMc *firu-* id., 'pronounce incantations, curse' ¶ STM II 327-8 || M **φirüṣe-* v. 'prey, wish well' > MM [S] *hiruʔer* [*hirü,er*] 'Gebet um langes Leben', [MA] *hirebē hanisqaqsan* '(he) expressed a good wish to a sneezer' ('произнес благое пожелание чихнувшему'), WrM *irüge-*, HIM *erəə-* v. 'wish well, bless, pray, felicitate', Ord *örō-* 'prononcer des formules de bénédictions, formuler des bons souhaits' ¶ Pel. 216-7 [#25], H 76, MED 415, Ms. O 538 || pKo **pīr-* v. 'beg, pray' > MKo *pīr-*, NKo *pīl-* ¶ S QK #592, Nam 279, MLC 862 || ? pJ **pɜr-* > OJ *pɔr-* v. 'wish, hope' ¶ S QJ #546, Mr. 693 ¶ Adduced in S AJ, but not in DQA || ??σ T **h,irk-* > NaT **irk* 'omen, fortune, divination' > OT *irq* 'omen, taking omens, divination', OT U VIII *irq* 'dice' or 'divination rods', Osm {Zn.} *أرق*, {Bu.} *أرق* *irq* 'luck, fortune', Tk Δ *irǵ, irk, irik, irǵin* id., Qzq *iriq* 'lot, fate, (good\bad) fortune', Qrg *irq* 'wellbeing, peaceful life', Nog *irq* 'desire', SY *irq ~ ǣriq ~ ǣrq ~ erq* 'omen, predicion, future', ??? Yk *ira ~ irā* 'presentiment, fortune' (unless ← M: WrM *iruα* 'foreboding, bad omen, premonition', cp. WrM *iruλα* v. 'presage, portend, curse' - F Vid. ZDST 294-5). The T √ belongs here if its meaning has developed from *'bless' (acc. to SDM97), but Cl. derives it from 'dice, sticks, etc. used for casting lots, divination, etc.'. The authors of SDM97 reconstruct T **Ir-* on the precarious basis of Yk *ira*(:), which may well be of M origin ¶ ET Gl 665-6, Cl. 213, Rs. W 166-7, Rl. I 137O, SDD 772-4, Bu. I 29, Pek. 3808-9, MED 415 ¶¶ ADb. KL, DQA #1767 (A **p'iru-* v. 'pray, bless'). The Tg stem may be a loan from M ¶¶ If Yk *ira* does not belong here, pT **irk* (even if it is a legitimate cognate) cannot help us to distinguish between pA **r* and **ř* (because preconson. **ř* loses its palatalization in T). If the T √ does not belong here, we lose the ability to distinguish between A **p-* and **p'-* || K: Sv L *-pīr-* 'intend to', *χwa-pīre* 'I intend to', Sv {Ni.} *χwa-piri* 'I want', ?σ Sv UB *li-pīre* 'to decide', MG ≥XII, G *prian-* 'belieben, wünschen 'захотеть, пожелать', Mg {Q} *pian-* 'like, wish (захотеть, изволить, соизволить)' (← G?) ¶ Dn. s.v. *pīr-*, Ni. s.v. *хотѣть*, GP 164, DCh. 1025, Chx. 1024, Q 298 || ? HS: S **✓pqr* (~ **✓bqr*?) v. 'require, want' (→ 'curse', 'love') > Ak *✓pqr ~ ✓bqr* (inf. *p/бақарu*) 'Anspruch

geltend machen, vindizieren', paḳārū 'vindication', Gz ✓fḳr in the words ʔafḳara v. 'love, long for, cherish', faḳr 'love, affection', faḳūr 'loved, beloved', Hrs ✓fḳr in ʔftaḳōr v. 'curse, miscall' ¶ Sd. 104, 826, Jo. H 32, L G 164 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS) S *✓brk v. 'bless' (> BHb, Ph, IA ✓brk D, Ar ✓brk L, D id.), which is derived from S *'birak 'knee' (*✓brk D originally means 'make kneel down', whence 'bless' [Ar barraka 'make kneel down', see Fr. I 112]), which can be understood within the appropriate cultural context: the ritual of blessing involves knealing of the blessed person (e.g., son)' (F Genesis, chapter 27). An argument for the denom. origin of the stem for 'bless' is the very fact that it is used almost exclusively as a D-stem (as well as a L-stem, which is its variant), and almost never used as G (basic stem) except for the pp. *ba'rīk-~*b'arūk- 'blessed one' (> BHb bārūk, Aram bārīk, etc.), which was actually a derived adj. ◇ Tg and M suggests that the vw. after *R of the N word was labialized. IE *prek̄-/*pr̄k̄- (without reflexes of N *u|ü) suggests that the labialized vw. was not *u or *ü, hence it was *o ◇ IS III 111-25, ≈ Blz. KM 238 [#22] (added G and Mg, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *ñäp∇r∇ 'tender, beautiful', N *paR₁a₁Xi ≈ happy, dear', and N *bAr^h'∇ 'be hungry, want' [→ 'love']) ◇ Gr. II #94 (*per(k) 'desire') (IE, A, ?CK).

1766. *pōr'i' (or *pōHar'i'?) 'child, offspring' > IE: NaIE *pari-k-ā 'concubine' or 'whore' (← 'girl') > OIr airech 'concubine' (gen. airige, dat. airig) ||| pIrn *parīkā > Av pairikā 'demonic courtesan', ZPhl parīk > NPrs پری pärī 'a good genius, a Peri', MPrs Trf pryg, prygʔn 'witch', BdhSgd prʔyk 'demon' (bf. of a masc. noun from pIrn fem.) ||| Arm հարճ hařč 'concubine' (< *paryā with puzzling voicing *k > *g) ¶ Dmz. SEA 68, ≈ P 789, EI 123 (? *parikeh_A- 'concubine; wanton woman'), Vn. A 43, Horn 69, ≠ Bai. 234 (equates the Irn words with Gk παλλακίς, παλλακή 'concubine'), Xud. II 40 ¶ *-k- is a dim. sx., *-ā is a marker of feminine; the form may be compared with Tg *pūrⁱk- 'boy, a youth' (F below) ||| A *p'uri 'child, offspring(s)' > T *₁h₁urī 'male child, son' (× A *ur∇ {AD} 'male; young male relative' < N *H|wur∇ 'male person') > OT Y/U/QU urī 'male child, son' (hardly from pT *₁h₁urug 'seed' [< N *pûHr∇ < [?] *pûʔ'e'r∇ 'fruit', see s.v. *p'e'r∇ ~ *pûHr∇ 'fruit'] because of the lack of -g in the most archaic OT texts) ¶ Cl. 197, TL 315 || Tg: [1] Tg *pūr- ({{Bz.} pör-) 'woman with her children, family, female with its

youngs' (× N *p'e'r∇ ~ *pûHr∇ 'fruit') > Ewk hurū 'family, mother of many children', Lm hurkə 'female animal with its young', hurkəç 'having a family, having many children', Neg xuykət 'she-bear\she-odder with youngs', Orc xūnə (< *hurunə) 'female animal with its youngs', [2] pTg *pūr'i'k- 'boy, a youth' > Sln ukkəx̄x̄ ~ urkəx̄x̄, Lm hurkən id., 'son', Ewk hurkəkən 'a youth, boy', Ul purē ~ puriəz ~ puriz ~ purz ~ purzəz 'a young', Nn B furi(n-) nat 'young man' ¶ STM II 353-4 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1829 (A *p'ūri 'seed' [does not distinguish between reflexes of N *pôr'i' 'child, offspring' and those of N *p'e'r∇ ~ *pûHr∇, both from *pû'p'e'r∇?) 'fruit']) || D *pōr- ({{θGS} *p-) 'child' > Kn pōra 'child, little boy, girl', pōri 'little girl', Tu pōrā, pōre 'lad', pōri 'lass', Tl pōr_ăđu 'boy, child, young man', pōr_i 'girl', Gnd pōri 'young of pigs', pōri 'young of chicken', ? Ml pōr_ă 'silly, a glutton' ¶¶ D #4603 || HS: the reflex of this N word coalesced with those of N *P_Ar_?_∇ 'bring forth, give birth; young of animals' (q.v. ffd.); the meaning 'child' is present in Ch (P' {MSk.} vùr_á 'girl, daughter') and C (Bj {R} fe'r_ăy / pl. fe'r_ăy 'child, offspring') ¶ MSk. 210, R WBd. 81 ◇ The discrepancy between the IE vw. (suggesting N *a) and the labialized vw. in D and A suggests a N etymon *pôHar'i'.

1767. *por∇ 'leaf' > HS: B *f∇r_?_ 'leaf' > SrSn {Rn.} afar, Izd {Mrc.} ifar (pl. ifrawən), Grr {Bs.} afar (pl. ifriwən), Kb {Dl.} ifarr (pl. ifarrawən), ZAS {Loub.} affar (pl. affriwən) id., Sll {Ds.} ifar 'leaves' coll. | B *f∇r_ī- 'leaf' > Nf {La.} tafrit (pl. tafra), Rf U/B/A {Rn.} θifriθ (pl. θifray), Rf T θifrišt (pl. θifräy), Izn {Rn.} θifriθ (pl. θifräy), Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} tifrit (pl. tifräy), Snd {La.} tefret, Shnw {La.} tifrit; B *f∇r_āw- 'leaf' > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} afraw (pl. ifrawən), Gd tafra (pl. tafrawēn), Sll {Ds.} afraw (pl. ifrawn), Ntf afraw id. ¶ Fc. 336, Lf. II #0408, Nh. 160, Mrc. 117, Rn. 299, Dl. 218, Msq. 125, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 53, Loub. 535, Ds. B 127, La. S 237, La. MChB 471, ≈ NZ 598-9, 645 || IE: NaIE *per-, *per-n- 'leaf, fern' > OI par'ñam, Pali pañña- 'leaf' | KhS pārra-, BdhSgd prn'k 'leaf, petal', MPrt png 'foliage', Blc pan, Prc pōn, Psh pāña, Shgn pūn 'leaf' || Gmc: OSx, OHG farn, NHG Farn, MDt, Dt varen, AS fearn 'fern', NE fern || OIrraith 'fern' || Lt papartis, Δ papařtis, Ltv paparde, papards id. | Sl *paport' id. > OR, R Δ, Uk 'папороть', R 'папоротник', Blg 'папрат', SCr pàprat, Slv páprat, Slk papradie, P, Hls paproc, Lls papros 'fern' || Ht parsdu {Frd.} 'Knospe, Trieb', {Ts.} 'Trieb',

{CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N ***bārǰâ** 'bud, leaf' [q.v.]) ¶¶ The causes of the semantic change 'leaf' → 'fern' in Europe (Clt, Gmc, BSl) are still to be elucidated ¶¶ M K II 223-4, M E II 97 (no et. of OI *par'ñam* 'leaf'), Bai. 231, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, Kb. 225, Vr. N 764, KM 184-5, Vn. R 5, Frn. 538, Vs. III 202, Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 190-1, ≈σ EI 646 (OI and Gmc < **por'no-m* 'wing, feather') || **а** (× N ***bārǰâ** '↑'): NaT **pür* ~ **pürü* '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' > OT *bür* 'bud', Tkm *pür* 'needle(s) of a conifer; foliage (or crown) of a tree', Qzq *bür* 'needle(s) of a conifer', {Tn. in TL} 'bud', CrTt, Qmq *bür* 'bud', Alt *bür* 'bud, leaf', Tf *bür* 'leaves, needle(s) of a conifer, bud (бутои)', VTt *bөpe bürb*, Bsh *bürb* 'bud', Qrg *bür* 'small young leaves', Xk, Shor *pür*, Tv {TvR} *bürü*, {Ra.} *bür* 'leaf'; ↳ NaT **b|pür-çük* 'bud' > Qzq *büršik*, Alt *bürçük*, Xk *pürçük* 'bud', Qq *büršik* 'bud, bit', VTt *büršik* 'spot (of spotted fabric)', Bsh *bürsük* id., 'very small drop', Tk Δ *bürçük* 'bit, small grain' ¶ Cl. 354, TL 114-5, Ra. 167, Tkr 538, BRS 113, Rs. W 92, TatR 93, Rl. IV 1394, Rl. IV 1394 || M: WrM *borgucug*, *borgucuy*, HIM *боргоцог*, *боргоцой* 'evergreen tree cone', Brt *борбоосгой* 'tree cone', WrM *narasunu borgucug* 'pine cone' ¶ MED 121, Chr. 105 || Tg **p'e'r...* > Ewk *härkənəz* 'leaf of tobacco' ¶ STM II 370 || pKo **pürö* 'lettuce' > MKo *puro*, *pürü*, NKO *puru* ¶ S QK #1109, MLC 813 || ?φ pJ {S} **pá* 'leaf' > OJ *pá*, J: T *hà*, K *hǎ*, Kg/Ns *há*, Sh *φǎ*, Ht *pǎ*, Y *hǎ* ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ #41, Mr. 394 ¶¶ DQA #1683 (T, M, J) (A **púre* 'leaf, bud') || **Д** (in CD) **porǰr-* ({ǰGS} **p-*) 'leaf' > Prj *porra* 'bush, shrub', Gdb *pore* 'leaf' ¶ D #4546 ◇ In B and Iir the √ in question coalesced with the reflexes of N ***r'p'ur₁y₁∇** 'wing, feather(s)' bringing forth a pseudo-metaphor: 'leaves' as a μφ of 'feather'. Altaic **p-* (> NaT and Tg **p-*, M b-) suggests N ***p-** ◇ M and D suggest a pN vw. ***o**, while T **ü* in **pür(ü)* may be due to regr. as.

1768. (₂?) ***P₁∇R∇** 'to cross, to pass through' (= N ***pær∇**, if Az *bärä* belongs here) > HS: S **p₁ry* > Ar *p₁ry* (pf. *فَرَى* *farā*, ip. *-friy-*) {BK} 'traverser, parcourir (un pays)', {Hv.} 'go over the country' ¶ BK II 588-9, Hv. 560 || IE: NaIE **per-* v. 'cross, go through\over' (→ 'bring over, lead') > OI *par-* v. 'bring over, save, surpass' (prs. *'piparti*, Vd aor. *par-ṣi*), Av *par-*: *ni-pāraye₁nti* 'sie führen hernieder', {E} 'convey across' ||| Arm *հորդ* *hoɾd* 'trodden, frequented', *հորդեմ* *hoɾdem* v. 'pave, trace (a road, path)', *հորդան տամ* *hoɾdan ta-m* 'cause to advance, lead on' ||| Gk *περῶ* 'pass through, transverse', *πέρω*

'pierce quite through' || L *portā-* 'carry, bring, lead', Um *PORTATU* 'portato' || Gmc **far-* > Gt *faran* 'wandern, fahren', ON *fara*, AS, OSx, OHG *faran* 'to drive (fahren)' > NHG *fahren*; caus. **fōrjan* 'to lead' > ON *fōra*, Dn *fōre*, Sw *fōra*, AS *fōran*, OHG *fuoren*, NHG *führen* | d.: NaIE **poro-s* 'Durchgang, Zugang' > Gk *πόρος* id., 'ford', Av *pāra-* 'Ufer, Grenze' | d. nomen loci: NaIE **pr̥tus*, **pertus* 'Durchgang' > Av *pərətū-š* (< **pr̥'tus*), *pəšūš* (< **'pr̥tus*) 'Durchgang, Zugang, Brücke' || OL *portus*, *-ūs* 'Haustüre', L *portus* 'haven', *angiportus* 'enge Passage, Nebengäßchen'; **-ā-*stem: L *porta* 'gate, door', Um *ṽp'úrtaṽm* 'portam' || Clt: OW, Crn *rit*, NW *rhyd* 'ford', Gl *ritu-* 'ford' in n. l.: *Ritomagus*, *Augustoritum* || Gmc: OHG *furt* 'ford, passage', NHG *Furt*, AS *ford* 'ford', NE *ford* || IE **per-*, **peri* (instr. case?) 'across, beyond' > NaIE **per-*, **peri* id. (×IE **peri* 'around' < N **p̥i'h|X|Q'RE* 'around', q.v. ×IE **per-* < N **p̥eR̥* 'lip, edge', q.v.) > OI *pari* 'beyond, away from', Av *pa'rī* 'über - hin', {E} *towards, around*, OPrs *pariṽ* 'über' || Gk *πέρι, περί* 'darüber hinaus', Δ *πέρι* id. || L *per* prep. 'through' → 'along, over; because of', L *per-pv.* 'through' || Gmc: OHG *fir-* (pv. of several meanings: 'across, vorbei [МИМО]', perfective meaning, erroneous action [*fir-faran* 'vorbeifahren, vergehn', *firfallan* 'geraten, einfallen', *fir-denken* 'mit den Gedanken abirren, verdenken, verachten', etc.]), NHG *ver-* and OSx *far-*~*for-* (px. of several meanings: perfective, erroneous action, etc.) || Ltv *per* 'over (über - hin)', Lt *peř* id., 'through, across', Pru *per*, *par* 'für, durch', Lt *per-* pv. 'again, anew, through', Pru *par-*~*per-* pv. (*perbanda* 'vesucht', *perbillīton* 'versagen') || Sl **per-pv.* 'across, over, through; anew' > OCS *прѣ-* *prě-*, Blg *пре-*, SCr, Slv, Slk *pre-*, R, Uk *пере-*, P *prze-*, Cz, HLs *pře-*, LLs *pśe-* id.; Sl **perzъ* (prep.) > ChS *прѣзъ* *prězъ* 'over, through' ('*ṽπέρι, παρά*'), SCr Δ, Slv *prez*, Cz *přes*, *přeze*, HLus *přez*, LLus *pśez*, P *przez*, Blg *през*, R Δ, Uk, Blr *перез* 'across, over, through' || Ht *pariṽan* 'across, over, beyond; over to, across to' ¶ P 810-7, EI 228-9 (**per-* 'pass through'), 581 (**per* 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-7, 284, M E II 89-92, F II 491-2, 512-3, WH I 283-6, 343-5, Bc. G 342, Fs. 142-3, Vr. 112, 150, Kb. 149, 219, 222, 300, 307, OsS 161-70, 232, Schz. 129, 142, KM 180, 223, 225-6, 811, Ho. 98, 111-2, Ho. S 18, Vs. III 236-8, Brü. 441-2, 444, Frn. 572, En. 222-3, En. APG 147-50, KM 180, 219, 2223, 225-6, ESISJ-SGZ I 162-9, 175-8, Jak. 26, 94, CHD P 151-3 || ? E

pir-: AchEl pi-ir-ik-ra 'ein Durchreisender', pi-ri-ip, pír-ri-ba 'Marschierende, Reisende' (pl.) ¶¶ HK 196, 209, 217 || ?σ A *p∇rE v. 'wade, cross a river' > T: Az {Äz., Hüs.} bārā 'ford', 'ferry', {Ax.} pārā 'ford', bārā 'ferry' ¶ Äz. 62, Hüs. 47, Ax. 31, 826 ¶ The Az word is isolated within T. Is it a loanword? || ?σ Tg *purE- v. 'dive, swim under water' > Neg xuyi-, xuygan-, Ul purin-, Nn Nh purin-, Nn KU xurun3-, fʷ3run3-, Nn B furin-, f3rin-, Ork purru- 'dive', purotʃi- iter. 'dive', Ud xuin-3- v. 'dive', Ewk hur- 'dive, swim', WrMc furā-, furi- 'untertauchen, unter Wasser schwimmen' ¶ STM II 352, Krm. 306, Z 1092, Hr. 323 ¶ The adduction of the A cognates is valid if we assume that the meaning 'dive, swim under water' goes back to the meaning 'cross a river by swimming under water' - cp. the meaning WrMc furi- 'durchwaten' reported by H. C. von der Gabelentz (WalG s.v. 'durchwaten' ← Gab. MDW) ◇ Unless the Az word is a loan, it suggests pT, pA, and N *p- and *-r-.

1769. *p̄'ä'rE (= *p̄'ährE?) 'to look', 'to be seen' > HS: S *°√p̄|hr > Ak {Sd.} pār-um v. 'look for' ¶ Sd. 836-7 || ??l C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} parr- v. 'be open' (eye), {Plm., Hz.} parC- v. 'open (eyes)' || ? NrOm: Kf {C} herabō ~ herawō, Mch {L} p̄'rawi 'looking-glass' ¶ C SE IV 456-7, L M 45 || Ch: WCh: BT *par- v. 'look for' > Tng parj id., Bl {Bnt.} paruo v. 'find' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} p̄r(̀)ñè 'examiner, regarder de près' ¶ J T 129, Bnt. 23, Fd. 59 ¶¶ AD SF 44 || IE *pehr-/*phr- > NaIE *pār-/*pār- ({P} *p̄ār-) v. 'be visible' > Gk πεπαρεῖν aor. inf. 'to display, to manifest' ||| L pārē- 'appear, become evident', appārē- 'become visible, appear', compārē- 'appear, be visible' || Ht parai- v. 'appear, emerge (?)' ¶¶ P 789, F II 508, WH II 252-3, Ts. W 60, CHD P 134 || A: Tg *peri- v. 'watch', (*'look for' >) 'try to' > Ewk h3riwç3- 'watch (beobachten, verfolgen)', ?σ WrMc ferī- v. 'endeavour, strive, make every effort' ¶ STM II 369, Z 1049-50, Hr. 288 || Rm. SKE 198 equated the Tg √ with Ko p̄jāri-da ("commonly pronounced perida") v. 'purpose, intend to do' ¶¶ Tg *e represents A *ä || D *pār- v. 'look at, behold' > Tm pār- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'see, look at', Ml pārka v. 'regard, behold', Kn pār v. 'look for, wait for', Tu pāra 'guard, custody, keeping', Tl pāruva 'sight, glance' ¶¶ D #4091 (a) ◇ The N cns. *p̄- is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch. Not here Eg √ pr̄y (a verb that means, among other things, 'appear, be seen') that is obviously a semantic derivative from Eg pr̄y 'go out' ('hervorgehen, herausgehen') (F EG I 518-525, Fk. 90-1). Neither belongs here the Eg L verb pr 'see',

which is a late form going back to Eg fP p̄tr v. 'see, behold' (F Fk. 96, Vc. 163 s.v. pOOre 'rêver, voir en songe', and EG I 564). The IE lr. (> the NaIE lengthening of the vw.) suggests a N lr. before *r. The N lr. must have been *ʔ or *h, because *ʔ and *h are the only laryngeals that can account for the Ak reflex (ā from S *aʔ|h, but not from *a|h). NaIE *p̄h̄r- suggests that the N lr. was *h rather than *ʔ (reduced to NaIE zero in the non-syllabic position), but the loss of the lr. in Ht is still to be explained.

1770. *P̄ogUr̄ 'hollow', 'to gape', 'to be open' (of a hollow) > K *^opūwr- > G pū(̄)r- 'aushöhlen, ausbohren', pūuro- n. 'hollow in a tree', adj. 'hollow, empty' ¶ Chx. 1510, DCh. 1320 || HS: WS *^opūr v. '(be) open' (of a mouth, sth. hollow), 'be hollow, gape' > BHb ^opūr vi. G 'be open wide' (a mouth), MHb ^opūr vi. G 'open wide' (of a mouth or another hollow object), vt. 'uncover', JA [Mdr.] ^opūr G 'open wide, uncover oneself', Sr ^opūr v. G 'open wide, gape (as the mouth, the earth, sores)', |;|^o p̄ε^or-ā {JPS} 'a cleft, chasm, gap', {Br.} 'fovea, caverna', Ar ^of̄ur G 'open the mouth, be half-opened (as mouth, flower), yawn', fāur- 'opening of a half-open mouth', Jb C {Jo.} ^of̄ur v. G (pf. fāur, sbjn. ȳz̄f̄ur) 'open (the mouth), make an opening (in flesh, wood, etc.)', Mh f̄z̄urwōt (pl. f̄z̄ur̄w, f̄z̄ur̄ew), Hrs f̄z̄urōt, Jb E f̄z̄urōt 'hollow below the Adam's apple' ¶ KB 898, BDB 822, Js. 1203, Br. 586, JPS 453, BK II 616, Hv. 569, Jo. J 53, Jo. M 89, and Jo. H 31 || B *-friH- 'cave, hole' > Sll, CM, Shw ifri id., Izd {Mrc.} ifri id., Izn/Rf/SrSn ifri 'caverne, terrier, trou', Wrg, Ntf ifri 'cave, grotto', BSn īfri id, 'burrow of a rabbit', Sll ti-frī-t 'burrow (of a rabbit, hedgehog, etc.), hole', Kb ifri 'grotte, abri sous une roche', Tmz {MT} id., 'caverne, gîte, terrier' ¶ Rn. 298, Ds. 147, 277, 285, Ds. B 58, 160, 342, Dl. 218, MT 120, Dlh. Ou 79, Mrc. 348, NZ 601 || C: EC: ?σ Ya p̄r̄χ̄n (pl. p̄r̄χ̄) 'honeycomb' (E: "it is composed of ... holes"; alternatively, "? hollow [of trees]", as in Td) || SC: Brn faraχ̄o 'gap left by an extracted tooth' ¶ E PC #292 ¶¶ mt. N *g...r > B and C *r...H || D *p̄r̄- ({θGS} *b-?) 'a hollow, cavity, hole' (× N *bŪR̄ 'to dig; a pit'?) > Tm p̄raī 'hole, hollow in tree', p̄r̄ 'hollow of a tree' (D *r̄ > Tm word-final r, F An. GTJ 29), Td p̄+r 'hollow of tree (where bees nest)', Kn p̄r̄ 'hole', Tl bor̄iya, bor̄re 'hole, burrow, hollow, pit', bor̄ra 'hole, hollow, cavity in a tree', Gdb, Ku borra 'hole in tree', Knd bor̄o 'hole of a crab, etc.' ¶¶ D #4604 (a). ◇ The presence of a N vw. (*-U-)

between *-g- and *-r- is suggested by the D cognate (D *-r̥- going back to a N intervoc. *-r- rather than to a cns. cluster) and by the G postcons. -v-/-u-.

1771. *p̥i'h|X|Q'RE 'around' > HS: Eg fMK p̥x̥r 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose', m p̥x̥r 'im Umkreisen von' (may be adduced unless p̥x̥r goes back to Eg OK p̥š̥r id.) (× an additional source: N *P̥ôRw∇ [= *p̥ôřw∇?] 'turn, revolve' [q.v.], which cannot be the main source [for phonetic reasons], but may have influenced the meaning); acc. to Vc., this is the source of DEg p̥x̥r 'ensorceler' > Copt L p̥o2re p̥ohre, O p̥oxrl p̥ok^hri, O peer p̥eer 'ensorceler' ¶ EG I 544-7, Fk. 93-4, Er. 319, Vc. 167 || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} f̥irki 'renverser, retourner' ¶ Trn. MVM 293 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. I 173 (Eg, Mlw + unc. Anf k̥irp 'turn sth. over to its mouth') || IE *peri > NaIE *peri (instr.?) 'around' > OI 'pari 'round, about', Av pa'rī 'um - herum', MPrs par-, KhS pari-, para- 'around, beyond' || Gk πέρι, περί 'ringsum, um' || ?σ pAl {O} *peri > Al p̥ēr 'for, about' ¶¶ P 810, ≈ EI 581 (*per 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-7, M E II 91-2, Bai. 214, F II 512-3, O 319 ¶ IE *peri 'around' coalesced with the homonymous form *peri 'beyond, across, away from' of different origin (< N *P̥∇R∇ 'to cross, to pass through', q.v.) ¶ The absence of traces of the N lr. in NaIE may be accounted for by mt.: N *p̥i'h|X|Q'RE > *p̥iRH∇ > IE *perH-i > NaIE *peri || U: *p̥īrE ({UEW: *p̥ire|ä) 'circle, ring; to surround' > F p̥iiri 'Kreis, Zirkel, Ring; Gebiet', Es p̥iir 'Umkreis, Grenze, Umriß', p̥iira- 'umgrenzen, umgeben, Kreise beschreiben' || pLp {Lr.} *p̥ir̥ > Lp: N {N} birrâ (adv., postp., prep.) 'round, all round', L {LLO} p̥irra, Klt/T/Kld p̥irr 'herum, um' || Er p̥īre, Mk peřa 'eingezaunter Platz (Dreschteme, Gemüsegarten, usw.)', 'vegetable garden; farmstead', Er p̥īra-, peřa-, p̥īri- 'zäunen, einzäunen, umringen', Er peřt̥, Mk peřf 'um, herum' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} p̥ür+ 'ring, circle', LTz {KD} p̥ūre 'ring', Ke {KD} p̥+r 'circle; round', Tm {KD} p̥ōrök id. || Kms {KD} p̥^heri 'ringsum, um' ¶¶ Coll. 49, UEW 384 (the √ is unconvincingly considered onomatopoeic), SK 551, KKIH 155, Ker. II 113-4, KD 52, Lr. #927, N I 180-1, Lgc. #4949 ◇ Cf. UEW 384 (U, IE, M ergi- v. 'turn, move round', Ewk h̥3rk̥3- v. 'tie'). It is tempting to suppose that MEI p̥u-ur 'Kreis, Rundhof (??)' (HK 241) belongs here. ≈ Gr. II #15 (*p̥ir 'around').

1772. (₂?) *P̥EyR∇(č∇) 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines' > HS: WS *par_L∇_Jθ- 'contents of the guts\stomach' > Ak parš-u, BHb

פֶּרֶשׁ 'perēš id., 'dung', Sr פֶּרֶשׁ pēr't-ā 'undigested food in the stomach; dung', JA [Trg.], JPA, JEA פֶּרֶשׁ par't-ā, SmA prt, Md parta 'excrements', Ar farθ- {Ln.} '(ð) what is extracted from the kariš- (or stomach of a ruminant)', {Hv} 'contents of the stomach of ruminants', Tgy fērsi id., Amh fērs 'contents of the stomach', Mh {Jo.} farθ, Hrs {Jo.} fōrθ, Jb J {Jo.} 'fθrθ, Sq {L} 'sōrt 'undigested food in the stomach\entrails of a slaughtered animal' ¶ KB 918, KBR 977, GB 663, Tal 712, Ln. 2358-9, Hv. 552, BK II 561, Js. 1244, Sl. 941, Br. 609, DM 365, JPS 446, Bsn. 989, Jo. M 101, Jo. H 35, Jo. J 62, LLS 343, Sd. 836, MiK I #1.221 || ?σ IE: ι Ht parataru 'lying prone' ¶ Ts. W 60 (absent in CHD) || U *piyra 'stomach of an animal, crop of a bird' > F piira 'der zweite Magen der Vögel, Kropf', pLp {Lr.} *pirē(m) > Lp: N {N} birram ~ birran ~ birrem, birraš / -aš- 'crop of a bird, craw', L {LLO} pirēv ~ pirēm 'der Magen des Eichhörnchen; Kaumagen, Muskelmagen der Vögel', pirāv ~ pirām 'Kaumagen (bei Vögeln)', T {TI} parram 'crop of a bird' | Er puyarma, {Reg.} purmo, Mk pārma 'stomach of birds' || Sm {Jn.} d. *perkā (~ *pikā?) 'belly' > Ne T пирци, T O {Lh.} pircī 'crop of birds', Ne F {Lh.} pīčjčci 'Blättermagen', En d. {Cs.} 'fediko 'Fischmagen', Slq Tz {KKIH} pērq+ 'belly' ¶¶ UEW 378-9, Lr. #928, Lgc. #4955, Jn. 122, KKIH 148-9 || amb A: pKo *p'áj 'belly' > MKo p'áj id., NKO pä 'stomach, abdomen, belly' ¶ S AJ 90, 251 (#4), S QK #4, Nam 251, MLC 743 || pJ *pàrà 'belly' > OJ párà, J: T/Kg hará, K hára ¶ S AJ 90, 264 (#3), S QJ #4, Mr. 399 ¶¶ An alt. et.: Ko, J < A *p'áj'èlo (≈ {DQA} *p'èylo) 'belly, liver' (S AJ 90, DQA #1632) < N *pāT∇ 'inside, entrails, liver' (q.v.). Cf. Rm. SKE 182, Mr. KJ 243, Mill. JAL 153).

1773. *P₂Ar₁?₁∇ 'to bring forth, to give birth' (of animals), 'young of animals' ([in descendant lgs.] → v. 'breed') > HS: S: [1] WS *√pry v. 'bring forth posterity' > BHb פרה√pry 'bring forth posterity' (פריה ורבה), Tgr פרה√pārū wu-r'ḥū 'bring forth posterity and multiply!' - 2p imv.), Tgr √fry (pf. fēra) 'sich vermehren, hervorbringen'; [2] S *parr- 'young ungulate, bull' (×N *p'o₁r₁w₁∇ '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]), q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 904-5, KBR 963-4, 967-8, Ln. 2356, Sd. 834, LH 659 || B *√fr^r' > Kb nnufru 'accoucher, enfanter', Izn tināfra, BSn tanāfra, CA timānāfra 'placenta, délivre' ¶ Dl. 551, ≈ NZ 602-3 || C: Bj √fry ({R} p. 'a-fri, prs. a-fan'rī) pcv. 'give birth, beget', {R} -t-ferāy v. ps. 'be born', fe'rāy (pl. fe'ray) 'child, offspring' || Ag: Bln

{R} frī-/friy- v. 'multiply, have offspring, beget' (lu'wī 'frīti 'die Kuh hat viele Kälber gebracht', y-ḡkūr frīnīuḡ 'meine Söhne haben Kinder erzeugt'), Xm {R} fir- 'sich vermehren' (die Herde) ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch. II 43 || Ch (×N *pōr'i' [or *pōHar'i'] 'child, offspring'): WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} vurḍ- v. 'bear, give birth', Cg {Sk.}, Kry {Sk.} v̄arḍā, My {Sk.} vurk-, {ChL} á v̄irkí, P' {MSk.} v̄arḍā, Sir {Sk.} v̄arḍ-, Mbr {Sk.} v̄ark-, Jmb {Sk.} v̄urḍ-, Dir {Sk.} v̄á'rá id., P' {MSk.} v̄arḍā v. 'give birth, beget', v̄urá 'girl, daughter' || CCh: Zm {J} frāḥā, {Sa.} v̄arāḥā v. 'give birth, beget' ¶ ChC s.v. 'bear' and 'beget', JI II 161, ChL, Sk. NB 23, MSk. 210 ¶¶ In S, Bj, and Ag the verb *√pry (> *√fry) 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' coalesced with *√pry v. 'bear fruit' (< N *p'e'r∇ ~ *pûHr∇ 'fruit') || IE: NaIE *per- v. 'give birth' > L pariō, parēre (pfc. pēpēri, sup. partum) v. 'bring forth, bear' || Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf' || W erthył, {YGM} erthył(iad) 'abortion' || Lt peréti (prs. periù), Ltv perēt 'to hatch, to brood', Lt pēras 'larva, hatch egg', Žuvũ pēras 'fish spawn', peraĩ 'Brut', Ltv pēri 'larvae of bees, grubs' | Sl *(v+-, jьz-)pъr(-t)- 'give birth (prematurely)' > ChS Hcпърътък іспрърътък 'a child cut out of the womb of its mother', Uk ви-порт-ок, R Δ выпороток 'premature birth', Cz s-pratek, † zpratek, Cz L vŷ-par-ek 'premature-born calf', P {Chd.} wuporek 'cesarean section', wuporka 'a child taken from the womb by the cesarian section', wuprótek 'a child\animal cut out of the womb of its mother' || AdS : contamination with N *p'o'r₁w₁∇ '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' (q.v. ffd.) > Gk πόρις 'calf'; OHG far, farro, NHG Farre, AS fearr, ON farri '(young) bull' || NaIE ds. for youngs of animals (*pṛo-t∇) > OI pṛo-thuka-h 'young of an animal, boy' || Arm npp օրտհ, gen. -nl -u 'calf, young deer', NArm Δ horkt հ ֆօրտ հ ֆուրտ հ ~ hueրտ հ id. || Gk πόρις, πόρις 'calf' ¶ -t- in *pṛo-t∇- and Sl *(v+-, jьz-)pъr-t- may be a sx. of pp. (*pṛo-t∇- 'born') ¶ P 818, EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal' ← 'what is brought forth'), WH II 255-6, M K II 332-3, F II 580, YGM-1 218, Vr. 113, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, Ho. 99, Frn. 573, Hü. 483, Slt. 200-1, ≈ Ma. CS 467 || D: [1] (in SD) *pār-, *pār∇pp- / *pār∇v- ({θGS} *p-) 'child, young of an animal' > Kn pārā 'boy', Tm pārppu 'fledgling, young of birds, young of tortoise \ frog \ toad \ lizard, etc., young of quadrupeds', pārval 'fledgling, young of deer and other animals', Ml pārppu 'shoal of young fish, small fry' ¶ D

#4095 || [2] D *pār∇] ({ǵGS} *p-) 'a young (female?) buffalo' (× N *p'o'r_lw_l∇ '↑, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here D *pεr- v. 'beget, give birth' (D #4422), which goes back rather to N *berE?a 'give birth' (q.v.) ◇ D *-r- suggests a pN cns. cluster with *r; in the light of the HS data it may have been *-r?- ◇ Cf. IS SS #10.7 and IS MS 361 (рождать *per∇: E *per- v. 'give birth', A *pör∇ 'offsprings', U *per∇ 'family, relatives', HS *pr- 'offsprings, child, fruit'; does not distinguish the reflexes of N *P_lAr_l?∇ from those of N *p'e'r∇ ~ *pûHr∇ 'fruit' and N *pôr'i' 'child').

1774. ₂ *p_lAri_l?∇_l 'take out, pull out\off' > HS *√pry~*√pr? (< **p∇ri?∇) v. 'take out, go out' > (× N *p_lAr_ly_l∇ 'run, flee', q.v.) Eg ∇ pry v. 'go out' ('herausgehen, hervorgehen'), DEg pry 'herausgehen', Copt Sd **neipe** peire, B **φiri** p^hiri 'sortir' ¶ EG I 518-525, Fk. 90-1, Er. 134, Vc. 162-3 || C: Bj {R} √fr? (1s: p. 'a-fra?', prs. afa'n'rī?) '(her)ausziehen', (1s: p. a-'frā?, prs. atfa'rī?) '(her)ausgehen, aufgehen (Sonne, Mond, Sterne)', {Rop.} fir?(a) v. 'get \ lift \ pick \ fetch out\up' (ba'rū ašši'geti ū'hanžar 'farr?i 'he is quick to get out his dagger', ba'rū kwire-fār'pībi 'he is a tooth-drawer'), fir?a (2m p. tifir?a) vi. 'get out\up', 'rise' (sun) || EC: Sa {R} far-'ausgehen' (išši 'dibōl 'fartæ 'sie ging in die Steppe'), 'weggehen, abweichen von der Volkssitte'; but not here Hd fir- v. 'go out' (⇔ SSAAJ I #32), which goes back to HEC *ful-, Hd -r- being a reg. reflex of EC and HEC *-l- (Hd. 71) || DhI {EEN} fir- 'take out' ¶ R Wbd 81-2, R S II 17, Rop. 180-1, EEN 23 ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJ I #32 ¶¶ The separate existence of the HS roots *√p|fr v. 'flee' (F N *p_lAr_ly_l∇ 'run, flee') and *√pry~√pr? v. 'go out, take out' is suggested by the distinction within Bj, where each of these roots is represented by a different verb || D *pa_li- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'tear off, pluck' (× N *p_lāri?'E [or *p_lāryE?] 'to tear, to split' × N *P_l∇R't'∇ 'to jerk, to pull [out], to tear off') > Tm pa_li (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) 'to pluck, to crop, to weed', pa_li (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) 'to be cut off, to be torn apart', Ml pa_li 'pulling, tearing off', Kt payr- vt., vi. 'break by pulling both ends (as rope, flower-stem)', payr 'rag', Td pa_ly- v. 'pluck forcibly', pa_ly 'rag', Kn pa_li- 'break off, tear asunder, tear', Kdg pa_li 'pluck', pa_l(a)ḡkuni, parkuni 'pluck out', pa_lpuni 'pluck, pull out', Tl pa_liya 'piece, fragment, slice', Kui paža 'hew, cut down', Krx pa_lāx- 'separate or force asunder the two parts of

some object previously split' 𐤒𐤒 D ##3962, 4027 ◇ Dhl *f- (for the expected p- < N *p-) is puzzling (infl. of some paronymous word?).

1775. *pāriʔ'E (or *pāryE?) 'to tear, to split' > HS: S (or CS) *√pry ~ *√pr̄r 'split, break' > Ar √fry v. 'cut, split', {Hv.} 'slit, cut out, rip off (skin)', Ar *Sh* √frr 'fendre, couper en deux', Ar √frfr (pf. farfara) v. 'couper, briser, déchirer', {Hv.} 'cut, break', BHb פָּרַר √pr̄r *Sh* (pf. הִפִּיר hēpīr) v. 'break, destroy', MHb √pr̄r D (pf. פָּרַר pē'rer), √pr̄pr (pf. פִּרְפֵּר pīr'per) 'zerbröckeln', JA [Trg.] TD (pf. פִּתְּפֵּר pīt'par'per) 'zerbröckelt werden', {Js.} 'crush, crumble', Ug {Grd., DrvG} √pr̄r G v. 'break' (Grd. UT #2121, DrvG 156, OLS 355), Ak {Sd.} √pr̄r D 'zerstreuen' (× √pr̄r 'auflösen', which is hardly of the same origin and is akin to Rn fura 'untie, undo, open sth. fastened, release'); S *°√wpr > Ar √wfr D {Hv.} 'cut out a large piece of cloth' 𐤒 KB 916-7, KBR 974-5, BDB #6565, Js. 1236, ≈ Lv. T II 298, BK II 559, 582, 1574, Hv. 552, 560, 883, OLS 355, Sd. 830, PG 116 || ?σ EC: Sml farūr {DSI} 'aprire un passaggio per far defluire qs., fare un canale per deviare qs. (fiume, liquido, ecc.)', {ZMO} 'cut a channel' 𐤒 DSI 222, ZMO 136 || B *√fr̄H (most probably √fr̄?) v. 'tear' > Kb fri 'déchirer', Gd afru (3m pf. ifra) 'être cassé\déchiré, se casser\déchirer; fendre (une bête égorgée)'; ??σ B *-f∇rū-~-f∇rī- 'sword' > Grr/Fgg {Bs.} تَفْرُوت ta-fru-t 'épée', Izd {Mrc.}, Fgg ta-fru-t id., Zng {Bs.} تَفْرِيت te-feri-t, {MH → Nic.} tēfāri 'poignard', CM tafrut, tafra 'ε knife, sword' 𐤒 Dl. 229-230, Lf. I 265 and II #0412, Bs. NLB IV 342, Bs. MS I 160, Mrc. 109, Nic. 193, NZ 605-7 || ? Ch: WCh: Hs ḫāḫà v. 'split' (yā ḫāḫa ḡḡrò 'he split a kola-nut into segments') (× Hs ḫāḫà v. 'shell, peel, strip off [bark]', which is probably of different origin) || Dr {J} ḫer- v. 'tear', ? Krf {Sch.} ḫārālú v. 'break (e.g., a stick)' || Ngz ḫḫú 'separate a unitary thing into parts' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} pūr, {ChL} pur v. 'tear' || ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} pūrsé v. 'split' 𐤒𐤒 Unlike SSAAJ (I #28), I prefer to keep apart words of AG for vt. 'break', such as Gmy {SSAAJ} piar-am v. 'break' (which probably belongs together with Gmy pīyèn, Cp piy3n, Ang pᵛin, Su pìyìn vt. 'break', Fy pyan id. [ChC, ChL]) and Ang {Flk.} parp v. 'smash with noise' (which is 0) 𐤒 ChC s.v. 'split', 'break', 'tear', Abr. H 77, ChL, Sch. DN 28 𐤒𐤒 SSAAJ I #28, Sk. HCD 29 || IE: NaIE *(s)per- v. 'tear, be torn, break' > Arm փեղթ pʰeɾtʰ {Bdr.} 'piece, bit' ({P} 'abgerissenes Stück') || Gk σπαρ-άσσω, Gk A σπαρ-άττω v. 'tear, rend in pieces, mangle', σπάραγμα 'a piece torn off, shred, fragment' || ON

spiqr̄r 'shred of cloth, rag' (< *sperrō) || Lt spur̄-ti (prs. spur̄-ū), spur̄y-ti vi. 'to fray', Ltv Δ {ME} spur̄t 'ausfasern', Ltv spur̄ōtiēs 'to become frayed\ragged' || Sl *por-ti / 1s prs. *porj̄q > ChS прати prati / поръ porj̄q 'scindere', R по'ротъ / по'рю, Uk пороти v. 'unpick, rip (clothes)', Blg 'поря 'cut into parts', SCr 1s prs. pōr̄īm (-࢐ inf. pōriti), Slv pr̄ati / pōr̄jem v. 'rip up', Cz páratí, P próc / porz̄ę 'unsew, unseam, rip up' ¶ WP II 668, P 990 (the Arm word misquoted with p- for p^h-), IS II 101, F II 757, Vr. 536, Frn. 886, Kar. II 280-1, ME III 1033, Vs. III 332, Mikl. L 659, Glh. 496 || U: FU *p̄äre v. 'break, split' (> Chr: H per̄a-, L per̄b- v. 'strike') -࢐ *p̄äre-k, *p̄äre 'kleines Stück; Span' > F p̄äre (gen. p̄äre-en) 'Span, Kienspan', ? Es peer̄g (gen. peer̄u), p̄ir̄g (gen. p̄ir̄u) 'Kienspan' || ? Prm {Lt} *p̄ūr 'crumb' > Z p̄ir̄ig id., Vt p̄ir̄i id., náń p̄ir̄i 'crumbs of bread' (the change of the vw. is puzzling) || ObU *p̄ēr- > pVg *p̄ār 'crum, piece' (preserved in cds.) > Vg: P tōr-pār 'rag' (lit. 'piece of cloth', tōr is 'Tuch'), NV tarpōr, SV torpōr, LL tarpōr 'rag', P níń-pār 'crumb of bread' (níń is 'bread'), SV náń-pōr 'crumb of bread'; pOs *p̄ēr ({JHl.} *p̄ir) > Os V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K p̄ēr 'crumb' ¶ UEW 366, Lt. 196, LG 236, Ht. 178 #530, Kn. VW 166 || A {SDM97} *p̄āre v. 'split; crack, precipice' ({DQA} *p̄iār̄ 'split, crack') > Tg *p̄iri- v. 'split; crack' > Ewk hiri-ktz 'crack, трещина', Δ hirkz-, sirnz- vi. 'crack (of woodlice)', Lm hir 'crack, fissure, crevice', Ork p̄iri-ktz 'crack, chink (in ice)', WrMc fiyere-, fiyere-ne- vi. 'crack (образоваться трещине, трескаться)', fiyeren 'crack, fissure; ravine (ущелье)' ¶ STM II 327 || ? T *jār- v. 'split, cleave (with a sharp instrument)' (× N *zār̄ 'to cut, to wound', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Belongs here only if S's rec. of A *iā is justified ¶ ¶ SDM97 s.v. *p̄āre (T, Tg + unc. M *φerḡi 'steep bank', see N *P̄āRga 'to split'), ≈ DQA #1783 (incl. T, Tg) || D *paḡi- ({θGS} *p-) 'tear off, pluck' (× N *p̄Arī 'take out, pull out\off', q.v. ffd., as well as N *P̄VR̄ 'to jerk, to pull [out], to tear off?') ◇ Cf. IS II 100-1 (*p̄ār̄ 'tear, break, split'; IS adduces A *p̄ōru~*p̄ūr̄ (> T *h̄jūr̄ 'tear, pull apart or to pieces', M *φūr̄ü- 'rub, grate, file', and Tg *puru- 'crush, chop up, crumble'), which is to be rejected because the A vw. does not correspond to those of U and D and because A *r̄ does not correspond to D *-r-~-r̄- ◇ The IE *s- mobile points to a palatal element in the N word or its later development (N *p̄āryE or *p̄ārī'E

> *pär̥yE) and to the initial *p̥- (rather than *p-) ◇ The glottalized cns. in Ch and the long vw. in T point to a N lr., while lack of its traces in S and IE suggests that it was *ʔ. Acc. to Pr.' theory (Pr. M VI-VII), the stem final vowel apophony i/a and u/a suggests a pB stem-final lr. (symbolized as *H), which may reflect the same N lr. (but not necessarily so, because the root final *ʔ may well be of positional origin, as in the case of B *✓mdʔ¹ < N *muda 'to finish', q.v.). D *paŋi- is a reg. reflex of N *pāriʔ¹E ◇ ≈ Gr. II #385 (*peri v. 'tear') (IE, U + err. A, Ko, Ai).

1776. *par̥∇ᵛi¹ '€ stinging insect(s)' > HS: S *°paraʃ- > Ar faraʃ- 'lice' coll. ¶ Fr. III 338, BK II 579 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChC} fǎʔèn, {ChL} fùren 'fly', Zar K {Sh.} vurtɪn, Zar {ChL} vùrùŋ, Dw {ChL} vuren 'mosquito' || ? CCh: Mdr {Mch.} 'vǎrre (?) 'fly', Dgh vràvrá, Msy {Mch.} vǎre, Db {ChL} vǎrrút, {Lnh.} vǎrǎč, Db K {Sb.} vrót 'mosquito' ¶ ChC, JI II 148, ChL, JS 111 || U: FU (att. in Lp) *°p̥oᵛr̥∇ > pLp {Lr.} *p̥r̥r̥- 'Tabanus, Oestrus' > Lp: N {N} boaro 'horse-fly, gadfly', Kld {TI} pu'arā 'gadfly', {SaR} πγap 'botfly', S {Hs.} boār'üve, boār'üje 'Rentierbremse, Oedemagena tarandi' ¶ Lr. #976, Lgc. #5150, TI 385, Hs. 354, N I 204, SaR 268, ≠ UEW 724 || A *p'ār'i¹ 'bee, wasp' > T (att. in NaT) *hārī (or *hārīg?) 'bee, wasp' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} arī, MU XIII arī 'bee, wasp, hornet', MQp aru, XwT, Chg arī, ET {LCq} hārī 'bee, wasp', ET hārā, Qq hārre, Tkm, Qrg ārī, Xlj {Tn. in TL ← ?} hārī 'bee, wasp', Ggz ārī 'wild bee', Tk arī, Az, Tv arī, Tv Tj χarī, Xk ār, QK {B} arī ~ arīʏ 'bee', Ln arī 'big black fly (bee?)', Qzq ara, Uz arī 'wasp', StAlt arū 'bee' ¶ Rs. W 25-6, ET GI 186-7, TL 186, Cl. 196-7, DTS, Rl. I 248, 272, BIG 11 ¶ The cause of preserving *h- in ET, Tv Tj, and Qq is unknown. The NaT rec. is most likely without *-g, unless -ʏ in QK is inherited; it may have been induced by analogy with some *-ig/-ig-words || pJ {S} *pátí > OJ pátí 'bee', J: T hàcí, K hácí, Kg hácí 'bee, wasp, hornet' ¶ S QJ 238, Mr. 401, Kenk. 411 ¶¶ S VL #32 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1755 (A *p'éra 'bee'; incl. T, J) || D: Kui par̥r̥i 'hornet', Ku Δ prār̥i 'wasp', Δ par̥r̥i 'wild bee' ¶ D #3985 ◇ FU *ō goes back to eU *ā < N *a with compensatory lengthening ◇ Cf. Rs. UW 28 (U, A), IS MS 358 ('bee': U, A).

1777. (₂?) *p̥Ariʔ¹∇ 'strew, spread, extend' > IE: NaIE *(s)p(h)er-, *sprej-, *spreu- 'strew, scatter, sow' > Arm փարատ pʰarat 'detached, disunited, dispersed' (< *pʰor-), փարատեմ pʰaratem 'I dissipate, disperse, scatter', ? սփռեմ spʰr̥em 'I spread, disseminate,

disperse, scatter', **σπῆν** sp^hiṛ adj. 'spread, dispersed, diffused, extended' (< *sp^hēro-), **σπῆνρ** sp^hiṛk^h 'dispersion' ||| Gk σπέρω v. 'scatter, sow, strew', σπέρμα, σπορά 'semen, seed' ||| Gmc *sprēwen > NNr språ 'spröde, brüchig werden', Gmc *sprēujan > MDt spraeien 'fly about (like dust)', ζ OHG {OsS} spræjen, spræwen 'spritzen, stieben', Gmc *sprōujan > OHG sprouwen 'sprühen, sprinkle', NHG sprühen 'to spray, to sprinkle', OHG F {ML} sprowan 'sprühen, zerstieben' ⇨ OFr {ML} esproher 'besprengen' ||| pAl {O} *sparā > Al farë 'seed, semen' || Ht ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter' ¶¶ P 993-4, EI 500 (*sper- 'strew, sow'), F II 762-3, KM 733, Kb. 945, OsS 855, ML #8188, Me. EAC 35, Slit. 387-9, O 93, Pv. I-II 441-7 || ? **HS**: S *^o✓prɪ (× N *P_orɪɳ > Ar farɪ- {Hv.} 'woman's hair', {BK} id., 'chevelure' (esp. 'chevelure très abondante'), Ar ✓frɪ (pf. farɪɪa) {Hv.} 'have abundant hair', {BK} 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête' ¶ BK II 578-9, Hv. 557 || ?? **K**: +ext.: MG, G prkV-eV- 'pour, strew, scatter' ('schütten, vergießen, streuen') ¶ DCh. 1316, Chx. 1503 || **D** *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'spread' > Tm para v. 'spread, be diffused, be flattened (as by hammering)', Ml parakka v. 'spread, be diffused, extended', Kt pard- '(small objects) spread over large space', part- v. 'spread (grain, chillies) in sun to dry', Td par- v. 'open wide (an entrance)', Kn paraḍu vt., vi. 'spread, extend, be diffused', Kdg para- v. 'crawl', parat- v. 'spread (grain)', Tu parapuni v. 'creep, crawl, spread (as a creeper)', paraḍuni vt., vi. 'spread', Tl parapu, parapu 'broad, extended, expanded', paravu vi. 'spread', Δ parāgu, parāgu, paragu id., Klm pārakeṅ v. 'crawl' (of babies), Prj parp- (p. part-), Gnd parhānā v. 'spread', Knd par- v. 'spread (as a mat)', Kui prahpa (p. praht-) vt. 'spread out, scatter', Ku pressali v. 'spread out paddy to dry' ¶¶ D #3949, Km. 426 ◇ IS MS (*pa^rj¹a v. 'spread': IE, D). The N initial *p_l- is suggested by IE *(s)p-. IE *s-mobile suggests a palatal element in the prehistory of the word (N *p_lAri^rɪɳ > *pa_lārya). The form *pa_lārya is also responsible for D *-r- (regularly from cns. clusters with *r). N *ɪ > S *ɪ and zero in K and Ht.

1778. *p_lor^rɪ¹û 'to heat with fire, to burn' > **HS**: C: DhI puruɪ- vi. {E} 'be burnt up', {EEN} 'burn, cook', {To.} 'burn' ¶ E PC #389 (DhI < SC {E} *purɪ- v. 'be burnt'; + err. Ag {E} *bār-/*bāl- v. 'burn'), EEN 7, To. D 145 || **K** {Fn.} *^opur- v. 'heat, heat with fire' > Mg pur- id., 'incandence' ¶ Q 339, Fn. KD #109 || **IE**: NaIE *preus- vi. 'burn' > OI 'plōṣati

'burns, scorges, singes', pluṣṭa - 'burned, scorged, singed' || pAl {O} * pruṣā > Al T/G pruṣh 'bed of hot coals or of live charcoal, live ember', Al {My.} prūṣ 'brennende Kohlen, Glut' || L prūna 'live coal' (< * prusnā), $\text{prūri-ō} / \text{-īre}$ 'itch' ¶ WP II 88, EI 88, M K II 387, P 846, My. 355, O 348, AlBED 697, Kf. 283, BFU 450, LamP 158 || U: (ppU ** poru? >) U * $\text{por}∇$ (in FP) ~ * $\text{pur}∇$ (in Sm) vi. 'burn' > FP * $\text{por}∇$ > Es Δ pāreñd 'Brand auf der Schwende, Schwende, Brandacker' (' sōōrutuli , sōōrd '), pārend_e 'mit großen Flammen brennen, pāreñt ' (gen. pārent'i) 'große Flamme', Lv pārandьks 'Scheiterhaufen' || Prm * pur- v. 'burn' > Vt purom- 'grow hot' (of live coal), puromit- 'kindle (firewood)', Z LL purd- 'burn (earthenware, bricks)', Prmk Zz purdit- 'pour boiling water on' (' обваривать ') || pre-Sm * pura- > Sm {Jn.} * p̄rā - vi. 'burn' > Ne T pāra- 'be burnt down\round, burn oneself' (' сгореть , обгореть , обжечься '), pāra-da- vt. 'burn down\round, scorch' (' сжечь , обжечь , опалить '), Ne F {Lh.} paratāmmī 'gebraten', En {Ter.} poraī 'burnt down', En X (Cs.) fora'ra-bo 'braten' (1s aor. obj.), B (Cs.) foradabo id. , Slq UKe {KD} p̄'rru'yan (1s aor.), p̄'rumba (3s) 'is bitter' ¶ UEW 737, LG 233, Jn. 114 || A {SDM97} * p'ōre 'fire; to burn' > T * $\text{h}_j\text{ört}$ 'flame, fire, conflagration, forest-\steppe-fire', * $\text{h}_j\text{ört-}$ vi. 'burn' > OT {Cl.} ört 'flame, conflagration', Tkm NC, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, StAlt, Xk ört , Tv {Bich.} ört 'fire (Brand, пожар)', Tf ǰrt' 'forest-fire', Chg [Ab.] أورت ört 'flame that is spread in a field by wind', Tkm ört al- 'get burnt' (of food) (' поджорать '), 'be burnt down', Bsh ürt , Yk ört/örd- 'burning out the remainder of last year's grass' (' пал '), 'steppe fire', VTt yрт ürt 'burning of last year's grass, fire (Brand), live coal', Chv virt 'steppe fire'; T * $\text{h}_j\text{ört'ä-}$ > NaT * ört'ä- vt. 'burn' > OT örtä- vt. 'light, burn', , Xk örte- 'burn down', Qq örte- id., v. 'set fire to, kindle', Qzq örte- v. 'set fire to, make a fire' ¶ Cl. 201, 208, ET Gl 550-1, Rs. W 375, TatR 752, Ash. V 245, Md. 50, KrkR 513, Jud. 599, Fed. I 125, Sht. 294, Ra. 214, S AJ 191 [#158], JkR 289, Bich. 52 || M * $\text{p̄jör}∇$ > Kl ep ör 'kindling, firing up (p̄'zжиг)' (ap̄cнд ep өгx 'to kindle dry dung [used as fuel]' [= ' разжечь кизяк ']); M {DQA} * p̄jörde- > WrO ördö- v. 'fire up, stoke up', Kl ördä- 'kindle (a big fire)', {Rm.} 'feuern', {KRS} hal epdx 'kindle fire', {Rm.} gal ördēd 'ein Großfeuer anzündend', WrM {Kow., Gl.} ördtüs- (or ürdtüs-?) 'blaze up, take fire' (' prendre feu , s'enflammer '); other ds.: WrM örbis- , örbid- to burst into flames, blaze' ¶ KW 298, Krg. 151, KRS 424, Kow. 587, Gl. I

337, MED 640, S AJ 289 [#134] || Ko {S} *pír 'fire' > MKo pír, NKo (= Ko Sl/Ph) puł, Ko ds.: PhN/Chj/Kw puł, Ks púł, Hm puł ʄ S QK #30, Nam 273, MLC 832, S AJ 252 [30] || J *pè-i 'fire' > OJ pyi, J: T hí, K hii, Sh ʄí ʄ Q SJ #25, Mr. 405 || ??σ Tg *puri-/*piri- v. 'dry (over fire)' > Ewk huri- ʄ huriʄī- ʄ hiriw- id., Neg xīwun({STM} < *hiriwun) 'wicker device for drying fish\meat over fire', Orc xi 'shelf for drying fish over fire', WrMc fiyarinḡiya- vt. 'dry in the sun' ʄʄ S AJ 265 [#25], DQA #1828 (A *p'òre) || D: [1] *pori ({ʄGS} *p-) 'spark, fire, fireplace' > Ml, Tu pori 'spark', Klm, Nkr pou 'hearth', fireplace' || [2] *por- ({ʄGS} *p-) v. 'parch, roast, fry; be parched, fried' > Tm pori (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be parched, blackened by fire', pori (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'fry, parch, burn (as the sun)', Kt pouy- v. 'parch (grain)', Kn puri id., v. 'dry by exposure to the heat of fire', Kdg pori-, Tl porāṭu, Gnd poʄs- ʄ borsānā v. 'fry', ? Krx porčō, poroč 'half cooked, not sufficiently boiled' (of grain) ʄʄ D #4537 ◊ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (*-r'ʄ-) ◊ Cf. Fn. KD #109 (K, D) ◊ ≠ Gr. II #153 (*par 'fire') (A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko are erroneously equated with IE *peXw-r 'fire', see N *p'ä'ʄ'üwA 'fire').

1779. *por'ä'ʄ'üwA 'summit, top' > HS: WS *parṽṽ- 'summit, upper part' > Ar farʄ- 'summit, upper part', Sq {L} ferʄ- 'bord', Sb frʄ 'upper part, summit (of the building)', ? BHb ʄṽṽ 'pəraʄ 'leader, prince', Ug prʄt 'high (alta, excelsa)' adj. f.; WS *ʄprʄ v. 'ascend (a mountain)' > Ar G ʄfrʄ {Hv.} id., {BK} 'monter sur une hauteur, gravir une montagne', Mh {Jo.} ʄfrʄ v. 'up, ascend' ʄ KBR 971, KB 913 (BHb 'pəraʄ *÷ S *parʄ- 'hair of the head'), A #2276, OLS 354, BK II 578-9, Hv. 557, BGMR 46, Jo. M 97 || B *ʄfry 'aiguille rocheuse, escarpement' > Ah efəri 'aiguille rocheuse', Kb ifri 'escarpement, rocher escarpé' ʄ Fc. 339, Dl. 218, NZ 608 || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} fārà 'rock, stone', FlM {ChL, ChC} fara 'stone' || Bcm {Sk. in ChC} fārà 'rock, stone', Glv {Rp.} fərdaxa (pl.) 'rock(s)', fərdyéxa (pl.) 'rock(s), rocky ground' || McMtk: Mofu {Ro.} práy 'rock' (as well as possibly MfG {Brr.} (')pèràd 'rocher plat' and Mf {BLB} pèràd id. [but these two words may be alternatively connected with MfG {Brr.} pèrdàdà, pèrdèdè 'flat']) || ?σ ECh (+ext.): Ke {Eb.} pèrki 'mountain, rock, stone' (see Gmc ↓) ʄ ChC, RB 39, Hsk. 184, Ro. 316, Brr. MG II 219, BLB 309, Eb. 88 || K: G prialo 'steep rock; steep', {DCh.} 'крутой утесъ, ярь', {Chx.} 'jäh,

abschüssig, steil', 'steile Felswand' ¶ Chx. 1502, DCh. 1315 || IE
 *perw-/*peru- 'rock, mountain' (× N *P₂Arû 'stone, rock', q.v.) > Ht
 peru-, peruna- 'rock, cliff, boulder', ? pirwa- {Frd.} 'rock', {Ts.} -
 eine bestimmte Felsgottheit || OI 'parvata- 'rocky' (< *'perwnto-),
 'parvatah 'mountain, rock', Av pa^urvatā- 'Gebirge' | +ext. *-k-:
 Gmc: Gt faírguni 'mountain', AS firzīn-~fyrzīn- 'mountain-' (in
 cds. with -strēam, etc.) || Clt *r̥kunios in n l. for mountainous
 regions: Ἀρκύνια ὄρη, Orcynia, etc. ¶ Frd. HW 68, Ts. W 63-4, CHD P
 314-5, M K II 228, M E II 99, EI 547 (*'peru 'rock'), Fs E 102-3, GI II 614,
 ≈ EI 407 (unc.: connection of *perk- with *'perk^wu-s 'oak'). ¶ IE *-w-
 /*-u- belongs to the heritage of N *P₂Arû 'stone, rock' || U *op^ru^r∇ >
 Sm *p̥r∇ 'top, summit' > Slq Tz {KKIH} p̥r̥† id., Slq {Cs.}: Nr p̥ar, Ke
 p̥âr, NP p̥âri, Y/B/Kar p̥âre 'Gipfel, Höhe, das Obere' | Kms {Cs.}
 ph̥âr 'Gipfel, Höhe' ¶ KKI 153, Cs. 163, 228, 236 || A: M *porayi
 'top, summit, crown of the head' > MM {Pp.} horai, [S] horai
 'forehead (?)', WrM {Pp.} orai, {MED} orui 'summit, peak, crown of
 the head', HIM opoï id., Brt opoï, Ord or̄, Kl opa 'top (of a tree),
 head, sinciput', Kl {Rm.} or̄ ~ or̄ 'Gipfel, höchster Punkt' ¶ Pp. VG 11,
 MED 621, Chr. 361, KRS 400, KW 287, Ms. O 522, H 77 || Tg *poro-n
 'crown of the head, top' > Ewk horon, Neg xoyō ~ xoyon 'crown of
 head\mountain', Orc xō(n-), Nn Nh porō, Nn KU xorō, Nn B forō, Ul, Ork
 poro(n-) 'sinciput, crown of mountain, top', Ud xō(n-) 'space above
 (sth.)' ¶ STM II 334 || pJ {S} *p̥r̥z̥ 'top (of carriage) > ItOJ poro id., J:
 T hōro, K/Kg hōrō a (folding) top (hood), a calash-top, a hood, a
 bonnet' ¶ S VL #35, S QJ #252, Kenk. 549 || NaT *ōr 'top, high, height'
 (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') > OT ōr 'height, high, high ground', Chg ≥XV
 ör, örk 'high ground, upwards', Tkm ōr 'steep ascent', Tkm NC ōr
 'upwards', Tk őr 'high ground, hill', Qmq őr id., 'top, ascent', QrB, Qrg
 ör, SY ür ~ jür 'top', Nog, ET ör, Uz ωr, Bsh ür 'ascent', VTt ür id., 'high
 ground', Qq ör 'upper waters'; Tkm ōr- 'rise', Tk Δ őr- 'get up', VTt, Bsh
 ür- v. 'sprout' ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-3 ¶¶ DQA #1837 (A p^ore 'top') || D:
 [1] D {tr.} *por̥-, {GS} pod̥- 'mountain, top' (× N *parT∇ 'rock, hill',
 q.v. ffd.) || [2] (in SD) *pōr- ({GS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' > Kn bōre
 'hill, hillock', Tu bōræ 'top of a hill' ¶¶ D ##4567, 4595, GS 151
 [#381], 71 [#232] ◇ T *_lh₁- and CCh (McMtk *p-) suggest N *p̥-. D
 *por̥- reflects the N etymon *por^{r̥}ā^{r̥}∇ without elision of the internal

vw., while *-r- in D *pōr- may be accounted for by a syncope (*pōrʾäʾ∇ > **pōrʾ∇) in the N word. I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the Slq cognate. The T front vw. *ō̄ is due to vw. harmony (infl. of the N word-medial vw. *ʾäʾ?).

1780. *pürgU(-č∇) ~ *pürč∇g∇ 'flea, gnat, mosquito' > HS: S *p∇rɣuθ- ~ *°bʾuʾrɣūθ- 'flea' > BHb פַּרְעוֹשׁ parʾəš 'flea', ? Ug pṛɣt (p.n.), Sr mt. پُرْتَاةٌ; اِحْبَا purtaʿn-ā, Ar بَرُغُوثٌ burɣūθ-, Ak OB mt. peršaʾum ~ persaʾum 'flea'; cp. also Ar بَرُغَشٌ barɣaš- {Hv.} 'gnat', {BK} 'moucheron' (S *°✓brɣš) ¶ The Ar word barɣaš- has an unexpected final sibilant š that may point to an ancient cd. with a different second component or to borrowing from another S lge. ¶ KB 914, Hv. 29, 39, A #2278, Grd. UT #2114, BK I 113, Hv. 29, OLS 355, Sd. 855-6 || A: *pürgE, *°pürčE 'flea' > T: [1] *pürgä|e 'flea' > OT bürgelä ({Cl.} bürgā), MU, Chg [San.], Tk Δ büрге, ET bürgä, Δ büрге, Uz burgä, Qzq, Qq büрге, Qrg bürgö, MOg, OOsm büre, Osm {Bu., Zen.} پوره ~ {Bu.} پیره pürä, Tkm büre, Tk pire, Ggz, Kr Cr pire, Az pira id. | [2] T *pürçä 'flea' > MQp {Hts.} бүрчә, Tkm Δ пүрче, VTt борча бṛša, Bsh бəpcə bṛsə, CrTt {RI.} birčä, Kr T birčä, Cry Cr birče, Kr G birce, QrB, Qmq бүрче, Brb {RI.} pürčä, Nog бұрше бүрше, Chv L пәрча пәрча, Chv H {Md.} pṛčä id.; T б → MM [L] бүрче id. ¶ The loss of T *-g- in the Og lgs. is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 362, ET B 298-9, TL 182-3, Rs. W 92, Bu. I 325, Zn. I 234, Md. 57, 175 (*būr-čē ~ *-ū-), SM 35 || M *bürge > MM [HI, IsV] büрге 'flea', HIM {OMT} бүүргэнэ id., {Luv.} бүүрэг būreg 'louse, lice', Mnr H {SM} būrge 'flea', KI бүүрг būrga, {Rm.} būrga, бүрүг id. ¶ Ms. H 45, Lg. VMI 22-3 (believes that M ← T), Luv. 98, KRS 132, KW 71, OMT I 49, SM 35 ¶ The long ū in some modern M lgs. is puzzling || pKo {S} *pià,rók 'flea' > MKo pià,rók, NKo pià,ruk ¶ S QK #470, Nam 258, MLC 775 ¶¶ DQA #170 (A *bjure 'flea') || D {tr.} *pʾuʾruk- , {GS} piḏuk- 'gnat, mosquito' > MI piṛukku id., Kdg puriki 'mosquito', Gnd pork ɘ porki ɘ poṛki ɘ paṛkī 'louse' ¶¶ D #4203, GS 43 [#93] ◇ T *pürçä and D {GS} piḏuk- (with *-ḏ- < *-rḏ-?) go back to a N metathetic variant ≈ *pürč∇g∇. This mt. and variations within the √ (ɣ ~ ʾ in Ar, reflexes of N *Ḳ ~ *k instead of N *g in A and D) may be connected with ideophonic (even onomatopoeic - in the case of 'gnat, mosquito') associations. The variation *b- ~ *p- may be due to the N non-emph. *p- or to ideophony. Alternatively, the N element *-č∇ (> S

*-θ-, T *-çä) may go back to an ancient particle (with diminutive meaning, as in T; cp. TL 182-3: "the form with -č- is probably a diminutive") ◇ IS II 99-100 (? *puṛč̣ḥ(ǵḥ) / puḷč̣ḥ(ǵḥ) 'flea').

1781. *para'h'i|ü (or *paraʔi|ü) 'weak' > HS: S *^o✓pr̥r > Ak ✓pr̥r G v. 'be weak' ¶ Sd. 829-830 || IE: NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy' > OI 'a-prāyu- 'careful, assiduous' (← *'not lacking of energy') || Gk πρᾶύς, πρηύς, πρᾶος 'mild, soft, gentle, meek' ¶ WP II 86-7, M KI 40, F II 588, Ch. 933-4 (no et. of the Gk word) || A *p'ār'i- (={SDM97} *p'āra) v. 'be tired' > T *_hār- (={Md.} *-ē-, {Md.} *-ā-) > OT {Cl.} ār- v. 'be tired, exhausted, weak', Tkm ār- v. 'get tired\weak', Tkm Δ har- id., ET Trn hār- id., hārdur 'müde machen', Qq harī-, Uz hari- v. 'get tired, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg arī- v. 'get tired', VTt ar-(u) 'get tired\exhausted', аръ-т-(u) 'vt. 'tire (утомлять)', Yk īr- ~ Ir- v. 'get tired', Chv Ir- id. ¶ Pp. VG I 96, ET Gl 160-2, Cl. 193, Rs. W 22, Rl. II 1748-9, TatR 40-41, Jeg. 343, Fed. II 472, Md. 98, 101 ¶ Md. reconstructs pT *a, *ā (a, ā in most T lgs., i, i: in Chv and Yk), which goes back to A *a or *ā preceding a vw. *i of the second syll. or to A diphthongs || M *ɸari- > MM {Pp.} hari- v. 'get exhausted' ('erschöpft sein'), WrM {Pp.} arī- id. (the word does not appear in Kow., MED, and Gl.), {Gl.} arī-su- 'come to an end, stop, disappear' (unless it is a sd. from arī-su- 'be cleaned' ['очиститься, быть очищенным']) ¶ Pp. VG 96, Gl. I 186-7, Krg. 51, MED 53 || Tg {SDM97} *paru- v. 'be dizzy, faint' > Ewk harū-, harūl-, harūñi- v. 'be dizzy', Lm hārū-, Ud хаунз- id., Nn B farunda- v. 'faint', WrMc {Z} fara-ka-bi (p.) 'fainted', {Hr.} fara- 'ohnmächtig werden, bewusstlos werden', ? Mc Sb {Mrm.} faragna- 'bestürzt sein, erstarren'; acc. to Pp. VG 96 (an unconvincing hyp.), Ewk harūl- 'krank werden' is a loan from MM ¶ STM II 317-8, Krm. 305, Klz. MS 165, Z 1036, Hr. 276 || ?σpKo {S} *parh- 'be lean\emaciated' > NKo p^hari-ha- ¶ S QK #925, MLC 1730 ¶¶ S VL #31, ≈ DQA #1727 (A *p'āra 'be tired'; incl. T, M, Tg, Ko) || D (in SD) *paṛ- (={ḡGS} *p-) 'weak, worn out' > Tm paṛai v. 'be wasted, worn out, impaired', Kn paṛe, paṛakalu 'leanness, thinness, weakness' ¶ D #4033 || ?σ,φ U: Ugr (UEW) *pâr̥r∇- or *pâr̥k∇ 'get tired' > Vg Ss {Knn.} powra-mat- 'ermüden, müde werden' (-mat- mom.) | Hg fārād 'get tired' ¶ UEW 880-1, EWU 357 ◇ The long *ā in IE and the type of length in A (S's 1st type > T long vw., Tg short vw., J high tone) suggest a lr. within the N word. The only N lrs. compatible with Ak data are *h

and *ʔ. Acc. to my hyp., D *ʕ goes back to N *r in the intervoc. position (suggesting a vw. after N *-r-). On the evidence of IE *-y- and A *-i (> M *-i) we may tentatively reconstruct a word-final N *-i. If this is true, the IE *-u- goes back to an affix. Alternatively, it may suggest a N word-final *-ü ◊ ≈ Gr. II #396 (*par 'tired') (U, A, Ko, Gil + unc. Ch, EA + err. J).

1782. *P_{er}'w'∇ 'skin, hide, bark' > HS: S *par_uω- 'leather, hide' > Ar farω- 'pelisse, vêtement doublé de fourrure', farω-at- 'peau de la tête; une pelisse, une robe fourrée; vêtement fait de poil de chameau; voile de femme', ✓ frω D (pf. farrā) (denom. verb) 'fourrer, doubler de fourrure'; in MHb (Mishnah) the noun הַרְוֹאֵה par'wā is found within bêt-happar'wā, which is the proper name of a hall in the Temple; one of the traditional interpretations of הַרְוֹאֵה par'wā is 'hide' or 'fur' (bêt-happar'wā 'the house of the hide/fur'), which underlies NHb הַרְוֹאֵה par'va 'fur'; ? Akk. pāru 'skin' (Sd. considers it to be a loan from Sum) ¶ Fr. III 344, BK II 588, BY M 5143, fn. 1, Sd. 836 || Ch: ECh: EDng {Fd.} pàrdé 'bark (of a tree)', Mgm {JA} púrdè (pl. pòrdá), Skr {Sx.} pòrṣṇágá, ? {Lk.} furkia id. || WCh: ? Dir {Sk.} fùfûr id. ¶ JI II 8-9, ChC, JA LM 117 || ?φ C: EC: Dsn {To.} bōrti 'bark, husk' || Q F {Flad} ber 'bark' ¶ To. DL 487, Blz. DL s.v. 'bark' || U *per∇ 'skin, bark' > FU: Os Vy pēr 'rötliche Haut auf der Innenseite der Birkenrinde' | Hg bōr 'skin, hide, leather' || Sm: Ne T пир" 'cambium of a birch-tree; hard excrescence; hard crust (as of bread)', Ne T O {Lh.} pīr? 'rote innere Rinde der Birke, Schleimhaut des Pansens, Rinde des Brotes', Koyb {Klp.} pere 'bark' ¶ UEW 374, Coll. CG, Sm. 539 (U, FU *peri, Ugr *pirī, Sm *pir 'back, cover'), MF 110-1, Ter. 470 || ? A: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} ferī 'enthaarte Pferde-, Maultier- oder Eselhaut', {Z} 'abrasion, rubbed (sore) skin of a draught-horse' ('ссадина, стертая кожа у рабочей лошади') ¶ Hr. 288, Z 1049; IS III 78-9 rejects the adduction of this word because its original meaning seemed to him to have been 'abrasion; to rub sore', so that the word may have been derived from Tg *perk- 'produce a corn, eine Schwiele machen (намосолить)' (STM II 305) || D {Pf.} *per∇ ({ǰGS} *p-) 'skin (of a snake), bark' > Kn pere 'skin or slough of a serpent', Tu perevuni v. 'be peeled, scraped', piresuni v. 'peel, scrape, pare off', Tl beradū 'bark, rind, shell', baradū 'bark of a tree', Krx çayã-perē, çayã-perperē 'snake's old skin' ¶¶ D 4417, Pf. 135 [#1166] ◊ Cf. IS MS 344 (*p^rer∧ 'skin' > U, D), IS III 78-9, Sauv. UAW 12-3 (U, A), UEW 374 (U, A).

1783. *p^or₁w₁∇ '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' > **HS:** S *parr- 'bull, young ruminant' (× N *P₁Ar₁?₁∇ 'bring forth, give birth' [of animals], 'young of animals', q.v.) > BHb פַּר par 'bull, steer', MHb פַּר par 'zwei- bis fünfjähriger junger Stier', Ug pr 'Stier, junges Rind', {OLS} 'novillo (young bull)', פַּר pr 'calf' (פַּר is 'bull'), Sr פַּר pa<?>'r-ā, Md para 'lamb', Ar [Zhr.] farr- 'calf', Ak parru 'lamb'; S *parr-at- 'female young ruminant' > BHb פַּרְרָא pā'rā, Ug prt 'cow', Sr פַּרְרָא parā'tā, Md parta, Ak parratu 'ewe lamb'; other ds.: Ar d. furār- 'young of sheep \ goats \ wild cows', farīr- 'a young of wild animals (gazelle, etc.)' ¶ GB 656, KB 904-5, KBR 959-60, 963-4, OLS 353, Br. 591, DM MD 362, Ln. 2356, Fr. III 326, BK II 559, Hv. 552, Sd. 834 || Eg MKL pry 'Kampfstier (?)' ({EG} pry als Bezeichnung des Kampfstiers), {Fk.} 'ferocious bull' ¶ EG I 526, Fk. 91 || B *^o✓φr₁w ({Pr.} *^o✓h₂r₁w) 'goats and sheep' > Ah {Fc.} e-here (pl. i-harawān) 'goats and sheep', ETwl/Ty e-ħ̄re (pl. iħ̄rwan) 'bétail', ETwl {Nic.} e-hare (pl. iħ̄rwan) id., Sll hrūy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tihray) 'a sheep', *^o✓φry 'calf' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} e-heri (pl. i-haran) 'jeune bœuf de 2 à 3 ans'; Pr. adduces here also *^o✓^rφ¹r₁w 'wealth (bien matériel)' > Ah ehere (pl. iħ̄rwan), Gh ih^rā¹ri (pl. ih^rā¹rawān) id. ¶ Pr. H 68 [#397], Fc. 639-40, GhA 79-80, Nh. 134 || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} farōw, Sml N {Abr.} fāraw 'zebra' ¶ ZMO 135, DSI 222, Abr. S 76 || Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} fūr 'buffalo', MrgL, MrgM {Mk.}, BuP {Mk.}, Klb {Mk.} fūr, MrgP {Mk.} fir id., Mbara {TrnSL} fārāy 'wealth, cattle', Msg P {Trn.} fūss 'troupeau, bétail' || ? WCh: Ang {Flk.} fīr 'roan antelope' ¶ ChC, Hf. GML 20, 23, RK MLBM 112, Meek I 176, 210, 236, 243, 251, Flk. s.v. fīr, TrnSL 260, Trn. LM 87 ¶¶ SSAAJ I #141, Tk. LAA-1 124 [#145] (HS *br 'wealth, cattle') || **K** *pur- 'female bovine' > G puri 'female bovine (buffalo, deer, cow, etc.)', Mg pužī 'female domestic bovine (cow, etc.)', Lz puž-i 'cow', Sv: UB pūr, UB/Ln pīr₁w, LB/Ln p₁wīr, L pur 'cow' ¶ K 192, K² 206, FS K 324, Chik. 78, Chx. 1507, Q 340, Marr 195, TK 771, GP 264 || **IE:** NaIE *per- 'calf, young bull' (× N *P₁Ar₁?₁∇ '↑') > Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf' || OHG far (gen. farres), farro 'bullock, bull', NHG Farr e 'bullock, young bull', AS fearr, ON farri (< *farh-) 'bull' ¶ F II 580, Vr. 113, Ho. 99, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, ≈ EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal') || **D:** [1] (in SD) *po(:)ri '(young) bull, buffalo' > Tm pori 'calf of buffalo', Kt pōry 'young bullock', Kn hōri 'bull calf, bullock', Kdg pōri 'male buffalo', Tu bōri 'bull, ox' ¶

D #4593 [2] D *pār▽ ({{GS}} *p-) 'a young (female?) buffalo' (× N *P_Ar_?_▽ '↑') > Tu pāroḷu 'a young she-buffalo', Td pō·ḷ 'female buffalo calf between 1 and 2 years old', Knd pā·l 'buffalo calf between one and two years old' ¶¶ D #4118; D *-l is a sx. denoting females (Tm maḥal 'daughter', Png toṛndaḷ 'sister', F An. SG 171) ◇ Eg p- suggests a N *p-. The cns. f- (usually from N *p-) in Ang fīr 'roan antelope' is puzzling (if the Ang word belongs here). The original rounded vw. has been preserved in K *pur-, in pMrg (CCh) *fur-, and in D *po(:)ri, while the vw. *a in S *parr- 'bovine, young ungulate' and in D *pār▽ 'young (female) buffalo' is due to contamination with N *P_Ar_?_▽ '↑' (q.v.). A N cns. (*w, preserved in B and C?) is responsible for the D reflex *-r- (regularly from a N cluster *r + cns.).

1784. (₂?) *P_ôRw▽ (= *p_ôr'w▽?) 'to turn, to revolve' > A *p_?_urwa- > M *φurbā- v. 'turn around' ({{Pp.}} *purbā-) > MM [HI] hurba- 'tourner, retourner', WrM urba- v. 'turn around', HIM урва-, Brt урба- id. ('поворачиваться, оборачиваться'), Mnr Н {T} furā- 'turn around \ upside-down \ inside out', {SM} furā- 'se tourner, se retourner' ¶ Pel. 224 [#49], Ms. H 6, SM 109, MED 880, Rinch. 459, T 371, Pp. LVCM 18, Str. AOJ 240 || Tg *pora- vi. 'turn, revolve' > Ewk hōroḷ- id., 'turn over', Neg хоруḷ ~ хоруḷ 'whirlpool', хоруḷ- ~ хоруḷ- vi. 'turn round', vt. 'surround', Ud {STM} хōli-, {Krm.} хōli- vi. 'fly round, кружиться' (a bird), 'turn round', Ul роуо(n-), Ork роуаḷ, Nn Nh роуō 'whirlpool', WrMc fōro- vt. 'turn, повертывать', vi. 'turn back' ¶ STM II 334, Krm. 305, Z 1065, Hr. 305 || U *pâr|w|▽ v. 'turn, revolve' (× N *bUr▽ 'turn round, rotate') > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *pu'x'ra-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puvára-, Mk пуворя- puvará-, Δ puvbára- 'drehen, winden' || ? Vt Sr poryaḷ- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *pěṽar (× N *pe'K_?_sa, [or P_eR_?_sa_?]) 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg *pǎṽar 'round' > Vg T pāwār, LK/MK pāwār, UK pāwār, P pǎwr, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T pūwārt-, LK/MK/UK pǎrt-, P/NV/SV/LL pārt-, UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herumwälzen'; ? pOs *pěṽarṽa- ({{HI.}} *pṽarṽa-) > Os Ty/Y pěṽarṽa- 'sich umdrehen' || Hg fōrog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP pīrrūōldša-, Slq Ch puōlda- 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} puríít, LTz {KD} pūroltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' ¶ UEW 414 (*pâr|w|▽), MF 214-5, Coll. 78, , Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [#504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w-

and *-ʃ- in pObU), KKIИ 153 || ? IE: NaIE *sper- v. 'turn, twist' ('drehen, winden') (× N *ĉ̌∇PR∇ 'to twist, to plait' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ The absence of *-w- suggests that the main source of the √ is N *ĉ̌∇PR∇ || HS: ECh: Ke {Eb.} pérté 'drehen' ¶ Eb. 87 || ??? AdS of Eg fMK p̄x̄r 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose' (< N *p̄i'h|X|Q' RE 'around', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 148 (U, A) ◇ If IE *sper- belongs here, the N vibrant is *r̄, and the N labial cns. is *p̄-, otherwise we reconstruct N *P̄ôRw∇ without distinction between *r and *r̄ and between *p̄- and *p̄-.

1785. *paR₁a₁Xi (= *pa^{r̄}₁a₁Xi?) '≈ happy, dear' > HS: WS *√pr̄h v. 'be happy' > Ar √fr̄h (pf. fariḥa, ip. -fraḥ-) {BK} 'être gai, content, joyeux', {Hv.} 'be glad, cheeful, pleased', faraḥ- 'joy, cheerfulness', 'joie, aleggresse', Mh √fr̄h (pf. fīrḥ, sbjn. y3-frēḥ) v. 'be happy', Jb C/E √fr̄h (pf. 'ferḥ) id. ¶ BK II 563, Jo. M 99 || C: ? DhI fūr 'be satiated' (but fūrā 'joy' ← Swahili) || B *√frHr > Ah ifrar 'être bon pour la marche' (terrain, chemin), 'être bon, avoir de la valeur; être de/en bon qualité', Twl/Ty ifrar 'être bon \ de valeur \ de bonne qualité', Tdq ifrar 'être bon' ¶ NZ 601-2, Fc. 354-5, PGG 67 || IE *preny- > NaIE *prā₁-/pra₁-/prī- 'wish so. well, favour so.' > OI pri¹yaḥ 'own, dear, beloved', prī¹nā¹ti 'pleases', pp. prī¹taḥ 'pleased, delighted', Av frya- 'lieb, wert, eigen', frī¹nā¹ti 'wünscht', Oss I lzmān, Oss D limān (< *frīya-mana-) 'friend' || AdS of Gk παῦς, παῖος 'mild, soft, gentle' (< NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy' < N *para¹h¹i|ü or *para¹i|ü 'weak') || Gmc *frijōn 'to love' > Gt frijōn, ON frjá, NNr, Sw fria, Dn fri, AS frēo(za)n id.; Gt frijōnd-s, OSx friund, OHG friunt, NHG Freund, AS frēond & frīend 'friend', NE friend || Sl *prijā¹-ti 'to be friendly/favourable' > OCS прияти 'priyati' φροντίζειν, 'to be favourable to', SCr prijati, Slv prijati 'to please, to suit, to be agreeable', P s-przyjać, Cz přáti 'to wish so. well, to favour so.', Slk priat' 'to favour so.'; Sl d. *prijǎ¹-tel' 'friend' > OCS, OR prijatelj prijatelj, R при¹ятель, Blg при¹ятел, SCr prijatelj, Slv prijatelj, Cz přítel (pl. přátelé), Slk priatelj, P przyjaciel id. ¶ P 844, M K II 378-80, M E II 181-2, 189-90, F II 588, Fs. 168, Vr. 143, Kb. 291, OsS 227, KM 218, Ho. 117, Ab. II 54-5, Ma. CS 490-1, 494, Vs. III 369-70, Glh. 502-3, Vr. 143, KM 218, EI 358 (*priH-eh₁- 'love'), 642 (*pri¹H-eh₁- 'wife'), ≠ EI 214 (*pri¹Ho-s 'of one's own' → 'deer'), 642 || U: FP *para 'good' > F (ds.) parempi 'better', paras

(gen. parhaan), parahin ~ parhain 'the best', paranta- 'gesund machen; (ver)bessern', parantu- 'besser werden, genesen', Es parem 'better', parim 'the best' || pLp {Lr.} *pōrē 'good' > Lp N {N} buorre ~ buorrē/-r- 'good, kind, pleasant', L {LLO} puorrē, S {Hs.} buōrie, Nt {TI} pu³z̄r̄:e, T {TI} pī́r̄(:)e, Pa {TI} p̄wzrr̄ñ 'good', Kld {TI} pu³raṁ̄p 'better' || Er паро paro, Mk пара para 'good' || Chr L 'poro 'good, good-hearted', H пурь pur̄ id., {Ep.} id., 'healthy', {Ü} 'good', B poro id., Uf puro, poro 'good, healthy' || pPrm *bur 'good' > OPrm bur, Z bur id., Vt bur 'right (dexter)', 'good, well' ¶ UEW 724, It. #34, Sm. 553 (FP *p̄ēra 'good'), SK 490-1, Lr. #1001, Lgc. #5323, It. LC 85, Hs. 386-7, TI 409, Ker. II 106, Ü 160, 169, MRS 443, 472, Ep. 95, LG 42, 205, U3S 57 || A *ba³r̄ ∇ > AmTg *bāra-çi- 'rejoice' > Orc bārači-, Ul, Nn Nh bārači- id. ¶ STM I 73 || M *barda- 'be proud, boast' > WrM barda-, HIM барда- v. 'boast, brag, be proud', Ord b_ard_a- v. 'boast, swagger', WrO {Krg.} barda- 'be proud', Kl бардм bardm̄ n. 'swagger, Prahlerei', {Rm.} barda- 'sicher sein (in seinen Absichten, über den Erfolg)', Brt бардам n. 'swagger, pride', Dg {T} bardan n. 'boasting, vainglory' ¶ MED 85, Ms. O 51-2, Krg. 337, KRS 8, KW 34, Chr. 87, T DgJ 124 || ?σ T *ba³r̄- v. 'dare\venture to' > Bsh baḡ- id., VTt baz- id., 'make up one's mind to', QrB {Rs.} baz-, Uz Δ {Rl.} -باز baz- (or b̄az-?) 'wagen, sich entschließen' ¶ Rs. W 66, TatR 52, BRS 70, Rl. 1542 || pJ {S} *báráp- 'laugh' > OJ wáráp-, J: T wàra-, K wárá-, Kg wará- id. ¶ S QJ #1428, Mr. 783 ¶¶ DQA #109 (A *bāra|p 'rejoice, be proud') ◇ If T *ba³r̄- 'belongs here, we reconstruct N *-r̄-, otherwise we remain with the unspecified *-R- ◇ An alt. et. of U: FP *para 'good' < N *ba³r̄ ∇ 'big, much, thick', see IS I 175: ? *bara 'big, good' ◇ Blz. SNE (Ar, IE; *÷ T), ≈ Blz. KM 238 [#22] (added Berber, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *háp ∇ r̄ ∇ 'tender, beautiful', *bAr³h¹ ∇ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love'), and *piRo 'ask'), Bru. 187 [#997] (Ar, IE), Čop IU IV 133-4 (IE, U).

1786. *pAr_{ly} ∇ 'run, flee' > HS: WS *√ prr (~ *°√ prw|y?) v. 'flee, run' > Ar √ frr G v. 'flee, escape' ({BK} 's'enfuir, se sauver, s'échapper; courir'), Sq {L} fer v. 'run, be in a hurry', Jb √ frr (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'yḡffzr), Mh √ frr (pf. fzr, sbjn. yzfrēr) v. 'flee', JPA {Lv.} √ prw|y (pf. אָרָא pā'rā ~ 'רָא pā'rī) v. 'run', Sr √ prr (pf. פָּרָא par, ip. פָּרָא nε-'pur) 'fugere, avolare' (WS *√ prr v. 'flee' has a

secondary connection with WS $\sqrt{\text{pr}}$ 'fly' < N $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ 'to fly, to jump', q.v.); WS d. $\sqrt{\text{pr}}$: $\sqrt{\text{npr}}$ > Sr $\sqrt{\text{npr}}$ (pf. $\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}'\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$) 'consternatus fugit (equus)', $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{p}'\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (*Sh* of $\sqrt{\text{npr}}$) v. 'put to flight', Ar $\sqrt{\text{nfr}}$ (pf. nafara , ip. $\text{ya-nfur-u} \sim \text{ya-nfir-u}$) 'fugax, pavidus fuit (de jumento)', 'fugit et dispersit se (gens)', {Hv.} 'be scared away' (beast), 'disperse away' (people); reduplicated WS stem $\sqrt{\text{prpr}}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{frfr}}$ 'marcher d'un pas serré, se dépêcher, aller vite', Jb C $\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, $\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$), Jb E $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ 'hasty', Mh $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ 'hasty person' ¶ Br. 441, PS 3225, JPS 346, Lv. IV 96, Fr. III 325-6 and IV 311, BK II 558-9, 582, 1307, Hv. 552, 786, Jo. J 59-60, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, LLS 342 || C: Bj {R} - $\text{f}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}$ (1s: p. $\text{a-f}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}$, prs. ' $\text{a-f}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}\text{i} \sim \text{a-f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{i} \sim \text{a-f}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}$), {Rop.} - $\text{f}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}$ v. 'flee', {R} ' $\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$, {Rop.} $\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'flight' ||] On semantic grounds I prefer to keep apart the HS verb $\sqrt{\text{pry}} \sim \sqrt{\text{pr?}}$ v. 'go out, take out' (\mathcal{F} N $\sqrt{\text{pAri}} \text{?} \nabla$, 'take out, pull out\off') ¶ R WBd 81-2, Rop. 180-1 ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJI #32 || K $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ - v. 'escape' (??) > G $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ - (i-version) v. 'escape' (e.g. $\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-v-i-par-vi}$ 'I escape'), (\rightarrow ?) (trans. form) v. 'steal'; the K $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ belongs here only if the meaning 'escape' is primary and the meaning of the transitive form ('steal') is secondary (cp. Fr $\text{v}\bar{\text{o}}\text{l}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ 'to fly' \rightarrow 'to steal') ¶ NCh. RKL I 46, Chx. 996-7, 1030 || D: [1] $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ - ({ \mathcal{G} GS} $\sqrt{\text{p-}}$) v. 'run, flow' (\times N $\sqrt{\text{barq}} \nabla$ [\sim $\sqrt{\text{barX}} \nabla$] 'to go, to go away, to step' \times N $\sqrt{\text{pAr}} \text{y} \nabla$ 'to run, to flee') > Tm $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{i}$ v. 'run, go out, escape', Td $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{y-}$ '(horse) gallops', v. 'ride at a gallop', Kn $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{i}$, $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{i}$, Tu $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{i}\text{y}\text{u}\text{n}\text{i}$, $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{i}\text{y}\text{u}\text{n}\text{i}$ v. 'run, flow', Tl $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{u}$ v. 'run, run away', $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{u}\text{g}\text{u}$, $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}(\text{u})\text{v}\text{u}$ 'running, a run', Mlt $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$, $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}$ v. 'run away' ¶¶ D #3963, Km. 427 [#801] (does not distinguish this $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ from SD $\sqrt{\text{par-u}}\text{v-/-a}\text{v-}$ v. 'spread'), 429 [##813, 815] ||] [2] $\sqrt{\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}}$ -/ $\sqrt{\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}}$ - ({ \mathcal{G} GS} $\sqrt{\text{p-}}$) v. 'fly, run swiftly' (\times N $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ 'to fly, to jump' [q.v. ffd.]), the meaning 'run' is represented in OTl {Km.}, Tm $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{u}$ v. 'run, flee', Kn $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{u}$, $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{u}$ v. 'run' ◇ K $\sqrt{\text{p-}}$ provides evidence for N $\sqrt{\text{p-}}$. D $\sqrt{\text{r-}}$ in $\sqrt{\text{par}}$ - goes back to a cns. cluster (belonging to the heritage of N $\sqrt{\text{barq}} \nabla$ [\sim $\sqrt{\text{barX}} \nabla$]).

1787. $\sqrt{\text{p}^1\text{ur}} \text{y} \nabla$ (or $\sqrt{\text{p}^1\text{ür}} \text{y} \nabla$?) 'wing, feather(s)' > HS: S $\sqrt{\text{prpr}}$ > Hrs $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}'\text{f}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}$) 'feather' ¶ Jo. H 33 || B $\sqrt{\text{f}\nabla\text{r}}$ - 'wing' > Rf {Rn.}, SrSn {Rn.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, Izn {Bs.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, BSn, Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, Wrg {Dlh.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$), Hrw {Bs.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$), Izd {Mrc.} $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$), Kb {Dl.} $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{r}\text{a}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$, $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$), ZAS {Loub.} $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{i}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$), Gd {Lf.} $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ (pl. $\text{a}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$) id., Sll $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{t}$ (pl. $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$) id., $\text{i}\bar{\text{f}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'large wing'; B $\sqrt{\text{f}\nabla\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{w-}} \sim \sqrt{\text{f}\nabla\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}\text{w-}}$ 'wing' > Zng {Bs.} أفريوى

afriwi (pl. **يفريوان** ifriwan), Wrs {Bs.} afriwi (pl. ifriwin), BMn {Bs.} afri ~ afriw (pl. afriwn, ifriwān), Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.}, Fgg {NZ} afriw, Tmm {Bs.} afri (pl. ifriwn), Nf {Beg.} afrīw (pl. ifrīwān) 'wing', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} afraw (pl. ifrawān) 'wing, feather', Ty afraw (pl. ifrawān), Gd {Lf.} afraw (pl. afrāwēn), ETwl afrut (pl. ifrutēn) 'wing' ¶ Fc. 336, Lf. II #O436, Dl. 218, Bs. MS I 226, Bs. ZOu 141, Beg. 215, GhA 42, Mrc. 16, Dlh. DMB 50, Dlh. Ou 79, Loub. 535, Msq. 18, 252, Rn. 298, NZ 598-9, 645 || **K**: OG prte, G prta 'feather' ¶ Ser. 164, Chx. 1497 || **IE**: NaIE *₁(s)₁per- 'feather, wing' > Vd par'ṇam, Av par^ṇnəm, KhS pārra- 'feather, wing', NPrs پَر پَarr id. || Sl *pe'ro 'feather' > ChS, OR pero pero 'feather', OCS pero pero 'pen', R, Uk, Blg пe'po, SCr pèro, Slv perō (gen. perēsa), Δ péro, P pióro, Cz, Slk pero 'feather'; Sl *perije 'feathers' > R 'перья id., Cz peří 'feather' | ? Blt: Lt spařnas, Ltv spārns 'wing' || Ht partawar 'wing', (?) 'feather' (-t- due to the infl. of Ht pattar/n- 'wing' < N *P_{ut}∇ 'feather, hair'??) ¶¶ EI 646 (*por'no-m 'wing, feather'), M K II 223-4, M E II 97, Horn 65-6, Bai. 231, SJSS XXV 26-7, Vs. III 243, Mikl. E 241, Glh. 275, Frn. 861, CHD P198-9, ≈ Bn. HR 36-41 ('feather, wing' in Sl and Iir ← IE *per- 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace') (see N *par∇ 'to fly, to jump') || **A**: Tg *p_{ur}akī 'wing, bone of a wing (humerus of birds)' > Ewk hurakī 'wing; humerus (of birds); quill (Federkiel)', Lm h_{ur}uql 'forelimb (предплечье) of a wing', Neg xoyaxl 'humerus in a bird's wing', 'humerus (of humans)', Ork x_{ur}aq_l 'bone of a wing' ¶ STM II 352 || M *₁φ₁örbelge '∈ feather(s)' > WrM örbelge, HIM өрвөлөг ~ өрөвлөг 'feather on the head (of a bird), tuft, crest; small feathers', Ord örwölgö 'small feather', Kl {Rm.} örw_lgə ~ örwöläg 'feathers, plumage', {KRS} өрв_лг 'down (of birds)', Brt үрбэлгэ id., 'feathers of the tail' ¶ MED 640, Ms. O 540, KW 301, KRS 423, Chr. 509 || pJ {S} *p₃r₃ 'falcon's wings, underwing feathers' > OJ poro, poro-pa ¶ S QJ #1589, Mr. 415 ¶¶ DQA #1830 (A *p'ore - -j-, -r- 'feather, wing') || **D** *pur- ({₃GS} *p-) 'feather of a peacock's tail' > Tl puri 'peacock's tail', Klm pūrage id., Prj pūril (pl.) 'peacock's tail feathers', Gnd pūri 'peacock's tail', Knd puri 'feather of a peacock' ¶¶ D #3581 ◇ Blt *s- provides evidence for an IE *s- mobile, which suggests a palatal element (*_y or palatality of *_r) in the N word. But N *-r- is probably ruled out by the D reflex, therefore my tentative

solution is to suppose a N cluster *-ry-. Frn. 861 believes that Baltic *s- is secondary and tries to explain it by the infl. of IE *sp^(h)er- 'zucken' $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II #164 (*par 'fly' v.) (IE, U, Y, A, J, Gil, without distinguishing this N word from N *p_{ar}∇ 'to fly, to jump').

1788. *P_∇R_C∇ 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (or N *p_{Ar}'yU' C∇....., a cd. with N *p_{Ar}ly_∇ 'run, flee', q.v.) > HS: S *^o✓prš|š|θd > Ak ✓pršd v. N (inf. naparšudu) '(ent)flichen' ¶ Sd. 735 || IE: Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' ¶ Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80 || A: Tg *^op_r∇_r∇- > Ewk Sk/Urm hōrça- v. 'overtake' ('догнать, нагнать') ¶ STM II 334.

1789. (2?) *P_∇R_C∇_l∇_∇ 'heel' or '(sole of a) foot' > HS: WS *^o✓prš|šn (× N *P_∇R∇_čl_∇∇ 'fingernail, claw', q.v. ffd.) > Ar {BK} firsin- (pl. furāsīn-) 'pied, patte (cette partie du pied chez le chameau et l'éléphant que l'animal pose sur le sol); pied de brebis', {Fr.} firsin- 'ungula cameli, elephanti', {Hv.} 'camel's or man's foot', ? Tgr f3rs3m 'ankle (of men), heel tendon' ¶ BK II 569-70, Fr. III 332, Ln. 2369, Hv. 555, LH 656, ≈ MiK I #1.220 || IE *pers-nā, *pers-ni- 'heel' > OI 'pārṣni-, Av pāšna- 'heel', KhS pārra-, Sgd pšn?, NPrs {VI., BM} پاشنه pāšne, {Sg.} پاشنه pāšene 'heel' || Gt faírzna, AS fiersn, OHG fersna, NHG Ferse 'heel' || Gk πτέρνη id. || L perna 'leg; ham' (← 'heel', as evidenced by the d. perniō, -ōnis 'Frostbeule an den Fersen') || ?? Ht {Frd.} parsina- [*parsna-] 'Oberschenkel, Lende', {CHD} parseīna-, parsna- 'buttock, loins, male genitalia' ¶ P 823, EI 265 (*^opersn-eh_∇-), M K II 261, M E II 123-4, Horn 62, VI. I 320, Sg. 231, BM 87, Bai. 231, F II 611-612, WH II 289-290, EM 499, Fs. 141, Kb. 237, OsS 186, KM 193-4, Ho. 104, CHD P 187-8, Ts. W 62 || ?φ K: OG brčal-i [OT, NT] 'heel' (Gen. 3.15, Joh. 13.18), MG [VTq.] {DCh.} 'длань, лапа', G {Chx.} brčal-i 'fingernail, claw' ¶ DCh. 121, Ser. 17, Chx. 114 ¶ Several phonemes of the word are irreg. (b- for the expected p- or p-, a glottalized affricate with unexpected glottalization, as well as probably -l- for -n-), which suggests that the word may be a loan from some unknown source. An alternative conjecture is as follows: *p_∇rc_l∇_∇- > K *p_∇rc_l∇_∇ > *b_∇rc_l∇_∇ (mte.) > Zan *brč-al- (*-al- is a sx.) ⇨ OG brčali 'heel'. This conjecture presupposes a N rec. *p_∇rc_l∇_∇ 'heel' \diamond IS MS 342 equated the abovementioned IE and K roots with FU *pers|še- 'hind part' and reconstructed a N etymon with the meaning 'задний (hind part)'.

1790. *P₂VRVĆ₂X₂V 'fingernail, claw' > HS: CS (or WS) *'paras-'hoof, cloven hoof' (× N *P₂VRV₂Ā₂V 'heel') > BHb הַפְּרָסָה par'sā 'cloven hoof, hoof', JA [Trg.] parsə'tā id., Sr |^و؛^س parsə't-ā 'hoof', SmA ✓ prs Sh 'have hoofs', JPA Bz הַפְּרָסָה prsh, em. פְּרָסָה prsth 'hoof, cloven hoof', ? Tgr f3rs3m 'ankle (of men), heel tendon'; cp also Ar firsin- 'hoof of a camel' (< N *P₂VRV₂Ā₂V 'heel') ¶ KB 912, KBR 969-70, Tal 705-6, Lv. T II 294, Br. 600, Fr. III 332, Ln. 2369, Hv. 555, Sl. P 449, LH 656, MiK I #1.220 || NrOm: Cha {C} harçā (h < *f is irreg.), Bdt {C} partā, Kcm {CR} beradē, Gm {Hw.} biradde, Wl {C} beradde, beradyā, {LmS, HL} biradđiya, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} bi'radde, Dwr {Brll.} biraddé, {LmS} birrade, Dc {HL} biradde 'finger' ¶ Blz. OLBP 13 [#36], AD SF 41-2, Mrn. O 139, HL 93, LmS 322-3, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Hs fārčè (pl. fārāwtā) 'fingernail', Gw {Mts. G} á-píràčí 'finger', Gw Kr fíràčí, Gw Nm pírsi id. || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} p3r3s3n3 'hoof of animal' || ? Gdr {Mch.} purđumay 'fingernail' (đ = ô or ž [?]) [Mouchet does not explain the sign đ, but refers to the transcription of the Institut d'ethnologie, which is not yet available to the present author] ¶ Mts. G 20, Mts. GD 33, ChC, Mch. VCQP 36, Hsk. 256 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 65 || K *pr̥c̥xa- 'fingernail, claw' > OG pr̥c̥xil- 'claw', G pr̥c̥xil- 'fingernail, claw', G G pr̥c̥xil-, G X/T p̥r̥c̥xil- id., Mg birc̥xa- id., Lz bu(r)c̥xa- 'fingernail, claw', c̥xenī-buc̥xa 'hoof of a horse' (lit. 'horse-claw'), Sv UB/LB/L/Ln c̥xa 'fingernail, claw, talon' ¶ K 191, K² 204-5, Chik. 61-2, Marr 132-3, TK 841, GP 277 || IE: NaIE (att. in BSl) *^opr̥st- 'finger, [?] toe' > Sl *p̥r̥stь (gen. *p̥r̥'sta) id. > OCS pr̥stь pr̥stь, OR p̥rstь p̥rstь, R †, Uk перст 'finger', SCr p̥r̥st, Slv p̥r̥st, Blg 'пръст(ът), Cz, Slk pr̥st, ULs porst 'finger, toe', P parst 'finger' || Lt p̥r̥štas (1st accentual paradigm), Ltv p̥r̥kst̥s, p̥r̥rst̥s, Pru p̥r̥sten 'finger' ¶ Vs. III 244, ZVSZ 354-5, Glh. 507, Frn. 598, En. 227 ◇ AD GD 12, IS MS 351, IS III 70-7 (*p̥'a'r̥'a' 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and N *P̥'A'R̥V 'finger'). The N etymons *P₂VRVĆ₂X₂V and *P̥'A'R̥V '↑' are likely to be etymologically connected. It is tempting to suppose that N *P₂VRVĆ₂X₂V goes back to a N cd. *P̥'A'R̥V ċuyçä 'finger-thorn' (F N *ċuyçä 'thorn').

1791. *P₂VRiĆ₂V 'break through, tear' > HS: S *✓pr̥ç > BHb ✓pr̥ç (pf. פְּרָץ pā'raç, ip. -p̥roç) 'make a split, make breach (in the city wall), break through', Ug pr̥ç {KB} ? 'Riß, Spalt', {OLS} 'breach', JA [Trg.]

✓prš v. 'break through', Md ✓prš G v. 'breach, break through', Ar ✓frš G v. 'cut, slit, pierce', {BK} 'couper, fendre en deux', Ak ✓prš G 'durchbrechen' ¶ KB 914-5, KBR 971-2, OLS 357, Lv. T II 298, Js. 1237, DM 80, Ln. 2372, BK II 572, Hv. 556 || K: GZ *preç-/priç- vt. 'tear, rend' > G p(χ)riç-/p(χ)reç- id., 'zerreißen, zerfetzen; (die Augen) aufreißen', Mg buriç- ~ biriç-, Lz briç- ~ bruç- ~ briç- v. 'tear' ¶ K 190, K² 204, ≈ FS K 60 and FS E 62 (*breç-/briç-), Chx. 1523 || IE *pers- ~ *prīs- v. 'break to pieces' > Gk πρῖω v. 'saw (asunder)', πρῖω τοὺς ὀδόντας 'grind\gnash the teeth', πρῖσμα 'anything sawn' → [Euc.] 'prism' || pAl {O} *prīša > Al prīsh 'destroy, spoil, waste', Al G {Lamp} prīsh 'spoil' || Ht {CHD} parsai- v. 'break up into small pieces, crumble', {Ts.} parsiya- md. 'zerbrechen, zerteilen, zerstückeln' ¶ P 846, F II 596, O 346, Ç II 49-50, 440, Kf. 282, Lamp 158, Frd. HW 163, CHD P 183-4, Ts. W 61 ◇ The length of the vw. in IE *prīs- and the optional lr. in G challenge explanation. Do they suggest the presence of a lr. in the N etymon (≈ *P₂RIH₂)?

1792. *P₂arga 'to split' > HS: S *^o✓prg (or CS *✓prg) > Ar فرج ✓frğ G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre', {Ln} 'make an opening (or intervening space) between two things', ?σ JA [Trg.] ✓prg D 'exchange' (if ← 'auseinander halten', as supposed by Lv.) ¶ BK II 561, Ln. 2359, Js. 1213, Lv. IV 97 || ?σ IE: NaIE *perg- '≈ beat, strike, wound' > Arm հարկանեմ harkan-em 'beat, strike, wound' (but aor. հարի harī without -k-) || Clt (× *xerg₁h₁- < N *hir₂g₂ 'kill' or 'die'): OIr org- 'smite, slay', OBr treorgam 'perforō' ¶ P 819, ≈ Slt. 257-8, Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, cp. EI 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy') || A: M *pergi 'steep bank, precipice' > WrM ergi 'steep bank; steep precipice or slope', HIM эрэг id., Mnr H {SM} xarg₁i '(river-)bank, precipice' ¶ Pp. IM 153, MED 323, T 374, SM 162 || D *pari- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'break off, tear, cut asunder' > Tm pari (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut asunder', pari- (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be sundered, break off, be cut asunder', Ml pariηuka v. 'pluck grass', Tu paripuni v. 'tear, rend', pariγuni v. 'rend', OTI pariγu v. 'wear away; fall away in shreds' (of plastering), Klm part- 'cut up', Prj parng- 'be split', paarkip- v. 'split', Gdb pariηp- v. 'split (firewood with axe)', Knd para 'crumb, fragment', Ku par- 'dig a ditch', Krx parx-, Mlt parge v. 'split, cleave, rend' ¶¶ D ##3962, 4027, Km. 426 [#799] (does not distinguish between D *pari- and D *pari- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'tear off, pluck', which is likely to go back to N

***p̥äriʔʔE** 'to tear, to split', q.v.) ◇ IE *g (rather than *g^h) is due to the incompatibility law ruling out media aspirata and vl. stops in the same root. D *-r- < N *r + cns.

1793. *p̥ür∇K̥∇ (or ***p̥ir∇K̥∇**) 'be startled, be scared, fear' > HS: WS *✓prk̥ 'fear' > Ar ✓frq (pf. fariqa) {Hv.} 'fear, be frightened', {BK} 'avoir peur; être peureux, timide', fariq-un 'qui a peur (effrayé par une chose qui survient inopinément)', Hrs f̥zrōk̥ v. 'fear, be afraid', Mh frōk̥ (sbjn. y̥zfrōk̥), Jb E furk̥, Jb C eʔfrek̥ v. 'frighten', Jb C {Jo JL} ʔerz̥k̥ (sbjn. y̥zʔro̥k̥) v. 'be afraid, frightened', Mh f̥īr̥z̥k̥ (sbjn., prs. y̥zfrōk̥), Hrs ʔayr̥z̥k̥ (sbjn., prs. y̥zfrōk̥) v. 'be afraid, timorous' ¶ BK II 583-4, Hv. 558, Jo. M 100, Jo. H 34, Jo. J 61 || ʔφ EC: pKns *fūr- 'fear' > Gdl hūr-, Kns fūr- ¶ Bl. 67 || ʔφ CCh: Db {Lnh.} p̥ūr̥t 'fear' ¶ ChC s.v. 'fear' || IE: NaIE *perk- n., v. 'fear' > Gt faúrhteī, OHG, OSx forhta, NHG Furcht, AS fyrhtu ~ fryhtu n. 'fear', NE fright; Gt faurhtjan sik 'to be frightened'; OHG for(a)hten, OSx forhtian, forhton, AS forhtian 'to fear'; Gt faúrhts, AS, OSx forht, OHG for(a)ht 'fearing, timid' || pTc {Ad.} *p̥ärsk- (< *perk-sk-) > Tc A, B p̥ärsk- 'be afraid'; d.: Tc A praski-, Tc B proskiye ~ prosko n. 'fear, danger' ¶ P 820, EI 198, Fs. 146-7, Kb. 279, OsS 213-4, Ho. 112, 120, Ho. S 22, Wn. 388, JGH 29, 123, 193, 326, Ad. 375-6, 422 || A *p̥ürke v. 'be startled\scared, fear' > T (att. in NaT) *h̥ürk̥i̥j̥- ~ *h̥ürk̥ü̥j̥- id. > OT ürk̥(ü)- id., Chg ≥ xv ürk̥- ~ hürk̥- id., Tk ürk̥- 'be startled \ scared \ frightened', Tkm, Qq ürk̥-, Tkm NC hürk̥-, Uz hurk̥-, SY örk̥- id., Az, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Nog ürk̥-, Qzq ürk̥i̥-, VTt, Bsh őr̥k̥-, Xk üruk̥-, ET, StAlt ürk̥ü- id. ¶ Cl. 221, Rs. W 522, ET Gl 635-7 || M *p̥ürgü- v. 'be(come) frightened' > MM [MA] hürgü- id., WrM ürgü- ~ ürge-, HIM үргэ- v. 'be(come) alarmed or frightened', Brt үргэ-, Kl үрг- ürgə- 'be frightened', Ord ürgü- id., Mnr H {SM} furgud̥i- 'be frightened \ shy' (of animals) ¶ Pp. MA 192, MED 1012, Chr. 511, KRS 554, Ms. O 761, SM 110] ʔφ, σ M *p̥urin 'anger' > WrM ur̥in, HIM урин 'ardent passion, anger, dislike', Kl ур, {Rm.} ur̥ ~ ūr, b ur̥ŋ 'anger', Kl урнь-х, {Rm.} b urnj- 'be angry', Brt ури гари болошоһон 'be in bad spirits', Ba h̥or, Dx χō 'anger' ¶ MED 884, KRS 534, 537, KW 450-1, 454, T DnJ 139, T BJ 150 || ʔσ Tg *p̥urke- v. 'be depressed, feel miserable' > Ewk hurk̥ē-, hurk̥z̥y̥i- 'be bored\sad' (скучать, тосковать), Lm h̥örk̥z̥n-, h̥örk̥z̥t-/ç- id., Orc xokko(y)ā, xokko(i)si 'boring (скучно)', xokkosi- 'be bored', Ud {STM} xokoHō 'it is very unpleasant\disgusting (because of noise, disorder)' ¶

STM II 353 || ? ϕ pJ {S} *pìrù-m- 'retreat frightened, run away' > OJ p_Lì
 òrùm-, J: T hirúm-, K hírúm-, Kg hìrùm- ¶ S QJ #783, Mr. 690 ¶¶ The
 loss of A *-k- in J and in M * φ urin is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM94 (A
 *p'ürkE), SDM97 (A *p'ürkE 'be afraid, angry' > T, M, as well as Tg
 *purkē- 'be bored'), ≠ DQA #1806 (A *p'jūri 'be afraid, angry'); Rm.
 SKE 209, Pp. VG 83, 111, Rs. W 522 (these sources equate T *_Lh_Lürk- and
 M * φ ürgü- with Tg *purkE- v. 'jump' [STM II 353] and Ko {Rm.} pulkīn
 h \wedge da 'spring up, arise', which is qu.; the Tg and Ko root is better to be
 referred to N ***p_LU_Lr_Lŭ_Lgä** 'to jump', q.v. ffd., though the merger of both
 N words at the A and even at the pN level is probable) || **D** *pir ∇ kk-
 ({ θ GS} *p-) 'fear' > Tm pirakkam 'awe, fear', ? pirappu 'fear,
 alarm', Kn piriki 'coward', Tl piriki 'coward; timid, cowardly';
 connected with Tm pirar_L v. 'tremble' (?) ¶¶ D #4200 (a) \diamond D *i and
 A *ü may be explained either by labialization of the vw. in A (ass. infl.
 of *p-?) or by delabialization *ü > *i in D (still to be investigated).

1794. ? σ ₂ ***P ∇ R_L ∇ Kæ** 'tear out\asunder\off, detach' > **HS:** WS
 * \checkmark prk 'tear out\away\off' > BHb \checkmark prk G v. 'tear away\off, rescue', OA
 \checkmark prk v. 'destroy', JA [Trg.] \checkmark prk G 'einlösen, erlösen', {Js.} 'untie,
 redeem', JEA {Sl.} \checkmark prk G 'redeem, separate, divide, solve', Sr, Nbt
 \checkmark prk 'auflösen, befreien', Md \checkmark prk v. 'severe, detach, free, deliver,
 save', Ar \checkmark frq G (pf. faraqa ip. -fruq-) {BK} 'distinguer, mettre de la
 différence entre deux\plusieurs choses; se partager en deux\plusieurs,
 se fourcher (la route)', {Hv.} 'separate, set apart; part (the hair)', Sb
 \checkmark frk v. 'deliver, save', Gz \checkmark frk v. 'save, redeem', Tgy * \checkmark frk 'befreien',
 Ak \checkmark prk G 'abtrennen', 'separate' ¶ KB 915-7, KBR 973-4, Sd. 829,
 BGMR 46, L G 166, LH 657, Lv. IV 136, Js. 1239, Sl. 937-8, BK II 582-3,
 Hv. 558 || C: Bj \checkmark frk pcv. ({R} 1s: 'a-frik, prs. afan'rīk) 'dig' ¶ R
 Wbd. 83 || **IE:** NaIE *perk̄- '≈ dig a ditch\chasm', {P} 'aufreißen,
 aufwühlen' (and \leftrightarrow NaIE *pr̄k̄ā 'furrow') > OI 'parśāna-h_L 'precipice,
 chasm' || L porca n. 'furrow' || MW rhûch 'furrow', W rrych id.,
 'groove', OBr Γ rec 'sulco', ro-risce_Lnti 'sulcavissent', MBr
 reguenn snglt. 'furrow', Br d. regañ 'labourer légèrement', Gl rica
 'furrow' (\rightarrow Fr raie 'line, stroke') || OHG fur(u)h, NHG Furche, Sw
 fāra, Δ för, Dn fure, AS furh 'furrow', NE furrow; ON for
 'furrow, ditch' (< *pr̄k̄-), NNr fere 'ridge between two furrows' || Lt
 prā-peršis, pra-paršà, pra-peršà 'unfrozen patch of water in
 ice-covered surface', praparšas 'ditch, Graben' ¶ P 821, M K II 228-

9, M E II 100, WH II 340-1, Flr. 294, Hm. 683, Vr. 13, Kb. 303, OsS 234, KM 225, Ho. 119, Frn. 578, EI 215 (*p_rġeh_h- 'furrow') ◇ Cf. IS II 100-1 (*p'är'ä' 'tear, break, split'). It is tempting to see the same N etymon in D *pīr- (> Tm pīr-) and D *pīk- (> Ka pīku v. 'pull out, pluck up, tear', Tl pī:kū v. 'pull out, root up, pluck out', Klm pīkeŋ v. 'uproot', Nkr pīk- v. 'pull out', Gdb pīhk- v. 'pluck', F D #4212), but acc. to Km.'s analysis (Km. 431 [#827]), the forms with *-k-, *-kk- go back to D *piy- rather than to *pīrk-.

1795. *pāRp∇Ķ∇ ~ ? ʌ *pāRp∇R|∇ 'butterfly' > K *pēpēl- id. > G pēpēla- id., Mg parpal(ia)- ~ papralia, Lz parpal-, Sv L/Ln {T} pēpēl, UB {GP} pārpānd, {K ← ?} pārpānd, pāpold id. ¶¶ K 153, K² 14, TK 681, GP 252 || ? HS: S: [1] S *°√prš > Ar farāš- coll. 'butterflies', snglt. farāš-at- 'butterfly'; [2] ʌ: NNEA {Kal.} pīrpīra 'butterfly'; ? NHb 𐤐𐤓𐤏𐤓 par'par id. (unless an independent ʌ-formation, possibly encouraged by Fr papillon, It farfalla, and/or Ar farāš-at- id.) ¶ BK II 571, Kal. s.v. бабочка, ESh. 1103 || Ch ʌ ≈ *p∇lp∇l- 'butterfly' > WCh: Su {J} ṡpūlpūl, Kfr {Nt.} pālpāl id. || ? NBc: My {Sk.} àʔšípēpīr, Kry {Sk.} šīfīrfīrā id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} āpalapala, Mofu {Brr.} māplāplā id. ¶ ChC || ?? ʌ IE: NaIE {EI} *pēpēl- 'butterfly' > L pāpīlīō id. || AS fīfealde, OSx fīfoldara, MLG vīveltere, OHG fifaltra ~ pīfoltra, NHG Feifalter, ON fīfrildi id. || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} pīdīns id. (infl. of pīdīnāt 'to move wings' ÷ NHG flattern) ¶ WP II 52, EI 88, WH II 249-50, Vr. 119, Ho. 104, Ho. S 19, Kb. 240, OsS 193, ME III 333 || D: [1] *pāpp(a)- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'butterfly' > Tm, Ml pāppātti, Gnd pāpe ʌ pāpē ʌ p'āpe id., Kdg pa'pīli id., 'moth', Krx paplā 'butterfly' || [2] *pīp_rp_r∇li ({ǵGS} *p-) id. > Nk pīpūli, Prj pīlpīli, Gnd pīprī ʌ pīplī id., as well as Ku pūbūli ʌ pūbūli id. ¶¶ D #4083, Pf. 84 || A: M {Pp.} *pēpēkekey 'butterfly' > MM [H] {Ms.} herbegei, MA {Pp.} herbēkei id., WrM erbegekey ~ erbekey, HIM эрвээхий id., 'moth', Ord erwē"χ'ī, Brt эрбээхэй, Kl эрвәкә, {KW} erwēkē 'butterfly' ¶ Pp. IM 46, Pp. MA 184, Ms. H 60, Ms. O 248, MED 319, KW 12, Chr. 770 ◇ IE *pēpēl- is a doubtful cognate, because it may be an independently created ideophon.

1796. *parT∇ 'rock, hill' > HS: B: Ah e-fartās 'rocaille' ¶ Fc. 359, NZ 644 || ? S *°√prd > Ar furd-āt- pl. 'collines que l'on aperçoit çà et là' (× Ar √frd 'be alone, be simple \ uncompound', 's'isoler, se séparer?') ¶ BK II 565 || IE: Gk πέτρῶ 'rock' ¶ F II 522, Ch. 892-3 (in both no et.) ||

A: M *bartayan > WrM bartaga(n), HIM βαρταα 'uneven terrain, broken country; hillock', Ord b_art'ā 'endroit couvert de broussailles et d'arbrisseaux et où ne peut avancer qu'avec difficulté', WrO bardātai 'precipitous, difficult' ¶ MED 89, Ms. O 55, Krg. 337 || ?φ **D** {tr.} *porr-, {GS} pod- 'mountain, top' (×N *bor▽ 'mountain, hill', q.v. ×N *por'ā'▽ 'summit, tip', q.v.) > Tm porai, porri 'mountain, hill', Ml porra 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm pode 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr pode 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj podi 'top, above', Gdb poyta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd parrō 'on top', parro 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶¶ D #4567, GS 151 [#381], 71 [#232] ◇ M *bartayan suggests a pN vw. *a, while the D vw. *o in *porr- belongs to the heritage of N *por'ā'▽.

1797. ₂ *P_{UR}▽,t▽ '≈ moisture, water' > **HS:** S *purāt- 'sweet water' (→ 'the Euphrates') > Ar furāt- 'sweet water; the Euphrates', mīyāh-un furāt-un 'eaux douces', Ak purattu, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} pərāt 'the Euphrates', Aram ⇨ Hb pərāt id.; S ⇨ OPrs ufrātu id. ⇨ Gk Εὐφράτης; Ar ✓ frt (pf. faruta) 'dulcis admodum fuit' (aqua) ¶ KB 920, KBR 978-9, Fr. III 326-7, BK II 560, Hv. 552, Lv. T II 304 || **IE:** NaIE *p_ord- '≈ wet, moist, slimy' > Gk παρδακός, Gk I πορδακός 'wet, moist' ||| Ltv purduļi 'mucus' ¶ WP II 50, F II 473 (no et. of the Gk word).

1798. *p_ŪRt▽,χ▽, to spit, to vomit, to fart' > **HS:** WCh {Stl.} *pard- v. 'spit, (?) suck' > Ang par v. 'spit', Ngz pādú v. 'suck' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [#22], Sch. DN 131, Flk. s.v. par || **K:** G purtχ- v. 'spit' ¶ DCh. 1318 || **IE:** NaIE *perd- v. 'fart with noise', *p_ṛdi-s n. 'fart' > OI LSk 'pardatē '(he) farts', Av pərədaiti id. ||| Gk πέρδομαι, πέρω v. 'fart' (1s prs.), aor. ἔπαρδον, pfc. πέπορδα; πορδή n. 'fart' ||| pAl {O} *perda > Al pjerdh- (aor. pordha) v. 'fart' ||| Lt pėrsti / 1s prs. pėrdžu, Ltv piŗst / piŗdu v. 'fart', Lt piŗdis 'Furz' | Sl *p_ṛděti 'to fart' > SCr p_ṛdjeti, Slv p_ṛděti, Cz p_ṛděti, R пер'деть 'to fart', Blg п_ṛдя v. 'fart' ||| W rhech n. 'fart' ({P}: < *rikkā < *p_ṛd-kā), rhechain 'to fart', Br rec'hiñ id. ||| ON freta, OHG fērgan, NHG farzen, AS feortan 'to fart', feorting n. 'fart', NE fart; ON fretr, OHG furz ~ firz, NHG Furz n. 'fart' ¶ P 819, EI 194 (*perde/o-), M K II 225, M E II 98, F II 511-2, BFU 429, My. 342, O 330, Huld BAE 154, Cim. 16, Frn. 577, Tr. 219-20, Vs. III 235-6, Glh. 501, YGM-1 377, Hm. 681, Vr. 142, Kb. 237, KM 185, Sw. 57, Ho. 102 || **D** (in NED) *put▽r|v- v. 'vomit' > Krx putūr-nā (p. puttras), Mlt putre id. ¶ D #4276 ◇ N *p-

(rather than *p-) is reconstructed on the ev. of the WCh cognates ◇
Connected with N *P_{UR}∇₁t∇ '≈ moisture'?

1799. ₂ *P_{VR}ʽtʽ∇ 'jerk, pull (out), tear off' > HS: S *✓prʽt 'tear off, pick (a fruit from a tree), separate' > Ak ✓prʽt (inf. parāʽtu) 'abreißen, abräumen', MHb ✓prʽt G (pf. ܘܪܩܦܐ pā'raʽt), JA {Lv.} G (pf. ܘܪܩܦܐ pā'raʽt) 'absondern, trennen', JEA {Sl.} ✓prʽt G 'split, breach; specify', ? Ar SL ✓frʽt G 'shake off (nuts) from a tree' ¶ Sd. 832, GB 659, KB 910, Lv. IV 110, Sl. 931-2, Bel. 582, Hv. 556 || NrOm: Mch {L} pāriçā(yé) v. 'be uprooted, fall with the root' (a tree) ¶ LM 45 || IE: Ht partai- {CHD} v. 'disentangle (?), unravel (?)', {Ts.} 'auszupfen, entwirren' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 197-8.

1800. (₂?) *pʽAʽRʽt∇ʽhʽ∇ ~ *pʽAʽtR∇ʽhʽ∇ '≈ rod, young twig, shoot' > IE: NaIE *pertʰ- 'pole, rod, shoot' > Arm npp օրտʰ (0-stem) 'vine' || Gk πτόρθος 'young branch, shoot, sucker, sapling' || ? L pertica 'long pole\rod', Osc perekʽaísʽ 'peticis', Um PERCAM accus. 'virgam', perkaf accus. pl. 'virgas' || ? (acc. to Vn.) Clt: W erhyll 'ship mast' || ? Sl *prqʽtʽb 'rod' (with an unexplained nasalized vw.) > OCS d. прѣтнѣ prqʽtije coll. βέρυαι, virgae, rods, розги, OR прѣтъ prutʽb, R, Uk прут 'rod', Blg прѣтъ, SCr prūʽt, Slv prōʽt, Cz prut, Slk prút, P pręʽt id. ¶ WP II 49, P 823; F II 615 and Ch. 950 (both: no et. of Gk πτόρθος), WH II 292-3, EM 500, Bc. G 341, Pln. I 216, 253 and II 38, Vs. III 390, SJSS 506, StSS 555, Mikl. L 754, Chr. II 77 || HS: EthS *'bat_L∇₁r- ~ ? *o'bar_L∇₁t- 'stick, shoot, rod' > Gz batr id., 'branch', Tgr bəʽtər, Tgy bəʽtri, Amh bəʽtər, Har bəʽrti, Gft bəʽrte, Grg So/WI/Z bəʽrt 'stick' ¶ LG 112, LEDG III 156 || ? D *paʽtʽ- ({ʽGS} *p-) 'beam, timber, wood (Holz)' (← *'trunk of a tree'), 'bough' > Tm paʽtʽai 'palmyra timber, rafter', Kn paʽtʽe id., 'areca bough', MI paʽtʽa 'areca bough', Tu paʽti 'rafter', TI paʽtʽe 'bar\spar of wood, piece of timber of door-frame', Klm paʽtʽe, Nkr paʽti 'plank', Prj peʽtʽi 'beam, post', Gdb paʽtiya, Kui paʽti 'beam', Krx paʽtʽā 'beam in oil-mill' ¶ D #3875, Pf. #532.

1801. *P_oʽrʽ∇ 'hair' > HS: S *'par_L∇₁f- 'hair of head' > BHb ܘܪܩܦܐ 'pəraʽf 'loosely hanging and unplaited hair on the head', Ak pēr(e)tu 'hair of the head', Ar fārʽf- id. (esp. 'woman's hair'), 'branch, bough, sprout', ✓frʽf (pf. fariʽfa) 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête', {Hv.} 'have abundant hair' (for Ar possibly: × N *p_Ariʽfʽ∇ 'strew, spread, extend') ¶ KB 913, KBR 970, BK II 578-9,


Hv. 557, Sd. 856, BDB 828, MiK I #1.218 || **K** *papar- 'mane' > G papar-, Mg popor-, Sv L papar, UB/L/Ln papal id. ¶ K 187, K² 198, Chik. 102, Chx. 454, TK 752 || **A**: Tg *opora- > WrMc foron 'curls', {Hr.} 'Haarwirbel' (× foron 'a turn, Kraüselung' < N *P₂ôRw∇ 'to turn, to revolve', q.v.) ¶ Z 1065, Hr. 305 || **D** *pūr- ({{GS}} *b-) 'down, hair on the body' (× N *bū|ur₁?∇ 'lock of hair, down') > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā & bura 'down' & burā 'feather', Knd buṛus & bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būriṅ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku būrka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- (due to the merger with N *bū¹ur₁?∇), while Knd -r̄- suggests pD -r̄- (hence N *P₂o¹r̄∇) ¶¶ Ffd. see N *bū|ur₁?∇ '↑' ¶¶ The D vw. *ū belongs to the heritage of N *bū|ur₁?∇.

1802. *p₂∇rd∇₁χ|q∇₁ 'quiver, tremble, start (from fear, with suddenness)' > **HS**: WS *✓prd > Ar, Jb ✓frd v. 'fear' || **K**: [1] *prtχ- v. 'tremble, quiver, be shy (animals), rouse oneself' > OG prtχ- 'rouse oneself', G prtχ- 'scheuen (vom Pferd), scheu sein (von Tieren), sich ängstigen', Lz patχ- id., Mg (p)ntχ-, tχ- 'be frightened', Sv {K} pə₁(r)tχ-ə₁n-~bə₁rtχ-ə₁n- 'tremble' (трепетать), {FS} χw-i-pə₁rtχ-ə₁n-i 'ich scheue, erschrecke', ot-pə₁rtχ-ə₁n-ān 'ich scheute' || [2] *pertχ- vt. 'shake' > G pertχ-, Lz patχ- 'shake, knock out' (трясти, выколачивать), Mg partχ- vt. 'shake; clean' (выколачивать, трусить, чистить), Sv pə₁tχ-, ptχ- 'shake', Sv LB/Ln {TK} li-pə₁tχ-ə₁nə₁ 'to shake, to knock out' ¶ K 188, 190, K² 200, 204, FS K 317, FS E 359, Chx. 1498-9, Q 245, 33, BU 379, TK 452 || **IE**: NaIE *sperdh- 'move convulsively (zucken), jump up (aufspringen)' > Av sprad̄ka 'zappeln', BdhSgd ʔsprad̄t vi. 'trembles, shakes' || Gk σπυρθίζω 'leap, skip', {F, P} 'aufspringen, zappeln' (of donkeys) || ON sprad̄ka, NNr Δ, Sw Δ sprala, MDt spartelen, NGr Wph spraddeln 'zappeln' || Sl *prędati, mom. *pręnq̄ti (< *pręd-nq̄-) > ChS **ПРАДАТИ** prędati 'to jump, (?) to tremble', OCS d. **ВЪСПРАНАТИ** vъs-pręnq̄ti 'δτανύστασθαι, to stand aloof, to stand up, to rouse up', SCr pręnuti se 'to rouse up, to awaken', R Δ прядать, прыгнуть 'to jump up, aufspringen'; Sl *prođ- > R Δ прудкий 'quick' ¶ P 995-6, M K III 537, ≈ F II 772-3, Vr. 537, Mikl. E 26, Vs. I 357 and III 394, StSS 154 || ?? **D**

* $\text{p}i\check{r}$ - > Tm $\text{p}i\check{r}ar$ v. 'tremble' ¶ D #4200 (a) ¶ This D \check{r} may belong here only if the cns. * $\text{-}\check{r}$ - is due to ideophonic influences or reflects some reduction of the original \check{r} .

1803. * $\text{p}U\check{r}_i\hat{u},g\check{\nabla}$ ~ * $\text{p}U\check{r}_i\hat{u},k\check{\nabla}$ 'to jump' > IE: NaIE [1] * $\text{sper}\hat{g}^h$ - / * $\text{spre}\hat{g}^h$ - v. 'jump, move energetically' > OI spr_o '*hayati* 'is eager, desires eagerly', Av \bar{a} -*sparazatā* 'war bestrebt' ||| Gk $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha$ {LS} 'be in haste (to do sth.), hasten', 'rage' (of the sea), {F} 'einherstürmen, sich drängen, leidenschaftlich bewegt sein', $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omega$ vt. 'set in rapid motion', $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'hasty, rapid, hurried' ||| ON springa 'springen, rennen, bersten', OSx springan 'to jump, to leap', OHG springan id., 'to gush', NHG springen 'to jump', AS springan 'to leap, to spring back (through elasticity)', NE spring v. ||| ? [2] *(s) preug - / *(s) proug - / *(s) prug - v. '≈ jump' > Sl * $\text{pr}\check{y}g$ - / * $\text{pr}\acute{i}g$ - v. 'jump' > R 'прыгать' 'to jump', SrChS $\text{HCPp}\check{r}\check{g}n\check{t}H$ is- $\text{pr}\check{y}g$ -nq-ti 'hervortreten, hervorspringen' | Lt $\text{spr}\check{u}g$ -ti (modern spelling $\text{spr}\check{u}k\check{t}i$) 'to make off, to run away', Ltv spruk -t (prs. $\text{spr}\check{u}k$ -u) 'to escape, to run away' ||| ON frauki , AS $\text{froz}\check{z}a$ 'frog', NE *frog* ¶ WP II 675, P 998, EI 284-5 (* $\text{sper}\hat{g}^h$ - 'move energetically'), M K III 539-40, M E II 775, F II 764, Vr. 140, 538, Kb. 943, OsS 857-8, KM 732, Ho. 117, 313, Ho. S 70, Frn. 883, Vs. III 390-1, Mikl. E 241, 265 ||| **U:** FU (att. in ObU) * $\text{por}\check{r}a$ v. 'jump' > ObU * $\text{p}\bar{o}r\check{r}\check{y}$ - > pVg * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{r}$ - > Vg: T $\text{por}\check{r}$ -, UK/MK/LK $\text{p}\check{r}\check{r}$ -, P porr , NV porr - ~ parr -, SV/LL/ML parr -, UL/Ss $\text{por}\check{r}$ - 'hüpfen'; pOs * $\text{por}\check{r}\check{y}l\check{a}$ - ({{JHl.}} * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{r}\check{y}l\check{a}$ -) > Os: Vy $\text{por}\check{r}\check{y}\check{a}l$ -, Ty/Y $\text{p}\check{r}\check{r}\check{y}\check{a}\check{a}$ -, Kz $\text{p}\check{r}\check{r}\check{y}\check{a}$ -, O $\text{por}\check{r}\check{a}$ - v. 'fly' ¶ Ht. 179 [#538], Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U * \check{w} and * k {{AD}: and * \check{r} -] that suggests that ObU * $\text{p}\bar{o}r\check{r}\check{y}$ - belongs here rather than to N * $\text{par}\check{\nabla}$ 'to fly, to jump') ||| **A** ({{JSDM94}} * $\text{p}_i\check{r}_i\hat{u}rki$ - v. 'leap, jump'): Tg * $\text{p}\check{y}rkE$ - v. 'jump' > Ewk $\text{hurku}\check{z}hin$ - id., 'fly up', Orc $\check{r}okko$ - 'jump, jump on (sth.)', Ul $\text{pu}\check{c}u$ - ~ $\text{pu}\check{c}i$ - 'jump', Ork putta - 'jump (once)', Nn Nh puyku 'jump, jump uplover' ¶ STM II 353 ||| ? Ko {Rm.} $\text{pul}\check{k}in$ h \wedge da 'spring up, arise' ¶¶ Rm. SKE 209, Pp. VG 83, 111, Rs. W 522 (these sources adduce T * $\text{h}_i\check{r}k$ - 'erschrecken' and M * $\text{p}\check{y}rg\check{u}$ - id., which is qu.; the T and M \check{r} is better to be referred to N * $\text{p}\check{y}r\check{\nabla}k\check{\nabla}$ 'to be startled, to be scared, to fear', q.v.) ◇ The rec. of the N final vw. is problematic: NaIE * $\text{sper}\hat{g}^h$ - / * $\text{spre}\hat{g}^h$ - and Tg * $\text{p}\check{y}rkE$ - point to a front vw., while NaIE *(s) preug - / *(s) proug - / *(s) prug - and FU * $\text{por}\check{r}a$ - suggest a N * -a . The pN variation * -g - ~ * -k - is also to be explained. It may be supposed that

some derivational morphemes (in the pthistory of descendant languages) are involved here.

1804. *P_er̥₁∇₁Kü '(ε) bone', 'rib' > **HS**: WS *pikar- 'vertebra of the neck; neck' > Ar fiqr-at- (pl. fiqarāt-) 'vertebra dorsi', faqār- id., JA [Trg.] pir'k-ā, pirḳə't-ā, purḳə't-ā 'joint', JPA Bz פורקה pwrḳh 'neck', Sr  pāraḳ-'t-ā 'back of the neck, vertebra of the neck', NNEA JIA bḳarta ~ pḳarta 'neck, nape', Sq {L} fiḳe'rriroh 'cou, nuque' ¶ Fr. III 363, BK II 619, Js. 1172, 1240, Sl. P 427, Br. 606, JPS 465, Grl. 300, 324, L LS 340, SSL LSNP 1455, SSL CLS 94, MiK I #219 || C: ? SC {E} *fāra- 'bone' > Irq {MQK} fara, Irq {E}, Grw fāra (pl. fādu) id., Brn, Alg fara (pl. faradu), Kz falāʔato, Asa farit, ⇨ Mb ifwāra id. ¶ E SC 150 [#10], Wh. IC 22, MQK 34 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. SCC 76 [#3.1] (unc. equation of SC *fāra- with EC *laf-, SOM *lafī 'bone', and Eg yf.t 'bone marrow'), Blz. SCL s.v. 'bone' || **IE**: NaIE *per̥ku- 'rib, chest' > OI 'par̥su-ḥ 'rib', pārs'va- 'the region of the ribs, side, flank' | Av parəsu- 'rib', parəsu- 'rib, side', Oss I/D fars 'side, side of a body' || Lt Δ p̥ir̥šys (pl. p̥ir̥šiai) 'forepart of horse's chest' | OCS, OR прьси pr̥si 'breasts' (f. pl. ← 'chest, Rippengegend'), R π, Uk перси, SCr † p̥r̥si, SCr p̥r̥sa, Slv p̥r̥si, OCz pr̥si, Slk pr̥sia 'breasts', Cz pr̥s, P pierś 'breast' || Al parzēm 'breast' ¶ P 820, EI 81 (*per̥ku-s / gen. *p̥r̥k̥eu-s ≈ breast, rib), M K II 229, M E II 100-1, Ab. I 423, Frn. 598, Vs. III 245, Glh. 506, O 311-2 || **D** (in GnD) *peṛ(∇k)- ({θGS} *p-) 'rib, side' > Gnd peṛeka, peṛka, peṛenka 'bone', peṛekā 'backbone, rib', Knd peṛen (pl. peṛek), Png p̥r̥ēn (pl. p̥r̥ēku), Mnd p̥r̥ēn (pl. p̥r̥ēke), Kui, Ku p̥r̥ēnu (pl. p̥r̥ēka) 'bone' ¶ D #4418.

1805. *p̥eṛḳ∇₁ra₁ (or **P_eRḲ∇₁r̥∇₁?**) 'to turn round, to twist' > **HS** S *^o✓prḳr̥ > Ar ✓frqf D 'tordre le cou à qn.' ¶ BK II 586 || B *✓fr̥y 'être tordu, courbé; tourner' > Wrg əfrəy 'tourner, bifurquer; être tordu', Izd frəy 'être tordu', s-frəy 'rendre tordu', ZAS frəy 'être tordu, courbé', Izn, SrSn, Rf U əfrəy 'être courbe, tordu, sinueux', Sll frəy 'être tortueux', Shl {NZ} ✓fr̥y 'tordre', CM {NZ} ✓fr̥y 'être tordu', Ty, ETwl əfrəy id., 'dévier de la ligne droite', sə-frəy 'rendre tordu, tordre', Ah əfrəy 'n'être pas droit' ¶ Dlh. Ou 52, Mrc. 251, Loub. 536, Rn. 299, Fc. 355-7, Ds. 280, GhA 41, NZ 635-7 || ?σ **IE**: NaIE {P} *sperg-, (with a nasal infix) *spreng- 'wrap up, constrict' > Gk σπάργω* (att: 3p aor. σπάργαν) 'swathe, wrap', σπάργανον 'swathing band', pl. σπάργανα 'swaddling-clothes' || Lt spreñgti '(gewaltsam, mit Anstrengung) in einen engen Zwischenraum pressen', Ltv Δ {ME}

sprañgāt '(ein)schnüren', {EI} v. 'cord, constrict' || MHG phrengen
 'pressen, drängen, bedrücken' || Tc A, B prāŋk- 'restrain oneself, hold
 back' ¶ P 992, EI 644 (*(s)pre(n)g- 'wrap up, constrict'), Frn. 879-80, F
 II 757-8, ME III 1010, Lx. 160, Ad. 415-6 ¶ In the prehistory of IE the N
 cns. *K̑ was de-emphasized due to an adjacent lr. (*k̑ > *k > IE *g) ||
 U: FU (or FP) *per_lχ|k_j∇ v. 'turn sth. round' > Chr L inf. pör^lδ-aš, H pörte
 (inf. 'pört-aš) vi. 'turn round (вертеться, вращаться)', vt. 'turn on a
 lathe', Uf pörte- 'drehen, dreheln', B pörta- 'rotieren, umlaufen' || Prm
 {LG} *berg- v. 'rotate' > Vt berga- ~ bergal- vi. 'turn\go round, revolve',
 Z bergal- ~ bergaw-(n+) id., Yz bergal- id., Z bergad- vt. 'turn, turn
 round\over', ? bert- (-t- is a sx. of transitivity) vt. 'turn out, root out,
 put out (of joint)', Vt {Wc.} bertī- 'zurückkehren' || ?? ObU *pěϑar >
 pVg *pāϑar 'round' and pOs *pēŋarϑa- ({Hl.} *pīŋarϑa-) 'sich
 umdrehen' (the origin of *-ŋ- is unknown) (× FU *pâr_w|χ∇ v. 'turn,
 revolve' < N *P̑ôR_w∇ 'to turn, to revolve' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 729
 (without ObU), MRS 451-2, LG 38-9, Ht. #504 || A: M *ϑergi- v. 'turn,
 move round, revolve' > MM [S] hergi- 'umwenden', WrM ergi-, HIM
 эргэ- v. 'turn, move round, revolve; circumambulate (act of devotion
 or worship)', Mnr H {SM} x̑rg_i- 'turner, tourbillonner, se mouvoir
 autour', ? {T} χarg_i- 'go round, turn round, revolve' ¶ Pel. 262 [#15], H
 75, MED 323-4, T 74, SM 167-8 || Tg *perke-~*pergi- v. 'turn round,
 revolve' > WrMc hergi- 'fly round', 'wind threads on smth.', Ul x̑rk̑-
 'wrap\wind (sth.) round', as well as possibly in the meaning 'tie, tie
 around' (v.): Ewk h̑rk̑- v. 'tie', Lm h̑rk̑- v. 'tie, tie around' ¶ STM II
 369-370 ◇ We can reconstruct N *p̑, *ȓ, and *-a (all on the ev. of IE)
 only if IE *sperg- belongs here. Otherwise the N rec. will be
 *P̑eȒK̑∇_l∇_l.

1806. (₂?) *P̑äśü 'root, stem of a plant' > K: GZ *pes_w- or {Mach.}
 *pas_w- 'root' > OS pes_u-, G pes_v-i id. || Mg Snk posve-, Mg SmZ posvi,
 posi, Lz poso- 'root' ¶ Q 338, K 138, 187, K² 200; the vw. *a is
 reconstructed acc. to Mach. XS 265 and IS III 77 || A *p̑æsin 'stalk,
 handle, haft' > M *ϑesi(n) > MM [IM] {Pp.} hesi 'handle, haft
 (черенок), handle (пукорятка)' (Pp. reads hesi in spite of IM's
 [mis]spelling: هستی h¹e¹sti and هيسنى he|isni), WrM isi ~ esi,
 HIM иш 'trunk (of a tree), stem of a plant, stalk; grip, handle' ¶ MED
 334, Pp. VG 11, 63, 136, Pp. MA 438 || Tg *pesin > Ewk h̑sin 'handle,

axe-handle, haft, shaft', Ud {Krm} x3hi, WrMc fesin ~ fesen ~ fešen 'handle, haft', Ewk h3sin, Neg x3sin, Lm h3sən, Nn Nh p3sĩ, Nn KU x3sĩ, Orc x3si / x3sin-, Ul, Ork p3si / p3sin- id., 'axe-handle' ¶ STM II 371, Krm. 308 || ?φ D *vača ~ *pača ({IS} < *p₁ača) '(ε) edible root' > Tm vacam, vacampu, pačampu 'sweet flag, Acorus calamus', Ml vayampu, Kn bajī, baje, vace, vaje, Tu bajæ, Tl vaca, vasa id.; D ⇨ OI vacā- 'ε aromatic root (Acorus calamus?)' ¶¶ D #5213, Tu. #11201 || HS: C: ?φ Bj {R} būs 'Rohr, Halm, Schilf' ¶ R Wbd. 52 ◇ IS III 77-8 [#303] (*p₁äsᵛ 'root' > K, A, D) ◇ D *-v- needs explaining (back formation from the second component of a compound word with D *-v- < N *p?). If this explanation is right, the discrepancy between the D reflex (pointing to N *p-) and the A reflex (suggesting a N cns. *p) is to be resolved. A possible solution is N *p∇'ʔ'äsü.

1807. ₂ *P_{is}∇ 'to remain, to stick' > HS: S *°-pū|ĩš- > JA [Trg.], JEA ✓pW|yš (pf. pāš) v. 'remain', Sr ✓pWš (pf. pāš, ip. nə-pūš) v. 'remain, stay behind' ({PS} 'cessare, manere, quiescere, morari'), Md ✓pWš 'remain' ¶ Lv. IV 18, Js. 1149, Sl. 893-4, Br. 561, PS 3075-7, DM 569 || U: FV *pise- v. 'remain, stick' ('bleiben, verbleiben, steckenbleiben') > F pycy-, Δ pisü- 'remain, hold on (somewhere)', Es püsi- 'stay, endure, last' | Er pezna-, Mk пезо- peza- 'be thrust \ stick in smth. ('воткнуться, увязнуть, завязнуть') | Chr L pižā-š id., 'catch on sth., be glued to smth.' ('[за]цепляться, [за]вязнуть, приклеиваться'), Chr KB pižā-, U/M piža- 'sich anschließen, klebenbleiben, anstecken' | ⇨ FV *pis_e-tä- v. 'put, set, stick in, thrust in' ('stellen, setzen, legen, hineinstecken') > F pistä- vt. 'prick, thrust', Es pista- id., 'stab', pLp {Lr.} *p3stē 'stecken' > Lp: N {N} bās'tet, L {LLO} pastēt | Chr B p̄šte- vt. 'put, set, lay, place', U p̄šte- id., 'thrust in', Chr L p̄š'ta-š, Chr H pište-, 'pišta-š vt. 'put\place (somewhere)' ¶ UEW 732-3, Ker. II 110, MRS 431, 491, Lr. #870.

1808. ı *p_iś∇ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip' > HS: pCh {Nw} *pəṣə (sc. *pi|usi|u) v. 'spit, 'spurt water from one's mouth' > WCh: Hs {Sk.} fēsà ~ fīda ~ fīça v. 'spurt water from one's mouth' | P' {MSK.} pf. p̄sū (p. p̄sĩ, ip. p̄sò) v. 'spit', Jmb {Sk.} f3š-, Kry p3c3 v. 'spit' | Glm {Sch.} p̄s-ālá, Gera {Sch.} f̄sĩ-mi v. 'spit' | ? Wnd {ChLC} p̄ās, ? Zar {ChC} p̄yàc, Zar K {Sh.} pyàc id. || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -p3s- 'cracher dans une calebesse pour la bénir', Mf {BLB} piš- 'cracher de l'eau pour la

164 || B * \checkmark fsy v. 'melt' (\times N * \checkmark p'äy's'i' [- \checkmark *piš'i'] 'crush, break to pieces?') > Shl {Stm., Ds.} (ə)fsi (hab. fsäḵ, Ah, BSn, SrSn, Kb əfsi, Izn əfsiy, Izd fsi vi. 'melt', Mz, Wrg əfsi, ETwl əfsəy 'se fondre, se liquéfier' ¶ Stm. 178, Fc. 362, Dl. 234-5, Dlh. M 55, Dlh. Ou 86, NZ 665-6 || Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChC} pšā vt. 'burn, verbrennen' ||| WCh: Hs tà-fásà 'be boiling' (of water, etc.); WCh * \checkmark fs 'cook, roast' (\times N * \checkmark pišā 'to get/make ready [cooked, ripe]', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Abr. H 836 || ? (d.?) CS * \checkmark pšr v. 'melt, be slightly warm' > JA [Trg.] פִּיטְרָא piš'r-ā {Lv.} 'sth. (water) luke-warm, luke-warmed', \checkmark pšr G vi. 'melt, be dissolved', vt. 'auflösen durch Zermalmen \ Kauen', JEA \checkmark pšr G 'melt', Sr \checkmark pšr (pf. pəšar) v. 'dissolve, melt, liquefy, fuse (as metals)', MHb הפְּטִיר הִיפְּטִיר 'lau machen', MdHb, NHb פִּיטְרָא pošer 'slightly warm' ¶ ASH VI 460, Lv. IV 151-2, Lv. T II 306, Js. 1249, Sl. 945, JPS 469 ¶ JA and MHb \checkmark pšr is from \checkmark pšr v. 'melt, be warm' \times \checkmark pšr v. 'resolve, dissolve, disentangle'; the adduction of the S \checkmark is tenable unless * \checkmark pšr v. 'melt, be warm' is a sd. of * \checkmark pšr v. 'resolve, dissolve, be disentangled' ||| U: FP * \checkmark poš ∇ 'hot, heat; sweat' > Er, Mk pšī 'hot', {W} pišī, pšī 'heiß, hitzig, Hitze' | Chr: L püž-'wüð, H 'püž-w ∇ ð 'sweat' (L wüð, H wəð 'water'), L püžalt- v. 'sweat' | Z, Vt p3š 'hot, sweaty' ¶ UEW 738, LG 230, Ker. II 122 (pMr * \checkmark pišə-), MRS 477, Lt. 224 ||| A: T * \checkmark hiS-si-/* \checkmark hiS-si- (or * \checkmark hiS-su-/* \checkmark hiS-sü-) v. 'heat', * \checkmark hiS-si- ∇ -/* \checkmark hiS-si- ∇ - (or * \checkmark hiS-su- ∇ -/* \checkmark hiS-sü- ∇ -) 'hot' ({Md.} * \checkmark i-ssig ~ * \checkmark i-ssig) 'warm' (\times N * \checkmark ūs ∇ 'fire?') > OT {Cl.} isī- v. 'be hot', isig 'hot, heat', Qrg, Qzq, Qq ISI-, StAlt iz_i-, Xk lz_l- 'get warm', Qmq isi- vt. 'warm', Uz isi-, Tv izi- 'get warm (разогреться)', ET Δ ISSI- v. 'be warm'; \rightarrow T * \checkmark hiS-su- ∇ -/* \checkmark hiS-sü- ∇ - 'hot' ({Md.} * \checkmark i-ssig ~ * \checkmark i-ssig) 'warm' > Xlj hissī, OT isig 'hot, heat', MU ISI ∇ , MQp ISSI ∇ ~ ISSI ~ is(s)i, MOg, XwT issi, Chg issi ~ isti ~ ISI ∇ , Uz Δ , ET Δ ISSIQ, Uz, ET issiq, Ln issiq, SY issi ∇ , Oosm ISSI, Tk ISSI, ISI, Tkm, Qzq, Qq ISSI, Tk Δ , Kr, QrB, Qmq, Nog issi, VTt əcce bssb, Bsh b ∇ b, Qrg ISI ~ ISIQ, Alt iz_ü, Xk lz_lg, Shor izi ∇ , Tv izi ∇ , Tf i \checkmark si ∇ , Yk itī 'hot', Chv äšä b \checkmark _b, Δ b \checkmark _b 'hot, heat' ¶ Cl. 241, 246, Rs. W 17-4, ET Gl 668-71, TL 19-21, DT 133, BT 63, BIG 66, Md. 73, 165, Ra. 75, Jeg. 45, Fed. I 95 \diamond T * \checkmark I/i needs explaining (regr. as. [*I..I / *i...i from **0...I/i] and/or heritage of N * \checkmark ūs ∇ 'fire?').

1810. * \checkmark pos ∇ (~ * \checkmark bos ∇) 'to fart (without noise)' > HS: S * \checkmark pšw > Ak paš ū, Ar \checkmark fsw (pf. fasā, ip. -fsū) v. 'fart (without noise)', Gz, Tgy

✓ f s w v. G, Tgr G pf. f e š a 'break wind' ¶ Sd. 846, L G 168 ¶ BK II 595, L G 168, LH 662, Bsn. 994, MiK I #2.57 || IE: NaIE *pesd- v. 'fart (without noise)' > Gk βδέω id. (< *β[δ]έω) || L pēd-ō, -ēre v. 'fart' || Sl {Sls.} *pezd- ~ *pъzd- > Blg пъз'дя v. 'fart without noise', SCr б̀аздети ≈ bazdjeti, Uk пез'діти, б̀здіти (*pъzd-), R б̀здеть 'to fart without noise', Slv pezděti, P b̀dziec, Cz bzdíti id. || Lt bezdėti (prs. bezdũ) id., Ltv bezdēt 'to fart' || MHG v̄ist ~ v̄īst, NHG Fīst, Dt veest, AS fīsting n. act. 'farting without noise', NE adj. † fīsting 'breaking wind' (e.g. fīsting dog, fīsting hound), † fīst, NE feīst v. 'break wind' ¶ WP II 11, P 829, EI 194, FI 230, ≈ KM 200, Ho. 106, Vr. N 768, Frn. 42, Sls. I 54, Vs. I 163, Tls. 24 || ? K: Mg buz-in- v. 'fart' (× o K *bzu- v. 'buzz' [> Lz buz-al-]) ¶ K 51, K² 15 || U: FL *poske v. 'fart' > pLp {Lr.} *pōckэ v., n. 'fart' > Lp: N {N} buos'kâ, L {LLO} puoskas, Kld {TI} pūčk n. 'fart', S {Hs.} d. buotskethidh v. 'fart' || Mk puska- v. 'fart' ¶ UEW 737-8, Lr. #987, Lgc. #5326, Hs. 388; Rédei explains pLp *c for the expected *s by onomatopoeic associations || A: T (in NaT) *_lh_losur- ~ *b_lusar- v. 'fart': (1) *_lh_losur- > OT, MT, Chg osur-, Tk osur-, ET Tr {RI.} osar-, VTt {ðRI.} us̄r-, Qzq {RI.} osur- id., Yk {Pek.} utur-uk n. 'fart' ⇨ uturukt- v. 'fart'; (2) T *b_lusar- > Chv п̄сар- p̄zar- v. 'fart' ⇨ Chr pušar- id. ¶ Cl. 251, Rs. W 366, RI. I 1139-41, 1746, Pek. 3099-100, Jeg. 150, Fed. I 404-5.

1811. (2?) _l *P_lus|š'E' or *P_lūs|š'E' 'to spit, to sprinkle' > U *pus|š∇ v. 'spit, sprinkle' > ObU *pũθ- v. 'sprinkle' > pVg *pūt- > Vg: LK/MK pot-, NV/SV/LL put- 'bespritzen', LK potas-, P putās-, LL putās- id.; pOs *pōϕa- ({JHl.} *pũϕa-) id. > Os: V pōl-, Vy pōla-, Ty/Y/Kz pōϕ-, D/K pāt-, Nz pōt-, O *pāl- || Sm: Slq NP puttū 'saliva', Slq {KD} UKt purōn- v. 'spit' ('spucken, speien'), Tm putōn- vt. 'sprinkle water, pour, pour out' ¶ Ht. 173 [#486], KD ALS 169-170, cp. UEW 409-410 (does not distinguish between FP *puš∇- v. 'blow' and U *pus|š∇ v. 'spit, sprinkle') || A *p'ūs∇ > Tg *pūs- ({Jbz.} *pōs-) v. 'sprinkle, irrigate' > Ewk husu- 'sprinkle, pour water on', Lm hus-, Neg xusi- 'sprinkle', WrMc fusu-, Mc Sb fusэ- 'sprinkle from one's mouth, pour water from a watering-pot' ¶ STM II 355 || M *_lφ_lūsür- v. 'spout, squirt out' (× N _l *p'is∇ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip') > WrM ũsür-, HIM γсрэ- v. 'spout, squirt out' ({Pp.} 'besprengen, streuen'), Mnr H {SM} fuз_uru- 'verser, couler (des métaux)', WrM {Rm.} ũsürge- ~ ũsügle- v. 'water plants' ¶ pM

*ʁ- is a qu. rec., because Mnr f- may be secondary (acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law of a Mnr secondary h-/f- induced by a stem-medial voiceless cns.); Starostin (p.c., 2001) admits a possibility of derivation from *usun 'water' ¶ SM 103, MED 1014, Rm. SKE 212 || ? T: Sg, Qb üskür- 'aus dem Munde spritzen' (× N ʁ *ʁ¹iś∇ '↑?') ¶ RI. I 1880 || pKo {S} *pòsòj̄- ~ *pusīj̄- 'wash, sprinkle' > MKo pòsòj̄- ~ pusīj̄-, NKo pusi- ¶ S QK #136, Nam 261, 265, MLC 816 ¶¶ DQA #1808 (A *p¹j̄üsi 'to sprinkle') || ? o D (in SD) *puč¹∇kk- ({ʁGS} *p-) > Kn pucakkane 'suddenly and with a small noise, as when spittle is ejected with force', Tu pucukku 'the force, as of spitting' ¶ D #4245.

1812. *PEŠ∇ 'grain, nut' > HS: B *✓(y)fs 'grain, seed' > Ah {Fc} tēfast (pl. tēfsīn) 'seed' ('semence de végétal'), Gh {Nh., La} čifast (pl. čifsin), Tmz {MT} ifs (pl. ifsan) 'grain, seed', Izd {Mrc.}, CM {NZ} ifs 'a seed' (pl. ifsan), Nfs {La} ayfs 'seed', Zmr/Iz {La} pl. ifsan id. (coll.), Tmz AN {La} ifsi 'grain', Mz {Dlh.} ayəfs ~ ayfəs, Wrg {Dlh.} ayfəs 'semence, grain de semence', Nf ayfs 'graine, semence'; ?? *✓fsH > Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} əfsa, Ah əfsi 'répandre, verser'; ?? Izn {Rn.} tafsaūt 'sorgho, millet', Rf tafsawt 'millet', Shl {NZ} tafsut 'ε wild millet', Ntf tafsut 'white sorgho' ¶ Fc. 362, La. MChB 272 (n. 1), La. S 294, Mrc. 233, Dlh. M 54, 242, Dlh. Ou 84, 380, Rn. 298, MT 132, NZ 656-7 || **A** {SDM97} *p¹isE, {DQA} *p¹i¹s∇ (¬ *-ja-) 'a seed, grain' > Tg *pise-ke > Lm fisike ~ fisihe 'ε millet', Ork, Ul piksɜ, Nn: Nh piksɜ, KU fisɜɜ 'millet' ¶ STM II 38 || pKo {S} *psí 'seed' > MKo psí, NKo sī id. ¶ S QK #75, Nam 326, MLC 1032 ¶¶ DQA #1769 || **U**: FP *päšk∇ 'nut' > F pähkinä, Es pähkel, Δ pähke, pähen, pähknä id. | Er пеште pešte, Δ pešče, Mk пяште päštə 'hazel-nut' | Chr: L/H пүкш pükš 'nut' | Prm *pašk- ({LG} *pačk-) > Vt пашпу paš-pu 'hazel' (пу 'tree'), Z UV paškan ~ pačkan 'hips (fruit of dog-rose)' ¶ UEW 726-7, Ker. II 111, MRS 478, Ep. 96, LG 217, SZ 195 || **K**: G pačka 'ε millet', {DCh.} 'черное, птичье, или боровое просо' (unless a loan from an unknown source) ¶ Chx. 1456, DCh 1299 ◇ Tg *-ke, G -ka, and FP *-k∇ are likely to go back to a sx. ◇ If G pačka belongs here (and is not a loanword), its cns. č still needs explaining ◇ Resh. NNE #7 (U, A).

1813. (₂?) *piša 'to get\make ready (cooked, ripe)' > HS: Eg OK/MK {EG} fɜ(ɥ) v. 'cook' ¶ EG 551-2, 578, Fk. 98, ≈ Vc. 164-5 || Ch (× N *pòsí 'be hot, warm'): WCh: Ron : DfB {J} fâš v. 'roast', Bks/Sha {J} fos 'kochen' || CCh: McHigi {ChL}: HgB pçéyò, Kps psa- (psákè), FIG psati,

HgF psášò, FIK wč̣a 'roast' Mdr {ChC} pšapṣ̌a id. | pBM *pca > Bu {Hf.} pca, Mrg {Hf.} pč̣à, Ngx c3, Klb, Hld ca 'roast (rösten, braten)' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 55, 274-5, J R 85, 141, 214, 284, Hf. LBM 470 [#5], Hf. B 28, Hf. M 123, 133-5, Pan. NC 59 ¶¶ Tk. I 114-5 || U: FU *piša- v. 'roast, cook' > pLp {Lr.} *p3sē v. 'roast' > Lp: N {N} bâsset, L {LLO} passē id., S {Hs.} biss'edh 'roast, bake' || ObU *pīθ- v. 'cook' > pVg *pīt- > Vg: T pīt-, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL/UL/Ss pēt- id.; pOs *pāϕ- > Os: Vy pāl-, Ty pāϕ-, D/K pāt-, Nz pat-, Kz paϕ-, O pāl- id. ¶ UEW 385, Sm. 547 (FU *pi/eṣ̌ä-, FP *piṣ̌ä-, Ugr *peṣ̌ä- 'cook'), Lr. #867, Lgc. #4695, Hs. 334, Ht. 173 [#485] || A: ?σ M *ϕ̣is- v. 'ferment, turn sour' > Brt эһэ-, Kl ис-, Ord es- id., WrM is-, HIM эсэ-, исэ- id., 'rise' (of dough); since the word is not attested (as far as I know) in MM and the peripheral h-|ϕ-preserving M lgs., the rec. of M *ϕ- and the adduction of the M stem remain qu. ¶ MED 416, Ms. O 248-9, Chr. 780, KRS 274 ◇ The unexpected CCh *p (rather than *f) may be probably due to its position within a cns. cluster ◇ In some lgs. there is partial contamination with N *bažê 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook' (q.v.).

1814. *piṣ̌∇ 'gall' > IE: NaIE *bis-(t)|∇ id. > L bīlis (< *bislis) id. || W bustl 'gall, choler', Δ bystl, OCm bistel, MCm bystel, MBr, Br bestl 'bile', OBr [ϕ] bistlou id. ('humores nigri') ¶ P 102, WH I 105-6, LP § 26.5, YGM-1 61, Flr. 84 || U *piša 'gall' (→ 'green, yellow') > Er piže 'green, copper', Mk пиже piẓ̌a 'green' || Sm {Jn.} *p̣ṭä 'gall' > Ne T п̣ад̣я, Ne T O {Lh.} pađe', Ne F {Lh.} pač̣ä, Ng {Cs.} fate, {Mik.} hoṭṭ, En {Ter.} pođe, En X {Cs.} 'fore?', En B {Cs.} fode? id. | Slq Tz {KKIH} pat 'bile', patí 'yellow, green, blue', Slq Tm {KD} pa'ḍ, Slq Ch {Cs.} pače, Slq O {Cs.} pač 'bile' | Kms {KD} p'āda, Koyb {Sp.} пода 'bile', Mt {Hl.} *hādā (Mt: M {Sp} хадыде, K {Pl.} chēdide 'his\its bile') ¶ Coll. 50, UEW 84-5, PI 207, Jn. 115, KKI 147-8, Cs. 164, 226, Hl. M 273 || D *pič̣- (={ϑGS} *p-) 'bile' > Tm pič̣cu 'bile, madness', Ml pič̣cu, Kt puč̣, Kn peccu, paccu, pič̣cu, Tl picci, picca 'madness', Td püč̣ 'anger', Nk pisak 'mad'; D ⇨ OI pitta- 'bile' ¶¶ D #4142, M E II 131 (OI pitta without et.) || ??σ HS: EC {Ss.} *pis- 'colour, flower' > Af bisu, Or bifa, Brj bíṣ̌-a 'colour', Sd biša 'red', Hd {C} bišo 'brown', Kns pisa, Gwd piso, Hrs, Gln pis-ko 'flower' ¶ This EC root may belong here if there was a semantic change 'green' (or 'yellow') → 'colour', which is imaginable only if green (or yellow) was a colour *par excellence* in some Cushitic cultural context ¶ Ss. B 37, Ss.

PEC 14, 32, Bl. 171 \diamond AD GD 13, IS MS 340 s.v. желчь *bišŋ, ≈ Blz. LNA #41 (suggests to equate IE and U with EC *bis- 'colour, flower' and unconvincingly with D *pač- 'green' [D #3821]) \diamond Gr. II #173 (*pis 'gall') (IE, U + qu. Ko, J, Ai, A).

1815. ι *Pušŋ 'to blow' > **HS:** S \checkmark pš|θw, *-pūš|θ- 'breathe' > Ak pašû (inf.) 'hauchen', MHb \checkmark pŋš G 'breathe, take a rest', ?φ Tgr \checkmark fšfš D 'bluster, steam' ('brausen, dampfen'), fašfəšo 'vapour-bath' ¶ Sd. 846, Js. 1149, LH 663, MiK I #2.56 || **IE: [1]** NaIE *peus- v. 'blow, blow up, inflate' ('aufblasen') > Gk φῦσα 'wind, blast, wind in the stomach; (pair of) bellows', φυσάω v. 'blow' (of the wind), 'blow, puff' (of bellows) || L pustula, pussula 'blister, pimple' || NNr fœysa (< *fausian) 'aufschwellen, aufgären' || Lt pūslė 'blister, vesicle', Ltv pūslis 'bladder', Lt † {Ruh., Frn.} pūšė 'Blatter', Lt pūškas 'pustule, pimple, blister' || Sl *puxati (prs. *puš-) 'to blow', *ορυκνῆτι 'to swell', RChS пышѧ pīšq 'I pant', Blg 'пъхам id., R пыхать, пышет v. 'blaze', Slv píhati, píšem v. 'blow, fan (fire)', Lls puchaś 'to pant', puchaś, Hls puchać 'to blow', SCr púhati (1s prs. pūšēm) 'to blow, to puff, to pant', Cz puch 'stench' ¶ WP II 81, P 848, F II 1055-7, WH II 392, ≈ Frn. 677-9, Vs. III 421, Glh. 511, Ma. CS 405, ≈ EI 72 || **[2]** NaIE *pēs- v. 'blow' (of a person, of wind) > ON fǫnn (< *faznō) 'snow-drift (Schneewehe, fester Schneehaufe)', Nr fonn, Nr †, Sw Δ fann 'snow-drift, Schneehaufen' || ChS {Mikl.} пѣхырѣ pēxīrē 'πομφόλυξ, bulla, Blase', Cz puchýř '(water-)blister' (× ← puchnuti 'to swell' and possibly puchřeti 'to rot'), ? P † pęchyrz, pacherzyna, P pęcherz 'bladder', Lls puchorina 'bulla, blister', puchoř id., 'bladder', Hls {Jak.} pucher 'bubble, blister' (× ← Lls puchaś 'stark blasen, pusten', Hls puchać 'paffen, pusten') ¶ Vr. 151, Mikl. L 762, HIK 305, Brü. 403, Šw. 323, Jak. 290, Trof. 238, ≈ P 796 || **K:** OG pšw-, G pšv- v. 'exhale fragrance', OG pšwa, G pšva 'fragrance', G pšven-/pšvin- 'leise atmen, duften' ¶ Chx. 1514, DCh. 1321 || **U:** FP *pušŋ- v. 'blow (blasen)' > F Δ puhu- v. 'blow', F puhalta- 'blow (blasen, pusten, hauchen, wehen)', Es puhu- 'blow (blasen, wehen), breathe' || pLp {Lr.} *posō v. 'blow' > Lp: N {N} bqsot, L {LLO} pāssōt, S {Hs.} bāssudh v. 'blow' (also of the wind), 'blow up, inflate', Lp K {Gn.} pāsseđ 'aufschwellen' || ? Chr pošaš 'to blow (the fire)' || Prm: Z puškī- vt. 'blow' (of wind), 'blow with bellows', 'fan fire' || in Sm there is a \checkmark with U *-ś-: Ne pos 'a whiff

(дуновение)', ?? Slq Tz {KKIH} pusqa 'snow-storm' ('пурга') ¶ UEW 409-410 (does not distinguish between FP *pušǵ- v. 'blow' and U *pus|šǵ v. 'spit, sprinkle'), Sm. 547 (FU *pušǵ-, FP *puša-, Ugr *pũθa- 'blow'), Lr. #962, LG 234, TmK 583, Hs. 294-5, KKIH 153; the Sm cognate was indicated in 1976 by Hl. (p.c.) || A: Tg *pus- (??) > Ewk hus- 'blow out (fire)', Lm hũsɛn- id., 'blow (blasen)', WrMc fusxe-mbi 'I fan (with a fan)', fusxe-ku 'a fan', Jrc {Kiy.} fusxegu id. (unless in Ewk and Lm the verb is derived from Ewk huw-, Lm hũ- v. 'blow') ¶ Z 1078, STM II 336, Kiy. 109 [#221] (s.v. hуb- I 'blow') || ? pJ *pũsù-(m)pur- v. 'smoke' > OJ pusubur-, ItOJ [RJ] pũsùbór-, J T pũsubur- ¶ S QJ #1417 || ? Ko {Rm.} putč^hi-ɗa v. 'fan, blow (a fire)' (acc. to Rm., < *pus-t^hi-) ¶¶ Rm. SKE 211-2 ◇ NaIE *pěs- may go back to **pues- < N *Pušǵ ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. дуть *pušɔ (IE, A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #46 (*pus 'blow').

1816. *Pušǵ 'rub, smear' > HS: S *^o✓pšš (↔ *^opθθ ↔ *^o✓pšš) > Ak ✓pšš v. 'smear' || K *pšw-en-/*pšw_o-n- v. 'crumble, make friable' > OG d. na-pšuen- pp. 'crumb', G (da)pšv_n-/pšven- {Chx.} 'zerbröckeln, zerkrümmeln, zerreiben', (da)pšvneṭ-/pšvniṭ- 'zerreiben, zermalmen', (ča)pšvneṭ- 'zerreiben und in etwas streuen', Sv {K} puršgwīn- 'crumble, make friable', Sv {TK}: UB pursgwīn(a), IB pursgwīn, purs(w)in, pa_rsin, LB/L puršgwīn, Ln purškwīn n. act. 'crumbling' ¶ K² 209, Chx 1514-5, TK 768 || IE: Ht {CHD} pes(s)- 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)', {Frd., Ts.} pes- 'einreiben (mit Waschmitteln)', (× N *Puč_lǵ_lǵ_l 'press, squeeze, crush by squeezing'): Ht pasihai- {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (??) ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 205, 315, Frd. HW 108, 164 || D *pũč- ({^oGS} *p-) v. 'smear' > Tm pũcu v. 'besmear, anoint, rub', MI pũcuca, pũśuca v. 'smear, daub, rub', pũcal, pũccu 'smearing, daub', Kn pũsu v. 'smear, daub, anoint', Tu pũjuni, TI pũyu v. 'smear, rub, daub'; D ⇨ OI pusta- 'working clay, modelling' ¶¶ D #4352, Km. 434 [#841].

1817. ₂ *pǵšqǵ ~ *Peqšê 'spear' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'arrow') > HS: S *^opǵšχ- (or *^opǵθ|šχ-) > Ak NA pašχu ~ pu-aš-χu (acc. to Sd., possibly a spelling for *pošχu) 'e hunting spear (?)' ('ein Jagdspieß') ¶ Sd. 844 || WCh {Stl.} *pasa 'arrow' > BT: Krkr {Mk.} pasku, Pr {Frz.} púžùk, Dera {J} pěk, ? Ngm {ChL} poʔošo, Krf {Sch.} fùšì,

Bl {Mk.} ꝑꝛꝛꝛ 'arrow' || Sbc: Zul {ChL} pùsè, Jm {Gw.} pꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛ, Plc {ChL} pꝛꝛꝛꝛ, Grn {Jgr.} pꝛšĩ, Gj {ChL} pꝛšĩ, Buli {ChL} pꝛš, Dw {ChL} pꝛš, Zr {ChL} pꝛš id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Frz. P 47, Stl. ZCh 144 [#7], IS Ch 26, Jgr. 183 ¶¶ OS #1902 || **U:** FU *pekše 'arrow (with a dull arrowhead)' > Chr: L пикш píkš 'arrow, bow', Н пикш píkš, В píkš, М píkš 'arrow' || Prm: StVt пꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛ pꝛꝛꝛꝛ 'bow; рыба-стрела (arrow-fish?)', Vt: Sr pꝛꝛꝛš ~ pꝛꝛꝛš, Kz pꝛꝛš 'arrow', G pꝛꝛš 'bow' || ObU: Os V pꝛš 'arrow with a dull wooden arrowhead, arrow for hunting squirrels without spoiling their skin' || Vg LK liṣan-pāxtnəp-piṣət 'arrow with a dull arrowhead for hunting squirrels' (liṣan 'squirrel', pāxt- v. 'shoot') ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 369, MRS 429, U3S 363.

1818. *P_alyšê 'penis' > IE: NaIE *pes- id. > OI 'pasa-ḥ id. || Gk πέος id. || L pēnis id. (< *pes-ni-s) || Ht pisnatar/-n- 'männliches Genitale', {CHD} 'male parts (penis, scrotum, etc.)', ? pisnatar/-n- 'manhood', pesna-, pisenā-, *pis(e)ni- 'man, male person' ¶¶ P 824, EI 507 (*'peses), M K II 241, M E II 111, Dv. #260, F II 507, WH II 281, Ts. W 63, CHD P 324-9, DImr. 107 || **HS:** S *°payš- > Ar fayš-, fayš-at- 'gland de la verge'; ?? Ak bāštu 'penis' ¶ BK II 653 || ??φ B *✓bšš 'penis' (× *✓bšš 'urinate') > CM abəššiš 'pénis, verge', Fgg abšiš, Kb abbuš 'penis', CA (BMn), Nf abəššāš 'verge' ¶ NZ 8-9 || **U:** FU *paše (or *paś|će) 'penis' > pLp {Lr.} *pōčz 'penis' > Lp: N {N} buoččâ -ž- 'penis of man or horse', S {Hs.} buodje, L {LLO} puohṭja, Kld {TI} pūč: (ă) 'penis' || Hg fasz id. ¶ UEW 345 (reconstructs *pač∇, though pLp *-č- and Hg -sz may go back also [and more regularly] to FU *-š|ś-), Sm. 548 (FU *pā|o|oosĩ, FP *pa|o|oosĩ, Ugr *po|āsi 'penis'), Lr. #988, Lgc. #5289, Hs. 380, TI 410-1 ◇ The absence of the reflexes of *y in the prehistory of NaIE needs explaining ◇ Ffd. see IS III 96-7 (mentions OT [MhK] äs 'männliche Schamteile' [MKA I 181.16], but OT äs with this meaning is not registered by either Cl. or MKD); IS III does not take into account Ar fayš- and reconstructs */p/a/se (sc. *^rp^ra^rše).

1819. *p^räy^rš^ri^r (↔ *p^riš^ri^r?) 'crush, break to pieces' > **HS:** Eg fP pšri vt., vi. 'split (spalten, sich spalten)' ¶ EG I 560, Fk. 95 || ?σB *✓fsy '(se) délier, (se) défaire' > Ah əfsi 'désagréger, être désagrégé', Kb əfsi '(se) délier, (se) défaire', Gd fəsyiy 'être clairsémé (grain, arbres)', Tmz fsu '(se) défaire, étirer (la laine), (se) démêler', Shl {NZ} fsu 'carder', CM fsu 'défaire, étirer, nettoyer (la laine)', Rf fsu, Fgg fsa

'préparer la laine pour le tissage', Mz f_{su}, Wrg əf_{su} 'démêler, défaire' ¶ Fc. 362, Dl. 234-5, Lf. II #O445, MT 131, NZ 656 || Ch *p|f∇^rs₁¹, {Nw.} *fas₁i v. 'break' > WCh {Stl.} *pas- 'break to pieces (разбивать)' > Hs fásà, fášè v. {Ba.} 'break irregularly', {Sk.} 'break in piece', Hs fàsú v. 'burst' | Ngz p̄psú v. 'render into small pieces or powder' | ? NrBc: P {MSk.} piša, Sir {Sk.} p̄šú, Dir {Sk.} f̄šú v. 'break' ||| CCh: G'nd {Nw.} f̄š 'break' | Mrg {Hf.} p̄š vt., vi. 'break (pot, calabash, glass)', Hld p̄šínà, Wmd p̄šèw 'break' | McHigi {ChL}: HgNk p̄š, HgB puš°, Kps puš, HgF p̄š, FIG p̄šamti, FIJ f+š(i), FIM f̄š, FIB f+št id. ||| ECh: Ke {Nw.} pese 'hatch', {Eb.} p̄sé 'éclore, schlüpfen aus dem Ei', as well ?? Tmk {Cr.} p̄ž 'casser, rompre' (unless from HS *✓pcc, cr. S *✓pss 'destroy, break') ¶ ChL, ChC, Stl. ZCh 144 [#6], Abr. H 256-9, Sch. DN 130, Nw. 23 [#16] (*fašə 'break'), Hf. M 123, 127, etc., Eb. 87, Cr. 89 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 66, cr. OS #1916 (*pac- 'destroy, break'; S, Tmk) || IE: NaIE *pejs- (?) / *pis- v. 'crush, pound' > OI piš- (3s prs. pi¹naš¹ti, 3p prs. p̄šanti, pfc. pi¹peša, pi¹piše, pp. piš¹ṭah) 'crush, pound', piš¹ṭam 'flour', Av pišant- 'threshing, zerstampend', pištra 'flour', NPrs {Horn} پِشْت pešt, Wx pōst id. ||| Gk (1s prs.) πύσσω (aor. ἔπτισα), Gk A πύττω v. 'peel\bray in a mortar; winnow' ||| L pins-ēre (sup. pis-tum) v. 'stamp, pound, crush, remove hulls from grain', pistor 'grinder, miller', Um pistu 'pistum' ||| MLG vīsel 'mortar' ||| Lt (iter.) paisūti 'to thresh off the awns, to awn', Ltv p̄sisīt 'to swingle (flax)' | SrChS, OR ПЪХАТИ рьхати 'to push, to shove', R пи¹хать, Δ пхать, Uk пхати, пихати id., Slv pehāti [pəhāti] 'to push, to thrust', OCz, Cz Δ рchāti, Cz pichati, Slk pichat' 'to prick'; Cz p̄chovati 'to beat\stamp down', SI *p̄šeno 'crushed corn' (→ 'husked millet') > OR (and OCS?) ПЪШЕНО рьшено 'grain of corn (?)', Slv p̄šeno 'husked corn, husked millet', R пше¹но, Uk пше¹но, Cz Δ p̄šeno 'husked millet', Slk p̄šeno id., 'millet', P pszono 'grain of millet'; ⇨ SI *p̄šenica 'wheat' > OCS ПЪШЕНИЦА рьшеніца, Blg, R пшеница, Uk пшениця, SCr p̄šenica, Slv p̄šenica, Cz p̄šenice, Slk p̄šenica, P pszenica ¶ P 796, EI 581 (*pejs- / prs. *pi¹nes-ti 'remove the hulls from grain, grind, thresh'), M K II 281, M E II 169, Horn 71, WH II 307-8, Bc. G 342, F II 614-5, Tr. 220-1, Frn. 526, HIK 272, 303, Vs. III 269-70, 417, Chr. II 56-7, Ma. CS 403-4, Glh. 508-9 ||| U: *pa^rš¹∇ > FU (att. in Prm) *°pa^rš¹∇ > Z {Tmk} paz-3d- 'break in pieces', Prmk paz-dī- v. 'break, crush' ('ломать,

мельчить'); Z *paз-зд-* 'scatter', Vt *paža-* 'scatter, disperse' may be a sd. of the same √ || Sm: Helimski (p.c.) suggested to adduce here Slq Tz {KKIH} *pas+š-ḡo*, *passē-ḡo* 'explode, burst, crack' ¶ LG 214, TmK 515, KKIИ 147 || A **p'Es₁i₁(K∇)* v. 'break, cleave, peck' > M **φeske-* v. 'cut' > WrM *eske-*, HИM *эсгэ-*, Brт *эсхэ-* v. 'cut, cut out (as cloth), cut off' ('кроить, выкраивать; обрезать, делать порез'), Dg *herkī-* 'cut', Ord *es"xe-* 'tailleur' ¶ MED 334-5, Luv. 681, Chr. 776, Ms. O 249, T DgJ 35 (on M **s* > Dg *r*), 175 || Tg (att. in NrTg) **pīs(k)-* 'crack; to prick' > Lm *h₁sqān-* vi. 'crack, burst, split', Neg *χ₁skan* 'a fissure' ('щель'), *χ₁sm₁kl₁t-* v. 'prick (a fish) with a fish-fork', Ewk *hismat-/ç-* id., v. 'prick, pierce' ¶ STM II 328 || pKo **pskír* 'chisel' > MKo *pskír*, NKo *kīl* ¶ S QK #411, Nam 74, MCL 247 || pJ **písi* 'fish-fork' > ItOJ *φísí*, JTh *hísi* id.; pJ **písi(n)k-* v. 'break up' > OJ *p₁i₁ísíg-* > J: T *hísig*, K *hísig-*, Kg *hísig-* ¶ S QJ #417, Mr. 690 ¶¶ DQA #1768 (A **p'isi(K∇)* 'break, cleave; peck [долбить]') || ??φ K **peš-* vi. 'open', (partially o) 'burst (with a cracking sound)' > Mg *pašk-* ~ *pešk-* 'burst (with a cracking sound)', Sv {K} *píšg-/pšg-* id., Sv UB {GP} *msd. li-pšg-e*, prs. *píšge* '(to) open (a vessel)', Sv {TK}: UB/L *li-pšg-e*, Ln *li-pš₁e* 'to untie, to open' ¶ K 188-9, GP 172, 264, TK 452 ¶ A qu. cognate because of the unexpected cns. *-š- (insted of *-š-) ◇ Eg -š- and Vt -ž- suggest a N lateral *-š̂-, while the Z reflex -z- is still hard to explain. FU **a* (< *ä* due to the vw. harmony?) and M **e* point to a N **ä*, while the IE diphthong **e₁* may go back either to N **i* or to **∇y*, so that a possible N source is likely to be **äy*. Traces of the original final **i* can be discerned in A, B, and possibly Ch. One of two alt. reconstructions is N **píš'i*, that accounts for the vw. (~ diphthong) in IE and A, but not in U. The discrepancies in vowels may be due to some onomatopoeic factor.

1820. **pat∇* 'ground, plain; bottom' > HS: Ch: WCh **p∇t-* > Ngz *pátátá* 'plain, field' || Hs *fètáj* ~ *fètál* ~ *fètétè* adv. emphasizing 'clear expanse': *fili fetal* 'a large expanse of open country', *sarari fetalid.*, *fètétè* 'shallowness' (× N **pat_h∇* 'to be open, to open') ¶ Ba. 317, Abr. H 263, Stl. ZCh 144 [#2] || IE: NaIE **ped-*, **ped-om* 'ground' (× **pedom* 'footprint' < **ped-* 'foot' < N **pa'g'd∇* 'leg, foot') > Gk *πέδον* 'ground, earth', *πεδίον* 'a plain, plain flat open country' || Um *peřum*, PERSO *πέδον*, *solum*, L *oppidum* 'town', ? *oppidō* 'quite, very much, exceedingly' (< **ob* + **pedom* {Krtm.} 'bei der Grundfläche', {P} 'on the spot') || Mir {EI}, *ined*, {DIL} *inad* 'position, place, trace' (< **eni-pedo-*

) || SI *podъ 'ground, bottom' > OR ПОДЪ podъ 'ground', Cz půda id., 'soil', R под, Uk під 'hearth-stone', Blg под, Slv pòd 'floor', SCr pòd 'floor, planking', Slk pòda 'bottom'; → SI *podъ 'under' > OCS, OR ПОДЪ podъ, Blg, R под, P, Slk, SCr, Slv pod 'under', Cz pod(e) 'below, beneath' || Ht peda-n 'place' ¶¶ On NaIE *pedom 'footprint, track' see N *pa'g'd∇ ¶¶ WP II 24, ≈σEI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), F II 485-6, ≈ WH II 214-5 (rejects the connection between oppidum and πέδον), 29, Bc. G 341, Pln. 749, Vs. III 295-6, Glh. 491, Slt. 53-4, Vr. 118, CHD P 330-45 || **A [1]** {DQA} A *p'át'â 'ground, uncultivated land, field' > T *_hatír > OT atiz 'a strip of land between two dykes', Tkm atıð 'strip of land, garden bed (гряда, грядка), plot of land', Chg atız, Qzq {Rl.}, ET atız 'field', ET Tar {Rl.} ätiz 'Acker, Ackerland', Shor {Rl.} atıs 'ein Feldmaß, 1/18 desyatina', Qzq {Sht.} atız 'garden bed', {Rl.} atız, atanaq 'mit kleinen Hügelchen bedecktes Feld' ¶ Cl. 73, Rl. I 454, 460, 493, 843, Tkr 87, TDS 58 || M *_lφ₁atar > WrM a₁tar 'uncultivated land', HIM, Brt атар 'virgin land, unploughed or fallow field' (acc. to Cl. 73, T → M) ¶ MED 58, Chr. 64 || Ko {Rm.} *path, {S} *pàt_h > MKo pat ~ path, NKo {MLC} path, NKo {S} pat, Ko N {Rm.} pat^hi, Ko S {Rm.} pat^hi, padi 'field, plot of ground' ¶ S QK #665, Rm. SKE 192-3, MLC 741 || pJ {S} *pátà / *pátá > OJ pátá, J: T hatá ~ háta, K/Kg hátà 'field, farm' ¶ S QJ #599, Mr. 401 ¶¶ DQA #1718, Rm. EAS I 53, Rm. SKE 192-3 | **[2]** A {DQA} *p'ât'â(-k∇) 'bottom, lower side' (→ 'leg') > Tg: **[a]** *pata 'bottom' > Ewk hat 'basis, root; foot of a mountain', Ud xзdi, Orc pata 'runner of a sledge (полоз нарты)' (→ Neg pata id.), 'end', Nn pata 𐎠 fatā 'runner of a sledge; tree that is sunk into water', Ul pata id., 'footboard of a sledge', WrMc fatan 'foot of a mountain, bottom, bottom of vessel\barrel' | **[b]** *pata, *pataka 'paw, hoof, sole of foot' > Lm hatıqa 'fetlock under reindoor's hoof', Ewk hata, Neg xata id., 'pad (подушечка) of the sole of dogs and other animals', Orc xaptamuki 'bird's foot', WrMc fatxa 'foot (of birds and mammals), hoof' ¶ STM II 318, Z 1030 || pKo {S} *pátók 'bottom, lower part' > MKo pátók, pátán, NKo padak ¶ S QK #317, Nam 237, MLC 703 || pJ {S} *pátá 'fish fin' (← *_l≈ leg'?) > OJ pátá ¶ S QJ #903, Mr. 401 || ?? T *a_l:t (< *_hl₁a_l:t?) 'trace' [{DQA} *at(-kI)] (× T *āt 'step' < N *q'A'd_l∇₁'o' 'to step, to walk' [q.v. ffd.] × N *pat_l'∇ 'come') > VTt Δ {DS} at 'trace' (atı da juq 'no trace <remains>'), some T lge. (Osm,

Chg?) {Zn.} at 'trace (of foot)'; much less plausible is the adduction of *z* Tv {DQA ← ?} adim 'handful' and Chv idam 'armful' ¶ ET Gl 88-9, Zn. I s.v. **ا**, DS III 24 ¶ Highly qu. as a cognate because it is easily explained as going back to N *q'A'd₁∇₁?^o ¶¶ DQA #1719 (A *p'āt'ā(-k∇) 'bottom, lower side' > M, Tg, Ko, J + qu. T *atim), S AJ 70 (Tg, Ko, J), ≈ Rm. EAS I 5 (Tg, Ko), Pp. VG 11 and 50 (M, Tg, STM II 318 (Tg, M, T) ¶¶ Not here T *haδ-āk 'foot' (⇔ Str. LPA 22, Mill. OJL 137-8, 201-2, and other scholars, see N *pa'g'd∇ 'leg, foot') || D (in GnD) *paṭa 'field' > Gnd paṭe 'small field for cultivation', Png baṭa 'a field on the hills', Ku baṭa 'pasture' ¶ D #3874 ||| D *pātti ({ǵGS} *p-) 'small field' > Tm pātti 'small field', Ml pātti, Kn pāti 'garden bed', Tu pāti 'nursery for plants', Tl pādū, pādi 'garden bed or plot' ¶¶ D *patti is likely to go back to a d. form (< *paṭa + a *-t∇-sx.) ¶¶ D #4078 ◇ This N etymon may be a semantic variant of N *paṭh∇ 'to be open, be open' (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 s.v. широкий *paṭh, IS SS #1.32, AD GD 10 ◇ Altaic *-t' (> M, Tg *-t-) for the expected Altaic *-t- (> M, Tg *-d-) may be explained by some contamination (with N *paṭh∇?).

1821. *p'at∇ 'basket, box' > HS: S *^o√ptn (? *pa'tan-) > Ak pitru 'box' ¶ Sd. 869-70 || IE: NaIE *pod- 'box, vessel, pot' > ? OI palla 'large granary, barn', pallī 'ε measure of grain' (if -ll- < *-dl-) ||| OHG faṣ 'vessel, jug, dish', NHG Faß 'cask, barrel, vessel', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fæt 'vessel, casket, cup, pot' ||| Lt púodas, Ltv pōds 'pot' ||| ? L pot(t)us 'drinking-cup' (× L n. pōtus 'drink?') > Fr, Prov. pot, etc. ⇨ AS pot > NE pot ¶¶ WH II 351, HDEL 1025, P 790, M K II 236 (no et. of the OI words), WH II 351, ML #6705, Vr. 113, Sw. 54, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 228, OsS 172, KM 185, Frn. 668, Frd. HW EH I 15-6 ||| IE *pot₁H₁r₂ / p_ot₁H₁n-os 'basket' → 'dish' > Ht {CHD} pattar 'basket' (/ dat.-loc. paddan-i), Lc πατάρα 'Korb, Kasten', Gk πατάνη 'ε flat dish', L patera 'low bowl, saucer' ¶ F II 480, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 241-2, EI 443 (IE *pot₁H₁r₂ / p_ot₁H₁n-os 'shallow dish'), ≠ WH II 264 (unc.: L patera < L pateo 'be open') ||| U: FU *pata 'cauldron, pot' > F pata (gen. padan) 'Kessel, Kochtopf', Es pada (gen. paja) id. | Lp N {N} batte / -d-, L {LLO} pāhtē 'pot, cauldron' | Chr H pat, U pot id., B pat, pot 'pot' ||| ObU *pūt 'cauldron' > pVg *pūt 'Kessel, Grapen' > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss pūt, P/NV/SV/LL put; pOs *put 'cauldron' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O put, D püt, Nz/Kz püt | Hg fazék 'cooking-pot' ¶ UEW

358, LLO 705, MF 185-6, Ht. 180 [#550] || **A** *p^ha^ht^h∇ 'ε vessel' > ?φ T *iti^h 'cup, vessel' > OT {Cl.} idiš אִיִּישׁ, XwT XIV idiš, Chg ≥XV idiš id., Tkm Δ, Uz, Qrg idiš, Qzq, Qq idis, Xk idis, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} edis, Qb {Cs.} ides 'vessel', Yk isit 'cup' ¶ Cl. 72, ET Gl 328-9, DQA #1697 (T *edi^h) || Tg *padu 'pouch' > WrMc fadu id., Ud padu 'pouch (for tinder and flint)', Ork padu 'tobacco-pouch', Orc padu, UI padu(n-), Nn Nh pado ~ padoã, Nn B/KU fado ~ fadu id., 'pouch' ¶ STM II 31 || pJ {S} *pítú 'box' > OJ piítú, J: T hìcu, K hícú, Kg hicú; pJ *pítú-ki 'coffin' > OJ piítúk_i, J: T hìcugi, K hícúgí, Kg hicúgi ¶ S QJ #979, Mr. 411 ¶¶ DQA #1697 (A *p^hādi 'a k. of vessel'; Tg and pJ are tentatively supposed to go back to *p^hādi-b∇) ¶¶ The origin of T and pJ *i remains unknown || **D** *pata^h∇ ({GS} *p-) 'pot' > Tm pata^hai 'large-mouthed pot', Td paθ^h 'large, broad-mouthed clay pot', Gnd, Mlt patli 'cooking pot' ¶¶ D *-t- for the expected *-t̥- may be due to a sx. ¶¶ D #3909 ◇ The rec. of N *p̥- is valid only if T *iti^h is a legitimate cognate. Otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *P̥- ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. *κορυδ* *p̥at^h, IS SS #2.18 (in both sources: IE, U, D), UEW 358 (U, IE). IS (MS 366) supposed that the ancient meaning is 'clay vessel', but the S (Ak) and AnIE data suggest that the original meaning was 'basket, box', with further development into 'vessel'. Borrowing from one lge. to another is not ruled out (Jk. UI 301 and ItK 322: FU ← IE; → LCm. NLP 16-7).

1822. *pāt∇ 'to fall' (~ ? *p̥at^h∇-XE 'fall, cast [to the ground]') > **HS**: WS *^o-pūt- (~ *^o-pūd-?) > Mh ✓fwt (pf. fōt), Hrs ✓fwt (pf. fēt, sbjn. -fōt) v. 'die unslaughtered' (of an animal) (cp. R падѣж скота 'loss of cattle, cattle-plague', lit. 'falling of cattle'), ? Ar ✓fwd (pf. fāda, ip. -fūd-u) v. 'die, disappear' ¶ Jo. M 109-110, Jo. H 67, Fr. III 380, BK II 644, Hv. 578 || EC: Sd fottoḡa 'fall down' ¶ Gs. 103 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} fādé / fāt v. 'fall' || WCh {Stl.} *paḡ- ~ *piḡ- v. 'fall' > Hs fādī id. | AG: Ywm {Kr. in ChL} yā p̥t̥ēr (gwe) v. 'lie down' || CCh: {ChL} Mrg pida, Hld p̥idà, Wmd p̥idà v. 'lie down' ¶ JI II 130-1, Stl. ZCh 144 [#4], IS III 84-5, ChC, ChL ¶ Ngz mp̥dú and My p̥iyètā- v. 'put' (mentioned in IS III 84 ← Stl. ZChSSI) cannot belong here, because Ngz mp̥dú is a form of the verb mp̥áú v. 'put' (Sch. DN 116) and My p̥iyètā- is a form of My p̥íyò v. 'put' (ChC) || Eg fP p̥t̥χ vt. 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)', vi. 'sich niederwerfen, sich zu Boden werfen', {Fk.} 'be stretched out (in obeisance)' (Tk. (p.c., 2001): may be from *pt̥ (a reg. sound change), an alt. hyp. equating Eg p̥t̥χ v. 'cast' with T *at̥- v.

'throw' (presupposing that T *at'- is from *hat'-) is untenable, because T *at'- has a phonetically and semantically reg. cognate in HS, namely EC *ṣaḏ- v. 'throw' (F N *ṣaṭṭ 'to throw, to cast') ¶ EGI 565-6, Fk. 96 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 62 || IE: [1] NaIE *ped- 'fall' > OI ✓ pad-: Vd 'padyatē 'falls, descends'; Av paīḏyāite 'moves down, lies down' ||| Gmc *fetan 'to fall' > AS (3p p.) ʒefetun 'ceciderunt', OHG fēʒʒan 'wanken, fallen', gi-fēʒʒan 'to fall' ||| Sl *pǎsti (1s prs.*pǎdǫ, ip. inf. *pǎdati) 'to fall' > OCS ПАСТН pasti / 1s prs. ПАДѢ padǫ, R пасть / па'ду, ip. 'падать, 'падаю, Blg 'падна, ip. 'падам, SCr pǎsti, pǎdnēm, OCz pásti / padu, Cz ip. inf. padati, P paść / pada 'fall'; in Cz and Slk a derived inf.: Cz padnouti, Slk padnúť 'to fall' ||| [2] NaIE *pet(ə)-/ptē-/ptō- 'fall' (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly'?) > OI 'patati 'falls', (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly') 'flies, soars, rushes', aor. apaptat, Av tāta (< *ptā'tā) 'falling (of rain)' ||| Gk πίπτω 'I fall' (reduplicating prs.; long ī on the analogy of ῥίπτω 'I throw, cast)', inf. aor. πετέειν, Gk D/Ae aor ἔπετον ¶ IS III 85-88 (with further details and references), ≈ P 791 (erroneously identified with *pēd- / *pōd- 'foot'), ≈ EI 192, M K II 199, 206-7, M E II 71-2, 76-7, Brl. 841-2, F II 242-3, Ho. 102, Kb. 239, ≈ OsS 191-2, Vs. III 18, Glh. 469 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *pāt,tjṽ > ObU *pāt-/*pit- v. 'fall' > pVg *pāt- v. 'fall', 'come to be, (wohin) geraten, попасть' > Vg: T pāt-, LK/MK/UK pāt-, P/NV/SV/LL pāt-/pāt-, UL/Ss pat- id., {BV}: Vg Ss пат-, Vg Yk pāt- 'fall, (wohin) geraten', Vg Ss паттал-, Vg Yk pättāí- 'let fall'; pOs *pit- v. 'fall; , 'come to be, geraten, попасть' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O pit-, Nz/Kz pīt- id.; ObU *i belongs to the alternating pair *ä/*i going back to FU *ä ¶ Ht. #551, BV 79, Trj. S 362-3, Coll. 108, UEW 386, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pitä-, Ugr *pītä- 'leap, hold') || A: Tg *pet-ke- 'fall' > Lm hətəkət/ç- (ip.?) 'fall, tumble' ('падать, шлёпаться'), Lm OI/AI/M/T hətəkəçi-, Lm A ətəkən- (pfv. or mom.?) 'fall, tumble' ('упасть, шлёпнуться'), Lm hətəkəçukən- v. 'drop' ¶ STM II 371, Sun. G 122-3 (on sxs. of aspects: Lm -çi is considered ip.) || pKo {S} *ptà,rá- v. 'drop, fall; finish' > MKo ptà,rá-tí-, NKo tā,rā-ḏi- ¶ S QK #862, Nam 151, MLC 449 || ?σ pJ {S} *pātá- v. 'finish, anchor' > OJ pata-, J: T haté-, K/Kg hətè- ¶ S QJ #737, Mr. 686 ¶¶ Tg *t (rather than *d) is explained by its position within a cns. cluster before *k ¶¶ DQA #1753 (A *p₁'ětá - -t'- v. 'drop, fall') || D *paṭ- ({ḡGS} *paḏ-) 'fall, fall in, set (as a heavenly body), be destroyed' > Tm paṭu 'perish, die', 'set' (of heavenly body)', paṭi 'settle (as

dust, sediment), sink in water', $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{u}$ (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'lay horizontally', v. 'lie down to sleep', Ml $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{uka}$ v. 'fall, sink', $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{i}\text{yuka}$ v. 'settle, sink', Kt $\text{pa}\dot{\text{r}}$ - ($\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}$ -) v. 'lie down, sleep', Td $\text{po}\dot{\text{r}}$ - 'lie down', Kn $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{u}$ id., 'set (as the sun), die', Kdg $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}$ - 'lie fallow', Tu $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{a}$ 'placing, laying', $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{puni}$ 'to plunge', Tl $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{u}$ v. 'fall, lie, recline, sleep', Klm $\text{boll}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}$ - v. 'lie on one's back', Nkr $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}$ -, Nk $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}$ -/ $\text{pa}\dot{\text{r}}$ -, Gdb par - 'fall', Prj $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}$ - 'fall, sink down', 'set' (of the sun), Gnd $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{t}}$ - 'lie down', Png paz - 'be caught (in snare)' ||| Another D etymon (a d. from the first one?): D $\text{*pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{-i}$ - v. 'settle (as dust or sediment), sink' > Tm $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{i}$ - id., Ml $\text{pa}\dot{\text{t}}\text{i}\text{yuka}$ id., Tu $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}\text{puni}$ v. 'plunge', Prj $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{va}$ $\text{ba}\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}$, Ku $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{va}$ $\text{pa}\dot{\text{d}}\text{i}$ 'dovecote' ¶¶ D ##3848, 3852, Km. 424 [#784] ◇ IS III 84-89 [#367] ($\text{*p}^{\text{a}}\text{ad}\bar{\text{a}}$; comparison between all pertinent cognates, except ECh, U, and S). N *p - is reconstructed on the evidence of Eg p (as well as the WCh and CCh cognates). Mubi f - still needs explaining. Eg $\text{p}\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{h}}$ 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)' and NaIE $\text{*pt}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-}/\text{pt}\bar{\text{o}}\text{-}$ v. 'fall' suggest a N cd. etymon $\text{*p}\nabla\text{t}\nabla\text{-XE}$ 'fall, cast (to the ground)'.

1823. $\text{*pEt}\nabla$ 'to pass, to go out' > HS: S $\text{*o-p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - > Ar $\check{\text{v}}\text{fwt}$ (ip. - $\text{f}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ -u, pf. $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$) {Ln.} 'pass', 'pass away, elapse' (time, opportunity), {BK} 'passer à côté de qn.', {Hv.} 'elapse' (time), die' ¶ Ln. 2454, BK II 642-3, Hv. 578 || B $\text{*}\check{\text{v}}\text{ftH}$ > Tmz {MT} ftu (pf. ifta) 'passer, s'en aller', Shl {La.} ftu 'aller', {NZ} id., 'partir, s'en aller'; but the verb fat / fut (Wrg fat 'passer' [le temps], Kb $\text{fa}\dot{\text{t}}$ [pf. $\text{ifu}\dot{\text{t}}$] 'passer, dépasser', Shl {La.} fut v. 'lose', 'elapse, be over' [of beauty, time], ZAS {Loub.} $\text{fa}\dot{\text{t}}$ / $\text{fu}\dot{\text{t}}$ 'passer, s'écouler') may be a loan from Ar ¶ MT 137, Dlh. Ou 87, Dl. 236, La. CBM 290-1, Loub. 540, NZ 667 || C: Ag {Ap.} $\text{*f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$ - v. 'go' > Xm $\text{fir-}/\text{fit}$ - v. 'go (away)', Aw $\text{fey-}/\text{fet}$ -, Bln {R} $\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$ - id., Km $\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y-}/\text{f}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$ - id. || ? SC: Irq {Wh.} $\text{pur}\bar{\text{u}}\dot{\text{c}}$ - v. {Wh.} 'go afar\off', {MQK} 'go far' ¶ Ap. AV 9, Ap. VSA 19, AD GDS 67, R WB 116, 124, Wh. VR 82, MQK 83 || Ch $\text{*p}\nabla\text{t}\nabla$ > WCh $\text{*p}\nabla\text{t}\nabla$ v. 'go out' (→ 'come') (\approx {Stl.} $\text{*p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - v. 'go out' and $\text{*f}\nabla\text{t}$ - v. 'go out, come') > Hs $\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'go out', Gw {Nw. ←?} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ ($\text{'p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$) id. (= Gw [all dialects] {Mts.} $\text{b}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}\text{u}$ 'go out?') | AG {Hf.} $\text{*p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ > Su $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$, Ang {ChL} $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$, Gmy {Hf.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$, Kf {Nt.} $\text{f}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$, {Hf.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t} \sim \text{p}\bar{\text{f}}\text{u}\text{t}$, Cp {ChL} $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ v. 'go out' | BT *fat - v. 'go out' > Bl {Lk.} fat -, {Bnt.} $\text{pa}'\text{t-}\bar{\text{a}}\omega\text{o}$, Krkr {Lk.} fat -, Dr {Nw.} pori , {ChL} $\text{po}\dot{\text{d}}$ -, Tng {J} $\text{p}\bar{\text{o}}\text{d}\text{u}$, Ngm hatu , Bele $\text{f}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}$, Glm $\text{p}\bar{\text{a}}\text{z}$, Gera $\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}\text{d}$ -, Pr $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}$ v. 'go out' | SBc {Sh.}: Zem D fut , Ds D, Ds Bn $\text{f}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$, Ds Bd, Wnd fut v. 'come' ||| CCh: Gudu {ChC} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ v. 'go' | G'nd {Nw.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'go out' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 147 [#29] and 159

[#127], Stl. VZCh #191, Mts. G 28, Mch. D 147, Sh. SB 34, Hf. AGG 17, Nt. 13, J S 79, J T 132, Lk. PVB II 135, Lk. TS, Sch. BTL, Frz. P 45, ChC, JI II 164, Nw. #60 (pCh *p̄ata), IS Ch. 25 || ?σ Eg fOK p̄t̄p̄t̄ 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd ποτπετ potpet, Β φοτφετ p^hotph^het 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' (× N *p̄at̄∇ 'to beat, to strike', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ OS #783 (Ch *fat-/ *fit- 'move'), ≈ Sk. HCD 70, SSAAJ I #137, AD GDS 67 (#3.21) || IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- v. 'go, walk' > OI 'padyatē 'goes' (≠ M K II 206-7 [← padyatē 'falls']) || Gk πηδάω v. 'leap, spring, bound' || Lt pēdinu / pēdinti v. 'pace, walk (slowly)' ¶ × IE *ped- v. 'fall' (see s.v. N *p̄āt̄∇ 'to fall') × (?) IE *pe(:)d-/pod- 'foot' (< N *p̄a'g'd̄∇ 'leg' [or 'ε part of a leg'], 'foot') ¶ P 791, M E II 76-7, ≈ F II 526-7, Frn. 561 (Lt pēdin- ⇨ pēdā 'foot') || U: FU (att. in Prm) *p̄Ett̄∇ > pPrm *p̄et- v. 'go out' > OPrm pet-, Z pet- v. 'go out; rise (sun, etc.)', Vt pot̄in̄ id. ¶ LG 220 ◇ Not here Tg *pete- 'jump' (< N *p̄Eṭ̄∇ 'to fly') (unconvincingly equated in DQA #1756 [≠ A *p̄'ēta- v. 'step, walk'] with T *āt̄- v. 'step' and M *_lh₁ada- [i.e. *adam 'pace, step'], which are in fact from N *?at̄_l∇ 'to come', N *q'A'd_l∇, ?'o' 'to step, to walk') ◇ Ang, Su p- and Eg p- (?) suggest HS *p- and N *p̄-.

1824. *P̄itA 'hold, grasp, seize' > HS: S *^o-p̄īd- v. 'catch' > Ak ✓ pyd (p. -p̄īd, inf. p̄ādu) 'einschließen, gefangen setzen' ¶ Sd. 808 || IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- 'grasp, joint\fit together' > OHG {Kb.} faẏẏōn 'to load, to pack', MHG vāẏẏen 'fassen, erfassen, zusammenfassen', NHG fassen 'to grasp', ? ON fata 'lose zusammenfügen' || Ltv Δ {ME} pēda 'handful, armful', linu pēda 'ein Bund Flachs, eine Handvoll Flachs', Lt pēdas 'sheaf'] the NaIE nouns *p̄ōd-, *p̄ēdo- 'vessel, box, pot' (> OHG faẏ 'vessel, casket', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fætt 'vessel, casket, cup, pot', Lt p̄úodas, Ltv p̄ōds 'pot') go back to N *p̄'at̄∇ 'basket, box' (q.v. ffd.), but there may be contamination of N *P̄itA and *p̄'at̄∇ in forms like OHG faẏẏōn, MHG vāẏẏen 'in ein Gefäß tun', NHG fassen 'to barrel (beer), to hive (bees)' ¶ Fs. 148-9, Kb. 228, OsS 172, Lx. 264, 287, Ho. 97, 102, Vr. 114, 118-9, 149, ME III 206, Frn. 563, cp. otherwise P 790 || U: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' (× N *bit̄_l∇, ?'∇ 'to hold') > F pitä- v. 'hold', Es pida (prs. pean) id. | Er pēda 'sich anschließen, ankleben, sich anheften' ¶ Hardly here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) (⇔ Sm. 547) FU {UEW} *pitä- v. 'tie, tie up, bind' ('schnüren, binden') > Chr: L пидаш pi'δ-aš 'to tie, to bind', KB piδä-, U/B piδa- 'binden, schnüren, stricken' || Hg fűz- v. 'stitch, attach,

bind' 𐌆 Coll. 108, UEW 386-7, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pitä-, Ugr *pītä- 'keep, hold'), MRS 426-7 || **D** {tr.} *piṭ-, {GS} *piḍ- v. 'grasp, hold' (× N *bit_ṭ∇, 'ʔ'∇ '↑') > Tm piṭi v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', piṭi n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', MI piṭi 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt piṛč- v. 'clench (hand)', piṛy 'handful', Kn piḍi v. 'seize, hold', Kdg puḍi- v. 'catch, hold', Tu hiḍi n. 'hold, grasp', Tl piḍi 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj piḍk- v. 'embrace', Gnd pīḍanā v. 'snatch, catch' 𐌆𐌆 D #414, GS 43 [#91] || ?ϕ **K**: Sv {Ni.} -pdāl 'touch, take', Sv UB {GP} li-pdāl 'to touch with a hand' 𐌆 Ni. s.v. τρογᾶτῆ and βρατῆ, GP 171 ◇ U suggests N *-t-, while IE *-d- and D *-ṭ- may go back to both N *-t- and *-d-. Therefore the pN cns. is most likely to be *-t-. Sv -d- is still to be explained ◇ NaIE *pe_ṭd is likely to go back to eIE **p_ṭied < N *PitA (cf. AD NGIE, SD NVIE).

1825. *Put∇ 'feather, hair' > **D**: [1] *pūṭa ({ϑGS} *b-) 'down of birds, feather, hair' > MI pūṭa 'down of birds, wool, fine hair', Klm bu'r (pl. bu'dl) 'eyelash, eyebrow', Nkr būr (pl. būdl) 'down, fine feather', Prj būḍul id., Gnd būrā 𐌆 bura 𐌆 puḷa 'feather', Png būra 'small feathers, down', Mnd būriṅ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Brh puṭ 'hair' 𐌆𐌆 D #4358 || [2] (in GnD) *putt- ({ϑGS} *p-?) > Gnd putga 'feather' 𐌆 putgā id., 'wing', Png putehiṅ, puteliṅ, butuhiṅ 'eyebrows' 𐌆 D #4278 || **K**: Sv UB/LB/Ln pätw, Sv L patw 'hair' 𐌆 TK 753, GP 263, Dn. s.v. patv || **IE** *pet-∇r/n- / *pter- 'feather, wing' (× IE *pet- v. 'fly' < N *pEt_ṭ∇ 'to fly') > OI 'patram 'wing, feather' || Gk πτερόν 'feather, wing' || L penna (< *petnā) 'feather' || Arm 𐎧𐎡𐎱𐎠 t'heṛt' 'leaf' (< *pter- 'wing'), {Slt., Juh.} 𐎧𐎡𐎱 t'heṛ 'leaf', ? 𐎧𐎡𐎱𐎠 t'hranim v. 'fly' || Clt: OIr ette, W adain 'wing' || OHG fēdara, NHG Feder, OSx fethera, Dt ve(d)er, AS feðer, NE feather, ON fjǫðr 'feather' || Ht pattar/n- ~ pittar 'wing'; some AnIE lge. 𐌆→ Arm 𐎧𐎡𐎱𐎠 p'hetur 'feather' (acc. to Ach.) 𐌆𐌆 P 825-6, EI 646 (*pet(e)r- / *pet(e)n-), M K II 203-4, M E II 75-6, F II 612-3, WH II 282-3, Thr. § 78, ≈ RE 82, YGM-1 3, Vr. 124-5, Vr. N 766, Kb. 229, OsS 173, KM 188, Ho. 103, Ho. S 19, Slt. 38, Juh. OSK 22, 95 (on Arm 𐎧𐎡𐎱 t'heṛ 'leaf'), Frd. HW 166, Ts. W 62, CHD P 240 || ? **HS**: CCh: Bdm {ChC} fèβédò, {Nc.} fefēto 'wing', Db {Lnh.} pètè-pètè id., ? Gudu {ChL} bib^βéd, Nz {ChL} ḥèḍèki id. 𐌆 ChC, ChL || ?σ **A**: ??ϕ T *mīḍik 'moustache' (× N *bEP_ṭ∇ 'lip(s), mouth?') > OT biḍiq, MQp XIII biyiq ~ miyiq, Chg ≥xv biy ~ miy, XwT, OOsM ≥xv biyiq, Tk biyik, Δ buyiq 𐌆 miyq, Ggz

biyik, Az biϣ, Δ buϣ, CrTt biyiq ~ miyiq, Kr Cr miyuq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, Alt miyiq, VTt, Bsh m̄ȳb̄q, Chv m̄ȳb̄χ 'moustache', Yk bitik id., 'beard' ¶ T *-δ- is not a reg. reflex of N *-t- and requires explanation. The delabialization *u > T *i is a rather frequent phenomenon, but its rules and conditions have not yet been investigated ¶ Cl. 301, ET B 304, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73 || AdS of NrTg *buji 'feather' (< N *P_uñ|ñčê 'body hair, down, [?] feathers') > Lm buju 'feather', Ewk buji 'new feather after moult' ¶ STM I 102 || ?φ pJ *pí-n-kaj 'beard' (cd. with *kaj 'hair') > OJ piígé, J: Y hìge, K hígé, Kg híge 'bard' ¶ S QJ #691, Mr. 406 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #155 (A *bjudu 'down, feather, curly'; incl. T) ◇ D {GS} *b- suggests a N *p- (rather than *p̄-). D *pūt̄▽, A, Ch, and K point to a N non-emph. *-t-. The apparent reflexes of the emph. *-t̄- in IE *pet-▽r/n- / *pter- and D *putt̄▽ are secondary, they are induced by the infl. of *pet- v. 'fly' in IE and by a sx. in D (*putt̄▽ < **put̄-t̄▽). If the T root belongs here, T *m- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *bEPt̄▽, while T *-δ- is still puzzling ◇ Blz. IB (D, IE), ≈σ Blz. LNA #43 (N *p|put̄▽ 'bird / feather' > D, BSl (in fact BSl *put- is more likely to go back to N *p̄E t̄▽ 'to fly', q.v.).

1826. *pa_l?i_lt̄▽ (or *pa?et̄▽?) 'ε skin, bark' > HS: Om {Blz.} *pa_li_lt̄ 'skin' > SOm: Ari G {Blz. ← ?} fōti 'snake skin' || NrOm: Na fatu 'skin', Cha {Fl.} fāta 'skin' ¶ Blz. OLBP #90, Bnd. PO 149 || Ch *pata 'skin' > WCh: Hs fātà id., Gw páta id., 'leather, hide, fur' | Wrj pataj 'skin' || CCh: HgB, HgF pta, Kps, HgG pta ɘ w(p)ta id. | ↔: Mofu páp̄t̄- 'éplucher', Mafa pit- v. 'bark' | Msy {Mch.} p̄ɜd- v. 'skin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} pété 'schälen (Baum), entfedern' ¶ Stl. IF 32-3, ChL, ChC, Abr. H 259, Mats. 94-5 ¶¶ OS #1964 (HS *pat- 'skin') || ?σ,φ S: Ar fū̄t̄-at- {Ln.} 'cloths used as waist-wrappers', {BK} 'serviette, essuie-main', {Hv.} 'waist-wrapper'; Ar SL {Hv.} fū̄t̄-at- 'napkin, towel' ¶ Ln. 2450, BK II 646, Hv. 579 || D {tr.} *pa_lt̄_l-, {GS} *^opa_lt̄- 'bark of a tree' > Tm pa_lt̄_la_l, Ml pa_lt̄_la, Kn pa_lt̄_le, Tl pa_lt̄_la, pa_lt̄_lamu id.; ?? SD {tr.} *pa_lt̄_l° ({θGS} *p-) 'crust of a wound' > Kt pa_lt̄ 'scar', Kn pa_lt̄_lu 'a callous spot' ¶¶ D ##3873, 3876, GS 98 [*269] || IE {P} *ba_lt̄ā 'goat-skin, garment' > Gk βα_lτη 'goat-skin, a shepherd's or peasant's coat of skins, tent of skins' || Gmc (← Gk?): Gt paida 'χλιών' ('the garment worn next to skin'), ga-paidōn 'to clothe', OSx pēda {Ho.} 'garment, cloth', AS pād 'coat', {Ho.} 'rock, Mantel', OHG pfeit 'garment, jacket', MHG pfeit ~ pheit {Lx.} 'shirt; ε a shirt-like garment'; Gmc ↗ F paita

'shirt' (unless an inherited cognate) || pAl {O} *patika > Al petk 'clothes, garment' (← some other lge. with *p- < IE *b-?) ¶ P 92-3, EI 109-10 (*ba_l'teh_α- 'cloak'), FI 210, Fs. 381-2, Ho. 244, Ho. S 5, Kb. 758, OsS 67, Lx. 159, O 317 || A: ? Tg *pētē 'seal, skin of seals' (→ NTg 'fat of seals') > Ork pət̃t̃ ~ pət̃t̃ ~ pēt̃t̃ 'seal', pət̃(:)t̃sk̃t̃ 'skin of seals', Ud xət̃t̃, WrMc fethi 'seal', Orc hēt̃t̃ id., hēt̃t̃ks̃t̃ 'skin of seals', Neg xēt̃t̃, Ewk hēt̃t̃ ɘ t̃t̃ 'seal, fat of seals', Lm hēt̃t̃ 'fat; fat of sea mammals', hət̃t̃ks̃t̃ 'skin of seals' ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308 || pJ {S} pà(n)tá 'skin, flesh' > OJ pada id., J: T háda, K hādá, Kg hadá 'skin, body' ¶ S AJ 283, S QJ #161, Mr. 395, Kenk. 412 || M *_lφ_ladasqa '≈ raw hide' > WrM adasqa, HIM адсага 'raw hide used as a mat/rug', Kl адч адсѣѣ 'raw hide of a horse', {Rm.} адсѣѣ 'altes Fell' ¶ MED 11, KRS 28. KW 2 || ? NaT *et 'meat, flesh' (≡σ Hb bā'šār 'meat, flesh' < S *ba'šar- 'skin') (× N ***ṛitê** 'eat', ≡σ: Ar laḥm- 'meat' < S *'laḥim- 'food') > OT {Cl., Dnk.} ät, {DTS} et, MU, XwT, MQp (incl. CC), Ch et 'meat, flesh', Tk et, Ggz ŷet, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, SY, Ln, Alt et, Az, ET, Xlj, Yk ät, VTt, Bsh, Xk it, Tv әѣт éт, Tf éт', Chv üt 'meat' ({TL}: ü due to as. in Chv üt pü 'body' < T *et boy id.) ¶ *e on the ev. of VTt/Bsh *i, as against the unconclusive ev. of the Ar spelling without ʕ in OT [MhK] ¶ Cl. 33, MKD 28, DTS 186, ET Gl 311-2, TL 455, DT 111, TvR 121, Ra. 183, AD EHL ¶¶ T *Ø- < A *p'- < N ***pṽ?**- ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1757 (A *p'ētá 'meat, skin' > Tg, M, J) ◇ IE *b- suggests pN *p-. Ch *p- is likely to go back to **p- < N ***pṽ?**-. D *-t- points to N ***t|d**; IE *-t-, Tg *-t-, and Ar -t- (all usually from *-t-) may go back to *-t- < N ***-ṽt**-. Tg *-ē- and T *e- are puzzling. They may suggest a pN ***paṽetṽ** (> **peta), unless N ***-aṽi**- can yield Tg *ē and T *e.

1827. ₂ ***PotKṽ** 'to split, to cut' > HS > S *^o✓ptk v. 'split, break' > Ar ✓ftq (ip. -ftuq-) {BK} 'fendre, rompre', {Hv.} 'break, slit, disjoin' ¶ BK II 535-6, Hv. 545 || B *^o✓ftk > Ah, Ttq aṽtāk 'fendre', Gh aṽtāk 'être déchiré', Kb aṽtāk, CM {NZ} ✓ftk 'percer, ouvrir', Tmz ftāk id., 'pratiquer une ouverture', Zng {TC} ɘftāg 'défaire, découdre' ¶ Fc. 369, Dl. 237-8, MT 138, Msq. 124, DCTC 287, NZ 669 || C: Bj {R} ✓fdg (1s: p. 'afđig, prs. aṽan'đīg) v. 'split, separate', 'fiđga 'Spaltung, Spalt' ¶ R WBd 76-7 || A: M *^oφotqal- v. 'cut' > MM [L] hotqal- 'schneiden']M *^oφoqtal- ({Pp.} *^opōktal-) > MM {Pp., Pel.} hoqtal- 'abschneiden, abhacken', WrM oqtul- v. 'cut, cut off, cut across, chop off; fell', HIM

огтло-х id., Ord oq̣'t'ol- 'couper, trancher', Mnr H {SM} sd_oli- 'cut, wound by cutting', ? Brt отол- 'chop across, cut in two, cut off'; M *φoqt∇ci- > MM {Pel.} hoqtoçi- 'abschneiden', WrM oqtuci-, HIM ogtчи- v. 'cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash', Ord oq̣'t'o'č'i- 'cut' iter.; M *φoqt∇ri- > MM {Pel.} hoqtori- 'abschneiden, abhacken', M *φoqt'a'r > WrM oq(υ)tur, HIM oхtop, Kl oхtp oytṛ 'short' ¶ The variant with *-qt- may be due to contamination with N *p'a'k_∇_?∇ (partially υ) 'to split' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ Pel. 221 [#40], MED 602-3, KRS 392, H 76, Chr. 365, Ms. O 508, SM 334, Pp. L III 74, SM 338, T 359 || mt.: T *bügtelä > OT {Cl.} bügdā 'dagger' (× N *p'a'k_∇_?∇ ↑?) ¶ Cl. 325, Dr. TM II 746.

1828. *paṭ∇ 'beat, strike' > HS: WS *√ptt v. 'crumble, break into small pieces' > BHb √ptt v. 'break up, crumble (bread)', Sr, Md √ptt v. 'crumble', Ar √ftt {BK} 'écraser, broyer qch. entre ses doigts; casser, broyer en petits morceaux; fendre (les pierres, etc.)', {Hv.} 'bruise, crush, crumple sth. with the fingers', Gz √ftt v. 'break off a piece, fracture, crush' ¶ Br. 615, BK II 531, Hv. 543, KB 931, KBR 991, L G 171 || Eg fOK pṭpṭ 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd потпет potpet, B фотфет p^hotp^het 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' ¶ EGI 563, Fk. 96, Vc. 165 ¶ Eg t (rather than d < *ṭ) due to as. || K *petk- vi. 'break, blow up' > G petk- id. ('биться, взрываться'): petk-va ~ petk-a 'schlagen', 'klopfen' (Herz), petk-eba vt. 'to explode', Mg partk-al- 'palpitate, tremble', Lz pa(r)tkal- id., 'break', Sv {K} pitkω-/ptk- 'break off, erupt' ({Fn.} li-ptkω-e 'schlagen, spalten', m-i-pitkω-e 'ich schlage, spalte') ¶ K 188, K² 199, FS K 315-6, FSE 353, Chik. 328, Fn. KW-2 44 || A {SDM97} *p'āt'a v. 'strike, hit' > Tg *pāt- v. 'strike, hit' ⇨ (1) *pāti > Nn Nh pačl, Ul pātṭ 'beetle (Holzhammer) for hammering stakes (колотушка для вбивания кольев)', Ork pač:υ- 'wood-chopper', Orc pati 'beating (побои)' (with p- for the expected x- due to the onomatopoeic factor); (2) *patil- ~ *patul- v. 'beat' > Nn Nh pačlla-, Nn B fačlla-, Ork pač:ulla- id., with p- for the expected x-, h-: Lm patul-, Orc patila- id. ¶ STM II 35 || M *φ_ataḷa- 'ε axe, gouge' > WrM {Kow.} atalga 'тесlá, плотнический инструментъ = sorte de hache, doloire', Brt W аталга 'chisel, gouge (долото)', Kl атльг id., 'semicircular axe (кривой топор, тесак)', {Rm.} at]ṽa 'Queraxt, Hücke' ¶ Kow. 61, KRS 55, KW 18, Chr. 64 || ? T *o_hjat- (× T *at'- v. 'throw, shoot' < N *iataṭ∇ 'throw, cast', q.v. ffd.) >

Tk aṭ- v. 'beat' ¶ Cl. 36, TrR 76 || pKo *pat- v. 'strike against, push, gore with the horns' > NKo pat/d-; ? MKo p̄a₁t'há₁ŋ 'anvil' ¶ S QK #19, MLC 721 || pJ {S} *pàtà-k- v. 'flap, clap, slap' > ItOJ φατάκ-, J T haták-u, J K háták-ú, J KLg hàtàk-ú ¶ S QJ #263, Mr. 685 ¶¶ DQA #1729 (A *p'ā́t'ā́ 'strike, hit').

1829. *p'ä́t'∇ 'pinch, pluck' > HS: Ch: WCh *faṭ- v. 'pull out, tear out' > Bl foḍ- v. 'pull out', Gera fâḍ- 'take\pull\tear out' | pNrBc {Sk.} *p∇t- > Dir f̄zta, P' p̄ita 'pluck, pick, pluck out, extract' | Ngz f̄tú ~ p̄tú v. 'extract, pull one thing away from another' ¶ Stl. ZCh 160 [#135], Sk. NB 34, Sch. DN 57 || K: GZ *puṭ-ωŋ- v. 'pluck (poultry)' > G puṭ(n)-, Mg puṭon- id., Lz puṭol- v. 'pluck, tousle' ¶ K 154, K² 152, Q 299 || A: Tg *pat- ~ *pet- vt. 'pinch, nip off, pluck by pinching' > WrMc fata- v. 'nip, pluck' ({Z} 'щипать, сощипывать, срезать [колосья], срывать [цвѣты], обрывать [плоды]'), Ewk PT h̄ztuk̄ēt-/ç-, Ewk Y hatukalā-, Ewk D h̄ztuk̄z̄l̄ē- vt. 'hook (зацепить)', Ewk E h̄ztuk̄z̄l̄ēhin- 'take a pinch of smth. (захватить щепотку)', Lm h̄zt̄k̄l̄z̄- vt. 'pinch, nip off (от-\у-щипнуть)', h̄zt̄k̄z̄t-/ç- 'pinch so., nip, feel by touching', Ul pataračī- v. 'grasp' ¶ STM II 371-2 || M *ᵛᵛete- v. 'pick, pluck out' > WrM ete-, HIM этэ- v. 'pick, pluck out', Kl эт-, {Rm.} et- 'kratzen oder in der Erde graben (nicht tief), schaufeln, pflügen', {KRS} 'rake out (выгробать)', Mnr H {SM} sd̄jē- 'arracher, déraciner', {T} sd̄ē- 'dig (a pit)' ¶ Mnr s- < *h- (usually from pM *ᵛᵛ-), but acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law, South Mongolian *ᵛᵛ- may be secondary (due to the infl. of a stem-medial vl. cns.) ¶ MED 335, KW 128, KRS 705, T 358, SM 334 || pKo {S} *ptí-t-, *pt̄- v. 'pinch, pick, pluck' > MKo ptí-t-, pt̄-, NKo t̄it-, t̄a- ¶ S QK #525, Nam 137, 174, MLC 380, 532 ¶¶ KW 128 (M, Tg, T *it- 'schieben, stoßen'); Rm. ASL 4, SM 334, DQA #1752 (A *p'et'∇ ~ *p-, -t- 'pinch' > Tg, Ko) || D: Tl paṭakāru, paṭukāru 'pair of tongs, large pincers', Kn paṭakāru 'tongs, pincers' (<b- Tl?) ¶¶ D #3864 ◊ WCh points to N *p-, while *p̄- in GZ *puṭ-ωŋ- may be explained by as. *puṭ- > *puṭ-. GZ *u may be due to the assimilative infl. of the labial cns.

1830. *pEṭ∇ (or *pEṭ∇?) 'to fly; bird' > K *°peṭ- > OG peṭi {Abul.} 'kalakp'et'i' (= 'urban bird?'), G peṭi 'bird' ¶ DCh. 1011, Abul. 339 || IE: NaIE *pet- v. 'fly' > OI 'patati, pa'tayati, Av pataiti 'flies' || Gk Hm πέτομαι 'I fly' (aor. ἐπτόμεν) || OW hedant 'volant', W eh-edeg 'das Fliegen'; Gl [γ] {Flr.} etnosō- 'bird', OIr én id., Brtt {RE}

*et-n/r- id. (× ← IE *pet-∇r/n- 'feather, wing', see N *P_{ut}∇ 'feather, hair?') > OW atar, W adar, OCrn [ʏ] hethen, Crn edhen, ethen, OBr etn, MBr ez n, Br eʋn 'bird' || BSl *put- (× IE *pu(:)-, *put- 'a little one' [> OI putraḥ 'son']) > Sl *ръта 'bird' > OCS, OR пъта рѣта id.; → dim. *рътица 'bird' > OCS пътица рѣтица, SCr ртица, Slv ртица, Blg, R птица, Uk птиця 'bird' || Ltv putns 'bird' and Lt putūtis dim. 'hen, small bird'; BSl *u is due to the above merger ¶ P 825-6, 843, EI 208 (*peth_ṛ- 'fly'), M K II 199, M E II 71-2, F II 521-2, IP §§ 29, 62, 134, Dtn. 257, Flr. 168, Billy 73, Thr. § 44, Frn. 554, Glh. 509, Chr. II 79-80 || A ({SDM} *p'et'∇ v. 'jump' [← 'fly']): Tg *pet- v. 'jump' > Ewk hэтэкэп- v. 'jump', hэтэкū- vi. 'jump aside, break off (pieces of sth.), jump over (отскакивать, отлетать [кусками], перепрыгивать)', Lm hэтэкэп- v. 'start running', Neg хэтэхэп-, Ud хэтэгэп-з- v. 'jump', Orc хэтэ- 'jump aside, recoil (отскочить, отпрянуть)', Ul рэтэп- 'jump aside, break off', Nn Nh рэтēп- id. ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308 ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here pKo {S} *pītūrī 'dove' (> MKo pītūrī, pītārki, pitori, pīturoki, NKo pidolgi) and pJ {S} *pātūâ 'dove' (> OJ patūo, J: T háto, K hātô, Kg ható) (see S QK #262, Nam 276, MLC 851, S QK #262, Nam 276, MLC 851), but these words are valid cognates only if for the speakers of the underlying pA dialect the dove was a bird *par excellence*; an alt. et. for them is proposed in DQA #1646 (A *pīōltor∇ 'ε small bird') || ??φ D *piṭṭa ({θGS} *piṭṭ-) 'bird' > Tm piṭṭa, Klm, Nkr piṭṭa id., Klm piṭṭe 'young bird, chick', Gnd piṭṭe, piṭe, pitte 'bird' ¶¶ D #4154 ◇ K *p- does not provide decisive ev. for a pN *p-, because it may be due to as. (N *p...ṭ > *p...ṭ) ◇ D *i and *ṭ (for the expected *e and *t) still need explaining.

1831. *P_{ut}ṭ∇ 'fright, confusion of mind' > HS: S *°✓pṭw > Ar ✓fṭw (pf. faṭā فَطَا, ip. -fṭuʷ-) 'donner une chasse vigoureuse à un animal au point de le faire courir' ¶ BK II 613 || K *°pet- > G pet- 'frighten; be frightened/timid' ¶ Chx. 1526 || A: Tg *°pat- v. 'be afraid' > Ewk hatin- 'be frightened' ¶ STM II 319 || D (in SD) *pēt- ({θGS} *p-) 'confusion of mind, fear' > Tm pētū 'bewilderment, folly', Tu pētū, pētū 'fear', Kn pētū 'confusion or distraction of mind' ¶ D #4437 ◇ G -t- (for the expected -ṭ-) is due to as. (*p-ṭ > p-t).

1832. ₂ *P_{AH}ṭ∇ 'old man' > IE *p_Ht-ter(-) > NaIE nom. *pā'tēr, voc. *pāter, gen. *pā'tr-os 'father, head of a clan' > OI pi'tar- (nom. pi'tā), Av pitar- ~ patar-, OPrs pitar-, NPrs پدر pedār 'father' ||

Arm **հայր** hayr id. || Gk πατήρ (gen. πατέρος, Gk A gen. πατρός-ἴνος. πάτερ) 'father' || L pater (gen. patr-is) 'father, head of a clan', patrēs 'ancestors', Osc nom. (?) patír ~ patir 'father', dat. paterei 'patri' || OIr athir (< *pātēr) 'father', gen. athar (< *pātros), W -atr 'father' || Gt fadar, ON faðir, OHG fater, NHG Vater, AS fæder id., NE father || pTc {Ad.} *pāčēr- > Tc: A pācar, B pācer 'father' || -d- NaIE *pātruγyo-s 'father's brother' > OI 'pitryva-, Av tūrya- id. || L patruus id. || OHG fetiro, fatureo, NHG Vetter, AS fædera id. ¶ Vey 65-7 and other scholars adduce here Sl *strǫjь 'father's brother' (> SrChS, OR **СТРЪИ** strīi, R Δ строй, Blr стрый, Uk стрий, P struj, d. [originally end]), *strǫjькь ~ *strǫjьсь id. > Blg Δ стрико, SCr stríko, strīc, Slv stríc, Slk strýc, strýk id., Cz strýc 'uncle'], but the supposed change *pǫ- > Sl *st- (and hence this et. of Sl *strǫjь) has been rejected by Krtl. (Krtl. IptS 25-7) ¶ WP II 4, P 629, ≈ EI 194-5 (*pḥ_ǫ'tēr / *pḥ_ǫ'tr-ōs 'father'), M K II 277-8, M E II 128-9, Horn 64-5, WH II 262-4, Bc. G 321, Pln. II 698, Vn. A 100-1, F II 481-2, Fs. 133, KM 810, 820, Ho. 95, Kb. 227, 239, Schz. 130, 133, OsS 156,171, Sl. 45-6, Vs. III 780, Ma. CS 478, Glh. 588, ≈ Brü. 521-2, Wn. 351, Ad. 365, Ad. H 18, Pohl 62-3 || D (in McTm) *pāṭṭ- 'grandparent' > Tm pāṭṭān 'grandfather, ancestor', pāṭṭi 'grandmother, aged woman', Ml pāṭṭan 'grandfather' ¶ D #4066 || On a questionable rec. of A *p'ōte- 'old man' (where *p'- is based on a controversial interpretation of Mnr sd_ōg_u 'old man') see N *wetṭ 'year' ◇ NaIE *ə and D *ā point to a N Ir., which also accounts for the cerebral D *-ṭṭ- (< N -Hṭ-, unlike D *-t- < N *-ṭ-).

1833. *pṽ'h'ṭiṽ 'liquid secretions, sweat' > HS: Eg fOK fd.t 'sweat', Eg Md fd v. 'sweat' > Cpt Sd **ḳwte** fōte, Cpt B **ḳwti** fōti n. 'sweat' ¶ EG I 582, Fk. 99, Vc. 281 || CCh: McHigi: FIK {ChL} pētuku 'sweat' || S *^o✓pṭ? > Ar ✓fṭ? v. 'defecate, fart' ¶ BK II 602 || IE: NaIE *(s)pōt-/ (s)pāt- 'dirty moisture, sweat' ({WP} 'fettig feuchtes, Schweiß') > Sl *potь 'sweat' n. > OCS potь potь, SCr, Slv pōt, Blg, R пот, Uk пiт, P, Slk, Cz pot id. || ? Gk οὐ-σπώτη {F} 'the dirt that collects about the hinder parts of sheep\goats; sheep-dung', {F} 'the fat dirt on the unwashed sheep wool' ({F} < *^oḑ-σπώτη with *^oḑ-σ 'sheep'), σπατίλη 'thin excrement (as in diarrhoea)' ({WP} < *σπατο-τίλη with -τίλη ← τιλάω 'have a thin stool') ¶ WP II 683, Chrn. II 61, ≈

F II 368-9, 759, ≠ P 798 (Sl *pot- < *pek-to), ≈ Vs. III 342-3 (Sl < *poktos) || **K**: G Rch p̄aṭiv- / p̄aṭi- 'düngen, bemisten', p̄iṭl-i 'im Wasser aufgelöster Kuhmist, den man auf den Tennboden gießt' ¶ Chx. 1001, 1018 ◇ The IE *s- mobile and the stem-final -i in Cpt and G suggest a final palatalizing *i-element in the N word (*-ṭiṭ- > *-ṭy-). IE *ō/ə points to a N word-medial lr. (most probably *h, which is easily lost in HS and always lost in K). IE *(s)ṭ- < *ṭ- (for the expected *ṭ-) and G ṭ- (likewise for the expected ṭ-) are due to as. (*ṭ...ṭ > ṭ...ṭ).

1834. *pu_ḷw_ḷṭE (~ *pu_ḷw_ḷṭE?) 'hole' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vulva, anus') > **HS**: CS *put- / *ṭpawt-: (**A**) *put- 'vulva', 'fissure' > BHb pōṭṭ* with two meanings: [1] 'vulva, pudenda muliebria' (traditional interpretation) (h.l. attested with a ppa. of 3pf: ׀ןהןפֹתן ׀ןן hen 'their [f.] vulva(s)': וַאֲשִׁיפּוּן אֶפְתָּחַן וְאֶדְוֹנָאָי כְּוָדִן כְּוָדִן בְּאֶרְוֹתִן כְּיֹעִין יְיֹוֹן וַאֲ-יְהוָה ׀ןן hen וַאֲשִׁיפּוּן אֶרְוֹתִן 'decalvabit Dominus verticem filiarum Sion, et YHWH pudenda earum nudabit', Is. 3.17) (other [untenable] scholarly interpretations are based on the euphemistic translation of the LXX: τὸ σχῆμα ἀντὶ τῶν); [2] 'the sockets above and below, in which the door-pivots turned' (תּוֹתֵן הֶפֶתֵן happōṭṭ, I Kings 7.50), MHb תּוֹתֵן פֹתֵן pōṭṭā 'slit, hole' (happōṭṭā שְׁתֵּתֵן אֶתֵן הַחַעֵן אֶתֵן הַתּוֹתֵן 'das Loch unter der Türangel'), NHb תּוֹתֵן pot 'vulva', JA [Trg.] cs. תּוֹתֵן פֹתֵן pṭṭy 'pudenda muliebria' (pṭṭy דִּלְתֵן 'das Schamglied der Mutter' [Targum of Hiob 3.9]); (**B**) S *ṭpawt- > Ar fawt- 'space between two fingers', {BK} 'interstice\distance entre deux doigts' ¶ KBR 983, GB 665-6, ESh II 1111, BDB ##5696, Lv. T II 252, Lv. IV 18, Hv. 578, BK II 643, ≠ KB 924 (err. interpretation of Hb pōṭṭ* as 'forehead' based implicitly on a misinterpretation of the LXX translation and explicitly on a phonetically unt. comparison with Ak pūtu 'Stirn, Stirnseite') || **EC**: Sml N {Abr.} fūto 'anus', Sml {ZMO} futo 'anus, buttocks', Or {Grg.} futē 'anus', Or Wl {LLC, Brl.} fučī 'vagina', {Ft., Tut.} fučī 'vulva' || DhI {E} fāṭṭ- v. 'dig a hole' ¶ AD SF 247, AD KGD #2.16, Abr. S 83, DSI 238, LLC 221, Brl. 151, Ft. 20, Grg. 427 || NrOm: Gnj {Blz. [← Fl.?]} pōte 'vagina' ¶ Blz. OLBP 30 [#105] || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} fut 'a deep hole' || **ECh**: Mu {J} fūdí (pl. fōdāt) 'cuisse', ? Jg {J} pāte 'vulva', pāto 'penis' ¶ ChC, Flk. s.v. fut, J J 116 || ?φ Eg Md wftt 'pierce (durchbohren)' ({Tk.}: < *✓fwṭ) ¶ DW I 84, EG I 306, Tk. I 398 ¶¶ Coh. #381, AD SF 247, SSAAJ I #136, Blz. OLBP #105, OS #836, Tk. I 114 || **K** *ṭpuṭ- > Sv: UB {GP} puṭu 'hole', UB/U {TK} puṭu, LB pṭṭ 'small hole' ¶ GP 264, TK 770 || **IE**: Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD

P 235-7, Frd. HW 166 || U: FU *put[∇] 'large intestine, rectum' ('Dickdarm, Mastdarm') (× N *bu_lw_lt[∇] 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') > Lp S Tn {Lgc.} p_ht^ʰεg₃ 'Mastdarm' || Vg N {Mu.} puti 'Dickdarm'; Os: Nz p_ūtā, Kz p_ūtī 'Dickdarm, Mastdarm', 'great gut (colon), rectum' ¶ UEW 410, Coll. 74, MK 487, Stn. D 1242 || A: T (att. in NaT) *_lh_lūt 'hole, aperture' > OT ūt id., Qrg, Xk üt, StAlt üyt 'narrow aperture', Qb üt 'aperture', Tv ūt 'hole, aperture', Tf ūt 'narrow aperture, small hole', Yk ūt 'artificial (drilled) hole, round chink' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 649-640, Ra. 239, Pek. 3191-2 || M *φütü-gün (Pp.: < *pütükün) 'vulva' > MM [MA] هوتوكون hütügün, [L] hütgün, WrM ütügün, HIM γτᾶγ, Kl {Rm.} ütügü, Ord {Ms.} üt'ü⁸ü, Mnr H {SM} sd_og_u, MMgl ūdkūr id. ¶ Pp. MA 192, Pp. VG 112, MED 1014, KW 460, SM 337, Ms. O 765, Iw. 142 || Tg {DQA} *putē 'hole' > Ork putē id., put₃- , Nn {On.} putē- 'pierce', ?σ WrM feteri 'nostrils' ¶ STM II 43, 305, On. 344 || pKo {S} *pot- 'vulva' > NKo ποσι [pōš³i], Δ podāgi ¶ S QK #876, MLC 794, BKR I 562 || J: pJ {S} *pata > OJ poto 'vulva' ¶ S QJ #746, Mr. 415 ¶¶ Pp. VG 112 (T, M), KW 460 (T, M), DQA #1877 (A *p'ōt'è 'hole'), Oz, NM 140-1 || D *pott-/pōt- 'hole' > Tm pottu 'hole, rat-hole, hollow in a tree', Ml pottu 'hole in the ground', Kn hodaru id., 'hollow of a tree', Tl botta, Prj botta 'hole', Ku pot- v. 'make a hole (in wood, etc.)' ¶ ≠ D #4452 (does not distinguish this √ from *po- v. 'perforate') ◇ D *-o-/-ō- is to be explained ◇ Hardly here Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' (Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7), which is more likely to belong to IE *b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow' (EI 159) < N *bed^rē 'to pierce, to prick' ◇ IS MS 340 (дыра *p_uṛ^tḥ: A [M, T], U, K, HS). Ang f- and Eg -f- suggest pN *p-, while T *_lh_l- points to an ancient *p_l- (as. N *p...t > pre-T *p...t?) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #212 (*puto 'hole') (IE, U, A, J, EA+qu. Ko + err. Y).

1835. *paṭh[∇] 'to be open, to open' > IE: IE (attested in NaIE) *pet(H)- id., 'expand, be spread' > Av paθana- 'breit, weit', Phl pahan, Psh pla, Oss I/D fātān id., NPrs پهن pāhn 'broad, spread' || Gk πεταννῦμι ~ πίτυνημι vt. 'spread out (sails, clothes)' || L patē- (pateo, inf. patēre) 'be\stand\lie open', 'sich erstrecken, offen stehen' || Clt ({EI}: < *peth_himeh_h-): ScGl aitheamh, OW etem 'fathom' || ON faðmr, AS fæðm 'outstretched or embracing arms,

fathom', OSx fathmos pl. 'hands and arms', MDt vadem, OHG fadam, NHG Faden 'fathom', NE fathom; ON feðma to embrace' ¶ P 824-5, EI 539 (*peth_h- 'spread out'), Brtl. 843, Bai. 259, Mrg. 56, BM 98, Ab. I 464-5, F II 520-1, WH II 244, 262, EM 727, Vr. 109, 114, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 214, OsS 156, KM 179-80 || HS: S *✓p_h vt. 'open' > Hb, Ph, Ug, DA, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA ✓p_h, Ar, Sb, Gz ✓f_h, Ak inf. petû, Eb ✓p_h (in proper names) ¶ KB 926-8, HJ 948-9, OLS 358, Lv. T II 307-8, Sl. 946-7, Ln. 2327-8, Bll. 412-3, LG 170, Sd. 858-61, Krb. PE 36 || Eg N/G p_h vt. 'open' ¶ EG I 565 || C: Bj {R} ✓f_h (1s: p. 'a-ftah, prs. afan'tīh) pcv. 'open' ¶ R WBd 84 || Ch: CCh: MfG {Brr.} -p_h- 'open wide (one's eyes), open (the anus)' || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} pit v. 'open', Skr {Nc.} 'fiti'fiti 'öffnen, lösen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 144 [#2] (does not distinguish *✓p_t v. 'open' from *✓p_t 'plain, field'), J T 129, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 222, AIJ 108, Lk. ZSS 33 ¶ OS #1989 (*pita_h- 'open'), ≈ Sk. HCD 25 || A: [1] M *φατqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N ?φ P_aCk|K_∇ 'hand', q.v. ffd.) || [2] (× N *bad_∇, X_∇ 'be open' > M *badar- > WrM badara-, HIM бадра-, Brt бадар-(ха) 'spread, expand', 'open' [of flowers]) || Tg *padar- 'stretch' > Ork pādda- 'stretch on a frame (a hide)', Ewk hadarga 'stretching a rope between fingers (a game)' ¶ STM II 308 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1611 (A *pāda; incl. M, Tg) ◇ Tg *-d- < **-t- < N *-t_h- (de-emphatization caused by the adjacent lr.). Eg t < N *t̥ (desglottalization) ◇ N *pat_∇ 'ground, plain' (q.v. ffd.) may be a semantic variant of the N word in question (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 (*pa_{t̥} 'широкий'), IS SS #1.32, AD GD 10 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #148 (*pat 'field') (IE, A, Ko, J), ≠ Gr. II #286 (*pa(n)te 'open') (IE + err. U, A [actually from N *pa_h 'to open'], J).

1836. *p_iχ|y_∇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool, (?) flintstone' > K *p_ha- 'fishbone, cartilage, awn of cereals' > G p_ha id., Mg χa 'cartilage of snake, scales of fish', Lz m_ha- 'fishbone, Sv L {Dn.} p_ha id., Sv {K} p_ha id., 'small snake', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln p_ha {TK} 'snake', Sv UB {GP} p_ha 'awn' ¶ K 94, K DE 358, K² 209-10 (pK 'frame, small bone'), FS K 327, FS E 367, TK 771, GP 264, Dn. s.v. p_ha || IE: NaIE *(s)p^(h)e(:)j- /*(s)p^(h)i(:)- 'pointed (spitz), a pointed piece of wood' (× N *šab|p_hEt^ri 'log, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) || P mentions ds. + extensions *-g-, *-k-, *-l-, *-n-, *-r-, *-t-, which are hard to evaluate because of uncertainty of their structure and original meaning ¶¶ ≈ P

980-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, MW 1271, VI. II 698. Bai. 264, F II 830-1 || **U** *piye 'flintstone, stone' > F pii 'flintstone', F, Es piiki vi id. (ki vi 'stone') || Sm {Jn.} *pъ|āy 'stone, flintstone' > Ne T пэ, T O {Lh.} pāē 'stone, glass', F {Lh.} pāēy id., T O tūm-pe, F tup-pī 'flintstone, Feuerstein' (tū 'fire'), En {Cs} X fû, B fu ~ ру 'stone' || Slq: Tz {KKH} pū, Kt/Tm {KD}, Tur {Lh.} pū 'stone' || Koyb {Pl., Sp.} pi || Mt {Hl.} *hilä (?) 'stone, rock' (Mt: M {Pl.} hilä, гилля 'stone', A {Msr.} 'a rock') || pY {IN} *pau 'stone' > Y K {IN} pē 'stone, mountain', {Jc.} pie 'mountain, stone, rock', OY: K {Bil.} pea 'mountain', O {Mat.} pea id., 'stone' ¶¶ UEW 378, SSA II 352, Jn. 112, KKH 154, Hl. M #298, Ang. 208, Jc. JR s.v. pie, IN 241, 316, 333, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [#45] (Y ← U) || **HS**: C: EC: Ya {Hn.} paχa, Arr {Hw.} bah (pl. bahó), Rn {PG} bihín 'bow (weapon)' (← *'arrow'?) ¶ Hn. Y II 121, Hw. A 345, PG 77 || WCh: My {Sk.} biy-, Wrj {Sk.} biy- v. 'stab, pierce', Kry {Sk.} biyá, Sir biyù v. 'pierce' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} piyà v. 'cut' ¶ ChC s.v. v. 'stab', v. 'pierce', Lk. L115 ◇ WCh *b- is likely to go back to N *p̥∇y-, while K *pχ- may go back both to *p̥∇χ- and to *p̥∇y- ◇ IS MS 352-3 s.v. острие *p̥i'ʰʷ, IS SS #10.6, AD NM #101, Vv. AEN 6.

1837. *P̥ay∇ '(ε) fish' > IE: NaIE *peisk(0)-/*pisk- 'fish' > L piscis id. || Gt fiskis, ORu fiskr, ON fiskr, Nr, Sw, Dn, OSx fisk, OHG fisc, NHG Fisch, Dt visch, AS fisc id., NE fish || OIr íasc (← *peyskos), gen. éisc 'fish' || Sl *pisk-ařb~*pisk-ořb > R пи'скарь (modern spelling: пескарь) 'gudgeon', SCr piškor 'eelsucker (мурена)', Slv piškur 'Lampetra (минога)', Cz piškoř~P piškorz, Hl. piškor 'mud loach, вьюн' ¶ P 796, ≈σ,φ EI 604 (*piksko-s 'trout' [AD: why*-ksk-, and why 'trout?']), Dv. #864, WH II 310, Fs. 155, Mkj. DR 123, Vr. 121, Ho. 105, Ho. S 20, Kb. 257, OsS 201, KM 199, LP § 28, Thr. § 279, Chn. II 25-6, Vs. III 267, Jak. 225, Trof. 169 ¶ *-sk- is likely to be the adjectival sx. *-sk- || **U** *pau∇ '(ε) fish' > Vt paça 'bream, Bramis' || ? Vg T {Mu.} paıl ~ paııl 'crucian carp' || ? Sm: Ne {Cs.} paja, paıha 'пеледка, Salmo peljet', StNe T пайха 'сырок, пелядь (ε a fish)', Ne T O {Lh.} pāyxā 'ε Lachsfisch', En B {Cs.} faeha 'Salmo peljet', Ng {Cs.} faʷɰka 'Muksun' ({Cs.} ɰ ≈ [ú], F Cs. GSS 7) ¶ UEW 348-9, Ter. 435, Cs. 34, 70, 93, 258 || **D** (in SD) *pauy- ({ʰGS} *p-) '(ε) fish' > Ml paucatti 'a fish', Tu paıyuae '(ε) fish' ¶ D #3946 ◇ AD NM #48, ≠ S CNM 11 (prefers to consider IE *peisk(0)-/*pisk- to be a loan from NrCs {S} *bʷɰwA 'fish').

1838. *p₂üH|Qy▽ (= *p₂ügy▽?) 'to boil, to get ready' (food), 'to ripen' > U *p¹ü'ye- v. 'be cooked, boil' > pMr {Ker.} *piyə- > Er piye- 'be boiled, be baked enough' (of food), Mk pi- id., 'burn\scald oneself', {Ahl.} piyə- vi. 'gar kochen' || Z pu- v. 'cook', vi. 'boil' ||| ObU: Vg: IK p²ū-, P pāy- vi. 'kochen, sieden' || Hg f²ō- (/f²ōv-) 'boil, cook, be cooked' || Sm {Jn.} *pi- '(durch Kochen) reifen' > Ne Т пи-сь, Т О {Lh.} pīś, F NI piś, Ng (aor. 1s) {Cs} fī?em, En {Cs.}: (aor. 1s) X fiero?, B fiedo? id. || Kms (1s prs.) {KD} p⁴ü- 'reifen, zur Reife gelangen, gar sein\werden' ¶ UEW 368, Ker. II 112, ERV 477, PI 208, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *pexi-, Ugr *pigĩ-, Sm *pi- 'cook'), LG 232, Jn. 122-3 ||| **А** {JSDM} *p₁ü'yi- v. 'cook, be cooked' > Tg *puyi- vi. 'boil' > Ewk ^hhuyu- v. 'boil, be cooked', Neg хуу- id., Lm huу- vi. 'boil', Orc хуу-, Ud хui- vt. 'boil', Ul пуу- vt. 'boil, cook', Ork пуу- vi. 'boil, be cooked', пуу- vt. 'boil, cook', Nn Nh пуу-, Nn KU fuу- id., WrMc fuyе- vi. 'boil' ¶ STM II 337-8, Krm. 306 || M *₁φ₁üy|ü- 'put food into a copper with boiling water' > Mnr H {SM} w̄i- id., WrM üi- ~ üyü-, HIM үй- v. 'put meat, vegetables, or other ingredients into boiling water or soup', Brt үй- v. 'put tea or other food into a copper\tea-pot with boiling water' ¶ In Mnr *φw- > w- ¶ MED 999, 1002, Chr. 499, SM 484 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 54, ≈ Rm. SKE 207 (tries to adduce Ko pugil 'boiling, bubbling') ||| **IE** *speñy- > NaIE *sp(ʰ)ēj-/*spī- and *sp^hē-/*sp^ha- v. 'ripen, become thick' > OI 'sphā-yatē 'grows fat, increases' ||| Lt sp^éti / prs. sp^éju 'be in time, have time', Ltv sp^ēt / sp^ēju 'be able' || Sl *sp^ě- 'ripen, succeed in time' > OCS спѣти sp^ě-ti / prs. спѣхъ sp^ějq 'succeed', R 'спелый 'ripe', по'спеть 'to be ready' (of food), SCr д^оспети d^ospjeti / д^оспѣм d^ospjēm 'be just in time, arrive at the right (last) moment; arrive at; ripen; mature', R успеть, P успієć '(to succeed to) be in time for, to come just in time', Blg успея 'be\come just in time; be able, succeed', Slv uspr^éti 'to succeed, to be successful', R, Blg успех, Cz uspěch 'success' ||| AS spōwan 'to thrive', OHG spruon 'to succeed', AS spēd 'prosperity, success, dispatch, speed', NE speed ||| ??σ L spē-s 'hope' ¶ P 983, EI 3, 458, 500 (*speh₁(i)- 'flourish, prosper, be sated \ satisfied'), M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Frn. 866, Vs. III 73, StSS 620, Drd. 91, Ts. W 30, Pv. I-II 429-31, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 680, P 983, EI 458, 500, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Kb. 945-6, Vs. III 734, StSS 620 ¶ In IE there is coalescence of several roots (one of them with the meaning 'succeed, gedeihen') ||| ?σ **HS**: S

* $\sqrt{p\psi w}$ > Ar $\sqrt{f\psi w}$ (ip. -f $\psi\bar{u}$, pf. **فَا** fa $\psi\bar{a}$) 'fade' (a plant), 'sécher' (se dit des céréales qui sèchent sur pied)' ¶ BK II 617, Hv. 569 ◇ If Ar $\sqrt{f\psi w}$ belongs here, the N rec. must be ***p \ddot{u} gy**∇. Otherwise the N etymon remains with an unspecified ***-H|Q-** ◇ IS MS 343-4 (***p \ddot{u} h \ddot{u} j Δ** 'кипеть'), IS SS #10.2.

1839. *P \hat{u} Xy∇ 'to be sick; wound' > **HS:** S * \circ -p $\bar{u}h$ - > Ar $\sqrt{f w h}$ G (ip. -f $\bar{u}h$ -, pf. f $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$) 'bleed' (of a wound)' ¶ Hv. 578, BK II 644 || SC: Alg p $\bar{i}h$ -v. 'suffer' ¶ ESC 144 || **IE** ***pe \hat{h} y-** (> NaIE ***p \bar{e} (\dot{u})-/*p \bar{i} -)** v. 'hurt, harm' (> v. 'blame, abuse') > OI 'p \bar{i} yati' 'reviles, blames, abuses' || ??φ Gk πηρός, Gk D π \bar{a} ρός 'disabled in a limb, maimed' || L **paenitet** 'es reut, tut leid', 'it makes (me) sorry', **p \bar{e} nuria** n. 'lack, want, penury', **patior** 'I tolerate, suffer' (← pp. ***p \bar{a} -**'to-s) || Gt **fai an** 'to blame', Gt **fijan**, AS **f \bar{e} on**, **f \bar{e} ozan**, ON **fjá** 'to hate', OHG **f \bar{i} (j)en** id., 'to detest' || **IE** d. ***pe \hat{h} -m η** (> NaIE ***p \bar{e} m η**) n. 'disease, illness' > OI **p \bar{a} man-** (nom. **p \bar{a} m \bar{a}**) 'ε skin-disease, cutaneous eruption, scab', Av **p \bar{a} man-** 'ε skin-disease', Psh **pa \bar{m}** 'Krätze, Grind' || Gk π $\hat{\eta}$ μα 'suffering, calamity, woe; Unheil' || ? L **paeminusus**, **p \bar{e} minosus** 'brüchig, rissig' ¶ P 792-3, EI 258 (***pe \hat{h} (i)-** 'harm'), 313 (***p \bar{i} H(i)-** 'revile'), M K II 255-6, 294-5, M E II 85, 121, WH II 255-6, 264, 283, F II 529, 531, Vr. 122, Fs. 135, 150-1, Kb. 241, Ho. 101 || **A:** Tg ***pyye** ({Bz. ***p \ddot{u} yä**) 'wound' > Ewk **hu ψ z**, Lm **pu ψ** 'wound, sore (болячка)', Neg **xu ψ z**, Orc **xu ψ z** ~ **si ψ z**, Ud {STM} **si ψ z**, {Krm.} **s \bar{e}** , Ul, Ork, Nn Nh **pu ψ z**, Nn KU **fu ψ z**, Nn B **fui** 'wound', WrMc **fe ψ e** 'a wound, sore' ¶ Ci. 158, Bz. 971, Vas. 490, STM II 338, Krm. 282, Z 1040 ¶¶ DQA #1815 (A ***p \acute{u} yE** - \dot{u} - , - \dot{u} o- 'pain, sore'; incl. Tg) ◇ IS MS 331 s.v. **болеть** ***p \bar{e} \ddot{u} j Δ** , AD GD 11.

1840. *p \bar{a} z∇ 'to strain, to percolate, to screen (durchsieben)' > **HS:** S * \circ $\sqrt{p\hat{s}s}$ v. '≈ strain' > Ar $\sqrt{f\hat{s}s}$ (pf. faššā, ip. -faššū) 'traire (une chamelle) avec précipitation', 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre en la comprimant', faššūš- 'femme qui trait une chamelle' ¶ BK II 595-6 || **U:** FU ***p \bar{a} z**∇ v. 'strain' > Er **ped \bar{a} -**, Mk **ped \bar{a} -**, {Ps.} **ped \bar{a} -** v. 'strain, filter (milk, etc.)' || Hg **fej-** v. 'milk' ¶ The primary meaning is obviously 'to strain', rather than 'to milk' (⇔ UEW), because a semantic change from 'to milk' to 'to strain' is hardly imaginable and is not observed in lgs. as far as I have been able to check. Hence the Irn origin of the FU $\sqrt{}$ (cf. Av **pa \bar{i} i \bar{o} -** 'milk') is ruled out (⇔ UEW with a query) ¶ UEW 359, KC 162, Ker. II 112, PI 203 || **A:** T ***h \bar{a} lgä-** v. 'strain' > OT {Gbn., Rs.} **älgä-**, {Cl.} **elg \bar{a} -**, {Br. for MhK} **älkä-** 'durchsiehen',

'strain, filter', Qrg elge- ~ ele-, StAlt elge-, Tlt, Kü {RL} älšä-, Xk ilge-, Tv ešle-, ET ägli-, Tk ele-, Tkm, Qzq, Nog, Qq ele- vt. 'screen (durchsieben)', Xlj häjlä- vt. 'screen (durchsieben, durchseien)', Chv ala n. 'sieve', alla- ~ ala- vt. 'sow (from a sieve)' ¶ Rs. VW 40, Cl. 143, ET Gl 261-3, DHST 292, DT 130, Jud. 946-7, Jeg. 24, Fed. I 33, BIG 57; the quality of the initial vw. (*ä-) is evidenced by Chv a- ◇ In all probability, T *-gä goes back to a sx. (a root-ext.).

1841. *P₂EH|y,až∇ 'ε wild galliform bird' > **U**: FU *pažt∇ id. > Z baydžg, Z N baydžk, Prmk badžg, Yz badžug 'partridge' || Vg: T pał'tā, IK pōł't, UL pōł'ta 'Tetrao tetrix' | OHg faid, faith 'heath-hen, hazel grouse', Hg fajd 'grouse, capercalzie' ¶ UEW 347, LG 35-6, EWH 350 || **A**: Tg *pjała 'partridge' > Ewk hēlakī id., 'белая тетерка', Lm hālıkı, Neg xēlaχl, Ul pēla, {PSchm.} pjala 'partridge', WrMc {Z} fiyelenku, fiyelenqu 'mountain forest hazel grouse similar to a female gray partridge', {Hr.} fiyelenqu 'hazel grouse (Haselhuhn, Tetrastes bonasia)'; Neg xēlaχl 'wild goose' ¶ STM II 320, Z 1100, Hr. 299 || **HS**: WCh: pNrBc *puz∇ ({Stl.} *pa|už∇) 'stone partridge (Ptilopachus petrosus)' > Cg puze, Mbr pžžž, Jmb buzuwa id. ¶ Sk. NB 34, Stl. ZCh 248 [#7] || ?φ S *°✓ bš̂f: Ar بشعة بš̂t (unk. voc.) 'pelican' (σ≡: Neg xēlaχl 'goose') ¶ Fr. I 125, BK I 130 ◇ FU *-t∇ is likely to be an ancient sx.

1842. *P₂ož₁∇₁∇ 'to become hard on the surface\top', 'hard surface (crust, bark, skin)' > **HS**: S *°✓ pš̂f > Ar ✓ fš̂f 'be dried up at the top' (maize) ¶ BK II 596, Hv. 563 || **U**: FU *°pož∇ v. 'freeze; frozen hard outer layer of snow' > ObU *pōž- > pOs *poy ({JHl.} *pāy) > Os: V/Vy poy, Ty/Y/K pōy, D pāy 'frozen hard outer layer of snow'; pVg *pāł id., *pāł- v. 'freeze' ('erfrieren') > Vg: T pāł- / pał-, LK/MK/UK/UL pōł-, P/NV/SV/LL pōł- / poł-, Ss pōł- id., Ss {Kn.} pōł, {BV} поль, Yk {Vxr.} poł 'frozen hard outer layer of snow' ¶ Ht. #489, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. WV 103, 131, 170, 312, Kn. WV 70, WVD VII 243, BV 83, ChCh. 91 || **IE**: NaIE *pel_(1ə)- 'film, skin' > Gmc: OFrs filmene, AS filmen 'film, foreskin', NE film || Ltv plēve 'film, skin on milk, thin transparent fabric', Lt plēvē 'thin soft skin, membrane, film, skin on milk' | Sl *plěva 'thin skin, membrane' > R плева, Uk пліва id., 'hymen', Slv pléva 'eyelid' ||| with a sx. *-n- : Gk {P} πέλλᾱς accus. pl. 'skins', [Y] πέλλο-ράφος 'sewing skins together', Gk ἐρυσί-πελας 'red inflammation on the skin' ||| L pellis (< *pelni-) 'hide, skin' ||| OHG fel / fell-es

'skin, fur', NHG Fell, AS fell, ON fjall 'skin, hide' || BSl: Lt plėnė 'membrane, film (on milk)', Ltv plėne 'thin layer', Pru pleynis 'meninx (Hirnfell)' | SI *pelna, *pelena (< *pelanā?) > OCS, OR ПЕЛЕНА pelena 'σπάργανον, fascia, incunabula', R пеле'на '(light) cover, membrane', 'плёнка 'film', пелёнка 'swaddle', Uk пеле'на 'cover', Blg пеле'на 'light cover, swaddle', SCr pèlena, Cz pléna, pléna 'swaddle, thin skin, membrane' ¶ P 803, Dv. #627, WH II 275-6, Bois. 68, 763, ≈ Ch. 876-7 (Gk πελλα 'seau à lait; 'coupe', Gk πελλο- in πελλο-ράφος ← L), Kb. 232s, OsS 176, KM 192, Vr. 123, Ho. 100, 105, Frn. 615, 620, En. 228, Bg. AS 18, Vs. III 277-9, BER V 137-8, Glh. 474-5, Chr. II 17, SJSS XXV 25, ≈ EI 268-9 (*'peln- 'animal skin, hide') || D *po]- ({}GS} *p-) 'bark, skin, crust', v. 'peel, remove the skin' > Tu po|ińkæ, po|ikæ 'bark, skin, peel, crust', puleyi a skin', Kn ho|acu v. 'pare off', Kui plōva (p. plōt) v. 'shed\cast a skin', polpa (p. polt) v. 'peel', Ku porhali v. 'peel' ¶¶ D #4561.

1843. *'p'oqEǰ∇ ~ *'p'oǰ∇q∇ 'thigh, haunch' > HS: WS *p∇χiδ- (~ *'piχl∇iδ-?) 'thigh' > Ar faχiδ-, faχδ-, fiχδ- {BK} 'cuisse', {Hv.} 'thigh', Sr puħ'd-ā 'femur, clunis', Sb fχδ 'thigh', Jb E fχeδ-, Jb C faχδ- 'flesh and bone of upper leg from knee to hip', Mh ʒfχāδ id.; the usually supposed connection with BHb ʔḥḥḥ paħ^adāw (h. l., Hi. 40.17) is implausible (≠φ: Hb d is not from S *δ) and semantically qu.: according to Hieronymus' translation in the Vulgata (4th c. AD) paħ^adāw means 'testiculi sui', and its new interpretation as '(seine) Schenkel' is based on alleged connection with Ar faχiδ- and Sr puħ'd-ā (a vicious circle!), see the discussion above s.v. N *Puqd∇ 'leather bag, scrotum' ¶ BK II 552, Hv. 550, BGMR 43, BK II 552, Hv. 550, Jo. J 67, Jo. M 110, Br. 562, KB 872, ≠ MiK I #1.211 (does not distinguish WS *p∇χiδ- 'thigh' from CS *paχd- [or *paħd-] 'testicle') || ? amb Eg fp χpd(ω) 'buttocks' (× N *q∇t∇ (or *q∇p_l∇i,t∇) 'tail, hinder part' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 270-1, Fk. 190 ¶ An unusual kind of mt.? For Eg d < N *ǰ cp. Eg ʒdn 'ear' related to S *'uδ_l∇n- id. < N *'uǰ∇ 'hear; ear' (q.v.) || ? Ch (× N *pa'g'd∇ 'leg' [or 'e part of a leg'], 'foot'): CCh: McTr {ChL}: Hw fùdàra, G'nd fùdàtā, Gbn fìdžtž, Boka fùdžtž 'thigh' || Ech: Mu {Lk.} fùdí, pl. fòdàt, {J} fùdí, pl. fòdàt, Jg {J} pādo, Brg {J} fādi id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, ChC s.v. 'thigh', JI II 325, ChL ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS II 102-3) Sml bowdo 'thigh', {R} ba'udo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', (C →) Amh {R} ባጉ bat ~ ባሕጉ baħt id., Kf {C} bātō 'leg, hind leg', and Hrr pādāllā

'inside of thigh' (on their origin *see* N ***bu_lw₁t̥** 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' and N ***pa'g'd** '↑') || AdS of K ***o'poq-** 'thigh' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} poq 'thigh, side of body, crupper of a horse' (< N ? ***b_lgâ** 'side of body, side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hardly here (≠φ) (⇔ IS II 103 [with a query and with *ā]) K ****pašt-** (> Sv {Ni.} pašdω- thigh [ляжка], calf of the leg', Sv UB {GP} pašdω- 'thigh-muscle', Sv {Wrd.} pashvd, pasht 'calf of the leg') || ?φ IE: NaIE {Bern.} ***b^hed-** 'thigh' (× N ***bu_lw₁t̥** '↑?') > Sl ***bedro** 'thigh' > SrChS bedro, R, Uk, Blg бед'ро, Slv bédro, Slk bedro, P biodro id., Cz bedra ntr. pl. 'waist' || ? L femur (gen. feminis) 'thigh' (if < ***b^hed-mor-/men-**) ¶ Bern. I 47-8, Sl. I 33-4, ≠ ESSJ I 179-80 (rejects the connection of Sl with L, but proposes a less plausible connection of Sl ***bedro** with IE ***bed-** v. 'beat, split'), EM 224, WH I 477 (rejects the connection between the words of Sl and L and proposes to derive the Sl word from ***bed-** v. 'swell'), SPS I 199-200 (the Sl - L connection is considered not convincing, but no other et. of the Sl word is proposed) ¶¶ The phonetic irregularity (IE ***b^h-**) still defies explanation (infl. of ***bu_lw₁t̥**?) || U ***počka** 'fleshy part of leg' (≈ 'thigh' or 'calf of leg') > F poñkea, poñje 'calf of leg' (< ***počkeda, *počkes**); ? F potka 'Schenkel, Hinterfuß', ? Es pōtk 'Schinken, Lende' | pLp {Lr.} ***pōckē** > Lp: S {Hs.} boātskie 'Ferse (eines Menschen), Kniekehle (eines Tieres)', N {N} boas'ke / -sk- 'the small of the leg', L {LLO} pāskē 'Fußsohle (des Mittelfußes)', Snk {TI} pōāš'k'ē 'Armmuskel', Kld {Lgc.} puзiš'k- 'Schenkel, Wade', {TI} puзiš'k'-vūzín:č'ē 'Schenkel', Nd {TI} pōāš'k'-vūā,č'ē 'Wade (beim Menschen)' | ? Er пукшо pukšo {ERV} 'buttocks, croup', {KC} 'ляжка', Mk пукша, {Ker.} pukšə 'meat (without bones)' (Er/Mk {Ps.} 'das dicke Fleisch, Schenkel'), Mk пукшет pukšət 'muscle' || ? Sm: Slq Ch paqtur, pāqtur, UO paqtur 'calf (Wade)' || pY {IN} ***pökčī(-)** 'muscles of the leg' > Y T {IN} pökč'idö id. (-d gen., ö 'child') ¶¶ UEW 389, ≈ Sm. 539 (U ***pučki** 'tube' > FU ***pučki**, FP ***pučki**, Sm ***pučə**), SK 588-9, Lr. #966, Lgc. #5114, Hs. 356, TI 286, Coll. 50, Ker. II 123, ERV 525, KC 179, PI 225, Tv. IA 128, IS II 102-3, IN 242 || A: Tg (in NrTg) ***pōggj̄** 'lower part of the back, tail' > Ewk "П" {STM} (misprint for "ПТ" = Ewk PT?) hogjō 'the lower part of the back', Ewk D hogjō 'tail', Lm hoψj̄ ~ hoωj̄ 'tail' ¶ STM II 329 || T ***h₁ūçā** 'loins, haunches, rump' (× N ***h₁u_lw₁ç̥** or ***h₁u_lw₁ç̥** 'loins, lap' [q.v. ffd.] × N ***yôç̥** 'bone', [?] 'backbone') ¶ T

*_lh₁- is not the reg. reflex of N *p (suggested by the Eg cognate and by Mubi f-), therefore one has to conclude that the main N source of the T word is *h₁u₁w₁ĉ₁∇ or *h₁u₁w₁∇ĉ₁∇ ¶¶ T *būt 'thigh, leg' (adduced as *pūt in IS II 102-3) does not belong here, but rather to N *bu₁w₁t₁∇ '↑' (q.v.) || D [1] D {tr.} *poĉĉ₁∇ 'genitalia, anus', {GS} *poc- 'vulva' > Tm poccu 'woman's pubic hair, vulva, anus', Ml pocca, pocci 'membrum muliebre', Kt poĉ₁, Kn pucce, pucci, Brh pōs 'vulva'; D → Prkr posa- 'anus, vulva', posana 'anus', phosa id., Mrt puccī 'vulva' ¶¶ D #4476, Tu. #6248, GS 116 [#306], 74 [#243] ||| ? [2] D *poĉĉ₁- ~ *poĉ₁∇₁k- ~ *pokk- (< **poĉk-) 'belly' > Tm poccaĭ 'paunch, pot-belly', Kn bojju 'pot-belly', bojje 'belly, paunch', Tl bojja id., Prj bokka 'big intestine, large stomach of ruminants', Gnd poĉĉa 'big intestine, stomach', Gnd Mu/K pohk 'intestines', Gnd K pōhku 'guts', pokku, pocca 'intestines' ¶¶ D #4478, BBh CVG #2377 ◇ IS II 102-3 [#341] (бедро *pōžq₁/ *pōd₁q₁: HS [S, Eg, Ch + *÷ C, Om], IE, U, ?A, ? K *pāšt-).

1844. *qabʔ∇ 'to scoop (schöpfen), to draw water' > HS: S *^o✓χbʔ|h or *^o✓χbw > Ak OB/NB/A χabû v. 'draw (water)' ('[Wasser] schöpfen') ¶ Sd. 306 || K: G χap- v. 'scoop out liquid' (Flüssigkeit herausschöpfen'), χap-i 'gourd, a gourd scoop for scooping wine' ¶ Chx. 2299, DCh. 34 (amoχapva), 1722 (χap i) || U: FU *^oapp∇ (att. in H only) > F appaa, Krl appa- v. 'lade, scoop; eat voraciously' | pLp *vōppō- > Lp: {N} vuop'pot -pp- v. 'gobble up, eat greedily', Lp Sw vuoppet, vuoppot v. 'fill up the mouth with berries', L vūāḡpātē v. 'poke (food) into one's mouth' ¶ SK 21, N III 816 || ? A: M **a^rβ^ru- 'scoop out, drain' > WrM aḡu- id., 'épuiser, vider en puisant', Mnr H {SM} ū'- 'scoop, draw (water) from a well, dig out (sth. that has been hidden in earth)' ¶ MED 15, Kow. 31, SM 462 || Gil: Gil A (gob) = ḡov- / qov- / ḡov- v. 'scoop, lade' ¶¶ ST 73 ◇ S *b goes back to N *b, M and Gil point to a N *b or *p. K *-p- is a reg. reflex of N *-Pʔ-, in this case of *-bʔ-. U *-pp- < *-p- < *-bʔ-.

1845. (₂?) *qU_bz'∇ (< *qU_pz'∇, z'∇?) 'food maid of ground cereals', 'flour' (→ 'bread') > K *qweza- 'loaf' > OG queza-y 'loaf of bread' (a word used to translate Gk ἄρτος 'loaf of wheat-bread' in I Sam. 25.18, Matt. 14.17, and Mark 6.38), G {KEGL} χvez-a 'round loaf of bread', {K} 'flat cake, lozenge' (according to Srj., Umlaut e < *a), Mg χ0z0 'oblong small cooked bread', χ0z0-ḡvari 'ceremonial cone-formed bread baked at the first Monday of the Lent (with a wooden stick in it)' (Mg ḡvari is 'small loaf of bread, flat bread') ¶ K² 336, FS K 496-7 (*qwez-), Srj. HK 84, FS E 564-5 (*qwaz-), Ser. 224-5, KEGL VIII 1439, DCh. 1743, Q 254-5, Srj. UK'K 197-9 (Umlaut K *a > G e) || HS: WS *χubz- 'bread' > Ar χubz- 'bread', χubzat- 'un pain cuit dans les cendres', ✓χbz G (pf. χabaza, ip. -χbizu) v. 'bake bread', Jb E χz̄z v. 'bake' (*-b- > ∅ reg.), Mh ✓χbz (pf. χzbūz, sbjn. yzχbēz), Hrs ✓χbz (pf. χzbōz) id., Gz ✓χbz (js. yaχbāz) v. 'bake', χabz 'bread', χabast (pl. χabāwāz) 'bread' (but Mh, Hrs χabz, Jb E/C χzbz- 'bread', singulative Jb E/C χab¹zet, Hrs χzb¹zet 'a bread' may be loans from Arabic, as suggested by their phonetic shape) ¶ L G 257, Ln. 697, BK I 533, Hv. 155, Jo. M 437, Jo. J 297, ≠ Nld. NB 56-7 (unc. hyp. of Ethiopian origin of Ar χubz- under the false assumption that "das Brot ist für die Bewohner Arabiens ein seltner Luxus, für die Abessinier die Hauptnahrung"; Nold.'s hyp. was refuted by Landberg [Lb. 553-5]) || ?φ D *opp∇t'∇ 'grain as food' > Tm oppaṭi 'harvest', Tl obbiḡi 'threshing of corn' ¶¶ D #982 ◇ ≈ AD

NM #65 (adduces A *o|up'a 'flour', which in fact belongs to N *?opa '≈ powder').

1846. ?σ₂ *qEc∇ 'wear out, be weakened' > HS: S *°-χī̄s|š- > Ar ✓χys G (pf. χāsa / ip. -χī̄s-) 'be spoiled' (food), 'stink' ('exhaler une odeur fétide'), {Hv.} 'be altered' (meat, walnut); S *°✓χs? (or *°✓χš?) > Ar ✓χs? G (pf. χasa?a / ip. -χsa?u) 'be weakened' (sight) ¶ BK I 571, 654, Hv. 167, 191 || ?φ Eg fMK xz(ϣ) ({EG} h̄s j) 'be weak, feeble', Eg fLMK xzy 'weakness'; z for the expected s is still unexplained ¶ EG III 398-9, Fk. 204 || K *qeč-/*qč- v. 'wear out' > Mg χič-ua 'wear out', Sv {TK} -qč-/qič-, {Top., TK} msd. li-qč-e id., Sv UB {GP} -qč- v. 'wear (sth.) away, digest (sth.)' ¶¶ FS K 498, K² 336 (refers the above words to *qeč-/*qč- 'tear to pieces, torture' > OG mqec-, G mχec- 'wild animal'), TK 487, Top. Sh III 266, GP 190.

1847. ₂ *qič∇ 'shadow, shade' > HS: EC: Sml hōs (pl. hōsas), Sml N {Abr.} hōs 'shade', Rn òsí̄m 'shadow, shade' ¶ Abr. S 110, AD SF 90, PG 242 || S *°✓χsw|?h > Ak StB χasû v. 'darken', χasû 'dark, cloudy' ¶ CAD VI 143, 145 || U: FU {UEW} *iče ~ *íše 'shadow, shadow soul' > ObU {Ht.} *ī̄s 'Schattengestalt' > pVg *ī̄s id. > (within cds.) Vg MK/P/Ss is; pOs *is 'Schattenseele' > Os: K/O is, Nz/Kz is | ?σ Hg Δ ísz ̣ isz ̣ iz 'Brand (Krankheit); cancer' || ?? FP *iče 'oneself' > F itse, Es ise 'oneself', Vp ičhine 'epilepsy' | pLp {Lr.} *yēćz 'oneself' (himself', etc.) > Lp: N ieš ~ jieš, L ietj, U jiihtja, Kld ičč id. | Er эсь eś, Δ {Ps.} äś, Mk эсь eś id. | Chr: H {Ep.} ышкэ ашке, L шке ške, Uf (ə)ške, M iške, B ške id. | Prm {LG} ač-/*aś- id. > Z, Vt ač-: Z ачым ač-+m, Vt ачим ačim 'myself, Z ачым ač-+d, Vt ачид ačid 'yourself', Z асьным aśn+, Vt асьмеос aśmeos 'ourselves', etc., Z асьтö aśtз 'you yourself (du \ dich selbst)' || Y: K {Jc.} eizi ({Rd.} eiz̄i) 'shaman's spirit, Teufel', {Krn.} eđul 'life, alive', T {Jc.} izie ({Rd.} iz̄ie) 'self', {Jc.} e-z̄i ('ezi) 'animated, living', {Krn.} eđil 'life; to live' ¶ Ht. 66, UEW 79, Rd. UJ 45 [#60] (Y ← U), Lr #264, Lgc. #1601, Ker. II 38-9, MRS 710, Ep. 169, Ang. 53-4, 64, 81, Krn. JJ 280, 284.

1848. *q'o'ć∇₁?∇₁ 'to remove' > HS: S *°✓χs|š? > Ar ✓χs? (pf. χasa?a, ip. -χsa?-) 'drive away (a dog)', χāsi?- 'chassé, éloigné avec mépris (p. ex. chiens, cochons); éloigné, écarté et inhabité (pays, endroit)' ¶ BK I 571, Hv. 167 || K: GZ *qoc- v. 'remove, clear from, destroy, exterminate', {K²} 'sweep, wipe' > OG qoc-: m0-qoc-a (3s aor.) {DCh.} 'exterminate, wipe off', çar-qoc-a {Ser.} v. 'wipe (one's feet)'

(Luc. 7.38, Joh. 11.2), OG a(ψ)-qoc-a v. 'exterminate, destroy' (Luc. 9.54, Joh. 11.48), v. 'remove' (Luc. 1.25), qoc- 'wipe', G aψ-χoc-a (3s aor.) 'mit Stumpf und Stiel ausrotten', amoxoca 'umbringen, töten, vernichten', gamo-χoc- '(jemandem etwas) ausputzen\saubermachen', {K} χoc- 'wipe up, rub; sweep', Lz χos-: o-χos-u v. 'peel fruit', b-χos-um 'I peel fruit' ¶ FS K 499, K² 340, Chx. 2382-3, Ser. 13, 209 || A: Tg *ōs- vi. 'retreat, move aside (from), vacate (a place)' > Ewk, Lm ōs- id., Neg ōs- vi. 'move aside from; clear (a road)', Ul, Nn osl- 'remove, clear (a place in the woods)', Ork ōssl- 'retreat, vacate (a place)', Orc osu- 'have the ice broken up' (of a river) ¶ STM II 25-6 || pJ {S} *us- 'lose, get lost, disappear' > OJ úsá-, úsí-náp-, J: T usé-, ùsína-, K ùsè-, úsíná-, Kg usé-, úsíná- ¶ S QJ #978, Mr. 780 ¶¶ DQA #676 (A *iũć'u 'become free, retire, disappear' > Tg, J + unc. T *Iç-kIn- 'let fall\disappear', see N *q'ê'ĉ_L∇_J∇ 'sink').

1849. ₂ *qičĚ 'see' > HS: S *-χī'θ' > Ak Λ_{inf}. χīāšu 'see, find'; ? BHb -ħūš- 'aufmerken' [ψ 141.1] (× Hb -ħūš- 'feel pain' < S *ħūš- 'feel') ¶ CAD VI 14, KB 266 || A: Tg *içē- 'see' > Ul, Nn Nh/KU ičz-, Nn B icz-, Orc ičz-, Ud isz- 'see (увидеть)', Ewk ičz-, Lm it/ç- id., 'notice', Sln is(s)z- 'look (посмотреть), try' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #588 (A *ič'∇ 'hope, see' > Tg + M *iča- 'hope' [see N ≈ *ψay'e'ĉ∇ 'seek, look for']).

1850. *q'ê'ĉ_L∇_J∇ 'sink' > HS: S *°✓χšŷ > Ar ✓χšŷ 'baisser, abaisser' ¶ BK I 576 || U *ećć∇ v. 'sink, fall' (× N *H₂eć'U' 'to sink, to dip' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: ?? AdS of IE *pēs- v. 'be seated' (< N *pīs∇ (or *pīps∇?) 'to sit', 'seat' [q.v.]) > NaIE *ēs- (md.) 'be seated' > OI āstē, Av āstē, Gk A ἦσται 'is seated' ¶¶ But N *q'ê'ĉ_L∇_J∇ is not connected with Ht es-, as- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside' (see N *pīs∇ '↑') ¶¶ P 342-3, M KI 84, Ch. 411-2, FI 633-4, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-1, Oett. IGS 112 || ?σ K *°q|χweç|ç- > G χveç- 'herunterrutschen (z. B. Socke)' ¶ Chx. 2353 ¶ K *w points to a N rounded vw. of the first syll.; the emphatization of the affricate is probably due to *ŷ (something like *-ĉŷ- > *-ĉʔ- > *-ĉ- > K *-ç- > G -ç-) || A: ?σ M *ičē- v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N *H₂eć'U' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || NaT *Iç-ψ|qIn- v. 'let fall', 'let slip, allow to disappear' > OT ičψIn- id., 'let (sth.) slip' (uzun-tonluψ köznüsin kolke ičψInmiš 'a woman let her mirror fall in a lake'), XwT XIV ičqIn- 'release, let go, lose', MQp XIV [CC] XIV ičqIn-, MQp XV išqIn- 'escape', Chg XV ičqIn- 'let (sth.) slip (from

one's hand)', VTt ЫЧКЫН ЪЏҚЫН-, Bsh ЪСҚЫН- 'fall (from one's hands)', Alt ІЏҚЫН- 'drop (sth. from one's hands), let slip', Xk ЫСЖЫН- ІSХЫН- v. 'fall, fall out; drop, let fall', Yk ЫСЫГЫН- ІSІГЫН- v. 'let fall\slip, Tv ЫШКЫН- ІЏҚЫН- v. 'let fall, drop'; NaT *ІҫҮ|ҚЫН- v. 'let slip, allow to disappear' is probably a sd. (broadening of meaning) from v. 'let fall'. But if 'allow to disappear' is the original meaning, the word is not valid as a cognate. The derivational prehistory of the stem is obscure (according to Cl., "a reflexive form [-н], but with no known basic form"); the underived hapax legomenon Іҫ- (the Namangan codex of Qutadgu Bilig, p. 120, l. 10), interpreted in DTS as 'скрываются, исчезать', is not confirmed by Cl. ¶ Cl. 23, DTS 216-7, ET Gl 672-3, BT 188, BIG 332, TvR 601, Pek. III 3835-6.

1851. (₂?) *qV'ĉ'V (= *qa'ĉ' i?) (or *qV'ĉ' ʕV?) ≈ conceive, give birth' > HS: ?σ SC: Irq {E} χaĉ i, {MQK} χāĉ i(?) 'afterbirth of animals', ?φ Asa {E} har- to give birth' ¶ MQK 118, E SC 370 (adduces Asa har- and reconstructs SC *χaĉ- or *χanĉ- > pRt *χaĉ- v. 'give birth' (of animals) || IE *Xe|ps- > Ht has(s)-/hans- 'beget, procreate, give birth', HrLw has(a)- 'beget', has-mi- 'progeny, issue', Lc esedenneve < Lw *hassatanna- 'progeny' (unless from *hams- 'procreate', reconstructed in Pv. III 217-8 on the basis of comparison with Ht hammasa- 'grandchild'; if we reject the adduction of hammasa-, -n- in hansa- may represent a reg. IE *-n-infix, as in the NaIE present tense) ¶ Pv. III 212-8, Frd. HW 61, Ts. E I 191-2 || A: Tg *aji- 'conceive, give birth; child' > WrMc азиган 'child, boy', азигала- v. 'conceive (зарождают, начинатъ)', азиге, Mc Sb аҗиге 'small', WrMc ази 'first-born', Lm ājɪn 'first-born' ¶ STM I 16-7, Z 51-2 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? *āǰi ? v. 'conceive, give birth') reconstructs a long vw. *ā both in the pTg and the pA words, which is unj. because the length of the vw. in Lm may be (as it often is) secondary ◇ The voiced *j in Tg still needs explaining. It may point to a N etymon *qV'ĉ' ʕV (with *ʕ that caused voicing of the affricate in Tg and was lost in SC and IE).

1852. ₂ *qadV 'to hurry, to run' > HS: S *°√χdω|y > Ar √χdy G (pf. حدى χadā, ip. -χdī) v. 'go at a quick pace' (of a horse) ({Fr.} 'celeriter incessit') ¶ Fr. I 468, BK I 548, Hv. 159 || Eg fP χdy 'travel downstream' ¶ EG III 354-5, Fk. 199 || C: Ag: Bln {R} haded- v. 'run', 'hurry', 'gallop' (of a horse) ¶ R WB 187 ¶¶ ≈ Coh. #144 (S, Eg + unc. Shl əddu go') || A: M *adaga- (unless it is *ʕadaga-) 'hurry' (< *'run, walk quickly') > WrM adaga-, HIM адга- v. 'hurry, speed, strive', WrO адаҗа- 'be in a

hurry, hasten', Kl adϑa- id. ¶ MED 9, KW 1, Krg. 20 ◇ ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' *q^ro¹d^h, IS SS ##3.11 and 8.3 (both: M, D, K, HS).

1853. (₂?) *q^rA¹d[∇] 'belly' > K: Sv {Ni., GP} qād 'belly' ¶ GP 311, Ni. s.v. животъ || HS: SC: Irq {E} χiri 'waist', {MQK} χiri(:)η^ω 'lower back' (according to E, Irq -r- < SC *-t^y- → *-t^z-) ¶ ESC 258, MQK 118 || Eg fP ḫ.t (Eg) ḫ.t 'belly, body' > Cpt: Sd ḫh hē, A ḫh ḫ₂eī 'belly, stomach', ḫHT- hēt-, B ḫHT- ḫēt- id. ¶ EG III 356-8, Fk. 200, Vc. 285 ¶¶ The Irq and Eg words belong here only if their *-t- goes back to *-d-t (with the formative *-t of fem. gender) || ? D *at^z- 'flesh' (← *'body' ← *'belly') > Kn adḡaḡu, adḡabala 'flesh, meat', Mlt aḡaḡe 'curry made of meat, fish, or vegetable' ¶¶ D #60.

1854. ₂ *qe|id[∇] (→ *q-) 'speak' > HS: S *o-χīd- > Ak Λ χādu ḡ χīādu 'speak, make an utterance', χittu 'utterance' ¶ CAD VI 28, 208 || D *e|iṭ-, {ḡGS} *e|iḡ- 'speak, tell, let know' > Klm iḡḡ- 'tell, show', Nkr iḡḡ- 'say', iḡip- 'show', Nk iḡuk- id., Krx eṛ- (p. eḡḡas) 'call, summon, invite\command to come\assemble, rouse from sleep', Mlt eṛye 'speak with fluence' ¶¶ D #786, ≠ Pf. 80 [#507].

1855. *q^rA¹d_zḡ^ro¹ 'to step, to walk' > HS: S *o-χṭw > Ar ✓χṭw G (ip. *-χṭū) v. 'step, make steps', χuṭw-at- (pl. ^{خطى}χuṭā), χaṭw-at- 'a step' ¶ BK I 597, Hv. 176 || Eg NE ḡtyw - a verb of going, ?σEg fP ḡty.ω 'Terrasse mit Treppe' ¶ EG III 348, Tk. I 86, 232 ¶¶ Tk. l.c. (Eg, S) || C: EC (× N *ṡ^ro¹dU 'go'): EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} ád- 'go to', ?φ Sd {Mrn.} haḡ- 'andare', {Hd.} haṛr-, {Gs.} haṛa 'go'; ? Arr pcv. -iṛit- pf. / -eṛet- ip. / ṛit imv. m. 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOM: Ari {Fl.} ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ad- 'come'?) (× N *ṡ^ro¹dU 'go') || AdS of B *o-wdH 'go' and SC (Asa adi 'go') < N *ṡ^ro¹dU ¶¶ Contamination with N *ṛat_zḡ^ro¹ 'come' in C and SOM? || IE: NaIE *a|e|ot- 'go, walk' (× N *ṛat_zḡ^ro¹ '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69, M KI 26, M EI 56, EI 228 || K *qed-/*qid-/*qd- 'go, come', ? 'move, bring' > Lz χt- ~ χṭ- 'come, appear', Mg rt- 'go', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qed) 'come'; possibly also with caus. meaning: OG qad/qd-, G χad-/χd- 'take, take out', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qde) 'bring, take\draw out' ¶ K 263, K² 335, FS K 491 and FS E 557-8, Chx. 2311-4, Chik. 426, Marr 234, Top. SE 75, GP 190 || A: M *od_z- 'go' (× N *ṡ^ro¹dU 'go', q.v. ffd. × N *w[∇]d_zḡ^ro¹ 'walk, go'?) || T *āt- v. 'step' → M *adam 'pace, step' (× N *ṛat_zḡ^ro¹ '↑')

[q.v. ffd.]) 𐰃𐰣 S AJ 280 [#142] (pA *ā^ht∇); SDM97 (pA *ā|ē^ht∇), ≠ DQA #1756 (A *p'ē^hta- v. 'step, walk': equates T and M *adam with Tg *pete-'jump') || ? D *ā^ht- vi. 'move' (× N *ʔat^h∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy between the apparent reflexes of N *-^ht- (IE *-t-, S *-^ht-, Mg -^ht-), those of N *-t- (Eg -t-), and those of N *-d- (in K) are due to the N Ir. *ʔ (*-dʔ- > *-^ht- and probably *-t-). The Ir. may be also responsible for the long vw. in T (< pA?) and D. The vw. *o in M *od^hu^h- belongs to the heritage of N *ʔo^hdU ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. 'идти' *q^ha^ht^h∇ (IE, S, Eg) and IS SS 1.38 ('go') (both: IE, S, Eg); ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' *q^ho^hd∇, IS SS ##3.11 and 8.3 ('move') (both: A, D, K, HS, incl. err. S *✓χd^hy 'go to a quick pace', cp. N *qad∇ 'to hurry, to run').

1856. *qag^hʔ^ha 'to fear' > HS: CS *✓χgʔ v. 'fear, be confused' > BHb 𐰃𐰣𐰣 𐰃𐰣𐰣g^hgā {GB} 'fear' (h.l. Is. 19.17, LXX: φόβητρον 'terror'), Ar ✓χǵʔ G (pf. χaǵiʔa) 'be ashamed' 𐰃 GB 213; ≠ KB 278 (interprets the word 𐰃𐰣𐰣 𐰃𐰣𐰣g^hgā as 'Beschämung' on the basis of comparison with Ar), ≠ KBR 290 (𐰃𐰣𐰣 'shame, confusion'), Fr. I 463, BK I 542, Hv. 157 || IE: NaIE *ag^h- v. 'fear', 'sorrow', *āg^h- 'dread, horror' > AS éǵe n. 'fear', ON agi 'fear, horror', Gt agis id., og 'is afraid' || OIr ad-ág- v. 'fear' || ?σOI a'gha-h, Av aḡō 'bad', aḡa- 'evil', OI a'gha-m n. 'evil' (infl. of N *ʔāka 'be evil') || ?σGk ἄχος (gen. ἄχεος) ntr. 'mental pain, distress', ἄχομαι, ἄχνομαι 'be grieved, distressed' || OIr ad-ágor 'I fear' 𐰃 P 7-8, Mn. 2-3, Vn. A 23, Vr. 3, Ho. 89, Fs. 14, 580, M K I 1, F I 202-3, EI 198 and 247 (*h_heg^h- 'be afraid \ downcast', 'be afflicted; grieve') || D *ak- v. 'fear, tremble' (× N ?σ *ʔayka '≈ move [quickly], jump', q.v. ffd.) 𐰃𐰣 A possible prehistory of D *-k-: N *-gʔ- > *k > D *-k-.

1857. *q'a^hli 'extend one's hand, seize, take, hold' > HS: S *o✓χll > OAk, Ak OB p. -χlul, inf. χalēlu v. 'hold'; ??? S *o✓χlf > Ar ✓χlf G {Ln., Hv.} 'pull off, take off (garment, shoes)', {BK} 'retirer\ôter une chose de dessus une autre' 𐰃 CAD VI 34, Ln. 780-1, BK I 616, Hv. 181 || C: EC: Sam {Hn.} *hel- 'get, obtain' > Sml hel-, Rn hel- ~ el-, Bn hel-id. || DhI hēl- {EEN} 'seize, catch hold of' 𐰃 E SC 307, EEN 15, Hn. S 63, Ss. PEC 40, PG 145 || Ch: CCh: Gzg {Lk.} hal- 'nehmen (Hirse, Erdnüsse)' || WCh: Ang {Fik.} ēl ~ el 'seize, catch', {J} ʔel 'ergreifen, schnappen' 𐰃 Lk. G 123 𐰃𐰣 According to AD WIL, EC *h- corresponds to S *χ-, sc. goes back to N *q- 𐰃𐰣 Hardly here Eg MK h^hʔy {EG} 'angreifen, (den Gegner) annehmen', {Fk.} 'charge down upon (enemy)', because Eg h is not cognate with S *χ, and the semantic connection is not reliable (⇔ Tk

SCA 98 [#28.3], Tk I 146) || **A:** T *a_l(I)-, {Md.} *a_l- 'take' > OT {Cl.} a_l- 'take, seize, receive', MQp [CC] a_l- 'take, receive', Tk a_l-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf, Xk a_l-, Yk il-, Uz a_l-, Chv il- 'take' ¶ Cl. 124-5, DTS 32, Rs. W 14-5, ET Gl 127-9, TL 335-7, 699-700, Ra. 152, Md. 100, 159, Jeg. 68, Fed. I 163-4 ¶ According to Md. 98, pT *a goes back to A *a influenced by the vw. *I (sc. originally *i) of the second syll. || Tg *a_li- v. 'take, receive, extend one's hand' > Ewk PT a_l-id., Ewk Y a_li- id., v. 'hold one's hand for sth.' ('подставить руку'), Sln a_li- v. 'accept (принимать)', Neg a_l- 'extend\hold one's hand for sth.', Lm a_li- id., 'hold one's vessel for sth.', 'shield oneself with the hand\shield', Orc a_li- v. 'shield\cover oneself with the hand', Ud a_li- id., 'extend the hand to receive sth.', Ul a_lu- v. 'extend the hand, defend oneself', Nn Nh/B a_lu- v. 'hold one's hand\stick in order to defend oneself', Ork d. a_lu- 'pass (sth. to so.), give (подавать, вручать)', WrMc a_li-, Mc Sb a_li- v. 'receive, take'; Tg б→ Dg a_li- v. 'take, receive' (hardly a genetic cognate of T and Tg, because its meaning suggests that it is isolated within M) ¶ STM I 26-7, T DgJ 120 || ?σ M *a_li (unless it is *φa_li?) 'give me!', (?) 'take for me!' inv. > WrM a_li, HIM, Kl аль a_li id., Kl {Rm.} a_l, a_l 'gib her, nimm!', Ord {Ms.} a_li 'donne-moi, passe-moi', Brt алээ a_lē 'give!' ¶ MED 31, KRS 38, Ms. O 16, KW 6, Chr. 42-3 || ??φ pJ {S} *á- 'receive' > OJ ú, J: T/K/Kg é id. ¶ S QJ #754, Mr, 681 ¶¶ KW 6, SDM97 s.v. *a_la, DQA #20 (A *á_la) || **D:** [1] *a_l- v. 'take up in the hollow of the hand' > Tm a_l!u, Ml a_l!uka id., Tm a_l 'handful, anything contained in the hollow of the hand' || [2] *ā- v. 'get, own' (→ v. 'rule') > Ka ā_l- v. 'get, possess, rule', Tu ā_lu_ni v. 'govern, reign', Td o_l- v. 'own (buffaloes), rule', Tm ā_l- v. 'rule, reign', Ml ā_luka v. 'possess' (a comparison proposed in Km. 313 [#191]) ¶¶ On the origin of D *ē_l- v. 'receive, take' see my comments to N *qæ_l∇ 'hand' ¶¶ D ##290, GS 257-8 [#392a], Km. 313 [#191] (ties in Tl ē_lu v. 'rule, govern' within the first D √ [Ka ā_l-, etc.] and reconstructs pSD *yā_l-, but in my opinion, Tl ē_lu v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl ē_lu v. 'take' < D *ē_l- v. 'receive, take' < N *qæ_l∇).

1858. *qal∇ 'bottom, down' > IE: Ht halluwa- 'deep': hallūwas witas kat^rtan¹ 'in deep water' (unless from halluwa- {Pv.} 'hollow, pit'), but haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect' is more likely to belong to IE *Xol- 'elbow, knee' < N *rUL∇ 'knee, elbow' ¶ Pv. III 28-9 (s.v. haliya-), 47-9 (s.v. halluwa- 'hollow, deep'), EI 96 (Ht < IE *h₂elw₀-

s ~ *h₂eulǵs 'elongated cavity, hollow') || HS: S *^o✓χly > Sq {L} ✓ħly v. 'throw down, sit under sth.', di-'ħale 'under', 'ħele 'deep', Mh {Jo.} 3ηχāli 'under, underneath', ? Jb C a'ḡah' 'down, downwards' ¶ L IS 175, Jo. M 308, Jo. J 2 || U *ala 'bottom, place under sth.' > F, Es ala- (first part of cds.) 'under, lower', F al-la, Es all 'under', F, Es ala 'territory' | pLp {Lr.} *vōlē n. 'down, lower part' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuo lie, L {LLO} vuollē, N {N} vuolle id., 'the space\part under sh.', vuol'dě ~ vuold ~ vuol postp. 'under', Kld вўлленъ vūll-eń 'below, under' | Er/Mk ал al 'lower (das untere, unter befindliche)', Er alo, Mk ala 'below, under' | Chr L ұлан ü'-an, ұлнө 'ül-nö, Uf/B ü-l-nö, H ü-l-nə 'below', L ü'ləl 'bottom, lower', B/H ü-l-, Uf ü'lö-, ü-l- 'lower' | Prm {LG} *ul 'bottom, place under sth.' > Z ұв, Z Δ, Vt ul id. || ObU: pOs *+l 'lower, down' > Os: V +l, D it, O il id., pOs *+l-ən loc. 'below' > Os: V +lən id., D itən id., 'on the ground floor', O ilən 'on the floor'; pVg *yǎl-ən loc. 'below' > Vg: T ya'lən, LK yǎln, P yałən, Ss yolən id., pVg *yǎl-∇k 'the lower' > Vg: T ya'lǝk, LK yałx, P yałk, Ss yolík; according to UEW, Vg *y- is prosthetic; the corr. Os *+ ÷ Vg *yǎ may be due to the presence of *y- | OHg al 'lower, underneath, lower part', Hg al- (in cds.) 'lower', alá, alatt 'below, underneath, under' || pSm {Jn.} *+lǝ 'ground, bottom (Boden, das Untere)', *+lǝ-η 'down, under' > Ne: T dat. һыл' η+lǝ, T O {Lh.} η+lǝ, F {Lh.} η+R id., T һылăд 'bottom (дно, низ)'; Ng {Mik.} ηilʷa 'down, under'; En {Ter.} irǝ 'under' (direction), iron 'under' (place); Slq Tz +l 'under'; Kms {KD} jilʷ 'lower part', jil'gən 'below', jilʷdǝ 'untenhin' || pY {IN} *al 'bottom' > YK/T al postp. 'under', K al-bə 'foot of a hill\mountain' (-bə is a sx. of nomina loci) ¶¶ Coll. 2, UEW 6, Sm. 536 (U, FU *+lǝ, FP *ēla, Ugr *+lǝ 'under'), Lr. #1432, N III 802-13, Hs. 1457, SaR 56, MRS 642, LG 295, EWU 19-20, Jn. 24, Ter. 408-9, Ter. EJ 454, KKIИ 195, KD 183, IN 214-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [#1] (Y ← U) || A {DQA} *ale 'lower, below' > T: [1] *alt 'base, bottom' > OT {Cl.} alt (i) 'bottom, lower surface of sth.', Tk alt 'base, bottom', Az, Ggz, CrTt alt, Tk Δ āłt id., Qrg, Alt, Tv ald(i), SY, Xk alti, Tlt, Brb alt 'under', [2] ? NaT *al 'below, bottom' > Alt/Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} alIn 'Unterteil, Stelle unter einem Gegenstande', Yk alIn 'bottom, lower part'; the ✓ *al 'below' coexists with the homonymous ✓ *al 'front'; the meaning of al in OT is qu.: Gbn., DTS, Rs. find here two meanings: 'front' and 'below', while Cl. recognized the meaning 'front, in front' only ¶ Rl. I 373-6, 400-2, DTS 32. Gbn. ATG 293, Rs. W 14, Cl. 121, 130, ET Gl 124-5,

140, JkR 39 || pKo {S} *àráj > MKo àráj, NKO arä 'below, lower side' ¶ S QK #652, Nam 336, MLC 1069 || pJ {S} *žrž- > OJ òru v. 'lower, go down', J: T orí-, K/Kg òrì- ¶ S QJ #590, Mr. 742 || ?? Tg: WrMc aligan 'Untersatz, Untergestell, Postament, Sockel' ¶ Z 34, Hr. 36 ¶¶ DQA #25 (T, Ko, J), Rm. SKE 6, ≈ Pp. VG 75 ◇ IS MS 351 s.v. 'нижний' qalᵛ (with further literature) and IS SS 336 [#8.1.] (in both: HS, U, A, IE + *÷ Ht haliya-) ◇ Gr. II #406 (*ala 'under') (IE, U, Y, A, Ko, J, ES + unc. Ai).

1859. *qæī∇ 'hand' > K *qeł- 'hand' (a short *e) > OG qeł-, G χeł- 'hand', Mg, Lz χe id., Mg χu handfúl-, Sv UB {GP} qäl 'arm', Sv {FS} qäl (pl. qalär) 'length of two outstretched arms' ¶ FS K 495-6, FS E 562-3, ≈ K 264 and K² 334-5 (GZ *qe-), Chik. 58, GP 311; on Mg/Lz χe < *qeł- with the loss of K *ł and Umlaut see GM S 93 and 160; on the correspondence of G eł with Mg/Lz u see Schm. 25-6 || **A:** T *äl(ig), {Adb.} *älg 'hand' > OT, MU älig, MU [KB], Chg eł ~ elik 'hand', MQP XIII elig 'hand', XIV [CC] eł, Osm XIV äl 'hand', Tk eł, Ggz j̄eł, Az, Uz XwOg äł, Tkm, Slr eł, CrTt ęł, Xlj ä·ł 'hand', Yk äli → ilī 'hand, arm' || Chv ał, ałb id., 'foreleg' ¶ Cl. 140-1, DTS 169-70, Rs. W 39, ET Gl 140-1, TL 251, Adb. SR 199-215, Md. 34, 164 (*ä·ł(ig)), DT 109 || ? Tg *elge- v. 'lead by the hand' (in some descendant lgs.: → 'lead [an animal] by holding the rein') > Orc 3ggz-, Ork 3ídē- 'lead by the hand', Nn, Ewk, Neg 3lgz-, Lm 3lgə- id., 'lead by holding the rein', Ul 3lžz- 'lead by the hand (an old\sick\blind person)', Sln 3lgz- v. 'lead', WrMc elgi- ~ elge- 'lead by holding the rein' ¶ STM II 446, Vas. 553, Bz. 969, Adb. SR-D 449 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 57, Adb. SR-D 455-6, S AJ 17, 47, 282, DQA #1527 (A *ḡāli 'hand' > T + Tg *ḡāla 'hand') || **HS:** CCh: MfM {Brr.} χálay ({{Brr.} χálay) 'arm', pMM {Ro.} *ahał > Mada {BrrB} a-hál 'hand, arm', Mkt {Ro.} áhàł, Myn/Zlg {Ro.} àhár 'hand' ¶ Brr. CM 42, BrrB 125, Ro. 266 [#343] || ?σ **D** *ēł- v. 'receive, take' > Tm ēł id., Ml ēłkka v. 'receive, take in charge, admit', Kt e·ł- v. 'catch in sth. held up', Tl ēłu v. 'accept, admit, take'; the connection is valid only if the D √ in question is different from *ēł- v. 'happen; suit' ([GS] *ēł-) or if the latter is a sd. of *ēł- 'receive, take'; the vw. *ē suggests that this D root belongs here rather than to N *q'a'li 'to extend one's hand' (q.v.), which is the source of D *a'li- 'take up in the hollow of the hand' and D *āł- v. 'get, own' (q.v.); for phonetic reasons I prefer this etymology in spite of better semantic connection of D *ēł- with N *q'a'li ¶¶ D #905,

Km. 313 [#191] (ties in Tl $\bar{e}l\upsilon$ v. 'rule, govern' within the first D $\sqrt{[Ka \bar{a}l-}$, etc.] and reconstructs pSD $*y\bar{a}l-$, but in my opinion Tl $\bar{e}l\upsilon$ v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl $\bar{e}l\upsilon$ v. 'take') \diamond It is hard to say if Tg $*\eta\bar{a}la$ 'hand' belongs here. It depends on the investigation of the problem of Tg (and N?) $*\eta-$. For a possible solution see N $?\phi \approx *g\bar{o}\eta^H\bar{a}l\triangledown$ 'forearm' \diamond IS SS #8.7, IS MS 362 ($*qel\Delta$).

1860. $*q\hat{o}l\triangledown$ (= $*qu\bar{l}\triangledown?$) '≈ lizard, snake' > K: GZ $*(m-)\chi|qu|$ - 'lizard' > OG $m\chi uli\omega-$, Mg $\chi\bar{o}lar-$, $\chi\bar{v}ilar-$, $\chi\bar{v}elar-$, Lz $mt\chi\bar{o}lar-$, $\chi\bar{o}lura-$ id.; G $\chi\bar{v}li\bar{k}-$ id. (× GZ $*\psi\bar{w}lek-$ / $*\psi\bar{w}lik-$ 'be crooked, curved'?) ¶ $*m-$ is probably a px. ¶ K 144, K² 134, 228, FS K 232, FS E 255-6 ¶ OG χ may go back both to K $*\chi$ and to $*q$ (because in one of the dialects of OG the pK cns. $*q$ is represented by χ) || **HS:** S $*\chi u_l, ma\bar{t}-$ '≈ lizard, snake' > Sr 𐤇𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 $\bar{h}ulm\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ 'large lizard', Hb 𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 $\bar{h}om\bar{e}\bar{t}$ '∈ reptile', Ak $\chi ulmittu \sim \chi ulmi\bar{t}\bar{t}u$ '∈ snake or lizard', ? Ar $\bar{h}im\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}-$ {Fr.} 'animalculum in herbis vivens', $\bar{h}ama\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}-$ {Fr.} 'serpens; vermis, qui in oleribus tempore veris est', {BK} 'serpent; espèce d'insectes qui naît dans les légumes' (loans from a lge. having \bar{h} from S $*\chi$) ¶ Br. 235, KB 314, Sd. 354, CAD VI 230, Fr. I 427, BK I 493 || Eg RT/G $\chi r r . t$ 'snake in the underworld; reptiles, vermin (Gewürm)' ¶ EG III 150 || ? EC (mt.): pSam $*mul\bar{f}-$ 'lizard' (cp. OG $m\chi uli\omega-$ id.) > Sml $mula\bar{f}$, Sml N {Abr.} $m\acute{u}la\bar{f}$ '∈ lizard', Rn {PG} $m\acute{u}l\acute{u}\bar{h}$ '∈ small gray lizard' ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 182, DSI 445, PG 228 || **A:** Tg $*olga(-ma)$ 'snake' > Neg $olgon$, $olgoma$ id., Orc $ugguma$ id., 'grass-snake', Ud $ugum\bar{z}$ 'a red poisonous snake', Nn KU $olgoma \check{z}abd\bar{a}$, Nn B $olgoma \check{z}abda(n-)$ 'big snake, boa, python', Nn Nh $olgoma muyki$ '∈ snake' ¶ STM II 13 || T: Qq, Kr Cr $ulu\omega$, Qzq $\bar{u}l\bar{u}\omega$, Alt, Tv ulu , SY $ulu \sim olu$ 'dragon' (unless a loan from Chn lu id.) ¶ ET Gl 591 || **D** (in SD) $*u\bar{o}$ 'wood-worm' or sim. > Tm, Ml $u\bar{l}u$ id., Kn G $u\bar{l}\eta gu$ 'a nit' ¶ D #700 $\diamond \neq$ Fn. KD #106 (K + $*\bar{z} \div D *ka(\bar{v})u$]- 'lizard'). If the T cognate is valid, the lateral in pN rec. is $*-l-$, otherwise it is either $*-l'$ - or $*-l\bar{z}-$.

1861. $*q\bar{v}L_l\bar{v}_l\bar{v}$ 'knee; to kneel' > **HS:** S $*\bar{v}\chi l\bar{v}$ > Ar $\bar{v}\chi l\bar{v}$ G {BK} 's'agenouiller et ne vouloir pas bouger ni se relever (par obstinance, les chameaux)', {Hv.} 'kneel without moving' (camel) ¶ BK I 609, Hv. 179 || **K:** GZ (d.?) $*muq\bar{l}-$ 'knee, corner' > OG $muq\bar{l}-$, K $m\bar{u}\chi l-$ 'knee', Mg $m\bar{u}\chi ur-$ 'corner, edge' ¶ K 138, K² 127, FS K 224, FS E 246.

1862. $*q\bar{a}e^H l i y^H \bar{v}$ (= $*q\bar{a}^H l i y^H \bar{v}?$) 'melt, dissolve, be wet\moist' > **HS:** S $*-\chi\bar{u}l-$ $\sim * \bar{v}\chi ll$ > Ak $\bar{v}\chi\omega l$ (inf. $\chi\bar{a}l\upsilon$, p. $-\chi\bar{u}l-$) 'become liquid,

dissolve; exude (a liquid)', Mh {Jo.} ✓χλλ (pf. χλλ̄) 'be penetrated by rain, let in rain' (of a roof), 'penetrate, come through' (of rain, water)', Jb C {Jo.} χελλ- id., χαλλ̄un 'wet', ✓χλλ Sh (pf. αχ'λελ) 'let in rain' (of roof), Jb E {Jo.} ✓χλλ G (pf. 'χλελ, sbjn. 'υεχχε) 'let in rain' (of a roof) ¶ CAD VI 54-5, Jo. J 299, Jo. M 439 || ?? B: Ah əlyəm vi. 'dissolve' ¶ Fc. 1020 || U: FU *e'í∇ 'moist, wet' > Chr: B ile ~ i'le, M/P i'le, Chr L илe id. | Prm {LG} *E'í > Z цль u'í id., Vt ыль í 'raw (not baked enough), wet' || Vg: N í 'wet', P í, N il 'juice' || Sm *зль 'melting\soft snow' ({Jn.} 'melting snow') > Ne: Т њэл" ηзл? 'weich, locker' (of snow)', Т О {Lh.} ηзл'í c'í'рз'б 'soft melting snow', F {Lh.} ηзл'í at χ'rrε 'rather thin soft snow'; Kms {KD} ε'λεγ'εñ 'damp soft snow in spring-time' ¶ Jn. 21, Ter. 42O, KD 19 || YT a'ía- v. 'melt' (of snow, ice), 'be warmed', 'dissolve' ¶ Ku. 24-5 || D (in SD) *a'li- v. 'melt, dissolve' > Ml aliука vi. 'dissolve (as salt)', alikka, aliуikka vi. 'melt', aliccā, aliуu 'melting, compassion', Kdg ali- vi., vt. 'dissolve', Tu aliуuni vi. 'to dissolve, to decay' ¶ D #250 || ? D *a'ak- ≈ liquid, fluid' > Tm a'akam 'water', Kn a'aka, a'la'aka 'neither thick nor thin' (as applied to liquids), ? Tl anуku 'semiliquid, semifluid' ¶ ¶ D #298 ◇ The N vw. is controversial: S points to a N rounded vw. (but in the framework of the S morphology this *u/*ū may be secondary), D suggests N *a or *ä, while FU points to N *e. There is also conflicting ev. about the N lateral cns.: FU *e'í∇ and D *a'ak- suggest *-í-, while SD *a'li- points to a N plain *-l-. A possible solution is N *qäliу∇; the group *-liу- contracted to *-ly- > FU *-í-, D *-l-; FU *e for N *ä may be due to the palatalizing influence of N *-í-).

1863. ?φ₂ *q∇LC∇ 'to tear, to be torn' > K: GZ *qleč-/qlič-/q'č- 'tear off, be torn off\apart' > G χleč-/χlič- 'tear off, be torn off (zerreißen, zerfetzen)', G M {Kavt.} na-qleč- 'scrape, fragment', ?φ G X {Ghl.} na-qeč 'fragment of tree', Mg χarck-/χorck-/χirck- 'tear off, burst', Lz χreck-/χ(r)ock-, χroçq-, χrosq- 'burst', 'die' (of animals) ¶ K 266 (*qleč-), K² 339, FS E 487-8, and FS E 553 (*χleč-/χlič-), Kavt. M 294, Ghl. 419 || HS: CS (or pS) *✓χлç- 'be broken, tear out' > Ar حاص ✓χлç (pf. χaliçā / ip. -χlaç-) 'be broken in the flesh' (a bone), BHb ✓ħлç פ'כח G 'withdraw, pull off', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ħлç G 'take off, undress; withdraw', JEA ✓ħлç G 'bare the shoulder (as a sign of mourning)', SmA ✓ħлç v. 'extract', ה'כח ח'לç n. act. 'plundering',

OYmn {Slw.} ✓χλς G, Ar Y✓χλς G 'draw out (ausziehen)', ? Ak ✓χλς (inf. χαλαῖς) 'clean by combing'; but hardly here Ak ✓χλς (inf. χαλαῖς) 'press, squeeze out' and Ug ✓χλς 'squeeze out' ¶ KB 308-9, GB 233, Js. 472-3, Lv. T I 262-3, Sl. 466, Tal 275, CAD VI 40, Sd. 311, BK I 613-4, Ln. 785-6, Slw. 77, OLS 192-3 ◇ The discrepancy between the K ev. for N *č and the S ev. for N *č or *č still needs investigating.

1864. *q∇L∇, Kæ 'blister, pimple' > IE: NaIE *eḷkōs- 'sore, ulcer' > OI arśah / arśas- ntr. 'hemorrhoids', Sgd ῥρςχ, ῥρςῥνχ id., KhS āsī, āsī 'itch' ||| Gk ἔλκος (gen. ἔλκεος) ntr. 'sore, ulcer, wound, ' ({F}: h- due to the infl. of ἔλκω 'draw, drag') ||| L ulcus / gen. ulceris 'sore, ulcer' ¶ WP I 160, P 310, M K I 53, M E I 122-3, Bai. 28, F I 496-7, WH II 811, EI 523 (*h₁eḷkes ≈ ulcer) || **HS:** S *°χ∇lκ- > Mh χεωκᾶt- (pl. χεωκᾶt), Hrs χεωκᾶt, Jb E 'χεωκᾶt 'mole, pimple' ¶ Jo. M 441, Jo. H 140 || C: pAg {AD} *lak-an / pl. *lakk-an 'wound' > Bln {R} la'gān (pl. la'kān), Xm {R} le'gan, Aw {R} la'gan, Q {R} na'gan id. ¶ AD SF 261, R WB 251 || **A:** M *oḷliqay 'blister' (or *φ-?) > WrM {MED} oliqay 'blisters on animals', {Gl.} uliqay 'water blisters on skin (an illness of animals)', {Kow.} oliqay id. (among the Buryats) (the word has not been found in modern dictionaries of Brt]), Kl {Rm.} ulχā 'Blase, Beule (im Fleisch oder Gehirn)' ¶ Since the word has not been detected in MM and in the ḥ/φ-preserving lgs., one cannot know if there was an initial *φ- in the word. It belongs here if there was no pM *φ- ¶ MED 609, Gl. I 244, Kow. 402, KW 448.

1865. *qäí∇ 'strike, pierce' > K *qal-/°q1- {K²} 'drive in, push' > OG qal-/q1- 'drive in, aufschlagen', G χαλ-/χ1- 'beat, push', Sv qal-/q1- 'drive in, fill with' (at-qal-e 'du hast hineingebohrt', čwat-qal-e 'er bohrte, stieß hinein', χε-q1-i 'es wird ihm hineingebohrt') ¶ K² 333, FS K 491-2, FS E 558 || **HS:** CS *✓χll 'pierce' > Ar ✓χll (pf. حَلَّ ḫalla) {BK} 'percer, forer, trouer', {Hv.} 'pierce; pin the skirts', {Hv.} 'pierce; pin the skirts', BHb ✓ḥll (pf. حَلَّ ḫā'la) 'be pierced', prtc. pl. مَحَلَّيْم māḥal^alīm 'pierced through', MHb حَلَّ ḫā'lāl 'hollow, cavity', Sr ḥalī'l-ā ~ ḥalē'l-ā 'cave', ✓ḥḥl (pf. حَلَّ ḥal'ḥel) 'pierce' ¶ BK I 606, Hv. 178, GB 234, Klein 219, Br. 232 || **A:** T *ä1- v. 'dig, penetrate (the soil)', 'row' (← 'dig water') > Osm XVII äš- 'dig', Tk eš- 'dig', {Rh.} 'dig up slightly, scratch the soil', Ggz yeš- 'dig with a foot', Az eš- 'dig', Tv eš- (inf. эжер ež-er) v. 'shovel up (as snow); row', Tf éš'- 'shovel (разгребать), row', Xk ис- is- 'draw (water), row', Uz, ET, Qrg, Alt

eš-, VTt, Bsh iš-, Qzq, Qq, Nog es- v. 'row' || Chv {Ash.} al- v. 'plough virgin soil with a wooden plough', Chv alt- 'dig' ¶ Cl. 255-6, ET Gl 315-6, Rh. 124, TvR 607, Ra. 183, BIG 64, Ash. I 104, ≈ Md. 34, 164 ¶ Hardly here T *üí- 'pierce' (Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 523) because of the unexpected labialized vw. *ü.

1866. *qoí||í∇ 'fur, mane' ([in HS] → 'wool') > **HS**: S: Ar χulí-at- {BK} 'vêtement', χilí-at- {Ln} 'any garment which one pulls\takes off from himself; garment which is bestowed upon a man (robe of honour)', {BK, Hv.} 'robe of honour' ¶ Ln. 791, BK I 617, Hv. 181 || Eg: [1] Eg MK χξω.† {EG} 'hide of wolf', {Fk.} 'hide of animal', Eg OK {EG} χξω 'Haut und sonstiger Abfall von Kleinvieh'] ?? [2] DEg χίτυ 'a garment' > Cpt: Sd ζοεϊτε hoeite, A ζαεϊτε χ₂αεϊτε, P ροϊτε χ₃οϊτε id.; ?? Eg fP {EG} ħξτυ 'Hülle, Kleid' ¶ EG III 35, 225, Fk. 184, Vc. 293, 315, Vc. VLE I 30-1 (on the phonological value of Cpt P 9), Crn. 299 || ?φ K: G χvirtli 'Winterhaar, Winterpelz (der Tiere)' ¶ Chx. 2355 || A: Tg: Ewk Bnt olmin 'mane' ¶ STM II 15 || ?φ M: WrM oíl, HIM oйл 'tuft of hair' (unless with *φ-) ¶ MED 604 || D (in McTm) *o|u]- 'mane, hair of head' > Tm ulāī id., Ml ulā 'mane (of horse\lion), man's hair' ¶ D #701; in Tm and Ml before the vw. *a of a derivative the opposition *o ↔ *u is neutralized (Zv. 65-7).

1867. *qAm∇ 'cry, make noise' > **K**: GZ *qama/*qma 'voice', *qam-/*qm- v. 'call' > OG qma, Mg χuma ≍ χзма ≍ χομα 'voice', Mg χumini 'noise', OG qma-ωqaw 'I cried', mo-qm-ob-a 'herbeirufen', Mg χum-ap-a 'call, call up' ('rufen, locken') ¶ FS K 492 and FS E 559 (*qam-/*qm-), K 266 and K² 339 (*qma-), Q 405 || **HS**: S *o✓χmm (× N *qum∇ 'prey, ask') > Ar ✓χmm v. G 'wail, weep violently', χamma θιυābi 'praised (so.)'; χamm- n. 'pleurs violents\amers' ¶ Ln. 806-7, BK I 628-9, Hv. 184 || D (in SD) *ama(-)]- 'tumult, uproar' > Tm amaī id., amaī 'noise, din', Ml amaī 'tumult, affray, cry, wail', Kn amakkaīa 'tumult' ¶ D ##166, 1055.

1868. *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize' > **IE**: NaIE *em-/*om- 'take, acquire, have' (× N *?em∇ 'seize, hold' [q.v. ffd.] × N *HEñom∇ 'take hold of' [q.v.]) ¶ WP I 207, P 310-1, WH I 400-2, Frn. 184-5, En. 184 || **HS** ✓*χm 'grasp' > Eg fP χmς 'seize, grasp' ¶ EG III 231, 281-2, Fk. 191 || S *o✓χmm > Ak ✓χmm G (inf. χamāmυ) 'pluck and gather (barley) (a primitive technique of harvesting without the use of a sickle)', 'gather to oneself', D (inf. χumnumυ) 'collect, pick up'; but Gz

✓χmy v. 'chain, tie, bind, shackle' (adduced in IS III) hardly belongs here (≠σ) ¶ CAD VI 58-9, Sd. 315, L G 262-3 || SOm: Hm {Bnd.} hΛm- 'hold, keep' ¶¶ Cal. 76, Ember ESS 36, ≈ Tk. I 123-4 || | D (in SD) *am(-ar-) 'seize firmly' > Kn amar id., 'embrace', Tu amaruni 'seize, hold', amāruni 'embrace, hold' (and in contamination with *am(-uŋk)-/*am(-ukk)- 'press down': Kn amuku, amiku 'press\hold firmly', amucu id., 'embrace', Tu amepuni 'press, hold in the arms'); but D *am(-uŋk)-/*am(-ukk)- ({GS} *am-) 'press down' (D #169, GS 108 [#282]) hardly belongs here, it may rather be equated with S: Hrs ✓ħmz 'press (smb.'s hand)' (Jo. H 60) ¶ D #169, Km. 282 ◇ ≈ IS III 128-30 (*qamΛ 'grasp': HS *χm-, D *am- 'press, squeeze' + *÷ Æ *am- in names of vessels and handles [unc. semantic rec. as 'grasp'] and *÷ Æ *mē- 'grasp').

1869. ₂ *qE|am▽ 'to dry' > K: GZ *qem-/*qm- vi. 'dry, wither' > OG qem-/qm-, G χm- id., OG ganm-qm-ar-i adj. 'dry', Mg χom- ~ χum- (inf. χom-ap-a ~ χum-ap-a), Lz χom- id.; ⇨ GZ *qm-el- adj. 'dry, dry land' > OG qmel- id., G χmel-, Mg χumla-, χomyla, χomila, Lz χom(b)ula- 'dry' ¶ K 263, 266, K² 335-6, 339, FS K 492-3, FS E 559-60 || | HS: Eg Md χm 'become too dry' (of liniment) ¶ EG III 277 || S *°✓χmr > Ak fOB ✓χmr (inf. χamāru) vi. 'dry up' ¶ Sd. 315.

1870. *qum▽ 'prey, ask' (← *exercise magic in order to fulfill one's wish) > HS: S *°✓χmm (× N *qAm▽ 'cry, make noise') > Ar ✓χmm G (pf. χamma) {Ln.} 'eulogize, speak well of', {BK} 'louer, combler d'éloges', {Hv.} 'praise so.', χamm- {BK} 'éloges excessifs' ¶ Ln. 807, BK I 828-9, Hv. 184 || Eg fP χm 'heilige Stätte, Kultstätte eines Gottes' > Eg fXVIII χm 'shrine, temple' ¶ EG III 280, Fk. 191 || | K *qwam- v. 'pray, thank' > Lz χom-: 0-χom-al-a 'religious feast, angel's day; prayerhouse', Sv qwam-: la-qwam 'prayerhouse', ma-qwam v. 'thank' ¶¶ FS K 496 || | A: NaT *um- v. 'ask for, covet' (× N *Xum▽ 'to wish, to covet', q.v. ffd.) || | ?σ D (in TmM) *°ō|ūma| 'rumour' > Tm, Ml ōma| id. ¶ D #1055.

1871. *qum?▽ 'to drink; beverage' > HS: S *χim?-at- '≈ coagulated milk, butter' > Ug χm?t 'butter, curd', Hb הַחֶמֶץ ḥem'ṣā 'thick curdled milk, sour cream', {GB} id., 'butter' (translated in LXX as βούτυρον), MHb הַחֶמֶץ ḥem'ṣā 'butter', JA [Trg.] חֶמֶץ חֵמֶץ ḥem'ṣā^at-ā 'cream, butter', Sb χm?t 'coagulated milk, butter, ghee', Sq {L} ḥami 'butter', Ak χimētū, Ak A χimātu 'ghee' ¶ KB 312, BDB #2529, GB 238, OLS 193, Js. 475, A #1040, BGMR 61, LLS 179, Sd. 346, CAD VI 189-90 ||

K *^oq|χm- > G χmev-/χmi- v. 'taste, drink' ('kosten, trinken, zu sich nehmen') ¶ Chx. 2375 || **A** *um∇- 'drink' > Tg *um(i)- v. 'drink' > Ewk um-, Sln, Orc imi-, Neg om-, Ud umi-, Ork umi- / umu-, Ul umi- / umu-, Nn omi-, WrMc omi-, Mc Sb omi-, Jrc {Md.} umi-r|la, {Kiy.} omi-ra id. ¶ STM II 266, Kiy. 126 [#534], Md. ChF 134 || **M** *umda- v. 'drink', derivatives: [1] *umdala- > MM [S] {H} undala- 'den Durst löschen', WrM umdala-, HIM ундла-х v. 'drink, quench one's thirst', [2] **M** *umdayan 'a drink' > WrM umdagan, HIM умдаа(н), унда, MM [S] undan id., [MA] unda'ān [unda,ān], MMgl undān 'ayran (sour buttermilk)', Mgl {Rm.} undo 'drink, beverage', {Lg.} undān 'babeurre, petit lait', Kl {Rm.} undān 'beverage', undḡ, unda, {KRS} ундн undḡn, Kl D {Rm.} umdḡ 'id., 'thirst', [3] **M** *umdayas- 'be thirsty' > MM [MA] unda'ās-, [S] umda,as- ~ unda,as-, [IM] undus-, WrM umdagas-, HIM умдааса-х, ундааса-х, Kl {Rm.} undās-, {KRS} ундас- undas-, Dx undasu- id. ¶ MED 874, Pp. MA 364, 449, Iw. 140, H 164, KRS 533, KW 449 || ? pKo {S} *mā- v. 'drink' > MKo mā-sí-, NKo masi- ¶ S QK #20, Nam 193, MLC 563 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *öme), DQA #642 (A *u|om∇ 'drink'), Pp. VG 69, S AJ 45, 285, 290, T DnJ 137, Rs. UAW 41, KW 457, IS I 248 ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248 (*H¹E¹mi 'suck' > U, A [T, M]).

1872. (₂?) *qam|ñb∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > **IE:** NaIE *ambhō(ḡ) du. 'both' > Gk ἄμφω id. || L ambō m., ntr., ambae f. id. | NaIE loc. *amb^hi / *mḡb^hi 'from both sides, around' > Gk ἄμφι- 'around', ἄμφι-ς 'on both sides' || L amb-, am-, an- pv. 'around' (amb-īō 'go around'), Osc am- 'amb-' (amfret 'they go around'), ampt 'around', Um AM-, AMBR- pv. 'around', amprehto 'ambito' | NaIE *mḡb^hi 'from both sides, around' > OI abhi-taḡ 'on both sides', Av aiwito 'ringsher', OI abhi- 'around' || Clt: Gl ambi- (Ἀμφί-δραυοί 'those living on both sides of the river Dravos'), W am(-), Crn, OBr, Br am-, em-, OIr imb-, imm- 'around' || ON umb, OHG, OSx umbi, NHG um, AS ymb, ymbe 'around' | with absence or loss of *m: ?? OI ubhāḡ, Av uwa- 'both' || ? BSl: Lt abū, Ltv abi, Pru abbai id. | Sl *oba id. (m., ntr.), *obě (f.) > OCS **ОБА** oba / f. **обѣ** obě, R, Blg 'оба / обе, SCr òba / òbje, Slv obā / obē, Cz oba / obě, Slk oba / obe, P oba / obie ¶ The loss of the labial cns. in IIr and BSl is not yet explained ¶ P 34-5, Bk. G 312, 327-8, FI 100, WH I 37-8, Bc. G 327, Flr. 60, YGM-1 12-4, M K 41-2, 107, Frn. 1, Glh. 446, Vr. 633, Ho. 412, Ho. S 80, Kb. 1064, Schz. 294, KM 802, ≠ EI 400 (*b^hōḡ 'both') || ?σ **HS:** S *✓χnb >

Ar $\chi an\bar{a}b-$, $\chi inn\bar{a}b-$ {BK} 'long, grand, haut', {Hv.} 'tall, long', Ak $\checkmark \chi nb$ (inf. $\chi an\bar{a}bu$, p. i- χnu) 'grow abundantly' ¶ BK I 636, Hv. 186, CAD VI 75-6 || U: [1] FV *ompa 'other, other (further) side' > Er ombō ombō, Mk ombā 'omba, {Ker.} ombā, {Ps.} ombā 'other, that of the opposite side', Δ {Jh.} omā id. || Chr: B umpal 'the other side', Chr {Szil.} umpake 'hinüber', L ум'бале, умба'лан 'far away' ('палан 'far away') || [2] U *-mp∇ 'more', sx. of cmpr. > F -mpī / -mpa- (uudempi / uudempa- 'newer'), Es -m / gen. -ma (nooree-m 'younger') || Lp N -b / -b'bo (ođđâsâb / ođđâsâb'bo- 'newer'), Lp S {Hs.} -be (nuore-be 'younger') || Hg -bb (újabbb 'newer') || Sm: Ne -мбой 'rather' (Һарка-мбой 'rather big' ← Һарка 'big') ¶¶ UEW 332, Coll. CG 260-1, Hs. 109-10, Ker. 100, Jh. 107, Ter. 385-6 ¶¶ The vw. *o- (for *a-) in *omp∇ may be due to the labializing infl. of *m.

1873. $_2 *q\Delta m_L \Delta_L \Delta$ (= $*qAm_L \Delta_L \Delta$?) 'fur, fell' > HS: S $^{\circ}\checkmark \chi ml$ > Ar $\chi aml-$ 'tapis à haute laine; plumage de l'autruche; cils', $\chi aml-at-$ 'tapis à haute laine; garni d'un effilé \ de franges' ¶ BK I 634 || B: Ah elām 'skin; hair of animal', Sll īlēm, BSn, Ntf ilām, Izn aylām ∂ ilām, Rf ilām, Zng {TC} iyām 'peau', pl. ellammūn; ?φ (B *g < N *q??): Ah aġlim (pl. iġlimān) 'peau ouverte, tannée', Kb aġwlim (pl. iġwālman), Wrg aġlim, CM {NZ} aġwlim ∂ aġlim ∂ awlim, Nf uglim, Awj glim 'skin' ¶ Fc. 1075-6, Dl. 257, Ds. 215, Dlh. Ou 96, TC D 5, TC Z 317, NZ 780-1 || K *qaml- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goats' > OG qaml- 'footgear', G $\chi aml-$ 'ε soft shoes', Sv qamr-, qemār- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goat\calf' ¶ K 263, K² 333, FS K 493.

1874. $_2 *qEn|nK\Delta$ 'strangle, kill' > IE $*\hat{x}enk|k-$ '≈ wage war, kill' > Ht henkan-, hinkan- 'death, deadly disease' || ? NaIE $*enk|k-$ 'pursue the enemy; death' (x $**\eta\hat{k}-$ < N $*\bar{n}\hat{a}K\hat{a}$ 'pursue [the enemy], wage war, kill', q.v.) > Gmc $*anht\bar{o}$ ({EI} < $*onk\hat{t}eh_{\bar{a}}$) > OHG $\bar{a}hta$ 'hostile persecution', AS $\bar{o}ht$ id., 'oppression', NHG $Acht$ 'outlawry, ostracism' || OIr $\acute{e}c$, Nlr eag , MW $angheu$, W $angau$, Cm $ancow$, Br $ankou$ 'death' (< NaIE $*\eta\hat{k}(t)u-$), OIr $\acute{e}cht$ 'Totschlag' ({P} < $*e|anktu-$ → $*\eta\hat{k}tu-$) ¶ Pv. III 296-301, P 45, EI 150, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, LP § 8.1, Thr. § 31, YGM-1 9 || HS: S $^{\circ}\checkmark \chi nk$ v. 'strangle' > Hb $\checkmark \chi nk$, Sr $\checkmark \chi nk$, Mh, Hrs, Jb. E/C $\checkmark \chi nk$, Sq {L} $\checkmark \chi nk$, Gz $\checkmark \chi nk$, Ak $\chi an\bar{a}k\bar{u}$ id., Ar $\checkmark \chi nq$ G id., 'throttle' ¶ KB 322, Br. 244, Ln. 818, Hv. 187, BK I 642, Sd. 320, CAD VI 77, L G 263, Jo. M 44, Jo. H

141 ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 s.v. *r¹äḱ¹ḥ 'pursue (the enemy)' (equates IE *Henk̄- with M, Tg neke-, S *√nḱm, and B *√nḱH, see N *n̄æḱæ '↑').

1875. *qañt̄∇ 'forehead, front' > HS: S *√χnt̄ 'front' > Jb C χan¹t̄i 'front, front part of anything', Mh χ3n¹t̄ay 'front udder of a camel', Hrs χ3n¹t̄i 'one of the four fore-teats of the camel' ¶ Jo. J 303, Jo. M 445, Jo. H 141 || Eg fP χnt̄ 'face, the front part of the head' (t < *-t̄-t, where *-t̄ is a HS sx. of singularity) ⇨ Eg fP χnt̄ω, χnty 'in front, in front of' ¶ EG III 302-3, Fk. 194 ¶ ≠ Cal. 184-5, Coh. 107, and Pilshch. HChS 124; all of them connect Eg χnt̄ with Hs hanč̄i 'nose', which is untenable in the light of Chadic etl. studies (Stl. ZCh 185 [#364], OS #441); Ember PAOE § 6.2 and OS #1340 (Eg χnt̄ *÷ Hb ḥoṭ̄em and Ar χaṭ̄m- 'nose, beak' [a comparison rejected in Cal. 184-5]) || IE *xant- (Pv.) *A₁ent-) 'forehead, front' > Ht hant- 'forehead, front(age)', (originally nom.-accus. sg. ntr.) hanza 'in front') || NaIE *ant- > Gk ἄντι prep. (fossilized loc.) 'opposite, against', ἄντα (fossilized accus.) 'face to face', ἄντάω v. 'face, meet' || OI 'anti 'before, near', 'anta- 'end, limit' || L ante 'in front of', antēs 'front rows', antiae 'forelock' || OIr étan 'forehead' (< *anton-) || Gt anda- 'opposite, against', and 'entlang, über ... hin', OHG endi, ON erni 'forehead' || Lt añtis 'bosom, breast', añt on, upon; towards' || pTc *ānte > Tc: A ānt, B ānte 'surface, forehead' ¶ Pv. III 89-96, Ts. E I 149-53, P 48-50, EI 209 (*h₂ent- 'forehead'), 60 (*h₂enti 'in front'), WH I 53-4, M K I 36, F I 113-4, Fs. 46, Vr. 103, Kb. 199, EWA II 1068-9, Frn. 11-2, Wn. 163, Ad. 43 || A *ant¹∇ 'the foreside, sunny side' > Tg *ant∇ > WrMc antu 'the foreside, the sunny\southern side of a mountain', Ud anta 'the southern slope of the mountain' ¶ Z 15, STM I 44 || pJ {S} antuma 'east' > OJ aduma id. ¶ S QJ #105, Mr. 389 || ?? Ko: according to Rm., Ko ant^hä, ant^he 'for, fore, before, in the presence of' (locative) ¶ Rm. SKE 11, Rm. KG 150 || ⇨ A {SDM97} *ant¹a¹k¹∇ 'slope, hill' (if ← *'front slope') > Tg *antaga 'southern slope of the mountain' > Ewk antaxa id., Ewk, Neg antaxa 'place in the full blaze of the sun', Neg antaxaigdā, āntaxudā, antayudā) 'southern slope\side', Lm antax 'southern woody slope of the mountain', Nn Nh antax¹ta 'sunny side' ¶ STM I 44 || ?σ pKo {S} *ant₁k₁h₁ 'hill' > MKo ant^hak, NKo ant^hak ¶ S QK #220, Nam 366 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 11, SDM97 (A *anta¹k¹a 'hill, slope'), DQA #38 (A *ant¹a id.) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. 'περῆδ' qant̄ḥ and IS SS 336 [#8.4]; in both sources IE is compared with A (Tg and Ko) and with HS (Eg and Hs

hančī). The S facts (Jb, etc.) were unknown to IS, because in 1960's most SES lgs. were not yet described. The discovery of the word χan¹ti 'front, front part' in Jb was a brilliant confirmation of IS's hypothesis in S historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qan¹ṭ, comparable with the discovery of lrs. in Ht (confirming Saussure's hyp. of "sonantic coefficients"). Both are linguistic paramounts of Leverrier's prediction of the existence of Neptune long before it was actually discovered ◊ ≈ Gr. II #35 (*hant 'before').

1876. (₂?) *qap∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' > HS: Eg MK {Fk.} χfχf v. 'flood', Eg G χfχf v. 'pour, let stream (a stream)' (of gods), Eg fP χfχf.t 'streaming out' n. act. (metaphorically of fire)] An alt. cognate: Eg fP ḥ^εp_y 'stream (the Nile), flood' ¶ EG III 42-3, 273, Fk. 164, 190 || IE *xap- (M) h₂ep-) ~ *xab- (Pv.) *A₁eb-) 'river, (stream of) water' > Ht hapa-, Pal hāpnas, Lw hāpa/ī- 'river', hapa/i- v. 'irrigate, water' || NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river' (× N *?'a' bH∇ 'water, watercourse' [q.v.]): *ab- > OIr ab (gen. abae) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} *abonā id. > W afon, OCrn auon, Crn avon, MBr aupn, auen, Br aven 'river'; OBrtt Abona (name of a river), ᾠβος 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) || L amnis '(*<* *abnis) 'stream of water, river' || NaIE *a(:)p- > OI ap-/āp-, Av ap- (nom. sg. af-š), OPrs ap- 'water' || Pru ape 'creek, small river'; ??σ Lt ùpè, Ltv upe 'river, stream' (u- is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B āp- 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-5, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 (*h₂eb^(h)- 'river'), 636 (*h₂ēp- ~ *h₂ep- 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. 166 || ζ A: T *°ab- (× N *χaw∇ 'to rain, to spurt', q.v. ffd.) > OT U ζ h.l. ab- v. 'spurt out' (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq- in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1.

1877. *qup∇ (or *qūp∇?) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover' > K *°q|χup- 'a lid, a cover' > G χup- 'lid (of a vessel)'; χup- 'provide (sth.) with a lid\cover, to cover' ¶ Chx. 2411, DCh. 1760 || HS: WS *✓χp_w|y v. 'cover' > BHb ✓ḥp_w|y (pf. Ḥḫḥ ḥā¹pā) v. G 'cover, veil', JEA ✓ḥp_w (pf. Ḥḫḥ ḥ^apā) 'cover, provide with a roof', Sr |Ḥḥ ✓ḥp_w v. G 'cover', Ar ✓χfy (pf. χafīya, ip. -χfay-) vt. G 'conceal', Amh ʕffīya 'lid (of box), cover (of pan)' ¶ KB 325, Br. 249, Lv. II 93, BK I 604-5, Hv. 178, L CAD 155 || EC: Or {Th., Brl.} uffacū 'cover oneself, wear clothes', {Grg.} uffisa vi. 'clothe', ufaḏḏa- 'be dressed, wear', {Grg., Brl.}

uffata 'clothes' (but Or *uwwisa* ~ *uyyisa* vi. 'clothe', Or Wt {Sr.} *ūwisa* vt. 'cover' belong to N ***q'ûy**∇ ~ ***q'æw**∇ 'to wrap, to cover', q.v.) | HEC {Hd.} *if- 'be covered' (× N ***yabE** ~ ***yapE** 'to cover, to fence, to protect', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Th. 305, Brl. 407, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || **D** (in SD) ***uppa** > Kn *ubbar̄a* 'wooden beam for locking a door; a club', Kdg *ubba* 'poles in slots forming a gate' ¶ DED #544, ≈ D #683 (*÷ the √ of Tm *ur̄alay* 'horizontal bar') || **A**: pJ {S} ***ʒp-** 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ *op-*, *òpòp-*, J: T ò, K/Kg ò- ¶ S QJ #1047, Mr. 742-3 ||| A d. ≈ ***up-si** > Tg ***upsi** 'clothes' > Neg *upsi* 'clothes, skirt (of shamans)', Ul *upsi* 'shaman's clothes', Nn B *ufsi* 'belt (made of badger's skin)' ¶ STM II 281 || pKo {S} ***psí-** 'put on (a hat)' > MKo *psí-*, *sí-*, NKo *ssi-* ¶ S QK #900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1024 ¶¶ DQA #644 (pA ***jòpe-** v. 'cover, wear'; incl. J, Ko, Tg).

1878. (₂?) ***q'a'p'ʔ'**∇ 'bank, shore' > HS: Eg WP/L/G *χfʒʒ.t* 'bank(s) of waterway' ¶ EG III 271, Fk. 190 || CS ***χāp-** (~ ***χayp-**?) 'bank, shore' > BHb *ḥōp* (pl. MHb *ḥōp̄īm*), Ug *χp* 'shore/bank', Aram ***hāp-** (↳ MHb {Js.} *ḥāp* 'border, shore' [to rely on Js.'s vocalization] and Ar *hāf-at-*, Ar SL *hāffat-* 'margin, border, side'), Ar *خيف* *χayf-* {BK} 'pente rapide d'une montagne; plage, étendue de pays', {Hv.} 'declivity of a mountain, side' ⇔ √*χyf* (pf. *χayafa*) v. 'come down and settle in a plain'; S ↳ Eg (EgSSc) {Alb., Hlk., SivCR} *χa-pu* 'shore'; Ug (AkSc) pl. *χuppātu* (pl. of Ug *χupp(at)u*?) does not necessarily mean 'shore' and belong here, it may be a pl. of Ak *χuppu* 'depression, hole'. Alternatively, the S word may be reconstructed as ***χawipu**, which will account both for Hb *hōp-* and for Ar *χayf-*, as well as for Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *χuppātu* if it is read as *χōpātu* ¶ KB 286, A #1064, OLS 195, Fr. I 399-400, 444, Hv. 131, 150, 192, Ln. 672, 832-3, BK I 655-6, Hnr. 139, Alb. ARI 220, SivCR 10, 84, Hlk. #518, Js. 490 || **K**: G I *χabo* 'bank of a river/stream' (↳ Zan?), Mg *χabo* 'ravine' ¶ Chx. 2289, Gh1. 735, K² 335 || ??φ **IE**: Arm *ափն* *apʰn* 'bank, shore' of uncertain etymological history (unless it can be traced to IE ***āper-o-** 'shore, mainland' < N ***ʔP∇r**∇ '(river-)bank', q.v.) ¶ Ach. I 365, H 515 ◇ Ach. l.c. (connection between Arm *apʰn* 'shore' and the S √) ◇ K *-b- (for the expected *-p-) still needs explaining.

1879. √ ***q'æ'pʔ**∇ (more plausible than ***q'æ'pʔ**∇) 'seize, hold' > HS: Eg fP *χfʔ* 'grasp, make captures in war', *χfʔ* 'fist' ¶ EG III 272-3, Fk.

190 || C: SC: Irq {Wh.} -húw- v. 'take' || ? ı Dhl {EEN} hap 'snatch quickly' ¶ Wh. SI s.v., EEN 26, AD SF 228 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ OS) Ak χapûm 'verpacken' (Sd. 322), which goes back to S *✓χpy 'cover' ¶¶ Cal. 76 (Eg χfϑ *÷ Ar ✓χfϑ 'être saisi de vertige ... et tomber par terre; porter a qn. un coup de sabre'), ≠ OS #2032 (Eg, *÷ Ak χapû, *÷ WCh: Bd gaf, Ngz gafau†'seize', etc.), ≈ Tk. I 118 || IE: NaIE *ap-/ *ēp- '≈ touch, grasp' (× N *ʔa'P∇ 'take, seize') > OI āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av apaye'ti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apiō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later coepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἄφάω ~ ἄφάω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἄψω, aor. ἤψα), ἄφῆ 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?? AS æfna, éfnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. #333, MK I 76, ME I 167, WH I 57-8, FI 126, Ho. 8 || A {DQA} *ap'∇- v. 'take, hold' (× N *ʔa'P∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS SS 345 [#10.10] (Eg, Ar ✓χfϑ, IE, A *ap'-) ◇ Qu., because both supposed cognates of HS (NaIE *ap-/ *ēp- and A *ap'-) have an alt. et.

1880. *qapUR∇ - *qapU-(R∇) 'to protect, to help' > HS: S *°✓χpr, prm. *-χpur- > Ar ✓χfr (ip. -χfur-) 'protect, guard from injury' ¶ Ln. 772, BK I 600-1, Hv. 176-7 || A: M *abura- v. 'save, rescue, help' > MM abura- [S] id., [HI] 'rescue, save', WrM abura-, HIM авра-х id., 'help', WrO abura- 'save, rescue, deliver', Kl авр-, {Rm.} awr̥-, Brt aḅap-, Dg {T} awra- id., 'protect', Ord awu'ra- v. 'save' ¶ H 2, Ms. H 33, MED 6, Ms. O 38, Chr. 21, KRS 22, KW 20, Krg. 13, T DgJ 118 || U: FU (att. in BF) *°ap∇ 'help' > F apu n. 'help, aid', Krl A/Ld, Vp abu, Es abi, Lv a'b_ id. ¶ SK 22, SSA I 80 ◇ The element *R∇ may be either an integral part of the N word (lost in FU) or an optional component (second element of a cd.).

1881. *qer∇ '(wild) ox' > K: GZ *qar- 'bull, ox' > OG qar-, G χar-, Mg, Lz χož- ¶ FS K 294, FS E 561, K² 334 || D: [1] SD *ēṛ 'bull' (× N *he,ʔ|y,r'E' 'male', q.v. ffd.) || [2] *eru- - *erō 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs. denoting sex (× N *ʔerq'i' '∈ ruminant', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D ##815-6, 917, GS 209 [##529, 530] || HS: EC: Rn hêr 'ox', Brj {Hw.} harʔay 'plough ox, bull' ¶ PG 139, Ss. B 92 || ? Eg fOK χry.t 'Schlachtvieh' (× χry.t 'butchery') ¶ EG III 322-3, Fk. 196.

1882. *qUR'E' 'bend, incline' > **K**: MG, G χr - vi. 'bend' ¶ Chx. 2385-6, DCh. 1754, Kl. 261-2 || **HS**: Eg G $\chi \exists$ 'bend one's back in respect' ¶ EG III 223, ≠ Tk. SCC 93 [23.4] || **A**: Tg * $\dot{u}r$ - vt. 'bend' > Lm A/O uru -, Ork $urru$ -, uru -, Nn Nh $urili$ -, $urizw\exists n$ -, Nn KU $ur\exists ri$ - vt. 'bend', Ewk $urik\exists n$ -, Neg $uyix\exists n$ -, Ul $ur\bar{i}n$ -, Nn Nh $uriz$ -, Nn KU $ur\acute{\exists}$ - vi. 'bend, bend down', WrMc $ur\chi u$ 'crooked', $ur\chi u$ - vi. 'bow, bend, incline' ¶ STM II 285.

1883. *qurV 'to strike, to chop' > **HS**: S * $\check{v}\chi rr$, * $^{\circ}\chi urr$ - > Ar $\check{v}\chi rr$ G (ip. $-\chi urru$) 'fendre, couper', Sh (pf. $\text{?a}\chi arra$) 'cut down', Ak $\wedge \chi ar\bar{a}ru$ 'to grind', Ak NB $\chi arru$ adj. (describing flour ground in some special way) ¶ BK I 551, Hv. 160, CAD VI 91-2, 114 || ? Ch ({JS} * $\check{v}wr$): WCh: Dr {Nw.} $w\acute{a}r\grave{e}$ v. 'beat (so.)', Fyer {J} $wur\hat{i}$ 'schlagen' ||| ECh: Jg {J} ?or id. ¶ Nw. KL 134, J R 90, J J 116 || **A**: NaT * ur - > OT {DTS} ur -, {Cl.} or - v. 'strike (so. or sth.)', MT, XwT, Chg, MQp [CC], Osm ur -, MQp {TAG} wur - ~ $\bar{u}r$ -, Tk vur -, Az, CrTt vur -, Tkm, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, QBlq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Ln, Tv ur -, Qzq $\ddot{u}r$ -, VTt, Bsh ?r -, Chv $\Delta v\bar{b}r$ - v. 'strike' ¶ DTS 614, Cl. 194-5, ET Gl 599-601, Jeg. 48-9, Fed. I 107-8 || **D** * ur - v. 'strike against, butt, gore' > Kui $ubga$ - (< * ug - ba -) id., Ku ur - v. 'butt, gore', Prj ud - v. 'crush (nits, lice)', Knd ur -, Png uz -, Mnd uy - v. id., 'butt, gore (with horns)' ¶¶ D #706.

1884. *q'u'rV 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit' > **HS**: S * χurr - 'hole, aperture; pit' > Sr $\text{?}\hat{u}r\bar{a}$ 'hole, aperture', Ug χr 'cave, pit, grave' (OLS: 'caverna, fosa, tumba'), $\chi r\ddot{t}$ 'cave, grave' ('caverna, sepultura'), Ar χurr - 'mouth of a mill, the place of a mill into which the wheat is thrown', {BK} 'trou de la meule dans lequel on jette le grain pour être moulu', Hb $\text{?}\hat{u}r \sim \text{?}\hat{u}r \hat{h}\bar{o}r$, Ak $v\chi urru$, Eb χur - 'hole'; Gz $\check{v}\chi rw$ v. 'pierce, perforate, make a hole'; Ak fOB $\chi ar\bar{a}ru$ 'to dig, to groove', $\chi arru$ adj. 'dug up' ¶ Br. 253, JPS 134, OLS 196, 199-200, Ln. 715, BK I 551, Sd. 359, CAD VI 91-2, 114, 252-3, LG 265 || **K**: GZ {K} * $qwer$ -/* qwr -, {FS} * qur - 'make holes, pierce' > Mg $r\chi u$ -, $r\chi v$ -, χur -, χvir - (msd. $r\chi uala$) 'make a hole, pierce', Lz χv -, χ - (msd. o - χ - u) id., Sv $qw\bar{i}r$ -/ qwr - id., la - qwr - a 'window'; \leftrightarrow GZ {K} * $qwr\bar{e}l$ - 'slit, hole' > OG $qur\bar{e}l$ - 'animal's hole', G $\chi v\bar{r}el$ - id., 'cave, hole', eMg * $quru$ > Mg χuru (in the place-name $tunti\check{s} \chi uru$ 'Bärenhöhle, Bärenschlucht'), Sv $quru$ (\leftarrow eMg) 'hole, hollow in a tree, cave' ¶¶ K 265-6, K² 337-8, FS K 500-1, FS E 569, DCh. 1746, Chx. 2356, Dn s.v. $qw\bar{i}r$ -, GP 312 || **A**: T * or - v. 'dig' > Xk or - id., Chv Δvar - id., Chv var - 'bury (sth. in the ground),

bury sth. in the mud\ground by trampling it down'; T *or 'ditch' > Tk or, Tkm, Qmq, Qzq or 'ditch, trench', Nog or id., 'storage pit that is dug in the ground', CrTt, Qrg, Qq or, Bsh ur 'ditch', Chv var 'narrow gully (ложбина)' ⇨ NaT *oru ~ *ora 'pit' > OT {CL}, Qp XIV {CL} orū 'a storage pit dug in the ground', Sg {RL} orI, Chg, ET, Xk, Shor ora 'grain pit'; T ⇨ Klm {Rm.} ur ~ ūr 'pit, depression' ¶ Cl. 197, ET Gl 466-8, Serg. 14, Jeg. 47, KW 450 || M *örüm 'borer' > WrM örüm {Kow.} 'perçoir, alésoir, vrille, tarière, foret', {MED} 'borer, auger, gimlet', HIM өрөм, Brt үрэм, Mnr E/H {MYC} urəm 'borer, drill, auger', Ord ü'rü'm 'tarière, vrille, vilebrequin, foret', Klm өрм örm 'Bohrer (kleiner als бурү)' ¶ Kow. 584, MED 644, Ms. O 764, KW 300, Chr. 514, MYC 549 || Tg *urī- v. 'scoop, dig out' > Ewk urī-, Neg oyl- 'draw out, dig out', Ork uri- 'take out, draw out meat from a cauldron', urikku 'hook for drawing out meat from a cauldron', Ewk urīwun id., 'stick for digging edible tubers', Lm uri- 'draw out meat\fish from a cauldron', Sln orū- 'pull out', Ud ui-, (?) WrMc var-a- v. 'scoop, ladle, pour out food from a cauldron into a dish', Nn Nh/B orl 'a scoop', Nn B orl- 'pour in', Nn Nh orlčl- v. 'scoop, dig out' ¶ STM II 23, 284 ¶¶ DQA #2532 (A *örile 'to dig': T, M, Tg) || D *ur∇ 'pierce' > Tm uru∇u 'pierce through, penetrate (as an arrow, needle)', Ml uru∇uka id., Kn urcu, uccu 'enter into and go out on the other side, penetrate', Tu urumbuni v. 'bore', Krx hur-, huř- 'strike at and penetrate, goad, thrust' ¶¶ D #663 ¶¶ The unexpected *-r- (instead of *-r̥-) is still puzzling ◇ IS MS 357 (*qur), IS SS #8.2.

1885. *qe_l?_lr∇ or *qer_l?_l∇ 'brook, stream' > HS: EC *har- 'pond, brook' > Sa ar-a 'river, brook', Sml har-o 'lake, pond', Rn {PG} hár 'hollow where water collects in the rainy season; (dry) pond', Arr {Ss.} har-u 'river' (not mentioned in Hw. A), Or har-ō 'swamp, artificial pond', {Th.} hārō 'swamp', {Brl.} har-ó (nom. haron) 'palude, stagno, lago', Or E {Hw.} har-ō (nom. har-i) 'lake', Gdl har-tot 'reservoir', Kns hār-ta id., 'artificial pond', ?? Brj har- v. 'flow' ¶ Ss. B 91, ZMO 183, PG 136, Th. 191, Brl. 203 || S *χarr- > Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ CAD VI 114 || D: SD *ēri 'lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm ēri id., 'large tank', Ml ēri 'stakes to support banking work, bank', Kn ēri 'tank, bank of a tank, raised bank', Kdg e'ri 'parapet of well, bund of tank (in paddy-fields)', Tu ēri 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D #901 || K *oq|χ∇r|č- > Mg χ3rč-i 'brook, stream' ¶ Q

410 ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters rather than of an intervocalic *-r-, which suggests that N *r was either preceded or followed by another cns., most probably by *ʔ or *h (that are lost in Ak) ◇ Blz. LNA #21 (suggested to add Ak and D + unc.: the FU and IE reflexes of N *garⁱ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave', q.v.).

1886. *qaRP_∇ 'to pluck and gather' ([in descendant language] → 'to harvest', [in A] → 'cereal') > HS: S *^o✓χrp v. 'pluck, harvest' > Ar **خرف** ✓χrf G (χarafa / χrufu) v. 'pluck and gather (fruit)' ({Fr.} 'decerpit collegitque de arbore [fructus], collegit fructus humi jacentes'), OYmn ✓χrp TD {Slw.} 'Traubenlese halten'; S *^lχurup-, *χarp- 'autumn and winter' (← *'harvest-time') > Ak χarpū 'early autumn', BHb **חָרֵף** ḥorep 'winter', Ug {OLS} χrpnt 'autumn', Ar **خُرُف** χuruf- 'tempus quo ad autumnum exeunt', 'saison voisine de l'automne', χarīf- 'autumn', OSA χrf 'autumn, autumn crops' ¶ KBR 356, Fr. I 478, BK I 562, Hv. 163-4, Slw. 76, OLS 198 || IE *xa|orP- > Ht harpas, harpiyas {Ts.} 'feast of harvest' ('Erntefeste') (unless ir means {Pv.} 'feast of winter and summer') ¶ Ts. EI 181, Pv. III 183-4 || **Ⓐ**: NaT *arpa 'barley' > OT arpa ({Cl.} arpā), MQp, MOg, XwT, Chg arpa, Tk arpa, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Uz, Xlj, Qrg arpa, ET a(r)pa, Alt, Xk arba, Ln арга, Slr arfa ~ arpa, Chv urpa id. ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 176-7, TL 460-1 || M *arbay (← T?) 'barley' > MM [MA] arbay, WrM arbay, HIM арвай, Brt арбай id., WrO arbai id., arba id., 'oats', Mnr H {SM} šb_ē, {T} spē 'spelt' ('épeautre'), Kl D {KRS} арва, {Rm.} arwā 'oats', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} arwā 'barley'; MMgl arpa 'barley' is certainly a loan from T; M ⇨ Tv arbay ¶ PMA 104, MED 49, SM 370, Iw. 87, T 358, KRS 47, KW 15, Chr. 55, Krg. 53 || Tg: WrMc arfa 'oats, barley' ¶ STM 52 ¶ S CNM believes that arfa is a loan from M, but f suggests that it is not || pJ {Vv., S} *ápá 'millet' > OJ ápá, J: T áwa, K àwá, Kg awá ¶ S QJ #76, Mr. 388 ¶ Pp. VG I 87, DQA #51 (A *àrp'á 'barley, millet') ◇ AD NM #15, Vv. AEN 3, ≈ S CNM 12.

1887. (₂?) *qoR_∇ṽ_ṽṽ 'cut into, incise, make a hole' > K: GZ {K²} *qwreṽ-/*qwriṽ- 'make holes, pierce' > OG qur iṽ- [qwriṽ-], G χvreṽ-/χvriṽ-, Mg χviraṽ-/χviriṽ- id., χviraṽe 'hole' ¶ K 265-6, ≈ K² 338 (*qwreṽ- is *qwer- +ext.), FS K 500-1, FS E 569 || HS: CS *✓χ|hrṽ 'cut into, incise' > MHb ✓hrṽ v. 'chisel, engrave', Sr ✓hrṽ [Psh.] 'cut into' ('incidit' - Lv. 21.5, Dt. 14.12), {JPS} 'scrape, scratch', BHb **חָרַף** ḥereṽ

'graving tool', Pun ḥrṭṭṭ {Ldz.} 'sculpture, engraving, engraved object' (?), {HJ} n. of unknown meaning, derived from √ḥrṭ 'engrave' ¶ GB 259, KB 338-9, Js. 501, Br. 256, JPS 157, HJ 404, Ldz. I 21 || ?σ A: NaT *orṭu 'animal's hole' > OT {Cl.} ordū 'hole of a rodent'; (×T *orta 'middle'): Qzq/Brb {RI.} orda, Tlt {RI.} ordo 'hole of an animal', Qq orda id., 'lair', Žilanniḡ ordasi 'snake's hole' ¶ Cl. 203, RI. I 1072, KrkR 498, ET Gl 474-6 ¶ The NaT lax *ṭ (for the expected tense *t'), if correct, has not yet been explained (positional change in a cluster?).

1888. *qAṛiṭ (or *qAṛiṭ) 'filth, dirt, faeces' > HS: WS *√ḫrṭ 'defecate' > Hb מִאֲרָאִים ḥārāʾīm pl. 'dung', Ug √ḫrṭ v. 'defecate', ḫrṭu 'faeces, excrement', Sr √ḫry v. G 'mute (as birds)', 𐤎𐤍𐤏 ḥer'y-ā, JEA {SI.} אֲרִיִּת ḥry-? (unk. voc.) 'excrement', Ar √ḫrṭ G (pf. ḫariṭa, ip. -ḫraṭ-) 'relieve one's bowels', ḫurṭ- 'excrement', Ar SL ḫarāṭ- id., Tgy √ḥrṭ G (pf. ḥḥḥ ḥarṭe), Tgr √ḥrṭ (pf. ḥḥḥ ḥarṭa) (with a secondary ṣ for ṭ) 'defecate', Tgr ḥḥḥ ḥarṭṣ, Sq {L} ḥar'yomoh 'excrement' ¶ KB 335, OLS 197, Ln. 715, BK I 552, Hv. 160, Dlm. 151 (JEA אֲרִיִּת ḥar'y-ā), Sl. 482, Br. 253, JPS 155-7, LH 70, LLS 191, MiK I #1.136 || Eg {Cm.} ḥry.t, ḥry(.t) 'faeces, dung', DEg ḥr.t, ḥṣyr.t 'filth, faeces' > Cpt: Sd زوئيرε hoεire, B زوئيرε hoiri 'faeces, dung' ¶ Vc. 292, Er. 325, Crn. 291 || EC: Af {PH} ḥāra, Sa {R} ha'rā 'faeces', Sml {ZMO, DSI} ḥār, Sml N {Abr.} ḥār 'faeces, excrement', Sml ḥār- v. 'defecate', Bn ḥār 'diarrhoea', Rn {PG} ḥār id., 'faeces, dung', ? Or M {AD} hōrī 'tartar (on teeth)', ? HEC: Hd hara-, Kmb haro- 'mud' || SC: Irq {Wh.} hūrōnda 'sediment (of wine)', {MQK} horondá 'solid left-overs of beer after straining' ¶ AD SF 158-9, PH 123, ≈ Hn. S 62 (pSam *hār 'diarrhoea'), PG 133, MQK 52 ¶¶ AD SF 158-9, OS #1334, ≈ #1336 || K *oq|ḫr- > G ḫr-il-i 'dirt on a grinding-stone' ¶ DCh. 1755 || D (in SD) *aṛukk- 'dirt, filth' > Tm aṛukku id., 'excrement, stain', Ml aṛukku 'dirt, filth', Td öšk 'dirty', Tu aḏ(a)ka 'an unclean place' ¶ D #283 || ? IE: Ht harra- 'verunreinigen, beflecken' (Frd. HW EH 4) or 'verunreinigen' (Ts. W 16, Ts. EI 169-70) ¶ Valid unless this verb (or this semantic variant of the verb) is interpreted as 'spoil' and identified with ḥar(r)a- 'crush, pound, ruin, destroy' (Pv. III 135-7) ◇ DEg ḥṣyr.t and Cpt زوئيرε & zoiiri suggest the presence of a N word-medial *-ṣṭ-, which can also explain the unexpected consonant ḥ- (for or besides the reg. h- < HS *ḫ- < N *q-) in Sml and Af (HS *ḫṣ > [as.] *ḥṣ > *ḥ). The absence of *ṣ in K suggests

that the word-medial N lr. cannot be N *ɹ̥, but only *ɹ. If the N etymon is *qAɹVɹi?V, the absence of *ɹ in Eg ħry.t, ħry(.t) and in WS *✓χɹ? can be explained by syntagmatic merger *ħɹ > ħ and *χɹ > *χ.

1889. *q^{ɹ̥}ä'sV 'remember, have in mind' > HS: S *°✓χ^{ɹ̥}šš' > Ak χasāsū 'remember, recall'; but hardly here Gz ✓χšš v. 'seek, look for' (which would have pointed to a pS *✓χšš) ¶ Sd. 329-30, LG 266 || EC: Sa {R} ħensū 'thought, remembrance', ħensū-s- vt. 'remind' ¶ R S II 190, 410, 418 || K: GZ {K} *qš-0(w)- v. 'remember' > OG ga-qsoš 'you do not remember' (Mt. 16.9), msd. qsošna, G χsoV- v. 'remember', Mg šš- ~ šu-, Lz šu- id.; ⇨ GZ *qš-en- v. 'remind' > OG moiqsena '(he) remembered', G χsen- v. 'remind, recollect; inform', Mg, Lz šin- v. 'remind so., remember' ¶ K 267, K² 341-2, FS K 500 (*qš-) || A: T *^{ɹ̥}ä's 'memory' > CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Uz, Ln es, ET, Uz Δ äs, VTt bš, Bsh bθ 'memory, mind', Chv as 'memory', Tkm Δ äθ-t- v. 'remember'; to be distinguished from T *us > OT us 'intelligence, the power of discrimination' ¶ Chv a- points to a pT ä-, while VTt and Bsh b- suggest NaT *e- ¶ ET Gl 306, NogR 439-40, KrkR 199, BN 50, Cl. 240, Jeg. 33, Fed. I 60-1, Md. 35, 164 (pT *e-s- v. 'remember') || M *asara- 'take care of (so.), have concern' > MM asara- [S] {H}, [MA] {Pp.} 'take care of' ('besorgen, in Obhut nehmen'), [IM] 'keep, guard (хранить)', [HI] {Lew.} 'protéger, aider', {Ms.} 'élever', WrM, WrO asara-, HIM аспа-, Kl асп- асп- 'take care of, be compassionate', Ord asra- 'take care of'; d.: M *asara 'care, protection; concern' > WrO asara id., WrM asara, HIM аспал id., 'compassion', Ord, MMgl {Iw.} asara 'protection, soins dévoués' ¶ H 9, P MA 107, 433, Ms. H 37, Lew. II 11, MED 56, Iw. 87, Krg. 15-6, Ma. O 32-3, KRS 5, KW 16 ¶ M *a- < *ä- due to vw. harmony || ?σ NrTg *eske- 'praise, glorify' > Ewk 3sk3-, Lm 3sk3- id. ¶ STM II 468 || pKo {S} *às-kàb- 'be regrettable\pitiful; be precious\valuable' > MKo às-kàp/w-, NKo aḱap/w- id., pKo *às-kí- v. 'spare, grudge; value, esteem' > MKo às-kí-, NKo aḱi- id. ¶ S QK #629, Nam 349, MLC 1067 || ??σ pJ {S} *ìsàm- 'encourage, admonish' > OJ ìsàm-, J: T/Kg isamé-, K ísámé- ¶ S QJ #1076, Mr. 699 ¶¶ DQA #468 (A *èš^{ɹ̥}i 'take care of') ¶¶ Ch and M point to pA *ä-, while VTt and Bsh b- (apparently suggesting NaT *e- < A *e-) is still to be explained.

1890. ₂ *qatV '€ corn' > HS: Eg G χtyw 'corn, cereals (?)' ¶ EG III 349 || IE: NaIE *ades- / *ados- '€ corn' > L ador (gen. adoris) '€

grain, spelt' || Gt atisk '(?) Saat', OHG ez̄zisk, MHG ez̄zisch 'seed', NGr Δ Esch, NGr Sw Δ Aesch 'Feldflur eines Dorfes' || Tc A {JGH} āti 'grass' || Ht hat(t)ar ∈ 'cereal' ('eine Getreideart') (× IE *Het(e)n- < N *Xän̄t̄ 'grain, kernel', q.v.) ¶ WP I 45, P 3, Fs. 61, Schz. 127, Kb. 214, EWA II 1191-4, OsS 33, Lx. 52, WH I 14, JGH 221, Ts. EI 220, ≠ Pv. III 247 (Ht hat(t)ar ←d hat- 'dry up').

1891. (₂?) *q'it̄ 'appear, become visible' > K: Sv {Ni.} -qed-/qwd- v. 'appear' (× Sv qad-/qd- 'come' < N *q'A'd̄, 'to step, to walk?') ¶ Ni. s.v. появиться || U: FU *it̄ v. 'appear, become visible' > Fit̄ v. 'germinate, sprout, shoot', it̄ n. 'shoot, sprout', it̄ 'east, morning' (← *'sunrise'), Es ida, ide (gen. ideme), idu, ite (gen. itte, itme) 'sprout, shoot', ida 'east' || pOs *et- ({Hl.} *āt-) > Os: V et- 'become visible' (of moon), D et- 'sich erheben, hervorkommen, herausspringen, wachsen', O et- v. 'stand up, appear (from behind sth.)', 'rise' (of the sun) || Sm {Hl.} *bt̄- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' > Ng 1s aor. (obj. conj.) ḡad̄ema id., Ne T ḡad̄ā- v. 'be seen', Mt {Hl.} *ad̄-, *ad̄am- 'be seen, sichtbar sein' (Mt K {Pl.} emḡȳàd̄ise 'брежу' [lit.: 'a dream was seen'; emḡȳ- is 'a dream'], Mt M {Sp.} 3s адымга 'it seems') || pY {IN} *yeḡd̄- > K/T {IN} yed- 'appear' (Y T -d- suggesting *-nd-); *÷ (⇔ IN) OY {Bil.} iend̄u, {Merk} ient̄u, {Lind.} jénd̄yl 'thunder' ¶ UEW 85-6 (FU only), Jn. 16 (Sm *bt̄- v. 'see'), Hl. M ##7-8, IN 252, ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [#61] (Y ←b U) || HS: ?σ Eg BD/G χt̄ 'sehen, erblicken' ¶ EG III 348.

1892. (₂?) *q̄t̄ (or *q̄p̄, t̄) 'tail, hinder part' (probably 'e tail of some animal') > IE: NaIE oīād̄(e)ḡ, 'tail' (or 'stalk') > Lt uodegà 'tail', Ltv odega 'tail, mane' || ? OI adga [AthV] {MW} 'a cane, stalk (?)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, Frn. 164-5, MW 19, M K I 29 ¶ A valid cognate unless its primary meaning is 'stalk'; in the latter case it belongs to N ≈ *HU, P, t̄k̄ (~ -ḡ) 'stalk, [?] haft' (F_N ≈ *HU, p̄, t̄k̄) || HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {J} wúdíń 'tail' || WCh: Hs wúçíyà id. ¶ JI II 316-7, Ba. 1095 || (× N *q̄æt̄'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.]) Eg RT/XIX χt̄ω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χt̄ 'behind' (unless ← χt̄ 'through') ¶ EG III 344-7, Fk. 198] An alt. cognate is Eg fP χp̄d̄ 'back part of a body, tail (of a fish)', Eg MK χp̄d̄.ω 'buttocks' (unless with mt. to N *'p̄'oq̄Ež̄ ~ *'p̄'ož̄q̄ 'thigh, haunch' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 470, Fk. 190 || ??σ K: G χeḡar-i 'Holzgriff, Stiel' (-ḡ- < *-p̄ḡ- < *-p̄t̄-??) ¶ Chx. 2343 ◇ Highly doubtful.

1893. ?₂ *q'a't̥ ▽ 'ε tree, stick' > HS: S *χa't̥- 'stem, stick' > Ug χ't̥ 'staff, scepter, stem', Ak χa't̥- id., 'branch, twig', Ar χa't̥- 'line, streak, stripe', {BK} 'ligne, raie, strie' ¶ CAD VI 153, Sd. 337, A #1016, OLS 202-3, Ln. 759-60, BK I 590 || Eg fP χ't̥ 'tree, stick, wood (Holz), forest', {Vc.} *χit > DEg χ't̥ 'wood (Holz)' > Cpt: Sd/B ѱε šε, A ɹε χ₂ε id., 'tree' ¶ EG III 339-41, Er. 370, Vc. 254 ¶ Eg t̥ (rather than d̥, the usual reflex of HS *t̥ and N *t̥) suggests a phonetic rule: N *q...t̥ > Eg χ't̥ (cp. Eg fMK χ't̥y 'retire, retreat' < N *qæ't̥'i' 'to turn back' [q.v.]) || C: EC: Af {PH} ḥadā 'tree', ḥādḍa 'stick', and Sa {Wlm.} ḥaḍa, {R} ḥā'ā' 'tree, wood (Holz), stick' (unexpected ḥ) || ?? SC: Irq {E} χuray 'palm tree' (E: < pSC *χit̥-); SC ḥ → Mb {Mnh.} m-χat̥ō ~ m-χatu ~ mú-χātu 'tree' ¶ PH 124, R S II 185, E SC 260, Mnh. Mbg 313, 315 || ? Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} χōḍḍgà 'tree, wood (Holz)', Gmrg {Gr. ← ?} xatta 'tree' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} áduwó, {J} àduwó, Mjl {DB} pādèò 'tree', as well as possibly Ll {Grgs.} ḥidà, EDng {Fd.} ètò, Mgm {J} pētú, Jg {J} pētó, Bdy pītò 'tree' ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL #90, Lk. L 103, Gr. LA 63 ¶¶ Tk. I 231-2, 308, Gr. LA 63 || A: Tg *açia-kta (*çi < *ti?) 'ε tree' > Ewk açakta 'maple, rowan-tree', Neg açakta 'maple', Nn Nh/B ač̣laqta, Nn KU ač̣aqta 'filbert nuts', Nn Nh ač̣lanqora 'nut-tree' ¶ STM I 59 ¶ *çi < *ti ◇ Qu., because the meaning 'ε tree' is too broad, and here the probability of chance resemblance between S *χa't̥- and Tg *aç- is too high.

1894. (2?) *qæ't̥'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' (intr.) ([in IE] → 'again?') > HS: B *✓Hd̥H vi. 'return' > Sll {Ds.} ad̥u (pf. yud̥a), Tz {Stm.} ḁd̥u id. ¶ Ds. 249, Stm. 158, La. S 289 ¶ The traces of the root-final Ir. *H suggest a possible contamination with the reflex of N *p̥ ▽ c̥ ▽ h̥ ▽ 'back (dos)' (q.v.) || (× N *q ▽ t̥ ▽ [or *q ▽ p̥, ▽, t̥ ▽] 'tail, hinder part') Eg fMK χ't̥y 'retire, retreat' ('zurückweichen'), Eg fP χ't̥χ't̥ vi. 'turn back', Eg L/G χ't̥y r, Eg G χ't̥χ't̥ vt. 'zurücktreiben', Eg RT/G χ't̥ω, χ't̥yω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χ't̥ prep. 'behind', Eg fXXII r χ't̥ 'be behind so. ¶ EG III 342-7, 353-4, Fk. 198-9, Crn. 256 ¶ Eg t̥ (rather than d̥, the usual reflex of HS *t̥ < N *t̥) suggests a phonetic rule: N *q...t̥ > Eg χ't̥ (cp. Eg fP χ't̥ 'tree, stick' < N ? *q'a't̥ ▽ 'ε tree, stick' [q.v.]); Eg t̥ may be also explained as inherited from N *q ▽ t̥ ▽ || A: Tg *e't̥e- 'look back, glance back, turn back to look' > Ewk ɜt̥ɜn-, Ewk Brg ɜsɜn-, Ewk Nr/Ucr ɜçɜn-, Ewk PT ɜt̥ɜsin- id., Ewk ɜt̥ɜt̥-, ɜt̥ɜlu- id. (iter.), Lm ɜsɜlu- id., Ud ɜt̥ɜŋi- 'look back' ¶ STM II 470-1 || ?σ IE: NaIE *eti / *oti 'again' (× N *qæ't̥U 'to cross', 'over\through' [direction], q.v. ffd.) > L

eþ 'and', Pæl, Um ET id. ||| Gl ETI {Billy} 'et', {P} 'also, further', Clt {Vn.} *ati|e- pv. 'again, re-' > OIr aith-, W ate-, ati-, OBr {Flr.} at-, Br ad- 're-' (OIr aith-gén, W adwaen 'I recognize', OIr aithirriuch, Br adarre 'again'), OIr a(i)th- 'very' (ath-chian 'very far') ||| Gt ip 'δέ, καί', {Fs.} 'aber, wenn', AS, OSx ed- 're-, again' (AS ed-nīwian 'to renew', ed-byrdan 'to regenerate'), ON ið- 're-, again', 'more than' (ið-gnógr 'über-genug', ið-jagrœnn 'erneut grün') ||| Pru et- 're-, again' (et-kūmps 'again', et-skīsnan 'resurrection'), 'de-' (etwēre 'to open') ||| Phr εττ- 'again' | Perhaps an *AdS* of Gk ἔττ 'yet, further' and OI 'ati' 'beyond, over' (< NaIE *eti 'over' < N *qæʦU '↑', q.v.) ¶ ≈ WP I 43, ≈ P 344, Mn. 254, M K I 27, M E I 57, F I 582, WH I 421-2, Bc. G 334, Billy 73, Vn. A 53, Flr. 76, F I 582, Ch. 382, Fs. 297, Sw. 49, Vr. 283, En. 173, Tp. P E-H 100-20, EI 215 (*h₁eti 'and, in addition').

1895. *qæʦU (= *qæʦü?) 'to cross', 'over\through' (direction) > HS: Eg fOK χτ 'through' ('durch [ein Land] hin', etc.), 'throughout' ¶ EG III 343, Fk. 198 ||| IE: NaIE *eti 'over' (direction) ('darüber hinaus') (× N *qæʦ'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.] [q.v. ffd.]) > OI 'ati' 'beyond, very', Av aiti- (YAv aiti-bar- v. 'carry over'), OPrs atiy- ('atiy-āiš- 'er zog, begab sich'), KhS ata, atä 'excessively' ||| Phr εττ- in εττ-τεττκμενος 'cursed' ||| Gk ἔττ 'yet, still; more (noch), further' ¶ The final *-i in NaIE *eti 'over' is accounted for by the infl. of N *qæʦ'i' ¶ P 344, M K I 27, F I 582, ≈ EI 215 (*h₁eti 'and, in addition') | On NaIE *eti 'again' see N *qæʦ'i' ||| A: T *öt- (= *öt'-) 'pass through \ over \ by' > OT öt- 'pass through\over', Tkm, Az öt-, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq öt-, VTt, Bsh, Ln üt-, ET, Ln, Slr, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Yk öt-, Uz wt-, SY yüt- 'pass by\through\over', Chv vit- id., penetrate'; Tk Δ et-en 'past, passed away' ¶ Cl. 39, Rs. W 376, ET Gl 554-5, Jeg. 55 ◇ T *ö- (explained by the ass. infl. of the rounded vw. in the second syll.) points to a N final *-U.

1896. *qo₁ha₁ʦâ 'to burn' (trans., intr.), 'to kindle', 'fire, glowing coals' > HS: WS *✓χtω, prm. *-χtuω- 'be kindled, kindle, burn' > Gz ✓χtω G (pf. χatawa, js. yə-χtū) 'be kindled, burn, be alight, shine', BHb ✓htw|y G {JB} vt. 'kindle' (kī gēhā'īīm ʔat'tā hō'tē ʔal-rō'sō 'so you will kindle coals on his head' (Prov. 25.22)), MHb {Js.} ✓htw|y G 'take out coals with a pan', D 'stir embers', JA {Lv., Js.} ht|w G (pf. ʔṯḥ ḥ^atī ~ ḥ^atā) 'take out coals from the hearth', JEA {Sl.}

✓hty D 'stir\rake coals' ¶ KB 349, LG 268, JB W 24, Lv. T I 289, Js. 512, Sl. 489 || Eg CT hwt 'fire, embers', Eg MK hwt 'be burnt', Eg L hwt vt. 'burn (verbrennen)' ¶ EG II 485, Fk. 158 ¶ The irregular Eg reflex h- of N *q- may be connected with the N word-medial *-h- (N *q...h > Eg h?) || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} at- 'set on fire, kindle (accendere)', {Bnd.} ?att-, Mch {L} ?at̥ta(yé) 'burn, be set on fire', Mao {Bnd.} (= Anf?) ac, Wlt {C} ett- (not registered in LmS), Chara {C} ec-, Bdt {C} ēc-, Drz {Fl.} eç-, Male {Fl.} et- 'burn', Gdc {Fl.} 3ç- 'kindle' || Dzd: Mj at-/ac- 'burn' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} (?)ác-, Dm {Fl.} aç-, Hm B {Fl.} aç-, Hm {Fl.} at- id. ¶ Bnd. PO 145 (NrOm *at- 'burn'), Bnd. AL #12, Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 407, L DM 20 || WCh: Hs wútā 'fire' || SBc: Kir/Buli {Sh.} wut, Tala {Sh.} wudi, Gj {Sh.} wutu, {IL} wútú, Tule {Sh.} wuti, Zar {Sh.} wut 'fire' ¶ JI II 138, ChC, Abr. H 936, Stl. ZCh 238 [#846] ¶ OS #1187, Tk. I 147 || IE: NaIE *āt-, *(w)āt-r- 'hearth' > Av ātarš (āθrō), Phl āđur, ātur, NPrs ūzār (spelled اذر āđar), Oss art 'fire' || Clt {Vn.} *āti- > OIr áith 'oven, kiln, stove', W odyrn 'kiln' || L ātrium 'a hall or entrance room in a Roman house' (← *'a room with a hearth', cp. [Serv.] 'ibi et culina erat, unde atrium dictum est') || Arm ալրեմ ayrem vt. 'I burn' || Al: T vatēr, G votēr 'hearth, fireplace' || Sl *vātra '(bon)fire' > SCr vātra, Uk 'ватра 'bonfire, hearth', P watra 'fire', watzysko 'fire-place, hearth', Slk vatra 'bonfire', R d. ватрушка 'curd tart, cheese-cake'; Sl d. *vatralb 'poker' > P watal, Slk vatal', Blg ватрал ¶ P 69, Ab. I 69-70, Vl. I 22, Horn 4, Sl. 365-6, Vn. A 54, YGM-1 347, EM 54 (L ātrium: 'ce serait un souvenir de l'ancienne maison où la fumée du foyer s'échappait par un ouverture ménagée dans le toit'), WH I 76-7 (no et. for ātrium), ≈ O 495-6 (suggests that the Al word is a loan from Irn, which fails to explain Al v-), Vs. I 279, ≈ Glh. 663-4 (Sl *ātra without explaining *v-), Ma. CS 557, Brü. 604, ≈ EI 202 (*HeHtr̥ 'fire') || A {DQA} *ōt'a (¬ *-t-) 'fire; hot, warm' > T *ōt 'fire' > OT, Tkm, SY ōt, Tk ot, Az od, ET, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Qb, LN, Tv ot, Tf ot, Uz ʔt wt, VTt, Bsh, SY ut, Yk ūōt, Chv L БУТ vut id. ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 34, ET Gl 483-4, S AJ 187 [#117], Md 40, 132, 172, Ra. 213 || Tg: Ewk otū 'hearth, bonfire' | NrTg *utin̥e 'forest-fire, subsoil fire' > Ewk utin̥z id., utin̥ə- vi. 'burn, smoulder (in forests, under the soil)', Lm utōn̥ō 'smell of a subsoil forest-fire' ¶ Vas. 329, STM II 294 || ?σ M *oçin (← **otin?) (unless it is *φoçin) 'spark' > WrM, WrO ocin, HIM

оч, Ord oč'í, Kl очн, {Rm.} očň, Brt ошo(н) id. ¶ The word is not attested (⇔ S AJ 240) either in the available sources of MM or in the h/φ-preserving peripheral M lgs., neither do we find it among the WrMc Mongolisms, so that the absence or presence of pM *φ- cannot be checked ¶ MED 599, Ms. O 523, Krg. 116, KRS 407, KW 291, Chr. 366 || pJ {S} *àtù- 'hot' > OJ atu-, J: T/Kg acú-, K ácù- id.; pJ {S} *àtà- > d.: OJ atatake-, ItOJ [RJ] àtàtáka, J: T/Kg atataká-, K átátáka- 'warm' ¶ S AJ 268 [#85], S QJ #85, Mr. 387, 826 || ? pKo {S} *tʌ- > d.: MKo tʌ-sʌ-, NKo tātīt-ha- (spelled tātīṣ) 'warm, hot' ¶ S QK #96, Nam 136, MLC 381 ¶¶ DQA #1609, S AJ 102, 268 [#85] (T, M, Tg, J, Ko), Pp. VG I 49 ◇ The length of the vw. in NaIE and A and its quality (*ā) in NaIE may be accounted for by the presence of a N word-medial lr. followed by *aÆThe N lr. was most probably *-h-, which is easily lost in S and is responsible for the initial h- (rather than χ-) in Eg (as.). The labial sonant *w- in the NaIE variant stem *wāṭ-r- may go back to the N initial *qo- ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. οΓΟΗΒ *H'ṛ'ṭ, IS SS #1.34, AD GD 8 (all of them: IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #154 (*t'a 'fire') (IE, A, J + err. Ko, Gil).

1897. *qû,hE,t∇ 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie' > HS: WS *χūṭ- 'sinew, thin flexible bough, thread', **'χawit- (> *χ∇wṭ- ~ *χ∇yṭ-) 'thread' > BHb 𐎧𐎡𐎧 ḥūṭ 'thread, cord', IA ḥwṭ 'string', JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎧𐎡𐎧 ḥūṭ-ā 'thread', Sr ḥūṭ-ā 'thread, string', Md hauṭa 'thread, sewing', Ar χūṭ- 'green bough, young flexible twig', χayṭ- 'thread, string', Mh {Jo.} 'χiṭayṭ (pl. ʕχ'yeṭ) 'thread', Jb E {Jo.} 'χeṭʕt, Jb C {Jo.} 'χiṭeṭ (pl. 'χeṭ) 'thin thread made of fibre'; WS *-χīṭ- v. 'sew, sew together' > IA ✓ ḥw|yṭ G, BA ✓ ḥyṭ G or Sh (3pm ip. 𐎧𐎡𐎧' yaḥīṭū) 'repair' or 'join together'(?), JPA {Dlm., Lv.} ✓ ḥwṭ G 'sew', D {Dlm.} 'sew together, plait', {Lv.} 'sew, plait', JEA {Sl.} ✓ ḥwṭ ~ ✓ ḥṭy G 'sew', Md -ḥiṭ- G 'sew, stitch up' (niḥiṭia ltagia 'he shall sew up to the crown', F DM 135), Sr ✓ ḥwṭ (ip. -ḥūṭ-) G id., 'patch, mend', Ar ✓ χyṭ (ip. -χīṭ-) 'sew up (a garment)', Mh ✓ χṭw G (pf. χʕṭ, 3m sbjn. yʕχā), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ χyṭ (pf. χʕyōṭ, 3m sbjn. yʕχāṭ), Sq {Jo.} ḥʕyaṭ 'sew', Jb E {Jo.} pf. 'χaṭe, Jb C {Jo.} ✓ χyṭ Sh (pf. aχ'yeṭ) 'sew, stitch' ¶ KB 282-4, 1705-6, KBR 296-7, BDB 296, 1092, HJ 353, Dlm. 131, Lv. II 21, Sl. 436, JPS 130-1, DM 117, 135, Ln. 831-2, BK I 647, 655, Hv. 189, 192, Jo. M 454, 458, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 312 || Eg ∇ mṣtω 'entrails, guts' > DEg mṣtω 'entrails' > Cpt: Sd MAQT maḥt, B MAḥT maḥt, L MEQT meḥte 'entrails, umbilical cord' ¶ EG II 135, Er. 177, Vc. 132 ||

EC *h₁id- v. 'tie' > Af h₁id- 'attach camels in Indian file', -idh₁id- v. 'sew', Or {Bl., Grg.}, Kns, Gdl, Arr {Hw.} h₁id-, Dsn {To.} h₁ít, Bs {HL} hi? v. 'tie', pSam {Hn.} *h₁id- 'close, shut, tie' > Sml h₁id- 'tie together, fasten, shut, close', Rn h₁id-, pBn *hir- > Bn Bi/J/Ba/K hir- 'tie, shut, close'; Ya hed- 'tie'; Brj h₁id- id.; d.: *h₁id-tū > Brj hittō 'belt made of cotton', Bs d. hītu 'girdle (worn by women)' ¶ Bl. 195, 201, 260, 304, Ss. PEC 36, 59, Ss. B 95-6, Hn. S 64, PG 140, Sim 11-2, Hn. BD 127, ZMO 428, Grg. 206-7, Hw. A 367, Hd. 198-9, HL 102-3, To. DL 507 ¶¶ The corr. EC *h- ÷ S *χ- is still to be investigated (*see* Tk. I 300-1, AD WIL #43) || D (in TmM) *ōt(-) 'ε thread' > Tm ūtū, ūtūai 'woof, thread woven across the warp', Ml ūtūa 'woof, cross thread' ¶ D #738 || A: ?σ Tg *ute- 'ε woman's robe' > Ewk utəmɜ 'woman's long tunic of reindeer hides', Ul utɜsu, Ork uttɜuri, Nn Nh utesū 'woman's robe (χαλατ) of fish skin' ¶ STM II 295 || J: ?σ OJ itū ({Mr.} = itwɔ) 'thread, string' > J: T ítò, Ak ítô, K/Kg ító, Ty/Sz ítò, Ns ítò, Sh ítú, Is ítù, Ht ítù id. ¶ Mr. 426, TS 32, 63 || ?φ IE: NaIE *ēt(e)r-/*ōt(e)r- 'entrails', [?] 'ε thread' (× N *XEtVRV or *XiLtVRV 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root') > Gk Hm ήτορ 'heart', Gk ήτρον 'abdomen, part below the navel', as well as [?] Gk ήτριον, Gk D άτριον 'the warp in a web of cloth', Gk ήτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || ON æðr 'blood vessel, vein', NNr åder, Sw åder, Dn åre id., AS ædre, æder, OFrs e₁dre, OSx -āthiri, OHG ādra, NHG Ader id., MLG, MDt ader 'entrails' || OIr {P} inathar id. (< *en-ōtro-) ¶ P 344, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn *āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNr æd 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, , EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- '≈ lung, internal organ') ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a N lr. (most probably *h in view of its loss in HS and its deglottalizing effect in pre-D, whence D *-t- [< ppD *-t- < *-ht- < N *-hEt-] rather than D *-t- [regularly from N *t]). The absence of the glide *u in IE *ēt(e)r-/*ōt(e)r- suggests that the IE cognate lost the initial syllable of the N word.

1898. *qow^ri¹ (or possibly *qo^ʔaw^ri¹ or *qa^ʔow^ri¹) 'orifice, hole; to make a hole' > K: GZ *qew- 'ravine, deep river-bed between mountains' > OG qev-i 'deep river-bed between mountains' (the word used to translate χειμάρρους 'torrents' [III Kings 17.7 of the Septuaginta]), qevnebi 'ravine (φάραγξ)' (Luc. 3.5), G qev-i {KEGL} 'deep river-bed, small river between mountains', {Chx.} 'Schlucht, Bergbach', {DCh.} 'балка, оврагъ', Mg χabo 'ravine' ¶ K² 335, Fn. KW-

1 38 [#97], FS K 495, Chx. 2322, DCh. 1730, KEGL VIII 1367 || **HS:** SS
 * $\chi\nabla\omega$ - (~ * $\chi\nabla\omega h$ -?) 'door, gate, orifice' > OSA {CR} $\chi\omega$ 'ianua, porta,
 foramen in pariete', Qtb {Rk.} $\chi\omega$ 'door, gate', Mh {Jo.} $\chi\bar{a}$, (contextual
 form?) χah (pl. $\chi\bar{o}t\bar{z}n$) 'mouth, entrance, opening', {Jahn} $\chi\acute{o}$ id., Hrs
 {Jo.} χah (pl. $\chi\bar{z}\omega\bar{z}h$) id., Jb C/E $\chi\bar{z}h$ (pl. $\chi\acute{e}t\bar{z}$) 'mouth', Jb C $\chi\bar{e}$
 'interstice, space, hole' (x Jb $\check{\chi}\omega y$ 'be empty?'), Sq {Jo.} $\check{h}eh$ (pl.
 $\check{h}zh\bar{z}t\bar{z}n$), {L} $\check{h}e$ (dim. $\check{h}au\check{h}a$) 'interstice, hole'; WS * $\chi awa\chi(-at)-$
 'orifice' > Hb $\square\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\check{h}^a\omega\bar{a}\check{h}-\bar{t}m \sim \square\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\check{h}o\check{h}-\bar{t}m$ 'holes, crevices', Ar
 $\chi aw\chi-at$ {BK} 'lucarne dans un mur; petite fen\^etre\ouverture
 pratiqu\^ee dans la porte; ouverture, communication sans porte entre
 deux maisons; anus', {Ln.} 'an aperture in a wall, admitting the light to a
 house; anus', Sb {BGMR} $\chi\chi$ 'passageway, corridor', Gz $\chi\bar{o}\chi\bar{a}t$ (pl.
 $\chi\bar{o}\chi\bar{a}t$) 'door, doorway, goat' ¶ KB 284, KBR 296, BK I 644, Ln. 820,
 BGMR 64, CR CAME 154, Rk. 71, L LS 158, L G 260, Jo. H 144, Jo. M
 454, 456, Jo. J 310-1 || Eg fP $\chi\chi$ 'throat, neck' > DEg $\acute{x}\acute{x}$ 'neck'
 (+ppas.) > Cpt: B $\check{h}a\check{h}$ $\chi a\chi$, Sd $\check{z}a\check{z}$ $ha\check{h}$ 'neck, nape' ¶ EG III 331, Fk.
 197, Vc. 283, 320, Crn. CED 268, Er. 396 || NrOm: Zrgl {Bnd.} $\bar{h}\bar{a}?\bar{e}$
 'mouth' || WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} $\check{h}^{\omega}\acute{a}$ (pl. $\check{h}^{\omega}\acute{i}$), Sir {Sk.} $\check{h}^{\omega}\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}$
 'door(way)' ¶ MSk. 182, Sk. NB 18, ChC s.v. 'door(way)' || **U** * ωe
 'door' > F $\omega v\acute{i}$, Krl $\omega v\acute{i}$ 'door' || Chr: YO/U/B $\omega p'sa$, M $\omega p'sa$ id., as well as
 possibly ? StChr L $\omega m'ca$ $\omega m'sa$, StChr H $\omega m'ca$ $\omega m'sa$, Chr Y $\omega m'ca$
 'door'; - $\acute{s}a \sim -\acute{s}a$ is probably a sx.; the origin of - m - is not clear (either
 contamination with another word or borrowing from another lge.?) ||
 ObU {HL.} * $\bar{t}\omega\nabla$ 'door' ({Ht.} * $\bar{u}\check{z}\check{z} = *u\check{z}\check{z}$) > pVg {Ht.} * $\bar{t}\omega\nabla$ > OVg: S
 ChusO $\acute{a}u\check{v}e$, S SSs $\acute{a}u\check{v}e$, ETM $\acute{a}u$, N Sog $\acute{a}u\acute{i}$, N Chd $\acute{a}u$ 'door';
 Vg: T $\acute{a}y\bar{t}\omega$ \acute{z} $\acute{a}y\bar{t}\omega$, LK $\acute{a}\omega$, UK/P/SV/LL $\bar{t}\omega$, Ss $\acute{a}\omega\acute{i}$; pOs {Ht.} * $\check{z}\check{z}$
 'door' > Os (partially within cds.): V/Vy $\check{z}\check{z}$, Ty $\omega\check{z}^{\omega} \sim \omega\check{z}$, Y $\omega\omega$, D/K
 $\acute{a}\omega$, Nz/Kz $\check{z}\omega$, O $u\omega \sim \acute{o}\omega \sim \check{a}\omega$ id. || Sm {Jn.} * \acute{o} (= * $\acute{o}\check{z}?$) 'door' > Ne
 T $\check{h}\check{e}$ 'door, entrance of the tent', Ne O {Lh.} $\acute{h}\bar{o}$, Ne F {Lh.} $\acute{h}\bar{o} \sim \acute{h}\bar{o}^{\omega}$,
 Ng {Cs.} $\sim \acute{o}a$, {Ter.} $\eta u a$, En X {Cs.} $\sim i a$, En B {Cs.} $n o$, $n u$ 'door', Slq Tz
 {KKIH} - a in $m\bar{o}t a$ 'door of a tent' ($m\bar{o}t$ means 'tent'), Kms {KD} $d.$ $\acute{a}\acute{j}e$
 $\sim \acute{a}\acute{j}a$, Koyb {Sp.} $d.$ $\acute{a}i$, Mt {HL.} * $\acute{h}\bar{o}$ 'door' (Mt: K {Mll.} $n\check{z}o$, M {Mll.}
 $n o$, {Sp.} $\check{h}o$ id., T {Mll.} $n\check{z}o\check{c}a$ 'his door') ¶ UEW 344, Coll. 45, SK 446,
 Ht. 124 [#10], Hl. rHt 73, Hl. M #765, Stn. WV 188, Stn. OV 123, Jn.
 29, KKIH 132, KD 4, Ter. SILSJ 288, Ter. 307, KP 145 || **A:** NaT * $\bar{o}y$
 'hole, cavity' and * $\bar{o}y-$ v. 'hollow out' (x N * $\underline{P}\omega\Gamma i$ 'cavity, valley; to
 hollow out', q.v. ffd.) || **D** * $\acute{a}\nu-$, * $\acute{a}\nu-\nabla-1/1-$ v. 'gape, yawn' > Tm $\acute{a}\nu\acute{i}$ v.

'gape, yawn, open the mouth so as to express loudly', MI $\bar{a}vi i\ddot{t}$ -, Td $o\cdot p\ddot{u}ly$ -, Kdg $a\cdot va\ddot{i}c\ddot{t}$ -, Tu $\bar{a}v\cdot i\ddot{c}$ -, Krg $\bar{a}va\ddot{a}su$, Prj $\bar{a}v$ -, Krx $aula\bar{a}na$, Mlt $\bar{a}wole$ v. 'yawn', Gnd $\bar{a}vi$, Kt $a\cdot va\ddot{z}$, Tu $\bar{a}val\bar{b}$, Tl $\bar{a}vulinta$ 'a yawn', Tl $\bar{a}valincu$, $\bar{a}vulincu$ v. 'yawn, gape' ¶¶ D #392, Pf. 86 ◊ The discrepancy between the U and T rounded vw. and D $*\bar{a}$ (for the expected $*\bar{o}$ or $*o$) still needs investigating. Three solutions can be envisaged: (1) the pN vw. was $*a$, the U vw. $*o$ is due to the assimilative infl. of $*w$, while the main source of NaT $*\bar{o}y$ is N $*P_o\Gamma i$; (2) the N vw. was $*o$, while D $*\bar{a}$ is due to an unknown phonetic law (something like $*ow\text{-} > D *\bar{a}v\text{-}$), and (3) the N etymon was $*qo\bar{p}aw'i'$ or $*qa\bar{p}ow'i'$ with loss of the lr. in S. This third solution has an advantage: it explains the long vw. in T ◊ IS III 13O-1 [#377] ($*qow\bar{e}$ 'orifice' > HS [S, Pa'a], U, D), Blz. KM 118 [#16] (added K, Eg, and Om to the N et. of IS).

1899. $*q\bar{a}w'h'$ ▽ 'lack, be empty\incomplete' > HS: WS $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}w$, prm. $*-\chi w\bar{i}y\text{-}$ 'become empty \ devoid' > Ar $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$ G (pf. $\chi aw\bar{a}$, 3m ip. $y\bar{a}-\chi w\bar{i}$) id., Sb $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$ v. 'make void', Mh {Jo.} $\checkmark\chi w\bar{\emptyset}$ (pf. $\chi\bar{z}w\bar{u}$) 'have a space left uncovered' (of a door, etc.), 'have one's limbs uncovered', Jb C $\checkmark\chi w\bar{y}$ (pf. $\chi\bar{e}$) 'be empty' ¶ Ln. 827-8, BK I 651, Jo. M 456, Jo. J 311 ¶ BK I 644, BGMR 64, Jo. M 454, 456, Jo. J 31O-1 || K: GZ $*qw\text{-}$ 'remove, throw away, deprive of' > OG $qw\text{-}$ 'remove, deprive of', Lz $\chi v\text{-}$ / $\chi\text{-}$ 'throw away' ¶ FS K 496, FS E 563-4 || IE: NaIE $*e\bar{u}\bar{a}$ 'be empty, be wanting' $\rightarrow *e\bar{u}\bar{a}\text{-n-}$ 'empty, wanting' > OI $\bar{u}'na\text{-}h$, Av $\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{o}$ 'defective, wanting', NPrs $\bar{w}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{g}$ 'empty, poor' || Arm $n\bar{u}\bar{w}\bar{j}\bar{u}$ $una\bar{y}\bar{n}$ 'empty' || Gk $\epsilon\bar{u}\bar{v}\bar{e}\bar{s}$ 'reft of, bereaved of' || L $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{u}\bar{s}$, ? $v\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{s}$ 'empty, void', ? $v\bar{a}\bar{c}\text{-}\bar{o}$ / $\text{-}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ 'be empty\void' ($\bar{a} < *a$), ? Um $anterv\bar{a}k\bar{a}z\bar{e}$, ANDERVACOSE 'intervacatio_ \ intermissio_ sit' || Gt $w\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{s}$, ON $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{r}$, OHG, OSx, AS $w\bar{a}\bar{n}$ adj. 'lacking, missing'; ON ntr. $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\text{-}t$ n. 'absence, want', $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ 'be lacking' \rightarrow ME $w\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ 'be deficient', $w\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ 'deficient' > NE $w\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ v., n. || Ltv $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{c}\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{s}$, Δ $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{s}\text{-}k\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{s}$ {ME} 'barren egg', {Turk.} 'addle egg', Lt $v\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{s}\text{-}k\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ 'unhatched eggs' ¶ WP I 108, P 345, EI 179 ($*h_1e\bar{u}\bar{a}(h_R)\text{-}$ 'empty, wanting'), M K I 115, Vl. II 1433, Hü. 484, F I 589, WH II 723, 731-2, Bc. G 328, Fs. 55O, Vr. 644, Kb. 114O, Bj. 225, Ho. 382, HDEL 1443, Slt. 233-4, ME IV 462, Frn. 1196 ¶ The absence of traces of $*a$ in Gk is puzzling || ? Gil: Gil A $q'\bar{a}u\text{-}$ 'be absent, not to be' ¶¶ ST 148 ◊ NaIE $*a$ points to a N lr., which was most probably $*h$ (the only one easily lost in S, but yielding $*a$ in NaIE).

1900. *qaw₁∇₁y∇ ⇨ *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' > **HS:** Eg fP χωϣ vt. 'protect (schützen, behüten)', Eg fXVIII χω, Eg fOK χω.τ 'protection' (× N *^ʀq¹ûy∇ [⇨ *^ʀq¹æw∇?] 'to wrap, to cover') ¶ EG III 244-5, Fk. 196 || C: Bj {R} ✓ ^ʀωϣ (1s: p. a-^ʀaway, prs. a-t-^ʀawī), {Rop.} 1s p. ^ʀawi, 2m p. t^ʀawaiya, 1s prs. at^ʀawi 'help, assist', caus. {R} -s-^ʀaw (p. a-s-^ʀaw) 'zu Hilfe senden' ¶ R WBd 36-7, Rop. 157 || **IE:** NaIE *aw- 'help, take care' (× NaIE *aw-, *awēj- 'gern haben' < N *haw∇ 'to desire, to love' [q.v.]) > Av avaiti 'takes care, helps', avah- n. 'help', OI ō-'mā / ō-man- 'help, protection', 'ō-man- 'helper, protector', Av aoman- adj. 'helping, assisting' || OIr con-ó i 'il protège, défend' ¶ P 77-8, M KI 57, 133, Vn. C 197 || **A:** Tg *ay- v. 'help', *ay n. 'help, cure, repair' > Ewk ay id., ay- 'help, save (retten), cure', Lm ay- ~ ayi- id., Orc aiçi- v. 'repair, cure, help', Ud {STM} aisigi-^ḍ āsigi- v. 'repair, cure', {Krm.} ayasifi ~ āsigi- vi. 'recover', Ork ayu- 'help so. out of trouble', ayuḡutčl- 'repair' ¶ STM I 17-8, Vas. 20, Krm. 205 || ? M *abura- v. 'protect, save' (× N *qapUR∇ 'to protect, to help', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. защищать *qaw₁ (IE, U, HS).

1901. *^ʀq¹ûy∇ (or *^ʀq¹æw∇?) 'to wrap, to cover' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to drape', 'to cloth'), 'to tie\bind to' > **HS:** EC *hǫlūw- v. 'drape (so., oneself) in a garment' > Sml {ZMO, DSI} huwi- 'cover with a cloth, drape', {ZMO} huwo/huwad- 'wrap (a cloth) round oneself, cover oneself with cloth\blanket', Sml N {Abr.} huwwi- vt. 'dress in a cloth', huwwan- 'drape oneself in a garment', Or {Grg.} uwwisa- vi. 'clothe', Or S {Sr.} ūwisa- ~ ūyisa- vt. 'cover', uyifaḍḍa v. 'dress oneself' (cp. Or uffisa- 'clothe', etc. < N *qup∇ [or *qūp∇?] 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ ZMO 197, DFSI 320, Abr. S 113, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || AdS of Eg fP χωϣ vt. 'protect' (< N *qaw₁∇₁y∇ ⇨ *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' [q.v. ffd.]) || **K** *^oqχw- > Mg χv- 'wrap', Lz χw- v. 'bury, cover with sth.' ¶ Chik. 423 || **IE:** NaIE *ey-/ *oy- vt. 'dress, put on (clothes)' (← 'tie [around], wrap') > Arm ազանիմ aganim (1s aor. ազայ agay) v. 'clothe, dress oneself, put on' || Lind-u-ō / -ēre 'get dressed in, put on (a garment)', ex-u-ō / -ēre 'divest oneself (of)', induviae 'clothes', Um ANOVHIMU 3s inv. {Pln.} 'induiminō' (< *an-oyyō) || Lt aũ-ti (1s prs. aunù), Ltv àu-t 'put on (footwear)', Lt avéti (1s prs. avìù) 'wear (footwear)' || Sl *-úti (1s prs. *-ujq) with pxs.: [1] *ob-ú-ti

'to put on (footwear)' > OCS, OR **ОБОУТИ** *obuti*, R *обуть*, Uk *обути*, SCr *òbuti*, Slv *obúti*, Cz *obouti*, Slk *obut'*, P *obuc* id., Blg *обуя* 'put on (footwear)'; ↗ RChS **ОБОУВЬ** *obuvь*, R *обувь*, Cz, Slk *obuv*, P *obuw* *obuwie* 'footwear'; [2] *jъz-ú-ti 'to take off (footwear)' > OR **ИЗОУТИ** *izuti*, SCr *ìzuti*, Slv *izúti*, Cz *zouti se*, Slk *zut'*, P *zzuc* id.; [3] *roz-ú-ti id. > OR **РОЗОУТИ** *rozuti*, R *разуть*, P *rozuc*] ↗ NaIE *oṷ-tlā- 'bandage, sth. tied around, wrapping' > Av *aθra-* 'footwear' || L *sub-ūcula* 'a man\woman's underwear, shirt' || Lt *aũklė* 'bast-shoe string\lace, foot-cloth', Ltv *āukla* 'string, cord', Pru *auclo* 'Halfter' 'halter'] NaIE d. *oṷ-to-s '≈ wrapped around, clothed' > Lt *aũtas* 'foot-cloth', Ltv {ME} *āuts* 'Tuch, Binde' | Sl *ob-utъ (pp. of *ob-ú-ti) 'wearing footwear' > R *обутый*, etc. || Lex-ūtus (pp. of *exuo* [*see above*]) ¶ The ancient NaIE meaning 'tie, tie around, wrap' is preserved in some derivatives in Blt (Lt *auklė*, *auklis*, Ltv *āukla*, *āuts*, Pru *auclo*, etc.) ¶ WP I 109-10, P 346, EI 109 (*h₁eṷ- 'put on clothes'), WH I 434-6, 695-6, II 620, Bc. G 328, Pln. II 251, 310, 726, Hü. 411, Slr. 237-8, 442-3, Tr. 21-2, Frn. 27-8, En. 147, Tp. P A-D 156, Vs. II 124, III 109, 435, Glh. 447-8, Brtl. 42 || ? A *oṷy∇ {AD} 'attach, wrap' > Tg *uyi- v. 'attach, wrap' > Sln *uyi-* 'attach, wrap', Ewk *uy-* *uyi-*, Lm, Neg, Ork *uy-*, Orc *uyi-*, Ul, Nn *ui-* v. 'attach' ¶ STM II 250-1 || ??? T *oṷ_ṷy_ṷa > Tk *oya* 'embroidery', Osm {RI} *oya* 'Fransen, Stickerei' (unless from *oṷa and derived from *oy-* 'carve, cut out') ¶ RI. I 1033 ¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *uy∇ 'bind, sew') and DQA #2542 (pA *ōy∇ 'sew, pierce', incl. Tg, T) ◇ EC *h- goes back to HS *χ- < N *q-. If the A √ belongs here, the N rec. is *q¹ūy∇, otherwise it may also be *q¹æw∇.

1902. *q∇, pc. of collectivity ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of plurality) > K *°-qe, marker of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and the 3rd person > MG, G F/X/P/Lch/LI -qe, G In -q id. (MG *ge-u-bn-ebi-qe* 'I tell you [pl.]' ↔ *ge-u-bn-ebi* 'I tell thee') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Dt. AKS II 40-1, Chik. Q 32-62 || ? IE: NaIE *°-ko > Gmc *-xa / *-xa, sx. of collectivity > Gt *brōþra-ha-ns* coll. 'brothers', OSw (RunSc) *fapr-ka-r*, ON *feðgar* 'father and son', OSw (RunSc) *muþr-ku*, ON *mæðgur* 'mother and daughter, ?? Yid *קצות* -ax pl. in l-diminutives (*קצות* 'mejd-el-ax 'girls' ↔ sg. 'mejdele) || ??φ Arm pl. ending -p -k^h ¶ Fs. 107, ≈ Vr. 114 and 400 (believes that the Gmc sx. is originally adjectival); Kron. VLFH 126 and IS OS II 105 (both adduce Arm -k^h) ||

U: [1] FU *-kk∇, sx. of collectivity > F -kkO / -kkö id. (koivikko 'birch forest', männikkö 'pine forest') || Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns | [2] FU *-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p (×N *kU, particle of plurality [used mainly with pronouns], q.v. ffd.) || **D** *-k(k)∇, pl. suffix of nouns > Kdg -ga / -ya (< *-ka) (āṅ-ga 'men', aṣṣi-ya 'grandmothers'), Knd -ku, -gu, -k (gālu-k 'daughters' ↔ sg. gālu, ilku 'houses', mēmar-gu 'husbands'), Gnd -k, -∇k (pāl-k 'teeth', ḍuvvaḷ-īk 'tigers'), Koya -k, -ku (mar-k 'sons', manasūr-ku 'men'), Nk -k|gu, -g, -k (pāl-gu ~ pāl-ku 'teeth', pām-ku 'snakes', elli-g 'rats', ūtu-k 'ropes'), Ku -ka (himborka 'clothes' ↔ sg. himbori), Kui -ka / -ga (kor-ka 'buffaloes', kaṅ-ga 'eyes'), Brh -k, -āk (xal-k 'stones' ↔ sg. xal, lōtāk 'sacks' ↔ sg. lōt) ¶ An. SG 177-8, D #3986, Shanm. DN 52-103 || ? **HS:** C: Ag {Hz.} *-k∇, plural suffix of nouns > Aw -ka (gsén-ka 'dogs'), Km -ák, -kák, Kw -ki (yir-ki 'men'), -k {Zab.} (gílu-k 'men', gíru-k 'hens'), -ke (gír-ke 'days' ↔ sg. griy-à); according to Ap., Km -ák, -kák is related to the Km suffix -ak, -ki 'all' (added to pronouns and numerals: nay-ak 'all of them', ni-ki all of it', andíw-ak 'all of us', liṅay-ak 'both') || Dhl {Zab.} -uka, -uke, -eka, -eki, pl. suffixes of nouns (ṣēn-uka 'tongues' ↔ sg. ṣēna; kwánaṇ-ùkà 'scorpions' ↔ sg. kwánaṇa; wáràw-úke 'hyenas' ↔ sg. wárawa [{To.} wárāba]; munteka 'fields' ↔ sg. munta; ṣóṣòṇ-éki 'jackals' ↔ sg. ṣóṣòṇ) ¶ Hz. AL 16, Zab. MNPC 209, 259-61, 298, Ap. K 322, To. D 162 ◇ IS II 105-6 [#345] (N ? *qΛ).

1903. *qAb∇ 'jaw, cheek' > **K** {K} *qba-, {FS} *qab- 'jaw' > OG, G qba- 'jaw', Mg ṣviba- 'man with a stupid face', Sv (h)aqba-, qab(w)- 'cheek' ¶ K 209, K DE 358, K² 238, FS K 360 and FS E 404 (adducing Sv qab 'beard' < K *qab-) || **HS:** S *oḡapḡap- > Ar qafqaf- 'camel's cheek' ¶ Fr. III 481, BK II 791 || Ch (×N *keḡ₁h₂∇ 'jaw, chin'): [1] DfB {J} kápâk (pl. kapák) 'cheek' | [2] ??ϕ Ch {Stl.} *gobi ({AD} *gobi ~ *gobḡi?) 'chin, cheek' > WCh: Hs háḡā 'chin' | P' {MSk.} gábà-čangá 'chin, lower jaw' | Gj {ChL} gús-gíḡà 'chin' || CCh {Stl.} *ḡyobi > Cb {ChL} ḡgubæ 'cheek' | HgF {ChL} yubḡi 'chin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gèbi 'cheek' ¶ J R 216, Stl. IF 113 || **D** *kaVuí- 'cheek, jaw' (×N *gab∇(-|í∇) 'head' [> 'top', 'skull']?) > Tm kaVuḡ 'cheek, temple or jaw of elephant', MI kaVuḡ, Tu kauḡu, ? Kui külu 'cheek', Prj gávla, galva 'jaw'; D → OI kapō'la-ḡ 'cheek' ¶¶ D #1337, Tu. #4324, M KI 158 (kapōlah "vermutlich austroasiatisch"), M E I 303 (mentions the D and Austroasiatic parallels with scepticism).

1904. *q'æb∇ 'belly, stomach' > **HS:** WS (or S) *q'ib-at- id. > BHb הַבֶּה קֶבֶבָה 'belly; fourth stomach of ruminants', JA [Trg.] קֶבֶבָה 'belly, stomach', JPA Bz קֶבֶבָה 'belly, stomach', JEA {Sl.} קֶבֶבָה 'stomach of a ruminant', Ar قَبَّة qibb-at- {BK} 'ventricle', Tgr ቀበጥ qəbət 'midst; lower part', qəbbət 'a stuffed goat's stomach', ?σ,φ Tgy qobo 'hernia', ?? Ak kukkubātū, kukkubānu, qūqūbātū, qūqūbānu 'part of the animal stomach' ¶ KB 992, BDB 866-7, Dlm. 360, Lv. T II 339, Js. 1307, 1313, Sl. 982, Sl. P 489, BK II 657, Ln. 2478, LH 249-50, Bsn. 262, L ESAC 46, CAD VIII 499 || **K** *q'ip- > G q'ipī 'paunch' ¶ Mte.: q'ip < N *q'...b ¶ Chx. 1623, DCh. 1362 || **A:** M *kebeli > WrM kebeli, HIM хэвлий 'belly, stomach; paunch; womb', Ord {Ms.} k'eweli 'womb (matrice, sein)', WrO kebeli 'belly, stomach; womb', Kl кевлэ 'belly, womb', {Rm.} kew] 'belly'; M *keveli 'womb, belly' > MM [HI] ke,eli 'ventre', [L] ke,li 'belly', MM [IM] كهل keh,el,li, [IsV, MA] kehli, WrM keveli, HIM хеел 'womb, belly', Mnr H {SM} k'ēliē, {T} kelīē 'belly, paunch' ¶ MED 438, 442, Ms. O 419, Ms. H 70, Pp. L III 69, Pp. MA 439, SM 198, T 338, Lg. VMI 48, Krg. 715, KRS 287, KW 229 || Tg *kepe,li 'belly' > Lm kēbāl 'stomach (Magen) of a squirrel\calf with its contents', WrMc xefali ~ xefeli 'belly, entrails', Jrc {Kiy.} hefuli 'abdomen' ¶ STM I 387-8, Kiy. 125 [#508] || NaT *k'ā|ēp- 'be swollen' (of a belly), 'be pregnant' > Tkm gābe 'swollen' (qarni gābe 'with a swollen belly'), MQp XIV [AH], Chg {PC} گبه gebe, Tk gebe, Ggz, CrTt gebe 'pregnant'; NaT *k'ā|e,;p,ber- (with an unexplained *k'-) 'be swollen' (of a belly) > Tv xewer-, Tki {Zn.}, MQp XIV [AH] كبرم keber-mek, Chg {PC} گبرم keber-mek 'to swell, be swollen' (of a belly)' ¶ ET VGD 36, PC 455, Zn. II 735 ¶¶ DQA #789 (A *kép'∇ 'belly') ◇ The de-emphatization N *q- > A *k- and the unexpected length of the vw. in NaT are still to be investigated and explained.

1905. *qUbr'E' 'basket' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vessel') > **K:** G {Chx.} qvibaro 'ε basket for millet', G qvibari, G Im qvibiri 'ε small vessel for wine (dug into earth)', G LIm qvibira 'ε small wine-jug', G {DCh.} qvibari 'pot used for storing cheese' ¶ Chx. 1686, DCh 1378 || **HS:** S *qubba-, (?) *qub- 'basket, vessel' > Ug qub'at '(ε) drinking-vessel', {OLS} 'cáliz', BHb cs. קֶבֶבָה qub,ba'at 'cup', Ph qub' 'cup, goblet', IA qub' 'small jar', Ak {CAD} quppu 'ε wicker basket or

wooden chest; cage; box for silver and precious objects' (× N ***ḲuP̄** 'box, basket'), as well as Sr W {Br., PS} **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄bā** 'calix (of a flower)', 'Blumenkelch' and Ar **qub̄ʕat-** {Fr.} 'calix, folliculus florum', {BK} 'calice ou enveloppe de la fleur'. The Sr and Ar cognates are qu.: Br. and KB connect the Sr word with Hb **קִבְּעָה** **ḳub̄baʕa** 'cup' (KB: 'Becher, Pokal') and interpret it as a μφ from 'cup' (as in L **calix** and in NHG **Blumenkelch**), while JPS interprets this Sr word as 'covering\sheath of a flower\fruit' and connects it with the homographic **קֻבְּבָא** **ḳub̄bā** 'hood' (÷ JA [Trg.] **קֹבַע** **qōbā** 'turban', Hb **קִבְּעָה** **ḳōbā** 'helmet'); if JPS is right, the same interpretation must be preferred for Ar **qub̄ʕat-** as well ¶ KBR 1062, 1081, BDB 867 [#6907], 875 [#6959], OLS 361, HSI 983, Br. 644, PS 3480, JPS 492, Fr. III 392, BK II 664, AD XIII 307-10, Sd. 890, ≠ KB 994 (the word of the S lgs. * ← Eg: unc. for lack of arguments for the loan hyp., while there are arguments against it: if it had been a loan, we would not have expected a uniform rendering of Eg ḥ as ʕ in all WS lgs. and would have expected ḫ (= ḥ) in Ak - which is the usual Ak rendering of foreign ḥ) || Eg XVIII **ḳbḥw** 'libation-vase' ¶ EG V 27, Fk. 278 || C: [1] EC: Af {PH} **kafaʕ** 'large palm-leaf basket' || Ag: Xm {R} **qefā** 'cylindrical box, beehive'; C (Ag?) → Amh **ḳəfo** 'wicker basket used as a beehive' → Sa/Af {R} **ḳafo** 'beehive'; [2] EC: Sa {R} **qāʕaʕbō** ~ **qāʕeʕbō** (pl. 'qāʕeʕbōb) 'ein großer irdener Krug' ¶ PH 142, R S II 230 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***kaḅ** 'basket' (× N ***ḲabʕEʔ** 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ OS 307 [#1407] (HS ***kaḅ-** 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg **kb**, DhI, Hs), 332 [#1526] (> ***ḳab-** > Ak, Ron, Eg **ḳbḅ**) || ?φ IE: NaIE ***kap-** 'vessel, box' (× N ***ḲabʕEʔ** '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ U: FU ***koppʕa** 'vessel' > F **koppa** 'Korb, Schale', Es **kopp** (gen. **kopa**) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' × ← Sw **kopp** 'cup') ¶ Coll. 93, ≈ UEW 181-2 ¶ F **koppa** 'front part of the skull, forehead, box, vessel' goes back to two N words (this one and N ***ḳʕaʕw̄oḳp̄E** → ***ḳʕaʕw̄oḳp̄E** 'skull') || A ***kʕpʕE** > NaT ***kʕp̄** (× N ***ḲuP̄** 'box, basket') > OT **kūp̄** 'large earthenware jar\jug', Az, Gg, Kr, Qzq Δ **küp** id., Tk **küp** (+ppa.: **küp-ü**) 'large earthenware narrow-necked jar'; ***kʕpʕä** 'earthenware jug' > Tk Δ **küpe**, Az **güpä**, Uz **kuwa** ¶ Cl. 687, DTS 328, TkR 581, Hüs. 176, GRM 30, ET KQ 143-4 || M: [1] M ***qobdu** 'case, long and narrow box; quiver' (× N ***ḲuP̄** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || [2] M ***köbke** > WrM **köbke**, HIM **xəb̄x** 'box, chest; basket', WrO **köbkeq** 'cage, basket' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 476, 949, Krg. 271,

736, KRS 591, KW 171, Ms. O 347 ◇ In some cases the resemblance is due to borrowing. Coalescence with N ***ḲuP** ▽ '↑' may be supposed for many descending lgs.

1906. *ḡac ▽ 'gray' (esp. of hair), 'white' > **K**: GZ *mqč-(e) 'gray hair' > OG mqce, G (m)χce 'gray hair', Mg (r)č-: če- 'white', tuta-rčela 'white moon', gaarčielu vt. 'whitened', Lz χče-~(k)če- 'gray-haired'; ⇨ GZ *mqč-oan- 'hoary with age' > OG mqcovani, G mχcovani id., Mg rčinu 'old man, old woman', Lz χčin- ~ kčin- 'old woman' ¶ *m- is likely to go back to a px.; as. **ḡc > *qc ¶ K 267, K² 135, Chik. 40, 343, Abul. 316 || **HS**: ? CS *✓ḡšš v. 'be old' (of a person), *ḡašš- 'old man' (×N ***ḲUŠE** 'grown-up man, old (person)', q.v. ffd.) || C: Dhl {To.} kīzō 'village elder' (pl. 'kīzōma), {EEN} kīzō (pl. 'kīzōma) 'elder, old man', {E} kīzō 'old man' || ?? SC: Asa {E} kižumo, pl. kižumaku 'male impala' ¶ E SC 244 (adduces the Dhl word and Mb mzíme 'old man' and reconstructs SC *kīz- 'old man'), EEN 11, To. D 140 || **IE**: NaIE *kas-, *kas-no- (or *kās-, *kās-no-) 'gray, white' > L cānus (< *kas-no-s) 'white-haired, gray-haired, hoary', Osc, Pæl CASNAR 'old man' || OHG hasan {Kb.} 'gray, polished, smooth', {P} 'grau glänzend', ON hqss 'gray' (< *kas-wō-), AS hasu 'dark, gray, ash-coloured', MHG heswe 'blass, matt' ¶ P 533, Mn. 602, WH I 156, Pln. II 688, 717, Vr. 282, Ho. 149, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Lx. 88, EI 240 (*kās- 'gray') ¶ The stem is usually reconstructed as *kās-, which is based on a highly qu. adduction of the stem *kō|as- 'hare' (> OI śa'śa-, Pru sasins, OHG haso, AS hara 'hare'). But there is no proof that the two stems are etymologically identical, so that the hyp. of an initial *k̄- remains unfounded || **A**: NaT *k'acš- 'gray (hair), white' > Tv k'azarar- v. 'grow gray' (hair), 'be seen as white', Tf qāh^u-ar- id., Xk xaz-ar- χaz-ar- id., Tlt {Rl.} kajai 'weiß, grau werden (von Haaren), in der Ferne weiß erscheinen', Brb {Rl.} qašqaj- 'grow gray' (of hair) ¶ Rl. II 395-9, Ra. 217.

1907. *ḡûd 'i' 'hut' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'house') > **K**: GZ *ḡud-e 'house' > Mg řud-e 'house', G cd. kva-ḡud-e 'stone house', d. sa-ḡud-el- 'cloister, refuge', ?? OG sa-ḡud-ar-ni pl. '{?} Wohnsitze' ¶ K² 245-6; ≈ FS K 367-8 and FS E 412 (*ḡwed- + unc.: Sv ḡwedi 'ruhig, gemütlich', the OG/G words with the ✓ ḡud- 'be quiet') || ? **HS**: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} kúdîmdîm 'square room\house with flat roof' ¶ Sch. DN 97 || **IE**: NaIE ***ḡkud**h^yā ({KM} *kudh^yā) > Gmc *xudjōn- 'hut' > OHG hutta, MHG hütte, NHG Hütte id.; MHG hütte ⇨ OFr hutte (> Fr hutte

'hut') \rightarrow NE *hūt* \mathcal{J} Hardly here NaIE **ket-/kōt-* 'room in a house' \leftarrow 'Wohngrube' (P 586-7) both because of its original meaning and because IE **k-* points to the following N **a* rather than to the expected **o|u* \mathcal{J} Schz. 172, Kb. 494, OsS 435, Lx. 97, KM 323, HDEL 644 || **D** **kuṭi* ($\{\mathfrak{G}S\}$ **kuḍi* ~ **guḍi*) 'house, hut' $>$ Tm *kuṭi* 'house, home, family, town', Ml *kuṭi* 'house, hut, family, tribe', Kt *kuṛṣi* 'shed, bathroom', Td *kuṣ* 'room (in dairy or house)', *kuḍṣ* 'outer room of dairy', Kn *guḍi* 'house, temple', Kdg *kuḍi* 'family of servants living in one hut', Tu *guḍi* 'small pagoda\shrine', Tu *guḍi* 'temple', *koṭika* 'hamlet', Gnd *kuṛma* 'hut, outhouse', *guḍ(ḍ)i* \mathfrak{d} *guṛi* 'temple', Klm *guḍī*, Gdb *guḍi* id., Prj *guḍi* id., 'village resthouse', Kui *guḍi* 'central room in house, living room'; D \rightarrow OI *kuṭa-*, *kūta-*, *kuṭi-* 'hut' $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ D ##1655, Tu. ##3232-3, 3493.

1908. *qUyigŋU (or ***gigŋU**) 'cold' $>$ K **qigŋ-* 'freeze, feel cold' $>$ OG, G *qin-* id., Mg *in-*, Lz *qin-* ~ *in-*, Sv *qgəŋ-/qəŋ-* id. \mathcal{J} K 212, K² 243, Chik. 190, FS K 371, FS E 416-7 || **U** **k∇'ŋ'∇* '≈ be cold, freeze' $>$ Sm {Jn.} **кън(т∇)-*, Ne T *хǎнюй hǎnyuy* 'kalt werden', Slq Tz {Hl.} *qōh+* 'frost', Kms *k'ān-* 'frieren' \mathcal{J} **-ŋ-* $<$ **-yŋ-* || ??φ *Ykan-*: T {Krn.} *qandəŋ*, {IN} *qanžə* 'cold, winter' (**qan-yə*; *-yə* is a sx.) $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ UEW 176-7, KKIИ 164, Cs. 224, KD 26, Krn. JJ 273, \neq Jn. 53 (**кънтаjǎ-* 'frieren, erfrieren'), IN 245, \neq Rd. UJ 38 [#23] (Y \leftarrow U; unc. adduction of F *kontta* 'Starrheit, Starre') || **A**: Tg **xiŋü-* 'cold' $>$ Ewk, Neg *iŋin* 'cold, frost', Nn KU *iŋni* n. 'cold', WrMc *siŋgiya* 'severe cold, hard frost', Ewk *iŋī* 'hoarfrost', *iŋin-*, Lm *iŋi-*, Neg *ini-* ~ *iŋi-* 'be cold', Ork *siŋgū-* v. 'freeze', Orc *iŋəni*, Ud *iŋinzi*, Ul *siŋgu(n-)* adj. 'cold', Nn *siŋmū* 'cool' \mathcal{J} In the words with s- there may have been coalescence with N ***šūnigo** 'snow' \mathcal{J} STM I 321 || ??φ M **küyi-ten* 'cold' $>$ MM [MA, LM] *küyten*, [HI] {Ms.} *köyiten*, [S] {H} *koŋiten*, WrM *küiten*, HIM *хүйтэн*, Kl {Rm.} *kītŋ*, Ord *k'ūt'ön*, Dx *kuičjen*, Dg {Mr.} *küyten*, Mnr H {SM} *k'uīd_jän*, {T} *kuīten*, Ba *kitaŋ* id. \mathcal{J} Ms. H 73, Pp. MA 226, Pp. L II 69, H 105, MED 498, SM 210, T 341, T BJ 141, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 31 || ??σ T **Ku|oyan* 'rheumatism' $>$ Tkm *qoyan*, ET Δ, Tv *quyan* id., Qzq {Rl.} *quyan*, Qq, Qrg {Jud.} *quyan* {Jud.} 'ischias', Tf *huyan* 'rheumatism of the back' \mathcal{J} T **-a-* (for **-i-* in the expected ***Ku|oyiŋ**) may be due to the infl. of T **Kuyan* '≈ pelvis' ($>$ Qrg *quyan* 'pelvic cap', ET {Rl.} 'Sehnen in der Seite') \mathcal{J} ET Q 30-1, Rl. II 902-3, 52, Jud. 457 || pKo {S} **kǰə́nír* 'winter' $>$ MKo *kǰə́nír* ~ *kǰə́nír* ~ *kǰə́'ar*, NKo *kǰə́ul* \mathcal{J} S QK #210, Nam 42, MLC 112

¶ pKo *k- (for *k'-) is not yet clear || pJ: [1] pJ {S} *kənəkə(r)- 'freeze' > OJ kogo- 'freezing', kogor- 'freeze', J: T kogor-, kōgoe-, kogoé-, K kógóé-, Kg kògòè- 'freeze' ¶ S QJ #1195, Mr. 711 || [2] ? pJ {S} *kəyu- > OJ k₁u₂oyu- vi. 'freeze' ¶ S QJ #1194, Mr. 711 ¶¶ S AJ 53-4, 290 (Tg, M), DQA #1054 (pA *k'jójjə 'cold' > Tg, M, T, Ko, J *kəyu-; questionable phonetically [absence of traces of *η in M] and semantically [in T]) || D *kiŋh- ({{GS}} *k-) 'cold' > Klm kinani, kinām 'cold', Gnd kinan id. ¶¶ D #1601 || Gil: Gil A kəŋ- v. 'freeze' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ IS MS 371 (*qī'ri' 'cold'), IS SS #7.5, Blz. LB #26a, Gr. II #354 (*kōn 'snow') (Sm, M, Tg, J kogor-, Ai, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ If the pA rec. of DQA and the M, T, Ko, and J cognates are valid, the N rec. is *qUyigŋU. Otherwise it is *qigŋU.

1909. *qûřka|æ (or *qûřsa|æ) 'to squat' > K *quq- id. > G K/Ms quq- id. ('sich kauern, sich [auf den Boden] hocken'), Sv quq- 'squat' ¶ K² 247, Chx. 1742-3, GhI. 618 || HS: S *^o✓křy v. 'squat' > Ar ✓qřy *Sh* (pf. řaqřā) 'être assis le derrière sur le sol' (of dogs and other carnivorous animals), 'être assis, accroupi de manière à avoir le fondement sur le sol, le dos appuyé contre qch. et les jambes dressées', 's'asseoir de manière que le fondement porte sur les talons ou sur le sol' ¶ BK II 785 ¶¶ A possible phonetic prehistory of S: N *qûřka|æ > (ass. uvularization of *k) *quřqa > (as.) *quřsa > S *✓křy || IE: NaIE *^ok₁reuǵǵ- v. 'squat' > ON húka 'to squat (kauern)', MHG hūchen id., NHG hocken 'to crouch, to squat' ¶ P 589, Vr. 265-6, Lx. 94 || D *kukk- ({{GS}} *k-) v. 'sit, squat' > Tm kukku id., Kt kuki'r- 'sit down', Kn kukkarisu v. 'squat', Tl kukuŋđu v. 'sit', Kui kopka (< *kok-p∇) / p. kōkt- v. 'sit, sit down', Ku kuǵ- v. 'sit' ¶¶ D #1628.

1910. *qal∇ 'neck' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} qáľma (pl. q+ľm), Xm T {CR} qəľmā 'neck'; hardly here Ag {AD} *^o✓kr̥m 'throat, nape' (see N *kôri'h'û 'throat, neck') || EC: Kns {BISO} xolm-ā, Msl {Bl.} xolma 'neck' (x- < EC *k- with a puzzling deglottalization *k̥- > *k-), Sa, Af kalma, Ya kilimi? 'uvula' || SC: Kz kolima 'nape' ¶ BISO 215, E K 13, Blz. CWL #58, Blz. CL 179, R WB 227, PH 143 || K *qel- 'neck' > OG qel-i id., G qel-i 'throat, neck of a vessel', Mg řāl- 'neck, neck of a vessel' (-đ 0-řāl-eš- 'collar'), Lz (q)āl- đ řāl- 'neck', Sv d. mə₁-q₁-a 'neck, throat' ¶¶ K 209, K² 238, FS K 365-6, FS E 410 || IE: NaIE *kōl-sō- 'neck' > OL collus, L collum id. || Gt, ON, NNr, Sw, OFrs, OSx, OHG hals, NHG Hals, AS heals id. | Lt kãklas 'neck', Ltv kakls id., 'throat' ({{Ndr.}}: < NaIE *k^wol-tlo-) ¶ EI 392 (*'kōlso-s), Vr. 206, Fs. 241-2, Ho. 151, Kb. 427,

Schz. 158, KM 285, WH I 245, Frn. 205; ≈ WP I 514-5 and P 639 (unc. *k^wol-sō- < *k^wel- 'drehen').

1911. *qola 'to kill' > **K** *^oq^w∇l- v. 'kill' > Mg ɣvil- ɖ ɣviy-, Lz qvil- ~ ɣvil- ~ ɣil- ~ ɣil- ~ ɣil- ~ -il- v. 'kill' ¶ Chik. 353, Schm. 119, Q 418 || **HS**: C *k^w∇l- > EC *k^wal- v. 'slaughter' (× N *k^walɣa 'cut, hew, chop, stab', q.v. ffd.; lack of the expected labialization [*k^w-] is due to this contamination) || **D** *kol(l)- ({}GS} *k-) v. 'kill' > Tm kol, Ml kolluka, Kn kol, kolu, kollu v. 'kill\murder', Kt kol 'act of killing', Td kwaly 'murder', Kdg koll-, Krg koru, Tl kolli v. 'kill'; the heritage of this N word may have also influenced D *kol-, {}GS} *gōl- v. 'strike, hit', whence Tm kōl 'killing, murder' (see N *kōl|ía 'beat, strike') ¶¶ D #2132 ◇ IS MS 370 (*qo(H)l^o 'kill' > K, D + *÷ IE *g^we_tH₁- v. 'torture, die' and U *kōla- v. 'die'), ≠ Cald. 593 (D ÷ R κολυ 'I stab' and NE kill, quell), 618 (D, U: F kuole, etc.). Cf. N *kolpa 'to die; end' ◇ Sl *kōl-ti 'to slaughter' hardly belongs here because its acute intonation indicates an IE √ with a lr. It is probably a sd. from Sl *kōl-ti 'to stab\prick' (< IE *kelə- < N *k^walɣa '↑', q.v.).

1912. *q'U1U' 'boy, child' > **K**: Sv L qlaw- 'child, boy' (× N *'ɣ'ogU1∇ [or *H₂oqU1∇] 'offspring, child'??) ¶ Dn. s.v. qlaw-, ≠ K² 243-4 (unc.: Sv *q̄l- < K *q̄le- 'penis') || **HS**: Ch {Stl.} *χolu 'young man, slave' > WCh: Diri galu, Cg gālun, P' h^walin-čiki, Wrj galū-zə'z-na, Kry, My galu-zəhə 'slave' || CCh: FIJ mu-gula 'slave', Mf {BLB} g^wala, Mada {BrrB} gawla ~ guwla 'young man', MfG gúwla id. (with connotation of sexual power), Lgn ɣule-mazé 'slave', ɣuke-g^waši 'girl', Glv {Rp.} ɣúla 'bride' ¶ Stl. IF 107, 289, BLB 158, BrrB 118, Brr. MG II 121 || ? S: Ar ɣall-at- 'one-year-old young of a camel' ¶ BK I 608 ¶¶ HS deglottalization: N *q̄- > **q̄- > Ch *χ- || **A** {S} *kūl∇ 'servant, slave' (× N *ku1∇ 'to work' × N *kūl'ā 'clan, village' → 'everybody') > NaT *kūl 'slave' (ffd. see N *ku1∇ '↑') || **D** *kūli ({}GS} *k-) 'working for wages' (× N *ku1∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Doubtful, because the supposed Sv, A, and D cognates have alt. etymologies, while the Ch rec. is rather shaky. N *l and *U (of the first syll.) are valid reconstructions unless the labialized vw. and *l in NaT *kūl and D *kūli belong to the heritage of *ku1∇ 'to work'.

1913. *qU,ɣ,ɣ∇ 'speak, call' > **HS**: WS *-kūl- v. 'speak' > Amr {G} ✓k^wl v. 'speak', Ar ✓q^wl G (ip. ya-qūl-u) v. 'say', qawl- 'saying' (n.act.), 'word', Mh qawl 'speech, qəwōl 'improviser of poetry, singer'; ?? S *qāl- 'voice' > Ph, OA q̄l, BA, Gz qāl, Sr qāl-ā, Md qala id., Ug q̄l

'voice, cry, thunder', Hb כִּוּן קוֹל 'voice, noise, noise made by animals', Ar qāl- n. act. 'saying', 'speech', Gz qāl 'voice, speech, word', Tgr, Tgy qal 'word' ¶ Br. 651, G A 29, Fr. III 516, BK II 836-7, Hv. 634, Jo. M 246, KB 1013-5, KBR 1084-5, 1774, OLS 365-6, L G 426 || ??φ Eg ḫrω 'crier', Eg fO ḫr 'says he, says N', Eg NK ḫrt.ω 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (χ < HS *q, deglottalized *q) (× N *gor▽ 'cry, speak') ¶ AnC-1 10 || C: EC: Sa {R} -qal- ~ -kal- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. 'əqələ ~ 'əkelə, prs. 'aḳālə ~ 'əqələ ~ 'əkelə); HEC *kul- v. 'tell' (deglottalization *q- > *k- due to contamination with N *k'a'IX'o' 'call [appeler], shout') > Sd, Kmb, Ged kul-, Hd kur- 'tell' ¶ SC: Kz ḳʷaʔalikō 'voice' ¶ R S II 232, Hd. 150, C SE II 209 (Sd kul-, Hd kur- 'dire, raccontare'), E SC 268 || Ch.: ? ECh: Kbl {Cp.} kuwɜlɜ́, L {Grgs.} kóló, Smr {J} gʷalé 'word', Ke {Eb.} kél 'Worte', whence Kbl yɜ́ kuwɜlɜ́, L yǎ́ kóló, Ke wáté kél v. 'talk' ('say words') ¶ ChC s.v. 'word' and 'talk', Eb. 64, Lk. ZSS 147-9 || K: [1] Sv UB † li-qle 'to say sth.', prs. qə́le, ipf. qə́la, narrative prs. lə́-m-qə́lwēn (the dictionary GP mentions the ip. ft. form iqwlewēni, but it fails to indicate whether it belongs together with the masdar li-qle 'to crow' [of cocks] or with li-qle 'to say sth.'), Sv LB (verbal noun of result) naqə́l 'called' ¶ GP 120, 177, 204, 231, 271 || [2] *qūl- v. 'cry, shout' > Sv {Ni.} qul- id., Sv UB {GP} qūl- v. 'moo', G G {Ghl.} rdp. qurqul-i 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K *qur- howl' < N *gur'h'▽ 'to bark, to howl; to cry\shout'); but G qvir- 'cry' is likely to belong to N *gur'h'▽ only ¶ ≈ K 211 (adduces G qvir- v. 'cry' and reconstructs K *qwir-), ≈ K² 246 (*qur-), Ghl. 617, Chx. 599, IS MS 345 (K *qwil- / qw(i)r-) || D (in SD) *k'u'lar- ({{GGS} *k-) v. 'cry out' > Tm kuḷarṽ v. 'howl, yell', Kn kilir, kilirṽ v. 'sound, neigh', keḷar v. 'cry out, roar'; *÷ Tm kuḷarṽ, Ml kuḷarṽuka v. 'stammer' ¶ D #1831 || E {HK} ku-la 'das Rufen, Bittflehen', ku-la-a 'das Anrufen, Bittflehen', gú-lu 'bittflehend' ¶¶ HK 509-11, 560-2 || A: NaT *k'ṽol- v. 'ask for' (× N *goI▽ 'look, look for, wish') > OT, MQp, Chg, Kr qol-, SY qol- ~ q'ol- 'ask for', ds.: Qrg qoluqtu, ET qulašliq 'bride' (← *'asked in marriage'); it is not clear if NaT *kolt- 'ask' (> Kr qoltqa ~ qoltχa 'a request', Tv koldan- v. 'ask') belongs here ¶ Cl. 616-7, ET Q 36-7, Rs. W 277, KRPS 369, TvR 246 || ? pKo {S} *kàró- 'say' (× N *ḲAyLa 'shout, call' and N *Ḳ'er|hi'lê 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || U: pY {IN} *qol- (× N *ḲeHu'h'lüHê 'hear') > Y K {IN} qol-il 'sound (sonus)', {Krn.}

χολίλ 'sound of a knock (cτυκ)', {Jc. → Ang.} χολίλ 'Geräusch, Laut, Klopfen, Läuten' (-l is a nominal sx.) ¶ IN 246 (equates it with FU *kūle 'hear; ear'), Krn. JJ 284, Ang. 256, Rd. UJ 38 [#24] (Y ← U *kūle) ◇ IS SS #7.8 and IS MS 345 (*qul in HS and K), Blz. LB #100c (suggested to add Glf). A N Ir. *? can explain -?- in Kz and the vowel length in K *qūl-.

1914. *qawI∇ (or *qawE1∇) 'leg, bone of a limb' > HS: NrOm: Anf {Gt.} kelli 'bone' ¶ Gt. 354 || Ch: CCh: ? Glf {Röd.} kel 'foot', {AF} kalé 'feet', ?? Afd {Stz.} kullám 'Hüfte' || ? ECh: McSmr: Tmk {Cp.} dègžíl 'foot, leg', Nd D {J} dágžíl 'leg', Smr {Nc.} dígel-an 'my leg', {AF} degel-ám 'thy leg' ¶ Blz. DA #39 analyzes the ECh forms as having a px. *d∇- ¶ Lk. ZSS 77, 147-8, Sö. 261, Cp. 117, JI II 221 || ?σ B *yīl-/*yall- 'arm' (if *y < HS *y+χ) (×N ?φ ≈ *goŋ'H'ä1∇ [~ mt.: N *go1'H'∇ñ∇] 'forearm', q.v. ffd.) > Ah, BSn ayil (pl. iyallan), BMn yil, Izn ayil, Gd āyil (pl. yallan) 'arm', Zng {TC} iy 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II #1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || ? C: ? EC: Dsn gíl 'hand' ¶ To. DL 500, Blz. DL s.v. 'hand' || **K:** GZ {K} *qawliw-, {FS} *qwil- 'ε bone' (×N *'q'uíU [or *'q'ulYU] '[hollow] stalk, reed, hollow [tubular] bone') > G {DCh., Chik.} qvliw- 'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R qvliw- 'large bone, shin', Mg řvil-, řvil-e 'bone, arm', Lz qvil-i ř řil-i ř il-i 'bone' ¶ K 211-2, K² 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Ghl. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379 || **IE:** [1] NaIE *kaul-/*kul- 'hollow bone', (?) 'leg' (×N *'q'uíU or *'q'ulYU '↑'), → μφ. 'stalk' > Lt káulas, Ltv kaũls, Pru caulan 'bone' || Gk καυλόσ 'stem (of a plant), spear-shaft, tubular structures in animals (e.g., quill part of a feather), hilt (of a sword)' || L caulis, caulus 'stalk of a plant (esp. that of cabbage-plant), quill of a feather' || OIr cúaille 'poteau' (< d. *kaulīnyo-) | NaIE zero-grade: OI Λ kulyam 'bone' (M K has doubts about the real existence of this word), OI [MBh] kulyam 'a receptacle for bones left from a burnt corpse' (if = *kul'ya- 'place for bones' ← *'kulya- 'bone'), Vd mahā-ku'la- 'eine große Höhlung habend (?) || Gmc *xol- > ?σ ON holr, OHG, AS hol, NHG hohl 'hollow', NE hollow; Gt us-hulōn, ON hola, AS (ā)-holian, OHD holōn 'to hollow out' (unless it belongs to IE *k|kew- 'hollow') || [2] NaIE *k_lω₁el- 'limb' > Sl *čelnъ 'limb, joint of a limb' > ChS YΛANЪ članъ 'limb' ('articulus') ř YΛBNЪ člěnъ id., 'part of body', OR čelonъ, McdS член, Cz člen id., P człon id., 'part', Slv

člĕn 'joint, limb'; in ChS and in the modern Sl lgs. there is a secondary meaning 'member' || Gk κῶλον 'limb, leg' ¶ ME II 175-6, M KI 242-3, M E I 377, WH I 188-9, F I 802-3 and II 60-1, Vr. 248, Ho. 168, Kb. 475-6, Schz. 168, KM 314, Fs. 533, P 537, ≠ 639-40, ≈ Vn. C 260-1 (OIr cúaille <+ cúal 'fagot' ÷ Gk καυλός, L caulis), Frn. 230, En. 191, Tp. P I-K 273-8, Bern. I 139, Mikl. L 1119, SPS II 125-6, Bern. 139-40, ESSJ IV 44-5, Me. SC § 81, Srz. III 1536, Vs. IV 369-70, ≠ EI 542 (Blt < *kau^hlo-s 'stalk') ¶ The meaning 'joint of a limb' in Sl may go back to an ancient association with Sl *kolĕno 'knee' (akin to Lt kelū̃s, Ltv celis 'knee') || **A** ({DQA} *k'ōyli {AD} 'limb' [[leg, arm]]): T *k'ol 'arm' > OT qol ({Cl.} qōl), Chg, MQp, OOsm qol, Tk kol, Az, Tkm, Slr qol 'arm', Qzq, ET qol, Yk χol 'hand, arm, foreleg', Ggz kul, ET, Qq, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Alt, Shor qol, Bsh qul, Tf qol 'hand, arm', VTt qul 'arm, foreleg', Xk χol id., 'arm', Nog, Blq qol 'arm, hand', Uz qωl, Xlj {DT} qol, Chv L xυπ xul, {Ash.} xulb 'arm, shoulder', T χol 'arm, foreleg' ¶ IS AG 340 (on pT fortis *k'- evidenced by Tv χ- and the variation q-~g- in Og), Cl. 614-5, ET Q 37-43, ADb. SR 146-53, 199-215, Ra. 220, Sht. 265, Jeg. 303, Fed. I 353, Ash. XVI 149 || M *kōl 'leg, foot' > MM [MA, IsV] kōl, WrM, MMgl kōl, HIM xθλ, Kl, Mgl {Rm.} kōl, Mnr H {SM} k'ūōr, {T} kol, Mnr M {T} koř, Dg {T} kŭli, Ba kul id. ¶ Pp. MA 221, Lg. VMI 51, Iw. 113, Rm. M 30, MED 483-4, SM 214, T 340, T BJ 141, T DgJ 31 || Tg *xoldan 'thigh, side (of body)' > Ewk Y oldōn 'thigh', Ewk oldōn, Sln oldō̃, Lm oldān, Neg oldon, Orc ogdo(n), Ul, Ork, Nn B xoldo(n), Nn Nh xoldō̃ 'side of body, side']? Tg d. *xyl-kse 'sleeve' > Nn Nh xū̃ksɜ, Orc uksɜ, Ud {Krm.} ukihe, Ul wɜskɜ ~ ū̃skɜ, Ork wɜskɜ, Ewk, Neg ūksɜ, Sln utçil ~ uçil, Lm ôs, WrMc ulxi, Mc Sb {Y} vilixi id. ¶ STM II 13, 254, Ci. EApk 96-7, Y #228, Krm. 300, Bz. 977 (*xō-ksä 'sleeve' without taking into account Mc -l-) || pKo {S} *kūi-mà,rí 'ankle' (lit. 'leg-head') > MKo*kūi-mà,rí ¶ S QK #332, Nam 65 || pJ {S} *kuru-n-pusi 'ankle' > OJ kurubusi, J: T kurúbuśi, K kúrúbúśí, Kg kurubuśí id. ¶¶ S AJ 286, S QJ #798, Mr. 465 ¶¶ {SDM97} *k'oli, DQA #1112 (A *k'ōyli 'limb, extremity') || **D** {tr., GS} *kāl- '≈ leg, foot' > Tm, Ml kāl, Kt ka·l, Td ko·l, Kdg ka·li, Tu kārъ, Tl kāl̃u, Klm kāl, Kui kādu 'leg, foot', Kn kāl 'foot, leg down to the knee', Prj kēl, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku kāl 'leg' ¶¶ D #1479, GS 31 [#32] ◇ The meaning 'arm' (attested in B and T) is secondary: 'limb, leg (of an animal)' → 'arm' ◇ An alt. N rec. with an internal *E (N *qawE1∇) is suggested by K *qwil- and B *yīl- ◇ N *-aw- is suggested by NaIE

*kau̯l- and D *kāl-, but the origin of T *-o- (here supposedly from *-aw-) is still to be demonstrated ◊ Blz. DA 156 [#40] (D, HS [without B], IE, K, M, Tg).

1915. *qA||íAb|p▽ (? *'to cover' →) 'to hide, to conceal' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to steal', 'to lie, to deceive') > **K:** G qalb- v. 'cheat, deceive, lie', qalb-i 'false, fake' ¶ Chx. 1663-4, DCh. 1372 || **HS:** S *^o✓χlb > Ar ✓χlb G (pf. χalaba, ip. -χlub-) {BK} 'tromper par des paroles caressantes', {Ln.} 'endeavour to deceive\beguile with blandishing speech', D (pf. χallaba) 'deceive', L (pf. χālaba) id.; Ar CA χelbāti 'liar' ⇨ EDng {Fd.} kàlbàtìnàw 'a lie' and kàlbātìnè 'liar'; S *χ < *q (de-emphatization of N *q) ¶ BK I 609, Ln. 782, Hv. 179, Fd. 276 || ?? Eg fXIX kəp v. 'hide oneself' (× N *K̅ER▽p▽ 'to cover' [→ 'roof']) > DEg k̅p 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd κωπ kōp, Cpt B xωπ k^hōp vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide'. The initial k may be explained by dis. *k̅▽? > kə (or to HS de-emphatization?) ¶ EG V 103-4, Fk. 28, Er. 53, Crum 113-4, Vc. 84 || **IE:** NaIE *klep- v. 'hide, conceal' → 'steal' > Gk κλέπτω 'I steal' (< *κλέπι̯ω), pfc. κέκλωσα; κλέπος 'theft' || L clep-ō, -ēre / clepsi / cleptum v. 'conceal oneself, steal' || Gt hlifan v. 'steal' || OIr clúain (< *klopni-) 'ruse, tromperie, flatterie' || Pru auklipts (< *-kloptós) v. 'conceal' || Tc B kälyp- v. 'steal', klepe '≈ theft' ¶ WP I 497, P 604 (unjustified rec. of *k̅-), ≈σ EI 595 (*klep- '≈ lay hand to'), Dv. #547, WH I 232-3, F I 870-1, Vn. C 126, Fs. 263, En. 147, Tp. P A-D 149-50, Wn. 203, Ad. 175-6, Ad. H 16, 34-6, 42 || **D** *ka]av-, *ka]- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'steal, deceive' > Tm ka]- v. 'rob, steal, deceive', Ml ka]avυ 'theft, lie, cheat', ka]kukka v. 'steal', Kt ka]v-, Td ko]-, Ka ka]-, Kdg ka]-, Mnd ka]- 'steal', Tu ka]u 'false, untrue, fraud, cheating, lie', ka]avυ 'theft, robbery', Tl kalla 'falsehood, lie, deceit', Krx xa]-nā v. 'steal', xa]b 'theft', Krx xa]bas 'theft', xa]bas 'thief', Mlt qale v. 'steal', qalwi 'theft', qalwe 'thief' ¶¶ D #1372 ¶¶ The variant *ka]av- is likely to be primary.

1916. o? *q'o'Lûp'?'ü 'to gulp, to swallow' > **K** *q]ap- / *q]p- v. 'swallow' > G q]ap-, Mg řulip-, Sv qā]p- v. id. ¶ K² 243 || **HS:** S *^o✓k]p̅? ~ *^o✓k]p̅ id. > Ar ✓q]f̅ v. 'avalier tout', Gz ✓k]p̅ G 'devour, swallow, catch with the mouth sth. that has been thrown'; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} qυ'lūb pp. 'verschlungen, verschluckt mit Hast' ¶ BK II 805, L G 429, R S II 232-3 || ?? Eg RT χəf '≈ essen von etw.', Eg fP χəff '≈ ∈ food', Eg P/BD/G χfə.t 'meal-time, meal', {Fk.} 'food' ¶ These words may

belong here if χ - goes back to $*q$ - resulting from pHS deglottalization of $*q$ - $\text{J EG III 230-1, 271, Fk. 190} \quad || \text{IE: NaIE } *ogh^h\text{leub-} > \text{Gmc } *gleup- > \text{Dn } gylpe, gulpe, \text{Frs E, MDt } gulpen \text{ 'to swallow eagerly' } (> \text{Dt } gulpen) \rightarrow \text{ME } gulpen > \text{NE } gulp; \text{Sw } glupande, \text{Dn } glubende \text{ 'voracious' } \text{J Hlq. I 288, Vr. NEW 226} \quad || \text{A: M } *kölbü- > \text{WrM } kölbü- \text{ 'swallow without chewing, gulp', } \text{?}\phi \text{ Brt } xüld \text{ (ideophone for gulping) } \text{J MED 484, Brt 617} \quad \diamond \text{ IE } *b, \text{ M } *b, \text{ and Eg } f \text{ point to a N } *p. \text{ G and Gz } p \text{ are likely to go back to the N cluster } *p?, \text{ but } h \text{ in Ar } \checkmark qlf^h \text{ remains puzzling (an ext.?). IE } *ogh^h\text{- still remains unexplained. K } *-a- \text{ may be interpreted as suggesting a pN } *q'o'l'a'p'?'ü \text{ with an IE metathesis explaining the its root-internal } *-eü- < \text{N } *û.$

1917. ($_2$?) $*qULp\triangledown$ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' $> \text{K } *qwelp- \text{ 'hot ashes' } > \text{OG } \text{yuelp-}, \text{G } \text{vvelp-}, \text{Mg } \text{vvalp- id.}, \text{Sv } \text{qwelp} \text{ 'ashes' } \text{JJ GZ } *y- \text{ (for the expected } *q- \text{) is puzzling; K}^2 \text{ 240 suggests a possible ppK } *q- \text{ (presumably yielding GZ } *y- \text{ and Sv } q- \text{), but it is at variance with the external comparative ev. JJ K KE 21, K}^2 \text{ 240, FS K 368, FS E 413, Abul. 464} \quad || \text{? HS: S } *o\checkmark klb > \text{Ar } \checkmark qlb \text{ } Sh \text{ (pf. } \text{?aq\text{lab}a) \text{ 'be baked from one side' (of bread), } \checkmark qlb \text{ G 'become red' (of ripening dates) } (\leftarrow *'get singed by the sun'), \text{قَلْبَة } qulb-at- \text{ 'couleur rouge intense' } \text{J BK II 796-7, Hv. 622-3} \quad || \text{Eg } (\times \text{HS } \checkmark \text{çrp } [> \text{S } *'çrp \text{ 'burn''] and N } *qoRb\triangledown \text{ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' [q.v.]}: \text{Eg } fN \text{ } \checkmark \text{f vt. 'burn' (e.g. 'burn meat\myrrh as sacrifice, burn houses, ships, enemies'), Eg } Md \text{ } \checkmark \text{f v. 'heat\boil swine blood', } \{DW\} \text{ } \checkmark \text{f 'burnt (or overroasted) meat', DE } \checkmark \text{f, Cpt Sd/B } \text{ } \checkmark \text{f, } \text{ } \checkmark \text{f vt. 'burn' } \text{J EG V 522, DW 995, Er. 677, Vc. 333, Tk. I 60} \quad || \text{A: T } *k'ül \text{ 'ashes, cinders' } (\times \text{N } *kûl\triangledown \text{ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook', q.v. ffd.).}$

1918. $*q'uU$ (or $*q'uLyU$) '(hollow) stalk, reed, hollow (tubular) bone' $> \text{K: GZ } \{K\} *qwliw-, \{FS\} *qwil- \text{ 'é bone' } (\times \text{N } *qawI\triangledown \rightarrow *qawE1\triangledown \text{ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) } > \text{G } \{DCh., Chik.\} qvliV- \text{ 'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R } qvliV- \text{ 'large bone, shin', Mg } \text{ } \checkmark \text{vil-, } \text{ } \checkmark \text{vil-e 'bone, arm', Lz } qvli-i \text{ } \checkmark \text{ } \checkmark \text{il-i } \checkmark \text{il-i 'bone' } \text{J K 211-2, K}^2 \text{ 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Ghl. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379} \quad || \text{HS: B } *'y\checkmark ll (*yala\text{?}) > \text{Ah } e-yala\text{ } \checkmark \text{ (pl. } i-yala\text{ } \checkmark \text{-} \checkmark \text{) 'tige (de mil, de maïs)', Gd } yala\text{ } \checkmark \text{ id. } \text{J Fc. 1729, Lf. II #1222} \quad || \text{IE: NaIE } *kaul-/*kul- \text{ 'hollow stalk, tubular bone' } (\times \text{N } *qawI\triangledown \rightarrow *qawE1\triangledown \text{ 'fl', q. v. ffd.)} \quad || \text{A } *k'uI\triangledown \text{-(gun) } > \text{M } *qulu-sun \text{ 'reed, rush' } > \text{MM [MA, IM, IsV] } qulusun \text{ id., WrM } qulusun, \text{HIM}$

хулс, Mnr H {SM} χυλυζ id., 'bamboo', Kl {KRS} χυλсн χυлсѣн 'rush, reed', {Rm.} χυлѣсн ~ χυлсн 'Schilfrohr' ¶ MED 985, Pp. MA 309, 445, Lg. VMI 46, KRS 608, KW 196, SM 182 || Tg *xylgu, *xylgu-kta 'reed' > Ewk ulgukta, Neg oygokto, Orc ugukta, Ul, Nn Nh/B χολγαqta, Nn KU ολγοqta, Ork xυλδυqta, WrMc υλχσ ~ υλχυ id. ¶ STM II 258-9 || T *^ok_L'_Lâí-gūn (most probably *^ok'uí-gūn) > OT [MhK] قشغون qâš-gūn 'tender cane used as fodder' ({DK} qušgūn id., {DTS} qušγun id., {CL} qâš-gūn 'fresh reeds which are eaten by cattle') ||| A further possible cognate (more qu. for semantic reasons): T *^ok_L'_Lulga 'sprout, rod' > Xk χυλφα 'sprouts', VTt колга qблфа 'pole (шест, жердь)', Chv L хулă хулъ 'twig, rod (прут)' ¶ MKD 149, DTS 471, Cl. 672 (OT qīšgūn without justification for the rec. of I in an unvocalized text), Rs. W 298, BIG 292, TatR 270, Ash. XVI 149 || pKo {S} *kōr 'reed, rush' > MKo kōr, NKo kōl-p^hul ¶ S QK #680, Rm. SKE 121, Nam 51, MLC 160 || pJ {S} *kɜrɜ > OJ korɔ 'ε reed' ¶ S QJ #1050 ¶¶ STM II 259 (Tg, M, OT qušγun), ADb. KL 4 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, Tg, M), DQA #1138 (A *^ok'ul(g)ɔ 'reed, rush' > M, Tg, Ko, J, Tk *Kulga) || D *ku]]- ({θGS} *k-) 'stalk of leaf, stem, shaft' > Prj kuлуη 'stalk of leaf, handle of spoon', Kui klūžu 'handle, haft, stem, shaft' ¶¶ D #1807 ◇ If the K root belongs here (in spite of its ambiguity), the N initial consonant is *q-, otherwise it may be either *q- or *k-.

1918a. *qU'í]]E 'penis, ? vulva' > K {K, K²} *qle-, {FS} *qal- 'penis' > G qle-, Mg ɔole-, Lz qole ɔ ole- ɔ kōle 'penis', ?? (× N *^oɣ'ogU1∇ - *^oh₂o qU1∇ 'offspring, child') Sv qlaw- 'male baby' ¶¶ K 212, K² 243-4, FS K 362 || HS: NrOm: Anf {Gt.} qalla'čɔ 'corona con phallus (portata dal re)'; Bdt {C} qolobō 'membro virile', {Hw.} qo'loppo 'testicles' (× N *^oqEHUy1'ü' 'testicles', q.v.) ¶ C SO 63, Hw. NKL 215, Gt. 358 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu k^oá]]], Cb k^oalæ, WMrg k^oá]], k^ož]], Klb k^oǎ]], Hld k^oà]]u, Mrg, Wmd k^oá]], Ngx k^ož]] 'penis' | Higi {ChL}: HgNk, Kps, HgG, FlG k^oala, HgB k^oá]](l)à, HgF, FlK k^ož]]a id. | BB: Mln {ChL} k^oǎ]]ò, Nz k^ožrɜ id. ¶ ChL || U *kULE 'penis' > F ku]]i, Vo ku]]i, ku]]í]] id. | Vt {SK} ku]]í]] (≈ ku]]í]] id. || Sm: Ne Kn {Bd.} h]]le (≈ h+]]le), Kms {KD} k'+ 'penis' ¶¶ SK 234, KD 30, Cs. 182; ≠ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this Sm √ with FU *ko]]e 'testicle(s)' - F s.v. N *^oqEHUy1'ü' id.) || ?σ D (in SD) ({θGS} *k-) *ko]]e 'anus (of males)' > Ka go]]e 'anus of males', Kdg go]]e 'anus' ¶ D #2159 ◇ Connected with N *^oqal_L∇,]]∇) 'urinate'?

1919. *qAÍ|íř∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' > HS: WS *✓q̄l̄ř 'pluck, pull out, root out, tear' > Ar ✓ql̄ř v. G 'pluck, snatch off; root out (a tree), extract (stones)', Gz ✓q̄l̄ř G vi. 'be torn, tear', Jb C {Jo.} ɔk̄z'tɔlař 'pull up by the roots', šk̄z'lař 'be able to be pulled out' ¶ BK II 802-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, Jo. J 144 || K: Sv {Ni.} (χwa-)qlawī 'I break' ¶ Ni. s.v. ломать || IE: NaIE *k̄k̄l̄ə- 'break, cut' > □Gk κλάω (ft. κλάωσ, aor. ἔκλαωσ) v. 'break, break off' ||| (×N *kaLřa 'to cut, to hew, to chop, to stab', q.v. ffd.) > Lt k̄al-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', Sl *k̄ól-ti (prs. *k̄óř-ŕ) 'to prick/stab, to slaughter' ¶ F I 866-7, ≈ P 545, F I 866 || D {tr., GS} *ka]- v. 'pluck, uproot' (×N *ka]íř∇ 'to bark [a tree], to remove vegetation') > Tm ka] v. 'weed, pluck', ka]a] v. 'weed, pluck out', Ml ka]a n. 'weed, tares', ka]ayuka 'get rid of, abolish', Kt k̄a]v- 'take/scoop out', Kn ka]e v. 'pull off', n. 'weed', Tu kalepi-, kaleru- 'strip off, remove', Kdg ka]e, Tl kalurpu 'weeds', Tl kalvařam 'act of weeding', Krg ka]e ~ kale 'remove', Brh xalliņ v. 'uproot' ¶¶ D #1373, GS 167 [#420] ◇ Because of the coalescence of N *q̄ and *k̄ in most descendant lgs. (outside K) a homonymic merger with N *kaLřa '↑' (q.v.) is possible.

1920. ₂ *qaÍ,∇,ř∇ 'urinate' > HS: Eg Md χ̄z̄ř ({EG} h̄z̄ř) v. 'urinate' (unless it is a sd. of Eg řP χ̄z̄ř v. 'throw') ¶ EG III 229 || A: T *k̄l̄, a]a- 'urinate' > OT {Cl.} qašā-n- rf. v. 'urinate' (esp. of horses), Chg, XwT, MQp qašan-, Az qašan- v. 'urinate', Tk kařan-, Nog qasan- id. (of animals); MU qašan '(?) urine', Tk kařan n. act. 'urinating' ¶ Cl. 673-4, ET KQ 348, Hüs. 77, DTS 431 ◇ Connected with N *qU'í]E 'penis, ? vulva'?

1921. *qaÍ'ü'P∇ 'to bark (a tree), to skin, to cut off; bark, peel' > HS: S: [1] S *✓q̄lp (*-q̄lup- ~ *-q̄lip-) v. 'bark (a tree)' > MHb {Js., Lv.} ✓q̄lp G (pf. q̄l̄p̄, ip. -q̄lop̄) 'peel, pare, scrape off, bark', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JPA {Js.} ✓q̄lp G (pf. q̄l̄p̄) id., JEA {Sl.} ✓q̄lp G 'peel, scrape off', Sr ✓q̄lp G (pf. q̄lap̄, 3m ip. نقلاط neqlup) id., Ar ✓qlf G (pf. qalafa, ip. -qlif-) 'bark (a tree)', Mh ✓q̄lf G (pf. q̄l̄f, Jb C ✓q̄lf G (pf. q̄l̄f) 'peel (dry sardines), bark (a tree)', Gz ✓q̄wlf G (pf. q̄walafa, js. -q̄w̄laf) 'peel, decorticate', Ak ✓q̄lp G (p. -q̄lip) vt. 'peel, peel off, skin'; S *'q̄ilap- n. 'bark' > MHb {Js., Dlm.} q̄l̄p̄ q̄al̄āp̄ (< Aram) or {Js.} q̄l̄p̄ q̄el̄ep̄ 'e parchment', JA {Trg.} q̄il̄p̄-ā ~ q̄al̄p̄-ā id., pl. 'scales', JEA {Sl.} q̄il̄p̄ (unk. voc.) 'scale', q̄il̄p̄-ā 'parchment', Sr q̄al̄p̄-ā 'sheet of

parchment, leaf', $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ā\text{p}-ā$, $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ā\text{p}'_{\text{ə}}\text{t}-ā$ 'bark, rind; husk, peel; scale', Ar $\text{q}ī\text{l}f-$ n. 'bark', Ak $\text{ḳ}ī\text{l}p\text{u}$ 'skin\peel (of a fruit), peeled off skin'; S * $\text{ḳ}ulip_{\text{p}}\text{-at-}$ > Ak $\text{ḳ}ulipt\text{u}$ 'scale, scaly skin (of a snake\fish); husk, rind, bark, peel', MHb {Lv., Js., Dlm.} $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ī\text{p}ā$ or {Esh} $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ip'pā$ 'skin\peel (of a fruit, plant)', JEA $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ippə'tā$ 'peel, shell', Ar $\text{q}ul\text{-at-}$, Gz $\text{ḳ}ʷə\text{l}fə\text{t}$ 'foreskin', Grg Z $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}if$ 'bark of a tree', Mh $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ē\text{f}ū\text{t}$, Jb EJo.} $\text{ḳ}ī\text{z}ī\text{f}ot$ 'bark of a tree', Jb C {Jo.} $\text{ḳ}ī\text{z}ī\text{f}ot$ (pl. $\text{ḳ}ī\text{z}ī\text{f}$) 'fried bark', Sq {Jo.} $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}ifoh$ 'bark of a tree, skin', Hrs $\text{ḳ}ə\text{l}fēt$ 'ε bark of certain trees'; [2] ?? CS * $\text{ḳ}ulb-\sim^{\circ}\text{ḳ}ulp$ (or loans from some lge.\d. with $\text{ḳ}- < *ḳ-?$) > Ar $\text{ḳ}ulb$ 'dépouille, peau ôtée', $\text{ḳ}ulb\text{-at-}$ 'skin formed on a healing wound', 'peau mince qui couvre la plaie en voie de guérison', Ar $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ (ip. $\text{-ḳ}ul\text{-}$) vt. 'bark', $\text{ḳ}ulū\text{-}$ 'water-skin', ?? JA $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ pl. {Js.} 'scales' (unless one accepts Lv.'s interpretation of the word as 'Kerben, notches' [in fact probably borrowed from Gk $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'notched end of the arrow'??]) ¶ Lv. IV 318-9, Js. 243, 1381, Dlm. 363, Lv. IV 318-9, Lv. T I 139 and II 366, Sl. 1013, 1019, 1021, ESh. III 1197-8, Br. 670, 679-80, JPS 507, Fr. I 291, 296, III 490-1, BK I 310, 317, II 805, Hv. 94, 96, 625, Sd. 893-4, CAD XIII 58-9, 251, 296-7, Jo. M 230, Jo. H 75, Jo. J 145, LG 427, L EDG III 476, MiK I #1.77 (S * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ '[piece of] skin') and I #1.162 (* $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ (-at)- 'scale, shell, [hard] skin', foreskin ?, bark) || EC {Ss.} * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ n. 'bark' > Sml $\text{q}olof$, Kns $\text{q}olf-ā$, Gwd $\text{ḳ}ofolto$ id., Or $\text{ḳ}olofa$ 'foreskin' | ?φ EC * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ > Af {PH} $\text{ḳ}ulbo$ 'hide, skin (of cattle)', Bs {Lm.} $\text{ḳ}ulba$ 'leather', Sml $\text{ḳ}ulbil$ 'skin' || Bj {Rop.} $\text{ḳ}ul$ id. ¶ Rop. 185 | pBn {Hn.} * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'skin' > Bn: Ba $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$, Bi $\text{ḳ}ul$, J/Kj $\text{ḳ}ul$, Sa $\text{ḳ}ul$ ¶ Ss. PEC 48, ≠ 22, Bl. 144, 293, R A II 850, PH 109, Hn. BD 128, Blz. CL 180 || ?φ NrOm: Cha {C} $\text{ḳ}ulbā$ 'skin (pelle)', Wlt/Dwr/Gm $\text{ḳ}ulba$ 'skin', Dc $\text{ḳ}ulba$ 'human skin' ¶ C SE III 168, LmS 368 ¶ OS #1585, MiK I #1.77 || K * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'strip\scratch off, fade' > G $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ v. 'bark, skin, strip off, pluck', Sv $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'fade' ¶ GM S 201 (on the loss of * l in Sv), ≈ K² 242 (* $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ with a "parasitic" l in G), ≈ Fn. KW-4 42, ≈ FS E 413 (* $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'abnehmen, abziehen, entfernen'), Chx. 1689-90, DCh. 1379 ¶ K * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ < ppK * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ (a morphophonemic rule: in a labialized cns. clusters the labialization is ascribed to the obstruent rather than to the sonorant cns.) || IE: NaIE * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / * $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ 'peel, take off the bark, strip, cut off' > L $\text{ḳ}ul\text{-}$ / -ēre 'peel, take off the bark' || Pru

gleuptene 'Streichbrett am Pfluge, das die aufgerissene Erde umwendet' || Gk γλύφω 'carve, cut out with a knife' || ??σ Gmc ('split' ← *'split off, cut out?'): ON kljúfa, NNr kluva, klyva, Sw klyva, OHG klioban ≈ chlioban, NHG klieben, OSx klioan, Mdt clueven, Dt kluiwen, AS cleōfan 'to split, to cleave', NE cleave.; NNr Δ kluva, OHG klūbōn, NHG klauben 'to split'; d.: ON klauf 'cleft of foot', Sw klöν 'cloven foot', OHG, Dt kluft, NHG Kluft 'cleft, fissure', NE cleft ¶ WP I 661, P 401-2, Mn. 276, 282, WH 610-1, F I 315, Vr. 315, 317, Ho. 51, Ho. S 42, Kb. 548, OsS 498, KM 374, 377, En. 179, Tr. APS 34, Tr. PE-H 263, EI 143 (*gleub^h- 'cut off/out') ¶ *g- for the expected *k- due to the IE incompatibility of vl. and asp. vd. cnss. within the same √ || U: FU *kaíep∇ '≈ film' > Prm: Z कोलिप koíip, Z Ud koízβ 'thin ice' (sc. "ice bark of a river/lake") || BF (×N *Ḳaí'ū|u' 'skin, film, bark') > F kalvο 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale, kalu, Lv kaíg_ 'cataract (of eye)' || ObU {Ht.} *kǎ́lap > pVg *kǎ́lap > Vg: Ss {Kn.} xaíap., {BV, Mu.} xaíp, Yk {BV} xaíp 'the outer white film of birch-bark'; pOs {Ht.} *kǎ́lap-, {ϑHL.} *kǎ́lap id., 'dandruff' > Os: Vy kǎ́wa, Ty/Y kǎ́ap, O χǎ́ap- id. || Hg hályog, Δ hajag, halɣag, hálog 'cataract (of eye)' ¶ LG 130, Ht. #265, KrT 382, Hl. rHt 71-2, BV 133, Tv. FUI 66, MF 256-7, Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, Db. OS xxxi ◇ Hardly here Tg *xalu- v. 'bark' and *xalu(-kta) 'film, pellicle' (see N *Ḳaí'ū|u' ↑). N *Ḳaí'ū|u' and N *ḡaí'ū'P∇ may be etymologically connected.

1922. *ḡom'i' (or *ḡiʔom'i'?) 'be hungry/thirsty' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'wish') > K *ḡem-/ḡm- 'be thirsty' or 'be hungry' > OG si-ḡm-il-, da-ḡm-oba- n. 'hunger', da-ḡm-eda- v. 'fast', Mg sum-en-, Lz o-(ḡ)om-in-u 'be thirsty', Sv ḡm- (msd. li-ḡnm-e) v. 'choke' ¶¶ K 212 (*ḡm- 'be hungry'), FS K 362-3 and FS E 406-7 (*ḡam-/ḡm- id.), K² 238-9 (*ḡem-/ḡm- 'be thirsty'), Abul. 129, Chik. 355 || HS: WS *√'χ'w̄m (prm. *-√'χ'ūm-) > Hrs √'χ'w̄m (3m sbjn. ɣɜχōm) v. 'want', Hbt √'χ'w̄m id., Mh √'ħw̄m (3m sbjn. ɣɜħōm) v. 'want, like, wish'; ?ϕ Ar √'ɣym (ip. -ɣīm-) 'be affected with a burning thirst', {BK} 'avoir soif, éprouver un feu dans les entrailles', {BK, Hv.} ɣaym- 'thirst' ¶ Mh ħ-ʔ(for χ-) suggests that Mh √'ħw̄m is a loan from a related lge. with *χ > ħ (like Sq). S *χ- < *q- < *ḡ- (HS deglottalization) ¶ Jo. H 145, Jo. M 194-5, BK II 526, Hv. 542 || A *k'omi- > NaT *k'ū'omi- 'long for (sth.)' > OT qomi- id., XwT qoman- (rf.?) id. ¶ Cl. 626 || Tg *xomi- 'be hungry' > Ewk omīṭ-/ç-, Lm

om̄t-/ç-, Ud omisi-, UI xomčl-/u-, Nn Nh xomlčlčl- Nn KU omči-, WrMc omixolo-, Mc Sb omixulu- v. 'hunger'; Ewk omīkin, Neg om̄ x̄n, Nn KU omkĩ, WrMc omixon, Mc Sb omixun 'hungry'; Nn B xoml, WrMc omin n. 'hunger' ¶ STM II 17 ◇ The variant pN rec. ***giʔom'i'** accounts for Ar -ʔīm- (as going back to *gīm- < *giʔom-), while *q- (and its reflexes in K and A) may go back to a cluster *qʔ-.

1923. *qa'h'ñ ▽ 'to dig' > IE *kHen_lH₁- > NaIE *k^henə-/*k^hñ̄- ~ *ken_la₁- '≈ dig' > OI 'khanati 'digs' (inf. 'khanitum, pp. khā'ta-), kha'na-, kha'ni- 'digging, rooting up (wühlend)', OPrs kan-, Sgd qn- 'dig', MPrs kan-dan, NPrs كندن kân-dân 'to dig', YAv us-kar̄-ti 'digs out', ni-kair̄-ti 'digs in', KhS kar̄āre 'they dig out' || Lt kinis 'lair of swines and other animals' (WP: 'eingewühltes Schweinelager'), k̄inis id., ?σ Ltv cinis 'mound, hillock' ¶ WPI 399, M KI 301, M EI 445-6, MW 336, Bai. 51, ≠ P 634 (rejects the hyp. of *k^h- and suggests that the OI stem belongs to *kenə- 'scrape'), Frn. 254-5 (prefers to connect Lt kinis to L caenum 'dirt, mud') || K *qan-/q̄n- v. 'plough' > OG qn-, G χun-/χan-, Mg, Lz χon-, Sv qan-/q̄n- ¶ K 262, FS K 593-4, FS E 560-1 ¶ N ***q-** was deglottalized in K by the adjacent ***h** (**q̄h- > K *q-) || HS: ?σ S *^o✓kny > Ar ✓qny L (pf. قَانَى qānā) 'mix' ¶ BK II 827, Hv. 631 || U *kañ ▽ v. 'dig, shovel, (?) sling' > Prm: OPrm kund- 'bury (a corpse)', Z kundī-nī 'bury (a thing, a corpse)', Δ v. 'earth up (potato plants)', Yz kun'di- v. 'strew' || ObU *kūñ- ~ *k̄ñ- 'dig, take\ladle out of the kettle' > Vg *kūñ- 'spoon out' (Stn.: 'mit dem Löffel schöpfen') > T kōn-, LK/Ss xūn-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kūn-; pOs *k+ñ- ~ *kañ- 'dig, dig out, shovel (snow)' > V/Vy/Ty q+ñ-, Y q+ñ-, D/K χen- id., Kz χᵛñ-, O χan- id., 'ladle\take out of the kettle to a bowl (soup, meat, fish)', Ty qāñ]a- v. 'dig' (mom.: 'κοπνυτῆ') || ?σ OHg hány- 'throw one after the other' ('werfen, schleudern', 'dobál, hajigál'), 'throw out', ?σ Hg hány- 'throw, cast, fling, vomit, puke' ¶ UEW 125 (suggests that the FU word is a loan from Ir), LG 146, Ht. #280, Stn. WV 208, Stn. D 508, KrT 315, 318, EWU 525, MTE II 49 ◇ The N lr. ***h** is conjectured on the ev. of IE, S, and K: ***h** is the only N lr. that is easily lost in S and regularly in K, but is able to produce a voiceless aspirate in IE and to affect an adjacent stop in K (causing its deglottalization).

1924. *q'o'ñt ▽ 'fall, descend, plunge' > HS: NrOm *k^lu^lnd- 'fall, descend' > Gf {Mrn.}, Zs {C}, Zl {L, Lm.}, Hrr {CR}, Gamu/Gf/Kcm {Lm.} kund-, WI/Dc {Lm.} künd-, Wl {C} kund-, Dwr {L, Lm.} kunda-, Ym {C}

gàndó ~ g'àndó v. 'fall', Kf {C, Lm.}, Mch {Lm.} kind- v. 'descend', 'hinuntersteigen, untergehen', {L} kīndi id., Shn {Lm.} kínd- v. 'enter, go in' ('eintreten, hineingehen') ¶ C SE III 75 and IV 462, Lm. Sh 327 || **K** {K} *q̄wint-, {FS} *q̄went-/*q̄wint- v. 'sink\plunge (into water)' > MG, G qunt- v. 'dive, plunge into water', G q̄vint- id., v. 'plunge into drowsiness (погружаться в дремоту)', Mg ṡvint- v. 'plunge into water; doze', Sv q̄wēnt-/qunt- v. 'plunge' ¶ Chx. 1687, 1737, K 211, FS K 368-9, FS E 413-4 || **U** *ku|on|ñt̄ > pSm {Jn.} *kontã-, {Hl.} *konta- v. 'drop off to sleep (einschlafen)', {Jn.} *kontъ-, {Hl.} *kontō- v. 'sleep' > Ne: T xоhа-сь, {Lh.} xōñ·a-, F {Lh.} kōñ·ā-ś v. 'drop off to sleep', T xонē-сь, {Lh.} xōñ·ō v. 'sleep', F {Lh.} kōñ·ō-ś id.; Ng {Cs.} kun'da'am (1s aor.) 'go to sleep', kunduatum (1s aor.) v. 'sleep', {Mik.} kuntúda v. 'fall asleep (elaludni)'; En X kodduaro' {Cs.} and En B {Cs.} kodduado (both 1s aor.) v. 'sleep', En {Ter.} кода-сь id., kodída (prtc.) 'sleeping'; Slq Tz {KKIH} qont̄- v. 'sleep', Slq Tm {KD} (1s aor.) q'onda-g_ id.; Kms {KD} kunṓlam 'I am asleep', Koyp {Sp.} конолдамъ 'I am dozing (дремлю)', конолламъ 'I am asleep', Mt {Hl.} *kondə- 'sleep' (Mt M/K/T {Mil.} chón̄da, T {Adl.} chonda v. 'sleep', M {Sp.} хондаштамъ, {Mil.} chondäschtam 'I am asleep') || pY {IN} *kontə- 'lie (liegen)' > OY {Mil.} kondāk, {Merk} kontok id.; Y: K/T qodō- id., kudē- v. 'lay', T kudorə- id. ¶ Jn. 73, Cs. 50, KKIИ 162, Hl. MTKV 24, Hl. M #543, IN 229, 320 || **A**: NaT *k'on- 'settle' (of a bird), 'stop for the night on a journey' > OT {Cl.} qōr- id. (length supposed by Cl. only on the ev. of the Ar plene spelling), Tk kor-, Tkm gon-, Ggz kon-, Qmq, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Ln, Alt qon-, Uz qwn-, VTt, Bsh qun-, Xk, Tv xon-, Tf qɔn- 'alight, settle' (of birds, insects), OOsM XIV qon- 'stop for the night on a journey', Tf qɔn- 'stay for the night in taiga', Tk kor-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg qon-, VTt, Bsh qun- 'pass the night', MQP XIII, Chg XV, Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Alt qon-, Tkm gon-, Uz qwn-, Xk, Yk xon- 'settle down, take up residence in a house' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 55-6, Ra. 220 || **D** (in SD) *kant- ({{GS}} *k-) v. 'sink' > Kn kant̄u v. 'set' (of the sun), Tu kant̄u v. 'sink; set' (of the sun), Krg kontappa 'prostrate' ¶ D #1211 ◊ D *a (for the expected labialized vw.) needs explaining ◊ IN 229 (U, A).

1925. 2 *qūn̄j̄c̄ > **K**: GZ *qu(n)c-, {FS} *quc- v. 'squat, sit on the hind legs' > G {Chx.} qunc-i 'hockende\kauernde Stellung (des Tieres)', qunc-deba '(ein Tier) setzt sich auf die

Hinterbeine, kauert sich nieder', {SSO, DCh.} ḡunc- v. 'squat' (said of dogs), {Chx} ḡuncul- 'mit kleinen Schritten gehen, trippeln', 'hopsen' (von Vögeln), G Lc ḡunc- v. 'fidget (sitting)', Mg ḡuc- v. 'squat' ¶ K² 246, Q 422, FS K 375 (postulated the change *ḡuc- > G ḡunc- without explaining it), DCh. 1387, Chx. 1737-8 || U: FU {Coll.} *kuććḡ-, {Ber.} *kućḡ- v. 'climb (klettern), ? crawl' > pMr {Ker.} *kūžā-/ *kūćā- > Er күзе- kuže-, Mk күце- kuća- 'klettern' | pChr {Ber.} *kućъ- > Chr: L {MRS} кү'з-аш 'climb (klettern)', {Ü} күзэ- id., E {Ps.}, U/M küže-, H {Ep., Rm.} kuza- v. 'climb (a tree, etc.)', {Ü} күзэ- v. 'climb (ascend)' || Hg kúsz-ik v. 'climb, crawl' ¶ Coll. 97, Ker. II 73, Ber. 28, KC 114, PI 137, MRS 257, Ep. 48, Ü 83, 89, Ps OT 57, Bá. 181, EWU 854 ||| Hardly here FP {UEW} *kočē- 'langsam gehen, kriechen' (> Lp L {LLO} куоһтса- v. 'run [on four feet], crawl', Vt ḡ+ž [an interjection of slow walking and training on the earth], possibly Chr L {Ü} күчэ- v. 'climb, climb in [влезать]', and Chr B {Ps.} kuče- 'steigen, klettern' [F UEW 667]). ¶ The front-vowel variant küze- in Chr and the irreg. k- in Hg kúsz- (reg. in a front-vowel word, but not expected before a back vw., F Lakó PFUH 49) find no satisfactory explanation so far. They are likely to suggest the presence of a front-vowel variant of the FU √.

1926. *ḡoḡa(-Pḡ) (or *ḡoḡaḡa(-Pḡ)?) 'nose' > 𐎠 ({S AJ, SDM95} *k'ḡaḡa, {SDM97} *k'öḡa, {DQA} *k'jüḡa 'nose'): Tg *xoḡo- 'nose, prow' > Neg oḡo-kto 'nose', Ewk, Neg oḡo, Nn xōḡoḡo, Ul xoḡoḡo 'prow (of a boat)', Nn xondaxa 'nose bridge'; a variant with initial *k-: Neg koḡ-toḡkḡ, koḡ toḡkḡ 'nose (of a deer, elk, bear)', Nn qontoro '(wild bore's) nose' ¶ STM II 22, I 413, 470, SDM95 s.v. *k'ḡaḡa || M: the √ *qaḡ- ~ *qoḡ- is represented in derived (or compound?) stems: [1] *qaḡbar 'nose' > WrM qabar ~ qamar, MM qabar ([ArSc] قَابَار qabar, [ChSc] qa-bar), HIM, Ord, Brt ḡamar, Kl, Dg ḡamḡ, Shrn ḡabar, Mgl (Rm.) qabar, Mnr H {SM} ḡawar, Dx qawa 'nose'; 𐎠→ Tlt qamar 'Nasenscheide'; [2] *qaḡsiyar 'nose bridge' > WrM qaḡsiyar, HIM, Brt ḡansār id., 𐎠→ StAlt qoḡžōr 'nose bridge', Yk ḡansār 'nose, nasal septum'; [3] *qoḡsiyar > WrM qoḡsiyar, HIM, Ord ḡonšōr 'nose, muzzle, snout', Kl ḡonšār 'muzzle, snout, beak' ¶ MED 895, 929, H 54, Ms. H 85, Pp MA 284, Rm. M 31, KW 164, 186, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 156, SM 165, Klz. MJ 33, Klz. D I 137, Pek. 3313-4, RAIS 474, S AJ 236 [#66], Rs. W 232 || NaT *k'aḡa]y > Tf ḡāy, Tv ḡāy 'nose, beak, muzzle', Yk ḡaḡinay 'snuffle'; in other lgs. there are derived words (*kaḡír/r- ~ *k'āḡír/r- a. o.): Tlt qoḡir, qaḡiriq,

Yk $\chi\omicron\eta\upsilon\bar{r}\bar{u}$, $\chi\alpha\eta\iota\bar{r}\bar{i}$, $k\alpha\eta\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{i}$ 'bridge of nose', SY $q\alpha\eta\iota\bar{r}\bar{i}q$ 'nose', Bsh Δ $q\alpha\eta\upsilon\bar{r}\bar{b}q$ 'hard palate', Qrg $q\alpha\eta\iota\bar{r}\bar{i}q$ 'parched nose' ($q\alpha\eta\iota\bar{r}\bar{i}\upsilon\iota$ $t\acute{u}t\acute{o}p$ $k\epsilon\tau\tau\iota$ 'his nose is parched, γ $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron$ ν $\eta\omicron\varsigma\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\chi\lambda\omicron$ '), Tkm $q\omicron\eta\upsilon\bar{r}\bar{\theta}a$ 'reek', Tk $g\epsilon\eta\iota\bar{z}$ 'nose cavity', Az $\acute{g}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{z}$, $\acute{g}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{k}$ 'back part of the palate, nasopharynx', Tkm d. $g\epsilon\eta\iota\bar{z}-e\omega-$ 'speak through one's nose', StAlt $q\omicron\eta\bar{q}\bar{o}q$ 'hook-nosed' ¶ TL 215-6, Ra. 187, Rl. II 82, 521, Jud. 342, Pek. 3317, TvR 458, S AJ 189 [#135], BT 87 ¶ In some lgs. there is a merger with Mongolisms (ffd. *see* Tl 216, fn.1) || Ko $*k\acute{o}h$ 'nose' > MKo $k\acute{o}$ / $k\acute{o}h-$, NKo $k^h\omicron$ ¶ S QK #61, Nam 45, MLC 1673 ¶ S AJ 253 [#61] || pJ $*kan-k-$ v. 'smell (sth.)' > OJ $k\acute{a}g-$, J: T/K $k\grave{a}g-$, Kg $k\acute{a}g-$ ¶ S AJ 271 [#181], S QJ #181. Mr. 701 ¶¶ S AJ 43-4, 286 [#246], StrM AOJ 36-8, SDM95 s.v. $*k^{\prime}u\grave{a}\eta\alpha$, SDM97 s.v. $*k^{\prime}\ddot{o}\eta\alpha$, DQA #1057 || HS: S $*\circ\chi^{\prime}u^{\prime}nn-$ 'nose' > Ar $\chi unn-$, $\chi unn-at-$ 'nasal voice, voix nasillarde', $ma-\chi ann-at-$ 'nose, tip of the nose' ¶ BK I 635-6, Hv. 186 || C $*k^{\prime}\omega^{\prime}\nabla n\nabla p-$ 'nose' > pAg $*k^{\prime}\omega^{\prime}z\eta\prime\nabla p-$ 'nose' ({Ap.} $*q^{\omega}amb-$ / $*qamb-$ 'nose, mouth') > Bln {R} $k^{\omega}anb\bar{a} \sim k^{\omega}amb\bar{a}$, pl. $k^{\omega}anf\bar{e}f$, Q {Ap.} $\chi umba \sim \chi^{\omega}zmba$, {Beke} $kumb\bar{a}$, {R} $humb\bar{a}$, $komb\bar{a}$, Km {Ap.} $\chi^{\omega}zmb\bar{a}$, {CR} $\chi umb\bar{a}$ 'nose', ?? Aw {Ap.} $\upsilon zm^{\prime}bi$ 'mouth' || ? Bj {R} $g\epsilon n\bar{u}f$ 'nose, beak' ¶ Ap. AV 17, Ap. WLQ 14, E PC #379; Ehret's assumption that Bj $g\epsilon n\bar{u}f$ goes back to C $*ganf-$ / $ginf-$ 'face' (> Bln $g\bar{a}nb\bar{a}r$ 'forehead' and pRt $*ganf-$ 'chin') is hardly tenable for semantic reasons || B $*\upsilon nb$ 'face', $*\upsilon nb\bar{u}b$, 'beak' ($\times N$ $*\text{K}\text{om}\nabla\text{-bA}$ '≈ forehead, front part', cf. s.v. $*\text{K}\text{om}\nabla(-bA)$) > Tmz Iz $a\upsilon\bar{a}nbu \sim a\upsilon\bar{e}nbub$, Izd pl. $i\upsilon\bar{a}nb\bar{a} \sim i\upsilon\bar{u}nb\bar{a}$, Wrg, Mz $a\upsilon\bar{a}mbu$ (pl. $i\upsilon\bar{a}mb\bar{a}$), Mz $a\upsilon\bar{a}nbu$ (pl. $i\upsilon\bar{a}nb\bar{a}$) 'beak', Izn $a-\upsilon\bar{a}nbub$ 'visage', Rf Tz $a-\upsilon\bar{a}nbu$ 'visage, figure' ¶ Rn. 364, 383, MT 194-5, Dlh. Ou 240, Dlh. M 152, Mrc. 33 || K: OG, G $gn\omicron s-$ v. 'smell (sth.)' ¶ DCh. 1381, Chx. 1699-1700; $-os-$ is likely to go back to a sx. || ?σ IE: NaIE $*\circ k^{\omega}e^{\prime}n^{\prime}-$, {Ped.} $*\circ k^{\omega}e\eta\eta\eta\omicron-$ 'head' (\leftarrow $*muzzle, snout$ \leftarrow $*animal's\ head$) > Clt {Vn.} $*k^{\omega}enno-$ > OIr $c\epsilon rn$ 'head', Brtt {RE} $*pennon$ id. > MW, OBr $pen\bar{n}$, pen , W, OCrn, Crn pen , Br pen id. ¶ Ped. VG I 457, Vn. C 65-6, RE 103 || ?σ D $*kum-$ 'knob, hump' > Tm $kum\bar{i}r$ 'knob (as of a wooden sandal), stud, pommel, hump of an ox', Ml $kum\bar{i}r$ 'knob, pommel', Png $g\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\bar{n}$ 'hump of ox' ¶ D #1743 ◇ The initial N cns. is $*g-$ provided that the K cognate is valid. Otherwise the N rec. will be $*\text{K}\text{ona}$ or $*\text{K}\text{o}^{\prime}\text{ana}$ (where $*\text{K} = *g|k$). Cf. AD NM 54. The pN element $*P\nabla$ (preserved in B, C, and M) may be identical with N $*bA$ (pc. for names of quality bearers) (q.v. ffd.) or go back to the second component $*P\nabla R\nabla$ of a N

cd. (as suggested by M *qanbar 'nose' and possibly Bln ganbär 'forehead') (= N *per ∇ [= *per'o¹?] 'lip, edge' [q.v.] in the sense of 'edge?') \diamond The rec. *qona(-P ∇) is acceptable if *a of the initial syll. in M qan- and in NaT *k'a¹ŋa¹y is explained by regr. as. (*-o...a- > *-a...a-). Otherwise we have to suggest a pN etymon *qo²ana(-P ∇) with *-²a- lost in all descendant lgs. except T and M.

1927. (₂?) *gup ∇ 'to divide; a part' > K: G qop- v. divide' \S DCh. 1384 || A: M *qubi n. 'part, share' > MM [S, MA, IM] qubi, WrM qubi, HIM хувь, Ord χu'wi, Brt хуби id., WrO хуби, хубii, Dg хоби 'part, portion, lot', WrM qubiya-, HIM хуваа- vt. 'divide, share', WrO хубā- 'divide up', Kl хуба-, {Rm.} χuwā- & χowā-, Brt хубаа-, Dg хобō-, Ba хua- 'divide', MM [HI] qubiyaqda- 'être partagé', MMgl {Iw.} qubā 'portion' \S H 69, Pp. MA 306, 445, Ms. H 91, Ms. O 374-5, MED 976-7, Iw. 128, Krg. 289, KRS 605, KW 191, Chr. 595-6, T DgJ 176, T BJ 150 || ? U *kupsa- 'deprive so. of his share' or 'be deprived of one's share' (< d.?) > Lp N {N} gqk'se- / -v \mathcal{S} - 'do so. an injustice by taking the lion's share' || Sm: Ne T {Lh.} χadō-, Ne F {Lh.} kaŋō- 'ohne etw. bleiben, ohne Anteil bleiben' \S Coll. 13, UEW 214.

1928. *qār ∇ 'smell' > HS: C: Ag {AD} *qar-/*qir- ({Ap.} *qar-/*qir-) vi. 'smell' > Bln {R} qīrā n. 'smell', eḡār- vi. 'smell', Xm {R} qar- vi. 'smell', Xm T {CR} qar- id., Q {Ap.} qera, Km {Ap.} qera ~ qera n. 'smell', Aw {Hz.} gar- v. 'smell' || SC: Irq {Wh.} qāraḡ^w, {MQK} qarāḡ^w (pl. qarēri) n. 'smell' \S Ap. AV 16, Ap. WLQ 17, AD SF 89, 202 (C * \checkmark qir), MQK 117 || K: GZ *qar-/*qr- v. 'stink' > OG, G qar-/qr- v. 'stink, reek', Mg d. qor-ad-/qor-id-/qor-d- vi., vt. 'rot', vi. 'stink' \S K 209, K² 237, Vogt SVG 75, FS K 364, FS E 409 || ?σ IE: NaIE *krem-us- / *kerm-us- '(plant) having strong smell' > Gk κρόμμυον, κρόμμυον, [Hs.] κρέμμυον 'onion' || OIr crem ~ crim 'wild garlic', NIr creamh, MBr cram, MW, W † craf 'garlic' || AS hramsa (pl. hramsan) 'Allium ursinum', {Ho.} hramesa, hramse id., 'onion', NNr, Sw, Dn rams, MDt ramese 'leek', OHG ramusia 'Bärenlauch', NGr B rams 'broad-leaved garlic, Allium ursinum', NE ramsons || Lt kermušė, Ltv sēr mukslis 'wild garlic' || Sl: [1] (NaIE *kerm-us- >) Sl *čermbxa > OR YEPMBXA čeremxa 'bird cherry (tree), Prunus padus', R Δ че'рѣмха, bf. че'рѣма, Blr ча'ромха, R Δ, Uk че'ремха, SCr црѣмжа (× Sl *čermbša), Slv črēmha, OCz třēmcha, Cz střēmcha, P trzemcha id., Slk čremcha 'Padus racemosa'; [2]

(NaIE *kerm-ous- >) R че¹рѣмуха 'bird cherry (tree)', Cz čermucha id., P trzemucha id., Allium ursinum', SCr Δ crìjemušā 'Allium ursinum'; [3] *čermъša, *čermъšb > Slv čěmž ~ srēmša 'bird cherry', čěmaž & črēmož, R черем¹ша 'Allium ursinum' ¶ WP I 426-7, P 580-1, EI 620 (*'kremHu-s / gen. *krmō¹Hoу-s '[wild] garlic'), F II 23-4, Sw. 93, Ho. 172, Kb. 770, LP § 50, Vn. C 229, YGM-1 101, Flr. 121, Frn. 243, ESSJ IV 66-8, Vs. IV 339, Tls. 658 ¶ In the IE preconson. position N *g|k + front vw. yields IE *k-*reg.* (IE *krem-), whence by analogy *kerm- || U: FP *kār∇ '(unappropriate) smell, taste' > F kārϣ, kārty, Es Δ kārde-hais '(smoky)burnt) smell', Vp kard & kardēh id., 'smell of sth. burning' | Prm *kōr 'smack, unappropriate smell' > Z kōp kār id., Yz kōra 'tasty', Vt копел 'tasty, saltish' ¶ FP *ä (for *a) may be due to vw. harmony ¶ LP 141, ≈ SK 262 (the FP word is ϣ), ZM 164, 180 || D (in SD) *ka:ϣr- ({}GS} *k-) 'be rancid, stale' > Tm kārϣ v. 'taste bitter \ musty \ rancid' (of stale food), Ml kārϣka 'grow stale \ rancid', Kn karal 'saltishness, brackishness' ¶ D #1504 ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. пахнуть *qar ∆ and IS SS #3.6 (IE, C, K).

1929. *qoRû (or *quR∇?) 'to copulate' > K: Sv qur-/qwir- (msd. li-l-qwir) 'copulate' ¶ ≈ K² 239-40 || HS: B: Ah aϣar 'copulate' (of a man) (× aϣar 'ride') ¶ Fc. 1760 || IE: NaIE *kouṛu₁- '≈ fornicate' > Sl *kurī (gen. *kurьv-e) 'meretrix, whore' > ChS коурьва курьва ~ коурьва курьва 'meretrix', OR коурва курва¹Blg, R 'курва, SCr kūrva, Slv kūrba, kūrva, Cz, Slk kurva, P kurwa 'whore, libertine woman' || ?φ Gmc *xōr-az m. 'adulterer', *xōr-ō 'whore' (× IE *kār- 'beloved', cp. L cār-us / -a; the merger accounts for the long vw. and for the loss of both medial *u and stem-final *-u) > Gt hōr-s, ON hór-r 'fornicator, lover, adulterer', ON hōra, OHG huora, NHG Hure, MLG, AS hōre 'whore', NE whore ¶ ESSJ XIII 132-3, Glh. 362, Ho. 170, Vr. 249, and Fs. E 199 (all of them deny any connection between Gmc and Sl words), Schz. 172, Kb. 490, KM 322, Mikl. E 149, Bern. I 651, cp. EI 214 (Gmc < IE *keh₁ro-s ~ *kh₁ro_s 'friendly') || A: Tg: Ork χορϣ- 'copulate' (of deer) ¶ STM I 471 ◇ IE *kouṛ- may go back either to N *quR∇ (which is at variance with the Tg ev.) or to N *qoRû (*-u|ü supported by the Sl reflex). The influence of *-u on the N vw. *o in IE (N *o1u > pre-IE *u1u) is discussed in AD NGIE 17 (rule 4) and 28. Connected with N *quy∇r∇ 'love, covet'??

1930. *qoR∇ (or ***qôR∇?**) 'frog, toad' ([in decendant lgs.] → 'tortoise') > **K:** OG, eNG m̄q̄uar-i 'βάτραχος, frog', G m̄q̄vari 'toad' ¶ Abul. 537, SSO I 537, DCh. 916 || **HS:** Eg N/L k̄rr 'frog' (> (AkSc) p.n. Pākrur̄u), DEg k̄rr, Cpt: Sd κροϋρ krur, B κροϋρ k^hur id. ¶ EG V 61, Er. 544, Vc. 86 || S *^ok̄^rur- > Ar qurr-, qurr-at- ~ qirr-at- 'frog' ¶ BK II 700 || B: o†Izn {Rn.} qarqriw, Rf A {Rn.} aqarqur, Mtm {Ds.} umg^warg^war 'toad', SrSn {Rn.} aqarqur, BMnc {Ds.} amqarqūr 'frog' ¶ Rn. 371, Ds. B 83, 158 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kur∇ 'tortoise', {AD} 'tortoise, frog' > pAG {Hf.} *k̄ur 'tortoise' > Gmy k̄ur, Kfr {Hf.} (da)kur, Su {J} (dā)kūr, Ang (ka)kur id., Mpn {Frz.} dākūr 'turtle' || Zar L / Plc / Buli / Wnd {ChL} kúrbi, Zar {ChL} kúrvi id., Zar K {Sh.} kù-kurbi 'tortoise', ? Wrij {ChL} kúrsi 'frog' || Bd {Mch.} karenakau 'frog' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} k̄pórōwé 'tortoise' || Kib {ChL} k^wà-kúrùm, Hld {ChL} k^wà-kúrùmú, HK {ChL} k^wè-kúrùm, Bu {ChL} k^wù-kürmú 'turtle' || ? Gv {ChL} kírè, Dgh {Frk.} kr̄ndá 'frog' || Db {Lnh.} kùrìn, {ChL} kèrrín id. || Skr {Nc.} kór̄iṅgē, Mu {J} kírēni (pl. kèrèn) 'frog' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [#602], Hf. AG #206, J S 62, 71, Nt. 6, Frz. DM 11, ChC, ChL, Lk. ZSS 35 ¶¶ OS #1547 (HS *k̄ir- 'frog') || **IE:** NaIE {WP} *g^wred^h- 'frog, toad' > MLG krēde, krode, OHG krēta, chreta, c(h)rota, MHG krēte, krote 'toad, frog', NHG Kröte 'toad', NHG Schildkröte 'tortoise, turtle' || Gk βάτραχος, Gk I βρόταχος, βάθρακος 'frog' || ? VL {ML} *brūscus 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < *g^wrot-skos) > MdL [γ] bruscus 'ε frog (ranae genus)', Rm broască 'toad', McdRm broască, Olt Ml broscă 'tortoise', → Al breshkë 'small turtle' (of course, VL/MdL bruscus is not [↔ WH] borrowed from Frosch) ¶ ML #1329, Ert. ED 128, WP I 698-9, Kb. 562, OsS 516, Lx. 117, KM 408, ≠ WH I 117, FI 226-7, Ch. 169-70, O 36, Ç II 314-5 ¶ *g^wred^h- for **k^wred^h- is due to the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ || **A:** Tg *xere 'frog' > Nn Nh/B, Ork x̄r̄z̄, Ul x̄r̄z̄; d. *xere-kī > Orc x̄r̄z̄kī (← Nn), Ud x̄x̄ī, Orc ēki, Neg z̄ȳz̄x̄ī, Lm z̄rikī, Ewk z̄r̄z̄kī id. ¶ STM II 466-7 || ?μ NaT *k^lur-bāKa 'ε frog\toad' (*kur-'? + *baka 'frog') > OT qurbaqa, MQp qurbaqa id., Tk kurbağā 'frog, toad', Tkm qurbāqa, Az qurbaqa, Qzq qūrbaqa, Qq, Uz qurbaqa 'frog', Qmq, Nog qir-baqa, Qrg qurbaqa 'toad', VTt q̄r̄ baqas̄ 'grass frog', Chg (Rl.) qurbaqa 'tortoise' ¶ Cl. 646-7, ET Q 160-1, Rl. II 918 || ?σ,μ pKo {S} *kòr'oàn'í 'snail' > MKo kòr'oàn'í ¶ S QK #1136, Nam 51 ¶¶ Tg *e of the first syll. remains puzzling (regr. as.?) ¶¶ DQA #1136 (pA *k^ler^o 'frog,

toad') ◇ If NaT *k_l'ur-baKa belongs here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as *qô_r∇.

1931. *qUr∇ (or *qihUr∇ ⇌ *qUhir∇?) 'reach, enter', (→) 'happen' > HS: CS *✓kry|w 'happen; meet, encounter' (× N *qaR'iwu' 'come in contact [meet, come across, touch]', q.v. ffd.) || K: Sv L {Dn.} ma-qer, me-qar 'it happen to me', li-qre 'to happen', li-qer 'to take place' ¶ Dn. s.v. ma-qer, me-qar- || D (in NED) *°kor|r- 'enter, go in' > Krx kōr-, Mlt kore id. ¶ D #2236 || A: M *kür_lü- 'reach, touch' > MM [MA, IM] kür-, [IsV] küri- 'reach (дойти, достичь)', WrM kür-, HIM хүрэ-, Dx kuru-, Ba kur- id., Ord k'ür- 'toucher à, atteindre, arriver', Mnr H {SM} k'uru- 'arriver, parvenir, atteindre, toucher', {T} kuri- 'reach; suffice' ¶ Pp. MA 229, 441, Lg. VMI 52, MED 936, Ms. O 538, SM 216, T 341, T DnJ 124, T BJ 141 ¶ An alt. M cognate is *qargu- 'meet'; if it is justified, M *qargu goes back to N *qUr∇ × N *qaR'iwu' '↑' (q.v.) || T *k'i:r- 'enter' > OT kir-, Tk gir-, Tkm gi:r-, Az, Ggz, Qmq gir-, CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Nog, Qrq, Uz, ET, Tv. Tf kir-, Qz kîr-, VTt, Bsh kbr-, Chv kār- id. ¶ Cl. 735-6, ET VGD 47-9 ◇ The D and M qu. cognates suggest a N rounded vw. in the first syll. (*qUr∇), which seems to be at variance with the Sv data (q- is not followed by w), but the expected K *w may have been lost in Sv; see also the optional N rec. *qihUr∇ ↓ ◇ The T cognate is phonetically deviant: T lax *k'- is not the regular reflex of N *q-, and the length of the vw. is not expected. This deviant T cognate may be explained if we suppose a N etymon with an internal *h (N *qihUr∇ ⇌ *qUhir∇) that can de-emphasize the initial cns. and produce vw. length.

1932. *qô_wl_r∇ 'blind, one-eyed' > K *°q_w'a_r- 'blind' > Mg fvere id. ¶ Q 418 || HS: S *°qa'wir- 'one-eyed' > Ar qawira 'was one-eyed' ({Fr.} 'uno oculo privatus fuit') (pf. 3m of the verb ✓qwr G 'be one-eyed') ¶ Fr. III 513, BK II 833 || Ch: Mgm {JA} kōr'iwò inf. '(s')aveugler' (pf. kōr'iwé, ip. kōr'iwá), kōr 'blind man', kōr'á 'blind woman' ¶ JA LM 100 || D *kuruṭ- 'blindness' > Tm, Ml kuruṭu, Kt kurḍ ~ ku·r, Kn kuruḍu, kuraḍu, Tl gruḍḍu id., Kdg kurıḍ, Tu kur(u)ḍu, Nkr, Gnd guḍḍi 'blind', Tl g(r)uḍḍi 'blind(ness)', Klm guḍḍi 'blindness'; Tm, Ml kuruṭan, Kt kurḍh, Kn kuruḍa, kuraḍa, Kdg kurıḍa, Tu kuruḍe 'blind man', Mlt qoṭri 'blind person'; Tm, Ml kuruṭi, Kt kurḍy ~ ku·ry, Kn kuruḍi, kuraḍi, Kdg kurıḍi 'blind woman'; Mlt qoṭre v. 'become blind' ¶¶ D #1787 || ?σ A: M *qoruṣun > WrM {Kow.,

Gl., MED} qoruu ~ {MED} qorqu, HIM xypyy 'cataract\spot in the eye', Wro xoruu 'cataract\cast in the eye', Kl xopħħ 'cataract in the eye, wall-eye', {Rm.} xorvã 'Star, weißer Flecken am Auge', Br xopro 'wall-eye' ¶ MED 965, 970, Gl. II 187, Kow. 962, Krg. 284, KRS 598, KW 187, CI 45 ◇ Tk kör 'blind' and кeр 'blind' in Az, Tkm and Qrg do not belong here, because these words have been borrowed from Persian.

1933. ₂ *q¹o₁w|p¹v₁r¹v 'tooth, large\canine tooth, tusk' > HS: C: Bj {R} kũre (= k^w3re), {Rop.} kwire 'tooth' ¶ R WBd 145, Rop. 209 || EC: Elm {Hn.} kárris 'molar, cheek', Arr karis-ó pl. 'molar(s)', Or {Grg.} qarrifã 'canine tooth' ¶ Grg. 31, Hw. A 372 || SOm: Ari J {Bnd.} qari 'tusk, tooth of hippo or elephant' || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ħa-qori or *ħa-qawri 'teeth' > Hs háqórí, Klr {J} pag^wér, Sha {J} pagaha (-ħ- < *-r-), Fy {J} hágor, Bks {J} pagúr id. ¶ *ħa- is a px. of names of body parts ¶ Stl. IF 112 ¶¶ OS #2070 (HS *qor- 'tooth'), Blz. DA #10. But SnSr {Rn.} aqarruš 'tooth' cannot be a genuine B word (⇔ Blz.), but rather a loan from an Ar source (possibly ✓ qrqš 'gnaw hard [bread]', identical to the source of Mz ✓ qrqš 'crisser sous la dent, grincer' and Kb ✓ qřš 'grincer les dents') (see Rn. 370, Dl. 674-5, Dlh. M 259, Hv. 601) || D *kōr^v ({†GS} *k-) 'tusk, fang' > Kn kōre id., Kdg kō're 'tusk of elephant\boar', Tl kōr^a 'tusk, fang, tooth', Gnd kōru 'tusk' ¶ ≈ D #2257 ◇ If WCh {Stl.} (and pHS?) *q reflects N *q, the N rec. must have an initial *q-, otherwise it is an unspecified *K₁-. The long *ō in D suggests the presence of an additional cns. in N (*w, *p, *h?), while D *-r₁- (< N *-r- outside cns. clusters) suggests a N vw. between this *w|p|h and *-r- ◇ Blz. DA 153 [#11] (D, HS).

1934. *quy^vr^v 'to love, to covet' (→ 'to prefer') > K: GZ (or pK?) *qwar- 'love' > OG qwar-, G qvar-, Mg ɣor-, Lz (q)or- id., ??σ Sv qur-/qwir- (msd. li-l-qwir) 'copulate' ¶ K 210, K² 239-40, FS K 366-7, FS E 411-2 || HS: ?φ WS *'χayar 'goodness' > Ar χayr- id. (gen. χayr-i following a noun means 'good'), 'good, better, the best' (e.g. χayru-n-nāsī 'the best of man', 'the best man') (→ Sq {L} ħayr adj. 'meilleur', adv. 'mieux', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} χayr 'good, health', Jb C {Jo.} 'χer 'best interest'), Mh χār 'better', Mh χ3y0r, Hrs {Jo.} χ3yōr 'best', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'χar 'well-being, good', Sb {BGMR} χyr 'nobleman, noble' (pl. pχyr), Qt pχyr pl. {Rk.} 'élite', {MA} 'noblemen', Gz χēr 'good, excellent, good thing'; S *✓ χyr (*-χīr-) 'prefer, choose; be(come) good' > Ar ✓ χyr G

(ip. -χīr-) 'be propitious to; prefer, select', Gz ✓χyr G (pf. χayara ~ χēra), Mn {MA} ✓χyr 'choose, authorize', Ak ✓χyr G (inf. χiārum ~ χāru, 3m p. i-χīr) {Sd.} 'choose, select', {CAD} 'pick and take as mate' ¶ Ln. 828-31, BK I 653, Hv. 191, LLS 173, LG 270, Sd. 342-3, Jo. M 457, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 311, BGMR 64, MA 45, Rk. 72-3, CAD VI 119-20 ¶ S *χ- goes back to *q-, resulting from pHS deglotatization of of N *q-. Ar -ay- and Gz *-ē- reflect pS *-'aya- (AD PSH §§ 9-10) || A *k'ur- 'desire, love' > M *qurīca- 'desire, love passionately, lust after' > □WrM qurīca-, HIM хурьца- id., WrO χurīca-, Kl хурц-, Brt хуриса- v. 'desire, lust after', Ord χu'rač'īlč'i- 'copulate' ¶ MED 989, Kow. 956-8, Gl. II 185, Krg. 298, KRS 613, Chr. 602, Ms. O 371 || Tg: [1] WrMc uru-, Mc Sb uru- 'feel\get hungry'; [2] ?σ Tg *xur- 'be jealous, envy' > Nn B χoro(n-) n. 'envy', Nn Nh/B, Ul χoralu-, Ork χuralu-, Neg oyalu-, Lm urlu-, ? Ewk orgolī- & orgalī- 'be jealous', Lm urluq 'jealous', Ewk urīn 'rival (in love), second wife', Orc xora, Nn Nh χorīã 'co-wife (in respect to another one)' ¶ STM II 985, 987 ¶¶ But hardly here (⇔ SDM97 s.v. A *k'ōr'ā 'covet, be irritated' and IS III 131-4 [*qurE 'to love]) the T root of Qrg q0zu- 'be irritated', Tkm q0δya- 'move', etc., because OT q0zi- does not mean 'have appetite' (as in IS) or 'be hungry' (as in SDM), but 'be dry', and the primary meaning of the T root *q0r- is 'move' (see Cl. 681, MKD 148-50, ESTJ Q 21-2) || D *kūr- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'covet, love' > Tm kūr v. 'covet, hanker after', Ml kūr, kūr u n. 'love', kūr uka v. 'love, mind', Kn kūr id., 'be attached to', Tl kūr(i)mi 'friendship, love, affection', kūr(u)cu 'be lovable\coveted' ¶¶ D #1897 ◇ IS III 131-4 (*qurE 'to love' > K, D, A + unt. T *kōr-) ◇ The D long vw. suggests that in the pN etymon there was an additional element, which in view of S *-y- is likely to have been *-y-. But D *-r- suggests a N intervocalic *-r- (rather than a cluster *-ry- or *-yr-). The most plausible conjecture is to reconstruct N *quy∇r∇.

1935. *q∇'yo'R∇ 'heap of stones, bank (rampart), stone wall, walled settlement' > K *qōr- > G qore 'heap of stones (forming a boundary), rampart, stone wall', ay-qor-va {DCh.} 'загромождать', {FS} 'Steinmauer errichten, verschließen, versperren', OG qore '?' (contextual meanings: 'street, corner'), Mg ɣor-ua 'to erect a stone wall', ɣor-an-s '(he) builds', Sv UB qōr 'door' ¶ FS K 372-3, FS E 418, Chx. 1713, GP 271, Abul. 470 || HS: [1] CS *'kīy∇r- > BHb קִיר kīr 'wall

(Wand, Mauer)', Ug ḳr 'wall (muro, pared)', MHb ḳīr {Lv.} 'Umzäunung, Mauer', Yd ḳyrh (pl. ḳyrt) 'town' (in the early Ph-Yd script there were no *matres lectionis*, hence y denotes a *cns.* [y], so that Yd ḳyrh is not connected with WS * ḳar-at- 'town, settlement'); [2] WS * ḳar-(at-) 'town, settlement' > BHb ḳḳrt 'ḳḳḳrt' 'city', Ug ḳrt 'city, the City (= Ugarit)', JA {Trg.}, JPA ḳar't-ā 'city', Jb C {Jo.} ḣīrēt 'town, collection of houses', Sb ḳr 'ε town (outside South Arabian culture area)'; d.: CS * ḳariy-at- / (in pl. forms) * ḳar'a'y- 'town' > Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ḳarītu 'town', BHb ḳir'yā 'settlement, town, city', JA {Lv.} ḳeryā't-ā , {KB} (originally pl.) ḳiry-ā't-ā 'settlement (Ortschaft), town, village', JEA ḳiry-ā't-ā 'town, village', Sr ḳar'ē , s.e. ḳarī'tā (cs. ḳeryat , pl. ḳer'yān , ḳeryā't-ā) 'town, village, district', Ar qaryat- ~ qiryat- (pl. qurā) 'borough, village' ¶ KB 1027, 1065-7, 1072, KBR 1142-3, 1149, A ##2443, 2462, OLS 370, 373-4, Lv. IV 302, Lv. T II 388, Js. 1428, Sl. 1043, HJ 1009, Jo. J 150, Hnr. 175, Br. 695, JPS 517, Lv. IV 379, BK II 731, Hv. 603, BGMR 107 || U: FU * k'a'r 'town, fortified place' > Prm * kar 'settlement, fortified settlement' > Z kar 'town', '(ancient) settlement' (e.g. ćud kar 'settlement of ancient Chudians'), 'nest' (kozuvkot kar 'ant-hill'), Vt kar 'nest', 'ancient settlement', 'town' ¶ LG 116-7 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose here two pN etyma, e.g. N * ḳ'yoR and N ≈ * ḳ'a'R ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #72 (equates K with D * gōr- 'Mauer', which is un fact * kōt- , see D #2207b).

1936. * ḳoR 'gourd' > HS: CS * ḳar' 'gourd' > Ar qarḥ-at- (coll. qarḥ-) 'pumpkin', {BK} 'courage', Sr ḳar'ā (abs. ḳar'a) 'pumpkin', ḳar'ā 'gourd' ¶ Nld. (p.c. to Löw): the variant ḳar'ā is typical of Sr W; it is not necessarily an Arabism (⇔ JPS, Löw); the change $\text{ḳ} > \text{ḳ}$ occurs in some dialects of Sr ¶ BK II 718, Hv. 600, JPS 517, 520, Löw A 351 || IE (< cds.?): [1] NaIE * k'erk > OI karkaṭī 'ε gourd' || AS hwerhwētte 'cucumber' || [2] ? NaIE * k'erb'eto 'gourd' > OI carbhaṭaḥ 'Cucumis utilissimus', cirbhaṭī , cirbhaṭam 'ε gourd' || L cucurbita 'gourd' (rdp. under the infl. of cucumis 'cucumber'?) (unless a WW of Munda origin, as suggested by M K I 378 on the ev. of the element bhaṭā in OI) ¶ WPI 426, WH I 300, M K I 169, 378, Ho. 181 || K (< cd.?) {K} * haqar- , {K²} * aqare- 'gourd' > Mg ḳoḳore- , Lz ḳoḳore- , oyore-, ore-, Sv (h) aqar , aqār 'gourd',

?φ G aqiro- 'gourd *Lagenaria vulgaris*' ¶ K 46, K² 5, Chik. 148, Chx. 47, DCh. 76.

1937. *qArûh₂∇ (= *qArûh∇?) 'to keep (sth.) out of sight, to hide' > IE *^okrūH-/*^okrōuH- > NaIE *^okrū-/*^okrōwə- v. 'cover, hide' > Sl *krǐ-ti 'to cover, to hide' > OCS крѣти krǐti id., Blg 'крія vt. 'cover, conceal, hide', SCr krǐti 'to hide, to conceal, to keep', Δ 'to roof', Slv kríti 'to conceal, to hide, to roof', Cz krýtí, Slk kryt', P kryć 'to hide, to conceal, to cover', R крѣть 'to cover'; ⇨ *krōvъ > OCS кровъ krovъ 'roof, roof over one's head (place to live); secret place', OR кровъ id., 'dwelling; protection', R кров 'roof over one's head, shelter', SCr krōv, Cz krov 'roof, roof over one's head; refuge, shelter', Slk krov 'roof', Slv kròv 'roof, lid' || Lt kráuju / kráuti (p. króviau) v. 'pile, heap up, load; build (a nest)', Ltv kŗaũnu (~ kŗaũju) / kŗaũt id. || Clt (× IE *^hkrōpō- 'roof' < N ***QER∇p∇** 'to cover' [→ 'roof'] [q.v.?): OIr crou 'stall, pigsty, wooden partition', MW creu 'stall, pigsty, enclosure', W crau 'pigsty', Crn crow 'hut, pigsty', Br kraou 'étable' ¶ Tr. 139-40, ESSJ XIII 20-1, 71-2, Glh. 349, 352, Frn. 291, ≈ WPI 477, P 616-7, Vn. C 240-1, YGM-1 102, SB 96 ¶ The accentuation of the Lt verb points to an NaIE *ə (*krōwə-, as reconstructed in ESSJ XIII 72) || **HS:** S *^o✓krw|y > Mh k̄zrū (1s pf. k̄ōrək, ps. k̄z'ray) v. 'hide', Jb C ✓kr̄y (pf. 'k̄e're, sbjn. 'y3'k̄zr) 'hide, be hidden' ¶ Jo. M 237, Jo. J 150 || C: EC: Sml qari- vt. 'hide, conceal' || SC: Kz {E} k̄ulum- vi. 'hide' (according to E SC 34, Kz -l- is from *-r-, and the SC stem is *k̄ūr-) (× N ***QoHri** 'to cover, to protect, to guard') ¶ DSI 491, ZMO 325, Abr. S 201, EK 14, E SC 254 [#42] || WCh: Hs k̄āřè v. 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', k̄āříyà 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit; screening off a place' (× N ***QoHri** '↑') ¶ Ba. 567, 570 || **K:** G q̄r- 'in die Erde vergraben (Weingefäß), pflanzen (Reben, Obstbäume)' ¶ Chx. 1721 || **D** *kar- ({{⁹GS}} *k-) vt. 'hide' (→ 'steal') > Tm kara vt. 'conceal, steal', vi. 'hide, lie hidden, keep oneself out of sight', Ml karappu 'covering, hiding, concealing', Kt o'garv- 'listen without speaking, be silent when called' (*ōk- 'hear' [D #1032] + *kar-), Td kar- vt. 'steal, hide', Kn karē vt., vi. 'hide', ?? Tl karāṭi 'deceiver, cheat'; D ⇨ OI kharpara- 'thief' ¶¶ D #1258 ◇ The N lr. (reconstructed on the IE ev.) was most probably *h, because this is the lr. that tends to be lost in the intervoc. position in S.

1938. **qur'h'∇* 'to bark, to howl' (of canines), 'to cry, to shout' > **K:** GZ **qur-* 'howl' (of wolves, dogs), 'cry' > G G rdp. *qurqul-i* 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K **qūl-* v. 'cry' < N **qU₁ʔ₁∇* 'speak, call'?), Mg *ɣur-* 'howling of wolves\dogs', Lz (*q*)*ur-*, *qu(r)-* v. 'cry; be angry'; ? G *qvir-* 'cry, be angry' ¶ K² 246, ≈ K 211 (K **qwir-* 'shout'), FS E 420, Chik. 359 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) **kur∇-* > ObU **kōr(ət)* v. 'bark' (of dogs) > pVg **kōrt-* id. > Vg: T/NV/ML *kort-*, Ss *xort-* id., d.: P *kortant-*, NV *kortant-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **kōrəyt-*, {ϑHl.} **kūrəyt-* > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz/O *χōrət-* 'aufbellen', V/Vy *kōrəytəyəl-*, Ty *kōrəytəyəɸ-* 'wütend anbellen' ¶ Ht. #329 || **D** **kur-* ({ϑGS} **k-*) v. 'bark' (of dogs), shout, groan' (× N **kuRh∇* 'shout, cry') > Tm *kuraj* v. 'bark, shout', *kuraj* n. 'noise, roar, shout', Ml *kura* 'disagreeable sound, barking', *kurekka* v. 'bark', Kt *kerv-*, Td *kwarf-*, Kdg *kora-* v. 'bark', Tu *korapu-*, *korepi-*, *korepu-* id., 'roar', Prj *kūr-* v. 'groan', Gnd {Tr.} *kuhascānā* 'to bark, to growl, to groan' ¶¶ D #1796 || ?σ **HS:** S **✓qrh* > Ar *✓qrh* (+ *ɣalā*) *Gt* (pf. *ʔiqtarāha*) 'ask sth. importunately from', *ʔiqtarāh-* msd. 'extemporate speaking', Ar SL *✓qrh* *G* 'incite so. to' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 597 || ?σ **IE:** NaIE **k^wer-*, **k^wr-* 'cry, shout' > L *quirito* / *-āre* 'utter a cry of distress, shriek, scream, cry out' ||| SI **krikъ* n. 'cry, shout' > OCS *крикъ* *krikъ* 'clamor', SCr *krīk*, Cz *křik*, P *krzyk*, R *крик* 'cry, shout'; **kričati* 'to cry, to shout' > OCS *крячати* *kričati* 'clamare', SCr *kríčati*, Cz *křičeti*, P *krzycieć*, R *кричатъ* 'to cry, to shout' ¶ ≈ WH II 409 (no convincing et. of *quirito*), ≠ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6 (SI **krik/č-* is of onomatopoeic origin) ◇ D **-r-* suggests the presence of a N cns. cluster (**r* + *lr*?).

1939. **qUR₁w₁∇* (= **qUR₁w₁∇*?) 'ear' > **K** **qūr-* 'ear, edge' > OG, G *qur-* id., Mg *ɣuž-*, Lz (*q*)*už-* ɖ *ɣuž-* ɖ *yūž-* 'ear', ? Sv *qōr-* 'door, yard' (← 'edge?'); ⇨ GZ **qur-u* 'deaf' (lit. 'ear-less') > OG *gru-y*, G *gru*, Mg *ɣur-u* 'deaf' ¶¶ K 213-4, K² 246-7, FS K 374-5, FS E 420 || **A** **k'ur-* > Tg **xurum* 'internal ear, ear-wax' > Ewk *urumḡā* id., Lm *urumrɔ̃*, Neg *oyomḡa*, Ud *uḡä*, Ul, Nn Nh *χoromsa*, Nn KU *oromsa*, Ork *χoropsa* 'ear-wax' ¶ STM II 288 || **U:** FU **korw∇* 'ear, leaf' (× N ? **ko^r'₁w₁∇* 'external ear' [q.v.]) > F *korva*, Es *kōrv* 'ear' || Lp N {N} *bællje-goar've* 'ear-hole' (*bællje* is 'ear') || pPrm **kwor* ({JLG **kwoṛ*) 'leaf' > Z *kor* / *kory-*, Z US *kōr-*, Yz *'kur*, Vt *kwar* 'leaf' ||| OHg, Hg *harap* 'dry

leaves\grass' ¶ UEW 187, MF 266-7, It. #97, LG 133, EWU 528 || ? D *kuř- ({{ǵGS}} *k-) 'ear-ring, ear' (× N ? *ko'ř'w,∇ '↑' and N *goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear') > Tm kuřai, Ml kuřa 'ear-ring, ear', Kn B kođige, Tu kođaŋgæ, Klm kuđka, Gnd kuřka 'ear-ring', Tu kuđka, kuđki 'female's ear ornament' ¶¶ D #1823 || HS: Ag: Xm {Ap.} qāriz, Xm {R} qa'rus ~ qe'rūs, Xm T {CR} qaræs, Xm Wg {Beke} kérez 'ear' || ? EC: Or {Th.} qārru 'ear-hole' (unless ← qārru 'entrance, hole', cp. Or {Th.} qārru 'buco, vuoto dei denti [carie]' and Or {Brl.} karru 'spazio tra i denti incisivi; orificio delle orecchie; entrata') ¶ R Ch. II 67, Blz CWL, Th. 272, Brl. 228 || ? S *oχurr- > Ar χurr- 'base of the ear' ¶ BK I 551, Hv. 160 ¶ *χ- < *q- from de-emphasized N *q- ◇ ≠ Blz. DA #13 (D *kuř- ÷ HS *gur(y)- 'ear, to hear', see N *goRHæ 'to track game, to smell, to hear; ear').

1940. *goRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' > K: GZ *qwerb- (~ *qwerp- ?) 'hearth' > OG qwerb-, G qverb-, G P/X qwerp-, Mg qebur- ~ řebur- ≍ qebur- id., Lz d. p-qrebul-e ~ o-rqeb1-e 'place around the hearth' ¶ K 211 and K² 241 (*qwerb-); ≈ FS K 367 and FS E 412 (*qwebr-); Chx. 1686 || HS Ch: WCh *qa'w,r- ({{Stl.}} *qaru-) vt. 'fry, roast; burn' > Hs qáwřāřā 'fry without oil or grease', qáwří 'smell of burning rags\hair\flesh\etc.' || BT: Krk {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn' || Cg {Sk.} qřr- id. || AG {Hf.} *quřur {AD} 'burn', 'burning coal' > Gmy qūr v. 'burn', Mnt kugur, Krf {Nt.} kùgur 'burning coal', Su/Ang {Hf.} kūr || Bks {J} řařōř 'verbrannte Reste am Gefäßboden' ¶ Stl. IF 111 (WCh *qaru- > *qawar-), Stl. ZCh 222 [#715] (WCh *qa'w'1r-), Ba. 589, Hf. #209, Nt. 21, J R 129, ChL, ChC || Eg fMd řřf vt. 'boil\heat (pig blood), burn' (× HS řřř [> S *řřř 'burn'] and N *qULp∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' [q.v.]) || IE: NaIE *o[k]ārb₁h₁- (unless it is *o[k]ārd^h-) > L carbō (gen. carbōnis) 'charcoal' ¶ EM 99, ≈ WH I 165-6 || U *korpe- 'burn, be scorched, prepare (food) on fire, singe' > F korventa-, korpea- (inf. korveta) 'singe, scorch', Es kōrbe- 'burn, be burnt, singe, be singed', kōrb (gen. kōrve) 'Versengen, Anbrennen' || pLp *kōrpε- 'be burnt\scorched, be devastated by fire' > Lp: S {Hs.} guorbesje adj. 'devastated by forest fire', L {LLO} kuor'pa- 'be devastated by forest fire', 'remain with half-burnt pieces of wood' (of an extinguished fire), N {N} guor'bâ / -rb- 'be scorched' || Er кирва- kirva-, Δ {Ps.} kurva- v. 'flame, blaze', Mk

кръвясте- *kǎrvǎstǎ-*, {Ps.} *kǎr'véstǎ-*, Er кирвясте- *kirvašte-*, Δ {Ps.} *kurvašte-* 'set fire to, set on fire', Mk кръвязе- *kǎrvǎža-* 'catch fire' || ?σ OHg xv *heruad-* ~ *hiruad-* 'bleich werden, welken', Hg *hǣrvad-*, Δ *hirvad-* v. 'fade, wither, dry up' (× N ***kor∇wa** 'fade, rot, decay' [q.v.]) || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: NP *kûrra-*, UO *kûra-* 'singe (wood)' ¶¶ Coll. CG 401-2, UEW 186, Lr. #535 (pLp **kōrpz* 'palomaa, пожора, waste land after a forest fire'), Lgc. #2919, Hs. 691, ERV 264, PI 132, ≈ Ker. II 62, Ps. M 87, MF 282-3, EWU 552, Cs. 125.

1941. *gæRgUm∇ 'weasel, ermine' > IE: NaIE **kormen* id. > VL {ML} **karmo* / obl. **karmōn-* (unc.: {ML} ← Gl) > RhR Srs *carmun* [*kar'mun*] 'weasel' ({EI}: ← Vnt or Ilr) || Ltv *sermulis*, Lt *šarmuonỹs* 'ermine', Lt *šarmuõ* ~ *šermuõ* id., 'weasel' || OSx *harmono* 'ermine', OHG *harmono* id., 'weasel', MHG *harm(e)* 'ermine', AS *hearma* 'shrew (Spitzmaus), weasel'; ← (dim.): OHG *harmilī* 'weasel' (← MdL *hermelinus*, It *ermellino*, OFr (h)ermine [× L *mūs Armenia* 'Armenian rat'] > Fr *hermine* 'weasel' ← NE *ermine*) > MHG *hermelin* > NHG *Hermelin* 'ermine' ¶ P 573-4, EI 638 (**kormon-* 'weasel, ermine\soat [*Mustela erminea*]'), ≈ ML #1700, Vied 99, Frn. 965, Ho. 152, Ho. S 31, Kb. 436, OsS 273, Lx. 82, 87, KM 305, Daus. 388, HDEL 444-5 || K: MG [VTq.] *garqum-i* 'ermine' ¶ DCh. 1373, DCh. RGS 73 || A: T: Osm {Rh.} *قاقم* *qaqim*, Tk *kakim*, Az {Ax.} *qaqum*, {Dr.} *gagum* 'ermine'; cp. NPrs *قاقم* *qāqum* 'ermine (fell)'; this is certainly a Wanderwort, but the directions of borrowing are not clear (Dr. TM does not mention it among the Turkic loans in NPrs) ¶ Rh. 1419, Shch. Zh. 142, Vl. II 707 ◇ The N word-medial cns. ***g** mas lost in IE within a cns. cluster (N ***-RgUm-** > pre-IE ***-rkm-** > IE ***-rm-**) ◇ Cf. N ***kūn∇(í∇)** 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat, or sim.)'.

1942. *g∇R∇ś∇ (= ***g∇RUś∇?**) to be(come) silent\dumb' > K: GZ **gurs-* 'become dumb, be silent' > G P/X *qurs-* 'become dumb', Mg *ṣurs-* id., 'be silent' ¶ K² 246, FS K 375, FS E 420-1, K² 246, Chx. 1741 || HS: CS **✓χrš* 'be deaf\dumb' > BHb *חַרְשׁ חֵרֵשׁ* *ḥē'rēš* 'deaf', *✓ḥrš* G (3m ip. *חַרְשׁ יְיָ* *yē-ḥēraš*) 'be deaf', MHb *✓ḥrš* D 'deafen, make deaf', *✓ḥrš* Sh (pf. *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥēḥē'rīš*) id., 'be silent' (*Sh* with inchoative meaning), *חַרְשׁ* *ḥēreš* 'silence', *חַרְשׁ חֵרֵשׁ* *ḥē'rēš* 'deaf, dumb, deaf and dumb', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *χa₁r₁rašū* 'deaf', DA *ḥršn* pl. 'deaf; deaf and dumb', IA *ḥrš* 'deaf', JA [Trg.] {Js.} *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥer'sīn*, em. *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥaršay'yā* pl. 'deaf (persons)', JEA *חַרְשׁוּ* *ḥar'sā* 'deaf person', Sr *✓ḥrš* G (pf.

عرج ħə'raǝ) 'be dumb\silent, be deaf', SmA שררן ħrǝ 'deaf', Ar ✓χrs G (pf. χarisa) 'be dumb' ¶ N *q > (HS de-emphatization) *q > S *χ ¶ KB 343-4, HJ 409, Hnr. 130, Js. 507, Sl. 485, Tal 297, Dlm. 153, Br. 259, BK I 557, Hv. 162, MiK I #2.32 || IE: Ht karus(siya)- 'be\fall silent; keep quiet (about)' ¶ Pv. IV 116-7, Ts. E I 529-30.

1943. *qah₂r̥∇ 'hard, firm' > HS: B *√:γHr 'be hard, harden' > Ah iγar (3m pf. γaqqur) id. (Fcj. 86 = Pcj. II B 4), ETwl/Ty iγar (3m pf. Ty γaqqur, ETwl iqqur) 'be hard (dur)', Gh adj. iqqor, f. taqqorət, Izn/Rf {Rn.} i-qqur 'is hard', BSn qūr 'be hard', Sll {Ds.} qor (pf. qqūr) 'be hard', Gd {CM} iqqor 'dur' ¶ Fc. 1751, 2007, Pr. H #348, Pr. M VI-VII 155, GhA 71, 251, CM 118, Ds. 100, Rn. 361 ¶ pB *: ({Pr.}: = *w-) goes back to a prefix of verbs of state || C: ? Bj {R} ✓?kr pcv. 'be strong, hard' (1s: p. a²a'kir, prs. a²an'kīr), 'ākr i 'strong (mächtig)' || EC: (?) Sml qaraḥ 'dryness, dry' || SC: Irq {MQK} qoroḡōt v. 'dry' ¶ R WBd 13, DSI 489, MQK 87, Blz. SCL s.v. 'dry'₃ || K: GZ *mqar- 'solid, firm, strong' > OG mqar- 'solid, strong', G mqar- id., 'firm', Lz pež- id. ¶ K² 127, DCh. 916 || IE: NaIE *k^har- 'hard' (× N *Ka₁H₂r̥∇ 'sharp' × N *ć_{or}∇ 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.], whence the meaning 'sharp' in NaIE *k^har-) > OI kharā- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خارā χārā 'very hard stone, flint, rock' || ? Tc A {Wn.} tsär 'hard' ¶ WP I 355, M K I 302, Vl. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102, Wn. LE 146, Wn. 528 ¶¶ NaIE *k^har- < pIE *kHar- < (mt.) N *qah₂r̥∇ ¶¶ NaIE *k^hers- 'hard' does not belong here, but rather to N *k^hu'R∇ć_{or}∇ 'hard (q.v. ffd.), as suggested by the lack of traces of the N Ir. and by the final sibilant || D (in SD) *kār- ({{GS} *k-) 'hard, firm' > Tm kār 'become hard\mature, become firm\strong in mind', Kn kār ime 'obstinacy, haughtiness', ? Td kōšēf 'be envious' ¶ D #1491.

1944. o†*qu₁∇₁sê (or *qu₁a₁sê?) 'to vomit, to cough' > HS: Eg Md/G qys ~ qēs v. 'vomit' (× HS **q₁ls > Ar ✓qls 'vomit, spit') ¶ EG V 17, Vc. 247, Tk. I 66 (Eg, Ar), BK II 800-1 || ? Ch: Ke kisi v., n. 'cough' ¶ Eb. 72 || K *oqw∇š- > Sv {Ni.} qwāš n. 'cough' || IE *k^wehs- > NaIE *k^wās- v. 'cough' > Vd kās- n. 'cough', OI kāsātē 'coughs' || Lt kos-mi 'I cough', kósēti v. 'cough', kosulỹs n. 'cough', Ltv kāsēt v. 'cough' | pSl *kāš(ь)ь n. 'cough' > OR кашель kašel, R, Uk 'кашель (gen. 'кашля), SCr kašalj (gen. kašlja), Slv kašelj (gen. kašlja), Cz kašel (gen. kašle), Slk kašel, P kaszel (gen.

kaszlu) 'cough' n. ||| OBr pas 'catarrhus', Br paz n. 'cough', pasaat 'to cough', W pās 'whooping-cough', peswch 'cough', pesychafiv. 'cough', Crn pāz, OIr {LP} casachtach 'cough' ||| OHG huosto, huosta, AS hwōsta, NE Δ whoost, MDt hōste n. 'cough, coughing', OHG huostōn ≈ huastōn, NHG husten, AS hwōsan* (att. 3s hwēst 'coughs, is coughing'), MDt hoesten, ON hōsta 'to cough' ||| pAl {O} *kāsīā (< IE *kʷās-lā) > Al kollē 'cough' ¶ Here N *ḡu- yields pre-IE *kū > IE *kʷ (cf. AD NGIE § 6) ¶ Dv. #224, DImr. 265, P 649, EI 133 (*kʷeh_{as}-), M EI 346-7, LP § 25.5, Flr. 281, YGM-1 354, Hm. 620-2, Frn. 283-4, Vr. 250, Ho. 182, Kb. 491-2, Schz. 172, OsS 433, ESSJ IX 160-1, Vs. II 214-5, Srzn. I 1201, Glh. 313, O 189, Huld 81 ||| U: FU *kuse- v. 'cough' > pLp {Lr.} *kosə- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} ḡusse-, L {LLO} kāsā-, N {N} ḡossā- / -s-, K {Gn.} kōsse- id. | Er, Mk κοζ κοζ n. 'cough', Er κοζο- κοζο-, Mk κοζα- v. 'cough' | Prm *kūz- > Z, Vt кыз- кыз-, Yz kʷzʷt- id. ||| ObU: pOs *kōφ n. 'cough' > Os: V kol, D χut-, O χol id.; d.: D χutes-, O χutətli- v. 'cough', V kolim- v. mom. 'give a cough' ||| Sm {Jn.} *kōt n. 'cough' > Ne: T χο' χο? / χοδ- χοδ-, Ne T O {Lh.} χō?, Ne F NI {Lh.} kōt, Ng {Cs.} ku? (gen. kuđar), En X {Cs.} kû? (gen. kuro?), En B {Cs.} ko? (gen. kođo) id., Slq Nr {Cs.} kot n. 'cough', Kms {Cs.} ku?d, ku?d id.; Sm {Jn.} *kōt- v. 'cough' > Ne T d. χοδομβά-, Ne T O {Lh.} χōδομβ_α-, Ng {Mik.} kutəđəsa id., {Cs.} kutāđandum 'I am coughing', En X {Cs.} koruŋaro?, En B {Cs.} koduŋado?, Slq Ch {KD} qoŋar, Kms {KD} k'ʷlām id.; Sm d. {HL} *kōt-or-, {Jn.} *kōt-βyr- v. 'cough' > Ne T χοδορ-, Ne F {Lh.} koto_{or}-, En {Cs.} 1s prs. korunarō? ≈ fodunado, Slq Tz {KKIH} qotar-, Mt {HL} *kodor- id. (Mt M {Sp.} κοδορгомъ n. 'cough') ¶ UEW 223, Coll. 13, Sm. 537 (U *kosī(-), FP *kusī-, Ugr *kűθī), It. 217, Lr. #461, Lgc. #2577, LG 150, Ker. II 66, Lt. KY 130, Jn. 74, Cs. 120, 182, 237, KKIH 163, KD 33-4, Hl. M #517 ||| A: T *k'us- v. 'vomit' (× N ? *ḡ'us'ŋ'ra ~ *ḡ'us'ŋ'ra 'belch, vomit?') > OT qus- 'vomit', Tk kus-, Tkm quθ-, Az qus-, Ggz kus-, Uz, ET, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, SY qus-, Qzq qūs-, VTt q'ūs-, Bsh q'ūθ-, Xk χus-, Chv xǎc- x'əs/z_- id. ¶ Cl. 666, Rs. W 301, ETQ 174-5 ||| Tg *xüse- v. 'feel nauseated, vomit' > Ul, Ork, Nn xusə-, Orc isə- ~ isisgi- ~ isəgi-, Lm is-, Neg isə-, Sol iśirī- id., Nn Nh xusə, Ewk isə, Lm isəβ 'nausea, vomiting' ¶ STM I 332 ¶¶ DQA #1095 (A *k'jūsō 'to vomit') ◇ Tg *ü (< *u) is probably due to regr. as. (caused by *-e) ◇ If Eg ə belongs to the heritage of HS **k'ls, we have to

reconstruct a less specified N ***g_{uh}asê** (with ***H₁ = *ʔ|ʕ|h**, because these three laryngeals yield zero in K).

1945. *gūʔit ▽ 'bright; to shine' > K ***°g_wit-** 'yellow' > G **g_vita** 'yellow dye\paint', **g_vit-el-i** 'yellow', MG [Visr.], G **g_vitl-** 'become yellow' ¶ Chx. 1686-7, DCh. 1378, ≠ K² 424 || **HS: C: Bj {R} ket-** scv. 'be bright\clean (klar\rein\hell sein)', 'kēta 'bright' ¶ R WBd 150 || Ch ≈ ***kuḏ-** > CCh: Mtkm {Sb.} **kúḏkúḏèʔè** 'white' | Msy {Mch.} **kóḏek¹kóḏek** id. | Gv {ChL} **k^wuḏer(iya)** id. | ? Lame {ChL} **káutú** 'cleanness' ¶ JI II 345, ChL III 126, 200 || **IE: [1]** NaIE ***k^wejd-/*k^wid-** v. 'shine, be white' > OI 3s pres. **śvīndatē** 'is bright\white' || Gk Πίνδος, name of a mountain (lit. 'the white one') || Gmc: (NaIE ***k^wejd-** >) Gt **h^eits**, ON **hvíttr**, Dn **hvíd**, Sw **vit**, OHG (h)wiz, NHG weiß, OSx, OFrs, AS **hwīt** 'white', NE **white**; (NaIE ***k^wid-no-** >) MLG, MDt, Dt **wit** id. || Lt **šviedrūs** 'shining, bright'; **[2]** NaIE ***k^wejd-t-** > ***k^wejt-** 'white, bright, shining' > OI **śvē'ta-**, Av **spaēta-** 'white, bright', OI **śvēt-ya-** id. || BSl: Lt **šviēsti** (1s pres. **šviečiū**) 'to shine, to hold a light to', Pru **swāigstan** 'Schein' accus., Lt **švīsti** (prs. **švīnt-**) 'to dawn', **švitrus** 'bright, shining'; (with ***k-** < NaIE ***k-**, precon. depalatalization of ***k̄-**) Ltv † {ME} **kvitēt** (1s pres. **kvītu**) 'glänzen, flimmern' | Sl ***svěť** n. 'light, world' > OCS, OR **свѣтъ** **svěť**, R **свет** id., Blg **свет** (df. **свѣт-ът**), SCr **свѣт** & **svijēt**, Slv **svēt**, Cz **svět**, Slk **svet**, P **świat**, Uk **світ** 'world', ds.: Blg **свѣтли'на**, SCr **свѣтло** & **svijětlo**, Cz **světlo**, Slk **svetlo**, P **światło**, Uk **світло** n. 'light'; Sl {Glh.} ***svítati** 'to dawn' > OCS, OR **свѣтати**, R **свѣтати**, Uk **світати**, SCr **svítati**, Slv **svitati**, Cz **svítati**, Slk **svitat'**, P **świtać** id.; (with precon. depalatalization ***k̄-** > ***k-**): ***kvěť** 'flower' > OCS, OR **цвѣтъ** **cvěť**, Blg **цвят**, SCr **цвѣт** & **cvijēt**, Slv **cvet**, Cz **květ**, Slk **kvet**, P **kwiąt** id., Uk **цвіт** 'flowers', R **цвет** 'colour', †, Δ 'flower', R **цветы** pl. 'flowers' ¶ WP I 469-70, P 628-9, EI 641 (***k^wejto-s** ~ ***k^witro-s** 'white'), M K III 404-6, Vr. 273-4, Vr. N 843, Fs. 284-5, Ho. 182, Kb. 1218-9, OsS 440, Schz. 387, Tr. 373f., Frn. 1043-6, En. 259, ME II 355, Vs. III 575-6 and IV 292-3, Chrn. II 145-6, 362-3, StSS 595-6, 771, Glh. 169, 599-600 || **D** (in SD) ***kiṭi** ({ʔGS} ***k-**) 'spark' > Td **kiṭy**, Kn, Tu **kiḏi**, Δ **keḏi**, Kdg **kēḏi**, čeḏi ¶ D #1528, Sakth. 285 ◇ The cns. ***ḏ** in Ch ≈ ***kuḏ-** and the vw. ***i** of the initial syll. in D ***kiṭi** point to N

gūʔit** ▽ rather than ***güyt** ▽. IE ***k̑weid-/k̑wid-** goes back to pre-IE *k̑üyt** ▽ < ***gūʔit** ▽.

1946. *gew ▽ 'bark, crust, shell' > **HS**: SC: Irq qaway {E} 'strip of hide', {MQK} 'leather strip, leather whip' ||| Dhl qawe 'eggshell' ¶ E SC 252, MQK 86, EEN 19, To. D 138 ||| **K**: Sv quwa 'bark, crust' ¶ Ni. s.v. коpa and корка ||| **A** {SDM97} *k'eba|o 'husk, shell' > T *k'ebäk ~ *k'epäk > OT {Cl.} kápäk 'bran, scurf, dandruff', MQp [CC] XIV kebek 'bran', Tk кепек, Az kápäk, ET kápäk ~ кепäk 'bran, dandruff', Tkm, Ggz, Ln кепек, Uz кепäk, Qz, Qq kebek, Qmq gebek, Tv хевек 'bran', Qrg kebek 'bran, husk of millet\barley', Nog kebek 'husk of millet', SY kevek, VTt kibäk 'chaff (мякина)', Bsh kábäk id., 'bran', käwäk 'dandruff', Xk kibek 'eggshell, nutshell', Chv кипек kib_ек 'husk'; T б→ M: WrM кебег, кеbig, HIM хэбэг 'husk, peel, chaff; bran', Ord k'ewek 'bale des céréales' ¶ Cl. 688, ET KQ 47-8, Dr. TM III #1615, Jeg. 113, MED 438, ≈ SM 197 ¶ Acc. to SDM97, the variant *k'epек (in T) is secondary (due to as. or to the infl. of T *k'āruk 'bark, shell' < A *k'āp'a 'bark, skin', see N *Қон₂ар'У' 'bark') || ? pKo {S} *k̑iá₁ > MKo k̑iá₁ 'rice husks' ¶ SDM97 s.v. A *k'eba || pJ {S} *k̑apì 'shell, egg' > OJ k̑ap̄ì id., J: T kái, K kái, Kg kaí 'shell', OJ k̑ap̄ìgyò, Ht ké, Ns kùgá, Y káínù 'egg' ¶ S QJ #149, Mr. 433 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *k'eba ~ *-o 'husk, shell': T, Ko + J *ka(m)pí 'rice ear'), DQA #1008 (A *k'ép|bà 'husk, shell': T, M, J *k̑ap̄ì).

1947. o†*gûw'í'í' ▽ 'shout, cry, utter sounds' (*inter alia* of an animal) > **K**: GZ *g̑i-w- 'crow' (of a rooster) > OG, G g̑i-v-, Mg í-i-, Lz g̑i- ~ k̑i- v. 'crow' (a rooster) ||| ? K {K, K²} *g̑u-, {Srij.} *g̑u₁w₁- v. 'cry, howl' > OG/G g̑i-v-, G P g̑u- / g̑i-l- / *g̑u-v-l- 'cry', 'howl' (a beast) (g̑u-o-da 'he cried, howled', aʔ-i-g̑u-v-i-a 'er schrie auf'), Sv g̑ū- (li-g̑ū-li 'schreien, heulen', g̑ū-l-i 'er schreit', mu-g̑ū-li 'schreiend') ¶ FS K 370-1 and FS E 415-6 (*g̑i-w- 'shout, crow'), Srij. KE 25 [#42] (K *g̑u-w-), K 212, K² 242-3 (GZ *g̑i-w- v. 'crow'), 245 (K *g̑u- 'howl'), Chx. 1735, 1737 ||| **HS**: S *o✓k̑wí > Ar qawwāí- 'qui hurle (loup)' ¶ BK II 835 ||| B *o✓yūwH > ETwl/Ty {GhA} ьyūwu (3m pf. ETwl yə-yūwa, Ty i-yūwa) v. (Pcj. I A 7) 'miauler, bêler', Ah yəwih-ət v. 'cry' (of a camel); Rf SnSr AA yuy 'call (appeler)', Izn/Rf {Rn.} s-yuy 'shout', Rf s-yuy 'shout', 'howl' (a dog); ?? Ah səqqəy-ət v. 'call' ¶ Fc. 1710, 1745, Rn. 358-9, GhA 74, 246-7 ||| ? Eg fP 3wɣ v. 'call (rufen), call upon' (× N *gāwí ▽ [or *gāwɣ ▽?])

'to call', q.v. × HS * \checkmark čwɥ > S * \checkmark čwɥ v. 'command') ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 || D *kūv- ({{ǧGS}} *k-) 'cry aloud, call' > Tm kūvɥ v. 'crow', 'scream' (peacock), 'cry' (birds), call out', kūval 'crying aloud, bawling, crowing', MI kūval, kūvɥ, kūppɥ 'a cry', Td kūb- 'shout, bawl out', kū- 'shout to a distance', Kn kūv i 'cry out', Kdg ku· / ku·v- v. 'crow', Tl kūɥɥ v. 'cry out, shout', Klm kuɥ- 'crow' (cock), Prj kūɥ-, Gdb kūɥ-, ǧūɥ- v. 'cry, call' ¶¶ ≈ D #1868.

1948. *qewɥ∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' > K *qaw-/qɥ- 'be, be in so.'s possession' > G qv-/qav- 'be', i-qo (< *i-qw-a) 'he was\became', v-i-qav 'I was', m-qav-s 'mihi est', Mg ɣv- / ɣu- / ɣ-: ɣ-un-s 'ei est, he has', ɣ-un-d-u 'ei erat, he had', Lz qov-/qv-/q-: u-qo(v)-u-n 'he has', u-q-on-u-t·-u 'he had', iqu 'it happened, became', ? Sv qa-/qɥ-/q-: m-a-qa 'mihi est' (contamination with other K roots) ¶ K 208-9, ≈ K² 236 (*qaw-/qɥ- 'lead, have'), FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6, Chik. 351-3, Q O97-O101, 420-1 || HS: S * \checkmark kɥɥ ≈ remain, wait' > Sr 𐤊𐤍𐤅 \checkmark kɥɥ D (pf. kɥɥwī) 'remain, wait', BHb 𐤊𐤍𐤅 \checkmark kɥɥ D (pf. 𐤊𐤍𐤅 kɥi w'wā) 'wait, lie in wait', G prtc. pl. cs. 𐤊𐤍𐤅 kōwē 'waiting for, looking forward to, hoping', Amh kṣṣyṣ ~ kṣyṣ 'wait, await, last, be late', Ak kṣṣ'ū 'to wait, to trust in so.' ¶ GB 706, KB 1011-2, L CAD 79, CAD XIII 328-32 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ki- 'spend the night' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} ki-, Q {Ap.} kaw-, Xm {R} či-, Km {CR} kē- ~ kī-, Aw {Plm.} č3- id. || Bj A {AD} pcv. -ki-/kay-/kē- 'be', Bj {R} -kay 'become, be' (1s: p. a-'kāɥ ~ 'a-ke, pqp. 'ī-kata ~ 'ī-kte, prs. a-ka'tī ~ 'a-kati 'become, be') ({{R}}: refl. vb.) || EC {Ss.} *ki- 'be' > Sa, Af ki- (copula), Ya ke id., Kns, Gdl ki- 'be, exist'; Brj -ka (uninflected positive affirmative copula); LEC {Bl.} *kāɥ- 'put down' > Kns xāɥ-, Gdl hāɥ-, Or B kā- id. ¶ AD SF 221, Ap. AV 13, Ap. WLQ 14, R WBd 153, Ss. B 120, Bl. 192 || NrOm: Mch {L} kēyī 'sleep, spend the night', Kf {C} kē / kēɥ- id., 'lie down to sleep', Shn {Lm.} kēɥ- 'lie, sleep' ¶ AD SF 221, C SE IV 481-2, L M 49, ≈ Lm. Sh 347 || ? Ch: Lgn {Lk.} -ki 'remain' in ndo ūki yah3 'ich bleibe zurück' (ndo 'I', yah3 'nach, zurück') ¶ Lk. L 101 || IE *kēj- 'lie (liegen)' > OI 'śē-tē, 'śay-ē, Av saēte 'lies', OI śayatē, śayati 'lies, rests, reposes' || Gk κεί-τατ 'lies' || Ht ki- 'lie; be laid\set, be in place', Pal ki-i-ta-ar 3s prs. 'goes with' (of food), Lw ziɥ-ar i v. 'lie' ¶¶ WP I 358-60, P 539-40, EI 352, M K III 303-4, F I 809-10, WH II 406, Pv. IV 169-73, Ivn. SA 133 || A {DQA} *keybe 'lie (liegen)' > M *kepte- 'lie down, recline' > MM [L] kepte- 'lie, sleep', [S, MA] kepte- 'lie', WrM kepte-, HIM хэвтэ- 'lie

down, recline', WrO *keβte-* id., 'die', Kl *кевт-* 'lie', Brt *хэбтэ-* 'lie, lie down'; M → Ud *кэртэ-* 'lie' (animal, person); ? M **kebeli-* > MM [HI] {Ms.} *kebeli-* 'incliner vers' ¶ H 96, Pp. L III 66, Pp. MA 212-3, MED 439, Krg. 716, KRS 288, Chr. 638-9, Ms. H 69, STM I 452, ≈ T 339 (does not distinguish between M **keβte-* and **keβe-* 'liegen' [< N **Ḳeyla,t* 'to fall', q.v.]) || Tg **keb(i)-* > Ud *кэртэ-* 'lie' (of humans \ animals), Ul *кэбилэ-* 'bend down to the ground (пригнуться, припасть к земле), hide, lie down, lie prone' ¶ STM I 442, 452 || pKo {S} **kībúr-* 'bow down, be sloping, decline' > MKo *kì'úr-* id., NKo *kiul-* 'be slanted \ sinking \ declining' ¶ S QK #986, Nam 79, MLC 272 || pJ {S} **kэуэ-* > OJ *kou(о)-* 'lie' ¶ S AJ 272 [#221], S QJ #221, Mr. 711 ¶¶ S AJ 294 [#499] ¶¶ DQA #A 750 ¶¶ De-emphatization **q-* > A **k-* is still to be explained || D **kē-* ({*ḡGS*} **k-*) 'lie (liegen)' > Tm *cē* 'dwell, lie, remain, sleep', Ml *cē(k)kuka* v. 'roost', Kn *kē* 'lie down, repose, copulate with', Tu *ketonū, katonū* 'lie down', *kedonūni* id., v. 'rest', Klm *ke-p* 'to make (child) to sleep', Krx *kīd-, kīdʔa-* 'allow \ invite one to lay down for rest \ sleep, put to bed, lay in the grave', Mlt {Drs.} *kíde* 'lay down' ¶¶ D #1990 ◇ An alt. solution is to adduce here IE **kʷejH-* 'behaglich ruhen', U **kuj* 'lie, repose', and Ar *qāh-* 'commode, aisé' (see N **Ḳuyh* 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable') and to reconstruct something like N **gewih*, but then one has to explain both the vw. **u* in U and the lack of lr. in S **✓kʷu* and IE **kēj-* ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (**Ḳou* 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (**ḳ' uya* 'покоиться'), AD GD #135.

1949. 2 **qou* 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' > K: GZ **qaw-/qaw-* 'make' > OG *qav-* (msd. *qopa*), G *qav-/qav-*, Mg *ɣv-*, Lz *q(v)-, ɣv-, y(v)n-* id. ¶ K 209, K² 236-7, FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6 || IE: NaIE **kʷoj-/kʷej-/kʷi-* 'pile up, gather, build, make', {E} *kʷej-* 'pile up, build' > OI *ci'nōti, 'cauati* 'gathers, piles up', *ci'tā* 'layer', ? Av *čauēti* 'chooses. selects', NPrs *چیدن čīdān* 'to gather, to arrange, to put in order' || Gk *ποιέω* 'I make, produce, create; do', 'compose' (of poets) || Sl **čīnъ* 'order' > OCS *҃ННЪ čīnъ* id. (τᾱξίς), R *чин*, Slv *čīn* 'rank', Blg *чин* id., 'class', SCr *čīn* 'kind, form', Cz *čīn* 'deed, exploit', P *czyn* id., 'act'; → Sl **čīniti* 'to arrange' > OCS *҃НННТН čīniti* 'to arrange, formare', OR *҃НННТН čīniti* 'to arrange', R *чинить* 'to repair', SCr *čīniti*, Slv *ciníti* 'to make', Cz *čīniti*, Slk *čīnit'*, P *czynić*, Uk

чи¹нити id., 'to act' ¶ P 637-8, EI 87, M K I 388, F II 570-2, ESSJ IV 112-5, Vs. IV 362-3 || ? **н:** *AdS* of M *kī- 'do, act' < N *kefi 'make, do', q.v. ffd.??) ¶¶ IS I 309 adduces T *kīl- 'do' (actually *kīl- with *k' evidenced by Tv/Tf qīl- 'do') and Yk kīn- 'do', which is hardly convincing || ? *AdS* of D {tr., GS} *кеу- 'do, make' (< N *kefi '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The adduction of M and D is valid if M *-ī- and D *-ey- may go back to *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?), otherwise they belong to N *kefi only ◇ IS I 309 [#182] (*кеуа 'делатъ' in D and A [T M]).

1950. *qaywE(-L∇) 'alone', 'entire' > IE: NaIE *ka₁w-(e)lō- 'alone, entire, whole' > OI kēvala- {MW} 'alone, one, isolated', 'entire, whole, all' || L caelebs (gen. caelibis) 'unmarried, single' (of men) (< *ka₁welo-lib₁h₁-s 'alone living') | *ka₁lō- 'entire, whole' (reduces variant of *ka₁welo-), d. *ka₁l-u- > Gmc: Gt hails, ON heill, OHG heil 'healthy, whole', NHG heil 'unhurt, sage and sound, whole', AS hāl & hæl 'whole, uninjured, healthy', NE whole || Pru kailūstiskun accus. 'health', kails! - pats kails! 'Heil! - selbst Heil!' (drinking one other's health); Ltv kaīls 'naked, bare', Δ {ME} 'unarmed; childless' | Sl *cělъ(jь) 'whole, entire' > OCS ЦѢЛЪ cělъ, Blg цял, SCr сѣо & сѣо, сѣјѣл, Slv cěl, Cz, Slk celý, P цаѣу, R цел pradj. / 'целый aadj., Uk 'цілий id.; Sl *celi (*celъve) 'health' (< *ka₁l-u-) > OCS ЦѢЛЫ cělī / ЦѢЛЪВЕ cělъve ||| NaIE *ka₁-ko- 'one-eyed' > OI kēkara- 'squint-eyed' || L caecus 'blind' || OIr caech 'one-eyed, blind', W coeg-dfall id., Ocm [ʃ] cuic 'luscus et monophthalmus' || Gt haihs 'one-eyed' ¶ WP I 326, 328, P 519-20, EI 12 (*ka₁-welo-s 'alone'), M K I 264, 267, MW 309-10, WH I 129-30, Vn. C 6, Fs. 232-3, Kb. 444-5, Schz. 161, Ho. 148, ME II 133, En. 187, Tr. P I-K 142-3, Kar. I 367, Glh. 163, ESSJ III 179-81, Vs. IV 297 || **к** *qowE1- 'all, one' > OG qovel-i 'all, whole', qowl-ad 'completely, wholly', MG [VT] qowl-i 'all', G qovel-i / qowl- 'every, all', Mg, Lz ir- 'every', Sv qwil 'one (of a pair)' ¶ K 213 (GZ *qowel-), K² 244 (GZ *qowl-), ≈ FS K 372 and FS E 418 (GZ *qowl-) (all of them do not take account for the Sv cognate), Chx. 1700-1, Dn. s.v. qwil, GP 270 || **HS:** EC *ka₁w(w)- 'alone' > Sml, Bn kow, Rn {PG} kōw, kō, {Hn.} kow 'one', Kns xaww-ā, Gdl haww- 'alone, separate', Or ko-ēsa (f. ko-ēti), {Th.} koesa (f. koetti) 'alone', ko-om 'lonely', caus. kof-sīs- 'make lonely', ? {Grg.} koʔ-ōma 'be overly busy/lonely' ¶ Ss. PEC 44, Hn. S 66,

PG 200, 202, Th. 73, Grg. 248 ¶ Not here S *kull- 'all, whole' (see N *ka1w∇ 'together, whole') || A: M *qayī-dag 'lone, single' > WrM qaidag, HIM хайдаг id., WrO хайдаг 'alone, isolated, solitary', Kl {Rm.} х̄ādaḡ 'immer nur derselbe\einer, allein (ohne Kameraden)', Brt хайдаг 'milked without a calf' (a cow), Ord {Ms.} х̄ādū' 'bestiaux qu'on trait et dont les jeunes sont morts' ¶ MED 912, Krg. 256, KW 179, Chr. 533, Ms. O 345 ◇ K *o (which is not the regular reflex of N *a) is due to the infl. of the adjacent *w ◇ In view of the OI and K data the apparently distant meanings 'alone' and 'entire' can hardly be etymologically separated ◇ Bm TPN (S, IE), AD rTPN (S, IE, K, M), ≠ IS SS 349 [#13.12] (K ÷ HS *k(w)l 'all' [Coh. #115], see N *ka1w∇ '↑').

1951. (2?) *qE'z'û 'to shape (an object) by chopping, beating, etc.' > K *o'q'ez- > Lz qaz- (z̄ yaz-, xaz-, az-) v. 'trim, plane (wood)' ¶ Marr 202 || ? U: FU: [1] {UEW} *kesk∇- ~ *keks∇- v. 'whet, sharpen' > Prm *kes- > Z kesli-, Yz 'kesli- 'whet', Vt kisk- 'sharpen on a lathe' || Vg: T küwt-, LK/P kiwt- 'sharpen' || [2] (att. in Ugr) *kEś∇- 'whet, sharpen, polish' > Vg T {Mu.} kēsīḡ ku 'whetstone' (ku is 'stone') | Hg köszörül- 'whet, sharpen', 'grind (schleifen)' ¶ The variation *-s- ~ *-ś- needs investigating ¶ UEW 151, 862, LG 123, Lt. Y 125 || IE *keḡu- /*kḡu- > NaIE *kāu- /*kəu- v. 'shape an object by chopping\hammering' (× NaIE *kəw- /*kāw- /*kū- v. 'strike, hew' < N *kaχü ~ *kaχyU 'strike\push') > OHG houwan / hīo (> NHG hauen) 'hew, cut down', AS héawan / héow (> NE hew), ON hōggva / hiō v. 'chop' | Lt káuju (pret. kóviau, † kavau, inf. káuṭi) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', Ltv kaût 'to strike, to forge', Lt kūjis 'smith's hammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' | pSl *kova- (inf.) / *kuj-ǫ (pres.) v. 'forge' (ffd. see N *kaχü ~ *kaχyU) || pTc *kau- > Tc: A ko-, B kau- 'strike down, kill, destroy' ¶ WP I 330, P 535, EI 549 (*kehḡu- 'strike, hew'), Vr. 280, Ho. 153, Kb. 483, Schz. 170, ESSJ XII 10-1, XIII 257-8, Frn. 232, En. 198, Tp. P K-L 238-41, Vs. II 231, Ad. 208 ¶¶ The velar *k- (for the expected palatalized *k̄-) may be explained by the impact of N *kaχü ~ *kaχyU and by generalization of the pre-lr. *k- in *kḡu- > kəu- (because in precons. position the palatalization of *k is sometimes lost) || ? HS: S *o'kz∇ > Ar 'kz∇ G 'frapper la terre avec un bâton et y laisser une trace du coup' ¶ BK II 734 ◇ K *o'q'ez- and FU *kEś∇- point to a pN *z̄-, while FU *s in *kesk∇- ~ *keks∇- is still puzzling (a special

treatment of N ***ž** in a consonant cluster?). The velar cns. *k- and the vw. *ā in NaIE *kāu-/kəu- belong to the heritage of N ***kaχü** ~ ***kaχyU**.

1952. ***quz** ▽ 'entrails, pluck' > K {K, K²} *qwiž]-, {FS} *qwiž- 'liver' > OG ψ wižl-, G ψ vižl-, G Δ ψ virzl-, Mg *qvižil- \rightarrow Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} qwiže, Sv {K} qwiže ~ quže 'liver', Mg i-qvižin-an-s 'has unhealthy yellow complexion', ?σ G qvižil- 'black-violet' ¶¶ K 211, K² 242, FS K 369-70, FS E 415, TK 808 || **IE:** NaIE *keus-/ku(:)s- '≈ entrails, abdomen' > OI kōs̄t̄ha- 'abdomen', 'kiš̄t̄hiká 'Inhalt der Gedärme' || Gk κύστις, -εως 'bladder' || W cwt̄hr 'anus, rectum' (< kUSD̄ro-) || SI *kiš̄-ьka 'gut' > OR **кнш(ь)ка** kiš̄(ь)ka, R киш'ка, Uk 'кишка, P kiszka, Cz kyška 'gut'; without sx.: Plb k^uōjsa 'kidney' ¶ P 953, Bern. I 629, ESSJ XIII 278-9, M KI 247, 273, M EI 404-5, F II 56, YGM-1 117 || **A:** Tg ***ḷ**ḷja > NrTg ***u**ja- > Lm O **u**ja- v. 'disembowel (a bear)', Lm OI **u**jiṃçln 'pluck of a bear', Lm O **u**jamçln, Neg **u**ddo-nln id.; Tg ***x**ujik 'bladder' > Ewk **u**jik (accus. **u**jik-w3), Lm **u**jik \mathfrak{d} **u**jōkōn, Neg **u**jik, Ork **x**udu ~ **x**udušū, U1 **x**užū, Nn NH/KU **x**užū id., Sln **u**jiḷi 'anus' ¶ STM II 249-50, ≠ Vv. AEN 11 (qualifies pTg ***x**- in ***ḷ**ḷja as "spurious"; in fact it is uncertain, because the NrTg lgs. do not distinguish between pTg zero and ***x**-, which is duely denoted by ***ḷ**ḷ-; for such cases no presumption of zero is legitimate) || ?σ M ***qu**žirqayī > Ord **χ**u'žirχā 'la partie charnue de la panse des ruminants', HIM **x**ужирхай 'thick part of the border of a scar (from a healed wound)' ¶ Ms. O 364, Luw. 561 ¶¶ DQA #1154 (A ***k**'už ▽ 'part of stomach, bladder') || ?φ **D** ***ku**ṭ- ({**ḷ**GS} ***k**-) 'entrails' (× N ***gud** ▽ or ***gut** ▽ 'belly, middle', q.v.) > Tm **ku**ṭar, **ku**ṭal 'bowels, intestines, entrails', Ml **ku**ṭar, **ku**ṭal 'bowels', Kt kōṛṇ, Td kωṛṇ 'small intestine', Gnd **ku**ṇḍālī 'a stomach of ruminants' ¶¶ D #1652 ◊ AD NM #67, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

1953. (₂?) ***r** ▽ (< ***ʔ** ▽ **r**¹ ▽ ?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle > **A** [1] ***t**'e-r¹a¹ id. (marked topicalizing case, sg. of ***t**'e- 'der, das' [dem. prn. that is neutral in the deictic distance opposition *hic* ↔ *iste* ↔ *ille*]) > M ***te**-re (theme-focalizing case ↔ stem of obl. cases ***te**-gün) 'that' (used also as 'he') > MM **tere**, WrM **tere**, HIM, Kl **terə**, Brt, Ord **tere**, Dg t3r3 ↔ stem of obl. cases: M ***te**ṽn > MM **te**ṽn, WrM **te**gün, HIM/Brт {Pp.} tū:n, Klm tū:n ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 459 || Tg ***tere** ~ ***tar** ▽ 'that, he', distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. (< ****te**-r¹a¹ due to vowel harmony) > WrMc **tere** (pl. **tese**) 'that, he', Mc Sb {**terə**} [t3r] 'that,

he\it', [tesə] [tɜs] 'they' (↔ [erə] [ɜr] 'this', [esə] [ɜs] 'these'), [tērə] [tɜr] 'that', Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that' ¶ In Tg the pronouns *tere 'that, it' and *ere 'this' lost their former meaning of the nom. case and were generalized throughout the case paradigm ¶ Mc tere cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of plural (tese) with an ancient et. and without parallels in M ¶ STM II 165-7, Y ##2878-83, Hrl. 42-3 ¶¶ [2] Tg *e-r∇ 'this' > Ewk PT ɜr, ɜrē, ɜri 'this', Sln ɜr ~ ɜri 'this', Lm ɜr 'voilà, voici (B0T, B0H)', Lm A ɜr, Neg ɜy ~ ɜyɜ this', Ork ɜr ~ ɜri 'this, voici (B0T), WrMc ere (↔ pl. ese) 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'a (*t'e) 'that', S AJ 52, 289 [#311], Gr. I 101 ("substantivizer RE" in M, Tg, as well as {Gr.← Sns.} OJ -re in itu-re 'which?', na-re 'thou', etc.), Sns. 74-5 ¶¶ IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns: nom.-accus. sg. *wodo(:)r 'water' (> Ht watar, Gk ὕδωρ, AS wæter, OHG wazzar, etc.) ↔ gen. sg. *wed-n-os ~ *ud-n-os (> Ht wetas, Gt watins, Gk ὕδατος [< ≈ *udntos], etc.), nom.-accus. sg. *yek^ω-r 'liver' (> L iecur, OI 'yacr^τ, Gk ἥπαρ) ↔ gen. sg. *yek^ω-n-os (> L iecinoris [< earlier *yekinīs], OI yak'naḥ, Gk ἥπατος [α < *η]), etc. ¶ Bks. 187, Bks. ONI 3-6, Szem. IEL 173-4 ¶¶ HS: Eg ír 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), ír (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, inv., and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 ¶¶ The N pc. *r∇ may be the source of the nominal *-r-extensions in descendant lgs., such as *-∇r- in IE *kaṷs-∇r- '(long) hair' (see N *Ka^yCä 'hair'), M *kiçir 'ends of a bow' (see N *Keç'a' 'tip, end [extremity]'), WS *✓kšr 'scales' (< N *ka'ç'U 'scratch, scrape off scales'), WS *k∇d∇r- 'earthen pot' (< N *kad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle' [→ 'build, make pottery']), NaIE *klā-r0- 'piece of wood, board' (← *kelā-/ *klā- v. 'hew, chop' < N *kaLsa 'cut, hew, chop', q.v.) ◇ The Eg cognate (if valid) suggests an earlier var. *?∇r∇ of the N pc. in question ◇ There is no direct proof that the internal cns. in *?∇r¹∇ is *r rather than *r', but in the pN word-initial position there is no *r', hence it is easier to suppose that in the Inlaut the cns. was *r.

1953a. ??? *r'i', a particle of plurality \ collectivity, an alternative reconstruction of the grammatical marker of plurality that is otherwise (and probably better) reconstructed as N *r∇ yE (= *r∇ y'i'?) (see s.v.).

1954. *rûʔ∇ 'go', (?) 'run' > **HS:** Eg OK rωϣ 'go away, leave' ¶ EG II 406-7 || C: EC: Ya {To.} reʔ-, {Hn.} -reʔe 'run away' || Dhl r0ʔ- {EEN, To.} 'go', {E} 'go\pass by' || C (SC?) ⇨ Mb -r0 'leave' ¶ EEN 40, To. D 146, E SC 220, Hn. Y II 132, BlzT D 3 || WCh: AG: Mpn {Frz.} rú 'disappear suddenly', ?σ Su {J} rù 'untertauchen' ¶ Frz. DM 52, J S 81 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 101 [31.3] || **K** *or- > MG [VTq.] r- 'go, walk', G r- v. id., 'ride, travel' ¶ Chx. 1043, DCh. 1035 || ? **IE:** NaIE *reǵ-/ *erw-/ *ru-/ *r- 'move' (vi.), 'hasten' (× [?] N *rAϣ₁i₁ʔ∇ 'follow, accompany' × NaIE *or-/r̥- 'arise' < N *h₁erU 'ascend, rise') > OI r̥₀-r̥nō-ti 'arises, moves', 'arvan-hurrying (eilend)', Av ar^anaoⁱti 'moves', aurva, aurbant-'schnell, tapfer' || Lru-ō / ru-ēre / rui / rūtum 'rush, hasten' || AS earu 'bereit, flink', OSx aru 'bereit, fertig', ON qrr {Bae.} 'quick (rasch, schnell [zufahrend])', Ic ör 'quick (быстрый, резвый)' ¶ WP I 141, P 331, ≈ EI 506 (*h₁er- 'set in motion'), M KI 122, WH II 453, Ho. 86, Ho. S 4, Vr. 683, 688, Bae. 811-2, Bv. 922.

1955. ?σ₂ *r∇ʔi 'see' > **HS:** WS *✓rʔy (prm. *-rʔay) 'see' > BHb ✓rʔy (ip. הַרְאֵה יִי-rʔē, pf. הַרְאֵה rāʔā) id., M'b 1s ip. ʔrʔ, DA imp. 2pm rʔω, Ar ✓rʔy (ip. يَرَى yarā, pf. رَأَى raʔā), Sb ✓rʔy, Gz ✓rʔy (js. yarʔay, pf. raʔya) id., Mh d. {Jo.} rāy, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'riʔ' 'opinion' ¶ KB 1079-80, HJ 1041-2, Br. AG § 44b, BGMR 112-3, BK I 796, L G 458-9, Jo. M 311, Jo. J 201 || ?φ C: Bj {Rop.} reh- ~ erh- 'see' || HEC: Sd laʔ- {Hd.} 'see', {Gs.} 'look at' (unless < HEC *laḳ- 'know') ¶ Rop. 228, Hd. 130 ¶¶ OS #447 (S, Bj) || **IE:** NaIE *rē-/ *rā-, *rī-/ *rēj- 'think, reckon, count', {Mn.} 'be mindful, think' (× NaIE *ar-, are- 'arrange' > Lt {Prs.} réju / réti 'lege in Ordnung \ schichtenweise') > Lreor / ratus sum / rēri 'reckon, think, be of opinion, suppose', ra-tio 'reckoning, account, computation', rī-tu-s '(religious) custom, usage, ceremony' || Gt pp. ga-rapana 'counted', rapjō 'number, account', OSx réthia 'account', OHG redia, reda 'speech, word, mind, opinion', NHG Rede 'speech', OSx réthiōn, OHG red(i)ōn 'to talk, to speak', NHG reden 'to talk'; OHG rīm 'row, number, calculation', NHG Reim 'rhyme' (× ← OFr rime 'rhyme, poetry' ← OLF *rīm ÷ OHG rīm; × ← Gk ῥυθμός 'rhythm'), AS rīm 'number, counting', OSx un-rīm 'Unzahl', ON rím 'Berechnung, Kalender' || OIr rím 'number', do-rím 'I count', Brtt {RE} *rīmā 'number' > W rhyf, OBr rim id., Cmn pl. ryvow 'numbers', MW riuaω, W rhifo 'to count' ¶ ≈ WP 73-5, ≈ P 59-62, Mn. 1068-9, Prs. WF 635, 741, 858, WH II 429, RE

87, Fs. 394, Vr. 446, Ho. 26O, Ho. S 6O, 81, Kb. 775-6, 793, OsS 697, 716, KM 589, 593, GH 516, Vn. R 3O-1, ≠ EI 472 (L < *reh₁- 'put in order') ¶ This IE root suggests that in some conditions (postvoc. position at the end of a stem or before a final *i?) N *ʔ yields an IE lr. that underlies a NaIE *a and a vowel lengthening ◊ Qu., because the meaning of the IE root ({Mn.} 'be mindful, think') is controversial ◊ BmK #479 (IE, S + err. Eg ĩrϣ 'see' [in fact <ϣ ĩr 'eye']).

1956. *raϣ ▽ 'remain, stay' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} rāϣe scv. 'remain over \ behind', Sa {R} rāϣ- scv. id. ('bleiben, verweilen, zurückbleiben hinter' ||| DhI {EEN} raϣ- 'stay' ||| SC: Asa {E} raʔ- 'stay, remain' ¶ PH 179, R S II 204, E SC 219, EEN 41 || K *r- 'be' > OG, G r- 'be' (v-a-r 'I am', a-r-s 'is'), Mg r- 'be' (r-e 'is', r-in-a ~ r-in-i 'to be'), Lz r- 'be' (r-en 'is'), Sv UB/LB/Ln/L r- 'be' (m-i-r-i 'mihi est, I have', χ-0-r-i 'ei est, has'); K *a-r- 'be' (< *r- with the former version px. *a-) > OG ar- 'be' (ars 'is'), G ar-, Mg, Lz or- 'be' (Mg v-or-ek, Lz b-or-e 'I am', Mg or-d-as, Lz or-ϣ-as 'let him be'), Sv χw-är-i, 'I am', χ-är-i 'thou art' ¶ K 154-5, K² 3, 153, FS K 250, FS E 275-6, Chik. 307, TK 653 || A: Tg *-ra / *-re, verbal sx. of aorist ({Sun.} = prs.-ft.) > Ewk -ra / -rɜ / -ro id. (dukū-ra-n 'il vient d'écriture', dukū-ja-ra-n 'he is writing'), Neg -ya / -yɜ (used in analytical negative forms: conjugated negative verb ɜ- + -ya/-yɜ-forms), Lm -rɔ / -rə / -r (aorist of active verbs), Nn -ran / -rɜn id., WrMc -ra / -re / -ro, sx. of prtcs. ¶ Bz. 1071-2, Mng. TTra ∇, Mng. TS 38, 80, YTsM ∇, Sun. G 33-57, 152-7, Sun. V 62, Vas. 785, Avr. GNJ II 102-3, 286, Ci. N 24, Nov. EJ 97.

1957. ₂ *rab ▽ 'much, big' > HS: S *'rab₁i₁y- '≈ big, much' > Akk rabi₁u, Eb ra-bu 'big', ? Ar ribw-at- (pl. ribawāt-) 'myriad, 10000 drachmas' (↳ Gz rabbawāt 'myriads'), JPA {Sl.} רבו רבω (pl. רבוון רבωון) 'myriad, 10000', JA [Trg.] {Js.} רבו רב₁ū, em. רבותא רב₁ū'tā, Sr E {Sl.} רב₁ū'tā 'greatness', JEA {Sl.} רבותא רב₁ū'tā id., 'superiority, exceptional thing', WS (or CS) *rabb- 'numerous, many, much, great' > BHb, BA, JA [Trg.] rab₁, rabb- id., JEA rab₁ (f. rabbə'tā) 'great, large', rab₁bā 'master, teacher', M'b, Amm rb-m pl. 'many', d. Ar {Ln.} rubb- 'many', Pun rb 'big', JA rab₁b-ā 'big, eldest', Sr רב₁; rabbā 'magnus, senex', Ug rb 'big'; → S *rabb- ~ *rab- > BHb rab₁, Ph., Pun, Ug, IA, Plm rb, Ak rab ~ rabi (cs. of rabû, in cds.), CS *rabb- designing of persons of high position: BHb rab₁bē'tō 'Palastbeamter', Ug rb ḳrt 'governor of a city', MHb rab₁ 'teacher, rabbi', Ar rabb- 'lord

(maître, seigneur); God'; CS *✓rbb v. > Hb, JA, Md ✓rbb 'be(come) numerous, big', Sr ✓rbb 'become big'; S *✓rb^ly|w^l G 'be big\large' > Ak inf. G rabā^ʔu(m), rabû(m) id., Ar ✓rbw G 'increase (wealth); grow up', MHb {Js.} ✓rby G (pf. הַרְבֵּהּ rā'ḥā ~ הַרְבֵּהּ rā'ḥē) 'be much\many, grow' ¶ KB 1092-4, 1777, KBR 1170-3, Br. 706-7, OLS 383-4, HJ 1045-51, Sl. 1052-6, Sl. P 513, Js. 1438-41, Lv. T II 397-9, BK I 798-800, 813-4, Ln. 1002-7, 1023-4, Hv. 235, 239, Sd. 933, 936-40, L G 462 || ??φ EC {Ss.} *la|eb- 'big, many' (HEC {Hd.} *loba) (× N *LayP_∇ 'good, beautiful', q.v.) > Brj la'b-0, - 0 'many, much', labad- 'be abundant', Sd lo w 0 'big, many, much', lopp- v. 'grow', Hd lob 'big', lob-akata 'many, much', loppo 'majority', Ged noppp- v. 'grow (up)', as well as probably words for 'male': Ged labba, Elm lεp, Dsn yáb ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 131, Hd. 27, 209, 252, 257, 291-2, 383, To. DL 532 || ¶ {DQA} *lābò 'more, better' (× N *LayP_∇ '↑') > Tg *labdu 'much' > Nn labdo, WrMc labdu id. ¶ STM I 485 || ??σ M *lab > WrM, WrO lab, HIM лав, Brt лав, Ord lab_ 'sure(ly), definite(ly), authentic(ly)', Kl {Rm.} lab_ id., {KRS} лав id., 'fast' (лав цѣ- 'bind fast'), ? WrO la ~ lā 'indeed'; WrM, WrO labта, HIM лавт, Kl лавта 'exactly, precisely; indubitably', Brt лавтай 'for sure, certain(ly)', Ord lab_d_ūn 'indubitably, vraiment; certain', Kl {Rm.} lawχāñ 'ganz, gewiß' ¶ MED 513-4, SM 442, Krg. 582, KRS 333, KW 250-1, Chr. 285 |?φ M *nay 'very' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} nai, [HI] {Lew.} naj 'very', ?σ Kl нә nä 'okay!, agreed!' ('падно') ¶ H 113, Ms. H 77, Lew. II 62, KRS 370 || pJ *nāpṣ 'better, more' > OJ nāpó, J: T/Kg ná0, K náo ¶ S QJ #677, Mr. 493 || ?σ pKo *nāboj 'again, better' > MKo nā'oj ¶ S QK #771, Nam 93 ¶ DQA #1166 (A *lābò 'more, better'), S AJ 68 (M, Ko, J).

1958. *'rib_∇ 'to cover' > HS: CS *✓rbd v. 'cover' > BHb ✓rbd {BDB} v. 'prepare a couch, make up a bed', Ug {OLS} ✓rbd G 'cover a bed with blankets', Ar ✓rbd TD 'become cloudy (sky)' ¶ KB 1097, KBR 1176, Grd. UT #2300, DLS KTU I 92, 132, OLS 384-5, BDB ##7234-5, BK I 803, Hv. 236 || IE: NaIE *'reb^h- 'cover with a roof' > Gk ἐρέφω v. 'cover with a roof, cover with a crown, crown', ὀροφή 'roof of a house, ceiling of a room' || OHG hirni-rēba 'skull' (lit. 'brain-cover'), {OsS} 'Hirnschale, Gehirn', ? ON ráf, ráfr 'ε roof' ({Vr.} 'Sparrendach') | P adduces here also the Gmc and Sl words for 'rib' by interpreting 'rib' as 'cover of the chest cavity' ("die Rippen bedecken die Brusthöhle, wie das Dach das Haus"): OHG rippa, rippi, OSx ribbi, AS ribb, ON r if, Sl *rebro ¶ P 85, EI 488 (*h₁reb^h-), ≈ Vr. 431, FI 556, Kb. 470, OsS

402 || **U:** FU ?σ {LG} *riwitä 'ice crust' > F riite 'thin ice crust', Δ {Lnr.} riive 'frozen snow-crust' ('наст') || Prm *rE > Z rī 'unfrozen patch of water in the midst of an icebound river' ('полынья') || ? OHg rétt 'Sumpfland, Ried, Moor', Hg rétt 'meadow' (< *'land covered with water'?) ¶ LG 246, SK 793, EWH 1258 || **A:** Tg *lipk- v. 'stop up, shut up' > Ewk lipkī-, Lm nipkə- 𐌆 īik- 𐌆 līpkə- 𐌆 nipkă-, Neg lipku-, Ork likpi- ~ lipki- v. 'stop up' ('заткнутъ'), Orc lippi-, Ud likpi- v. 'stop up, shut, cover', Ul likpiči- v. 'shut, close', Nn Nh likpi- ~ lipki- v. 'bar\stop so.'s way' ¶ STM I 499, Krm. 256 ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1959. *r▽b'▽ (or *r▽bh▽?) '≈ move, shake (sich bewegen, schwanken)' > **HS:** WS *✓rpp > BHb ✓rpp (3pm ip. paus. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿) vi. 'shake (schwanken)', MHb ✓rpp G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿) 'be loose, vibrate, vacillate', Sr ✓rpp G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿) vi. 'move', JA [Trg.] ✓rpp {Lv.} G or {Js.} D 'shake', Ar ✓rff G (pf. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿) raffa, ip. -riff-) 'twinkle' (an eye), Ar SL ✓rff G 'flutter' (a bird)', Mh {Jo.} ✓rfrf 'flap in the breeze (as a flag)' ¶ KB 1192-3, BDB 552, Lv. T II 434, Js. 1491, Br. 740, Hv. 260, Jo. M 316 || **IE:** NaIE *reb^h- vi. 'move' > NPrs 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 räf-tän 'to walk, to go, to depart' (prs. -𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌿 r0w-) || Gmc *reb- > 𐌶 MHG reben {P} vi. 'move' (not registered in Lx!), {OsS} 'von eimen starken übeln Geruche ... in Bewegung sein' (unless misinterpretation of MHG reben 'to dream' ← Fr rêver), eNHG sich reben 'to move' (intr.), NGr B {OsS} rebisch, rebig 'beweglich, rührig, munter', Nr Δ raVa 'hin und her taumeln' ¶ WP II 370, P 853, BM 247, Vl. II 44-5, 60, Sg. 581, ≠ Horn 137-8 (NPrs räf-tän ÷ L repo 'crawl'), OsS 704 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *r'e'w▽ (× N *r▽h,w▽ 'mix, (?) shake, (??) 'turn round') > ObU {ǵHl.} *rōw- vt. 'shake, swing' > pVg {Ht.} *rāw- vt. 'swing' > Vg: T rāw-, MK/UK rāw-, P/SV rōw-, NV *rōw- id.; pOs {Ht.} *rōψ- > Os: K rewāy-, Nz rewīy- vt. 'swing', V/Vy rōxim, Kz rewemə- vt. 'shake', Y rāwis▽- id. ¶ Ht. #555 (ObU *rōψ-) and Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU *-w- and *-ψ-) ◇ The devoicing N *b > S *p is hard to explain, unless it is supposed that the N etymon was *r▽bh▽ with loss of prevocalic voiceless *h in S, IE, and FU.

1960. *r'a'hb▽ 'tremble' ([in descendant lgs.] → [1] 'be disquiet, fear', [2] 'rage against so.' → 'attack') > **HS:** S *✓rhb 'tremble, be disquiet \ furious, attack' > Ak fOB ✓r'p G (inf. ra'ābu) vi.

'tremble, be angry with', BHb ✓rhb *Sh* (pf. **הִרְהִיב** hir'hīḇ) vt. 'trouble, confuse', *G* (imv. **רַהֵב** rā'hāḇ, 3pm ip. **יִרְהַבּוּ** yi-rh^aḇū) 'assail, importune, attack', Sr ✓rhb *Sh* (pf. **פָּרַחְתִּי** p^aar'hεḇ) vt. 'trouble, disquiet; inspire awe\terror; hasten, make hasten', **פָּרַחְתִּי**; rā'hīḇ adj. 'disquieted, agitated; hasty, hurried', predicative prtc. 'hastes', Ar ✓rhb *G* (pf. rahiba, ip. -rhab-) 'fear' ¶ Sd. 932, GB 747, KB 1112-3, JPS 530-1, BK I 935-6, Hv. 273 || ?? WCh: Hs řáwǎ 'be shaky, dance', řawar duniya 'earthquake', řawar žiki 'shivering from cold, trembling from fear or intense pleasure' || Ron: Bks {J} rō (ip. r^awā) 'tremble; shake; hasten', DfB {J} ř0 (ip. řwǎh) 'schnell sein, sich bewegen' ¶ J R 145, 220, Ba. 847 || IE: NaIE *ra|eb^h-/r_ob^h- 'rage' > L rabiēs 'rage, fury, madness', rabiō / rabēre 'be mad' || OI 'rabhas- ntr. 'violence, impetuosity', rabha'sa- 'impetuous, violent, fierce' || amb OIr recht 'sudden attack, rage' (unless akin to L rāpio 'seize, snatch, tear away' < NaIE *rep-) || Tc A rapurnē {Wn.} 'désir, cupidité', {JGH} 'passion' ¶ WP II 341, P 852, EI 22 (? *rab^h- '≈ ferocity'), M K III 43, ≈ M E II 435, WH II 413, Vn. R 12, Wn. 401, JGH 179, 181 || A: NTg *lab- > Ewk lawkān- 𐌆 lapkān- vt. 'attack' (of a dog), Neg lawtt- 'bark and fight' (of a dog) (× Tg *lab- 'bark' [of a dog]), Lm nawtt- 'cry, shout' (of a shaman) ¶ STM I 486, 576 ◇ The loss of the lr. in IE is not yet explained ◇ AD GD 4 (S, IE), IS MS 334 (*r^h(h)ba 'волнение [душевное]'; S, IE).

1961. ₂ *ric¹ ▽ 'small pieces; to crush' > HS: S *✓rss > BHb רִסִּים rāsī's-īm pl. 'fragments', MHb רִסִּי rāsīs, JA [Trg.] רִסִּי rāsīs 'broken piece', MHb רִסִּי רִסִּי rāsīs-īn 'groats of lentils', MHb ✓rss *D* (pf. **רִסַּס** ris'ses), JA [Trg.] ✓rss {Lv.} *G* or {Js.} *D* 'crush, break into small peces', Md ✓rss *G* 'break into pieces', Ak YB rissu, (?) rīsu 'Zerschlagung', ? OAk ra^aāsu ~ ra^aāšu 'to smite', Ak fOB ✓r¹ū's (inf. r^aāsu ~ r^esu ~ ra^aāsu) 'erschlagen, zerschlagen' ¶ KB 1164-5, Js. 1484-5, Lv. T II 429, DM 436, G OA 233, Sd. 959, 989 || WCh (pWCh {Tk.} *rus- 'destroy'): Hs rúšè 'demolish, cause to collapse' || Klr {J} ryās ti 'break into pieces' || Bl {Lk.} rúš- 'zerstören' || Ngz {Sch.} rāsú v. 'act an object with force \ violently' (nature of object determines type of action) ¶ Abr. H 746, J R 354, Lk. PVB II 137, Sch. DN 137) || Eg fOK ωṣṣy ({Tk.} *wrsy) 'be ruined\decayed, verfallen sein' ¶ Fk. 55, EG I 260-1 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, WCh) || A: M *oniča > WrM nica, HIM няц њац 'asunder, into small pieces', WrM nicala- ~ nicula-, HIM

няцлаж v. 'break into pieces' ¶ MED 577 ◇ Ch *-u- and Eg ω- suggest a labial element in the N word (*ricʰU or *rʰiwʰcʰ∇?); N *rūcʰ∇ is ruled out by the M cognate ◇ On an alt. et. (N *rācʰ∇ and *riĉa) see s.v. N *rāĉʰ∇ 'break into pieces'.

1962. *r∇g∇cʰ∇ (= *rEgaĉʰ∇?) '≈ to add' > HS: S *^o✓rʷs|š > Ar رَغَسْ raʷs- {Ln.} 'increase, abundance' ({BK} 'accroissement; surcroît, abondance; avantage, profit'), ✓rʷs G (ip. -rʷas-) vt. 'make sth. increase and multiply; multiply to so. his property' (of God) ¶ Ln. 1113, BK I 889, Hv. 259-60 || K *racχ- v. 'count' > OG racχ- id., OG ricχw-, G ricχv- n. 'number', Mg ḵo-rocχ- v. 'count' (ḵo- [< *oḵo-] is a sx. of reciprocity), Lz ḵo-(r)ocχ-, ḵo-recχ- v. 'count', ?ϕ Sv {K} li-cχ-e 'to count, to suppose' ¶ K 155, K² 154, FS K 252-3, FS E 278-9, Marr OT 2, Chik. 297 || A: ? Tg *lEas 'much, 'very' > Nn KU ías 'very (much)', Nn Nh lras 'constantly, incessingly', Ud {STM} læsi 𐌺 læsi 'very (much)', Ork, Ul les ~ les-s 'much', Neg les, les-s 'much, very (much)' ¶ STM I 496 ¶ Qu. because of the sibilant *s for the expected *ç ◇ If Tg *lEas belongs here, the N rec. may be specified as *rEgaĉʰ∇.

1963. *recʰ∇ga 'to tie, to plait' > K: G rĉq- 'set a trap (for an animal)', ? rĉq- vi. 'unite' ¶ Chx. 1091, DCh. 2048 || IE: NaIE *resg- '≈ weave; rope' > OI 'rajjuḥ f. 'rope, cord' | Ydg rōzʷ 'woman's cloak', Prs رَغْزِه rāʷze 'ε woolen cloth', Sgd rʷzy 'ε (woolen) cloth' || L restis 'rope, cord' (< *resg-ti-s) || Lt rēkstis = rēzgtis 'netzartiges Heusack, Heutrage, Korb' (← *'plaited'), rēgz-ti (prs. rezgū) 'to knit, to do network', rezgamas 'knitting', rezgējas 'knitter', Ltv režģīt 'to tangle', režģis 'grating, lattice, grid' || Gmc: NNr rusk, ruskje 'Schmiele (hair-grass)', MLG risch 'rush (as a plant used in plaiting)', MHG rusch(e) ~ rosche, MDt rusch, Dt rus, AS risĉ(e), rusc(e) 'rush', NE rush ¶ WP II 374, P 874, EI 571 (*resg- '≈ plait, wattle'), M K III 35, M E II 427, Bai. 371, Sg. 580, WH II 431, Frn. 713, Sw. 142, Skeat 529, Ho. 261, Vr. N 597-8 || D {Pf.} *neĉ-/*ney-, {Km.} *neĉ-/*eĉ- > *ne(:)y-, [ǵGS] *neʳʰ- v. 'weave, plait' > Tm ney- v. 'weave (as clothes); to string, link together', necavu 'act of weaving', Ml neyka-, Kt neĉ-, Kn ne(:)y-, Td nes-, Tl nēyu, Gnd nēĉĉ- v. 'weave', Td niĉ- v. 'darn', Kdg neʷy- v. 'spin (thread)', Tu neyuni v. 'weave (as a spider)', neyupini, nēyuni v. 'weave, plait, braid', Kn ney- v. 'weave, thatch the roof with leaves', Knd ney- 'weave or thatch

the roof with leaves', Kui nehpa (p. neht-) v. 'build a fence', Ku {Slz.} neh'nai v. 'interweave', Krx ess- v. 'weave, entwine into a fabric', Mlt ese v. 'plait, do mat-work' ¶¶ D #3745, Pf. 125 [#1051], Km. 420-1 [#765], GS 59 [#170] ¶¶ GS 59 reconstructs here D *ney-, probably supposing that -c- in the descendant lgs. belongs to a sx., but external comparison suggests that the pD √ was (in GS's notation) ≈ *nes- || HS: S *√rks v. 'tie' (×N *riḡû'z'∇ 'to tie; loop' [q.v. ffd.] with mt.) ◇ In all branches other than K the N cns. *ḡ merged with *ḡ, sc. N *rec'∇ga changed into *rec|ćḡ∇, whence by as. *rec|ćka yielding S (mt.) *√rks and IE resg-. This is valid as long as we accept the K cognate. Otherwise the N rec. must be *rec'∇,ka.

1964. 2 *rač'∇ 'dirt' > HS: CS or pS *√rθθ (*raθθ-?) 'mud; dirty, shabby' > Ug rθ 'Schmutz, Kot', {OLS} 'mud (lodo, barro)', Ar raθθ- {BK} 'vieux, usé, sale', {Hv.} 'old clothes; rags', √rθθ (pf. raθθa) {Hv.} 'be threadbare' (garment), ?σ Ak fOB ruššû 'red' (if ← 'colour of mud'); (+ext.) Ak YB rušum|ntu, rušurndu 'Schlamm') ¶ A #2556, OLS 395, BK I 819, Hv. 240, Sd. 996-7 || U: FU (att. in FL only) *°račka > F rāhka 'foam of sweat or of dregs; yeast', Es rāhk (gen. rāha) 'mould, (purulent) matter' || Lp N {N} ræk'ce / rævce 'coating of mildew (on milk, etc.)' ¶ Coll. 110, Coll CG 413.

1965. 2 *rUč'∇ 'to run' > HS: S *-rūθ- (*√rWθ) v. 'run' > BHb רון √rWč (ip. רון, yā-'rūč) id., Ug √rWθ (juss. urθ) v. 'run', TD trθθ v. 'hurry', OA *√rWθ v. 'run' (1s pf. רצת rθt 'I have run'), SmA Sh טרית רית 'he made run' (Targum of Ex. 15.4), Gz √rWš (js. -rūš, pf. rōša) v. 'run', Ak p. -rūš (inf. rāšu) 'zur Hilfe laufen'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ra-wa-cí 'run'. In Aram there is a (secondary?) var. of the √ with a medial h: IA, Md √rhḡ v. 'run, hasten oneself', JA [Trg.] √rhḡ G 'run, be swift', JEA {Sl.} √rhḡ G 'run, act in haste', Sr √rhḡ G v. 'run' ¶ KB 1126-7, KBR 1207-8, HJ 1061-2, 1064, OLS 396, Lv. IV 430, Lv. T II 410, Js. 1454, Sl. 1060-1, DM 426, GB 752, Sd. 960, Hlk. 149, SivCR 83 || IE: NaIE *ret^h- v. 'run' > OIr rethid, W rhed 'runs' || Lt ritù / rìsti 'rollen' (< *r^ht^h-) | ⇨ NaIE *'rot^h-o-s 'a running, a course', *ro^ht^h-o-s 'a runner', *rot^h-ā 'a set of runners' > Av raθa- 'chariot, wagon', Vd 'ratha-h id., 'two-wheeled war-chariot' || L rota 'wheel' || OIr roth id., W rhod 'course, wheel' || OSx rath, Mdt rat, Dt, OHG rad, NHG Rad 'wheel' || Lt rātas 'wheel', pl. rataĩ 'wagon' ¶¶ Rsm. has shown that IE *t^h cannot go back to pIE *t^h,

because a *lr.* would have been preserved as a *vw.* between **t* and **s* in OIr *s*-formations, which is not the case in OIr 3s *sbjn.* *p.* *-ressed* < **reth*-*se-to* and in similar cases ¶¶ P 866, Rsm. SAT 87, ≈φEI 491 (**reth*₂- 'run' ⇨ **roth*₂*eh*_π- ~ **roth*₂*o-s* 'wheel'), M K III 38-9, M E II 429-30, WH II 443-4, Vn. R 23, 45-6, Frn. 703, ≈ 730, Ho. S 59, Kb. 767, OsS 696-7, KM 577, Vr. N 557-8 ◇ ≠ IS MS 330 (**ru*^ʿ_ʿ 'run') and AD NGIE 27 [#116]; both authors equate S **✓r*ωθ with IE **rews*- *v.* 'move quickly' (P 992). In the light of recent research it has become clear that N *-*č*- regularly yields IE *-*t*^h- and never *-*s*-, hence our former etl. hyp. has been rejected.

1966. **raĉê* 'to spread, to stretch' > HS: S **✓r*ŝŝ > Jb *✓r*ŝŝ (pf. *reŝŝ*) *v.* 'spread out' ¶ Jo. J 215-6 || K **reĉ*-/**rĉ*- *v.* 'spread' > OG, G *rec*- *id.*, 'make a bed', Mg *rĉ*-, Lz (*r*)ĉ- *id.*, Sv *rš*-/*raš*- *id.* (Sv UB/L *msd.* *li-rš-i* 'to spread') ¶¶ K 159, K² 157, FS K 253, FS E 279-80, GP 166, Dn. *s.v.* *rš*- || U: FV {UEW} **raĉe*- *v.* {AD} 'spread, stretch' > Lp N {N} *raĉ'ĉâ*-/*rāĉĉ*- *v.* 'stretch (a skin which has been removed whole in one piece)', Lp L {LLO} *rahtttja* 'den Balg eines Pelztieres mit dem Balgspanner (aus)spannen' † Er {ERV} *рацяня* *adj.* 'spreading, branchy, развесистый, раскидистый' (of a tree/shrub), *рацякадо*- 'get many branches, разветвиться' (of a tree), {Ps.} *raĉa-kado*-, Mk {Ps.} *raĉa-kado*- 'sich verbreiten' ¶ UEW 743 (its semantic rec. 'ausspannen [z. B. den Balg eines Pelztieres]' is based on Lp only and does not take in consideration the meaning of the Mr cognate), LLO 838, ERV 540.

1967. **räĉ* 'to break into pieces; piece, part' > HS: CS **rašŝ*- 'piece' > BHb *רַץ** *raç** 'piece' (רַץ רַץ 'רַץ רַץ *raç, çē* 'pieces of silver'), Ar *رَض* *raĉĉ*- 'dattes dont on a ôté les noyaux et qu'on macère dans du lait'; CS **✓r*ŝŝ *v.* 'break into pieces', ? BHb *✓r*çç *v.* G 'mistreat, oppress', *✓r*çç *v.* D 'smite, strike down, shatter, smash', JA [Trg.] *✓r*çç G 'shatter, break', JEA {Sl.} *✓r*çç *Sh* 'break', Sr *✓r*çç G *v.* 'bruise, bray, crush', SmA *✓r*çç T (Itpə'el) 'destroy', Ar *رَض* *✓r*ĉĉ *vt.* 'break coarsely' ¶ KB 193-4, 1199, KBR 1285-6, BDB ##7518, 7533, BK I 872, Hv. 255, Lv. IV 460-1, Lv. T II 432-3, Js. 1488, Sl. 1090-1, Br. 737, Tal 845 || B **✓r*çç *v.* 'break' ('casser, romper') > Ah *arç*, Izn, Rf, SrSn *✓r*çç *id.*, Zng {TC} *arçç* ' (se) casser, (se) briser' ({TC Z}: pf. *yaçça* 'il a cassé' / aor. int. *yirçça*) ¶ Fc. 1676, Rn. 331, DCTC 294, TC Z 316-7 || U: FU {UEW} **raĉ* 'piece, bit' > Chr H *резык* 'резьк, Chr L *рызык* 'ръзык, Chr E {Ü} *рѣзык* 'part, share', *рѣза* 'share' † Prm: Z *рөч рэç*

'piece', Z Ud *ńań-r3ć* 'piece of bread' || Vg: P/Ss *-riś*, N {Mk.} *-riś* ~ *-rěś* (= *-rās?*) ~ *-räs*, sx. of diminutives: Ss *piř-riś* 'Jügelchen', N {Mk.} *ătěr-riś-ěm* 'mein Fürstenheldchen' || Hg *rész* 'part, piece; share' ¶ UEW 420-1, Ü 185, MRS 502, 501 || D **nač-*, {ǾGS} **nažž-* v. 'be crushed, cut up into small bits' > Tl *najju* id., *najju* 'a bit, fragment', Tm *naci* (p. -v-) v. 'be crushed', Kn *najugu* v. 'squash, crush', Kui *nasa* v. 'crush' ¶¶ D #3574, ≠ Km. 406-7 [#690] (equates Tl *najju* with Kn *naggu* v. 'become bruised', Tm *ńeri* v. 'break, be crushed', etc.) ¶¶ It is highly probable that this D √ results from coalescence of several N words, including one (or more than one) that meant 'to press, to squeeze' (whence this meaning in the D root in question: Kiu *nasa* v. 'press', Δ *načć-* id., Tm *naci* v. 'bruise'). This probability of coalescence is increased due to the sincretism of the initial sonorants in D: N **n-*, **ń-*, **l-*, **ł-*, and **r-* coalesced in D **n-* ◇ The position of FU **răc̣*∇ and D **nač-* is ambiguous: they may be alternatively equated with S **√r̥ss* 'break into pieces' and allow the rec. of a N etymon **răc̣*∇. On the other hand, S **√r̥šš* may be equated with M **nič̣a* 'asunder, into small pieces', which will lead to a N **rič̣a*. This ambiguity is due to the instability of vowels in S verbs and to the neutralization of oppositions between several affricates in U and D. See N **rič̣*∇ 'small pieces; to crush'.

1968. (2?) **r¹e¹č̣*∇ '≈ to please, to be pleased; pleasant, acceptable' > HS: WS **√r̥šy|w* 'be pleased' > BHb *√r̥çy|w* v. 'take pleasure in, be favourable (to so.), accept with pleasure, become friends with', JA [Trg.] *√r̥çy|w* G (רַחַם רַחַם ~ רַחַם רַחַם) 'desire, take delight in, welcome', JEA *√r̥çy* G, SmA *√r̥çy* G (3s pf. רַחַם רַחַם) 'desire', Sr *√r̥çy* v. D 'please', Ar *√r̥çy* (pf. رَضِيَ رَضِيَ, ip. -رَضِيَ-) 'be pleased with, consent to', Sb *√r̥çw|y* v. 'please, satisfy; 'content', Mh *√r̥çy* (pf. رَضِيَ, sbjn. يَرْضَى) 'be acceptable, agreeable', Hrs *arçō* v. *Sh* 'console, charm', Jb E *rēç̣i*, Jb C *erç̣e* vt. 'accept', *erç̣i* ps. v. 'be acceptable, agreeable', Sq {Jo.} *'riç̣i* 'find acceptable' ¶ BDB #7621, BGMR 115, Lv. T II 430-1, Lv. IV 459, Js. 1486, Tal 842, Sl. 1090, Br. 738, JPS 545, BK I 875-6, Hv. 256, Jo. M 336-7, Jo. J 220, Jo. H 108 || ?σκ **reç̣*∇ > G *reç̣-* 'erwerben, verdienen' ¶ Chx. 1060, DCh. 1036 || U: FU **reč̣*∇ 'beautiful, good' > pChr {Ber.} **riž* > Chr H {Ep.} *рыж* *raž* 'comeliness (пригожесть)', {Wc.} *raž*, *ěraž* 'Zierlichkeit, Schmuckheit; Nettheit, tadelloses Äußere; Zierde, Verzierung', {MRS} L *рыжле* 'ръжле, Н *рыжлы* 'ražль 'beautiful, of pleasant appearance' (красивый,

благовидный, пригожий'), {Rm.} ražlā 'schön, gut, vortrefflich' ||| Vt
 эеч эеџ 'good, firm', Vt {W}: S эеџ, K эеџ 'gut, schön', G эеџ id., 'happy,
 happiness' ¶ UEW 744, Ber. 57, MRS 511, Ep. 104, U3S 159-60 ||| ?φ A:
 Tg *o|naçik- > WrMc naciça- v. 'console' ¶ STM I 587 ◇ Mc а (Tg *a)
 is still to be explained.

1969. *r∇ĉ_l∇_lχ∇ (or *r∇χ_l∇_lĉ∇?) 'to wash' > K *reçχ-/*rçχ- v.
 'wash' > OG rçχ- id., NG reçχ- v. 'wash, launder', Lz čχ- 'wash', Mg rčχ-
 v. 'launder', Sv ✓rčχ- 'rinse' (msd. li-rčχ-a₁ne; läy-ra₁čχ-n-e 'er spülte
 im Wasser') ¶ K 159, K² 158, FS K 258, FS E 285-6, Q 312, Chik. 310,
 380 ||| HS: S *✓rĥĥ v. 'wash' > BHb ✓rĥç, Ug rĥĥ, IA ✓rĥ^ç G, SmA
 ✓r^{çç} G, ✓Ar ✓rĥĥ G, Sb ✓rĥĥ, Sq ✓rĥĥ v. 'wash', Gz ✓rĥĥ G v.
 'sweat, perspire, wash, soak', Jb, Mh ✓rĥĥ v. 'bathe, wash', Ak ✓rĥç v.
 'rinse' ¶ GB 756, KBR 1220-1, HJ 1075, Tal 845-6, OLS 389, LG 466, L
 LS 398, JH 278, HJ 1072, BGMR 116, Jo. M 322, Jo. J 210, Sd. 942-3 |||
 ?φ B *✓(y)rHd > Gd äräd (3m pf. yäräd) 'be washed', Ah {Fk.} iv. irrad
 id., caus. siräd 'wash', Gh aräd 'be washed', siräd 'wash', Izd, Wrg, Mz
 irid 'be washed', Izd ssird, Wrg, Mz ssiräd 'wash', BSn irīd iv. 'wash,
 be washed' (3m pf. i-yrīd), Izn, Zkara irīd iv. 'be washed', Izn, Rif, SrS,
 Hlm, Assh caus. sired 'wash', Wrs, Nfs sired id. (long ī points to a lr.,
 denoted as *H), Zng {TC} pf. yæreḏ / aor. yerəḏ '(se) laver' ¶ Fc. 1566,
 Lnf. II #1335, Ds. B 194, Rn. 290, Bs. ZOu 95, Mrc. 153, Dlh. Ou 269,
 Dlh. M 169, DCTC 285 ||| ? Eg fMK rχt v. 'wash (clothes)' > Cpt: Sd
 pωzε rōhe, B pωḥi rōχi, A pωzε rōχ₂e id.; the cns. t is preserved
 in Cpt Sd pαzT raht, B pαḥT raχt 'washer (blanchisseur)' (< Eg
 rχt.γ id.) ¶ EG II 448, Fk. 152, Vc. 180 ¶¶ Vc. l.c., Tk. I 309 ¶¶ The de-
 empatization of the affricate *ĉ in Eg and B is still puzzling (as. caused
 by the adjacent lr.?) ||| A: ? M: WrM nisqa-, HM нясга- v. 'wash a
 corpse' ¶ MED 586 ||| D *noṭ- 'wash' (× N *ńoĉ∇_lq∇_l 'to moisten, to be
 moistened; to sprinkle', q.v.) > Tm nuṭ akku 'wash, wipe off moisture,
 dissolve', Tu neḏi, niḏiyuni, niḏipini, Bel noḏi, Prj noḏ-, Gdb nor-
 id., Gnd nor-, norr-, Knd noṛ-, Png noz-, nuz-, Kui nobga (< *nog-b-), Ku
 nor-, Mlt nóṛe if. ¶¶ D #3783 ¶¶ The pD vw. *o is likely to belong to
 the heritage of N *ńoĉ∇_lq∇_l ◇ N *-ĉχ- > K *-çχ- (deglossalized *ĉ
 due to as.) ◇ The K and M cognates suggests a metathesis (*-ĉ_l∇_lχ- >
 *-χ_l∇_lĉ-) in the prehistory of HS.

1970. *r'o'dE 'seek, wish' > HS: S *o-rūd- > Ar ✓rwd, -rūd- {BK}
 'chercher, demander (de la nourriture, du fourage)', {Hv.} 'ask (sth.),
 search for food\foodder', {BK} L 'vouloir, demander', {BK, Hv.} Sh

'vouloir' ¶ BK I 949-50, Hv. 277 || C: EC: Sa {R} ✓rdy (pf. 'i-rđiy-ə) 'bestärken eine Meinung, beistimmen, einverstanden sein', Af {PH} -irdiye pcv. 'accept, be willing', Sml {ZMO} rādi- scv. 'search\look for, seek'; C ⇨ Tgr ✓rdy G (pf. rēda) v. 'agree, be willing, take pleasure, dare' ¶ R S II 298, PH 137, , ZMO 391, LH 162 || IE: NaIE *red^h-/*rod^h- (or *rad^h-?) v. 'seek, find, get; care for' > AS rēdian 'to reach, to find, to effect; to make ready', Gt ga-rēdan 'προνοεῖσθαι, Vorsorge treffen', und-rēdan 'to provide for' || OI rādh-'nō-ti 'achieves, prepares, makes ready', Av rād- 'zum guten Ende führen, zustande kommen', rāda-, rāđa- 'Fürsorger' || ? OIr rad- 'fournir' (inv. rad 'fournis' (unless a secondary variant of OIr rat- 'donner, livrer') || SI *radīti > OCS, OR ρΑΔΗΤΗ raditi, OR ΡΟΔΗΤΗ roditi, R радеть, Slv róditi 'to care for', SCr rāditi 'to be busied with, to work (upon), to perform', OCz neroditi (with the negative px. ne-) 'not to seek\want', Hls rodzić, Lls rožeś 'to wish, to strive for' | Lt inf. rāsti, prs. randū, p. radaũ v. 'find', Ltv rast (prs. rōdu) 'to find, to discover' ¶ Mn. 1062, EI 472, M K IV 54, Ho. 252, 256, Fs. 199, Vn. R 3, 7, Trt. 235, Frn. 700-1, StSS 565, Vs. III 430, Glh. 515-6, ≠ EI 472 (OI, Av, SI < *reh₁- 'put in order') || A: M *nōžid (< **nōdid) > WrM nōžid 'lust, sensual desire, degrading passion' ¶ MED 594 || D *nāṭo, {ḡGS} *nāḡ- v. 'wish, look for, match' (× N *nāṭh₁∇ 'to seek, to seek help' × N *TewdA 'to look for, to find') > Tm nāṭu 'seek, inquire, desire, know, understand', MI nāṭuka 'follow with the eyes', Tu nāḡuni 'search, seek', Gnd M nāṛ- 'see, look at', {Ph.} nāḡ- 'gaze' ¶¶ D ##3637 ¶¶ D *ā belongs to the heritage of N *nāṭh₁∇.

1971. *rayd∇ 'foot, track; to walk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to journey, to ride, fahren') > HS: S (or CS) *✓rdy > Sr ✓rdy|w (pf. ṛ; rā'ḡā) {Br.} 'ambulavit, cucurrit, vectus est', {JPS} v. 'journey, go forward', rā'ḡā bāʔur'hā 'he went on the road, travelled', Md ✓rḡʔ v. 'travel on, journey, move on, flow, pursue a way', Ar G ✓rdy v. 'fouler le sol de ses sabots' (a horse), Ar مرادى mrʔdy (unk. voc.) 'feet (of camels and elephants)', ?σ Ak {Sd.} ✓rdy, inf. rēḡū, Ak A inf. radāʔu 'begleiten, (mit sich) führen; gehen'; hardly here BHb ḡḡ ✓rdy v. 'tread (the wine-press)', which is better explained as a transformation of *✓rdd v. 'trample' ¶ GB 746, KB 1110-1, KBR 1190, Br. 714, JPS 529-30, BK I 849-51, Hv. 248, Lb. 1231, Sd. 965-8, DM 425

|| Eg fP r d 'foot' > DEg r t id. (> Cpt: Sd/B pAT rat, A pET ret, F AET le t 'foot, leg') ⇨ Eg fP r d.ω 'Treppe' (← 'Tritte, Stufen') ¶ EG II 461-2, Fk. 154, Vc. 178-9 || C: EC: Sml N rād 'footprint', Sml {ZMO} rād 'footprint, trail', rādi- v. 'track' (the latter: ×N *r'o'dE 'to seek, to wish'), ? Arr r0(:)t- 'travel on foot' || SC ⇨ Mb irirá 'tracks of an animal' ({E}: < *rēd-) ¶ E SC 329, AD SF 241, Abr. S 207-8, ZMO 337, Hw. A 391 || Om *r∇d|t- > SOm: Hm B {Fl.} roti / rū / rro, Hm K rro 'foot, leg' ¶ Bnd. AL 150 ¶¶ Vc. 178 (Eg, S), OS ##2083-4, Tk. I 242-3, Tk. SCC 101 [#31.6] || IE: NaE *rejdʰ- v. 'travel, move (fahren, in Bewegung sein)' > OIr r í adaim v. 'ride, drive, travel', n. act. ríad; W ebrwydd 'quick, swift' ({P}: < NaE *epo-rēdi-), W † cd. go-rŵydd 'steed' ÷ Gl *wo-rēdos 'horse' (*wo- 'under, at' + *rēda 'Reisewagen') ⇨ L verēdus 'post-horse' ⇨ cd. para-verēdus 'extra post-horse' ⇨ OHG pfarifrit 'e horse' > NHG Pferd || Gmc *ridjan > OHG rītan 'to drive, to ride', MHG rīten, NHG reiten, ON ríða, OSx, AS rīdan 'to ride', NE ride || Lt riedėti 'to trundle, to roll', Ltv raidīt 'to send, to direct', {Frn.} 'eilig senden' ¶ WP I 75 and II 348, P 861, Mn. 1067, EI 485 (? *rejdʰ- 'ride'), Vn. R 26, Thr. 377, YGM-1 206, Bc. 168, Ho. 259, Ho. S 60, Kb. 758, OsS 718-9, 799, Lx. 170, KM 543, 594-5, Frn. 729 || A: NaT *jaða- v. 'walk', *jaða-k (jaða-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (×N *yād'a' or *yadä 'go' [q.v. ffd.]) || Tg: Nn KU nada- v. 'walk' ¶ STM I 576 ¶¶ ET J 69 || D {Km.} *naṭ-a-, {GS} *ńaḍ- v. 'walk, go, pass' (×N *žā'Ki'd∇ 'move, go'?) > Tm naṭa 'walk, go, pass', Ml naṭakka, Kt naṭv-, Td naṭ-, Kdg naḍa, Tu naḍapuni, Klm aḍg- (p. adakt-), Nk, Nkr aṛg-, Knd naṛi v. 'walk', Tl naḍa 'walking' (n.), naḍacu v. 'walk, pass' ¶¶ D #3582, Km. 407-8 [#696], GS 140-1 [incl. #355] (on the reflexes of pD *ń).

1972. *r∇g_L∇_J∇ 'to quake, to move in agitation' > HS: CS *√rgγ (~ *√rgγ) > BHb √rgγ G 'stir up', {BDB} 'disturb', {GB} 'in unruhige Bewegung versetzen, aufschrecken', MHb √rgγ Sh 'move to and fro', Ar mt. √rgγ G (pf. رَجَجَ raṣaḡa, ip. -rṣaḡ-) vt. 'disquiet', {BK} 'agiter, ne pas laisser tranquille' ¶ GB 745, HAOT 255, BDB 920-1 [#7280], KB 1108-9, BK I 880, Hv. 257 || IE *h₁ergʰ_LH_X- (×N *žā'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > NaE *ergʰ- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget' > OI r_oghā'yati 'trembles, rages' || Gk {LS} ὀρχέομαι 'I dance, leap, bound', ὀρχέω 'make to dance\leap' || Sl: R Δ ep'ra 'a fidget', R 'ērzaet 'fidgets, moves restlessly' (the palatalization *g > R ʒ is still to be

explained) || Ht {Pv.} *argatiya-* 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σEI 508 (**h⁴orǵ^hej* ~ **h⁴r^ǵhor* 'mounts, covers') || K **req-/rq-* 'oscillate, shake' (× N **riqalæ* 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ K *-q- may have resulted from *-gɣ- (glottalization caused by *ɣ) < *-gɣ- (uvularization of *g by as. to the pharyngeal ɣ) ◇ S *ɣ and the absence of lrs. in Ht and K suggest a pN *ɣ ◇ IS MS 339 (**r ʌ ɣ ʌ* [?] 'двигаться' > IE, S).

1973. **riḡh'a* (or **riḡsa*?) 'a scratch, line' > HS: S **o*✓*rǵɣ* > Ar رَجْع رَاغْصِ- 'ligne\trait (tracé par le peintre ou l'ornemaniste)' ¶ BK I 827 || IE **reikH-* > NaIE **reik(h)-* 'line, row; scratch' > OI *rē'khā* ~ *lē'khā* 'a stripe, line, scratch', *ri'khati* 'scratches' || Gmc: Nnr *reig* 'row, line (in a book, etc.)', OHG *riga* 'line', NHG *Riege* 'section'; Gmc {Vr.} **rīho* > MHG *rīhe* 'line', NHG *Reihe*, MDt *rie*, Dt *rij* 'row'; OHG d. *rīhan* 'auf einen Faden ziehen' || ? Lt *riēkti*, Ltv *riēkt* 'to plough up virgin soil' (× Lt *riēkti*, Ltv *riēkt* 'to slice [bread]') ¶ P 858, EI 354 (**reik-*), ≈ M K III 58, M E II 457, Kb. 790, OsS 713-4, Lx. 168, KM 592, 599, Vr. N 575-6, Frn.729 || K **rig-* (**o**rig-*?) > G v. *rig-* 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordentlich) aufstellen, ordnen', G *rig-i* 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} *rig* 'row' (← G?) (× N **r'ikæ* ≈ straight, row?) ¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 || ?? A: Tg **ḡigb*∇- 'a scratch' > Lm *ḡibgā-kv* 'a scratch (on the skin)', Ud {Krm.} *ḡigbɜgɜ-*, *ḡigbɜli-* v. 'scratch oneself, hurt one's skin, get slightly wounded', ¶ STM I 637, Krm. 271 ◇ The K ev. rules out N **χ* and **ϕ*. NaIE *-k^h- suggests a N voiceless lr. **h* (N *-g- is devoiced by the adjacent vl. **h*), hence one must suppose an as. N **ḡh* > **gɣ* in S.

1974. (₂?) **rḡg_L∇_Lḡ_L* (or **ḡ_L∇_Lg_Lḡ_L*) 'foot, paw' > HS: WS **rig_La_L*- 'foot' > BHb (TV) רַגְלִי 'regɛl 'foot, leg' (+ppa.: רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ī 'my foot\leg', רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ō 'his foot\leg'), (BbV) רַגְלִי 'rägäl (+ppa.: רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-ī 'my foot\leg'), SmHb {BH} *rēgəl* (pl./du. *rē'gālam*) 'foot, leg', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *riglu* 'foot, (?) leg', Yd mt. *lgrɣ* du. cs. 'feet', IA, Plm *rgl* 'foot', BA (TV) du. רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-īn 'feet', (BbV) רַגְלִי רַגְלִי-īn id., JA [Tgr.] רַגְלִי 'regɛl, em. רַגְלִי *rig'l-ā*, JEA רַגְלִי *rig'lā* 'foot, leg', Sr رَجْلٌ; *reg'l-ā* 'foot, hoof', Md mt. *ligrā*, dis. *nigla* 'foot, leg', Ar رَجْلٌ *riǧl-* {Hv.} 'foot; hind leg (of animals)', {BK} *pied, jambe* (depuis la naissance du fémur jusqu'à l'endroit où commence le pied); *pied de*

derrière', Sb r gl 'foot', Mn r gl 'foot, leg' ¶ KB 1105-7, 1779, Yv. I 832, HJ 1060, Hnr. 176, Lv. IV 424-5, Lv. T II 405-6, Js. 1449, Sl. 1073-4, BK I 830, Hv. 241, DM 235, Ln. 1044-5, MA 77, MiK I #1.228 || C {AD} *rṽgṽd- (dis. < **rṽgṽl-?) > Bj {R} ra'gad (pl. 'ragada) 'leg, foot', {Rop.} ragad ~ lagad 'foot', Bj A {AD} ra'gad 'leg' ||| EC: Sa {R} ri'gid 'foot', ✓rgd (p. -irgid-) pcv. 'stoßen mit dem Fuß auf die Erde, hüpfen, trampeln, tanzen', Af {R} -irgid- 'dance', {PH} -irgid- pcv. 'dance in line' ||| ??φ mt. SC: Irq {MQK} digir 'footprint, step', Brn dagara 'footprint' ¶ AD SF 170, Blz. EDB I 23, R WBd 190, R S II 299-300, R A II 100, PH 137, E SC 324, MQK 30 ¶¶ Coh. EC #419, AD SF 170, OS #448 || ??φ mt. ECh: Nd dáǵǵl 'leg', Tmk dèǵǵl 'leg, foot', Smr {J} dǵǵláy 'foot' ¶ ChC, Cp. 52, Blz. EChWL #31 ||| u: FU (in Ugr only) *o|âx|ṽ (or *o|âk|ṽ, *|â|ṽ|k|ṽ) 'foot, paw' > ObU *|ṽ|ṽ|ṽ > pVg *|ṽ|ṽ|ṽ / *|āy|ṽ- 'foot' > OVg SoG lagl, OVg TM ljále, OVg S Vt/Kg лалъ, Vg: T la'yə|, LK lāl (pl. lāy|ət), MK/UK lāl (pl. lāy|ət), P/LL lāl (+ppa.: lay|əm 'my foot'), Ss lāxə| 'foot'; pOs *|aṽə| 'paw (Pfote)' > V/Vy |aṽə|, Ty |āṽə|, Y lāṽə|, D laχə| id. | OHg lollya 'ham', Hg Δ lol|, lolu, lolya, lolva id., 'ε Schweinebraten' || ? Y: T {IN} laqil, {Ku.} лажил 'buttocks, hind part; tail; back side (of garments)' (× N *LaḶa 'leg') ¶¶ UEW 865 (Ugr *lâlkṽ 'irgendein Glied [Fuß, Hand, Pfote, Tatze]'), Ht. #357, Stn. Wv 196, MF 407-8, EWU 906 ||| ?σ IE: OIr ({LP} Mlr) lurga 'shin-bone' (× N ? *Lṽ'r'kṽ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' [q.v.]) ◇ Cf. also P's IE *r̥ksā 'fetlock, pastern (of hoofed animals)' > OI r̥k'salā, r̥'ccharā 'the part of the animal's leg between the fetlock joint and the hoof' (MW 224-5), which P and M K equate with Lt *r'éša 'Kötengelenk' (P 875, M K I 118, but not M E I 248). The trouble is that in fact the Lt word is r'ieša(ς) 'wrist, tarsus, pastern-joint of a horse', which can hardly be drawn back to *r̥ksā. Frn. 730-1 compares it with MDt wrīghe, Dt wreeg 'Fußbiege', MHG rihe 'Rist des Fußes', and other related Gmc forms and derives it from IE wreikō-/ā- 'der sich Drehende, der Gekrümmte' ◇ The original N etymon was either *rṽgṽl|ṽ (whence as. bringing about FU *o|âṽ|ṽ) or *|ṽgṽl|ṽ (whence dis. S *|rigṽl|ṽ).

1975. ?σ *rogU '≈ incline, incline\turn towards' > HS: S *o-rūṽ- > Ar ✓rwṽ (ip. -rūṽ-) 'se pencher, se tourner vers qn. ou qch.; se détourner de la droite ligne' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278-9 ||| u: FU *o-roṽ|wṽ > ObU {Ht.} *rōṽ- ({Hl.} *roṽ|w-) 'approach' > Vg *rāw- / *rōṽ-

'heranschleichen lassen (vom Wild)' > Vg: T raw-, LK/UK/NV row-, MK/UL rōw-, P rōw- / row-, LL row- / raʁ-, Ss rōw- (unless this Vg word belongs to FU *rak-/rakk- 'near', whence Vg MK rākās- 'zu jemandem kommen') and pOs *rāy- ({{JHl.}} *rīy-) v. 'approach' > Os: Km/Nz/Kz/O rāχ- v. 'approach', V rāyam, Ty/Y rāyam, K/Nz/Kz rāχam 'Verwandte' ¶ Ht. #553 || K *rʷw- 'collapse' > G rʷv- 'fall in, collapse', Sv rʷw-/reʷw- 'collapse, fall down', {Ni.} 'валиться', Sv UB {GP} reʷw- (msd. li-reʷw): a- + reʷw- 'collapse', es- + reʷw- 'fall down', Sv L {Dn.} li-reʷw- 'to fall, to descend', 1s prs. χwa-rʷw-eni 'I fall\descend', 3s aor. es-raʷw 'he fell, fell down (упал, свалился)' (× K *rʷw- 'destroy' < N *rAwgʷU' 'to destroy, to tear', q.v. ffd.).

1976. *rAwgʷU' 'to destroy, to tear' > HS: S *°-rūy- > Ar ✓rʷy (ip. -rūy-): rāya ʕal... bi... 'rushed on (so.) with (blows)', TL : تراوَّغوا tarāwayū 'they struggled together' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278 || K *rʷw- 'destroy' (× K *rʷw- 'throw' and K *rʷw- 'collapse' < N ?σ *rogU ≈ 'incline, incline towards') > OG rʷw- 'destroy', Sv UB rʷw- 'destroy', msd. li-rʷw-e 'to destroy sth.' ¶ ≈ K 158, ≈ K² 156, FS K 257, FS E 283-4, Ni. s.v. 'валиться', GP 165-6, Dn. s.v. reʷv- || ?? A *lA:b- (× N *rep∇ 'tear off, break', q.v. ffd.) > Tg *lēb- ~ *lab- 'tear, wear out' || M *labtara- ~ *nabtara- 'torn clothes' || IE *reṷH- > NaIE *rewə-/rū- 'tear to pieces, tear out' (× N *row∇ [or *rowH∇?] 'dig, scratch, carve', q.v.) > OI raw- / ru- 'break\dash to pieces' (Vd prtc. ru-'ta- 'broken to pieces') || Lt ráuti (prs. ráuju) 'to tear out, to root up', Ltv Δ raūt 'to jerk, to pull' || Sl *rǔvǎ-ti (prs. *rǔvǔ) 'to tear' > SrChS рѣвати rǔvati / рѣвѣ rǔvǔ, Slv rváti / rújem, Blg 'рѣвам, OR рѣвати rǔvati / рѣвоу rǔvu, R рвать / рву, Uk (i)'рвати / (i)'рву, Cz rváti / rvu, Pr wac / węc v. 'tear', SCr řvati / řvēm 'strain oneself', řvati se 'to fight' || ON rúja 'to pluck out sheep's wool' || pTc *ruwā- > Tc A ruwā-, B ru-, ruwā- 'pull out (from under the surface)' ¶ The intonation in Blt suggests the presence of a pIE lr.; the absence of the expected traces of the lr. in OI is likely to be due to contamination with N *row∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-1100, 1104, ≈σ EI 570 (*reṷ(H)- 'pull out [from under the surface]'), M K III 63, M E II 440, MW 881, WH II 453-4, Frn. 798-9, Vs. III 452, Glh. 528-9, Vr. 455, Ad. 537.

1977. *rAyl̥i,?∇ 'follow, accompany' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'drive [a herd], graze') > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *rāy- 'follow' > Sml rāy-, Sml J

raʔ-/rah- 'follow', pBn *rāʔ- id. (> Bn: Bi/Sa/J/Kj rāʔ-) 'follow, accompany', Rn rāḥ- 'go\travel in procession with, follow' ¶ Ehret adduces here Bj {R} rām- 'join, follow after, accompany', which is hardly tenable for phonetic reasons ¶ ZMO 337, PG 245, Hn. S 72, Hn. BD 107, E PC #508, R WBd 191-2 || S *✓rɣy > BHb ✓rɣy|w G 'associate with', Ak rāʔu 'Genossen werden'; S *riɣ- > BHb רִיחַ 'rēʔɣ 'fellow, companion, friend', Ug rɣ id., Amr {G} riɣum id., IA rɣ {HJ} 'friend, colleague, neighbour', Ak rūʔu Gefährte, Freund', ? Ebl {Krb} raʔum ≈ id., ? Sb rɣyn 'guidance, assistance' | ? S *✓rɣy vt. 'graze' (← 'drive cattle') > BHb רִיחַ ✓rɣy|w, Ar ✓rɣy G, Ak reʔû id., Ph/IA/Plm {HJ} ✓rɣy G vt. 'pasture, graze', JA [Trg.], Sr ✓rɣw|y G (JA pf. רִיחַ rəʔ̄ē ~ רִיחַ rəʔ̄ā, Sr. pf. רִיחַ; rəʔ̄ā) 'feed, graze', JEA ✓rɣy G 'graze', Ug d. rɣy 'herdsman' ¶ GB 767, KB 1169-70, 1174-7, BDB 945-6, Br. 737-8, HJ 1178-80, A #2521, OLS 382, G A 30, Js. 1486, Sl. 1090, JPS 545, BGMR 113, Sd. 954, 998, Krb. PE 104, BK I 885-7, Ln. 1109-10 || A: M *nayi 'friendship, accord' > WrM nai, HIM най 'friendship', Ord nā 'marque d'amitié', Kl ни id., 'accord', {Rm.} nā 'friendship, friend'; WrM nair~HIM найр, Ord nār 'accord, harmony, friendliness', MM [HI] {Ms.} nairaqui 'justice, bienséance', WrM naira-, Ord nāra-, Brt найрамда- 'be in harmony, agreement', Kl {Rm.} nār- 'agree' ¶ MED 55-9, KRS 376, KW 273-4, Ms. H 77, Ms. O 485-6, Chr. 319 || K *reḡ- 'drive a herd' > G reḡ- id. (-ḡ- due to contamination with *reḡ- 'knock, strike?'), Mg raɣ-, Sv reḡ- 'drive a herd' ¶ K 155; FS E 282 and FS K 155-6 (FS reject the G cognate) || ?σ IE: NaIE *rey-/erw-/ru-/r- 'move, hasten' (× N *rūʔʔ 'go, [?] run', q.v. ffd. × NaIE *or-/r̥- 'arise' < N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') ◇ K *ḡ < *ʔʔ.

1978. (₂?) *r∇H₂i (= *r∇h|ɣ|h̄i?) 'thing' > IE *reḡy- > NaIE *rēj- (/rej-) 'thing' > OI rāy- /rai- in ra'yih (accus. sg. ra'yim, instr. sg. rā'ya, gen. sg. ra'yaḥ) 'goods, wealth, property', Av accus. sg. raēm, instr. sg. raya, OAv gen. sg. rāi iō id. || L rē-s (gen. sg. reī) 'thing', Um dat./abl. sg. ri id., RE-PER 'pro re' ¶ WP II 243, P 860, EI 637-8 (*reḡi-s / gen. *reḡi-yos 'possessions'), Bur. SL 178, 245, Kur. EIE 35ff., M K III 45-6, M E II 438-9, WH II 430-1, Bc. G 132-3, 344 || HS: C: HEC {Hd.} *r- 'thing' > Sd ra id., Sd r-iččo, Kmb ir-ičču id., 'nameless thing' (with the snglt. sx. -iččo, -ičču), Hd l-uččo 'thing' (l < LEC *r) || ?μ Rn rē m 'thing' ¶ Hd. 152, 292, 324, 389, 419, PG 246-7 || ? K *ora- > OG ra- 'what?' (nom. ra-y, dat. ra-s, ra-sa, adv.c. ra-d), raoden

'when?', OG, G romel- 'which?', rel. prn. 'which' ¶ For the semantic change 'thing' → 'what?' cp. It cosa ¶ Fn. GAS 71-5, Shan. G 52-4, Ser. 131 ◇ If G ra- belongs here, the N lr. must have been *h, *r, or *h.

1979. ? *r'i'kæ ≈ straight, row', (?) '≈ to arrange' > IE: NaIE *reġ- '≈ straight; to stretch, to stretch out', *reġī- 'direction, line' > Vd 'raji- {P} 'Linie, Reihe' (?), ra'ji- {P} '(?) sich aufrichtend, gerade', r'juḥ 'straight, upright, right', 'r'jyati 'stretches, stretches out', rāṣṭi 'rules', Av arəzuš 'gerade, richtig', rāzayeiti 'richtet', KhS rrays- v. 'direct' ||| Gk ῥέγω v. 'reach, stretch' ||| L reg-ō / -ēre v / 'guide, direct' ||| OIr reg- 'tendre, diriger', reraig 'direxit', NIr righim 'I reach, attain', {Ped.} 'ich strecke aus' ||| Gt uf-rakjan 'ἐκτείνω, to stretch out', OHG rekken id., 'to rack', NHG recken, ON rekja 'to stretch, to extend', AS recćan id., 'to stretch out' ||| Lt réž-ti 'straffen, recken', rf. réž-ti-s 'to exert, to strain oneself', int. ražýti-s 'to stretch oneself, to stretch one's limbs', Ltv riēzt 'emporstrecken', rōzīt (o = [ū]) 'strecken, recken' ||| pTc {Ad.} *rāk- > Tc: A, B rāk- 'extend (over), cover' ||| ? NaIE *reġ- > OHG, NHG reichen 'reach, attain', AS rāccan id., 'extend', NE reach ||| Lt réižti 'stretch, tighten', {Frn.} 'rechen, straffen' ¶ WP II 362-5, P 854-7, 862, EI 187 (*reġ- 'extend, stretch out [a body part]'), 329-30 (*h₃reġ- 'stretch out the arm', *h₃reġ- [3s prs. *h₃rēġ-ti, 3p prs. *h₃reġ-nti] 'direct, guide, rule'), M K I 121 and III 35, M E II 425, Bai. 358-9, F II 412-3, WH II 426-7, Vn. R 13-4, Bur. SL 178, Ped. VGKS II 593, Dnn. 570-1, Fs. 513, Ho. 256, Kb. 785, OsS 710-1, KM 589, 592, Vr. 440, Frn. 711, 715, 726, Wn. LE 106, Wn. 402, SSS 461, Ad. 529-30 || ? HS: S *^o✓rkk > Ar {Ln.} ✓rkk G 'put one part of the thing upon another', {BK} 'jeter une chose sur une autre' ¶ Ln. 1141, BK I 913 || ? K *rig- (*^orig-?) > G v. rig- 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordentlich) aufstellen, ordnen', G rig-i 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} rig 'row' (← G?) (< N *rig'h'a [or *rigsa?] 'a scratch, line') ¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1980. (₂?) *r∇kE (or *r∇kü?∇??) 'moist', 'contain\conduct water' > IE: NaIE *reġ- 'moist; pour\conduct water' > L rigā- v. (prs. rigō, inf. rigāre) 'lead\conduct water; wet, moisten, bedew', ir-rigā- v. 'conduct water; water, irrigate' ||| pAl {O} *reza > Al rrjedh- / aor. rrodha v. 'flow, flow by; leak; pour in\out, stream' ||| ON raki, Nr Δ rake 'moisture, wetness', Ic rākr 'moist' ¶ WP II 365-6, P 857, EI 639

(*reġ- 'moist, make wet'), WH II 435, O 387, Pis. SLS 130, Vr. 432 ||
HS: [1] WS ≈ *'rakuʔ- or (for Ar only) S *^o✓rk^rw|y' > Ar {Ln.} رَكْوَة rakw-
 at- 'small drinking-vessel', markuww- 'a large watering-trough or tank',
 رِكْيَة rikayy-at- 'a well containing water' (× Ar ✓rkw 'dig'), ? Gz ✓rkʔ
 (pf. rakʔa) 'be satisfied (with a drink)', Amh rækka 'be sated (from
 drinking or [a plant] from being watered), be satisfied'; [2] S *^o✓rgy
 'be moist' or 'moisten' (with an unexpected voiced *g) > Sr ✓rgw|y G
 (pf. رَء; rə'gā, ip. رَء; nε-r'gē) 'moisten', D رَء; rag'gī id. ¶ Ln.
 1149-50, Fr. II 189, Hv. 268, L G 469, Br. 711-2, JPS 527-8 || ?σ K: G Kx
 r0k-i 'dregs, wine-yeast', {Chx.} 'Bodensatz, (Wein-)Hefe' ¶ Chx. 1074.

1981. *r∇k_lUʔ_l∇ (or *r∇wk_l∇ʔ_l∇?) 'ε horn' > **HS:** S *^ora_w∇_lk_l- >
 Ar رَوْق ra_wq- 'sheep's horn' ¶ Fr. II 212, BK I 955 || **IE:** NaIE (att. in
 BSl) *^orog_w^h_l- or *^orog_l^h_l- 'horn' > Lt rāgas, Ltv rags, Pru ragis id.
 || Sl *rògъ (gen. *rò'ga) 'horn' > OCS рогъ ro_gъ, Blg, R, Blr рог, SCr
 rōg, Slv rōg, Cz, Slk ro_h, P róg, Uk pi_r id. ¶ Frn. 684, En. 237, Vs. III
 489, Glh. 530 || **K:** GZ *rka- 'horn' > OG, G rka-, Mg ka-, (× *kra- < N
 *kæR∇ 'horn' [q.v.]) Lz kra-, kia- 'horn'; d. GZ *rk-in- v. 'butt (with
 horns)' > OG, G rkin-/rken- id., ? Mg rč- v. 'butt, damage'; Lz nkin-,
 nkir- butt (with horns)' ¶ K 157-8, Ser. 134 ◇ The Ar emphatic q
 suggests the presence of an ancient glottal stop (N *-k∇ʔ- > *-kʔ- > S *-
 k_l- > Ar -q-) ◇ IS MS 361 s.v. рог *r_hk_h (IE, K).

1982. *r∇k∇ʔô 'speak, shout, say' > **IE:** NaIE *rek_l^w_l- / *rēk_l^w_l- id. >
 Sl inf. *rek-ti / prs. *rek-q 'say' > OCS inf. рещи reštī (prs. рекъ
 rekq, inv. рьци рьсі) 'say, tell', OR inf. речн reči / prs. рекоу
 reku id., Blg prs. pe'ka, SCr inf. rēci / prs. rēčēm, Slv réči /
 réčem, Cz říci / řku, P rzeć / rzekę id.; d. Sl *rěčъ (< *rēk-i-)
 'speech, word' > OCS, OR рѣчь rěčъ id., R речь 'speech', Uk pi_ч id.,
 'word, thing', Cz řeč, Slk řeč 'speech', Blg реч 'speech, word', SCr
 pēч њ rīječ 'word', Slv rēč, P rzecz 'thing' | Lt rēkti (prs.
 réki_u) 'to cry, to shout', Ltv rēkt 'to roar, to howl' || **Tc:** A rake, B
 reki 'word, command' ¶ ≈ P 863, EI 535 (*rek- 'speak'), Vs. 465-6,
 478, ≈ Glh. 522 (derives the Sl √ from IE *wrek-), Tls. 518, Frn. 617-8,
 ME III 519, Wn. 400, Tr. 243, Ad. 539 ¶ The labial element of the
 expected *-k^w- was probably lost on the morpheme boundary in Tc ||
HS: Ch: WCh *r∇k_l^w_l- 'ask (for)' > Hs ròká 'request, ask for' || NrBc
 {Sk.}: Cg ròk_l-, Mbr rōk_li, Jmb rūka, (?) Wrj ráw-, Kry rō, My rawa- 'ask

for' ||| CCh: MfG'-r3k- 'beg, cadge' ('mendier, quémander') | ZmB rák 'se vanter' ||| ECh: Bdy {J} lók-lòk 'implorer', Mgm {JA} lóllikò 'demander avec beaucoup d'insistance' ¶ Stl. IF 206, ChC, Ba. 861, Brr. MG II 224, ≈ Sk. HCD 220 ||| K *rekw-/*rkw- 'say' > OG rkw-/rku-, G rkV-/rk- 'tell, say, speak', Sv UB rēk- / rāk^ω- 'say, speak' (rāk^ω 'he said', r^ωēk-ar 'I said', rēk-a 'speak!') ¶ K² 156, FS K 256, FS E 283, Ser. 134, Chx. 107, GP 255, TK 688, 808 ◇ K *k (rather than *k̥) suggests a vw. between N *k and *ʔ; this vw. was probably lost (syncopized) in the prehistory of IE and WCh, producing a cluster *kʔ > *k̥.

1983. *r¹a¹ḱâ 'time, term' > IE: NaIE *^orok_L^ω- > Sl *rokъ 'time appointed beforehand' > OCS роkъ роkъ id. ('προθεσμια'), SCr rōk, Slv rōk id., 'time', OR роkъ роkъ id., 'year, age, fate', R роk 'fate', Uk рiк, Cz, Slk, P роk 'year' ¶ Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, 496-7, ≈ Glh. 522 ||| HS: Eg fOK r k 'time', m r k.f 'at the time of (so.)' ([unless ← Eg m r k.f 'neben [jemandem], um [jemandem]']) (see N *{AKU} 'circle') ¶ EG II 457-8 ||| K: G rak̥i {DCh., NCh.} 'as soon as, when', {Chx.} 'da, weil; sobald, wenn, als' ¶ Chx. 1044, DCh. 1032, NCh. 334 ||| A: Tg *-raki / *-reki 'when' (sx. of the temporal-conditional gerund): Ewk -rak(i) / -r3k(i) / -rok(i) id.: 3m3-r3ki-w 'when I came' (← *my [-w] time [-r3ki-] of coming [amə-]), dukū-rak-wun 'when we wrote', Lm -r̥q / -rək 'when': 3m-r̥q-u 'when I came' ¶ Vas. 786, Nov. EJ 102.

1984. *r¹o¹ḱô 'shelled animal (e.g., tortoise, crayfish)', 'shell (of an animal)' > HS: S *rak̥k- 'tortoise' > Ak rāk̥k̥u(m) '(small) tortoise', Sr راک̥; rak̥k̥-ā, Md riḱa 'tortoise', Ar راقق- {Ln.} 'tortoise, great tortoise, crocodile, ∈ an aquatic reptile', {BK} 'grande tortue' ¶ Br. 743, JPS 549, Sd. 958, DM 433-4, Ln. 1130, BK I 903 ||| IE: NaIE *^orōāk_L^ω- > Sl *rākъ 'crayfish' > Blg, McdS, R рак, SCr rāk, Slv rāk, Cz, Slk, P rak id.; Sl ⇨ Sw rāka 'prawn', NNr ræke id.; Sl *rak̥ (gen. *rak̥ve) 'shell (of an animal)' > R d. 'раков-ина 'shell (of a shellfish)', Cz rakv-ice id., (× eSl *raka 'coffin' [OCS, OR ракa rakā id., etc.] ← Gt arka 'Arche, Kasten' and L arca 'box') > Cz rakev, Slk rakva, Slv rakev rākav 'coffin' ¶ Brü. 453, ZVSZ 358, Vs. III 437-8, Ma. CS 413, Hlq. 867, ≈ Chrn. II 96-7, ≈ Glh. 517, P 531 (denies any connection between Sl *rakъ and IE *erk- [found in insect names of Blt, Arm, and Al]) ||| K *rḱu- 'tortoise, turtle' > OG ḱuω- 'turtle', G ḱu / ḱuv- id., 'tortoise', G Δ rḱu-, Mg ḱu id., Sv {Ni.} ḱu (gen. ḱω-iš) 'tortoise' ¶ K 157 (GZ *rḱu-), ≈ K² 103 (GZ *ḱu-), Chx. 635, 1072, DCh. 1040, Q 262, Ni.

s.v. черепаша || ? **A:** Tg *^olok∇ > Neg loka 'fetal membrane' ¶ STM I 501.

1985. *r∇k∇ 'to skip, to hop, to dance' > **HS:** S: [1] S (+ext.) *✓rḳd (ip. -rḳod) v. 'skip, hop, dance' > BHb ✓rḳd G 'jump, skip', G 'skip, dance', Ug d. mrḳd-m {A, Grd.} 'dancers', {OLS} 'musical instruments for dancing (castañuelas?)', JA {Trg.} ✓rḳd D, JEA ✓rḳd G, D 'dance', Md ✓rḳd G 'dance, waggle, rock to and fro, move rhythmically', Sr ✓rḳd D, G 'dance', Ar raqadān- {BK} 'bonds, sauts des agneaux et des chevreaux quand ils folâtaient', {Hv.} 'leap\bound of a lamb', Jb C {Jo.} ✓rḳd (pf. ʕrḳad, 'rḳtḳad) v. 'dance', Sq {L} 'ʔerḳid 'se précipiter', Ak OB ✓rḳd Gtn 'herhüpfen, springen', Ak NA/YB ✓rḳd G (inf. raḳādu) 'dance, skip'; [2] WS +ext. *✓rḳç > Ar ✓rḳç G 'sauter, sautiller; danser', Mh ✓rḳṣ (pf. rṣḳawṣ, sbjn. ʔrḳāṣ) 'jog up and down', Hrs ✓rḳṣ (pg. rṣḳōṣ, sbjn. ʔrḳāṣ) v. 'dance' (usually of camels); [3] SES *✓rḳṭ > Hrs ✓rḳṭ Gt (pf. 'ratḳeṭ) 'dance with hopping steps', Mh ✓rḳṭ (pf. arōḳṣṭ, sbjn. ʔarōḳṣṭ) 'do a hopping dance', Jb E ✓rḳṭ (pf. rḳṭ) id. ¶ KB 1201-2, A #2540, Grd. UT #2351, OAS 291, Lv. T II 435-6, Js. 1486, Sl. 1093, DM 437, BK I 906-7, Hv. 265, Jo. M 325-6, Sd. 957 || B *✓rḳd > Ah, Gh ʕrkād v. 'dance', Tmz {MT} rkād 'danser (en tapant du pied)', Kb ʕrkāḏ 'piétiner, fouler', ṭirəṣṣiṭ (pl. ṭirəṣṣiṭin) 'marque de pas', Gd ʕrkād 'stimuler une monture, galoper' ¶ Fc. 1626-7, MT 579-80, ≈ Dl. 721 (unc.: Kb. ← Ar), Lf. II 312-3 [#1359] || **K:** G rōḳ - v. 'dance' ¶ Chx. 1073 || **U:** FU *r'i'kke- ({LG} *rEkEntE) 'run quickly, skip' > Prm *rEd- > Z rədti- v. 'trot' || BF: F riehtää, Δ rikentää v. 'hurry, hasten, speed', Vp řigeta v. 'hurry', rigo n. 'hurry', FΔ {UEW} rikevää, rikeä 'in a hurry, quickly' || Os Vy rüṣ- 'run with big strides' ('бежать, делая широкие шаги', 'große Schritten machen'), V {Trj. VD, Stn.} rüṣ-, {Trj. S} rüṣ- v. 'skip, jump' ('springen, hüpfen') ¶ LG 243, SK 777-8, SSA III 71, ZM 470, Stn. D 1268, Trj. VD 185, Trj. S 408, UEW 423.

1986. *ræ,w,ḳæ 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cord, rope'), 'to tie' > **HS:** Eg fP rωṣ 'cord, bowstring', (pl.) 'sinews' (× ?? N *ṣarḳ'u' 'sinew' × ?? N *ṭ'o'ḳa 'to bend', [in descendant lgs.] → 'a bow') ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148 || Ch ≈ *r∇nK ~ *1∇nK 'shooting bow' (× N *ṭ'o'ḳa '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Gr. LA 53, Tk. I 249-50 || **A:** M *neke- 'weave, knit' (× N *næḳ∇ 'to plait, to tie', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE *reḱ- 'rope, strap' > OI rasāna 'rope, cord, bridle, girth', NPrs رَسَن rāsān 'rope, string, cord,

thread', Xwr ršyn 'rope, cord (Strick, Seil)', Oss rätän 'ε thick rope'; OI raśmiḥ 'string, rope, cord, bridle'; OPrs or Med ⇨ BHb רֶסֶן 'resen 'rein, bridle', (?) 'halter', JA [Trg.] רִסְנָא 'ris'n-ā 'bridle' || Gmc *ra|ekk- '≈ strap' and *rekend- 'fetter, chain' (×N *riqû'z'∇ 'to tie; loop', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 347, 362, P 863, M K III 47, Horn 132, Sg. 576, Ab. II 382-3, ≈ Bai. 214-5, KB 1165, Vr. 432, 440, Ho. 251, GWNT 1618, KB 1165, BDB 943, Js. 1484 || E: AchEl rák-qa 'geknüpft' ¶¶ HK 1026 ◇ Ch {Stl.} *-q- suggests that pN *K may be interpreted as *q (provided that Stl.'s tentative pCh rec. of *q proves to be certain and Ch *q is a reg. reflex of N *q).

1987. *raḶaX∇ (= *raḶahU?) 'arrange, put in order' > HS: S *^o✓rḶḥ > Ar ✓rḶḥ D 'order \ arrange, put (sth.) into good \ right \ proper state, manage (sth.) well' ¶ Ln. 1134, Hv. 264 || CCh: Msg {Rlf.} raga ~ rga ~ rgaḥ ~ rgi 'make (pots, mats, etc.), build (houses)', Msg P {Trn.} sg. r3ga, pl./inf. rigi v. 'build', (here?) v. 'tie', Gdr {Mch.} rka v. 'build' ¶ ChC, Trn. LM 112, Lk. DQM 73 || IE: NaIE *rek- ~ *rēk- {P} '(an)ordnen' > OI racana- {M} 'Einrichtung, Ordnung', {MW} 'act of making \ forming \ arranging', racayati {M} 'produces, forms', NPrs {Sg.} رَجَهْ rāḷe 'row, cloth-line', {VI.} 'series, ordo', {BM} رَجْ rāḷ 'row, order' || Gt rahnjan 'to reckon', ragin 'Rat, Beschluß (γνώμη)'; *rēk- > Gt ga-rehsns 'προθεσμία, time appointed beforehand; determination, plan' || ?σ SI *račiti > OCS РАУИТН račiti, SCr, Slv ráčiti 'to wish, to want', Cz račiti 'to deign', P raczyć 'to deign, to condescend, to be pleased', R † 'рачить 'to take care \ pains, to be zealous', Blg 'рача 'I want' ¶ WP II 362, P 863, M K III 23, BM 242, Horn 136, VI. II 23, Sg. 570, Fs. 199, 392, Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, ≈ Glh. 522 ¶¶ The IE reflex of the Ir. was lost in the stem-final position || U: FU ≈ *rakk∇ 'prepare, put, put in order' > F rakenta- 'prepare, build, erect, establish', Es rakenda- v. 'harness, put to' || Hg rak-, Δ rok- v. 'lay, put, set, place; stack, superpose' ¶ Coll. 110, UEW 419, MF 524 || ?σ K: G rḶve(∇)- / rḶvi- / rḶv- 'distinguish clearly, make clear' ¶ Chx. 1071-2 ◇ If the G verbs belongs here, the rec. of the N etymon *raḶaX∇ may be specified as *raḶahU ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. СТРОИТЬ *ra[Ḷ]a (IE, U, Ch), Ps. FI 27 (IE, U).

1988. *^lḶrôm∇ 'quiet; to rest' > HS: WS *^o✓rmm 'be silent, quiet' > Gz ✓rmm Sh (pf. Ḷarmama) 'keep silence, be tranquil \ quiet, be at rest', Ar ✓rmm Sh (pf. Ḷamma) 'be \ become silent' ¶ L G 471, BK I

919-20, Ln. 1150 || IE: NaIE *₁rem(ə)- 'rest, be calm, quiet' > OI 'ramatē 'calms, stops, rests, abides', Av rāman- 'Ruhe', rāmōiδwam 'verweilet!', rāmaye'ti 'bringt zur Ruhe', NPrs رام rām 'quiet; tame, domestic; obedient', آرام ārām n. 'rest, tranquility, quiet', آرامیدن ārāmi-dān 'to rest, to repose' || Gk ἡρέμα 'stilly, quietly, gently, softly; slowly' || OIr fo-rim- v. 'set, put', W araf 'quiet, calm, gentle' || Gt rimis ἡσυχία (stillness, rest)' || Lt rem̃ti (prs. remi ū) 'to support, to back up', ramūs adj. 'calm, quiet', {Nsl.} rāmas 'Ruhe', Ltv rāms 'quiet, calm', Lt rīm̃ti (prs. rīm̃stu) 'to be quiet\calm', Ltv rīm̃t 'to calm down, to quiet down, to stop, to cease' ¶ P 864, ≈ Mn. 1070-1, M K III 43-4, M E II 435-6, Horn 5, 134, Sg. 32, 564, F I 642-3, Vn. R 31, Fs. 398, TF 339, Frn. 695-6, 718, Nsl. 441, ≈ EI 474 (*h₁erh₁-m- 'to rest, to support' -> *h₁erh₁- 'quiet, at rest') || A: Tg: WrMc lumbu {Hr.} 'plötzlich ruhig fließend, beruhigt', {Z} 'peaceful stream', lumbu muke {Hr.} 'ruhig fließendes Wasser', lumbur 'floß plötzlich ruhig, war beruhigt' ¶ STM I 510, Z 860, Hr. 630 || M *nomu- -> *nomuyi > WrM nomui, HIM номой 'inert, lifeless, slow', Brt номой 'quiet'; M *nomu-qan ~ *nomu-qan > MM [MA] nomuqan, nomuqan 'quiet, tame (смирный)', [HI] {Ms.} nomuqan 'doux', {Lew.} 'vertueux, doux, avantageux', WrM nomuqan, HIM номхон, Brt номгон ~ номхон 'peaceful, calm', Ord nomoxon 'doux de caractère, doux et docile', Brt номгон, Kl номһн номуън 'quiet, calm (смирный, спокойный, тихий, кроткий)', Kl {Rm.} nomxan, nomuqan 'friedlich, zahm'; M *nomugqara > WrM nomu-gara- ~ -qara-, HIM номгоро- ~ номхро- 'be peaceful \ calm; calm down', Brt номгор- 'become quiet\tame', Ord nomoxoro- 'devenir doux de caractère, devenir traitable, devenir doux et docile', Kl номһар adv. 'quietly'; MM [HI] {Ms.} nomuqat- 'rendre doux, apprivoiser' ¶ Pp. MA 259, MED 591, Ms. O 496, Ms. H 79, Lew. II 65, KRS 381, ≈ KW 279, Chr. 330 || ? D: GnD *r¹ōm₁b₁- > Gnd rom- v. 'rest', rōm- v. 'rest after labour', Knd rōmb- v. 'rest, take rest', Png ʒōm- v. 'stop, rest, cease', Kui ʒāmb(a)- v. 'rest, cease, subside', Ku ʒōm- v. 'rest', ? rēmb- id. ¶ D #5178.

1989. *rûm∇ (or *rûm∇ñ∇) '≈ vein, muscle, strap' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'string, rope') > IE: [1] NaIE *reum̃-/ *roum̃- > Gmc *reuman- '≈ leather strap, thong' > OHG rīomo 'strap', {OsS} 'Band, Gürtel,

Riemen', OSx riomo, NHG Riemen 'leather strap, thong', Dt riem id., AS réoma 'skin, ligament' ({Ho.} 'Haut, Band') || Lt raumuõ (gen. raumens) 'muscle' | [2] NaIE *remŋ- > Sl *rem+ / gen. *remene 'leather strap' > OCS рѣмень remenъ id. ('ἰμάς'), Blg 'ремен, SCr rēmēn, Slv rémen, Cz řemen, Slk remeň, Przemeń, R ремень, Uk 'ремінь' 'strap' ¶ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, OsS 719, KM 509, Vr. N 574-5, Ho. S 61, Ho. 257, Sw. 140, Kb. 796, ≈ Frn. 707, Vs. III 468, Glh. 524 ¶ Acc. to AD NVIE, both *reymŋ and *remŋ (< *ruemŋ) are reg. reflexes of N *rûm∇n∇ || HS: *r∇m∇m- (*^orumam-?) > S: Ar rumm-at- (pl. rumam-) 'remains of a rope after it has become ragged; piece of an old rope', {BK} rumm-at- ~ rimm-at- 'morceau de corde vieille et usée' ('pars funis vetusti ac triti') ¶ Ln. 1151, Hv. 269, BK I 920, Fr. II 189 || EC *r∇m∇d- 'vein, artery, root' > Af {PH} ramad ~ ramid id., Sa {Wlm.} rimid (pl. rimīda), {R} ri'mid (pl. ri'midda) 'root', bī'lī ri'midda 'vein, blood vessel' (bi'lō 'blood'), HEC {Hd.} *rumud 'root' > Sd rumuššo (< *rumud-čō) 'root', pl. rumudda, Sd Hb {C} rumišo id. ¶ PH 180, R S II 304, Hd. 126, 390, Gs. 280, AD SF 172 ¶ The semantic connection between 'root' and 'vein, sinew' is based on the functional similarity of roots and sinews, because both served as ropes and strings || A *lujūm∇ > M *lumun 'bow (weapon)' (← *'bowstring' ← 'sinew') > Mnr H {SM} lumu, {T} lumu ~ numu, Mnr M {Pot.} lumu, MM [L, MA, HI, IsV] numun, [S] numu(n), [IM] numu, Dg {T} nem, Dg HI {Pp.} nzm, Ord nu'mu', Brt номо, Kl нумн numъn, Kl Ö {Rm.} numŋ 'bow (weapon)', WrM numun, HIM нум(ан) id., 'arch' ¶ SM 227, T 353, T DgJ 157, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 261, 443, Pp. D 87, Ms. H 80, Ms. O 501, Lg. VMI 59, H 120, MED 595, Chr. 330, KRS 386, KW 281 || ?φ Tg: NTg: Ewk nēmki 'bow (weapon)', d.: NrTg *nemk∇- > Ewk nēmki-, Neg nēmku-, Lm nēmka-, nēmka- 'shoot arrows'; Tg *lajm∇- 'string of bows and similar kinds of weapon' > Lm nām 'string of bows, string of self-shooting hunting bows', Ewk Sm † lēman 'loop of a bowstring', Ork lajmatçl 'strap for tying together parts of harpoon' ¶ STM I 496, 620-1 ¶ The vowels of the Tg words are still to be elucidated || T *ojūm- > Sg {RL} čümä, Xk {BIG} čüme 'arrow (children's toy)' ¶ RL III 2203, BIG 325 ¶¶ DQA #1214 *lijòmù 'bow (weapon)' || pJ {S} *dùmì 'bow' > OJ yùmì, J: T yumi, K yúmì, Kg yùmí ¶ S QJ #266, Mr. 579 || E: NEI {Bork} ri-mu 'Riemen' ¶¶ Bork Z 18, HK 1039 ◇ NaIE *reymŋ/*remŋ-, S *^orumam- (as. from **ruman-), EC *r∇m∇d- (as. from

**r∇m∇n-), and M *lumun may go back either to N *rûm∇ñ∇ or to N *rûm∇ + the N genitive pc. *nu.

1989a. ₂ *r'û'm∇ 'ant(s), vermin' > HS: S *rimm- > Ak rimmat-um 'maggot (?)', BHb רִמָּה rim'mā 'maggot', DA rmb 'vermin', Sr رَمَمَة; rēmmə't-ā 'worm(s)' ({Br.} 'situs et vermes in rebus putridis'), Md rima 'worms, maggots', Ar rimm-at- 'winged ant' ¶ Sd. 986, HJ 1077, KB 1157, JPS 544, Br. 732, BK I 920, Hv. 269, DM 433 || EC: Sa {R} 'rimme 'worm, termite', Or {Grg.} rimma 'termite, ε small ant', rāmō 'worm; germ, parasite', Rn rīrīm 'termite(s), white ant(s)', Arr ririnb 'termite' ¶ R S II 305, Grg. 339, 344, PG 348, Hw. A 391 || Ch: CCh: ZmB {Sa.} rūmūs 'ant' || ? Bdy rīrî:rimo 'insect', rīrî:rīḡ 'petit termite qui sert le jour' ¶ ChC, AIJ 82 ¶¶ OS #2119 (HS *rim-'insect') || D: SD *erump- 'ant' > Tm erumpu, erumpi, iḡumpi, Ml erumpu, iḡumpu, uḡumpu, Kt irb, Td irb, Kn iḡumpu, iḡumpe, Kdg urupī 'ant' ¶ D #864 ◇ One of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N *r- (N *r- > D *∇r-). Cp. N *r- > Tm ∇r- in N *r∇yam∇ 'ε (big) fish' (q.v.) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#71].

1990. *r'û'Hm∇ (= *r'û'gm∇?) 'dark' > HS: WCh *rim- 'dark(ness)' > pBT {Stl.} *rim∇ 'darkness' > Tng rîm, Dr rim id. | pNrBc {Stl.} *rim- in 'black' > Wrj rāna, Kry rīmīnā, My rinni id. || ECh: Mu {J} rām v. 'darken, become black' ¶ Stl. ZCh 247 [#51], 260 [#175], ChL, ChC || ? S *o✓rϑm > Ar ✓rϑm Sh (pf. *ʔarϑama) 'rendre qn. noir de visage' ¶ BK I 890 || K: GZ *rum- v. 'get dark' > OG d. m-rum-e 'dark', G rum- 'get\grow dark', Mg rum- id. ¶ K 157, K² 160, FS K 260-1, FS E 288, Abul. 295, Q 310 || IE: NaIE *rēmō- 'dark' > OI rā'ma- 'dark, black', rā'ma- ntr. 'darkness' || OHG rāmāg 'dark, black, dirty', AS rōmiz 'dirty, sooty', MHG rām 'dusty dirt, soot' ¶ P 85, EI 160 (*rēmō-s or *reh₁'mō-s 'dirty; dirt, soot'), M K III 54-5, M E II 449 (IE *Hrēmō-), Ho. 263, Kb. 769, OsS 699, Lx. 163 || U: FU *r'û'm∇ 'dusk, dark' > Lp L {LLO} ram'ko 'closed' (only of the eyes), Lp S {Hs.} tramke- 'shut (one's eyes), get dusk, get dark' | Chr L rüm'balge, Chr H рымалгы рь'malgъ 'twilight' ('сумерки') | pPrm *rōmit n. 'twilight, dusk' > Z рөмыд rzm+d id. ('сумерки, сумрак'), Vt жомыт žom+t id., 'semi-darkness, darkness' ('сумерки, сумрак, полумрак, потёмки') || Os: V/Vy rimək, Ty rimki, Km rimxə, Nz/Kz. riməx, O rāməx 'Dämmerung' (acc. to Steinitz: Os ? ← Z) ¶ Coll. 110, LLO 824, UEW 747 (rejects the

Lp cognate because of the cns. cluster *-mkk- and [unconvincingly] because of the semantic distance), Stn. D 1272, LG 244 || ? **A**: Tg: Ewk Skh lumrī 'evening', lumrī- v. 'get dark (in the evening)' ('вечереть, смеркаться, темнеть') ¶ STM 511 ◇ The long vw. in IE suggests the presence of a N lr. If Ar ✓ rym belongs here, the lr. is likely to be *g (which is at var. with the K evidence) ◇ Cf. AD LRC #31 (IE, FU, K).

1991. *rāwm ▽ 'chew' > **HS**: WCh: NrBc *rum- 'eat (hard food), chew' (← 'chew the cud') > Wrj/Cg/Kry/My/Diri {Sk.} r3m-, P' {MSk.} r+mā, Sir {Sk.} r3mū-, Mbr {Sk.} r3m-~rem- 'eat (hard food), chew' || pAG {Hf.} *r3m > Gm {Hf.} rem, Kfr/Anf {Hf.} rəm 'eat (powdery food)', Su {J} rùm 'eat (flour, dry food)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 260 [#176], Sk. NB 19, Hf. AG #115, J S 81, ChC, ChL || S *°✓rmm > Ar ✓rmm (ip. -rimm-~-rumm-) 'dévorer, avaler; enlever avec le bout des lèvres des bourgeons des arbres ou des plantes', {Hv.} 'browse, graze' (cattle) ¶ BK I 919, Hv. 268 || **IE**: NaIE *reūmen-/*roumen- 'rumen; ruminate' (× N *raXûm ▽ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals') > L rūmen 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals', rūminā- v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' || OI rōmantha-ḥ, Wx ramöt 'rumination' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470 || **U**: FP (in Prm only) *°rām ▽ > Prm {LG} *rōmÉćś- > Z рөмидз r3miž 'cud', r3mižt+n+ 'to chew the cud', Vt žomest+n+ id. (× N *raXûm ▽ '↑) ¶ LG 244 || ? **D** *nam'u'- 'chew' > Kn namalu 'chew, masticate, chew the cud', Tu nauntuni, naumpuni 'chew', nauntu 'chewing', Tl namalu 'chew, masticate', namaru 'rumination, chewing the cud', Gnd K {Sbr.} nalm- v. 'chew' ({D}: ←-Tl), Knd namli- 'munch with noise, ruminate' ¶¶ D #3595.

1992. *raXûm ▽ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals' > **HS**: S *'raḥim- 'womb' > BHb 𐤓𐤕𐤍 'reḥem, SmHb rēm, DA rḥm, JA [Trg.] 𐤓𐤕𐤍 raḥ^am-ā, Sr 𐤓𐤕𐤍; raḥmā, Ar 𐤓𐤕𐤍 raḥim- (~ riḥm-), Mh, Jb E/C raḥm id., Tgr r3ḥ3m 'womb, descent', Ak fOB rēm-um 'womb', Eb reḥm-um, riḥm-um (r í-eχ-mu) 'womb (?)', Ug rḥm {A} 'womb', {OLS} 'vientre; muchacha núbil, doncella' ¶ AD PSH 93, AD EHL 160, KB 1136, HJ 1070, A #2503, OLS 388, Lv. T II 417, Js. O56, Br. 724, Jo. M 321, Jo. J 210, LH 146, Sd. 970, Krb. EG 14, BK I 838, MiK I #1.231 || C {1467, Br. 724, Ln. 1AD} *ri_LH_Jm- 'uterus' > EC {Ss.} *rim- 'uterus' > Sml {Ss.} rim-ay, {ZMO} rimmay id., {Ss.} rim-an, {ZMO} rimman 'pregnant' (of animals), Rn {PG} rim- 'become pregnant, conceive', Or BI {Sr.} rīm-

'be pregnant', Or {Grg.} *rīm-ā* 'pregnant' (of animals), Brj {Ss.} *rī'm-ā*, {Hw.} *ri'm-a* 'entrails', {Hw.} *rimay kaf-* 'become pregnant' (of cattle) ¶ AD SF 50, PG 248, Ss. B 160, ZMO 343, Grg. 343, Sr. 381 || IE: NaE **reymen-/*roumen-* 'rumen, belly' (× N **rāwm̃* 'chew') > Clt: W *rhumen* {YGM} 'belly', {P} 'belly, udder' || L *rūmen* 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals' ⇨ *rūminā-* v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' || OI *rōmantha-h-*, Wx *ramöt*, Blc *rōmast* 'rumination' ¶ EI 2 (*re|oumn-* 'rumen'), ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470, YGM-1 382 ¶¶ NaE **reymen-/*roumen-* is likely to go back to IE **reHumen-/*roHumen-* || A: NaT [1] **jamír* 'groin' > OT *jamiz* id., Tkm *jamīḡ* 'groin (depression between animals haunches)', Nog *jamiz*, SbTt Tb {Rl., Bu.} *jamuz*, QrB *žamiz*, Yk *simis* 'groin', ? Az *janbız* 'кострец (leg of beef)' |[2] T **°jamdu* > OT {DTS} *jamdu* 'lower part of the belly, groin', cp. also ? OT *jāmdü* 'pubic hair' ¶ Cl. 935, 940, DTS 143, ET J 110-1 ¶ T **-r̄* may go back to a marker of dual.

1993. **r̃yam̃* 'ε (big) fish' > HS: Eg fOK *rm* 'fish' (= {Vc.} **rīmey*, pl. **rimy-ū*) > DEg *rm* ~ *rym* id. > Cpt Sd **ṛame**, **ṛame**, Cpt B **ṛami** 'perche de Nil' (called in Ar Eg {El.} **بَلَطِي** 'Tilapia nilotica') ¶ EG II 416, Er. 246, 421, Vc. 172, El. 74 ¶¶ ≠ Vc. 172 (connecting Eg *rm* with S verbs for 'flow, stream'), ≠ Tk. AAEF and AEF (equating Eg *rm* to S **✓rmm* 'rot, worm') || A: Tg **ljamba* 'salmon' or 'fish' > Ewk *lēm̃ba* 'salmon', Nn B/KU *lmaḫa* 'fish', Nn Nh/KU *ńimo* 'ленок (ε fish)', Ul *ńimob* id., WrMc *nimaḫa* 'fish', Jrc {Kiy.} *liwaḫa* or *limaḫa*, {SDM} *limwaḫa* id. ¶ STM 496, Kiy. 106 [#163], ≠ Pp. VG 61, 140 (Mc *nimaḫa* < **žirmagaḷ*) || pJ {S} *nàmà(n)tù* 'sheat-fish' > OJ *nàmàdù* > J T *nàmazu*, K *námazù*, Kg *namažú* id. ¶ S QJ #341, Mr. 492 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. **ljamba*, DQA #1207 (A **ljàmba|o*) || D **l̃rām-* 'ε fish' > Tm *irāma-murīyan* 'silvery seafish, *Triacanthus strigilifer*', Tl *rām̃alu* (pl.) 'ε fish' ¶¶ D #5166 ¶¶ One of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N **r-* (N **r-* > D **∇r-*) ◇ Blz. 159 [#68] (Eg, D).

1994. **riḷḷĉ̃* '(tuft of) hair' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'eyebrow\eyelash, beard', 'stalk of grass') > HS: CS **rīš-* 'eyebrow', 'tuft of hair' > MHb **רִישׁ** *rīs*, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **רִישׁ** *rīsā* 'eyebrow', Ar **ريش** *rīš-* 'feathers', **ريشة** *rīš-at-* 'feather' ¶ Lv. IV 447 (**רִישׁ** *rīs* 'eyebrow'), 487 ({Flsch.} **רִישׁ** *rīs* 'eyelid or 'eyelash'), Lv. IV 447, Lv. T II 422, Js.

1475, BK I 961-2 || ? EC *rīz- 'beard' > Sa rīd, Alb rīza 'beard', Af {PH} radid (< *radīd) ~ ridid (pl. radīd-a) 'full beard, barbe abondante', Ya {Hn.} ris-in-i (pl. rīs-ín) 'hair'; EC ↷ Amh riz. The phonetically similar EC root *√ʔrz (~ *°√hrz) 'beard, hair' (> Or arēda 𐤀 harēda 'beard, chin', Bs adar 'beard', Brj orda 'hair', Alb, Qbn, Kmb orz-ata 'hair of body') is hard to explain because of the unexpected *ʔ- ¶ Ss. WOKS 138, PH 180, Hn. Y II 127, L Z 120, 128, L EDG III 86, Hd. 25, 75 ¶ EC *-z- is voiced probably under the ass. infl. of *-n- (= *riñĉ∇ > rins- > *rinz- > *rīz-) || IE: NaIE *°rens- (or *°renk̄-) '≈ eyelash, fringe' > Sl *rę'sa (accus. *ręsq) 'eyelash' > ChS рѧса ręsa, McdS рѧса, Cz řasa, Slk riasa, P rzęsa 'eyelash', Blg pe'ca, R † рѧса ~ рѧса 'tasseled fringe of clothing (бахрома)', SCr rěsa (gen. rěsē) id., 'catkin (of a tree)', Slv rěsa 'fringe, tassel, awn, beard'; ↷ Sl *ręs-yna, *ręs-yn-ica 'eyelash' > ChS рѧсница ręsnica, OR рѧсница rjasnica, R, Blg рѧс'ница, Uk рѧсница, Cz řasnice ¶ Glh. 525, ≈ Vs. III 473-4, 538 ¶ The IE √ belongs here only if it is *rens- rather than *renk̄- || U: FU (att. in FP) *ri'č'∇ 'stalk of grass, (?) twig' > Prm: Z EV riž 'stalk of grass', ? Vt жыжы ž+ž+ 'stubble' | ? Chr E rež 'twig with leaves' ¶ ≈ LG 241 (*÷ Frisu 'lopped off branch, dead branch', which is a loan from OSw riiss ~ riiss 'twig', see SK 814).

1995. *°rep∇ 'tear off, break' > HS: S *°√rpp > Ar √rff G (pf. raffa) 'break', +ext.: Ar √rft G 'be broken\crushed, break in pieces', √rfš {BK} 'casser', {Hv.} v. 'pound', √rfĉ TD {Hv.} 'be broken', رفص rafĉ {Ln.} 'act of breaking (a thing)', rufāĉ- {Hv.} 'fragments' ¶ BK I 892, 893, 895, Ln. 1118, 1120, Hv. 261-2 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} arfi 'être écrasé' ¶ Dl. 712 ¶ But Ah {Fc.} ruffat 'casser menu, briser en tout petits morceaux' (Fc. 1584) is a loan from Ar || IE: NaIE *°rep- '≈ seize by plucking, tearing off, etc.' > Gk ἐρέπτω v. 'pluck', ἐρέπτομαι v. 'feed on' ({F} ← *'abrupfen, an sich raffen') || pAl {O} *repa- > Al rjep- ~ rrjep- 'remove the outer layer (to peel off, to skin, to pluck [fowl]), to gouge, to gouge out' || L rapīō / rapěre 'seize, snatch, tear away', rapax 'seizing, snatching, greedy' || Lt rép-ti (prs. rēpiu) ~ rěp-ti (prs. rēpiù) 'snatch much, clasp much' ({DLKZ} 'daug griebti, daug apimti', {Frn.} '[zusammen]raffen, umfassen, umschliessen'), ap-rép-ti 'embrace', replēs 'tongs, pincers, crayfish's\crab's claws', Pru raples · "Zange" 'tongs, pincers' ¶ P 865, EI 564 (*h₁rep- 'snatch, pluck'), F I 552-3, AlbED 754, O 372, WH II 417-8, DLKZ 669, Frn. 721-

2, En. 238 || **U**: FU *repp∇- 'tear, burst, split' (vi.?) > F repi- vt. 'tear, rend', repäise- id., 'tear out', Es rebi- 'tear, rend' || pLp {Lr.} *r3p3- vt. 'take the cover off, open' > Lp: N {N} r âppâ- -b- ~ -v- id., L rahpa- vt. 'open', S {Hs.} d. r'ippesidh, r'ippelgidh vi. 'open' || Vg: MK ript- vi. 'be reduced \ destroyed, disappear', vt. 'bruise (zermalmen), wound', P yal-rēpat- 'kill' || OHg reped- 'burst, split, be torn', Hg reped- 'tear, slit', 'crack, burst, split' || pY {IN} *lepe- > YT {IN} lepegay- vi. break off' ¶¶ UEW 427, SK 768-9, Lr. #1009, Lgc. #5491, Hs. 1075-6, LG 240, 242, MF 529, EWU 1253, IN 247 || **A** *leb- ~ *lab- (× N *rAwg'U' 'to destroy, to tear' [q.v.]) > Tg *lēb- ~ *lab- 'tear, wear out' > Ewk l3wgi- 'wear out (clothes)', l3p- 'be worn out' (of clothes), Lm n3bdā- 'tear out, jerk out, tear off', ? Nn l3b3r 'rags, worn out clothes'; Ewk lap- 'be torn, worn out' (of clothes), Lm nabdbъ 'torn' (of a hide, clothes), Neg lap- 'be torn to tatters' ¶ STM I 493, 518 || M *labtara- ~ *nabtara- > WrM nabtara- ~ {STM} labtara-, HIM навтра-х, Brt набтар-ха 'wear out, tear, become shabby\tattered', K1 лавтра-lawtra- id., WrM {Kow.} labtar sabtar 'des morceaux déchirés, lambeaux, haillons'; *nabtarqayī > MM [S] nabtarqaj 'torn \ tattered clothes', WrM nabtarqai, HIM навтархай 'worn out, shabby, torn, tattered', Ord nab_t'arχā 'vêtements tout en lambeaux' ¶ H 112, MED 555, STM I 493, Chr. 317, KRS 333, Ms. O 479, Kow. 1960 ¶¶ The pA (or the Tg and M) variant *lab- is due to regr. as. or belongs to the heritage of *rAwg'U' ◇ AD NGIE 24 [#71] (IE, FU, Tg) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1996. *r'e'p̃∇ 'make one's way with effort, climb, crawl' > **HS**: WS *✓rpf̃ v. G 'climb; raise' > Jb E/C ✓rf̃ (pf. 'refã, subj. 'y3rfã), Mh ✓rf̃ (pf. rūfa, subj. y3rfā), Hrs ✓rf̃ (pf. rōfa) id., Ar ✓rf̃ G (pf. rafãa, ip. -rfã-) {Ln.} 'raise, elevate, uplift', ✓rf̃ G (pf. rafũa, ip. -rfũ-) 'be \ become high \ elevated, exalted \ of high or exalted rank' ¶ Jo. M 316, Jo. J 204-5, Jo. H 102, Ln. 1121-4, BK I 897-9, Hv. 262 || **IE** *reĥp- (mt. from **r∇pH-?) > NaIE *rēp- 'creep, crawl' > L rēp-ō / -ĕre id. || Gmc {Hlq.} *riβō(n) > OHG rēba 'creeping shoot, vine', MHG rēbe 'shoot of a creeper (Schlingschöbling)', NHG Rebe 'vine tendril', MLG wīn-rāve, Sw vin-ref id., reva 'sprout of plants' || Lt rēplióti, rēplinti 'to crawl, to creep', rop(l)óti 'to creep, to crawl', Δ ropu eiti 'kriechend gehen', ropu stovēti 'to be in a creeping position', Ltv rāpāt id., rāp-tiē-s id., 'to scramble; to climb

\ clamber up' ¶ WP II 370, P 865-6, EI 141 (*rēp- 'crawl'), ≈ Mn. 1072, WH II 430, Kb. 774, OsS 704, Lx. 164, KM 588, Hlq. 832, Frn. 720 || U: FU *r'e'pp'e'- > Z US rob- 'drag oneself (брести) through snow\mud\mire\water' | ??φ,σ BF: F rype-ä, Δ rype-tä 'to wallow (in mire, filth), to welter', eF rypöä, Krl A rüpie, Es rübel(e)da id. | ??φ,σ Lp Sw {LÖ} rippem 'place where birds bathe' ¶ LG 241, Lt. 95, SK 899, SSA II 118 ◇ The N rec. is *r'e'p'p' rather than *r'e'p'p' because N *-p'p' is likely to undergo assimilation (N *-p'p' > *-b'p' or *-p'χ-).

1997. *riqalæ 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky' (= 'wackeln, wackelig sein') > HS: S *°-rīq- > Ar ✓ riq (ip. -rīq-) {Ln.} 'be agitated, moved to and fro', {Fr.} 'agitata fuit huc illuc in superficie (terrae aqua)' ¶ Ln. 1202-3, Fr. II 217, ≈ BK I 963-4 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°reik[ē]- vi. 'shake' ('wackeln') > ON riga / -aða vt. 'move to and fro, make waver (zum Wanken bringen)', NGr Sw rigelen 'schwanken', NNr rigga 'to shake violently (erschüttern)', NNr rig(l)a 'schwanken', Nr, Sw Δ rikka 'schütteln, wackeln', Frs E rikke(l)n vi. 'to move to and fro, to shake' ¶ ≈ WP II 346-7, ≈ P 962, Vr. 445 || K *req-/°rq- 'shake, oscillate' (× N *r'g'g'g' 'to quake, to move in agitation') > OG req-/rq- 'shake, oscillate', G req-/rq- id., swing, stir, make shaky' ({Chx.} 'rütteln, schütteln, lose \ wackelig machen', {DCh.} 'трясти, качать, шевелить, поколебать; колебаться'), Mg raī- 'shake' (of nut trees), Sv {FS} req-/raiq-/rq-: li-rq-əni 'to shake (schütteln), to tremble', ad-raiq-n-e 'er schüttelte, ließ schwanken' ¶¶ K² 156-7, Schm. 130, FS K 257-8, FS E 285, Chx. 1082, DCh. 1045.

1998. *riqū'z'∇ (= *riqū'z'∇?) 'to tie; loop' ([in descendant lgs.] → to tie [an animal] with a strap)' > HS: S *°rks v. 'tie, bind' (× N *rec'∇ga 'to tie, to plait') > BHb ✓ rks G 'tie on, bind', Ug ✓ rks {OLS} 'bind, belt', {A, Grd.} 'bind', Ak ✓ rks 'tie, bind; Sma G 𐤓𐤕𐤓 rks 'wrap, cover', Ar ✓ rks G 'tie (a camel)', rikās- 'rope fastening a camel's head to his feet' ¶ Fr. II 187, BK I 916, Hv. 267, BKG II 324, KB 1154-5, KBR 1237-8, GB 760, A #2513, Grd. UT #2332, OLS 390, Tal 836, Hv. 267, Sd. 945-7 ¶ S *-k- < *-k- (< N *-q-) (reg. HS de-emphatization and/or the infl. of *-k-s- < N *-c'-q- in N *rec'∇ga?) || K: G {SSO, DCh., Chx.} ma-rquž-i {DCh.} 'loop', {Chx.} 'Schlinge, Schleife, Schlaufe', {NCh.} marquži 'loop', {Chx.} marquž- ~ marquš- v. 'eine Schlinge um etw. liegen, einem Tier eine Schlinge um den Hals legen' ¶

Chx. 721-2, DCh. 674, NCh. 269, SSO I 443 || IE: [1] IE *reǵǵ_lH₁- > NaIE *reǵǵ_l- 'tie, bind' > Clt: OIr *reg-*/*rig-* v. 'tie, bind' in cds.: *ad-riug* 'alligō', *con-riug* 'colligō', *fo-riug* 'sistō'; OIr *cenn-rach* 'halter (Halfter)', W *pen-rhe* 'head-band'; (**ad-riǵǵo-* >) OIr *árach*, Br *ere* 'fetter'; (**kom-riǵǵom* >) OIr *cuimrech* 'fait d'attacher, attache, lien', Br *keore* id., W *cyfre* 'leash'; OW *ruimmein* 'vincula', W *cyfrwy* (< **kom-reǵǵ-*) 'saddle', OBr *anre* 'bandage', Br *kevre* 'bond'; Brtt {RE} **reǵǵ-*/**rig-* v. 'tie' > W *rhwym* (< **reǵǵ_ls₁m-*), Br *eren* (< **en-rig-*) 'to tie'; W *rhwym* (< **reǵǵǵ-smǵ*) 'fetter' || L *corrigia* 'shoe-string, boot-lace; strap, thong' (÷ OIr *cuimrech*) || MHG *ric* (gen. *rickes*) 'band, fetter, knot', *ricken* 'anbinden' || [2] IE ***reǵǵ_lH₁-* (× N **ræ_lw₁kæ* 'sinew', [→ 'cord, rope'], 'to tie' > NaIE (att. in Gmc) **reǵǵ_l-* '≈ a tie' > AS *racca* 'cord forming part of rigging of ship', Dt *rak* id., ON *rakki* id. ({Vr.} 'Stropp um die Rahe mit dem Mast zu verbinden'), OSw *raka* 'Band'; ON *rekendi* ntr., *rekendr* f. pl. 'Kette, Fessel', AS *racente*, OHG *rahhenza* 'neckchain, fetter', ? Dt *reeks* 'row, chain' ¶ WP II 347, P 861-3, WH I 278-9, EM 258, Vr. 432, 440, Vr. N 567, Sw. 138, Ho. 251, Kb. 768, Lx. 167, LP §§ 33.5, 603, Vn. C 13-5, 272, RE 139, Ern. 68 ¶¶ IE **-ǵǵ-* rather than **-k̑k-* (regularly from N **-ǵ-*) is due to ass. de-emphatization: N **-ǵ_lǵ₁'z'* > ***-ǵz-* > pre-IE ***-kH-* (whence regularly IE **-ǵǵH-*) || A: Tg **laks-* ~ **lusk-* 'trace (of a harness) (× N **lūk₁Uǵ₁ǵ* 'twig, strap, lash, whip', q.v. ffd.)

◇ The G irreg. sibilant (-ǵ- ~ -š-) suggests borrowing from Zan (N **z* > K **z̑* > Zan *ž*). The vl. **s* in S and Tg is due to the ass. infl. of **k*. IE **H* < N **z* *reg.* The N rec. **riǵü₁'z'* is preferable to **riǵu₁'z'*, because in the case of **riǵü₁'z'* the absence of labialized glide in IE can be better explained in the framework of regular sound changes.

1999. **räs₁ǵ* 'to sprinkle'; (→ ?) 'dew, moisture' > HS: S (or WS) **✓râs₁* > Sr *✓rss G* v. 'besprinkle', JA [Trg.] *✓rss G* 'besprengen, träufeln', JEA {Sl.} *✓rss Sh* 'sprinkle', Late BHb *✓rss G* 'splash, splay' (Ez. 46.14), Ar *✓ršš G* {BK} 'arroser, asperger', {Hv.} 'sprinkle a fine rain' (sky), *rašš-* 'sprinkling rain, pluie légère', Hrs *râs₁* (*✓râs₁*) v. 'sprinkle', ?*σ,φ,μ* Ak *r₁u₁s₁û* inf. '(durch Wasser) aufweichen' ¶ GB 764, KB 1165, KBR 1249-50, Lv. T II 429, Sl. 1089, Br. 429, Fr. II 151, BK I 864, Hv. 252, Jo. H 106, Jo. M 329-30, Sd. 996 || IE: NaIE **r₀(:)s-*, **r₀s-ā* 'moisture, dew' > OI *rasā* 'moisture', *rasas-* (nom. 'rasaḥ) 'sap, juice, liquid, essence' || Lr *ōs*, gen. *rōr-is* 'dew, moisture' || Sl

*rō'sa (accus. *rōs-ŋ) 'dew' > OCS **роса** 'dew, rain', R, Uk, Blg **роса**, Scr **rōsa**, Slv **rōsa**, Cz, Slk, P **rosa** 'dew' || Lt **rasà**, Ltv **rasa** id. ¶ Mn. 1088, ≈ P 336, EI 158-9 (*rōs / accus. *rōs-ŋ 'dew, trickling liquid, moisture'), M K III 49, M E II 441-2, ≈ WH II 442-3, Vs. III 503, StSS 585, Glh. 531, Frn. 690 || **U**: FU *rāš∇ v. 'sprinkle; moisture' > Prm {Lt.} *rēz- > Z, Yz **rez-** v. '(be)sprinkle' || pVg *rāš- id. > Vg Ss **rasalt-**, Yk **ræ̃s3ít-**, **r3s3ít-** v. 'pour water on, sprinkle', Ss **rasgalt-**, Yk **ræ̃sy3ít-** ~ **ræ̃sg3ít-** v. 'splash', ML {MK} **raš** 'Nässe', **rāx^w-raš** 'rain water' ¶ Lt. 137, Lt. J 173, LG 240, BV 92, MK 493 || **A**: ? M: WrM **nesi** 'blood from an animal or an arrow', HIM **нэш** 'blood from an animal' ¶ MED 57, Gl. II 10, Rinch. 150, Cev. 401.

2000. *r∇h∇t∇ 'branch, stem, rod' > HS: CS *✓rht, *r'ahu't-, *rah∇t- '(?) long bough\rod', 'rafter' > BHb **rā'hī't*** 'rafter' ({Joü.} 'solive'), {Nld.} 'Bretter' (+ppa: 1p **רהי'רהי'רהי'רהי'רהי'** **rahī't-ēnū**), MHb {Js.} **רהי'רהי'** **rā'hī't** 'rafter' or 'floor beam', Sr **רהי'רהי'**; **raw't-ā** 'flexible thin branch, lath' (< *rahu't-), ı Sr {Br.} **רהי'רהי'**; **rah't-ā** or **רהי'רהי'**; **rāh't-ā** {JPS} 'rafter', {Br.} 'tabula assis' ({Joü.} [unconvincongly]: misreading of **רהי'רהי'**; **raw't-ā** 'branches'); Aram ⇨ Ar Zhl {Joü.} **رؤط** **raw't** 'poplar trunks used as rafter' ¶ KB 1114, GB 747, Js. 1454, Br. 717, 719, JPS 532, 534, Joü. NLH-2 421 || B *-r∇t∇ > Ah **tarat̃ta** 'branch of a coniferous tree', Wrg **tarat̃ta** (pl. **tirad̃win** ~ **tirat̃win**) 'stick, stem of a plant, flagstaff' ¶ Fc. 1576, Dlh. Ou 271 || IE *reht-/*roht-/*rht- > NaIE *rēt-/*rōt-/*rat- '≈ rod, stem' > ON **róðā** 'rod, cross (crucifix)', Ic **róðā** 'cross (crucifix)', NNr **roda** 'pole (Stange)', OHG **ruota** 'rod, staff, stick', NHG **Rute** 'rod, twig', OSx **rōda** 'rod, pole, gallows', AS **rōd** id., 'wooden cross (for crucifixion)', NE **rood**; gem. AS **rodd** 'stick, rod' > NE **rod** || Sl: ChS **ратище** **ratište**, **ратовище** **ratovište** 'shaft of a lance, spearstaff' (⇨ R † **ратовище**), OCz, Cz † **ratište**, Slk **ratišče** id., Uk **ратище** 'spear' || Lr **rātis** 'raft', ?? Lr **rētae** 'trees standing on the bank \ in the bed of a river' ¶ WP II 368, P 866, EI 442 (*reh't- 'post, pole'), ≠ Mn. 1074, WH II 420, 431, Vr. 450, Bv. 553, Kb. 815, OsS 732, KM 617, Ho. 262, Ho. S 61, HDEL 1124, 1127, 1537, Vs. III 448, Mikl. E 273, Ma. CS 416, Srz. III 105-6 || **K**: OG **rto-y** (pl. **rtoni**, **rtoebi**), G **rto** 'branch, bough' ¶ Abul. 349, Ser. 134, Chx. 1075.

2001. *row∇ (or *rowH∇?) 'dig, scratch, carve' > IE: NaIE *reul₁-/*ru(:)- 'dig' (× N *rAwg'U' 'to destroy, to tear' [q.v.]) > L ru-ŋ, ru-ēre (prtc. **rū-tus**) 'dig up, scrape', rutellum 'a small spade,

shovel' || OIr ruam 'spade (pelle, bêche)', rómair, ruamor n. act. 'digging' || Sl *rǝ-ti (prs. *rǝjǝ ~ *rǝjǝ) 'to dig' > SrChS рѢТИ rǝti / рѢИѢ rǝjǝ, SCr rǝti / rǝjǝm, Slv rǝti / rǝjǝm, OR рѢТИ rǝti / рѢЮ rǝju, R 'рыть' / 'рою, Blr 'рыць' / 'рыю, Uk 'рити' / 'рию, Cz rǝti / rǝji, Slk ryt' / rǝjǝ ~ rǝjǝm, Pr rǝc / rǝjǝ 'dig' ¶ On OI rav- / ru- 'break\dash to pieces', Lt ráuti 'to tear out', and Sl *rǝvǝ-ti 'to tear' see N *rAwg'U' ¶ The short u in OI ru'ta- points to the absence of lrs., while the reflex of a long *ū in Sl *rǝ-ti and L rǝtus may be due to contamination with N *rAwg'U' ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-1100, 1104, WH II 453-4, Vn. R 48-9, Vs. III 531-2, Glh. 528-9, Ma. CS ≈σEI 570 (*rǝu(H)- 'pull out (from under the surface)') || U: FU *rǝwǝ (or *rǝkǝ) 'cut, score, trim' > pChr {Ber.} *ruǝ- > 'hew, chop' > Chr H rǝe- (inf. роаш 'ro-aš'), L rue- (inf. руаш ru-'aš), Uf/N rue- id. || pOs *rǝǝ- ({JHl.} *rǝǝ-) > Os: V {Trj.} rǝǝm- 'cut out, cut through', O {KrT} rǝǝt- 'ein Stückchen abschneiden' || OHg rǝv- 'score, incise ([ein]kerben, [ein]schneiden)', Hg rǝ- / rǝv- 'cut, score', OHg rǝvat 'Einkerbung, Aufzeichnung' ¶ Coll. 111, UEW 425, Ber. 57 [#300], Ep. 103, MRS 505, 508, Trj. VD 183, KrT 799, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on the Os reflexes of FU *-w- and *-ǝ-), MF 553-4, EWU 1273, 1285 || A: Tg *°loǝb- > Ewk lǝwa- 'look (for sth.) by rummaging' ¶ STM I 500 || HS: Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} ra 'dig' || FLM {ChL} ri, Bcm {ChL} rǝ, Gude {Hsk.} ra, Gudu {ChL} rǝ id. || Mtk {ChL} ra id., Hrz {Ro.} ra id., 'bury' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT 48, Hsk. 263, Ro. ##101, 195 || ? Eg Am rǝrǝ.ty 'lion's cave' (if it is a cd. of rǝ 'lion' and *rǝ 'cave' < N *rǝwǝ 'dig?') ¶ EG II 409 ◊ IS MS 362 (*rǝwǝ 'рыть': IE, U).

2002. *rǝwǝ 'water, stream of water; to drink (one's fill)' > HS: WS *✓rǝy (prm. *-rǝy-) 'drink one's fill' > BHb הַרְוֵי ✓rǝy G (3pm ip. יַרְוֵי yǝ-rǝy-ūn, 3f pf. הַרְוֵי rǝwǝtǝ) id., JA [Trg.] ✓rǝy G (pf. אַרְוֵי rǝ'wǝ ~ אַרְוֵי rǝ'wǝ), Md ✓rǝy G 'be filled with wine, be drunken', JEA ✓rǝy G 'become intoxicated', Sr ✓rǝy G (pf. אַרְוֵי rǝ'wǝ ~ אַרְוֵי rǝ'wǝ, ip. אַרְוֵי nǝr'wǝ) 'become drunken', Ar ✓rǝy G (pf. رَوِيَ rǝwǝ) 'be well watered' (of cattle, land)', Ar ✓rǝy G (pf. رَوِيَ rǝwǝ) 'abreuer qn., lui donner à boire', Ar رَوِيَ rǝy- 'pays arrosé', OYmn {Slw.} d. مَرْوَة mrǝwǝ ({Slw.} marwǝ) 'Bewässerungsanlage', Gz ✓rǝy G (pf. rawaya ~ rawya, js. yǝrǝy), Jb C {Jo} ✓rǝy G (pf. 'rē

~ 're?) 'have had enough to drink', *Sh* (pf. er¹be, sbjn. 'yεrbe) 'give (so.) a drink', *Mh* ✓rwy (pf. 'raywi, sbjn. y3r¹wē) 'have one's thirst slaked, drink to repletion', *Hrs* {Jo.} ✓rwy (pf. r3wō ~ rēwi, sbjn. yArwī) 'have had enough water', *Sq* pf. *G* {Jo.} 're, {L} re v. 'drink'; *WS* ≈ *'riway- '(abundant) water' > *Ar* روي riwā 'abundant water', *BHb* רי רי {NPet.} 'Wassermenge', {GB} 'Bewässerung, Wasserfülle' or {KB LVT} 'moisture' ('Naß, Feuchtigkeit') (h.l.: Job 37.11), *MHb* [Sir. 31.28] רי r²y ≈ id., *Sq* {Jo.} rihoh, {Nak.} 'rīho, {L} rihoh 'water'; *Ar* SL ري rayy- 'rain'; *Ar* d. ✓rwy *G* (pf. روي rawā) 'carry \ draw water', *Sb* {BGMR} ✓rwy *Sh* (yhrwy) 'provide a water-supply', *Qt* {Rk.} d. mrw(-hw) '(his) irrigation system' ¶ *KB* 114-5, 1141, *KB LVT* I 888, *GB* 757, *NPet.* *BJ* 421, *Js.* 1459, *Lv.* IV 433, *Sl.* 164, *JPS* 532, *DM* 427, *Hv.* 279-80, *BK* I 957-8, *Slw.* 100-1, *L G* 478, *LLS* 395-6, *Nak.* ##166, 765, *Jo.* J 218, *Jo.* M 333-4, *Jo.* H 106-7, *BGMR* 119, *Rk.* 153 || ? *Eg* fMK rwy 'water', *Eg* fP rwy.t 'water, flood'; hardly here *Eg* r3 'Rand eines Gewässers, Wasserlinie' (probably a sd. of r3 'mouth') and *Eg* wrrw 'pit with water, tank' (both adduced by Blz) ¶ *EG* I 334, II 221, 392 || *Ch:* *WCh* {Stl.} *ruwa_{ly} > *Hs* rúwā 'water', *Glm* {Sch.} rwā 'river' ||| *CCh:* *Kps* {Srp.} r o'ā 'brook, river' ¶ *ChC*, *ChL*, *Ba*, 871-2, *Sch.* *BTL* 88 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ *Blz* *KM* I #17) *Ah* tārait 'the level of water-line in a vessel' (actually {Fc.} 'ligne laissé par un liquide sur le paroi intérieure d'un vase dont il a été versé' ← tārait 'escarpement rocheux formant un anneau sur tout le partour d'une montagne' [see *Fc.* 1619]) ¶¶ *OS* #2140 (*HS* *rüw 'water': *S*, *Eg*, *WCh*), ≈ *Sk.* *HCD* 222 (*WCh*, *S*, *Eg* + err. comparison with some other *Ch* lgs. and different lgs. of Africa) ||| *K:* *G* ru 'irrigation ditch\channel, brook' ¶ *Fn.* *KW*-2 43 [#22], *Chx.* 1077 ||| *E:* *AchEl* ra-hi-um 'Trankspende' ¶¶ *HK* 1124 ||| *A:* *Cl.* 872 mentions an *OT* *Og* [*MhK*] word jābā 'moist, moisture'; the word is read in *DTS* as jāba and in *MKD* as jiba; if it goes back to *T* *jibi 'moist', it belongs to *N* *Libh∇ (= *Īibh∇?) 'wet', rather than here ¶ *Cl.* 872, *MKD* 224, *DTS* 221 ◇ *Blz* *KM* 118-9 [#17] (*K*, *HS* [*S*, *Ch*, unc. *B* *Ah* tārait, *Eg* r3 'water-line' and wrrw 'pit with water, tank'])).

2003. (₂?) *r∇_hw∇ 'mix, (?) shake, (??) 'turn round' > *HS:* *B* *✓rwy > *Ah* arwi (hab. raggay) 'mélanger', *Kb* arwi 'remuer, mêler', *Tmz* rway id., 'mélanger', *Wrg* d. arway 'brouet, farine diluée dans l'eau et bouillie' ¶ *Fc.* 1651, *DI.* 741, *MT* 595, *Dlh.* *Ou* 281 || ?σ *S* *o✓rhw > *Ar* ✓rhw *G* {BK} 'tourner un moulin à bras; se rouler en

spiral' (un serpent), {Hv.} 'turn (an arm-mill)', 'coil' (serpent), {Hv.} raḥā 'hand-mill' ¶ Hv. 245, BK I 839 ¶ The S cognate is valid if the meaning 'turn' is primary ||| K *^orew- > MG, G rev- / re- / ri- 'mix' ¶ Chx. 1054-7, DCh. 1035 ||| ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *r^re¹w∇ v. 'shake' (× N *r∇^rb¹∇ ≈ move, shake [vi.] [q.v. ffd.]).

2004. ₂ *r∇wX∇ 'broad' > HS: WS *^rrwḥ (prm. *-rwaḥ-) 'be broad' > BHb ^rrwḥ G (pf. r^rā¹wāḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'become spacious, easy', JA ^rrwḥ G (pf. rə¹wāḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be wide, extend', Sr ^rrwḥ G (pf. rə¹wāḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be enlarged, relieved, expand', Ar ^rrwḥ G (pf. r^rwāḥ, ip. -rwaḥ-) 'be large, wide', rawḥ- n. act. 'being large\wide', 'rest, joy', Gz rawīḥ ~ rawḥ 'affable, kindhearted', Sb ^rrwḥ Sh (pf. hrwḥ) 'increase, extend, enlarge'; CS *^rrawaḥ- 'space, interstice' > BHb r^rεwāḥ 'space, interval', JA r^rā¹wāḥ, em. r^rā¹wāḥ 'open space, room', Sr r^rā¹wāḥ 'a space, interstice', rəwāḥ¹t-ā {Br.} 'spatium', {JPS} 'open space, spaciousness', Ar rawaḥ- 'width between the feet' ¶ KB 1115-7, GB 748, Js. 1457, Br. 719, JPS 533-4, BK I 946-8, Hv. 276, LG 477, BGMR 119 ¶¶ unc.: ÷ Eg MK wāḥ 'live long, endure, dauern' (⇔ Tk. I 396, based on the controversial Belova's law - see Blv. SKES, Blv. VAA) ||| IE *reuH- / *ruH- > NaIE *reuā- / *rū- 'spacious, broad', d. *rewes- 'space; wide' > Av rawaḥ- 'open space, free space', rawas-čarāt- 'living in the open spaces' (of wild animals), KhS rrain 'plain' ||| L rūs (gen. rūr-īs) 'country-side' (⇔ 'town') ||| OIr róe, rói 'field, 'open land' ({Vn.} 'terrain découvert, champ'), ré 'espace (surtout de temps)' ||| Gmc *rūma- > Gt rūm-s 'spacious, wide', ON rúm, OFrs, AS rūm, MHG rūm 'roomy, spacious', ON rúm-r 'spacious', Gt rūm* (gen. rūm-īs), ON rúm 'room, space, place', OHG rūm 'space', NHG Raum, OSx, AS rūm 'room, space', NE room ||| Sl *orv-ьнъ, *orv-ьнъ-ьъ 'even, flat' > OCS равьнъ равьнъ, OR ровьнъ ровьнъ, Uk 'рівний, Blg 'равен, SCr rávan, Cz, Slk rovný, P równy id., 'equal', R 'ровный, Slv raven rávan 'even, flat'; Sl *orv-es- > R ровес-ник, Cz rovesník 'person of the same age', P rowieśny 'of the same age' || ?? Lt † {Ju.} arvas 'free', Pru arwis - "wahr, gewiss" (← *'equal' ← 'even') ||| Tc A, B ru- vt. 'open' ¶ WP II 356, P 874, EI 534 (*^rreuHes- 'open space' ← *^rreuH- '[be] open'), Brl. 1512-3, Bai. 368-9, WH II 454, Vn R 10, 38-9, Vs. 400-1, Vr. 453, Ho. 264, Ho. S 61, Kb. 809, OsS 728, KM 587, Tr. 14, Vs. III 488-9, Glh. 519, En.

144, Tp. P A-D 111-2, LKZ I 323, ≠ Frn. 15-6, Ad. 536-7 ◇ AD GD #30, IS MS 373 (*r^hω^h 'broad': S, IE).

2005. *rV yE (= *rV yⁱ?), a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity > IE *-ēr/*-r̥, 3p ending of the non-active paradigm of the verb (> Ht hi-paradigm, NaIE perfect) > OI -'ur, Av -arə, Tc {KT}: 3p (past I) B -āre, A -ar, 3p (past III) A -ar, B -är, Tc B {Bks.} -āre, L -ēre, -e(:)runt, Phr -aren (both latter forms from *-ēr + *-nt, generalized ending of 3p), OIr -at-ar (3p preterit), e.g. NaIE *wid-r̥ ~ *wid-ēr 'they have seen' > OI vī'dur, Av vīđare id., L vidēre 'they saw'; Tc B kautāre 'they split' (p.), Phr đakar(en) 'they have made', OIr -gádatar 'they prayed' || Ht -ir (3p p.): er-ir 'they arrived' ¶¶ Bks. 238-9, Szem. IEL 243-5, Thr. 432-3, Wtk. GIV § 21, KT 269-70 || **K:** Sv -ār ɖ -är ɖ -ar, -īr, -ēr, -äre, sx. of nominal pl.: Sv UB qanār, f qanāre 'oxen' (↔ sg. qān 'ox'), gezlīr 'sons' (↔ sg. gezal 'son') ¶ Top. SJ 81, GP US 50-1 || ?? **HS:** HEC: Sd {Mrn.} -ri, -re, pl. of adjectives and pronouns: lowōri 'big' pl. (↔ sg. lowo), duč'čuri all' pl. (↔ sg. 'dučču 'all'), kore, korēre, 'kururi 'these' (↔ 'konne, 'kunni 'this') ¶ Mrn. S 26, Zab. MNPC 242ff. || **A:** Tg: WrMc -ri, pl. sx. of nouns: mafa-ri 'grandfathers, ancestors' (↔ sg. mafa), mama-ri 'grandmothers, female ancestors' (↔ sg. mama) || Nn мэрэ-ри accus. pl. of the refl. pr. 'sich, себя' (↔ accus. sg. мэри), as well as pl. in all other oblique cases: dat. pl. мэндүэ-ри (↔ dat. sg. мэндүи), instr. pl. мэндиз-ри (↔ instr. sg. мэндии), etc.; Ul -r(ɭ)/-r(i), marker of pl. possessoris in the nominal forms of reflexive possession ('one's own, свой'): pl. possessoris -ba-r(ɭ)/-bэ-r(i)/-wa-r(ɭ)/wэ-r(i) ↔ sg. possessoris -bɭ/-bi/-ɭ/-i, e.g. kučzmbэr(i) 'knife of several people' (↔ kučzmbi 'one's [sg.] knife'), gɭdawar(ɭ) 'spear of several people' (↔ gɭdat 'one's [sg.] spear') | Ewk, Lm -r, pl. sx. of n-nouns: Ewk, Lm orо-r 'reindeers' (↔ sg. oron), Ewk muri-r 'horses' (↔ sg. murin), Lm hэрка-r 'knives' (↔ sg. hэركان) ¶ Ci. 254-5, Bz. 1024-6, Hrl. 33, Z 872, 874-5, Avr. GNJ I 256-8, Sun. UJ 33-5 || T *-r̥, marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: *m̥i-r̥ 'we' (OT, Az, Qmq, Nog, Uz, ET, Qrg biz, Tk biz, Tkm биз biɖ, Qzq, Qq b̆iz, VTt без бьз, Bsh бьɖ, Alt, Tv bis, Tf b̆i'z, Xk п̆ис p̆is, Shor pis, Yk bihiḡi, Chv эпир e-b̆ir), *si-r̥ 'ye, vos' (OT {Cl} s̆iz, Tk s̆iz, Az, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET siz, Tkm сиз θiɖ, Qzq, Qq s̆iz, VTt сез сьз, Bsh һьɖ, Yk ehiḡi, Chv эсир e-z̆ir); this morpheme is also present in the endings of 1p and 2p of verbs and in the

possessive\predicative markers of 1p (MT XIII *biz olmiz* 'it is we') and of 2p of nomina (ffd. *see* Sev. KS 18-21, Sev. KPr ∇, Dmt. KP 25-32) ¶ Cl. 388, 860, Rs. W 77, 424, Isx. M 208-35, Ra. 163 || pKo *-ri in {S} *ú-ri 'we' > MKo úrí, NKo uri ¶ S AJ 255 [#98], S QK #98, Nam 389, MLC 1238 || ?? J -ra, sx. of pronouns and nouns (denoting human beings) with the meaning of plural and associative plural ('and those connected with ...': *kimi-ra* 'you and the others', *kore-ra* 'those people and others') || ?? U: FU *°-r∇, sx. of collectivity: Chr H/Y {Wc.} *lülper* 'alder-grove, alder-forest' (← *lülpa* 'alder'), Chr H *piſter*, Chr T *piſter* 'grove\forest of lime-trees' (← *piſta* 'lime-tree'), Chr H *tumer* 'oak-forest' (← *tumъ* 'oak') ¶ Lh. PUAS 184, Wc. TNB 15-6 || ?? Y: OY O {Mat.} *миръ* 'we' ¶ IN 310 ¶ This form resembles very much T *mi-í 'we' and pKo *ú-ri id. || D: [1] D *-l∇lr, sx. of nominal pl. (mainly of animate nouns) > Tm -r, -ir, Ml, OKn, Klm, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Gnd, Knd, Png, Krx, Mlt -r, e.g. OTm *makaḷ-ir* 'girls, women', *peḥṭ-ir* 'women', *kēlir* 'relatives', Tm *arasa-r* 'kings' (↔ sg. *arasaṇ*), Ml {An.} *taččar* 'carpenters' (↔ sg. *taččaṇ*), OKn *kaḷlar* 'thieves' (↔ sg. *kaḷlaṇ*), Tl *alluṇḍ-ru* ~ *allu-ru* 'sons-in-law', *dēvaru* 'gods', Klm *kōlavar* 'persons of the Kolami tribe' (↔ sg. *kōlavān*), Klm *mās-ur* 'men', *budiaker* 'old men', Prj *muttaker*, Gdb *muttakor* id., Prj *kummaler* 'potters', *toler* 'brothers' (↔ sg. *tolen*), Nk *tōler* 'brothers' (↔ sg. *tōlen*), Gdb *iler* 'bridegrooms' (↔ sg. *ileṇḍ*), Gnd A *kandīr* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kandī*), Gnd K *aṇer* 'sons-in-law' (↔ sg. *aṇe*), Knd *ṭōṇḍar* 'friends' (↔ sg. *ṭōṇḍa*), Png *kaṛder* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kaṛde*), Kui *āba-ru* 'fathers', *āporu* 'sons', Krx *kukkor* 'boys' (↔ sg. *kukkos*), *ālar* 'men', *mukkar* 'women', Mlt *maqer* 'sons' (↔ sg. *maqeh*), *maler* 'men', *peler* 'women' || [2] D *-(∇)r, pl. ending of the personal gender in dem. pronouns and nouns, e.g. *ava-r (pl. of *avaṇ 'that man') > Tm *avar* 'those people', Ml *avar* 'those persons', Kt *aṽr*, Kn *aṽar*, Tu *ārā* id., Klm, Nkr *aṽr*, Prj, Gdb *ōr* 'those men', cp. Tl *vārū* 'those persons', Knd *vār* 'those men', Kui *āru* id., Krx, Mlt *ār* 'those persons' || [3] D *-r in D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx prs. female -d-ay, Knd non-past -n-ider ¶¶ An. SG 173-7, Zv. CDM I 15-6, Bloch S 8-9, Zv. DL 36 ◇ T *-í regularly goes back to N *í and *ry (< N *r_l∇_ly). D *r is a reg. reflex of a N *r-cluster. It leads us to a *ry-cluster'. But cns. clusters are never found in the word-initial position, which suggests N *r∇y∇. We suppose that this marker of plurality goes back to a N

compound: theme-focalizing N ***r**∇ (q.v.) + N plural marker ? ***yE** (= **y^ʀi^ʀ?**) 'these, they' (q.v.) ◇ Sin. UAP 116-8 (U, A), ≈ Gr. I 110-4 ("plural R(I)" in IE, CK, A, err. Gil [-r in mer 'we' incl., while in fact -r goes back to *-t]).

2006. *sE 'he\she' (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects) > **HS:** S: [1] S *šūpa 'he, that' > Hb אהה hū (spelled hū[?]), Ug hω, {Hnr.} huwa id., Ph, Pun, M'b אהה[?], OA אהה h[?] ~ אהה hω, IA אהה hω (BA אהה hū), Sr W אהה hū, SmA אהה hω ~ אהה hω[?], Ar هو huwa, OSA: Sb ae h[?] ~ aue hω[?] (obl. Tue hω t) 'he', Qt uS אהה (obl. TuS אהה t) 'this', Gz אהה ω אהה tū 'he' (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. *pūp∇-t∇ < *šūpa-t∇), Mh hē, Hrs hah, Jb E/C šε(h), Sq yhe, hye, Ak אהה (gen.-accus. אהה) 'he'; [2] S prn. *šū 'him' (after a verb), 'his' (after a noun), that becomes a sx. in the descendant lgs., with *š > š, h, ∅ in some descendant lgs. > Ak -אהה, BHb -ō ~ -ω ~ -hū, Ug -h, {Hnr.} -hu(:), BA -(e)h ~ -hī, Sr -h ~ -(h)ī, Ar -hu (gen. -hi), Sb -hω ~ -h, Mn -אהה ~ -ש, Qtb -אהה(ω) ~ ש, Gz -hū ~ -ō, e.g. BHb אהה בנה ba'nō 'his son' (< *bi'na-hū < pS *'bin-a šū) and אהה אהה אהה-ω 'his father' alongside with the more conservative variant אהה אהה אהה-ה hū id. (both from *pa'bī šū < *pa'bi šū; [3] S *šīpa 'she, that (f.)' > BHb אהה hī (spelled hī[?]) id., Ph, M'b, OA אהה אהה[?], Pun אהה hū, [Plt.] HY, Ug hū (= *hi₁ya), IA אהה hū (BA אהה hī), Sr W אהה hī, SmA אהה hū ~ אהה hū[?], Ar هي hiya, OSA: Sb ae h[?] ~ aie hū[?] (obl. Tie hū-t), Qt (obl.) TiS אהה-t, Gz אהה אהה tī (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. *pīp∇-t∇ < *šīpa-t∇), Mh sē, seh, Hrs sēh, Jb seh, Sq sε (in the SES lgs. s- for the expected *š- or *h- for unknown reasons: any infl. of the following *ī?), Ak אהה (gen., accus. אהה) 'she'; [4] Similar representations of *š are found in the reflexes of the postnominal and postverbal prn. *šī 'her' (turned to a sx. in the descendant lgs.; [5] OAk אהה st.c. 'that of' (accus. אהה, gen. אהה) ¶ Vg. PP, OLS 170, Hnr. 86, 120, 293, Tal 199-200, 203, MSUS 102-7, Seg. AAG 165-72, GBr. JJAP 88-90, Sd. G §§ 41-45 || Eg -f (< *sω-) 'he' (f- < *sω-, accus. to Dk.'s hyp.) (× N *s|šEω∇ 'oneself, self', q.v.), -s 'she', aut. pronouns: sω t 'he', s t t 'she' ¶ Ed. 70-81, Tk. I 290 (wonders if the change Eg -f < HS *-s^ω was conditioned by a following *-u) || EC {Ss., AD} *pūs-ū 'he' (aut. prn.) ~ {AD} *pīs-¹a id., {Ss.} *pīš-ī 'she' (aut. prn.) > Sa úsūk, Af usuk, Sml isá-gu, Bs usu, Rn {PG} úsú, Arr {Hw.} pū(s)ú / nom. pú(s)su, Or B ísa, Kns íša, Gdl iyū, Gwd úso, HEC {Hd.} *isi (> Sd/Ged/Kmb/Brj {Hd.} isi) 'he', Sa ise, Arr {Hw.} pē(s)sé / nom. pē(s)se, ? Sml iyá-du, Or B íse? / ís-ī, Or Wl íše? / íš-ī, Kns íšē-tta, íše-nna, íše-dḡa, Rn {BL} iš, {PG} ičé, Bs isē, Gwd íso; Arr pēs(s)é 'she', HEC {Hd.} *ise > Sd/Ged/Kmb ise, Hd isi, Brj išī 'she' ¶ Ss. PEC

34-5, Ss. B 106-7, Bl. 170, 174, 240, 247, 253, 297, PG 148, 286, Hw. A 215, Hd. 77, 132, 414 || **I E:** [1] NaIE *s₀ 'he, this', m. nom. (↔ *t₀-T 'it' (ntr. nom.-accus. and *t₀- [non-nominative cases of both masc. and neuter]) > OI s_a, Av h_a, Gt s_a, ON s_á 'he, this' (m. nom.), Tc B s_e 'this' m., Gk df. art. m. nom. ὁ (↔ OI tad, Gt p_at_a 'it, this' ntr., Tc B t_e 'this' ntr., Gk df. art. ntr. nom.-accus. τὸ); OL s_{um} / s_{am} accus. 'this one' ¶ Szem. IEL 202-6, Bks. 202-3, M K III 410, KT 163-4 || [2] **I E** *-s, nom. case ending of the animate gender (> NaIE nom. m., f.) > sg: NaIE *-s > OI [-s] (allophonic variants -h̄, -s, etc.), Gk -ς, L -s, Gt -s, OScn -r, ON -r, Lt -s, etc., e.g. NaIE *w₀k^w₀-s 'wolf' nom. (> OI ('v_rkas), Gk λύκος, L lupus, Gt wulfs, Lt vilkas id.), OScn s_tainar, NaIE *s_ūnu-s 'son' nom. (> OI s_ū'nu-s, Gt sunus, Lt s_ūnu-s), NaIE *neptī-s 'niece' (> OI nap'tis, L neptis); AnIE *-s nom. (animate gender) > Ht, Lw, HrLw, Pal -s, e.g. Ht, Pal aruna-s 'sea', HLw {Mer.} wash_a-s 'lord', Pal anna-s 'mother' ¶¶ Ffd. see Brg. KVG 376-7, Bks. 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, EI 457; for AnIE: Mer. SGA 275-319, Mer. HHG 151, Rsk. 54-5 ¶¶ The nom. form goes back to a nomen with a thematizing focalizer (w₀k^w₀-s nom. 'wolf' ← lit. 'wolf-that = BOKK-TO' = 'as for the wolf') ¶¶ *s₀ (unlike other dem. pronouns and *₀-nouns) has no nominative ending, because *s₀ and the nominative ending *-s are historically identical || **U:** FU *s_E 'he, she' > F h_{än} 'he, she, it', 3s prn., Krl h_ēän, Vo h_{än} ~ h_{än} | Lp: N {N} s_{q̄}n (obl. s_ū-) 'he, she', S {Hs.} s_{ād}ne ~ sadne, Kld {SaR} c_ōHH s_ōn: (accus.-gen. c_ōH, dat.-dir. c_ōHH_ə) 'he, she, it' | Er/Mk s_ōn 'he, she, it' | Prm: Vt s_o 'he; that', ? Z z_iy_z 'he' || Hg ó 'he, she, it' | pObU *θ_E:-n 'they' > pVg *t_ān > Vg: T t_ān, LK/P/NV/SV/LL t_ān, MK ton, UK t_ōn, UL/Ss t_ān | ? pObU {Hl.} *θ_ōw|y 'he, she' > pVg t_āw > Vg: T t_ūw, LK t_āw (accus. t_āw_ə), MK/UK/NV/SV/LL t_āw, P t_āw (accus. t_āw_a), UL/Ss t_āw; pOs φ_ōy 'he, she' > Os: V l_ōx, Vy y_ōx, Ty φ_ex^w, Y φ_ēw ~ φ_ōw, D/K t_ēw, Nz t_ūw, Kz φ_ūw, O luw id.; pOs *φ_ēy ({Hl.} *φ_īy) 'them' > Os: V l_ēx, Vy y_ēx, Ty φ_ēx, D t_ēx, Nz t_īx, B {Ahl.} li ¶ Acc. to Rédei, BF *h- is from *s- in an unstressed syll. The final cns. -n in BF, Lp, and Mr may go back to a very ancient generalization of *-n_∇ of the oblique cases (< N *nu, genitive pc.) ¶ UEW 453 (*s_E), Coll. 80-1, Hs. 118, SaR 547, TI 514-5, Vrt. tables i, iv, Ht. ##114, 125 || **A** *s|š_∇ 'he, this' > T (after stem-final vowels) *-si / *-si 'his\her\their' > OT {Adj., Kondr.} -si / -si, {Gbn.} -si / ?-si, MQp [CC] -si / -si - / -su, XwT/Chg {Eckm.}. OOsM {Mans., Gz.}

-si / -SI, Tk -sĭ / -sĭ / (after stems with labialized vowels) -sü / -su, Az, Ggz, Qmq, QrB -sĭ / -sĭ / -sü / -su, Tkm -θi / -θi, CrTt, Brb {Dm.}, Nog, Qq, SY {Tn.} -sĭ / -sĭ, Qzq -cĭ / -cĭ (-sĭ / -sĭ), VTt -sb / -sb, Bsh {Dmt.} -hb / -hb / -hb̄ / -hb̄, ET, Uz -si, Alt/Qmn {B}, Xk, Shor {BabD} -zi / -zi, QK/Tb {B}, Tv -zi / -zi / -zü / -zu, Chl {Dlz.} -zi / -zi / -zü, Yk -ta / -tä ¶ This T sx. is likely to go back to N *sE 'he\she' + T *-i/-i 'his\her' (< N *yĭ 'he, [?] that' [q.v.]) ¶ Xak. 61 quotes Blgh {Xak.} -sĭ (bälküsi 'his gravestone'), but Bz. HB does not mention this sx., and Erd. 89-90 denies its existence in Blgh; the form bälküsi is probably Qp rather than Blgh ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 94-5, S AJ 196 [#240], Ajd. 144-6, Kondr. 8, Gbn. ATG § 191, Gbn. CC 61, Eckm. ChT 122, Eckm. T 149, Mans. AO 170, Gz. 41, Kon. GTJ 74, Dmt. GBJ 56-7, B DK 79, B DLT 23-4, B DChT 57-9, BabD ShJ 470-1, Dlz. ChTJ 250, Tn. SJJ 51, Xak. 62, Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP √, Sev. KP √, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || pJ {S} *sĭ - 'this' (deictic √) > OJ sŏ-, J: T sŏ-re, K sŏ-ré, Kg sŏi; OJ si > J ŝi (focalizing. pc. and conjunction) ¶ S AJ 268 [#78], S QJ #7, Syr. DJ 155, Kenk. 1644 ¶¶ S AJ 277 [#74], DQA #2145 (A *sĭŝŝ 'this, that, he\she') ||| The genitive case ending in IE and K may belong here as well: IE *-os/*-es (preserved best in the nominal inflection of consonantic stems) > OI -as (gen. of consonantic nouns, e.g. rajñ-as 'king's'), gen. of consonantic nouns: Gk -os, L -is (< IE *-es), Olt -es (ákmen-es 'of stone', móter-es 'mother's', dukter-és 'daughter's'), Lt -s (akmeñ-s, dukteř-s), pSl *-e (e.g. OCS KAMENE kamen-e 'of stone'), Gt -s (gumin-s 'person's'), Ht -as (halkiĭ-as 'of corn') (< the pN deictic *ha or *h'e' + the N pronominal *sE; the meaning of genitive is expressed here syntactically: in groups "noun N₁ + nominal N₂" the noun N₁ functions as genitive, so that the N nominal phrase "N₁ *ha|h'e' sE" means 'N₁ *ha|h'e's he', sc. 'that of the N₁'); very archaic forms are present in heteroclitic nouns: *-nos ~ *-nes in Ht pahhuenas 'of fire', witenas 'of water', Olt wānderenes id., OI yaknas 'of liver' - cp. nom. yakr̥t); the underlying N word group is N₁ + *nu h∇ sE (= *nu gen. + deictic *ha or *h'e' + pronominal *sE = lit. "the N₁'s he", sc. 'that of the N₁'); the deictic pc. and the prn. function here as nominalizers of a phrase (N *'wetê nu h∇ sE literally means 'that of the water') ¶¶ Bks. 115, 173, Stang VG 221, Rsk. 54-64 || K *-iŝ (~ *-ŝ ~ *-aŝ), marker of the gen. case > OG, G -is, -s, Mg -iŝ, -ŝ, Lz -ŝ, Sv -iŝ (~ iŝ), -äŝ (ä -aŝ) id.; the prehistory of this K case ending is similar to

that of the IE one (except for the absence of traces of N ***nu**, sc. noun + N ***h**∇**sE**). Cf. N ***ʷ**¹**iyo** 'which' (rel.) ¶¶ K S 88-93, K 103 ◇ In HS, IE, A, and ObU there may be a coalescence of the pronominal etymon in question with N ***s**|**šE**∇**w**∇ 'oneself' (q.v.). Neither can we rule out some infl. of N ***ćE** 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 7, ≈ Gr. I 99-101 (IE, U, A, Ai).

2006a. ***ś**¹**ü**¹ (> ****śi**) 'thou' (a variant of ***t**¹**ü**¹ [> ***t**¹**i**] 'thou?') > **K**: [1] K ***si**, *^o**si-n** 'thou' > Mg **si**, Lz **si** ~ **sin** 'thou, to thee' (c. rect., erg., dat.), Sv UB/LB/L/Ln **si** 'thou' (indeclinable); OG, G **šen** 'thou' is likely to go back to the OG/G poss. prn. **šen-** 'thy' ¶¶ [2] ***šwen-** 'thy' (< N ***č**¹**ü**¹ 'that of' + N ***ś**¹**ü**¹ 'thou' + N ***nu** gen.) > OG, G **šen-**, Mg **skan-** ~ **skan-**, Lz **skan-** ~ **ckan-**, Sv **isgwi-** ~ **isgu-** ~ **iskwi-** 'thy'; comparison with other poss. pronouns (K ***čem-** 'my', ***čwen-** 'our') suggests that ***šwen-** goes back to pre-K ***č-swen-**, where ***č-** is a marker of poss. pronouns (< N ***č**¹**ü**¹ 'that of, that witch') ¶ K 162 and K² 164 (***sen-** 'thou'), K 216 (***šwen-** 'thy'), K² 250 (***š(w)en-** 'thy'), K 218-9, Marr 29, IS I 6 (***šwe-** 'thy' < ***č-swe-**), Shan. G 51, Top. SJ 83, TK 706, ≠ Gm. SSh 37-40 (Zan **si** from ***šwen** due to morphological analogy) ¶¶ **IE** *-**si** (/ *^o-**sej**?) "primary" ending of 2s (pres. active) > OI, Av, Ht -**si**, Gk -**στ** (ἐστὶ 'thou art'), -**ι** (< *-**si**, e.g. εἶ 'du gehst' < ***ey-si**), L, Gt -**ς**, OCS -**CH** -**si** (**ĭECH** **jesi** 'thou art' < *^o**es-sej**) ¶¶ NaIE *-**s**, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active) > OI -**ς**, Gk -**ς**, Gt -**ς** ¶ Szem. EVS-80 216, Blz. IEPP 10, Bks. VT 276-9, Brg. KVG 590-6 ¶¶ **A**: [1] A ***si** 'thou', gen. ***si-n**¹**ü**¹ > Tg ***si**, gen. ***si****ni** > WrMc **si**, Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn **si**, Neg **sī**, Sln **ši**, Lm **hī** 'thou', gen.: WrMc **si****ni**, Neg **sin**, Sln **šinī**, Lm **hin**, Ul, Ork **sin(i)** 'thy' ¶ Bz. 107-9, STM II 72-3, Krm. 283 ¶ ppT ***si** 'thou' / ***sän-** ~ ***sen-** ~ obl. ***sin-** > Chv эцě e-z_б 'thou' / obl. сан- **san-** (< ppT ***sän**) ¶¶ NaT ***sän** / ***sän-** (with variants ***sen(-)**, ***sin(-)**) 'thou' (for all cases except dat. ***saŋa**) > OT **sän** **ś** **sen** 'thou' (accus. **seni** **ś** **sini**), Tk **sen**, Tkm **θen**, Az, Ggz, ET, Chl **sän**, Qmq, QrB, CrTt, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Uz, Shor, Tv, Tf, SY **sen**, Qmn **sen** ~ **sin**, VTt, Brb, Xk **sin**, Bsh **hin**, Slr **sen** (accus. **seni** ~ **sini**), Yk **än** ¶ Obviously the NaT prn. ***sän** ~ ***sen** ~ ***sin** results from generalization of the stem for the obl. cases that goes back to the A genitive ***si-n**¹**ü**¹ < N ***ś**¹**ü**¹ **nu** (***ś**¹**ü**¹ + marker of genitive). It is not clear why in most T lgs. we find ***ä** in ***sän** for the expected ***i**. It may have been caused by the ass. infl. of the vowel of some case ending followed by generalization of the allomorph ***sän-**

throughout the paradigm of the obl. cases (*see* Doerfer: "Alle Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Deklination der Personalpronomina lassen sich durch Assimilation erklären", Dr. Tbs 214). The original vw. of *si is preserved in the OT Tonyuquq inscription (accus. $\text{sin}\bar{\text{i}}$) and in the ppT prn. of 2p *si-ř (< N *ś'ü' + N *r∇ yE, a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity, q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 86O and Tz. UJS 98 reconstruct $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{z}$ 'you' (pl.) with a long vw. for OT without explicit justification of their conjecture; most probably the reason is the plene spelling سین syz in MhK (OT QU), but even if this length (not confirmed by either Turkic Runic or Uyghur script of OT) did exist in the OT QU prn., it could not go back to pT or NaT - on the ev. of the Tkm reflex (short i in Tkm $\theta\text{i}\delta$). The vw. i in Chv e-z₁r 'you' (pl.) does not necessarily provide ev. of ppT *ī, as shown by M. Räsänen (Rs. MIFTJ 61): among 17 cases of Chv-Tkm corrs. of i-vowels he found only 4 cases where Chv i corresponded to Tkm ī, but 13 cases where the Tkm cognate of Chv i was a short i ¶ Lvt. IM 3O-1, Cl. 831-2, 86O, Rs. W 4O9, 424, Kon. GJTRP 164-6, Ajd. 179, 363, Ashir. OJS 95, B DK 51, Tn. SJ 127-8, Fed. II 481 || pJ {Vv., DQA} *°si > OJ {Mill., ChmU, S} si 'thou, you' ({Mill.} si ga katarake₁ba 'because you say' [Manyoshu 9O4], si ga nakeba 'if you are not [there]' [Nihon Shoki, song 8O]) ¶ Mur. KNND, Mill. JAL 159-6O, ChmU AJV 269, Vv. LDROJ 1O5, Vv. JKAL 6, S QJ #1657 || Korean: Ramstedt proposed to tie in Ko s₁at 'thou' (used between a wife and a concubine of the same man) ({Rm.} < *si-asi?) and Ko sinim, used as a form of address among Buddhists ¶ Rm. SKE 179 ¶¶ DQA #1981 (A *si 'thou' > T, Tg, J), Rm. EAS II 68-73 (hyp. of an original *-n in M *tin, Tg *sin 'thou') || [1a] A *°s'ü'a 'you' (pl.) (< N *ś'ü' ṛa, sc. *ś'ü' 'thou' + pc. of plurality *ṛa) > Tg nom. *s₁ue ({Bz.} *s₁üä) 'you' / obl. *sun- (ffd. *see* below s.v. N *ṭ'ü' ṛa ~ *ś'ü' ṛa) || [2] A *°si (~ *s'īn'ü') in postnominal (probably enclitic) position meant 'thy'; in most modern Tg lgs. it has become a ppa. of 2s: Tg *si > Nn, Ul, Orc - si, Ud -hi, Ewk, Neg, Lm -s, Sln -š(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 1O9-11, STM II 72-3, Krm. 87 || D: Brh -s, verbal ending of 2s subiecti ¶ Bray I 118, 124-7, An. JB 71-8O ◇ The vw. *ü is preserved as labialized in Tg nom. *s₁ue ({Bz.} *s₁üä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *°s₁uen-) 'vos' < N *ś'ü' ṛa ◇ *See* IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, ≈ Palm. LMP 169-74 ◇ In my opinion, the variant *ś'ü' results from assibilation *ṭ- > *ś- due to the palatalizing effect of the vw. *ü' (if not *i); a similar opinion was expressed by Illich-Svitych (IS I 6 and 227). This phonetic change (just as the delabialization N

t̥'ü'** > ***t̥i** and N ***ś'ü'** > ***śi**) was probably conditioned by the grammatical (pronominal) usage of the word. This kind of changes (as., reduction, loss of marked phonemic features) is typical of grammatical\gramaticalized morphemes throughout the world (cp. -śā > -ś and -śā > -sa in R: боялся [ba'ɣalsə] 'I was afraid', боюсь > боюсь [ba'ɣus] 'I am afraid', or in NE: [aɪ̯ hæv 'dʌŋ] > [aɪ̯v 'dʌŋ]; in NE the voicing θ- (initial) > ð- occurred in the pronouns thou, that, this and in conjunctions [though], but not in nouns, adjectives, and verbs, all of them preserving the original θ: thumb, thick, think, etc.). An alt. hyp. is that of Blz. IEPP (t̥|ti** and ***su** are originally different pronouns of the 2nd person, IE ***tū** resulting from the merger of both) ◇ On N ***ś'ü'** ʔa 'ye (vos)' (prn. of 2p) *see below* s.v. ***t̥'ü'** ʔa ~ ***ś'ü'** ʔa 'ye (vos)'.

2007. *ś∇ 'to, towards', directive\inessive postp. > **HS: S: [1] S *-aṣ̌**, directive case ending > Hb -ā (unstressed: הַבַּיְתָה hab'bayt-ā 'home' (direction), הַיְמִינִי yā'mīn-ā 'to the right', הַקֶּדְמִי kədm-ā 'to the East', הָאָרֶץ 'arç-ā 'to the earth, to the land (of Israel)', Ug -h (ending of the directive case), Ak -iš id., **[2] S *-ś'ü'** > Ak -ṣ̌i, dative of pers. pronouns: yā-ṣ̌i(m) 'to me', kā-ṣ̌i(m) 'to thee' (m.) ¶ Dk. SXJ 55-6, Sd. G §§ 41-2, 67, Strn. 103, A U 26 || ? B *s 'towards, by means of' > Ntf s avec, vers', Ah s, əs, Kb s 'pour, vers' ¶ AiM 230 (*s instr.), Fc. 1798-802 || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} -s, -g̣i-s ~ -č̣i-s (dative ending of pronouns: aŵ-s 'to whom', ỵi-g̣i-s ~ ỵi-č̣i-s 'to me', etc.), Aw {Hz.} -s(i), dat.-dir. of nouns, Bln {Hz.} -si dat.-loc. of fem. nouns, Km {Ap.} - (3)ṣ̌, -eṣ̌, dat. of nouns and pronouns (ki g̣en-eṣ̌ 'to your mother', n3gus-eṣ̌ 'to\for the king', ku-ṣ̌3 'to you') ¶ Hz. AL 16-7, Hz. NSA 125, Ap. K 25 || NrOm: Shn {C} -ṣ̌ (dat. and accus.: ta-ṣ̌ 'to me, me'), Wl {C}, Gf {Mrn.} -s (dat.) 'to, for' ¶ C SO 13, Mrn. O 30 ¶¶ Ap. ANH 8 || **K *-s**, dative case ending > OG -s, -s-a, G -s, Mg -s, Mg SZ -s, (after sonorants) -c, Lz -s, Sv -s ¶¶ K S 69-78, Shan. G 36-46, Kiz. 66, Top. SJ 80 || **U *-ś** ~ -ć 'to, towards' > pOs *-ć, directive ending in adverbs: Os D {Stn.} tōχaś, Os O {Stn.} toχaś 'thither' ('dorthin'), Os N {Sz.} n̄+ỵi-ś 'down' (direction), n̄ōỵo-ś 'up' (direction) || Prm *-ẓ̌ ~ *-ẓ̌ 'up to, till' > Vt -o3b -oẓ̌, {Jem.} Δ -3ś or -oś, Z -öd3 -3ẓ̌ || Chr -ṣ̌ 'into, to': kuðe-ṣ̌ 'into (the) hand', ku-ṣ̌ 'wohin', tu-ṣ̌ 'dorthin' || F -s (in adverbs: ala-s 'down' [direction], 'donwards' <ð ala 'ground', ỵlō-s 'up' [direction] <ð ỵli 'over', ulos 'out' [direction] <ð ulko- 'exterior', kauas ~

καυνας 'far away' [direction] - cp. loc. καυκα-να 'far away' [place]), Lv kōgā-z_ 'far away, kauas', ull-z_ 'out' | Mr *-s 'to, towards' (directive): Er -s, Mk -s, -c 'into' (illative ending of nouns), Er mala-s 'near' (direction), 'up to' (cp. mala-v 'near') || Sm *-s (sx. of directive) > Ne F, Ne T Knn -ś (directive → transitive, predicative, essive of nouns): Ne F ruśśi-ś kayyēā 'er ging weg zu den Russen', Ne T/W -ś infinitive; P. Hajdú finds cognate infinitive forms in Ng (-sa ~ -se ~ -si) and in En (-ś(i)), which has not been confirmed by the available grammatical descriptions of Ng and En. Hajdú adduces here the instrumental case ending -sä in Slq (Slq Tz -sä) and -sE in Kms, which is unconvincing, because it is hard to imagine a semantic change from the lative case to instrumental. Kü. SUKF I 147-8 presents an alt. explanation of this Slq and Kms instr. sx. (as well the sxs. of the modal case in NrSm: Ne -ḡāēś, En -ś) as going back to a participial form *∇śE 'being' ¶¶ Sz. 59, Majt. SM 264-6, Fkt. EJ-93 197, Fkt. MJ-93 183, Srb. IMPJ 60-5, Bat. KZJ 221, Kelm. UJ 247, Jem. GVJ 125, Stn. D 1394, Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71, KHG 75 ¶¶ The cns. *-ć (in Os, Z, and Mk) < **-ś originally after a stem-final dental cns. *n, *l, *t (e.g. *-nś > *-nć [n^hś̄]), a natural epenthesis of a clusive dental element between a clusive dental and a fricative, sc. a delay in losing the contact between the lamina of the tongue and the gum (like in other lgs.: MHG uns 'us' > Yid N unʒ, MHG menš 'person' > Yid menč). Mr -s (for the expected -š) is probably due to the final position. If the Lp directive sx. -s belongs here (Lp N vυολas 'down'), its cns. s (for the expected pLp *ć > Lp N č from FU *-ś) is due to coalescence with the translative case ending -s < *-ks∇ (as explained in Krh. 229-30). The Hg lative ending -é / -á (adduced here by Szinnyei) goes back to FU -y (lative ending) rather than here. The alt. hyp. proposed by Hajdú (Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71) and equating Ne -ś and Z -ž with the F prolative -tse, -tsi 'through' and with Mr -ćok is less plausible both semantically and phonetically: F -tse ~ -tsi goes back to the BF prolative affix *-cek ~ *-cen 'through' (Laan. 175-6), so that both the phonetic form and the meaning of the F and the Mr forms do not justify their comparison with Ne -ś and Z -ž 'to' ◇ IS MsN.

2008. (₂?) *S∇ʔ_Ly_L'ŭ' 'be full' > IE: Ht {Ts.} suw- 'full', suwat- v. 'fill (füllen)', md. 'swell, become full' ¶ Frd. HW 200, Ts. W 79 || **HS:** S: Ak šēʔu '≈ polstern' ¶ Sd. 1222 ¶ Ak ē < *aʔi (cp. rēšu 'head' < S *'raʔiš-u, see AD SH 96) || Eg fP sɔʔ 'satt werden \ sein \ machen', Eg

MKL/NK $\varepsilon\bar{\varepsilon}\omega$ 'Sättigung' > DEg $\varepsilon\bar{\varepsilon}$, $\varepsilon\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\varepsilon}$ 'satt werden' > Cpt: Sd $\mathbf{c\bar{e}i\ \bar{\varepsilon}e\bar{i}}$, B $\mathbf{c\bar{i}\ \bar{\varepsilon}i}$ 'be sated' ¶ EG IV 14-6, Er. 406-7, Vc. 182 || ?σ **A**: AmTg: Orc sia, Nn $\bar{s}\bar{e}(n-)$ 'meat dumplings, пельмени' (≡σ: NHb $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'meat dumplings' [lit. 'those filled in, gefüllte']) ¶ STM II 73
 ◇ Because of Eg $\varepsilon-$ and $-\bar{\varepsilon}-$ we have to distinguish between this N etymon and N $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}\nabla\omega\nabla$ 'to swell' (q.v.) (where Eg $\check{\varepsilon}\omega\omega\bar{\varepsilon}$ 'emporsteigen(d), anschwellen(d)' rules out lrs.).

2009. $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}b\nabla$ 'strap, thong' > **HS**: $\mathbf{*}\check{\varepsilon}bb$, $\mathbf{*}\check{o}\check{s}ibb-$ > Ak $\check{s}ibb-$ 'Gürtel, Gürtelschlange', Ar sabab- 'rope' ¶ Sd. 1226, BK I 1038, Hv. 305 || EC {AD} $\mathbf{*}\check{s}e^{\prime}b^{\prime}$ - (~ $\mathbf{*}\check{s}a^{\prime}b^{\prime}$ -?), {Ss.} $\mathbf{*}\check{s}\bar{e}b-$ 'leather strap' > Rn {PG} $\bar{s}\hat{a}b$ 'narrow thong, strap of leather', Or {Ss.} $\bar{s}\bar{e}p\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ id., Dsn {To.} $\bar{s}\hat{a}b$ 'leather strip', Arr {Hw.} $\bar{s}\hat{a}b\bar{i}t$ (pl. $\bar{s}\hat{a}b-\acute{o}$) 'strap, thong', Hr $\check{s}\bar{e}p$ -akko 'leather belt' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, PG 253, Hw. A 391, To. DL 524 ¶ The glottalization in Or $-\bar{p}-$ and the long vw. suggest the presence of a N lrs. (most probably $\mathbf{*}\bar{\varepsilon}$) || **U** $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}\omega\hat{a}$ ({{Coll.} $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}\omega\nabla$, {UEW} $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}\omega\nabla$) 'strap' > OHg $z\bar{i}u\bar{s}$, $z\bar{y}u$ (= [siu]), Hg $\bar{s}z\acute{i}j$ (accus. $\bar{s}z\acute{i}j\bar{a}t$), $\Delta\ \bar{s}z\bar{i}j\bar{u}$, $\bar{s}z\bar{i}v\bar{u}$ 'strap' | ObU {AD} $\mathbf{*}\bar{s}\bar{e}\omega\bar{\varepsilon}$ > pOs {AD} $\mathbf{*}\bar{s}e\bar{\varepsilon}\nabla$ 'draught-strap' > Os: V $\bar{s}e\check{\varepsilon}\bar{a}$ 'draught-strap of a reindeer or a horse; horse's collar, draught-dog's collar attached to a draught-strap', Vy $\bar{s}e\check{\varepsilon}\bar{a}$, Ty $\bar{s}\check{a}\check{\varepsilon}\bar{a}$, Y $\bar{s}\check{a}\check{\varepsilon}\bar{a}$, Nz $\bar{s}\check{i}\check{\varepsilon}\bar{a}$ 'draught-strap of dogs', D $-\bar{s}\check{a}\check{\varepsilon}$ $\bar{\varepsilon}$ $-\bar{s}\bar{a}\check{\varepsilon}$, Kz $\bar{s}\check{i}\bar{\omega}$ - 'draught-strap' || Sm: Ne: T $\bar{c}\bar{a}$, T O {Lh.} $\bar{s}\bar{a}$, F L {Lh.} $\chi\bar{a}$ 'draught-strap' ('Zugriemen, постромка'); Ng {Prk.} $\bar{s}u\bar{a}\eta$ id.; En X {Prk., Ter.} $\bar{s}\bar{a}$ id., En X {Cs.} $\bar{s}\hat{a}$, En B {Cs.} $\bar{s}\bar{o}$ 'Halfter' ¶¶ Coll. 6O, MF 585, Stn. D 1312, Trj. S 425, Lh. 401-2, Ter. 514, Ter. SILSJ 204, Prk. RE 212, Prk. NgJ 56, KP #1316, UEW 493-4 (rejects the Os cognate because it has front vowels, while, acc. to UEW, the pU had back vowels).

2010. $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}u\bar{\varepsilon}b\nabla$ (or $\mathbf{*}\hat{\mathbf{s}}^{\prime}i\bar{\varepsilon}^{\prime}ü\bar{\varepsilon}b\nabla$?) 'clean' > **IE** {EI} $\mathbf{*}\bar{s}e\bar{u}p-$ 'pure, what is taboo for humans' > Ht $\bar{s}u\bar{p}p\bar{i}$ - 'pure', $\bar{s}u\bar{p}p\bar{a}$ - 'flesh\viscera of sacrificed animals' || Um $\bar{s}u\bar{p}\bar{a}$ {EI} 'viscera of sacrificed animals' ¶ Frd. HW 199, Ts. W 78, EI 493 || ? **K**: G $\bar{s}u\bar{p}t\bar{a}$ 'clean' ('sauber, rein, reinlich, frisch'), unless a loan from some Iranian lge, cp. Phl $\bar{s}p\bar{e}d$ 'white' or CINPrs {VI., Sg.} $\bar{s}\bar{a}p\bar{e}d$, NPrs {BM} $\bar{s}\bar{a}p\bar{i}d$ ~ $\bar{s}\bar{a}p\bar{i}d$, $\bar{s}e\bar{p}\bar{i}d$ id. ¶ Chx. 1286, NCh. 372, DCh. 1202, McK 76, SSO II 118, VI. II 215, Sg. 653 || **HS**: WS $\mathbf{*}\check{\varepsilon}p\omega\bar{\varepsilon}$ 'be clean' > Sr $\check{\varepsilon}p\bar{y}$ D vt. {Br.} 'clean, filter', {PS} 'colavit, limpidus factus est', {JPS} 'filter, strain', {PS} d. $\bar{m}e\check{s}\check{t}\bar{a}f\bar{y}\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'purus, mundatus, limpidus', Ar $\check{\varepsilon}f\omega$ G 'be pure, limpid' (of water), 'be clear' (of sky)', Mh $\check{\varepsilon}f\bar{y}$ (pf. $\check{\varepsilon}a\bar{y}f\bar{i}$) 'be clear',

Mh ṣōfi, Hrs ṣāfi, Jb E/C 'ṣofi 'pure, clean' ¶ Br. 635, PS 343O, JPS 482, BK I 135O, Hv. 4OO, Jo. M 359 || U: FU *ś|ṣīwa ~ *ś|ṣiwa 'clean (sauber), fine (hübsch)' > F ṣiivō 'clean (sauber), decent, proper', ṣivā 'hübsch, nett, niedlich', ṣivakka 'smooth, fine, clean (sauber)' || ObU {ḡHL} *°süw|ṣ- > pOs *süṣ- > Os: V süṣ, Ty siṣ^ω, Y {Stn.} siw 'Schönheit', V/Vy {Stn.} süκḡ 'schön' (of a person), Vy süκḡ, Ty/Y sik^ωḡ 'schön' (of things) ¶ UEW 481-2, Stn. 131O, KrT 835, Trj. VD 187 || A: M *°suba|u- > WrM suba- ~ subu-, HIM cyba- v. 'clean', ???σ MM [MA] suba- vt. 'plaster' ¶ MED 733, Pp. MA 326 || ?φ Tg *si¹b¹e- > Ork sīw3- vt. 'clean (a pipe), pick (one's teeth)', Nn si(y)3si- vt. 'clean (a pipe, between the teeth)', Neg siy3lg3-, Ul si3si3- vt. 'clean' ¶ STM II 8O ◇ A hypothetical N *-?u|ü- may be responsible for the vw. u in Ht, G, and M, as well as for the vl. *p and the glottalized *ç in S. Alt. explanations of this u: the ass. infl. of *b or a pN *ü An alt. pN rec.: *śüb▽ with delabialization in U and Tg.

2011. ?σ *śah¹i¹b▽ (or *śahüba??) 'desert; saline earth' > HS: S *°ś|shb- > Ar sahb- {BK} 'vaste désert', esp. 'désert salé', {Hv.} 'wide desert' ¶ BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || ?? EC {Ss.} *zib- 'desert' > Sa {R} dib-ō, Af {R} dūb-u, Sml B {Fl.} dib-id, {Mrn.} dib-ad 'desert', Rn {PG} yīb 'uninhabited land, wilderness', Sd {Mrn.} dūbb-ō 'forest', (×LEC *ḡiP- 'narrow', represented by Or {Sr.} ḡiṗū 'narrowness' ← ḡiṗō 'narrow' < N *ḡiṗâ 'be narrow, be compressed'): Or {Th.} dib-u ~ ḡiṗ-u 'valle, vallata, gola', {Brl.} ḡiḡu 'valle, depressione, strettoia' ¶ Ss. WOKS 14O, Th. 1O, Brl. 11O, PG 299 ¶¶ EC voiced *z- is puzzling; therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects the S-C comparison || D *ç|kava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (×N *ḡap▽ v. 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' ×N *śab¹?▽ 'clay') > Tm cavaṭu 'earth impregnated with soda, alkaline soil, sediment; fuller's earth', Tu cavaḡu, cavaḡu 'brackish, saline', Tl cauḡu 'fuller's earth' ¶¶ D #2386 || U: *ś|śoywa 'soil, clay' > Lp T {TI} čuḡve, Lp Kld {TI} čuḡyә 'Ton, Lehm' | Prm {LG} *śoy 'clay' > Z cěj śoy, Z US śoy, Yz 'śuy id., Vt cюй śuj, Vt G śuy 'soil, clay' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} sö 'earth, soil; clay', {Cs.} sō 'Ton, Erde, Lehm', MO/Ke {Cs.} sūe, B/Kar sū id.; Koyb {Ps.} se 'Ton' ¶¶ UEW 483, LG 252, KKI 171, Cs. 161, 247, 290 || A: ?φ NaT *say 'stony desert; stony ground, pebbles' > OT {Cl.} sāy 'stony desert', 'an area of level ground covered with stone', Tf say 'pebbles; a spit (Landzunge) of pebbles and small

stones in a river', Xk, Alt say 'pebbles, shallow place in a river', Tv say 'pebbles', 'shallow', Ln say 'pebbles; stony river-bed', Qrg say 'dry river-bed; wadi (dry in summer)', Chg ≥XV čay 'a river that flows in the winter and is dry in the summer', Qzq, ET say 'ravine', Tkm say 'shallow' ¶ The long *ā (supposed by Cl on the basis of *plene* spelling سبای in MhK) is at variance with the Tkm ev. of a pT short *a ¶ Cl. 858, DTS 481, TL 93, Ra. 225, TvR 362, BT 123, Jud. 621, Rl. IV 219-20 ¶ The loss (or zero reflex) of the N *-b- is still to be explained || ? AdS of pJ {S} *sápa 'bog, marsh' (< N *śabʔʔ ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The FU vw. *o (for the expected *a) may point to a labializing factor (*ü in N *śahüba?) or be due to the labializing infl. of FU *w. The aberrant meaning of U *ś|šoywa 'soil, clay' is due to the infl. of the U paronymous √ *śawe 'clay' [UEW 468] < N *śabʔʔ ▽ '↑' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #11, S CNM 9 (does not accept the et.), Vv. AEN 12 (accepts T *say as a cognate).

2012. *śabʔʔ ▽ 'clay' > HS: Ch: WCh *saḅ- ({{OS}} *sap-) 'soil' > Hs šàḅúwá 'unfertile land, sandy soil' ||| CCh *saḅ- ({{OS}} *sap-) > Bcm soḅo nodwe 'clay' ¶ ChC, Abr. H 705-6 || EC *subʔ- ~ sibʔ- 'mud' > Rn {PG} súb 'watery mud', Or {Grg.} sup-ē 'clay', Gln {Ss.} sip-te 'loam' ¶ Ss. PEC 53, PG 267, Oo. 70, Grg. 365 ¶¶ OS RPV I 81 [#101] (adducing Ar suhb- 'plain', which in fact belongs together with sahb- 'saline desert', see N ?σ *śahʔiʔb ▽ 'desert; saline earth') ||| **U:** FU *śawe 'clay' > F saṽi (gen. saṽen) 'clay', Es saṽ (gen. saṽe, saṽa), Es Δ saṽi (gen. saṽe) id. | Er сѣвонь ѡвонѣ, Mk сѣвонь ѡвонѣ id. | Chr L/H шун šun, B šun id. | Prm {LG} *śun 'clay, silt' > Z сун śun 'blue clay, gley; silt', Vt {W} śuned 'silt', ? StVt сумед id. ||| ObU {HL} *sāʔwāʔ 'clay (Lehm)' > pVg {HL} *śuwaʔ id. > Vg: T soṽí, UK/MK/LK sūí, UL/Ss sūíi; pOs {HL} *soṽí, {HL} sāṽí 'clay (Ton)' > Os: V/Vy sāṽí 'clay mud, marshy clay', Ty sāṽí 'earth, clay', Y sāṽí, Kr sāṽa, Kz sōṽí 'clay' ¶ UEW 468, Coll. 112, Db. OS xi, Ker. II 147, LG 252, 274, Réd. rLG 426, Ht. #580, Trj. S 418, Hl. rHt 74. ||| **A:** pJ {S} *sápa 'bog, marsh' (× N ?σ *śahʔiʔb ▽ '↑' × A *śípa 'clay; to smear' < N *śiwʔʔa [or *śiwga] 'to smear') > OJ sápa bog, marsh', J: T saṽá, K sáṽà, Kg sáṽa id.; pJ *sapa-s- v. 'dip, smear with laquer' > ItOJ saṽa-s-, J T sawas- ¶ ≈ S QJ #463, Mr. 20, 748 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2011 (pJ < A *śípa 'clay; to smear') ||| **D** *čava 'brackish\saline earth' and D *č|kav- 'fuller's earth, sediment' (× N ?σ

*śah'i'b∇'↑', q.v. ffd. × N *ĉap∇ v. 'clay; to smear, to moisten', q.v. ffd.) ◊ Gr. II #272 (*siba 'mud') (U, A, J, Ai).

2013. *sib∇∇ 'beast of prey' > HS: S *° ✓š|sbŋ > Ar sabuŋ- ~ sabŋ- ~ sabaŋ- 'big beast of prey' ¶ Ln. 1297, BK I 1045, Hv. 307 || A: Tg *sibi'g'e 'beast of prey' > Ewk Tng siwigẽ ~ hiwigẽ 'wolf', Ewk A siwiy3 'bear', Lm Ol h3wy0 ~ h3wy3, Lm O h3w3y3 id., Orc sīwi (name of a mythical dog) ¶ STM II 75 || M {DQA} *°sibor > HIM шовор 'panther' ¶ Luv. 655 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2571 (A *zībe 'e predator' > incl. M, Tg) || D *ci∇∇ŋki 'leopard', 'hyena', and sim. (× N *ĉ'i'b∇∇∇ - *ĉ'i'b∇∇∇ 'hyena' × N *zīw∇m∇∇gE 'leopard') > Tm civiŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiŋŋi 'hunting leopard', Kn sivaŋgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civãgi, civvãgi, civvaŋgi, sivãgi, sivaŋhi, sivvaŋgi 'hyena' ¶¶ D #2579.

2014. *ś'o'b∇,ŋt∇ (or *s∇b∇,ŋt∇) 'stem, piece of wood' > HS: S *šab,ŋt- 'staff, stick, rod' > AncHb *šabεt (BHb [Mas.] טַבָּעַת 'šebεt, paus. טַבָּעַת 'šābεt, pl. šabā't-īm, BHb (BbV) 'šaba't, BHb (GrSc) [Or.] σαβτ 'rod, staff, club, sceptre', BA šab'at* or šab'εt* (pl. cs. 'šib,ŋtē) 'stem', SmA טַבָּעַת 'šab't 'staff', Sb d. šab't (?) 'beating (bastonnade)', d. šab't n. 'stroke, blow (as punishment)', Ak šabbitū 'staff, sceptre'; S ⇨ Eg N šbd 'stick for beating', (EgSSc) {Hlk.} šá-b-d, šá-ba-da 'staff', {Alb.} ša-ba-t > DEg šbt 'stick', Cpt B/Sd ѡѡѡѡ šbōt id. ¶ BHb [Mas.] e in 'šebεt is not original, it may have been influenced by the paronymous word טַבָּעַת 'šebεt 'tribe' with an original e < *i (F Hb ⇨ Ar sib't- 'Jewish tribe') ¶ KB 1291, 1787, GB 801, BDB 986-7, Yv. II 833, Brø. 145, BH IV 276, Tal 863-4, BGMR 123, Sd. 1119, EG IV 442, Alb. VESO 39, Er. 499, Crum 554, Vc. 258, Hlk. #220, SivCR 85 || K *°s|šwet- 'pillar' > OG suet-i 'column' (suetita ḡr ublisaγta 'in columna nubis', ψ 98.7), G sve't-i 'pillar, column' || ?σ,φ (if ← 'stalk'): OG {Abul.} βῆζῆρον sṭwiri 'tube\pipe (musical instruments)', G sṭviri 'reed-pipe', 'pipe (musical instrument)'; Sv {TK} (← G?): UB sṭwīr 'pipe (musical instrument), tube', LB sṭwir 'tube', L sṭwīr 'barrel (of a gun)' ¶¶ Abul. 403-4, Chx. 1218, Ni. s.v. стволъ, DCh. 1166, 1194, TK 710, GP 259 || IE: [1] IE *sp∇t- (× N *śab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood?') > Ht ispatar (oblique stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) ≈ spit, spear, needle' > AS spitu 'spit' (> NE spit), OHG spiṣ id., MHG spiṣ 'spit (Bratspieß)', NHG

Spieß 'spear, spit', NNr spīta 'Pflock', spit 'Spitze', OHG spizzi 'spitz, pointed', spizzi 'Spitze, Bergspitze', spizzā 'Spitze, Stachel, Pfahlwerk', NHG spitz 'pointed', Spitze 'point, spike, extremity' || Lt Δ spitnā, spitulē 'buckle pin' ('Dorn an der Schnalle'), spītē id., 'needle' || ? L cuspis, -dis 'point (of a spear), spear; spit' (< a cd. with a controversial first element, e.g. {Prs.} *kud-spīd-, *kuri-spīd- or sim.) ¶ Frn. 875, WH I 318, Prs. WFI 409, ≈ EM 161 (cuspis ← an unknown source), Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 937-8, OsS 853, KM 726, 728, Frn. 875, Pv. I-II 450-1 || [2] NaIE mt. *ste_ib^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree' (× N *č_iib[∇] 'stem of a tree, log', q.v. ffd.) || ? A: NaT *sögüt 'tree' (if from **söwüt) > OT U sögüt, Chg [San., MA] sögüd 'tree', OT QU [MhK] sögüt 'willow', Tki söget, Osm {Bu.} söüd, Az söyüd 'willow, pussy-willow', Tk sōğüt 'willow', Tkm θōvüt 'willow' (generic name of different trees of the genus Salix: 'willow, brittle willow, тальник [purple willow]'), Qrg sögüt '∈ kind of a purple willow', ET sögät 'willow, Salix alba', Shor sōt 'willow', Xk sōt, Yk ūōt 'willow, purple willow (тальник)', CrTt sügüt 'poplar' ¶ Cl. 819, Bu. I 648, Äz. 273, TkR 587, Jud. 657, Nj. 518, TL 126 || ? Tg *so_iba (× N *šapE_ih_iη[∇] 'log, trunk of a tree') > Neg sōwa ~ sōya 'stick used to hang a tea-pot over the fire', sōwalá- ~ sōyalā- 'drive/run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh sōwōča 'landmark, sign' ¶ STM II 103, Pt. NR 117 ◇ If Sv s_iwīr is an inherited cognate (rather than a loan from G), the K √ is *swet_i-, so that the N etymon must be *ś^roⁱb_i∇_it[∇]. The same is true if Tg *so_iba belongs here. If both qu. cognates are rejected, we remain with an unspecified N *ś|s-. On IE *sp- < N *S∇b- see Introduction, 2.2.10.

2015. 2 *ś^rA^rčⁱ∇ '∈ stinging insect' > HS: EthS: Gz šāšūt, šāšöt, šāšēt 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr šašot 'gnat', as well as Amh čzčat 'gnat' (with infl. of the EthS reflexes of N _i ≈ *ž_iU_nčⁱU [or *ž_iU_nč_iU?] 'ant, stinging insect?') ¶ LG 564-5, LEDH 50 || ?? C: o_iBj {R} žāžo 'Mücke, Gelse, Mosquitto' (unless to N _i ≈ *ž_iU_nčⁱU [or *ž_iU_nč_iU?] '↑', q.v.) ¶ R WBd 104 || U: FU (in FV only) *ś|šās|ške ~ *ś|šās|ške 'mosquito, gnat', > F sääski (gen. sääskē) id., F Δ sääksi id., Es sääsk (gen. sääse) 'mosquito, gnat' | pLp {Lr.} *ćōškz id. > Lp: N {N} čuoi'kâ, S {Hs.} tjuojke, L {LLO} tjuoi'hka, I {It.} čūōska, Kld čūš:k id. | pMr {Ker.} šāškə > Er сеське šeške, Δ śiškā, Mk сяське śāškə id. ¶ UEW 771, Lgc. #750, Lr. #212, Hs. 1345, Ker. II 139 ◇ o₁ or o₂?

2016. *Sač'u' (or *ś'ä'č'u') 'scatter, spread about, pour' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'to winnow, to sift') > HS: B: Ah əssəs 'filtrer, passer au filtre (un liquide)' ¶ Fc. 1866 || WCh {S} *čič'v k v. 'filter, sprinkle' > Ngz {Sch.} čč'č'kú v. 'strain, filter', Bks {J} čič'č'ak v. 'filter (beer), sprinkle' ¶ Sch. DN 29, J R 140, Stl. ZCh 192 [#429] || IE: Ht sesar iya v. 'filter, strain', sesar u 'sieve' (× N *Suří '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain') ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 || U: [1] FU (in ObU only) *očač'v- > ObU {Ht.} *čāč'- 'pour out, sweep' > pVg *šāš'- 'pour out' > Vg: T šāš-, LK/P/NV/SV/LL šōš-, UL sōs-, Ss sōs- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čač'- 'fegen' > Os: V/Vy čač-, Ty/Y čāč'- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čač'am- 'pour out' > Os: V/Vy čač'am-, D/K čoč'am-, Nz/Kz šōš'am-, O sas'am- ¶ Ht. #89 | [2] ?σ FU *śāčä- 'pour out', *śāčä flood, high water level in lakes\rivers' > pOs *seč'- ({Hl.} *sāč'-) > Os: Vy seč'- 'rising water, flood in late summer', seč'am- v. 'rise' (of level of water), 'flood', V seč'-yōŋk 'ice remaining on the bank after sinking of water' (lit. 'flood-ice') || pLp *čācē 'water' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaadsie, U {Schl.} tjaah'tsē (Lp M {Schl.} 'tj_ācē), Kld {SaR} чāдзъ, {TI} čāž 'water', N {N} čacce / -āž- id., 'level of water in a river\lake' ¶ UEW 469, Coll. 7, Lr. #115, Lgc. #498, Schl. 136, Hs. 1289, Gn. 753, SaR 385-6, TI 649-50 || A *s'a'č'u-, {Pp.} *sac'v 'scatter' ('ausstreuen') > NaT *saç- 'ausstreuen' > OT sač'- id., Tk sac-, Tkm θač-, Qmq, QrB čač'- 'spread about, scatter', Qq šaš'- id., 'sprinkle', Uz sōč'- id., vt. 'pour', Nog, Qzq šaš-, ET sač'- ~ čač-, Qrg, Qmn/QK/Tb {Rl., B} čač'-, Alt čač'-, Sg/Qb {Rl.} sas-, Tv čaž-, ? Yk is- v. 'sprinkle, strew, sow' ¶ Cl. 794-5, Rs. W 392, Rl. III 1905-6, IV 389-90, 395, B DK 267, B DChT 164, B DLT 221 || M *sač'u- > MM [MA] sači- ~ čači- 'pour out (ausschütten), sprinkle', WrM sacu- ~ cacu-, HIM caца- v. 'sow, strew, scatter, spread, sprinkle, spray', WrO sacu- 'strew, scatter, sow', cacu- 'strew, scatter, broadcast', Kl {KRS} цацх cac'x'x', {Rm.} cac'a-x'α 'to strew, to scatter, to sprinkle', Mnr H {SM} saž'i-, Dg {T} čači- 'strew, scatter, sprinkle, sow'; ⇨ M *sač'u-ra- 'be spread, scattered' > WrM sacu-ra-, HIM caцpa- id., 'be sown', Mnr H {SM} saž'ira-, {T} saž'ira-; M ⇨ WrMc cacu- 'sprinkle (wine, water on flowers, etc., as sign of friendship or worship)', Ewk çaçu- 'sprinkle' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 314, MED 156, 655, Krg. 392, 618, KW 423, KRS 628 SM 317-8, T 357, T DgJ 181, Z 826, STM II 386-7 || ?φ Tg ɭ†*çiçe- 'sprinkle' > Ewk Brg çič'w̄- id., Nn Nh čič'ik̄l̄- 'spatter wine from one's fingers as a sacrifice to spirits'; but not here (⇔ DQA) WrMc sise- v. 'sift',

siseku 'sieve' (obviously loans from M *sigsi- v. 'sift', *sigsigür 'sieve', see MED 702-3, STM II 99), hence the pTg rec. {DQA} *š'e'še- is unj. ¶ STM II 386-7 || pJ {S} *sásá-k- ṽ *-ya- 'pour' > OJ s_Lu_Ló_Ls_Lu_Lók-, J: T/Kg sosóg-, T sòsog-, K sósóg- ¶ S QJ #364, Mr. 756 ¶¶ Pp. VG 6, ≈ DQA #2159 (A *šéčò 'scatter, pour out'; incl. T, M, Tg, J) ◇ ObU *č- and Tg *ç- may be due to as.: N *S...č̣ > ObU *č...č̣, Tg *ç...ç̣, so that the rec. of pA *š- is not necessarily valid ◇ If FU *šäčä is a legitimate cognate (in spite of the questionable semantic connection), the N rec. is to be *š'ä'č'ü'. Otherwise the initial sibilant remains unidentified (N *Sač'ü') ◇ IS MS 368 *śač'ü ṽ s.v. 'сыпать' (U, A).

2017. *s|šæd (or *s|šid?) 'lower part' > HS: S: Ug ṽšd, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ṽišdu 'leg'; Ak išdū 'base, foundation' (× S *wisād- 'base' > BHb ya'sōd id., Ar wisād- 'cushion, pillow') ¶ OLS 5, Hnr. 111, CAD VII 232, Sd. 393 || CCh: BB: Gude {Mch.} sūda, Nz {Mch.} šūḏe, BtZ {Mch.} šūḏo 'leg' ¶ JI II 221 || Eg G s t ~ s t y 'Osiris's leg' ¶ EG IV 325, 334 || U: FU *os|šeläḏ|ṽ (or *os|šid|ṽ) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl, {Hl.} *θäl 'low' > pVg *tälk^w id. > Vg: T tälk^wī ḏ tälkī, LK tälk^wəṽtälak^w, MK tälk^w, UK tälk^wa, NV tälka, SV/LL tälk^wa, UL/Ss talk^wa id.; pOs *ḏel id. > Os: D/Nz tet, Kz ḏeḏ, O lel ¶ Ht. #135 || A: pJ {S} *sítá > OJ sítà, J: T síta, K sítá, Kg sítā '(the place) below' ¶ S AJ 272 [#227], S QJ #227, Mr. 527.

2018. *šid 'sprinkle, pour' > HS: CS *□✓šdy > JA [Trg.] ✓šdy|w G 'sprinkle, pour', JEA {Sl.} ✓šdy G id. (× ✓šdy|w 'throw, cast' < N *š'ayū'd 'throw'), Ar ✓sdy G (pf. sadiya, msd. sady-) 'être humide par suite d'une abondante rosée' ¶ Js. 1524, Lv. T II 456, Sl. 511, BK 1073 || Eg fOK s t y 'pour out (ausschütten)', Eg fP s t y 'pour, pour out (liquid)' ('gießen, ausgießen'), Eg NE/L s t y 'sprinkle' (× N *č'ü'tṽ [or *č'ü'tṽ?] 'throw, fling, pour?') ¶ EG IV 328-9 ¶ The devoicing *d > t may be accounted for by the infl. of N *č'ü'tṽ || A: NaT *siḏ- 'urinate' > OT siḏ-, [MhK] سید ~ سد siḏ- id., MQp siy-, Tkm сий- θiy- (/θī-), Uz, ET, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Az siy-, Qzq си- si-, Osm سيمك si_Ly_L-(mek) id., Tk siy- 'urinate' (of dogs, cats), Ggz d. sī-dik, Tv sidik 'urine', Xk sude-, SY siz- ~ sez- 'urinate' ¶ Cl. 799, Rs. W 421, Rh. 1103, Ml. ZhU 101-2; Clauson (l.c.) reconstructed a long i probably on the apparent ev. of Tkm θī-, but the ev. does not exist, because Tkm ī is obviously equivalent to *-iy- (where *-y- < *-ḏ-) ||

?ϕ M *sadara-, *sadagana- > WrM sadara-, sadagana-, HIM садра-, садгана- 'leak heavily over a wide surface' ¶ *sa- < *si- by as. ¶ MED 655 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2122 (A *suda 'spit out, spurt' > M) || D (in SD) *čel|it̥- ({}GS} *s-) 'sprinkle' > Tu śeḍi ~ teḍi 'sprinkling', śeḍipini, śeḍḍiyuni v. 'sprinkle with fingers', Kn siḍi v. 'be scattered' ¶ D #2758 ◇ M *a of the first syll. may be due to regr. as.

2019. *sa^hida 'to take aim', 'to direct (e.g. a weapon) straight to the aim', (→ ?) 'to hit (the goal)' > HS: S *^o✓šdy ~ *^o✓^ršdd (× S *✓šdy 'throw') > IA, Plm ✓šdy G 'shoot', Ar ✓sdd G (ip. -sidd-) 'hit the right point', D (pf. saddada) 'direct (sth.) aright, point (a spear) at', 'diriger, pointer en ligne droite (un lance, etc., contre qn.)'; Ar ✓sdd ⇨ Mh, Jb E/C ✓sdd v. 'aim (a goal)' ¶ HJ 1111, ≈ Br. 757-8, BK I 1073-4, Hv. 314 || IE: NaIE *se|o_iḍ^h- / *si(:)ḍ^h- / *səḍ^h- 'go straight to a goal\aim' > OI ✓sādh- (prs. sādhati) id., 'attain an object, succeed', 'sidhyati 'kommt zum Ziel' (i < NaIE *ə), Av -hād- 'lenkend, leitend, zum Ziele führend' || Gk τήύς 'straight (to the goal), direct' || Arm ազ až 'right (dexter); right hand' || Phr σιδετο 'succeeded, achieved' || ? W hawdd 'easy, feasible' ¶ WP II 450, P 892, M K III 456, M E II 722-3, F I 716 (NaIE *sāiḍ^h-/*sīḍ^h-), ≈ EI 228 (the above words < *seh_i(i)- 'go forward, advance') || U: FV *satta- 'geraten, treffen, eintreffen' > F satta- 'schaden, beschädigen', lādieren', Vp sata-tada 'hurt by hitting, bruise (some place of one's body)'; F sattu- 'hit (the mark), happen', Es {Tamm, Slv.} sattu 'hit (the mark)', 'find oneself (somewhere)' ('geraten') || Er сато- sato-, Mk сато- sata- 'be enough; fall to one's share', {UEW} 'zureichen, hinreichen, genügen' ¶ UEW 753-4, Tamm 526, Slv. 326, ZM 498, ERV 570, Ker. II 132 ◇ The IE lr. (evidenced by NaIE *səḍ-) is likely to go back to N *h, because *h and *ʔ are the only lrs. that can be lost in S and because *ʔ is usually not preserved in NaIE as *ə.

2020. (₂?) *Sid_{LY}∇r∇ (~ *Sid∇r_{LY}∇) 'to shovel, to sweep' > A: NaT *siḍir- v. 'sweep, shovel, strip'; the meaning 'sweep, shovel' is preserved in Ggz siyir- v. 'shovel', Qq siyir- v. 'sweep', Tkm θīr- v. 'wipe off (tears)', Uz sidir- v. 'sweep off', OT co-operative sidriš- v. 'help to sweep off and to shovel up (the snow)'; the meaning 'strip' is represented in many lgs.: OT siḍir- v. 'strip, peel, scrape', Osm siyir- ~ sir-v. 'tear, peel off, strip off', Tk siyir-, Az siyir- 'strip off, peel off', Ggz siyir- v. 'strip', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt siyir, VTt sḍḍḍr, Δ sḍḍḍr-,

Qmq *sidir-*, Uz *sidir-* vt. 'strip, bark', Qrg *sidir-* 'scrape off, tear off by handfulls', Xk *sizir-* 'scrape off, strip off'; Qrg, Qmq *sidir-*, VTt *sɔdɔr*, and Uz *sidir-* (with *-d-* for the expected *-y-*) may be either loans from some *-d-*languages (where T **-δ-* > *-d-*) or result from assimilative devoicing (**-δ-* > **-t-*) ¶ Cl. 802-3, TrR 775, Hüs. 279, Rh. 1198, TkR 600, 608, MM 311, KrkR 601, UzR 365, Jud. 674-5, 678, KumRS 292, BIG 206, TTDS 379, Rs. W 414 || M **sidur-* > WrM {Rm.} *sidur-* 'abhobeln', {MED} *šudur-* v. 'tear off, peel off', Kl *šudar-* 'scrape, scrape off', Brt *шудар-* 'scrape' ¶ KW 367, KRS 682, STM II 79, MED 757 || | K **ōštχar / *ōštχr-* v. 'dig' > Sv L {Dn.} *štχar-/štχr-* 'dig, dig up (рыть, вскопать)' (msd. *lištχre*, inv. / 2s aor *aχ-štχar*) (× GZ **tq|χar-/tq|χr-* < N **tAřq∇* '≈ make an incision, dig', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ K² 77-8, K 176-7 (**(s₁)tχar-/*(s₁)tχr-*), Dn. s.v. *štχar*, cp. FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (**tχar-/tχr-*) || | ?σ IE: NaIE **ster₁ə₁-* v. 'rob' (← v. **'strip, shovel'?*) > Gk *ἀπο-στερέω* v. 'rob, despoil', Gk A/I *στερίσκω* id., Gk *στερέω** (attested in 3s inv. *στερείτω*, ft. *στερήσω*, *στερῶ*, and aor. *ἐστέρησα*) v. 'deprive, bereave', *στέρομαι* v. 'be without, lack, lose' (← **'be robbed'*) || | OIr [γ] *serb* 'theft, plunder' (< **ster-wā*) ¶ WP II 636, P 1028, EI 543 (**ster-* 'steal'), F II 792-3, Vn. S 90-1 ◇ This is one of the K roots that may suggest the law: pre-K **st, *št, *št* > K **št* (= {K} **(s₁)t*) > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd, e.g. S **šašarat-* → K **ašt-* 'ten', S **χamišat-* → K **χušt-* 'five', N **š∇t∇w∇* 'cold weather' (> S **šitaw-* 'winter') > K **štow-* v. 'snow' (→ **štow|-* 'snow'), N **kUšd∇* 'chop, cut' > K **kwešt-* id., N **d∇št∇* 'moon' > K **d|tušte-* id. (cf. FU **täštä* 'star; sign'), a.o. On IE **st-* < N **S∇d-* see Introduction, 2.2.10.

2021. *sagæ (= **sage*?) 'obtain, hold' > IE: NaIE **seǵ^h-* 'hold, seize, win (in a battle)' > OI *'sahatē* 'overcomes, conquers, wins', Av *haz-* 'sich bemächtigen, gewinnen' || | Gk *ἔχω* (aor. *ἔ-σχον*), *ἴσχω* (< IE **si-sǵ^he/o-*) v. 'hold, have' || | Gt *sigis* (accus. *sihw* or *sihu*), ON *sigr*, AS *siȝor*, OHG *sigu*, NHG *Sieg* 'victory' || | Clt.: Gl *sego-* (in proper names) '≈ win', {Billy ← Evn.} 'power, strength', W *hy* 'kühn' → 'bold, impudent', OIr *seg* 'force, vigueur' ¶ WP II 481-2, P 888-9, EI 123-4 (**seǵ^h-* 'hold fast, conquer'), Mn. 1118-20, M K III 450-1, Brtl. 1705, Bai. 466, F I 602-4, Fs. 419, Vr. 474, Ho. 29, Kb. 850, Schz. 251, KM 707-8, Vn. S 68, YGM-1 288-91, Billy 135 || | U **saæ-* 'obtain, receive, reach' (→ 'arrive, come') (× N **ša?e₁ŋ₁k∇* or **še?a₁ŋ₁k∇* 'be near, approach' [q.v.]) > F, Es *saā-* v. 'get, receive', F Δ *saā-* v. 'come, arrive'

|| ? Lp: Kld {TI} s_āk:ǎ-ǔ, T {TI} s_āk:ǎ-ǔ, Kld {SaR} соагкэ v. 'procure, catch' ('anschaffen, fangen'), K {Gn.} s_ākke- id., 'give birth to' || pMr {Ker.} *s_āǎ- v. 'obtain, take' > *s_āǎ-/*s_āvǎ- > Er с_{ае}-мс s_{ае}-, Mк с_{яво}-мс ś_āvǎ- id.; pMr {Ker.} *s_āǎ- v. 'come' > Er/Mk с_а-мс s_а- id. || pChr {Ber.} *š_u- v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L ш_у- 'аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/Y/V š_u- id., Chr H {Ep.} ш_о-аш 'reach (by going), catch up with' || pPrm {LG} *s_u- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt с_ут_ыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z с_у- s_u- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} *t_ĉь|ǎy_wъ- (~ *t_ĉь|ǎy_wǎ-?), {Hl.} *t_ĉь|ǎy_wа v. 'reach, arrive' ЫNe T тэвǎ-с_ь 'reach (a place), catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} tǎeβ·ǎ, Ne F {Lh.} tǎe·β:ǎś 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} t_ō-, {Cs.} т_{ае}во ~ т_{ое}во? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s prs.) tu_lǎm ~ t'_ulǎm 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tuǎ' š_ōβ_jǎm 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *t_{ay}βз- (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} хадаЙбага 'death' ← х_а- 'die') ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 429-30, It. #37, SK 932-4, Gn. 930, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [##339-40], Ber. 68 [#358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh. 479-80, KD 74, Hl. M #942 || A *š_āga- ({ADb.} s_āga-) v. 'extract (sth. for oneself), milk' (← *'reach, obtain') > T *s_āg- id. > OT с_аǎ- v. 'milk (an animal)', Tk с_аǎ- v. 'milk, extract honey from a beehive', Tkm θ_аǎ- v. 'milk, suck out', Az, ET, Xk, SY, Tv с_аǎ-, Uz со_ғ- с_аǎ-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Kr с_аǎ-, Bsh h_аǎ-, Ggz, Qrg, Alt s_ā-, Slr A с_аǎ-, Yk s_ā-, Chv L с_у- s_u-, Chv Δ с_ьǎ- v. 'milk' ¶ Cl. 804, Jeg. 192, Fed. II 53-4, Tn. SJJ 205, Tn. SJ 476, Tkr 555 || M *s_āǎ- v. 'milk' > MM [S] с_аǎ-, WrM с_аǎ-, HIM с_аǎ- s_ā-, Brt h_ā-, Kl, Ord, Dgr, MMgl s_ā-, Mnr H {SM} s_uǎ- ¶ MED 656, KW 317, H 130, Iw. 131, SM 356 ¶¶ Pp. VG 29, KW 317, ADb. KL 1, Cl. 804 (suggests with a query that the M verb is a loan from T) || Tg *š_āga- (or *š_āǎ-) v. 'milk' > Ewk Nr с_аǎ- id. ¶ STM II 375 ◇ The final vw. in pN is probably *-e, while M and Tg *-a- of the second syll. may be accounted for by regr. as. ◇ AD GD 8 [#49] (IE, U), Rs. UAW (U, A), IS SS 333-4 [#6.19] and IS MS 356 s.v. получать *s_āg_h (IE, U, D).

2022. (2?) *s_ēg|k ▽ 'eat, swallow' > U *seǎ- > FU {Coll.} *seǎ-, {UEW} *se_w|ǎ- 'eat' (× N *s_ǎw_H₂ ▽ 'to drink' [q.v.]?) > F с_уǎ-, Es с_ǎǎ-, с_ǎǎ-, Vp с_ǎ- 'eat' || pMr {Ker.} *se_vз- > Er с_эве- seve-, Δ ś_āv_u-, Mк с_{иво}- ś_ivǎ-, Δ ś_evз- ǎ se_vз- 'eat (the whole thing)' ('съесть') ||

Prm {LG} *śöy- (= {LG} *śöj-) 'eat' > Z, Prmk сѣй- śoy-, Z US śoy-, Yz 'śuy-, Vt śi- (СИЫНЫ) id.; the variant *śöV- survives in Yz 'suV- 'eat' and in Z śoV-зд- v. 'feed' || ObU {Ht.} *θī- / *θīϣ- 'eat' > pVg {Ht.} *tī- / *tīϣ- / *tāy- id. > Vg: T tī- / tāy- / tāy-, LK/MK tē- / tōy- / tāy-, UK tē- / tōy-, P/LL tē- / tōy- / tay-, NV tē- / tōy- / tāy-, SV tē- / tōy- / tāy-, UL/Ss tī- / tēϣ- / tāy-; pOs {Ht.} *ϕi- / *ϕiϣ- 'eat' > Os: V li- / liϣ-, Vy i- / iϣ-, Ty ϕi- / ϕiϣ^ω-, Y ϕi- / ϕiϣ^ω-, D/K/Nz te- / tew-, Kz ϕe- / ϕew-, O li- / liϣ-; pOs {Ht.} *ϕāpət- v. 'feed' > Os: V läwət-, Vy yāwət-, Ty/Y ϕāpət-, D/K tāpət-, Nz tapət-, Kz ϕapət-, O läpət- | Hg ēv- (/ ē- / ēsz-) 'eat' || pY {IN} *θeϣ- 'eat' > Y K/T {IN} leg- 'eat', T {Krn.} legul 'food', lew-1 vt. 'eat', OY K {Bil., Merk} lagul 'food', {Merk} lagk, lagitak, {Bil.} lagetak v. 'feed', OY Ch {Mat.} ландык id. ¶ UEW 440, Coll. 117, ≈ Sm. 548 (FU *sewi-, FP *sevi-, Ugr *θigĩ- 'eat'), It. #336, SK 1154-6, ZM 539, LG 252, Lt. 62, U 277, ##178, 336, Ht. #115, Hl. rHt 73-4, MF 164-5, ERV 630, PI 248, Ker. II 140, IN 220, 30, Krn. JJ 274, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#79] (Y ← U) || A: M *siϣü-sün 'food' > MM [S] śi,üsün {H} 'Ration', {SM} 'provisions de bouche données par le gouvernement aux fonctionnaires', WrM sigüsün {MED}, HIM шγγс 'food' (usually 'meat'), Ord {Ms.} šūsü 'mouton qu'on sert aux personnes qu'on veut honorer', Mnr H {SM} sūs3n id., 'grand morceau de viande'; M ↪ WrMc śusū id., 'meal provided at the stations to government functionaries' ¶ H 142, MED 704, SM 366, Ms. O 638, Z 684 || ?? NaT: OT (DTS, Rs.) saϣur- v. 'swallow, absorb (liquid)' ¶ DTS 481, Rs. W 394, Cl. 816 (hypothesizes OT s^uϣur-) || ? HS: Eg MK skn 'be greedy (gierig, gefrässig)' (of crocodiles, men) ¶ EG IV 318, Fk. 251 ◇ OT a in saϣur- (if the word belongs here) may be accounted for by regr. as.

2023. *Sûg∇ 'back of the neck, back' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} (?) *sug- > Dsn {To.} sug-gu, {Ss.} sugu 'back', Or fugisō 'upside down', {Grg.} fuggisō 'position with top down and bottom up', Gdl {Ss.} sukunna 'lower part of shoulder' ¶ But haedly here Bln {R} zæg ~ zēg 'shoulder(-blade)', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side', Xm T {CR} sig 'back', Arr {Hw.} zéh 'nape of the neck', and Or Wl {Grg.} saggō 'back of head\neck' (from the HS √ represented by Mofu {Ross.} ma-žag^ωom, pMM *✓ 3gm 'shoulder', and Mb ki-zóga ~ ki-zíga ~ ki-zóka id., see Tk. PAA 5-6) ¶ Ss. WOKS 127-8, Grg. 149, 350, R WB 296, R Ch II 406 (= s. p. 92), Hw. A 401, ≈ AD SF 99, To. DL 526, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'tail' || A ({ǂDQA} *sǂuge 'nape of the neck'): NaT {ADb.} *sügsün 'nape of the

neck, withers' > OT {Cl.} süsgün 'backside, rump, (?) spinal column', {DTS} süskün 'spinal column', MQp süksün 'shoulder, upper part of the back', OOsM sügsün, Tk Δ sügsün, süysün 'occiput, withers (затылок, загривок)', Az süysün 'withers (холка)', Alt süksenek 'jugular vertebrae' ¶ Cl. 836, DTS 518, TL 234-5 || AmTg *sug-li(n) 'withers, mane' ({ADb.} süg-li 'mane') > Nn Nh soglĩ, Nn KU solı, Ul suni 'wild boar's mane', Orc suli 'mane', Ork suli 'withers (of a horse\deer\bear)' ¶ STM II 70 ¶¶ ADb. MSR 200, TL 234 || **D** ≈ *ǰu^ɾɣ^ɾ-, {ǰGS} ≈ *s|ǰu^ɾɣ^ɾ- > Tm cuval 'nape of the neck, upper part of the neck, back, mane', ? Ml cumal 'shoulder', (×N *ǰikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]?) Kui sukoṛi ~ sukoli 'shoulder-blade', Brh ǰuɣ 'nape of the neck' ¶¶ D #2696 ◊ ≈ Blz. DA #25 (D, HS, A + unacceptable comparisons with IE, etc.), ≈ Blz. LB #6i (EC, D, A + unc. Ag) ◊ Cp. Yn *suga 'backwards'.

2024. *śûyg∇|∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing' > HS: S *o^o√zgl (as. from **√şgl?) > Ar √zǧl G (pf. زجل zaǧila) 'sing, speak loudly', (of several persons) 'produce noise by laughing and speaking loudly' ¶ BK I 975 || IE: NaIE *sweǵh^hǵh^hl-/*swiǵh^hǵh^hl- 'produce sound by blowing' > Gt swiglōn 'to blow a flute', OHG swēgala 'flute, pipe (Schwegel, Flöte, Pfeife, Orgelpfeife), Rohr', {OsS} swēglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', NHG Schwegel 'flute', AS {Ho.} sweǵel 'music', {Fs.} sweǵl-horn 'trumpet horn' || ?φ L sībilā- v. 'whistle' ¶ Fs. 467, Ho. 334, Kb. 998, OsS 907, KM 691, WH II 531-2. EI 72 (*sweǵh^hl-) || **U:** FU *ś∇|ǵ∇- or *ś∇g|∇- > pObU *s̄|ǵɣ- 'hiss (zwischen)' > pVg *s̄ǵ|ǵ- > Vg LK/MK s̄ǵ|ǵ- id.; pOs *s̄|ǵɣ- ~ *s̄ǵ|ǵɣ- > Os: Y s̄|ǵɣ-, K s̄ǵ|ǵɣ-, Kz s̄ǵ|ǵ- id., Ty s̄|ǵɣ|ǵ- id., Vy s̄ǵ|ǵɣ- {Trj.} 'hiss' (of snakes) ¶ Ht. #591, KrT 864, 890, Ps. 2064, Trj. S 437 ◊ The vw. (*∇) after N *g is suggested by pN phonology that rules out clusters of three consonants.

2025. ₂ *Sigir∇ '∈ (part of a) leg' > HS: Ch: Bks {J} sakúr 'leg' | Ngz {Sch.} zǵǵr 'leg, foot', Bd {ChL} ǵzǵrǵn 'leg' || ? CCh (unless from N *s|śǵed∇ (or *s|śǵid∇) 'lower part', q.v.): Tr {Nw.} sarà, G'nd {ChL} sarǵ, Hw {ChL} sàrà, Pdl {ChL} s̄ǵr̄tì, HgN {Mk.} surra, HgF/HgG {ChL} sura, Lmn Hd {Lk.} s̄r̄á, Mdr {Eg.} s̄r̄á, {ChL} s̄r̄á, Gzg D {Lk.} sar, Glv {Rp.} śǵ, Gdf {IL} s̄ǵ, Dgh {IL} s̄ǵè, {Frk.} s̄ǵé, Ngs śǵò, Mtk {Sb.} s̄ák, Mkt {Ro.} śík 'leg' ¶ JI II 220-1, ChC, Sch. DN 180, ChL || **A:** M *s̄iǵira 'shank, leg (of animals)' > WrM sigira, HIM шийр id., 'hoof',

WrO šīyire 'legs, stands', Kl шиир šīr 'shank; leg of a tripod', {Rm.} šīrā 'Bein (von den Knien nach unten), Klauen (der Wiederkäufer, Schweine, etc.), Füße des Dreifusses', MM [MA] شيره šīra ({Pp.} šīra) 'legs (of a tripod?)', Ord {Ms.} šīra 'partie inférieure de la jambe d'un animal', Mnr H {SM} šīrā 'leg'; M б → WrMc sira 'shin-bone; shank of birds' ¶ Pp. MA 335, MED 702, Krg. 449, KRS 671, KW 363, SM 397, Z 614 || NaT *sīgra, {ADb.} *siḡra (> *siḡar, siḡir) 'ankle (лодыжка), shank' > Az Δ siḡir 'part of the leg between foot and ankle (шиколотка)', Qrg siyra 'counter of a boot, heel', Tv sār 'part of the foot from the instep up to the toes', siri ({ADb.}: < *siḡr-I) 'hoof'; d.: *siḡir-gak or {ADb.} *siḡir-ḡak 'shank, shin-bone' > ħ Chg {Vm.} سيفراف siḡirāq (read by Rs. [← Vm.?] as siyraq) 'shin-bone', Nog, Qq, Qmq siyraq, VTt, SbTt sbyraq 'shank', VTt {θRI.} sbyraq ~ sārāq 'shin-bone', Qzq сыйрак siyraq, Qrg šiyraq 'shank, shin-bone', Ux Δ siyraq 'shank, ankle', Tlt {RI.} šīraq 'the leg from the hoof up to the knee', Alt šiyraq 'pastern, knee', Tv sīryaq 'shank (of animals), metacarpus, metatarsus', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) NaT *siḡir-gak 'hoof' > Chg {PC} saḡraq, Tk Δ sirnak 'hoof (of bovines)', Tkm siḡraq 'hoof of artiodactyls', Uz Xwr siḡiraq 'leg (of an animal)' ¶ *-ḡ- in the stem *siḡirgāk (if it belongs here) and in ADb.'s rec. (if valid) remains puzzling ¶ Rs. W 415, TL 287, ADb. SR 313-4, RI. IV 626, 681, 1052, TatR 495, Tm. 196, MM 310, NogR 319, KrkR 601, KumRS 293, Jud. 917, BT 186 || Tg *°sira ({ADb.}: < *siḡra) > WrMc sira 'shin-bone (of humans, mammals), thigh (of birds)' ¶ STM II 94 ¶¶ TL 287, KW 363, ADb. SR 313-4 ◊ The T cognate suggests N *S-, while Ngz is likely to point to a voiced initial cns., unless Ngz z- is accouter for by assimilation (but definite results may be obtained not before a detailed historical phonology of Chadic is elucidated).

2026. ₂ *š'ḡy'ḡu 'surface of water' > K *zḡwā 'sea' > OG zḡua, G zḡva, Mg zḡva, Lz zḡua (← G?), zuḡa-, (m)zḡa, Sv UB/L/Ln {TK, GP, Dn.} zuḡwa, Sv LB {TK} zuḡwa ~ zuḡwa (with anaptyctic u, acc. to Klimov) ¶¶ K 89 and K² 62 (*zḡwa-), FS K 136, FS E 147 (*zḡw-), GP 278, Dn. s.v. zuḡva, Ni. s.v. mope, TK 847 || HS: S *°š|sayḡ- > Ar sayḡ- 'eau qui se répand et coule à la surface du sol' ¶ BK I 1176, Hv. 347 ◊ K *zḡ- < **sḡ (as.) ◊ Cf. N *š'ä'ḡiwE (or *č'ä'ḡiwE?) 'body of water, (??) wet\swampy ground' (q.v. ffd.), which is not identical with

N *ś^r∇y¹γU, as can be seen in the reflexes of the initial lrs. and in the absence of expected traces of N *γ in the reflexes of N *ś^lĉ^rä¹?iWE.

2027. ₂ *śak∇ 'sit, dwell' > HS *√skn > S *√škn v. 'seat, settle, dwell' > BHb √škn G 'settle; remain, stay, dwell', Ph √škrn G 'dwell, settle', Ug √škrn G {OLS} 'be situated, settle, dwell', mškrnt 'place of residence', IA, BA √škn G 'dwell', JEA √škn G {Sl.} 'settle, sink, reside, dwell', SmA √škrn G 'settle down, dwell', Sr √škn G 'alight, perch' (of birds), 'settle, rest upon', Ar √skn G 'stop; be still; dwell\abode in', Ak √škrn G vt. 'place (sth. for a particular purpose), set' ¶ KB 1386-9, 1790, HJ 1134, A #2606, OLS 436-7, Js. 1575, Sl. 1145, Lv. IV 553, JPS 577, Tal 894-5, Ln. 1392, BK I 1115, Hv. 328, Sd. 1134-9, CAD XVII 116-57 || Ch: WCh *√sk(n), {Stl.} *sukn- 'sit, rest' > P' {MSk.} sikí 'sit, dwell, live', Jmb {Sk.} š`inká 'sit' || Bg {ChL} s+g`tne, Gj {ChL} šukì, Zul {ChL} yà šukù 'rest', Plc {ChL} š`t`n`n`n`, {Sh.} š`k, Dw {Sh.}, Ds D/Bn, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} suk 'sit' || Fy {J} š`ík v. 'take a rest' ('rasten, ausruhen') || CCh: ZmB {Sa., J} súk 'sit', ZmD {KNC} sùk 'rester, s'asseoir' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#295], ChC, ChL, J R 89, MSk. 203, Sk. NB 40, Sh. SB 37, KNC 24 || SC: Irq {E} sukunu?at- v. 'squat', {EldM} sak^wnene?-it- 'squat (on the haunches)' || ?σ Dhl {EEN} sukkēm- 'remain still', {To.} sūkēm- 'be still' ¶ E SC 351, EldM61, EEN 25, To. D 147 || B *√skn > Ah askān 'stand on hind legs' (of quadrupeds), Ty/ETwl {GhA} ʔaskān 'se tenir debout sur les pied de derrière en appuyant ceux de devant contre l'arbre, pour brouter'; NrB: Tmz {MT} skān (pf. skān) 'habiter, loger', Izn {Ds.} askān (pf. iskān), BSn {Ds.} askān (pf. 'yaskān) 'habiter', Mtm {Ds.} askān id., askān 'demeurer', Wrg {Dlh.} askān (pf. yaskān) 'habiter, loger'; NrB √skn may be a loan from Ar (cp. Ar Mrc skān 'become calm and quiet; live, dwell, reside') ¶ Fc. 1814-5, GhA 171, Ds. B 161, MT 630, DMA 136-7 ¶¶ OS #2240 (HS *sikun- 'dwell, sit') [S, Ch, SC]; Tk. I 236 and Tk. SCC 84 [#12.14] (S, C, B + unc. Eg s^rnc 'Fundament, Grundriß', s^rncγ 'gründen') ¶¶ HS *n is an extension || A *ś^lsag∇ (or *-b|w-) 'sit, seat, be seated' > M *sa^rγ¹u- 'sit' > WrM sagu-, HIM sū- 'sit, be seated, dwell, reside', MM [HI] {Ms.} sa_ru 'sit down, sit, dwell (s'asseoir, être assis, demeurer)', [IsV] sau- 'sit down', [L] sau-ba, {MA, IM} sū-ba 'sit', Ord {Ms.}, Mnr H {SM} sū'-, {T} sū-, Mnr M {T} sau- 'sit, dwell, stay', MMgl {Iw.} sau-kū, Mgl {Lg.} söù- ~ sau-, {Rm.} sū-, Dx {T} sau-, Dg {Lg.} s'ō-, s'ūō-, Ba {T} sū- 'sit' ¶ MED 658, S AJ 237 [#81], Pp. MA 328, 447, Lg. VMI 63, SM 355, T 360, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147, Iw. 131, Rm. M 39 || ? pJ *súwá- v. 'sit' > OJ suw-u {Mr.} 'sit' > J: T suwaru 'sit, be seated', K

sûwatteru, Kg súwa 'sit'] ¶ S AJ 267 [#67], Kenk. 1854, Mr. 760 (suwaru < *suba-ra- < *zuba-ra-) ¶¶ S AJ 277 [#64].

2028. *s̄'ä' ka|æ 'strew, spread' > **HS** *s̄∇k- 'sow, strew, scatter' > Eg fP s̄cy id. ¶ EG IV 346-7, Fk. 255 || Ch: WCh: Hs šúkà 'sow' || CCh: Chb šágátì, Bu {Hf.} thlika (= [š|çika...]) 'sow' | Msg P {Trn.} sukí, sokà, Mlw súkí 'faire le trou avant de semer', Mbara {Trn.} čók 'sow' ¶ Ba. 944-5, Hf. B 135. Trn. LM 60 || NrOm: Kf {C} šok-, Mch {L} šò'kki- v. 'seed', Shn {Lm.} šōkà n. 'seed' ('Saat, Same') || EC: Ged ({Lm.}: < ?) sōk- 'sow' (the glottalization *-k- > -ḳ- may be due to the initial lr. of the aux. verb that underlies suffix-conjugated verbal forms) ¶ C SE IV 496, L M 50, Lm. Sh 374-5 ¶¶ OS #2303 (Eg, Hs, Om), Tk. I 236 (Eg, Ch [Hs, CCh], Om) ¶¶ Tk. I 236 || **IE**: NaIE *seg̃- v. 'sow' > L seges (gen. segetis) 'seed (Saat)' (→ 'standing corn, crop'), ? Sēia 'goddess of seed' (< *seg-jā) (unless < *sē- v. 'sow') || MW sehe 'Same', OW segeticion 'prolis'; MW heu (*hou), W, Crn hau v. 'sow' ¶ WP II 408, P 887, WH II 509-10, LP § 35.4, Bc. 505 || **A**: Tg *seg|k- v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the flour), cover the flour with sth.' > Ewk s̄xi-, Lm h̄x̄- & h̄x̄- 'litter branches of conifer on the floor of a tent as bedding', Neg s̄k- 'litter branches of conifer in order to cut animal's meat or fish on them', Ork s̄zi- & s̄zi- 'litter branches of larch or spruce needles on the floor, spread sth. on the floor', Ul s̄gi- v. 'spread bedding'; Tg *segdi (< M?) > Nn Nh/KU s̄g̃zi, Ul s̄gdi-, Sln s̄ttz- v. 'spread' ('разложить'), Ork, Ul s̄gdi 'bedding (подстилка)', Orc s̄ktu, s̄gdi id., 'bed', WrMc s̄ekzi 'bedding of a room\neat', 'bedding\litter in a stall for skinning carcasses'; Tg *sek-te- 'spread\stretch (e.g. branches as bedding)' > Ewk s̄ktz- 'spread branches as bedding', Neg s̄ktz 'branches of coniferous trees as bedding', s̄ktzω- 'make the bed', Nn Nh/KU s̄g̃zi id., s̄ktz̄ 'cloth (полотнище) (made of fish skin)', Ork s̄kti(n-) id., Ud soktu(n-) 'bedding (made of a hide, bark, etc.)', Ul s̄ktu- 'make up a bed', WrMc s̄ekte- 'spread bedding, make up a bed', 'spread (hemp in a field to dry it)', s̄ektefun 'bedding, rug, straw-bed; cushion' ¶ STM II 136-7 || pJ {S} *s̄ik- v. 'litter, strew' > OJ s̄ik-, J: T s̄ik-, K/Kg s̄ik- ¶ S QJ #389, Mr. 751 || M: WrM {Kow.} s̄ekci 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit d'une femme qui accouche, ou qu'on met dans les matelas ou sous le tapis, herbes que les animaux\oiseaux étendent dans leurs tanières ou dans leurs nids' (↪ Yk s̄aksä ~ s̄āksä ~ s̄āxsä ~ s̄ōksö ~ s̄äktä ~ s̄ättä 'bedding of branches') ¶ MED 682, Kow. 1366, Pek. 2150, STM II 137

¶ ≈ DQA #1952 (A *s|zegi 'to litter; mat' > Tg, J), SDM97 (A *seki) || D (att. in NED) *č'a'k- > Krx čã:χ- c. 'sow, scatter seed', Mlt {Drs.} cáge 'divide, scatter, sow' ¶ D #2431 ◇ NED *a (if it is from D *a), Tg and M *e are likely to go back to N *ä ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#109] (suggested to equate HS with D).

2029. *sāhka' 'search, find, know' > IE *seh_g-/*sh_g- > NaIE *sāg-/*sag- 'scent out, track, search' (originally referring to hunt) > L sāgī- 'scent out' (Cicero: sentire sagire acute est) → 'perceive quickly, feel keenly', sāgax (< *sag-) 'scenting sth. well' → 'keen, acute', sāgus 'prophetic, soothsaying' || OIr saig- 'seek out', {Vn.} 'chercher à atteindre, tendre vers, rechercher', Crn hēdh_y 'try to reach\attain' ('chercher à atteindre'), W hēddu 'to deserve, to merit', {EI} 'to earn, to gain', cyr hēddu, cyr rēdd 'to reach\attain' ('atteindre'), MW dyhēdd, Crn drehēdh_y, MBr dirhaes id. (Erd.: with pxs. dō- + *(p)ro-) || Gk ἡγέομαι, Gk D ἄγέομαι 'lead the way, go before; believe, hold (have the opinion)', ⇨ Gk ἡγεμῶν, ἡγήτωρ 'one who leads, leader', κυν-ηγέτης 'huntsman' (lit. 'who leads the dogs') || Gt sōkjan, ON sækja, NNr sækja, Sw söka, Dn søge, OHG suohhen (> NHG suchen), OFrs sēka 'seek, look for', AS sōcan id. (> d. NE beseech); Gt sokn-s [sōkn-s] 'ζήτησις, Untersuchung, Streitfrage', ON sókn 'Suchen, Untersuchung, Streit', AS sócn 'Untersuchung, Nachfrage', ⇨ NE seek || Ht sak(k)- / sek(k)- 'know, find out' ¶ WP II 449, P 876, EI 505-6 (*seh_g- 'perceive acutely, seek out'), Mn. 1107, Dev. #703, WH II 464-5, EM 589, Vn. S 9-12, Ern. 175, HDEL 1537, F I 621-2, Fs. 442, Vr. 529, 577, Ho. 306, Kb. 992, Schz. 276, KM 762, Ts. W 67 || **HS: S** *✓škh Sh 'find' > IA, JA [Trg.], JEA [BT], SmA, Sr ✓škh Sh id., Ak {Sd.} ✓škØ Sh (with vowels suggesting Ø < *h|f) 'procure (beschaffen)' (?) ¶ HJ 1132-3, Js. 1572, Sl. 1143-4, Tal 892, Br. 775, Sd. 1210 (s.v. šekûm) || EC {Ss.} *sag-/*sog- 'predict' > Or {Th., Brl.} fag-, Or B {Vnt.} fag- 'foretell, predict', Dbs sōk- 'predict', Brj sa'gāna 'a particular family with power for rain-making' ¶ Ss. B 162, Th. 126, Brl. 140-1, Vnt. 51, AMS 185 || **A: [11] A** *sag- > T *°sa:ḡ 'intellect, intelligence' > OT sa:ḡ ({{Cl.}} [MhK] سلس sāy) 'intellect (ʔal-ʔaqlu), intelligence, sagacity' || ?σ T *sak 'alert, awake' > OT saq id., Tkm θaq 'vigilant', 'light' (sleep), Tk sak 'vigilant; sleeping light', Bsh haq, ET, VTt, Qmq saq 'vigilant, prudent, cautious', Qq, Qrg saq 'watchful, cautious', Nog, Qzq saq id., 'prudent' ¶ Valid

only if the primary meaning is 'alert' rather than 'awake' ¶ Cl. 803, 805-6, MKD 152, Sht. 170, Tkr 55, Nj. 497 || pKo *sàkí- > MKo sákí-, NKo sãgi- 'read characters, interpret', MKo sagui-, NKo sãkoj- 'know each other, make acquaintance' ¶ S QK #81, Nam 282, MLC 868, 920 || AmTg *seku- > Ul sãxuli, Nn Nh sãxur 'keen' (of ear), 'light' (of sleep) ('чуткий' [сон]), Ul sãxulu/i- v. 'sleep light' ('чутко спать'), Nn sãxzučì- id., 'be vigilant' ¶ STM II 139 ¶¶ DQA #1957 (A *sèk'u 'preserve, be aware': T *sak, Ko, Tg + unc. J *sùk- v. 'like' and M *saki- 'protect') ¶¶ [2] ?φ A {DQA} *sogú- 'search, choose' (influenced by N *šUħK̄∇ 'wish, covet' [q.v.]?) > T *sogra- > OT [MhK] {Cl.} suyr-ut- 'search' (01 anin ävin suyruttu 'he searched his house'); possibly: T ⇨ WrM surga-, HIM сурга- 'teach, instruct, train' ⇨ Tv surya- id. ¶ Cl. 816, Rs. W 433, MED 739, Tv 392 || ?φ M *so^rγ¹oŋgu- 'choose' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} so₁oŋgu-, [HI] {Ms.} soŋgu- id., [MA] {Pp.} sonqu- 'try, test; select, elect', WrM soŋgu-, HIM сонго-, Ord su¹ŋgu¹-, Dg {T} soŋgo- 'choose, select', Brt hуngа-, Kl cyŋh- 'select, elect' ¶ H 135, Lew. II 73, Ms. H 95, Pp. MA 324, MED 726, Ms. O 59, Chr. 688-9, KRS 463, T DgJ 164 || Tg *su^rg¹ule- ~ -e- > Nn Hh/KU sãulã-, Ul sãulã/i- ~ sãwlu- 'search (durchsuchen, обыскать)', WrMc suwele- ~ seole- id., 'look for (e.g., a hidden thing)' ¶ STM II 134, Z 575, 653 || pJ *sunkur- 'choose, select' > OJ sùgúr-, J: T sugúr-, K sùgúr-, Kg sùgùr- ¶ S QJ ¶ 1292, Mr. 758 ¶¶ DQA #2105 ¶¶ Hardly here (≠φ) M *siqayā- 'look searchingly, take aim' and Tg *sìgì- or *sìgā- 'peep out, look out' (see DQA #1992 and N *šEĶo 'look at' [q.v.]) ¶¶ ≠ Pp. VG 115, 132 (M, Tg) ◇ AmTg *e in *seku- still needs explaining. In A {DQA} *sogú- the vw. *o may be accounted for by the infl. of N *šUħK̄∇ 'wish, covet'.

2030. *šäk₁∇₁?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' > K *sḵw- 'tie (up), bind (up)' (× N *ž∇k̄U 'to tie', q.v. ffd.) || HS: C: Ag *saḵ-, {ʃAp.} *saḷ-/saq- v. 'sew, weave' > Bln saχ-, Xm saq-, Q saḷ-, Km saχ- (?), Aw saḷ-/saqí || Dhl {EEN} sakaʔ- v. 'plait, twist', ?σ sōḵ- v. 'twist (sth.)' ¶ Ap. IC 37, R WB 299, AD SF 101, E SC 182, EEN 23-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *saḵ- v. 'weave' > Hs sãḵā, Gw {Mts.} í sáka, Kfr {Nt.} sák, Ang {Flk.} sak id. || CCh: Msg sasake v. 'weave', Afd {Stz.} szakká [sakka] 'Weberstuhl', wánszaka 'I weave' (= *[u-w|han saka] 'I make weaving') ¶ This Ch √ is to be distinguished from *√cg v. 'plait, weave' (which may be a loan from KnT: Teda čaga-, Knr saga- 'weave') ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#298], Flk. s.v. sak, ChC s.v. 'weave', Sö. 341 || ?σ B *√Hsḵ > *√Hsḷ > Ah -asəḷ

'joindre, unir, coudre (brocher des feuilles de manière à former un cahier)', ETwl, Ty aсaу 'joindre, unir, relier' ¶ Fc. 1831-2, GhA 170 ¶ ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 226 || Eg fP ɛcɜ ({EG} ɛtɜ) v. 'spin, weave', DEg ɛtɜ, Cpt Sd cwt id. ¶ EG IV 355, Fk. 255, Er. 474, Vc. 198 || ???ϕ CS *✓skk 'weave, plait' > BHb ✓skk G 'weave, form', JPA ✓skk G 'hedge in', JA [Trg.] ✓skk D 'weave', JEA ✓skk D 'cover over'; the S cognate is acceptable if one admits secondary affricatization (the former affricate *s for the original sibilant *š) due to the infl. of CS *✓nsk (< N ? *ηec'∇ 'to plait, to tie together' [q.v. ffd.] × N *šäk'∇, ?U) ¶ KB 664, 712) ¶ Js, 990, Sl. 810-1 ¶¶ Tk. I 76 || U: FU *°šäkU- v. 'plait' (× N *š'∇kU 'to tie') > ObU *sēϕ- ~ *sōϕ- (= *sēϕ^ω-) v. 'plait' > pVg *sǎϕ- id. > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/P/SV säϕ-/sǎϕ, NV säϕ-/sǎw-, LL säϕ-/sǎ-, UL/Ss saϕ- id.; pVg sǎϕ n. 'plait, tress of hair' ({Mu.} 'Haarflechte, Zopf') > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/NV säϕ, SV/LL sǎ, UL/Ss saϕ id.; pOs {Ht.} *sōϕ- ({Hl.} *sǎϕ-) v. 'plait' > Os: V/Vy sōϕ-, Ty sǎϕ^ω-, Y sǎw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew- id.; pOs *sōϕ ({Hl.} *sǎϕ) 'plait of hair' > Os: V/Vy sōϕ, Ty sǎϕ^ω, Y sǎw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id.] ⇨ FU *šäkt'∇- v. 'plait (bark shoes, a basket), mend (e.g. a net)' > pLp {Lr.} *čēktɜ- v. 'mend (a net)' > L: S {Hs.} tjiktedh, L {LLO} tjiktēt, N {N} čik'tet v. 'mend (seine, net)', Kld {SaR} чиххтэ, {TI} čjx:t'äd id. | Prm *šektal- > Z šzktav-ñt v. 'plait (bast sandals, a basket)', Yz šöktal- v. 'add (plait in) birch bark to plaited bast sandals' ('продеггивать лыковые лапти берестой'), Vt сикта šikta- v. 'mend bast sandals', Z šzktan, Vt šiktan 'кочедык (an instrument for plaiting bast sandals)' || Os: Ty/O sāt- v. 'darn (nets), D sāt- v. 'darn (nets, stockings)' ¶ Ht. 182 [#571], BV 96, MK 509, Coll. 75, UEW 470, Sm. 554 (FP *šäkti- 'mend'), It. #283, Lr. #150, Lgc. #573, N I 390, Hs. 1321, SaR 394-5, TI 665-6, LG 269-70, Lt. J 182 || A: AmTg *sakta-n, *sakta-ma 'wickerwork' > Orc sakta(n-), Nn Nh/KU saqtã, Nn B saχta(n-), Ul saqta(n-) 'reed mat', Ul saqtama 'wicker basket (of reed)', Nn Nh saqtama 'basket' ¶ STM II 57, 136-7 || M *sagsu_n ~ *segsü_n: [1] *sagsu_n 'wicker basket' > WrM sagsu, HIM сэгс 'basket made from bamboo': M ⇨ WrMc saqsu 'wicker basket', 'wickered container for corn (made of willow-branches)'; [2] *segsü_n > WrM segsü 'small basket', {Kow.} seksü 'corbeille d'écorce, petit panier d'écorce', HIM сэгс 'small basket', Ord segsü 'basket for carrying soil on one's back'; [3] possibly also M *seg- > WrM segli, HIM сэглий 'mat or rug made of grass' ¶ MED 658, 682,

Kow. 1366, Z 558, 580 || pKo *skár- > MKo skár v, NKo k̄al- 'spread out (as mat)' ¶ S QK # 741, Nam 22, MLC 44 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1952 (A *s|zegi v. 'litter; mat', incl. M *seg|-, Ko) ¶¶ The vw. *a in T *sakta- and M *sagsu₁n₁ (for the expected T *ä and M *e) is due to vowel harmony (infl. of the vw. of sxs.) ◇ Blz. KM 119-20 (K, HS).

2031. ₂ *š̄v̄k̄v̄R̄v̄ 'intoxicating drink' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'alcoholic drink') > HS: S *šikar- ~ *šakar- 'alcoholic drink' > BHb שִׁכָּר šēkār, Ak šikāru(m), šikru(m) 'alcoholic drink, beer', Sr شِكْر šak'r-ā (abs. شِكْر šəḵkar) 'sicera (alcoholic drink other than wine, esp. a liquor made from dates or from honey)', JA [Trg.] שִׁכָּר šik'rā 'alcoholic drink', JEA šak'rā, šik'rā 'alcoholic drink not made from grapes', Md šakra 'e alcoholic drink', SmA √ škr TD 'become intoxicated', mškh škr 'intoxicant' (mškh 'beverage'), Ar sakar- {Ln.} 'alcoholic drink (wine, beverage prepared from dried dates, etc.)'; S (Hb, Aram?) → Gk [LXX] σίκερα 'e fermented liquor, strong drink'; S *√ škr G 'be(come) drunken' > BHb √ škr, Ar, Gz √ skr, Ak √ škr G id.; → Cn *š|akkarān- > BHb שִׁכְרָן šikkārōn, Ug škr n 'drunkenness' ¶ KB 1390-1, Tal 895, PS 4160, JPS 577, Br. 777, Js. 1576, Lv. T II 680, Sl. 1145-6, Sd. 1232, Ln. 1300-1, BK I 1114, A #260, OLS 437, Ch. 1003 || A: pKo {S} *sù₁ir 'wine, alcoholic drink' > MKo sù₁ir ~ sù₁ur, NKo sul (acc. to Starostin, A *-k- > Ko ∅) ¶ S AJ 256 [#120], S QK #120, BKRS 749, MLC 1018.

2032. (₂?) *š̄o'k̄o 'to follow' > IE: NaIE *sek^ω- id. > OI 'sacatē 'accompanies, follows', Av hačaitē 'accompanies' || Gk ἕπομαι 'I follow' || L sequitur 'follows' || OIr sechithir 'follows' || Lt sekti (prs. sekù) 'to follow, to follow the trail of, to watch, to observe', Ltv {Frn.} sekt (prs. sekū ~ seḱu) '(ver)folgen, spüren', 'wittern' (von Hunden) ¶ P 896-7 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *sek^ω- 'see, look' < N *š̄EḶo 'look at, watch; see' [q.v.]), EI 208, M K III 417, WH II 519-20, Vn. S 62, F I 544-5, Frn. 773 || HS: S *°-š|sūḵ- > Ar √ sūq (ip. -sūq-) v. G 'drive (the cattle\ beast), urge (the cattle) to go', {Hv.} 'drive (a beast), impel/urge so.' ¶ Ln. 1470-1, BK I 1167, Hv. 344 || Eg sēḵ 'drive (animals)' (with a puzzling unexpected ḵ, probably due to the infl. of the verb sēḵ 'cause to enter' ← ḵ 'enter, go in') ¶ EG IV 55-6, Fk. 215 || ?φ,σ C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *sug- > Sml sug- 'wait', Rn sug- 'wait for, await' ¶ Hn. S 74, PG 268 || ? A: Tg: WrMc {Z} šoḵada-

~ soχata- v. 'harness a tandem, harness one behind the other', {Hr.} šohan 'tandem' ¶ Z 673, STM II 105, Hr. 857.

2033. UA₂ *SoQâ (= *s|š|šoQâ) 'blind' > U: FU (att. in BF) *°s|š|šo(k)k∇ > F sokea, Krl K šokîē, Krl A so(v)eta ~ šo(v)eta, šoheta, Vp soged 'blind', Es sōge, Es E sә,ke, Lv so'gdз id. ¶ SK 1060-3, Don. VW 1689, ZM 516, Kt. 976 || A *šö;̣k'u ({SDM97} *šōk'u) 'see badly, have bad eyesight' > M *soqu- > d. *soqu-r 'blind' > MM [S] soqor, [L, MA, IsV, HI] soqar, [IM] soχur, WrM {MED} soqur, {Lg., SM} soqor, HIM сохор, Ord {Ms.}, Ba {T} soχor, Mnr H {SM} soqūor, {T} sogor, ShY {Ktw. ← Ml.} согор, Dg {T} soqor, {T DgJ} согор, сокор, Dx {T} sugo 'blind'; d. *soqu-ĵ- 'be(come) blind' > WrM soquĵ-, HIM сохой- id.; M *soqu-la- > WrM soqula-, HIM сохло-, Mnr H {SM} soqūli- vt. 'make blind', {T} sogoli- 'put out so.'s eyes', Dx {T} sugolu- 'make blind, become blind'; d. *soqu-rā- 'become blind' > WrM soqura, HIM сохро-, Mnr H {SM} soqūorō-, {T} sogorō- id.; M *soqur ⇨ WrMc сохор 'blind', T (in texts not prior to Mongolian conquest): MQp [CC], Chg, ET soqur, Alt {B} soqor, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} soqqor, Yk soχχor, Chv L sukκър 'blind', etc.; M *soqu-l- ⇨ Tlt {Rs. ← ?} ŷ soq-l-un 'be blind'; the T words are loans, as suggested by their chronology and the presence of the M derivational sxs. -r and ŷ -l- ¶ Pp. MA 324, 447, Pp. L III 58, H 135, Ms. H 95, Lg. VMI 64, MED 730, SM 352, KW 329, T 360, T DgJ 190, T DnJ 134, T BJ 147, Ktw. OuJ 443, Rs. W 426, Rl. IV 522-3, BT 129 || Tg {SDM} *šoka- > Ewk {Cs.} sokotī, {STM} çokotī 'one-eyed, squint-eyed', Lm çokoti, Neg çoktoχo, Orc čoktoko, Ul čōqto, Ork toqto id., 'blind in one eye' || pKo {S} *sĵōkĵā,η 'blind' > MKo sĵōkĵā,η, NKo sōgĵā,η ¶ S QK 365, Nam 312, MLC 969 ¶¶ S AJ 17, SDM97 s.v. *šōk'u (M, Tg, Ko *σ÷ T *sāqi 'mirage' *σ÷ OJ suk- 'be transparent'); after rejection of the T cognate (*sāqi) the rec. of a long pA *ō is no longer justified ◇ ≈ Rs. UAW 25, ≈ IS SS #13.16, ≈ IS MS 365 (Rs. and IS adduce T *sokir 'blind' as a genetic cognate of M *soqur).

2034. UA₂ *s|šoQ∇ 'to stick fast, to be stuck\motionless' > U: FU *°s|šokk∇ (or s|šakk∇) > Ugr *θo|akk∇ 'stick fast, be stuck; get into' > ObU {Ht.} *θōk- > pVg {Ht.} *tākn- 'stick fast, be stuck' > Vg: T takn-, LK/UK/UL/Ss taxn-, MK tāxn- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ϕok- 'be stuck (hängen\sitzen bleiben)' > Os: V loq+n-, Ty ϕāq^ω+n-, D/K toχan-, Nz tuχan-, Kz ϕōχan- 'hängen bleiben', V lökän-, Vy yökän- 'sitzen bleiben' || Hg akad- 'get stuck\caught (in)', akaszt- vt. 'hang' ¶ UEW 845-6,

MF 78, Ht. #122 || **A:** M *soqsu- > WrM {MED} sogsuī-, HIM {MED} согсой- 'sit idle; stand up (of hair); stick up\out', WrM {Kow.} soqsoī- 'être immobile; se taire tout d'un coup, garder la silence', Kl {Rm.} soksi-χα 'unbeweglich sitzen, lautlos sitzen\sein'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} sogsu-gar-, Kl soksoγar 'unbeweglich und wortlos dasitzend'; M ⇨ WrMc {Z} soksoχon (pl. soksoχori) '(sits) frowned \ gloomy \ silent \ far from others' ¶ MED 723, Kow. 1408, KW 329, Z 624 || T (← M?): Alt sokso {B} 'sth. protruding', soksoy- vi. 'be\sit straight, stretch (быть прямым, вытягиваться)', Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} soqsoj 'sich erheben. eine Erhöhung bilden, hervorstehen, торчатъ', soqsoyin otirdi 'er saß gerade, aufrecht' ¶ BT 129, Rl. IV 526.

2035. *ṣūḳa' (~ *ṣūka?) to drink, to suck' > **IE:** NaIE *seuḳ- ~ *seuḡ- 'suck' > L sūg-ō v. 'suck' || ON súga, sjuḡa 'to suckle'; OHG sūgan 'saugen, trinken', NHG saugen, ON súga, OSx sūgan, AS sūzan ~ sūcan 'to suck', NE suck || OIr súigid 'sucks' || Ltv sūkt (1s prs. sūcu) 'to suck, to sip' || Ht sakiuwai v. 'water (horses)' (absence of the expected labial glide is puzzling) ¶¶ But NaIE *so'k^ω-s 'juice, sap' (> L sūcus and Sl *sōkь 'juice') belongs to N *ḡuḳu (= *ḡoḳu?) 'juice' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ WP II 469, EI 556 (*seuḡ- ~ *seuḳ- 'suck' 'suck'), WH II 622-3, Ts. W 67, Bc. 333, Vr. 560, Ho. 329, Ho. S 72, Kb. 984, OsS 890, ME III 1132, Kar. II 321 || **HS:** CS ✓šḳy v. *Sh*, *D* 'give to drink' > BHb ✓šḳy|w *Sh* (pf. הַשְּׁקָה hiš'ḳā), Ug ✓šḳy *Sh*, IA, SmA ✓šḳy *Sh* (IA pf. ḥšḳy, SmA pf. ḥšḳh) id., JA ✓šḳy *Sh* (pf. ʔašḳī) vt., Sr ✓šḳy|w (pf. ʔašḳī) *Sh* v. 'water, irrigate; give to drink', Ar ✓sqy *D* 'donner à boire, faire boire souvent, arroser'; S *✓šḳy *G* 'give to drink' (bf. from *✓šḳy *Sh*, *D* and contamination with N *ṣiḳâ'y[∇] 'to pour') > Ug ✓šḳy *G* 'give to drink' ('ofrecer a beber'), Ar ✓sqy *G* (pf. سَقَى saqā), Sb ✓šḳy vt. *G* 'irrigate (land), water (cattle)', Gz ✓sḳy *G* vt. 'water, irrigate', Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. še'ḳe 'water (animals), irrigate', Mh ✓hḳy *G* (pf. hḳū) 'give water to', (pf. ḥ3ḳū) 'give a drink, irrigate', Sb ✓šḳy, OAk, Ak OA inf. šaḳā[∇]u, Ak OB inf. šaḳû v. 'irrigate', Ak inf. šaḳû 'give to drink' ¶ GB 860, KB 1512-4, JPS 592, HJ 1186, Yal 925, OLS 451, Js. 1622, BK I 1109-10, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, L G 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || **C:** Ag *✓sḳ^ω v. 'drink' > Xm {R} s3q^ω- (suq-), Aw {R} sekũ v. 'drink' (labialization in *ḳ^ω reflecting the preceding labialized vw.?) ¶ R Ch II 93-4 || Ch (N *ṣiḳâ'y[∇] '↑'): Tng {J} soke v. 'give water to a baby' || Bd

{Sch.} sègin / sèʔyin 'drink' || CCh: Higi {Kr.}: HgNk sεχ^ωí, HgB suχ^ú, FIG sεg^ωi, HgK sak^ωú / sεχ^ωú, HgG sεg^ωi v. 'drink' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#296], J T 146, ChL I 260, II 135, 145, 155, 165 ¶¶ OS #2220 || **A** *šü:₁k∇ 'beverage (juice, sap, etc.)' > M *siǰü-sün 'juice, sap, beverage' > WrM sigüsun, HIM шγγс 'sap, juice', Brt шγγhəh, Kl {KRS} шγγсh šūsən 'juice', Kl {Rm.} šūsŋ id., Kl D {Rm.} šūsŋ 'Lauge, Suppe mit Salz' (× N *ŽUḲU 'juice' [q.v.]) ¶ MED 704, Chr. 740, KRS 688, KW 373 || Tg *šū'k¹- 'juice' > Neg d. çuyɔpçɔ 'stained with juice', Ud X ćúōŋki, Ud Sm {Krm.} ćuōŋki 'sap of trees', ?? Ewk d. çūkin 'undercooked' (of meat) (if from 'having juice'); Tg *šūkse (or *ç-) 'juice, sap' > Ewk çūksɔ 'meat juice, juice of berries, sap', Sln sūtçɔ 'pitch (of trees)', Lm çūs 'juice (of berries, meat, fish)', Ork süksɔ ~ tūksɔ 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411, Krm. 311 ¶¶ The unexpected M *-ǰ- (for *-k-) is still puzzling (infl. of M *siǰü-sün 'food, meal' < N *sêg|k∇ 'to eat, to swallow'?) || ? E {HK} sɪkʋ v. 'drink' ¶¶ HK 1080 ◇ The cns. *g in NaIE *seug- and *ǰ in M *siǰü-sün suggest a N deglottalizing factor (something like *h¹a in *°süḲ'a¹-h¹a > *süḲ'h¹a > *süka) or a variant etymon *süka ◇ The delabialization in M *i (obviously from *ü) still needs investigating.

2036. *śṽḲ∇ 'honey' or 'bee' > K: GZ *sḳa- 'bee' > G sḳa- 'bee-hive', Mg (p)sḳa-, ska-, Lz mska-, mcka- 'bee' ¶ K 164, Q 319, DCh. 1186 || **HS:** C: Ag ≈ *sa'ḳ¹aḥ- 'honey' (and/or 'bee?') > Bln {Ap.} saxara, Xm sara, Km saḣeya, Q {R} sāqiyā 'honey', Aw {Hz.} cɔɔarí, Knf {TBZAC} sāhar 'bee' ¶ Ap. IC 43, 50, R BilS 302 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *saḳ^ωan∇ 'honey' > pBT {Stl.} *saHani 'honey' > Bl {Mch.} saxani 'bee', Krf {Sch.} šáḣání, Glm {Sch.} sūh, Gera {Sch.} síña, Pr {Frz.} čígínì 'honey' || NrBc *suḳ^ωan∇ 'honey' > Wrj {Sk.} súḳ^ωanáḷ, Kry {Sk.} súḳ^ωán, Jmb {Sk.} súḳ^ωáná, Cg {Sk.} čòḳáne, Sir {Sk.} súḳ^ωuní, My {ChL} suk^ωəm || Ech: Skr {Lk.} sóhe 'bee', sóhen 'honey' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#302], Sch. BIL 147, ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 26, Frz. P 25, Lk. ZSS 39 || **A:** pKo {S} *skúr 'honey' > MKo (p)skúr, NKo k̄ul id. ¶ S QK #421, Nam 63, MLC 217 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *žūgi 'juice' > Ko *÷ T *juk 'resin, gum', M *sigü-sü, and Tg *sūkse 'juice', F N *ŽUḲU 'juice') ◇ Blz. KM 119 [#20] (K, Ag, Ch).

2037. ?₂ *šṽḲ∇ 'to carve, to chisel' > IE *sek- v. 'chop' (× N *śaḳa 'to split, to cleave' [q.v. ffd.]) || **HS:** Eg fXVIII sḳsḳ {EG} 'zerhacken, zerstören', {Fk.} 'destroy' ¶ EG IV 319, Fk. 252 || WCh *saḳ- 'carve' > Hs

sásssàk̄ā v. 'carpenter', yā sásssàk̄à ítàččē 'he adzed bark off tree', Gw {Mts.} šéšēke v. 'carve' | Ang {Flk.} sək v. 'cut down (trees to clean a field)' | Ngz {Sch.} 3s pf. sàsk-ú (vb. n. sáskà, sbjn. sàsák) 'scrape\cut off in small pieces (skin of mango, etc.); carve wood in this way' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#297], Abr. H 787, Mts. G 108, Flk. s.v. sək, Sch. DN 144 || ? EC: Or {Brl.} sək- 'carve (sculpture)', {Th.} sək- 'scrape (raschiare)' (× Or sək- 'dig' [probably of different origin]) ¶ Brl. 380, Th. 309 ¶¶ ≈ OS #2180 (*sək- 'cut' > ĩ Eg {OS ← ?} sək 'cut', WCh *sək- 'cut [down]; carpenter') || A: AdS of *sak- 'carve, rip' (> Tg {DQA} *°sak-pi- 'axe', pKo *sàkí- 'carve, engrave', etc.) (< N *šak̄a 'to split, to cleave', q.v. ffd.) ¶ DQA #1899 ◊ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA) (not distinguished from N *šak̄a '↑').

2038. ₂ *šuhk̄∇ 'wish, covet' > HS: WS *°√'š' h̄k̄ ~ *-šūk̄- (~ *√'š' k̄k̄?) 'wish, desire' > Gz √'š' h̄k̄ G 'desire eagerly, wish, covet' (as. s...k̄ > š...k̄), √'s' k̄k̄ T (pf. tasak̄^wak̄^wa) 'covet so.'s goods', BHb תַּשׁוּקָא təšū'k̄ā 'desire', ? √'š' k̄k̄ in prtc. šōk̄ē'k̄ā (nap'šō) '(his soul) is longing' (Is. 29.8, ψ_107.9), JPA אַרְוֵי שׁוֹקָא 'eager desire' ('Begierde, Gelüste, Verlangen'), Ar √'š' wq G (ip. -šūq-) 'excite a desire in', 'fill with longing' (←b- Aram, whence š for the expected *s?) ¶ Di. 1254 and Br. G I 169 (both: Gz-Hb-Ar), KB 1344, 1519, 1658, Lv. IV 523, Js. 154O-1, BK II 1288-9, Hv. 382, ≈ LG 551 (the connection of Gz √'š' h̄k̄ with Hb and Ar "is unlikely"), L G 510 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the cns. *š-) WCh *žak̄^w ({Stl.} *šak̄^w) 'wish, want' > Hs Sk zàk̄u^wā, Hs zāk̄ī 'eagerness', Ngz žàk̄^wáj 'desire for, desire to do' (Stl. ZCh 196 [#474], Abr. H 968, Sch. DN 47), which may be equated with S *°√'š' k̄ 'love' (> Ar √'š' q 'love passionately') || A: NaT *su_;k̄ ({Cl.} *sūk) 'greed(y), envy, envious' > OT {Cl.} sūq 'greed; envy, envious, covetous', Tki {Shaw} suq, Nog suq 'greedy', Qrg suq 'envy; greed (coveting other people's goods); envious', Qq suq 'greed, envy; glutton', Uz suq 'envious, greedy (as to other people's food)', Qzq sūṽanaq 'greedy (as to food)' ¶ Cl. 804, Shaw 125, NogR 312, MaM 323, Jud., UzR 390.

2039. *s^ra¹h̄k̄∇ 'thick, large' > K *š|sk- ~ *š|suk- '(be) thick' > OG {Abul.} gan-suk- 'make fat\thick' (Deut. 32.15, Jerem. 5.28), G (ga-)suk-eba 'to make thick', G suk-va 'to be(come) thick\fat', suk-i adj. 'fat', OG {Abul.} skeli 'thick', G skeli id., 'dense' (of fog) ¶ Abul. 69, 407, Chx. 1286, DCh. 900, 1202-3 || U: FP {It.} sak^ra¹, {UEW} *sak∇ ~ *sakk∇ 'thick, dense' > F sakea, Es sage id. | pLp {Lr.} *sōk3 'thick

(dicht), dense' > Lp: S {Hs.} *sooge-ke*, Vfs {Lgc.} *sōk's*, *sōk:eb_3*, L {LO} *suohkat* id., N {N} *suokkād* 'thick' (of liquids, etc.), Kld *su_kāḍ* 'thick, dense' (of a forest, hair, porridge) | Chr: L *шuko* 'šuko, Uf *šuk3*, Uf/B *šuko*, H *шукы* *šukъ* 'much' | Prm {LG} **suk* > Z/Prmk/Yz *suk* 'thick, dense' ¶ UEW 750, Sm. 553, It. #39, Lr. #1173, Lgc. #7139, Lgc. SL #2251, Hs. 1228, MRS 731-2, Ü 273, Ep. 156, TI 529, LG 266 || HS: CS **√šhḱ* '≈ high, large' > Ar *√shq* (pf. *saḥuqa*) 'be lofty' (tree), *saḥūq-* 'high, tall' (of a palm-tree, donkey, etc.), *saḥḥāq-at-* 'femme grande et qui a les mamelles flasques et pendantes', SmA *šhḱ* 'high', *šhωḱ* 'heavens', BHb *קְהַל* 'šahaḱ 'heaven', MHb 'šahaḱ (pl. šaḥā'ḱīm) 'clouds, heaven', name of one of the seven heavens, JA [Trg.] *קְהַל* *šah^a'ḱ-ā* id. ¶ BK I 1061, Hv. 312, Tal 886, KB 1358, Js. 1551, Lv. IV 536, Lv. T II 470 || B **√(w)zḥk* 'heavy' > Ah *aḷuk* 'heavy', Gd *zāk* (pf. *εzūāk*) 'be heavy' (emphatic **z* due to the infl. of *H?) || ?σ D **čāk-*, ({ḡGS} *s-) 'make grow, bring up' (← vt. *'make fat, fatten') > Kt *čā'k* 'make grow, rear, support', Kn *sāku* 'bring up, foster, rear, nurse', Kdg *čā'k* 'rear up (child, young animal)', Tu *sāḥku-* v. 'foster, nourish, nurse, bring up', Tl *sāku* 'rear, bring up' ¶¶ D #2477 ◇ K *-k- goes back to the cluster *-*ḥḱ-* (ass. deglottalization of N *-*ḱ-* by the adjacent N **ḥ* that yields K **∅*). The appearance of the vw. u in K **š|suk-*, Ar pf. *saḥuqa*, Ar *saḥūq-*, SmA *šhωḱ*, and Ah *aḷuk* is still to be investigated.

2040. **šik₁ra* (or [less probably] **šik₁ra*) 'to sink' > IE: NaIE **sek-* 'sink' (of water), 'flow down', 'dry up, be exhausted' (of liquid) > OI 'a-sak-ra- 'not ceasing to flow or drying up', rdp. a-saś'c-at 'not drying up', ? 'vi-ḡak-tā 'a cow that have ceased to give milk' (vi-'apart' + sak- (unless Mayrhofer is right in connecting it to *sajati* 'attaches, fixes, fastens on') ||| ḷ Gk Hm {WP} ἔσκετο (φωνή) (< rdp. **se-sk-*) 'stockte, versiegte (die Stimme)' (twice a varia lectio in the Scholia for ἔσχετο) ||| Lt *sēkti* (prs. with a nasal infix *senkū*) 'to sink, to become lower' (water)', Ltv *sikt* (prs. *sīeku*) 'to dry up', Lt *seklūs*, Ltv *seklis* 'shallow' | Sl (< a form with a nasal infix) **sēk-nq-ti* 'to run dry, to dry up' > HLs *sakać*, *saknyć* id., P (w) *siąknać*, *sięknać* 'to become dry, to be quite drained', *wsiąkać*, *wsiękać* 'to sink gradually into the ground', Blg 'cekvam, 'cekna 'run dry, dry up'; Sl **jьz-sēk-nq-ti* 'to run low\dry, to dry up' (**jьz-* 'out') > OCS *иcакнѣти* *išeknōti*, P *zsiąknać*, R *ис'сякнуть* id. ¶ WP II 473,

P 894-5, M K I 64, III 227, 419, Frn. 772-3, ESSJ IX 74, Vs. III 826 ¶ The prehistory of the IE √ may be reconstructed as follows: N ***ṣiḱ_lṣ_la** > pre-IE ****s_ljek-** > ***sek-** (F AD NGIE, AD NVIE) || HS: CS ***√šḱṣ** v. 'sink' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JPA **√šḱṣ** G 'sink', JEA **√šḱṣ** D 'lower, make sink', Ar **√sqṣ** G 'be gone (somewhere)' (mā ṣadrī ṣayna saqāṣa 'I do not know where he is gone'), (with assimilatory emphatization ***s** > ***ṣ**) Ar **√ṣqṣ** G 'stray away from the right path', 'crumble away' (of a well) ¶ GB 861, Lv. IV 604, Lv. T II 512-3, Sl. 1176, Fr. II 329, 508, Hv. 32, 401 || A: Tg ***s_lka-** 'fall from trees\bushes' (of leaves, fruits, berries) > Nn B/KU **slxa-** id., WrMc **slxa-** 'fall' (of leaves, flowers), 'shed hair\feathers', 'be shed' (of hair) ¶ STM II 80, Z 597 || D (in GnD only) ***č_i(k)k-**, {ṢGS} ***s_lṣik-** v. 'lower head' > Png **hig-** id., Kui **sika** v. 'bend the head down, bow\droop the head', Ku {Slz.} **hikk-** v. 'hang the head', {Fzg.} **hikalī** v. 'crouch' ¶ D #2493.

2041. *ṣiḱâ_lṣ_lṽ 'to pour' > IE: NaIE ***se_lḱ_lṽ**- 'pour out, strain, leak, drip' > OI **√sēc-**: ***n**-present **siñ_icati** 'pours (out), sprinkles' (aor. **asicat**), **'sēka-h** 'pouring out, effusion, sprinkling', Av **haēk-**, **hi(n)čaiti** 'begießt, gießt aus' || Gk [Hs.] aor. **ἴξαι · διηθῆσαι** 'be strained, filtered', Gk **ἰκμάς** 'moisture', **ἰκμαίνω** 'I moisten', **ἰκμάζω** 'I strain, filter' || Gmc ***sīx-an** ({Vr.} ***sīx^ω-an**) > ON **sía** 'sehen', OHG **sīhan** 'to strain (sehen, heraus-\durch-sehen)', NHG **seihen** vt. 'to filter, to strain', AS **sīon** ~ **séon** id., vi. 'to exude, to flow, to drip'; OHG **sīha**, NHG **Seihe**, AS **siohhe** 'strainer, filter', ON **sía** 'sieve' || Sl: SCr **òсека** \approx **òsjeка** 'ebb' (< ***sēkā**), Sl ***sbkāti** > ***sbčāti** > SrChS **сѣати**, SCr **scāti**, Slv **scāti**, Cz **scāti**, P **szczać**, R **сцать**, Uk 'сцяти 'to urinate', Sl iter. ***sikati** > Slv **síkatī** 'hervorspritzen', R 'сикать 'to urinate' || Tc A **sik-** 'overflow' ¶ EI 448 (***se_lḱ-** 'pour out; overflow'), \approx P 893-4 (***se_lḱ^ω-**), M K III 364-5, M E II 744-5, F I 717, Hofm. 123, Ho. 295, Kb. 851, OsS 762, KM 699-700, Vr. 472, Glh. 541-2 || HS (× N ***ṣüḱ_la¹** 'to drink, to suck'): S ***√šḱy** vt. G 'irrigate, water' > Ar **√sqy** (pf. **سقى** saqā), Mh **√hky**, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'še_lḱe, Sb **√šḱy** v. 'irrigate', OAk, Ak OA **šakā²u**, Ak OB **šakû** 'to irrigate', Gz **√sk_ly** G v. 'irrigate, water' (ffd. see N ***ṣüḱ_la¹**) ¶ GB 860, KB 1512-4, HJ 1186, BK I 1108-10, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, LG 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***s_lak_u** > Hs **šēḱâ** v. 'pour (into vessel), pour water (on a person)' || NrBc: Jmb/My/Dir {Sk.} **saka** v. 'pour in' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [#296], Abr. H 806-7, Ba. 935, Sk. NB 35, ChL || ?? Eg fMK **scy** ({EG}

śtj) 'begatten, erzeugen' (if its basic meaning is 'Samen ergießen' [as supposed by EG]) ¶ EG IV 347-8 ¶¶ OS #2220 || ¶: Tg *sekjē- 'pour in, flow' > Nn KU səkz id., WrMc sekī ~ sekijē v. 'stream, flow; strain (цедить)', sekujen 'spring (fons)' ¶ STM II 139 ¶¶ ?? A {DQA} **šīk'ī- 'urine; urinate' > ?φ M *siʔe- 'urinate' > MM [S] śī,e-, WrM sige-, HIM, Brt шээ-, Ord šē-, Kl шее- šē, Mnr H {SM} sūē-, Dg {Mrm.} śē- ~ sē- id.; ⇨ *siʔe-sūn 'urine' > WrM sigesūn, HIM шээс(эн), Ord šēsū, Brt шээһэ(н), Kl шеесн šēsū, Mnr H {SM} sūēз, Dg {Mrm.} śes ~ sēs id. ¶ H 139, MED 701-2, Ms. O 611-2, Chr. 752, KRS 669, KW 355, SM 373, Klz. D II 131 || Tg *šīkēn 'urine' > Ewk çikēn, Sln šīχš, Lm çikan, Neg çixēn, Ul čigzn- ~ čē(n-), Ork çiz(n-), Nn Nh čīš, Nn KU čikš, WrMc sike id., Ewk çikēn-, Lm çikan-, Neg çixēn- 'urinate' ¶ STM II 392-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2189 (A *šīk'ī-, *šīk'-di 'urine; to urinate', incl. M, Tg) ◇ The vw. *e in the first syll. of Tg *sekjē- (for the expected *i) still needs explaining.

2042. ₂ *SŪKŪRŲ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes, parent-in-law' > IE: [1] NaIE *'swekuro-s 'husband's father' > OI 'śvaśura-ḥ, Av xvasura-, NPrs خسر χosor, Psh sḫar 'father-in-law' || Gk ἑκυρός 'wife's father' || Al vjehërr (-rri, pl. -ërr) m. 'father-in-law' ({O}: influenced by Al vjehërr 'mother-in-law') || L socer / gen. -ī 'father-in-law (husband's\wife's father)' || OHG swēhur 'husband's father', NHG †, π Schwäher, AS swehor ~ swéor, Gt μ swaíhra id. || Lt šēšuras (< *seš-) id. || Sl *svekrъ 'husband's father' > OCS свекръ svekrъ, Blg, Uk 'свекор, SCr svēkar, Slv svéker, Cz svekr, Slk sveker, P świekier, R 'свёкор [1a] d.: *'swekūrā 'husband's mother' > Arm սկտուր sketur id. (< *kwekūr-ā < *swekūr-ā- [as.]) || Gk ἑκυρά 'husband's mother' || pAl {O} *swexurā > Al vjehërr (-rra, pl. -rra) f. 'mother-in-law' || [2] NaIE *swe'krū-s 'husband's mother' > OI 'śvaśrū-ḥ 'mother-in-law', NPrs خسرū χosrū 'husband's father\mother' || L socrus 'mother-in-law' || W chwegr, Crn wheger id.; d. W chwegrwn, Crn whygeran 'husband's father' || OHG swigar 'husband's mother' (> NHG Schwieger, Yid שוויגער 'šviger), AS swezer 'spouse's mother'; d. Gmc *swexr-ōn- > Gt swaíhrō, ON sværa id. || Sl *sve'krī / gen. *svekrъve 'husband's mother' (< *swekrū- with depalatalization *k̂ > *k within a cns. cluster)

> OCS **свекръты** *svękr̥tī* / **свекръѡе** *svękr̥ѡe*, R Δ **све'кры**, R **све'кровь**, Blg **све'кърѡа**, SCr **svĕkr̥va**, Sln **svĕkr̥v**, **svĕkr̥va**, OCz **svĕkrov**, P **świekra** id. ||| **[3]** ? NaE ***swek̥u'ro-** {Wrk.} 'wife's brother' > OHG **swāgur** ~ **swāger** {Kb.} 'relative of a father-in-law, father-son-brother-in-law' ||| InA: Kshm **hahar** 'wife's brother', Sin **hūrā** 'spouse's brother' ¶ P 1043-4, EI 85 (? ***swek̥u'ro-s** 'wife's brother'), 195-6 (***swek̥uro-s** 'father-in-law, husband's father'), 386 (***swek̥ruh_ḡ-s** 'mother-in-law'), Szem. KT 17-8, Wrk. 170-1, 185-6, 190-1, M K III 400-1, Vl. I 691-2, Sl. 57-8, F I 478-9, WH II 550-1, LP § 24.4, YGM-1 156, ECCE 307, Fs. 462, Vr. 571, Kb. 995, 998, 1003, OsS 907-8. 914, Schz. 277, KM 687-8, 693, Ho. 334-5, O 510-1, Frn. 977, Glh. 597 ||| **HS:** Ch ****√srK** (mt.?) ~ ****√sK^wr** 'in-law' (× N ***S'i'hūr^v** 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.) > WCh: Hs **sùrúkī** 'father-in-law, son-in-law', **sùrúkā** 'mother-daughter-in-law', **sùrúkāj** 'relations-in-law', Gw {Mts.} **šòròk^yí** 'wife's father-mother, wife's elder brother-sister, son-in-law' ||| AG ***sзүзr** ({Sch.} ***səʒəzr**, {Hf.} ***səzəzər**) '(father-mother-)in-law' > Su {J} **sзгзr** 'father-mother-in-law (Schwiegerleute)', Kfr {Hf.} **sзүзr**, Ang {Hf.} **sīr**, Gmy {Hf.} **šūr**, Mpn {Frz.} **sēr** 'in-law' ||| BT: Bele {Sch.} **hūrí** 'in-law' (h- < *s-) ||| CCh: Mf {BLB} **súk^wár** 'mother-daughter-in-law' ||| BtG {Mch.} **sérwa** 'mother-in-law' ||| Glv {Rp.} **šúgùla** 'wife's mother, wife's brother, mother-in-law', Mdr {Mch.} **šōlā** 'relative-in-law' ||| Msy {Mch.} **skul** 'mother-in-law' ||| Db {Mch.} **sakul** **da** 'my father-mother-in-law, my son-in-law', {Lnh.} **súkúl** 'relative-in-law', Kola {Sb.} **sukūl** '(male) relative-in-law' ||| Lgn {Bou.} **skū** 'mother-in-law' ||| Mtk {Sb.} **skwâr** 'relative-in-law' ||| MsgN {Rlf.} **tsegelía** '(male) relative-in-law' ¶ Abr. H 829, Mts. G 109, Hf. AG #106, J S 82, Frz. DM 58, Sch. ChV 48, Sch. BTL 17, 30, BLB 321, RpB 82, Mch. D 148, ChC, ≈ Nw. ChCR #74 ||| ? EC ***s^vrk-** × N ***S'i'hūr^v** 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.] > Kns {BISO} **sark-att-a** 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} **serko** 'Schwager' ¶ BISO 173, AMS 36, 221, 267, ≈ Ss. PEC 5.

2043. ₂ ***śal'a'** 'tie, means of tying' (→ 'rope') > **U:** FU ***śala** (or ***ś-**) 'thread' > Chr H {Ep.} **šol** 'взяток у саней' ('flexible rod used to tie together parts of a sledge'), Chr **šol** in Chr Uf **kit-šol** 'Armband', Chr L **кидшол**, Chr H/Uf **kit-šol** 'bracelet' (Chr **кид**, **kit** means 'hand, arm') ||| pOs ***sāl** > Os: V **sālā** 'Bauchgurt (des Rientiers), den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km **sāt** 'um eine

Rinderschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde', Kz sŭḡ keḡ 'bellow belt of a reindeer' (keḡ 'rope, cord') || Hg szalag 'ribbon, band' ¶ UEW 461, Ps. OT 123, Ep. 44, 152, MRS 197, SebZ 114, Ü 66, MF 566-7 || **HS:** CS (rdp.) *šalš'īl(-at)- 'chain' > MHb תַּשְׁלָּחַת šal'šēleṭ, EpJA תַּשְׁלָּחַת šlšlt, JA [Trg.] תַּשְׁלָּחַת šalšēl't-ā, SmA šlšlh 'chain', Ar سَيْسِلْ silsil- 'iron-chain', سَيْسِلَاتْ silsil-at- 'iron-chain, succession', Sr d. سَيْسِلَاتْ šulšā'l-ā 'concatenatio' ¶ Js. 1590, HJ 1155, Js. 1590, Tal 905, Br. 784, Fr. II 340-1, BK I 1122, Hv. 329 || Eg 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠 {Crm.} v. 'tow (a boat)', {Mks.} 'haler un navire', Cpt: Sd 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠 saase, B 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠 sahs n. 'tow' ¶ Mks. I #3366, Crm. 163, Vc. 197.

2044. *śāl'a 'willow' > **IE:** NaIE *salik̑- 'willow' > L salix id. || OIr sail / gen. sa(i)lech id., W helyg, Cm helyk, Br haleg coll. 'willows' (snglt. W, Cm helyg-en. Br haleg-enn), OBrth salik- (in the n. l. Salico-dūnon) || ON selja (*salhyōn), Nr selije, Dn selje, silje 'sallow', Sw sälg {Mlnv.} 'pussy-willow', Ic selja {Bv.} id., 'willow', OHG {OsS} sal(a)ha 'willow, sallow', MHG salhe, NHG Salweide, AS sealh 'sallow, Salix caprea', NE sallow || Oss I хæрис χārīs, Oss D хæрес χāres, хæрвес χārves 'willow' || ? Gk ἑλίκη id. (× ? NaIE *welik̑- id. > Gk B Φελικῶν, MHG wilge, AS welig 'willow', NE willow) ¶ WP I 300-1, 453-4, P 879, EI 643 (*sal(i)k- 'willow'), Mn. 1110, F I 494, Frdr. PITA 53-7, WH II 469, Vn. S 13, YGM-1 283, Hm. 368, ≈ Ab. IV 180-1, Ho. 236, 389, Lx. 321, Kb. 821, OsS 738, KM 622, Mlnv. 579, Hlq. 1145, Vr. 469 ¶ The element *iḱ- is likely to go back to a sx. || **U** *ś[šal]a > FU *ś[šal]a 'elm, willow' > F salava. Δ salaja 'brittle willow (Salix fragilis)' || Er селей śéley, Mk сяли śāli 'elm' || Chr: L шоло 'šolo, Uf/B šolo, H šol 'elm' || Hg szil 'elm' || ? pY {IN} *śal 'tree' > Y: K śāl, T sāl {Krn.} 'tree', {IN} id., 'larch': OY: K {Bil.} tshall, {Klc.} чалга, NW {Lnd.} tschal 'tree' ¶ UEW 458-9, Coll. 111, Sm. 549 (FU *ś+liw 'elm' > FP *śēlV, Ugr *ś+lī), Ker. II 135, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266, IN 221, 332, Krn. JJ 277, 284, 320, 332-3 || **HS:** S *ś[šlp] > Ar Mrc سَالِفْ sālif- 'weeping willow, hornbeam' ¶ Gass. II 651 ◇ It is not justified enough to adduce here names of other trees, parts of trees, or those of trees in general, such as D (in SD) *čall- ({ṯGS} *č[č]-?) 'cane' [cf. D #2383], D *čāl- ({ṯGS} č-) 'Acacia' (cf. D #2474), HS *s∇l∇m- 'ε tree' > Ar salam- 'Mimosa flava', salām- ~ silām- 'a bitter tree', ECh: Mgm sólmó 'ε (very hard) tree' (cf. Hv. 333, JA 124, OS #2182), NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} solā

'*Olea chrysophylla* (a tree)', Mch {L} šǝlló '€ a tree' (cf. Blz. OL #118 ['kind of tree'], CR H 660, L M 50), Hs Skt/Kc šállà 'the reed *gyaranya*', Hs šállà 'the flowering spikes of *gyaranya*', (??) sàrfā 'stalk' (actually from N *šéíXâ 'bough, twig, stick') (cf. Ba. 907, 925). An equation between D *čā́l- ({{ǝGS}} ǝ-) 'Acacia' and Eg šrɛɜ 'Acacia' (if valid, although too risky on phonetic grounds) points to a N *š- or *č- and therefore does not belong here ◇ Coll. IUS 69 (FU, IE), ≠ Blz. 160 [#78] (suggested to add D *čā́l- 'Acacia' to the IE-U comparison).

2045. *sA1ʿêʿ 'put, throw' > HS: S *^o✓ʿšʿl^ʿw|h|ʿ ≈ throw' > Ak inf. šalû 'shoot (arrows), hurl (weapons), reject, throw away' ¶ CAD XVII/1 272-3 || U *sāle or *sälke 'sit down (seat oneself) (in/on sth.), get in/on (a boat, a sledge, etc.)' > Prm *sól- > Z I sɜ́l- 'get into (water)', Z cöB- sɜ́v-, Z UV sɜ́l- 'get in/on (a boat, a cart, a sledge, or another vehicle), mount (a horse)' || ObU {{ǝHL}} *θḗl- id. > pVg {Ht.} *tā́l- id. > Vg: T tā́l-/tāl-, LK/MK/UK tṓl-, P/LL tṓl-/tal-, NV tṓl-/tal-, SV/ML tṓl-/tāl-, UL/Ss tā́l- vi. {ChCh} 'get into (a boat\sledge)', {MK} id., 'mount (a horse)' ({{BV}} 'сестъ', {Ht.} 'sich setzen' are misleading translations with polysemic R and NHG verbs); ⇨ Vg T tā́lt- vt. 'load into a boat'; pOs {Ht.} *ḫel- ({{JHL}} *ḫā́l-) vi. 'get into (a boat\sledge)' > Os: V/O lél-, Ty/Y ḫā́ḫ-, D/Nz/K tet- || Hg † ell- 'mount (a horse\donkey)' || Sm {Jn.} *tǝ́iy- (or *tǝ́iḫ-) 'get in/on (a boat, a sledge, etc.)' > Ne T тн-, Ne T O Lh.} t̄ī́-, Ng {Prk.} tiaɣi, 1s aor. t̄ī́em, Slq Tz {KIH} t̄ī́- id., '(in den Schlitten, in das Boot, zu Pferd) sich setzen', Kms {KD} 1s prs. šǝ́lɛm ~ šá́lɛm id., 'ich fahre' ¶¶ UEW 434-5, LG 262, SZ 343-4, Ht. #138, Hl. rHt 68-71, BV 115-6, Trj. S 205, MK 622, MF 147, Jn. 163, KKIH 18, ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [#52] (+ unc. Y K 'elil 'burden, load, freight, weight', elite- v. 'load, pack, saddle') || A: NaT *sal- 'put, put\throw down' > OT sal- {DTS} 'put, throw', {Cl.} 'move sth., put into motion (wave, etc.)', MQp -صل ɜ́al- 'send', -صال ɜ́āl- 'throw', XwT sal- 'put, put down, throw (down)', Tk sal- 'throw, cast', Tkm θal-, Qzq, Nog, Qrg sal- 'put, build', Az sal- 'put down', ET sal- 'put in', Qmq, VTt, Qrq, Alt, Xk, Tv, Tf sal-, Bsh hal-, Uz sɜ́l-, Slr saɬ- 'put' ¶ DTS 482, Cl. 824, Rs. W 897, S AJ 189 [#140], TkR 561, Äz. 256, BN 130, MM 286, KrkR 559, BR 619-20, Jud. 624-6, Tn. SJ 471, BT 124, BIG 179, TvR 366, Ra. 225 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 286 (#251), ≈ DQA #1961 (A *sǝ́óle 'make, put' > T).

2046. *sālû 'intact' (→ 'entire'), 'in good condition, healthy' > **IE:** NaIE *sōlō-, *solwō- 'entire' > OI 'sarva- 'entire, whole, intact, all, every', Av ha^urva- id., 'sound', OPrs haruva- 'whole, entire', Sak har-biśśa- 'all and every', NPrs هر här 'every, all, all kind of, any', Oss I al(1)3, Oss D al(1)i 'all kind of' || Gk A ὅλος, Gk I/Ep οὔλος 'whole, entire, complete', Gk οὔλω 'be whole\sound', οὔλε inv. 'salve' || pAl {O} *salwa > Al gjallë 'alive, living', ngjall- vt. 'bring back to life, revive' || Lsalvus 'safe, unhurt, well, sound', d. salūs / salūt-is 'health, soundness', Osc σαλας, salavs 'salvus', Um SALUOM, SALUUOM 'salvum' accus. || Arm nղջ օղջ (< soljō-) 'alive, living; sound, healthy; complete, entire' || Tc: A salu 'completely', B sol-me 'complete, whole' ¶ P 979-80, EI 262 (*'solwō-s 'whole'), M K III 446-7, VI. II 1443-5, Ab. I 48, F II 381, WH II 471-3, Krf. 124, O 129-30, Bc. G 324, 345, Slt. 232, Bedr. 561, Xud. II 276, Wn. 412, Ad. 705, Ad. H 22 || **HS:** S: **[1]** S *✓šl̥w 'be untroubled, safe, at ease; 'stay quietly, be at rest' (× N *š̥iL̥ ▽ 'quiet', q.v. ffd.) | **[2]** +ext.: S *✓šlm 'be completed, remain whole, be intact, sound and safe' > Ak ✓šlm G 'be completed; stay well; be in good condition, intact', BHb ✓šlm G (ip. ܫܠܡܐ ܝܝ-š'lam, sttpf. ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ) 'remain whole\unscathed, be(come) completed, keep quiet', Amr ✓šlm G ≈ id., Ug ✓šlm G 'estar\ir bien, estar en paz', BA ✓šlm G 'be finished', SmA ✓šlm G 'come to an end, be completed', Ar ✓slm G 'be(come) safe' (→ 'be free from vice\defect'), Mn {MA} ✓šlm G 'être indemne', IA ✓šlm G 'be (re)paid'; ⇨ S *ša'lim- > BHb ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ, JA [Trg.] ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ, em. ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ-ܐ 'complete, unmolested, peaceful', Ar سَلِمَ salima (pf. of the verb ✓slm) 'was safe', Ak šalmu 'whole, intact, entire, healthy, sound'; ⇨ S *ša'lām- 'unharméd state' > Ug šlm 'paz, salud, bienestar', BHb ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ 'unharméd state, well-being, peace' (→ a greeting) (and Cn ⇨ Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk.} šá-la-ma 'greet, sue for peace'), Ph šlm 'peace, prosperity', Plm, SmA šlm 'peace', BA ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ 'peace, prosperity' (as well as a greeting), IA šlm 'welfare, well-being, health', JEA ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ, em. ܫܠܡܐ ܫܐܠܡܐ 'id., 'soundness, health', Ar سَلَامٌ salām- 'safety, security' (→ 'immunity \ freedom from faults\vices' → 'obedience to God', a greeting), Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} šlm 'peace' (⇨ šlm G 'sue for peace'), Gz salām 'peace, safety' (and a salutation), Ak šalām 'health, (physical) well-being; welfare (of a

country\city), safe course\completion of a journey', \rightarrow * \check{v} šlm D > Pun \check{v} šlm D 'accomplish', BHb, Ph, Plm, Ak \check{v} šlm D '(re)pay, give restitution for', Ug šlm, (AkSc) šallima 'pay, deliver', Cn \rightarrow Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} šá-l-má-tá 'levy, contribution', šá-l-ma-tá 'complimentary gift, provisions' ¶ KB 1394-9, 1418-25, 1790-1, HJ 1142, A #2609, OLS 438-41, Hnr. 181-2, G A 32, BK I 1132, Hv. 333, Ln. 1412-6, Deg. § 62, Dlm. 424-5, Lv. IV 564, Lv. T II 488, Sl. 1150-1, Tal 901-4, Js. 1578, 1582, 1585-6, Br. 778, JPS 579, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Ln. 1412-8, Hv. 333-4, BGMR 127, MA 82, LG 499-500, CAD XVII/1 206-29, 255-60, Sd. 1211, 1237 (Ak šilûîtu \leftarrow Aram), Hlk. ##225-6, SivCR 42, 85 || ? ϕ A: M: WrM šal, HIM шал adj./adv. 'complete, utter, total', Kl шал šalъ, Dg {T} šal 'quite, completely', Ord {Ms.} šal 'tout à fait' ¶ The prehistory of the word and the origin of the unexpected š-are obscure ¶ MED 748, KRS 651, Ms. O 603, T DgJ 182 || D *čāl-({ θ GS} *s-?) 'sufficient, suitable' > Tm cāl- 'be abundant, full, be suitable, fitting', MI cāla 'richly, fully', Kn sāl, sālu 'be sufficient\enough, suffice', Tl cālu 'be able, capable, enough', Klm sāl 'be able, can', Gnd Mu hālna 'completely', Knd sāl- 'be capable of, suitable', Ku hāl- v. 'suffice, be enough to' ¶¶ D #2470.

2047. $_2$ *SiI ∇ 'hole' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *sill- 'small hole' > Kns {Ss.} silla id., ?? σ , ϕ Rn sīl 'vagina, birth-canal' || SC {E} *sila 'cave' > Kz {E} silimbayo id. ¶ \approx Ss. Gssf 245, Ss. B 71, PG 260, E SC 326 || S: Ak fOB šīlu(m) 'Vertiefung (Eindruck auf Leber, Magen usw. in Omina; im Gelände)', ? Ar sāl- (pl. sull-ān-, sulāl-) 'bottom of a valley' ¶ Sd. 1237, BK I 1117, Hv. 329 || ? ϕ CCh: Ms {J} sùllà, Bnn {ChL} sùldà, BnnM {ChL} sula 'hole' ¶ The deviant vw. *u may be due to the contamination with the reflex of N *šušl'ē' 'throat, mouth' (q.v.) ¶ ChC. ChL || D *čill-({ θ GS} s-) 'small hole' > Tm illi id., 'orifice', cilli 'leak, hole, crack', MI cilli-kkuttu 'a little hole', Kn jilli 'small hole in an earthen vessel', Tl cilli 'small hole in a pot\paper' ¶¶ D #2575 $\diamond \approx$ Blz. DA 161 [#93] (HS, D; does not distinguish between this N etymon and N *čA1 ∇ m ∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach').

2048. *síīi - *síīay ∇ 'smooth, slippery' > HS: B * \check{v} sll 'smooth, slippery' > Ah əsləl 'être très lis et très doux en touchant', sələlət 'glisser, əsləli 'glissement', Gh əšlaləm 'glisser' ¶ Fc. 824, Nhl. 165 || IE: NaIE *slēj-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (\times N * \check{z} iī ∇ 'to slip, to slide') > ON slím, NNr, Dn slim, Sw slēm, MDt, Dt slijm, AS, OLG, MLG, OHG, MHG slīm, NHG Schleim 'slime', NE slime || Clt (< NaIE *slim-no-):

OIr *slemon* ~ *slemun*, NIr *sleamhain* 'smooth, slippery', Brrt **slimnos* (or **slibnos*) 'smooth' > OW [ʏ] *limnint* 'tendent' 'sie glätten', MW *llefnu*, *lywnu* 'to harrow', W *llyfn* (f. *llefn*) 'smooth, even', Crn *leven* 'smooth', OBr *limn* 'lentum', {Flr.} 'souple, flexible', MBr *-leffn* (in the cd. *di-llefn* 'hard' with a privative *di-*), Br *levn* 'poli, uni']? ⇨ NaIE **slej̥m-āk-* 'snail' > Gk {Hs.} *λεῖμαξ* (gen. *-κος*) 'snail' || L *līmāx* (gen. *-cis*) 'slug, snail' (← Gk?) || Sl **slimakъ* 'snail' > R Δ, Uk *слимак*, Cz *slimák*, Slk *slimak*, P *ślimak* id. ¶ Not here (or not only here) the apparently extended roots **slej̥g-* 'smooth, slippery' and **slej̥d^h-* 'slippery; to slide' that go back respectively to N **ʒ̥∇L'i'Kæ* 'to slip, to slide' (q.v.) and N **ś∇īχit̥∇* ~ **ś∇īχid∇* 'to slip' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 390, P 663-4, 960-1, ≈ EI 527 (**(s)lej-* 'sticky, slimy, slippery'), Vs. III 671-2, Vn. S 130, RE 132, YGM-1 316, Hm. 514, Flr. 242-3, Ho. 299, Vr. 516, Kb. 910, Lx. 198, KM 656, F II 97, WH I 802, Tr. 269, Vs. III 672 || U **ś|ći|*- ({Resh.} **ś|ći|*-) (× N **ʒ̥iī∇* ↑) > FU (att. in FL) **ś|ći|* E ≈ smooth' > F *sileä* 'smooth', Es *sile* (gen. *sileda*) id., F *silittää*, Es *silitada*, Lv *sila'st̃* 'streicheln, glätten' || Lp N {N} *čâlle*, Lp L {LLO} *tjallē* 'stiffness \ hardness of skin \ leather' (semantic change: 'smooth leather' → 'hard leather') || Sm {Jn.} **sil-* ~ **sel-* v. 'whet' > Ne *сил-* *sil-* id., Slq Tm {KD} *sāl'ab*, Slq NP {Cs.} *sillam*, Slq Chl {Cs.} *selam* '(he) whets', Slq Chl {Cs.} *sēlal* 'smooth', Kms {KD} *sélǎlem* 'I whet' ¶¶ Kt. 365, SK 361, Coll. LWL, Ter. 559, Jn. 141 || A: T **sila-* v. 'stroke' > OT *sil∇-* (or {Cl.} *sil-*) v. 'rub, wipe, caress, stroke', Qrg *sila-* v. 'stroke, caress', Uz *sila-* v. 'smooth, stroke', ET *sila-* v. 'stroke', Qzq\Nog *sila-* v. '(be)smear, clay, massage', Qq *sila-* v. 'smear, caress (e.g. a child)', VTt *sъla-* v. 'smear, rub on', SbTt Tm {Rl.} *sъla-* 'ein-\be-schmieren, einreiben', Bsh *hъla-* v. 'smear', Sg {Rl.} *sila-* v. 'smear, plaster', Chv *шǎл-* *šъl-* v. 'sweep, wipe'; the meaning v. 'rub, wipe' is due to the semantic infl. of the paronymous NaT root **si:;l∇-* v. 'sweep, wipe' (> Tk *sil-* [converb *siler*], Ggz *sil-* v. 'wipe, clean', Az *sil-* v. 'wipe, polish, clean'), which may be akin to M **sili-* (> WrM *sili-*, *sile-*, Kl {Rm.} *šilj-xa* 'mit den Füßen verhindern, mit dem Fusse auffangen [einen Ball], mit dem Fusse wegschieben\fegen', F KW 357). If Cl. is right in reconstructing the vw. *-i-* in the OT verb *sil|l-*, this vw. may be due either to the same infl. of pT **sil-* v. 'wipe' or to the ass. infl. of **s-* (mentioned in Rs. MIF 53) ¶ Chv *š-* < pT **s-* due to the palatalizing infl. of **i* (if the variant **sil∇-* is

involved) ¶ Rs. W 421, Cl. 824-5, MM 311, NogR 320, KrkR 602, TatR 495, TrR 778, Hüs. 267, TkR 600, 604, Jud. 678, Rl. IV 652, 709, Jeg. 333, Fed. II 440-1, Md. 71, 176 (pT *sīla v. 'rub, smear') ◇ If the vw. *a in T *sīla- belongs to the ancient root (rather than to a sx.), the N rec. has to be *śīlay ▽ ◇ Rs. UAW 47 (FU, T), IS MS s.v. 'скользкий' (*silɑ: IE, U, T) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #314 (*silu 'rub') (IE, U, A, Ai + qu. Ko, J, EA).

2049. *sīl ▽ 'be(come) liquid, melt, flow' > **HS:** C: HEC *šīl- vi. 'melt' > Kmb, Sd šīl- id., 'dissolve' ¶ Hd. 98, 337, 392 || S *°-šīl- v. 'flow' > Ar √swl (ip. -sīl-) v. 'flow' (of water) (× N *s'ū'wōl ▽ 'liquid, moisture' [q.v.] and N *siž ▽ 'stream, small body of water' [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv. 347 || **D** *čil- ({ǵGS} *c|ć-) v. 'flow' (× N *ćīhA (= *ćīhA?) 'be wet\moist; moisture' [q.v. ffd.]); but Klm silka 'river', Nkr śilka 'brook, river', Prj čilva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd A silka 'small river', Gnd G hilka 'rivulet' belong rather to N *siž ▽ '↑' (q.v.) or represent a merger of both N etymons ¶¶ **D** #2569 || **IE:** Ht {Frd.} salliya- vi. md. 'melt, dissolve (in water)', {Ts.} sallai- / salliya 'zergehen' (unless identical with Ht sallai- / salliya- vi. 'broaden') ¶ Frd. HW 179, Ts. W 68.

2050. *sūl'ū' 'lax, loose, slack' > **HS:** CS *√šwal (ǵ*-šwal-) > Ar √swl (pf. sawila, ip. -swal-) G 'be(come) lax\flaccid\uncompact', ʔaswal- 'lax, flaccid, uncompact', sawal- 'flabbiness of the belly\limbs', BHb *šūl* (pl. cs. *šūl-ē, pl. with 3s ppa. *šūl-āw) 'garment's train, hem' (KB: ← 'was heranhängt') ¶ GB 814, BDB 1002, Ln. 1473-4, Fr. II 1833, Hv. 345 || ? Eg MK sɜ *'weak' in sɜ-ɜ 'the weak of arm' (× N ?σ *šūw? ▽ 'weak', q.v. ffd.) ¶ EG IV 14, Fk. 209, Tk. I 65 || **IE:** NaIE (in Gmc only) *°sleu- 'hanging down loosely (schlaf herabhängend), slack' > OSx slêu 'schlaff, feige', ON slær, sljár, sljót 'blunt', OHG slēo 'dull, faded, tepid (stumpf, welk, lau)', AS slāw, slæw 'sluggish, lazy', NE slow ¶ P 962-3, AHDI 61, Vr. 518, Ho. 297-8, Ho. S 68, Kb. 909, , OsS 821 || **A** *sula 'lax, loose' > M *sula 'loose, lax, free, empty' > MM [MA] sula 'free', [S] sula- v. 'lose machen, lockern (den Halskragen)', WrM sula, HIM cyp 'loose, free, vacant, empty', Kl {KRS} cyp sul id., {Rm.} suly 'lose, locker, schlaff, frei, leer', Ord {Ms.} su'la 'peu tendu, inoccupé, libre', Mnr H {SM} sulā 'non tendu, lâche, faible', {T} sula 'free'; M ⇨ Ewk Nr sula 'weak, light', WrMc sula 'free' ¶ Pp. MA 327, H 137, MED 736, KW 336-7, SM

357-8 || Tg: [1] *sula- v. 'leave (lassen, verlassen)' > Ewk sula-, Lm hulā-, Orc sulagi-, Ul solaožɥ/ɥ-, Orl sulaw-, Nn Nh solō, solōgo-, Nn B solā-, solāgo-, Nn KU solao- id., Neg solapça-, Orc sulagi- remain (be left); [2] (+ext.) WrMc sulfā 'freely, easily, without special effort' ¶ Z 643, STM II 124 || pKo {S} *sʌr- v. 'fit loosely, be shaky' > NKo sʌr-gʌpta [sal-gapta] ¶ Gale 641, Rm. SKE 221, S QK #829, MLC 951 ¶¶ KW 336-7 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 221 (Ko, M, Tg), DQA #2117 (A *sólō 'be lax, loose') || D *ću]∇ ({ǵGS} *s-) 'easy, light (non heavy)' > Tm cu]u∇u, Kn su]u∇u 'ease, facility, lightness', Kt ću]∇ 'easy work, easy', Tu culaka, Ku sūlkara 'light (not heavy)', Tl culuka(n) 'lightly, with slight\disregard', culukani 'light, easy', su]u∇u 'easy, easiness' ¶¶ D #2703 ◇ ≈ IS MS 351 (*sʰulʌ 'незакрепленный' [IE, A, D]).

2051. *śūʰrʰ]∇ (= *śūʰrʰ]∇?) (or *s-?) 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom', N *kʰūʰrʰ]∇ śūʰ]∇ '∈ bottom (bone) of the leg\foot' (cd. with N *kʰūrʰ]∇ 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > HS: S *kursull- > BHb קרסול qar'sol (du. with 1s sx. קרסול קרסול קרסול qar'sul'lay) 'ankle' ({KB} 'Knöchel, Fußgelenk'), JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA קרסול קרסול קרסול qar'sul'lā, JEA קרסול קרסול qarçul'lā, Sr كرسول كرسول كرسول kursʰalā 'ankle', Ak kursinnu 'fetlock, lower leg' ¶ KB 1069, KBR 1146, Lv. T II 390, Lv. IV 38 5-6, Js. 1423, Sl. 1045, Br. 700, Sd. 511, CAD VIII 566 ¶ The variant represented by Ak kursinnu is likely to go back to the N genitive construction (→ obl. case form) *kʰūʰrʰ]∇ śūʰ]∇ nu || B *-sīl- 'sandals, shoes', *√w-]s] v. 'put on footwear' > Ah esīl 'paire de chaussures', BSn tisili (pl. tisila) 'sandals', Ntf tasilt (pl. tasila) 'fer à cheval', Zng təsižī 'chaussure', Skn tsila (pl. tsilawin) 'sandals', Kb əssəl 'mettre des jambières, des chaussettes', Gh əsəl 'être chaussé', ETwl, Ty əsəl 'se chausser de' ¶ Some of these words may alternatively go back to L solea 'sandal' ¶ Fc. 1821-2, GhA 172, Dl. 770, La. S 213 || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' > OG, G kus]-, G X kurs]- 'heel', Mg kurs-i, kurc-i 'heel, kick of a heel', ? kur-i 'heel; heel of a wooden plough', Lz kus-, ? ku(r-) 'heel, heel of a shoe (каблук)'. Alternatively, Mg kur-, Lz ku(r)-, and Sv {K ← ?} kə,r 'heel' (← Mg?) may represent N *kʰūrʰ]∇ 'foot, hoof' (q.v.) ¶¶ K 200 (*kurs]-), K² 219-20; FS K 340 and FS E 381-2 (in both: K *kurs-), Q 347, Chik. 65 || IE: NaIE *swol-/ *sul- 'sole of the foot; ground' > L solum 'sole of the foot; soil, ground', solea 'a leather sole strapped on the foot, sandal' || OIr sol ~ fol {Vn.} 'sol,

base, plante de pied', nom. pl. *solaig*, dat. pl. *soilgib* 'soles of feet'
 ||| ζ Gk [Hs.] ὑλία {P, Vn.} 'sole' (a different interpretation: {LS} [Hs.]
 accus. pl. ὑλίας · τοὺς καρπατίνους τομοὺς '[cut] pieces of leather'??) ¶
 WP II 552, P 1046, WH II 554, LS 1848, EM 634, Vn. S 167-8 ||| ?σ U: FU
 *°s|š'í'1∇ 'low' (or *-e-, *-δ-) > ObU {Ht.} *θē1-, {JHl.} *θǎ1-/ *θē1- 'low' >
 pVg *tǎlk^ω∇ id. > Vg: T tǎlk^ωī ǎ tǎlkī, LK tǎlk^ωa, tǎlak^ω, MK tǎlk^ω,
 UK tǎlk^ωa, NV tǎlka, SV/LL tǎlk^ωa, UL/Ss talk^ωa id.; pOs {Ht.} *ǎel id.
 > D/Nz tet, Kz ǎeǎ, O le1 ¶ Ht. 136 [#135), Kn. WV 137, Stn. WV 206,
 Hl. rHt 73 ◇ If the FU (ObU) cognate belongs here, the initial N cns. is
 *s-. In this case K *-s- (for the expected *-š-) may be due to its
 position within a cns. cluster. Otherwise (which is likely to be more
 plausible) the N sibilant is *ś. FU *°s|š'í'1∇ suggests (if it belongs here)
 that the N vw. of the first syll. was *ü.

2052. ₂ *šæʔ'ü'1L∇ ⇌ *šæʔw'ü'1L∇ 'look for, search, ask' > HS: B
 *✓sw1 'look for' > Tsh {Ds.} siggǎ1 (3s pf. isugg^ωǎ1) 'look for', ? Ah
 sǎssǎǎǎǎ1 'chercher', as well as Mz ✓sw1 (sǎwwǎ1 / yǎtsewwǎ1) 'ask
 (a question)' (← Ar ✓sʔ1 id.?) ¶ Ds. 62, Fc. 1809-10, Dlh. M 196 || S
 *✓šʔ1 'ask (question), ask for' > BHb, EpHb, Pun, Yd, IA, JA [Trg.], JPA,
 JEA, Sr, SmA, Md ✓šʔ1 G, Ar, Gz ✓sʔ1 G, Qt laS ✓šʔ1 G, OAk inf.
 šaʔǎlu, Ak ✓šʔ1 (inf. šaʔǎlu ~ šǎlu) 'ask (question, inquire)'; d.
 Sb, Mn, Qt laSm mšʔ1 'oracle', EpHb, IA, JA, Sr, Md ✓šʔ1 G, Ar, Gz ✓sʔ1
 G, Sb laS ✓šʔ1 G 'ask for, beg, plead', Sb, Mn ✓šʔ1 G 'ask, seek,
 require', Jb {Jo.} ✓šʔ1 (pf. šē1, sbjn. yšʔ1) 'demand payment for a
 dept', Sq {L} hǎʔǎ1 id., 'borrow' ¶ HJ 1095-8, KB 1276-9, A #2566, Js.
 1506-8, Sl. 1098-9, Br. 748, Tal 859-60, DM 441-2, Ln. 1282-4, BK I
 1036-7, BGMR 121, MA 80, Rk. 156-7, L G 480, LLS 139, Jo. J 259, Sd.
 1151-2, CAD XVII 274-82 ||| A: Tg *seb_ule- 'search, look for' > Ul
 sǎwlu- ~ sǎw1ǎ/i-, Nn Nh/KU sǎw1ǎ- v. 'search so. (обыскивать)',
 WrMc {Hr.} seole- 'think over (nachdenken), suwele- id., 'look for',
 {Z} suwele- ~ seole- id., 'look for; think over (обдумывать)'; Tg
 *seb_ulen 'a search, searching, looking for' n. act. > Nn Nh sǎulē id.,
 WrMc seolen {Z} id., {Hr.} 'Bedenkung, Sorge, Erwägung' ¶ × Chn sǎu
 'make a search, search for'? ¶ STM II 134, Z 574-5, 653, Hr. 783-4, 837
 || M *silā- > WrM {MED} šala-, HIM {MED} шала- 'persuade, urge,
 ask consistently', Kl Ö {Rm.} šala-χα 'inständig bitten, betteln, mit
 Fragen und Forderungen bedrängen' (Rm.: < *silā-); M ⇌ ? Alt/Tlt
 {Rm.} šila- 'verhören' ¶ MED 749, KW 346 ◇ B *-w- and Tg *-b- may go

back to a N *-w- or to an epenthesis of a hiatus (N *-æʔu- > *-Eu- > *Ewu-). M *i may go back to N *ü of the second syll.

2053. $\text{₂} *š i_1 \text{?} L \nabla$ 'to roast, to fry, to cook' > HS: B * $\sqrt{s}l'y$ > Kb əsli 'cuire rapidement' ¶ DI. 776 || EC: [1] EC *š[s^ol]- > HEC {Hd.} *sal- 'cook by boiling, fry, roast' > Brj sal- 'cook by boiling, bake', Kmb šol-, Hd sar- id., 'fry, roast'; Sa {R} sōl- 'braten, rösten auf dem brennenden Feuer', sōlā 'Fleisch auf heißen Steinen gebraten; Feuerbrand', Af {PH} sōlā 'camp-fire for roasting meat', Sml {ZO} sōl- vt. 'grill, toast, roast'; [2] EC *šil- > Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} šīl- vt. 'fry', ? Or {Brl.} sil-awu 'affumigarsi, arruginirsi, ossidarsi' ¶ R S II 319, PH 193, Hd. 68, 218, 297, 338, ZO 364, 376, Abr. S 232, Brl. 374 || S: [1] WS * $\sqrt{ç}ly$ (*-çlay-) 'roast' (*ç < HS **s...?) > BHb $\sqrt{ç}ly$ (pf. צָבַח çā'lā, ip. צָבַחַי çā-lā) 'roast (meat)', JPA, JEA $\sqrt{ç}ly$ (pf. צָבַח çā'lā) id., SmA $\sqrt{ç}ly$ G 'roast', Ar صلی $\sqrt{ç}ly$ v. G (ip. -çliy-) 'roast, broil, fry', Gz $\sqrt{ç}ly$ v. G 'broil, roast' (μ : * $\sqrt{ç}ly$ > $\sqrt{ç}ly$); hardly here Ak LB šelû 'burn (fumigants)', because e points to a \sqrt with III *ç (S *a > Ak e in the presence of a former *ç or *h); [2] +ext.: CS * $\sqrt{š}lç$ > JA $\sqrt{š}lç$ G 'einkochen, sieden' (-b→ MHb $\sqrt{š}lç$ G id.), Sr $\sqrt{š}lç$ G 'cook, broil, boil', Ar $\sqrt{s}lq$ G vt. 'boil (food, plants) with fire' ¶ KB 961, Lv. IV 192, 566-7, Js. 1283, 1588, Lv. IV 192, Sl. 965, Tal 732-3, Ln. 1410, 1721-2, LG 556-7, CAD XVI 124, Sd. 1090, Br. 784, JPS 582 || A: Tg *sila- v. 'roast on a spit, grill' > Ewk sila-, Sln šila-, Nn silo-, Neg d. silat/ç-, Orc d. siloči-, Ork d. silotçl-, PCIWrMc [TF] siilo- / siyolome, WrMc šolo- / šolome id., Lm hıl- v. 'spit (meat, fish)', d. hılbt/ç- v. 'roast on a spit', Ud {Krm.} silo 'fish roasted on a spit'; -d→ Tg *silapun 'spit for roasting' (× A {DQA} *sīlā 'sharp stick; spit' < N *šêíXâ 'bough, twig, stick', q.v. ffd. × N *šīlīlVŷâ 'tooth, fang', q.v.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285, Mls. 237 || ?σ M *silün 'soup, bouillon' (× N *s'û'wōlV 'liquid, moisture' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ WS *ç (probably from **s?) in * $\sqrt{ç}ly$ suggests the presence of *ʔ in the N word.

2054. $\text{₂} *S \nabla Ha L \nabla$ 'salt, spice' > IE *seh₁-/ *shel-/ *shǵl- 'salt': nom. IE *seh₁-s > NaIE *sāl-s > Gk ἅλας, L sāl, Ltv sālš, ?μ Arm աղ ał; accus. IE *shel-ṃ > NaIE *sal-ṃ > Gk ἅλα, L salem, Sl (accus. > accus.-nom.) *sòľь (> OCS соль solь, Blg сол, SCr sōl, Slv sōl, Cz sůl, Slk sol', R соль, Uk сіль), gen. IE *shǵl-os > NaIE *sālos > Gk ἅλος, L salis || ds.: Vd salī'la- ~ sari'ra- {M} 'salty (?)', OI salī'la-m ~ sari'ra-

m 'sea, sea flood', OI \wedge sara- 'salty' || Um salu accus. 'salt' || OIr salann, Brtt {RE} *saleinos 'salt' > MW halwyn† ~ halaen, W halen, OCrn [LC] haloin, Crn holan, MBr holenn, Br holen, c'hoalenn 'salt' || Pru sal id. || Tc A sāle, Tc B salyiye (obl. sālyi-) id. || NaIE *sal-d- 'spice (malt, salt)' > Lt saldūs, Ltv saīds 'sweet' || SI *sōldь- 'malt' > OR СОЛОДЪ solodь, R, Uk солод, Blg слад, SCr, Slv slād, Cz, Slk slad, P słod id.; \leftrightarrow SI *sōldь-кь 'sweet' > OCS СЛАДЪКЪ sladькъ id. (\leftrightarrow R 'сладок 'is 'sweet', 'сладк-ий 'sweet'), Blg 'сладък, SCr slādak, Slv sladek slādak, Cz, Slk sladký, P słodki, R Δ, Uk со'лодкий, Blr са'лодки] \leftrightarrow NaIE *salda- v. 'salt' > L sallē- v. 'salt', salsus (< *sald-to-) 'salted' || Gmc *salta- 'to salt' > Gt saltan, OHG salzan, NHG salzen id.] Gmc *salta- 'salty' > ON saltr, AS sealt, OFrs salt, MLG solt; \leftrightarrow Gmc {Wt.} *saltam 'salt' > Gt, OFrs, OSx salt, MDt sout, Dt zout, OHG salz, NHG Salz, AS sealt 'salt', NE salt ¶ P 878-9, Lub. AP*a 59-60, Krtl. LVBS § 1.6, Wy. IEa 66, FI 78-9, WH II 465-7, Bc. G 34, Sl. 22-3, Vn S 17-8, RE 125, Hm. 385, Frn. 759-60, Kar. II 151, En. 241, Fs. 409, OsS 740, Ho. 285, 292, Ho. S 62, Vs. III 712-3, Glh. 557, 571, M K III 448, Vr. 461, Kb. 823, AHDI 55, Wn. 417, JGH 194, 229, 231-6, 337, Ad. 678, \approx EI 498 (*seh_α-(e)- 'salt') || HS: B *zāh1- (> *zā1-) > Ah tāzall-it 'fine salt from Tidikelt', ? Ty, ETwl tāzō1-t 'antimony, oxide of antimony', a-zūla (pl. i-zūlatən) 'jeu d'urine' ¶ Fc. 1959, GhA 221 ¶ Empatization *s > *z may be due to the lr. (evidenced by the vw. a < *aH) || Ch {†AD} *s₂u^H∇1 'salt' (*s₂ acc. to AD ChCS) > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *šuwā1 'salt' > Mada sūwā1, Mkt šūgū1, Zlg šūwā1 id. || ECh: Skr {Lk.} súluṅ, {Sx.} sūlūm 'salt', ?σ Ke {Eb.} súlá 'sea' ¶ Ro. 318 [#603], ChC, AD AD ChCS || ???σ S * \checkmark š|s|f > Ar salaḥ- 'ε bitter tree, ε aloe, Sælanthus quadragnus, Cacalia sonchifolia (plants)', {BKl sawlāḥ- 'aloe' (?imrun min sawlāḥin 'more bitter than aloe') ¶ Hv. 331, BK I 1124.

2055. *s^rū¹wō1∇ (= *sūwō1∇?) 'liquid, moisture' > IE: NaIE *sū1-, -ā 'liquid, sludge' > OI 'surā 'ε intoxicating beverage', Av hurā, MPrs hur 'intoxicating drink, milk wine (kumiss)', KhS hurā- f. 'fermented milk of mares' || Lt sulà, Ltv sula 'sap', Ltv sūla 'pus, running sore', Pru sulō 'curdled milk' || Gk ὕλη (with ū) 'mire, slime, sediment, matter (excreted from the human body)' || ON sol- (in cds.) 'mire, puddle', AS sol id., OHG sol {Kb.} 'Sumpfloch, sumpfige Stelle', MHG

sol, sul 'saline fluid', NHG Suhle 'bog; sump; wallow of pigs', AS solu (solwe) 'puddle', NNr sǫle 'mud' (< *sulw-); Scn \rightarrow F sula adj. 'molten, fluid' | \rightarrow Gt bi-sauljan 'μυαίνειν, to stain', Nr sǫyla, OHG bi-sulen 'to soil', NHG suhlen, sühlen 'to wallow in mire', AS sylian 'to soil', NE sully | \rightarrow NHG Suhlen 'muddy puddle, wallow, slough', AS sylen 'puddle, slough, mire' ¶ WP II 453, 468, 513, P 913, Mn. 1334, M K III 487, M E II 717, Bai. 492, F II 962-3, Vr. 529, Ho. 306, Kb. 925, 985, Frn. 9, En. 15, EI 323 (*¹suleh_π- ≈ [fermented] juice) || HS: S *^o-š[sī]- > Ar ✓ syl G (pf. sāla, ip. -sīl-) 'flow' (of water) (× N *⁵i1∇ 'be[come] liquid, melt, flow' and N *^{si}z∇ 'stream, small body of water') || Ch: Su {J} sēl 'dicke Suppe' || Smr {Lk.} sálē 'Brühe aus getrockneter Hirse und Milch' ¶ J S 81, Lk. ZSS 81 || K: GZ *šowel- 'wet, soaked' (× \leftarrow K *šow- < N *^rs¹'ü'whâ - *^rs¹E[?]uwh∇ 'moisture, water, rain; '[be] wet') > OG swel-, G svel-, Δ sovel- \approx sobel- 'wet, soaked', Mg šu(e)-, šz- 'wet' (of snow'), Lz šu- 'wet'; GZ *šowl- v. 'wet, make wet' > OG sovl-, Mg šolua, Lz o-šol-u id.; OG swel-i, G svel-i 'wet', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} šwel id., 'whey' ¶¶ K 174, K² 182, FS K 286, FS E 315, Srj. KE 28, TK 824 || U *sula > FU *sula 'thawed, melted; to thaw, melt, liquefy' > F, Es sula 'melted, molten, liquid, fluid, not frozen', sulā- v. 'melt, thaw' | Er\Mk sola 'not frozen, thawed', 'melted' (of fat, etc.), sola- v. 'thaw, melt' | pChr {Ber.} *sulb- 'thaw, dissolve' > Chr: Н шылаш 'sylaš, L шулаш šul'-aš 'to thaw, to dissolve', E {Ps.} šule- 'schmelzen', B sule- id. | pPrm {LG} sül- 'thaw, melt, dissolve' > Z сыв- s+V-, Δ s+l- id., Vt s+l+m+n+ 'to thaw, to dissolve, to be boiled soft (развариться)' || ObU {Ht.} *θālā- ~ *θōlā- 'thaw, be liquefied' > pVg *tāl-ā- 'thaw' > Vg: T/K/N {Mu.} tāl-, T {Kn.} tal-ā, Yk {Vxr.} tāl-, LL {Kn.} tal-, Ss {Kn., BV} tol- 'thaw'; pOs {Ht.} *čōla- 'thaw' > Os: V lōla-, Vy yōla-, Ty čōč-, čōča-, Y čōč-, D tāt-, tātā-, K tāt-, Nz tōta-, Kz čōča-, O la- id.; ObU d. *θāl-t- ~ *θōl-t- vt. 'melt' > pVg *tāl-t- id. (> Vg: Yk {Vxr.} tāl-t-, Ss {BV} tol-t- vt. 'melt [fat, metal]'), pOs {Ht.} *čōl-t- ({Hl.} *čūl-t-) vt. 'thaw (snow), melt (fat, etc.)' (> Os {Trj.}: V lolta, Vy yōlta, Ty/Y čōčtata id.) | Hg olvad- vi. 'melt, dissolve' || ? pY {IN} *θā_lā, 'thaw' > Y K/T a_lā- id., a_lō- 'thawed, melted' ('талый'), T a_lā- v. 'thaw' ¶¶ UEW 450-1, It. #202, Coll. 115, SK 1099-10, MRS 733, 752, Ü 274, Ps. OT 129, Ber. 69 [#365], Lt. 197, LG 267-8, Ht. #140, BV 121, Trj. S 215, MF 500-1, IN 219-20, Ku. 24, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [#80] (Y \leftarrow U) || A {S} *šōl∇, {SDM97}

*š^oli 'juice, liquid' > NaT *söl 'meat juice, juice, soup' > MT {Rs.} söl ({Br.} sü) id., 'matter, pus', 'liquid', MU {Rs.}, Qzq {Sht., MM} söl 'meat juice', Qzq {Rl.} söl 'eine Salzbrühe aus eingesalzenem Fleische' (× ← R c o л ь 'salt?'), Qq, Qrg söl, Bsh hül 'ichor', Nog söl id., 'meat juice', VTt sül 'juice (in cells and tissues of bodies), serum', qanli sül 'ichor' ¶ Rs. W 430, Rl. IV 583, 830, Bu. I 648, Sht. 186, MM 324, KarR 586 || Tg *šōla 'soup, bouillon' > Nn Nh/KU čōlō, Nn B colo id., Ud cōlo, Ul čōlo(n-) 'soup', WrMc š u l a 'juice of fruits, ichor' ¶ STM II 405, 429, Z 686 || pJ {S} *sìrú 'juice' > OJ siru, J T síru, J K/Kg šìrú ¶ S QJ #261, Mr. 526 || ?σ M *silün 'soup, bouillon' (*i because of the influence of N *š i ʔ ʔ L ▽ 'to roast, to fry, to cook' [q.v.?) > MM [MA] {Pp.} šilen, [IM] {Pp.} šile, [S] {H} sūlen 'soup', [HI] {Ms.} šūlen 'bouillon, soup', WrM silü(n), HIM шөл(өн), Brt шүлэн id., 'broth', Ord {Ms.} šölö 'bouillon', WrO {Krg.} šöl(örn) 'soup, chowder', Kl {KRS} шөлн šölən, {Rm.} šülŋ ʔ šölŋ ʔ šilŋ 'soup, bouillon', Dg {T} šil id., {Mr.} šile 'soup', Dx {T} šüliē, ShY {SDM} šžlen id., 'broth', Mnr H {SM, T} šulō 'soup, clear broth'; M → Tg: Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn silɜ, Sln šil(ɜ), Lm hil, WrMc sile 'soup' ¶ Pp. MA 333, 447, Ms. H 98, H 143, MED 708, Luv. 657, Chr. 738, Krg. 456, KRS 681, KW SM 385, T 386, T DnJ 143, T DgJ 183, Mr. D 216, STM II 85 ¶¶ S VL #229 (*šōl ▽ 'juice, fluid'), SDM97 (A *š^oli 'juice, fluid'), DQA #2178 (A *šjōlí id. > T, M, Tg, J) ¶¶ The kind of vowel length in this A √ (> T short vw. and Tg long one) develops in open syllables of N words (under still unknown prosodic conditions) and is not due to complementary lengthening (because of loss of lrs. or other elements of a syll.) ◇ U *s- and K *š- provide ev. for N *s-. The T cognate can be explained if we suppose that the N vw. of the first syll. was *ū. Altaic and Tg *š- < **sj- (N *s^uwol ▽ > **sjol ▽ > A *šōl ▽ > Tg *šōla). N *-w₁ ▽₁- is reconstructed on the ev. of K *-we- and the long vw. in A.

2056. *š^oyi'í'ú 'entrails' > HS: S *šiliy-at- 'placenta, afterbirth' > BHb šil'yā* id. (att. with 3f ppa.: שִׁלְיָתָהּ šilyā'tāh 'her afterbirth'), MHb שִׁלְיָתָהּ šil'yā, JA [Trg.], JEA שִׁלְיָתָהּ šil'yā, em. שִׁלְיָתָהּ šilyə't-ā {Js.} 'afterbirth, placenta', SmA שִׁלְיָתָהּ šilyh, Sr شَلِيَّتْ šalī't-ā, Md šulita 'membrane enveloping the foetus', Tgr שִׁלְיָתָהּ szlet, Tgy šzlet id., Ar سَلِيَّة salā(-n) {Ln.} 'secundine (thin skin in which is the foetus\young in the womb)', Ak fOB silītu ~ šelītu ~ šalītu 'afterbirth'; bf. Ar سَلِيَّتْ saliy-at v. (3f pf.) 'her secundine became

disrupted in her womb' ¶ Frnz. LS2 262-3, KB 1411, Lv. IV 562, Js. 1582, 1584, Sl. 1149-50, Tal 900, DM 454, LH 169, Bsn. 218, Ln. 1418, BK I 133, Sd. 1043, CAD XV 264, MiK I #1.246 || HEC *sał- 'belly, stomach' > Brj {Ss.} sałay, {Hd.} sa'le id., Sd {Gs., Hd.} sáłto 'stomach', Hd {Hd.} satto id., {Ss.} ? sālasiḥ-te 'belly'; Kmb {Hd.} salā'n- 'be pregnant', salān-čuta adj. 'pregnant' ¶ Ss. B 163, Hd. 143-4 (HEC *salto 'stomach'), 218, 297, 336, 390, Gs. 284 || NrOm: She {CR ← Mnt.} sil, {Fl.} šl 'belly' ¶ Blz. OLBP #15, CR NGS 623, ≈ Fl. OO 317 || Ch ≈ *sał- 'liver' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} sálá || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} sàlìyâ, Li {Grgs.} sìyà, Kwn sálñā, Ke {Eb.} sáldé, Smr {J} šarā id. ¶ ChC || U *ś[š]ōl[e] 'intestines, bowels' > F suoli, Es sool 'intestine, bowel', F Δ suoli 'Mitte des Leibes' || pLp {Lr.} *ćólē 'bowel' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoālie, L {LO} tjāllē, N {N} čoalle, K {Gn.} čuāll id. || Er сюло súlo, Δ súla, Mk сюла {Ahl.} súla, {Ker.} súla 'gut' || Chr: L шоло šolo, Uf šolo 'gut(s)', H {Ep., Ü} шол šol 'gut' || Prm {LG} *śul 'gut' > Z сюв súv / súvy-, Z UV, Vt súl || pOs *sol ({Hl.} *sāl < *sāl) 'gut' > Os: V/Vy sq̄l, Ty/Y sōč, I/Nz sut, Kz so'č, O sol || Y {Schf.} šole 'intestine', Y (K?) {IN} šolye 'gut' ¶¶ Coll. 116 (FU, Y), UEW 483-4, It. #125 (FP *śola), Lr. #173, Lgc. #675-6, Hs. 1327, Ker. II 149, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266-7, LG 273, SZ 359, Stn. D 1329, Ang. UJ 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 49 [#82] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *sijl'ū-, d. *sijlū-kta 'gut(s)' > Ewk silukta & hilukta 'gut(s)', silu-ma- 'cook food from bowels (из требухи)', Ewk Y/I/Vl hilu-ma- 'cook guts', Sln šilukta ~ šilutta, Neg sulta, sulukta 'guts', Lm hīlta, Orc silukta, Ud {Krm.} sulukta ~ sulikta, Ork suluqta 'guts', Neg sula- v. 'take out the guts (in order to cook them)' ¶ STM II 85, Vas. 353, 478, Krm. 289 || ? T *solak > OT [MhK] {Cl.} solāq 'spleen' ¶ ≈ Cl. 826 (solāq ← solāq 'situated on the left' ← sōl 'left') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2050 (A *sijōlō 'internal organ', incl. Tg, T) ◇ The highly tentative rec. of N *oyī- is an attempt to account for the long vw. *ō in U and the presence of *i in the first syll. of the Tg, S, and NrOm cognates ◇ IS MS 344 (*śalā 'gut'), Rs. UAW 23, Coll. 148, UEW 483-4 (all authors: U, A), Blz. LB #73c (S *šilyat-, U, Tg, C + qu.σ: S *šālīl- 'embryo' and D *čūl(-) 'pregnant') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #188 (*tul ~ sul 'guts') (U, A + qu. Ko + err. Y, Gil, CK).

2057. *sūl_lw_l∇ 'thread, string' > IE: Ht suelil- 'Faden, Band' ¶ Ts. W 77 || U: FU *sE||e (= *sū||e?) > Er сэль 'spun thread' (hardly ← сэль 'fathom') ¶ Er э may go back to different FU front vowels,

including *ü ¶ ERV 631, ≈ UEW 444 (refers the Er word to FU *sü|ile 'Schoß, Klafter') || A: M *°sülbeʒe > WrM sülbeʒe, HIM сүлбээ 'thread, cord' ¶ MED 742 || pKo *sīr 'thread' (× N *sāR'U' 'sinew, fibre', q.v. ffd.) || HS: S: [1] S *°✓š|sll > Ar salīl-at- 'wool upon the spindle', [2] (?) +ext.: S *°✓š|slk (*°š|silak-?) > Ar silk-at- (pl. silak-) 'spun thread' ¶ BK 1117, 1129, Hv. 329, 333 || Ch: CCh: Mbara {TrnSL} sīlé 'rope, corde', Bcm {Sk.} sâltə 'thread', Mtk {Sb.} súlôm, {ChL} sulòŋ, Mf {BLB} súlóm 'arrow' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 3, Sk. B 25, BLB 322, TrnSL 277, 286 || ?φ D *°č|ēla- > Tm cilai, Ml cila 'bow (weapon)' ¶ If D *°č|ēla- belongs here, its deviating vw. *|ē (delabialization from *ü?) needs explaining ¶ D #2571 ◇ Not here (because of the initial sibilant) K: GZ *mšwīld- 'bow (weapon)', which is akin to GZ *mšwīl- 'shoot (an arrow)' (see K² 129) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [#114] (D, CCh 'arrow, bowstring' + unc. K).

2058. *śalb ▽ 'cut out, pull out' > HS: S *°✓š|slb ~ *°✓š|lp > Ar ✓slb G 'carry off forcibly, plunder', Gz ✓slb G 'take off\away, plunder', BHb, JA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath, take off', JA [Trg.] ✓šlp G 'loosen, pull, draw', JEA ✓šlp G 'pull off\out, remove, draw', ChrPA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath', SmA ✓šlp G id., 'remove', Sr, Md ✓šlp G id., 'pull out', Ak ✓šlp 'draw from a sheath', 'tear out, pull out' ¶ BK I 1118, Hv. 329, L G 498-9, KB 1427-8, Schlt. 209, Lv. IV 565-6, Js. 1587, Sl. 1152-3, Tal 904-5, DM 469, Sd. 1145, CAD XVII/1 230-1 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *°śa|o|w|ʒa 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil); to gouge out' > ObU {ǝHl.} *sṽw|ʒa| 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil)' > pVg {{ǝHl.} *sāw|f̄ > Vg Ss sowli 'Hohlbeil mit einem wendbaren Stiel'; pOs *suʒa| > V/Vy suʒa|, Ty suʒa|, Y suwə|, D/K soχət 'Hohlbeil, adze for cutting grooves' | Hg Δ szalu 'Deichsel (adze), Queraxt, Querbeil, Hohlbeil', Δ szalul-, szalúl-, szalval- v. 'gouge out or clean with a crooked axe (e.g. the internal wall of a wheel)' ¶ UEW 889 (*sâlk|ʒ ▽), MF 567-8, Ht. #582, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU *w and *ʒ), Trj. 440, Stn. FUV 35 (*÷ F salvata v. 'bolt [the door], bar, close' and Lp Vfs {Lgc.} su|w|ʒt v. 'bite') || A: M *°salba- 'cut grass, weed out' > WrM salba-, HIM салба- id. ¶ MED 664.

2059. *śilk ▽ (= *śilka?) 'let out' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'throw', 'fall out') > IE: NaIE *se|g- 'let out, throw, pour out, free' (× N *čal ▽ 'to pour [out]') > OI srg̃jati {MW} 'lets go\fly, discharges, throws, casts', [RV] sarga 'a stream, gush, downpour', [MBh, Rm] sarga n.

act. 'letting go, discharging, voiding (an excrement)', Av *hərəzənti* 'they send off', *upa-ŋhar*^əštāe 'zu übergießen', Prth *hirz-* 'lassen, verlassen' || OIr *selg* n. 'hunt' (← *'releasing the hounds'), Brtt {RE} **selg-* v. 'hunt' > OW *in-helcha* 'venando', *helgha-ti* inv. 'hunt!', MW *hely*, W *hel*, *hela* 'to hunt', OCrn [LC] *helhwur* 'hunter', Crn *helghya*, *hellya* 'to hunt', OBr *a olguo* 'indagatione' ('par des recherches \ investigations \ enquêtes'), MBr *hemolch* (for **emholch* < **ambi-solg*), Br *hem-olc* 'hiñ' 'to hunt' || MHG *selken* 'to drizzle down' (of clouds) ¶ WP II 508, P 900-1, EI 481 (all of them: **selg̃-*), M K III 497-8, MW 1183-6, 1245, Vn. S 80-1, RE 105, Flr. 68-9, Hm. 374, SEv. 10, OsS 753, Lx. 191 ¶ OI 'sargā points to a IE **ǵ*, rather than **ǵ̃* (⇔ P, EI) || HS: CS **√šlk* 'let go, send' > BHb *√šlk Sh* (הַשְׁלִיךְ) *hi'slīk* 'throw, cast off, throw away', MHB *שָׁלַח* *šalā'kā* G pp. f. 'Weggeworfene, Verworfenene', SmA *√šlk G* 'send', *Sh* 'throw', Ar *سلك* *√slk G* (ip. -*sluk-*) 'insert (a hand)', 'travel, go along (a road\course)' (possibly bf. from *√slk Sh* [pf. *ʔaslaka*] 'engage so. in a road\course' ÷ Hb *hi'slīk* '↑') ¶ KB 1414-6, Lv. IV 562, Tal 900-1, Fr. II 345-6, Hv. 333 || U: FU **śilke* ({It.} **śilke* = **śelke*) '≈ sink' > pLp {Lr.} **čzlkz-* 'go through (the ice)' (of a foot), 'sink into sth.' > Lp: N {N} *čal'gāt* id., Vfs {Lgc.} *čā'ḡākō't* 'fall through sth.', S {Hs.} d. *tjalgudh* id., 'disappear', Nd {TI} *čel'gāt* 'durch schwaches Eis treten' || pOs **sēly-* ({HL.} **sāly-*) > Os: Y *səlɣəm*, *səlləɣləm*, K {PD} *sətɣəm*, *sətətəm* 'allmählich herabfallen (осыпáтьcя), erschüttet werden, ausfallen' ¶ It. ULW 193-4, Lr. #108, Lgc. #457, Lgc. SL #2843, Hs. 1301, TI 641 || A: ?σTg **silgi-* 'get through (a narrow opening)', 'пролезать' > WrMc *silgi-* ~ *silki-* id., 'kriechen (лезть)', Lm *hulgъ*, Neg *silgɫ-* id., 'force one's way through', Nn Nh d. *silgiči-* vt. 'push through' ¶ STM II 83, Hr. 794 ◇ ≈ IS MS 350 s.v. **śel(k)ḥ* незакрепленный (does not distinguish this etymon from N **śu* '↑' 'lax, loose, slack' [q.v.]). IE points to a N *-a, while FU *-e and Tg *-i may be explained by as. or go back to suffixes.

2060. **śalṽmṽ* 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'a place (a depression) where water collects' > HS: S **√š|sm|* > Ar *samal-at-*, *suml-at-* {Hv.} 'black mud, remainder of water', {BK} 'petite quantité d'eau et de boue qui reste au fond d'un bassin; limon noir au fond d'un puits', *samal-* 'reste d'eau au fond (d'un vase, d'un puits)', *sumlān-*

'remainder of wine' ¶ BK I 1142, Hv. 337 || Eg G ε mr 'Gewässer im Gau von Diospolis parva (VII. Gau von Oberägypten)' ¶ EG IV 139 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ś|śal|]mo (vocalism after Db.), *ś|śo|]ma (vocalism after UEW) > FP {Db.} *śalmo, {UEW} *śolma 'valley, depression with water, well' > Prm *śo|]nm- (= {LG} *śo|]nm-) 'depression with water' > Z cĕh śon 'narrow gully, depression (ложбина, лощина)', Z Ud 'valley, gorge, depression between two slopes', Z UV 'a gully in the river valley, flooded in flood-time', Vt {Mu.} śum 'small oblong lake near a river' || F ε almi 'strait, narrows, sound', Es salm id., 'narrow strait between two islands' || pLp {Lr.} *ćĭlmē > Lp: S {Hs.} tjǫǫlmiē 'Sund, in dem kein Strom geht', L {LLO} tjǫǫl'mē 'Sund; Rinnsal, Wasserrinne; vom Wasser in einem Deltagebiet ausgegrabener Wasserlauf', N {N} čoal'bme / -lm- 'marked contraction of a lake, sound between two lakes or reaches of a fjord', T {TI} čua^ulm 'Sund, Meerenge' ¶ UEW 775, SK 956, Lr. #174, Lgc. #677, Lgc. SL #2910, Hs. 1327, Db. OS x, LG 252 || D *čal ∇ m ∇ ({ θ GS} *c|ć-?) (→ *k₁al₁a₁(-m ∇)??) 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river' (× N *čA ∇ m ∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach') > Tl celama 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river', Kn calame, calime, calume, cilume id., Ku salma 'well' || ?? Brh kal 'place where water collects' (unless ← InA) ¶¶ D #2367, Em. NDVS 377-8, Em. DS 369 ◇ If Brh kal belongs here (but Ar and Eg do not), pD had an initial *k-, hence the N rec. must be *śal ∇ (-m ∇). If the Eg ε mr and Ar ✓sm belong here and Brh kal does not, the N etymon must be *śal ∇ m ∇ . In my opinion, the latter alt. is more realistic.

2061. *ś ∇ L χ i ∇ ~ *-d ∇ 'to slip' > HS: B *✓sll ∇ > Zkr {Ds.} naš ∇ ū ∇ ūd, Rf BA {Rn.} ans ∇ ω ∇ ž ∇ ž ∇ ə ∇ δ ∇ , Ttq {Msq.} pf. iselelet 'glisser' ¶ Rn. 336, Ds. B 154, Msq. 138 || K: GZ *s χ le ∇ -/*s χ li ∇ -/*s χ l ∇ - v. 'stumble, slip' > Mg c χ ila ∇ -/c χ ili ∇ -/c χ ir ∇ -, ? Lz l ∇ - id., OG s χ le ∇ -, G s χ le ∇ - / s χ li ∇ - / s χ l ∇ -, 'slip, dart off' ¶ K 167, K² 171, ≈ FS E 309 (*s χ l-) || IE: NaE *sle ∇ h- 'slippery', v. 'slide', *slid^h-os 'slippery, smooth' > Gk ὀλισθη ∇ v. 'slip; slip and glide along' (aor. ὤλισθηον), ὀλισθηρός 'slippery', ὀλισθος 'Glätte, Schlüpfrigkeit' || OIr slaet 'masse glissante, coulée, amas, tas', NIr slaod 'a smooth sweeping mass; swathe' || MHG slīten, AS slīdan v. 'slide, slip, glide', NE slide; AS slidor 'slippery, smooth', NE slidder; NHG d. Schlitten 'sledge' || Lt slýsti (prs. slýstu, p. slýdau) 'to slide, to slip, to glide', Ltv slist, slīst '(aus)gleiten', slīdēt 'to slide, to glide', pa-slīdēt 'to

slip', Lt *slidùs*, Lt Z *slydùs* 'slippery' || OI 'srēdhati 'fail, err, blunder' (P: ← *'gleitet ab'), *sridh-* 'failure, error' ¶ P 663-4, 960-1, MK III 558, ≈ ME II 786-7 (*h₁slēid^h-), F II 377, Vn. S 125, Dnn. 652, OsS 825, Lx. 19, Ho. 298, KM 658, Frn. 830, 833, Mn. 1209, 1213, ≠ EI 527 (*(s)leǵ- 'slicky, slimy, slippery') ◇ K 167 (K, IE). The variation between N *t̥ (in B and K) and N *d (in IE) may be due to ideophonic connotations.

2062. *śúí|žü(-kê) - *śil|ži(-kê) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' >
HS: C: Bj {Rop.} *sil* 'saliva', {R} *sil* 'saliva, drivel' ¶ R WBd 198, Rop. 232 || IE: [1] NaIE *sleiǵ-/sliǵ- 'slime, saliva' > MHG *slich*, *slîch*, NHG *Schlick* 'slime, ooze' || SI *slizь 'slime, mucus' > R *слизь*, Slv *slîz* id., Blg 'слиза 'saliva'; SI *slъzǎ 'tear (lacrima)' > OCS, OR *сльза* *slъza*, R *сле'за*, Uk *слі'за*, *сльо'за*, Blg *съл'за*, SCr *slъza*, Slv *sólza*, Cz, Slk *slza*, P *łza* id. || [2] NaIE *sleiǵ- +ext.: BSl: Ltv *slīēnas* 'saliva, drivel' | SI *slīna 'saliva' > SrChS *слйна* *slina*, Blg, Uk 'слина, Blr 'сліня, SCr *slīna*, Slv *slína*, Cz, Slk *slina*, P *slina*, (with a puzzling ю) R *слю'на*, Blr, Blg 'слюна 'saliva' || L *salīva* 'Speichel' || Clt ({Vn.}: not necessarily ← L): OIr *saile*, W *haliw*, Br *salu* 'saliva' ¶ In some IE lgs. (esp. Gmc and SI) there is contamination with paro- and synonymous roots for 'silt', 'slippy', etc. ¶ Lx. 197, ≠ Paul 514, Kar. II 225, WH II 468, Vn. S 14, ≈ Glh. 562, 596, ≈ Vs. III 668, 671-2, ≈ Vr. 516, ≠ P 663-4, ≠ EI 527 (*(s)leǵ- 'slicky, slimy, slippery') || K: G *sila* 'hemorrhoidal slime' ¶ DCh. 1172 || U: FU *śúíke (att. in FP) ~ *śüžke (att. in ObU) > F *syłki*, Es *sülg* 'saliva', F *syłke-*, Es *süлга-*, Δ *süłge-* v. 'spit' | pLp {Lr.} *čolkъ- v. 'spit' > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjalgedh*, L {LLO} *tjǎl'kat*, N {N} *čol'gât*, Kld *čol:geδ* id.; pLp *čolkъ 'saliva' > N {N} *čql'gâ / -lg-* id., L {LLO} *tjǎlkâ*, S {Hs.} *tjalge* id., 'spittle', Kld *чоллк*, {TI} *čoł:k* 'saliva' | Er *сельге* *šełge*, Mk *сельге* *šełgə* id., Er *šełge-*, Mk *šełgə-* v. 'spit' | Chr: L *шүвыл* 'šüwыл, B *šüwəl-wüt*, H {MRS} *шывульвыд*, {Ep.} *шывильвыт* *šə'wəłwət* 'saliva' (*wüt*, *-wət* 'water'), *šəwəl-* (inf. *шывäl-äш*), L *шүвал-* *šüwal-* v. 'spit' | Prm {LG} *śól- v. 'spit' > Z *сьолав-* *śzlav-*, Vt *сяла-* *śala-* v. 'spit', Z *сьовзы-* *śzvz̥+*, Vt *сялзыны* *śalž+n̥+* v. mom. 'spit' || ObU {Ht.} *süžəy- ({Ht.} *süđəy-) v. 'spit' > pVg *süłx- > Vg: T *süłk-*, LK/MK/UK *sälx-*, P/NV/SV/LL *sälł-*, UL/Ss *sälx-* id.; pOs {Ht.} *söyəy- ({Hl.} *süyəy-) > Os: V/Vy *söyəx-*, Ty/Y *söyəx-* id. ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 479, Sm. 549 (FU *sülk/đki(-), P

*śülki, Ugr sũđkĩ 'saliva, spit'), Lr. #161, Lgc. #458, Hs. 13O1, SaR 399, TI 677, Ker. 135, MRS 740, 758, Ep. 159, LG 270, Lt. 128, Ht. #564 || A: M *silü-sün 'saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber' > MM {H} śilüsün, WrM {MED} silüśün, HIM шүлс id., WrM {Kow.} śilüśün 'salive, humeur, phlegme', Kl {KRS} шүлсн śülsən, {Rm.} śülsŋ, Ord {Ms.} śölösü 'saliva, drivel', Brt шүлһэн, Dg {T} śulse ~ śille, {Pp.} silsü, {Mr.} śulse 'saliva'; M *silü-key 'slibbery, full of saliva; saliva' > WrM silükei, HIM шүлхий id., Kl {KRS} шүлкә śülkä 'full of saliva' ('слюнявый'), {Rm.} śülkē 'full of saliva; saliva', ?? Mnr H {SM} śīorgūo 'saliva, drivel', → T: Chg {Rl.} sülägäy, Tkm сүлекей θülekey, Uz сўлак swlak, сўлакай swlakay, Qmq silegey, VTt {Rl.} sǎlǎgäy ~ sǎlǎgäy, Bsh һеләгәй һлǎgäy, Nog, Qq silekey, Qzq сiлекей sīlekey, Qrg śilekey, Alt чилекей čilekey, Tb/Qmn {B} čilekey, Xk sulegey 'saliva', ET {Nj.} śölgäy ~ śülgäy, Az selik id., 'slime' ¶ H 140, MED 708, KW 370-1, KRS 686, SM 397, T DgJ 184, Mr. D 218, Rs. W 435, Rl. IV 600, 741, 831, Nj. 550, 552, UzR 393, Tkr 598, RAzS 279-81 (Az selik 'slime, saliva'), Äz. 260, B DChT 165, B DK 268 || Tg *silemse 'saliva, dew' > Ul silǣmsǣ id., WrMc silerŋi id., 'drivel' ¶ STM II 86 ¶ The meaning 'dew' may be due to the infl. of the Tg reflexes of N *ś̌aH, 'ü' Lɿ∇ 'dew' (q.v.) ¶¶ Rs. W 435 (T, M, Tg) || D *čol]- ({θGS} *č̌|ɿ-) 'saliva' > Tm cōl]u 'dribbling at the mouth as of a child', ? cā]aǐ 'dribble, saliva flowing from the mouth', Kt čol, Klm zoll, Gnd A čol ~ čol 'saliva', Kn jollu id., 'slaver', Tu jollæ 'saliva, spittle', Tl collu, jollu 'slaver, saliva drivelling from the mouth' ¶¶ D #2862 ◇ BF, Lp, and Mr point to a FU *í < N *í, while ObU suggests FU *ġ < N *ġ. All other lgs. (C, IE, A, and D) do not distinguish between N *í and *ġ. The unexpected D *o needs explaining ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (N *śulǣ 'слизь'), Rs. W 435 (A, U).

2063. *šæmi 'fat (Fett)' > HS: S *šam₁∇₁n n. 'fat, oil' > BHb שָׁמֶן 'šəmen id., JA [Trg.] שָׁמֶן šə'mān n. 'cream, fat (of milk)', אֶשְׁמֶן 'šum'n-ā n. 'fat', SmA, IA, Plm šmn 'oil', Pun šmn in zbh šmn 'oil sacrifice', Ug šmn 'fat, oil, butter', Ar سَمْنٌ samn- 'melted butter', Jb C *šēn 'fat, fatness', Ak fOAK šamrn- 'oil, fat, cream', Eb šamnum {Krb.} 'fat', {Frnz.} 'oil'; d. CS *ša'min- adj. 'fat' > BHb שָׁמֶן šā'mēn, JA [Trg.] שָׁמֶן šə'mēn, JEA אֶשְׁמֶן šə'mē'nā id., Ug šmn id. ('gordo, cebado'), Ar samina pf. G 'was/became fleshy' ¶ KB 1449-51, HJ 1163, A #2637, OLS 444-5, Lv. T II 493, Sl. 575-6, Tal 909, DM 443, BK I 1143, Hv. 337,

Jo. J 262, CAD XVII/1 321-30, Krb. EG 34, Frnz. MLE 181, MiK I #1.248
 || Eg Md smy {EG} 'fat milk, cream', {Fk.} 'curds' ¶ EG IV 130, Fk. 227
 || B *✓siHm 'fat (Fett)' (× N *ĉiχm∇ id. [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq.
 141, Dl. 778 || C: Bj {Rop.} simūm 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' ¶
 Rop. 233, Blz. EDB 24 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} š́mžn (secondary
 glottalization?), {Nc.} semen 'be(come) fat' ||| WCh: mt. Dir {Sk.}
 šinama 'oil' ||| ECh: Mb {J} síwín n. 'fat', Nd D {J} swán, Smr {J} swáni,
 Skr {Sx.} sunú, Mgm {JA} séwén, Bdy {AIJ} séwèŋ 'oil', séwén kà tàltà
 'fat' (n., lit. 'hard oil'), Kbl {Cp.} sùwèngá, Li {WeibP} sòŋgò, Ke {Eb.}
 son, {Eb. in ChC} sɔŋ, Kwn súwáne, EDng {Fd.} sèwè, Brg {Lk., J}, Mu {J}
 síwín 'oil, fat' ¶ Sk. NB 34, Lk. L 120, ChC, WeibP 81, Eb. 93, JA LM 123,
 AIJ 114, Blz. EChWL #26 ¶¶ OS ##2247 (HS *siman 'oil, fat') ||| A: M
 *seme-žin > MM [MA] {Pp.} semeži 'fat of the intestines', WrM
 semežin, HIM сэмж(ин), Brt hemže, Ord semeži 'fat around the
 intestines, fat of the epiploon'; M → WrMc semecen, semezen
 'epiploon' ¶ Pp. MA 320, MED 687, Ms. O 57, Z 587 || Tg *semesik
 'omentum' > Ewk sэмэsik, Lm hэмэһэк, Neg sэмэsiχ, WrMc semsu
 id. ¶ STM II 142 || ???σpKo *sam 'amnion (caul) and placenta' > NKo
 sam ¶ S QK #825, MLC 901 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1962 (A *sēme|a 'fat', incl. Tg)
 ||| D *čavar- ~ *čamar- ({ǂGS} *s-) v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil, etc.)' (× N
 *ĉap∇ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten', q.v. ffd.) > Tl camuru 'oil,
 any oilyunctuous substance', camuru v. 'smear, daub, rub as with
 oil', EpTl samaru 'ghee' ¶¶ D #2389, 2674b ◇ ≈ IS MS 348 (*sā'm^h
 'to grease' > IE, A, ?K, HS) (did not distinguish between reflexes of N
 *sæmi 'fat' and N *č'o'm^h₂E 'to smear' [q.v.]).

2064. (₂?) *sim∇ (= *sim∇ ?) 'name (as a sign of identity), the
 same' ([in IE] → 'one') > HS: S *šim- 'name' > BHb שֵׁם šēm (pl. שֵׁמוֹת
 šē'mōt), Ph, Pun, Ug, OA, IA šm, BA +ppa. -שֵׁם šam-, SmA {BH} šam,
 ChPA šm, šym, JA [Trg.] שֵׁם šem / em. אֶשֶׁם šə'm-ā, JEA šə'mā (cs.
 šem ~ šum), Sr |شيم| šə'm-ā, (+ppas., e.g. |شيمي| šem-ī 'my
 name'), NNEA {Mcl.} šima, išma, Ar |سِم| ?ism-, Sb mS šm, Gz sam,
 Hrs {Jo.} hem, Mh {Jo.} ham (pl. Hrs/Mh hэмōtэn), Jb E/C šum (pl. 'šim-
 tэ), Sq {Jo.} šem, Ak šum-^u, Eb {Krb} šum-um ¶ KB 1432-5, 1791-2, HJ
 1155-9, A #2620, OLS 440-1, Lv. T II 491, Lv. IV 569-70, Sl. 1153-4,
 Dlm. 427, Schl. 209, Ln. 435, Br. 784-5, Mcl. 307, BGMR 126, Jo. H
 52, Jo. M 158, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 40, Krb. PE 107 || pB *?i-sim 'name'
 (acc. to Pr. M IV-V 111, the B word is not an Arabism; *?i- is a reg. px.

of masc. nouns) > Ah, Kb, Izd i-səm (pl. ismawən), Tmz ism (pl. ismawən), ETwl {GhA} esəm, Gd ism, Zng {Msq.} išmi, {Bs.} اشم *ašm 'name'; Kb, Tmz, Izd, Gd ✓ smm v. 'name' ¶ Fc. 1837, GhA 174, Dl 777-8, MT 641-2, Mrc. 176, Lf. II #1464, Msq. Z 521, Bs. Z 147 || Eg fMK smy ({EG} śmy) v. 'report, make report, announce, proclaim' (← v. *'call, name') > Cpt Sd cĪME səmme, B cĒMI semī v. 'name, appeal, accuse' ¶ EG IV 127, Fk. 227, Vc. 188, Crn. 152-3 || C *šim- ~ *šum- 'name' (= {E} *si/um-) > Bj {R} sim (df. 'ū-sem, 'ū-sum) id., -sim (1s p. a'sim) v. 'name' || Ag *šəŋʷ, {Ap.} *səŋʷ 'name' > Bln {R} šəŋʷ ~ šir, {Bnd.} səŋʷ, Xm, Km šəŋʷ, Aw {CR} šurī id.; d. Bln {R} šir- 'nennen, benennen' || EC *s|šumm- or *s|šum- 'name' > Sd suʔma, Hd summa id.; ??σ Rn sùmát 'a brand; mark (to distinguish livestock)', sum- v. 'brand (livestock)' ¶ EPC #447, R WBd 201, R WB 328, Ap. IC 46-7, Gs. 295, PB 172, PG 269, Blz CL 179 || Ch {JS} *✓ s₃m, {Nw.} *s₃i/um, {Stl.} *sumi 'name': WCh {Stl.} *suma-na id. > Hs sūnā (< *sum-na) id. | AG: Su {J} sùm, Gmy, Cp s+m, Kfr sum, Tal sóm, Ang {Hf.} sùm, {Flk.} süm id. | BT {Stl.} *sum∇ id. > Krkr səm, Tng sumɔ, Krf {Sch.} šímí | NrBc {Stl.} *sum∇n id. > Dir šin, P' {MSk.} sm, Cg šlmàn | SBc: Tala səm, Buli sm, Wnd ším, Zar sùm, Kry wùsum, Jm {Csp.} sim, Grn {Jgr.} sìn, Sy {Csp.} sùm, Bg {Csp.} yìsím id. | Ron: Klr {J} sim, DfB {J} sùm, Fy {J} ku-sùm id. || CCh *✓ šm id. > Tr {Nw.} žim, Hw šim | Mrg {Hf.} ším, Cb š+ma, Klb {AD} šimì, {Mch.} šim, Br šima, Wmd š+mò | BB: FIJ, FIM ž+m, Gude l+ma | Mtk sb.: {Ro.}: Mkt šùm, Mada šimé, Myn šimi, Hrz šèmány, Mlk, Vm šímáy, Zlg žèm; Gzg {Lk.} šimed, {Ro.} šimíd 'name' | Db {Lnh.} žimì id. | Ktk: Lgn {Bou.} šëm, Bdm {Cfr.} hāmù id. | McMsg: Mbara {Trn.} šim id. | McMs: Ms {J} sámna, sémná, Bnn šeme, ZmB {J} sám, {Sa.} sém, ZmD {KNC} šém, Azm {Pc.} siminà id. || Ech: Mb {J} sàmè, Mjl semmî, Kjk simi, Brg {J} ʔósòm, Mkl {J} sùmá, Kwn kásám, sém, Ke {Eb.} sám, Smr {J} sùmí, EDng {Fd.} sîŋ, Bdy {AJ} seme, Mgm pl. {J} sémè id., Mkl {J} sùmà, Nd D {J} hám, Tmk him id. ¶ × Ch *sim- 'ear' < N *š'í'm∇ 'hear' in several Ch lgs (Gzg, Db, some Masa lgs., Tmk, Smr), where the word means both 'name' and 'ear' ¶ JI II 248-9, Stl. IF 90, ChC, ChL, Hf. AG 20, Csp. 27, 59, Jgr. 186, KNC 24, Ro. 296, Pc. 351, Blz EChWL #58; ffd. see AD ChCS #20 ¶¶ OS #2304 (HS *süm: S, Ch), #2244 (*sim- 'call, speak': S, B, Eg *÷ Ch, LEC), Vc. 188 (Eg, S) || K ? *òš'u'm- > Sv: UB {TK} šwim ~ šüm, Ln {TK} šwim, L {Dn., TK} šum ~ {TK} šə,m 'kind of, dialect' (mērma-mīrma šumi liyṛāls

lēwkneχ 'they sing many kinds of songs') (unless Sv ←b Aram šum 'kind' < S *šim- 'name'?) ¶ Dn. s.v. šum, TK 825 || IE: NaIE *sem-/*som-/*sm̥- 'the same, one' (→ 'together'): [1] *som-/*sōm- 'the same, alone' > OI sa'ma- 'the same, equal, like, Av, OPrs hama- 'like, the same' || Gk ὁμός 'one and the same, like' || OIr -som, reinforcing pc. of the 3rd pers. (ys hé-som 'c'est lui'), W hwn 'this one' (< *som-dʰe) || L sim-ul 'at the same time', similitis 'like, resembling' || Gmc *samaz 'same' > Gt (sa) sama, ON samr, OHG der samo, daꝛ sama 'the same'; adv.: ON sem 'just as', Sw som 'as, where, when', OHG sama 'same as', AS same 'same', NE same || Sl *samъ 'oneself; the same' > OCS самъ samъ 'self, ipse; the most', Blg сам, SCr, Slv sām, Cz, Slk, P sam 'self, ipse', alone', R сам 'self, ipse', 'самый' 'the same, the most' || Arm nuf'u omn 'some, certain, some one' || [2] *sem-/*sm̥- 'one' > Gk Mc e-me, Gk m. εἷς (< *sem-s), ntr. ἓν (< *sem) (gen. m.\ntr. ἑν-ός), f. μία (< *sm-iə); px. ἄ- / ἅ- 'one-, same-' (as in ἀδελφός 'brother' ← 'one from the same womb', ἅπαξ 'once') || Arm փի մի (< *sm-iyos, {EC} *sm-ih_ϕ) 'one' || L sem-per 'always' || Tc: A sa-s, B se (*sem-s) 'one' m., A sām, B sana, somo f. || OI sa-'kr̥t, Av ha-karəṭ 'once, all at once' ¶ AdS of NaIE *som/*sm̥ 'together' (→ 'with') (< N *zæm₁?, ▽ (or *z̥-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' ¶ P 903-5, AHDI 57, EI 499 (*so'mo-s 'same'), 399 (*sem-s ~ *sem ~ *sm-ih_ϕ- 'united as one, one together'), M K III 411, 436-7, Glh. 539-40, F I 1, 471-2, II 390, WH II 538-41, Vn. S 169, Slit. 454, Fs. 409, Vr. 461-2, 470, Kb. 823, Schz. 244, OsS 740, Ho. 269-70, Ho. S 62, Frn. 753-4, Vs. III 551-2, StSS 592, KT 158, Wn. 415, Ad. 6758-9, Ad. H 15 ◇ u for *i in some lgs. (Ak, Aw, WCh, Sv, T, etc.) is due to the labializing infl. of *m.

2065. *sim ▽ 'be wet; moisture, liquid' > K: GZ *šim- 'wet; water' > G X sim-ur-i 'water', Mg šim-e 'wet, wetness' ¶ Fn. KW-2 43, FS K 284-5, FS E 317 || HS: EC: Or {Grg.} sama 'become mouldy\spoiled\dirty', HEC {Hd.} *šam- 'be wet, rot' > Ged {Hd.} šam- 'be wet', šamo 'wet', Sd {Gs.} šam- 'be wet\humid\damp, rot', šama 'wet, damp, moist; corrupt, putrid' ¶ Grg. 251, Brl. 366-7, Hd. 166, 259, 391, Gs. 300 || A: M *sime 'sap, juice, liquid' > WrM simē, HIM шим 'sap', K1 шим, {Rm.} šimə 'juice', Ord {Ms.} šime 'juice, sap; abundant milk (from an udder)', Mnr H {SM} šimīē 'juice, sap', Dg {Mr.} šime 'juice', {T} šim id., 'succulence'; M → PCIWrMc simen, WrMc śimen ({Z} симэнь)

{Z} 'moisture, humours of the body (from food and drink)', {Hr.} 'Feuchtigkeit; Säfte, Sekrete' ¶ MED 709, KRS 673, Ms. O 618, SM 396, Mr. D 216, KW 357, Rm. M 38, Mls. 237 ¶¶ But M *sime- 'swallow, suck out' and WrMc simi- 'suck' have to be preferably connected with N *ś|śêHm∇ 'to swallow' (q.v. ffd.) or result from a merger of both N etyma || D *ĉimm- ({{GS}} *s|ć-?) 'moist(ure)' > Tm cemmal 'water', Tu {D} śime, {Mnr.} šima 'cold, moistness', Tl cemma 'moisture', Ku žimbrī pīgi 'drizzle' ¶¶ D #2539, Mnr. 6616, 649 ◇ ≈ Blz. 162 [#99] (D, K + err. the D and HS reflexes of N *SEM₁∇, t₁∇ 'cold', q.v.).

2066. *ś|śêHm∇ 'to swallow' > U: FU (att. in FV) *ś|śēme 'drink, swallow, gulp' > F siemi (gen. siemen) n. 'drink, gulp, beverage', siemaise- v. 'gulp (down), swallow', Es seem (gen. seeme), sōōm (gen. sōōme) 'draught, gulp', 'Trunk, Schluck' | Er симе- śime-, Mk симо- śimə- v. 'drink' ¶ UEW 773, Ker. II 142 || A: NaT *sim- (~ *sim-, *süm-) v. 'swallow' > MQp [CC] {Grøn.} sim- v. 'gulp, swallow' ('schlucken, verschlingen'), Osm {Rh.} süm- 'butt with the snout in sucking', Tk † süm- 'suck (butting with the snout)' (of lambs, etc.); NaT *simür- > OT simür- v. 'swallow in a single gulp', Brb, Nog, Qq simir-, Qzq cимip- šimīr-, ET, Osm {Rl.} sümür- id., Az sümür- id., 'suck out', Tkm cymyp- θümür- 'eat greedily', Uz simir- 'suck\drink slowly' ¶ Cl. 829-30, Rs. W 422, Grøn. 220, Rh. 1095, TrR 797, Rl. IV 737, 853, MM 318, BT 141, Äz. 276, TkR 599 || M *sime- 'swallow, suck out' > MM [MA] {Pp.} šime- v. 'absorb (a liquid)', WrM simе-, HИM шимэ- 'draw a liquid into the mouth, suck', Mnr H {SM} šzmu- 'suck', Mgl {Rm.} siminā 3s 'sucks' ¶ Pp. MA 333, MED 709, KW 358, Rm. M 38, SM 374 || Tg *sime- 'suck' > Sln śimэ- 'suck', Lm humat/ç- 'suck (a bone)', (with as.) ç̣ṃça- 'suck', Orc simiči- 'suck, suck out', Ud simisi- id., 'suck sth. round (обсасывать)', Ul siminz-, Ork, Nn Nh simi- 'suck in, soak', PCMc, WrMc simi- 'suck, swallow'; but not here Tg *çime- ({{DQA}} *šime-) > Lm ç̣ṃьl- 'percolate', Ul, Nn Nh čime- id., 'get soaked', WrMc śime- ({{Z}} cимэ-) 'be absorbed' ¶ STM II 87, 394, Z 610-1, Hr. 796-8, Mls. 237 || pKo {S} *śimíj- v. 'soak, permeate' > MKo śimíj-, NKo simi- ¶ S QK #547, Nam 318, MLC 1025 || pJ {S} *śim- 'soak' > OJ simm-, J: T śimi-, K śimí-, Kg śimí- ¶ S QJ #512, Mr. 751 ¶¶ The vw. *-i- may be due to contamination with N *sim∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid' (q.v.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2163 (A *šimi- 'suck, soak', incl. T, M, Ko, J) || HS: B *-suHm- > Ah {Fc.} suməm 'sucer

avec un bruit de lèvres', BMn {Bs.} $\varepsilon m\bar{u}m$ 'suck, lick', Rif {Rn.} summ, Izd ssumm {Mrc.} 'suck' ¶ Fc. 1083 || C: Ag {Ap.} *s $\varepsilon\eta^w$ - v. 'swallow' > Bln/Dmb {R} $\varepsilon\eta^w$ -, Km {CR} $\check{s}\check{a}\check{\gamma}^w$ -, Aw sun- ¶ Ap. AV 19 ¶ Ag *- η^w - < C, HS *-m- (near a vw. *u) reg. || WCh: Tng {J} sumbe 'suck' || NrBc {Stl.} *s $\psi m\check{d}$ - 'suck' > {Sk.} Wrj s $\acute{s}n\check{d}$ -, Sir s $\acute{s}n\check{d}\acute{u}$, Cg zum \check{d} - ¶ Stl. ZCh 253 [#78], Sk. NC 42, ChC || ?? Eg fMd ε^m 'v. 'swallow' (contamination with a derivative of εm 'swallow') ¶ EG IV 44-5, Fk. 214 $\diamond \approx$ IS MS 336 (* $\acute{s}\varepsilon m^H$ Δ 'swallow': IE, A, U), Rs. UAW 41 (U, A) \diamond Unc. σ (\Leftrightarrow IS MS): \div IE *semH- 'ladle out, pour (out)' (> Lt semi \grave{u} / $\acute{s}\acute{e}m\acute{t}i$ 'draw, scoop\ladle out', Ltv sme \grave{u} / sme \acute{t} 'scoop\ladle out', OIr sem- 'pour out', {Vn.} verser, puiser', ? Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$ 'water-bucket', F P 901-2, Vn. S 82-3) (IE *-H- reconstructed by him probably on the accentual ev. of Lt $\acute{s}\acute{e}m\acute{t}i$) \diamond The N Ir. is reconstructed on the ev. of the FU long vw. and the B vw. *u (regularly from *uH). The vw. u in B and in some WCh lgs. (Tng, Cg) may be due to the ass. infl. of *m (cp. u in the reflexes of N * $\acute{s}im\check{d}$ 'name' in different Ch lgs.).

2067. *s| \check{s} 'i' $\check{X}m\check{d}$ 'be dark, darken' > HS: WS $\check{s}\check{h}m$ 'be black\dark' > JA [Trg.] $\check{s}\check{h}m$ G {Lv.} 'bräunlich\dunkelrot sein', JA [Trg.] $\check{s}\check{a}'\check{h}\check{i}m$ / $\check{X}\check{h}\check{h}\check{w}\check{w}$ $\check{s}\check{i}'\check{h}'m\check{a}$ 'dark, black', $\check{h}\check{i}\check{h}\check{w}\check{w}$ $\check{s}\check{a}'\check{h}\check{u}m$ id., JEA $\check{h}\check{h}\check{w}\check{w}$ $\check{s}\check{a}'\check{h}\check{e}m$ 'dark-coloured, glazed', Mhb $\check{h}\check{h}\check{w}\check{w}$ $\check{s}\check{a}'\check{h}\check{u}m$ 'dark-red', SmA $\check{s}\check{h}\check{w}m$ 'brown', Sr $\check{s}\check{h}m$ G 'be dusky\swarthy', Ar {Ln., Hv.} $\check{s}\check{h}m$ G 'be\become black', {BK} sa $\check{h}am$ - 'black; black colour', $\check{p}a\check{h}am$ - 'black', Jb $\check{s}\check{h}mm$: $\check{z}\check{n}\check{s}\check{h}a'mim$ 'be\become dark (in complexion)', $\check{s}\check{h}a'mum$, $\check{s}\check{h}a'mim$ 'brown, dark (complexion)' ¶ Br. 769, Lv. IV 583, Lv. T II 468, Js. 1548-9, Sl. 1128, Tal 885-6, JPS 571, Ln. 1321, BK I 1064, Hr. 312, Jo. J 261 || U *s| $\check{s}im\check{d}$ > FP * $\check{s}im\check{d}$ (~ * $\check{s}im\check{d}$?) 'dark, rusty; rust' > pChr {Ber.} * $\check{s}im\check{b}$ 'black' > Chr: L $\check{s}em$ $\check{s}em$, $\check{s}eme$ 'šeme 'black, dirty', Uf $\check{s}em\check{b}$, $\check{s}em$, M $\acute{s}im$, $\acute{s}ime$ 'black', H $\check{s}im$ $\check{s}im$ id., $\check{s}im\check{b}$ $\check{s}im\check{b}$ 'black, dark' || Prm $\check{s}im$ - 'rust, rusty' > Z $\check{s}im$ $\check{s}im$, Yz $\check{s}im$ id. || ?? (with BF *h- < irreg. *š-) F $\check{h}imme\check{a}$, Δ $\check{h}ime\check{a}$ 'dim, obscure', Es Δ $\acute{i}mi$ 'schwach glänzend, schimmernd' || pY {IN} * θem - 'black, dark' > YK $em\bar{u}$ - 'black', $em-b\check{a}$ - 'dark', $em-il$ 'night'; OY: K {Bil.} $emmel$, NW {Lnd.} $\acute{e}mil$, Ch {Mat.} $emilo$, {Boe.} $em\check{d}y\check{n}\check{b}$ id., K {Bil.} $\acute{a}im\acute{a}iv\acute{i}$, {Klc.} $\acute{a}im\acute{p}\acute{b}\acute{y}a$ 'black' ¶ UEW 758-9, It. #402, Sm. 553 (FP * $\acute{s}im\check{d}$ 'rust'), Ber. 52 [#325], MRS 699-700, 706. Ep. 150, Ps. OT 120, IG 258, SK 17, W EDW 130, IN 92 (on pY * θ > modern Y zero), 220, 299, 326, 330-1 || A: M * $\acute{s}ime$ - > WrM $\acute{s}ime-i$ -, HIM $\acute{s}im\check{d}$ - v. 'appear

dimly', WrM sūme-ger, HIM сүмгэр 'obscure, indistinct, pale' ¶ MED 744 ◇ M *ü (for the expected *i) is probably due to the ass. infl. of *m.

2068. *śâym∇(-t∇) ≈ hips, loins' > HS: WS (or SS°) *°š|si|umaṭ- (or *θ-?) > Gz səmaṭ (~ samaṭ) 'loins, flanks, waist', Tgr səməṭ 'flank, side', Tgy šəmṭi ~ šəmṭi ~ šənṭi 'waist', Amh šənṭ, Har šīnṭi 'filet', ??σ Ar simṭ- 'basque de la cuirasse qui garantit le derrière; bas d'une robe qui dépasse celle de dessus; courroie qui tient à la selle', {Hv.} sumṭ- 'woollen garment'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} simit ~ simiṭ 'side' ¶ LG 503, LH 347, R WB 305, BK I 1138, Hv. 336 || U: FU *śâym∇ (or *ś-) 'groin, loins' > Lp T {Gn.} šijms (gen. šijmizī) 'side' or 'groin' (F 'kuve'), {TI} 'Weiche' || Os: Nz suyəm, Kz sūyəm 'groin (Leistengegend)', Sh suyəm 'hip, loin-cloth (Hüfte, Lendengürtel)', Kr soyəm 'waist', N {Páp.) sōyəm 'Lenden, Kreuz' ¶ Gn. 887, TI 552, KrT 820, Stn. D 1299, ≈ UEW 45 (FU *ćâym∇ ⇨ *śâym∇; AD: FU *ć- is untenable because pOs *s- is not from *ć-) || A: M *°sami 'groin' > WrM sami 'groin', HIM самь id. ¶ MED 668 || ?φ D *ćoṅṭa 'hip, waist' ({ǧGS} *s-?) > Kn soṅṭa, Tu soṅṭa, oṅṭa 'waist', Tl toṅṭi 'loins, hip' ¶ The cerebrality of *-ṅṭ- may be due to the infl. of N *y (palatality > D cerebrality) ¶¶ D #2840.

2069. *ś'ī'mṣ∇ 'to hear' > HS: S *√šmṣ G 'hear' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Amr, OA, IA, JA, SmA, Sr, Eb √šmṣ G, Sb omS šmṣ G, Ar, Gz √smṣ G, Mh/Hrs/Sq {Jo.} √hmṣ (Mh pf. hīma ~ hūma, Hrs pf. hōma, Sq pf. 'hyzmaṣ), Jb {Jo.} √šmṣ (pf. šīṣ), Ak inf. G šemû 'hear', Mn omS šmṣ G 'witness' ¶ KB 1452-6, 1792-3, HJ 1164-6, A #2639, OLS 441, G A 32, Tal 909-11, Lv. IV 577-9, Sl. 1158-60, Br. 686-7, BGMR 127, MA 82, Ln. 1427-30, LG 501-2, Jo. M 157-8, Jo. H 51, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 15 || B *s∇m(m) 'ear' > Gd {Lf.} ē-səm (pl. səmmən), Awj {Prd.} 'i-səm (pl. 'smīwən) 'ear', d. *ta-sūm(m)-∇t 'pillow' (like Fr oreiller ← oreille, R под-уш-ка 'pillow' [lit. 'under-ear-er']) > Kb ṭa-sum-ṭa 'oreiller, coussin', Izn {Rn.} tsumṭa (pl. ṭosamtawin), Rif {Rn.} tsummät id., Nf tsum'tā, Skn 'tsümti, Awj ta'sūmt 'pillow', ≈ *a-sāmū > Ah asāmu 'oreiller'; ⇨ Ah sūmät, Kb ssuməṭ 'avoir\utiliser pour oreiller' ¶ Fc. 1834, Lf. II #1465, Prd. 164, 170, Dl. 781 || d.? Eg fP smt ({EG} śmt) v. 'hear', ?? Eg fP sm ({EG} śm) 'achten, respektieren' ¶ The loss of *ṣ needs investigating ¶ EG IV 120, 144, Fk. 229 || Ch {Stl.} *sim- 'ear' > CCh *śim 'ear' > Tr {Nw.} žim, Hw {ChL} śima-ra, Gbn/G'nd {ChL}

šima-ta id. | Mrg {Kr.} šimí, BuP šim, Klb {AD, Mk.} šimi, Hld/Wm {ChL} ximi, Cb {ChL} šímà id. | HgN šime, HgK šim, HgG šimwu, Kps šimɔy | Gude {Hsk.} ləmá, {IL} limīn, Gudu {IL} šim, FIJ žɔmɔn id. | Lmn {Lk.} šəmɔŋ id. | Mdr {Eg.} šímà, Glv {Rp.} hʷímià, Gdf {IL} šimʌ, Dgh {Frk.} šmé id. | Suk {IL} šímáj 'ear' (and šám-ni 'hear') | Mtk {Sb.} žəmbâd, pMM {Ro.} šimay > {Ro.}: Mkt šúm, Mada šimé, Myn šimí, Vm šímáy, Zlg žəm 'ear', as well as Mofu {Brr.} šùmày, {Ro.} šímáy, Gzg D {Lk.} šimed, {Ro.} šimíd id. | Db {Lnh.} žimí, Kola {Sb.} žimí id. | Gdr {Mk.} šum id. | Ktk: Lgn {Bou.} sim id. | Msg {Mch.} xəm̄a id. || Ech: Kwn M {J} sēmđí id. | Kbl {Cp.} sāmí, Ll {Grgs.} sumā id. | Smr {J} súmí, Nd D {J} hām, Tmk {Cp.} him id. | Mb {J} sūmāmò, Mjl sumāmo 'ear']? Ch {Stl.} *ku-sim- 'ear' > WCh: SBc *kusmi (< *ku-sim-?) > Bg kumsi, Grn kʷansi, Kir/Tala/Zar kəm, Buli kum id. | Hs kúnñē id. | AG *kʷom > Ang kʷom, Su/Cp kom, Gmy {Fp.} kum id. | Bl kumō, Tng {J}, Dr, Ngm kumo, Krkr, Bele kumó id. | Wrj kumáj, Kry kúm, Dir, Jmb kumá, My kumáj id. | Sha kum, Fy humù, Df hʷám id. || CCh: Ms {J} húmná, ZmD {KCN} húm, ZmB {J} húm 'ear', Azm {Pc.} hūmbá 'ear, leaf', hūmbá 'hear' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} kó-sóŋ 'ear' ¶ Stl. IF 90, JI II 114-5, J T 105, ChC, ChL, KNC 10, Ro. 242, Pc. 217, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'ear' || K *sem- / *sm- 'hear, be heard' > OG sem- / sm-, G sm- id., Mg sim- ~ sɔm-, Lz sim-, Sv saɣm- / sm- id., Sv UB lisme msd. 'be heard; hear sth.'; d. *sm-en- / *sm-in- 'listen' > OG, G smen- / smin-, Mg simin-, Lz simin-, sibir-, Sv smīn- (Sv UB {GP} msd. lismīne) id., Sv LB {TK} saɣmān ~ saɣman n. 'hearing, attention' ¶¶ K 164-5, K² 163-4, 167, FS K 267-8, FS E 296, Chik. 314, GP 168, TK 713 || U: FU (att. in Os) *šim(-∇l-, -∇l-) '≈ be heard' > Os Kz šimás-, Os Sn šimə]lə- 'zu hören sein' ¶ Stn. D 1342.

2070. *šäm_l∇_g∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair' > HS: SES *✓šmɔ > Mh šōmɔɔ, Jb E šūɔ 'fine hair shed by camel' ¶ Jo. M 395 || Eg P/BD smɔ 'behaarter Teil des Kopfes; Haare am Kopf' ¶ N *g > Eg ɔ (is it regular?) ¶ EG IV 122 || C: HEC ({Hd.} *šōmba) > Brj {Ss.} 'šomi, {Hd.} šōma, šomi, Hd šomba, Sd šōbba 'pubic hair'; Af {Hw.} sammo 'pubic region' || SC {E} *seɣem- 'hair' > Irq {MQK} seɣēmi 'a hair', seɣēŋʷ 'hair, fur', Kz saɣamayɔ 'body and limb hair', Asa seɣemuk 'hair; feathers', {Fl.} sému-g 'headdress, hairdress' || ??? Bj {R} šimbehāni ~ šimbāni, {Rop.} šambə'hāni 'eyebrows' (× N *č'í'm∇ 'eyelid; to blink [eyes]' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 174, E SC 150, MQK 92, Hd. 75, R WBd 215 (equates Bj with Bl šebkā 'hair'), Rop. 238 || NrOm {Blz} *s∇m(m)- 'hair' > Ym {Wdk.}

sómá 'hair', {Lm.} somà id. (but {C} somā 'head'), She {CR ← Mnt.} som 'hair (capelli)' ¶ Wdk. BJ 133, C SE III 83, CR NGF 623, Lm. Y 373 || Ch mt. *s∇H∇m- > WCh {Stl.} *suHim- > Hs sũmã 'growth of hair on the head' || BT: Ngm {Mk.} sôm 'hair', Tng {J} sayûm 'beard' || CCh: FIJ {ChL} s̄mč̄ñ, FIM {ChL} š̄lmki, FIB {ChL} š̄lmkln, Gudu {ChL} š̄lŋkln 'hair' || Suk {IL in ChC} š̄umbùt id. || Bnn š̄ímítà, BnnM š̄imit 'hair', Azm {Pc.} š̄ímítá 'feather(s)' ¶ J T 141, Ba. 958, Mk. II 282, Pc. 211 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #47, OS #228O, ≈ Sk. HCD 237, Tk. I 74-5, Tk. SCC 83 [#12.13] || U: FU {UEW} *š̄ãŋe 'hair; to plait hair' (→ v. 'plait') > F s̄ää 'fiber, filament; end (of thread)', (?) s̄äie id. || Prm *š̄i > Z, Vt си š̄i 'hair' || ObU *sēŷ ~ *sōŷ {< **sēŷ^ω?} 'curl, tress of hair', {Ht.} *sēŷ- ~ *sōŷ- {< **sēŷ^ω-?} v. 'plait' > pVg: [1] *s̄ãŷ 'Locke, Haarflechte, Zopf' > Vg: T s̄äw, LK/MK s̄äŷ (s̄ãŷ-ãñ 'their curl\tress'), UK/NV s̄äŷ, SV/LL s̄ã, UL/Ss saŷ; [2] pVg *s̄ãŷ- v. 'plait' > Vg: T s̄äw-, LK/MK/UK/SV s̄äŷ-/s̄ãŷ-, NV s̄äŷ-/s̄ãw-, LL s̄äŷ-/s̄ã-, UL/Ss saŷ-; pOs: [1] *sōŷ 'tress of hair' > V/Vy sōŷ, Ty s̄ãŷ^ω, Y s̄ãw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id.; [2] pOs *sōŷ- v. 'plait' > V/Vy sōŷ-, Ty s̄ãŷ^ω-, Y s̄ãw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew- || Hg szǒ- / szǒv-, Δ sũ- / sũv- v. 'weave, spin' ¶ UEW 471-2, LG 254, Ht. #571, MK 509-10 || A *sãŋa 'hair lock' > M: [1] *saŋna > WrM saŋna, Kl {KRS} saŋna 'forelock of a horse', WrO saŋnā, saŋnai 'tuft, forelock'; [2] M *saŋmay > WrM {Rm.} saŋmai, Kl Ö {Rm.} saŋmā ~ saŋmā ~ saŋma 'Haarzotte auf dem Stirn oder dem Scheitel (der Pferde\der Menschen)'; [3] MM {MA} sanžiq 'locks, curls' ¶ KW 313, MED 672, KRS 441, Krg. 385, Pp. MA 318 || Tg *señe(n) 'beard, gill' > Ul s̄əñə m bi ~ s̄əñə m bi 'bearded', s̄əñə ~ s̄əñə 'gill', Lm O h̄əŋəŋ 'fringe of cloth (бачрома)', Lm h̄əŋəŋ, Ewk s̄əŋəŋəŋ, Neg s̄əñəŋəŋ, Orc s̄əŋəŋəŋ, Ud s̄əŋəŋəŋ, Ork s̄əñəŋəŋ, Nn Nh s̄əŋəŋəŋ 'gill', WrMc seŋele 'gill, cock's comb' ¶ STM II 143 || ??σ T {TL} *saŋ-ak, *saŋ-it 'a place on the neck under the jaw' > Alt saŋat ~ saŋit 'a place under the ear at the end of the jaw; jaw, neck', {Ra.} 'gill', VTt saŋaq, Nog saŋgaq, Qq saŷaq 'gill', Tlt {Ra.} s̄āt 'jugular vein', Tv s̄āt 'carotid artery', Tf s̄āt 'cervical artery' ¶ Tl 222, Ra. 226 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *seŋ(∇)m∇ 'fringe, hair lock'), DQA #965 (A *seŋa|o|u id.) ¶¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. in M and T is probably due to v. harmony.

2071. *s'o'm₁∇,gE ~ *s'o'gmE 'enter, penetrate' > HS: S °✓š̄sŷm > Ar ✓sŷm G 'inivit (puellam)', ps. pf. suŷima 'ventrem plenum habuit', 'avoir le ventre plein' ¶ Fr. II 320, BK I 1095 || C: Bj {R} š̄um-

scv. 'come home, enter; penetrate', {Rop.} šūm- 'enter, interfere' ⇨
 caus. Bj {Rp.} šūm-s- vt. 'enter, put in', Bj N {R} šum-s-, Bj R {R}
 šum-š- 'hineinführen' ¶ Rop. 238, R Wbd 215 || ? Ch: Mdr {ChL}
 samsa 'come' ||| SBc: Kir K/L {Sh.} šin 'come!' ¶ ChL, Sh. SB 34 || **U**
 *soŋe 'enter, creep in, penetrate' > Lp: OSw {LÖ} suogne 'intrare', N
 {Fri.} suogŋa-/suonja- ~ suodnja-/suonja- vi. 'smyge, smætte
 ind i', {N} sudnjâ /-nj- 'creep into (with difficulty) (e.g. creep into a
 cave)', L {LLO} suotnja ~ suokŋa- 'durch eine Öffnung
 hindurchpassieren', K {Gn.} suoaññe-, Nt {TI} suŋŋa- vi. 'enter' || ? Er
 sova-, Δ su'va-, Mk su'va- 'enter, go in' ||| ObU {Ht.} *θ̄ŋ- (~ ? *θ̄ŋā)
 id. > pVg {Ht.} *tūw- > Vg: T tō- ~ tōy-, LK tūw-, UK tuw-, P/LL tū- id.;
 pOs *ḫāŋa-/*ḫoŋ- ({Hl.} *ḫāŋa-/*ḫāŋ-) id. > Os: V lāŋa- / loŋ-, Vy
 yāŋa-, Ty/Y ḫāŋ-, ḫāŋa-/ḫāŋʷ-, D/K tāŋ-, Nz tōŋ-, Kz ḫōŋ-, O lāŋ- id. ||
 OHg av- 'eindringen, sich hineinnehmen, einwachsen'; ⇨ OHg avat-
 'eindringen lassen; einsegnen' > Hg avat- 'initiate (so.) into' || Sm
 *t|čūy- 'enter, go in' > Ne T тю-сѣ, Ne T O {Lh.} t'ū-ś, Ne F {Lh.} čū, Ng
 {Mik.} tīdī, En {Ter.} 3s aor. чѣ, Kms {KD} 1s prs. šūlem || YK {Krn.,
 Nik.} šog- 'enter', {Krn.} ft. šoxteye 'I shall enter' ¶¶ UEW 446-7, Coll. 4,
 Db. OS xxix, xxxii, Sm. 548 (FU *sooŋi- 'enter' > FP *sooŋi-/*suŋa-,
 Ugr *θāŋī-), Fri. 688-9, N III 586, TI 342, Ker. II 147, LG 266, Ht. #144,
 MF 101, EWU 61, Jn. 167, AD YN, Krn. JJ 284, Nik. RJS 6, Ang. 229 ||| **A:**
 M: [1] M *°simgü- > WrM simgū- 'creep in, sneak in' |[2] M *siŋgu- ~
 *sungu- v. 'dive' > WrM siŋgu- ~ šiŋgu- ~ {Rm.} sungu-, HIM
 шунга-, Kl Ö {Rm.} sunga- ~ šunga- 'dive' ¶ MED 711, KW 337, 368 ¶
 The variant *siŋgu- with an unexpected *i may be due to the infl. of
 *siŋge- 'set' (of a celestial body), 'be absorbed into sth.' (F N *šīŋkU
 'sink, fall') || NaT (← M ?): Nog süŋü- 'dive', Qzq, Qq süŋgü-, VTt Δ
 {Rs.} sŋgō- 'dive, plunge' ¶ Rs. W 436, KrkR 596 ||| **D** (in CD) *čōŋk-
 enter' > Klm so'ŋg-, Nk sōŋ- id., Prj čōŋg- 'pierce' (of a thorn), Gdb sōŋg-
 'be pierced into', sōŋ- 'pierce, penetrate' ¶ D #2676(a) ◇ In some
 descendant lgs. the phonetic history is likely to have been: *-mg- > *-ŋg-
 > *-ŋ-or: *-gm- > *-gŋ- (as.) > *-ŋ-. The long vw. in D suggests that the
 nasal cns. was preceded by a lr. (N *s'ō'gme) ◇ In many lgs. there may
 have been (mutual?) infl. of N *s'ō'm_l∇_lgE ⇨ *s'ō'gme and N *šīŋkU
 '↑' (q.v.), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective
 reflexes.

2071a. *Som∇d∇ (> *Sond∇??) 'sand, small stone', (?) 'dirt' > IE: NaIE *^osa|pnd^h- and *sam_lə_jd^h- 'sand' > Gmc *sanða- > ON sandr, OHG sant, MHG, MDu sant ~ sand, NHG Sand, OSx sand, OFrs, AS sond 'sand', NE sand (and Gmc \rightarrow F *santa* id.); there is a pGmc variant with *m: MHG sampt, NGr B/Trl samp, Yid טאָמץ zamd 'sand', apparently related to Gk ἄμαθος 'sandy soil', but the cns. μ in ἄμαθος may be due to the infl. of ἄμμος 'sandy ground' and ψάμαθος 'sea-sand' (Güntert on the latter: Reimwortbildung, interaction between two originally different roots); the pGmc and Gk words with *m suggest pIE **sam_lə_jd^h- ¶ KM 623, FI 84, Gnt. R 119-20 || A: pJ *súná 'sand' > J: Tk sùna, K sùna, Kg súna, Ns šíná, Sh šínà, Y čìnáń id. ¶ SDM97 s.v. A *sun∇ || HS: B: [1] *^o✓smd > Ntf asəmdəd (pl. isəmdəd) 'pierre sur laquelle on aiguise les couteaux' | [2] *✓swn > Nfs tasawant 'pierre à fusil', Sw {La.} tasowant 'ε small stone' ¶ Dray 371, La. S 277 || Ch: WCh: Buli {Sh.} šínes 'sand' ||| ECh: Skr {Lk.} síñé, {Sx.} síñ-jórr, Jg {J} šéñ, Brg {J} sàńó, Mu {Lk.} síńòk, {J} síńiyó, Mjl síńo, Kwn {Mch.J} g3sîñ, Smr {J} gàwsîní, Nd D {J} kúsáyún, Tmk {Cp.} k3sañ, EDng {Fd.} góssine 'sand' ¶ JI II 281, Blz EChWL #69 || ??σ U: FP *sonta 'dirt' > F sonta, Es sōrnik 'dung, manure' | Chr: H šandъ, B/Uf šondo id., 'urine' | Vt S zud 'black mud (used for dying)' ¶ UEW 764-5, Ep. 146 ◇ If the FU root is a valid cognate (in spite of the semantic distance), it suggests a pN *s- ◇ B *✓swn, the WCh root and pJ *súná are likely to have lost the N dental stop ◇ Alternatively, it may be supposed that there was lexical interaction between two different etyma: N *SUn_ld_j∇ and *S∇m∇d∇.

2072. *Sāmir∇ 'fat' ('Fett') > IE: ≈ NaIE *smeru- 'fat, grease' ('Schmer, Fett') (× N *maRi?∇ or **maří?∇ 'animal fat' [q.v.]) > Gmc *smerwa- > ON smiqr, smør 'butter, fat', Dn smør, Sw smör, NNr sm(j)ør 'butter', OSx smero, OHG smëro (gen. smerawes) 'fat' ('Schmer, Fett, Schmiere'), NHG Schmer 'pork fat, grease, suet', Gt smaírþr n. 'fat', AS smeoru (gen. sme(o)r(u)wes) 'fat, grease, suet, tallow', NE smear n.; Gmc {Wht.} *smerwyan 'to spread grease on', {AD} 'to anoint, to smear' (× N *meřûq∇ 'to smear' [q.v.]) > ON smyria, smyrva 'bestreichen, salben', Sw smörja, Dn smøre, NNr smyrja 'to smear, to anoint', OHG smirwen 'salben, schmieren; to fatten', NHG schmieren 'to smear', AS smierwan 'to anoint', NE smear ||| OIr smi(u)r (gen. smerá), NIr smior, W

mer 'marrow' || Gk μύρον 'sweet-oil, sweet juice of plants, ointment, balsam', μυρίζω, σμυρίζω 'rub with ointment\unguent, anoint', ? σμύρις 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)' (× Gk μύρρα 'myrrh' ← S [*murr- id. > OCn, Ak murru, BHb מור mor, Ug mr, Aram מור mūrā, etc.]) || Lt P/Z smársas 'fat' n., esp. 'fat \ tallow of poor quality' (× Lt smársas 'smell, stench') || Tc B smare 'oil', {E} 'oily, freasy' ¶ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, EI 194 (*'smeru-), Vn. S 142, Fs. 438, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 520-1, AHDI 62, Sw. 154, 156, Ho. 302, Ho. S 68, Kb. 917-8, OsS 832-4, KM 663-5, ≈ Frn. 841, Wn. 456, Ad. 668, Ad. H 36 ¶ × N *č'o'mh₂E 'to smear' (q.v.) || A: T *sämir 'fat (fett)' (< *sämir-y-) > OT sämiz, MQp semiz, MOg XIII sämüz, Chg sämiz, Tk semiz 'fat (fett)', Tkm семиз θемид 'fat', thick' (of an animal), ET, Uz, Qmq semiz, VTt симез simьз, Bsh һимеъ himьδ, Xk simis, Alt {BT} semis 'fat', Qzq семіз semiz, Yk ämis 'fat', Alt/Tlt/Kü {RI} sämis 'fat, fattened', Nog, Qq, Qrg semiz 'fat, fattened, stout', Chv самяр samьr adj. 'fat, thick'; NaT *sämiri- (or *sämrü-) 'fatten, grow fat' > OT {Cl} sämrī-, MQp semir- id., Chg sämir- id., become thick\stout', Tk semir-, Tkm семре- θемре-, ET {BN} semrū-, semir-, Uz, Qmq semir-, VTt симер- simьr-, Bsh һимьr-, Qzq семір- semir-, Alt {BT} semir-, Alt/Tlt/Shor {RI} sämir- 'fatten, grow fat', Nog, Qq, Qrg semir-, Xk simur- 'fatten, grow stout' ¶ Cl. 830, Rs. W 409, RI. IV 509-11, Pek. 257, Jeg. 177 ¶ The pT alternation *-r / *-r- may be accounted for by a pre-T nominal sx. *-y- in *sämir-y > *sämir || D *čam▽r-, {ǧGS} *sam▽r- v. 'smear' > Kn savaru v. 'rub in, apply to (as water\oil\medicine\ashes)', Tl camuru v. 'smear' ¶ D #2389, GS 108 (on D *-m- > Kn -v-) ◇ NaIE ≈ *smeru- and ET semrū- bring to mind the idea of a N *-û (*Sämîrû), but the basis for such assumption is too narrow to be decisive ◇ This N etymon may go back to some cd. including N *šæmi 'fat' (q.v.) with a N sx. *-r▽ (or a second component of a N cd., from which only the syll. *r▽ has survived).

2073. (₂?) *SEm₁▽,t₁▽ 'cold' > HS *✓smt̥ > B *✓smđ 'be cold' > Awj {Par.} ✓šmt̥, Ah, ETwl, Gh, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Rif, Izn, BSn, Shl, Mz, Wrg, Ntf, Gd ✓smđ 'be cold', Kb ismıđ 'être froid', Sll iğmıđ id., ašammıđ 'le froid', Zng {TC} šäm̥muđ 'froid' ¶ AiM 254-5 [#15.1.], Fc. 1835, PrGG 299, Mrc. 1233, Dl. 778-9, Ds. 135, Dl. 778-9, Rn. 317-8, MT 642-3, Dray 228-9, Par. 166, TC D 8, Nic. 373, Bs. MS I 121 || Ch *✓smđ > WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk.} šıđan, P' {MSk.} s̥ndı 'cold', Dir {Sk.}

sùmbùdù id., Mbr k^wi šindī 'harmattan' | SBc: Plc {Sch.} šimtu, Ds Bn {Sch.} šimki, Zar GL {Sch.} šimda 'cold' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} súmade 'Wind, Kälte', {JI ← Lk.} sámāđž, sòmāđž 'wind', Glf {Lbf.} šama 'cold' | Gzg D {Lk.} himeđ 'wind' | Gdr {Srp.} semiá id. | Ms {Mch.} síme, ZmD {Srp.} shimbéde, ZmB {Sa.} símbèdè, Azm {Pc.} símēt-ná 'wind' ¶ JI I 37 and II 78-80, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 178 [#308], Lk. L 118, Pc. 350-1 ¶¶ Gr. LA 54, AiM l.c. || | A: M *^osemtere > WrM semtere- 'freeze out, be destroyed by frost' (unless ← WrM {Kow.} semtere- 'se briser, se casser' < N *ś|šē₁y₁m₁∇₁ṭA 'tear, break' [q.v.]) || ? D: Tu {Mnr., D} sima 'cold, chill', {D} simma adj. 'cold'; (× D *čim∇ 'moist, wet' < N *sim∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid') Tu {D} síme, {Mnr.} šima 'cold, moistness'; not here Tm cemmāl 'water' and other reflexes of D *čim∇ 'moist, wet' (⇔ Blz.) ¶¶ D #2539, Mnr. 6616, 649 ¶¶ The absence of the expected T-cns. (resulting from metanalysis?) is puzzling ◇ ≈ Blz. DA (equated D with HS + unc. the D and K reflexes of N *sim∇ '↑').

2074. (₂?) *ś|šē₁y₁m₁∇₁ṭA 'tear, break' > U: FU *ś|šentä- v. 'tear, tear off, break' > Er śínđe-, Mk śínďa- vt. 'break, break off, break to pieces' || OHg, Hg szēd- vt. 'pluck, pick (lesen, pflücken)', (→) 'gather, collect' ¶ UEW 473, Ker. II 142, EWU 1402, MF 574 || | A: M *^osemtere > WrM semtere- {Kow.} 'se briser, se casser', ? {MED} 'lose hair\wool\feathers\skin' ¶ MED 687, Kow. 1358 || ?σ IE: NaIE *snejt- (mt. from *sejnt-) 'cut, harvest' > Gt sneipan 'to harvest', uf-sneipan 'θύσα, to slaughter', ON sníđa 'to cut, to mow', Sw snida 'to carve', AS snīđan 'to cut into, to hew (stone), to cut off, to amputate, to cut (hair, corn), to cut into pieces', OHG snīdan 'to cut, to mow', OSx snīthan, NHG schneiden 'to cut' || SI *sněť > Uk чнїт 'block (of wood), log', OP śniat, Cz MS/L snět 'trunk of a tree', Cz snět m. 'small tree, small block of wood' || ?σ OIr π snéid 'petit, bref' ¶ WP II 695-6, P 974, Vn. S 149, KM 669, Fs. 440, Vr. 524, Kb. 921, Schz. 263, OsS 838, Ho. 304, Ho. S 68, Ma. CS 461.

2075. *ś'e'ñ∇ 'long time', 'old' > HS: S *šān-at- 'year' > OAk šantu(m) ~ śantu(m), Ak šattu(m), Ph št (pl. šnt), Pun SATH, Mb št, Amn pl. šnt, BHb הַנְּיָן šā'nā (a bf. from pl. הַנְּיָן šā'n-īm for the phonetically reg. **šat), Ug šnt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} šanatu (a bf. similar to Hb šā'nā), OA cs. šnt, pl. abs. šnn, IA šnh, cs. šnt, št, BA cs. הַנְּיָן šanāt, pl. הַנְּיָן šanīn, JA [Trg.] הַנְּיָן šā'nā, הַנְּיָן šat'tā,

SmA šrh, Sr abs. **𐌿𐌺𐌰** šə'nā, em. **𐌿𐌺𐌰** ša<n>tā, Ar **سنة** sanat- id. ¶ GB 850-1, 929, KB 1478-9, 1784, HJ 1170-5, Hnr. 182, OLS 447-8, Tal 914, Lv. T II 499, 521, Js. 1604, 1636, Br. 789, BK I 1154 || Eg fMKL **𐌺𐌿𐌴** 'last year' (with the deictic pc. -f) ¶ EG IV 162, Fk. 231 || Ch: ? CCh: Tr {Nw.} soní, Pdl sóna 'year' (unless loans from Ar) ¶ ChC, ChL || possibly also S ***o**✓wθn 'old' (if from HS **✓wčn < inactivity px. *w- + px. *t + *šn) > BHb **𐌶𐌵𐌰** yā'shān 'old', Ug **𐌶𐌵𐌰** 'viejo, rancio', ✓**𐌶𐌵𐌰** G 'be\become old' ¶ KB 427, OLS 546 || Ch {AD} *✓ws₁n 'year' (*s₁, acc. to AD ChCS) > WCh *✓(w)sn > Ngm sání | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrij wásənná, Kry wásən, Sir wásənúwá, Jmb wásən, Dir ášən ¶ ChC || **IE**: NaIE *sen(0)- 'old; former' > OI 'sana- 'old, ancient', Av hana- 'old, old person' || Arm **հին** hin (gen. **հինյ** hnoy) 'old, worn, decayed' || Gk **ἐνός** 'belonging to the former of two periods, last year's', **ἐνὴ καὶ νέα** 'the old and new (day)', sc. 'the last day of the month (that consisted of two halves, one belonging to the old, the other to the new moon)', **δί-ενός** 'two years old' || L senex (gen. sen-is) 'old' (of a person), cmp. senior 'elder, old', sene-ō / senēre 'be old', senescō 'grow old', senātus 'council of elders, the Senate' || OIr sen 'old', Brtt {RE} *senos 'old' (of a person) > MW, W, MBr hen id., Br hen, Crn hēn 'old, ancient' || Gt sineigs 'πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβύτερος' ('old'), sinistra 'πρεσβύτερος, eldest', L (<b- Brgn) [AmM] sinistus 'sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus', OFrk sini-skalkus 'the eldest house servant', ON **sina**, NNr Δ **sina**, Sw Δ **sena** 'last year's grass' || Lt **sēnas** 'old, worn, ancient', **sēnis** 'old person', **seniaĩ** 'long ago, a long time ag, for ages' || NaIE *seno-mātēr 'grandmother' > OIr sen-máth(a)ir, Lt sen-motē id. ¶ P 907-8, EI 409 (*'seno-s 'old'), M K III 426, F I 522-3, WH II 313-4, Vn. S 83-4, RE 117, Ern. 316-7, Hm. 374, ECCE 255, Slr. 69, Fs. 422-3, Vr. 476, Frn. 775, Kar. II 169-71 || **D** (in Gnd) *čen|ñ- 'old' (of a person) > Gnd sēnāl 𐌺 senāl 'aged, old man, senior', Kui senḍa 'first-born, eldest' ¶ D #2808 ◊ But U *soŋk∇ 'old' (of a person) (UEW 448, Coll. 71) probably belongs to N ***soŋE** (or ***soñE**) 'old' rather than here (because of its vw.).

2076. *sí|üñî(-k∇) (= *sí|üñû?) 'dark, night' > A: M *söni 'night' > MM [MA, IsV, IM, LV] {Pp., Lg.}, MMgl {Iw.} söni, WrM söni, HIM **шөһө**, Ord {Ms.} söni, Kl {KRS} cө, {Rm.} sō, sön, Mnr {SM, T, Pot.} soni, Mgl {Rm.}, Dg {T} sūni id. ¶ Pp. MA 326, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 65, MED 732, Rm. M 39, KW 335, KRS 457, SM 353, T 360, T DgJ 191,

Iw. 133 || Tg *siŋk- 'dark night, dark' > Ewk siŋkē, siŋkēw 'dark night, darkness of the night', Lm hiŋku 'dark night', Lm A siŋku, Neg siŋkəltən 'darkness', Lm hiŋkəltən 'northern side, shady side', Ork sikkəw 'dark night; it is dark' ¶ STM II 91 ¶¶ DQA #2056 (A *s|ziŋono 'night') || **D** (in CD) {ʁKR and An.} *ĉintt- 'evening, night' > Klm ĉintevelā 'evening', sittena-ṭluñ 'in the evening', Nkr šitte 'evening', Prj ĉitta 'night' ¶ D #2528, An. SG 127, KR 14-69, GS 127 [#331] (*cint-) || **HS**: Eg: BD/RT sŋk 'dark', MK {Fk.} sŋk.t 'darkness' ¶ EG IV 175, Fk. 234 || WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk. in ChC} sîn, {Sk. NB} šin 'night', ? P' {Gw.} si-i, {MSk.} ci 'night' | SBC: Kir {ChL} suŋrì, Bg {Csp.} zondi' 'evening' ¶ Hardly here: BT: Grm {Sch. ← Sh.} žinni, Krf {Sch.} žinkú, Dr {ChL} žuŋ 'black' | SBC: Ds B {Sh.} zîni, Ds D {Sh.} žì, Ds Bn {Sh.}, Zar L {Sh.} žì, Dw {Sh.} zî, Sy {Csp.} ži, {Car.} žì, Sy Zk {Sh.} žèŋ, Zar GL {Sh.} žìŋì 'black' ¶ ChC, ≈ Stl. ZCh 179 [#313] (*si_lH_lni 'night, be black' > NrBc + qu. BT and SBC words for 'black'), Sch. BTL 136, Sk. NB 17, MSk. 208, Sh. SB 42, Csp. 42, 49 ◇ Tg and D *i may go back either to N *i or to *ü, while M and SBC point to a labialized vw. of the first syll., but the quality of the M labialized vw. (*ö for the expected *ü) remains puzzling ||| N *s|üñû may underly some roots for 'sleep, dream' in HS, K, and IE: **HS: [1]** HS *√wsn v. 'sleep' > CS *√wšn v. 'sleep', *wāšīn- 'asleep' > BHb, Ug √yšn G 'sleep, fall asleep', Ar √wsn G v. 'être endormi d'un profond sommeil, être dans son premier somme, sommeiller', {Hv.} 'sleep deeply; slumber', BHb ʔʔʔ yāšēn 'asleep, sleeping', Ar وسن wasīn-un 'qui est profondément endormi, qui est dans son premier somme', BHb ʔʔʔ yāšēn sttpf. G 'asleep', Ar وسن wasīna pf. G 'était profondément endormi' ¶ KB 427, OLS 542, BK II 1538-9, Hv. 870 || Ch *√wsn 'sleep' > CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wísàn, MsgP {Mch.} wəšəŋ 'sleep' ||| WCh: ? Wrj {Gw.} ussauna 'sleep', ? P' {MSk.} (ndur) ášīn 'lie down, sleep', {IL} ndzŋ ašīŋ, Dir {Sk.} yìsā, {IL} yísáh 'sleep' ¶ ChL, ChC, Lk. L 125, MSk. 165, Sk. NB 40 ||| **[2]** S *šīn-at- n. 'sleep' > BHb ʔʔʔ šē'nā, Yd šrh id., BA šā'nā* n. 'sleep' (att. +ppa.: ʔʔʔ šīn't-ēh 'his sleep'), BA em. ʔʔʔ šīnə't-ā, SmA šyŋh, Sr ʔʔʔ em. šēnə't-ā, Sb tnS šnt, Ak šittu, Eb šit-t-um (= {Frnz.} šittum), Mh/Hrs {Jo.} šnēt, Jb C {Jo.} 'šo'nūt, Jb E 'šu'nūt (misprinted in Jo. M as ʔʔʔ) n. 'sleep', Ug šnt id., 'dream', Ar سنة sinat- {BK} 'envie de dormir, premier somme, profond sommeil', {Hv.} 'slumber; deep sleep', Sq {L} šīnoh 'heure de la nuit' ¶ KB 427, 1479-80, 1794, HJ 1175, A #1250, OLS 448, 542, Br. 789, Tal

364, BK II 1539, Hv. 870, Jo. M 432, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 293, CAD XVII/3 405, Sd. 1292, Frnz. MLE 182, LLS 417, MiK I #2.82 || Ch * \sqrt{sn} , *sun- 'sleep, dream' > WCh: AG * $s\sqrt{un}$ - 'dream' > Ang {Kr.} sun, Su sù \sqrt{un} , {J} sùgùn, Gmy {Kr.} suwùn | DfB {J} sunan, Bks {J} sunàt, Klr {J} n. act. 'aswàn 'dream' | BT: (a) Pr {Frz.} čón, {ChL} čán n. 'sleep'; (b) Krkr {Kr.} n. sunà, Gera {Kr.} n. sun \exists , Ngm {XChL} sunâ, Krf {ChC} n. súnnà, Pr {Frz.} čúnà n., Bl {Lk.} ?i- súná 'dream' | NrBc 'sleep' > Wrj {Sk.} s \exists n-, Kry {Sk.} súnásán, My {Sk.} súnásónò, Sir {IL} s \sqrt{un} ì, {Sk.} súnsunì, Mbr {Sk.} s \exists n-id.; 'dream' (d.): Wrj {Sk.} m \exists s \exists n-, n. mùs \exists náj, Cg {Sk.} múšíní, Kry {Sk.} m \exists s \exists n-, n. mùs \exists n, My {Sk.} ámùsùn, P' {MSk.} nd \exists r mäsúna, Sir {Sk.} n. mùsùnì, Mbr {Sk.} n. m \exists š \exists n, Jmb {Sk.} ámb \exists súná, Dir {Sk.} m \exists š \exists n | SBc 'dream': Bg {Sh.} pí šán, Kir {ChL} šànd \exists n, Tala Z {ChL} šonè, Gj {ChL} šunk \exists tì, Buli {ChL} šôn, Dw {ChL} šèt \exists , Zr {ChC} šèdn, Zr K {ChL} šùd \exists | Ngz {Sch.} sùwán, Bd {ChL} súwán \exists n v. 'dream' || CCh: McTr 'dream': Tr {Nw.} ci žine, Hw {ChL} s \exists s \exists nìrà, G'nd {ChL} sun \exists tta, Gbn {ChL} sinà \exists tata, Bk {ChL} s \exists nata | BB 'sleep': Bcm {Sk.} šínè, n. act. šíntè, BtG {Mch.} čin \exists , Mln {ChL} č \exists t \exists tì n., Gudu {IL} cont id. | McMs 'sleep': Ms {Mch.} s \exists er, {ChL} n. act. s \exists nda, Lame {ChL} n. act. šènè, syènè, LamP {IL} nde šen, Bnn {ChL} n. act. s \exists yéná, BnnM sena, Azm {Pc.} s \exists ná, Zm {J} s \exists n, ZMD {KNC} š \exists n ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. NB, KNC 24, Frz. P 26-7, Pc. 347 || K: Sv: UB īsna \sqrt{w} , Lisna \sqrt{w} n. 'dream' (as well as LB (h)is \sqrt{tam} id.??) ¶ TK 338, GP 112 || IE: NaIE *sno \sqrt{ud} _h-/*snud_h- 'slumber' > Lt snaud- (inf. snáusti, 1s prs. snaudžiu) vi. 'drowse, doze, slumber', Ltv snaũst (1s prs. snaũžu) 'slumber, sleep', Lt snaudà 'drowse, doze, somnolence', Ltv snaũda 'Schlummer, Halbschlaf', Lt snūdà id., snūsti (p. snūda) 'begin to drowse\doze\sleep' || Gk νυστάζω 'I nod in sleep, nap, slumber; am sleepy' ¶ Frn. 852-4, F II 329-30 ◇ If these words for 'sleep, dream' belong here, N * \hat{i} is specified as * \hat{u} (*u| \hat{u}), so that the N etymon may be reconstructed as * $\acute{s}i| \hat{u} n $\hat{u}$$ 'sleep, slumber' (a semantic variant of * $\acute{s}i| \hat{u} n $\hat{i}$$ 'dark, night') ◇ The identity of the initial sibilant in * $\acute{s}i| \hat{u} n $\hat{i}$$ (-k ∇) (= * $\acute{s}i| \hat{u} n $\hat{u}$$?) 'dark, night' is conjectured from * $\acute{s}i| \hat{u} n $\hat{u}$$ 'sleep, dream' ◇ Bl. KM 139-40 [#26]. (equates HS * \sqrt{wsn} with the Sv and the IE cognates).

2077. * \sqrt{on} 'i' 'one, only; to be separated' > IE: NaIE *seni-/*s \circ ni-, *senu-, s \circ -ter- 'alone, separated' > OI sanu-'ta \sqrt{h} / sanu-'tar- 'away, off, aside', sanutya- '≈ fernstehend', Av hanarə 'except, without' ||

Gk I/Hm ἄτερ 'aloof, apart from, without' (< *sḡter) || Gt sundrō 'κατὰ μόνας, κατ' ἰδίαν, apart, separated', OSx sundar 'besonders', OHG suntar 'separated, far', MHG, AS sundor 'apart, separated', ON sundr 'entzwei, gesondert', NHG ds.: besonders, sonderbar, sondern || L sine 'without' || OIr sain adj. 'different, distinct, particular' (*s_oni-s), W o-han, a-han- 'from', gwa-han 'separated, different', OW han 'other' ('alium'), Crn hanys 'heimlich' || pTc {Ad.} *s_lā_lna_l > Tc: A sne, B sna_l 'without' || Ht sani- 'one and the same', sannapi 'single (vereinzelt)', sanizzis 'excellent' ¶ P 907, EI 24-5 (*sen-i/u- 'apart'), M K III 427, WH II 542-3, Vn. S 14-5, F I 178, Fs. 458, Vr. 561989, OsS 895, Schz. 275, Lx. 218, KM 715-6, Ho. 330, Ho. S 72, Wn. 433, Ad. 712-3, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 69-70 || HS: S *^o✓š|sny > Ar {Fr., BK} sanāy-at- 'totalité, le tout', {Hv.} ḡas-sanāy-at- 'the whole, the entire thing', {Ln.} (ḡaxaḡahū) bi-sināyatihī '(he took it) wholly' ¶ Ln. 140, BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || Eg P snw ({EG} ḡnw) 'sich trennen von jemandem' ¶ EG IV 157 || ??σ SC ≈ *san- ({E} *saḡ-) v. {E} 'come apart, separate' > Kz sanas- v. 'split (firewood)', a SC lge. ↳ Mb -sangé v. 'leave, take leave' ¶ E SC 179 || A *son^ri¹ ({SDM97} *sonu) 'one, single' > Tg *^osoni > WrMc sońo 'one, only, single', soniχon ~ sońoχon 'single, unpaired' ¶ STM II 111, Z 621, S AJ 227 [#308] || M *^osondu- 'be odd' (of numbers) > WrM sondu-ḡay, HIM сондгоѡ 'odd (number)' ¶ MED 726 || NaT *siḡar 'one of a pair' > OT siḡar ({Cl.} siḡār) 'a side, one of the two sides' (unk. length of a in Cl.'s transcription), Nog siḡar 'only one, single' (oniḡ siḡar almasi ḡalḡan 'he remained with only one apple', siḡar uli 'the only son'), Osm {RL} صينار sinar 'von einem Geschlechte abstammend', Tk Δ sinar, Kr {RL} siḡir, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tlt {RL} siḡar, VTt sḡnar, Bsh hḡnar, ET siḡar 'one of a pair', Qmq siḡar id., 'very similar', Kr {KRPS} siḡar awuč 'palm of one hand' ¶ Cl. 840-1, Rs. W 417, DTS 504, NogR 321, KumRS 294, KRPS 493, Rl. IV 622, 631 || pKo {S} *h^lnàh 'one' > MKo h^lnà(h-), StKo hana ¶ S QK #63, S AJ 254 [#63], Nam 469, MLC 1780, Rm. SKE 60 ¶ For the origin of Ko *h- cp. Ko *hím 'sinew, strength' < pA {DQA} *s_lǝrme 'sinew' < N *šêR_l∇_lm^rü¹ 'sinew, root' || pJ {S} *sa- (px. of reciprocal action) > OJ sa-; pJ *sane 'completely, definitely' > OJ sane ¶ S QJ #1635, Mr. 515 ¶¶ DQA #2111 (A *s_lǝna 'one, single'), Rm. SKE 60 (Tg, Ko).

2078. *Soñ∇ (= *šoñ∇?) 'hear' > **Ā**: M *sonus- 'hear, listen' > MM [IM, LV] {Pp.} sonus-, [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} sonos-, [MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} sonas-, WrO {Krg.} sonos-, Kl соҥс-, {Rm.} sonos- ~ sonṣa- id., WrM sonus-, HIM соҥсо-х, Ord {Ms.} sonos- id., 'obey', Mnr H {SM} sunos3- id., {T} sunose-, Dx {T} sonosu-, Dg {T} sonso-, {Mr.} sonse- 'hear, listen', Mgl {Rm.} sonusu- 'hear'; MMgl {Iw.} sunasā 'quick hearing', M *sonur 'sense of hearing' > WrM sonur, HIM соҥор 'hearing, the quality of hearing well', WrO {Krg.} sonor 'sense of hearing, fine hearing', Kl соҥр соҥьр adj. 'hearing well', Kl D {Rm.} sonṣ 'hörbar; mit scharfem Gehör', Brt һоҥор 'fine' (of hearing), 'sensible' ¶ Pp. IM 124, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, Ms. H 95, H 135, Iw. 133, MED 728, Krg. 408-9, KRS 454-5, KW 331, Rm. M 38, Chr. 684, SM 362, T 361, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Mr. D 211 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2075 (A *sṵna 'hear, observe' > M + unc.: the T and the qu. Ko descendants of N *ĉ'i'ʔ'ä'nâ 'recognize, know [connaître]' [q.v.]) || **HS**: CCh *√šn 'hear' > Lgn {Lk.} šíná, {Bou.} šəngə́, Msg {Trn.} šVŋV id. ¶ JI II 185 || ?σ SES *√šny 'see' (× N *ĉ'i'ʔ'ä'nâ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **IE**: NaIE +ext. *sent- 'perceive, feel' (→ 'think') > L sentiō / sentīre / sensi / sensum 'feel, perceive' (> It sentire 'to hear'), sensus 'feeling, meaning' || OHG sin (gen. sinnes) 'sense, mind, intention' (< *sinθna- < *sent-no-) > NHG Sinn id.; ⇨ in the Gmc lgs: MHG, NHG sinnen wv. 'think'; AS sinnan 'sinnen, nachdenken, sorgen um', OHG sinnan sv. (< Gmc *sinθjan) 'to strive for, to endeavor, to demand' > MHG sinnen id. || Lt † sintéti 'to make up one's mind, to think, to think over', sintéjimas 'opinion' || OCS сашь сесть 'prudent' ¶ WH II 515-6, EI 418, EM 924, Ho. 295, Kb. 853, 856, OsS 765, Schz. 251-2, Lx. 195, KM 709, Frn. 786, Mikl. E 292, ≈ P 908-9 (identifies this IE √ with IE *sent- 'go') ◇ If the ambiguous SES *√šny 'see' belongs here, the N rec. will be *šoñ∇, otherwise it is a less specified *Soñ∇.

2079. *sûnæ (or *sûyñæ) 'to disappear, to finish' > **HS**: CS *š∇n- > Ar سَنَتْ san-it- 'barren soil\year', سَنَةٌ sanat- {Ln.} 'draught, barrenness', μ سَنَتْ sanat- 'barren year' (-t- of سَنَةٌ san-at- reinterpreted as belonging to the √, whence the verb √snt G 'experience draught') (× Ar san-at 'year' < S *šan-at- id.), SmA šny šāni prtc. 'deteriorated', mšny 'destruction' ¶ Fr. II 362, 367, BK I 1148-9, 1154-5, Ln. 1440-1, 1448, Hv. 339, Tal 914 || **Ā**: NaT *sön-

'disappear' > OT sön- 'die down, disappear', Tk sön- 'go/die out, be extinguished', Tkm {TkR, TDS} θön- 'die out' (of fire), 'be extinguished', Az, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt {Verb.} sön- id., VTt sün- (↳ Chv sün-), Bsh hün- id., Ggz son- id., sön-~sen- 'fade'; a connection with MQp, Osm söyün- 'go out, die down' (of fire) is qu. ¶ Cl. 834, Rs. W 430 (mentions Tkm θön- [Rs.] sön-) with a long vw., which is at variance with the data of TkR and TDS), Jeg. 198, TkR 589, TDS 608 || M *sönü- 'be extinguished, go out' (of fire), 'perish' > MM [MA] {Pp.} söni- 'be extinguished', [S] {H} süno, egu 'auslöschen', WrM sönü-, HIM cəhə-, Brt hγhə- 'be extinguished, go out' (of fire)', Mnr H {SM} sunō- id., 'fade', {T} suno- 'perish, fade', Kl {Rm.} sön- 'vergehen, untergehen, zu Ende sein; verlöschen (das Feuer)' ¶ Pp. MA 326, H 138, MED 732, Chr. 697, SM 361, Rm. KLV 333 || ? pJ sín- 'die' > OJ sín-, J: T sìn-, Ky sín-, Kg kešíń, Ns/Sh šìn-, Ht š̀̀n-, Y ħńí- id. ¶ S QJ #14, Mr. 752 ¶¶ S AJ 112, ≈ 274 [#13], S VL 206-7 (A *siūn∇); SDM97 (A *sú:ne - *só:ni 'fade, extinguish') and DQA #2092 (A *sĭūni id.); in S AJ, SDM97, and DQA a long pA vw. is reconstructed on the basis of erroneously recorded Tkm *sōrn-); not here (⇔ SDM97 and DQA) Tg *sī- (↔ *sū-) 'extinguish' (< N *š'ūhi'∇ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish') || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *swēiŋ- 'decrease, (?) disappear' > ON svína ~ svina ~ svena, Nr Δ svīna ~ svina, OHG swīnan 'to dwindle, to decrease', MHG swīnen 'abnehmen, schwinden', MDt swinen 'verschwinden, auszehren' || NaIE *swendh- 'disappear, wither' (× N *Sūnd∇ 'dry up' [intr.], q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 1052, Vr. 570, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1005-6, KM 694.

2080. ?σ *s'ū'N∇ (= *s'ū'ŋ∇?) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' > K *šwen- 'breathe, sigh; take a rest' > OG swen-, G sven- v. 'rest', Lz švan- 'breathe' || ?φ Sv šwem- / šwm- v. 'rest, take a rest/breath' (UB 1s aor. [= pfc.] ot-šwem, 1s pfc. ot-šoma, msd. Ln li-šwem, UB li-šwmīne, LB lišwmīne, L lišmine) ¶¶ Sv -m- defies explanation (assimilative labialization *-ŋ- > -m-?) ¶¶ K 174-5, ≠ FS K 282, ≠ FS E 313-4, GP 179, 244, TK 465 || A: Tg *siŋti- 'calm, silent' > Ewk siŋti 'calm' (of weather), siŋtīlī n. 'quiet, silence (in the space)', siŋtīlī 'be quiet, silent' (of a person), Nn Nh siŋčīz- 'become silent' ¶ STM II 91-2 || ?? T: Tlt {RI.} sünā 'soul', StAlt süne 'human soul' (× N *šUŋE 'breathe', q.v. ffd.) || ? M *süne-sün 'spirit, soul of one's life' (× N *šUŋE '↑', q.v. ffd.) || HS: Eg srrn 'calmer, apaiser' ¶ Mks. II #78.3619

| possibly also HS * \sqrt{wsn} v. 'sleep', * sin- n. 'sleep', * sun- 'dream' (\times N * $\acute{s}i|u\tilde{n}\hat{i}(-k\nabla)$ 'dark, night', q.v. ffd.) \diamond The meaning 'calm' (attested in both Eg and Tg) is obviously ancient, but the connection with 'breathe' is still hypothetical.

2081. * $\text{son}^{\nabla q^1} \text{'u}^1$ (= * $\text{soni}^{\nabla q^1} \text{'u}^1$?) 'sinew, tendon; root' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\check{s}|sn\chi}$ (\times N ? σ * $\check{s}\text{a}\eta\text{Ka}$ 'stalks, branches' [q.v.]??) > Ar $\text{sin}\chi$ - 'root' ¶ BK I 1150 || EC: Sml $\text{s}\bar{u}\text{n}$, Sml N $\text{s}\bar{u}\text{n}$ {Abr.} 'belt, strap', {Gal.} 'tendon, nerve, vein', Sd {Hd.} $\text{sun-}\check{c}\text{o}$ (pl. sunna), Tmb {L} $\text{sun-}\check{c}\text{u}$ 'belt of leather' ¶ ZMO 368, DSI 564, Abr. S 228, Gal. 131, Hd. 394 || IE: * $\text{sne}\hat{H}\omega$ -, * $\text{sen}\hat{H}\omega$ -0- 'sinew' ({Mn.} * $\text{sen}\hat{a}\omega$ -0-): [1] NaIE * $\text{sn}\bar{e}\omega$ -, * $\text{sn}\bar{e}\eta\text{u}$ -, * $\text{sne}\eta\text{u}_r$ - 'sinew, string, cord' > OI 'snāyu, 'snāyu-ḥ, OI 'snāva ntr., Av $\text{sn}\bar{a}\text{var}$ \ominus , Sgd $\text{sn}^{\text{p}}\omega$ 'sinew' || Gk $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ f., $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$ ntr. 'sinew, bowstring' || L nervus 'sinew, tendon' || OHG snuor 'string', NHG Schnur 'string, cord, twine', MLG $\text{sn}\bar{o}r$, MDt, Dt snoer , Dn, Sw Δ snor 'cord' || BSl (\times N * $\acute{s}\check{a}\eta\text{X}\check{a}\epsilon$ or * $\text{s}\check{a}\eta\text{A}\text{X}\check{a}\epsilon$ 'to plait, to twist, to tie?'): ? Ltv Δ snaujis 'noose, loop' ({ME} 'Schlinge') | Sl * snova-ti ~ * snu-ti / prs. * snuj-q 'set warp' > RChS CNOYTH snuti / prs. $\text{CNOB}\bar{x}$ snovq , OR snovati / snuju , Blg chova , SCr $\text{sn}\bar{o}\text{vati}$ / $\text{sn}\bar{u}\eta\bar{j}\bar{e}\bar{m}$, Slv $\text{snov}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ti}$ / $\text{sn}\bar{u}\eta\bar{j}\bar{e}\bar{m}$, Cz snouti ~ snovati / snuji id., Slk snovat' 'to wind, to reel' || Tc B $\text{s}\check{r}\bar{i}\text{or}$ (pl. $\text{s}\check{r}\bar{i}\text{aura}$) 'sinew' || [2] NaIE {Mn.} * $\text{sen}\hat{a}\omega$ -0-/- \bar{a} 'sinew' > Gmc {KM} * $\text{senaw}\bar{o}$ ~ * seniwo -, {P} * $\text{sinw}\bar{a}$ 'sinew' > ON sin , OHG $\text{s}\bar{e}\text{nawa}$, sena 'sinew', MHG $\text{s}\bar{e}\text{newe}$ 'sinew, nerve', NHG Sehne 'sinew, tendon, fibre', Sw sena 'sinew, nerve', AS sionu (gen. sionwe) 'sinew', NE sinew || The relation of this root with IE * sneH- /* snOH- 'plait, twist' \rightarrow v. 'spin' (\lt N * $\acute{s}\check{a}\eta\text{X}\check{a}\epsilon$ [or * $\text{s}\check{a}\eta\text{A}\text{X}\check{a}\epsilon$] \uparrow) is not yet clear; in some descendent lgs. the verb may have coalesced with the derived reflexes of the IE root for 'sinew' or have served as an additional source of words for 'sinew' (cf. the hyp. of EI 571: 'sinew' \leftarrow IE *(s) $\text{neh}_1(\text{i})$ - ~ * $\text{sneh}_1\text{u-}$ 'twist fibres together') ¶ But Av hiru 'Band, Fessel' and Ltv Δ {ME} pa-sainis 'Band, Fessel, Schnur', Ltv $\text{sai}\check{r}\hat{o}\hat{t}$ {ME} 'schnüren, einpacken, (in Bündel) zusammenbinden', {Turk.} 'to pack (up)', Ltv $\text{s}\bar{a}\text{in}\bar{i}\text{s}$ 'parcel, bundle, package' are better explained as derived from Av $\text{h}\bar{a}(\text{y})$ - 'binden, fesseln' and Ltv $\text{s}\bar{i}\hat{e}\hat{t}$ 'to bind' respectively (see N * $\acute{s}\nabla\chi^1$ 'to plait, to bind') ¶ \approx P 891, 976-7, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, AHDI 56, 62, \approx 56, M K III 533-4, F II 311-2, Vr. 476, Ho. 295-6, Kb. 842, 923, OsS 754, 841, ME III 93, 636, 973, Vs. III 699, Mikl. E 312, Wn. 458, EI 571 (* $(\text{s})\text{neh}_1(\text{i})$ - and * $\text{sneh}_1\text{u-}$ 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy

oneself with thread') || **U** *sōne 'vein, sinew' > F *suoni*, Es *soon* id., 'tendon' | pLp {Lr.} *sōnэ 'sinew, vein' > Lp: S {Hs.} *suone*, L {LLO} *suotna*, N {N} *suodnâ* / -n- id., Kld *cūHH*, K {Gn.} *sūññ* id., 'sinew-thread, thread' | Er/Mk *san* 'vein, sinew' | pChr {Ber.} *sūn 'sinew, tendon' > Chr: L *шōн* *šōn*, B {Ber.} *sūn*, M {Ber.} *sōn*, {UEW} *śūn*, Uf {Ps.} *šūn*, H *шүн* *šūn* | Prm *sōn ({JLG} *sōn 'sinew' > Z, Vt *cōн* *sən*, Vt B *sen* || ObU {Ht.} *θīn∇ > pVg *tīn∇ 'vein, sinew' > OVg: N NSs *táane*, N SoO *тань*, N W Sol *тэнь*, Vg: T *tā'n*, LK/Ss *tān*, UK/P/NV/SV *tēn* id.; pOs *čan id. > Os: V/O *lan*, Vy *yan*, Ty/Y *čān*, K *ton*, Nz *tun*, Kz *čon* || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *čэн 'sinew' (or *tэн, if the unexplained change *t- > č- occurred at the level of pSlq or some Slq dialects) > Ne T {Ter.} *тэ* *tэ* (nom. pl. *тэн* *ten?*), Ne T O {Lh.} *tē* *tē*, Ne F L {Lh.} *tā* *tā* ({Lh.} *tjē* *n*), Ne F P *tī* *tī*, En X {Cs.} *tī* *tī*, En B {Cs.} *ti* (gen. sg. *tinō*), Ng {Cs.} *tān*, {Ter.} *tañ* 'sinew' | Slq: Tz LTz {KD} *tēn* ({KD} *tān*) 'sinew', Tz/B {Cs.} *čèn* id., Tz {Prk.} d. *t+n+* 'tendon', Kar {Cs.} *ten*, Tm {KD} *čād* ({KD} *tjād*), MO {Cs.} *čen*, Chl {Cs.} *čän*, NP/UO {Cs.} *čāne* 'sinew' | Kms {KD} *t'en* 'sinew, vein', Koyb {Sp.} *тэнь* 'sinew' | Mt {Hl.} *tэн 'sinew' (Mt K {Pl.} *дућ*, *дунь* 'жила', Mt M {Sp.} *тэнь* id.) ¶ Coll. 58, Db. OS xii-xiii, xxx, UEW 441, ≈ Sm. 548 (FU *s+i+n-i 'vein' > FP *suoni, Ugr *θørsinī), MF 318-9, It. #163, Lr. #1179, Lgc. #7161, Hs. 1267-8, Gn. 992, SaR 331, Ber. 59, MRS 724, 746, Ü 280, Ps. OT 133, LG 203, Lt. 166, Ht. #143, Jn. 32-3, Cs. 134, 280, Hl. M 358 [#1004] || **A**: ? Tg *suna 'strap, belt, rein for draught-dogs' > Ewk *suna* 'rein for draught-dogs, strap, rope', Lm *hūñkan* 'rein for draught-dogs', Ork *suna* id., *suna*- vt. 'tie', Orc *sūna* 'shaman's long draught (hold by people during the ūni-festivity)', Ul *suna* 'shaman's belt', Nn Nh/KU *sona* id., 'long strap in children's garment', WrMc *suna* ~ *sūna* 'rein of draught-dogs' ¶ STM II 127, Z 633, 653 || NaT *siñir 'vein' > OT U {Cl.} *siñir* 'muscle, sinew', MQp *siñir* 'sinew', XwT XIV *siñir* 'bowstring', Chg *siñir* id., 'sinew', OOsM *siñir*, Osm *sinir* 'nerve, sinew', Tk *sinir* 'nerve', Tkm *siñir*, ET, Qrg *siñir*, Uz *siñir*, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz *siñir*, VTt *сеңер* *сəңəр*, Bsh *һəңəр*, Qzq *сiңip* *siñir*, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *siñir*, Xk, Tv *сиир* *sīr*, Tf *sīr* 'sinew', Yk *iñir* 'thread' ¶ Cl. 841, Rs. W 423, TL 264, Rl. IV 687, 696, Ra. 227 || M *sinda-sun > WrM *sindasun*, Hlm *шандас* 'nerve, tendon, sinew, vein', Ord *šindasu* 'nerf, tendon', Kl *шандсн* 'tendon of Achilles', Kl Ö {Rm.} *šandasn* 'Ende der Flechse, Sehne', Brt *шандааһа(н)* 'tendon(s) of hind legs; muscles' ¶ MED

710, Ms. O 618, KRS 664, KW 348, Chr. 720 || pKo {S} sî'úr 'string, sinew; bow string' > MKo sî'úr, NKo siwi ¶ S QK #314, Nam 326, MLC 1040 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2009 (A *sîŋri 'sinew'; incl. T, M, Ko) ◇ IS MS 341 s.v. жила *son/H/Δ (IE, A, U), Coll. IUS 70 (IE, U) ◇ The common designation of sinew and root is natural, because both served as ropes ◇ The rec. of N *q in this etymon is qu., because it is based on the ambiguous Ar root only. A vw. between N *n and the qu. N *q is suggested by U *-n- (rather than U **-ŋ- which is expected as a reflex of N *-nq- = *-ŋq-). The vw. *i of the first syll. in T and M (as well as possibly in Av hi ru) may be explained by as. (N *soni'q'ü' > *sin...). If the Ar word is not taken into account, the pN rec. must be *son₁∇₁H'ü' (= *soniH'ü'?).

2082. *s'ü'ŋç'∇X∇ (= *s'ü'ŋç'∇X∇?) 'worm, snake, (?) lizard' > HS: Eg fP sзћ 'ε snake' ¶ EG IV 394 || B: BSn şaō (pl. işattān) 'vers intestinaux' ¶ Ds. B 363 || NrOm {Blz.} *šuš- 'snake' (× N *ś|śuś|ś∇ 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) || U: [1] FU *s|t'ü'ńć'â' 'worm' > Krl Ld čünž ~ čünžü 'angle-worm, earth-worm (Regenwurm)', Vp {ZM} čuňž & čuňž & čonž id. || pVg {θStn.} *tāńś / *tāńś 'worm' > Vg {Kn.}: T tańś & tāńś, LK/MK/UK tōńś, NV/SV/LL tōńś, P tōńś ~ tuńś 'worm' ¶ pVg *tāńś / *tāńś goes back to *s|tuńć'â' (with depalatalization *ü > *u, probably resulting from regr. as. (*ü...â > *u...â) ¶ UEW 530, ZM 65, Kn. VW 70, Stn. WV 130, 212 || [2] U *s∇ŋć'∇(-1∇) 'lizard' > FU *s'ü'ŋç'∇1∇ > F sisilisko, Δ sisälisko id., Es sisalik, Δ sisulik & süsalik id., 'lacerta' || pLp {Lr.} *tēńć'łŋkēs 'lizard' > Lp: S {Hs.} deädjaalummes, Ar dižžol, L {LLO} täd'tjulij, N {N} dæž'âlâgges, Kld {TI} čēń:č'leŋ:k (with ideophonic variants) || pChr {Ber.} *šŋš'á' id. > Chr: L шышале šəŋ'sa'le, Uf/B šəŋ'sa'le, M šŋš'ale, H {Ep.} шәкшәльбі šäk'sä'la, {MRS} шәкшәльбі šäk'sä'la || Prm {LG} *č'óž'∇1 ({∅}LG) *č'óž'∇1 id. > Z дзодзуб źóžuv ~ чодзуб čóžuv, Z LV čóžuv, Z Lt źóž+1 id., Yz 'žuz'∇1 ~ 'čuz'∇1 'ε small inedible fish' || ObU: pOs {θHt.} *sō|osə1, {θHL} *sū|āsə1 'lizard' > Os: V/Vy sosə1, Ty sāsaʔt, Y sāsaʔ, D sāst, sāś, sāst, Kz sōsʔ, O sāś; Vg (← Os?): L {Mu.} soslä, sosla, N {MK} soslä, sossəl 'a mythical animal resembling a lizard or a dragon', UL {Kn.} sosla 'ε a mythical animal' || Sm {Jn.} *t'č'āns'ь, {HL} *t'č'āns'ь 'lizard' > Ne: T таңз id., T O {Λŋ.} tānc id., 'snake', F L {Lh.} tāns 'lizard'; Ng {Cs.} tan'su (pl. tan'du?) 'river-lamprey (Neunauge, речная минога, Lampetra flivialis)'; En {Cs.}: X 'ta'du, B tasu id.; Slq:

Tz {Prk.} tüşi, Tm {KD} čöž, Nr {Cs.} tőš, MO {Cs.} tös, Chl tösö, Ke tüssü, NP tüssu 'lizard'; Kms {KD} t'on·z_ă, {Cs.} thenze, Koyb {Sp.} таҺза id.; Mt {Hl.} *tanǰ∇ 'lizard' (Mt T {Pls.} taansche, Mt K {Pls.} tandi, Mt M {Sp.} таҺже id.) ¶¶ UEW 454-5 (U *s∇ηć∇(-l∇) ~ *s∇č∇(-l∇)), SK 1043-4, Lr. #1244, Lgc. #6970, Ber. 62 [#322], MRS 696, 756, Ep. 148, LG 91, Stn. D 1380, KrT 879, Trj. S 434, MK 566 (Vg <b Os), Jn. 151, Cs. 61, 87. 149, 213, 256, Hl. M #959 || A: Tg *isele(n) 'lizard' > Ewk is3l3̄ ɹ his3l3̄, Sln is3l, Lm īsəl, Neg is3l3̄, Orc is3l3, Ul is3l3̄ ~ 3s3l3̄, Ork 3s13, Nn is3l3̄ ɹ is3lin 'lizard', Ud y3l3 'ε lizard', WrMc iseleku umiyaha 'scorpion' (with umiyaha 'worm, insect') ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 243 ◇ FU *s'ú'ηć∇ suggests that the nasal cns. of the pN word was *η, while the cns. *ń in FU *s|t'ú'ńć'â is due to as. In Tg the initial sibilant was lost by dis. One is tempted to suppose that FU *s'ú'ηć∇l∇ and Tg *iseleŋ 'go back to a N (analytical?) diminutive *°s'ú'ηć'∇X∇ L∇, but then we face a phonetic problem: the N diminutive pc. is *l∇ with a postalveolar *l̥, while in the FU stem we see a N *l ◇ UEW 454 (U, Tg).

2083. ₂ *śāN'ć'∇ 'knee, articulation' > HS: S *°š|θi_l_ŋ_ć_- > Ak OB/YB šišītu(m) ~ tisītu ~ tišītu, Ak MA sisītu 'wrist, ankle' ('[Hand-]Fuß-]Gelenk') ¶ Sd. 1250 || U {UEW} *śānč∇ 'knee' > ObU *čāñč 'knee' > pVg {Ht.} *šānš > Vg: T šānš, LK šīns, MK/UK sīns, P/LL šanš, NV šānš, UL/Ss sāns id.; pOs {Ht.} *čāñč > Os: V/Vy čāñč, Ty čāñč, Y/D/K čāñč, Nz/Kz šaš, O sās id. || Sm: Koyb {KD} s'ŋ'i, s'ŋ'e, si'ŋi, s+ni 'knee', Koyb {Sp.} сыне id. ¶¶ UEW 471, Coll. 69, Ht. #103, KD 58 ◇ Qu. (because of the phonetic uncertainty in S).

2084. ₂ *Sūñd∇ 'dry up' (intr.) > IE: NaIE *swendʰ- 'wither, disappear' (× N *sūñæ or *sūyñæ 'to disappear, to finish' [q.v.]) > OHG swintan 'to dwindle, to vanish' ('schwinden, sich verzehren, zunichte werden'), NHG schwinden 'to become less, to wither, to dwindle, to fade', verschwinden 'to disappear', OSx far-swindan id., AS swindan 'to waste away' || ?ϕ Sl *ved- in *ved-nŋ-ti 'wither, fade' (> P więdnać, Cz vadnouti, Slk vädnuť', HlS wjadnyć, Blg вяна, SCr vènuti, Slv véniti, R 'вянуть, Uk 'вьянути) and in Sl *u-ved'a-ti id. > OCS ОУВАДАТИ u-ved-a-ti, R увать) ¶ The loss of *s- in Sl is puzzling (metanalysis in the verb with a preverbs?) ¶ P 1047, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1006, Schz. 279, OsS 917, KM 694, Glh. 666, Vs. I 375 || D *cuñt- ({}GS} *s-?) 'dry up' > Tm cuñtu id., 'be

evaporated by heat', Kt $\check{c}und-$ vi. 'boil away', Kn $sun\check{c}u$ 'evaporate', Tl $cun\check{c}u$ 'be evaporated/dried up'; D \rightarrow OI $\acute{s}un\check{t}h-$ 'become dry' ¶ D #2662, M K 353-4 \diamond IS MS 365 s.v. $co\chi\eta\tau\beta$ * $\acute{s}und\alpha$.

2085. * $S^r\acute{u}^1n\check{d}\acute{u}$ 'e river, body of water' > IE: NaIE * $sindh\acute{u}-$ (??) 'river' > OI $sindh\acute{u}-h_1$ 'stream, river; the Indus', Av, OPrs Hindu- 'Indus-land, the Indus' || OIr *Sinainn* accus. sg., *Sinnae* dat. sg. 'the Shannon' ¶ Fick VW II 303, WP II 509, M K III 668, M E II 729-30 (does not accept this IE et.) || A: M: WrM $s\check{o}nd\acute{u}-lge$ 'stream, brook', 'ruisseau' ¶ The meaning of the sx. $-lge$ is obscure (usually $-lge$ is used for deverbal nouns of result) ¶ MED 731, Kow. 1424 || D: eD ** $\acute{c}u\check{h}\acute{t}^1$ (\rightarrow OI $cun\check{t}i$, $cun\check{c}ya-$ 'well', $cun\check{t}ik\bar{a}$ 'kleiner Wasserbehälter', [Hmc.] $cun\check{c}hi$ 'small pond', Prkr $cun\check{c}hi$ 'natural pool', Pali $so\check{c}i$ 'a natural tank in a rock') > D (bf.?) * $\acute{c}u\check{h}\nabla$ 'pool, pond' > Tm $cun\check{a}i$ 'mountain pool or spring tank', ? Kn $\check{c}o\check{r}\acute{e}$, $\check{c}o\check{r}\acute{e}$ 'a small natural pond in a rock', ? Tl $\check{c}o\check{n}\acute{a}$ 'a pool in a hill' ¶ D #2716, M K I 394 || HS: Eg BD $\acute{s}wn.w$ 'Gewässer, Teich' ¶ EG IV 69 || C: DhI {EEN} $s\check{o}ni$ 'river' || Asa {OS \leftarrow ?} $so\check{r}on-k$ id., \rightarrow Mb {E} $son\acute{d}\acute{a}$ 'valley' ¶ E SD 182, EEN 25 || ?? CCh: ZmB {Sa.} $z\acute{s}\acute{n}\acute{a}$, ZmD {Srp.} $z\acute{n}\acute{a}$, {KND} $s\acute{s}\acute{n}\acute{a}$? 'river' ¶ ChC, KNC 23 \diamond The unexpected delabialization * \acute{u}^1 > * i in the prehistory of IE still needs investigating.

2086. ($_2$?) * $s\check{u}N_1\nabla_1R\nabla_1\nabla$ (or * $s\check{u}RN\nabla_1\nabla$) 'nasal mucus', ? ' \approx liquid' > HS: EC * $sinra\check{c}-$ ~ * $sunra\check{c}$ (or * $sinra\check{c}-$ /* $sunra\check{c}-$) 'nasal mucus' > Sa {R} $sin'r\acute{a}\check{c}-$ ~ $sun'r\acute{a}\check{c}-$ (\rightarrow ; Tgr {R} $\acute{s}n\check{r}\acute{a}\check{c}$ $s\check{e}nda\check{c}$ id. [not confirmed in LH]), Or {Grg.} $furr\bar{i}$, Kns {Bl.} $sorn-\acute{e}ta$, Hr {AMS} $surun-ho$, Brj $sur'ra$, Sd $sandiddo$ [$-nr-$ > $-nd-$] id. ¶ mt. * $-nr-$ > Kns $-rn-$, Hr $-r\nabla n-$ ¶ Ss. PEC 23, 32 (EC * $sinr-$ /* $sunr-$), R S II 329, Grg. 151, Hd. 102, 221, 390, AMS 186 || Eg XVIII $\acute{s}n\acute{x}.t$ {EG} 'nasal mucus', {Fk.} 'phlegm' ¶ EG IV 171, Fk. 233 || U: FP * $s\check{u}rE(-m\nabla)$ 'snivel, nasal catarrh' > pChr * $\check{s}\check{u}rem$ > StChr L Chr Y $\check{s}\check{u}rem$ 'nasal catarrh' || pPrm * $z\check{u}rim$ 'snivel' > Z, Vt $z\check{r}+m$ id. ¶ UEW 761, Ber. 74, LG 108, MRS 747 || A possibility: IE: NaIE * $sero-$ 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' > L $serum$ id. || Gk $\acute{o}p\acute{o}\acute{s}$ id. ¶ The words of the same phonetic shape, but meaning 'a stream', 'a lake', and sim. (OI $\acute{s}ara-h_1$, etc.), belong to the IE $\sqrt{*serH-}$ v. 'stream' < N * $\check{s}a'r\acute{i}X\nabla$ 'to stream, to flow' (q.v.) ¶ P 909, WH II 443-4, F II 425 ¶ An alt. solution: IE * $serH-$ v. 'stream, flow' (< N * $\check{s}a'r\acute{i}X\nabla$) is the source of Gk $\acute{o}p\acute{o}\acute{s}$ and L $serum$, too \diamond In U and (?) in IE the N cluster * $-NR-$ (= * $-N_1\nabla_1R-$?) (or * $-RN-$) contracted to * $-r-$. If the IE

word belongs here, its lr. is lost in the prevoc. position ◇ If the N etymon was **süN₁∇₁R∇₁∇*, it may go back to a N cd. with the first component **sü₁∇* 'smell' ([in C, Om, Ch] → 'nose') (q.v.). If this is the case, the unspecified **N* is to be replaced by N **₁*, so that the N etymon will be **sü₁∇R∇₁∇*.

2087. **'ś'ä₁∇₁'z'â* '(lock of) hair, feather' > HS: S: Ar زَيْزَاءٌ zayzāʔ- ~ زَيْزَاءٌ zīzāʔ- ~ زَيْرِي zayzā ~ زَايِيَّةٌ zāziy-at- (pl. زَيْرِيَّاتٌ zayāzā) 'feathers, tips of feathers' ¶ Fr. II 270, BK I 1032, Hv. 303 || CCh: McHigi: FIK {ChC} činči, {ChL} šinči 'hair' | Cb sīśī ~ šīśī, WMrg čiči(r), Ngx šīśī, Klb šīśī 'hair', Mrg {ChC} šinšē giε 'feather' | Msy {Mch.} səsōr tálā, Kola {Sb.} súsū₁, Db {ChL} sūson 'hair' ¶ ChC, ChL || ? K: GI činčl- 'down feathers', G činčl- 'fibres of a root' (G činčl- belongs here if it is a loan from Zan, where pK *č yields *č; in this case the phonetic history may be as follows: N **śä₁zâ* > pre-K **sE₁zâ* > [assimilatory devoicing] **sE₁čâ* > [as.] K **čE₁čâ* > Zan **činč-* → G činč-) ¶ Chx. 1936 || U: FU **'ś'ä₁ē₁∇* 'thin fibres of plants used to produce threads' > Hg sZōsZ 'oakum, hemp', sZōsZke 'flaxen-haired, blond' || Prm: Z, Prmk s3ž 'the best and purest kind of hemp-\flax-fibres' (infl. of Z s3ž 'pure, clear'), Z {W} s3ž ~ s0ž 'fibre, thread, oakum'; Z → VTt sūs 'oakum, tow' → Chv sūs id. ¶ Hg sZ- points to FU **ś-*, while the depalatalization **ś* > *s* in the prehistory of Prm must be explained by positional changes (dis.?) ¶ UEW 433 (**sæ₁∇*), LG 262-3, MF 599-600 || A: T **sa₁ç* 'head hair (of humans)' > OT, MU sač, MQp sač ~ saš, Chg saž ~ sač, Tk saç, Uz soč, ET čač ~ sač, VTt чэч šăš, Bsh sās, Nog/Qzq/Qq šaš, Qrg, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čač, Brb/Kü {Rl.} cac, Tbl {Rl.} čač ~ cac, Alt čáč, Sg/Qb {Rl.}, Xk sas, Yk as, Tf čěš, Chv šūs id., Tkm θač, Az sač, QrB čač id., braid', Qmq čač, Tv čăš 'braid' ¶ Cl. 794, Rs. W 390, TL 197, Rl. III 1905, IV 195, 389, 394, Ra. 196 || Tg: Ewk sājī 'plait (of hair), long hair' ¶ STM II 54 || Ko {S} **čič^h* 'feather' > MKo čís, čič^h ¶ S QK #119, Nam 445-6 || ??? M: MM [MA] سانجيق sanžiq {Pp.} 'кудри', WrM sančiq, HIM санчиг 'tuft of hair on the temples of women; side whiskers', as well as Kl sanžiq 'kurze Haare über den Stirn', unless Rm. is right in deriving the Kl word from sanžij- 'hang' and interpreting it as 'etwas hängendes'. Rm.'s explanation is hard to apply to WrM and HIM because of the vl. WrM -с- and HIM -č- (unlike in WrM sanzi-, HIM санж- 'hang, hang down'), so that the

WrM and HIM word may have resulted from contamination of a word for 'hair' and WrM *sanziḡ-sanziḡ*, HIM *санжиг-санжиг* 'dangling, hanging loosely with a swinging motion' ¶ MED 671, 673, Pp. MA 318, Kow. 1288, KW 312 ¶¶ ADM57 s.v. **sāč*∇ (T, Tg, Ko), S AJ 287 [#258] (A **sāč*∇), ADM97 s.v. **senč*'∇ (T, Ko, qu. M *sancig* + unc. Tg **çeçe* 'patch, rag') ◇ If the N word was **śänzâ*, it was later transformed into **śäyžâ* (loss of the marked feature of nasality in almost all branches). Its subsequent development may be hypothetically reconstructed as follows: **śäyžâ* > (as.) **śäyčâ* (in most lgs.) or **žäyžâ* (in pre-S); **śäyčâ* > **śāčâ* (in most lgs.); vowel as. in T, M, and Tg: **ä:̣...â* > **a:̣...∇*.

2088. ? ϕ ₂ **śew*∇*ŋz*∇ 'ε bone' > U: FU **śew*∇*ncä* (or **ś|cew|sä*) '≈ heel; heel-bone, hock' > pLp {Lr.} **čēvcē* > Lp: L {LLO} *tjeu'tjē* 'der Knochen zwischen dem Schienbein (tibia) und dem Metatarsus (Kanonnenbein) am Hinterlauf (des Renntiers, usw.); Tarsus; Fußwurzel', N {N} *čæw'žə / -wž-* ~ *čæw'že / -wž-* 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped; calcaneus, the heel-bone of reindeer, etc.', Kld {TI} *č'ieŋ:̣č'e* 'Fußgelenk, Beuge des Hinterbeines (bes. beim Renntier)' || Os {Stn.}: Ty *säy^wañt* 'heel', Y *kör-säwañt* 'heel, back part of the foot', Nz *śuxás* 'Rückseite des Unterschenkels beim Pferd', Kz *św̄χás*, O *śoxás* 'Hinterseite des Fußwurzels und des Unterschenkels (bis zur Kniekehle) ¶ Lr. #134, Lgc. #559, LLO 1150, N I 459, TI 657, Stn. D 1320-1 ¶ The authors of UEW reject the connection between Lp and Os (F Stn. D 1321). If nevertheless the connection does exist, the FU word is **śew*∇*ŋč*A (unless it is **śew*čA with a secondary *-∇ŋ- in Os?) || HS: S **š|snš|š* > Ar *sanāsīn-* pl. 'os qui aboutissent aux vertèbres' or 'extrémités des os des côtes' ¶ BK I 1151 || AdS of K **ž*∇*žwal-*, {K, K²} **žžwal-* 'bone' (< N ?σ **žAħul*∇ '≈ [calf of] leg, [?] bone of leg', q.v. fdd.) ¶ This AdS influenced the meaning of the K word ◇ The et. presupposes reductions in K and Lp, which weakens its plausibility. The as. between the reflexes of N **ś* and **ž* in Ar is natural and practically inevitable.

2089. **s|šän*∇ 'tooth' > HS **sin-* 'tooth' > S **šinn-* 'tooth' > OAk, Ak *šinn-u(m)*, Eb {Krb.} *šinn-*, BHb *šen* (stem *šinn-*: *šin'n-ō* 'his tooth', *šin'n-ayim* 'teeth'), Ph, Ug, SmA *šn*, BA *šen / šinn-* 'tooth', JA {Trg.] *šen / em. šin'n-ā*, JEA *šn'w* *šin'nā*, Sr *šenn* *šin'n-ā*, Ar *sinn-*, Gz *sənn*, Tgy *sənni*, Jb E *šnin id.*, Jb C *šnin id.* (pl. *šnun*) ¶ KB 1472-4, OLS 446, Lv. IV 584, Lv. T II 498, Sl. 1136-7, Tal 915, Br. 789, BK I 1147, Jo. J 262, Jo. M 609, L G 504, CS 241, Bsn. 189, Sd. 1243, Krb. EG 6-7,

MiK I #1.249 || B *-sīn- 'tooth' > Ah i-sīn-ən 'teeth', e-sīn 'incisive tooth', Gh i-sin 'tooth', pl. i-sin-ən, Gd a-sēn, pl. sēn-ən, Si a-sāin, pl. i-sīn-ən (āi < i regularly in final closed syllables, / La. S 4), Skn, Snd i-sīn, pl. i-sīn-ən; the homogeneous and consistent (throughout the whole B family) phonetically reg. structure of the word, allowing the rec. of pB *-sīn-, rules out its explanation as a loan from Ar NA sanna 'tooth' ¶ Fc. 1840, Lf. II #1481, La. S 224, Nh. 149, Sarn. 1 || Ch *s₂in, pl. *s₂an 'tooth' (by *s₂ [{}Nw.} *ɣ] I mean the phoneme which yields WCh and ECh *s and CCh lateral *š) > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Zar K, Tala, Buli šin, Zar Gl/L, Sy B, Gj šin, Grn šin, Plc P, Wnd šen, Bg, Kir šaŋal 'tooth' || CCh *šin, pl. *šan 'tooth' > Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} šini, pl. šan, Bdm {Lk.} hīnay, Glf xir 'tooth' | McMrg (with *-n > -r) Mrg, Klb xir, Pdk šira id. | Tr zin id. | McMtk: Mtk zē'en, pMM {Ro.} *šan > {Ro.}: Hrz, Vm šahan, Mofu šer, Zlg žir, as well as Gzg {Lk.} šin, šin, {Ro.} šin id. | McMdr (with *-n > -r-): Mdr šaré, Glv šar-da id. | McMs: Ms sī-ta id. | McMsg: Msk sityin, Mlw šinšin id. | McMs: Azm {Pc.} siná, Ms {ChL} siano, {Mch.} síya, Bnn {ChL} sinà, BnnM {ChL} sino, Lame {ChL} šin id. || ECh: Mu {Lk.} sinan, pl. sin, Jg {J} san, Brg san, Mkl {J} seŋo, pl. seŋen, Bdy sintá, pl. siná, Ke ká-sin, Tmk hin 'tooth' ¶ JI II 330-1, J LM 175, AIJ 113, Trn. LDM 20, Ro. 349 [#753], ChL, Sh. SB 32, Pc. 351-2 ¶ The forms of Ktk and Mu suggest that *šin was originally the form of sg., while *šan was pl. (formed by means of the HS pattern of *a-plurals, / Gr. IP) || Eg sn (= sn in EG's transcription) (the phonetic reading of a character resembling a fish-spear, or, acc. to Gard., 'two-barbed arrow-head', {EG} 'Zweizack') ¶ EG IV 148, Gard. 514 || ??? SC: Irq {MQK} sihinō ~ sehinō 'tooth', 'incisor' (pl. sihna? ~ sehna?, sihēni), {Wh. IP} sihino 'tooth', pl. sihini, {Wh. SI} sehno ~ shino 'a tooth', Alg {Wh.} sihino, pl. sihēni, Brn {Wh.} sihina, pl. sihēri ¶ MQK 93, Wh. IC 26, E SC 180 ¶ The SC word is qu. as a cognate, unless one finds an explanation for the unexpected word-medial h || U: FU *s[š]a[ŋ] (or *-ü- [less plausible]) 'pin, peg' > Lp N {N} sag'ge '(wooden) pin, peg, knitting needle', LK san'ge id. || pObU *θūŋk 'Keil' > pOs *θūŋk ({}HI.} *θūŋk) id. > Os: V lönk, Vy yōŋk, Ty šōŋk, Nz tūŋk, Kz šūŋk, O luŋk; pVg *tūŋkál 'Stöpsel, Pfropfen' > Vg T tūŋkál ¶ N III 367, Stn. WV 280, Ht. 138 [#147] || D: [1] D *čān₁a 'chisel, awl' > Kn cāna ~ cāna ~ cēna 'a small chisel', Tu cēnъ ~ cēnъ, Tl sēnamu 'awl, chisel' ¶¶ D #2445 | [2] NED *čan₁kr- v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), 'have the teeth

set on edge' > Krx čaŋgrnā v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), Mlt čarge v. 'have the teeth set on edge' ¶ D #2289, Pf. 190.

2090. *sūŋ ∇ 'to smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg fP sɛsn 'smell smth. (riechen)', Eg MK/G snsn id., Eg {Mks.} snsn.t 'perfume' (× N *čūŋ ∇ 'smoke, smell' and N *šUŋE 'breathe' [q.v.]) ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks. III #2634 || C: EC {Ss.} *san-/*sin-/*son-/*sun- 'nose' > Sa, Af, Sml san, pBn {Hn.} *sáŋ (> Bn J/Bi/Kj/L sáŋ), Rn sám, Arr {Hw.} sōnó, Dsn {To.} sōn-o, Elm {Hn.} sōno, Or {Grg.} fuńń-ān, Or Wl {Brl.} funy-an(i), Or H {Ow.} fuńń-āní, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} funn-āni, Kns sīna ~ sōna, Gdl sina, Gwd, Gln sinde, Hr, Dbs sind-ičče id., HEC {Hd.} *sano 'nose' > Sd, Ged sano, Kmb sanu(-ta), Hd sanē, Brj 'suna id.; EC *sīn- > Sa {R} sīn- v. 'smell, emit smell (riechen, Geruch verbreiten)', sīn n. 'smell (Geruch)', sī'no 'pleasant odour', Hd šipn- v. 'smell' (of meat, butter); the EC verb may be influenced by EthS (see Tgr {LH} ⚡⚡ šena vi. 'smell of', vt. 'smell [sth.]' < N *čiwŋ ∇ 'smell, stench') ||| Dhl {To.} sina, {EEN} pl. sinanne 'nose' ||| Ag {Ap.} *ʔsɛn-/*ʔsan- 'nose' > Xm {Ap.} ɛsɛŋ, Xm T {CR} asən, Knf {TBZAC} sän, Aw {Hz.} ússán ¶ R S II 325-6, Ss. B 169, LG 562, LH 646-7, Grg. 150, Sr. 305, Brl. 153, Ow. 261, Hw. A 432, Hn. BD 119, PG 256, Hd. 106, 297, To. D 146, EEN 24, Ap. AV 5-6, TBZAC 102, Blz. CWL, To. DL 526 || NrOm {Blz.} *sin(d)- 'nose' > Mj s+nu, Shk s+nt, Na sinus id. | BMa š+nte, Sz šun-i, HzMa šini, GaMa šindi id. | Jn {Wdk.} siyá id. | Bnc {Wdk.} sīnt, She sint id. | Mch {L} šīto, Shn šinta, Anf šinto, {Gt.} šinne id. | Cha {C} sindā, Bdt sīde, Wl/Zl {C} siđē, Gm {Hw.} sīde, Gf siđe, Bsk {C} sintsā (= sinčā), Dk {C} sindā id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #85, Wdk. BY 166, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Hs sánsáná v. 'emit a smell', Gw {Mts.} šúšuna id. | Wrj {Sk.} sésən-, Cg {Sk.} šěšən-, My {Sk.} šašin-, P' {MSk.} sasən-, Sir {Sk.} šišidiwi, Jmb {Sk.} sáhsán (misprint for sánsán?) 'smell (riechen)' ||| pMM {Ro.} zin 'smell of' > Mada zíŋ, Myn žu, Mkt žín, Mlk žé, Gzg zàʔán, Mofu za | Ch *Sin 'nose' (× N *čūŋ ∇ 'smoke, smell?') > WCh: Fy {J} šín 'nose' | ? Tng {J} wɛsn id. | Tala {Sh.} ɛsɛn, Buli {Sh.} pišín id. ||| CCh: Gude {IL} šiná, Bcm {Sk.} šiné id. | Suk {IL} ššin, {Mk.} šin id. | ZmD {Srp.} šin id. ||| ECh: Smr šendé, Kbl {Cp.} hě:ndí, Ll {Grgs.} hinda, Tmk {Cp.} hùn 'nose' ¶ JI II 258-9, ChC, ChL, Ro. 329 [#688], Blz. EChWL #62 ¶¶ Gr. LA 60 ||| K *°s|sun- > G {Chx.} sun- 'smell (smth.), an etw. riechen, beriechen', {DCh.} sun-i 'odour, stench' ¶ Chx. 1282, DCh. 1200 ||| U: FU (att. in Prm) *°su|ŋ ∇ > Prm {LG} *zūŋ n. 'smell' > Vt зЫН z+n, Vt Kz {UEW ← ?}

zǝŋ (zǝŋ), Vt G {Wc.} zřm, Vt Uf {Wc.} zřŋ, Yz zΛŋ id., Prmk зЫН zřŋ
 'stench' ¶¶ ≠ U *šřŋkŋ 'taste, smell' > Hg szag n. 'smell', Slq Tz
 sangā- 'smell (sth.)' (Slq {Set.} saŋam 'schmecken') ¶¶ LG 108, Lt. J
 115, Wc. W 133 [#1272], UEW 463, ≠ Sz. MNyH 159 (÷ Hg szag), ≠ Set.
 FUS 60 (Vt ÷ Slq saŋam, Hg szag) || A: M *siŋsi- > WrM siŋsi-,
 HlM шиши- 'smell\sniff all over', 'track down by sniffing (as dogs
 do)', WrO {Krg.} šřŋsi- v. 'sniff', Kl шиш- šřŋšə- 'smell\sniff all
 over', {Rm.} šřŋš-(χə) 'aufspüren, wittern' (Hund) ¶ MED 712, Krg.
 442, KRS 675, KW 359 ◇ M *i of the first syll. may be explained either
 by regr. as. (*u|ü...i > *i...i) or by delabialization of the N vw. (which in
 this case is to be reconstructed as *ü) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. запах
 *surn(g)ŋ.

2091. *śǣŋeXǣ (or *sǣŋAXǣ) 'to plait, to twist, to tie' > IE *sneh̄-
 /*snoh̄- (= *sneh̄ -/*snoh̄-?) > NaIE *snē-/*snō- 'plait, twist' (→ 'spin') >
 Gk νέω 'I spin', 3s prs. νῆ (< *σνήλε) 'spins' ||| L neō / nē-re v. 'spin'
 ||| OIr sníid 'spins, patches', sním n. act. 'spinning', Crn nethe, MBr
 neza- v. 'spin', W nyddu, Br neza- id., 'twist'; OIr snáth 'thread',
 OBr [ʏ] notenn, MBr neut, Br neud(enn) id., ?σ OIr snáthat
 'needle' ||| Gmc *snō- ⇨ *snō-θ- > OGtn snóþ, Sw snodd n. 'braid
 (cord)', AS snōd {Sw.} 'fillet', {Ho.} 'Kopfband, Kapuze', NE
 snood JOHG nājen, nāen, NHG nähēn, MDt naeyen, Dt naaien
 'to sew' JOHON snúa 'to wind, (to double and) to twist (yarn), to twine
 (thread)' ||| Ltv Δ {ME} snā-t (prs. snāju) 'to twist loosely together,
 to spin' || ?σ Ht senahha- {Mn.} 'snare, ambush', {Ts.} 'Hinterhalt' ¶¶
 ≈ P 973, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, F II 311-2, WH II 159-60, Vn. S 148-9, 151-
 2, LP § 24.4, Hm. 598, YGM-1 346, Ho. 305, Kb. 711, OsS 637, KM 501-
 2, Vr. 526, Vr. N 461, ME III 974-5, Ts. W 74, EI 571 (*s)neh₁(i)- and
 *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy oneself with
 thread') || HS: Eg fOK snĥ 'binden, fesseln' ¶ EG IV 168-9 || S *^ošřŋh
 > Ar sanīh- 'fil sur lequel on enfile les ornements du cou (perles,
 coquillages, etc.)' ¶ BK I 1149 || WCh: pNrBc *šřŋh- v. 'sew' > Wrj {Sk.
 in ChC} šřŋh-, {Sk. NB} *šřŋg-, Mbr {Sk.} šřŋh- id. ¶ ChC, Stl. ZCh 196
 [#481], 255 [#107], Sk. NB 39 ¶¶ The lateral *š in NrBc needs
 explaining || U: [1] FU *śǣŋe 'a hair, hair plait' > F sǣä 'fiber, filament,
 strand, cord' (× FP *sǣjä 'thread'), sǣie (gen. sǣikeen) 'fiber,
 filament, (head of) thread' || Prm {LG} *śí 'a hair, fiber, string' > Z, Vt
 си śí 'a hair', Z Δ, Prmk śí 'thread', Z Δ vugřr śí 'fishing line' (vugřr

'fish-hook'), Yz śī 'thread, fiber, a hair' || Hg szǫ́-/szǫv- v. 'weave, spin' | ObU: (I) {Ht.} *sē-~*sō̄- , {ǧHL.} *sǎ̄-~*sō̄- v. 'plait' > pVg *sǎ̄- id. > Vg: T säw-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV sä-/*sā̄-, NV sä-/*sāw-, IL sǟ-/*sā̄-, UL/Ss sa- id., pOs {Ht.} *sō̄- id. > Os: V/Vy sō̄-, Ty sǎ̄^ω-, Y sǎ̄w-, D/K/Nz/K/O sew-] (II) ObU {Ht.} *sē̄-~*sō̄̄-, {ǧHL.} *sǎ̄̄-~*sō̄̄- 'hair plait' > pVg *sǎ̄̄- 'hair plait, pigtail' > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/NV sǟ, SV/LL sǎ̄, UL/Ss sa- id., pOs *sō̄̄- 'hair plait (Haareflechte)' > Os: V/Vy sō̄̄-, Ty sǎ̄̄^ω-, Y sǎ̄̄w, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew || [2] FP {UEW} *sǎ̄jä 'thread' > F sǎ̄ä 'fiber, filament, strand, cord' (see above [1]) | Prm {LG} *sĒ̄jis 'thread' > Z сунис suñis 'thread, yarn', Vt сѣньис siñis, Vt MU/Y siñis, Vt Kz seṅas 'thread' ¶ UEW 471 (FU *sǎ̄je 'Haar, Haareflechte; flechten, spinnen'), 755, SSA III 244, LG 254, 266, Ht. #571, Stn. D 1308 || ?σ D *čam- 'be produced, get ready' > Tm camaj 'be made, constructed, formed, get ready', Ml camayam 'getting ready for a grand occasion, equipment, dress', Kn sama 'getting ready, preparation', Tl sama-kat̄tu 'be\make ready, Klm savaril- 'make oneself ready' ¶¶ D #2342 ◇ If Ht senahha belongs here, the N rec. is with *-χ- (*śǎ̄jeχæ or *sǎ̄jAχæ), otherwise it is with an unspecified *X (= *h|χ). If the basic (underived) FU cognate is *śǎ̄je, we reconstruct a pN *śǎ̄jeXæ, but if it is FP *sǎ̄jä, the N rec. is likely to be *sǎ̄jAχæ.

2092. *SUŋ_{lg}'o' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} šir- 'rufen, herbei-\an-\zu-rufen'; but Bln šir- 'nennen, benennen' is likely to go back to C *šim-~*šum- 'name' < N *šim̄ 'name' (q.v.) ¶ The vw. may be due to apophony or to the infl. of šir- '(be)nennen' ¶ R WB 328 || IE: [1] NaIE *seng^{ωh}- 'speak, make an incantation', 'sing' (× N o *ǵiŋo 'sing, produce [musical, ritual?] sounds by voice' [q.v. ffd.]) || [2] NaIE *swen- v. 'sound, echo, ring' > OI sva'naḥ n. 'sound, roar, tone, song', svana- v. 'resound, echo', Av xwan- id., Oss Iχon3n v. 'call, invite, lead' || L sonus 'sound', sonā- v. 'ring, sound' || OIr senn- 'sonare, play (a musical instrument)', Ml seinm id., seanma n. 'playing music, singing' || AS swinn, swin 'melody' ¶ P 1046, Mn. 1346, Ab. IV 214. || A: Tg *soŋ'a' 'cry (weep)' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Nn KU soŋo-, Nn Nh/B soŋgo-, Lm hoŋ-, Ul soŋgo- ~ soŋgt-, WrMc soŋgo- id. ¶ STM II 111-2 || T *siŋile- v. 'whine, howl' > OT siŋile-

({Cl.} siṅīlē-), Oosm ≥XV siṅ(i)le- ~ siṅ(i)lde- id., MQp XIV siṅilde- v. 'howl' (of dogs), Chg {RL} - سنكرأ siṅrā- 'weep quietly, - سنكلا siṅla- id., 'howl', Osm siṅle- 'whine, moan', Tk siṅle-, Δ siṅeṅe- ~ sinile- v. 'sob quietly, moan'; but T *siṅ(ō for humming and buzzing) hardly belongs here ¶ Cl. 832, 840, RI. IV 689 || ? M *seṅene- > WrM seṅene- v. 'sing' (of wind) ¶ MED 688 ¶ The front vowels *e in M and *i in T may be due to the infl. of the reflexes of No *ṣiṅo '↑' (e.g., the infl. of M *ṣiṅḡine- v. 'ring, tinkle' [of bells]) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2668 (A *siṅuṅu 'whine, weep'; incl. Tg, T).

2093. *siṅkU 'sink, fall' > HS: Eg P/RT sṅk {Hng.} 'set' (of the sun), 'sink into water' (of a drowned person), {EG} - vom Untergehen (von der Sonne), vom Verschwinden ins Wasser (vom Ertrunkenen), sṅk.ω fP {EG} 'Stelle wo die Sonne untergeht' ¶ EG IV 175, Hng. 723 || IE: NaE *seṅ^ω- v. 'fall, sink' > Arm անկանիմ ankanim v. 'fall' || Gmc *sink^ωan > Gt sigqan, ON sǫkkva, Sw sjunka, NNr sǫkka, Dn synke, OSx, OHG sinkan, NHG sinken, AS sincan 'to sink', NE sṅk ¶ WP II 495-6, P 906, Mn. 1127, Sl. 367, Fs. 420, Vr. 576-7, Ho. 294, Ho. S 64, Kb. 855 || A: *sṣiṅe 'sink' > M *siṅe- 'sink, set' (of a celestial body), 'be absorbed' (of liquid), 'be digested' (of food) > MM [MA] {Pp.} ṣiṅe- id., [S] ṣiṅe-, [IsV] ṣiṅe- 'sink', 'set' (of the sun)', [IM] {Pp.} naran siṅgekü 'west' (lit. 'setting of the sun'), Ord {Ms.} ṣiṅe-, Kl {Rm.} ṣiṅgā- 'set (of the sun, etc.)', 'be absorbed' (liquid), Kl {KRS} шинг- ṣiṅe- 'soak, be absorbed', WrM siṅe-, HIM шингэ- id., 'be digested' (of food)', Kl шинг- ṣiṅe- 'soak, be absorbed', Brt шэнгэ- id., 'sink\plunge into', Mnr H {SM} ṣiṅgē- 's'imbiber dans, pénétrer dans'; M → WrMc siṅe- 'be absorbed' ¶ MED 710-2, Pp. MA 334, 446, H 141, Lg. VMI 66, Ms. O 620, SM 377, KW 359, KRS 675, STM II 90 || T: [1] NaT *siṅ- 'sink into (sth.)' > OT siṅ- id., 'be absorbed\digested', Osm {Rh.} siṅ- 'be absorbed; be swallowed, go down the gullet, be digested', 'slink and crouch into the smallest possible space', siṅe ger. 'sinking', Tk siṅ- 'penetrate' (of smell), Az d. sinir- 'be digested', Tkm θiṅ-, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qrkl, Qrg, Tv siṅ-, VTt сeṅ- sṅ-, Bsh heṅ- hṅ-, Uz siṅgi-, Tf sṅ- id., 'soak into the earth, be absorbed', Qzq ciṅ- siṅ- id., 'penetrate; find room, go in, fit in', Yk iṅ- 'soak into the earth, be absorbed'; [2] ?? T {Rs.} *siṅ- 'go in, fit into' > Chv šṅ-ṅ-š- 'find room, go in' ('поместиться'), Shor/Sg/Qb {RL} siṅ- 'hineinpassen, hineindringen' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the

palatalizing infl. of *i ¶ Cl. 833-4, Rs. W 418, Rh. 1102-3, Rl. IV 622, Ra. 227, Ash. XVII 309, Md. OJ 43 || pJ {S} *s^ítúm- 'sink' > OJ sídúm-, J: T sízum, K sízum-, Kg sízum- id. ¶ S QJ #1073, Mr. 754 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2151 (A *s^íú'ηu 'to sink', incl. T, M, J) ◇ In most lgs. the phonetic history is likely to have been: *-mk- > *-ηk-, in some lgs. > *-η-. In Ko the cluster *-mk- contracted to *-m- ◇ In many lgs. there may have been (mutual?) infl. of N *š^íηkU 'sink, fall' and N *s^o'm_ΔgE ~ *s^o'gmE 'enter, penetrate' (q.v.), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective reflexes.

2094. *š^ae_Δη_Δk ▽ ~ *š^ee_Δη_Δk ▽ 'be near, approach' > HS: EC: Rn s^ókkò 'closer, nearer', HEC *š^íķ- ({Hd.} *š^íηķ-) v. 'approach' > Ged, Sd {Hd.} š^íķ-, Hd {PB} š^íķa? id. || Ag *s^əkk^ω- '≈ be near' > Bln {R} s_Δuk-r-vi. (md.) 'approach', s_Δuk-s- vt. (caus.) 'make so. approach' ¶ PG 262, Hd. 21, 260, 393 (+ unc. Hd hinč-, Kmb hinč y- 'be[come] close, approach'; rec. of HEC *š^íηķ- with an unj. *-n-), AD SF 96, 272-3 (C *✓^ís^íķ^ω) || NrOm (← HEC?): Omt (Gf?) {Mrn.} š^íķ-, Gm {Hw.} š^íķo vi. 'approach' ¶ Mrn. O, Hw. EG || SES *^o✓š^íķ > Sq {L} ✓š^íķ 'se rapprocher' ¶ LLS 409 ¶¶ AD SF 272-3 || **D** *č^ěkk- (~ *č^ěηkk-) 'near, close by' > Prj č^ěkkal 'near', Krx č^ěaχā 'around, near, in the vicinity of', ? Tm c^ěηgaṭa(n) id., c^ěηgali 'nearness, neighbourhood' ¶¶ D #2753; An. SG 137, KR 14-69 (both on D *-ηkk- > -ηk-~-kk-) || **U** *sa^əe- 'arrive, come' (× *sa^əe- 'obtain, receive, reach' < N *sagæ [= *sage?] 'obtain, hold', q.v.) > FΔ saa- v. 'come, arrive' || pMr {Ker.} *sā^ə v. 'come' > Er/Mk ca-мc sa- id. || pChr {Ber.} *š^u- v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L ш_Δ-аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/Y/V š^u- id., Chr H {Ep.} шo-аш 'reach (by going), catch up with' || pPrm {LG} *su- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt c^утыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z c_Δ- su- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} *t^čь|āy^āь- (~ *t^čь|āy^āь-?), {Hl.} *t^čay^ā v. 'reach, arrive' **Ы** Ne T тэвă-сь 'reach (a place), catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} t^äeβ^ā, Ne F {Lh.} t^äeβ^ā:ás 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} t^ō-, {Cs.} taebo ~ toebo? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s prs.) tu^lām ~ t^ulām 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tu^šă' š^ōbjām 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *taybэ- (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} хадайбага 'death' ← ха- 'die') ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 429-30, It. #37, SK 932-4, Gn. 930, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [##339-40], Ber. 68 [##358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh.

479-80, KD 74, Hl. M #942 ◇ The phonemes *s and *e in U *saʔe- may belong to the heritage of N *sagæ (= *sage?) 'obtain, hold' and therefore are not taken into account in the rec. of the N etymon ◇ HEC, NrOm *-ʔ- < *-ʔk-.

2095. *sāŋqU 'shoulder, nape, back of the neck' > K ≈ *°š'ī'q- > Sv UB/L/Ln šiq 'back (dorsum)' ¶ Ni. s.v. спина, GP 273, TK 818-9, Dn. s.v. šiq || **HS:** C {AD} *si|unk^ω- 'nape, back, shoulder' > Bj {R} sark^ωā ~ sank^ωā id., Bj A {AD} ʔU sink^ωa 'back' ||| EC: Sa {Wlm.} sunku 'shoulder joint', Af {PH} sunku (pl. sunkūka) 'shoulder', Sml {R} sagan (pl. sagamma) 'Nacken, Genick', {Lrj.} sagan-madon 'nape (joint of the neck)' ¶ AD SF 91-2, PH 185, Lrj. 242, R SS II 338 || **U** *sāŋk∇ ({UEW} *senk∇ ~ *sāŋk∇) 'arm, (?) shoulder' > ObU {JHl.} *°θēŋk- (or *°θīŋk-) > pOs *čēŋkar ({JHl.} *čīŋkar) 'upper arm, shoulder' > Os: V lēŋkar 'upper arm', Vy yēŋkar 'Arm von der Schulter bis zum Handgelenk, das ganze Arm', D/K tēŋkar 'Achsel', Kz čāŋkar, O lāŋkar 'shoulder (Achsel, Schulter)' || Sm: Ne: T {Ter.} тяңгад ŋangad 'biceps; naked arm', T Tz {UEW → Lh.} tāŋkād 'upper arm', F P {Lh.} čēŋkāt 'forearm' ¶¶ UEW 439, Coll. 18, KrT 1068, S D 782, Ter. 703, Lh. 503 ◇ AD GD #48 (U, HS), IS MS 355 s.v. плечо² (U, HS).

2096. *Sap∇ 'to taste, to be tasty' > IE: NaIE *sap- ~ *sab- 'juice', v. 'taste, perceive': **[1]** *sap- > Av višāpa- (viš-šāpa-) 'poison-juiced' (sc. 'whose juice is poison') (viš- 'poison'); Irn ⇨ Arm վիշապ višap 'dragon' ||| Arm համ ham (< *sap-mo-) 'juice, savour, taste' ||| L sapiō- / -ēre v. 'taste; have taste; discern, be wise, think', sapor n. 'taste', Osc SIPVS 'sciens'; L sapa 'juice' ||| Gmc: MHG be-seben 'wahrnehmen', ON sefi 'mind', OSx sevo 'Gemüt, Herz', AS sefa 'mind, heart'; ? ON safi 'sap (Saft)' | **[2]** *sab- > OHG saf 𐌺 saph (gen. saphes, saffes) 'juice', MHG saf (gen. saffes), saft, NHG Saft, MLG sap(p) 'juice, sap', AS sǣp id., NE sap ||| Ilr sabaium 'beer' ¶ WP II 450-1, P 880, ≈ σ EI 566 (*sap- 'sap', ? *sap- ⇨ ? *sep- '≈ taste, come to know'), Brtl. 1173, Hü. I 247, WH II 476-7, Bc. G 324, Vr. 459, 467, Ho. 268, 288, Ho. S 64, Kb. 817, OsS 744, Lx. 17, 175, KM 619, ≈ Mn. 1107, 1112-3 ||| **HS:** C {E} pC *šob- 'be pleasant, sweet, pleasing': Bj {R} 'šibo 'beauty, pleasantness', {Rop.} 'šibi, 'šibi 'good', {R} šebōb (p. a-š'bōb) 'be good, beautiful', {Rop.} šibob 'be good' ||| ı Hd {E ← ?} šop- 'be sweet' ¶ PB 174 ||| (here??) SC: ERt {E} *šeba 'beer' > Kz {E} sawa-kō (-kō is a sx. of m.), Asa šeba id. ¶ E PC #249, E SC

93, E p.c. (2002), R WBd 209-10, Rop. 235 || D *čav- ({ǵGS} *s-) 'taste' > Tm, Tl cav̄i id., Kt čayv 'taste let in mouth for food just eaten', Kn sav̄i, sam̄vi 'that has taste', 'that is palatable\savoury\sweet\nice', Tu sabi, sav̄i 'flavour, taste; palatable, sweet', Klm saVV̄i, Nkr sav̄ad 'sweet' ¶¶ D #2396(a) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #398 (*sap 'touch\taste') (IE, Ai + err. A, J, EA).

2097. *saP̄'ü'(-ś∇) 'thorn, pointed stake' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'needle') > HS: CS *šap̄āy- > Sr {Br.} Ḷ.Ḷ.Ḷ. šap̄ā'y-ā 'stimulus, σκόλοψ', {JPS} Ḷ.Ḷ.Ḷ. šap̄ā'y-ā ~ Ḷ.Ḷ.Ḷ. šāp̄ə'y-ā 'sharpened stake, splinter, thorn', Ar سفا safā(n) {Ln.} 'any kind of tree having prockles\thorns', {BK} 'arbre à épines', {Hv.} 'prickly grass', {Br.} [Naq.] 'pricks of barley (spinae hordei murini)' ¶ Br. 794, JPS 590, Ln. 1378, Hv. 325, BK I 1104 || IE: Ht sapikkusta- ~ sepikkusta- 'needle' ¶ Ts. W 70 || U: FU *sapś∇ 'pointed stake\stick' > Lp: S {LÖ} tjuopsem 'furca', N {Fri.} čuopsem 'bifurcum ferreum' | Chr: V šapš 'netting-needle', → (μν) 'winding-spool', → (μν) L ωοπιω šopš, H ωαπιω šapš 'winding-spool, thread on a winding-spool' || ObU {Ht.} *θōpās > pOs *sopās 'netting-needle' (*s- for *θ- by as.) > Os: V/Vy sāwās, Ty/Y sāpās, D/K/Nz supās, Kz sōpās, O sopās id.; pVg *tās 'small stick' > Vg: T tās, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LLz tōs id. ¶ UEW 432, MRS 692, 719, Ht. #153, ≈ Coll. 118 || A: Tg *sap- (+ sx.), *saps- 'needle' > Neg sapk̄, Orc saptu 'netting-needle\spit', Orc sapsaŋki 'needle for pricking birch-bark', WrMc sab̄si- v. 'stitch (leather when making footwear), prick\singe with a needle (skin of ill persons for treating them)' ¶ STM II 64 || M *sibüge(n) 'awl' > MM [S] šibüge 'Bohrer, Pfriemen', [IM} sibüge, [MA] šibüge, WrM sibüge(n), HIM шөвөг, Ord šöwögö, Brt шүбгэ, Kl шөвг, {Rm.} šöwga ~ šöwögö, Mnr H {SM} şub_ug_e, Mnr H/M {T} šibuge 'awl' ¶ H 139, Pp. MA 332, 446, MED 696, Ms. O 630, Chr. 737, KRS 681, KW 367, SM 383, T 382 || ?σ NaT *süvri > OT süvri 'with a tapering end, sharp, pointed', Tk sivri, Az {Cl.} sivri, Qzq/TbTt {Rl.} süirü 'pointed' ¶ Cl. 791, Rl. IV 796 ¶¶ KW 367 (M, T) ¶¶ M *i and T *ü are probably due to the ass. infl. of the reflexes of N *ü ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2665 (A *sjābi 'to sew, to perforate, awl', incl. M).

2098. ₂ *šap̄∇ 'riverbank, river' > HS: S *šīp- (or *sīp-) > Ar sīf- 'shore of the sea or of a great river, side of a valley' (df. السيف ḡas-sīf-

is applied to the sea-shore of 'Oman); Ar \bar{s} īf-, Ar Δ * \bar{s} īf-at- \rightarrow Jb C pl. 'sef, sg. sift, Jb E 'seft, Mh s3ft 'sea-shore' ¶ Ln. 1485, BK I 1176, Hv. 347, Jo. M 355 ¶ Not here Hb הַבַּיְתָה \hat{s} ā'pā 'bank, shore' (from N * \hat{s} a'pʔ'∇ 'lip; [\rightarrow] edge, shore, riverbank') || Eg fMKL/Md s.p.t 'bank (of waterway), shore; edge (of a wound, well, vessel, horizon)' ¶ This word may have influenced the Eg word for 'lip' (s.p.t with s- for the expected š-, cp. S * \hat{s} a'p-at- 'lip', see N * \hat{s} a'pʔ'∇ '↑') ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 || B * \bar{s} īf- ~ * \bar{s} ūf- / pl. * \bar{s} āff- 'river' > Mz {Dlh.} suf (pl. isufān) 'rivière qui coule, torrent', Shw {Hy.} s u f (pl. isafān ~ isaffān), Sll {Ds.} a-sif (pl. i-sāffān), SrSn {Rn.} a-sif (pl. asaffān), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} a-sif (pl. i-saffān) 'rivière, fleuve', Kb {Dl.} asif (pl. isaffān) id., 'wadi', Nf {Beg.} usaf (pl. i'sāffān) id., {La.} usaf (pl. isaffān) 'rivière', Ah † {Fc.} ā-sif 'valley' (preserved in toponymy) ¶ Rn. 313, La. S 289, Ds. 131, 250, Dlh. M 184, Dl. 759, Fc. 1806, MT 617, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 402, Beg. N 317, Fc. 1806 ¶ Some infl. of N * \check{c} Ē_up∇ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' cannot be ruled out || NrOm {Blz.} *šaf- > Zs {C} šafā 'river, lake', Gf {C} šāfā, Gm {Hw.} šāpa 'river' ¶ Blz. OL #212, C SE III 207, C SO 51, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Gmy šip 'river' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #2253 (*sip- 'river, river-bed') || A: M *saba > WrM saba, HIM cāb, Kl cāb 'river-bed' (unless ← saba, cāb 'vessel'), WrM sab, HIM cāb 'frontier, limit', Kl Ö {Rm.} sawa 'Grenzland, Seitenplatz'; M \rightarrow Chg sapa 'Seitenplatz außerhalb der Stadt', Osm sapa yōl 'round-about way' ¶ MED 653, KRS 434, KW 315 || T *sep- > Xk sip 'small river bay', Tv, Tf sep 'river bay', Qb/Sg/Qc {Rl.} sep 'tributary of a river, Nebenfluß', ? Chg {Rl.} sipa 'terrace' ¶ Rs. W 410, BIG 187, Rl. IV 493, 726, Ra. 226 || AmTg *saps∇ 'bank (of a body of water)' > Orc sapsa id., Ul, Nn Nh sapsu, sapsu qurān 'bank (at the edge of water)', Nn KU sapsukt, Nn B safsu qurān id. ¶ STM II 64 || pJ {S} *sìpè 'tide' > OJ sîpò, J: T/Kg síó, K síò ¶ S QJ #1166, Mr. 525 ¶¶ DQA #1922 (A *sàp'ì 'shore': T, Tg, J) ◇ The front vw. of the first syll. in T, pJ, and possibly in branches of HS (S, B, WCh) may be due to regr. as. (*a...Ē [= *a...i??] > T *e..., pJ *i..., and HS *ī...). Alternatively. the stem with *ī in HS (S, B, WCh) may be interpreted as a bf. from pl. * \bar{s} āp- (the pattern *ī sg. - *ā pl., preserved in B?).

2099. * \bar{s} ip∇ 'to pour, to drop, to drizzle, to filter\screen' > HS: Eg fXXII sfsf ({EG} śfśf) 'spenden (Wasser)' ¶ EG IV 118 || +ext.: S * \check{c} špk v. 'pour out, spill' > BHb \check{c} špk (pf. הַבַּיְתָה šā'pak, ip. הַבַּיְתָה yi-

š'pɔk) v. 'pour, pour out', Ug ✓ š'pk v. 'spill', JPA ✓ š'pk G v. 'pour out, spill, shed', JEA ✓ š'pk G id., 'flow', Sr ✓ š'pk G 'pour from one vessel into another, empty out', Md ✓ š'pk v. 'pour out, spill', Ar ✓ sfk v. G 'pour (blood, tears)', Gz ✓ sbk v. 'melt', Tgr t̄səbbəkə 'gegossen werden (aus Metall)', Ak ✓ š'pk (inf. šapāku) to pour, heap\pile up'; possibly S → Eg sfc (EG} sft) 'ε oil (used in rituals and originating from SW Asia)' ¶ KB 1504-5, OLS 449, Js. 1616-7, Sl. 1170-1, Br. 795, JPS 591, DM 472, Sd. 1168-9, BK I 1101, Hv. 324, LG 483, CAD XVII/1 412-22, EG IV 118, Fk. 225 || IE: NaIE *sejp-/*sejb- v. 'pour, spill, screen': NaIE *sejb- > MLG sīpen, MHG sīfen, AS sīpian v. 'drop, drip', NE seep, sipe; Sw Δ sipa 'langsam fließen, sickern', MLG sīp 'small brook' | NaIE *sējbon 'tropfbares Fett' > Gmc *sajpō 'soap, resin' > AS sāpe id., OHG seifā, ON sápa 'soap'; Gmc → F saiprua, Δ saippio, L sārō 'soap' (see Rufinus *Apologia Originis*: τῷ Γερμανικῷ σμήγματι · καλεῖται δὲ σάπων) | NaIE *sejp- > OHG sib, NHG Sieb, Dt zeef, AS sife n. 'sieve', NE sieve || Sl: SCr sípiti 'to drizzle' || Tc A sip-, sep- v. 'anoint', sepal 'ointment' ¶ WP II 468, P 894, WH II 504, ≠ 478, Vr. 462-3, SSA III 143, Ho. 270, 293, 296, Kb. 836, 848, OsS 751, 758, Lx. 193, KM 699, Wn. 427-8, ≠ Glh. 548-9 || A (pA **sipe(r∇)): M: [1] *sibere- > WrM sibere-, HIM шиврэ- v. 'drizzle', M *siber > WrM siber, HIM шивэр, шивир 'drizzling rain, light shower', Ord šiwēr 'une fine pluie' ¶ MED 695, Ms. O 625 | [2] √ M **siβ'ü- (acc. to Rm. SKE, it may go back to pA {Rm.} **sip'ü'-) > MM [MA] šū- v. 'filter', WrM sigū-, HIM шүү- v. 'filter, strain; percolate', Kl шүү- šū- v. 'filter', Mnr H {SM} šū- 'faire ou laisser écouler' ¶ Pp. MA 337, MED 693, KRS 688, KW 372, SM 383 || ? pKo *sp'iri- v. 'moisten' > MKo sp'irí- id., NKo pūri- v. 'sprinkle, shower, rain slightly' (× NKo pūri- 'scatter, sow') ¶ ≈ S QK #959, MLC 814 || Tg: WrMc sibkuri {Z} 'drain-gutters\holes in city walls, капельники, желоба\отверстия на городской стѣнѣ для стока воды', {Hr.} 'Loch am Fuße der Mauerzinnen als Wasserabfluß und Schießscharte' (WrMc ū spelled with the characters of WrM ū) ¶ Z 600, Hr. 789] ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *siba 'clay; to smear', Rm. SKE 49 (WrMc *sipku- [for WrMc sibkuri?] ÷ WrM sigū- + *÷ Ko č'hi-da v. 'sift' and [with two queries] T: QK {Rl.} čū-, Tb {Rl.} čū- 'mit einem Netze fischen') ¶¶ M siba- (> WrM siba-, HIM шивах v. 'plaster, apply ointment') does not belong here but rather to

A *sipa- 'clay; to smear' < N *śiw¹ǵ'a (or *śiwga) 'to smear' (q.v.)
 ◇ IS SS 345 [#11.11] (S, Eg śf₁, IE, M).

2100. *śip¹∇ '(young of a) bird' > HS: Eg G śft 'e bird' ¶ EG IV 118 || B *^oǵ¹sāf- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} tāsāf 'e blue-violet sparrow' ¶ GhA 170, PrGG 290 || NrOm: Gng {Blz.} *s∇ff- 'bird' > Kf {R ← Krapf} soffěé 'bird' ¶ R K 79, Blz OL s.v. 'bird' || ?? WCh: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} šiw 'cock' ¶ Sk. NB 12, Stl. ZCh #330 ({Stl.} *siw∇ 'bird'; mentions Su {←?} ši 'bird') || D (in GnD) *čīv- ~ *čīpp- 'young of birds' (× N ψο *čīpu(-¹∇) 'small bird') > Knd sīp̄ri, sīpi 'chicken', Gnd čīva ɘ čīwā(1) ɘ čīvnā ɘ čīvā, Kui sīpa, Ku hippa ɘ hipā ɘ hīpa id., 'chick' ¶ D #2636 || A: M *siba-γun 'bird' > MM [L] {Pp.} šibawun, [MA, IM] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} šiba₁un, [S] {H} śiba₁un id., WrM sibagu(n), HIM шувуу 'bird, fowl', Brt шубуун, Ord {Ms.} šiwū¹, Kl {KRS} шовун, {Rm.} šowūn, Mnr H {SM, T} šū, {Pot.} шиво, Mnr M {T} šibu, {Pot.} шипо 'bird', ShY {Pot.} шовун ¶ H 139, Pp. L III 60, Pp. MA 332, 447, MED 747, Rm. 366, SM 383, T 386, Pot. 418, Ktw. OuJ 451 || STg *sipi- 'e small bird; a swallow' > WrMc {Z, Hr.} sibirgan 'motley swallow, gesprenkelte Schwalbe' (-gan induced by guldargan 'swallow'), Jrc {Kiy.} šibi₁r₁hun 'swallow' ¶ Z 599, Hr. 788, Kiy. 107 [#183] || pKo {S} *čīā₁pī n. 'swallow' (× N ψο *čīpu(-¹∇) '↑') > MKo {S}, NKo čēbi ¶ S QK #183, Rm. SKE 26, Gale 848, MLC 1464, Nam 425 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 26 (Ko, Tg), DQA #2014 (pA *s|zip∇ 'a kind of small bird').

2101. (₂?) *ś¹ū¹p₁∇ (or *śū¹æp₁∇?) to sleep, '(?) to rest (sich erholen)' > IE *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep' > Ht sup- v. md. 'sleep' || NaIE *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep, dream' > OI 'svapiti, 'svapati 'sleeps', Av x^vap- 'sleep' || Gk ύπαρ 'waking vision, Wahrtraum' || L d. sōpiō / sōpīre 'put/lull to sleep' || ON sofa, AS swefan 'to sleep', MHG ent-sweben 'to fall asleep', swēp (gen. swēbes), AS sweofot n. 'sleep' || Sl *sǫpǎ-ti 'to sleep' > OCS сѡпати sǫpati, SCr spǎti, Slv spǎti, Cz spǎti, Slk spat', P spać, R спать, Uk 'спати id., Blg спя v. 'sleep'] ⇨ NaIE *'swop-nos, *'swep-no-s, *sup-'no-s n. 'sleep, dream' > ON svefn, AS swefn id. || OI 'svapna-, Av x^vapna- n. 'sleep, dream' || Tc A sǫpǎm̄, B sǫpǎne n. 'sleep' || Sl *sǫnъ id., 'dream' > OCS сѡнъ sǫnъ, Blg сѡн, SCr sǎn, Slv sen sǎn, Cz, Slk, P sen, R, Uk сон id. || Lt sǫpnas, Ltv sapnis n. 'dream' || Gk ύπνος n. 'sleep' || Arm քընկ k^hun (gen. քընկ k^hnoy) id. || pAl {O} *supna > Al gjumë id.

|| L *somnus* id. || pClt {Vn.} **soyno-* > OIr *súan*, Brtt {RE} **soynos* n. 'sleep' > MW, W, Crn, OBr, MBr, Br *hun* id., OCrn [γ] *hun* 'letargia' || ↪ NaIE {EI} **swopniyo-m* n. 'dream' > L *somnium*, Gk *ἐνύπτιον*, Lt *Δ sapnỹs* id., OI **svapniyam* 'dreamy' || d.: IE **swepṽr-/*supṽr-* > L *sopor* (gen. *sōpōris*) 'deep sleep' 'deep sleep', Gk *ὑπαρ* 'true dream, waking vision', Ht *suppariya-* v. md. 'dream, sleep' ¶¶ P 1048-9, EI 170, 527, Ts. W 78, F II 966, 970-1, WH II 557-8, 561, Vn. S 196-7, RE 130, Sl. 63-4, Vr. 528, Ho. 334-5, Lx. 41, 222, O 138, Glh. 539-40, 571, Frn. 762, Kar. II 154, Wn. LE 125, Wn. 460-1, Ad. 666, Ad. H 29, 36 || HS: SES **š_lʔ_lp* > Jb C {Jo.} 'šef (ip. 'yšef, sbjn. 'yšef), Jb E {Jo.} 'šef 'sleep', Sq {L} šef ~ šeʔef id. ¶ Jo. J 267, Jo. M 425-6, 593, L LS 409, 420 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Brt.} *safaua* 'sleep', Msg G {Trn.} inf., pl. *sifí*, sg. *sɜfá* v. 'se reposer à l'ombre' || Nz {Mch.} *zavə* 'sleep' || Suk {IL} *səvâj* id. || ?? WCh: My/Mbr {Sk.} *saw* v. 'rest' ¶ JI I 154 (**š_lzb* 'sleep') and II 298-9, ChC, Lk. DQM 111, Trn. LM 114 || ?φ,σ A: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} *sebi-* 'sich erholen', *sebki-* id., 'wieder zu Kräften kommen', {Z} *sebi-*, *sebki-* 'take breath, rest' ¶ Hr. 773, Z 581, STM II 134 || M **seb(ki)-* > WrM {MED} *sebki-* v. 'recover from fatigue; to rest, refresh oneself', HIM {Luv.} *səvxiy-* v. 'rest' (but *səvxiy-* 'be cooled [e.g. by sweating]' may be of another origin), Brt *həb gýylə-* 'let the horse take breath' ¶ MED 679, Gl. II 395, Luv. 372, Chr. 701 ¶¶ STM II 134 ◇ The discrepancy between the IE ev. of N **u|ü* and the M-Tg ev. (pointing to N **e* or **ä*) is still to be explained. Sq *šeʔef* suggests that the discrepancy may be solved by reconstructing N **š_lʔæPṽ* ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. *спать* (IE, HS: SES, Msg).

2102. **S^uʔ_lpṽ* 'to sweep' > IE: NaIE **swep-/*seyp-* 'sweep' > Vd (h. l.) *sva'pū* '(?) broom' || Gmc **swōpōn* > ON *sópa*, Dn, NNr *sopa* v. 'to sweep', NE *sweep*; AS *ze-swōpe*, OHG *gisopfa* ~ *gisopha*, *gisopfo* ~ *gisopho* 'garbage, discharge', NE *swoop*; ON *sófl* 'broom' || ?σ NaIE **swep-/*seyp-* 'pour (schütten), scatter' > L [Fest.] *sup-ō* / *-āre* 'throw', *dis-sip-ō* (~ *dissup-ō*) / *-āre* 'strew around, scatter, disperse' || SI **su-ti* / **š_lp-ō* 'v. 'pour (schütten)' > OCS *соути* *suti* / *съпѣ сърѣ*, OR *suti* / *с(ъ)рѣ* id., SCr with pvs.: *sà-sūti* / *sà-spēm* 'pour out', *nà-sūti* / *nà-spēm* 'pour in\into', etc.; SI ip. **š_lpā-ti* 'schütten' > ChS *сыпати* *sipati*, SCr *sìpati*, Slv *sípati*, Cz *sypati*, Slk *sypat'*, P *сыраć*, R 'сыпать id., Blg 'сипвам 'I pour' ¶ WP II 524, P 1049, EI 582 (**swep-* 'throw,

sweep (into the air)'), M K III 561 (the meaning of $\text{sva}^{\text{p}}\bar{\text{u}}$ - is not clear), WH I 256-7, Vr. 628, 530, Ho. 339, Kb. 376Vs. III 812, 818, Glh. 548 || **HS:** B * $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ > Sll {Ds.} $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ v. G 'sweep', Mz {Dlh.}, Mtm {Ds.} $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ v. G 'wipe (off\away)', Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT}, Gd {Lf.} $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ v. G id., 'clean by wiping', Kb {Dl.} $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ v. G 'wipe, rub', Ah {Fc.} $\check{\text{v}}$ sfđ v. G 'clean (by wiping, etc.), remove (dust, sand)' ¶ Ds. 31, Ds. B 121, Dlh. M 184-5, Dlh. Ou 290-1, Dl. 760, MT 618, Fc. 1806, Lf. II #1432 || Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} sǝfá, Sir cǝfu, My čǝfǝ 'sweep' || CCh: Gude {ChL} šàbag-ič, FIJ {ChL} šuvàbì, FIM {ChL} šìbi, FIB {ChL} šuba id. | Lgn {Bou.} sǝwàya id. || ECh: Mgm {J} sàwwò, Mkl {J} síppè id. ¶ ChC, ChL || **A** (? *šüpu ~ *šip^u v. 'sweep', n. 'broom'): NaT *süp 'broom' > Chg {RI.} süp id., d. Chg {RI.} süpsä, süpsük 'Kehricht'; T *süpür ~ *sipir- v. 'sweep' > OT {Cl.} sipir-, [MhK] {Dnk.} süpür-, MQp XIII-XIV süpür- id., Osm {RI.} -سوپور süpür-, Tk süpür-, Chg {RI.} süpür-, sipür-, ET, Az süpür-, Tkm cypyp- thüpür-, Uz supur-, Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT}, Qmn {B}, Tlt {RI.} sibir-, VTt ceбер- sbb̄r-, Bsh heпер- h̄p̄r-, Nog., Qzq, Qq, Qrg S sipir-, Qrg šipir- v. 'sweep', Tv širbīr v. 'sweep', Chv шăпăр š̄b̄r 'broom'; T → M *sipür (> *siür) 'broom' > MM {MT} šīūr, Kl cəvyp säpür, {Rm.} säwūr (infl. of säwūr 'Fächer') ~ šūr, WrM sigür, HIM шyp̄p̄ šūr 'broom'; M → Yk sippīr id.; *siür- 'sweep' > MM {MT} šīūr-, {HI} šīūr-; *sipürde- 'sweep' > WrM sigürde-, HIM шyp̄p̄дə-, Kl cəvypд- säpürdə-, Kl D {Rm.} säwürda-, Ord {Ms.} šürde- id.; M → Yk sippiy- 'sweep', Ewk sippiy-~sippir- id. ¶ RI. IV 848-50, Cl. 719, 729, 732, Rs. LTS 171, Rs. W 437, MKD 171, Jud. 682, 921, BT 128, B DK 246, TvR 267, Pek. 2234-5, Jeg. 334-5, Pp. MA 336, Ms. H 98, MED 703, KRS 445, SM 383, KW 319, T 386, STM II 93 ¶ Chv š̄- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *ü || ? M *sebi|ü- v. 'fan, wave', {?} 'sweep' > WrM sebi-, HIM cəвə-x v. 'fan, wave', Ord {Ms.} sewe- 'éventer, s'éventer', Dx šiu-, Mnr H {SM, T} šū- 'sweep', ?σ Kl D {Rm.} säw-χα 'mit den Flügeln flättern\schlagen'; → *sebi-ür 'fan' > WrM sebigür, HIM cəvyp̄p̄ id., Kl {Rm.} säwūr 'Fächer' ¶ MED 679, Ms. O 577, SM 383, T 386, T DnJ 142, Rm. 319 || ? Tg {DQA} *çšipilü- > Ewk çip- v. 'scrape' ¶ STM II 398 || ?φ (mt.?) pKo {S} *psír- 'sweep, wipe' > MKo psír-, NKo s:il- ¶ S QK #603, Nam 321, MLC 1027 ¶¶ DQA #2166 (A *šip'a 'to sweep', incl. T, Ko) || **D** *čEpp- (= *čipp-?) 'sweep' > Tm cīprā, Kn cīpari, Kdg čipe, Tl cī:puru, Klm, Nk sabdi, Prj čēpid, Gdb sepeṭ ɘ čēpēṭ ɘ sēpe ɘ sēpēṭ, Gnd hēpur ɘ hepur, Knd siperç, Png

hipos, Mnd hēpur, Kui sēperi, Ku hepori ɘ hapuri 'broom', Krg tippi, Knd sipa-, Png hīp-, Mnd, Ku hēp-, Kui sēpa- v. 'sweep', ? Tm cīvυ 'sweep clean (as floor)' ¶¶ D #2599 ◊ The delabialization *ü > *i (as observed in M, Tg, and probably in D) is a rather frequent phenomenon (see Introduction, 2.4) ◊ IS MS 348 s.v. мести *r̥s̥ur̥ (IE, A, D).

2103. *śEP_{q,∇} 'cover, bury' > U: FU *^ośi'pt∇- v. 'shut, cover' > Z śipti-, Yz śipti- id.; Z ɔ → Vg N {MK} sapti ~ säpti, ML {MK} šapti ~ śäpti, LL {MK} šēpti-, P śäpti-, K šāpti- ~ śäpti- 'bury, hide' ¶ LG 256-7, MK 529, ≠ Coll. 57 || HS: Eg fP s̥bχ (EG) ś̥bh̥) 'close arms about so., enclose, shut away' ¶ EG IV 91, Fk. 220 || IE: ?μ NaIE *^osepel- v. 'bury' > L sepeliō v. 'bury' (sup. sepulturn) ¶ Dv. #353, WH II 517, EM 615 ¶ The origin of the morphological structure of the L word remains unknown.

2104. *säq_{i,yê} 'matter, pus, gall' > HS: Eg Md/N s̥χ 'gall' > Cpt: Sd cищє siš̥e, A ciž̥e siχ̥₂e id., 'bitterness' ¶ EG III 228, Vc. 203 || SC: Irq {Mgw., MQK} s̥āχi 'bile', {E} saχi 'gall-bladder' ¶ E SC 179, Mgw. 100, MQK 92 || ?φ CCh: Lgn {Nc.} t̥sek̥i 'gall' (c- for the expected s- is puzzling) ¶ Lk. L 123 ¶¶ ≈ OS #2171, Tk. I 169 || U *s̥āye (Jn.) *s̥ex̥ji) 'pus, liquid of the body, rotten liquid' > pLp {Lr.} *s̥ēy̥z matter, pus' > Lp: S {Hs.} siēje, L {LLO} s̥jed̥ja, N {N} sieggjâ / -j- 'matter (in a boil, wound), Kld {Gn., SaR} s̥īy̥y 'matter in a boil' | pMr {Ker.} *siy- > Er, Mk cый siy, Er/Mk Δ si 'matter, pus' | pChr {Ber.} *s̥üy id. > Chr: H ш̥j̥ š̥ü, L ш̥j̥ñ̥ š̥üy, Uf š̥ü, B š̥üy, M š̥üy id. | Prm {LG} *siś 'rotten stuff, rot; rotten' > Z c̥ic̥ь siś, Δ siś ɘ śiś, Vt c̥ic̥ь śiś id., Yz 'siś 'rotten' ||| pObU {ϑHl.} *θ̥y̥- (= {Ht.} *θ̥äy̥- ~ *θ̥ēy̥-) ~ *θ̥öy̥- 'pus, matter' > pVg {Ht.} s̥āy̥ > Vg: T/UK/P säy, LK s̥āy, Ss say id.; pOs {Ht.} *č̥öy̥ > V l̥öy, Vy y̥öy, öy, Ty/Y č̥öy, D/K t̥y̥, Nz t̥iy, Kz č̥iy id. | Hg Δ eν ɘ éν id. || Sm {Jn.} *te ~ *ti 'pus, matter' > [1] *te > Sq Tz {KKIH} t̥ē, Slq Tm {KD} t̥ē' id., UO {KD} t̥l̥ē 'ear-wax', Kms {KD} č̥á, Koyb {Sp.} тэ 'pus, matter'; [2] *ti > Mt {Hl.} ti (Mt M {Sp.} ты) id. | Sm *ti- ɘ *te- v. 'rot' > Ne T d. т̥им-з̥ь, Ne F {Lh.} t̥īm-ć, Ng {Mik.} t̥īm-śi id., En X {Cs.} 1s aor. t̥îmer̥oʔ 'get sour', Slq Tm {KD} t̥ēmba, Slq Chl {Cs.} v. č̥iembra, Kms {KD} 1s prs. t̥'eʔl̥em 'rot' ¶¶ Coll. 11, UEW 434, Sm. 540 (U *s̥ex̥ji 'matter' > FU, FP *s̥eeji, Ugr *s̥äj̥i, Sm *ti̯j), Lr. #1139, Lgc. #6313, Hs. 1129, Gn. 955, SaR 320, ERV 627, PI 261, Ker. II 140, Ber. 72 [#386], MRS 742, Ep. 157, LG 259, Lt. J 176, Ht. #118, MF 115-6, Jn. UK 57 (U *s̥ex̥ji 'faul, Fäule'), Jn. 161, Hl. M 358, KKI 181 || A: Tg *s̥ī,

*sī-lse ({Bz.} *sui-lsä) 'gall' > Ewk sī, Sln šīldž, Neg siltž, Ud {Krm.} silihž, Ul siltž ~ sīltž, Ork suiltž, Nn siltž ~ siltš, WrMc silhi 'gall', Jrc {Kiy.} šilihi 'gall bladder' ¶ Bz. 994, STM II 73, Krm. 285, Kiy. 126 [#516] ◇ Hardly here the alleged IE √ {P} ; *sej-/ *soj- 'tröpfeln, rinnen, feucht', arbitrarily abstracted by WP and P from *sej|l- (> Lt séilė 'saliva', etc.) and *sejm- (> OHG seim 'Honigseim', W hufen 'cream', etc.) ◇ On N *-eHi- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 336 s.v. ϣοη *sājη (Tg, U), AD GD 7.

2104a. *śaR∇ 'top, hill' > K: G ser-i 'hill'; ≠ϕ Lz {Blz. ← Tll. ← ?} serṭi 'top of a hill' ¶ DCh. 1164 || IE *ser-/ *sr- > Ht {Ts.} ser 'oben, oberhalb, darauf, darüber' || Gk Hm ῥίον 'peak'; but hardly here ῥίον {EI} 'promontory' ¶¶ Ts. W 74, F II 568, EI (Gk ῥίον 'promontory' < IE *wri- 'fort') || HS: EC: Sml sare 'upper, top, topmost; above, up, high', Rn sarāt 'of the sky, (of) above, upper', sártīs 'above him\it, on top of him\it, the top of him\it', sárčé 'above, higher than' ¶ ZMO 356, PG 256-7 || U {UEW} *śarma 'top of the tent' > FU: Vg: UL {Knn.} su'rmas 'smoke\light hole at the top of the tent', ML/P {Mu.} surma/ suram, K {Mu.} sōram ({Mu.} sōrēm) id. || Sm: Nn: T сарва, T O {Lh.} sārwa 'top of the tent', En 'samaʔa 'smoke hole at the top of the tent', ? Kms {KD} mā-zarō id. (māʔ ~ māʔ 'tent') ¶¶ Coll. 58, Coll. CG 144, UEW 463, WVD 308-9, MK 579, Ter. 533, Kh. 404 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 139 [#24], Blz. IB #111f and ≈ Blz. LNA #52 (all: including K, IE, and EC).

2105. *śAr∇(na) 'to sing, to utter ritual\magical incantations' > HS: S *-šīr- v. 'sing', *šīr- 'song' > BHb ip. -šīr-, pf. šār 'sing', šīr 'song', JPA ṣīrā id., Ug ✓ šyr 'sing' ([AkSc] 3m yašīr in a pr. n.), šr ([AkSc] šīru) 'song', šr 'singer', SmA, ChrPA -šīr- 'sing', ṣīrā 'Gesang', Ak OB šērū id. ¶ KB 1371-4, A #2682, OLS 451-2, Hnr. 181, Tal 890-1, Lv. IV 549, Sd. 1219 || Ch: Kwn {J} siré v. 'sing' ¶ ChL, JS 228 (Ch. *✓ sr) ¶¶ HS *-r- < *-rn- (as.?) || U: FU *śarna 'solemn\magic utterance' > F saarna 'sermon', saarna- v. 'preach', Krl A soārnū 'folktale, legend' | Prm *śorńi ({LG} *śorńi) > *śorńi ({LG} *śorńi) (*o > *ɔ due to *r) > Z сёрни śorńi, Yz 'śorńi 'conversation, discourse', Z śornit-, Prmk {W} ćornit-, {WR} śorńit- 'speak, talk' || Os: K sārñāϕ- 'invoke (protecting spirits, etc.) by incantations' ({PD} 'hervorzaubern, durch Zaubersprüche herbeirufen'), Km sārñāϕmān yāstatā 'mit Schmeichel \ Koseworten sprechen' (yāstatā 'say, speak') ¶ Coll. 55, It. #38, UEW 463, Sm. 553 (FP *śarńā 'discussion'), LG 253-4, PD #2090,

Stn. 1373 || **A:** NaT *sarIN 'incantation, song', *sar_LI_Jn- v. 'sing' > Qzq † {RL} sarna- 'sing incantations', Qzq {Sht.} sarn- v. 'lament, bewail, sing mournfully; moan', Qmq, Alt {BT}, Tb/Qmn {B}, Xk {BIG} sarIN 'song', Tel/Shor/QK/Sg/Qb {RL} sarIN 'Gesang', qor sarIN 'Wettgesang, in dem die beiden Gegner sich gegenseitig tadeln\verspotten', sarINA- 'Lieder singen', Tb {B} sarINA- 'sing', Alt {BT, RL}, Qmn {B} Tel/Shor {RL}, Qmq sarna- id., Nog, Qmq sarn- 'sing' (of birds), Tkm сарна- θarna- 'mumble, mutter', rcpr. θarnaš- 'exchange angry words' ¶ RL IV 323, 334, Sht. 168, NogR 289, BT 126, B DChT 147, B DK 246, TkR 567, BIG 182, KumRS 279 || ?σ Tg {DQA} *sarIN 'a feast (Gastmahl)' > Nn Nh/KU sarĭ, Nn B sar_L(n-) id., WrMc sarIN id., 'a meal, banquet'; Tg *sarila- v. 'feast (schmausen)' > Nn sar_Lla- id., 'celebrate a wedding', WrMc sarila- v. 'feast, offer a meal' ¶ STM II 66 ¶¶ DQA #1936 (A *sar∇ 'song, feast') ◇ The absence of *n in S may either be original (in this case N*na is an additional element of a cd.) or result from later loss (due to metanalysis?) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T) → IS MS 342 (*śarn∆ 'заклинание' > U, T) and UEW 462-3 (FU, T).

2106. *säR^U (= *säRo?) sinew, fibre' > **HS:** WS (or CS?) *šurr- 'navel-string' > BHb šor* 'navel-string, navel' (att.: ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ šor^r-ēk 'thy [f.] navel-string', etc.), Ug šr, JPA {Lv.} ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ šō^r-ā, JEA {SL} ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ šū^rā, Sr ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ šē_Lr_J-ā id., Md šura, NMd šorra 'navel', Ar surr- 'navel-string'; SES (× N *ʔ̄irw∇ - *ʔ̄ir^u 'root' and N *ʔ̄eRgû 'vein, sinew?'): Mh {Jo.} šīrē 'navel', Hrs {Jo.} šerā, Jb C {Jo.} ʔ̄i^rʔ̄ʔ̄, Sq {L} ʔ̄širaḥ ~ širaḥ id. ¶ KB 1522-3, OLS 453, Lv. IV 525, Br. 802, DM 456, Mc. HM 512, Ln. 1338, BK I 1075, ≈ Js. 1542 (JA ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ 'chain, cord'), Sl. 1124, Jo. M 395, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 267, L LS 421, 433, SSL LSNP 433, MiK I #1.254 || B *√sr_Lw_J > Izn/Rf asraw 'fil de chaîne du métier à tisser', Rf B/A fiřu usra 'fil horizontal (trame)', Tmz i-sirr (pl. i-sarr-əñ) 'fibre de bois\viande; fil de trame, fin pour le tissage des djellabas ou des burnous' ¶ Rn. 314, MT 653 || **IE:** NaIE *ser- 'thread, string' (× NaIE *ser- 'fasten together in rows' < N *śeR∇ 'row' × N *ʔ̄eRgû '↑') > OI ∆ sarat {MW} 'thread', {M} 'sutra', sarit {MW} 'thread, string', {M} 'sutra', saraṇi- {MW} 'a strait\continuous line', OI mauktika-sara, muktāmaṇi-sara, maṇi-sara 'string of pearls', NPrs ھار hār 'row, string (of pearls, etc.)', ??σ YAv harā-, haraiti- 'a legendary mountain ridge' (Brtl.: "nach Yt. 19,1 umlagert das Gebirg alle Länder des Westens und Ostens") || Tc A sar- 'vein' || Gk ὄρμυά

'fishing-line of horsehair', ῥομός 'cord, chain' (× IE *ser- 'fasten together in rows') || OLT sēris 'thread, cobbler's thread' || ON sǫrvi 'Halsband aus aufgereihten Perlen\Steinen' ¶ P 911, F II 421, MW 775, 821, 836, 1182, ≠ M K III 442, Mn. 1131, Brtl. 1787, Vl. II 143-9, Sg. 1485, ≈ Bai. 479-80, ≈ Vr. 577, Wn. 414, ≠ EI 354 (OLT sēris < *ser- 'line up') || U *sär∇ > FU *sär∇ 'vein, root' > Chr: Н шәр šär 'blood vessel (artery, vein), pulse', Л шер šer, Л вүршер vür-šer 'pulse' (← 'blood-vessel'; вүр means 'blood'), кидшер kid-šer 'pulse' (кид 'hand'), B/Uf vür-šer 'blood vessel' || Prm *ser in *vir-ser 'blood-vessel' (*vir 'blood') > Z UV vir-sär, Vt Sr vir-ser, Vt Kz ver-ser 'blood-vessel' || pObU {Ht.} *θēr 'root' > pVg {Ht.} *tār id. > Vg: T tār, LK/MK/UK/NV tār, P/SV/LL/ML tār, UL/Ss tār; pOs {Ht.} *ǵer id. > Os: V/O ler, Vy yer, Ty/Y ǵār, D/K/Nz ter, Kz ǵer || Hg ér (accus. erēt) 'blood-vessel, vein, artery' || pY {IN} *θar- 'root' > OY K {Bil.} larkul, {Merk} larkun id., YK {IN} lar-qu, {Krn.} lar-χul id. (-q~-χ and -l are nominal suffixes) ¶ The names for blood-vessel\sinew and for root were connected because both were used as threads (ropes) ¶¶ Coll. 77, UEW 437, It. #301, Sm. 548 (FU, FP, Ugr *särä 'fibre'), 553 (FP *ser∇ 'vein'), MRS 87, 197, 697, 702, LG 264, Ht. #155, MF 159-60, IN 220, 307 || A: Tg: [1] *sire-, *sire-kte 'sinew, thread' > Ewk sirǵktǵ 'sinew, vein, sinew-fibre', sirǵn 'a horsehair (in self-shooting bows, fish-nets, etc.)', Sln širiktǵ ~ širittǵ, Neg, Orc siǵktǵ, Ud siǵktǵ, {Krn.} sēktǵ 'thread', Lm sirǵn 'a hair, thread in a self-shooting bow', Orc siǵktǵ 'thread in a snare device', Ud siǵ 'a hair (trigger in a self-shooting bow)', Ork sirǵktǵ 'fibre, a hair (in threads)', Ul, Nn KU sirǵktǵ 'thread, rope', PCMc siren 'thread', WrMc siren id., 'bowstring', WrMc sirǵe ~ sirǵe 'fibre, thread' ¶ STM II 97-8, Krn. 283, Z 616-9, Mls. 238 | [2] ? Tg *serē- v. 'embroider' > Ewk sǵrǵ-, Lm hǵrǵ- id., WrMc sereme 'threads (of deer wool) for embroidery' ¶ STM II 146 || ? pKo {S} *sīr, {Vv.} *sīlǵ 'thread' (× N *sūl, w, ∇ 'thread, string') > MKo {S} sīr, MKo xv {Vv.} sīr|l 'thread', Ko sil id., 'silk thread', ?σ MKo XII sil {WS} 'Watte, Flocken' ¶ S QK #1068, MLC 807, Rm. SKE 233, Gale 620, Xol. 359, Vv. AEN 5, WS 125 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2718 (A*s|zēr|ri 'thread, embroidery' > Tg *serē-, Ko) ◇ The tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. in N *sāRU has been preserved as w and u in Izn/Rf asraw and Rf fiřu. This vw. is most likely to have been *o (that leaves no traces in IE) ◇ In some descendant lgs. it may have contaminated

with paronymous N words, such as N ?σ ***š**iRb∇ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) (whence *i in Tg *sire-).

2107. *šer∇ 'row' > **U** *šer∇ > **FU** *šer∇ 'row, order' > Chr: B s̄br 'Gemütsart, Character, Art und Weise, Gewohnheit', Uf š̄br, H s̄ar id., 'Beschaffenheit, Bau, Konstruktion', ? L ш̄ыр š̄br 'norm, measure, limit' | Prm: Z MSs/UV šer 'skill, craftsmanship; custom, way of behaviour', Z {W} šer 'Gewohnheit, Sitte, Mode, Weise' || ObU {Ht.} *s̄ir 'manner (Art und Weise)' < pVg *s̄ir > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/UL/Ss sir id.; pOs *sir > Os O šir ~ sir 'custom, manner, law', V moϕa-sur 'wie beschaffen', D -sir '-lei', Y s̄er, K sir 'Art, Beschaffenheit' | Hg sz̄er 'implement, remedy', {UEW} 'Mittel, Gerät, Zeug', Δ sz̄er 'row, order' || ?σ pY {IN} *šar 'something' > Y K šar id. || ?σ Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} šer? 'Sache, Angelegenheit', Ne T cepeB 'according to, as', En {Cs.} sie', Ng sier 'Sache', Ng d. {Mik.} 'šer-ka'li 'büntelen (guiltless, innocent)' (lit. 'ohne Sache'), Kms {KD} m̄·bi· šerε 'was?, was für?, что такое?' (if literally 'what is the thing?') ¶ According to Jn. 67-8, the Sm √ is to be reconstructed with an initial *k rather than *s- (on the ev. of Kms šerε Sm *k- before front vowels yields Kms š- ~ ś-) and hence does not belong here. But the Ycognate supports the traditional view (reflected in UEW 475) connecting the Sm √ with U *šer∇ ¶ UEW 475, ≈ Ber. 58-9 [#306] (pChr *ćir- with an unjustified *ć-), MRS 756, LG 250-1, Ht. #602, Jn. 67-8, KD 63, IN 221-2 || **IE:** NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string', (P) 'aneinander reihen, knüpfen' (× N *šerġû 'vein, sinew' × N *sär'U' 'sinew, fibre') > Gk εἴρω (*seriō) 'fasten together in rows, string', ἐνείρω v. 'string on (a th.)'; (× NaIE *ser- 'thread, string' < N *sär'U' '↑'): ὄρμος 'cord, chain, necklace' || L ser-ō / -ēre / serui / sertum 'join together, put in a row, connect', seriēs 'row, succession', Osc (MANIM) ASERVUM '(manum) adserere' || OIr {Vn.} ser n- 'étendre, joncher, arranger', {P} ser n(a)id 'serit', sreth 'row' ¶ P 911, EI 354 (*ser- 'line up'), WH II 522-3, Bc. G 312, Vn. S 93-5, FI 469 || **HS:** CS *šūr-at- 'row' > MHb שׁוּרָה שׁוּרָא, JA [Trg.] שׁוּרָה שׁוּרָא 'row', Ar سُوْرَة sūr-at- 'row (of stones\bricks in a wall), sign\token (in a written text)', JEA שׁוּרָה שׁוּרָא 'row', ? BHb שׁוּרָה שׁוּרָא 'retaining wall (of terrasses)' (× שׁוּרָה שׁוּרָא 'wall' < S *šūr- id.?); S ⇨ G šar-i 'row (of fruit-trees, grape vines, etc.), bed for vegetables (Beet)', šar- v. 'plant (in rows), make beds for vegetables' ¶ Chx. 1754-5 ¶ KB 1348, Js.

1542, Ln. 1465, BK I 1163, Hv. 343, Sl. 1124-5, Chx. 1754-5 ¶ S *-ū- belongs to a derivation pattern.

2108. *^rś^r'E^rr∇ 'back (dos), nape of neck' > **HS:** S (WS?) *^rś^rry|w > Ar سُرَاة sarāt- 'back (dos)', ? SES: Mh {Jo.} sār 'behind; back, backwards', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ser id., 'because of', Hrs sār, ser 'behind, after', Sq {Jo.} sēr, {L} sār 'behind'; the unexpected s- suggests that the SES word is an ancient loan from Ar; otherwise the pS origin of SES s- is *s- (< HS *c-), so that the S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 1085, Bl. 322, Hv. 319, Jo. M 351, Jo. H 112, Jo. J 231, LLS 290-1 || C: Bj {R} 'sara 'back (Rücken)' (unless a loan from Ar, as suggested by Bj {Rop.} sarāt id.) || Ag: Xm {R} sara 'back' || EC: Af {PH} 'sarra 'back, rear', sarra 'sheep's tail', Sa {R} sa'rā 'tail, rear', Brj {Hd.} saru 'tail of sheep' || DhI säre {To.} 'back (dos)', {EEN} 'lower back, meat above buttock' || SC: Brn {E} sira 'buttocks' ¶ Blz. EDB 25, E SC 178, EEN 24, To. D 146, Hd. 218 || Eg P s3, Cpt coi soi 'back (dos)' ¶ EG IV 8, Vc. 185 || **D** *čar-, {θGS} *śar- 'neck' > Tl aru, aru, Prj čar id.; but D *čer- (> Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui sērki 'back of the neck', Ku hērki & herki 'shoulder, neck') belongs rather to N *čehr∇ 'back' (q.v.) ¶¶ D ##2817, 2419 || ? **U:** FU *°śġEr∇ > Prm *ś^rō^rr∇- 'space behind sth.' (× N *čehr∇ 'back', q.v. ffd.) || **A:** NaT *sirt 'back (dorsum) of an animal' > OT Og {Cl.} sirt id., Chg sirt 'shoulder, shoulder blade', MQp XIV, MOg sirt 'hill', Tk sirt, ET sirt, Qmq sirt, VTt sirt, Bsh hirt, Tv sirt 'back of an animal; ridge of a mountain', Tkm θirt 'hind part, ridge of a mountain, hill', Nog sirt 'rear, exterior part', Uz sirt, Alt sirt id., 'ridge of a mountain', Qrg sirt 'exterior part, highland', Qq, Xk sirt 'exterior part, back of an axe', Qzq sirt id., 'height, hills'; T → Hg szirt 'rock, cliff' ¶ Cl. 846, Rs. W 419, TL 268, DTS 505 ◇ Qu. because the vowels in A, FU, and D violate rules of reg. sound corr. ◇ Blz. DA 154-5 [#24] and Blz. LB #6b (HS, Vt, D).

2109. *S^ri^rR∇ 'red, yellow' > **HS:** ? S *^rś^rr^r > Ak ? šršr v. 'be red': šaršerru ~ šaršarru 'rote Paste, rote Farbe', BHb (← Ak?) שָׂרָא šā'šar paus. 'red lead (minium)' ¶ Sd. 1191, KB 1536, ≈ GB 866 (שָׂרָא) || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} šarān 'red' || ?φ CCh: Azm suruna 'the red sub-soil' ¶ J R 221, Pc. 361 || C: Ag {Ap.} *sar-/*sär- 'red' > Bln/Q {R} sər- 'be red', Xm {R} zər-~cər- id., Xmt {CR} sər- id., {CR} səro, {Bnd.} sārōu 'red', {Ap.} sār-, Aw {CR} sar- 'red' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB

309, AD SF 207 || IE: NaIE *ser-/sor- (+exts. *-to-, *-b_Lh₁o-, *-p-, *-k[̂]-) 'red, reddish': [1] Ltv sārts 'red' (of the human face), Lt sařtas 'light red', 'light bay' (of horses) || [2] L sorbum (<*sorb^h- or *sord^h-) 'red berry (service-berry, rowan-berry)' || R Δ сор(о)балина 'hip-berry, blackberry', P sirp(ik), sierp(n)ik, Blr сярпуха 'Serratula tinctoria (a yellow dying plant)' → ? Lt seřpēs (pl.) id. | Lt serbeñtas {PiesS} 'currant (berry)', {Frk.} 'schwarze Krausbeere, Gichtbeere, Johannisbeere', serbentà {Frk.} 'Johannisbeere' || Sw {P} sarf 'red-eye (fish)' ¶ But not here (⇔ P) R Δ со'рога 'red-eye, roach, Rutilus (a fish with red scales)' (← FU, cp. F sārki id.) ¶ P 910-1, WH II 562, Frn. 776-7, PiesS 644, Vs. III 721-2, SSA III 241 || A: M *sira 'yellow' (× A {S} *sīār√ 'white, light [of colour]', {DQA} *sīāyri 'white; yellow' < N ? *'ś'EXar√ 'bright; daybreak') > MM [MA, IM, LV] šira, [S] {H} śira, WrM sira, HIM шap, Brt шapa, Kl šara, Ba, Mnr H {T} šira, {SM} śira, Dg {Mr.} šar, Dx {T} šira, MMgl {Iw.} širā, Mgl {Rm.} šira 'yellow' ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 60, H 141, MED 714, S AP 238 [#107], T 383, T DnJ 143, T BJ 152, KW 349, Rm. M 39, Iw. 134 ◇ The et. is qu. for several reasons: (a) since the S cognate denotes a product of culture and a trade article, it may be a Wanderwort, (b) the IE √ is a dubious cognate, because it is not represented in its pure form, without extensions (P wants to see the pure form of the √ in the word OI sārā-, which he translates as 'Mark eines Baumes', while M K III 461 translates it as 'firmness, strength, hardness (of wood)'; in any case, this word is semantically too remote from the meaning 'red', and M is right in rejecting P's et.), (c) the M word may go back exclusively to N ? *'ś'EXar√ '↑' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #437 (*ser 'yellow') (IE, M + err. Sm, Tg, J, CK).

2110. *sūr√ 'rub, scrape, smear' > U: FP *sūr√ v. 'smear' > Chr: L шўраш šür-aš 'to smear', M śüre- 'schmieren, bestreichen', B šüre- 'einschmieren', H {Ep.} шўрəш 'šarə-š 'to smear, to rub' | Prm {LG} *zūr- > Z зырав-ны zīrav-nī, Δ zīral- 'rub, smear', Vt зыра-ны zīra- id., 'paint' ¶ UEW 761, MRS 746, 760, Ep. 163, LG 108 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J} šwōr 'Brei aus einem Gefäß kratzen; reiben', Ang {Stl. ← ?} šwōr- 'rub' || Ech: Smr {J} sār 'rub' ¶ J S 83, Stl. VZCh A #244, ChC s.v. 'rub' || A: T *sūr- 'rub, smear' > Osm {Rh.} sūr- 'rub on\against', Tk sūr- 'rub on, smear, anoint', Uz sur-: yer sur- v. 'plane (earth surface)', ET Δ {Jr.} sūr- ʔ süy- 'rub, polish, make smooth\even', {Mal.} 'scrape (animal's hide to produce leather)', Bsh Δ hūr-, Tv sūr- id., Kr

{RL} sūr- 'rub', Tkm сур- θūr- 'rub, plough', Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT} sūr-, Uz sur-, VTt сәр- s̄r-, Bsh һәр- һ̄r- v. 'plough', Qzq sūr- v. 'furrow, scrape, plane', Qq, Nog sūr- v. 'plane (wood), plough', Qrg sūr- v. 'rub, plane (wood)', Tlt {RL} sūr- 'reiben, einreiben, hobeln', Slr {Tn.} sūr- ɖ sūr- 'sweep' (× N *S'ü'rb∇ - *S'ü'b∇r∇ 'to swing, to sweep' [q.v.]), Yk ür- 'scrape, scrape clean (the inner side of hide)', Chv сәр- s̄r-, Δ s̄r- 'rub, smear'; NaT *sürt- v. 'rub' > OT, Chg XV, ET, Qrg, Osm {Rh.} sürt-, Tk sūr-t-, Tkm сурт- θürt-, Uz surt- id., Qmq, QrB, Alt {BT}, Xk sürt-, VTt сәрт- s̄rt-, Bsh һәрт- 'rub, smear', Az sürt- id., 'pass sth. on sth. (проводить одним предметом по другому)', MQP [CC] sürt- 'anoint', Qzq sürt-, SY {Ml.} sürt-, {Tn.} surt'- ɖ suřt- 'smear, wipe', Qq, Nog sürt- 'wipe' ¶ Md. 64, 177, Cl. 846, ≈ 844, TL 382, Rh. 1088-9, Jeg. 188, UzR 387-8, Rl. IV 810, Jr. 281, Äz. 278, Tn. SJ 490, Tn. SJJ 208, Ml. ZhU 107, GRM 443, Jud. 672-3, Tkr 601, Sht. 185-6, Pek. 3165 || M: Ba {T} šire- 'sweep' (unless < M *sirbe- v. 'sweep, dust' [F N *S'ü'rb∇ ↑]) ¶ TBJ 152 || D *čōr- ({{GS} *c-?) v. 'itch, scratch' > Tm cori v. 'itch, scratch in order to allay itching', cori v. 'itch', coraṇṭ- 'scratch', Ml cori n. 'itch, scab, nettles', coriyuka v. 'itch, scratch, rub oneself', Kt tour- v. 'itch', čorng 'an itch', Kn tur̄i 'itching, the itch, scratching', Tu tojji ɖ coji ɖ cojji, Prj čod-, Gdb soy-, Gnd soh- v. 'itch', Ku žūra kalka 'itching of the feet' ¶¶ D #2865 || K *sres-/*sr̄s- 'polish, rub (in), grind' > G sres- / sris- id., Mg sirs-ol- 'polish, rub (in)', ?? Sv {K} srās- 'cut, trim, square'; ⇨ GZ *sr̄sw-il- 'pimple, abscess' (← pp. 'rubbed [place]') > OG sr̄swil-, G sirsvil-, Mg sursu-, Lz msursu-, msirsu- ¶¶ K 165-6, KDE2 173, K² 167-8, Chx. 1273 ¶¶ K *sres-/*sr̄s- < (as.) pre-K *šr-es-/*šr-s-? ◇ D *ō (for the expected *ū:) is still to be explained ◇ ≈ Fn. KD #121 (K *sr̄sw- 'scab' ÷ ĭ D *čōrič-/*čūrič- 'Grind, Flechte').

2111. *śuŕê 'heavy, large' ([in K] → 'full', 'whole') > IE: NaIE *swer- 'heavy' > Gmc *swēra- id. > ON svár-r, AS swær(e), swār, OHG swār(i), MHG swære, swāre, NHG schwer 'heavy', OHG swāri 'burden', Gt swers 'έντιμος, honoured' (← 'weighty') || Lt svarūs 'heavy, weighty', Lt svāras, Ltv svars 'weight', Lt sverti (1s prs. sveriū), Ltv svért 'to weigh' || L sērius 'serious, earnest' (← 'weighty') ¶ P 1151, WH II 521, Fs. 466, Vr. 565, Ho. 331, Kb. 996, OsS 903, Lx. 221, KM 692, Frn. 949, 951 || HS: CS *√šřr v. 'valuate' (← *'weigh') > BHb √šřr G 'reckon', MHb √šřr D 'put a valuation on,

estimate', JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA ✓šřr *D* id., 'measure, calculate', BHb 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 'šāfar, JA 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 šāfār-ā, SmA šřr n. 'measure', Ar šīr- {Ln.} 'correct price\rate at which a thing is to be sold', {Hv.} 'rate, current price', BHb 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤁 šāfār-īm pl. 'measures' (Gn. 26.12) ¶ KB 1490, GB 854, Js. 1612, Tal 919, Lv. IV 590-2, Sl. 1168, Ln. 1363, Hv. 321, BK I 1091, A #2913 || ? Eg N 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 'rich, big' (× Eg fMK 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 'make bigger', a caus. from 𐤔𐤁𐤓𐤁 'big?') ¶ EG IV 41-2 || EC {Ss.} *šōr- 'rich' > Or {Grg.} sōr-om- 'become rich', sōr-omā, sōr-essa 'rich', {Th.} sores-a 'ricco, opulento', sorōm-a / nom. -ni 'ricchezza', pBn {Hn.} *sūr- 'good' (> Bn Bi sūr-ida, Bn J/Kj sūr-iya, Bn K sūr-úwa id.), Hr/DbS {AMS} šor(o)kičo m. / šor(o)kiče f. 'rich', Gln {AMS} šorohitto, šorkitto m. / šorkitte f. id., DbS {AMS} šorohum- 'become rich' || Bj {R} ✓srr pcv. (pf. as'rār, pppf. 'esrira) 'be long', se'rāra 'long', {Rop.} sarāra 'long and fairly thick' || Ag: Bln {R} šīr- 'sich erstrecken, lang\hoch\fern sein' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, Hn. BD 110, 124, Grg. 363, Th. 309, AMS 187, 223, 267, R WB 329, R WBd 205, Rop. 234, Blz. CL 179 || Ch: WCh: Bl {IL} sirri, {Bnt.} síri 'big' || ?? ECh: Smr syΛr 'be long', Mkl sò?ùrù 'long' (unless akin to Mu sàgār, Mjl -sΛgΛr, Kjk sugor id.) ¶ ChL, Bnt. K 23, ChC, Blz. EChWL #49 || K *sur- > G X sru 'very', OG, G sruli 'full, whole', Sv suru {FS} 'übermäßig, sehr, groß, ganz', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} suru 'too (trop), very', Sv UB {GP} suru 'redundant(ly)' ¶¶ Fn. KW-1 #48, FS K 275, FS E 305-6, TK 711, GP 259 || U: FU (att. in BF) *š|sūre 'big' > F suuri 'big, high', Krl šūri 𐌆 sūri id., Vp su' 𐌆 suu' 'big', Es suur 'big, adult' ¶ Coll. and UEW equate the BF word with Krl sūrima 𐌆 šūrima 'groats', Er šuro, Mk šora, {Ker.} šora 'corn, grain', Chr E šürö 'cabbage soup', Chr H šaräš and Chr Uf šūraš 'groats, porridge', but the connection is high;y qu. (on semantic grounds), albeit not ruled out (≡σ: 'groats' → 'coarse' → 'big' in the prehistory of NE great, G groß, R крупный) ¶ SK 1136, ZM 527, Coll. 59, UEW 779, Ker. II 150, Bc. 879 || D (in NED) *čur|ur|ur- > Krx žuržur-ā v. 'feel heavy (as from bad digestion)', ? Mlt júrjura 'slowly, dimly, drowsily'; D 𐌆 Mrt sursurī 'dullness\drowsiness which arise from eating plentifully' ¶ D #2692, Pf. 191 ◇ The absence of the expected lengthening of *e in IE may be explained by metathesis: *śusrê > **śurŕe > ppIE *swerH- > NaIE *swer- ◇ Blz KM 120 [#21] (K, C, IE, [?] U + unc. WrM sür 'commanding appearance, grandeur, majesty; might' [which is certainly a loanword, as suggested by the absence of any final vw.] - F MED 744, KW 340-1).

2112. *śihr ▽ 'late' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night') > **HS**: EC: Sa {R} sarōy 'be late (sich verspäten, zu spät \ später kommen)', Af sárra 'later time', sárrak 'afterwards' (× sárra 'back, rear [derrière], sarra 'tail') ¶ R S II 331, PH 189 || CS *^ošhr 'evening' > Ar {Hv.} sahrat- 'even-tide'; (× N *šeh́E 'be awake, watch [over], feel, notice', q.v.) *šhr 'pass the night awake' > Ar šhr G (pf. sahira) 'pass the night awake', JA [Trg.], JPA, Md, Sr šhr G 'be awake', JPA {Js.} šhr G 'get up early' ¶ Ln. 1451-2, BK I 1165, Hv. 341, Js. 1527, DM 451, Br. 760 || **K**: GZ {FS} *ser- 'night' > OG ser- 'night' (serit vidre ciskramde 'the night up to the dawn [aurora]'), OG, G ser-i 'evening meal', Mg, Lz ser-i 'night' (← OG?), Mg o-sar-e 'shirt' (← *'nightie, nightgown' ← 'that of the night') ¶ FS K 268, FS E 297, GM S 132, 164-5, IS I 241 || **IE**: NaIE {Vn.} *sēr- 'late' > L sērus 'late', sērum 'late hour, evening' || Clt {Vn.} *sīro- > OIr sír [sīr] 'late, long lasting' ({Vn.} 'long, durable'), tri bith sír 'forever', Brtt {RE} *sīros ('long in time' → 'long in space') > OW, MW, W, OBr, Br, OCrn hir, Crn hūr 'long' ¶ The IE cognate is acceptable unless the L and Clt words are derived from IE *sē(i)- {WH} 'langsam\spät kommen, sich hinausziehen', {Vn.} 's'attarder, relentir, s'arrêter' ¶ Vn. S 115-6, P 891, WH II 326-7 (all of them derive the L and Clt words from IE *sē(i)-), RE 110, ≈ EI 357 (*sēro-s or *seh₁ro-s 'long') || ? **A**: T: OT {Cl.} sūr-č-ük 'a story told at night' ¶ Cl. 845 || **D** *čir- ({ǵGS} *ś-) 'night' > Tm, Ml iravv, irā 'night', Irl rāvu, ra·podu, Kt irl, Td i·, Kn iru·, iratū, ir·u, Kdg iri, Tu irkь, Tl rēyi 'night', Gdb sirtal 'evening' ¶ × D *čir- 'dark, black' ¶¶ The D cognate is acceptable unless it is identical with the √ for 'dark, black' ¶¶ D #2552, Zv. 145 [#209] ¶¶ Possible infl. of D *čir- ({ǵGS} *ś-) 'dark' < N *śihr ▽ ≈ gray, bright', [in descendant lgs.: → 'dark?')] is to be taken into account ◇ The presence of a N lr. (*h) is suggested both by Ar sahrat- and by D *-r- (resulting from *r-clusters, while N *-r- outside clusters yields D *-r̥-). If OT sūr-č-ük belongs here, its vw. ü (for the expected i) needs explaining ◇ Qu., because the presumed Af, IE, and D cognates have alt. etl. explanations ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 138-9 [#23] (unc. adduction of Bj and Om words for 'cloud' and of Gnc širari 'heaven').

2112a. *S'i'hûr ▽ 'person (man?) of the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > **HS**: S: Ar šihr- 'daughter's\sister's husband' ¶ The emphatic cns. š- (for the expected

s-) still needs explaining (infl. of Ar \checkmark ṣhr L 'copulate with a woman' or Ar ṣihr- 'relationship' \leftarrow \checkmark ṣhr v. 'melt?') ¶ Ln. 1737-8, BK I 1379-80, Hv. 408 || EC (?) *sṽr- 'relative' > Or {Brl., Grg.} fira (nom. fir-ri) 'relative, friend', (× N *SŪKŪRṽ 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety, parent-in-law?'): Kns {BISO} sark-att-a 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} serko 'Schwager'; but not here Sd sōr-ičča, sōr-āmo, and Ged sōrēssa 'eldest brother' (derived from HEC *sōr- 'be first, preceding') ¶ Ss. PEC 5 (reconstructs pEC *sar- ~ *ser- ~ *sir- ~ *sur- 'relative', but does not specify the cognates in individual lgs.), Brl. 148, Grg. 145, BISO 173, AMS 267, Hd. 33, Gs. 294 || Ch * \checkmark swr ~ * \checkmark skwr ~ * \checkmark srw ~ * \checkmark srkw ({Nw.} *sṽrṽ 'in-law') (× N *SŪKŪRṽ) > WCh: Hs sùrúki 'father-in-law, son-in-law' | AG *səṽzər ({Sch.} *səṽzər, {Hf.} *səṽzər) '(father-mother-)in-law' (ffd. see N *SŪKŪRṽ) | Ngz {Sch.} sàurák (pl. sàuràučín) 'father-in-law, mother-in-law' | BT: Bele {Sch.} hūrí 'in-law' (h- < *s-) || CCh: Tr {Nw.} sárwákì 'male relative-in-law' | BtG {Mch.} sérwa 'father-in-law', Bcm {Nw.} šerwey | Mdr {Mch.} šōlā 'relative-in-law' | Msg {Nw.} sula id. ¶ Nw. ChCR #74, Sch. DN 145, Sch. BTL 17, 30, ChC ¶¶ OS #437 (AG ÷ Ar) || IE: NaIE {E} *syō(u)ros ({Schn.} *'syēuro- / *syēu'ro-) 'wife's brother' > OI syā'la-h id. || SI *šūr id. > OCS шуръ šurъ, McS шурa, SCr Sr шұра, OP szura, szurza, P szurzy, ds.: Blg шуреј, шурек, SCr šurjak, Slv šurjak, OCS шуринъ šurinъ, R, Uk шурин (pl. R шурья) id. | Arm հոր hor 'son-in-law' ¶ WP II 514, P 915, EI 84-5, M K III 551-2, M E II 782, Tr. 261, Glh. 615 || D * \checkmark e;ṽrṽ ({ṽGS} *s-) 'relative-in-law (spouse's younger brother?)' > TI ērālu 'husband's brother's wife' (-ālu denotes fem. sex?), Nk serutra 'husbands younger brother's wife', Gnd sēr(a)ndu \neq harṇdu \neq ervonḍ 'spouses younger brother; spouse's younger sister's husband', sērīy-aṛ ~ sērīy-al \neq serey-aṛ 'elder brother's wife' (-aṛ ~ -al is a sf. of the female sex), Knd sēron 'husband's younger brother', Mnd hēžun 'wife's younger brother', Kui seženžū 'husband's younger brother' ¶¶ D #2819 ◇ D *e < N *i is irregular (cp. N *čikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' > Tm cekil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder') ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#47] (D, EC, Ch).

2113. (₂?) *SuH|wERṽ (= *šuwERṽ?) 'sour, seasoned' > IE: NaIE *sūrō- 'sour, salty, bitter' > ON sūr-r 'sour, bitter', sýra 'sour milk', MLG, MHG sūr 'bitterness'; ON sýra 'sour milk', OHG sūr 'sour,

bitter', NHG *sauer*, Nr, Dn, Sw *sur*, AS *sūr*, Dt *zuur* 'sour', NE *sour* || Lt *sūrūs*, Δ *sūras* 'salty', Ltv *sūrs* 'bitter', Lt *sūris* 'cheese, cottage-cheese', Pru *suris*, *sur* 'cheese' || Sl **sīrǫ* 'sour, raw, moist' > R *сырой*, Uk *сирий* id., OCS, OR **сѣрь** *sērǫ* 'ύγρός, damp' (of fresh plants), Cz *syřý* 'damp, dank', Slv d. *sirōv* 'raw, uncooked'; Sl **sīrǫ* 'cheese' > OCS **сѣрь** *sērǫ*, R *сыр*, Uk *сир*, SCr *sīr*, Slv *sīr*, Cz *syř*, Slk *syř*, P *ser*, Blg d. *сирене* id. ¶ WP II 513, P 1039, Vr. 562, Ho. 330, Kb. 994, OsS 898, KM 626, Frn. 944-5, En. 259, Trt. 293-4, Vs. III 819, StSS 67, Glh. 549, ≈ EI 69 (**sū-ros* or **suH-ros* 'sour, acid' [especially of liquids or cheese]) || **А** ({DQA} **sūyǫ* {AD} 'sour, acid, odorous'): T **sirke* 'vinegar' > OT, Tkm, Qzq, Qrg *sirke*, Tk *sirke*, Az *sirkä*, ET *si(r)kä*, Uz *sirka*, VTt *сєркə sьrkä*, Bsh *hьrkä* ¶ Cl. 851, Rs. W 423 || M **sori-* v. 'taste' (presumably 'taste spiced food') > WrO *sori-* 'taste, try', MM [S] *sori-* 'prüfen, versuchen', WrM *sori-*, HIM *сори-*, Brt *һори-*, Mnr H {SM} *sori-* 'try out, test, examine'; ⇨ M **sori-sun* 'spices', esp. 'wild leek\onion' > Kl {Rm.} *sorsn̄* 'Gewürz, eingekochte Lauchblüten', Mnr H {SM} *soroz̄z* 'wild leek\onion', WrM {Kow.} *sorisun* 'grappe des raisins, poignet d'oignons', WrM {MED} *sorisu(n)*, HIM *сорьс*, Ord {Ms.} *sorisu'* 'wild leek (the dried flowers of which are eaten)' ¶ KW 332, H 136, MED 729, SM 355, Ms. O 584, Krg. 412, Gl. II 438 (*sorisun*, HIM *so'rsun* 'flower buds of onion\garlic'), Kow. 1412, Chr. 685 || Tg {DQA} **sūr-* ~ *sur* 'odour' > Ul *sōrl*, *sōrv(ω)l*, Nn *sōrl*, *sōrlst-* 'stinking, fetid', Ul *sōrsu-*, Nn Nh *sōrlst-* 'stink, be fetid', Nn *sur ʒnʒ-*, *surgi-* 'have a strong smell', *surgi* 'fragrant, odorous', WrMc *sur seme* 'with good smell' ¶ STM II 113, 129 || pKo {S} **sūi-* 'become sour' > MKo *sūi-*, NKo *suī-* ¶ S QK #466, MLC 1022 || pJ {S} **suarasi* > OJ *suarasi* 'Lugisticum chinensis (зоря), Nothosmyrnum japonicum' ¶ S QJ #1208, Mr. 531 ¶¶ DQA #2037 || ?ϕ **U**: FU **ćuyǫ* > Prm **ćūr-* > Vt *ćirs* 'sour', Z *ćir-* 'turn sour' (of kvass), 'go bad' (of meat), 'turn rancid' (of butter) || F {LG ← ?} *suira-ta* 'be spoiled, nauseating' (not found in the available dictionaries of F, incl. SK and SSA) || L N {N} *čiwraâ* 'evil-smelling, malodorous', *čiwriidit* 'to smell bad' || ObU {Ht.} **čār-* > pVg **čār-* > Vg: P *šar-*, NV/SV/LL *šar-* / *šār-*, UL, Ss *šor-* 'turn bitter' (of fish); pOs **čār-* > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D *ťār-*, Nz/Kz *šōr-*, O *šār-* 'turn rancid, go bad' (of fish, fat) ¶ The deviant **ć-* is puzzling (infl. of a different FU root or of the heritage of a different N etymon?) ¶ LG 307, Ht. #82, ≈ Coll. 117, N

I 395 || ??σ HS: S *^ošaw_L∇_r- > Ar شَوْرٌ šawra(n) 'honey taken from the hive', شَوْرَةَ šūrat- 'bee-hive', ✓šwr G (ip. -šūr-) 'collect honey from the hive' ¶ BK I 1285, Hv. 381 ◇ The T vw. *-i- (< A {DQA} *-ūy- < N *-uH|wE-?) and the M vw. *-o- still need explaining ◇ The Ar cognate is qu. for semantic reasons. It may be alternatively and tentatively equated with FP {LG} *sâr_w∇ 'sweet beverage' > Chr E šor^lwa 'sweet beverage made of honey with water (медовая сыта)' || Prm *sorvâ > Vt sursvu, Δ survu, Z zara_va 'birch-tree sap' (LG 104, Ü 269, Ps. OT 125, MRS 720), although FP *s- is not cognate with S *š-. But if the Ar word belongs here, the N rec. must be *šuwER∇.

2114. ? *š^lEXar∇ 'bright; daybreak' > HS: S *šāhar- 'daybreak, dawn' > BHb šāhar (trad.) 'aurora', {KB} 'aurora' or 'daybreak', M'b šħrt, Ug šħr, Ar sahar- 'daybreak', JA [Trg.], JPA šaħ^ar-ā 'dawn, daybreak', SmA šħr 'dawn', Ak šēlīrtu, šēru, Eb si-/ex(EN)-lum (= šexrum) 'morning' ¶ KB 1360-2, A #2592, OLS 435, Tal 886-7, Lv. IV 537-8, Js. 1551, Ln. 1317, Hv. 311, Sd. 1218-9, Krb. EG 29 || U *š^lar∇ 'bright (hell), white' (× N ž^la^lhr∇ [- *ž^la^lhr∇ - *z|ž^la^lhr∇] 'to shine, to be bright; light [lux]', q.v. ffd.) || A *s^lar_i∇ ({{SDM95} *sā:ri, {SDM97} *sāri) 'white, yellow' > Tg *s^lar_irū- ({{SDM95} *s^lārū-) 'light, whiteness; light in the sky (rainbow, etc.)' > Ewk sērūn 'rainbow', Ewk SB šērūn id., 'lightning', Ork sērro, s_lro 'rainbow', WrMc šari '(is) white, clean', n. 'light, rays' ({Z}: бѣло, чисто, свѣтло; свѣтъ, сіяніе луча) ¶ STM II 72, Z 666-7 || T *s^lār(ig), ({Rm., SDM95} *sār(ig), {Md.} *s^lārīy) 'yellow, light (hell)' (× N *š^lErE_la^l 'red, yellow?') > NaT *sāri_g > OT sariy 'yellow', Tkm θārī, Tk sarī, Az, Qzq, Qrlq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt sari, VTt sarъ, Bsh harъ, Xk, Shor sariy, Tv, Tf sariy, Uz sariq, ET sariq ~ sariy 'yellow', Yk arayas 'light yellow' || Blgh *šar (< *s^lar) 'white' (in the place name *šarkel, attested in the medieval Byzantine and Hb sources as Σάρκελ שַׂרְכֵיִל 'Sarkel, "white city" [the ChS name of Sarkel БѢЛОВѢЖА bělověža means 'white house\tower']) > Chv L шурa šura 'white'; Blgh б→ OHg sár 'yellow (?), blond (?)', Hg sár- (in cds. sár-arany 'pure gold', sār-gyik 'yellow lizard'), sár_ga 'yellow' (× N *š^lErE_la^l '↑?') ¶ Cl. 848, Rs. W 403-4, TL 601-2, Gomb. BTL 200, Jeg. 339, Fed. II 462-3, EWU 1305-6, Ra. 226, Md. 114 || M *sira 'yellow' (× N *S^li^lR∇ 'red, yellow', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *h^lī- 'white' > MKo h^lī-, NKo hi- ¶ S QK #100, Nam

482, MLC 1898 ¶ On the origin of Ko *h- (< A *s₁-) see s.v. N *šêR₁∇₁m^ü 'sinew' || pJ {S} *s₁uà- 'white' > OJ s₁wò-, J: T šírói, K síroi, Kg široka, Ns šírù-, Sh šírú- ¶ S QJ 89, Mr. 840 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *sāri 'white; yellow'), DQA #2036 (A *s₁äyri id.) ¶¶ The pA rec. with *₁ä₁- is evidenced by Chv L šurъ, Chv H šorъ 'white', Hg sárga (< Blgh) (Chv, Blgh š- < *s₁-), and by Tg *s₁ä₁rū- ◇ Cf. Jn. 138, Dybo OS I viii, SK 973-4 ◇ N *ś- of this etymon is not a certain rec., because U *ś|ć¹a¹r∇ results from contamination of two N words.

2115. *ś|šayiw∇R∇ 'nit' > U: FU *ś|šaywar∇ 'nit' > F saivar, Δ saivara, Es saere, saeras id. | pLp {Lr.} *ćiv₁rōs 'nit' > Lp: L {LO} tjiuros, N {N} čiwros, Kld čivras id., S {Hs.} tjuvres id., 'a fly' | Prm {LG} *śzr∇₁ 'nit' > Z серов šerov, Δ šerol & šeral, Prm še¹rэv, Vt серел šerel, Vt Y/M/Uf šerer | Er šarko, Mk šarka id. | Chr: L шаргенче šar'genče 'nits', Uf šarkenče, B šarkince, H {Ep.} шаргэньби šargeňbi 'nit' ¶ In Mr and Chr the FU √ merged with loans from Turkic lgs. (F below on T **sirka 'nit') ¶ Coll. 149, UEW 770, SK 948-9, Lr. #143, Lgc. #596, Hs. 1353, MRS 693, Ep. 147, LG 251 || A: T **sirka > NaT *sirkä 'nit' > OT sirkä, MU, MQp, Chg, OOs₁m sirke, Tk sirke, Ggz, Az sirkä, Tkm θirke, Uz sirka, ET si(r)kä, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt sirke, Qzq s₁irke, VTt серкә s₁irkä, Bsh һеркә һ₁rkä, Xk sirge, Tv sirge, Tf s₁irhe || pBlgh *širka id. (with *š₁...a < pT *s₁...a due to vowel harmony; *ś- is a phonematized palatal allophone of *s- [preceding *i] after the synharmonic generalization of the back vocalism) > Chv шăрка š₁rg₁a 'nit' ¶ Cl. 850, Rs. W 423, TL 182, Jeg. 335, Md. 79, 176 || M *sirke 'ε parasitic insect' > MM [MA] sirke 'nit' (← T?), WrM sirke, HIM ширх 'ε flea', Kl Ö {Rm.} širkə 'ε a red insect on cattle, red lice', Ord šir¹xe 'louse' ¶ Pp. MA 232, MED 718, KW 360, Ms. O 623 || Tg *sere- ~ *sor∇- 'eggs of insects', 'lay eggs' (of insects) > WrMc sere 'eggs of insects', Ewk soro- 'lay eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity' (of insects), s₁z₁z₁ŋki & soroŋki 'an insect laying eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity' ¶ STM II 113 || ? pKo {S} *h₁ä₁ 'nit' > MKo h₁ä₁, NKo (< cd.) sa₁k^hä 'nit' ¶ S QK #299, MLC 939, Nam 488 || pJ {S} *s₁irám(u)í louse' > OJ s₁irám₁í, J: T šírami, K/Kg s₁irámí, Ns šíyan, Sh šíran id. ¶ S QJ #45, Mr. 525 ¶¶ DQA #1982 (A *s₁äyri 'nit, louse') || D *ćīr-, {GS} *śīr- 'nit' > Tm, Ml, Kn īr, Kt ćīr, Td tīr, Kdg ćīri, Tu tīr & cīr & sīr, Tl īru, Klm sīr, Nkr śīr, Nk pl. sīrku, Gnd sīr

đ hīr đ hīr̄, Png, Mnd hīr, Ku hīru, Krx čīr ¶¶ D #2625, GS 116 [#309], 44 [#101] || HS: WCh: SBc: Zar {IL} sár 'louse', Zar K {Sh.} sīr, Zar GL {Sh.} sār, Zar L {ASh.} sjēr, Sy {Csp.} sār, Sy B {Sh.} sērз - sārз (in Sh. SB the badly printed letter **e** or **ε** is hard to read), Sy Z {Sh.} sīeru id., Jm {Csp.} sūrúdu, Grn {Csp.} súyà 'flea' ¶ ChC, Sh. SB 26, Csp. 18, 57 ◇ Rs. UAW 19 (U, A), S AJ 87, 276 [#43], IS MS 336 s.v. гнида *ś'ajr (A, U, D + unc. [?] K *çil-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #162 (*čuri 'fly' n.) (A, J, FU + unc. Sm, EA).

2116. *sar_L∇, X∇ 'grove, coppice; ∈ tree' > HS: S *^oš|sar_L∇, ħ- > Ar sarħ- 'any thornless tree', '∈ tree of Nejd' ¶ Fr. II 306, BK I 1079, Hv. 317 || U: FU *sert∇ 'grove, forest' > Prm *sörd (= {JLG} *sörd) '∈ grove (forest)' > Vt SW sūrd, Vt сурд surd 'grove', Z sord '∈ forest' or '∈ grove' (in place-names) || Hg erđǝ 'forest, wood' ¶ LG 261, Lt. 64, ≠ MF 161 (derives erđǝ from ered- 'have its source, rise, spring') || A: M *sireñi > WrM sireñi, HlM ширэнгэ, Brt шэрэнги 'grove, coppice of small trees, densely growing bushes' ¶ MED 716, Chr. 750 || D *čerak- 'firewood' > Tl ceraku in vañṭa-ceraku 'firewood for cooking' (vañṭa 'cooking'), Gnd Mu herk 'a bundle of firewood' ¶¶ D #2794 ◇ The vw. after *r is suggested by D *-r̄- (< N *-r- outside cons. clusters). The U and D cognates point to a pN *e, while M *i is still to be explained.

2117. *ś_Liy, ar_LU, y∇ 'beam' ([in descendant lgs.] → pole') > HS: WS *šarw∇y- (or *šarw∇y-?), ? *šāriy- > JA [Trg.] , JPA שָׂרִי שָׂרִי שָׂרִי śārī'ītā 'joist, beam, post', JEA śārī'ītā 'beam', Ar {Ln.} sāriyat- 'column (of stone or of baked bricks), mast' (unless a prs. prtc. of the Ar v. ✓ sry [in which of its meanings?]), Gz šarwē (with a spelling variant sarwē) 'beam of wood, log, trunk' ¶ LG 535, Lv. IV 611-2, Js. 1631-2, Sl. 1181, Ln. 1356 ¶ Aram and Ar point to a pS *š-, while the traditional Gz spelling with š̂- does not necessarily reflect the OEth phoneme and may have appeared after the merger of *s and *š̂ in living EthS lgs. || K: G sar-i 'stake, vine-prop' ¶ Chx. 1160, DCh. 1110 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ś|šarya 'lath, beam' > F sarja 'series, row', lohipadon sarjat 'lange Holzspleiß' (lohipato is 'salmon-weir'), Krl A saryu, sarđu 'latticework, sledge-laths', Krl {SK} šarya, sarya 'herd, crowd', Es sari (gen. sarja) 'series' (← F?), 'cluster (of berries)', {W} 'Traube, Eierstock' || Prm *šori 'beam, roost for hens' > Vt šur† id., Z šor 'beam (for drying clothes) within a house', ćipan šor 'roost', Z US

śar 'cross-beam, pole' ('перекладина, горизонтально подвешенный шест'), Yz 'śur 'pole' ¶ UEW 770-1, Sm. 553 (FP *śarja 'spar'), W EDW 1111, Lt. 62, LG 253 || ? A: (mt. of *y?) Tg *sjaran 'pole' ('жердь') > Ewk sēran, Lm hār̄n̄, Neg sēyan, Orc sā̄ni, Ud san̄i id., ? Ul cd. sesan̄ 'pole for a *balagan* (store hut)', ? Ork cd. sēs̄n̄ 'a pole for building a tent', Nn Nh/KU sã: 'a pole for hanging fish to dry', Ewk sēr- v. 'prepare poles as the frame of a tent' ¶ STM II 72 || NaT [1] *siruk 'pole' > OT siruq 'a pole, tent-pole', Chg suruq, MQp siruq 'pole', Osm XVIII siriq 'a long piece of wood', Tk sirik 'pole' ('шест, жердь'), Ggz sirik id., 'stick', Sg {Rl.} siraq, Tlt/QK {Rl.} siriq 'Stange'; T → M: WrM siruq, HIM шурар 'pole, long mast, stake', Kl шурр id. ('шест'), Kl D/Ö {Rm.} šūr̄aq 'Stange' || [2] *sira 'pole, row' > StAlt sira 'pole' ('жердь', 'Stange'), Osm, Az, Ggz sira 'row, series' ('Reihe, Ordnung, Reihenfolge'), Kr sira id., 'line' ¶ Cl. 848, BT 137, Rl. IV 637-41, Hüs. 280, KRPS 494, GRM 451-3, MED 713, KRS 686, KW 370 ¶ The vw. *I of the first syll. has not yet found explanation || M *surgayaq 'pole, rod' > WrM surgagag, HIM сургаар, Brt хургаар id., WrO šur̄aq ~ šur̄aq 'a pole', Kl Ö {Rm.} šūr̄aq 'Stange' (WrO and Kl š- under the infl. of the above M loanword from T) ¶ MED 739, Chr. 691, KW 370, Krg. 458 || pKo {S} *h̄j̄a₁ 'a house rafter' > MKo h̄j̄a₁, NKo sa₁k̄ar̄ä, Δ h̄j̄a₁k̄ar̄ä ¶ S QK #277, Nam 488, MLC 933 ¶¶ The vw. of the first syll. in the A lgs. (Tg *j̄a, T *i, M *u) may be explained by contraction of N *-iya- and by regr. as. ¶¶ DQA #2067 (A *s̄j̄ōyru 'pole; tent made of poles') ◇ M *u of the first syll. may be due to mt. or to regr. as (*sir̄u > *sur..., cp. NaT *siruk).

2118. ?σ₂ *š̄iRb ▽ 'sinew; to sew' > HS: S *°š̄|srb > Ar ✓ srb v. 'confectionner, coudre, faire une outre' ¶ BK I 1077 || A: M *sirbü-sün 'sinew, tendon' > MM [IM, IsV] {Lg.} sirbüsün id., [IM] {Pp.} sirbüsü 'bowstring', [LM] {Pp.} širbüsün, [S] {H} śirbusun 'sinew', [HI] {Ms.} širbüsün 'tendon', WrM sirbüsün, HIM шөрвөс, Brt шүрбэһэ(н) 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament', Ord {Ms.} šörwösu, Dg {Pp.} širbēs, širbüs, {Lg.} širpūs, {T} širbes, širbus id., Kl шүрүсн šürüsñ 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament', {Rm} šürwösñ ~ šir(w)ūsñ 'Sehnen, Nerven', Mnr H {SM} šb_uз_з 'nerf, muscle, fibre, filament, nervure'; but the variant *sirmü-sün 'sinew, tendon' goes back to N *š̄êR̄ ▽ m̄'ü¹ 'sinew, root', q.v.) ¶ Pp. MA 446, Pp. L III 60, Lg. VMI 64, H 141, Ms. H 97, Lew. II 75, MED 716, KRS 687, KW 371, SM 370, T DgJ

184, Chr. 738, Cev. 856 ¶¶ SDM95 (A *sürmü 'sinew'), SDM97 (A *sürmu id.: M + unc.σ Tg *sumu 'sinew', pKo *hím id., 'strength', FN *šêR_L∇_Lm'ü').

2119. *S'ü'rb∇ - *S'ü'b∇r∇ 'to swing, to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swerb^h-/*surb^h- v. 'swing, sweep' > W chwerfu n. act. 'whirling, turning round', chwerfan 'whirl for a spindle', {YGM} 'pulley, wharve' || Gt af-/bi-swaírban, OSx swervan 'to wipe off', OHG swërban 'abwischen, abtrocknen, abreiben', MHG swerben 'sich wirbelnd bewegen', ON sverfa, AS sweorfan 'to scrub, to file, to wipe' || Gk συρφετός 'anything swept together, sweepings' ({F} 'Kehricht, Unrat'), ? [Hs.] σύρφη · φρύγανα 'dry sticks, firewood' || BSl: Ltv svārpsts 'a borer, drill, gimlet', svārpstīt 'to bore' | SI *svrběti 'to itch' > SCr сврбети & svrbjeti, Slv srběti, Cz svrběti, Slk svrbiet', P świerbieć, R свер'беть, Uk свер'бити 'to itch', Blg сър'би 'it itches'; ⇨ SI *svōrbъ n. act. 'itching' > R Δ 'свороб id., ChS СВРАБЪ svrabъ, OR СВРОРЪ svorobъ, Cz, Slk svrab 'scabies', SCr, Slv svrāb 'itch, scabies'; OCS [Supr.] d. СВРАБЪНЪ svrabъnъ adj. 'κνησμώδης, causing itch'; the semantic prehistory of the SI √ ('itch' ← v. 'scratch' ← v. 'rub, sweep') may involve contamination with IE *swer- 'weep, rub' (FN *sūr∇ 'to rub, to scratch') ¶ P 1050-1, EI 607-8 (*swerb^h- 'turn, move in a twirling motion'), ≈ F II 823-4, YGM-1 156, Fs. 10-1, Vr. 568, Ho. 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1001, OsS 913, Schz. 278, Vs. III 573, 583-4, Glh. 601, SJSS XXXVI 32, StSS 595 || A: M [1] *sirbe- > WrM sirbe-, HIM ширвэ-, Ord {Ms.} širwe- ~ šörwö-, WrO širbe-, Kl {Rm.} širwe-χα v. 'sweep', ? Ba {T} šire- 'sweep'(unless to N *sūr∇ '↑' [q.v.]); [2] *sirba- > WrM sirba- & sirbe-, HIM шарва-, Ord širwa-, Brt шарба- 'wag the tail', WrO širbe- v. 'wave', Kl {Rm.} šarwa-χα 'wedeln, mit dem Schwanze schlagen', d. Kl шарвадх šarw-ad-χъ, шарвлзх šarwъ-lz-χъ 'wag the tail' ¶ MED 718, Ms. O 623-4, Krg. 451, KW 351, 361, KRS 665, Chr. 722, T BJ 152 || ? T: Slr {Tn.} sür- & sūr- 'sweep' (unless to T *sūr- 'rub, scratch' < N *sūr∇ 'rub, scrape, smear' [q.v.]) ¶ Tn. SJ 490, TL 382 || D *√čib|piḡ- 'fan' > Tm civiri, Kui žiperi 'a fan', Kn sīguri, sīgudī 'chowrie', Tl sīviri 'chowrie' ¶¶ D #2580.

2120. *ś∇Rixka 'cold' > HS: C: HEC *sirga 'cold' > Brj sirgā 'cold' (of weather), sirgā-ga 'cold' (of food), sig'gir-in. 'cold' (of weather),

sirgē-d- v. 'cool, become cold', Hd, Kmb sigg- id., Hd sigga(:)lla, Kmb sigga 'cold' (of food) ¶ Hd. 43, 22O, 298, 338, Ss. B 166 (hyp.: HEC *sirg- < *sigr-) || K mt. *°sḡarḡ- > Sv UB/L/Ln {TK} sḡarḡ-al 'hail' ¶ TK 708, Ni. s.v. 'градъ', GP 259 || IE: NaIE *srēǵ-/srīg-, *srīg-os(-) 'cold, frost' (× N *ǵǵ'ī'R_LH₂∇ - *ǵǵ'ī'_LH₂R∇ 'be very cold'??) > Gk ῥύχος 'frost', ῥύέω (pfc. with prs. sense ἔρρῑα) 'be cold, shiver from cold' || L frīgus / frīgoris n. 'cold, coolness', frīgīdus adj. 'cold', frīge- 'be cold\chilly, freeze' || Lt Δ {Nsl.} strēkti (prs. strēgiu) 'to freeze' (upē apstrēgē 'the river has frozen') | Sl ≈ *srežb > Slv sréž 'crusted snow, white frost', P srez, Δ srzež, Cz stříž 'first ice on water', Slk stříž ~ sriež 'ice crust, hoarfrost' ¶ WP II 705 and P 1004 (in both: no BSl cognate), WH I 547-8, F II 654-5, Brü. 534, Ma. CS 482-3, Kmc. 816 || U: FU *°śvr∇... > Hg Δ szirony, szilony 'the surface of snow that has been frozen after melting weather', (here??) szirony, szirogy, sziroty 'breiiger Schnee, Graupelregen' ¶¶ ≈ UEW 464-5 (equates Hg szirony 'surface of snow' with Z čarzm 'ice crust on the snow' and Sm *sira 'snow' and reconstructs pU *śar∇ 'snow, ice crust on the snow' [see N ?σ *cAR_L∇, y∇ - *cAYR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', N *ǵǵ'ī'R_LH₂∇ - *ǵǵ'ī'_LH₂R∇ (↑)], MF 580 ◇ The identity of the N velar cns. (*k, *g, or *k?) is not clear. It may have been *k, while HES *g and IE *g may have been due to the infl. of the adjacent N *χ.

2121. *śURt∇ 'dirt(y)' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'dirty, black' (× N *čûrt∇ 'soot' [q.v.]) > L d. sordē- v. 'be dirty, unwashed', sordīdus 'dirty', sordēs 'dirt' || Gt swarts, ON svartr, AS sweart, OSx swart, Dt zwart, OHG swarz, NHG schwarz, Dn sort 'black', ON sorta 'black colour' || NPrs خوال ḡvdl 'lampblack' ¶ WP II 535, P 1052, WH II 562-3, Fs. 464, Vr. 531, 565, Ho. 334, Ho. S 72, Kb. 996, OsS 904, KM 690, ≈ EI 147 (*swerd- < *swer- 'darken by making red or black') || HS: Eg fRNK sɜt 'dirt' (and Eg MK [Fk.] sɜt 'earth?') -d→ Eg fBD sɜt 'besudeln, lästern' ¶ EG IV 27, Fk. 211, Hng. 663 || K *°śswar-/°śswr- > MG [Vsr.] swar-, G svar-/svr- v. 'stain, make dirty' ¶ Chx. 1242, DCh. 1201 || ? A: AmTg *sorto|an 'yellow' (-g]-, -gǵ- < *-rt-, F ADb. SR-D 119) > Orc sogǵo, Ul sōgjo(n-), Ork sōgdo(n-) 'yellow', Nn Nh sōgjo id., ? Tg. *sōr- 'become yellow' > Nn Nh sōron-, WrMc soro- id. ¶ STM II 103-4, 109 || ?? D *čkott- 'mud, mire' (× N *čot∇ 'mud',

q.v. ffd.) ◇ The loss of *t in K *š|swar-/ *š|swr- may be due to metanalysis.

2122. *Saf'i' 'to drip' > IE: NaIE *sresk- v. 'drip' (*-esk- goes back to a sx.) > Av sras̥k- / sras̥ča- v. 'drip, trickle down', Av sras̥ka- 'tears, weeping', NPrs سَرَشَك serešk 'a tear, a drop, droppings of the eaves', MPrs srix̥t 'dropped' ||| Arm արսկել srsk-el 'to sprinkle' ¶ WP II 602-3, 705, P 1002, Brtl. 1644-5, Sg. 675 ||| A: NaT *sark- v. 'drip, overflow' > OT sarq- id., Tkm сарк- θarq- 'drip', ET sarqi-, VTt sarq-, Bsh harq- v. 'drip, ooze', Qmq sarq- v. 'flow in thin current', Nog sarq- 'ooze', Qrg sariq- 'drip' ¶ Probably a merger with a different √, hence the meaning 'hang down' (in OT, Tk, etc.) ¶ Cl. 847-8, Rs. W 404, Jeg. 183, Nj. 495 ||| M *sari- v. 'drip, urinate' > WrM sari, HIM {MED} сари- v. 'drip, leak; urinate in an irregular manner', HIM {Gl.} sari- 'urinate', {Luv.} sari- 'urinate' (of a dog), Ord sari-, Brt һари- 'urinate with a leg raised' (of a dog) ¶ MED 675, Gl. III 187, Luv. 351, Chr. 677, Ms. O 563 ||| D (in GnD) *čar̥- v. 'drip, fall (out\off)' > Gnd B sar̥ānā v. 'drip' (of water from wet clothes), v. 'dribble' (of saliva), Gnd Mu har̥- 'fall in drops', Png, Mnd har̥- 'fall off' (of leaves), Png har̥ 'fall out' (of hair) ¶ D #2404 ◇ Depalatalization *r̥ > T *r before a cns. (Hl.'s rule).

2123. ₂ *Suří ≈ 'squeeze out, filter, strain' > A: T: [1] sǘr- v. 'filter or strain (liquid)' > OT {Cl.} süz- id., Chg XV süz- 'purify, clarify', MQp [CC] süz- 'strain, purify', Tk сүз-, Az, ET, Qzq, Qq, Nog, QrB, Qmq, Qrg süz-, Tkm сүз- θüð-, Uz suz-, VTt сөз- sḡz-, Bsh һөз- һḡð-, Chv сәр- sḡr- v. 'filter (liquid)' ¶ Cl. 861, Rs. W 438-9, Jeg. 188-9, Md. 64] [2] ?σ T *sír- vi. 'melt, ooze' > OT siz- id., XwT XIV, MQp XIV (incl. CC) siz- 'melt', Chg ≥XV 'drip, ooze', OT U {Tz.} siz- 'sickern', Tk сиз- 'ooze, leak, percolate', Tkm сыз- θið-, Az, Qrg siz-, Alt {BT} sis-, Uz siz- 'ooze, leak', Qzq, Nog siz- 'elude, evade, run away' ¶ Cl. 861, Tz. UIS 98, Rs. W 42, Az. 279, BT 137 ¶ If the primary meaning is 'melt' and the meaning 'ooze' is due to the infl. of T *sür-, T *sír- does not belong here ||| Tg *sir̥i- 'squeeze out (liquid)' > Ewk ṽsir- ḡṽširi-, Ud sī-, Ul, Nn surl- v. 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk', Lm hlr- v. 'milk; squeeze out (matter from a wound)', Neg siy- v. 'milk', Orc sī- v. 'milk, squeeze out (milk from the breast)', WrMc sir̥i- 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk, squeeze out matter from a wound' ¶ STM II 93, Krm. 283 ¶ ≈ DQA #2021 (A *šjūr̥u 'to leak, to ooze'; incl. M, T *sír-), ≈ DQA #2184 (A *sjūr̥i 'flow, drip'; incl. T sǘr-, Tg) ¶ Tg *sir̥i- (= *surl-) and T *sír-

may be explained by mutual as. of the vowels of both syllables: ***Suří** > ***suří-** > pre-Tg ***siri-** (> Tg ***siri-**) and T ***sír-**; alternatively, Tg ***i** of the first syll. may belong together with other cases of Tg ***i** < N ***u** (see Introduction, § 2.4) || **IE**: Ht **sesariya-** 'sehen, filtrieren' (×N ***Sač'u** - ***ś'ā'č'u** 'scatter, spread about, pour', [in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'to winnow, to sift?') ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 ◇ The tentative rec. of N ***Suří** is preferable to reconstructing N ***Süri**, because the latter fails to explain T ***sír-** and Tg ***siri-**.

2124. *Sûr∇ (= ***Suře?**) 'speak, declare' > **IE** ***swer-** 'speak (solemnly)' > L **sermō** (gen. **sermōn-is**) 'talk, conversation, discourse', **adserō** ~ **asserō** 'declare', e.g. in **libertatem adserere** 'to declare (a slave) free' (lit. 'declare [him] into freedom'), Osc **sverroneí** dat. 'spokesman' || Gmc ***swe²r-** > Gt **swaran**, ON **sverja**, OHG **swerien**, **swerren**, NHG **schwören**, OSx, AS **swerian** 'to swear', NE **swear**; ON **sóripl.**, MHG **swuor**, NHG **Schwur** 'oath'; ON **svara** 'to answer', **svar**, OSx **ant-swōr**, AS **and-swaru** n. 'answer', NE **answer** || ? pTc ***śärp-** (= {Ad.} ***ṣärp-**) > Tc A/B **ṣärp-** 'explain to, inform, teach' || Ld **śfarwa** {E} '≈ oath', {Gsm.} 'Gelübde' ¶ P 1049, WH II 521-2, Buck OU 325, Vr. 565, 568, Fs. 463-4, Kb. 1001-2f, KM 695 (Gmc ***swe²r-** 'swear' ← ellipsis of 'pronounce an oath', preserved in ON **sverja eiðum**), Ad. 655-6, KT 39 (on Tc **ṣ** = [ś]), ≈ EI 535 (***(s)wer-** 'say, speak'), Gsm. **LWE I 95-6**, Hirt **UG I 33** (on Gmc ***e²**) || **A**: T ***sör** 'anything spoken, word' > OT **söz** id. ({Cl.} **sōz** with unj. indication of length of the vw.), XwT XIII, MQp XIV, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV **söz** 'word, speech', Tk **söz**, Tkm **θöð**, Az, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg **söz**, VTt **süz**, Bsh **hüð**, Uz **cüž swz**, Alt, Xk, Tv **sös**, Yk **ös** 'word' ¶ Cl. 860, DTS 511, Rs. W 430 || **HS**: WCh: pBl {Stl.} ***s∇r-** > Bl {Lk.} **sör-** 'speak', ? Pero **čérò** id., Tng {J} **sēre** id., 'deliver a speech' | AG ***s∇ψ∇r** {Hf.} 'swear' > Kfr {Hf.} **seger** 'swear', Gmy {Hf.} **sūr** id., {Srl.} **ṣûr puoe** = **ṣūr p^wz** id., 'take an oath', Ang {J} **sēr**, {Hf.} **sīr** 'swear', {Flk.} **sīr** 'an oath; repentance, regret', Mpn {Frz.} **sēr** v. 'confess guilt', n. 'confession' ¶ Stl. ZCh 245 [#28], J T 142, Hf. AG #91, Flk. s.v. **sīr**, Frz. DM 54 || Eg fP **sr** 'fortell; make known' ¶ EG IV 189-90, Fk. 235; I am thankful to Tk. (p.c., 2002) for drawing my attention to the Eg cognate and for providing data on Gmy {Srl.} and Ang {J} ◇ Rec. of ***Suře** is preferable to that of ***Sür∇**, because the latter does not explain T ***ö** (***Sür∇** would have yielded T ***sür**).

2125. *śihaŕu, *-P₂∇ 'dirt, earth': *śihaŕu > HS: S *^oš|s∇h∇r- > Ar d. سَاهِرَة sāhir-at- {BK} 'terre, surface de la terre; désert', {Hv.} 'surface of the earth; untrodden desert' ¶ BK I 1156, Ln. 1452, Hv. 341 || Eg G s_r ≈ 'dirt' ¶ EG IV 191 || U: FU *š|sar∇ 'excrements, dirt; to defecate' > pChr {Ber.} *šur 'excrements, dung' > Chr L/B/M/Uf šur, Chr H šbr id. (with an irreg. vw. that defies explanation); Chr H šara-, Chr Uf/B šora-, Chr L/E šora- ∂ šara- v. 'defecate' | pMr {Ker.} *šara- > *šāra- 'defecate' > Er šeŕne-, ∆ šārñi-, Mk šārñā-, šeŕñā-, šarandā-, šārāndā- id. (× FU *čar∇ 'dung' < N *č'ā'ŕ∇ 'dirt, dung, rubbish', q.v.) || Hg s_zar 'dirt, excrements', s_zar- 'defecate' | Os: Nz šor 'dung (of reindeers, elks)', Kz šor 'excrements, round pieces of dung' (× N *č'ā'ŕ∇ (↑)) ¶ UEW 465-6, Coll. 117, Ker. II 138, Ber. 70, Ü 268, 275, MF 568-9, LG 250, 271 || A *sjaŕu > T {IS} *s₁ār, {Md.} *s₂ār 'clay, swamp, dirt' ({šπAD}: < **sEār) (× N *ša'ri'X∇ 'to stream, to flow') > Blgh *šār (↳ OHg sār 'muddy river, swamp, mire', Hg sār 'mud, mire, dirt' [EWU 1305, Gomb. BTL 112], Chr L/H šor 'scale [in a cauldron], dirt' [MRS 719, Ep. 153]), Chv L шур šur 'swamp, quagmire' || NaT *saz 'clay, swamp, dirt' > ET saz, StAlt, Xk sas 'swamp, quagmire', Chg, Qrg, Chg, Nog, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, VTt saz, Bsh haḏ 'swamp', Qmq saz id., 'clay', QrB saz topraq 'clay, clayey soil' (topraq 'earth'), QrB d. sazliq 'clayey, argillaceous', Qq, Qzq saz 'clay (in saline soil), marshy swamp', Kr saz 'dirt, silt', Yk as 'pus, matter' ¶ Yk points to a pNaT short *a, while the Hg loan from Blgh suggests a pT long *a ¶ Rs. W 406, TL 93, 376, Md. 114, 177, Jeg. 339, Fed. II 462, Bii. PDG 43, Nj. 496, KumRS 274, RKB 118, Sht. 154, Pek. 164, BT 126, BN 132 || M *siru-ṣay (~ *siraṣu?) 'earth, soil' > MM [S] {H} širo₁ay, [HI] šira₁u, [MA] šira₁u ~ širū 'earth', [IM] širū 'sand', WrM sirugai, siruga, sirui, HIM шорой, шорoo 'earth, ground, soil', Ord {Ms.} šorō, Mnr H {SM} širū, {T} širū, ShY {S ← ?} šzrū 'earth', Brt шорой 'dust, soil', WrO {Krg.} široi 'earth', Kl {Rm.} šorā ~ šorā id., 'soil, sand', {KRS} шора 'dust, sand', † 'earth', Ba širo 'dust'; M ↳ Ewk siruṣī ∂ širuṣī ∂ sirgī ∂ sargī 'sand, pebbles', Sln {Iv.} сергі 'sand' (a merger with the Tg cognate?) ¶ Pp. MA 336, 447, Ms. H 97, H 142, MED 718-9, Krg. 451, SM 400, T 383, T BJ 152, KW 365, KRS 680, Chr. 730, ≈ S AJ 234 [#25] || Tg *siru-n, siru-kta 'sand' > Neg siyun, Orc siya, siru, Nn Nh slyã, Nn KU strõ ~ strũ, Nn B stru(n-) 'sand', Ul slyã(n-), {PSchm.} siru id., 'pebbles', Ewk PT {Cs.} šeruk id., Sln širuktã 'sand' ¶ STM II

96 || pKo {S} *h^lrk 'earth' > MKo h^lrk, StKo h^lrk h^lrk, Ko: SI/CI/PhN/Kw χ^lrk, Ph h^lrk, Chj χ^lrk ¶ S AJ 252 [#24], S QK #24, Nam 480, MLC 1894 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 291 [#403], ≈ DQA #2034 (A *s^lǎri, incl. T, M, Tg, Ko), Pp. VG 30, 60, 114, KW 365, Md. OJ 195 ||| A form with an ancient root-extension (originally a N cd. with the second element *P₂∇) survives in IE and D: IE: NaIE *srou̯p-/*srup- 'scabby dirt on the body' ('schorfiges Schmutz am Körper') > Gk ῥύπος (pl. ῥύπα) 'dirt, filth, uncleanness' ||| SI *strup̯ (< *srou̯pos) 'scab on a wound' > R, Blg cтpуп, Cz strup id., OR cтpупъ strup̯ 'wound, scab on a wound', OCS cтpоупъ strup̯ 'wound (τραῦμα, vulnus)', P strup 'scab, scurf', SCr strûp 'tetter, mange', Slv strûp 'poison' ¶ WP II 703, P 1004, F II 665-6, Vs. III 784-5, SJSS XXXVIII 185, Srz. III 560, Ma. CS 478 ||| D *čar̯p- 'cowdung' > Prj carpi (BE: probably = čarpi), Gdb sarpi & sadpi, Gnd sarapi & sarapi & sarap & harap, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku řāpi id. ¶¶ D #2402 (b) ◇ The original bisyllabic *-iha- is suggested by Ar sāhir-at- (with vowels belonging to the derivational pattern) and by pT *s^lǎr (> Chv L šur, where š- is from *s^l-).

2126. *sīrka ~ *sīr'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish' > IE: NaIE *sergh- v. 'languish, be ill' > OIr serg {Vn.} 'consumption, maladie, diminution', Nlr searg f. 'decay, decline', seargaim, seirgim v. 'pine, languish' ||| Lt siĩgti / prs. sergũ, Ltv sirgt / prs. sirgstu ~ sērgu 'be ill', sērga 'illness, epidemy' ||| Tc A sārka, Tc B sark {Wn.} 'illness, pain', {EJ} 'illness' ||| ?? MHG sērwen, sērben 'innerlich abnehmen, entkräftet werden, dahinwelken', sērwe, sērbe f.† 'Abnahme, Entkräftung'] Gmc (×IE *swerk-, {EI} *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned about' < N *c^lûR'k'a 'watch, [?] watch over'): ON sorg, OHG s(ω)orga 'sorrow, care', OHG sworgēn 'be anxious, care', AS sorȝ 'sorrow, pain' (> NE sorrow), ON syrgja 'be concerned about', AS sorȝian 'grieve, be anxious about', Gt saúrga 'sorrow, care' ¶ WP II 529, P 1091, ≈ EI 516 (*swergh- [with unj. *w] 'be ill'), EI 636 (Gmc < *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495 (NaIE *seragh-/*sr̥agh- if the *w-element in Gmc [OHG sworgēn] is secondary), Mn. 1131, Kb. 1007, Vn. S 92, Lx. 192, Frn. 787, Wn. 422 ||| HS: S *^o✓š|srk > Ar ✓srk (pf. sarika) v. G 'pine away', 'être affaibli, tomber dans la langueur' (~ ✓srq G [p. sarīqa] 's'affaiblir, devenir lâche et languissant [les articulation, les

nerfs]) ♪ BK I 1083-4, Hv. 318 || **A:** T *sír 'ache, pain' > NaT *siz > OT siz-la- v. 'ache, have a sharp pain', StAlt {BT} sis 'aches in bones (ломота, боль в костях)', Tlt {RI} sis 'sharp pain', Tk sizi id., 'pang', Tkm сид-сид θid-θid (ideophone of pain) ♪ Cl. 863, Rs. W 420, RI. IV 660-7, BT 775, Tkr 603 || M *sirqa- v. 'injure, cause pain' (× N * \hat{z} ∇r₁∇₁X∇ ~ * \hat{z} ∇'X'₁∇₁r∇ 'to cut, to wound'??) > MM [S] śirχa- 'verletzen, schädigen', d.: WrM sirqad-, HIM шархт-ах 'be wounded or injured'; M *sirqa(n) 'wound, sore' > WrM sirqa(n), HIM шарх 'wound, sore; injury', Brt шарха, Ord šarχa 'wound, sore', Kl шарх, {Rm.} šarχa id.; M *sirkire- ~ *sarkire- > WrM sirkire- ~ sarkire-, HIM шархира- v. 'bite, sting' (as pain or sensation produced by eating hot pepper, etc.), 'feel pain as from rheumatism', Ord {Ms.} šar"xira- v. 'éprouver une douleur lancinante', Mnr H {SM} sg₁irīē- 'causer une douleur lancinante, avoir un goût piquant et aigre' ♪ H 142, MED 718-9, 753, Luv. 647, Cev. 840, KRS 667, KW 350, H 142, Chr. 723, SM #348, Ms. O 610.

2127. \hat{z} ś|śuś|ś∇ 'worm, snake' > **HS:** NrOm {Blz.} *šuš- 'snake' (× N *s'ū'ηç∇X∇ 'worm, snake') > Wl {Lm.} šōšša, Zl/Gf/Bdt {Lm.} šōša, Dwr {Lm.} šoša, Malo/Bsk {Lm.} šoš, Gm {Hw.} šóšši, Dc {Lm.} šōšši, Zs {Lm.} šōši, Cha {Lm.} šoša & šōša 'snake', Kcm šošše 'python', Gmr {Bnd.} šoš (?), Mj {Bnd.} šo(:)š, BMa/DMa {Bnd.} šoš 'snake' ♪ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake', Bnd. PO 149, Lm. W 51, Hw. EG s.v. 'snake' || **B:** Ah a-sis 'ver de bois' ♪ Fc. 1867 || **U:** FU *ś|śuś|ś∇ 'intestinal worm' > FU: Mk {PI, Ps.} сюзял śu'žal, Er {ERV} сезял šežal, {Ps.} šežal & śižal id. || Os D/Km/Kr susta id., 'tapeworm' ♪ UEW 492, Coll. 116, Ps. sL 66, Stn. D 1381.

2128. *sa'w'ûś∇ 'get dry, harden' > **IE:** NaIE *saus- / *sus- 'dry, arid' > OI 'ś uşyatī 'becomes dry, arid', 'ś uşkaḥ 'dry, arid, dried up', Av haoš- 'dry up, wither (vertrocknen, verdorren)', huška- adj. 'dry, dried up', OPrs uška- 'Festland', KhS huška-, CINPrs خوشیدن xōšī-dan, NPrs χūšī-dān 'to grow dry', {VI.} 'exsicari, exsiccare', خشك' xōšk 'dry, withered', Oss D исусун isusun, Oss I сысын s3s3n 'evaporate, dry out' (< *wi-šuš-) || Gk Hm αῦος, Gk A αῦος 'dry, dried' || pAl {O} *sausnya (d. from IE *saus-) > Al thaj vt. 'make dry, dry up' || L sūdus (< *suz-do-) 'dry', 'bright, cloudless' (of weather) || AS séar, MLG sōr, NNr søyr 'dry' || Lt saũsas, Ltv sauss 'dry', Lt saũsti 'to get dry', saũsinti vt. 'to dry', sũskis 'Aussatz, Krätze', Ltv

sušakis 'scabby person, filthy creature' (← 'dry', ÷ OI 'śuškaḥ), Pru
 sausaī 'dry' | SI *sūxъ adj. (dadj. *suxъ-jb) 'dry' > OCS **сouxъ**
 сухъ, Blg cyx, SCr, Slv sūh, Cz/Slk (aadj.) suchý, P (aadj.) suchy,
 R pradj. cyx ('is dry'), aadj. cy'xoй, Uk aadj. cy'хий; SI *suš-i-ti vt.
 (caus.) 'to dry' > OCS **сouшнтн** sušiti, SCr sūšiti, Slv sušíti, Cz
 sušiti, Slk sušit', P suszyć, R cy'шить id., Blg 'cyша vt. 'I dry';
 SI *sъx-nq-ti 'to get dry' > OCS **сѣхнѣтн** sьxnqti, Blg 'сѣхна, SCr
 sàhnuti (se), Slv usahniti usahníti, Cz schnouti, Slk
 schnút', P schnąć, R 'сохнутъ, Uk 'сохнути id. ¶ P 880-1, M K
 III 361-3, VI. I 696, 757, Sg. 462, 487, BM 193, 203, Ab. III 211-2, FI
 188-9, WH II 624, Ho. 287, AlbED 886-8, O 471, Frn. 766, Glh. 593, Vs.
 III 730, 813, Chrn. II 22, ≈ EI 170 (*h₂sus- ~ *h₂sous-os 'dry') || **HS:** ?
 Eg fMd šw (< *√sšw?) 'dry, dried', DEg šw 'get dry', adj. 'dry' (Vc.:
 √šw) > Cpt: Sd **щooуe** щoue, B **щwoуi** щōui 'get dry'; Eg N šwц.т
 'dry place' ¶ EG IV 429, Fk. 263, Er. 494, Vc. 225, 274 || CCh: Mrg {Hf.}
 šū v. 'dry up' (water), Ms {ChL} соуа, BnnM {ChL} со?amo vt. 'dry' ||| ECh:
 ѓ Kwn M {OS ← ?} sзwe v. 'dry up' ¶ Hf. GML 35, ChL ¶¶ Tk. I 102 (Eg,
 Ch [Mrg, Kwn M], qu. S *√sšw 'roast'), OS #2224, OS CChELR 200 ||
K: GZ *šuš- v. 'dry, roast' > G {DCh.} šuš- vt. 'dry, roast, fry', {Chx.} (m0-
)šuš- 'aus-ldurchbacken', 'verbrennen, versengen (z. B. Dürre das
 Land)', Lz {FS} šušker-i 'roasted, fried' ¶ GZ *š- > Lz š-; G š- (for the
 expected s-) is due to as. (*šuš- > šuš-) ¶ ≈ K² 183 (*šuš- < Ir *śus-),
 DCh. 1530, Chx. 1855, FS K 385, FS E 433 ||| **U:** FU *s|šaš∇ > Ugr *θaš∇
 'get dry/hard' > ObU *θōš- / *θāš-ā- > pVg {Ht.} *tāš- / *tāš-ā- vt. 'dry'
 > Vg: T tāš- / taš- / tašā-, LK tōš, MK/UK/UL tōs-, P/NV/SV/L/ML tōš- /
 toš-, Ss. tōs- id.; pOs {Ht.} *sāsa- / *sos- 'get dry' > Os: Ty sāsa-, sāsa- /
 sōs-, Y sāsa- / sōs-, D/K sōs-, O sāsa- id., Os V/Vy {Trj., Ht.} sosam, Os
 Ty/Y {Trj.} sāsam 'hard, dried up' | Hg aсz- 'go dry, parch, wither' ||
 Sm (⇔ UEW): Ne cyca- 'be drained, run out' (of reserves) (adduced in
 Lh. SA 157) may well belong here (N *sa¹w¹ūš∇ > *su₁š∇ > *su₁s∇ >
 Ne susa-) ¶¶ UEW 844, Ht. #166, Trj. S 434, MF 98 ||| ?σ **A:** Tg: WrMc
 суса- 'die' (of animals) ¶ Z 640 ◇ In Tg there is as. **š...š > Tg *s...s.
 The loss of the expected initial *s in Eg may have several explanations
 (such as as. **sš > š or reinterpretation of the initial *s∇- as a
 causative px., leading to a bf. šw), but they do not explain why w
 follows rather than precedes š ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. сохнутъ *š¹u¹š¹∇ (sc.
 *š¹u¹š¹∇) (IE, U, K).

2129. *sit ▽ 'tooth' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sickle'?) > **K** *^oš ▽ 't' - > Sv: UB/LB/L šdik, L štik 'tooth' ¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. зубъ, GP 272, Dn. s.v. šdik || **A** *s|šid|t ▽ - *s|šid|t E > M *sidün 'tooth' > MM [LV, IsV] sidün, [MA, IM, HI] šidün, [S] {H} sídu, WrM sidün, HIM шүд(эH), WrO šidün, Kl шүдH šüden, (Rm.) šüdn, Mnr H {T} šdi, {SM} šd_i, {Pot.} шито, Mnr M {Pot.} шюту, {Rkh.} shutu, Dg {Mr.} sidú, Dx {T} šidun, Ba {T} sdoη ~ doη, Mgl {Rm.} súdün id. ¶ Pp. L III 8, 6O, Pp. MA 332, 446, Lg. VMI 63, Ms. H 97, H 139, MED 698, Krg. 445, KRS 685, SM 371, Pot. 414, Rkh. 378, T 384, T BJ 152, T DnJ 143, Mr. D 189, Rm. M 39, KW 370 || (here?) NaT *^osidiy > OT [MhK] {Cl.} sidiy 'the gaps in the teeth between the gums' ¶ Cl. 799-800, MKD III ¶¶ If the T word is a valid cognate, the pA √ has *-d-, otherwise it is *-d|t- || **D** *čet-, *čet- + sxs. 'sickle' > Prj četal, Gdb seṭ, Gnd seṭer̄ ḏ saṭār̄ ḏ saṭar id. ¶¶ D #2756 || **HS**: ?σEg sty 'manier la faucille' (unless identical with Eg sty '[Hand, Arm an etw.] legen', see N *^ršät ▽ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down') ¶ Mks. II #78.3917 ◊ If the cognates meaning 'tooth' (Sv, A) and those meaning 'sickle' (D, Eg) belong together, the N etymon had *-t-, but if these are two different N words, the one meaning 'tooth' had *-t|d-. The connection between 'tooth' and 'sickle' may be based on the construction of mesolithic sickles (discovered in the Natufian culture) which had a row of microlithic stone tools (resembling teeth) as their cutting edge.

2130. *sit ▽ 'to tie' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > **HS**: S *^ršty '≈ bind threads, fix the warp' > Ak šatû inf. 'Faden knüpfen', MHb ^ršty G (pf. הַתְּיָבָה šā'tā) 'fix the warp, start the loom', JA [Trg.] ^ršty G 'weave'; -ḏ S *^ršitiy- ~ *^ršatay- 'warp' (× N *^ri't ▽ 'thread [made of hair?]) > BHb יָבַהַת šatī 'ε web', MHb {Lv.} יָבַהַת šatī, JA [Trg.], JEA יָבַהַת šatī'y-ā, SmA šty, Sr لَبَّاهُ šet'y-ā, Ar سَتَاة satā-, سَتَاة satā-t- 'warp, trame de tissu', cp. Ak šutû 'web' ¶ Sd. 1203, 1293-4, KB 1539, GB 867, Br. 811, Lv. IV 617, Lv. T II 521-2, Js. 1637, Sl. 1185, Tal 936, BK I 1051, Ln. 1306 ¶ × N *^ri't ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || Eg OK/Md sty 'fasten together (knüpfen) (e.g., a collar, a net)' ¶ EG IV 330 ¶¶ Tk. I 228 || **K** {FS} *šet-/*šet- ({K²} *(s)et- / *(s)t-) v. 'spin (with a spindle)' > OG st-, G rt- v. spin', Mg rt- v. spin, (?) turn', Sv -lt-/-let- v. 'spin' (msd. UB/LB/L li-lt-e, Ln li-let-e, 3s aor. UB anlet(e)) ¶¶ K 172 *(s)t-, K² 177, FS K 281, FS E 312 (*šet-/*šet-), TK 440, GP 52, 158 || **U**: FP *sit ▽- v. 'tie, fasten' > F sito-, Es sidu- 'bind, tie, fasten', F side (gen. siteen), Es side 'band, tie, bond' | Er sodo-, Mk sota- v.

'bind, tie' | Chr: L шѣдыш šüďъš, YO/V {Bk.} šabakš, Uf/M šüďъš, B šüďъš ~ šüďüš, H шѣдыш šabāš 'hoop of a cask' (< prtc. of the v. *šüďъ- ~ *šüďа-) ¶ UEW 762-3, Ker. II 146, MRS 742, 759, Ep. 160 || A: M *side- > WrM side, HIM шидэ-, Brt шэдэ- v. 'baste or stitch', WrO šide- v. 'baste, tack', Kl шид- id., {Rm.} šidə- 'mit weiten Stichen heften, zufällig annähen', Ord šide- 'faufiler, piquer', Mnr H {SM} sdīē- 'rapiécer'; M б→ WrMc sizin 'rope'; d. M *sideme-sün > WrM sidemesün, HIM шидэмс 'thread, cord, string; ribbon', WrO šidemesün 'string, cord', Kl шидмсн '(thin) rope', {Rm.} šidmsn 'dünner Strick\Faden, Zwirn', Ord šidemes 'bout de corde\fil' ¶ MED 697, Chr. 743, Krg. 445, KRS 671, KW 355, Ms. O 613, SM 334, STM II 99 || ? Tg: Ul {PSchm.} ситахо 'clasp, buckle (застежка, пряжка)' ¶ STM II 99 || Ko: [1] pKo *stij 'belt' (× N *š'it∇ 'thread') > MKo stij, NKo ti 'belt'; [2] Ko {Rm.} sit- (sit-ta / sit-č'z / sit-č'in) v. 'baste (clothes)' ¶ Rm. SKE 239, S QK #426, Nam 177, MLC 550 ¶¶ DQA #1987 (pA *s|šido|u ~ *s|šjudu 'tassel, string [завязка, ремешок]'), ≠ Rm. SKE l.c. (Ko *÷ Ewk sitimnэ v. 'attach, tie together'; in fact, Ewk sitimnэ is a loan from M [WrM sizimne-, HIM шижимнэ- v. 'attach, fasten' × Yk sitim 'rope, cord', see MED 722, STM II 99, Pek. 2253]) ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. связывать *śidā (U, A), IS SS #3.17, Rs. UAW 10 (U, A), Coll. UA 10 (U, A), Blz. KMNE 365 (HS [Eg, S], K, ? A [M, Ko]).

2131. *süt₁∇ ~ *sü₁t∇ 'to drink, to suck (milk); milk' > HS: S *✓ šty (prm. *-štay) v. 'drink' > BHb ✓ šty (pf. הַתָּוּ שֵׁא'תָּוּ, ip. הַתָּוּ - - š'tē), Ug ✓ šty, OA, BA, SmA, Sr ✓ šty G, JA {Trg.], JPA, JEA ✓ šty G, Gz ✓ sty (pf. satya, js. -stay), Ak ✓ šty (inf. šatû), Eb ✓ šty id., Sb mšty n. 'drink' ¶ KB 1537-8, 1796, OLS 458-9, Tal 936, Lv. IV 616-7, Sl. 1184-5, Br. 811, L G 518, BGMR 129 || Eg fP šdy v. 'suckle' (× N *čay∇d₁∇₁y∇ 'female breast' × N *šün₃∇ 'milk; to suck[le]') ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 (Eg šdy ÷ □S*'θady- 'female breast') ¶ Eg š- < *š- of N *šün₃∇ || K *òšt∇m- > Sv: UB/L li-šdme, Ln li-štme msd. 'to make (so.) drink, 'to become drunk', UB {GP} ot-šdā₁ma, L {Dn.} ot-šdā₁m 1s aor. 'I made him drink' ¶ TK 460, GP 178, 244, Dn s.v. šdam || IE: NaIE *swēj₁d- 'milk' > Irn: Av xšvīd- (x- remains unexplained), KhS švīda-, NPrs شیر šīr 'milk' || Lt sviestas, Ltv sviēsts ~ sviēsts 'butter' ¶ P 1043 (adduces OI kšvidyati 'becomes wet'), M K I 295 (rejects kšvidyati), Bai. 415-6, Brtl. 562, Frn. 953 (the Lt-Irn connection is not mentioned), ≈ EI 382 (? *(k)swēj₁d- 'milk') || A: T

*sūt 'milk' > OT QU/U {Cl.} sūt, MU, MQp, MOg, XwT sūt, Chg sūd ~ sūt, OOsM sūd, Tk sūt / sūt- ~ sūd-, Tkm θüyt, Az sūd, XT {DH} sīt, Xlj sīt ({JDT} sīt), VTt cəT sūt, Bsh həT hūt, Uz sut, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog, ET, Ln, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Shor, Tv sūt, Tf sūt, SY sūt ~ söt, Yk üt, Chv cəT sūt, Δ {Md.} sūt ¶ Cl. 798, Rs. W 438, TL 448-9, Jeg. 189, Fed. II 46, Md. 64, Ra. 229 || M *sūn 'milk' (acc. to Dr., bf. from *sūd [sc. *sūd], reinterpreted as pl. *sū-d) (× N *šūn3 ▽ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ ≈ DQA #2094 (A *sūt, i 'milk, ∈ liquid' > T, M + unc. Ko *stím 'sweat').

2132. ***s ▽ t ▽ l ▽** 'to set, to put, to collocate' > **HS:** S *√štl v. 'set, plant' > BHb √štl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', MHb √štl v. G 'set, plant', JA, Sr √štl G 'plant', Ar E (← Aram) √štl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', BHb שְׂתִיל v. 'transplanted shoot', Pun → Gk [Diosc.] σιθιλεσαδέ - 'ἑράκιον τὸ μέγα' ({LS} 'Urospermum picoides') (÷ Hb שְׂתִילֵי שָׂדֵה 'transplanted shoots of the field'), JA אֲשִׁיטֵל 'ā (transplanted) shoot', Ak A/YB √stl v. G √stl 'plant', Ak šitlu 'sprout, shoot', Md šitla 'plant', Ar SL (← Aram) šatl-at- 'nursery-plant' ¶ KB 1539-40, BDB 1060, LS 1598, Wehr 414, Js. 1638-9, Sl. 1185, DM 477, Br. 812, Hv. 351, Sd. 1033, 1251, CAD XV 197 || **IE:** NaIE *stel- v. 'place, put, set' (stellen, setzen) > OI [Dhat.] 'sthalati 'stands' || Arm ստեղծման ստեղծման 'steł-em 'I collocate, place, settle, establish', ստեղծման 'stełcan-em 'I create' || Gk στέλλω (*στέλ-λω) 'set in order, arrange' || OL [Fest.] stlocus > L locus 'place' || *stol-no-s > ON stallar n. 'Gerüst, Altar; Stall', AS steall 'act of standing, place', OHG stal 'place of residence, place, stable', MHG stal 'Steh-\Wohnort, Stall', NHG Stall 'stall, stable', NE stall; OHG stellen 'to put, to set up, to institute' ('apponere, collocare, statuere') > NHG stellen 'to put, to place, to set' (→ Stelle 'place') || Pru stallit 'to stand' ¶ P 1019-20, EI 472 and 506 (*stel- 'put in place, [make] stand [up]'), M K III 525, WH II 817-8, F II 786-8, En. 254, Stl. 333 (fn. 81a), Vr. 542, Ho. 318, Kb. 949, 960, OsS 862-3, Lx. 208, KM 736-7, 744-5 ◇ On IE *st- < N *S ▽ t- see Introduction, 2.2.10.

2133. ***s ▽ tîm ▽** (= *s ▽ tîm ▽?) 'to hear' (←|→ 'ear'), ? 'to feel' > **HS:** Eg fP s3m 'hear' (Eg 3 may go back to *-t̥y- or *-dy-) ¶ EG IV 384-7, ≈ Tk. I 262 (equates Eg s3m with S *√šm 'hear' by supposing that Eg 3 goes back to *s) || ? WS *√çwt (mte. *š...t̥ > *ç...t?) > Jb C ešbet 'listen carefully', šešet 'listen carefully, keep one's ears open', Sr, JA [Trg.], JEA, Md √çwt G, SmA √çwt Sh 'listen'; WS *çawt- 'voice' >

Sr 𐤀𐤍𐤔𐤁 𐤍𐤁𐤕𐤁, Jb C 𐤍𐤁𐤕𐤁 id., Ar صَوْتٌ 𐤍𐤁𐤕𐤁- 'voice, sound' ¶ Jo JL 243, Tal 730, BK I 1382, Hv. 409, Js. 1272, Sl. 957-8. Br. 625 || IE: Ht istamass- 'hear', istamana- 'ear', ? Lw tummant- 'ear' ¶ Frd. HW 90, Pv. I 452, ≈ Ivn. SA 153 || K *št^um- 'ear' > Sv: UB/LB šdim, L/Ln šṭim 'ear', ? GZ d. *sa-^štum-al ({{K²}} *(s)a-(s)tum-al-) 'pillow' (← nomen loci 'place of the ear', like R подушка 'pillow?') > OG sastumal 'pillow', G sastumal 'head of the bed', ?σ Mg ortumel, Lz omtunal 'bearing log of the fire' ¶¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. γχο, GP 272, Dn. s.v. ṣṭim, K² 175 ◇ If the N stop was *ṭ (indirectly suggested by HS), K *t is due to as. *sṭ > *st.

2134. *sUṭû 'beat, strike' > U: FU *sUtt∇ (= *s^ott∇?) 'strike' > Prm *sōt- ({{LG}} *sōt-) v. 'chop, strike' > Yz 'sūt- 'cut' (mom.) ('рубануть'), Z сōт- sət- id., 'strike' || ? Hg üt-, Δ it- 'strike, hit, knock' ¶ The Prm cognate points to a FU *o. The Hg front vw. ü- may be due to the ass. infl. of a front vw. in the next syll. (an old *-ü?) ¶ Coll. 121, LG 265, Lt. 146, Lt. J 180, ≈ UEW 23 (rejects the connection between Prm *sōt- and Hg üt- because of the discrepancy between their vowels and derives [with a query] Hg üt- from FU *akt∇ 'beat, chop', though FU *ä- does not regularly yield Hg ü- or i-) || A: Tg: Ewk sutiga- 'knock out (вышибить, выбить)' ¶ STM II 131 || D *čuttⁱ ({{ḡGS}} *s-) 'hammer' > Tm cutti 'small hammer', Ml cutti, cuttika, Kn suttige, Tu suttī, suttigæ, Tl sutte, Gnd sutte, Kui suthi 'hammer'; D → Mrt sutkī 'an instrument of stone-splitters' ¶¶ D #2668 || IE: NaIE *(s)teu-k/g- 'hit, strike' > MDt/NLG {P} stūken 'stoßen, aufschichten', Nr Δ {WP} стаика 'to push' || Sl *stukъ n. act. 'knocking' > SrCSI/OR стoукъ stukъ, P stuk, R/Uk стук id.; *stuka-ti v. 'to knock' > P стukać, R 'стукать, Ul 'stukatī, Blr 'стукаць id.; R стy'чатъ id. | Ltv stuknīt 'to push forward by little strikes', Δ {ME} 'stossen, schlagend vorwärtsstoßen' || ŷ OIr {P} stúag 'chop with an axe' (infl. of OIr túag 'axe' < NaIE *teu-k-/*tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick' < N *ṭ^uḲa 'to thrust, to stab, to push?') (unless stúag is a misinterpretation of OIr {Vn.} stúagaid 'il courbe') ¶ WP II 616, P 1032-4, Vn. S 193, Vs. III 787, Brü. 523, Kar. II 312, ME III 1102 ◇ The *-k/g-extensions in IE and the element -ga- in Ewk may belong together and point to a N compound etymon ***sUṭû-Ka** ◇ IS SS #1.31 (U, D), IS MS 330 s.v. битъ³ (U, D).

2135. *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self' (← '[human] body [??]') > **HS** *√sw 'himself' > Eg fO sw 'he; him, himself' (× N *sE 'he\she', q.v.) ¶ EG V 59 || EC {Ss.} *ʔis- 'self, oneself' (← N *h'i 'iste' [q.v.] [or N *yi 'he'] + N *s|šEw∇ 'self', possibly × N *ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man' [q.v.]) > Af is-i, Sml, Elm is, Rn is- (+ppa.), Bn se (← *is-e), Bs is-e, Or H {Ow.} if-i, Or S {Sr.} uf-i ɖ if-i ɖ of-i, Kns is-i, Gdl iss, Brj {Ss.} issi, Ya eh '(one)self' ¶ Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 171, PG 160, Ow. 187-9, Sr. 331, 376, 396-7, Hd. 130, 201 || IE: NaIE *swe- ~ *se- 'himself' ('sich'), gen. {P} *sewe, dat. {P} *seb^heǵ, {Szem.} *seb^hi, enclitic gen.-dat. *s(w)ǵ 'of\to himself' ({Szem.} dat. *s(w)ǵ), *swǵ- (pronominal adj.) 'his own' > OI 'sva-, Av hva- ~ x^wa- ~ hava-, OPrs huva- 'own, one's own' || Arm Ինքն in-k^hn (gen. Ինքեան in-k^hean) 'he, she, him-her-self' (p k^h < *sw-) || Gk é, Gk P ἑ 'himself' (< *swe), gen. Gk Hm ἑο, εἶο, εἶ, εῦ, Gk A οῦ (< *swesyo), dat. Gk A οῦ, οἶ, Gk L ἑοῖ (< *swǵ), Gk Hm ἑοῖ (< *sewǵ), possessive Gk A ὄς, Gk D ἑός 'his own' (< *swos) || pAl {O} *swaj_ǵ-ta > Al vehte ~ vete ~ vetē '(one)self' || L sē 'himself', sibī, Osc sífeí, Pæl SEF^EI 'to himself' (< *seb^heǵ), OL σοῦος, L suus 'his\her own', Osc suveis 'of himself (sui)' (gen.), súvad 'sua_', Pæl SUOIS 'suis' || Gt, ON sik, OHG sih, NHG sich accus. 'himself', Gt sis, ON sér 'to himself'; ⇨ possessive Gt seins, OHG sīn, NHG sein 'his' (< *seǵ-no-s ⇨ loc. *seǵ?), Gt swēs 'one's own; property' || Pru sien accus. 'himself' (or 'oneself?'), sebbēi 'to himself' (or 'to oneself?'), Lt savè accus. 'oneself', savēs 'of oneself' (gen.), dat. sáu, sáv 'to oneself', sāvās, Ltv savs 'one's own', Pru swais id. (or 'his\her own?') || Sl *sę accus. 'oneself' (> OCS сѧ сę), *sebě 'to oneself' (> OCS себѣ себѣ), *svǵb 'own's own' (OCS сѡн свǵб) || ?? Ht si- 'he', Lc *si- id. (in sesi 'his') may be alternatively (and better) equated with NaIE *so- 'der' (masculine gender) and U *sE 'he\she' (F N *sE id.) ¶ P 882, Szem. EVS-70 203, Szem. IEL 220-1, M K III 566, M E II 787-8, F I 431-2, Kb. 853, Bc. G 324, O 498, Frn. 767, En. APG 130-2, En. 247, Frd. HW 192, KrlSh. XLJ 20, 65 || U: FU *s|šEw∇ > ObU *θōw 'he' > pVg *tāw id. > Vg: T tüw, LK tāw, accus. tāwə, MK/UK/NV/SV/LL tāw, P tāw, accus. tāwa, UL/Ss taw; pOs *ḑūḑ ({}Hl.) *ḑūḑ id. > Os: V löḥ, Vy yöḥ, Ty ḑēḥ^w, Y ḑēw ~ ḑōw, D/K tēw, Nz tūw, Kz ḑūw, O lūw ¶ Ht. #125, Hl. rHt 71-4, Vrt. table I || A *sEwân 'human body, spirit\soul' > Tg *seben 'spirit, ghost' > Orc səwä(n-), Ud s3w3(n-)

'helper spirit (ghost) (helping the shaman)', Ewk, Neg s3w3n id., 'idol representing the helper spirit', Ul sew0(n-) ~ s3w3(n-), Ork s3w3, Nn Nh s3w3̃, Nn B s3w3(n-) 'helper spirit', 'idol', Sln s3wũ 'spirit', 'idol', Lm hawki ɖ sawki 'god' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1950 (A *seb∇(n∇) [¬ *z-] 'strange, supernatural'; unc. comparison of the Tg word with M *sebe-ʒün 'strange' and Ko sôn 'guest').

2136. ₂ *s̥i'h¹w∇ 'sun' > HS: Eg fMK sɔ 'day' (in a date) > DEg sɔw ~ sɔw id., Cpt Sd/B cɔɣ- sɔ- id.; ? Eg fMK sɔ 'time' > DEg sɔw ~ sɔw 'Termin, Zeit', Cpt Sd cɥɣ sēw, Cpt B cɥɔɣ sēu 'time (temps)' ¶ EG IV 57-8, Fk. 215, Er. 461, Vc. 200 || ?φ S: Ar ✓zhw (ip. -zhuw-) G 'shine' (of a lamp) (as. -sh- [-sh-] > -zh-?) ¶ BK I 1023, Hv. 300 || A: ? Tg *si'ɣ¹ūn 'sun' > Ewk siɣūn ~ hiwun ~ šiwun, Sln šigũ, Neg siwun ~ siɣun ~ siyun, Orc s3u(n-), Ud sū(n-), Ork {STM} s̥u(n-) (probably < *syun < *siun), Ul, Nn B siu(n-), Nn Nh/KU siũ 'sun', PCMc [TF] siɣun 'sun', WrMc šun 'sun, day'; but the spelling of PCMc does not necessarily reflect the pronunciation (siɣ- or sy-), but may be a mere spelling device to render *š- ¶ STM II 78, Vas. 350, Krm. 288, Ci. 320, Mls. 240 ¶ On the origin of Mc š- see Introduction, § 2.2 ◊ Hardly here NaIE *saᵛwēl- / *s(u)wēl-, *sūl- / *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (P 881-2), because in this way the element *-(e)l- remains unexplained. For a better et. of this IE word see N *3aHúí∇ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun'.

2137. ?φ (₂?) *s̥¹äw₁₁∇ 'to want', 'to beg' ([in descendant lgs.] → desiderative, volitive) > A: T *säb- 'love' > OT {Cl.} säv-, MQp/XwT XIII säw-, Chg XV sew-, Tk sev-, Ax sev-, Tkm cəŋ- θöy-, Uz sev-, ET söy-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg süy-, VTt cəŋ- s̆y-, Bsh h̆y-, Alt {BT}, Tlt {RL.} sū-, Chv sav- id., ? Yk îäy- 'be friendly to' ¶ Cl. 284, Rs. W 406-7, Jeg. 173 || Ko {S} *sipi- 'wish, want' > MKo sipi-, NKo sipʰ- sip-, sipʰi- id. ¶ S QK #832, Nam 325, MLC 1043, 1066 ||] A sx. with voluntative or optative meaning: M *-suᵛ / *-süᵛ: *ora-su 'let me enter!', ög-sü 'let me give!' > MM -su / -sü (kele-sü 'I shall say!', Mgl -sūn (with a secondary -n), WrM -sɔ-gay / -sɔ-gey ¶ Pp. IM 255 || NaT *-sun / *-sün, 3s optative > OT -zun / -zün, MU -sun / -sün, ET -sun, Az -sun / -sün / -sin / -sin || Tg -su, marker of imv. (2s, 3s) in several archaic verbs: WrMc bi-sɔ, Nn bi-su 'be!', WrMc o-sɔ 'let him\it be, be!, become!', WrMc gay-su 'take!', Nn ga-su 'buy!', WrMc bay-su 'ask (a question)!', Nn di-sɔ 'come!' ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1975 (*sebe 'to love,

to have fun'; incl. T, Ko) || IE: NaIE *-s-, *-sy-: [1] volitive sx. *-s- 'want to' > OI -s- in $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\rho\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}\acute{\sigma}\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ 'he wants to hear', OL $\upsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\text{-}\bar{o}$ > L $\upsilon\iota\sigma\text{-}\bar{o}$ (* $\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta\text{-}s\text{-}\bar{o}$) 'want to see', Gt $g\alpha\text{-}\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma\bar{o}$ 'I visit' (\leftarrow 'want to see'); [2] in several lgs. *-s-, *-sy- changed into a marker of future: Gk -σ- in $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ 'I shall show', $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\psi\omega$ 'I shall leave', OL $d\iota\chi\bar{o}$ 'I shall say', $f\alpha\chi\bar{o}$ 'I shall do', $c\alpha\pi\sigma\bar{o}$ 'I shall take', Osc $f\upsilon\sigma t$ 'will be', Lt $duos$ 'will give'; the less reduced variant *-sy-: OI participium futuri $b\bar{u}\text{-}\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\alpha\text{-}nt\text{-}$ 'who\which will be', OCS $бъшаше\text{-}је$ $b\ddot{s}e\acute{s}te\text{-}je$ 'future' ¶ Brg. KVG 529 || HS: ?σ CS * $\check{s}w\acute{y}$ > BHb $\check{s}w\acute{y} D$ 'cry for help', $\check{s}u\acute{a}\acute{y}$, $\check{s}aw\acute{f}\bar{a}$ 'a cry for help', SmA $\check{s}bh\omega$ 'outcry' ($\check{s}w\acute{y}$) (unless related to Plm $\check{s}y\acute{t}$ {HJ} 'protectrice, female helper', suggesting a CS $\check{s}w\acute{y}$ or $\check{s}y\acute{y}$ 'help') ¶ KB 1340-1, GB 814, HJ 1129, Tal 883 || ?φ C: Ag {Ap.} * $c\acute{a}\omega\text{-}/c\acute{a}\omega\text{-}$ 'beg' (× N * $w\acute{e}\check{c}\nabla$ [or * $w\acute{i}\check{c}\nabla$] 'to order, to require, to beg'???) > {Ap.} Bln, Km $\acute{s}i\omega\text{-}$, Xm $\check{c}\acute{a}\omega\text{-}$, {R} $c\acute{a}\omega\text{-}$, Q $\acute{s}e\omega\text{-}$, Dmb {R} $\acute{s}\acute{e}\omega\text{-}$ ¶ Ap. AV 20, R WB 331-2, CR LK 254, ≈ AD SF 105 ◇ Ag {Ap.} * $c\text{-}$ (= * $\check{c}\text{-}$?) may go back to * $S\text{-}?$ < * $S\text{-}\dots$ ◇ ≈ AD NEPGF 240-1 (does not distinguish between the reflexes of this N etymon and those of N * $Su\omega H_1\nabla$ 'to push, to cause' [as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N * $\acute{s}\hat{u}\omega h\nabla$ 'loosen']), Gr. I 204-6 ("future S" in IE, A, EA).

2138. * $\acute{s}i\omega\acute{f}\bar{a}$ (or * $\acute{s}i\omega ga$) 'to smear' > HS: CS * $\check{s}y\acute{y}$ ~ ? * $\check{s}y\acute{y}$ (* $\text{-}\check{s}y\acute{y}\text{-}$ | ? * $\text{-}\check{s}y\acute{y}$) ~ * $\text{-}\check{s}y\acute{y}\text{-}$ > BHb $\check{s}y\acute{y} G$ (2pm imv. $\check{s}\bar{o}\acute{f}\bar{u}$) 'be smeared \ plastered up', {BDB} 'be blinded', *Sh* 'plaster up', JA [Trg.] $\check{s}y\acute{y} G$ vt. 'smooth, paste (glätten, bestreichen)', JEA $\check{s}y\acute{y} T$ 'be smoothed down', JA [Trg.] $\text{-}\check{s}\bar{u}\acute{y}\text{-}$ G 'plaster', Sr ip. $\text{-}\check{s}\bar{u}\acute{y}\text{-}$, pf. $\check{s}\bar{a}\acute{y} v. G$ 'daub, besmear', SmA $\check{s}\check{s}\acute{y}\acute{y}$ 'smooth', $\check{s}\acute{y}\acute{y} TD$ 'be coated'; ?? Ar $\check{s}y\acute{y} v. G$ 'add fat to the food; smear the hair with fat or with oil' ¶ GB 183, BK I 1095, Tal 919, Lv. T II 503-4, Js. 1538, 1611-2, Sl. 1168, Br. 791, JPS 566 || B * $\check{z}\omega\acute{y} v. G$ 'smear' > Ah {Fc.} $\acute{a}h\omega\acute{y}$, Gh {Nh.} $\acute{a}\check{z}\omega\acute{y}$, Tnsl $\acute{a}\check{s}\omega\acute{y}$, ETwl, Ty $\acute{a}z\omega\acute{y}$ id. ¶ B * $z\text{-}$ may be due to as. * $s\acute{y}$ > * $z\acute{y}$ (> B * z) ¶ Fc. 625, Nh. s.v. 'oindre', GhA 218, Pr. H 72 [#439] || K: GZ * $s\omega\text{-} v. G$ 'pass one's hand over (sth.), smear, oil (sth.)' > OG $s\omega\text{-}$, G $s\upsilon\text{-}/s\text{-}$, Mg, Lz $s(\upsilon)\text{-}$ id. \leftrightarrow GZ * $s\omega\text{-}am\text{-}/s\omega\text{-}m\text{-}$ id. > G $s\upsilon am\text{-}/s\text{-}m\text{-}$, Mg, Lz $sum\text{-}$ id. ¶ K 163, K² 164-5, Chx. 1214-6, FS K 268, FS E 297-8 || ?φ IE: Ht $s\acute{a}h\text{-}$ 'verunreinigen, beschmieren' ¶ Ts. W 66 || A * $sipa$ 'clay', v. 'smear' > NaT * $siba$ v. 'smear' > OT $siba\text{-}$ ~ $suva\text{-}$ v. 'smear with clay, plaster' (partially coalesced with $suba\text{-}$ ~ $suva\text{-}$ v. 'water' \leftarrow OT $s\bar{u}\bar{v}$

'water'), MT XIV [IM] siba-, Osm siva- 'besmieren, tünchen, mit Stuck bewerfen', Tk siba- v. 'smear', Xk сыба- siba- v. 'smear (the house with clay)', Sg {RL} suba-, Shor {Rs.} šuba- v. 'smear\coat with clay', ET Tr {RL} suba- v. 'plaster'; Osm siva 'plaster, stucco', Shor siva 'hardened dung in bear's stomach in winter' ¶ Cl. 785, DTS 515, Rs. W 414, BIG 204, Rl. IV 672, 788, 1105 || M *siba- v. 'smear, coat with mud\clay, plaster' > MM [MA] šiba-, WrM siba-, HIM шаба- v. 'plaster, stucco; apply mud\ointment', Ord šawa- v. 'cover\coat with mud', WrO {Krg.} šaba- v. 'daub, smear, cover with dirt', Brt шаба- v. 'putty, coat, besmear', Kl шав- šaw- vt. id. ('за-\об-мазывать, шпаклевать'), {Rm.} 'besmieren (mit Lehm), tünchen', Dx {T} šuwa- v. 'smear\coat'; ⇨ M *sibar 'mud, clay' > MM [S] śibar, [HI, IM] šibar 'mud', [MA, IsV] šibar 'clay', WrM sibar, HIM шабар 'mud, morass, clay, plaster, stucco', Ord šawar 'boue, enduit de boue', Brt шабар, WrO šabar, Kl {Rm.} šawrō 'mud, clay, dirt', Kl {KRS} шавр 'clay', Mnr H {SM} šawar 'boue, mortier, argile, badigeon', Mnr M {T} šawar, Dx šuwa, Ba šbar, bar 'clay', Dg šawar 'clay, mud' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, Lg. VMI 66, Pp. MA 332, 447, MED 693-4, Krg. 431, Chr. 712, KRS 659, KW 352-3, Ms. O 610-1, SM 369, T 381-2, T DgJ 182, T DnJ 142, T BJ 152, Mr. D 192, Pp. IM 123 || Tg *sipa- (= *siṗa-?) v. 'smear' > Ewk siwa- id., Ud siṗala-, Nn B siṗaktz- v. 'stop up (a hole)', Lm hwtaw & hwtaw 'swamp, marsh' ¶ STM II 74 || pJ {S} *sápa 'bog, marsh' > OJ sápa, J: T sawá, K sáwà, Kg sáwa id.; pJ *sapa-s- v. 'dip, smear with laquer' > ItOJ saṗa-s-, J T sawas- ¶ S QJ #463, Mr. 20, 748 ¶¶ Rm. 352-3 (M, T), Rs. W 414 (T, M, Tg), Pp. VG 30, 46 ¶¶ Altaic *-p- (suggested by Ud/Nn -ṗ- and pJ *-p-) is likely to go back to *-bH- < N *-wʁ|g- ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2011 (A *sípa 'clay; to smear'; incl. T, M, Tg) ◇ IS MS 348 (*śiṗa 'to smear [with clay]'; U, K, A). If the Ar cognate is valid, it suggests N *-g-, the Ht cognate points to N *-g|y-, which contradicts the K ev. for a "lighter" Ir. (N *ʁ).

2139. *Suwh₁∇ 'to push, to cause' (→ 'to ask for', → causative) > IE *seuHx-/*suHx- > NaIE *sewə- '≈ set in motion' > OI ✓ sū-: su'vati 'sets in motion, vivifies, urges', pp. 'pra-sū-ta 'angetrieben, gesandt', savī-'tar 'stimulator, rouser, vivifier' (to distinguish from ✓ sū-'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' < N *šûwh₁∇ 'to loosen', q.v.) || Av x^varṇhayō 'drängt', ma¹nyu-šūta 'vom Geist getrieben' (OI/Av ū < NaIE *ū < IE *uHx; OI i < NaIE *ə < IE *Hx) || ? OIr soīd 'twists, turns' ||

Ht {Ts.} suwāy - 'stoßen, drängen, schieben', {EI} 'push, urge', ??? Pal sūnat 'poured out' ¶¶ Not here Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (* $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\omega$) 'let, suffer, allow, permit', OHG fir-sūmen 'to neglect, to miss', MHG sūmen 'to delay, to linger, to tarry', which belong to IE * seuH-/*suH- 'let, neglect' < N * śūwh '↑' ¶¶ EI 507 (* seuh_3- / prs. * $\text{su'neh}_3\text{-ti}$), M K III 488-9, MW 698, 1190-1, 1239, Kb. 986, F I 434, Ts. W 79 || A: Tg * sub- '≈ push' > WrMc subada- 'push each other', Ul subaqa- 'interfere, meddle in other people's business' ¶ STM II 115 || D: ? D * čō^{V} - ({ GS } * s- ?) > Kn sō , sōvu , sōhu 'drive off, chase away', sōvali 'chasing away, driving off'; the connection with Tm ōppu 'drive away, cause to flee' and ōccu 'drive away, chase' is highly qu. ¶ D * ō (for the expected * u) is still to be explained ¶ ≈ D #2878 ||| This N word was grammaticalized as a marker of causativity: HS * s^{V} - > S * ś^{V} - (px. of causative verbs, *Sh* -stems) > Ak ś^{V} -, BHb, OA h^{V} -, Ar, Gz ʔa- , Sb h^{V} -, Mn, Qtb, Hdr S ś^{V} - || Eg s- (px. of causative verbs) || B * s^{V} - id.: Shl ird 'be clean' \rightarrow s-ird 'make clean, wash', Tmz θaməz 'take (often)' \rightarrow s-θaməz 'make so. take (often)', Tw imɣar 'être grand' \rightarrow samɣar 'rendre grand', etc. || C prefix of causality * -s^{V} - (following the personal pxs. of verbs) (in verbum finitum of the prefix-conjugated verbs), sx. of causality * -s^{V} - (preceding the sxs. of person-gender-number) (in verbum finitum of the suffix-conjugated verbs and in some nominal forms of verbs) > Bj pxs. and sxs. -sō/se- , -s- ||| Ag (sxs.): Bln {Plm.} -s- , -is- , -s3- , Xm {Ap.} -s- , -iz- , -iss- , Km {Ap.} -ś- , Q {R} -š- , -z- , Aw {Hz.} -č- ||| EC * -ś- (prefixes): Sa {Wlm.}, Af {Hw.} -ys- , -s- , (?) -y- , (sxs.): Sa -is- , Sml -si- , Or, Sd -s- , ? Rn -s- ~ -(i)č- ||| SC: Irq {Mous} caus. sx. -s- || NrOm caus. sx.: Gf {Mrn.} sx. -s-/-is- , Cha {C} -s , -is , -š , Zl {C}, Ym {C} -s , Kf {C} -č- || Ch: traces of the HS marker of causativity have been found in Hs: Hs -ár , -šě , causative sxs. of the verb ¶¶ Dk. SHL 100-1, Dk. AL 104-7, Dk. JDPa 256-61, Sd. G 116-7 (§ 89 [17]), 122-3 (§ 94 [22]), Bst. ESA 19, Lip. 334, 387-392, Ed. §§ 440-5, AD KJ 93-7, AD SF 287, Pr. M VI-VII 57-9, Cadi 41-5, Hz. AL 31, Ap. REA \forall , Ap. Kh II 470-1, Ap. K 331, PH 246-7, PG 31-2, Mous 170-5; C SE III 34, 143-4, and IV 209-12; C SO 39, Mrn. O 58-9, AiM 223, PorS 363 ||| ? A: J (incl. Ryukyu ds.) -s -causative: J noko-s(u) 'leave behind' \leftrightarrow noko-r(u) 'remain' \diamond AD NEPGF 240-1 (did not distinguish between the reflexes of this N word and those of N $\text{?}^{\text{f}} *^{\text{r}}\text{ś}^{\text{1}}\text{āw}_{\text{1}}\text{,}^{\text{1}}\text{V}$ 'to want' (as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N * śūwh 'to loosen, to release'), Gr. I 200-2 ("causative S" in IE, Y, A [Tg, J, qu. T], EA, Ai).

2140. ***s**¹**u**¹**w****h****â** ~ ***s**¹**E****ʔ****u****w****h****∇** 'moisture, water, rain', 'to (be) wet' > HS: S ***o**✓š|shh, ***o**-š|suhh- > Ar sahh- 'rain', ✓shh (ip. ya-suhh-u) v. 'pour forth (water), flow down'; S ***o**š|sayh- ~ ***o**š|sayf- > Ar sayh- 'flowing water', sayf- 'water running on the ground' ¶ BK 1057, 1173-4, Hv. 310, 346-7 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} sôʔ, Gmr {Fl.} sôʔ 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 110, 182, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL (***o**sôʔ 'water') || C: Ag {Ap.} ***s**ɜw- ({{Ap.} ***s**əw-) 'rain' > Km {Ap.} sɜwa, {CR} suwā, Xm {Ap.} s¹wa, Bln {Bnd.} suwa, {R} zu¹wā, Q {R} suwā 'rain' || EC: Ya sɔχɔ 'rain' || SC: Alg saʔami, Brn {Wh., E} saʔama 'river', ?? Asa {E} sɔʔoŋk 'valley' ¶ R WB 312, Ap. AV 19, Blz. CWL, E SC 180, Wh. IC 25, ≈ AD SF 100 || ??φ Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} zāwē 'water' || Gj {Sh.} zē, Tule/Zem/Sy/Zar {Sh.} žà, Zem D {Sh.}, Ds/Wnd/Dw {Sh.} šà id. ¶ JI II 340-1, Sh. SB 33 || **K** **šow- v. 'wet, wetten' ⇨ GZ *šowel- 'wet, soaked' and GZ *šowl- v. 'wet, make wet' (× N ***s**¹**u**¹**w****o****l****∇** 'liquid, moisture' [q.v. ffd.]) || **IE** *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu(ə)-/sū- 'moisture, rain' > Gk 'úel (with a long ū) 'it rains', 'úetós 'rain' || Gmc: OHG sou (gen. souwes ð sowes) 'juice', AS séaw 'juice, moisture', ON sægr 'rain; sea' || Pru suge [suyē] 'rain' || pAl {O} *sūya > Al shi 'rain' || pTc {Ad.} *su-/swāsā- > Tc A/B su-/swāsā- v. 'rain' ¶ P 912-3, EI 477 (*suH- 'rain'), Lehm. GE 213 (on the Gmc ev. of a lr. in this word), Krs. WT I 299, Wnt. TE 193-4 (on the Tc and Gk ev. of an IE lr.), F II 978-9, Ho. 287, Kb. 926, OsS 845, Schz. 264, Vr. 577, 413-4, Wn. 443, Ad. 693, Ad. H 102 ¶¶ AD ChCS ##17, 27 || **A**: T *s₁ub ({{Md.} *s₁ūb) 'water' ({{πAD}: < **sEūb) > NaT *su₁b 'water' > OT [MhK] sūw ~ suw, {Cl.} sūv (sc. suw), {DTS} suv ~ suw ~ sub ~ suʔ 'water, river', [MCh.] šuv 'water' (interpreted by Md. as šub), Tkm cyb θuw, Tk su, Uz, Qmq, Nog cyb suw, Az, ET, VTt, SY {Ml.}, Slr {Ten.} su, Qzq cy suw, Qq suw, Bsh h¹w, QrB, Qrg, Alt sū, Tv, Tf, Xk, Shor suʔ, Yk ū || Chv šiv, Chv MK {Md.} šy 'water' ¶ Md. 120-1, 177, Cl. 783-4, TL 88-9, MKD 169-70, DTS 512, 515-6, TkR 592, Ra. 229, Jeg. 340, Ml. ZhU 105, Ten. SSJ 487 ¶ The rec. of a long vowel (Cl., Md.) is not justified (Tkm has a short u, the long -ū of Yk goes back to *-ub) || d.?: M *subag 'narrow long swampy depression' (< *'river'), 'ditch, canal' > MM [HI] {Ms.} subaq 'fossé, canal', WrM subag, HIM cybar 'ditch, trench, canal; narrow long swampy depression', Brt hybar 'ditch, gutter' ¶ Ms. H 96, MED 733, Chr. 687 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2180 (A *š₁uba|u 'water' > T {DQA} *s₁b [= *su₁b?]) || **D** ***o**²**ū**- 'wet' > Gnd sūsū (a₁ānā) 'be just a little wet' (of clothes drying) ¶¶ ≈ DED #2242 (+

unc. D *čōk-, {GS} *zōk- 'wash, rub' [D #2872, GS 119, #312]) ◇ The tentative N rec. **süwhâ explains the pT form as resulting from vowel harmony: *sü-...-â (= [s^uü...-â]) > (synharmonic as. with preservation of the palatality of *s^y-) *s^yu...-â (or *s_ɲu...â) and later pT *s^y- (or *s_ɲ- ?) > Chv ṣ̌-. The alt. rec. N *^rs'E^ruwh^r is an attempt to explain the pT diphthong *-ɲu- as going back to a former bisyllabic structure *-E^ru- ◇ N *-h- is reconstructed on the ev. of S and K (it is the only N cns. yielding S *h and K zero). N *s- is reconstructed on the ev. of K *ṣ̌-. But if the K cognate is rejected (as ambiguous), we must replace N *s- and *-h- by unspecified *s̄- and *-X- ◇ AD LRC 7-8, IS MS 341 (*s^ruwh^r 'жидкость' > IE, T, K, HS).

2141. (2?) *s^ruwh^r 'to drink' > K *ṣ̌w- v. 'drink' > OG s^ru imv. 'drink!', G sv-, Mg, Lz ṣ̌(v)-, Sv {K} ṣ̌(w)- 'drink' (lalə₁-ṣ̌ aor. 'he drank', mi-ṣ̌w-a pfc. [res.] 'I have drunk'); ⇔ GZ {K} *ṣ̌w-am / *ṣ̌wm v. 'drink' > OG suam- / suem- / sum-, G svam- / sm-, Mg, Lz ṣ̌um- id. ¶ K 170, 173-4, K² 179, FS K 281-2, FS E 313 || HS: B *✓swh ({{Pr.} *✓swh₁) (perfective stem *-swh) v. 'drink' > Ah {Fc.} imv. əsu / 3 m pf. iswa (Fcj. 24), Gh {Nh.} əsu, Gd {Lf.} εsw / iswū, Awj {Par.} ṣ̌u / ɸeṣ̌wā, Sll {Ds.}, Izd {Mrc.} su / iswa, BSn {Ds.} sū / iswu, Kb {Dl.} səw / ɸəswa, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} su, Tmz {MT} səw / swi ~ swa, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} səw / ɸəswu, Si {La.} su / isua, Nf {Beg.} ésu / ɸesuwū, Skn {Srn.} sū / ísuā, Zng {TC} eṣ̌bi 'boire' (pf. ɸiṣ̌be) ¶ Fc. 1842, 2001, Msq. 38, Lf. I 258 and II #1512, Dl. 795, MT 661, Dlh. M 195, Dlh. Ou 307, Mrc. 35-6, Beg. N 220, TC Z 303-4, Nic. 368, Par. 161 || Ch {AD} *✓s₂wh v. 'drink' > WCh: Hs ṣ̌ā | Su {J} ṣ̌wā, Ang ṣ̌wē, Cp ṣ̌ū, Gmy {Fp.} suā, Tal {IL} sūwà v. 'drink' | Fy {J} ṣ̌o, DfB {J} ṣ̌oh id. | Bl, Krkr {J} s-, sa-, Grm {Gw.} sheña or shena, Krf {Sch.} shé-wò, Ngm sòwò id. | Wrj {Sk.} sá, {J} sà! (imv.), Cg {Sk.} ṣ̌á, Kry {Sk.} sá, My {Sk.} sa-, Sir {Sk.} sà, P' {MSK.} sa, Jmb s'í, sá, Mbr {Sk.} s'í / s'ā | Bg {J} še, {Sh., IL} ṣ̌a?, {Jgr.} ṣ̌ā, {Csp.} ṣ̌ē, Kir {Sh.} se, Grn {Sh., Csp.} saɲ, Tala {Sh.} h^ua, Jm {Csp.} he, {Gw.} hiɸé, Gj/Zul/Plc {Sh.} ṣ̌a, Buli {Sh.} ṣ̌a, Tule {Sh.} še, Zem/Tule/Wnd/Ds/Dw {Sh.}, Sy/Zar {Sh.} ṣ̌e | Ngz {Sch.} sá, Bd {Sch.} səʔ-yín, səgín id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} za, Gbn ṣ̌i, Hw sa | Cb {IL}, WMrg {ChL} sa, Mrg {IL} sàh | FIJ {ChL} se, FIB/FIM {ChL} si, Gude {Hsk.} sa, Bt {Mch.} sà, Bcm {Sk.} sóbò, Gudu {IL} sa | Mdr {Eg.} ṣ̌á, ṣ̌úṣ̌é | Suk {IL} sèván id. | Mtk {Sb.} sa, pMM {Ro.} *say > Mofu {Brr.} -s-, {Ro.} séy, Gzg D {Lk.} še, {Ro.} s'í, Mkt {Ro.} sá, Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} še,

Hrz {Ro.} šáwà v. 'drink' | Db {Lnh.} sà | Gdr {Mch.} s̄a | Lgn {Lk., Bn.} se, Bdm {Lk., Cfr.} hi, Msg {Trn.} s` | ZmB {Sa.} sé, ? {J} čé id. || ECh: Kwn {J} sē, Ke {Eb.} sé | Kbl {Cp.} sùw̄3, Li si | Smr {J} š̄, Tmk {Cp.} hē | Skr {Sx.} sē, {Lk.} sa | EDng {Fd.} sē̄ | Mb {Lk.} súwà, Brg {J} sáyà, Jg {J} s- id. ¶ JI I 51 {Ch. *√ s₂w) and II 110-1, JS 88, Nw. #39, Stl. IF 92 (Ch *sa|iʔ- > *swy / *syʔ / *swʔ), ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 180 [#326] (WCh *sah^w ~ *sih^w), Ro. 239, Csp. 15, 47, Sh. SB 35, Hsk. 267 ¶¶ AD ChCS ##17, 27 || ? U: FU {Coll.} *seʃe-, {UEW} *sew|ʃe- v. 'eat' (× N *sēg|k∇ 'to eat, to swallow' [q.v. ffd.]).

2142. o *ś'ow'y∇ 'to sound' > IE: NaIE {P} *sweǵ-/ *swi- v. 'sound', +ext.: *sweǵsd- id. > OI k̄svēd̄ati ~ k̄svēd̄ati 'buzzes, hums, murmurs' (k- from metanalysis in some word group or due to onomatopoeia?) || OIr {Vn.} séit- 'souffler', {P} sét- 'play (a wind-instrument)', ind fet 'sibilus' ({Vn.}: f- < *sw-), NIr fead 'a whistle', W chw̄ythu 'to blow (wind), to play (a wind-instrument)' || ? Gk σίζω v. 'hiss' || Sl o *svistъ n. 'whistle' > OR СВИСТЪ svist, Cz svist, P świst, R, Uk свист id.; ⇨ *svistati ~ *svistěti 'to whistle' > OC, OR СВИСТАТИ svistati, R свистеть ~ свистать, Uk свистати, Cz svistěti ~ svistati, Slk svistat', P świstać id. ¶ Not here Gt swiǵlōn 'to blow a flute', OHG swēglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', AS {Ho.} sweǵel 'music', and L sībilā- v. 'whistle' (see N *ś'uyg∇|∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing') ¶ P1040-1, EI 72 (*sweǵ- 'blow through a small aperture so as to hiss or buzz'), Vn. S 76-7; M K I 295-6 (because of the onomatopoeia he rejects all connections of the OI word), M E I 441, F II 704 (σίζω is o), Vs. III 580-1, Ma. CS 389 || U: FU *śoye- v. 'sing, sound', *śoye 'voice' > F soī- v. 'sound, ring', soitta- 'play (a musical instrument)', soitto 'music', Es sōitle- v. 'scold' | pLp {Lr.} *ćōy3 v. 'sound, resound' > Lp: L {LO} tjuodjat, N {N} čuoggjât / -j-, K {Gn.} čūygeð id., Vfs {Hs.} tjuojedh id., tjuoje n. 'sound' | pChr {Ber.} *šo-ktъ- v. 'sound (lauten, tönen)' > Chr: H шакташ 'šakta-š, L шокташ šok'ta-š / šokte-, B/M/Uf šokte- v. 'play (music), be heard' || ObU {Ht.} *sūy 'voice, sound' > pVg *sūy > Vg: LK/MK soy, P/Ss suy 'voice'; pOs {Ht.} *sōy ({[Hl.} *sūy) 'sound, voice' > Os: V/Vy sōy, Ty/Y sōy, D/K sēy, Nz/Kz sīy, O siy id. | Hg zaj, † szaj 'noise, din, sound' ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 482-3, Lr. #188, Lgc. #754, Lgc. SL 2899, Ber. 64 [#336], MRS 689, 714, Ht. #565 || ? A: pJ {S} *sāwāk- v. 'sound, make noise' > OJ

sàwàk-, J: T/Kg sawág-, K sáwág- ¶ S QJ # 987, Mr. 748 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1938 (A *sàyo 'sound' > J + unc. T *söglä- 'say' [in fact from N *šokō'ç'ê 'to say'] + Tg *sawu- [an unjustified rec. from Orc sawiki n. 'sound' and o: Ud safu-safu ō-, safura- and Ewk sauda- 'rustle']) || HS: C: Dhl {EEN, To} sō? v. 'sing', {To.} sō?e 'song' || SC: Asa šiša?a 'voice' ¶ E SC 231, EEN 24, To. D 147 ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. звучать *śojɔ (IE, U) ◇ Qu. (at both the IE and the N levels) because of the onomatopoeic factor in the history of the words.

2143. *siž∇ 'stream, small body of water (lake and sim.)' > HS: S *o✓š[sy] > Ar sayl- 'water-course, torrent', saylat- 'a stream, shower', (-> ?) ✓sy] (pf. sālā, ip. yasīlu) v. 'flow' (water) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv. 347 ¶ Possible infl. of N *s'û'wo1∇ 'liquid, moisture' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *selos- 'lake, marsh' > OI 'saras- 'lake, pond', 'Sarasvatī- (name of a stream and of a goddess), Irn *harah- 'lake' in n. l.: Av Haraxvaitī-, OPrs Harauvati- 'Arachosia (a province in the Persian empire)' (÷ OI 'Sarasvatī-) || Gk ἔλος ntr. (gen. ἔλεος) 'marsh-meadow, marshy ground; backwater' || ? W heledd, hêl 'meadow along the side of a river' ¶¶ P 901, EI 370 (*'seles- 'marsh'), M K III 443-4, FI 501-2 || U: FU *siž∇ 'moisture; small stream; moist, swampy land' > Prm: Z зіля zīlā 'a place with stagnant water (место, где стоит ржавая вода)', 'nasse, sumpfige, morastige Stelle', arśa-zīlā 'anhaltender Staubregen im Herbst', Yz zīlk'ya 'moist, swampy' || OHg ügy ~ igy 'spring, brook, river' ('fons, rivulus, fluvius') ¶¶ UEW 442, LG 105, MF 959-60 || D *čil- ({ǵGS} *s-?) 'pond, brook, river' > Tl cilupu 'a pond', Klm silka 'river', Nkr śilka 'brook, river', Prj čilva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd silka 'small river' & hilka & ilka 'rivulet' ¶¶ D #2569 ◇ *÷ Eg fP š ({Vc.} < *✓šyω) 'lake, pool, basin' > DEg šy 'lake, well' > Cpt 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šēi 'well, basin' (EG III 397-8, Fk. 260, Vc. 258), probably belonging to N *š'ä'riwE (or *č'ä'riwE?) 'body of water, (?) wet\swampy ground' (q.v.).

2144. ₂ *suç|gž∇ 'finger(s), hollow hand' > HS: CS *'šuç|vça]l- 'hollow hand' > BHb 'šoçal* 'hollow hand, handful' (attested forms: 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 'his hollow hand', pl. 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šoçā'l-īm and pl. cs. 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šoçā,lē), Md šula 'hollow hand', JA {Trg.} 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šaçā'l-ā ~ 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šoçū'l-ā 'hollow of the hand\sole', Sr {Br.} 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 šuç'lā 'handful' ({Br.} 'pugillus, manipulus') ¶ KB 1487-8, Lv. T II 503, Js. 1610, Br. 793, DM 454 || U *suž'a' 'finger' > pObU *θūž(∇) id. > pVg *tūīā

'finger-ring' > Vg: T toíā, LK/MK toía, UK tuía, P/NV/UL/Ss tuía id.; pOs {Ht.} *ᄋuy ~ *ᄋy 'finger' > Os: V loy (with 1s ppa. luyam 'my finger'), Vy yoy, Ty/Y ᄋoy, D/K tüy, Nz tūy, Kz ᄋūy, O luy id.; V/O luy 'sewing-ring (Nähring), finger-ring', Vy yuy, Ty/Y ᄋuy, D tūy, Nz tūy, Kz ᄋūy id. || Sm {Jn.} *°tbyā, {Hl.} *°tbya 'finger' > Mt {Hl.} *taya id. (Mt: M/K {Mll.} taia id., M {Pl.} тайѣда 'his finger', T {Mll.} tájam 'my finger') ¶¶ Coll. 64, Coll. CG 405 (*su|∇), UEW 449 (*suž∇), Sm. 540 (U *suwđā 'finger' > FU *s/śuwđa, FP *śuwđa, Ugr *suđa, Sm *təjä), MF 651-2, Ht. #116, Jn. UK 21 (U *sužā), Hl. MTKV 62-3, 88, Hl M #941 ◇ In S the N cns. *-ž- yields *-l- if the root-initial cns. is a sibilant; therefore no S *š...š-roots are attested.

2145. *sežA 'a relative from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ('father\son-in-law', 'mother's brother', and sim.) > K {K²} *šìže- or {K} *siže- 'son-in-law' > G siže-, Mg si(n)ža- ᄋ sinda id., Lz siža- id., 'bridegroom', Sv: UB/L čīže, LB/Ln čīže 'son-in-law' ¶¶ K 163, K² 181, TK 831 ¶¶ The pK rec. *šìže- is preferable. As.: N *sežA > *sežA (whence regularly K *šìže-); dis. *š...ž > s...ž in Zan || HS: EC *š∇z- ({Blz.} *s∇z-) 'relative-in-law' > Sml sóddog 'father-in-law', sóddóh 'mother-in-law', Rn {PG} sèyyóh ~ sòyyóh, {Oo.} so'yóh 'female-in-law' (= mother- \ daughter-in-law)', {PG, Oo.} seyyóh (/kk-) 'male-in-law (father- \ son- \ brother-in-law)', pBn *sìddáh 'mother-in-law', 'sister-in-law' > Bn B/J/Kj siddah, Bn K soddóh id., Or {Grg.} sodd-ā 'in-law, wife's sibling', Or H {Ow.} soddá, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} soddā 'in-law' (Or ᄋᄋ Arr soddá id.), Arr sóh 'in-laws', Gln {AMS} soqo 'son-in-law' ¶ Hn. BD 118, 149, PG 259, 10 (on the morphophoneme -h / -kk-), Oo. 70, Grg. 360, Sr. 386, Ow. 271, Hw. A 394, AMS 222 || ? (mt.?) WCh: P' {MSk.} čósì-ti (pl. čósāni) 'in-law', ??φ: Wrj {Sk.} žayī-na id., čiyak^w-aj 'female relative-in-law' ¶ MSk. 171, Sk. NB 27, Stl. ZCh 255 [102] || U *čečā 'uncle' > F setā 'father's brother', ? Es Δ sedī 'mother's brother' || pLp {Lr.} *čēcē 'father's brother' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjiedsie, L {LLO} tjiehtiē, tjāhtiē, N {N} čæcce id., Kld {TI} čie,čč 'father's younger brother' || Er čiče 'elder brother-in-law (sister's husband)', Mk шава 'ščava ~ 'šcava 'mother's mother', шятя 'ščāta 'mother's father' || pChr *čüčä ~ *čečä > Chr L чүчү čüčü, Н чычы čäčä, {Rm.} čičä, U cúcö ~ tūcö 'mother's brother' || pPrm *čžž 'mother's brother' > Z чож čož, Z Lt/Ud čož, Vt

čųжмурт čužmurt id., čųжбубы 'mother's father' || Vg: LK {Kn.} šäš, Ss {Kn.} sasīš 'uncle', P {Kn.} šäššə-m 'my uncle' || Sm {Jn.} *čičä 'mother's younger brother' > Ne Т тидя, Т О {Lh.} t'ide, Ng {Mik.} d. tītīdā, Slq: Tz {KKIH} tītā 'mother's younger brother', Tm {KD} d. (dim.?) č'ež'ag_a, MKe čič'a id., Ch {Cs.} tečea, MO {Cs.} čeča 'mother's brother', Ke {Cs.} citca, NP čiče, Nr dim. cežega 'uncle' || pY {IN} *čāčā 'elder brother, uncle' > Y K {IN} čāčā id., {Krn.} čača 'elder bother' ¶¶ UEW 34-5, Sm. 536 (U, FU *cecä, FP *č/šečä, Ugr *čečä, Sm *cicä), Lr. #126, Lgc. #534, Hs. 1315, TI 665, PI 312-3, RMarS 167, Ep. 144, Rm. OTS 158, Ber. 7, Jn. 33, KKIИ 183, KHG OSJ 92, Cs. 135, 147, 258, IN 21, Krn. JJ 284, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [#5] (Y ← U) ¶¶ Pre-U assimilatory affricatization of *s-: N *sežA > *čečä ◇ Blz. KM 119 [#18] (K, EC, U) and 130 (added NB), AD NM #111, S CNM 12 (÷ ÷ proto-Lezgian).

2146. *Sī'ž'∇ 'to skin, to scratch' > K: GZ *žičg-wŋ- v. 'pinch, nip, tweak (a large portion)' > G žičgn- id., Mg žgžggon-, žgžggon- id. ¶ K 269, K² 281, FS E 574 (*žičg-) || HS: C: Ag *s∇sk- v. 'skin' > Bln {R} sisk- ¶ R WB 311 || A: Tg *sisa- v. 'scrape, scratch' > Ul sisa/ɫ- 'scrape (скоблить, скрести)', WrMc siša- 'dig in the earth' (of pigs), 'gnaw' (of worms) ¶ STM II 98 || ? NaT *soy- v. 'skin (an animal), peel' > OT soy- v. 'skin', XwT XIV soy- v. 'strip off', MQp *soy- v. 'peel', Osm XIV soy- v. 'flay', Tk soy- v. 'strip, undress, peel', Ggz, Az soy- v. 'peel, skin', Tkm сой- θoy- v. 'peel', SY soy- v. 'skin (an animal)', Qrg soy v. 'skin' → 'slaughter', Qzq soy- 'slaughter\skin (an animal)', 'undress', Tv soy- v. 'skin, take off (a saddle)', Alt soy- id., 'slaughter', Xk soy- v. 'skin, bark', VTt soy- id., 'slaughter' ¶ Cl. 858, Rs. W 425, Ten. SSY 206, Jud. 650, Jeg. 198 ◇ K *ž-, C, and Tg *-s- are due to as. between sibilants.

2147. *šuby ∇ 'spike, spear; to pierce' > **HS**: S: Ar ✓ sbb G 'pierce, cut; spear (in the anus)' ('percer, transpercer [surtout à l'anus], couper'), {Ln.} 'cut, wound, pierce in the sabbat-' (contamination with Ar sabbat- 'anus, podex') ¶ BK I 1038, Hv. 304, Ln. 1284-5 || **K**: G šub- i 'spear, lance' ¶ Chx. 1850, DCh. 1529 || **U**: FP *šuyē (< **✓šuwye) 'spear, bear-spear, spike (of a weapon)' > F Δ hui 'Spule', huitti id., '(runde) Spitze, Gipfel', Es hui, Δ hoi, Lv v0'j, vʷoj 'Netznadel; Spule beim Weben' || Lp: OSw {LÖ} s u o j, Pt/Ar 'suoyya 'netting needle' || Prm {LG} *šŭ > Z шы št, Z UV/I š i 'spear, bear-spear (рогатина), bayonet', Vt ш i š i, Vt MU št 'sting, spike, bayonet' ¶ UEW 787-8, SSA I 177, LG 325, Lt. 198 || **A** (×N *šapE₁h₁η ∇ '≈ log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd. ×N *š'o₁b₁∇, t₁∇ [or *s∇b₁∇, t₁∇] 'stem, piece of wood?'): Tg *sōba 'ē stick', pJ {S} *sàwya 'pole, rod, staff' ◇ AD NM #33, ≈ S CNM 9-10 (unc. rejection of the K cognate).

2148. ₂ *šUd ∇ 'fasten tightly, strangle, be violent to so.' > **HS**: WS *✓šdd ~ *-šūd- v. 'fasten tightly, apply violence against, devastate' > BHb 𐤔𐤕𐤔 ✓šdd G ~ 𐤔𐤕𐤔 ✓šwd G (pf. 𐤔𐤕𐤔 šā'dad, ip. 𐤔𐤕𐤔 yā'sūd) v. 'deal violently with, devastate' ({KB} 'verheeren, verwüsten, vergewaltigen'), 𐤔𐤕𐤔 šod 'violence, oppression', Ug šdd G 'devastate', Md ✓šd? ~ ✓šdd v. G 'fasten (as chains), bind tightly, overpower', Ar ✓sdd G (pf. sadda) v. {BK} 'fermer, boucher (avec un tampon, bouchon, etc.) un trou\orifice, barricader un passage', {Hv.} 'stop (a flask), dam (a river), close up (a breach)', Gz ✓sdd v. G 'drive out\forth, chase away', Tgy ✓sdd 'chase away, send', Tgr ✓sdd v. 'brace (e.g. skin on a drum), fasten tightly; give trouble, bother, assail' ¶ KB 1317, BDB ##7703, GB 808, OLS 433-4, DM 449, BK I 1068, Hv. 314, L G 485-6, LH 197 || **K** *šwd-, {FS} *šwed-/*šwd- v. 'choke; suffocate, be suffocated; drown, get drown' > OG štoba ~ šdoba n. act. 'to choke, to suffocate', šišudil- 'strangulation', Lz šk(∇)id-, škīd- 'suffocate, strangle', Mg šk∇id- id., 'drown, hang (so.)', Sv šgwd-, šgud- škwd- v. 'strangle\drown, be strangled\drowned' ({TK} msd.: UB/L li-šgwd-e ~ -i, Ln li-škwdi) ¶¶ K 215, K² 249, FS E 425-6, Q 359, TK 458 ◇ IS MS 350 s.v. 'насилие' *š'x' d n, IS SS #3.24.

2149. *šûrad ∇ (= *šürad ∇?) 'good, happy, pleasant' > **HS**: WS *✓šfd 'be happy' > Ar ✓sfd (pf. safida) 'être heureux (un homme qui réussit)', ✓sfd (pf. safada) 'être heureux \ propice \ favorable' (a day, an hour), Sb doS šfd 'beneficence', (?) 'good fortune', šfd v. 'grant\bestow a favour' (of a deity) ¶ Fr. II 316, BK I 1090, Hv. 321,

BGMR 121-2 || ?? B: Kb $\zeta\zeta\theta\zeta\omega i$ 'passer une période heureuse' (unless a caus. of a verb represented in Ah duat 'be happy') ¶ DI. 932, Fc. 221 || K *šed-/*šd- 'be proper, fit' > Mg škid- id., {Q} škidapa 'decency; to benefit/become (приличествовать)', ma-škiduapa 'it befits me', Sv šged-, šgd- \approx šked- 'deem sth. worthy' (msd. UB/LB/L li-šgd-e, Ln li-šked-e) ¶¶ K 214, K² 248, Q 360, FS K 376, FS E 422-3, TK 458, GP 178 || IE *swehd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N *žûhd▽ [or *žûh▽d▽?] 'sweet', q.v.): [1] *swād- 'enjoy; be pleasant' > Gk ἡδομαι, Gk D ἄδομαι, Gk B ἄδομη 'rejoice, take delight', Gk ἄδυμος, Gk Hm ἡδυμος 'pleasant', ἡδονή 'pleasure' || L suādeō v. 'present (sth.) in a pleasing manner' (→ 'recommend, advise') || Gt sutis 'ἐπιεικής, mild, nachgiebig' || ? Vd sam̄-'sud-ē inf. {MW} 'to taste, to enjoy', OI 'svadatē 'is pleasant, tastes well' || Lt sūdyti 'to salt, to pickle (food)' || Tc B swār- 'please' | [2] NaIE *swā¹du-s 'sweet' > OI svā¹du- 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || Gk ἡδύς, Gk EI ἄδύς, Gk D ἄδύς id. || OSx swōti, OHG swuozī 'sweet, pleasing', NHG süß, MDt soete, Dt zoet, ON sætr, NNR sǫt, Sw söt, Da sǫd, OFrs, AS swēte 'sweet', NE sweet || pTc *swāre > Tc: A swār, B swāre 'sweet' | [3] NaIE *^oswād^w-i-s > OI svād¹vī-, L suāvī-s 'sweet, pleasant' | [4] NaIE *swād-o- 'savoury, pleasant', *¹swādos- 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-svadas- 'pleasant' || Gk ἡδος 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', μελι-ηδής 'honey-sweet' | [5] NaIE *swādon-om, *swādon-a 'delight, pleasure' > OI 'svādanam 'act of tasting; seasoning, making (food) savory' || Gk ἡδονή 'delight, pleasure' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (*sweh_hde/o- 'be tasty, please'), 560 (*sweh_h¹du-s 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-2, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6 || ?φ A: NaT *sūçī- 'be sweet' (infl. of N *žûhd▽ [or *žûh▽d▽?] '↑?') > OT {CL} süçī- 'be sweet', sūçig 'sweet', Tkm cγйжи θüççī 'sweet, tasty', Oosm XIII süçī ~ süçü, Osm {Rh.} سوجى süçü, Tk †π sūcū 'wine', Tk † sūcūk 'pleasant, tasty', Tki süçük ~ çüçük, Uz suçuk ~ çuçuk, Qrg çüçü 'sweet', XwT XIV süçüg 'sweet; wine', MQp XIII süçü 'sweet, grape wine', Qzq тҫшы tššī, Bsh cəcə sšsš, VTt төче tššb 'sweet (non salty)' (water) ¶ Cl. 795-7, Rs. W 457 (Rm.: *sūçī- 'be sweet' ← *sūt 'milk' + *sī), Tkr 596, Rh. 1086, TrR 796, Jud. 880 ◇ If NaT *sūçī- is a

legitimate cognate, it points to the N vw. *ū in the first syll. (N *šūrad∇).

2150. *š'ayü'd∇ 'throw, (?) leave (abandon)' > HS: CS (or S) *√šd|y 'throw, cast, shoot' > IA √šdy G 'shoot', JA [Trg.], JEA √šdy|w G (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤁'𐤓𐤁 ~ 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤁'𐤓𐤁) 'swing, throw, cast, shoot', Sr √šd|y G (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤁'𐤓𐤁) 'hurl, throw, shoot (an arrow), cast, fling', Ar √sd|w G (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤕 sadā) {∂Ln.} 'stretch forward arms, hands, fore legs', 'play with walnuts, throwing them into a hole', {BK, Hv.} 'stretch forth the hand' ||| (×N *š'ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down') Ak √šyt (inf. šētum, šīātum, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ Js. 1524, Sl. 1109-12, Br. 757-8, JPS 560, Ln. 1336, BK I 1073, Hv. 315, Sd. 1221 || ?σK *šwed- / *šwd- 'remain' (← 'be left') > OG šd- / šed- 'remain', G rč-, Mg skəd-, skid- id., Lz skid-, skud-, sked- (n. act. 0-skad-u) v. 'live (wohnen)' ||| ?φ Sv sed-/sd-, säd- 'remain', UB ka-sed 'escape harm from sth.' (msd.: UB/L li-sed) ¶¶ K 215, K² 249; FS K 379-80 and FS E 426 (without mentioning the Sv cognate), TK 447, GP 167 || U: FP *šaytt'ä' (> *šäytt'ä ~ *šaytta-) 'throw, hurl' > F heittä- 'throw, cast; leave, give up', Es heida- / heit- 'cast, throw' | Lp S {Hs.} saatt'edh 'versetzen, abschicken, wegtreiben, fahren lassen', {Lgc.} sātti-, {SK} sätte-, sitte- 'throw, hurl' | Z, Prmk šət-, Yz šõt- 'put corn into the drying-house (ОВИН)', Z šõt- 'throw (e.g. snow-balls) into the crowd' ¶ *-tt- (for *-δ-) may be due to suffixation (*-δ-t- > *-tt-) or to some unknown laws of phonotactics: *-yd- > *-ytt-?) ¶ UEW 781, Lgc. #6077, Coll. H #81.22, SK 65, TmK 781, Lt. J 199 || A: ?φ M *side- > WrM side-, HIM шидэ-, Brt шэдэ- 'throw, fling' ¶ M *side- may be explained as going back to **sayidE < (delabialization) *šayüd∇ ¶ MED 696, Chr. 743 || D (in SD) *čāṭ(ṭ)-/*čāṇṭ- v. 'throw' > Ml cāṭṭuka v. 'throw darts, hurl', cāṭuka, cāṇṭuka v. 'throw', cāṭṭu 'a hurl', Kn jāḍis v. 'throw', Tu cāṇḍuni v. 'fling a spear' ¶ D #2439 ◇ ≠ S NSShS #13 (K *÷ IE *sed- 'sit'; in fact, IE *sed- 'sit down' [rather than 'sit!'] is from N *š'ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2151. *š'ühi'∇ 'fade', 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > HS: S *°√šh|y, ? WS *šaw?-: [1] S *°√šh|y > Sr √šh|y (pf. 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤁'hā ~ 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤁'hī) v. 'be extinguished' (fire), 'remisit' (febris), 'evanuit' (robur) ¶ Br. 759; [2] WS *šaw?- '≈ nothing, evil' (×N ?σ *šuw?∇ 'weak', q.v.

ffd.) ¶ GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, BGMR 52, L G 521 || Eg XX $\varsigma\omega h$ (= {EG} $\acute{\varsigma}\omega h$) 'verschwinden lassen' (unless a caus. of an unattested verb $^{**}\omega h$) ¶ EG IV 72 || IE: NaIE $^{*}\varsigma\omega\bar{i}$ - (also +exts. $^{*}-g$ -, $^{*}-k$ -) 'decrease, become less, be(come) silent' > Ic $\varsigma\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 'to abate' (of pain) (\times N ? σ $^{*}\check{\varsigma}u\omega\uparrow\Delta$ 'weak'), with $^{*}-k$ -: OHG $\varsigma\omega\bar{i}g\bar{e}n$, NHG *schweigen* 'to be silent', OSx $\varsigma\omega\bar{i}gon$, AS $\varsigma\omega\bar{i}zian$, *sužian* id., 'to be quiet' || Gk $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta$, Gk D $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ (< $^{*}\varsigma\omega\bar{i}-g$ -) 'silence', $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ 'silently; in silence', $\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\sigma\iota\omega\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (< $^{*}\varsigma\omega i\upsilon\bar{o}-p$ -) 'I am silent' ¶ P 1052, Bv. 736, Vr. 570, Ho. 337, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 915-6, KM 591, F II 700-1, EI 518 (? $^{*}\varsigma\omega\bar{i}g/k$ - 'be silent, hush') || U: FU $^{*}\check{\varsigma}i\check{\varsigma}iya$ - (or $^{*}-\eta$ -) > F *hi i-pu-a* v. 'fade' (with the rf./ps. $^{*}-pu$ -, cp. F *juo-pu-a* 'to get drunk' \leftarrow *juo-da* 'to drink', *F* Laan. 282) ¶ Rs. UAW 42 || A: Tg $^{*}\bar{s}\bar{i}$ - v. 'extinguish', $^{*}\bar{s}\bar{i}-b$ - v. 'go out' (fire) > Ewk $\bar{s}\bar{i}$ - v. 'extinguish', $\bar{s}\bar{i}\omega$ - v. 'go out' (fire)', Sln $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}g\bar{u}$ -, Lm $\bar{h}\bar{i}\omega$ -, Neg $\bar{s}\bar{i}\omega$ - v. 'die out', Orc $\bar{s}\bar{i}\omega i$ - v. 'extinguish', *sipti*- ~ *sipt3*- v. 'die out' ¶ STM II 73; a different interpretation: S AJ 215 [#171] ◇ On N $^{*}-EHi$ - > Tg $^{*}-\bar{i}$ - see Introduction, § 2.4.

2151a. $^{*}\check{\varsigma}^ra'q_l\Delta g_aR\Delta$ 'soot' (\rightarrow 'black') > HS: CS $^{*}\check{\varsigma}\Delta\chi\bar{h}ur$ - 'soot', $^{*}\check{\varsigma}\chi\bar{h}r$ v. 'be black' > BHb $\check{\varsigma}a\bar{h}or$ 'soot', $\check{\varsigma}\bar{a}\bar{h}ar$ 'was black', $\check{\varsigma}\bar{a}\bar{h}\bar{o}r$ 'black', JA [Trg.] $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{o}r-\bar{a}$ 'coal' (\rightarrow MHb $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{o}r$ $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{o}r$ id.), Sr {Lv.} $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{u}r\bar{a}$ 'soot', {JPS} $\check{\varsigma}\bar{a}\bar{h}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ 'burnt crusts of bread', Sr $\check{\varsigma}\bar{h}r$ v. *G* 'be(come) black', JEA $\check{\varsigma}\bar{h}r$ v. *G* 'be black', *Sh* 'get black', SmA $\check{\varsigma}\bar{h}yr$ 'dark-coloured' ¶ GB 819, KB 1358-9, Lv. IV 537, Js. 1551-2, 1559, Sl. 1129, Br. 770-1, Tal 887 || ECh: Kwn {J} $\check{\varsigma}\bar{i}r\acute{a}k\acute{\varsigma}n$ 'black' ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || A ($^{*}\bar{s}aKar$ - \rightarrow $^{*}\bar{s}aKar-\Delta$, {ADb.} $^{*}\bar{s}axar-\Delta$ 'black' or 'gray'): M $^{*}\bar{s}ayar$ - \rightarrow [1] $^{*}\bar{s}ayar-a$ 'gray, ashen, dun-coloured' > WrM *sagaral*, HIM *саарал* 'ashen, dun-coloured', Brt *хаарал*, Kl *саарл*, {Rm.} $\bar{s}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ 'dun, light bay, cream-coloured' ('graugelb, буланый'), Ord $\bar{s}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ 'gris, cendré; robe qui va du gris au fauve clair'; [2] Ord $\bar{s}\bar{a}r\bar{a}b_t'ur$ 'grisâtre' ¶ MED 657, Chr 660, KRS 434, KW 318, Ms. O 561 || Tg $^{*}\bar{s}aka-rin$, $^{*}\bar{s}aka-lyan$ ({ADb.} *saxarin*) 'black' > Ewk Skh *sakarīn* 'black', Ewk NB *saha* 'gray', Ewk Hng *saha* 'black, gray', Lm *haq̄r̄un* 'dark, black, brown (бурый)', Orc *sakar*, Nn *saxar̄* 'black, dark', Ul *saxaru(n-)*, Ork *sayaru* ~ $\bar{s}\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ 'black', PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls.}, WrMc *saxaliyan* {Hr.} 'black', {Z} 'black, very dark', Jrc {Md.} *saxa-lian*, {Kiy.} *sahaliyan* 'blackish' ¶ STM II 56, Mls. 233, Hr. 756-7, Z 559, Kiy. 131 [#620], Md. ChF 138 || K: [1] GZ $^{*}\bar{n}a-\check{\varsigma}qir$ - ~ $^{*}\bar{n}a-q\check{\varsigma}ir$ - 'coal' > OG *naqšir*- ~ *naqšir*-, *G* *naχšir*- ~ *našχir*-

, Mg nošker-, noškver-, Lz noške(r)- ||| ? [2] G ẓ̌ari 'schwarzrot, grau' ¶ Chx. 1039, K² 139, Abul. 326 ◇ A hypothetical clister *-qg- (< N *-q∇g-) was probably reduced to HS and K *-q- (> S *-χ-, GZ *-q-) and to a velar cns. in pA (> M *-ʏ-, Tg *-k-), as well as possibly to pre-K *g (> K *ʏ) in K *ẓ̌ (< *ṣ̌ʏ), as reflected in G ẓ̌ari.

2152. *šaḥE 'to cover, to hide' > HS: SES *^o✓šḥ > Jb C ✓šḥ G (pf. šḥ) 'lie hidden' ¶ Jo. J 261 || ? WCh: AG {Stl.} *sok v. 'hide' > Su {ChL} sòk, ? {J} čok, Kfr {Nt.} sók, Anf {ChL} sok, Gmy {Kr.} sok ¶ ×N *š^{ḥ}a^{ḥ}ka 'to cover' (q.v.) ¶ Stl. VZCh A #233, ChL, ChC, Nt. 37 || U *šakkE v. 'hide' > FV *ša|akkE > Lp N {N} čiekkât / -g- v. 'hide, conceal, keep secret', L {LLO} tjiēhkā (in cds.) 'hidden, concealed, secret' | Chr B šaktem v. 'insert, hide' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ṭk- 'verbergen' > Ng {Hl.} ṭk- 'verbergen, verstecken, vergraben'; En Tn {Hl.} toš- (inf. toše, 3s toʔaba) id.; Slq Tm {KD} vt. takku (1s aor. taŋŋab_) 'keep (хранить)', Slq Tz {KKIH} i|llä taq- v. 'bury' (i|llä 'down'), Slq {Cs.}: Nr tahhar, Ke tagannaу, Ch/UO/B taknam, NP takannam, MO taŋnaу, Kar taŋnam, Tz taŋnam, takram 'I buried', ? Sq Tz {KKIH} taqiti-qo 'to close', i|llä taqiti-qo 'to lock', {Cs.} takatam 'ich schloß zu', ?? Slq Chl {Cs.} t̄agadam 'ich bedeckte (mit einem Tuch)'; Mt {Hl.} *tak- 'vergraben' (Mt M тагнамаъ {Sp.} 'закопываю') ¶¶ Ps. sL 105-6, N I 384, LLO 1152, LG 256-7, Jn. 146, Cs. 144, KKH 114, 179, Hl. M 350 [#946], 428 || A [1] M *saki- 'protect, guard' > MM [PP, S, HI] saqi- 'protect', [MA] saqi- 'guard, protect against', WrM sakī-, HIM сахи-, Brt һахи- v. 'protect, preserve, guard', Mnr H {SM} sagi-, {T} sagi- id., 'expect', WrO {Krg.} sakā-, sakiq-, Kl cək- sāk-, {Rm.} säki- v. 'guard, keep', Ba sāge- (so in T BJ), sage- (so in T 356) 'wait for, expect', Dx {T} sagi-, Dg {Pp.} sagī-, {T} sagi-, {Mr.} sahi-, Ord sa^{ḥ}xi- v. 'guard; observe (laws, customs)' ¶ Pp. MA 318, Pp. KP 156, Pp. PP 129, H 131, Mss. H 93, MED 662, SM 319, T 356, T BJ 146, T DgJ 356, T DnJ 133, Ms. O 553-4, Krg. 395, KRS 445, KW 31, Chr. 679 || T *sak- (× T *saki- 'watch, be aware') > Chv сых siχ, сыхă siʏ n. 'guard (охрана)', NaT *sak-çI 'a guard (person), guardian' > OT, Chg ≥XV saqçI id., XwT XIV saqçI, Tkm θaqçI, ET saqçI, VTt saqçь, Bsh haqsъ '(a) guard, sentry', Qzq saqšI 'watchman', Qmq saqçI, Nog, Qq saqšI, Uz соқчи sqççI '(a) guard', Qrg saqçI, Alt saqçI id., 'guardian' | -d→ T *sakla- 'protect, guard' (× *sakla- 'watch') > Tkm θaqla-, Az saχla- 'protect, guard, hold', ET saqli-, Qmq, VTt, Nog, Qzq, Qq saqla-, Bsh

haqla-, Qrg, Alt saqta-, Chv сыхла- sɪxla- 'protect, guard', Osm saqla-, Tk sakla- id., 'conceal' ¶ Jeg. 201, Cl. 805-6, 810, TkR 558-9, Sht. 171, BT 125 ¶¶ There is lexical interaction between this A root and the A reflex of N *šAħk'a' 'search, find, know' (q.v.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1957 (A *sèk'u; incl. T, M) ¶¶ [2] ?? AdS of Tg *seg|k- v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the flour), cover the flour with sth.' and of WrM {Kow.} sèkci 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit' (< A {AD} *sèk'- 'spread out' < N *š'ä' ka|æ 'strew, spread', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #1952 (A *s|zegi 'to litter; mat').

2153. *šoḶo'ɣ'ê 'to say' > IE: NaIE *sek^ω- v. 'say' > Gk ἐν(ν)έπω 'tell, tell of, relate' (aor. ἔνυ-σπον, imv. pl. ἔσπετε) || L ĩnsequē 'sag an' (= Gk ἐννεπε), inquam 'I say, speak' (< *insquam, old inj. or conj., acc. to BD), inquit '(he) said' (< aor. *en-sk^ωe-t), Um prusikurent 'pronuntiaverint' || OW hepp, MW heby(r), W eb(e), ebr 'he said', OIr {Vn.} rosc 'dicton (généralement en vers) d'une formule légale, adage, aphorisme, brocard' (< *pro-sk^ωo-), {P} arosc 'proverb' (*ad-pro-sk^ωo-), insce 'Rede' (*eni-sk^ω-ya), OIr scél, W chwedl 'news, recitation' || Gmc *sagjan > ON, Ic, NNr segja, Sw säga, Dn sige, OSx sēggian, OHG, NHG sagen, AS seċċan 'to say', NE say (IE *sok^ωē-) || Lt sèkti (prs. sekù) 'to tell, to narrate', sakýti id., 'to say', Ltv sacît 'to say' | Sl: ChS соуһтн sočiti 'to indicate', Blg соча v. 'show, indicate', ChS, OR сокъ сокъ 'κατήγορος, accusator', OR соуһтн sočiti 'to look for, to search, to sue (in a court), to be plaintiff', SCr sòčiti 'to search for, to find out, to establish the guilt of', OCz sok 'Ankläger', Cz sok 'rival, adversary', OP soczenie 'accusation', P сока id., 'libel', осозуц 'to accuse', R † сочитать 'to sue, to be plaintiff' ¶ P 897-8, EI 536 (*sek^ω- 'say, recount publicly'), F I 520-1, WH I 702-3, Bc. G 343, Vn. R 44, Vr. 467, Schz. 243, Kb. 818, OsS 734-5, KM 619, Ho. 288, Ho. S 62, Frn. 757, 773, Brü. 384-5, Mikl. E 313, Mikl. L 870, Vs. III 708, Srz. III 460. 471, BD II 3, 127, 164, 468 || U: FP *šoke v. 'say' (→ 'repeat') > F һоке- v. 'say repeatedly; babble, chatter, speak', Es Δ ogeda v. 'teach, give advice' | Prm {LG} *šu- v. 'say' > Z шу-һы, Vt шуыһы 'to say' ¶ LG 324, UEW 786-7 || A: T *söglä- v. 'say' > MT [TZ], Qzq, Qq söyle-, Tv сөглә- söyle- id., Chg, Az söylä-, Tk söyle-, Tkm θöyle- Qrg süylö- ~ söylö-, Blq, Xk söle- v. 'say', VTt сөйлә- sbylä-, Bsh һөйлә- һbylä-, Nog söyle- v. 'say, narrate', Uz swyla-, Chv Δ {Ash.} so'illa- v. 'speak' ¶ Rs. W 429, Ash. XI 179 || HS: ? S *°š|sqɣ > Ar ✓ sqɣ G {BK} 'chanter' (se dit du coq), D

{Hv.} 'abuse so. by blaspheming against him' ¶ BK I 1108, Hv. 372 ◇ In T *söglä- its front vw. *ö results from some regr. as., and its voiced cns. *g goes back to a cluster (from N *K...ǰ).

2154. *šil∇ 'quiet' > HS: S *√šl∞ 'stay quietly, be at rest' (×N *šalû 'intact' [→ 'entire'], 'in good condition, healthy', q.v.) > BHb √šl∞ (1s pf. שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lawtī), OA √šly 'stay quietly, be at rest', BHb שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lēw 'untroubled, carefree, at ease', שָׁלַחְתִּי 'šēlū 'untroubled state', שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'wā 'quietness, ease, security, untroubled state', Ug √šl∞ v. {OLS} 'rest (reposar)' ({A} 'sich trösten'), BA שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lē 'quiet, carefree', שָׁלַחְתִּי 'šālū 'negligence', JPA √šly|w G (pf. שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lē ~ שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lā) 'be at ease, quiet, rest, unconcerned', JEA √šly|w G 'forget', ChrPA, NNEA {Mcl.} √šly 'be carefree, calm, rest', JA [Trg.] שָׁלַחְתִּי šil'yā 'quiet, unconcerned', {Lv.} שָׁלַחְתִּי 'Ruhe, Ungestörtheit', Sr שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lē, em. שָׁלַחְתִּי šal'y-ā, Md šalia 'tranquil, peaceful, calm', Sr √šly (pf. שָׁלַחְתִּי šā'lī) 'be silent, be still, abate, dwell in peace', IA *šlyh (pl. šlyn), JA {Trg.} {Lv.} שָׁלַחְתִּי šalēwā, שָׁלַחְתִּי šalēwātā 'Ruhe, Zufriedenheit, ungestörtes Leben', שָׁלַחְתִּי šalāyūtā 'Ruhe, Frieden', Sr שָׁלַחְתִּי šel'y-ā 'stillness, quiet', Ar سلو √slw G 'console oneself for (se consoler de qc., ne plus s'en affliger)', √slw Sh (pf. سَلِّتْ paslā) v. 'be safe from wild beasts', سلوة sulwat- 'confort, consolation', Ak NB šelū 'become negligent, neglect' ({Sd.}: ←b Aram), Ak šilūtū ~ šilītū 'negligence' ¶ HJ 1142, KB 1392-4, 1790, A #2609, BK I 1132, Deg. § 62, Lv. T II 482, 490-1, Js. 1582, Sl. 1148, BK I 1132-3, Hv. 334, Br. 778, JPS 579-80, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Sd. 1211 ¶ S *-w- may either go back to the N etymon (that will be reconstructed as *šilU) or be due to contamination with N *šalû '↑' || B: Ah sullan 'douceur', ETwl, Ty sol'lan id., 'lentement' ¶ Fc. 1832, PrGG 298 || IE: NaIE *sil- 'be silent, be quiet' > L silē- 'be silent, be still, rest' ||| Gt ana-silan 'κοπάειν, to abate, drop' (of wind) [Mc. 4.39], AS sālness 'silence (Schweigen)' ¶ Mn. 1139, WP II 462, Fs. 44, Ho. 269 || U: FU (att. in BF) *ščilya- > F hiljaa, hiljan, Krl hiĺlan adv. 'quiet', Krl Ld hiĺ 'slow, quiet', Es hili, hilja 'late' (adv.), hilja 'late' (adj.), Lv īlig 'slow' ¶ SK 75, SSA I 163 || A: M *sil∇- > WrM silirke- v. 'be lazy, idle', Kl {Rm.} šālā-χα (< *sila-yi-) 'nicht tun, faul daliegen', Brt һэлэн хатар-ха 'to be idle, to loaf' ¶¶ Rl. IV 653-4 and Rs. W 416 mention a T root in MQp [CC] {Rl. → Rs.} silī 'ruhig,

gelassen' and Kr *sīlāŋ* 'Ruhe', but it is not confirmed either by Grøn. (as to MQp [CC]) or in KRPS (for Kr) ¶¶ KW 346, Chr. 705.

2155. *šuǵl'ē' 'throat, mouth' > HS: S *^o√š|sǵl > Ar *sāfīl*- 'throat', *masfāl*- id. (both words restructured as if they were derived from √sǵl 'cough') ¶ BK I 1093, Hv. 322 || ?φ CCh: Ms {J} *sùllà*, Bnn {ChL} *sùldà*, BnnM {ChL} *sula* 'hole' (× N **Sil*∇ 'hole', q.v.) ¶ ChC. ChL || U: FU *šūle 'mouth, lip' > Os: V *lu*l, Vy *yul*, Ty *ϕuϕ*, D *tut* 'mouth' || F *huuli* (gen. *huulen*), Es *huul* 'lip' || Lp: N {N} *sullâ* 'approximation to sth.', L {LLO} *sulla* 'in der Richtung gegen ..., in der Gegend von ...' ¶ UEW 903 || IE: NaIE **swel*- v. {P} 'swallow' > Av *x^var*- 'genießen, verzehren' || NE *swill* 'drink eagerly/greedily', Ic *sollr* 'Trinkgelage' || +ext.: **swelk*- > MLG, Mdt *swalch* 'Schlund', NHG *Schwalch* 'Öffnung des Schmelzofens', OHG *swelhan* ~ *swelgan*, ON *swelga*, AS *swelzan* 'to swallow', NE *swallow* v. ¶ P 1045 ¶ The absence of traces of the lr. may be explained by metathesis (N *šuǵl'ē' > mt. **swel*H- > **swel*- with no **a* in the postvocalic position).

2156. (₂?) *šü|ugL∇ 'throw down (the enemy), attack, be hostile' > HS: Eg *fp s_xr* (= {EG} *ś_hr*) 'overthrow, throw down (the enemy, etc.)', Eg *L s_xryw* - Bezeichnung für feindliche Menschen ¶ EG IV 257-8, Fk. 242 || K: OG {DCh.} *šuy*l-i 'quarrel, fight', G {Chx.} *šuy*l-i 'dissension, strife, quarrel, enmity', *šuy*l- 'auf Kriegsfuß stehen, in Unfrieden leben' (hardly [⇔ DCh.] from Ar *šuy*l- 'occupation, affaire, travail, besogne', F BK I 1245) ¶ DCh. 1530, Chx. 1854-5 || A: ? M: WrM *sülgüdü*- v. 'hate, detest, defame' ¶ MED 743.

2157. ₂ *šU₁H2L∇ 'roe, deer' > K: GZ *šwel- 'roe, chamois' > G *švel*-, Mg *skwer*- id., Lz *mskwer*-, *pskwer*-, *msk_wer*- 'deer' ¶¶ K 216, K² 250, FS K 380, FS E 427, Chik. 91, Gm. SSh 27 (Gm.'s law: K *šw- > Mg/Lz *skv*-) || HS: EC {Ss.} *šāl- 'oryx' > Or {Th.} *sāl*-a, Or B {Sr.} *sālā*, {Vnt.} *sala*, Gln *šāl*-to, Brj *sāla* id., EC ⇨ Amh *ሰላ* *sala* id. ¶ Ss. PEC 33, Ss. B 161, Th. 296, Sr. 382, Vnt. 131, GnK. 239.

2158. (₂?) *šālΓ∇ 'strike, break' > K *^ožǵl- > G {DCh.} *žǵ*l- vt. 'break, split' ('ломать, колоть, щепить'), {Chx.} 'Risse in etw. verursachen', G Kx {Chx.} *žǵ*l- 'zerquetschen, beschädigen etw. (z. B. vom Transport)' ¶ G *ž*- < *š- by as. (*šǵ- > *žǵ*-) ¶ DCh. 1030, Chx. 1040 || ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) **slak*ǵ- or **slak*ǵ- 'beat, strike' > Clt: OIr *slachta* (cn. {Vn.}: *slachta*) 'beaten' ({Vn.} pp. of OIr **slac*- 'battere'), ScGl *slachdaim* 'I strike with a hammer', *slachdan* 'club';

with an "expressive" -kk-: OIr *slacc* 'sword', NIr *slacaire* {Dnn.} 'batter, bruise, beater' || Gmc: Gt, OSx *slahan*, ON *slá*, Sw, Dn, NNr *slå*, OHG *slahan* (*sluoc / sluogun / geslagen*) 'to beat, to slay, to slaughter', NHG *schlagen*, OFrs *slagia* 'to beat', AS *sléan* id., 'to kill', NE *slay* ¶ P 959, EI 549-50, Vn. S 124, Dnn. 649, Vr. 512, Fs. 436, Ho. 298, Ho. S 67, Kb. 904, OsS 817-8, KM 652 || **ǂ**: NaT **sal-* v. 'strike; move, put into (violent) motion' (× N **sAl'ê'* 'put, throw' [q.v.]) > Tkm *θāl-* 'beat, strike', Uz *сол-* *sal-*, Qmq *sal-* 'strike', Qzq, Qq, Qrg *sal-* 'strike\hit (violently)'; ⇨ NaT **sal-iš* 'battle, war' > Qrg, Alt, ET *sal-iš*, Uz *sališ* id. ¶ Cl. 824, DTS 482, Jud. 625, UzR 377, MM 286, KrkR 559, TL 562 || M: *AdS* of M **sal_u-* vi. 'separate', **salga-* vt. 'separate' (× **salagan* 'branch') < N **šäl_uqU* 'cleave, cut asunder' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ IS MS 353 s.v. **śo^hλ^hΔ* 'отделяться (от стада)' (K, U).

2159. **šeí_u* (or **še_l*) 'take away\off, destroy, pull off' > K **ošal-* / **ošl-* > G *šal-* / *šl-* v. 'destroy, be destroyed, annihilate, spoil' ¶ Fn. SK 96 [#119], Chx. 1829-36 || **HS**: S **✓šll* v. 'take out\away' (× N **co_lí_u* 'be\make empty') > Ar *✓sll* v. *G* (pf. *salla*, ip. *-sull-*) 'draw (a sword), extract gently, steal', Sq *✓šll* v. 'ravier, enlever', BHb *✓šll G* 'pull out' (2pm ip. *tā^hšollū*, Ruth 2.16), 'plunder', Ak *✓šll G* 'withdraw (from a storage place?), plunder' (BHb and Ak: × S **✓θll* 'plunder' > Ar *✓θll* id.) ¶ KB 1416-7, GB 814, BK I 1116-7, Hv. 329, LIS 417, Sd. 1142, CAD XVII/1 196-7 || **IE**: NaIE **sel(w0)-* v. 'take, seize' (× N **šil'ú'* [or **šil'ú'*] 'take, take away\off', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ **U**: FU **šeí_u* v. 'split' > Prm *šö^h*- ({{LG}} **šö^h*- 'split, break to pieces' > Z Sk *šö^h*- vi. 'split' (of playing knucklebones), Yz *'šú^hal-* vt. 'chip (щепать)' ¶ IG 321 || **D** **čel-* ({{GS}} s-) v. 'pull off, draw' (× N **čel_u* 'pull away, take away\out, rob', q.v.) > Kn *sel_e* v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', Tu *sel_æ* 'force', Tl {Km.} *celuk_u* v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui *želka* v. 'pull', *želba* v. 'pull, draw' ¶¶ D #2791, Km. 363 [#472] ◇ If FU **šeí_u* belongs here, the N etymon is **šeí_u*, otherwise it may be either **šeí_u* or **še_l* ◇ Bru. 105 (S, IE), Blz. KM 120 [#22] (K, S, IE, D).

2160. (₂?) **š_un_uq_u* 'make, build' > K **šen-* 'build' > OG, G *šen-* id. ¶ Ser. 181, Chx. 1780-1 || **HS**: Ch ({{Nw.}} **š_uina* 'work'): CCh: Tr {Nw.} *š_unà* (s.c. -r) n. 'work' | Bcm {Sk.} *l^hentə* | Lmn {Lk.} *š_unà* | Glv {Rp.} *š_ura*, Dgh {IL} *t^hér_uà* (= *č_uřà*), MfG {Brr.} *š_ura* ~ *š_ure* n. 'work',

pMM {Ro.} š̂sr id. > Hrz š̂era, Mlk š̂érélè, Gzg D {Lk.} š̂zra, {Ro.} š̂žrá, Mofu {Ro.} š̂èréy id. | ZmB {Sa.} s̄īn id. || ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} ússan id. ¶ Ch *-n- > -r-, -r- in the Mdr and some Mtk lgs. (Mdr š̂áré, Glv š̂žrda, Mofu {Ba.} š̂èr 'tooth') ¶ Nw. 34 [#150], ChC, Brr. MG II 236, Lk. G 137, Ro. 362 [#817] || ?φ WS *√çn̄ 'make, work skilfully' > Ar √çn̄ G 'make, manufacture', Nbt √çn̄ v. G or D 'make' (← Ar?), Sb {BGMR} √çn̄ v. 'fortify', çn̄ n. or v. '(?) work', √çn̄ (pf. hçn̄) 'keep shut up \ under restraint', mçn̄t 'fortress, castle', Hdr {MA} mçn̄t(n) id., OYmn {Slw.} mçn̄h̄ 'Festung, Bauwerk', Ar NY {Slw.} çān̄ 'wall (Mauer)', Mn {MA} çn̄ 'ouvrier, gardien', Qt {MA} ðy-mçn̄t '(?) corporation des artisans', Jb {Jo.} 'š̄ina v. 'invent', e'š̄un v. 'build, invent', Mh {Jo.} çn̄āt (√çn̄), Jb E/C {Jo.} çn̄'at 'way of doing sth.' (hardly ← Ar O [\leftarrow Ar صنعة çan̄a 'art']), Sr $\sqrt{\text{çn̄}}$ çn̄-ā 'skill, craft; a doing, contrivance' \leftrightarrow Sr √çn̄ D 'act skilfully', BHb √çn̄ Sh (abs. inf. $\sqrt{\text{çn̄}}$ haç'nēa) {Hier.} 'solliciter ambulare' ¶ HJ 971, Cn. N II 172, JPS 481-2, Br. 633, KB 972-3, Ln. 1832-5, BK I 1375, Hv. 407, BGRM 143, MA 94, Slw. 136, Jo. M 364, Jo. J 240 ¶ The WS glottalized cns. *ç- (for *š̄-) needs explaining || ?σ IE *senX- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N *š̄n̄h̄ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v.), NaIE *selanā-, *selanu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (× N *š̄Eηq̄ 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.).

2161. *š̄ünigo (or *š̄üño?) 'snow' > IE: NaIE *sneǵ^{wh}- v. 'snow', *snig^{wh}-, *snoǵ^{wh}- n. 'snow' > pInA *snēha- > Prkr siñeha- 'hoarfrost, snow, mist', pInA *snih- > Prkr siñhā- 'snow, dew, mist', Drd: Shina h̄in 'snow' | Irn: Shgn ž̄aniž̄ id., Av snaēž̄a- v. 'snow' || Gk ν̄λφ-α accus. 'snow', ν̄έλφει 'it snows' || L nix (gen. niv̄is) 'snow', n̄iv̄it (< *sneǵ^{wh}eti) 'it is snowing', ninguit id. (*-n-infix) || W nyf 'snow', nyfio 'to snow'; OIr snig-id 'snows, rains', snige ntr. 'drip, flowing', snecht(a)e 'snow' (with a *t-sx. like in Gk ν̄λφετός 'falling snow, snowstorm'), NIr sneachta 'snow' || OHG, AS snīwan 'to snow', ON snýr 'it snows', Gt snaiws, OHG snēo, NE snow, NHG Schnee, ON snær, snjár, snjór, Dn sne, Sw snö, AS snāw 'snow', NE snow || Lt sniēgas, Ltv sniēgs, Pru snaygis 'snow'; Lt sniğ-ti, Ltv snigt 'to snow', Lt snéigēti 'to snow heavily' | Sl *sněgъ 'snow' (gen. *sněgà) > OCS снѣгъ sněgъ, R снег, P śnieg, Cz sníh, SCr Cr sniēg, SCr Sr снѣг, Blg снѣг || Tc B síncatstse

'snowy' ¶ P 974, EI 530 (*sneig^{wh}- v. 'snow', *snig^{wh}-s ~ *'snoig^{wh}o-s 'snow'), ≈ Tu. ##13798, 13802, F II 298-9, WH II 169-70, LP § 26.9, Vn. S 153, Dnn. 664, YGM-1 346, Fs. 440, Vr. 527, Kb. 920, 922, OsS 838, 840, Ho. 304-5, Frn. 853, En. 252, Vs. III 697, Glh. 568-9, Ad. 629-30

|| U: FU (in FL only) *šūŋe (or *č-) 'wet snow' > F hγγ 'ice, melting snow' | pLp {Lr.} *sōvē 'snow with ice and water' > Lp: N {N} sυοvve 'wet snow', S {Hs.} sυövie 'Eisrinde, Eisschicht auf der Erde', Kld {TI} sūvυ 'Haufen von Eisstücken neben der Wuhne' ¶ SK 94, Lr. #1196, Lgc. #7195, Hs. 1271, TI 538, SSA I 201, ≠ LCM. NLP 13, ≠ It. EWF 52 (F-Lp comparison "ist lautlich nicht statthaft"), ≠ Ps. M 136 (F ÷ Er čov, čoh, Mk šov 'foam'; rejected in UEW 621) || A: Tg *sūŋü 'hoarfrost, snow' > Ewk siŋi-ks3 id., siŋi-lg3n 'snow', Nn suŋgu 'hoarfrost', WrMc sυ(η)-v. 'become covered with hoarfrost' ¶ STM II 90-1 || M *sōŋ > WrM sōŋ 'small pieces of ice in a river', HIM cəhɣ id., {Gl.} sōŋ 'small pieces of ice in a river (in the autumn), sludge', Brt hγH(ɣ) 'crumbly ice, drifting ice in rivers in spring-time', Kl cəH id., {Rm.} sōŋ 'Frühjahrseis, lose Eisstücke im Fluß', Ord sōŋ 'glaçons charriés par une rivière' ¶ KW 333, Gl. II 445, MED 731, Chr. 696, Ms. O 587 || ?φ NaT *sāŋ 'ice floe, block of ice' > Qzq, Nog seŋ id., Qq seŋ 'ice, ice floe', Tk Δ seŋče 'ice-covered ground', Chg Xw {Rl. ← Vm.} səŋ 'das leichte Eis, das sich auf der Oberfläche des Wassers bildet', Chv san 'small pieces of ice on the river (шыга) (before the river gets ice-bound)' ¶ NaT *ä may be explained by as.: *šūnigo (or *šūŋo) > (progr. as.) **sūŋä > (regr. as.) **sāŋä > T *sāŋ ¶ Rs. W 410, Rl. IV 448, KrkR 574, Sht. 174, NogR 294, Rl. IV 286, TL 19, Jeg. 178 || pKo {S} *səŋ-/ *sáŋ- 'be chilly' > MKo sáŋàr-hà-, sánàr-hà-, NKo siŋgəŋ siŋgəŋ ha-, səŋnir-ha-, sanir-ha- ¶ S QK #834, Nam 282, 299, MLC 869, 935, 1065 || ?? pJ {S} *sím3, {Vv.} *sima-ᵘ or *simu-ᵘa 'frost' (× N *SEmᵘᵘᵘᵘ 'cold?') > OJ {S} simo, {Vv.} simw0ᵘ, J {S}: T/Kg símó, K símò 'hoarfrost, frost' ¶¶ Rs. W 410; Vv. AEN 2 (equates the J word with Tg *xima(n)- v. 'snow' and rejects the J word as a reflex of N *šūŋᵘ (my former rec. of the N word), S QJ #713, Mr. 524, Kenk. 1673 ¶¶ DQA #2077 (A *sūŋe 'hoarfrost'), S AJ 81, KW 333, Rm. SKE 284 ¶¶ Hardly here Tg *saŋu-n 'cool', *saŋu-ksa 'hoarfrost' (STM II 62-3), and M *seʒü- 'shadow, dark' (≠ DQA #1914 [A *s|zāŋo 'cold, cool']) ◇ FU *-e in *šūŋe suggests progr. as. (something like *šūnigo > **šūnigi > **šūngi > *šūŋe) ◇ An alt. (and less convincing) rec. is N *šūŋo > *šioŋ > *šingo > (mt.) *Snigo > IE

*sneig^{wh}- (for details of the vowel changes / AD NGIE 17-22) ◇ Not here (⇔ AD NM) Eg fP šrɲ.t ≈ 'haily weather', {Fk.} 'storm', ??? Eg MKL šrɲ 'Unwetter, Gewölk', {Fk.} 'storm-cloud' (EG IV 502, 507, Fk. 268-9), because Eg š goes back to N *š rather than to *š̌. Eg šrɲ.t goes back probably to HS *√šly and is possibly related to Gzg čačalay 'hail' (Lk. G 137) (see OS #537 and Tk. AANM 1) ◇ AD NM #7 (N *šüŋU), S CNM 5 (÷÷ ST), Rs. UAW 476-7 (U, A).

2162. *šUŋE 'breathe' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul') > HS (× N ?σ *s'ü'N∇ [= *s'ü'ŋ∇?]) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm') > Eg fP sɛrɲ 'breathe', Eg L/G sɛrɛrɲ id; hardly here Eg fP sɛrɲ 'smell smth.', Eg MK/G sɛrɛrɲ id., Eg {Mks.} sɛrɛrɲ.t 'perfume' (< N *čüŋ∇ 'smoke, smell' × N *s'ü'ŋ∇ 'to smell [sth.] [q.v.]') ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks. III #2634, Tk. I 130 || S *°√š|snn > Ar sanīn-at- {Ln., Fr.} 'wind' or 'gentle wind', {BK, Hv.} 'wind' ¶ Ln. 1439, Fr. II 361, BK I 1147-8, Hv. 338 || ?? EC: Af {PH} sīne- v. 'inhale snuff, sniff (sth.)', sīno 'snuff (tabac à priser)', Sa {R} sī'rō 'Schnupftabak' (unless ← Tgr {LH} ⚡⚡ šēnā v. 'sniff') ¶ PH 191, R S II 326, LH 646-7 || U: FU *šūŋe 'soul (of a dead person), ghost' > F Δ huu 'ghost, spirit' || Er {Ps.} čov 'human soul', čov-zo pača-zo 'his soul', čopača 'ghost, Gespänst', Mk {Ps.} šopača id. (according to UEW, pača is likely to mean 'soul', too) || Z {W} šer šzn 'shadow of a dead person', Z шоньян šonjan, шоньянōй šonjanzy 'the late ...' (used with the name of a deceased person), Z Vm šzn 'stench' || ObU *θūŋ 'shadow soul of a person' > pOs *čunĵ id. > Os: V luŋk, Vy yunĵ, Ty/Y čunĵ, D/K tonχ, Nz tunχ, Kz čwŋχ, O lōŋk; pVg *tīw id. > MK tow, towi, UK tēw, P tēwəs ¶ UEW 503, Coll. 82, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *šorŋi, Ugr *θorĵkī 'ghost'), LG 322, Ht. #127 (ObU *θūχ) ¶ F huu may be alternatively (but much less plausibly) explained as a loan from Gmc: ON hug-r 'Sinn, Gedanke, Mut', cp. OHG hugu 'mind' (Vr. 265) || A (× N ?σ *s'ü'N∇ [= *s'ü'ŋ∇?]) '↑?': T: Tlt {RL} sünä 'soul', StAlt süne 'human soul which remains near the person's body for some time after his death' ¶ Rs. W 434, BT 134; Rs. supposes that the word is a loan from M (cp. M *süne-sün), which may be true only if the M word exists without the sx. *-sün (of which no ev. is known to me) || M *süne-sün > WrM, WrO sūnesūn, HIM сүнц(эH) 'spirit, soul of one's life' ({MED} 'animating principle'), Brt hūhēhē(H) 'soul', Kl † {Rm.} sünsŋ, Kl D/Ö {Rm.} sümsŋ ~ 'Seele, Schattenseeel', Ord {Ms.} sunesu, Mnr H {SM} sunīēzə 'soul, animating principle (âme, principe de vie)' ¶ MED 744,

KW 340, SM 361, Krg. 424, T 361, Chr. 697, Snz. AB 585 || **D** *čōŋk∇ ({An.} *cōŋkk∇) 'demon, evil spirit' > Tm cōku 'vampire, devil, goblin', MI cōku 'demon', TI cōku v. 'be possessed (by evil spirits)', v. 'posess' (of a devil), Prj čōku v. 'posess' (of spirits) ¶¶ D #2870, An. SG 133, ≠ Km. 365 (does not distinguish between the √ in question and *čōrku v. 'be intoxicated, mad') ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE #8 (U, A, D) ◇ Not here K *šwen- 'breathe, sigh; take a rest' (see N ?σ *s'ü'N∇ (= *s'ü'ŋ∇?) '↑').

2163. *šang∇ 'to wish, to like, to love' > ? K *š(ω)n- > G šno 'Reiz, Scharm, Anmut, liebliche Schönheit', šnoiani 'beautiful, pleasant', ?σ G šn-/švn- 'passend finden', 'als selbstverständlich betrachten' ¶ Chx. 1837, DCh. 1524 || **HS:** S *šng v. 'love' > Sr šng v. G 'love', šengə't-ā n. 'love' ¶ Br. 790 || NrOm *šun(n)- 'love, wish' (× N *šōŋ?∇ 'to wish', q.v. ffd.) || **U:** FU *šaŋ∇ v. 'wish, strive for sth.' > F havi-, havitse- 'eilig \ wetteifernd nach-streben \ -haschen', havi 'wetteifernde Bemühung', havitele- 'desire, have a desire for, hunt after', Vp habi 'hardly, only just, with difficulty' ('еле, насилу, едва') || pObU {Ht.} *θōŋk- (/ ? *θāŋkā-) v. 'want, wish' > pVg *tāŋk- > Vg: LK/P taŋk-, MK taŋk-, tāŋk-, Ss taŋx- id.; pOs *čāŋka- / *čōŋk- ({Hl.} *čāŋka- / *čāŋk-) > Os: V lāŋqa-, Vy ūāŋqa- v. 'wish, want, love', Ty/U čāŋq- / čāŋqω-, D tāŋx-, K tāŋx- / tāŋxa-, Nz tāŋxa-, Kz čāŋka- 'want, wish' ¶ UEW 496, Coll. 80, SK 63-4, ZM 101, Ht. #146, Hl. rHt 71-2, Trj. S 202 || **A** (× N *šōŋ?∇ 'to wish' [→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to'], q.v.): Tg: WrMc {Z} saŋgu, saŋguša '(a person) gloating over another's misfortune', saŋguša- v. 'gloat over another's misfortune', {Hr.} saŋguša- 'schadenfroh sein, etwas Böses gönnen' ¶ STM II 62, Z 556, Hr. 766 || pKo {S} *sāi'ó- 'be jealous' > MKo sāi'ó-, NKo sāu- ¶ S QK #1034, Nam 296, MLC 924 || pJ {S} *s3ŋja-m- v. 'grudge, envy' > OJ sóném-, J: T soném- K sóném-, Kg sònèm- ¶ S QJ #708, Mr. 755 ¶¶ DQA #1913 (A *s|zani 'to envy').

2164. ?σ (₂?) *šaŋKa 'stalks, branches', ? 'straw' > **HS:** S *šs∇nχ- (× N *son'∇q'ü' 'sinew, tendon; root', q.v.) > Ar sinχ- 'racine, bois\roseau de la flèche, le bas d'un fer de lance' ¶ BK I 1150 ¶ S *χ (< N *q) belongs to the heritage of N *son'∇q'ü' || **U:** FU *šaŋka ~ (att. in Ugr only) *šaŋ∇ (or *saŋ∇) 'bough, branch' > F hanka 'thole(-pin), oarlock, rowlock', Es Δ aŋga'd 'an die Ränder des Bootes befestigte Dollen' || Hg ág 'branch, bough, twig' || ObU *θāϕ 'bough' > Vg *tāϕ >

Vg: T *taw*, LK *taʁ*, P *t̄w*, Ss *tow* id.; pOs d. **ḫāw-∇* 'durch einen Ast entstandene Vertiefung \ Biegung \ Schiefheit im Holz \ in einem Brett' > Os: VK *yāw̄t̄*, Ty *ḫāw̄t̄*, Kr *tāwə*, Kz *ḫōw̄i* ¶ The BF word points to FU **šan̄ka*, the ObU cognate suggests **šan̄∇* (or **san̄∇*), while Hg *ág* may go back to both variants ¶ UEW 496, 843, Sm. 550 (FU **šāṅka*, FP **šan̄ka*, Ugr **šāṅka* 'branch'), SK 55, MF 69-71 || ?σ D **č|kaṅkk-* (ay) 'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (× N **š'āṅka* '≈ bough, inedible [or less valuable] parts of plants', q.v. ffd.).

2165. *šūṅka (= **šüṅka*?) 'be tight (too narrow), be heavy, be difficult' > IE: NaIE **swenk-* 'be heavy \ difficult' > Lt *sun̄kti* 'grow heavy, begin to feel heavy', {Frn.} 'in der Schwangerschaft voranrücken', *sun̄kūs* 'heavy, difficult', Olt *sun̄kinga* 'pregnant' || AS *swangor* {Sw.} 'sluggish (physically and mentally)', {Ho.} 'schwer, langsam, träge', OHG *swangar*, NHG *schwanger*, Dt *zwanger* 'pregnant' ¶ P 1048, Frn. 941, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, Kb. 995, Schz. 277, KM 689 || HS: CS **√šn̄k* '≈ be tight (too narrow), be difficult' > MHb *√šn̄k* v. D 'strangle, choke', JA [Trg.] *√šn̄k* D id., 'trouble, confound', Sh (pf. *ḫ'ḫ'ḫ'ḫ' ḫ'aš'neḫ*) 'be narrow', JEA *√šn̄k* Sh 'torment', SmA *√šn̄k* D 'destroy', ?σ Ar *√sn̄q* G (pf. *saniqa*) 'suffer indigestion of milk' (of babies) ¶ Js. 1064, Sl. 1166, Tal 915-6, BK I 1153, Hv. 340 || U: FU **šon̄ka* 'be difficult, sick, in distress' ({UEW} 'eng, Bedrängnis; eng werden') > Prm **šōg* ({JLG} **šōg*) > Vt *šug* adv. 'difficult, uneasy', Z *šog* 'grief, misfortune, sorrow', Prmk *šog* 'nausea, sickness, sorrow', Yz *šo'gal-* 'be ill\sick' || ? Hg *aggód-* 'worry' ¶ UEW 501, LG 320 ¶ The meaning 'eng, eng werden' (reconstructed by UEW) is not attested directly, but is a felicitous scholarly guess (probably based on typological grounds) ◇ The discrepancy between NaIE **wē* (a reg reflex of N **u* and **ü*) and FU **o* (usually a reflex of N **o*) is puzzling. A possible (highly hypothetical) solution is N **šüṅka* with FU **o* from N **ü* due to the FU vw. harmony (regr. as.: **ü...a* > **o...a*).

2166. *šiner∇ 'mouse' > HS: S: Ak *šarānu* 'ε rat' ¶ Sd. 1185 || U: FU **šinere* 'mouse' > F *hiiri*, Es *hiir*, Vp *hīr* | Mk *šeeḫ šeyar*, Er *чээрь čeyer*, Δ *čever* | Prm **šūr* > Z, Vt *шыр šir* || Hg *egér / egere-* | pObU {Ht.} **θēṅkar* > pVg *tāṅkar* > Vg: T/LK/MK/P *tāṅkar*, LL/ML nom. pl. *tāṅkārt*, Ss *taṅkar*; pOs **ḫōṅkar* ({θHL} **ḫōṅkar*) > Os: V *lōṅkar*, Vy *yōṅkar*, Ty *ḫāṅkʷar*, D/Nz *teṅkar*, Kz *leṅkar*, O *loṅkar* ~ *leṅkar* ¶ Coll. 81, UEW 500-1, Db. OS xxx, It. #303, Ker. II 156, Sm. 550 (FU, FP **šiniri*, Ugr **šīṅkīrī*), LG 326, Ht. #150 || A: Tg **šiner*

'mouse' > Ewk PT/Np *siŋzrē-kēn*, Ewk Ag/D *hiŋzrē-kēn*, Lm Al *hiŋzr-kēn*, Neg *siŋzēyē*, Orc, Ud *siŋz*, Ul, Nn Nh *siŋgʒrʒ*, Nn KU *siŋgʒri* 'rat', PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls.}, WrMc *siŋgeri* {Z, Hr.} 'rat, mouse', {Hr.} 'small rodent', Jrc {Kiy.} *šingē* 'rat' ¶ STM II 92, Z 595, Hr. 801, Mls. 238, Kiy. 105 [#149] || T: OT {Cl.} *siqir-qān* 'ε large rat' ¶ Cl. 816 ¶¶ ≠ Coll. 148 (U, Tg).

2167. UA ₂ *šär▽ 'to spread' > U: FU *šär▽ v. 'reach; spread, open wide' > Prm *šer- > Vt {UZS} *šerya-* 'spread wide (one's fingers), растопыривать', 'thin out (plants), прореживать', Z *šerg-3d-* 'spread out, move apart, open wide' || pObU *θēr- > pOs *ɬer-əmt- ({Hl.} *ɬär-əmt-) 'spread out (ausbreiten), unterlegen, auf die Erde legen' > Os Vy *yerəmt-*, Os D *terəmt-* id., Os Kz *ɬerməɬ-* 'ausbreiten'; Vg: T *tä'rāmt-*, LK/P *tārəmt-*, Ss *tārəmt* {Rd.} id. | Hg *ér-* 'reach to, extend\stretch; get to, arrive at, come to' ¶ UEW 497-8, LG 319, UZS 498, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *šärä-, Ugr *θärä- 'let go'), Hl. rHt 68, MF 793, ≠ Ht. #156 || A: NaT *sär- 'spread' > Tk *ser-* 'spread over', Az *sär-* id., 'hang clothes on the line', Tkm *θer-* v. 'spread out on the ground (fruit for drying), hang clothes on the line', Kr {Rl.} *sär-* 'ausbreiten, ausspannen', Chv *sär-* 'spread' ¶ Rs. W 411, Jeg. 178, TkR 576, Rl. IV 457.

2168. ₂ *šorw▽ 'dry; to get dry' > K: GZ *šwer- / *šwr- 'get dry; become dim' > OG, G *šr-* vi. 'get dry', Mg *skir-*, *skʒr-* id., Lz *skir-*, *skur-*, *sķir-*, *sķur-* id., 'become dim'; ? (according to Gm.) OG *šwer-* 'get tired' ¶ GZ *-w- is reconstructed on the basis of Gm.'s law (K, GZ *šw- > Mg/Lz *sk(∇)-*) ¶ Gm. SSh 63, K 216, K² 250-1, FS K 381, FS E 428 || U *šorwa- 'dry' > pLp *sōrvē 'dead (dry) pine-tree' > Lp: S {Hs.} *soārviē*, L {LLO} *sārviē*, N {N} *soarive / -rv-*, Kld *sūērv* id.; Lp L {LLO} *sārviō*, Lp N {N} *soarivo-* / *-rv-* vi. 'turn into dead pine, wither' (of pine-trees) | Prm {LG} *sur- > Z, Prmk *шурав-* *šurav-*, Z Δ *šural-* vi. 'dry, dry in the wind' || Sm {Jn.} *t̥ɕ+rā- (= {Hl.} *t̥ɕ+ra-) vi. 'dry up and get hard' ('[hart] trocknen') > Ne: T {Ter.} *тыра-*, T O {Lh.} *tirāʔ-* 'get dry', F L {Lh.} 3s aor. *tirāŋǣ* id. | Mt {Hl.} *tiri 'hard, dried up' (Mt M {Sp.} *тыры* 'hard') | ⇨ Sm {Hl.} *t̥ɕ+rīpta- vt. 'dry' > Ne T *тырăбта-* id., Mt {Hl.} *t̥ɕiribtz- id. (Mt M {Mil.} *triptima-challä* 'dried fish, юкола') ¶¶ Coll. 57, UEW 502-3, Lr. #1161, Lgc. #6810, Hs. 1227, TI 510, LG 324, Jn. 160, Hl. M ##1028-30, Ter. 681 ◇ ≠ Gr. II #313 (*čira 'roast') (unt. comparisons).

2169. *ša'ri'XV 'to stream, to flow' > **HS: S** *^o✓^rš'rh > Ar ✓srh *N* (pf. ?insaraḥa) 'couler librement et s'introduire en coulant (p. ex., de l'eau)' ¶ BK I 1078-9 || Eg G sɜʒħ 'ε ein Gewässer'; but Eg G šrħ 'brook' does not belong here (⇔ OS #2260), because in this word the character r r represents [l] rather than [r], as has been shown by Vycichl (Vc. 262) on the ev. of Cpt Sd **ϣΛΗΖ** šlēh ~ **ϣΛΕΖ** šleh (verbe se rapportant à la réparation de bords des canaux) ¶ EG IV 22, 528 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} sîryá 'river', Sir {Sk.} šɜrɜŋgi 'stream' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Sk. NB 37 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2260 (NrBc, Eg šrħ) || **IE: IE** *serH-, NaIE *srey- v. 'stream, flow' (× N *^zûr'û' 'to stream' [q.v.]): **[1]** IE *serH- > OI 'sisarti, 'sarati 'streams, hurries', OI si'rā 'stream, water' || ?? Mir {EI} sirid 'wanders through' ¶ Traces of *H are preserved in OI sisīṣarti (desiderative of 'sisarti) and in Gk Hm ῥώομαι 'I move quickly' (< *srō-iō); but IE *sermo- (> Vd 'sarma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N *^zVRVmV 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.) || **[1a]** NaIE *sero- 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' > L serum id. || Gk ὀρός 'the watery part of milk, serum' || **[2]** (× N *^zûr'û' '↑' [q.v.]) *srey- v. 'flow, stream', *sroyo- n. act. 'flow(ing), streaming', *sru-to- adj. 'flowing', *srey-men- 'stream' > OI 'sraṽati 'flows', sraṽa- n. act. 'flow(ing)', sru'ta- 'fließend, geflossen', OI srōtaḥ, OPrs rautah- 'river', NPrs رود rūd id., 'torrent, flowing water', Av gen. pl. raonam 'of rivers' || Gk ῥέω 'I flow', ῥόος n. ag. 'stream, flow, current', ῥυτός 'flowing' || Lt sraṽà, Ltv stràṽa 'a stream, streaming', Lt srovė 'current, stream, torrent', srúti (prs. srūvù) 'to stream', sraṽéti 'langsam fließen, rieseln', Ltv strāvēt 'to stream', Lt srútos 'dungwash, dungwater', Lt E sraujà 'rapid stream', Ltv strauja 'Strom(strich)', straume 'stream, torrent, flow' || pSl *struja > OCS **СТРОУЯ** struja, Blg струя, SCr strúja 'stream', R струя 'stream, jet, spurt', Slv strúja 'branch of a river, stream'; pSl *ostrъvъ ~ *ostrъvo (< *ob-strovъ/0) 'island (in a river)' (← 'sth. flowed about') > OCS **ОСТРОВЪ** ostrovъ, Blg, R 'остров, Uk 'острів, SCr òstrvo, Slv ostròv 'island'; Sl *strumī (gen. *strumene) (< *sreu-men-) > P strumien, 'stream, brook', Slv strúmen id., 'branch of a river', Uk струмїнь 'stream, jet', R Δ струмень 'brook' || OHG stroum (> NHG Strom), AS stréam (> NE stream), ON straumr 'a stream' ||

Arm **անոգանեմ** aṛoganem vt. 'I sprinkle, wet', **ոռնոգանեմ** oṛoganem vt. 'I water, bathe, bedew, wet' || OIr **sruidim** 'stream', {Vn.} 'flot', OBr **strum** 'copia (lactis)' ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 443-4, M E II 784-5, ≈ M E II 731, 733, Sg. 592, BM 251, F II 425, 650-2, WH II 525, Vn. S 188, Slr. 77-8. Flr. 309, Vr. 552, Ho. 325, Kb. 976, OsS 882-3, KM 758-9, Frn. 887-90, Vs. IV 165, 783-5, StSS 630, Glh. 590-1, EI 207 (*ser- 'flow', *sreŋ- id.) || **U:** eU **šarE > FU *šare 'flood, brook' ~ *šä|er∇ 'brook': [1] FU *šare > Ugr {UEW} *θar∇ 'während des Hochwassers entstandener See', {AD} 'flood, stream' > ObU {Ht.} *θūr∇ > pVg *tūr∇ 'lake' > OVg: N SoG, E TM **tur**, S ChusO **tor**, S Vt **топа**, S SSs **turr**, W Sol **түр** id.; Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NVK/ML/LL/Ss **tūr**, NVZ **tor**, nom. pl. **tōrt**, SV **tur**, nom. pl. **tūrt**, LL **tor** id.; pOs *čar > Os: V **lar** (with ppa. of 1s **lūrəm**) 'während des Hochwasser an einem Wiesenufer entstandener See', Nz **tɔr**, Kz **чɔr**, O **lar** id., lake', Vy **ɟar** 'tiefliegendes Wiesenufer und Wiesengelände, das im Frühling überschwemmt ist', Ty/Y **čār** id., D **tor** 'lake' | Hg **ár** 'flood, stream' | [2] FU *šä|er∇ 'brook' > Prm {Lt.} *šɔr 'stream, brook' > Z **шор** šor 'brook, a stream of water after a shower or from melting snow', Vt **шур** šur 'river', Vt Sl **šur** 'narrow gully, ложбина' || Hg **ér** (accus. **eret**) 'brook' ¶ In FU *šare the final *e is evidenced by the long vw. **á** in the first syll. in Hg (*F IS I* 164); the variant *šä|er∇ < **šarE is due to vowel harmony || pY {IN} *θer- 'flow, float' > Y K **erə-** vi. 'плыть (float?)', **erəš-** vd. 'float (сплавлять)'; OY K {Bil.} **ɟarrai**, {Merk} **jarrej** 'плыть' ¶¶ UEW 499, 843-4, Coll. 3, Sm. 550 (FU *šā/orā, FP *šora, Ugr *θāra 'flood, lake'), Lt. 100, LG 322, UZS 510, MF 10, 160, Ht. 58, IN 220-1, 299 || **A:** T {IS} *sār, {Md.} *sjar 'muddy river, swamp, mire, mud' (×N *síharu 'dirt, earth', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *sire (or *šire?) 'spring of water' > Nn B **sirə** id., Ud **sīz**, {Krm.} **sē** 'narrow river-bay with cold spring-water', WrMc **šeri** 'spring of water' ¶ STM II 101, Krm. 282 || pJ {S} *sītu 'damp place, dampness' > ItOJ **sītu**, J T **śīcu** ¶ S QJ #625 ¶¶ DQA #2768 (A *sīōri 'flow, be soaked'), ≠ DQA #2034 (A *sīārī 'earth, sand; marsh'; incl. T, J) || **D** *čār ({θGS} *s|č-?) 'juice, liquid (as food)' > Tm **čār** 'juice, sap, water with aromatic substances', Ml **čār** 'sap, broth', Kn **čār**, **sār** 'sap, juice, broth', Tu **sār** 'sap, soup, broth', **čār** 'pepper water', Tl Mrl **čār** 'curry', Kui **čau** 'dhal, gravy, soup', Ku **čauyū** 'curry', **čāyu** 'sauce, curry, cooked pulse'; D **č** → Mrt **sār** 'dilute mixture of tamarind, etc.'; there is also a still unexplainable

variant *čē̄r̄o > Tm cē̄r̄u 'sap, juice', Tl cē̄r̄u 'tamarind soup, broth' ¶ D #2484 ◇ D *r̄ points to a N intervocalic *-r- (hence N *ša'r̄i'X∇). Therefore T *-r̄ must go back to *-ry- < N *-riH- (actually *-riX-) rather than to N *-r̄-. The vowels of the first syll. in Tg *sire, T *s̄jār̄, and D *čē̄r̄o may be due to regr. as. (infl. of *i of the next syll.). The glide *y in NaIE *srey- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *š̄ūr̄ū' '↑' ◇ IS MS 369 (*š̄ar̄: IE, T, U, D), ≈ Resh. NNE #8 (U, A + unc. T *s̄ir̄- 'ooze, melt' and Tg *sir- id., which are possibly connected with N *Suří ≈ squeeze out, filter, strain', q.v.).

2170. *š̄ürd∇ 'fibre (used as thread)' > **U:** FP *šürt∇ 'yarn, thread' > Chr H ш̄ир̄ты 'šart̄, Chr U/B šürtö id., StChr L ш̄ир̄т̄ö 'šürtö 'thread' | Prm *šart 'yarn' > Z ш̄орт̄ šart, Yz šört, Vt ш̄орт̄ šort ¶ UEW 785, Sm. 554 (FP *šürt̄t̄∇ 'thread'), MRS 747, LG 323 || **A:** T *sirt > OT sirt 'thick, hoarse hair' || Blgh *širt > Chv š̄irt 'bristle'; Blgh *širt ↪ Bsh š̄irt 'bristle', SbTt Tb {Rl.} širt, {Gig.} ш̄ир̄т̄, SbTt Ichk {TTDS} širt 'horse-hair', Hg s̄erte ~ sörte 'bristle' ¶ Chv š̄- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (that later changed into *I due to vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 846, Jeg. 335, Fed. II 449-50, Gomb. BTL 117, Tm. 251, TTDS 519, Rl. IV 1075, EWU 1322-3 || ?? M *sirkeg (if < *sirt-keg) 'fibre, thread; bristle' (× N *š̄ER̄∇, Ka 'to plait, to wattle', q.v.) > WrM s̄irkeg 'fibre, thread; raw silk', HIM ш̄ир̄х̄эг 'fibre, filament, thread', Brt ш̄эр̄х̄эг, Kl širkā 'bristle', širkā 'Borste (des Schweinerückens), Nackenhaare', Kl {KRS} ш̄ир̄к̄г širkæg 'bristle', {Rm.} širkæg 'raw silk, silk thread', WrM s̄irkei-, HIM ш̄ир̄х̄ий-х̄v. 'bristle' (of hair); M ↪ WrMc s̄irge 'silk, silk thread' ¶ MED 718, 718, KW 360, KRS 676, Kow. 1533, KW 360, Chr. 750, Z 619 || **HS:** S *°√š̄|srd > Ar √srd G v. 'sew\stitch (leather)' (× sd. from √srd 'pierce'), sard- {BK, Hv.} 'mailed fabric', {Ln.} 'coat of mail' ¶ BK I 1079-80, Hv. 317-8, Ln. 1346-7 ◇ M *i and pre-T *i (> T *I) go back to N *ü (delabialization, which is a reg. change, see Introduction, § 2.4).


2171. *š̄êR̄∇, m'ü' 'sinew, root' > **HS:** Ch *√Srm 'root' > WCh: Maha {Nw.} sorom, Bl {IL} šorin, Ngm {Nm.} šori id. | Ron: Tmbs {Sh.} sēm̄ē id. ¶ Stl. VZCh B #190, ChC, JI II 276-7 || **U:** FU {Resh.} *š̄'e'rm∇ ≈ sinew, thread' > F hermo, Δ hermu 'nerve' || ObU {Ht.} *θōram > pOs *φōrem 'signal thread in a net (stretching when fish is caught)' > Os: V lōram, Vy yōram, Nz turam, Kz φōram, O loram id.; pVg tāram > Vg Ss tōrom id. ('Fühlleine') ¶ Resh. NNE #10, SK 70, Stn. D 802-3, Ht. #162

|| **A** *sErmü 'sinew' > M *sirmü- 'sinew, tendon' > WrM sirmüsün, HIM шөрмөс, Brt шүрмэхэ(н) 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament'; but the variant *sirbü-sün id. goes back to N ?σ *šīRb∇ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) ¶ MED 716, 718, Chr. 738 || ?φ Tg *sūmū 'tendon' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud sumu, Lm hum, Δ humä, Δ humô, Ul sumul(i), Ork humu ~ sumu id., 'thread made of tendon', Nn: Nh sumul, B suumulū, KU sum-kš 'tendon', Ewk sumumэ 'made of sinews' (threads) ¶ STM II 126 || pKo {S} *hím > MKo hím, NKo him 'sinew, strength' ¶ pKo *h- is a reg. reflex of A {DQA} *sĭ- (cp. pKo *hànàh 'one' < A {DQA} *sĭóna id. < N *šōñ'i' 'one', pKo *hāĭ- 'white' < A {DQA} *sĭäyri < N ? *'š'EḪar∇ 'bright', pKo *hārġk 'earth' < A {DQA} *sĭāri < N *šiharu 'dirt, earth', etc.) ¶ S QJ #513, Nam 500, MLC 1901 || ? T *osErmE > Chv sərme kobъz 'violin' (lit. 'string kobъz' [kobъz is a musical instrument]) ¶¶ DQA #2083 (A *sĭörme 'sinew'), ≈ SDM97 (*sürmu id.) ◇ The extants data do not allow us to distinguish between the N vowels *e and *i of the first syll. ◇ Resh. NNE #10 (U, A).

2172. *šehrE 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > **HS**: CS *✓šhr > JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, Md ✓šhr G 'be awake', JEA ✓šhr 'remain awake late', Ar ✓shr G 'spend the night awake' (× N *šihr∇ 'late' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night') ¶ Lv. IV 515, Js. 1527, Sl. 1129, Br. 760, Ln. 1451, BK I 1156, Hv. 341 || ECh: Jg {J} ser- v. 'see' (prs. sera, p. sirr-), EDng {Fd.} sàrìñilè ~ sàrñilè 'rester les yeux ouverts sans pouvoir trouver le sommeil, ne pas fermer l'oeil' ¶ J J 117, Fdr. 365 || **IE** *sehr(ω)- > NaIE *sēr-, *ser-ω- ({IS} *se^rHr¹-, {P} ser₁ṽ-) {P} 'sorgend Obacht geben, schützen, bewahren': [1] IE *sehr- > Av haraiti 'hat Acht, schützt', {EI} 'defends', harətar 'Hüter, Wächter', hāra- 'Acht haben, schützen' || Gk ἥρωξ (gen. ἥρωος) '*protector' → 'hero, mighty man'] [2] NaIE *serω- > L servā- v. 'watch over, keep', Osc serevġkid 'auspicio, iussu', Um seritu SERITU 'servato' || ?? Ld {Gsm.} katāre- (= kat-sare-) (< *-soreye/o-) {Pol.} 'stand watch', sarēta {Pol.} 'protector' (valid if Pol.'s translation of the Ld words [EI 458] is right) ¶ The acute intonation in Lt suggests an IE √ with a lr. *Ĥ or *H; Gk η points to a palatalized lr. ¶¶ P 910, ≈ EI 458 (*ser- 'protect'), Brtl. 1787, 1806, Frn. 776-7, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 52-3, IS II 107-8, F I 644-5, WH II 525-6, Bc. G 324, 345, Frn. 776-7, ≈ Gsm. LWI 64-5, 87 (Ld {Gsm.} katāre- 'willfahren' [?], sarēta 'wohlgesinnt') || **U**: FL *šera|ä- v. 'awake' > F herä- v. 'awake, wake up', Vp herāštuda ~

heräštüdä id., Es {Rs.} äraneda 'fühlen, ahnen, gewahr werden, entdecken' | ? Mk сргозе- sargoža-, Er сьргозе- sirgože- vi. 'awake' (according to IS, pMr *srga- < *šrga- < *šer-kä) ¶ SK 71, ERV 628, PI 256 || A ({S VL, AJ} *sērī [with the vowel length of the 1st accentual type] v. 'be awake, perceive'): T *seřä- > NaT *sezä- v. 'feel, perceive, understand' > OT, Chg sez- (aor. sezä-r) v. 'perceive, feel, discern, notice', Tk sez-, Az, Qrg, Qzq sez-, VTt sbz- id., Xk sis- 'feel, guess', Tkm θεδεωār bol- v. 'undergo', ?φ θιδ- 'feel' ¶ Cl. 86O-1, DTS 498, Rs. W 413, TkR 57O, 6O3 || M *seri- v. 'be awake, perceive' > MM [S] seri- v. 'notice, know, learn', [HI, MA] seri- vi. 'awake', sere- v. 'notice' ('s'appercevoir de'), 'feel', (hPSc) sere- v. 'beware', WrM sere- ~ seri-, HIM сэра- v. 'awaken, revive; recover consciousness; keep vigil; learn', Ord {Ms.} sere-, Dg {Pp.} sērī-, {T} sere-, Dx šīeri-, MMgl {Iw.} serūn vi. 'awake', Mgl {Rm.} serānā 'he is awake', Mnr H {SM} sari- 's'éveiller, reprendre ses sens, se dégriser' ¶ H 134, MED 689-9O, Ms. H 94, Pp. MA 32O, Iw. 131-2, SM 327-8, T 357, T DgJ 163, T DnJ 142 || Tg *seri- 'feel, be awake' > Nn KU s3r3- v. 'feel, notice', Ewk, Sol s3ri- 'be awake', WrMc sere- id., 'feel, guess, understand'; ⇨ Tg *seri-bu- vt. 'awake' > Ewk s3riw-, Sol, Nn Nh s3rū-, Lm hō:ru-, Neg s3y3w-, Orc s3yu-, Ork s3ru-, Ud {STM} siū-si-, Ud Sm {Krm.} siu-si-, Ul s3ru-ču/i- id., WrMc serebu- v. 'bring (so.) to his senses, sober (so.); to give to feel\ understand' ¶ STM II 145, Vas. 378, Krm. 286, Klz. S II 4O, Z 589, Hr. 784 || ? pKo {S} *sari- 'beware, be careful, spare oneself' > NKo sari- id., Ko {Rm.} sari-, sja,ri- or sa,ri- v. 'be careful of oneself, be anxious about oneself' | ? MKO sirkiḷ 'wisdom', NKo silgi id. ¶ S QK #122, Nam 231, MLC 873, 1O27, Rm. SKE 224, S AJ 256 [#122] || pJ *sír- v. 'know' > OJ sir-, [RJ] sír-, J T šir-, K/Kg śír- ¶ S AJ 91, 266 [#4O], S QJ #4O, Mr. 752 ¶¶ S VL #2O7 and ≈ DQA #1946 (pA *sā́ri 'know, beware, feel', incl. T, M, Ko, J), S AJ 91-2, 276 [#38] (unc. rec. of a long *ē), KW 325 (M, T). S (AJ 91-2) justifies the adduction of Tg *sā- v. 'know' by presuming that A *-r- (and *-ř-?) was lost after long vowels (S AJ 2O-1), allegedly on the ev. of Tg *ī- v. 'enter' and Tg *mū- 'water', which he equates with M *ire- v. 'come' and WrM mōren 'river', but both Tg *ī- and Tg *mū- have obvious N etymologies without *-r- (F N *ʔ'e'y▽ 'come' and N *mūhi 'water, fluid') and hence do not justify the hyp. of the Tg loss of A *-r- or *-ř- ◇ IS MS 331 (*šerΔ), IS

II 107-8 (*šeh́r ḥ), Rs. UAW 43 (U, A) \diamond ≈ Gr. II #229 (*ser ~ *sor 'know') (IE, U, A, J + qu. Ko, Gil).

2173. *š'ät ▽ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' > HS: WS *šit- (plural *šat-āt-) 'podex, seat (of body)]' ('Gesäß') > BHb תַּיִשׁ 'šēt (pl. תַּיִשׁוֹת šā'tōt) 'seat (of body), buttocks', IA št 'buttocks, anus', Sr  'seat (of body), buttocks', Md šata 'buttocks, pubic regions', Ar ḥist- (pl. satat-) {Ln.} 'podex, anus', {Hv.} 'buttock', Mh {Jo.} šīt (pl. šētōtən) 'backside, buttocks, anus', Hrs {Jo.} šīt (pl. šētōtən) 'backside, posterior', Jb C {Jo.} 'šet (pl. 'šetet), Jb E {Jo.} 'šet 'privates (front or back, of a male or female)', Sq {Jo.} ššh, {L} 'šeh 'parties sexuelles de la femme', Grg Sl suto 'flesh of back above the hip', Grg Ed ušt 'waist'; MHb תַּיִשׁ šyt (traditional rabbinical vocalization: תַּיִשׁ šīt) 'a pit beside the altar (of the Temple) for libations' ('ein unterirdischer Raum ... am südwestlichen Winkel des Altars, wohin der Wein der Trankopfer hinabfiel') may be a late reinterpretation of BHb תַּיִשׁ šēt written with a mater lectionis 'y for ē ¶ Ln. 56, Hv. 8, KB 1536-7, HJ 1198. Lv. IV 550, Br. 810-1, DM 446, Jo. M 396, Jo. H 125, Jo. J 267, L LS 413, L EDG III 102, 566, ≈ MiK I #1.255 (S *š ▽ t-, *ḥi-š ▽ t-) ¶ Not here (⇔ MiK) Ak i š d u 'base, foundation' and Ug ḥi š d = ḥi š du 'leg' (see N *s|šæd ▽ [or *s|šid ▽ ?] 'lower part')] ? S *-šīt- (*√ šyt) v. 'put, place' > BHb תַּיִשׁ √ šyt G (ip. 3m yā-'šīt, pf. 'šāt), Ph, Pun š t (√ šyt), Ug √ šyt ([AkSc] inf. šīt u), Amr {G} √ šyt id.; (× N *š'ayū' d ▽ 'throw, [?] leave [abandon]) Ak √ šyt (inf. šētum, šīātum, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ KB 1375-7, HJ 1130-1, A #2702, OLS 456-7, G A 32, Hnr. 181, Sd. 1221 || Eg Md s ty '(Hand, Arm an etw.) legen' (× Eg P s ty v. 'throw' < N *šid ▽ 'sprinkle, pour' × N *č'ū' t ▽ [or *-t-?] 'throw, fling, pour'), ? Eg fP s.t (if from *s ▽ t-t) 'seat' (→ 'throne'), 'place' > Cpt Sd/B ce se 'seat, place', ce se- in Cpt Sd cemice se-mise \mathcal{L} Cpt B cemici se-misi {Vc.} 'delivery chair', {Crum, Crn.} lit. 'birth-place, birth-seat' → 'childbirth, delivery' (MICE mise is v. 'bear, bring forth') ¶ EG IV 1-6, Fk. 206, 328, Vc. 182, Crum 186, Crn. 90, 145, ≈ Tk I 228 (does not distinguish between s ty 'lay' and s ty 'throw') || EC: ? Sml Rh {R, C} šittō 'vulva' (← 'podex?') ¶ DSI 551 || NrOm: Kf {C} šittō, Mch {L} šitto 'vulva', Kcm {CR} setto 'clitoris', Ym {C} sētō 'hymen' (all from *'podex?') ¶ C SE IV 502, LM 52, AD SF 247, Blz. OLBP #107 ¶¶ Ward ESE 407 → Tk. I 228 (Eg, S) || ? Ch: CCh: Ktk {Bou.} sātšḥ 'sit down', ECh: Kwn {J} sādī id. ¶ ChC, JI II

295 || ?σ K *^ošt- > G št- / šten- / štin- / štom- 'remain, leave (let sth. remain)' (× ← K *šwd- 'remain') ¶ Chx. 1822, DCh. 1519 || IE *sed- v. 'sit (down)' > OI sad- 'sit down, be seated' (3s aor. 'a-sad-at, 3s prs. 'sīdati), Av had- v. 'sit down', hiḏaiti (< *sisde/o-) 'sit', OI 'sadaḥ n. 'seat, place, residence' || Arm նստիմ nstim 'I sit, I am sitting down', aor. նստայ nstay (< *ni-sed-/*ni-sd-, cp. OI ni-ṣīdati 'sits down') || Gk ἕζομαι (< *sed-yo-) 'seat oneself, sit', ἕλω (< *sisde/o-) 'sit', ἕδος (gen. ἕδεος) 'sitting-place, seat, chair', ἕδρα id. || L sedē- (1s sedeō) v. 'sit', sīdō (< *sisde/o-) 'sit down' || OIr said- 'sit' (saidid 'sits'), W seddu 'to sit' || Gt sitan, ON sitja, OSx sittian, OHG sizzen, NHG sitzen, AS sittan 'to sit', NE sit || Lt sēdēti 'to sit' (1s prs. sēdmi, sēdžiū 'I sit'), sēsti / prs. sēd-u (usually rf. sēsti-s) 'sit down', Ltv sēst / prs. sēžu, sēdu (rf. sēstiēs) id., Pru sīdons 'sitting' | Sl *sěsti (< *sēd-ti) / 1s prs.-ft. *sęd-q 'sit down' > OCS сѣсти sěsti / сядѣ sędq, R сестъ / сяду, SCr сѣсти s̄ sjěsti / † sjědēm, Slv sęsti / s̄ edem, OCz siesti, P siąśc / siąde, Blg сядам id.; SI *sědēti / 1s prs. *sędjq 'sit, be seated' > OCS сѣдѣти sědēti / сѣждѣ sěždq, R сидеть / сижу, Uk сидіти / сиджу, SCr sēdēti / sēdīm, Δ sjēditi / sjēdīm, Sln sedēti / sedīm, Cz sedēti / sedím, Slk sediet' id., Blg сядя 'I sit' || a rdp. in Ht sesd- 'dauernd sitzen, ruhen' ¶ P 884-7, EI 522 (*sed- / prs. *'sedsti ~ *'sisedeti 'sit down' / stative prs. *sēdeh₁ti 'sits, is sitting'), M K III 423, 472-4, F I 443-6, WH II 507-9, Vn. S 7-8, Slt. 99, Fs. 424-5, Vr. 477, Ho. 296, Ho. S 65, Kb. 860, OsS 768-9, Schz. 253, KM 711, Frn. 769, 777, En. 245, Vs. III 613, 618-9, Glh. 551-2, Ts. W 75, Frd. HW EH III 28 || A: Tg *^osed- v. 'sit' in d. *^osede-kin 'place for sitting' > Ork sэдзxi(n-) 'plank-bed (нары), floor' ¶ STM II 137 || D *čaṭṭa 'back (dos)' (if from 'podex') > Nkr saṭṭa 'back', Klm saṭṭa 'shoulder-blade, shoulder', Gnd Δ saṭṭā ~ haṭṭā 'shoulder' ¶ D #2303 ◇ Hardly here Eg ṣd 'vulva' and D *čūt-₁, {ḡGS} *s|cūt- 'private parts' because of the D vw. *ū and of the consonants.: Eg d and D *-tt- (both pointing to a N *-t-), see N *š|čūt- 'vulva, anus' ◇ This et. suggests that N *š yields Tg *s- ◇ If G št- / šten- / štin- / štom- does not belong here, the N rec. is *Sāt- ◇ ≠ S NSShS #13 (comparison of IE *sed- 'sit' with K *šwed- / *šwd- 'remain'), ≠ Blz. DA 155 [#36] (HS, D {Blz.} *cūt-₁).

2174. *š'ri't∇ (= *š'ri'tU?) 'thread (made of hair?)' > **K** *ošit- 'thread' > G šit-i 'woollen thread' ¶ Fn. SK 95 [#113] (equates G šit- with Sum šita 'Band'), DCh. 152O, Chx. 1824 || **HS:** S *√šty '≈ bind threads, fix the warp', *'šitiy- ~ *'šatay- 'warp' (× N *sit∇ 'to tie' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A:** pKo {S} *stij 'belt' > MKo stij, NKo ti ¶ S QK #426, Nam 177, MLC 550 || pJ {S} *si(n)ta_l or *si(n)tja > OJ side, JT síde 'tassels tied to sacrifices' ¶ S QJ #425 || ??φ T *siδ- > OT [MhK] siδiy ~ siδiy 'one of the two skirts of a robe', Tkm сыйθiy 'skirt (lower part) of a robe (подол)', Chv шăраç š'braś 'tassel on a belt, trimming on the edge of a hem' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *i ¶ Cl. 799-800, TkR 603, Ash. XVII 332 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1987 (pA *s|šido|u - *s|šjudu 'tassel, string'; incl. T, Ko), ≠ DQA #2025 (A *s|šit'∇ {AD} 'bands, ribbons' > J) || ?φ D *cuṭṭ∇ ({φGS} *з|з-) 'tuft of hair' > Tm cuṭṭi, Tu juṭṭu, Klm žuṭṭi id., Ml juṭṭu 'tuft of hair on shaven head', Kn juṭṭa, juṭṭu id., 'tuft growing on an animal's head', Kdg žitti 'tut of hair as worn by brahmans, woman's backhair', Tl juṭṭu 'long lock or tuft of hair', Gnd cuṭṭi 𐌆 cuṭṭī 𐌆 cuṭṭiḡ 'hair', žuṭṭī 'tuft of hair', Krx cuṭṭī 'hair, bristles, mane'; D ⇨ OI jūṭa- 'twisted hair' ¶¶ D #2655 ◇ Blz. KM 12O-1 [#23] (K, A, S + unc. Eg sṭy 'knüpfen') ◇ T *siδ- is highly problematic as a cognate both because T *-δ- does not go back to N *-t- and because of its deviating meaning. If D *cuṭṭ∇ belongs here, it tentatively suggests regr. as. of the vw. of the first syll.: D *cuṭṭ∇ < N *š'ri'tU.

2175. *š'ayu't∇ (or *š'atUy∇?) 'twig, rod' > **HS:** WS *šawṭ- 'rod, scourge, whip' > BHb שׁוֹט šōṭ (pl. שׁוֹטוֹת šōṭ-īm), Gz ሰውጥ sawṭ id., JA [Trg.], JEA שׁוֹטוֹת šōṭ-ā 'rod, scourge', Sr شَوَّط šawṭ-ā 'whip, lash', Ar سَوْط sawṭ- 'leathern whip' ¶ KB 1337, Js. 1531, Sl. 1116-7, Br. 763, JPS 564, BK I 1164, Hv. 344, L G 521 || B *-s∇ḡw- (> *-s∇ṭṭ-) > Ah *tasatṭa (pl. tisatṭwa) 'branche coupée d'arbre épineux', Tmz {MT} asatṭa (pl. isatṭwan) 'branche', Kb {Dl.} ṭasatṭa (pl. ṭisatṭwa) 'branchette, rameau d'arbre' (the meaning of smallness is due to the f. gender of the word), Sll {Ds.} taṣṭṭat (pl. tiṣṭṭuīn), aṣṭṭa (pl. iṣṭṭuan) 'branche', BSn {Ds.} taṣṭṭa (pl. tiṣṭṭwīn) id., 'rameau', Izd {Mrc.} ṭasatṭa (pl. ṭaṣṭṭwīn) 'branche du palmier' ¶ Fc. 1805, MT 617, Dl. 758, Ds. 45, Ds. B 49, Mrc. 38 || **K:** MG [VT] šṭo, G šṭo ~ rṭo 'branch, twig'. The variant rṭo may be of dialectal origin (West Georgian or

Zanian rhotacism of sibilants?). Hardly borrowed from Arm **նստ** *ost* or NArm **նստ** *vost* 'branch' ¶ Chx. 1848, DCh. 1042, 1528 || **U**: Բ *š'ayu'tt∇ or *šatt'u'y∇ 'twig, rod' > Yz šať 'branch of a leaf-bearing tree', 'thin trunk of a tree', Z UV/Vm/I/LV/Sk/Ud šayť, Z US/LL/P/Ss šať 'long flexible rod', StZ вугыр шать *vug+r šať* 'fishing-rod' (*vug+r* means 'hook and line'), шатин šaťin 'thin rod, fishing-rod'; Z б → Vg sayt ≙ säyt, Os sāyat 'rod' | ? BF: F hutja, Δ hutia 'long thin rod, fishing-rod', Es hudi (gen. hudja) {Slv.} 'cudgel, bludgeon, rod', {W} 'Stange, dünne Latte, Plumpkeule (beim Fischen)', Lv udʹa {Sj.} 'Stange, Spieß, Lanze, Stachel', {Kt.} 'Stange zum Stoßen der Boote auf Flüssen und Seen' ¶ LG 318, SK 91, Raun EKET 13, Slv. 63, W EDW 1242, Kt. 448, Sj. LDW 121.

2176. *šaw∇ '(in the) middle' > IE: NaIE *-su, locative pl. ending (← 'among' ← 'in the middle'), e.g. *wǫkʷo(i̯)-su loc pl. ('among wolves'?) (with the marker of pl. *-o i̯- from the declension of demonstr. prns.) > OI vṛkē-ṣu 'among wolves', OLT, Lt A vilkuo-su loc. pl. (StLt vilkuo-se with the change *-u > -e under analogical influences, possibly of the OLT illative case [acc. to A. Senn]), Sl *vьlc-ě-χъ loc. pl. of the word for 'wolf' (> OCS влѣцѣхъ влѣсѣхъ), Gk λύκοισι loc./dat. of the word for 'wolf' (transformation *-su > -σι due to the infl. of the loc. sg. ending *-i or of the Gk locative ending -φι < *-bʰi), ? L lup-is (× dat./instr. pl.) dat./instr./loc. pl. of lupus 'wolf', NaIE *sūnu-su 'among sons, in sons' > loc. pl. of the word for 'son': OI sūnu-ṣu, Lt A sunuo-su, StLt sunuo-se, Sl *sīnъ-χъ (> OCS сынѣхъ сінѣхъ), NaIE *toi-su 'among/in these' (m. pl.) > OI tēṣu, OCS тѣхъ тѣхъ, Lt tuose || It is not yet clear if Ht -as dat.-loc. pl. (in *anzas* 'to\among us', *sumas* 'to\among you [pl.]') belongs here ¶¶ Brg. KVG 395, 399 (table), Szem. EVS-80 146-8, 151, 153-6, 160-2, 167-8, 171-5, 187-92, 196, Szem. IEL 160, 164-92, Bks. 114, 18, 173, Mz. BIES 218-28, Stang SLKM 125, Stang VG 186, Senn LL 120 || **K** {K, K²} *šowa-, {FS} *šuwa- 'middle, in the middle' > OG šuwa- ~ šowa- 'middle' (šuwa γames 'midnight'), G šua- ~ † šuva- adj. 'being in the middle of, between; middle', Mg ška- ~ ska- 'middle', Lz ška- ~ ška- 'middle, waist; between', Sv {FS} sga, isga 'between, midst', Sv {TK, GP}: UB/L {TK} sga- ~ isga-, Ln {TK} (i) sқа- ~ ysқа- pv. 'herein-, hinein-', UB {GP} -(i) sga- postp. 'in, into', UP/L sgāw, LB sgaw, Ln sқаw 'inside, inner Georgia', UB sgān, LB (i) sgan, L sgān, Ln sқаn adv. 'inside' ¶¶ K

218, K² 252, FS K 384, FS E 431-2, Chx. 1849-51, Q 359, Gm. SSh 51-4 (*šw- > Sv sg-), TK 702-3, GP 257 || HS: C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} ššew, {Bnd.} †šew, Aw D {CR} šə'wī, Aw {Wldm.} šowī, Dmt {CR, R} šə'wī, Knf {TBZAC} šew 'heart' || SC: a SC lge b→ Mb swaho 'heart' ¶ Blz. CWL, Hz. NSA 138, Wldm. s.v. 'Herz', TBZAC 102 ¶¶ But Eg OK s.t 'place, seat' is more likely to belong to N *š'ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FV *š|sawta 'lungs' > pChr {Ber.} *šōḏb id. > Chr: L шодо šodo, B/M šodo, H шоды šodь | pLp *sōvtē 'gill(s) (of a fish)' > Lp: Ml {Schl.} syöydee sūḡḡdē, L {LLO} suou'tē, N {N} suow'de, K {Gn.} suvvd, Kld {SaR} cybby't suvvt id. ¶ UEW 754-5, Ber. 64 [#333], MRS 713, Ep. 151, Lr. #1198, Lgc. #7191, Schl. 133, Gn. 1067, SaR 329 || A: ?φ Tg *saya(n) 'interstice between fingers\toes' > Ul saya(n-), sayā, Ork saya(n-), Nn Nh sayā, Nn B saya, Nn KU sayra, Ewk saya 𐤃 haya 𐤃 šaya id., Ewk PT saya 'interstice between reindeer's toes' ¶ STM II 55 ◇ ≈ Blz. 121 [#24] (K, Ag, FU + err. Eg s3w 'satt', not *'stomach').

2177. *šūwA - *šuwE 'fit, good' > HS: CS *√šwy v. 'be fit, equal, even' > BHb תוה √šwy G v. 'agree, be like' (pf. תוה šā'wā, ip. תוה - - šwē), תוה šā'wē 'plain', MHb תוה šā'wē 'equal', JEA תוה √šwy v. G 'be equal, be worth, be appropriate', Sr √šwy|w G (pf. | 𐤃 šā'wā) 'be equal, fit, like', Ar سوی √swy G 'valoir', سوی suwa(n) 'égal, choisi', sīy-(un) 'égal, pareil' ¶ KB 1333-5, GB 811-2, Br. 760-1, Lv. IV 518-9, Js. 1532, Sl. 1116, Tal 878-9, BK I 1170-3 || ??? B: Sll {Ds.} ssius 'be good' (pf. issius), but Gd ihusi 'was beautiful' suggests that the pB √ has an initial lr., which makes the comparison qu. ¶ Ds. 40 || ? C: Bj {R} šō 'gut, schön' || EC: Sa {R} sō 'gut!; schön!; bravo!' || SC: ???φ Irq {MQK} 𐤃𐤍? 'nice, sweet' (= {Fl.} 𐤃𐤍 'good') ¶ R WBd 208, R S II 306, MQK 110 || K {K} *šu-, {FS} *šw- v. 'befit so., be proper' > OG *šu- in še-ma-šu-s 'befits me' (šemašus cχorebay igi 'life befits me, подобает мне жизнь'), še-a-šw-s 'es ziemt sich', šw-en-ier-i 'beautiful', G šven- 'be\look beautiful', Mg skv-: mo-skv-an-d3 'es ziemt sich für mich', skv-a 'beautiful', sku- 'decorate', Lz msku- v. 'be proud, impress by one's beauty', sku-al-i 'beautiful', Sv: sgu- v. 'befit so.' (msd. UB li-sgw-e), UB {GP} sgwän, {TK} sgwan, L sgwen 'beauty, charm'; d→ K *m-šw-en- 'beautiful' > OG mšwen- 'standing in beauty' ('красующийся'), G mšven-i 'schön, reizend, entzückend', mšvenier- '(wunder)schön,

(bild)hübsch', Mg skvam- ~ skvam-, Lz mskva-, pskva- 'beautiful', Sv U/L musgwen, Ln muskwen 'smooth, even' ¶ K 140, 217-8, K² 128-9, 248, FS K 377-8, FS E 424-5, Chx. 868-9, 1816-7, TK 577, 704, GP 166, 222, 258 || IE: NaIE *su- 'good, well', esp. as the first element in cds. (e.g. *su-bhago- 'beglückend', preserved in Irn and Sl [with *bhag-zuteilen', cf. P 107, EI 161]) > OI 'su 'well, wrightly', Av hu-, OPrs u- 'good, well' (OI su-'bhaga- 'possessing good fortune, lucky, happy', Av hu-baḡa 'gutes Eheglück während') || Gk ὑγιής 'healthy' (< *su-g^wijēs 'well living') || Clt: Gl su-, W hy- ~ hu-, Cm hy-, OBr ho- ~ he-, Br he- (e.g. W hy-gar 'lebenswürdig' = Gl p.n. Su-carus, OBr ho-mer 'écoulement rapide'), OIr su-, so- (in su-thain 'ewig', so-scél(a)e 'Gospel, Eu-angelium') || ON sú-svqr̥t 'black-bird' (literally 'completely black [one]') || Lt sūdrūs 'abundant, rank (üppig, geil), dense' (of plants, vegetation), Lt sveĩkas, Ltv svēiks 'healthy, good' || Sl *sъ-dorvъ(jb) 'healthy' > OCS сѢДРАВЪ sьdrav, Blg здрав, SCr, Slv zdrāv, Cz, Slk zdravý, P zdrowy id., R здо'ровый id., 'здо'ров 'is healthy'; Sl *sъbožbje 'possession' (< IE d. *su-bhago-, see above) > OCz sbožie 'possessions', Cz zboží 'goods (merchandise)', P zboże 'corn', R Δ збожье 'possessions, wealth, corn', Blr збожже, Uk збіжжя id. ¶ P 1037-8, EI 235, M K III 478-80, M E II 734-6, F II 954-5, Vn. S 155-6, Flr. 207, 210, 212-4, ≈ Vr. 559, Frn. 937, 950-1, Glh. 694, Vs. II 84-5, 90, Ma. CS 584, HIK 433-4 || U: FV {Coll., Ker.} *šūwä 'good' > F hyvā, Es hea, hüva id. | pLp {Lr} *səvē v. 'improve, make better, amend' > Lp: N {N} sâvvet v. 'heal', S {Hs.} sūvv'edh, U {Schl.} svvveet, L {LLO} savvēt, Kld {TI} sevva'd 'heilen, sich schließen (von einer Wunde)' | pMr *čivā > Er Δ {Ps.} čiv 'gut, tüchtig, brav', Mk Δ {Ps.} čiva 'gastfreundlich' | Chr H {Ep.} шц šu 'health, healthy' (шц адэм 'healthy person'), {Rm.} šu 'gesund, frisch' ¶ Coll. 82, Lr. #1096, Lgc. #6073, Hs. 1275-6, TI 480, Ker. II 158-9 [#443], MRS 727, Ep. 154, ≠ UEW 499 (reconstructs *šēñä on the alleged ev. of Vt šōñer 'straight', Z šāñ 'gut, tüchtig', and Hg igen 'yes, very', that are adduced in UEW with queries and hardly belong here) || A: M *su[β]u > MM [S, HI] su {H} 'Segen und Schutz (der Genien der Ahnen), Glückseligkeit', {Ms.} 'Fortune', PCIWrM {Ms.} suu 'Fortune', ? WrM suu, ? HIM cуу 'genius, distinction, superiority' ¶ H 136, Ms. H 96, MED 740 || T: ı OT su esān 'happily (благополучно)' (*Altun jaruq* 623.5), this may be a loan from Chn su v. 'rise from the dead' (the



character composed of clues 195 and 115 covered by the clue 140), as supposed in DTS 312; the hyp. of the loan (far from being immediately convincing) can be checked by comparing the OT text of *Altun jaruq* (which is a translation from Chn *Suvarn_aprabha_sa*) with the corresponding Chn text \diamond IS MS 371 (* \check{s} u ω h 'good').

2178. ? σ (σ ?) * \check{s} u ω ? ∇ 'weak' > HS: Eg MK $\varepsilon\check{z}$ 'mit schwachem Arm', Eg fLMK $z\check{z}\omega$ 'weak' (of arm), 'tired' (of a person's back) (\times N * \check{s} u \uparrow ' \hat{u} ' 'lax, loose, slack') J EG III 419, IV 14, Fk. 209, Tk. I 65 (Eg $\varepsilon\check{z}$ \div Ar salisa 'be mild', B, EC, CCh * s l- \sim * \check{s} l-roots for 'soft, smooth', see N * \check{s} u \uparrow ' \hat{u} ' 'lax' and N * \check{s} i \uparrow i \rightarrow * \check{s} i \uparrow ay ∇ 'smooth, slippery') || WS * \check{s} a ω ?- > BHb, MHb $\aleph\uparrow\uparrow\check{s}\bar{a}\omega$ (spelled $\check{s}\bar{a}\omega$?) \sim $\uparrow\uparrow\check{s}\bar{a}\omega$ 'nothing, worthless', Ar sa ω ?- {BK} 'mal, ce qui est mal', {Hv.} 'evil, mischief; wretched', Sb au \check{s} ω ? 'evil, bad', Gz sa ω ? 'disgraceful \ scandalous \ depraved act' J GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, Hv. 342, BGMR 52, L G 521 || **A:** M * subsu > WrM subsu , HIM cybc 'weak brandy (the last of the liquor distilled from stray)', WrM subsara- , HIM cybcpaх '(to) become weak' (of brandy) J MED 733 || ? **IE:** NaIE * swi- > Ic svia 'to abate' (of pain) (\times N * $\check{s}'\check{u}h\uparrow?$ ∇ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish'[q.v.]) J P 1052, Bv. 736.

2179. * $\check{s}'e'$ wh ∇ 'give birth, be born' > IE * $\text{seuH-}/\text{*suH-}$ > NaIE * seu_a -/* sū- 'give birth' > OI ' sū-tē 'bears \ begets (a child)', ' sū-tu- 'pregnancy', su-ta-h 'son', sūti- 'birth', Av hūnami 'I give birth', hav- 'give birth', MPrs vi-šūtak 'Ausgeburt' || OIr suth 'produit, portée (des animaux), progéniture', W hog-en 'girl' (* sukā-), hog-yn 'lad' || Arm nluunp ustr 'son' (transformed by analogy with nluunp dustr 'daughter') || \rightarrow [1] IE * suH-nu- > NaIE * $\text{sū}^1\text{nu-s}$ 'son' > OI $\text{sū}^1\text{nu-}$, Av hunu- id. || Gt sunus , ORu sunr , ON $\text{sonr} \sim \text{sunr}$, OHG, OSx, AS sunu , NHG Sohn 'son', NE son || Lt $\text{sūn}^1\text{s}$, Pru soūns 'son' | Sl * sīn^1 (gen. * sīn^1 , pl. * $\text{sīn}^1\text{ov-}$) 'son' > OCS сынъ sīn^1 (gen. $\text{сын}^1\text{оу}$ sīn^1 , nom. pl. $\text{сын}^1\text{овѣ}$ $\text{sīn}^1\text{ove}$), Blg син sīn , SCr, Slv sīn , Cz, Slk, P syn , R сын , Uk син | [2] * suH-yu- 'son' > pTc * soy > Tc B soy , A se 'son' || Gk L/Cr υἱός 'son', μ Gk Hm/I/A υἱός id. J WP 470-1, P 913, EI 56 (* $\text{seu}(H)$ - 'bear a child' \rightarrow * suHnus- \sim * suHyus 'son'), Dv. #408, M K III 481, 492-4, M E II 741, Ch. 1153-4, F II 959-61, Vn. S 205-6, Fs. 460-1, Vr. 530, Ho. 330, Kb. 991, KM 713-4, Slt. 325-6, Frn. 941-2, En 252, Vs. III 817-8, Glh. 547, Wn. 424-5, Ad. 703-4, Ad. H 126 || **K** * $\check{s}e\omega$ -/* $\check{s}\omega$ - 'give birth, beget' > OG $\check{s}e\omega$ -/* $\check{s}\omega$ -, G $\check{s}\omega$ -/* $\check{s}\omega$ -b- 'give birth', Mg sk- , sku- , Lz sku- , skv- , sk- 'lay eggs', Mg sk-

al-ed-i 'Lebewesen, Geborenes'; -d> [1] K *m-šw-e 'born; child' > OG mšo- in pīr-mšo- 'first-born' (pīr- 'first'), Mg skua (pl. skuał-) 'child', pSv *m-sge-y > {TK} UB/L sgey, LB sge, emsge, Ln sķe 'heir, (so.'s) child', UB {GP} sgey 'son', Sv {K} msgey 'child, boy'; [2] GZ *šw-il- 'born (child)' > OG šwil-, G švil-, Lz skir-, sķir- 'child', Mg oxora-sk-il- 'brother\sister-in-law' ¶¶ K 139, 214-7, K² 128, 248, 251, FS K 376-7, FS E 423-4, Chx. 1838, TK 704, GP 258 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} -šiwī ~ -šuwī pcv. 'be pregnant', šiwīa-bi/-ti ~ šuwīa-bi/-ti 'is pregnant' ('ū-šā? šuwēā-bi 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj {R} 'šūya 'pregnant' ('ū-šā? šū'yā-bu 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj B {Alm.} 'šūya 'pregnant' ('ane šu'yātu 'I am pregnant') ¶ Rop. 240, R WBd 220, Alm. BS III 63 || Eg G swh ({EG} śwh) v. (vom Erschaffen des Samens durch Chnum), as well as possibly Eg fP swh.t ({EG} śwh.t), {Vrg.} [sa:;wħa-] 'egg; hard roe; the place of germinating life in the womb (sc. of a son)', DEg swh 'egg', Cpt: Sd cōoγzε souhe, B cwoγzi sōuhi 'egg' (× HS *√cwh 'egg' > Ch *√cwh 'egg' > Hs çūwé 'testicle', pNrBc {Tk.} *cahwi ~ *çuh- 'egg', pMdr *çay- → *çiy- id., etc., see Stl. ZCh 180-1 [#327], JI II 122-3, Tk. I 155-6, Sk. NB 19, Tk. NB 168) ¶ EG IV 72-4, Er. 417, Fk. 217, Crn. 169, Vc. 202, Tk. I 155-6. OS #2210 || U: FU *°še|i w∇ > Chr: L † {Ü} шывэ šwä, H † {Ü} шывэ šwä 'children, posterity' ¶ Ü 282, 287 || ? D *čēv- ~ *čēp- 'child' > Tm cēy 'son, child', Ml cēvala 'child at the breast (?)', Tu jēvu 'child, lad, youth', jōvu id., 'baby, female child', Prj čēpal, Gdb sēpal 'boy, youth', Gdb sāpal 'boy' ¶¶ The cognate is qu., because Prj/Gdb -p- points to a pD *-p-/-v- ¶¶ D #2813 ◇ AD LRC #45 (IE, K), IS MS 361 s.v. рождать *š'e'wā (IE, K, U).

2180. *šūwh∇ 'loosen' ('release', 'let out', 'melt', etc.) > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu_la_l- / *sū- 'let, neglect' > OI {MW} √sū- 'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' (≠ √sū- 'set in motion, urge, impel' < N *Suwh₁∇ 'to push, to cause' [q.v.]) || Gk έάω (*έάω) 'let, suffer, allow, permit' (Gk [Hs.] έύα * ... έα 2sg. inv., Gk Sr [Hs.] έβασον *έασον 2sg. aor. inv.) || OHG fir-sūmen 'to neglect, to miss', NHG versäumen 'to neglect', MHG sūmen, NHG säumen, NGr S saumen, Nr Al sūme(n) 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (P: < NaIE *sū-'mō-s 'nachlassend, säumend') ¶ WP II 472, P 915, MW 698, 1239, FI 434, Kb. 986, WW 336-7, Schz. 275, KM 628 || HS: WS *√šwh (> μ *√šyħ) v. 'melt, dissolve' > JPA {Lv.} √šwh G (pf. шшш шə'wah)

'zerfließen', Sr ✓šwḥ G (pf.  šāḥ) 'melt, waste away', BHb ✓šyḥ G (pf.  šāḥ) 'melt, dissolve', Ar {Dz.} ✓syḥ (pf. sāḥa) 'melt', Gz {L} ✓syḥ (js. ya-sīḥ) G 'melt, liquefy, dissolve' ¶ KB 1369, GB 822, Lv. IV 517, PS 4089, L G 522 || ? Eg XX sωḥ 'verschwinden lassen (die Sprache der Besiegten)' (unless a caus. from ωḥy 'entgleiten') (×N *š'ühi'ʔ▽ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish') ¶ EG I 339 and IV 72 || | K *šw- 'let so. go, leave' > OG šw-, G šv-, Mg, Lz šk(ω)- id., Sv {K} šgwan- (msd. li-šgwan) 'let go, set free, send' ¶¶ K 214, K² 248-9. FS K 378, FS E 425, Q 359 || | A: Tg {ADb.} *sūbE 'release, untie' > Ewk suw- 'untie, unfasten, untether', Lm hū-, Lm A hūw- 'untie, unlace', Sln sūw3- 'unwrap', WrMc su- vi. 'free oneself from, escape (a misfortune), get untied', subu- vt. 'release, set free, bare, take off' ¶ STM II 116-7 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. *пускать* *šw (IE, K).

2180a. *š'aʔEb▽ 'to rot; rotten' > HS: C: Bj {R} sābeb- 'morsch werden, rosten', se'bāb 'Fäulnis, Rost' || | SC {E} *sa;:b- 'dirt' > Alg sibi 'soot', b→ Mb sábu 'dry cow dung' ¶ R WBd 194, E SC 178, E PC #225 || ? S *o✓šyb > Ar šāyib-at- 'ordure, chiasse, tache; défaut, tache, ce qui dépare ou détruit la bonne qualité d'une chose' ¶ BK I 1284 || | D *čap-, {GS} *šab- 'rotten; to rot, ferment' > Tm avi v. 'ferment (as decayed fruit, etc.)', Ml aviγuka v. 'rot, spoil (as fruits laid on a heap)', Kn avi v. 'rot, be spoiled\damaged', Tl aviγu v. 'rot', Ku hap- 'be rotten', Gnd Ch saV-, Png hab- 'go bad, become rotten', Knd sab- v. 'rot and produce an offensive smell', Mnd hab- v. 'decay', (?) Krx čā:wā:r- 'get an unpleasant taste' ¶¶ D ##2341, 2424, Pf. 5, GS 127 [#328], 38 [#68] ¶¶ In some D lgs ×D *čam- < N *čäm;:χ▽ 'sour, bitter' || | A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *s;:aba-ksa 'rotten wood' (*-ksa is a sx. of names of substances [Stoffwörter]) > Ewk sēwaksa 'rotten tree, rotten wood', Lm hāwus ≙ hēwas id. ¶ STM II 69 || | IE: NaIE {WP} *k̄sa;:p- v. 'rot' > Gk σαπρός 'rotten, putrid', Gk σήπω, Gk D σάπω 'make rotten\putrid', Gk md.: σήπομαι (pfc. σέσηπα, 2s aor. ἐσάπην) 'be(come) rotten, rot' || | Lt šiu̇p-ti (1s prs. šiump̄) 'to rot' (of wood), Ltv {ME} sūpēt 'schmutzig werden, verderben (vom Mehl), modern' ¶ WP II 500, F II 696-7, Frn. 993 ◇ If the Ar word belongs here (which is qu.), the initial cns. of the N word was *š'- ◇ If WP's IE rec. is accepted, the N etymon is likely to be *š'aʔEb▽ (because IE *k̄s- suggests a N *š'-,

cp. NaIE * $\widehat{k}se(:)r-$: * $\widehat{k}se(:)r-o-$ 'dry' < N * $\widehat{s}ar\checkmark$ 'be dry'). If so, IE *-p- goes back to *- $\check{p}b-$ < N *- $\check{p}Eb-$.

2181. * $\widehat{s}\checkmark b\check{r}\checkmark$ \neg * $\widehat{s}\checkmark b\check{r}\checkmark$ (= * $\widehat{s}\checkmark b\check{r}\checkmark$ \neg * $\widehat{s}\checkmark b\check{r}\checkmark$?) 'tribe, people' > IE: NaIE * $sebh\bar{a}$ (~* $sewebh-$?) 'tribe, Sippe' > OI $sa'b'h\bar{a}$ 'assembly', {MW} 'congregation', {M} 'Gemeindehaus' ||| Gmc {P} * $se\beta y\bar{o}$ > Gt $sibja$ 'blood relationship' (in $frasti-sibja$ 'adoption as [one's] child' [$\nu\lambda\theta\theta\epsilon\sigma\lambda\alpha$] $sun\bar{i}we$ $sibja$ accus. ' $\nu\lambda\theta\theta\epsilon\sigma\lambda\alpha$ ' 'adoption as a son'), ON d. $sifja\check{r}$ 'related, akin', cd. $sif-jungr$ m. 'a relative', MDt, OFrs $sibbe$ 'blood relationship, kin, Sippenband'; OSx $sibbia$ 'kin (Sippe)', OHG $sippa$ \approx $sibba$ 'kinship', $sippo$ 'kinsman', NHG $Sippe$, AS $sibb$ 'kin, relationship', NE sib ||| L $Sab\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ (< 'belonging to a tribe'), Osc $safinim$ 'Sabine' (ethnonym) = L $Samnium$ ||| ? Pru $sub\check{s}$ 'selbst, eigen' | ? ϕ,σ Sl * $svoboda$ 'freedom' (< *'state of belonging to the kin') > OCS $свобода$ $svoboda$, Blg $свобода$ ~ $свобода$, SCr $slob\grave{o}da$ ~ $svob\grave{o}da$, Slv $svob\acute{o}da$, R, Uk $свобода$, Cz $svoboda$, Slk $sloboda$, P $swoboda$ ~ $\acute{s}wieboda$ 'freedom' ¶ If Sl * $svoboda$ and Pru $sub\check{s}$ belong here, there is a NaIE root variant * $sewebh-$ /* $subh-$ pointing to a N * $u|u$ (* $\widehat{s}\checkmark b\check{r}\checkmark$). The variation *- $we-$ / *- $e-$ goes back to a kind of Schwebeablaut (** $syebh-$ / * $seubh-$, see AD NGIE and NVIE) ¶ \approx WP II 456, \approx P 883 (* $s(\underline{u})ebho-$ ~ * $s(\underline{u})obho-$ 'von eigener Art'), EA 354 (* $s(w)ebh-$ 'lineage'), \approx M K III 433, Bc. G 324, Fs. 417, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, Schz. 262, OsS 758, WW 250, KM 710, Vr. 473, Vs. III 582-3, StSS 594, Glh. 562-3, Ma. CS 490, Br\ddot{u}. 528, En. 258 ||| HS: WS * $\widehat{s}a\check{r}\checkmark b-$ > Ar $\check{s}a\check{r}b-$ {Ln.} 'a great tribe, nation, people', {BK} 'tribu; troupe, bande' | Sb {BGMR} $bo_ \widehat{s}\check{r}b$ 'tribe, community, group of village communities', Mn {MA} $bo_ \widehat{s}\check{r}b$ 'tribe', Qtb {Rk.} $bo_ \widehat{s}\check{r}b$ 'tribe, tribal group', OYmn [Hmd.] شعب $\check{s}\check{r}b$ 'big community (consisting of many clans)', {Slw.} شعب $\check{s}\check{r}b$ (= Hmr * $\check{r}\widehat{s}\check{r}b$?) 'ans\ddot{a}ssiger Stamm, ans\ddot{a}ssige Bev\ddot{o}lkerung \setminus Gemeinde'; ? SES * $\check{r}\widehat{s}\check{r}b$ 'valley' (if < 'tribe's country'): Hrs {Jo.} $\widehat{s}a\check{r}b$ 'valley', Jb {Jo.} $\widehat{s}a\check{r}b$ 'valley, watercourse', Sq {L} $\widehat{s}a\check{r}ab$ 'valley, wadi' (unless akin to Ar $\check{s}i\check{r}b-$ 'road') ¶ Ln. 1556, BK I 1235, BGMR 130-1, MA 85, Rk. 169, Slw. 12-4, Jo. H 117, Jo. J 244, L LS 431 ||| K: OG $sopeli$ 'world, country, land' ($\chi\omega\rho\lambda\acute{o}\nu$), village ($\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$), G $sopeli$ 'village, world' ¶ Abul. 401, DCh. 1190-1, Chx. 1271 ¶ -p- < N *- $b-$ + lr.? ||| A: Tg: Lm $s\check{s}w]z\check{n}$ 'village (село, деревня)' ¶ STM II 134 || ? NaT * $s\ddot{u}:\check{r}$ (< * $s\ddot{u}\check{r}$?) 'army' >

OT {Cl.} sū, MU, XwT XIII, Osm XIV-XVI sü 'army' ¶ Cl. 781, TL 563, RI. IV 794-5 ◇ BSI, K, and T suggest a N rounded vw. of the first syll.

2182. *šab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood' > IE *(s)peh₁- 'long\pointed piece of wood' (× N *p₁iχ|y₁∇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' [q.v.]) > [1] NaIE *(s)p(h)ē₁-/*(s)p(h)ī- 'pointed piece of wood' > OI 'sphyā- {MW} 'piece of wood shaped like a sword', {M} 'shoulder-blade', Khw p^hī 'wooden spade' || NPrs {Sg.} فہ feh 'oar; rake or shovel; an agricultural implement for levelling the ground', فہ fāh 'oar, paddle', Shgn fay 'wooden spade', Ydg fīa, KhS p₁h₁vai, Oss: I fiyyag ~ fzyyag, D fiyyagā 'spade, shovel' ¶ IE *s- mobile is due to the merger with N *p₁iχ|y₁∇ [1] [2] +ext. with *-d- ~ *-t-: Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *spid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle' (× N *s'o₁b₁∇₁t₁∇ [or *s∇₁b₁∇₁t₁∇] 'stem, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ P 980-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, Ab. I 474-5, MW 1271, VI. II 698, Sg. 942, Bai. 264, F II 830-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, OsS 853, KM 726, 728 || HS: S *o₁✓s'a₁ba₁- '≈ piece of wood' > Ar šabaḥat- {Ln.} (?) 'a broad piece of wood' (du. الشَّبَحَاتَانِ ṣaš-šabaḥatāni 'two pieces of wood of the minqalat- [ε 'means of transport'], upon which bricks are carried from place to place'), شَبْحَة šabḥ-at- 'rafter \ timber of the ceiling', شَبْحَة šabḥ-at- 'large door \ gate' ¶ Ln. 1495, BK I 1183 || U: FU *šapp∇ 'pole' > Vg {Kn.}: T šapəl, UK sōpəl, P šoplə 'Pfahl, Stange, Baumstumpf', LK šēt-sopəl 'pale, stake', Ss āwi-sōpla 'doorpost' || Hg Δ záp 'rung of a ladder; a board in the wall of a wagon \ cart \ barrow' || ? F sapila 'rod for carrying hay' ¶ UEW 885 (rejects sapila because of -p-), Coll. 112, MF 703-4, SK 970 || R ({DQA} *sǎp'í 'stick, pole'): M *sibe₁e > MM [HI] šibe₁e 'haie', [S] šibe₁e 'Zaun, Verhau', WrM sibege, HIM шивээ 'tall fence, paling, enclosure of sticks\poles; palisade', Brt шэбээ 'paling, palisade' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, MED 694, Chr. 741 || ? Tg *sapkun > Neg sapkun 'root (of plants)' ¶ STM II 64 || pKo {S} *sá₁p > MKo sá₁p {MLC} 'brushwood, kindling', NKo s₁a₁p^h [s₁a₁p] id., 'prop, support (of plants)' ¶ S QK #485, Nam 301, MLC 961 || pJ {S} *sìmpá ~ *símpá 'brushwood, firewood' > OJ sìpá ~ sípá, J: T síba ~ síba, K síbá, Kg síbá ¶ S QJ #466, Mr. 522, Kenk. 1645 ¶¶ DQA #1919, Mr. KJ 227 (Ko, J) ◇ The internal labial cns. of the N word may have been either *-b- (preserved in Ar and changed in IE and U: N

*-bEh- > *-bh- > NaIE *-p-, -p^h-, U -pp-) or *-p̥- (preserved as *-p- in IE and as *-pp- in U, but changed into -b- [for unknown reasons] in Ar) ◇ The vw. *i in M *sibeʁe (and probably in pJ *simpa) are explained by regr. as.

2183. **ṣæb* ∇, X ∇ 'tallow, animal fat' > IE: L *sēbum* 'tallow', *sēbōsus* adj. 'fat' ¶ WH II 504, ≠ WP II 468, ≠ P 894 || HS: SS **√* *ṣbh* > Gz *ṣabh* n. 'fat; fatness, obesity', *√* *ṣbh* G 'be\grow fat', Jb C *ṣabh* n. 'fat on meat; corpulence', Mh *ṣabh* n. 'fat, corpulence', Hrs *ṣabh* n. fat' ¶ LG 525, Jo. J 245, Jo. M 371, Jo. H 118, MiK I #1.261 || EC: pSam {Hn.} **subah* 'butter' > Sml {ZMO} *subag* 'ghee, clarified butter, animal fat', Rn {PG} *súbah* / cs. *subakkí* 'liquid fat, oil', Bs {HL} *sūba*, Arr {Hw.} *sībin* 'butter', Elm *sīpi* 'fat', as well as possibly Af {PH} *subah* 'clarified butter', Sa {HL} *subah* id., {R} *se'bāh* ~ *ze'bāh* ~ *su'bāh* 'die zerlassene Butter, Schmalz'; the Af/Sa may be a loan from EthS, but its vw. u and its meaning 'butter' (specifically connected with other EC lgs.) suggest its EC origin ¶ ZMO 366, PG 267, HL 135, Hw. A 393, HP 194, R S II 309, Hn. S 96, Blz. RL 258 || ? Ch: CCh: FIM {Kr.} *s+ḥurū* n. 'fat', Nz {Luc.} *s+ḥrī* 'fatness' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} *sèwè* 'fat (animal fat, butter, oil)', Brg {Lk., J} *síwín*, ? Kbl {Cp.} *amb sùwèngè* n. 'fat', Mu {J} *síwín* n. 'fat', *séwínít* adj. 'fat' ¶ ChL 19, 49, JI 132-3, ChC s.v. 'fat', Fd. 369-70 ||| A: Tg **sebe* 'animal fat' > Ewk *s3w3* 'melted fat of a bear', *s3w3*- v. 'melt fat of a bear', Orc *s3w3*- v. 'melt fat of animals\fish', Ud *s3w3si*- v. 'melt fat', ?φ Ork *s3y in3* 'suet of a reindeer' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1949 (A **sep* ∇ 'inner fat, entrails'; semantically unc. comparison of Tg with M **sebe-sün* 'cud, animal excreta, content of the stomach').

2184. ₂ **ṣad* ∇ 'to tie' > U **ṣ|śaḍa* 'tie; a tie' > pOs **sālā* ({JHl.} **s+lā*) 'belly girth (of a reindeer), fastening girth' > Os: Kz *sūḥ keḥ* 'Bauchgurt des Renntiers' (*keḥ* 'rope'), V *sālā* id., 'den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km *sātā* 'um eine Rindenschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde' || Sm {Jn.} **sār̄b-*, Hl} **sār̄b-*, **sār-* v. 'tie' > Ne: T *сярă-сь*, T O {Lh.} *śārā-*, FL {Lh.} *śārā-ś* id.; En X {Cs.} *serabo*, En B {Cs.} *serabo* id. (1s aor. obc.); Slq Tz {KKIH} *sōr+*- 'tie to\together, attach, tie (a kerchief on one's head), knit', *sarrē-* 'attach, tie to', *sarral-* 'harness', Mt {Hl.} **sār-* v. 'tie' (Mt M {Sp.} *сарнымъ* 'вяжу', *шарнамъ* 'привязываю', *шярнамъ* 'связываю') ¶ UEW 461 s.v. **śal* ∇ (but does not rule out U **śaḍa*; in fact, the regular common source of pOs *-l- and Sm *-r- is U

*-δ-), Jn. 137-8, KKI 168, 171, Hl. M #870 || **HS:** WS *✓šdd > Ar ✓šdd 'bind, fasten tightly', {BK} 'serrer, lier fortement' ({Fr.} 'constrinxit, firmiter ligavit'), Mh {Jo.} m3šadd3t (pl. m3šōd3d), Jb C 'mšēd3t (pl. mošōd) 'girth round a camel's belly' ¶ Ln. 1517, Fr. II 402, BK I 1203, Hv. 356, Jo. M 372, Jo. J 246 || Eg Md/G šd 'Tuch um den Kopf, Kopfbinde' ¶ EG IV 566 ◇ ≠ IS SS 324 [#3.17] (wrongly equates Os sāla 'harness strap' with F sīto- 'tie', M *side-, and Ko sit-, that belong to N *sit∇ 'to tie' [q.v.]).

2185. ?σ *šæd∇w∇ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)' > **HS:** S *°šadaw- > Ar šada- 'extrémité, bout' ¶ BK I 1206 || **A:** ppM *sedi- > pM *seži- šür 'extremity, edge, horn' > WrM seži-gür, HIM сажүүр 'margin, hem' ('les bords [de l'habit, des côtés]'), Ord sežūr 'coin'; M *seži- > WrM seži-, HIM сажи- v. 'butt with the horns, gore', Ord seži- 'donner un coup de corne de côté', Kl Ö {Rm.} seži- 'mit den Hörnern seitwärts stossen' ¶ MED 692-3, Kow. 1359, Ms. O 569, KW 321 || Tg *se|çe- (+ sxs.) 'point/head of a ski-stick' > Ewk s33-kī 'hook of a ski-stick', Ul s33-pu(n-), Nn Nh s33pū, Nn B s33fu(n-) 'point/head of a ski-stick' ¶ STM II 137-8 || **K** *štaw- 'head' (× N *t∇w∇ 'head' [q.v.]) > K tav- 'head, ear (of cereals)', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-ša 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'), Sv: UB/L šda 'ear (of cereals)', LB šda, Ln šta 'corn-cob' ¶¶ K 175 (*(s₁)taw-), K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 (*taw-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4, TK 814, GP 271 || ? possibly **IE:** NaIE *°s^hēdh- > Gmc {Wtk.} *sīdō 'side' > ON síða 'side (of body)', Dn side, Sw sida, OSx sīda, OHG sīta, NHG Seite, AS sīde 'side', NE side ¶ ≈ P 891, ≈ KM 700-1, Vr. 472, Ho. 292, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, OsS 768, KM 698-9.

2186. *šägaR∇ 'cut, pierce' > **HS:** S *°✓šgr > Ar ✓šgr 'thrust with a spear' ¶ BK I 192, Hv. 352 || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *šäx|kr∇ v. 'chop, cut' > pObU *šēvar ({} *šēvar) v. 'cut' > pVg *šāvar- v. 'cut' > Vg: T šāwr-, P šar-, N sāar-; pOs *sōvar- ({} *sōvar) v. 'cut' > Os Ty sāx^war-, Y sāwar-, D/Nz/Kz/O sewar- ¶ Ht. 183 [#585], Stn. OV 73 [footnote] || **IE:** NaIE *sker- v. 'cut' > pAl {O} *skera > Al shqerr (aor. shqorra) v. 'rip, tear' || OIr scar(a)im (< *sk_orā-mi) 'I separate (trenne)', W ysgar 'Trennen' || ON skera 'to cut, to pierce', OHG scēran, NHG scheren, AS scīeran 'to cut (hair), to cut off', NE shear || Lt skirti (1s prs. skiriū), Ltv šķirt (1s prs. šķirū) 'to separate, to detach, to disjoin' ¶ P 939-40, Vn. S 33-4, Vr. 490, Ho. 278, Kb. 877, OsS 789, KM 643, Frn. 808, Hamp AIEW 149, O 433, Frn.

808, ≈ EI 143 (**(s)ker-* 'cut apart\off') ¶ The IE √ is ambiguous because there are alt. possibilities to explain it ◇ NaIE **k* (for the expected **g^h*) is due to as. (***sg^h-* > **sk-*) (*see* Introduction, § 2.2.10). The IE velar cns. **k* suggests that N **g* was followed by the vw. **a* ◇ An alt. etl. hyp. (involving a mt.): N **ĉägar* ▽ > HS: S **o*√*ġrg* > Ar *ضرج* √*ġrġ* v. 'split' ('fendre') ¶ BK II 19-20, Hv. 416 || IE and U (as above).

2187. ₂ **ś̂vy* ▽ 'ray' > HS: S **o*√*ś̂v* > Ar *شور* √*ś̂v* 'rays of light', 'clear, watery' (of milk), *šarāf-* 'rayon, filet de lumière' ¶ BK I 1234, Hv. 366, Ln. 1554 || K: G *sχiv-i* 'ray' ⇨ Sv {Ni.} *sχiw* id. ¶ Chx. 1306, DCh. 1207, Ni. s.v. *лγчъ*.

2188. ₂ **ś̂'aka* 'to cover' (→ 'to clothe') > HS: CS *√*ś̂kk* v. 'cover' > BHb *כַּכ* √*skk* (Late BHb *s* < **ś̂*) v. *G* 'cover, screen; wrap oneself', *Sh* prtc. *כַּכְיָהוּ* *mē'šīk* 'covering', BHb, MHb *כַּכָּהוּ* *suk'kā* (< eHb **ś̂uk'kā*) 'cover of twigs, booth' → 'tabernacle (used in Sukkoth festivities)', JPA √*skk* *G* (pf. *כַּכְוּ* *sə'kak*) 'verwickeln, flechten', {Js.} 'interlace, intangle', JEA √*skk* *D* 'cover over', *כַּכְוּ* *sə'kā'kā* 'ceiling of twigs or matting, esp. the cover of the tabernacle' (⇨ MHb *כַּכְוּ* *sə'kā'kā* id.), Ar √*škk*: pf. *شَكَّ* *šakka* {Fr.} 'totum se operuit (armis)', √*škk* *G* {BK} 'être couvert d'armes, être armé de pied en cap', *mišakk-* 'armure, cotte de mailles' ¶ GB 543, Lv. III 522-5, Js. 963-4, 990, Sl. 810, Fr. II 440-1, BK I 1256-7, ≈ KB 713 || Eg P/BD/G *šc* ({EG} *št*) 'bekleiden, schmücken', Eg P/N/G *šc* '€ Kleid' ¶ EG IV 558 || ?? Ch: pAG {S} **sok* 'hide' (× N **ś̂ahḲE* 'to cover, to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: NaIE **sag-* ~ **seg-* v. 'cover, wrap, clothe' ([in some descendant lgs.] × N **ś̂ahḲE* '↑') > Ltv *segt* 'to cover, to thatch, to roof', *sega* 'blanket, bedspread; cover', *sagšà* n. 'plaid, wrap', Lt † *sāgė* 'Umschlagetuch, Überwurf', Pru *saxtis* 'bark (of a tree)' † Gl ⇨ L *sagum* 'a mantle made of coarse wool' ¶ WP II 448-9, WH II 464, Frn. 754, ≈ Kar. II 164, En. 243, ≈ P 887-9 (does not distinguish this IE √ from IE **seg-* 'haften, sich anhängen, berühren'), ≈ σ EI 64 (**seg-* 'fasten').

2189. (₂?) **ś̂ok* ▽ 'be mad\stupid\intoxicated' > HS: WS *√*ś̂kk* 'be mad, stupid' > Jb C **ś̂ekk*, Jb E *ś̂ék* 'be mad', Jb C *ś̂ek*, Mh *ś̂ak* 'sin', ? Ar √*škk* (pf. *šakka*) v. 'doubt about', *šakk-* 'doubt, suspicion' ¶ Jo. J 250, Jo. M 377-8, BK I 1256, Hv. 372 || A **s|ś̂óka* 'drunken, alcoholic drink' > M **sogta-* 'get drunk' > MM [LM, S, MA, IsV] *soqta-*, {IM} *soχta-*, WrM *sogta-* ~ *sogtu-*, HIM *corro-* 'be(come) drunk \ intoxicated',

Kl $\text{cogt}\chi$ $\text{soqt}\bar{\chi}\bar{\text{b}}$, {Rm.} soqt_a -, Ord {Ms.} $\text{soq}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{o}}$ -, Mnr H {SM} $\text{soq}_d\bar{\text{o}}$ - 'get drunk', Mnr H/M {T} soqdo -, Ba $\text{so}\chi\text{te}$ - 'be(come) drunk', Dx $\text{so}\bar{\text{d}}\text{o}$ - 'get drunk' ¶ H 135, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, MED 723, KRS 453, KW 329-30, Ms. O 580, SM 351, T 359-60, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147 || T: OT [MhK] {MKD} $\text{so}\psi\text{di}\check{\text{c}}$, {DTS} $\text{su}\psi\text{di}\check{\text{c}}$ 'a circulating feast in winter' ¶ MKD 165, DTS 513 || pJ {S} * $\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{-i}$ 'sake (a kind of alcoholic drink)' > OJ $\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}$, J: T $\text{s}\grave{\text{a}}\text{k}\text{e}$, K $\text{s}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\acute{\text{e}}$ id. ¶ S QJ #26, Mr. 517 ¶¶ Hardly here pKo {S} * $\text{s}\grave{\text{u}}\grave{\text{i}}\text{r}$ 'wine, alcoholic drink', which is more likely be belong to N * $\text{s}\nabla\text{k}\nabla\text{R}\nabla$ 'intoxicating drink' (q.v.) ¶¶ S AJ 275 [#24], ≈ DQA #2101 (A * $\text{s}\acute{\text{o}}\acute{\text{u}}\acute{\text{g}}\grave{\text{a}}$ 'drunken, alcoholic drink', incl. T, M, J) || ? ϕ D: Kn sekke 'country wine' ¶ ≈ D #2749 ◇ Some words belonging to A * $\text{s}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{o}}\text{k}\text{a}$ 'drunken, alcoholic drink' may have been connected or contaminated with the reflexes of N * $\text{s}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{K}'\text{a}$ 'to drink, to suck' (q.v.). If Kn sekke belongs here, its vw. e of the first syll. needs explaining.

2189a. (₂?) * $\text{r}\hat{\text{s}}^1\text{i}^{\text{r}}|\text{r}^1\text{Uk}\nabla$ 'flesh, meat' > HS: C: Ag {AD} * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{ik}$ - ({Ap.} * $\text{s}\text{i}\chi$ -/* $\text{s}\text{s}\chi$ -) 'meat' > Bln {Bnd.} $\text{s}\bar{\text{e}}\chi\text{a}$, {R} $\text{ze}'\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}$ (pl. zik), Xm {R} $\text{zi}'\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}$, Xmt {CR} $\text{sey}\bar{\text{a}}$, {Bnd.} $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{y}\text{a}$, Km {CR} $\text{siy}\bar{\text{a}}$, {Bnd.} $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{y}\text{a}$ 'flesh, meat', Q {R} $\text{zey}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., 'body'; Ag \rightarrow Gz $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'flesh, meat' ¶ L G 526, Ap. AV 17-8, R WB 296, CR K 247n, ≈ AD SF 99-100 || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} $\hat{\text{s}}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}$ 'meat', Mbara {TrnSL} $\hat{\text{s}}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}$ id., $\hat{\text{s}}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}$ $\text{s}\grave{\text{i}}$ id., 'body' ($\text{s}\grave{\text{i}}$ 'body') || Ke {Eb.} $\text{k}\acute{\text{u}}\text{-s}\acute{\text{u}}\text{k}\acute{\text{i}}$ 'flesh' ¶ Trn. LDM 30, TrnSL 270, Muk. MChS 256, Eb. 77 || ? σ K * $\text{o}\check{\text{s}}|\text{suk}$ - > G suk -i {Chx.} 'Filet, Lendenstück', {DCh.} 'fillet, beefsteak' ¶ Chx. 1278, DCh. 1196 || D * $\text{c}\acute{\text{i}}\text{k}$ - 'flesh' > Tl $\text{ciy}\bar{\text{y}}\text{a}$ 'flesh, muscle', $\text{z}\acute{\text{i}}\text{g}\text{i}\text{l}\text{i}$ 'plump, fleshy', Gdb seg 'muscle, flesh', Gnd Mn $\text{s}\text{i}\text{k}\text{a}\text{h}\text{k}$, (?) Png $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{y}$ 'flesh' ¶¶ D #2549 || ?? σ A: T * $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{g}\text{un}$ ~ * $\text{s}\bar{\text{u}}\text{g}\text{un}$ 'deer' > OT {Cl.} $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\psi\text{un}$ 'male maral deer', MQp XIII $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\psi\text{in}$ 'wild bovine', Chg $\text{z}\chi\text{v}$ $\text{su}\psi\text{un}$ 'e wild bovine', XwT XIV $\text{si}\psi\text{un}$ 'stag', Alt, Tlt, QK $\text{si}\psi\text{in}$, Qb, Xk, Shor, Tf $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}$ 'maral deer', Tv $\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}$, SY $\text{so}\psi\text{un}$ ~ $\text{su}\psi\text{un}$ 'male maral deer', Tk $\text{si}\check{\text{g}}\text{in}$, Az $\text{si}\psi\text{in}$ 'elk', Tkm $\text{th}\bar{\text{u}}\psi\text{un}$ 'stag' ¶ Cl. 811-2, Ra. 230, BT 135, Rl. IV 617 ◇ If the K and/or the T cognate are valid, the N rec. must be with * $\hat{\text{s}}$ -, otherwise N * $\hat{\text{s}}$ - cannot be distinguished from N * $\hat{\text{c}}$ -. The length of the vowel in T is due to the contraction of the N sequence * $\text{-i}^{\text{r}}|\text{r}^1\text{u}$ - ◇ A lateral cns. in Ag and N is suggested by the Gz reflex ◇ The length of the first vw. in T and the glottality of K * k are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. * r or * r (N * $\text{r}\hat{\text{s}}^1\text{i}^{\text{r}}|\text{r}^1\text{Uk}\nabla$) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #109b (incl. Ag, Ch, and D).

2190. *šaka 'to split, to cleave' > **HS:** WS *✓šak̥ v. 'split' > Ar ✓šqq (pf. šaqqā, ip. -šūqq-) v. 'cut lengthwise, cleave, split', Mh ✓šak̥ (pf. šak̥) v. 'split, crack', Jb ✓šak̥ id., Hrs ✓šak̥ (pf. šek̥) v. 'split' ¶ Ln. 1575-6, BK I 252, Jo. M 378-9, Jo. J 250, Jo. H 120 || Ch: WCh: Klr sik^u v. 'cut' || ECh: Brg {J} sikkí id. ¶ JI II 96-7 || C: DhI {To.} čakēd- 'distribute', {E} čakēd- 'distribute portions of food' ¶ To. D 149, E SC 214 ¶ In DhI the glottalized č̥- (for š̥-) is probably due to as. || **IE:** NaIE *sek- v. 'chop' (×N ? *šak̥ 'to carve, to chisel' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} éiscid 'haut ab' || Lt † i-sékti 'eingraben, schneiden', iš-sékti 'sculpere', pasékelis ~ posékelis 'smith's big hammer' | Sl *sékti (prs. *sě'kŏ) 'to chop, to cut' > OCS сѣщн sěštī (prs. сѣкѣ sěkŏ), R сечь (prs. се'кы), SCr сѣћи s(i)jěćī (← prs. сѣћем s(i)jěčēm), Slv sékati (← prs. se'kam), Cz síci, sekati, Slk siect', sekat', P sieć (prs. siekę) id. || Ld. sēcula 'sickle' || AS sigðe (< *sekitā) 'scythe', NE scythe | NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe' > L secūris id. || Sl *sekīra id. > OCS, OR секыра sekīra, SCr sjekīra, Slv sekīra, R, Blg секира, Uk сокира, P siekiera, Cz sekýra, Slk sekera ¶ P 895-6, EI 38 (? *sekūr- 'axe' ← *sek- 'cut'), Frn. 544, 773, Vs. III 592-3, Brū. 488, Glh. 551, Tls. 541 || **A** *sak- > Tg {DQA} *osak-pi- > Ul saqr̥(n-) 'axe' ¶ STM II 56 || pKo {S} *sākí- 'carve, engrave' > MKo sākí-, NKo sāgi- ¶ S QK #1102, Nam 282, MLC 920 || pJ {S} *sāk- 'rip, split' > OJ sāk- id., J: T sák-, K sāk- 'split, cleave, rip' ¶ S QJ #1674, Mr. 746, Kenk. 1562 ¶¶ DQA (A #1899 *s|zàk'a 'sharp instrument; to cut, split') || ? **U:** FU *š|śa|ukk̥ 'a piece (Stück), part' > F lyödä suku-ksi 'to break into pieces' (lyödä 'to beat'), ??φ sukku 'zerquetschter Zustand' || pOs *sāk̥ ({Hl.} *sĭk) > Os: Vy sãq in yõhsãq 'crumbled ice, Eisbrei (pieces of ice that crumble away in spring)' (yõhk means 'ice'), LK sãq 'fein zerkrümelt (Salz u. a.)', D sãχat- v. 'break, break to pieces, break up, reduce to small pieces', K sãχat- 'break to pieces, damage' | Hg Δ szak 'small piece, part', szakit- 'tear, tear asunder', szakad- id. 'be torn' ¶ UEW 457-8 ◇ One could possibly adduce here U (in ObU only) *šäk|ŕ̥ v. 'chop, cut', but from the phonetic point of view it is preferable to ascribe it to N *šägaR̥ 'cut, pierce' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA; not distinguished from N ? *šak̥ 'to carve, to chisel').

2191. *ŠEKŃ 'look at, watch, see' > IE *sekʷ- 'look at, see' > Ht sakuwai 'look at, watch, observe', sakuwa 'eyes', Ld saw- 'see, observe', Lw {Ivn.} tawā/i 'eye', Lc tawa 'eyes' (< {Ivn.} pSAn *takʷa; pSAn *t- < IE *s- || NaIE *sekʷ- > Gmc *sexʷ-an > Gt saíhvan, ON sjá, Sw, Dn se, OSx sehan, OHG sehan, NHG sehen, AS séon 'to see', NE see || OIr rosc̄ n. 'eye, look' (< *pro-skʷo-), {P} ar-secha 'er sollte uns sehen' || pAl {O} *sākska- > Al: T shoh, G shof 'see' || pTc {ðAd.} *šotrājā > Tc: {P} A šotre, Tc B šotri 'mark (Zeichen)' (< *sekʷ-tr-), {Ad.} B šotrūna pl., šotrūni du. ¶ ≈σ P 897-8 and ≈σ EI 505 (both do not distinguish between *sekʷ- 'look, see' and *sekʷ- 'follow' < N *š'o'KŃ 'to follow'), Ts. W 67-8, Frd. HW 177, Vr. 477, Fs. 404-5, Kb. 834, OsS 749, Ho. 290, Ho. S 63, KM 697-8,), Vn. R 44, O 425-6, Ad. 663, Ad. H 137, Iv. SA 133 || **HS:** CS (or WS) *√škw|y 'look, expect' > BHb d. שׁוֹכֵי *šakī'yā (pl. cs. שׁוֹכֵי שׁוֹכֵי שׁוֹכֵי) ?σμ {GB} 'Gegenstand des Schauens, Schaustück', [Vulg.] 'quod visu pulchrum est', מַשְׁכֵּי maš'kī't {BDB} 'show-piece (e.g. carved figure), image, imagination', MHb {Js.} √sky G (pf. שׁוֹכֵי sā'kā) 'look, see, foresee', JA [Trg.], JPA {Js.} √sky|w G (pf. שׁוֹכֵי sā'kā ~ שׁוֹכֵי sā'kā) id., 'look out, hope', JEA √sky|w D 'wait', Sr √sky D (pf. שׁוֹכֵי sak'kī) 'wait for, look for', Md √skw|y ({DM} ska) 'direct the gaze towards, look for(ward to), look', Ar √škw G (pf. שׁוֹכֵי šakā) {Fr.} 'ask for (from God)' (→ {Ln.} 'complain'), مشكاة miškāt- {Ln., Hv.} 'niche for a lamp in a wall', Gz maskōt 'window' (Nld. and Jfr.: Ar miškāt <- EthS) ¶ GB 785, BDB 967, Js. 989, Lv. T II 161-2, Lv. III 522 (√sky|w G 'sehen, schauen'), Sl. 809, Br. 473, JPS 376, Fr. II 444-5, Ln. 1589-90, Hv. 374, L G 365, Nld. NB 51, Jfr. 266, ≠ Rb. AWA 123 [fn. 20] (derives Ar miškāt- and Gz maskōt from a Hb source) || **A:** M *siqa'ʿa- 'look searchingly, take aim' > MM [HI] siqažu üže 'observe attentivement!' (inv.) (üže means 'look, see'), WrM siqaga- ~ siqa-, HIM шараа- v. 'peer, look intesely or searchingly; take aim', ? Mnr H {T} sge- 'see, look', {SM} sge- 'see' ¶ Ms. H 97, MED 721, SM 346, T 358.

2192. *ŠIK'U' 'to get\be cold; cool' > **A** ≈ *šik∇ ~ *šjokâ > T *sogi- v. 'get\be cold' > OT soyi- id., XwT XIV, OOsM XVI sovu-, MQp XIV sovu-, Tk soğū-, Az soyu-, Tkm θowa-, Uz sawu-, ET savu-, QrB suu-, Qmq suwu-, Nog, Qzq suwi- (inf. suw-uw), Qq suwi-, VTt d. сурь-н-,

Bsh һѡѡѡ-, Qrg sū-, Alt, Tv, Xk sō- v. 'become cold', -d→ NaT *sogI-q 'cold' > OT soʔiq, MQp XIII and XIV [CC] sawuq ~ soʔuq, Chg ≥xv sawuʔ ~ -q, Tk soğuk, Az soyuq, ET soʔa ~ sawuq, Uz soʔuq, Tkm θoʔuq, Qmq suʔuq, QrB suuq, Nog, Qzq, Qq suʔiq, VTt su(ʷ)ʔq, MsTt suʔʔq, Bsh һѡѡѡq, Qrg sūq, StAlt, Tv sōq, Alt {Vrb.} sūq, Xk sōχ, Xlj soʔuq id. ||| Chv siwə, Chv MK si 'cold', Chv siwən 'become cold' ¶ Cl. 806, 808, DTS 507, Rs. W 425, TL 15, Md. 46, Jeg. 190, Tkr 582, Hüs. 271, UzR 374-5, S AJ 176 [#16], DT 191 || Tg *šik-/ *šja'k- v. 'freeze, be cold' (= {ADb.} *sjaχu-ra- v. 'freeze') > Ewk Tk çig- v. 'freeze', Ewk Skh/Urm çig- v. 'shiver', WrMc {Z} šaxura- v. 'freeze, shiver, suffer from cold', šaxurun n. 'cold', Mc Sb {Y} šayurun ~ sayurun 'cold', {Mrm.} šaxurun 'cold wind' ¶ STM II 389, 423, S AJ 208 [#205], Y #2061, Klz. MS 253 || pKo {S} *sik- v. 'cool off' > Nko sik- id. ¶ S AJ 257 [#156], S QK #156, MLC 1045, BKRS I 766, Rm. SKE 233 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [#156], SDM95 (A *šjuk'∇ 'cold'), SDM97 (A *šäk'o id.), ≈ DQA #2173 (A *šjogō id. > T, Tg, Ko + unc. J *sɜyɜ 'gentle' [of wind]), Rm. SKE l.c. ¶¶ It is possible that the pA vw., denoted as *ä in SDM97, is a reg. reflex of pN *i || U **šikku- (in eU, which still had *u in the final syll.) > FU *ošikk(ʷ)∇ 'cool' > pVg *šikʷ- / *šēkʷ- 'cool' > Vg: N/K sēkʷ, ML šēkʷ 'the cool (прохлада)', {Mu.} 'kühl', K sākʷi, N sēkʷti- v. 'make cold\cool' ¶ MK 540, BV 110, ≈ UEW 774 || D *čikikk- v. 'thicken; congeal' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N *čik∇ 'tight, narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || HS: the S root *oʃʃ'k̄k̄ is probably reflected in an Arabic dialect (not recorded in known sources) as *oʃʃq̄q, which was borrowed by some NSA and B lgs.: Jb šɜk̄ 'cold, numbness', Sq šēkaḳ n. 'cold', yheḳ adj. 'cold', Si šqi n. 'cold' ({La.} ammutayā šqi 'I am cold', lit. 'I am dying from cold'), Gd {CM} šaqiʃ adj. 'cold'; the fact that the words in NSA and B are Arabisms is suggested by their phonetic shape: the cns. š- in Jb and Sq (for š- expected in an inherited word) and -q- in Si and Gd (typical of Arabisms) ¶ Jo. J 261, L LS 421, La. S 242, CM 123) ¶ Leslau (l.c.) brings forward a possibility of connecting the MSA ʃ to Ar ʃʃq̄q 'être pénible' (??σ) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #12.

2193. (₂?) *š|su₁ʔa₁k̄∇(ʃ∇) 'resin' > IE: NaIE *oswek₁ʷ- 'resin' (× N *žUKU [= *žOKU?] 'juice') > Blt: Ltv pl. sveķi 'resin', Δ svakas (f. pl.) id., Lt sakaĩ (pl.), Pru sackis id. ¶ The absence of the expected -v- in Lt and Pru needs explaining. This -v- belongs to the etymological heritage (cp. below FU *-u- and Gnd -v- ~ -w-) ¶ ≈ P 1044 and ≈ EI 499-

500 (both adduce Gk ῥόζι and define its meaning as 'Baumharz, resin', while in fact the Gk word means 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig-trees' [see LS 1241], hence it hardly belongs here, see N ***ŽUKU** '↑'), Frn. 756-6, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241 || **A**: T ***sakír** 'resin' > OT saṽiz ḏ saqiz 'gum, resin', Tkm θaqiḏ, CrTt, Kr saqiz, Qzq, Qrg saṽiz, Qq saṽiz ~ saqqiz, VTt saṽbz, Bsh haṽbḏ, ET seṽiz, Xk sās, Shor saṽis, Yk jas, Chv L cuxǎp suxǎr 'resin', Tk çam sakızı id. (çam 'pine, fir') ¶ Cl. 817-8, Rs. W 396, TL 117-8, Ash. XII 218, Jeg. 198, Fed. II 70 || ?? **HS**: S ***√š|srk** 'adhere, cling, clutch' > Sr **√srk** *G* (ip. -sraḱ) v. 'adhere, stick to' (of plaster), JEA **√srk** v. *G* 'adhere, stick, cling, clutch' (unless the basic meaning is 'clutch, hold fast, hang to', as in JA **√srk** v. *G*) ¶ Js. 1027-8, Lv. III 592-3, Sl. 831, Br. 499, JPS 392 || ? **U**: FU ***š|śur** 'pitch, resin' > pPrm {LG} ***śúr** 'resin' > Z, Vt cnp śir, Yz śar || Hg szurok 'pitch' ¶ UEW 492, LG 257, MszFUE III 603 ¶ The FU **√** belongs here if one finds a way of explaining the absence of the expected internal ***k** (***š|śur** < ****š|śur**) || ??φ **D**: Gnd sever ḏ séver ḏ saver ḏ sowwer ḏ heber 'gum', as well as possibly (with obscure phonetic history) Kn (← Tl?) jigaṭ, jigaṭe, jibaṭu 'stickiness, gum', Tl jigaṭa, jiguru 'gum, birdlime', and Klm sijoṭ 'sticky'; D ⇨ OI cikka- 'gum, birdlime' ¶¶ D #2488 ◇ If both S and FU cognates are valid, the N initial cns. is ***š-**. If the FU cognate is valid, but the S one is not, it may be N ***ś-** as well.

2194. ***šil'û** (or ***šil'û**?) 'take, take away\off' > **HS**: WS ***√š|w** ~ ***√š|l** id. > Ar **√š|w** *G* (ip. -šluw-) 'lever, soulever, hausser', Mh **√š|l** *G* v. 'carry, take, take away', Jb C **√š|l** *G* v. 'lift up off the ground',? ItBHb **√s|l** (< ***√š|l**) 'pile up in the street, leave around; pile up sheaves' ¶ KB 715, KBR 757, Fr. II 447, BK I 1264, Jo. M 379, Jo. J 252, GB 545 || **IE**: NaIE ***sel(w)**- v. 'take, seize, lay hold of' (× N ***š'U'ih'û** 'take, take away, pull out' [q.v.] × N ***šeí** 'take away\off, destroy, pull off') > Gk ἔλεῖν, Gk Ep ἔλεειν (aor. II inf.) 'to take, to seize, to take into one's power', Gk ἔλωρ 'spoil, booty' || OIr selb 'possession', MW, W helw id. (in ar helw 'en la possession de') || Gmc caus. ('to cause to have'): Gt saljan 'to offer as a sacrifice, to sacrifice', OHG sellen 'to give over, to betray, to transmit', ON selia, NNr selja, Sw sälja, Dn sælge, AS sellan 'to hand over (übergeben), sell', NE sell ¶ P 899, H 564 (***sel-** 'seize, take possession of'), F I 487-8, Vn. S 79-80, Fs. 408-9, Vr. 469, Kb. 841, OsS 739, Schz. 248, Ho. 289 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr)

*šil|∇ > pVg *šīl- v. 'acquire' > Vg: N {Mu.} sēl-, ML {Mu.} šēl- 'erwerben, beschaffen', Yk {BV} seĭ- 'find, earn, acquire', N cəл- id., {Mu.} sēl- 'suchen, erwerben, kaufen' || Hg szül- v. 'give birth to' (< *'acquire [a child]') ¶ UEW 888, MK 540, BV 110, MF 604-5 || ?σ D *čil- ({{θGS} *ś-) v. 'strip off', (→ ?) v. 'pluck' > Tm iĭi v. 'strip off, pluck', Tu cilkuri v. 'flay', Prj čil-kip/t- v. 'peel\scale off', Kui sli-ŋga v. 'be plucked', ? Brh sil 'skin' ¶¶ D #2585. The D √ belongs here if its primary meaning is 'strip off' (< 'take off') rather than 'skin' ◇ If D *čil- belongs here, the N etymon is *šil'ū'. Otherwise it may be either *šil'ū' or *šil'ū'.

2194a. *šīl∇ (and *siĭl∇?) 'fat (Fett)' > U *šil|ä ~ FP *siĭ|∇ > F silava, Δ silēvā 'pork fat, lard' | pChr *šel > Chr: L/H шел šel 'animal fat, lard (Speck)', M šel id., B šel 'melted lard\tallow' | Prm *sūl > Z s+V, Δ s+l n. 'fat, lard', Z s+la adj. 'fat' (of broth) || Vg LK/P {Knn.} šilt 'bear-fat' || pSm {Jn.} *selb ~ *silb n. 'fat' > Ng {Cs.} 'sela 'melted fish-fat', {Ris.} d. sielaga 'intestinal fat of a reindeer', {Cs.} selagā adj. 'fat'; Slq NP {Cs.} d. sīle id., Km {Cs.} sil n. 'fat', {KD} ś+ḷ 𐌆 śiḷ id., 'tallow', Koyb {Sp.} сыль n. 'fat', сель 'animal fat (сало)' ¶¶ All U cognates (except Prm) are accounted for by U *šil|ä, while Prm *sūl point to a U *s- ¶¶ UEW 478, 758, SK 1024, Ber. 59, MRS 698, Ep. 149, LG 267, Lt. 201, Jn. 140, Cs. 65, 160, 189, KD 61 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *selp- n. 'fat' > OI sar'piḥ /sarpiḥ- 'clarified butter' || Gk [Hs.] ἔλαρος ἔλαιον, στέαρ 'olive-oil, stiff fat', Gk Cpr [Hs.] ἔλαρος βούτυρον 'butter', Gk ὄληνη 'leathern oil-flask' || Alb gjalpë 'butter' || pTc *šälpe (= {Ad.} *šälpe) > Tc: A šälpe, B šälpe '(sesame) oil; salve, ointment' || OHG salba, NHG Salbe, AS sælf(e) 'ointment, NE salve; ⇨ Gt, OHG salbōn, NHG salben, Sw salva, Dn, NE salve, AS sealfian 'to apply ointment, to anoint' ¶ P 901, EI 194, MW 1184, M K III 446, FI 503, O 129, Ad. 652-3, KT 39 (on Tc ś = [ś]), Ho. 286 || HS: S *°√šly > Ar √sly T (pf. سَتَلَى ʔistalā) 'be fat' (of a sheep), Ar SL مَسَلَى musallā 'butter' ¶ Bel. 339, Hv. 334 ◇ Vg and Sm point to a N *š-, Z, Chr, and S suggest a N *s-, while F and IE may go back to both. The variation is possibly due either to lateralizing as. N *s...l > *š...l or to delateralizing dis. N *š...l > *s...l ◇ BmK #285 (IE - U *śilä, sc. *šil|ä), ≈ Blz. LB #50a (incl. IE, U, Ar).

2195. *š|śu|̄ (= *šu|̄?) 'trunk, log' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'board', 'trough', and sim.) > IE: NaE *swel- ~ *sel- > [1] *swel- 'plank, board' > OHG swelli 'Sockel, Fußgestell', swella 'Schwelle, sill', NHG Schwelle 'threshold', ON svill, syll 'foundation beam, doorsill, threshold', Ic sull 'sill, the horizontal beam that bears the upright portion of a frame', Sw syll, Dn syld, NNr svill 'threshold', AS syll id., 'doorsill', NE sill [2] *sel- 'board', 'trough', 'bench', and sim. (× N *ǵæ|̄ '€ tree', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 898-9, EI 431 (*swel-~*sel- 'plank, board'), WW 286, Vr. 573, Kb. 1000, OsS 911, KM 692, Ho. S 63, Ho. 286, 340, HDEL 1206, F II 691-2, Frn. 785, 942-3, ≠ WH II 554, ≠ EM 633 || HS: B: Ah, ETwl, Ty a-sallum 'board' ¶ Fc. 1831, GhA 173 || possibly CS *^oŝ^lullam- 'ladder, stairs' > JA sullā'm-ā, if Hb sull'lām, Ph slmh, and Ar sullam- id. are loans from Aram; otherwise (if there was a CS *sullam-), this S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 130-1, KB 715, HJ 788 || U *š|śu|̄ 'wooden receptacle' > Es {W} sulu 'trough, wooden compartment (Verschlag) in a room (for small animals)' | Prm: Vt Sr šul̄s, Vt Kz šul̄šs 'oblong small wooden trough (Holzmulde) (used for screening flour, etc.)', Vt G šul̄šs 'oblong bowl' || Sm: En {Dlx.} suruku '€ Geschirr', En X {Cs.} 'šuroka, Ng {Cs.} silaʔka 'trogähnliches Gefäß'; ?? Slq: Nr {Cs.} holak, Tz {KKIH} sola, Y/B/Tz/Kar {Cs.} solar̄, NP {Cs.} sollar̄, Tm {KD} solak 'spoon' (unless the Slq word is a loan from T; see Mt {HI.} *šom_llak 'spoon' [Mt: M {Sp.} шомлакъ id., T {Mll.} schomolúkma 'my spoon'] ← T, cp. Qb samalaq, Xk samnaχ 'spoon' [÷ čavli 'Schaumlöffel' in other T lgs.?, see Dr. TM III 38, #1056]) ¶ Coll. 8, UEW 488-9, Cs. 66, 92, 159, 249, Dlx. MSE 209, KP 202, KKI 170, HI. M #905 || A: Tg *^osul... 'pole' > Ud sul̄ku '€ pole, pin (штырь, € жердь)' ¶ STM II 124, Krm. 289 || D (in SD) *č|ku|̄ 'stick' > Tm cu_likku 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn cu_like 'a stout stick to beat cotton with' (× N *č_u|̄ 'stalk, stick', q.v.) ◇ If the S word for 'ladder, stairs' is *š^lullam- (and it belongs here), we should reconstruct a pN *š^l- , otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *š|ś-. If D *-|̄- is due to the infl. of N *č_u|̄, we cannot unequivocally reconstruct N *-|̄- and remain with the unspecified N *-|̄- (= *-|̄|̄-).

2196. *š^lū|̄ 'neck, nape' > U: FU *š|śū|̄ > Prm *šū|̄ 'neck' > Z съылі ś+li 'neck', Vt силъ síl 'horse's withers (холка)', сильсьөр sílśzr 'nape' (lit.: 'neck's hind part') ¶ LG 271, UZR 389 || A: M *sili

'nape of the neck, sinew of the neck' > WrM $\varepsilon i l i$, HIM шил 'nape, flat-topped hill', Brt шэлэ 'occiput, nape, hill', K1 шил 'sinew of the neck, mountain ridge', {Rm.} šilj 'sinew of the neck; nape', WrO {Krg.} šili 'nape', Brt шэлэ 'back of the head, nape', Ord {Ms.} šile 'nuque; tendon, nerf' ¶ MED 706-7, KRS 672, KW 356, Krg. 446, Chr. 744, Ms. O 616 || Tg *silni 'collar', *^osil|e| '≈ neck' > Orc sili 'women's collar of satin with fur', Ul sini 'women's collar of fur', Ork sinni 'collar', WrMc $\varepsilon e l x e$ 'dewlap, loose-hanging skin under a bull's neck', $\varepsilon e l x e n$ 'stocks on a criminal's neck' ¶ STM II 84, 140, Z 586 || HS: Eg Md {DW} šššš.т, šššš.т 'Vorderhals-Gegend', {Fk.} šššš.т 'bosom', Eg Md/G {EG} šššš.т 'Kehle, Kelkopf' (?), as well as Eg XVIII/XX {EG} šššš.т, {Fk.} šššš.т 'necklace' (the latter: \times HS * $\nabla r s \nabla r$ - 'chain' > S *šaršar- id., B: Skn i-sarsar id., Hs sassari id.) ¶ Eg IV 413, DW II 836, Fk. 261-2, Tk. I 312 ◇ The delabialization of *ü in T and M (or in proto-Altaic?) is a reg. phenomenon ◇ If the Eg words do not belong here, the initial N cns. may be either *š̂- or *ś̂-.

2196a. *š̂iŋ| ∇ yâ or *ĉiŋ| ∇ yâ 'tooth, fang' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sharp stick') > HS: S *^oš̂aŋ| ∇] - > Sq {SSL} š̂aŋal 'dent, crochet', {Ls.} 'š̂aŋal 'tooth' ¶ Ls. LS 431, SLL LSNP 471 || EC: Kns {BISO} š̂ūla 'tooth of wild boar' ¶ BISO 186b, Ss. B 175 || A (\times N *š̂ēíXâ 'bough, twig, stick' \times N *š̂iŋ| ∇] 'to roast, to fry, to cook'): T *š̂īl 'tooth, spit' > Chv шăл š̂l 'tooth' || NaT *š̂īš 'spit, sharp stick' > OT siš 'spit, fork, spike', Tk $\varepsilon i \varepsilon$, Az š̂iš, Tkm čiš, Bsh шеш š̂šš, Xk. ŝs, Tv, Tf š̂iš id., Qrg š̂iš 'sharp stick, sharp object', VTt шеш š̂šš 'sharp rod' ¶ Cl. 856-7, Rs. W 494, Md. 71, Ra. 23, S AJ 192, TL 228 || Tg *sila-pun 'spit' (\times \leftarrow Tg *sila- v. 'roast on a spit, grill' < N *š̂iŋ| ∇] '↑', q.v.) > Ewk silawun, Lm hlun, Neg sulawun, Orc silō(n-), silzu(n-), Ud silou(n-), Ul sulopu(n-), Nn Nh sulpõ, Nn B silpo(n-), WrMc šolon 'spit' ¶ STM II 82 || pKo *sár 'arrow, sting' > MKo sár, NKo sa| ¶ S QK #162, Yu 436, MLC 895 || pJ *sàsi 'sharp stick' > OJ sasi, J: T saśí; ? pJ *sàs- v. 'prick, stab' > OJ, J Kg sàs-, J T.K sás- ¶ S QJ #191, Mr. 748 ¶¶ But not here M *sidün 'tooth' (see N *sit ∇ 'tooth') ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#282], DQA #2097 (A *sīlā 'sharp stick, tooth' > T, Ko, J + err. M) || ?φ U: FU (att. in FV) *ĉil| ∇ -m ∇ 'fang, eye-tooth (Eckzahn) of predators' > pLp {Lr.} *ĉzla-m ∇ 'fang' > L: U tjillàma, L tjalām, N {N} čâlam id., Kld {Tl} č̂aŋłan 'Hauzahn der Hunde und Raubtiere' || Er цилим пей ĉiim-pey 'Überzahn (a new tooth that grows over the old one)', Δ 'fang', Mk

šeíāñ-pej & ćííāñ-pej 'Überzahn' (pej means 'tooth') ¶ UEW 613-4, Lr. #107, Lgc. #460, TI 642, ERV 725 || D *ćil(ł)- 'spike, sharp stick' > Tm cilukku 'tooth of a saw, barb, iron staple', Ml cilukku 'spike, iron barb, javelin', Tu cillēli 'a sharp stick to dart a fish with', Tl ciluku, sela 'arrow' ¶¶ D #2568 ◇ T *-í- < *-ly- < N *-lvy-. If the T cognate is valid and FU *ć- may be explained otherwise, the pN rec. must be *śiřlvyâ, while the FU cognate suggests N *ćiřlvyâ ◇ Blz. LB #112b (including Sq, T).

2197. *ś_laH₁ŭ¹Lřv 'dew' > U: FU *śuža 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > Lp N {N} čqđđe 'coating of ice formed by frozen rain\sleet on stones or trees' || pObU *šōb 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > pVg *šā́ id. > Vg: T/P/V/LL šá, LK šā́, N só id.; pOs *soy ({Hl.} *sāy < *sŷy) > Os V/Vy soy, Ty/Y sōy 'Reif, Rauh frost', D/K suy 'Rauh frost' ¶ Coll. 75, UEW 488, Sm. 549 (FU *ś_luđā, FP *ś_luđa, Ugr *sŷđa 'ice crust'), Ht. 181 [#562] || A: Tg *sile(-kse) 'dew' > Ewk silɜksɜ ~ silɜksɜ ~ hilɜksɜ ~ šilukšɜ, Sln šilikš¹i, Neg silɜksɜ, Orc silɜŋsɜ, Ud {Krm.} silihɜ, Nn, Ul silɜmsɜ, Ork šilɜškɜ, WrMc silerŋgi, Jrc {Md.} sie-le-un, {Lg.} šileün, {Kiy.} šileun, Lm hilɜs 'dew', hīli 'light rain, hoarfrost', Lm A sīli 'dew', Nn silɜ-u-, Ewk silɜ-ŷī- v. 'be covered with dew, get wet from dew' ¶ STM II 85-6, Krm. 285, Gru. SSJ #10, Md. ChF 158, Kiy. 97 [#OO10] || T *sālgi¹m¹ 'dew, hoarfrost' (> 'cold weather'?) > Chv siVlam 'dew' || Tkm θālgim 'mirage in a desert', OT {Cl.} salqim 'cold, hoarfrost' (infl. of OT sarqim id. ← sarq-im 'an act of hanging down?'), Xk salim 'dew'; see also Shor šalim, Tv, Tf šalın, and StAlt čalın 'dew' (their initial cns. resembles the reg. reflex of pT *ć-; they may be loans from Xk or another T lge. with the merger of pT *s- and *ć-) ¶ Cl. 826, 849, TL 39, Jeg. 200, Fed. II 75, Ra. 230 ¶ The unexpected pT vw. *ā still defies explanation || pKo {S} *sà₁r¹i 'hoarfrost' > MKo sà₁r¹i, NKo sà₁r¹i ¶ S QK #215, Nam 299, MLC 936, BKR II 681, Rm. SKE 230 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2005 (A *sila 'dew, liquid; hoarfrost'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 230 || HS: B *^osaHluH ~ *^osaH_uH (pl. *^osuHlalH- ~ *^osulHaH) > *-sālū- > Kb a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; there is an alt. et. (B *saHluH ~ *saH_uH < N *čá₁U₁g¹v 'snow' or 'hoarfrost'), which is less plausible for lack of the expected reflex of N *g ¶ Dl. 771 ◇ Tg *-i- (that may go back to *-ü-, but not to *-u-) suggests that FU *-u- results from assimilative deplatalization of *-ü- ◇ The length of the T vw. points to

a N Ir. The long vw. *ā in T *sālgī^rm¹ and *aH in B *°saHluH suggest a rec. of *-aH- in N *šāH^rü¹L^r∇.

2198. *šäl₁∇₁qU 'cleave, cut asunder' > HS: CS *✓šlχ id. (or S *°✓šlχ) > Ar ✓šlχ G 'split with a sabre', ?? Sr səlīh-ā 'canalis, alveus, cloaca' (< *šālīχ-, pp. of the verb *✓šlχ in the meaning 'dig?') ¶ Fr. II 446, BK I 1263, PS 2644 || K *°s|šχ₁a₁- / *°s|šχw₁- > G sχ₁- / sχa₁- / sχw₁- 'beschneiden (Reben, Baum)' ¶ Chx. 1306 || U *šälü- 'split, cut' > FU *šälü- (> *šäle-) v. 'cut' > F sālī- 'in Splitter spalten', säle, gen. säleen 'splint(er), slat' | Lp: N {N} čalle- v. 'make a line, cut (into) a split', L {LLO} t jällē t 'ritzen, schneiden, schnitzen' | Chr B šēla- '(sich) spalten', Chr H šelä- 'erstechen, zerreißen, zerhauen' || pObU *šīl-/*šūl- v. 'cut' > pVg *šīl- id. > Vg: UL sil-, T/LL šilt-, LK, MK silt-; pOs *sül- id. > Os: V/Vy sül- | Hg szel- v. 'slice, cut' || pY {IN} *šöl-(g3)- vi. 'break' (-g3, a sx. od vi.) > Y: K šölg3- vi. 'break, faint (in Ohnmacht fallen)', T söl₁ō- 'broken' ¶¶ UEW 470-1, Sm. 549 (FU, IP *šälä, Ugr *sälä 'cut'), LLO 1130-1, Ht. 184 [#588], MF 577-8, IG 311, IN 222 ¶¶ To my mind, pObU *ī|*ū may be accounted for by the infl. of a labialized vw. (*ü) of the second syll. || A: M *sal₁u₁- (× N *šāī^r∇ 'strike, break?') > WrM sal-, salu-, HIM сала-, Brt hana-, Kl сал- sal- v. 'separate, branch off; be detached, isolated', Ord sal-, Dg {T} sala- vi. 'be separated, separate', WrO sala- id., 'part from, branch off', d.: MM [S] salulča- 'sich trennen'; M *salga- 'separate' > MM [S] {H} salha- = salga- '(ver)teilen', d. [H] salgagda- 'être donné comme part', WrM, WrO salga-, HIM салга-, Kl салh-, {Rm.} sal₁ya- v. 'separate, divide', Ord salga-, Dg {T} salgā- vt. 'separate', Brt halga- id., 'remove' | ⇨ M *sala₁yan > WrM salaga(n), HIM салаа, Ord {Ms.}, Mnr H {SM, T}, Dx sala 'branch\twig', 'limb of a tree, offshoot; bifurcation', Kl {Rm.} salā 'Ast, Zweig; Verzweigung', {KRS} sala 'space between fingers, bifurcation', Dg salā 'bifurcation'; M ⇨ Tb sala, Xk salā 'bough, twig', Alt салаа 'bifurcation, tributary of a river', Qzq sala 'span (between fingers), arm of a river, fork of a road' ¶ H 131, Ms. H 93, MED 663, 665-6, Gl. II 370, Ms. O 554-5, Krg. 389-90, KRS 436-8, KW 309-10, Chr. 667-9, SM 320, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, B DChT 146, BIG 179, BT 125, Sht. 165 || ?σ Tg *°salg∇- 'cleave in two parts' > Ewk Δ salg3dā- v. 'cleave\tear lengthwise (in two parts)'; ⇨ *salga-n 'fork (of a road, river), perineum' > Ork salda(n-) id., 'forked crown of a tree', Nn KU salgā, Orc sāga, Ewk salgan, Neg

salga, Lm hālgь 'perineum', Lm Ol hālgь 'span\interval (between the tripods forming the basis of a tent)', WrMc salza 'crossroads, fork of a road', ? sarǵa 'perineum' ¶ STM II 58 || Ko: pKo {S} *sáři 'interval, space' > MKo sáři, NKo † saři id. || ?σpJ {S} *sár- 'depart' > OJ sár-, J: T/K/Kg sár- ¶ S QJ #717, Mr. 747 ¶¶ DQA #1902 (A *s|zalo 'be separated': M, Tg, J, pKo *sàr-) || D *čal-, {GS} *sel- v. 'split, cut asunder' (×N *čáíEɣo 'to split, to cut') > Tu selæ 'chink, crack' || OTI {Km.} selagu v. 'cut', TI {Km.} celagu ~ celacu ~ selavu v. 'cut, chop', {BE} selagu ~ selayu v. 'cut', TI sela 'hole', || Krx čalk- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Brh čaliŋ v. 'become cracked, split' || Krx čalk- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Brh čaliŋ v. 'become cracked, split' ¶¶ D #2377, Km. 363 [#470], 501 [#1225-6], GS 65-6 [##201, 211] ¶¶ The TI verb < N *šälqU × D *kell- (> Kn kelle 'a shiver, splinter', Tu kellə 'a splinter') ◇ N *q is suggested by S *χ, while in K the change *q > *χ and the mt. are due to certain laws of cns. combinations (accounting for the so-called "harmonic complexes" such as *šχ).

2199. *šälqU (or *šälqUy?) '∈ a wild gallinacean fowl' > HS: CS *š'a'law- (or *šalaway-?) 'quail' > BHb שָׂלַו šā'law (either from OA [if < S *šalaw-] or from *šulaw-), SmHb שָׂלַו šlawy, IA שָׂלַב slwy, סָלַב slwawy, JA [Trg.] שָׂלַב sā'law, SmA {Tal} שָׂלַב slwy sā'bi, {BH} שָׂלַב slwy ~ שָׂלַב slby[sā'bi], em. שָׂלַב slwyt?, Sr سَلْوَى salway, Ar (←b Aram) سَلْوَى salwā salway 'quail' ¶ KB 1241, Lv. T II 166, BH II 603, Fr. II 348, Hv. 334, Tal 590, Br. 476, JPS 378 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} súlkú, Kwn {J} súlkó, Kwn M {J} sùlgó 'guinea-fowl' ¶ Eb. 93, ChC || U: FU *šälw 'hazel grouse' (Tetrastes bonasia) > Prm *šōla > Z сьōла śzla, Vt сяла śala 'hazel grouse'; (Z ←b ?) Vg {MK}: ML šulä, LL šula, P šulə, T šula 'hazel grouse' || pOs *sěɥlay ({JHl.} *sīɥlay) > Os: Ty/Y səɣtəy, Sl səɣtay, šōttəy, šətəy, Kr šutəy 'Tetrastes bonasia, hazel grouse', D šütəy 'partridge' ¶ pOs *-ɥ- may go back to *-ɥ- (mt.) < FU *-w-; on FU *-w- > pOs *-ɥ- see Hl. rHt 73-4 ¶ Coll. 111, LG 270, ≈ Rd. rLG 426 (Z ←b Vg; wrongly denies the Prm-Os relationship because of the seemingly superfluous Os *-ɥ-), MK 571, Stn. D 1315-6, PD #2337, Trj. S 444, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on FU *-w- > pOs *-ɥ-), Stn. OAS IV 127, 140 (FU *-w- > pOs *-ɥ-) || D (in GnD) *čā]∇- 'quail' > Klm sālē ~ salle ~ sāle, Nkr sālē 'quail' ¶ D #2480 ◇ The coinciding element *-ay in pOs *sěɥlay (*sīɥlay) and S *šalaway (> Sr

and Ar *salwaj*) may have a common source at the pN level. GnD *-|-(for the expected *-l-) may be due to some positional factor (e.g. N **šāliw* ▽ > ***šāly* ▽ > ***šāī* ▽ > D **čā* ▽).

2200. **šī* ▽ (-ma) 'eye; look, examine' > U **šīlmä* 'eye' > F *sil*mä, Es *sil*m id. | pLp {Lr.} **čzlmē* id. > Lp: S {Hs.} *tjālmie*, L {LO} *tjal'mē*, N {N} *čālbme*, Kld {SaR} *чалльм*, K {Gn.} *čāilm* id. | Er *сельме šēlme*, Mk *сельме šēlma* id. | Chr *Ešihca* id. | pPrm **šinm*- > Z *šin* / *šinm*-, Vt *šin* id. || Hg *szēm* id. | pObU **šēm* id. > pVg **šām* id. > Vg: T/LK/P/V/LL *šām*, MK/UK *sām*, N *sam*; pOs **sem* ({Hl.} **sām*) id. > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz/O *sem*, Ty/Y *sām* || pSm **šymä* ~ **seymä*, {Hl.} **šyme* id. > Ng 'šayme ~ 'šeym, En *sey*, Ne Т сэв сѣѢ, Ne F хэε·m, Slq Tz {KKIH} *sayi*, Kms *sima* ~ *sayma*, Koyb {Sp.} *сима*, {Pl.} *simà*, Mt {Hl.} **sīme* 'eye(s)' (Mt: M {Pl.} *ssimä*, *сима*, {Sp.} *сима* id., {Mil.} *schīme* 'oculi', T {Mil.} *schīmedä* id., K {Mil.} *schīimi* id., {Pl.} *sjimide* 'his eye[s]') ¶ UEW 479, Coll. 57, Db. OS xxxi, It. #387, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP **šilmä*, Ugr **šimä*, Sm **šojmä* 'eye'), Lr. #110, Lgc. #464, Ls. 1303-4, Gn. 814, SaR 387, Ker. II 135-6, Ht. 184 [#592], IG 256, Jn. 132, Ptp. 37, Hl. M #886, KKIИ 167 || A: M **sili*- > WrM *sil*-, HIM *шилэ-*, Brt *шэлэ-*, Kl Ö {Rm.} *šil*-, Ord *šili*- v. 'select, choose' (← *'look') ¶ MED 707, Chr. 744, KW 357, Ms. O 617 || Tg **silma*- v. 'examine, choose', n. 'choice' > Ork *silma* 'choice', *silma*- v. 'choose, select', Ewk *sinma*- id., Mc *simne*- 'aussuchen, prüfen, examinieren' ¶ STM II 89, Z 611-2, Hr. 798 || IE: Clt: OIr {Vn.} *sell* 'iris de l'œil, œil' ⇨ *sellaic* '(he) looks'; W *syllu*, Cm *sellos*, Br *sellout*, *sellet* 'to look' (Vn. does not accept WP's etymology equating the Clt words with Gk *στύλω* 'shine') | OIr *suil* 'eye' (unless it is akin to Brtt **sāwel*- 'sun' and goes back to IE **sun*l- / **sun*el- 'sun', as usually supposed, although it is typologically not very plausible and has no parallels in the history of languages [at least to my knowledhe]: the mythological concept of the sun as "the eye of the sky/heaven" can encourage the change from 'eye' to 'sun', but hardly from 'sun' to 'eye') ¶ ≈ Vn. S 82, S 201-2, Bc. #4.21, EI 188, 438, 556, ≈ WP II 646, ≈ P 1035 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #48d.

2201. **šī*'*ī* w ▽ 'shank, flesh\meat of a limb' > HS: S **šilw*- > Ar *šilw*- {Ln.} 'a limb (or member) of flesh\meat; body (of an animal)', {BK} 'membre séparé du corps, reste d'un animal égorgé', {Hv.} *šālīy-at*- 'piece of meat' ¶ Ln. 1592-3, BK I 1264, Hv. 375 || NrOm {Blz.} **suyl*- > Hrr {Abb.} *суylēya* 'leg', Gnj *šule* 'calf of the leg' ¶ Blz. OLBP

#89, CR H 661 || Ch: WCh: Bd {IL in JI} sílʌk, {ChL} sílʌn 'bone' || CCh: Bu {ChL} s+l, {Mk} s+l, BuP {Mk.} s+l, Mrg M {Mk.} š+l 'leg' | Hg WI {Mk.} s+l id. | Msk {Lk.} sil 'bone' | Afd {Stz.} szale, {Sö.} sale 'shin-bone' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} sílálò id. ¶ JI II 36, 220, ChL, Mk. I 174, 241, 281, Lk. ZSS 189, Sö. 262 || A: M *silbi 'calf of the leg, shin, shank' > MM [HI] šilbi 'tibia', [MA] šili 'calf of the leg', WrM silbi, HIM шилэв 'shin bone, shank, tibia', КI шилв šilwǝ 'calf of the leg, shin-bone', ? Dg šilem 'shin-bone' ¶ MED 705, S AJ 241 [#167], KRS 672, KW 357, Pp. MA 333, Ms. H 97, T DgJ 183, Gl. II 495 || ? pKo {S} *sʌrh flesh, meat; skin' (× N *šīR∇ 'skin of animals, rawhide') > MKo sʌr(h), NKo sal ¶ S QK #53, Nam 290, MLC 895, S AJ 253 [#53] || pJ {S} *sìsì 'meat' > OJ sìsì, J: Ns šíší, Sh šíší, Y čičì id. ¶ S QJ #128, Mr. J 527 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 95, 279 [#120] and SDM97 s.v. *sæll'wǝ (M, Ko, J + unc. Tg *silu-kta 'gut(s)' that belongs to N *s'oyi'l'U' entrails') || D *cīla- in Kn cīlamanḍe, Tl cīlamanḍa 'ankle' (× N *č'í'l_∇,∇ 'side of body' [→ 'rib'], 'hip') ¶¶ D #2634; D *mañṭ- means 'knee', see D #4677 ¶¶ D *-l- may have been ascribed to the infl. of N *č'í'l_∇,∇ || ?φ U: FU (in FP only) (mt.?) *š|š|siw∇í∇ 'flesh, meat' > Er сывель siveél, Mk сиволь sívǎl 'meat' | Chr L шыл šьl, H шьл šǎl, Uf šьl, M šíí, B {UEW} šьl, {Ber.} сьл 'meat' | Prm *síl- > Vt сйль 'meat' ¶ UEW 763, It. #400, Ker. II 144, Ber. 61, LG 258, PI 248 ¶¶ Chr š- (in all dialects, except conflicting evidence on M) suggests FU *ś- or š-, while Vt s- suggests FU *s- ◇ ADb. MSR 21 [#16] (A [M + err. Tg], D). FU and J suggest N *-í-, while D -l- (apparently pointing to N *l) may be ascribed to the merger with N *č'í'l_∇,∇.

2202. *šēlXâ 'bough, twig, stick' > A ({DQA} *sīlā 'sharp stick; spit' (× N *šīl_∇yâ 'tooth, fang', q.v. × N *šīl_∇L∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook'): T *sīl ~ *sīl 'spit, sharp stick' > OT sīš 'spit for roasting, fork, spike', Tk sṛiṣ 'spit, skewer, knitting needle', Az šiš, Kr šiš 𐤔 sis 'spit', Qrg šiš 'spit, sharp stick' || Chv шǎл šьl 'tooth' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (before the change *i > *i due to vw. harmony) ¶ S AJ 192, Rs. W 42, Jeg. 332, Jud. 909, KRPS 476, 646 || Tg *sila-pun 'spit (for roasting)' > Ewk silawun, Lm hlun, Neg silawun, Orc silō(n-), silzu(n-), Ud silou(n-), Ul, Ork silopu(n-), Nn Nh silō, Nn KU silā, Nn B silfo(n-), WrMc šoloron id.; *sila- v. 'roast on a spit' (× N *šīl_∇L∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285 || pKo {S} *sār 'arrow,

sting' > MKo sár, NKo sal ʃ S QK #162, S AJ 257, MLC 895 || pJ {S} *sàsì 'sharp stick' > OJ sasi, J T saší id.; *sàs- v. 'prick' > OJ sas-, J: T/K sás-, Kg sàs- ʃ S AJ 271-2, S QJ #191, Mr. 748 || M *silb| müxü-sün 'needle of a conifer' > WrM silbüsün ~ silmügüsun, HIM шилмүҮс id., WrO {Krg.} šilbusün, Kl шилвсн 'tree needle(s)' ʃ MED 705, 707, Krg. 447, KRS 672 ʃʃ ≈ S AJ 288 [#282] and DQA #2097 (> T, Tg, Ko, J) || D *č|ké]- ({ʃGS} *s-?) 'twig, rod' > Kt če] 'e long round stick', Kn se|e 'twig, small branch, stick', ca||u, ce|u, ce||u, se||u 'long flexible twig\rod', Kdg ža|e 'long thin pliable stick', Tu cilæ, silæ 'fishing rod', Tl sela 'twig' ʃʃ D #2790 || HS: DEg šlñ 'Sproß, Zweig' ʃ Er. 520 || Ch: ? Hs sàrfā 'stalk', ?? Hs šállà 'the reed guaranya', 'flowering spikes of the reed guaranya' (× N *śaṭ'a 'willow') ◇ A *-ī- (for the expected *e) may be due to contamination with N *š|č|ī|ɣ|ɣyâ and *š|l|L∇.

2203. *ś'añā 'word; say' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'think') > U: FU (att. in BF) *š|ś|saNa 'word' > F sana, Krl A sana ~ šana, Krl Ld, Vp sana, Es sōna, Δ sana, Lv sənà, Lv W sinà ~ sünà id.; ⇨ F sanoa, Es sōna-ma, Vp sanu-da 'to say' ʃ SK 964-5, ZM 496, Kt. 360 || A: M *sana- v. 'say, think' > MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculus', WrM, WrO sana-, HIM сана-, Kl сан-, Brt һана-, Dg, Dx, Mnr H {SM} sana- 'say'; MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculus' may have been influenced by Chn M suan⁴ ({Kg.} suan⁴) 'calculate' ʃ Ms. H 93, Pp. IM 164, MED 668, Kow. 1281, Krg. 384, KRS 441, SM 323, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Kg. AD #825 || HS: WCh: Bd {Sch.} zánân 'speak', ? Ngz {Sch.} zánzân 'riddle, tale' ʃ ChL I 260 [#373], Sch. DN 181 || Eg fMK šny v. 'question, inquire into, say, think' > DEg šn 'ask (a question)' > Cpt: Sd ѡINE šine, B ѡINI šini 'demander, interrogator'; Eg fMd šny 'beschwören, besprechen', šn.t ≈ 'Beschwörung' ʃ Eg šny belongs here unless it is a sd. from šny 'turn around' (as suggested by Vc.) ʃ EG IV 495-6, Fk. 268, Vc. 265-6, Crn. 246 || ? EC: amb Or sēnā 'memory' (unless derived from sēn- v. 'enter' or belongs to N *cuŋ∇ 'know' [q.v.]) ʃ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (Or sēna 'ricordo, memoria') ʃʃ Not here Ag: Bln {R} sənā 'fable', Km {CR} sən-iz- 'tell a fable' (adduced by IS [IS MS 339]), because it is a sd. from sənā 'as, like', cp. Ar maθal- 'proverb, parable' ← maθal- 'similar' < S *ma'θal- id. ◇ The semantic change from 'say' to 'think' is typologically justified (≡σ: Hb way'yōmer bəlib'bō 'and he thought', lit. 'and he said in his heart') ◇ IS MS 339 (*sənā 'think'; U, M + *÷ [with

a query] Ag) ◇ If the Eg word belongs here, the N etymon is *šānā, otherwise it is *s|šānā.

2204. UA₂ *šæHn̄∇ 'mushroom, fungus, sponge (Schwamm)' > U: FU *šēlāne id. > F sienī, Es seen id. | pLp {Lr.} *čānā > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaanaa 'tinder-fungus', Vfs {Lgc.} čā'n'a 'frischer Feuerschwamm, Holzknoten, Höcker', L {LLO} tjatnā, N {N} čadna / -ān- 'tinder-fungus on birch-trees', Kld {TI} čānna 'Baumschwamm, Birkenlöcherschwamm' | pChr {Ber.} *šin 'fungus on trees, tinder' > Chr: L шен šen, B/M/Uf {Ber.} šen 'tinder (made of tinder-fungus on trees)', H šin id., 'tinder-fungus' | Vt сеньки šeńki 'tinder', Vt: G/Sr šeńki, Sr senki, Kz senka, senkь, šeńkь id., 'tinder-fungus' || ObU *šīn̄∇ 'fungus on trees (Baumschwamm)' > pVg {Ht.} *šīnəʃ id. > Vg: T šīnəw, LK šēnī, MK senī, P šēniʃ, NV/SV šēni, O sēniʃ id.; pOs {Ht.} sānəʃ > Os: V/Vy sānəʃ, Ty sānəʃ, Y sānəʃ, O sān, D sānə, Nz sanə, Kz sañ 'fungus on birches and other trees (used as tinder and for other purposes)' ('березовая чага, трутник') ¶ UEW 494-5, Coll. 113, Db. OS xiii, Sm. 548 (FU *še/ānā 'fungus' > FP *šānā, Ugr *senā), Lr. #119, Lgc. #515, Lgc. SL #2821, Hs. 1293, TI 646, Ber. 60, MRS 700, 706, Ü 261, UZS 386, Ht. #596, Trj. S 416, Stn. D 1345 || A: Tg: WrMc sence 'mushroom', санса {Z} 'иудино ухо' ('ε edible mushroom [under oak-trees and birches]), {Hr.} 'eßbarer Baumschwamm' ¶ STM II 61, 143, Z 555, 576, Hr. 765, 781.

2205. *šE'y'ontU 'finger(s), fist' > HS: S *°✓šntr > Ar šuntar-at- ~ šantar-at- 'finger', OYmn شتر šntr (= OAr Y*šantar- or Hmr *šntr) 'finger' ¶ BK I 1275, Slw. 125-6 || WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} má-sāuḍ-àk 'forefinger', sāuḍú v. 'wipe around inside of food bowl with curved forefinger to get what remains' ¶ Sch. DN 111, 145 || A: AmTg *seantu 'fist' > Orc sāantu ~ sāntu 'fist (clenched for striking)', Ud santu, Ul sēntu, Ork sēttu, Nn Nh slanto 𐌆 -u, Nn B sānto 'fist' ¶ STM II 69 || D (in SD) *čōn̄t- / *čōt̄t- ({{ʃGS} s-) 'strike with knuckles of the fingers' > Tm coṭṭu, Tu sōṇṭuni id., Ml cōṭṭu 'a slap on the head', coṭṭuka- v. 'rap with the knuckles', ?φ Kn soṇe 'strike with the fingers' ¶ D #2836 ◇ ADb. SR-D 449, ADb. MES 32 [#29] (Tg, D).

2206. *šūn̄3∇ 'milk; to suck(le)' > K {FS} *š̄že, {K, K²} *(s)že- 'milk' > OG s3e-, G r3e-, Δ rze- 𐌆 ze-, Mg b̄ža-, Lz b̄ža- ~ b̄ža- ~ m̄ža- ~ m̄ža-, Sv UB/LB/L/Ln la₁že id. ¶¶ K 172 and K² 177-8 (*(s)že), FS K 288-9, TK 543, GP 208 ¶¶ If FS's rec. of *š̄- is right, K *š̄- (rather than the

expected *s-) is due to as. (**sʒe > *šʒe) || ? HS: amb Eg fP šdy v. 'suckle' (× N *süt_{ly}∇ ~ *sü_{ly}t∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' × N *čay∇d_{ly}∇ 'female breast' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 ¶¶ If Eg šdy goes back to N *šün_z∇, this is one of the cases of N *ʒ yielding Eg d (F Tk. I) || U *šühcä 'breast' > FU *š|šühcä > Hg szűgy 'breast (of a horse, of a human being)', ? szegy, szegy 'breast (of a bovine)' || ? F sisä- 'inner, inside', Es sisi 'inside' || Sm {AD} *šünsb, {Hl.} *šünsb 'breast' > Ng {Mik.} šínša, {Cs.} sinša, En: X {Cs.} súdo, En B {Cs.} suso id.; ? Ne T cyh3, Ne O {Lh.} šunc 'jüngstes liebtes Kind' || Mt {Hl.} *künžü 'breast' (Mt: T {Adl., Mil.} kúnschum 'my breast', M {Mil.} kündschu, K {Mil.} gúnschu 'pectus', K {Pl.} gúndjude 'breast') ¶¶ UEW 480, Coll. CG 402, Sm. 540 (U *šünsi/ä, FU, FP *šünsä, Ugr *šühcä, Sm *šünsə), Jn. 144, Hl. MTKV 15 [#84], 88 [#391], Hl. M #595, Lh. 455 ¶¶ According to Hl. M 79, Mt k- goes back to Sm *s-; but the earlier hyp. (Ps., Coll., IS, AD) about Mt k- from U *š- (= *š'- of Coll.'s notation) is typologically preferable (cp. *š > k in Daghestanian lgs.); cp. Mt keye 'heart' < U *š|šüže 'heart' < N *šüžrA id. (U *š- may have been either original or resulting from as. [*š...ž > *š...ž]); the only serious counter-example is Mt keyʔbe ~ ? keyʔbü 'seven' going back to a supposed pS {Jn.} *seyt³we of Iranian origin; but borrowing from Indo-Iranian sources may have been accompanied by secondary lateralization, like in FU *šata 'hundred' from Ir *šatam; other supposed counter-examples (mentioned in Hl. M 79) are not valid because in those roots we cannot distinguish between U *š- and *š-; besides, Mt kundəhə 'black' may be not a derivative from Sm *sunt∇ (as supposed in Hl. M), but rather go back to Sm *kümtb 'smoke' || A: M *sūn 'milk' (× N *süt_{ly}∇ ~ *sü_{ly}t∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' [if M *sūn is a bf. from *sūd, as supposed by Dr.] > MM [L, IM, IsV] sūn, [S] šurn 'milk', [MA] sūn id., sū (in sū kökekü šidün 'milk-teeth'), WrM sūn, HIM cyγ sū, sūn-, Dgr {Pp.} sū:, Mnr N {SM} sun, MMgl, Mgl sūn ¶ Dr. TM III 58, MED 744, Iw. 133, T 361, SM 360, Pp. MA 328-9, 447 ¶ The phonetic prehistory of M *sūn may be assumed as follows: N *šün_z∇ > *süny∇ (if pre-M *y is a reg. reflex of N *ʒ) > *sūn (with compensatory lengthening) > M *sūn

◇ One can consider adducing D *neñč- 'chest, heart' > Ml neñču, neñču id., Tm neñču, neñčam id., 'mind', Kt nanž 'heart', Td n+ž id., 'dewlap', Kdg neñní, neñní, Knd ninžam, Png nenžom 'chest', Prj diñní, Png nenža

'pith', Kui nin³ā 'heart of a tree, pith', Ku lin³ā 'kernel, yolk of egg', ? Krx nisaṇḍ 'core or hard wood of a tree' ¶¶ Cf. D #3736. Does Ku lin³ā preserve the ancient *l- (< N *^hl-) before it changed (like any other *l-) to D *n-? But D *neñč- as a cognate is highly qu. for phonetic reasons. It can be tentatively accepted if we suppose a voiced N *^hl-. But even in such a case the D vw. *e is not explained ◇ If Eg šḍy belongs here, the N initial cns. must have been *^hš-. Otherwise it may have been either *^hs- or *^hš- ◇ Eg š- and Sm *^hš- (> Mt k-) (if valid) suggest a pN *^hš-.

2207. (₂?) *^hšoṅ^h∇ 'to wish' (→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive' [→ 'to reach']) > HS: WS *^hšn^h v. 'hate' > BHb אַנְיָ ^hšn^h G, Ug ^hšn^h G, IA [Eleph.] אַנְיָ ^hšn^h, JA [Trg.], JEA אַנְיָ ^hšn^h ~ 'נִי ^hšny G (pf. 'נִי סַא'נֵי ~ 'נִי סַא'נִי), Sr ^hšny|w G (pf. אַנְיָ סַא'נֵי), SmA {Tal} ^hšny, Md ^hšn^h, Ar ^hšn^h G 'hate', WS *šāni^h- prtc. G 'enemy' > BHb אַנְיָ ^hšō'nē, Ug šn^h, SmA sn, Sr אַנְיָ סַא'נֵי <?>ā 'enemy', OCn (AkSc) šunū 'Hasser', M'b אַנְיָ ^hšn^h 'my enemies', Sb an_ šn^h '(personal) enemy, ill-wisher'; JA [Trg.] אַנְיָ סַא'נֵי 'hater, enemy', אַנְיָ סַא'נֵי 'hatred, hostility' ¶ KB 1247-8, KBR 1338-40, OLS 446-7, Lv. III 550, 556, Lv. T II 174, Sl. 1006-7, Sok. 384, Br. 483, Tal 599-600, BK I 1274, BGMR 133 || Om (× N *šang^h∇ 'to wish, to like, to love'): NrOm: Kf {C} šun-/šun- v. 'love, prefer, want', Mch {L} šūnni(yé) v. 'love', šu'n-aččō 'intimate friend', Shn {Lm.} šūn- 'lieben, wünschen, wollen', Anf {C, Lm.} šun-, Ym {Wdk.} šūnà, Bnc {Wdk.} šūn v. 'love' || ? SOm: Ari G {Fl.} šōlum 'love' (Fl.: Ari G l and n vary as allophones) ¶ AD SF 115, C SE IV 498, LM 51, Lm. Sh 377, Wdk. BY 111, 135, Fl. OO 319 || U: FU (in FP only) *š|soṅe- v. 'desire, want' > BF (× N *^hsoṅ^h∇ 'to want, to wish'): Es soov^hi- v. 'wish, want', F suo- 'not (be)grudge, allow, wish', Vo sōv^hi- v. 'hope, wish' | Prm: Z си-ны śi-(n^h) v. 'wish', Z I śi- v. 'be jealous' ¶ But ObU *θōṅk- (~ *θāṅkā-?) v. 'want' goes back to FU *soṅe- id. < N *^hsoṅ^h∇ '↑' ¶ UEW 775-6, LG 256 ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. #146, LG 256 || ?σ A (× N *šang^h∇ 'to wish, to like, to love'): Tg *saṅg- 'gloat over another's misfortune', pKo {S} *sàj'ó- 'be jealous', pJ {S} *səṅja-m- v. 'grudge, envy' (ffd. see N *šang^h∇) ◇ But IE *senX- v. 'strive, reach' (> Ht {Ts.} sarh- id.) cannot belong here, because Ht h (< IE *X) does not correspond to S *?. IE *senX- is more likely to go back to N *^hšEṅq∇ 'seek, try to obtain' (q.v. ffd.).

2208. $_2$ *ša|oŋɣ̄ ▽ '≈ run, jump, climb' > **HS:** WS *✓šnɣ > Ar ✓šnɣ *D* 'être rapide, vélocé, se dépêcher, accélérer', *Sh* (pf. ʔašnaʔa) 'être rapide dans sa marche', Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓šnɣ (Mh pf. šūna, sbjn. yʔšnē, Jb E/C 'šinaʔ 'stand on the hind-legs with the forelegs on a tree' [of animals], Jb C 'šɔtnaʔ v. 'climb and play around; jump', ʔš'tɔnɣ v. 'jump', Hrs šōna v. [pf.] 'stand on the hind legs [to feed]') ¶ BK I 1276, Hv. 379, Jo. J 253, Jo. M 38O-1, Jo. H 12O || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *ša|oŋ ▽ v. 'run, jump' (× N *čəŋU 'jump, skip') > Hg száguld- v. 'move\run at top speed, rush' | pObU *šūɣ|w-> pOs *saɣal-/ *sɣal- v. 'gallop' > Os Ty/Y sãɣaɬ-, D saχit-, Kz sīχaɬ- id., pOs *suɣam- 'Sprung' > Os: Ty suɣam, Y suwam, D/O soχam, Nz suχam, Kz sōwχam id.; pVg *šūm- v. 'gallop' > Vg: T šōm, LK/P šūm-, MK/UK sūm- id., pVg *šūlant- id. > Vg P šūlant-, UL sūlint- ¶ UEW 89O, Ht. #579, MN 559-6O || ? *AdS* of **D** *č|kaŋk-, {GS} *čəŋ- v. 'jump, climb' (< N *čəŋU '↑', q.v. ffd.).

2209. $_2$ *š'ä'ŋ'č' ▽ 'bark, skin' (→ 'vessel') > **HS:** CS *°✓čançin- ~ *çinn- > BHb 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻 çin'çenɛt, SmHb ʕān'sēnet '(ε) container' (this semantic interpretation is confirmed by early translations: [LXX] στάμνος 'jar', [Trg.] çalō'hīt 'flask', L [Vulg.] vas 'vessel', Sr [Psh.] 𐌸𐌹𐌺 'pot') or 'basket (?)', JA {Lv.} 𐌸𐌹𐌺 ~ 𐌸𐌹𐌺 çin'n-ā 'basket, plaited container', {Js.} 'basket of palm leaves', JEA 𐌸𐌹𐌺 çan'n-ā ~ 𐌸𐌹𐌺 san'n-ā 'basket', SmA 𐌸𐌹𐌺 'jar', Ar çinn- 'basket for bread' ¶ KB 973, KBR 1039-4O, Js. 1277, 129O, Lv. IV 2O2, Sl. 967-8, Tal 736, BK I 1373-4 ¶ The unexpected S *č- is probably due to as. (infl. of N *-'č'-) || **U:** FU (att. in ObU) *°š'ä:ŋ'č' ▽ 'birch bark' > pVg *šāš id. > Vg: T šāš, LK/NV ššš, MK/UK sšs, P/SV/LL ššš, LL/Ss sās; pOs *sińc id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty sińç, D/K seńç, Nz/Kz šeś, O síś ¶ Ht. #597 ◊ It is tempting to adduce here Eg N šnɣ '(ε) vessel' (EG IV 5O3) and the qu. pC ✓ {E} *sāŋ 'water pot' (> Ya sānya id., SC {E} 𐌸𐌹𐌺 or *sa:ŋ id. > Irq {MQK} isāŋgi [{E} isangi] 'half-calabash bowl'; SC 𐌸𐌹𐌺 Bantu lgs.: Mb (E) sangé 'water pot', Pare sangū, Luyia {E} *-siongo- id. [E PC #472, E SC 179]), but the absence of reflexes of the third cns. (N *č) makes such a comparison too uncertain.

2210. *š'äŋKa ≈ bough, inedible (or less valuable) parts of plants (straw, rind of fruit) > **U:** FU (att. in FV) *š|šäŋke (or *sāŋke) 'stalks, dry twigs\boughs' > F sānki (gen. sāngen) 'stubble' | pChr {Ber.} *šəŋɣ̄ (= {Ber.} *šəŋgā) > Chr: H {Wc.} šəŋɣ̄ 'dürrer Ast', {MarS}

шәнгы 'šänγъ 'dry brushwood, fallen twigs\branches (сухой хворост, валежник)', пу-шәнгы pu-šänγъ, L пу-шенге pu-šenγe 'tree(s)', Uf/M/B pu-šenγe id. (pu 'tree') ¶ Some scholars (Setälä, Wk., Stn.) adduce here Lp N {Fri.} sagge 'paxillus, acus reticularia' and Lp K {Gn.} sa'ŋke 'Pflock', but UEW rejects it on semantic reasons; without the Lp word the FU initial cns. may be reconstructed not only as *s- (as in UEW), but also (even more plausibly due to Chr E š-) as *š|ś- ¶ UEW 756 (*sänke), It. #267, SK 1167-8, Gn. 957, Stn. FUV 42, Ber. 60 [#313], MRS 474, 697, Ps. OT 120 || IE: NaIE *sonko- (or *song^ho-) 'sheaf of ears, straw, chaff' (× N *z'en∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant', q.v. ffd.) > Arm **նւղ** unġ (gen. **ընղոյ** enġoŷ) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG sange 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ Sange, Sangel, NE Δ sangle 'sheaf of corn', NLG † sangeln 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ῥύχουρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, FI 203-4 || D *č|ka₁ŋ₁kk-(aŷ) 'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (× N ?σ *šanKa 'stalks, branches'?) > Tm cakkaĭ 'refuse as of sugar-cane after pressing, rind of fibrous parts of fruits, bark', Ml cakka 'rind of a fruit', Tl cekka 'oil-cake refuse after pressing oil' ¶¶ D *-ŋkk- > -kk-, acc. to the theory of KR ¶¶ D #2276, An. SG 137, KR 14-69 || HS: ?σ S *o✓šnġ > Ar شنيق šanīq- 'piece of wood for raising honey-comb' ¶ BK I 1278, Hv. 379 || ?σ Eg MK šn.ω 'grass as fodder for cattle' ¶ EG IV 502 and VI 71 ◇ If Eg šn.ω and Ar šanīq- belong here (in spite of semantic difficulties and the absence of k in Eg), the initial N cns. is *š, otherwise it may be either *š|ś- or *s- (*s- is less probable in vue of pChr *š- [that usually goes back to FU *ś, *š, or *š-]).

2211. *šap∇ (or *šop∇?) 'to sew (leather); leather' > HS: WS *✓šp_y|w v. 'sew (leather)' > Mh šəfū, Jb 'šfe id., Mh məšfīw, Jb məš'fe? 'nail for sewing leather bags', Ar شفي | ?išfā (✓šfy) 'awl' ¶ Jo. M 374, Jo J 247, Fr. II 436, Hv. 371, L G 490 || CCh: Glv šap̄-/šapu, Nkc šap̄anšapa v. 'sew' ¶ ChL s.v. || U: FU *šopa 'shirt, garment' ('ein hemdartiges Kleidungsstück') > F sopa 'shirt, garment', Es sōba 'Shawl, wollene Weiberdecke, Regendecke', Vp soba 'clothes' || pVg *šū|p 'shirt' > Vg: T šop, ML šup, Ss sup ¶ SK 1072-3, W EDW 1070, MK 578, ZM 516 || A: M: WrM sabkin, HIM савхин 'dressed skin, leather' ¶ MED 653 || Tg *subγy (~*sobgo) 'fish-skin used as leather' >

Neg sobgu id., Ewk $\hat{\text{subgu}}$, accus. $\hat{\text{subgu-w3}}$ 'fish-skin', Orc subbu, Ud, Ul sugbu, Ork subgu ~ sugbu, Nn sobgo ~ sogbo id., Orc subbu-ma, Ul sugbu-m3, Nn sogbo-ma 'made of fish-skin' ¶ STM II 116, Vas. 365, 373
 ◇ The rec. ***šap**∇ means that the M vw. *a is original, while the labialized vw. in FU and Tg is due to the assimilating infl. of the adjacent labial cns. *b. An alt. solution is to reconstruct N ***šop**∇, but in this case the M vw. *a remains unexplained.

2212. ***šapE_hη**∇ ≈ log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *sp^hēn- {P} 'long flat piece of wood' > Gk σπήν 'wedge', [Hs.] σφάλιον· κλινίδιον 'couch, bed' ||| Gmc *spēnu-s > OHG, MHG span, NHG Span, AS spōn, Sw, Dn spån 'chip, shaving of wood', ON spánn, spónn id., 'shingle, wooden disk', NE spoon ||| OIr sonn 'staff; support', W ffon 'staff' ¶ EI 431 (IE *sph_hen- 'flat-shaped piece of wood'), F II 830-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 929, OsS 853, KM 726, 728 ||| HS: CS *^ʃapīn-at- 'boat' > IA spyñh 'boat', JA [Trg.] سَافِينَا saphī'nā, سَافِينَا saphīn'tā {Lv.} 'ship', {Js.} 'freight-ship', JEA سَافِينَا saphīn'tā 'boat, ship', Sr سَافِينَا saphīn'tā, Md spinta, BHb [Jona 1.5] سَافِينَا saphī'nā 'ship'; Ar safīnat- {Ln.} 'ship, boat' ¶ HJ 797, KB 721-2, Lv. T II 180-1, Js. 1013, Sl. 825, Br. 490-1, DM 334, BH II 610-1, Frnk. 21, CAD XV 164, Ln. 1375 ¶ An alt. CS reconstruction of *s- of the initial cns. is less likely because S *s- goes back to an affricate and cannot be related to FU *š|ś- and A *s- ||| U: [1] FU *š|śawηa 'pole' > F sauva id., Es †, Δ saυ (gen. saυa) id. | pLp {Lr.} *čāvηē 'prop' > Lp: N čaw'gηe 'a pole in the roof of a lath gamme (Lappish hut which is not for living in)', A tjaavkng-, I čevηi 'prop' ||| ObU *š|su:γ ({Ht.} *sūγ) 'staff, stick (Stab)' > pVg *š|sūw id. > Vg (partially in cds.): LK/MK soγ, P suγ, Ss suw, pOs {Ht.} *sūγ id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty sōγ, Y/D/K sōw, Nz/Kz sūw, O suw ¶ UEW 468-9, Lr. #125, Lgc. #490, N I 376, Ht. #578 ||| [2] possibly U *š|śaym∇ (if < **šawe|η∇) 'log that is hollowed out, wooden vessel' → 'crib, mortar, boat' > F saīma 'e big boat with sails', seimi ~ soimi 'manger, crib', Krl: K šojmi, Ld sajm3, Vp sojm 'big boat', Es soimi, söime, sōim 'crib' | Er śuma, Mk сюма śu'ma, Δ śima 'aus einem Baume aushegauener Trog, trough for feeding animals, колода' | Vt: Sr/Y śum+k, Kz śum3k 'small glass, wooden bowl', Y śum+k 'a glass, 'wooden bowl for vodka' || Slq: Tm somma 'mortar ({Hl., Stn.} → Os Vy {Stn.} somma id.), Tz sumä 'bucket' ¶¶ UEW 456-7, Coll. 114, SSA III

142-3, PI 262, Stn. D 1342-3, KKI 172 || **A** (× N *šuby∇ 'spike, spear; to pierce' × N *ś'o' b_l∇₁∇₁∇₁ [or *s∇ b_l∇₁∇₁∇₁] 'stem, piece of wood' × N *šab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood?'): Tg *so_lba > Neg sōwa ~ sōya 'stick used to hang a tea-pot over the fire', sōwalá- ~ sōyalā- 'drive/run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh sowōčā 'landmark, sign' ¶ The vw. *o_l belongs to the heritage of N *ś'o' b_l∇₁∇₁∇₁ or *s∇ b_l∇₁∇₁∇₁ ¶ STM II 103 || pJ {S} *sàw_uā > OJ sàwò, J: T/Kg saó, K sáo 'pole, rod, staff' ¶ S QJ #465, Mr. 518, Kenk. 1576 || ?φ M *si'β'ant∇g > WrM sigantag ~ sigantug, HIM шаантар 'wedge' ¶ MED 699 ¶¶ The loss of *-ŋ- in Tg and J is still to be explained ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2063 (A *si_lba 'stick'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ NaIE *p^h suggests the presence of a N lr.; the only N lr. that may be lost in pS and may cause aspiration in NaIE is *h.

2213. *šuq∇ 'breathe in, smell sth.' > **HS**: CS *-šūk- v. 'smell sth.' > Sr ✓ s w k G (pf. s ā k) v. 'take breath, draw breath, inhale, smell, scent', ? Ar ✓ š w q G (ip. ya-šūq-u) v. 'excite so.'s desire in'; CS *šawk- > Sr **لِسْمِ** sawk-ā 'breathing, breath, nostrils, sense of smell', ? Ar šawq- 'yearning' ¶ Schlt. HWS 24 [#3], Ln. 1620, Hv. 382, JPS 370 || **K** *°s|šuq- > G suq- 'das Gefühl des Überdresses bewirken (von allzu fetten Speisen)' ¶ Chx. 1287 || **IE**: NaIE *swek|k̄- v. 'smell of sth., smell sweet' > W chweg, Crn whek, Br c'hwek 'sweet, pleasant', W chwaeth (< *swekto-) 'taste (Geschmack)' || OHG swehhan 'to 'smell of sth., to smell foul', with gem.: OHG swecka, swecki 'fragrance', OSx swec n. 'smell, odour', AS swecc, swæcc id., 'taste'; OSx swékkian 'to stink', AS swæccan ~ sweccan 'to smell (of sth.)' ¶ WP II 521, P 1043, YGM-1 154, 156, Hm. 131, Kb. 998-9, OsS 907, 910, Ho. S 73, Ho. 331 || **U**: FU *°š|šuk∇ > ObU *°š|šuk v. '≈ sniff' > pVg *suk 'schnupfen' > Vg: LK sox-, sãx-, MK sok-, UK/SV sɜk^ω-, P/NV suk-, NV suk- ɔ s+k^ω-, LL sok-, suk-, UL sox- id., Ss {Stn.} siɣ^ω- 'schluchzen' ¶ The initial *š- was delateralized either in pU\pFU\pUgr or in Vg probably due to ideophonic associations of the word ¶ Ht. #814, Stn. WV 295, MK 571; Ht. l.c. tried to equate the Vg word with Os V s+qam, Os Vy s+q+m 'schneuzen', which is untenable because of irreg. sound corr. between vowels, which prevented Ht. from reconstructing a pObU stem || **A**: Tg: Ork sukručč'i- v. 'smell sth., scent' ¶ STM II122.

2214. *šar∇ 'to be dry' > **HS**: S *°✓ šrr|y > Ar ✓ šrr ~ ✓ šry 'dry sth. in the sun' ¶ BK I 1208, 1223, Ln. 1524, Fr. II 406, 417, Hv. 358, 363 || Eg fMK ω-šr 'dry up', Eg G ωšr 'das Trockene, das Dürre', Eg Md s-šr

vt. 'dry, dry up', ε - ω šr 'dörren, {Fk.} vt. 'dry' ¶ EGI 374-5 and IV 76, 295, Fk. 70, 218, 269 ¶¶ Cal. 28 || IE: NaIE *k[̄]se(:)r- '(be) dry', *k[̄]se(:)r-o- 'dry' > Gk ξηρός adj. 'dry', ξερόν 'das Trockne' || L ser-esc- v. 'get dry', serēnus 'dry' (of weather) || Ltv {Turk.} sēr-t 'to put (corn) to dry before threshing', sers 'corn brought home for drying', ??σ Lt Δ šāras 'fodder' ({P} 'dry fodder') || MHG, NGr Δ serben vi. 'to dry up, to wither (verdorren, welk werden)', ? OHG serawēn 'arescere; dwindle, consume' || ?φ Arm չոր adj. 'dry', չիբ 'dry fruit' (though Arm č^h- is not regularly from *k[̄]s-) ¶ *÷ (⇔ P) OI kṣā'raḥ 'caustic, sharp' (actually akin to kṣāyati 'burns') ¶ WP and P reconstitute IE *k̄- on the highly qu. evidence of Lt šāras ¶ WP I 503, P 625, EI 170 (*k̄seh₁ro-s), Mn. 571, WH II 520, F II 335-6, M K II 288, Kb. 844, OsS 756, Frn. 964, Kar. II 173-4, Turk. 599, Ach. V 748-9, Slit. 234, Hü. 485 || U: FU *šar∇ v. 'get dry' > pPrm *śur- v. 'get stale, dry, hard' > Z I śur- v. 'get stale, dry', śurem 'stale, dry (засохший)', Z Ud śurmem id. || pObU *šūr- v. 'get dry' > pVg *šūr, ?*šūr- id. > Vg: ML šurr-, N sūr- id.; pOs *sar- 'trocknen' > Os: Vy/O sar-, D/K sor- id. | Hg szárad- 'dry (up), become dry, wither', szárít- vt. 'dry' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 466, Sm. 549 (FU *śorā- 'wither, dry' > FP *śora, Ugr *sora-), MF 570-1, LG 275, Ht. 185 [#605] || D *č[̄]kar- 'rough of surface, coarse' **Error!** > Tm caracara v. 'be rough of surface', Tu caraṭæ 'what is coarse', Kui srogu 'a rough surface' ¶¶ D #2354.

2215. ₂ *^rš^rER∇ 'to roast' > HS: Ch ≈ *sur- 'fry' > WCh: Ang {ChL} sur, {Flk.} sūr 'fry' | ? Hs sóyà id. | BT: Gera {ChL} sūrù-mì, Ngm {ChL} sur, Krf {Sch.} šúrú-wò, ? Pr {Frz.} čūrò id. | Tala {ChC} sure id. || CCh: Hw {ChL} s+ràṅ, G'nd {ChL} sùranžì, Gbn {ChL} sùrenčì, Bk {ChL} suraḍa, Tr {Nw.} zurra id. | Gude {ChL} sùrtič, Gudu {ChL} s+rā id. || ECh: Mkl {J} sòríyè 'griller', {ChC} 'fry' ¶ Nw. #55, J LM 177, ChC, ChL, Flk. s.v. sūr, Frz. P 27, ≈ OS #479 || ?φ Eg fP 3šr 'roast, bake' ¶ EGI 21, Fk. 6 || A: M *sira- > MM [MA, IM, LV] šira-, WrM sira-, HIM шапа-х 'roast, broil, fry', Mnr H {SM} širā-, {T} širā-, Dx {T} šira- id., Kl шап-х 'roast', {Rm.} šar-χα 'am Spieße braten' ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 60, MED 714, SM 397, T 383, T DnJ 383, KRS 667, KW 350 || Tg *°š|çEre- > Ewk PT ç3r3- 'be baked (near the fire)' ¶ STM I 422 || pKo {J} *sàr-m- 'boil (food), cook' > MKo sàrm-, NKo salm- sām- ¶ S QK #526, Nam 292, MLC 901 ¶¶ DQA #2683 (A *šero 'bake, boil').

2216. ₂ ***šir**∇ 'skin (of an animal), rawhide' > **HS**: SS ***š^ri**r- id. > Sq {L} 'širhi 'skin', Grg Sl {L} sīr, Grg Wl {L} sir 'hide of cattle after the hair has been pulled off' ¶ L LS 433, LEDG III 559, SSL LSNP 1474, MiK I #1.267 || **A**: M ***sirin** > MM [SH] {H} śiri 'rawhide', WrM siri(n), HIM шир 'skin, rawhide', WrO {Krg.} širi 'hide, skin', Kl {Rm} šir, širi 'rawhide, animal's skin, hide' ¶ H 142, MED 717, Krg. 451, KW 359 || ?**φ** pKo {S} ***sárh** 'flesh, meat; skin' (× N ***šir^r**∇ 'shank, flesh\meat of a limb', q.v. ffd.).

2217. ***šur**∇ 'a herd\swarm\flock (of wild animals)' > **U**: FU ***šur**∇ 'herd' > pLp {Lr.} ***čorək** 'herd of reindeer' > Lp: L {LLO} tjárā, Nt {TI} čōra id., N {N} čqrâ / -rrâg- 'rather small herd of reindeer' || pOs ***sur** > Os: V/Vy/D sur 'small herds of wild reindeer and elks' ¶ UEW 491-2, Coll. 75, Lr. #165, Lgc. #653, TI 678, Stn. D 1365-6 || **A**: NaT ***sürüg** 'herd' > OT surüg 'flock, herd' > Tk süru, Az, Ggz sürü 'herd, crowd', Tkm сүри žüri, MQp [CC] sурув sürüv, Qmq сирив siriv, QrB сүрюү sürüw, Nog sürüv, Tv sürüg 'herd', Uz suru, suruv, Qq süriw 'herd of sheep' ¶ ≈ Cl. 850, Rl. IV 815-6, Grøn. 227, RKumS 973 || **HS**: S ***š^rswr** or ***š^rsyur** (***šū^r**- or ***sū^r**-) > Md sira 'flock (of birds), swarm' ¶ DM 329 || B: Ah, Ttq a-səra 'herd of wild animals' ¶ Fc. 1851, Msq. 344 ◇ ≈ IS I #40 (***čur**∇ 'herd of wild animals').

2218. (₂?) ***še₁ar**∇ 'reach, approach, enter' > **HS**: S (CS?) ***š^r** > Ar **š^r** G 'entrer dans l'eau; entamer\commencer (une affaire); être dirigé droit contre quelqu'un (lance)', ?**σ** Sr **š^r** G 'visit, inspect; do, deal, commit' ¶ BK I 1216-7, Br. 488, JPS 384 || **D** {**θ**Em.} ***kēr-** ([GS] ***sēr-**) 'reach, arrive, go into' > Ml cēruka 'approach', Kt čēr-, Td sō'r- 'arrive', Kn sēr- 'be(come) close\near, go to, approach, reach, enter', Kdg se'r- vi. 'join', Tu šēru- 'arrive, reach', Tl cērū 'join, approach, reach, arrive at, enter\join as a class', Gdb sēr- v. 'arrange, reach', Gnd B {Tr.} sērāṛā 'invade (a country), enter or occupy (a house)', Gnd G/HMS {BB, Lind} here 'near', Knd sērpu 'neighbourhood', Kui serna 'cleave to', Ku herinaj v. 'reach', Krx (past stem) ker- 'go', ? Brh kēb 'nearness, vicinity; near' ¶ × D ***čār-** (or ***kār-**) 'approach, be united' (F D ##2460, Em. DS 361-2) ¶¶ D #2814, BB CVG ##3483, 3585, Em. DS 366, GS 180 [#457], 60 [#177] || ?**σ** **A**: NaT ***sāri** 'direction (towards)' > OT {DTS} 'direction' (taṅ sarī-qa bardīlar 'went in the direction of the dawn', tört sarī-qa 'to the four directions [sc. cardinal points]), {Cl.} sarī 'towards, in the direction of', Chg XV sarī

'direction, side', XwT XIII \underline{sar} i, MQp [CC] sarī 'towards', Tkm † θārī postp. 'to, towards, in the direction of', Osm {Rh.}, Az, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} sarī, Kr 'רָרִי sarī, Uz sarī, Tb {B} sār ~ sārī id., Qmn {B} sārī 'direction, side (сторона)', Xk sarī- (+ppa.) 'side, direction; on\from the direction of' ¶ DTS 488, Cl. 844, TkR 567, Rh. 1027, Rl. IV 322, Äz. 258, UzR 356, B DK 244, 246, B DChT 145, BIG 182, ≈ Rs. W 403 ◇ D *-r- goes back to the cluster *-Hr- (< N *-r̥ar-).

2219. *šōṽrṽ ~ *šōṽArṽ 'grain, (wild) cereal' > HS: WS nouns with the root *√šṽr 'barley': WS *šṽrār-at- 'barley, *Hordeum sativum*' > BHb הַבָּרֵי $\hat{s}aṽrā$ 'barley', Ug $\check{s}r$ m pl. t., OA הַבָּרֵי $\hat{s}r$ h, IA (pl.) שַׁרְרִין $\check{s}rn$ (שַׁרְרִין = [s]), JA {Js.} שַׁרְרִיָּה $sar'tā$ (pl. שַׁרְרִיָּה ~ שַׁרְרִיָּה $sar'ārīn$, pl. em. שַׁרְרִיָּה $sar'ārāy'yā$), SmA $s'r$ h, Sr $sar'ārā'tā$ (pl. $sar'ārē$), OSA $\hat{s}r$ 'barley'; Ar شَعِير $\check{s}arīr$ - 'barley', n. unit. شَعِيرَة $\check{s}arīr$ -at- 'grain of barley'; Ar \check{s} Mh $\check{s}arīr$, Jb E 'šṽr, Jb C šī'ṽr, Tgr шОС $\check{s}ar$ ~ шОС sar 'barley' ¶ KB 1254, KBR 1345-6, A #2658, OLS 427, Br. 489, Tal 603, Lv. T II 178-9, Lv. III 562, Ln. 1561, BK I 1239, LH 226, Jo. M 391 || C: EC: Sa {R} $sīnrā$ (\check{s} or \check{s} EthS), Af {PH} $sirray$, Sml N {Abr.} $sārēn$ 'wheat' ||| Bj Hd {R} $se'rām$ 'barley' ||| acc. to Praet. AS and L G, C \check{s} Gz $\hat{s}arnāy$ 'wheat', Tgr $\check{s}rnay$ ~ $\check{s}rnay$ (\check{s} Bln {R} $\check{s}īnrāy$ 'wheat'), Tgy $sarnay$ id. ¶ L G, Praet. AS 78, R WB 327, R WBd 205, PH 192, Abr. S 218 ||| U *š|śora 'grain' > FU (att. in FP) *š|śora > pMr *šūr > Er шоро $śuro$, Mk cēpa $śora$ 'grain, cereal' | F $sora$ 'gravel; grit' (< *'grain'), Es Δ $sarā$ 'crumbled stone', $sora$ 'small pearls' (all < *'grain') | Chr L шур $\check{s}ur$ 'soup', Chr U/M šürö id., Chr шурас $\check{s}urāš$, Δ šürakš 'cereals (Grütze, κρυπα)' || ?? Ne {Lh.} $śorrā$ '(edible kernel of) stone-pine nut; seed of coniferous trees'; here Ne ś- is irreg. ¶ ≈ UEW 776, Ker. II 150, Ber. 73-4, MRS 746, Ü 280, Lh. 451 ||| D: [1] ? (in SD) *č|kār 'boiled rice' > Tm, Ml $cōru$ 'boiled rice', Td $tw+r$ 'cooked food'; [2] ? *č|kār 'cake, bread' > Gdb $sāru$ 'pancake', Gnd $sārī$; \check{s} $sārī$; \check{s} $hārī$ 'bread', Png, Mnd $hārī$, Ku $hēra$ \check{s} $hē'ra$ 'bread, cake' ¶ D ##2465, 2897 ◇ If the D cognate is *č|kār, the N rec. must be *šōṽrṽ, while D *č|kār suggests N *šōṽArṽ ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 163 [#110] (HS, D).

2220. *šäyoyiRṽ 'hair' > HS: S *šī'ṽr- ~ *šar- 'hair' > BHb הַבָּרֵי $\hat{s}e'ār$, Ug $\check{s}r$, OCn (EgSSc) $sa-a-ru$, BA cs. הַבָּרֵי sar , JA {Trg.} הַבָּרֵי sar / em. הַבָּרֵי $sarā$, JEA הַבָּרֵי $\hat{s}arā$ [$sarā$]

(cs. שַׁפַּר שַׁפַּר səʕar), SmA sʕr, Sr |سار| saʕr-ā, Md sara, Ar šaʕr-~ šaʕar- 'hair', Hrs {Jo.} šōr 'hair, wool', Sq {L, SSL} 'šāʕrihor pl. 'cheveux'; S snglt. *šāʕar-at- 'a hair' > BHb שַׁפַּר שַׁפַּר šaʕarā id., Ug šʕrt 'wool', Ar šaʕ(a)rat- 'a hair', Gz šaʕarət 'hair', Ak šārtu ~ šaʕratu ~ šērtu 'hair, hide', Eb sa-ra-tum [*šāʕratum], se-ra-du-um [*šēʕratum] {Frnz.} 'skin, hide'; Cn ⇨ Eg N sʕrt pl. 'wool (as merchandise)' > DEg sʕrt > Cpt Sd/B **copt** sort 'wool', Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} sá-ʕá-rú ({}Hlk.} sá-ʕá-rú) 'hair, thicket' ¶ KB 1253-4, 1786, KBR 1344-5, Br. 488, OLS 426-7, Alb. VESO 28, EG II 49, Er. 411, Vc. 197, Lv. T 178, Js. 1010, Lv. III 562, Sl. 1189, Tal 602-3, DM 315, BK I 1237-8, Jo. H 117, L LS 432, SSL LSNP 1472, Sd. 1191-2., Frnz. EL 180, Hlk. #187, SivCR 82, MiK I #1.260 || C: pAg *čʕgʕʕr 'hair' > Bln šʕgʕʕr; Ag ⇨ EthS: Gz šagʕr 'hair, fur, feathers', Tgr, Amh čʕgʕr, Tgy šegʕri 'hair' || ? pLEC {Bl.} *dʕogor 'hair' (× N *tūKʕ 'hair', q.v.) > Af dʕogor, Sa {Wlm.} dagar, Bs ogorro, Dsn {To.} dūr id., Sml dʕogor 'fur, animal's coat' ||| Bj {RHd.} šurḷ 'pubic hair' ¶ Bl. 217, AD SF119, HL 65, LG 550, To. DL 496 || NrOm: Mj {Bnd.} sāru 'hair', Shk {Fl.} šiaru 'beard' || Shn {Lm.} čīrá 'hair; hide (Pelz)', ?? Hrr {Abb.} sor gē 'crown of head' ¶ Fl. OWL, CR H 661, Lm. Sh 400 || Ch: WCh {Stl., AD} *šāʕhʕr 'hair' > Hs {Ba.} šārī 'long hair on ram's chest', Hs Kc {Ba.} šīrō id., sūrā 'the growth of hair on the head from its first appearance after the head has been shaved until it is long', Bks syaḥ (-ḥ < *-r) 'hair', ?? Hs čōrō 'a tuft of hair', ? Ywm turtuk 'hair' ||| ECh: Skr {Sx.} ləwəʕr, EDng {Fd.} lāwà, Mkl {J} lāwó 'hair' ¶ ChC, JI II 186-7, Stl. ZCh 201 [#520], Sk. HCD 184, Ba. 930, 943, 958, 962, 1043, Sk. HCD 184 ¶¶ ≠ OS #107 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *šāʕuʕr 'hair' > pVg *šāʕr (> *šār in some dialects) > Vg N (M) saʕ+r, sāʕ+r, saʕr 'horse's hair', Ss sāʕar, P šār 'Roßhaar', T šār id., Pferdeschweif', Yk {Vxr.} səʕr, sʕʕr 'horse's hair' ||| OHg szér, Hg szór 'hair' ¶ UEW 886, MF 598-9, MK 510, BV 96 || A: M *soyir > WrM soir, HIM сойр 'coarse long hair which projects from the fur' ¶ MED 724 || D (in GnD) *čkōra 'a hair' > Kui sōra id., Ku hora 'a single hair of the beard', horaḡa ~ hōdḡaḡa 'beard', ? Gnd sorkoo 'man with a beard' ¶ D #2894; D *-ō- < *-aʕo- < N *-äʕo-? ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#17] (D, HS [Ch, Om, Bj] + Sum sʕʕur or sʕʕur 'cheveux, Haarschopf) ◇ M *soyir points to pN *šāʕoyuʕr (with D *-r- < *-yr- < *-yuʕr-) rather than to *šāʕorʕ, that does not account for the M cognate.

2221. *šīhr ∇ ≈ gray, bright' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dark?') > **HS:** S *^o✓šhr > Ar ʔašāhir- 'couleur blanc de narcisse' ¶ BK I 1282 || ʔφB *^o✓srr > Ah ✓srr 'be bright (almost white)', asrir 'blanc; de couleur très claire, presque blanche' ¶ Fc. 1856 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *šīr ∇ 'gray' > pVg *šīr-/šir- > Vg: N {Mu.} sēri, P šir, K sir 'dusk, twilight, dawn', Ss {BV} сэри-пос 'aurora, зоря', Yk {Vxr.} ser-pās, serəy-pās id. (пос, pās 'light') | OHg XIV szir ~ zūr 'gray', XVIII szür 'gray, dark, dust (dämmerig)', Hg szürke 'gray' (-ke is a derivational sx.) ¶ MF 605, EWU 1465, ≈ UEW 36 (adduces Z žor, Z US žor 'gray', and Vt žar 'Morgendämmerung' and reconstructs FU *čer ∇, which is unt., because FU *č does not regularly yield Hg sz- and Vg *š-; in my view, the Prm root belongs to FU *č|šar ∇ 'bright [hell]' < N *ž'a'hr ∇ - *ž'a'hr ∇ - *z|ž'a'hr ∇ 'shine, be bright') || **D** *č|kir- ({ǵGS} *ś-) 'dark' > Tm iru 'black', iru| 'darkness, dark colour', Ml iru 'be dark', Tl irulu 'darkness', Klm čirum 'very dark', Gdb sirin 'black', Prj čiruŋ, Gnd hirki, Knd siruki, Ku sīnga 'charcoal', Kui srīva 'soot'; (× D *čir- [{ǵGS} *ś-] 'night' < N *šīh,r ∇ 'late, [in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night'): Tu ir|b, ir|b 'dusk, darkness, night' ¶¶ D #2552. The semantic change from 'gray' to 'dusk, dark' is typologically justified (a semantic parallel: OHg) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here M *sira 'yellow', but an internal Altaic comparison suggests a different et. of the M word (F s.v. N ? *ś'EXar ∇ 'bright, daybreak').

2222. (₂?) *šīX,U,R ∇ 'side, edge' > **HS:** S *^oš'i'hr- > Ar šīhr-at- bord, rivage, côté (d'un fleuve, de la mer, d'une vallée) {Hv.} 'narrow margin of a river, a valley', {BK} ? šāhr- 'Chahr, littoral entre l'Oman et l'Aden', (?) 'intérieur, milieu d'une vallée' ¶ BK I 1197, Hv. 354 || B: Ah {Fc.} sər 'du côté de; vers', ETwl/Ty {GhA} sər 'vers, en direction de' ¶ Fc. 1851, GhA 177 || **U:** [1] FU (att. in FV) *š|šīre 'side, edge' > F Δ siiri (gen. siiren) 'Seite, Rand, Kante', Krl A sīri-či, Krl Ld šīri-či ~ sīriči, Vp sirīči '(passing) by, vorbei' | pMr {Ker.} *šīrə 'side, edge' > Er чире čīre, Er Kd/Kl/Vck śīre, Mk шире šīrə, Δ šīrə ¶ UEW 774, Ker. II 157-8, SK 1018 || [2] FP *š|šüry^{rA} 'edge, side' > F syrjä 'edge, border, side' | Chr H/Uf/M/B šör 'edge, rib (not a bone), verge', Chr L шöp šör id. ('край, ребро, грань') || pPrm *šūr- 'place outside (the object), edge, border' > Z Ud śzr 'place behind (sth.)', Vt śzr in śilśzr 'back of the head' ¶ It. #425, SK 1148, LG 270, 275, UZS 389, MRS 724, Ü 270, ≈ UEW 779-80 (FV *šüryä without taking into account Prm) || **A:** Tg: ?

Ewk Uc sirkun 'cape' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #52 (suggested to equate U *śüryä with Tg; adduced the EC, T, K, and D reflexes of N *ś'É'r▽ 'back [dos], nape of neck', N *śaR▽ 'top, hill', and N *ćor▽ 'tip, top, edge'; err.: N *Sir(y)u ~ *Süryä '[top of] hill, mountain') ◇ IP *ś|śüry'A' suggests pN *śiXUR▽.

2223. *śêrw▽ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' > HS: Eg MK {Fk.} šr v. 'stop up, block', {EG} šrw.t 'Verstopfung' ¶ EG IV 528, Fk. 270 || D *kéer- (+ sxs. *-uk-, *-ukk-, *-ut-, etc.) v. 'stop up, thrust, plug, dam' > SD, SCD *ćer- (× N *ćERH₂▽ [= *ćErɤ▽?]) 'to stick in, to gouge, to chisel' × N *ć'i'gR▽ [~ *ć'i'R'g'▽?] 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam'?) > Tm cεrυku v. 'insert, slide into', Ml cεrυtuka v. 'shove in, put in, insert', Kn sεrku, sεkku 'shove in, put in, insert, tuck (the end of the garment) into another (part of the garment)', Tl cεkku v. 'set (as a precious stone), thrust, tuck up', cεrυvυ v. 'insert, stick in', Gnd harž- vt. 'fix, fit in' || NED: Krx χerr- 'introduce lengthwise by gradual pushing, insert, stick into or behind', Mlt qere v. 'thrust in, tuck in', {Hahn} kherr- v. 'pocket, put in' ¶¶ D #2778, Km. 360, #469, ≠ #454, Em. DS 365-6 || A: Tg: Ewk sirbεrε- 'drive in (a nail)' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ This is the only unambiguous case of N *ś- yielding D *k'-. Cf. D {θEm.} *kēr- ([GS] *sēr-) 'reach, arrive, go into' < N *śeɣar▽ 'reach, approach, enter'.

2224. *ś'o'rUb▽ 'to drink, to gulp, to sup, to suck' > IE *serbh- / *sorbh- / *sr̥bh- v. 'sip, sup, drink' > Arm արբեմամբ arbenam 'I drink (alcoholic drinks)' / aor. արբի arbi (< *sr̥bh-) || Gk ῥοπέω, Gk ἰρῥέω 'I sup greedily up, I gulp down', Gk ῥόφουμα, Gk ἰρῥημα {LS} 'that which is supped up, thick gruel \ porridge', {Ch.} 'plat que l'on avale, soupe épaisse' || pAl {O} *serba- > Al gjerb- v. 'sip' || L sorbeō / -ēre 'suck in, drink down, swallow' || Lt srēbti / prs. srebiù v. 'sup', sur̃bti / surbiù v. 'suck, sup', Ltv surbt / surbju v. 'sup' || Sl *s̃rb- ~ *s̃rb- ~ *serb- v. 'sup' > OCS срѣвати s̃r̃bati, OR сєрєвати serebati, R Δ сер'бать s̃er'baty, Blr сер'баць, Uk сер'бати, Slv srébatì, Cz střebati, Slk strebat', P sarbać, serbać 'to sup', Blg 'сърбам 'I sup' || ?? 0 Gmc: NGr Δ surpfen s̃urp(f)en 'to sip', Sw † (early XIX c.) surpa i sig, MHG s̃ur(p)fel'n, Sw sörpla 'to sip', as well as MLG, MDt, Dt slorpen, Dt slurpen, NHG schlürfen 'to sip; to eat\drink noisily', NE r slurp 'eat greedily\noisily', NE Δ, NE Sc slorp 'drink\eat\sup

greedily\noisily' ({KM}: -l- due to the infl. of the Gmc $\sqrt{\text{}}$ represented in MLG *slucken*, MDt, Dt *slokken*, NHG *schlucken* 'to swallow') || Psh رودل *raw*-^ld3l ~ r3w-^ld3l (prs. روى r3'wi) 'to suck breast' || Ht *sarap*- / *sarep*- v. 'sip (nippen)' ¶ P 1001, EI 175 (**sreb^h*- / prs. **srob^he_j* 'gulp, ingest noisily'), F II 663, Ch. 978, Sl. 240, O 132-3, Vs. III 604, Hlq. 1154, Vr. N 654, Lx. 219, KM 659-60, OED IX 233, 250, Asl. 455, Mrg. 65, Ts. W 71 || HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrb* 'drink' > Ar $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrb* G 'drink, suck', Gz $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrb* G 'drink, absorb, sip', JA שרף $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrp* (= $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srp*) G {Lv.} 'einschlürfen, Flüssigkeit an sich ziehen', MHb שרף $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrp* (= $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srp*) G {Lv.} id., 'drink', JEA שרף $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *šrp* (= $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srp*) {Sl.} 'gulp down, consume, quaff', Sr $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srp* G 'sup up, swallow up, absorb', *sar*'bā 'syrup', Md $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srp* G 'swallow, gulp down', Ar (←b Aram) $\sqrt{\text{}}$ *srf* G 'donner trop de lait à son enfant, le nourrir de lait à l'excès', Ak YB (←b Aram) *sar āpu* v. {CAD} 'sip (?)', {Sd.} '≈ einsaugen' ¶ The devoicing *b > p in Aram (b→ MHb, Ak YB, Ar) (just as other cases of the variation *b ~ *p in S) is still to be explained ¶ LG 533, Lv. IV 613, Js. 1632-3, Sl. 1190, BK I 1083, 1209-10, Hv. 318, 358, Br. 496, 500-1, JPS 389, 392, DM 338, CAD XV 172, Sd. 1028 || A: M **soru*- 'suck (in)' > WrM *soru*-, HIM copo-x, Brt hopo-xo v. 'suck in, draw in, imbibe', WrO {Krg.} *sor*- 'suck' ~ *suru*- 'imbibe, draw into oneself', Kl cop-x 'suck, draw (a liquid) into oneself', {Rm.} *sor*-χα 'aufsaugen, einschlürfen', ?? Dg {Mr.} *sorete*-, {T} *sorto*- 'get drunk', {Mr.} *soretō*, {T} *sortō* 'a drunk; drunk' ¶ MED 729-30, Gl. II 438, Kow. 1413, Chr. 685, Krg. 412, 422, KRS 455-6, KW 332, Mr. D 212, T DgJ 164 || NaT **sōr(u)*- 'suck' > OT [MK] *sōr*- (aor. *sōru-r*) 'suck (sth.), suck up\out', XwT XIV, Chg XV *sor*-, MQp XIII *šor*-, Tki {Cl.} *šora*- ~ *šori*-, Tkm cop-*θōr*- (not *šōr*-, as in Cl. 843), OOsM XIV *sor*- 'suck', Tk † *sor*- (aor. *sorur*), Az, Qrg, QK/Tlt/Shor/Kü {Rl.}, Xk *sor*-, Uz cyp- *swr*-, Alt {BT} *sōr*-, *soru*- 'suck, suck out', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq *sor*-, Uz cyp- *swr*-, Bsh hyp- *hōr*- id., 'extract (liquid)', ET *šori*- id., 'drink (off)' ('выпить'), ET Δ {Jr.} *šora*- v. 'suck' ¶ A long *-ō- is due to complementary lengthening (*-orob- > *-orw- > *-ōr-) or to (reg.?) vowel lengthening in originally open syllables? ¶ The irreg. š- in some lgs. is puzzling ¶ Cl. 843, Rs. W 429, Rl. IV 542, TrR 786, Äz. 270, TkR 586, UzR 394, Nj. 549, Jr. 288, BR 638, KumRS 288, BT 130-1, BIG 104 || D o₂ **č|kur*- ~ **čur|rup*- 'drink, sip' > Kn *sur*i v. 'drink with a sipping noise', Kn JK *jur*i v. 'sip', Tu *surusuranæ* 'drinking liquids with a

sipping noise', Tl $j\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{a}$ 'a sup of liquid or semi-liquid food', $j\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{u}$ v. 'drink\|sip\|sup (liquid or semi-liquid food) with a noise', Knd $z\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{i}$ - 'suck up (liquids with a noise)', Nkr $\check{c}\underset{r}{u}r\underset{r}{p}i\underset{r}{p}$ - v. 'suck', Ku $s\underset{r}{u}r\underset{r}{p}u$ $r\underset{r}{e}\underset{r}{?}$ - 'suck in, slurp, eat food easily', ? $\check{z}\underset{r}{u}r\underset{r}{u}$ 'gruel', Krx $s\underset{r}{u}r\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{p}$ - v. 'drink with a noisy sucking of the lips' ¶¶ D #2712, ≠ Pf. 197 (believes that Krx $s\underset{r}{u}r\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{p}$ - is onomatopoeic) ◇ The N vw. between *r and *b is reconstructed on the ev. of D, because D *-r- goes back to a N intervocalic *-r- rather than to a cns. cluster. In D * $\check{c}\underset{r}{k}\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{r}$ - and in A the N intervocalic *-b- is lost (*-b- > *-w- > *-∅-), but in D * $\check{c}\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{r}\underset{r}{u}\underset{r}{p}$ - it turned to *-p- (due to some unknown factors). D *u (rather than *o) may be due to as. (something like N *o...u > *u...u) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. пить (хлебать) * $\check{s}\underset{r}{r}\underset{r}{p}\underset{r}{a}$ (IE, S).

2225. * $\hat{s}E'?\nabla'Rb\nabla$ 'coarse hair, eyebrow' > HS: (mt.) S * $\hat{s}ap(p)\underset{r}{a}\underset{r}{r}$ - > JPA [Tos.] d. $\aleph\underset{r}{r}'\underset{r}{p}\underset{r}{i}\underset{r}{r}\underset{r}{\bar{a}} \sim \aleph\underset{r}{r}'\underset{r}{p}\underset{r}{i}\underset{r}{r}\underset{r}{\bar{a}}$ 'goat's hair', Ar $\check{s}afr$ - (~ $\check{s}ufr$ -) {BK} 'bord de la paupière où naissent les cils', {Hv.} 'place of growth of the eyelash' (↔ pl. [← coll.] $\check{r}a\check{s}\check{f}\check{a}r$ - ↔ Tgr $\check{r}asfar$ pl. 'eyelashes'), Jb C {Jo.} $\hat{s}\check{e}f\check{z}r$, Sq Δ {SSL} $\hat{s}\check{e}\check{f}\check{z}r$, Sq {Jo.} $\hat{s}frir$, Mh {Jo.} $\hat{s}\check{z}fr\check{r}$, Hrs {Jo.} $\hat{s}\check{f}zr\check{r}$ 'eyelash', ? Ak YB $sappartu$ {Sd.} 'Kopffell, Fell an Hornwurzel'; CAD interprets the last word as 'tip of an animal horn' (÷ BHb $\check{s}\check{u}\check{p}\check{a}r$ 'horn as a wind instrument?') ¶ Js. 1014, BK I 1247, Hv. 369, H 201, L ALT 166, Jo. M 374, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 247, SSL LSNP 1473, Sd. 1027, CAD XV165, MiK I #1.266 || K: GZ * $\check{c}arb$ - 'eyebrow' > OG, NG $\check{c}arb$ -, Mg XIX {Brs.} $\check{c}ob$ - id. ¶ K 248, K² 307, FS K 459, FS E 520, Brs. 74 || A: M * $serbe$ '≈ fish fins, tuft of hair' > WrM $serbe \sim serbege$, HIM $c\check{e}p\check{v}\check{z}\check{e}$ 'fish fins', Kl {Rm.} $serw\check{a}$, {KRS} $serw\check{a}$ 'back fin (of a fish)'; M * $serbeger$ > WrM $serbeger$, HIM $c\check{e}p\check{v}\check{z}\check{e}r$ 'disheveled, with hair standing up', WrM $s\check{r}b\check{e}ger$ 'cop (of birds)', WrM $s\check{r}b\check{e}ger$, HIM $\check{s}i\check{r}b\check{e}g\check{e}r$ 'tousled, disheveled, shaggy' (WrM $s\check{r}b\check{e}ger$ $\check{u}s\check{u}$ 'coarse, shaggy hair', $s\check{r}b\check{e}ger$ $k\check{o}m\check{u}sge$ 'shaggy eyebrows') ¶ MED 688-9, 715, KW 326, KRS 450 || Tg * $s\check{r}pa-kta$ 'horse's hair, bristle' > Nn Nh $s\check{r}baqta \sim s\check{r}paqta$, Nn B/KU $s\check{r}b\check{u}qta$, Nn B $s\check{r}b\check{u}qta$, Ul $s\check{r}paqta$ id., Orc $s\check{r}pakta \sim s\check{r}ppakta$, Neg $s\check{r}tpakta$ 'horse's hair' ¶ STM II 99-100 ¶¶ But hardly here T * $s\check{r}t$ 'thick hair, bristle' (F s.v. N * $\check{s}\check{u}Rd\nabla$ 'fibre [used as thread]') and M * $sertej$ - 'stick out, protrude' ¶¶ DQA #2020 (A * $s\check{r}p'a|o|u$ 'thick hair, bristle'; incl. Tg, M) ◇ K * \check{c} - is likely to go back to * $\hat{s}\check{r}$ - < N * $\hat{s}\check{r}\nabla\underset{r}{?}$ -;

the Tg and S *p are due to secondary emphatization (N *ʔ...b > *p > Tg, S *p).

2226. ₂ ***šäRĶĕ** '≈ break, split, cut' > **U:** FU *šärke- 'break, split, chop, cut' > FP *šärke- (× FU *šärĶ- < N *'žä'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > F särke- 'break, crush (stones, etc.), smash', Es Δ särke- v. 'split, break to pieces', Vp särke-, šärke- 'zerbrechen, spalten (z. B., Kienspäne)', {ZM} särk-ta / prs. särkeb 'chop splinters (used as wooden torches) (щепать лучину)' | Lp L {LLO} tjier'kē- ~ tjär'kē- 'zu(recht)schneiden, ab-lausrunden (das Loch im Schuh)', tjier'kaŋ 'log, billet' (< *'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} čiergâ 'piece that has been sawn off' | ?? Chr: H {It.} šärxe-, {Ep.} šärgä- v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', E {It.} šerxe- 'öffnen, zerstreuen', E {Szl.} šerxalta- 'ein Sträubchen auseinanderteilen; zerreißen', Chr L {MRS} шерга- v. 'open wide, cut through, move\slide apart' | Mk {PI} сярфто- šärä-fta- v. 'fell' | Vt s3r+- cōpy- v. 'break (sth.)' | ObU (mt.) *šēɣar- v. 'cut' > pVg *šāɣar- > Vg: T šāwɾ-, LK sōɣr- ~ sāɣr-, MK sāɣr- ~ sāɣr-, UK sāɣr-, P šaɣr-, UL/Ss sāɣr- id.; pOs *sōɣar- ({HI.} *sōɣar-) v. 'chop' > Os: Ty sāɣwɾ-, Y sāwɾ-, D/Kz/Nz/O sewɾ- id. ¶ UEW 32-3 (s.v. FU *čärke-; does not distinguish FP *šärke- 'break, split' from FU *čärke- 'ache, pain' < N *čæΓr∇ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' [q.v.]), It. #268, SK 1170-1, ZM 538, N I 387, LG 267, Ht. #585 || **HS:** S *°✓šrĶ 'cut' > Ar ✓šrq 'fendre, couper en deux', {Ln.} 'slit (the ear of a sheep\goat), pluck (fruit)' ¶ Ln. 1539, BK I 1220, Hv. 359.

2227. ***šERĶ'a'** 'red, yellow' > **HS:** S *°✓šrĶ > Ar ✓šrq (pf. šariqa) 'rougir, paraître rouge (se dit du sang, des yeux atteints d'une inflammation)' | ? (mt.) CS *✓šĶr G 'be\make red' > MHb, Sr ✓sĶr G 'paint red', {Br.} 'rubrum fecit', Ar ✓šqr (pf. šaqira) 'être roux, have a ruddy\fair complexion' (of humans), 'be sorrel' (horse), ʔašqar- 'red-haired' (person), 'roan, sorrel' (horse), JPA אֶרְבֵּי סִיָּרָא sīᶜr-ā, Sr | ܫܪܓܐ səᶜār'tā 'red paint, fucus', JEA אֶרְבֵּי סִיָּרָא səᶜrə'tā 'red paint', Ar šuqr-at- 'reddish colour' ¶ Js. 986, 1021, Br. 495, PS 2722, Js. 986, Sl. 829, JPS 380, BK I 1220, 1254-5, Hv. 372 || **IE:** NaIE *°serk|k^w- > Lt Δ sárkanas 'grell, rosig, rosarot', Ltv Δ {ME} saŕks 'reddish', Ltv saŕkans 'red, scarlet', Lt sarkti, Ltv saŕkt 'to redden' ¶ Frn. 763-4, 775-6, Kar. II 155-7, ME III 721 || **A:** M *sirga > MM [MA] širga, WrM sirga, HIM шарга adj. 'light bay' (a horse), Ord šarga 'dun

colour (= isabelle)', 'dun' (horse), WrO šarḡa 'bay\yellow' (horse), Brt шарга 'light bay, pale-yellow', Kl шaph šarḡb id., {Rm.} 'yellowish, dun-coloured, light yellow' ¶ Pp. MA 336, MED 716, Ms. O 609, Krg. 439, KRS 666, KW 350, Chr. 722 || T *sġārīg ({Rm., SDM95} *sārīg, {Md.} *sġārīḡ) 'yellow' (× N ? *'ś'EXar∇ 'bright; daybreak', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The voiced reflex (M *g, T *g) of N *K is still to be explained || ? U: FU: F sārki 'red-eye, roach, Rutilus (a fish with red scales)' ⇨ R Δ cо'pora id. ¶ SSA III 241, ≠ P 910-1 ◇ The vibrant of the N etymon is *r if the cns. *r in T *sġārīg belongs to the heritage of the etymon in question (rather than to that of N ? *'ś'EXar∇).

2228. *ŶER,∇,K∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'plait' > HS: WS *√ŝrḡ ~ *√ŝrg > Gz ṛaŝrāḡō ~ ŝarḡō 'plait', ŝarḡō 'rope, snare'; with unexpected *g for *ḡ: BHb לַרְגָּא √ŝrg G (3pm ip. paus. ḡa-ŝō'rāḡū 'will be interwoven'), TD (ip. לַרְגָּא יִשְׁתָּרְגָּא ḡiŝtāra'ḡū 'will be woven, braided together'), MHb √srḡ D 'strap (in zig-zag), girth; make a partition by means of net-work', לַרְגָּא סָרְגָּא 'weaver, net-plaiter', JEA √srḡ D vt. 'saddle', Sr √srḡ G 'set the wrap in the loom, begin to web; interweave, entangle', {Br.} 'plexit, implicuit, firmavit', Ar (←b Aram?) √srḡ G (pf. سَرَجَ saraḡa) 'plait (her hair)' (a woman), √srḡ D 'embellish, adorn', Gz √srḡ G 'intertwine, embroider, interlace' (←b Ar Eg); acc. to Leslau, also BHb √ŝrḡ v. 'card (flax)', JPA, JEA, Sr, Md √srḡ 'comb' (L: "'comb' [that is, sth. used for plaiting]") ¶ LG 512, 534, KB 1261, 1268-9, KBR 1353, Js. 1022-3, Sl. 832, Br. 496, JPS 389, BK I 1078, Hv. 317 || IE: NaIE *serk[̥]- 'wicker-work, wattling', ? v. 'hedge in' > Gk ἔρκος 'net, toils, snare for birds; fence, hedge, wall, the place enclosed, court-yard', ἔρκυνη 'enclosure, fence' || L sarcīō, -īre v. 'patch, mend, repair' || with a n-infix: Ht sar-nin-k- 'compensate (ersetzen, entschädigen, büßen)' ¶ P 912, EI 629 (*serk- 'construct\repair a wall'), F I 561, ≈ II 418, WH II 478-9, Ped. H § 52.2, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 72 || U: FU (att. in FP) *Ŷ|serk∇ v. 'tie together', d. *Ŷ|serm∇... '(sth.) tying together' > Chr L шөрґаш šör'g-aš 'to tie together (завязывать, запутывать)', шөрмыч 'šörmьč, Δ 'šörmăč ~ 'šermьč 'bridle', Chr H сермыц 'sermăc id. || Prm *śarmet 'bridle' > Z сермод śermăd, Z Vm/LV/Ud śermăd, Vt śermet id. ¶ It. 175 (no. 302), MRS 528, 725, Ep. 108, LG 251 || ??σ A: Tg *seruk 'bag, wicker vessels' > Lm hēruk 'bag; wicker vessels (of birch-bark)', Ewk sərūk, Neg sərūk, Ork səruku 'saddle-bag' ¶ STM II 146 || M *sarḡ∇ 'vessel,

kitchen dish' > Kl Ö {Rm.} sarχα 'vessel, container, kitchen dish', Kl {KRS} cαB-cαpα 'plates and dishes', ?σMM [S] sarqut 'meat for sacrifices' ¶ KW 313 (mentions WrM sαrqu '?', not confirmed by other sources), KRS 443, H 132 | ?? M *sirkeg 'fibre, thread; bristle' (×N *šüRd∇ 'fibre [used as thread]', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *sà₁rk 'ε box' > MKo sà₁rk, NKo sa₁lgi ¶ S QK #400, MLC 950 || pJ {S} *sù₁u₁i > OJ sù₁i 'bamboo box for travelling' ¶ S QJ #410, Mrt. J 534 ¶¶ DQA #1970 (A *seru(k'∇) 'ε box\bag').

2229. ₂ *š∇t∇w∇ 'cold weather' > K *š₁tow- v. 'snow' ({K} *(š₁)to- v. 'snow', {FS, K²} *to₁w-) (×N ?φ *tūw∇ 'rain; to sprinkle'??) > OG to₁w-, G to₁v-, Mg tu-, Lz (m)tu-, Sv: UB/LB/L šdu- / šd₁w-, Ln štu(w)-, štu- (msd.: UB li-šd₁w-e, LB/L li-šdu-e, Ln li-štu-e 'to snow', UB šduwe, LB/L šdue, Ln štue 'it snows'), UB šduwa 'snow-fall'; ⇨ GZ *š₁tow₁- 'snow' ({K} *(š₁)to₁w₁-) n. 'snow' > OG to₁w₁-, G to₁v₁-, Mg t₃r- ɖ tir-, Lz (m)tvi(r)-, mtur- ¶¶ K 175-6, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4, Chik. 189, TK 461, 816, GP 178, 272 || HS: WS *š₁i'taw- ~ *š₁at₁a₁w- 'winter, rainy season' > AncHb *š₁at₁w > ItBHb 𐤑𐤓𐤁 sa'tāw 'rainy season, winter', OA š₁taw, JA [Trg.] 𐤑𐤓𐤁 sit₁wā, Md sitwa, Sr 𐤑𐤓𐤁 sat₁w-ā, SmA 𐤑𐤓𐤁 stw, Ar 𐤑𐤓𐤁 šitā?- , 𐤑𐤓𐤁 šatw-at-, Mh šēt₃w, Hrs 'šēt₃w, Jb E/C 'šēt₃? 'winter', Sq {Jo.} 'šet₃ 'north, north wind' ¶ KB 728, KBR 770-1, Deg. 48, Lv. T II 192, Js. 1030, Br. 502, Tal 613, DM 330, Ln. 1504, BK I 1190, Jo. M 387 ◇ This is one of the K roots suggesting a law: pre-K *st, *š₁t, *št > K *š₁t (= {K} *(s₁)t) (> G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd), cp. S *šašarat- ⇨ K *ašt- 'ten', S *χamišat- ⇨ K *χušt- 'five', N *k₁Ušd∇ 'to chop, to cut' > K *k₁wešt- v. 'chop, cut', N *d∇št∇ 'moon' > K *d₁tušte- id..

2230. (₂?) *š₁ot₁∇ 'to exercise magic' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to curse', 'to bless') > HS: S *^oš₁w₁t₁ (> *š₁y₁t₁) v. 'harm by magic' > Ar š₁i₁wā₁t₁- ~ š₁u₁wā₁t₁- 'calomnie, injure', š₁y₁t₁ D {BK} 'livrer à la mort, à la perte'; CS *š₁š₁tn v. 'be hostile, oppose, attack, accuse' > BHb 𐤑𐤓𐤁 š₁š₁tn 'show enmity, oppose', JA [Trg.], SmA š₁s₁tn G 'hinder, be hostile', Ar š₁š₁tn 's'opposer (à quelqu'un)'; ⇨ BHb 𐤑𐤓𐤁 š₁š₁tn 'adversary, opponent' (→ 'Satan'), JA [Trg.] 𐤑𐤓𐤁 sa'tān 'adversary, accuser (in court); Satan', CS *š₁š₁tm > BHb 𐤑𐤓𐤁 š₁š₁tm G 'show enmity, persecute', Ar 𐤑𐤓𐤁 š₁š₁tm G 'insulter, injurier', {Hv.} 'revile, vilify' (as. *š₁t₁ > š₁t) ¶ KB 1227-8, KBR 1317, Js. 973, Lv. T II 155, Tal

581, BK I 1190, 1231-2, 1288, 1297, Hv. 351 || Eg MKL štm 'heftig werden (beim Sprechen), verleumden', {Fk.} 'be quarrelsome' ¶ EG IV 557-8, Fk. 273 ¶¶ Vc. GÄSW 400, Tk. I 228 || U: FU *šot'a' '(magic) force', v. 'curse' (→ 'cause damage to'), v. 'bless' > pMr *šūdъ- > Er šudo-, Mk šudā- v. 'curse' | Chr M šu'ðem 'verfluchen, verwünschen', L 'šuðъš 'Fluch, Verwünschung', H šuðъš 'damnation, invocation' | ?σ F sota, Es sōda 'war, battle', F soti-, Es sōdi- v. 'wage war' || pObU *šōt > pVg *šāt 'Glück' > Vg: T šāt, UL sōt, Ss sōt; pOs *sot/*sot ({[Hl.] *sot/*sāt < *sōt) 'force, power' > Os: Kz sot, O sot ¶ Coll. 115, UEW 777, It. #123, Ker. II 151, Ü 272, Ep. 155, SK 1084, Ht. 186 [#608], KrT 884-5 || ?σ D *čot̥ 'insinuation, disparaging remark; defect, blame; fault' (× N *čod̥ '≈ defect, evil deed', q.v. ffd. × N ?σ *čud̥ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary', q.v.?). the merger is responsible for the unexpected *-t̥- for *-t(t)- || ?φ A (*s|šat-, {S} *s∇t∇ v. 'curse'): M *sadur {S} 'treacherous' > WrM sadur, HIM садар 'vile, immoral, lewd, wanton', Kl {Rm.} sadr̥ 'liederlich, ehebrecherisch, hurerisch', {KRS} садр sadr̥ 'disgusting, lecherous' ¶ MED 656 || T: Tb/SbTt Δ {Tm.} sata 'middle-headed, slow-witted (бестолковый, непонятливый), 'credulous', ? VTt Δ {TTDS} satan-u 'to say nonsense, to talk rot' or 'to be middle-headed' (the definition in TTDS is ambiguous), sataš-u 'to be delirious (бредить)', Bsh hatašъ-у id., hataštъrъ-у id., 'to bewilder', hataštъra (imprs.) 'I am delirious\bewildered' (unless the primary meaning of *sata- is 'lose one's way, roam', as in VTt {Rs.}); Starostin adduces NaT *satga- > MT [QB] satga- {Rs.} 'beleidigen, beschimpfen', but Cl claims that OT satga- basically means 'tread, trample' (v.) ¶ Cl. 800, Rs. W 405, KW 307, Tm. 186, TTDS 362, 365, BR 623, Rl. IV 376-81 ¶¶ Rm. l.c., S CNM 3 ◇ The vw. *a of the first syll. in T and M may be explained by regr. as. (something like N *o...a > *a...a). M *-d- (for the expected *-t-) needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 (*'ǵ'ot̥ 'curse' > U, D), AD #123, S CNM 3 (suggested to adduce M *sadur and T *satga; ÷ NrCs).

2231. ₂ *š|čūt̥ ∇ ≈ 'vulva, anus' > HS ≈ *š∇t̥- > Eg Md šd {EG} 'vulva', {DW} 'weibliche Scheide' ¶ EG IV 566, DW 873 || B: Izd {Mrc.} izd (pl. izdan) 'vagina' ¶ Mrc. 259 ¶ mte.: (**S...t̥ >) **s...d̥ > *zd || D *čūt̥ 'private parts' > Tm cūt̥tu 'anus, buttocks, private parts, pudendum muliebre', Ml cūt̥tu 'testicles, penis', Kui suti 'female urinal passage', ↳ OI cūt̥a-, cūt̥a-, cyuti- 'anus' ¶¶ D #2724, M KI 395 ◇ ≈ Blz.

DA 155 [#36] (D, Eg + err. S *sit- 'podex' and other HS reflexes of N ***ř**'**ä**t∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2232. *šat'ahi' '≈ to take away' > HS: Eg fP šd̄y 'take, take away, remove, rescue, salvage' ¶ EG IV 560-2, Fk. 273 || IE: *steh- ({M} *steh₂-) > NaIE *(s)tāj̄- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *(s)tāyu-s- 'thief, theft' (× N ***ṭahy**∇ 'go away, take away, [in descendant lgs.] → 'conceal') > [1] *^ostāy-, *^ostāyu-s- > OI stā'yū-, 'stēya-m 'theft' ||| [2] IE *tāj̄- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief' (× N ***ṭahy**∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The phenomenon of *s- mobile is created by the interaction of N ***šat'ahi'** and ***ṭahy**∇ ¶ P 1010, EI 543 (*(s)te^h4- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), M KI 496 and III 513-4, M E II 75 || A: T *sat- v. 'sell' > OT, MU, XwT, OOsM, Chg XV sat-, MT xiv [IM] -سات sāt- ~ -ساط sāt̄-, MQp XIII -ساط sāt̄-, Tkm cat- θat-, Tk sat-, Ggz, Az, Xlj, ET, VTt, Blq, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor sat-, Uz sāt-, Bsh hat- id., Xk, Tv sat/d-, Tf sāt'- id., v. 'trade', Yk at-ī n. 'trade', Chv L cyT- sut/d- v. 'sell, trade' ¶ The MT and MQp spelling with the letter alif is merely graphic and does not indicate the length of the vw. ¶ Cl. 798-9, Rs. W 405, TL 335, Ra. 226, Jeg. 197, TkR 568.

2233. *š∇ṭ∇R∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to twist (means of tying)' > K *^o✓šṭr > Sv L {Dn.} šṭar(ān)- / šṭrān- 'twist, twist a rope', 1s aor. (pfc.) oχšṭarān 'I twisted a rope, 1s prs. χwašṭrani, msd. UB {TK} li-šdrān-i, L {Dn.} li-šṭran-e, {TK} li-šdran-i, Ln {TK} li-šṭrān-i ¶ TK 460, Dn. s.v. šṭar(ān) || IE: NaIE *stre_li_g- 'twist together; rope' > L string-ō / -ēre (pp. strictus) 'bind, tie' (to distinguish from other semantic variations of the verb, which do not belong here) ||| Gmc *strikki- 'rope' > OFrs, MLG strik, OHG, MHG stric, NHG Strick 'rope' ||| Mir {EI} sreng 'string, cord' ¶ P 1036, WH II 604-5, Kb. 974, OsS 880, KM 757, ≈φ,σ EI 574 (*strenk- 'string, pull tight') || HS: mt.: CS *✓šrṭ 'rope' > MHb ܫܪܝܬ 'šerēṭ {Lv.} 'rope (Seil, Strick)', {Js.} 'stripe, strip of a sheet', Ar شريط šarīṭ- 'rope made of palm-tree fibres', some S lg. (Ph.?) ⇨ Gk [Hs., Man.] σύρτης 'cord for drawing with, rein' (reinterpreted as connected with σῦρω 'drag, draw, trail along') ¶ Lv. III 590, Js. 1025, BK I 1216, Hv. 360.

2234. (₂?) *ř**'**o**'w∇** 'feather, wing' > HS: Eg fP šw.t 'feather, wing' ¶ EG IV 423-5, Fk. 262 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} sō (pl. sō) 'feather', Krkr {IL in ChL} sawku id. ||| ECh: Smr {J} swàk 'wing' ¶ ChL, J R 89 || K: GZ *swe- 'wing, feather' > MG, G X/P sve-, Mg sua, psua-, Lz sua-, psua-, msua-

id. ¶ K 163, K² 165, Chik. 101, FS K 269, FS E 299 || **A**: ?σ M *^osoyil- v. 'fly very high' > WrM соил-, HIM сойло-х id. ¶ MED 724 ◇ This is one of the two N words, in which N ***š̂**- is likely to yield K ***s**- (see N ***š̂**∇у?∇ 'thing'). An alt. solution is to reconstruct here N ***ś**- and to suppose that in certain (still unknown) conditions N ***ś**- yields Eg š̂-.

2235. ₂ ***š̂**∇w∇ 'to swell' > **HS**: Eg Md {EG} š̂ww 'emporsteigend, anschwellend' (von einer Geschwulstblase o. ä.), {DW} š̂wy 'emporteigen, aufschwellen' (von einer Geschwülste, Wunde) ¶ EG IV 431, DW 841-2 || **K** {FS} *š̂iw- 'swell, swell up' > OG, G siw-, Mg šin-, Sv {K} š̂iw- / š̂i- id., msd.: UB {GP, TK} li-š̂y-e, LB li-š̂i-e 'to swell' ¶¶ K 177 (*š̂i-), K² 180-1 (*š̂i(w)-), FS K 284, FS E 316, Q 357, TK 463-4, GP 179 ◇ Cf. N ***S**∇?ly'ú' 'be full'.

2235a. ***š̂**á' ?iwE (or ***č̂**á' ?iwE?) 'body of water', (??) 'wet\swampy ground' > **HS**: Eg š̂ 'pool, lake, basin' (acc. to EG and Tk., the spelling of the word represents š̂y; acc. to Vc., it is ≈ *š̂yw) > DEg {Er.} š̂y 'lake, well' > Cpt Sd/B шни š̂ēi (pl. Sd шны š̂ēw) 'puits, citerne, fosse, bassin' ¶ EG IV 397-8, F 260, Er. 485, Vc. 258-9 || C: Dh1 {EEN, E} č̂áfa 'lake', {To.} č̂áfa 'river, lake' (× N ***ś**'∇y' yU 'surface of water', which accounts for -y-?) || SC: Irq/Alg {E} č̂awī, Brn č̂awa 'lake' ¶ E SC 214, EEN 18, To. D 149 || ?σ S *^oš̂a?lyw- > Ar š̂a?w- 'vase, limon qu'on extrait d'un puits' ¶ BK I 1180 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 9 (C, Eg) || **IE**: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^os^r0'lyw- 'body of water (lake?)' > pGmc *sajwa- ~ *sajwi '≈ lake' > Gt saiws 'lake, swamp', ON sjá-r, sjó-r, sæ-r, OSx sēo, OHG sēo (gen. sēwes) 'sea, lake' (> NHG See id.), MDt see (gen. sēwes) id. (> Dt zee 'sea'), AS sǣ 'sea, lake, swamp' (> NE sea); NrGmc ⇨ F saivo 'clear place in a sea' ¶ Fs. 406-7, Vr. N 856-7, Vr. 575-6, Ho. 266, Ho. S 63, OsS 757, Schz. 249, Kb. 843-4, KM 676, ≠ EI 503 (the Gmc word ⇨ non-IE sources) || **D** *^oč̂kav- > Kn javugu, jōgu, javalu, javulu 'swampy ground' ¶ D #2398 || **A** ({AD} *sibe): M *siber 'swampy' (of ground), 'swampy ground' > MM siber, Kl {KRS} шивр 'swampy' (of ground)', Kl Ö {Rm.} š̂iwꝛ 'nasses Land mit Gebüsch und Wald, Waldung, Urwald', WrM siber, HIM шивэр 'dense shrubbery on a marsh, overgrowth on a river bank; dense forest, thicket', Ord {Ms.} š̂iwer 'terrain humide et où il y a du gazon touffu' ¶ MED 695, KRS 669, KW 362, Ms. O 625 || pJ {S} símpà / sìmpá 'turf' > OJ síbà, J: T síba ~ síbà, K síbá, Kg síbà ¶ S QJ #276, Mr. 522 ¶ DQA explains the unexpected *-mp- by the infl. of pJ *sìmpá ~

*símpá 'firewood' || ?σ Tg *sībe-gi 'swampy ground where horse-tail grows', *sībe(-kte) 'horse-tail' > Ewk sīw3γ ~ sīw3γi 'swampy lawn where horse-tail grows', Lm hīw3γ 'horse-tail thicket', Ewk sīw3-kt3, Lm hīwřt, Neg siwu-kt3, Ul, Nn siu-kt3, WrMc sibiya ~ sibe 'horse-tail' ¶ STM II 7, Z 599 || ?σ T *°seb- > Tkm θöV-dek 'spurge (Euphorbia)' ¶ TkmR 587 ¶¶ St AJ 79, DQA #2099 (A *sīpe 'swamp ground, swamp vegetation') ◇ The Altaic cognate suggests N *š-, while the C cognates may point to a N affricate *č-, but SC/Dhl č may also result from glottalization of *š (as. to *ʔ) that involves affricatization. On N *-äHi- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ Hardly identical with N *ś'∇y'γU 'surface of water' (q.v.), because Eg š 'pool, lake' and IE *sōjw- cannot be cognate with S *š|sγγ and with K *zγwā (irreg. corrs. of the initial sibilant and no lr. in Eg and IE).

2236. ₂ *š'o'hy∇ 'to wish' > HS: WS *√šhy|w ~ *√šwy v. 'wish' > Sr √swy|w (pf. **سأوا** səwā, ip. **سأوا** nε-swē) v. G 'long, desire', **سأوا** səwē 'cupidus, studiosus', Ar √šhy|w G (ip -šhay- ~ -šhaw-) v. 'covet, long for', Sq {L} 'šeʔe 'se soucier', Mh, Jb √šhw|y T (Mh 'šathi, Jb 'šuthi v. 'want, like'), n. a. Mh šzhwēt, šh3, Jb šh3'wεt 'desire' ¶ Br. 462, JPS 363, Jo. M 376, Jo. J 250, Fr. II 462, Hv. 380, Lv. III 488 (JEA **سأوا** √swy {Lv.} 'sich nach etw. sehnen, etw. im Geiste verlangen' is interpreted by Sl. 792 as [ʔ] 'jump') || ? Eg L š3 'be friendly' (of the heart) ¶ EG IV 401 || C: SC: Irq {Mgw., MQK} šāʔ- v. 'want, desire, like, love', {Wh.} šāʔ- v. 'like, love', Grw/Alg {Wh.} šāʔ-, Brn šaʔ- v. 'like', Kz {E} šaʔas-, Asa {E} šaʔat- v. 'love, like' || Dhl šaw- {To., E} id., {EEN} v. 'love' ¶ AD SF 115, E SC 208, EEN 26, Wh. IC 56, Wh. SI s.v. -hlāʔ-, Mgw. 101, MQK 94, To. D 142 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 9, Tk SCC 84 [#14.1] ¶¶ Unlike Tk SCA, I do not believe that there was *ʔ in the S √ (the letter **ش** in Sr is a spelling device) and that ʔ in SC and Eg (3) is ancient, it is rather a hiatus-filling epenthesis || U: FU (att. in FP) *š|sōy∇ v. 'wish' > pPrm *ś'ī- (< pre-Prm *ś'âyâ?) v. 'wish' > Z śī- id. || ? BF: F sūo- v. 'wish', 'allow, permit, let', Krl sūva, Es sōo∇ 'wish, desire' ¶ LG 256, SK 1110.

2237. ?σ ₂ *š∇yʔ∇ 'thing' > HS: WS *šayʔ- 'thing' > Ar šayʔ- id., Mh {Jo.} šī, Hrs šī, šī, š3y, Jb C {Jo.} 'še, Jb E {Jo.} šīʔ id., Sq {Jo.} šī, {L} šī ~ šīʔ 'something', (with a negation) 'anything' ¶ Ln. 1626-7, BK I 1293-4, Jo. M 390, Jo. H 123, Jo. J 259, LLS 428 || K: GZ *sa- - basis of interr. adverbs: OG, G sa-da 'where?' (-da is a locative ending), saidam, saidγan 'where from?', Mg, Lz so 'where?', so-le 'where from?',

Mg s0-ša 'wither? ¶ The semantic prehistory of K *sa-: 'thing' → 'what thing?, what?' (possibly an ellipsis like It che cosa? > cosa? 'what?'), *sa-da 'in what' → 'where?' ¶ DCh. 1061, 1075, Q O116, Marr 185 ◇ This is one of the two N words, in which N *ŝ- yields (or is likely to yield) K *s- (see N *ŝ¹'o¹ w∇ 'feather, wing').

2238. *ŝüžŕA 'heart' (← 'breast'??) > K: GZ *šul- 'soul, spirit' (→ 'smell') > OG s ul-, G sul- 'soul, spirit, smell', Mg, Lz šur- id., Mg g0-šur-v. 'smell (sth.)', šur-am-i, Lz šur-on-i 'fragrant', Lz 0-šur-u v. 'smell (riechen)', Lz {K} šur- 'smell sth', 'smell of' ¶ K 178, K² 182, FS K 287, FS E 319, Q 358-9, TK 465, 823, GP 180, 272 || **HS:** Eg CT/BD šnʳ 'chest, upper part of the human body' ¶ EG IV 504-5 || C *ŝ¹∇²¹ʳ- > EC *sazʳ- (< *sažʳ- ?) 'heart' > Kns satā-ta, Arr {Hw.} zàzzá id., Gwd, Gln saʳ-kó, Gwd D sataʳte, Hr, Dbs sasaʳ-kō id.; ħ Arr {Ss.} sēde id. (acc. to Ss. [absent in Hw. A], a loan from some related lge. because of d) ¶ Ss. WOKS 138 [#13], Hw. A 401, AMS 184, 220, 248 || Ch: WCh: Tng {J} sùldùm 'heart' || Ech: Kbl {Cp.} sàlìyǎ id. ¶ J T 148, ChC || ??? S *oŝ¹uʳ¹- or *oŝ¹u¹ʳ¹- > Ak šūl-u 'ein Totengeist' (?) ¶ Sd. 1269 || **U** *ŝüžä(me) 'heart' > FU: F sydän, gen. sydäme-n, Es süda, gen. sūdame 'heart' | pLp {Lr.} *ćzδēm 'heart' (> Lp Pa {TI} čēēδ'ē id.) ⇨ pLp *ćzδzк 'through' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjírreh, Tn {Lgc.} čírrΛh ({JLgc.} čjǝǝh), Vfs {Lgc.} čírrΛ) ({JLgc.} íšjǝǝ), L {LLO} tjatā, N {N} čâđâ 'through' | pMr {Ker.} *śídzy > Er sédey, Mk sédi 'heart' | Chr šüm id. | pPrm *śülem id. > Vt súlem id., Z śzłzm 'heart, soul, spirit' || Hg szív, Δ szű, szűv 'heart' | pObU *šim id. > pVg *šim id. > Vg: T šäm, LK/P/LL šim, N sim; pOs*sēm id. > Os E sēm, Nz/Kz sām, O sām || pSm {Jn.} *seyb 'heart, courage' ({AD} *šeyb) > Ne T ceñ, Ne F šēy, Slq Tm śīđ, Mt {Hl.} *keye (Mt: M {Sp.} кеємъ, T {Mll.} kéim 'my heart', K {Mll.} gíi 'heart', {Pl.} geíide 'his heart') ¶¶ Coll. 59, UEW 477, It. #420, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU *śüdəmi/*śedmi, FP *südəmi, Ugr sīmī 'heart'), Lr. #100, Lgc. #438, Lgc. SL #2884, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139-40, Ber. 73, Ht. #593, LG 270, SK 1142-3, Jn. 139, Hl. M #455, ≠ 79-80 (supposes that Mt k- is from Sm *s- before *e, *i, *ü) ¶¶ In my opinion, it is more natural to suppose here a pSm *ŝ-, because a change of a lateral obstruent into a velar is typologically more plausible (it occurs in the Daghestanian lgs.) than a change *s- > *k- || **A:** Tg *oʳleme 'heart' > Ewk {Vas., STM} sɜłɜmɜ ~ hɜłɜmɜ ~ šɜłɜmɜ id.; Ewk ɜ of the first syll. may be due to as. ¶ STM II 141, Vas. 376, Vas. RES 269 || ? M

*sülde > WrM {MED} sülde, HIM сүлд «soul», sc. 'tutelary deity\deities, protecting genius (Tibetan bla)', Ord sülde 'génie protecteur', WrM {MED} uridus-un sülde 'ancestral spirits', {Kow.} sülde 'bénédition; génies tuteurs, pénates, lares', ⇨: MM [S] sülde 'Glückszeichen; Würde, Majestät', Kl {Rm.} sülde 'Schicksal, Los, Glück; Symbol' ¶ MED 743, Kow. 1428, Ms. O 598, H 137, KW 340 ◇ Coll. 146 (U, Tg), ≠ UEW 477 (rejects the connection of U with Tg, because in his opinion Ewk s3l3m3 is a d. from Ewk s3l3 'iron' and is identical with s3l3-m3 'made of iron', which is highly qu. unless a semantic or mythological proof of the above identity is provided) ◇ An alt. N rec. is ***ŝÜLɿA**, which does not account for EC *sazɿ-. The sonorant *l in K, Tg, S, and Eg (where *-l- > r) is a reg. reflex of N *-**ǵ**-.

2239. *t'ä 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > HS: C: Ag: Knf {Hz.} -da, as well as possibly Aw -des and Bl -l3d 'from'; Bln -d 'in' indicates also the cause (qə nɣat -id 'aus Neid') which may go back to a sx. of abl. ¶ Hz. AL 16-7, R BilS 679-80 || IE [1] NaIE *dē 'away (from), from' > L dē prep. 'from' and dē- (preverb of separation), Fls DE prep. 'de', Osc DAT id., DA(D)- pv. 'de-', Um DA- id. (DAETOM 'deitum, delictum'), L in-dē 'thence, from there', un-dē 'whence?' || Clt: OIr dī, de 'from ... down, from ... away', OW, Br dī, Crn the, pv.: OIr dī-, de-, privative ('without', negative): W, Crn, Br dī- || [2] NaIE *-de / *-T (archiphoneme *-d^h | *-d | *-t), separative (abl.) case ending > Gk Cr τῷ-δε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito'; *-T 'from' > OI ma-d, Av ma-t, OL mē-d 'from me', OI 'tvad, Av ʒwaṭ ~ ʒwāṭ, OL tēd 'from thee'; with the *-o-stems *-ōT / *-ēT: OI vṛkād 'from the wolf', paś'cād 'from behind', Gk DI Φοικω 'domo', Gk D ὅπω 'from where?', ὧ 'from which' (rel.), 'whence?', OL -ōd 'from' (Gnai vōd > L Gnaeō 'from Gnaeus'), Osc sakaraklūd '(ex) sacellō', toutad 'from the community\people', Gt huaprō 'from where?', as well as the BSl ending of the *o-stem: Blt *-ā (> Lt -o, Ltv -a) and Sl *-a: Lt tō 'of\from this', vīlko 'from\of the wolf', diēvo, Ltv diēva 'from\of God', ChS **ТѢЛА РАЗΛΟΥΥΗΤΗ СΑ** tĕla razlučiti sę 'to separate **from** the body', **ВЛѢКА** vľka 'of\from (the) wolf', R 'волка 'of (the) wolf' || AnIE *-a^rt'i, ablative case ending: Ht -az(a), Ld -ad id., Lw, HrLw -ati, Pal -at (?), Lc -adi, -edi (abl.-instr. case emding) ¶ Brg. KVG 383-4, 404, 411, EI 37 (*dē 'away [from]'), WH I 325-6, Bc. G 314, 332, ≈ Pln. II 444, LP §§ 344, 431.9, YGM-1 452, Stang VG 181, Vnd.¹ II 240,

P 702, IS I 213, Rsk. 54-6 || U *-t∇ ({Coll., Hj.} *-ta/*-tä) 'from', sep. case ending > FV *-ta / *-tä id. > BF primary sep. ending *-ta / *-tä / *-ða / -ðä > F -ta/-tä (after cnss.), -a/-ä (after vowels) in F kotoa 'from home' (↔ kotona 'at home') (koto means 'home'), luota 'from (smbd.)' ('de chez'), 'from the vicinity of' (↔ luona 'near, bei, chez'), alta 'from under' (↔ alla 'under'), yltä 'from above' (↔ yllä 'above'), ulkoa 'from outside' (↔ ulkona 'outside, out of doors'), tyköä 'from the vicinity of' (↔ tykönä 'near, bei, chez'), whence the BF partitive ending *-ta / *-tä / *-ða / -ðä > F -ta/-tä/-a/-ä (vetttä 'de l'eau', verta 'du sang', lapsia 'des enfants'), Es -t/-d/-∅ (aastat prt. 'year', aasta-i-d pl. 'des années', leiba prt. 'du pain'); the form of primary separative (with *-ta / *-tä) from derived stems with locative sxs. *-s- and *-l- gave rise to secondary case forms: elative *-s-ta / *-s-tä 'from within' (cp. the secondary inessive *-s-sa / *-s-sä 'in' < the locative *-s-na / *s-nä) (> F talo-sta 'from the house', Suomesta 'from Finland', Helsingistä 'from Helsinki', Es linnast 'from [the] town') and delative *-l-ta / *-l-tä 'from the surface of' (> F pöydä-ltä 'from the table' [sc. 'from the surface of the table'], tori-lta 'from the market', Es laua-lt 'from the table', põllu-lt 'from the field') || Lp S {Sz.} -t, -dε 'from' (ablative), e.g. allē-t 'from the west', yille-dε id., pađđē-t 'from the top', Lp K -δ 'some, du' (partitive), e.g. somme δ 'de la force' || Er -do/-de/-de, (after vl. cnss.) -to/-te/-te 'from', Mk -da, -ta, e.g. Er tolgado, Mk tolgada 'from a/the feather' ||| A controversial case: Ugr *-l 'from' > Hg -l 'from' (aló-l 'from below', marker of the elative case -bó-l/-bó-l 'out of', delative case marker -ró-l/-ró-l) || Vg: UL -l, -əl, Ss -l, -əl, -n-əl 'out of, from' (relative case); Hajdú rejects Ugr *-l as a cognate and tries to find its etl. ties elsewhere (FU d. *-l 'place on', in my opinion probably cds. with *l, e.g. BF *-l-ta/ä 'from', sc. 'from the surface of', and Chr {Sz.} -leć ~ -leč 'from') || Sm *-tE sep. > Ne T {Ter.} -x-∇ / -rǎ-∇ / -kǎ-∇, pl. -x-τ / -rǎ-τ / -kǎ-τ, En {Ter.} -h-δ / -gø-δ / -ko-δ, pl. -h-t / -gi-t / -ki-t, Ng -gə-tə / -kə-tə, pl. -gi-tə / -ki-tə, Mt {Hl.} *-l, a, du 'from' (Mt K {Pl.} irnjadu 'von vorn', chúnadu 'von hinten'), Kms -tt- / -tci- 'from' (+ppa.: tura-tt-ə 'from his house' ↔ tura-nd-ə 'in[to] his house', turattan 'from thy house' ↔ turānan 'in[to] thy house', turatci 'from my house' ↔ turāni 'in[to] my house') || Y: YK qada-t 'whence?' (qada

'where?'), *tada-t* 'from there' (*tada* 'there'), *teni-t* 'from here' (*teni* 'here'), Y T $\times 0$ -t 'whence?' ¶¶ Krn. JJ 207-10 ¶¶ Sz. 56-8, 63-8, Coll. CG 287, Srb. PGS 40-1, Rmb. 50-1, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. EJ-93 346-7, Ter. NgJz-93 353-4, Hl. MTKJ 337, Hl. M 140, Kü. KJ 384-5, Hj. US 227-8 ¶¶ The vw. *-a/*-ä in FV *-ta/*-tä may be due to grammatical analogy with the locative *-na / *-nä within the nominal case paradigm ¶¶ If Ugr word-final *-l 'from' belongs here, it points to a pU *-δ∇, which became *t in FV (a reg. reflex of the postcons. *δ). But if Ugr -l does not belong together with FV *-ta/ä (which is Hajdú's hyp.), the pU case ending may be reconstructed with the cns. *t (as in Coll. CG 287-8 and Hj. US 227-8), which suggests that the pN etymon is to be reconstructed as ***ta** or ***tä** || A: ? NaT *-ta / *-tä, sep. (abl.) case ending (functioning as a semantic variant of the locative *-ta / *-tä?) > Yk -ta/-to/-tä/-tö (with phonetically conditioned allomorphs -da/-do/-dä/-dö, -la/-lo/-lä/-lö, -na/-no/-nä/-nö) (partitive case ending), OT Tü -da / -dä / -ta / -tä sep.: *tabyač-da adırıltı* '(the Türküt people) separated **from** the Tabghaches' (Toñuquq inscription), *men ... tabyač qaγan-ta bedizči kelürtim* 'I have brought stone-carvers **from** the khan of the Tabghaches' (the small Kül-Tegin inscription), *qırqız-da jantımız* 'we returned **from** the Qırgız land' (Toñuquq), Az Δ -da/-dä 'from' ¶ Kon. GJTRP 157, GJJ 134-5 || D *-ti 'from' > Kui, Ku -ti, Krx -tī sep., Mlt -te, -tī id. (*mann-te* 'from a tree', *male-n-te* 'from a man', *naib ālar-tī* 'from 4 men'), Klm *att-aṭ* 'whence?', -n-attaṭ (sep. ending ← "increment" -n- [$< N *nu$] + *attaṭ*), Tu {ShanBh} -ttī / -tī 'from' (a *ugelī-ttī āklu oñzi čenđinī getterī* 'they removed a ball **from** that well', *kay-tī* '**from** the hand'), {RamR} -dđđ 'from' ¶¶ An. SG 215-6, BB K 247, Shanm. DN 308-9, 357, 363, 382, ShanBh T 85, RamR SLDT 81, Hahn KG 14-5 ◇ FV *-ta / *-tä and T *-ta / *-tä suggest N ***ta** or ***tä**, while IE *dē points to a N front vw., i.e. to N ***t'ä**. The vw. *-i, *-ī in D and AnIE apparently suggests a variant ***ti** of the original N particle, but a cd. of ***t'ä** with another pc. is a more plausible solution. IE *(-)de 'from' (> Gk Cr τῶ-δε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito', L dē, OIr dī, dē, etc.) provides ev. for N ***t**, while Ugr *-l 'from' (if it belongs here) point to a N ***d** (rather than ***t**, which is still to be explained) ◇ IS I 212-4 (*dā, locative pc.; does not distinguish between the etymon in question and the locative *da, sc. N ***d_{oy}a** 'place, inside'), Gr. I 157-60 ("ablative T" in IE, U, EA, Yk + unc.: Tg, Gil, CK).

2240. *t∇ - a postnominal marker (prn.?) of plurality ('together') > K: [1] K *°-ta, plural ending in the oblique cases > OG, G -ta id.; in modern G this so-called "old plural" is used mainly in the written style and is more bookish than the form with the pl. sx. -eb- ¶ Fn. GAS 55-61, Vogt GLG 30-2 ¶¶ [2] K *-t, sx. of pl. subiecti in verbs of the 1st and 2nd persons > OG, G, Mg, Lz -t, Sv -d; the same sx. functions (in all K lgs.) as a verbal marker of pl. obiecti (with morphological positional limitations that differ in different lgs.) ¶¶ For more details see Dt. 57-60 || **HS *-t-**, marker of plurality (coalesced with the *t-endings of different origin and functioning, incl. *-t of the fem.-and-inanimate gender, FN *t̥ä [dem. prn. of non-active objects] [q.v.] and N *r̥at∇ 'female, woman' [q.v.]) > C *-(∇)t∇/*-∇tt∇, sx. of pl. > Ag: Bln {Plm.} m+r̥aw-ti 'snakes' (↔ sg. m+r̥a'w-a), k+n̥ž+l-ti 'ovens' (↔ sg. k+n̥ž+l-a), ayg-ut 'lakes' (↔ sg. ay+g), {R} 'abd-it 'trees' (↔ sg. ab'da), 'ardət 'lords' (↔ sg. adə'-a), t-ədər-ət 'ladies' (↔ sg. t-adə'ra), Xm {R} zin-t 'brothers', ŋin-t 'houses' (↔ sg. zin, ŋin), ir-t 'eyes' ||| EC *-∇t(∇), sx. of pl. > Sa {Wlm.} -it ('da-it 'stones' ↔ sg. 'da-a; 'santit 'knives' ↔ sg. 'santi; 'loynit 'herdsmen' ↔ sg. 'loyna; 'hōdit 'trees' ↔ sg. ḥaḍa), Af {Bl.} -it'te (ʕamm-it'te 'uncles' ↔ sg. 'ʕammi; alsit'te 'moons' ↔ sg. 'alsa), Af S {Morin} -ti (saʕol-ti 'elder brothers' ↔ sg. saʕal); Sml *-at > -o / -ad- (+ppa.) (Sml N {Lm.}, Sml B {Mrn.} walālo 'brothers' ↔ sg. walāl; Sml B ilko 'teeth' ↔ sg. ilik), Sml Ji {Lm.} -dā ~ -dō (lamdā 'men' ↔ sg. lam; lohodō ~ lohoda 'legs' ↔ sg. loho), Bn {Hn.} -ti (urti 'cheeks' ↔ sg. úr); Arr {Hw.} -te (ʔarté 'bulls' ↔ sg. ʔār; ḡawʔ-té 'crocodiles' ↔ sg. ḡáwʔ; kačč-té 'chests [of body] ↔ sg. káčč); Or -ōta ~ -ota (namōta 'men' ↔ sg. namā; uržōta 'stars' ↔ sg. urži, Or B ḥēñčota 'lions' ↔ sg. ḥēñča), Kns {BISO} -aḍa ~ -aḍḍa (sinadḍa 'noses' ↔ sg. sīna; iskatadḍa 'women' ↔ sg. iskatt-eta; afaḍḍa 'mouths' ↔ sg. afa; mottaḍa 'friends' ↔ sg. motta), Gdl {Bl.} -aḍa (appaḍa 'fathers' ↔ sg. appa; arappaḍa 'tongues' ↔ sg. arap'p-at; paraḍa 'years' ↔ sg. 'par-at); Hr, Dbs -a(:)ḍḍe (kāsaḍḍe 'shadows' ↔ sg. kāsse; ikāḍḍe 'peoples, tribes' ↔ sg. ikō), Gln -idḍe (šamp-idḍe 'youngsters', māng-idḍe 'corns'); Ya -et, -ət (íkut-et 'thighs' ↔ sg. íkut; nótət 'lips' ↔ sg. nōtō) (unless a case of pl. reduplication); HEC: Kmb {L} -ta, -te, suff. of collectiveness (hōl'ata 'sheep' pl. ↔ snglt. hōl-čū; miḵ'k-ata 'bones' ↔ miḵ-ič'čū 'a bone') ||| Dhl {To., Zab.} -ūta, -to, {EEN} -ūḥa, -ḥo (ʕánūḥa 'heads' ↔ sg. ʕànì; kalatḥḥo 'incisors' ↔ sg. kálàḥḥi), (here?) -addi, -udda (sínaddi 'noses' ↔

sg. sína; kóḱaddi 'throats' ↔ sg. ḱòḱ; žāludda 'friends' ↔ sg. žāle) || SC (here?): Irq, Alg -du, sx. of pl. (Irq {Mous} ṛafaydu 'sides' ↔ sg. ṛafay; ĉaṅkadu 'bridges' ↔ sg. ĉaṅka, Alg {Wh.} fradu 'bones' ↔ sg. fara) ¶ Zab. MNPC 38-43, 61-76, 90, 115, 137-8, 153-4, 162-6, 179, 196, 207-8, 283, 294-5, Plm. NB 387, R BilS § 146, Wlm. S 159-60, Bls. GGA 177-8, Morin NAS 367, Mrn. SS 26, Hw. A 336, 371, 388, To. D 136, EEN 10, 13, Mous 53-5, Wh. IC 19-26 ¶ Ag *-t- goes back to a pC *-tt- (while pC *-t- > Bln -r-); the same may be the origin of some sxs. in the EC lgs. The origin of the glottalized consonants ṭ and ḍ in the pl. ending of some EC lgs. is still to elucidate ¶¶ S *-āṭ-plural (originally marker of n. coll.) does not belong here (↔ IS I 12) (see N *ṭä, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects, and the comment at the end of this entry) || U *-t, pl. of nouns for animate beings > FU *-t, plural ending: BF nom. pl. *-t (F kala-t 'fishes', Krl kala-t, Vp kala-d, Lv kala-t, Es kalad), in the obl. cases pl. BF *-j-te- (*-j- is another marker of pl.) ~ *-te-, e.g. pl. gen. *-j-te-n ~ *-te-n (> Vp kalojd^uen, F kalojen, Es kalade) || pLp *-k nom. pl. (reg. reflex of pFL *-t, e.g. pFL *kala-t 'fishes' > pLp *kōlēk) > Lp N -k (g u o l e k 'fishes'), Lp S/L -h, -Ø, Lp I -h || Er/Mk -t / -t̄ (to l g a - t 'feathers', p̄ e - t̄ 'ends') || ObU *-t > pVg *-t > Vg {Lml.}: T, LK/MK/UK, SV/NV/P/LL/ML, UL -(ə)t, Ss -(ə)d (T kōḷ-ət, IK xūlt, MK/SV/UK kūll̄t, Ss xūld̄ 'fishes', etc.); pOs *-t > Os (all dialects) {Ht.} -t (with allomorphs -ət, -ḅt), pl. ending of the absolute (non-possessive) paradigm || Sm {Mik.} *-t, sx. of nominal pl. > Ne, En, Ng -ʔ, Kms -ʔi, (combination with the pSm marker of pl. *y) -yeʔ, -yeʔ, Slq {Mik.} -T² (= -t/-n) > Slq Tz -t, marker of pl. of the non-possessive paradigm: kana-t 'dogs', pō-t 'trees'; the same ending is probably present in other ds. of Sq, too (F Cs. GSS 140-54), but for lack of descriptions of these dialects no precise information is available; the same marker of pl. -T² is found as a predicative ending of 3p ({Mik.} -T² 'sunt'), within the predicative endings of 1p -m+T², 2 pl. -l+T², and in the possessive endings of nouns: 1p -m+T² 'our', 2 pl. -l+T² 'vester', 3 pl. -t+T² 'their' ¶¶ Coll. CG 297, Sz. 51, Laan. 148-50, Krh. 197, 208-9, Lml. HFW 11-2, Ht. ChrO 36-7, Ht. XJ 308-9, Mik. GSS 238-9, Hj. SS 11, 19, 23, 26-7, Hl. M 134, Prk. SG 33-8, KHG 169-70 || A: M *-d, pl. ending of nouns > MM -d, -ud (e.g. [HI] noyan-d ~ [PP] noya-d 'officers' [↔ sg. noyan], yabiṽa-d 'equestrians' [↔ sg. yabuṽan], [S] ele-t 'sands' [↔ sg. ele-sün], [MA] baṽ-ut 'ties' ↔ sg. baṽ), WrM -d (mori-d

'horses' [\leftrightarrow sg. *morin*], *gazar* 'countries' [\leftrightarrow sg. *gazar*], HIM, Ord, Brt -d ~ -t, Kl -d_, Mgl -t; M *-d is also found in the interr. prn. *ked (pl. of *ken 'who?') > MM ket, WrM ked ¶ Pp. IM 178-80, 229, Gbn. ATG § 172 || Tg: WrMc -ta / -te, pl. ending of some animate nouns: ama-ta 'fathers' (\leftrightarrow sg. ama), eme-te 'mothers', asiha-ta 'youngsters' (\leftrightarrow sg. asihan), eze-te 'chiefs' (\leftrightarrow sg. ezen); -t- for the expected *-d- has not yet found explanation ¶ Hrl. 33-4 || ? T: OT -t, -∇t: erät 'men, warriors' (pl. of er), oylit 'descendants' (pl. of oylan), tarqa-t (pl. of tarqa - a title), tegit (pl. of tegin 'prince'), OT {Pel. → Mng.} *türküt 'Turks' (preserved in Chinese transcription); acc. to Br., this sx. is of M origin, but Sin. UAP 212-3 is not sure about it; Kon. suggests that -t is a loan from Sogdian; -āt in MT bāṽāt 'gardens' \leftrightarrow sg. bāṽ, aymaqāt 'stems' \leftrightarrow sg. aymaq is of Prs (\leftarrow Ar) origin ¶ SIGTJM 12-3, Kon. GJTRP 147, Tekin GOT 122, Pel. T 687, Mng. TLP 111, Batm. JJP 102, Ajd. 144, Br. OTG 150-1 ◇ The original meaning of the etymon is hard to determine. One of possible meanings is 'together', which is compatible with its use as a marker of multiple subjects and multiple objects in K ◇ IS's hyp. of the exclusive connection of {IS} *-t∇ with inanimate nouns is not sufficiently proved; its only argument is S *-āt- as marker of pl. of non-active nouns, which is not a valid proof: in fact S *-āt- is a compound: *-ā- as a marker of collectivity (used without *-t- in the pred. case of f.) + *-t- as a nominalizer (allowing to use the construction N [nominal] + *-ā- in specifically nominal cases with case endings [*-u of nominative, *-a of accus.-genitive] and with the deterner *-m). The resulting form N-āt-um nom. / N-āt-am acc.-gen. is not actually a pl., it has the case-and-status endings of sg. and is constructed with predicate verbs in f. sg., because in pS it was a n. coll. (sg. f.). The morpheme *-t- in S *-ā-t-u(m)/*-ā-t-a(m) goes back to the N prn. of inanimate objects *t̄ä (q.v. ffd.) and hence does not belong to this etymon ◇ ≈ IS I 12 (*-t∇ as marker of pl. of inanimate nouns), Sin. UAP 211-4 (U, A), Gr. I 106-8 ("plural T" in U, A, EA, Gil, z Ai).

2241. *tiʔû 'shine, be bright, be seen' > HS: Eg: fOK t̄z v. 'be hot (sky, bread, etc.)', G t̄z 'verbrennen', fMd t̄z.ω {Fk.} 'heat', {EG} 'Hitze, Glut', NK t̄zγ.t 'Glut' ¶ EG V 229-31, Fk. 293 || K *te- 'light (lux)' ⇨: [1] pGZ *na-te- 'light' > OG nate| -i n. 'light, ray', OG, G nate| - adj. 'light, bright', Mg, Lz nōte- 'torch, splinter (used as torch, лучина)'; ⇨ *ōnat-/*ōnt- 'shine, give light' > OG nat-eb-a, nat-ob-a n. act. 'shine, give light', G a-nat-eb-s 'lights up, illuminates', a-nt-ia '(it) shines, gives light'; ??

[2] K *te-n- 'become visible, get lighter' (× N *t'o'N∇ 'appear', q.v. ffd.)
 > OG ten- 'be dawning' (da witar gantena γamei igi ... 'when the morning was come ...' [Mt. 27.1]), Mg tan- v. 'be getting light; spend the night', Lz tan- 'be getting light; be visible', Sv ten-/tn- 'become visible, be born'; GZ *ten-eb-a 'dawn' > G teneba 'dawn', Lz tanapa id., Mg tanapa 'Easter' ('resurrection') ¶ K 92 (*ten-), 145 (*na-te-), K² 68 (*ten-/*te-), 136-7 (*nat-e- 'light', *nat-/*nt- 'shine, give light'), FS K 143 (*tan-/*tn-), 147 (*ten-), Q 240, Marr 146, Abul. 318 || IE: [1] *dej- 'shine, be bright' > OI 'dīdē-ti 'shines, is bright', 3p dīdyati || Gk Hm δέατο 3s ipf. 'videbatur', aor. δοάσσατο, Gk δέελος 'visible' || IE broken rdp. *doγ-do- and sim. > ON teitr, AS tāt 'glad, merry' (← 'shining'), ON teita 'to gladden, to delight', AS tætan id., 'to caress', AS tāt 'glad, merry', OSx têt 'glad', OHG zeiz 'zart, lieb, angenehm' ¶ P 183-4, ES 513, M K II 45, F I 354, 378-9, Vr. 586, Ho. S 74, Ho. 342-3, Sw. 167, Kb. 1246, OsS 1241 || [2] IE *dyey- 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven' > NaIE nom. *dyēus ~ diyēus, accus. *dyē(υ)m, voc. *dyey, gen. *di'w-es, *di'w-os) > OI 'dyāuḥ (accus. dyām, gen. di'vaḥ ~ 'dyōḥ) 'heaven, sky, day', Av dyaoš abl.-gen. 'from the sky'; OI 'di vā 'by day', 'di vasa- 'heaven, day' || Gk Ζεύς (accus. Ζῆν, gen. Δι(ς)ός), Gk B/Lc Δέυς 'Zeus', ἔνδιος 'at midday' || L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, Διουφεί 'to Jupiter', L diēs 'day' (for the expected *diēus on the analogy of accus. diēm), L [Plt.] dīus 'by day', L nu-dius tertius 'now is the third day' || OIr die, NIr dia, Brtt {RE} *diīūs (< IE *diyēu-s) > OW did, MW, W dydd, OCrn [VC] det, Crn deth, dyth, OBr {Flr.} ded ~ did, MBr dez, Br L deiz, Br T/Cr/V de 'day' || Arm տիւ tiw 'day' || Ht siu- 'god' ({GI} 'god of sun', 'god of heaven'), siwannā- 'divine', siwatt- 'day', Lw tiwat- (nom. tiwaz), Pal tiyaz 'god of sun' || [2a] IE *dyēus-patēr 'father daylight, father heaven' (name of a god) > OI 'dyāuḥ pi'tā || Gk Ζεύς πατήρ || LIūpiter ~ Iuppiter, Um voc. Iupater, dat. Iuvepatre || IIr [Hs.] Δει-πάτωρος || [2b] d. with an *o-sx.: NaIE *'dejwo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vaḥ 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēva- 'demon, false deity' || OL deivos, L deus 'god', dea 'goddess', dīvus 'divine, god' (→ dīvīnus 'divine'), Osc deívai 'deae' || OIr dia (gen. dé) 'god', OCrn duiu-(tit) 'Gott(heit)', MW {SEv.} dwyw, dyw, W duw, OCrn duy, Br doue 'god', MW {LP} dwym-awl

'divine' || ON *tívar* pl. 'gods', Gmc **teiwaz* > ON *Týr* 'war god', pl. *tívar* 'gods', OHG *Ziu, Zio* (gen. *Ziwes*) 'Mars' (in *ziestac* 'dies Martis, tuesday'), AS *Tīz* (gen. *Tīwes*) 'Mars', cd. *tīwes-dæz* 'tuesday' > NE *tuesday* || Lt *diēvas*, Ltv *dievs*, Pru *deiws*, *deywis* (gen. *deywās*) 'god' ¶ P 184-6, EI 149 (**dye(u)-* 'day'), 230-1 (**deij_u-o-s* 'god', **dyeu-s ph_utēr* 'sky-father'), Ts. W 77, Carr. P 75, Lar. 128-9, GI II 791, Watk. G, Neu AT 116-131, M K II 42, 63-4, 70-1, ME I 750-2, FI 610-1, WH I 345-6, 349-51, 359-60, 732-4, Bc. G 315, 338, LP §§ 6.2, 16, Thr. § 340, RE 87, SEv. 29, Flr. 132, 138, YGM-1 197, Vr. 603, OsS 1291, Ho. 350, Frn. 93-4, En. 158, Tp. P A-D 321-4. Slt. 60-1 || ? **h**: M: MM [AT] *ciügen ~ ceügen* 'shining' ¶ MED 1200
 ◇ IE **dyeu-* and MM *ciügen ~ ceügen* suggest a word-final N vw. **u* or **ü*, while the absence of its reflexes in IE **deij-* and K **te-* still needs explaining ◇ Cp. Etr *tiu, tiv-* 'moon' ¶ Pfiffig 304-5, Pallottino Ew 303 ◇ ≠ BmK 303-4 (equating IE **dyeu-* with Sum *dé v.* 'smelt' and D **tī-* 'fire', actually belonging to N **t'e'ya'w'a'* 'fire' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: compares IE with K **dye* 'day' [in fact from N **d_uwg|y_u* 'sun, day, morning'] and reconstructs a pN **d^w-*).

2242. ₂ ≈ **to'ʔi* 'fig' > HS: S **t_uʔi'n-at-*, **t_uʔin-* 'fig tree, fig' > BHb *ḥḥḥḥ* *təfē'nā*, Pun (?) *ḥḥ* *tyn*, IA *tyn*, JA [Trg.], JEA *ḥḥḥḥ* *tēn(ə)tā*, SmA *t_unh*, *tynh*, Sr E *ḥḥḥḥ* *te<ʔ>ttā*, Sr W *ḥḥḥḥ* *ti<ʔ>ttā*, *ḥḥḥḥ* *ti<n>ttā*, Md *tina* 'fig tree', Ar *tīn-* 'fig(s), fig-tree(s)', snglt. *tīn-at-* 'fig, fig tree', Ak *tittu(m)* (pl. *tinātu(m)*) id. ¶ KB 1544-5, Lv. T II 536, Sl. 1205-6, Ln. 325, BK I 213, Hv. 64 || EC: Sml {R} *dəyn* 'fig tree, fig', pl. *dəymo* ¶ R SS II 123 || NrOm: Ym {C} *te_uā* 'sycamore' ¶ C SE III 85 || D {ʔKm.} **tōy-*, {GS} **tōy-* 'ε fig tree' > Prj *tōy* 'Ficus glomerata', Gdb *tōy* marin id. (marin 'tree'), Gdb *toiā* & *tōya*, Knd *tōga*, Png *tōga* mar, Mnd *tūge* 'fig tree', Kui *tōga* 'fig, fig tree', Ku *tōya* 'fig' ¶ D #3537, GS 188 [#478] ¶ The cns. -g- in Knd, Png, Mnd, and Kui is still puzzling. Krishnamurti (Km. 33-4) claims that -g- of several D lgs., incl. some lgs. of the SCD, CD, and NED branches, may go back to pD **-y-*, without formulating a clear phonetic law ◇ ≠φ Blz. DA 160 [#80] (equates the D root with Arm *t'uz*, Gk B *τῦκον* 'fig tree' [cp. F II 818] and HS {Blz.} **tik-* 'fig').

2243. **tūʔo'* 'two' > IE **d_uwō(u)* 'two' m. (and **d_uwaj* f./ntr., {Huld} **duwaj* f.) > OI m. *d(u)vau*, f./ntr. *d(u)vaā*, YAv m. *duua*, ntr. *duuaē-ča*, KhS *duva*, NPrs *du*, Psh *dwa*, Oss: I *d_uwwä* ~ *duwä*, D

duw(ʷ)ä 'two' || Arm երկու eṙku id. || Gk Mc δωο, Gk Hm δύο(F)ω, Gk A δύο id. || pAl {O} *duwō (f. *duwai), {Huld} *dü (f. *dū) id. > Al: T/G dy dü, SG/Be dü, P dü, f. dū || Lm./ntr. duo, f. duae || OIr dáu, dá, NIr dá id., Brtt {RE} *dʷāy m. 'tree' > OW dou, MW deu, W dau, Crn dow, deu, OBr, MBr dou, Br daou id. || Gt m. twai, f. twos, ntr. twa, OSw Ru tuair, OSw m. twēr ~ twē, f. twār, ntr. tu, ON m. tveir, f. tvær, ntr. tvá ~ tvau, OHG m. zwēnē, f. zwō, ntr. zwei, eNHG (before XVIII) m. zween, f. zwo, ntr. zwei (> NHG zwei and zwo), OSx m. twēne, f. twā, ntr. twê, AS m. twæȝen, f. twā, ntr. tū 'two', NE twō (and † twain); the ON, OSw, OSx, AS, and OHG m. forms are due to analogical restructuring within the paradigm of cases and genders (in WGmc based probably on pGmc forms of obl. cases, incl. gen. *twayōn and dat. *twayiyōm that preserve the pIE du. morpheme *-oǵ-, see Brg. DK 55ff.) || Lt dū m., dūi f., Ltv di vi, Pru dʷai 'two' || Sl *d(ʷ)va id. > OCS ДѢВА dьva, Blg, R, Uk два, SCr, Slv dvā, Cz, Slk dva, P dʷa; Sl *d(ʷ)vě 'two' f. > OCS ДѢВѢ dьvě, Blg, R две, Uk дві, SCr двē & dvi je, Slv dvē, Cz dvě, Slk dve, P dʷie || Tc: A wu m. (< *dwo-ʷ), we f. (< f. *dwa-ǵ), B wi m./f. (< *dwo-ǵ) 'two' | The initial component of a cd.: NaIE *dwi- 'two-, bi-' > OI dvi-, Av bi-, Arm երկի- eṙki-, Gk δι-, OL dvi-, L bi-, ON tvi-, Lt dvi- || HrLw tu-wa-i 'two', accus. tuwaⁿzi 'duos', Ht cd. da-yuga 'two years old', dān 'for the second time' ¶¶ P I 228-9, Mn. 174-6, EI 399-400 (*dwoǵ- ~ *d(u)woǵyos 'two, group of two' [cardinal collective], *dweh₃(ʷ) ~ *du'weh₃(ʷ) 'two' du.), M K I 82-4, M E I 761-3, Bai. 163-4, Ab. I 385-6, F I 424-5, WH I 381-3, Huld 56, O 79, Me. EAC 165, RE 141, SEv. 45, LP § 13.3, YGM-1 164, Flr. 151, Fs. 484-5, Vr. 601-2, Ho. 357-8, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1271, OsS 1310-1, KM 896, Frn. 107-8, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 395, ESSJ V 185-8, KT 158, Wn. 585-6, Ad. 598-9, Ad. H 19, 137, Ts. E III 5, Mer. HHG 16, Mer. SGA 283 || HS: S *taʷam- ~ CS *tuṛām- 'twins, a twin, sth. double': S *taʷam- > BHb תאָמִים tō^am-īm pl. 'twins', Ar تَوَّامٌ ~ تَوَّامٌ taʷam- 'one of the twins', Ak tū(?)am-tu 'twins; sth. double (double door, double bag, etc.)'; CS *tuṛām- > BHb תאָמִים†† taṛō^m-īm 'twins', Ar تَوَّامٌ tuṛām- 'joint à un autre, faisant pendant à un autre; qui vient à la suite d'un autre'; d. CS *taṛum- 'twin' > Ar تَوُّمٌ taṛum-, OA *taṛum(-ā) (b→ Ak NA taṛum- 'double, of twins') > Sr W تَامٌ tāmā, JPA *tāmā [*tōmō] 'twin' b→ θωμῆς 'Thomas' ¶ KB 1561, BK I 189, ≠ Br. G I 384 (an

unc. hyp. connecting S *taʷʔam-~*tuʔām- with Ar wāʔama 'agree, live peacefully with'), Sd. 1340, 1364 || ? WCh: AG {Tk.} *°tō 'repeat, do again' > Ang {Flk.} tō, tu-tō 'do sth. over and over again', Ang K {J} tō 'repeat (an act)' ¶ Flk. 294, Tk. (p.c., 2002) || U: FU (att. in BF) *to-ńće 'second' (*-ńće is a sx. marking ordinal numerals) > F toinen (gen. toisen), Es teine (gen. teise), Δ tōine, Vp toyńe (gen. toyžen), Lv t^ωoy (gen. t^ωoyz) 'second' ¶ SK 1327-8, Kt. 444 || A {SDM97} *tūwu 'two' > Tg *juwe- 'two' > Ewk, Sln jū-r, Lm jō-r^djū-r, Neg jū-l, Ork, Ud žū, Nn žūz-r^d žū, Ul žūz-l, Ork dū, WrMc žuwe, Mc Sb žū, Jrc {Kiy.} žuwe ¶ STM I 276-7, Krm. 234, Y#2736, Klz. MS 150, Kiy. 132 [#637], S AJ 215 [#132] || pKo: [1] {S} (in S AJ) *tub|wIr, {DQA} *tuburh 'two' > OKo {Lee} tüpör ~ tüßör, eMKo [NR] {Blz.} tufuri, MKo {Lee} turh, {S} türh, NKO, Ko Ph tuł, Ko: Sl tūł, Ks túł, Hm tuł][2] pKo {S} *tubu- > MKo, NKO tū- {MLC} 'two, a couple' in cds. and as the first component of nominal phrases ¶ S AJ 255 [#94], S QK #94, Nam 166, MLC 501, 509, Lee GKS 174, Mr. KJ 245, Blz. N 128 || M *ž_il_wrin 'two' > MM [S] žirin 'two', WrM žirin 'two (women)', Dg žūrū 'pair', Mnr H {SM} žūr 'couple, pair' ¶ H 90, MED 1060, S AJ 238 [#98], SM 96 || ? T: [1] *tū-í *'making a pair to, a second one (just like this one)' → 'equal, counterpart, corresponding to so.\sth.', 'a place opposite to this one' > OT tūš id., OT U tu_iš 'one of the same age, comrade', 'counterpart', Tkm dūš 'approximately equal' (ol biδ dūš bar 'he is approximately of our age', lit. 'he our [age]-equal is'), Qrg, StAlt tuš, Tv, Tf d_uš 'a place opposite to this one' (StAlt tuž-im-da-γi 'one who is opposite to me', lit. 'opposite-my-in-being'), Qrg tuš-tuq 'corresponding, counterpart', Yk tus 'the side in front of so.', Chv: L тѣл тл, H тл 'a certain place; just; opposite'; [2] SDM97 and DQA suggests a T etymon {SDM97} *t_iōr-, {DQA} *t_vb_vr 'second' > žž Blgh {SDM97} tvirem (the source?; not mentioned in Erd.) and Chv тепѣр теb_vr 'another'; but Jeg. and Fed. suggest a more plausible et.: Chv тепѣр 'another' < тата пѣр 'noch (тата) ein (пѣр), тепре 'another' < тата пѣрре 'noch ein' (пѣрре is 'one') (cp. VTt TYK {TTDS} täbbr 'once more' < тауъ бbr, lit. 'noch ein') ¶ Cl. 558, Rs. W 501, DTS 590, Tz. UIS 102, Rl. III 1508-9, Rh. 922, TkR 287, BT 159-60, Jud. 774, TvR 184, Ra. 146, Pek. 2854-5, Ash. XV 28-33, Jeg. 243, Fed. II 214, TTDS 435 ¶¶ S AJ 33, 292 [#424] (A *djüw_v 'two'), ≈ DQA #2247 (A *tjubu; incl. M, Tg, Ko), Blz. N I 110, 112-3, 118-21, 128 ||

?φ K *t̥qu- 'two' - in extended stems: [1] *t̥qu-b- 'pair, twins' > OG, G t̥qub-i ~ t̥qup-i, Mg t̥qup- ~ t̥kub-, Lz t̥qub-, Sv UB/Ln {TK} t̥q̥wib, L {TK} t̥qub 'twin(s); an equal one; couple, pair', G t̥qup-ad 'in twos, in pairs', t̥qup- 'zwei Dinge aufeinanderlegen', Sv UB {GP} t̥q̥wibd adv. 'in pairs', t̥quba 'one of a pair', [2] *^ot̥qu-č̥- > G t̥quč̥i 'pair of joint fruits\nuts, pair' ¶¶ K 184-5, K² 194, Abul. 415, DCh. 1232, Chx. 137, TK 722, GP 261; the K stems may belong here only if the "harmonic cluster" *t̥q goes back to the cluster *t̥? (cp. GZ *č̥qal- 'water, well' < N *č̥iṯHA [= *č̥iṯhA?] 'be wet\moist; moisture [water, etc.]') or there is another source (ext.?) of K *q ◇ Cf. Mng. E-1 23 (IE, U, Ko), IS MS 338 (IE, U, Ko), AD KJRE 110-1 (IE, S, U, Tg, Ko, K), ≈ Blz. IET √ (IE, A, mentions BF, rejects the S cognate [on the basis of Br.'s unc. hyp. connecting S *tawʔam-~*tuʔam- with Ar wāʔama 'agree, live peacefully with' - not 'imitate']; mentions similar words in other lgs.: Austronesian *Duwa, Ainu tu 'two', Sino-Tibetan *Tur 'pair' and Cherkes t̥ū 'two'), Tk. (p.c.) (Ang, IE); F AD AltAD #4 ◇ Mng. E-1, ≈ Gr. II #404 (*tu 'two') (IE, U, A, Ko, Ai).

2244. ₂ ≈ *taɣ'i¹ 'to tear' > HS: C: DhI {EEN} d'āɣ- v. 'tear' ||| SC: Kz {E} daʔ- v. 'bite' ¶ EEN 27, E SC 163 (SC *dāɣ- v. 'rend, tear') || Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J}, MntI {J} tē, {ChC} tē̂, Kfr {Nt.} tē, MntI {J} tē v. 'tear' | BT: Glm {Sch.} tá-(àlá) id. ||| CCh: BM: Hld t̥wá, Wmd t̥wa id. ¶ J S 84, Sch. BTL, ChC, ChL ||| IE: NaIE *dā-/dā-, *dā̊-/dā̊-/dā̊- v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces' > OI 'dāti, 'dyāti 'cuts up, divides, mows', 'dayatē 'divides; participates' ||| Gk δαίωμα 'I divide', δάρις, δάρις, δαιτύς 'portion, sacrifice' ||| Gl arcanto-dan ~ arganto-daṛn, 'monetarius' (lit. 'silver divider') ||| ? pAl {O} *daña (from *daya- under the infl. of other verbs in *-ña) > Al daj (aor. dāva) 'divide' ¶ P 175-6, EI 161 (*deh_ḡ(i)- 'cut up, divide'), M K II 20-1, 3, F I 341-2, Billy 13-4, O 54 ◇ ≠ BmK 312 (equating the IE √ with S *č̥ṯhn v. 'grind', SC {E} *dāh- v. 'knock' and K *t̥eχ- v. 'break').

2245. *tUb∇ (= *tūba?) (or *tiba?) 'grass, straw; to cut grass\plants' > HS: S *t̥ib_∇n- 'straw' > BHb תִּבְנִי 'teben, JA [Trg.], JEA תִּבְנִי tib'nā, Sr تَبْنِي tēb'nā, Ar tibn- ~ tabn- 'straw', Ak tibnu 'straw, chaff' ('Stroh, Häcksel') ¶ KB 1553, GB 870, Js. 1645, Lv. T II 524, Sl. 1203, BK I 192, Sd. 1354-5 || ?φ Ch: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *d̥i¹b, {Hf.} *jip v. 'harvest' > Gmy {Hf.} d̥ip, Ang {Hf.} jip, Su {J} d̥ip id. ||| ? CCh: Bcm {Sk.} dawo id. ¶ ChC, J S 64, Stl. VZCh ¶¶ The origin of the

initial glottalization in Ch is not clear || **K:** [1] GZ *tib- 'grass' > G tiv-a 'hay' ({K}: < tib-va, n. act. of tib- v. 'mow'), GAj tiba-, Mg tib- 'hay', Lz tib- 'grass'; [2] GZ *tib- 'mow' > OG, G tib-, Mg, Lz tip- id. ¶ K 94, K² 71, FS K 149-50, FS E 162-3 || **A:** NaT *^ot_l'_loPan 'straw, husk, chaff' > Nog toban 'straw', Qzq, ET topan 'husk, chaff', Qq topan 'chaff, bran', Qrg topon 'chaff', Shor toban 'dust of grain, dust of rotten wood' ¶ KrkR 648, RI. III 1232, MM 349, Sht. 202, Nj. 310, NogR 353, Jud. 751 ◇ NaT *^o is likely to go back to an earlier *^ü (regr. as. *^ü...a > *^o...a); this pre-T *^ü may be either original (< N *^ü) or result from labialization of N *ⁱ (influenced by the labial cons. *^b). K *tib- also suggests that the vw. of the N word was either *^ü (because K *ⁱ is one of the regular reflexes of N *^ü) or *ⁱ.

2246. *tæb_l∇ (= *tāb_l∇?) 'follow, run, chase' ([in pN or in descendant lgs.] → 'beg hard, demand') > **HS:** WS *[✓]tb_l > Ar [✓]tb_l v. G 'follow, come with', D 'pursue unremittingly', 'demander avec insistance', MHb [✓]tb_l v. G 'search, ask, claim, summon', JA [Trg.] [✓]tb_l v. G 'ask, demand, inquire', JEA [✓]tb_l G 'demand, claim, solicit', Sr [✓]tb_l G 'seek, demand, beg; require, claim', Mh [✓]tb_l G (pf. tūba, sbjn. yətbē), Jb E/C [✓]tb_l G (pf. tē_l, sbjn. 'yətbə_l) 'follow' ¶ BK I 190-1, Js. 1645, Sl. 1191-2, JPS 603-4, Hv. 55-6, Jo. M 399 || **D** *te_v- v. 'beg hard, importune by begging' (× N *^{te}yw∇ 'ask [for], beg') > Tm te_vv_v v. 'beg hard, importune', MI tēra 'beggar', TI dēvurincv. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb- v. 'beg for alms' ¶¶ D #3431A || **A:** [1] T *^t_labira- 'run at full speed, rush, gallop' > OT {Cl.} tavrā- 'hasten, be in a hurry', Tk Δ dabra- ~ davri- 'galop, run at full speed' ¶ Cl. 443, DTS 542, ET VGD 112-4 || [2] T *^t_labīl- > Chg {Bu.} tawīš- 'run, jump' and d. *^t_labīl-gan 'hare' > OT tavišgan, MOg XIII tawšān, MQp XIV dawušān, Chg xv tawušqan, MU tavišqan ~ tavšan, Tki {Cl.} tawšqan (sic!), Tk tavšan, Az dovšan, Ggz, Qmq tavšan, Tkm towšan, Xlj dovušyan, Uz (Shch., TL) twšqan, ET tošqan, Yk tabiṣḫān id.; T ⇨ M *taulayi 'hare' > MM [PP] t'avlayi, [LM] تَوْلَايِ tawlay, [MA] ta_lulaj, [S] taolaj ~ ta_lulaj, [IsV] taulaj, WrM taulai, HIM туплай, Ord t'ū'lā, Kl тупла, {Rm.} tūlā, Dg {Pp.} t'āu_lē, {Mr.} tau_lī id., Mnr H {T} tūlī id., {SM} t'ū'lī, MMgl itaula, Brt туплай 'hare, rabbit' ¶ Cl. 447, Rs. W 453, Shch. Zh 136, TL 164, Bu. I 338, Pp. PP 131, Pp. L II 1270, Pp. MA 343, HJ 145, MED 788, KRS 520, Iw. 107, SM 43, T 367, Mr. D 193, Chr. 438 || Tg (in NrTg) *tēb- > Ewk tēwul- 'catch up

with (догнать)', Lm tɜwut- 'go behind so.' ¶ STM II 226 ¶ Tg *t- (for the expected *d-) may be due to the infl. of Tg *tebe- 'catch' (< N *tæb∇ 'catch, seize') || ?μ pJ {S} *tapasir- 'run' > OJ tapasir- (tabasir-), influenced by pasir- 'run' (unless d. from it with the px. ta-) ¶ S QJ #744 ¶ ≈ DQA #2354 (*tēbà- 'run') [T, M (considered the M word as a genetic cognate of T rather than a loan from it), Tg, J], Vld. 255 (M, T) ◇ If the vw. *e in D *te∇- belongs to the heritage of N *teγw∇, the N etymon is to be reconstructed as *täb̥∇ ◇ Qu., because D *te∇- has an alt. et.

2246a. ?σ₂ *tæb₁∇₁∫∇ ≈ 'heel; to trample, kick with the heel' > HS: Eg NK tbs 'heel' > DEg tbs > Cpt: Sd †BC tibs, B †IBC t^hibs id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 || A: M *debse- > WrM debse-, HIM дэвсэ-, Brt дэбһэ- v. 'stamp the feet, trample', Kl {Rm.} dewś- id., {KRS} дэвс- 'kick with the foot', MM [S] debse- v. 'dance' ¶ MED 239, Chr. 214, KRS 191, KW 90, H 34 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here U: ?? OHg fxvii, Hg √ tapos- 'tread (on/down), trample' (¶ EWH 1481), but it is more likely to be a derived descendant of U √ *tapp∇ v. 'trample' (< N ? *täbHa or *täbHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press') ◇ Qu.

2247. *taʔæga 'rock, mountain; top' > HS: B: Ah etaq (pl. itaqqan) 'rocher à pic un peu surplombant' ¶ Fc. 1919 || Om {AD} *daq-/ *taq- 'mountain' > SOM: Hm {Ldl.} duqa 'mountain' ¶ Bnd. AL 135, CR H 420-5, HWH 324, C SE IV 507 || C: Ag: Xm {BSW} tæg^wa 'up', {R} adv. and postp. dāg 'up, on', bī-dāg 'im/auf dem Lande', dāges 'upon', dāg'sēsa 'upper', Bln {R} dāg postp. 'on, above', Q {R} dīg 'über, auf' || Bj {R} 'tagega 'Höhe', ta'gig 'height', Bj A {AD} ?i ta'gīg 'highland, mountainous region', ta'gēga 'high' ¶ Ss. B 61, Ss. PEC 18, Bl. 184, Grg. 118, Brl. 89, Sr. 294, R WB 98, R QW 47-8, R Ch II 352, R WBd 223, BSW KhWL 7 ¶ Blz. OL (HS *daguh 'mountain, rock') ¶ Since the connection with EC {Ss.} *dagh-, {AD} *tag∇h- 'stone, rock', with B *√ dγ 'stone', and with Ch *d∇g- ~ *d∇g- 'stone' remains too qu. on phonetic and semantic grounds, it has not been taken hereinto account || A: T *t'āg 'mountain' ({ADb.} *t-) > OT taγ, Tkm dāγ, Tk dağ, Ggz dā, Az, CrTt daγ, Qzl {Jk.} taγ ~ tāγ, Tv дaг d_aγ, Tf d_aγ, Slr dāγ, SY, Ln, ET, Xk taγ, Uz тoғ tаγ, CrTt ta∇, Qmq, Nog, Qz1, Qq, VTt, Bsh taω, Qrg tō, Alt tū, Chv t̥∇, Chv L tu id., Yk tīā id., 'forest' ¶ ADb. Ttd 52 [#18] (neutralization of T *t- and t'-), S AJ 180 [#54], Cl. 463, ET

VGD 117, Rs. W 454, Ra. 168, Md. 27, 178, Jk. K 31, Dr. TM II 439-40, Jeg. 254, Fed. II 240 || M *deʷe-re 'above, up' > MM deʷere ([PP] de₁ere, [MA, IM] dēre), WrM degere, HIM дээр, Kl dēr adv., postp. 'above, on top of, high', Dx žīzrз, Dg dēr, Mnr H {T} dere, {SM} d₃re, Mgl {Rm.} dērā 'on, on top of', Dg {Iv.} d_{er}e 'top'; M *deʷe-dü > WrM degedü, HIM дээд 'higher, upper; highest', Mnr H {SM} d₁ed₁ 'upper'; M *degde- > WrM degde-, HIM, Brt дэгдэ- 'rise' ⇨ Ewk dэгдi-, Sln dэгдз-, WrMc dekde- id. ¶ S AJ 239 [#129], MED 242-3, Luv. 170-1, T 328-9, STM I 228-9 || ???σ Tg *deg- v. 'fly' > Ewk, Lm, Neg дзʷ-, Orc dзili, Ud diзli-, Ul, Nn dэгдз-, WrMc deʷe-, Mc Sb дзүз- id.; NrTg: Ewk дзʷi ~ дзʷī, Sl, Neg дзʷī, Lm дзʷi 'bird' ¶ STM I 228-9 || pKo *tə₁ 'still more, moreover' > NKo tə₁ id. ¶ S AJ 256, S QK #147, MLC 439 || pJ *tākà 'high, mountain' > OJ tākà- 'high', J: T/Kg taká, K tākà- id; OJ take 'mountain', J: T/Kg také, K tákè id. ¶ S AJ 271 [#162], S QJ #162, Mr. 539, 841 ¶¶ S AJ 283 [#188], DQA #2236 (A *tēga 'high, top; mountain') || U: Sm {Jn.} *t¹ä¹k¹w¹ь (= *t¹č¹säk¹t¹w¹|m¹∇) 'das Obere, Oberlauf' > Ne T Y {Ter.} dat. sg. тЮ" 'up, to the sides', Ne T dat. sg. {Ter.} тЮ"ү 'up', {Lh.} táʔβuʔ ɛ túʔuʔ 'up', Ne T тЮ"үй 'top, upper', Ne F {Lh.} dat. č¹ʔuβ 'up', En {Cs.} teʔi 'top', Slq Tm {KD} tām 'aufwärts', Slq Ch {Cs.} tammel 'das oben befindliche', Kms {Cs.} thâwа 'aufwärts' ¶ Jn. 155, Ter. 699, Cs. 146, 186, 200, 257 ◇ The vowels in the A lgs. (T *ā, M and Tg *e) may be accounted for if the N etymon was *taʔæga. But if the vocalization hyp. of SDM97 (A *ē) is right, this A vw. corresponds to U *ä and may point to N *ä within pN *täʔ∇ga. In A there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. (evidenced by T *ā) due to the loss of the lr. Ah ɟ, Om *-k- (and probably Sm *-k-) go back to ** -k- from N *-ʔ∇g-)

2248. ₂ *tuʔ¹g¹∇ (or *t_uʔ¹g¹∇?) 'listen, hear' > HS: C {AD SF} *√t_g(g) > EC: Arr {Hw.} -tteg-/-ttig- 'know' (1s ʔíttige, 2s, 3f téttege, 3m yéttge) (× N *dāhgU 'to watch, to look at?'); EC *d¹a¹g- 'ear' > IEC {Bl.} *d_ag- 'ear' > Af dāg 'auricular region', Rn {Oo.} 'd_{og}(-e) 'ear', {PG} d_{og} 'ear-drum; hearing (ability to hear)', Bn d_{eg}, Sml d_{eg} 'ear' (the vw. e on the analogy of the d. verb d_{eg}-ay-sad-); ⇨ IEC *d_aga-ay- v. 'hear' > Kns, Gdl dākay- 'hear', Or {Grg.}, Or H {Ow.} dāgay-, Or B/O dāgā, dāgēta, Or O dāge-a, dāgēta, Elm d_{ek}-ay-, Arr {Hw.} d_{eg}(a)y-, Kns dāk-ay-sad-, and Sml d_{eg}-ay-sad- (both latter forms with sxs. of ben. + caus.) v. 'listen'; / also Rn {PG} dāg-, {Sim} dāg-, Arr d_{ed}egad-, Ya dek- v. 'hear';

Brj 'daga 'ear' ¶ Ss. B 61, Bl. 137, 248, Grg. 118, Ow. 258, Sr. 294, Sim 19, PG 88, 96, Hw. A 354-5 || Ch: WCh \sqrt{dkw} (or $\sqrt{dk^w}$) > NrBc {Stl.} *n-dukw|y- v. 'hear' > P' {MSk.} ndukù, Mbr {Sk.} dɜkɜ, My {Sk.} dɜkáy-, Sir {Sk.} dɜhíwi id. | Bd {ChL} dɜk^wân, {IL in ChC} dúg^wà id. || CCh: Tr {Nw. in ChC} tɜkì id. || Ech: Kjk dugiye, Kjk aʒigala, Mnj ʒîgégéwò, Mu {J} ʒègégéw, Jg {J} ɖoy-, Brg ɖòyí id.; ? Ke {Eb.} ɖígí 'think' (× N *dähgU '↑') ¶ Stl. ZCh 252 [#56], JI II 184-5, ChC, Blz. EChWL #40 || ¶ *tug∇ ({ADb.} *tuy- = {JADb.} *duy-) v. 'hear, listen' > M *duyul- > WrM dɜgɜul- v. 'hear, listen', HIM, Brt dɜɜɜɜɜ- id., Ord d_ūl- 'hear', ? MM [MA] {Pp.} du_ūla- 'emit sounds'; ⇨ M *duyul-ga- > MM [S] d. du_ul-g|qa-, [PP] dɜ_ulqa 'let know, inform', WrM dɜgɜulga-, HIM dɜɜɜɜɜ- id., 'advise' ¶ H 40, MED 271, Chr. 205, Ms. O 160, Pp. MA 147, Pp. PP 122 || ?? NaT *tuy- (JADb.} *duy-) v. 'perceive, hear, feel' > OT {Cl.} tuy- v. 'feel, perceive, notice', Tk dɜuy- v. 'feel, hear, learn', Az duy-, ET tuy- 'feel, learn', Ggz, Tkm duy-, VTt, Bsh t̂y-, CrTt, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET tuy- v. 'feel'; Qp ⇨ Chv L tuy- 'feel, notice, hear' ¶ Cl. 567, ET VGD 290, Jeg. 255, Fed. II 241, Rs. W 497, ADb. Ttd 59-60 || Tg {DQA} *duya- > WrMc dɜyle- 'interrogate, investigate a complaint'; but WrMc dɜyle-, dɜyɜule- 'collate' may have been influenced by or borrowed from Chn d_uy 'pair; to collate' ¶ STM I 220 || ??σ,φ pJ {S} *tɜa-p- 'ask (fragen)' > OJ tɜóp-, J: T tò- ~ tó, K tó-, Kg tò- ¶ S QJ #1171, Mr. 771 ¶¶ Pp VG 139, ADb. SRAE 18, ADb. Ttd 59-60, ≈ DQA #2268 (A *tuyu 'listen, perceive' > T, M, J) ¶¶ The loss of N *-g- (or its transformation into *-y-) in T, Tg, and J is still to be elucidated ◇ C *t̂- and EC *ɖ- are likely to go back to a cluster *t- + *ʔ.

2249. (₂?) *tiy∇ 'to flow' (? [in IE] → 'to run quickly') > HS: S *o-tīɜ- > Ar $\sqrt{tyɜ}$, -tīɜ- G {BK} 'être liquide et couler', {Fr.} 'fluidum fuit, fluxit', {Hv.} 'flow and spread' (water); ?? cp. also Ak $\sqrt{tɜɜ}$ G (inf. tɜɜāɜɜ) 'übergießen' ¶ BK I 212-3, Fr. I 206, Hv. 64, Sd. 1301 || ¶ K *teɜ-/ *tɜ- 'pour' > OG, G tɜ- 'pour, spill', Sv d̂ɜtɜel 'liquid', Mg (n)tɜ-, Lx ntɜ- v. 'fall'; ?? (acc. to K²) Sv šdɜ-, štɜ- v. 'exhaust', šdeɜ- 'be exhausted' ¶¶ K 98, K² 70, Chx. 508, Schm. 115-6 || ¶ ?σ IE *dejh- > NaIE {P} *deya-/ *dyā-, *dya-, *dī- 'hurry, run quickly' > OI dīyati 'flies, soars' || Gk Hm δίον 'I fled', δίεμαι 'I hurry, flee, speed', δίεσθαι 'to flee' || OIr {Thr.} dían 'swift', déne 'swiftness' || ? Ltv diêt 'to dance' ¶ P 187 (IE 'eilen, nacheilen, streben'), M K II 46, Hofm. 61, F I 389-90, Thr. § 257, ≈ Kar. I 217-8, ≈ EI 208 (*dih₁- [prs. *dih₁ye/o-]

'fly; move quickly') ◇ An alternative etymological comparison: N *tiq ▽ > Ak t a x ā x u 'übergießen', IE and K (as above) ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS MS 347 s.v. 'течь' *t a ḥ ḥ) equated K with the dubious IE √ **dā- 'fließen' (P 175) (which is based on an implausible comparison of Ir *dāna- 'stream' with Arm տամուկ tamuk 'moist, humid' and Al dhjamē n. 'fat').

2250. *t'e' yaw'a' 'fire' > HS: C: ? Bj {R} 'dīhe 'embers, charcoal' ||| EC: ? Sa {R} tatāḥ- ḍaḥ-, tatāḥ- -a 'Funken machen; das Feuer sprühen \ spritzen'; C → Tgy ተተሳ በሰ tetaḥ bēle id. (the direction of the borrowing is not clear; but since the word is isolated in S, the C source is more probable); ||| C → Mb -totoxo~ -totoko vi. 'boil'; ??σ,φ SC: E adduces Brn ḥaxasa 'salt (from ashes of burnt reeds)' ¶ E SC 193 (equates Mb, DhI, and Brn; reconstructs SC *ḥax- vi. 'burn'), R WBd 64, R S II 358 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mch.} dīye, BtG {Srp.} dié 'fire' ||| Ech ≈ *√ Tw 'fire' > Kwn {J} tòwà, Ke {Eb.} čáwá, Kbl {Cp.}, Ll {Grgs.} tùwà, Smr {J} dùwà, Nd D {J} dōw, Tmk {Cp.} dzu, Kjk tawe ¶ JI II 139, ChC, Eb. 6, Lk. ZSS 77, 89-93, Blz. EChWL #27 ||| K: OG, G daḥ- (aor. -daḥ-) 'brandmarken', G daḥ-i 'Brandzeichen, Brandmal, Brandeisen', G Kzq daḥ- 'braten (Zwiebeln in Fett)' ¶ Chx. 277-8 ¶ as. *t-y > *d-y? ||| IE *deh₂- (= *deah₂-) > NaIE *dāh₂- / *dāw- / *du(:)- (/ ? *dēw-) vt. 'burn, kindle' > OI du-'nō-ti vt. 'burns, tortures', dū-'naḥ 'burnt', dā'vaḥ~ dāvaḥ 'fire, Brand' ||| Gk δαίω ({EI} < *dāF-jw) 'I light up, make burn, kindle', pfc. δέδηε 'burns' (itr.), pfc. prtc. δεδαυμένος ||| OIr {P} dóim 'ich senge, brenne', {P., Vn.} átuíd (< *ad-dowth) n. 'kindling', MW deifyaaw 'to burn, to singe', W dewy / inf. deifio (v < *w before y) v. 'scorch, singe' ||| OHG zuskēn vt. 'to burn (up), adurere, exurere, oburere' ||| Lt džiáu-ti 'to hang up for drying', Ltv Žaut id., vt. 'to dry' (Lt and Ltv suggest an *ē-grade *dēh₂-) ||| pTc {Ad.} *tu- > Tc: B tu-, A, B twās- 'kindle, ignite, light' ¶ P 179-81, EI 87 (*deh₂- 'kindle, burn, blaze'), M K II 49-50, Hofm. 50, Ch. 248-9, F I 343-4, Vn. A 102, LP § 39.1, YGM-1 166, Kb. 1270, OsS 1306-7, Frn. 117. Ad. 298-9 ||| U: FU *tew ▽ -t ▽ 'fire' (× N *tæ'p' ▽ 'to warm, to be warm'?) > Ugr {MF} *täwt ▽, {UEW} *tüw ▽ -t ▽ > ObU {Hl.} *tōwat 'fire' > pVg *tāwat id. > Vg: T tāwat, LK tōwt, tōwt, tāwt, MK/NV tōwt, P/SV tōwt, LL tōt; pOs *tōyat > V/Vy tōyat, Ty tēxʷat, Y tēwat, D/L tūt, Nz/Kz tūt, O tut id. | Hg tūz (accus. tūz-et) 'fire' ¶ MF 648, UEW 895-6, Ht. #631 (ObU *tōyat) ¶ UEW (l.c.) reconstructs here pUgr

*tū[̃]∇-t∇ or *tū[̃]w∇-t∇, Ht. #631 reconstructs pObU *tū[̃]ʒat, but Helimski (Hl. rHt 73-74) has shown that in stems with front vowels there is a pObU distinction between pObU *-w- (> pVg *-w-, pOs *-y-) and pObU *-y- (> pVg *-y-, pOs *-y-), hence in the stem in question the pObU (as well as pUgr and pFU) medial cns. is *-w-. In Os dialects *ū changes into ē due to the infl. of the following *w. Acc. to Hl. rHt 68-9, pVg *ā and pOs *e ({{Hl.}} *ā) correspond regularly to Hg. e, sc. go back to pFU *ā (in contradistinction to pVg *ā and pOs *ē (*ā) which correspond to Hg. ē and go back to higher pFU vowels). In the stem in question we have to reconstruct pFU *ā and suppose that Hg. ū/ū is here from pFU *äw || **A**: Tg *da- > WrMc da- v. {Z} 'catch fire', {Hr.} 'brennen (Feuer)', WrMc da-bu- 'kindle, light fire', Mc Sb da- 'catch fire', da-və- v. 'light fire', ? Ewk dariçī 'burning', ? Ork darruŋatu, darruŋtangu 'kindling (wood) (пактопка)' ¶ STM I 200, Hr. 168, 176, Y ##479, 481 || **D** {tr.} *tī_y- 'fire' ({{GS}} *tyī-) vi. 'burn' > Tm tī, tiy, Ml, Kn tī 'fire', Tu tū 'fire', Tm tī, tīy v. 'be burnt', Kt ti'y- v. 'be singed, roasted', Td ti'y- v. 'be singed', Kn tī v. 'burn, scorch, singe', Brh tīn 'scorching, scorching heat' ¶¶ D #3266, GS 202 [#511] ¶¶ The quality of the D vw. may be due to the infl. of *y ◇ The initial d- for the expected *t- in Bj and G may be due to the infl. of other roots (heritage of other N words) (e.g. G dag- 'brandmarken'). IE *-eh- (> NaIE *-ā-) and Tg *-a- suggest the presence of N *a after the lr.

2251. *toH'ū' ~ *ta|æH'ū' (= *to'ɾ'ū' ~ *ta|æ'ɾ'ū'?) 'bring, fetch, give' > IE *deH^w- ~ *deH^ww- > NaIE *dō-/*dā-, *dōu-/*dāu-/*du- v. 'give' > OI 'dadā-ti, Av dađā'ti 'gives', OPrs dadātuv 'let him give!' || Gk δίδωσι 'gives', pp. δοτός 'given' || L dā- v. 'give', pp. dātus 'given' (m. sg.) || Arm տալ ta-m 'I give', aor. Էտու etu (< NaIE *e-dō-m) || Olt dúo-mi 'I give', inf.: Lt dúo-ti, Ltv dôt 'to give', Pru dāst 'gives' || Sl *dǎ-ti (1s prs-ft. *da'mb) 'to give' > OCS ДАТИ dati / 1s ДАМЬ damb, R дати / 1s ft. дам, SCr dāti / dām 'give', Slv dáti, Cz dati, Slk dat', P dać 'to give' || ? Clt: (*pro-dō/ə-) > Brtt {RE} *rodīmi 'give' > OW rodesit 'he gave', MW rođi ~ roi, W rhoddi ~ rhoi, Crn rȳ, MBr reiff, Br reiñ 'to give' ¶ Acc. to P, NaIE *dōu-/*dāu-/*du- is represented by OI dā'vanē, Av dāvōi 'zu geben', Gk Cp δυ/άνου 'er möge geben', inf. δο/εναυ, and L arc duim, duis 'dem, dēs' || ? Lc M {ABiv.} da-/du- v. 'give (?)', Ld dāv 'I give (?)' ¶¶ P 223-6, E

224 (*deh₃-), M K II 13-4, F I 388-9, WH I 360-3, Ped. CG II 473 (Brtt < *pro-d-), ≈ LP § 506 (Brtt < *pro- + Clt *to-ber-), RE 99, Slt. 105, Frn. 111-2, ESSJ IV 194-8, SPS II 353-7, Glh. 189-90, Vs. I 485, Ts. E III 5-11, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, ABIV I 85 || U *toʁe- v. 'bring, fetch, give' > F tuo-, Es too, tuu- v. 'bring, fetch' || Lp Vfs {Lgc.} tu'o'kkɜ-, Lp S {N} duok'a v. 'sell' || pMr {Ker.} *tūʁb- > Er tye- tuye-, Mk ty- tu-, Δ tuyə- v. 'bring, fetch' || pObU {Ht.} *tū-, *tuʁ- > pVg *tū-l- 'holen' > Vg: T tōl-, MK/UL/ML/Ss tūl-, P tūl- ~ tul- id.; pOs *tu-, *tuʁ- 'bring' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu-, tuʁ-, Y tu-, tuw-, D tu-, tēw-, tāw-, K tu-, tōw-, tāw-, Nz/O tu-, tūw- || ? Hg toj- 'lay eggs' || pSm {Jn., Hl.} *tb- 'bring, give' (= {Jn.} *tā-) > Ng tasa 'give', inv. tə" 'give!', En tə" id., Ne T тась tāś v. 'give', тa tā 'Ersatz, Tausch', Ne F taś v. 'give', aor. tāŋāt 'I gave', Slq Tz {KKIH} tū- 'carry' ('таскaтb'), Kms det-, tet- 'bringen, holen', Mt {Hl.} ı *ta- 'geben, hergeben' || pY {IN} *t∇- 'give' > Y: K/T {IN} tadī- 'give', ? K {Jc.} tīä- id. ¶¶ UEW 529-530, Coll. 64, Sm. 550 (FU, P *toxi-, Ugr *togĩ- 'bring'), MF 635-6, Ker. II 171, Ht. #613, Lgc. SL 179, Jn. 145, KKIH 188, Hl. M #930, IN 247, ≈ Rd. UJ 44 [#56] (Y ← U) || A: [1] pKo *tā- > MKo tā-kò, NKo tāgò, Ko Ph tā(g)ò 'give me' ¶ Rm. SKE 247-8, S QK #947, MLC 378; [2] AdS of A {DQA} *t'ūya {AD} 'offer food to guests' (< N *tUhy∇ 'eat, feed; food', q.v. ffd.- which is the main source, as evidenced by Tg *t- < N *t-) ¶¶ DQA #2452 || D {Pf.} *tay- ~ *tey-, {Km.} *tay- \ *tey- ~ *ta(:)- ({ǾGS} *t-) v. 'bring', v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)' > Tm taru/tār- (inv. tā) v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Ml taruk, tār- (inv. tā) id., Kt ta'r-, ta-, ta·, Td to'r-, ta-, to·, Kdg tar-, ta· id., Kn tar, tār, tā v. 'lead or conduct near, bring, give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Tl teccu, tē- v. 'bring', Gnd ta-/tar- v. 'bring', Knd ta-, t-, Png, Mnd ta- id., Kui tapa, tat-, Ku taʔ- id., Brh tiniŋ, tir-, neg. ti- v. 'give'; Pf. adduces here Krx tay-, tēy- v. 'send a newly marriage girl out of the village' and Mlt teye id. ¶¶ D ##3098, 3418, Pf. 18 [#77], Km. 389 [#598] || ? HS: ??amb Eg N thm '(Leute, Vieh) herbeibringen, holen' (unless a sd. from Eg fMd thm 'stossen, drängen') ¶ EG V 321; Eg h may go back to *ɥ < *ɥ and *ʁ (the initial combinations t∇ɥ and d∇ɥ do not exist in Eg) ◇ ≠ BmK 275 (unc.: D √ ÷ S *√hdy v. 'convey, take' [interpreted as **day-]) and 305 (unc.: IE and U roots ÷ Eg dω / d v. 'put, place' and dj 'present' [interpreted as *d, dω v. 'give, put, place'; in fact Eg dω / d is a cognate of IE dhē- v.

'put' < N *diʳê ~ *d∇HU? 'to put, to place'), S NSShS #19 (IE, A *t'oye-) ◇ *-y- in A *t'oye- and in D *tay-~*tey- is a hiatus-filling cns. (after the loss of the lr.). A *t'- is due to the lr. (N *t∇H- > *tH- > A *t'-). IE *deH^ω- (> NaIE *dō-/*dā-) may have resulted from the loss of *-w- (possibly as. *toH'ü' > *toHo) ◇ The variation *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' may be due to assimilation (either labialization *-a|æ- > *-o- or palatalization *-o- > *-æ- under the infl. of *-'ü')

◇ ≈ Gr. II #174 (*to 'give') (IE, U, CK + unc. A, Ko, EA).

2252. *tawikæ 'insect, vermin, (?) reptile' > HS: B *ta-wk- 'worm' (metanalysis reinterpreting the form as n. ag. of *√wkk) > Ah tawkke, Ty, ETwl tawəkķe, Gh tawki, Sll tawkk^ωa, Gd twkākka, Izd tawkka 'worm' ¶ Fc. 1476, Lf. II #O7O9, GhA 197, Mrc. 261 || IE *deǵ̥- ≈ 'tick (Ixodes)' > Arm unḥq tiz 'tick' || Mir {P} dega (accus. degaid) (< *digāt-) 'stag-beetle' || Gmc *tīkan- (with intensifying gem. *tikkan-) 'tick' > AS {Ho., Sw.} ticca id. (P: read tiica or ticca), NE tike and tick, NHG Zecke 'tick'; Gmc *tikan- > MLG teke, OHG zēhho, MHG zeche, zecke 'tick' ¶ P 187-8, EI 257 (*diǵ̥_l^h), Sl. 335, Ho. 346, Sw. 172, Skeat 646, WrW 565, Kb. 1243, OsS 1242, Lx. 330, KM 876 || A *t|dak∇ 'snake, lizard' > pKo {S} *tòirjòŋ 'lizard' > MKo tòiryòŋ, NKo toroŋ-nyoŋ ¶ S QK #9O9, Nam 162, MLC 464 || pJ {S} *táka- 'snake, lizard' > OJ t_lú_lókág_lè, J: T tòkage, K tòkágè, Kg tokáge, Y tugarà ¶ S QJ #123, Mr. 548 || ??σ Tg *dak∇ 'sheat-fish' > Sln dāxi, Neg dāx_l d dākl, Nn Nh dōāqa id. ¶¶ DQA #22O3 (A *t|dake) || ?φ,σ K *(s)tagw- 'mouse' (unless akin to ECh: Ke dùglà 'mouse') > OG tagu, G tagv-, Lz mtug-, mtuy-, Sv šdugw, štugw- 'mouse' ¶¶ K 175, K² 66 (*tagw-), FS K 142 and FS E 154 (*tagw-), Abul. 172, Eb. 42 ◇ The K cognate is highly qu. (because of the irreg. *-g- and the meaning).

2253. *tekʳ∇ 'to touch' > HS: WS *√tkʳ > BHb √tkʳ v. G 'strike with the hand', JA √tkʳ G id., 'clap', Tgr √tkʳ G 'clap hands' ¶ KB 1642-3, Lv. T II 554, Js. 1693, Sl. 1229, LH 614-5, LG 595 || EC: Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tuḵ- v. 'touch', ? Af -ōtok- v. 'strike' (× N *t'ü' Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push') ¶ Grg. 380, Sr. 394, ≠ Ss. PEC 48 (adduces Rn taχ- and Dsn tá? v. 'push', cp. N ≈ *te'h'akaʳê 'to put, to set'), PH 177 || IE: NaIE *degǵ̥- v. 'touch' > Gt tekan (3s p. taítok), MLG tacken 'to touch', ON taka (p. tōk), Dn tage, Nr ta, MDt taken 'to take', Sw taga 'to take, to touch, to catch'; NrGmc ⇨ ME

taken > NE take || Tc B tāk- v. 'touch' ¶ P 183, EI 595, Fs. 475, Vr. 580, Hlq. 1158-9, Wn. 504-5, Ad. 289, To. DL 529 || A: T *tēg-, {ḡADb.} *tēg- v. 'touch' > OT {Cl.} tēg- v. 'touch, reach', MT [IM] dāg-, Tk dēg̃-, Az dāy-, Ggz dī-, XT {ADb.} dey-, Qrg, StAlt tiy- v. 'touch', Tkm deḡ- id., 'hit (the target)', VTt, Bsh тий- tiy-, Uz tēg- v. 'touch (undeliberately)' ('задеть, коснуться'), ET tēg-, Tv d_eḡ-, Tf d_eḡ-, Chv ti v- v. 'touch' ¶ Cl. 476, IS AD #A 10, ET VGD 173-5, ADb. Ttd 52 [#4], Ra. 171, Jeg. 249-50, Fed. II 226 ¶ But OT tēg- v. 'attack' (Cl. 476) belongs to N *tāk̑ 'to attack' (q.v.) || D *tak- ({ḡGS} *t-, *-g-) v. 'touch' (× N *taka|æ 'to touch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 369 (*tāk̑ 'трогать' > IE, A, D *tak-). T *-g- < N *-k̑- (reg. , cp. N *hak̑ 'to stand, to stop, to stay, to be' > T *āg- v. 'rise' and N *ĉEk̑ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T *çigru- v. 'trample down').

2254. ₂ *tAkU'ñ|ñ' (or *tAkU, H V, ?) 'bug' > HS: C: pAg *tāk̑an 'bugs' > Bln {R} tēg̃an ~ tēx̃an, Xm {R} tē'x̃an, Q {R} tūkān 'bugs', Km {CR} tuxān-a 'bug'; Ag ⇨ Gz {L} tāk̑ān 'bedbug'; EthS ⇨ Sa, Af {R} tāk̑an 'bug' || EC: Sml {ZMO} tuxān 'bug, weevil, bedbug', Sml N {Abr.} tūkān, Or {Th.} tu'kan-a (nom. tu'kan-ni) 'bug', Or B {Sr.} tukāni, Qbn {L} tuhāna 'bedbug' || Dhl {E} tāk̑aḡe 'dung beetle' ¶ AD SF 53, 273, Sr. GBO 222, ZMO 397, Abr. S 155, L G 573, EEN 8, E 169 ¶ *÷ (σ) Brn {E} taqambariya 'butterfly' (E 169) || Eg P tkk.t 'Schlupfwespe, ichneumon (?)' ¶ EG V 336 || S: JEA {SL} תכך tkk (without vocalization) 'ε worm' ¶ Sl. 1207, Js. 1663 (תכך tē'kāk 'worm of silk'), Lv. IV 642 (תכך tē'kāk 'Motte'), Dlm. 420 (תכך takkə'kā 'Zernager [Motte]') || D (in SD) *tak'ū'ñ ~ *tak'ū' ({ḡGS} *t-, *-g-) 'bedbug' > Kn taguḡe, tagaḡi, tagaḡe, tiguḡe, tiguḡe, Td tixiḡy, Tu taguḡæ, caguḡæ, Krg M čavḡa, Krb tokki 'bedbug' ¶ D #2996 ◇ If the Eg, S, and Dhl cognates are valid (which is not certain), Ag, EC, and D *-n(V) may go back to a sx. (whence a N rec. *tAkU, H V,); alternatively, S, Eg, and Dhl cognates may have lost the *n-element (metanalysis?) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#70] (suggested to add S, Eg, and SC to the Ag-EC-D comparison).

2255. *tAk̑æ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit' > IE *deḡ- v. 'suit, be fit' > L decēt 'it is proper \ seemly \ fitting', ? Um tiçit 'decet, is allowed'] ⇨ NaIE n. abstr. *deḡ-os > L dec-us / dec-or-is 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace' || Vd daśas'yati 'favours, serves, obliges' (⇨ *daśas ntr. ÷ L decus) || OIr dech'der

beste' | other ds.: ? Gk δόκιμος 'trustworthy; approved, esteemed' (unless ← δοκεύω 'keep an eye upon' [so according to FI 405]) || OHG zehōn, gizehōn 'to restore', gizeh 'richtig', Gt tēwa 'order (Ordnung)', gatēwjan 'to arrange, anordnen', AS tiohhian ~ tiozan 'to determine, to fjudge', ?? táwian 'to prepare, to tan' || Ht {Ts.} dakk- 'entsprechen, ähneln' ||| ? → IE *deks- 'right, right (dexter)' (× N *tog∇ 'straight', q.v.) > OI 'dakṣati 'acts to the satisfaction of', 'dakṣiṇa-, dakṣiṇa- 'right (dexter), southern, able, dexterous', Av daxšaṭ '(?) macht es (einem) recht', dašina- 'right, south' || Gk δεξιτερός 'right (dexter)', δεξιός 'right, fortunate, boding good' || pAl {O} *deca 'right (dexter)' > MAI [Bzk.] djathē id. → MAI {FB} diaṣte [djaθt^], StAl T djathtē, Al {Kf.} djathētē, Al Δ {Huld}: SG djaθt, D djāθt, A jat, M djast^ id. || L dexter 'right' (↔ 'left'), Osc destrst 'dextra est', Um DESTRAM-E 'in dextram', testre e 'in dextro' || OIr dess, Nlr deas/deis- 'right (dexter), Gl *dexsiva, dexuae, CltI|Dessuaeona, Brtt {RE} *dexsowos 'right (dexter)' > MW deheu, W deau, Cm dyghow, OBr, Br dehou 'right' || Gt taihswa, OHG zēso 'right (dexter)' || Lt dēšinas id., dešinē 'right hand' | Sl *desnъ(jb) 'right (dexter)' > OCS ΔΕСНЪ desnъ, Blg 'десен, SCr dēsni, dēsan, Slv désen || Ht {Ts.} taks- 'fügen' (im Sinne von 'unternehmen [Kriegszug]', 'bereiten' ¶¶ P 189-91 and Mn. 137 (both do not distinguish this √ from homonymous *deġ- 'nehmen, aufnehmen', {Mn.} v. 'find, get'), WH I 346-7, M K II 10-1, 27, M E I 689-91, 710, MW 465, F I 366-7, 404-6, WH I 330-1, 346-7, Bc. G 315, 332, 349, Pln. II 730, Thr. § 262, LP §§ 25.4, 323.3, Fs. 471, 476, Ho. 342-3, Kb. 392, 1243, 1248, OsS 1239, 1242, 1252-3, Schz. 333, Frn. 90, ESSJ IV 218-9, ≈ Glh. 192-3, Kf. 83, O 67-8, Huld 53 (pAl *djaθ-t^), RE 122, Flr. 133, Hm. 147, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 31-2, 40-3, EI 564 (*deġ- (prs. *doġej) 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *deġ- 'find, get', see N *t'e'Kæ 'take, carry'), 271 (*deġes- 'honor') || D *takk-/tak∇ ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'be fit, appropriate, ready' > Tm taku (ft. stem taku∇-, past stem takk-/takunt-) 'be fit\excellent', MI taku v. 'be fit, suit', takka 'fit', Kt takl 'preparation of half the village lands for sowing', Td tokoθ 'suitable', Kn tagu (past stem takk-) v. 'be fit, proper, suit', takka 'fit proper', Kdg takka 'sufficient', Tu takka 'fit, suitable, worthy', Tl tagu ~ tavu v. 'be proper, fit, suitable' ¶¶ D #3005, ≠ Km. 373 [#522] (+ unc. Kui sanṣa v. 'be fitting, beautiful',

whence unt. rec. of pSD and pCD *čāy- / *čay-∇ > *tāy- / *tak-∇) ||
HS: S *√tkn v. 'be straight, in good condition' (× N *tīka 'be straight',
 q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 355 ('подходящий' *ta¹k¹α: IE, D), IS SS #2.6 (IE,
 D) → BmK 313-4.

2256. *t'e¹kæ 'take, carry' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'get, possess') >
HS: Ch {JS} *√tk v. 'take' > WCh {Stl.} *t∇k- id. > Ron {J}: DfB tyêk v.
 'take, take out', Sha tɜk v. 'take' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} t∇k∇, Msg G tk-,
 Msg P tik- v. 'take' || ?? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} zǵí, zɜǵí, zǵó, Bdm {Lk.} žuǵu v.
 'take' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#167], ChC, ChL, JS 261, MB SMSM 112, Lk L 140,
 Lk. B 140 || ? S *°-tīk- or *°-tūk- > Ar ʔitākat- (n. act. from a derived
 verbal stem) 'épilation, action d'arracher le poil et les plumes' ¶ BK I
 213 ¶¶ OS #2388 (*tek- > WCh, CCh *tyak-, erroneously Eg tkk
 *'grasp, seize', in fact v. 'attack') || IE *deḱ- {Mn.} v. 'find, get' (→
 'deem, judge'), {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen' > YAv dāsa- 'goods,
 possessions' ({Brtl.} 'Gegenstand der fahrender Gabe, Vermögenstück'),
 dāsaθavant 'rich', KhS dās- v. 'receive, get (possessions)',
 dāsṭa- 'rich, happy', NPrs داشتن daštän 'have, possess, keep' ||
 Gk I/Ae/Cr δέχομαι 'I take, accept, expect' (Gk A δέχομαι under the infl.
 of *δέχθω, inf. δέχθαι) || ???σ SI *desi- v. 'find, meet' (× N *tæis¹∇
 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.) || ? Ht {Ts.} tak-
 'fügen, bereiten' (< *deḱ-s-) (× N *tAkæ 'to suit, to be appropriate,
 to fit') ¶¶ Mn. 137, Brtl. 702, 740, Bai. 157, BM 207-8, WP I 783,
 P 189-190 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from the homonymous
 *deḱ- v. 'suit, be fit', F N *tAkæ '↑'), F I 373-4, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III
 40-3, ≈ EI 564 (*deḱ- 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction
 from *deḱ- 'be in order', see N *tAkæ '↑') || A: Tg *tük- (= {Bz.}
 *tök-) v. 'carry, hold' > Ewk tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, hold', Lm
 tók- ɘ tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, take', Ud tugɜɜ- ~ tuɜɜ- v.
 'take in one's arms', Ul tūwu, Nn Nh tuxi, Nn KU tuxi ~ tuxiz ~ tuxɜ
 'armful' ¶ STM II 206-7, Krm. 296 ¶ as.: N *t...k > **t...k > Tg *t...k ||
D (in SD) *tekk-/*tek- v. 'take, pull' ({θGS} *t-) > Tm tekku v.
 'receive, take', ? tevvv v. 'get, take, obtain, seize', ? Kt tev- v. 'pull
 along or out of', Kn tege, tegu, tegi v. 'pull' ¶ D #3407 ◇ The origin of
 the Tg vw *u in *tük- is still to be established (cp. the abovementioned
 Bdm žuǵu). A highly tentative solution is a rec. of a N *teʔokæ or
 *toʔekæ (*ʔ and *o are N phonemes that may disappear

without traces in IE, unlike other laryngeals and labialized vowels) ◇
BmK 313-4 (IE, D + tying in IE *deḱm̥* 'ten').

2257. *tik̥'ü' '≈ show' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'say') > **HS:** S *^o✓tyḱ (= prm. *-tīḱ-?) > Gz ✓tyḱ (*D* pf. *tayyaḱa*) v. 'observe, look at' || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *tātkú* (3s p.) v. 'show, demonstrate' (n. act. *tātkà*, sbjn. *tāták*), Bd {Sch.} *tātkəḱān* v. 'show' || CCh: BnnM {ChL} *takamo*, Zm {J} *ták* v. 'show' ¶ JS 227, ChL, ChC || **K** *tkw- v. 'speak, say' > OG *tkw-*, G *tkv-* id., Mg, Lz *tk(v)-* v. 'say', Sv *-:kw-*: n. act. {K} *līkwisg*, {GP} (UB) *līkwīsḡ* 'to say sth.', 3s aor. {Test.} *χ-ākwni* (in) 'he told him', 3s ft. pfc. {Test.} *χ-ākwni* (ne) ¶¶ K 96-7, K² 75, FS K 153, FS E 166-7, Chx. 736-8, GP 174, Test. S 22 ¶¶ **K** *tkw- < **tḱw- (as.) || **IE** *dejḱ- v. 'show' (→ 'say') > OI *dēs-* (prs. *didesḱti*, *dī'sati*, *dēsayati*) 'show, indicate', Av *daēs-* id. (*daēdōišḱt* 'shows', inv. *dōiši* 'show!', 2s aor. inj. *dāiš* 'du sollst zeigen') || Gk *δεικνυμι* 'I show' || L *dīc-ō* / *-ēre* v. 'say', Osc *deikum* DEICVM id., *dīcūst* 'dixerit', Um *teitu*, DEITU 'dicito'; d.: L *dīc-ō* / *dīcāre* 'consecrate, dedicate, devote to gods; inaugurate' || Gt *gateihan* 'to announce', AS *tēon* {P} id., {Sw.} 'to accuse', ON *téa* (> *tía*) 'to show, to communicate', *tega* 'to show, to reveal', OHG *zīhan* 'to say sth. about so., to blame, to accuse' > NHG *zeihen* 'to accuse' ¶ int.: OHG *zeigōn* > NHG *zeigen* 'to show' || Ht *tekkussai-* '(sich) zeigen, präsentieren' ¶¶ P 188-9, EI 516, Ts. W 89, Ts. E III 302-6, M K II 43, F I 355-6, WH I 348-9, Bc. G 315, 332, Fs. 204, Ho. 345-6, Vr. 585, 590-1, 877, Kb. 1251, OsS 1238-9, 1259-60, KM 877, Me. WB 56-7 ('show' → 'say' in juristic usage in some IE lgs.) || **A:** Tg *çḱk- + suff. 'come in sight, appear', 'be shown' > Ewk *çikiltu-* v. 'appear, come in sight' (of leaves, horns of reindeer), WrMc {Z} *ciqzala* vi. 'sprout' (of shoots, sprouts of plants), 'rise from the ground' ¶ as.: N *t...ḱ > **t...ḱ (> pre-Tg **tik- > Tg *çḱk-) ¶ STM II 391.

2258. *toḱE|a or ***taḱE|a** 'to tear' > **IE:** NaIE *deḱ- or *dek- v. 'tear (up), reduce to threads' ({P} 'reißen, zerreißen, zerfasern') > Gt *tahjan* 'to tear', *dīs-tahjan* 'to destroy', Ic *tæja* (1s prs. *tæ*, pp. *tađi*) 'to card (wool)', Nr Δ *tæja*, *taa* 'fasern, zerreißen' || ? OI *dasā* 'fringe of a garment' (× NaIE $\sqrt{*deḱ-}$, **doḱ-lo-* 'a single hair, tail' > Gt *tagl* 'a hair', AS *tæzēl* 'tail', OIr *dúal* 'plait, tassel') ¶ P 191, M K II 27, Fs. 470-1, Bv. 785, Ho. 341, Thr. 41 || **A:** Tg *tagd∇- v. 'tear out' > Ewk *tagdī-* 'tear out, take away (sth. from so.)', Ewk Urm/Ucr *tagdī-*

'tear away', Lm *tād-* (STM: < **tagdi-*) 'tear to pieces', Neg *tagdu-* id., 'tear away, pull out\aside', Ul *tagdu-*, Nn Nh/B *tadora-* 'tear\pull out', Ud *tagdi-* id., 'tear out\off', WrMc *tadu-* 'tear off \ to pieces \ into two parts' ¶ STM II 150-1 ¶ as.: N **t...k̥* > ***t...k̥* (> pre-Tg ***t...k* ⇨ ***tak-d*∇- > Tg **tagd*∇-) || D (in NED) **tok-/tonk-* v. 'tear off' > Mlt *toqe* v. 'nip off (as herbs), cut off (as bamboos)', Krx *tonk^h-* v. 'break a part of a plant with fingers, cull or pluck a leaf' ¶ D #3479, Pf. 192 || ?? HS: WS **√ntk̥* v. 'tear away, pull, draw' > BHb *√ntk̥ G* (pf. *𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤍 nā'tak̥*) id., D (pf. *𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤍 nit'tek̥*) v. 'tear apart, tear out', Ar *√ntq G* v. 'pull off, draw off', ? Gz *√ntk̥ G* v. 'pull' ¶ Here there may be contamination with other S verbal roots beginning with **√nt-*, such as **√ntš* 'ausreißen', **√ntr* v. 'tear'). The initial **n-* may be a former px. ¶ BDB #5423, KB 695, LG 407 ◇ D points to a N **o*, while Tg suggests **a*. This discrepancy is still to be explained.

2259. *täyK̥∇ 'finger', → 'one' > HS: C: EC **t∇k̥∇* 'one' > Or T {Mrn.} *tokko* m. 'one', *tokka* f. 'one', Or {Grg.} *tokko*, Or B/Wt {Sr.} *tokko*, Or O {Sr.} *to(k)ko*, *ta(k)ka*, Or H {Ow.} *tokko*, *takko*, Arr {Hw.} *tokkó* m., *takká* f. 'one', Elm *tóko*, f. *taka*, Dsn *takaç*, *tikiḍ(ḍi)*, Kns {BISO} *takka* ~ *tokka*, Ged {Hd.} *takka* 'one', ? Sa {R} *ti* 'one', ? Af {PH} *tiya* (f. *tī*) 'one thing, something, anything', ? Af {R} *tāw* 'solus, each', Rn *tákkày* ~ *tákkàč* 'one by one, one at a time' || Ag: Bln {R} *tū*, Xm {R} *tī* 'alone, solus' ¶ Grg. 377, Sr. 391, 393, Ow. 90, Hw. A 396-7, BISO 189, 197, Hd. 107, PH 200, R WB 344, PG 274, To. DL 529, Blz. DL s.v. 'one' || Ch: CCh **t∇k̥^w*- 'one' > Dgh {Frk.} *ték^wè*, *tít^wè*, Ngs {IL} *t^hák^hwù*, Msy {Mch.} *takan*, Db {Lnh.} *tàkáw*, Gdr {Mch.} *tákā*, Lgn {Lk.} *tkú* 'one' ¶ JI II 262-3, ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE **deǵk̥(k(w)-* 'finger' > L *digitus*, EpL *dicitus* id. || Gmc (< **doǵk̥(kwā)*: ON *tá*, OHG *zēha*, NHG *Zehe*, MLG *tēwe*, NGr M/S *cēve*, MDt *tee*, Dt *teen*, AS *tāhe*, *tā* 'toe', NE *toe* || ? amb Gk *δάκτυλος*, Gk B *δακκύλος* 'finger', unless it is from **δάτκυλος* < IE **dnt-kulo-s* (÷ OHG *zinko* 'spike, sharp point' > NHG *Zinken* 'spike', as supposed by J. Hofmann) ¶¶ Bc. 239-40, WH I 351, F I 344-5, Ch. 249-50, Hofm. 51, Bois. 164, Vr. 578-9, Vr. N 726, Ho. 341-2, Kb. 1242, 1254, OsS 1236, 1281, KM 877 ¶¶ The IE diphthong **eǵ* may be explained by postulating a phoneme **y* in N (**täyK̥∇*) or by supposing that it is due to the infl. of the verb **deǵk̥-* v. 'show' (< N **tik̥'ü* '≈ to show', q.v.); another possibility: **deǵk̥(k-* 'finger' < **deǵk̥-* v. 'show'. L-*gīt-* from -*kit-* is due to dis. (acc. to WH) || A: NaT **t'āk-* 'only, alone'

> OT {Cl.} *täk* 'only', Chg *täk* 'only, alone', Tk *tek* 'only; odd', *tekin* 'alone', Tkm *täk* 'odd (number)', Az *täk* id., 'alone', Qzq *tek* 'only' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 470, Hüs. 287, MM 341 || **Gil**: Gil ES {Blz. ← ?} *toḡaḡ* 'finger' ¶¶ Blz. KM 137 [#18] ◇ N **y* is suggested by IE (**e*_ǵ) and by T (length of the vw.: N **äy* > T **ä*). The fortis **t*'- in T (suggesting an earlier **t*'-) may have been influenced by the internal cns. (N *-*k*- > T *-*k*-). Another possible solution is to separate the N word for 'finger' (**t*∇*y*∇ > IE, Gil) from that for 'one' (N **t*ä_ǵ∇ > HS, T) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (equates Gil *toḡaḡ* with K, HS, and A words for 'span, hand', see N **t*ok∇ ≈ [palm of] hand [with fingers], span of hand') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #150 (**tik* 'finger') (IE, A, Ko, Ai, Gil + unc. CK, J).

2260. *taL∇ 'to shake, to wave' > HS: CS **√*tl̥tl̥ id. > Ar *√*tl̥tl̥ (pf. *taltala*) 'agiter, secouer', ? BHB *תַּלְתַּלִּים* *taltal*^l-*īm* '(?) waving palm-branches' (Cant. 5.11) (the meaning tentatively supposed on the ev. of some early translations: [LXX] *ἐλάται*, [Vulg.] *elatae palmarum* 'Triebe von Palmen', as well on the Arabic cognate) ¶ GB 880, BDB 1068, KB 1603-4, BK I 203 || **IE**: NaIE **de*(d), ? **°dou*_ǵ- vi. 'shake, swing' > AS *tealt* 'unsteady, heaving (ship); precarious', *tealt(r)ian* 'schwanken, wackeln, unsicher sein', MDt *touteren* 'to stagger, to reel, to swing', Dt *touteren* id., 'to be irresolute', Nr *tylten* 'shaky, unsteady, tottering', Sw *tulta* 'to hobble, to toddle' || ?? Lt *deĩsti* (prs. *deĩsi*^ù) 'to linger, to loiter, to delay', *dūlinéti* 'to wander, to drag oneself along' || ?φ OI *dō*^l*lā* 'swing, litter', *dōlāyatē* 'rocks about like a swing, moves to and fro', *dōlita*- 'swung, shaken, tossed' (unless borrowed from an Austronesian lge., as supposed by M) ¶¶ WP I 809, P193-4, Ho. 343, Sw. 171, Vr. N 743, ≈ Hlq. 1241, MW 498, M K II 67, Frn. 88 (connects *deĩsti* with IE **de*_l- 'long') || **A** **t*aL- > NaT **t*alb- > OT {Cl.} *talp*_l- v. 'flutter, palpitate, pulsate' (in ds.: *talp*_l- id., v. 'struggle', [MhK] *talp*_l- v. 'flutter': *kuš talpirdi* 'the bird flutted its wings'; [MgK] *talpiš*- v. 'flutter' (cooperative: *kušlar kamuş talpişdi* 'the birds all fluttered together'), XwT XIV *talb*_l- v. 'struggle, flutter', OOsM XIV-XVI *talb*_l- ~ *dalb*_l- v. 'flutter, palpitate', Tk Kn *dalb*_l-*mak* 'to flounder in water' (of so. who cannot swim), Tv *d*_l*alb*_l- vi. 'spread' (of wings), *d*_l*alb*_l-*albanna*- 'flap wings', Yk *talbā* n. act. 'swinging', *talbar*- 'take wing' ¶ Cl. 493, IS AD 47, SDD I 396 || M **dalal*- > WrM *dalal*-, HIM *далла*- v. 'beckon, wave the hand', Kl *dal*_l- 'winken, schwingen'; M **dalayi*- 'wave\swing

one's hand/arm' > MM [MA] *dala-* v. 'make a sign', WrM *dalai-*, HIM, Brt *далай-* v. 'raise the hand in order to strike, brandish, swing, wield', M \rightarrow Tlt/Alt {RI.} *talay-* '(die Hand, die Peitsche) zum Schlage aufheben, schwingen, in der Luft bewegen' ¶ KW 74, Pp. MA 138, MED 224, Chr. 183, RI. III 879 ¶¶ In the preconsonantal position T *l may go back both to A *l and to *l̥ ¶¶ IS AD 47, Pp. AU 100, Rm. VMT 57 ◇ IS SS 320 [#2.2], IS MS 369 ('трясти(сь)' *tal̥: HS, IE, A). CS *√tltl, IE *deld-*, and M *dala-* are likely to go back to a N reduplicated ***taL∇-taL∇**.

2261. *täL∇ 'cut (split, trim, cleave)' > K: pGZ *tal-/*tl- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' > G tal-/tl-, Mg tol- id. (× N *tiī∇ '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel, to cut into slices') ¶ K 90-1, K² 66-7, FS K 143, FS E 155 || IE: NaIE *del_la_l- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N *tiī∇ '↑') > OI 'dalati vi. 'bursts, cracks' (semantic infl. of 'phalati 'bursts, splits, cleaves open or asunder'), *dālayati* 'causes to burst', *dala-m* 'part, piece, half' || Gk (int.) *δαλ-δάλλω* 'work cunningly, embellish', *δαλδαλος, δαλδαλεος* 'cunningly\curiously wrought' || pAI {O} *dalnānya (adj. with *-no-; ← IE *del-) > AI *dalloj* 'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheiden, teilen', {Kf.} 'χωρίζω' || L *dolā-* v. 'hew with an axe' (× IE *del- v. 'split') || ? OIr *delb* 'form, image', OW *delu*, W *delw* 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE *del- '↑') || ON *telgja* 'to carve, to cut', NLG *talter* 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || ? Arm {WP, P} *տողեմ* *toḷem* 'prägen ein, brennen ein' (if from *d_ol- [as WP and P after Scheftelowicz], unless it is a sd. from *toḷem* v. 'thread, string, arrange' [→ 'write'], / N *tUL∇ '≈ to line up') || Lt *dalīs* 'part', *dalijù*, *dalýti* v. 'divide', *dalià* 'share, destiny', Ltv *daļa*, Δ *dalīs* 'part, share', Lt *pūs-dylīs ménuo* 'moon in its last quarter' (*pūs* is 'half', *ménuo* is 'moon'), Pru *dellieis* 'divide' | SI *dóla 'part, share' > RChS, OR *ДОЛЯ* *dolja*, R, Uk 'доля', P *dola* id., 'destiny', OCz *s doli* 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, EI 143 (*del- 'carve, split, cut'), M K II 24-5, F I 339-40, WH I 364-6, Vr. 586, LP § 19, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, Frn. 81-2, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12 || A *tä|eL- v. 'split' > M *delbere- v. 'burst or crack asunder, go to pieces, split, break' > WrM *delbere-*, HIM *дэлбэрэ-* id., WrM *delberkey*, HIM *дэлбэрхий* 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice', K1 *делвркә* 'deep scratch', {Rm.} *delwr̥kē* 'tiefer Riss', ¶ MED 248, KRS 196, KW 87 || Tg *delk^ri¹- v. 'split' (× N ?σ *dæL^rk¹a 'to prick', q.v.?) > Ewk *dəlki-* v. 'split\chop into

pieces', Lm dʒlkɐ- v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk dʒlkə-'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn dʒlki- v. 'split (reed in order to plait mats)', WrMc dɛlxɛ- vi. 'separate', Mc Sb dʒlɥʒ- 'be disconnected \ ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} dɛlxɛ-, {Kiy.} tɛlxɛ- v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, Y##1200, 1713, Kiy. 119 [#390], Md. ChF 136 ¶¶ ≈ ADb. 58 [#11], ≈ SDM97 (A *tʰiʰl(k)a 'split, divide, differentiate', incl. M, Tg), ≈ DQA #2227 (A *tɛlɥ 'split, strike' > incl. M, Tg) || D *oʰtaʰl- > Mlt tale- v. 'cut off' ¶¶ ≈ D #3124 || HS: d.: WS *talam ~ *talulim 'furrow' > BHb תַלְמַם 'tɛlɛm, JA {Dlm., KB, Js.} תַלְמַם tal'm-ā (and [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} תַלְמַם təlā'm-ā), Ar تَلْم talam-, Gz talm id. ¶ KB 1602, Dlm. 421, Lv. T II 540, Js. 1672, BK I 205, LG 574-5 ¶¶ It is originally a deverbal derived noun with the nominal sx. *-ɥm- ◇ M, Tg *e, and D *a suggest pN *ä ◇ AD GD #125 and DQA l.c. (IE, A), IS MS 360 ('расщеплять' *tɛʰlʰɥ: IE, A, ? K, ? HS [C]), IS SS #2.12 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #218 (*tɛl 'hurt') (IE, A + unc. CK).

2262. *tʰiʰɥ '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel (behauen), to cut into slices' > K: pGZ *tal-/tʰl- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' (× N *täLɥ 'cut [split, trim, cleave]' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: NaIE *dɛlʰa₁- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N *täLɥ '↑') > OI dā'layati 'spaltet, macht bersten', 'dalati 'birst' (semantic influence of 'phalati 'springt entzwei'), dala-m 'Teil, Stück, Hälfte' || Gk (intens.) δαλ-δάλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαίδαλος, δαιδάλεος 'cunningly\curiously wrought' || pAl {O} *dahnānya (adj. with *-no- ← IE *dɛl-) > Al dalloj 'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheide, teile', {Kf.} 'χωρίζω' || L dolā- v. 'hew with an axe' || ? Arm տողեմ toʰem 'prägen ein, brenne ein' (if from *dɔl- [as WP and P after Scheftelowitz], unless it is a sd. of toʰem v. 'thread, string, arrange', F N *tULɥ '≈ to line up') || ? L dolā- 'behauen, bearbeiten' (× IE *dɛl- v. 'split') || ? OIr dɛlb 'Gestalt, Form', OW dɛlu, W dɛlɥ 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE *dɛl- v. 'split') || LG talter 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || Lt dalis 'part', dalijù, dalýti v. 'divide', dalià 'share, destiny', Ltv daļa, Δ dalis 'part, share', Lt pūs-dylis (μένοιο) 'Mond im letzten Viertel' (pūs means 'half'); ??σ Lt dylù, dilti, Ltv dɛlu, dilstu, dil̃t 'grow used up (by rubbing)', dilot 'abschleifen' || Sl *dola 'part, share' > RChS, OR ΔΟΛΙΑ dolja, R, Uk 'доля, P dola id., 'destiny', OCz s doli 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12, WH I 364-6 || A: NaT *tʰil- 'zurechtschneiden', cut into

slices\strips' > OT {Cl.} til- v. 'cut into slices', Tk dil-, Ggz dil- 'divide in pieces \ parts \ stripes', Tkm dil- 'cut into segments \ slices \ stripes', MOg [L] dillä- 'cut to pieces', Ggz, Az dil-im 'slice', Bsh t̄l-, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, ET, Uz til-, Qzl, Xk t̄l-, Yk t̄al-, Chv č̄b̄l- 'cut into hunks \ stripes', VTt t̄b̄l- id., v. 'chop sticks, cut up leather to thongs', Tv d̄il- v. 'saw up (a log to boards), cut up (leather to thongs)', Tf d̄il- 'cut up to long narrow stripes \ slices' ¶ Chv č̄- < pT *t- due to the palatalizing infl. of the vw. *i ¶ Rs. W 490-1, IS AD 39, ET VGD 230-1, TkR 270, TrR 232, GRM 145 ¶ × pA {SDM95} *t̄īl̄(k)∇ v. 'split, divide, differentiate' (> M *č̄il̄ü-ʒen 'space between', Tg *del- v. 'split, divide', pKo *t̄ar̄l̄ 'be different', pJ *t̄ank̄ap- / *t̄ink̄ap- v. 'differ') ¶ SDM95 s.v. *t̄īl̄(k)a ◊ IE *e and K *a are likely to belong to the heritage of *t̄äl̄∇.

2263. *tūl̄∇ '≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts' > HS: S *^o√t̄w̄l̄ > Ar √t̄w̄l̄ G 'exercer un enchantement\sortilège', Ar tuwal- 'magic art, witchcraft', ? *^o√t̄l̄w̄ (× N *t̄el̄∇ 'shout, call') > Ar √t̄l̄w̄: talā t̄ilāw-at-an 'he read (a book), recited (sth.)', t̄ilāw-at- 'reading, recital' (unless ← √t̄l̄w̄ G 'follow') ¶ BK I 205-6, 211, Hv. 62, 64 || ? B *^o√t̄l̄H > Shw {Hy.} ut̄la v. 'parler, discourir' ¶ Hy. 556 || ? C: Ag: Bln/Q {R} telā, Xm {R} t̄elā, Km {CR} t̄ilā 'medicine, drug (Arznei)' || EC: Sml {DSI, ZMO} talo 'decision, advice, opinion, proposal', {DSI} tali- v. 'decide, advise', {ZMO} rule, govern', Sml N {Abr.} t̄álo 'decision' || SC: Kz {E} tulatu 'court case' ¶ R WB 338, Abr. S 234, DSI 574-5, ZMO 385-6, E SC 325 || IE *del- 'tell, narrate, pronounce ritual texts' > Ht talliya- v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {KrlSh} tali '(heathen) priest' (× N *t̄el̄∇ '↑' [q.v.]) || Gmc *talō 'narration', *taljan 'to tell, to narrate' > ON tala 'speech, conversation', AS talu 'narration' (> NE tale), MLG tale 'speech', MDt tael, tāle 'speech, language', Dt taal 'language, speech', OHG zala 'tale'; ON tala 'to speak, to talk', AS talian 'to enumerate; to consider (a thing to be so-and-so)', tēllan 'to narrate' ¶¶ P 193, Ts. IAH 265, Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 580-1, Vr. N 718, Ho. 342, 344, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, ≠ Pol. ONRT 661, GI 808 (fn. 1) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *tult̄∇ 'witchcraft' > Hg t̄áltos 'sorcerer, shaman; Zauberpfers' || ObU *t̄v̄lt̄ > pOs *tolt/*tolt̄ ({JHl.} *tolt/*tält) > Os: N tolt 'giant' (← 'sorcerer'), tolt̄n, tolt̄en 'mit Zauberkräft', Vy tolt 'fever', Kz t̄w̄t̄t̄ 'Hilfe; Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', t̄q̄t̄a 'without effort, without noise;

suddenly'; pVg *tūlt > Vg N tūltan, tūltna 'leicht, einfach' (← *'by witchcraft') ¶ UEW 895, Ht. 188 [#637] ◇ May be (but not necessarily is) connected with N *tUL∇ '≈ to line up' (q.v.) ◇ IE *deI- (rather than **deuI- with *eu < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants ◇ AD NM #124, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST), ≈ Blz. KM 122 [#27] (S, C, B, IE + reflexes of N *tUL∇ '≈ to line up' + unconvincingly: Tg *tēluŋu 'narrating, folk tale' [which should be better referred to N *teL∇ '↑'], Ak tēlu 'pronounce distinctly' [ē points to a S *ɣ or *h]).

2264. ₂ *tUL∇ '≈ to line up' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to count') > K: pGZ *tʷl-/ *tʷal- v. 'count' > G tvl(-a)/tʷal-, Mg tʷal- (← G?) id. ¶ Fn. KW-2 42 [#6], Chx. 487-8 || IE: NaIE *deI- '≈ row, thread, counting' > Arm տող toł 'row', տողեմ tołem v. 'thread, string' || Gmc *talō 'counting, narration', *taljan 'to count, to tell' (× N *tuI∇ '≈ tell [a story], pronounce magic\ritual texts', q.v. ffd.) > AS talu 'series', tæl 'number', ʒetæl 'number, series', OHG zala 'row, number, counting, account', NHG Zahl 'number'; OHG zalōn, NHG zahlen 'to count' ¶ P 193, Vr. 580-1, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, KM 872, Bedr. 707, EI 397 (*deI- 'aim, compute') ◇ The meaning 'narration, to talk' (as in Gmc) has a double origin: it goes back both to N *tUL∇ '≈ line up' (cp. *compter* - *raconter*) and to N *tuI∇ '≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts'. An alt. solution is to assume that these two N words are identical: *tuI∇ '≈ line up' → 'narrate, tell (a story)' → 'pronounce magic\ritual formulas' ◇ ≈ Blz. 122 [#27] (incl. K, IE; see above s.v. ≈ *tuI∇ '↑').

2265. ₂ *t|t|∇L∇ 'hang' > HS: *√tly|w 'hang' (KB: '(an)hängen') > Hb √tly G (pf. תָּלָא tālā, pp. תָּלִי תָּלִי tālī tālī), IA √tly 'hang', JA [Trg.] √tly|w G 'lift up, hang', JEA √tly G 'hang, suspend', Ak tullû D 'behängen' ¶ KB 1601, Js. 1671, Lv. T II 539, Sl. 1208-9, Sd. 1369 || ECh: Ndam D {J} tùlà, Li {Grgs.} tǔl 'hang' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #508 || A: pKo *tár- 'hang, fasten' > MKo tár-, NKo tal- ¶ S QK #952, Nam 140, MLC 403 || pJ *tárá- vi 'hang' > OJ tára-, J: T taré-, K/Kg tārè- ¶ S QJ #1159, Mr. 764 ¶¶ DQA #2386 (A *t'jālo 'hang, strap'; Ko, J + unc. σM *teleyi 'belt for trousers' and Tg *tōli 'belt') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #196 (*tol 'hang') (A, Ko, J, Ai + err. IE + unc. M, Tg).

2266. *toH₂I∇ (or *toI₂H∇) 'to fill, to pile up; full' > HS: EC *tūI- v. 'pile up' (× N *tiI₂a₁ío 'stone, heap of stones'??) > Sml, Or, Kns tūI-, Bs tūI-a- 'pile up', HEC *tūI- v. 'pile up, stack' (of grain) > Brj {Hd.} tūI- id., Ged {Hd.} tūI- id., {L} tūle v. 'heap', Sd {Gs., Hd.} tūI- v. 'pile up' || ???σ

SC: Kz {E} tal- v. 'grow' ¶ Ss. B 180, Bl. 185, AD GDS #7.19, Abr. S 240, Grg. 381, LM 54, Hd. 113, 223, 263, 396, Gs. 318, ESC 168 || NrOm: Ym {C} tūl- 'fare i covoni, ammucciare', {Wdk.} tūlo- v. 'heap up', Mch {L} tūlló 'heap, pile' ¶ LM 54, C SE III 83, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch: WCh: Hs túlì 'heap, crowd', Ang {Flk.} tūl 'a swelling', {J} tūl 'swelling after a bit by a fly' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} tɜlaŋ 'völlig' ¶ Abr. H 897, Eb. 97, Flk. s.v. tūl, ChC || ?σ B: Ah tawəltwəl 'swell, inflate' ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 79 [#6.2] (C, Om, Ch + unc. Eg tωɜ 'hochheben, hold up, support', Ar tall- 'hill', and JA təlīl-ā 'high' [actually pp. 'lifted up, exalted' → 'high', see N *ti,pa,ío '↑']) || K *°twał- > G tvał- 'zur Reife kommen, reif werden (z. B. Früchte)' (← * 'become full') ¶ Chx. 474 || A *tōl∇ > T *t'ōl- v. 'be filled, be full' > OT {Cl.} toł- id., Tkm dōł-, Tk dol-, Az, Ggz dol-, VTt, Bsh tuł-, CrTt, Qry, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Alt, Xk toł-, Uz tωł-, Chv L тул- tuł-, Tv d_ol-, Tf d_ol-, Yk tūōł- id., Tf d_ol- vi. 'come to an end, be done, be filled'; T d. *t'ōlu 'full' > OT {Cl.} tołū, Tk dolu, Az, Ggz dolu, Tkm, XT {ADb.} dōlī, Nog, Qzq, Qq tołī, Blq, Yk tolu, VTt, Bsh тулы tułb, Qrg, Alt tolo, Uz tωlä, Tv d_olu 'full, filled', Yk tolor- v. 'fill, fulfill'; T ⇨ Ewk tołt 'full' ¶ IS AD 40, ADb. Ttd 61 [#9], Rs. W 486, ET VGD 257-9, Jeg. 256, Fed. II 242-3, Ra. 173, JkR 389, 402, Pek. 2819-20, Rl. III 1191-3, DTS 172-3 || Tg *dql-∇m- v. 'fill' > Neg dolmıça 'full, whole', WrMc dolmo- 'pour in, fill the cup, add (wine)' ¶ STM II 195 || ?σ pJ *tár- 'be sufficient, full' > OJ tar-, J: T tãri-, K tãrí-, Kg tarí- ¶ S QJ 158, Mr. 764 ¶¶ ≠ But S AJ and DQA #229 equate the T and J stems with Tg *jalu(-m) 'full' and pKo *čara v. 'be sufficient, enough' and reconstruct pA **čālo 'full, to fill'.

2267. *talɣ'o' ≈ (back of the) neck, shoulders' > HS: S *°√tlɣ 'neck' > Ar talaf- 'longueur du cou \ de l'encolure', √tlɣ G (pf. talifa, ip. -tlaɣ-) 'avoir un long cou \ une encolure longue'; in Ar the semantic component of 'length' is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous root √tlɣ v. 'be tall' (as in the word talīf- 'tall') (< N *tæLɣE 'be long', q.v.) ¶ BK I 204, LG 574, Di. 552, Sd. 1369-70 || ???φ C: SLEC {Bl.} *dul 'back (dorsum)' > Kns túl-ta id., Sml N {Abr.} dúl id., 'on', Sml {ZMI} dul 'top, surface; on, above' ¶ Bl. 177, Abr. S 68, ZMI 100 || IE (att. in Blt) *°d_lh₁e|H-b-/*°d_lh₁o|H-b-/*°d_lh₁o|H-b- 'upper arm' > Ltv Δ daĩba ɔ daĩbs 'Stamm des Baums, Stange', Lt dīlbis 'forearm' ({P} 'Röhrenknochen, Schienbein'), Ltv dēlbs 'Oberarm', dīlba ~ dīlbs 'forearm (Oberarm)', Δ 'Schienbein'; ??σ (× N *dæLb∇ 'to gouge, to

dig, to cut through'?): Lt *dálba* ~ *délba* 'lever, crow-bar', Pru *dalptan* 'Durchschlag' 'crow-bar (for punching holes)' ¶ P 246, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tp. P A-D 291-4, ME I 434, 454, 466-7, PiesS 128, 144 || A **t̥a:ɫu* 'shoulders, shoulder-blade' > NaT **t̥a:ɫ* 'upper part of the back; back (dorsum)' > Tk *dal* 'back (dorsum)', Δ *dal* ≈ *dalh*, Az *dal* id., 'back part', Az Tbr/Erz {Foy} *dal* 'part of the back between the shoulders', Tkm † *da:ɫ* 'back part', Tkm Δ {Mux.} *dal* 'back' ¶ IS AD 47, Rs. W 130, ET VGD 131-2, ADb. SR 141-2, Az. 95, Foy AS II 213, Mux. 234 || M {Lg.} **dālu* 'shoulder-blade, the hinder part of the shoulder' > MM [MA, IM] *دالو* *dālu*, [IsV] *دَالُو* *dalwū* (sic!), WrM *dalū*, HIM *дал* 'shoulderblade', Brt *дала*, MMgl *dālū* ({Lg.} [*dālu*]), Mgl {Rm.} *dōlu*, Dg *dal* id., Dx *daleu*, Ba *dali*, Mnr H {SM} *dālī* 'shoulder (épaule), shoulderblade', Kl *дал*, {Rm.} *dal_a* 'sholuderblade'; M ⇨ Chg *dalū* id.; M **dalaŋ* ({ADb.} **dalū-n*) 'horse's withers (загривок); fat under a horse's mane' (ADb.: ← adj.) > WrM {Kow.} *dalaŋ* 'nuque, le dessus de cou (des chevaux, des mulets)', Kl *далъŋ*, HIM *далан(г)* *dalan~dalaŋ* 'fat under a horse's mane', Brt *далан* 'horse's withers' ¶ IS AD 47, MED 226-7, ADb. MSR 9 [#10], Pp. MA 138, 435, KW 73, Rm. M 27, Iw. 97, Lg. VMI 25, SM 42, T 327, T BJ 138, T DnJ 117, T DgJ 134, KRS 178, 180, Chr. 183-4, Kow. 1632, 1635 || Tg: Ewk *dalū* 'shoulder-balde of reindeer\elk' (← M?) ¶ STM I 195 || ?σρKo {S} **t̥ar'áj* 'wing of a saddle' (unless derived from *t̥ar-* 'hang', as supposed by MLC) > MKo *t̥ar'áj* 'wing of a saddle', NKo *tarä* 'mudguards hanging on either sides of a horse; two sideboards of a coffin' ¶ S QK #857, Nam 141, MLC 382 || pJ {S} **t̥a:ɫ* 'hand, arm' > OJ *tè*, J: T/Kg *té*, K *tèe*, Ns *tí*, Sh *tí*, Ht *šī*, Y *tī* ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ #35, Mr. 545 ¶¶ IS AD 47, STM l.c., ≠ ADb. SRAE 445 (M ÷ T **jāl* 'fat under the mane of a horse'; A **dālu* [{ADb.} **ḍalu*]), DQA #362 (A **talō* 'wing, shoulderblade') || D (in SD) **tō* ({ʁGS} **t-*) 'shoulder, arm' > Tm *tō* id., Ml *tō* 'shoulder', Kt *tō* 'upper arm (elbow to shoulder)', Td *tʷ+·ɫfody* 'bangle worn on upper arm', Kn *tō*(*u*), Tu *tō**u* 'arm' ¶ D #3564 ◇ SD rounded **ō* is probably due to regr. as. ◇ IS MS 355 ('плечо': A-D).

2268. **tæLɣE(-ga)* 'be long' > HS: S **✓tɫɣ* v. 'be tall, high, long' (× N **tuɫɣ* 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') > Ar *talīf-* 'tall', ? *talɣ-at-* 'hauteur, élévation, monticule', (× S **✓tɫɣ* 'neck' < N **taɫɣ'o* '[back of the] neck, shoulders') Ar *✓tɫɣ* (pf. *talīfa*, ip. *-tlaɣ-*) 'avoir un long cou, une encolure longue' ¶ BK I 204, Hv. 61 || IE: [1] **deɫh̥-* >

NaIE *de_lə₁- 'long' > Sl {ESSJ} *dъlbъ, {Bern., SPS} *dъbъla 'length' > OCz, Cz dĕl, LLs del, OP dla id.; Sl *dъliti (1s prs. *dъlĭq) 'to prolong, to make longer' > OCS **ПРОДЪЛНТИ** prodъliti (prodъliti slovo 'μηκύναι τὸν λόγον' = 'to speak long', lit. 'to prolong the speech'), R про-дл-ить 'to prolong, to make longer', SCr † dljĭti id., Cz dlíti, R Δ длить 'to prolong, to postpone', R rf. длиться 'to last'; Sl *dъlina 'length' > R дли'на, SCr † dljĭna id., ⇨ R длин-н-ый 'long' ||| Gmc: Nr Δ tǝla 'zögern, warten' ||| [2] IE *deleh₂gh^h-/*d₂h^hgh^h-o- 'long' > NaIE *dele₂gh^h-/*d₂gh^h-o- > OI dīr'gha-, Av darəga-, darəḡa-, OPrs darga-, Oss I/D даргъ darγ 'long' ||| Gk δολιχός id. ||| ?σ Gmc: Gt tulgus 'firm, steady', OSx tulgo 'very' ||| Blt (with unexplained loss of *d-): Lt ĭlgas, Ltv iļgs, Ytv ilg 'long', Pru ilga 'for a long time, diu' | Sl *dъlgъ (dadj. *dъlgъjъ) 'long' > OCS **ДАЛГЪ** dlъgъ ~ **ДАЛЪГЪ** dlъgъ, Blg дълъг, SCr dǔg, Slv dōlg, Cz dlouhý, Slk dlhý, P dǎugi, R долгий 'long', R 'долог' is long' || Ht daluki- 'long' (of time and space) ||| [3] NaIE *dlong^h-o- 'long' > L longus ||| Gt laggs, ON langr, OHG, NHG, AS lang 'long', NE long ||| MPrs drang 'long' ||| pAl {O} *dlata 'long' (< *d₂ng^h-to-) > Al gjatē, Δ glatz ¶ P 196-7, EI 357 (*d₂h^hgh^h-s and *dlong^h-s 'long'), FI 406-7, Frn. 183-4, Zink. LJZ I 73, En. 183, Tr. P I-K 40-1, Bern. I 251-3, StSS 189, 520, SPS V 215-6, 219-20, Glh. 209-10, ESSJ V 207-12, M K II 47, Ab. I 344-5, Fs. 482-3, Hs. S 76, Kb. 588, Ts. W 82-3, Ts. E III 61-5, ABIv. II 111-2, Vr. 345, Fs. 318, O 130-1 ||| **А:** M: WrM delegūū, HIM дэлүү 'large, vast, spacious, wide', MM [MA] delge- v. 'open wide', delgere- v. 'spread', WrM delge- {Pp.} 'ausbreiten', {MED} v. 'spread', HIM дэлгэ- id., WrM delger, HIM дэлгэр 'extensive, vast', Mnr {T} delge- vt. 'spread, unfold', Mnr H {SM} d₂ierge- 'étendre, déployer, étaler, dérouler'; M ⇨ Yk däläy, dälägäy 'abundant, vast', Ewk dǝlǝyǝy, dǝlǝy 'vast' ¶ MED 248-9, Pp. MA 140-1, T 328, SM 52 ¶¶ STM I 233-4, ≠ Pp. VG 22 (considers Ewk dǝlǝy to be an inherited Tg word and a cognate of M delge-, delegey rather than a loan) ◇ ≈ IS MS 339 (*tel(h)ǝ 'long') and IS SS #2.13 (in both: A, IE, *S [a non-existent Ar ✓ t₂h]) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #249 (*de₁ 'long') (IE, CK + err. A *de₁p'ǝ 'wide').

2268a. *tul₁ǝ ▽ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' > **HS:** S *^o✓ t₁ǝ > Ar talǝ-at- 'high\elevated land\ground' (× S *^o✓ t₁ǝ 'be tall, long' < N *tǝL₁E(-ga) 'be long?') ¶ Ln. 312, BK I 204 || EC: Sml {DSI} tulu_h 'hump; large benign tumour on the hind part of the neck', Or {Grg.}

tullū 'mountain, hill', Sd {C} tullō 'mountain', {Gs.} tullitte, coll. tullo 'hill, heap', {Hd.} tull-ō 'hill' (semantic infl. of tūl- v. 'pile up?', / N *toH₂l̄∇ ~ *toH₂∇ 'to fill, to pile up; full' and N *ti_lpa_lío 'stone, heap of stones') ¶ DSI 589, Grg. 379, Gs. 318, C SE II 221 || U: FU *tužka 'point, upper end' (↔ FP *tužka-m∇) > F tutka 'Spitze', tutkan (gen. tutkamen), 'Spitze, Ende', Es tutk, tutkem 'Ende, Winkel' || Lp N {N} dučkum ~ dučkun, , L {LLO} tur'kum 'leaf-bud (on trees)', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d_{ur}čkomz 'Knospe, Kätzchen an Bäumen' || Prm *to|ǝl 'sprout, shoot, excrescence' > Vt tuł+m 'young shoot on the top of a tree' ('die oberen zarten Sprößlinge der Bäume'), tołā 'fir-cone', Z LL/MS pon-toł 'sty on the eye' (pon- 'dog's' → '≈ rotten') || ObU {Ht.} *tōž/*tēž, *tož/*ta:ž 'Gipfel, Spitze, oberes Ende' > pVg *tālak ~ *tālak id. > Vg: T/LL/ML tālak, LK tālak, MK/UK tālak, P/SV taík, NV taík & tālak, UL tālak, Ss tołak ~ talak; pOs *tōy, *tōy ({Hl.} *tūy, *tūy) > Os: V/Vy tōy, Ty/Y tōy, D/K tēy, Nz/Kz tīy, O tǎy id. || OHg tōlgū, tōlgū, Hg tōgū 'udder', {UEW} 'Euter, Gesäuge' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 533-4, Sm. 550 (FU *túčkǎ 'tip' > FP *túčka, Ugr túčka), MF 643-5, LG 281-2, Ht. #616-7 ¶¶ Cf. N *tōl̄A(-k∇) or *t̄Al̄∇(-k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' || D *t'ul̄i 'sprout, bud; to sprout, bud' > Tm tułir- v. 'bud, sprout, shoot, put forth leaves', tułir 'bud, sprout', Ml tułir 'a bud', Kn suṛi 'tender sprout', Kn Hl sułi, Kn B čuli 'sprout', Kn R tǝl̄alu 'mango shoot', Kdg čuli 'leaf shoot', Tu sułi 'tender shoot, germ, bud', Mlt {Drs.} cúlē v. 'sprout', cúlō 'blade of grass or corn' ¶¶ D #3362 ◊ AD LZL 359-60 (*tul̄ǝ∇ HS, U, D + *÷ T), IS I 222 (*duλ̄∇; U, D + *÷ K).

2269. *t'a¹lh∇ ~ *tahel∇ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged' > HS: S *o√tlh > Ar √tlh G (ip. -tlah-, pf. taliha) 'périr; être triste et chagrin' ¶ BK I 205 || IE *deh₁l-/*d̄h₁l- > NaIE *dēl-/*dāl- v. 'damage, destroy' > Gk δηλέομαι 'I destroy, damage', παν-δῶλῆτος 'destroyed', φρενο-δῶλῆς 'sinnestört' || L dolē- v. 'ache' (mihi dolet 'it hurts me', caput dolet '[one's] head aches'), dolor 'pain', but not dēlē- 'blot out, efface' (where dē- is a px.) || Ltv dēlīt 'to wear out', Δ {ME} 'quälen, Δ {ME} dēl̄ 'es ist eine Schande' ¶ ≠ P 194-5, F I 378, WH I 335-6, 364, ME I 463, ≈ Kar. I 208-9 ¶ L and Ltv < IE *dēl-/*dāl- × IE *del- v. 'split' (< N *tāl∇ 'cut [split, trim, cleave]') || U: FU (att. in Vg) *o|s|s'a¹l̄∇ > Vg N {Mu.} tal ~ täl 'illness, contagious disease' ¶ MK

621 || **A** *tāla- > T *t_lāla- 'bite' (of animals), 'damage, ruin' > OT tāla- v. 'damage, pillage', MQp XIV-XV, OOSm ≤XIV tāla- 'bite, tear; plunder', Chg ≥XV tāla 'pillage', Tk dāla-, Az, Ggz dāla- 'bite' (of animals), Chv tula-, Δ tᵛᵛla- id., 'kill (an animal)' (of predators), Tkm tāla-, Az tāla- 'bite' (of animals), 'plunder', Uz, Qrg tāla-, Yk talā- 'plunder', Xk tāla- v. 'ruin, destroy', Alt tāla- id., 'plunder; scold, abuse', VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq tāla- 'plunder', 'bite' (of animals) | T ᵔ → M (× N *tāí'h'a 'lift up, carry', q.v.): MM [S, MA] tāla-, Kl {Rm.} talā- v. 'plunder', WrM tāla-, HIM тала- v. 'take away, confiscate, plunder; ruin', Ord t'āla- 'piller et casser les objets'; M ᵔ → WrMc tāla- 'confiscate' ¶ Cl. 492, ET VGD 134-7, Rs. W 458, Jeg. 256, BT 140, Pek. 2533, MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 339, KW 376 || ?σ pKo {S} *tār_láj- 'lure, seduce, coax' > MKo tār_láj-, NKo tallä- ¶ S QK #624, Nam 139, MLC 404 || ?σ pJ {S} *tárá-s- 'deceive, lure' > OJ tárás-, J: T taras- ¶ S QJ #570 ¶¶ DQA #2321 (A *t'āla 'plunder, seduce') || **D** *tall- v. 'beat, hit' > Tm tallu v. 'beat, crush', Ml tallu 'a blow, stroke, beating', Tu dallyuni v. 'slap, beat', Tl Δ talgu v. 'strike', Knd talg- v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D #3105 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I #7 (IE, ?U + erroneously HS *dall- 'weak').

2270. *tæī_ho' ≈ be\make foolish, deceive' > **HS**: S *^o√tll > BHb √tll *Sh* pf. 3m הַתְּלֵהּ hē'tl̥el, 2m הַתְּלֵהּ hē'taltā, ip. 3pm הַתְּלֵהּ yəhā'tel'lū) v. 'deceive, cheat'; ?σ S *^o√tlh > Ar √tlh *G* 'perdre la tête, demeurer interdit \ stupéfait', tālih- 'stupéfait, interdit' (unless sd. of √tlh 'périr', see N *t'a'lh ▽ ≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged) ¶ GB 879, KB 1602, BK I 205 || **IE**: NaIE *del- {P} 'listig schädigen', *del-os 'lure' > Gk δόλος 'cunning contrivance for deceiving\catching', δολύω vt. 'beguile, ensnare, take by craft' || L dolus (gen. dolī) 'fraud, deceit, guile', Osc accus. DOLOM 'dolum' (L and Osc ← Gk?) || OIr dul 'snare', NIr dol 'snare, fishing net', OIr dolb, dailbe 'deceit', NIr dolbh 'sorcery', W † dól (pl. dolau) {YGM} 'loop', {Mn.} 'noose' || ON tál n. 'deceit, cunning (Betrug, List)', tæla 'to entice, to deceive' ¶ P 193, Mn. 154, WH I 366-7, Bc. G 315, FI 407-8, Dnn. 255, YGM-1 193, Vr. 580-1 || **A**: NaT *t'āīliü- ~ *t_lēlbä- ({ADb.} *t'āī(w)i-) 'mad, fool' > OT Og [MhK] telū 'stupid', Tk deli, Tkm dāli, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq deli, VTt tilb, Qrg teli 'mad', Az dāli, Nog teli ~ deli, Blq teli, Bsh tilb id., 'stupid'; NaT *t_lēlbä > OT telvā 'lunatic, mad', Tkm telbe id., Uz telba id., 'stupid', ET Δ {Jr.} telbe, Qrg delbe 'fool, foolish', Qq delbe 'extravagant, crazy' ¶ Cl. 493, MKD 184, DTS 551, ET VGD 214-7, Jr.

302, TkR 300, Hüs. 102, UzR 422, ADb. Ttd 61 [#16] ¶ The variant *t_lʼEłbä- may be due to the infl. of the reflex of A *dūlwE 'crazy, stupid' < N *dūlU_h∇ 'be mad, be stupid' and/or result from a phonetic change: N *o + *ä of a suffix > *wä > T *bä ◇ Ar ✓ t_lh and the long vw. in T *t_lʼē|ē|l|ü- suggest that in the pN etymon there was a cs. *h, that was lost in Hb and in the prevocalic position in NaIE.

2271. *tälU_H₂A ~ *talU_H₂ä '≈ cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain', 'moist' ('humide') > Arm **տեղ** teł 'heavy rain', **տեղամ**, -**եմ**, -**ում** v. 'cause to rain heavily, open the windows of heaven' || OIr {P} **delt** 'dew', MBr, Br **delt** 'moist' ('humide') ¶ P 196, ≈σ EI 207 (*del- 'flow'), Ern. 151, Hm. 149, Bedr. 697-8, ≠ Ach. IV 392 || U: FU *tälwä 'winter' > F talvi (gen. talven), Es talv, Lv tōla, Lv W tōla id. | pLp {Lr.} *tālve id. > Lp: N {N} dalve, L {LLO} talve, S {Hs.} daalvie, Vfs {Lgc.} dalεwε, Kld талльв tāl:v | pMr {Ker.} *tāla > Er теле téle, Mk тѣла tála id. | Chr: KB tel, Uf tela, B tele id. | Prm {LG} *tōl > Z tōlv, Yz tōl id. || ObU {Ht.} *tēl(əv) 'winter' > Vg *tāl ~ *tālī > Vg: T tāl, LK/MK/UK/NV tōl, P/SV/LL tōl, UL/Ss tāl 'winter', LK/MK/Ss tēli 'in winter', P tēl-pāl, UL tēli-pāwl 'Winterdorf'; pOs *tēlav ({{JHl.} *tālav) 'winter' > Os: V/Vy tēlav, Ty/Y tōlav, D/K tēta, Nz tāt, Kz tāv, O tāl | Hg tél (accus. tele) id. ¶ UEW 516, Coll. 118, Coll. CG 414, Db. OS x, Sm. 550 (FU *tälwä, FP *tälvä, Ugr *tālgä), MF 625-6, It. #271, Kt. 429, LG 283, Lr. #1223, Lgc. #7728, Hs. 403-4, SaR 344, Ker. II 166, Ht. #635 || A: NaT *tōlu 'hail' > Tk dolu, Az dolu, Ggz tolu (the vl. t- is still to be explained), Tkm {TkR, TDS} dolı (not dōlı, as in AB and Rs. W), XT {ADb.} dolı, Xlj t_lo'lı, Kü {Rl.} tolı, Tv d_olu, Yk tolon ¶ IS AD 42 [#24], Rl. III 1196, Rs. W 486, TkR 278, TDS 264, DT 208, ET VGD 260-1, ADb. Ttd 61 [#5], TvR 170 ¶ IS reconstructs *t_lʼ- ({{JIS} *t-) on the basis of alleged variations t- ~ d- (observed in Ggz tolu, Tk Rh tolu, and MT [L] {presumably Türkmäni} t_olu). But the Og lgs. of the Balkans (Ggz and the Balkan Tk dialects) are known to have been preceded in the Balkans by those of the pre-Oghuz Pächänäg-Quman (sc. Qipchaq) population and may have had some Qp substratum (in Qp the opposition t_lʼ- : t- was lost) (F Mng. TLP 11, 32-4), so that tolu in Ggz and Tk Rh may be a Qp loanword, while the supposed Türkmäni identity of the gloss t_olu from the Leiden Glossary is highly qu. Hence IS's conclusion referring this word to the *t_lʼ- group is hardly reliable ¶ S CNM 6 on my T *tolu: "Turk. *dōlu (no *tolu)". A

misunderstanding: my lax T *t- = {S} d-. The pT vw. was short, as proved by Tkm dolı (TkR 278, TDS 264) || ? OJ turara 'icicle' ¶ S CNM 6 || ?? Attention should be paid to **Gil** A tilf (/ tilv) 'autumn' and t'ulf (/ t'ulv) 'winter' ¶¶ ST 354, 386, SR RN 162, 264 || **K**: pGZ *to_w] 'snow' > OG to_wl-, G to_vl-, Mg t₃r-, tir-, Lz (m)t_vi(r)-, mtur- id. ¶ This K stem belongs here only unless it is d. from {K} *(^h)t₀- v. 'snow' (< N *^hs^ht^hw^h 'cold weather') ¶ K 176, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4 ◇ The absence of *u or *_u (< N *u or *^u) in the IE word (*del-) may be explained either by its loss in stem-final position (before vowels of the next morpheme) or as suggesting that the N vw. was *o ◇ The labialized vw. *o in T and K is probably due to the ass. infl. of *U: *-A₁U- > T *-o₁u, GZ *-o_w] ◇ AD NM #12 ◇ Gr. II #427 (*tel 'winter') (U, Gil).

2272. *tA¹∇ 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to thresh') > **K** *tel-/*tl- 'trample, press' > G tel- 'trample, crush', {Chx.} 'zertreten, zerstampfen', Mg tal- id., Sv tel-/tl- v. 'press, touch' ¶¶ K 92, K² 68, FS E 159 || **U**: FU **talä- or **täla- > FP *ta¹a- ~ *^ota¹∇- 'trample, tread upon' > F tallaa-, Es tallaa- id. | Prm {LG} *ta¹- > Z ta¹-n⁺, ta¹a_v-n⁺ 'trample down, puddle (clay) with feet' | ?φ Mk т_рл_я-¹ä¹a- v. 'thresh' ¶ UEW 791, FF 1017-8, LG 278 || **D** *ta]- v. 'pound, thresh' (× N *dä¹∇ 'to strike') > Kn tal_is_u v. 'pound, beat, deprive rice of its bran by pounding', Tu talu 'threshed, beaten', talpuni v. 'thresh', Gnd dalsānā v. 'pound, thresh' ¶¶ D #3130 ◇ Cf. BmK 293-4 (an attempt to equate the K and the D √ with IE telk- v. 'push', FU *to¹∇ v. 'shove, thrust in', and SC: Irq cil- v. 'sting', Kz cal- v. 'stab', etc.). It is more plausible to equate IE *telk- v. 'push, strike' with T *t'alk'- v. 'strike, beat', etc. (F N *¹ta¹ka 'strike, push').

2273. ₂ *tu¹l¹∇ '≈ be bright/light (hell)' > **A**: M: [1] M *dul (× N *du¹i 'fire; to heat') > WrM d_ul, HIM д_ул 'clear, serene, calm, bright' (of weather), Ord d_u'l adj. 'sans vent et sans froid', Kl {Rm.} dul öd_ɣ 'summer day; warm windless day' ¶ The absence of final vw. suggests that M *dul is a loanword ¶ MED 272, Ms. O 16, KW 101] [2] AdS of M *edür düli 'noon', lit. 'middle of day' (*edür means 'day', pre-M **düli 'noon' coalesced with M *düli 'middle') > MM ödür düli [IsV] 'noon', [IM] 'afternoon', [S, HI] üdür düli 'noon', WrM d_üli, HIM д_үл 'noon, middle', as well as Mnr N {SM} d_ur, {T} dur 'noon, day' (× M *edür 'day') ¶ MED 280, SM 66, T 331-2, Pp. MA 443, Lg. VMI 28, Ms. H 107, H 38

|| NrTg *dōlā 'clear' > Ewk dōlō 'clear' (of the sky), 'evident', Lm n. delad 'clear sky', adj. 'open' ¶ STM I 215 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2280 (A *tūli 'clear sky, noon' > T, M *düli, Tg) || ?σT *tūí 'noon' (unless related to M *düli 'middle' and *edür düli 'noon') > NaT *tüş > OT [MhK] tüş, Chg [San.], Blq, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tüş, Qzq, Nog, Qq tūs, VTt, Bsh τθω tḡš, Kr tüş ~ tis, Uz tuš, Tv дүш d_üş, Tf d_üş 'noon' ¶ Cl. 559, DTS 600, Rs. W 507 ('noon'), TL 78-9, Ra. 178, Rl. III 1586-7, Jud. 786, BT 163 ¶ Hardly from *tüş 'halt in a journey', as supposed by MhK and Cl. || **D** *tu]-(-aṅk-/-akk-) ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'shine, be bright' (× N *duī '↑') > Tm tuḷaṅku v. 'shine, be bright, luminous', MI tuḷaṅṅuka v. 'glitter', tiḷaṅṅuka, teḷaṅṅuka v. 'shine, glitter', Tm, MI tuḷakkam 'brightness, splendour', Kn toḷagu v. 'shine', n. 'shine, splendour', toḷapu 'shine, lustre', OTI {Km.} toḷāku v. 'shine, be splendid', TI tulakincu v. 'shine, rejoice', tulakimpu 'shining, rejoicing' ¶¶ D #3360, Km. 381 [#560], 395 [#633]; for the history of *u see Zv. 65-6 || ? **HS**: Possibly AdS of SC: Irq {MQK} dēlō, {E} delo 'day', Kz deles 'yellow' (pl.?), Asa -diliḡi 'red' (all from N *d'ī'īa 'sunshine, daylight, bright') ¶ E SC 346 [#11], MQK 29.

2274. ₂ *t∇Í∇ (= *tA'y|H'íí∇ or *ti'y|H'Aí∇?) 'female' > **A**: T *tíí (~ *tíí) > NaT *tiši (~ *tíši) 'female' > OT tiši 'female' (but [MhK] dat. tiši-qa), XwT, MQ, Chg xv tiši id., Cmn tiši id., 'woman', OOSm xv diši 'woman', Tk dīḡi, CrTt, Qmq tiši, VTt Δ tḡšḡ, SbTt tḡšḡ, Alt tiži, Xk tuzi, SY tese, Tv дижи d_īži 'female animal', Kr tiši & tisi 'female, woman' ¶ Cl. 560-1, ET VGD 244-5 || **D** *taḷ|∇ ({ǵGS} *t-) 'female, mother' > Tm taḷḷai, MI taḷḷa, TI tal(l)i, Prj tal, Knd tali, Png taḡi, Kui ḡaḡi id., Kui tali 'female bird\mammal, hen', Gnd M talloḡ 'mother, female of animals', {Mtch.} talur 'female of animals', Gnd Mu tallur 'mother of animals\birds, hen which has laid eggs more than once', Gnd B ḡāli 'cow', Ku tali 'female of animals', Δ talli id., 'mother'; another possible cognate is D *toḡḡo 'nipple' > MI toḡḡu, Tu, Kn toḡḡu id. (if the N lateral cns. was *-ḷ- and if IS's hyp. about N *-ḷ- > D *-ḡ- is right) ¶¶ D ##3136, 3488.

2275. *tiḷḡa,ío 'stone, heap of stones' > **A**: Hun {Prc.} *tiāḷ 'stone' ¶ Prc. HsS ∇ || T *tḡāí 'stone' ({ǵπAD}: < **t'Eaí) > Chv L čul, Chv H čol id. || NaT *tāš > OT tāš, Tk taḡ 'stone', Tk Iç daḡaḡir 'stony country' ('çok taḡı yer'), Az, Slr daš, Tkm dāš, Ggz, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt taš, Nog, Qzq, Qq tas, Uz taš, Tv, Tf d_aš, Yk tās 'stone' ¶ Rs. W

466, Cl. 557, ET VGD 167-9, Ash. XV 220-1, Fed. II 421-2, IS AD # B 15, SDD I 405 || M *čilaγun 'stone' > MM (ChSc) čila₁un, WrM cilagun, HIM цулуγ, Brt шулуγ(н), Kl чолун čolūn, Ord č'ilū, Dg čolō ¶ Ms. H 47, H 27, KRS 654-5, KW 444, Chr. 733, Ms. O 704, Klz. D I 131, T DgJ 182; the voicelessness of the initial cns. *č̥- (for the expected voiced *č̣- < pre-A *ṭj̣-) has not yet found explanation || Tg *jola, {Vv.} *jolo 'stone' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Ork jolo, Lm jol, Orc, Nn, Ul žolo, Ud žolo 'stone' ¶ STM I 263, Krm. 234 || pKo {S} *tōrh 'stone', {Vv.} *twōlō-k > MKo {Vv.} tolh, {S} tōr/torh-, NKo tol ¶ S AJ 37-8, 254 [#83], S QK #83, Nam 159, MLC 478 || pJ {S} *₁d₁ísì 'stone', {Vv.} *₁d₁ísò > OJ {Vv.} isi 'stone', ItOJ {Vv.} ísì, J: T ísí, K ísi, Kg íšì, Ht ìšì 'stone' ¶ S AJ 267 [#72], S QJ #72, Vv. AEN 369-70, Mr. 426 ¶¶ S AJ 37-8, 277 [#68], DQA #2246 (A *ṭj̣ōỵí), S AJ 237 [#88] (A *ṭj̣o:ía-), SDM97 (A *ṭó:íi) || K *^ota:ɿ- > G ɿal-i 'flint, fragment of a tooth' ¶ Chx. 1317, DCh. 1214 || HS: S *till- (~**tīl-~?***tall-) 'mound, heap of stones' > BHb tel, till- 'mound, hill, mound of ruins, heap of stones', JA [Trg.] tel, til'l-ā 'heap of stones, mound', JEA אֶלְיָא til'lā 'ruin-mound', Sr tēll-ā 'mound, hill, heap', Ar tall- 'hill, heap', Ak till-, tīl- 'mound' ¶ GB 879, Sd. 1359, Ln. I 311, BK I 203, Lv. IV 644, Js. 1670, Sl. 1205, Br. 824, PS 4438, JPS 613 || ?? AdS of EC *tūl- v. 'heap' (× EC *tūl- v. 'pile up' < N *toH₂ī∇ [- *toīH₂∇] 'to fill, to pile up; full') > Sml, Kns, Brj tūl- 'heap' ¶ Bl. 185, Ss. B 180, Hd. 396 || ?φ D *čall- ({ǵGS} *ǰǰall-) 'broken stone, (stone) chip' > Tm calli 'stone chips, pieces of glass', Ml, Tu calli 'chip, postherd', Kn jalli 'broken stone\metal', Tu jalli 'broken stone', Tl jalli 'road metal, broken stone', Prj žalub 'stone chips' ¶¶ D #2381, AM 291 ◇ The formula *ti₁paío reflects two alt. hypotheses: 1) the pN rec. *ti₁paío presupposes contraction of a N disyllable in Altaic: N *ti₁paío > A {S, SDM94} *ṭj̣āí∇ ~ *ṭj̣ōí∇, 2) the pN rec. *tiío presupposes a "vowel breaking": N *tiío > *ṭj̣ōí'a' (> *ṭj̣ōía ~ *ṭj̣āí∇). The first of the two solutions has an advantage: it accounts for the K, D, and U reflexes (K glottalized *ṭ- < *ṭʔ- < N *tiʔ-, D *č̣a- < *ṭja- < N *tiʔa-, the vw. *-a- both in D and in K) and for the length of the Altaic vw. (due to contactation of a disyllable), while the second hyp. presupposes rejection of both the K and D cognate roots and fails to account for the A vowel length. In the framework of the first hypothesis Tg *-o- and pKo *-ō- may be explained by regr. as. ([N *ti₁paío > pre-A ≈ *ṭj̣āío > A (*ṭj̣āí∇ ~) *ṭj̣ōí∇ > Tg

*jola and pKo *tōrh]. Cf. IS SS #11.25, MS 343: A, K ◇ The connection of D *ĉall- with the N etymon in question is highly qu. for phonetic reasons (*-ll- for the expected *-l-) ◇ ≈ AD AD #2 ◇ AD NM #82, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 4-5 ◇ Gr. II #368 (*tul 'stone') (A, Ko, J, Etr).

2276. *teí₁H₂∇ 'to bore, to pierce' > **HS:** C: Bj {R} ✓ t1? (1s: p. 'a-tla?, prs. a-tanlī?) v. 'bore, pierce' || ?φ SC: Irq {MQK} ĉīl- v. 'sting', Kz {E} ĉal- v. 'stab', ĉelet- v. 'drill', ?σ,φ Asa {E} žalas- v. 'bite, sting' ¶ R WBd 226, E SC 193 (SC *tēl- v. 'prod, poke'), MQK 109 || **A:** T: [1] *tēl- v. 'pierce, bore' > OT {Cl.} tāš-, MOg [L] diš-, Tk deš- v. 'split, pierce', Az, Ggz, Tkm, XT {ADb.} deš- v. 'pierce', Qmq, Uz, Qrg, Alt teš-, ET {BN} tāš- ~ tōš-, Nog, Qzq, Qq tes-, VTt, Bsh tiš-, Tv d_ēž-, Tf d_ēš-, Xk tis-, Yk tās- id., Tki {Zn.} تيش tiš, ET Δ dāš 'hole' ⇨ NaT *tāšik 'hole' (> Cmn tešik, Tk deşik, Tv d_eşik, etc.); [2] *tēl- 'pierce' (a secondary variant; it resulted probably from precons. depalatalization *í > l): OT, XwT, MQp, Chg, Osm del-, Tk del-, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr del-, Az dāl- ¶ VTt and Bsh i provides ev. for a pT *e and hence for an A *e ¶ IS AD 39, Cl. 490, 559, ET VGD 185-6, 210-2, BN 152, Ra. 172, Rs. W 471, ADb. Ttd 58 [#11] || **IE:** NaIE *de₁ǵ₁- v. 'cleave, carve' (× N *tiī∇ '≈ to rough-hew, to chisel, to cut into slices', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC *ĉ- still needs explaining.

2277. *tem∇ 'full, complete' > **HS:** WS *tamm- id. > BHb □□ tam 'is complete, has been completed\finished' (pf. of the verb ✓ tmm), ✓ tmm (ip. yit'tom) v. 'be complete', Ph, Pun tm 'perfect, undamaged; honest', tm (and Pun THEM) 'totality, completion, integrity', Sr ✓ tmm D (pf. تامم tam'mem) 'make entire\perfect', Md ✓ tmm v. 'be, become, remain', Ar ✓ tmm G (pf. tamma) 'être fini, achevé, complété; avoir lieu complètement; finir', tamm-, timm-, tumm- 'fin; complément, ce qui complète; perfection', Mh, Jb, Sq ✓ tmm v. 'be finished, finish' (pf. 3m Mh t3m, Jb E tim, Jb C timm, Sq tem 'is finished, has been finished') ¶ KB 1613-5, JH 329, HJ 1216-8, JPS 714, BK I 206, Jo. M 402 || Eg fP tm 'everything, totality', tm 'be complete', Eg NK tm 'vollständig machen' ¶ EG V 303-5, Fk. 298-9 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} tūmà 'much filled', tūmì 'filled sufficiently', {Lm.} tūm- 'be full' ¶ Wdk. BY 137, Lm. Y 379 || ? C: Bj {R} te'mīm 'ganz', temīm- 'ganz sein' (← Ar tamīm- 'entier?') || CCh: Msy {Mch.} tem, Db {Lnh.} tém 'all' ¶ ChC || **K:** G -tamam- 'kühn sein', G Kx -tamam- 'gut gedeihen' (z. B., von

Pflanzen) | possibly *AdS* of G *tem-i* '(Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde' (< N ***tamh, 'û** 'earthen wall, hut', q.v.) ¶ Chx. 45O, 472 || **U**: FU ***tem∇(-)** 'full', vt. 'fill, cram' > Chr: KB *tema*, B *teme* 'full', KB *temä-*, L *тема-* (inf. *тема́ш*), KB *temä-*, U *tema-* 'become full\sated', L *тема-* (inf. *тема́ш*) 'fill, make sated', KB/U/B *teme-* id., H *тэмä-ш* *temä-* 'get sated, fill' || Hg † *tēm-*, Hg *töm-* vt. 'stuff, fill' ¶ UEW 52O, Coll. 119, MRS 569, Ep. 117 || **D** (in SD) ***tum(p)-** ({ǵGS} ***t-?**) 'full', (**-d**?) v. 'be filled, fill' > Kt *tumn* 'full', Kn *tumbu* v. 'become full, filled up, complete', *tombe* 'multitude', Irl *tumba* 'much', Tm *tumpaḡ* 'assembly, crowd', Kdg *dumb-* v. 'become full', Tu *tombara* 'abundant, much', Kt *tub-* v. 'be filled full', *tubc-* vt. 'fill', Kn *timbu* vt., vi. 'fill', Tu *tumburi* v. 'be filled', Krg *tumḡi* v. 'fill' ¶ D #3331 ◇ The vw. ***u** in D (and **u** in NrOm) may be due to the ass. infl. of ***m** ◇ Blz. LB #1c, ≠ IS MS 356 and IS SS 320 [#2.4] (CCh ÷ U ***täḡe** 'full', D *taḡ-* 'abound'), ≈ BmK 292-3 (HS, D, Sum *tum* 'abundance, plenty' + unc. FU ***tuḡke-** v. 'stuff in' [UEW 537-8]), ≠ Gr. II #5 (***tuma** 'all').

2278. *t∇m∇ (= ***tam∇?**) 'hair' > HS: EC: Rn {PG} *tím* 'hair', pSml {Lm.} ***tim-** id. > Sml {ZMO} *tin/tim-* 'a hair', Sml N *tín/tim-*, Sml B/Ash/My/Db {Lm.} *tiḡ* 'hair' ¶ ZMO 393, Lm. SD 337, Abr. S 238, Oo. 68, PG 277 || CCh: Bnn {Lk.}, Azm {Pc.} *túmúsá* 'hair' ¶ Lk. ZSS 132, Pc. 398 || ?σ Eg fMK *t mḡ* 'mat; sack (for corn, etc.)' > Cpt: Sd **TME** *tme*, B **⊕MH** *t^hmē* 'natte (jonc, alfa)'; DEg *tm* 'Matte' > Cpt: Sd **TOM** *tom*, B **⊕OM** *t^hom* id. and/or Sd **TWME** *tōme*, A **TWMEC** *tōmes* 'bourse, sac' ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Er. 631, Vc. 214-5 || **K**: pGZ ***tma-** ~ ***tama-** 'hair' > G *tma*, Mg *toma-*, *tuma-* 'hair', Lz (n) *toma-* 'hair, wool, fleece' ¶ K 95, K² 73, Fn. KW-2 42 [#9], FS K 151-2 and FS E 164-5 (***tom-**) || ? **U**: FP ***taḡka** 'lock of hair, lump of hair\wool' (< ****tam-ka** with the sx. ***-ka?**) > pLp {Lr.} ***tōḡkē** > Lp: N {N} *duogge* 'lump of hair, lump of wool; tangled beard', L {LLO} *tuoggē* 'Knoten, Knäuel von etw. Verfilztem, Verwickeltem (z. B. von Haaren, Wolle)', Kld {Lr.} *tūḡ:g*, {TI} *tūḡ'ḡ'k'* 'a cloth of uncarded felt wool', {TI} *tūḡḡ_ăd_* 'sich verfilzen (Haar, Wolle)' || Prm ***tug** or ***tüg** > Z *tug / tuggy-* 'tassel', Z Ud *tug/tuggy-* 'Haarflechte, Zopf', Vt *tug*, Vt MU *tüg*, Vt B *toḡ* ({JLG} *təg*) 'tassel, fringe hair\fibres (бахрома)' ¶ UEW 791, Lr. #1301, Lgc. #8070, Lt. 221, LG 285, TI 614 ◇ Tromb. CCS II 156 (K, S, Cpt), Blz. KM 121 [#25] (K, HS: C, Ch, ***÷** B: in Ntf, BMn, Izn *timmi*, Shl *timint*, etc. the element *ti-* is a px. of f.).

2279. $\text{₂} *t\text{∇}m\text{∇}$ 'worm, snake' > **HS:** EthS *taman- > Gz taman 'snake, dragon', Tgy, Amh tēmen id. ¶ L G 578 || EC: Sa {R} timbaki'yā 'worm' ¶ R S II 355 || **IE:** NaE *dem(-el)- 'worm' > Al: T 'dhemjē 'caterpillar, maggot' (-mj- < *-ml-?), T dhemizē ~ {Hamp} dhē'mizē, dhi'mizē, G dhemizē, dhemēz id., 'blowfly' || Gk δεμελέας accus. pl., Δ [Hs.] δεμβλέεις pl. 'leeches' ¶ P 201, EI 650 (IE *deme'li-s 'worm'), F I 363-4, Hamp AIEW 143, BFU 116, FJGJSh 402, ≠ O 81 (pAl *zōmyā 'worm' ← pAl *zō 'earth' < IE *dʰǵʰōm 'earth'), F I 363-4 ◇ ≠ BmK 308-9 (trying to equate the IE √ with EthS √ tmm v. 'twist', M tōmυ, and Th *tōm- v. 'twist').

2280. $\text{₂} *t'a'h\text{∇}m\text{∇}$ 'fire; to kindle; very hot' > **HS:** S *°√thm > Ar taham- 'chaleur brûlante' ¶ BK I 209 || Eg G thm 'kochen' (unless ← Eg XVIII/G hm 'heiß sein [ein krankhafter Zustand], brennen') ¶ EG II 489 and V 322 || NrOm {Blz.} *tam- 'fire' > Gf {Mrn.}, Wl/Zl {C} tamā, Wl {LmS} tama, Cha/Bsk/Bdt {C} tamā, {Fl.} tama, Dk tamā, Male {Fl.} ta·mi, {Si.} 'tami, {Hab.} tamia, tamo, She {C} tam, Bnc {Wdk.} tām, Shn {Fl.} tawa, Krt {Fl.} 'tamo, {Si.} tama, Anf {MYTY} temma, {Fl.} tamo, Gnj {Si.} 'tama, Kcm {Si.} ta'ma, Sz {Fl.} ta'mì, {SWW} tōmmì, HzMa {Fl.} ta·me, {SWW} tammì, Na {C, Fl.}, Shk {Fl.}, Mj {Bnd.} tamu 'fire'; Bnd PO 146 mentions Kf tamō 'fire' (not confirmed by other sources [four rather voluminous dictionaries of Kf!]) ¶ Blz. OL #96, C SE III 116, 176, C SO 35, 45, 63, Mrn. O 157, Wdk. BY 154, LmS 519, Fl. OWL s.v. 'fire', MYTY 120, Hab. M, Si. ACh 4, Si. M 8, SiW BA 12, Bnd. PO 146 || SC: [1] Irq {Blz.} tumúq 'hot ash' (the word is not found in the "Iraqw vocabulary" by Mgw., though Blz. mentions Mgw. as the source); [2] (???) Ehret reconstructs SC *tōm- 'hot' on the alleged ev. of Kz camali 'hot' and Mb sumasú 'hot season' (→ Kikuyu themithu 'hot season') ¶ E SC 175, Blz. SC s.v. 'ashes' ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (Om or Eg thm ← hm) || **A** ({SDM95} *t'₄am∇, {DQA} *t'₄èmo) > NaT *t'₄am- v. 'burn, kindle' > Qrg tam-, Xk tamıl- 'catch fire', OT tamδur-, SY tam-dir- vt. 'burn', VTt tamъz-, Qrg, Nog, Qq tamız- id., Yk tımıt- v. 'kindle'; OT [MhK] {Cl.} tamdū, tamduq 'fierce fire, blaze' ¶ Cl. 504, Rs. W 459, Jud. 698, Rl. III 1001, BIG 216, TL 363 || pJ *təm̄-s- vt. 'burn, light' > OJ tomos-, J: T tōmos-, tomós-, K tómós-, Kg tòmòs- ¶ S QJ #183 ¶¶ SDM95 (A *t'₄am∇ [~ t-] 'burn, incend'), S AJ 286 [#254], DQA #2342 (A *t'èmo → *t- 'burn, kindle').

2281. *tam₁ʹû¹ (or ***tä₁m₁ʹû¹**) 'earthen wall, house' > **K** *^ote₁m₁- > G *temi* '(Dorf-, Land-) Gemeinde; Stammverband; Gebiet, Bezirk' (× N ***tem₁∇** 'full, complete' [q.v.]?) ¶ Chx. 472, DCh. 557 || **IE** *dom₁H₁u-, *dom₁H₁o-, *demH- (= *dom₁H₁u-, *dom₁H₁o-, *demH₁-?) > **NaIE** *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build': [1] *domu- > L *domus* (gen. *domū-*ς) 'house' ||| Sl ***domъ** (gen. **domu*) > OCS **ДОМЪ** *domъ* (gen. **ДОМОУ** *domu*) 'house', Blg, R **дом** 'house, home', Uk **д і м**, SCr **д њ м**, Cz **д ů м**, P **dom** 'house', Slv **д њ м** 'home', OR **ДОМОВЪ** *domovъ* 'nach Hause' ||| OI *damū-nah₁* / *damū-nas-* 'householder, master' ||| Lt *namū-darỹs* 'Baumeister' (as. **d...m* > *n...m*?) ||| ?ϕ Arm {Bdr.} **տաւնւտէր** *tanu-têr* 'master of a house' | [1a] the apophonic grade *^odmōy- is represented in Gk I **δμῶς** (gen. *δμῶός*) 'prisoner of war, slave (Knecht)' (← *'house servant'?) ||| [2] **NaIE** *dom-, *dōm / gen. *dem-s 'house' > OI *'dam-* id. (att.: gen. pl. *da'mām*), Av *dām*, *dāmi*, *dān* loc. sg. 'in the house', *n^omō* gen. 'of the house' ||| Gk Hm **δῶ** 'house' ||| Arm **տաւն** *tun* 'house' | [2a] **dems poti-* 'master of a house' > Gk **δεσπότης** 'lord, owner', OI *'dam-pati-*, Av *dāng pati-* id., 'ruler' ||| [3] **NaIE** *domo-s 'house' (analogical change due to the influence of the more numerous *^o-stems?) > OI *'dama₁h₁* 'house' ||| Gk **δῶμο-ς** id. ||| L *domī* loc. 'at home' (÷ OI *'damē* 'in [a, the] house, at home') ||| Lt *nāmas* 'house' (as. **d...m* > *n...m*?) ||| [4] **NaIE** *dem(ə)- v. 'build' > Gk **δέμω** 'I build', pfc. prtc. **δεδημημένος** (rdp. from **dmē-* [an apophonic grade of **demə-*]), Gk D [Pindar] **νεό-δμῶ-τος** 'new-built' ||| KhS **pa-dīm-** 'make' || HrLw {EI ← ?} **tama-** 'build' ||| [5] +ext. *-r- 'building', v. 'build, carpenter' > ON *timbr*, OSx *timbar*, AS *timber* 'timber, wooden building', OHG *zimbar* id., NHG *Zimmer* 'room (in a house)', NE *timber*; Gt *timrjan* 'erbauen', ON *timbra*, OHG *zimbaren* 'to build, to timber', MHG *zimbern*, NHG *zimmeren* 'to build, to carpenter' ¶¶ If the interpretation of HrLw *tama-* is valid, the pIE root is *dom₁H₁u-, *dom₁H₁o-, *demH₁- ¶¶ P 198-9, EI 87 (**dem(h₁)-* 'build [up]'), 192, and 281 (**dōm* / **dem-s* 'house, household, nuclear family', **dom(h₁)os-* 'house, household'), M K II 18-9, FI 364-5, 402-3, 408-9, 428-9, WH I 369, Vr. 588, Fs. 478, Ho. 348, Kb. 1252, OsS 1261-2, Lx. 336, Frn. 410, ESSJ V 72-3, Bern. I 210-1, SPS IV 98-101, Glh. 203, Slr. 209-10, Bedr. 690 ||| **A** **tām₁∇* 'wall, house' > **NaT** **tām* 'wall' > OT {Cl.} *tām*, XwT XIII-XIV *tam* 'wall', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV *tam* 'roof', Chg ≥XV *tam* 'roof, wall', OOSm ≥XIV *dam* 'building', Osm *dam*, Tk *dām* 'roof, hut, roofed

shed', Az *dam* 'building, house, roof, roofed shed', Ggz *dam* 'stable, roofed shed', Tkm *tām* 'house', Uz *ТОМ* *tām* 'roof', Uz *Δ* *ТОМ* 'lodging, room (Zimmer)', Qzq *tām* 'wall, house, mud hut', {RI.} 'Aufbau über einem Grabe', Qq *tām* 'house', Qrg *tām* 'wall (of mud or brick), house (of mud or brick)', ET {Nj.} *تام* *tām* 'wall, fence, mud building' (→ Oyr T {Rm.} *tām_a* 'wall [Wand, Mauer]', SY *tām* 'wall, fence', Sg {RI.}, StXk *tām* 'Erdschichte', Xlj *dām* *istü* 'roof' {DHST, but not mentioned in DT} ¶ Cl. 502, Rs. W 459, TrR 207, Hüs. 96, Sht. 191, Jud. 698, Nj. 283, KrkR 616, Ml. ZhU 110, Rl. III 991, 1648-9, UzR 442, BIG 215, DHST 304, ADb. Ttd 62 (*÷ *t'ām without ev. for *t'-), KW 377 (mentions WrM *tāma* '?', not confirmed by other sources) || pJ *tāmürüá 'plot, camp' > OJ *tamura*, ItOJ [RJ] *tāmüró*, J: T *tamuró*, *támuro*, K *támürò*, Kg *tamuró* ¶ S QJ 393, Mr. 541 ¶¶ Hardly here (≠σ,φ) Tg *tam∇- 'shed, cover' > Ewk *tamana* 'folding birch-bark cover for a tent', Nn B *tamıxl* 'Schirmdach, *набес'* (STM II 159) ¶¶ Rs. W 458, ≈ DQA #2323 (A *t'āma 'wall, roof'; incl. T, J) || ?σ HS: B *t∇mmū > Kb *aṭammu* (pl. *iṭamma*) 'hutte à fourrage, à paille', BSn {La.}, SrSn {Rn.} *aṭammun*, Rf {La.} *aṭmun*, Kb Z {Rn.} *atammu* 'meule de paille' ¶ Dl. 825, La. MChB 363, Rn. 303 ◇ The length of the vw. in T *t'ām is likely to reflect the N lr. ◇ The N final vw. is hard to determine: IE *dom_lh₂u- and B*t∇mmū suggest N *-u or *-ü, but Gk νεό-δμᾶ-τος points to an *a-coloured lr., hence pN *-a ◇ Rs. W 459 (A, IE); S NSShS #21 and S NSR (A, IE); cp. also BmK 314 (IE, Sum *dí m* v. 'make, fashion').

2282. **t∇m_l∇_lŝ∇* 'to gather, to concentrate, to condense' > HS: S *^o√tmŝ > Ar √tmš v. G 'gather, collect' ¶ BK I 208, Hv. 62 || IE *dens-/*dṅs- '≈ dense' > Gk δασύς 'thick with hair\leaves\bushes, hairy' || L *dēnsus* 'dense, thick (with vegetation, etc.)' || Ht *dassu-s* 'massive, heavy, mighty' ¶¶ P 202-3, EI 574 (*'densu-s / *dṅ'sou-s 'thick'), FI 351, WH I 341-2, Ts. E III 259-66 ◇ ≠ BmK 308 (equating the IE √ with Eg *dn̄s* v. 'be heavy', which goes back to N *dońćE 'large, heavy' [q.v.]).

2283. *t'o'N∇ 'appear' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seem') > HS: S *^o√tnn v. 'be similar' > Ar *tinn-* 'semblable, pareil; ami; égal en rang', {Hv.} 'similar, equal; companion' ¶ BK I 208, Hv. 63 || K *tan-/*tn- ({Fn. KW-1} *tan-) 'appear, be visible', *ten- 'become visible; be getting light'; (× N *tiʔû 'shine, be bright, be seen', q.v.) > G *tnēv- / tni- / tn-* 'an jem.\etw. Gefallen finden, etw. gutheißen, billigen', Mg *ton-ua* 'scheinen,

erscheinen', Sv -ten-/-tn- 'appear, become visible, be born; make visible, show; give birth' (aor. äχten, msd. L {Dn.} li-ten 'show', UB/L li-tn-e, Ln li-ten-e 'give birth, be born', make visible') ¶¶ ≈ K 92, ≈ K² 68, Fn. KW-1 35 [#28] (G, Mg), Chx. 495, Ni. s.v. появиться; Fn. KD (K *ton-/*tn-), FS 143, FS E 155-6, TK 434, GP 154 (UB litne 'give birth, be born'), Dn. s.v. ten (liten 'show', litne 'be born') || D *tōn̥r- (= *tōn̥d-) ({θGS} *t-) v. 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (×N *tōn̥d 'learn [erfahren], inform') > Tm tōn̥ru, Kn tōr-, tōru- 'be visible, appear, come to mind', 'come into existence', Ml tonruka v. 'spring up, occur, appear to the sight', Kt tō·r- v. 'be visible', Td t̥wɪ·l- ~ t̥wɪ·t- 'be foreseen', t̥wɪ·r- id., 'be visible', Kdg tō·nd-ɪ̥i 'it (a sudden idea) came in a flash', Tu tōjuri 'appear, seem, be seen', Tl tōcu 'occur in the mind, seem, appear', Krg tō̃:pu 'that which strikes the mind, an idea; manifestation, appearance', Prj tōnd-, Gdb tōnd- v. 'appear', Knd tōr- v. 'appear, be seen', Kui tōn̥za v. 'appear, seem', Ku ton̥za-aiyali v. 'appear' ¶¶ D #3566; the element *-r- is a sx.? ◇ Cf. Fn. KD #73 (K, D *tōr- 'appear, be seen').

2283a. *tEng̥V||ÍV 'heavenly light in the night (star[s], moon)' > IE: NaIE *^odn̥g̥^hl̥o- > Gmc *tungal- 'star(s), constellation' > Gt tuggl, OSx tungal, OHG himil-zungal 'Gestirn', AS tunzol id., 'star, constellation', ON tungl 'Gestirn, Mond' ¶ WPI 792, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Vr. 601 || HS: C: Ag *^čzn̥g̥z̥w- ({Ap.} *camgalw-/*camgarw-) 'star' > Bln/Km {Ap.} šzn̥g̥z̥rwa, Bln {R} šinru'wā, Km {CR} š̥ing̥r̥wā (pl. š̥ing̥r̥ū-t), Xm {R} s̥agluwa, Q {R} šengeru'wā, Awn {R} segul'wā id. ¶ Ag *^č- for the expected *t- still needs explaining ¶ Ap. AC 20, R WB 326, CR K 252, ≈ AD SF 125-6 || ?φ NOM: Anf {C} čigirō, {MYTY} šigrō, {FL} çige·ro, Bsk {C} t̥eqnā, Kf {C} t̥oženō, Mch {L} t̥ožžo 'star' ¶ MYTY 119, AD SF 125-6, C SE III 116 and IV 509, LM 55, FL OWL || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mk.} tekeliē, Bc {Sk.} t̥ukùlé, {ChL} t̥ikùlèy 'star' || ?φ WCh: Kfr {Nt.} d̥àgar id. | Sy Zk {Sh.} čàžur, Tule {Sh.} c̥āc̥ūr id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 31, Nt. s.v. d̥àgar || D *tingka| 'moon' > Tm, Ml tin̥ka|, Td tigi|, Kn tin̥ga|, Tu tin̥go|u 'moon', Kt tigi| id., tin̥g| 'month', Kdg tin̥ga 'month', Kui tin̥ga|dan̥zu 'crescent moon' ¶¶ D #3213 ◇ Blz. LNA #53 (suggested to equate IE with D and to reconstruct pN *tingka(lV) 'moon').

2284. *tô'p'æ 'head, top' > HS: Eg fP t̥p 'head', Eg N t̥brn id. (+ AdS : N *t̥āhipê 'high place, top, hill?') ¶ EG V 261, 263-72, Fk. 296 || A

({SDM97} *t'op'E 'hill, top'): NaT *t_L'öpö|ü ~ *t_L'öpä 'top, hill' > OT {Cl.} töpū 'the top (head, summit, mountain, hill)', MQp tepe ~ depe, Cmn tebe, Chg töpe Tk tepe, Ggz tepe, Az täpä, Tkm depe, Qry töbe & tebe & tóba, VTt, Bsh túbä (↳ Chv tübe), Nog, Qzq, Qq töbe, Qrg töbö ~ dóbö, Alt töbö, Uz tepa, ET töpä, Tv t'ey ({ADb.}: < **dhey < **depey) 'crown of head, hill, summit', MU tepe ~ töpe, Xlj täpä 'hill, summit, top of sth.', Yk töbö id., 'head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymous roots *töpö|ü and *t_L'äpe (on the latter *see* s.v. N *tähipê '↑'). The attempts to unite these two T roots in spite of the phonetic differences (by postulating pT *t'äp'ö [Dr. TM III #872 and DT 201] or by reconstructing ppT *t'ēp'e {Md.}) are superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, TL 201, BT 154, IS AD 42 [#23] || (× N *d∇b∇ 'hill') M *dobun 'hill' > WrM dōbu, -n, HIM доb 'hill, mound, knoll', Ord {Ms.} dōwōŋ 'monticule, colline', Kl {Rm.} dōwŋ 'hill' ↳ WrM {Gl.} dōbogun 'summit of a mountain, peak'; M ↳ Yk dobun 'Erhöhung'; the variant with t- (in Kl tōw×ŋ < {Rm.} *tōbu-qan) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, Gl. III 177-8, SM 64, Ms. O 155, KW 97, 404 || Tg {DQA} *dū- ~ *düb- 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (× N *d_Loy,a 'place (within, below), inside' × N *d∇b∇ 'hill?') > Ewk dīw ~ dīyū 'upper (on the slope), dī-lē 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', dīn 'upper part of the mountain', Lm dā 'mountain peak', dēyi & dēw & dēx 'upper, found at the top', Neg dī- (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Orc dī-lē, Ud dīxi 'farther from the river bank', Ork dī-si 'up from the bank', dipti 'upper part of the tent', Ork duwōē, Nn duyē 'the side from the river bank to the woods', Nn Nh duwuy 'farther', WrMc dele 'top' ¶ STM I 202-3 || pJ {S} *_Ld_L'ipà 'rock, cliff' > OJ ípà, J: T iwá, K íwà, Kg íwa ¶ S QJ #1242, Mr. 429 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top' > T, M), DQA #400 (A *t'dúypè 'hill, top' > M, Tg, J) || IE: NaIE *^odōP- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' (?) > Gmc *ta|opp- (~ ? *tupp-) > AS topp 'summit' (> NE top), OFrk *topp- 'summit' (↳ OFr top 'pointe, sommet', topet 'sommet', Fr toupié 'top, spinning-top, peg-top'), NLG topp, Dt top 'summit', ON topp-r 'Spitze', MHG zopf 'tip', as well as possibly MHG zopf 'plait (of hair)', NHG Zopf id., ON toppr 'aufgebundenes Haar' and typpi 'end' (*see* N *tupf∇ 'tail, back' (q.v.) ||| SI *d+ba-ti > Slk dibat', R Δ дыбать 'to tiptoe', Uk 'дибати 'to walk on stilts' || ? Ltv {ME} duba 'a sheaf in a upright position' ('aufgestellte Garbe') ¶ Ptrs. H 70-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545, AHDI 69, Sw. 174, GH 562-3, Ho. 351,

Vr. 595, ME I 508, Bern. I 249, Vs. I 557, ≈ ESSJ V 197-8 (does not distinguish Sl *d+ba-ti 'to tiptoe' from the homonymous verb *d+ba-ti 'to reel, to stagger') ◇ The labialized vw. of the second syll. in NaT *t_löpö|ü and in M *dobun is due to progr. as.

2285. *tū|up∇ 'to blow, to breathe' > HS: Eg fMK tpy '(Luft, Lebensatem) einatmen, atmen' ¶ EG V 296 || A: T {ʒADb.} *^ot_lüb- > OT t^uvāk 'a blow-pipe' ¶ Cl. 439 || D (in GnD) *tūpp¹- ({ʒGS} *t-?) v. 'blow' > Png tūb- (p. tūpt-) v. 'blow with the mouth', Knd tūb- id., v. 'puff, blow out (lamp)' ¶ D #3388.

2286. *tupɣ∇ 'tail, back' > U: FU *tupp∇ 'back (dos), spine' > Chr: L/H τυπ, KB/U/B tup 'Rücken' | Vt тѳѳыр 'back (dos), backbone', Vt Sr t+br, Vt Kz tæbær 'back (dorsum), spine' || Hg Δ top 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens', Δ tomp 'Oberschale des Rindes', Hg tompor 'buttock, haunch', † 'thigh (Schenkel)' ¶ UEW 538, MRS 599, Ep. 121, U3S 432 || HS: CS *√tbɣ 'be behind, follow' > Ar {Ln., BK} √tbɣ G 'follow', {BK} tabaɣ- 'foot (of quadrupeds)', ?σ Ug √tbɣ G 'go, depart' ¶ Ln. 293-6, BK I 190-1, A #243, OLS 461, Hnr. 184 || (+ext.) B *√dfr 'hind' > Ah dæffær 'derrière', Gh √dfr v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf, Izn, Mz, Wrg √dfr, CM √dfr, Shl {Z} √dfr ɘ √tfr, Gd eɣfær 'follow', Zng {TC} eɣfær 'avoir une dette' (pf. yætfer) ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 451-3, DCTC 285, TC Z 316 || Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} tɣfo 'behind' || NrOm Kf {C} tefō 'kidneys'; ? NrOm *√d^rp¹ > Bnc {Wdk.} dāb v. 'follow', Ym {C} dɣp^h-, {Wdk.} dúpò ~ dúpò v. 'hunt', Kf {C} dabbō 'caccia con la trappola \ il lacciuolo' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE III 72 and IV 424, 504, Wdk. BY 100, 121 || A ({DQA} *tú|ób∇ 'end, edge') (× N *dûb∇ 'edge, end', q.v.): Tg *dubē 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk duwē ~ duɣē, Neg duwɛ, WrMc dube, duben id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} dube 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duwət 'top (of tree), point', Orc, Ul du(w)ɛ, Ud, Nn duɛ 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || pKo {S} *tūjh 'behind, back, North' > MKo tūj / tūjh-, NKo tūj ¶ S QK #367, Nam 168, MLC 517 || pJ {S} *túpí 'finish' > OJ túpí 'finish', J: T/K cú-ni, Kg cú-ni 'atlast, finally' ¶ S QJ #37, Kenk. 2048 ¶¶ S AJ 71, ≈ DQA ##2264 (*tú|ób∇ 'end, edge' > Tg, Ko, J) ¶¶ The meanings of Tg *dubē and pJ *túpí belong to the heritage of N *dûb∇ ¶¶ Tg *d- belongs to the heritage of N *dûb∇ || ? IE: NaIE *dubb- (if the original meaning was 'tail') (× NaIE *^odoP- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' < N *tô^rp¹æ 'head, top' [q.v.

ffd.]) > Ltv {ME} *čubā* 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe' ||| Gmc **tuppa* 'plait (of hair)' > MHG *zopf*, NHG *Zopf* id., ON *toppr* 'aufgebundenes Haar' ¶ ME I 508, Ptrs. H 70-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545 ◇ This N word has phonetically irreg. variants suggesting some unclear ideophonic associations or contamination with other (paronymous) words. Cf. N **d∇mP∇* 'back, hinder part, tail'.

2287. **ta¹P¹k∇* (or **tawk∇*?) 'to obstruct, to prevent, (?) to overpower' > U: FP **tawk∇* v. 'stop\cease (doing sth.), abstain from doing sth.' > F *tauota* / *taukoa*- v. 'discontinue, cease' || Lp N {N} *duow'got* v. 'be weaned; be ashamed to do sth.' || pPrm **dug-d-* > Z *dugd+*- v. 'cease doing sth.', Vt *dugd+*- v. 'stop' (*-d- is a Prm reflexive sx.) ¶ It. #48, Sm. 554 (FP **tēwkā*- 'stop'), LG 97, N I 600, ≠ UEW 422 (rejects the Prm cognate because of the alleged lack of corr. between Prm **g* and F -k-, but in fact the voiced Prm **g* is explained by as. caused by the adjacent reflexive sx. *-d-) || A: NaT *t_L'_Lōg* (< ***t_L'_Lawg* < ***t_L'_Labg* or ***t_L'_Lapg*?), {ǰADb.} **tōg* {Cl.} 'obstruction, barrier; obstructed' > OT {Cl.} *tōy* 'stopper, obstruction to anyth.; dam; spurs (of a mountain)', ? Shor, Sg *tōy* 'gelt (die noch nicht geboren hat)' (of a female animal), Sg, Qb *tu_y* 'eine gelte Stute', Qrg *tū*, Qzq *тy tuw*, Qq *tuw* 'barren' (of a female animal), Qrg *tūbas* 'barren' (of a woman or a female animal) ¶ Cl. 463-4, Rl. III 1157, 1430, Jud. 772, MM 352, KrkR 657 || D (in SD) **taka-* ({ǰGS} **t-*, *-g-?) v. 'stop, resist, obstruct' > Tm *takai* id., Kn *taga* 'delay, obstacle, hindrance' || ?σ HS: CS **✓tkp* v. 'overpower' (mt. < ***✓tpk* < [as.] **✓tpk*) > BHb *קקת* *✓tkp* v. *G* 'overpower, prevail, attack' (Eccl. 4.12), BA *✓tkp* v. *G* 'grow strong' ¶ ESh MH III 1476, KB 1644 ¶ D #3006 ◇ If CS **✓tkp* belongs here, the N labial cns. is a stop (**P*), otherwise it may be either **P* or **w*.

2288. **teq¹æʔU¹* 'say, talk to' > HS: C {AD} **✓tχ^w* v. 'say, speak' > EC {Ss.} *-*dḥ-*, {AD} *-*t_L∇h-* v. 'say' > Sa {Wlm.} -*dḥ-* / -*dēh-* v. 'say' (imv. *edēh*, p. -*edḥe*), Af {PH} (e)-*dḥe-* / -*a-dḥ-*, Sml {AD IPCV} -*iḏih-*, Sml N {Abr.} *dēh-* / *dāh-* / -*dī-* / -*dāh(d)-*, Sml C *ri* / *rih-* / *raḥ-*, Rn {Sim} -*dēh-* / -*dāh-* (*ayidāh* 'he said', *ayadēh* 'he says'), {PG} -*dēh-* / -*dāh* / -*dāh-* (*yadēh* 'he says, does', 3s p. *yidāh*) 'say', pBn {Hn.} p.: *-*ereh-* / n.-p. *-*erah-* > Bn J -*ēr-* / -*erah-*, Bn K -*ereh-* / -*erah-* id. ||| ? Ag **dəḵ^w-*, {Ap.} **dəḵ^w-* / **dəq^w-* v. 'speak' > Bln/Q {Ap.} *dəw-*, Xm {Ap.} *dəq^w-*, Aw {Hz., Ap.} *dəy^w-* (1s *dəq^w-*) ||| Bj A {AD} -*di-* / -*dī-* (prs. -*n-dī-*), Bj {Rop., R} -*dī-* (p. 1s 'a-dī, 2m *te-'dīy-a*, 3m 'ē-dī; prs. 1s 'andi) pcv. 'say, name' ¶

AD SF 57, 321, AD IPCV §§ 1.2.3.2, 1.2.3.3, Ss. PEC 41, Hn. S 67, Hn. BD 35, 57, 144, PG 60, 148, Ap. AV 9, Rop. 78-9, R WBd 55, R WB 115, PH 94, 270-4, 282 || IE *d_lh₁eñ- 'say' > NaIE *d_lh₁ē- > Sl *dě- v. 'say' > OP dzie 'inquit', OCz dieti / diem, Cz díti, Hls dзец, Lls zás, Slv dejáti 'to say', OR Δ^ΕΗ děi, Δ^Ε dě, R de - pc. of quoting (indirect speech), OUk дѣ 'namely', Uk Δ di 'namely, that is' || Ht te- {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen' ¶¶ Frd. HW 319, Ts. W 85-9, Ts. E III 143-7, 291, Vs. I 489-490, SPS III 106 (*dě as pc. of quoting), ≠ ESSJ IV 229-230, Ivn. OPA 80-1, SPS III 126-8 (does not distinguish between Sl *dě- v. 'place', *děja- v. 'do', and *dě- v. 'say') || K: pGZ *tq̄w- v. 'report, let know' > OG tq̄w-, G tq̄v- 'v. 'say, tell, report, let know', Mg tq̄u- ~ tq̄w- & tq̄v- 'say' ¶ K 184, K² 193, FS K 303-4, FS E 338, Chx. 131-2, Q 331 || A: T *t_lē_ly₁- v. 'say' > OT tē-, XwT XIV de- ~ te-, MQp XIII dē-, Chg ≥XV de- 'say', MOg Tkm XIV {Cl.} de-dī 'he said', Tkm diy-, ET de- ~ dā-, Tk de-, Az, Ggz, Uz, Ln, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt de-, VTt di-, Bsh, Qmn ti-, Tb tiy-, Xk tu-, Tv d_e-, Tf d_ε-, SY ti-te-, Yk dīā-, Chv te- 'say' ¶ Cl. 433-4, IS AD 39, Rs. W 467-8, ET VGD 221-4, Ra. 170-1, Jeg. 241-2, Fed. II 205, S AJ 182 [#70] || ?σM *daγu-n 'sound' > WrM dagu(n), HIM дyy(н) ¶ MED 219 || Tg *de_lb₁- 'song; shamanizing' > Ewk dɜwɜy 'song', dɜwɜy- v. 'sing and dance an Ewenki dance', dɜwɜki- v. 'shamanize', Orc dāsango interj. (a refrain of shaman's songs), WrMc deyeŋgu 'melody' ¶ STM I 228, 230 ¶¶ DQA #2235 (A *t_lé 'say, sound') ◇ The glottalization of the original *t- in C and K is due to the N lr. *ʔ; K *q < N *q∇ʔ; C *✓tχ^w may be explained by mt. (*teq^ræʔU¹ > *t∇ʔ∇qU). If M *daγu-n belongs here, its *a may be due to regr. "harmony of vowels" (*e...u > *a...u), which suggests that the final labialized vw. was *u. In the prehistory of IE and T the final syll.*-ʔU was probably lost. If we accept an alt. hyp. admitting that the N initial cns. was *t̥, the initial cns. of NaIE and A remains unexplained ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (*te^rh¹∧ 'say' > IE, T + unc.: K *tχ₀- v. 'ask' [actually from N *teγw∇ 'ask for, beg']), BmK 318 (K, Sum d_ug₄ v. 'say\|speak\|tell').

2289. *ter∇ 'to tear, to burst' > HS: S *o✓trr > Ar ✓trr (pf. tarra) 'éclater, partir (le noyau de la datte quand on la casse avec une pierre); être séparé' ¶ BK I 194 || IE *der-, *derH- v. 'split, tear' (× [?] N *tūR∇ or *tuRE 'to pierce, to stick into' × [?] N *to^r∇ 'to bark, to peel' × N *tA^rq∇ '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > OI dar- (prs. dr_o'ṇāti, pfc.

da'dāra) v. 'burst, cause to burst, tear', Av auaa ... dāraṇa 'auseinanderspaltend', NPrs دَرِيْدَنْ dārr-īdān ~ دَرِيْدَنْ dār-īdān 'to tear, to rend, to lacerate', {VI.} 'lacerare, discerpere', Av darādar- 'split' (pp. dāratō [= OI dr̥'ta-]) ||| W, Crn, Br dār n 'piece, part' ||| Lt dīrti (prs. derù ~ diriu), Δ dīrti 'to tear asunder, to flay' ||| pSl *der-ti ~ *dbr̥ā-ti (prs. dēr-q) 'to tear, to flay (× N *tor̥V '↑')': [1] *der-ti > SCr {Tls.} дрѣти ~ {ESSJ} drijèti, {Glh.} drijéti 'to tear, to rend, to flay', Slv dr̥éti 'to skin, to flay', P drzeć 'to tear, to rend', Slk driet', Cz dríti 'to flay'; [2] *dbr̥ā-ti > OCS ДЬРАТИ / prs. ДЕРѦ derq v. 'skin, flay, lacerate', SCr dērati, Slv dērati 'to tear asunder, to rend, to flay', Cz dráti, Slk drat' 'to rend, to strip', R драць 'to tear, to bark (a tree)', Uk драти ~ дерти 'to tear asunder', Blg дера 'tear asunder, rend, flay' ||| Gt dis-táiran 'ρήγνύειν, zerreißen', OHG zerren, fir-zerren 'to tear, to tear up', NHG zerren 'to tear, to pull, to tug', AS teran 'to tear, lacerate', NE v. tear ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), M K II 59, M EI 701-3, VI. I 844, Sg. 517, Horn 125, LP § 12.1, YGM-1 163, ECCE 230, Hm. 143, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ IV 209, V 218-9, Bern. I 185, Vs. I 504-5, Glh. 191, Tls. 103, SJSS X 544, SPS V 231-5, Fs. 120, Ho. 346, Kb. 1248, OsS 1247-8, KM 880 ||| D *ter̥- ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'burst asunder, break, cut' > Tm ter̥i vt. 'burst asunder; break, cut', Ml ter̥ikka v. 'cut off', Kn tir̥i v. 'cut, cut off', OTl treyyu v. 'be chopped/cut off', trevvu v. 'be cut', Gnd tivv-, Knd tev- v. 'be broken', Png trēz-, Mnd trey- v. 'cut (e.g. crops)' ¶¶ D #3437, Km. 399 [##650, 652] ◇ IS SS #2.11, IS MS 360 ('рвать' *ter(H)α: IS, D + *÷ K *tχar- v. 'dig').

2290. *tuRV 'back, back side' > HS: S *°-tūr- 'turn back, return' (× *-tūr- 'turn' < N ?σ *tüwrV ~ *tuwrE 'to [re]turn, to roll [up], to turn round') > Ak -tūr- G: inf. OAk, Ak A tuār u(m), Ak OB tār u(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren', Ak NA/NB tūr a 'komm zurück, wiederun' ¶ Sd. 1332-6, 1372 ||| IE: NaIE *dors-/*ders- '≈ back (dos)' > L dorsum 'back (dos)' ||| Ltv {ME} diřsa 'der Hintere' (unless d. from dirst 'to defecate') ||| OHG zers 'penis' (← *tail?) ¶ WH I 373, ≠ WP I 798, 802, ME I 470, Kb. 1248 ¶ NaIE *-s- must be a sx. or an ext. ||| U: FU {UEW} *turya 'nape, back of the head' > F turja 'Hinterteil des Nackens', Es turi (gen. turja) 'nape, upper part of the back' ||| OHG tar, Hg Δ tarja 'Genick, Hinterkopf des Rindes; Schulterstück', tarkó 'nape, back of the head' ¶ UEW 538-9 ¶ Acc. to UEW, FU *-ya is

a poss. ending \diamond IE *dors- (rather than **dours- with *ou < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants \diamond The comparison between Latin and FU was suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #6c).

2291. *tūrV or *tuRE 'to pierce' > **A:** M *dürü- v. 'pierce, stick\push\shove into' > MM [S] dürü- 'eindringen, hineinsetzen', WrM dūrū- to put\push\stick into; slip in, insert, thrust in', HIM дүрә- id., Kl дүр- dür- 'put\push\shove in, hineinstecken', Brt дүрә- id., 'dip' ¶ H 39, MED 283, KW 105, KRS 220, Chr. 210 ¶¶ IS AD 47 ¶¶ Not here T *tūr- vi. 'string, thread (a needle)' (< N *turyV - *turyE or *tūrV - *tūrE 'row, line; to string', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *toḡa- ~ *tora- 'hole' (× N *durV or *dürV 'hole, hollow', q.v. ffd. × N *tor'Vh'a 'to pass over; through?') || **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} tār- v. 'pierce, spear' (× N *tor'Vh'a '↑?') || EC: Sml tōrrey ~ tōrri, Sml {Abr.} tōrray ~ tōrri 'dagger', Rn {PG} tōr (pl. tōrár), Ya {Hn.} tōr (pl. tōróri) 'spear' || SC: Kz talangayo 'bleeding arrow', ?? {E}: SC → Mb ito, itoró 'spear' ¶ ZMO 396, Abr. S 239, PG 280, E SC 169 [#7] (*tār- v. 'spear, pierce with a weapon'), EEN 8 (Dhl ÷ Ya -tūra '?'), Hn. Y II 134 || **IE:** NaIE *der- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *toḡV 'to bark, to peel' × [?] N *terV 'to tear, to burst' × [?] N *tArqV '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > Lt dūr̄ti (prs. dūr̄i), Ltv dūr̄t 'to stab, to thrust, to prick', Lt durà 'crow-bar' || pSl *der- / *dbr- > ?σ SCr ù-driti (prs. ù-drim) 'to strike'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OCS дѣра dira 'hole, crack', SCr Δ dīra ~ dīra & dīra, R Δ дѣра, Blr дзѣрка, Cz dīra 'hole'; pSl *dīra 'hole' > OR дѣра dīra 'hole, passage', R дѣра, Plb darā 'hole' || OI darah 'hole in the ground, cave' ¶ P 206-9, ≈ Frn. 113, M K II 21, Drd. 861, Vs. I 515, 559, ESSJ V 30-1, 205, Srz. I 765 \diamond IS MS 357 (*turA 'pierce'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D).

2292. ?σ *tūrV - *tuwrE 'to roll, to turn round, to wind' > **HS:** S *°-tūr- (× S *°-tūr- 'turn back, return' < N *tuR V 'back, back side') > Ar ✓twr G (pf. tāra, ip. -tūr-) 'faire le tour, circuler autour d'un point', Ak -tūr- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tuāru(m), Ak OB tārū(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' ¶ BK I 210, Sd. 1332-6 || C: Bj {R} ✓trr (p. 'a-trir, prs. a-tar'rīr) 'drehen, wickeln' ¶ R WBd 232 || **IE** (+ext.): NaIE *derbh- 'twist\bind together' > OI dr̄bhati 'strings\ties together, ties in a bunch', Av darəwδa- 'bundle of muscles', WIn *(ham-)darb- v. 'sew' > Xuri dur-, dur-uft, Prc an-darf, Orm un-darəw- id. || SI *dorbb̄ > Blr 'допаб' 'basket, box (Korb,

Schachtel)', R Δ δορο'βοκ 'box\basket of bast (κοροβ)' || Arm **տոռն** **տֹռն** (*< *dorbh-n-*) 'σχοινίον, rope, cord, string, twine' || OHG *zerben*, p. *zarpta* (rf.) 'sich (um)drehen, wälzen', AS *tearflian* (*< *tarbalōn*) vi. 'to roll, to wallow' ¶ WP I 808, P 211-2, EI 607 (**derbh-* 'turn, twist'), M K II 60, M EI 703-4, MW 491, ESSJ V 74, SPS IV 112-3, Kb. 1248, OsS 1230, Ho. 344, Sw. 171 ¶ **-bh-* is to be considered a root ext. || **A** **tūūr* ▽ > NaT **tūr-* v. 'roll up' > OT *tūr-* v. 'roll up (a scroll, one's sleeves, etc.)', OOsM xv *dūr-* v. 'roll up', Tkm *düyr-*, ET *tūr-*, Yk *tūr-* id., Tv *dūr-*, Tf *dūr-* 'roll up as a tube', Az *dūr-māk* 'some food rolled up in flat bread', Qzq, Qq, Qrg *tūr-* 'roll up (sleeves, trouser-legs), raise (hem of a skirt)', Nog, VTt, Bsh, Alt, Xk *tūr-*, VTt *tūr-* id., 'wrap' ¶ Cl. 530-1, Rs. W 506, ET VGD 319-20, Ra. 178, Hüs. 118, Jud. 783, ADb. Ttd 61 [#12] || pJ {S} **tūtüm-* 'wrap' > OJ *tūtüm-*, J: T *cucúm-*, K *cúcúm-*, Kg *cúcùm-* ¶ S QJ #1120, Mr. 776 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2283 (A **tūri-* 'to wrap, to fold', incl. T, J).

2293. *tūrṣê – ***turṣê** 'full, filled' > HS: S **o✓trṣ* > Ar *✓trṣ* (pf. *tariṣa*, ip. *-traṣ-*) v. 'be filled/full' ¶ BK I 196, Hv. 58 || **U** **türe* 'full' > Prm {Lt.} **tūr* 'full, filled' > Vt, Z *tír* id., Z *tír-* v. 'be full, become filled', Vt *tír-* v. 'fill; become full, satt werden' || F *tyrty-* 'bis zum Ekel satt werden', *tyrehty-* 'stop, be(come) stopped, cease to flow', {Rd.} 'gedämpft werden, gehemmt werden, stocken, sich stauen', pLp {Lr.} **tṣrṣ* vi. 'stiffen, tighten' > Lp N {UEW} *dârrât* 'steif werden, erstarren, hart werden', Lp Kld {TI} *tṣrra-* 'aufquellen, dicht werden (ein spack gewordener Gegenstand in Wasser)' || Sm: Slq NP *tiir* 'voll, Füllung', Slq B/Kt/UO *tiir-*, Slq Tur {Lh.} *tīrti-* v. 'fill' ¶¶ UEW 524, Coll. 64, Lr. #1214, Lt. 198, LG 293, Décsy UP 109 (**tirä*) || **A**: Tg **dīra-*, *dīrami*, Sln *dirami*, Lm *dirəm*, Neg *diyam*, Orc *diyami*, Ud *deämi* *diyami*, Ul *diram*, Ork *ṣram*, Nn *ṣram*, WrMc *ziramin*, Jrc {Kiy.} *diramej* 'thick', Nn *ṣrala-* (+ppa.) 'thickness' ¶ STM I 207-, Kiy. 135 [#692] ¶¶ ≈ DQA #225 (A **tīri* 'thick, plenty' > Tg) || **D** **tūr* v. 'be filled up' > Tm *tūr*, Ml *tūruka* id., ??φ Krx *čūr-nā* v. 'get obstructed, blocked up (as a rat-hole, pipe)' ¶¶ D #3390, Pf. 43 [#245], 77 [#488] ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' **tūr* (U, D), BmK 278 (HS, U; unc.: S ÷ Kz *tal-* v. 'grow' and Dhl {E} *tār-* v. 'collect together, mix').

2294. *tarh₂ ▽ 'to drink' > K {K²} **ter-/tr-* v. 'drink' > OG *ter-/tr-*, G *tver-/tr-* v. 'get drunk', Sv *tr-* v. 'drink' (msd. UB/LB/Ln litre 'to

drink'); K 69 plausibly suggested that -v- in NG results from mt. *ter-v-* > *tver-* ¶¶ K 95-6 (*tr-), K² 69, Schm. 114; FS K 149 and FS E 162 (*twer-), TK 434, GP 154 || **A** *tar∇ 'a kind of beverage' > NaT *t_Lar > OT tar [MhK] ({Cl.} tār) 'milk residue, that is the clotted milk which remains at the bottom when the pure butter has been melted and drawn off', Yk tar 'sour boiled milk that is fermented in summer and stored for the winter', 'frozen sour milk'; T ⇨ WrM tarag, HIM тарар 'clabbered milk, sour milk' ¶ Cl. 528, JkR 375, Pek. 2654, MED 779 ¶ Cl.'s assumption of a long ā is based on the shaky argument of the Arabic spelling, but must be rejected on the clear ev. of Yk || ? M *darasun 'wine' > MM [IM, IsV] darasun id., WrM darasun, HIM дарс(ан) 'sweet wine made from fruit or grain', WrO {Krg.} darasun 'wine, drink', Kl дарасн darasъn 'wine made of berries', Mnr H {SM} d_3rās3 'genièvre, vin', {T} derāse, Dx darasun 'wine'; the strange preservation of the final -un in Dx and the unexpected long ā and 3 (e) in Mnr suggest borrowing (at least in Mnr and Dx) ¶ Pp. MA 435, Lg. VMI 25, MED 232, Krg. 545, KRS 183, SM 49, T 329, T DnJ 117 || **D** *tar- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'drink, swallow' > Tl trāgu, trāvυ v. 'drink', Prj tār-, Gdb tārg- v. 'swallow' ¶¶ D #3174, ≠ Km. 398 [#644] (*÷ Tm ār- v. 'eat, drink' and Gdb K sark- v. 'drink water from the tank'; reconstructs *tar- ~ *ĉar-) ◇ BmK 300 (K, D). The presence of a N lr. is suggested by D *-r- (< N cns. clusters *-r_L- reg.).

2295. *tirH∇ 'be quiet, lie (liegen)' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *t_Ltird- v. 'lie down, go to bed' > Ang {Flk.} tēr v. 'cause to lie down, lie down' || Krkr {IL} tāḍù, {Lk.} tāḍù v. 'lie down', t3ḍu v. 'sleep', Gera {ChL} t3ḍí v. 'sleep', Glm t3r vi. 'sink, descend', Tng {J} t_Lidē v. 'sleep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 166-7 [#195], J T 153 || ? Eg G t3h 'sich senken, sich ablagern (vom Schlamm eines Gewässers)' ⇨ (?) Eg MK {Fk.} t3h.t 'lees, dregs'; Eg N t3h 'eintauchen' ¶ EG V 233, Fk. 294 || **K** *tir- > G tir- '(sich) beruhigen' ¶ Chx. 491 || **IE** *dreh̄-/ *dr̄h̄- > NaIE *drē-/drā- v. 'sleep' > OI 'drāti, 'drāya-ti, -tē 'is asleep' || Arm տարտամ tartam 'irresolute, sluggish, idle, unsteady, cowardly, moving slowly' || Gk Hm (aor.) ἔδραθον (< *e-dr̄-d^h-om) 'he slept', prs. δαρθάνω 'fall asleep' ¶ P 226, M K II 76, Sl. 360-1, Ch. 253, FI 349-50, EI 526 (*dreh₁- 'sleep' = *der- + ext.) || ? **A** *tirga > M *z₁irga- > WrM z₁irga- v. 'set' (of the sun), ↑ 'sleep', Ord ž₁irga- 'set' (sun, moon, stars), ↑ 'go to bed' ¶ MED 1059, Ms. O 202 || **D** (in GnD) *ter- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'lie (down), sleep' >

Mnd *tēr-* v. 'lie, lie down', *trēp-* v. 'lay down', Knd *ter-p-* v. 'put to sleep, cause to lie down, lay', Png *trēp-* v. 'lay down, put (child) to sleep', Kui *treppa-* v. 'cause to lie down', Ku *trip-* v. 'lay down, make so. sleep' ¶ D #3425 ◇ D *e for the expected *i needs explaining ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *^rt^rur^h (U, D).

2296. *toRgæ (= **torgæ*?) 'weak, loose' > HS: B *^rtrg > Ah *atræg* 'lâcher librement (un animal)', ETwl, Ty *atræg* 'dénouer; détacher, lâcher librement; libérer, déboutonner' ¶ Fc. 1591, GhA 192 || IE: NaIE **dreǵh-* '≈ be slack, be loose, be weak' > Lt *drūž-ti* (prs. *drūžù*) {Frn.} 'to become weak', *mano akis drūžta* 'I am gradually losing the sight' (but {PiesS} *družti* 'get clouded, darken'), as well as possibly Lt {Frn.} *drižti* (prs. *drižtú*) 'to be timid, to become miserable\weak' (→ 'to be afraid?') || Gt *trigō* 'λύπη, distress', ON *tręgi* 'sorrow', AS *treza* 'grief, affliction', OHG *trāgi* 'slow, lazy, sad', NHG *träge* 'slow, dull', OSx *trāg id.*, *trāgi* 'Trägheit', OHG *trāgī* 'weariness, sluggishness', 'taedium, pigritia, segnitias, torpor' ¶ WP I 821ff., P 226-7 ('unwillig, verdrossen' ← 'schlaff, zähe sein?'), Frn. 106-7, Fs. 480, Vr. 597, Kb. 1028, OsS 950, Ho. 352, Ho. S 75 || A **torg*∇ > M **dorgumzi* > WrM *dorgumzi*, HIM *доргомж* 'weak, feeble'; M **dorgun* > WrM *dorgun*, HIM *доргон* 'lack, deficit; insufficient'; M **dor₁a₂y₁u* > WrM *doru*, {Rm.} *doragu*, HIM *дор* 'weak, impotent, incapable', Kl Ö *doru* 'unterlegen, schwach, schlecht', M **doruyi* > WrM *dorui*, HIM, Brt *дорой* 'weak, feeble, emaciated', MM [MA] *doray kibe tūni* 'weakened him', *doraytūlqu üyle* 'weakening work' ¶ MED 262, Kow. 1885-6, KW 96, Pp. MA 143, Chr. 196 || Tg: WrMc {Z} *dorgolo-* v. 'stop growing (cereals), bloom insufficiently, betoken bad harvest' ¶ STM I 216, Z 828, Hr. 120 (rejects the Mc word as a misinterpretation) || ? NaT **t₁ūr-* ~ **t₁ōr-* v. 'be(come) weak, emaciated, lean' > OT *tūr-* v. 'be\become weak, emaciated', Xk *tura par-*, *tura ka-* v. 'be exhausted\tired', Yk {Pek.} *tūōr* 'emaciation', *tūōr-* 'get emaciated', *tūōrχay* 'weak'; T ⇨ MM [S] *tura-* 'abnehmen, schwächer sein', *turu-* 'abmagern' ¶ Cl. 530, Pek. 2824, 2829, H 155, Rl. III 1446, BIG 240.

2297. *tæRp₁∇ (or **tæRP₁∇*?) 'tremble, shake' > HS: S *^rtrp > Sr ^rtrp G {JPS} 'clap, flap, move', {Br.} 'percussit' ¶ Br. 290, JPS 182 || IE: NaIE **ōdrep-* ~ **ōtrep-* 'shake, tremble' > Psh *دربل* *dra^hb³l* 'to shake, to press down' || Sl **trep-* > Cz *třepati* 'to shake, to flutter, to clap,

to flap (one's wings)', LLs *tsepaś*, HLs *třepaś* 'to swing'; ⇨ SI **trep-etъ* n. act. 'trembling, quivering' > OCS *трепетъ* *trepetъ*, Blg, R *трепет*, SCr *trèpēt*, Slv *trepèt*, P *tzpiot* id. ¶ P 1094, Vs. IV 98-9, Asl. 402, Mrg. 22 || **A**: M **derbe-* > WrM *derbe-*, HIM *дэрвэ-* v. 'flutter; struggle (as birds\fish)', Ord *d_erwe-* 'battre les ailes (oiseau), flotter au gré du vent (étouffe)', Kl {Rm.} *derw-* 'flattern (von Vögeln), zappeln (von Fischen); ds.: MM [S] *derbel-* 'beben, erschüttern', WrM *derbelze-*, HIM, Brt *дэрвэлзэ-* v. 'flutter, flap in the wind', WrO *derbeküül-* 'make fly in the wind' ¶ MED 252-3, Ms. O 141, H 36, Krg. 556, KW 90, Chr. 218 ◇ If the N etymon is **tæRp̥*, IE **t-* and S **t̥-* (for IE **d-* and S **t-*) may be due to as. (N **t...p̥* > **t̥...p̥* > IE **t...p̥* and S **t̥...p̥*) and possibly to ideophony, but if the N rec. is **tæRp̥*, M *d-* defies explanation.

2297a. *tArû '(ε) tree, log' > **HS**: EthS (← C??): Tgr {LH} **ⲢⲘ** *tor* 'gable-beam in the roof', (d. or cd.?) **ⲢⲘⲞⲘ** *tormor*, {Abb.} **ⲢⲘⲞⲞ** *torman* 'cross-beam in the roof' ⇨ Bj {R} *tir*'*mān* (pl. 'tirman) 'der Dachstuhl, Querbalken, welcher das Dach stützt' ¶ LH 307, R WBd 232 || **K**: G *tarō* 'Querblatt (an der Wand oder in einem Wandschrank)', {NCh.} 'shelf in the wall' ({DCh.} *заставецъ*) ¶ Chx. 463, NCh. 231, DCh. 554 || **IE** **deru-* / **doru-* / **dreu-* / **drou-* / **dru-*, {EI} **doru* / gen. **drou-s* 'tree, wood' > Ht {Ts.} *taru* (*tār u*), Lw {Mlc.} *tār u* 'wood (Holz), tree', LycIs [StB] *δέρβη* (**derwa-*) 'juniper' ([StB]: *Δέρβη ... ὅ ἐστι τῆ τῶν Λυκαίωνων φωνῆ ἄρκευθός*) || NaIE: OI *'dār u* 'piece of wood, wood (Holz)' (nom. *'druṇā*, gen. *'drōḥ*, *'druṇah*), *'dru-* 'wood, wooden implement, tree', Av *dāuru* (gen. sg. *draoś*) 'tree trunk, piece of wood', NPrs **𐎠𐎡𐎴** *dār* 'wood (Holz), beam' || Gk *δόρυ* (gen. *δόρατος*, Gk Hm *δουρός*) 'tree, tree trunk, plank\beam', *δρῦς* 'tree, oak' || pAl {O} **druwa* 'tree, wood (Holz)' > MAI {FB} *druu* 'lignum', Al: T *dru*, G *dru* 'tree, wood (Holz)', SG/Be/Mn *dru*, P *dru*, *drūni*, U *dru*, *druni*, D/Kr *drū* id. || OIr *daur* (gen. *darō*) 'oak', MW *derw-en* snglt. (pl. *derw*), W *dâr* (pl. *darwen*), OBr {Flr.} coll. *daeru*, MBr {Em.} *deruenn* (pl. *deru*), Br {Hm.} *deruenn* (coll. *deru*) 'oak' || Gt *triu* 'tree, wood (Holz)', ON *tre*, AS *tréo* (> NE *tree*) 'tree', OSx *trio* 'tree, beam' || SI **dērvō* 'tree' > OCS **дрѣво** *drěvo*, P *drzewo*, Slv *drevô* id., SCr *drěvo*, R *'дерево* 'tree, wood (Holz)', Cz *dřevō*, Slk *drevō* 'wood (Holz), timber'; SI **dr̥vō* 'tree', pl. **dr̥va* 'wood

(Holz), fire-wood' > Blg дѣрво, SCr дрѣво, Slk drvo 'tree', Slv drvo 'log, cudgel'; SI *dr̥vo 'tree' > Blg дѣрво, SCr дрѣво, Cz Δ, Slk drvo id., Slv dr̥vo 'log (of fire-wood), club', SI pl. *dr̥va 'fire-wood' ({EI} < *druh_{ro}/eh_{ro}) > OCS Δрѣва дрѣва, SCr дрѣва, P дрѡа, R дро'ва, Blg дѣр'ва id. | Possibly words for 'resin, tar' (← *deru- 'tree?'): Ltv dařva 'tar, pitch', Lt der̃ṽa id., 'resin; resinous stump' ||| ON tjara 'tar' (< Gmc *terwōn), ON tȳrv, Nr tȳri, Sw töre ~ tȳre 'resinous wood', MDt tar, Dt teer, MLG ter(e) (↳ NHG Teer) 'tar', NHG lc. (in Kurhessen, Schwalm) (Wagen-)Zehr id., AS teoru 'tar, resin', NE tar ¶¶ P 214-7, EI 598, Frd. HW 267, Ts. W 88, Ts. E III 230-5, Mlc. CL 218, MK II 36, ME I 721, Horn 116, FI 411-2, Fs. 480-1, Vr. 591, 597, 603, Ho. 346, 353, Ho. S 76, KM 775, SEv. 31, LP § 67, YGM-1 168, Flr. 128, Ern. 152, Hm. 152, Frn. 90-1, ESSJ IV 211-3 and V 141-2, SPS III 54-7, Gh. 207, O 76, Huld 56 (pAl *druna-) ||| A: pKo {S} *tōrí > MKo tōrí, NKo tori 'cross-beam' ¶ S QK #373, MLC 465 || pJ {S} túrí-(n)kǝǝ 'ceiling beam' > OJ túríǝ, J T curigi ¶ S QJ #385 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'ör(g)e, ≈ DQA #2392 (A *t'jörge 'support, beam', incl. Ko, J); the err. rec. of A *t'- is based of unj. comparison with Dg terkin 'dais' (in fact a loan from Mc) and Tg *turgā 'prop, support' (in fact derived from Tg *torgā- v. 'prop up' < N *tōRga 'hold, prop up' ||| ? D *tā̃r- > Kn tā̃r 'stem or stalk of corn, flowers, etc.' ¶ ≈ D #3185 ◇ The labialized vw. of the first syll. in A may be due to regr. as. ◇ S AJ 289 [#312] (A *t'j'er̃ tree', IE), ≈ S NSR 4-6 (IE + A *t'j'oré [with err. rec. of *t'-] + K: G dvire 'Balken'; on this basis he reconstructed N *d'ω-).

2298. (₂?) *tořv 'bark; to bark (remove the bark), to peel' > IE: NaIE *der- v. 'skin, flay, bark' (× N *tūRv or *tuRE 'to pierce, stick into' × [?] N *terv 'to tear, to burst' × [?] N *tAřq '≈ to make an incision, to dig') > Arm տնտմ teřem 'I flay, skin' ||| Gk δέρω id., δείρω id. (*-yō-present), ↔ δέρμα 'skin, hide, leather' ||| Lt dir̃ti (1s prs. Lt dir̃iù [*-yō-present], Lt Zh der̃ù) 'to flay, to bark' | pSl *der-ti ~ *dbr̃á-ti (prs. dēr-ō) 'to tear, to flay' (× N *terv '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), FI 368-70, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ V 218-9, SJSS X 544, Bern. I 185, SPS V 231-5, Slc. 266-7 ||| A *tōřv > T *t'j'ōř 'birch bark' > NaT *t'j'ōz > OT toz 'birch bark', Chg, OOsM toz, VTt tuz, Bsh tuδ, Qzq, Qrg toz, Alt, Xk, Shor tos, Tv t'ōs, Tf d_os, Yk tūōs 'birch bark', Uz tws 'birch-bark used to trim saddles with' (a loan from a lge. with reg. -s < NaT *-z?), ?? Az toz-ařač'i 'birch tree' (if ← *'birch-bark tree' rather

than ← 'dust tree') ¶ Cl. 571, Rs. W 491-2, Ra. 174, TL 103, UzR 467; ADb. Ttd 58-9 and SRAE 79 (on distinction between pT *t'- and *t'-) ¶ For lack of reliable Og data and due to the discrepancy within the Tv ev. and that of Tf one cannot distinguish between T *t'- and *t'- || M *durusun > WrM *durusun*, HIM *дурс* 'shell, bark', WrO {Krg.} *dursun* 'bast, bass', Kl *дурсн* *dursn* 'bark (Baumrinde)', Brt *дурһан* 'lime bast (луб)' ¶ MED 276, Krg. 576, KRS 216, Chr. 204, KW 103 || Tg **duri* 'cradle made of birch bark' > Lm *dör* ≈ *dur*, Neg *duy*, Orc *duyi*, Ud *düi*, Ul, Nn *duri* id., WrMc *duri* 'cradle' ¶ STM I 217, Pt. 49, Z 836 || pKo {S} **tura₁i* 'bucket, scoop' > NKo *ture* ¶ S QK #994, MLC 503 || pJ {S} **túru₁m₁pai* 'bucket, pail' > OJ *túrúbè*, J: T *cùrube*, K *cùrúbè*, Kg *curúbe* ¶ S QJ #409, Mr. 557 ¶¶ DQA #2263 (A **tóru* 'birch bark, vessel made of birch bark'), KW 103 || ?ϕ HS: Ch: pAG {Stl.} *(n)*daram* 'bark' > Su {J} *dàrà₁m* 'thick tree-bark', Tal {J} *dàram*, Ywm {Sh.} *ndàrà₁m*, Tmbs {Sh.} *dàrà₁m* 'bark', Ang {Flk.} *darm* | Wrj {Gw.} *tirhei* 'skin' ||| ECh: Smr {J} *tàri₁n* 'bark', Ke {Eb.} *tīrɛ* 'Schale, Haut', Tmk {Cp.} *dār* 'human skin' ¶ JI II 8, 296, ChC, J S 62, Stl. ZCh 241 [#16], Cp. 52, Eb. 98 ◇ The unexpected length of the T vw. (if reconstructed correctly on the ev. of Yk *tūōs*) is still puzzling ◇ AD NM #92, Vv. AEN 6, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE **der-* v. 'skin' * < N **teri* 'to tear, to burst'; rejects the IE cognate of the N etymon in question) ◇ An alt. et. is N **du₁rE* > Ch (as above), M **durusun*, and T **jūr-* 'v. 'flay' (> OT *jūz-*, etc., F Cl. 984), but it fails to explain IE **der-*.

2299. *t₁ǃǃ 'suffer, endure' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ *tr m* prs. md. (1s: p. a-'*trām*, prs. *attarīm*; prtc. *te'rāma*) id., 'tolerate' ¶ R WbD 231-2 || U: FV **tarkǃ* v. 'endure' > F *tarje-ta* (prs. *tarkene-*) 'to stand the cold', Es Δ *tare-ta*, *targe-ma* (prs. *targe-n*) {W} id., 'vertragen, sich getrauen' | Chr H: StChr H '*tərxa-š*, Chr K '*tərxe-m*, Chr Y '*törxe-m*; StChr L *tur'ka-š*, Chr Y/U '*türke-m* 'to endure', 'ausstehen, aushalten, dulden, ertragen' ¶ It. #46, SK 1235, W EDW 1120 || A: T **tör-* v. 'suffer, endure' > OT *töz-* ({Cl.} *töz-*), Chg *töz-* id., XwT *töz-* id., Tkm *döδ-*, Az *döz-*, VTt *tüz-* (↔ Chv *tüs-*), Bsh *tüδ-*, Qry *töz-* ≈ *tez-*, Qzq, Nog, Ln *töz-* 'endure', Tk Ist *döz-* id. ('katlanmak, tahammül etmek') ¶ Cl. 572, Jeg. 267, Rs. W 495, ET VGD 272-3, SDD I 471, ADb. Ttd 59 (in **ǃǃz-* stems the opposition **t'-* ↔ **t-* is neutralized).

2300. *tA₁ǃǃ '≈ make an incision, dig' > HS: S **o* ✓ *trχ* > Ar ✓ *trχ* G 'scarifier le peau, y faire une légère incision' ¶ BK I 196 || K: GZ

*tq|χar-/*tq|χr- v. 'dig' > OG, G tχar-/tχr- 'dig', Mg (n)tχo(r)- 'dig, bury', Lz tχor- v. 'plough, dig' (×K *^oštχar / *^oštχr- v. 'dig' < N *Sid₁ϣ₁∇r∇ ~ *Sid∇r₁ϣ₁∇ 'to shovel, to sweep') ¶¶ Chik. 286; FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (*tχar-/*tχr-); K² 77-8; K 176-7 (*(s₁)tχar-/*(s₁)tχr-) ¶¶ Within the "harmonious complex" *t + lr.\uvular the opposition between *q and *χ is neutralized || IE *derH- 'sth. dug' (× < *der-, *derH- v. 'split' < N *ter∇ 'to tear, to burst' [q.v.] × N *tūR∇ or *tuRE 'to pierce, to stick into' × [?] N *toR∇ 'to bark, to peel') > OI *darā-h̄*, *darī* 'hole in the earth, cave' ||| pSl *d̄brn̄b = {SPS} *d̄r̄n̄b (< NaIE *d̄r̄no-) > Slv *d̄r̄n*, Cz *d̄rn*, R д̄ерн, Lls *dern*, P *darń* 'turf, sod' ¶ P 206-9, ESSJ V 224-5, SPS V 50-1, ≈ M K II 21 || D (in GnD) *tār-/taR- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'dig, scratch' > Gnd Δ *taṛānā* v. 'dig or scratch up, as pigs', *tār̄k-* & *taṛk-* & *tark-* v. 'scratch', Knd *tār-* v. 'scratch up earth, as rats', Mnd *tār-* v. 'scrape off (bark)', Kui *tāra* v. 'dig out, excavate, scratch out', Ku *taṝz-* ~ *tr̄aṝz-* v. 'scratch up (as dog, fowl, etc.)' ¶ D #3122 ◇ BmK 301-2 (IE, D, Sum *dar* v. 'split').

2301. *tus∇ or *tūs∇ 'against, in the opposite direction' > IE [1] NaIE *dus- 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds.) > OI *duṣ-* ~ *dur-*, Av *duš-* ~ *duž-* id. ||| Gk *δυσ-* id. ||| Arm **un-** t- 'un-' ||| L *dis-* 'un-' as in *difficilis* 'heavy' (lit. 'un-easy') ||| OIr *do-*, *du-* px. 'un-, mis-, *δυσ-*, bad', W *dy-* 'bad' ||| Gt *tuz-* in *tuz-wērjan* 'to doubt', ON, AS *tor-*, OHG *zur-* 'un-', asunder' ||| Sl *d̄b̄žd̄b̄ 'rain' = {SPS, ESSJ} *d̄b̄žd̄žb̄ 'rain' (< {EI} *dus-dyus 'un-day', sc. 'un-weather') > OCS **ДѢЖДѢ** *d̄b̄žd̄b̄*, Blg **дѣжд**, SCr Δ *d̄āžd* ~ *d̄āžd̄*, Slv *d̄ež*, R **дождь**, Uk **дощ**, P *deszcz*, OCz *déšč*, Cz *déšť*, P *deszcz* 'rain' | [2] NaIE *deus- v. 'lack' > OI *dōṣaḥ* 'fault, crime, vice, want' ||| Gmc *tiuzōn > AS {Ho.} *tīerian* ~ *tīorian* 'nachlassen, aufhören, ermüden, müde sein', {Sw.} *tēorian* 'to fail, not to be up to the mark; to be tired', NE v. *tire* ¶¶ WP I 816, P 219, 227, EI 43, M K II 54-5, 67-8, F I 425, WH I 354-5, Thr. § 365, Fs. 484, Vr. 595, Ho. 346-7, 351, OsS 1305, KM 880, Sl. 275-6, SPS V 194-6, ESSJ V 195-7 ||| HS: S *✓tš|sy > Ar ✓tsy L (pf. **تأسى** *tāsā*) 'faire du mal à qn.'; cp. also Ar *tūs-* 'maleur' (unless < *tūs-* 'nature?') ¶ BK I 199, 210 ||| U *^otūs∇ > Sm: Slq *tī'ti-qo* 'to swim\go against the stream' ¶ KKIH 184 ||| A: ?φ M *tus 'opposite (gegenüber)' (× M *tus- 'straight?') > WrM {Gl., Rm.} *tus* 'gegenüber', {Kow.} *tos* 'contre, vis-à-vis, devant', Kl *tus* {Rm.}

'gegenüber', {KRS} 'opposite, face to face', Ord {Ms.} t'u's, Mnr H {SM, T} t'us 'vis-à-vis, en face, vis-à-vis de, en face de', 'opposite' ¶ Valid unless it is a loan from NaT *t'uš 'opposite to, facing' (Cl. 558, Rl. III 1501, 1508-9) (< N *tūʔ'o' 'two', q.v. ffd.). The vl. *t- for the expected *d- defies explanation (other than a hypothetic borrowing from NaT *t'uš) ¶ KW 412, Kow. 1823, SM 437, T 367, Gl. III 180, Ms. O 683 || T: It is worth paying attention to Osm tūskürü 'zurück, zurückweichend' ¶ Rl. III 1579-80 ◇ The comparison with Slq was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1976).

2302. *t'ûs∇ 'bush (shrub)' > HS: Ch: Ngz dūs 'densely wooded area of bush' ¶ Sch. DN 51 || IE: NaIE *dus-(mō-) {Dv.} 'shrub (arbusto)' > OIr (WH, WP) doSS 'Busch' || OL dūsmus, L dūmus a thorn bush, bramble' || MHG zūsach 'bushes, underwood (Gestrüpp)', zūse id., 'lock of hair' ([?] in Gmc contamination with another √ meaning 'zerreißen, zerfasern': OHG zir-zūsōn 'zerzausen', {Kb.} 'to free, to dissolve', MLG tōsen 'reißen, zerren', etc.) ¶ Dv. #828, WP I 766-7, WH I 381, Lx. 341 || A: T: Tv d_ös 'bush, shrub' (unless < Tv d_ös 'root' < NaT *t'öz id.) ¶ TvR 179.

2302a. *tæf's∇ (more probable than *dæf's∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > HS: S *o'daḡ_∇_šs- > Ar daḡs- 'trace, piste; chemin battu', {Fr.} 'vestigium; multum calcata (via)', √ dḡs G 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' ¶ Fr. I 33, BK I 700, ≠ DRS 202 || Ch: WCh: Df {J} dḡsāy, Btr {J} dḡsāy v. 'find' || Ngz {Sch.} tāsāy (n. act. táší) v. 'find, come across, stumble upon' ¶ Sch. DN 158, ChC, J R 214 ¶ Probably ḡ- ~ t- < N *d- or *t- + *ḡ || K *o_3ḡ- > G 3i- (prs. 3eV-) 'forschen, suchen (nach)' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶ K *o_3ḡ- > G 3i- (pres. 3eV-) 'forschen, suchen (nach)' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶ K *3- < *ds- (with *d- < pre-K *dḡ- < [as.] *tḡ- < N *t...ḡ-) || A: M *o_des > WrM, HIM des 'following, next, subsequent, second', desle- v. 'be next, follow', unless a loan from Tib de-s 'therefore, ergo, after that' (abl. of Tib de 'that') ¶ MED 254, Kow. 1709-11, Vv. AEN 15 (M <- Tib) || IE: NaIE *dē_s_ / (?) *des- 'find, track, trace' > Gk δήω 'I shall find', Gk [Hs.] ἔδηεν · εὔρεν '(he) found' || pAl ? *en-das-sya, {O} *en-da-sya > Al ndesh v. 'encounter' || Sl *desiti 'to meet, to find' (× IE *deḡ- 'find, get' < N *t'e'Kæ 'take, carry') > OCS ΔΕCΗΤΗ desiti (prs. ΔΕCΗC δεCη) 'εὔρισκεν, invenire; to find\meet (so. somewhere)', OR, RChS ΔΕCΗΤΗ desiti, ΔḂCΗΤΗ dēsiti id., RChS ΔOCΗΤΗ dositi, OYΔOCΗΤΗ u-dositi

'to find, to meet', SCr *dēsiti* (prs. 1s *dēsīm*) id., *dēsiti* 'to find so. (antreffen), to meet', *dēsiti se* 'to happen, to occur' ¶ The IE √ may be either **de_lːs-* or **de_lː-*, because both the Gk and the Al form may be interpreted in both ways, while Sl **des-* may well go back to **deĕ-* ¶ WP I 783, 814, P 217, F I 383, Ch. I 275, AlbED 554, O 284, ≈ ESSJ IV 217-8, Glh. 192, Drd. 75, SPS III 74-6 ¶ If the NaIE √ was **dē-*, it may go back to IE **deH-* < **deHH-* < ***deřz|ž* ∇ < N **tæřs* ∇ (as. **-řs-* > **-řz-*), hence the N etymon would be **tæřs* ∇ ◇ The IE cognate points to a N **t-*. If the N etymon is **tæřs* ∇, the S initial cns. **d-* may be explained by as. **-ř-* > S **-dř-* (in the primary stem *(*y*i)třaš > *(*y*i)dřaš). A similar process in the prehistory of K may explain the pK voiced cns. **°ž|ž-*. But if the N etymon is **dæřs* ∇, the IE cns. **d-* remains without explanation ◇ AD NM #32, ≠ S CNM 13 (does not accept the G cognates; suggests that M **des-* may go back to to ***di-se* with ***di-* like in **žirin* 'two'; suggests to derive Ar √ *dřs* from HS **dřsas-* 'to walk'; hence considers this N comparison "very shaky").

2303. (₂?) **tH₂t* ∇ 'finger' ([in D] → 'point, sharp edge'?) (= **tüH₂t* ∇ [?]; an alt. rec. is **taH₂ünt* ∇) > HS **°tH₂t* ∇ > eB **đaH₂* ∇ > B **đād* ∇ (pl. **đūd* ∇) 'finger' > Kb {Dl.} a-đāđ (pl. i-đuđ-an), Snd {Prov.} đad (pl. iđudan), {Bs.} t'adi, Wrs {Bs.} ضاد đad (pl. يضودان iđudan), Hrw {Bs.} ضاد đad (pl. يضودان iđudan), Mz {CM} đad, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} đad (pl. iđudan), Izd {Mrc.} a-đad (pl. i-đuđ-an), Ah {Fc.} a-đad (pl. iđadwān), Ty/ETwl {GhA}, Tw U {Sdl.} ađad, Gh {Nh.} a-đad (pl. i-đadwan), Ttq {Msq.} ađad (pl. iđadūen), BSn/Skn {La.} đād, Izn/SrSn/Rf {Rn.} đad (pl. iđādūdan), Tz {Stm.} 'ađād (pl. i-đadwān, Si {La.} đād (pl. iđūdān) 'finger', Gd đudān 'fingers' ¶ Dl. 172, Fc. 255, Sdl. 278, Lf. II #O335, GhA 30, Mrc. 88, La. MChB 118, Rn. 311, Msq. 94, Nh. 152, La. S 227, Stm. 157, Prov. ZQS 111, Bs. ZOu 86 || ?φ SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} dīça, Irq {MQK dīça, {E} diça & çica, Alg/Brn {Wh.} dīnça (pl. dīço), Alg {E} dinça, Brn {E} dinça 'finger' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 193 || ?φ WCh: Hs dīnçì 'handful' ¶ Abr. H 216 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Hs) || ?σ D **tuti*, **tut-a* ({řGS} **t-*) 'point, sharp edge' > Tm *tuti* id., Kn *tudi*, Tu *tudi* 'point, end, extremity, top', Tl *tudi* 'end, termination', *tuda* 'end, extremity, tip', Mlt *tota* 'point, pointed' ¶¶ D #3314 || K: GZ **tit-* 'finger, toe' > OG, G *tit-i* id., Lz cd. *titi-mçkon-* 'the little finger', ?? (dis.?) Mg *ķi(n)t-*, Lz *ķit-* 'finger' ¶ K² 71-2, Chx. 489, Abul. 181, Ser. 72 || ?? Gil: A *t'adm* / *radm* 'crown (of the head), top', ES *t'adm* 'crown

of the head' ¶¶ ST 378, ST RN 204, Krn. N 353, 488 ◇ ≠ IS MS 352 ('оконечность' *dual, equates the D √ with U *tužka- and K *dud- 'point, upper end'), IS SS 323 [#3.2] (the same comparison) ◇ In HS (or eB) there is as. *t...t̄ > *t̄...t̄, while in K there is as. in the opposite direction: *t...t̄ > *t...t ◇ Qu. because of seemingly irreg. sound corrs. ◇ The data of SC and Hs (if belonging here) and Mg ʔi(n)t- suggest a word-medial *n (probably N *taH₂ünt̄▽).

2304. ʔφ₂ *tûw▽ 'rain; to sprinkle' > HS: S *°√twŋ (or WS *°√tw|ŋ?) > Gz tawan 'season of the small rains (Aprile - July), spring rain', ? Ug {Grd.} t̄ḡnt (*[t▽ŋan-₁a₁t-]) 'rain' (not attested by Aistleitner and OLS) ¶ LG 582, Grd. UT 49 || C: Ag: Bln {R} t̄uḡān (*t̄ḡḡān) 'beginning of the rainy season, following the summer heat' ¶ R WB 342 ¶¶ Gz tawan may be of Ag origin || D (in SD) *tū'v¹- v. 'sprinkle' > Tm t̄ūv v. 'sprinkle, strew', Ml t̄ūvuka v. 'be spilled', t̄ūkuka v. 'strew, spill, shower', Td tu'f- v. 'spread (grain in sun to dry, etc.)', Tu d̄ūsuri v. 'sprinkle' ¶ D #3394; the D cognate is valid unless it goes back to **tuk- || AdS of K {K} *(š)t̄o- v. 'snow', {FS, K²} *tow- (× N *š▽t▽w▽ 'cold weather', q.v. ffd.); cp. {K} *tow̄- 'snow' (< N *tä1UH₂A - *ta1UH₂ä ≈ cold season, rain) ◇ Fn. KD #97 (K, D).

2305. *t▽w▽ 'head' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'oneself') > HS: ʔφ NrOm: Sz {Fl.} t̄w̄i, {SWW} túĩ ̄ túĩ 'head', Cha {Fl.} toya, {C} toyā ̄ toyā ~ toy 'head' (unless < *toqa, cp. Gm {Hw.} téq̄o 'head of') ¶ Fl. OWL, SiW BA 49, C SE III 176, Blz. OLBP s.v. 'head', Hw. EG || SC: Irq {Mous} ti 'oneself; each other' (a rf. and reciprocal prn.): inós ti çarerē? 'he will hang himself' ('he' + ti + 'hang' 3m), naḡī ti a1-tiḡiná? 'the children run after each other' ('children' + ti + 'together-run' 3p) ¶ Mous 139-40 || HS **t̄w-, prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs (< 'oneself' < 'head') > B *t̄w- ~ *t-, prefix of passivization > Tw t- ~ t̄w-, Nf c̄w- ~ t̄w-, Rf, SrSn, Izn twa-, Kb c̄w-, Zng t̄-: Tw {Pr.} twaḡr̄w ~ t̄ḡr̄w v. 'be found' (↔ aḡr̄w v. 'find'), t̄nk̄ḡ 'être coupé' (↔ ank̄ḡ 'couper'), Nf i-c̄w-akar 'he was robbed' (↔ aker v. 'rob'), Izn, Rf, SrSn twaḡaf 'être pris\saisi\emprisonné' (↔ aḡaf v. 'take, seize'), Kb {Dl.} inv. c̄w̄ilq̄ḡ / pf yac̄w̄alq̄ḡ 'être ramassé' (↔ a1q̄ḡ 'ramasser'), Zng {Nic.} ḡaraḡum 'être relâché, payé, remboursé' (↔ arḡum '[re]lâcher, ouvrir, défaire') ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 63-4, Beg. 68, Rn. 61, Nic. 55 || The S prefix *t- and the infix *-t- (following the first radical of the primary stem [> Ak p., Gz js., CS ip.]) with the reflexive

(→ reciprocal, passive) meaning: [1] the stem of the basic stirps (Qal, fa'ala) + infix *-t- (so-called *Gt*) *yīCtaC∇C(-) > Ak iCtaC∇C, Ar yaCtaCiCu (VIII form), JA yīCtə'Ce/iC, Sr nəCtə'CaC (in Aram/Sr with verbs *primae dentalis et sibilantis* only), [2] the stem of the basic stirps + prefix *t∇- (*T*) *yitCaC∇C(-) > BA, JA yīCtə'Ce/iC, Sr nε̄tCə'CaC, Gz yə̄tCaCaC, [3] the stem of the geminated (4-consonantic) stirps + infix (*Dt*) *y∇CtaCCiC(-) > Ak uCtaCCiC, BHb yīCtaC'CeC, JA yīCtaC'CaC, Sr nε̄CtaC'CaC (Hb, Aram, and Sr *Dt*-forms used with verbal stems *primae* t, d, ṭ, s, z, ç, š, and š̂ only), [4] the stem of the geminated stirps + prefix (*TD*) *y∇tCaCCaC(-) > BHb yitCaC'CeC, JA yitCaC'CaC, Sr nε̄tCaC'CaC, Ar yataCaCCaCu (= V form), Gz yə̄tCaCCaC; these forms underly those of the new (actually derived) WS perfective aspect: Ar *Gt* (VIII form) ṛiCtaCaCa, *TD* (V form) taCaCCaCa, BHb *TD* hiṭCaC'CeC, A *T* h|ṛiṭCə'CaC, *TD* h|ṛiṭCaC'CaC, Sr *T* ṛε̄tCə'CeC, *TD* ṛε̄tCaC'CaC, Gz *T* taCaC(a)Ca, *TD* taCaCCaCa, e.g. Ak *Gt* imtaχṣū 'they faught each other' (← √ mχṣ v. 'fight'), *Dt* uχtabbit 'he was robbed' (↔ *D* uχabbīt 'he robbed'), BHb *TD* pf. cons. וַיַּחַזְקֵהוּ wayyithaz'zek 'and he strengthened himself' (ip. 3pm וַיַּחַזְקוּ yithazzə'kū, pf. 3s הִחַזְקָהּ hiṭhaz'zek) (← √ ḥzk *G* 'be\become strong'), *Dt* pf. cons. 1s וְאֶשְׁמַרְתִּי wāʔeštam'mer 'and I kept myself from' (← √ šmr 'guard, keep'), BA *T* pf. 3f הִתְגַּדְּתָּ hitgə'zε̄rε̄t 'was cut out', *Dt* ip. 3m אֶשְׁתַּנְּנֵי yištan'nē 'will be changed', *TD* juss. יִתְבַּקְּרֵי yitbak'kar 'let search be made' (← *D* √ bkṛ), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} *T* pf. 1s אֶתְגַּמְּרֵי itgəmmā'rīt 'I was destroyed' (Ψ 109.23, Job 2.17), Ar *Gt* ip. يَعْتَرِضُ yaftariḏū 'opposes (\will oppose) himself', *TD* يَتَكَبِّرُ yatakabbaru 'makes (will make) himself great', Gz *T* takadna ~ takadana 'covered himself, was covered', *TD* taʔammara 'showed himself' ¶ Br. G I 528-31, Br. AG 38-9, Sd. G 120-2 [§ 22], 10*-46*, Rms. 101-6, 299-307, Lv. I 146, Di. G 137-9, Schlz. FSV 43 (an unc. hyp. driving back the S stems with *t-, *-t- to an analytical construction with *√ ṛtW|y v. 'come') || C *-t-, reflexivizing affix of verbs, sc. prefix of pcvs., and an element of the word-final complex in scvs. (< px. of aux. verbs): [1] prefix: Bj passivizing px. -t∇-: {RHd.} p. -tō-dār / prs. -tō-dār v. 'be killed' (from -dir v. 'kill'), p. -tdabāl / prs. -tdabāl v. 'be gathered' (from -dbil v. 'gather'), p. -tdagāy / prs. -tdagi v. 'be returned', vi. 'return' / -dgi ~ -digi vt. 'return'; Bj reflexivizing px. -t- in the forms of present, habitative, and permissive "tenses": prs. -ētlīw

(/ habitative and permissive $\bar{i}t\bar{l}i\bar{w}$ -) v. 'burn oneself' (from $\bar{l}i\bar{w}$ vt. 'burn', prs. $\bar{t}dab\bar{i}l$ vi. 'gather' (from $\bar{d}b\bar{i}l$ vt. 'gather'), prs. $\bar{t}dagi$ (/ habitative $\bar{t}dig$, permussive $\bar{t}diga$) vi. 'return' (from $\bar{d}gi$ vt. 'return'), EC: Sa \bar{t} -, prefix of the medium voice (autobenefactive ~ intransitivizing voice): it was still preserved as \bar{t} - in Sa I of the 19th cent. (as described by CR), but has been assimilated to the following cns. in modern Sa (as described by Wlm.): $\bar{i}ggidil$ (< $*\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{g}idil$) vi. 'break', 'break sth. undeliberately' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{i}gdil$ vt. 'break'), $\bar{i}ggire\bar{s}$ - (< $*\bar{i}t\bar{g}ire\bar{s}$) v. 'be cut off' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{i}gre\bar{s}$ - v. 'cut off'), Af \bar{t} - (interpreted by Clz. as reflexivizing and by Hw. as autobenefactivizing prefix): {Clz.} $\bar{u}tubal\bar{e}$ 'vedersi' (p. 1s $\bar{?}u'tubal\bar{e}$, 2s/3f $\bar{t}u'tubal\bar{e}$, 3m $\bar{y}u'tubal\bar{e}$, 3p $\bar{y}u'tubal\bar{e}n$, etc.) \leftrightarrow $\bar{u}bil\bar{e}$ v. 'see' (p. 1s $\bar{?}ubil\bar{e}$, 2s $\bar{t}ubil\bar{e}$, etc.), {Hw.} $\bar{i}d\bar{d}ihide$ (< $*\bar{i}t\bar{d}ihide$) 'sew sth. for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{i}d\bar{h}ide$ 'sew'), $\bar{e}t\bar{t}\bar{e}dege$ 'know for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{e}dege$ 'know') ||| [2] a reflexivizing (rf.) or autobenefactivizing (abf.) sx., $*\bar{t}$ - of the word-final morphemic complex in scvs. (going back to a px. of the aux. verbs): EC: Af {Hw.} $\bar{i}t$ -, e.g. $\bar{d}igir\bar{i}t\bar{e}$ 'play for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{d}igir\bar{e}$ 'play'), $\bar{f}a\bar{h}s\bar{i}t\bar{e}$ 'boil sth. for one's own benefit' (\leftrightarrow caus. verb $\bar{f}a\bar{h}\bar{i}s\bar{e}$ 'boil sth.'), Sa {Wlm.} $\bar{s}akal\bar{i}t$ - v. 'wash oneself', Sml $\bar{-(a)t}$ -, abf. sx.: $\check{s}ub\bar{-(a)t}$ - v. 'pour for one's own benefit' (præt: 1s, 3m $\check{s}ub\bar{t}ay$, 2s, 3f $\check{s}ub\bar{a}t\bar{ay}$, etc.) (\leftrightarrow $\check{s}ub$ - v. 'pour'), Rn abf. and rf. sx. \bar{t} - ($\bar{w}ar\bar{a}b\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{t}a$ 'she fetches water for herself' \leftrightarrow $\bar{w}ar\bar{a}b\bar{t}a$ 'she fetches water', $\bar{d}i\bar{x}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ 'he washes himself' \leftrightarrow $\bar{d}i\bar{x}\bar{a}$ 'he washes'), Or T {Mrn.} abf. \bar{t} - (> \bar{d} - [$*\bar{t}\bar{?}$] and \bar{n} - [$*\bar{t}\bar{n}$] due to the infl. of the following markers of person-number: $*\bar{?}$ - of 1s and $*\bar{n}$ - of 1p): 1s aubf. $\bar{b}\bar{e}'kac\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{e}$ (< $*\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{a}t\bar{?}\bar{e}$) 'I knew for my own benefit, I understood', 2s and 3f $\bar{b}\bar{e}'katt\bar{e}$ (< $*\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{a}t\bar{t}\bar{e}$), 3s $\bar{b}\bar{e}'kat\bar{e}$ (< $*\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{a}t\bar{y}\bar{e}$), 1p $\bar{b}\bar{e}'kann\bar{e}$ (< $*\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{a}t\bar{n}\bar{e}$), etc. (\leftrightarrow basic voice 1s $\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{e}$ 'I knew', 2s and 3f $\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{t}\bar{e}$, 3m $\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{e}$, 1p $\bar{b}\bar{e}k\bar{n}\bar{e}$, etc.), Sd {Mrn.} rf.-abf. $\bar{i}d\bar{d}$ - ($\bar{a}s\bar{-i}d\bar{d}$ - v. 'make for oneself, make oneself' \leftrightarrow $\bar{a}s$ - v. 'make', $\bar{h}ay\check{s}\bar{-i}d\bar{d}$ - v. 'wash oneself', etc.); SC: Irq {Mous} \bar{t} (marker of the middle voice, having reflexive and sim. meanings): $\bar{h}am\hat{c}\bar{i}t$ v. 'take a bath' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{h}am\bar{a}\hat{c}$ v. 'wash'), $\bar{t}u\check{s}\bar{u}t$ v. 'pull oneself out' (\leftrightarrow $\bar{t}\bar{u}\check{s}$ v. 'uproot'), $\bar{d}\bar{u}x\bar{u}t$ v. 'get married' (for a woman) (\leftrightarrow $\bar{d}\bar{u}x$ v. 'take out, marry [a woman]'), $\bar{s}\bar{i}f\bar{i}t$ v. 'sneeze'; the suffix \bar{t} may describe a situation, in which the body is central: $\bar{s}\bar{i}f\bar{i}t$ v. 'sneeze', $\bar{i}\bar{w}\bar{i}t$ v. 'sit', $\hat{s}ak\bar{a}t$ v. 'be tired' ¶ AD KJ 93-6, P 243-4, 249-50, Mous

175-8, PG 31 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -et-, passivizing\reflexivizing sx.: be[?]-et- ~ bēt- v. 'be seen' (↔ be[?]- v. 'see'), yel-et- v. 'be born' (↔ yel- v. 'give birth'), ol-et- v. 'fight each other' (reciprocal ← rf.) (↔ ol- v. 'fight'), Ym -t-, passivizing sx.: šuk-t- 'essere sgozzato \ sacrificato' (↔ šuk- 'sgozzare, sacrificare'), {C} qon-t- ({Wdk.} kōntō) v. 'be born' (↔ {C} qon- v. 'give birth') ¶ AD KJ 93-6, Mrn. O 59-60, C SE III 33-4, Wdk. BY 144 || K: GZ *ta_w- 'head' > OG ta_v- 'head', G ta_v- id., 'ear of cereals', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-šā 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'); Sv šda- 𐤔 𐤔𐤁- 'ear of cereals' (that is due to merger with N ?σ *šæd_v ≈ tip, end (extrémité)', q.v.) ¶¶ K 175 (*(s₁)ta_w-), K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 (*ta_w-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4 || IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -za id. ¶ Mer. HHG 129, Mlc. CL 226, Lar. 97, Mlc. L 72, Ts. W 107 ◇ ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. *t₁𐤀) tried to find a common origin of the HS marker of reflexivization, the passive sx. in BF, and the causative sxs. in A, U, and D (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS this is a prefix that is hardly explainable as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

2306. *tayh_v (or *tagy_v?) 'incline, bend, bend\move aside' > HS: [1] S *^o-tīh- > Ar ✓ tyh, -tīh- (pf. tāha [< *tayaha], ip. ya-tīh-u) v. 'go astray', 'errer à l'aventure (sans savoir où l'on va), s'égarer' ¶ BK I 213, Hv. 65] or [2] amb ? S *^o✓ t^r_v¹y|w > BHb 𐤈𐤁𐤈𐤀 ✓ t_vy|w (pf. tā'ā, ip. yj-t_v'ē) 'reel, stagger' (𐤈𐤁𐤈𐤀 𐤈𐤁𐤈𐤀 'they have stumbled off, each his own way' [Is. 47.15], wubāššē'kār tā'ā 'sie taumeln vom berauschem Getränk' [Is. 28.7], tā'ā 𐤈𐤁𐤈𐤀 'mein Herz taumelt' [Is. 21.4]), 'wander about, go astray' (this last meaning is caused by the impact of the paronymous verb BHb 𐤈𐤁𐤈𐤀 ✓ t_vy|w 'wander, stray, err' < *✓ t_vw), Ug {DrvG} t_vy G (?) 'journey afar' (h. l.) ¶ KB 361, 1625-6, GB 884, DrvG 159 || U *taye- (or *toya-) vi. 'bend, decline, break' > F taipu- vi. 'bend, be bent, bow', Δ taimi 'Biegung', F taitta- vt. 'break, fold', Es {W} taibu- 'nicht steif oder unbeweglich sein', tai_vuta- 'biegen, krümmen' | pLp *tōyē 'break' > Lp: N {N} doaggje-, S {Hs.} doājudh v. 'break off', L {LLO} tād_jē- 'brechen, durchbrechen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} tuyō- 'das Kreuz schlagend und betend sich verneigen (vor dem Heiligenbild)', ?? Kms taylō- 'zerbrechen, niederreißen' ¶¶ UEW 505-6, Coll. 51, Lr. #1272, Lgc. #7951, Hs. 442, Db. OS x || A *tay^rā > NaT *tāya- > OT {Cl.} tayā- v. 'lean against (sth.)',

prop (sth.) up', Tk *ɕaya-*, Ggz, Az, Tkm *daya-*, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, SbTt, Bsh, Qq, Qzq, Ln, Alt *taya-* id., Uz *taya-*, Yk *tayā-* 'prop up'; rf. **ṭaya-n-* 'lean on, support oneself by' > OT *tayan-*, XwT, MQp, Chg \geq XV *tayan-* id., OOsM *dayan-* XVI-XVIII 'rely on', Tk *ɕayan-* 'lean against, rest on', Tkm, Az, Ggz *dayan-*, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Uz, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk *tayan-*, Tv *dayan-* id. ¶ Cl. 567, 569, IS AD 45, Rm. W 455, ET VGD 125-7, ADb. Ttd 60 || Tg: WrMc {Z} *ɕaya-* v. 'lean', ?σ *dayanca-* ~ *dayaca-* ~ *dayaci-* v. 'wave' ¶ Z 773-4, STM I 190 || M **dayi-* > [1] MM [S] *dayiṣi-* 'abziehen, abfallen von jem-m'; [2] ?σ: M **dayiba-*, **dayib∇la-* > WrM {MED} *ɕaiba-*, HIM *дайва-* vi. 'wobble, totter, sway', WrM {Gl.} *ɕaibila-* id., vi. 'shake', {Kow.} *taibala-* se balancer, chanceler, se remuer' (err. interpretation of the initial WrM letter *ɕ|t* as voiceless *t-*), WrM *ɕaibalza-*, HIM *дайвалза-* v. 'totter, wobble, sway, rock', Brt *дайбалза-*, *дайбагана-* 'walk staggering', Kl *дәәвл- dāw|*- 'stagger', {Rm.} 'sich zur Seite biegen, sich seitwärts bewegen; wellen, wogen' ¶ MED 221, H 31, Gl. III 2, Kow. 1549, KRS 187, KW 83, Chr. 181 ◇ Coll. 146 (U, A), IS SS 320 [#2.1] (U, A), IS MS 350 s.v. *наклонять* **tojɿ* (U, A), AD GD 14 ◇ The Ar root \sqrt{tyh} belongs here if the stem of ip. *-tīh-* is a secondary analogical back-formation from the verbal noun *tayh-* 'going astray' and from the pf. form *tāha* (< **tayaha*). S * $\sqrt{tyy|w}$ is a cognate unless BHb $\sqrt{tyy|w}$ is a deglottalized variant of S * \sqrt{tyy} . Lack of lengthening of **a* in T (evidenced by Tkm) speaks in favour of the N rec. **tayh∇*, because **tagy∇* would have yielded an A (and T) stem with a long *vw*.

2307. (₂?) **ta'q|g'ayû* 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes)' > IE **deuywer-* > NaIE **dājwēr* / **dājwer-* (gen. **dājw'r-es*) 'husband's brother' > OI *dē'var-* (*dē'vā*) 'husband's brother; wife's brother (younger than ego)', Psh *بورلە'war*, Ygn *'sewir*, Oss I *тиу тīw*, Oss D *tew* 'husband's brother' (Ygn, Oss, and some other East Iranian forms suggest an EIrN devoicing **d^h-* > **t^h-*) ||| Arm *տալգր taygɾ* ~ *տազր tagɾ* ~ *տեզր tegɾ* 'husband's brother' ||| Gk *δαήρ* (< **δαλFηρ*, {E} **δαλαFήρ*) id. ||| L *lēvir* ~ *laevir* (gen. *-ī*) id. (a dialectal form ["Sabinism"] with *l-* for the expected **d-*; *ē* [for *ae*] is a rusticism; the stem was presumably transformed due to the infl. of *vir*, *-ī* 'man') ||| OHG *zeihhur*, *zeichur*, *zeihhor*, AS *tācor*, OFrs *tāker* 'husband's brother' ({P}: the inlaut cs. is due to the infl. of the Gmc

cognate of Lt *laígonas* 'wife's brother') || BSI (*i-stem transformed from the original consonantic stem, the consonantic stem being preserved in the Lt gen. *dieverĩs*): Lt *dieverĩs*, Ltv *diēveris* 'husband's brother' | SI *dǵverь > RChS **ДѢВЕРЬ** *děverь*, R *деверь*, SCr **дѣвѣр** *djěvēr*, OP, P **Δdziewierz** id. ¶ WPI 767, P 179, EI 84 (**daǵh_hwēr*), FI 338-9, WH I 787-8, MEI 743-4, MK II 64, Asl. 775, Mrg. 40, Ab. III 296-7, Kb. 1245, OsS 1239-40, Stlr. 174, Ho. 341, Frn. 95, Bern. I 198, ESSJ V 19, SPS III 179-80 (SI **děverь* > **děveřь*), Glh. 200, Slr. 58 ¶¶ *-er- in the IE stem **deh_hwer-* is an individualizing sx. of kinship names (as in **b_hrāter-* 'brother', etc.) || A: NaT **ta_hay* 'mother's brother' > OT {Cl.} *ta_hāy* 'maternal uncle', Cmn *ta_hay*, MQP *ṭī_hā*, Chg ≥XV *ta_hay* ~ *ta_hayI* id., SY *ta_hey* ~ *ta_hay* 'mother's relative', MQP XIII *ṭāy*, Tk *dayI*, Tkm *dāyI*, Az *dayI*, Ggz *dayka* (ADb.: < **dayI-ka*) 'maternal uncle', Qq *dayI* id., 'relative from mother's side', Qrg {Jud.} *ta_hy* 'matroclinous relationship', Tv *d_hāy*, Yk *tāy* 'mother's brother (elder than ego)'; NaT **ta_hay-iza* 'mother's sister' (a cd. with **āzā* [a root represented in OOsm *āzā* 'mother's sister']) > OOsm *dayiza*, *diyaza*, *diyeze*, Tk {RI.} *dāyzā*, Tk **Δ** *dayza*, *diyeza* 'mother's sister', Tkm *dayba* 'mother's female relative'; StAlt **тайда-лар** (< **ta_hay-ada-lar*) 'matroclinous ancestors' ¶ Dr. TM III #1176 believes that **ta_hay* and Og **ta_hy* are different roots (while in many lgs. **tāy(I)* > **ta_hy(I)* go back to **ta_hay*) ¶ The final -I in the Og lgs. and in Qzq may go back to the ppa. of 3s ('his, her') ¶ Cl. 474, ET VGD 127-9, Rs. W 455-6, TvR 139, TkR 243, BT 139, KrkR 157, Jud. 688-9, JkR 371, ADb. Ttd 60 [#7] || Tg **dā-* 'relative-in-law' > Ewk *dā*, Neg *dāṅta* id., WrMc *dancan* 'relative-in-law, mother's\wife's relative' ¶ STM I 183-4 || pJ {S} **d_hā* or **daǵ* 'elder sibling, elder relative' > OJ *je* ¶ It may alternatively belong together with K **u_hdā* 'sister' < N ***h₂ud_h** 'sister', 'ε female relative' ¶ S QJ #813, Mr. 392 ¶¶ DQA # 2215 (A **tāy_h* 'elder-in-law, elder relative') || ??σ HS: amb B: Ah *ti* ~ *tāy* 'father, uncle, father-in-law', Ty *ti-* (pl. *tāy-*) +ppa., Twl *š_hi-*/*tāy-* +ppa. 'father' (TY *ti-s* 'his father'), Tw D/U {Sdl.} *ti-* (pl. *tāy-*) ¶ Fc. 1877, PrGG 336, Sdl. 259 ¶ The word is partially or entirely a Lallwort. It belongs here unless the Ll.-factor is not the only origin of this kinship name ◇ IS MS 361 (**ta_hḥ_hj_h* 'a relative': IE, T).

2308. *taqozi 'to plait, to wattle' > K (in GZ) **tq_haz-*/**tq_hz-* v. 'plait (together), weave' > OG *t_hz-* v. 'plait', G *t_hz-* v. 'compose (poetry,

music), fabricate', Lz(n)tχoz- v. 'plait' ¶ K 97, K² 76-7, Chik. 285 ||
HS: Ch {JS} *√tk^ωs₁ v. 'tie' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ták^ωs₁ ~ taγs₁, Bd {ChL} tak^ωs₁ id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} tak^ωás 'bind' ¶ The Ch cns. *k^ω as a reflex of N *-qo- still needs explaining ¶ Sch. DN 156, JS 269, RpB 86 || **IE** *deh^(y)- > NaIE *dē-/ *dā-, *dēj₁-/ di(:)- v. 'bind' > OI 'dya^ti 'binds', Av nī-dyā- 'bind\tie fast' || Gk Hm δέω (<*δέjω) 'I bind, tie' | pp. *dā-'to- > OI di'ta- 'bound, tied' || Gk δείτο-ς id. | *dē-mη 'string, cord' > OI 'dāman- (nom. 'dāmā) 'string, cord, fetter' || Gk ὑπό-δημα 'a sole bound under the foot, a sandal', διά-δημα 'band, fillet; the band round the τιάρα of the Persian king', Gk Mc δε-δε-me-ρο 'bound' ¶ WP I 771, P 183, EI 64 (*deh₁-), M K II 34, 69, M EI 716-7, Brl. 761, FI 374-5, O 59 (shows that Al dūaj 'sheaves of grain' and dell 'tendon' do not belong here) || **U:** FU *tos[∇] 'a vessel, basket' (← *'wicker basket' ← *'sth. wattled') > pPrm *doz- or *döz- '(kind of) vessel' > Z doz, dozy- 'vessel(s), box, bast basket', Z US dūz, Yz 'duz id., Vt duz 'wooden tub (кадушка)', Vt SW dūz id., 'bast vessels' || pOs *tō[∇] > Os: Sr tō[∇], Ty tō[∇] 'Kiste, Kasten', Os N {Ahl.} tūl 'Köcher', Os O tōt 'Zwischenwand' ¶ UEW 532, LG 94, Stn. D 1428 || **A:** [1] ?φ M *tagsi 'cup' > WrM tagsi, HMI TAGW 'cup', Brt TAGWA 'tea cup, small cup'; M ↷ Ewk taksi, Δ tāksɜ, takš^ɜ 'small cup' ¶ MED 766, STM II 154 ¶ The unexpected M *t- (for *d-) is puzzling | ???σ [2]: It is less plausible to adduce here A {SDM95} *tōs[∇] '≈ mat' > ??σ M *dōsi 'anvil' > MM [IM] dōsi, [MA] dōšⁱ, WrM dōsi, HIM dθw, Mnr H {SM} dōšä ¶ Pp. MA 144, 436, MED 269, T 331, SM 62 ¶ A possible semantic prehistory: 'anvil' ← 'sth. undelying, mat' || NaT *tōšä v. 'spread out (as mat)' > OT tōšäk, Tk dōšek 'mat, mattress' (↷ Chv tüž^žek 'mattress, feather-bed'), dōš^ε- v. 'spread out (as mat)', Qzq tōsö- id.; acc. to SDM, NaT *-š- goes back here to *-sč- ¶ In *CEš-roots the opposition *t^ʰ- ↔ *t^ʰ- is neutralized (ADb. Ttd 57-8) || Tg *°d^[q]sçⁱ- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Lm: OI/B/O/P dɜsçⁱ-, Sk dōssi- ~ dōsçⁱ- v. 'lie', OI dɜsçⁱjɜk 'place to lie, bed' ¶ STM I 238 ¶¶ The adduction of pA *tōs[∇] is plausible only if its original meaning is 'mat, mattress' (as assumed in SDM95) rather than 'spread, lie', which is qu. || **D** (in GnD) *toč²- v. 'tie, bind' > Gnd toh-, doh-, toʔ-, doʔ- v. 'tie', Knd toḡ- v. 'tie, bind, build', Kui tohpa, toht- v. 'tie, bind', Ku doh- id. ¶ D #3536 ◇ K² 77 connects the K√ with IE *teks- 'plait, compose' (P 1058-9), which deviates from reg. sound corr.

2309. *tū₁y₃ǰ (or ***tū₁w₁ǰ₃ǰ**) 'ε part of an arm/leg' > **HS**: S *^otic|çiy- > Ak šisītu(m) ~ tisītu ~ tišītu, Ak A sisītu 'Hand-, Fußgelenk' ¶ Sd. 1250 || **K**: OG tezo ~ tezo 'thigh' (Abul.: 'ἄρτερος [Schenkel]', Jud. 3.16: = μηρός 'thigh'; Lev. 3.9: = ψόαι 'muscles of the loins'), G tezo 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ Abul. 180, Chx. 474 || **IE**: NaIE *dōus- '(upper) arm, shoulder' > OI 'dōs- 'arm, forearm', Av daoš- 'Oberarm, Schulter', eNPrs دوش dōš, NPrs دوش dūš 'shoulder (humerus)' || OIr doē (< *dōus-ŋt-s) (gen. doat) 'arm' || Ltv pa-duse 'armpit, bosom (Busen des Kleides)' || ? Sl *pǎzd₁uxъ ~ *paz₁d₁uxa (< **paz-dux-?) > Slv pāzduha ~ pāzdiha, pāzuha ~ pāziha 'armpit', OCS пазуха pazuxa 'κόλπος, μασχάλη' ('bosom, armpit'), R, Uk, Blg Δ 'пазуха 'bosom', SCr pāzuha 'bosom, shoulder', OCz pazuch, Cz pazouch, pazoch, Slk pazúch, P pazucha id. ¶ WP I 782, P 226, EI 26, M K II 68-9, M EI 749-750, VI. I 931, Sg. 544, Horn 130, Kar. II 7, Vs. III 186-7, SJSS XV 5, ≈ Glh. 472-3 || ?ϕ **U** *^otūž₁L₁y₁ (or *^os|šüž₁L₁y₁) > Sm *tūy ({}Jn.) *tū₁y 'sleeve' > Ne T тю, {}Lh.} tú, Ne F {}Lh.} ćū, Ng {}Cs.} tîja, {}Mik.} tíđa, En. {}Cs.}: X tiojo, B tíjeijo; Slq d.: Nr tönak, MO tōnaŋ, Ke tūnaŋ, NP tūnnaŋ, Ch/UO túnaŋ, B túńnaŋ, Yel/Kar tūnaŋ; Kms {}KD} t'ú id. ¶ Jn. 167, Cs. 28, 89, 149, 199.

2310. ***ṭä**, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects (without distance opposition [proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]) > **HS: I.** HS ***t∇-/*-∇t**, marker of the so-called "feminine gender", actually feminine-and-inanimate gender (a merger with N ***ʔat∇** 'female, woman' [q.v.], as well as probably with N ***ṭi** that constructs nomina act. [q.v.]), used in different grammatical functions: [**a**] verbal px. ***t∇-** of 3 pers. "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S, B ***t∇-** id., EC ***t(∇)-**, Bj, Aw **t(∇)-** of 3f in pcvs., ***t-** as marker of 3f in many Ch lgs., as well as the 3f marker ***-t-** within the person-number-gender sxs.; [**b**] HS nominal ending ***-∇t-**, marker of both the female sex in nouns (like S ***-at-** in ***'bin-at-** 'daughter' > Hb **בַּת** *bat*, Ar *bint-*, etc., B ***-t** in ***t-funas-t** 'cow', ONum **ṭlt** 'daughter') and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (that is used to form singulative, collective, and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C, and Ch, [**c**] HS pronoun ***t∇-** (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > OAr *tā* and *tī* 'this\that' f. (Br. G I 317-8 [§ 107g]), Sb *t* 'that (f.) which' = 'lo que' (*t-b-šr n* 'lo que está en el valle' (here the formal f. of *t* is likely to have an abstract meaning of Sp *lo*) - *F* Bst. 42, Bst. DSRP); LbB: Gnc T {Mi.} *-to* 'this' (*mensey-to* 'this king'), pB ***t-ā** f. sg. / ***t-ī** f. pl. 'that\those which', 'that\those of' (ddn.) (the elements ***-ā/*-ī** go back to N ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ['ille', distal deixis], and to N ***yE** [= **yʔiʔ**] 'these, they' [deictic marker of animate pl.]) > *tā* f. sg. / *tī* f. pl. 'that\those which, that\those of' in practically all B lgs. (with a phonetic variant *ṭa* / *ṭi* in Kb and several other NrB lgs.) (Pr. M III, AiM 176, 211, 217, Fc. 1448-59), Bj *t-*, marker of the fem. gender in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} nom. sg. *tū-~tu-*, accus. sg. *tō-~tū*, nom. pl. *tā-~ta*, accus. pl. *tē-~ti-*, Bj Hd {Rop.} nom. sg. *tū-~ti-*, accus. sg. *tō-~ti-*, nom. pl. *tā-~ti-*, accus. pl. *tē-~ti*, Bj (dialect recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. *tū-*, accus. sg. *tō-*, nom. pl. *tā-*, accus. pl. *tē-*; B ***t∇-**, prefix of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (going back to an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf *ta-lṣamt* 'she-camel' (pl. *ti-lṣamin*, *ti-lṣmatin*), Kb *ṭa-funast*, Tmz *ta-funast* 'cow', Zwr *t-funast*, Zmr *ṭ-funast* id. (pl. *ṭifunasin*), *ṭ-mṣart* 'old woman', Mz *t-məṭṭut* 'woman', etc. (*F* AiM 208-9); Sml *-ta*, *-tu*, *-tī*, fem. forms of df. articles; C marker of fem. ***t-** in dem., interr. and poss. pronouns: Bj {R} *t-ūr* 'this' f. (accus. *t-ōr*), *t-ār* 'these' f. (accus. *t-ēr*), Sa {R} *t-ā*, *t-ay* 'this' f., *t-o*, *t-oy* 'that' f., Sml *-t-ānī* (accus. *-t-ān*) 'this' f. (sx. of a noun), *-t-āsī* (accus. *-t-ā*) 'that' f. (general deixis), etc., Or H {Ow.} *t-*

ana rect. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -ana), t-uni nom. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -uni), t-ání 'this' (anaphoric) f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -ání), t-ámí 'which?' f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -ámí), t-iyya 'my' f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -iyya), t-e 'thy' f. (\leftrightarrow m. χ -e), etc., Or B tunì(-nǐ) 'this' f., rect. t-ánǎ, gen. táná, etc., Sd t-e, t-ene, t-ēne, t-in 'this' f., etc. (F AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-7 and s.v. N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}$, dem. prn.), as well as a marker of the fem. gender within postnominal agglutinated markers of personal possession in Bj (-t-), Sml (-t-: ì'nán-t-ày-d-u 'my daughter', where -t- is the marker of fem. of the suffixed poss. prn. -taydu, -ay- is the morpheme of 1s, and -d- is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article, cp. 'ínàn-k-ày-g-u 'my son', where -k- and -g- are masc. gender markers), Or Δ -t-, etc. ¶ AD KJ 107-8, Ow. 88] The same marker *-t- of the f.-and-inanimate gender is found in the S compound ending *-ā-t- which functions as a marker of feminine "plural" (Hb -ōt̄, Ar -ā-t-, Gz -ā-t̄, Ak -ā-t-). There is syntactic and morphological ev. that proves that in pS the forms with *-ā-t- were not real plurals, but collective nouns (in sg.): [a] the *-ā-t-forms have case endings of sg. (nom. *-u, accus.-gen. *-a) and a marker of status determinatus of sg. (*-m), [b] if they function as a subject, their predicate (in Arabic) is sg. f. Here the S morpheme *-t- is actually a nominalizer (substantivizer) of an originally analytical construction of collectivity (with collectivity pc. *-ā < N ?σ * $\text{ʔa}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ [collective pc. of inanimate, '≈ de ça']). This is suggested by the fact that S *-ā-t- is found only in the purely substantive cases (nom., accus., gen.), while in the pred. case (> f. pl. of the WS new perfect) we find S *-ā without *-t-. The same *-t- is found as a substantivizer of Ak adjectives in pl. (-ū-t- in sunstantivized adjectives in pl. \leftrightarrow -ū as pl. of not sunstantivized adjectives) || In Ch this HS prn. *t̄ contaminated with the reflex of N * $\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{at}$ 'female, woman', giving rise to a personal prn. of 3f (actually, feminine-and-inanimate) that Blz. reconstructs as *ta. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f.: Hs t̄ā (with past), ta (with some other verbal forms), in the BT lgs. (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera t̄ì, Krf, Glm, Grm t̄à, Tng ta, etc.), in the Ron lgs. (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr t̄í); (2) as an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + *ta, acc. to Kr.'s rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-tà, Ngm t̄ê, Krkr d̄i-t̄ɜw, Tng ŋ-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, Zul ti 'she'; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t̄, acc. to Kr.): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng t̄à, Ngz a-tù, Bd t̄ù; (4) as a postnominal poss. prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kr.): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf t̄āa, Krkr (t̄i)-t̄ɜw, Tng t̄ò, Pr t̄è, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh

this pronouns appears: (1) as a ppa. of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (-r- < *-t-), Mln -(gɜ)-tò, FIM -tù, Mbara -tá 'her'; (2) as an object prn. of 3f.: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (-r- < *-t-), FIM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti 'her', Mbara -tá; (3) in some CCh lgs. it is one of the elements within isolable pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tíí 'she'). In ECh it functions as a subject prn. of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -g-ít), as a pronominal object sx. of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her'), as a ppa. of nouns (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her'), and as an emphatic aut. prn. ("pronom d'insistance"): Tmk tãñ 'she' (↔ ðãñ 'he'), as a dem. prn. of the f. gender (*t-pronouns of f. ↔ *k-pronouns of m. [ffd. details see N *K'ü', dem. prn.]). It also functions as a demonstrative element (without connection with the fem. gender, sc. not having merged with N *'ʔ'at∇ '↑': Ke m. sg. tón 'this', f. sg. táñ, pl. téñ 'these' [Sch. ED 158-9]) and as a CCh subject prn. of 3s m.: Msg G {MB} tɜ, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti ʃ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1 ∇, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM, JA LM, Al. DB 196-206, Cp. 31 | II. A variant *t∇ without de-emphatization survives in Ch as *d∇, a dem. prn. (→ a marker of definiteness) > {Sch.}: Hs káràs ðîñ 'the carrot(s)' (↔ káràs 'carrot, -s'), Su lú ðî-sè 'this house' (↔ lú 'house'), G'nd naf-ða 'the man', naf-ði 'this man' (↔ naf- 'man'), Msg ðíf ðá 'the man' (↔ ðíf 'man'), Mkl ʔàʔú ðón 'the water' (↔ ʔáʔù pl. 'water'), as well as a pers. prn. of 3m (Tmk ðãñ 'he') ʃ Sch. ED 158-60 || IE [1] NaIE *tɔ- (nom.-accus. *tɔ-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender (↔ *sɔ dem. prn. of the animate gender) > OI tã-d 'it, that' ntr. ↔ sã (~ sã-s) 'he, that' m., Av G, YAv tã-t̥ 'this, it' ntr. ↔ YAv hã m. || Gk τó, df. art. ntr. ↔ ó, df. art. m. || pGmc {SGGJ} *θat 'das' (ddn. prn.), ntr.(↔ *sɔ m.) > Gt þata ntr. ↔ sã m., ORu þat ntr. ↔ sã m., ON þat ntr. ↔ sá m., AS ðæt ntr. ↔ sē m. In the obl. cases it was generalized for all genders, e.g. NaIE accus. m. *tɔ-m > OI tam, Av təm, Gk τόν, Gmc *θan(on) (> Gt þana, ON þann, AS ðone), NaIE accus. f. *tã-m (cf. nom. f. *sã) > OI, Av tãm, Gk τήν. The form of the f. (a NaIE innovarion) is *sã (based on *sɔ-), but in many lgs. it is *tã (e.g. pGmc *θō > Gt þō, AS ðā). In many branches of NaIE *tɔ- was generalized throughout the paradigm off all genders: OCS Тъ m., Тѧ f., ТѠ ntr., Lt tàs m., tã f. Cf. also L tam 'so', OIr 3m pers. pronouns as infixes: -d (+ nasalization) m. (< *tɔm), -d ntr. (< *tɔd), Tc A/B tu dem. prn.

('das') ntr., A $t\ddot{a}m$ 'this' ntr. ¶ P 1086-7, Brg. KVG 399-400, Bks. 202-5, SGGJ III 318-22, Ho. 286, 360, KT 164-5, Wn. 421-2, 443 ¶ [2] NaIR $*-d = *-T$ (archiphoneme from $**\text{-}t$ in the word-final position), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns: NaIE $*i\text{-}d (= *i\text{-}T)$ 'it, that' ($\leftrightarrow *i\text{-}s$ m.) ($> L\ i\ddot{c}d$ ntr. $\leftrightarrow i\ s$ m., Gt $i\ddot{t}a$ ntr. $\leftrightarrow i\ s$ m.), $*k^{\omega}o\text{-}d$ 'what' $\leftrightarrow *k^{\omega}o\text{-}s$ 'who' (L $quod$, ON $hv\ddot{a}t \leftrightarrow h\ddot{v}er$, OHG (h) $w\ddot{a}z \leftrightarrow (h)w\ddot{e}r$), and $*k^{\omega}i\text{-}d$ 'what' $\leftrightarrow *k^{\omega}i\text{-}s$ 'who' ($> L\ qu\ddot{i}d \leftrightarrow qu\ddot{i}s$, Gk $\tau\acute{\iota} \leftrightarrow \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$), etc. ¶ AnIE $*\text{-}t$ ntr. $\leftrightarrow *\text{-}s$ anim. gender: enclitical forms of the pers. prn. 3s: Ht, Lw, Pal $\text{-}at$ ntr. $\leftrightarrow \text{-}as$ m., Ht $ap\ddot{a}t$ 'it, this' ntr. $\leftrightarrow ap\ddot{a}s$ 'he\she, this' anim. gender, Ht, Pal $ku\ddot{i}t$ 'what' $\leftrightarrow ku\ddot{i}s$ 'who' ¶ Brg. KVG 402-3, Bks. 202-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20-2 ¶ [3] IE $*\text{-}ti$, "primary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the prs. tense) $> OI\ \text{-}ti$, Gk $\text{-}\sigma\iota$ ($\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\text{-}\sigma\iota$ 'puts'), L $\text{-}t$, Gt $\text{-}p$, OHG $\text{-}t$, pSl $*\text{-}t\ddot{b}$ ($> OCS\ \text{-}t\ddot{b}$, R $\Delta\ \text{-}t\ddot{b}$), Ht $\text{-}zi$, Lw, HrLw, Pal $\text{-}ti$ (e.g. OI 'bhara-ti, L fer-t, Gt baíri-p 'carries', OCS $\text{БЕРЕТ}\ddot{b}$ beret \ddot{b} 'takes'), IE $*es\text{-}ti$ 'is' $> OI\ 'ast\ddot{i}$, Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$, L est , Gt, OHG ist , pSl $*jest\ddot{b}$ ($> OCS\ \text{ЮСТ}\ddot{b}$ jest \ddot{b} , OR $\text{ЮСТ}\ddot{b}$ jest \ddot{b} , R $est\ddot{b}$, P $jest$, etc.), Ht $eszi$, HrLw $ast\ddot{i}$; IE $*\text{-}t$, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the ipf.) $> OI\ \text{-}t$, L $\text{-}t$, Osc $\text{-}d$ ($k\acute{u}m\text{-}bened$ 'convenit'). These endings spread to the 3p forms and were added to the original $**\text{-}n$ -ending of 3p. due to generalization within the paradigm of the 3rd person: pre-IE $**\text{-}t$ 3s $\leftrightarrow **\text{-}n$ 3p $> IE$ "secondary endings" $*\text{-}t$ 3s $\leftrightarrow *\text{-}nt$ 3p, "primary endings" $*\text{-}ti$ 3s $\leftrightarrow *\text{-}nti$ 3p (ffd. see N $*\bar{n}^{\text{a}}$, prn. of collectivity and plurality) ¶ Brg. KVG 590-8, Bks. 232-7, Pv. I-II 285, KrlSh. XLJ 22-3, 40-1, Mer. HHG 34-5, EI 457 ¶ K: Mg te 'this', ti 'that' (attributive pronouns, followed by nouns), $tena$ 'this one', $tina$ 'that one' (aut. pronouns, used without nouns) ¶ Q O42 ¶ U $*t\ddot{a}$, dem. prn. of inanimate objects (\rightarrow 'this', 'that'), as well as the initial element of compound pronouns ($*t\ddot{a}\text{-}m\ddot{\nabla}$, $*t\ddot{a}\text{-}t\ddot{\nabla}$, $*t\ddot{a}\text{-}k\ddot{\nabla}$, $*t\ddot{o} < **t\ddot{a} + *o$, U $*t\ddot{a} + *a > FU\ *t^{\text{a}}$ $\sim *t\ddot{a}$, etc., that indicate different distance-deictic positions: proximal, intermediate, distal, etc.): [1] U $*t\ddot{a} > F$ (with case endings) $t\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}n$ 'hierher, her', $t\ddot{a}ss\ddot{a}$ 'hier, hierbei' ¶ Lp N {N} die 'there (nearer the person addressed than the speaker), $die\text{-}t$ 'iste' ¶ pMr $*t\ddot{a} > Er\ te\ \acute{t}e$, Mk $тя\ \acute{t}\ddot{a}$ 'this', (with case sxs.) Mk $тяса\ \acute{t}\ddot{a}\text{-}sa$, Er $тес\acute{e}\text{-}se$ 'here', Mk $тяста\ \acute{t}\ddot{a}sa$, Er $тест\acute{e}\text{-}ste$ 'from here' ¶ pChr {Ber.} $*ti > Chr:$ H $т\acute{b}i\ ta$ 'that, he', E {Ps.} $т\acute{b}i\ \acute{t}\ddot{e}\ te$ 'this' ¶ pObU {Hl.} $*t\ddot{e}$ 'ille' or 'hic' $> pVg\ *t\ddot{a} > Vg:$ P $t\ddot{a}$, Ss ta 'that'; pOs $*t\ddot{e}\text{-}t\ddot{a}$ ({Hl.} $*t\ddot{a}\text{-}ta$) 'here' $> Os:$ V $t\ddot{e}t$, D $t\ddot{e}t\ddot{a}$ id. ¶ OHg $t\acute{e}$ 'hierher' (in the

set phrase \int em the \int ê towa [= szem té szem towa] 'weder hierher noch dorthin') ||| [2] U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-m}\nabla$ > F $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{m}\ddot{\text{a}}$ 'this', Es tema, Δ temä 'he\she\it' ||| [3] U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-t}\nabla$ > Chr: H {MRS} тѣды тѣѡ, {Ep., Rm.} тѣды тѣѡ 'that, he', E {Ps.} тѣѡ 'this' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} t̄t̄i 'that' (anaphoric) ||| [4] U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}} + *a$ > FP * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}$ > Lp: N {N} dā 'here (hic-deixis)', dā-t 'hic' (obl. dā-), K {Gn.} tāt̄t̄, Kld {Kert} tadd_ 'hic' | Prm * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}$ > Vt ta 'this', Z ta 'this, such' ||| [5] U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-k}\nabla$ > Er теке теке 'just this', Mk тяка т̄ака 'the only one' ||| pObU * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ʃ}$ > Vg T tü 'jener' (< * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{w}$); pOs * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{ʃ}$ (\int HI.) * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{ʃ}$) > Os: O ti 'jener', V/K t̄eʃ, Y t̄eʃa 'hierher' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} тикы 'that, this' ||| [6] U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{o}}$ > F tuo, Es too 'ille' | Lp: N {N} duot / duo- 'that one over there, that ... over there', dō '(far) over there', dōt / dō- 'that (one) far away over there', S {Hs.} duode 'iste', L {LLO} tuot 'that one over there (but nearer to the speaker than tāt 'ille)', Kld {SaR} тудт tu,t: 'ille' | pMr * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{o}}$ - > Er/Mk {Ker.} to-, tu- in Er/Mk тона tona 'ille', Er to-sa 'there, then' | Prm * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{o}}$ (or * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{o}}$) 'that' > Z t̄r̄t̄ 'yesterday' (< t̄-r̄t̄ 'that evening'), Z Lu t̄-lun, Z US tw-lun, Vt tolon 'yesterday' (lit. 'that day'), Vt tu-pal 'that side' (pul 'side'), Vt Sr tu, ? Z Ss t̄ 'ille' ||| pObU * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{o}}$ 'ille' > pVg * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}$, * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{ā}}\text{-}$ > Vg: P ta, LK/P ton, UL t̄n id., LK tāt, Ss tot 'there'; pOs to-m 'ille' > Os: V tom(+), Vy tom+, Ty t̄m(+), D/Nz t̄m(ə), Kz t̄m(ī), O t̄m(i), t̄m id. || Slq Tz {KHG} to 'ille' ||| [7] Other compound pronouns with U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{-}$ > Lp: N {N} dāt 'this\that' (obl. dāt-), S {Hs.} daade 'this, hic', L {LLO} tat 'this (der\die\das, dieser\diese\dieses), he\she\it', K {Gn.} t̄t̄t̄, Kld {Kert} t̄dd_ 'iste', t̄dda 'hic' || In the Sm lgs. there are rich systems of deictic pronouns based mainly on combination of U * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}$ with markers of deixis (vowels) ({HI.} * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{b}}(-)$, * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{ä}}(-)$, * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}(-)$, * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}(-)$ '≈ this, that', * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{ü}}(-)$ 'this') and with other morphemes: Ne T {Ter.} тюкү 'this, that (present)', такы 'that (pointed at)', тям' (pl. тев') 'this (pointed at, вот этот)', талий 'iste', талиюм' 'iste (the nearest between two)', техэ 'ille (distant)', техэюм' 'ille (more distant between two)', etc., Ng {Ter.} tane 'ille (more distant)', тэндэ 'that', такэ 'that (pointed at), ille', etc., Slq Tz {KHG} tam 'hic', toí, tōnna 'ille' (besides the abovementioned to 'ille'), t̄ina, t̄inana 'that' (anaphoric), Mt {HI.} * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}$ 'he' (Mt M {Sp.} ты) \rightarrow * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{n}$ 'he, that (jener)' (Mt M {Pl.} тинь 'he, they', {Sp.} тынь 'вотъ') and Mt * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{k}$ '(?) 'here' (Mt M {Sp.} тыкъ), d. * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{I}\nabla\eta$ 'hither' (Mt K {Pl.} делан 'сюда'), d. * $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{I}\nabla\eta$ '≈ da, dort' (Mt M {Sp.} дана 'there') || In Y there are different pronouns and pronominal adverbs

based on N ***t̥ä** + deictic markers of distance and syntactical (local, temporal, etc.) morphemes: Y: T/K tudel 'he', tittel 'them', T tie- (stem) 'ille', ta- (stem) 'that' (anaphoric), T (attr.) taŋ / (aut. prn.) taŋu-n/-t 'that', taŋ / taβun ({Krn.} табуи, таууи) ~ tamun 'that near, known, but absent here', T tiden, tidaŋ, K tinetaŋ 'that' (anaphoric), T tada 'there', tida 'then (earlier)', tadat 'then (later)', tan ~ tat 'so', K tā 'there', tī 'here', tat 'from there', K/T {IN} tāt 'so', etc.; pY {IN} *ti|u 'this' > Y: K (attr.) tiŋ / (aut. prn.) tuβen ({Krn. JJ} тубэн, {Krn. JJ-K} тувэн) 'this', T {IN} tuŋ 'this', T ten 'hic', K tī 'here' (↔ tā 'there') ¶¶ UEW 505, 513-5, 526-8, Kert SJ 173-4, Hs. 123-6, Ker. II 165, 168, Ps. M 140-1, Ber. 76, Ep. 125, Ps. OT 151-2, Rm. BT 144-5, MRS 119, LG 277, 284, Ht. ##611, 614, Hl. rHt 68-9 (on pObU *ē), Hl. M 150, ##954, 977, 1006, 1016-7, 1022, 1075, EWU 1514, Ter. OGNJ 148, Ter. NgJ 169, KHG 293, Krn. JJ 72, 82-7, 278, Krn. JJ-K 354-5, IN 247-8 || I *t'æ- 'der, das' (ddn. dem. prn.), *t'æ-r¹a¹ 'der, das' (marked topic-focalizing case, sg.), *t'æ-k|ge (a dem. prn.), *t'a (< **t'æ-a) 'that, ille' (prn. with ille-deixis) > M *te 'that' (> MMgl te, Mgl, Ba te, Mnr H {T} te, {SM} tje, Mnr M {Rkh.} ti id., HIM {Pp.} tē tera, Brt tē tere 'that [pointed at, БОИ ТОТ]); M *te-re (theme-focalizing case ↔ stem of obl. cases *te-gün) 'that' (used also as 'he') > MM tere, WrM tere, HIM, Kl tera, Brt, Ord tere, Dg tɜɜɜ, obl.: M *teɣün > MM te'ün, WrM tegün, HIM, Brt {Pp.} tūn, Kl tūn; *te-de (pl. of *tere) > WrM tede, MM, Ord, Brt tede, HIM {Pp.} tedda, Kl teda, Dg {Pp.} tɜdɜ ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 459 || Tg: I. AmTg *te-ɣ₁i₁ 'that', distance-deictically unmarked dem. prn. (↔ *ey 'this', hic-deictic prn.) > Nn Nh tɜy, Nn B t̄, Nn KU tɣy, Orc tī, tɜi 'that, he\she\it', Ud {STM} tɜi, tɜyi 'that, this', Ud Sm {Krn.} ti 'that', Ul tɣ, tɣy 'that, he\she\it', {PSchm.} 'this'; Tg *tere ~ *tar∇ (< **te-r¹a¹ due to vowel harmony) and its pl. *^otese > WrMc tere (pl. tесе) 'that, he', Mc Sb [tera] [tɜr] 'that, he\it', [tesə] [tɜs] 'they' (↔ [erə] [ɜr] 'this', [esə] [ɜs] 'these'), [tēra] [t̄ɜr] 'that', Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that'] II. Tg *tā 'that, ille' (marked) > Nn B tā 'there', 'there (pointed at place) ('ТАМ, БОИ ТАМ'), Orc tā-dū 'there', tādūk 'from there', tāla, tāti 'dorthin', Ud {STM} tadu 'there', tāla 'there (dort, dorthin)', Nn, Ork taya 'that side', Ewk tādū 'there', tāla 'there (dort, dorthin)', Lm tar 'that', 'voilà' ('БОИ, БОИ, ТО; ТОТ') ¶ STM II 165-7, Krn. 294, Y ##2878-

83, Hrl. 42-3 ¶ Mc *tere* cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of pl. (*tesē*) with an ancient (pN) et. and without parallels in M ¶ The semantic position of Tg **tey_Li*, within the system of the Tg dem. pronouns (\leftrightarrow **e(y)* 'this' and **ta* 'that, ille') can be understood from the scholars' observations. Avrorin (Avr. GNJ I 262) points out that Nn *t₃y* is used much more than R *тот*, while *зy* 'this' is used only if the object is very near to the speaker. It means that *t₃y* is the unmarked member of the opposition. From its R translation (not only 'тот' = 'that', but also 'он, она, оно' = 'he, she, it') we may conclude that this is also used as a distance-deictically neutral pronoun. On the relation between Tg **te-* and **ta-* cf. Sem BD 61 {on Nn B: *t₃t₃i* 'iste (pointed at)' ('вон тот [не так далеко]'), *tā́ti* 'ille (pointed at, more distant than *t₃t₃i*)'} and Sun. KUD 85 {on Nn KU: *t₁y*, *t₃y* 'that' ('тот'), *taya* 'that (on the other side)'}. Sun. UJ 40 points out that UI *t₁* 'that' and *зy* 'this' are usually used as a kind of articles || ? NaT **t'e-ge* ~ **t'i-gi* ~ **t'e-g'u¹* '≈ iste', 'вон тот' ({IsxP}: 'that seen, but more distant than *бy* ['this']') > VTt, Bsh *tere* *t₃g_b*, Qrg *tigi* 'that' ('тот'), Qrg *tē*, StAlt *tu*, Qmn *tu ol*, Xk *тиги тиги*, Tv *d₋ō* / *d₋ō* / *d₋ū* / *d₋ū* 'that pointed at' ('вон тот'), Tf *d₋ē* 'that (seen from here)', Slr U *t₁* ~ *t(')ū*, Slr UI *t₁* 'that (ille); there (illic)' ('там, вон там'), Slr U *t(')ūgu* 'there (illic)'; in Slr there is a system of 4 deictic pronouns: *pu* 'this (nearest to the speaker)' \leftrightarrow *шy* (= {Tn.} *c₁y*) 'this (less near)' \leftrightarrow *v₁* 'that' \leftrightarrow *t₁* 'that (farthest from the speaker)' (Tn. SJ 129) ¶ Ra. 172, Ra. MTJ 256, Isx. M 247-9, IsxP 231-4, BIG 227, 416, B DK 53, Tn. SJ 129, 522, 526, Rs. W 479, S AJ 194, Rl. III 141O ¶ The prn. is not attested in OT, therefore S AJ 52 supposes that it is a loan from M. The M source may be the stem of the obl. cases **te-gün-*. The loan hyp. can explain the initial lax **t'-* (reflected in Tv and Tf *d₋*) for the expected pT **t'-* || pKo **t₁á₁* 'that' > MKo *t₁á₁*, NKo *čá₁* 'that' ¶ S AJ 52, 254 [#87], S QK #87, Nam 154, MLC 1417 || ?? J: J to in to mo kaku mo 'this and that, so and so', to-kaku-no 'this and that', ?? to as a quotative pc. (Gr. \leftarrow As.³: to may go back to a dem. prn.) ¶ Prl. JUA 177, Kenk. 1994, As.² 142, As.³ 139, Mill. JL 344, Gr. I 97-8 ¶¶ S AJ 52, 289, DQA #2286 (A **t'a* / *t'e* 'that' > T **t₁'i*-(kō), M **te-re*, Tg *ta-*, Ko), S AJ 52, 289 [#311], Rm. SKE 26 || D: in D this N prn. is represented in 4 different functions: in the {Zv.} "resumptive" and personal (3s) prn. **tān* / (obl.) **tan-* 'himself', in its pl. form **tām* / **tam(m)-* 'they themselves, they', in the ending of the inanimate gender **-tu* (Zv. DL 21), and in the ending of the 3s ntr.

(inanimate) of the appellative non-past {Zv.} *-N-(a)t^o (Zv. DL 32; on the meaning of the term "appellative" / Zv. DL 26-7): [1] sg. *tān / obl. *tan-, "resumptive" and pers. prn. of 3s > Tm tān / obl. tan(n)- 'oneself', tānē 'himself', Ml tān / obl. tan-, '(one)self', tānē 'by himself', Kt ta'n / obl. ta(n)-, Td to'n / obl. tan-, Kdg ta'n+ / tan- 'oneself', Kn tān / obl. tan- 'he\she\it' (with the meaning of a reflexive prn.), Tu tānə, Klm ta'n / tan-, Prj, Gdb, Gnd tān / tan- Kui tānu / tan- '(one)self', Tl tānu / obl. tan- 'one's self, he\she, him\her-self', Png tān 'he, himself', tā 'his, one's own', Kui tān 'him\her-self', Krx tān / obl. tang- 'himself', Mlt {Drs.} tām(i) / tang- 'him\her\itself', Brh tēn 'self, my\thy\him\self, ourselves, etc.' ¶¶ D #3196 ¶¶ [2] pl. *tām / *tam(m)- 'they, themselves' > Tm, Ml tām / obl. tam(m)-, Kn tāmū / tam-, tāvu / tav-, Klm, Prj, Gdb, Krx tām / tam-, Nkr tām, Gnd tammā, Knd tām, Kui tāru, Ku tambū / obl. tam-, Mlt {Drs.} tām(i) / obl. tam- id., Kt, Td ta'm / tam-, Kdg tanga 'themselves' ¶¶ D #3162 ¶¶ [3] *-tu, ending of ntr. (inanimate gender) in pronouns and numerals, e.g. [a] Tm atū ~ a:tu 'that thing' (↔ a-vaŋ 'that man', a-vaļ 'that woman'), Ml a-tu, Kt a-d, Kdg a-dī-, Png a-di 'that thing', Kn a-đu, a-tu, a-ttu 'that thing' (↔ a-va 'that man', a-vaļ ~ āke 'that woman'), as well as with merger of the homonymous markers of f. and ntr.: Tl a(d)di, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd Δ a-d, Knd a-di, Kui ā-di, Mlt {Drs.} āth 'that woman or thing'; [b] Tm itu ~ i:tu 'this thing' (↔ i-vaŋ 'this man', i-vaļ 'this woman'), Ml itu, Kt id, Kn idū ~ itu ~ ittu, Kdg idī, Png idi 'this thing', Mnd idi 'this' (ntr.), as well as with merger of the markers of f. and ntr.: Tl i(d)di, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb id, Gnd Δ (h)id, Knd idi, Ku īdi, Krx īd, Mlt {Drs.} íth 'this woman or thing'; [c] Tm utu, Kn uđu, Tu undu 'ista res', as well as with merger of f. and ntr.: Ku ūdi, Krx hūd 'ista mulier aut res'; [d] Tm onru ~ onnu (Zv.: < *or-tu) 'one' ntr., Ml onnu, Gnd Δ unṭhā id., Kn onđu, Kdg ondī, Tu onji, Tl onđu, Krx onṭā, Mlt -ond 'one thing', and with merger of f. and ntr.: Knd unri 'one woman or thing'; [e] Kdg daŋdī (< *iran-tu) 'two things', Tu rađđə, Tl reŋđu, Nk erndī, Krx ēṛ ~ ēŋd id., Prj irđu id. (↔ irul 'two men', iral 'two women') ¶¶ D ##1, 410(a), 474, 557(a), 990, Zv. DL 21 ¶¶ [4] {Zv.} *-N-(a)t^o, 3n of the appellative non-past > ModTm -ppa-tu (3n, appellative), Tl -tun-di, Png -n-at (3n ft.), Gnd -ndū (3n, {Zv.} "past

irrealis cum habitual") 𐎧𐎧 Zv. DL 32 || E: [1] MEI -t 'iste' (allocutive ending of nouns) ↔ -k 'hic' (locutive), resembling the situation in Slavic: *tъ (a ddn. and anaphoric prn.) (> R ТОТ 'ille, iste') ↔ *sь (< IE *k̑-i-) 'hic' (ESISJ-SGZ II 618-23, 707-10); [2] MEI -t, a rare ending of the inanimate gender ("Dans la documentation méso-élamite, les inanimés à suffixe -t ... sont en voie de disparition" - GrilS EGE 13), and possibly AchEl -t|da/-te, generalizing sx. of abstract nouns (derived from nouns and adjectives): marri-da 'all, everything', daki-da 'other things' (cp. daki 'various, other') 𐎧𐎧 McA 66, Dk. JDPa 97, GrilS EGE 13-4 ◇ AD GD 14, IS I 7 (*t̑ä 'this, that') → BmK 287-9 ◇ The N prn. *t̑ä is a member of several semantic oppositions: [1] N *t̑ä as a prn. of non-active objects is opposed to N *sE (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects). This opposition is preserved in IE (*sO 'he' [active gender] ↔ *toT 'it' [non-active gender]), partially in FU (F hän and Lp N {N} s̄q̄n [both from N *sE] are used for human beings ['he\she'], while the t-pronouns are used indiscriminately), in D (Krx -s m. ↔ -d ntr. and f. [merger of homonymous markers] in pronouns, F Hahn KG 23-6), and probably in Eg (-f [< *s̄w-] m. ↔ -t f. [sc. "female-and-inanimate" gender]). In some daughter families N *t̑ä was opposed to the N animate *yi 'he' (e. g., S *y- 3m [< N *yi 'he'] ↔ *t- 3f) or to other dem. pronouns (that either were connected to animate beings or were originally neutral as to the opposition 'active' ↔ 'non-active'): C *k- m. (< N animate [?] dem. prn. *k̑'ü') ↔ *t- f., Sm: in Ne T the pronouns ТЮКУ and ТИКЫ (anaphoric) are used anaphorically when referring to non-humans only, while for human beings the prn. of 3s пыда 'he\she' (a Ne innovation) is used (Ter. OGNJ 148) | [2] The N prn. *t̑ä as denoting a single object is opposed to the N prn. of collectivity\plurality *n̄'ä' (q.v.). The opposition is preserved (a) in U (e.g. F t̄ämä 'this' ↔ n̄ämä pl. 'these', tuO 'that' ↔ nuO pl. 'those', etc.), (b) in Eg: p̄ḫ 'this, the' m. ↔ t̄ḫ f. ↔ n̄ḫ abstr., pl., p̄w 'this' m. ↔ t̄w f. ↔ n̄w abstr., pl., pn 'this (near me)' m. ↔ tn f. ↔ nn abstr., pl., pf 'that' m. ↔ tf f. ↔ nf abstr., pl. (Gard. 85); in Eg O (acc. to Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251) n̄w, nf, etc. were not pl. forms, but abstract pronouns: n̄w 'Dieses, Dieses da', nf 'Jenes', probably from collective pronouns: p̄w 'this' m. ↔ t̄w f. ↔ n̄w abstract < *coll.), (c) in IE ("primary" verbal endings: *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p, "secondary" endings: *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p), while in Eg fMK n̄w, nn, and nf had (preserved?) the

function of pl.; this situation may go back to an ancient difference between dialects of Eg, so that one cannot rule out the very old age of this n-pl. of pronominal (which may be even inherited from pN) (cp. the dual marker *-ni in S, -n of du. in Tz {Stm.} mārāw-i-n 'twenty', and other traces of the N pronoun of duality *nE 'they [two]' [in U, K, and A, see s.v. *nE]) | [3] A new opposition of N *t̥ä demonstrative vs. N *K̥o interrogative has developed in some lgs., in which both N *K̥o 'who?' and N *t̥ä lost the semantic feature of animateness (in N *K̥o) and inanimateness (in N *t̥ä), and both were generalized as interr. resp. dem. pronominal stems: L quantum ↔ tantum, NHG was ↔ das, wer ↔ der, NE where ↔ there, when ↔ then, R куда ↔ туда, когда ↔ тогда, как ↔ так, какой ↔ такой, Y T qada 'where?' ↔ tada 'there', probably also in WrM kedū(n) 'how much?' ↔ tedūi 'so much' ◇ The sx. of the theme-focalizing case (≈ marked nominative) *-re in A *te-r▽ (preserving this function up to the attested M lgs.) is akin to the IE nominative-accusative ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns and is to be projected up to the pN level (F N *r▽ - theme-focalizing [topicalizing] pc.) ◇ IS I 7 (IE, HS, K, U, A, D), Gr. I 94-9 ("demonstrative T" in IE, U, A [incl. Ko, J], Gil, CK, EA, Ai).

2311. *t̥i, syntactic pc.: it is combined with words of verbal meaning to build analytical nomina actionis > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx. of nomina actionis, e.g. *m̥n̥-ti-s 'thought' (abstract noun) (< *men- v. 'think') > OI mati-h̥ 'mind, intellect', Av mainiš 'memory', L mens (gen. mentis) 'mind', Gt ga-munds 'μνημοσύνη, μνεία' = 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', OHG gimunt, AS ge-mynd 'memory', OCS pa-meťb id., NaIE *ġnō-ti-(s) 'knowledge' (< *ġnō- v. 'know') > Gk γνῶσις 'knowledge, inquiry', OI 'pra-jñā-ti-h̥ 'knowing the way to' (n. abstr.), OHG ur-c(h)nāt 'recognition, agnitio', OCS po-znatb 'cognitio', OCS zna-ťb, Lt žinó-ti 'to know' (infinitive), NaIE *dō-ti-s 'giving' (n. abstr.) (< *dō- 'give') > OI 'dāti-, Gk δῶσις, Gk A δόσις 'giving' (n. abstr.), 'gift', L dos (gen. dotis) 'a dowry, gift', Lt dúo-ti, OCS da-ťb 'to give' (inf.) ¶ Brg. KVG 348-9, Fs. 194 || HS *-t- and *t̥▽-, sx. and px. of nomina actionis: [1] HS sx. *-t- > S *-at sx. of nomina actionis and of deverbal abstract nouns, in numerous patterns, e.g. in the pattern *1▽2a'3at-: BHb הַקְדָּוָה cəḏā'qā 'righteousness', Sr יְדִיעוּת yidīa'ťā 'knowledge', Ar حَرَكَة ḥarakat- 'movement', خَرَجَةٌ ḫaraġat- 'military expedition' (< n. abstr. 'going out'), نَفْضَةٌ nufaḡat-

'shivering caused by fever', BHb בְּרָכָה *barā'kā*, Gz *barakat* 'benediction', Ak *iʔiltum* 'Verbindlichkeit', *dīktum* 'killing' (n. act.) (from the verb *dūk-*), or the S pattern ***12i'3at-* (> **2i'3at-*): **šī'nat-* 'sleep' (n. abstr.) (< ***wšī'nat-* < **√wšn* v. 'sleep') > BHb שְׁנָנָה *šē'nā*, Ar سِنَةٌ *sinat-*, Ak *šittu* n. 'sleep' | BHb infinitives with *-εt/-at, -t*, e.g. יָרַדְתָּ *rəḏεt* 'to descend' (*√yrd*), יָדַעְתָּ *daʕat* 'to know' (*√ydf*), תַּתְּתָּ *teṭ* 'to give' (*√ntn*), בָּנוֹתָ *bə'nōt* 'to build' (*√bny*), Ph infinitives with *-t*: Ph By *l-dʕt* 'to know' (*√ydf*), Ph *šbt* 'to sit' (*√yšb*), *l-brt* 'to build', Pun *l-tt* 'to give' (*√ytr*) ¶ JB NB 86-94, Sd. G 57-63 [§§ 55-6], FrdR 73, 82 || Eg *-t* [**-∇t*], sx. of nomina act. (and other abstract nouns) in different nominal patterns, e.g. in the pattern reconstructed by Osing as **'1i.23-at* (> Eg L {Os.} **'1e.23--t*): Eg OK *qrɛ.t* (n. act. of *qrɛ* 'bury') > Eg L {Os.} **'kε.rs--t* > Cpt *kaise* 'Bestattung, Balsamierung', Eg NK *rqʕ.t* 'Schneiden, Schmerz' (n. act. of *rqʕ* 'einritzen, audreißen') > Eg L {Os.} **'ne.kʕ--t* > Cpt A *nēeke* 'Wehen', Eg OK *wzš.t* (< verb *wzš* 'ausscheiden') > Eg L {Os.} **'we.zš--t* 'Ausscheidung' → 'Harn' > Cpt Sd/B/F *iš* 'Harn', etc., or in the pattern **'1a.23-ut* (> Eg L {Os.} **'1a.23--t*): Eg NK *grg.t* 'Fang (mit dem Schleppnetz)' (n. act. of *grg* 'Falle stellen') > Eg L **'ga.rg--t* > Cpt Sd *ḳorḳ* *corḳs* 'Fang mit dem Schleppnetz' ¶ Os. I 96-118 || B nomina act. (used also as infinitives) of the form **t∇-...-∇t*, where the prefix **t∇-* goes back to the prefixed article and therefore does not belong to the N etymon in question, but the sx. **-∇t* does belong here. Examples from Tw {Pr.}: *t-aṅḏar-t* 'fait d'être en colère' (inf. and nom. act. of the verb *aṅḏar* 'be angry'), *tḁmḁḏint* 'act of grazing, pasturing' (inf. and n. act. of *aḏḁn*) ¶ Pr. M IV-V 81-97 || C: Ag: Bln {R} *-εt, -t*, sx. of abstract nouns: *bi'r-εt* 'heat', *fεr'h-εt* 'joy', *gε'n-it* 'age' ||| Bj {Rop.} *-ti*, sx. of nomina act.: *'tamti* 'act of eating' (< *tam* 'eat'), *'dābti* 'act of running' (< *dāb* 'run'), *hi'rεrti* 'act of walking' (< *hi'rεr* 'walk') ¶ R BilS 661, Rop. 38 ||| [2] HS **t∇-*, prefix of deverbal abstract nouns > S **t∇-* id.: Ar nomina act. (masdar): تَذَكَّرُ *taḏkār-un* 'to remember, das Erinnern' (< **√ḏkr* 'remember'), Gz *tafdāl* 'Vollendung', BHb תַּגְּמִיל tag'mūl 'compensation', Sr *taktu'šā* 'fight'; with both a prefix **t∇-* and a sx. **-at-*: BHb תַּדְּמָה *tardēmā* 'deep sleep', Sr *taḥmeṣ'tā* 'bashfulness, modesty' ({Br.} 'pudor, pudefactio'), etc. ¶ JB NB 287-311 ||| U **-t∇ ~ *-tt∇*, sx. of nomina act.

(→ infinitive): BF {Laan.} *-ta-k / *-tä-k, infinitive (*-k is the lative case ending) > F sx. of the "1st infinitive": -ta/-tä, -da/-dä, (after short vowels) -a/-ä, (after certain cnss.) gmc.+ -a/-ä (juos-ta 'to run', pes-tä 'to wash', teh-dä 'to make', saa-da 'to get', sano-a 'to say', tullā [< *tul-tä-k] 'to come'), Vp -da/-dá/-ta/-íta, sx. of the infinitive (aya-da 'to drive [fahren, treiben]', hüptā 'to jump', pan-da 'to put'), Lv -da / -d3 sx. of the infinitive (tūlda 'to come', yu'ōd3 'to drink'), Es -da (marker of the infinitive) | pLp {Krh.} *-dē-k, sx. of the infinitive (*-k going back to the lative case ending) > Lp: N/Å -t, J -yh / -t, I/Kld -δ, T -đ ~ -de, sx. of the infinitive (pLp *kul'3-dēk 'to hear' > L: N {N} gullât, J guw'ayh, Klt kullēd id.) || pOs {Ht.} *-ta / *-tä, sx. of the infinitive > Os: V -ta/-tä, Vy -ta/-tä, -nta/-ntä, Ty/Y -taʏʔ/-täʏʔ, P -taʏʔ, S/Nz/Sh/O -ta, Kz -tī id.; Os Sh {Gu.} -at, sx. of abstract nouns: χūw-at 'length' (< χūw 'long'), lōw-at 'size' (< *lōw 'large, big') || Sm *-t∇, sx. of deverbal abstract nouns (< U *-tt∇): Slq: Chl {Cs.} oldöt 'Anfang' (< oldam 'I begin'), UO {Cs.} èaldöt, Chl {Cs.} oaldöt 'sign' (< Chl oaldam 'zeichnen, ein Zeichen machen), Ne O {Lh.} gen. sg. námk'k-āδ-an (nom. sg. is námk') 'das Hängenbleiben (< námkā 'hängen bleiben') ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 273-87, Sz. 79, Laan. 246, Krh. 288-90, Ht. ChrO 55-6, Majt. SM 355-7, Gu. MOUJ 311 || ¶ A: ? NaT *°-ti/*-ti, a rare sx. of deverbal nouns: OT {Cl.} ügdī 'praise' n. < üg- ({Cl.} üg-) v. 'praise' ¶ Cl. xliii, 100-2 || ? Tg *-te in *bu-te 'death, illness' (> Lm but3n 'illness, disease', Neg butun 'lepra' < pTg *bu- v. 'die') and in *jeb-te 'food' (if ← 'das Essen', as supposed by Rm.) > Ewk Z j3bt3, Orc ž3pt3 'food' < pTg *jeb- v. 'eat' ¶ STM I 98-9, 279-80 ¶¶ Rm. EAS II 124-5; both the T and the Tg sxs. are qu. as cognates because they are rare and may be alternatively interpreted as forming nomina obiecti.

2312. *t'ü' (> *t'i) 'thou' > HS: [1] HS *t∇-, verbal px. of the 2nd pers. > S {Hz.} *ti- id. (in the prefix-conjugated verbal tenses of the underived verbs [G]) > Ak ti-, Ar ta- (transformed from *ti- due to generalization of the vw. -a- in the paradigm of the ip. activi), BHb ti- ~ ta- ~ tã- ~ te- (ti-k'bor 'you [sg. m.] will bury', ta-dab'ber 'you will speak', תָּבֹרָה tã'-bō 'you will come', wāt'tebk'ə [pf. c.] 'and you wept') going back partially to the original *ti- and partially to the generalized *ta-, Ug, Ph t∇-, BA ti- (~ un-attested *tã-), JA ti- ~ tã-, Sr -t'ε- ~ -l tã-, OSA Sb t∇- (trħm 'mayest thou have mercy'), Gz tã-, Mh, Jb, Sq t3- (sbjn.ajs. and prs.); in the derived verbal patterns (and probably

in the negative verbal forms) the pS px. is *ti- and *tu- (the latter from *ti- + *-u- of derivational origin) (ffd. *see* Hz. VP) ¶ Hz. VP ∇, MSUS 142, Seg. AAG 263-307, Br. SG 126-43, Bst. 14, Jo. MSA 15 || LbB (= pre-B) {Pr.} *t∇-, px. of 2s of the verb > ONum {Rö.} t∇- id. (O. Rössler's tentative rec. is based on proper names, e.g. trnB-n 'you [god] will add to us') ||| pB {AD} *t∇-...-at, {Pr.} *t∇-...-ad, 2s of verbs (the preradical vw. *∇ varies according to tenses: namely *tā-...-ad|t in pf., *tū-...-ad|t in ip., resulting from grammatical processes and analogies within the verbal aspect system) > Shl, Tmz, Dmn, BMn, Rf, Jrb, Snd, Zwr, ASgr, Wrs t-...-t (~ ṭ-...-ṭ), Ah, Ttq, Gh, Mz, Wrg, Shw, Izn, SrSn, BSn, Zng, Nf t(ə)-...-(ə)d and ṭ(ə)-...-(ə)d, Fgg/Grr t-...-č, Kb {Mmr.} t-...-č, Kb AZ {Gln.} ṭ-...ṭ, Kb GK {Gln.} ṭ-...č̣, Shnw {La.} h-...-č ¶ The B form *t∇-...-aT is a "mixed form" ({Pr.} "système mixte") going back to contamination of the original verbal *t∇-form and the predicative adjective (stative) with 2s sx. *-T (F below **[4]**). In my opinion, the pB form was *t∇-...-at, while the voicing *-t > -d is an innovation of Tw and some other lgs., which is not shared by the rest of the B lgs. The causes both of the voicing *-t > -d and of the emphatization *-t > -ṭ ~ -č̣ ~ -č̣ are not yet known ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 9-10, 12-7, Rö. JN 440-1, Ai. MSB 83, Beg. 45-58, Allaoua PPK, Mmr. 49-50, La. Ch 59-60 || C *ti-, prefix of the 2nd pers. of pcv. > Bj ti-/ṭ-/t-, 2 pers. prefix: (p.) ti-...-a (2m), ti-...-i (2f), ti-...-na (2p) ||| Ag: Aw {Hz.} ti- 2s (no opposition of gender) (tínté 'you come' ↔ 1s ánté, 3m yínté, etc.) ||| EC *t-, 2s of pcv.: Af, Sa, Sml, Rn t-, Bn J -t- (preceded by á-: 2s átùhùṅè 'you [sg.] ate', átàhàṅà 'you eat' ↔ 3m ážùhùṅè, ážàhàṅà) | In all C lgs. the same marker of the 2 pers. *-t- functions in the suffix-conjugated verbs (going back to constructions Nominal form of the verb + Auxiliary pcv.) as the initial element of the former aux. verbs, e.g. EC: Or B tùm-t-è 'you (sg.) forged' ↔ tùm-è 'he forged', Sd {Mrn.} hurn-te 'you (sg.) exterminated' ↔ 3m hurn-e, Af ab-teh 'you (sg.) did' ↔ abe-h '(he) did', ab-tah 'you (sg.) do' ↔ ab-ah '(he) does', Ag: Aw {Hz.} žew-t-é 'you (sg.) bought' ↔ 3m žew-é, etc. (2s: verb + *t∇-?∇, where *-?∇ is the stem of the aux. verb ↔ 3m: verb + *y∇-?∇) ¶ AD KJ 118-9, AD IPCV § 1.2, Zab. VC, Hz. AL 22, Sim 24, PH 254-5, PG 42-4 || Om: verbal sxs. of 2s sometimes contain the cns. t (e.g. Ym {C} pf. -t, ipf. -ata, -uta, {Lm.} -t(a)), but this is not enough to draw conclusions because of the complicated interplay of possible archaic morphemes with innovations and with sxs. of tenses/aspects ¶ Bnd. MO 103-4, C SE

III 16-9, cp. genetic hypotheses: Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Zab. VO 25-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 78, Blz. PPCh1 11-20, FrdR 61, 68, 70, 73, 77-8 ¶¶ [2] HS *^{oo}-tⁱ, verbal sx. of the 2nd pers. within the paradigm *-mi 1s - *-ti 2s, surviving in HEC only: Kmb yom-mi 'I am' - yon-ti 'thou art', as well as in the paraphrastic paradigms of the HEC independent pfc. and independent ipf. going back to endings of the aux. verb *∇n: {AD} *it ∇₁n-m∇ 'I eat' - *it ∇₁n-t∇ 'you (m. sg.) eat' - *it-t ∇₁n-t∇ 'you (f. sg.) eat', *it ∇₂n-m∇ 'I ate' - *it ∇₂n-t∇ 'you (m. sg.) ate' - *it-t ∇₂n-t∇ 'you (f. sg.) ate', whence Alb {Mrn.} itam 'I eat' - ittanti 'you (sg. of both genders) eat', iččo 'I ate' - ittonti 'you (m. sg.) ate', Sd {Mrn.} itemmo ~ itam 'I eat' - itatto 'you (m. sg.) eat', itommo 'I ate' - itotto 'you (m. sg.) ate', etc. ¶ AD PLOG 103-12, Mrn. S (on Alb: Mrn. S 300), Mrn. ApD, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, C S 597-692 ¶¶ [3] HS *-ti within the autonomous isolable (subject) prn. *ʔan-ti 'thou' (< N *ʔoñ∇ 'self, the same' + N *tⁱ 'thou') > pS *ʔan-ta 'thou' m., *ʔan-ti 'thou' f.: (α) pS *ʔan-t-a 'thou' m. > BHb הַתָּא ʔat'tā, Ph, Ed, OA, Yd ʔt, Pun (RomSc) [Plt.] ETHA, Ug ʔt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ʔatta_i, Amr {G} ʔatta, IA, Nbt, Plm ʔnt, EpJA הַתָּא ʔnth ~ הַתָּא ʔth ~ אַתָּא ʔtʔ, BA k הַתָּא ʔnth, q הַתָּא ʔant_i, JEA Nd/G הַתָּא ʔnt, JEA B הַתָּא ʔt, Sr W הַתָּא ʔa<n>t ʔatt_i, Ar أَنتَ ʔanta, Gz ʔanta, Ak atta, Eb an-da, (β) S *ʔan-t-i_i 'thou' f. > BHb הַתָּא ʔatt_i, Ph ʔt, IA, EpJA ʔnty ~ ʔnt, Sr W הַתָּא ʔa<n>t<y> ʔatt_i, Ar أَنتِ ʔanti, Gz ʔantī, Ak attī ¶ Br. G I 300-1, Br. SG 48, KB 98, OLS 58, Hnr. 108, 293, HJ 85-6, GB 76, 78, 895, G A 13, Rybak AN, Harv. 97 ¶ The opposition *ʔan-ti_i f. ↔ S *ʔan-tā m. is a pre-S innovation based on association of *ʔanti with the fem. ending *-i_i and on pre-S creation of *ʔanta < *ʔanti + HS marker of masc. (in 2s) *-a (that appears as the ending of masc. in Bj ti-...-a, 2 m form of pcvs. within the paradigm a-dir 'I killed' - ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' - ti-dir-ī 'you (f. sg.) killed' - i-dir 'he killed', etc.) || C *ʔanti 'thou' (without gender distinction) > Ag *ʔantⁱ 'thou' > Bln {R} ʔan'ti, Aw {Hz.} ʔn't3 || EC *ʔati 'thou' > Sml adí-ga, adí-gī, Rn àtí, Or ati, Kns {BISO} átti, Gdl {Bl.} átte, Bs {HL, AOM} ati, Af/Sa atú (-u from the nominal case inflection), Sd ate, etc. || Dhl {To.} ʔáta, {E} ʔáta 'thou' ¶ AD SF 13-4, Bl. 131-2, 184, Ss. PEC 10, PG 40, HL 78, Ow. 254, Sr. 266, AOM 6, E SC 282, To. DL 40, To. D 37 || ? Om: Dzd: Mj yetu 'thou' (accus. yet-ḥ), Shk yetá, Na yetá id. ¶ All. D 383, 392 (note 6), Bnd. MO 145-6 ¶ This Dzd prn. may explain (but not necessarily does) the origin

of the puzzling NrOm prn. *ne 'thou' and SOm *∇na id. (> Ari ānā, Gll ylnā id.). The possible scenario is: HS *ʔan-t∇ with subsequent loss of *n in Dzd and of *t in NrOm and SOm (cf. AD SF 20-1); Bnd MO 145-6 and 201 rejects similar explanations by supposing that Dzd *-t∇ is a sx. ¶¶ AD PP 69, 112, AD PSH § 6.3 (#174), HL 78, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2 ¶¶ [3a] The same HS isolable prn. *ʔan-ti 'thou' followed by morphemes of pl. and du. gave rise to autonomous pronouns of 2p and 2d: HS **ʔan-tin 'you' (pl.) > C (nom.): LEC *ʔatin id. > Sa átin, Sml idín-ku, Rn atín, Dsn ʔítínì, ? Bs {AOM} isin ¶¶ Ag: Bln ʔn'tʔn, Km {CR} int̩n, {Ap.} ʔntä(n)diw nom. (accus. ʔntä), Q {R} ent̩n, Aw {Hz.} ʔntóži (Hz: -ži "was later added, as a part of the renewal of plural marking of pronouns" - Hz. ES § T.2) ¶ Bl. 131, Hz. AL 20, Hz. NSA 134, PG 40, Ap. K 320, To. DL 211 ¶ S *ʔan-tim(mu) (< **ʔan-ti-n-mu) 'you' (pl. m.) and *ʔanti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.) > pronouns of 2 pl.: Ak OB/OA attunm (< *ʔantunmu < *an'tinma by assimilative labialization), attina f., Eb {Frnz.} an-da-ru 'you' pl., BHb ʔat'tem 'you' pl. m., ʔat'ten 'you' pl. f., SmHb {BH, Mc.} attimma 'you' pl. m., atten 'you' pl. f., Ug ʔtm pl. m., IA ʔntm pl. m., BA ʔan'tūn, EpJA ʔtwn pl. m. ¶ Sd. G 41, KB 99, 1670, BH IV 42, HJ 86, A #464, OLS 59 ¶ Om: pNrOm {AD} *ʔantEn∇ (~ *ʔantun∇?), {Blz.} *ʔantuni/*ʔantuna 'you' (pl.) > Wl {C} int̩ē, {Bnd.} intena, {AIA} inte, Hrr {CR} hant̩nā, Zl/Gf {C} int̩ē, Gf {AIA} hinte, Bsk {C} inti, Zs {Si.} ʔuti'ni, {C} (w)untuna, Zrg {Si.} 'hutuna, {Bnd.} wutuna, Bdt {Hw.} hinūni, Gnj {Si.} ʔīnina, Dwr {Bnd.} hntetta, Dc {Bnd.} untena, Drz {AIA} intenī, {Bnd.} untani, Cnc {AIA} intenī, Oyda {Bnd.} untana, Male {Bnd.} unči, Gdc {Bnd.} ununna, Cha {C} int̩ē ɹ inti, {Bnd.} inte, Gamu {AIA} ēti, Ym {C} ittō, {Bnd.} nutto, {Wdk.} nittó, Kf {C} ittō, ittóši, Mch {Bnd.} ittōši, {Lm.} ittō(ši), Shn {Lm.} ítti, Bnc {Bnd.} untāyku 'you' (pl.), {Wdk.} yintāykū id. (obj.), 'vester' (pl., poss.), Anf {MYTY} inta 'vester' ⇨ intašine 'you' (pl.) (derived like bašinne 'they') (cp. Anf {Bnd.} untāši 'you' [pl.]) ¶ Dzd: Mj {Bnd.} iti, {AIA} yetu 'you' (pl.), Shk íti id., it- (verbal prefix of 2p), Na ití-kis 'you' (pl.) ¶ SOm: Dime {Bnd.} yätɔ, Ari/Gll {Bnd.} yetá, Hm B {Bnd.} yäddi 'you' (pl.), Ari {Bnd.} -ete, Ari G {Bnd.} -ɛt (verbal endings of 2p) ¶ AD SF 134-5, Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Lm. Sh 274, AY ShM 7, 9, Wdk. BY 113, 132, AIA ODS 10, MYTY 105, Bnd. AM 7, Bnd. MO 163-4 ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 3-6, 11-25 ¶¶ [4] HS *-t^ri 'you (sg.) are', sx. of the 2s subject of the nominal predicate: S *-a-

ta m., *-a-ti f. id. (*-a- of the pred. case) > Ak -āta (m.), -āti (f.) id. (the so-called "stative"), WS *-ta (m.), *-ti (f.), 2s forms of the WS new perfect > Ar -ta m., -ti f., BHb -tā m., -t₁a₁ f., Ph, Pun -t (the unvocalized script does not distinguish between gender forms), IA -t m., -t₁y f., Sr -t m., -t₁y f. (pronounced -t₁a₁ in both genders due to the reduction of the final vw.), but before object sxs.: -tā- (Sr W -t₀-) m., -tī- (Sr W -ti-) f. (Sr *ḵṭlt₁ny* [ḵaṭal-'t₀-n] 'you [m. sg] killed me', *ḵṭlt₁ny* [ḵaṭal-'ti-n] 'you [f. sg.] killed me'); in SS (OSA, the EthS and SES lgs.) *-t- of the sxs. were replaced by *-k- (generalization of *-k- from the 1s ending within the conjugation paradigm) ¶ The differentiation between *-ti f. and *-ta m. is a (pre-)S innovation, identical with the aforementioned differentiation in the isolable pronoun (F above [3]). In the Ak forms the vw. -ā- was introduced due to the generalization of the vw. of the 1s form: pS *šālim-āku 'I am well', *šālim-a-ta 'you are well', etc. > Ak šalmāku 1s, šalmāta 2m, etc. ¶ MSUS 137, Sd. G 100-1, 8*, Br. SG 45 [§ 75], 126-49, Seg. AAG 265, 263, FrdR 58 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-7 || B *-t (> -ḡ, -d), marker of 2s of the qualitative verbs (verbs denoting quality) > Kb {ABs., Mmr.} -(ə)ḡ (zaddig-əḡ 'you [sg.] are clean'), Gd, Awj -at (Gd {CM} məq₁ur-at 'thou art big', Awj məllat 'thou art white'), Ah -äd (karroḡ-äd 'thou art sad'), Ttq -ad (səməm-əd 'thou art bitter'), Gh -əd (məllul-əd 'thou art white'); in Si {La.} -aṭ has been generalized as marker of 2s throughout the tenses of the indicative: ləmz-aṭ 'tu a mâché', ḡafl-aṭ 'tu passeras' ¶ Ai. MCB 74, 77-80, Mmr. 65-7, La. S 51-2 || Eg O/M -t₁, marker of 2s in the "pseudo-participle" (= Gard.'s "old perfective"): Eg M hr.t₁ 'thou art content', i₁w.t(i) {Gard.} 'thou art come' ¶ Ed. 271-2, Gard. 234-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-7 ||| [4] The same HS ending *-ti 'thou' followed by morphemic markers of pl. and du. (just as in [3a]) gave rise to endings of 2p and 2d of predicative nomina (→ stative forms): S *-a-tim(mu) (< **-a-ti-n-mu) 'you' (pl. m.), *-a-ti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.), and *-a-tim-ā 'you' (du.) (*-a- is the marker of the pred. case of nomina) > Ak -āturu (2p of both genders; -ā- by generalization from 1 sg. -āk₁), WS person/number endings of the "new perfective" (Qatal-tense): 2pm *-tim(mu), 2pf *-tinna, *tim-ā 2d, whence BHb *ḵṭṭ*- 't₁em 2p m., *ḵṭṭ*- 't₁en 2p f., Ug -tm 2p m., -trn 2p f., -trn 2d, IA *ḵṭṭ*- *tūn (BA *ḵṭṭ*- 'tūn) 2p m., IA *ḵṭṭ*- {Seg.} *-tēn (JA [Trg.] *ḵṭṭ*- 'tīn, JEA *ḵṭṭ*-t₁yn) 2p f., SmA {Mc.} *ḵṭṭ*- ton 2p m., *ḵṭṭ*- t₁en 2p f., Sr W -'t₁ur, Sr E

-¹ton 2p m., Sr W/E -¹tɛn 2p f., Ar -tum 2p m., -tunna 2p f., -tumā 2d; in pre-Ak, Aram, and Ar labializing as. -um- < *-im- followed by generalization of *-u- (in Ar and Ak) ¶¶ For references *see* above [4] and Siv. U 72, Dlm. GJPA, Levias 86, Epst. 54, Mc. GSA 143, A U 51-3 ||

IE: [1] NaIE *tū nom. 'thou' and possibly *t_w-om id. (preserved in Iir and Tc B) > pIir *tū > Av G tū (following the sentence-initial word), Prt t_u, MPrs tō, CINPrs تو tu, NPrs تو t_o, Oss I d₃, Oss D du 'thou' (Ab.: Oss d- < *t- originally in an intervoc. position in word groups, where this change is regular); pIir *tu_v-am (either from NaIE *t_w-om or on the analogy of *eġ^hom) > OI 'tvam ~ tu'vam, Av G tuuam, YAv tūm, tum, OPrs tuvam || Gk D τύ, Gk A σύ (σ- on the analogy of σε 'thee' [accus.] < IE *t_we) || Arm դու du 'thou' || pAl {O} *tū > Al G/T ti || Lt tū || Clt: OIr tú || Gmc: Gt þu, ON þú, OHG dū ~ du, NHG du, AS ðū ~ ðu 'thou', NE thou || Lt tū, Ltv tu, Pru tou (enclitic tu) || pSl *tī > OCS ты t_y, Blg, Uk ти, R ты, SCr, Sln tī, P, Cz, Slk t_y || pTc {Ad.} *tuwe > Tc B t(u)we (acc. to Ad., from IE *tuHom ≈ NaIE {AD} *t_w-om), Tc A tu (< NaIE *tū) || AnIE *ti 'thou' nom. > Ht zik, zigga, {E1} zīg 'thou' (-g by analogy with 1s), tug 'thee', Pal {E1} tī 'thou', tū 'thee' ¶¶ Blz. IEPP √, AD PP √, EI 455 (IE *tuH [emph. *tu'Hom], accus. *tewe [encl. *te, emph. *t_wem], gen. *tewe), GSchm. IGPP 113-9, 143-4, Brg. KVG 410-3, Brtl. 654-5, 660-1, M E I 682-3, Ab. I 378, F II 817, EWA II 826-36, Frn. 1133-4, En. APG 129, Stang VG 247-8, Glh. 624-5, Vs. IV 130, LP §§ 337, 357, KT 162, Wn. 516-7, Ad. H 149-56, Cowg. EG 169-70, O 455-6, Huld 116, KrlSh. XLI 20, 36, Ts. W 92, 109 ||| **[2]** IE *t_we and *te 'thee', *tu-/*t_we-/*te_y-/*te- (+ case markers or without them) functioning as the stem of oblique cases of the prn. of 2s; Cowg. EG 169-70 and Ad. H 161 reconstruct the IE case system of this prn. as follows: stressed accus. *t_we, unstressed accus. *te, stressed gen. *tewe, unstressed gen. *to_j. G. Schmidt's rec. (GSchm. IGPP 110, 144, 204-5, 245-6): accus. *tē and *tu, gen. *te_y, dat.-loc. *to_w-oy and *tu-b^hej, abl. *tu-s. O. Szemerényi's rec. (Szem. EVS-80 228-34): NaIE: accus. *t_we(:)/*te(:), *t_we(:)-m/*te(:)-m, gen. *tewe/*tewo and (encl.) *t(_w)ej/*t(_w)oj, accus. *t_we-d, dat. *t(_w)ej/*t(_w)oj, *te-b^hi; pIE: accus. *tu-^le, gen. *tu-^los, dat.-loc. *t(_w)ej, *t(_w)-eb^hi, abl. *tu-ed. Beekes's rec. (Bks. VT 249-53): accus. *t_we, gen. *tewe, *tej, Av *twed, dat. *teb^hyo, *toj, loc.-instr. *toj. Representation in some principal IE lgs.: OI accus. tvā,

'tvām, abl. 'tvad, dat. 'tubhya(m), tē, loc. 'tvē, 'tvayī, instr. 'tvā, 'tvayā, gen. 'tava, tē, Av {Reich.} accus. θωαμ (YAv θωā), abl. θωαϑ ~ θωāϑ, dat. ταῖβυā, ταῖβυō, loc. tē, gen. tavā ~ tava, Gk accus. σέ (Gk D τέ), dat. τοι, σοί, gen. σεῖο > σοῦ, σοι, L accus. tē(d), dat. tibi, gen. tuī (OL tīs), Gt accus. ꝑu-k, dat.-loc. ꝑus, OHG accus. di-h, dat.-loc. dir, Lt accus. tavè, dat. táu, instr. tavimì, loc. tavujè, gen. tavēs, OCS accus. ТѦ тѣ, dat. ТѢБѢ tebě / ТИ ти, loc. ТѢБѢ tebě, instr. ТОБОУѦ tobojǫ, gen./accus. ТѢБѢ tebe (by analogy of the dat. form) / ТИ ти, Ht accus., dat.-loc. tuk ~ tukka, gen. tuel, abl. tuedaz, Pal accus.-dat. tū 'dich, dir'; in Brtt the accus. form *te acquitted the meaning of nom.: Brtt *ti 'thou' > OW, Mw, W ti, Crn ty, te, MBr, Br te ¶¶ GSchm. IGPP 120-44, Blz. IEPP ∇, Brg. KVG 410-3, Rch. 204-13, Stang VG 248-53, LP §§ 348-57, RE 139, Ts. E III 423-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20 || U: [1] U *tE (originally *ti < N *t'ü'?) 'thou' nom., *ti-nu gen. (> *tin'u' ~ *tun'u' [serving as a common basis for the oblique cases] < N *t'ü' nu with the N genitive pc. *nu) > FU {It.} *ti- / tin∇ (and *ten∇?) (in BF, Chr, Prm, Hg) ~ *tu- / *tun∇ (in Lp and Mr) > F sinä (gen. sinun), Es sina (gen. sinu) || pLp {Wk.} nom. *tunna, *tun, ill. *tunn- + case ending, gen./accus. *tun (> *tū in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a bf.) > (1) nom.: Lp: N dōn ~ dōn, Vfs dātne, L ton, totno, Ar ton, M todn, Kld/T/Nt/A tonn ~ ton, I tun, (2) gen./accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} tone, T tonj, N dū ~ du, L/Ar tū, tuωωa, M/Nt/A/I tū || pMr {Ker.} *tun > Er/Mk nom. тон ton, gen. тонь toń || pChr {Ber.} *tiñə > Chr: Н тѣнь tǣń, L тѣй tǣj, Ch тѣне ~ тѣń, P/B/M tiń 'thou' || Prm *ten ({Lt.} *tęn) 'thou' (< FU *ten∇?) > OPrm te / obl. ten-, Z, Prmk, Yz тэ te 'thou' / obl. тэн- ten- (accus. Z tenz, Yz 'ten^, dat. Z ten+d, Yz 'tenut), Vt тон ton 'thou' || Hg tē (accus. tégēd) || Sm {Hl.} *tǣn, {Jn.} *tǣn 'thou' > Ng {Mik., Ter.} tǣn, {Cs.} tǣnna, En (cmpd.) {Cs.} tođi, En X {Prk.} tođi 'thou' (but En B {Prk., Ter.} ū 'thou', obviously of different origin), Slq Tz {KHG} nom.-accus. tan 'thou', 'thy', dat./all. tāntǣ, Kms {KD} nom.-gen. t'an, accus./dat./loc. t'ǣnan, Koyb {Sp.} тањь 'thou, thy', Mt {Hl.} *tǣn- 'thou' (Mt: M {Sp.} тањь, {Pl.} тањь, K {Pl.} -ды-) || pY {IN} *tǣt 'thou' > Y T/K {IN} tǣt, {Km.} tet, OY xvii {Wts.} dót, tot, totlié, OY Ch {Mat.} tota, {Boe.} tǣtлǣ 'thou', OY O {Mat.} ти- || [1a] Lp prn. of 2d (Lp N {N} doai, Lp Ar {Lgc.} dōj, Lp Tf {Lgc.} dōaj < *tun-∇y) is explained by E. Itkonen (It. LC 100) as derived from the prn. of 2s (pLp

*tun, *tunna) ¶¶ Acc. to Sm.'s and Jn.'s alt. theory of the U historical phonology, the pFU and pU prn. is reconstructed as *tun (Sm. LM 38, Jn. UK 14), but since no details of the rec. are published, at least in the papers available to me (incl. in the "Historical phonology of the Uralic languages" by Sammallahti), it is so far impossible to evaluate it ¶¶ It. #388, UEW 539, AD PP, Wk. EUL 278-86, Lgc. #7947, Kert SJ 73, Ker. II 169, Ber. 76, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 246, Lt. 138, Lt. J 61, LG 293-4, Lt. DPJ 108-10, Jn. 147, KHG 288-9, KD 143, Ter. NgJ 161, Ter. EJ 447, Cs. GSS 347-53, Prk. ED 86, Hl. M 147-8, #928, IN 248, 322, Krn. JJ 72, Krn. IMJJ 142-3, PBS II 115-25 ¶¶ The variant *tun^u < *tin^u by as. The forms without *n (Lp *tū and Hg t̄ë) may be interpreted as phonetically reduced variants of *tun^u and *tin^u ¶¶ [2] U *ti|e 'thy' (enclitic prn. → ppa.) > (with nouns in sg.) BF *-si > F -si, Krl -š, Vp -jž, Vo -zi | pLp {Krh.} *-t̄ > Lp: N/U -d̄, Kld -d̄, Pt -t̄ | Er -t̄ (кудо-т 'thy house'), Mk -t̄ in most obl. cases (ор-со-т 'in thy coat', ор-до-т 'of/from thy coat', etc.), but -ćə / -ć- (< -t̄ + demonstrative śə / ś) in the nom., gen., and dat.-iness.: орце ор-ćə 'thy coat', орчень ор-ćə-ń 'of thy coat', орцти ор-ć-ťi 'to thy coat') | Chr: L -t̄ (ава-т 'thy mother'), H -t̄, -et, -c | Prm: Vt -ed, -d, Z -+d, -d 'thy' | Hg -(a/o/e/ö)d̄ (ház-ad 'thy house', kőnyv-ed 'thy book') (Hg -d̄ < FU *-n-t̄∇? - F Décsy UP 67) || Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-r̄∇, {Hl.} *-r̄(ь), {Kü.} *-δ̄∇ 'thy' in nom. (> Ne F, En -r, {Cs.} -lo, -lo, -ro, Ng -r̄, Slq Tz {KHG} -l̄(̄), Kms -l, -l̄∇, Mt {Hl.} *-r̄ in Mt *t̄and̄ar 'thy' [Mt M {Sp.} тындарь]) and Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-t̄∇, {Kü.} *-d̄/t̄∇ obl. (> Ne -d̄(a), -θu, -ta, En -δ, -d, -do, -to, Ng -d̄, -ta, -t̄, -t̄∇, -t̄, -t̄∇); the pU voiced cns. *-δ- (> pSm *-r-) for the expected *-t̄ (> pSm *-t̄-) is still to be explained ¶¶ Majt. SM 273-6, Majt. VJ I 111-8, Laan. 181-4, Krh. 237-8, Ps. M O4, PI 334, KHG 184-8, Hl. SelJ 365-6, Hl. M 142, Kü. SUKF I 164-82, Kü. KJ 384, Décsy UP 67-8 ¶¶ The status of *ti|e as an enclitic word (rather than a sx.) is evidenced by its position: in some lgs. it follows case endings (incl. those of late origin): F kirjassa-si 'in thy book' ¶¶ [3] A morpheme or morphemes reconstructible as *t̄∇ (sometimes fused with preceding grammatical or derivational morphemes) function as the verbal marker of 2s (< postverbal prn. of 2s) in several tenses of the U lgs.: F -t̄, Es -d̄ | Mk/Er -t̄ (present) | Chr L/H -(∇)t̄ (present) | Vt -d̄ | Hg -d̄ (s/obj.); the endings -sz and -l of the subjective conjugation are Hg innovations based on verbal derivational sxs. with loss of the original marker of person) || Sm: NrSm: [1] s/obj., sg. of the object: Ne T, En B -p -r, Ng -r̄; [2] s/obj., du. or pl. of the object: Ne T -d̄ -d, Ng {Ter.} -tä, En B

{Ter.} -ḡ || Slq Tz {HL.}: -l (s/obj.), -nti (sbcj.) || Kms {Kü.} -l (both s/obj. and sbcj.) ¶¶ Coll. CG 242-4, 308-10, Sz. 129, Décsy FUS 176, BBB 417-8 (Hg -d < *tE; Hg -sz and -l of 2s go back to derivational sxs.), Ter. NJ 386, Ter. NgJz 428 || **A**: A *^ot'i 'thou' > M *²ci 'thou' > MM ci, WrM ci, HIM чи či, Dg, Brt ši, Mnr, Mgl, Ord, Kl či, Dx čI, Ba če. The genitive *²cinü of this prn. (> MM cinu ~ cini, WrM cinu, HIM činī, Ord, Mnr čini, Klm činb, Brt šeñi(:), Dg šiñī, Dx čiñi, Ba čene) goes back to **²ti-nu < N *²t'ü' nu ('thou' + postposition of genitive). Other oblique cases are based on *²cima (originally accus. < **²ti-ma < N *²t'ü' mA, sc. 'thou' + marker of accusative), whence pM accus. *²cima-yi 'thee' (*²cima + M accus. ending *-yi), dat. *cima-du(r) 'to thee' (*²cima + M dative ending *-du_r), etc. ||| In some modern M lgs. the M pronoun *²ci 'thou' in the postpredicate position (sc. following either a verbal or the nominal predicate of the sentence) changed into a personal affix of the predicate. This occurred in Brt, Kl, Dg, and Mgl: pM *²ci 'thou' > Kl -č, Brt -ši ~ -š, Mgl -či, Dg -ši (Kl гарв-ч, Brt гарба-ш 'you went out', Mgl irân-či 'you come', Dg yawbej-ši 'you will go'). In the postnominal position M *²ci had a possessive meaning. It lost its stress and ultimately (in modern M lgs.) became a ppa.: pM *²cinü 'thy' > HIM -čñ, Kl -čñ, Brt -šñi ~ -š, Ord čin, Mgl -či, Dg -šiñ, -šñi (pM *aqa činü 'thy elder brother' > HIM {Pp.} aχχāčbn) ¶ Pp. IM 35, 112, 213, 218-24, 251, Snz. SG 151-2, Snz. SG-G 84-5, T DnJ 27-30, T BJ 40-8, T DgJ 53-4 || **D** {Zv.} *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs > OTm -ti († non-past), Kui (ft.), Krx (prs., female) -di, Knd (non-past) -n-i(d); D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx prs. female -d-ay, Knd non-past -n-ider ¶¶ Zv. DL 36 ¶¶ The D pl. sx. *-r goes back to N *^or∇ yE (= *^or∇ y^ri?), a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity (q.v. ffd.) || **E**: pE {McA} *-ti > MEI {McA} -ti, {Dk.} -t(i) > -t, {ER, GrilS} -t, AchEl {Pap.} -(n)ti, -(n)ta (verbal enclitical marker of 2s), MEI {Dk.} -h-t(ə), {GrilS} -h-t (verbal marker of 2p), MEI, AchEl {ER} -t (nominal sx. of 2s, so-called "allocutive", sunki-t 'thou [the] king') ¶¶ McA 113, GrilS EGE 33, ER E 76-7, Dk. JDPa 100-3, Paper RAE 42-4 || **K**: GZ *tkwen- 'you' (pl.), 'your (vester)' > OG tkwen-, G tkven- id., Mg, Lz tkva(n)- 'ye', tkvan- 'your (vester)' ¶ K 176, K² 75-6, FS E 167, Chik. 223-4 ¶ This prn. goes back to a N cd. *²t'ü' 'thou' + *^okU of plurality + *^onu of genitive; which suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'of you, yours' (pl.),

but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou') \diamond IS I 6, AD P P ∇ , Blz. IEPP ∇ , UEW 539, McA l.c. (D, El), BmK 285-7, Gr. I 71-4 (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA). The variant * $\text{t̥}i$ is likely to result from delabialization of the original N * $\text{t̥}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ (loss of a marked phonemic feature typical of grammatical morphemes, possibly induced by the analogy with N * mi 'I'). The de-emphatization * $\text{t̥} \rightarrow$ HS * t - is very typical, but is obligatory in grammatical words\morphemes only. That is why there are no glottalized cns. among the grammatical morphemes in HS. On M * ta 'you' (pl.) and U * $\text{tä} \sim \text{te}$ id. see s.v. N * $\text{t̥}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ ra 'ye (vos)' \diamond On N * $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ ($>$ * $\text{ś}i$) 'thou' (that may go back to a phonetic variant of * $\text{t̥}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$) see above * $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ ($>$ ** $\text{ś}i$) 'thou' (entry 2006a).

2312a. * $\text{t̥}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ $\text{ra} \sim$ * $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ ra 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (N * $\text{t̥}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}} \sim$ * $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}$ 'thou' + N * ra , pc. of plurality [q.v. ffd.]) $>$ IE verbal endings of 2p: {Bks.} "primary" *-the ($>$ OI -t η a, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -p, Lt -te, Sl *-te, Ht -ten \acute{e}), "secondary" *-te ($>$ OI -ta, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -p, Sl *-te, Ht -ten) ¶ Szem. EVG-SO 216, Bks. 232-7, Brg. KVG 591-6 (incl. the table of p. 596), Mer. SGA 334, 339-40 || U [1] *te \sim *tiy ∇ (as well as *te + du. sx. *- $\text{y}\ddot{a}$) 'ye' (pers. prn. of 2p) $>$ pLp {Krh.} *tiy $>$ Lp: N {N} $\text{d}\bar{i}$, Vfs {Lgc.} $\text{d}_i\text{y}\text{y}\epsilon\text{h}$, S {Hs.} $\text{d}\bar{i}(j)\text{h}$, Kld {SaR} тыйй tiyy 'you' (pl.) | Er тынь tiń, Mk тинь tíń id. | pChr {Ber.} *te, {Rd.} *te id. $>$ Chr: L те te (gen. тендан tendan, accus. тендам tendam), B/M te, H тә tä (gen. тәмдан täm dan , accus. тәмдам täm dam) | Prm *ti id. $>$ Z ти ti (gen. tiyan), Prmk тийö tiyз \sim ти ti (gen. tiyan), Yz теу \wedge z (gen. ti'yan), Vt тй ti (proc. тйя tiya, gen. тйляд ti'lad) || OHg XII tiv [tiü], XVI thew, XVIII thü, Hg ti 'you' (pl.) (unless OHg - \ddot{u} $<$ *- y $<$ *-k) || ? Sm {Jn.} *te(n) you' (pl.) $>$ Ng тэη, Slq Tz tē, Kms {Kü.} šī?, Koyb {Sp.} ce; but Mt {Hl.} *tendä id. (Mt M {Sp.} тэндэ, {Pl.} тэндя) is a derivative from the prn. of 2s (Mt *tən 'thou') ¶ Sm *te(n) may go back either to the pU prn. for 'ye' or to the prn. of 2s with an additional marker of pl. || pY {IN} *tit $>$ Y T/K tit 'vos', tit- (+ noun), tit- \acute{e} 'vester' ¶ UEW 540 explains pLp *-y, Prm -yз, and Mr *-ń ($<$ U *n ∇) as ppas. ||| [2] The U pronouns *te \sim *tiy ∇ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after nouns, gave rise to ppas. of 2p: Chr: L -da, H -da/-dä | Prm: Vt -(+)d, -t-, Z -n+d, Prmk -n+t, Yz -ni-t || Sm: Ne T rect.-accus. -да" -da? / gen. -та" -ta? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect. -ра? / gen.-accus. -ра? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect. -ба? 'vestri' / gen. -та?), Ng {Ter.} rect. -r+? /

accus. -m-ti? (-m is the marker of accus.) / gen. -ti? 'vester' (pl. possessoris) (pl./du. possessi nom. -tü? 'vestri' / gen. -tu?), Slq Tz {KHG} [-l+t₂] = -l+n/t 'your' (pl.) / gen.-accus. [-t+t₂] = -t+n/t, Kms {Kü.} -la? / (after a nasal cns.) -na? 'vester' (pl. possessoris), Mt {Hl.} *-ra₁? / *-rä₁? 'vester'; benefactive forms of 2p of nouns: Ng -ru? / -tu? (taδɜ-ru? tu?o 'the reindeer came for you [pl.]', lit. 'cervus-vobis venit'; satɜrɜtɜm-tu? kɔδa?aru? 'you [pl.] obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for yourselves', lit. 'vulpem-vobis consecuti estis') ||| **[3]** The U pronominal morpheme *te ~ *tiy∇ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after verbs (sometimes with sxs. of pl.), gave rise to personal endings of verbs: (sbcj.) Mk -da, -dá, Er -do, -de | Chr L/H -da | Prm: Vt -d+, Z -(n)n+d, Prmk -t, -tɜ, Yz -tʌ, -t || Hg -tok / -tök / -tek || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -l+t/n (ending of 2p), Ne T {Ter.} -da- (ending of 2p, sbcj.), -ra- (id. with sg. obiecti) (prs. -da-?, -ra?, p. -da-ć, -ra-ć), En {Ter.} -ra- (2p, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), -ɔa- (s/obj. with pl./du. obiecti), (prs. -ra-? / -ɔa-?, p. -ea-ç / -ɔa-ç), Ng {Ter.} -ru? / -rü? / -r+? / -ri? (2p, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), -tu? / -tü? / -t+? / -ti? (2p ending, s/obj. with pl./du. obiecti), Kms {Kü.} -le? (ending of 2p) ¶¶ UEW 539-40, Laan. 182-4, 191-4, 228-30, Mark PSUS-25 ∇, Mak. KJ 69-72, Kask EJ-66 47-9, Vääri LJ 144-8, Krh. 209, 240-5, 280-3, It. LC 97, Lgc. #7843, Lgc. SL #2644, Hs. 118, SaR 352, 365, Fkt. EJ-66 185-91, Fkt. MJ-66 203-5, 207-14, Ps. M O5, Ber. 75, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 279, Lt. J 45, 61, 67-9, 185, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, MF 632-3, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Stn. XJ 216-20, Stn. OG 70, Trj. VD 84-7, EWU 1516-7, Jn. 156, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Hl. M 144, #983, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Kü. KJ 383-6, Krn. JJ 72-80, Krn. JJ-T 440-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 272-3, IN 248, JN III || **A** nom. *tüa ~ süa / gen. *t'üa'nu ~ *s'üa'nu 'you' pl. > Tg nom. *süe ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *süen-) id. (< N *s'ü' ?a, sc. *s'ü' 'thou' + plurality pc. *?a) > WrMc suwɛ, obl. suwɛri, Nn Nh nom. suɜ / obl. sɜn-, Nn B/KU sū, Orc, Ud, Ork, Neg, Ewk, Sln nom. sū / obl. sɜn-, Lm hū / obl. hɜn-, Ud {Krm.} nom. su / obl. sun-, Ul suni ~ sunu; in many Tg lgs. the form *suenɜ ~ *suni is used with the sx. ≈*-ŋgü|j;: WrMc suwɛriŋge, Ewk sunŋī, Lm hunŋi, Neg sunnī ~ sunŋī, Orc suŋiŋgɜ, Ud suŋuŋu, Ork sunuŋi, Nn: Nh suɜŋgi, B/KU sunŋgi, B sunəŋgi 'yours' | In some modern Tg lgs. the Tg prn. *su became a ppa. of 2p: Nn, Ul, Orc -su, Ud -hu 'vester' ¶ Bz. 107-11, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 87, 91, 288 || M *ta / gen. *tanu / dat. *tan-a 'you' (pl.) > MM nom. ta / gen. tanu, WrM nom. ta / gen. tanu, HIM, Brt

nom. *tā*, Dg nom. *tā* / gen. {Pp.} *tanāī*, Kl {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tań* ~ *tanb*, Mnr {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tani*; later on (in Brt, Kl, Dg, Mgl) M **ta* in the postpredicate position changed into a subject ending of 2p: Kl -*t*, Brt -*ta*, -*t*, Dg -*tā*, Mgl -*to* (Kl *rapb-t*, Brt *rapba-t* 'you [pl.] went out', Dg *xelsan-tā* 'you [pl.] said'); in the postnominal position **tanu* became later a ppa. of 2p: > HIM -*тан*-*tān*, Ord -*tan*, Kl -*tno*, Brt -*tnā*, Dg -*tāń*, Dx *tani* ~ *taji*, Mgl -*toni* 'vester' ¶ Pp. IM 218, 221 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 52 (A **sä* 'thou' in T **sä-n* and Tg **si* 'thou') ◇ See IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, ≈ Palm. LMP 169-74, Gr. I 71-4 ("second-person T" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ Cf. N **ʔa*, pc. of plurality ◇ S *-*timmu* 'ye' m. (the autonomous prn. **ʔan-timmu*), *-*tinna* 'ye' f. (the aut. prn. **ʔan-tinna*), and the related pronouns of B, C, and Eg do not belong here. They are likely to be independent derivatives (or cds.) of pHS origin (N **ʔ*'*ū*' + HS markers of pl.). Mutatis mutandis the same is true of K **tkwen* 'ye', 'vester'.

2313. **ʔ*∇, a marker of passive participial constructions (verb + N **ʔ*∇ = an analytical construction with the meaning of passive participle or passive verbal adjectives) > IE: NaIE *-*to-*, a marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning), that in some descendant lgs. were incorporated into the verbal system as passive participle.: NaIE **ǵnō-to-s* ~ **ǵnō:-to-s* 'known' (> L *nōtus* id., OIr {LP} *gnáth* 'known', W {YGM} *gnawd* 'customary', Gk *γνωτός* 'perceived, understood; well-known', Gt *kunps* 'bekannt', Lt *pa-žintas* 'gekannt'), NaIE **klu-to-s* 'heard, heard of' (> OI *śru'ta-* 'heard, listened to, heard of', Gk *κλυτός* 'heard of, famous', L *inclutus* 'famous'), NaIE **s(y)ūtos* 'sewn' (> L *sūtus*, Lt *šūtas*, OCS *šitъ*, OI *syū'tah* id., Gk *νεο-κάτ-τύτος* 'freshly sewn'), NaIE **mṅ-to-s* 'thought (gedacht)' (> OI *ma'tah* id., Lt *miñtas* pp. 'remembered', L *com-mentum* / -*i* 'invention, what so. invented', *com-mentus* 'which has remembered', Gk *αὐτό-ματος* 'acting on one's own will', [of things] self-moving, self-acting') ¶ Hirt IG III 284-6, Bks. 250-1, LP § 9.1, YGM-1 236 || U: FU *-∇tt∇ nomina patientis (obiecti) (> pp. and sim.) > BF *-(t)tu / *-(t)tü, pp. of pfc. > F *laulettu* 'sung', *tehty* 'done', Krl *annettu* 'given', *ommeldu* 'sewn', Vp *anttud* 'given', *tehtud* 'done' (with -*d* on the analogy of the pfc. prtc. ending -*nud*), Vo *sātu* 'received' || Er -*do* ~ -*da* and compound morphemes -*sto* / -*ste*, sxs. of gerunds (verbal adverbs): *oza-do* 'in sitting position (сидя)', *yuram-sto* 'on passing (проходя)', Mk -*da*: *koma-da* 'gebückt, in bent/leaned position' || Hg -*at* / -*et*, sx. of

deverbal nomina obiecti: *it-at* 'document' (← *ír*- v. 'write'); Hg -*tt*, sx. of past pp.: *olvasott* 'gelesen' (a *tegnap olvasott könyv* 'das gestern gelesene Buch') ¶ Sz. 79, Laan. 249-50, Fkt. EJ-66 192, Pl 120, Majt. SM 355-7, Majt. VJ-76 387, 400 ¶¶ This FU pp. may underly the BF passive verb stems (the prs. pp. F *saa-ta-va* 'being got/received' with the participle sx. -*va*) ¶ Coll. CG 279 || **A**: T *-*t* ~ *-*tu*/*-*tü* ~ ? *-*ti*, sx. of deverbal adjectives with passive meaning: NaT **ögi-t* 'ground grain' (> OT [MhK] *ögüt* 'ground wheat, etc.', ET {Jr.} *ügüt* 'grain cleaned ready for grinding') ← **ögi*- v. 'grind', NaT **jar-t(u)* 'sth. split' (> OT {Cl.} *jartu* 'sth. split off', [MhK] *jartu* 'long strips of wood', VTt *jart* 'half') ← pT **jar*- v. 'split', Az *joçur-t* 'sour milk' ← *joçur*- v. 'mix', Tkm *ayır-t* 'offshoot, ответвление' ← *ayır*- v. 'separate', as well as possibly OT [MhK, QB] *sökti* 'bran' ← *sök*- v. 'tear apart' ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 229-30, Cl. xliii, 101-2, 819, 954-9 || Tg **o-ta* / **o-te*, sx. of derived nouns (passive result of an action): Ewk -*ta* / -*t3* / -*to*, e.g. *3m3n-t3* 'remainder' (sc. 'what is left') ← *3m3n*- v. 'leave', *nödän-t3* 'отброс' ('sth. thrown away') ← *nödän*- v. 'throw' ¶ Vas. 790 || **HS**: In the pHS lge. nomina obiecti and passive deverbal adjectives with the ending *-*∇t*- may have existed, but since they are always feminine (because of their ending *-*∇t*- associated with the fem. gender), they cannot be distinguished from forms with the feminine *-*t*- derived from masculine prtcs., adjs., and substantivized adjs. As to the **t∇*- prefix with the original meaning of nomen obiecti, it cannot be distinguished from metonymic usage of nomina actionis with the prefix **t∇*- (F N **t̥i*): BHb תגמול *tag'mül* 'compensation' is both a nomen obiecti and a nomen actionis ◇ Cf. IS I 218-9 (*-*d̥i*, sx. of the past; IS did not distinguish between **d̥i* of imperfectiveness and **t̥∇* of pp.), Cald. 508-10 (FU: F -*t* [pp.] and Hg -*t* [past tense], D *-*t(t)* [p.], T -*d*- [p.], IE: NPrs -*d*- [p.]), Gr. I 179-82 ("passive participle T" in IE, U, EA); IS I xiii (caus.-rf. **t̥a*) tried to find a common origin of rf.-ps. verbal derivatives in U and HS (F N **t∇w∇* 'head') and a marker of causative in A, U, and D (which is doubtful both semantically and because of a structural difference: in U, A, and D this is a postverbal sx. that may go back to a N aux. v., while in HS this is a px. that is hardly explainable as an aux. v. in view of the syntactic structure of N) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 197-200 ("denominative T" in IE, U, Y, A, CK, Ai, EA).

2314. (₂?) **t̥∇*, pc. of marked (definite?) accusative (→ accus. of pronouns) > **HS**: S *-*t∇* or *-*āt∇*, accus. ending of pers. pronouns

(*šūpa(:)t∇ 'him', etc.): OAk {G} -ā́t, accus./gen. ending of suffixed pers. pronouns (-niʔ-ā́t 'us', -kin-ā́t 'you' f. pl., -šin-ā́t 'them' f.), Ak OB (-ā-/ū-)ti, accus. ending of prs. pronouns (-niʔā́ti 'us', -kunū́ti 'you' m. pl., -kinā́ti 'you' f. pl., -šunū́ti 'them' m., -šinā́ti 'them' f.), Ak OB -(ā)́t(i); accus.-gen. ending of separate pers. pronouns: 1s 'y-ā́ti, 2s OAk ku(ω)-ā́ti, 2m Ak OB/OA k-ā́ti ~ k-ā́ta, 2f Ak OB/OA k-ā́ti, 3m šu-ā́ti > šấti (with innovative forms: šuā́tu > šấtu), 3f OAk ši-ā́ti, later šấti, šuā́ti, 1p ni-ā́ti, 2pm kunū́-ti, 2pf kunā́ti, 3pm šunū́-ti, 3pf šin-ā́ti; the forms kā́ta and šuωā́tu (> šấtu) result from analogy: 2m kā́ta with -a due to the infl. of the nom. attā́ 'thou' m. (versus attī́ 'thou f.), 3m šuωā́tu with -u on the analogy of nom. šū́ 'he' (vs. šī́ 'she'), Ug {Siv.} -t, ending of accus./gen. in pers. pronouns: hω-t 'him, his', hyt 'her (accus./gen.)', hmt 'them, their (m. pl.)', hmt 'them, their (du.)', Sb accus./gen.: 3m hωt, 3f hyt, 3pm hmt, hmωt, 3pf hnt (↔ nom.: hωʔ, hʔ 'he', hyʔ, hʔ 'she', hmω 'they' m., hn f.). In some lgs. these forms lost their ancient case meaning: Ph OBy hʔt 'he', OPh, Ph hmt they', Ar Sp HUET 'he', HIET 'she', HUMAT 'them' m., HUNNAT 'them' f., Ar P {L ← ?} hūtu 'he', hite 'she', Gz wəʔətū́ 'he, this\that', yəʔətī́ 'she; this\that' (f.) (with new accus. forms based on the nominal accus. ending -a: wəʔət-a, yəʔət-a), ʔammūntū́ 'they' m., ʔammāntū́ 'they' f., ʔallōntū́ ~ ʔallūntū́ 'these' ¶ Sd. G 41, G OAWG 130-2, Dk. AkJ 90, 106, Dk. XAU 114, Siv. U 36, BGMR 55, FrdR 45-6, L G 20, 25, 602, 625, Br. G I 303-6 || C: Ag *-tt, accus. (or accus./dat.) of pers. pronouns and some nouns: Xm {Ap.} -t, object case ending of pers. pronouns (yí-t 'me', kí-t 'thee', ŋí-t 'him', ŋí-t ~ ŋír-t 'her', y+na-t ~ yíñä-t 'us', kíta-t ~ kítä-t 'you' accus. pl., ŋítä-t ~ ŋátä-t 'them'), Bln {R} yi-t 'me, to me', kũ-t (kʷɜ-t) 'thee, to thee', nī-t 'him, to him', yi'na-t 'us, to us', in'ta-t 'you' (accus. pl.) 'to you', na-t 'them, to them', Km {Ap.} ku-t 'thee', etc.; the same accus. ending is used with some nouns in Km {Ap.}: aba-t 'patrem', iwɜna-t 'feminam', in Bln: šāna-t 'elephantem', jə'rəbaɣkun gən'jīna-t 'I need a female slave', nī gən'jīna-t ke'ɣāntīyɣ 'he married (his) female slave', as well as possibly with feminine nouns in Km: líwä-t 'cow' accus. (vs. líwa 'cow' nom.), líwäyän-t 'the cow' accus. (vs. líwäyän 'the cow' nom.) (unless in the latter case the ending -t is connected with the *t-

ending of f.); ?? Bln {R} -tī, marker of accus. in proper names (with a final cns.) and pronouns > gir'gīs-tī jə'rəbnaukun 'we are looking for Girgis', aω-tī jərəbdə'nāuχun 'whom are you looking for?' ||| EC: Sa {R} yō-t ~ yō-d 'me' accus., nū'ma-t 'uxorem' ¶ Ap. K 325, Ap. Kh I 259, 263, R BilS 677-8, R S II 345, 377, R WB 42-3, 209, 279, 365-6 ||| U: FU *-tt∇, sx. of the accus. > F -t of the pronomianl accus. (minu-t 'me', sinu-t 'thee', häne-t 'him', meidä-t 'us', teidä-t 'you' pl., heidä-t 'them', kene-t 'whom?'), Krl -t of the pronomianl accus. (minu-t 'me', sinu-t 'thee', häne-t 'him', meidä-t 'us', teida (miä-t 'us', t'ä-t 'you' accus. pl., hiät 'them'), Ing -d of the pronomianl accus. (mejye-d 'us', tejye-d 'you' pl., hejye-d 'them') ||| Os: V {Trj.} -t ~ -bt, accus. ending of pronouns (1s män-t, 2s nōŋ-bt, 3s lōŋ-bt, 1d min-t, 2d mŋin-t, 3d lin-t, 1p mən-ət, 2p nən-ət, 3p ləŋ-ət), Sh {Trj.} -ət id. (1s man-ət, 2s nan-ət, 3s tuw-ət, 1d min-ət, 2d nən-ət, 3d tən-ət, 1p mun-ət, 2p nan-ət, 3p təw-ət), Kz {Rus.} -ət id. (1s man-ət ~ man-tə, 2s nən-ət, 3s ɬuw-ət, 1d min-ət, 2d nən-ət, 3d ɬən-ət, 1p mun-ət, 2p nən-ət, 3p ɬəw-ət), Vy/Ty/Y/P/D/K/Kr/Nz {Ht.} -t id. | Hg -t, accus. of pronouns and nouns. Szinyei (Sz. 60) and Klemm (Klemm MTM 27Off.) believed that the Hg accus. is akin to the Mr df. form with -t̄, which is hardly plausible because the latter goes back to the enclitic U prn. *tä < N *t̄ä (dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objts) ¶ Laan. 190-2, Laan. IJ 108, Jelis. FJ-93 100-1, Mak. KJ 69, Trj. XJ 328, Rus. SXJ 84, Ht. ChrO 70-1 ||| ? IE *-e₁T, accus. ending of personal pronouns (acc. to Blz.'s hyp. [Blz. IEPP 14]) > OL accus. mēd 'me', tēd 'thee' (GSchm. IGPP 102). Blz. (IEPP 3 and 8, note 6) equates this OL form with the Ht ntr. nom.-accus. ppas. -mi|e-t 'my', ti-t 'thy', which is hardly acceptable, because this Ht ending is obviously that of the neuter gender (< IE *-T nom.-accus. ntr., whence L i d, q u i d, q u o d, etc.) ↔ the animate gender ending (nom.) -s (in Ht -mi-s 'my', -ti|e s 'thy') IE *-s nom. anim. (whence L i s, q u i s, etc.) ◇ Blz IEPP 3, 14-15 (HS, IE, U) ◇ This N particle is hardly identical with the N prn. *t̄ä, because the latter refers to inanimate objects, while the N accus. pc. *t̄∇ is used with pronouns that denote (at least in the 1st and 2nd persons) human beings. One of the possible explanations is that N *t̄∇ originally denoted accusative of definite referents (like BHb ႱႱ ႱႱ and the Tk accus. form), hence their use with definite pronouns in U, HS, and possibly IE. It is possible (but not certain) that the N

accus. particle ***ṭ**∇ is a reduced var. of the N word ***ʔey**∇**ṭ**∇ 'reach, obtain' (q.v.).

2315. *ṭEʔU 'to take' > **HS**: S ***o-tīʔ-** > Ar **ṭyʔ** (ip. -**tīʔu**, pf. **tāʔa**) v. 'take, carry away' ¶ BK I 212-3, Hv. 64 || **K**: pGZ ***ṭe(ʷ)-**/***ṭi(ʷ)-** v. 'contain, have enough room for (содержать, вмещать)' > OG **ṭe(ʷ)-**/***ṭi-** 'contain, receive', G **ṭe-/ṭi-** 'contain', Mg (n)**ṭi(r)-**, **ṭr-**, Lz (n)**ṭi(r)-**, (n)**ṭi(n)-**/(n)**ṭr-** {Kl.} 'fit in', {Chik.} 'поместиться' ¶ K 180, K² 186. Chik. 326 || **IE**: Ht **da-**, HrLw **ta-** v. 'take' ¶ Ts. E III 5-11, Mer. HHG 114-5; connection with IE ***d^hē-** v. 'put' is not ruled out, but is less plausible || ? **A**: M ***tu** / ***tü** > MM [S] **tu** 'having', possessive pc. (gergai **tu** 'having a wife', qahca **niḏu tu** 'having [only] one eye'), WrM **-tu** / **-tü**, HIM **-ṭy** / **-ṭy**, sx. forming adj. (sometimes written separately) and expressing the idea of possessing: WrM **mori-tu** 'having a horse' ¶ H 153, Pp. GPMJ 111, MED 838, 848.

2316. *ṭab∇ 'fit, good' > **HS**: S ***ṭāb-** 'good, pleasant' > BHb **ṭōḅ** id., Ug **ṭḅ** 'good, sweet, pleasant', (AkSc) {Hnr.} **ṭābu** 'sweet, pleasant', OA, IA, Plm **ṭḅ**, BA **ḅṭ** **ṭāḅ**, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} **ṭḅ** **ṭab** / em. **ḅṭ** **ṭāḅā**, [BT] {Sl.} **ṭḅ** **ṭāḅ**, JEA {Sl.} **ṭāḅ**, Sr **ḅṭ** **ṭāḅ** 'good', JA [Trg.] **ḅṭ** **ṭāḅ** adv. 'well, much', Ar **ṭāb-un** 'chose bonne \ agréable \ douce', {Hv.} 'palatable thing', Ak **ṭāḅu(m)** 'schön, gut, süß', Eb {Frnz.} **ṭāḅ** 'good'; in pS the adjective (in its pred. form) was incorporated into the verbal system as a stative form (> WS new perfect): BHb **ṭōḅ** 'is good', Ar **ṭāba** 'was good', Ak (stative) **ṭāḅ** 'is good, fit, beautiful' ⇨ d.: Ak **ṭiāḅu(m)** 'to be good, to fit', JA **ṭḅ** G (pf. **ṭḅḅ**) {Js.} 'be bright \ good \ well', {Lv.} 'wohlgemut \ fröhlich sein', Sr pf. **ḅṭ** **ṭḅ** 'was good', Ar **ṭyḅ** G (pf. **ṭāba**, ip. **ya-ṭīḅ-u**) v. 'be good' ¶ BDB 373-5 [##2895-6], 1094 [##2869], Js. 515, Lv. II 131-2, Lv. T I 292-3, Sl. 492, Br. 265, 269, HJ 415-9, KB 355-6, Sd. 1376-8, 1380-1, A #1110, OLS 479, Hnr. 131, Frnz. EL 167, BK II 126-8, Hv. 443 || **EC**: Dsn {To.} **ḅabán** 'good, pretty', {Ss.} **ḅabān** 'pretty' ¶ To. DL 492, Blz. DL s.v. 'good' || **IE**: NaIE ***d^hab^h-**, **d^hab^h-ro-** 'fit, good' > L **faber** 'ingenious, skilful' (→ 'worker, artisan') || Arm **դարբին** **darbin** 'forger, locksmith' || Gt **gadōf ist** 'es ist passend, schicklich', **ga-daban** 'sich ereignen, passen', ON **ḅafna** 'to become fit\strong, to thrive', Mdt **gedouf** 'sich fügen', Dt **deftig** 'proper, decorous, portly', AS {Ho.} **zedafen** ~ {Sw.} **zedēfe** 'fitting, seemly', NE **daft** || Sl ***dobъ** 'good' > R **Δ доб** 'is good', **до'бой** 'good', Uk **Δ добий** 'good'; ***dōb-ръ**

(dadj. *dobrǫjъ) 'good' > OCS ДОБРЪ dobrъ 'good, beautiful', R 'добрый, Blg до'бър 'good, good-hearted', SCr dōbar, Slv dóber, Cz dobrý, P dobry 'good' || Lt dabà, Ltv daba 'nature, character', Lt dabìn-ti (prs. dabìn-ù) 'to adorn, to beautify' ¶ P 233-4, WH I 436-7, Fs. 176-7, Ho. 69, Sw. 41, Vr. 71, Frn. 79, Kar. I 193-4, ESSJ V 45-7, Vs. I 520-1, Glh. 202, Sl. 146, ≈ EI 139 (*dʰabʰ- put together' ⇨ *dʰabʰros 'craftsman') ¶ The sequence *dʰ...bʰ (rather than **t...bʰ) is due to the IE incomptability law that rules out combination of vd. aspirates and vl. cnss. in the same root || А: М *tab > WrM таб, HIM тав 'pleasure, confort; benevolence', Kl таwə 'wish; pleasure', WrM табtai, HIM тавтай 'good, comfortable, pleasant', {Kow.} 'bien, convenablement', Kl таwta 'comfortable, favourable', ? MM [S] таб 'recht, richtig, wahr', Ord t'ab_ 'bien, efficacement, complètement' ¶ MED 760-1, Kow. 594, 1609, H 143, KRS 470-1, Ms. O 639 || ?φ NaT *t'ap 'satisfaction, sufficiency' > OT {Cl.} tap id., 'satisfactory, sufficient', Qc {RI.} tap 'das Passende, Zusammenhörige', Alt/Tlt {RI.} tap-pila qil, tabiŋća qil 'tue was du willst, nach eigenem Gutdünken!', Tv таптыг t'ap-t'iy 'tasty, sweet, beautiful' ¶ Cl. 434, RI. III 946 ¶¶ Rs. W 462-3, TvR 407 ◇ IS MS 355 s.v. 'подходящий' (fit'), IS SS #13.6, Mö. VW 51 (all of them: S, IE).

2317. ?σ₂ *t'ab∇ ≈ head' > HS: Eg N d̄b.t 'head' ¶ EG V 494 ("wohl fehlerhaft") || ? А *t'ab∇ > М *tab_u 'head of a nail' > WrM {Rm.} таб, табу, {Kow.} таб id., {Gl.} таб 'head of a nail\sword-hilt' ('шляпка, бляха на эфесе меча, на гвозде'), Ord t'ab_ 'head of a nail', Kl {Rm.} таб_ 'Nagelkopf, Mützenkopf', {KRS} таvə 'head of a nail\rivet, button, rivet', Brt таб 'head of a rivet, metal plate (бляха)', WrM {MED} таб, HIM тав 'part of the scalp on which a braid or pigtail grows' ¶ MED 780, KW 373, Kow. 1594, Chr. 407, KRS 470, Gl. III 27, Ms. O 639, STM II 149 ¶ The word is attested in modern M lgs. only, which may be accounted for by its meaning (a technical term not expected to be mentioned in short vocabularies of the MM period or in "The Secret History"); an alt. hyp. of its foreign (Turkic) origin, although phonetically plausible, is hardly acceptable because the word is not attested in the T lgs. (as far as it is known to me).

2318. ₂ *t'æb∇ 'catch, seize' > HS *✓t̄b > B *-t̄t̄∇f- (θPr.: < *✓w̄df=eB *✓w̄t̄f) v. 'seize, grasp' > Rf, SrSn әттәf v. 'seize, take', Izn ɔt̄f, Si әттәf (pf. ɣәттәf), Nf, Snd әттәf, Gd ɛттәf (pf. иттәf, Lcj. 8) v. 'seize', Kb, Wrg әттәf v. 'hold, take, seize', Mz әттәf 'tenir ferme, saisir, attraper', Tmz ттәf 'prendre, saisir, tenir, attraper', Izd ттәf (pf. иттәf) v. 'take,

seize', Sll {Ds.} ət̪t̪af (pf. i̪t̪t̪af ~ i̪t̪t̪āf) v. 'hold, possess', Ah ət̪t̪af v. 'take, hold', Twl, Ty ət̪t̪af v. 'take, marry' (pf. Twl i̪t̪t̪bf, Ty yət̪t̪bf, Pcj. 1 A 2) ¶ Lf. I 242-5 (on Lcj. 8) and II #1603, Rn. 311, Fc. 276, Mrc. 202, 229, Dl. 835-6, Dlh. Ou 342, Dlh. M 38, La. S 292, MT 738, GhA 30, 246-7 (on Pcj. 1 A 2), Ds. 226, 276-7 ¶ B *-t̪t̪∇f, *√₁w₁t̪f < *√₁t̪p by as. from *√₁t̪b) || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *tab̪- (~ *t̪ab-?) 'seize, catch' > Krf {Sch.} t̪wá-wò (verbal noun tòfá), Glm {Sch.} t̪áb-ālá, Gera {Sch.} t̪âw-mí v. 'catch, hold' || Gj {ChL} dòb̪í v. 'seize' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -t̪əb̪- 'accepter, recevoir, prendre ce qu'on donne' || Ech: Mkl {J} (aor.) t̪î:b̪á / (progr.) t̪â:b̪ú 'picorer' ¶ Stl. ZCh 168 [#205] (adduces Hs t̪āḥè v. 'rip' - ??σ), Abr. H 834, Ba. 968-9, ChC s.v. 'catch', Sch. BTL 59, 88, Brr. MG II 239, J LM 180 || Eg XXI dbdb 'angreifen' ¶ EG V 442 ¶¶ OS #2446 (*tab- 'catch, seize': Eg, Ch; adduces Hs t̪āḥè without indicating its real meaning) || A: Tg *tebe- ({DQA} *tēbē-) v. 'catch' > Ewk t̪əwə- ~ t̪əwə̄-, Neg t̪əwən-, Lm t̪əw- v. 'catch, grasp (sth. flying)', Ud t̪əwənə- v. 'try to catch sth. flying', t̪əwən̪i- v. 'catch sth., throw back', WrMc tebdəze- v. 'play ball, play shuttlecock' ¶ STM II 226, Z 724 ¶ The WrMc tebdəze- has a variant tebkəze- (Z 724) obviously connected with the Wanderwort represented by WrM tebeg, HIM тэвэг 'shuttlecock', and Kl {Rm.} t̪əwəg 'a shuttlecock made of metal pieces with feathers' (MED 789, KW 395); the origin of the word is obviously Turkic: OT [MhK] t̪epük 'a thing cast from lead which is wrapped in goat's hair or the like and used as a toy', MQp t̪epük 'a toy with which children play' (← pT *t'ep- v. 'kick' [Cl. 435, 439]) || M *teberi > MM [MA, IM] tebere- 'embrace', [S] teberi- id., 'put one's arms round (umfassen)', Kl тевр-, Brr тэбэри- id., WrM teberi-, HIM тэврэ- 'encircle, encompass with or carry in one's arms', Ord t'ewere-, Mnr H {SM} t'ōri- 'carry/hold in one's arms, embrace' ¶ Pp. MA 343-4, 447, H 147, MED 790, KRS 488, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662, SM 425-6 || pKo {S} *t̪əpír- 'lead, take so. with' > MKo t̪əpír-, NKo t̪əbul- ¶ S QK #860, Nam 150, MLC 443 || ?σ pJ {S} *t̪əmpá 'bundle' > OJ taba, J: T tába, K t̪ábá, Kg tabá ¶ S QJ #1031, Mr. 536 ¶¶ DQA #2362 (A *t'ēpá 'catch, embrace; armful').

2319. *t'ebA (~ *t'em₁b₁∇?) 'ruminant (antelope, cervid)' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *tāb∇(-r) 'gazelle' > AG: Su {J} t̪āp 'crested duiker', Ang {Flk.} t̪ēp, {ChC} t̪ep 'antelope', Gmy latap, Kfr {Nt.} tap id. || ? NrBc {Sk.}: P' tambura, Sir t̪əmbəri, Jmb tamur, Mbr tambur, Kry tambur 'gazelle' ¶ Stl. ZCh 161 [#153], ChC s.v. 'antelope', J S 84, Flk. s.v. t̪ēp,

Sk. NB 10 || SC: Grw *çefelu* 'reedbuck', Kz *çefeluko* 'Thomson's gazelle' ¶ E SC 354 (SC **t̪̥efelu* > pRt **cefelu* 'small antelope') || U **tewä* 'elk, reindeer' > F *teva* 'male elk' || Hg *tehén*, Δ *tehen*, *tején* 'cow', † 'cattle' || Sm {Jn.} **t̪̥ɛ̃z̪̥* '(domestic) reindeer' > Ne T *ты т̪̥*, Ne F *t̪̥*, Ng {Mik.} *tā*, En {Mik.} *t+a*, {Ter.} *tea*, Kms {KD} *t'o*, Mt {Hl.} *tɛ̃:ɟä* (Mt {Mll.}: M *tíggä*, K *dége*, T *tägä* 'rangifer ferus', Mt T {Pl.} *tagoe* 'Cervus tarandus, олень' = 'Rangifer tarandus'); cds.: Slq UTz {Hl.} *ūtā* 'domesticated reindeer', *maćin ūtā* 'wild reindeer (*maći* 'forest, woods')' ¶ Hl.'s reconstruction of the Sm √ as an unambiguous **ɛ̃z̪̥* is hardly justified ¶¶ Coll. 62, UEW 522-3, Jn. 155. Hl. M # 1001 || A: T {Md.} **t'ebä*, {ʁAdb.} **tebä* 'camel' > OT [ThS II] *tebä*, OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} *täväy*, OT Og [MhK] {Cl.} *däwäy* ~ *däwā*, XwT XIV *tevä*, MQp XIII-XIV *tewē* ~ *dewē*, Cmn XIV *töve*, Tk *deve*, Az *dävä*, CrTt, Qry *deve* ~ *teve* ~ *tüye*, Tkm *düye*, VTt, Bsh *dbyä*, Blq, Nog, Qzq, qq *tüye*, Uz *tuya*, ET, Ln *tögä*, Qrg, Alt *tō*, SY *te* ~ *ti*, Xk *тибе* *tibe*, Tv *t'ewe*, Tf *t'ēbe*, Chv *təve*, Slr *töüvä* 'camel', Yk *taba* 'reindeer' || Chv L *тэве* *təve*, Chv H *təve* 'camel', Blgh *→* Hg *teve* 'camel' ¶ Cl. 447-8, Shch. Zh 103-4, ET VGD 313-5, Mng. WK, BT 156, Ra. 233, Md. 96, 178, Jeg. 244, Fed. II 211, Rs. W 468, DTS 556 ¶ The initial cns. *t'*- in Tv and Tf suggests pT **t'*-, though ADb. (Ttd 51) finds that in roots with a medial voiced obstruent the opposition **t'*-~**t'*- is neutralized || M (←b- T?): WrM *temegen*, HIM *тэмээ(н)*, Kl *temən* 'camel'; M *→* Sln *təmägã*, Orc, Nn *təmэ*, WrMc *temen* 'camel' ¶ STM II 235 ◇ The appearance of m in NrBc and M has no explanation so far.

2320. ₂ **t̪̥ob* ▽ 'teat' > HS: WS **t̪̥ub_L ▽_Ly-* (~ **o̪̥t̪̥ib_L ▽_Ly-*?) 'teat' > Ar *t̪̥uby-* ~ *t̪̥iby-* 'teats of animals', Gz *tɛ̃b*, Tgy *t̪̥ub* 'teat', Tgr *t̪̥ub* 'breast, teat', d.: Ar {BK} ✓ *t̪̥by* 'avoir les pis bien à bas' (a she-camel); S **o̪̥✓t̪̥b_w* > Gz ✓ *t̪̥b_w* G (js. *yə-t̪̥bū*) 'suck (the breast), suck milk', Tgr ✓ *t̪̥b_w*, Tgy pf. *t̪̥eba* id.; WS **ʷat̪̥_L ▽_Lb-* > Ar *wa̪̥t̪̥b-* 'outré à lait, sein très développé', 'protuberant woman's breast', Mh {Jo.} *wōt̪̥ɛ̃b* 'teat, nipple', Hrs {Jo.} *ħ-ā̪̥t̪̥ɛ̃b* 'teat', Jb C {Jo.} *ʕt̪̥ɛ̃b* 'teat of a camel', Sq {L} *ʔat̪̥ab* 'pis' ¶ BK II 58-9, 1561, Ln. 1829-30, Hv. 427, 878, LG 587, L LS 57, LH 616, Bsn. 913, Jo. M 433, Jo. H 138, Jo. J 294, MiK I #1.277 || A (**o̪̥t'ob-*): M **t̪̥obč̪̥i* 'nipple (?), button' > MM [MA, IM] {Pp.} *t̪̥obč̪̥i* 'button', WrM *тobci*, HIM *товч* 'button; nipple, teat', WrO *t̪̥obč̪̥i* 'button, nipples', Br *товшо* 'button, nipple', Kl *товч*, Ord {Ms.} *d̪̥obč̪̥'i*, Mnr H {T} *debč̪̥i*, {SM} *d̪̥iēšž̪̥i*, Mnr M {T} *toyč̪̥i*, Dx *t̪̥iži*

'button' ¶ MED 810, Krg. 501, KRS 499, SM 54, T 328, Pp. MA 350, 448, T DnJ 136, Ms. O 14, Chr. 423 ◇ Valid only if the primary meaning of M *tobč̣i is 'nipple, teat' rather than 'button'.

2320a. *ṭûb∇ 'thin, small, of short stature' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *dūban- 'thin' > Sml dūban- 'be thin' ('essere sottile\magro\snello'), Bn {Hn.} dūa 'thin'; Dsn {To.} dáḏab- 'become thin' ¶ Hn. 58, DSI 182, To. DL 490 || S: Ar ṭibb-at- (pl. ṭibab-) 'oblong piece of land \ cloth \ cloud', ṭibbān-at- 'longue bande de cuire \ d'étoffe; longue bande de terre\nuage que l'on voit s'étendre sur l'horizon'] Ar ṭafāf-at- 'petite quantité, un peu', ṭafīf- 'peu nombreux' ¶ BK II 51, 87, Hv. 425 || **D** (att. in KK) *otup- > Kui ṭup 'short, dwarfish', ṭupri 'short', ṭupura 'a short man\boy', Ku ṭūpla 'short', ṭupla 'dwarf' ¶ D #2963 || **A**: Tg: Lm: Sk ṭōb̄z̄ç̄z̄, Ol ṭōb̄ar̄z̄k̄z̄k̄z̄n ~ ṭōb̄ar̄z̄kk̄n 'dwarf', Ol ṭōb̄āz̄z̄, O ṭōb̄z̄z̄n, Sk ṭōb̄z̄n̄z̄ 'of short stature, dwarfish' ¶ STM II 201.

2321. (₂?) *ṭüb∇ (or *ṭubE?) 'calm, quiet, (?) even' > U: FU *ṭüw∇ 'calm, quiet' > F ṭyven, Es ṭüve 'calm, quiet' ('ruhig, still') || ObU {Ht.} *ṭōȳan > pVg *t̄āw̄ant 'Ruhe, Stille' > Vg: T t̄üw̄ēf̄, LK t̄āw̄at, UL t̄ā:pañ̄t, Ss/Sg tawant; pOs *teȳan ~ *t̄ōȳan 'still' ({/HI.} *t̄āȳan ~ *t̄ōȳan) > Os: V/Vy teȳan, Ty t̄āȳan, Y t̄āw̄an, K tewin, Nz/Kz/O tewan ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU *tiw̄ä 'calm, deep' > FP *tiw̄ä, Ugr *t̄īḡä) (both UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this √ and FU *ṭüw∇ 'deep' < N *ṭüb̄s̄A 'deep', q.v.), Coll. 120, Ht. #626 || **A** (*oṭüb∇): M *ṭüb- ⇨ *ṭübsin 'even, straight, calm' > MM [MA, HI] ṭübš̄in 'even, straight', [S] ṭub̄s̄in ṭukel 'ruhig, friedlich', ṭub̄s̄in x̄ariχu 'in Frieden heimkehren', WrM ṭübsin, HIM т̣үвшин 'level, even, peaceful, calm', {Kow.} 'tranquillement', Kl т̄өвшүн 'peaceful(ly), quiet', Kl Ö {Rm.} t̄üw̄š̄ṅ 'glatt, eben, friedlich, ruhig; Frieden, Ruhe', t̄üw̄š̄id̄a-x̄a 'ruhiger, milder werden, sanftmütig sein\werden', MM [HI] ṭübš̄i,erit 'pacifier'; M *ṭübkine- > WrM ṭübkine- {Kow.} 'apaiser, radoucir', {Gl.} 'appease, pacify, establish calm (усмирить, укротить, водворить спокойствие)', Kl Ö {Rm.} t̄üpk̄ṅ-x̄a 'sich besänftigen, beruhigen, sanftmütig werden'; M *t̄übtü > WrM {Kow.} t̄übt̄ü 'straight, sincere', Kl {Rm.} t̄üpt̄a-x̄a 'sanft, ruhig, mild werden' ¶ KW 415-7, MED 848-9, Gl. III 236-7, Kow. 1907-9, KRS 511, H 153, Ms. H 103, Pp. MA 357-8 || ??σ HS: S *o√ṭbb > amb Ar √ṭbb G (pf. ṭabba) 'traiter (qn.) avec douceur', 'act kindly\mildly' (coalesced [1] with Ar √ṭbb v. 'be intelligent; être habile, savant', akin to Sr √ṭbb v. 'make

inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Sb ṭbb v. 'teach, proclaim', Gz ✓ṭbb v. 'be wise, prudent', and Sq {L} ṭeb v. 'know', as well as [2] with Ar ✓ṭbb v. 'treat medically', possibly akin to Jb ✓ṭbb v. 'cut the skin of a slaughtered goat') ¶ Fr. III 36, BK II 50-1, Hv. 425, BGMR 152, Jo. J 274, L LS 198, Ls CDG 585, JPS 165, Br. 265 ¶ The adduction of Ar ✓ṭbb 'traiter avec douceur' is valid unless it is a sd. from ✓ṭbb 'be wise' ◇ IS SS 317 [#1.14] (FU, M *tüb 'quiet').

2322. *ṭuH₂ib ▽ 'reed, stick' > HS: S: Ak ṭuḅū '(ε) reed' ¶ Sd. 1393 || ?φ EC (mt.?) *ṭut₁u₁b- 'pole', {Ss.} *ṭutb- 'roofpole' > Sml udub 'pole, pillar, post', Sml N údub 'roofpole, tentpole', Rn {PG} útùb 'curved house pole', Or {Grg.} utubā 'central pole that supports roof beams', Or B/O {Sr.} utubā, Or Wt utuwā 'poles, long thick sticks', Arr {Hw.} ṭutúb 'centre-pole of a house' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 286-7, Grg. 391, Sr. 39, Hw. A 344 || IE: [1] NaIE *t_wīb^h-, *tub^h- 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') > Gk στῦψων 'tube, pipe, siphon (used for drawing wine out of the cask)', 'service-pipe for water in houses', Gk [Hs.] στῦψός · κενός ({P} 'hollow') || L tībia 'pipe, fife, flute; shinbone', tuḅa 'straight war-trumpet', tubus 'pipe, tube', Osc ḅ→ VL *tufa, *tufus 'tube, horn (musical instrument)' > Romance lgs.: It Tr tōf 'Öse', Srd L tuva 'Höhlung im Mühlstein', Port tufo 'Öffnung zum Ablassen des Wassers', Sp Mrg tufo 'end of an axle', It STs tufa, It Sr tōfa, It Ab tōfā 'shepherd's horn', It Np tōfā 'bugle-horn' ¶ L tībia may go back to a merger of IE *t_wīb^h- and IE *(s)teyb^h- 'stalk' (> OCS stьbь id., etc.) ¶ WP I 751, P 1102, WH II 680, 712, F II 713, ML ##8964, 8969 || [2] ?σ NaIE *d^heub^h-/*d^hub^h- 'sharp stick, pin, wedge' > Gk [Hs.] τύψοι · σφῆνες 'wedges' || Gmc: Sw, NNr dūbb 'pin', NGr Trl Turpe 'large piece of wood'; (dim.): OHG tubil 'plug', tubili 'dowel', MHG tübel, MLG dövel 'Dübel, Pflock' (ḅ→ NHG Dübel ~ Döbel 'peg, pin'), MDt dövel 'peg, plug, pin, dowel', NE dowel ¶ P 26, EI 638 ('d^hub^ho-s 'wedge, peg'), F II 950, Hlq. 160, Kb. 1043, OsS 965, Lx. 233, KM 145 || A: M: WrM toibur, HIM {MED} тойвор 'stick, cane, crutch' ({Gl.} 'костыль, клюка, багор') ¶ MED 819, Gl. III 149, Kow. 1582 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} teben, teben moo 'prop, support', {Hr.} teben moo 'Stützholz' (moo is 'tree as timber, log') ¶ STM II 225, Z 722, Hr. 894 || Gil: Gil A t'if 'reed' ¶ ST 381 || ?φ D *tū'pp' ▽ / *tūmp₁ ▽ ({GS} *t-) 'tube, hole' > Kn tūbu 'tube of an ear-ornament' (but Kn tūbu 'nave of a wheel' is a loan from Mrt tūbā id. < OI {Tu.}

*tumba-), Tl $t\bar{u}paramu$ 'hole', Tm $t\bar{u}mpu$ 'tube, sluice, bamboo tube' ¶¶ D #3389, Tu. #5869 ◇ In IE * $t\bar{w}\bar{i}b^h$ - the incompatibility law (rejecting a combination of a vl. stop and a voiced aspirate in the same \check{v}) is infringed, which is probably due to the two-syll. distance between * \check{t} - and *-b- in the N word (and presumably in the Pre-IE root) and possibly to the presence of a cns. between them. But in IE * $d^h\bar{e}y\bar{u}b^h$ - (if it belongs here) the obligatory as. does operate, probably due to a kind of phonetic reduction (in prosodic conditions that were different from those of * $t\bar{w}\bar{i}b^h$ -?) ◇ The short vw. of the first syll. and the long vw. of the second syll. in Ak may be explained if Ak $\check{t}ub\hat{u}$ goes back to * $\check{t}ub\check{v}H\check{v}$ (mt. from N * $\check{t}uH_2ib\check{v}$) ◇ The M vw. * \emptyset for the expected * u is still to be explained.

2323. $_2$ * $\check{t}\bar{a}b\check{v}U$ 'to fill' > A * $\check{t}'e\bar{a}bU$ v. 'load, convey in a carriage; fill' > Tg * $tebu$ - id. > Ewk $t\check{w}(u)$ -, Ewk I tup - ~ $t\check{p}$ - v. 'put into, load, fill, stuff (with sth.)', Lm $t\check{w}(u)$ -, Nn B $t\check{u}$ - v. 'load, fill, stuff', Neg $t\check{w}$ -, $t\check{w}u$ - 'id.', Orc $t\check{w}u$ -, $t\check{u}$ -, Ork $t\check{w}(w)\check{z}$ -, $t\check{u}$ - v. 'load, stuff', Ud $t\check{u}$ - v. 'load, pour in', Ul $t\check{u}\check{c}i$ - v. 'load', WrMc $tebu$ - v. 'load, put a load (on the shoulders, on a carriage), fill (a vessel)' ¶ Ci. 168, STM II 224-5 || M * $te\check{v}e$ - v. 'load; convey, transport' > WrM $tege$ -, $tegege$ -, HIM $\tau\check{a}\check{v}$ - id., MM te_e - [S] v. 'load (on a vehicle)', [HI] 'charrier', Ord $t'\bar{e}$ - v. 'convey, transport; carry (a foetus in one's womb)', Kl $\tau\check{e}$ - $t\bar{e}$ - 'carry, convey\transport', {Rm.} id., v. 'load' ¶ MED 792, H 147, Ms. O 654, Ms. H 100, KRS 489-90, KW 395 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2330 (A * $t'\bar{e}b\check{v}$ 'to put' > Tg * teb -, M * $te\check{v}e$ -) || HS: WS * $\check{t}b\check{v}$ 'fill' > Ar $\check{t}b\check{v} G$ 'emplir, remplir (une mesure, un vase, une outre)', Jb $\check{t}b\check{v} G$ (pf. Jb C $\check{t}\bar{b}\check{v}$, Jb E $\check{t}\bar{e}\check{v}$) v. 'drink more than enough', Jb E $\check{t}b\check{v} Sh$ (pf. $\check{e}\check{t}'ba\check{v}$) 'make so. drink too much milk', $\check{z}\check{z}\check{t}'ba\check{v}$ v. 'drink plenty, too much' (this Jb verb was influenced by $\check{t}b\check{v}$ v. 'drink straight from the source') ¶ BK II 53, Jo. J 274, Jo. M 405 || ? C: Bj {R} - $t\bar{i}b$ pcv. 'fill' (1s: p. $a't\bar{i}b$, prs. $an't\bar{i}b$), - $t\bar{a}b$ 'be full' (1s: p. $a't\bar{a}b$, prs. ' $at\bar{a}bi$ ') ¶ R WBd 220 ◇ In some Tg lgs. there may be infl. of Tg * $t\bar{e}b$ - v. 'put (stellen)' < N * $\check{t}ap\check{v}$ (= * $\check{t}ap\check{v}i$?) 'to put' (q.v.) || An alt. (and less plausible) comparison: N $_2$ * $\check{t}\bar{a}pU$ 'to fill' > A: Tg * $tebu$ - v. 'load, fill' || HS: Bj {R} - $t\bar{a}b$ v. 'be full', - $t\bar{i}b$ v. 'fill', $a't\bar{a}b$ 'full' || S * $\check{t}pp$ v. 'be full' > Ak MA {Sd.} $\check{t}appu$ 'filled (gefüllt)', MHb {Lv.} pp. $\check{t}\bar{a}'p\bar{u}p$ 'full', Ar {BK} $\check{t}ff Sh$ v. 'fill up, remplir entièrement (un vase, la mesure)' ¶ BK II 87, Hv. 433, Lv. II 182-3, Sd. 1379-80 || ? ϕ Ch: Hs $t\acute{u}mf\grave{a}y\acute{e}$ v. 'fill; become full' ¶ Abr. H 898 ¶¶ OS #2481 (* $\check{t}u(m)f$ - 'fill, be full': S, Hs).

2324. ***tub**∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > K ***tba** (< ****t̥wba**?) ~ ***tub**- 'ravine, lake' (× N ***t̥üb**∇ 'deep'??) > OG, G **tba**- 'lake', Lz **toba**-, **tiba**- 'lake, pond', Sv {K} **tub(a)**- 'ravine, lake', Sv {TK}: UB/Ln **tübä**, Ln **t̥äbä**, L **tuba** 'puddle, swamp'; ? Sv {Ni.} **t̥wib** 'river', Sv UB {GP} **t̥wib** 'ravine with a rivulet, runnel', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} **t̥wib** 'ravine, gorge' ¶¶ K 179 and K² 185 (***tba** 'lake'), TK 719-20, GP 260, Ni. s.v. **ρῆκα**, GP 260; GM S 114-5 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic 0 in Zan) ¶¶ The variant ***tub**- is represented in Sv (**t̥wib**- < ***tub**-i), while the variant ***t̥b**- may go back to ***t̥wb**-, like in the √ ***g_Lw_Ls**-/***gus**- v. 'web' (with ***g_Lw_Ls**- > G **ksow**-, *F* K 67) or in other cases of ***CwC** > ***CC** supposed by K: ***k̥wm**- v. 'emit smoke' > G **k̥m**- v. 'burn incense', ***rkwm**- > G **rk**- v. 'cover', ***swm**- > G **sm**- v. 'stroke with the hand, smear', ***t̥izw̃**- > G ***t̥izn**- v. 'lice', ***t̥ik̥w̃**- > G **t̥ik̥n**- v. 'leap', ***warc̥w̃**- > G **varc̥n**- v. 'comb', ***tkwlep**- > G **tklep**- v. 'eat greedily, gobble' || HS: NrOm: BMa {SSW} **t̥wé** 'lake' ¶ SiW ABK 17 || S ***o̥tib**- > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} **t̥ib**- 'fluvius; vadum aquae', {BK} 'fleuve, gué', {Hv.} 'river' ¶ Fr. III 38, BK II 54, Hv. 426 || IE: NaIE ***d̥heub**- ~ (with a nasal infix) ***d̥humb**- 'depression in the ground (filled with water)' (× ***d̥hewb**- 'deep' < N ***t̥üb**∇ id.) > Ilr **δύβρις** 'sea' || MHG **tumpf** 'pool, puddle', OHG **tumpfilo** 'shallow place (Untiefe); whirlpool', MHG **tümpfel** 'deep place in water, Strudel', NHG **Tümpel** 'deep place in water', 'pool of stagnant water', NE lc **dump** 'a deep hole in the bed of a river\pond' || Lt **duburỹs** ~ **dūburỹs**, **dūburas** 'pit, depression filled with water', **dumburỹs** id. ¶ P 267-8, Kb. 1045, OsS 969, Lx. 234, KM 796, OED III 714, ≈ Frn. 108 || U ***to**∇ 'lake, pond' > FU: pPrm {LG} ***t̥u** > Z, Vt **t̥i** 'lake' || pObU {Hl.} ***t̥ōw**|**̥** 'lake' > pVg ***t̥ōw** > Vg T **t̥ō**; pOs ***t̥ō**̥ (>{Hl.} ***t̥ū**̥) id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty **t̥ō**̥, Y/K **t̥ōw**, D **t̥ēw**, Nz **t̥ūw**, O **tuw** id. | Hg **tó** (accus. **ταυατ**) 'lake, pond' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} ***to** 'lake' > Ne T **το**, {Lh.} **tō**, Ne F {Lh.} **tō** ^δ **τοῦ**, En {Ter., Mik.} **to**; ? Ng {Mik.} d. 'turku (< {Jn.} ***to**-**rkā**); Slq Tz {KKIH} **tō**, Slq Tm {KD} **tū**; Kms {KD} **t'ū**, Koyb {Sp.} **το**; Mt {Hl.} ***toh** id. (Mt: K {Pl.} **doh**, {Mil.} **do**, M {Sp.} **τοα**, M/T {Mil.} **το**) ¶¶ UEW 533, Coll. 62, Sm. 540 (U ***to**x̥i 'lake' > FU, FP ***tuxi**, Ugr ***tūgī**, Sm ***to**), MF 635, Ht. #620, LG 292, Jn. 164, KKIH 186, Hl. M #1043 || A: T ***t̥_Luba**, {**ḡADb**.} ***tuba** 'deep lake, deep place in a lake/river' (infl. of N ***t̥üb**∇ 'deep') > Chv **т̥па** **t̥b_a** 'deep place in a river\lake (ομυτ)', MsTt, VTt TYK/TYT, Bsh Δ

t̂b̂a id., 'deep place (пучина, омут)', VTt U t̂b̂a 'deep lake without outlet with steep banks; swampy river-bed that is without water in dry years', Qq tuba 'backwater (заводь)' ¶ Ash. XIV 282, IS MS 336, TTDS 416, BR 529, KrkR 653 ◇ In IE and K this N word coalesced with N *t̂ub̂r̂A 'deep' (because of the merger of N *u and *ū), the meaning 'lake' being interpreted as 'a deep depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where *u and *ū did not merge, the distinction between N *t̂ub̂r̂∇ 'lake; natural depression' and N *t̂ub̂r̂A 'deep' has been preserved (although there is semantic infl. of N *t̂ub̂r̂A on N *t̂ub̂r̂∇) ◇ U *o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained ◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') *t̂ub̂r̂ (?IE *dʰewb/p- 'deep', T *t̂̄uba 'омут', U *tuw̄∇ 'lake', D *tuw̄∇ v. 'dip in', K *t̂̄(u)ba 'deep, lake') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #231 (*to 'lake') (U, J, Ai, Gil).

2325. *t̂ub̂r̂∇ 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, sole of the foot, heel' > HS: EC: Af {PH} d̄ib̄r̄i (pl. d̄íbir̄i), {R} ti'bir̄i, Rn dáddàb 'heel', ? Arr {Hw.} téb 'foot, spoor' ¶ PH 91, R A II 115, Hw. A 396, PG 100 || ? Ch: WCh: DfB {J} tàmbà 'sole (Sohle)', tàmbà ti sakúr 'sole of the foot', Bks {J} tà~bà-i sây 'sole of the foot (with the heel)', tà~bà-i râ 'palm of the hand' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} tàbã, Kwn M {J} taba 'foot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'foot', J R 146, 221, OS #2347 || ?φ Eg NK t̄b̄s 'heel' > DEg t̄b̄s > Cpt: Sd †B̄C t̄ib̄s, B †IB̄C t̄h̄ib̄s id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 ¶¶ OS #2347 (C, Ch) (pHS *tab-/*tib-) || U *top̄r̄a (or *šop̄r̄a) > Sm {Jn.} *top̄ã, {HL.} *topa 'hoof' ('Klaue, Huf') > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Nn T O {Lh.} t̄ōb̄ã, Ne FL {Lh.} t̄ōp̄ã 'Klaue, Huf' | Slq: Tz {KKIH} top̄i, {Cs.} tope 'foot', Nr {Cs.} tob, Ke торра, NP торре 'foot' | Mt K {HL.} *toha|o ({Pl.} tohotò 'hoof') ¶ Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKIИ 185, Cs. 148, 225, Hl. M #1044 || A {SDM97} *t̄'úp̄'o 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail' > NaT {S, SDM95} *t̄'ub̄n̄ak 'hoof' > OT QU [MhK] {Cl.} tuyay, MU tuynaq, MQp tuyaq ~ tuynaq, XwT tuynaq ~ tunyaq, Chg tuway, Osm XIV-XVI duynaq ~ tuynaq ~ diynaq ~ tiynaq, Tk toynak ~ duynak, Tkm toynaq, Chg {Rl., Bu.} تواغ tuyay, {Bu.} توياق tuynaq ~ توياف t̄'u'yaq, ET {BN, Jr.} tuvaq, {Rl.} توواق tuvaq, {Nj.} توياف tuyaq, Δ توواق tuvaq, ET Δ {KtmM} tubaq, ET Kc {LCq} tuwāq, Uz тўёқ tuyaq, VTt, Bsh t̄b̄yaq, Qry, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg tuyaq, Qzq t̄b̄yaq, StAlt туйгак tuyaq, QK (B, Rl.), Sg {Rl.}, Qc {Rl.}, Qb {Rl.} tuyaq, Xk туйгак tuyay, SY {Ml.} tuyay ~ tuyuy- ~ tuyū, Tv дуюг d̄uyuy, Yk {Pek.} туйгак tuŷay ¶ Cl. 519, Rs. W 499-

500, ≈ TL 147 (adduces a misquoted Slr "c'inaϣ" for c'irnaχ that does not belong here, *see* Tn. S 305), S AJ 179, TrR 252, 868, Rl. III 1424, 1435, BIG 239, B DLT 209, BT 157, BN 58, Nj. 340, RUjS 508, Jr. 317, Mng. G 808, Ml. ZhU 124, 128, Bu. I 410 ¶ The rec. of *-b- in *t'ubnák is suggested by ET tubaq & tuvaq & tuwāq and by Chg {Rl., Bu.} تواغ. But ADb. (TL 147) reconstructs the pT √ as *t'uyḡak || ppM **tuβ'ur > pM tuϣur 'hoof' (× N *t'VP_RV ~ *t'V_RP_V '∈ part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *ot'ü'pa 'fingernail' > Orc tipa id.; ⇨ Tg *tüp-ken 'nail (clavis)' > Ewk tipkən 'wooden nail, peg', Sln tikkēsũ, {Iv.} тeбкo'cyн, Lm tipkin & tipkən & tipkir 'wooden nail; stake (кол)', Neg tipkən, Orc tippə (< *tipkən), Nn Nh tukpẽ, Nn KU tipkã, Nn B tufkə(n-), Ork tukpə/-n- ~ tupkə/-n- 'nail (clavis)', Ud tikpə / tikpən-, Ul tukpə / tukpən- 'nail, peg' ¶ STM II 185-6 || pKo {S} *tòph 'fingernail' > MKo tòph, Ko Chj t'hop id., Ko Ph/PhN/Kw (and StNKo) son-t'hop, Chs Lson L'thop, Ks/SI son t'hóp, Hm sôn t'hop 'fingernail' (lit. 'hand nail', because son means 'hand') ¶ S AJ 252 [#13], S QK #13, Nam 459, MLC 1708 || ?φ pJ {S} *túmá-j 'fingernail, claw' > OJ túmé, J: T cùme, K/Kg cúme, Ns čìimí, Sh čìimì, Ht s̀̀_ì, Y m̀̀mí ¶ S AJ 268 [#93], S QJ #93, Mr. 555 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'úp'o 'nail, hoof', DQA #2404 (A *t'jũp'o 'nail [ноготь], hoof'), S AJ 278 [#87] (A *t'up'∇) ◊ The nasal element in J and WCh defies explanation so far. Altaic *-p'- may well go back either to N *-p- or to *-P̣-, but N *-P̣- (namely *-ḅ-) is more plausible in the light of Ch data ◊ Gr. II #65 (*topa 'claw') (U, A, incl. Ko, J).

2326. *t'übɣA 'deep' > K *t'ba 'deep' > Mg t'oba-, t'obo- 'deep', (× N *t'übɣ∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water'): Sv UB t'wib & {K} t'ub(a)- 'ravine' (ffd. *see* s.v. N *t'übɣ∇) ¶¶ K 179 (*t'ba 'lake'), GM S 114-5 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic 0 in Mg), TK 720, GP 260 || HS: S *√ t'bɣ v. 'sink deep, be drowned' (× N *t'a'pɣ'∇ 'plunge, immerse', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *d'heyb- 'deep', with a nasal infix: *d'hub- 'Erdvertiefung' (× N *t'übɣ∇ '↑') > Gt diups, ON djúpr, AS déop, NE deep, OSx diop, OHG tiof, NHG tief 'deep'; Gt daupjan, OSx dôpjan, OHG toufen, NHG taufen 'to baptize', ON deyfa, AS diepan 'to dip, to baptize', dyppan id. (> NE dip), ON deypa, dýfa, dúfa, AS dýfan 'to dip', NE dive; MHG tobel, NHG Tobel 'wooded gorge, ravine, gully' || OIr {Thr.} domuin, W d̄wfn, Crn down, MBr {Em.} down, Br deun 'deep' (< *dhubni-) || Lt dubus

'hollow, concave', Ltv *dôbjš* 'hollow, deep', Lt *dùbti* (prs. *dumbù*) 'to become hollow\unken; to stick, to sink', Ltv *dùbt* vi. 'to sink, to be hollowed out, to become hollow' | Sl **dъ'no* 'bottom (of river\sea\lake, of vessel)' (< **dhub-no-*) > OCS **ДЪНО** *дъно*, Blg **дъно**, SCr *днò*, Slv *днò*, Cz, Slk, P *дно*, R, Uk **дно** id. ¶ P 267-8, H 154 (**dhub-* 'deep'), Fs. 121, Vr. 76, 78, 87, Kb. 1019, 1024-5, OsS 939, 942, 947, Lx. 227, Ho. 72-3, 79, 81-2, Ho. S 13, Thr. § 190, LP § 48, YGM-1 197, Ern. 195, Hm. 153, Frn. 108-9, Kar. I 222-3, 234-5; ESSJ V 174 and Glh. 201-2 (in both: Sl **dъbno* with unj. [for the pSl level] rec. of **b*) || **U**: FU **tüwä* 'deep' > F *сүвä* 'deep', Es **Δ** *сүва* *сүвä*, ? Es *сүгав* 'deep, depth', Lv *t3va*, Lv W *tiva*, *tüva* 'tief, weit nach innen' | pLp {Lr.} **t3vē* 'deep; the water far out, deep water' > Lp: N {N} *дâvve* -v- id., 'the deep of the river or fjord', U {Schl.} *дi v v è*-, I {It.} *ta v v e* 'die Meerestiefe, das tiefe Meer', Pa {TI} *tə'v v*, T {TI} *ta v v e*, Kld {TI} *tə'v v (ə)*, K {Gn.} *tə i v v* [*t3'v v*] 'open water surface, esp. deep sea', S {Hs.} d. *дy v v 'e n e* 'draußen in einem Fjord' || ?? Chr *tü-*, *tüyū-* 'outside' ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU **tiwä*, FP **tīvä*, Ugr **tīgä* 'calm, deep') (UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this *v* and FU **tüw∇* 'calm, quiet' < N **tüb∇* [or **tubE*] 'calm, quiet, [?] even', q.v.), Kt. 416, Lr. #1216, Lgc. ##7677, 7877a, Hs. 475-6, TI 578 || **A** {S} **tūp'∇* > NaT **tūp* 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), bottom, root' > OT *tūp*, Tk *dip/dib-* id., VTt, Bsh *tōp*, StAlt *tūp* 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel), root', ET *tūp* 'bottom, root, under', Tkm *dūjp*, Az *dib*, Ggz *dip*, Tv *dūp*, Xk *tūp* id., 'bottom (of a river/lake/vessel)', Qrg, SY *tūp* 'bottom (дно, низ)', Tf *dūp* 'bottom (of a vessel/river)', Chv *təp* *с* *tāp* id., 'root' ¶ Cl. 434-5, Ra.178, Rs. W 505, TL 108-9, ET VGD 317-9, Md. 65, Dr. TM II 652ff., Tkr 191, Hüs. 106, Ml. ZhU 127, BN 159, Nj. 326-7, BT 162, S AJ 194 [#207], ADb. Ttd 54 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#316], ≠ SDM95 s.v. **tūb^ri* 'end, edge' (includes T **tūp* 'bottom', cp. N **tō^rp¹æ* 'head, top') ◇ In many lgs. (IE, K) the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N **tub∇* 'lake; natural depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where N **u* and **ü* did not coalesce, the distinction between N **tüb∇A* 'deep' and N **tub∇* '↑' has been preserved. In IE (Gmc and Blt) the reflexes of this N word may have been semantically unfluenced by the paronymous reflexes of N **t'a^rp^r∇* 'plunge, immerse'. In pA there is mte. from the initial cns. to the word-medial one. In IE the cns. **d^h-* for the expected **t-* may be due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emph. vl. + vd. cns. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]). The

length of the vw. in T is due to the presence of an additional cns. (N *ʕ)
 ◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') *ʕubʌ (?IE, T, U *tuw∇
 'lake', D *tu∇∇ v. 'dip in', K *ʕ(u)ba 'deep, lake'), S AJ 289 (A, IE).

2327. ? ʕ *ʕäbHa or *ʕabHE 'trample, kick, crumple, press' > HS: B
 *o✓tbb (× N *ʕa'p'E 'squeeze, press') > Ah atbab 'se serrer dans ses
 vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || C: SC: ?? Alg {E}
 çoboʔot- v. 'melt', C ʔ → Mb -síbi v. 'wring' (× N *ʕa'p'E '↑') ¶ ESC 176
 (equates Alg, Mb, and DhI; reconstructs SC *ʕūb- v. 'squeeze out') || IE
 {EI} *depH- > NaIE *depʰ- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N *dap_L∇_Lʕ∇
 ~ *daʕop∇ 'push' [q.v.]) > Arm unḥtuḥ topʰem 'I strike' || Gk δέφω
 vt. 'soften by working with the hand (kneten, walken)' || SI *děb- (inf.:
 {ESSJ} děbati, 1s prs. děbq) v. 'strike' > Cz děbati 'to strike, to lash', R
 Ps дябать 'to break', SCr † dèpīm / dèpiti (ip. dépati) v.
 'strike'; ? SI *deptati > P deptač 'to tread upon, Cz deptati id., 'to
 oppress' ¶ IE *d- rather than *t- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law
 (ruling out roots with emph. + vd. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]) ¶ WP I 786, P
 203, EI 550 (*depH- 'strike'), Sl. 389, Tls. 85, FI 37, SPS III 159, Brü.
 87, ESSJ IV 225 || U ʕ *tapp∇ v. 'trample', 'strike with one's foot' (× N
 *ʕab_L∇_Lqa 'hit, strike' × N *dap_L∇_Lʕ∇ ~ *daʕop∇ 'push' × N *ʕa'p'E
 'squeeze, press') > pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk tapa- 'zertreten, niedertreten' ||
 Prm ʕ *tap- 'trample, press; flap (хлопнуть)' > Z ʕ tapki- 'flap', 'strike
 with one's hoof' (of a horse), 'walk slowly', tapʕav-ni 'walk with soft
 quiet steps', Vt ʕ tapir̄ti- 'stamp one's feet' || Hg ʕ tapos- 'tread
 (on/down), trample', tapod- 'treten, zertreten' || Sm: Ne T ʕ tāpār-
 v. 'kick, push with one's foot', Ne O {Lh.} tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten,
 stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} tappal- 'kick, strike with the foot (пнуть,
 лягнуть)', {Erl.} tapir- 'mit dem Fuß stoßen', Slq {Cs.}: B taper-, Ke
 tāber-, Nr tabar- 'stoßen' ¶¶ UEW 509, MF 613-4, LG 278, TmK 671,
 Ker. II 164, Lh. 449, KKH 179, Erl. 251, Ter. 509, Cs. 146, 286 || A ʕ
 *t'äp'∇ (~ *t'äp'∇?) > T *t'äp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N *ʕab_L∇_Lqa '↑')
 > OT täp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap', MT XIV [IM] dāp-, Tkm dāp-, dāpin-, Tk
 tēp- v. 'kick' (of horses)', Osm {RI.}, Chg {RI.} dāp- 'mit Füßen treten,
 ausschlagen (von Pferden)', Ggz tēp- 'kick, strike with the feet', Az täp-
 v. 'stop up; felt (valenki, felt boots)', täpik 'a kick (пинок)' (*t' > Tkm
 d- in *C∇p-roots, F ADb. Ttd 54), XT dēp-, Qzq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt tēp-, StXk
 tēp-/-b- tēp-/-b-, Sg tip-/-b- tip-/-b-, VTt, Bsh tēp-/-b-, ET täp-,
 Tv t'ēp- / t'ēv-er, Tf t'ēp'-, Yk täp- v. 'kick' ('пинать, лягать'), Chv

тап- tap/b_- v. 'kick, push' ¶ IS AD 43 [#8] (mentions a Tv variant *dēv-, not confirmed by Tv dictionaries), Cl. 435, TrR 850, Rl. III 1108-9, 1687, TL 394, TvR 409, Ra. 234, Jeg. 230, ADb. Ttd 55-6, BIG 223, 225, Fed. II 171-2 || M *teyire- > WrM teire-, НИМ тэйрэ-х v. 'kick with the hind legs, kick back', Ord {Ms.} t'īr- 'kick with the hind leg', Kl {Rm.} tīr- id., {KRS} тиир- tīr- id., 'kick with the foot' (пинать, лягаться)', Brt тиирэ- 'trample the ground (утаптывать)']? M {DQA} *°tübü- > WrM tüber- v. 'stamp the feet, trample underfoot' ¶ MED 797, 848, Ms. O 662, KRS 498, KW 396 (Kl tīr- < *tewire-), Chr, 422 || Tg *°tebb- (or *°tepp-?) > Lm təbək- 'press\squeeze (sth. juicy)'; ♪ Tg *tepte- 'trample down' > Ewk təptə- id., Nn təpətə- 'dance' (n.), ? Lm təpsəŋnī- 'trample ground on the same place, mark time' ¶ STM II 224 ¶¶ IS AD 50, Pp. AU 100 ¶¶ M *tübEr- v. 'stamp the feet, trample under foot', Tg *tūb- v. 'step, trample' (> Ewk tūw-, Lm tō- id., Neg tūasan 'track'), and pJ *túmpú- 'trample, destroy' (> J T cūbu-s- id., ItOJ túbúra-, J T cūbu 'be trampled, destroyed', F...S QJ #1197, Mr. 772) may either belong to a different etymon or have a labialized vw. due to the infl. of the labial cns. ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2390 (A *t'jǝp'e 'trample' > T, M, J) || ? ♪ D *tapp- ({ǝAD} *dabb-) v. 'strike, beat' (× N *t̪ab_∇,qa 'hit, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ *a in U *tapp∇ is probably due to vowel harmony (N *-ä...a > U *a...∇). One of two possible pN reconstructions is *t̪abHE (suggesting that A *ä is due to regr. as.: *-a...E > A *ä...∇) ◇ The et. is qu. because such onomatopoeic words and roots may have originated independently in different descendant families and subfamilies. M *d- (for *t-) in *debse- is still to be explained (as.?).

2327a. *t̪ab_∇,qa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'kill') > HS: S *✓t̪bχ v. 'slaughter' (→ v. 'cook') > Ak ✓t̪bχ (inf. t̪abāχu), BHb ✓t̪bħ G v. 'slaughter, slay, kill off', Ug ✓t̪bχ 'sacrificar, degollar', JA {Trg.} ✓t̪bħ v. D, JEA ✓t̪bħ v. G 'slaughter, slay', Sr ✓t̪bħ G 'slay, strike', Pun, OA d. t̪bħ 'butcher, cook', Ar طبخ ✓t̪bχ v. G 'cook', Gz ✓t̪bħ G (pf. 𐎎-𐎏𐎗 t̪abħa, js. 𐎎𐎗𐎏𐎗 ɣəṭbāħ [ɣəṭbaħ]) v. 'slaughter, slay, kill', Tgr/Tgy ✓t̪bħ G 'strip off the skin', Sb d. t̪bχ 'meat', Hrs ✓t̪bχ (pf. t̪əbōχ) v. 'cook\boil', Mh ✓t̪bχ (pf. t̪awbəχ) v. 'cook', 'make a mark' (← *'slaughter, sacrifice', cp. Gz Sh ʔəṭbāħa v. 'make an incision, sacrifice'), Jb ✓t̪bχ (Jb E pf. t̪ōχ, Jb C pf. t̪ēχ v. 'wrap edible corms in cow pats and bake'), Jb C t̪əb'χun 'baked' ¶ Sd. 1235-6, A #1111, OLS 479, HJ I 419, KB 352-3, KBR 368, HJ 419, Lv. T I 293, Js.

516, Sl. 492-3, ≈ Br. 267, JPS 166, BK II 52, Jo. M 406, Jo. J 274, L G 585-6, LH 615 ¶ EthS *ħ for the expected *χ has not been explained (a loanword from a ħ-lge.?) || U: FV *tappa- v. 'strike' (→ v. 'kill') (× N *dap_l∇,ϑ∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'push' × U √ *tapp∇ v. 'trample' < N ? √ *täbHa or *tabHE 'trample, kick, crumple, press') > F tappa-, Es tapā- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk {Ps.} tapā- v. 'strike and wound (or leave a mark)', {KC, PI, ERV} тапа- v. 'break, defeat (the enemy)', Mk {Ahl.} tapā- 'schlagen, prügeln' | ? √ Chr tap_t-aš 'forge (ковать, отбивать)' ¶ UEW 509-10, Ker. II 164, KC 299, PI 266, ERV 645 || A √ *t'äp'∇ (~ *täp'∇?) > T *t'äp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N ? √ *t'ä'bHa '↑', q.v. ffd) || D *tapp-, {ǾAD} **dabb- (?) (< **tapH-) (× N ? √ *täbHa or *tabHE '↑') > Tm tappa v. 'strike, kill', tappaḯ 'a blow', Kn dabbe, debbe, ḍabbe, ḍebbe 'a blow, stroke', Tl debba id., dabbadincū v. 'slap', Prj tapp- v. 'strike, kill', Knd tap- v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D #3075 || ?? K: GZ *tkwep-/*tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *dûk'U' 'strike, beat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The cns. *k for the expected *χ and the unexpected labialization (*w) may be due to the heritage of N *dûk'U' ◇ IS MS 330 and IS SS #1.10 (both: √ *t'ap'∇ v. 'beat': IE *tep- 'beat\tread', A *t'ap∇ v. 'beat\tread' [T, Tg], U *tappa v. 'beat with feet, tread', D *tapp- v. 'beat', K *t'kēp-/*t'kēb- v. 'trample', HS *t'p- v. 'beat, break, trample'), → BmK 318-9 (*t'ab-/*t'əb-: S, U, D). In my opinion, we may distinguish here between several N words: *tab_l∇,qa 'hit\strike', √ *t'a'p'∇ 'hit (the target)', *dap_l∇,ϑ∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'push', (?) √ *t'ä'bHa 'trample, kick, crumple, press', and *t'a'p'E 'squeeze, press'. In the descendant lgs. the roots going back to these words influenced each other, sometimes contaminated and merged. Ideophonic associations could also play a role. U *-pp- < *-bH- (H is a vl. lr.) < N *-b_l∇,q-.

2328. ?φ₂ *t'∇b∇^L∇ 'dip in, immerse' > K: G t'bor- 'unter Wasser setzen' ¶ Chx. 1332 || HS: WS *√t'bl v. 'dip in' > BHb √t'bl G (ip. -t'bol) v. 'dip into (a liquid), dive, plunge into', JA [Trg.] √t'bl G 'dip into, bathe', JEA √t'bl G vi. 'immerse oneself for ritual purification', vt. 'dip food', Ar {KB} muṭabbal- 'feucht' (not found in the available dictionaries of Classical Ar), Gz √t'bl G v. 'wash with holy water', ṭabal 'holy water, baptismal water', ? Mh mət'ḅəḅlōt 'hot stones put under and on to dough in a glowing fire' (← *'hot stones put into water to heat it

and to cook food in it') ¶ KB 353, KBR 369, BDB #2881, Lv. T I 293, Js. 517, Sl. 493, L G 586, Jo. M 406 ◇ K *r < *'L' still needs investigating.

2329. ₂ *t̥uH'c'∇ ~ *d̥uHĉ∇ 'glide, slip' > HS: WS *√t̥Hs|ç id. > Mh, Hrs √t̥hs G, Jb E √t̥hs G v. 'slip, stumble', Jb C Sh e't̥hes ~ e't̥hes v. 'slip', Ar Y {Goit.} t̥uħuṣ 'schlüpfrig'; WS *√dXš|ç > Ar √d̥ħṣ G 'glisser, trébucher dans un terrain glissant', Sq {L} √d̥ħṣ (= √d̥ħš) 'glisser, trébucher, s'égarer', Gz √d̥ħš G v. 'slip', Jb: E 'daħaš, C 'mud'ħaš 'slippery place' ¶ Jo. M 408, L G 128, LLS 125, BK I 675, Goit. 38 || D {Pf.} *tuĉ-∇k- v. 'slip, slide' > Tl d̥usuk̥u v. 'slip, slide (as a tied knot, sth. hold in hand, foot in clay, etc.)', d̥usiki(l)lu v. 'slip, slide', Krx tus(ə)ḡ- v. 'loosed threads that are knit' ¶¶ D #3288, Pf. 74 [#454], Km. 403 [#667].

2330. ≈ *t̥äwod∇ 'be full' > U: FU *t̥äwðe 'full', v. 'fill' > F t̥äysi (gen. t̥äyden) 'full, filled, whole', Es t̥äis (gen. t̥äie) 'full, filled' | pL {Lr.} *t̥ēvt̥ē v. 'fill' > Lp N {N} d̥æw'de-/-wd-, Lp S {Hs.} dievt̥edh, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d̥t̥əw|t̥ə-, Lp L {LLO} teu't̥ēt id., Lp Kld t̥jēV:deð id., t̥īvt̥, t̥ivt̥ 'full' | StChr L тич, Chr U/B/M tić 'full' | Prm: Vt дол-дол, долак 'everybody, everything, (as a) whole', Prmk d̥ōl 'all, everybody, everything', Z Δ d̥əla 'very, completely' (Z Δ {Glv.} d̥əla kuš 'stark naked' [kuš is 'naked'], d̥əla bi 'very hot' [bi is 'fire, heat'] → Z d̥əla bi-зн 'blazing') || ObU *t̥ēɣal 'full' > pVg *t̥āɣal > Vg: T t̥āw|, LK t̥ōɣlə, MK/UK t̥āɣlə, P taɣla, NV t̥āwla, LL taɣl, UL/Ss t̥āɣl id.; pOs *tel ({HI.} *t̥āl) > Os: Vy/O tel, Ty t̥āɣ, K/Nz tit, Kz teɣ id. | Hg tele, teli 'full, filled' ¶ UEW 518, Coll. 119, Sm. 550-1 (FU *t̥äw'dä, FP *t̥äv'dä, Ugr *t̥äg'dä 'fill'), ≈ Lr. #1249 (Lp ← F), SZ 113, ≈ TmK 209, MF 626-7, Ht. #622, Lr. #1249 (Lp ← F), Lgc. #4821, Hs. 435 || A (*t'od∇?): T *t'od-, {Adb.} *toð- v. 'be full, be sated' > OT toð- id. ({Cl.} t̥ōð- without proof of the length), Tk d̥oy-, Tkm, Az, XT d̥oy- 'be(come) sated', SY toz-, Qzq, Qrg, Qq, Nog toy-, VTt, Uz tuy-, Tv тод-ар t'od-ar, {Adb.} t'ōt-, Tf {Ra.} d̥ɔt-, {Adb.} d̥j̥t- id., Yk tot 'full (sated)', tot- 'be full (sated)'; T {Md.} *toð-gun- > OT [MhK] toðɣun-, Tkm doyan-, Chv L t̥bran-, Chv H t̥bran- 'eat one's fill' ¶ Cl. 451, Rs. W 483, TrR 244, Jeg. 238, Md. 43, 179, Ra. 147, ADb. Ttd 52 [#17], Fed. II 195-6 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory (ADb. Ttd 50-2), in roots with intervoc. voiced obstruent the opposition *t̥ ↔ *t' is neutralized || M *todsun (ADb.: < **t'od-sun) n. 'fat (as food), butter' (← *'sating') > Mnr H {SM} t'ōzə 'butter', MM tosun [S, MA, IM] 'butter', [HI] 'fat, oil', [IsV] 'fat (graisse)', WrM

tosun, HIM τος 'fat, butter, oil, tallow', KI tosŋ 'fat, oil', MMgl tusun 'oil, grease', Mgl {Rm.} tusun 'Fett, Speck' ¶ MED 828, KW 403, Rm. M 40, H 152, Pp. MA 351, 448, Ms. H 102, SM 422, T 365, Iw. 139, Lg. VMI 69 ¶¶ KW 403, ADb. Ttd 52 || **K** {K} *t̥ten- (< **t̥d-en- < **t̥wd-en-) v. 'fill, stuff, pack (tight) with' > OG, G t̥en- id., Mg t̥it̥in- v. 'stuff tight', Sv: {K} t̥t̥a₁n-/t̥a₁t̥a₁n- 'fill to the brim', L {Dn.} t̥a₁t̥a₁n- (msd. li-t̥t̥a₁n-e, 1s aor. oχ-t̥a₁t̥a₁n) id.; L li-t̥a₁n-t̥ēle msd. 'to fill' ¶¶ K 183, K² 186 (*t̥en-), FS 292-3, FS E 325-6 (*t̥en-), Dn. s.v. t̥a₁t̥a₁n- and t̥an-t̥ēl- || **D** (in SD) *tav- ({ʒGS} *t-) 'much' > Tm tava 'much, intensely', Kn tave 'abundantly, wholly, completely', Td tof +n- v. 'be perfect' ¶ D #3106 ¶¶ The D cognate is valid only if the pre-D cluster **-wd- (< N *-wod-) yields D *-v- || ?σ IE *teyt- 'the whole, everybody, people' (> L tōtus 'the whole, entire', etc.) (× N *tuṭE 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' [q.v. ffd.]) || **Gil**: Gil A tata- d_{ad}a- 'all, whole, full' ¶¶ ST 344-5 ◇ BmK 289 (U, D + erroneously IE {P} tēw-/tewə- v. 'swell' and Eg tω₃.t 'swellings'); ≠ Resh. NNE #11 (phonetically unj. comparison of FU *täwδe 'full' with A {DQA} *tāí▽, see N *dalqa|U 'wave') ◇ In IE the consonants *t...t- instead of the expected *t-...d^h- are a contribution of N *tuṭE.

2331. *t̥ogæ 'dust, earth' > HS: C: Dhl {To.} t̥ugg^ωa, {EEN} t̥'ugg^ωa, {E} t̥'ògg^ωa 'smoke' || Ag: Xm {BSW} 't̥iya 'smoke' ¶ E 228 compares the Dhl word (believing that Dhl belongs to SC) with Kz selemuko 'smoke' (< earlier {E} *sog^ωalem) and reconstructs SC *t̥^ʷog^ωa 'smoke' ¶ E SC 228 (SC *t̥^ʷog^ωa 'smoke'), EEN 17 (believing that the SC word is a loan from Khoisan), To. D 148, Blz. CL 180, BSW KhWL 77 || S: Ar ديجور dayğūr- 'earth, dust' ¶ Fr. II 8, BK I 671, ≠ Ln. 853 (supposes that Ar dayğūr- 'earth, dust' is a sd. from dayğūr- 'darkness') ¶ Ar d- for the expected t̥- is due to the incompatibility of initial *t̥- and medial *-g- in S roots (similar to the known IE incompatibility law) || ?? Ch (× N *tuṬâ 'earth [substance], mud, dust'): WCh: Hs t̥òkǎ 'ashes' || Tng duka id., 'potash, salt' ¶ Abr. H 868, J T 81, ≈ Sk. HCD 258 || **IE** *d^heg^hōm / *d^heg^hem- 'earth' > NaIE: OI kṣam- (nom. kṣāḥ, accus. kṣām, gen./abl. gmaḥ ~ jmaḥ, instr. jmā), Av zam- (nom. zā, gen. zām-ō, accus. zām) id., NPrs زمین zāmīn id., 'ground' || Gk χθών 'earth', χαμαί 'on the earth' || pAl {O} *zō 'earth, land' > MAI G {FB} {ee [δē]}, StAl T/G dhe, Al {Huld}: D/P δē, Be/Ç/Ba/F δε || L humus 'earth

(soil)' || OIr *dú* (gen. *don*) 'place, spot' || Pru *semme* ~ *same* ({En.}: [*zemē*]) 'earth'), Lt *žėmė*, Ltv *zeme* 'earth, land' || Sl **zemja* 'earth, land' > OCS **ЗЕМЛЯ** *zemlja*, Blg *земя*, SCr *zěmlja*, Slv *zémľja*, Cz *země*, Slk *zem*, P *ziemia*, R, Uk *земля* id. || Phr Gdan Ma 'Mother Earth' || pTc {Ad.} **tken* > Tc: A *tkam̃*, B *kem̃* 'earth, ground' || AnIE (× N **tuKâ* '†' [q.v.]) Ht *tekan* / gen. *taknas* 'earth', loc. *tagan* (= {GI} [*tkan*]), abl. *tagnaza*, Lw *tiyam(m)i-* 'earth', HrLw {Ts.} *takmi* 'earth, land' (dat. *takami* 'to the earth') ¶¶ ≠ P 414-6 (**ġ^hdem-*), EI 174 (**d^heġ^hō-m* 'earth'), M K I 288, 448, M E I 424-5, Bai. 346, F I 1098-9, WH I 664, LP § 28, Frn. 1299, En. 245-6, Glh. 695, Vs. II 93, Wn. 506-7, Ad. H 35, 42, Ad. 192, Huld 57-8 (pAl **dē*; refers Al to IE **d^hoyġ^hā* 'that which is molded, daub'), O 80-1; Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-150 (analysis of phonetic changes); ABiv. II 133-7, Mlc. CL 230-1, Ivn. SA 153, Ts. E III 292-300 ¶¶ **d^h-* (for the expected **t-*) is due to regr. as. and to the incompatibility law that rules out roots with voiceless stops + voiced aspirates || A **t^og∇* 'dust, clay' > NaT {†ADb.} **tog-* 'dust' > OT *tōṽ* ({Cl.} *tōṽ*), Chg {VZ, Rl. → Rs.} **توغ** *tōṽ* 'dust', ET Δ {Nj.} *tōṽ* 'dust', {Jr.} *tōṽ* 'dirt which as the result of a dust-storm gathers on leaves' ¶ Rs. W 483, Cl. 463, Nj. 316, Jr. 309, Rl. III 1158 ¶ Acc. to A. Dybo's theory, in stems with intervocalic voiced obstruents the opposition **t^o-* ↔ **t^h-* is neutralized || M **to^ou-sun* 'dust' > MM [S, HI] *to_osun*, WrM *toġusun*, HIM *тоос*, Brt *tōhon*, Kl *tōsŋ* 'dust', Dg {Pp.} *tōs*, {Mrm.} *тоос* id., {Mr.} *tuāse* 'dust, dirt' ¶ MED 818, H 151, Ms. H 101, KW 405, Klz. D II 138, Mr. D 226 || Tg ≈ **toaksa* 'clay' (with a sx. **-ksa* for uncountable nouns) > Ewk, Neg *tāksa*, Lm *tās*, Ud *takeä*, Ul *toaqsa* ~ *tuaqsa*, Ork *tōqso*, Nn Nh/KU *toaqsa* id. ¶ STM II 154]?σ Tg **tyg-* 'cloud' > WrMc *tuġi*, Jrc, Ewk A/Tkm *tuṣu*, Lm *tōṣri*, Ud *tokò* 'cloud'; ≈ **tyg∇-kse* id. > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh *təwəksə*, Nn B *tuəksə*, Ewk *tūksu*, Sln *tukcu* id., Ork *təwəwəwə* 'cloudy' ¶ STM II 208 ¶¶ STM II 154 (Tg, M).

2332. (₂?) **tōg∇* 'straight' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'true') > HS: EC **dug-* 'true' > Or {Grg., Sr.} *ḍugā* 'true, right', Arr {Hw.} *ḍúgga*, Dsn *ḍû*, Kns *ḍuk-āta*, Gdl, Gln *ḍuka* 'truth', Brj *ḍuh-a-kka/-tta* 'certain' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, Ss. B 66, Bl. 217, Hw. A 357, Grg. 130, Sr. 299, AMS 198, To. DL 495 || A **t^og∇* > NaT {†ADb.} **tog-* (**t-* = neutralized archiphoneme **t^o/t^h-*) > OT *tōṽ-* v. 'go straight for (sth.)', *tōṽur-* v. 'be upright, straight', *tōṽuru* 'straight', Tk *doğru*, Tkm *doṽri* id., Az *doṽru* 'true',

Chg toϥρι 'opposite', Cmn toϥru 'straight', tuvra 'even', Qzq tūra 'straight', VTt turъ id., 'true' ¶ Cl. 465, 472-3, Rs. W 484, Hüs. 111, DHST 305, Grøn. 247, 258 || ?? Tg *toηdo (or *toηno) 'straight' > Neg toηno, Sln tondōxō, {Iv.} τoηδό, Ork, Nn Nh toηdo, Nn KU toηno, WrMc tondō 'straight; just, honourable', Ewk toηno id., 'faithful, loyal', Orc toηno(n-), Ud X/B {STM} tōηdo 'straight', Ud B {Shn., Krm.} toηdo 'a hit' (of hitting the target), Jrc {Kiy.} tondo 'loyal' ¶ STM II 197-8, Krm. 296, Kiy. 119 [#407] ¶ If the pTg form is *toηno, it may go back to **tog-no || ? IE: NaIE *deks- 'fortunate; right (dexter)' (< **deǵh-s-? × <d- IE *dek- v. 'suit, be fit' < N *tAǵæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v. ffd.) ◇ In IE *deks- the cons. *d- is accounted for by *t- in N *tAǵæ and by the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ (whence IE **d...ǵh is for *t...ǵh).

2333. *tægwǵ 'swell, be(come) thick\large\strong', ? 'fat; become fat' > HS: CS *√tǵtǵ, *√tǵw v. 'swell' > Sr {Br.} √tǵtǵ id. ('tumere'), Ar √tǵw G ~ √tǵy G 'dépasser la mesure, être trop grand, très haut', 'déborder' (se dit d'un torrent, d'une fleuve); ?σ S *o-tǵ'ǵ' > Gz √tǵy G (pf. tēfa) 'besmear, anoint' [< *'besmear with fat']? (× N *teqǵ 'to smear, to rub') ¶ Br. 283, Fr. III 58, BK II 86, ≈ LG 600 || ? Ch (× N *teqǵ 'to smear, to rub', [in HS: → 'fat, marrow'] [q.v.]?): ECh: Kwn {JI} dāwé 'fat' (n.) ||| WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} dūgɿ id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC ||| IE *tehw-/*twoh-/*thǵ- > NaIE *tēw-/*taǵ-/*twō-/*tū- ≈ big, strong' > OI tavī-ti 'is strong, has authority' (pfc. tūtava), tavas- 'strong, powerful; strength', Av tav- 'be capable of' (pfc. tūtava), tavah- 'strength, power', OPrs atāvayam 'ich vermochte', u-tava- 'strong' ||| Arm Թիւ t^hiω 'number' ||| Gk [Hs.] ταύς · μέγας, πολύς ('big, numerous') ||| L *tovē- v. 'stuff' ⇨ tōmentum 'stuffing (of a pillow, mattress)' ||| Sl: RChS ТЫТН tǵ-ti (1s prs. ТЫЮ tǵj-у) 'to be fat', SCr tōv n. 'fattening' ⇨ Sl *tovǵiti > SCr tōviti 'to fatten' ¶ P 490-1, ≈σ EI 560-1 (*teǵhǵ- 'swell [with power], grow fat'), M K I 490-1, M E I 638-9, F II 861, WH II 689, Glh. 634, Jah. OSK 30, 111 ||| A: M *tebeǵe- ⇨ *tebeǵe-re > WrM tebegere, HIM тэвээр 'fatness, plumpness', WrM tebegere-, HIM тэвээр- v. 'become vigorous, regain one's health\strength, become plentiful\abundant', Kl tewēr- 'stark, kräftig werden', Brt тэбээр- 'become well-fed, fat' (of cattle), Ord t'ewēre- 'redevenir vigoureux'; Brt W тэбээл tebēl 'fatness (of cattle)' ¶ MED 790, KW 395, Chr. 451, Ms. O 662 || ? T {ǵADb.}

*^oto_bu_r- v. 'be large\big' > OT [MhK] tovur 'large', tovra- v. 'become big', Tk d. dobur-cuk 'rain with large drops' ¶ Cl. 444, TL 26, THDS IV 1534 ◇ If T *^oto_bu_r- belongs here, its vw. *^o is due to ass. infl. of *b and possibly of *u of the next syll. ◇ ≠ BmK 289 (an attempt to equate the IE √ and Eg tω₃.t 'Schwellung' with FU *täwōe 'full' and D *ta_v- 'much', see N ≈ *^ʔäwod_v 'be full').

2334. *^ʔeyw_v 'ask (for), beg' > HS: EC *^ʔā_v- v. 'ask for' > Af {PH} ^ʔā_vē v. 'plead, prey, supplicate, beg', Sa {R} da_v- ~ de_v- 'rufen, nennen; bitten, beten, die Gottheit anrufen' (unless ← da_v- 'rufen, nennen'), Rn ^ʔā_h- v. 'ask for', Arr {Hw.} ^ʔaw(i)?- 'beg' ¶ PH 88, PG 88, R S II 96-7, Hw. A 354 || ^ʔσ S *^o-^ʔū_v- > Ar -^ʔū_v- v. 'obéir; prononcer\répéter qc. à qn.' ¶ BK II 119, Hv. 441 || K: pGZ {K} *tχ_o-, {K²} *tχ_o(w)-, {FS} tχ_ow- v. 'ask for, beg' > G tχ_ov- v. 'ask for, marry (a woman)', Mg tχ_v- 'ask for; marry (so. to so.)', Lz tχ_v-/tχ- 'ask for, marry' ¶ K 99, K² 79, FS K 160-1, FS E 174, Q 245-6 || D *te_v(v)- v. 'beg' (× N *^ʔæb_v [= *^ʔäb_v?] 'follow, run, chase' [→ 'demand']?) > Tm te_vv v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml tēra 'beggar', Tl dēvurinc v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb-nā v. 'beg for alms', tembārus 'mendicant, beggar' ¶¶ D #3431A.

2335. *^ʔaka_æ (or *^ʔoka?) 'to touch' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} ^ʔage v. 'touch', Sa {R} dag- ~ ^ʔag- 'berühren, anrühren' || Ag: Xm {R} dag- [da_ʃ-] 'berühren, antasten' ¶ PH 89, R S II 102, R Ch II 38 || WCh: NrBc: Mbr, My, Jmb təkən v. 'touch' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 45 || IE: NaIE *tag_ǵ- v. 'touch' > Gk τεταγών (aor. II prtc.) 'having seized' || L tangō/-_ēre/tetīgi/tactum v. 'touch', Vls atahus (ft. II) 'attigerit' || AS ^ʔaccian 'to touch, to stroke (a horse)', ME thakken 'to stroke', OLG thakolōn 'streicheln' ¶¶ P 1054-5, EI 595, F II 684, WH II 647-8, Pln. I 442, Ho. 359, Skeat 645 || A: NaT *^ot_uku- v. 'touch' > Az toχun-, Tk dokun-, Ggz dokun- id., Chg {RI.} طوقمن toqun- 'sich an etwas stoßen, anstoßen', ET {Nj.} toqun- 'touch, catch on, collide (задевать, зацепляться; сталкиваться)' ¶ Hüs. 296, GRM 151, RI. III 1150, Nj. 319 || AmTg *tugde v. 'reach, touch (langen bis ...)' > Orc tugd₃-, Ul tugdi- ¶ STM II 203-4 ¶¶ DQA #2199 (A *^ʔok'e 'touch, reach') || D *tak- ({^ʔGS} *t-, *-g-) v. 'touch' (× N *^ʔek_v 'to touch', q.v.) > Kn tagalu, tagilu, tagulu 'come in contact with, touch, hit', Tu tagaruni 'to draw near', Tl tagulu, tavulu v. 'touch, come in

contact with, strike against', Knd tagli v. 'touch, hit', Krx taknā 'to rub\graze in passing, to give a very slight knock', Mlt take v. 'touch, hurt (as a sore)' ¶¶ D #3004 ◇ If the N etymon is ***ṭak**∇, NaT ***o** in ***ṭ**_ṭoku- and Tg ***u** in ***tugde** must be explained by the infl. of an Altaic labialized vw. of the second syll. But if the N ***ṭoka** is preferred, D ***a** in ***tak**- may be attributed to regr. as. (***o**...**a** > ***a**...**a**), but IE ***a** has no explanation ◇ EC ***tak**- v. 'push, strike' and Or tuḳa v. 'touch' can be better explained as going back to N ***tek**∇ '↑' and N ***ṭ'ū**Ḳa 'to thrust, to stab, to push' (q.v.) ◇ IS SS #5.19, IS MS 369 (***täk**∆ 'to touch': IE, A, D) → BmK 283-4 (IE, D + Sum tag v. 'touch' + ***ṭ** ÷ EC ***tak**- v. 'push, strike' + ***ṭ** ÷ SC: Alg tinq- v. 'squeeze out').

2336. *ṭäk∇ (or ***ṭäk**∇?) 'to attack' > K ***ṭak**- > G {Chx.} (da-)ṭak- 'an-\zusammen-stoßen, zusammenprallen, angreifen' ¶ Chx. 1316 || **HS:** Eg MKL tkk 'attack; violate (a frontier)', tkk.ω 'attackers', Eg XIX/G tktk v. 'angreifen', tkk 'der Angreifer' (HS de-emphatization ***t**- < ***ṭ**-) ¶ EG V 336, Fk. 302 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Tk. I 221) S ***ṭ** tkk ~ ***ṭ**tkk 'tread on (with feet), step on, oppress' (GB 788) and Hs tākà 'disobey, break the law' || **A:** NaT {ṭAdb.} ***täg**- v. 'attack' (× T ***täg**- v. 'reach, touch') > OT {Cl.} **täg**- v. 'attack', ? Tkm deg- v. 'hit (the target)', Qq, Qz1 tiy- 'attack' ¶ Cl. 476, TkR 251, TL 572 || **D** ***tākk**- ({ṭGS} ***t**-) v. 'attack, assault' > Tm **tākku** v. 'attack, strike', **tākkam** (n.) 'attack, assault, hit', ? Ml **tākkuka** v. 'hit', Kn **tākku** v. 'attack', ? Tu **tākuni** ~ **tāguni** v. 'hit', Tl **tākku** v. 'attack' ¶¶ In some D lgs. the **ṭ** coalesced with the homonymous verb ***tak**- 'touch' (< N ***ṭaka**|æ [or ***ṭoka**?] 'to touch'), which may account for the unexpected long vw. ¶¶ D #3150, ≠ Km. 380 [#554] (does not distinguish between several roots and reconstructs ***tāy-nk**-/-**kk**-) ◇ K and D seem to suggest N ***-k**-, but their evidence is not decisive (since as. is possible), while T ***täg**- provides decisive ev. for a N ***-k**-.

2337. *ṭ'eḲE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' > **HS** ***ṭ**∇k- > Ch {JS} ***ṭ**Ḳk v. 'build, make earthenware' > WCh {Stl.} ***ṭ**∇k id. (× N ***ṭo**'Ḳ'a 'to plait, to bend'?) > pAG {Hf.} ***ṭ**ik v. 'build, make pottery (from clay)' > Su {J}, Gmy {Hf.}, Chip Ḳik, Kfr M {Hf.} ṭik, Ang {Hf.} ṭiḳk v. 'build, make pottery', {ChL} ṭik v. 'build'; BT: Pr {Frz.} Ḳíḡù v. 'build', Krkr {Lk.} Ḳàkò, {ChL} Ḳṣku v. 'build, make earthenware', Dr Ḳì v. 'build' || ECh: ? Mu {J} Ḳìyá v. 'build' ¶ JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174

[#263], ChL, ChC, Hf. AGG, Frz. P 29 || ? Eg N $\text{d}g\text{z}$ 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; pflanzen' (\times N \approx * $\text{t}e'h'aka\text{r}\acute{e}$ 'to put, to set' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE {P} * $\text{te}\acute{k}p-$, {ABIV.} * teks- , {EI} * $\text{te}\acute{k}s-$ 'fabricate', {Mn.} * $\text{te}\acute{k}s-$ v. 'fashion, carpenter, create, cut (behave)' > OI * $\text{tak}\text{s}-$ id., Av $\text{ta}\check{s}-t$ 'has built', $\text{ta}\check{s}a-$ 'axe', MPrs $\text{t}\acute{a}\check{s}\acute{i}\delta an$ v. 'cut, shape', NPrs تاش $\text{t}\acute{a}\check{s}$ 'hatchet, axe'; Irn \rightarrow Arm տաշեմ $\text{ta}\check{s}em$ v. 'rough-hew, roughen down, plane' || Gk τέκτων 'carpenter, worker in wood; craftsman', τέχνη 'craft in work, art, skill' (< * $\text{teks-n}\acute{a}$) || L tex- ($\text{tex-}\acute{o}$, $-\acute{e}re$, $-ui$, $-tum$) v. 'plait, weave' (\times NaIE * tek- id. < N * $\text{t}\acute{o}'g'a$ 'to plait, to bend') || OIr $\text{t}\acute{a}l$ 'adze, paring-knife (doloire), carpenter's axe' (< * $\text{t}\acute{o}ks-lo-$) || OHG dehsa 'axe', dehsala 'axe, adze', ON pexla 'Queraxt' || Sl * $\text{tes}\acute{a}ti$ (1s prs. * $\text{te}\check{s}\text{q}$) 'to shape by hewing' ('behaveu, тесать') > OCS тесати tesati / тешѣ $\text{te}\check{s}\text{q}$, R те'сать / тешѣ , SCr $\text{t}\acute{e}sati$ / $\text{t}\acute{e}\check{s}\acute{e}m$, Sln $\text{t}\acute{e}sati$ / $\text{t}\acute{e}\check{s}em$ v. 'hew, trim (as log)', Cz tesati , Slk tesat' 'to hew, to hack, to chisel', P ciosac / $\text{ciosze}\acute{q}$ ~ $\text{ciosa}\acute{c}$ / 'cieszę v. 'hew, square' || Lt $\text{ta}\check{s}\acute{y}ti$ / 1s prs. $\text{ta}\check{s}a\check{u}$ 'rough-hew, trim', Ltv $\text{t}\acute{e}st$ / $\text{t}\acute{e}\check{s}u$ 'cut (wood), hew, trim' || AnIE {ABIV.} * tak-s-/-t- > Ht $\text{tak}\text{s-}$ {Ts.} 'bereiten (Wohnung)', 'fügen (Kriegszug)', {ABIV.} 'make, fashion (делать, мастерить)', Ld $\text{ta}\check{s}\acute{o}$ \approx 'befehlen, anordnen'; ABIV. II 146-8 tie in Ld $\text{ta}\check{q}tula-$ {ABIV.} interpreted as 'conclude a treaty, tie (two entities) by a treaty', but Ts. does not accept the connection for morphological reasons and because of the obscure meaning of the Ld word ¶¶ Mn. 1374, P 1059-1060 (* $\text{te}\acute{k}p-$ 'flechten, das Holzwerk des geflochtenen Hauses zusammenfügen'), M K I 468, M EI 612-4, Horn 87, F II 867-8, 889-90, WH II 678-9, Vn. T 21, Kb. 147, OsS 98, EWA II 564-8, Vr. 609, Frn. 1065, Vs. IV 50-1, Sls. I 105, Glh. 623-4, Ts. E III 40-4, 46-9, ABIV. II 146-8, Gsm. SL 296, Gsm. LW 209, 211, EI 139 (IE * $\text{te}\acute{k}s-(t)or/n-$ 'one who fabricates [cloth, wool, etc.]' < * $\text{te}\acute{k}s-$ 'fabricate'), 38 (IE ? * $\text{te}\acute{k}so/eh_{\text{p}}-$ ~ * $\text{te}\acute{k}sleh_{\text{p}}-$ 'axe, adze') ¶¶ IE * \acute{k} (for the expected * \acute{g}) is accounted for by as. * $-\acute{g}s-$ > * $-\acute{k}s-$ (or * $-\acute{g}p-$ > * $-\acute{k}p-$) || U: FU * teke- v. 'do, make' > F teke- , Es tege- id. || pLp * $\text{t}\acute{a}k\text{z-}$ > Lp: N {N} $\text{d}\acute{a}kk\acute{a}-/g-$, S {Hs.} dakkedh , L {LLO} $\text{ta}\check{h}ka-$, Kld $\text{t}\acute{a}kk\acute{a}/\text{t}\acute{a}\check{s}\acute{a}$ id. || pMr {Ker.} * $\text{te}\check{s}\acute{a}$ > Er tee- $\acute{t}eye-$, Mk tie- $\acute{t}iy\acute{a}$ v. 'do, make' || Hg $\text{t}\acute{e}v-/t\acute{e}-/t\acute{e}sz-$ id.; at the pFU level the \check{v} merged with FU * teke- v. 'put, place' (F N \approx * $\text{t}e'h'aka\text{r}\acute{e}$ 'to put, to set') ¶ UEW 519, Sm. 550 (FU, FP * teki- , Ugr * $\text{te}\acute{k}\acute{i}$ 'do'), Lr. #1210, Lgc. #7631, Hs. 413, TI 581, Ker. II 165-6

|| **A:** [1] A {DQA} *t'ǎk'ù {AD} 'make, repair' (× N *tAḲæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit') > Tg *taku- 'repair' > Ewk taku-, Lm taq-, Ul taqu-, taqunačl-, Ork tautçl- ǂ tāwçl-, Nn KU taqo-, Nn Nh/B tago- ~ taogo- id. ¶ STM II 155 || pJ {S} *tùkùr- 'make' > OJ tùkùr-, J: T cukúr-, K cúkúr-, Kg cùkùr- id.; OJ tùkùrəp-, J: T cukuró-, K cúkúró-, Kg cùkùrò- 'repair' ¶ S QJ #1011, Mr. 774 || T *t'agira- > Xk {BIG} taṽira- 'repair, mend (footwear, clothes)', Sg {RL} taṽra- 'ausbessern, zunähen (einen Riß)', Qzl {Jk.} taṽra- 'stopfen, flicken, nähen (alte Kleider)'; but not here (⇔ Rs.) Tv t'ār- 'cut\clip (hair, plants)' (← M *taṽari- 'cut short, cut off', cf. MED 765) ¶ Rs. W 454, BIG 212, Rl. III 800, TvR 401 ¶¶ DQA #2291 || [2] amb M *otege- > WrM tege- v. 'do so, thus, or that way', HIM тэґэ- id. (× d. from the M *te- 'that', see Pp. IM 228) ¶ MED 792 ◇ An alt. pN rec. (based on IE and Tg) is *Ḳ in *t'e'ḲE, but it fails to account for the cognates in FU, T, and M ◇ Cf. BmK 277 (IE, FU) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') (U, CK + err. IE *d'hē-).

2338. *ṭiko 'horror, fear' ([in A] 'abhor, hate') > IE: NaIE *tyeg^ω- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {EI} 'give way, pull oneself back (in awe)' > OI 'tyaj-ati 'leaves, abandons, quits', {E} 'stands back from sth.', OI 'tyajah 'abandonment', Av iθiiajah- (iθya jah-), iθiiejah- (iθye jah-) id. || Gk Hm σέβομαι v. 'feel awe or fear (before gods), feel religious awe, feel shame', Gk σέβω v. 'worship, honour', σέβας 'reverential awe', σοβέω 'frighten off' ¶ P 1086, EI 650, M K I 529-530, M E I 673-4, F II 686-7 || **D** *tik[∇]l-, {ḠS} *dig[∇]l- 'fear, fright' > Tm tikil, tikir 'fright, terror', Kt digi' in- v. 'be thunderstuck, be astounded because found out in wrongdoing', Kn digil(u), digalu 'consternation, horror, fear', Tu digilə, Tl digulu 'fear, alarm', Knd tiyel 'fear', tiyel- v. 'be afraid' ¶¶ D #3202 || **A:** NaT *t'iksin- > Osm tiksin- 'abhor', Tk tiksin- 'be disgusted, loathe', Az diksin- 'start, be frightened', Qq tiksin- 'be squeamish', ?φ Tv českin- id.; T → M: WrM žigsi-, HIM жигши- 'abhor, hate' ¶ Rl. III 1351, Hüs. 107, KrkR 640, MED 1052, TvR 529 || Tg *tikun-, *tikul- 'be(come) angry' > Ewk ṭikun, Lm tuqu- 'be angry', Ewk tikul-, Sln {Iv.} tegul- ~ tuṽul, Lm tuqu- 'become angry ¶ STM II 179 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2369 (*t'ik'∇- 'fear, hate') (incl. T, Tg) ◇ Tg *-k- (for the expected *-g-) still needs explaining ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. yжac *ṭikU, IS SS #1.28.

2339. (₂?) ***ʦoku** 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE *tegǵu- 'thick' > Gmc {Vr.} ***θikkw-** 'thick' > ON þykk, þjokkr, þjukkr, NNr tjukk, Sw tjock, Dn tyk, OHG dicki, NHG dick, OSx thikki, AS ȝicce 'thick', NE thick || Clt: OIr tiug 'thick', Brtt {RE} *tegu > OW, MBr teu, W, Crn tew id., Br tev id., 'fat' ¶ WP I 718, P 1057, EI 547 (*tegu-s 'thick, fat'), Vr. 630, OsS 102, EWA II 624-6, Ho. 364, KM 131, Vn. T 76, RE 138, Hm. 788 || **HS:** ?φ C: Bj {R} deg- 'be heavy', 'dēga 'heavy' ¶ R WBd 62 || **A:** M: WrM toγumag 'rather large\fat', toγlui-, HIM тоγлой-х 'be large \ robust \ corpulent', ? Brt tugzi- 'be stout \ corpulent' ¶ MED 814, 817, Chr. 434.

2339a. ***ʦok** ▽ ≈ (palm of) hand (with fingers)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span of hand') > K: GZ *m-ʦkaw-el- 'span (the distance between the end of the thumb and the end of the little finger of a spread hand)' > OG mʦkawel-, G mʦkavel-, Mg ʦku-, ʦkū-, ʦkou-, Lz mʦko-, mʦku-, (m)ʦu- id. ¶ K 138 and K² 126-7 (*mʦkawel-); FS K 223-4 and FS E 426 (*mʦkaw-) || **HS:** EC *ta.ʦkk- 'span of hand' > Sml {ZMO} tāko 'hand-span measurement (based on the distance between the thumb and the tip of the middle finger)', Sml N {Abr.} tāko 'span', Or T takku 'palm of hand (with fingers)', Or {Grg.} tākkū 'span (distance between thumb and forefinger)', Sd {Gs.} tākko id., Ged {Hd.} tāko, Hd {Hd.} tākkoʔo, Kmb tāčču-t ({Hd.}: < *tāk-čū-t), Qbn {L} taččuta 'span of hand', Ya {Gr.} tegei 'hand', {Hn.} tēké (pl. tēhkéí) 'arm' ¶ AD SF 262, ZMO 381, Grg. 371, Gs. 310, Hd. 139, 261, 299, 339, Hn. Y II 120 || NOm: Hrr {Ls.} tākā-δu, ? Gm {Hw.} tađáko 'span', ? Mc {L} tāčči- v. 'measure' ¶ Ls. M 53, Hw. EG || **A:** M *tōʒe 'span of hand' > WrM tōge, HIM тeθ 'span, the space from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index or middle finger when extended', Kl {KRS} тeθ 'span (distance between the thumb and the forth finger)', {Rm.} tō 'span (distance between the thumb and the middle finger)', Brt тeθ id., Dg {MYC} tuḗ, Mnr E {MYC} tū 'span' ¶ MED 832, KRS 511, KW 408, Chr. 433, MYC 643 || Tg *togar 'span of hand' > Ewk tōʒor 'span (distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index)', Neg tōʒoy, Orc, Ud tō, WrMc tō ~ tōo 'span (distance between the thumb and the middle finger)', Lm tōʒbr, Ul tawali, Nn Nh tawar, Nn B tawara, Nn KU tor 'span' ¶ STM II 190-1 || ?σ pKo {S} *tói 'measure of capacity (1/10 mal)' > MKo tói, NKo twe ¶ QK #1170, Nam 161, MLC 496 ¶¶ DQA #2418 (pA *t'ògì 'span') ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [#18] (incl. K, EC, Om, M, Tg; does not distinguish this N word from N *täyK ▽ 'finger').

2340. ≈ *t₁e'h'akaʔê 'put, set' > HS: Eg N dǵǵ 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; (Bäume) pflanzen; (etw.) ankleben' (d < HS *t₁) (× N *t₁'e'kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' [q.v.]), Cpt: Sd **ṬṬṬ** tōōce ~ ({Vc.}: aberrant form) **ṬṬṬ** tōke, B **ṬṬṬ** tōzi 'ajouter, appliquer, joindre, planter' ¶ EG V 499, Vc. 227 ¶ Eg g (for k) needs explaining (possibly the infl. of N *h could produce a lenis cns. [Eg "voiced" obstruent consonants are very likely to have been lenes]) || ?? S *^o✓tkl > Gz ✓tkl v. G 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (↳ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen') ¶ LG 573 || **U:** FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (× N *t₁'e'kE '↑' [q.v.]) > Lp: N {N} dâkkâ-/g- v. 'place, dispose of', ?σL {LLO} tahkat 'hervorbringen, schaffen; tun, machen' || Er tēye- v. 'place (somewhere) ('деть, дебатъ)' || Hg tēv-/tē-/tēs z- 'put, place, lay' ¶ UEW 519, ERV 652, LLO 1064 || **A:** [1] A {DQA} *t'égè|ò- 'sit' > Tg *tege- 'sit down' > Sln {Iv.} tǵkǵ-, tǵi-id., Ewk tǵǵ- ≈ tǵ-, Lm tǵǵ-, WrMc tē-, Mc Sb tǵ- ≈ tǵǵ- id., Neg tǵǵ-, Orc, Ud, Ork, Nn Nh/B tǵ- 'stand\sit up (from lying in bed)' ¶ STM II 226-8 || ?σ pKo {S} *th' - 'ride' > MKo th' - ¶ S QK #510, Nam 456, MLC 1684 || ??σ pJ {S} *tǵkǵ 'bed' (if ← 'sit') > OJ, J K tókó, J: T tòko, Kg tókó ¶ S QJ #211, Mr. 548 ¶¶ DQA #2333 || [2] A *t'ik'∇- v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik'u- v. 'stuff into, press into', {DQA} *t'ik'i- v. 'plant vertically) (× N *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v. ffd.) || **IE:** NaIE *tāg- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange' > Gk (prs.) τάσσω, Gk A (prs.) τάττω (aor. ἐτάγγην, prtc. τακτός) v. 'place in a certain order; arrange, put in order', τάγμα 'ordinance, command', Gk Th τᾶγός 'leader, commander' || Lt pa-togūs 'convenient, comfortable' (cp. Gk εὔτακτος 'well ordered'), Ltv Δ {ME} patāgs 'handlich, bequem', Lt {Ju.} su-tógti 'sich trauen lassen, sich verbinden, sich verheiraten', {EI} 'ally oneself with, get married' (← *'arrange oneself with') || Irn: Prt tgm̄dr '≈ commander' (< *tagma-dāra- 'command-giver') || ? Tc: A tāsśi pl. 'commanders', B tās '≈ commander' ¶ P 1055, EI 472 (*tāg- or *teh_g- 'set in place, arrange'), Ch.1095-6 (has doubts about *ā), F II 845-6, 859-60, ≠ Mn. 1365, F II 859-60, Frn. 551, ME III 119, Wn. 49, Ad. 387-8 ◇ A N Ir. that produced vw. lengthening in IE, but disappeared in both Eg and S (and did not cause glottalization of any adjacent cns.) is most probably *h. The *a-colouring laryngeal in pIE is likely to go back to N *-ha- ◇

≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') (U *teke- 'do', CK: Chk, Kor teyk id. + err. IE *d^hē- 'put').

2341. *t_ok[∇]?[∇] ~ *t_o'h'æk[∇] 'to burn; fire' > HS: Eg fXVIII tk₃ vi. 'burn, illumine' > DEg tk 'verbrennen, anzünden' > Cpt: Sd T[∇]W[∇]K t^hōk, B ⊕[∇]W[∇]K t^hōk 'allumer, chauffer'; Eg fP tk₃.ω ({Vc.} tk₃) (= {Os.} *'ti.k^h?ω, {Vc.} *taki?) {EG} 'Flamme, Licht, Fackel, Kerze', {Fk.} n. 'torch-lighting' > DEg t^hyk 'spark' > Cpt: Sd T^hIK tik, B ⊕^hIK t^hik id. ¶ EG V 331-3, Fk. 301-2, Er. 659, Vc. 212, Os. I 79 and II 460 ¶ Vc. 212 distinguishes between Eg fP tk₃ 'flamme' and Eg M tk₃.ω, while EG V 331-3 mentions only Eg fP tk₃.ω 'Flamme, Fackel, Kerze' || ? C: Bj {R} ✓tk^ωy (1s: p. 'atk^ωi, prs. atan'k^ωī) vt. 'cook' (× N *d^h'A'k'o' 'to burn' [trans.], q.v.?) ¶ R W^hd 225 || K [1] pGZ *tutk- v. 'scald, burn on the surface' > G tutk- 'scald, scald oneself', {Chx.} (ga-)tutk- '(an-, ab-)brühen', (da-)tutk- 'verbrühen, verbrennen', Mg tkutk- {Fn.}, Lz tutk- v. 'burn' ¶ K 74 (*tutk-), Chx. 503, DCh. 570, Fn. KW-2 48 #2 | [2] K (+ext.) *t_ok^hrec|c̄- > G t_ok^hrec- 'an der Oberfläche verbrennen' ¶ Chx. 1354 || IE *te^hg̃g- > NaIE tēg̃g-/ *təg̃g- v. 'burn' > Gk τήγανον ~ mt. τάγηνον 'frying-pan, saucepan' || OHG dachazzen ~ dahhezzen 'to flame (loder), to blaze', AS ðéccan vi. {Ho.} 'verbrennen'; ðæccelle 'torch, a light' (infl. of fæcele 'torch' ← L facula) ¶ WP I 717-8, P 1057, F II 815, Kb. 141, OsS 95, EWA II 488-9, Ho. 359, 361 || R {DQA} *t^oge|j 'fire' > NaT {θADb.} *tögen 'brand' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} tögün, Chg xv tögen id., Osm {Rh.} dögün 'tattoo mark', Yk tūōn 'moxa, tinder used for cauterization'; T → WrM tögene, HIM төөнө 'cauterization, moxa', WrM tögene-, HIM төөнө- v. 'cauterize, apply a poultice or a high compress' ¶ Cl. 484, Pek. 2902, MED 832, Rh. 926 || M *tū^he|j-(deg) > WrM tūgüdeg, HIM түүдэг 'campfire', → ? *tū^h'i-mer > WrM tūimer, HIM түймэр 'forest or steppe fire, wildfire', Dg {T} tujmer, {Mr.} tuimere, Brt түймэр, Ord t'ūimer 'fire (incendie)', WrO {Krg.} tūimer 'fire, blaze', Kl түүмр tūmər 'fire (incendie)', {Rm.} tūmṛ 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ MED 850-1, T DgJ 169, Mr. D 227, Chr 443, Krg. 530, KRS 525, KW 418, Ms. O 684 || Tg *toga 'fire' > Ewk to^ho ɖ to^ho ɖ togo 'fire, campfire', Sln togo 'fire', Lm to^hɖ to^hω 'fire', Neg tō ~ to^ho, Orc, Ud tō 'fire, campfire', Ul tawa 'fire', ta^hω^h-/-^h- v. 'light (a candle, etc.)', Ork tawa ~ tāwa 'fire, hearth', Nn tawa ɖ ta(ω)ɖ ɖ tō 'fire, campfire, hearth', Nn Nh tāō(ωō)-, Nn B ta(ω)ɖ- v. 'ignite', Lm tu^hωa, Mc Sb tua, Jrc {SDM} to^hi 'fire', Mc Sb tabu- v. 'ignite' ¶ STM II 190, Krm. 295 ¶¶

DQA #2417, S AJ 157 (adduces pJ *ták- v. 'burn, set fire' > OJ tak-, [RJ] ták-ù, J T ták-, cf. S QJ #649, Mr. 762) || ? Gil: Gil A tuør 'fire' ¶¶ ST 384-5 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 121-2 [#26]: K *tkutk- (sc. *tutk-), HS *✓tk^ω, and A *toka v. 'burn' (Tg *toga + *÷ pJ *tak-) equated with Ugr *tüøæt- (sc. U *te^ω∇-t∇) 'fire' (which, to my mind, does not belong here, but goes back to N *t'e'γaw'a' 'fire') and with an alleged D *tikk-/ *tukk- 'hearth, fireplace' (actually *tikkel-/ *tunkel-), which is too doubtful.

2342. *tUKIÉ (→ ? *tUİKÉ) (or *tUKÍÉ) 'wolf, jackal, fox' > HS: C {AD} *✓tk^ωl 'Lycaon pictus, jackal', {E} *tak^ωl- 'wild dog' > pAg {AD} *tak^ωlā > Bil {R} tåg'lā, Q {R} taχ^ωelā 'wolf'; Ag ↪ Gz ተኩላ tak^ωlā, Tgy, Amh ተኩላ tek^ωla 'wolf, Canis famelicus (?)', Tgr {LH} ተኩላ tɛkla, {Mz.} tokla 'Lycaon pictus' (or 'Canis lupaster'); Ag or EthS ↪ Bj {R} tākla 'Lycaon pictus', Sa {R} tākla ~ tāχlā id. || SC: WRt {E} *tak^ωer- 'jackal' ({E}: > Irq {MQK} pl. tawér 'wild dogs', sg. tawēr(a)mō 'wild dog', {Mgw.} tawēr-mō 'fox, jackal', Grw {Fl.} tuer 'wild dog' [Ehret postulates a change SC *-l- > WRt *-r-]) ¶ E PC #412, R WBd 226, R WB 334, R S II 352, L G 573, LH 316, MQK 100, Mgw. 108 || NrOm: GnJ {Si.} 'tirkū, Gcm {Si.} tər'ko, Bdt {Hw.} 'tolko, Krt {Si.} tɔlko, Zs/Zrg {Si.} 'tɔlko, HzMa {SWW} dullí, Sz {SWW} dūlí & dūlè 'hyena' ¶ Hw. NKL 219, Blz. KV s.v. tólko, Si. ACh 16, SiW BA 14 ¶¶ It is tempting to include here the word for 'jackal' in some WCh lgs.: Stl. reconstructs WCh *dila 'jackal' > Hs dílá, Gw dila || BT: Krkr dílá || Ron: Sha {J} fatɜ-ⁿje | || Ngz {Sch.} d'ílá (Stl. ZCh 173 [#256]), but the word (except that of Sha) is obviously a loan from Kanuri d'íld 'jackal' (Lk. KL 194, Sch. DN 34) || **A** ({DQA} *t'ulke, {AD} *t'ulKE or *t'ülk∇ 'wolf' or 'fox'): T *t'ülkü ~ *t'ilkü 'fox' ({ADb.} *tilkü, {Md.} ppT *t'üjlk'i) > OT [QB] {DTS} tilkü ~ tülkü, {Cl.} tülki, [MhK] {Cl., DTS} tilkü ~ tilki, MU, XwT tilkü, Cmn, Chg tülkü, MQp tülkü ~ tilkü, OOs dilkü, Tk tilki, Ggz, Tkm tilki, Az tülkü, Slr A tüligu ~ tülügü(r) ~ tülugo, Slr U t'uligur ~ t'ulugu ~ t'ulugo, VTt төлке tǔlkь, Bsh төлке tǔlkǔ, Qry tülkü ~ tilki, Qzq, Qqm Nog tülki, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tülkü, Xk tülgü, Uz tulki, Uz XwrOg tilki ~ tülki, ET {Nj.} tülkä, Tv дилги dilgi, Tf dilgi 'fox' || Chv тилѣ тиль, {Fed.} til id. ¶ Cl. 498-9, DTS 596, Shch. Zh 135, TL 161, 643, BT 161, Tn. SJ 526, Ra. 173, Nj. 338, Jeg. 251, Fed. II 229, Md. 66, 181 || Tg: Sln tūlgz 'wolf' ¶ STM II 210 || ? pJ {S} *tγará 'tiger' > OJ tγórá, OJ tγórá, ItOJ [RJ] tóra > J: T tóra, :to!ra!, Kg tóra ¶ S QJ #273, Mr. 550 ¶¶ DQA #2460 || **D** *tōl- ({}GS} *t-) 'wolf' >

Kn tōl̄a, Tu tōl̄ə ~ tōl̄e 'wolf', Brh tōla 'jackal', as well as possibly Tm tōnṭāṇ and Tl tōḍe:lu 'wolf' (where -nṭ- and ḍ < *-l + t-) ¶¶ D #3548 ◇ The rec. of N ***-k̄l̄-** is preferable to ***-l̄k̄-** because it is more natural to explain the length of the vw. in D by compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of the first component of the N cluster ***-k̄l̄-**: ***-∇k̄l̄-** > ***-∇:l̄-**. In preconson. position T *l̄ may go back both to N *l̄ and to *l̄́, hence N *l̄́ is not ruled out.

2343. *t̄äkt̄∇ 'louse' > **HS**: C: Bj {R, Rop.} t̄āt (pl. t̄at) 'louse' ¶ R WBd 232, Rop. 245 || Ch ***t̄∇t-** 'louse' > WCh: Ron: Fy {Sch.} t̄ét, Klr {IL} t̄híd id. | BT: Krkr t̄óḍà, Gerum {Sch.} t̄ḍḍḍ id. ||| CCh: BtG {Mch.} t̄étiyē, Mtk {ChC} t̄éčé, Mkt {Ro.} àtáč, Md ìtét id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Ro. 286 || **U**: FU ***t̄äkt̄∇m∇** > ObU ***t̄ēkt̄∇m∇** 'louse' > pVg {Ht.} ***t̄ākm∇** id. > OVg: W P, S Vt тахма, N SoO такмъ, W Sol тахмъ; Vg: T t̄ākam, LK/MK/UK t̄āḫam, P/NV/LL taḫam, SV t̄āḫam, UL/Ss t̄ākam 'louse', LK/MK t̄āḫamy-, UK t̄āḫmay- v. 'delouse'; pOs {Ht.} ***t̄öḡtam** 'louse' > Os: V/Vy t̄öḡtam, Ty t̄ǎḡtam, Y t̄ǎḡtam, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtam id. ¶ Ht. #634 || **A**: Tg ***tikte** 'louse' > UI tikt̄z, Ork tikt̄z ~ çikt̄z, Nn Nh čikt̄z, WrMc cixi ~ cix̄e 'louse'; the unexpected vw. *i may be due to coalescence with Tg ***t̄ī-** that is found in the Tg vb. ***t̄ī-le-** 'look for lice' (ffd. see N ***t̄äy∇** 'louse'), so that ***tikte** may be interpreted as ***t̄ī-** + nominal sx. ***-kte** ¶ STD II 179 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 165 (on the Tg sx.).

2344. *t̄'a'k̄æ 'be\keep quiet, be silent' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: pAG ***ḍok** v. 'be\keep quiet' > Gmy, Kfr, Kfr M, Ang ḍok, Su {J} ḍók | pNrBc {Stl.} ***tiḡi** 'silence' > Kry tíkì, My tíkìtíkì, Sir t̄zḡi ¶ Hf. AGG #79, Stl. Ang #60, Stl. ZCh 250 [#37], Nt. 10, J S 65, ChC s.v. 'silent, silence' || **IE**: NaE ***tak̄k̄-** v. 'be silent' > L tace-ō / tacē-re / tacui / tacitum v. 'keep silence', Um taçez TASES 'tacitus', TASETUR nom. pl. 'taciti' ||| ? W gosteg 'silence' ||| Gt pahan, ON þegja, OSx thagōn, OHG dagēn v. 'be silent', ON þagall, þogull 'schweigsam, still' ¶ WH II 641-2, ≈ EI 518 (***tak-**), Bc. G 348, Pln. II 758, Fs. 487-8, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94, EWA II 488-90, Ho. S 76 || **A**: NaT ***t̄'äk** > OT, QT t̄äk 'silent, silently', t̄äk tur- v. 'be silent, stand silent', Chg tek~dek 'silent', OOG XI t̄äk tur- v. 'stand silent', Tk tek d̄ur- v. 'stand silent\quiet', Tkm dek 'quiet', dek dur 'stand quiet!', Qq, Qrg, Uz tek 'quietly (смирно, спокойно)', tek tur 'stand quiet!', Nog tek ol̄tir 'sit quiet!' ¶ Cl. 475, TrR 841, TkR 252, KrkR 633, Jud. 719, UzR 422, NogR 343 ¶ The initial t̄ ~ d̄- in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pT ***t̄'** (F IS AD 38-45) ◇ The IE vw.

*a points to a N *a. The vw. *ä|e in T (< A *o'ä'?) is likely to be due to vowel harmony (suggesting a front vw. of the second syll. in the N etymon).

2345. *tiKa 'be straight' > HS: S *√tkn v. 'be straight, in good condition' (×N *tAḲæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v.) > BHb √tkn v. G 'be straight' (inf. לִי-תִקֶּן li-t'kōn) v. 'be straight', D לִי-תִקֶּן (pf. תִּיקֶּן) 'he made (it) straight', Sr √tkn G (pf. תִּיקֶּן) 'be established, firm', Ar √tqn Sh (pf. ?atqana) vt. {Ln.} 'make\render (sth.) firm \ stable \ solid', {BK} 'construire \ bâtir avec art, habilement et solidement', {Hv.} 'improve', Ak √tkn G 'geordnet, gesichert sein\werden', ?φ Tgy √tkn D v. 'stabilize' ¶ GB 888, Sd. 1323-4, Br. 831-2, KB 1642-4, Ln. 309, BK I 202, Hv. 60, L ESAC 55 || IE: NaE *tejk- / (with a nasal infix) *tink- v. 'be fit; trust' > Lt tiktī (prs. tinkū) 'to be fit\suited', Ltv tikt (prs. tiku) 'to like, to enjoy'; Lt tikéti (prs. tikiū), Ltv ticēt 'to trust, to believe' || OHG dīngen 'to hope, to strive to', MHG dīngen 'hoffen, glauben, Zuversicht haben' ¶ WP I 705, Frn. 1090-2, Kar. II 402-3, Jg. VB 91-103, Kb. 155, OsS 103, EWA II 653-5, Lx. 31 || A *t'ik'∇ 'straight' > T *t'ik- v. 'insert vertically' (×N *t'ū'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v. ffd. ×N ≈ *te'h'akaʔê 'to put, to set'), *t'ik 'straight, vertical, precipitous' > OT tik- v. 'insert vertically', tik 'straight, vertical, upright, precipitous', OT [MhK] dik tur- v. 'be vertical', Chg tik 'vertical', Tk dik, Ggz dik id., 'precipitous', Tkm dik 'straight; precipitous, steep', Az dik, ET tik 'straight, vertical', Tk dik-, Tkm, Ggz dik- v. 'install\insert vertically', Az tik- v. 'build', ET tik- v. 'install, plant', Tv t'ik-/t'ig- 'put (a cauldron) on fire, set up a yurta (tent)', Xk тік-/г- тік-/г- 'put food on fire (to cook it)', Chv {Ash.} чикε čigε 'precipitous, upright' ('крутой, отвесный') ¶ Chv čī- < *t'ī- (palatalizing infl. of *i?) ¶ Cl. 475-7, Ash. XV 196, Md. 80, 179, IS AD 41 [#11] (equates Tk tik- with T *t'iq-), TvR 413, BIG 227 ¶ Tense pT t' - is suggested by Az tik- and Tv t'ik- || M *čike 'straight' > WrM čike, HIM цэх, Brt сэхэ 'straight', WrO čiki id., 'direct', Kl чик čikə 'straight' ¶ MED 180, Kow. 2175, Krg. 636, KRS 649, KW 439, Chr. 405 || ? Tg *-tikī 'towards' (directive case ending, {Ci.} allative ending) > Ewk -tikī ~ -tkī (e.g. oron-tikī 'towards a\the deer', bira-tkī 'towards a\the river'), Neg -tiḫī ~ -tkī, Sln -tiḫī ~ -tḫī, Lm -takī ~ -tkī, Ork -taki ~ -tai, Orc -ti(kī), Ud -tigi, Ul -ti, Nn -či ~ -tki ~ -ki ¶ This ending belongs here unless it is a cd. *-

ti + *-kī (as supposed by Bz.) ¶ Vas. 791, 793, Bz. 85-7, Ci. 256, Sun. S 161 ¶¶ ≠ SDM97 (A *tīk'ī v. 'plant vertically' > T, M + unc. Tg *dīkē v. 'hide'), KW 439 (M, T, Tg, Ko čik 'Richtung, gerade, aufrichtig') ◇ ≠ BmK 290 (a semantically unwarranted attempt to equate S *✓tķn v. 'be straight' with IE *tegu- 'thick' and M c i g i r a g 'strong').

2346. *t'o'ko 'run away, run, stream' > HS: S *°✓tķw > Ar tūw G (pf. tūqa, msd. tūqaw-un) {Fr.} 'celeriter incessit', {BK} 'marcher avec rapidité' ¶ Fr. III 12, BK III 112 || EC: HEC *toq- v. 'flee' > Sd {Hd.} tōkķ-, {C, Mrn.} toq- id., Brj tokk- id., Hd {Ss.} tok- v. 'flee, leak' ¶ AD SF 276, Ss. B 182, Hd. 223, 397 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *taq- v. 'go, run' > Hs Kc túkà v. 'go away, go to a journey', Hs tākā 'pace' || Glm {Sch.} tāg-(ālà) v. 'run' || DfB {J} tōk / hab. twāk id. || ? CCh: Hw {ChL} tákωà v. 'follow' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [#168], Ba. 977, 1050-1, Sch. BTL 89, J R 222, ChL ¶¶ ≠ OS #2418 (*tuq- 'go, run') || K: pGZ *tiķwŋ- v. 'skip (away), run quickly' > G Δ (ga-)tiķn- 'skip, skip away (скакать, ускакать)', Mg ti(r)ķon- v. 'run as fast as one can' ('бежать без оглядки') ¶ K 181, Q 328 || IE *tekω- v. 'run, flow' (EI 'run, flow swiftly') > OI 'tak-ti 'hurries, rushes along', Av tačaiti 'runs', KhS ttays- v. 'run, stream', NPrs تازد tōz-ād 'walks fast, runs', تاختن tōχtān 'to hasten, to walk fast, to run' || pAl {O} *en-teka 'chase, pursue, follow' (< {Huld} *en-tekω-ō) > MAI G {FB} ndiecone > Al T/G ndjek / ndoqa, Al Δ: SG {Huld} ndjek / ndokja, D njeku / noča id. || OIr tech- 'flee', MW {Vn.} go-dēb 'refuge, retraite, abri', {P} tebet 'Flucht', W tebed 'retreat', Br tec'h- v. 'flee' || Lt tekéti (1s prs. tekū) 'to run, to stream', Ltv tecēt (prs. tekū) 'to run, to flow' || Sl *tek- (1s prs. *te'k-ŋ, inf. tek-ti) > OCS prs. текъ tek-ŋ, inf. теци teštī v. 'flow, run', SCr tèčēm / tèci, Slv téčem / téči, R те'ку / течь, Cz teku / téči v. 'stream, flow', P cieke / cieć 'run, teak', Blg тека 'flow', d.: Uk тикати 'to run' || ? Pal tekanza {ABlv.} 'flowing' (but {Carr.}: acp. '?'); Mn. adduces here Ht {Ts.} wa-tku- v. 'jump, flee', which is unc. ¶¶ P 1059-60, EI 491, ABlv. II 163-4, Carr. P 74, Ts. W 104, M KI 466, M E I 610-1, Bai. 121, Sg. 273, Horn 82, Mn. 1372, Ch. 1113, Vn. T 40, YGM-1 406, Hm. 780, Frn. 1074-5, Vs. IV 37, Glh. 622, StSS 694, O 286, Huld 97 (ppAl *ndek- / ndok-ŋ- > pAl *ndjek / *ndoqa) || A: [11] T *t'ök- 'pour out (a liquid)' > OT, OQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg xv tōk- id., Tk tōk-, Az, Tkm dōk-, Uz twk-, VTt, Bsh tük-, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Yk tōk-, Tv t'ök / d_ök- 'pour, pour out', Tf t'čk'- 'pour out' ¶ Cl. 477, Ra. 235 ¶

The front vw. still defies explanation (trace of an *E-sx. or of a pN *t'okEHo??) | [2] A {AD} *t'oks∇ v. 'run' > M *toqsi- v. 'flee' (of animals) > WrM toqsi-, HIM тогши- {MED} v. 'flee in fright', {Gl.} 'flee, escape (from a human)' (of animals), {Luv.} 'flee by leaps, bound a way off' (of animals, e.g. antelope), Ord d_oq_š'i- 'flee in fright' ¶ MED 815, Luv. 403, Gl. III 212, Ms. O 148 || Tg *tuxsa- v. 'run, skip' > Ewk tuksa-, Ewk Δ toha-, tukša-, tuha-, Neg toksa-, Ud {STM} tukseä-, {Krm.} tukä- v. 'run', Sln tukčān- v. 'skip, jump', Lm tūs- 'run in a slow trot', Lm Al tūh- v. 'skip' ('скакать'), Ork tuqsa- v. 'compete in reindeer-sledge race' ¶ STM II 308 || [2a] A d. *t'oksa-kī 'hare': Tg *tuksa-kī > Ewk tuksakī, Ewk Δ tohakī, tukšakī, tūhakī, Sln turçaxi ~ tutçaxi, Neg toksakī, Orc tuksa(n), Ud {STM}, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} tuksa, Ud X {Krm.} tukća, Ork tuqsa, Nn Nh/B toqsa ¶ STM II 208, Krm. 297 || pKo *thoskī 'hare' > MKo thoskī, NKo thōkī ¶ S QK #282, Nam 459, MLC 1705 ¶¶ DQA #2419 (A *t'ogsu 'run; hare'), Rm. SKE 283 ('hare': Tg, Ko) ◇ AD GD #123 (IE, K, Tg) ◇ Gr. II #302 (*tekω 'pour') (IE, T, qu. Ko, J, EA).

2347. *tuxâ 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > HS *^o✓tux^ω > C: pAg *daq^ω-/*dadaq^ω- ({Ap.} *daq^ω-/*dādaq^ω-) 'mud' > Q dax^ωa, Bln {R} d̄er̄aq^ωa, Xm {R} r̄eç^ωa || LEC *d̄o_iḳḳ- > Sml {DSI, ZMO} d̄ōqo 'mud (fango, melma)', Sml N {Abr.} d̄ōqò 'turbid water', Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} d̄oḳḳē 'mud, dung', Or Gj {LLC} d̄oḳē, Or {Th.}, Or M {LLC} d̄oḳe, Kns d̄oqqe-ta 'mud', Gdl d̄ōkḳ-itot 'quicksand', Gwd {AMS}, Gln {AMS}, Grs {AMS} d̄oqqo_o 'mud' (to be distinguished from LEC *č̄o_iḳḳ- > Gdl č̄oḳḳa, Gwd {Ss.} č̄oḳḳa 'mud', and [borrowed from LEC] Amh č̄əḳə 'mud') ¶ Ap. AV 8, Ss. PEC 30, 50, DSI 178, ZMO 123, Abr. S 66, Grg. 129, AMS 198, 265, Bl. 218 ¶ Ss. PEC mentions Or d̄ōkḳ- with a long ō, which is at variance with lexicographical sources (Grg., Sr., Th., LLC), hence his rec. of EC *d̄ōkḳ- is less accurate than Bl.'s *d̄o_iḳḳ- || ?? B *d̄∇qq-~*t̄∇qq- 'clay' > Rf Wr/B/Am, SrSn i-d̄aqqi 'clay', Tmz {MT} idəqqi ~ itəqqi 'argile, terre à potier, terrain argileux', Sll {Ds.} idəqqi 'argile à potier', Chl {NZ} idəqqi ≍ itəqqi 'terre à poterie', Ty idaqqa pl. 'morceaux d'argile séchés et durcis; terre cuite' ¶ Rn. 309, MT 70, Ds. 20, NZ 366 || ?? WCh (× N *t̄ogæ 'dust, earth [substance]', q.v.): Hs t̄ōkǎ 'ashes' || Tng d̄yka id., 'potash, salt' || A: Tg *tuka 'earth, clay, sand' > Ewk tuka 'sand', tukala 'earth, soil, clay', Ewk Ald/Uc/K tukala 'soil, ashes', Ewk Brg/NB tukala 'mud', Sln toko¹la 'earth', Lm tuqal ≍ toqla ≍ tuqal 'litter, dirt', Neg toxola ~ tokola id., 'dust, earth, soil', Orc tuala, Ud

tukeä, Ul tuaqsa 'clay', Nn Nh/B toχala, Nn KU toχala ~ toqala 'earth, soil, clay' ¶ STM II 307 || D *tuk-/tūk- 'dust, earth' > Tm tukal 'dust, particle of dust', Tl dūgarā 'dust, dirt, soot', Klm tu'k 'dust, earth, clay', Nkr, Prj tūk, Gdb tūkuṛ 'earth, clay' ¶¶ D #3283 || AdS of IE *t'ek-/t'k- 'earth' (< N *tōgæ '↑', q.v.); the absence of *eu or *u (the expected reflex of N *u in *tuKâ) suggests that the main source of the IE root is N *tōgæ ¶¶ Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-150 (analysis of phonetic changes), ABIv. II 133-7, Ts. E III 292-300.

2348. *tuK̂ 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: S *taŵk- > Sr {Br.} taŵk-ā 'young pigeon, chicken' ('pullus columbae sive gallinae') ¶ Br. 272 || IE: NaIE *teuk- 'offspring' (× N *tōwKâ 'germ', q.v.) > OI tō'kam 'posterity, children', Vd dat. sg. tu'c-ē 'to the children \ offspring' || MHG diehter ~ tiehter, NGr Δ Tichter 'grandchild' (infl. of MHG tohter, NHG Tochter 'daughter' < IE *d'ugH-ter?) ¶ P 1085, M KI 508, 527, M EI 651, 670 (rejects the MHG-NGr cognate, preferring to connect it with *d'ugH-ter 'daughter'), Vl. I 426-7, Sg. 288-9, Horn 84, Lx. 30 ¶ The N etymology of IE *d'ugH-ter (P 277, WP I 868) is still to be investigated; it is worth paying attention to Ar ✓ d'ḥq 'mettre bas, enfanter' (BK I 674-5) (unless it is a sd. of Ar ✓ d'ḥq 'chasser, éloigner') and to T *yegen 'grandchild, nephew' (TL 293) || A *t'u'k'▽ 'young artiodactyl' > Tg *tuk- id. > Ewk tukuçan & tukuçān & tukuçēn 'young elk', Sln tuxsā 'Kalb bis zu einem Jahr', Lm tuṣu- ~ tū- v. 'fawn, whelp', WrMc tuqšān {Hr., Z} 'calf' (↳ Sln tuxšān id.); some Tg lge. ↳ Yk tugut ~ tubut 'young reindeer' ¶ STM II 210, Klz. S II 48-9, Z 405, Hr. III 925 || M *tugul 'calf' > MM [S, HI, ZhY] tugul (tu-qu-lun, tu-qul, tu-qun), [MA, IM] tuḡul 'calf', WrM tuḡul, HIM, Brt туҕал 'calf less than a year old', Kl {KRS} туҕл туҕьл 'calf; suckling (artiodactyl)', {Rm.} tuṽul 'calf, young animal', MMgl [Z], Mgl {Rm.} tuṽul, Mnr H {T} tugul, {SM} t'ugur, Dx tugunča, Ba tolček 'calf' ¶ MED 838, KW 409, KRS 516, Ms. H 103, H 153, Iw. 139, T 366, SM 429, Pp. MA 354, 448 || NaT *t'okli 'a very young lamb (of the first or second year)' > OT {Cl.} toqli 'a lamb a few months old', MT XIV [IM] toχli, MQp toqli, Tk toklu, Ggz toqlu, Tkm toqli, Qq toqlu ~ toqli ~ toqti 'yearling lamb', Az Δ toṽlu & toṽli & toχlu 'sheep of the second year', Qzq toqti 'a lamb older than 6 months', Qrg toqtu 'young ewe', Qrg S toqtu 'two-year-old wether', Nog toqli 'two-year-old ram', toqlu 'two-year-old sheep', S toqti, Tv t'oṽdu 'yearling lamb'] ?φ NaT {ḡADb.}

*to|ug > Tkm doγ 'one-year-old goat up to the first kidding' | ?σ,φ NaT *t'ug- ({{ǧADb.} *tug-) v. 'be born, give birth to' > OT tuγ- v. 'be born', XwT, Chg tuγ-, Cmn toγ- ~ tov- ~ tuv-, OOsM doγ-, Tk doğ-, Tkm doγ-, Uz tuw- v. 'be born', Az doγ- v. 'bear; appear, be born' ¶ The T verb is a very qu. cognate both because of its meaning and because of the initial lax *t'; the noun *t'okli is a qu. cognate because of the unexpected vw. *o ¶ Cl. 465-6, 469, Shch. Zh 115, TL 433-4, 698 (*toγ- 'be born'), GRM 472, Jud. 147, 744 ¶¶ KW 409, 414, DQA #2458 (A *t'uk∇ 'calf, lamb' > Tg, M, T *t'okli) ◇ NaT *o (for the expected *u) in *t'okli still needs explaining ◇ Cf. N *t'owkâ 'germ, seed', although the connection between descendants of these two N words (like in Irn [OPrs taumā 'family, clan', Av taoxman 'seed, germ']) is hardly ancient.

2349. *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push' > HS: EC {Ss.} *taḳ- v. 'push, strike' > Rn taχ-, Dsn tá? v. 'push', ? Af -ōtok- v. 'strike (sth. inanimate)' (×N *tek∇ 'to touch?') ¶ Ss. PEC 48, PH 177, Sim 4, PG 274, To. DL 529 || ?? S *o✓tkl (×N ≈ *te'h'akā?ê 'to put, to set') > Gz ✓tkl G v. 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (↳ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen'). One may tentatively adduce here SES: Mh, Jb ✓tḳḳ (Mh pf. tḳḳ, Jb C pf. tḳḳ, sbjn. 'yḳtḳḳ, Jb E pf. 'tḳḳ) v. 'knock, bang, pound', Hrs ✓tḳḳ (pf. tḳḳ, sbjn. yḳtḳāḳ) v. 'knock', resulting from contamination of different paronymous roots + ideophonic factor (or onomatopoeia) ¶ Jo. J 276, Jo. M 409, Jo. H 129, L G 573 || IE: NaIE *tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick' > VL *tūkkāre 'to touch' > It toccare, OFr tochier, Fr toucher, Sp, Prt, Ctl tocar id. || Clt ({SB, Vn.}: < *tuk-slo-): OIr toll 'pierced, perforated; hole', Crn toll, tol, MW {Flr.} tull, {SEv., Vn.} twll id., W {YGM} twll 'hole', OBr {Flr.} tull 'foramen = hole', MBr toull 'hole', Br toull 'pierced, hollow; hole'; ?: OIr túag 'axe', Nir tuagh 'axe, hatchet', OIr túagaíd v. 'chops with an axe' || Gk túkos 'instrument for working stones, a masons' hammer\pick', τυκίς-ω v. 'work stones' || Sl *tḳk- > OCS ТЪКНѦТИ tḳknḳti (1s prs. ТЪКНѦ tḳknḳ) 'πηγνύναι, figere' (tḳknḳti въ ребра 'to poke into ribs'), R ткну́ть 'to poke into, to stick into, to probe', Cz tḳknouti mom. 'to poke, to prick' (ткну́ть, кольну́ть), P tkać / tkam v. 'thrust, stick, stuff'; ip. stem *t+k/č- > OCS ТЫКАТИ tḳkatī (1s prs. ТЫУѦ tḳčḳ) 'to prick' ('pungere'), R 'тыкать (ip. of ткну́ть) 'to poke, to jab', Blg 'тикам 'I thrust, stick into' ¶ Mn. 1452, ≈ P 1032-4, ≈ ML #8767, ≈ Kö. #9802 (Rom ← Gmc

*tukkōn 'zucken'), GH 561, F II 941-2, SB 134, Vn. T 103, 158, Dnn. 760, SEv. 36, YGM-1 423, Flr. 325, Hm. 798, Dnn. 760, Mikl. L 1017, Mikl. E 367-8, Vs. IV 64, 130, ≠ P 1032 || U: [1] FU *t'ü'k∇- v. 'push, thrust' > F työntä- 'push, shove' | Prm *töy- or *toy- 'push, thrust, prick' (×FU *toí∇ v. 'push' < N *dA|oí,∇,∇ 'push', q.v. ffd.) || ObU *tök-/ *tēk- 'stopfen' > pVg *tǎš- 'stopfen, stechen, drängen' > Vg: T tāw-, MK tǎš-, UK tāš- ~ tǎš-, P tāw- ~ tāw-, Ss taš- id.; pOs *tök- ({JHL} *tǎk-) 'stopfen' > Os: V/Vy tōki-, Ty/Y tǎk^ωi- id., V/Vy tōkən-, Ty/Y tǎk^ωən-, Kz/Nz tekən-, O tokən- 'sich füllen', V/Vy tōxəl-, Nz tewat-, Kz tewəɬ-, O tewəl- 'verstopfen' | Hg † be-töv- 'tief eindringen', Hg tǔz- v. 'pin, stitch, stick' ({UEW} 'anstecken, aufstecken') ¶ UEW 520 (FU *tek∇-, but why are the reflexes in the descendant lgs. so different from those of FU {UEW} *teke- 'tun, machen' [where there is no labial element]? [see UEW 519]), LG 281, Ht. 187 [#619] || [2] FV *tokka 'pierce, hit, touch' > F tokkaa- 'pierce, peck' | Er тока- toka- v. 'touch; hit (the goal)', Mk тока- toka- v. 'touch, hurt (by striking\bumping)' ('тронуть, ушибить') ¶ If FV *tokka belongs here, its vw. *o (rather than *ü) is puzzling (may it be due to regr. as.?) ¶ UEW 796-7, ERV 665, PI 272 || A *t'ik'∇ v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik'u v. 'stuff into, press into') (×N ≈ *te'h'akaʔê 'to put, to set') > Tg: [1] AmTg *tiki- v. 'be placed into, fit' > Orc tiki- 'be able to contain (вместать)', Ul tiki-, Nn Nh čiqi-, Nn KU tlyki- 'go in (a container)' ('помещаться'), Ud {STM} tixi- & tik^ui- id., 'have enough room for (вместать)', Ud Sm {Krm.} tixi- id., v. 'fit, be large enough, налезать' (of clothes, footwear) || [2] Tg *çiki- v. 'put, insert, stuff' (×N ≈ *te'h'akaʔê '↑') > Nn B čiqo- 'put, insert, stuff', Ewk çikiw- 'insert, stuff', çikça- 'stuff tight', Sln шикçэ- ~ шитçi- 'stuff\cram into, poke', Neg çimηзт- 'pick one's teeth', Ul čigžiči- ~ čirgзči- 'stop up tightly, drive a wad into the rifle', WrMc ciki- 'be the right size for, fit to the hole' (of a handle, axe-handle), 'be a tight fit, go in' ¶ STM II 178, 391, Krm. 295; the forms meaning v. 'stuff into' or sim. may be loans from M (see ⇒) || M *čiki- v. 'stuff into, press into' (×N ≈ *te'h'akaʔê '↑') > WrM ciki- v. 'jam, stuff, press, shove', HIM čixe-, Brt šžž- id., Kl čik- id., 'squeeze into', Mnr H {SM} č'ig_i-, {T} čigi-, Dx čiqi- v. 'stuff into, press into' ¶ MED 181, STM II 391, KRS 650, SM 448, T 379, T DnJ 141 || T: [1] *t'ik(a)- v. 'stuff into, press in' (×N ≈ *te'h'akaʔê '↑') > OT U tiq- 'stuff into, press in', Tk tika-

vt. 'plug, stop up', Ggz tıqɑ- 'stop up', Az tıχɑ-, Tkm dıq-, Δ tıq-, Qzq tıq- v. 'stick into, thrust into', Tv d_IϣI- vi. 'stuff (with), thrust' ('плотно набивать, просовывать'), Chv ЧЫХ- ĆИХ/ϣ- vt. 'stuff (with), fill' † Chv Ć- < *t'- (palatalizing infl. of *ü?) † Cl. 476-7, IS AD 41 [#11], Rs. W 477-8, 479-80, TkR 268, 297, Sht. 208-9, TvR 413, Md. 75, Jeg. 329, Fed. II 428-9 †[2] NaT *t_L'ı̄k- v. 'put, place, insert' (× N ≈ *t_e'h'akaʔê '↑') > OT tik- v. 'insert', Tk dı̄k- 'erect, set up, plant', Tkm dı̄k- 'insert, build, dig in, plant', Qzq t̄ı̄k- tı̄k- v. 'put, place, insert into the ground', Tv t'ı̄k- (inf. тигер) 'put (a cauldron) on fire, put, set up (a tent), establish' † Cl. 476-7, Rs. W 479, TvR 413 † † pKo {S} *t̄ı̄k- v. 'dip down, imprint' > MKo t̄ı̄k-, NKo Ć:ı̄k- † S QK #497, Nam 181, MLC 1540 † † pJ {S} *túk- v. 'poke, trust' > OJ túk-, J: T cùk-, K/Kg cúk- † S QJ #475, Mr. 773 † † ≈ SDM97 (A*t'ı̄k'u- v. 'stuff into, press into'), DQA #2249 (A *t̄ı̄k'i 'to plant vertically' > T *t'ı̄k-, M), ADb. KL s.v. *t'ı̄k'i- 'всовывать' † † D *tukk- v. 'push, shove' > Kn Δ dūku, dūki v. 'push', Krx tukk-nā v. 'give a push, shove', Mlt tuke 'push, remove' † † D #3286 ◊ In descendant lgs. the reflexes of this N word contaminated with those of several paronymous words sharing the basic meaning v. 'knock, strike', whence probably K: G tutk- v. 'push, strike' ◊ ≠ BmK 316-8 (an attempt of indiscriminated comparison of different [possibly ideophonic] Gmc, K, S, C, FU, D, A, and Sum roots with meanings such as 'knock, strike', 'crack', 'break\crush', 'tread down', etc. and sharing an initial t̄/t and a second cns. *k/g/ḳ, partially with different stem-final cns.: G t̄kac- v. 'strike', Sag tuϣula 'strike with the feet', etc.); ≠ IS II 28-9 (NED *tukk- < N {IS} t̄ı̄k̄ɑ 'pierce, thrust').

2349a. (₂?) *t̄ük̄∇ (or *t̄ük̄∇?) 'hair' > HS: C: EC {Bl.} *d̄ogor 'hair' (× N *š̄äϣoy_Li_R∇ 'hair?') > Af {PH} d̄ágor, Sa {Bl.} dagar, Bs. ogor-ro 'hair', Sml {DSI} d̄ogor 'animal's coat, wool', Sml N {Abr.} d̄ógór 'animal's coat', ? Dsn {To.} d̄ūr 'hair' † Bl. 217, PH 89-90, Abr. S 65, To. DL 496, DSI 177 † † Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} ták 'hair' † ChC, ChL † † A: T *t'ük 'body hair, animal's coat' > OT U, Chg tük, MU, XwT tüg 'body hair', MQp tüg 'feathers', XwT t̄üy 'fur', Tk t̄üy, Ggz t̄üy, Az t̄üg 'hair, down, feather', Xlj t̄ı̄k 'body hair', Tkm t̄üy id., 'hair of animals', Blq, Xk tük 'hair, hair of animals, feather', Qmq, Qzq tük, Uz tuk 'body hair', Bsh t̄ök, ET tük id., 'hair of animals', VTt t̄ök, Alt tük id., 'small feathers', Qq tük 'hair of animals, down', Nog tük id., 'body hair', Qrg 'body hair of humans, short hair of animals', Tv d̄ük, Tf d̄ük 'hair', Chv tək feathers, body hair' † ≈ ET 198 and ≈ Cl. 433 (in both: unj. φ adducion of OT t̄ū

'hair of the body'), DT 204, Ra. 177 || Tg *t̥iki-kta 'hair' > Neg t̥ikta, Orc tikta 'hair (on the hide)', Ewk Tmt tikikta ~ tekikta, Ewk Ur tikikta 'a hair near its root' ¶ ≈ STM II 178 ¶¶ DQA #2408 (T, M, Tg + unc. σ: WrMc t̥uku 'cover of a fur-coat', WrM toqum 'saddle fender'), ≈ S AJ 282 || ?φ D: Krmb {Zv.} ?φ takare 'hair' ¶ The vw. a in the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Zv. BNTL 655-6 ◇ Tg *-k- suggests a N *-K̥-, while EC *-g- may be due to dis. (deglottalization due to the presence of another glottalized cns.) ◇ Blz. DA 152-3 [#4] (adduced D and unconvincingly words for 'head' and 'neck' in different HS lgs.).

2350. ≈ *t̥loʔj̥äK̥lw̥A 'goat, sheep' > HS: Ch: CCh: Glv {Rp.} t̥úʔwà 'sheep, lamb', Dgh {IL} t̥húʔwéʔé, {Frk.} twíʔè 'sheep' || Lmn {Lk.} t̥úwáká id. || MfG {Brr.} d̥j̥k̥w̥ id. || Ech: Nd D {J} d̥j̥gâ id. ¶ Ch *w suggests a N *w following *K̥ ¶ JI II 291, RpB 95 || A: T *t̥l̥j̥äkä ({ADb.} *t̥'ek'e) 'he-goat, male wild goat' > OT t̥äkä, Tk teke, Az t̥äkä, Tkm teke, Ggz, Qzq tekä, XT {ADb.} t̥ekε, Tv d̥éʔe id., Chv такa taga 'ram' ¶ Rs. W 470, ADb. Ttd 55 [#11], TL 154, 428, 647, Jeg. 228, Fed. II 163-4 || M *teke > WrM {MED} teke 'wild goat, ibex [Capra siberica]', {Kow.} 'uncastrated he-goat', Kl tek id., HIM тэх 'wild goat, ibex', Brt teke б→ WrMc t̥exε, Sln t̥exε 'he-goat'; acc. to Rs. W 470 and SDM95, M ← T ¶ MED 797, KRS 490, Chr. 458, STM II 2 || Tg *t̥ōkī 'elk' > Ewk t̥ōkī, Sln t̥ōxi, Neg t̥ōkī, Ork t̥ō ~ t̥ōʔo, Ul, Nn Nh t̥ō, Nn KU t̥ōku 'elk', Lm t̥ōku 'male elk', WrMc t̥oʔo 'grown-up elk'; Tg б→ Gil t̥'oʔ 'elk' ¶ STM II 191-230 ¶¶ Attention should be paid to words for wild horse and wild ass: M: WrM t̥aki 'wild horse (Equus Przewalski), wild ass', HIM тახ id., and probably NaT *tagi 'female of the wild ass' > OT XI [QB], MU taʔi id. (Cl. 466); it is not clear whether they belong here ¶¶ ≈ SDM95 s.v. *t̥'ūāk'∇ 'a horned animal' (T, Tg + qu. M *taki 'wild horse'), DQA #2385 (A *t̥'j̥äk'u 'a horned animal' > T, Tg), Rs. W 470, Cl. 466, Kow. 1656 || D *takar, {GS} *tagar- 'ram' > Tm takar 'sheep, ram, goat, male animal', Kn tagar, ʔagaru, ʔagara, ʔegaruu 'ram', Tu tagaru, ʔagarə, Tl tagaramu, tagaru id. ¶¶ D #3000, GS 223 [#546] ◇ The N emphatic *t̥- is evidenced by A *t̥'- (> T *t̥'-, M *t̥-) and possibly by MfG d̥-.

2351. *t̥ag̥l̥∇j̥K̥'a' 'to stick \ be stuck to sth.', 'to fix\attach (sth. to sth.)' > HS: SES *t̥'ʔʔ > Mh t̥'ʔʔ: G pf. ʔʔʔāʔ v. 'be stuck, attached to', Sh pf. h̥ʔʔʔawʔ v. 'stick sth. to sth.', Jb C t̥'ʔʔ: pf. G ʔa'ʔʔ,

sbjn. $\text{y}\text{3}\text{t}'\text{y}\text{3}\text{k}$ v. 'be stuck, attached to', Jb E $\text{t}'\text{y}\text{a}\text{k}$ id., Jb C *Sh* (pf. $\text{e}\text{t}'\text{y}\text{e}\text{k}$, sbjn. $\text{y}\text{e}\text{t}'\text{y}\text{3}\text{k}$) vt. 'stick, attach to' ¶ Jo. M 407, Jo. J 275 || ? Ch: Dgh {Frk.} $\text{t}\text{a}\text{k}^{\omega}\text{m}\acute{\text{a}}$, ? $\text{t}\text{ik}^{\omega}\text{a}$ v. 'stick' ¶ ChC s.v. 'stick' || U * $\text{takk}\nabla$ ({UEW} * takka) 'hang, cling to, stick to sth.' > FU * $\text{takk}\nabla$ > F takkala 'adhesive state of the snow, so that it sticks to the skis', F Δ takki 'feuchter Schnee, Pappschnee', takalta- , takista- 'befestigen, anheften, kleben', Es takista- 'befestigen, andrücken; stecken bleiben, stocken, anhaften, hängen bleiben', F takerta- , takelta- v. 'stick to sth.' (of snow, etc.), takertu- , takeltu- , takistu- v. 'get stuck, stick, fasten' || Os: V $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{x}\text{r}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{t}\text{a-}$ 'andrücken, D $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{x}\text{a}\text{rt-}$ 'haften machen, anheften', O $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{x}\text{a}\text{rt-}$ 'hängen (an einen Nagel, das Zugnetz auf Strangen)', $\text{t}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{x}\text{a}\text{rl}\text{a-}$ 'sich anheften, hängen bleiben' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} tokuatpa , UO {Cs.} $\text{t}\acute{\text{o}}\text{kuatpa}$ 'es blieb hängen\haften' ({UEW} 'es blieb stecken, haftete eng'), Tz {KKIH} $\text{toqq}\text{t-}$ 'stick' ('застрясть'), toqqal- 'dress so.; put on (clothes), haft (e.g., an axe on an axe-handle)' ¶¶ UEW 507-8, Coll. 61, SK 1207-9, KKIH 184, Cs. 148, 231 || A * $\text{t}'\text{a}_{\text{t}}\text{ka-}$ > NaT * $\text{t}'\text{ak-}$ > OT taq- v. 'fix\attach (sth. to sth.)', OOG, Chg, Cmn taq- , XwT $\text{daq-}/\text{day-}$ v. 'fasten', Osm {Rh.} taq- v. 'affix, attach, append', Tk tak- , Az $\text{ta}\chi\text{-}$, ET taq- 'fasten, attach, hang on, put on, wear', Tkm daq- 'sew (to\on), fasten (to)', Qzq, VTt $\text{ta}\psi\text{-}$, Qq taq- id., 'attach, bind to' ¶ Cl. 464, Rh. 1225, TrR 822, TkR 243, Hüs. 284, MM 339, KrkR 611, Nj. 278-9 ¶ Initial * $\text{t-}\sim\text{d-}$ in the Og lgs. provides ev. of pT * $\text{t}'\text{-}$ || Tg * $\text{ta}_{\text{t}}\text{ga-}$ v. 'stick (fast), get caught' > Ewk $\text{ta}\psi\text{a-}$ id., $\text{ta}\psi\text{aw-}$ id., 'get caught (somewhere)', Neg $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$, $\text{ta}\psi\text{a-}$, Orc $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$ id., Ud ta- , Nn $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$ 'stick fast, get entangled (in a net)', Ul $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$, $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\text{a-}$ ~ $\text{ta}\psi\text{a-}$ 'get caught, run aground', WrMc ta- 'get caught on, be trapped', Sln $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\bar{\text{u}}\text{-}$ 'hook sth., get hold of' ¶ STM II 149-150, Krm. 292.

2352. * $\text{t}\acute{\text{o}}\text{w}\text{K}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'germ', 'seed' > HS: eB * $\sqrt{\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{k}}$ > B * $\text{-d}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\text{-}$ / * $\text{-d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qq-}$ 'grain, seed' (× N * $\text{di}\text{k}\nabla$ 'edible cereals\fruit'??) > Ah $\text{ta-d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{q}$ (pl. $\text{ti-d}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\text{-}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}$) 'grain, semence', Ttq {Msq.} $\text{ta}\bar{\text{d}}\text{a}\text{q}$ (pl. $\text{ti}\bar{\text{d}}\text{a}\psi\text{in}$) 'grain (de blé, d'orge)', Gh $\text{ta-d}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\text{a}\text{q}$ (pl. $\check{\text{c}}\text{i-d}\bar{\text{a}}\psi\text{a}\psi\text{-in}$) 'grain (de céréale)' ¶ Fc. 289-290, Msq. 141, Nh. 163, ≠ NZ 478 (the B root ← * $\text{d}\nabla\psi$ 'stone, caillou') || IE: NaIE (in IIn) * $\text{teu}\text{k}_{\text{t}}^{\omega}\text{-}$ 'seed, germ' > OI 'tōk-man- 'junger Sproß von Getreide', Av $\text{ta}\psi\text{oxman}$ 'seed, germ', OPrs $\text{taum}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'family, clan' (× NaIE * $\text{teu}\text{k-}$ 'offspring' < N * $\text{tu}\text{K}\nabla$ 'offspring'?), MPrs $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{hmag}$, $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$, NPrs تخم $\text{to}\chi\text{m}$ 'seed', تخمه $\text{to}\chi\text{me}$ 'seed (semen plantarum);

origin', Psh *tōma* 'seed' ¶ M K I 527 || U: FU **towk∇* 'germing', → 'season of germing, spring' ({UEW} 'spring') > F *τουκο* 'sowing, crop, season of germing, season of sowing', *τουκοκου* 'May', Es *tōug* 'spring sowing' | pMr {Ker.} **tūxə-ndə* > **tundə* > Er *tundo*, Mk *tunda* 'in spring, spring' ||| pObU {Ht.} **t∇ψ(-)* 'spring' > pOs **toψ*, **toψ+* ({[Hl.]} **tōψ*, **tōψ+*) > Os: V/Vy *toψ*, Ty *tāψ^ω*, Y *tā^ω*, K *tā^ω*, Nz/Kz *tō^ω*; pVg **tūyā* > Vg: HK/MK/LK *tūyā*, P/UL/Ss *tūya*, SV *tūy* ¶ UEW 532-3, Coll. 119, 132, Coll. CG 414, Ker. II 172, MF 620-1, Ht. 187 [#621].

2353. *tēL∇ 'shout, call', (?) 'utter ritual\magical incantations' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} **t∇l-* v. 'ask, shout' > pAG {Hf.} **tal* v. 'ask' > Gmy, Kfr, Su *tal* v. 'ask', Ang {Flk.} *talmē* v. 'ask (a question)' | BT: Pr {Frz.} *télò* id. | ??σ Hs {Ba.} *tíllà* v. 'call\speak loudly to so. for him to hear (unless ← *tíllà* v. 'pierce a hole') ||| ECh: Ke *túlúl* 'Alarmgeschrei' ¶ Stl. ZCh [#196], Hf. AGG 19, Ba. 1014, Frz. P 50, Eb. 100 || ?? S **^o√tlw* (× N ***tul∇** '≈ to tell [a story], to utter ritual incantations') > Ar *√tlw* v. *G* 'read (from a book), recite' (unless from *√tlw* 'follow'); but hardly here Ak *tēlu* 'to pronounce exactly', which for phonetic reasons must go back to S **^o√tʰl* > ¶ BK I 205, Bel. 57, Hv. 62, Sd. 1345 ¶¶ OS #2362 || K: Sv {TK}: UB/L *li-ṭūli*, LB/Ln *li-ṭuli* 'to call (so.), to say', UB {GP}, L {Dn.} *liṭūli* id., 'to yell', Sv {Ni.} *ṭuli* v. 'shout' ¶ TK 449, GP 170, Dn. s.v. *ṭūli*, Ni. s.v. *кричать* ¶¶ The origin of Sv *ū* is unknown || ?σ IE **tel-* 'utter ritual incantations, pray' > AnIE (× N ***tul∇** '↑' [q.v.]): Ht *talliya-* v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {Krl.} *tali* 'priest' || NaIE: ON *þylja* {Ei} 'recite a poem', {Vr.} 'aufsagen', *þula* 'string of words', {Ho.} 'song', *þulr* 'Kultredner, Dichter', AS *ǣyle* 'orator, speaker; jester' ¶¶ ≈ EI 450 (**telH-* '≈ pray'), Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 626, 630, Ho. 374 || A: Tg **tēluṇu* 'narrating, folk tale' > Lm *tēlan*, Neg *tēluṇ*, Orc *tēlumu* ~ *tēluṇu*, Ud *tēluṇu*, Ul *tēluṇgu*, Ork *tēluṇ(g)u*, Nn *tēluṇgu* id.; cp. Gil *t'+lgu* 'legend' (← Tg?) ¶ Bz. 985, STM II 233, Krm. 298 ¶ Blz. KM #27 equates Tg **tēluṇu* with words belonging to N ***tul∇** '↑', but it is hardly acceptable (≠φ) || D (in SCD) **tel|l-* ({ʒGS} **t-*) > OTI, TI *teluɔu* v. 'praise, worship, request, beg', Gnd *talehk-* v. 'beg\ask for sth.\so., esp. a bride', Δ *talk-*, *talp-* v. 'ask, beg' (hardly from D **tel-* v. 'become clear', as suggested by Km.) ¶ D #3427, Km. 390-1 ◇ ≈ Blz. 130 (equates the D root with the reflexes of N ***tul∇** 'to tell [a story]', q.v.).

2354. (₂?) *t̥i̯i̯V(-Ḳo) (↔ *t-?) 'tongue, organs of speech' > A *tilkV 'tongue, voice' > pT {TL} *t̥ilk > NaT *t̥il/*t̥il 'tongue' > OT til ~ til, MU til, XwT XIV, MQp/Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV til, MT XIV [IM], OOsmdil, Tk dil, Az, Tkm, Ggz, XT dil, SY dil, Uz, ET, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tb til, Qzq, Xk t̥l, VTt t̥l, Tv, Tf d̥il, Yk t̥l 'tongue' || Chv чѣлхѣ ч̣ьл̣ѣ (< *t̥il̥yaq) 'tongue', чѣлѣх ч̣ьл̣ѣх 'vocal cords' ¶ Chv č̣i- < *t̥i- (palatalizing infl. of *i?). Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 220-1), pT *-ḷ regularly yields NaT *-l, while in Ch it remains as -ḷ|k- (in Auslaut -ḷx|k / -ḷx|k) ¶ Cl. 489, IS AD 39 [#3], ET VGD 228-30, ADb. SR 36 (*ḍijlk = *t̥ijlk), S AJ 171 [#28], 183-4 [#84], Ra. 179, TL 227-8, Md. 72 (ppT *t̥ilk > T *t̥il), 179, ADb. Ttd 62 [#16] (*t̥il < *t̥ilg), Ash. XV 280, Fed. II 411 || Tg *ḍilga-n 'voice' > Ewk dilgan, Sln dilgã, Lm ḍilg̃n, Neg ḍilgan, Orc digga(n-), UI ḍilẓ̌a(n-) ~ ẓ̌ilẓ̌a(n-), Ork ẓ̌ilda(n-), Nn Nh/KU ẓ̌ilgã, Nn B *ẓ̌ilga(n-), WrMc ẓ̌ilgan, Mc Sb ẓ̌ilgan 'voice', Ud digan-a- v. 'say, cry', Ewk ḍilg-ūrā, Lm ḍilg-ur 'loud-voiced' ¶ STM I 206, Krm. 227, S AJ 210 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2242 (A *tilV 'tongue; voice', including T, Tg), ADb. SR 47 (A *tilgV), S AJ 284 || D (in KK) *t̥V|lek- ({ḡGS} *t-?) v. 'put out the tongue' > Kui tlēpka (< *tlēk-p-)/tlēkt- id., Ku tek^h- (in vendōri tek^hmū 'put out your tongue') ¶ D #3430 || ?σ K: pGZ *t̥lek-/*t̥l̥k- 'lick, lick oneself' (of animals) (× N *daH̄V ↔ *daH̄V 'lick?') > G t̥lek-, Mg *t̥ir̥k- 'lick, lick oneself' (of animals), ? Lz n̥t̥ḳva| id. ¶ K 182, K² 100-1, Fn. KW-1 36 ¶ Possible infl. of N o *Ṭaḳ'U' 'to lick, to lap' || ?σ IE: NaIE *tolk^w- 'speak', '≈ declare' > L loquor / inf. loquī / pfc. locūtus est 'speak' || OIr ad-tluch v. 'thank', to-tluch- v. 'ask (bitten)', do-tluchethar 'prays' || Sl *ṭьḳь > OCS ТЛѢКЪ тлѣкѣ 'ἐρμενεύς, interpretation', OR ТЪЛКЪ тѣлѣкѣ id., R толк 'sense', † 'explanation', Blg тѣл'кувам 'I interpret, explain' || ?? OI tar'kaṽati 'guesses, reasons about, considers as' ¶ P 1088, EI 535, WH I 821, EM 652, Vn. T 79-80, Vs. IV 71, qu.: M KI 484-5 and M EI 633 (?σ: OI tar'kaṽati < ḍ taṛk- 'drehen') || ?σ HS: B *√ḍly, *√ḍls 'lip' > Ah a-ḍaloy (pl. i-ḍlay), ETwl ьд̣ьл̣ь, Ty taḡ̣loyt, Tnsl {NZ} aḡ̣alay, Gh a-ḍlu (pl. i-ḍlayən) id., with an ext.: Mz {La} a-ḍlās, Gd a-ḍalis (pl. ḡalsān), Skn a-ṭlus (pl. i-ṭlās), Skn aḡ̣lus 'lip', Nf aḡ̣ilsan 'both lips' ¶ Fc. 273, Lf. II #O345, La. MChB 113 (fn. 5), La. S 253, Ds. IVB 276, Wlf. EAW 45, NZ 465, 467-8 ◇ The IE, K, and B roots (if they belong here) suggest an

initial N *t̥-, while the Altaic cognate points to a N non-emphatic *t-. This discrepancy still remains unexplained.

2354a. *t̥ūl̥∇ 'fire; kindle (a fire)' > A ({DQA} *t̥u|o|∇ 'kindle a fire'): M *t̥üle- 'kindle a fire, set on fire, burn' > WrM t̥üle-, HIM τΥΛε- id. ¶ MED 852 || Tg: WrMc t̥olo- 'kindle a torch, set fire' (←b-M?) ¶ Z 741 ¶¶ QDA #2461 || U *tu|le 'fire' (× N *duī 'fire; to heat', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ Gil: Gil A t̥ulf 'summer' ¶¶ ST 386 || HS: S *°t̥ul̥∇₁w > Ar t̥ulw-at- 'éclat de l'aurore', {Hv.} 'brightness\gleam of dawn' ¶ BK II 104, Hv. 437 || WCh (× N *duī '↑'): Ang {ChL} tal vt. 'burn' | Tng {J} t̥èl̥è v. 'fry, put in/on fire, roast' || Ch: HgB t̥əl̥indo, FIK t̥əl̥ùntiku vt. 'burn' ¶ ChC, ChL ◇ IS MS 341 (A ÷ K *t̥wr- > Sv t̥wr- 'kindle a candle') ◇ Gr. II #152 (*t̥ul 'fire') (U, A, CK, Gil, Ai).

2355. *t̥'äχ̄l̄a ~ *t̥'äχ̄a or *t̥'aχ̄l̄E ~ *t̥'aχ̄E 'spleen' > HS: CS *t̥ihāl- id. > MHb כְּהַלְבֵּי תְּאֵהוֹל, Ug t̥h̄l, JEA, Sr t̥əh̄ā'l-ā, Md t̥ahala id., Ar t̥ihāl- id., d. coll. t̥uh̄l- id.; S *t̥ulh̄īm- 'spleen' > Ak OB/LB t̥ulīmu, Mh, Hrs t̥əl̄haym, Jb E/C t̥el̄him id. ¶ OLS 480, Br. 272, Js. 528, Sl. 499, DM 173, BK II 61, Sd. 1394, Jo. M 410, Jo. J 277, Jo. H 13, L A 223, L EDH 152, L EDG III 616, MiK I #1.278 || A *t̥ā|ā|∇ > NaT *t̥'ā| 'spleen' > OT U tal ({Cl.} t̄āl), ET tal, Yk t̄āl id.; NaT d. *t̄āl-ak (~ ḵ*t̄äläk) id. > OT QU, MQp, Chg talaq, Tk d̄alak, Ggz dalak, Az dalag, Az Tbr {Foy} d̄äläḡ, Tkm d̄älak, Qry, QrB, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh talaq, Uz taloq ¶ IS AD 47, Cl. 495, Rs. W 457, TL 279 (T *t̄'(|)ā|ak), ET VGD 137-8, Nj. 281, Rl. III 880, ADb. Ttd 61 [#6] || M *deli-ḡün (~ *deli-kün?) 'spleen' > WrM deligün ~ deligüü, MM [L] delgün, [HI] deli,ün, [MA, IsV] delün, HIM дэлүγ(н), Brt дэлюγ(н), Kl {KRS} делүн, {Rm.} delün, Mnr H {SM} d̄iliū, Dg {T} delkin, Dg Cc {T} delig id.; AncM *deli-kün → WrMc deliḡun ~ deliḡaḡun, Ewk d̄əlkin, Sln d̄əlki id.; MM *deligün > Ud {Shn., Krm.} d̄əligi, Ud Sm {Krm.} d̄əluḡ id. ¶¶ IS AD 47, Gomb. LAS 21, MED 250, Gl. III 114-5, Kow. 1719, SM 55, Ms. H 50, Lg. VMI 27, Pp. L III 56, KW 86, STM I 233, Krm. 230, ADb. Ttd l.c. || pKo *t̄'c̄ira > Nko c̄ira 'spleen' ¶ S QK #888, MLC 1529 || pJ *d̄₁i ~ *d̄₁z-j 'gall bladder' > OJ i ¶ S QJ #1644, Mr. 420 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2285 (A *t̄'j̄ōle 'spleen', including T, M, Ko, J), S CNM 11 (A *t̄'j̄āle id.) (in both sources T, M, Ko + *÷ Tg *dilba 'diaphragm'), S AJ 14 ¶¶ A *t- (for the expected *t̄-) may be due to the infl. of *χ || K: pGZ *t̄qirp- 'spleen' > G t̄qirp-, Mg t̄qip- id. ¶ K 184, K² 193 ¶ The K root is likely to go back to N ?φ *°t̄'äχ̄l̄a b∇ ~ *°t̄'äχ̄a b∇ (sc.

t'**äχ̄la ~ ***t'**äīχ̄a + N *bA [adjectival pc., q.v. ffd.]; N ***t'**...χ̄ > *t'**χ̄- > K ***t'**q̄- (ass. glottalization of *χ̄); K *r from N ***t'** due to some unknown phonetic rule? ◇ Altaic *t- for the expected *t' defies explanation so far ◇ ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. 'селезенка' ('spleen'). Not here (⇒ IS) Lp N {N} dađve and Lp S {Hs.} háb'đie 'spleen'. On the ev. of the cognates in U (incl. other dialects of Lp) this Lp word for 'spleen' goes back to U *lāpp̄▽ (F UEW 242) < N *l'æ'p̄A 'spleen' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM #103, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 6.

2356. ***t'a**l̄▽ ~ ***t'a**l̄▽ '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' > HS: S ***o**√t̄l̄s > Ar t̄al̄s- 'spathe du palmier; fruit, quand il commence à se nouer; fruits', √t̄l̄s G 'être en fleur', 'produire la spathe' (un plamier) ¶ BK II 96-8 || B ***o**√d̄l̄H, *-d̄luH > Ah ađlu (Fcj. 14) 'être vert et pousser rigoureusement', ?σ Tmz dlu / dli 'être en grande quantité, abonder', ? SrSn tađla (pl. tađliwin) 'gerbe']?φ B ***o**√d̄l̄H, 'branch' > Ah tedale 'a thick trunk, a thick branch' ¶ Fc. 192, 271, MT 89, Rn. 309, NZ 328, 463 || K: ?σ *m-t̄il- 'greens, vegetables' > OG, G m̄t̄ili 'kitchen-garden, garden', Mg d. o-r̄t̄win-, o-r̄t̄il-, Lz (der.) o-n̄t̄ul-e 'kitchen-garden' (←d- Mg *r̄t̄(w)in-, -r̄t̄il- and Lz *n̄t̄ul- 'vegetables'); ??φ Sv: UB/L/Ln {TK} lar̄tam, UB {GP} lar̄tām, LB (h)ar̄tam, Sv {K} (l)ar̄tam, ler̄tām 'kitchen-garden' ¶¶ Doubtful as a cognate because of the unexpected vw. *i ¶¶ K 138, K² 126, Chik. 147, TK 367, GP 136 ||] ?φ G tela 'elm (вяз)', teladuma 'Ulmus campestris (карагач)', telamuši 'Ulmus scabra & elliptica' ¶ DCh. 556, Chx. 471 ¶ The unexpected initial *t- may suggest that G tela, etc. are loans from another lge. (T?) || IE: NaIE *tāl- 'shoot' ('junger Trieb') > Gk τήλλις (gen. -εως ~ -ιως) 'fenugreek', τηλεθύω (mostly in present prtc.) 'be luxuriant-growing \ blooming' || L tālea 'short stake\bar; a cutting, slip for planting', tālia ~ talla 'hull of onion' ([Fest.] talla 'folliculum cepae') ¶ Not here Oss tala 'young tree, sprout' (←b- T), as well as Lt atólas 'after-grass, aftermath' (⇒ P), Ltv atāils 'after-grass, aftermath, second crop', and Pru attolis 'Grummet' (cognate of Gt alan 'to grow') ¶ WPI 705, P 1055, F II 892-3, WH II 644, Ert. ED 235, Ab. III 224-5 (Oss ←b- T), Frn. 22 || A: NaT *t'al {AD} 'willow' > OT QU tal ~ dal ({Cl.} tāl) 'willow', [MhK] 'a green branch ('arratbu-l-qadi:bi)', MU XIV ta:;l 'willow', Chg dal 'tree, willow', tal 'willow', Osm, Tk dal, Ggz, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq dal, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Alt, ET, Xk, Shor tal, Tkm {TDS, TkR} tal (but {Rs.} tāl) 'willow (ива, тальник, верба, ветла)', MQp XIII طال ta:;l,

VTt, Bsh tal id., Qrg tal 'willow, withe, twig', Tv t'al id., Yk d. (← dim.) tal-aχ 'willow' ¶ Cl. 489, ADb. Ttd 62 [#4] (proves that the initial cns. in pT is *t'-), Dm. NRTAJ 156, 188, 205, Rs. W 457, TL 125-6, ET VGD 130-1, Tkr 615, TDS 632 ¶ Tkm tal (with a vl. t- instead of *d-) is probably a loan from a Qp lge. (where t- is reg.). The pT vw. *a is not long (⇔ Cl.) on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (acc. to the available dictionaries), the letter 'alif in the Ar transcription of OT and MU is not a reliable ev. for a long ā || Tg {ADb.} *talgiik 'fallen trees, twigs, and branches' ('валежник') > Ewk talgīϣ, Lm tālgιϣ, Neg talgιϣ id., ср. (here ???) Nn Nh dataḷā даталан 'ε willow (a species)' ¶ Pt. 43, STM I 201 || D *ta]- ({{GS}} *t-?) v. 'shoot forth, sprout' > Tm taḷir id., taḷir 'sprout, tender shoot', Ml taḷir 'bud, new leaf, shoot', Ka taḷal, taḷir v. 'bud, sprout, shoot', Tu taḷirə 'sprout, bud', Tl talaru v. 'bloom', talirυ 'sprout, shoot', Ku dāl- v. 'blossom' ¶¶ D #3131 ◇ In NaIE and D (where the lr. was lost) there was a partial merger of the reflexes of this N word with those of N *ṭal̥Eγ, 'o' 'to give birth to; progeny' ◇ Cf. *ṭal̥ 'rod' ('прут') in Daghestanian lgs. The de-emphatization in B (*d for *ḡ) is still to be explained ◇ IS MS 359 *ṭäl̥ 'расти' and IS SS #1.4.

2357. *ṭol̥A(-k∇) or *ṭAl̥∇(-k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' > HS: Ch: CCh: pDb {Blz.} *talan 'head' > Db {Lnh.} tāláη, Db K {Sb.} táláη, Msy {Mch.} táḷā 'head' ¶ JI II 183, ChC || WS *✓ṭl̥ ~ (?) *o✓ṭl̥ > Ar ✓ṭl̥ G 'gravir une montagne, s'élever sur une hauteur', ṭil̥- 'lieu élevé d'où l'on peut voir les alentours'; 'bord, marge'; Jb E/C ✓ṭl̥ (C pf. 'ṭelaṣ), Mh ✓ṭl̥ G (pf. 'ṭawla, sbjn. yṣṭl̥ē) v. 'rise, get up'; ??? (×N *tuḷ̥∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') Ar tal̥-, tal̥at- 'hauteur, élévation, monticule' ¶ BK I 204 and II 96-98, Ln. 312, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277 || A *t'ol̥k∇ ({{SDM97}} *t'oluk'∇) 'head' > M *tolugay 'head' > WrM tolugaī 'head, top, tip', HIM толгой id., WrO tologuī 'head', tologoi id., 'top', Kl {Rm.} tol̥ṽā ~ tol̥ṽā 'Kopf, oberes Ende', Mnr {T} tol̥guē, Mnr H {SM} t'or̥guē', {Pot.} толгой, Mnr M {Pot.} толгай, {Rkh.} tor̥gé 'head' ¶ KW 392, MED 822, Krg. 504, T 366, SM 424, Pot. 412, Rkh. 378 || pKo {S} *t̥l̥k̥ōr > MKo t̥l̥k̥ōr, NKo tāguri 'forehead' ¶ S QK #306, Nam 147 || ?σ AmTg: Ork tol̥pomυ ~ tor̥pomυ (from a compound or derived word?), Nn dul̥kumi 'sinciput' ¶ STM I 217, 223; the voiced d- is irreg. || ?σ T *t'ul̥uḡ 'temple (Schläfe), hair on the temples' > OT {Cl.}, Cmn tulum, MQp tulum ~ tul̥uḡ, Chg

{Vm.} tuluyum (inaccurate record?) 'temple', XwT {Faz.} tuluḡ 'hair on the temples', OOsM ≥XIV duluḡ ~ tuluḡ, Osm {Rh.} toluḡ ~ toluḡ, Tk tuluḡ, Δ dulun & dulum, Qmq Δ tulum 'temple', VTt толым тълъм, Bsh толом тълъм, Nog, Qq, Qzq tulim, Qrg tulum, Alt tuluḡ, Shor tulun 'plait of hair', Xk tuluḡ 'two plaits of hair', Chv тӓлӓм тълъм 'lock of hair, curl' ¶ The T cognate is valid only if one can find proper contexts (and/or typological parallels) for the semantic change 'head, top, upper end' → 'temple' ¶ Cl. 501, Rs. W 498, TL 203-4, Faz. II 411, Rh. 1261-2, Jeg. 235, Fed. II 188-9, Vm. 266 ¶¶ DQA #2426 (A *t'ōlu 'head') || D {tr., GS} *tal- 'head, top' > Tm talai, Ml tala 'head, top, end', Kt tal 'head, top', Tu taræ, Tl tala id., 'hair of head', Td tal 'head, end, edge', Kn tale, tala 'head, being uppermost', Kdg tale 'end', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Gdb tal, Prj tel, Gnd tallā & talā, Knd tala, Kui tlau, Ku tʰr̄āyū & trāyū & tala 'head', Mlt tali 'hair of head' ¶¶ D #3103, GS 180 [#456] || ?σ IE: NaIE *t'∇- > Clt: W tal 'forehead', Br tal, Crn t̄al 'forehead, front', OIr tel ~ taul ~ tul and tulcind 'forehead' (cind 'of the head'), unless (acc. to WP I 740 and P 1061) the Clt √ goes back to NaIE *tel- 'flat' (→ 'surface' → 'surface of the head, forehead') ¶¶ Bc. 218, Vn. T 180-2 ◇ The A cognate points to a N *o in the first syll., while the D root suggests *a or *ä. This discrepancy is still to be explained. One of possible solutions: the N etymon is *t̄ol̄A(-k∇), and the unexpected pD vw. *a of the first syll. may be due to the ass. infl. of the N vw. *A of the next syll. ◇ Hardly here (because of the vw.) FU *tužka 'point, upper end' (-&→ FP *tužka-m∇), which probably belongs to N *tuł̄∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.) ◇ BmK 294 (Clt, D), ≠ BmK 309-11 (an attempt to connect S *√t̄l̄ v. 'rise' with some C, IE, U, D, and A roots meaning 'forward', 'to come', 'old', 'to touch', etc.), Blz. DA #3 (D, CCh, Clt).

2358. *tuł̄i, i, iê 'come, enter' > HS: S *√t̄l̄ > Ar *t̄l̄ G 'venir dans un pays, se rendre dans un pays; survenir, se présenter chez quelqu'un' ¶ BK II 97 || Ch: WCh: AG *√d̄l̄ 'go in' > Su {J} d̄el, Chip d̄el, Mnt del id. || ? SBc: Gj, Plc d̄eli 'go out'; ?? Gj tuluw̄i {ChL} v. 'come' || ECh: Jg {J} dul, dol v. 'come' ¶ Stl. ZCh 174 [#272] || U *tuł̄e- v. 'come' > F, Es tule- id. || Lp T {TI} toł̄e- id. || Chr KB/U/B tola- id. || ??σ Hg talál- v. 'find, discover' || Sm {Jn.} *toy- ~ tuy- v. 'come' > Ne T то-сь, T O {Lh.} tōś, Ne F tō-š, inv. tu?, En B {Ter.} то-сь, {Cs.} 1s aor. toʔado, En X {Cs.} 1s aor. toʔaro, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. tûʔam, {Ter.} туй-ся, Slq Tz {KKIH} tü-qo v. 'come', tuł̄c+qo id., Slq {KD} Tm tūa- '(an)kommen',

Mt {Hl.} *toy- 'come' (Mt K {Pl.} dèlymđoǐ 'come here' [dèlym 'here'], M {Sp.} той 'сюда'), ? Kms {KD} 1s prs. šǝ́lam 'I come' ¶¶ Coll. 63, UEW 535, TI 605-6, Sm. 540 (U *tol+-, FU, FP *tuli-, Ugr ? *tǔlǐ-, Sm *toj-), MF 609-10, It. #206, Jn. 164, KKIH 189, Hl. M #1047 || A: M: Brt π {Rm.} túlgû- 'eintreten, to arrive\enter' (ene χολο daǰdada irehen túlgûhen χοῖνολο 'after your arrival and entering this distant continent' - Zhamtsarano, *Alamzhi mergen*, line 4537) ¶ Rm. SKE 266-7, Rm. EAS I 110 || pKo *tír- 'enter' > MKo tír-, NKo tǐl- v. 'enter' ¶ S QK #677, Nam 174, MLC 534, Rm. SKE 266-7 || ? T *tǔǐ- 'settle (somewhere)' > OT {Cl.} tǔš- id., Tlt {Rl.} tǔš- 'irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben', Tv dǔž- 'stop at (a place)', ET čǔš-~tǔš- 'stop at (someone's house, inn)', Qzq tǔs- 'stop (at someone's house)' ¶ The T verb is a valid cognate unless it is a sd. of T *tǔǐ- 'fall, descend' (ET VGD 330-3) ¶ IS AD 40, TvR 186, MM 368, Nj. 398-9, Rl. III 1587-8, BT 163 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 110 ("tü. tǔš- 'hineintreten', tǔšüm 'Einkommen': mo. burj. tulǰu- 'eintreten', kor. tǐl- 'hineintreten'") ¶¶ The adduction of the A √ is qu. because the meaning 'come, settle down' is not demonstrably primary in T and because the M word is based only on Rm.'s interpretation of one epic text ◇ If the T cognate is valid, the A lateral cns. is *-ǐ-, accounted for by a contraction: N *tǔǐ,ǐ,ǐê > *tǔǐǐǐE > *tǔǐǐǐyE (with *-y- appearing in hiatus) > *tǔǐǐǐyE > A *t'ǔǐE. The M cognate (if valid) suggests an Altaic fortis *t'-, while Tv dǔ- seems to suggest a pT lenis *t'-, but this is a phonetic problem that is still to be investigated ◇ ≠ BmhK 309-11 (an attempt to connect the above U √ with some S, C, IE, D, and A roots meaning 'rise', 'forward', 'old', 'to touch', etc.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #72 (*tul 'come') (U, Ko, CK, EA + err. T and M).

2359. ₂ *tǔoLHV 'to cross (a river, a mountain range, etc.)' > IE *tǔH- 'to- 'ford, passage' > Lt tǐltas, Ltv tǐlts 'bridge' || Vd tǐr'tham 'ford, passage' (× ← OI 'tarati 'crosses over') ¶ IS IA 74, M KI 507; ≠ P 1061 and Frn. 1094 (both do not distinguish between this stem and homonymic stems: *teǐ,ǐ- 'flat' and *teǐ- 'board') || A {SDM95} *t'ǔǐǐǐ∇ v. 'cross (a stream\river, a mountain ridge)' > Tg *tul- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge, a stream)' > Ewk tulđun- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)', Ork tǔlǔ- v. 'cross a stream (on a tree trunk put across it)' ¶ STM II 195, 210 || pKo {S} *tǔrǐ 'bridge' > MKo tǔrǐ, NKo tari ¶ S QK #379, Nam 13, MLC 383 ¶¶ DQA #2427 (A *t'ǔǐ∇ 'bridge, river crossing').

2360. *ṭaLh̄ 'flat' > HS: CS *ṭl̄h̄ 'be flat' > Sr ṭəlīh̄-ā 'flat', Ar ṭal̄h̄-īy-at- {BK, Hv.} 'sheet of paper', Ar ṭal̄h̄- {Ln.} 'spadix\spathe of a palm-tree', {Fr.} 'spatha palmae' ¶ Br. 276, Ln. 1865, Fr. III 363, BK I 94-5, Hv. 435 || NrOm: Kf {C} ṭellō 'a plain', Mch {L} ṭällō 'meadow, plain' ¶ C SE IV 510, L M 55 || ?σ K: pGZ *ṭ[ā]l- / ?*ṭl- > G R {Brd.} ṭala 'layer (пласт)'; ?φ G {DCh.} ṭlu 'single (одиночный)', 'naked tree without branches'; Mg ṭoli 'equal', (Mg ⇨ ?) G ṭol-i 'equal, person of the same age', (G ⇨ ?) Sv {TK}: UB/LB/Ln ṭwel, LB ṭuwel, ṭel id. ¶ DCh. 1224-5, Brd. IR 40, Chx. 1359, TK 720 || IE *tel̄h̄j- 'flat, flat ground' > OI tala-m 'flat surface, level, palm (of hand)' || L tellūs, gen. -ūris 'earth' (< *telnos), medietullium 'inland' || OIr talam 'earth, land' (< *t̄l̄ə-mo-) > Nir talamh 'a farm of land'; MW {TLw.} tal 'plot of land' || Arm բաղ տ'աղ 'quarter, ward, district; neighbourhood' || Pru talus 'floor' || Sl *t̄l̄o 'ground, soil, floor' > SCr tlò, Slv tlà (gen. pl. tál) id., OR, RChS тьло тьло 'Boden', P t̄lo 'floor; the ground of a picture\stuff', Uk тло 'ground of a picture\stuff', r 'field' || ON þel 'ground', þeli 'frozen ground' ¶ In BSL: × NaIE *tel̄əj- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' < N *ṭÁl̄X̄j̄ or *ṭĀl̄X̄j̄ 'stem, (ε?) tree' ¶ WP I 740, P 1061, Mn. 1375, ≈σ EI 247 (IE *tel̄H̄-om ~ ? *t̄l̄o-H̄-om 'floor [of planks]'), WH II 655-6, Vn. T 22-3, Dnn. 713, Flr. 310, TLw. 270-1, Vr. 608, 610, Frn. 1093 (does not distinguish between *tel̄əj- 'flat' and *tel- 'board'), En. 262, Glh. 631, Srz. III 1078-9, Mikl. E 370, Brü. 571 || A *t'áL̄ > M: [1] M *tala 'plain, steppe' > WrM tala, HIM тал, Brt тала 'plain, level space, steppe', Dg {Mrm} тағ, тағă 'plain, field'; ⇨ T: Qrg talā, Chg tala id., Tk dala id., Tk Δ tala 'flat country', Az tala 'glade', Yk tāla 'steppe (чистое поле), plain'; some T lge. ⇨ Kl тала 'open place, field, plain'; M *talaba|ur 'flat surface' > MM [HI] talabar 'plat, assiette', WrM talabur, HIM талбар 'field, plain'; [2] M *tal(a) > WrM tal, tala, HIM тал 'half, one of a pair', Kl talъ 'half' (< *'equal'), ? 'side' ('half' < 'equal' < 'even' < 'flat'; unless related to Ko tal in im-dal 'shady side' and thus belonging to a different A √ [Rm. SKE 252]); [3] WrM {Rm.} talbagu, Kl talwū 'flat, even' ('flach, eben') ¶ MED 771, Chr. 411, Klz. D II 135, Ms. H 99, KRS 473, KW 375-7, Rs. W 458 || Tg *tal- v. 'be flat' ⇨ [1] Ewk Y/Skh/Urm tallāyā-, Ewk Np tallakā- v. 'flatten (the ground)', Ewk Y/Np/Skh/Urm tallama, Ewk Z tallakān 'plain, flat land'; [2] *tal̄u|gan 'plain surface (of land or body of water)' > WrMc talgan 'flat surface, flat surface of water, surface

of an object', {Hr.} 'surface of a flat object', Ewk talgīn 'flat surface of a body of water (гладь)', 'backwater (заводь, затон)', Nn B/KU talga 'bay, lake (connected with the main body of water)'; Tg б → Yk tolōn (< *taluyān) 'valley' ¶ STM II 157-8, Z 709, Hr. 884 || Ko {MLC} tīl 'a plain, an uncultivated field', {Gale} tīl 'flats, prairie, a wilderness', {Und.} nā,lbīn-tā,| 'savannah' (literally 'broad plain') ¶ Plv. KA 1202, Rm. SKE 262, 266, MLC 533, Und. 515, Gale 270 ¶¶ DQA #2322 (A *t'āle 'open place, open sea' > M *tala 'plain, steppe', *tal-b-, Tg *tālgī-, sc. *taluygan 'plain surface') ◇ IS ms. *ṭal'h'a 'плоский' (IE, Om, K, T, M, Tg, Ko, but not S).

2361. *ṭal'ey'o' 'young of an animal, child; to give birth to' > HS: WS *ṭa'lay- (~ *ṭalay-?) 'young of an animal, child' > BHb לַבָּיִת ṭā'lē 'lamb', JA [Trg.], JEA לְבִיב ṭə'lē / אֲלִיב ṭal'y-ā 'young man, lamb', Sr ṭal'y-ā id., Plm ṭly 'young, boy', Ar طَالِبُ ṭala-n 'young of a gazelle, young of artiodactyls', Sb ṭly 'yearling lamb', Gz ṭalī 'goat, kid' ¶ GB 276, KB 359, KBR 375, Lv. T I 302-3. ≈ Js. 536-7, Sl. 504, Br. 276, BK II 103, Fr. III 68, BGMR 153, Ls CDG 590 || EC {Ss.} *ḍal- v. 'give birth, beget' > Sa, Af, Sml ḍal-, Rn ḍel-, Bn ḍel-, Elm da|-, Arr, Kns, Gdl, Dl ḍal-id., Bs {HL} al- 'give birth', Dsn ḍal- id., 'generate'; Sa {Wlm.} ḍaylo 'young of an animal' ¶ Bl. 103, 195, Ss. PEC 21, 30, Ss. B 62, 129, AD SF 57-8, ZMO 108, PH 90, Sim 11, 13, 25, PG 93, HL 65, Hw. A 353, To. DL 493 || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ḍāl-, Mgm {JA} ḍòlò v. 'lay (eggs)' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, JA 81 || U: BF: F Δ tallo 'yearling pig, young pig', Es tall (gen. -e), Vo ta'lu, talikka 'lamb' ¶ SK 1213-4 || ?φ K: G tel-i 'sucking-pig' ¶ Chx. 556 ¶ G t- (for the expected ṭ-) is puzzling. A possible solution is suggesting that G tel-i is a loan from some Turkic lge. (see below on T *t'ēl 'young animal [calf, etc.] that is suckled not by its own mother' [Rs. W 471] and on T *t'ōl 'progeny') || IE: NaIE *te(:)l- 'young of an animal, child' > Lt tēlias, Ltv telš 'calf' | Sl *te'l-e (gen. *telēte) 'calf' > SrChS тѣла tele, OR telja, R pl. телята (sg. d. телёнок), Uk теля (gen. теляти), Blf теле, SCr tèle (pl. tèleta) 'calf', Slv tèle, Cz tele, Slk tel'a, P ciele id.; Sl d. *tel'sь (< *tel-ькь) > OCS тельць tel'sь 'young ox' (< 'calf') | *0-grade of apophony: Olt talokas 'grown-up daughter', Lt talōkas 'grown-up man' | with an unexplained vw. ā: Gk Ae τᾶλις (gen. -τιδος) 'marrigeable maiden, bride' ¶ Mn. 1375, F II 850, Frn. 1056, 1077-8, Kar. II 388-9, Glh. 622, Vs. IV 38, Sl. I 99 || A: NaT *t'ōl 'progeny, descendants' > OT

Qp töl id., MU, MQp, MOg XIV, Chg töl, Tkm dōl 'sperm, breed, progeny', Tk döl, Az döl 'offspring', Qq, Qzq, Qrg töl 'breed', VTt, Bsh tül 'foetus', Tv t'öl 'child, young of an animal'; T → WrM töl, HIM τθλ 'newborn animal', Kl {Rm.} töl 'jährlicher Zuwachs des Viehs' ¶ Cl. 490, Rs. W 493, TL 322, MM 375, TkR 282, KW 406 ¶ Cl. reconstructs a long *ō̄ for OT and OOg, but Tkm provides ev. for a short pT *ō̄ ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2258 (A*tóle → -jō-, -jā- "descendance" [sc. 'progeny']; including T) ¶¶ Hardly here T *t'ēl 'young animal (calf, etc.) that is suckled not by its own mother' (Rs. W 471) and M *telege '(an offspring) that nurses from two mothers' (unc. rec. *t'ēl 'young lamb, calf' {DQA #2359}), because the specific (hence the original) semantic component here is not 'offspring', but 'suckled not by one's own mother', which may be related to S *°√ t̥ll (Ar √ t̥ll G 'léser quelqu'un de ses droit, le priver de ce qui lui est dû', BK II 91) and to IE (OIr tlenaim 'I steal') || D (in SD) *ta|- ({ǵGS} *t-) 'breed' > Kt tay| 'breed of cattle', Ka ta|i 'race, family, stock, breed' ¶ D #3131 ◇ The quality of T *ō̄ may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of N *-Eyo?). The length of T *ō̄ still needs explaining ◇ Cf. IS MS 359 *t̥älΛ 'расти' and IS SS #1.4 (does not distinguish between the etymon in question and N *t̥a|√ ~ *t̥a|√ 'shoot, sprout, twig' and quotes S *t̥alay-, IE, T, M, D, but not C, U, and K).

2362. *t̥a|Uya 'skin, fell' > HS: Ch: pNrBc {Stl.} *tala 'skin' > Kry {Sk.}, P' {Sk.} tala, Cg tal 'skin' ¶ Sk. NB 40, JI II 296, Stl. ZCh 251 [#43] || U *ta|lyya 'skin, fell' > F talja id. | pLp {Lr.} *tōlyē 'fell' > Lp: N {N} duol'ije, S {Hs.} duōlije, U {Schl.} düell'jee, L {LLO} tuol'jē, Kld tūl' | Sm {Jn.} *t̥ā̄p̄y|h̄b̄ (most probably *t̥ā̄p̄ȳb̄) 'skin of the forehead' > Ne T т̄а̄й 'skin of the forehead; forehead', Ne O tāy 'skin of the face', Ne F {Cs.} tai, {Lh.} tāyok:u id., Ng {Cs.} tuaja 'skin of the forehead', En X {Cs.} t̄āj̄o, En B {Cs.} taijo 'skin of the head', Kms d. {KD} t'uyu-š'bk'tu' 'Schlafstätte aus Renntier- oder Elentierhaut', Mt K {Pl.} dáihasē 'bald patch on the head (плешь)' ¶¶ UEW 508-9, Lr. #1294, N I 593, Lgc. #8082, Hs. 467, Jn. 150, Hl. M #939 || A: Tg *talū 'birch bark' > Ewk talu, Sln tala ~ talu, Neg, Ul, Ork talu, Orc talu, Ud taluga, Nn talo ~ talu, WrMc tolχon ¶ STM II 158 || NaT: [1] *t'ul-gak ~ *t'ul-kuk 'bared skin; leather sack' > OT Trf {BG} tolquq 'a hide filled with air and used as a float', Osm {Rh.} طولقن dōlquq (× طولقن dōlquq 'filled') (Rh.'s ط d = [t]), MT [IM] {Battal} tolkuk, [other

sources] tul̥kuk 'tulum (skin used as a receptacle for liquids)', MT XIV {AH} d̥ol̥quq id., Osm XV, Tk Δ tula 'raw hide', Bsh tulaq id., Qzq {Bu.}, Qq tuwlaq 'dry hide (of a cow\horse) used to felt wool on', Alt/Tel {Rl.} tulaq 'kahles, abrieriebenes Fell; ein Fell, das auf dem Boden ausgebreitet ist, auf dem man sitzt; ein trockenes hartes Leder, auf dem man die Filzdecken schlägt', tulaq ton 'ein kahler Pelz, Ledermantel', Az тупуҕ тулуг 'a hide taken off as a whole, wine-skin', Tk tuluk / तुलुḡu-, Osm {Rh.} طولوق {Rh.} d̥ol̥uq a skin or hide used as a receptacle or a float', Qrc {Rs.} tuluq 'wine-skin', SY {ML.} tuluy soqpa 'corn grains with husks'] [2] T *t'ulum > Osm {Rl.} tulum 'gegerbtes Fell von Tieren, ein Lederschlauch', {Rh.} طولوم tulum 'a skin or hide taken off whole (used as a receptacle), bagpipe', Tk {Thms.} tulum 'bag or bottle made from the skin of animals for holding cheese, liquids, water, wine; ε bagpipe made from the same material', SY {ML.} tulum 'leather sack for milk and milk products', Yk tulum 'useless piece of leather', ET, Uz Δ tulum 'leather receptacle for liquids', as well as Qry/Alt {Rs.} tulup 'leather coat' (↳ R туплуп 'sheepskin coat'), VTt толоп т̥l̥p̥ 'sheepskin'; T ↳ M: MM [IM] tulun, WrM, MMgl tulum, HIM, Brt тулам, Ord t'u'lu'm, Kl тулм tulm, Mnr H {SM} t'ulun, {T} tulum, Mnr M {T} tuluy 'whole skin used as a vessel for liquids'; M ↳ Tg: Sln toḡ id., toḡma 'bucket', Ewk d. tulum-kān 'whole skin of a calf used as a vessel for grain, flour, dried curds', WrMc tulumā, turme 'leather sack filled with air (for crossing rivers)'; the M word is a loan rather than a genetic cognate, as suggested by the absence of final vw; T ↳ (through some M and/or Tg lge.) Nko turumaki 'overcoat' (see Lee CSMK 118)] [3] T: StAlt {BT} tuluš 'leather sack from a whole skin of an animal' ¶ T *u of the first syll. may be due to as. (A *a...u > T *u...u) ¶ BG AI 47, Rs. W 497-8, TL 187-8, Rl. III 1467-71, 1721, Bu. I 751, KrkR 658, Hüs. 207, Äz. 344, BT 158, Ml. ZhU 124, Rh. 1261-2, Thms. 495, Dr. TM II ##931, Pek. 280, Pp. MA 448, MED 841-2, SM 431, T 367, Iw. 139, KRS 517, KW 410, Chr. 434, STM II 212, Hr. 927 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2731 (*t'ulu|o "torn and scraped skin", sc. 'bared and tanned skin' > T + err. M and Tg words for 'leather sack' and Ko turumaki [treated as genetic cognates]), S CNM 8 | | D *tōl / *toli ({ḡGS} *t-) 'skin, hide' > Tm, Ml tōl 'skin, hide', Tm toli id., 'husk', Ml toli 'skin, bark, peel, rind', Kt to·l, Td twi·ḡ, Kn tōl(u), Kdg to·li, Tl tōlu, Ku tōlū, tōlu 'skin, hide', Tu tolikæ, Prj, Gdb tōl

'skin, bark', Nkr, Nk, Prj tōl 'skin', Gnd tōl 'skin, hide' ɘ tōla 'skin, bark of tree' ɘ tōlu 'skin', Knd tōl, tōlu 'skin (of animals)'; forms with word-internal -k-, -g-, -v- (Ml tɔkal 'skin of a fruit', Kn togal ~ toval id., 'skin, hide', Tu tɔgalə 'skin, bark') either do not belong here or go back to a contraction of cds., like Kt tō'krɪ < tō'l karɪ 'peg used in pegging down hide to dry' (literally 'hide wood', *F D* #1389); on the contraction hypothesis *F Zv.* 66-7 ¶¶ *D* #3559, *Zv.* 64 (rec. of *ō) ◇ The rounded vw. of the first syll. in T and D may be due to regr. as. (infl. of N *U of the second syll.). An alt. N rec. is *tōlɪ, but it does not explain the vw. *a in U and Tg ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 242 [#6] (U, D) ◇ AD NM #96, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *t' aɪH 'membrane, pellicle').

2363. *t̪aɫka 'strike, push' > HS: WS *t̪ɫk v. 'throw, let run, release' > JA [Trg.], JPA t̪ɫk G v. cast, throw', ? Sr t̪ɫk v. G 'be abandoned, disappear', Ar t̪ɫq (ip. -t̪ɫiq-) G 'lâcher qch., laisser passer de ses mains en les ouvrant', Jb t̪ɫk (pf. et'leq, subj. 'ɥɛt̪ɫɛk) v. 'release, let run, shoot', Mh, Hrs t̪ɫk Sh v. 'let run' ¶ BK II 100-1, Fr. III 66, Js. 538, Lv. T I 306, Br. 278, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 277-8, Jo. M 410, Lv. II 162 ¶ The S t̪ (adduced to this etl. comparison by IS) remains qu. as a cognate because its primary meaning may have been 'let go, release'. If it does belong here, the underlying semantic prehistory may be: 'let go, release' ← 'push' || ? WCh *t̪ɫ > Bg {Sh.} d̪a v. 'beat' ¶ ChC || K: G I t̪kɫeç-/t̪kɫiç- 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen' ¶ Chx. 1353 ¶ This is a case of a typical K mt. (lrs., uvulars, and velars are attracted to the position after the initial or nearest dental, sibilant or labial stop\affricate) bringing about "harmonic clusters" || IE: NaIE *telk-/*tolk-/*t̪k- v. 'strike, push, crash' > Clt: OI {Vn.} tolgaid 'il attaque', tolg 'force, énergie', Nir tolg 'strength, effort', talca 'a sudden charge with the horns', talc(a) 'force, vigour', W talch 'fragment, grist', OCrn [ɣ] talch "furfures" || BSl: Ltv {Vs.} no-tālcīt 'beat (поколотить)', су-teĩkti 'konzentrieren' || Sl *telkti (prs.*t̪k-ɔ) > OCS ТЛѢЩН tlěštī / ТЛЪКЪ t̪k-ɔ 'schlagen, prügeln; klopfen, pochen' ({Mn.} v. 'clash, crush'), RChS ТЛѢЩН tlěštī / ТЛЪКЪ t̪k-ɔ v. 'push', ТЛОЩН tloštī / ТЛЪКЪ t̪k id., 'knock', OR ТЪЛУН t̪lčī 'to beat, to strike, to crush', R то'лочь / тол'кы v. 'crush', Slv inf. tlečī 'to flog', tlouci (prs. tluč-u) 'to knock, to beat', P t̪uc 'to grind, to pound'; d.: R тол'каты 'to push'; R {SSRLJ} то'лока n. act. 'grazing cattle on fallow'; Sl *tolkь > Cz tlak 'pressure', Slv tlāk 'paving, floor', {Frm.} 'festgestampfter Boden,

Druck', P тлок 'Gedränge', R Δ толок 'Stampfer, Handramme'; P тлокно, R толок'но 'oat flour' | pBSI *talkā 'collective voluntary work' > R Δ толок'ка, Ltv tálka f., Lt talkà 'voluntary collective work for a member of the village community', {Mn.} 'rally', {Frn.} 'zusammengebetene Arbeitsgemeinschaft', ⇨ Lt telkiù {Mn.} v. 'mass, rally', {Frn.} 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft zusammenbitten, sammeln' ¶ Mn. 1376, 1402, 1410, WP I 741 (*teleq- 'stoßen, zerstoßen, schlagen'), P 1062 (*telek- id.), EI 471 **telk- 'push, thrust'), Vn. T 102, LP § 54, Dnn. 713, 743, 766, YGM-1 403, 411, SJSS XLIII 461, Srz. III 966, 1048, Frn. 1053-4, 1078, Tr. 321-2, Vs. IV 73-4, SSRLJ XV 559, ME IV 127-8 || A: NaT *t_lalk(1)- v. *'strike, beat' (→ [1] 'crush', cf. *t_lalk'an 'crushed grain', [2] 'injure, harm', [3] 'soften [leather] by beating it') > OT {Cl.} talq- (gerund talqar) v. 'injure, harm', Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} talqI-, Tv d_lal_lI- 'soften (hides in order to manufacture leather)', VTt, Bsh talkъ-, StAlt talqu-la- id., 'brake (flax)'; NaT *t'alkan (< *t'alk-gan) 'parched crushed grain' (толокно) > OT {Cl.} talqan, Chg, StAlt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, ET talqan, Xk tal_lan, Uz talqan id., Tf talhan id., 'fried flour', Tkm tal_lan 'sweet parched crushed grain', Tv d_lal_lan 'flour'; T ⇨ MM [MA] talqan, Kl tal_lan, {Rm.} tal_lan 'parched crushed grain', WrM talqa 'powder, flour', HIM tal_l(an) 'bread, flour', Oyr talqan 'wheat flour', Brt tal_l(an) 'flour'; R толокно and P тлокно 'parched oat flour' may result from coalescence of a Sl derived word (cp. R толочь, P тлuc '↑') with a loan from T ¶ Cl. 495, DTS 519, Rs. W 458, TL 382, Rl. III 890, Ra. 169, BT 140, MED 773, Pp. MA 339, ADb. Ttd 65 [#7], KW 376, Vs. IV 73-4 ¶ Tkm t- suggests pT *t'- (F IS AD), F ADb. Ttd l.c. || D *ta]- ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'push' (× N *dA|o|_l∇,∇ 'to push', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 369 (*t_lalk_l > IE, S, D) ◇ The corr. between T *-l- and D *-l- suggests a N *-l- (because T *-l- rules out N *-l-, while D *-l- rules out N *-l-).

2364. *talP∇ (= *talb∇?) 'vast; room' > HS: S *^o√t_llb ≈ far' > Ar √t_llb (pf. taliba) 'se trouver loin; être éloigné', t_llb-at- 'voyage lointain' ¶ BK II 93 || IE: NaIE *telp- v. 'have room', *tolpā 'space' > OI 'talpaḥ 'Lager, Ruhesitz, Bett' || OIr -tella 'have room for sth.' || Lt tiĩpti / prs. telpù, Ltv tĩlpt / prs. telpu 'fit in, find room (Raum wohin haben)', Lt talpà 'capacity, ausreichender Raum', Ltv teĩpa, tiĩpa, tilpe 'space, Raum', Lt túlpinti, Ltv tilpinât 'to give place' || ??σ SI *t_lpa > OCS тлѣпа тлѣра, Blg тѣпа, R тол'па 'crowd', Cz tlupa 'band, gang', Slk {SBR} tlupa id., 'crowd' || pTc

{Ad.} tälp- > Tc B tälp- 'be emptied' ¶ P 1062, EI 536, M KI 489, M EI 637-8, Thr. §§ 83, 153, Frn. 1054, 1094, 1138, Kar. II 385-6, SJSS XLIII 460, Vs. IV 74, Ma. CS 530, SBR 887, Ad. 297 || A: M *talbi-ϣun > WrM talbigun, HIM талбиу {MED} 'broad, wide, vast', {Rnc.} id. ('широкий, просторный'), K1 талвң н. 'square' (Ленина талвң 'Lenin square'), 'field' (спорттын талвң 'play-ground'); M *talb'i'gu > WrO talbiu 'sloping', K1 talwū 'flach, eben', Ord t'albū q.ažar 'terrain qui est en pente douce' ¶ MED 773, KRS 474, KW 377, Rinch. 195, Kow. 1638, Gl. III 58, Krg. 476, Ms. O 642 ◇ If the N etymon is *ṭaLb∇, IE *p (for *b^h) is due to the IE morphophonology that rules out co-occurrence of vl. consonants and cd. aspirates.

2365. ₂ *ṭûÍE (or *ṭæwûÍE?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long' > HS: WS *-ṭūl- 'long, far' > Ar ✓ṭwl (pf. ṭāla, ip. -ṭūl-) 'être long, s'étendre en longueur', ṭawl- 'length', ṭawīl- 'long, tall', BHb Sh ps. pf. הוּטַל hū'tal (ip. yū'tal) {GB} 'hingestreckt werden, der Länge nach hinstürzen', Sh hē'tīl v. 'throw far', Sb ip. ṭhṭln v. 'extend', ṭl 'length', Gz, Tgr ✓ṭwl D 'extend', Mh ṭōl, Hrs ṭawl, ṭal, Jb E ṭeb, Jb C 'ṭol 'length', Mh, Hrs ṭawayl 'long' ¶ GB 274-5, KB 357, KBR 373, BK II 123-5, Hv. 442, BGMR 154, Jo. M 413 || EC: Sa {R} ḏēl, ḏel 'long, high, far' ¶ R S II 125 || WCh: Su {J} du 'pull, ziehen', Mpn {Frz.} dūl 'pull' ¶ J S 63, Frz. DM 12 || ? Eg fP ḏwrn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *ṭaṇ∇ 'draw, stretch, extend'), if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg rn ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 ¶ J Tk. I 103 || A: T *tōÍe- (< **t'ōÍe-?) > NaT {IS} *tōše- v. 'spread out (a mattress, etc.) > OT {Cl.} tōše- id., Tk ḏōṣe-, Ggz, Tkm ḏōše-, Tkm NY tūše-, Az ḏōšä-, MT [IM] ḏōšä- ~ tōšä-, Chg, MQp tōše-, Tv ḏḗže- v. 'spread out', ET Tr tōšä- 'als Lager ausbreiten', Qq tōse-, Qzq tōsel- v. 'spread out, make up (a bed)'; ⇨ *ṭ'jōšek 'mattress' > Tk ḏōšek, Az ḏōšäk, Ggz ḏōšek, XT {ADb.} ḏōšek, Tf {ADb.} ḏōžek id., Tv ḏōžek id., 'bed' ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) has found that in *C∇š-roots the opposition *t' ↔ *t̄- is neutralized ¶ Cl. 561, IS AD 42 [#22], Rs. W 495, MM 276, KrkR 652, ADb. Ttd 58 [#10] || M *tele- > WrM tele-, HIM тэлэ- v. 'stretch (as hide or bow), smooth by stretching (as textiles)', Ord {Ms.} t'ele- 'étirer, distendre, étendre', K1 телх tel-xa v. 'stretch out, extend' ¶ MED 797, SM 418, Ms. O 656, KRS 491, KW 390 || Tg *tele- v. 'extend' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Nn tälä-, Lm tälgä- ~ tälgä- v. 'stretch (a hide on a frame)' ('растянуть'), Ul tälü- v. 'stretch (fish

skin)', WrMc tele- v. 'extend, stretch, smooth by stretching' ¶ STM II 232 ◇ One of possible N reconstructions is *t̥úíE, that presupposed that M and Tg *e of the first syll. is due to regr. as. (*o...e > *e...e). If Eg d̥w̥n belongs here, the Eg, M, and T cognates suggest to prefer the rec. *t̥æwúíE ◇ ≠ BmK 306-7 (they equate the S √ with IE *del-, *deleḡh-, *d̥olagʰo- 'long').

2366. *t̥úí∇ (= *t̥úí∇?) 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > HS: WS *t̥all- 'dew; to drizzle' > BHb t̥al, t̥all-, Ar t̥all- 'dew, light rain', Ug t̥l, JA [Trg.] t̥al / t̥al'-ā, Sr t̥all-ā, Gz t̥all, Tgr, Amh t̥ell, Tgy t̥elli, Mh {Jo.} t̥al, Hrs {Jo.} t̥ʌl, Jb E {Jo.} t̥ɛh, Jb C {Jo.} t̥ɛl 'dew', Gz t̥all 'dew, moisture', Ug √ t̥ll v. 'fall (dew)', Ar √ t̥ll v. G 'moisten slightly the soil (dew), 'être humide, légèrement humecté par la pluie ou par la rosée', Gz √ t̥ll G (pf. t̥alla) 'be moist\humide\wet, be covered with dew' ¶ KB 358-9, KBR 374-5, BDB #2919, Js. 535, Lv. T I 302, LG 591, Br. 275, LH 606, A #1118, OLS 480-1, BK II 91, Hv. 134, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277, Jo. H xv, 129 || IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'drip' > Gk σταλάσσω v. 'let drop (e.g. tears)', vt. 'drop', σταλάσσω φόνον v. 'drop blood', στάλαγμα n. 'drop', σταλαγμός 'a dropping, dripping', {P} 'das Tröpfeln, Tropfen' || ME stalen, NE stale, MLG, NHG stallen v. 'urinate', NE stale 'urine', MLG stal 'urine of horses' || ?σ Lt tuĩžti v. 'become humid' ¶ P 1018, F II 776, KM 737, HDEL 1255 ¶ Acc. to IS's hypothesis, IE *(s)- is an indirect reflex of the N word-medial palatality || ? A *ot̥úí∇ > [1] (here?) T *ot̥úí > OT [MhK] tūš 'nocturnal emission (spermatorrhoea)' (MKD 125) ¶ DTS 600, Cl. 559 (interprets it as a private case of tūš 'dream') || [2] ?σ T *t̥óí 'ice' > NaT *t̥óš > OT {DTS} t̥óš 'glacier in the mountains', StAlt, Tb t̥óš, Tv d̥oš, Tf d̥óš 'ice', Qmn t̥óš, Xk t̥os, VTt t̥úš 'water over the ice of rivers\lakes (наледь)', Yk toh̄o- v. 'break ice in a river' ¶ DTS 578, Cl. 557 (interprets OT t̥óš as 'pool'), Ra. 174, BT 154, B DChT 157, B DK 255, BIG 233, TatR 559, JkR 392, ≠ DQA #244 (T*t̥óí 'ice' < A *čjòlú [sc. *čjòlú] 'ice, hail'; the etymology is based on the highly controversial hyp. of T *t̥- going back to A *č-), Vv. AEN 8 (justified criticism of the latter etymology, which I accepted in NM) ¶ The lax *t̥- and the vw. *o (for the expected *u) still need explaining || pJ {S} *t̥urará > OJ turara, J: T c̥urara, K c̥urará, Kg curará 'icicle' ¶ S QJ #1540 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #244 || D {Km.} *tu]- ({ǧGS} *t-) > Tm tułli 'a drop', tułlam 'little drop of water', tułi v. 'drip', Ml tułi, tułli 'a drop', Kt t̥o]g- v. 'wash one's hands with tears', Td t̥uḡy a drop', t̥oḡy- vi., vt. 'sprinkle', Kn tułaku v. 'be scattered in drops',

tuḷuku v. 'sprinkle', Kdg tuḷi 'a drop', OTI {Km.} tolǎku v. 'spill, scatter (as water); overflow', TI {BE} toluku v. 'rain', Prj tolk-, Knd toṛk- vi. 'spill' ¶¶ D #3361, Km. 395 [#632] ◇ ≠ BmK 302-3 (equates S and D with IE *del- [> OIr dēlt 'dew', Br dēlt 'moist', Arm տեղ teḷ 'heavy rain', etc.], which in my opinion belongs to N *tālU₂A - *talU₂ä '≈ cold season, rain', q.v.).

2367. ≈₂ *tUÍEǃ ▽ 'breast, female breast' > HS: S *t'ul'ǃ- id. > OAk tuli[?]um ~ tula[?]um 'breast', Ak B/NA tulû, te|ilû 'breast, nipple', Gz +rô talā[?] [talla[?]] 'breast', Mh tǃlōt (✓tǃ) 'nipple' ¶ G OA 297, Sd. 1369, L G 574, Jo. M 401, MiK I #1.276 || A ≈ *t'ǃEöí (= *t'ǃööí?) ({DQA} *t'ǃí) 'breast' > T *t'ǃǃí 'breast' > Chv čülǃk 'hame-strap' ('супонь') (< *tǃǃí-lik 'breast-collar' ['нагрудник'], ср. Az döšlük, Bsh tüšǃk id., VTt tüšǃk 'подгрудник' ['lower breast-collar?']) || NaT *t'ǃōš > OT U tōš 'breast', OT [MhK] {MKD} tōš 'sternum' or 'breast-bone', MU döš ~ tōš, XwT tōš ~ toš, MT XIV [IM], Cmn, Chg tōš, MQp, OOsM döš 'breast', Tk dōš, Az, XT {ADb.} döš, Tkm dōš, Qry tōš ǃ teš, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, QK, ET tōš, VTt, Bsh tüš, Nog, Qz1, Qq, Xk tōs, Uz tωš, Xlj tōš~dōš, SY tōs, tūs id., Tv теш t'ōš, Tv NE {ADb.} dōš 'breast-bone', Tf dǃš, Yk tūōs 'chest, breast-bone' ¶ Rs. W 495, TL 271-2, ADb. Ttd 58 [#18], MKD 198, Md. 119, 179, Jeg. 328, Fed. II 427, DHST 307, Pek. 2908, ≈ DQA #2441 (T *t'ǃí) ¶ Tv t'- points to pT *t'-, while Og, Tf, and Tv NE suggest pT *t'-; acc. to DQA, the latter may be induced by merger with T *t'ǃí 'mountain slope' || Tg: WrMc tulū 'breast (of a horse)' ¶ STM 211 ¶¶ ADb. Ttd 58 [#18] ¶¶ A. Dybo (ADb. SR-D 446 [#22] and ADb. Tts 58) adduces a Tg stem reconstructed by her as *tuǃl-gen 'breast of an animal' (> Ewk tiḡn, Sln, Nn KU tiḡñ, Lm tiḡn, Neg tiḡn, Ud tiḡn(n-), Ul, Ork tunḡn(n-), Nn Nh tunḡñ, WrMc tuḡgen - / STM II 184-5, Krm. 295), but since no ev. for *l in this √ has been produced, this rec. is not reliable ¶¶ DQA #2441 ◇ The Altaic root may have resulted from a mt.: N ≈ *tUÍEǃ ▽ > ≈ *tUǃǃEǃ ▽ > A ≈ *t'ǃEöí.

2368. *tǃǃǃǃ ▽ 'be quiet\calm' > HS: S *o✓tǃǃ > Ar ✓tǃǃ G 'être faible/fatigué; faire qch. mollement, faute de force' ¶ BK II 99 || IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'be quiet\still' > OIr tu(i)lid, con-tu(i)li 'is asleep' (iter. *toleyō), cotlud n. 'sleep' (*kom-toli-tu-s) || Lt tyléti (prs. tyliù) 'to be/keep silent', tǃlti (prs. tǃlù) 'to grow quiet' || SCr zà-tljati (prs. zà-tljām) 'to doze off'; caus. ChS ΤΟΛΗΤΗ toliti

'placare', Slv *tóliti* vt. 'to quiet', OCS **ѠТОЛѠТИ** *u-toli-ti* id., SCr *utóliti* 'to become calm; to appease', R **у-то-лѠть**, Blg **уто-лявам** v. 'appease, slake (thirst, hunger)' || ON *stilla* 'to still, to soothe', OHG, NHG *stillen* 'to still', OHG *stilli*, NHG *still* 'still, quiet', AS *stillan* 'to still', *stille* 'quiet', NE *still* ¶ P 1061-2, EI 475 (**(s)tel-* 'be still, quiet'), Vn. *T* 170-1, Kb. 964, KM 750, Frn. 1095, Vs. IV 71, Tls. 146 || **А** (+ext.?) **t'alp'∇* 'calm' > M **talbi-* ⇨ M **talbiyun* > WrM *talbigun*, HIM **талбиу** 'gentle, calm'; M **talbira-* > WrM *talbira-*, HIM **талбира-** v. 'be relieved, calm down', Ord *t'a'wira-* 'se relâcher, diminuer d'intensité'; Kl **талва-** *talwā-* 'calm down' ¶ MED 773, KRS 473, Ms. O 651 || Tg **talpa* 'calm water; backwater (заводь)' > Nn Nh *talbō* 'backwater, glassy surface of water, broad part of a lake', WrMc {Z} *talfā* 'backwater (заводь, займище), calm water', *talfari* 'low' (speed of a ship in shallow water) ¶ STM II 157, Z 710 ◇ IE *(*s*)- suggests the presence of a palatal element within the N word, hence it may be supposed that the N lateral cns. was ***í**.

2369. ***t'uí∇, 'g'∇** 'spread like a veil/net, cover with a veil/net, catch (fish, etc.) with a net' > HS: S **√tly|f* > Gz {L} **ʔan-ʔoləfa** v. 'spread, stretch, spread like a veil, veil, cover with a veil', Tgr **հըմաօ ʔanʔolfa** v. 'spread, stretch out' (Gz, Tgr ← C [an unk. C word]?) ¶ LG 590, LH 618 || **К** **tχewl-* v. 'fish with a net' > OG *tχewl-*, G *tχevl-* id., ? Sv: {K} *tχēl-* v. 'look for, hunt', UB/L {TK, GP} *li-tχēl-i*, LB/Ln *li-tχel-i* msd. 'to search for' (acc. to Dn., plrt. of *li-tχ-e* 'look for, find') ¶¶ K 98, TK 435, GP 154, Dn. s.v. *tχ-*, ≠ FS K 158-9 (reconstructs **tχe-* 'catch, look for' on the basis of Sv words and forms without ***l**, e.g. *metχw-yär* 'hunter', but there the loss of ***l** is a reg. phonemic change) || **U**: FU **tulk∇* 'seine, drag-net' > Z: Sk *tiv*, UV, US, P, MS *t+l* id. || ObU {Ht.} **tōləy* ~ **tōyəl* id. > pVg **tōləʃ* > Vg: ML *toli*, UL, Ss *toliʃ* id.; pOs **tōyəl* ({Hl.} **tūyəl*) > Os: Nz *tōχət*, Kz *tōχəʃ* id. ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 536, LG 292, SZ 389, Ht. #636 || **А** **t'uíE-* > T **t'ujá-* v. 'hobble (a horse, etc.)' > NaT **tuša-* > OT *tuša-*, Qzq **тұса-** *tūsa-*, Qrg *tuša-*, Tv *d_úža-* **дужаар**, Tf *d_uša-* id.; ⇨ T **t'ujāk* 'hobble' > OT *tušay* ({Cl.} *dušāy*), Tkm *dušāq*, Az Shm *tušax*, VTt, Bsh **тышау** *tšāw*, Qzq **тұсау** *tūsaw*, StAlt **тужак** *tužaq*, Uz **тушов** *tušow*, Tv {TvR} **дужак**, {Ra.} **дүъжар** *d_úžax*, Tf *d_ušax* id., Qrg *tušō*, Xk **тузах** *tuzax* id., 'fettters' ('оковы'), Yk **туһах** 'loop, snare, chain, fettters' || Chv **тăлă** *tăľ* 'hobble' ¶ Cl. 561, DTS 590, Rs. W 502-3, TvR 182-3, Jeg.

235, Fed. II 188, AzDDL 391, BT 157, Ra. 176, Md. 58, 180 (T *tǔǰ- [= *tu.ǰ-] 'hobble') ¶ Cl. considers OT tušā- to be a d. from OT {Cl.} tūš 'buckle' (Cl. 558), which is semantically qu. and phonetically untenable, because the short *u is proved by the Tkm and Chv reflexes (provided that Cl. was right to suppose a long u in the word for buckle) ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) has found that in *C∇š-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized † | Tg *tule- v. 'cast (a fishing net), install (a self-shooting bow, a trap, a snare)' > WrMc tule- 'aufstellen (Fallen), auslegen (Netze)', 'cast (nets), set (a snare \ trap)', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Neg tulɜ-, Lm tul- id., Ork tulɜgdɜ 'fishing net', tulɜči- v. 'fish with a net'; Tg *tule- has also a broader meaning: 'install' (in a broader sense), 'arrange' > Ewk, Neg tulɜ- 'put (on a stretching frame)', Lm tul- v. 'arrange', Sln tulu- 'hang up', Ork, Nn tulɜ- v. 'sew on (a button), WrMc tule- 'anstecken (Holzgriff an Hacken, Holzgestell an Mühlsteine, usw.)'. This broader meaning is likely to go back to a later semantic change. But of course we cannot rule out a possibility of casual homonymy or of a primary broader meaning with later semantic narrowing: 'install' → 'cast (a net), install (a snare, etc.)'; in this last case the Tg √ does not belong to the A and N etymon in question ¶ STM I 212, Krm. 297, Z 756, Hr. 925 ¶¶ The Tg data suggest a strong A *t'-, while the T data are ambiguous in this respect | | D *°tɔlk° 'net for trapping' > Tm tɔlkɔ id., Ml tɔlɰa 'snare, trap' ¶ D #3531 ◇ N *g is tentatively reconstructed on the assumption that here FU *k goes back to a postcons. *g: FU *tulɰ < *tulɰ < N *tɰ'ɰ'g'∇; a similar origin may be supposed for *k in D *°tɔlk°. If this assumption is wrong and *k in FU and D is a sx., the N rec. will be *tɰ'ɰ'ɰ'g'∇ ◇ The D vw. *o (for the expected *u) needs investigating ◇ AD NM #30, S CNM 4 (÷ ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 17 (unjustified doubts about the semantic change in T: 'catch with a net' → 'hobble'; misquotation: erroneous *tulɰ'g'∇ instead of N *tɰ'ɰ'g'∇ [so in AD NM for N *tɰ'ɰ'g'∇]), LCm. NLP 16 (unjustified doubts about U, A, and D).

2370. *tǎ'ǎ'h'a 'lift up, carry' > HS: S: [1] CS *°√tǎ'y' v. 'lift up' > JPA {Js.} inv. G tǎ'lī 'lift up', Md √tǎ'y' T prt. u-mi tǎliǎ 'and they shall be removed' ¶ Js. 536, DM 179-180 | [2] S *°√nǎ v. 'lift, carry' > BHb √nǎ G (ip. -tǎo) v. 'impose, lay upon, weigh', √nǎ D 'lift up', BA √nǎ G (pf. nǎ'tal), IA {HJ} nǎ G v. 'lift', MHb {Js.} √nǎ G 'move\carry off, take', JA [Trg.] √nǎ G {Lv.} '(auf-/er-)heben', {Js.} vt. 'take, lift, move', JEA {Sl.} √nǎ G 'take', Sr √nǎ G 'sustulit', 'be

weighty, draw water', $na\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\ddot{i}'l-\bar{a}$ 'heavy', ? Ak $\checkmark n\ddot{t}l$ v. G 'see, look' (if \leftarrow 'lift up the eyes') $\text{J KB 655, KBR 694, Js. 899-900, Lv. T II 104-5, Br. 425, JPS 337, Sl. 744-5, Sd. 766, CAD XI 121-2, JH 178, HJ 728-9}$ J *n- is likely to go back to a HS verbal prefix || pCh {JS} $\checkmark d\ddot{l}$ v. 'carry, bring' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} $d\ddot{o}luwi$ v. 'bring' || ECh: Kwn {J} $d\ddot{o}l\acute{e}$ v. 'carry, bring', Smr {J} $d\ddot{z}\acute{g}\acute{a}l$ v. 'carry on head' $\text{J ChC, JI II 62-3, JS 61, ChL s.v. 'carry'}$ || ? C: Bj {R} $\checkmark tlg$ (1s: p. 'atlig, prs. atan'līg; prtc. 'tilga) v. 'lift up' || ? SC: ? σ, ϕ Kz $\checkmark \acute{c}al-$ v. 'fly' $\text{J R WbD 227, ESC 194 (pSC *t\ddot{o}l-$ v. 'rise off the ground') || IE *telh-/*tleh- > NaIE *telā-/*tlā- v. 'lift, carry, endure' > OI $t\ddot{u}'l\bar{a}$ f. 'balance, scale, weight', $t\ddot{u}layati$ 'lifts up, weighs', MPrs $t\ddot{l}^{\rho}c\omega\kappa$ [tarāzūg], NPrs $\text{ترازو } t\ddot{a}r\ddot{o}z\ddot{u}$ 'balance, scale; the sign Libra' || Arm $\text{թողում } t\ddot{h}\ddot{o}\ddot{z}um$ 'I let, permit, tolerate' || Gk $\text{τλή-ναυ inf. (pp. τλητός), Gk D aor. ἔ-τλή-ν (pp. τλήτά) v. 'bear; hold out, endure', Gk τελέ-μῶν 'a broad strap for bearing (anything)' || L $toll-$, - $\check{e}re$ v. 'lift up, take up and away' || OIr $tlen-$ 'enlever, dérober', 'steal' (semantic change like in M (see \Downarrow)) || Gt pulan 'to endure, to tolerate', ON pola , AS đolian 'to endure', OSx tholōn , OHG dolēn id., 'to suffer', NHG dulden 'to endure, to tolerate' || Ltv Δ {ME} iz-tilt 'aushalten' (unless from *iz-stilt) || pTc *tāl- > Tc A/B tāl- vt. 'uphold, keep raised' $\text{J P 1060-1, EI 352 (*telh}_2\text{- / prs. *t\ddot{t}neh}_2\text{-ti 'lift, raise'), M K I 516, M E I 658-9, Vl. I 429, Sg. 291, F II 848-9, WP II 688-9, Fs. 504-5, Vr. 615, Ho. 366-7, Ho. S 78, OsS 107, EWA II 714-7, KM 146, Vn. T 78-9, ME IV 189, Wn. 500, Ad. 296-7}$ J If there is any connection of this root with N * $t\ddot{t}\nabla\bar{I}\nabla$ 'hang', it may be only secondary || A * $t'a\acute{r}a'$ - v. 'carry, carry away' > T * $t_{\text{L}}a\acute{u}$ - ~ * $t'a\acute{r}i$ - v. 'carry, transport (sth. somewhere)' > OT $\text{taš\ddot{u}-}$, Tk $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$, Ggz $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$, Az $\text{daš\ddot{r}i-}$, Qmq $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$, Qzq $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$ (inf. $\text{taš\ddot{u}}$), Qq $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$, Tv $\text{d}_{\text{L}}\acute{a}\check{z}i-$ id., Slr $\text{tāš\ddot{r}i-}$ ~ $\text{tāš\ddot{r}i-}$, Nog $\text{taš\ddot{r}i-}$ (inf. $\text{tasu-}\beta$) 'carry' $\text{J Cl. 56, IS AD 42 [#21], Rs. W 466, Tn. SJ 504, NogR 339, RKumS 1003, KumRS 308, KrkR 626, MM 336}$ || M * tala- v. 'take away, plunder' ($\times \leftarrow$ T * $t_{\text{L}}\acute{a}la-$ 'bite' [of animals], 'damage, ruin' < N * $\text{taha}l\nabla$, see s.v. N * $\text{t'a}l\text{h}\nabla \rightarrow$ * $\text{taha}l\nabla \approx$ to hit, to damage') > WrM tala- , HIM тала- v. 'take away', MM [S, MA] tala- 'plunder, loot', WrO $\text{tal\ddot{u}-}$ v. 'rob, steal', Kl {KRS} $\text{талл\ddot{x} tall\acute{x}\acute{x}\acute{a}$, {Rm.} $\text{tal\ddot{b}\acute{x}\acute{a}$ v. 'plunder', Ord t'ala- 'piller et casser les objets' $\text{J MED 771, H 144, Pp. MA 338, Krg. 475, KRS 474, KW 376, Ms. O 641}$ || ? WrMc tala- v. 'confiscate' (\leftarrow M?) $\text{J Z 708 J\ddot{J} KW 376, \approx DQA \#2321}$ (A * $\text{t'á}la-$ v. 'plunder, seduce', including T, M) || D [1] * tā- ({GS} * t-)$

v. *'lift' (→ 'hold', 'bear, endure') > Tm *tāl̥u* (p. *tāl̥i-*) v. 'bear, suffer, tolerate', Kn *tāl̥*, *tāl̥u* v. 'hold, take, undergo, experience, wait', Tu *tāl̥uṛni*, Tl *tāl̥u* v. 'bear, endure' || [2] ?φ (in NED) **t^re^l*]- > Mlt *téle* v. 'lift (as the corner of a curtain or hem of a dress)', Krx *telag-nā* v. 'tuck up (e.g. garment before sitting)' ¶ Krx/Mlt *l* is a reg. reflex of D **l̥*, but the vw. *e* is deviant ¶¶ D ##3188, 3428, Km. 381 [#561] (reconstructs pSD **tāl̥*- with an alleged variant **tāl̥*- based on unc. adduction of Tm *tāl̥*- v. 'stay, rest, stop') ◇ IS (ms.): **ṭal^he* 'carry' (S, IE, D), Tromb. CL (IE, D), BmK 281-3 (IE, A, D + unconvincingly S **ṭly* ~ **ṭll* 'to hang', **till*- 'hill', C **t∇l*- 'hill' + Sum *tál* v. 'be wide\broad'). The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of IE, it was most probably **h*, because it is the only N lr. that meets three requirements: it is lost in S (only N **h* and **ʔ* may be lost there), it yields NaIE **ə* in syllabic position (Gk *ǣ* in *τελǣ-μών*, unless it is from **ḡ*), and it has a-colouring effect on a preceding vw. (which N **ʔ* cannot have) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #383 (**tal* 'take') (IE, A, Gil, CK + qu. Ko, J, Ai), ≠ Gr. II #196 (**tol* 'hang') (an unc. attempt to connect the IE root with A, Ko, and J, as well as with Ai words for 'belt', 'hang', see N **t|ṭ∇l̥* 'hang').

2371. **ṭA^lX_J∇* or **ṭA_JX_J∇* 'stem', 'tree (ε?)' > HS: S **ṭal^h-* '(ε) a big tree' > Ar *ṭal^h-* (coll.) 'Acacia gummifera', *ṭal^h-at-* 'an *Acacia gummifera* tree', '(tout) grand arbre dans un terrain sablonneux' ¶ BK II 94-5 || IE: NaIE **tel_J-* 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' > OI *taruḥ* 'tree' (semantic infl. of *daru* 'tree?') || Gk *τηλίῶ* 'board\table with a raised edge, baker's table' || AS *ḑille* 'floorboard', *ḑel* 'plank, bed', *ḑelu* ~ *ḑele* 'plank', OHG *dil*, *dilo*, *dilla* 'board, plank, floor made of boards; bretterne Wandbekleidung des Zimmers', NHG *Diele* 'board, plank; floor', Yid *dil* 'floor', ON *pil* 'floor\wall of planks', *pili* 'wainscot, panelling', *pilja* 'plank' || Lt *tīleš* pl. 'Bodenbretter im Kahn, Bodenbelag' (Mn.: < **tlyə*), Ltv *tilandis* 'Bretter, die Diele eines Bootes bilden', (×IE **tel_J-* < N **ṭal^h∇* 'flat') Pru *talus* 'floor' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1375, IS IA 74; ≈ P 1061 and Frn. 1093-4 (both do not distinguish between **tel*- 'board' and **tel_J-* 'flat'), En. 262, M K I 484, F II 892, OsS 102-3, KM 131-2, Ho. 362, 365, Vr. 610, Kb. 154, EWA II 644-7, ≈σ EI 247 (**tel^h-om* ~ ? **tly^h-om* 'floor [of planks]') || D (in SD) **tāl̥* ({*ʔGS*} **t-*) 'stem, leg' > Tm *tāl̥* 'leg, stem, stalk', Ml *tāl̥* 'stalk, stem', Kt *tā:* 'stem, trunk', Td *tō·ḑ* 'thigh of animal's hind leg, trunk of tree', Kn *tār̥* 'stem or stalk' ¶ D #3185 ¶ Either the meaning 'leg' is

secondary, or there are two homonymic pD roots, one for 'leg' and the other for 'stem'.

2372. *t'É'm∇ 'to feel by touch' > **HS:** Eg fP d̄m̄y vt. 'touch, feel by touch', vi. 'be joined' > Cpt: Sd **тѡѡмѣ** tōōme, B **тѡмѣ** tōmi 'unir, toucher' ¶ EG V 453-5, Fk. 313, Vc. 215 || **U** *tumte v. 'feel, touch, feel by touch' > F tunte- v. 'feel, recognize, sense, taste, smell, know', Es tunde- to feel, sense, experience' | pLp {Lr.} *tomtɜ- v. 'feel, know (kennen)' > Lp: N {N} dow'dât v. 'know, perceive, sense', S {Hs.} dâbde- ɔ dâmde-, U {Schl.} dâb'dat, L {LLO} tâb'tât id., Kld {Lr.← Gn.} tom:deδ, {SaR} томмтэ 'learn (erfahren)' | ppPrm {LG} *túd- > pPrm *túd- v. 'know, learn (erfahren), remember' > Vt тодыны id., Z тōдны v. 'know, recognize, guess', Vt, Z тод 'memory', Yz тэд- tōd- v. 'know' || Hg tud- v. 'know, be able' || Sm {Jn.} *tumtъ (or *č-, *mč-) v. 'know' ('kennen, wissen') > Ne T 'тумдась 'learn (erfahren), notice', Nn T O {Lh.} tumtā, Ng {Cs.} aor. s./obj. 1s tumtu'áma 'erraten', En {Cs.} 1s aor. s./obj. tuddabo 'erfahren, erraten', {Ter.} d. тумтэру" 'learn (erfahren)', Kms {KD} t'əmnem 'wissen, verstehen', {Cs.} thümnäm 'wissen, sich erinnern', Koyb {Sp.} абытымнемъ 'не знаю' ('I do not know'), Koyb {Sp.} тымнелеймамъ, Mt *tumda- v. 'notice' (Mt M {Sp.} тумдуджугурамъ 'примечая') ¶¶ Coll. 63-4, UEW 536-7, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (U *tumtī- 'know' > FU, P *tumtī-, Ugr *tumtī-), Lr. #1268, Lgc. #7617, Hs. 408-9, SaR 357, Lt. 127, LG 283, Lt. J 186, Jn. 167, Cs. 63, 89, 187, KD 70, Hl. M #1091 || **A** *t'elām∇ v. 'feel by touch' > Tg *tem'ī- v. 'feel by touch' ('щупать') > Ewk tɜmi- ~ tɜmī-, Lm tɜmi- ~ tami-, Neg tɜmi-ktɜ-, Ul tɜmuru-, Ork, Nn Nh tɜmiri-, Nn KU tɜmirɜ- id.; Tg б→ Dg tɜmilē- 'feel (betasten), touch' ¶ STM II 233-4, T DgJ 167 || M *temte-li- / -ri- > WrM temtel-, temteri-, HlM тэмтрэ- v. 'grope, search by feeling, touch with the hands', Ord {Ms.} t'emt'ere- 'tâter, tâtonner', Brt тэмтэр-хэ 'to grope one's way' ('брести наощупь'), Kl темтрх temtr-xə id., {Rm.} 'im Dunkeln herumtappen, mit den Händen zu betasten suchen', Mnr H {SM} t'jänduli- 'tâter, toucher avec la main' ¶ MED 800, Chr. 453, KRS 492, KW 391, SM 415 ¶¶ DQA #2343 (A *t'em∇ 'grope, search') || **D** [1] (in SD) *tim∇r- v. 'smear, rub (the skin, etc.)' > Tm timir v. 'smear as sandal paste, rub, apply to (as a flower to the skin)', Kn timir v. 'rub and smear the skin' || [2] (in SD) *tiñt- ({{GGS} *t-) > Tm tīñtu v. 'touch, feel', Ml tīñtuka v.

'touch', Kt $t\dot{i}\cdot\eta\dot{d}$ - v. 'be polluted by illegal sexual intercourse', Kt, Td $t\dot{i}\cdot\dot{t}$ 'pollution', Kn $t\dot{i}\cdot\dot{d}\dot{u}$ v. 'touch (as air or wind), touch (as with fingers)', Kdg $t\dot{i}\cdot\eta\dot{d}$ - v. 'touch' ¶ D ##3234, 3268 ◇ The puzzling U vw. *u may ne explained by as. (infl. of *m) ◇ IS MS 353 s.v. оцупываѳъ *t^he^hm^h (TM, D).

2373. *t^hom^h ▽ 'to cut (off)' > HS: S *^o✓t^hmm > Ar ✓t^hmm v. G (ip. -t^hmm-) 'se raser la tête à tel ou tel endroit', 'shave' ¶ Fr. III 69, BK II 105 || IE: NaIE *tem- v. 'cut', *tom^o-s 'a cut, slice (Abschnitt)' > Gk Hm τέμει 'he cuts', Gk A τέμνω, Gk Hm/I/D τάμνω 'I cut', Gk τόμος 'a cut, slice; part' || L aestumā- v. 'estimate (the price of a thing)' (denom. from *ajs-tom^os 'der das Erz zerschneidet') || OIr tamnaid '(he) cuts off', tamun 'tronc d'arbre, bille de bois' || BSl *t^hin^o / *t^hinti (< *t^hom^o ÷ Gk τάμνω) > Lt t^hinti (prs. t^hin^u) 'to whet (by hammering)', {Frn.} '(die Sense) durch Klopfen mittels eines Hammers schärfen, dengeln', Lt {Frn.} tynimas 'Schlagen, Geißeln, Dengeln' | Sl *t^heti (prs. *t^hen-q) > Slv t^heti / prs. t^hem, OCz tieti / t^hu, Cz títi / t^hu 'hew', OR ТАТН t^heti / ТЪНЪ t^hen 'kill\stab (with a sabre, etc.)', R Δ τηγ^h / τηγ^h 'stab (with a knife, etc.)', P ciāc / t^het 'hew, smite, strike' ¶ WP I 719, P 1063, Mn. 1378, 1411, F II 874-6, WH I 20-1, Vn. T 25, Frn. 1099, Ju. I 651, Srz. III 1106, Sl. I 98 || A: NaT *t^homur- v. 'cut' (Cl.: caus. [σ?] from **t^hom-) > OT {Cl.} to|umur- v. 'cut in a rounded shape', Blq {Rs.} tomur- 'aushauen, fällen', VTt {θRL} tum^hr- 'abhauen, absägen (den Teil eines Balkens)', SbTt Tv/Tr {Tm.} tum^hr- v. 'hew, trim, rough-hew', SbTt Tb tum^hr- {RL} id., 'behauen', {Tm.} 'chop off', VTt {RL} tumra- 'hauen, abhauen, durchhauen', SbTt Tb {Gig.} tumra- 'saw up (firewood)', VTt тумран tumran 'block of wood, log, stump (колода, чурбан, обрубок)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Tm.} tumram 'stump, stub (пень, обрубок)', Tlt tomir- v. 'cut through (a log)', Osm {Rs.} tumruq 'Stamm, Klotz', {Rh.} tomruq 'a heavy log from the main trunk of a tree', Tk tomruk 'log, block of wood' ¶ Cl. 509, Rl. III 1238, 1521-3, Rs. W 487, Tm. 218, Rh. 1263, TrR 865 || ??φ M: WrM tobi-, HIM тови- v. 'engrave (gold, silver), beat out a pattern; incrust, inlay' {Gl.} id., 'carve' ¶ MED 811, Gl. III 177; the denasalization *-m- > *-b- is still to be explained || D *tum- v. 'be cut (off)' > Tm tumi (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be cut off', tumi (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut off', Tl tumuru 'a small piece or bit' ¶¶ D #3325 ◇ T and M point to a N *^o, D *u suggests N *u (or *ü), while the IE cognate can go back to etymons with any vw.

2374. ***tōyam** ▽ 'to bite, to taste' > HS: S ***√t̥im** v. 'taste' > BHb **𐤒𐤓** **√t̥im** G, IA **√t̥im**, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr **√t̥im** G 'taste, eat a bit', Ar **طعم** **√t̥im** v. G 'taste, eat', Gz **√t̥im** v. G 'taste, be tasty', Mh **√t̥im** (pf. **tām**, sbjn. **yɜt̥ōm**, verbal noun **t̥ɜ'aym**), Jb, Sq **√t̥im** (pf.: Jb C **t̥am**, Jb E **t̥am**, Sq **t̥am**) v. 'taste, eat, try (food)', Ak (inf.) **tēm** v. 'taste', BHb **𐤒𐤓** **t̥am** n. 'taste, feeling' ¶ KB 361, KBR 377, Lv. T I 312, Js. 543, Sl. 510, Br. 283, BK II 83, Hv. 432 || C: EC ***dam-dam-** ~ ***daddam-** v. 'taste', 'tasty' > Or {Grg.} **damdamā** 'delicate, flavored, savory', {Brl.} **dandama** n. 'taste', **dandamā** 'tasty', Sml **daddam-** vi. 'taste', Bn **didim-** id., Brj **deddēm-ā** 'good-tasting', as well as probably LEC ***dam-** 'food, consume' > Sml **dam-** v. 'drink milk\blood', Rn {PG} **dam-** v. 'drink (food drinks)', Bs {HL} **dam-** v. 'drink', Or **dama** 'whey', Kns, Gdl **dam-** v. 'eat', Dsn **dan-** {Bl.} v. 'bite', {To.} 'tear off, tear to pieces'; a more archaic LEC **√** variant ***dam-** is present in Sml {R} **dam**, pl. **damo** 'taste, juice, sauce', Af {PH} **dame** 'take a sample of food, taste', and Sa {HL} **dame** v. 'taste' ||| Dhl {To.} **tem-** v. 'try, taste', {EEN} **tem-** 'try, look at' ¶ AD SF 317-8, AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], Ss. B 62-3, Bl. 100, Hn. S 57, PG 91, PH 88-9, Grg. 120, Brl. 98, HL 92, ENN 8, To. D 148, To. DL 493, Blz. CL 178 || WCh (?) ***dam** - > Gmy **tiyɜm** v. 'taste', My a **dahin** id., Hs **dandanā** v. 'taste', Bl **dand-** id. ||| CCh ***√dm:** HgNk **damata** v. 'taste', Bdm **dam**, ? Msg {Trn.} **dam** id. ¶¶ AD PSH § 5.2 [#6], § 6.3 [#73], OS #2454, ≈ Sk. HCD 55 || U: FU ***tōyam** (or ***tokm**) > pObU ***tōyam-** or ***tōwam-** v. 'bite' > pVg ***tāyam-** or ***tāwam-** id. > Vg: LK/MK **tōwm-**, UL **tōwam-**, Ss **tōwm**; pOs ***tōyam-** ({HL} ***tōyam-**) id. > Os: Ty **tāy^wam-**, Y **tāwam-**, D/K/O **tōxam-**, Nz **tōxam-**, Kz {Stn.} **tōxam-**, {KrT} **tōyam-/tōxam-** ¶ Ht. 187 [#625], KrT 977-8, Stn. D 1414-5 || A: Tg ***tam-** v. 'champ, taste (food)' > WrM **tamiša-** id., Ewk **tam-** v. 'champ' ¶ STM II 158 || NaT(?) ***t'am-** n. 'taste' > Alt {BT} **tam**, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} **tām** id. (for these lgs. of non-Muslim peoples the Persian-Arabic origin of the word is less likely than for Uz **там** ~ **таъм** 'taste' and ET **taam** 'food', which are obviously loans); ?σ T ***t'am-gāk** ({ADb. ***t'an^yak**) 'soft palate and throat' > OT {TL} **tamyāq**, {Cl.} **tamyāq**, MU, MQp, XwT **tamaq**, MOg **tamaq** ~ **tama^y** id., Chg **tama^y** ~ **tamaq**, Tk **damak**, Ggz **damak**, Az **damag** 'palate', Tkm **damaq**, Uz **tamaq**, Qry, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt/Qmn {Rl.}, StAlt **tamaq**, Xk, Shor **tama^x** 'throat', Tv **t'an^ymaq** 'gills',

Yk tamaχ 'throat, pharynx' ¶ Cl. 505, Rs. W 460, TL 229-30, Rl. III 993-4, 1649, BT 140, MM 330, BT 140 ¶ Tv t'- provides ev. for pT *t'- in the noun, while d- of the Og lgs. is ambiguous (F IS AD and ADb. Ttd 62-5) || M *tamsiya- > ? WrM tamsiya-, HIM та́мшаа- v. 'champ, click the tongue, taste food', Ord t'amšā- v. 'champ', WrO tamšā- id., 'smack the lips', Kl та́мша- tamšā- id., 'cling the tongue (as a sign of pleasure)', Brt та́мшаа- id., v. 'savour (смаковать)'; M *tamsug|q 'tasty' > Ord t'amsu'q id., WrO tamšiq 'delicate', ? WrM та́нсуḡ, HIM та́нсаг id. (infl. of *taḡsu 'tenderness' and/or *taḡsi- 'champ?'); M *tamsiḡ > WrO tamšīḡ 'savory', Kl {KRS, Rm.} та́мшḡ tamšḡ 'gourmand, fastidious (wählerisch) in food', {Rm.} tamsāḡ ~ taḡsāḡ id., 'Süßigkeiten'; M ⇨ Qzq tamsanu-, Qq tamsan- 'smack the lips', Qrg tamšān- id., 'click the tongue (a sign of pleasure)' ¶ MED 775, 778, Ms. O 643, Krg. 477-8, KRS 475, KW 377, 379, Chr. 413, Jud. 700 || pJ {S} *tāmīās- 'try' > OJ tamī,es-, J: T tamés-, K támés-, Kg tàmès- ¶ S QJ #1012, Mr. 763 ¶¶ DQA #2301 (A *t'āma- 'to taste, to munch' > M, Tg, J) || ?σ,φ D: Tm tīm 'sweet', tēm 'sweetness' (unless from *tī's'-) ¶ D #3274, ≈ GS 202 [#512] (pD *tyī- 'sweet'). If Tm tīm- belongs here, the N rec. may be *t̥o|ayim ▽ ≠ Gr. II #120 (*tamp 'eat') (A *t'ama 'taste' and EA ≈ *tam- 'lick, chew' erroneously equated with IE *dapH- 'feast, sacrifice' [a loan from S *ḡabḡ- 'sacrifice'], as well as with Vg *tāp 'food', etc.).

2375. *tæqm ▽ (or *tæqUm ▽?) 'sinciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > HS: S *^o✓tχm > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ?atχam- 'anterioris pars nasi (in homini et iumento)' ¶ Fr. III 44 || C: Ag **d▽m▽ḡ > Aw {L} dūmī 'top', Ag ⇨ Gz dāmāḡ [damaḡ] 'head, crown of the head, summit' (unless from S *dimāy- [> Ar dimāy- 'brain'], acc. to W. Müller) || ? EC: Or duma (nom. dum-ti) 'end' ({Brl.} 'estremità, fine') ¶ LG 134, Grg. 131, Th. 116, Brl. 128 || K *^ot^qem- (or *^ot^qēm-) > OG tχem-i 'top of the head' (Deut. 28.35), 'top of the hill' (Ex. 17.9, Mt. 27.33), G tχem-i 'Scheitel, Gipfel' ¶ Chx. 509, Abul. 186, DCh. 574, Ser. 74 || IE *^oteḡmḡ > NaIE *^otēmḡ > Sl *tēmę / tēmen- 'crown of the head' > SrChS, OR ТѢМА temę / gen. ТЕМЕН-е temen-e id., 'skull', R 'темя, Uk тiм'я, P ciemie, SCr тѣме ѓ tjēme 'crown of the head', Cz témě, temeno id., 'summit' ¶ Srz. III 1093-4, Vs. IV 41, Ma. CS 525, Sl. I 100 || A *t'em ▽ ~ *t'Um ▽ > Tg *tem ▽ ~ *tum ▽ ({DQA} *tumḡu)

'crown of the head, occiput' > Ewk I t̄mulk̄ēn ~ timulk̄ēn 'crown of the head', 'skull', Sln tumulk̄ī, Ud t̄muḡz, Orc {PSchm.} тумаха, Mc Sb tuḡun 'crown of the head, sinciput' ¶ STM II 217 || ? NaT *t̄₁umak 'fur-cap' > Chg {PC} tumaq 'e cap', {Vm.} tumaḡ 'fur cap of the Qazaqs', ET {BN, Nj., Rl.} tumaq, Bsh Δ t̄ōmaḡa 'winter fur cap with large ear-flaps', SbTt Tō τομακ t̄ōmaq, Qrg tumaq, QK {Rl.} tubaq, Tkm Δ tumoq id., Uz тумоқ tumoq id., 'cap', Qzq {Sht., MM} тўмақ tūmaq 'winter cap, fur cap with ear-flaps and back flap (треух)', ET Δ, Ln tumaq 'e cap'; T ↗ Kl tom̄oḡa 'Mütze, Kappe' ¶ TL 483, BN 157, Nj. 339, Rl. III 1514, 1517-8, UzR 451, Jud. 765, Sht. 211, KrkR 654, Tm. 212, KW 399 || M *tomi n./adj. 'chief' > WrM t̄omi, Ord {Ms.} t̄ōmi 'chef, primipare', t̄ōmi-la- 'être à la tête de' ¶ MED 800, 822, SM 431. Ms. O 666 || pJ *tum- 'top, head' > OJ {S, Vv.} tumu-ri (~ {S} tuburi) 'head, top' > ItOJ {Vv.} tuburi, eNJ tuburi ~ tumuri, J: T/Kg cumurí, K cúmurí id., Sh číbúrú 'head' ¶ S QJ #114, Mr. 556, Vv. AEN 6-7 ¶¶ S CNM 8 suggested to adduce T and OJ, as well as M tomi-la- 'chief' and tumur-liḡ 'hat' ◇ The labialized vw. in the Altaic lgs. may be due to the labializing effect of *m or go back to the labialized vw., if the etymon was *t̄æqUm̄. In the latter case the vw. *U must have been lost in the pre-history of IE: *t̄æqUm̄ > *t̄æqm̄ > IE *tēhm̄ ¶¶ DQA #2464 (A *t̄ūmu 'head, top of the head') ◇ AD NM #105, S CNM 8, Vv. AEN 6-7.

2376. *t̄um̄₁q̄ 'dark' > HS: S *^otm̄χ > Ak tam̄χ-û(m) 'evening', tam̄χ-ītu id. ¶ Sd. 1314 || C *t̄u¹m̄₁H₁- 'dark' > Ag *tem- > Xm {R} tema 'darkness', tim (pl.) 'dark nights', Q {R} tem- v. 'be dark', tema 'darkness', Km {CR} tem- v. 'be dark', tem 'darkness' || ? HEC *tuns- (or *t̄uns-??) > Hd {PB} t̄unso, {Hd.} tunso 'darkness', Sd {Gs.} tunsā- v. 'grow dark', Sd {Hd.}, Kmb {Hd.} tuns- v. 'become dark', Sd {Gs., Hd.} 'darkness', Hd {PB} t̄uns-, {Hd., Gs.} tuns- v. 'grow dark' ¶ AD SF 53-4, Hd. 47, PB 177, Gs. 319 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} t̄um- v. 'be dark', t̄um̄ 'darkness, evening, night', Shn {Abb.} t̄um̄ā 'night', Bnc {Wdk.} t̄um̄ám 'at night' || SOM: Dm {Fl.} t̄um 'darkness' ¶ C SE IV 510, Wdk. BY 112, Fl. OO 317 || ? Ch: ECh: it is tempting to adduce Mu {Lk., J} d̄ed̄ém, Mjl deddem and Mkl d̄idd̄ó 'night', but the morphemic structure of the word and the origin of the initial de-, di- are not clear; cp. also Kbl {Cp.} d̄am̄ā 'night' ¶ JI II 257, Blz. EChWL #61 ¶¶ AD l.c., C SE II 221-2 (C, Om) || IE *temH- > NaIE *tem(ə)- 'dark' (and ds.: *temes- ntr. 'darkness', *teməs̄rā 'darkness', *temsro- 'dark') > OI

'tamaḥ (tamas) ntr., Av tamaḥ- 'darkness', OI 'tamisrāḥ (pl.) id., MPrs tom 'finster' || L temerā- v. 'darken', temere 'blindly', tenebrae 'darkness' (probably dis. from *temafrā < *temasrā ÷ OI 'tamisrāḥ) || OIr tem, later teim, temen 'dark, gray', OIr teime 'darkness', te(i)mel id., 'shade' || OHG dēmar, dēmerunga 'twilight', NHG†Dämmer 'weak faint light', Dämmerung 'twilight, dusk', Ic {KM < ?} þám 'dunkle Luft', þámaðr 'dark', Far {JM} tám 'haze'; OSx thimm 'dark', (*tem-sro/ā >) MDt, Dt † deemster, OHG dinstar 'dark, dusty' || Lt tēm-ti, Ltv tim-t 'to grow\get dark', Lt teméti 'to be dark (finster)', Lt tēmsta 'it is getting dark, the day is closing in', Lt temà, Ltv tima, tìmsa, tùmsa, Lt tamsà, Lt E tumsà 'darkness', Lt temsas, Ltv tùmšs ~ tumss 'dark (finster)' | Sl *tь'ma (accus. *tьmъ ~ *tь'mъ) 'darkness' > OCS, OR ТЪМА, R тьма, P ćma id., SCr táma 'darkness, dusk'; Sl d. adj. *tьмьнъ 'dark' ('dunkel, dinster') > OCS ТЪМЪНЪ, R 'ТЁМНЫЙ, Blg 'ТЪМЕН, SCr tāman ~ táman, Cz temný, P ciemny ¶ P 1063-4, Dv. #319 (*temos 'tenebra'), EI 147 (*tomhes- 'dark'), M K I 478, M E I 626, WH II 656-7, 664, EM 1027-8, Vn. T 48, Kb. 157, OsS 99, 104, EWA II 573-5, 660-2, KM 120, Ho. S 77, Vr. N 108, JM 438, Frn. 1055-6, 1080, 1139, Kar. II 440-1, Vs. IV 40, 133-4, Glh. 619-20 || U: P *tum₁m₁e' 'dark' > F tumma id., tummentaa v. 'darken, make dark', Krl tumma 'dark-coloured', Es tōmmu 'dark', Lv tumà 'undurchsichtig, nebelig (Wetter)', F Δ tumea 'dusky (hämärä)', Es tume 'dark' | Prm {LG} *tūm- > Z LV tīm- vt. 'darken, shield from the light' ¶ SK 1395-7, Kt. 439, LG 293 || A *t'um- > NaT *t₁'um₁∇₁, *t₁'um > Slr tum-, tumu-, tumi- vi. 'darken' (of the sky)', 'cover with darkness (окутывать мглой)', Sbt tōmas 'cloudy, overcast with clouds', Tk Δ dūmsak 'cloudy weather', VTt Δ tōmъzъq 'cloudy' (cp. also VTt tōma 'closed from all sides'), ?σ OT {Cl.} tum 'uniform' (of dark colour): tum qara at 'a uniformly black horse', tum toriγ at 'a uniformly dark bay horse'; T *t'uman 'mist, fog, (?) darkness' > OT tuman 'fog, mist', 'darkness' ({DTS} 'мгла, мрак'), Chg {Bu.} tuman 'mist, fog, darkness', tumanlu 'foggy, dark', Tkm duman, Tv t'uman ~ duman, Tf duman, Qzq tūman, Qq duman ~ tuman, Slr, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz tuman, VTt, Bsh tōman, Xk tuban 'mist, fog', Brb tuman 'darkness (мгла)', Tk duman, Ggz, Az duman, Yk tuman id., 'mist, fog'; pT **t₁'üm (with rdp.) > Chv tьттьm 'dark', 'darkness' ¶ Cl. 503, DTS 585, IS AD 175, Rs.

W 498, TL 33-4, ET VGD 295-6, Bu. I 753, Rl. III 1518, Tn. SJ 522-3, TatR 544-5, BR 531, BT 158, Dm. JBT 191, Ash. XV 103-4, Jeg. 249, Fed. II 224-5 || Tg *^otum- > WrMc tumin 'dark' (of colour) (× WrMc tumin 'thick, dense'), unless tumin 'dark' is a sd. from tumin 'thick'; ?φ Tg *tamna 'fog, mist' > Nn tamna ~ tamna id., Ork, Ul tamna 'haze, mist, fog' ('мгла, туман'), Ud {Shn.} tamnэHä, {Krm.} tamnэhä 'mist', Ewk tamna-ksa id., tamna- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('туманиться, идти пару'), Lm tamnarı 'fog, haze' ('Nebel, Nebel-, Staubschleier'), tanmu- v. 'get misty (weather)' ('neblig werden'), WrMc talman 'mist, steam', Jrc tãh-mà-kîh 'mist, fog' ¶ STM II 159, 213, Krm. 293, LamW 942 ¶ The vw. *a (for the expected *u) in Tg *tamna is still to be explained (infl. of the nearly synonymous A *da₁m- 'dust' < N *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust'? [q.v. s.v.]?) ¶¶ It is not clear if the meaning 'mist, fog' (in T and Tg) goes back to 'darkness' or there is coalescence with a different A root ◇ IS SS #1.29, IS MS 368 s.v. 'темный' *t₁um∆ (IE, C [with Om], BF), AD rTPN (IE, HS, BF, A) → BmK 284-5 (IE, C + *÷ Eg tms v. 'hide'). IE and Tg suggest N *t₁-, while in S, C, and T there is de-emphatization of the initial cns. ◇ ≈ Gr. II #89 (*tum 'dark') (IE, U, A, CK, EA + err. Ko).

2377. ₂ *t₁∇m₁∇₁ka|æ 'to wet, to dip' > HS: S *^o✓t₁m₁ > Gz ✓t₁m₁: v. Sh (pf. ?atmaqa) 'dip, immerse', tãmũk 'dipped, baptized', tãm₁at 'immersion' ¶ L G 593 ¶ Glottalized k for the expected k is probably due to as. || IE: NaIE *teng₁- v. 'wet, moisten' (× N *t₁A₁h₁∇ 'moisture') > Gk τέγγω v. 'moisten, soak, dye' || L ting-ō, -ēre v. 'dip, dye, wash, sprinkle, paint' || OHG dunkōn, NHG tunken 'to dip', NGr Sw tink 'moist' || ? OIr tummaid 'he dips, immerses' ¶ WPI 726, P 1067, E 639 (*teng- 'moisten, soak'), F II 863, WH II 684, OsS 115, EWA II 855, KM 797, Vn. T 183, Mn. 726?

2378. (₂?) *t₁üm₁∇ - *t₁ü₁K₁∇ 'leather sack' > U: FU (in Ugr) *t₁ü₁∇₁tE (or *tã₁ü₁∇₁tE?) 'quiver' > Hg tegëz ~ tëgëz 'quiver' | ObU *t₁üwät id. > pVg *tãwät id. > Vg: LK/MK tãwät ~ täwt, P tãwt, Ss tawt; pOs *t₁üxät id. > Os: V/Vy t₁üxät, Ty t₁ix^wät, Y/D/K tiwät, Nz t₁ixät, Kz t₁wät || Ne T {PT} теһьт₁ / -н- íz₁í₁ 'quiver' ¶¶ UEW 894 (Ugr *tã₁∇-t∇), MF 624, Ht. #632, Hl. rHt, PT RNS 115, Mu. USz 90, Hal. USz I 262 || A: T *^ot₁∇₁indi or *^ot₁∇₁indi > Chg {Bu.} tin₁di or tin₁di 'ein Sack aus Leder oder aus Pilz' (≈ {Rl.} تيكدي tin₁gdi) ¶ Bu. I 439, Rl. III 1355 || ?φ M *^oc₁ünke > WrM c₁ünke, HIM ц₁үнх 'bag, pouch' ¶

MED 209 || ? ϕ HS: Eg fMK t m \exists 'sack for grain and other fruit' > Cpt: Sd **ṬṬṬṬ** tōōme, A **ṬṬṬṬ** tōmes 'bourse, sac' (× Eg fMK t m \exists 'mat' < N ***ṭṭmṭ** 'hair' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Vc. 215.

2379. ₂^* **ṭṭi'mṭṭ** 'be quiet, be calm' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{ṭmn}}$ > Ar ṭamn- {BK} 'tranquilité, repos', {Hv.} 'quiet, enjoying rest', pf. ṭaṭmana ~ ṭamṭana {BK} 'coucher son dos sur qc. pour reposer; se reposer de qc.' ¶ BK II 110, Hv. 439 || A: Tg ***ṭṭmṭṭâ** 'calm' > Lm ṭmṭṭṭ 'lull, calm weather (before a storm)', ? Ud ṭon v. 'calm down (the wind)' ¶ STM II 182 || T ***ṭṭim** 'silence' > Tkm dīm- 'fall silent', Alt ṭimī- 'be silent', Qq, Qrg ṭimṭiy- id., Qzq ṭim-tiris '(deathlike) silence', Qrg ṭimizin 'quietly, in silence', Tlt/Qmn {RI.} ṭim 'silence, silently', Xk ṭim n. 'quiet, silence', ṭimix, Alt ṭimiq 'silence', Qzq ṭimiq, Bsh ṭmṭṭṭ, VTt ṭmṭṭṭṭ 'calm' ¶ Rs. W 47, TkR 298, MM 354, KrkR 656, Jud. 791, TatR 561, BT 163-, RI. III 134, BIG 244 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2271 (A ***ṭṭm(k)u** 'silent, calm', including T) ◇ ≠ BmK 307-8: a comparison between Ar $\sqrt{\text{ṭmn}}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{ṭmṭn}}$ and IE ***domH-** v. 'subdue, conquer, tame', which is unc. on both phonetic and semantic grounds (the basic meaning of the IE $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ is v. 'subdue, conquer, overpower' [cp. Gk $\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ v. 'overpower', the meaning 'tame' being secondary], while the S $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ means 'tranquility; to rest').

2380. ***ṭaṭṭ** (= ***ṭaṭṭû**?) 'draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE ***ten-**, (?) ***tenu-** v. 'draw, stretch, extend' (× IE ***ten-** v. 'strain' < N ***ṭi'ṭi'E** 'strong; to strain?') > OI **ta'nōti** 'expands, extends, spreads', **ut-tāna** 'ausgestreckt', Av **ustāna** id., KhS **astan-**, **astān-** v. 'stretch (a musical instrument)', **ttanv-** 'to stretch' ||| Gk Hm/I **ταύω** (Gk Hm 3s md. **τάυυται**) v. 'stretch, stretch out, strain' ||| L **tend-ō / -ēre** 'stretch, stretch out, extent, spread' ||| Clt: MW, W {YGM} **tyrnu**, Crn {ECCE} **tenna** 'to pull', MBr {Ern.} **tennaff** 'tirer', Br {Hm.} **tennañ** id., 'retirer, ôter'; ? OIr **tan** 'time' (< 'duration, time extension?'), 'moment' ||| pAl {O} ***en-tenya** > Al: T **ndej** ~ **ndēnj**, G **ndêj** v. 'stretch, spread' ||| Gt **uf-panjan** 'to stretch out', ON **penja** 'ausspannen, ausstrecken', AS **ḍēnnan** 'to stretch, to extend', OSx **thēnnian** 'to stretch (dehnen, ausspreiten)', OHG **dennen** 'to extend, to tense, to pull', NHG **dehnen, aus-dehnen** 'to stretch, to extend' ||| Sl: OCS **тєнєтє, тєнєтє**, Cz **tenata**, R **тє'нєтє** 'snare, Fangnetz' || Lt **tiñklas** 'net, fishing net', Ltv **tīkls** id. | d. pp. ***ṭṭo-** > OI **ta'ta-** 'extended', Gk ***τατός** (\rightarrow **τατικός** 'extensible'), L **tentus**

'stretched, stretched out, extended, spread' ¶ P 1065-6, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch'), 574, Mn. 1379-1405, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, M K I 471, 475, M E I 618-9, Bai. 12-3, 122-3, F II 853, WH II 663-4, 666, Vn. T 25-6, Ern. 687, Hm. 782, YGM-1 425, ECCE 298-9, Fs. 513-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 362, Ho. S 77, Kb. 150, EWA II 582-5, KM 125, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 42, 139-40, Frn. 1098-9 || **A** *t'an∇- > Tg *tān- v. 'draw' > Ewk tān- 'pull\take out, stretch' ('вытащить, вы-, по-, при-, на-. об-тянуть'), Sln tan-, Orc, Ud tān-a-, Ul tyan-, Ork tōn-, Nn tgan- 'draw, pull' ('тянуть, тащить'), Lm tān- 'draw\pull out' ¶ STM II 160 ¶ In Tg the vw. was lengthened in an open syll. || ? M *°tan∇- > Kl таң-х 'twist\plait together', {Rm.} таң-ха 'aus Fäden oder Schnüren einen Knopf zusammendrehen; knoten, knüpfen, flechten' ¶ KRS 476, KW 378 (but WrM таңу-, mentioned by Rm., is not registered in the available dictionaries of WrM) || **D** *tañt- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'pull' > Prj tañd- id., Gdb tind- v. 'pull, pull a cart', Gnd tañd- ~ tend- v. 'take out\off, remove' ɘ tañd- v. 'take out\off, draw (water)' ɘ tañdānā 'to extract (oil) ɘ tendānā 'to pull off' ¶¶ D #3052 || **HS**: Eg fP dωn vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *tūíE [or *tæwūíE?]) 'extend, stretch, become long', if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg n) ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 || CCh (× N *tanga|o 'draw, stretch', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} tāndá v. 'drag, pull' || ECh: Jg {J} teñ- v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} téñè 'tírer (la corde, etc.)' ¶ Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 (Eg dωn ÷ S *√twn 'be long, stretch out', EC {Ss.} *d₁ā| 'exceed', and AG du;| 'pull', see N *tūíE (or *tæwūíE?); BmK 290-2 proposes to adduce S *√ntn 'give', which deserves consideration if we can explain the initial *n- ◇ Eg tωn (mt. from *√tnw?), IE *tenu- and the controversial WrM {Rm.} таңу- may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting N *tañû ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. тянуть tañ (IE, A- D), IS SS #1.10, ≠ BmK 290-2 (an unc. attempt to equate IE *ten- v. 'stretch, draw' not only with S *√ntn v. 'give', but also with some other S roots [like *√wtn v. 'endure'], with D *tan- v. 'abound' and with M tani- v. 'know', cp. N *tañ∇ 'feel, know').

2381. (₂?) *tañ∇ 'feel, know' > **HS**: EC: ?φ Sa {R} √tntn v. 'think (meinen, dafür halten)': inv. eñin'tin, p. 3s i-'tintina, inf. a'tanten ¶ R S II 361 || **A** *t'an^ri- v. 'know' > NaT *t'ani- v. 'know, be acquainted with' > OT tani- v. 'be acquainted with', Tk tani-, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qq, Bsh tañ-, VTt tañ- (inf. tanu), Qzq, Nog tani- (inf. tanuw), Uz tani-, Tf t'ani- 'be acquainted with, recognize', Slr tani- ~ tāni-

StAlt, Xk tanı-, Tv t'ani-, ET tonu- v. 'recognize (y-/при-знавать)', SY t'ani- (< M?) ~ tanı- v. 'recognize, distinguish', Tkm tanımal 'known, famous', tanış id., 'an acquaintance'; ⇨ T *t'anuk ~ *t'anık 'witness' > OT, Chg tanuq, Osm danıq, Tk tarık, VTt tanъq, Qrg tanıq, ET tonuq id. || Chv tinъ, tin 'witness' ¶ Cl. 516-9, Tn. SJ 500-1, BT 141, Ra. 232-3, Rs. W 461, Jeg. 268, Md. 100, 178, Fed. II 267, IS AD 42, ADb. Ttd 63 [#5] || M *tani- v. 'know, be familiar with; recognize (so.\sth. previously known)' > MM [S, HI, MA] tani-, WrM tani-, HIM тани- id., Kl tań-(xъ), Ord t'ani-, Dx, Ba tani-, Mgl tāni-na v. 'know (connaître), recognize', Mnr H {SM} t'ani- 'connaître, reconnaître, pouvoir déchiffrer', MMgl [Z] tanixč'i 'an acquaintance' ¶ H 145, Pp. MA 340, Ms. H 99, KW 387, MED 778, KRS 477, SM 408, T 363, Iw. 136 || U *ton|ñ∇- v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N *tōŋ∇ 'learn (erfaren), inform', q.v. ffd.; the merger accounts for U *-o-) ◇ AD GD 14, IS SS #1.6, IS MS 343 s.v. *t'anɿ 'эна́ть' (IE, U, A).

2382. *t'i'ñ'E 'strong', 'to strain' (= 'violence directed to oneself') > HS: B *o✓ dny > Kb ✓ dny: ədñi 'être gros, corpulent', Shl {NZ} dñi / idñi 'être gros\solide\épais' ¶ Dl. 178, NZ 476 || WS *o✓ wlytn 'flow continuously, be durable' (× N *wētê '(flowing) water') > BHb ʔṽ'ān 'constant, continual; always filled with running water', Ar ✓ wtn: G (pf. watana) v. {Hv.} 'flow continuously', {BK} 'être inépuisable\perpetuel' (de l'eau qui jaillit sans cesse d'une source), L 'persevere in', Sb wtn 'continuous (rain)', wātīn- {BK} 'qui coule, courant (eau)' ¶ KB 43, KBR 45-6, BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 165, DRS 652 || A *ot'ine|ä- > M *cineven > WrM cinegen, HIM чинээ, Brt шэнээ(н) 'strength, power', Kl {KRS} чинэн, {Rm.} činēn 'Stärke, Vermögen, Kraft', {KRS} чинэтэ činätä 'strong' ¶ MED 188, KRS 651, KW 441, Chr. 748 || ??l CIKo tin tin hada 'be solid\strong, be substantial', Ko {MLC} tin tin hada ~ t̄in t̄in hada 'be strong, robust, healthy; be hard, substantial' ¶ Rm. SKE 267, MLC 530 ¶¶ Rm. l.c.; ≠ DQA #237 || Gil: Gil A č'it̄ / sit̄ 'strong' (< M?) ¶¶ ST 458 || D *tiñ- ({ṽGS} *t-) 'strong', *tiñdi- {Pf.} 'strength, violence directed to oneself' > Tm tiñ 'strong, hard, firm', tiñm, tiñnam 'certainty, vigour, strength', Ml tiñ 'firm, strong, solid', tiñnam 'strength', Kn tiñna 'thickness, stoutness, greatness', tiñuku, tiñaku v. 'use pressure or strain as in childbirth or in easing nature', Tu diñdə 'stout, strong', diñna 'heaviness, heavy', Tl tinuku v. 'strain', Kui t̄ingi 'tight, fast,

taut', Krx $\text{tind}\bar{i}$ 'strength', $\text{tin}\bar{x}\text{-n}\bar{a}$ v. 'strain', Mlt $\text{tin}\bar{q}$ v. 'strain (as at stool)' ¶ D #3222, Pf. 83 [#527] || IE: NaIE *ten- v. 'stretch (to the uttermost), strain' (× IE *ten- v. 'stretch' < N * $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{\nabla}$ 'draw, stretch, extend') > OI $\text{t}\bar{a}'\text{r}\bar{n}\bar{o}\text{t}\bar{i}$ 'spannt, zieht aus', 'expands, extends, spreads' || Gk $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}$ 'stretch (by main force), stretch to the uttermost, spannen', $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\varsigma$ ~ $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\varsigma$ 'straightened, smooth', ? $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ (gen. $\text{t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\varsigma$) 'sinew, tendon', $\bar{\alpha}\text{-t}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\varsigma$ 'stretched, strained', {P} 'sehr gespannt, straff' ($\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$ < * $\text{s}\bar{m}\bar{o}\text{-}$), $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{o}\varsigma$ 'that by which a thing is stretched', n. act. 'stretching, tightening, straining' || pAl {O} *en-tenja > Al: T $\text{nd}\bar{e}\bar{j}$ ~ $\text{nd}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{j}$, G $\text{nd}\bar{e}\bar{j}$ v. 'strain' || ON $\text{p}\bar{e}\bar{n}\bar{j}\bar{a}$ 'ausspannen, ausstrecken' || OIr $\text{t}\bar{e}\bar{t}$, W $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}$ (both from * $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{t}\bar{a}$) 'string (Saite)' ¶ P 1065-6, M KI 475, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, F II 853, 863-5, Vr. 609, Vn. T 55, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch') ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. $\text{c}\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{y}\bar{i}$ * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{\Delta}$ (A, D), IS SS #1.20. If the IE stem belongs here, we reconstruct N *- \bar{n} - (as the only common source of IE *-n- and D *- \bar{n} -), otherwise it is either N *- \bar{n} - or *- \bar{n} -.

2383. * $\text{t}\bar{i}'\bar{h}'\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{\nabla}$ 'mud, silt, dirt' > HS: WS * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ - 'mud, clay' > Ar $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ - 'mud, clay', Sr $\text{t}\bar{i}'\bar{r}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'lutum', Mh $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{n}$ 'clay, soil', Hrs $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{n}$, Jb E/C $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ 'clay' ¶ Br. 274, BK II 131, Hv. 444, Jo. M 414, Jo. J 282, Jo. H 131 || CCh: Lgn {Bou.} $\text{t}\bar{z}\bar{h}$ 'earth' ¶ JI II 117 || ?? Eg {Vc.} $\text{d}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{m}$ 'salé' (unless $\bar{n} = []$), as suggested by comparison with Cpt Sd $\text{t}\bar{w}\bar{\lambda}\bar{e}\bar{m}$ $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{m}$ 'salir, être salé'); not here Eg G $\text{t}\bar{r}\bar{m}$ 'dirt' > Cpt $\text{t}\bar{w}\bar{\lambda}\bar{m}$ $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{m}$ ¶ EG V 312 (Eg G $\text{t}\bar{r}\bar{m}$), Vc. 214 ¶ OS #2472 (HS * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ 'earth, dirt') || IE * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{n}$ - > NaIE * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ - > Sl * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'mud, slime' > OCS $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'βόρβορος (mud, mire)', OR $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'id., 'slime, swamp', R 'ти́на, Blg 'ти́ня 'slime, mud', OCz $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'Kot, Morast' || ?σ AS $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{n}$ 'become moist' || Tc B $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ - 'be dirty' ¶ EI 160 (* $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{h}\bar{n}$ - '[be] dirty'), SJSS XLIII 456, Vs. IV 59, Srz. III 959, Chuk. 1080, ≠ Tr. 323 (connects the Sl word with BSl * $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ - 'swamp'), ≈ Ho. 365 (with unt. etl. parallels), Ad. 297-8 || K: pGZ * $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ - v. 'soil' > G $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ - 'be-, ver-schmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen'; reduplicated stem K * $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ - v. 'soil, soil oneself' > G $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{n}$ -, Mg $\text{t}\bar{h}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ - ¶ Chx. 490, 513, K 94 (* $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ -), FS K 150 (* $\text{t}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{h}$ -) || ?σ U: FU * $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{n}$ > ObU * $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$ 'moss' > pVg * $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$ id. > Vg: T $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}$, LK $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{k}$, P $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{k}$, UL/Ss $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{k}$; pOs * $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{k}$ ({Hl.} * $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$) id. > Os: V $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{k}$, Ty/Y $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{k}$, K $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{k}$, Kz $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$, O $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{k}$ ¶ Ht #641 ◇ N * \bar{h} is the only Ir. that can both disappear in S and yield * \bar{h} in K clusters (here * $\text{t}\bar{h}$).

2384. * $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ ~ * $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{u}$ (or * $\text{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{h}\bar{u}$?) 'thin, short' > HS: S mt. * \bar{h} > Ar $\text{t}\bar{u}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{n}$ - 'petit, courtaud, de petite taille' (of a person) ¶ BK

Π 62 || IE *ten₁H₁u- > NaIE *tenu- ~ *t_onu- 'thin' > OI ta'nu-h₁ 'thin, small, slender', MP_{rs} tɪuɔk tanuk 'thin, shallow', NP_{rs} تونوك tonok 'thin, light, weak' || Gk τανυ- in cds.: Gk Hm τανύ-φλοιος 'thin-barked, with thin bark', τανύ-φυλλος 'with narrow leaves', τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin point\edge', Gk [Hs.] τανύ-σφυρος 'mit schlanken Fußknöcheln'; Gk τανα(φ)ός {LS} 'outstretched, tall, taper', {F} 'dünn, schmal, langgestreckt, lang' || L tenuis 'thin' (based on the fem. form *tenu-ī-, cf. OI f. tanvī 'thin') || Clt *tanawo- > OIr tana, tanae 'mince, fin, étroit', Brtt [RE] *tanawo-s 'thin' > MW teneu, W tenau 'thin, rare', Crn tanow 'thin', MBr {Em.} tan(n)au 'mince', Br tanav (old spelling tanao) 'mince, fluide, clairsemé' || OHG dunni, NHG dünn, OSx thunni, ON þunnr 'thin', AS ðynne id., 'lean', NE thin || Lt tévas 'thin, slim', Ltv tiêvs 'thin' (object), 'lean' (person) || Sl *tъnъkъ ~ *tъnъkъ 'thin' > OCS ТЪНЪКЪ, (rare) ТЪНЪКЪ, SCr tǎnak, Sln tanāk, Blg 'ТЪНЪК, OR ТЪНЪКЪ, R (pradj.) 'ТОНОК, (aadj.) 'ТОНКИЙ, P cienki, Cz, Slk tenký; cmpr. Sl *tъ|nъjǐ > OCS ТЪНЪИ P 1069, EI 574 (*tenu-s / **tḡ¹noy-s 'thin, long'), M KI 474, M E I 620-1, McK 82, BM 135, F II 851-3, WH II 666, Vn. T 26, RE 138, YGM-1 408, Ern. 676, Hm. 773, Vr. 627, Ho. 374, Ho. S 79, OsS 115, EWA II 855-9, KM 148, Frn. 1086, SJSS XLIV 534, Glh. 620, Vs. IV 76-7, Sls. I 100, Tr. 319 || A *t'aŋ¹u¹- > Tg *^otaŋ¹a¹ > Ewk Y/Sm/Urm taŋa 'lean, skinny', taŋa-, Ewk Skh taŋa- v. 'get lean, skinny' ¶ STM II 162, Vas. 386 || M *taŋ₁g₁k₁i 'delicate, tender' > MM [S] taŋgi 'schwach, Schwächling', WrM taŋki, HIM таŋхъ 'delicate, tender', Kl таŋг taŋg 'weak', Brt таŋгил 'delicate, tender, beloved, verweicht' (изнеженный, нежный, возлюбленный) ¶ M *tanu- v. 'reduce in size, cut off, shorten' > WrM tanu-, HIM таŋа- id., Kl tan- 'shorten', amb 'reduce', Brt таŋа- id. (× Brt таŋа- 'reduce by cutting, cut off, об-/от-резать') ÷ Kl таŋнъ- id.) ¶ H 145, MED 777, 779, KRS 476-7, Chr. 413 ◇ Altaic *-ŋ- may go back to N *-ñχ- (or *-ñħ-?). If M *tanu does not belong here, A *ŋ may be original and go back to N *ŋ. In NaIE the Ir. is lost in prevoc. position (f. *tenwī is a NaIE form derived from *tenu- after the loss of the Ir.) ◇ Trnt. NE (IE, A).

2385. *tAŋ|h̄∇ 'moisture' > K: G ŋen-i 'humidity, Feuchtigkeit, сырость' ¶ Chx. 1335, DCh. 121, GL 490 || HS: ECh: Ke tējé 'befeuchten, nassen' ¶ Eb. 96, ChC || IE: NaIE *teng₁ḡ- v. 'wet, moisten' (× N *t∇m₁∇₁ka|æ 'to wet, to dip', q.v. ffd.) || D *tañ- 'wet' > Kn

taḍi 'wet, damp, moistness', ? Kn Hv čèṇḍi 'wet', Tu taṇasə, taṇasə 'wetness, dampness, water', ? caṇḍi 'wetness; wet, moist, humid', ? cammi 'dampness, moisture', Tl taḍi 'moisture, dampness, wetness; damp, moist, wet'; D ⇨ Prkr taṇṇāya- 'damp'; D *taṇṇī(r) 'cold water' (semantic infl. of the isophonic √ *taṇ- 'cold') > Tm taṇṇīr, taṇṇi 'cold water, water', Ml taṇṇīr, taṇṇi 'cold water, drinking water', Kt taṇīr, Kn, Tu taṇṇīr 'cold water' ¶¶ D #3045 (does not distinguish between this √ and *taṇ- 'cold'), Tu. #13676 (2).

2385a. ₂ *t̪eŋʷ 'large body of water' > HS: S *oṭimm- > Ar ṭimm- 'mass of water; sea' ¶ BK II 105, Hv. 438 || WCh: Tng {Kr.} téŋgùl 'lake' (not found in J T) ¶ ChL I 121 || A *t̪eŋE 'large body of water' > T *oṭ̪eʷ 'lake' > OT [MhK] t̪eʷ 'lake' or 'marsh' (unvocalized Arabic script) ¶ Cl. 512, DTS 551 | T *t̪eŋiṛ 'large body of water' (→ 'sea') > OT tāŋiz (or teŋiz) 'large body of water, sea', Tk deniz 'sea', Az dāniz, Ggz deniz, Tkm deniḍ, Chg tā|eŋiz ~ deniz, XwT tāŋiz, CrTt, Qmq, Qrg, ET deniz, MQp, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq teŋiz, VTt diŋgbz, Bsh diŋgbḍ, Uz dengiz, Xk tiŋis 'sea', StAlt teŋis 'sea, ocean' || Blgh *tā|eŋir ⇨ OHg, Hg tenger 'sea' ¶ Cl. 526, DTS 552, Rs. W 474, ET VGD 194-5, TL 89, Dr. TM III #1192, Grøn. 241, Faz. II 380, BT 147, ADb. Ttd 64 ¶ The irreg. initial d- (for t-) in some Qarluq and Qypchaq lgs. (Qmq, Uz, ET) and in Qrg must be explained by inter-Turkic borrowings (quite natural for a word denoting an object not familiar to speakers of many T lgs.). Acc. to ADb. Ttd 64, in the *C̪Eŋ-roots the opposition *t̪- ↔ *t̪- is neutralized. The origin of the sx. *-iṛ is not yet known || Tg: WrMc teŋgin 'large lake' ({Z} 'large deep lake, of which the banks cannot be seen') ¶ STM II 236, Z 720 ◇ The N emphatic *t̪- is reconstructed on the ev. of S *t̪- and Tg *t̪-. N *ʷ is suggested by S *m (< N *-ŋ- near a labialized vw. [reg.]) ◇ Hardly here the U √ that was reconstructed by Coll. as *toŋe 'lake' (Coll. 62). In the light of the extant data, this U √ is to be reconstructed as *toʷ (so in UEW 533) < N *t̪ubʷ 'lake' (q.v.).

2385b. ₂ *t̪iŋ 'hear, listen' > HS: ECh: Ll {Grgs.} ḍèŋlí, Nd D {J} ḍùlà 'hear', EDng {Fd.} ḍéŋgé 'ear' ¶ JI II 115, 185, ChC || A: T *t̪iŋ > OT tiŋ 'listening' (Cl. 512 has doubts about the meaning), Qzq tiŋ 'eavesdrop, overhearing', Qq tiŋ tiŋla- v. 'eavesdrop'; ⇨ T *t̪iŋla- > NaT *t̪iŋla- ~ *tiŋlä- 'listen' > OT tiŋla-, XwT XIII diŋlä-, XIV tiŋla- id., Chg fxv tiŋla- 'hear', Tk diŋle-, Tkm, CrTt diŋle-, Az diŋlä-, Uz, ET tiŋla-, Nog, Qq,

Ln tɪŋla-, Qzq, Alt tɪŋda-, VTt, Bsh tɛŋla-, Tv dɪŋna-, SY tinna- ~ tinna- 'listen', Xk tɪŋna- 'lend an ear to' || Chv тӑнла- тӑнла- 'listen' ¶ Cl. 522, DTS 568, ET VD 236-7, Rs. W 478, MaM 357, KrkR 668 || M *čɪŋla- v. 'listen, eavesdrop' (← T?) > WrM cɪŋla- ~ cɪŋna-, HIM чагна-, K1 чиҥн- čɪŋnə- id., {Rm.} čɪŋnə- 'lauschen, belauschen', Ord {Ms.} č'ɪŋna-, Mnr H {T} čɪŋla- 'hear, listen', Mnr Nr č'ɪŋla- 'écouter, prêter l'oreille' ¶ MED 190, KRS 652, T 380, SM 462, KW 441.

2386. UA ?₂ *tʊŋE (or *tʊŋ∇?) 'butt, lower end of the trunk' > U: FU *tūŋe id. > F tʊvɪ 'lower part of the trunk, larger end, bottom, base', Es tʊvɪ 'stem, trunk', {W} 'unteres dickeres Ende (eines Stammes oder Stengels), tʊʊ 'butt end, stump, stub, stubble' | Chr: H тӑнґ тӑнґ, L тʊн тӑн 'butt, lower end of the trunk, base', U/B tūŋ 'Stammende, dickes Ende eines Baumes' | Prm *dɪŋ 'butt, lower end of the trunk (комель)' > Vt дӑнһ diŋ, Vt Kz/Sr diŋ ~ diŋ, Vt G dɪ́n, Z дӑн diŋ, Prmk dɪn id. || Hg tō (accus. tōvet) 'stem; base, lower part' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 523-4, LG 94, It. #420 || A: NaT *t'öŋgä(k) > Tkm tōŋge, Uz тʊнґак tʊŋgak, тʊнґа tʊnka 'stump, stub; block of wood' ('пень, чурбан'), Brb {Rl.} tōŋök, Alt/Tlt {Rl.}, StAlt tōŋöš, Shor {Rl.} tōŋäš 'tree stump' ¶ Rs. W 493, Jeg. 257-8, Rl. III 1247, BT 156 ¶ In some lgs. partial contamination with words for 'hummock, tussock' (VTt tūmgäk, Tkm tūmmek, Chv L tumxax, tumxa) || pKo *tuŋ- > NKo tuŋčʰi 'base of a tree trunk', Ko {Rm.} tuŋkʰa₁gi 'root' ¶ S QK #921, MLC 511, Rm. SKE 277 ¶ ≈ DQA #2462 (A *t'umgile 'base of tree trunk or grass stalk' > Ko); Rm. SKE l.c. equates Ko tuŋkʰa₁gi with M tūŋke (interpreted by him as 'the down-part, the base of a tree', which meaning is not confirmed by other sources [including KW]) ◇ NaT *t'öŋgä(k) points to a N etymon *tʊŋE, while FU *tūŋe (and pKo *tuŋ-?) may go back either to N *tʊŋE or to *tʊŋ∇ ◇ IS MS 344 s.v. комель *tʊŋgɔ, IS SS #1.18 ◇ Gr. II #400 (*tunke 'trunk (tree)') (U, A, Ko, CK).

2387. *tʊŋ∇ 'learn (erfahren), inform' > HS: Ch *√dɪŋ > WCh: Bks {J} dɪŋî v. 'see' || CCh: Ms {J} dʊnà id. ¶ ChC, J R 141 || IE: NaIE *teng- / *tong- v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', *tongā 'sentiment' > L [En.] tongē- v. 'know' ('nosse, scire'), LPrn tongitiō 'notio', Osc TANGINOM 'sententiam', abl. tanginúd 'sententia_' || Gt þagkjan / 3s p. þāhta v. 'think, reflect upon', ON þekka 'to notice, to realize', OHG, NHG denken, OSx thēnkian, AS

ðencan 'to think', NE think; Gt þugkian (3s p. þūhta), AS ðyncan, OSx thunkian 'to seem, to look like', OHG dunken 'to think (aestimare, putare)', NHG dūnken 'to seem, to look, to imagine', ON þykkia 'dünken, scheinen, gefallen'; ON þokkr, þokki 'opinion, favour (Gefallen)', OHG ðanc 'thanks, favour', ðancōn 'to thank, to gratify, to bless', NHG danken 'to thank'; OSx thank 'Dank, Gnade', AS ðanc 'thought, sentiment, thanks', NE thank || pTc *tānkʷ > Tc: A tʉŋk, B tʉŋkʷ n. 'love' ¶ P 1088, EI 575 (*teng-) Mn. 1411-2, WH II 690, Bc. G 325, Fs. 487, 504, Vr. 607, 615, Ho. 360, 362, 374, Ho. S 77, 79, Kb. 143, 172, OsS 95-6, 115, EWA II 527, 579-81, 853-4, KM 121, 127, 148, Wn. 518, Ad. 277 || U *ton|ñ∇- v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N *tāñ∇ 'feel, know'; the merger accounts for *-ñ- [*-ŋ|ñ-] instead of the expected *-ŋ-) > pMr {Ker.} *tāna- ⇨ > Er tonado-, Mk tonada- 'get accustomed, learn', Er tonavto-, Mk tonafta- v. 'teach, accustom so.' || Chr: L туне'ма-ш 'to learn, to study, to get accustomed', U/B tunema- 'lernen, sich üben, sich gewöhnen', B tunakte- v. 'teach', mt.: Chr Н ты'меня-ш, KB tьmenä-, tьmeyä- v. 'learn, get accustomed' || Prm *tun > Z tun 'soothsayer, medicine-man', Vt tuno 'female soothsayer', Z tunav-n+ / tunal-, Z Δ tunal-, Vt tuna-n+ v. 'predict, vaticinate' || Hg tanul- v. 'learn, study', tanit- v. 'teach' ¶ F tunte- ~ tunne- v. 'know, recognize' and Es tund-ma 'to feel' do not belong here, but rather go back to FU *tumte- (F N *t'Em∇ 'to feel by touch') || Sm {Jn.} *tāntā- (or *č-, *-nč-) v. 'teach', *tāntь- (or *č-, *-nč-) v. 'learn' > Ne T tānara- 'punish, teach a good lesson', Ne T O {Lh.} tan'arā 'durch Strafen abrichten, belehren', Ne F L {Lh.} tannārāmm+ 'ist durch Strafen belehrt', Slq Tz {KKIH} tēn+ 'intelligence', tēnīm+ v. 'know, understand' ('знaть, уметь, понимать'), tēnīrī+ v. 'think' ¶¶ UEW 537 (*tuna-), Sm. 550 (FU, FP *toni-, Ugr *tonī- 'get used to'), Ker. II 169-70, LG 286, MRS 597-8, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, KKH 180-1 ¶¶ Prm *u provides ev. for FU *o, while the vowels of other lgs. are ambiguous (may go back either to *o or to *u), therefore I prefer to reconstruct pU *ton|ñā- rather than *tuna- (as in UEW) || A *t'uh'a- 'inform' > T *ot'uh > Chv т'аһ т'аһ 'mind, intellect; memory' (but not here Tv t'üh 'sum, total' [← Chn t'üh 'together'] and other words of T lgs. adduced in DQA #2751) ¶ ≈ Jeg. 237, Fed. II 192-3 || M *tunga- ({DQA} tuŋ-) > MM [HI] tuŋqa- tungga- {Ms.} 'promulguer', {Lew.} 'proclamer, afficher', WrM ↑ tuŋga(ɡa)-, HIM ↑ туһгаа-, Ord ↑

t'u'ngā- 'know, think, judge', WrO tunḡa-, Kl τυḡḡa- tunḡā- 'think, reflect'; WrM tunḡag ~ tunḡag, HIM τυḡḡag, WrO tunḡaq 'declaration', Ord t'u'ngaq 'notification officielle', Kl {Rm.} tunḡāḡ ~ tunḡāḡ 'Bekanntmachung, announcement' ¶ Ms. H 103, Lew. II 81, MED 842, Ms. O 681, Krg. 519, KRS 518, KW 410-1 || Tg *tu|ḡ- > WrMc tḡḡi- 'tell/narrate (erzählen) in detail, expand', Ewk NB tunḡ- 'know', Ewk I/Sm tunḡī- v. 'warn' ¶ STM II 197, 216 || pJ: [1] pJ {S} *tḡanap- 'proclame, narrate' > OJ tuónáp, J: T/Kg tonaé-, K tónaé- || [2] ? pJ túnká- 'let know, inform' > OJ túga-, J: T cùge-, K cùgé-, Kg cugé- ¶ S QJ ##645, 1014, Mr. 770, 772 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2751 (A *t'uge 'inform', includong J *tḡanap-, M, Tg) || D *tonḡ- ({An.} *tonḡ-) 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N *t'o'N∇ 'appear', [in descendent lgs.: → 'to seem'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ U and D point to a N *o, while T and M *u still needs explaining.

2388. *tḡḡq'∇ 'swell, swell up' > ? HS: S *o'√tḡḡ v. 'eat to excess' > Ar √tḡḡ G {Hv.} id., {BK} 'être gras', 'se charger l'estomac de mets gras, et en avoir une indigestion' (semantic infl. of other roots of the tḡḡ-kernel: √tḡḡh 'avoir une indigestion', √tḡḡḡr 'avoir mangé de la graisse au point d'avoir une indigestion') ¶ BK II 112, Hv. 439 || U: FU *tonḡ∇ v. 'swell' ('[auf-, an-]schwellen') > Z dun 'swollen, inflated', Z dundī-, Prmk {UEW} tundi- vi. 'swell' (body, bellow due to an illness), Yz {UEW} dun'di- v. 'swell' (stomach) || Hg dagad- v. 'swell' ¶ UEW 530-1, MF 132, LG 98 || A: M *o'tḡḡke 'swelling' > WrM tḡḡke 'overgrowth of feather grass'; ⇨ *tḡḡkeyi-: WrM tḡḡkei-, HIM τυḡḡḡḡ-(x) v. 'swell up, become bloated or inflated', Ord t'ḡḡḡḡ- 'être gros (p. ex., un ventre, un paquet)', ? t'ḡḡḡḡ- 'avoir une forme ronde et massive, être gros\grand', ?? Kl čin-xə 'aufschwellen' ¶ MED 853, Ms. O 687, KW 441 ¶¶ M *t- provides ev. for pA *t'- || D *tḡḡk-/*tḡḡkk- ({ḡGS} *t-) > Tm tḡḡku- v. 'fill, become full, be crowded', tḡḡku v. 'drink to the fill, be full, replete', Kn tḡḡki 'mass, multitude', Tu tḡḡkæ 'brimful', Krx tḡḡkl tḡḡxr- v. 'have an overfilled stomach', tḡḡx tḡḡxr- v. 'suffer from a heavy dinner, feel puffed up' ¶¶ D #3453 ◇ D *ē still needs explaining (regr. as. from N *U...E?).

2389. *tḡḡq∇ '(ε) tree, (ε) forest' > HS: Ch *o'tḡḡ (or o'tḡḡ?) tree' > WCh: pAG {Hf.} *tḡḡ 'tree' > Gmy {Hf.} tḡḡ, Kfr {Nt.} tḡḡ, Su {J} tíḡ, Ang {Hf.} tḡḡ (= {Flk.} tḡḡ) 'tree', Mpn {Frz.} tḡḡ 'tree, wood' | It is not clear whether one may adduce here Ch *tḡḡḡḡ 'mahogany' (with a vw.

different from that of Ch * $\text{t}\nabla\eta$ 'tree', to judge from the reflexes in Su and Ang) > Su {J} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Ang {Flk.} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ or $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'mahogany', Glm {Stl.} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Gera {Stl.} $\text{č}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ id. || CCh {ChL}: Hw $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, G'nd {ChL} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Gbn {ChL} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - $\text{d}\acute{\epsilon}$ 'mahogany tree' ¶ Hf. AGG 19 [#66], Nt. 40, Frz. M 83, J S 84-5, Flk. s.v. $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ (or $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$), $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, ChL II 15, 25, 34 ¶ OS #2392 (misquotes the Gbn word ascribing it to Gabri [sc. Smr G within ECh]), ≠ Stl. ZCh 165 [#182] (* $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ / $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'tree [baobab, mahogany]') ¶¶ ≠ OS #3297 (* $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'tree' * \div S * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - [sc. * $\text{t}\nabla\eta$ -] 'fig, fig tree', which in fact goes back to N ≈ * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'fig' [q.v.]) || K * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'forest, wood' > OG, G $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'forest', Mg $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - n. 'wood, weed', Lz (m) $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'grass, dog rose (Rosa canina)', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'stick, cudgel' ¶¶ K 184, K²193, FS K 302-3, FS E 336-7, Chx. 1374, Abul. 414, Chik. 24, TK 721 ¶¶ K * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - is probably based on mt. (typical K displacement of lrs. and uvulars to a position immediately following the preceding [esp. initial] stop or affricate) and subsequent assimilative glottalization: * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - > * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - > * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - || A * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ > M * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'woods, forest' > MM [S] $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, WrM $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ ~ $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ id. ¶ MED 853, H 154 || D * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, ? * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ ({GS} * t -) 'coconut tree' > Tm $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Ml $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Kt $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, Kn $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut tree', Td $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut', Kdg $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut tree', $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut', Tu $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut tree', Tl $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut tree', $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'coconut' ¶¶ D #3408 ◇ The vw. * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ in M may be explained by regr. as., if we suppose that the pN word was * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$. K * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ < ** $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ by as.

2390. * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - or * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'draw, pull, stretch, strain' ({P} 'ziehen, dehnen, spannen') > Av $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'ziehen, Bogen spannen', KhS $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'draw, stretch' || SI * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - > ChS $\text{r}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ / $\text{r}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'distrahere', OR $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, R $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, R $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'to pull, to draw', Blg $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ vi. 'weigh, weigh upon'; Slv $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'drawing force, drought' ('тяга'), SCr $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ id., 'weight'; SCr $\text{na-t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ (prs. $\text{na-t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$) vt. 'to stretch, to draw tight', Slv $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ vi. 'to stretch', Cz $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$, P $\text{ci}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'to pull' || ? L $\text{tem}\acute{\epsilon}$ ({EI} < * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ -s-mon-) 'cariot pole' ¶ P 1066, Mn. 1379-1405, Bai. 148, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 139-40, Sls. I 98, EI 187 (* $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - 'pull') || A * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - > Tg * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ - v. 'draw' > Lm $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ ~ $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\eta$ 'implement for pulling the bowstring on the bow' ('станок для натягивания тетивы

на лук'), WrMc *taŋgi-me-liŋan* 'nach hinten gekrümmt, ausgewölbt' ¶ STM II 160, Z 698, Hr. 887 || pKo {S} *tʰŋ-kʰŋ- 'stretch, pull' > MKo tʰŋkʰŋ-, NKo *taŋgi-* id., Ko N {Rm.} *taŋgä-d* 'pull, draw' ¶¶ Rm. SKE 256, S QK #856, Nam 145, MLC 414 || HS: Ch (× N *tʰaŋ▽ 'draw, stretch, extend', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} *tāndá* v. 'drag, pull', Jg {J} *tēŋ-* v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} *tēŋē* 'tirer (la corde, etc.)' || ?? CCh: Lgn M {Bou.} *ḍàḍám-* v. 'draw' ¶ ChL, Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. *тянуть* tʰaŋʌ (IE, A). This etymon is likely to be connected with (derived from?) N *tʰaŋ▽ '↑'.

2391. *tʰæŋka 'firm, dense' > HS: B *^o√dŋg (< **^o√tʰŋk) > Ah *tuŋgət* (= *t-dŋgət) (pf. *ḷəḷtuŋgət*) 'être fort' (une saveur, une odeur, un aliment, une chose parfumée) ¶ Fc. 278-9, NZ 475-6 || IE: NaIE *tenk- v. 'be strong, solid, dense' > Av *taxma-* 'tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', Psh *tət* (< *taxta-) 'dense, thick' || OIr {Vn.} *técht* 'solide, épais; coagulé' || Gmc: [1] *θiŋhan 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive' > AS *ðīon* (p. *ðunzon*, pp. *zēðunzen*) id., 'to flourish', OHG *dīhan* 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive, to prosper, to succeed', OSx *thīhan*, NHG *gedeihen*, Gt *peihan* 'to grow, to thrive, to flourish' || [1a] pp: OSx *gi-thigan* 'gediegen, erwachsen', OHG *gi-digan* {Kb.} 'strict, severe, advanced, reliable', MHG *gedigen* 'grown up, firm', NHG *gediegen* 'solid' || [1b] AS *ðingzan*, OFrs *thigia* 'to thrive', OSx *a-thēngian* 'ausführen' || [2] d.: ON *þéttr*, Sw *tät*, Dn *tæt*, NNr *tett*, MHG *dīhte*, NHG *dicht*, ME, NE Δ *thight* 'dense', AS *ðīht* (in cds.: *maza-ðīht* 'magenstark', *mēte-ðīht* 'thick from eating') || Lt *tánkus* 'thick (dicht), dense' ¶ P 1068 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *tenk- 'sich zusammenziehen'), Brtl. 626-7, Mrg. 84, Vn. *T* 40-1, Fs. 493-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 365-6, Ho. S 77, Kb. 153, 339, OsS 102, 240, EWA II 634-7, KM 131, 238-9 || A *tʰæŋk▽- > M *teŋke|ü- > WrM *teŋke-*, HIM *təŋxə-* v. 'endure, recover strength or health', Brt *təŋxə-*, Ord *tʰeŋʰü-* 'recover (after illness), recover strength'; *teŋkegen > WrM *teŋke*, *teŋkege*, HIM *təŋxəə*, Brt *təŋxəə(ŋ)*, Ord *tʰeŋʰē* 'power, force, strength' ¶ MED 802-3, Chr. 455, Ms. O 658 || ? ʌ Tg *tʰjaŋk₁ or *tʰEŋk₁ 'firmly, densely' (secondary ideophonization?) > Ork *tēŋ*, Orc *tæŋ-tæŋ*, Ud *tēæk-tēæk*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *täk-täk* id. ('крепко, плотно, туго'), Neg *tēŋ-tēŋ*, *tēŋ-tīŋ*, Ul *tēŋ-tēŋ*, Nn Nh *tāq-tāq* '(very) firmly (крепко, крепко-накрепко)' ¶ STM II 173, Krm. 294.

2392. *ṭuŋk̥ 'to press, to force oneself, to be too narrow, to be tight' > IE: NaIE *twenk- v. 'press' > Gmc {P} *θuŋxian (> *θūxjan) 'to press, to press down, to oppress ([nieder-]drücken, bedrängen)' > OHG dūhen 'to press, to urge', OLF bethūwen 'to press down', Dt duwen 'to push', AS ðūwan, ðéon, {Sw.} þūwan, þīen 'to press' || Lt tvankūs 'stuffy, close', {Frm.} 'schwül, drückend' ¶ It is not yet clear what connection there is with IE *twenġ^h- 'bedrängen' > Av 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 'falls into distress', ON þwinga 'to force, to torment', OSx thwingan, OHG dwingan 'to force, to compel', ON þwinga 'zwingen, belästigen' ¶ P 1099-1100, ≠ϕ EI 451 (*twenġ^h- with unj. *ġ^h based on controversial comparison with Gmc [ON þwinga, etc.]), Kb. 171, OsS 114, EWA II 842-4, 922-4, KM 897, Ho. 375, Sw. 182, Frn. 1149 || **U:** FU *tuŋke- v. 'press, squeeze into, thrust into' > F tunke- 'press, squeeze, thrust, push, force, force one's way through', Es tungi- v. 'force oneself, press, crowd' | pMr {Ker.} *tuŋg̃- > Er tonġo- тонго-мс, Mk tonġa- тонго-мс 'hineinstecken', 'to shove\stick (into), to thread a needle' || Vg {Mu., MK}: T/P tokr-, LK/Ss toxr- 'zerknüllen, drücken, stecken', {UEW} 'stopfen' | Hg dug- v. 'stick\put\thrust into' ¶ UEW 537-8, Coll. 120, Sm. 550 (FU, 𐬰 *tuŋki-, Ugr *tuŋki- 'cram'), MF 135, Slv. 407, Ker. II 170, ERV 669, MK 650 || **HS** *ṭuŋk̥- > C: HEC {Hd.} *ṭuḳḳ- v. 'be narrow' > Kmb, Hd ṭuḳḳ- v. 'be narrow', ṭuḳḳa 'narrow' || SC: Alg {E} tinq- v. 'squeeze out' ¶ E PC #73 (pC *taḳ- / *tiḳ- / *tuḳ- v. 'press'), L1.c., Hd. 104, 301, 341, 413 || S *^o-ṭūḳ̥-, *^o√ṭwḳy > Gz √ṭwḳ G (pf. ṭōḳa, js. yə-ṭūḳ) v. 'be in dire straits, be oppressed\afflicted; compress, constrain', √ṭwḳy (pf. ṭawḳaya) v. 'be narrow, be under stress, be painful', Tgy ṭewweḳe v. 'press, pressure' ¶ L G 599 ◊ IS MS 338 s.v. давить *ṭuŋk̥ (IE, U), IS SS #1.26.

2393. *ṭa^rp¹E 'squeeze, press' > **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} ṭ'ūβ-, {To.} *ṭūb- v. 'squeeze', {EEN} ṭ'ūβit²- v. 'milk' || ?? SC {E} > ?? σ Alg ḳoborot v. 'melt' (after E, probably caus. from a v. for 'drip'), SC ⇨ Mb -síbi v. 'wring' (× N ? √ *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press?'); Ehret equates Alg, Mb, and Dhl and reconstructs SC *ṭūb- v. 'squeeze out' ¶ To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 176 || B *^o√tbb (× N ? √ *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE '↑') > Ah ətbəb 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || S: +ext. *r: *^o√ṭpr > Ak √ṭpr G ≈ 'sich herandrängen an' ¶ Sd. 1380 || **IE:** NaIE *tap- v. 'press (down,

together), squeeze' > Gk ταπεινός 'brought down, humbled' (← *'pressed down, depressed') || ON þefja 'to stamp (stampfen)', þóf 'Gedränge', þófi 'felt', OHG bidebben ~ bideppen 'to suppress (unterdrücken), to soothe' ¶ P 1056, F II 854, Vr. 606-7, Kb. 151, EWA II 550-1 || U: FU *^otälēpp∇ v. 'press tightly' (× N *^odaP∇(K∇) 'to stick [adhere], to glue' [q.v.]) > Prm {Lt.} *tǫp- 'press tightly' > Z topǝd-, Z US tǫpǝd- vt. 'press' ('жать, при-/за-жать'), ? Vt тупат-ыны 'fix, attach' ¶ Lt. 98, LG 282, Wc. StWU 51 || A: T: [1] T *t'ap- 'press' (influenced by N *^odap_l∇, y∇ ~ *^odayop∇ 'to push', q.v. ffd.) | [2] ?σT *t'āp- 'trample' (× N ? ι *t'ābHa or *t'ābHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press', q.v. ffd.) || AdS of M *dabta- 'hammer, forge, beat' (← N *^odap_l∇, y∇ ~ *^odayop∇ '↑', q.v. ffd. × N *^odaXw∇ [~ *^odawX∇?] 'to press, to push') ¶¶ DQA #2221 (A *t'āp'∇- 'to stamp, to press').

2394. ι *t'a'p'∇ 'hit (the target)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > HS: WS *√tbb 'know, be wise' > Sr √tbb (pf. t'ab) v. 'make inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Ar t'abb- 'habile, savant, versé dans une science; circonspect', √tbb: pf. (< adj. of state) t'abba 'était habile, savant', Sq {L} t'eb 'croire, savoir', Gz √tbb v. G 'be wise, prudent, sage', Sb d. t'bb v. 'teach, proclaim' ¶ BK II 50-2, JPS 165, Br. 265, L G 585, L LS 198, BGMR 152 || IE: NaIE *top- 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will' > Gk τόπος 'place', τοπάω v. 'aim at, guess' || AS ðafian 'to consent to, to permit, to tolerate; to endure, to suffer' (Hofm.: ← *'Platz machen, Raum geben') || Lt t'ap-ti, Ltv t'apt 'to become (werden, entstehen)', Ltv pa-t'apt 'to reach (a place), to be able to arrive', Lt pri-t'ap-ti 'to take up with' ¶ P 1088, F II 911, Hofm. 369, Ho. 360, Sw. 179, Frn. 1057-8, Kar. II 375, Bc. 636 || U: FP *tap(p)∇- v. 'find, succeed, fit' > F t'apaan / t'avata v. 'find, meet, come across' | Vt tupa- 'come to an understanding; fit, be the right size', dun śaríš tupa- 'come to an agreement about the price' ¶ Wc. StWU 51 (F, Vt; other scholars did not find this etl. connection between F and Vt because they equated the above words with the isophonic FU verbs meaning 'to strike', 'to stick', etc.), U3S 249 || A *t'ap∇ v. 'hit the target, find' > T *t'ap- v. 'find, hit the target, guess' > OT {Cl.} tap-, MT [IM] dap- v. 'find, learn', Yk tap- v. 'hit the target', Tkm, Qmq tap-, Tk Δ {SDD} tap- v. 'find', Az tap- v. 'find, guess' (not dap-, as in IS AD 41), Slr tap- ǝ tapf- ǝ ta'p- ǝ taʔ-, ET tap- id., QrB tab-, VTt, Bsh, Qzq,

Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tap- (prevoc. tab-), Uz топ- tap-, SY tap- 𐌆 ta'p 𐌆 taʔ-, Tv t'ip- (prevoc. t'iv-) v. 'find', Chv L туп- tup/b_- v. 'find, detect', тупă tub_ь 'solution of a riddle' ¶ Cl. 435, IS AD 41 [#7], Rs. W 462, TL 699, Hüs. 283, Äz. 326, SDD III 1313, BT 142, Tn. SJ 502, Tn. SJJ 211, Cs. KKS 107, Jeg. 258, Fed. II 248 || (? ppM *taβ'a- >) M *taʎa- v. 'guess' > MM ta_а- [MA] v. 'guess', [HI] 'deviner', WrM taga-, HIM, Brt тaa-, Dx taʎa-, Ba tā- v. 'guess, solve a riddle', Kl тaa- tā- v. 'tell the fortune, suppose', {Rm.} 'erraten; annehmen, mutmassen', Ord, Mnr H {SM} t'ā- 'deviner, conjecturer'; M 𐌆 Ewk tāʎ-, Lm tā- v. 'recognize \ identify (so.), guess', Sln {Iv.} taʎi- 'know', Neg tak-, Ul, Nn taqō- v. 'recognize\identify', Orc takki- v. 'recognize (so. seen before)', WrMc taqa- '(er)kennen, können', Mc Sb taqama v. 'identify' ¶ MED 763, KRS 469-70, KW 386, Pp. MA 338, Ms. H 98, SM 404, T 362, T DnJ 135, T BJ 147, STM II 149, Z 700, Hr. 881, Y#1859 ¶¶ Pp. VG 13, 122, 139, 157-8, IS AD 48-9 ¶¶ Pp. (l.c.) considers Ewk and Lm forms to be genetic cognates of M rather than loans and postulates their prehistory as *tapa- > *tawā-gi- > Ewk tāg-, Lm tā-; Pp.'s hyp. is hardly convincing because no traces of Tg *-w- have been discovered || D (in SD) *tāppō 'appointed time, proper time' > Tm tāppu 'expected moment, appointed time, convenience', Ml tāppu 'proper time, opportunity', Td top 'time, chance' ¶ D #3161 ◇ If the N etymon is *tāp∇, WS *b (for the expected *p) needs investigating. A possible solution: the N etymon is *tāb∇, while *-p- and *-pp- in IE, U, Tk, and D are due to as. (N *t...b > **t...p) ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. попадать (в цель) *tāp'∇ (IE, A, U, D + *÷ Eg and Ch [the Eg and Ang forms mentioned by IS are not acceptable on semantic grounds]), AD NM #34, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 3 ("the root may be onomatopoeic").

2395. *t'a'p∇ (or *t'a'P_?∇, *tōp∇, *tōP_?∇?) 'to wade, to cross, to go through, to pass' > HS: C: Bj (R) -dif v. 'wade a river' (1s p. a-'dif), n. act. 'dāf 'ford' || ?σ EC: Sml dāf- {DSI} 'pass by; release, let go', {ZMO} id., 'leave, omit', Sml N dāf- v. 'pass by' ¶ R WBd 60-1, ZMO 104, DSI 146, Abr. S 42 || K *°tōp-> G tōp- v. 'wade' ¶ Chx. 1359-60 || A: NaT *t'op- id. > Qzl {Jk.} tōp-, Xk {BIG} tobir-; *topul-> OT {Pp.} topul- 'durchgehen', {Cl.} t'u'pul- 'pierce', Yk tobul- id. ¶ Rs. W 489, BIG 229, Pp. VG 47, Cl. 440, Pek. 2694 || M *taʎul- 'pass, go through' > WrM tagul-, HIM тупла- id., 'penetrate', Ord t'ūl- id., 'cross (franchir)', WrO tuuli- 'penetrate, come through', Kl {Rm.} tūl- 'durchgehen, durch-λhinüber-kommen ¶ MED 766, Vl. 211, Ms. O 678, Krg. 51, KW

413 || Tg *tap adv. 'through (насквозь)' > Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn tap, Ewk top, tapamnak & topomnak id., ? Sln tawaakki- v. 'prick' ¶ STM II 164 || pJ {S} *təpə́r- {Mr.} 'pass by\through' > OJ təpə́r-, J: T/Kg tōr-, K tōr- ¶ S QJ #1015, Mr. 770 ¶¶ DQA #2311 (A *t'əp'è 'to go through'), Vld. 211 (M, T) ◇ If the N etymon is *təp∇ or *təp_∇, the vw. *o in K and NaT may be due to the infl. of the labial cns. (K *p, NaT *p). If the ancient N vw. was *o, the Tg vw. *a remains without explanation.

2396. ₂ *təp∇ (= *təpi?) 'to put' > **¶**: NrTg *tēp|b- v. 'put (stellen), set, install' > Ewk tēw-, Ewk Brg tōf- v. 'put (stellen), plant (a plant)', Lm tēw- id., Lm A/O tēw- v. 'build' ¶ STM II 225 || M *tabi- 'place, put' > WrM, WrO tabi-, HIM тави-, Ord t'āwi- ~ t'awi-, Brt таби- id. ¶ MED 772, Ms. O 650-1, Krg. 469, Chr, 408 || ?? pKo {S} *tú- 'put, place' (× N *təbɣ'U' 'to fill') > OKo tú-, NKO tu- ¶ S QK #872, Nam 163, MLC 502 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2355 (A *t'èybo '[to] put, [to] set' > Tg *tēb-, M *tabi- + unc. pKo *t'əbi- 'become') || **D** (in CD) *tapp- ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'put' > Nkr, Gdb P tap- v. 'put', Klm tap- v. 'put (spell on buffalo)', Nk tap- v. 'make lie down; put on (shirt)', Prj tapp- v. 'put, plant (seeds)' ¶ D #3073 ◇ IS MS 344 класть *təp∇ (A, D). The long vw. in Tg is reg. in N open syllables (a gravis sign in pA rec. denotes a tone in long vowels yielding short vowels in T and length in Tg). Cf. the Tg short *e from a vw. in a N closed syllable: Tg *tebu- v. 'load' < N *təbɣ'U' '↑'. The quality of NrTg *ē is probably due to regr. as. (*ē... from N *a...i).

2397. *təp∇(-L∇) 'to feel\touch with one's fingers, to smear' > **HS**: S *√təp| v. 'smear' (→ v. 'soil') > BHb כַּפַּח √təp| v. G 'smear\plaster over, coat, cover', JEA √təp| G 'apply a paste', JA [Trg.] √təp| G μφ 'anheften, ankleben, zufügen', Sr pp. təp'pīl 'defiled, corrupt' (← *'soiled, made dirty'), təp'pēl 'sordidus', Ar √təp| v. G (pf. tūfīla) 'be soiled by dust' (plant), tūfīl 'turbid water', Ak √təp| G 'schmähen, verdächtigen' ¶ KB 362, KBR 379, GB 278, BDB #2950, Lv. T I 315-6, Js. 547-8, Sl. 513, Br. 285, Sd. 1379, BK II 89-90, Hv. 434 || **IE**: NaIE {Mn.} *ōtep- v. 'smear' > Lt tēpti / prs. tepù, Ltv tept / prs. tepju v. 'annoint, smear', Ltv tepēt / prs. tepēju v. 'smear', tepe 'putty' | NaIE *tep(o)- 'smear; lubricant' > Lt tepliōti 'to smear', tēpalas 'lubricant, ointment', {Krsch.} teplēnti / prs. teplenù 'mit Schmiere\Salbe mehrfach ordentlich schmieren' || Clt: W tail 'dung, manure' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1383, Frn. 108, Kar. II 392, Vn. T 47, YGM-1 403 ¶ This stem should be kept apart from NaIE *tap- v. 'dip in' (⇔ WP I 705),

that goes back to N *ṭʿaʿrʿpʿʿ ∇ 'plunge, immerse' (q.v.) || U: ʿ FU *tapp ∇ v. 'feel, finger, touch' > OHg XVI tapat- 'tasten', Hg tapogat- v. 'feel, finger', tapint- id., 'touch', ? tapasz 'plaster' || F tapaila 'to grope, to grope about' ¶ Bá. 300-1, EWU 1481, MTE III 842-6, Wc. SW 51, UEW 521 (Hg tapogat- < FU *toppa- 'fassen, greifen, halten' [refers to an etymological entry that I have not found in UEW]) || D (in SD) *tapp- (ʃGS} *t-) v. 'grobe, feel by touching' > Tm tappu v. 'grobe, feel about', MI tappuka id., tappal 'groping', Tu tabbuni v. 'feel, grope' ¶ D #3072 ◇ IS MS 353 ощупывать *ṭarʿ (IE [*ter- v. 'smear, dip in'], ?A, U, D).

2398. *ṭæʿpʿ ∇ 'to warm, to be warm' > IE *ter- > NaIE ter- v. 'be warm' > OI *tapati 'makes warm, heats', tap'ta- 'heated, hot', *tapas- n. 'warmth, heat', Vd {MW} *tapu- 'burning hot', Av tāpa'ti 'is warm', tafsaṇ 'es soll ihnen heiß werden', MPrs tabʿ NPrs تب tāb 'fever', NPrs تافتن tāf-tān 'to set on fire, to burn; to be hot; to shine, to sparkle', Oss: I tav-3n, D tavun v. 'heat, warm', I tävd, D tävdä 'hot' || L tepē- 'be lukewarm', tepidus 'lukewarm', tepor 'lukewarmness, moderate heat', tepidus 'lukewarm' || OIr té 'hot' (pl. téit < *tepent- ÷ OI prtc. tapant-), ten(e) 'fire', gen. -ed (< *tepnēt-), NIr teine id., Brtt {RE} *tēmmos 'warm, hot' > W twym, Crn tom, MBr toem, Brttomm id., OCrn toim 'calidam' 'warm' (f. accus.); ? Brtt {RE} *tanos > W tāt, OCrn tāt 'fire', OBr tan 'lare, foyer', Br tan 'fire' || NNr tevа 'vor Hitze keuchen', ?σ AS đēfian 'to pant' || Sl *teplъ-jъ dadj. 'warm' > SCr Δ tèplī, Cz, Slk teplý, P сіерлѣ, R 'тёплый, d.: OCS ТЕПЛОСТЬ teplostь 'warmth'] Sl *toplъ 'warm' > OCS ТОПЛЪ toplъ, Blg топлъ, SCr tòpao, Slv topel tópať] Sl *topí-ti vt. 'to heat' > SCr tòpiti, Slv topíti, Cz topíti, R то'пить id. || Ht {Ts.} tapassa-, HrLw tapassa-s 'fever, heat' ('Fieber, Hitze') ¶ P 1069-70, EI 263-4 (*ter- 'hot'), Frd. HW 211, Ts. W 85, Ts. E III 121-3, M K I 477, M E I 623-5, MW 437, Horn 85, BM 105-6, Ab. III 237-8, 283, WH II 667-8, Vn. T 38, 49-50, Dnn. 730-1, RE 95, 143, Flr. 310, Ho. 362, Vs. IV 44, Glh. 633 || K *ṭepb- / *ṭp|b- (ʃFS, K²} *ṭep- / ṭp-, {K} *(ṭab-)/ *ṭb-, {ʃTest.} ṭäp|b-) v. 'warm\heat, be warmed\heated' > OG ṭp-, G ṭb-, Mg ṭzb-, ṭib-, Lz ṭub-, ṭib- id.; ⇨ K *ṭp-il- (~*ṭb-il-?) 'warm' > OG ṭpil-, G ṭbil-, Mg tēbu-, ṭibu-, Lz ṭibu-, ṭubu-; ⇨ K *ṭeb-id- > Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L ṭebdi, Ln ṭebedi 'warm' (unless ⇨ Oss tävd ä tävdä 'hot') ¶ K *ä is reconstructed in the framework

of Test.'s theory of vowels, assuming the existence of a vw. *ä (> G a, Zan *з [= {JGM} *q], Sv e) ¶¶ K 179-180, K 186, 192, FS K 293-4, GM SAKS 56-7, Test. KV 69, TK 716, GP 260, Ab. III 283 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *te_w∇-t_w∇ 'fire' (× N *t'e'γaw'a' 'fire' [q.v. ffd.]) || A {DQA} *t'ep'∇ 'warm, burn' > Tg *tepe v. 'burn' > Nn Nh tɜpɜ- vi. 'flame up, burn' (of fire), Nn B tɜfɜ- id., 'stoke (a stove)', WrMc tefe vi. 'burn down' (of firewood), ? Mc Sb {Y} t̥ɛvəm, t̥ɛvim {t̥javəm, t̥javimə} vt. 'burn, set fire, light' (representing an A variant *t'eb∇, as supposed by SDM95?) ¶ STM II 238, Y #482 || pKo *t̥a₁b- v. 'be warm' > MKo t̥a₁p- /t̥a₁w-, NKo t̥a₁p- /t̥a₁w- id. ¶ S QK #468, Nam 153, MLC 451 ¶¶ DQA #2331 (A *t'ep'∇ 'warm; to burn') || HS: [11] *t̥∇p- > WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} d̥āfāu 'perspiration', ??σ,φ Hs t̥āfāsà vi. 'boiled' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} ḥ̣ḍúfáʔá 'hot' ¶ ChC, Abr. H 836 || S (+ ext.): Ar t̥ābiχ-at- {BK} 'chaleur excessive et brillante du midi', {Hv.} 'the hottest hour of the day', but Ar ✓t̥bχ v. 'cook' hardly belongs here (it goes back to pS *✓t̥bχ v. 'slaughter' < N *t̥ab₁∇₁qa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lgs.: → 'kill'], q.v. ffd.); ? EthS: Gz ✓t̥bs G (js. yə-t̥bəs) v. 'roast, parch, broil', Tgr, Tgy, Amh ✓t̥bs G v. 'fry' (cp. Hs t̥āfāsà 'boiled?') ¶ LG 586, BK II 52, Hv. 425 || [2] ?? HS *✓dp (dis. *-t̥p- > *-dp-?) > S *°✓dpʔ > Ar {Fr.} ✓dfʔ G (ip. -dfaʔ-) 'caluit, calidus fuit; calefecit, fovit (vestis)', 'être chaud, contenir de la chaleur; chauffer, échauffer (un vêtement chaud)' ¶ Fr. II 40, BK I 711 || ?φ EC: Sa {R} d̥a'bē 'live coals', pSam *dab > Sml dab, Rn {PG} dáb, {Oo.} d̥ab, {Hn.} dab 'fire'; ? Af {PH} dube 'paste dough inside an oven', Sa {R} d̥ūb- 'braten' ¶ Bl. 243, ZMO 76, PG 99, Oo. 67, R S II 98-9, Hn. S 55, PH 86 ◇ IS MS 338 s.v. греть(ся) *t̥'ä'pʌ and IS SS #11.8 (both: IE, HS [partially err.], Ko, K) → BmK 214-5 (K, S + Sum t̥ab v. 'burn'), 277-8 (IE, Hs + Eg *t̥p v. 'burn', n. fire, flame' [quoted from Budge II 832, which is an unreliable source]).

2399. o *t̥ûp∇ 'to spit, to drip' > HS: WS *tup-, *✓tpp ~ *✓tpʔ ~ *✓t̥py 'spit' > BHb תַּפֵּת 'topet {BDB} 'act of spitting', {KB} 'Speichel, Auswurf', JEA תַּפֵּת t̥ūp or תַּפֵּת t̥ōp {Lv.} 'spit out!' [imv.], {Js.} 'spittle' (both based on different interpretations of BT Keth. 61^b: kl myʔ d̥ç^çdy lk t̥wp šd^çy t̥wp šd^çy, that Lv. interprets: 'alle Flüssigkeit, die dich quält, speie aus und wirf den Speichel fort, speie aus und wirf ihn fort'), {Lv.} ✓tpp (pf. *תַּפֵּת tap, D *תַּפֵּת tap'pī) v. 'spit', {Js.} *תַּפֵּת t̥ā'pē id. (Lv.'s and Js's recs. based on BT Nid. 42^a: kwlkw brwḳʔ ḥd^ç t̥pyt̥w 'you all spit with the same spittle'), Ar SL {Bel., Hv.} ✓tff v. G

(pf. *ṭaffa*) 'spit (blood)', Ar Eg {Hv.} \checkmark *tff* v. 'spit', Gz \checkmark *tfʔ* *G* (pf. *tafʔa*) v. 'spit, spit out', $\text{ʔʔ}\sigma$ Ar *tuff-* 'dirt under the nails' | WS *-tūb- , $\text{*}\checkmark$ *tbb* v. \approx spit, vomit' > JA [Trg.] **אָבִיב** *tū'ḅā*, **אָבִיבִי** *təyū'ḅ-ā* n. 'vomit', Sr \checkmark *ty|wḅ* v. *Sh* (pf. ʔaṭīḅ) 'vomit', *təyō'ḅ-ā*, *təyōḅ't-ā* n. 'vomit', Sq {L} 'teḅiḅ 'spittle' | +ext. $\text{*}-l-$: WS $\text{*}\checkmark$ *tpl* v. 'spit' > Ar \checkmark *tf* *G* 'cracher (une salive fine)', *tafl-* \sim *tuf* *l-* \sim *tufāl-* 'crachat de salive fine', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} \checkmark *tf* *G* v. 'spit', Mh *təfyō* *l*, Hrs *təfē* *l*, Jb E *tfy* *l*, Jb C *tf* *l* 'spit, saliva' ¶ GB 888, BDB #1064, KB 1638, LG 570-1, Lv. IV 658, Lv. T II 532, 535, Js. 1655, 1685, Br. 818, JPS 606, BK I 200-1, Bel. 55, Hv. 60, BK I 201, Jo. M 400, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269-70, LLS 438, MiK I ##2.72-4 || Eg P *tf* v. 'spit', *tf* 'saliva' > Cpt: Sd **ṭḁ** *q* *taf* \sim **ṭḁ** *q* *tēf*, B **ṭḁ** *q* *tḁaf* \sim **ṭḁ** *q* *tḁēf* id. ¶ EG V 297, Vc. 225 || B $\text{*}\checkmark$ *wtf*: Ty, ETwl {GhA} *uttaf* 'être craché', *s-utaf* v. 'spit', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} *s-utaf* id. ¶ Fc. 1885, Nh. 146, GhA 188, Msq. 70 || C: Ag: ι X_m {R} *titif*, *tiftif*, *tiftaf* 'saliva', ι Bln/X_m {R} *tif* *ḅ-*, ι Km {CR} *tiff* *ḅ-* 'spit' (v.) || EC $\text{*}tuf-$ > Bn {Hn.}, Sml, Rn, Or {Grg.}, Kns {Bl.}, Af {PH}, Arr {Hw.}, Gwd {Bl.}, Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} *tuf-*, Hr {Bl.} *a-čúf-iy*, Gdl {Bl.} *šuh-* v. 'spit', Sa {R} *tufərnā* 'Speichel' || ι Bj {R} *tiffō* 'saliva' ¶ R WB 347, Abr. S 240, PG 281, Hn. S 44, Grg. 378, Bl. 166, 184, Ss. PEC 10, Ss. B 179, Hw. A 397, PH 200, Hd. 222, 262, 299, 339, 396, AD GDS 77 [#7.7] || ι Ch: WCh: Hs *tōfā* v. 'spit' | Fy {J} *tuf*, DfB {J} *tuf* id. | Krkr {J} *təf-*, Bl {Lk.} *tuf-* id. | Ngz {Sch.} *təpkú* id. || ECh: Kwn {Lens.} *ádábé*, Ke {Eb.} *túfí* id. | Mu {Lk.} *tuffa*, Brg {J} *čífí* id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} *taf-*, Gdf {IL} *tḁfdúḅ*, Dgh {Frk.} *tfà*, Ngs {IL} *tfəḅè* id. | Db {Lnh.} *tif* id. | pMM {Ro.} $\text{*}təf$ > Myn *təf-*, Mofu {Ro.} *táf*, Zlg *təfdá*, Gzg {Ro.} *táftāzáy* id. | Bcm {Sk.} *túfə*, Gudu {IL in ChL} *tevrā* id. | Lgn {Lk.} *tufu* id. | Ms {J} *túfnā*, ZmB {J} *túfó méʔ*, {Sa.} *túf mēʔè*, ZmD {KNC} *túp* (*méʔ*) id. | and +ext. $\text{*}-l-$: Mkt *tfalá*, Hrz *tífilà* v. 'spit' ¶ JS 249, ChC, Stl. ZCh 162 [#157], Nw. #121 (pCh $\text{*}təfə/\text{*}tufə$), Eb. 99, Ro. 333 [#680], Lens. 102, KNC 27 ¶¶ AD GDS 77 (C, S, Eg, Ch), Cal. 44 (Eg, S), OS #2413 ($\text{*}tuf-$ 'spit': S, Eg, Ch, C), 510 [#2433] ($\text{*}tḁfal-$ / $\text{*}tḁfil-$ 'spit': S, CCh: Mkt), \approx Sk. HCD 258 ¶¶ On the possible origin of the ext. $\text{*}-l-$ (in S and CCh) see N ***1A**, pc. of verbal constructions (noun + ***1A** = analytical verb) (\rightarrow sx. of denom. verbs) || K: Sv {Ni.} *-ṭb-ə₁ne*, *-ṭbe*, {FS} *li-ṭb-ə₁n-e* (prs. 3s *aṭbə₁ne*), Sv UB {GP}, Sv L {Dn.} *li-ṭbə₁n-e* v. 'spit', Sv: {Ni.} *na-ṭibw*, UB {TK, GP} *na-ṭbə₁nw*, LB/L/Ln *naṭbə₁n* 'spittle' ¶¶ FS K 301-2 (connects the Sv \checkmark with the G onomatopoeic interj. *ṭpu* 'ṭḅḅy!' ['pah!, imitating a spittle], which is hardly a reliable etl. cognate), TK 614, GP

169, 229, Ni. s.v. плевать, плевокъ, Dn. s.v. ꙗ̆bǎn- || IE: Lw tappā- {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)' ¶ Mlc. CL 206, Lar. 90 || ?? 0 Irn: NPrs تَف tof, Tjk τυφ tuf, Krd Sr تَف tif 'spittle (salivæ eiectio, sputum)', Wx tuf 'saliva, spittle' ¶ Ab. III 308-9 (on NPrs tof as 0), Sg. 312, Horn 87, Vl. I 449, GrSK VaxJ 476, RTdS 437, KrdJ 142 || A: NaT *t'üpk'ür- v. 'spit' > Cmn tüpkür-, XwT تَفْكَرُ {Faz.} tüfkür-, Chg {Rl.} توفكور- tüfkür-, Tv дүпкүр- dүpkür-, Az түпүр-, Uz tupur-, Uz NmA {Nal.} түпүр-, ET түпүр- ~ түкүр, Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, QK, Shor, Xk түкүр-, Tf {ADb.} t'ükkür-, Qzq түkir-, VTt тбкыр-, Bsh тбкёр-, Tk түкүр-, Tkm түүкүр- id.; ; NaT *t'üpk'ü 'a spit, spittle' > Tv дүкпү дүkp'ü (or a bf.?) ¶ Rs. W 504, Rl. III 1596, 1600, Faz. II 426, Grøn. 260, BT 161, B DLT 211, Nal. RSS 183, ADb. Ttd 57 [#8], TvR 187 || Tg *tupin 'spittle' > Ork tupi / tupin-, Ul tıpu / tıpun- 'spittle', Nn B tofi, Nn Nh topĩ id., 'saliva', Ewk tumin ɘ tumin ɘ tomin id., Sln tomĩ, Lm tumnin 'spittle'; Tg *tupi-n₁a₁- v. 'spit' > Orc tupina-, Ork tupin-, Ul {PSchm.} tifu-, Nn Nh topin-, Nn KU tofina-, Ewk tumin- ɘ tumun-, Ewk {Cs.} tūmina-, Sln {Iv.} tomon- ~ tumun-, Lm tumni- ɘ tomni- id., Ud tumiŋi- v. 'spit out'; AmTg *tupi-ç∇- v. 'spit' > Orc tupiči-, Ul tıpçl- ¶ STM II 213 || pJ {S} tùm₁pàk- v. 'spit' > OJ tupak- id., tupa₁k₁i, J T cubaki 'spittle' ¶ S QJ #1027, Mr. 552 ¶¶ DQA #2469 (A *t'üp'i 'spit, spittle') || D {tr.} *tupp-, {GS} *tup- v. 'spit' > Tm tupp₁-, Ml tuppuka-, Td tüf in-, Kn tūpu-, Kdg, Krx tupp-, Mlt tupe v. 'spit'; *tuppāl- 'saliva, spittle' > Tm, Ml tuppāl, Krx tuppāl₁ō, ? Mlt tupgle id. ¶¶ D #3323, GS 53 [#140] ◇ IS MS s.v. плевать *tup₁ (HS, K, D + *÷ IE *pt₁y₁ew- v. 'spit'). In HS there is de-emphatization *t̥- > *t-. We cannot draw any conclusions about the age of the forms with an *l-extension (S, CCh, D) before a grammatical analysis of these forms in CCh and D is accomplished ◇ Gr. II #361 (*tup 'spit') (A, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko).

2400. *tähipê 'high place, top, hill' > HS: S *^o✓t̥hp > Ar ṭahāf- 'élevé, qui est bien haut dans les aires' (nuage) ¶ BK II 115 || ??? Eg N db.t 'head' ({EG}: "wohl fehlerhaft"), Eg L/G dbn 'head' (unless var. of tbn id.) | AdS of Eg fp tp, Eg N tbn 'head' (< N *tō'p'æ 'head, top' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 261, 263, 272, 434, 437, Fk. 296 || U: FP *täwe 'hill, island' (× N *d₁b₁∇ 'hill') > Lp N {N} dievva / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} tievva-, tjevva-, {LLO} tievvā 'hill' | Z di di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144,

LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || **A:** NaT *t'äpe ({ADb.} *t'ep'e) 'top of the head, summit, hill' > MT XIV [IM] täpä 'hill', Tk tepe 'hill; peak, summit; head', Ggz tepä, Az täpä, Tkm depe, Uz teпа, Tv t'ey (ADb.: < *dépey) 'hill, crown of head', Yk täbä 'summit, top of the head' ¶ In the T lgs. we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymic pT roots *t'äpe and *t'öpö|u 'hill, top' (on the latter see N *tô'p'æ 'head, top'). The attempts to unite these two T roots in spite of the phonetic differences (by postulating pT *t'äp'ö [Dr. TM III #872 and DT 201] or by reconstructing ppT *t'ëp'e {Md.}) are unc. and superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, IS AD 42 [#23], Tkr 258, GRM 466, Hüs. 289, ≈ DQA #2346 (T *t'epö|ü × A [DQA #400] *tú|pè 'hill, top') || Tg *tep|b- > Ewk Nr {Cs.} tepe 'arrow-head (made of stone)', ? Neg tэwsэ 'high wooded hill' ¶ STM II 225, 238 || ? M *tebeg > WrM tebeg, HIM тэвэг 'shuttlecock, top-knot of hair', Kl {Rm.} tewäg 'Flechte, lange Haare im Nacken (der Mädchen) oder zwischen den Ohren (der Pferde)' | Hardly here WrM таб, HIM таб 'part of a scalp on which a braid\pigtail grows; head of a nail' (the phonetic shape of the word suggests that it is a loan) ¶ MED 760, 789, KW 373, 395 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *top'É 'hill, top'), KW 395 (M, T), ≈ DQA #2346 (A *t'ëp'á 'tuft [of hair]' ← 'top of head', including T, M + qu. Tg: Sln tabχa 'tail on shaman's belt', Ewk tэwdukэ 'rags') || **D** *tipp-/tiv- ({ǂGS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *d▽b▽ 'hill') > Tm tippai 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe 'heap, hillock, dunghill', dibba, dibbu, tevar(υ) 'hillock', Tu hippæ 'heap, hill', Tl tippa id., 'mountain', dibba 'hillock, heap', Prj ðippa 'heap', ðibba 'mound', Gdb dibbe id., 'hillock', Gnd dībe 'heap', dippa 'highland for cultivation', Kui ðepa 'rising ground, high land', Ku debbe, dibba 'hill', Krx ðippā 'mound, hillock', Mlt tube 'rubbish heap' ¶¶ D #3229 ◇ FU *-w- (< *-b-) is likely to represent N *-p-.

2401. *t'a'p'▽ 'plunge, immerse' > HS: S *✓ ṭbɿ v. 'sink, sink down' (× N *ṭübɿA 'deep') > BHb טבב ✓ ṭbɿ G 'sink down', Sr ✓ ṭbɿ G v. 'sink, be sunk', MHb, JA [Trg.], JEA G ✓ ṭbɿ v. 'sink, drown', Ak ṭebû(m), Ak A ṭabā?u(m) 'untertauchen, untergehen' ¶ BDB #2883, KB 353, KBR 369-70, JPS 106-7, Js. 518, Lv. II 137-8, Sl. 494, Br. 267, Sd. 1382 || (mt.): Eg fMd tχb 'immerse, irrigate', Cpt Sd τωζβ tōhb 'tremper, plonger, mouiller' ¶ EG V 326, Fk. 301, Vc. 226, T I 308 (Eg, S) || **IE:** NaIE *tap₁ə₁- v. 'plunge, immerse, soak' > Arm բարբաւեմ t'athawem 'I plunge, immerse' ||| Sl *topí-ti > OCS топнѣти topi-ti

'immergere', R *ТОПИ-ТЬ* vt. 'to drown, to sink (a vessel)', Blg *ТОПЯ* 'dip in', Cz *топи-ти* 'to dip in', P *топи-ć* vt. 'to drown', SCr *tòpi-ti* 'to flood, to inundate'; Sl **to-nq-ti* (< **topnqti*) vi. 'to drown, to sink (in water)' > ChS *ТОНЯТИ* *tonqti*, SCr *tònuti*, Slv *tóniti*, R *ТОНУТЬ*, P *tonać*, Cz *tonouti*, Slk *tonút'* id., Blg *ТЪНА* 'I sink (in water)' ¶ P 1056, Vs. IV 78-80, Slr. 445 || ?σ K: G *ἔβωρ-* '(Fluß, Regen) setxt (etwas) unter Wasser' (× N ?φ **ἔβωρ'λ'ἔβωρ* 'dip in, immerse') ¶ Chx. 1332, 1359-60 || D (in SD) **tuV-* ({{ḡGS}} **t-*) v. 'dip in, soak' (× N **ṭübʕA* 'deep?') > Tm *tuvaḯ* 'dip in, soak', Ml *tuvekka* v. 'steep, soak in water', Tu *tuva* 'overflowing, running over' ¶ D #3355 ◇ Assimilation N **ṭ'a'pʕ'ṭ* > **ṭ'a'bʕ-* > K **ṭb-*, D **tuV-*, S and pre-Eg **ṭbʕ-*. Eg *ṭḫb* may be explained by prehistoric deglottalization **ṭ-* > *t-*, metathesis of the lr. and a puzzling transformation N **ʕ* > *ḫ* (acc. to Tk I 308, due to incompatibility of ***tʕ* in Eg). NaIE **-p-* < **-p-* < N **-pʕ-*. D **-u-* is likely to belong to the heritage of N **ṭübʕA*.

2402. **ṭ'a'p'ṭ* 'dirt, mud' > HS: WS **ṭbʕ* 'dirt, mud' > Ar *ṭabʕ* (pf. *ṭabīʕa*, ip. *-ṭbaʕu*) 'être sale, sali d'ordures (homme); être sale, couvert de rouille (un sabre)', *ṭabaʕ-* 'saleté, crasse, rouille', *ṭabīʕ-* 'sale, crasseux', Grg En *ṭäβa*, Grg Ed *ṭäwä* 'mud' ¶ BK II 53-4, L EDG III 608 || pCh {Nw.} **taḫṭ* 'mud' > WCh: Hs *tàḫó* (*ḫ* → Ngz {Sch.} *tàḫó*), Gw {Mts.} *tòbo* | Bl {Nw.} *teḫḫi*, Ngm {ChL} *ndèḫi* | Ngz *tàḫó* | Cg {Sk.} *ndàḫákʕán*, Kry {Sk.} *tàḫàkù*, Sir {Sk.} *tèḫèhí*, Mbr {Sk.} *ndàḫákù*, Dir {Sk.} *àtùḫàkù* | Kir {ChL} *ndòp* or *ⁿdòp*, Plc {ChL} *nduwəp* or *ⁿduwəp*, Dw {ChL} *ndwəp*, sc. *ⁿdʷəp* or *ⁿdʷəp* id. || CCh: Tr: Pdl {ChL} *tèbdì*, Hw {ChL} *tàbùrà*, G'nd {ChL} *təpta*, Gbn {ChL} *təptà*, Boka *təptə* | McHigi: FIM *dùbù* | Ktk {Nw.} *ndaḫe* id. || Ech: Tmk {Cp.} *dùbò*, Nd D {J} *dèbyà* id. ¶ Nw. #89, Stl. ZCh 161 [#154], Sch. DN 154, Cp. 55, Abr. H 835, ChC, Mts. G 115, ChL ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 248 || K: G *ṭḫap-* 'beschmutzen, besudeln', G P *ṭḫip-* 'schmutzig machen, beschmutzen, beschmieren' ¶ Chx. 508, 510 || A **t'ap'ṭ* (× N **ṭapṭ* 'to feel/touch with one's fingers, to smear') > Tg **tapṭ* > Ewk Uch *taparā-* v. 'be soiled' ('пачкаться'), Ewk Np *tapka-* vt. 'soil' ('запачкаты'), Ork *tapti* 'clay' ¶ STM II 164 || NaT **t'ap-* > OT kir *tapčā* (couple of synonyms) 'dirt', VTt, Bsh, Nog *tap* 'stain', VTt, Bsh *tapla-* vt. 'soil', Chg, QrB {Rs.} *tap* 'Fleck, Narbe' (but in Chg {Rl.} and QrB {RKB} the meaning of *таб* is 'scar' only) ¶ DTS 308, TatR 515-6, BR 506-7, Rs. W 462, Rl. III 945-6, 954, RKB 716, NogR 334] ?? T **t'op'rak'* 'earth' (× ← **t'op'ra-* v.

'become dry') > OT *toprāq*, MQp XIII, XwT/Cmn XIV *topraq*, Chg ≥XV *topray* ~ *topraq*, Tk *toprak* 'earth, soil, dust', Qzq *topyraq* 'land, soil', Tkm, ET *topraq*, Uz *tupraq*, VTt *tufraq*, Bsh *tupraq*, Qrg *topuraq*. Alt *tobraq*, Xk *tobraχ* 'earth, soil', Tf *tōp'raq* 'dust, soil', Tv *довурак* *d_opuraq* id., 'earth', Yk *toburaχ* 'dust, soil', Chv L *тӓпра тӓпра*, Chv H *тӓпра* 'earth, soil, dust (прах)'; (T ↔ ?) WrM *tob(a)rag*, HIM *товрог* 'earth, dust', Brt *тоборог* 'dust (пыль, прах)', Kl *товрг* *towrɣg* {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand'; (T ↔ ?) WrM *tob(a)rag*, HIM *товрог* 'earth, dust', Brt *тоборог* 'dust (пыль, прах)', Kl *товрг* *towrɣg* {KRS} 'speck of dust', {Rm.} 'Staub, Erde, Sand' ¶ Cl. 443-4, Rs. W 489, Jcg. 237-8, Md. 43, 180, Ra. 234, MED 810 || M **toɣurag* 'earth, dust' > MM [S] *to_oraq*, WrM *toɣurag*, HIM *тоорог* 'particles of matter suspended in a liquid', Brt *тоорог* 'dust, specks of dust, motes', Kl *тоорм* *tōrɣm* 'whirlwind dust, haze of dust', Dx *tura* 'earth; dust (прах)', Dg *tūāral* 'dust, specks of dust' ¶ MED 810, 817, T DgJ 169, Chr. 423, 429, KRS 499, 506, KW 404, S AJ 239 [#127] ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2313 (A **t'āp'o(r∇)* 'earth, dust'), Vld. 210 (M, T) ◇ **o* in M **toɣurag* and in T **t'op'_rak* may be due to regr. as. (*-*ap-* > *-*op-*).

2403. ≈ **ṭaPḥ∇* 'flat' > HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} *ṭawo* 'plain, flat plain', {Mrn.} *ṭabo* 'plain, foot of a mountain' ¶ Gs. 324, Hd. 397, AD SF 227 || S **√ṭpḥ* v. 'be flat, wide' > Tgr *√ṭfḥ* v. *G* 'be level, flat, wide', Tgy *ṭəfḥe* 'flache Kuchen machen', OAK *√ṭpʔ* (inf. *ṭapāʔum*), Ak B *ṭepû* 'hinbreiten', BHb *ḥṭṭ* *√ṭpḥ* *D* 'spread out', *ḥṭṭ* *ṭəpaḥ*, *ḥṭṭ* *ṭopaḥ* 'hand-breadth, span', JA *ḫṭṭṭ* *ṭəpūḥ-ā* 'Fußlänge' ({Lv.}: 'Handbreite' → 'Fußbreite'), Ar Df {Rhod.} *ṭofḥ* 'der Rücken, die stumpfe Seite der einseitigen Schwertklinge', Amh *ṭɜffi* 'palm of one hand', ?σ Sq {SSL} *ṭafaḥ* 'bord (du pied, de la main)' ¶ LH 621, Sd. 1388, BDB ##2946-7, KB 362, KBR 378-9, Lv. T I 315, Lv. II 177, Rhod. D 36, Kane 2192, SSL LSP 147, MiK I #1.279 || K: Sv: LB {TK} *ṭap* 'woodland glade', UB *ṭap* {GP} *ṭap* 'horizont(al)', {TK} 'wide gently sloping ground', {GP} *ṭapēl* 'flatcake', ?μ Sv {TK}: UB/L *ṭapšw*, U *ṭapšw* 'flat' || ? G {Chx.} *ṭap-i* 'Talbecken', *ṭapobi* 'Waldwiese, Wiesengrund' ¶ GP 260, TK 715-6, Ni. s.v. *плоский* (Sv *ṭapšw*), Chx. 1330 || A: **t'ap∇* > M **tabqay-* > WrM *tabqay-*, HIM *тавхай-* v. 'be flat, low', Brt *табхай-* v. 'be flat'; **tabsay-* > WrM *tabsay-*, HIM *тавсай-* v. 'have a flat surface or top' ¶ MED 781-2, Chr. 409.

2404. *ṭṰPRṰ ~ *ṭṰRPṰ 'ε part of the foot', 'foot' > **HS: B [1]** *ṭṰfr 'front part of the foot' (× N *ṭṰpṰ(RṰ) 'fingernail, claw'??) > Ah a-ṭfār (pl. i-ṭarfān), Ty/ETwl e-ṭāfār (pl. i-ṭāfran) 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' ¶ Fc. 1885, GhA 188 | [2] *ṭṰfr (< *ṭṰfr) v. 'follow the tracks\footprints of' > Gd {Lf.} ṭṰfr (εṭfār), Izd {Mrc.} ṭṰfr (ṭfur, pf. iṭfār), Skn {La.}, BSn/BMn {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.} ṭṰfr, Izn {Rn.}, Kb {Dl.} ṭṰfr id., ZAS ṭṰfr ({{Loub.} ṭṰf) < *ṭṰfr 'suivre, marcher sur les traces de'; but Ah {Fc.} and Gh {Nh.} ḡāffār 'behind, after, the hind side' belong rather to the B stem *ṭṰffṰr 'behind, hind side' (> ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Wrg {Dlh.} dāffār, Kb {Dl.} ḡāffir) influenced by *ṭṰfr v. 'follow the tracks of' ¶ Fc. 261, 1885, GhA 188, Loub. 464, Rn. 311, La. S 298, Dl. 172, Dlh. Ou 47, Nh. 150 ¶ Does the uvularized ṭ in ETwl/Ty eṭṰfār suggest mte. **ṭṰfr > ṭṰfr? || ?? S *ṭṰarap- > Ar الطَّرْفَان ṭaṭ-ṭarf-ān- 'feet', ṭal-ṭaṭrāf- 'feet and hands', 'the parts, sides' ¶ BK II 72-3 || | K *ṭṰerp- > G ṭerpi 'sole of the foot, heel' ¶ Chx. 1336 || | A: T: OT torpi 'who follows' ('a calf following its mother') (semantic change: *'follows the heels' → 'follows [someone]') ¶ Cl. 533 || ? M *tuṰur (× N *ṭṰubṰ 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, sole of the foot, heel') > WrM {Rm.} ṭugur, Kl {Rm.} tūr 'der untere harte Rand des Pferdehufs', HIM τυυρ, {Rm.} tūr 'hoof', MMgl {Mlr.} tūr 'Pferdehuf'; pM *tuṰurayi 'hoof' > WrM ṭugura, ṭugurai, {Gl.} ṭugurai, HIM τυυрай 'hoof'; {Gl.} togurun id. ¶ MED 839, Kow. 1812, Gl. III 172, 175, KW 413, Klz. D II 138, Lg. VMI 70 (WrM ṭuguray *÷ MM turū(n), which in fact corresponds to WrM turugun 'hoof' [KW 411]).

2405. *ṭeqṰ 'to smear, to rub' ([in HS] → 'fat, marrow') > **HS: WS** (or CS?) *-ṭīḫ- 'smear, overlay' > BHb -ṭīḫ- or -ṭūḫ- v. G (3m pf. ṭṰṰāḫ) 'overlay', {KB} 'darüberstreichen, verputzen', Ug {A} ṭṰṰṰ G '(über)tünchen' (not mentioned in OLS), Ar -ṭīḫ- v. G 'être sali', 'defile', (× N *ṭægṰ 'swell, become thick\large\strong?') Gz ṭṰ G (pf. ṭṰa) 'besmear, anoint' ¶ KB 357, A #1117, BK II 128, Hv. 443, LG 600 || Eg G ṭḫ 'fett, gemästet' (of oxen) ({Tk.}: < *ṭḫ) ¶ EG V 251, 325 || C: Bj {R} ḡāh n. 'fat', -ḡāh v. (1s: p. aḡāh, prs. aṇḡāh) 'be fat' || | LEC {Bl.} *ḡuḫ- 'marrow' > {Bl.}: Af ḡuḫ, Sml ḡūḫ, Sml N {Abr.} ḡūḫ, Rn {PG} ḡūḫ, Kns ḡóh-ota, Or B ḡúḫa, ? Or Wl {Brl.} ḡuka id. ¶ R WBd 73, Bl. 108, Abr. S 68, PG 99, Vnt. 46 (Or B ḡuḫa, nom. -ni 'midollo, polpa'), Brl. 12, LLC 123 || ? Ch (× N *ṭægṰ 'swell, become

thick\large\strong', ? 'become fat'): ECh: Kwn {JI} ḏàwé 'fat' (n.) ||| WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} ḏuḡṡ id. ¶ JI II 131, ChC ¶¶ Tk. I 170 (S, Eg, C, Ch) ||| K: G tχun- 'be-\ver-schmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen' (×N *ṡi'h'üñ∇ 'mud, silt, dirt', q.v. ffd.) ||| D *tēy- ({}GS} *t-) 'rub (away\off), smear' > Tm tēy 'wear away by friction, be rubbed', Ml tēyuka 'be rubbed off', Kt tēy- 'become worn down', vt. 'rub, wear down', Kn tē, tēy(α) 'grind, triturate\macerate in water on a slab', Kdg tēy- vi. 'wear off', vt. wear off, smear', Tu tēpuni v. 'rub, polish', Krg tēdi 'rub', Tl tēyα 'be worn; wear by use, handling, or rubbing', Ku dē- v. 'wipe' ¶¶ D #3458, Zv. 45.

2406. *ṡúṡ'q' i - *ṡúṡ'q'y∇ 'hit, strike' > HS: ?σ S (or CS) *√tχχ ~ *√tχy ~ *°√tωχ v. 'throw, shoot' > Ar √tχχ G 'jecit, removit', 'jeter, rejeter, ôter', BHb ḥḥḅ √tḥy/w D v. 'shoot' (in the set phrase ki-mṡah^a,wē 'ḵešēṡ 'distance of a bowshoot'), MHb ḥḥḅ ṡə'wāḥ 'Schuß, Schleuderung', 'Schußweite' ¶ Fr. III 44, BK II 63, KB 357, KBR 379, Lv. II 149 ||| EC *ḏaw- v. 'hit, strike' > Or ḏa-e 'he hit', Kns, Gdl ḏáw-é id., Arr {Hw.} ḏaw- 'hit', {Ss.} ḏa-y-iy- (pf.), Elm ḏa- v. 'hit, strike', Brj ḏaw- id., Dsn ḏok / ḏo- 'hit, beat' ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Hw. A 423, To. DL 495 ||| K *°ṡe'q' - / *°ṡq-d- v. 'break' > OG ṡeχ- vt. 'break', ṡq-d- vi. 'break', G *ṡeχ- / ṡq- id. (trans. ṡeχ- v. 'break', ps. [inf.] ṡq-d-oma, a-ṡq-d-eba 'bricht aus, [Emailschicht] springt ab', ga-ṡq-d-eb-a '[zer]bricht, geht kaputt') ¶ Abul. 412, 49, Chx. 13339-1341, DCh. 1219, 1230 ||| IE: NaIE *twe(:)ṡ- / *twōṡ- v. 'hit, strike' ({}P} 'schlagen') > AS ḏwītan 'to cut, to shave off', ON þveitr 'Schlag, Querhieb, Einschnitt', þveita 'to strike, to chop, to push', Sw Δ tveṡa, NNr tveita 'hauen, schlagen' (ON ei < pScn *aṡ < IE *oy) ||| Lt tvó-ti (prs. tvó-j-α) 'to strike, to lash, to whip' (o < *ūō [after v] < IE *ō) ¶ WP I 747-8, P 1099, Vr. 628, Frn. 1155-6, Ho. 374; Ptrs. VSW 33f., Bg. RR I 290 (both think of a √ *tu-) ||| A: Tg *tuy∇ηke v. 'push, knock, move' > Lm Ol/B tuḡk3- v. 'knock (silently)', Lm Sk/T tuḡk3- v. 'push (slightly)', Neg tumku-, tuḡku- vi. 'move', 'beat' heart, Ul tuyñčulbu-, tunčū- vt. 'move, stir', Nn Nh tuyḡku- vi. 'move, stir', 'start beating' (heart) ¶ STM II 216 ◇ ≠ BmhK 311-2 (an unc. attempt to equate EC *ḏaw- v. 'hit, strike' and Sum ḏα v. 'butt' with IE *dwer- 'hand, fist', {Mn.} *dewsan- 'evil, harm' and IE {Wt.} *deω- v. 'burn, hurt').

2407. (₂?) *ṡUq∇ 'near; be close to, approach' > HS: S *°√tχ'y' > Ak ṡē|īχα '(unmittelbare) Nähe', ṡeχû, Ak OA √tχ' G (inf. ṡaχā'α)

'ganz nah herankommen\gehen\treten', 'reach, approach' ¶ Sd. 1384
 || EC * $\text{d}\nabla\omega\omega$ - > Arr {Hw.} $\text{d}\epsilon\omega\omega\acute{\iota}$ 'near', $\text{d}\epsilon\omega\omega\text{ah}\acute{\alpha}\text{d}$ - 'approach', Sml
 $\text{d}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ adj. 'near, soon, close', {ZMO} $\text{d}\acute{\omega}\omega$, Sml N {Abr.} $\text{d}\acute{\acute{\omega}}\omega$ adv. 'near,
 nearby, close', Rn {PG} $\text{d}\acute{\omega}\omega$ id., $\text{d}\acute{\omega}\omega\omega\acute{\alpha}\text{d}\acute{\alpha}$ v. 'approach, come close to';
 ? (\times N * $\text{t}\acute{\iota}\text{y}\text{A}$ 'be narrow') Sa {R} $\text{d}\acute{\alpha}\text{y}$ - v. 'be close\narrow',
 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ¶ ZMO 113, 123, Abr. S 66, PG 97-8, Hw. A 355,
 R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || IE: NaIE * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\omega$ -/?* $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ - 'near' > Ltv $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\omega$ -s
 adj. 'near', $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\omega\omega$, Δ $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\omega\text{v}\acute{\iota}$ adv. 'near (by), close (by)', 'sogleich,
 'sofort', Pru $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\omega\text{w}\acute{\text{is}}\text{ch}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}$ 'Nächster' | Sl * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ -to 'here' (\times N * $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$,
 dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects) > OCS, OR $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ 'here'
 (\neq OCS, OR $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ 'there' < N * $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$ \uparrow '), OR $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ -to 'here;', R, Uk
 $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}\text{t}$, Blr $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, Blg $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ -ka, SCr $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, Slv $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, Cz $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, P $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$,
 $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{aj}$, HLs, LLs $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ 'here', Slk $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$, $\text{t}\acute{\omega}$ -na 'voici, here' ¶ The N
 et. in question is responsible for the Sl vw. * u (< IE * u) and for the hic-
 deixis of one of the variants of the Sl word ¶ Frn. 1147, En. 263, Vs. IV
 126, StSS 707-8, Brü. 583 || ? σ D (att. in McTm) * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ > Tm $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}$ 'come
 in contact with, reach', Ml $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{y}\text{u}\text{ka}$ v. 'unite' ¶ D #3556.

2408. $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\nabla\text{q}\acute{\alpha}$ 'melt, get spoiled' > HS: S * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{t}\chi\chi$ > Ar $\text{t}\chi\chi$ v. G
 (pf. $\text{t}\chi\chi\acute{\alpha}$) 'become sour, transform into leaven' (paste), S rdp.
 * $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{t}\chi\text{t}\chi$ > Ar SL {Hv.} $\text{t}\chi\text{t}\chi$ v. 'be rotten, worm-eaten' ¶ BK I 193, Hv.
 57 || IE * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{h}$ - > NaIE * $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}$ -/* $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}$ - (+exts.: * $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ -, * $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{y}$ -) v. 'melt, dissolve'
 > Oss I $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{y}\text{z}\text{n}$ / pp. $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{d}$, Oss D $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{y}\text{u}\text{n}$ / pp. $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{d}$ id., 'be digested' || MW
 {SEv.} $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\omega\text{d}$ 'melts', MBr $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{u}\text{z}\text{y}\text{f}\text{f}$ 'liquefecit', $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{u}\text{z}\text{iff}$, Br $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{u}\text{z}\text{if}\acute{\text{r}}$,
 MW, W $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{d}\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}$ v. 'to melt', W $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\omega\text{d}\text{d}$, Br $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{u}\text{z}$ 'molten', OBr $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{d}\text{iat}$
 'fondeur' || NaIE * $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{y}$ - > Gmc * $\text{t}\acute{\theta}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ - > ON $\text{p}\acute{\epsilon}\text{y}\text{ja}$, Dn $\text{t}\acute{\theta}$, Sw $\text{t}\acute{\theta}\acute{\alpha}$, Dt
 $\text{d}\acute{\omega}\text{oj}\text{en}$, OHG $\text{d}\acute{\omega}\text{u}\text{w}\text{en}$ $\acute{\text{d}}$ $\text{d}\acute{\epsilon}\text{w}\text{en}$ 'to thaw', MHG $\text{t}\acute{\omega}\text{u}\text{w}\text{en}$ (\leftarrow MHG
 U, where the opposition $\text{d}\leftrightarrow\text{t}$ - was lost?), NHG $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{u}\text{en}$, AS $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\omega\text{jan}$ 'to
 thaw', NE $\text{t}\acute{\theta}\acute{\alpha}\omega$; NHG $\text{v}\acute{\epsilon}\text{r}\text{d}\acute{\alpha}\text{u}\text{en}$ 'to digest'; NaIE * $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}$ -y- > * $\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}$ - > Gmc:
 ON $\text{p}\acute{\text{i}}\acute{\text{d}}\text{r}$ (< * $\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}$ - 'to-s) 'melted' || Sl * $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}$ -ati 'to melt, to dissolve' > OCS
 $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{j}\text{t}\text{i}$ $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{j}\text{-}\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}$ / $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{j}\text{-}\text{q}$, SCr $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}\text{ati}$, Slv $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}\text{ati}$, Cz $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}$, P
 $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}\acute{\text{a}}\text{c}$, R 'таять', Uk $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}\text{t}\text{i}$ id., Blg $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{j}$ v. 'melt, dissolve'; Sl * $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}$ -l̥(-
 j̥) > OR $\text{t}\acute{\alpha}\text{l}\text{j}\text{i}$, R 'талый', Uk 'талый', P $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{l}$ adj. 'thawed';
 caus.: Cz $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{v}\text{it}\text{i}$, Slk $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{v}\text{it}'$ vt. 'to melt, to cast' || Arm $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{am}$
 $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{am}$ (aor. vt. $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{h}$ $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{i}$, aor. vi. $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}$ $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{h}\text{ay}$) v.
 'wet\dip\moisten' || ?? with a * $\text{b}_\text{L}\text{h}_\text{L}$ -ext.: L $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}$ - (prs. $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{b}\acute{\text{e}}\text{sc}\acute{\text{o}}$, pfc.
 $\text{t}\acute{\acute{\alpha}}\text{b}\text{u}\text{i}$) 'melt' ¶ P 1053-4, EI 378 (* $\text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\text{h}_\text{p}$ - 'melt'), AHDI 69, Ab. III 222-
 3, SEv. 117, 166, YGM-1 406, 411, Flr. 314, Hm. 787, WH II 639-40, Vr.

609-10, Vr. N 127, OsS 97, EWA II 619-22, ≈ KM 773 (NHG *t-* due to the infl. of *Ta u* 'dew'), KM 812, Vs. IV 30-1, StSS 690, Glh. 617-8, Srz. III 922, Brü. 563, Chrn. II 230, Slt. 377 ◇ The regressive direction of *as.* in *S* (**t*...*χ* > **t*...*χ*) may be due to prosodic factors ◇ ≈ BmK 295-7 (*S*, *IE* + semantically unwarranted comparison with *D* **tēy-* v. 'rub, be worn out', *K* *tχe-* v. 'pour out', and *Eg* *tħs* v. 'grind').

2409. **t*AqU 'lie (tell a lie), deceive' > **HS:** *S* **o*√*t*kl > *Gz* √*t*kl *G* v. (pf. *taqala*, js. *yə-tqal*) 'lie, slander', *Amh* √*t*kl *G* (pf. *təkkəle*) v. 'lie' ¶ *LG* 596 || **K:** *pGZ* **t*qu- > *OG* *t*qu- 'lügen', *G* *t*qu- / *t*quv- / *t*quil- ~ *t*qvil-: *da-/mo-t*qu- 'anlügen, täuschen', *Mg* *t*qu- (pres. *t*qu-ap-a ~ *t*qu-r-ap-a) v. 'lie to so., deceive' ¶ *Chx.* 1378, *FS* K 305, *FS* E 340 || **D** **takk-* ({*ǵGS*} **t-*) v. 'deceive' > *Tm* *takkaṭi* id., *Ml* *takkiṭi* 'cheating in weighing', *Tu* *takkaḍi-dāye* 'one who cheats in weighing', *Tl* *takkarī* 'rogue', *takkali* 'theft, deceit, trick'; *D* **takk-* ↪ *InA* **t*hagg- ~ **t*hakk- v. 'deceive, steal' > *Mrt* *t*hak 'thief', *t*hakṇē v. 'be deceived', *Oriya* *t*hakibā v. 'deceive' ¶¶ *D* 512 [app. #42], *Tu.* #5489 ¶¶ *InA* **t*h- suggests that that the initial cns. in *D* was probably fortis (**t*^h- or **t*^h- as a reflex of *N* **t*-?).

2410. **t*o^ga 'to plait, to bend', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build', 'to make earthenware', 'to weave'), ? (←) 'to twist' > **HS:** *Ch:* *WCh:* *P* {*Msk.*} *ták^widù* v. 'plait' | *Bg* {*Sh.*} *tuk*, *Kir* {*ChL*} *tokkame* id. | another possible cognate is *Ch* {*JS*} **o*√*dk* v. 'build, make earthenware' (> *WCh* {*Stl.*} **o*√*dk* id. > *pAG* {*Hf.*} **o*√*jik*, *BT* **o*√*dk*- build, make earthenware' || *ECh:* ? *Mu* {*J*} *dìyá* v. 'build'), but the *vw.* and the *pBT* cns. **-k-* suggest that this *Ch* √ belongs to *N* **t*^e*ke* 'to build, to shape, to make' (q.v. *ffd.*) ¶ *JS* 56, *ChC* s.v. 'build', *Stl.* *ZCh* 174 [#263], *ChL*, *Hf.* *AGG*, *Frz.* *P* 29 || ? **K:** *Sv:* {*Ni.*} -*tqpe* v. 'bosseln' (лѣпить), *li-tqpe* 'Bosseln' (лѣпка), *UB/LB* {*TK*} -*aṭqube*, *L/Ln* -*aṭqωbe* 'unite, add', *UB* {*GP*} *li-tqωbe* *msd.* 'to unite' ¶ *TK* 65, *GP* 170, *Ni.* s.v. лѣпить || **IE:** *NaIE* **tek-* v. 'plait, weave' > *Arm* *թերթ* *tʰekʰem* 'I twist, warp' || *Gmc* **θēx-*, **θēx-* > *OHG* *dāht* ~ *tāct* 'wick, Docht', *NHG*†*Docht*, *MLG* *dacht*, *decht*, *NGr Sw* *dægel*, *dohe*, *NGr B* *dāhen*, *NGr Als*†*Dōche* 'wick', *ON* {*Vr.*} *páttr* 'Draht, Faden, Docht', *Sw* *tāt*, *Nr* *tātt* 'rope' || *Oss* *I* *tag* (< **tāka-*), *D* *tagā* 'thread', ? *Oss* *I* *taxun*, *Oss* *D* *taxt* v. 'adorn' || ? *pSl* **tъk-āti* v. 'weave' (if from the *IE* zero-grade **t*o^g-) > *OCS* **ТЪКАТИ** *tъka-ti* / *1s* *prs.* **ТЪКЪ** *tъk-o*, *R* *ткать* / *ткy*, *P* *ткаć* / *ткe*, *OCz*

tkáti / tku, Cz tkáti, Blg тъкъ, SCr tkāti, Slv tkáti || ? L tex- (tex-ō, -ěre, -ui, -tum) v. 'plait, weave' (< IE *teks- 'fabricate' < N *t'e'kE '↑') ¶ WP I 716, Mikl. E 367-8 (distinguishes Sl *тък- v. 'weave' from the homonymic *тък- v. 'poke\stick into'), Vs. IV 64 (does not distinguish between these two Sl roots), Ma. CS 529, HIK 385, Ab. III 220-1, 242-3, P 1058, WH II 678-9, Kb. 1011, OsS 921, KM 136, Vr. 606, Sl. 378 ¶ Arm t'ek'hem 'drehe' and Oss fäldäx3n v. 'turn over' suggest that in NaIE the verb meant also '≈ twist, drehen' || A {SDM97} *t'ok'∇- v. 'plait, weave', {DQA} t'ök'∇ 'curved', {ADb.} *tok'u v. 'spin, plait' > NaT *t'oku- v. 'plait, weave' > OT QU toqI- v. 'weave (a fabric)', XwT XIV toqu- ~ toqI-, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV, MT [IM] toqu-, MQp toqI-, MOg doqI- ~ doqu-, Tkm doqa-, Ggz doku-, VTt, Bsh tuqъ-, Qzq toqI-, Qrg toqu-, Ln toqo- toqI-, SY toqo- toqI- 'weave', Tk doky- id., v. 'plait (a mat)', Az toxu-, Nog, ET toqu-, Qq toqI-, ET toqu-, Uz twqi- id., 'knit', Qrg toqu- v. 'weave', Qzq toqu- v. 'weave, knit' ¶ Cl. 467, TL 395-6, Tkr 276, Hüs. 296, GRM 151, MM 352, ET VGD 253-5, Nj. 318-9, Jud. 744, UzR 468, Rs. W 484-5 (does not distinguish this √ from *t'ok'- v. 'strike'), Rl. III 1145-51 || Tg *tok- vi. 'bend, turn\go round' > Ud tokčigu 'crooked', Ewk tokor-, Neg toxoy- 'turn\go round', Ewk tokoriw- 'be bent' ¶ STM II 192 || M *toki...- > Brt тохии- toxī- 'be bent'; M *tokir 'bent' > Brt тохир 'bent, crooked', WrM tokir, HIM тохир 'bent, crippled', Kl Ö {Rm.} tokr̥ ~ takr̥, Kl D {Rm.} täkr̥ 'krüppelig, verrenkt', ?φ Ord d_a''xir 'unable to use his arm\hand', M ↪ Yk tokur 'bent, bowed' ¶ Chr. 431-2, MED 820, Ms. O 114, KW 395, 398, STM II 192 ¶¶ DQA #2424 || D (in SD) *tuk∇I- ({AD} *duk∇I-) 'woven cloth' > Kn dukula, dugula, dukūla 'woven silk, very fine cloth or raiment', Tm tukil, tuyil 'fine cloth, rich attire', Ml tukil, tuyil 'cloth, dress'; D ↪ OI LSk/EpSk [MBh., etc.] dukūlam 'feines Zeug, das aus dem Bast der Dukula-Pflanze hergestellt wird', OI Sk dukūlah 'a kind of plant', Pali dukūla, dukāla, Prkr dugulla, dualla, duūla id. ¶¶ D #3285, Tu. #6389, M K II 48 ◇ The IE and T cognates provide ev. for N *t̥-, while Tg *d- suggests N *t-. The variation may be accounted for by some sort of as., dis., or a conditioned loss of tenseness in some A lgs. The rec. of N *-q̥- is valid only if the Sv cognate is acceptable. Otherwise the N rec. must be *toqa ~ *toqa ◇ T, M, Tg, and IE point to a N *o, while SD *u may be due to neutralization of the opposition *u ↔ *o in some environments in SD.

2411. *t^oʔū¹ga 'hide, skin' > K: pGZ *t̥gaw- id. > OG t̥gaw- 'leather, skin, hide', G t̥gav- id., 'fur (for a fur-coat)', Mg t̥geb- 'skin', t̥gabar- vt. 'skin', Lz t̥geb- ~ t̥eb- 'skin, hide' ¶ K 183, Abul. 414, Ser. 155, Q 330-1, Marr 190, DCh. 1229, Chx. 1373-4 || HS: Ch: [1] {Jl} Ch *✓d̥k 'skin': WCh: Bl {Ib.} d̥ší id. || CCh: Ms {J} d̥ígīnà, {Mch.} d̥ik 'skin', Zm {J} d̥igé 'skin (of humans)', ZmD {KNC} d̥igè, {Sa.} d̥íké ~ d̥iké, Lame {ChL} dikietú, LamP diketú 'skin' | [2] Ch {Jl} *✓tk (AD: maybe *✓t̥k ~ *✓tk) 'skin, body' > ECh: Mgm {J} túkkú, Jg {J} tok, Mu {J} tògò 'skin', {Lk.} tógò 'hide', Bdy {AIJ} tókò, Kjk taúwò 'skin' || WCh: Ywm {J} tak 'body' | Wrj {Sk.} t̥žáǎ, Cg {Sk.} čúkè, Kry {Sk.} tí, My {Sk.} túwàtú, Mbr {Sk.} t̥žwó, Jmb {Sk.} túwá 'body' | Ngz {Sch.} t̥kà 'body' (unless from Knr t̥ígè 'body') || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} t̥wə, {J} tú:nà, ZmB {J, Sa.} tú 'body' ¶ JI I 16, 152 and II 34-5, 296-7, AIJ 121, Blz. EChWL #74 || ? S *✓t̥k̥ > Ar ✓t̥q G 'être rempli' (outré) ¶ BK I 188, Hv. 55 || IE {E} *t̥wek- / *t̥wək- 'skin, hide' > OI t̥vak- id., t̥vacasya- 'in der Haut befindlich' | ? OPrs taka- 'shield' (← *'made of leather') (in takabarā adj. pl. 'carrying shields') || Gk σάκος 'shield', περιε-σασκής m. 'shield-bearing, Schildträger' (σ- < *t̥w-, -σσ- < *t̥w-) || Ht t̥uekka- 'body, person, self', Lc t̥ukedri- 'statue' ¶¶ WP I 747, P 1099, EI 522 (*t̥wek-s / *t̥wək-os 'skin'), M KI 537, M EI 684, Hinz 128, F II 672, Frd. HW 226, Frd. HW EH III 33, Ts. E III 401-5 || U: FU *to¹k̥∇ (or *-š-, *-w-) > ObU *t̥āy- 'skin, leather' > pVg *t̥āwá id. > Vg: T/SV/LL tawá, K/P/NV towá, Vg N (= Vg LL/Ss) towá id.; pOs *t̥āyta ({{Jl.} *t̥āyta) 'reindeer hide' > Os: Ty/Y tayta, D/K t̥āχat, Nz t̥āχta, Kz t̥āχti, O t̥āχti ¶ Ht. #618, KrT 983 || A: ?φ Tg *t̥ūki(-kta) 'skin, hide (from animal's head)' > Ew tiki-kta 'skin', Lm t̥ik3n 'hide (from animal's head)', Neg t̥ikta, Orc t̥ikta 'animal's hair', WrMc t̥uku 'fur-coat cover' ¶ STM II 178 || NaT *t̥_lūk ({{JAdB.} *t̥ūk) 'fur, body hair, down' > OT {Cl.} t̥ū / t̥uk- 'body hair', MU XIV {Rl.} t̥uk, Chg XV t̥uk ~ t̥üy, MQp XV t̥üg id., Tk t̥üy, Tk t̥üy 'down, hair, fur', VTt, Bsh t̥b̥k, Qzq, Qrg, ET t̥uk, Uz tuk 'hair, fur', Xk t̥uk, Yk t̥ū id., Tv дүг d̥üγ 'hair of the head, fur', Tf d̥ük 'hair, fur' ¶ ≈ Cl. 433, TL 197-8, ≈ Rs. W 503, Rl. III 1530, Ra. 177 ¶ ADb. (TL 197-8) explains the loss of -k in some lgs. as a reg. phonetic change. The Og forms suggest the expected *t̥¹-, while Tv and Tf point to an unexpected lax *t̥¹-; the solution of the problem has not yet been found (as far as I know) || S CNM 3 suggests to adduce

here M *toqum 'saddle fender made of felt\leather' (> WrM toqum, HIM τoχoμ id., Ord {Ms.} d_oxom 'chabraque sur laquelle se repose la selle', MM [ZhY] toqum 'feutre ou tapis qu'on met sous la selle immédiatement sur le poil', Mnr H {SM} t'ugun id.), but it is more plausible that this noun is derived from the M verb *toqu- 'put on\over' (> WrM toqu-, HIM τoχo- 'put on\over', MM [HI] toqu- {Ms.} v. 'saddle', {Lew.} v. 'harness, saddle', Mnr H {SM} t'ugu- v. 'saddle'). Only if the primary meaning of the M verb *toqu- was 'put on a saddle, saddle' (v.), then both *toqu- and *toqum may belong here ¶ MED 829-30, Ms. H 102, Lew. II 79, SM 428-9, Ms. O 149 ¶¶ S CNM 3 || D *tokk° ({ʒGS} *t-) 'skin, bark, rind' > Tm tokku, Tl tokka id., Ml tokku 'skin, peel' ||| d. *tokaṭ 'bark, peel' > Kn togaṭu, togaṭe, tōṭe 'bark, rind, peel, pod', Tm, Ml tōṭu 'shell of a fruit', Gnd tōtā 'outer skin of the mahua fruit', Gnd K toṭṭe v. 'peel' ||| ? d. *tuk(k)-al- 'skin, hide' > Ml tukal 'skin as of a fruit', Kn togal, toval 'skin, hide, leather, skin of fruit', Tu tugalə 'skin, bark, rind' ¶¶ D ##3544, 3559, Zv. 66, 90,120 ◇ The meaning 'body' (in Ht and WCh) is secondary (σε 'skin' → 'body') ◇ ≠ BmK 315 (an attempt to equate the K word with IE *(s)teg- v. 'cover' and S *ṭḡ-roots meaning 'dark, black'), AD NM #95.

2412. *ṭar ▽ 'ε vermin, noxious insects' > HS: SC {E} *tèr|d- 'cockroach' > Kz talangayo id., SC ↷ Mb téré id. ¶ ESC 170 || IE: NaIE *ter- '(ε) vermin, noxious insects' ({P} 'malmendes oder bohrendes Insekt') > L tarmes (gen. tarmitis) ~ termes 'wood-worm' ||| Clt (< *kon-trōno-): W cynrhon-yn (pl. cynrhon, {SB} cynrhawn) 'maggot, grub', Crn contronen 'maggot', {SB} 'bug (Cimex)', MBr controunenn, Br snglt. kontronenn / coll. kontron 'ver de viande'; Clt (*tōr-āko-) > W torogen ~ trogen (pl. trogod) 'tick', OBr {Flr.} toroc 'curculio, charançon', Br {Flr.} teureug, teurg 'tiques', {Hm.} teurk 'maladie de la peau des moutons' ||| ? Gk τερηδών 'wood-worm' (↷ L terēdo id.) (× ← √ τερ- 'bore', cp. τέρετρον 'a borer') ¶ P 1076, F II 879 (τερηδών ÷ τέρετρον 'a borer'), Ch. 1106, WH II 649, SB 123 (Clt *kon-trāno- ← *trā- v. 'bore'), YGM-1 149, 418, Flr. 317, Hm. 475, 787, ECCE 224 ||| A *°t'ara- > NaT *t'ara-kan 'cockroach' > ET تاراқан taraqan, VTt, MsTt, Bsh, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qmn/QK {B} taraqan, SbTt Tb {RI.} taraqan, Alt/Tlt {RI.} taraqqan, Tv t'araq'an id.; T ↷ OR ΤΑΡΑΚΑΝΉ ~ ΤΟΡΟΚΑΝΉ, R, Uk тара'кан,

Uk тор'ган, Blg тар'кан id. ¶ Rs. W 463, Nj. 271, TatR 517, Bu. I 721, TTDS 398-9, Rl. III 839, B DK 251, B DLT 202, BR 508, NogR 335, MM 333, KrkR 622, RKB 619, TvR 408, Vs. IV 20-1, Chn. II 228, Lok. 159 [#2027]; on the T sx. of nominal derivation *-kan see Rs. MTS 102, B OGOJ 247 ¶ In some of the T lgs. of the former USSR (but not in ET) the word taraqan may be a loan from R тара'кан (which is obvious for Qmq/Az tarakan and Yk tarakān with -k- for the expected -q-, -χ-, and -ϕ-), but in the final account the origin of the word is Turkic rather than Slavic (⇔ Bu., Lok., Vs., and Chn.) || D (in GnD) *ta₂ṛr° 'ant' > Png tār ~ dār, Mnd tār 'ant', Kui tāru 'small black ant', ? Gnd tārō 'the queen white ant' ¶ D #3166.

2413. *ṭaRṽ, *ṭaRṽ-Hṽgṽ, *ṭaRṽ-ṭṽ 'to drag, to pull' > HS: WS *√ṭrr ~ *√trr > Ar √ṭrr G 'enlever, emporter, arracher; pousser devant soi', Mh √trr (pf. t3r) 'drag, lead away' ¶ BK II 64, Jo. M 403 || Eg fP ḍr 'entfernen (vertreiben, wegnehmen)' (× N *derṛ¹i 'thrust back, drive away?') ¶ EG V 473-4 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2486 || K: [1] G {Chx.} ṭar-v. 'carry, bring, lead (führen)' ¶ Chx. 1325-8 || [2] a variant with a deglottalized cns.: K {K} *tr-, {K²} *ter-/*tr-, {FS} *tar-/*tr- v. 'drag, pull' > OG ter-, eNG {SSO} G ter-/tr-, Mg (n)t3r-/(n)tir-, Lz tir-, tor-, tur- id., Sv: tr-/tir- id., U/OB/Ln {TK, GP} li-trine 'to drag'; acc. to FS, the variant *tar- is attested in eNG Δ {SSO} ga-tar-va 'gewaltsam heraus-bringen\zerren', G Mx/Mt/P/Im/Aj {FS} sa-tar-i 'Gerät zum Herab-schleifen\zerren\schleppen das Heu von den Bergen' ¶¶ K 95, K² 68-9, FS K 143-4, FS E 156, TK 434, GP 154 || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *tr̥gh^h- (or *trag^h-) v. 'draw, pull' > L trah-ō, -ēre id. || ? OIr traigim v. 'ebb, run out' (× ← tráig 'rivage'), Nir tráighaim v. 'drain', W treio 'to ebb' || Sl *tǔrga-ti 'to pull, to draw' > OR ТРЪГАТИ 'vellere', SCr tr̥gati, Slv tr̥gati 'to tear\pull\pluck out', Uk торгати 'to pull, to tug, to tear', P targac id. (targac za włosy\suknią 'to pull [so.] by the hair\coat'), Cz (u)trhati 'to pick, to pluck', OCS НСТРЪГНѦТИ is-tr̥g-nq-ti 'ἐξαρπάζειν, to pull\tear\throw out, to extract', R рас-торг-нуть 'to dissolve\annul (agreement, marriage)' ¶ Mn. 1445, P 1089 (adduces many semantically remote forms and reconstructs IE *tr̥gh^h- / *tro(:)gh^h- / *tre(:)gh^h-), WH II 698-9, Vn. T 123 (traigim ← tráig), Ma. CS 535, Vs. IV 83, StSS 372, Glh. 638 || U: FU *^otarka- > Er 'targa- 'take out, draw\pull out', Mk targa- 'take out, pull' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-2 (*tarttṽ- 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben') ¶ Cf. FU *tarttṽ v. 'hold, seize' < N

***dar₁∇H₁∇** 'hold, hold fast, fasten' (q.v.) || **А:** NaT *t'art- v. 'pull, drag' > OT tart- id., Tk tart-, Az dart- v. 'pull', Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Yk tart-, ET ta(r)t- v. 'pull, drag', Uz tart-, Tv t'art-, Tf t'art'- v. 'pull, drag out' ¶ Cl. 534-5, Rs. W 265, Ra. 236 || ?ϕ M *tata- v. 'draw, pull, drag' > WrM tata-, HIM, Brt тата-, Kl tatъ- id. ◇ Rs. UAW 465 (U, A), BmK 297-8 (IE, K *tr- + a questionable D ideophone: Kn dara dara - noise of dragging anyth. on the ground, etc.).

2414. 2 *tæR∇ '≈ else, more, other' > **IE:** NaIE *-tero-, a sx. of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): *k^ωo-tero- ~ *k^ωu-tero- 'which of the two?' (> OI kata'raḥ, Av katāra-, Gk πότερος, Gt hvarar, L uter, Lt katrās id., Osc rútereí-píd 'in utroque', Um PODRUHPEI 'utroque', Sl *koterъ(-jъ) ~ *kotorъ(-jъ) ~ *kъterъ-jъ ~ *kъtorъ-jъ 'which one, which of them?' > OCS **КОТЕРЪ** koterъ ~ **КОТОРЪ** kotorъ, **КОТЕРЫН** koterыi ~ **КОТОРЫН** kotorыi, Blg 'котрый, -ра, -ро, Slv kotéri, Slk kot(e)rý, kotorý, R ко'торый, Ukr ко'торий, P który, Cz který), *i-tero- 'another' (> OI 'itarah id., L iterum 'for the second time'), *an-tero- 'the other of the two' (> OI 'antarah, Oss ändär, Gt anpar, ON annarr, OHG ander, AS ðper, Lt aňtras, Pru antars ~ anters 'other'), the sx. in L alter 'the other of the two', Osc alttram 'alteram', OCS **ВЪТОРЪ** vъtorъ, R вто'рой 'the second', the sx. of the cmpr. *-tero- (> OI ā'ma-tara-ḥ 'rawer', Gk ώμότερος id., παλαιότερος 'older') ¶ Brg. KVG 321, Hirt IG III 209-13 [§ 129], P 37, F II 586, WH I 32-5, 723-4, and II 845, Bc. G 342, Fs. 53, 283, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2, En. 142, Tr. P A-D 94-5, ESSJ XI 201-3 and XIII 247 || **А: [11] ?** Tg: Ewk -tar/-tær/-tor ð-, a verbal form of additional continuation ('more'): ηεηετær ðjam 'well, I shall come again' ('ну, еще приду'), haval-tar ðçā 'he went on working more' ('он еще поработал') (with the verb ð- 'werden') ¶ Vas. 791 | **[2]** Tg *tēri 'pair, both, one of the couple' > Ewk tērī 'pair', tērīn 'one of the pair', 'one opposed to the other of the pair', Lm tēri 'pair', tērīn 'pair, both', Neg tēyī id., Orc tēyī, Ud {Shn.} tiz, Ud Sm {Krm.} tē 'pair', Nn KU tērini 'in the same way (одинаково)' ¶ STM II 239, Krm. 294 || pJ {S} *tātær- 'compare, liken to' > OJ tātòp(a)-, J: T tatoé-, K tatóé-, Kg tātòè- ¶ S QJ #1475, Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2363 (A *t'ēra 'pair; to compare' > Tg *tēri, J) || ??? **HS:** One could consider the possibility of

tying in S: BHb בְּרֵךְ 't̥erɛm 'not yet, before', 'noch nicht', בְּרֵךְ t̥ərōm 'even before'. But there is a grammatical argument against this hyp.: the Hb word 't̥erɛm has some syntactical features of a noun, e.g. its usage with a prepositional prefix bə- 'in': bə't̥erɛm 'before'; in addition, this usage suggest a meaning 'early, before' as the original meaning of the word, that probably belongs to N *t̥orʔ∇ 'fresh, new' (q.v.) ¶ KB 363, KBR 379-80, HJ 430 (b t̥ r m 'before' in EpHb).

2415. ₂^* t̥era 'to heat, to roast, to fry' > A: Tg *t̥jar- vt. 'melt., roast' > Lm t̥ær-, Lm Al t̥lar-, Lm Sk t̥æ̆r- v. 'melt (fat, suet)', Neg t̥ēy- (< *t̥ēr-) v. 'melt (fat), fry', Orc t̥iru- v. 'fry, bake, heat', Ork ç̆lr̆u- v. 'cook fat', Nn ç̆lr̆o- v. 'melt fat, roast', WrMc ç̆ar̆u- v. 'fry' ¶ STM II 173 || D {tr.} *t̆er̆-, {θGS} *t̆ed̆- v. 'heat (intensely), scorch' (of fire, sun's heat) > Tm t̆er̆u v. 'burn, scorch', Nkr t̆irup 'sun's ray', Prj t̆ed- ~ t̆ed̆- v. 'be fierce' (of sun's heat), Knd t̆er̆- id., Gnd t̆er- id., tar̆ī̆t̆ā̆n̆ā v. 'be hot' (of sun), tar̆ī̆st̆ā̆n̆ā v. 'heat bread over a flame' ¶¶ D #3440, GS 63-4 [#194] ◇ Tg *j̆a < N *E...a (acc. to AD AVD, see above Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ But hardly here SC: Irq {E} ç̆ir̆ī̆ḥ- v. 'glow' (E SC 175) because of the initial cns. (see N *ç̆'ī̆' Lḥ∇ '[char]coal, soot').

2416. *t̆eR∇ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' > K: pGZ *t̆ĭr̆- > OG, G t̆e-/t̆i- v. 'contain' (OG romeli šemzlebul ars daṭewnad, daṭeien 'qui potest capere capiat' - Mt. 19:12), Mg (n)t̆i(r)- / t̆r-, Lz (n)t̆i(r)- ~ (n)t̆i(n)- / (n)t̆r- 'contain (вмещать)' ¶ K 180, Chik. 326, Q 328 ¶ The loss of *-r- in OG remains unexplained || U: FU *ter∇ 'have\find enough room for itself (Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen)' > Prm *t̆er- id. > Z t̆zr-, Vt t̆er̆- id. || OHg XVI t̆ér- 'Raum haben', Hg Δ t̆ér- 'Raum\Platz haben\finden, hineingehen', Hg t̆ér 'space, room' ¶ UEW 522, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *t̆ir̆ä-, Ugr *t̆ī̆r̆ä- 'fit'), MF 628-9, EWU 1505, LG 284 || A (?) *°°t̆'ĕ'R∇ > Tg: Lm Ol t̆zrĭx 'spacious, able to contain much' ¶ STM II 239 ◇ Cf. IS MS 333 s.v. вмещать *t̆ar̆ḥ (K, U + *÷ S *✓ʔt̆r [that in fact does not mean 'contain'])).

2417. *t̆or̆'ü̆' ~ *t̆or̆'yü̆' 'bring\come into existence (create, make, give birth, be born)' > IE: NaIE *t̆wer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay (a rope)' (× N *t̆ü̆ry∇ ~ *t̆uryE or *t̆ūr̆∇ ~ *t̆ur̆E 'row, line; to string', q.v.) > Gk σποός 'vessel for holding anything, cinerary urn', σαρῳάνη 'a plait, braid; basket', Gk I [Hs.] ταρῳάναι · πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'sth. twisted\bound together, fetters' ({LS} 'plaited work'), Gk ? τάρπη 'large wicker basket' (if there was dis. *t̆w...p > *t̆...p) || SI

*tvor-ítī 'to create, to make, to form' > OCS ТВОРИТИ tvoriti, R тво'рѣть, SCr tvòriti, Cz tvořiti, P tworzyć 'to create', Blg тво'ря v. 'create'; ChS ТВОРЪ tvorъ 'form', OR ТВОРЪ 'appearance, look, P twór, Uk твiр, Cz tvor 'creation, sth. created' ∴ Lt tvér̃ti / prs. tver̃iù, su-tvér̃ti / su-tver̃iù v. 'form, create', tvér̃imas n. act. 'forming, creating' (× tvér̃ti / tver̃iù 'seize, fence, enclose', tvér̃imas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing'), sutvér̃imas, {Krsch.} sutvér̃imas 'creating, creature', tver̃éjas, {Frn.} tver̃éjas 'Schöpfer, Gründer, Erbauer', tvér̃inỹs 'creature, creating' ¶ In Gk there is coalescence with *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in' < N *t̥u|ur̥i 'turn round, surround, enclose' (q.v.) ¶ P 1101 (reconstructs *twer- 'fassen, einfassen, einzäunen', does not distinguish the √ in question from *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in'), F II 677, 687, 856, LS 1758-9, Frn. 1152, Vs. III 33-4, Glh. 646-7, ≠ EI 564 (Sl < IE *twer- 'take, hold') || A *t'ör'ü' v. 'give birth to; be born, come into existence, be created' > NaT *t'örü- ~ *t'öre- id. > OT {Cl.} törü- v. 'come into existence, be created', Chg {Cl.} töre- ~ törü- v. 'come into existence, be born', OOsM {Cl.} dörü-, Tk tür̃e-, Az töre-, Tkm döre-, ET {Nj.} tör̃i- id., 'be born', tör̃äl- 'originate, come into existence', ET Δ {Jr.} tör̃el-, Cmn {Cl.} töre- 'be born', Tk Δ töre- 'meydana gelmek, çoğalmak' (v. 'come into being, multiply'), Qrg tör̃ö- 'give birth to', Tv t'örü- id., 'be born', Xk төр̃i- төр̃i-, Tf d̃ör̃ü- 'be born', Ln töyö-t- 'give birth to, create', Yk tör̃ö- 'be born', 'bring forth' (of animals) ¶ Cl. 533, Ra. 175, Rs. W 495, Nj. 313-4, Jr. 314, Pek. 2779-80, SDD 1393 || M *töre- v. 'be born; bear' > MM [MA] töre- v. 'be born', [IM] törü- v. 'bear', WrM tör̃ü- v. 'be born, come into being', HIM tör̃ö-, Kl tör-, Ord {Ms.} t'ör̃ö-, Dg {Pp.} t'ür- v. 'be born, bear', Mnr H {SM} t'uro- 'enfanter, accoucher, naître', MMgl {Iw.} tör̃e v. 'be born', Mgl {Rm.} tur̃ānā 'wird geboren', Δ {Lg.} tōrana v. 'be born' ¶ Pp. IM 49, Pp. MA 353, 448, T 367, KW 407, Rm. M 41, MED 836, SM 435, Iw. 139 ¶ S QJ #1679 ¶¶ KW 407, ≠ Cl. 533 (unc.: M ← T) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2436 (A *t'ōri 'be born, copulate', including T, M) || D *toṛ- ({ḡGS} *t-) v. 'work' > Tm toṛ̃il 'act, action, work', toṛ̃īi 'working woman', Ml toṛ̃il 'business, occupation', Kn tuṛ̃il 'work, servitude', toṛ̃tu 'servant' (esp. 'female servant'), Tu toṛ̃ilə 'trade, business', Tl tottu 'female servant' ¶¶ D #3524 || ??? HS: it is tempting to adduce here HS *√tr v. 'plait, sew' > Ch (× N ≈ *t'ar̃ṽṽṽ, ~ *t'ṽṽṽr̃ṽ 'to tie together?'):

WCh: Ron: Bks, DfB {J} tōr (hab. Bks twā̃r, DfB twā̃r) 'nähen, stechen, durchbohren' | Ngz {Sch.} t̃irmú v. 'plait three strands together to make rope' | Kry {Sk.} t̃r-, My {Sk.} t̃r- v. 'sew' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} t̃r v. 'plait', {Mch.} t̃er 'tordre', MfG -t̃rd- v. 'plait' ('tresser [cheveux, natte]'), Mf {BLB} t̃rd- 'tordre en spirale' ¶ JI II 288-9, ChC s.v. 'plait' and 'sew', J R 147, 222, Stl. ZCh 165 [#186] (WCh *t/ṭAr- v. 'sew, plait'), Mch. D 153, Brr. MG II 244, BLB 350, Sk. NB 39, Sch. DN 253 ¶ The words of Ron and CCh lgs. are valid cognates only if the original meaning is v. 'sew, plait' rather than v. 'twist' and v. 'pierce' || AdS of EC: Sa/Af {R} ✓ trtr pcv. 'sew' (probably < N ≈ *ṭ'arṽṽ, ~ *ṭ'ṽṽrṽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ OS #2406 ◇ IS MS 361 ροζδατ̃ t̃ur̃ (BSI, A) ◇ The contradiction between the T ev. (T *-r- suggesting N *r) and that of D (D *-r̃- suggests N *r̃) may be solved if we admit that the N vibrant was followed by *y (or by *-ü?) and that N *-ry- (or *-r- followed by *ü?) yields A *-r- and D *-r̃-. IE *we is a reg. reflex of N *o before *-u|ü.

2418. (₂?) *ṭURE 'start, set in motion, begin' > HS: C ✓ tr v. 'start' > Ag *ot̃er- v. 'begin, start' > Bln {R} t̃er y- 'sich auf den Weg machen; anfangen, beginnen', t̃er-s- 'beginnen, anfangen' || ??σ EC: Arr t̃ir- v. 'climb, ride' || SC {E} *tir- v. 'set in motion' > Kz tilim- id. || Dhl {To.} tirid-, {E} t̃irið-, {EEN} *t̃itið- v. 'move restlessly' ¶ E PC #75 (pC *tar-/tir- v. 'start up'), EEN 8, To. D 148, R WB 842, Hw. A 397, E SC 170 [#23] || ?μ CCh {ChL}: G'nd t̃rt̃k̃âñan, Gbn t̃rt̃k̃z̃ñz̃, Boka t̃rt̃k̃ag̃t̃n v. 'begin' || ?σ IE: NaIE *twer- v. 'move quickly, stir up' > OI 'tvaratē, tu'rati 'hurries', tu'ra 'rasch', Av θwāša- (< Iir *'tvarta-) 'eilig, rasch' || Gk ὀ-τρύ-ν-ω v. 'stir up, rouse' || Gmc (× N *ṭü|ur̃i 'turn round, surround, enclose' [q.v.]) Sw tvāra 'stir, agitate', AS ðweran id., 'churn', OHG dwëran 'stir up, mix', dwiril 'twirling-stick', ?? ON þyrja 'laufen, sausen' || NaIE *t(0)rū- (with mt.) ({Fick} < **turū-) (× N *ṭü|ur̃i '↑' [q.v.]): Gk τρῦνω ~ τρῦνάω 'stir up, about', τρῦνη 'stirrer, ladle for stirring things while boiling' || ?σL trua 'scoop, ladle' ¶ P 1100, EI 607 (*twer- 'stir, agitate'), M KI 514, 539, M E I 684-5, F II 440-1, Ho. 373, Kb. 178-9, OsS 121, EWA II 915-9, 925-6, Vr. 630, F II 914-5, WH II 708-9 || A: T *ṭ'ör̃i- > OT {Cl} t̃ör̃i- v. 'begin, start' ¶ Cl. 534 || ?σ M: WrM t̃uri- 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'drag, push forward'), t̃urigde- 'be pushed', HIM τ̃p̃ε-x 'drag, push forward' ¶ Gl. III 259, MED 855.

2418a. ***t̥ūr̥** 'hold' > IE: NaIE ***twer-/tur-** 'grip, hold' > Lt **tvérti** (1s prs. **tveriù**) 'seize, snatch, grab', Ltv **tvērt** (1s prs. **tverù**) 'seize, hold', Lt **turéti** (1s prs. **turiù**), Ltv **turēt** 'possess, own', Prs **turit** 'have, have to' || ? Sl ***za-tvorī-ti** 'to shut' (unless ***t̥** on the analogy of ***ot-vorī-ti** 'to open') > OCS **ЗАТВОРИТИ** **zatvoriti**, R **затворить**, SCr **zátvoriti**, Slv **zátvoriti**, Cz † **zátvořiti**, Slk **zátvárat'** 'to shut', Blg **затварям** 'I shut', Sl ***zatvorь** 'bolt (shutting a gate\door), seclusion' > OCS **ЗАТВОРЪ** **zatvorь**, R † **затвор**, SCr **zátvor**, Slv **zátvor**, Slk **zátvor**, P **zatwór** id., Blg **затвор** 'prison, gate' (× IE ***tworos** 'Einfassung' > N ***t̥ū|ur̥i** 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v.) || ?σ Gk **σειρά**, Gk I **σειρή**, Gk D **σηρά** 'cord, rope' (< ***twer-yā**) ¶ WP I 750-1, P 1101, Mn. 1466, Vs. II 82, BER I 612, Glh. 646, Frn. 1152, F II 687 (doubts about the origin of Gk **σειρά**) || | K: G Gr **ῥορ-ι** 'amount held in two hands ("double handful")' ¶ Gh. 515 || | HS: WS ***√try** (~ S ***√tryr**) > Ar **√tryr** G 'rassembler, réunir en un seul lieu', Gz **√try** Sh (pf. **ṣaṭraya**) 'possess, take possession', **ṭarīt** 'possessions', ??σ JEA {Lv.} **√try~√tryw** G 'give' (esp. **šeqal wə-ṭarā** 'negotiate', lit. 'take and give') (unless Sl.'s interpretation of the JEA verb as 'throw' is valid) ¶ BK II 64, L G 597-8, Lv. II 189-90, Sl. 517 || | A {DQA} ***t̥ūr̥re** 'hold, lift, take' > Tg ***tūrī-** > Ewk **tūrīn-**, Lm **tor-** 'hold back (удерживать, сдерживать)', Ewk Skh **turuw-** 'detain (prevent from running)', Orc **туру-** 'slow down (the draught-reindeer)', Ul **туруwən-**, Nn Nh **turū-** id., 'stop' (vt.) ¶ STM II 220 || pKo ***t̥r-** 'hold, lift' > MKo **t̥r-**, NKo **t̥l-** ¶ S QK #134, HMC 336, MLC 535 || pJ ***t̥r-** (or ***t̥ar-**) 'take' > OJ **t̥w̥r̥-**, J: T **tór-**, K, Kg **tòr-** ¶ S QJ #118, Mr. 771 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [#110] (A ***t̥ūr̥**), DQA #2445, Mr. KJ 233 (Ko, J) ◇ In Tg (and hence A) there is lengthening of the vw. in an originally open syllable (a reg. change).

2419. UA ₂ ***t̥ūr̥** 'hard roe' > U ***t̥ūr̥** > Sm {Jn.} ***tirāmā** ~ ***türämä**, {Hl.} **tireme** ~ ***türeme** 'hard roe' > Ne T **тиребя**, Ne F {Lh.} **τίράϊμμέε**, Ng {Cs.} **ṭirimi**, {Mik.} **čirimi**, En X {Cs.} **ṭirê**, En B {Cs.} **ṭirê**, {Ter.} **čirε**, **čiri**, Slq Tz {KKIH} **t̥r**, Slq Tm {KD} **tē're_b**, Kms {Cs.} **thürümä**, {KD} **t̥ür̥mε**, Koyb {Sp.} **турмэ**, Mt {Hl.} ***türmä** (Mt: T {Mll.} **türmjä**, M {Sp.} **турмэ**, {Mll.} **türmä**, K {Mll.} **dürmjä**) ¶ Jn. 163-4, Cs. 146, 264, KKI 189, Hl. MTKV 20, 94, Hl. M #1101 || | A ***t̥ūr̥i** 'hard roe' > M ***türi-sün** > WrM **türi-sün**, HIM **турс**, Kl {Rm.} **türsñ**, Brt **турьһэ(н)** id. ¶ KW 416, MED 855 || Tg ***ti|ure-kse** id.

> Ewk tirē-ksə ɖ tirēkšə ɖ tirēhə, Sln, Ul tursə, ? WrMc cerguwe ~ cerhuwe ¶ Vas. 415, STM II 189, Hr. 143, Z 930 ¶¶ KW 416, Pp. VG 112, DQA #2407 (A *t'juri ~ *t'joro 'fish-roe') ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. икра ʈurɔ, IS SS #1.17, Rm. l.c., Sauv. 68, AD NM #77, Vv. AEN 4 (adds WrMc turi 'peas', which is doubtful).

2420. *ʈehr ▽ 'clean, pure' > HS: WS *√ʈhr v. 'be clean\pure' > BHb √ʈhr (ip. -ʈhar) v. 'be clean', ʈā'hōr 'clean', √ʈhr D 'cleans, purify', Pun ʈhr 'pure', ʈhr t 'purity', JEA √ʈhr G v. 'be clean, cleared away', Ar √ʈhr G (pf. ʈahara, ip. -ʈhar-) v. 'be pure, clean', Gz √ʈhr G (js. -ʈhar) v. 'be pure', Tgr √ʈhr G v. 'be clean', Mh, Hrs, Jb √ʈhr v. G 'be ritually clean, pure', Mh ʈə'hayr, Hrs ʈə'her, Jb C/E ʈhir 'ritually clean, pure', Sq {L} ʈahir 'clean'; EthS ɔ→ Sa {R} ʈi'rā 'rein' ¶ KB 354, KBR 369-70, BK II 114, Hv. 440, LG 589, Jo. M 408, Jo. J 275, HJ 420, Js. 520 || D {Km.} *tēḡ- ({{GS}} *t-) v. 'be(come) clean\clear' > Tm tēḡu v. 'be made clear as water, be clarified, be accepted as true', Ml tēḡal 'clearness', Kt tē'r- v. 'become clear' (with subject nā'r 'country'), sc. v. 'dawn', tē'r-č- v. 'make (day) dawn', Kn tēḡa, tēḡe 'clearness, purity (as that of water, etc.)', Tu tēḡə 'pure, clear', OTl tēḡu, Tl tēḡu, tēru v. 'become clear or free from suspended matter', Gdb tēr-sap- v. 'clear (as a liquid)', Gnd tēr-s- v. 'filter' ¶¶ D #3471, Km. 392 [#614] || K (?) *tetr- 'white' > OG, G tetr-, ? Sv: UB {GP} twetne, {TK} twetwne ~ tetwne, LB {TK} tetne, L {TK, Dn.} twetwne, Ln {TK} twetwene 'white' ¶¶ K 91, TK 262, GP 106, Dn. s.v. ʈveḡvne || ?σ,φ IE: NaIE *o^hterb₁h₁- > pSl *terbi''-ti 'to clean, to stub' > ChS трѣбити trěbiti, Slv trěbiti id., OR терєбити terebiti, Blr цєребіць, P trzebić 'to grub up (a wood), to clear (a forest\wood) of trees', R Δ терєбить id., 'to clean', Uk терєбити 'to clean, to shell', SCr трєбити ɖ trijébiti 'to clean', Cz tříbíti 'to sift out, to winnow, to refine', Blg 'требя 'I clean, stub' ¶ P 1071, Mikl. E 354, Glh. 638, Vs. IV 45-6 || ?φ A: M *türčī- > WrM türči- {Kow.} 'nettoyer, essuyer, froter', HIM түрчи- v. 'clean, wipe, rub', Ord d₁ürč'ī- in arč'ixu d₁ürč'ī-xū 'wipe (essuyer)' ¶ MED 854, Kow. 1953, Ms. O 172 ¶ If this rather questionable cognate belongs here, the vw. *ü needs explaining.

2421. *ʈu|o₁w₁r'ú 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' > HS: S *o√ʈrr, *oʈurr- > Ar √ʈrr G 'pousser, germer, pulluler' (of plants, hair, beard, etc.), ʈurr- 'chevelure

longue et qu'on laisse pendre' ¶ BK II 64-5 || ??? C ***tūr-** > Ag ***duř-** 'thicket' → Gz **dūr** 'forest', **dōr** 'wilderness', Amh **dur** 'wood, forest', Tgy **dur** {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush', {Bsn.} 'bosco, selva' ¶ L G 141 (hyp.: Gz **dūr**, dor ← Amh **dur** < OEth **dabr** 'mountain'), YGE 691, Bsn. 760 || **K** {Fn.} ***tewr-** {AD} 'thicket; be dense' > G **tēvr-i** 'dichter, dunkler Wald', Sv {Ni.} **täwre-** 'get denser, thicken' ¶¶ Chx. 1334, Ni. s.v. **густѣть** || **IE:** NaIE ***tre(:)u-**, ***treus-** 'flourish, thrive, ripen' > Av **tuθruša** adj. 'zur Vollreife gelangen', prs. stem **θraoš-** 'zur Reife \ Vollkommenheit gelangen \ bringen' || OHG **triunit** (OHG Al t- for p-) 'excellet, pollet, floret', OHG **drowen** ~ **drouwen** = **trouuen** (< ***θraujan**) 'to grow up (pubescere)', MHG **ūf-gedrouwen** prtc. 'erwachsen', ON **þróast** (from ***θrōwōn**) 'wachsen, gedeihen', þroski 'Reife' ¶ WP I 754, P 1095, Brl. 655, Kb. 169, OsS 960, EWA II 806, Lx. 242, Vr. 623 || **A:** ?σ M ***torni-** > WrM **torni-** ~ **tarni-**, HIM **торни-**, Ord **t'orni-** v. 'grow, grow up' (of children and young animals), 'reach manhood', Brt **торни-** 'grow up, reach manhood' (of children), WrM **tornigun**, HIM **торниун** 'of tall stature, well grown, corpulent; healthy', Ord **t'orniūn** 'qui est devenu grand et gros pour son âge' (children, young animals) ¶ MED 827, Luv. 411, Chr. 431, Ms. O 671 || **D** ***tūr(-)** ({ǵGS} ***t-?**) 'bushes, bushy, thicket' (× N ***d'ūr** ▽ 'woods, bush[es]') > Tm **tūru** 'bushes, shruberry, thick underwood, low jungle', **tūr-** v. 'become bushy, sprouth forth', Kt **tūr** 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td **tūr / tu't-** 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd **tōru** 'thicket' ¶¶ D #3401 ◊ Fn. KD 342 [#98] (K, D).

2422. *tōx|qUry ▽ or *tUx|q' ▽ 'dirt; be dirty' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} ***dur-** v. 'be dirty' (× N ***'č'ur** ▽ 'to soil, to stain; dirty?') > Or {Grg., Sr.} **tūrī** 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} **tūrī** 'dirty', Or {Ss.} **tūr-**, {Grg.} **tūrāwā**, Arr **tūr-aw-** id., **tūrē** 'dirty thing', Sd, Hd **tūr-** v. 'be dirty' || Ag: ?? Bln {R} **dəraq^wa** 'clay' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, AD SF 56-7, E PC #76, Grg. 386, Sr. 396, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || B ***-gīr-** > Ah **edir** 'gros excrément', EWlm/Ty **eđer** 'human faeces', Tnsl **eđer** 'gros excrément (d'hommes, des quadrupèdes carnassiers)' ¶ Fc. 283, GhA 33, NZ 483 || ?? Ch: WCh: My {Sk.} **tírì**, Kry {Sk.} **túrkù** 'dirt' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} **tárwá**, Ll {Grgs.} **tírwé**, ? Kwn {J} **dórúwó** 'dust' ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 98 ¶ Acc. to the sound corrs. within Ch that are postulated in JI I xix-xxx, this Ch √ is easier to explain as belonging to N ***d'ūr₁?** ▽ 'dirt' || **K** ***tχwr-** > G **tχvr-** / **tχvar-** v. 'be dirty, make dirty' ¶ Chx. 509 || **A** {DQA} ***t'óre** 'soil,

dust' > T *t'ṓr 'dust' > OT {Cl., IS} tōz, XwT XIII tōz, MQp XIII dōz, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV toz, Tk toz, Tkm tōδ, Az, Ggz, Qrg toz id. ¶ Rs. W 492, Cl. 570-1, DTS 578-9, TL 99-100, S AJ 195 [#229], Hüs. 295, TkR 637, Tz. UIS 102, ADb. Ttd 59 || Tg *tūr ({ADb. Ttd} *tore) 'earth' > Ewk tur, Lm tō:r, Lm A1/B tūr, Lm M tuer, Neg tūy 'earth', Nn Nh turqa 'clod of earth', Nn KU turu nānu 'subterranean world' ¶ STM II 217-8, S AJ 209 [#33] || Ko *tā₁r- '(become) dirty' > MKo tā₁r-m- id.; MKo tā₁rā₁p-, NKo tā₁rā₁p- 'be dirty, filthy, soiled' ¶ S AJ 255 [#113], S QK #113, Nam 153, MLC 442 || pJ *tūtì 'earth' > OJ tūtì, J: T cúćí, K cúćì, Kg cú] ¶ S AJ 265 [#19], S QJ #19, Mr. 557 || ? ppM *toβ^urag > M *toϣurag 'earth, dust' (× N *t'a¹p₁∇₁ϣ∇ 'dirt, mud', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S AJ 91, 274 [#18], {SDM95} (A *t'òw∇¹∇ 'earth, dust, dirt') DQA #2444 (A *t'óře 'soil, dust') || D *tur- ({ϑGS} *t-) 'rubbish' (× N *tUr₁∇₁y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE {WH} *tēr-os / *ter-₁ā 'earth' > OIr tír 'earth, ground; land, country', Brtt {RE} *tīros 'earth' > OW, MW, W, OCm tír, Crn tūr, OBr, MBr tír 'earth', Br tír 'land, country' || OL tera, L terra 'earth', Osc teer¹úm¹, terúm 'terra, territorium', teras 'terrae'; any connection with IE *ters- 'dry' (mentioned by WH, EM, EI) may be secondary (folk et.) ¶ WH II 673-4, EM 687-8, Vn. T 74-5, RE 90, Flr. 314, Hm. 790, YGM-1 410, EI 170 ◇ M and D suggest the rec. N *tōx|qUry∇, but if the M and D cognates are rejected (as having alt. etymologies), the N rec. may be *tUx|qí∇. Some of the abovementioned words may result from a merger with N *tUr₁∇₁y∇ '↑'.

2423. *tor?∇ 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' > HS: WS *✓tr? > Ar țari?- 'recent, fresh', ✓tr? (pf. țaru?a, ip. ya-tru?-u) v. 'be fresh, juicy', Mh țε'ray? 'wet, damp, fresh', Hrs t3rī? 'fresh', Jb C/E 'țe'ri? 'fresh (food)'; with the loss of root-final *?: Ar ✓trw/y (pf. țaruwa ~ țariya) v. 'be quite fresh, freshly plucked', țarīy- 'fresh, recent', BHb *tā'rī (attested: f. הַרְיָאֵ תְּרִיָּא) , MHb רְיָאֵ תְּרִיָּא 'fresh', Ug țry 'fresh food', Sr țarrūn-ā 'recens', Gz țarāy 'raw, crude'; ? BHb םַרְיָא 'țεrem 'not yet', 'noch nicht' (← *'earlier', cp. EpHb bțrm 'before') ¶ HJ 430, KB 363, KBR 379, BDB #2961, A #1125, OLS 481, Fr. III 45, 54, BK II 65, 80, Ln. 1852, Hv. 428, 432, Br. 289, LG 598, Jo. M 411, Jo. J 279, Jo. H 130 || ? B *✓trr 'new' > Si {La.} a-trär (pl. trär-an, f. ta-trär-t), Skn {Sarn.} trīr (pl. trīr-ət), Nf {CM} a-trar (pl. ta-trar-ət), Awj {Par.} atrār (pl. trār-an) 'new' ¶ La. S 163, 266, Sarn.

22, Prd. 170 || **K**: OG *ṭarig-i* 'lamb' (Joh. 1.36), G *ṭarig-i* 'yearling lamb, sacrifice lamb' ¶ Ser. 153, Chx. 1329 || **IE**: NaIE **torno-* 'young man, young animal', **t^he¹ru-no-* 'young', **torm-/ *t^hrm-* id. (× NaIE **ter-*, **teru-* 'delicate, weak' < N **ṭar₁ṽ₁H^hū¹* 'delicate, thin', q.v.) > OI **taruṇa-* 'young, delicate, fresh', Av *tauruna-* 'young, boy', Oss I *tārən ~ tərən*, Oss D *tārna* 'boy'; OI *tarṇa-*, *tarṇaka-* 'calf, young animal' || Lt *tañnas* 'servant' (← *'young man') || Arm **թոռն** *t^hoṛn* (gen. **թոռնի** *t^hoṛin*) 'grandson', **թաքմ** *t^haṣm* 'young, fresh, green' || pAl {O} **trima* > Al *trim* 'grown man; brave\valorous man, hero', † 'warrior' || Gt **παριης** (= ἄγρᾰφος) 'ungewalkt, neu (vom Tuch)' (P: ← 'fresh') ¶ M E I 632, M K I 483-6, P 1070-1, Ab. III 280, Frn. 1060-1, O 464, Sl. 304-5, Fs. 490, ≠ EI 490 || **U**: FU (att. in BF) **tōre* 'fresh, raw' > F *tuore[?]* 'fresh', Es *toores* 'raw, crude; unripe, green', Lv *tuḡr̥z* 'green, raw' ¶ SK 1409-10, Kt. 441 || **A** {DQA} **t^hōr^hṽ* 'young animal, child' > T [1] NaT **t^ho₁ru₁* 'young', *t^ho₁ru₁* 'calf' > Tk Δ {SDD} *toru* 'young' (of a man, tree), Slr *tor₁* 'foal', Chg {Rl.} *tor* 'calf'] [2] NaT **t^hōrum* 'young camel' > OT *torum* id., MT [IM] *torum* 'suckling young camel', Tk *torun* '2-year-old camel', Tk Δ {SDD} *torum* 'young camel', Tkm *tōrum*, Tv *d_orum* 'camel in its 2nd year'; T ⇨ M: WrM *torum*, HIM **тором** 'young camel in its 2nd year', WrO {Krg.} *torōm*, *torom*, Kl {KRS} *torām* 'a two-year-old camel'] [3] NaT **t^ho₁ru₁n* 'grandchild' > Osm {Rh.}, Tk *torun*, Kr *torun ~ torin* 'grandchild', VTt *turun* 'great-great-grandchild'] [4] NaT **t^ho₁ru₁rpak* 'calf in its 2nd year' > Chg [MA] *torpaq* {Pp.} 'three-year-old calf', {Shch.} *t_o* 'calf in its 2nd year', Qzq *torpaq* 'yearling calf', Qrg *torpoq*, StAlt *torboq*, Xk *torbaχ* 'calf in its 2nd year', ET *to(r)paq* 'heifer in its 2nd year'; ds. (?): Brb *torboϕiš* 'big calf', Yk *torbos* 'calf', ? Qrg *toropoy* 'young pig'] [5] NaT **t^ho₁ru₁ray* 'child, young pig' > Qmq *toray* 'child', Tf *t^hōray* 'yearling bear', and possibly Qrg *toray* 'young wild pig', Qzq, Qq, Nog *toray* 'young pig' (Qzq/Qq/Nog/Qrg *toray* are likely to be influenced by or borrowed from M) ¶ SDD III 1345-6, Cl. 549, DTS 578, IS AD 42 [#29], Rs. W 491, Shch. Zh 102, 106-7, 125-6, Rl. III 1179-80, 1183, 1189-90, Rh. 607, TvR 174, Pp. MA 126, BT 154, BIG 233, KRPS 539, MM 350, KrkR 649, NogR 358, Tn. SJ 517, Pek. 2736, Ra. 235, MED 827, Krg. 509, KRS 508 || M **toruyi* 'young pig' > WrM *torui* 'suckling pig', HIM **торой** id., 'young yak', Oyr, Brt *toroy* 'young pig', Kl {Rm.} *torä* 'young wild pig' ¶ KW 401, MED 827, Ra. 235 || ?σ NrTg **toro-kīū* 'boar' > Ewk

Urm/Ucr/Z *torokī*, Neg *torokī*; Tg \rightarrow Yk {Pek.} *toroku* ~ *toroxu* 'boar'. An alt. possibility is that the source lge. is Yk \rightarrow Ewk, Neg, but this is less plausible for two reasons: [1] Neg and Ewk Urm are spoken in regions outside any contact with Yk (namely, on the Middle and Low Amur and on the Amgun), while Yk has a strong Tg substratum, [2] Ewk, Neg *torokī* ~ *-kī* are explainable within Tg as ds. with the sx. of animal names *-kī* (Ewk *tuksakī*, Neg *toksakī* 'hare') ¶ Vas. 761, Pek. 2741 ¶¶ Shch. Zh 125-6, Pek. 2741 ¶¶ DQA #2446 (A *t'ór∇ 'young animal') ¶¶ The pA vw. length with an acute (> vw. length in T and shortness of the vw. in Tg) goes back to a compensatory lengthening caused by an additional element after the vw. or the following cns. within the N word || D **tar*- child' > Kn *taruvāli* 'boy, girl', *tarāle* 'girl'; the D word may have been influenced by OI *taruṇa* 'young, fresh, tender' ¶ cp. D #2817; F also M KI 483 ◇ D **a* still needs explaining ◇ The length of the vw. in T and FU is explained by complementary lengthening connected with the loss of N **ʔ*. It is possible that the pN reconstructions **tar₁∇₁H^rū¹* 'delicate, thin' and **tor^ʔ∇* 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' represent the same pN etymon (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ Blz. SNE I 243 [#10] (equates S and FU with IE **ter*-).

2424. **tor^r∇h^a* 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE **terx*-/**trex*- (= **trex_h*- with an *a*-coloured lr.) v. 'pass over, cross' > NaIE **terā*-/**trā*- > OI *tarati*, *tirati* 'crosses\passes over, overcomes, surpasses' (pp. *tīr'naḥ*, *tūr'taḥ*), Av *tar*-, *taurv*- 'overcome', OPrs *viy-a-tarayam* 'ich überquerte', Blc *tarag* 'umwenden', KhS *bi-tar*- v. 'cross' || L *trāns* 'through' (originally an active prtc. of the verb **trā*- v. 'cross, pass over', cp. *in-trā*- 'enter'), Um TRAF, TRAHAF, *tra* 'through', TRAHVORFI 'transverse_' || ? OHG *derh* 'pertusus, perforated' (× N **tūrHä* 'to bore, to drill'); AnIE: Ht *tarh*-, *tarhu*- 'siegen, mächtig sein, können', (with the pc. *-za*) 'besiegen, bezwingen, überwinden' | [2] NaIE **ter₁a₁*- 'hindurch, über ... weg' > OI {MW} *tirah* adv. 'across, beyond, over', Av *tarā*, *tarō* adv. 'seitwärts', OI *tiras* prep. 'through', Av *tarō* id., OPrs *ta₁ra₁*, Phl *tar* 'across, through' || OIr *tar* 'über ... hinaus', W *trim-uceint* '30' ('a decade over 20'); NaIE {P} **trej* > OIr (a proclitic with phonetic shortening) *tri*, *tre*, OW *trui*, MW *trwy*, *drwy*, OBr *trei*, *tre*, MBr, Br, Crn *dre* 'through', W *tra* 'extremely, very, over' ¶¶ But IE **term*- 'boundary-mark, end' (> Gk *τέρμα*, *-ατος* 'end, boundary', L *termin*,

termō [gen. termōnis], terminus 'boundary-mark, limit, boundary' || MHG drum 'Endstück, Ende', Ht tarma- 'Nagel, Pflock, Stift', Lw {Lar.} tarmi- 'clou') is unlikely to belong here, as suggested by the absence of the lr. (present in IE *terx- > Ht tarh-) ¶ P 1074-6, EI 229 (*terh₂- 'bring across, overcome'), Hamp AIEW 150, M KI 480, 503, M EI 629-32, 646-7, Bai. 128, 282, MW 447, WH II 671-2, 700, Bc. G 349, Vn. T 28-9, YGM-1 412, 420, Flr. 319, Fs. 488, Kb. 151, OsS 100, 119, EWA II 604-5, 879-82, Lx. 33, Ho. 364, Ho. S 79, Frd. HW 213, Ts. E III 157-70, 185-9 || ?σ amb K *oṭar- > G {Chx.} ṭar- 'etwas durchführen', v-i-ṭar-eb (ft. ga-v-i-ṭar-e) 'sich mit etw. durchbohren', ga-ṭar- 'carry \ lead \ transport through (some place)' ¶ Chx. 1327-8, DCh. 272, 1215 ¶ The G √ (if a valid cognate) is likely to go back to a coalescence of several ancient roots, whence the other meanings of ṭar-: 'führen, bringen, tragen' (× N *ṭaR√ 'to drag, to pull'), 'fahren, reiten' || U: FV *tora(-ks√) 'across (quer)' > pLp {Lr.} *tōrēs id., 'transversal (querliegend)' > Lp: N {N} doares, S {Hs.} doāres, L {LO} tārēs, Kld {SaR} τυαρες tūēreš 'across' ('querüber') || pMr {Ker.} *tūr-ks > Er troks, turks, Mk torks 'through, across' || Chr: L τορεω to'reš, H {Ep.} τορᾶω 'across', H {Rm.} 'to'reš 'die Breite; quer über' ¶ UEW 799, Lr. #1281, Lgc. #7973, Hs. 445, SaR 363, Ker. II 171, Rm. BT 148, MRS 582, Ü 207, Ep. 119 || D *tūr- ({GS} *t-) v. 'enter, penetrate (a hole)' (× N *duri 'go, walk'??) > Tm NA tūr v. 'enter', Kn tūrū v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl tūrū ~ dūrū to enter, penetrate', Gnd turrv- v. 'thrust into', dorrānā v. 'penetrate', Ku dūh- v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx turd- v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt tuθr-kaṭe v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' ¶¶ D #3399(a) || HS: AdS of Dhl {EEN} ṭār- v. 'pierce, spear' (< N *tūR√ or *tuRE 'pierce') ¶ E SC 169 [#7], EEN 8 ◇ IS MS 357 (*turα 'протыкать'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D) ◇ The N lrs.\uvulars yielding Ht h are *h, *χ, *γ, *g, and *q. If both the K and the Ht cognates are valid, the only possible N lr. is *h (that yields zero in K), and subsequently D *-r- (the reg. reflex of the N intervocalic *-r-) points to the presence of a N vw. after *-r- ◇ Cf. also N *ṭURK√ 'pierce through; through' (any etymological connection?) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #124 (*teru 'edge') (IE {WP, P} *ter-mḡ 'Grenzpfaht' [obviously derived

from *ter- 'hinübergelangen', cf. P 1074-5] ÷ err. FU *terä 'cutting edge' and A *t'erpō 'big cutting instrument' ÷ J and Gil).

2425. *tar^riH^r∇ 'open, bald' > **U:** FU *tar∇(-) 'open' ('öffnen, offen') > Chr: H tara-ṣ̌ {Ep.} vt. 'move apart', {Rm.} taraṣ̌ 'ausbreiten, auseinander sperren', {MRS} 'tara-ṣ̌ id., vt. 'to separate, to move away', L το'ραш id., το'ρα 'far away', 'far' adj., E {Ps.} tora 'weit, fern' || Prm *tar- > Z Le {SZ} taral- 'open wide (one's eyes), stare' || Hg † tár 'open', tár- v. 'open' ¶ UEW 510, SZ 365, LG 278, MF 614-5, MRS 563, 581-2, Ep. 115, Rm. BTS 142, PsS 143 || **A** *t'ar^r∇ 'bald', 'not covered with vegetation' > T *t'ar^r- 'bald', 'not covered with hair\vegetation' > OT taz ({Cl.} tāz) 'bald', Chg, MQp taz, OOSm XIV daz id., Tk daz 'bald, balding', 'not covered with vegetation' (land), 'arid argillaceous land without vegetation (такыр)', Az daz, Kr taz, StAlt, Xk tas 'bald, balding; bald spot', Tv t'as 'bald, balding, not covered with vegetation', {TvR} дазыр d_azyr, {IS} d_āzır 'land without vegetation, VTt, Nog, Qq, ET taz, Bsh taδ, Uz tuz 'tetter, scabby', Qzq id., 'bald', Slr taz 'bald-headed man'; T ⇨ Kl {Rm.} tar 'glatzig, kahl, schlecht behaart' ¶ IS AD 41 [#5], Cl. 570 ¶¶ IS AD 50, Rs. W 467, TL 671-2, TrR 212, TvR 143, 408, HüS. 95, BT 144, BIG 220, TatR 508, MM 327, Nj. 274, UzR 440, Tn. SJ 506, KW 380, ADb. Ttd 58 [#1] (assumes that there may be a neutralization of *t' ↔ *t̄ in *C^rz-roots) || **M** *taraqay 'bald' > MM [HI] {Lew.} taraḫaj, {Ms.} taraqaj 'bald', [IM] {Pp.} tarḫaj 'balding, bald', [MA] {Pp.} taraḫaj 'tetter, scab', WrM {Kow., Gl.} taraqai 'galeux, mangy (шелудивый)'; M ⇨ Yk taraḫay 'bald, balding' ⇨ Ewk taraḫay id. ¶ KW 380, Lew. II 77, Ms. H 99, Pp. MA 341, 447, Kow. 1663, Gl. III 75, STM II 164 || pKo {S} *t^raj- > NKo tā-məri 'a bald head' ¶ S QK #848, MLC 426 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2352 (A *t'érō 'bald', including T, M, Ko) || **D** (in SD) *tar^r- ({ǾGS} *t-) 'bald' > Tm taraj v. 'be(come) bald', Kt tarv- '(head) becomes bald', Td tar^r- v. 'become bald', tar^r maḏ 'bald head', Kn taraḫa, taraḫa, taraḫu 'baldness; bald'; D ⇨ Mrt tarḫē 'baldness' ¶ D #3145 ◇ D *-r- points to a N intervoc. *-r-. T *-r- is probably from *-ry- < N *-riH- ◇ IS MS 347 лысый tar^r, IS SS 318 [#1.19] (A [T, M], D), ≠ BmK 298-300 (an unc. attempt to equate FU tara- v. 'open' with roots of other lgs., such as IE *st^rer- v. 'spread', S ✓ wtr v. 'stretch', Tm tārr- v. 'winnow', M tara-, and Sum tar v. 'disperse'; cp. N *tar^rX∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter').

2426. *tar^r∇₁H^rŪ^r 'delicate, thin' > **IE:** NaIE *ter-, *teru- 'delicate, weak' > Gk τέρην 'smooth, soft, delicate', Gk [Hs.] τέρυ · ἀσθενές, λεπτόν

{F} 'zart, schwach') || Sbn *terenum* ntr. 'soft' and possibly L *tener* 'tender, delicate, soft' (mt. induced by *tenuis* 'thin?') ¶ P 1070-1, F II 879, 883, WH II 665, Pln. II 80, 593, 724, ≠ EI 490 || A: NaT *t_lār 'narrow (eng, schmal)' (< 'thin') > OT {CL} tār 'narrow, constricted, confined', Tk dar, Tkm dār, Δ tār 'narrow', Az, Ggz, XT dar, ET ta(r), Uz топ тар, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tar, Yk tār, tuōr, Xlj {DT} tār, Tv t'ar, Tf d_lar 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ IS AD 41 [#13], Cl. 528, Rs. W 463, Rl. III 835-6, Ra. 169, DT 197, ADb. Ttd 61 || D *tār_l- ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'be thin\lean' > Ml tār_luka v. 'become thin, droop', Kt targ ar- v. 'become lean' (ar- v. is 'happen'), Td tō'x- v. 'become lean\slender', Kn {Km.} tār_lu v. 'wither, become emaciated', Tu targodæ 'leanness', ? taruṅṅ_l v. 'shriveled', OTl {Km.} tār_lu v. 'diminish, be reduced', Tl {BE} tār_lu ~ tār_lu v. 'fall away in flesh, become lean' ¶¶ D #3192, Km. 388 [#592] ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of some additional element in the N word. It was most probably a lr. The loss of the lr. in the NaIE cognate is due to its prevocalic position. D *-r_l- (from the N intervoc. *-r-) points to a vw. between N *r and *H. It is quite possible that the N words *tor_l∇ 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' and *tar_l∇,H'û' are etymologically connected (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ Blz. SNE 243 [#10] (equates IE *ter- with the S and FU representatives of N *tor_l∇ '↑'), ≠ BmK 280 (IE *ter-, Eg {Budge} *tr v. 'be weak' [actually tr 'sth. bad, polluted' and try.t 'Schlechtes, Böses', F EG V 317]).

2427. ₂ *tûrHä 'to bore, to drill' > IE *terH- / *treH- id. > NaIE *terā- / *trē- id. > Gk τίτρημι, τιτράω, τετραίνω 'bore through, perforate', ft. τρήσω; τρητός 'perforated, with a hole in it', τρήμα 'hole', τερέω (aor. ἔτορε) 'bore through, pierce', τόρμος 'hole' ||| +exts.: [1] *truH-p- > Gk τρῦπάω 'bore, pierce through', τρύπη 'hole'; [2] ? pGmc *θr-el- > MLG, MHG, NHG drillen 'bohren' ¶ P 1071-4, F II 885, 937, EWA II 604-5, KM 143 || D: *tura ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'bore, drill' > Tm tura v. 'tunnel, bore', turuvu v. 'bore, drill', Kn turi, turuvu v. 'hollow, bore, drill', Tu turipini, turipuni, turupuni v. 'bore, perforate', Kui trupka (< *truk-p-) v. 'bore, pierce', Krx tūr- v. 'pierce through, perforate' ¶¶ D #3339 ◇ In the light of the D cognate it can be supposed that IE *terH- goes back probably to pre-IE **teyrH- (see Introduction, 2.4, AD NGIE, and AD NVIE). IE *truH-p- is likely to go back to pre-IE **turH-p- (mt.) ◇ Qu., because it is hard to be

distinguished from para- and homonymic words or roots with rather similar meanings (such as N ***tūr** or ***ture** 'pierce'). An alt. tentative comparison: OHG *derh* (< IE ***t₁rk̑**?) ÷ S: Ar *ṭarq* 'coup', *ṭrḡ* *G* 'frapper' (BK II 75-7).

2427a. *ṭôr 'long, large, far' > HS **S**: ***ṭrḡ** > Ar *ṭaraḥ*- 'remote place, lieu éloigné', adj. *ṭaraḥ*- 'éloigné', *ṭirḥ*- 'endroit éloigné', *miṭraḥ*- 'long' (of a spear, bois de la lance) ¶ BK II 67-8, Hv. 428-9 || LEC {Bl} ***ḍer**- ~ ***ḍēr**- 'long, tall' > Af *ḍer*-, Sml *ḍēr*, Or *ḍēr-aʔ*, Kns, Gdl *ḍer*-, Rn *ḍêr*, Arr *ḍēr-á* (f. *ḍēr-í*) id., Kns *ḍēr-a* 'tall person', Sml. *ḍer-ād*- 'become long\tall', *ḍēr-er*- 'length', Elm *ḍēr-iḍa*, Dsn *ḍer* 'long, tall, deep' ¶ Bl. 109, 314, To. DL 494, PG 93, Hw. A 354 || **A**: M ***turug** > MM [S] {H} *turuḥ* 'far', W_rM *turuḡ*, HIM *тырар* 'size, breadth, height', 'big, huge' (of animals) ¶ H 155, MED 844 || T {Cl} ****ṭur**- ÷ [1] T ***ṭurk** 'the length (of sth.)' > OT {Cl} *turq* id., Qz *tūrqi* 'length', Qrg *turq* 'length (of sth.)', Tv *d₁urgu* 'the whole' (of time) (e.g. *ertem d₁urgu* 'the whole evening'), Tf *d₁urhu* 'the whole' (of time), 'distance (equal to ...)', Chv *тырѣх* 'environs, along', 'piece of linen at full length (холст во всю длину)' | [2] Tv *d₁urt* 'length' ¶ Cl. 537, Ra. 176, Jud. 769, TvR 184 || **D** ***tōra** > Kn *tōra* 'bigness, largeness', *tōritu* 'that which is big', *tōriḍa* 'a big man', Tl *tōramu* 'thick, stout, large', Tu *tōra* id.; stoutness, thickness', Kui *trōʔa* v. 'grow in body' ¶¶ D #3557.

2428. *ṭar₁yī 'to rub' > HS: **S** ***ṭrr** ~ (?) ***ṭry** > Ar *ṭrr* vt. *G* 'whet (a knife)'; ? Ak *ṭerû* 'einreiben, massieren; tief eindringen'; this Ak verb belongs here only if the primary meaning is 'rub in' rather than 'tief eindringen' ¶ Sd. 1388, BK II 64, Hv. 428 || **IE**: NaIE ***teri**-/***trej**- ~ ***ter**- v. 'rub' > Gk *τέρω* v. 'rub hard', *τρέβω* v. 'rub' || L *terō*, -*ēre* (pfc. *trīvi*, sup. *trītum*) 'rub, wear away' || Clt: Brt {RE} ***terāwīmi** 'rub' > OBr *toreusit* (3s p. of **toray* 'to rub'), Br *taravat* 'to rub (trotter)', ?σ MW *tereu* (3s *tery*), W *taro* 'to hit' || Sl ***ter-ti** / 1s prs. ***тыr-q** v. 'rub' > ChS **ТРѢТИ** *trě-ti* / **тырѣ** *тыr-q*, R *те'реть* / *тры*, P *trzeć* / *trę*, OCz *třieti*, Cz *tříti* / *tru* ~ *třu*, SCr *třiti* / *trēm* ~ *tārēm* id. | Lt *trinti* / *trinū*, Ltv *trīt* / *trinū* ~ *triņū* v. 'rub' || NaIE ***treu₁H₁**- 'rub' > Gk *τρώω* 'rub out, wear out' || ChS {Mikl., Srz.} **ТРЫТИ** *triti* 'τρέβειν, to rub' ¶ P 1071-2 (does not distinguish this *ṭ* from IE ***terə**- v. 'bour, drill' < N ***ṭūrHä** 'to bore, to drill'), EI 490 (***ter(i)**- 'rub, turn', ***treu(H)**- 'rub away, wear away'), F II 865, WH II 472-3, RE 124, Frn. 1124-5, Vs. IV 47, Glh.

641, Mikl. L 1008, Srz. III 1015 || **A** *t'ar∇- v. 'scratch' > T *t_l'ara- v. 'comb, rake' > OT {Cl.} tara- v. 'comb (the hair, etc.)', Osm {Rh.} طرامق tara-(maq) v. 'comb, hackle, rake, harrow', Tk tara- vt. 'comb, hackle, card, rake', Ggz, Qrg, QK tara-, Az, XT dara- v. 'comb, rake', Tkm dara-, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qq tara-, Tv, Tf {ADb.} d_lira-, Chv L тура- tura- v. 'comb, hackle', Qzq, Kr, StAlt, Uz, Xk tara-, Slr X {Tn.} t'arā-, ET tari-, Yk tarā- v. 'comb', Slr Ul t'arI- vt. 'rake (убирать граблями)'; ⇨ *t_l'argak 'a comb, a hackle' (Cl.: ← 'constantly combing') > OT/MQp {Cl.} taraq, Chg {Cl.} taraϣ ~ taraq, MT XIV [IM] taraq ~ daraq, OXwT tarϣaq, ET tarϣaq ~ taϣaq, StAlt taraq, Yk tarāχ 'a comb', Osm {Rh.} طراق taraq 'a comb, a rake, a hackle', Tk tarak 'a comb, a rake', Ggz tarak, Az дарарг darag, Tkm daraq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, QK taraq, Kr taraq ɘ tarax ɘ tarak, Chv L тура tura 'a comb, a hackle', Qmq taraq id., 'harrow', ?σ Az Nx tarax, Slr A t'arax 'wooden comb', Qzq taraq, Qmn taraq ~ daraq, Uz taroq, Xk tarϣax, Tv, Tf d_lirϣaq 'a comb', Qrg taraq 'weitzähniger Kamm', at taraq 'horse-comb', Yk tarāχ n. 'comb, harrow'; (× T *t'irmaq 'harrow'): ET tarmaq n. 'harrow' (× tarmaq 'twig'), Xk tarbas-ta- v. 'harrow; rake (hay)' ¶ The vw. *-I- in Tv and Tf is due to the infl. of the reflexes of T *tirṇaq 'fingernail, claw' (> Tv, Tf d_lirϣaq id.) ¶ In some lgs. there may have been mutual infl. of this root and pT *t_l'ara- v. 'seed, till (the soil)' ¶ IS AD 41 [#19], Cl. 532, 539, TL 465-8, Rl. III 837, Rh. 1235, TrR 827-8, GRM 459, Hüs. 98, AzDDL 372, TkR 246, Tn. SJ 502, Ra. 179, TvR 194-5, TatR 517-8, BR 507-8, KumRS 305, KRPS 514, MM 333, NogR 335, Jud. 706, BT 122, B DLT 202, B DK 251, UzR 407-9, BIG 218, Nj. 273-4, 278, Pek. 2564-8, Jeg. 259, Fed. II 250-1, ADb. Ttd 63 [#19] (believes that t- in Tk tara- is due to the infl. of tarak and reconstructs the verb as *t'ara-) || M *tarmu- d. v. 'rake, (←) to scratch' > WrM tarmu- {Kow.} 'entasser le foin en râtelant', {MED} v. 'rake (as hay)', HIM, Brt тарма- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} tarm_a- 'kratzen, zusammenraffen' ¶ MED 781, KW 381, Gl. III 87, Chr. 415, Kow. 1681 || **D**: [1] D *tar- ({ṬGS} *t-) v. 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, (→) churn (as buttermilk)' > OTI tar(υ)cu, traccu 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, churn', Tl tari- adj. 'pertaining to churning', Prj terib-/ terit- v. 'churn' ¶¶ D #3095, Km. 378 [#541] | [2] (in SD) *taṛ- ({ṬGS} *t-) v. 'rub, abrade, wear away' > Ml taṛayuka, Kn tale v. 'be worn out, rubbed (as a rope)', Ml taṛekka v. 'rub down, grind (as sandal)', Tu

tarepuni v. 'grind, rub', tareyuni, tarevuni v. 'be rubbed off, abrade, wear away', Δ taļepuṅa v. 'rub' ¶ D #3114 ¶¶ The origin of *-r̥- of the latter D √ and the relation between both D roots are still to be investigated. It may be supposed that here D *-r̥- goes back to ** -ry- < N *-r₁∇₁y-, while in another (accentual?) context N *-r₁∇₁y- gave rise to D *-r- ◇ IS MS 368 (*ṭar̥ 'rub' > IE, A [M, T], D, S) → BmK 279 (IE, D + *÷ Sum tar v. 'be distressed, troubled') and 300 (D- A).

2429. *ṭir₁y₁∇ 'to turn, to bend, to twist' (trans.) > HS: B *√ḍrn (× N *ṭū|ur̥i 'to turn round, to surround, to enclose') > Ah, ETwl, Ty aḍran '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre', Fgg ḍran 'renverser', Gd eḍran id. 'retourner', Wrg aḍran 'retourner, se retourner sens dessus dessous; virer, renverser, Mz aḍran '(se) tourner, changer de direction', Izd mḍarḡa 'se retourner' ¶ Fc. 285, GhA 33, Lf. II #O357, Dlh. Ou 67, Dlh. M 41, NZ 487-9 || ?σ S: Ar √ṭryn (pf. ṭaryana) 'être mêlé, brouillé, être en confusion; être troublé' ¶ BK II 80 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} terir- 'sich drehen' || ? ECh (partially × N *ṭū|ur̥i '↑'): EDng {Fd.} tūr̥kū 'palissade en paille tressée (entourant l'enclos familial)', Jg {J} tork 'Zaun' / pl. torage (≡σ: R плетень 'wattle-fence' ← плести 'plait, wattle'), Mgm {JA} tórókó 'clôture de la case', as well as possibly Bdy {AIJ} tīrpò (pl. tīráp) 'e palissade' and Mgm {JA} tīrpò (pl. térrèppi) 'clôture, haie' ¶ J J 117, J LM 188, JA 130, Fd. 172, AIJ 120 || K: G {Chx.} ṭrial- 'sich (im Kreis) drehen', ṭrial-i 'Drehung, Umdrehung' ¶ Chx. 1362-6, DCh. 1226 || IE *ter-, *ter-k^ω- 'turn (round)': [1] NaIE *ter- > Gk κυκλο-τερής 'made round by turning', τόρνος 'carpenter's tool for drawing a circle' (↳ L tornus id. ↔ L tornā- 'turn in a lathe, make round' > LtL tornā- v. 'turn') || L teres, -etis 'rounded, well-turned, {WH} 'länglichrund, glattrund' (× IE *ter- 'reiben' through the semantic interpretation of the word as 'glattgerieben'? - F P 1071) || OSx thrāian, OHG drāen, NHG drehen, MDt draeyen, Dt draaien 'to turn, to rotate', AS ḍrāwan 'to twist' || Clt: W, Cn, Br tro n. 'turn', ↔ : W troi, OBr tro(u)-im, MBr treiff, troeiff, Br treiriñ 'to turn' || [2] IE *ter-k^ω- > L torquē- vt. 'twist, wind, wrench' || Gk ἄτρακτος 'spindle' || OI tar'kuḥ id., niṣ-ṭar'kya- 'aufdrehbar' (√ tark- 'drehen') || AS ḍrāstan 'turn, twist, writhe' || Pru tarkue 'Riemen zum Binden am Pferdegeschirr' | Sl *torkъ > OR торокъ torokъ, R, Uk торок 'strap behind the saddle for fastening load', SCr, Sln trāk 'strip, ribbon, strap', Blg † трак, Cz †, Slk trak 'strap',

P troki 'straps' || pAl {O} *terka > Al tjerr (aor. 'torra), Al {Kf} tierr ~ tier ~ tir (aor. tora) v. 'spin' || Tc B tärk- 'twist around' || ?σ Ht tarku- v. 'dance' (if from vi. 'turn, se tourner', as suggested by Bn., rather than akin to Gk τρέχω 'run', as supposed by Lar.) ¶ P 1071-2, EI 572 (*terk(ʷ)- 'twist'), FI 180 and II 44, 913-4, WH II 670, 692-4, RE 141 (Brtt *trogīmi 'turn'), Kb. 164, EWA II 747-50, Ho. 368, Ho. S 78, Vr. N 131, M KI 485, M EI 633, Tr. 314, En. 263, Vs. IV 85, Srz. III 982, Glh. 635, Ma. CS 533, O 457, Kf. 355, Ç II 184-5, 470, Wn. 503, Ad. 294-5, Ts. E III 178-80, Bn. HI 125 || D {Pf.} *tīr- / *tir-∇ ({ḡGS} *t-) > Tm tiri v. 'turn, revolve, be twisted', Ml tiri 'a turn, twist, wick', tiriγuka v. 'turn round', Kt tiry- v. 'change in nature for the worst', tirg- vi. 'turn, return', Td tiry- vt. 'twist', tīrḡ- vi. 'turn', Kn tiri v. 'turn round', Kdg tir- id., Tu tirḡuni v. 'turn, revert, revolve', Tl tiri 'a twist, turn', Klm, Nkr tirg- vi. 'turn, wander', Png tirk- v. 'writhe', Gnd tiri- v. 'revolve', Knd tiri- v. 'be twisted', Ku tirvali v. 'turn round', Krx tīr- v. 'turn on one's heels', teram- v. 'roll up' ¶¶ D #3246, Pf. 32 [#153] ¶¶ D *-r- (rather than *-r̥-) points to a N cns. cluster, e.g. *-ry- (as suggested by Ar ✓ tryn and G trial-) || ??σ A *t'ir... 'elbow' > T {Md.} *t'irs(g)ek ~ (× *tīr 'knee') t'īrse 'elbow' > NaT *t'irsgä;:k 'elbow' > OT {Cl.} tirsgāk 𐤔 {ADb.} tirsäk, MQp tirsäk ~ dirsäk, XwT, Chg tirsäk, Tkm tirθek, Nog, Qq, Qmq tirsek, ET Δ tirsäk, Uz tirsak, VTt t̄rsäk, Bsh t̄rhäk, Tk d̄irsek, Ggz d̄irsek, XT d̄irsek, Xlj {DT} t̄irsäk, Az dirsäk 'elbow', Az Qb dirsäk 'camel's hump', Slr tüssäx ~ tüssiḡ 'elbow, knee', Qzq tipcek t̄irsek {MM} 'shin', {IL} 'knee, inner side of the knee', Kü tirsäk 'Kniekehle', Qrg tirsek 'achilles tendon (tendo calcaneus)', Xk t̄irsek 'knee of the hind leg'; (× NaT *t'iz < *t'ūr 'knee' < N *t̄ūr̥∇ 'part of] leg' ['calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee?']): Tv d̄iskek, Tf {Md.} t'iskek 'knee' || Chv čavsa 𐰇 čavsavay 𐰇 časa 'elbow' ({Md.} < T *t'īrse) (on the phonetic pre-history of čavsa see ADb. SR 166; it may be connected with pT ascending diphthongs, see above Introduction, § 2.4.1) ¶ T {Md.} *t'irs(g)ek with *r (rather than *r̥ because of the precons. position [Hl.'s rule]) ¶ Cl. 553, Rs. W 481, TL 247-9, ADb. SR 47, 165-9, 198-9, Sht. 210, Hü. 110, AzDDL 192, MM 362, Jud. 738, DT 205, Tn. SJ 527, KumRS 317, Rl. III 1377, Ash. XV 125, 160, Md. 77, 83, 179, ≈ Jeg. 362 || Tg: [1] acc. to ADb., Tg *tija-ki 'muscles of the forearm (antebrachium) and shin' > Ewk tijakī 𐰇 çijakī 'calf (sura), muscle of the calf', Lm t̄j̄t̄q̄t̄ 'muscle, biceps; calf

(sura)', Orc tižaki 'calves of the legs', Ud težä'ä, Ul člžä-pan, Nn Nh člžaku 'calf (sura)' ¶ STM II 176 [2] ? Tg *oçirak (< **tirak) 'span' > Ewk çirak id. ('пядь') ¶ STM II 399 ¶¶ ADb. SR 311 ◇ D *-r- (rather than *-r̥-) points to a N cns. cluster, e.g. *-ry- (as suggested by Ar ✓tryn and G tr̥ial-).

2430. *t̥Ur̥∇, y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' > HS: S *o✓trym 'spoiled water' > Ar ✓trym D 'être gâtée, puante (eau)' ¶ BK II 80 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {Stl.} *t̥'∇r- 'dirt' > My {Sk.} tírì, Kry {Sk.} túrkù || ECh: Ke {Eb.} t̥r̥wá, Ll {Grgs.} t̥r̥wé id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 253 [#71], Sk. NB 18, Eb. 98 || SC: Irq {MQK} t̥ēri, {E} teri 'dust', SC ⇨ Mb it̥ēri 'dust' ¶ E SC 170, MQK 100 || K *m-t̥wer- 'dust' > OG m̥t̥uer- 'dust, ashes', G m̥t̥ver- 'dust, whirlwind of dust', Mg t̥ver- 'dust', Lz m̥t̥ver- 'dust, ashes', ? Sv {K ← ?} t̥wi- 'earth' ¶¶ K² 126, FS 223, E 244-5, ≈ K 138 || A: Tg: WrMc toron {Z} 'dust (raised by the wind, or by walking people, animals, vehicles)', {Hr.} 'aufgewirbelter Staub' ¶ Z 743, Hr. 918 || IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit; besudeln; verwesen') (× N *t̥'ur̥'∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N *č'ir̥k∇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) || D *tur-, *tur-k- ({ǵGS} *t-) 'rubbish, bits of straw' (× N *t̥ox|qUry∇ or *t̥Ux|q'∇ 'dirt; be dirty') > Tm turumpu 'bits of straw, refuse stalks as of sugar-cane', turāl 'rubbish of dry leaves', Ml turumpu 'straw, awn', Tu turumbu 'chaff, {BhK} 'chaff and waste', Tl tukku, tukkuḍu, Prj turri, Knd tur̥i 'rubbish', Gdb tur 'weed, grass', Gnd tog 'dust, rubbish', Kui turki 'refuse heap, manure', Ku truki & turki 'refuse' ¶¶ D #3346 ◇ K² 126 equates GZ *m̥t̥wer- 'dust, whirlwind of dust' with IE *t̥wer-/*tur- 'turn, whirl' (P 1100).

2431. *t̥üry∇ ⇨ *t̥uryE or *t̥ür∇ ⇨ *t̥urE 'row, line; to string' > HS: [1] S *t̥ūr-~*t̥urr-~*t̥awr- 'row, (?) band' > BHb טור t̥ūr 'row (of building-stones, of jewels, etc.)', Ak t̥urru 'Band, Knoten', ? Ar t̥awr- 'a time (vicis, fois)' (t̥awran baśda t̥awrin 'une fois après l'autre'), ? Mh/Hrs t̥awr 'a time, once', ? Mh m̥ʒn t̥awr 'sometimes', BHb טורים ~ טורים t̥ūr-īm 'course, row' (× N *t̥ū|ur̥i 'turn round, surround' [q.v.]) || [2] with de-emphatization: S *t̥urr- 'a string; turn, order' > BHb תר ~ תור t̥ōr (pl. תרים t̥ō'rīm, pl. cs. תור̥ t̥ō,rē) 'string (of pearls, of pieces of gold\silver)', 'row', MHb תור t̥ōr 'rope' ({Dlm.} 'Schnur, Seil'), 'turn, order', Ug tr {KB ← DL} 'Band' (tr ʔr̥ʂ ω šmm 'Band

der Erde und des Himmels'), {OLS} 'timón, tiro (de carro)', JA [Trg.] אָרֶבֶת tō'r-ā 'rope', {Lv.} 'geflochtenes Seil', JEA אָרֶבֶת tō'r-ā 'line, row', Ak turrū 'Band, Knoten'; BHb *tūrā (attested cs. תִּירָא tī,ra) 'encampment protected by a stone wall, row of stones (along the wall); wall coping, battlement' ¶ KB 357-8, 1575, KBR 373-4, GB 275, 874, A #2800, DLS KTU 16 III 2, OLS 470-1, Dlm. 440, Js. 1656, Lv. T II 533, Sl. 1199, BDB #2905, BK II 118, Jo. M 413, Jo. H 131, Sd. 1397 (hyp.: Ak turrū ~ turrū ← Sum, but the opposite direction of the borrowing is more plausible) || IE: [1] NaIE *twerǵā > Gk σεῖρά, Gk Ep/I σεῖρή, Gk D σηρά 'cord, rope, string, band' (? × IE *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay [a rope]' < N *tōr'ū' ~ *tōr'yū' 'bring\come into existence [create, make]' [q.v.]) |[2] NaIE *ster- 'stripe' (→ 'ray') > Ltv Δ {ME} stars 'schmaler Streifen; quer ausstehender Ast', Ltv star-s '(sun)ray, ray of light', bikšu stara 'trouser-leg', Δ {ME} stara 'Strich, Strecke; Ast, Zinke' || Pokorny adduces Sl *strěla 'arrow' and other (mainly Gmc) words representing IE *strēl-, *strēm-, *streyb-, etc. and meaning 'arrow, 'ray', 'stripe', which is highly qu. ¶ F II 687, ≠ P 1101, P 1028-9, ME III 1045, 1047, Kar. II 286-7 (does not indicate any plausible cognates of Ltv stars, stara within IE) || A *tūr√ ~ *tūrE > T *tūr- ~ *tīr- vt. 'string (aufreihen, нанизывать), thread (a needle)' > OT tiz- v. 'string (beads), arrange in a row', Chg ≥xv tiz- ~ tüz- id., MQp xv tiz- 'نُظْم' (arrange in order?), Tk düz- 'arrange', dīz- vt. 'string', Az düz-, CrTt, Qry, Nog tiz-, Qzq тіз- тіз-, Alt tis-, Xk tıs- ~ čıs-, Ln tez- ~ tüz-, Tv дис- dīs-, Tf dīs- v. 'string', Tkm düz- id., 'fix (meat) upon a spit', Yk tis- v. 'thread a needle', Chv tīr- id., v. 'string', Qmq tüz- 'arrange in a row', VTt тез- тьз-, Bsh тьδ-, ET, Uz tiz- id., v. 'string' ¶ Cl. 572, DTS 564, IS AD 39, EF VGD 218-20, Ra. 173, Jeg. 252, Rs. W 482, Ash. XIV 62-3, Jeg. 252, Fed. II 235, BIG 319, ADb. Ttd 59 [#6] ¶ All proposed inter-Altaic comparisons of this T root (with MKo čiri-tá 'go the direct way' [S AJ 13, DQA #247], M *čir- 'straight' [DQA #247], and M *dürü- 'put\stick into, insert' [IS AD 47]) are semantically unreliable. The loss of tenseness in the T initial cns. (*t' for the expected *t'-) is still puzzling (infl. of some other T root or N word [e.g. N *tūr√ or *tūrE 'to pierce, stick into', whence 'to thread a needle']?) ◇ Qu., because the T √ is ambiguous and both IE recs. are based on one attested lge. each.

2431a. ₂ *tūr√, b√ 'inside of the body, belly' > HS: CS *t'rb > Ar tarīb- 'chest', tarīb-(at-) {Ln.} 'part of the breast which is the place of

the collar\necklace', tarība-t- {Hv.} 'uppermost part of the human breast; ribs', Aram (× S *θ▽rb- > Ar {BK} θarb- 'saindoux, axonge', {Hv.} θirb- 'fat of the intestines'): JA {Trg.} תַּרְבָּ תַּרְבָּ ~ תַּרְבָּ תַּרְבָּ / תַּרְבָּ תַּרְבָּ tar'ḇā, JEA תַּרְבָּ תַּרְבָּ tar'ḇā, Sr תַּרְבָּ; תַּרְבָּ tar'ḇā 'abdominal fat' ¶ Ln. 301, 334, BK I 195, 221, Hv. 58, 68, Js. 1694, Lv. T II 557, Sl. 1230-1, Br. 833-4 || IE: NaIE *^oterb₁h₁- > Sl *terb-/*trbb- > Uk тереб, Scr tr'ba 'belly', SCr tr'bonja 'a pot-bellied person'; (with the sx. *-ухъ ~ *-уха): Sl *trbbухъ 'entrails (esp. as food)' > RChS трѣбухъ trebuchъ, Blg тѣрбух, Sln trébuch, Cz terboch, P trybuch, terbuch, R трѣбуха, Uk трибух id., SCr tr'buch id., 'belly', R Δ трѣбух 'glutton' ¶ Vs. IV 96, Glh. 637.

2432. ***tiRga** 'force, strength, effort' > HS: S *^o√trg (de-emphatization ***t̥** > *t) > Ar تریج tarīǧ- 'violent, fort' (wind), 'fort, robuste' (person) ¶ Fr. I 188, BK I 195 || IE: NaIE *treg- v. 'be strong, apply force\violence' (for **treg^h- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law ruling out emph. + vd. cns. in the same √) > OIr tracht 'force, Stärke', trén (< *treg-s-no-) 'strong', W trech 'stronger', Br trec'h 'winner' || ON {Vr.} þrekr, þrek 'Kraft, Stärke, Ausdauer', þreka 'drängen, drücken', AS {Ho.} ðreçe 'violence', ðracu 'pressure, force, violence', OSx wāpan-thrēki {Ho.} 'Kraft', {P} Waffentüchtigkeit' || Ltv {ME} treksne 'Schlag, Stoß' ¶ WP I 755, P 1090, Vn. T 121, 235-6, Vr. 620, ME IV 230, Ho. 367-9, Sw. 183, Ho. S 78-9, 83 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *^oti₁r▽ > pObU {Ht.} *tīr '≈ force, violence' > pVg *tīr > Vg: N {Ht. after Mu.} tērēṇ 'erós (strong), kraftig', tērp id., P {MK} tēriṇ, K {MK} tērēṇ 'flink, schnell, wild' (Vg K tērēṇ vuot 'ein heftiger Wind', tērēṇ lū 'ein flinkes Pferd'), LK/MK {Ht. after Kn.} tērṇəṇ ēri 'Kriegslied', MK {WVD} tēṇ ({Kn.} tēṇ) 'spirit' (esp. 'spirit of illness'); pOs *tārən 'evil spirit' > Os: V/Vy tārən, Ty/D/K/O tārən, Nz/Kz tarən id. ¶ The loss of N ***g** is still to be elucidated ¶ Ht. 189 [#643], MK 642, WVD VII 380 || **ṇ** *^ot'igir▽ (mt. from N ***tiRga**?) 'strong, firm' > M ***ciṣirag** 'strong, firm' > WrM cigirag ~ cigireg, HIM чийрэг, Brt шиираг 'strong, robust, powerful', Ord {Ms.} čīraq 'solide de corps', Mnr H {T} čirag 'strong, firm', {SM} č'iraq 'serré, qui ne lâche pas, sévère' ¶ MED 179, T 380, SM 456.

2433. ₂ ***toRga** 'hold, prop up' > IE: NaIE *derg^h- 'hold', {E} 'grasp' > YAv drag- (prs. dražaitē, inf. drājanhe) v. 'hold, lead', KhS dr̥js-

'hold' || Gk δράσσομαι (ft. δράξομαι, pfc. δέδραγμα), G A δράττομαι 'grasp, lay hold of' || Sl *dbržāti 'to hold' > OCS ДРЪЖАТИ drъžati, SCr dr`žati, Sln držāti, Cz držeti, Slk držat', P † dzierżeć, R держать id., Blg държа I hold' || Arm տրցակ tɾcʰak 'bundle (of brushwood, etc.)' (< *dorgh-so-) ¶ EI 564 (? *dergʰ-), Brtl. 771, Bai. 164, ≈ FI 415, Bern. 258, ≈ P 254, ≈ ESSJ V 230-1, ≈ Glh. 207, Xud. II 456 || A: Tg *torga- 'prop up, stretch; a prop' > Ewk turgā-, Neg toyga-, Ork tu(d)da- vt. 'prop up', Nn toyga- id., 'draw a hunting cross-bow', Lm turgъ- vt. 'stretch (sth.), stretch a hide for drying', Ewk turgā, Neg, Nn Nh toyga, Ul d. tužaqv 'a prop', Ud tuga, Nn Nh toyga 'hunting cross-bow' ¶ STM II 218-9 ¶ Cf. N *t̥er̥k̥ '(ε) tree, stick' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2392 (Tg *turgā- [i.e. *torga] < A *t̥j̥or̥(g)e 'beam, support') ◇ IE *d...gʰ for *t...gʰ by the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out emph. cns. + vd. in one root) ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (Tg *turgā- equated with K *dwire 'log, beam' and IE *derw- 'tree') ◇ Doubtful.

2434. *t̥er̥k̥ '(ε) tree, stick' > HS mt.: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} tákárwá 'long bamboo pole' ¶ Sch. DN 155 ¶¶ OS #2361 || U: FU {UEW} *tErkk̥ 'pine-tree' (ε?), {Coll.} telirk̥ 'young fir-tree, pine-tree' > Chr: L търке 'young pine-tree', B t̥rke 'Fichte' || ObU *t̥er̥ / *t̥er̥ 'pine-tree' > pVg *t̥ar̥ > Vg: T t̥ar̥w, LK/UK t̥ar̥ī (pl. t̥ar̥xat), P t̥ar̥ix, NV/SV/LL/ML t̥ar̥i, UL/Ss t̥ar̥ix id.; pOs *te̥er̥ ({}HI.} *t̥ḁ̈er̥) > Os: K/Kr/Sg t̥er̥ id. ¶ UEW 540, Coll. 119, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *t̥irk̥ä, Ugr *t̥irk̥ä 'fir'), Ht. #648, MRS 617, Ü 221 || A *t̥er̥k̥'- '≈ tree' > NaT *t̥er̥äk 'poplar, tree' > OT {Cl.} ter̥äk 'poplar', Tkm derek, Qq, Alt terek, VTt tiräk, Uz terak, ET teräk, Shor, Tv t̥erek, Xk, Chv tirek id., Qzq, Qrg terek id., 'tree', Bsh tiräk 'black poplar', CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog terek, Qry t̥er̥äk ≍ terak ≍ terek 'tree', Tk d̥ir̥ek, Ggz direk, Az diräk 'pole, post, pillar', Yk tir̥äx ~ t̥ar̥äx 'poplar', Δ tir̥äx 'aspens; fir (Abies)' ¶ Cl. 543, Rs. W 475, ET VGD 205-7, TL 105, 134, S AJ 194 [#203], KumRS 312, NogR 346, KrkR 636, Sht. 199, Nj. 343, UzR 425, BR 528, BT 148, Ml. ZhU 118, Pek. 2679, Jeg. 252-3, Fed. II 235, TvR 412 || Tg: WrMc t̥er̥ki(n) {Z} 'dais, platform, porch', {Hr.} 'Plattform, auf der die Halle steht; Freitreppe' (× <← t̥er̥ki '[hin]über-/[hin]auf-springen'); Mc → Dg {T} terkin, {Pp.} terk̥iñ 'dais, platform, stage' ¶ Z 730, Hr. 904, T DgJ 167 ¶¶ Tg *turgā- v. 'support, stretch', n. 'a prop' hardly belongs here (⇔ DQA) for phonetic reasons and because its primary meaning is likely to be verbal (otherwise one cannot account for the meanings like Lm turgъ- vt. 'stretch, stretch hide for drying', Nn toyga-

v. 'support, draw a hunting cross-bow', etc., see N ***toRga** 'hold, prop up') ¶ ≈ DQA #2392 ***t'ior(g)e** 'support. beam', SDM97 (A ***t'ör(g)e** id. and ***ter**∇ 'poplar, tree') ◇ ≈ S AJ 289 [#312] (A, IE).

2434a. ₂ ***ṭURKṬ**∇ 'pierce through; through' > IE: NaIE ***terk_lω_le-**/***trk_lω_le-** 'pierce through; through' > Gt **paír h**, OHG **dur h**, MHG, NHG **durch**, OSx **thur h** ~ **thuru**, AS **ḡur h** ~ **ḡer h** 'through', NE **through**; OHG **der h** 'pertusus, perforated' ¶ P 1076, KM 148-9 || **A**: Tg: Ewk **turkṣt** 'through (durch und durch, **насквозь**)' ¶ STM II 221.

2435. (₂?) ≈ ***ṭ'ar**∇_l**Ṗ**∇_l ~ ***ṭ'Ṗ**∇**Ṗ**∇**r**∇ 'to tie together' > HS: CS ***trp** v. 'sew together' > BHb **trp** *G* id., JEA, JPA **trp** *G* 'sew' ¶ KB 1637, Js. 1689, Sl. 1226, Sl. P 588 || WCh: Ngz **tṛfú** v. 'hobble, fetter' ¶ Sch. DN 153 | ?? Ch **tr** 'plait, sew' (× N ***tor'ü** ~ ***tor'yü** 'to bring\come into existence [create, make]', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ EC: Af {**R**} **trtr** v. 'sew', Sa {**R**} **trtr** v. 'sew, sew together' (Sa, Af: p. 3m i-**tirtire**, prs. Sa a-**tirtire**, imv. **etir'tir**, subj. Sa a-**tar'tarō**, Af a-**tar'tarū**) (× N ***tor'ü** ~ ***tor'yü** '↑') ¶ R S II 358, R A III 118, Clz. 134 || IE: Ht {Ts.} **tarupp-** 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten' ¶ Frd. HW 217, Ts. E III 240-4 || ?φ,σ **D** ***ta^rṭ**∇_l**ṭ**∇ ({{**ṭGS**} ***t-**, ***-ṭ-**) > Tl **trāḍu** 'cord, rope, thread', Klm **taḍ** 'rope', Nkr **taḥ** id. ¶ D #3256 (connects it with Tm **caratū** 'twisted thread', Ml **caratū** 'cord', and Kt **čard** 'flat neckband') || ?φ **A** ***t'ara-** > Tg ***tara-** v. 'tie together' > Ewk **tarā-** 'tie together (pieces of cloth, **лоскуты**)', Ul **taragu-** id., **taračū-** 'tie\stitch together' ¶ STM II 167.

2436. ***ṭ'e**RP∇ 'devour, eat, be sated' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enjoy') > HS: S: [1] CS ***trp** v. 'devour' (× S ***trp** 'tear, strike' [> Sr, JA, Md **trp** id.]) > BHb **trp** *G* (pf. **ṭārap**, ip. **-ṭrop**) v. 'devour', 'tear (its prey)' (of wild beasts), JPA **trp** *G* id., BHb **trp** *Sh* (pf. **הִתְרַיֵּץ** **hitṭrīṭ**) v. 'make enjoy', Ar **trf** *G* (pf. **ṭarifa**) 'dévorer les bords\les extrémités' (of a camel) (× d. from **ṭarf-** ~ **ṭaraf-** 'bord, extrémité') ¶ KB 363-4, Js. 555-6, BK II 72, DM 182, Br. 290, JPS 172 | [2] with de-emphatization: S ***trp** > Ar **trf** *G* 'jouir du bien-être, vivre au sein de l'aisance et des délices' ¶ BK I 197 || **K** ***trp-** > G **trp-**(**oba**) {DCh.} v. 'admire, be glad', {Chx., NCh.} v. 'love' ¶ DCh. 1227, Chx. 1368, NCh. 380 || IE: NaIE ***terp-**/***trp-**/***trep-** v. 'be sated, rejoice', {E} id., 'take (to oneself)' > OI **tar p-**: **trṑpyati** 'satisfies himself, becomes sated, is pleased with', Av **praḥ(ə)ḍa** 'befriedigt\ausreichend versehen', **praḥs** 'Zufriedenheit', ?φ: OI **paśu-****trp-** 'cattle-stealing', Av

trāfay- ~ tarəp- 'steal' || Gk τέρπομαι v. 'have full enjoyment of a thing, have enough of it; enjoy', τέρπω v. 'satisfy' || ? Blt: Pru {En.} en-terpo 'nützt', en-terpon 'useful', Lt tar̃pti 'to thrive', {Frm.} 'gedeihen, gesund werden', Ltv tārpa, tērpa 'Kraft' || Tc A, B tsārω- 'be confident, rejoice' ¶ P 1077-8, EI 500, Mn. 1387, M K I 524, M EI 634-5, MW 453, F II 881-2, Frn. 1062-3, En. 169, Ad. 731-2 || ?φ U: FP *ter∇ v. 'feed' > Er/Mk írā-, tíra-, Er tíra- 'ernähren' | Prm *ter- > Z LL t̃sr̃s̃t- v. 'eat' ¶ UEW 795, LG 284 ¶ The FU √ belongs here if the change from N *-RP- to F -r- is reg. ◇ AD GD 15, IS SS #1.13, IS MS 370 (*t̃r̃p̃r̃ 'pleasure' > IE, S, K), ≠ BmK 302 (equates the K and S roots with IE *drep-/*drop- v. 'scratch, pluck, tear') and 278-9 (the IE √ is equated with S *√trp v. 'remain, be left' [with a later sd. in Ar √trf 'live in opulence']).

2436a. (₂?) *t̃o'R'P'∇ 'to need, to suffer, to be moved (with sadness, [?] joy)' > HS: S *√trb G > Ar √trb 'be sad, be moved (with sadness or joy)' ¶ BK II 65-6, Hv. 429 || ? C: Bj -terām pcv. (p. a-'trām, prs. attarim) 'sich fetten, mit Not und Mühe sich das Leben erkämpfen', am-terām 'mitleiden', {Rop.} tar'mūma 'long-suffering, forgiveness' (× N *t∇r'∇ 'suffer, endure') ¶ R WBd 231-2, Rop. 245 || IE: NaIE *terp- 'suffer' > Gmc: ON þarf, OSx tharf, AS ðearf n. 'need, want (Mangel)', Gt þarba id. ('ύστέρημα, ύστέρησις'), OHG darba n. 'deficiency, lack; fasting, starving', ON þarfa 'nötig sein', þarfr 'necessary, needed' || SI *tr̃p̃ěti 'to suffer, to endure suffering' > OCS тр̃п̃ěти tr̃p̃ěti 'to endure (suffering), to be patient', Slv tr̃p̃ěti, Slk tr̃piet', P cierpieć 'to suffer', Cz tr̃p̃ěti, R терпеть 'to suffer, to endure', Blg тр̃п̃на, тр̃пя v. 'suffer' ¶ Vr. 606, 631-2, Ho. 361, Ho. S 77, Kb. 145, EWA II 536-40, Fs. 490, StSS 705 || ?σ A: T *t̃'orp- > OT {Cl.} torpun 'seeking', torpla- 'try to find out' ¶ Cl. 533-4.

2437. *t̃üRq∇ 'firm, dense, strong' > HS: WS *√tr̃k̃ '≈ be\make strong, dense' > Ar √tr̃q G 'densae una alteram tegente fuerunt (plumae avis)', 'être épais, bien fourni' (of bird's plumage), Gz √tr̃k̃ G v. 'fortify\strengthen, make tight', Amh t̃err̃əḳ̃ə v. 'fasten with nails, reinforce with metal' ¶ Fr. III 51-2, BK II 75, L G 597 || K: G K/Kx *tr̃oq̃-i 'sehr dick, groß und plump' ¶ Chx. 1367 || A: NaT *t'ürk {Dr.} 'strong', {Cl.} 'in the culminating point of maturity' > OT {Cl.} türk 'just fully ripe' (of a fruit), 'in the prime of life, young, vigorous' (of a

person), Qrg türk 'fat, in prime condition' (of a sheep), Chg {Rs.} türk 'tapfer und roh', MT XIII türk 'in the prime of life', Osm türk {Rh.} 'a beautiful\beloved, but cruel one', Xlj türk 'mighty, flourishing', Ggz {ADb.} türk, Az {ADb.} türkä 'a commmoner' ¶ Cl. 542-3, Dr. TM II 888, Rs. W 506, Jud. 783, Rh. 536, DHST 307, ADb. Ttd 65.

2438. (₂?) *ṭ[u]R₃|ǰ∇ 'dry, dried up, hard' > IE *ters- > NaIE *ters- v. 'be dry, dry up (trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', *tṛsu-, *tṛso- 'dry' > OI 'tṛṣyati 'thirsts', tṛṣṭah 'rough, harsh', tṛṣuh 'greedy, desirous', tṛṣā 'thirst', YAv taršū- 'dry', Av taršna- 'thirst', Psh. 'tšžaj 'thirsty' ||| Gk τέρσομαι 'I become dry, dry up' ||| L torrē- v. 'burn\parch\dry up with heat\thirst' ||| Arm Թառամ տառամ 'fade, withered', Թառամիմ տառամիմ 'fade, wither' ||| pAl {O} *tarsya > Al ter vt. 'dry' ||| Gt gapaírsan, gapaúrsnan, ON þorna, OSx thorrōn, OHG dorrēn vi. 'to dry, to wither'; ON þorsti, OHG durst, NHG Durst, AS ðurst 'thirst', NE thurst; Gmc *þarzjan > Gt gapaírsan 'verdorren, ON þerra, AS āðierran vt. 'dry', OHG derren id., 'roast' ||| Ht tars- vt. 'dry (trocknen, dörren), roast' ¶¶ P 1078-9, EI 170, M K I 524-5, M EI 635-6, Bai. 636, Mrg. 85, F II 882-3, WH II 694-5, Fs. 206, Vr. 609, 617-8, Ho. 365, 372, Kb. 151, 163, EWA II 605-7, 734-6, 877-9, KM 149, Sl. 154-5, O 452, Ts. E III 219-20 ||| **HS:** CS *✓trz > Ar ✓trz G (pf. tariza, ip. yatrizu ~ pf. tariza, ip. yatrazu) v. 'be hard' (flesh, meat), 'be dry\arid', JA [Trg.] 𐤔𐤓𐤕 tər'az 'hard wood, wild oak' ¶ Fr. I 189, BK I 196, Hv. 58, Js. 1697, Lv. T II 559 ||| ?φ U: FV *turta- 'stiff, rigid (steif, starr)' > F turta (gen. turran) 'numb, benumbed', turtu- v. 'become numb, be benumbed, become stiff', Es turd 'half-dry (wood)', turdu- v. 'become half-dry' ||| Chr Uf/B turta-, H turta-ηθα- v. 'harden, stiffen', {MRS} id., 'get stronger (крепнуть)' ¶ UEW 801, Ep. 122, MRS 602 ¶ The fate of N *₃ and *ǰ in U is still to be investigated ◇ BmK 283 (IE, S + *÷ S and C words for 'dust', which belong to N *ṭUr, ∇, y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]).

2439. *ṭAṛ∇ 'entrails, liver' > **HS:** C ≈ *tir- 'liver' > EC *tir- id. > Sa {R} tiraw, Af tiro, Sml T tarāw, Sml J turuw, Bs toto, Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tirū, Kns {BISO} tīrā, Arr {Hw.} tirá, Dsn číra, Hd/Kmb {C} tirō, Gln tíre ~ číre, Hr/DBs {AMS} číre, Cm {Hw.} tír-e, Ged {Lm.} tiro ~ tiđo 'liver'; C ⇨ Mb {E} i-tirao id. ¶ AD SF 54, 203, Ss. PEC 11, Bl. 104, PH 199, Ss. B 104, Hw. A 397, Grg. 376, Sr. 393, Th. 319, BISO

s.v. *tírā*, AMS 255, To. DL 490, Blz. CL 180 || Om: NrOm: Wl {LmS} *tiriya*, Malo {LmS} *tire*, Gm {Hw.} *tíre*, Dc *tire* 'liver' || SOm: Ari *turi* id. | ??? possibly NrOm words for 'chest': Wl {LmS} *tira*, Zs *tire*, Zl/Dwr/Gf {LmS} *tira*, Gm {Hw.} *tirá*, Dc {LmS} *tira* 'chest' ¶ LmS 523-4, Hw. EG s.v. 'chest' and 'liver', AD SF 54, 203 || WCh: SBc {Sh.} (cfs.?): Plc *wà-tèraʔè*, Kir K *fʷok-totok*, Kir L *hʷòk-turòk*, Kir Mn *fʷàk-turák*, Ds Bn *fək-təɾək*, Ds B *fʷàk-tirək* 'liver' | ? P' {MSk.} *tirkʷasa* 'kidney' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh. 166 [#188], Sh. SB 26 || **D** (+ext.) **taʔɳɳk- ~ *taʔakɳɳ* ({ʔGS} **t-*) 'liver, (?) internal organs' > Tu *taŋka* 'lungs, liver', Klm *taŋguɖ*, Nkr *taŋguɾ*, Nk *taŋg*, Prj *taʔung*, Gdb *taʔiŋ* & *yanaŋil*, Gnd *taʔki* & *tanaki*, Knd *taʔki* & *taŋāki*, Png *tākiŋ*, Mnd *tākeŋ*, Kui *trāda ~ tlāda* & *tādaŋga*, Ku *tʰrāʔna* & *traʔna* 'liver' ¶¶ **D** #3120 || **A**: T: Tlt {Rl.} *törʊöm* 'Schafdärme, die mit gehackten Herzen, Leber, Lunge und Fett gefüllt sind' ¶ Rl. III 1257, Rs. W 494 || ?σ **IE**: Clt: OIr *tarr*, Brtt {RE} **to|arr-* 'belly' > W, MCrn *tor* 'belly', OCrn [ʏ] *tor* 'ventre', OBr *tar*, *torn*, MBr *torr* id., Br *tor ~ teur* 'ventre, bedaine, panse' ¶ The adduction of Uk *тепеб* 'belly' and Sl **trǝbux-* 'entrails' (suggested in Blz. LB #103 and Blz. DA) is too qu. (because of the unexplained **-b-*, **-bux-*) and less plausible than an equation of the Sl words with Ar *tarīb-* 'chest' (see N **tʰɳRɳɳbɳ* 'inside of the body, belly') ¶ Vn. *T* 33, RE 81, YGM-1 411, Hm. 787, 795 ◇ The vw. *ö* of the first syll. in Tlt *törʊöm* is accounted for by regr. as. ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#19] (D, HS + unc. Sl).

2440. ≈ **tʰU'í* 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > **HS**: B **-trī* or **-trɳy* 'star' > Ah, Gh *atri* (pl. *itran*), ETwl *aʔri* (pl. *eʔran*), Ty *aʔri* (pl. *aʔran*), Izn, SrSn, Rf *iʔri*, Nf, Snd *itri* (pl. *itran*), Kb, Izd *iʔri* (pl. *iʔran*), ? Si, Skn, Gd *iri* (pl. *iran*) ¶ Fc. 1912, Dl. 827-8, La. MChB 388, GhA 191, Mrc. 108, Lf. II #1309 || C: Bj {R} *terig ~ -k* (pl. *tirg*) 'moon', Bj Am {AD} *tu ʔētɳɳg*, *ʔō tɳɳg*, pl. *ʔɳ tɳɳga* id. ¶ AD SF 48-9, 254-5 || Ch {Nw.} **tɳɳr-*, {Stl.} **tariy-/*tiray-/*tayir-* 'moon' > WCh {Stl.} **tārya ~ *tāyra* 'moon' > AG {Stl.} **tary-* > Su {J} *tár*, Ang {Hf.}, Ywm {Sh.} *tār*, Gmy {Hf.} *ṭār*, Chp {ChL} *ter*, Mpn {Frz.} *tár* | DfB {J} *túré*, Bks {J} *tùrè* | Tng {J} *tɳɳɳ*, Dr {J} *tɳɳɳ*, Krkr {J} *taré*, Grm {Gw.} *terre*, Krf {Sch.} *tèré*, Bole {Mk., IL} *terɳ*, Maha *tarya*, Gera *tèrá*, Glm *čīrā* 'moon' | Kry {Sk.}, My {Sk.} *tír*, Wrj {Sk.} *čírànà*, P' {MSk.} *čīra*, Sir {Sk.} *tàrí*, Jmb {Sk.} *tírà* id. | Grn {Jgr.} *tārã*, Wnd {Sh.} *čár* id. | Ngz {Sch.} *tīrã*, Bd {IL} *təra* id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *tera*, Hw *ndurà* id. | HgNk {ChL} *tíre*,

{Mk.} turre, FIK {Mk.} turri | Lmn {Mk.} turri, {Lk.} trí id. | Mdr {Eg.} tré, {ChL} t're, Dgh {ChL} tílè id. | Msy {Mch.} tr̄, Db {Lnh.} t'irà, Kola {Sb.} trá | Zm {ChL} ter, ZmB {J} tér, Lame {LJ} č'éř (= č'éř?), LmP {Vnb.} če, Ms {ChL} tila, Bnn {}ChL t'iyèlá, BnnM {ChL} tilna, Azm {Pc.} t'ílǎ id. || ECh: Kwn {J} k'ì-d'ír, Ke {Eb.} k'í-t'ír | Kbl {Cp.} k'è-d'èrè, Li {Grgs.} g'ì-d'irè id. | Smr {J} d'úrù, Nd D {J} d'ár, Tmk {Cp.} d'ár | Mkl {J} t'ère id. || Jg {J} t'éré, Brg {J} t'ère, Mu {Lk., J} t'írí, Mjl {DB} t'irî, Kjk {DB} t'iri, Kjr {DB} t'iré id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JI II 238-9, Stl. IF 53-4, J T 53, J S 84, Pc. 387, DB || ?μ S *ʿaθtar-(at)-, name of the goddess Astarta\Ishtar, personification of the planet Venus (morning star) (belongs here only if it goes back to a cd.) > Ph ʿštrt (↳ Gk Ἄστάρτη), BHb אַשְׁתַּרְתַּי ʿaš'toreṯ 'Astarta', Ug ʿθtr, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ʿaθtaru, DA ʿštr, OSA ʿθtr, Ak ištar, Eb ᵀaš-dar id., ? Sr ʿat,t'ir nulpā'nā and ʿat,t'ir nuh'rā (names of stars); S ↳ IE *xest(e)r ~ *xster- ({Pv.} *A₁est(e)r- ~ *A₁st(e)r-) 'star' > Ht xaster- (nom. sg. xasterza [xaster-s]), NaIE: Gk ἀστήρ, gen. ἀστέρος 'star', ἄστρα (coll.) 'stars', Arm աստղ astł 'star', OI 'str̄bhiḥ instr. pl. 'with\by stars', (gen. pl.) str̄ḡnām ~ str̄ḡnām 'of stars', Av star- 'star' (nom. pl. stārō), KhS stāraa-, MPrs stār, stārak, NPrs ستاره setāre, Psh stōrai, L stēlla (< *stēr-lā), Brtt {RE} snglt. *sterinnā (> OBr, Br sterenn, MBr steren [pl. stir, stiret], OCrn [VC], Crn steren [coll. stēr], OW sserenn, W seren snglt. [pl. sêr]), OIr ser ({RE}: ↳ Brtt?), Gl sirona, Gt stáirnō, OHG sterno, stern, ON stjarna, Tc: B écirye 'star', A ére-rí pl. 'stars' ¶ The broadening of meaning (S 'the morning star Venus' → IE 'star') during or after the borrowing is not an obstacle for the et. (⇔ Dk. OH → EI 341), because such broadening is widespread in the history of language contacts: cf. the origin of NE trousers (↳ ScGl triubhas ↳ OFr trebus 'breeches'), R газета 'newspaper' (← Fr ← It gazzetta ← It Vn gazeta, name of a Venetian periodical that sold for one gazet), Uk гроши 'money' (↳ NHG Groschen, name of certain coins ↳ L denarii grossi) ¶ KB 850-1, OLS 94, Hnr. 164, Br. 554; Krb. EG 31, Shf. A ∇, AfD I, Gese RAS 222, Hfn. VRA 244, IS DIES 6-7, AD IEH 15, AD CCIE 6, P 1027-8, Pv. III 238-9, M K III 512, M E II 755-6, Bai. 433, Horn 157-8, Vl. II 220, Fs. 448, Vr. 549, Kb. 962, Slt. 123-5, Me. EAC 151, Vn. S 90, RE 135, YGM-1 391, Flr. 307, Ern. 653, Wn. 489, Ad. 640 ¶¶ Grn. LA 59, Blz. 'AthAA ∇, ≈ EI 543 (IE *h₂stēr, -(e)r- 'star'; no distinction of inherited words [<

NaIE *ter- 'star') from Semitisms; unj. rejection of the obvious Semitic origin of the IE word], Wt. S ∇, Prv. ∇ || IE: NaIE *ter- 'star' > Vd nom. pl. 'tār aḥ 'stars' || Gk τέρας, pl. Gk Ep τέραα 'signe du ciel, étoile; signe envoyé par les dieux' ¶ M K I 497, 524, M E II 755, Ch. 1105-6, F II 878 (semantic doubts about the OI-Gk connection) || A: [1] Ko {S} *tár 'moon' > MKo tár, NKo tal ¶ S AJ 253 [#54], S QK #54, Nam 140 || ?φ pJ {S} *tùkùj 'moon' > OJ tukùj, J: T cukí, K cúkì ¶ S AJ 94, 268 [#97], S QJ #97, Mr. 554 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2394 (A *t'jorgu 'moon', including Ko, J), ≈ S AJ 278 | [2] ?? T *jul-tur' ({Md.} žũlčur' = ju-lčur') 'star' (a cd., possibly N *žusǝ∇ 'to be bright'; blaze; flame' + N *t'U'ri, ffd. see N *žusǝL∇ '↑') | [3] the same T element *-čur' may be present in T *k'üntur' 'noon' (see N *Kũñ∇ - *KũñE 'sun, day') ◇ HS *t- (from N *t) is due to HS de-emphatization.

2441. *tũ|ur' 'turn round, surround, enclose' > HS: CS *-tũr- v. 'go round', *tũr- 'surrounding wall', ? *tawr- 'surrounded place' > Ar ✓ ṭwr G: ip. ya-tũru ḥawla-hũ 'goes around about' (pf. ṭara) (ḥawla-hũ means 'around him'), Ar SL {Bel.} ṭar-, ṭara-t- 'hoop (cerceau)', Ar ṭawr- 'one time (Mal, vicis)', Sr ṭaw'r-ā 'space (in time or distance)', MHb 𐤔𐤓𐤕 ṭũr 'protecting wall', Nbt ṭwr 'Mauer (?)': ds.: OSA ṃṭwr 'enclosing wall', Ar ṭawār- {Bel.} 'superficie, aire', {Hv.} 'area, yard of a house'; (× N *tũry∇ - *turyE 'row, line'): BHb 𐤔𐤓𐤕 ~ 𐤔𐤓𐤕 ṭũr-ĩm 'course, row' ¶ KB 357-8, KBR 373, Ln. 1890, BK II 118, Bel. 360, Hv. 441, Br. 272 || B *✓ ḍwr v. 'turn round' > Sll {Ds.} ḍw̄er 'tourner', Tmz ṭdur 'tourner, virer, tourner, faire volte-face', ḍawwar 'faire tourner', ? Izd {Mrc.} ṃḍaṛra 'se retourner'; (?) +ext. *-n-: B *✓ ḍrn '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre' (× N *ṭir,y,∇ 'to turn, to bend, to twist', q.v. ffd.); B *✓ ḍr > Awj uṭar 'envelopper. enlacer, entortiller' ¶ Ds. 281, Fc. 285, GhA 33, MT 96, Lf. II #O357, Mrc. 224, NZ 483 || ? ECh *✓ trk, *✓ trp 'palissade, haie' > EDng tũrkũ 'palissade (entourant l'enclos familial)', etc. (× N *ṭir,y,∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in', *tworos 'Einfassung' (× N *ṭURE 'start, set in motion, begin', q.v.) > OHG d̄wēran 'to stir up, aufwühlen, rühren', AS ðwēran 'to stir, to churn' || Lt t̄verti / t̄veriũ 'seize, fence, enclose', t̄verĩmas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing', ãp-tvaras 'fence (Gehege)', Lt tvorà, Ltz tvare 'fence (Zaun)' || Gk σπόδος 'urn' (< *tworos) | (?) +ext.: L turbo 'a movement in a circle, an eddy, a whirling round' ¶ WP I 749, P 1100-1, ≈σ EI 564 (*twer-

'take, hold'), Mn. 1466, F II 754, WH II 718, Ho. 37, Kb. 178, OsS 121, EWA II 915-8, Frn. 1152, 1155 || **A** *t₁'ü|uR^ri' v. 'turn round, surround' > M: WrM {Gl.} t₁ri- v. 'surround, close in (окружать)', t₁ri-gde- {Rm.} v. 'be closed in', {Gl.} 'be surrounded', {Bb.} t₁ritke- v. 'barricade, put a limit to, put up a fence', {Rm.} t₁ri-megei 'the closing or meeting the flanks of the hunters, the incircling of the game' ¶ Rm. SKE 278, Gl. III 259, Bb. 1037-8 ¶ WrM t₁ri- means also 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'push forward'), and t₁rigde- means also 'be pushed'; as to t₁ri-megei (with the meaning reported by Rm.), it has not been confirmed by dictionaries of WrM available to me. WrM t₁ri- 'push' does not belong here, it is likely to go back to N *t₁URE 'start, set in motion' (q.v.) || Nko t₁ri- {MLC} 'put around, surround, encircle; turn round', {Rm.} t₁ru-, t₁ri- v. 'surround, circle about, turn round, whirl about' ¶ MLC 504-5, Rm. SKE 278 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 278 (Ko, M + *÷ Tg: Ewk turku-ldi- does not have the meaning 'surround' [ascribed to this word by Rm.] [F Vas. 403]). The M cognate (if real) suggests pA *t₁'- ¶¶ But T *t₁ūr∇ v. 'roll up' hardly belongs here; for both semantic and phonetic reasons it is more likely to go back to N ?σ *t₁wr∇ - *t₁wrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' (q.v.) || **D** *to₁(-) ({ǵGS} *t-) 'cattle-stall, corral, pen for cattle' (× N *dur∇ 'hole, hollow?') > Tm to₁u 'cattle-stall, manger, pound', tō₁(am) 'cattle-stall', Ml to₁u 'stable', to₁uttu 'stable, sheepfold, pen to goats', Kt to₁y 'buffalo pen', Td t₁w† 'corral, pen', Prj -to₁ in ĉakur-to₁ 'cattle shed' (ĉakur goes back to a word for 'cattle, bull') ¶¶ D #3526 ◇ The D vw. *o (for the expected *u) has to be explained (cp. N *t₁ūr∇ or *t₁RE 'pierce, stick into; hole' > D *to₁a- ~ *to₁a- 'hole') ◇ IS MS 333 s.v. вертеть(ся) *t₁ur₁ (HS, IE, A), IS SS #1.12 ◇ The nearly homonymic N words *t₁ü|ur₁i and [?σ] *t₁wr∇ - *t₁wrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' inevitably coalesced in those lgs. that have lost the pN distinctions *t₁'- ↔ *t- and *-r'- ↔ *-r- ◇ □D*o (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ◇ Gr. II *401 (*tur 'turn') (IE + err. A *to₁u, Ai + qu. Ko, J).

2442. *t₁ūs∇r₁∇ '(part of) leg' ('calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee?') > **HS: C:** EC: Af {PH} dīfāre 'thigh (cuisse)', {R} tē^εa'rī 'Oberschenkel (?)' || Dh1 {EEN} t₁ahara 'calf of leg', {To.} t₁ahara 'heel' ¶ Blz. EDB 28, E PC #372 (*tahr- or *tarh- 'calf of leg'), PH 91, EEN 8, To. D 148, R A II 115 || B *-dār- (< **t₁ār) > Ah aḍar (pl. iḍārān), Gh, Shl, Gd aḍar, Awj aḍar, Fgg ḍar, Shw, Mz, Wrg ḍar, Kb aḍar, Tmz aḍar ≅ aḍar, Snd ḍar 'foot, leg', Ntf,

Zng ađar, Izn, SrSn đar, Nfs, Si țar 'foot', Rif đar ɖ ađar 'foot, paw' ¶ Fc. 281-2, Dl. 180, NZ 479-80 || ???ϕ Eg G tωɜ.t 'leg (as a relique)' (unless ←ϕ Eg fP tωɜ vt. 'support, sustain', vi. 'lean') ¶ EG V 250, Fk. 294 || K: G țor-i 'paw (Pfote, Tatze, Pranke)' ¶ Chx. 1360 || A *t'ūr'i', {SDM97} *t'ūr'i, {DQA} *t'jūr'e 'knee', ? 'leg' > T *t'ūr' ({ADb.} *t'jūr', {DQA} *t'īr) 'knee' ({ϑπAD}: < **t'ūr < **t'ūr) > OT {Cl., Tz.} tīz, Tk dīz, Tkm dīδ, SEXT ChS, NEXT G/J/M, NrXT Sh dīz, NrXT Dg/Q, SWXT PK dūz, SWXT QB dūzin, SWXT SA dī:š, NrXT DG1 dīz, NrXT DG2 dūz, SWXT H dīδ, Az, Ggz dīz, ET, Nog tīz, VTt tɔz, Bsh tɔδ, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt tize 'knee', Tv dīs 'knees' (in the expression dīs kirīŋga olurar 'kneel'), Chv č̣r 'knee', Yk tīs 'fell from an animal's leg (лапка)'; ? Xk tīzek, ? Tv dīskek 'knee' (the forms of Xk and Tv may result from contamination with T *t'irsgä;̣k 'elbow', / N *t'ir;̣, ▽ 'to turn, to bend') ¶ ADb. (Ttd 59) reconstructs NaT *t'jūr and believes that here the opposition between *t'- and *t'- has been neutralized (as in the *C̣z-roots) ¶ Md. 77, S AJ 95, 252, IS AD 39, Cl. 570, Rs. W 482, BT 149, Jeg. 323, Fed. II 413, Ash. XV 284-5, DH ChT 71, 81, 93, 116, 138, 151, 191, 202, 213, 225, 247, 280, ADb. Ttd 59, BIG 227 || pKo *tārī 'leg' > MKo tārī, NKo tari ¶ S QK #145, Nam 129, MLC 383 || M *türeyin > WrM türēi, HIM түрий, Brt түрин, WrO türē, Kl түрә türā 'bootleg, boot-top', Ord t'ūrī 'tige de botte', Mnr H {SM} t'urī 'tige de bas\botte, canon d'une culotte'; M → T: Sg törāj 'Stiefelschaft' ¶ KW 415, MED 854, KRS 523, Krg. 530, Chr. 446, Ms. O 688, SM 434, Rl. III 1251 || Tg *türe, *türe-kse 'boot-leg, boot-top' > WrMc türē, Ewk [Cs.] türēi, Ewk tirē-kse ɖ tirē-ktse ɖ tirē-kšse ɖ tirē-hse, Neg tiyεkse, Orc ti(y)εkse, Ud {STM} tīεHε, Ud X/B/Sm {Krm.} tēhε, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B turεkse, Nn KU tirikse ¶ STM II 188, Krm. 294 ¶¶ DQA #2410 (A *t'jūr'e 'leg, knee'); it is not clear if we should include here T *t'jūr' 'elbow', because its meaning is hardly derivable from 'knee', from typology of semantic changes we learn that the meaning 'elbow' does not usually go back to 'knee', but rather to 'bend'. T *t'irsgä;̣k 'elbow' (together with Tg *tirak [> *çirak] 'span') is to be connected with N *t'ir;̣, ▽ '↑' (q.v.) ◇ In the light of Af and K the most likely N Ir. is *t'ir;̣, ▽ Blz. LB #100f (suggested to add B and K), ≈ Blz. LNA #54 (pN *tarwi ~ *tawri 'leg' > B, K, A + unc. D *tār- 'stem' ~ *tā]- 'leg, stem' [see N *tarū 'ε tree, log' and N *t'Ar;̣, ▽ 'stem', ε? 'tree'])).

2443. *tařX∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter' > **HS:** WS *✓třh v. 'throw' > Ar ✓třh G v. 'fling, cast away', {Fr.} 'con-\pro-\ab-\re-\in-iecit', Sq ✓třh: {L} ʔeřrah 'jeter, jeter l'ancre, rester', {Jo.} (in Jo. J) źřrah v. 'throw, put down', Mh {Jo.} ✓třh (pf. 'řawřh, sbjn. yžřāh) v. 'leave, allow, let', Jb E✓třh (pf. 'řerh) id., Hrs {Jo.} ✓třh (pf. 'řawřh, sbjn. yžřr^h) 'leave, desert, leave alone', Jb C {Jo.} ✓třh (pf. 'řerh, sbjn. 'yžřřh) v. 'allow small calves to suck their mother's milk' ¶ Fr. III 46, Hv. 429, L LS 209, Jo. M 412, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 280 || CCh: McHigi: HgNk třε, HgG třè, HgF tūrì, FIK třù?, FIH třìyi v. 'fall' ¶ ChL ¶¶ OS #2484 || **IE:** NaIE *°sterH-/°streH- > NaIE *sterā-/°strā- ~°strō- ~°ster- ~ strew- v. 'spread, scatter' (×N *čAr'h'û' 'to spread, to scatter' [q.v. ffd.]): the variant with a lr. is represented by Vd stīr'ṇā- (prtc.) 'spread, scattered', OI 'stārīman- 'act of spreading-out; bed, couch', Gk στρωτός 'spread, laid, covered', στρωμα 'anything spread or laid out for lying or sitting upon, a mattress, bed', L strātus pp. 'spread, stretched out', strāmen 'straw, litter' ¶ The variant *ster- without reflexes of the lr. (e.g. in forms with *-n∇-sx.: OI str'ṇā-ti 'spreads, scatters', L sternō 'I spread', Gk στόρ-νῦ-μι 'I spread') goes back to N *čAr'h'û' 'to spread, to scatter' ¶ P 1029-31, EI 57 (*ster(h₃)- 'strew' ⇨ ? *sterh₃mṇ 'strewn place, bed'), M K III 517-8, M E II 756-7, F II 802-3, WH II 590-1, Cowg. EG 155ff., Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlBED 844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379 || **А** *°t'ar'i' > M *tari v. 'sow' > MM [MA, IM] tari- v. 'sow', WrM tari-, HIM тари- v. 'sow, plant', Dx тарь-, Ba tare-, Mnr H {SM} t'ari- v. 'sow'] a related (derived?) stem: M *tara- v. 'disperse, scatter' > WrM tara-, HIM, Brt тара- id. (Brt манан тара-ба 'the mist has cleared', lit. 'dispersed', ниндэн тараба 'the birds flew away [in different directions]), K1 тар- 'scatter, disperse' (үүлн тарж одв 'the clouds dispersed') ¶ Pp. MA 411, 447, MED 779, 781, Chr. 414, KRS 479, SM 411, T 363, T DnJ 135, T BJ 148 ¶¶ DQA #2315 (A *t'ayri 'scatter, disperse') ◇ IE *s- reflects the palatality within the N word. It is tempting to adduce here Tm tāruru v. 'sift, winnow'. It belongs here only if Tm tāruru is from *tār-t-, but Tl tal(u)cu v. 'winnow small grains from floor' suggests that the underlying form of Tm is *tāl-ru- ¶¶ D #3195, Km. 381 [#564] ◇ BmK 298-300 (IE, M tara-, Sum tar v. 'disperse' + Tm tāruru, FU *tara- v. 'open', and S ✓wtr v. 'stretch out').

2444. ***ṭErgE** 'to run' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'running place' → 'road') > **HS**: B * $\sqrt{\text{drg}}$ v. 'flee' > Ty, ETwl $\sqrt{\text{drg}}$ ($\text{d}^{\text{b}}\text{r}^{\text{r}}\text{b}^{\text{g}}$) 's'évader, s'enfuir, désertier', Ah $\text{d}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{g}^{\text{g}}\text{a}^{\text{g}}$ 'fuire à toute vitesse', Tdq $\text{d}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{g}$ 'flee' ¶ GhA 33, Fc. 283, NZ 486 || S * $\circ\sqrt{\text{trk}}$ 'way, road' (as. from ** $\sqrt{\text{trg}}$?) > Ar $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{q}}\text{-at-}$ (pl. $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{q-}$) {BK} 'marche', 'chemin, voie', $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{q-}$ 'chemin, route' (→ Gw {Mts.} $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{k}^{\text{u}}\text{i}$ 'road'), $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{q-at-}$ 'sentier, voie, tracé d'une route', Ar O {Jo.} $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{g}^{\text{a}}\text{h}$ 'way', Tgr {Ams.} $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{k-}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'way' (← Ar?) ¶ BK II 77-8, Hv. 431, Ams. 55, L G 597, Jo. H 130 || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}$ n. act. 'run (Lauf)', $\text{f}^{\text{e}}\text{ t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}$ 'run away' ¶ Eb. 97 || **IE**: NaIE * $\text{treg}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h-}}$ or {Mn.} * $\text{trg}^{\text{h-}}$ (actually * $\text{trg}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h-}}$) v. 'run' > Gk $\text{t}^{\text{p}}\text{e}\chi\omega$ 'I run' ||| Clt: ? W $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\omega$ m. 'progress, lead', Gl $\text{u}^{\text{e}}\text{r-t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{o}\text{s}$, $\text{o}\text{u}\text{e}\text{r}\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{o}\text{s}$ {Dtn.} 'swift-footed dog', {Vn.} chien courant' (→ L $\text{u}^{\text{e}}\text{r-t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{u}\text{s}$ 'greyhound'), Clt {Vn.} * $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{e}\text{-s}$ / gen. * $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{e}\text{t}\text{o}\text{s}$ 'foot' > OIr $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{i}\text{g}$ (gen. $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{i}\text{g}\text{e}\text{d}$) id., Brtt {RE} * $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{e}\text{-s}$ id. > MW $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{t}$, W $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{d}$, OCm $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{i}\text{t}$, Cm $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}$ id., OBr $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{i}\text{t}$ 'feet' (sg. * $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{i}\text{t}$), MBr $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{t}$, Br $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{d}$ 'foot' ||| Gt $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{g}\text{jan}$, AS $\text{d}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{e}\text{zan}$ 'to run' ¶ P 1089, Mn. 142, EI 491 (* $\text{treg}^{\text{h-}}$ 'run'), F II 927-9, Fs. 500-1, Ho. 368, Vn. *T* 122-3, RE 97, Dtn. 293, 298, Billy 156 ¶ It is not clear if this $\sqrt{\text{}}$ is identical or only isophonic with * $\text{trg}^{\text{h-}}$ v. 'draw' (cf. N * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{v}} \sim \text{*t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{v}}\text{-H}^{\text{v}}\text{g}^{\text{v}}$ 'to drag, to pull'); NaIE * $\text{treg}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h-}}$ is an interesting case of the usually avoided root-structure "tenuis + media aspirata"; it remains to found out conditions for this kind of exception ||| **A**: T * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ ({DQA} * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}$ -) > OT $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{z}$ v. 'run away, flee', Az Δ $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{z-}$, Tkm $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{z-}$, Xk $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{s-}/\text{-z-}$, ET $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{z-}$, Tv $\text{d}^{\text{e}}\text{z-}$, Tf $\text{d}^{\text{e}}\text{s}^{\text{t}}$ v. 'run away, flee', ET $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{z-}$ v. 'leave one's nest/home', Chv $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r-}$ v. 'run, flee' ¶ Cl. 672, Ra. 172, IS 41 [#6], Rs. W 477, S AJ 198 [#281], BIG 226, Fed. II 175 || M * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{-le-}$ v. 'run, flee' > WrM {Gl.} $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{ile-}$ id., Kl {Rm.} $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{-}\text{x}\text{a}$, Brt $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{l-}\text{x}\text{a}$ 'to run away, to flee'; M * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e-d}^{\text{e}}$ → Brt $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{d}\text{-}$ id.; M * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{en}$ 'vehicle (carriage, wagon, chariot)' > MM [MA, HI, S] $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{en}$ id., [PP] $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{d}$ (pl.) 'carriages, wagons', WrM $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}(\text{n})$ 'carriage, wagon', {Kow.} id., 'chariot', HIM $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{e}\text{g}$, $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{e}\text{g}\text{e}\text{n}$, Brt $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{e}\text{g}$, WrO $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{en}$, Kl {Rm.} $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{n}$, Mnr H {SM} $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}$, Dg $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}$ 'carriage, wagon'; M d. * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e-}\text{y}\text{ur}$ 'wide road, highway' > MM [HI] $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e-}\text{y}\text{ur}$ 'grande route', WrM $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{g}\text{y}\text{ur}$ {MED} 'wide road, highway', {Gl.} '(wide) road, wide street', {Kow.} 'rue large, grand chemin', WrO $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{g}\text{y}\text{ur}$ 'highway, road, street', Dg $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{e}\text{y}\text{ur}$ 'road, way' ¶ MED 805, Kow. 1775-7, Gl. III 145-6, T 365, T DgJ 167, SM 417, Pp. MA 349, Pp. PP 131, Ms. H 101, H 149, Krg. 496, Chr. 456, S AJ 239 [#135] || Tg: Ewk $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{r}\text{g}\text{i-}$ v. 'walk', ?? WrMc cir $\text{s}\text{e}\text{m}\text{e}$

'quickly' (some 'by saying') ¶ STM II 187, 400, Z 940-1 || pKo {S} *tʰrʰí (x N *dæRʰʷga ~ *dæRʰʷkʷ 'to walk, to run; way, path', q.v.) > MKo tʰrʰí {S} 'ride quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from *tʰd- 'run') ¶ S QK #511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ¶¶ S AJ 295 [#535] (A *tʰárʷ 'run, run away'), SDM97 (A *tʰārga 'run, flee'), DQA #2412 (A *tʰírge id. > T, M, Tg), KW 393.

2445. *tūtʷ '(fore)arm' > K *tʷtʷ- 'arm, branch' > G P/X tʷtʷ-i 'hand', G P tʷtʷ-i 'limb of a horse', MG [VTq] tʷtʷ-i 'limb (of an animal)' (tʷtʷi lomisa 'lion's paw'), G tʷtʷ-i 'twig, branch, arm of a river', šarʷlis tʷtʷi 'trouser-leg', Mg tʷtʷ-i, tʷaʷtʷ-i 'paw, hand', Lz tʷtʷ-i 'branch', Sv: UB/LB tʷwet / tʷtʷ-, LB tʷet, L tʷtʷ, Ln tʷwet 'arm, hand' ¶¶ K 182, Chx. 1361, Chik. 135 (G, Lz), Q 330, DCh. 1225, NCh. 379, GTK KD I 594, GhI. 515, TK 720, GP 260, Dn. s.v. tʷtʷ, Ni s.v. pyka (Sv tʷwet) || **HS:** C: IEC *dʷ(n)dʷm- 'forearm' > Sml N {Abr.} dʷdʷn (pl. dʷdʷmmó) 'forearm (from elbow to fingertips)', Sml {DSI} dʷdʷn / pl. dʷdʷmmo 'forearm, ell', Or {Th.} dʷndʷma id., {Grg.} dʷndʷma, Or M {AD} 'dʷndʷma 'ell', {LLC} dʷndʷma 'lower arm', dʷndʷma 'ell', Or H {Ow.} dʷndʷmá 'forearm, arm's length, half a meter', Or B {Vnt.} dʷndʷma 'pugno', {LLC} dʷndʷmo 'lower arm', Kns {BISO} dʷndʷma 'cubit (from elbow to fingers)' ¶ AD SF 251, Abr. S 67, DSI 179, Th. 117, Grg. 131, Ow. 259, Vnt. 47, LVCZ 10, 64, BISO 26 || ??σ,φ Eg BD cʷcʷ {Fk.} 'trot', {EG} a word for legs ¶ EG V 357, Fk. 304 || **Gil:** Gil A tʷtʷ 'forearm' ('предплечье') ¶¶ ST 360 || **D** *tuʷ- 'thigh' > Tm tuʷai, toʷai, Ml tuʷa, Td tʷaʷ, Kn toʷe, Tl toʷa 'thigh', Tu tuʷæ id., 'shank', Klm duʷ 'hip', ? Kui dʷndʷo 'thigh, ? Ku tuntu 'hip' ¶¶ D #3302 ◇ D *-tʷ- suggests N *-tʷ-, while the K and C glottalized consonant in the Inlaut is due to assimilation.

2446. *tūtʷE 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > IE *teʷtʷ-(ā) 'people (Volk), tribe' ({Dv.} 'tutto, popolo', {P} 'Menge Volkes', {McC} 'Stamm', {Bn.} 'plénitude, people, nation, civitas') > Osc τʷτʷ, TOUTO 'community (civitas)', Um accus. TOTAM, gen. TOTAR 'citizenry (civitas)', TOTAPER, TUTAPER 'pro civitate'; ? L tōtʷs 'whole' (unless from *toʷətos 'vollgestopft') || OIr tuath 'tribe, people', Crn tʷs 'folk, people, relatives', MBr tut ~ tud 'people' ('gens'), pl. tudou 'nationes', Br tud 'people' (pl. of den 'man, person'), MW tut 'people, country, land', W † tud id. || Gt piuda, OHG diot, AS ðéod, ON þjóð 'Volk, Leute'; ds.: NHG deutsch 'German', deutlich

'clear', *deuten* 'explain' ||| Ltv *tàuta* 'people (Volk), nation', Olt, Lt *tautà* id., Lt *tautà* 'Oberland, Germany', Pru *tauto* 'Land' ||| ? Irn {Mrg.} **tauta-ka-* > NPrs {BM} توده *tūde* 'mass of people, people' ('масса людей, народ') (as well as CINPrs توده {Sg.} *tōda*, NPrs توده *tūde* 'heap', Sgd *τωδῥκ* 'Masse, Erdhaufen?') || ? AnIE {ABIV.} **tuti-* 'army (Heer)' > Ht *tuzzi-* 'Heer, Heerlager, Truppenmacht', Lc *tuta/i* 'army' ¶ P 1084-5, EI 417 (**teu'teh_h-* 'the people [? under arms]'), Frd. HW 232, Ts. E III 499-504, ABIV. II 172-3, Dv. #449, WH II 695-6, Bc. G 325-6, 349, GM 137, BM 137, Vl. I 478 (توده 'acervus, cumulus'), Fs. 496, Kb. 158-9, EWA II 684-8, KM 129, Vn. *T* 164, YGM-1 422, Frn. 1069, En. 263, GI II 749, Zm. IGSS 326, 328-9 [notes 47-53], McC 112-6, Vr. 613 ¶ Bn. and Neu reject the connection between AnIE **tuti* and IE **tewtā* (F Bn. VIII I 366 and Neu HB 105) ¶ Mul. 490, EM 1050, and Szem. favour the connection of L *tōtus* with the IE √ in question, while Walde and Hofmann (WH II 695-6) reject it and prefer to interpret the IE word as **to_wə-tos-* 'vollgestopft'. McCone HWK 116 rejects the **to_wətos-* etymology as phonetically untenable (lack of *lr.* in IE **tewt-*) and prefers a semantically unreliable et.: **tewt-* ← **te_w-* 'aufmerken, dienen, schützen'. Ernout and Meillet (EM 1050) suppose a dialectal development **e_w* > L *ō*. The IE √ may go back to a coalescence of the N word in question and N ≈ **ṭāwod* 'be full' (q.v.) || A **t'uti* > NaT **t'öt'ü* 'everybody, everything' > Tv *төдү* *t'ödü*, Tf *t'ūdō* id. ¶ Ra. 235 || M **otuži* (< **otudi*) > WrM *tuži*, HIM *туж* 'throughout, always', WrM *edür tuži* 'all day long' (*edür* means 'day'), M ⇨ OT *tüzü* 'all' (suggesting that M **tuži* originally meant 'all') ¶ MED 848, Luv. 421, Cl. 573 || HS: WCh: Pr {Frz.} *dōè*, Dr {Nw.} *dái* 'all' | ??φ Gw {Mts.} *dúdu* 'all', Hs *dú*, *dúkà* 'all' ¶ Ba. 272, Frz. P 29, Nw. KL 123, ≈ Sk. HCD 50 || ?σ S: Ar *tūt-*, *tāt-* 'long, grand, long' ¶ BK II 119 ◇ There is no satisfactory explanation for the reflex **-ž-* (rather than **-č-*) in M. An alt. rec. is **tutE*, supposing as. (N **ṭ...t* > **ṭ...ṭ*) in S, IE, and T. Hardly here U: Sm {Hl.} **tük-* 'all' (> Ne T *түкү*, {Prk.} *ṭuku?*, *ṭukuti?* 'alle(s)', Mt {Hl.} **tügüy* 'everywhere' [Mt M {Sp.} *тугүй*]), unless **-k-* is a *sx.* and the U etymon is ***tüt-k* (F Jn. 168 [Sm **tüč|s|k|t-*], Cs. 28, 90, KP #1601, Ter. SILSJ 98, Hl. M ##1069, 1078, 1087).

2446a. **ṭüt'a* 'dust, ashes' (→ [in descensant lgs.] 'smoke') > K **ṭuṭa-* 'ashes' > G XVIII {SSO} *ṭuṭ-i*, G {DCh.} *ṭuṭ-i* 'lye', {Chx.} *ṭuṭa* 'lye (Aschenlauge)', *ṭuṭ-e* 'alkali', G I *ṭuṭa*, Mg *ṭuṭa-*, Lz *mṭuṭa-*, USv, Sv Ln

ʈʂʈ, Sv UB, Sv Ldʂʈ 'ashes' ʃʃ K 183, K² 192, FS 335, DCh. 1228, Chx. 1370, GhI. 518, BU 295, TK 722-3, Ch. 160-1 (G, Mg, Lz) || A: ?σ T *t'üt'ä- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' > OT {Cl.} tütä-, {Gb., DTS, Rs., TL) tüt-, XwT {Faz.} tütä-, Tk Δ tüte-, Xlj {DT} titi-, Tkm, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq tüte-, VTt, Bsh tʂtā-, Qrg tütö-, Qmn tüde-, Ln düdü-, SY tütü- ʂ tüt-, Xk, Shor tüde-, OOsM düt-, Tk tüt-, Ggz tüt- id.; ⇨ T *t'üt'ün n. 'smoke' > OT, Chg Xw, MQp tütün, OOsM XIV dütün, Nog, Qq tütin, Qzq түтін tütin, Qrg, ET tütün, Alt, Xk, Shor tütün, Chv tətəm 'smoke', Tk tütü, Az, Tkm tütün 'tobacco' ʃ Cl. 432 (the original stem is tütä-), 457-8, TL 364-5, DTS Rs. 506, Faz. II 426, DT 206, ET 329 || pKo *tìtkìr ~ *tìthìr 'dust' > MKo tìtkìr ~ tìthìr id. ʃʃ DQA #2472, SDM97 (*t'út'i [or *-t-] 'smoke') || HS: Ch: WCh: Dr {J} duḏá 'ashes' (unless from N *dArʂ∇ 'ashes') | Klr {J} atotô 'ashes' ʃ JI II 4-5, J R 350 || C: Ag: Awn tʂtrí 'dust'; ?φ pAg *tiza 'smoke' > Bln {R} te'dā (pl. tid), Km {Ap.} tiza, Xm tiya id., Ag ⇨ Gz -tīs- (3m sbjn. yəḏīs, 3m pf. tēsā) v. 'smoke' || ? SC {E} *ted|ri > Irq {MQK} tēri 'dust, cloud of dust', SC ⇨ Mb itéri 'dust'; the SC word belongs here only if it is *tedi || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} ḏedo 'mist' ʃ Hz. NSA 137, R WB 334, Ap. IV 47, L G 601, E SC 170, MQK 100, ZMO 114 ◇ The semantic change 'ashes' → 'smoke' (or viceversa) is not confirmed typologically (as far as I know); a possible filiation is: 'dust' → [1] 'smoke', [2] 'ashes' ◇ Cp. also D: Tm t̄ā t̄u 'powder, dust', Td t̄o·θ 'powdery' (D #3159); this D √ (as well as SC, EC, and Ag roots with a front unrounded vw.) may belong here only if the discrepancy of vowels is explained away (e.g. by reconstructing the N etymon as *t̄uHA|ET∇ or *t̄A|EHuT∇) ◇ The etl. connection between K and A was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #4f) and in 1992 (Bl. KM 140-1 [#28]); ≈ Blz. LNA #56 (N *t̄uḏi 'ashes, smoke' > Ch, K, Ko + ʂ M [in fact T] *tütün, *tüt-süg).

2447. ?σ₂ *t̄oHt̄∇ 'to run, to stream' > A *t'Ut'∇ (DQA *t'otá) > Tg *t̄ȳte- ({Bz.} *tötä-) v. 'run' > Sln tutʂ-, Ewk tut-, Orc, Ud tutu-, Nn tutu-, Ul tutu-, Ork tuta- v. 'run'; the lower series of vowel harmony in Ul and Ork is probably a late development ʃ STM II 223-4 || pKo {S} *t̄λd- 'run' > MKo t̄λt/r-, NKo tat/r- ʃ S QK #855, Nam 139, MLC 401 || ?φ pJ {S} *tanta-yuap- {S} v. 'float, ramble', {Mr.} 'drift' > OJ tādáy-yuop-, J: T tadayó-, K tādáyó-, Kg tàdàyò- {Kenk.} v. 'float, swim, drift' ʃ S QJ #731, Mr. 761, Kenk. 1864 ʃʃ DQA #2439 || D *t̄ōt̄ ({{GS}} *t̄ōḏ-) 'a stream' > Ml t̄ōt̄u, Kn t̄ōḏu 'water-course', Kdg t̄oḏt̄ 'small

stream', Tu tōdɪu 'drain, sewer, brook', Krg tōdɑ 'stream', Gnd d^hōdɑ(:) ɖ dōrɑ ɖ dōdɑ 'river', Δ dora 'running brook' ¶¶ D #3543 ◇ D *-t̥ (*-d) < N *-Ht̥- (de-emphatizing effect of the l.r.), while otherwise the intervocalic N *-t̥- would have yielded D *t. An alt. hypothetical rec.: N *t̥ot̥∇ with Tg as. **t...d > *t...t.

2448. *täw̥h∇ 'abandon, leave' > K: *^ot̥ew- v. 'leave, abandon' > OG t̥ew- v. 'abandon', G t̥ov- v. 'leave\abandon'; acc. to Klimov, also Mg, Lz t̥al- v. 'be mixed' ¶ K 180 || HS: WS *-t̥ūh- (or *-t̥w̥h-?) 'go away, leave (partir)' > Ar ✓ t̥w̥h (pf. t̥āha, ip. ya-t̥ūh-u) 'périr, être près de sa ruine; error; s'en aller', {Hv.} 'perish; go away; wander', Jb C eṭ'baḥ (✓ t̥w̥h) v. 'wander off' ¶ BK II 117, Ln. 1888-9, Hv. 440-1, Jo. J 281 || A (*t̥'æ'ḅ∇): M *teb̥ci- v. 'leave' > MM teb̥ci- [S] 'werfen, verlassen, verraten', [HI] 'abandonner, sacrifier', WrM tebci- ~ tebsi-, HIM тэвчи-, Brt тэбшэ- v. 'abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} t̥ep̥č- 'beiseite lassen, verlassen, sein lassen, dulden' ¶ MED 789, H 147, Ms. H 100, KW 392, Chr. 451 || D (in SD) *tav̥r- ({ḡGS} *t-) > Tm tavir- v. 'abstain, cease, leave, separate from', Ml taviruka v. 'be put aside', Kn Hv t̥avru v. 'drive away', Tu tauruni v. 'remove' ¶ D #3113 ◇ ≈ BmK 319-20 (K, S, D + Sum d̥u v. 'go\leave' + unconvincingly IE *dew(ə)-/*d̥w̥ā-/*d̥ū- v. 'move forward' and other stems without reliable semantic connections with the N word in question).

2449. *täy∇ 'louse' > HS: NrOm: Ym {C} tuṛā, {Wdk.} t̥uṛā, {Lm.} tuṛā 'louse' ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 137, 163, Lm. Y 378 || U: FU *täye 'louse' > F, Es t̥äi id. | pLp {Lr.} *ti-kkē > Lp: N {N} d̥ik'ke, S {Hs.} d̥ikkie, L {LLO} t̥ihkee, Kld t̥+k'k' id. | Chr: H ти ti, L тий tiy, E ti ɖ tiy id. | Prm *t̥öy (= {LG} *t̥öj) id. > Z toy, Z US t̥oy, Yz 't̥uy, Vt t̥zy || ObU {Ht.} *t̥ēk(t)am̥∇ ({Ht.} *t̥ēk(t)am̥∇) id. > pVg t̥ākm̥∇ > Vg: T t̥ākam, LK/MK/UK t̥āxam, P/NV/LL taxam, SV t̥āxam, UL/Ss t̥ākam; pOs *t̥öy̥tam̥ ({HL} *t̥öy̥tam̥) > Os: V/Vy t̥öy̥tam̥, Ty t̥āy̥tam̥, Y t̥āwtam̥, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtam̥ | Hg tet̥ú id. ¶ UEW 515, It. #613, Coll. 119, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *t̥äji, Ugr *t̥äjī 'louse'), LG 250, Lt. 65, MF 631-2, Lr. #1251, Lgc. #7850, Hs. 437, MRS 374, Ep. 117, Ht. 188 [#634]; on pObU {Ht.} *ē = ē cf. Hl. rHt 68-9 || A {DQA} *t̥'iy∇ 'louse' > Tg: Orc t̥īna- v. 'look for lice, louse (so.)', Tg *t̥ī-le- id. > Ewk, Neg t̥īl̥z-, Lm t̥īl-; Tg *tikte (< **t̥ī-kte?) n. 'louse' (× N *t̥äkt̥∇ 'louse', q.v.) > Ul tikt̥z, Ork tikt̥z ~ çikt̥z, Nn Nh čikt̥z, WrMc cixi ~ cixe 'louse' ¶ STM II 179, 181, 392 || T *^ot̥'ji- > OT U ti-lār 'ε insect' ¶ Cl. 501 ¶¶

The A cognate is acceptable if A *-iy- may go back to N *-äy- (assimilative palatalization *ä > *i) ¶¶ DQA #2367 ◇ IS MS 335 (*ṭäjḥ 'louse') and IS SS #1.9 (in both: A, U, K *ṭil₁- 'louse'); K {K} *ṭil₁- 'louse' or {K²} *ṭil- id. (> G ṭil-, Mg ṭi(y)-, Lz mṭi-, Sv ṭiṣ̌-; F K 181, K² 188, TK 718) may be accepted as cognate only if we can explain Sv -ṣ̌- or K's *l₁- ◇ Gr. II #254 (*tay 'louse') ([← IS]: L U, A + Ai).

2450. *ṭiyA 'to be narrow' > HS: EC (× N *ṭUq∇ 'near; be close to, approach'): Af {PH} ḍayī v. 'be close\near', Sa {R} ḍay- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ¶ PH 91, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || U *tiyā 'narrow (eng, schmal)' > Er тея́ тея, {ERV} теине 'narrow', Mk тья́ня́ тья́ня́ 'eng, schmal' || Sm {Jn.} *t+yā id. > En {Cs.} tíja, Ne Т тыя, Ne Т О {Lh.} t̄y'e id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ṭiċ+ 'narrow passage, isthmus, neck of land', {Prk.} tiċi 'narrow passage (теснина)', Slq Ch/UO {Cs.} teṭeka 'eng' ¶¶ Coll. 62, UEW 523, ERV 652, 661, PI 279, KKI 183, Cs. 147 || A: Tg *ti'y'e 'narrow' > Ewk tiyз ~ tiyэ, Lm tiyэkun, Lm KO tɔwakun ~ tɔyakun, Lm A tɔyэkun 'narrow (eng, schmal)', Ork çīṅmэy, Nn KU tižō ~ -ū, Nn Nh/B čīžō ~ -ū 'narrow (eng)' ¶ STM II 176, Vas. 408, CiR 640, Pt. 155 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. узкий *ṭijа, IS SS 318 [#1.15], Coll. 146, Rs. UAW 36, Sauv. 71 (in all sources U, Tg).

2451. (₂?) *ṭUhy∇ 'eat, feed; food' > HS *√tʀ|h¹y/w ~ ? *√ṭhy/w > S [1] *√tʀw/y 'eat' > Ak таʔû v. 'eat, graze', Mh {Jo.} √twy v. G 'eat' (pf. tɔwū ~ twuh, ip. yɔ'tayw, sbjn. yɔtē), Hrs {Jo.} tɔwō, Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. 'te, prs. 'yte, sbjn. 'yit, Sq {Jo.} 'te id.; ? [2] *°√ṭhy/w > Ar √ṭhw/y (pf. ṭahā, ip. -ṭhū ~ *-ṭhaw-, n. act. ṭahw-,*-ṭuhw-, *ṭuhy-) 'préparer à manger (cuire, rôtir, arranger les viandes\mets)', طَاهِيّ ṭāhi-n 'personne qui prépare à manger (cuisinier \ rotisseur \ boulanger); qui donne à manger' ¶ Sd. 1340, BK II 116, Ln. 1888, Jo. M 404 || Eg fP t 'bread' ¶ EG V 209, Fk. 292 || C: Bj {R} tiyу 'Kost, Nahrung, Lebensunterhalt' ¶ R Wbd 233 || ?? NrOm: Ym resp {C} таʔ- v. 'eat', {Wdk.} tàʔrà id. ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'eat'; the adduction of this Ym word is qu. for three reasons: (1) there is no explanation for -r-, (2) the Ym word is isolated within Om (at least in the meaning 'eat'), (3) the social essence of the "respectful language (linguaggio di rispetto)" suggests that the original meaning of the word is not 'eat', but sth. else (possibly a μφ) || Ch {AD} *√thwy ~ √tyw, {JI} *√twy v. 'eat (soft food)', {Nw.} *ti v. 'eat' > WCh *√thwy ~

*ty^w, {Stl.} *tih^w / *tah^w v. 'eat (soft food)': Hs čí || BT: Dr {J} twi / twa, {Nw.} túi, Krkr {Lk., J} t- / {J} tu-, Grm {Sh.} tìyá, Krf {Sch.} tí-wò, Bl {Lk.} ti- || Klr {J} čí, {IL} t^hi^x, DfB {J} čuh / čwǎy, Bks {J} ču / čwǎy, Tmbs {Sh.} čí || NrBc: Sir {Gw.} t^wa, {Sk.} tú, Mbr {Sk.} tí / tǎ, Jmb {Sk.} tí / tǎ || SBc: Gj/Buli/Tule {Sh.} čí || Ngz {Sch.} tá, Bd {IL} tǝgi / tǝđi || CCh: Ms {J} tína ~ čína, ZmB {J, Sa.} tí || ECh: Mgm {J} tìy-, tìyáw, EDng {Fd.} tē, Bdy {AlJ} aor. tǎ / pfc. té / aor. pl. tǝyèw || Skr {Sx.} tē, Mw {J} tē || Mu {J} tī / túwâ, {Lk.} túwà, inf. tìyá, Mjl {DB} tük, Kjk {DB} tu, Kjr {DB} tuye, Brg {J} táyà ¶ JI I 56 and II 120-1, J M, Stl. ZCh 167 [#201] (*ti/ah^w), J R 213, J B, Nw. KL 133, DB, Blz. EChWL ¶¶ OS #2345 (HS *taʔ- 'eat' > S, Eg, C, Ch), AD SF 53 (S, Eg, C, Om, Ch), ≈ Sk. HCD 34 || | D (in SD) *tu_{ly} v. 'eat' > Tm tu v. 'eat' (generally used in negative forms), tu 'food', Kn tuyyal 'a dish of rice, milk, and sugar' ¶ DED #2685, D #3282 || | ?σ A *t'Uy∇ {AD} 'offer food to so.' (× N *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' 'bring, fetch, give'?) > Tg *tuyu- v. 'offer food to so. (e.g. a guest)' > Ewk, Ul [^]tuyu-, Ewk Skh tuyз-, Lm toy-, Lm Al tuy-, Neg, Orc, Ork toyo-, Nn Nh tuyu- id. ('γροισατῆ'), Ewk tuyun, Ewk Skh tuyзn, Neg toyon, Orc, Ork toyo, toyon-, Ul tuyu, tuyun-, Nn Nh tuyũ 'food offered to a guest' ¶ STM II 206 || NaT *t'loy 'feast' (unless ← *t'loy 'camp, community') > OT toy '(wedding) feast', XwT XIII, Cmn/MQp/OOsm XIV, Chg XV toy 'feast', Tkm toy 'wedding feast, wedding, feast', ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk toy, VTt, Bsh tuy, Tv d_{oy} id.; T → WrM toy 'feast' ¶ Rm. W 567, Jeg. 255 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *t'oye (T, Tg + *÷ M *tügeʕe- 'distribute') and DQA #2457 (pA *t'üya 'give, give a feast': T, Tg), ≠ Rm. SKE 260-70 (+ untenable parallels for the Tg √) ¶¶ Tg *t- is a reg. reflex of N *t̥-, but the quality of the pT dental is not clear: Tkm t- suggests *t̥-, while Tv d₋ points to T *t̥- ◇ A *t'Uy∇ belongs here only if its etymological meaning is 'feed' and not only 'give' or 'feast'.

2451a. *tahy∇ 'go away, take away' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > NaIE *tāy- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief' (× IE *steh- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal' and NaIE *(s)tāyu-s- 'thief, theft' < N *śat'ahi' '≈ to take away', q.v.) > OI tā'yu- 'thief', Av tāyu- id., tāya- 'theft' || Gk τητάομαι 'I am deprived/bereft of, in want of', τηύσλος, Gk D ταύσλος 'idle, vain, undertaken to no purpose' (if ← ≈ *[self-]deceptive') || OIr tái d 'thief' || Sl *taj- 'steal, conceal': *tájiti (prs. *tajǫ) 'to conceal' >

OCS **ТАИТИ** *tajiti* (prs. **ТАИ** *tajq*), R **таить** (prs. **таю**), SCr **tájiti** (prs. **tájī**), Slv *tajiti* 'to conceal'; **tajь* 'secret' > OCS **ТАИ** *taji* adv. 'λάθρᾶ, secretly', OR **ТАИ** 'secret', Slv **tāj** 'denial', Cz **pod tajem** 'secretly'; SI **tatь* 'thief' > OCS **ТАТЬ** *tatь*, R † **тать**, SCr, Slv **tât** 'thief, robber' || Tc B **ene-staj** 'in secret' || Ht, HrLw **taya-** 'steal' ¶ P 1010, EI 543 (**(s)teh*⁴- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), MK I 496 and III 513-4, ME II 75, Vn. *T* 7, F II 895-6, Vs. IV 11, 28, Glh. 618, Ad. 84-5, Ts. E III 24-6 || **U**: Ugr **tay*∇-*tta-* 'verbergen, verheimlichen' (← Irn?) > Vg: T *tuyt-*, *tōyt-*, P *tuyt-* id., 'verstecken', MK *tuyt-*, Ss *tūyt-* vt. 'hide', LL *tuytkāt-* vi. 'sich verbergen' | Hg *titok* 'a secret', † adj. 'geheim, heimlich' ¶ UEW 892 || **A**: Tg **tey-* or **tī-* 'take away (sth. from so.)' > Ewk, Ud, Ul *tī-*, Lm *tē-*, Sln *tīn-*, Nn Nh *čī-* id., Neg *tužayama* 'thief' ¶ STM II 173-4 || **HS**: S **√t̥h̥y* ~ **√t̥yh̥* > Ar *√t̥h̥y* *G* 'être loin, être éloigné', *√t̥yh̥* (ip. *-t̥īh̥-*) {BK} 'périr, se perdre, s'en aller; s'égarer et manquer le but', {Hv.} 'go astray, perish', *√t̥w̥h̥* (ip. **-t̥ūh̥-* ~ *-t̥īh̥-*) *G* {BK} 'errer, rôder, aller çà et là; s'égarer et ne pas atteindre le but' ¶ BK II 62, 117, 128, Hv. 443 ◇ The Ugrian cognate suggests that here Tg **-ey-* or **-ī-* go back to **-ay-*.

2452. *wa 'also, same' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > **HS:** S *wa 'and' > BHb -ḷwā- (before a stressed syll.) / -ḷwə- / -ḷwu-, †Ph w-, Pun w-, (LSc) U-, Y-, (GkSc) ou-, Ug w-, (AkSc) {Hnr.} wə- (?), OA w-, wʔ- ([wa]), BA, IA -ḷwə- / -ḷwu- †Sr wə-, Md u-, Ar, Gz wə-, Sb, Mn, Qt w-, Mh {Jo.} w(ʒ)- / ʒw-, Hrs w(ʒ)-, Jb E/C b-, Sq {Jo.} wʒ-, Ak u-, Eb {Krb.} ú, ù, wa † Br. G II 484-90 [§ 302], KB 247, 1699, FrdR § 257a, HJ 294-6, Hnr. 122, OLS 512-3, Deg. § 46a, Seg. AAG 234, 532, Mc. HM 450-2, BGMR 154, MA 101, Rk. 47, L G 602, Jo. M 418-9, Jo. H 133, Jo. J 286, DRS 473-80 || **IE:** NaIE {WP, Mn.} *u 'and, but, also' > OI u ~ ū encl. 'and, also' (also in cds.: rō < 'and not' [*na 'not' + *u], athō 'and then, and so' [< *atʰa 'then, so' + *u]) || Gk -u in πᾶν-u 'altogether, entirely', {WP} 'gar sehr' (< πᾶν 'all' + -u) || ? Tc A ok {Ad.} 'again', {JGH} 'yet, still', {Wn.} 'encore' (*u-g), B māwk, A mā ok 'not again'] NaIE cd. *u-te > OI utā, Av utā̃, OPrs utā 'and, also', Gk -ύτε in ἡ-ύτε 'as, like as' (ἡ 'as' + -ύτε)] Highly problematic is the ambiguous NaIE apophonic grade *au 'again' ({F} 'again, back [zurück]') (with a puzzling *a for the expected *e or *o) > Gk αὔ 'again, afresh, once more' || Gmc: Gt auk 'then, also, but', ON auk 'also, and', Sw ooh, ock, Dn og 'and', OHG ouh, NHG auch 'also', OSx ôk, AS éac 'also'. If IE *au meant originally 'back, away' (as suggested by BSl: Lt au-, Sl *u- 'away'), it does not belong here (unless the meaning 'back [zurück]' is the original meaning of the N word, whence the meanings 'also' and 'and') † WP I 188, Mn. 1496, M K I 97, 101, M E I 209, ≈ FI 183, Fs. 67, Vr. 19, Ho. 82, Ho. S 57, Kb. 754, OsS 670, Schz. 231, KM 36, Wn. 329-30, JGH 30, Ad. 109, FI 183 || **K:** OG, G -ve 'also, same' (encl. pc. of identity): OG rametu xar-ve galilevel 'for thou art also a Galilæan' (Mk. 6.20), mas-ve saxlsa šena 'in the same house' (Luc. 10.7), G šen-ve 'du selbst, gerade du' † Ser. 62-3, Chx. 371 || **A:** M *ba 'and, also, same' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} ba/be 'and, also', [HI] {Ms.} ba/be 'and', {Ms.} ba 'même', WrM, WrO {Krg.} ba, HIM ba, Kl b {Rm.} ba, Dg {T} ba(:) 'and, also', Brt ba 'and' † H 11, 14, Ms. H 38, 40, Lew. II 16, 18, MED 64, T DgJ 123, Krg. 322, KW 27, Chr. 71 ◇ ≈ BmK 603 (*wa/*wə sentence particle 'and, also, but, like, as' > IE, S, K [without distinguishing between reflexes of N *wa 'also, same' and those of N *ʔa'wû 'whether?', 'or']), ≠ KW 27 (M ← S??).

2453. *wv 'who?' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: Hs wà 'who?' | Fy {J} wá, Bks ʔá-wá, DfB wá(-mây) id. || CCh: Mrg, Klb wà, Bu wà...ri | McMtk: Mtk ware ~ wara, pMM {Ro.} *wa > Mada {BrrB} wwà / wwây, {Ro.} uwa,

MfG {Brr.} wá, Mf {BLB} wá, wá, as well as {Ro.}: Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrз wíyà, Mkt, Gzg wa | Mdr wá | G'nd, Boka wùni, Gbn wùni | Gude {Hsk.} wù, {ChL} wà | Lmn wé (< *wa) | Hide wa | Bdm (w)ōñi 'who?' || ECh: Mkl, Jg wê, Bdy wá, EDng wā, Mgm wè | Mb {J} wā | Ll wéy id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Lk. G 42, Ro. 359 [#803], BLB 376, Brr. MG II 252-3, BrrB 262, Blz. EChWL #98 || B: Zkara wi, Kb wi, wu 'who?' ¶ Dl. 848-9 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} wu'rā 'what?', Aw {Hz.} wátay 'what?', wǎš 'where?' ¶ AD KJ 117, R BilS 691-2 || K *wi- 'who?' > OG nom., erg. wi-n, G nom., erg. vi-n (gen. vi-s, dat. vi-s(a)) 'who?', Sv {TK} i- ɖ yi- ɖ e- (*'who?') in the gen. form: UB i-ša, L yi-ša, Ln e-ša 'whose?' (i-ša hašwiš li? 'whose daughter is she?') ¶¶ Fn. GAS 73, Vogt GLG 41, FS K 124, FS E 135, ≈ K² 52, ≈ K 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 311 || A: Tg *y- 'who?', 'what?' > Ewk PT uɣun 'who?', 'what?' (of sth. unknown), Nn KU ūnɜkɜ- - interr. verb ('how to act?', 'what to do?') ¶ STM II 247 ◇ The elements *-i- (and -i-n) in K and B may have been induced by K *mi-n 'who?' and by N *mi 'what?' (or go back to N *ya 'which?', cf. Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrз wíyà 'who?').

2454. *wEcû 'fit (?), good, beautiful' > HS: S *√wsm > Ak (w)asāmu 'be fit, be proper, be suitable', Ug ysm 'beautiful, pleasant', ysmt 'beauty', Ar √wsm G (pf. wasama, ip. yasimu) 'surpass so. in beauty', (pf. wasuma) {BK} 'être beau de visage' ¶ Sd. 1473-4, OLS 539, BK II 1537, Ln. 3054, Hv. 870, DRS 569 || IE *wesu- / *wēsu- / *eys- 'good' > OI 'vasu-h̄ (f. 'vasvī-), Av vaṇhu-, vohu- 'good', OI vasīyān, Av vahyā 'better', OI vasiṣṭha-, Av vahištō 'best', MPrs vēh 'better, best', NPrs 𐎧 beh 'good, better' || OIr feb* {P} 'excellence, superiority (Vortrefflichkeit)', {Thr.} '(good) quality' (att. in an obl. case: feib {EI} 'in excellence') (< *wesw-ā), febas {P} 'Vortrefflichkeit', fó 'good, goodness' (< *wosu-), {Thr.} fíu 'worth' (< *wēsu-), W gwych 'splendid, fine, brilliant', {YGM} gwíw 'fit', Crn gwɣw 'fit, worthy', MBr {Em.} guɣou 'gai, enjoué', Br gwíw 'vif, gai, éveillé' || OCS оуѣннѣ уѣ-иѣ ~ оуѣнѣнѣ уѣ-ѣ adj. 'better' (cmpr. of uno* < *ews-no-) | BSl *wes-el- > Ltv vēsēls 'healthy, unhurt, intact' | Sl *veselъ (jъ) > OCS вєсєлѣ veselъ, Blg 'весел, SCr vēseo, Slv vesel, Cz, Slk veselý, OP wiesioły, P wesoły, Uk ве'сєлий 'gay, cheerful', R ве'сєлый id., 'весел' is gay, cheerful' || Lw {Mlc.} wāsu- 'good' || NaIE *eys-: Gt iusiza 'better' ¶¶ P 1174-5,

EI 235 (*wesu- 'excellent, noble'), M K III 173-4, M E II 533-4, VI. I 282-3, Sg. 209, Horn 55, Thr. §§ 249, 911, LP§ 24.4, YGM-1 267, 274, Ern. 307, Hm. 365, Fs. 298, StSS 740, Vs. I 303, Glh. 667, BER I 136-7, Kar. II 513-, Mlc. CL 266 || U: FU *wEć∇ 'beautiful, straight' > Prm {LG} *veś 'straight' > Z *веськыд* veśk+d, Yz *veśkΛt* 'straight, truthful', Vt *veśk+t*, *veś-veś* 'slender', *veśk+tski-* v. 'straighten oneself' || ObU {Ht.} *wīćaη 'beautiful' > pVg *wīśaη id. > Vg: LK *wīśaη*, MK *wīśam*, Ss *wēśaη*; pOs *wīćaη id. > V/Vy/Ty *wītaη*, D/L *wētaη*, Kz/O *wēśaη*, Nz *wēśap* ¶ LG 54, Ht. #654 ◊ ≠ Gr. II #180 (*asu 'good') (IE + unc. A, EA).

2454a. *wic|ć∇ (or *wEńć|ć∇?) 'whole, all' > IE: NaIE *weis-/ *wis- 'whole, every', (pl.) 'all' > Lt *vīsas*, Ltv *vīss*, Pru *wissa* 'whole' (pl. 'all') || SI *vьсь 'whole' > OCS *вѣсь* vьсь, Blg *ce*, Slv *vēs*, SCr Δ *vās* ≅ *ves*, OCz *veš*, OP *wszy*, R *весь*, Uk *увесь* id. || ?? Ir (if from a d. *wis-*k̑*u₁wel₀-?) > OI *vīśvaḥ*, Av *vīspa-*, OPrs *vīsa-*, Sgd *wysp-*, KhS *biśśa-*, MPrs Trf *vyspy* 'every, all'. The element *-*k̑*- may be tentatively equated with -k- in OI *pinākam* 'stick', Gk *πίνυξ* 'stump, stub' (← NaIE *pin- 'Holzstück', see P 830, Eul. 171-4). Is it possible to equate the Ir stem with Lt *vīsōks*, OCS *вѣсакъ* vьсакъ, R *всякий*, Cz *všaký* 'all kind of'? ¶ Frn. 1264, En. 275-6, Vs. I 304-5, 364, Glh. 541, M E III 225-6, Bai. 289, ≠ P 1176 (IE *wi-*k̑*-) || HS: NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} *wōjci*, Dk {Blz. ← Fl.} *wajuci* 'all' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'all', Blz. LB #1d || U {UEW} *weć∇ ~ *weńć∇ 'whole, all' > Er *весе* veše ≅ *veši* ~ *väši*y 'whole, every, all' || Prm {LG} *w∇ć∇ > Vt N *voćak* 'whole, entirely' ('всё, целиком'), Z Δ *vać* 'completely, quite' || Hg *össze*, OHg, Hg Δ *összve* adv., pv. 'zusammen, aneinander, zueinander' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} *bznsz* (pl. *bznye*) 'whole' ('весь'), Kms *bűš'a* 'heil, ganz' ¶ UEW 568, Coll. CG 68, 140, LG 4, Ter. NgJ 169, KD 12 || D (on GnD) *vić- 'all' > Knd, Png *vizu*, Mnd *viža* 'all', Knd *vizer*, Png *vizer*, Mnd *vižar* 'all men, all people' ¶ D #5387 ◊ Since IE *i₁ may go back to N *ń, one of two alternative N reconstructions is *wEńć|ć∇ (not accounting for D *vić-). But if the N etymon is *wic|ć∇, U *e in needs explaining ◊ The equation was first proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #1d); Blz. LNA #57 (Om, BSl, U, D).

2455. *wac|∇, q∇ 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'), 'dirt' > HS: WS *✓wsχ v. 'be dirty' > Ar *وسخ* ✓wsχ G (pf. *wasīḫa*, ip. *yawsaḫu* ~ *yaṣaḫu* ~ *yāsaḫu*) v. 'être sale\malpropre' (of hands, body, clothes),

wasax- 'saleté, malpropreté', wasix- 'sale, malpropre, sali', Mh, Jb
 ✓wsχ: Mh pf. a'wasχ, sbjn. ya'wasχ, Jb E pf. a'wusχ, Jb C pf. ōsχ v.
 'dirty' (but Mh w̄sāχ, Jb E/C ws̄χ 'dirt' may go back to Ar O wī'saχ
 id.), Tgr {d'A} ✓wsχ G (pf. w̄sχe) 'troubler, salir' ¶ BK II 1532-3,
 Jo. M 431, Jo. J 293, LH 437, DRS 567 || IE: [1] *w̄o(:)s-o-s, -ā, -i-s,
 *wes-, *w̄ōs- 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty liquid'), 'moisture' > OI 'vasā 'liquid,
 fluid', NPrs 𐤁𐤋 bōh 'sperm, coitus' || Um VESTICATU vestikatu
 'libato', vesticia 'libamentum (libation)' || OFrs wase 'mire', OSx
 waso 'sod, ooze' ({Ho.} 'Rasen, Scholle'), Dt waas 'layer of mist of
 fine drops', AS wōs 'juice, liquour, sap', NE ooze; ? Nr vass- 'water'
 (in cds. and ds.: vassen 'watery', vass-flo 'stream of water', Δ
 vass-fall 'waterfall, shower', etc.) (unless a still unexplained
 phonetic variant of watn 'water') || Ltv Δ {ME} ie-vasa 'moisture in
 the ground, sap in trees', ??? vasa 'forest with wet ground and blue
 clay' | Sl: Cz SEB/Mr d. {Ma.} vaskī (spelled by Ma. as vazkŭ) 'damp,
 moist (vlhký)' || ?? Ht {Frd., Ts.} wassi 'Ingredienz; Heilmittel, Salbe'
 (Mn. 1495 interprets this word as '[ε] ritual liquid') || [2] ⇨ NaIE
 *w̄osə-lo-s 'fluid' ({Mn.} 'fluid, serum') > OIr {SB} fúal (gen. fúail),
 NIr fual 'urine', OBr [γ] di-di-oulam * "micturio" (unless < Clt {SB}
 *w̄oglo- 'urine') | ?? OIr, Ir fuil 'blood' || OHG wasal 'feuchte
 Erdmasse', Sw vassla 'whey'; a Gmc source (OHG Δ?) ⇨ MdL [LxS]
 {OsS} wasilus 'humor' ¶ Some of these words may result from a
 merger with NaIE *weis-/*wois-/*wis- 'liquid, swamp' (> ON veisa
 'mud, swamp', OI vī'sam 'liquid') ¶¶ P 1171-2, Mn. 1495, 1525, 1582,
 ≈ EI 639 (*h̄wes- 'moist'), M E II 533, ≠ M K III 168-9 (treats OI 'vasā
 as a variant of vāśam 'grease'), Vl. I 186, Bc. G 351, Thr. 171, Dnn.
 337, 339, SB 266, Ho. 406, Ho. S 84, Kb. 1151, OsS 1102, Hlq. 1321-2,
 Vr. 652, Ark. 983, Frn. 23 (s.v. atvašà), ME II 86, Ma. CS 557-8, Frd.
 HW 248, Ts. W 103 ¶ If Mn.'s rec. *w̄osəlos is valid, we have here a
 trace of an IE lr. from N *q || U: FU *w̄ac̣c̣∇ 'dirt, (dirty) liquid' > Er
 vaće, Mk vaća 'faeces, dirt' || ObU {Ht.} *w̄řćak 'dirt' > pVg {Ht.}
 *w̄ăśak > Ovg: S Vt вочагъ, Tb вочахъ, S Tr воряхъ, W Sl
 вóчaхъ, Vg: T {Mu.} ūćéχ, P {Mu.} v̄ăśéχ 'Kot', LK {Kn.} woštaxt-
 MK w̄ăštaxt- 'sich beschmutzen'; pOs *w̄řćak, *w̄ăćak ({Hl.} *w̄řćak)
 'dirt' > Os: Cng wītəχ 'dirt', K wītəχ, Ks w̄ătəχ 'mud (няша,
 Schlamm)'; Os: Vy w̄řćak, Nz w̄ďśləχ, Kz w̄ďśləχ, O w̄ăśləχ 'humid

(feucht)' ¶ But pLp {Lr.} *vōh̄č̄z 'water on ice, bare ice, matter in a wound' (> Lp N {N} vuož'že, Lp L {LLO} vuodtja, etc.) hardly belongs here, it may be better equated with D *vañt̄- 'dirty' [D #4282] ¶ UEW 557-8, Coll. 122, Ps. M 151 [#1247], Ht. #653, Stn. D 1650-1, Jv. 68 (Er ваце 'кал, шлак'), Lr. #1446, Lgc. #8719 || A: M: WrM bazimag, bazima 'sediment, drugs, residue of a liquid' ¶ MED 93 || D (in SD) *vač̄- 'fluid; to ooze, flow, rain' (× N *WASV 'rainy weather, rainy season') > Tm vaci 'rain, water', Kn basi, bose v. 'drip, trickle, ooze', basu 'oozing', Tu basabasa 'gushing, flowing in a stream', bassa 'overflowing' ¶ D #5214.

2456. (₂?) *weç̄V (or *wiç̄V?) 'to order, to require, to beg' > HS: WS *√wçy|w > Ar وصاة waṣā-t- 'commandement, ordre', √wçy D 'léguer qch. par testament, recommander qch. en se mourant', √wçy Sh id., 'ordonner, commander', BHb 𐤒𐤕 çaw n. 'order', {KBR} 'command', √çw y v. D (pf. 𐤒𐤕𐤕 çiw'wā) 'command', SmA √çw y v. D 'command', Sb wçt 'decree, ordain', Mh {Jo.} awōṣi, Jb C ṣi 'give dying instructions'; √çw y D v. 'order', IA bçwt 'in an order, by ordering' ¶ BK II 1551-2, KB 946-8, KBR 1008-9, Tal 726, BGMR 164, Jo. M 432, Jo. J 293, DRS 592 || Eg fOK wç v. 'command, decree, commend to', wç, wç.t 'order' ¶ EGI 394-7, Fk. 73-4 || C: Ag *çiw-/çaw- v. 'beg' ([??] × N ?φ *ç̄'äwç̄V 'want, beg', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ K: GZ *χw'e'ç̄ç̄-- > G χveç- v. 'beg', Mg, Lz χveç- id. (← G?) ¶ Chik. 427 ¶ *χ- may be due to metanalysis of the 1 sg. form (with the pK px. *χw- of 1s) || D (in SD) *ve|iç̄a-, {ṬGS} *ve|iṣa- 'command, order' > Tm viyam id., Kn besa 'performance of a prescribed act, demand, order' ¶ D #5405, GS 75-6 (on the SD neutralization of *i and *e before *a of the next syll.).

2457. *weç̄V, ?V 'go out' > HS: S *√wç̄?, -wç̄i?- 'go out' (× WS *√wç̄? 'blossom' < N *wiç̄V 'grow' [esp. of plants], q.v. ffd.) > OCn [EA] ȳi-ṣa (3s ip. G), Ph √ȳç̄? G 'go out', BHb √ȳç̄? G {KBR} id., 'come out, come forth', Ug √ȳç̄? v. 'come out', {OAS} 'salir, asomar', Amr {Krb., Frnz.} inf. wa-za-ù-um (= waṣāʔum) 'go out', Sr √ȳç̄|ȳ (pf. 𐤒𐤕𐤕 ȳi'ç̄ā) v. G 'grow', Sb, Gz √wç̄? v. 'come out, go out', Ak √wç̄? v. 'go out\away', S d. *mawç̄aʔ- > BHb 𐤒𐤕𐤕 mō'ç̄ā 'place\act of going out, source', Ph m(w)ç̄?, Y'd 𐤒𐤕𐤕 mç̄k? (ç̄ = [χ]), IA mç̄ʔ 'rising (of the sun)', Sr (d.) maç̄ī't-ā 'growth (Wachstum), plants',

{Br.} 'crescentia, plantae', Ak mūṣū 'exit, passage, escape' ¶ KB 406, 530, KBR 425-7, BDB 422-6, HJ 465,604-5, A #1222, OLS 539-40, Br. 304-5, Lv. T I 340, Js. 583, BGMR 156, LG 606, Sd. 1475, Frnz. EL 152, 157, Jo. J 296, CAD X/2 247, DRS 595-6 || **IE:** NaIE *wesk- v. 'go out, depart' > OI [Dhat.] vaṣk-atē id. ({MW}: vaṣk-atē is an err. spelling for vask-atē) || MHG wischen v. 'leicht und schnell sich bewegen, (ent)schlüpfen' || ĩ W {Mn. ← ?} gwesu 'to go out, to depart' ¶ Mn. 1528, 1678, MW 930, Lex. 324 || **A:** NaT *öç- v. 'go out' (of fire, etc.), 'be extinguished' > OT {Cl.} öč- id. ([MhK] ot öčdi 'the fire went out [سَكَنَ]', erniḡ öpkäsi öčdi 'the man's anger died out [سَكَنَ]), Tkm, Qrg, ET, Ln öč-, Qzq, Qq, Tv öš-, Tf čš-, StAlt öč-, Uz č- ωč-, Xk us-, Yk ös- v. 'go out' (of fire), OT öč- {DTS} v. 'stop' (of breath) ([MhK] erniḡ tiri öčdi 'the man's breath stopped'), VTt üš- v. 'die out' (of a clan, etc.), 'be ruined' ¶ Cl. 19-20, DTS 376, ET Gl 559-60, Ra. 215, TatR 755 || **D** (in GnD) *večč-/ *venč- v. 'take out' > Mnd vēnž-, Kui vēsa- v. 'take out', Ku večč- v. 'take out/off' ¶ D #5523 ◇ T ö- is a regular reflex of N *we- (cp. N *weí∇ 'shoulder, upper part of the back' > T *ö́'ü'n '≈ shoulder').

2458. *w|ʔü|uĉ₁∇₁ʔ∇ 'to put, to set, to lay' > **HS:** WS *wš̄f > Ar وضع wš̄f G (ip. -wš̄af-) v. {BK} 'placer, poser, mettre', {Hv.} 'put, put down, place', Sb hš̄f inf. 'be stationed, be resident', ?σ Jb C {Jo.} 'moš̄af 'circular house; family' ¶ BK II 1554-7, Hv. 876, BGMR 157, Jo. J 296, ≈ DRS 598-9 || **K** *oçq- (or *çq-) > OG, G çq- 'put/set (several objects on sth.), arrange' (→ 'draw up warriors in battle array') ¶ Chx. 2204, 2227, DCh. 1700, KEGL VIII 1215-6, Abul. 555 || **D** (in GnD) *uĉ- v. 'set, put' > Png uĉ- v. 'fix (e.g. net), set (trap), put (put on fire)', Mnd uĉ- v. 'fix (net), set (trap)' ¶ D #582 || ? **A:** Tg: Ewk PT uçuç3- v. 'lie, liegen' (of a person) ¶ STM II 297.

2459. *wed∇ 'to hunt' (→ [in descendant lgs.] → '[to] wish') > **K** *wed- 'wish, ask' > Sv wad-/wd- 'wish' (wad n. 'wish', i-wd-i 'he longs for'), Sv: UB {GP} msd. li-wd-i 'to yearn for so.\sth.', UB/L {TK} li-wd-i, Ln {TK} li-wäd-i 'to wish'; OG, G ved-r- 'ask, implore' (OG evedreboda mas 'he asked him') ¶ FS K 121, FS E 131, Fn. GAS 231, GP 151, TK 450 || **U:** FU *weδ∇ 'kill, (?) hunt' (× N *wed∇ [or *we?∇d∇?] 'push, strike, cut?') > Prm {LG} *viy- (or *v3y-?) 'kill' > Vt ви- vi-, Δ viy- 'kill', Z ви- vi-, Z LL, Prmk viy-, Yz vi- id. || ObU {θHl.} *wēl- 'kill' > pVg *ǎl- > Vg: T ä-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV ā-, LL ä-

~ āl-, UL/Ss al- id.; pOs {{ǵHL}} *wǎl- > pOs *wel- > Os: V/Vy/O wel-, Ty/Y wǎf-, D/K/Nz wet-, Kz wef- id. | OHg ≥XIII öl- 'kill', Hg öl- 'kill, slaughter', (× Ugr *yäl∇- 'go') OHg ≥XII üld-, Hg üldöz- 'chase, pursue' ¶ UEW 566-7, LG 57, MF 513-4, EWU 1081, 1588, ≈ Ht. #680 (ObU *wēl-/ *wōl-, pOs *wel-) || D: [1] *vēt̥t̥- / ?φ *vēñt̥t̥-, {An.} *vēñt̥t̥-, {GS} *vēñt̥t̥- 'hunt' (× N *weñd∇ 'fight, injure, hurt') > Tm vēt̥t̥am, vēt̥t̥ai 'hunting, chase, murder', vēt̥t̥u 'hunting, hunter', MI vēt̥t̥a, Kn bēte, bēñte, Tu bēñt̥æ, bóñt̥æ, bēti, TI vēt̥a, veñt̥a 'hunting, chase', Kt veṭ, Td peṭ, Kdg boṭe, Nkr, Knd vēt̥a, Gnd veṭa & vēt̥a, Png, Mnd bēṭ, Ku bēṭa 'hunting', Klm veṭ aṭ- 'hunt'; [2] ?φ *vēñ- / *vēñt̥t̥- / *vēñ- 'want, desire' (× N *w'o'ñ∇ 'wish, love', q.v.) > Tm vēñt̥u v. 'want, desire', vēt̥t̥am 'desire, thing desired', vēt̥t̥ai 'desire, longing', veñ(t̥)um 'it will be required \ necessary', MI vēñam, vēñt̥um 'it must, ought, is desired', veñ 'necessary', Td pōṭ-. Kdg boṭ- v. 'beg', Kdg boṭñdu 'it is wanted', Kn bē(n)t̥a 'longings, sexual passion', Tu bēṭu- v. beg, ask', TI vēṭu v. 'pray, beg, wish' ¶¶ Zv. 104, D ##5527-8, GS 199-200 [#501], 60 [#172], An. SG 131-2 ◇ Fn. KD #42 (K, D).

2460. *wed∇ (or *we?∇d∇?) 'push, strike, cut (with weapon)' > HS: Eg fOK wḍy '(vom Ufer den Schiff) abstoßen' ¶ EG I 387 || B {ǵPr.} *-wHi|ut > Ah ayt (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6, pf. iwǎt, frq. aggāt), Ty/Twl əwət (pf. yəwət, Pcj. I A 6), Gd {Lf.} əwət (pf. īwət) 'frapper', Mz {Dlh.} əwət id., Wrg {Dlh.} əwət, Sll {Ds.} ūt, BSñ {Ds.} ūwət, Izn {Ds.} uwət, {Rn.} ewət, Rf B/A {Rn.} ewət (✓ wt) id., 'battre', Kb wət id., Tmz {MT} wət/wt/ut id., ?φ Zng {TC} ewih 'frapper' (pf. yuwah, 3 p yuwah?) ¶ Fc. 1533-8, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 203; Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 247 (both on Pcj. I A 6); Dlh. M 230, Dlh. Ou 357, Rn. 284, Dl. 878-9, MT 772-4, Ds. 34, 135, Ds. B 33, 140-1, Lf. I 239 and II #689, DCTC 288, TC Z 309, TC FL 2 || Ch: Ngz wḍú v. 'cut off, slice off' ¶ Sch. DN 164 || IE *wedh- v. 'push, strike, destroy, slay' > OI vadh- 'strike, slay, kill', 'vadhar 'a destructive weapon', Av vadar- id., vada- 'wedge for hewing wood', vādāy° 'zurück-stoßen\dringen' || Gk Hm ἔθωυ (pl. ἔθουτες) [ΣΧ.] 'damaging, destroying, provoking', Gk [Hs.] ἔθει 'destroys, provokes', ?σ Gk ὠθέω shove, push' || OIr focb {P} 'spoils of war', {EJ} 'weapon' (< *wodh-wō-), faisc id 'presses', MW gwascu 'press' || Lt vedegà 'adze, ice-axe', Ltv vedga 'ice-axe, crowbar', Pru wedigo 'carpenter's axe' | OCS CЪBADA sь-vada 'quarrel, strife' ||

pTc {Ad.} *wät- > Tc: B wät- 'fight', A wac, B weta 'combat, struggle' || here Ht wezz- ~ wiwida-, if it means {EI←?} 'strike, urge' rather than {Ts.} 'sich bemühen, anstrengen' ¶¶ WP I 254-5, P 1115, and EI 471 (all of them: *wed^h- 'push, strike'), ≈ Mn. 1498, MW 916, M K III 135-6, M E II 496-7, F I 446-50 and II 1144-5, Ch. 316, Hofm. 84, Frn. 1211, En. 272, StSS 639, Wn. 541-2, Ad. 590, 608, Ts. W 107 || U: FU *weδ▽ 'kill' (× N *wed▽ 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.) || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} *veṭṭ- 'cut with weapon, cut off, strike' > Tm veṭṭu 'cut with sword\axe, cut off, engrave, dig as a well', Ml veṭṭuka id., veṭṭu 'blow, strike, cut, wound', Kt veṭ n. 'cut, mark of a cut', Kn beṭṭu 'strike forcibly into, cause to enter firmly, impress, stamp, coin', Tu beṭṭu- 'cut, circumcise', ? boṭṭu- 'beat as a drum, knock as a door' ¶ D #5478 ◇ The root-medial lr. in pB (reconstructed according to Pr.'s theory) points to a pN lr., which is likely to have been *? (the only N lr. liable to leave no traces [such as lengthening of vowels] in NaIE). But if the form of the verb in B may be explained without postulating a lr. (⇔ Pr.), the N etymon is *wed▽ ◇ IS SS #3.23 and IS MS 262 (*wed^h 'cut [with weapon]' > IE, D).

2461. *w^hṽd₁ṽ₁ṽ 'walk, go, set out for' > HS: B *w^hlydH 'go' (× N *ṽ^ho^hdU 'go' × N *yäd^ha^h or *yadä 'go') > Sll {Ds.} əddu ~ ədzu (3m pf. idza) 'go', n. act. tawada 'going, to go', Tmz {MT} ddu (3m pf. dda) 'go, go away', Izd {Mrc.} ddu (pf. idda), Kb {DI.} ddu (3m pf. yədda), BSlh/BMs {Ds.} əddu (3m pf. idda) 'walk, go', SrSn {Rn.} addu, SrSn Gz ip. tudu 'go', BMs əddu (pf. idda) 'walk', Awj {Prd.} əadd (3m pf. ya^həadd, ya^hidda) 'go' (with a puzzling ṽ), Zng {TV} pf. yidde 'aller' ¶ Ds. 13, MT 750, DI. 126-7, Rn. 305, Ds. B 10, 212, Prd. 159, Mrc. 18, 162, TC Z 306 || ?? WS *w^hṽd₁ṽ > Ar w^hṽd₁ṽ G (pf. waduṽa) 'partir pour un voyage', †σ Jb C {Jo.} w^hṽd₁ṽ (pf. oḍa/, sbjn. 'y-ḍdaṽ) 'see so. off' ¶ BK II 1509, Jo. J 286, DRS 502-3 || IE: NaIE *wad^h- (or *wad^h-/*wād^h-) 'walk, wade' > L vād-ō-, -ēre 'go' {{EI}: with new long grade), vadum 'shallow ford in a river\sea', vād-ō-, -āre v. 'wade' || Gmc: ON vaða 'to wade, to advance', Dn vade, NNr, Sw vada, Nr va^h vade, OHG watan, NHG waten 'to wade', AS wadan id., 'to walk, to stride', NE v. wade; Gmc *waða n. 'ford' > OHG wat id., NHG Watt 'sandbank, shallows', AS wæd 'ford; water, sea', ON vað 'ford, shallow (place)' ¶ WP I 217, P 1109, EI 625 (*wad^h- 'wade'), WH II 723-4, Vr. 637, Kb. 1152, OsS 1103, Ho 378, Sw. 198, KM 841 || K: GZ *wed-/ *wid- 'go, walk' ([?] × N *ṽ^ho^hdU 'go') > OG w^hved-/wid-, G ved-/vid-, Mg, Lz id-

'go, walk' ¶ K 84, K² 51, FS K 121-2, FS E 130-1, Chik. 273 || A: M * $\text{u}_{\text{L}}\text{d}$ - 'go, depart, set out for' (× N * $\text{r}'\text{o}'\text{dU}$ 'go' [q.v. ffd.] × N * $\text{q}'\text{A}'\text{d}_{\text{L}}\nabla_{\text{L}}\text{r}'\text{o}'$ 'to step, to walk') ◇ In the HS cognate the lr. follows *d, while in the IE $\sqrt{\text{}}$ (if it is * $\text{w}\text{ad}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ /* $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$) it precedes N *d. It is not clear which variant of the N word is ancient and which results from mt.

2462. *wedhA 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)' > HS: WS * $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dh}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dh}$ (ip. yadihu) 'éloigner qn. et l'empêcher de se livrer à qch.'; Mh {Jo.} $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$ (pf. $\text{aw}\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$) 'take away', Jb E {Jo.} $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$ (pf. $\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$), Jb ($\Delta?$) {Jo. H} wudi id., Mh S {Jo.} $\text{aw}\bar{\text{o}}\text{di}$ 'bring', ? Hrs {Jo.} $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{dy}$ (pf. $\text{aw}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$, subj. $\text{yaw}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$) 'turn away' ¶ In SES the intervoc. *-h- is likely to have been lost ¶ BK II 1513, Jo. M 421, Jo. H 124 || EC: Sml wad- {DSI} 'lead, guide, direct, drive (conduire, guidare, dirigere)', {ZMO} vt. 'move; drive; conduct, lead', Sml N {Abr.} wad- 'drive', Rn {PG} weya or woya 'drive (animals), lead' || Dhl {EEN, E} $\text{wad}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$, $\text{wada}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$, {To.} wad- 'carry' || SC: Kz {E} walit- v. 'wear', Asa {E} wades- v. 'lift, carry' ¶ Abr. S 246, DSI 602, PG 293, E SC 311, EEN 43. To. D 149 || mt.: B {ṢPr.} * $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{ht}$ vt. 'drive, chase' > Ah {Fc.} awt , Ty/ETwl $\text{aw}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$ 'drive (domestic animals)' ('conduire en poussant devant soi [des animaux]'), 3m aor. Ah i- $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$, ETwl i- $\text{w}\bar{\text{b}}\text{t}$, Ty $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-w}\bar{\text{b}}\text{t}$ (Fcj. 62 = Pcj I A 6); coalesced with B * $\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{ht}$ 'beat, strike', whence Kb $\text{aw}_{\text{L}}\text{i lmal}$ 'chase away the cattle!' ('fait sortir les bêtes!') is interpreted as 'beat the cattle away!' ¶ Fc. 1533, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, GhA 203, 246-7, Dl. 878-9 || IE * $\text{wed}^{\text{h}}\text{H}_{\text{L}}\text{-}$ > NaIE * $\text{wed}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ v. 'lead' (with loss of * a [< *H] in the prevoc. position) > Iir * $\text{wad}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ v. 'lead, lead a woman into one's house' > Av vabayeiti 'leads', upa-vabayeiti 'gives a woman in marriage', Yzg wab- 'marry', d. OI va'dhu-h 'bride, young wife', Av vađū- 'wife, woman', Sgd $\text{w}\bar{\text{d}}\text{w}$ 'wife', Psh wal-war 'bride-price' || AS weddian 'marry', NE wed || OIr fedid '(he) leads, carries, brings', W arweddu 'to lead, to bear', W dy-weddio 'to betroth' || BSl: Lt vedù (inf. vèsti), Ltv $\text{vedu} \sim \text{vedu}$ (inf. vest) 'I lead, guide', 'I marry (a girl)', Pru west 'führen' || Sl inf. * vesti / 1s pres. * ved-q 'lead' > OCS вєстн vesti / вєдѣ ved-q , Cz vésti / vedu , Slk viest' / vediem , P wieść / wiodę , R, Uk вєсти / вєду id., Blg вєда 'I lead'; \rightarrow iter.: Sl * $\text{vod} \acute{\text{i}}\text{ti}$ / * $\text{vodj}\bar{\text{q}}$ iter. '(use to) lead' > OCS вoдѣти voditi / вoждѣ vožd-q , Cz voditi , Slk vodit' , P wodzić , SCr vòditi , R вoдить / вo'жу id., Blg 'вoдѣя 'I (use to) lead' | P adduces here NaIE {P} * wed-mno- 'dowry' (in his interpretation 'bride-price') >

Gk Hm ἕδνα pl., Gk A pl. ἕδνα, sg. ἕδνον 'bride-price, nuptial gifts', AS wituma, wetma, OHG widamo 'dowry (Brautgabe, Mitgift)', NHG Wittum 'dowry, widow's jointure'. If this derived word does belong here (which is doubtful), its *d for the expected *d^h may be due either to as. (caused by the adjacent plain voiced *m) or to contamination with a different √ 𐌆𐌆 Not here (⇔ EI) Ht huēt- / hut(t)- / hu(i)ttiya- 'draw, pull, pluck, drag' (see Pv. III 343-52) 𐌆𐌆 WP I 255ff., P 1115-6, ≈ EI 346 and 369 (*h₂wed(H)- 'lead, take a wife'; unj. adduction of Ht and rec. of *h₂-); M K III 136-7, M E II 497-8, F I 442-3, Thr. § 177, YGM-1 32, 205, Frn. 1231-2, En. 273, KM 865, Vs. I 284, Glh. 677-8, Chn. I 146, BER I 126, Schz. 321, Kb. 1188, OsS 1137, KM 865, Ho. 401 || U: FU *wetä- 'lead, pull, draw' > Vp {ZM} veda- 'drag; lead (so.)', kăžipolíš veda- 'lead so. arm-in-arm with him', F vetä-, Es veda- 'pull, draw, haul, drag' || pMr {Ker.} *veťa-/*vítä- ({Ker.}: < ppMr *vīdä-) > Er ветя-мс veťa-ms, {W} veda-ms, Er Kz {Ps.} vítu-ms, Mk вятя-мс vätä-ms, {Ps.} vätä-ms ≈ vädä-ms 'to lead' || pChr {Ber.} *wiðb- v. 'lead' > Chr: H wiðe- (inf. видаш 'wiðaš, {Ep.} 'wiðäš), L wüðe- (inf. вүдаш wü'ðaš), Uf/B wüðe- id. || OHg XII-XIV vezet- 'accompany, lead', Hg vezet- v. 'lead, guide, conduct', OHg ≥XIV, Hg vezér 'leader, chief(tain)' || ? Y: Y T {Ku.} use- 'carry/take away (отвезти, отнести)', Y T/K {Jc.} 'uše- 'lead, carry' 𐌆𐌆 Coll. 67, UEW 569-70, It. #343, Sm. 551 (FU, Ugr *wetä-, FP *vetä- 'pull'), SK 1719-21, ZM 621, ERV 129, PI 61-2, Ber. 89, Ker. II 188, MRS 65, 85, Ep. 12, Ü 35, MF 690, EWU 1631, Ku. 289, Ang. 248 || ?φ A: T *īð- 'send (sth.)', (→) 'allow to go, release' > OT {Cl.} īð- 'send, allow to go, release', XwT XIV ið- ~ iy-, MQp [CC] XIV 1-/iy-, Qrg, Alt iy-, Xk ыс- is- 'send', Kr, QrB iy-, Tv it-, Yk it-, Chv яр- yar- 'send, allow to go' 𐌆 Cl. 37-8, Rs. W 164, ET GI 332-3, Md. 82, 165 || M d. *udur^ri¹(d)- > MM udurid- [HI] {Ms.} 'guide, lead', [S] {H} v. 'lead', WrM udurid-, HIM удирда-х 'lead, guide, direct', WrO {Krg.} udurid- 'lead, guide, conduct', Brt ударида-, Kl † удрд-х удърдъхъ 'direct, lead (руководить, вести за собой)', ? Kl {Rm.} udṛ tata-χα 'anführen, leiten', Ord {Ms.} ud_uri-, ud_urid- 'be the first to do sth., take the initiative, begin, make preparations for', ud_uril 'enterprise, initiative', Mnr H {SM} d_uru- 'lead, guide, indicate', {T} duru- 'lead, show the way', Dx {T} uduru- v. 'guide, be so.'s guide' 𐌆 H 159, Ms. H 105, MED 862, Chr. 463, KRS 528-9, Krg. 168-9, KW 446, SM 67, T 332, T DnJ 136, Ms.

O 723 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *ūd^ru¹; incl. T, M), ≈ DQA #678 (T *īδ- < pA iūdu 'lead, direct') ◇ FU *-t- < *-th- by as. from N *-dh-. In A there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. (due to the loss of the N lr. [or of *w-?]) ◇ The A cognate is legitimate if N *we- may yield a T word-initial *ī- and a M initial *u- ◇ ≈ IS MS 333 (*wētā 'lead': IE, ?A, U), ≈ UEW 569 (U, IE).

2463. *w^ri¹g₁ŕ₁ê 'carry, take (somewhere)' > IE: NaIE *weg^h- v. 'carry, convey', *wog^ho-s 'way' > OI 'vahati 'drives, transports, rides, draws (a car), leads', Av vaz-aiti 'goes in vehicle (fährt)', MPrs vazītan 'dahinfahren', KhS bayš- v. 'move, run, ride, ride in vehicle' || Gk P Fεχέτω 'he should bring', Gk Cp aor. ἔ-φεξε 'er brachte dar', Gk A ὄχος 'anything which bears, carriage' || L veh-ō, ěre / pfc. vĕxī / sup. vĕctum 'carry, convey' || OIr féin, W gwain 'e vehicle', cy-wain 'fahren', Brtt ↳ L co-vinnus 'war-chariot of the ancient Britons and Belgæ' ({WH}: < *ko-weg^h-nos) || Gt ga-wigan, OHG (gi-)wegan vt. 'to move, to shake'; Gt wagjan id., af-wagjan 'to shift, to remove', ON vega vt. 'schwingen, heben', OHG weggen vt. 'to move, to shake', AS wezan vt. 'to move, to bring, to lead'; OHG wagan 'cart', AS wæzn 'vehicle', ON vagn id., 'sledge'; Gmc {Zlz.} *weg-a-z ~ *weg-u-z 'way' > Gt wig-s, ON veg-r, OHG, OSx weg, NHG Weg, AS wez 'way', NE way || Lt vèžti (1s prs. vežù) v. 'convey', Ltv vizināt v. 'take (out) for a drive' || Sl *vez- > OCS ВЕСТИ vesti (1s prs. ВЕЗѢ vezq) v. 'to convey\transport in a vehicle\ship', R везти / ве'зу, P wieść / wiozę, Cz vézti / vezu v. 'convey \ transport', Blg ве'за 'I convey, transport'; iter. R во'зить, SCr vòziti, P wozić 'to convey, to transport' || pAl {O} *weza > Al vjedh (aor. vodha) 'steal' || pTc {Ad.} *wäkne > Tc: A wkäñ (pl. wäknant), B yakne 'way, manner' ¶ WP I 249-51, P 1118-20, EI 91 (*weg^h- 'bear, carry'), M K III 177-9, M E II 535-7, Bai. 270, F II 457-8, WH I 282 and II 742-3, EM 717, LP § 17, Zlz. M II #29.41, Fs. 212, 541, 563, Vr. 639, 650, Kb. 1130, 1157-8, OsS 1074-5, 1109-10, Schz. 306, 313, Ho. 380, 388, Frn. 1236, SJSS 183, Vs. I 286, Chr. I 138, BER I 129, O 510, Ad. 481-2 || **U** *wiæ > FU *wiæ v. 'take sth. somewhere, carry' > F vie v. 'take, bring, carry', Es vii- v. 'bring' || pLp {Lr.} *vikz- v. 'carry\transport (away, from one place to another)' > Lp: Klt {Lr. < ?} viikkâd, Kld {SaR} выгкэ id., {TI} v+jk:ãð, T {TI} v+jk:ëð 'führen' || pMr {Ker.} *vīṣa- > *viṣa- > Er Δ {ERV} вие-

мс *v*iyе-мс 'отвезти', v. 'drive/convey so. to some place', {Jv.} *вие-*
 мс ~ *вии-*мс ~ *вию-*мс 'отнести', v. 'carry sth. to some place', Mk
 {PI} *ви-* *v*i-н, Δ *víyā-* v. 'accompany so., send back sth. (with\through
 so.)' || pPrm {LG} **vayâ-* v. 'bring' > OPrm *ωay-*, Z *vay-*, Vt *vay+n̄* id.
 (in the light of OPrm *ω-* is it preferable to reconstruct pPrm **vay-*?) ||
 ObU {Ht.} **wī-/wīy-~wīy-* v. 'take' > pVg **wī-/wīx-/wēy-* (= {HL.} **wēy-*, {Ht.} **wāy-*) > Vg: T *ü-* / **üy-/üw-*, LK/MK/UK *wi-/wiχ-/wäy-*, P *wi-/wü-/wiy-/wüy-/wäy-*, NV *wü-/wāy-*, SV/LL *ü-/üy-/wāy-*, UL/Ss *wi-/wiχ-/woy-* id.; pOs **wē-/wēy-* ({HL.} **wī-/wīy-*) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K *wē-/wēy-*, Mz/Kz *wū-*, O *wu-/wuy-* 'take' || Hg *viv-/vi-/visz-*, Hg Δ *vēys-, vēs-, vūs-* v. 'carry, lead', Hg *vēv-/vē-/vēs-* v. 'take, take away, buy', *visel-* v. 'carry, lead' || pY {IN} **weyē-* vt. 'lead' > YK {IN} *egē-* 'lead by the hand', T {IN} *wegē-* id., {Ku.} *wegī-* 'lead after oneself', 'lead an animal (by the rein, etc.)' ¶¶ Coll. 125 (**wexē ~ wixē*), It. #405, 265-6, UEW 573 (**wixē*), Sm. 551 (FU **wixi-*, FP **vixi-*, Ugr **wīgī-* 'take'), Lr. #1384, TI 752, IG 47, Ht. #651, MF 687-8, SaR 65, ERV 134, Jv. 91, PI 55-6, Ker. II 190 (Mr **vīxā-* > **vīyā-*, misinterpreted as 'wegnehmen'), IN 249-50, Ku. 46-7 ¶¶ The change FU **-ī-* > Prm **a* is still to be explained (It. 265-6: "a < vorperm. **ī*. Könnte man sich die Entwicklung **-īy-* > **-īj-* > **-ej-* > **-äj-* > **-aj-* vorstellen?") || HS: ECh: ? Nd D {J} **úgēy* v. 'bring' || WCh: Gmy {Kr.} *wòkám* 'road', Tng {J} *ùkò*, {ChC} *wókò* 'way, path, road' ¶ J T 127, ChC s.v. 'road' and 'bring' || Eg G *ωz̄z̄.t* 'way', Eg fMK *ωz̄z̄* v. 'go, set out, proceed' ('sich begeben, gehen') ¶ EG I 403-4, Fk. 75 || ?σ,φ EC {Ss.} **yug-* v. 'pull off\out' > Kns {BISO} *yuk-* v. 'pull off, pull thread off spool', Gdl {Bl.} *yuk-* v. 'take, unhang (sth. fastened)', Dbs, Gln *yuk-* 'herausziehen' ¶ Ss. PEC 43, AMS 192, 228, BISO 220, Bl. G 131 ◇ IS SS 334 [#6.20] (IE, U), IS MS 351 s. v. *нести* **wegn* (IE, U; **÷* Tg **e¹gä* v. 'carry, drag' [with a query]). In fact, the Tg *√* in question is **e¹b¹e-* (> Ewk PT *зwə-* ~ *əžz-* v. 'carry on one's back to another place', Orc *зwugi-* v. 'bring', F STM II 436), and it is hardly a cognate of IE **weg^h-* and FU **wixē-* ◇ Cf. Gr. II #57 (**wek* 'carry') (IE, U, A + Ai).

2464. *wākṣî (= **wākṣê*?) 'strong, vigorous; strength' > HS: S **√wkṣ* > Ar *√wkṣ* 'be strong (robuste)' (a horse), 'be fast\firm' (thing) ¶ BK II 1597, Hv. 891 || IE: NaIE **weg-* 'strong, vigorous' (→ 'awake'), **wogō-*s 'strength', **wegē-* 'be strong' > OI *vāja-h̄* 'contest (Wettkampf), victory', Av *vazišta-* 'am besten mit Kraft versehen' || L

vege-ō / vegē-re 'stir up, quicken', vegētus 'lively, vigorous, fresh', vīgil 'wakeful, watchful' || Gt ga-wak-nan, ON vakna, AS wæcnan vi. 'to awake'; Gt wakan, OSx wakōn 'to be awake', OHG wāhhēn vi. 'to wake, to wake up (wachen, er-über-wachen)', NHG wachen 'to be awake, to be on guard, to keep watch', AS wæccan 'wachen', NE watch; ON vakinn 'awake'; AS wacian 'to be awake', NE wake; caus.: Gt us-wakjan 'to awaken from sleep', ON vekja, OSx wēkkjan, OHG, NHG wecken, AS wēccan vt. 'to wake' ¶ WP I 248-9, P 1117-8, E 550, M K III 182, M E II 540-1, WH II 741, 788, Fs. 209, 536, 547-8, Kb. 1133, 1164, OsS 1079, KM 828, 842, Vr. 639, 652, Ho. 378, 387, Ho. S 62, 85 || U: FU *wāke 'strength, power' > F vāki (gen. vāern) id., 'people, men', Es vāgi 'might, strength, force' || pLp {Lr.} *vēkz {AD} 'strength, might' > K {Gn.} vīgg, Kld {SaR} вīгк id., 'force', Lp: L {LLO} viehka, N {N} viekkâ 'rather large\strong', adv. 'fairly, rather' || Er vīy, Mk vī 'strength, power, might' || Chr: L вий wīy, B wīy, H ви vī id. || Prm *vīy- 'strength' (homonymous with *vīy- 'joint, Gelenk' of uncertain origin) > Z I/Sk/Ss/Ud yz-z-vī, Z LV yz-z-vīy 'strength' (yz-z 'people, men' and 'joint, articulation [of a limb]'), Vt kaí-vī 'strength, power' (kaí id.) || ObU {Hl.} *wēy, {Ht.} *wēy 'strength' > pVg {Ht.} *wāy > OVg Tr/Tb ва, OVg N Chd ца (Cyrillic script), Vg: T wāw, LK/MK/UK/NV wī, LL wī, UL/Ss wāy id.; pOs {Ht.} *wōy > Os: V/Vy wōy, Ty wōy, Y wōw, D/K wey, O wey id. || ?? Sm: Ne {Lh.} β+k'a 'Kraft' ¶¶ Coll. 123-4, UEW 563, It. #277, Sm. 551 (FU *wāki, FP *vāki, Ugr *wākī 'power'), Lr. #1396, Lgc. #8518:6, SaR 42, LLO 1398, N III 77, MRS 65, Ep. 12, ≈ LG 55, SZ 141-2, U ZS 178, Ht. #672, ≠ MF 681-2, Jk. rColl. 52, Lh. JVD 161 || A: NaT *bek 'firm, solid, stable' > OT {Cl., MKD} bāk id., XwT xiv bek čok 'very much', xiv bek 'firmly', OOSm ≥xv pek 'firm, solid, violent', Tkm bek, ET bāk 'firm, solid, stable', Qmq bek 'firm, solid; very', Tk pek 'hard, firm', QrB, Qrg bek 'firm', Qzq, Qq, Nog bek, VTt, Bsh бик bik 'very', Alt бек, Tf bék', Xk пик pik 'firm, solid', Yk bigä id. ¶ Cl. 323, Rs. W 68, ET B 117-20, Ra. 161, BIG 149 || M *beki 'strong, firm, solid; robust, vigorous, durable' > WrM beki, HIM бэx, Brt бэхи id., WrO beki ~ begi 'firm, strong', Kl Ö {Rm.} bekä 'stark, fest', MM [MA] {Pp.} d. bekit- v. 'strengthen' ¶ MED 96, Krg. 342, Pp. MA 116, Chr. 134, KW 41 || pKo {S} *pə|k|h 'very' > NKo p^hə|k 'very, very much' ¶¶ SDM97 (A *ba|ek'i 'firm, hard, very'), Rm. SKE 213, Rm. EAS I 57, 145, MLC 1743 ◇ The narrowing of a vw. in

T (or in pA?) (N *ä > T *e [and pA *e?]) is still to be explained ◇ N *-kʰ- (= probably *-kʰ-) is evidenced by S and A (A *-kʰ- < N *-kʰ- [= *-kʰ-?]) ◇ IS MS 367 (N *wäke 'strong' > IE, U), UEW 563 (U, T, M) ◇ Gr. II #369 (*bek 'strong') (IE, U + err. A, Ko + qu. Gil).

2465. *wak_l∇_lχa (= *wak_l∇_lha?) or *wak_l∇_lfa 'to shout' > IE (mt.) *we|ahg-/*wHg- > NaIE *wāg- / ? *wag- 'shout, cry' > L vāgī-ō / vāgī-re 'cry, whimper as a child', vāgor (gen. vāgōr-is) 'the crying of young children, the bleating of kids' || Lt vógrauti 'to whimper, to shout', {Nsl.} vógra, Lt Δ vōgras n. 'a whimpering person (child)' ¶ But OI fVd vāg'nu-ḥm. 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd vāgvā'nu- 'sound, noise' are likely to belong not here (because of a), but rather to IE *wek^w- (see N *w'a'kō 'to call') ¶ WP I 214-5, P 1110, WH II 723-4, Frn. 1271, M K III 123, M E II 488, Ped. IH 57-8 (heteroclis: nom. *wāg-u / gen. *wag-'n-es), cp. EI 89 (*s)weh_gh- '≈ cry out; resound' || HS: S: [1] WS *✓wkḥ (~ S *°✓wkʰ?) > Gz ✓wkḥ v. D 'clamour, boast', Sb {Mü.} wkḥy-n '(?) altercation, dispute', ? BHb ✓wkḥ Sh (ip. ḥ'ḥ'ḥ' ḡō'kīāḥ) 'rebuke, call to account, judge', JEA ✓wkḥ Sh (pf. ḥ'ḥ'ḥ' ḡō'kīāḥ) {Sl.} 'decide, establish; admonish' ({Lv.} 'zurectweisen'), JA [Trg.] {Js.} אָוֹתָא וְכֹחַ אֲוֹתָא וְכֹחַ אֲוֹתָא ~ אָוֹתָא וְכֹחַ אֲוֹתָא 'reproof', ({Lv.} 'Zurechtweisen') (× *✓wkḥ 'argue, strife'), Ar ✓wkʰ G {Hv.} 'reprehend so. on' (ʿ for the inherited *ḥ may be accounted for by contamination with *✓wkʰ 'strike', hence the meaning {BK} 'réduire qn. au silence par une forte reprimande'); [2] S *°✓wkʰ > Ar *✓wkʰ TD (V form) 'pousser des cris dans la douleur de la parturition' (female camel) (? for *ḥ or *ʿ due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ BK II 1594, 1597, Hv. 891, LG 612, Mü. AMSW 284, KB 391-2, Js. 25, Lv. I 502-3, Lv. T I 14, Sl. 534, DRS 538 || C: Ag *wak- 'shout' > □Xm {R} wāχ- 'schreien, mitlauter Stimme rufen, lärmern' ¶ R Ch 110 || U: FU *°wak∇ 'call' (× N *w'a'kō id. [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU {Ht.} *wāχ- 'call (rufen)' > pVg *wāχ- > Vg: LK/P wōw-/wōw-, MK wōχ-/wōw-, NV/LL wōw-, SV wōχ-/wōχ-, Ss wōw- 'call (звать), ask for'; pOs {Ht.} *wāχ- id. > Os: V wāχ-, Ty wāχ- id., Vy wāχ-, Y wāχ-, D/K/O wāχ-, Nz/Kz wāχ- 'call (звать)' ¶ Ht. #673, Trj. S 507, BV 23 || D (in SD) *vak-, {ʕGS} *vag- v. 'sound, cry' > Tm vakuḥi, vakuḥi n. 'sound', Kn baguḥ(u), baguḥu v. 'bark, cry out', baggu 'crying', Tu baguḥu-, baguḥu- v. 'bark, clamour' ¶ D #5204 ◇ The loss of the lr. in Bj suggests that it was N *ḥ or *ʿ rather than *χ or *χ. S *ḥ

suggests the N Ir. ***h**. But if the N Ir. was ***ɣ**, S ***h** in * $\sqrt{\text{wk}h}$ may be due to as. (***kɣ** > ***kʰ**).

2466. (₂?) ***w^{ra}ʰkʷo** (or ***wæʰkʷo**, ***wokʷo**) 'to call' > IE: NaIE ***wek^w**- (prs. ***wok^w-ti**) 'speak' (possibly with infl. of IE ***Hw^wek^w**- < N ***ʰokʷu** 'to call out, to speak [solemnly]; incantations'), 'call' > OI **vak-ti** (pp. **uk'ta-**), **vivak-ti** 'says, speaks', Av **vak-** (pp. **ũxta-**) 'speak'; ? (with as. ***kn** > ***gn** and infl. of NaIE ***wāg-** / ? ***wəg-** 'shout, cry' < N ***wak_l∇,ʰa** or ***wak_l∇,ʰa** 'to shout?') OI fVd **vag'nu-h** m. 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd **vagva'nu-** 'sound, noise' ||| Arm **գոչեմ** *goč'em* v. 'cry, exclaim, call' ||| Gk **εἶπον**, Gk Ls **Ἔειπην** aor. 'spoke' ||| L d. **voc-ō**, **vocā-re** 'call, summon' ||| Pru **wackītwei** 'locken', **wackis** 'Geschrei', **enwackēmai** 'wir rufen an', {E} 'we invoke' ||| NaIE d. ***wek^wos-** 'speech' > OI **vacas-**, Av **vačah-** 'speech, word' ||| Gk **ἔπος** 'word, a saying, speech', Gk Ae/Cp **Ἔπος** 'word' ||| NaIE d. ***wōk^w-(s)** 'voice' > OI nom. **vāk** / obl. **vāc-** 'voice, speech, word', Av nom. **vāx-š** / accus. **vāč-əm** id. ||| L **vōx** / gen. **vōc-is** 'voice, cry, call' ||| Gk **ῥψ*** 'voice' (Gk Hm **ῥπ-α** accus., **ῥπ-ός** gen.) ||| pTc {Ad.} ***wek** > Tc: A **wak**, B **wek** id., 'noise' ||| NaIE d. ***wok^w-tlo-m** > OIr {P} **foccul** 'word', ?σ W **gwaethl** 'strife, battle' ||| other ds.: OHG **gi-wahan** (p. **giwuoc** ~ **giwuag**) {Kb.} 'erwähnen, erzählen, sagen, erinnern', **giwahanen** 'to mention, to remember', NHG **erwähnen**, Dt **gewagen**, **gewag** **maken** 'to mention'; ON **vátta** 'to testify', **váttr** 'testimony' (< Gmc ***waxta-**z); Gmc ***woxm**, {Ho.} ***wōhm-** > ON **ómun** 'voice', AS **wōm(a)** 'noise' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht **huek-** 'conjure, treat by incantation' (as in P 1136) is convincingly rejected by Puhvel (Pv. III 323-7); on Ht **huek-** see N ***ʰokʷu** '↑' ¶¶ WP II 245-6, P 1135-6, EI 534-5, M K III 123-6, 180, 221, M E II 488-94, 539-40, Brl. 1340-2, Vr. 419, 648, Vr. N 203, KM 174, YGM-1 253, Ho. 405, Kb. 1132, OsS 276, 1075, En. 169, 270, Slt. 382, F I 464, 545 and II 458, WH II 823-5, Wn. 541, Ad. 607, Ad. H 37-9, Ts. E I 255-7 ||| HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {J} **wògè** 'call', Ndam D {J} **wuga**, Tmk {Cp.} **wèg** id., Mkl {J} **wâké** 'appeler, nommer' ¶ ChL, ChC, J LM 183 ||| ? **U**: FU ***wak∇** 'call' (× N ***wak_l∇,ʰa** or ***wak_l∇,ʰa** 'to shout' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| ? **A**: ? T ***mākIr-** 'shout, bellow' (× N ***m^{ra}ʰkʷ** 'cry, shout', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. also SD ***vak-** v. 'sound, cry' (D #5204), which is more likely to belong to N ***wak_l∇,ʰa** or ***wak_l∇,ʰa** '↑' ◇ If

FU *wak ∇ and/or *mākIR- belong here, the N vw. of the first syll. is *a, otherwise it may be *a, *ä, *e, or *o.

2467. *wik^{ra} 'back part, behind, backwards' > IE: NaIE *weik ∇ - (~ *weig-??) 'yield, give way, draw back' (contamination with homonymous roots for 'move', 'tremble', etc.) > Gk ἔκω / aor. ἔ-(F)ελξε 'yield, give way, draw back' ||| OI vi'jatē 'starts back, recoils, flees from' ||| Gmc *wīk- 'give way, give in' > OSx wīkan 'to yield, to give in, to give way', AS wīcan 'to give way, to collapse', {EI} 'to yield, to give ground', OHG wīhan, NHG weichen id., 'to give in', ON vikja, vikuva, úkva id. ¶ ≈ WP I 233-5, ≈ P 1130-1, ≈σEI 607 (*weig/k- 'turn, yield'), ≈σ 63 (? *weik- 'bend a pliable object'), 607, ≈ Vr. 663, Kb. 1196, OsS 1154, ≈ KM 845, Ho. 392, Ho. S 87, ≈ Vr. 663 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from IE *weik/g- 'bend, swing'), F I 454 (a justified comparison between Gk, OI, and Gmc), ≈ M K III 204-5 and M E II 577-8 (no distinction between vi'jatē 'flees' and vi'jatē 'heaves' of different origin), MW 959 ¶ The variant *weig- may be due to contamination with other roots ||| **K:** OG, G uku 'behind, backwards', uku- px. 'backwards', OG uku-ani 'behind', uku-mart 'backwards' ¶ Chx. 1397-9, Ser. 157-8, DCh. 1251-5 ||| **A:** M *böke 'back, backside' > WrO {Krg.} böq 'rear, torso, rump, posterior, buttocks', Kl βεκ böka 'backside of the knuckle-bone (serving as dice)', {Rm.} bökö 'der Rücken, die Rückenseite des Spielknochens', Brt βyxə 'back part of the body', ?σ WrM {Bb.} böke 'the frame of a plough'; M ⇨ Qzq {RI.} bügö 'die Stelle des Knochens (beim Spiel) mit der Rückseite nach oben'; M *böksen 'backside, rear, buttocks' > MM [MA] {Pp.} bökse 'buttocks', WrM bögsen, HIM βεrc 'backside, posterior part, rear; rump, buttocks', Ord {Ms.} bögso 'buttocks, vulva', WrO {Krg.} böqsö 'backside, rump', Kl βεrc bögas 'rear, backside' ¶ KW 55 (equates Kl bökö with WrM böke '?'), MED 126, Bb. 475, Pp. MA 123, Ms. O 85, Krg. 359, KRS 113, RI. IV 1881 ◇ The labialization N *i > M *ö (due to the ass. infl. of N *w [> M *b-]) is still to be investigated.

2468. *woy ∇ 'straight, even, fit' > IE: NaIE *weik ∇ - 'true, resembling (like truth), fit' > Gk A ἐικός, Gk I οικός adj. 'like truth, likely', n. 'likelihood', Gk ἔοικα (pfc. with prs. sense) 'be like', Gk Hm ἐίκε ipf. 'it was opportune', Gk (F)ἔκελος, (F)ἔκελος adj. 'like', Gk A ἐικάζω (ἔ-Flικάζω) 'represent by an image, portray', Gk A ἐκών, Gk Cp Flεκόνα accus. 'image, picture' ||| Lt vỹk-ti 'to be a success, to happen, to occur', i-vỹk-ti 'to come true; to happen, to occur', Ltv vīkt

'gedeihen, vorstatten gehen', $v\grave{e}ikt$ 'to manage, to carry out', $v\grave{e}ikties$ 'to succeed (in), to do well' (a merger with the $\sqrt{}$ of Lt $v\grave{a}ik\acute{y}ti$ 'to chase, to hunt', $v\grave{e}ikti$ 'to do, to act, to have an effect?'), ? Lt $pav\acute{e}ikslas$ 'image, picture, example' (unless from $*pav\acute{e}izd-klas < IE w\grave{e}j\grave{d}-/*w\acute{i}d-$ 'see', as supposed by Bg. and Frk.) ||| AS $w\grave{i}z\sim w\grave{i}h\sim w\acute{e}oh$ 'image, idol' ¶ WPI 237, P 1129, $\approx\sigma EI 25$ ($*w\acute{e}j\grave{k}$ - 'appear [whether the appearance is into the speaker's sphere of reference or another's]), F I 452-3, 530, Frn. 556, 1181, 1213-4, 1250, Bg. rHerm. 470 (= Bg. RR III 704) ||| K: OG, G $v\grave{a}qe$ 'smooth, even', $v\grave{a}q\text{-}$ 'make\be smooth\even' ¶ Chx. 360-1, NCh. 213 ||| U: FU (att. in FV) $*w\acute{o}yke$ 'straight' > F $\sigma ike\alpha$ 'right, just, correst', $\sigma iko-$ 'get right, rectify, straighten' | pLp {Lr.} $*v\acute{o}y\kappa\acute{\zeta}$ 'straight, right' > Lp: N {N} $v\upsilon\sigma i'g\hat{a}d$ 'right, reasonable; straightforward', $v\upsilon\sigma i'g\hat{a}$ adv. 'really, straight, truly', K {Gn.} $v\acute{u}y:g$, Kld {SaR} $v\acute{u}j\eta\kappa$ adj. 'straight, even' | preMr {Ker.} $*v\acute{i}y\acute{x}\acute{a}-d\acute{a}-$ > pMr {Ker.} $*v\acute{i}y\acute{a}d\acute{a}-$ > Er $vide$ $v\acute{i}de$, $\Delta v\acute{i}y\acute{e}de$, Mk $vid\acute{y}\acute{a}$ 'v\acute{i}d\acute{a} adj. 'straight', n. 'truth', Er $vit\acute{y}$, $\Delta v\acute{i}y\acute{e}t$, Mk $vidi$ 'v\acute{i}d\acute{i} 'right (dexter)' | pChr $*w\acute{i}ya-$ > Chr: H $vi\acute{a}k\acute{a}$ $w\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}k\acute{a}$ 'straight', $vi\acute{a}n\acute{a}w$ $w\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}n\acute{a}\check{s}$, B $w\acute{i}y\acute{ne}$ - 'become straight'; {Ber.} $*w\acute{i}ya-ks-$ > Chr: L $vi\acute{y}\acute{a}\check{s}$, YO/V $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}k\check{s}$, Ch $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}k\check{s}$, B $w\acute{i}y\acute{a}\check{s}$, H $vi\acute{a}w$ $v\acute{i}(y)\acute{a}\check{s}$ 'straight' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 824-5, SK 421-2, Lr. #1424, Lgc. #8735, SaR 54-5, Ker. II 190-1, ERV 132, 137-8, PI 54-5, Ber. 86, MRS 69, Ep. 12 \diamond IS MsN s.v. $*w\acute{o}y\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ 'straight' (IE, U).

2469. $*wal\acute{v}$ 'be strong, be able' > IE: NaIE $*wal-$ id., 'rule over' > L $val-e\bar{o}$ / $valor$ 'τιμή, value', Osc {Pln.} $F\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ 'valens' or 'validus' (?) ||| Clt: OIr {P} $fal-n-$, $fol-n-$ 'herrschen', {P} $flaith$ 'Herrschaft', {SB} 'Herrscher', OW $gualart$, W $gwaladr$ 'lord, ruler, prince', W $gwlad$ {E} 'rulership', OCrn $gulat$, MBr $gloat$ 'country, land', Br $glad$ id., 'kingdom (heaven)', 'property' ||| Gt $waldan$ 'ἀρκεῖν, to suffice', ON $valda$, OSx $gi-waldon$, OHG $waltan$, NHG $walten$ 'to rule, to have control over, to govern', AS $wæaldan$ id., 'to possess', NE $wield$; ON $veldi$ 'power, Macht' (< $*woltiyom$); ON $vald$ 'Macht, Gewalt', OFrs $weld$, OHG $walt$ {Kb.} 'force, power, law', $giwalt$, MHG (ge) $walt$ 'Gewalt, Macht, Herrschaft', NHG $Gewalt$ 'power, authority, violence', AS $geweald$ 'power' ||| BSI (+ext.): Lt $vald\acute{y}-ti$ 'to rule, to govern, to own', Ltv $v\grave{a}ld\acute{i}t$ 'to govern, to rule, to reign'; Lt $v\acute{e}ld\acute{e}ti$ (1s prs. $v\acute{e}ldu$, $v\acute{e}ld\acute{z}iu$) 'to own, to rule, to take possession, to inherit', Pru $wald\acute{u}ns$ nom. sg. {En.} 'mantinieks

(legatee)' or 'Erbteil', *weldūnai* nom. pl., *weldīsnan* accus. sg. 'heritage' | Sl inf. **volsti* (< **vold-ti*)/ 1s prs. **vold-q* 'own, rule over' > OCS **ВЛАСТИ** *vlasti* (1s prs. **ВЛАДѢ** *vladq*), OCz *vlasti* (prs. *vladu*) 'to own, rule over'; Sl **voldě-ti* 'to own' > OCS **ВЛАДѢТИ** *vladě-ti*, OR **ВОЛОДѢТИ** *volodě-ti*, R **Δ** *володеть*, Uk *володіти* id., Blg *в владея* 'I rule over, own'; Sl **volda-ti* 'to own' > OCS **ВЛАДАТИ** *vlada-ti*, Cz cd. *o-vládati* id., SCr, Slv *vládati* 'to govern, to rule, to reign', P *władać* 'to make use of, to handle, to manage, to wield', Blg *владам* 'I rule over, own'; Sl **volstь* (< **vold-ть*) 'power (dominium)' > OCS **ВЛАСТЬ** *vlastь* '(political) power, power of the strong person; owned region' (↳ R *власть* 'political power'), OR **ВОЛОСТЬ** *volostь* 'region, country, power', R *волость* 'volost (small rural district)', Blg *власт* 'political power', SCr *vlast* 'power, might, rule', Slv *lást* 'property, possession', Cz *vlast*, Slk *vlast'* 'one's native country', P *włóśc* 'landed property, estate'; ? OCS **ВЛАТЬ** *vlatь* 'gigas' || pTc {Ad.} **wālo* (obl. **lānt*) (< **wl-ānt* 'the ruling one') > Tc A *wäl*, B *walo*, A/B obl. *lānt* 'king', B *walo* 'king'; pTc **wlāw-* > Tc A/B *wlāw-* v. 'control' || Ht {Ts.} *walliwalli-* 'stark, kräftig', *walliwallai-* 'kräftigen' ¶¶ WPI 539, P 1111-2, EI 490, WH II 727-8, Pln. II 710, SB 262, LP §§ 136.1, 299, YGM-1 254, 267, Hm. 315, Fs. 548, Kb. 385, 1139, OsS 276, 1084, KM 835-6, Ho. 385, Vr. 640-1, 653, Frn. 1188-9, 1217-8, En. 270, 272, Vs. I 340-1, 344, BER 160-1, 163, Ma. CS 569-70, Glh. 674-5, StSS 118, Me. DIE 22 (Sl **vold-* ÷ Gmc **wald-* rather than Sl ← Gmc), Wn. 554-5, Ad. 581-2, 617, Ts. W 100 || **D** **val*/**vall-* 'strong' > Tm *val* 'strong, hard, forceful', *vallam*, *valam* 'strength', *vallu* 'be able', Ml *val*, *valu* 'strong, powerful, great', Kt *val* 'powerful, very, right', Kn *bal* v. 'grow strong/firm', *bal(u)* 'strength, firmness', Kdg *bala* 'power, strength', Tu *bala* 'strength', Tl *valanu* 'skill, excellence', Prj *vela key* 'right hand', Gdb *valan* 'thick, stout', Gnd *wallē* 'much, very'; (× D **va*]- < N ***WA**]a [or ***wu**]o]a?) 'big, large, multitude', q.v.): Mlt *balehne* 'large', *balebale* 'large ones', Brh *balun* 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ D #5276, Zv. 156 [#225] || **HS** (with an ext.): C **✓włk* > EC: Sd {Gs.} *wolka*, {Hd.} *wolká* ~ *walká* 'strength, power', {C} *wolqā* 'strong'; HEC ↳ Gf {Mrn.} *wolka* 'strength, power' ¶ Gs. 348, Hd. 400-1, C SE II 252, Mrn. S s.v. *wolka*, Mrn. O s.v. *wolka* || **A**: M **buli-* 'be superior in strength, overcome, be victorious' > Brt *були-* id., (× M **buliya-*

'take away by force, seize' < N *^hu^hw^hA^hl^hi^hy^h∇ 'draw, pull [out, off]', q.v.): MM [S] {H} buli- 'conquer, rob, take away by force', WrM buli-, HIM були- 'overcome, conquer, take by force, be superior in strength', Mnr H {SM} b_uli- 'enlever de force, piller, ravir' ¶ Chr. 111, MED 134, H 22, SM 33 ◇ The vw. *u in M *buli- is to be attributed to the ass. infl. of N *w- or M *b- (on M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ BmK #487 (IE, D).

2470. *wA|a (or *wu|o|a?) 'big, large; multitude' > HS: CCh: Msg {Mch.} wēl, Mlw {Trn.} wèl, Mbara {TrnSL} wàlá 'old' | Bu {ChL} ?^wzla 'large', Mrg {Hf.} ?^wá| 'great' ¶ ChL II 55 [#281], Hf. GML 26, ChC, Trn. MVM 287, TrnSL 300 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} wullá, {CR} wul'lā, Dmt {CR} wullā 'all' ¶ AD SF 190 || ?σ SOm: Hm {Bnd. ← Fl., Ld.}, Hm K {Bnd.} (w)ul(1), Hm B {Bnd.} wū| 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, AD SF 190 || IE: NaIE *wel- 'many, much, amount' > Gk: I ἔλλα (< *Fελν-), A ἔλλα (ī-), D ἔλλᾱ (ī-) (< *Fελλᾱ) 'a crowd, troop of men', Hm/A ἔλλις adv. 'in crowds, in plenty' ||| SI *velb(-jъ) 'big, great' > OCS, OR **вєлнн** velii, Blg 'вели, SCr vĕljī, OCz velí id., Cz vele, Slk velo, HLs wjele 'very'; SI *velb-mi 'very' (← instr. pl. of *velb) > OCS, OR **вєльмн** vel'mi, R † вельми, Cz velmi, Slk vel'mi, P wielmi id.; SI *velikъ(-jъ) 'big, great' > OCS **вєлнкъ** velikъ, Blg велник, SCr vĕlik, Slv vĕlik, Cz vel(i)ký, Slk veliký, vel'ký, P wielki id., R, Uk великий 'great', R велик 'is large\big' ||| ? W gwala 'amount, sufficiency, enough', MBr {LP} gwalc'h (not mentioned in Ern.), Br gwalc'h 'satiety, sufficiency', Br a-walc'h 'enough', gwalc'hañ 'to sate, to satisfy' ||| ?? Tc A wäl, B walo 'king' (but more probably from IE *wal- 'be strong, rule over' < N *wal∇ 'be strong, be able', q.v.) ¶ ≈ P 1138, LS 828 (ī- in ἔλλα, ἔλλᾱ), Ch. 462-3, ≈ F I 74, 722, Vs. I 288-9, Glh. 665-6, BER I 131-2, LP § 37.3, YGM-1 254, Hm. 56, 344, Wn. 554-5 ||| **U** *wu]∇ 'big, much, many' > Lp: L ǎllō id., N {N} q'l'lo ~ q'llo ~ q'lo 'much, many' ||| Os: N {KrT} wъ| 'big, older', O {Stn.} wul, Pt {Stn.} u] 'крупный, groß' || Sm: Ne: T нцли" 'quite, very', T O {Lh.} ηυί| id. ¶ Coll. 44, UEW 543-4 (does not take into account Os and reconstructs U *u|∇), Stn. D 1586, KrT I 222, Ter. 403, Lh. 43 ||| **A** *u|o|∇ 'big, many' > M *olan 'much, many, numerous' > MM [IM] {Pp.} olan, [MA, HI, S] olon id., WrM olan, HIM, Brt олон id., 'multitude', Ord {Ms.} olon, Kl олн, {Rm.} олн, Mnr M {T} olon 'much, many, numerous', Mnr H {T} olūon id., {SM} olūon id., 'very', Mnr H {T}, Ba {T} olon, Dx {T} olon 'much, many' ¶

Ms. H 81, Pp. MA 264-5, 443, H 123, MED 607-8, Ms. O 510, KRS 395, KW 285, Chr. 354, SM 298, T 354, T BJ 145, T DnJ 131 || T: NaT d. *uluḡ 'big, great' (× A *p'u|E 'large' < ? N *palyû 'much, superfluous') > OT, OOSm XIV uluḡ, XwT XIII ulu(ḡ), MQp XIII ulū, XIV [CC] ulu, Chg XV, ET uluḡ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluḡ, Tkm, Slr uli 'large, big, great', Tk ulu, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олпы ъль, Bsh оло ъль 'large, big; old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluḡ, Qzq җлы ӱли, Qq ulli, Alt ulu, Uz uluḡ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 ¶¶ S AJ 286, ≈ DQA #2517 (A *ulu|o 'big, many; good'; incl. T, M) || D {tr., †GS} *va|- 'multitude; (?) big' > Tm valaḡkam 'large family', Kn baḡaga 'mass, multitude, assemblage, troop, the family circle', Tu baḡaga 'quantity, heap, multitude', Krg bali 'clan', Tl balāgamu 'retinue, party, circle of friends and relatives'; (× N *wail∇ 'be strong, be able' [q.v.]?): Gdb valan 'thick, stout', Mlt balehne 'large', balebale 'large ones', Brh balun 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ Tm -l- for the expected -l̄- is puzzling (infl. of the reflex of N *wail∇ '↑?') ¶¶ D #5308 and (merger of roots) D #5276 ¶¶ D *val- 'strong, hard' (D #5276) hardly belongs here (≠φ,σ) (⇔ IS MS) ◇ IS MS 331 s.v. *ωολη 'большой' (IE, A, U, D, HS), Glh. 665-6 (IE, U, D, A, Mrg ?wal + err. Eg wr) ◇ The U and A data suggest a N rounded vw., but if this vw. in U and A is due to the infl. of N *w-, we prefer to reconstruct N *A (on the ev. of D); on M *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #22 (semantically unjustified equation of U and A with IE *ol- 'all').

2471. *w'i'l∇ 'exchange', 'value' > U: Y T wa|e 'price, compensation, bride-price' ¶ Ku. 41 || D {tr., †GS} *vil 'sell; price' > Tm vil 'sell, be sold', vilai 'selling, price', Ml vila 'sale, price', Td pil 'price', Kt bil, bili v. 'sell, buy', bili, bele 'price, cost', Kdg bele 'cost', Tu bilæ, belæ 'price, value, worth', Tl viluva, vela id., 'cost', vil(u)cu v. 'sell, buy' ¶¶ D #5421 || HS: S (with an ext.) *o√wl̄t̄ > Gz √wl̄t̄ D 'change, exchange' ¶ L G 614, DRS 550-1.

2472. *woḡ|g|∇ (or *woḡ|g|∇?) 'stay, be' > HS: S *o√w|ḡ| > Gz √w|ḡ| (pf. wafala ~ wafila, juss. ɣafal) v. 'spend the day, remain, stay', Tgr, Tgy √w|ḡ| G v. 'spend the day' ¶ L G 602-3 || B *√w|H (prm. *w|∇H) v. 'be' (× N *hil'U' 'stand, be, exist', q.v.) > ETwl/Ty {GhA} inv. ɔllu (3 m pf. ETwl illa, Ty ɣalla), Ah inv. əll (pf. illa) 'be' (Fcj. 11, Pcj.

I A 9), Kb {Dl.}, Wrg/Mz {Dlh.} ili (pf. yalla), Gh {Nh.}, BSn {Ds.}, Si {La.}, Gd {Lf.} ili (pf. illa), SrSn, Izn, Tmz ili 'be' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 119, Fc. 971, 2000 (on Fcj. 11), GhA 109, 246-7 (on Pcj. A I 9), Dl. 439, Dlh. Ou 161, Dlh. M 101, Ds. B 123, MT 362-3, La. S 66, Lf. II #0853 || C: EC *ʔōl- (~ *wōl-?) v. 'stay' > LEC {Bl.} *ōl- {AD} v. 'stay, spend the day' > Or {Grg.} ōl- id., Kns ōl- 'spend the day', Gdl ōl-aḏ- v. ben. 'be late', Sml prs. āl 'I stay', p. īl 'I stayed', ōl 'did not stay', Arr ʔell- / ip. ʔall- 'stand' | Brj wōl-ʔ- md. 'pass the time, stay', ? Hd wul- v. 'stand' ¶ Bl. 112, 150, Ss. PEC 51, Ss. B 188, Grg. 306, Hw. A 267-9 ¶¶ Coh. EC #196, L G 602-3., L ECDG 243 || U: FU *wōle- v. 'be, become' > Er уле- ule-, Mk уле- ulə- id. | F, Es ole- v. 'be' | Chr L/E ula-, H ъла- id. | Prm *vūl- / *vōl- v. 'be, exist': *vūl- > Z выл-ōм v+l-3m 'existence', Vt G {Wc.} vīlī- v. 'be, be there', Vt Sr v+l-, Vt Kz v3l- id., 'exist', Vt улыны- вылыны, Z овны-вывны 'to be, to be once upon a time' (Z олісны-вылісны 'there were once upon a time' [in fairy tales], олōны-вылōны оһнōдз 'they live upon this very day [они живут-поживают до сих пор]) (ов-, ол- means 'live'), Z Vish/EV vūl- 'be, be once upon a time'; Prm *vōl- v. (in the past tense) 'be' > Z вōлі v3li, Yz vōli 'was', Vt вал val 'was' (a < *o due to *l) || ObU {Ht.} *wōl- v. 'be, live' > pVg *āl- > Vg: T āl-/al-, LK ūl-/ul-, ōl-, MK/NV/SV/LL/UL ōl-, P ōl-/ol-, Ss ōl- id.; pOs *wōl- > Os: V/Vy wāl-, Ty/Y wāḏ-/wōḏ-, D/K/Nz ut-, Kz wōḏ-, O ol- id. | Hg vol-/val-/vagy- 'be' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 580-1, Sm. 551 (FU *wā/oli-, P *voli-, Ugr *wāli- 'be'), Ker. II 175, Ht. #681, MF 669-71, LG 67, 71-2, TmK 485 || A *bōl- ~ *ōl- > T *bōl- (~ *ōl-) v. 'become, be': *bōl- > OT, Chg, MQp, Tkm, Qmq, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, ET bōl-, Xk pol-, Chv L пул- pul-, Alt, Tv b_ol-, Tf b_ol-, Uz bωl-, VTt, Bsh buł-, SY pol-, Yk buōl- 'be, become', XwT, Nog bōl- v. 'be'; NaT *ōl- 'be, become' > Osm ol-, Tk ol-, Tk W ōl- 'be, become', Az, Ggz, CrTt {Rl.} ol- id., Uz Δ {Jud.} ol- 'be'; acc. to Mel.'s hyp. (Mel. xl-xli), supported by other scholars (including Cl. and the authors of ET), the original T form is *bōl-, with the loss of the initial *b- (through the stage of *w) in Og and Uz Δ ¶ Cl. 331-2, ET B 185-8, Rl. I 1080-3, Ra. 163, Jeg. 164, Fed. I 442-3, Md. 39; the length of the vw. is suggested by Yk and Tk W; the short o in Tkm needs explaining || M *bōl- (~ *ōl-) 'become, be' > MM [S, MA, IM, PP, IsV] bōl-, WrM bōl-, HIM боло-, Kl бол-, Ord b_ol-, Dg, Mgl bōl-, Mnr bōli ~ ōli-, Dx wolu- ~ polu- id. ¶ Pp. IM 99, MED 114, KRS 107-8, Rm. M

20, SM 27, 296, T 318, T DnJ 114 || pJ *bǝr- 'be' > OJ wór-, J T/K/Kg ór- ¶ S QJ #250, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #196 (A *bǝlǝ-e 'be'), ≈ #1595 (A *ǝlu 'be, become; come', incl. T *ǝl-), S AJ 284 || D (in SD) *u]- v. 'be, have' > Tm u]-, Kn u]-/o]- id., MI u]- v. 'be there, exist', Kt o]- v. 'exist, be (in a place)', Kdg u]]- v. 'be, be in a place, have', Tu u]]]- v. 'be, exist, have' ¶ D #697 ◇ D *-]- (for the expected *-l-) may go back to pre-D *-ǝ- in a derived stem with *-ǝ- from **-l-ǝ- (or may be due to the presence of a lr.?). SD *u- may be explained by a kind of positional neutralization of the opposition *o ↔ *u in SD or by the assimilatory infl. of N *w-. An alt hypothesis (supposing that D *] goes back to N *]) does not explain U *-l- ◇ IS MS 332 (*wǝǝlǝ > A, U, ?D, HS).

2473. *waHlǝ 'cry, speak' > IE: NaIE *o_wǝ|ǝ|ǝ- ≈ id. > BSl: Sl *volati > P wǝłǝć 'to cry, to call', Cz volat(i) 'to clamour', (za-)volat(i) 'to call (to so.)' || Lt {Ma. ← ?} valióti 'to sing' (of mowers when mowing hey), Ltv valōda 'language, speech' | ?φ NrGmc: ON vála, NNr vaala 'jammern', ON væla 'jammern, klagern', Sw Δ vǝla 'schreien, blöken', Dn Δ vǝlle 'schreien'; NrGmc ↷ ME weile, wailen 'wail', NE wail ¶ Not here ON vǝlvǝ 'prophetess, sibyl' (adduced by Mn. and BmK) ← 'Stabträgerin' ← vǝlr 'runder Stab' ¶ Ma. CS 572, Brü. 630, Kar. II 478-9, ME IV 461-2, ≠ Mn. 1488, Vr. 640, 671, ≠ BmK #488 (+ err. ON vǝlvǝ, Gk ἄλαζών 'vagabond, false pretender', ἄλαζονικός 'boastful', and ἄλαζονεύομαι 'make false pretensions' [in fact from the Thracian tribal name Ἀλαζώνες], see Vr. 673-4, F I 61, Ch. I 53) || HS: B *waHl 'word(s), language, way of speaking' > Ah {Fc.} ǝ-wǝl, ETwl, Ty, Gh, BSn, Izd, Izn, Kb a-wǝl, Gd {Lf., CM} a-wǝl (pl. {CM} iwǝllǝn), Sll {Ds.} a-wǝl (pl. iwǝliwǝn), Tmz a-wǝl (pl. iwǝliwǝn), Nf {La.} a-wǝl id., Skn {Srn.} a-wǝl n. act. 'speaking'; ↷ B {ǝPr.} *si-Hwǝl caus. (Fcj. 155, Pcj. I A 4) 'speak, produce sounds' (metathesis *√Hwǝl < *√wǝl) > Ah siwǝl, ETwl, Ty šiwǝl, BSn {Ds.} Si {La.}, Skn {Srn.} sīwǝl, Sll {Ds.} sawǝl ~ sawǝl, Tmz siwǝl, Zng {TC} šīwǝiy 'parler' ¶ Fc. 1877-80, 2014 (on Fcj. 155), GhA 197, Ds. 212, Ds B 263-4, Dl. 862, La. S 262, MT 759, Lf. II #1667, CM 145, Pr. M VI-VII 100-2 (on Pcj. I A 4), DCTC 291 || Ch {Stl.} *waHal- {Stl.} 'weep, cry', {AD} 'produce vocal sounds, weep, cry' > WCh: Hs há-wǝyè 'tears' (ha- is a px. for body parts) || pAG *wǝl 'weep, cry' > Ang, Mpn {Frz.} wǝl, Cp wǝl 'weep, cry', Su {J} wǝl 'tönen, erschallen, klingen', wǝl mǝp 'wail, weep' || NrBc {Stl.} *war- (< *waHl-) > Jmb wara, Cg wure 'weep, cry' || Ech {Stl.} *ǝal-/ǝil- id.

(loss of the initial syll.) > Li ile, Mkl ʔōle / *īlé id., EDng ále {ChC} id., {Fd.} 'emit sounds, weep', 'cry' (of animals), Mu {Lk.} íléli 'tears', Skr {Nc.} āleṽāle 'weep', ólū 'funeral song' ¶ Stl. IF 142, Hf. AG #228, J S 86, ChC, ChL, Lk. ZSS 30, 37, Fd. 19 || C: Bj {R} wālik- scv. 'rufen, schreien' ¶ R WbD 238 || ??? o†S: ʔ CS *√w|w| > Ar √w|w| (pf. walwala) 'wail, shriek' (woman), 'howl' (wolf), Sr {PS} ʔ, o† walwalt-ā 'ululatus', BHb לַלְיָא 'lālēl, הַלְיָא 'hālā' lā n. act. 'howling' ¶ BK II 1605-6, Hv. 892-4, PS 1063, DRS 542-4, BDB 410, LH 428 || U *wal|a > FU (att. in FV) *wal|a 'word' > F vala, Krl A vala 'oath, vow' | pLp {Lr.} *vōlē 'song; conjure' > Lp S {Hs.} vuölie 'Lappish song', Lp L {LLO} vuollē «ein Jojker» (lappischer Melodiensatz, F jojku), N {N} d. vuollo- '(noisily expressed) delight', Lp Pa {TI} vūšl'ēd 'jemandem übles wünschen oder vorhersagen (im Denken\Sprechen, bes. die Zauberer)' | Er, Mk val 'word' || pY {IN} *walmə 'shaman' > Y T {IN} wōlmə, {Ku.} волмэ, K almə id.; OY K {Bil.} alma id. ¶¶ UEW 812, SK 1614, Lr. #1432, Lgc. #8769, Hs. 1457, LLO 1445, TI 787, IN 249 (Y T walmə [misprint for wōlmə]), 295 || D *val- 'say, speak, produce sounds by voice' > Tm vali v. 'say, tell, narrate', n. 'sound', Krg valli v. 'bark', Gnd Nr vallih- c. 'call, invite' ¶¶ D #5283 | ??? D *va]-, *va]ava]- 'babble, be talkative, noisy' (an ideophonic stem which may have developed on the basis of *val- 'say, speak') > Tm va]ava]a 'be talkative \ wordy, babble', Ml ʔ va]ava]ā 'sound of babbling', Tu ba]akæ 'boasting', Tl ʔ va]avāli 'noise, fuss, hubbub' ¶¶ D #5310 ◇ ≈ BmK #488 (*wal- / *wəl- > IE, D, Ar √w|w|).

2474. ? (₂?) *weH|yL∇ (or *weLH∇?) (= *weH|yL∇ - *weLH₁∇?) ≈ hip, waist' > HS: B: Sll a-wlāl 'groin (aine)' ¶ Ds. 12 || A: T {ADb.} *bēlk 'waist' (× N *beLk∇g∇ 'belly, waist' [q.v. ffd.] × N *P_e]ʔê - *P_e]ʔê 'side of body, side') > NaT *bēl, Chv пилёк pīl'bk 'waist' || ?σ IE: ʔ Ht {Frd.} walla 'Schenkel, (?) Bein' (not mentioned in Ts. W) ¶ The cognate is valid only if Frd.'s interpretation of the word is right ¶ Frd. HW 242 ◇ A preconsonantic T *l may go back to any N lateral cns. ◇ If Ht walla belongs here, the N etymon is *weH|yL∇ or *weLH₁∇.

2475. *waLʔæ 'wish, require' > HS: S *°√w|ʔ > Ar √w|ʔ (pf. waliʔa, ip. -wlaʔ-) {Hv.} 'be fond of, covet', {BK} 'être avide de, convoiter' ¶ BK II 1604, Hv. 893 || IE *welh̄- > NaIE *wel|a]- / wle(i)- v. 'want, choose', n. *w|ti-s 'wish' > L vol-ō, inf. velle v. 'want' || OI √var-: prs. vṛṇī'tē, vṛṇāti, vṛṇōti, vṛṇutē 'choses, prefers,

wishes, loves', Av ϑar - v. 'choose, want' ||| Gt $\omega iljan$, ON $\vartheta ilja$, OFrs $willa$, OSx $willian$, $wellian$, AS $willan$, OHG $wellen$, NHG $wollen$ 'to want', 3s prs (being transformed into p./prs.): Gt ωili , ON ϑill , ϑil , OFrs, OSx, OHG ωili , NHG ωill 'he wants', NE ωill v. (and analytical marker of ft.); ON ϑil , AS ωill n. 'wish, desire'; Gt $\omega ilja$, ON ϑili , OSx $willio$, OHG $willo$, NHG $Wille$, OFrs, AS $willa$ n. 'will', NE ωill n. ||| ? Gk D $\lambda \tilde{\omega}$ (2s $\lambda \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$, 3s $\lambda \tilde{\eta}$) 'wish, desire' (Gk Cr opt. $\lambda E(\lambda) o\lambda$, $\lambda E\lambda o\lambda e\nu$, conj. $\lambda E\lambda o\nu\tau\iota$, prtc. $\lambda E\lambda o\nu\tau o\varsigma$, - α) (Schw. GG I 676: < * $\omega l\bar{e}(i)mi$) ||| Olt $\vartheta \acute{e}l\tau i$ / 1s prs. $\vartheta \acute{e}lmi$ v. 'wish, prefer, allow' | SI * ϑel - / * ϑol -: * $\vartheta el\check{e}-ti$ (1s prs. * $\vartheta e\acute{i}-\vartheta$) 'to order' > OCS **ВЕЛѢТИ** $\vartheta el\check{e}ti$ / v. **ВЕЛѢ** $\vartheta elj\vartheta$, Slv $\vartheta el\acute{e}ti$, Cz $\vartheta eleti$, R **велеть** (prs. **велю**), Uk **веліти** id., 1s prs.: SCr $\Delta \vartheta \acute{e}lju$, Blg Δ 'велям ϑ велим 'I say', Δ 'велям 'I decide'; SI * $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}a$ n. 'will' > OCS **ВОЛЯ** $\vartheta olja$, Blg, R, Uk 'воля, SCr $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}ja$, Slv $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}ja$, Cz $\vartheta o\acute{\lambda}e$, Slk $\vartheta ol'a$, P $\omega o\lambda a$; SI * $\vartheta o\lambda\acute{e}ti$ > SCr **волетѣ** $\vartheta o\lambda j\vartheta e\tau i$ 'to love'; SI * $\vartheta o-\vartheta \check{e}l\check{e}-ti$ 'to be enough' (< * $\omega o\lambda\bar{e}-$) > OCS **ДОВѢЛѢТИ** $\vartheta o-\vartheta \check{e}l\check{e}-ti$ / prs. **ДОВѢЛѢ** $\vartheta o-\vartheta \check{e}l j\vartheta$, R **довлеть**, Uk **довліти** ||| ?? Arm **գեղ** $ge\check{\lambda}$ 'beauty, charm, attraction, good grace' (unless < NaIE * ωel - 'see, look') ¶ P 1137-8, EI 629 (* ωel - 'wish, want'), M K III 244-5, M E II 511-2, WH II 88-30, F II 150, Fs. 563, Vr. 663-4, Ho. 396, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1166, 1201, OsS 1119-20, KM 859, 868, SGGJ IV 424, Frn. 1220, Vs. I 288, 347-8, 521, Glh. 678, BER I 132-3, 175-6, Slr. 141-2 ||| **U**: FU * $\omega \acute{a}\hat{z}\nabla$ - v. 'demand, desire, wish, urge' > F $\vartheta a\acute{a}\tau i$ - v. 'demand, ask (so. for), want, urge' | Prm * $\vartheta a\check{s}$ - > Z US $\vartheta a\check{s}\acute{a}d$ -, Yz ' $\vartheta a\check{s}\wedge t$ - vt. 'drive' ('ГНАТЬ'), Prmk $\vartheta a\check{s}\acute{z}t$ - v. 'zwingen, wegtreiben' ||| Hg $\vartheta \acute{a}g\gamma$ - v. 'desire, wish, long to' ¶ Coll. 122, Coll. CG 414, UEW 549-50, LG 49, SZ 67, Lt. J 95, KPR 57 ¶ The FU cognate is valid only if the Prm $\check{\lambda}$ belongs here, otherwise the FU $\check{\lambda}$ may be reconstructed as * $\omega \acute{a}\check{c}\nabla$ (which may include ObU * $\omega a\check{c}\nabla$ v. 'catch fish', Ht. #657) ||| **A**: Tg * $\vartheta o\lambda a$ - > Ewk Brg $\vartheta o\lambda a$ - v. 'order, compell' ◇ AD LZL 360-1.

2476. ϑ * $\omega \nabla L'h^1 \nabla$ 'to hit, to attack' (→ 'to wound, to kill') > **HS**: ? σ S * $\omega \check{\lambda}h$, prm. * $\omega \check{\lambda}ih$ - > Ar $\check{\lambda}h G$ (pf. $\omega \lambda aha \sim \omega \lambda iha$, ip. $\gamma \lambda ihu$) 'be dejected \ depressed by grief', D (pf. $\omega \lambda \lambda aha$) 'confound, perplex so.' (of grief), 'intoxicate so.' (wine), $\omega \lambda h$ - 'grief' ¶ BK II 105-6, Hv. 894 ||| **IE** * ωelX - '≈ strike, hit, fight' > Ht $\omega \lambda h$ - 'strike, attack' ({Ts.} 'schlagen', 'niederschlagen, überfallen, schädigen') || NaIE * $\omega el_{\lambda}a$ - 'wound, slay, fight' (× N * $\gamma \acute{u}L \nabla$ 'to destroy, to fight; war', q.v.)

> W gweli, Crn goly (pl. golyow) 'a wound', MBr {Em.} gouli id., gouliaff, goulyaff 'to wound' || Gmc (× N ***ʒoī**∇ 'to starve, to die; dead', q.v. [?]): ON **valr** 'the slain in battle', AS **wæl**, OHG {OsS} **wal**, **walu** id., 'slaughter, carnage; battlefield', NHG cd. **Walstatt** 'battlefield', OSx **wal** 'death'; AS **wōl** 'pestilence', OSx **wōl** id., 'ruin (Verderben)', OHG **wuol** id., 'desaster' || Sl: OCz **váleti** (1s prs. **váleju**) 'wage war', Sl ***valьka** > OCz, Cz **válka** 'war', P **walka**, Blr 'валька' 'fight, combat', ? Uk **валява** 'battlefield with bodies of those slain in battle' (× **ва'лятися** 'be scattered all over') | Blt: Pru **ūlint** (< ***wōlint**) 'to fight' ¶ Frd. HW 242-3, Ts. W 100, WPI 304-5, P 1144-5, ≈ EI 367 (***wel**(h₂)- strike, tear at; unj. adduction of L **vellō** 'pluck, tear' < N ***l₁w^rA¹l₁i₁y₁**∇ 'draw, pull out/off'), Thr. 171, Dnn. 339, Ern. 282, Vr. 642, Ho. 380, 405, Ho. S 82, 89, Kb. 1232, OsS 1085, 1214, KM 834, ≈ Ma. CS 553, Tr. 548, En. 269 ◇ Not here (⇔ IS MS) the FU √ of Hg **ōl-** 'kill', etc., which is FU ***wēδ**∇ 'kill' (< N ***wed**∇ 'to hunt') rather than FU ***wel**∇ ◇ IS MS 367 (***wel**∇ 'to fight' > IE, A, D ÷ * U).

2477. *wA₁l₁∇₁h¹∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve' > HS: WS ***√wly** vi. 'turn' > Ar **√wly** G + prep. **fan** (pf. ... **وَلَّى عَنْ** **walā fan**, ip. **yaliyu fan**) vt. 'détourner de', **√wly** D 'turn away from, turn back', Mh {Jo.} **√wly** Sh (pf. **həwālū**) vi. 'turn back, direct oneself to', Jb C {Jo.} **√wly** G (pf. **ōli**) 'turn towards', Jb E/C {Jo.} **√wly** Sh (pf. **eb'le**) 'direct oneself towards', Hrs {Jo.} **wəl** 'towards' ¶ BK II 1606-7, Hv. 894, Jo. M 429, Jo. J 292, Jo. H 136, ≈ DRS 549 || B ***√wHl** (mt. from ****√wHl**?), pf. {ʒPr.} ***-wHl|ul** > Ah **āwl** (3m pf. **iwəl**) '(se) tourner (changer de direction)' (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), ETwl/Ty {GhA} **əwəl** id. (3m pf. ETwl **iwəl**, Ty **yəwəl**) ¶ Fc. 1480-94, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 197, Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 246-7 (both on Pcj. I A 6) || C: DhI {E} **walam-** in **wálampáni** 'whirlwind' ({E}: **walam-** + **ṛūf-/yūf-** v. 'blow') || ? SC: Irq {MQK} **harwēr-** 'surround', {E} **harwel-** v. 'surround' ¶ E SC 314, E PC #576, MQK 47 || IE: NaIE ***wel**(ə)- / ***wlē-**, ***welu-**, ***wlej-** v. 'turn, roll' > Lt **vélti** / prs. **veliu** v. 'felt, full (cloth)' (a NaIE heavy basis ***welə-**), Ltv **veĩt** 'to roll, to trundle; to felt, to full (cloth)' | Sl ***valíti** sę rf. 'to roll' > OCS **ВАЛИТИ СЯ** **valiti sę** id., Sl ip. ***valíati** 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)' > OCS **ВАЛЯТИ СЯ** **valjati sę** rf. 'to roll', Cz **válet se**, R **ва'ляться** rf. id. (v.i.), R **ва'лять**, SCr **váljati** 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)', Cz **váleti**, Slk **vál'at'** id., Blg 'валям' I felt,

full' || OI *valati* 'turns, turns to, returns' (unless ← D **val-* 'surround, turn around'), Av *var-* '(se) vertere' || Arm *qelrum* v. 'wring', *qelanim* v. 'twist, wring, writhe', *qlem* v. 'roll, wheel' (< **wlē-*) || Gk *ἐλλέω* (**Fελ-ν-έω*) ~ *ἐλλώ* v. 'roll up', *ἐλλύω* 'enfold, enwrap' || L *volvo-*, -*ēre* / *volvi* / *volūtum* v. 'roll, wind, turn/twist round' || OIr *fillim* 'turn (drehen), bend', {SB} 'flecto' || Gt *af-walwjan* 'wegwälzen', *at-walwjan* 'hinzuwälzen', *faur-walwjan* 'vorwälzen', AS *wealwian* vi. 'to roll', *wielwan*, *wiellan* 'wälzen, rollen', ON *valr* adj. 'round', MLG *walen* 'drehen, wälzen, rollen' ¶ WP I 298-304, P 1140-3, EI 607 (*wel-* 'turn, wind, roll'), M K III 161 (against the connection between OI *valati* and IE **wel-*), Ach. II 112, Slr. 81-2, F I 457-8, WH II 832-4, SB 275, Frn. 1221, Vs. I 268, StSS 108, Glh. 661, Chr. I 132, BER I 116-7, Vr. 642, Fs. 13, Ho. 386, 393-4 || ? **A**: M **bulu* > WrM *bulu*, HIM *бун* 'wheel, hub of a wheel; cylinder; roller for husking grain or leveling ground', MM [HI] *bulu* 'hub of a wheel', Ord {Ms.} *b_u'lu'* 'cylindre servant à écorcer le millet \ à aplanir la terre', WrO {Krg.} *bulu* 'roller, hub', Brt *бун* 'cylinder (вал, валик)', Kl *бун* id., 'hub', Brt E *була* 'hub of a wheel', Kl {Rm.} *bulu* id., 'Rolle' ¶ On M **bu-* < N **wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4 ¶ MED 136, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 96, Lew. II 22, Krg. 366, KRS 117, Chr. 110, KW 59 || **D** **valai* 'circle, ring' > Tm *valai* 'circle', MI *vala* 'ring', Td *pa]* 'ring, circle', Kt *va]* 'bangle', Kn *ba]e* 'ring, armlet, bracelet', Kdg *ba]e* 'bangle, ring', Tu *ba]æ* 'bracelet, hoop', ↔ OI *valaya-* 'bracelet, ring'; D **val-* (+ *sxs.*) v. 'surround, turn around' > Tm *valai* v. 'surround, walk around', MI *valayuka*, TI *balayu* v. 'surround', TI {Km.} *valayu* vi. 'turn around', Kt *va]c-* v. 'walk in a circle, make round', Kn *ba]asu* 'go in a circle or round', Tu *ba]epu-* 'enclose, surround' ¶¶ D #5313, Tu. #11405, #11407, M K III 161 ◇ The IE and B data point to the existence of a lr., which is likely to have been **h* (the only lr. which was easily lost in S) ◇ ≈ BmK #486 (**wal^h-* / **wal^h-* > IE, HS [S, C], D) (with inaccurate information about Ar).

2478. **w'e'* | | *í, ∇, h ∇* (or **wi* | | *í, ∇, h ∇*?) 'field, plain' > IE **walē-* > Ht {Ts.} *wellu-* 'unmowed grass; meadow' || ? NaIE: L *vallēs*, *vallis* 'valley' ¶¶ Ts. W 104, ≈ WH II 729 (with unc. etymological proposals), ≠ EI 200 (Ht < *z* **welsu-* 'meadow, pasture' - an unc. rec.) || **K**: GZ **wel-* 'field, plain' ({K²} 'valley, field') > OG, G *vel-* 'field, plain', Mg *ve* / *vel-* (in pl.) 'field, glade (поле, поляна)' ¶ K 82-3, K² 51, Q 234 || **D**

(in McTm) *ve|i]- 'area, terrain, field' > Tm vīlākam 'battlefield, surrounding area', Ml vīlākam 'battlefield, garden' ¶ In Tm and Ml there is positional neutralization of the opposition *i ↔ *e before *a of the next syllable ¶ D #5435 || HS: S *^o✓w|h > Ar d. mīlah- {BK} 'vaste plaine, désert', {Fr. ← [Qam.]} 'campus, desertum' ¶ Fr. IV 505, BK II 1606, Hv. 894 || C: Ag: Q {R} wulāy 'plain, field, meadow' ({Beke} wulagha), Km {CR} wulāḡā 'plaine, prairie', Xm {R} wula-s- (← causative?) 'auf die Weide treiben' ¶ R Q II 142, R Ch II 111, CR K 265 ◇ The change N *-|í- > D *-|- takes place in an intercalic position, which suggests the presence of a vw. after N *-|í-. An alt. hyp.: N *w'e' |íh ▽ > pre-D *w'e' |í ▽ > D *ve|i]- ◇ Giorg. 65 and GI² 793 (IE, K), Blz. KM 141 [#30] (suggested to adduce Ag and unconvincingly U *o|k ▽ 'grass').

2479. *w'i' l_li_lq ▽ 'liquid; moist, damp' > HS: S *^o✓w|χ > Ar ✓w|χ *Sht* [rf.] (pf. ṛista wlaχa) 'être arrosé par la pluie\rosée, être humecté, humide' (le sol), ṛarḡun waliχ-at-un 'terre humectée, humide, mouillée', walīχ-at-un 'boue, fange; lait épais' ¶ BK II 1602 || U *w|l_ly ▽ 'sap of trees, sap-wood' > FU: Chr L выле wь́ле {MRS} 'cambium', Chr E {Ps.} wь́ле 'sap of trees' ||| ObU {Ht.} *ũ]-, {Stn.} *õ]- {AD} 'sap of trees, sap-wood' > pVg {Ht.} *ṹ]- ~ *ṹ]- 'sap-wood' > Vg: T {Stn.} ṍ, {Ht.} ó, UK/P/ll {Stn.}, LK/P/LL {Ht.} í, ML í, VS {Stn.} ý id. (Stn.: with a hyper-correct *y-); pOs {Ht.} *õ] 'sap of trees' > Os: V/Vy õ], Ty õ], Y õ], D/K ělǝ, Nz ǎlǝ, Kz ǎ] 'sap of a tree (birch, conifer trees)' ¶ Acc. to Stn. ZOUV, the non-palatal vw. õ in Vg T is due to the infl. of Vg T ó́st- 'abschälen (Baumstamm), скоблить' ¶ MRS 88, PsS 17, Stn. ZOUV 237, Stn. D 90, Ht. #23 || Sm {Jn.} *ü] ▽ > Slq: Tm {KD} õ], MKe {KD} ü]:y 'sap of trees', {Cs.}: NP ůll_l, Yel ůl, B ůle, Tz/Kar ůl) ¶¶ The palatal í in Chr and Vg points to the presence of *y ¶ ≈ Jn. 27, Cs. 109, 203 ¶¶ ≈ UEW 24 (*a] ▽ 'sap of a tree'; does not take into account Chr) || A: M *öleŋ 'fresh\soft grass' > MM [MA] öleŋ 'grass' (att.: öleŋ tataqu ʧaʒar 'field used for mowing grass'), 'meadow' (öleŋin ičēsün 'луговой тальник'), [S] oləŋ ({H}: read oləŋ) 'fresh grass', WrM öleŋ, HIM өлөн 'soft grass, thick grass', WrO {Krg.} ölöŋ 'meadow, green field, plain, lawn', Kl ölrŋ 'sanftiges Gras, Wiese' ¶ Pp. MA 275, H 122, MED 633, KW 295, Krg. 140 || T *õ] 'damp, moist' > OT {Cl.} õ] id., MQp/OOsm XIV õ] 'moist', XwT XIV õ] 'moisture', Chg XV õ], Tk õ], Tkm

ōl, Yk ūōl, Qrg, Xk, Tv ö l, Tf ǫ l, ET yōl, Alt ü l, Qb {Rl.} ōl ~ ūl, Shor {Rl.} ūl, Chv vilid., Tk ö l 'humidity \ dampness (of soil)'; Chv vil 'damp, moist' points to a short (shortened?) *ö; in some T lgs. pT *ōl- contaminated with *hō_l:_l- 'damp, moist' (< A *p'ōle 'moist, succulent' < N *p_lU_lH_l∇ 'be liquid, be wet' [q.v. ffd.]); if the latter T word was *hōl and Chv vil goes back to it, this can explain the short *ö in the prehistory of Chv ʃ Cl. 124, ET Gl 523-5, Rs. W 371, Ra. 214, Md. 50, 172 ◇ On N *wi- > T and M *ü- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 333 (N *wi_lǰ, sc. *wi_l∇: U, A, ?S, IE *welk- ~ *welg- [see N *wi_l'_l'ka_l∇ 'wet, moist']).

2480. *_l'_lw_l'A_l'_li_ly_l∇ (or *_l'_lw_lō_l'_li_ly_l∇?) 'draw, pull (out, off)' > IE *_l'_lwel-/ *_l'_lwol- v. 'draw, pull, pluck, tear out' > L vell-ō, -ēre / pfc. velli ~ volsi / sup. volsum v. 'pluck, pull, twitch' || Gt wilwan 'to steal, to plunder', wulwa 'robbery', wilwa 'robber' || ? Gk ἀλίσκομαι 1s prs. (aor. ἄλῳναι), Gk Th Φαλίσσεται 3s prs. 'be taken \ conquered' (of persons, places), 'gefangen werden', Gk ἄλωσις 'Einnahme, Gefangennahme' || Arm գողանամ goḷanam v. 'rob, steal' || Ht walli- 'geschoren (?), enthaart' (of hides), {E} 'plucked' ʃ WP I 304-5, P 1144-5 (with unc. parallels from other IE lgs.), ≈ EI 567 (*wel(h₂)- 'strike, tear at'), WH II 744-5, Fs. 564-5, F I 74, 77, Mn. 1509 ('snatch, tug'), Ts. W 100, ≈ EIC 567 (IE *wel(h₂)- 'strike, tear at' without distinguishing between reflexes of N *_l'_lw_l'A_l'_li_ly_l∇ and those of N *w_l∇L_l'_l∇ 'to hit, to attack') || A: M *buliya- > WrM buliya-, HIM булаа- 'take away by force, seize, grab, rob, pillage', MM [S] {H} buli- 'rob, take away by force, conquer' (× M *buli- 'overcome' < N *wal∇ 'be strong, be able', q.v.), WrO {Krg.} buliū- 'take away', buli- 'take by force', Ord {Ms.} b_u'_lā-, Kl {Rm.} bulā- id., Kl {KRS} була-, Brt буляа- id., 'conquer', Ba {T} bulā- 'take away by force', Mnr H {SM} b_uli-, {T} buli- id., 'rob' ʃ On M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ʃ MED 134-5, H 22, Krg. 366, KW 59, KRS 117, Chr. 113, Ms. O 93, SM 33, T 320, T BJ 135 || K *_owl- > G a-vl- v. 'etwas einer Sache entlang ziehen\führen' ʃ Chx. 380-2 || D {tr., ʃGS} *val- v. 'draw, pull' > Tm v_ali v. 'draw, pull, row', Ml v_ali 'drawing, pull, tug, spasm', Kdg bali v. 'snatch, pull', Krg bali v. 'pull', Kui velba 'pull, pull up' ʃ ʃ D #5282 || ? U: FU *wō_l∇ 'strip sth. (bark, etc.) off' > pLp {Lr.} *ō_l∇ v. id., 'gnaw' > Lp: L {LLO} āllō- 'cut off branches', N {N} oallo- / -l- 'strip the bark off', K {Gn.} v_oalleδ, Kld {TI} v_uallaδ v. 'gnaw' || Er

{W} vala- 'make even, smooth' ⇔ {ERV} валаня valańa 'smooth, even' | Prm *vóǫ- v. 'bark (a tree)' > Z, Yz vóǫ-, Z US vǫǫ- id., Vt vǫǫ- 'remove a ring of bark from a tree in order to make the tree dry' || Vg {Kn.}: T oǫt-, MK waǫst-, P woǫst- v. 'abschalen (Baumstamm, Deichselstange)' ¶ UEW 582-3, TI 771, ERV 101, LG 621 ◇ *ǫǫwʳAǫǫiǫǫ∇ as a pN rec. is preferred to *ǫǫwǫǫǫǫǫ∇, because M *-u- and FU *-o- may be due to the infl. of *w- (on N *wa- > M *bu- see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ BmK #485 (IE, D) ◇ On N and pIE *- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2481. *wǫǫǫ∇ 'look, see' > HS: B *will 'eye', *√Hwǫ 'avoir l'œil sur' > Gd a-wǫǫ (pl. wǫǫǫ) 'eye', Kb allǫǫ 'eyes' (pl. of ǫǫǫ 'eye'), Ah a wǫ (pf. ǫǫwǫǫ) 'avoir l'œil sur (veiller sur, surveiller)' (Fcj. 63, Pcj. I A 4, bringing about the rec. of the stem as *-hwǫǫ) ¶ Fc. 1493-4, Pr. M VI-VII 100 || IE: NaIE *wel- 'see', *wǫǫ-tu- 'Aussehen' > OIr fil ~ fel ~ feil 'there is' (< inv. *wele 'behold!'), OIr fili (gen. filed), OIr gen. velitas 'seer, poet' (< *welēts), Brtt [RE] *welīmi v. 'see' > MW gwelet (1s gwelif), W gweled, Cm gweles (1s gwelaf), OBr guil- ~ guel-, MBr guel- id., MBr gwelet, Br gwelout 'to see' || L vultus ~ vultus 'expression of the face, countenance, look, aspect' || Gmc *wleǫd- 'Angesicht' > Gt anda-wleizn accus. id. (?), AS wǫǫǫtan, ON líta 'to see, to look', AS wǫǫǫta 'face' || Tc B ǫǫel- 'investigate' ¶ WPI 293, P 1136-7, EI 505, LP § 92, Thr. 58-9, 479, RE 126, Flr. 191, WH II 831, Fs. 48, Ho. 403, Vr. 358, Ad. 507 || U: FU *wEǫǫ∇ v. 'think, understand, learn' > Z велав- velav-, Δ velal-, Yz 'vǫǫǫǫǫ- v. 'learn, understand, get accustomed', OPrm, Z velǫd- vt. 'teach, train, accustom', Vt vala- ~ valal- 'understand (понять, осмыслить)' || Hg vǫǫǫ- v. 'think (meinen)' ¶ UEW 589 (FU *wEǫǫ-), LG 51, Lt. J 101 || A: T: [1] *ǫǫǫǫǫ- > ds.: NaT *ǫǫǫǫǫ- 'learn, receive instruction' > OPT {Cl.} ǫǫǫǫǫ- id.; caus. NaT *ǫǫǫǫǫ- > OT ǫǫǫǫǫ- 'teach' ¶ Cl. 379 | [2] ? *ǫǫǫ > OT oǫ 'look!, see here!' (unless < *ǫǫǫ- 'this, voici', see ET Gl 492-4) ¶ Cl. 254-5 || ? M *ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- v. 'beware carefully, be careful, be cautious' > MM [HI] ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- {Ms.} 'examiner avec soin', {Lew.} id., 'discerner, agir avec circonspection', WrM ǫǫǫǫǫǫǫ- , HIM, Brt ǫǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, Kl ǫǫǫǫǫǫǫ- ǫǫǫǫǫ- v. 'be careful, be cautious, beware' ¶ Ms. H 42, Lew. II 21, MED 117, Chr. 99, , KRS 105 || pKo {S} *ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- 'learn' > MKo ǫǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, NKo ǫǫǫǫ- ¶ S QK #818, Nam 22, MLC 921 || pJ {S} *ǫǫǫǫǫǫ- 'teach' > OJ wǫǫǫǫǫǫ-, J: T oǫǫǫǫ-, K oǫǫǫǫ-, Kg

ośié- ¶ S QJ #785, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #189 (A *bóylo 'learn, be attentive': T *boǫgu-, M, Ko, J) || D (in CD) *ōl- v. 'see' > Klm o·l- 'see, look at', Nkr ōl- 'see' ¶ D #1066 ◇ D, T, and M point to a pN *o, while the FU front vw. (*Ē) still needs investigating.

2482. ₂ *waLd∇ 'to give birth' > HS: S *√wld 'give birth' > Hb, Ph, Ug, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA √yld G, Sr pf. ^ٲ ٲi'lεd, Ar, Sb, Mn, Qt, Gz, Ak √wld G 'give birth, beget'; Sr ^ٲ ٲal'dā 'birth'; WS *'walad- '(so.'s) child' > BHb ٲٲٲ 'yεlεd, SmHb 'yālad, Pun, Ug, Nbt, Plm yld id., Ar وٲد wald- 'né, procréé, enfenté; postérité, enfants', Sb wld 'born one, begotten one; children', Gz wald 'son'; a metatonic S variant *wa'lad- > Ak (w)ildu 'child, lamb' and Ar وٲد walad- 'child, offspring, youngling'; Eb mu-li-tum ({Frnz.} = mulltum < *muwallitum) ~ mu-wa-li-tum = muwallitum prtc. D f. 'midwife'; Mh {Jo.} wa'lēd coll. 'children', Jb C {Jo.} 'e'led id., 'e'ld pf. 'beget children' ¶ KB 393-4, HJ 456-7, OLS 526, Js. 578, Lv. T I 334-5, Br. 301, Sl. 534-5, BK II 1602-3, Hv. 893, Sd. 1496, CAD I/1 71, 287ff., Frnz. H 146-7, BGMR 160, Jo. M 428, Jo. J 291, DRS 546-7, MiK I #2.80 || LbB *w (< *w∇ld) 'son' > ONum w id., B *w > Ah aw, BSn ū, Izd u id., d. ilili 'new-born child', Kb u- ~ w- 'son of ...'; LbB *w∇lt (< *w∇ldt) > ONum wlt 'daughter', B *w∇lt id. > Izd ult ~ ulat id., Izn ult 'daughter of' ¶ Fv. LJ 418 || EC: pSam {Hn.} *weil- (pl. *wēl'la) 'child' > Sml wīl (pl. wīlal) 'boy', weylf. 'calf', Rn {PG} wēl 'child' (pl. wēlal ~ wēylal), {Hn.} wēl 'baby; baby-camel', Bn Bi/J wēl (pl. wēlɜ) 'child' ¶ Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 98, PG 291-2 || A: Tg *baldi- v. 'give birth, be born' > Ewk baldi-, Lm baldь-, Neg, Ul baldt-, Orc bāgdi-, Ork, Nn Nh/KU baljt- v. 'be born, give birth', Ud bagdi- id., 'live; grow', Sol baldi- v. 'give birth', ?WrMc banzi- ~ bani- 'be born', Mc Sb banži- id., Jrc bandi- 'live' ¶ STM I 69-70, Krm. 210, Bz. 46, Kiy. ##388, 488.

2483. *wi'ɫka∇ 'wet, moist' > IE: [1] NaIE *welg- 'moist, damp' > Gmc: OHG welc 'damp', MHG wēlk 'damp, wet' (and also OHG welc 'soft, limp', MHG welk 'limp', MLG welk 'welk, dürre', NHG welk 'withered, faded?') || Lt vīlgyti, vālgyti 'to moisten, to damp, to wet', vīlkšnas 'damp', Ltv valgums 'moisture, humidity', vālgš, vēlgans 'moist, humid, damp' || Sl *vьlg-ъk-ъ 'damp, moist' > RChS вѡлгѡкъ vьlgъкъ, R Δ 'волгкий, Cz, Slk†vlhký, P wilgi id.; Sl *vьlg- > derivatives: R 'волгнуть 'to become moist\damp', P

wilgość n. 'moisture, wet, damp', wilgotny adj. 'wet, damp, moist'; SI *vólga 'moisture' > OCS ВЛАГА vlaga id. (↳ R 'влага), Blg 'влага, SCr vlàga, Slv vlága, Cz vláha, Slk vlaha id., 'dampness, humidity', OR ΒΟΛΟΓΑ vologa 'soup', R Δ βο'πογα 'a liquid, liquid fat (as seasoning)', Uk βο'πογα 'fat liquid' || [2] NaIE *welk- 'moist, wet' > OIr folc {P} 'Wasserflut', {EI} 'heavy rain, wet weather', OIr, Nir folcaim 'I bathe, wash', Nir folcadh n. 'bath, wash, dipping', Brtt {RE} *wlipus 'wet' (< Clt *wlikwu-) > OW, OBr gulip, W gwlip, Crn glyp, MBr gloeb, glueb, Br gleb; Brtt {RE} *wolkīmi 'to wash' > W golchi, Crn golghy, MBr gwelchi, Brt gwalc'hiñ ~ gwelc'hiñ 'to wash', OBr gwolch-ti 'washhouse' || Gmc: OHG welhc, MHG welch 'moist, damp' || Lt valkà 'puddle, pool', Ltv Δ {ME} valks 'fließendes Wässerchen, Waldbächlein, (Regen)bach, feuchter Ort' ¶ WP I 304-6, P 1145-6, Mn. 1145, ME IV 457, LP § 3.4, Tr. 358, RE 144-5, Dnn. 327, Kb. 1165, OsS 1118, Lx. 312, Ho. 386, Frn. 1191, ≈ EI 639 (*welk- ~ *welg- 'wet') || A: Tg *bilk∇ > Ewk bilki-, Ud {STM} beāku-, Nn Nh buλx0- v. moisten' ¶ STM I 82 || U: ?σ FU *°w∇lK∇- 'flow, leak' > pOs {θHL} *°wā̃l̃a∇-, {θHt.} *°wā̃l̃a∇- > Os: V/Vy/Ty {Trj.} wā̃l̃a∇-, V/Ty {KrT → Stn.}, Ag/UAg {Trj.} wā̃l̃a∇-, Vy {KrT → Stn.} wā̃l̃a∇- 'fließen' (Wasser vom Dach, auf der Erde, in einem kleinen Bach), 'rinnen\tropfen' (Wasser, Schweiß) ¶ Trj. S 517, KrT 224, Stn. D 1587 || HS: B {θPr.} *√lwl̃∇ > Kb al̃a∇l̃a∇ 'mou et humide', ll̃a∇l̃a∇ 'être ramolli', Wrg ll̃a∇l̃a∇ 'être ramolli par imprégnation d'eau \ de liquide' (× B *√lwl̃∇ ~ *√lwl̃∇ 'soft, tender, mild' < N *Laqû 'tender, mild') ¶ Dl. 458, Dlh. Ou 170 || ?σ Eg ∇ w̃z̃z̃ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food)' (× N *wer∇K∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree', q.v.) > DEg wt 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B oγwt uōt id. ¶ EG I 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ◇ N *-ka∇- yields both **-k∇ > **k̃ > IE *k and (with the loss of *∇) **-k- > IE *g. N *-ka∇- > **-k∇ > **k̃ yields Tg *k ans B *∇ ◇ If FU *°w∇lK∇- belongs here, the N lateral cns. is *l̃, otherwise it remains an unspecified *L (N *wilka∇∇) ◇ IS MS 333 (IE *welk-, *welg- < N *w i l̃ a, sc. *w i l̃ ∇ [see N *w' i' l̃ i, q∇ 'liquid; moist, damp'])).

2484. *walK'a¹ 'be bright\white, shine' > IE: NaIE *wlek-/°w̃k- 'radiant, shining, bright' > OI ul'kā 'fiery phenomen in the sky, meteor', ?? varcah 'brilliance, lustre' (also 'energy, vital activity') || Gk Δ [Hs.] ἄλᾱξ · λαμπρῶς 'brightly, brilliantly' (of sun, stars), possibly also (?) Gk ἡλέκτωρ 'the beaming sun; fire (as an element)', ἡλεκτρον ~ ἡλεκτρος 'amber; an alloy of gold and silver', ἡλεκτρίς 'shining' (of the

moon) 𐌿𐌿? ⇨ NaIE *w₂lkānos {E} 'smith god' > Oss D wārgon id. || L Volcānus, Vulcānus 'god of fire' ¶ WPI 321, P 1178, FI 629 (no et. for ἡλέκτωρ, ἡλεκτρον, etc.), M KI 112, 153 and III 651, M EI 231-2, ≠ WH II 825-6 (Volcānus ⇐ Etr or "Mediterranean"), Ab. IV 93-4 || U: FU *wal₁lk₁-/*wä₁lk₁- 'bright, light-coloured, white; light (lux)' > F valkea 'while, bright; fire, light of fire', valkas (gen. valkaan) 'white cow', valko 'white ox/horse', valkoinen 'white', Es valge (gen. valge) 'white, light; light (lux)', valgu 'white ox', Krl Ld vałged 'white, bright' | pLp {Lr.} *vēlk₃ 'white' > Lp: S {Hs.} v'öölge-de 'is white', v'öölge-ge ~ -ke, Kld vīlkeδ 'white', L {LLO} viel'kat (at. viel'kis) 'light(-coloured)', N {N} viel'gād (at. vil'gis) 'white, light, pale' | Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valda 'white' | Chr: L волгыдо 'w₁l₃ьдо, Uf/B w₁l₃ьдо, Y w₁l₃ьдь, H валгыды 'w₁l₃ьдь 'light-coloured; light (lux)' || ObU {Ht.} *wā₁l₃у- v. 'glitter (glänzen, блестеть)' (× *wā₁ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' < N *w'e₁í 'to shine, to lighten', q.v. ffd.; ObU *í is inherited from N *w'e₁í) | OHg ≥XIII, Hg vil'ág 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lgs., in which the descendants of pSl *svěť mean both 'light' and 'world') (OHg, Hg i is probably due to the infl. of *w'e₁í 'to shine, to lighten') ¶ Coll. 122-3, UEW 554-6, It. #52, Sm. 551 (FU *w₁lki- 'light' > FP *v₁lki₁ta, Ugr *w₁lki-), SK 1619-21, Lr. #1399, Lgc. #8674, Hs. 1439-40, Ker. II 181, MRS 53, 74, Ht. #687, BV 24, ChCh 108, MF 691-3, EWU 1636-7 || D {tr., ṽGS} *vāl 'whiteness, purity' > Tm vāl id., Ml vāl 'purity', Tl vālucukka 'Venus (planet)' ¶ D #5364 ¶ Cf. D {Tr., GS} *ve]- 'white, shining' < N *w'e₁í '↑' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: WCh: Hs wà₁l₁yā 'lightning', ? Dr w₃li₁yò id. ¶ Ba. 1077, ChL, ChC ◇ IS MS 363 (*w₁a₁í(k) 'bright') (IE, U, D), AD GD #6 (IE, U).

2485. *w₁u₁L₁ka (or *w₁u₁L₁ka₁) 'remove, dislocate, pull, drag' > IE: NaIE *welk- 'draw, carry (away)' (possibly with the infl. of N *₁'w₁A₁l₁y₁ 'draw, pull [out, off]') > Av -varək- (with pxs. only) 'draw, drag' || Blt: Lt vilkti / 1s prs. velkù 'carry, drag, pull', Ltv vilkt / v₁elku 'pull, draw, drag' | Sl *velk-ti ~ *volk-ti (1s prs. *velk₁ ~ *volk₁) 'to draw, to drag' > OCS влѣщн v₁lěšt₁ / влѣкѣ v₁lěk₁, SCr v₁úci / v₁úcēm, Slv v₁lěči / v₁lěči, Cz v₁lěci / v₁leku, Slk v₁liect' / v₁lečiem, P w₁lec / w₁łoke, R во₁лочь / во₁ло₁к₁у, Blg вл₁е₁ка v. 'drag, draw' || Gk α₁ύλαξ, ἄλοξ, Gk Hm accus. ὤλκ-α (nom.

* $\acute{w}\lambda\xi$ = {Slm.} $\acute{w}[\acute{F}]o\lambda\xi$) 'furrow' ¶ WP I 306, P 1145, ≈ EI 471 (* h^4welk- 'pull'; unj. rec. of * h^4- on the alleged ev. of AI T $h\epsilon q$ 'draw, pull' [in fact akin to Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omega$ < IE * $solkej\bar{o}$, see O 145]), FI 77, Slm. U 258ff., Frn. 1253, Vs. I 342, BER I 165, Glh. 688 || HS: WS * $\check{w}\lambda\kappa$ > Gz $\check{w}\lambda\kappa$ G 'be dislocated, fall off, slip off', Tgy $w\epsilon l\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ 'be dislocated', Amh $w\epsilon l l\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ id., 'be taken off' (clothes), Ar $\check{w}\lambda q$ *Sh ps.* (pf. $\beta awliqa$) 'be seized with madness', $\beta awlaq-$ {BK} 'folie, démence' ¶ LG 614, BK II 1605, Fr. IV 505, Hv. 894, ≈ DRS 554-5 || A: M * $bulgu$ > WrM $bulgu$, HIM $бyлгa$, Kl $bul\gamma_u$ - preverbal word expressing uprooting, pulling out of a socket, disjointing: WrM $bulgu\ tata-$, HIM $бyлгa\ тата-$ 'pull out with the root, uproot, jerk out', Kl {Rm.} $bul\gamma_u\ tat-$ 'verrenken, ein Glied verziehen', WrM $bulgu\ coki-$, HIM $бyлгa\ цoхи-$ 'knock out (as a tooth)' (* $tata-$ 'draw', * $\acute{c}oki-$ 'beat'); \rightarrow * $bulgul-$ > WrM $bulgul-$, HIM $бyлгa\ лax$ v. 'disjoint, luxate; break at the root; knock out of a socket', WrO $bul\gamma ul(a)-$ v. 'uproot, dislocate, disjoint', Brt $бyлгa\ л-$, Kl $бyлгa\ л-$ 'dislocate, luxate, disjoint (a bone from the carcass)', Kl {Rm.} $bul\gamma\alpha l-$ 'verrenken'; M * $bulgura-$ > WrM $bulgura-$, HIM $бyлгa\ рax$ 'be disjointed \ luxated; come out of a socket; be uprooted', WrO $bul\gamma ur(a)-$ v. 'dislocate, uproot', Brt $бyлгa\ р-$, Kl $бyлгa\ р-$, {Rm.} $bul\gamma\alpha r-$ 'be dislocated, luxated' ¶ MED 134, Krg. 367, KRS 118, KW 59-60, Chr. 111 \diamond The deglottalization and voicing N * \acute{K} > M * g is still to be explained. A possible solution is to reconstruct N * $w^r u^l ka\gamma$ (N * k > M * g , N * $-ka\gamma-$ > ** $k\gamma$ > ** \acute{k} > S * \acute{k} and IE * k) \diamond The apparent M evidence for N * u is not unequivocal, because M * u may be attributed to the infl. of the N cns. * $w-$ or M * $b-$ (on M * $bu-$ < N * $wa-$ see Introduction, § 2.4).

2486. * $wAlAt\gamma$ (= * $walAt\gamma$?) 'run, flee' > K * $wl\acute{t}$ - 'run away, flee, escape' > OG $l\acute{t}$ - id., Mg $r\acute{t}$ - ~ $n\acute{t}$ - 'run away', Lz $r\acute{t}$ - ~ $m\acute{t}$ - id., 'flee', Sv $\check{w}:\acute{t}w-$ (msd. UB $l\acute{t}w$, 3s prs.: UB/L $\chi\acute{e}\acute{t}w$, LN/Ln $\chi e\acute{t}w$) 'run away' ¶¶ K 85, K² 54, FS K 126, FS E 136, Chik. 419, GP 169, TK 248-9 || A: M * $bulta-$ > WrM $bulta-$, HIM $бyлтa-$ v. 'avoid, flee, dodge, sneak \ slip away', {Kow.} 'éviter, fuir la peine', Ord $bu^l t^u-$ ~ $bu^l t^a-$ 'changer brusquement de direction (p. ex. pour éviter qch.)', WrO $bulta-$ 'avoid, flee', d. $bultayi-$ 'evade'; d.: MM [S] {H} $buldari-$ 'ausweichen', WrM $bultari-$, HIM $бyлтpa-x$ 'avoid, evade', WrO $bultari-$, $bultir-$ id., Dg {T} $boltoro-$ 'evade, get rid of' ¶ H 21, MED

135-6, Kow. 1197, Ms. O 96, Krg. 267-8, T DgJ 127 || **D** *valac̣- 'flee' > Tm valacai, valacal 'emigration, flight from home', Kn valase, valise, olise id., 'flight', Tl valasa '(e)migration, flight, or removal from one country to another' ¶¶ **D** #5278 ◇ **D** *-c̣- goes back probably to *ṭ + another cns. (belonging to a sx.) or to a pre-D cluster *-ṭy- or *-ṭj- ◇ The M vw. *u is probably due to the incl. of *w-. On M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2487. ?φ₂ *w∇L₁∇₁ṭ∇ 'moist; moisture' > **K**: GZ *wlṭ- v. 'wet, moisten' > OG (∇)lṭ-, G lṭ- v. 'wet, get wet', Mg ṛṭ(w)- 'soften (by wetting)' (*l > r in a cluster) ¶ **K** 122 (*lṭw-), K² 110 (GZ *lṭw- or *wlṭ-), FS **K** 127 and FS **E** 137 (*wlṭ-) || **HS**: Ch: CCh: Bnn {ChL} lòdám^{wá} 'moist', Azm {Pc.} lā¹uđá msd. 'to melt (a solid, by heat)', ? lōtá msd. 'to dissolve (by saturation), to melt away' ¶ Flk. s.v. lē^t, ChL, Pc. 265, 273 ||| WCh: Ang lē^t v. 'melt, smelt' || ?φ **S** *^o✓wlṭ > Ar walθ- 'small quantity of rain; remainder of wine\water', {BK} 'reste\résidue d'eau sur le sol sablonneux \ de vin \ de farine' ¶ Hv. 892, BK II 1600-1 ¶ **S** *θ (for the expected *ṭ or *t) may be accounted for by an ext.: *t-š > *č > **S** *θ || ? **B** *-lūđ- (unless ← L lutum) > Gd a-luđ, Shw {Hy.} luđ, BSn {Ds.} lūđ, Izd {Mrc.} a-luđ (pl. ila¹ṭṭan) 'boue', Kb a-luđ 'boue (plutôt liquide), grosse boue', Tmz a-luđ (pl. aluđn, ila¹ṭṭan) id., 'glaise, eau boueuse', Mz luđ 'limon, vase' ¶ Lf. II #0878, Hy. 326, Ds. B 46, Dl. 445, MT 369-70, Dlh. M 103, Mrc. 75, Msq. Z 493 ||| ? **IE**: AdS of NaIE *lat- 'moist' (see N *ẓaṭ∇ 'fluid, body of water' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II 31 (*L¹a¹ṭ^o: IE *lat-, K, WCh + unc. **S** *^o✓ṛṭw 'moist').

2488. *w^re¹í∇ 'to shine, to lighten' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: G'nd {ChL} wùlwùdánžī, Gbn {ChL} wùlwùtté, Boka {ChL} wìlwútá 'lightning' || FIG {ChL} walàlí id. || Nkc {ChL} wulva id. || Ms {Caīt.} wìlek 'lancer les éclairs' (orage), 'briller par intermittence', {ChL} wilata, Bnn {ChL} wèlèrá, BnnM {Lk.} welerá 'lightning' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} wéldé id. ¶ ChL, ChC, Eb. 102, Caīt. 151 ||| **K** *^owel- > Mg, Lz val- v. 'lighten' (Mg val-un-s, Lz val-um-s 'it is lightning'); but hardly here (⇔ K, FS) G el- and Sv hel-, el- 'lighten', see N *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright' ¶¶ ≈ FS **K** 121 and FS **E** 131 (*wel-), ≈ K 79 & K² 46-7 (*el-); all of them adduce G el- and Sv hel-, el- ||| **U**: FU *waí∇ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' > F valo n. 'light, lightning', vaalea ({UEW}: sporadic vowel lengthening), Δ {SK} valea 'light(-coloured); pale, pallid, white' || Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valdā n. 'light', adj. bright, light' (× FU *walk∇ 'white' < N *walk^ra¹

'be bright\white, shine') | Prm *vǫǵ- (= {LG} *vǫǵ-) 'shine' > Z волявны vǫǵav-nǫ, Z US vǫǵǵal-nǫ 'be glossy, shine', Vt: G číí-vaí, M čííi-vaí 'Glanz, Schimmer; glänzend, schimmernd', S vaík, M vaít 'glänzend, schimmernd, leuchtend' ||| ObU {Ht.} *wǎǵ- 'shine (glänzen)' (× N *wǎǵ'a' '↑', q.v.) > pVg {Ht.} *wǎǵ- > Vg: T oík-, LK/MK/UK wǎǵ-, P/NV/LL wǎǵ-, UL/Ss wǎǵ- v. 'glitter'; pOs {Ht.} *wǎǵ- ~ *wǎǵ-, {ǾHI.} *wǎǵ- ~ *wǎǵ- id. > Os: Kz wǎǵ-, O wǎǵ-; the palatalized *ǵ (at the level of pObU or pFU) is caused by the contamination with FU *wǎǵ 'light (lux), bright; to shine' | OHg ≥ XIII, Hg vilǵ 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lgs., in which the descendants of pSl *svěť mean both 'light' and 'world') ¶ UEW 555-6 (the ObU √ belongs here only if *-ǵ- goes back to a derivational sx.), Coll. 122-3, Sm. 551 (FU *wǎǵ- 'light' > IP *vǎǵita, Ugr *wǎǵ-), ERV 101, Ker. II 181, LG 62, Ht. #687, (on FU *wǎǵ-/*wǎǵ- 'bright, light-coloured, white; light [lux]' < N *wǎǵ'a' 'be bright\white, shine') Sm. 551 (FU *wǎǵ- 'light' > IP *vǎǵita, Ugr *wǎǵ-) || D {tr., GS} *ve]- 'white, shining' > Tm ve] 'white, shining', ve]i v. 'break' (as the day), 'clear, whiten', Ml ve]i 'light, clearness', Kt ve] 'white', ve]v- 'become pale', ? Td pǒ] 'white', Kn be] (u), be]a 'whiteness, brightness', Kdg bǒ]I- 'become white', Tu bǒ]ǫ, bǒ] 'white, bright', Tl ve]ūgū 'shine, give light', Klm ve]e]n. 'light', Prj vil 'white', Gdb viled id., Gnd werčī n. 'light', Ku vella ~ wella 'white', Krx bilč- v. 'shine, glitter, sparkle', Mlt bilbilre v. 'shine brilliantly; D → Prkr villa- 'bright, clear', vilha- 'white' ¶¶ D #5496 (a), GS 218 [#536], 61 [##179, 185] ◇ The unexpected FU *a may be due to the infl. of U *wǎǵ 'white' < N *wǎǵ'a' 'be bright\white, shine' or result from regr. as. (if followed by a back vw.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 123 [#29] (Ch, K, FU, D + err. IE *wǎǵ- 'leuchten' and Hs wǎǵǵā 'lightning' that belong to N *wǎǵ'a' '↑').

2489. *weǵ or *weǵKǵ 'shoulder, upper part of the back' > U *wǎǵ > FU *wǎǵ 'shoulder' > F olka, Es ōla, Δ olg ǵ ōlg id. | pLp {Lr.} *ǵlkē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} oǵlgie, N {N} oal'ge / -lg- id., L {LO} ǵl'ke, Kld {SaR} вүэлльк, {Gn.} vūel:g id. ('Schulter, Achsel') ||| amb Vg: LK/P {Knn.} wǎǵǵ, Ss {Knn.} wǎǵǵ, {BV} ваглар, {ChCh.} wǎǵǵ 'shoulder strap (лямка, ошейник; Schulterriemen, Tragriemen, Riemen im Zugseil [der Narte] am Schulter)' (× FU *wǎǵ

'aus Ruten geflochtener Riemen') (-p is a sx.) || pSm *wäyккъ 'neck, shoulder' > Ne T ик, Ne T O {Lh.} yīk*, Ne F {Lh.} β̄je'hk, Ng {Mik.} d. bakəbə, En {Ter.} bek 'neck', Slq Tz {Prk.} qəq 'shoulder', Kms {KD} bajg.ə 'Nacken', Koyb {Pls.} baige, {Sp.} байгă 'neck', Mt {HL.} (?) *bäykä ~ *bö|üyko|ü id. (Mt: M {Pls.} buikö, буйкэ id., {Sp.} бюйхуде 'his neck', K {Pls.} bḡĩkḡdi id.) || pY {IN} *wel- 'carry on one's back\shoulders' > OY K {Bil.} ellēyi-, Y {IN}: K eī-, eleyī-, T welī- id., T wel-ibə 'saddle' (with the sx. -bə denoting a place), wel-il 'load, package' ¶ At the pFU level the identity of the lateral cns. cannot be determined (because Vg l may belong to the heritage of FU *wakla), but a pU palatal *í is positively suggested by Sm *y ¶¶ UEW 581, Sm. 551 (FU *wolkā, FP *volka, Ugr *wālkā- 'shoulder'), Lr. #827, Lgc. #4562, SaR 61, BV 20, ChCh. 107, Jn. 173, Pot. 50, Hl. M #107, IN 250, 299 || A: T *ōí'ü'n > OT {Cl.} öšün '≈ shoulder' ([MhK] öšün 'ra'su-l-katifi' = 'point [sc. flexion] of the shoulder'), Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} öžün 'collar-bone', Brb {Rl.} üžün 'humerus, upper arm', Tv öžün 'humerus, forearm', Tki, ET Δ {Jr.} öšne ~ öšni, Shor öštü 'shoulder' (< *öšn-ü 'his shoulder'), Tf ĩ'ḥün 'shoulder', QrB öšün 'chest, breast'; Alt öš 'Oberarm' ¶ Cl. 263, Rl. I 1308, 1907, ADb. SR 159-60, 192, Ra. 214 || Tg *uḷin ~ *uḷkḡn 'breast-bone' > Ewk ḷin (accus. ulin-ma) 'breast-bone of a bear; chest', Lm ölkən 'chest, thorax', WrMc ulku giranḡi 'breast-bone, collar-bone', ulkume 'chest strap (for fastening the saddle on a horse)' ¶ STM II 261, ADb. SRAE 446 (*i|uleg), DQA #2515 *oí|e 'chest bone, collar-bone' ¶¶ ADb. KL 11 [#28] (A *ö|ḡg), ADb. SR 309 [#23] (A *oí|eg) || D *veḷ(ḡ)k- ({ḡGS} *-ḡk-) '(lie) on the back' > Tl velikilu 'fall/lie on the back', velikila 'on the back, supine', Klm velākā 'lying on one's back', Gnd KM {BB} pal verinḡi 'with the face upwards', Gnd B {Tr.} p^hat warēngana v. 'sleep on one's back', Png rēḡ(g)- ḡ rēk 'lie on the back', Mnd rēḡ(g)- 'fall backward', Kui lāmgari 'flat on the back' ¶¶ D #2499 ◇ The rounded vw. in FU and A is due to the labializing infl. of *w-. T ö- and Tg *u- are regular reflexes of N *we- (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ ADb. MSR 21 [#20] (U, A, D), Resh. NNE #12 (U [FU, Sm], A) ◇ If the N etymon is *weíḡKḡ, the absence of reflexes of N *K in T and in one of the variants of the Tg root is still to be explained.

2490. ?₂ *wḡíḡPE 'fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *wḡp(-eḡ)- ~ *wḡḡloupe(:)ḡ- '≈ fox' > L volpēs ~ vulpēs 'fox' || Lt wilpišỹs

'wild cat', *lãpè* 'fox', Ltv *lapsa* id. || Gmc (× NaIE *w₁lk^wo-s 'wolf' < N *w^rU^rʒ₁E₁ʒo ~ *w^ro^rʒ₁∇^rʒ₁∇ 'e a canine'): Gt *wulf*s, ON *ulfr*, NNr, Dn, Sw *ulv*, MDt *wolf* ~ *wulf*, Dt, OHG *wolf*, NHG *Wolf*, OSx, AS *wulf* 'wolf', NE *wolf* || Gl ἄλώπηξ (< *Fαλώπηξ) 'fox' || ? Arm *աղուխ* *ałuê*s id. || OI *lōpā'sah*, Av *raopi-* 'fox, jackal', ZPhl *lwɔp^ɔs* ~ *lwɔp^ɔs*, CINPrs *روباه* *rōbāh* (> NPrs *rubah*) 'fox', KhS *r r ū v ā s a-* 'jackal', Oss I *r ū v a s*, Oss D *robas* 'fox'; Av *urupi-s* 'dog' || Ht {Ts.} *ulip(pa)na* 'e predator' ('wolf?') ¶¶ WP I 317-8, P 212-3, E 212-3 (*w₁l(o)p- 'fox'), WH II 830, M K III 115-6, Ab. III 433-4, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Vr. N 845, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, Kb. 1224, OsS 1196, KM 867, Frn. 340, 1254, Slt. 119, Ts. W 96 || ¶ A: M {DQA} *olbo* ~ **olbi* > WrM *olbu*, HIM, Brt *olbo* 'flying squirrel' (unless there was an initial *φ-leaving no traces in WrM, HIM, and Brt) ¶ MED 608, Chr. 353 || T **oū* | > NaT **oūš* > Yk *ūs* 'sable, marten, lynx', Xk/Tv *üs* (< b- Yk?) 'lynx'; T **ü.ǰ* | äk (× N ? *w^rU^rʒ₁E₁ʒo ~ *w^ro^rʒ₁∇^rʒ₁∇ '↑', q.v.) > T **ü.ǰ* | äk > MT [IM] {Shch.}, Osm {RL} *üşäk*, Tk *üşek* 'lynx' ¶ Shch. Zh 141-2, TL 159, Rs. W 523, Pek. 3184-5, TrR 890, Rl. I 1904 || ?φ pJ {S} **bɜsɜ* ~ **bɜsu*a 'otter' > OJ *wosɔ*, J T *uso* ¶ S QJ #328, Mr. 512 ¶¶ DQA #2512 (A **ú* | pe 'fur-bearing animal' ["ground game"]) ◇ The absence of reflexes of N **P* in T **oū* | still needs explaining.

2491. *w^r∇mo₁?₁i 'use magical forces' ('make magical signs, utter magical incantations, swear, cause suffering, torment') > HS: S **✓w*m? ~ *✓w*my|w ≈ make a (magical?) sign, swear' > OAk *✓w*m? G (inf. *wamā^ɔu*) 'swear', d. Ak *māmīt^u* 'oath, curse', JA {Trg.} *✓y*my|w G (pf. *ʔp^ɔ | yə^ɔ | mā*), JEA {Sl.}, JPA Bz {Sl.} *✓y*my G 'swear', Sr *✓y*my|w G (pf. *y^ɔ | mī* ~ *y^ɔ | mī*) 'swear', Ar *✓w*m? G (pf. *wama^ɔa*) 'make a sign with the head to' ¶ Sd. 899-700, 1459, AD X/1 189-90, Br. 303, Js. 580, Lv. T I 335-6, Sl. 536, Sl. 242, BK II 1609-10, Hv. 895, DRS 556 || IE: NaIE **omō*(ǰ)- v. 'swear; torment, vex, annoy' > OI 'amīti 'swears' || Gk ὀμνῦμι, ὀμνύω 'I swear'] another variant of meaning: OI *amīvā* 'pain, grief; distr ess, terror', Vd *amīvā* 'tormenting spirit, demon; affliction, disease', ? *am-* 'be pernicious, dangerous; be afflicted, sick' (unless ← *am-* 'anpacken, anfassen') || Gk Hm ὀμοῦτος {Hofm., P} 'plagend, leidvoll' || ON *ama* 'plagen, belästigen' || Tc B *ami-śke* 'bad-tempered, despondent', {Wn.} 'mal disposé, de mauvaise humeur', *amiśkārīe* 'tristesse, affliction, détresse', {Ad.}

'bad disposition, despondency' ¶ The IE cognate is valid unless *a|om- 'strong, strength' (> Av ama- 'Kraft, männliche Potenz; stark') belongs here and its meaning is primary ¶ WP 178-9, P 778, Dv. #372, M K I 44, M E I 96-8, MW 80, 82, Hofm. 232, F II 388-9, Ch. 798-9, Slm. U 101ff., Vr. 8, Wn. 143-4, Ad. 19, ≈φ EI 560 (*h₁emh₃- 'swear') || U: FU *wâme-v. 'influence by magic means' > Prm: Z вомицэ vomīz̄, Z US vom+ž̄, Yz 'vomīz̄ n. act. 'bewitching with the evil eye', Z vomžav-n+, Yz 'vomžal-n^ 'to bewitch with the evil eye' || OHg im-ād- 'pray, worship', Hg imád- 'worship, adore' ¶ UEW 589, LG 62, Lt. J 100, MF 318, EWU 608
 ◇ The loss of the initial *w- in IE (possibly *w ∇ m- > *oum- > IE *om-?) still needs investigating.

2492. (2?) *wûmH ∇ (or *hûmh ∇) 'spit, vomit' > IE: NaIE *wemə- v. 'spew, vomit' > OI 'vamiti 'vomits', MPrs vāmēδ 'speit aus', Oss I wāmən ~ omən, Oss D wāmun 'to vomit' || Gk ἔμέω 'vomit', n. act. ἔμετος, ἔμεσις || L vom-ō / -ēre 'vomit', n. act. vomitus || ON váma 'Unwohlsein', OSw vami 'Ekel', Ic voma 'nausea', Nr Δ vimla 'to feel nausea', vimra 'to make so. sick, to nauseate' || Lt vém-ti, Ltv vem-t 'to vomit' ¶ WPI 262-3, P 1146, EI 538 (*'wemH-ni 'spew, vomit'), Mn. 1517, M K III 146, M E II 506-7, Ab. IV 85, F I 504-5, WH II 835-6, Vr. 642, Frn. 1222 || D *um- v. 'spit, vomit' > Tm umi 'spit, gargle', uminīr, Tu ubbi, Tl ummi 'spittle, saliva', Ml umiyuka 'spit out', umiṛu 'spittle', umiṛka v. 'spit, emit', Kn ummalu, ummulu 'phlegm, mucus', Tu ubbiyuni, {BhK} ubi v 'spit', Krg ubbi id., umi 'saliva', Tl umiyu v. 'spit, spit out' ¶¶ D #636 || ? HS: Eg NK hmh 'saliva' or sim. ¶ EG II 490 ◇ BmK #408 (IE, D) ◇ If Eg hmh belongs here, the pN etymon may be *hûmh ∇ (though the shift N *Hû- > NaIE *we- has no parallels). But if Eg hmh is kept apart, the N rec. must be *wûmH ∇ .

2493. (2?) *w|yUm ∇ R_LT_L ∇ or *w|yUm ∇ r ∇ ηT ∇ 'ε egg' > HS: S *✓ w|ymr (? *w|y ∇ mu_L;_r-) > Ak tumurtu 'ant's eggs'; ? Ar يامور yāmūr- 'male camel' (← 'having testicles'??) ¶ Sd. 1370, BK II 1634 || ? mt.: Eg CT ω r m. t '(?) testicles' ¶ EG I 333 || ??φ Ch: Tng {J} amak 'egg' ¶ JI II 122, J T 66 || A *_LyUmur|_r- 'egg' > T *jumur-tka 'egg' > OT/Chg {Cl.}, Tkm jumurtqa, MQp jumurtqa, Tk yumurta, Az jumurta, Uz Δ jumurtqa, Qmq jimirtqa, VTt йомырка jǫmǫrqa, Bsh jǫmǫrtqa, Nog jumirtqa, Qzq жҫмыртқа žǫmirtqa, Qrg žumurtqa, StAlt žimirtqa, Tv чурга čūrqa, Tf númurha, Xk nimirqa, Shor nibirtqa, Yk сымыыт

simīt || Chv çǎmarta ś̄mard_a ¶ Cl. 938, ET J 250-1, TL 149, Rs. W 211, Ra. 210, Jeg. 207, Fed. II 94 || Tg *umū- 'lay eggs' > Ewk umū- id.; *umū-hta 'egg' > Ewk umūhta, Sln umatta ~ umurta, Lm umtъ, Δ umta, Neg omokta ~ omukta, Orc, Ud umukta, Ul omuqta ~ umuqta, Nn Nh omoqta id.; *umū- with a different sx. > WrMc umgan, umxa, umxan 'egg' ¶ STM II 269, Krm. 302 || ?ϕ M *ömdegen 'egg' (originally a derived noun or a cd.) > MM [LV] {Pp.} ömdegen, [IM] {Pp.} öndüge, WrM ömdügen ~ öndegen, HIM өндөг, Brt үндэгэ(н), Kl {KRS} өндгн öndgän, {Rm.} öndǎgŋ ~ öndǎgə, MMgl [Z] ündagan, Mgl {Rm.} ündǎṣōn, Mnr H {SM} nd_ig_e, {T} ndige, Mnr M {Rkh.} endégé, Dx {T} endeṣi, Ba {T} ndegi id. ¶ Pp. L II 1261, Pp. MA 443, MED 635-6, T 349, T DnJ 144, T BJ 145, Iw. 144, Rm. M 41, KW 296, KRS 416, Chr. 505 ¶ Loss of the reflexes of N and A *-r- in Tg and M may be due to metanalysis and back formation ¶¶ ADb. SRAE 13 and TL 149 (both: A *ömur-), S AJ 58, SDM97 (A *umi(r)-tk∇ [~ o-] 'egg'), DQA #2522 (A *úmu-tki 'egg' > T, M, Tg) || ? D: Png rōnḍa, Mnd runḍa 'egg', as well as possibly D *uñṭa ({ṣGS} *und-) 'small globular object' > Tm uṇṭaṭ, Ml uṇṭa id., 'ball', Kt uñḍy 'round lump of food', Td uḍy 'round, ball', Kn uṇḍe 'a round mass or ball (of raw sugar, clay, cow-dung, etc.)', Tu uṇḍæ 'ball, ball-shaped confection', Tl uṇḍa 'ball, globe'; D → OI uṇḍeraka-, Prkr uṇḍeraya- 'ball of flour, roll, loaf', Mrt ūḍā 'lump of kneaded dough' ¶¶ D #664(b), Tu. #1669 ◇ T *j- and Ak t- may be due to metanalysis: they are likely to be final cnss. of the first components of word compounds, in which the N word *^rw|y^rUm∇R₁T₁∇ was used. Alternatively, Ak t- may be a S px. of derivation, and T *j- may point to a N *y-. The D roots (Png rōnḍa, Mnd runḍa, and D *uñṭa) may belong here if the N etymon is *^rw|y^rUm∇r∇nT∇.

2494. *wǎñ∇ ~ *₁X∇₁wǎñ∇ 'relative (of a younger \ the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'brother\sister-in-law, son-in-law') > HS: ? Eg fP ḥwrn 'child, young man', ḥwrn.t 'girl, virgin, daughter', Eg N ḥwrn 'so.'s child, son', Eg fP ḥwrn v. 'be rejuvenated' ¶ EG III 52-4, Fk. 166, Tk. I 297 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} wṭñ son', wṭñâ 'girl, young woman, daughter', Bd {ChL} wùnṣñ 'son', wṭñán 'girl' || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj wúnáṭ, Cg úné, Kry wún, My wùn, Sir úná, Mbr wṭñá 'girl, daughter' || Plc {ChL} wun 'son', Buli {IL} wṣna 'child', {ChL} únṭ 'son,

daughter', Wnd {ChL} wun id., {IL} wʒn 'child' || CCh: Pdl wɪnùšù 'girl', ? Lmn Hd {Lk.} v̄ěne 'boy' ¶ Sch. DN 169 (Ngz wʒíâ 'girl, daughter'), 2O1 (Ngz wúñâ id.), ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 23, Lk. H 107 || NrOm {Blz.} *wan- 'woman' > She {Bnd.} wano 'woman' ¶ Blz. OL #63, Bnd. LE s.v. 'woman' (Blz. p.c. 2000: "mistake?") ¶ Tk. I 297 (Eg, ? Lmn) || **U** *wän∇ > **[1]** FU *wäñü 'daughter's husband, younger brother' > F v̄äv̄y, † v̄äy, Es v̄äi 'daughter's husband' | pLp {Lr.} *v̄iv̄3 id. > L {LLO} L v̄iv̄va, N {N} v̄iv̄vâ, Kld v̄iv̄v id., S {Hs.} v̄'ijve 'younger sister's husband; sister's husband younger than ego' | Mk 0v 'daughter's husband, sister's husband' | Chr H w̄iη̄ʒa, U/B weηe 'daughter's husband, younger sister's husband' || Sm *wänb 'relative-in-law (durch Heirat verwandt)' > Ne T O yiy, Ne F Lm wiy 'younger relative's husband', En bī 'Schwager, Mann der Schwester', Ng biñi,-n 'daughter's husband', Slq: Tz {Cs.} kuena, Nr {Cs.} kuenek, Kar {Cs.} kuenaη 'wife's brother', Tm {KD} kuən'ǭg 'svåger, svågerska', LTz {KD} kʷɛnǭg 'styvson, systems man' || **[2]** ? (d.?) U *want∇ 'bridegroom, relative-in-law' > Lp Kld v̄üntem 'Freier, Bräutigam' || Sm: Ne O yanne', Ne F Lm wennī 'durch Heirat verwandt, verschweigert' ¶¶ Coll. 67, UEW 557, 565-6, It. #278, Sm. 541 (U *we|äñiw 'son-i-law' > FU *wäñiw, FP *v̄äñiv, Ugr *wäñĩ-, Sm *w̄iη̄o-), Jn. 173, Lr. #1394, Lgc. #8611, Hs. 1430, Jn. 173, Cs. 277 || **A**: Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *beñ|ñ∇ 'younger relative', q.v.) > Ewk b̄3n̄3r, Ewk Z/Sm b̄3n̄3 'wife's brother, wife's younger sister', Lm ben̄ər 'wife's\husband's younger sibling', Neg b̄3n̄3 'wife's younger sibling', Orc b̄3n̄3 id., 'wife's younger sister's husband', Ul b̄3n̄3li, b̄3n̄3r 'wife's younger brother', Ud {Krm.} b̄3n̄3 'wife's younger sibling', Nn Nh b̄3n̄3r- 'wife's younger male cousin; nephew' ¶ STM I 125, Krm. 216 || **D**: **[1]** ?? *vanna or *vañña '(elder) brother's wife' > Klm vanna 'brother's wife', ? Png on̄i 'elder brother's wife', ? Knd on̄i id., 'maternal uncle's daughter (older than person concerned)' (unless the D word is a loan from Prkr vahuññī 'husband's elder brother's wife') ¶¶ D #5251 || **[2]** (in GnD) (< d.?) *vāñi 'wife' > Png, Mnd vāñi id. ¶ D #5348 || **[3]** D *-vañ 'man' (within dem. pronouns): D *a-vañ 'that man (ille homo)' (↔ *a-tu 'that thing') > Tm avañ ~ avvañ 'that man', Ml avan, Kn ava, Nkr avnd id. (↔ Tm, Ml atu 'that thing', Kn ad̄u, Nkr ad 'that thing'), D *i-vañ 'this man' (↔ *i-tu 'this thing') > Tm i vañ 'that man', Ml i vañ, Kn i va, Nkr ivnd id. (↔

Tm, Ml itu 'this thing', Kn idu ~ itu, Nkr id 'this thing, this woman'), D *u-vaŋ 'iste homo' (↔ *u-tu 'ista res') > Tm uvan, Kn uva 'iste homo' (↔ Tm utu, Kn udu 'ista res'); the same √ is found in cds., e.g. Kdg illa-vā₁ 'man who is a relative' (lit. 'house-man', 'family-man': illa- is 'house, family'), Mlt qal-we 'thief' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 30-140, D ##1, 410, 494 ◇ AD NM #112, ≠ S CNM 12 (rejects the Tg cognate, because, in his opinion, N *w- cannot yield A *b-; but cf. N *waLd∇ 'to give birth' [q.v.] > S *√wld G id. and Tg *baldi- v. 'give birth, be born', D *van- 'elder brother's wife' < N *wān∇ → *₁X∇₁wān∇ 'relative of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [see ADb. NNN 35] and other N words with A *b- < N *w- that are quoted in this dictionary) ◇ The semanteme 'relative from the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (preserved in U, A, and D) was transformed in 'younger relative' in HS ◇ FU *-ŋ- in *wāñü may be due to the presence of a sx. ◇ The pN element *X∇- (> Eg ĥ-) may go back to the first component of a cd.

2495. *w^ro¹n∇ 'wish, love; luck' > ? HS +ext.: *√wng ~ *√wnk > EC: Sml wanāg 'goodness, kindness, mercy', Sml N {Abr.} wānāg 'goodness', Sml wanāgsan, Sml N wānāgsán 'good, nice, kind' ¶ ZMO 408, Abr. S 249 || S *^o√wnk > Ar √wnq: mūniq- adj. 'qui plaît, agréable' (derivational pattern of a prtc.) ¶ BK II 1611 || ? Ch: Hs wāngalà 'feeling pleasure' ¶ Ba. 1079, Abr. S 921 || IE *wen- 'wish, strive for, love' > OI 'vanati, va'nōti 'demands, strives for, likes', vani- f. 'wish, desire', 'vanaḥ / vanas- ntr. 'loveliness; longing, desire' (÷ L venus), vānchā n. 'wish', vanitā- 'beloved (woman), wife', Av vantā- id. || L venus (gen. veneris) 'charm, attractiveness' → Venus 'goddess of love'; vener-ō / -āre v. 'ask reverently; revere, respect, worship, honour' || OIr fine (< *venyā) 'kinship, (joint-)family' || Gmc *wēnō 'expectation, hope' > ON vān ~ (v)ón, Nr von, Sw vån, Gt wēns id.; Gmc *wānja- adj. > ON vænn 'belonging to hope; beautiful'; Gt wēnjan, ON væna 'to expect, to hope'; ORu -winaR, ON vinr, AS wine, OSx wini, NNr vin, Dn ven, Nr venn, Sw vån 'friend', OHG wini id., 'beloved'; Gmc *wunskō- n. 'wish' (÷ OI vānchā) > ON ósk, OHG wunsc, NHG Wunsch, MDt wonsc ~ wunse, AS wūsc ~ wūsc n. 'wish' (in the cd. wūsc-bearn 'liebes Kind') ⇔ Gmc *wunskjan > ON yskja,

æskja, OHG *wunsken*, NHG *wünschen*, AS *wýsćan* 'to wish', NE *wish* v.; OHG R *wunja*, OHG *wunna*, *wunnī* 'delight', NHG *Wonne* 'joy, delight', OSx *wunna*, AS *wynn* 'joy', NE d. *winsome* || Tc: A *wañi*, B *wīna* 'pleasure' || Ht *wen-*, *went-* 'copulate' ¶¶ WP I 259, P 1147, EI 158 (**wenH-* 'desire, strive to obtain'), M K III 141-2, M E II 499-500, WH I 752-3, Thr. § 259, Vr. 421, 643, 666, 671, 680, Fs. 561, Kb. 1203, 1229, OsS 1160, 1212-3, 1228-9, KM 868-9, Ho. 397, 411-2, Hlq. 1376, 1389, Wn. 544, Ad. 601-2, Ts. W 105 || U: FU: FL ≈ **ᵹw₁onne* 'luck' > F *orri* 'luck, chance, fortune', Es *ōrn* 'happiness, luck, fortune' | pLp ≈ **vōnnz* > Lp: L {LLO} *vuođna* 'Glück', N {N} *vuođ'nâ* / *-dn-* 'good fortune, luck' ¶ SK 422, N III 784, Lgc. #8784, LLO 1430 ¶ FL **n* may go back to pFU **n* or **ñ* || A: T **on-* v. 'thrive, prosper' > OT {Cl.} *on-* id., Chv *ǎH-* *bn-* 'succeed', 'be good' (crop), 'breed well' (live-stock), Tk *on-* ~ *un-* 'improve, be healed'; in most T lgs. the cns. *-n-* changed into *-ŋ-* under the infl. of the word *oŋ* 'right' (Cl.: "by false analogy with *oŋ*"): OOSm ≥XIV *oŋ-* 'prosper, thrive', MQp XIV *oŋ-* id., 'be satisfactory', Tkm *oŋ-* 'get right, return to normal (наладиться)', Uz *ǎH-* *oŋ-* 'be successful, fit', Qrg, Nog, Qq, ET *oŋ-*, VTt, Bsh *uŋ-* id., 'have luck', QbB *oŋ-*, Qzq *oŋ-* 'succeed, have luck', *oŋ* 'success, good luck' ¶ Cl. 166-9, DTS 367 (OT *on* 'fate'), ET Gl 456-60, Sht. 155, UzR 584, Md. 42, 171 (pT **oŋ-*) || ?σ M **onu-* 'hit the target' → 'guess rightly' (× N **wanE* 'to hit, to injure', q.v. ffd.) || D ?? **vēñ-* / **vēñt̥-* / **vēñt̥-* 'want, desire' (× N **wed∇* 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.); the D vw. **ē* suggests that the main source of the D √ is N **wed∇*, but the latter is likely to have contaminated with N **w^ro¹ñ∇* (as suggested by *-ñ-* in Ml *vēñam* 'it must') ¶¶ D #5528 ¶¶ GS 173 [#435] suggests here D **vēñ-* > SD **vēñ-* / **vēñ-*; if GS is right, the D √ does not belong to N **w^ro¹ñ∇* ◇ The HS cognate is qu. because the HS root-final **g* needs explaining ◇ Blz. SNE #15 (C, Ch, IE, U, T).

2495a. (₂?) **w^r∇₁∇₁N∇* 'stay, (?) be' > HS: C: Ag {AD} **w^rā¹n-* 'stay, be' > Bln {Ap.} *wan-*, {R} *wān-* 'weilen, sich aufhalten, die Zeit verbringen', Xm {Ap.} *w3n-*, {R} *wīn-* 'sein, existieren, bleiben', Q {R} *wān-* 'weilen, sich aufhalten, sein, existieren', Km {Ap.} *wan-*, {CR} *wān-* 'être, exister' ¶ Ap. IC 50 (Ag **√wn* 'be'), R WB 357, R Q II 111, CR K 265 || Eg √ *wn(n)* 'be' ('sein, vorhanden sein') ¶ EG I 308-9 || ? S **√wañn-* > Ar *wañn-* 'lieu où l'on se retire, asile, refuge'; possibly also WS ***-ñn-* 'dwell' ⇨ WS **mañān-* 'place, dwelling' > BHb *ᵹmā¹ñn*

'dwelling' (↳ Sr **مَدِينَة** māḏīn-ā 'country, region'), Ar **مَعَان** maḏān- 'lieu, endroit, place', Sb mḏn 'dwelling' ¶ GB 443, ≈ KB 577 (err. equation with Ar maḏnā-n 'dwelling', which is derived from √ḏny 'dwell' and does not belong here), BK II 414, 512-3, 1570, Br. 398, BGMR 23 ¶ WS *maḏān- belongs here if it goes back to S *√wḏn with metanalysis (reinterpretation of *w- as a prefix of intransitivity) ¶¶ If the S root belongs here, the absence of ḏ in Eg is still to be accounted for || K *owān- > G vān-: [1] 1s prs. v-i-vān-eb 'sich einrichten, niederlassen, ein Haus beziehen', [2] 1s prs. v-a-vān-eb vt. '(jemanden) herbergen' ¶ Chx. 362, ≈ Fn. KL 72 (unreliable equation with Mg on- [name of a city] and Sv wān 'plain, lowland, plateau') || Highly doubtful: IE: Ir fanaim {IED} 'wait, stay', {Mn.} 'tarry, dwell' (acc. to Mn. from NaIE {Mn.} *owān- 'stay, dally, linger, limp', but the alleged cognates of the Ir word (L [vānūs], Gmc, and Al, adduced by Mn.) cannot be semantically related to the N word ¶ Mn. 1490, IED 43 ◇ If NaIE *owān- belongs here, the N rec. must be *wa₁ḏ₁n̄ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 141 [#29] (suggested the K-Ag-Eg comparison and adduced the dubious IE parallel).

2496. (₂?) *weñdḏ 'to fight, to injure, to hurt' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'wound, injure' (× N *wanḏE 'to hit, to injure') > Gt wunds, AS, OSx, NHG wund, OHG wunt adj. 'wounded', ON und, OHG wunta, NHG Wunde, OSx wunda, AS wund n. 'wound', NE wound n.; Gt ga-wundōn, ON unda, OHG wuntōn, NHG wunden 'to wound' ||| Arm **վանդեմ** vandem 'I undo, destroy, ruin' ¶ Fs. 213, 566, 577-8, Kb. 1129-31, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 || D {ḡAn.} *vēñt- 'hunt, (try to) kill' (× D *vēt- 'hunt' < N *wedḏ 'to hunt') > Kn bēñte, Tu bēñtæ ~ bōñtæ, Tl vēṭa ~ venṭa 'hunting, the chase', as well as Tm vēṭṭam, Nkr vēṭa id., etc. (ffd. see N *wedḏ 'to hunt') ¶¶ D #5527, An. SG 131-2 || ? A: M *onṑi- (< **ondi-) > MM [S] onṑi- 'punish (bestrafen)' (unless identical with MM [S] honcīt- 'tadeln, maßregeln' with h- < pM *φ-) ¶ H 77, 125, MED 616 ◇ Highly doubtful because of the alt. etl. connections in IE, D, and M. The M cognate is legitimate if M *o- may go back to N *we-.

2497. (₂?) *weñdḏ 'to be withered, to dry' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'be barren, wither' > OI vandhya- adj. 'barren', vandhyā 'barren woman' ||| Arm **գոնջ** gonṑ 'mangy, scurfy' ||| ? OIr {SB} fann 'weak', NI fann 'weak, languid, faint', OCrn guan, Crn, Br gwan 'weak' (<

*wŋd^h-) || SI *vęd-nŋ-ti (ip. *vędati) 'to fade, to wither' > OCS **УВѢДАТИ** u-vędati, SCr vęnuti, Slv vęniti, Cz vadnouti, Slk vädnut', P **więdnąć**, R **вянуть** 'to fade, to wither', Blg **Δ вена** **џ вѣна** v. 'wither' (Blg **вехна** **џ вѣхна** id. has x due to the infl. of **съхна** vi. 'dry'); ?? ChS **ѠДНТИ** qđiti, Cz uđiti, P **wędzić** vt. 'to smoke, to humigate' ¶ WP I 261, Mn. 1513-4, ≈ P 1047, 1148, SB 259, Dnn. 297, Hm. 347, M K III 143-4, M E II 503, Dnn. 297, ECCE 250, Hm. 347, ≈ Vs. I 375, ≈ Glh. 666, BER I 138-9 || **D** *veñt̥-, {ǵGS} *vend̥- > Tm **veñt̥u** v. 'dry as in the sun, become withered', Ml **veñt̥-elpu** 'an old bone', Kn **beñđu** 'ε white and light corky wood; cork, pith; a soft \ light \ useless substance', Tu **beñđъ ~ beñđu** 'pith; Aeschynomene aspera (a light and spongy plant growing in water); thin(ness), lean(ness), light(ness), emaciated', **boñđu** 'pith', Tl **beñđu** 'Aeschynomene indica; soft, powerless'; D **↳ Mrt b^hēđ** 'pith' ¶¶ D #5480 || **?,φ A: T: OT {Cl.} bēδ-** 'be weak' (of eyesight) ¶ Cl. 298.

2498. *wen̥_lǵ_ldǵ 'to turn' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to return') > **HS:** B {ǵPr.} *✓wŋđ (Pcj. I A 2) > Ah {Fc.} imv. **ənnəđ** 'se tourner, changer de direction', Ty/ETwl **ənnəđ** (3m pf.: Ty **ɣənnəđ**, EWlm **innəđ**) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction), être enroulé\tourné', Tmz {MT} **ənnəđ** 'envelopper', Rf/Izn/SrSn {Rn.} **ənnəđ** '(se) tourner', Kb **ənnəđ** '(s')envelopper, tourner', Wrg {Dlh.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner, entourer', Mz {Dlh.} **ənnəđ** id., 'enrouler', BSn/BMnc {Ds.} **ənnəđ**, Nf {La.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner', Skn {La.} **ənnəđ** 'tourner en rond', Gd **ənnəđ** (3m pf. **innəđ**) 'tourner, enrouler' ¶ Fc. 1298, Pr. M VI-VII 300, GhA 140, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212-3, Dlh. M 133, Ds. B 348, MT 466, La. S 304, Lf. I 244 & II #1096 || C: Ag: Q {R} **wāntə-r-**, Xm {R} **water-vi** 'return, turn back', Bln {R} **wāntə-r-** id., vt. caus. **wāntə-s-** vt. 'give back, put back, answer' ¶ R WB 358 || **IE:** NaIE *wend^h-/*wond^h-/*wŋd^h- 'turn, twist, plait' > OI **vandhur-** 'wicker basket tied on a wagon, wicker carriage' ({M}: < Iir *wand^h- 'flechten, winden') || Gk cd. **κάν(ν)αθρον** 'cane or wicker carriage', Gk R [Hs.] **ἄθρας** * **ἄρμα** 'wagon' ({EI}: **ἄθρας** < *wŋd^h-r-) || Arm **գինդ** gind 'ear-ring, buckle' || Um PRE-VENDV 'advertitō', **ǵ AHV-VENDV** 'avertitō (let him turn aside)' || Gmc: Gt **bi-windan** 'umwinden', **us-windan** 'to plait', OSx, AS **windan**, ON, NNr, Sw **vinda**, Dn **vinde**, OHG **wintan**, NHG **winden** 'to wind', NE v. **wind**; d. caus. Gmc *wandjan > Gt **wandjan**, ON, NNr **venda**, Sw **vända**, Dn **vende**, OSx **wëndian**, AS **wëndan**, OHG

wenten, NHG wenden vt. 'to turn, to bend' ||| pTc *wānt- > Tc A/B wānt- v. '≈ cover, envelop' ¶ WP I 261, P 1148, EI 607, Mn. 1513, 1556-7, 1575, M K III 143, M E II 503, F I 779, Pln. 725, 751, Fs. 98, 550, Vr. 653, 665, Ho. 389, 397, Ho. S 85, 88, Kb. 1168, 1206, OsS 1089, 1164, KM 852, 861, Slr. 142-3, Ad. 592 ||| D *ven̄t-, {ǵGS} *ven̄d- v. 'turn (round), return' > Tl ven̄d̄i 'again, once more', Ku vendali 'go back, return', ? Kui vr̄epa (p. vr̄ēt-) v. 'return, come back', ? Krx bīrd- vt. 'turn over, turn round, give back' ¶¶ D #5481 ◇ The emphatic *ǵ in B and the vl. *t̄ in Ag (for the expected *d) suggest the presence of a lr. in the N word, that is likely to have been *ʔ (N *-ʔ∇d- > *-ʔd- > *-t̄- > B *ǵ); any other lr. would have yielded a NaIE *ə, which is not the case.

2499. (₂?) *w'o'n̄t̄∇ 'belly' > IE: NaIE *went-/wont- id. > L venter (gen. ventris) 'belly' ||| Gmc *wan̄θa- > d.: MLG ingewāt, ingewant, ingewende, MDt inghewant, Dt ingewanden 'entrails' (infl. of MDt inghewāde ÷ NHG Eingeweide of different origin) ¶ ≈ P 1104-5, WH II 751, ≈ Vr. N 281 ||| U: FU *°_Lw_Jont̄∇, *°_Lw_Jont̄∇r̄∇ > ObU *ōnt, *ōntar 'belly, inside of the body' > pVg *āntar > Vg MK/UL ontar 'stomach (Magen)'; pOs {Ht.} *ont ({ǵHL} *ānt < *ōnt) > Os: V/Vy ont, Ty/Y ōnt, D/K/Sh unt 'inside of the body (υτρο, Inneres), belly'; pOs {Ht.} *ontar ({ǵHL} *āntar < *ōntar) {Ht.} 'Leib' > Os: Vy/O ontar, D/Nz untar 'womb', Sh untar id., 'belly, inside of the body', Kz wūntar 'belly', V ontar, Ty/Y ōntar {Trj.} 'length, extension, distance' ¶ Sm. 542 (FU, FP *oŋti, Ugr *oŋtī 'cavity'), Ht. #40, Stn. D 117-8, Trj. S 327 ||| ?σ HS: mt. WS *√w̄t̄n 'dwell' (← *'be within [a house]'), *°w̄∇t̄∇n- (*wa't̄an-?) 'dwelling, place to dwell' > Ar √w̄t̄n (ip. -w̄t̄inu) G 'dwell in, settle, inhabit (a place)', wa't̄an- 'dwelling; stable for cattle; fatherland', Jb C {Jo.} √w̄t̄n G (pf. ōt̄n) 'start living in a new place' (← Ar?), Sb d. (n. l.) m̄w̄t̄n 'temple' ¶ BK II 1563, Hv. 878-9, Jo. J 294, BGMR 166, DRS 529.

2500. *wañ∇z̄'a¹ 'belly' > HS *√wn̄ž̄ ~ *w̄∇ž̄∇m/n- (mt. from *√wn̄ž̄) > CCh: Db {Lnh., ChL} w̄n̄ž̄ī 'entrails', ? G'nd {ChL} w̄n̄š̄árà, ? Gbn {ChL} w̄n̄s̄èw̄úrè id. ||| ?? WCh (× N *'wAt̄∇ 'belly?'): Zar {ChL} v̄ìc̄íkì 'stomach' ¶ ChC, ChL || S *°waðam- > Ar waðam-at- 'ventricle with the bowels' ¶ BK II 1515, Hv. 961, DRS 506 || C {AD} *w̄∇z̄∇n- (? ~ *w̄∇z̄∇m-?) 'belly, inside' > Ag {AD} *°w̄∇z̄∇n- / pl. *°w̄∇z̄z̄∇n- > Bln {R} w̄oðen (pl. w̄oðen) 'belly, heart, inside of the house', Xmt {Bnd.} z̄z̄en 'heart' ||| EC {Ss.} *wazn- (~ *waz∇m-?) > Af {R} wadanā

'belly, heart, inside', Sa {Bl.} wadan-ā, {Ss.} wadana ~ wazana 'heart', {Wlm.} wadana 'belly'; pSam {Hn.} *wéznè 'heart' > Sml N {Abr.} wádne, pBn {Hn.} *wénnè (> Bn: Bi wennɜ, J/Kj wénnɜ, K wénnɜ), Rn {Hn.} 'wéyn-a, {PG} wéynà, Bs {Fl.} wɫɛɛna id., Or B {Anr.} ónne?, {Sr.} onnē, Or T {Mrn.} onnē, Or H {Ow.} ónnē, Or Wt {Hn.} ona id., Kns otanta 'center', Dsn {To.} ^húōðin-u 'chest', ^húōðin-ni 'heart', Elm pawa (< *wawa < *wazan), ?φ Arr zazzá 'heart', pHEC {Hd.} *wazana 'heart' > Sd wadan-a, {Gs.} wodana, Alb, Kmb wazan-a, Hd {Hd., Ss.} wodan-a, Tmb {L} wazano, Brj {Ss.} wodán-a; LEC ⇨ Gf {Mrn.} wozana, Gm {Hw.} woziná, Wl/Malo {LmS} wozana, Kcm {LmS} wazzo 'heart'; EC ⇨ EthS: Har {L} wazāna 'chest, courage', Grg Sl/Z wəzəne, Grg Wl {L} wəzən 'heart, chest'; Rn {PG} woyām, {Fl., Bnd.} wayam 'heart' may represent C *w∇z∇m- and EC *waz∇m- ¶ AD SF 187, Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 187-8, Bl. 211 (LEC *wadn-/*wadan-), BISO 131, R WB 353, Sr. 337, Ow. 270, Hn. W 60, Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 111, 150, PG 293-5, Hd. 77-8, 226, 302, 343, 401, L Z 120, L EDG III 675, Hw. A 401, Hw. EG s.v. 'heart', LmS 552-3, C SE I 279, To. DL 507 || ? B: Sll {Ds.} adān (ann. wadān) pl. 'intestin grêle, boyau', BSn/Izn/Mtmt {Ds.} āḏān 'intestins (incl. panse des ruminants, cœur, poumons, foie)', Ty/WTwl adan 'intestin grêle', Ah {Fc.} adānan pl., Gh {Nh.} adan, Izd {Mrc.} adan 'intestins', Nf {La.} adun, {Beg.} adū (pl. adān) 'intestino', Gd {Lf.} ādan (pl. adānən) 'intestins, boyaux' ¶ Ds. 45, 159, Ds. B 178, Fc. 205, GhA 24, Lf. II #O291, Beg. 238 || ? Eg P wzmw '∈ human body part'; according to Tk. I 176-86, Eg z < HS *ž is not anomalous (⇔ OS) ¶ EG I 357 ¶¶ Coh. #397 (C, B), OS #2538 (HS *wažam- 'intestines' > S, Eg), #2539 (*wažan-/*wažin- 'intestines' > B, Ch, C, Om) || U: FU *waća 'stomach, belly' > F vatsa 'belly, stomach', Es vats (vatsa) 'paunch, belly' || Vg {Mu.}: N vaś, ML vaša 'stomach' ¶ Coll. 123, UEW 547, MK 721 || D *vač- ~ *vanč- 'belly' ({Zv.} *vač-) > Tm vayin id., vayirū id., 'paunch, womb, centre', vayā 'foetus, womb', Ml vayarū 'belly, stomach, inside', Kt vīr, Td pīr 'belly, pregnancy', Kn basar(u), basir 'belly, abdomen, womb', Tu bañji 'stomach, belly, womb', Knd vaski 'small intestines', Png/Mnd vahin pl. 'intestines', Kui vahi, Kw wahi ɘ vahi ɘ vahī id. ¶¶ D #5259, Zv. 112 || IE: NaIE {F} *wēnes-trō- '∈ internal organ (in the belly)' ('stomach of ruminants?') > Gk ἄβυστρον 'abomasum (the forth stomach of ruminants)' || Nr Δ vinstr id., Sw Δ vinstēr 'Lab-Blätter-magen', Ic vinstr 'omasum

(the third stomach of ruminants)', Far υ instur, Nr Δ υ instr, Sw Δ υ inster 'abomasum', Ic υ instur {Bv.} id., {Hlq.} 'the third stomach of ruminants', OHG ω anast, ω enist 'belly', {EI} 'the first stomach of ruminants', NHG Wanst 'rumen' ||| OI υ ani \dot{s} · \dot{t} hu 'a part of the entrails of an animal offered as a sacrifice' ¶ P 1105, EI 2 (* ω en ∇ st(r)- 'abomasum, omasum'), M K III 140-1, 175, F I 638, WH II 750-1, Kb. 1140, OsS 1088, KM 837-8, Bv. 861, JM 506, Hlq. 1351-2 \diamond Uralix * \acute{c} - suggests N * $\text{-}\mathfrak{z}|\mathfrak{z}$ - , while Ar $\text{-}\delta\text{-}$ points to a N * $\text{-}\mathfrak{z}$ -; FU * ω a \acute{c} a and D * ω a \acute{c} - reflect a later epenthetic variant of the N word with loss of the nasal consonant $\diamond \neq$ BmK 617 (equates the FU and D roots with $\text{\textcircled{I}}$ * υ dero-/* ω \text{\textcircled{I}}dero- [see N * ω At ∇ 'belly'])).

2501. * ω a \acute{n} ∇ 'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'weaken [sth.], 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > HS: S \checkmark ω ny '≈ suppress, weaken (vt.)' > BHb \checkmark ny| ω 'suppress, oppress': acp. G הַנְּיָיִ יוֹדֵנֶה 'oppressing' (f. הָאִיִּיר הַיּוֹדֵנֶה 'the oppressing city'), Sh pf. הַנְּיָה הֹדֵנֶה 'he oppressed, maltreated', JA [Trg.] \checkmark ny: Sh pf. הַנְּיָאָוּוֹדֵנֶה id. ({Lv.} \checkmark ny Sh 'bedrücken'), JEA {Sl.} \checkmark ny Sh 'act fraudulently', JPA Bz {Sl.} \checkmark ny Sh 'vex, taunt, deal fraudulently', Ar \checkmark ny G 'être fatigué; être faible, mou, manquer de force' (\leftarrow *'be weakened'), Ak (fOAK?) {Sd.} inf. ω anā $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ um '≈ unter Druck setzen, bedrängen mit', Sb {DRS \leftarrow VAbd.} h ω ny 'dépérir' ¶ KB 398, BDB 413, GB 303 (adduces Mn \checkmark ny that is not confirmed by up-to-date research), Lv. T I 337, Sl. 538, Sl. P 242, BK II 1612, Hv. 896, Sd. 145, DRS 562 ||| **U:** FU * ω a \acute{n} ∇ 'make soft\compact (by kneading, fulling)' > F υ anu- 'become condensed, thick, be kneaded; become matted, mat', υ anutta- 'shrink, cause to shrink, knead; full, mill', {SK} 'thrash soundly (mukiloida)', Es υ anu- 'shrink; become matted, mat, felt', {W} 'walken' ||| OHg υ ányol- 'walken, filzen; massieren', Hg υ ányol- v. 'felt (wool); full, mill' ¶ UEW 558, W EDW 1306, MF 671-2, EWU 1605-6 ||| **A:** NaT *uy- (\leftarrow *u \acute{n} -?) 'squeeze, trample' > OT {Cl.} uy- 'squeeze (to make compact)', {DTS} 'trample', MT [IM] uy- 'knead', d. OT {Cl.} uymā n. 'felt', Tkm Δ uyuy 'felt socks', Tb/Qzq/Chg {Rl.} uyuy 'felt boots (валенки)' ¶ Cl. 267, 273, DTS 60 (OT uy- 'compact'), ET Gl 581-2, Rl. I 1633 ||| ? **IE** NaIE * ω ej \grave{a} - / * ω i-, +exts.: * ω īt- (\leftarrow * ω i-Ht-), * ω ej-s '(make) wither, weaken' (\times N * ω i \check{z} ∇ 'gray, [?] withered' [q.v. ffd] \times N * ω ahy ∇ '[be] weak' [q.v.]) \diamond The NaT vw. *u- (from N * ω a-) may be

connected with the labializing infl. of *w- (on similar development in M an Tg see Introduction, § 2.4).

2501a. $\text{₂} *wE\eta\acute{\eta}\eta\eta \nabla \sim *wE\acute{\eta}\eta\eta\eta \nabla$ 'daylight' > HS: Eg G $w\eta n \sim w\eta\eta$, DEg $w\eta n$ 'light (lux)' > Cpt: Sd $\text{o}\Upsilon\epsilon\text{IN}$ $ue\text{in}$, B $\text{o}\Upsilon\text{WINI}$ $u\bar{o}ini$ id. ¶ EG I 315, Er. 79, Vc. 231 || NrOm: Wl {LmS}, Gm {LmS} $w\bar{o}nta$ 'morning', $w\bar{o}nto$ 'tomorrow', Gf {LmS} $wonta$ id., 'morning', Zl {LmS} $wonto$, {C} $wont\bar{o}$, Dwr {LmS} $wanto$, Gm {Hw.} $wont\acute{o}$ 'tomorrow', Dc {LmS} $wonto$, Bsk {LmS} $wonto$, $wons$, Cha {LmS} $onta \sim wonto$ 'tomorrow', Kcm {LmS} $wanto$ id., 'God' (← *'daylight'), Hrr {CR} $w\epsilon nto$ 'God; tomorrow', Bdt {Hw.} $wont-$ 'dawn', She {CR} $wen-den$ 'today', $won-\eta$, $wensen$, Bnc {Wdk.} $w\acute{o}ns\acute{a}n$ 'tomorrow', Ym {Wdk.} $w\acute{o}n\grave{a}$ 'time, day', $w\acute{o}n\grave{o}$ 'tomorrow' ¶ LmS 546, Wdk. BY 113, 138, C SE III 81, C SO 45, Hw. NKL 236, CR NGS 13, CR H 665, Hw. EG || **D** [1] * $v\acute{i}\eta$ 'sky' > Tm $v\acute{i}\eta$, $v\acute{i}\eta\eta$, MI $v\acute{i}\eta\eta$ 'sky, heaven', TI $v\acute{i}n(n)u$ 'sky', Mlt $bi\eta ye$ 'god of thunder and lightning' ¶¶ D #5396 || [2] * $v\acute{a}\eta\grave{a}$ 'sky, cloud, rain' (× N * $\eta\eta \nabla w\eta a\acute{\eta} \nabla$ 'sky, cloud', q.v. ffd.) || [3] It is not clear if one may add here D * $v\acute{e}\eta t-$ 'spirit, god' (> Prj $v\acute{e}:did \acute{a} v\acute{e}:did$ 'god', Gdb {BB} $v\acute{e}\eta di\eta$ 'devil[s], spirit[s]', Gdb O $v\acute{e}\eta di\eta$ 'god', Gnd $p\acute{e}\eta\eta ra$ $vandin$ 'the highest god of the Muryas'), it is more plausible to equate it with D (McTm) * $v\acute{e}\eta t-$ 'king' (> Tm $v\acute{e}\eta ta\eta$ 'king, Indra', MI $v\acute{e}\eta ta\eta$, $v\acute{e}\eta tu$ 'king') ¶¶ D ##5529-30 ◊ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#101] (HS, D; includes D * $v\acute{e}\eta t-$ 'god').

2502. * $w\eta\eta E$ 'to hit, to injure' > IE: NaIE * $w\eta n-$ 'hit, injure' > W $\eta m-wan$ 'to joust', ? σ Brtt {RE} * $wanami$ 'to pierce, to stab, to thrust' > MW $gwaint$, W $gwanu$, Crn $gwana$, MBr $goanaff$, Br $gwana\acute{\eta}$ id., OBr $cic-guan$ 'fork' || ? σ Gt $winnan$ 'to suffer', $wunns$ n. 'pain' ¶ P 1108, EI 548-9, RE 119, YGM-1 256, 440, Fs. 213, 566, 577-8, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 || **K**: GZ * $w\eta n-$ 'injure, harm; torment, suffer' > OG $v\eta n-$ v. 'harm; suffer' ($mra\eta li$ $me\eta no$ $me \dots$ 'I have suffered a great deal ...' - Mt. 27.18), G $v\eta n-$ v. 'inhure, harm', OG $v\eta ba-\eta$, G $v\eta ba$ n. 'suffering, Easter', Mg $n-$ v. 'harm' ¶ K² 54-5, Ts. 381-3, DCh. 509-10, Ser. 65-6, Q 285 || **U**: FU * $w\eta\eta \nabla-$ 'hit, cut' > ObU {Ht.} * $w\acute{\eta}\eta k-$ > pVg * $w\acute{\eta}\eta k-$ 'hit' > Vg: T/SV/LL $w\eta\eta k-$, MK/UK/P/NV/ML $w\eta\eta k-$ id., UL $w\bar{o}\eta\eta ap$ n. 'hammer'; pOs {Ht.} * $w\eta\eta k-$ (= {JHl.} * $w\acute{\eta}\eta k-$) 'hew (behave)' > Os: V/Vy $w\eta\eta-$, Ty/Y $w\acute{\eta}k-$, D/K $w\eta\eta\eta-$, Nz/Kz $w\eta\eta-$, O $w\eta\eta-$ id. || OHg $v\acute{a}g-$ 'hew down, chop, slaughter', Hg $v\acute{a}g-$ 'cut, hew down, chop' || ? Prm {LG} * $v\acute{a}\eta n-$ 'cut' > Z

вундыны *vundɨnɨ* 'to cut, to crop', Vt вандыны *vandɨnɨ* 'to cut, to slaughter' ¶ UEW 558, LG 70, Ht. #698, MF 665-6, EWU 1595 || A: T **mōŋ-* (< ***bōŋ-*) > OT [MhK] *mōŋ-* {MKD} 'kick', ET {Nj.} *mōŋ-* 'kick (брыкатъся)', ET Tr *mōŋ-* v. 'rear, kick' (a horse) ¶ Cl. 767, MKD 119, Nj. 771, Rl. IV 2130 || Tg **baŋsa-* 'kick', 'rear' (a horse) > [1] mom. **baŋsala-* > Orc, Nn *baŋsala-*, Ud *baŋčala-*, Ul, Ork *basala-* 'kick\rear (once)', WrMc *bašila* 'kick, strike with a fist'; [2] iter. (?) **basaçi-* > Ul *basaçl-*, Nn *baŋsačl-* 'kick\rear' ¶ STM I 72 || ? M **onu-* 'hit the target' > WrM *onu-*, HIM *оно-х*, *он-х*, Brt *оно-хо* id., 'guess rightly', Ord *оно-* id., 'make a good deal, earn', WrO *оно-* 'hit the target, understand' ¶ MED 615, Ms. O 512-3, Krg. 107, Cher. 357 ¶¶ DQA #95 (A **bāŋgi* 'to kick' > T, Tg) ◇ On M **o-* < N **wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4. T *-*ō-* can be explained by the palatalizing infl. of *-E and the labiaizing infl. of *w-.

2503. **wāŋg'o* 'hook' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'handle') > U: pre-FU ***wāŋkâ* > (after synharmonic levelling) FU **wāŋk∇* (= **wāŋkU?*) ~ **wāŋk∇* 'hook' (× N **wāŋka* 'to bend'): [1] FP **wāŋk∇* (= **wāŋkU?*) > F {Cl.} *vanko*, *vanka*, *vanku* 'hook lever used for rolling burning logs across a burn-beaten clearing', Es *vang* (gen. *vannu*) 'handle; crook, bend, loop' | Prm **vug∇* 'handle, hook' > Z *вуг* *vug* 'handle, bucket-handle (дужка)', *вугыр* *vugɨr* 'fishing-hook, fishing-line', Vt *вугы* *vugɨ* 'handle (of a door, bucket, cauldron, etc.)' ('ручка, скоба двери, дужка ведра\котла') | [2] FU (in ObU) **wāŋk∇* 'hook' (→ 'draw with a hook', 'hang on a hook') > ObU **wāŋk-* (and **wāŋk-* + sxs.) id. > pVg **wāŋk-* > Vg: LK/MK *wāxr-*, LL *waxrit-* 'draw with a hook', T *wāŋkər*, P/NV/SV *waxrəp*, UL/Ss *wāŋkrip* 'hook'; pOs {Ht.} **wāŋk-*/**wiŋk-*, {θHL} **wāŋk-*/**wīŋk-* > Os: V/Vy *wiŋ-* ({Ht.} *wiŋ'-*), Ty/K/Kr *wiŋk-* vi. 'remain stuck\hooked (зацепиться, застрять), hängen bleiben (повиснуть)', d.: V/Vy *wāŋləʷ-*, Ty *wāŋləʷ-* id.; ds.: V/Vy *wiŋkəli*, Ty *wiŋli*, D/K *wāŋklə*, Nz *wāŋkalə* 'hook', Vy *wāŋwä*, Ty *wāŋkər*, K/Kr/O *wāŋkəm*, Nz/Kz *wāŋkəm* id. ¶ Coll. 139, It. #54, Sm. 554 (FP **vēŋka* 'handle'), LG 69, UEW 814, Ht. #699, Stn. D 1608-10, Trj. S 513, 524 || D **vāŋk-* 'hook' > Tm *vāŋki* 'ε iron hook or curved instrument; ε armllet', Kn *vāŋki*, *oŋki* 'hook; gold armllet of a curved shape', Tu *oggi*, *uggi* 'handle, hook', *vāŋki* 'ε bracelet', Tl *vāŋki* 'ε curved ornament worn on the arm', *oŋkiya*, *oŋke* 'hook\peg fixed

in a wall', Gnd ChM {LuC} ν akonjēe 'an elephant goad' ¶¶ D #5210 ||
 IE: (mt.) NaIE *wog^whni-s, *wog^whnes- 'ploughshare' > Gk [Hs.] ὄφυλις ·
 ὕνλις. ἄροτρον 'ploughshare, plough' ||| Pru wagnis 'Sech' = 'Pflugeisen',
 {EJ} 'coultter' ||| OHG waganso, NGr B Wagensun, ON vangsni
 ({Vr.}: < *vagsni), NNr vagnse, vangsne, Sw Δ wangs
 'ploughshare' ||| L vōmis (gen. vōmeris) id. (whence nom. vōmer
 id.) ({WH}: < *wog^wh-smis) ¶ WP I 315, P 1179-80, Mn. 1561-2
 (wog^whsnis), EI 434 (wog^whnis), F II 453-4, WH II 835, En. 269, Vr.
 643-4, Kb. 1132, OsS 1074, Hlq. 1341 (s.v. vigg) ¶ NaIE *-g^whñ- < N *
 ṛg- can be explained as a case of metathesis ||| A: M *oṅgi (× M *oṅgi
 'hole' [< N *wanK∇ ~ (>?) *woṅK∇ 'hole, orifice', q.v.] and A {DQA}
 *ṅjūṅni {AD} 'heel' [> Tg *ńuṅni 'heel, shin']?) > MM [S] {H} oṅgi
 'handle (of a sword)', WrM oṅgi, HIM oṅги 'socket\ring for a handle
 in an axe\spade\hoe', Ord oṅgi 'virole, anneau dans lequel on fait
 passer la manche d'un instrument', Kl oṅh 'orifice (проушина) in an
 axe'; M ⇨ WrMc uṅgin 'orifice for a handle in an axe\spade' ¶ H
 124, MED 614, Ms. O 514, KW 287 ||| ?φ HS: WS ≈ *w^{ra}n¹w- 'hook' >
 BHb ṽ* wāw* (att.: pl. ṽṽṽ wā¹wīm, pl. cs. ṽṽṽ wā₁wē) 'hook, pin,
 peg', Pun ww 'nail', Ph *wa₁w (name of the letter wu w) > Gk Fǽ
 (name of the letter for Fwww); JA [Trg.] ṽṽṽ wāw, em. ṽṽṽ wā¹w-ā
 'hook', Gz wāwē 'hook, ring, buckle, point' ¶ KB 249, BDB 255, HJ
 297, Js. 372, Lv. T I 207, Dlm. 114, LG 623, DRS 513-4 ¶ A tentative
 explanation: Hb, JA ā < *ã < *an (like in Hb ṽṽṽ 'man' < *ṽṽṽ, see AD
 PSH 57-8), which accounts for ā (rather than ə) in the Hb pl. cs. wā₁wē;
 absence of *ñ in Gz suggests that this is a loanword. The irreg. w- in
 Hb, Ph, Pun, and JA suggests as. (*w- preserved in Cn and Aram due to
 the infl. of the medial *-w-) ◇ Alternatively, one must consider the
 possibility of borrowing: FU *wanK∇ and D *vanK- ⇨ Iir *wank- (see
 N *wāṅka 'to bend'), but this latter hyp. (suggested for FU *wanK∇ by
 Coll. and UEW) is less plausible because in Iir we do not find the
 meanings 'hook' or 'handle' ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 34 (N ? *ṅ₁A₁ṅK∇ 'hook,
 handle' > U, D, IE, M + unc. A ? *ṅjūṅni 'heel, hook' > Tg *ńuṅni 'heel,
 shin') ◇ M *o- goes back to N *o or *a in *wanK∇ ~ (>?) *woṅK∇
 'hole, orifice'. On M *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2504. *wanK∇ ~ (>?) *woṅK∇ 'hole, orifice' (→ 'pit') > U
 **w^{ra}ṅK∇ > FU *woṅK∇ 'hole, cave' > Fonkalo 'cleft, crevice, ravine,
 gorge; cave; hollow, cavity, pit', Δ ongahta- 'become hollow',

ongerta- v. 'hollow out', Es unk (gen. unga) 'rafter (of the roof)',
ongas (gen. onka), ungas (gen. unka) 'vent-hole (in the gable of
the house)' | Lp: N {Fri.} v u o g g o 'hole of a field mouse; hut' ('antrium,
in quo mus sylvestris tegitur'; tugurium'), Kld {SaR} в у э н к в v u e n : k
'fox-hole' || ObU {Ht.} *wōŋk, *wōŋkā > pVg {Ht.} *wāŋkā 'pit' > Vg: T
wankā, LK w o ŋ x a, MK/UK w o ŋ k a, P/NV/ML w o ŋ k a, UL w o ŋ x a, Ss w o ŋ x a
id.; pOs {Ht.} *w o ŋ k, {ǾHL.} w ā ŋ k 'lair, animal's hole' > Os: VK/Y w o ŋ k
Ty w o ŋ k, D/K w o ŋ x, Nz u ŋ x, Kz w ŋ k, O o ŋ k id.; pOs {Ht.} *w ā ŋ k a ({ǾHL.}
*w ĩ ŋ k a) id. > Os: V w ā ŋ k a, w o ŋ k a, Vy w ā ŋ k a, Ty/Y w ā ŋ k a, D w ā ŋ x a id.
|| Sm {Jn.} *w ā ŋ k ь > Ne: T в а н к, O/F {Lh.} β ā ŋ k 'pit, ravine; animal's
hole, lair'; En {Cs.} 'baggō 'pit', {KD} d. b ā g ū t a 'nest'; Ng {Cs.} 'banka
'pit, nest'; Slq: Tm {KD} d. k ō ŋ g ь r 'bird's nest hollowed out in a tree',
UO {KD} k ω o q 'a 'small pit' ¶¶ Coll. 44, UEW 583, Sm. 551 (FU *w o ŋ k i
'den' > FP *v o ŋ k i, Ugr *w ā ŋ k ĩ), SaR 63, Ht. #697, Trj. S 517, Jn.
171-2, Ter. 42 || **А** *U ŋ g ∇ 'orifice, pit, hollow' > M *o ŋ g i 'hole, orifice'
> Kl {Rm.} o ŋ g i id., M *o ŋ g i 'handle, socket, or ring for a handle in an
axe\spade\hoe' (× N *w ā ŋ g 'o 'hook', [in descendant lgs.] → 'handle',
q.v. ffd.), M *o ŋ g a y i > WrM {Rm.} o ŋ g a i, Kl o ŋ h a 'hollow in a tree,
cave', {Rm.} o ŋ g ā ~ o ŋ g ā 'Höhle, Vertiefung; leer, hohl'; M *o ŋ g a y i- >
WrM o ŋ g a i-, o ŋ g u i-, HIM o ŋ g o i- 'become wide open, form an
opening\gap, gape', Brt o ŋ g o i- 'become opened', Ord o ŋ g o i- 'be
opened (as a door), gape, yawn', Kl o ŋ h a- v. 'gape', {Rm.} o ŋ g ā- ~
o ŋ g ā- 'leer\hohl\offen sein', M *o ŋ g a 'r q a y i > WrM o ŋ g u r q a i ~
o ŋ g a r q a i, HIM, Brt o ŋ g o r x o i 'opening, orifice, gap, hole', Ord
o ŋ g o r x o i 'ouvert, troué; trou', WrO o ŋ g o r q a 'hollow, pit, opening; eye
hollow', Kl o ŋ h p x a 'hollow, eye hollow; hole, cave', {Rm.} o ŋ g ā r x ā
'vertieft, hohl; Vertiefung, Höhle'; M *o ŋ g i l a- > WrM o ŋ g i l a-, HIM
o ŋ g i l o-, Brt o ŋ g i l- 'dig; dig in, rummage' ¶ MED 614, Luvs. 299, H
124, Ms. O 514-5, Krg. 108-9, KRS 398-9, KW 287, Chr. 356, Z 142 || Tg
*o ŋ u 'hollow, cave' > Orc, Ud {STM} o ŋ g o 'cave', Nn Nh o ŋ g o 'rectum', ?
Ewk d. u ŋ t u k ā ç ā n 'small hollow (ямка)'; ? Tg d. *U ŋ a l a 'pit, hole,
hollow' > Ewk u ŋ u l u 'pit, puddle', Ud u ŋ u l u 'hollow in a tree', Ul o ŋ g o l o
id., 'cave', Neg o ŋ g o l o, Nn o ŋ g o l o ~ u ŋ g u l u id., 'hollow (depression)',
WrMc u ŋ g a l a 'hollow in a tree, hole, hollow of the ear' ¶ STM II 280,
Krm. 302, Vas. 497, Z 142 || T *ü ŋ- 'dig a hole in' > OT {Cl.} ü ŋ- id.,
'hollow (sth.) out', MQp XIV ü ŋ- 'hollow out, excavate', [CC] 'dig,
excavate', Qzq ü ŋ g- 'make a pit\hole (by boring), make an excavation',

Qrg üñü- 'make\punch\forge a hole, bury oneself in' ¶ Cl. 16, DTS 626, Rs. W 521, Sht. 28, Jud. 822, ET Gl 634 (on the T d. *üñür 'cave, animal's hole') ¶¶ DQA #2528 (A *uñe 'hollow, pit') || D (in SD) *vañk 'orifice' > Tm vañku 'orifice, hole, hollow, rat-\snake-hole', Ml vañku, Tu oñka 'rat-\snake-hole' ¶ D #5212, Tu. #11191, M K III 124, 127-8 || ??φ HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} an'qāy 'hole, cave' ¶ R WB 40 || B *-w∇nuH (and *-^rw∇^rgnuH-?) 'well (puits), pit' > Awj {Prd.} a'wānū (pl. wān'yin ~ wānni'yin) 'well', Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} anu (pl. una), Gd {Lf.} ānu (pl. {CM} anuyin), Nf, Snd {La.} dim. tanut (pl. tina), BS {Ds.} ānu (pl. anūyān), Izn {Ds.} ānā (pl. anāyān), Sll {Ds.} ānu (pl. una), Si {La.} anu, Gh {Nh.} anu (pl. unan) id., Ah ānu (pl. ānān), Ty aṅu (pl. uṅān), ETwl aṅu (pl. eṅwan) id., 'pit', Kb {Dl.} anu 'gouffre ou puits naturel', Ntf {La.} dim. tanut 'petite excavation dans le sol'; ?? *-^rw∇^rgnuH- > Ah taḡnut 'puits peu profond' ¶ Prd. 172, Fc. 1283-4, GhA 137, La. MChB 412, Mrc. 207, Lf. II #1066, CM 150-1, Ds. 235, Ds. B 292, MT 458, Dl. 537 ◇ On M and Tg *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS (*wōñ^rk^r 'orifice' > U, A, D), Rs. UAW 33 (U, A).

2505. (₂?) *wāñka 'to bend' > IE: NaIE *weng-/ *wong- 'bent, crooked' > Gmc: OHG winken 'to wave, to nod', MHG winken 'to move to and fro (schwanken), to wink one's eyes', MLG winken, AS wincian 'to shut eyes, to blink', NE wink v.; AS, OHG winkil, NHG Winkel 'corner'; Gmc *wankōn > ON vakka, Sw vanka, Dn vanke 'to wander about', OSx wancon, OHG wankōn 'to waver, to shake', NHG wanken 'to move to and fro' || Lt vēngti (1s prs. vēngiu) 'to avoid, to evade, to shun' (← 'to bend\turn outwards'), vīngis n. 'bend, curve; winding', vīngiuoti 'to twist, to wind, to meander', Pru wīngriskan n. accus. sg. 'cunning', {EI} 'trick' || ?σ pAl {O} *wengā > Al: T vēng, G vāng {AlBED} 'wooden rim of a wheel, wooden stake (stuck in the ground and tied to sth.)' ({O} 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim') || OI vañgati [Vop.] 'goes lamely, limps', [Dhat.] 'goes' ¶ P 1148-9, EI 63, Vr. 639, Kb. 1142, 1204, OsS 1092, 1162-3, KM 837, 861, Frn. 1223, 1256-7, En. 274, Tr. APS 462, O 504, AlBED 928, MW 912 || ? U: pre-FU **wāñkâ 'hook' > FU *vañk∇ (= *vañkU?) ~ *wāñk∇ (× N *wāñ^rg^ro 'hook', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Coll. 139, It. #54, Ht. #699 || D *vāñk-, {GS} *vag-/*vañ- v. 'bend, bow' > Tm vāñku- ~ vēñku- vi., vt. 'bend', Ml vāññuka vi. 'bend', Kt vag- 'be slightly bowed', vā'g- 'make (pot) bulge (in throwing it on the potter's wheel)', vāk- vi. 'bend, be cowed',

Kn *bāgu* v. 'bend, bow', *boṅkane* 'in a bending\bent way', Kdg *baṅg-* 'become bent, slope', Tu *bā(ṅ)gu-*, Tl *vaṅgu-* v. 'bow, stoop', Klm, Nkr, Png, Gdb *vaṅg-* vi. 'bend', Knd *vaṅ-* id., 'become bent', Ku {Fzg.} *vaṅgali* 'be crooked', {Isr.} *vaṅg-* vi. 'bend, be bent', Krx *beṅk(a'ā)-* vt. 'turn from a straight line, bend, curve', *beṅkō, baṅkā* 'crooked, bent, curved'; D *↳* OI *vaṅcati* 'moves crookedly', Pali *vaṅka-* 'bent, crooked' (this borrowing accounts for the cns. *ц/к*, because in the inherited IE word [*< IE *weng-*] we expect OI *g* [see on OI *vaṅgati* above]) ¶ D #5335, GS 23-4 [#2], Tu. #11191, M K III 124, 127-8 ◇ IS MS 336 (**wan̥k̥* 'to bend' [vt.] *>* IE, U, D).

2506. *wop̥ 'pour, strew' *>* HS: B {ṽPr.} **✓wfy* 'pour' (Pcj. I A 2, Fcj. 32) *>* Tw {Pr.} inv. *əffi* 'verser' (3m pf. *iffəy* = {Pr.} *iffäy*) id., Ty/WTwl {GhA} inv. *əffəy* id. (3m pf. WTwl *ikkəy*, Ty *yakkəy*), Ah {Fc.} inv. *əffi* (3m pf. *iffəy*) id., Izd {Mrc.} *ffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) id., {MT} *ffəy* ~ *ffi* 'suppurer', *déborder* (liquide), Sll {Ds.} *əffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) 'verser (liquide)', Izn {Rn.} *əffəy* id., 'transvaser', Gd {Lf.} *S səfi* 'déborder' (marmite qui bout), Kb {Dl.} *əffi* 'puiser' ¶ Fc. 310-1, 2002, Pr. M VI-VII 92-3, GhA 45, 246-7, Rn. 297, Lf. II #0461, Dl. 243, Mrc. 262, Ds. 292, MT 140-1 || +ext.: Eg fP *wpš* v. 'strew, scatter' ¶ EG I 305, Fk. 60 || IE: NaIE **wep-* 'strew' *>* OI *vaṇati* 'strews, scatters (seed)', *vaṇa-ḥ* 'earth mound', Av *vā-vap-* 'disicere', 'zerstreuen', Irn **vafrā-* 'snow' (*<* **aufgeschüttet*?) *>* Av *vafra-*, Phl *vafra*, NPrs *برف* *bārf*, KhS *baura* 'snow' ¶ WP I 256-7, P 1149, M K III 144-5, M E II 503-4, Horn 47, Bai. 305-6, Brtl. 1346-7 || U **wop̥apta* or **wop̥aps̥ša* (*×* N **hop̥, ṽ, ṽE* 'flow down'?) *>* Sm {Jn.} **wāptā-* ~ (vi.) **wāptə-*, {HL} **wapta-* 'pour (out), overturn' *>* Ne T *вабтă-(цъ)* 'strew out; overturn', T O {Lh.} *βāptā-* id., Ne F L {Lh.} *βāptā-* 'umfallen', En {Ter., Mik.} *bata-*, {Cs.} *ba'ta-* 'pour out', Ng {Mik.} *boptuda* 'turn over' || Slq Tm {KD} d. vt. 1s aor. *kōptarnag* 'drown' || Kms {KD} 1s prs. *ba'pta'lam* 'I pour, I strew' || Mt {HL} **baχtə-* 'overturn' (Mt M {Sp.} *бахтыямъ* 'I overturn') ¶ Jn. 172, Ter. 29, KP 31, KD 8, Hl. M 72, 213 [#92] || D (in NED) **op̥(p)-* vt. 'wet, soak' *>* Krx *op-* 'wet, soak (with a view of softening and preparing to work)', Mlt rf. *oprare* 'become soft (as earth by water)' ¶ D #981, Pf. 187 [#53].

2507. *w'a'qa 'hit, hurt' *>* HS: S: Ar {Fr. *<* [Qam.]} **waχχ-* 'dolor' ¶ Fr. IV 446, BK II 1503 (Ar *waχχ-* 'peine, fatigue') || Eg d. *ṣ-wχ?* (caus.

of $\sqrt{\omega\chi}$?) vt. 'damage' ¶ EG IV 74 || IE $*weh-$ / $*woh-$ / $*wh-$ > NaIE $*wā-$ / $*wō-$ / $*wə-$ 'hit, wound' > Gk $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}$ 'hurt, damage', n. act. $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\eta$ (Gk Ae $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\alpha$) > Gk A $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\tau}\eta$ 'bewilderment, infatuation'] with a $*-t$ -ext.: Gk $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (3s aor. $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}$) 'I wound, hurt, hit', $\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}$ n. 'wound' || Ltv $\upsilon\hat{a}ts$ 'wound' ({EI} 'suppurating wound'), Lt $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}s$ 'ulcer' ¶ WPI 211, P 1108, $\approx\sigma$ EI 650 (? $*weh_{\text{H}}t-$ '[suppurating] wound'), Ch. 3, Hofm. 27, F I 2 & II 449-50, 1153, Frn. 1275 || A: Tg $*u\bar{a}$ - (< $**u\bar{a}$ - < N $*w'a'qa$?) 'kill' > Ewk, Sln, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn $w\bar{a}$ -, Lm A $w\bar{a}$ -, WrMc $w\bar{a}$ -, Mc Sb $w\bar{a}$ -, Jrc $wadula$ 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-8, Krm. 216, Vas. 77, Kiy. 122 [#459] || D $*vay-$ 'strike' > Kn $bese$ 'strike with a whip', Knd $v\acute{e}y-$ v. 'flog, beat', Kui $v\bar{e}pa$ (p. $v\bar{e}-t$ -) v. 'strike, beat', Ku $v\acute{e}'-$ 'beat' ¶¶ D #5555 ◇ IS MS 330 ($*w\acute{a}h_1\acute{\alpha}$ 'beat'), AD GD 5 ◇ Gr. II #435 ($*wa$ 'wound') (IE, A + qu. Gil).

2508. $*wAr'i$ 'to burn, to heat, to cook\ fry' > HS: S $*\sqrt{wry}$ > Ar \sqrt{wry} (pf. $wariya$) 'donner (faire jaillir) du feu' (of a strike-a-light), \sqrt{wry} (pf. $\text{ورى } war\bar{a}$, 3m ip. $ya-r\bar{i}$) id., 'être allumé' (of fire) ¶ BK II 1526, Hv. 865 || C: EC: Sml $war-$ 'put out to dry', pBn {Hn.} $*war-$ > Bn Bi/J/K/Kj $war-$ v. 'dry in the sun' ¶ ZMO 409, Hn. BD 103 || NrOm: Malo {Fl.} $ware$ 'warm' ¶ Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Dr {ChC} $wari$ v. 'roast' || CCh: Pdl {ChC} $vara$ v. 'burn', Gzg D {Lk.} wur vt. 'burn, roast' ¶ ChC s.v. 'roast' and 'burn', JI II 55, Lk. G 138 ¶¶ BmK adduces Eg G $wr.t$ 'flame', but in fact this is only "Bezeichnung der Flamme" (EG I 332), sc. a word with unknown meaning, hence the comparison is not reliable || K {FS} $*war-$ > G $varvar-$ v. 'glow, light, blaze (glühen, leuchten, flammen)' {DCh.} 'пылать', Sv {Fn.} $warw\bar{a}l-$ v. 'glitter, flash, glance' ¶¶ Fn. KW-1 35 [#19], FS E 127-8, Chx. 367-8, DCh. 502 || IE: NaIE $*wer-$ v. 'burn, heat' > ? Arm $\text{վանեմ } va\bar{r}em$ vt. 'light up, set fire to', $\text{վանիմ } va\bar{r}im$ vi. 'take fire, be kindled, lighted, be on fire, flame' || ? Gmc $*warm-$ 'warm' (\times IE $*g^whormo-$ 'warm' < N $*gor\acute{a}e$ 'hot; to heat; embers') > ON $\upsilon armr$, NNr, Dn, Sw υarm , OFrs, OSx, OHG, NHG $warm$, AS $wearm$ 'warm' (adj.), NE $warm$ adj.; Gt $warmjan$, OSx $warmian$ v. 'warm' || Sl: [1] $*varb$ 'heat' (n.) > OCS, OR $\text{варь } varb$, Uk var id.; [2] Sl $*vbr\acute{e}-ti$ vi. 'to boil, to seethe' > OCS $\text{вѣрѣти } vbr\acute{e}ti$ (prs. $\text{вѣрѣ } vbrj\acute{e}$), SCr $\text{vr\acute{e}ti}$ (prs. $\text{vr\acute{i}m}$), Slv $\text{vr\acute{e}ti}$, Cz $\text{vř\acute{i}ti}$, Slk vret' , P wrzeć , Uk 'врити, Blr врэць id., R Δ вреть vi. 'sweat intensely'; [3] Sl $*variti$ vt. 'to cook' (\leftarrow $*varb$ 'heat') > OCS варити

variti, SCr *váriti*, Cz *vařiti*, Slk *varit'*, P *warzyć*, R *варить* 'to cook', Slv *varíti* 'to weld (iron)', *váriti* 'to brew', Blg *варя* 'I cook'; \rightarrow **varb* n. act. 'boil' > Slv *vâr*, Cz, Slk *var* n. act. 'boil', SCr *vâr* (gen. *vâra*) 'boiling water', R *вар* 'boiling water, pitch, heat' || Lt *virti* (1s prs. *vérdū*, 1s p. *viriaũ*), Ltv *vir̃t* (1s prs. *veŗ̃du* ~ *vir̃stu*, 1s p. *viru*) 'to boil, to bubble, to seethe' ||| Tc A *wrātk-* 'cook' || Ht *war-/ur-* vi. md. 'burn', *warant-* 'burnt' ¶¶ The irregular Arm *v-* (for the expected *g-* < IE **w-*) is puzzling; Cuny R 88f. tried to explain it by postulating two different **w-* phonemes in pIE (**w*₁- > Arm *g-*, **w*₂- > Arm *v-*); Mallory (EI 88) supposes that the Arm words are of Iranian origin ¶¶ P 1166, EI 88 & 125 (**wer-* 'burn', 'boil, cook'), Fs. 552, Vr. 64, Kb. 1147, OsS 1100, Ho. 387, Ho. S 84, KM 838, Vs. I 273, 362, Glh. 662-3, 783, StSS 108-9, BER I 118, 121, Frn. 1263, Frd. HW 344, Slt. 451-2, Ts. W 101 || D {tr.} **var-*, {GS} **vaḡ-* 'be fried\grilled' > Tm *varu* (ft. -*v-*, p. -*nt-*) id., *varu* (ft. -*pp-*, p. -*tt-*) vt. 'grill, fry, toast', Ml *vara* 'frying', Td *parf-* (p. *part-*), Prj *vedp-* (p. *vedt-*), Gdb *vaṭp-*, Gnd *vars-* \rightarrow *vah-*, Png *vah-* v. 'fry', Kdg *bare-* 'be fried', Mnd *vahpa-* vt. 'cook, bake', Kui *vahpa-* vt. 'fry, grill', Ku *vah-* 'fry, roast' ¶¶ D #5325, GS 34 [#51] ◇ BmK 613 (HS [S, Eg], IE, D + Sum *ur4-ur4* v. 'burn up, flicker, flame, gliter'), Blz. KM 123 [#28].

2509. **war*∇ 'stream of water' > HS: Eg *ṽwṽw* {EG} 'surf (Brandung) of the sea \ of high water of the Nile', Eg G *wṽw* 'flood, water', Eg MK {Fk.} *wṽw* 'waves of the sea' ¶ EGI 249, Fk. 53 || C: [1] LEC **war-* 'river' > Dsn *wár*, Arr {Bl.} *war* id., Rn {PG} *wór* 'well', Sml *war* 'pool, pond' | [2] pC * $\sqrt{wrb|p}$ ({E} **warb-*) 'stream of water; to pour\fetch water' > EC **warāb-* 'draw \ pour water' > Or {Grg.} *warāb-* 'draw water', Kns {Bl., Ss.} *orāp-*, Gdl *orrāp-*, Ya *irpa-* id., Arr {Hw.} *war(a)b-* 'draw and fetch water', Sml caus. *warāb-iy-* v. 'water', Rn {PG} *warāb-* 'fetch water, fill (container) with water', Bs *worāb-* 'drink water, be watered' (of cattle), Brj *hurāb-* 'pour out' ||| Ag {AD} **w^arap* 'river' > Bln {Plm.} *were^aba* (pl. *were^aref*), Xm {R} *wirbā* (pl. *wirib*), Xm T {CR} *wirvā* ¶ Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 42, Ss. B 102, PG 291, 294-5, Grg. 400, Hw. A 399, ≈ AD SF 247, E PC #581, R WB 360, To DL 531 || NrOm: Male {Tre.} *vorō* 'river' || Ch: WCh: My {ChL} *wór* 'lake' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} *vór* 'lake, river' ¶ ChL. Eb. 101 || S * $\sqrt{w^ar}$ > Ug *yr* 'early rain' ¶ OLS 535 ||| IE: NaIE *wer-/wēr-/ūr-* 'water, flowing water' > Vd *vār-* (nom. *vāh*), OI '*vār* i ntr. water' (× '*vār* i 'rain' < N **w^aqr*∇

'to rain, to drip'), Av *vairi-* m. 'sea' || ??? Arm **qawjn** *gayr̄* 'mud, mire, filth' (× N ***w'a'qr**∇ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON *varī* n. 'a liquid, water', π *vári* 'a liquid', π *véř* 'sea', AS *wæ(:)r* 'spray (Spritzwasser)' || Pru *wurs* 'pond, pool' (× NaIE ***wrn-**/***ūr-**/***aur-** < N ***Γûrû** 'to flow, to stream') || pTc {Ad.} ***wär** > Tc: A *wär*, B *war* 'water' || Lw {Mlc.} *wār* id. ¶¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, ≈φ,σ EI 636 (***'we/oHr-** 'water'), Dv. #331, M K III 194, M E II 544-5, MW 943, WH II 840, ≈ Vr. 646, 653, En. 278, Wn. 557-8. Ad. 577-8, Mlc. CL 257 || **U:** FU ***°walo|ur**∇_∇_y∇ > ObU {Ht.} ***wūr**∇_y 'river-bed' > pVg {Ht.} ***wūrāy** id. > Vg: T *orāy*, LK *ori*, MK *worī*, P *wuri*, NV *uri*, Ss *ūray*; pOs {Ht.} ***wur**† id. > Os: V, Vy, Ty *ur†*, D, K, Nz *ura*, Kz *wūrī*, O *wuri* ¶ Ht. #712 || **D** ***var**∇ 'flood, torrent' > Tu *barakelb* 'inundation', Tl *varada* 'flood, torrent, inundation, deluge', *varru* 'flow, flood', *varuta* loc. 'in the flood\river', Prj *vered*, Knd *urda* 'flood', Ku *vāru* id., *varda piyu* 'torrential rain', Kui *vāru* 'stream, torrent' ¶¶ D #5323, ≈ #5356 (referring Kui *vāru* to a wrong pD √) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #15 (the first to adduce Ug, Male, and Ch cognates).

2510. ₂ ***waR**∇ 'crow, raven' > IE: NaIE ***worn-** id. > BSI ***vorn-o-s** 'raven' > Lt *var̃nas*, Lt W *várnas*, Pru *warnis* id. | Sl ***vórnъ** id. > OCS **вранъ** *vranъ*, Blg Δ *вран* (df. *вран-ът*), McdS *вран*, SCr, Slv *vrān*, Cz *vran*, R, Uk 'ворон' | BSI ***vorn-ā** 'crow' > Lt *vārna*, Ltv *vārna*, Pru *warne* id. | Sl ***vōrna** 'crow' > Blg 'врана', SCr *vrāna*, Slv *vrána*, Cz, Slk *vrana*, P *wrona*, R, Uk *во'рона*† || Tc B *wrauná* {Ab.} '≈ crow', {Wn.} 'corneille du prédicateur' ({Wn.}: < ***wār**-*auhá*) || o? Arm **wqñw** *agraw* 'raven, crow' (perplexing a-; r̄ due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ Frn. 1201, En. 272, Vs. I 253, Glh. 681, BER I 180-1, Wn. 583, Ad. 616-7, EI 142 (***wer-** 'crow') || **U** ***war**∇ 'crow' > F *varis* ~ *vares* (gen. *variksen* ~ *vareksen*), Es *vares* (gen. *varese* ~ *varekse*) id.; Krl A *varoj* id. | pLp {Lr.} ***wōrččē** 'crow' > Lp: S {Hs.} *vuortje*, U {Qv.} *vuōr'tjee*, N {N} *vuoričes*, K {Gn.} *vūrečč* id., Kld {SaR} *vūrəč* *vūreč* 'magpie' | Er *варака* *varaka*, Δ *варсей* *varsey* 'raven, crow', Δ {Ps.} *varčey*, *varčej*, *varksiy* 'crow', Mk *варси* 'varsi id. || ObU {Ht.} ***wūr-** id. > pVg ***ūr**∇_n > Vg: ML {Mu.} *urin-yēkwä*, Ss *ūrin-ēkwa* id. (*yēkwä* ≙ *ēkwa* 'woman'); pOs ***wur**ñay 'crow' > Os: V/Vy/Ty *urñ†*, Y *wurñ†*, D *wārñay*, K *wārṽay*, Nz/Kz *wōrña*, O *wārña* id. | Hg *varjú* (accus. *varjat*) id. || Sm {Jn.} ***w̄r-**, {Hl.} ? ***w̄rā** 'crow' > Ne: T d. *vārñə*, T O {Lh.} *parñāe*, F {Lh.}

βαρῆ + βαραῆ; Slq Tz d. {KKIH, Prk.} k̄zr̄ä, {Prk.} k̄^ωzr̄ä id.; Kms {KD} barī, Koyb {Sp.} βαρε id., {Pls.} 'bare 'carrion crow (Corvus corone)'; Mt {Hl.} *bĒrE 'crow' (Mt M {Sp.} βαρε) ¶¶ UEW 559, Coll. 66, Lr. #1459, Lgc. #8801, SaR 58, ERV 108-9, PI 46, MF 673-4, Ht. #709, Jn. 170, KKIH 116, Hl. M #111.

2511. *^owar ▽ 'look, watch' > IE: NaIE *^ower-/*^owor- id., 'perceive, pay attention to, take care', *^owor-^os 'watching, cautious' (× N *^ozūr'i 'look at, examine?') > Ltv rf. vēr-tiē-s (prs. vēr-) 'to look at', vērība 'attention, notice' ||| Gk φορ-, ὄρ-: Gk Hm ἐπὶ ὄρονται 'sie beaufsichtigen', Gk [Hs.] ὄρει· φυλάσσει '(he) guards\watches', Gk A ὄρώ 'I see' (**F*- evidenced by the hiatus in ἑώρον ipf. and ἑόρακα pfc.), ἑφορος 'overseer, guardian' ||| L vereor, -ēri v. 'behold with fear (ängstlich beobachten), fear, have respect for, revere' ||| Clt (< *kom-woros) > OIr {Vn.} cóir, coair 'juste, égal, droit, approprié', W cywair 'perfect, orderly, ready' ||| Gmc: ON varr 'attentive, cautious', OHG war 'aware, careful', gi-war 'conscious, careful', AS wær 'aware; attending, heading', OSx war cautious', Gt warai (nom. pl. of *wars) 'sober', OSx, AS waru 'precaution, care', OHG wara 'awareness, care' (< *worā); OHG be-warōn 'to protect', NHG bewahren 'to keep, to preserve; to guard', NE beware; OSx, OHG warōn 'to beware' (> NHG wahren 'to watch over, to look after, to keep safe'), AS warian 'to guard, to watch over', NE cd. aware ||| Ltv vēr̄t (1s prs. vēr̄u), usually rf.: vēr̄ties 'to be considered, to be reckoned' ||| Tc: A wār- v. 'smell (sentir)', B wār-sk- act. 'emit a smell', md. 'smell (receive a smell)', A war, B were n. 'smell, odour' || ??σ Ht werite- v. 'fear' ¶¶ WP I 280-5, P 1164-5, EI 417, Mn. 1516-7, F II 409-10, WH II 757-8, Vn. C 152, YGM-1 152, Fs. 551, Vr. 645-7, Kb. 387, 1145, 1148, OsS 58, 277, 1096, 1101, Schz. 309-10, Lx. 309, KM 832, Ho. 380, 384, Ho. S 83-4, Kar. II 513, Wn. 558, Ad. 596, Ts. W 105, ≈ EI 606 (*w(h₁)erH-; unc.: ← IE *weHro-s 'true') ||| **U:** FU *^owar ▽ > Ugr *^owar ▽ 'wait, be on one's guard, keep safe' > Vg: T ōr- 'wait', MK ūr- id., 'be on one's guard', Pd. wurlāt- 'ein wenig warten', Ss ōr- 'wait; treat carefully, keep safe' | OHg XII vár- 'wait', Hg vár- 'wait, expect, look to' ¶ UEW 898-9, MF 672-3, EWU 1606 ||| **A:** M *barayan 'a thing seen, the sight of; (?) protection' > MM bara₁a 'Form, Erscheinung', WrM baragan, HIM βαραα 'object visible in the distance; view; form', Ord {Ms.} b₁arā 'les dimensions d'un objet, pour autant qu'elles tombent sous le sens de la vue (à une certaine distance);

aspecte, présense vue de loin, protection', WrO *barā* 'a thing seen, the sight of', Kl *баран* 'outline, view', {Rm} *barān*, *barā* 'outline of an object, figure (seen in the distance)'; M **baraṣala-* > WrM *baragala-*, HIM *бараала-* 'appear in the distance', 'be visible', WrO *barala-* 'become visible' (of a distant object), WrM *baragalqa-*, HIM *бараалжа-* 'look up, glance upward'; M **baraṣatayi* 'seen from afar, visible' > WrM *baragatai*, HIM *бараатай*, Dg *barātī* id. ¶ H 12-3, MED 83, Ms. O 50, KRS 81, KW 83, Krg. 334, T DgJ 124 || D **aṣi-*, {GS} **yeṣṣ-* ({AD} **yeṣṣi-*) v. 'know, find out, search' > Tm *aṣi*, Tl *erūgu* v. 'know, understand, perceive', Ml *aṣiyuka* v. 'know, understand', Kt *aṣr*, Td *aṣy-*, Kn *aṣi* v. 'know', Kdg *aṣi-* v. 'find out', Tu *aṣuṣu*, *aṣuhu* 'knowledge', Krg *ade* to search', Brh *harrifiṣ* v. 'inquire, ask' ¶¶ D #314, Zv. 95 (reconstructs **aṣ-*), GS 134 [#348] ◇ D {GS} **ye-* < **wadue* to as. to *-i- ◇ The adduction of Eg *wṣ* 'spend the day, be awake' (proposed by Bm.) is highly qu. ◇ MF 672-3 (FU, IE), BmK 604 (**war-*/*wār-* 'look, watch our for, observe, care for' > IE, FU + qu. Eg *wṣ* [not confirmed by the available dictionaries], *wṣ*) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2512. *wārE 'make, do' (← 'plait'?) > HS: C **✓wry* 'do' > Bj *✓wry* {R} (1s: p. *a'wēr*, prs. *awa'rī*) 'machen, tun', {Rop.} *-wēr* 'do, act' (*a'wēr* 'I did', *a'wari* 'I do', *ti'waria* 'thou doest'), {R} *'wara* ~ *'wāra* 'Werk, Tat, Handlung, Arbeit, Geschäft' || Sa {R} *û'ray* 'Geschäft, Gewerbe' (*aṣ sīn û'ray* 'what is your occupation?'), Af {R} *u'ray* 'Geschäft, Arbeit, Gewerbe' ¶ R WBd 239, Rop. 78, 248, R S II 48, R A II 24 || EthS (← C?) **✓wry* 'do' > Tgy pf. *ᠮᠯᠦ warəyē / js. ᠯᠮᠯᠦ ᠮᠯᠦ wari* 'operare, fare', *ᠮᠯᠦ w3ray* 'faccenda, affare', Tgr pf. *ᠮᠯᠦ wera* 'do, try', *ᠮᠯᠦ wera* n. 'work' ¶ LH 435, Bsn. 642-3 || ? Eg *ṽ'ry* 'do, make' > DEg *ṽr*, *ṽry* > Cpt: Sd *eipe*, B *ipi* id. ¶ EG I 108-12, Er. 36, Vc. 65, ≠ Tk. I 140 (reads *ṽry* as *✓yly*) || NrOm: *ḷ* Cha {Hnz. ← ?} *ir* 'make' ¶¶ Tk. 1.c. (Eg, Bj, Cha + err. EC **yēl-*/**yāl*, Asa *wel-*), Hnz. HS 75 (Eg, Cha) || U: FU **wār* > ObU {Ht.} **wēr-* 'make' > pVg **wār-* > Vg: T *wār-*/*wār-*, LK/MK/UK *wōr-*, P/LL/ML *wōr-*/*war-*, NV *wōr-*/*war-*, SV *wōr-*/*wār-*, UL/Ss *wār-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **wer-*, {᠑HL} **wār-* > Os: V/Vy/D/K/Nz/Kz/O *wer-*, Ty/Y *wār-* id. ¶ Coll. 139 (FU ← Ary), Ht. #703 || A (× N **war?*'*ū*' → **war?*'*ū*' 'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], 'to bind, to tie'): T **ōr-* v. 'plait' > OT {Cl.} *ōr-*, MQp, Chg *ōr-* id., Tkm *ōr-*, T *ōr-*,

Az hör-, CrTt ór- id., 'knit', Uz ωr-, ET ö(r)- 'plait', Qzq, Nog, Qrq, Qrg, Alt, Yk ör- id., 'twist (ropes)' ¶ Cl. 105, ET Gl 544-6 || M *öre- > MM [MA] öre- 'plait' ¶ Pp. MA 277 || pKo *ōr 'strands of rope' > MKo ōr, NKo ō | id. ¶ S QK #790, Yu 579, MLC 1207 || pJ *ǰr- 'weave' > OJ ór-, J: T ór-, K/Kg òr- ¶ S QJ #248, Mr. 742 ¶¶ DQA #1604 (A *ōre 'plait, weave') ◇ This etymological comparison suggests that N *wä- may yield T *ō- and M *ö- ◇ Two possible directions of semantic change: (1) 'plait' → 'make by plaiting' → 'make' or (2) 'make' → 'make by plaiting' → 'plait, weave' ◇ IS MS 339 (*wǣrǻ 'делатъ': U, C + qu. IE *werǵ-/ *wreǵ- 'act, do', see N *woRkê 'make') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #420 (*ur 'weave') (IE, A, Ko, J + err. U *work▽ [< N *woRkê 'make'] + unc. Gil, EA).

2513. *wer▽ 'to speak; communication, information' > HS: EC *war- 'news, information' > Sml wár 'news, communication, information', warso / war-s-ad- v. 'ask (question), inquire', war-s-t- 'get news', Rn {PG} wór 'news', wor-s-ad-, Brj war-s-aḏ- 'ask (about sth.)', Sd {Gs.} worē 'matter, strange thing; news, fable' ¶ Ss. PEC 42, Bl. 211, ZMO 409, 411, PG 294-5, Gs. 350 || ?? WS *✓wry > [1] CS *✓wry Sh 'teach, let know' (< *w▽r₁▽₁y 'news, information' or **✓wry G 'get information'?) > JA ✓ury Sh (pf. אֲוִרִי אֲוִרִי 'teach, instruct', BHb ✓ury|w Sh (pf. הוֹרֶה הוֹרֶה hō'rā, 3m ip. יוֹרֶה יוֹרֶה yō'rē) 'teach, instruct, direct', BHb d. תוֹרָה תוֹרָה tō'rā 'instruction, law', MHb תוֹרָה תוֹרָה tō'rā 'teaching, Jewish religion', EpJA הוֹרֶה הוֹרֶה hō'rā Sh inf. abs. 'to teach', JA [Trg.] ✓ury Sh (pf. אֲוִרִי אֲוִרִי 'teach', JEA {Sl.} ✓ury Sh 'instruct, make a legal decision', JPA Bz ✓ury Sh 'teach, instruct', Ar SL ✓wry Sh (pf. أَوْرَى اَوْرَى 'show' (semantic influence of the paronymous verb اَرَأَى اَرَأَى 'show?'); [2] EthS *✓wry > Gz ✓wry G (3m pf. waraya, 3m js. yaray) 'tell news, narrate', Tgr ✓wry (3m pf. אָוַרָא wəra) 'announce', wəre (< *waray-) 'communication', Tgy wəre 'notice, fame', Amh wəre 'news', EthS ⇨ Sa, Af ware 'news', Or {L} warē, {Brl.} ware, Hd ware 'fame' ¶ GB 318, KB 415-6, BDB 434-6, Js. 596, 1657, Lv. T I 344-5, Sl. 542, Sl. P 245, BK II 1526, Hv. 865-6, HJ 277, LG 618, Brl. 421, DRS 627-8 || IE: NaIE *wer- 'say, speak, tell' > Gk εἶπω 'say, speak, tell', ῥῆσις, Gk Ar ῥῆσις 'a saying, speaking, speech', Gk Hm ῥῆτορ 'a speaker', Gk ῥήτρα, Gk Ae βράτρα 'verbal agreement, covenant', Gk ῥῆμα 'word, speech' || ?σ Ir: Av urvata- 'command, ordinance, rule', KhS gvar- 'assert, tell,

speak', Ydg w0r 'oath', Vd {MW} vra'ta-m '(?) will, command, law, ordinance, rule' ({M} 'Gelübde, religiöse Observanz, Pflicht' ← 'Gebot, Anweisung, Regel') || Pru wertemmai 'we swear' | Sl: [1] Sl *rota 'oath' (unless < *rok-ta) > OR ροτα rota, R † πο'τα 'oath, vow', SCr rōta, Protā 'oath'; ⇨ Sl *rotīti se 'to swear' > OCS ροτѣтѣ ca rotiti se, SCr rōtiti se, HLs roćić so id., Sl *rotīti > Slv rotiti 'to implore, to entreat', Cz rotiti 'to rumble at, to be angry with'; [2] Sl *vbrati (1s prs. *vbrq) > RBpрать (prs. bpy) 'to tell lies'; ⇨ Sl *vráčь 'sooth-sayer, sorcerer, medicine-man' > SCr vrāč id., 'witch-doctor', Slv vráč 'witch-doctor, medicine-man', Blg врач id., 'sorcerer', OCS брауѣ врачѣ 'ἰατρός, one who heals, physician', R врач 'physician' || Ht {Ts.} weriya- v. 'call, name, mention', -war- (pc. of quoted speech ← 'said'), Pal wērti 'calls' ¶¶ WP I 283-4, P 1182-3, ≈ EI 535 (*(s)wer-; unj. adduction of reflexes of N *SûrV [= *SuřE?] 'speak', q.v.), Mn. 1516, AHDI 77, FI 469-71, MW 1042; M K III 278-9 and M E II 594-5 (doubts about the connection of the Ir stem with IE *wer-), Bai. 94-5, En. 273, Vs. I 361 and III 507, StSS 585, Glh. 531, 680, BER I 183, Ts. W 101, 105 || D {BE} *verǫ- ({ǫGS} ≈ *-ǫ- or *-ǫ- + cns.?) 'speak' > Gnd veh- ǫ weh- v. 'tell', Knd ver- v. 'speak, tell', Png več- v. 'speak', Mnd veh-, Ku veh- v. 'tell, say', Kui vesta / p. vest-b. 'say, speak, tell', ? Krx baʔa- 'say, command', bār- 'be called' ¶¶ D 5514 ◊ BmK 613-4 (*wer-/*wir- > IE, HS, D).

2514. *werV 'without, not, void of, (?) empty' > HS: B *wVr 'not' (negation of verbs) > ETwl, Ty wār, Ttq {Msq.} wr, w0r ({JMsq.} ũr, ũ0r), Ah, Shl, Izd ur 'not', Tmz ur ~ wār, Izn, Rf, Srsn ur (ur ... š, etc.), Zng {TC} wer id., Kb ur (usually with completive ara, sc. ur + verbe + ara) 'not, do/does/did not', a wār 'let ... not' (a wār d-yuʔal 'qu'il ne revienne pas!', a wār tāsʔuḡ 'que tu n'en aies pas'); B *w^rā' > Kb, Tmz war 'without' ¶ Ai. MCB II 203, Nic. 15-6, 65, Fc. 1522, GhA 201, Msq. 207, Mrc. 435, MT 765-7, Rn. 127, Ds. 197, Dl. 871-2, TC Z 309 || K: GZ *we;̣r- 'not' > OG wer 'not, cannot', G ver 'cannot', (in certain cases) 'does ... not' (dʔes ver arid ʔargad 'today he does not feel good [unfortunately]), ver- 'no-' (in negative pronouns/adverbs: ver-vin 'nobody', ver-ʔara 'not any more'), Mg va(r) 'not; do not!; cannot', Lz var ~ va 'not, -less' ||| K *-ur (sx. of nomina attributiva privativa ['-less']) > G -ur id. (G I ʔud-ur 'without tail'), Sv -ur '-less' (xex-ur

'without wife', di-ur 'without mother', niċ-ur & liV-ur 'without water')
 ¶¶ Mg, Lz ā in a close syll. points to a pK *ē (Test. KV) ¶¶ K 83, FS K 123, 309-10, FS E 132-3, 345, Fn. GAS 213, Ser. 63, Vogt GLG 218, Chx. 373, DCh. 505, Q 233, Marr 143, TK 730 || D *ver̥- 'void of, empty' > Tm ver̥u 'empty, MI ver̥u 'asunder, void of, empty', Kt ver 'mere, unmixed, vain', ver a'] 'man without wife or children', veraċ' 'woman temporarily without a child', Kn bare, bar̥i, bar̥u 'emptiness', Kn PBh bar̥ide 'for nothing, without cause', Kdg bari 'only, merely', Tu baji id., 'empty', Tl bar̥igi, Nkr vaṭṭi, Mnd veru, Ku var̥i & v̥wāri 'empty', Prj vededi, Gnd warrōl 'alone', Knd var̥i 'mere, simple, nothing but', Png var̥i 'bare, empty', Kui var̥i 'only', Brh bira 'simply, just' ¶¶ D #5513.

2515. *waṣrê 'wooded hill\mountain' > HS: CS *waṣr- 'forest, thicket' > BHb יַבֵּר 'yaṣar 'thicket, wood', M'b ṣṣr 'forest, parkland', Pun ṣr, [Aug.] IAR 'wood' (hḥršm šṣr 'wood-craftsmen'), Ug {A} ṣṣr 'Gestrüpp, Wald', {OLS} 'forest', JA [Trg.] ṣaṣr-ā 'forest, thicket', Sr ṣaṣr-ā 'thicket, a tangle of thorns and briars', {Br.} 'herba inutilis, virgulta; vepres', Ar Y {L ← ?}, Ar B {Lb. ← Stace} وَعْرَة waṣra 'thicket' ¶ KB 404, KBR 422-3, HJ 464, Br. 305, JPS 194, Js. 585, Lv. T I 340-1, A #1200, OLS 517, LG 603, Lb. 2928, Stace 171, DRS 580 || B *w̥rr, *w̥r̥r̥ 'mountain, hill' > Mz awrir (pl. iw̥rir̥an) 'mountain, big hill', Mz, Izd, Sll tawrirt (pl. tiw̥ririn) 'hill', Kb awrir, ṭawrirt 'a height (hauteur du terrain)', Tmz awrir (pl. iw̥rir̥n), tawrirt (pl. tiw̥ririn) id., 'hill', Si turarət (pl. turār) 'hill' ¶ Dlh. M 228, Mrc. 54, Dl. 872, Ds. 69, MT 768, La. S 216 || LEC: Cm {Hab.} wóro 'forest', Dsn {Bnd.} war̥, {Hab.} wār, {Fl.} w̥r 'mountain' (but hardly here Dsn {To.} wâr 'stone', related to Ah awrr̥a 'small stone', see To. DL 531 and Fc. 1521) ¶ AMS 278, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || NrOm {Blz.} *wor- 'forest' > Wl/Zl {C} worā, Wl/Zl/Dc {LmS} wōra, Gm {Hw.} wōra id. ¶ C SO 35, Blz. OL #144, Hw. EG, LmS 547-8 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} wûrú 'forest', Zr {ChL} wur, {IL in ChC} w̥r 'mountain' || CCh: Kola {Sb.} wúrûm id. ¶ ChC, ChL || U *wōre (< **wāre) 'wooded mountain' > F vuori (gen. vuoren) 'mountain' || Prm *vōr 'wooded hill, wooden height' > Z böp v̥r, Yz 'vûr 'forest', Z v̥rv̥v̥ 'an oblong height in the flood-plain', Vt выр v̥r 'height, hill' || ObU {Ht.} *wōr 'coniferous forest' > pVg {Ht.} *wār > Vg: T wār, UK wōr, NV/LL wor, Ss w̥r id.; pOs {Ht.} *wor > Os: V/Vy wor, Ty wōr, Kz wâr, O or id. || Sm: Kms bōr 'Berg, Landrücken'

(unless a loan from Tg) ¶¶ UEW 571, LG 67, Ht. 196 [#705], KD 10 ¶¶ The vw. *ō (from earlier *ā) is probably the reg. reflex of N *aH. This is suggested by the absence of *ā in the pU (and pFU) vocalism (F Db. OS xxii-xxvi). In FU (FL) there is also a variant stem *wārā 'wooded mountain' > F vaara 'wooded hill\mountain' | pLp {Lr.} *vārē 'mountain, forest' > Lp: {Hs.} S vaarie, L {LLO} vārrē, N {N} varre 'mountain', Kld vārř / vařř 'forest' (Coll. 121-2, UEW 571, Sm. 551 (FU *woori 'forest, hill' > FP *voorī, Ugr *wārī), Lr. 144-5 [#1357], Lgc. #8454, Hs. 1399-1400). This latter variant may have originated from regressive as.: pre-U *ā > *ā̄ due to the infl. of the front vw. in the second syll. || A: Tg *bōri 'small mountain' > Ewk Skh/Urm bori 'a height covered with burned wood', Ewk Ald/Z/Ucr 'stony hill', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain wooded by creeping trees\bushes (горка, покрытая стлаником)', Ork bōri 'a small height' ¶ STM I 95 || ? NaT *ō̄:ṛ 'a height, high ground, high' (*ō̄ < **ō̄ due to as. caused by a pre-T front vw. of the second syll.) > Chg ≥ XV ör, örk 'high ground, upwards', Tk ör 'a height, hill', Qmq ör id., Qzq ör 'a small height', {Rl.} 'eine hohe Stelle, die Erhöhung', {Rl.} 'mountain ridge' (taladan ör körünü 'von der Ebene aus war ein Bergrücken zu sehen'), VTt ür 'a height', Uz wr 'a gently sloping height', Qq ör 'river-head, upper reaches (of river)', SY ür 'a high place', Qzq (or SbTt Tb?) {Rl.} ür 'eine kleine Erhöhung, ein Hügel'; in many lgs. the √ contaminated with the omophonous T √ *ōr- 'rise' (< N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise' [q.v.], F IS I 254-5 [#116]), whence Qmq ör 'top', SbTt Tb {Rl.} ür 'ein höher liegende Teil', etc. ¶ Cl. 193, EF Gl 542-4, Rl. I 1216-8, 1824 || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} *var∇ 'mountain, slope' > Tm varaj 'mountain, peak, slope of hill', Kn bare, Kdg bare 'steep slope', Tu bare 'a steep precipice' ¶ D #5274 ¶¶ D *-r- (unlike *-r̄-) is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters (*r + cns. or cns. + *r), in this case *-r̄- ◇ Tg *bō- and T *ō̄:ṛ- are likely to go back to N *war̄-, see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (*wō^rH^r 'mountain' > Tg, U *wōr∇ + err. D *vōr∇ (i.e. *pōre, see D ##4505 and 4567), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [#88] (unc. equation of this N word with D *vār- 'slope, side').

2516. ₂ *waHr∇ ⇄ *warH∇ 'to scratch, to scrape, (?) to comb' > U *w^ra^r|ðe > Sm {Jn.} *w+rъ v. 'scratch, scrape' > Ne T выпда- v. 'scratch; rub, wipe, scrape', Ne T O {Lh.} β+rδā- 'kratzen, schaben', Ne F β+rtā- 'mit dem Wetzstein schleifen' | Slq Tz {KKIH} kṛ+ v. 'ободраты' (= v. 'bark?') ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 62, Lh. 73, KKIИ 117 || D *vār- v. 'comb

(as hair)' > Tm $vār$, $vāru$, Ml $vātuka$, Kn $bārcu \sim bācu$, Tu $barcu- \sim bācu-$ id., Krx $bagr-$ v. 'comb oneself'; D \rightarrow OI $vārakira-$ 'a small comb' ¶¶ D #5357 $\diamond \neq$ Fn. KD #4 (equates D with K $*warc\chi-$ that belongs to N $*war'c\hat{v}$ 'rub, scrape', q.v.) \diamond D $*-r-$ (reg. reflex of N $*r$ -clusters) and the D long vw. suggest the presence of a N lr.

2517. $*w'a'qr\hat{v}$ (or $*w'a'rq\hat{v}$?) 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' > IE: NaIE $*wēr-/*ūr-$ 'rain', (?) 'liquid' (\times N $*rūrū$ 'to flow, to stream' [q.v.]) > OI $'vāri$ n. 'rain' (\times OI $vāri$ 'water' < N $*war\hat{v}$ 'stream of water'), Av $vār-$ n. 'rain', $vār-$ v. 'rain', KhS $bār-$, Psh $wōrēdāl-$ id. || ?? Arm $qawjn$ $gayr̄$ 'mud, mire, filth' (more likely than from N $*war\hat{v}$ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON $úr$ 'humidity, drizzling rain', $ýra$ 'to drizzle (fein regnen)', ? AS $ūriȝ$ 'moist' || L $ūrīna$ 'urine', $ūrīnor / -āri$ v. 'dive' ¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, EI 636 ($*we/oHr-$ 'water'), M E III 194, Brtl. 410-1, Mrg. 88, Bai. 278, WH II 840, Vr. 635 || D {tr., GS} $*vār-$ v. 'flow, trickle, be strained' (of a liquid) > Tm $vār$ v. '(over-)flow, trickle', $vāri$ 'channel for draining off rain-water from roof', Ml $vāruka$ 'run, flow down, be strained off' (of water), Kt $vāry$ 'ditch around field', Td $pōry$ 'ditch', Kn $bār$ v. 'set free a liquid, pour out, purge', Tu $barcelb$ 'channel to empty surplus water (as from a field)', Tl $vāru$ v. 'flow down as water from boiled rice, be drained off', Nk $vār žav$, Prj $vār žāva$ 'water of boiled rice', Prj, Gdb $vārṣ-$ / p. $vārt-$ v. 'strain (as water from boiled rice)', Gdb $vār-$ 'be filtered (like boiled rice)', Gnd HMB {BB}, Png $vār-$ v. 'pour', Gnd Mu {Bh.} var , Knd $vāra$ 'irrigation channel', Kui $vāru$ 'water-channel' (\times Kui $vāru$ 'stream, torrent' < N $*war\hat{v}$ '↑') ¶¶ D #5356, GS 36 [#61], 31 [#33] || mt. (?): HS: S $*\sqrt{wr\chi}$ > Ar $wari\chi-$ 'arrosé et amolli par la pluie' ¶ BK II 1517 || ? A: M $*boru\gamma an$ 'rain' > WrM $boru\gamma an$, HIM борoo(н) , Brt борoo , Brt b, Brt Ag борooн , Ord $b_{or}ōn$, WrO {Krg.} $buran$ id., Kl боран 'rain, bad weather', Kl {Rm.} $borān$ 'bad weather, storm with rain' (if recorded accurately, \times M $buragan$ 'snowstorm' < N $*buR\hat{v}$ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.), Mnr H {SM} $b_{ur}ōn$ 'petite pluie continue' ¶ On M $*bō-$ < N $*wa-$ see Introduction, § 2.4. In Mnr and WrO the vw. u of the first syll. may be due to infl. of $*burayān$ 'storm, snowstorm' > WrO $burān$ ¶ MED 121, Krg. 371, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. SM 36 $\diamond \neq$ Gr. II #310 ($*urus$ 'river') (unt. comparisons).

2518. *_l'₁weX∇r∇ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated' > **HS:** S *_o✓wħr > Ar ✓wħr G (pf. wahira, 3m ip. yahiru ~ yawħaru) 'être animé de colère\haine contre qn., être infecté du venin du lézard called وحرة wahra' ¶ BK II 1499 || **IE:** NaIE *_l'₁wōr- 'be mad, be giddy' (×N *w'a'Rǰ∇ [~ *w'a'ǰR∇??] 'weak' [of a person]) > Gk ὠπακτάω v. 'faint, swoon away' || ON W órar pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr orar id., ON ærr 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn ør, Sw Δ ör id., OSx wōrig 'entkräftet, mühe, matt', OHG wuorag 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ P 1180, F II 1151, Vr. 419, 684, Kb. 1232, OsS 1214, Schz. 331, Ho. S 90 || **D** *verǰi-, [GS] *verǰi- 'drunken, mad' > Tm verǰi 'be drunk, intoxicated, become mad', Ml verǰi 'intoxication, fury', Kn verǰi id., 'madness, confusion', Tl verǰi 'madness, mental derangement', Knd verǰi 'foolish, simple', Ku verila 'madman', Brh birr 'wild, not tame', birrī 'wildness' ¶¶ D #5511, GS 57 [#158], 66 [#204] || **U:** FU *ür∇ 'be drunken, intoxicated (×N *?uRE or *?üR∇ 'drink, swallow' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? Slq Tm {KD} ōra- ~ ǝra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ But Sm *3r- v. 'drink' is likely to belong to N *?uRE or *?üR∇ '↑' only ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, IG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M #249 ◇ FU *ür∇ belongs here if FU *ü- may go back to N *we-.

2519. *wixR∇ 'male, man' > **IE:** NaIE *wīro-s nom. 'male person, man' > OI vī'ra-, Av vi:ra- 'man, warrior, person, hero', MPrs vir, Sgd wyr- 'husband, man' || L vir 'male person', OL vir 'husband', Um VEIRO, VIRO 'men' (accus. pl.) || OIr fer, Brtt {RE} *wiros 'man, husband' > OW gur, MW gwr, W gŵr, OCm, OBr gur, Crn, MBr, Br gour id. || Gt waír, OSx wer, OHG wër 'man', AS wer, ON verr 'man, husband' || Lt vŷras, Ltv vīrs id., Pru wijr ~ wirs 'Mann' ¶ The perplexing shortness of i in L still needs explaining ¶ P 1177-8, H 366 (*wiH'ros 'man, husband'), M K III 238-9, M E II 569-70, WH II 796-7, EM 738-9, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Thr. §§ 57, 74, LP §§ 5.5, 6.3, RE 111, Fs. 544, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Ho. S 85, Kb. 1170, OsS 1122, Frn. 1258, En. 275, ≈ P 1177-8 || **HS:** C: Ag: Bln {R} wuhīr 'bull'; Ag ⇨ Tgr 𐎧𐎺𐎠 wəhər 'bull' || EC: Sml war 'you, fellow!', 'hey, you!', 'man!' (addressed to a male person) (≡σ: Sp ¡hombre! and G ἄαα! 'you fellow!' ← 'man!') ¶ AD SF 203-4, R WB 354, LH 427, DSI 607, Abr. S 250, ZMO 409 || **K:** Sv L/LB/Ln χwir 'male animal (dog, cat, bear)', Sv UP χwir 'male (dog)' ¶ Dn. s.v. χvir, TK 878, GP 302 || **U:** FU *_owEr∇

> pPrm **ver* 'man, male' > OPrm *wer* 'servant, slave', Z *pi-ver* 'husband's brother' (*pi* 'son'), Z Vm *ver-ćeri* 'male fish' (*ćeri* 'fish'), Vt {Mu.} *var, war* 'slave, servant' ¶ LG 52 ◇ The unexpected Prm *vw.* **e* still needs explaining.

2520. ₂ **wel₁yl₁r₁∇₁?* 'back' > HS: WS **✓wr?* > Ar *warā?a* 'ce qui est derrière ou au delà', *✓wr?* v. *G* 'éloigner', ? Mh {Jo.} *✓wr^ʔ|ʔ^ʔ* v. *Sh* (pf. *hɜwrē ~ hɜwrɛ?*) 'turn, bring back (beasts, people), keep back\away', ? Hrs {Jo.} *✓wr^ʔ|ʔ^ʔ* v. *Sh* (pf. *awrā*) 'bring home (livestock) in the evening', v. *Sh* (pf. *šɜwrā?*) 'back off, be brought back, ?_μ Sb *hwrt* 'back part' ¶ BK II 1516, Jo. M 429, Jo. H 136, Mü. BHS 70, BGMR 57, DRS 614-5 || EC: Or {Grg.} *wīrtū* 'spine' ¶ Grg. 403, Brl. 424 || ?σ Ch **✓w₁yl₁r* 'neck' ({Stl.} **ħa-wuyar* [with the px. of body parts **ħa-*]) > WCh 'neck': Hs *wúyà* | Klr {J} *wur* | Wrj {J} *yiráy*, Cg {Sk.} *wuré*, Kry {Sk.} (*ʷ*)*wīr*, My {Sk.} *wír*, Mbr {Sk.} (*ʷ*)*wīrò*, Jmb {Sk.} *yírá* | Kir {SAh.} *uyar*, Tala {Sh.} *yār*, Zar {IL} *yêr* | Ngz {Sch.} *wùrá* || CCh: HgNk {Mk.} *wure*, FIK {Mk.} *wuri* 'neck' | Gude {Hsk.} *ūrā* 'neck, throat', Gude/Nz/Bcm {Mk.} *wura*, BtG {Srp.} *wūrē*, Gudu {IL} *wuʔa* 'neck' | Lmn {Mk.} *wurɛk* id. || ECh: Jg {J} *were*, Mu {J} *wírì* id. ¶ JI II 252-3, Nw. #91, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 142 (pCh **ħa-wuyar*), ≈ Stl. ZCh 239 [#860] (**[ħ^w]-yara*), Hsk. 287 || Eg G *wɜy.t* 'Kehle (des Gegners, die durchbohrt wird)' ¶ EG I 49 || B **✓wr* > Izn {Rn.} *awərr*, Rf {Rn.}: T *awar*, B *awarn* 'behind, after'; Mz {Dlh.} *awərr_i* 'au-delà' ¶ Rn. 285, Dlh. M 228 || D **ver∇n* 'back' > Tm *verin*, Kt, Klm *ven*, Kn *ben*, Kdg *benni*, Tl *ve(n)nu* '(the) back', Nkr *venka* 'behind', Knd *venka* 'afterwords' ¶¶ D #5488 ◇ D *-r- suggests a N or post-N **r*-cluster; in view of the Ch and S cognates it is likely to be either **-yr-* or **-r?* < N **-r₁∇₁?* ◇ Blz. DA 154 [#23] (HS, D), ≈ Blz. LB #6c (including S, EC, B, D).

2521. **war^ʔŭ^ʔ* ⇌ **wa^ʔr^ʔŭ^ʔ* 'tie' (→ 'thong', 'rope'), 'to bind, to tie' > HS: either [1] Eg OK *wɜr* 'zusammenschnüren', Eg fBD *wɜr.t* 'Schnur, Strick' | or [2] Eg fBD *wɜ* 'Schnur, Strick', Eg XVIII/Md *wɜ.t* 'Schnur, Band', Eg fXVIII *wɜwɜ.t* 'rope' ¶ EG I 244, 250, 252 || IE: NaIE **wer-* v. 'bind, tie', **werw-* 'rope' > Lt *vérti* (1s prs. *veriu*), Ltv *vērt* (1s prs. *veru*) 'to string', *sa-vāre* 'Rute zum Binden', Lt E *virtinē* 'Bündel'; Lt *virvė*, Ltv *virve* 'rope', Pru *wirbe* 'rope (Seil)'; but not here (⇔ EI) Lt *vérti*, Ltv *vērt* 'to thread (a needle)' (÷ R Δ *верать*, Blg *вра*, and OCS *въврѣти* *въ-врѣти* 'shove, put into') | Sl **vьrvь*

'rope' > OCS **ВРѢВЪ** **УРЪУЪ** ~ **ВРѢВЪ** **УРЪУЪ**, OR **ВѢРВЪ** **УВРУЪ**, R † **ВЕРВЪ**†Blg **ВРЪВ**, McdS **ВРВ**, OCz, SCr Δ **УRV**, Slk **УRV** id.; d. (originally dim.) Sl ***УВRVЪСА** > SCr **УRVСА** ~ **УRVСА**, Slv **УRVСА**, d. **УRVICA**, P ω irzbcā; Sl ***УВRVЪКА** > R **ВЕРѢВКА**, Uk **ВІРЬОВКА** 'rope' ||| Gk $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$ ({P}: < * \mathcal{F} $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$) 'strap (with which one holds a horse), rein; strap to flog with' (x \leftarrow $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'drag, draw'??), ? $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - $\alpha\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ 'bind together' ||| Vd **УARA**'trā- 'thong' ||| ? (+ext.): Clt: OIr **fraig** 'wattle, osier', {Thr.} 'wall', NIr **fraigh** 'inside roof of a house; rafters', Brtt {RE} ***wrīgami** 'to sew' > Cm **gwrīgas**, OBr **gruīam** (1s), MBr **gruyat**, **gryat**, Br **gwriad**, **gr(ω)iat** 'sew' ¶ WP I 263-5, ≈ P 1150-1, EI 64 (* (h_2) wēr- ≈ attach'), FI 23-4, Thr. 191, Dnn. 333, RE 127, Frn. 1263, En. 274-5, BER I 187, Vs. I 295, Glh. 686; ≠ M K III 245-6 (connects OI **УARA**'trā- with **УR** \acute{o} **ŋōti** 'covers; ≠ FI 571 and Ch. 367 (both: $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho$ \leftarrow $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'drag, draw' ||| **D** {tr., \mathfrak{G} GS} ***УAR**- 'thong' > Tm **УAR** 'churning rope, leather strap', Kn **bār**, **bāra**, Tl **УARU**, **УARU** 'leather strap, thong', Ml **УAR** id., 'tendon', Td **pō'r** 'whip' ¶¶ **D** #5363 (b) ||| **A**: Tg d. ***bartukin** 'rope' (x N ***weraH₁∇₁t∇** 'root, sinew', q.v.) > Nn Nh **bartoxī**, Ul **batuxu(n-)** 'rope, cable', Neg **batuxun**, Orc **bātuxā** ~ **bātuxi**, Ud {SDM} **batixi** 'rope' ¶ STM I 77 ||| *AdS* to the A root for 'plait, weave' (T ***ōr**-, M ***ōre**- 'plait', pJ ***ǰr**- 'weave', pKo ***ōr** 'strands of rope') (< N ***wārE** 'make, do', q.v. ffd.).

2522. *У'а'R₁∇**** (~ ***У'а'R₁∇**??) 'weak' (of a person) > **HS**: S * \checkmark **wr₁** > Ar \checkmark **wr₁** *G* (pf. **wara₁a**, 3m ip. **yara₁u**) {Hv.} 'be faint-hearted \ weak', {BK} 'être faible \ sans énergie \ incapable de tout effort; être timide; être modeste \ pieux' ¶ BK II 1521, Hv. 864 ||| **IE**: NaIE ***wōr**- 'be weak, faint' > OSx **wōrig** 'entkräftet, mühe, matt', (x N ***U₁'weX∇r∇** 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') Gk $\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ v. 'faint, swoon away' ||| ON **órar** pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr **orar** id., ON **œrr** 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn **ør**, Sw Δ **ör** id., OHG **wuorag** 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ WP I 316, P 1180 ||| **A**: M ***barama** 'weak' (of a child) > WrM **barama**, HIM **барам** id.; ?? WrO **barama** 'alas! woe is me! poor fellow!', ?? Kl {Rm.} **barma**, Brt **барма** 'poor fellow!' (unless \leftarrow M ***bar**-, Kl {Rm.} **bar**- 'come to an end') ¶ MED 84, Krg. 335, Chr 89 \diamond The long ***ō** in NaIE ***wōr**- may be accounted for by a metathetical variant ***У'а'R₁∇** of the pN word (or by complementary lengthening (***-'a'R₁∇**- > ***-ōr**-)).

2523. *w^ri¹rh¹ü|u¹ 'be wide\broad, expand, spread' > **HS:** S *^o✓wrh > Ar wārīh-at- adj. f. 'broad, spacious' (of a house), ✓wrh G 'be very fat' (of a woman) ¶ BK II 1525, Hv. 865 || Eg √wr, wrr 'big; be big' ¶ EG I 326-30 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} ʔur 'big, great', {E} ur 'big, large', ur-aw- 'grow up' ¶ E SC 395, MQK 113 || Ch: Ang {Flk.} wārη 'big', Su {J} wúrāη 'big', ? Gmy warr 'strength' | Glm wur- v. 'surpass' ¶¶ OS #2529 (Eg, Ch, Irq), ≈ IS II 109-10 || **IE** {E} *werHu- (nom. *wer¹Hu-s, gen. *wer¹Hou-s) 'broad', *werH-os- 'breadth' > OI u¹ru-ḥ, Av vouru-š 'wide, broad', Oss I wārāχ, Oss D uruχ 'broad, spacious' ||| mt.: Gk εὐρύς 'wide, broad', εὐρος ntr. 'breadth' ¶ WPI 285, P 1165, M KI 110, M EI 227, Ab. IV 90-1, FI 592-3 || **K** (+ext.): GZ *w^oṛç- 'be broad, wide' > OG, G vrc- v. 'widen'; ⇨ GZ *^ow^oṛç-el- 'broad, wide' > Mg pirča- 'broad' (of eyes), 'branchy' (of trees) ¶ K 85-6, K² 55, FS K 127-8, FS E 137-8, Abul. 161 || **D** {tr., ʔGS} *vir₁i₁- v. 'expand, open' > Tm viri, Ml viriyuka id., Kn biri id., 'burst open', Tl viriyu id., vi. 'open', Td piry- 'be opened' (bag), 'be parted' (hair)', Kdg biri- (p. birin²-) v. 'dismantle' (house), 'open' (jackfruit), biri (p. biriç-) 'spread', Tu biriyu- vi. 'split', Prj virṅg- 'be loosened', Gnd A {Sbr.} virp- vt. 'spread', Knd vir(i)s- 'open (as a book), lay open', Krx berr- 'get out of space by expanding sidewise' ¶¶ D #5411 || **A:** Tg *bire- v. 'roll out dough' > Ul, Nn Nh birɜ-, WrMc bire- id.; ? Tg *bir(i)- v. 'spread perches' > Ewk biri- id.; ⇨ Tg *biri-ptin 'perches that are spread as flooring' > Ewk biriptir, Ud bīpti id., Orc bipti 'a tent for provision'; Tg *biri-ke₁n 'perches spread as flooring' > Lm birkən, Lm A birkən, Neg biyɜɜɜ id., WrMc biregen ~ bireken 'wattle-fence' ¶ STM I 84-5, Krm. 212 ◇ D *-r- is the reg. reflex of N *r-clusters (rather than of the intervocalic *-r-), hence the Ir. *h (attested in Ar) must belong to the N word ◇ Bm. TPN 364-5 [#400] (Eg, IE, K), ≈ IS II 109-10 (Eg, WCh < N *w^ol¹a¹ 'big, large' [i.e. N *wA¹a [or *wu|o¹a?] 'big, large; multitude', q.v.).

2523a. *wAr¹h¹∇ 'grain (of cereals)' > **HS:** Eg fXVIII wɜḥy.t 'Ertrag der Ernte, Fülle des Kornes', 'Getreide' (spec. 'Spelz') ¶ EG I 258 || SC: Irq warāri (pl. warāḥ^w) 'seed(s)' ¶ MQK 115, Blz. SCL s.v. 'seed(s)' || Ch: WCh: Kry/My {Sk.} wáré, P' {MSk.} vārí, Wrj {Sk.} wáríná, Cg {Sk.} vārín, Sir {Sk.} (ʔ)wùryí 'seed' ||| Ech: Mu {Lk.} wār 'Getreide, Korn', Kjk {DB} wār 'seed' ¶ JI II 286-7, Lk. ZSS 186, Blz. EChWL #72 || **IE:** Ht {Ts.} warwatna- 'seed, posterity', (?) Lw {Ivn. ← ?} warwalan id. ¶

Ivn. SL 154, Ts. W 102 (hyp.: *warwatna-* ← Lw) || D: [1] **var-* 'rice' > Tm, Tl *var i* 'paddy', Prj pl. *verčilid.*, *vars pīru* 'rice straw', Ml *var i* 'wild-growing rice with rough beards' || [2] **varak-* 'millet' > Tm *varaku* id., Ml *varaku* 'Paspalum frumentacium (a kind of millet)', Kn *baraga*, *baragu* id., 'Indian millet', Tl *varaga*, EpTl *vrυvu* 'hog millet (*Panicum miliaceum*)' ¶ D ##526O, 5265 ◇ D *-r- (regularly from N *r-clusters) and Eg ĥ suggest the presence of a N Ir. Eg ĥ and the AnIE loss of the Ir. suggest that it was N *h̥.

2524. *wirχ∇ '€ tree' ('Populus', 'Alnus', or sim.) > K: GZ **werχw-* 'aspen' > OG *verχu* {Abul.} 'aspen' or 'white poplar (*Populus alba*)', G *verχv-*, Mg *veχ-* 'aspen'; (G → ?) Sv: Ln *werχw*, L *werχw-la*, UB *yerχw*, UB/KB/L *yerχw-la*, LB *erχw(-la)* id. ¶¶ K 84, K² 52, Abul. 157 (translates OG *verχu* into G as 'aspen', but into L as '*Populus alba*'), TK 639 || IE: NaIE **werno-*, *wernā* {EI} 'alder (*Alnus barbata*)', {P} 'alder, poplar' > Mcd {Hs.} ἄλιζα 'white poplar' || pAl {O} **werna* > Al T/G *verr* 'alder' || OIr *fern*, OCrn *guern-en* 'alder', W, Br *gwern* 'alder wood', W *gwernin* ~ {LP} *gwernen* 'alder'; Gl → VL **verna* > It P *verna*, Prv *verna*, Ctl *vern*, Fr Lr *ver(n)*, *verñe* 'alder' || Arm **գերաւ** *geran* 'beam, rafter, joist' (not 'alder', as in EI!) ¶ WP I 292, P 1169, EI 11, Mn. 152O, GI II 635, O 50O, LP § 72, Hm. 358, YGM-1 264, ML #9232, Slr. 294-5 || ?σ A: M **burga-sun* 'willow, osier; willow branches' > WrM *burgasu(n)*, HIM *бургаас(ан)*, *бургас* id., 'twigs of willow; brushwood', Ord *b_u'rgasu'* 'saule des dunes', WrO *burçasu* 'willow, rosewillow', Kl *бурһсн* 'pussy-willow', {Rm.} *burçasñ* 'Strauch, Weidenbusch', Brt *бургааһа(н)* 'twig, (long) dry branch, rod (прут, хворостина, лоза)', 'willow, shrubs', ?σ MM [S] {H} *burçasun* 'elm bark', ?? MM [MA] {Pp.} *burçasut* pl. 'leaves' ¶ MED 137, Ms. O 98, H 22, Pp. MA 125, Krg. 372, KRS 12O, KW 62, Chr. 113 || Tg **burgan*, **burgak* '(poplar\willow) grove, thicket' > Ewk Tt 'poplar brushwood', Ewk Clm *burgan* 'grove on riverbank', Ewk Δ *burgan* 'thicket on a riverbank', Sln *bur'gan* 'grove', *buggã* ~ *burgã* 'purple or rose willow', Lm *burgaγ* 'poplar\willow grove', Ork *buda* 'willow brushwood', Nn B *boyga mōnt* 'purple\rose willow', WrMc *buzan* 'forest\grove in the plain' ¶ STM I 111 || D **vir∇-* 'sebesten (a kind of tree)' > Tm *viracu*, *viricu*, *virucu* 'large sebesten', *virivan* 'common sebesten', Ml *virisú* '€ tree', Tl *virigi* '*Cordia sebestena*' ¶¶ D #54O8 ◇ M and Tg *u may be explained by labialization of the

original vw. (caused by the heritage of N *w-) and by its depalatalization (due to regr. as., caused by the M and Tg vw. *a of the second syll.) ◇ BmK 614 (*wir-/*wer- > K, IE, D).

2525. *w∇r_{ly}'E' 'another', *yi w∇r_{ly}'E' 'one and another one' (→ 'two') (N *yi 'a couple' [→ a marker of dual] + N *w∇r_{ly}E 'another') > K *yōr- 'two' > OG, G or-i, G Ing {Schm.} oōr-i, G G {Ghl.} vor-i (= wori?), Mg žir-i ~ ẓ̌ir-i, Lz žur-i & ẓ̌ur-i, Sv: UB yōr-i, yōr-u, yeru (dat. yarw), LB yori (dat. yarw), L yeru, Ln yerbi ¶¶ K 149, FS K 243, FS E 267-8, Schm. 129, Ghl. 227, TK 640, GP 238, Dn. s.v. yeru || HS: C: Bj {R} wēr, 'wārī 'another, second', {Rop.} wēr '(an)other' || Ag *ʔarī/*ʔarī, {Ap.} *ʔari / *ʔali (*-l- < *-r-/-) 'other' > Bln ʔari-x^w, Km ayə-ʔ^w, Aw ʔlī-w ¶ Ap. AV 2, R WB 45, R WBd 245, Rop. 248, E PC #579 || D *ir- 'two' > Tm, Ml iru (before cns.) / īr (before vw.) adj. 'two', Tm iranṭu, Ml ranṭu 'two', Kt ir, Td, Kdg i'r 'two' (bound form: Kt ir vād 'twenty', ir paṇy '2 paṇy measures', Td i'r q̄r, Kdg i'r aṇḍi '2 years'), Kn iru / ir / ik / īr adj. 'two', Tu irъ, ir- 'two, double, both', Tl iru-, īr- (in some cds.: iru-vādī 'twenty'), Klm, Nkr iddar '2 men', Klm iral, Nk iral '2 women', Prj irḍu, Gdb inḍi '2 things', Prj, Gdb irul '2 men', iral '2 women', Knd riʔ-/ri-, Png, Mnd, Kui ri, Ku rī & ri 'two', Krx irb, Mlt iwr '2 persons', Brh irat, irā- 'two' ¶¶ D #474 || A: T *ör-gä 'another' (originally dat. of **ör 'another?') > OT (?), Chg özgä 'other, other than, different', Tk özge, Tkm əzge öḍge, Az, ET özgä, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq özge, VTt üzgä, Uz wzga, Qrg özgö, Alt öskö, Tv öske ¶ Cl. 263, DTS 395, Rs. W 377, ET Gl 508-9, UzR 579 ¶ The T word belongs here unless we accept the etymological hyp. of Bu. and Rl. interpreting NaIE *öz-gä as the dative case of *öz 'oneself' || M *örexe ≈ 'otherwise' > MM [S] {H} oreʔe (= öre_e) 'anders, besonders'; M *öreveli, *örevel-sün 'one out of a pair' > WrO öröli, Kl {Rm.} örəl, Brt γρөөл(ə) id., 'an equal half', MM [HI] öre_elsün {Lew.} 'qui n'est pas double, qui est seul d'un pair, impair, unique', Kl өрәсн öräsən, {Rm.} örēsṇ† 'one of a pair', WrM örüge(l)sün, HIM өрөөсөн, Ord örösön id., 'odd'; M *örevel 'half' > MM [MA] örēle, WrO örölö, Kl өрәл öräl id., WrM örügel, HIM өрөөл 'half of a carcass' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 84, Lew. II 69, Pp. MA 277, MED 643-4, Krg. 149, Ms. O 539, KRS 422, KW 298, Chr. 513 || Tg *urē- 'resemble' > Ewk urē- id., v. 'echo', Lm urēç, Ork urəç 'resembling, similar, equal to' ¶ STM II 289 ¶¶ DQA #1579 (A *örē 'other, one of two') ◇ D *-r- points

to a N cns. cluster (*r + another cns.), so that the D and T ev. may be consiliated by postulating N *-ry- ◇ The labialized vw. in T, M, and Tg is not necessarily original, because it may be caused by the ass. infl. of N *w-.

2526. *wORD ▽ 'grow' (trans.), 'raise, bring up (children\animals)' > IE: NaIE *wredh-/*werdh- 'grow', *wordh^o-s 'grown, full-grown, upright, high', *wrdh- 'raised, upright, high' > OI 'vardhati 'increases, augments, strengthens', 'vardha-h₁ adj. 'augmenting', m. 'increase', ūrdh¹va₁h₁ 'raised, upright', Av varədō adj. 'growing', NPrs {Sg.} 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 vāīā 'exalted, eminent, high', 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 bāīā 'high; height', 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎 bāīdān 'to grow, to wax great' (< *werdh-), Oss I wərdəg, Oss D urdug adj. 'vertical, perpendicular (отвечный)' || Gk ὀρθός, Δ Forθός & βορθός 'straight, erect' || Arm արդակ arḏak adj. 'smooth, even' || ON varði m., varðaf. 'cairn' || pTc *wrāt- > Tc: B wrāt- '≈ shape, form', A wrātal in sne-wrātal 'formlessness' || BSI (×IE *^gordh- < N *z^ge^grd ▽ 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear', q.v. ffd.): Ltv rādīt 'create, produce, give birth to', Sl *rodi-ti (prs. *rodj-q) 'give birth to' (ffd. see N *z^ge^grd ▽) ¶ P 1167, Mn. 1578, 1598, EI 249 (*wredh- 'grow, stand, take shape'), M K III 157-8, M E II 520-1, Horn 39-40, Vl. II 140, Ab. IV 121-2, F II 415-6, ME III 462, Vs. III 492, Xud. I 167, Vr. 645, Ad. 616 || U: FP *wort ▽ vt. 'rear \ raise \ bring up (e.g., domestic animals, children)' > Chr: L урда- urḏa- 'keep\rear\raise (e.g. animals)', Kz urḏe-, Y wərḏe-, YU {Bk.} wərḏe- 'erziehen\halten (Vieh, Bienen, Diener, ein fremdes Kind)' | pPrm *verd- 'bring up, feed' > Z verd-, Yz 'verd- 'feed', Vt vord+ 'bring up'; ?? pPrm *verd- 'give birth' > Z Δ verd- id., Vt vordsk+ 'be born' ¶ U EB 183-5, Ü 230, LG 52; qu. UEW 825 and It. #401 (FU ← Ary) || A: M *borda- ~ *bordu- 'fatten (animals)' > WrM borda- ~ bordu-, HIM бордо- id., 'fertilize the soil', Kl борд- id., {Rm.} borda- 'mästen, fett und dick machen', WrO {Krg.} bordo- 'fatten up, feed so as to slaughter; get fat', Brt бордо- 'fatten up', Ord b_ord_0- 'nourrir de graines farineuses'; M → Chg {Rm.} borda- 'fett und dick sein' ¶ MED 120, Ms. O 80, Krg. 356, KRS 111, KW 51, Chr. 105 || ?? HS: S *^owar₁ ▽₁d- *'boy', *^owar₁ ▽₁d-at- 'girl' (if ← *'erzeugtes Kind') > Ak fOAK (w)ard-u(m) 'servant, slave', (w)ardatu(m) 'girl, young woman' ¶ Sd. 1464-6 ◇ IS MS 335 (IE, U).

2527. (₂?) *woRkê 'to make' > IE: NaIE *werǵ- 'do, make, work' > Av varəz- 'act, do, make', NPrs وړزیدن vārzīdān {Sg.} 'to labour, to endeavour; to exercise, to perform; to sow', {Vl.} 'strenuum\assiduum esse in agendo, factitare, exercere', بړزیدن bārzīdān 'to sow; persevere', بړز bārz 'seed, agriculture', وړز vārz id., 'trade, art, craft; custom, habit', {Vl.} 'labor asiduus; opificium', KhS valys- v. 'work, cause' ||| Arm գործ gorc 'work, affair, deed' ||| Gk ἔργον, ἔργον n. 'work', ὄργανον 'instrument\tool of doing sth., organ', ἔρδω 'do' ({F} < *F éργλω) / pfc. ἔοργα, Gk Cp aor. ἔFεργα; Gk ῥέλω 'do, act, deal' ({F} < *wǵǵ-y-) ||| Clt: OBr guerg 'efficax', MW guereit, gwreith 'deed' ||| ON, NNr, Dn verk, Sw verk, vārĳ, OHG werc ~ werah, NHG Werk, AS weorc ~ worc n. 'work', NE work n.; Gt waúrĳjan, ON yrĳja / p. orta, NNr yrĳja, Sw yrĳe, OSx wirkian, OHG wërĳkōn 'to work, to act', OHG U wurchen / p. wor(a)hta, OHG F wirĳan ~ wirĳen / p. war(a)hta, NHG wirĳen, AS wyrĳan / p. worhte v. 'work, do', NE work v. ||| Tc wārĳšäl, Tc B wārĳšäl 'power, energy' ¶ WP I 290-1, P 1168-9, EI 649 (*werǵ-, prs. *wǵǵeye/o- 'work'), Dv. #540, Brtl. 1374-9, Sg. 173-4, 1462-3, Bai. 379, FI 54, Flr. 189, LP § 491.5, Vr. 656, 679, Fs. 555, Ho. 390, 411, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1180, OsS 1122-4, 1128-9, 1168, KM 854, 862, Slr. 144-6, Ad. 579-80 ||| U: FU {Ber.} *worke 'sew' > pChr {Ber.} *wurĳa- ({Ber.} *wurĳā-) id. > Chr: L yrĳe- ur'ĳe (inf. yrĳaw ur'ĳ-aš), Uf/B urĳe-, H yrĳe- ырĳe- (inf. ырĳaw 'ырĳ-aš); Chr: L wurĳem wur'ĳ-em, Uf/B wurĳem, H вырĳем 'wырĳ-em 'cloth' ||| Prm *vur- 'sew' > Z vurны vur-nĳ, Vt vurыны vur-inĳ 'to sew' ||| Hg varr- 'sew' ¶ UEW 584-5, Ber. 82, MRS 82, 89, 632, 764, Ep. 166, LG 70, MF 674-5 ||| ?σ HS: S *°√wrk > Ar √wrĳ G 'be able to do', {BK} 'être de force et au delà pour faire (telle ou telle chose)', D warraka řalā 'être de force à faire qch.' ¶ BK II 1523-4, Hv. 864.

2528. ₂ *werǵǵ 'branches, leaves of a tree' > HS: S *¹waraĳ- 'branches, leaves of a tree' > Ar وراق waraq- 'leaves of a tree, foliage' (→ 'sheet of paper'), √wrĳ G {BK} 'être branchu, avoir des branches longues' (a tree), {Hv.} 'put forth leaves' (a tree), OA yrĳ 'verdure', JA [Trg.] ירקא yar'ĳ-ā n. 'green, herb, vegetables', adj. 'green', JEA yar'ĳ-ā 'vegetables', BHb, MHb ירק 'yerεĳ id. (→ MHb ירוק yā'rōĳ 'green'), Sr يارق yar'ĳā (abs. ييرق yī'rεĳ) 'a herb, vegetables', Sb

wrk 'vegetable crops', Ak (w)arku 'gelbgrün, Grünes', Ug yrk {A} 'Gelbes, Gold', {OLS} 'amarillo verdoso' (un metal, oro); Qt {Rk.} wrk '(piece of) gold', Sb wrk, Gz warq 'gold, gold coin' (← 'yellow' ← 'green'), OYmn (= Hmr?) wrk ({Slw.} wariq-) 'silver, money', Ar (← OSA or Eth) warq- ~ wirq- ~ wurq- 'argent monnayé'; ⇨ (?) *✓wrk 'be green' > Ak ✓wrk G 'gelbgrün\faul sein\werden', MHb/JA {Js.} ✓yrk Sh (MHb pf. ק'ר'ר'ה hō'r īk, JA ק'ר'ר'א ḳō'r īk) 'be light-coloured, pale, green, yellow', Sr ✓yrk G 'be\grow pale', yar'kān, yar'kā'nā 'yellowish, pale yellow', {Br.} yurā'k-ā 'viridis, lividus' ¶ BK II 1522-3, Hv. 864, HJ 471, KB 420-1, Sd. 1463-4, 1470-1, Js. 597-8, Lv. T I 345-6, Sl. 543, Br. 309-10, JPS 197, BGMR 162, Rk. 56, Slw. 219-20, L G 618, A #1247, OLS 538, DRS 632-4 || Eg √ wɜɜɜ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food) (× N *wi'ḷ'kaʔ∇ 'wet, moist' [q.v.]) > DEg wt 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B oγwt uōt id. ¶ EGI 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ¶¶ Tk. I 319-20 (sceptical about the Eg - S connection) || D *veɣ∇k- 'firewood' (← *'branches used as fuel?') > Tm viraku, virāy, Knd veɣgu, Png vezgu, Mnd viyke, Kui veʒu, veʒgu, Ku vergu ɘ vegū ɘ vegu ɘ weggu 'firewood, fuel', Ml viruku, Kt verg, Td berk, Krg biʒi 'firewood', Tu birirji 'slender pieces of firewood', Gnd verrki ɘ vark ɘ verk ɘ vaxk, vexki 'fuel, stick of firewood' ¶¶ D #5440.

2529. (₂?) *weraH₁∇₁t∇ 'root, sinew' > IE: NaIE *wrād-/*w_orād-/*w_orād-/*wrād- 'branch, twig, rod, root' > Gk ῥάδιξ (gen. ῥάδικος) 'branch, frond', ῥάδαμος 'young twig', ῥίζα, Gk L ῥίζα 'roots' (← *ῥέδια) || L rādīx (gen. rādīcis) 'root' || pAl {O} *wradhā > Al: T rrēnjē, G rranjē 'root' || Clt: Brtt {RE} *wradys 'root' > W gwreiddyn (coll. gwraidd), OCm [ɣ] grueiten, Crn gwredhen, OBr {Flr.} ureid, MBr gwruizyenn, Br gwrizienn id.; W gwrysg 'halm', {P} 'Äste, Zweige'; OIr frén 'root' (← *wɣd-0-); OIr frém (← *wɣd-mā) id., W greddf 'instinct, intuition' (← 'root'), greddf 'take root' || Gt waurts 'root', ON urt, OSx wurt, AS wyr t 'root, herb (Kraut)', OHG wurz, NHG Wurz 'herb, spice, root', cd.: AS wyr twalu 'root' (lit. 'Kraut-stock'), OHG wurzala, NHG Wurzel, MDt wortele, Dt wortel 'root'; ON rót (← *wrād-) (→ ME rōt > NE root), Sw rot, Dn rod id. || An unknown (Irn?) lge. → Sr ܘܪܝܕܐ warīd-ā 'blood vessel, sinew', MHb ܘܪܝܕܐ wārīd 'blood vessel, jugular vein' and Ar warīd- 'jugular vein' (the cns. d [for the

expected *t if the word is an inherited S cognate] and Aram/MHb w- [that are ruled out in inherited S words] suggest that these words are loans from an IE lge.) ¶ WP I 228, P 1167, ≈ EI 80 (*wr(h_h)d-, *wr(e)h_hd- 'root, branch'), F II 637-8, 655, WH II 415, O 384, LP § 44, Bc. 522, RE 123, Hm. 366, YGM-1 273, Fs. 556, Vr. 452, 636, Vr. N 847, Kb. 1236-7, OsS 1218-9, KM 870, Ho. 412, Ho. S 91, Br. 186, Js. 375-6, BK II 151, Hv. 863 || ? A: Tg d. *bartukin 'rope' (× N *warʔ^u or *waʔr^u 'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], q.v.) > Nn Nh bartoxĩ, Ul batuxu(n-) 'rope, cable', Neg batuxun, Orc bātuxā ~ bātuxi, Ud {SDM} batixi 'rope' ¶ STM I 77 || D *vēr- 'root' > Tm, Ml vēr, Kt, Klm ve·r, Td pō·r, Kn bēr(α), Kdg be·rī, Tu bērъ, Tl vērα, Nkr, Gdb vēr, Prj vār, Knd vēla ~ vēla, Ku {Fzg., Isr.} veʔla 'root' ¶¶ D 5535 ◇ Tg *a may be due to the heritage of N *warʔ^u or *waʔr^u. D *-r- and *ē suggest that *ē- in the D root goes back to pre-Dravidian *-erH∇- < (syncope) N *-eraH∇-.

2530. *wⁱR₃∇ 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb, etc.)' > K: GZ *werǰ- 'ram' > OG, G verǰ-, Mg erǰ- id. ¶ K 84, FS 123 || IE: NaIE *wersē-/ī- '(young) herbivorous mammal' > Lt veršis 'calf', Ltv versis 'ox, cattle', Pru dim. werstian 'calf' || L verrēs / -is 'a boar' || Ir (× IE *wers- 'male'): OI vṛṣaḥ 'bull', Av varəšni 'male, ram' || ? pTc {Ad.} cd. *keṽ-wārsän 'bull' (lit. 'bull-calf' or 'bull-male') (× IE *wers- 'male') > Tc: A kaṽurṣ, B kaṽurṣe 'bull' ¶ WP I 269, WH II 761, M K III 251-2, M E II 575-6, Frn. 1228-9. En. 273, Ad. 212, ≈ EI 363 (*ⁱwersēn 'male [as sire]') || A *biṛa(gu) 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb, etc.)' (× N *bⁱAⁱṣ∇r∇ 'ungulate') > T *biṛagu (or *buṛagu?) ({SDM} *buṛagu) 'calf' > OT, OOsM buzaṽu, MQp buzaṽu ~ buzaṽu, [CC] buzaṽ 'calf', Chg buzaṽu ~ buzag ~ buzaṽ 'young of a cow\buffalo', Az buzoṽ 'calf of the first 6 months of its life', Δ bizō 'two-years-old calf', Tk buzaǰı, Ggz buzā, Qmq buzaṽ, VTt бозаṽ bōzaṽ, Bsh бѳаṽ, Qzq бѳзаṽ būzaṽ, Qq, Nog bizaw ~ buzaṽ, Qrg muzō, Alt biza ᄅ bozu, Uz buzaṽ, ET mozaṽ, Xk pizo, Shor piṽa, Tv biṽā, Chv L пѳру рѳру (obl. пѳрѳв- рѳрѳv-), Chv Δ рѳрѳv, Chv H рѳру (Chv {Md.} рѳру) 'calf' ¶ Rs. W 74-5, Cl. 391, Shch. Zh 100-1, ET B 239-42, TL 438-9, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 402-3, Md. 57, 175 (T *buṛagu). In my opinion, the original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *i, which in many T lgs. was labialized to *u by as. to the adjacent *b- || M *biṛaṽun 'calf' > MM [S] buṛaṽu 'two-year-old calf', [MA] burū 'three-

year-old calf', WrM *biragu(n)*, HIM *бярү* *barū*, Kl *бүрү* *bürü*, {Rm.} *bürū*, Ord {Ms.} *b_īrū'* 'calf of a second year', Brt *бүрү* *burū* 'calf of the first year', 'young bear\lynx\elk\deer (of the first year)', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} *buraūl* 'two-year-old cow', *buraγul* 'three- or 'four-year-old cow', Mnr M {Pot.} *pīru* 'calf'; M *↳ ?* Yk *borōsku ~ borōsko* 'calf (after its first 4-5 months)' ¶ MED 106, H 22, Pp. MA 126, Chr. 114, KW 60, KRS 130, Iw. 93, SM 36, T 320; in some M lgs. the original *vw. *i* was labialized to *u* due to the infl. of *b-* || Tg **°bjaru* (or *← M?*) > Ewk: Np *bēru*, Tkm *bēranki* 'sheep', Ewk Olkm/Tng *borē* 'ram' ¶ STM I 78 || pKo {S} **puruk* 'young bull' > MKo *puruk-so* (*so* 'cow'), NKo *purugi* ¶ S QK #1153, MLC 813 || pJ {S} **pítú-nsí* 'sheep' > OJ *píítúǰí*, ItOJ [RJ] *pítúǰí*, J: T *hìcuǰí*, K *hícúǰí*, Kg *hicúǰí* ¶ S QJ #330, Mr. 411 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. **bīṽrṽ* 'calf, lamb', SDM97 (A **bär'í* id.), DQA #136 (A **bjǰóru* id.), Pp. VG 21, 60, 81, 131, 146-7, KW 60 || HS: S **√wrz* > Gz *warēzā* 'young' (of humans and animals), 'young man', Tgr *w3reza* 'young man', OAk *urāṣ-um*, Ak OB/MB/MA *urīṣ-um* 'billy-goat' ¶ LG 619, Sd. 1430-1 ¶ The Ak glottalization of the sibilant (*ṣ* for the expected *z*) is puzzling || EC: Rn {PG} *ûr* 'bull, male camel', HEC {Hd.} **warʔe* 'young female calf' > Sd *wa'r-iččö* (pl. *wa'dda*) 'female calf', Hd *wēʔ-iččö* 'young female calf', pl. *wa'la* 'young calves'; Sd *war-āmo* 'older male calf; ox, bull' ¶ PG 241, Hd. 35, 302-3, 400 ¶ The disappearance of the reflex of **ǰ* is still to be explained ◊ AD GD #40 (IE, K, A [T, M]). Here A **-r'* presumably goes back to pre-Altaiic ***-rj-* < N **-rǰ-* (unless the N cluster was **-rǰ-*).

2531. (2?) **√WR3ṽ - *√W3ṽRṽ* 'to pour, to flow' > IE **√wers-* / **√wors-* > NaIE **√wers-* 'rain, dew' > OI *varṣati* 'it rains', *var'ṣa-* 'rain, rainy season, year', Av *aīβi-varšta-* 'beregnet, worauf es geregnet hat', Krd *wäšt* *wīšani* 'rain' || Gk *έρση, έέρση* 'dew' || OIr *frass* {Thr.} 'rain', {P} 'rain, shower (of rain)' || Ht *warsa* 'rainfall', Lw *warsa-* 'drop' ¶¶ WP I 261, ≈ P I 81 (IE **wers-* < **awer-* 'water'), ≈ WH II 761, M K III 160, M E II 522-3, F I 567, Thr. 131, Ts. W 102, Lar. 108, ≈ EI 477 (**h₁wers-* 'rain') || HS: B **√wzr* (× N **ǰûr'û'* 'to stream') > Kb inv. *əzzər* v. 'couler; aller au fond' ¶ Dl. 952 || ?ϕ A: M ≈ **°bursu* > MM [L] *برسو* {Pp.} *bursu*, [MA] *bursu* 'river' ¶ Pp. L II 1265, Pp. MA 125 ◊ M **-s-* < *** -z-* (loss of the obstruent part of N **ǰ* in the postconantal position?) ◊ On N and pIE **√-* see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2531a. $_2$ *wA \acute{r} ∇ 'way, path' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road') > **HS** *w∇r- > Eg ∇ ω β .t 'way' ¶ EG I 246-7, ≈ Vc. 231 || Ch: WCh: Gmr {Gw.} war, Kfr {Nt.} wár 'road' || ? CCh: Zm {Sa.} várì, {ChL} vari id. ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh. #793, ChC, ChL, Nt. s.v. wár || ?? SC: Rft *√?∇r- > Irq {MQK} ?irwā 'path', Grw {Wh.} ú \acute{r} úwa (pl. ú \acute{r} du) 'path, way' (unless from *√?rχ 'road' < N *?u|or∇q∇ 'path, way') ¶ OS #122 (pRft *?uruw-), Wh. IC 24, MQK 57 ¶¶ ≈ OS #122 (incl. Gmy and Grw; does not distinguish this HS root from *√?rχ 'road') || **D:** SD *va \acute{r} i 'way, road' > Tm, Ml va \acute{r} i id., 'path', Kn ba \acute{r} i 'way, road', Tu ba \acute{r} i 'lineage, descent' ¶ D #5297 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [#104] (incl. the D and HS cognates; unc. his other equations: with the FV *ura 'way, path' [< N *?u|or∇q∇ '↑'], with T *oram 'street' and M * \acute{h} oram 'trace, trail' [most probably < A *por∇m 'trace', cf. Ko por \wedge m 'sign, trace', see Rm. SKE 206]).

2532. *wû \acute{r} û 'to scrape' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to plough') > **IE** *w \acute{o} r \acute{w} - > **[1]** NaIE * \acute{o} \acute{r} \acute{w} -/* \acute{o} \acute{r} \acute{w} - 'plough, dig up' > L ver \acute{v} -ag-ō 'brachen' ({Mn.} 'plough up - a fallow'), ver \acute{v} -actum 'newly turned fallow' || NIr fearb 'a stripe' (× N *zó \acute{r} û [or *zó \acute{r} û] 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas') || **[2]** NaIE *w \acute{o} r \acute{w} o-s 'furrow, ditch' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'boundary-ditch' → 'boundary') > Gk: Mc ω \acute{o} -ω \acute{o} , {ChB} w \acute{o} \acute{r} \acute{w} o- '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], A ὄρος, I οὐρος, Crc {Hofm.} Gk Crc hor \acute{f} os, ὄρβος, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} ὄρ \acute{f} os 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar ὄρος, Gk οὐρον 'boundary, limit', Gk Hm οὐροί pl. 'trenches\channels for hauling up ships and launching them again' || L (amb-)ur \acute{v} ā- 'surround (a territory) by a boundary-ditch', [Y] ur \acute{v} us 'circuitus civitatis', Osc ur \acute{v} ú {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?]) || NIr forba 'glebeland' || Lt ū \acute{r} vas 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv ur \acute{v} a 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' || ?? OI ū \acute{r} 'va \acute{h} 'dungeon' (⇔ M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denies the connection of ū \acute{r} 'va \acute{h} with this IE √]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (*w \acute{o} r \acute{w} os 'furrow'), ≠ WP II 352-3, F II 425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54, 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 || **U** *w \acute{u} r| \acute{d} a- > Sm {Jn.} *w \acute{b} ra \acute{a} -, {Hl.} *w \acute{b} ra- vt. 'scrape, plane' > Ne T vā \acute{p} a- 'make wood shavings by scraping a birch-tree', Ne T O {Lh.} βar \acute{a} 'schaben (mit dem Messer, usw.)', Ne F {Lh.} βorr \acute{a} -ś id.; Ng {Cs.} ls obcj. aor. bara \acute{a} ama 'scrape'; En {Cs.}: X 'borabo, B 'borabo 'schaben'; ?φ Slq Tz {KIH} qorsan 'adze' (q- for the expected k-); Mt

{Hl.} d. (r-freq.) *barar- 'scrape' (Mt M {Sp.} барарнамъ 'I scrape [скоблю]') ¶ Jn. 170, Ter.45, KKH 163, Hl. M #101 || D *uṛu- v. 'plough, dig up' > Tm uṛu v. 'plough, dig up, scratch', Ml uṛuka, Td uṣf-, Kn uṛ-, Kdg uṛ-], Tu uṛu-, Prj, Gnd uṛ-, Gdb uṛ-, Png, Mnd, Ku ṛū-, Krx uṛ-, uy- v. 'plough', Kt ug- (p. uṛt-) id., 'be ploughed', Klm, Nkr ur- v. 'harrow, plough', Knd ṛū- v. 'plough, till soil', Kui ṛūva v. 'plough', ūṛa 'dig up with snout, root up', Mlt use v. 'turn up the soil (as pigs do)' ¶¶ D #688 || A *ūr|rūṛub, whet' > M *ürü- 'rub' (× A *p'ūrE 'crush, tear to pieces') > WrM ūrū-, HIM ṽpə-(×) v. 'rub; grate, file', Brt ṽpə-(×ə) id., 'whet', Ord {Ms.} ūrū- 'frotter, aiguiser, limer, émietter', Kl ṽp- vt. 'card (wool), scutch' ('чесать, трепать'), {Rm.} ūr-χə 'zer-|ab-reiben, feilen, raspeln'; Rm. and Pp. postulate here M *φ- (*φürü-) which is unj., because in MM and the h/φ-preserving M lgs. no traces of *φ- have been attested ¶ MED 1013, Chr. 514, Ms. O 763, KRS 555, KW 459 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1864 (A *p'ūrī|e 'to crush' > M ÷ unc. Tg *puru-, *purgu- 'crush', T *ūr- 'tear, pull apart \ to pieces', pKo *pīr 'in pieces, in crumbs'), ≠: Pp. VG 111, 132, Rm. EAS I 54, 56, 216, Rm. SKE 216, Posch AAI 283-4, IS II 101 (all of them connect the M word with A *pürü 'crush') ◇ h- in Gk A ὄρος (and in Hofm.'s reading of the Gk Crc word as ἡορφορ, ὄρφορ) is probably ancient, while in other Gk ds. there is psilosis (loss of h-) (see Bc. GG 52-5), therefore we must reconstruct pIE and pN *'w- (see Introduction, § 2.2.6) ◇ If the N vw. of the first syll. was *u, M *ü of the first syll. may be due to regr. as., suggesting N *'wurü. But if the vw. of the first syll. was *ü, U *u is due to as. infl. of U *a of the second syll. ◇ BmK #489 (*wur^u-/*wor^u- 'to scratch, to incise, to dig up' > IE, D, Sum uru⁴, ur¹¹(-ru) 'to plough').

2533. *wArĉv 'rub, scrape' > K: GZ *warcχ- v. 'comb' (× N *h'ūr^uχvĉv 'to scratch, to comb', q.v. ffd.) || HS: mt.: S *√wšr v. 'saw' > Ar √wšr G, Gz √wšr G id. ⇨ Gz mōšart 'a saw', Ak OA, OB šaššār u ~ šuššār u ~ šaršār u id.; μ: [1] BHb √šwr (pf. c. שׂוּר way¹yāšar) v. 'saw', [2] S *√nšr id. > MHb, JA [Trg.], Sr √nsr G v. 'saw, cut asunder', Ar √nšr G 'saw', Ak OB/OA nasru 'gesagt'; CS *manšār- 'a saw' > BHb מַשְׂאֵר maš'šōr, JA, Sr מַסְאֵר massā'r-ā, Ar minšār-, Ak YB (← Aram) massār u id. ¶ BK II 1258, 1260, 1541, GB 465, 781, KB 605, 1224, Br. G I 226 [§ 84.3], Br. 434, JPS 342, DIm. 233, ≈ Nld. NB 172, Js. 919, Lv. T II 117-8, DM 242, 302, Sd. G § 57a, Sd. 619, 753, 1198 || ?φ Eg fOK wsw v. 'saw' > DEg ws > Cpt: Sd

ΟΥΕΙΕ *ueise*, **ΒΟΥΙΣΙ** *uisi* v. 'saw, cut' ¶ EGI 258, Er. 99, Vc. 237 ¶ The Eg cognate is qu. because of the unexpected cns. **ε** (for **ξ**) || **IE** *wers-/*wors- > NaIE *wers-/*wors- {P} 'drag over the ground' > L *verr-ō* / inf. *verrēre* / pfc. *verrī* / sup. *versum* 'drag, trail, sweep, pull' || Gk ἔρρω, Gk Lr ipv. *Ἐρρέτω*, Gk El inf. *Ἐρρεν* 'go slowly, wander about; be clean gone, disappear' || ON *varr* 'stroke of the oar' || Ht *wars-* '(ab)wischen, (ab)streifen' ¶ WP I 292, P 1169-70, F I 566, WH II 761-2, Vr. 675, Ts. W 102, Frd. HW 246 || **D** {tr., **ǵGS**} *vař- 'scrape, wipe' > Tm *vaři* v. 'wipe, scrape, gather together as a pulpy mass, rub in', Ml *vařikka* v. 'wipe off, scape, polish', Td *pođy-* v. 'scrape', Kn *baři*, *boři* 'sweep together, wipe off', Tu *baři* 'smear as lime', OTl *vařaccu*, Tl *vařaccu* v. 'efface (the writing)', Tl *bađiyu* 'sweep away' ¶ D #5295 ◇ K *c for the expected *č defies explanation (a special development in a cns. cluster?). K *χ (having no parallels in S, IE, and D cognates) is likely to belong to the heritage of N *h'ü' **rx** ▽ **č** ▽ ◇ ≠ Fn. KD #4 (K, D).

2534. *wASV (= *waSV?) 'rainy weather, rainy season' > **HS**: Ch {JS} ✓ *ws₁n* 'rainy season' > WCh {Stl.} *wasun- id. > NrBc {Stl.} *wasun id., 'year' > My {Sk.} *wásšm* 'rainy season', Wrj {Sk.} *wásšnná*, Kry {Sk.} *wásšn*, My {Sk.} *wášš šân* (sc. *wášššân* or two words?), {ChL} *wššěššm*, Sir {ChC} *wásšnúwá*, Mbr {ChC} *wásšn*, Jmb {ChC} *wásšn*, ? Dir {ChC} *áššn* 'year' || SBc {Stl.} *wašun > Plc {ChL} *wáššn*, Zul {ChL} *wáššnè*, Gj {ChL} *waššn* 'rainy season', 'year' || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} *všná* 'rain', ??φ Gudu {ChC} *všěčú* 'rainy season' ¶ ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh. 238-9 [#852], Sk. NB 49, Hsk. 288 || **IE**: NaIE *wesr̥ / gen. *wesn-es 'springtime' > OI *vasan-*'ta-h id., Av *vařri* loc. 'in spring', MPrs *vahār*, NPrs *بهار* *bāhār* 'spring' || Arm **գարուն** *garun* id. (< *wesr-) || Gk ἔαρ (< *Fέαρ, reconstructed on the ev. of prosody), gen. ἔαρσ ~ ἦρος (whence nom. ἦρ), [Hs.] ὕεαρ 'spring' (< *wesar) || L *vēr* (gen. *vēris*) id. || OIr *errach* id. (lenition from *ferrach) (< *wesr-āko-), OW *guiannuin* 'in spring' (*wes-nt-ejnō-), OCrn *guaintoin* 'spring' || ON *vár*, Dn, Sw *vår*, OFrs *wars* id. || Lt *vāsara* ~ *vasarā*, Ltv *vasara* 'summer' || Sl *ves'na 'spring' > OCS, OR **вєсна** *vesna*, R, Uk **вєсна**, SCr Δ *vēsna*, Slv *vēsna*, Cz, Slk *vesna*, Cz Δ *vesno*, P *wiosna* id. ¶ WP I 301, P 1174, EI 504 (*¹wesr̥), M K III 172-3, M E II 532, Horn 56, F I 432-3, WH I 755, LP § 26.3, Vr. 644-5, Frn.

1206, Vs. I 303, Chrn. I 145-6, Ma. CS 582, Slit. 139-41 || **A:** ? M *^oosu- v. 'suffer from cold weather' > WrM osu, HIM oco- id. ¶ MED 624 || **D** (in SD) *vač- 'rain, flowing water', 'v. 'ooze' (× N *wac₁∇₁q∇ 'liquid' [esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'], 'dirt', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If M *^oosu- belongs here, the N rec. is *waS∇. On M *^o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2535. *wä₁e₁s∇ 'get tired, be(come) weary\troubled' > **U:** FU (att. in FL) *^owäs∇ 'get tired\exhausted' > F väsüä 'to get tired\weary', {Hkl.} † 'abgenutzt werden', Krl A väzüö, Krl Ld väzüdü, Vp väzüdü, Vo väsüä 'ermüden', Es väsi-, Δ {W} väsü- 'get tired' | pLp {Lr.} *vēs₃- id. > LpL {LLO} viessat 'be exhausted', N {N} viessät, Kld vīssaō 'get tired' ¶ SK 1847-8, ≈ Hkl. Fv 113-5, W EDW 1335, Lr. #1413, Lgc. #8693, LLO 1409 || **D** *vēč- 'be weary, get tired' > Tm vēcaru 'be weary \ fatigued \ vexed', vēca(:)ṭaj 'sorrow', Ml Δ vēcaru 'anxiety', Kn bējāru 'weariness (from fatigue, pain, vexation)', bēsar(u) 'grow weary\fatigued', Kdg be·ṣa·ra 'sorrow', Tu be(:)jārᵝ, be(:)sārᵝ, Tl vēsaṭa 'weariness, fatigue', Tl vēsa(:)ru 'be troubled \ fatigued', Krg bisirige 'homesickness' ¶¶ Some items (Kn, Kdg, Tu) may go back to modern IAr lgs. (e.g. Hindi bē-zār 'sick' ← NPRs zār 'weak, emaciated') ¶¶ **D** #5524 || **HS:** WS *✓wṛš ~ *✓ṛš v. 'despair' > BHb ✓wṛš N (pf. ṣṣṣṣ nōṛaš, prtc. ṣṣṣṣ nōṛāš) 'despair', BHb ✓ṛš (< *✓wṛš) D 'make despair', JA [Trg.] ✓ṛš (< *✓wṛš) D 'verzweifeln machen\lassen, zur Verzweiflung bringen', ṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣ-ā {Lv.} 'Verzweiflung, Desperation', {Js.} 'despair', JPA Bz {Sl.} ✓ṛš TD 'abandon hope', JEA {Sl.} ✓ṛš TD 'abandon a claim', SmA ṣṣ n. 'despair', mṣṣ muṣṣ 'desperate', Ar ✓ṛš G (pf. ṣṣṣṣ ~ ṣṣṣṣ, ip. [Qm.] ṣṣṣṣ) 'désespérer de, perdre tout espoir de', ✓ṛš G id., Gz ✓ṛš (js. ṣṣṣṣ) 'waste away, languish' ¶ BDB 384, Fr. I 75 and IV 514, BK I 74 and II 1621, KB 364, Js. 560, Lv. T I 324, Sl. 521, Sl. P 233, Tal 328, L G 5 ¶ The Ar cns. *ṣ- in the pf. ṣṣṣṣ ~ ṣṣṣṣ (for the expected w-) may be due to the root reinterpretation in the form of ip. (where the morphophonemic opposition [w] ↔ [ṣ] was neutralized). Similar reinterpretation may have brought about the transformation of *✓wṛš into *✓ṛš (due to the loss of *w in the intervoc. position in some verbal forms) ◇ The D vw. (*e for the expected *a < N *ä) suggests the presence of a N front vw. *-e- after the lr. ◇ Schrd. DU 95 (FU, D), IS MS 370 (BF, D).

2536. (₂?) *w²ns₁ŋ₁ (= *w²us₁ŋ₁?) 'wide, vast' > HS *¹ws₁ > WS *¹ws₁ > Ar ¹ws₁ (pf. wasīfa ~ wasuīfa) 'be broad \ ample \ wide', Sb ¹ws₁ oSwuw 'amply supply (with water)', as well as possibly (σ) Hb d. ¹ws₁ 'yešāf, M'b ¹ws₁ 'deliverance, salvation', BHb, M'b, SmA ¹ws₁ *Sh* 'save, deliver' ¶ BK II 1534, Hv. 869, KB 427-8, HJ 476, Tal 364, BGMR 162, DRS 648 || Eg OK wsχ 'wide' ¶ EG I 364-5 ¶¶ Tk. I 326 (Eg ω...χ < *w...f) || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *wasd^h- 'wide, long' > L vastus 'vast, enormous' || OIr fōt 'length', fōtae 'long', Ir fad 'length', fada 'long', Mx foddey id. ¶ P 1113-4, WH II 737, Thr. §§ 80, 345, Dnn. 269-90 || ??σ U: FU *^ow^ous₁ŋ₁ > ObU {Ht.} *wūs- 'yawn' > pVg *ūsant- > Vg: T ōsant-, LK ūsant-, LL/Ss ūsint-, P ūsantōl- id.; pOs *wus- id. > Os: Km os- id., d.: V/Vy us+|-, Ty/Y us+|- id., Nz usīyt-, Kz wūsīfā-, D wāses-, K uses- id. ¶ Ht. #720, Trj. S 503-4 ◇ The absence of the expected *ə in NaIE needs explaining. It may be suggested that the reflex of N *f merged with adjacent consonants (e.g., *f-t > **d > IE *d^h-).

2537. *was₁ŋ₁t₁ŋ₁ 'place inside' > HS: S *¹wašit₁- (~*wašat₁-?) 'middle' > Ar was₁t₁- 'midst, middle', d. wasat₁- 'intermediate, middling', Sb, Mn tSwuw wš₁t₁ n. 'middle, midst', Qt tSwuw wš₁t₁ 'in, in the middle of', Gz was₁t₁ 'interior, middle, inner part' and possibly JEA ¹wašit₁ wš₁t₁ā 'oesophagus', JPA ¹wašit₁ wš₁t₁ā 'gullet', MHb {Js.} ¹wašit₁ 'oesophagus' id. ({Lv.} ¹wašit₁ 'oesophagus', JPA Bz {Sl.} ¹wašit₁ 'throat' (the JA and MHb words are borrowed from a *w-preserving S lge.), Sr ¹wašit₁ {JPS} 'throat, gullet, windpipe', {Br.} 'oesophagus, arteria' ({Trcz.}: ← 'middle of the body'); ? OAK, Ak išt₁u 'since, after, as soon as' (a reg. reflex of *wašat₁-, valid if from 'within'), ?? Eb áš-ta, áš-ti, áš-tù 'chez; from' (if the loss of *w- is reg.) ¶ Gz ə points to a pS posttonic vw. *i (AD SNSE) ¶ LG 620, Fr. IV 464-5, BK II 1533, Hv. 868, Js. 376, Lv. I 505, Sl. 396, Sl. P 170, Br. 310, JPS 189, Penn. SPE 295-7, BGMR 163, MA 105, Rk. 56, CAD VII 284-8, DRS 645-6 || IE: NaIE *wa(:)stu ~ *west₁u, 'home, house' (× NaIE *wes-, etc. 'be, live, dwell' < IE *xwes- < N *¹u¹š₁ŋ₁ 'live' [q.v.]) > Vd 'vāstu- 'homestead, house' (× OI ClSk/BdhSk vāstu- 'place, seat' that goes back to a d. from *wes- 'be') || Gk ἄστου ¹wašit₁ (Gk B gen. ἄστος, Gk M wa-tu) 'city' || L Vest-a 'goddess of the home hearth' || W gwas 'abode', {P} 'Heimstätte', OIr {P} i foss 'at home' (not here OIr foss 'Bleiben, Rasten' < NaIE *wes- 'be, live') || pTc {Ad.} *wost > Tc A was₁t₁ (pl. was₁t₁u), Tc B ost (pl. ostwa) 'house' ¶ ≈ P

1170-1, ≈ EI 281 (*h₂wostu 'dwelling' [with unj. *h₂-] *←d *h₂wes- 'dwell'), M K III 198, M E II 549, F I 123-4, ≈ WH II 772-4, YGM-1 258, SB 277, Wn. 342-3, 549, JGH 11, 70, 90, 101, 164-5, 258-9, Ad. 128, Ad. H 24, 125-6 || U: FV *wasta 'place, place by, place opposite sth., in the opposite direction' > Mk васта, {Ker.} vаста, {Ahl.} vаста 'place (Stelle, Platz, Ort); sleeping place (Schlafstätte), bed' | F vаста- in vаста-ranta 'the opposite bank of a river', vаста-kohta 'the opposite (of)', vастаан 'against', Vp vast(e') 'by, near' (iknad vast(e') ištub 'sits by the window'), '(leaning) against' (panda siṅnad vast(e') 'поставить к стенке'), Es vastas 'opposite, opposite to' (kauplus on teatri vastas 'the shop is opposite the theatre'), vast 'only just, just now' | pLp {Lr.} *vōstē 'nearby, opposite, in the opposite direction' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuöstie 'nearby' (jukken vuöstie 'ganz nahe am Fluß'), 'entgegen', L {LLO} vuostē 'by (a time limit), immediately before', vuostē- 'opposite, entgegen' (vuostē-pieggā 'head-wind', vuostē-rauvvē 'Gegenstömung'), N {N} vuost'e 'in the opposite direction', Kld vūcъt vūššt 'opposite, in front of, прямо перед' (oаррэ vūcъt чūввэ 'to site against the light'), adj. 'in the opposite direction' (vūcъt пиңк 'head-wind') | Chr: L вaштaрeш waštareš 'opposite' (waštareš i'la 'he lives opposite [my house]'), 'in the opposite direction', 'against', B waštareš 'gegenüber', H {Ep.} вaштaрeш waštareš 'in the opposite direction', вaштaрeш мaрдэж 'head-wind' ¶ The semantic variant 'place opposite sth.' may be due to a semantic change 'place by' → 'place opposite sth.' → 'against' (as seen in Vp and Lp) or to contamination with a different √ ¶ It. #57, UEW 815, ZM 616-7, Lr. #1471, Lgc. #8839, Hs. 1467, LLO 1462-4, SaR 58-9, Ker. II 182-3, MRS 58, Ep. 10 || D (in SD) *vati, {ǧGS} *vadi 'so.'s place, dwelling' > Tn vati 'lair, nest', Kn badi 'a deity's place, small building', Tu badi 'roofed shelter (temple) constructed for a devil' ¶ D #5246.

2538. ₂ *wišǵ 'green' > IE: NaIE *wis- > L virē- 'be green, verdant', viridis 'green' (× *weǵs- v. 'sprout, grow' < N *wišǵ 'to grow') || ? Gk λόγ 'rust, verdigris' ¶ P 1134, WH II 797, F I 730-1 || U: Fp *wiša 'green, yellow' > F vihanta 'green, blossoming', viheriä, vihreä 'green' | Er ožo 'yellow' | Chr H ъžar, žar, Chr Uf/B užar 'green' | pPrm *vęž 'green, yellow' > Vt вож 'green', Z веж 'green, unripe, not black', Prmk веж, Yz 'viž 'green, yellow' ||| Not here FU

(att. in FP) {UEW} *wiša 'poison' (> F, Es viha 'hate, anger', Vt vož 'Zorn', Vt G {W} vožo 'an evil spirit causing illness', Yz 'vižŭkti v. 'be jealous'), because it is obviously a loan from Ir *wiša- 'poison' (see N *wiḥ₁∇₁3∇ 'spring (fons); to flow') ¶ It. ##391-2, LG 49, Coll. 140-1, UEW 823-4, Sm. 554 (FP *viša- 'green', *viša- 'hatred') ◇ ≈: Coll. 141 and Jcs. 26.

2539. *wiš^ʔ∇ 'to grow' (esp. of plants) > HS: WS *√wš^ʔ ~ *√wš^ʔy v. 'grow, sprout' (× N *weĉ₁∇₁ʔ∇ 'go out') > Jb √wš^ʔy (pf. 'iṣi, sbjn. 'yṣṣ^ʔ) 'grow' (plants), Sq {L} eṣa G pf. 'pousser' (herbes), JA [Trg.] 𐤀𐤁𐤓 √yṣw|y v. 'blossom' (of plants) ({Js.}: ← 'burst forth', {Lv.}: ← 'herauskommen'), Sr √yṣw|y (pf. 𐤍𐤏𐤃𐤁 yī'ṣā) v. G 'shoot, sprout, bud, spring\come up', 'grow' (of plants) ¶ Br. 304-5, JPS 194, Lv. T I 340, Jo. J 296, LLS 70, DRS 598-9 ¶ Aram (incl. Sr) < N *wiš^ʔ∇ 'to grow' × CS *√wš^ʔ v. 'go out' (< N *weĉ₁∇₁ʔ∇ '↑', q.v.) || IE: NaIE *weṛs- v. 'sprout, grow' ('sprießen, wachsen') > Lt veĩsti 'to procreate, to breed', veĩsti-s vi. 'to multiply', Ltv viesti-s 'sich vermehren, gedeihen', Lt veislūs, vislūs 'fecund, fertile, prolific', Lt veislẽ, Ltv vaisla 'breed', Pru wēisin 'fruit', weijsewingi 'fruchtbar' || ON vísir, NNr visa 'bud', AS wīse 'sprout, stalk' ¶ WP I 242, P 1133, Frn. 1214, En. 272, WH II 797, Vr. 668, Ho. 399 || A: NaT *ös- v. 'grow' > OT ≥VIII ös-, Tkm öθ-, Uz ws-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv ös-, VTt üs- (-> Chv üs/z-), Bsh üθ-, Ln ös- 𐤏 üs- ¶ Cl. 241 (supposes [without arguments] that the T word is a loan from M), ET Gl 552-3, Rs. W 376, Jeg. 281, BT 120, Fed. II 301-2 || M *ös- v. 'grow' (esp. of children, animals, plants) > MM [S, HI] ös- v. 'grow' (of children), [MA] {Pp.} ös- v. '≈ grow' or '≈ stand up' (of hair), d. [HI] {Ms.} öske- 'faire accroître', WrM ös-, HIM ecē-, Kl ec- ös-, Dx {T} os+- v. 'grow, multiply' (of humans and animals), 'increase', Mnr H {SM} ös3-, {T} öse- v. 'grow' (of plants, children) ¶ H 128, Ms. H 84-5, Pp. MA 279, MED 645, KRS 427, KW 301, SM 298, T 354, T DnJ 132 || ??φ Tg {ADb., SDM95} *iseb-, {Bz.} *üsi- v. 'grow' (× N *r^ʔiš^ʔb∇ 'to grow; vegetation', q.v. ffd.) || Ko {S} *isàk- > MKo isàk-, NKo isak- v. 'sprout, spike' ¶ S QK #482, Nam 401, MLC 1330 ¶¶ Rs. W 376, SDM97 (A *üsi 'to grow, to sprout'), DQA #674 (A *juse id.) ◇ The A data point to a N fricative sililant (s-sound) rather than to an affricate. Semitic *-š^ʔ- may go back to a N cluster *-š^ʔ-. On T and M *ö- from N *wi- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2540. ***wes̥|č̥** 'to wind, to wrap, to clothe' > HS: S ***√w̥s̥** > Ar **√w̥š̥** *D* 'make up (thread, cotton) into a ball', **wāšī** 'layer of palm-leaves under the coating of a flat roof', 'haie vive en arbrisseaux dont on entoure un jardin', 'variegated tent of a chief', **wušū** 'cobweb' ¶ BK II 1542, Hv. 871-2 || IE ***wes_lH_X** / ***wos_lH_X** 'cover, clothe' > Ht **was(s)-**, **wassiya-**, **wessiya-** vt. 'clothe, cover; put on (clothes)', **wess-** md. 'be clothed', 'be put on' (clothes) || NaIE ***wes-** vt. 'clothe', ds.: ***wes_o-no-**, ***wes-mŋ-**, ***wes-tro-** n. 'garment' > OI **vastē**, Av **vastē** 'wears, is dressed in', OI **vasana-**, Av **vaŋhana-**, OI **vastra-**, Av **vastra-** 'cloth, clothes, dress, garment', **vasman-** 'cover, clothes' || Arm **զգեմում** *z-genum* v. 'clothe, get dressed; put on one's back, wear' (< ***wes-nu-**), **զգեստ** *z-gest* 'dress, robe, garment, clothes' || Gk **έννυμι** (Gk I **έννυμι**), aor. **έστ(σ)α** 'put clothes on (so.)', **έσθος**, **έσθημα**, **έσθης** 'clothes', Gk D **έστρα** 'warm upper garment' || pAl {O} ***wesya** > Al **vesh** 'put on (clothes), cover' || L **vestis** 'covering, garment, clothing', **vestiō** vt. 'dress, clothe, cover' || MW **gwisgaw**, W **gwisgo**, MCm **guyske**, Cm {ECCE} **gwysca**, MBr **guisquaff**, Br **gwiskañ** 'to dress, to wear (clothes)' || ON **verja** 'to wrap, to clothe', Gt **wasjan**, OHG **wërien**, OSx, AS **wërian** 'to wear, to dress', NE **wear** v.; Gt **wasti** 'garment'; ON **vesl** 'upper garment, coat'; MHG **wester** 'Taufkleid' || pTc ***wäs-** > Tc: A/B **wäs-** 'be\get dressed in' ¶¶ WP I 309, P 1172, EI 109 (***wes-** 'be dressed, dress'), M K III 175-6, M E II 529-30, F I 521-2, WH II 775-6, LP § 474, YGM-1 267, ECCE 257, Hm. 365, O 501-2, Fs. 552-3, Vr. 655-8, Fs. 552-3, Ho. 391, Ho. S 86, Kb. 1179, OsS 1102-3, 1128, 1132, Lx. 315, Slt. 247-8, Wn. 564-5, Ad. 597, Frd. HW 428, Ts. W 103, 105 ¶¶ N ***č̥** > Ht Ø. The (apparent) absence of any traces of lrs. in NaIE is explained, if the primary stem was ***wesH_X** with subsequent loss of ***H_X** in the prevoc. position, while the derivatives may have been of later origin (after the loss of the prevoc. lr.). Is it possible to interpret NaIE ***o** in ***wes_o-no-** as a trace of a lr.? || D ***vē(n)č̥-** 'wrap, put on (as a dress), wear (clothes)' > Tl **vēyu** 'put on (as a dress)', Krx **bāč̥** 'throw (a piece of clothing) on so.'s shoulders, wrap it around his body', Mlt {Drs.} **benje** v. 'dress, gird', **básre** 'cover oneself in clothing', ? Brh **bēniŋ** 'wear, put on' ¶ The nasalised **√** variant in NED (and Brh?) is probably due to some D morphological pattern ¶¶ D #5534 ◇ On N and pIE ***č̥-** see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2541. (₂?) ***wAt**∇ 'belly' > IE: [1] NaIE *'udero- / *'wēdero- 'belly' > OI u'dara-m, Av udara- 'belly' ||| Gk [Hs.] ὄδερρος · γαστήρ 'stomach' (< *'ὑδερρος?), acc. to Frisk, here also Gk ὕδερρος 'dropsy' (< *'swollen stomach') (×: connection with ὕδωρ 'water', σ≡: NHG Wassersucht and R водянка 'dropsy') ||| Pru wēders 'belly, stomach (Bauch, Magen)', Lt vēdāras, Δ vēderas id., † 'intestines'; 'ε sausage made of entrails and potatoes', Ltv vēdērs, Δ vēdars 'belly']? [2] NaIE *'ud-tero- 'belly, womb' > Gk ὕστερα 'womb', [Hs.] ὕστρος · γαστήρ 'stomach' ||| L uterus ~ uterum (gen. uterī) 'womb, belly' (× NaIE *'udero-, see above) ¶ WP I 190-1, P 1104-5, EI 2 (*'udero- 'abdomen, stomach'), M K I 104, M E I 216, WH II 846, Ch. 1151, 1162, F II 956, ≠ 975-6 (ὕστερα 'womb' ÷ OI 'uttara- 'oberer, höherer', sc. cmpr. of *'ud- 'upper'), Frn. 1210-1, En. 272 ||| **D** (in SD) {tr., †GS} *vaṭṭi 'belly' > MI vaṭṭi 'belly; rupture', Kn baṭṭi 'rupture, hernia; big intestine', Kdg baṭṭi 'stomach (Magen)', Tu baṭṭi 'rupture' ¶ D #5232 ||| ? **HS**: WCh: Zar {ChL} v̄l̄c̄ík̄ì 'stomach' (× N *'wañ∇3'a' 'belly' [q.v.]?) ◇ ≠ BmK 617 (equates IE *'udero- / *'wēdero- with FU *'waća 'stomach, belly' [{BmK} *'wat^ua] and D *'vač̣- 'belly' [see N *'wañ∇3'a' ↑]).

2542. ***wAt**∇ 'earth, ground, dirt' > IE *'wed- > NaIE *'wed- 'ground, earth' > Gk οὐδης (gen. οὐδεος) 'surface of the earth, ground', ἔδαφος 'the bottom \ foundation \ base (of anything)' with the suffix -αφος (unless <† ἔδος 'seat') ||| Arm գետին getin 'ground, earth, soil, land' ||| Ht utne- 'land', 'country' (↔ 'city') ¶¶ WP I 254, F I 441-2 and II 442 (Ht < IE *'wedeno-/*'udn-), Ts. W 98 ||| **HS**: Eg fXVIII iwt̄n ~ it̄n 'surface of the earth, ground, dirt, dust', DEg iwt̄n 'ground', Cpt: Sd eITN eitn, B ITEN iten, F eITEN eiten 'ground, earth, dust' ¶ EG I 58, Er. 47, Vc. 68, Crn. 49 ||| **D** (in SD) *vati, {†GS} *vadi 'mud, mire' > Tm vati 'mire', Kn badi 'mud, mire, slush, ooze' ¶ D #5245 ¶ D *-t- for the expected *-t̄- is puzzling.

2543. ***wāt**∇ 'gut, sinew' > **HS**: WS *'watar- 'sinew' > BHb יִתְרִי 'yēṭer, Gz watr 'sinew, cord, bowstring', Sr יִתְרִי yā'tr-ā (abs. יִתְרִי yī'tar) 'sinew; string (of a bow, of a musical instrument)', JA [Trg] {Lv.} יִתְרִי yəṭā'rīn, יִתְרִי yəṭāray'yā pl. 'ropes' (<† Hb pl. יִתְרִי yəṭā'rīm, as suggested by -ā-), JEA {Lv., Dlm.} יִתְרִי yā'tr-ā 'bowstring, straight side of the stomach', Md iatra, Ar وتر watar- 'sinew; bowstring; chord of a musical instrument' ¶ KB 431, Lv. II 280,

Dlm. 180, Lv. T I 349, Js. 605, Wl. 548, Br. 313, JPS 200, DM 166, BK II 1480, Hv. 848, L G 62, DRS 653, MiK I #1.290 || ??? Eg XVIII ω̄̄.τ 'Strick bei der Gründungszeremonie', Eg Md ω̄̄.τ {EG} «Bänder», sc. 'Muskeln und Sehnen am Kiefern-gelenk', {DW} 'Band am Kiefern-gelenk' (valid if ω̄̄.τ < *√ wrt < mt. *√ wtr?) (× Eg fBD ω̄̄ 'Schnur, Strick' < N *war̄r̄'û̄̄ - *wār̄r̄'û̄̄ 'tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope']) ¶ EG I 244, DW I 160 || U *°wät̄t̄j̄'E' (or *wäs|š̄'E') > Sm {HL} *wetö, {Jn.} *wet̄(-) 'gut' > Ne: T ed̄ē, T O {Lh.} yēd̄ū, F {Lh.} β̄j̄ēćū; En X {Cs.} 'bere, B {Cs.} 'bede; Ng {Cs.} 'beatun, {Mik.} pl. 'betu'; Slq: Tz {KKIH} ket̄, Tm {KD} ked̄ā id.; Kms {KD} bedū, β̄edū, bed̄b, {Cs.} b̄ēd̄ū, Koyb {Sp.} bad̄ē; Mt {HL} *bedūj̄öh (Mt K {Mll.} bedū, Mt M {Mll.} bedū 'gut', {Sp.} bod̄ēxta 'his gut', T {Mll.} be'd̄ūkta id.) ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 88, Lh. 121, KKIH 115, Hl. M #106, Cs. 69, 93, 117, 191, 211 || D {tr., ṡGS} *vāt̄- 'cord, string, rope' > Tm vāt̄am id., 'bowstring', vāt̄i 'rope', Ml vāt̄am 'rope', Kn vāta, vātara, vāt̄i 'string, rope, tie', Tl vāt̄i 'rope, cord', Gnd vāt̄iya 'ε strong rope' ¶¶ D #5220.

2544. *°wetê '(flowing) water' > IE *°wed-/°wod-/°ud- 'water' ({EI} *°wod̄g / gen. *°wed̄g-s / loc. *u'den-i 'water'; coll. *°wed̄ōr / accus. *u'den-m̄ / gen. *ud'n-os 'water') > OI gen. ud'nah, loc. u'dan(i) 'water' ||| Arm q̄bun get 'river' ||| Gk 'úd̄wp 'water' (gen. 'úd̄atos < *°ud-ŋ-tos) ||| Phr β̄ed̄v id. ||| Um utur accus. id. (abl. une < *°ud-n-i) ||| OIr uisce ({EI}: < *ud̄g-s-kyo-) id. ||| Gt watō (dat. pl. watnam), ON vatn (generalization of the stem for the obl. cases), OSw v̄ætur, OSx watar, OHG waz̄zar, NHG Wasser, AS wæter 'water', NE water ||| Blt (with the puzzling infix *-n-): Lt vanduō (gen. vanden̄s, accus. vanden̄i), Ltv ūdens, Pru wundan, unds 'water' ||| Sl *vo'da id. (accus. *v̄ōdq) > OCS в̄ода voda, Blg, R, Uk во'да, SCr v̄oda, Slv v̄oda, Cz, Slk voda, P woda ||| pAl {O} *udr-yā 'water' > Al ujē, pl.: Al: T ujēra, G ujna ||| pTc {Ad.} *wār > Tc: A wār, B war id. || AnIE: Ht watar 'water' (obl.: weten-, wit-), Lw {Lar.} wid- id. (dat. ú-i-ti, accus. pl. ú-i-da-an-za) ||| NaIE *°l̄j̄oūd-v. 'flow' (of water) > OI ōd- 'quellen, benetzen' (prs.: 3s u'natti, 3p un'danti), ōd-man- n. 'flood, flooding', Av aod̄a 'well, spring of water' ||| d.: ON vátr 'humid, wet', Sw v̄ât, Dn v̄åd, OFrs wēt, AS wæt̄ id., NE wet ||| Sl *vědro 'pail, bucket' (← *'vessel for water') > OCS, OR в̄ѣдро vědro, Blg, R вед̄ро, Uk в̄idro, SCr vědro ђ v̄jèdro, Slv vědro, Cz vědro, Slk vedro, P wiadro ¶¶ P 78-80, H

66 (*¹wodr̥ 'water'), M K I 103, 132, M E I 215-6, 279, F II 957-9, Bc. G 350, Pln. II 761, Vn. U 21, Fs. 553-4, Vr. 648, Ho. 381-2, Kb. 1153, OsS 1106, KM 840, Frn. 1194, En. 269, Vs. I 283-4, 330, Glh. 676-7, BER I 127, 168-9, Slr. 34-6, O 483-4, Ad. 577-8, Frd. HW 249-50, Ts. W 104, 106, Lar. 111 || **HS:** EC: Ged {Hd.} wadaʔe 'water, river', as well as possibly (×EC *¹w̥ 'flowing water' < N *¹ho₁w₁ʃa [or *¹ho₁wa] 'to flow, to stream; a stream'): Hd w0ʔ0, Kmb waʔa, wɪʔa, Sd wā, Brj 'wā (gen. wayin-) 'water', and (C →) Amh w3ha 'water' ¶ Hd. 164-5, 264, Ss. B 186, PH 211 || WS *¹w̥tn v. 'flow continuously' (water) (×*¹w̥|ytn 'be continuous' < N *¹t̥i¹n̥'E 'strong') > Ar wātin- 'flowing continuously' (of water) [{BK} 'qui coule, courant (eau)'], ¹w̥tn (pf. watana, ip. yatinu) v. 'flow continuously' (of water), Sb w̥tn 'continuous (rain)'; ??? Sb ¹w̥d̥w̥|y v. 'flow' ¶ BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 156, 165, DRS 652 || **U** *wete 'water' > FU *wete id. > FU *wete id. > F vesi (gen. veden), Es vesi (gen. vee) | pMr *vedā- > Er/Mk vedь véd̥ | Chr H вѣд̥ v̥əḏ, Chr L вѣд̥ v̥üḏ | Prm {LG} *va (or *v̥ā?) > Z va, Vt vu || ObU: Vg: T üç, LK wiç, P wüç, Ss wit | Hg v̥íz (accus. v̥izet) || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *wit 'water' > Ne F {Lh.} βit, Ne T и", Ne T O {Lh.} jīʔ, Ng {Cs.} bēʔ (gen. bed-an), {Mik.} b+ʔ, En B/X {Cs.} bîʔ (gen. En B bir õ, En X bidõ), En {Ter.} biʔ, Slq Tz {KKIH} üt, Kms {KD} bú, {Cs.} bü, Koyb {Pl.} bü, бы, {Sp.} b̄, Mt {Hl.} *bü (Mt: M/K/T {Mil.}, A {Msr.} бу, M {Pl.} бу, {Sp.} б̄) || ??φ pY {IN} *ōnčī 'water' > OY K {Lnd.} óndschi, {Bil.} -ondschi, {Klc.} ожей, онжи, OY U {Lnd.} onsche, OY Ch {Mat.} онде, {Boe.} и\$нжии\$, и\$жи\$ело, Y K {Km.} ōji, {IN} ōžī id. ¶ The Y cognate is qu. because of the unexpected word-internal *n ¶¶ UEW 570, Sm. 541 (U, FU *weti, FP *veti, Ugr witī, Sm wit), Ker. II 188, LG 46, Jn. 176, KP 17, KKIH 193, Hl. M #143, IN 273, 316, Km. JJ 283 || **A:** Tg *udun 'rain' > Ewk udun, Sln udũ, Lm ud̥n ɘ udun, Ork udu / udun- ¶ STM II 248 || pKo {S} *òrán- 'heavy rain' > MKo òrán-pí ¶ S QK #880 ¶¶ DQA #2489 (A *u|od̥ - *j̄u|od̥ 'rain') || ??φ **D** *vaṭ- ({GS} *-ḏ-) v. 'flow, run in a small stream' > Tu oḏḏa 'flowing', oḏḏuni v. 'flow, run', Kn oḏi v. 'flow in a small gentle stream', Tm vaṭi v. 'drip, trickle', v. 'ebb' (of tide), Ml vaṭiv̥u 'a current', vaṭiyuka v. 'overflow, ebb, trickle', Td waṭf / waṭt- v. 'flow' (of blood), Tl vaḏiyu ~ oḏiyu v. 'be strained, percolate', vaḏucu ~ vaḏacu v. 'pour slowly, let falling drops', Klm vaḏp- v. 'pour', Knd vaḏis- v. 'pour down' ¶¶ D #5221 ◇ The element *-n- in S

* $\sqrt{w}tn$, Tg * $\underline{u}d\underline{u}n$, and in the oblique cases * $\underline{w}ed\underline{n}$ -, * $\underline{u}d(e)n$ - of the \mathbb{E} heteroclitic noun goes back to the N genitive pc. * \underline{nu} (* $\underline{w}et\underline{e} nu$ 'of water') \diamond Tg * \underline{u} - is a regular reflex of N * \underline{we} - (see Introduction, § 2.4). D * $\underline{va}\underline{t}$ - is a qu. cognate because of the vw. * \underline{a} (for the expected * \underline{e}) \diamond IS SS #2.17, IS MS 336 (* $\underline{w}et\underline{n}$: IE, Tg, U + S: Sb $\sqrt{wdw|y}$ 'flow'), \approx AD MRV 29 (IE, U, Tg), \neq BmK #483 (* $\underline{wa}\underline{t}$ -/* $\underline{wa}\underline{t}$ -: IE, U + D [Tm $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{a}m$ 'moisture', etc.]; wrong phonetic correspondences) \diamond On N and pIE * \underline{e} - see Introduction, § 2.2.6 \diamond \approx Gr. II #416 (* \underline{wet} 'water') (IE, U, A + unc. Ai).

2545. ($_2$?) * $\underline{w}Aht\underline{v}$ '≈ to smell (sth.), to smell (of sth.)' > HS: ? B { $\mathfrak{P}r$.} * $\sqrt{w}ht$ > Ah inf. $\underline{a}\underline{w}\underline{t}$ 'be smelled' (unless \leftarrow $\underline{a}\underline{w}\underline{t}$ 'be struck') [Fcj 62 = Pcj I A 6], ?? σ Ty $\underline{b}\underline{w}\underline{w}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{b}\underline{n}$ n. 'smoke' ¶ Fc. 1536, Pr. M VI-VII 106 (on the conjugation Pcj I A 6), PGG 352 || **D** {Pf.} * $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}$ - 'smell' > Tm $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{a}\underline{i}$ 'fume, scent', Ml $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ 'scent of dogs', Tl $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{d}\underline{a}$ 'smell', Krx $\underline{b}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{r}$ - v. 'perceive as by sniffing, scent, discover\track by the smell' ¶¶ D #5343, Pf. 59 [#370] || **U** * $\underline{w}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ - 'find tracks of' > pLp {Lr.} * $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}$ - id. > Lp: S {Hs.} $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{h}$ 'nachspüren, (einen Wolf \ Elch) aufspüren, der Spur folgen', L {LLO} $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{h}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}\underline{t}$ 'find tracks of', N {N} $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}\underline{t}$ id., 'observe, get to know', Kld {TI} $\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{e}$ - 'folgen, die Spuren verfolgen, aufspüren' | F $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Es $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Vo $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ -, Lv $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{b}$ 'take, take away', F d. $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{s}$, Krl $\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{s}$ 'game (animal)' | Prm {LG} * $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ - v. 'chase' > Z $\underline{\Delta}$ $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}$ -, Z d. $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}\underline{l}\underline{y}$ - $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{-l}\underline{i}$ - id., Prmk $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ - $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}$ -, Yz $\underline{v}\underline{o}\underline{t}$ -, Z $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{t}\underline{z}\underline{d}$ - 'run after\down, catch up' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{e}$ - 'look after \ inspect (nachsehen), visit (as a sick person)', T {Ter.} $\underline{v}\underline{z}\underline{d}\underline{e}$ - id. ('проследить, проверить, разведать, навестить') ¶¶ Coll. 69, UEW 561-2, Lr. #1476, Lgc. #8847, Hs. 1468, TI 800, SK 443-4, LG 69, KPR 85, Lt. J 101, Ter. 68, Lh. 68 \diamond U *- $\underline{t}\underline{t}$ - as a reflex of N *- $\underline{H}\underline{t}$ - still needs investigating \diamond In some lgs. there may have been influenced of N * $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}\underline{r}\underline{y}\underline{v}$ 'look, see' (q.v.).

2546. $_2$ * $\underline{w}\underline{i}\underline{t}\underline{v}\underline{v}$ 'find' > HS: S * $\sqrt{w}t\eta$ v. 'find' > OAK, Ak OA inf. $\underline{w}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{a}\underline{v}$ -um, Ak B inf. (\underline{w}) $\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{u}\underline{m}$, p. 3s $\underline{u}\underline{t}\underline{a}$ 'finden, entdecken' || ?? WCh (\times N * $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}\underline{r}\underline{y}\underline{v}$ 'look, see'): pBT {Stl.} * $\underline{w}\underline{v}$ - v. 'see, find' > Dr {J} $\underline{w}\underline{a}$ -, Krkr {J} \underline{w} - 'find', Tng {J} $\underline{w}\underline{e}$ - 'see, look' | ?? DfB {J} $\underline{w}\underline{i}\underline{s}\underline{i}$ - 'find' ¶ Stl. VZCh B #208, Stl. ZCh 247 [#57], ChC, J T 161 || **IE**: NaIE * $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{i}\underline{d}$ - v. 'find' (\times N * $\underline{w}\underline{e}\underline{t}\underline{r}\underline{y}\underline{v}$ '↑') > OI $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{d}$ - v. 'find, discover, obtain': prs. $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{i}$ ~ ' $\underline{v}\underline{e}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{i}$ ~ $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{t}\underline{t}\underline{e}$, aor. ' $\underline{a}\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{t}$, pfc. $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{v}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{a}$, Av $\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{e}\underline{d}$ - 'finden, erlangen', prs. $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}\underline{a}\underline{s}\underline{t}\underline{i}$ ~ $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{n}\underline{d}\underline{a}\underline{n}\underline{t}\underline{i}$, pfc. $\underline{v}\underline{i}\underline{v}\underline{a}\underline{e}\underline{d}\underline{a}$

id., MPrs *vindātan* 'gewinnen, erreichen' || Arm **գտախնամ** *gtanem* 'I find', aor. 3s **եգիտ** *egit* 'he found' ¶ P 1125, Me. EAC 49, 106, 160, M K III 214, M E II 579-81, ≈ Slr. 82-3 (Arm *gt-/get-* < NaIE **wōjda* 'know') || AdS of **Բ** **bEd* ∇ 'search, look for' and of **Ը** **vet-* (or **vedd-*?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (both mainly from N ***wê**t'γ' ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ S **oʔh* suggests that in the N etymon there was a lr. The only N lr. that could leave no traces in IE is **ʔ* (with a preceding vw., otherwise N **-tʔ-* [> **-t-*]) would have produced an IE **-t-*).

2547. ***wot** ∇ ∇ E ⇌ ***wot** E ∇ ∇ 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > HS: Eg P **ωτ** 'tongue' or 'mouth' (?) ¶ EG I 377 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} **wáté** 'say', **wáté kel** 'speak' (lit. 'say words'), ??φ Smr {J} **wáy** 'speak', {Nc.} **ωοιο** 'speak, talk' || CCh: ?σ Gude {Hsk.} **wudʒ** 'take oath on a fetish', **wudá** 'formal oath', ??φ Lgn {Lk.} **wá-** ~ **wá-** 'say' ¶ Eb. 101, ChC, Hsk. 293, Lk. L 125, Lk. ZSS 82 || WS **✓wtt* > Ar *✓wtt* *G* (pf. **wattá**) 'shout, make noise', 'cry out' (of children), Tgr *✓wtt* *G* (pf. **ωττ** **wettá**), Tgy *✓wtt* *G* (pf. **ωττ** **wettá**) 'sing', ?? (o?) Tgr *✓wtt* 'howl, make a noise, bluster' ¶ BK II 1559, Hv. 877, LH 440, ≈ DRS 528 || C: HEC {Hd.} **odʔ-* 'cry, mourn' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd *odʔ-* id. || ?φ Bj {R} **ad-** scv. 'bellow' (of camels) ¶ Hd. 45, R WBd 8 || IE **wed-* / **ud-* 'utter vocal sounds, speak' (× N ***haw**t ∇ 'call, speak') > OI *vadati* (pp. *ud-i'ta-*) 'speaks, says, raises the voice' || Lt *vadinti* (1s prs. *vadinu*) 'to call by name; to invite, to ask' (as well as Sl **vaditi* > OCS **ВѦДѦТИ** *vaditi* 'to accuse?') || Gk [Hs.] **υοδᾶν** (sc. *φοδᾶν*) · **κλάειν** 'to lament', Gk **ὑδέω**, **ὑδω** v. {LS} 'call, name', {F} 'besingen, verherrlichen' || ? Ht **uttar / uttan-** 'word, speech' (× N ***wA**t ∇ r ∇ 'speak') ¶¶ The NaIE variant stem **aud-* (> Gk **αὔδαω** v. 'utter sounds, speak', **αὔδη** 'voice, sound, speech') is hardly explainable as a Schwebeablaut from **wed-* (because of the unexpected vw. *α-*) and may be attributed to N ***haw**t ∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ WP I 251-2, ≈ P 76-7, EI 535 (**wed-* 'raise one's voice'), M K III 133-4, M E II 496, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, FI 184 and II 956, Ts. W 97-8 || **А: [11]** **U:t'E* 'sound', 'sing' (of birds) > T **ōt-* v. 'sing' (of birds), 'emit a sound' > OT, Az, CrTt, Ln *ōt-*, Ggz *yōt-* 'sing' (of birds), Tk *ōt-* id., 'resound', 'emit sounds' (of musical instruments), OOsM XIV v. *ōt-* 'bleat', Tv **œt-** 'emit sounds', Chv **avbt-** 'sing' (of birds), 'croak' (of frogs), v. 'thunder', Yk **ūōt-** v. 'coo, invoke (spirits)' ¶ Cl. 39-40, ET Gl 556, Jeg. 21, Rs. W 52, 376, TvR 606 ¶ Yk **ūōt-** points

to a pT long *ō̄ || M *ō̄ci- (< **ō̄ti-) 'say, inform' > MM [HI, S] ō̄ci- v. 'inform, report', [MA] ō̄cibe n. 'account', ō̄cibe ügeyi 'said a word', WrM ō̄ci-, HIM Ѡчи- v. 'say, answer, testify; pray', WrO {Krg.} ō̄ci- v. 'depose, say respectfully', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō̄čə- v. 'answer to an accusation'; -d> M *ō̄ci-g > WrM ō̄ciḡ, HIM Ѡциг 'testimony, deposition (in court), prayer', WrO ō̄ciḡ 'reply', Kl Ö {Rm.} ō̄čǣḡ n. 'answer'; ? Dg učun 'song', učule- v. 'sing' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 83, Pp. MA 272, MED 628, KW 302, Krg. 143, T DgJ 172 || Tg *ōot- (or *ōot-) > Ewk otutka- 'shout' or 'cry' ('schreien') ¶ STM II 29 || pJ {S} ǣtǣ 'sound' > OJ ótò, J: T otó, K ótò, Kg óto ¶ S QJ #180, Mr. 513 ¶¶ S AJ 286 [#245], DQA #1589 (A *ō̄t'è - *-t- 'sound') || [2] A *bUdU > M *bodu- v. 'think, count' > WrM bodu-, HIM, Brt бодо-, Ord b_od_o- id., WrO {Krg.} bodo- 'think, guess', Kl бод-х 'to suppose, to guess', {Rm.} bodo-χǣ 'to think, to count', Dg {T, Mrm.} bodo-, {Pp.} b_od_ō- 'think' ¶ MED 109, Chr. 97, Ms. O 72, Krg. 350, KRS 104, KW 48, T DgJ 127, Klz. D I 115 || Tg (← M?): Ewk, Sln bodo-, Ork bod(d)o- 'think', Ud {Krm.} bodo 'consider, think over, estimate', Ud {STM}, Nn bodo-, WrMc bodo- 'think, count', Ul bodo-~bodt v. 'count' ¶ STM I 88, Krm. 213 || ?? pKo {S} *ptí-t 'will, intention' > MKo ptít, NKo t̄iɛ [t̄it] id. ¶ S QK #355, Nam 174, MLC 544 ¶¶ SDM97 (A*bulūdU 'think, intend') || D (in SD) *ō̄t- ({ǧGS} *-d-) 'utter, recite, pronounce' > Tm ō̄tu v. 'read, recite, utter mantras, speak', Ml ō̄tuka v. 'recite, read, say', Kn ō̄du id., 'utter', Kt ōd- 'read, pronounce (charms)', Td wI'θ- v. 'read', wI't 'incantation', Kdg ūd-, Tu ō̄durni v. 'read' ¶ D #1052 ◇ The N lr. *-ʔ- survives in HEC, is lost in IE (a reg. change), in Ar and in Ke, while in the prehistory of some other lgs. (A, B) it merged with N *-t- (*-tʔ- > *-t-) and later produced reflexes of *-t̄- (sc. A *-t̄- and B -t̄-). The long vw. in T *ō̄t' and SD *ō̄t- may have resulted from loss of the N lr. *-ʔ- (complementary lengthening).

2548. *wêṭ'ṽ'∇ 'look, see' > HS: S *√ wdṽ v. 'know' (as. N *-t'ṽ'- > *-d'ṽ'- > *-dṽ-) > Ph, Ug, Aram √ ydṽ G v. 'know', BHb √ ydṽ G (pf. 𐤃𐤃𐤁, yā'daṽ) 'know, learn, notice', 𐤃𐤃𐤁𐤇 hōdīaṽ (Sh pf.) 'communicate', Mh √ wdṽ v. 'know', Sh h₃wdē ~ h₃w'deṽ v. 'tell people that so. is under one's protection', OAk idā'um, Ak fOB idû ~ edû, Ak MA/NA (wa)du, v. 'know', Eb √ wdṽ id. ({HMu.} 3m aor. i\i-da = yiwdaṽ 'he knew\knows'), SCn acp. G *yō'diṽ- -> Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} y(u)-di-ṽa '(one) knowing'; -d> S *di'ṽ-at- (from **wdiṽat-) 'knowledge' > BHb

הַבִּיטָה dē'ṣā, Pun, Ug {OLS} dʿt id., Ak diʔ(a)tu ~ daʔ(a)tu 'notice, information' (× N *di'h'a 'look at', q.v.) ¶ OLS 126-7, 521, KB 373-5, KBR 390-2, HJ 439-40, Sd. 187-8, 1454-6, CAD III 130-1, IV 34-5, and VII 20-34, Krb. PE 40-1, HMü. 180, 183, Hlk. 530, SivCR 78, DRS 502-3 || Ch: CCh: McM: Azm {Pc.} wēḏā msd. 'to see, to know', ? Ms {Caīt.} wì 'see, know' || BM: Cb wùtì 'see' || Ech: Smr {J} ʔwòtḡ 'know' || ??φ WCh: Tng {J} wē- 'see, look' (× N *wit∇∇∇ 'find'?) ¶ Pc. 417, Caīt. 150, JI II 217, ChL, J T 161 || IE: NaIE *weǵd- v. 'see, look' > Gk εἰδήσω ft. 'I shall know', besides Gk Hm εἶδομαι 'appear, am seen' || L vīdeo, -ēre v. 'see, look' || Gt witan 'to see, to look', ON vita, AS be-witian 'to observe, to watch', OHG wiz̄zēn, gi-wiz̄zēn 'to become wise, to know' || Sl *vīděti (1s prs. **vīdjǫ) 'to see' > OCS ВИДѢТИ vīdĕ-ti, SCr видети vīdjeti, Slv vīdeti, R видеть, Cz vidĕti, P widzieć id., Blg виждам ~ видя 'see' || Ltv {ME} vīdēt '(in der Ferne \ flüchtig \ nicht genau) sehen, wahrnehmen', μ vīedēt 'to see, to have the faculty of sight', ?φ Lt veizdėti 'to see', Pru widdai '(he) saw' | A derived noun: *weyǵ-0- > Gk εἶδος 'shape, aspect' || Sl *vīdъ > OCS ВИДЪ vīdъ 'aspect, sight', R, Uk вид, SCr, Slv vīd, Cz, Slk vīd id. | Ltv veīds 'shape, form', Lt veidas 'face' || NaIE pfc. 3s *'woyǵ-e 'knows' (← *'has seen') / 1p *wid-'me 'we know' > Gk οἶδε 'knows', ἴδμεν 'we know' || OI 3s vēda (1p vid'ma), Av vaēḏā 'knows' || Clt *widri (< pfc. *widrǫ 'they know') > W {LP} gŵyr, Cm gor, Br goar 'knows', OIr -fitir id. (ro-fetar 'knows'), W gwydd- 'know' || Sl *vědě > OCS ВѢДѢ věd-ě 'I know'; → μ *věděti 'to know' (prs: 1s *vě-mь, 2s *vě-si, 3s *vě ~ *vēs-tь) > OCS ВѢДѢТИ věděti (prs: 1s věmь, 2s vēsi, 3s vě ~ vēstь), Slv vědeti, Cz věděti (prs.: 1s vím, 2s víš), Slk vedet', P wiedzieć 'to know' → μ: R вѣдѣть, Uk відати id. || Pru μ waist 'to know' || Gt 3s wai t (1p wītum), ON veit, AS wāt, OHG weiz̄, NHG weiß 'I know, he knows', NE † wit 'to know' (prs. wot, p. wist); ⇨ inf. OHG wiz̄zan, NHG wissen 'to know' || μ: Arm qh̄unbuḡ gitem 'I know' || L vīdī 'I have seen, I saw' || Brtt [RE] *woǵd-butā 'to know' (cd. *woǵd- + *b̄h̄ū-t- 'be', see N *buHi 'grow, appear') > MW gwybot, W gwybod, Cm gothwos, OBr gudbut, MBr, Br gouzout 'to know' | NaIE *wid- in Gk inf. aor. ἴδεν v. 'see', aor. εἶδον 'I saw' | NaIE *wid-(0)- 'sight, shape, appearance' > OI vid- 'knowledge' (× N *wit∇∇∇ 'find' [q.v.]) || ON vit 'Verstand', OHG

wizzī 'knowledge, wisdom', NHG Witz 'wit', † 'esprit, mother wit', OFrs, AS witt 'intellect, knowledge, awareness', NE wit n.; Gmc d. (< *wid-yo-?) > Gt -witi (in un-witi 'Unwissenheit') ¶ Mn. 1501-2, ≈ P 1125-7, EI 337 (*weid- 'see, know [as a fact]', pfc. *woide), Bks. 238-9, F I 451-2 and II 357, Ch. 526, 569-70, LP § 44, Sw. 24, Ho. 400-1, Kb. 1221-2, OsS 279, 1193-4, Vr. 669, KM 864-5, Frn. 1212-6, En. 269-70, 273, Vs. I 283, 312, Glh. 668, BER I 143-6 || U *^rū^rt'e (= *ū|t_t|s|še) > Sm {Jn.} *b_tb- v. 'see', {Hl.} *b_t∇- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' (× N *q^ri^rt∇ 'appear, become visible', q.v. ffd.) || A: M *bedere- (× N *wit∇?∇ '↑?') > MM [S] bedere- 'suchen, absuchen', WrM bedere- v. 'seek, search, look for', HIM бэдрэ-, Brt бэдэр- id., Kl бедр- bedr- 'get\be ready to, intend to' ¶ H 14, MED 94, Chr. 129, KRS 93, KW 41 || D *vet- (*vedd-?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (× N *wit∇?∇ '↑?') > Kn bedaku 'seek, search, look for', Tl vedaku, vetaku v. 'search, explore' || Krx beddnā (biddyas) v. 'seek, search', Mlt bede v. 'seek, marry' ¶¶ D #5483. According to IS, D *-dd- < N *-tH- ◇ The phonetic prehistory of the Sm (and pU) root still needs investigating ◇ The IE ev. points to a pN *i, while the D and M vowels suggest a pN *e. This controversy is still to be resolved. It may be supposed (as a possible solution) that the IE root was influenced by N *wit∇?∇ 'find' ◇ In some lgs. there may have been infl. of N *wAht∇ '≈ to smell sth.' (q.v.).

2549. *waṭ∇ 'heavy, firm, strong' > HS: Eg fOK wdn 'be heavy, weigh' ¶ EGI 390, Fk. 73 || A *^obat'∇ > M *batu 'firm, solid, stable' > MM [MA] batu id., [IM] batu 'hard, strong', [IsV] batu 'hard, solid', [S] batu adv. 'fest (anziehen)', WrM batu, HIM бат 'firm, solid, stable, strong', Brt бата, WrO batu, Kl бат batъ, {Rm.} bata 'firm, solid, steady', Ord {Ms.} b_at'ū, Ba {T} batз, Mnr H {SM} p'ad_u 'firm, solide', {T} padu ~ batu id., 'strong'; M ⇨ Chg {SulB} batu 'strong, hard' ¶ Pp. MA 113, 433, Lg. VMI 19, H 13, MED 91, Chr. 91, Krg. 325, KRS 84, KW 37, Ms. O 57, SM 300, T 354, T BJ 135, SulB 66 ¶ M bač im- 'hasty' does not belong here, but goes back to N *ba_g∇, t'ī 'be quick; sudden' (q.v.) || D: NED *ott- 'heavy' > Krx otthā 'burden; heavy, difficult', Mlt oye 'heavy, important' ¶ D #977, Pf. 186 [#50] || ?φ U: pY {FIN} *waδ- 'firm, strong' > YT wār- 'be firm, solid', YK {Jc.} adi 'fest (die Tür zuschließen)', a'dulbe 'become hard\strong', a'dulbei 'vigour, courage, strength' a'dulet- 'strengthen, gather strength, grow strong'

¶ Ku. 42-3, Ang. 4, IN 91 (on pY *δ), 94-5 (on pY *w-) ◇ It is still to be found out if (and under what conditions) N *wa- may yield NED *o-, and N *-t- may yield pY *-δ-.

2550. *wet ▽ 'year' (and/or 'long time' [→ 'old']?) > HS: B *w▽tāy 'year' > Ah {Fc.} awetay (pl. iwtiān), Ty/ETwl {GhA} awētay (pl. iwaṭyan), Gh {Nh.} awatay (pl. iwčian) ¶ Fc. 1538-45, GhA 203, Nh. 27 || IE *wet- 'year' > pAl {O} *weta id. > Al vit, vjet || Ht witt-, d. wettant- 'year', ?φ: Lw {Lar.} ussa/i-, HrLw usa-s id. ||] -> NaIE *wetos / *wetes- / *wets- 'year', 'old' (lit. 'jährig') > OI d. vatsa'ra- 'year', ? vat'sa- 'calf, young of animals, child' (< *'yearling') || Gk ἔτος εἰς ἔτος (gen. ἔτεος) 'year' || pAl {O} *vetuša > Al vic 'calf' || L vetus (gen. veter-is) 'old', d. vetustus 'old, ancient', d. (dim.) vetulus 'little old, poor little old' || Lt †, Δ vētušas 'old (alt, bejahrt)', Ltv vēcс 'old' (of things), 'aged' | SI *vetъxъ 'old' (of things) > OCS вѣтѣхъ vetъxъ id., 'ancient', Blg вехт, 'ветъx id., 'decrepit' (of things)', R 'ветхий, Cz vetchý, Slk vetchy 'decrepit' (of things), P wiotchy, wiotki 'flimsy, sleazy' ||] -> NaIE *wet-elō- 'yearling' > Gk ἔτελον, ἔταλον id. || L vitulus 'bull-calf', Um vitlu accus. id. ¶¶ WP I 251, P 1175, EI 654, M K III 132-3, M E II 495, F I 583-4, O 506-7, 509, WH II 776-8, 807, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Frn. 1233, Vs. I 307, Ma. C 564, BER 139, Frd. HW 255, Ts. W 106, Mer. HGG 140, Lar. 103, Ot. 103 || A: T {DQA} *ōtū- > Chv батă vad_ь 'old' (of a person) ¶ Jeg. 47 || M *ōte- -> *ōtegün (pl. *ōtegüs) 'old (senex)' > MM [S] {H} otogu, [L, MA, IM] ötegü, [HI] ötögü gü'ün 'old person', WrM pl. öteğüs, HIM pl. өтөгс 'seniors, elders, chieftains', WrM öteğü 'old man; senior', Kl {Rm.} ötöga, ötkö 'old man', Brt өтөө 'old', Mnr H {SM} sdōqu 'old man'; WrM ötel-, HIM өтлө-, Brt үтэл-, Kl өтл-öt]-, Mnr H {SM} sdōli- v. 'age, grow old'; Mnr H {SM} sdanog, {T} sdanog 'last year' ¶ SM 327-8, H 129, Ms. H 85, Pp. L II 1258, Pp. MA 279, 443, MED 646, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW 302, STM II 294 || NrTg *ut ▽ > Ewk utu 'old (senex), decrepit', Sln u'taçi 'grandfather', Lm utz 'old' (of a dog) ¶ STM II 294 || pJ {S} *ýtá-nà 'grown-up man, an adult' > OJ otona, J: T òtona, K/Kg òtónà ¶ S QJ #258, Mr. 513 ¶¶ DQA #1610 (A *ōt'e 'old'; T, M, Tg, J), Pp. VG 108 (A *ötä- 'old'; M, Tg, Chv), Rm. EAS I 146, Jeg. 47 (Chv, M) ¶¶ The M root has no initial *φ- (on the ev. of MM ötögü), so that the supposed ev. of Mnr s- (< h/φ, usually from pM *φ) has no value, acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law of a secondary Mnr h-/f-/s-

induced by the stem-medial vl. cns.; an alt. hyp. (ignoring MM ötögü and interpreting Mnr sd₀q̄u 'old man' as providing ev. for pM *φ-) would have meant that the M √ goes back to N *P₀AH₀∇ 'old man' (q.v.) ¶¶ DQA #1610 (A *ōt'e 'old [senex]') ◇ T *ö- and Tg *ų- (and probably M *ö-) are regular reflexes of N *we- (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ B, IE, and Mnr suggest that the original meaning of the word was 'year', while the cognate words in L, BSl, and most A lgs. may be interpreted as pointing to the meaning 'long time' (→ 'old'). Which meaning is the original one, is still to be investigated ◇ IS MS 337 (*w^re¹t̄₀ 'year': IE, B, A).

2551. ₂ *wi₀∇ 'grain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seed') > HS: C: HEC *wi₀ta 'seed' > Hd wi₀ 'seed, grain, cereal', Kmb wi₀ta id., 'crop', wi₀ta-ta 'seed', Sd wi₀ta id. ⇨ *wi₀t̄- v. 'sow' > Hd wi₀t̄-, Kmb wī₀t̄- id., Sd wi₀t̄- v. 'sow, scatter, sprinkle' ¶ Hd. 130, 303, 343, 401, Gs. 344 || Eg G w₀t̄c 'seed', Eg fOK w₀t̄c v. 'beget' ¶ EGI 381-2, Fk. 72 ¶ -c goes back probably to a sx.; t̄ for the expected d (< *t̄) is due either to as. (*d...c > t...c) or to pHS deglottalization || WCh {Stl.} *w₀∇n₀∇ 'grain, seed' > BT: Krf {Sch.} wàttà, Bl {ChL} wəttò, Grm {Sch.} wàtá 'mush (staple food made from flour of cereals, called tuw₀ in Hs)' || SBC: Grn {Sh.} wandar, wanti, Gj {Sh.} wundel, wund, {ChL} wundul, Zem/Brw {Sh.} wanda ~ wonda, Sy {ChL} wəndu, Dw {ChL} wəndì 'grain, seed' ¶ Stl. ZCh 238 [#847], ChL I 85, Sch. BTL 59, 149, Ba. 1065 (on Hs tuw₀) || D {tr., ḡGS}) *vitt₀ / *vitt- 'seed', *vitt- v. 'sow', [GS] *vit- id. > Tm, Ml vittu, Prj vittid 'seed, semen', Kt vit, Td p̄t, Kn bittu, bittā, ? bi₀tu, Kdg bitt̄, Tu bitt̄, Tl vittu, Klm, Nkr vitanam, Gdb vīti, Knd vitu, Ku 'seed', Kui vitkā 'semen'; Tm, Tl vittu v. 'sow, spread', Kdg bitt- v. 'sow, scatter', Kt, Nkr, Prj, Knd vit-, Td p̄t-, Gdb vit- & vīt-, Gnd, Png, Mnd vīt- v. 'sow', Kn bittu v. 'put seeds, sow' ¶¶ D #5401, Zv. 93-4, GS 46 [#109].

2552. ₂ *waH₀∇ 'cold (north) wind' > A: AmTg *ōt̄i 'north wind' > Ul ōt̄u 'northeast wind', Nn Nh/B ōč̄l 'north, north wind' ¶ STM II 28 || D *va₀t̄-/*vā₀t̄- ({ḡGS} *-d̄-) 'north, cold wind' > Tm va₀ta 'northern', vā₀ta₀ 'north wind, cold wind, wind', Ml va₀ta 'north', vā₀ta 'wind', Kn ba₀da 'the north, to the north', Kdg ba₀ḡakī 'north', Tu ba₀ḡakāyi id., 'northern', Tl va₀ḡakūḡoḡḡa 'Himalaya' ¶¶ D #5218 ◇ Here D *-t̄- (the reg. reflex of N *-t-) goes back to N *-H₀t̄- (> *-t- by as.). On Tg *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2553. (₂?) *wAṭṛṇṛṇ 'speak' > HS: CCh: Gudu {IL in ChC} wadṛ- 'say' ¶ ChC || D *vatarṛ-, {ḡGS} *vadarṛ- v. 'chatter, talk, shout' > Tm vataru v. 'chatter, be talkative', Kn oḍaru v. 'sound, cry aloud, shout', Tu badaritanu 'defamation', Tl vadaru ~ vaduru v. 'prattle, chatter' ¶¶ D #5244 || ? IE: Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech, thing' (× N *wot₁ṇṛ₁E ṛ *wot₁Eṇṛ₁ 'speak, utter sounds') ¶ Ts. W 97-8 ◇ Cp. N *wot₁ṇṛ₁E ṛ *wot₁Eṇṛ₁ '↑' > IE *wed-/ *ud- 'utter sounds, speak' (q.v.).

2554. *wayṇ 'want, wish, strive for' > IE *weǵ- 'strive for' > NaIE *weǵ- id. (× N *xawi₁ṇ₁ 'drive, chase, pursue' > IE *xweǵHx- v. 'pursue /chase', q.v.) > OI 'vē-ti (3p 'vṽ-anti) 'tracks, has in view, strives for, hastens', vī-'ta- 'desired, liked, loved' || Gk ἔμμι {P} 'eile, strebe, begehre' || OL [DI] vōi-s, L vī-s 'you (sg.) want', in-vī-tus 'unwilling, against one's will' || pTc {Ad.} *woyā- > Tc A wā-, B wāya(:)- 'will drive, lead' ¶ Ffd. see s.v. N *xawi₁ṇ₁ ¶¶ ≈ P 1123-4, ≈σ EI 208 (*weǵ(H)- 'go after'), M K III 255-6, M E II 509-10, F I 711-2, WH I 714 and II 800, Ad. 36-7 || A: Tg *obay- 'look for, try to find, beseech' > WrMc bay-(mbi) {Z} 'look for (sth. lost), search, ask, beg', {Hr.} 'suchen, (er)forschen, verlangen, (er)bitten', Mc Sb biamṣ 'look for, beseech, beg, seek, ask' ¶ STM I 64-5, Z 464-5, Hr. 69, Y ##1527, 1560 ¶¶ The connection with M *bayṣaya- (> WrM baycaga, HIM байцаа- v. 'investigate, inspect, inquire into, check, examine') is highly qu., because *baycaga- is apparently derived from *bayṣa 'state of being' < *bay 'be' (see MED 72-3) || D *vay- 'desire' > Tm vayam n. 'desire', vayā id., 'love', vayāv v. 'desire', Kn bayake 'longing, wish, desire', Kdg bay- '(stomach) hungers', Tu bayaku-, bayasu- 'long for, desire eagerly', Tl vācu, vācu v. 'feel a strong desire for sth.', vāru 'longing eagerly after long privation', Gnd vas- 𐎔 vah- 𐎔 was- '(hunger/thirst) be felt' ¶¶ D #5257 || ? HS: CS *w₁y₁ > BHb w₁y₁ D 'wish', Sr w₁y₁ | w G 'agree' (only participles: act. prtc. m. | 𐎎) 𐎎 𐎎 / | 𐎎) 𐎎 𐎎 𐎎), Ar w₁y₁ (pf. w₁iyā) G 'être ému, éprouver une émotion de pitié \ compassion \ tendresse pour qn.' ¶ KB 20, BK I 72, Hv. 17, ≈ DRS 12 ¶ The initial *w₁- may be somehow explained by S apophony or reinterpretation of derived forms.

2555. *wṇṇ 'we' > IE: [1] IE *weǵ- 'we' pl. > Ht wēs 'we' || OI va'yam, Av vaēm, OPrs vayam 'we' ({M}: *-am on the analogy of other personal pronouns [those represented by OI a'ham 'I', 'tvam

'thou']) || Gt *weis*, ON *ver*, OSw *wī(r)*, OSx *wi*, *wē*, *wir*, OHG, NHG *wir*, AS *wē* 'we', NE *wē* || pTc {Ad.} **wes* > Tc: B *wes*, A *was* 'we' || The cd. **wēj-* + **dwō* 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt *ve-du*, Gt, AS, OSx *wit*, ON *vit* || [2] NaIE **wē* 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N **ʷw̥y̥* 'h'æ, with N ? **h'æ* [an ancient marker of dual], q.v. ffd.) > Vd *vām* nom. 'we' du. (on OI *āvam* accus. and *ā'vām* nom. 'we' du. see N **n̥* 'we' excl.), OAv *vā* 'we' du. nom. || OCS *ѡѣ* 'we' du. ¶¶ Brg. KVG 410-3 (with a table), WP I 220, P 1114, EI 454-5 (**wēj* 'we', emph. **wējom*), Mn. 1505, 1524, M K III 147, M E II 508, Ad. 265-6, Bks. 208-9, Fs. 560, 568-9 || HS: SOm: Hm {Ldl.} *wō* 'we' (general form), *wosi*, *wodi* (aut. prn.), *won* (dependent) 'we', *wō-no* / *wō-ntia* / *wō-nna* / *wō-nno* 'our', Ari {Hw.} *wō'(:)* 'we' (basic form), *wō'(:)tá* 'we' (aut. prn.), *wō'(:)-m* 'us' (-m is a marker of accus.), *wō'(:)ntén* 'our', Ari G {Bnd.} *wōta*, *wōte*, Dm {Fl.} *watu* / *woto* 'we' (abs.), accus. *won-im* 'us', *wō* (with postpositions, e.g. *wō gišo* 'because of us'), *wō-kō* 'our', {Bnd.} *wō'(:)t*, Ari U/B {Fl.} *wōta*, Hm B *wōdi* ¶ Hz. PO and Fl. OO reconstruct pSOm **wōt* 'we', probably on the basis of early descriptions (Bnd., etc.) and of the verbal sxs. of 1p: Gll -ōt, Dm -t. Alternatively, the element **t̥* in the SOm prn may go back to the HS accusative ending *-*t̥* (F N **t̥*, marker of accusative) ¶ Ldl. H 414-5, Hw. A 448-52, Fl. D 521-5, Fl. OO 315, Hz. PO 110-2, Bnd. AL 161 || ?? Eg *wy* 'I' (dependent) (× N **H₂oy̥* 'by me, my') ¶ Ed. 75 || K **čwen-i* 'our' > OG *čueni čweni*, G *čveni*, Mg *čkən-i* ~ *čkin-i*, Lz *čkun-i* ~ *čkin-i* ~ *škun-i* ~ *škin-i* 'our', Sv UB {GP} *gu-šgwē(y)*, {TK} *gwišgwey* ~ *gušgwey*, LB *gwi-šgwe* ~ *gušge* 'our' incl., UB {GP} *ni-šgwē(y)*, {TK} *nišgwey*, LB *nišg(w)e* 'our' excl. (*gu-* is the marker of 1p incl., *ni-* is that of 1p excl.), L *gušgwe*, Ln *guškwē* 'our'; GZ **čwen-i* 'our' → GZ **čwen* 'we' > OG *čuen čwen*, G *čven*, Δ *čon*, Mg *čkə-*, *čki-*, Lz *čku(n)-*, *čkin-*, *šku-* ¶¶ K 219-20, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Fn. GAS 72, Ser. 194, TK 183, GP US 45, Tt. 18-9, Dn. s.v. *gušgve* ¶¶ K **čwen-* 'our' is analyzable as **č-* (marker of poss. pronouns < N **č'ü* 'that of ..., that which' [cp. **če-m-i* 'my', **šeni* < ***č-sen-i* 'thy']) + **wē-* (< N **ʷw̥y̥* 'we') + *-*n-* (< N **nu*, marker of gen.) + *-*i* (pK marker of nom.).

2556. **wahy̥* '(to be) weak' > IE: [1] NaIE **wāy-/wāy-/wī-* '(be) weak' > OI *vāyati* 'vanishes, becomes exhausted, is extinguished', Av *frāvayōit* 'es möge erlöschen' || Lt *vójus* adj.

'suffering, weak, ill', Ltv vājš (f. vāja) 'weak, feeble, lean' || ? W gwael 'poor, ill, base, vile', gwaelu 'to sicken' || ?? ON víl 'misery, need', AS wīl {Vr.} 'Bedrängnis, Kümmernis', {P} 'Bedrängnis, Not' (absent in Ho. and Sw.) ¶ WP I 213-4, P 1111, M K III 189-90, M E II 538, Frn. 1272, YGM-1 252, Vr. 663-4 ||| [2] NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts.: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither' (× N *wižŋ 'gray, [?] withered', q.v. × N *wañŋ 'squeeze, press', [→ 'weaken sth.'], q.v.) > NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō-/ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' ||| OIr [Ÿ] feugud 'marcor' < OIr {LP, P} *feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE *wī-wō- or *wis-wō-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' ||| OHG wēsanēn v. 'wither', MHG wēsel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ON visinn 'withered', prtc. of *wisan; ⇨ Gmc *wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, NNr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' ||| Lt vūsti (p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt vūtinti (/ pa-vaitinū), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make [sth.] fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265 || HS: S *^o√why > Ar √why G (ip. -whay-) {Hv.} 'be weak, frail', 'be rent' (clothes), 'break asunder' (skin, rope), {BK} 'être faible\débile; être crevé\déchiré; se détraquer, se déranger, tomber en morceaux' ¶ BK II 1618-9, Hv. 899 || A: Tg *^ob^ra¹y- > Ewk KO bäyay- 'scanty (скудный)' ¶ STM I 79.

2557. *woy₁ê ~ *wo₁yê 'be strong, be able\capable' > HS: S *^o√w₁y > Ar wa₁y- 'strong beast', √w₁y G (pf. ^{وَأَيَّ}wa₁ā, 3m ip. ^{يَيْ}yī yā-₁, n. act. wa₁y-) 'promise, threaten' ¶ BK II 1474, Hv. 846 || IE *weĵH- > NaIE *weĵə- / *wī- 'strength, force' > OI 'vayas 'energy, strength, power' ||| Gk ἴς (with a long ī) 'strength, force', [Hs.] ἄς · ἰσχύς 'strength (of body)' (ἄς = *F īς), Gk ἰ-φι 'strongly' ('with strength') (*wī + *b^hi-, pc. of instr.) ||| L vī-s (accus. vim) 'force, strength, power' ¶ ≈ P 1123-4, M K III 147-8, FI 735-6, WH II 800-1, EI 209 and 548 (*weĵHs 'vital force' < *weĵH- 'be strong') ¶ The NaIE √ may have contaminated with homonymous *weĵ(ə)-roots (< N *^owayŋ 'want, wish, strive for' and N *xawi₁ŋ₁ 'drive, chase, pursue') ||| U: FU *woye 'be able, (?) be strong' > F vōi-, Es vōi- 'be able', F vōi-ma, Es vōim 'power, might' || ? Z † ойōс оу-3s 'strength'

|| OHg >XIV v í -, Hg v í v- v. 'fight, struggle with' ¶ UEW 579, LG 204, SK 1805-6, EWU 1648 || **A:** NaT *ū- or *u₁·y- > OT {Cl., Rs.} ū- 'be able, capable' → OT, OOsM u-ṽān 'allmighty, God', Osm {Rl.} اويغان uyṽan id. (?) [{Rl.} 'allgegenwärtig', an epitheton of God], XwT XIII, MQp Δ XIII uṽān, Chg XV uyṽan 'God' ¶ NaT *u₁·y- is not a reg. representative of N *w₀-; the problem is still to be investigated ¶ Rs. LTS 193, Rs. MIFTS 167, Rl. I 970-1, Cl. 2 ||| This pN word may be the source of a marker of passivity\intransitivity in descendant lgs.: **HS** *w₀∇- ~ *-u₁·y- > Eg -w, verbal suffix of the passive form ¶ Ed. 261-9 || S: [1] *w- as the additional first radical of verbs of state and quality: *√w|yṽb 'be good' (> BHb, BA, JA √yṽb) - cp. *ṽāb- 'good' (> BHb ṽōb id., etc.); [2] *-u- ~ *-ū- as an apophonic prefix\infix of ps.: CS *y-u-12a3- 3m ps. of the G-stem (> Ar y-u-qtal-u 'he is\will be killed'), *y-u-šā-12a3- 3m ps. of the caus. *Sh*-stem (> BHb 𐤎𐤊𐤍𐤏 y-u-šlam 'it will be completed\restituted', Ar y-u-slam-u 'he will be kept safe'), pS ps. verbal adj. of the *D*-stem *1u22∇3- (> Ak adj. 1u22u3, Ar 3m pf. 1u22i3a, BHb 3m pf. 1u2'2a3), pS ps. verbal adj. of the causative *Sh*-stem *šū12∇3- (> Ak adj. šū12u3, BHb 3m pf. hṽ1'2a3, Ar 3m pf. ṽu12i3a), BHb ps. adj. of the *G*-stem 1ā'2ū3 (sā'gūr 'closed') ¶ Ptrc. IF IV 602ff., KB 354-6, 390-1, BL H 378 || pB {Pr.} *tiwi- / *-ttiwi- (> Tw tw-/ttw-, NrB ttw-), px. of the ps. verb stems (< combination of the HS reflexive px. *t- and the passive *w-): imv. *tiwi-kraz / 3m pf. *yittiwikraz > Tw imv. twākrah / 3m pf. ittṽākrah 'être acquis' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 56, 63, as well as 88-267 (on the ps. forms of different conjugations), Cadi 45-72 || ? EC: Sml -o_w-, sx. of verbs of state and quality (denom. inchoative verbs): ṽoll-o_w- 'become hostile' ← ṽol 'enemy', ṽadd-o_w- 'become white' ← ṽad 'white', Sml C {M.} duṽo_w- 'become old' ← duṽ 'old man', Af {Hw.} -ō_we, derivational sx. of inchoative verbs (ḥāgidd-ō_we 'become busy' ← ḥāgid 'matter, affair') ¶ Mrn. SS 97, 267, ZMO 53-4, 70, PH 245 ¶¶ Kln. PSK 26 || **U:** FU *-w₀∇- (~ *w₀∇y-?), passivizing and intransitivizing verbal sx.: F -u-/-y- (näky- 'be visible' ← näke- 'see', kaatu- 'fall, overturn' ← kaata- v. 'fell'), Es -u-/-i- (passive\intransitive: korḏu- 'repeat oneself, recur' ↔ korḏa- vt. 'repeat', sütti- 'be kindled, catch fire' ↔ süüta- vt. 'kindle') || Lp N sx. -u-: gaw'dnu- 'be able to be found, exist' ← gaw'dnâ- 'find' || Er -v₀-: кадово- kadovo- 'remain' ← кадо- kado- 'leave, desert-,

неяво- нецаво- 'be seen' <д- нее- неце- 'see' || Vg N -we- / -wē-, sx. of ps. verbal forms ({Rmb.} субъектно-пассивное спряжение): wā-we-m 'he knows me' (lit. 'I am known [by him]'), Vg T {Ht.} wārīwam 'I am made' (momentaneous present) ↔ wārām 'I make', wārawsam 'I was made' ↔ wārsam 'I made', Vg N wārwesam 'I was made' ↔ wārsam 'I made'; Os *-∇y- sx. of passive verb forms: Os V werluyam, Os Kz werɬayam 'I am made' ↔ Os V werlam, Os Kz werɬam 'I make', Os V wersuyam, Os Kz wersayam 'I was made' ↔ Os V/Kz wersam 'I made' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} -o(:) / -ū-(:), intransitivizing sx. (sí·dō vi. 'awake' ↔ sí·dē vt. 'wake'), Kms {Cs.} šüddōlām vi. 'awake' ↔ šüddirlim vt. 'wake' ¶¶ The Os forms are likely to suggest the existence of a variant sx. *-w∇y- ¶¶ Coll. CG 281, Lh. 38-43, Kul. P ∇, Ht. POU ∇, Rmb. 113, 119 || A: T {Rs.} *-u-/*-ü-, sx. of reflexive verbs and of denom. verbs of quality ('become\be X'): OT säš-ü- 'losmachen' <д- säš- 'lösen', OT bay-u- 'become rich' <д- bay 'rich', bāk-ü- 'fest sein' <д- bāk 'fest', MT qiz-u- 'be expensive' <д- qiz 'expensive' ¶ Rs. RT ∇, Cl. 384-5, Br. OTG 215 || Tg *-bu-, verbal sx. of passivity (and causativity): pTg *ḡḡn-bü ({{Bz.} *ḡḡn-bü-) 'be said, cause to say' > Nn {Bz.} umbu- 'be said' <д- un- 'say' (STM I 171) ¶ Bz. 122 || Gil: Gil A ∇-, Gil ES w- px. of the reciprocal voice ¶¶ Pnf. II 62-3, Krn. NJ-79 313 ◇ Alternatively, the passivizing-intransitivizing morphem of HS, U, A, and Gil may go back to some other N word (still to be reconstructed) ◇ Hardly here (⇔ IS) the K causative sx. *-e∇-, because the connection between causativity and passivity is not close enough to justify the conjecture ◇ IS MS 364 (*ωojḡḡḡ 'сила': IE, T, BF), IS I 13 s.v. Пассив ωḡ (A, U, ?K, HS), IS MsN s.v. -u- ps. and intr., Gr. I 209-10 ("reflexive U/W" in U, A, Gil, Ai).

2558. *wayH∇ 'to descend; below' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'wuhā 'Niederung, Tiefe', wu'hā-y 'in der Tiefe; unter, unterhalb' ¶ R WBd 237 || U: FU *way∇ 'sink, go to the bottom' > F vaja- v. sink, fall, descend', Es vaju- v. 'sink, subside' || pLp {Lr.} *vōy- vi. 'sink' > Lp: S {Hs.} vōājudh, L {LLO} vuođjo- id., N {N} vuooggjo- / -j- 'sink, go to the bottom', Kld {TI} ōāyešūḡḡ- inch. 'start sinking' || Er, Mk vāy-vaja- v. 'sink (sinken, ertrinken)' || pPrm {LG} *vōy-, ({{LG} *vōj-) vi. id. > OPrm ∇zj-, Yz vūy- id., Z vōy- ∇zj- 'sink, be stuck (in)', Vt vūy- ∇j- 'sink, immerse' || Vg: N {Mu.} uy- 'sink', Y/Ss {BV} uy-tt-, ML {Mu.} uy-t- d. vt. 'submerge, drown' || ? Hg vεjsze 'weir-basket, trap (for

fish), Senk-reuse' ¶ Coll. 122, UEW 551, It. #50, Sm. 551 (FU * $\omega\check{a}j\check{a}$ - 'sink' > FP * $\upsilon a\check{a}j\check{a}$ -, Ugr * $\omega o\check{a}j\check{a}$ -), Lr. #1426, Lgc. #8753, Hs. 1435, TI 1723, LG 66, Lt. J 103, BV 128, EWU 1615-6 || **а:** NaT * $ba\check{u}j\delta i$ - v. 'disappear', 'set' (of the sun) (× N * $ma\check{X}y\check{\nabla}$ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out?') > Osm {Rl.} $ba\check{u}i$ - 'vergehen, проходить, исчезать', VTt/Qzq {Rl.} $ba\check{u}b$ - 'set' (of heavenly bodies), Qrg {Jud.} $ba\check{u}i$ - 'sink' (level of the water in a river/lake), 'stop giving milk' (of a cow) ¶ Rl. IV 1468-9, Jud. 98; semantic infl. of T * bat - 'disappear, set (of the sun)' || ? σ M * $o\check{u}i$ > WrM oi -, HIM oi - v. 'fall down', ? σ 'be rebound, ricochet', Brt oi - 'feel sick, have nausea', Ord $o\check{u}$ - 'attraper des maux de tête par suite d'une disposition' ¶ MED 604, Ms. O 515, Chr. 352 ◇ Hardly here NaIE * $\omega e(:)$ -/* ωo - {P} 'herab, weg von' (> L $\upsilon\bar{e}$ -grandis 'small, diminutive' ↔ grandis 'big, large', $\upsilon\bar{e}$ -sanus 'mad' ↔ sanus 'healthy', see WP I 13-4, P 72-3, WH 740-1), which cannot be separated from * au - 'herab'; actually, without identifying * $\omega\check{e}$ - with * au - the rec. of the meaning as 'herab' is not justified ◇ IS MS 353 (U, T).

2559. * $\omega\check{a}\check{z}\check{\nabla}$ 'little, young' > K * $\omega\check{a}\check{z}$ - > G $va\check{z}$ -i 'son; boy; young man; man (male person)', $va\check{z}$ - 'mannhaft sein', $ve\check{z}o$ voc. 'Junge!' ¶ Chx. 363, 373, DCh. 501 || **HS:** B: SrSn a-wz $\check{w}i\check{z}$ 'un tout petit peu' ¶ Rn. 285 || ? σ S * $\check{w}zy$ > Ar $\check{w}zy$ $\check{w}zy$ 'petit de taille et au corps ramassé' (× $\check{w}zy$ [p. $\check{w}zy$ $\check{w}zy$] 'être rassemblé, aggloméré sur un seul point') ¶ BK II 1532 || **U:** FV * $\omega\check{a}\check{s}\check{a}$ 'little, few' > F $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}$ 'little, small, scanty; a little', $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}n$ 'a little', Es $\upsilon\check{a}he$, Δ $\upsilon\check{a}ha$, $\upsilon\check{a}h\check{a}$ 'little (not much), few (not many)' | pMr {Ker.} $\upsilon\check{a}\check{z}\check{a}$ 'small, younger' > Er вежава $ve\check{z}ava$ 'younger brother's wife', вежаське $ve\check{z}as\check{k}e$ 'little finger', веженсь $ve\check{z}e\check{n}\check{s}$ 'youngest (son, etc. in a family)', вишка $\check{v}i\check{s}ka$ 'small, younger' (in set phrases: вишка кель 'uvula' ['small tongue'], вишка патя 'husband's younger sister', вишка сур 'little finger', etc.), вишкине $\check{v}i\check{s}ki\check{n}e$ 'small, little', Mk вяжя $\upsilon\check{a}\check{z}\check{a}$ '(new) daughter-in-law' (name used during her wedding party) ¶ UEW 818-9, Ker. II 187, ERV 118, 138, PI 61.

2560. * $\omega i\check{z}\check{\nabla}$ 'gray, (?) withered' > K * $\omega e\check{z}$ - > G † $ve\check{z}an$ -i {DCh.} 'dove-coloured, gray (сизый, серый, бурый)', {Chx.} 'schwefelgrau, taubenfarbig', G Mt $ve\check{z}ani$ 'getigert, gefleckt' ¶ Chx. 373, DCh. 505 || **HS:** B * $\check{z}w\check{z}w$ > Ah $h\check{a}w\check{h}\check{a}w$ v. 'be gray', ETwl {Nic.} n. act. $t\check{a}zaw\check{z}awt$ 'being gray', Ty {ABs.} $zaw\check{z}aw$, Gh {ABs.} $z\check{a}w\check{z}\check{a}w$ 'être

bleu(-clair)', Kb a-zəjzaw 'green, blue, gray; uncooked, unripe' ¶ Pr. H 71 [#430], Fc. 624, Dl. 936-7 || IE (× N *wahyǵ 'be] weak' and N *wanǵ 'squeeze, press', [in descendant lgs.] → 'make weak', q.v.): NaIE *weǵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *weǵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō-/ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' || OIr [ʸ] feugud 'marcor' ← OIr {LP, P} *feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE *wī-w0- or *wis-w0-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' || OHG wēsanēn v. 'wither', MHG wesel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ON visinn 'withered', prtc. of *wisan; ⇨ Gmc *wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, NNr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' || Lt vūsti (p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt vūtinti (/ pa-vaitinū), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make (sth.) fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WPI 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265.

2561. *w'U'ĒE,Ķo ~ *w'o'Ķǵǵ 'ē a canine' > IE: NaIE *wǵkʷo-s 'wolf' > OI 'vrka-, Av vahrka-, NPrs گورگ gorg id. || Gk λύκος id. (× NaIE *lu(n)k̄- < N *īuk'æ' 'ē canine' [q.v.]) || L lupus 'wolf' (from Sbn or under the infl. of *wǵp- '≈ fox' < N ? *wǵǵǵPE 'fur-bearing animal?') || Gmc *wulǵ-ī > ON ǵlǵr 'she-wolf'] Gmc (× NaIE *wǵp- < N ? *wǵǵǵPE '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Gt wulfs, ON ulfr, NNr, Dn, Sw ulv, MDt wolf ~ wulf, Dt, OHG wolf, NHG Wolf, OSx, AS wulf 'wolf', NE wolf; Gmc *f is due to the merger with NaIE *wǵp- || Lt vīlkas, Ltv vīlks, Pru wilkis 'wolf' || Sl *vьlkъ id. > OCS вѣлкѣ vьlkъ, Blg вѣлк, SCr vŭk, Slv vōlk, Cz, Slk vlk, P wilk, R волк, Uk вовк || Tc B walkwe id. || ?σ,φ AnIE: Lw walwa- 'lion', Ld walw-el(i)- 'pertaining to a lion' ¶¶ WPI 316-7, P 1178-9, EI 646-7 (*'wǵkʷo-s), M K III 240-1, ME II 570-1, Horn 202-3, F II 143-4, WH I 836-7, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Ho. 410, Kb. 1224, Frn. 1251-2, Glh. 688-9, BER I 205-6, Wn. 542, Mlc. CL 254 || HS: S ?? *wa'saḡ- > Ar wašaq- 'lynx' (⇨ CINPrs وشاق vašaq id. ⇨ Tk vašak, Az vašaq id.) ¶ Dz. II 808, Wehr 951, Bel. DFA 389, Blb. 546, ≈ Dr. TM IV #1765 (Tk, Az, NPrs ← ?) ¶ -q in CINPrs suggests that the Prs word is a loan (most probably, from Ar) || C *wǵKǵ]-~ *wǵǵK- 'jackal, lycaon' > Ag: Aw {R} wugeli 'jackal' || EC: HEC: Kmb {C} olokk-iččo 'jackal', {Hd.} orok-ičču 'wolf', Hd {PB} orok-iččo 'Lycaon pictus' (Hd -r- is the reg. reflex of pHEC *-l-); ? Arr

{Hw.} woláte id. ¶ AD SF 189-90, Hd. 169-70, 335, Hw. A 399 || Ch: Mofu {Brr. in ChC}, MfG {Brr.} wágàlák 'jackal (Canis aureus)' ¶ ChC, Brr. MG II 253 ¶ Dz. II 808, Wehr 951, Bel. DFA 389, Blb. 546, ≈ Dr. TM IV #1765 (Tk, Az, NPrs ←b ?) ¶ -q in CINPrs suggests that the Prs word is a loan (most probably, from Ar) ¶ The S root is highly qu. because the hypothesis of the foreign origin of the Ar word cannot be ruled out || U: FU (in ObU only) *^ow¹okš¹∇r∇ 'fox' (× N ? *^rg¹oK¹∇s¹|ĉ∇(-R∇) 'ε a canine') > pObU *wākšār > pOs *wāksar ({Hl.} *wīksar) 'fox' > Os: Y wāqsar, Nz/Kz wōχsar, D/K wāχsār, O ōχsār; pVg *ǰkšar id. > Vg: T okšār, LK/MK oxsar, P/ML oxšar, Ss oxsar ¶ Ht. #679 || ?φ A: T *ü:ǰÉk (× N ? *w∇í_ǰ∇_ǰPE 'fur-bearing animal') > MT [IM] üšāk, Osm {Rl.} أوشاك üšāk, Tk ұşәк 'lynx' ¶ Rl. I 1904, Pek. 3184-5, Shch. Zh 141, TL 159 || ?? Tg: Ewk ulз 'wolf' ¶ STM II 264 ¶¶ Cf. DQA #2512 (A *úǰpe 'fur-bearing animal' ["ground game"]) that belongs to N ? *w∇í_ǰ∇_ǰPE ↑' ◇ FU *š (< *ž in a cluster *-kž- > *-kš-), Ar š (< S *š), IE, C, Ch, M *l, and T *í (secondary palatalization) suggest a pN *ž.

2562. *wiĥ_ǰ∇_ǰ∇ 'spring (fons); to flow' > HS: S *^owĥz|ð, *wĥz|ð- v. 'flow' > Gz ✓ wĥz G (pf. wəĥza, js. yaĥaz) 'flow' (of a stream, water), Tgy, Tgr ✓ wĥz G id. ¶ LG 610-1 || K: GZ *wež- 'spring (fons)' > G vεza id., Mg menž id. (m- < *w- due to as. to the following n) ¶ K DE 361-2, K² 53 (*wež- 'mineral spring'), FS K 125, FS E 134-5, Ghl. 225 || IE: NaIE *weǰs- v. 'flow' ({P} 'zerfließen, fließen') > Vd {Grs.} v i s̄- 'sich ergießen, fließen' | ⇨ NaIE *wis̄o- 'liquid' (→ 'poison') > L vīrus 'liquid, poison' || OI v i s̄am, Av v i š-, Phl v i š, KhS ḥāta- 'poison' || Gk λόγ (with ĩ-) id. || pTc {Ad.} *wāse- > Tc: A wās, B was id. || OIr fí id., W † {SB} gwyr 'Flüssigkeit, Fluß', W † {SB, YGM} gwyrar 'blood' (< *weǰsarō-) || ON veisa 'swamp', OFrs wāse 'mud', OHG wisa, NHG Wiese 'meadow', AS wāse 'mud, swampy country', NE ooze n. ¶ P 1134, M K III 223, 227-8, M E II 563-4, Bai. 282, WH II 800, Vr. 652, Ho. 38, Kb. 1213, OsS 1170, ≠ KM 858 (NHG ÷ ON veisa 'Schlamm'), F I 730, SB 265-6, YGM-1 273, Ad. 584, EI 439 (*¹wis-s ~ *wīs 'poison') || U: FU *^owi:ǰ_ǰs∇ '(swift) current; to flow' > pPrm *viz > Prmk viz {Wc.} 'Strom, stromende Stelle im Wasser'; ⇨ Prm *vizâl 'rapid(s), current' > Z визув vizuv 'stream, rapid(s)', Vt визыл vizyl 'стрежень, rapid(s), swift current' ¶ LG 56, Wc. SW 337.

2563. *Xebǵ ▽ 'breast' > **HS**: CS *ħa'ðay- (~ *o'ħað_la_jy-) id. > Hb הַחֵי הַחֵי ħā'zē id., BA h^a'dē* id. (הַחֵי הַחֵי ħā'ḏ-ōhī 'her breasts' du./pl.), Sr سِرْ سِرْ ħad'y-ā, SmA ԻՂՈ ԻՂԿ, MNA {OJ} ħazyo, JA [Trg.], JEA 𐤏𐤅𐤁𐤏 ħad'yā, Md ħadīa 'breast, chest', Ar حُدُوءٌ ħaḏw-un, حُدُوءٌ ħiḏy-un n. 'vis-à-vis', حُدُوءٌ ħiḏā? 'opposite to (gegenüber)', {BK} 'celui qui fait un vis-à-vis' ¶ KB 289, 1704-5, KBR 301, Tal 248, Js. 426, JPS 127, Lv. T I 240, Sl. 432, OJ M 177, BK I 399, Hv. 116, Dh. 105, MiK I #1.112 || C: HEC {Hd.} *aʒo 'milk', {L} *az- n. 'milk' > Brj 'ad-a, Sd, Hd ado, Kmb azu-t id.; ? Ya at-a' id. ¶ LZ 120, Hd. 99, Ss. B 23 || U: FU *eðe 'front' > F esi (gen. eden), Es esi 'fore, forepart, forefront', Fedellä 'before, in front of', Es edasi 'foreward' || ObU {Ht.} *yīl 'front' (with a prosthetic *y-) > pVg yīl > Vg: T, LK il, P il ~ íl, Ss ēla 'forward', LK ēlt, P yēlt, UL ēlit 'in front, before'; pOs {Ht.} *yil > Os: V/Vy > V/Vy il, Vrt iḑa, Ty iḑ, D it, Nz yet, Kz yeḑ adj. 'front (vorder)', V/Vy ilən, Vrt iḑən, Nz yetən, Kz yeḑən 'in front' || Hg eló 'fore', elótt 'before' ¶ UEW 71-2, Coll. CG 411, SSA I 108, Ht #187, Trj. S 52-4 || ?ϕ D *et▽, *et▽_ḏ ▽ 'breast, chest' > Kt ed 'trunk from chest to navel', ed ma'r 'chest of body' (ma'r 'chest'), Kn ede, edde, erde 'chest, breast' (-rḏ- < *-t▽_ḏ-?), Tu ede 'heart, chest, bosom', Tl eda 'heart, breast', eḏāda, eḏda id., Prj edram, edrom, Knd eduḏam 'chest' ¶¶ D #827 || A: M *ebč̣i-šün 'breast, chest, sternum' > MM [HI] ebč̣e, ün 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} ebce, u(n) 'Brust', WrM ebcigü(n), HIM ӨВЧҮҮ(Н) 'sternum, chest', Kl ӨВЦҮН öwčün 'sternum', Ord öbč'ü, Shrn išču, Mnr H {SM} šẓ̌iū 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 628, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12 ◇ In HS, FU, and D the N cluster *-bǵ- was simplified with loss of the reflex of *b. If the D √ belongs here, N *ǵ yielded D *t ◇ ≠ Gr. II #171 (*eti 'front') (U + err. IE, M + unc. Gil, CK).

2564. ₂ *χUč ▽ 'to peel, to bark, to scrape off (hair, etc.)' > **HS**: S *o'ħçç > Ar √ ħçç G (pf. حَصَّ ħaḥṣṣa) v. 'shave (the hair)' ¶ Fr. I 386, Hv. 126 || K: (K or GZ?) *χweç-/*χwç- v. {K²} 'peel' > OG χweç- v. 'bark (a tree), peel, scrape, hew', G χveç- v. 'plane (wood), scrape (строгать, скоблить)', Mg, Lz χoç- v. 'peel', ? Sv na-χwçi ~ na-χçwi 'thin' (prtc. with the px. na-) ¶¶ K 259, K DE 359, K² 329, FS K 485, Abul. 329, DCh. 1744.

2565. * $\chi|q\ddot{u}_y d \nabla$ 'to separate' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'to divide; part') > **K:** MG, G $\chi vedr$ -i 'part, share, plot of arable land' ¶ DCh. 1743, Chx. 2348 || **IE** * $\iota H_1 weid^h$ -/* $\iota H_1 wid^h$ - > NaIE * $weid^h$ -/* wid^h - v. 'separate, divide' > OI $vidh$ - 'be destitute/bereft of, lack, want', nir - $viddha$ - 'separated from each other, isolated', $vi'dhu$ - 'lonely, solitary', $vidhu'ra$ - 'bereft, bereaved (of a loved person), alone, solitary', ? $vidh\bar{a}$ - 'distribute' || L d. di - vid - \bar{o} / - $\bar{e}re$ v. 'separate, divide', Um UEF 'partes' accus. pl. (< * $weif$ -f), $vetu$ 'dividito' (< * $weif_e$ tod) | \rightarrow IE * $\iota H_1 wid^hewo$ -s 'separated' > L $viduus$ 'deprived, bereaved, destitute', W $gwedd\omega$ 'widower', Gk $\eta(F)\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ 'unmarried youth'; \rightarrow IE * $\iota H_1 wid^hew\bar{a}$ 'widow' > OI $vidhav\bar{a}$, Av $vidav\bar{a}$ id., NPrs $بيوه$ $b\bar{i}ve$ (< CINPrs $b\bar{e}va$) 'widow(er)' || L $vidua$ 'widow; divorced \ unmarried woman' || OIr $fedb$, Cm $guedeu$ 'widow' || pAl {O} * $widew\bar{a}$ > Al ve id. || Gt $widu\bar{w}\bar{o}$, OSx $widowa$, OHG $wituw\bar{a}$, NHG $Witwe$, Δ $Wi(t)tib$, AS $widewe$ id., NE $widow$ || Pru $widdewu$ 'widow' | Sl * $v\bar{y}do$ 'va id. > OCS $вѣдова$ $v\bar{y}dova$, SCr $ud\bar{o}va$, Slv $vd\bar{o}va$, Cz, Slk $vd\bar{o}va$, P $w\bar{d}owa$, R $вдо$ 'ва, Uk $удо$ 'ва, Blg d. $вдо$ 'вица id. || EI 642 (Huld) quotes Ht $SALu(i)dati$ - 'widow', which is not confirmed by Ts. W and other available sources; if Huld's perplexing interpretation of $SALu(i)dati$ - (with unexpected lack of h -) is valid, the derivational origin of the IE word for 'widow' (or only of the Ht word) is to be reconsidered || \rightarrow NaIE * $woj\bar{d}^h$ -son- > Gmc * $waj\bar{s}an$ - 'orphan' > OFrs $w\bar{e}sa$, OHG $w\bar{e}iso$ > NHG $Waise$ ¶ P 1127-8, Dv. #617, \approx EI 160 and 642 (* wi - d^h $_1$ - 'put asunder' \rightarrow * wid^h $_1eweh$ $_a$ - 'widow'), WH I 359 and II 785-6, Bc. G 351, Pln. 762-3, \neq M K III 210-1 and M E II 556 (OI $vidh$ - < vi - d^h - a , vi - $d^h\bar{a}$ -), Brtl. 1443, F I 625-6, O 497, Fs. 562, Ho. 393, Ho. S 87, Kb. 1163, 1218, Schz. 327, KM 865, En. 273, Glh. 650, Vs. I 281-2 || **A:** NaT * $\ddot{u}d\ddot{u}r$ - > OT $\ddot{u}d\ddot{u}r$ - v. 'choose (one of several); part, separate', Xk $\ddot{u}z\ddot{u}r$ - v. 'choose (one of several)' ¶ Cl. 67-8, BIG 254.

2566. ($_2$?) * $\chi^1 \hat{u}d \nabla ? \nabla$ 'get (somewhere), reach (some place), clash (with sth.)' > **K** * χwed -/* χwd - 'meet, come across, hit (the goal); be found' > OG χwd -/ χwed - 'meet (begegnen)' (da $\acute{s}exudes$ $magas$... '[they] befall him'), G {DCh.} $\chi vdoma$ \sim $\chi doma$ 'come across, pass by', {K²} 'meet, be found', G {Chx.} $\chi vedr$ -/ χvd - 'meet (treffen), hit', G G/I $\chi vden$ -/ $\chi vdin$ - 'meet (unwillingly), come across', Mg, Lz χvad - 'meet

(treffen)', Sv {K} χωῖd- ({K}: < *χωῖ-+ed) 'meet (begegnen, treffen)'
 ¶¶ K 258, K² 328, FS K 484-5, FS E 549-50, Chx. 2346, DCh. 1728-9 ||
HS: pre-B ** ✓Hwṭ > B *✓Hwḡ > Ah awḡ 'parvenir à', Gd awaḡ
 'rejoindre, arriver à', Kb awaḡ / yəββ^wəḡ 'atteindre, parvenir', BMn
 awδ 'arriver' ¶ Fc. 1461, Lf. II #1650, Dl. 851-2 || ? S: Ar ✓hd? G 'help
 so. against, rescue so, from (tyranny)', Ar ✓hd? G + ?ila 'seek a refuge
 towards, se refugier auprès de qn.' ¶ Hv. 114, BK I 389 || | ?σ D *uṭṭ- 'be
 trapped \ caught in a trap' > Gdb uṭṭ id., Gnd urrānā 'be jammed in a
 trap' (of fish) ¶¶ D #598 ◊ The N glottal stop *ʔ survives in S and
 indirectly in B (*dʔ > *ṭ > *ḡ).

2567. ₂ *Xag∇ 'dry, hard' > **HS:** S: Ar ʔaḡāḡḡ- 'dur' (crâne) ¶ BK I
 379, Fr. I 344 ('durum [caput]') || C *✓hgg > EC *hgeg-/*hgog- ({Ss.}
 (h)geg-/(h)gog-) vt. 'dry' > Sa -ohgog- 'be dry', pOr {Bl.} gog > Or gog-
 , Kns kok- 'dry', Arr gog- vi. 'dry', ḡḡá- adj. 'dry', Dsn gogu adj. 'hard,
 dry', ḡḡob- 'be hard\dry', Elm ḡḡ-íḡa 'dry' ||| Ag: Bl {R} hāḡ^wag-
 'vertrocknen, verdorren', Km, Aw kag- 'dry' (k- < *hg?) ¶ AD SF 256,
 Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, ≈ LmS 365 ||| **A:** M *°ag- v. 'dry (up)'
 (unless it is *ʔag-) > WrM aḡ-, HIM aḡ-ax 'dry, dry up' ¶ MED 12.

2568. ₂ *Xa^rú^lgæ 'to lack, to want' > **HS:** SES *✓hḡg (= *-hūg-?) >
 Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓hḡg v. (d. stems): Mh pf. ḡātūg / sbjn. yḡḡtḡwōg, Hrs pf.
 ḡātōg / sbjn. yḡḡtḡwōg v. 'need', Mh pf. ḡatwḡg, Jb E pf. ḡat'eg, Jb C
 pf. ḡat'eg (sbjn. yḡḡtḡg) v. 'need', Hrs ḡāḡah (pl. ḡḡāt) n. 'need,
 thing', Mh ḡḡḡt (pl. ḡḡwōyag), Jb E ḡḡt, Jb C ḡḡḡt (pl. ḡḡ) n.
 'need, thing, something' ¶ Jo. M 193, Jo. J 120, Jo. H 63 || Eg MK ḡḡy
 ({EG} ḡḡj, {Fk.} ḡḡj) vt. 'injure, destroy, annul', vi. 'fail' ¶ EG III 212-3,
 Fk. 182 || C: HEC {Hd.} *hōg- > Kmb, Sd hōg- v. 'lose, miss, lack' ¶ Hd.
 322, 372 ||| **IE:** NaE *ā_lḡ^h-/*āḡ^h-/*īḡ^h- '(be) needy' > Gk [Theo.]
 ḡḡν 'poor, needy (arm, dürftig)', Gk Δ [Hs.] ḡḡνες · κενός, πτωχός
 'those without property, beggars', κτεεν-ήχης · πένης 'poor', Gk ḡḡν
 'I long for' ||| Av āžī-š 'eager desire (Begierde)', NPrs ḡḡ id., Av āžā-
 š 'Streben, Eifer', izyatī 'endeavours to obtain, longs for', ḡžā
 'Streben, Eifer', OI ḡhā 'request, desire', ḡhatē v. 'endeavour to
 obtain; long for', ē'ha-ḡ 'desirous, wishing' ¶ WP I 49-50 (IE *āḡ^h-), ≈
 P 14-5 (err.: ÷ Tc A ākāl, B akālk 'wish', which are of MIn origin, see
 Ad. 2), M K I 97, 130, F I 200, Vl. I 29 ||| **AdS** of **A:** NaT *āḡ-sü-
 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' (< N *h|X^rā^lka 'to need, to

lack', q.v.) > OT ägsü- ({Cl.} egṣü-), OT (BrSc) {Gb.} ägsö-, ET ögsü-, Chg öksü-, OOsM eksü-, Tk Δ εϑsi-, eϑsi-, Qrg, Ln eksü-, Tkm eϑiθ- ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188.

2569. ₂ *Xæg∇r∇ 'gird, tie around, surround' > HS: S *✓ħgr v. 'gird; prevent from walking\approaching' > BHb ✓ħgr G vt. 'gird', vi. 'gird oneself', ִרְגָלָהּ ḥ^agō'r-ō 'his girdle', ִרְגָלָהּ ḥ^agō'rā 'girdle, loincloth', Ug ✓ħgr v. 'gird', Pun ħgr, Nbt ħrg[?] '(protecting) wall, enclosure', JPA ✓ħgr G v. 'encircle, gird', Sr ✓ħgr G v. 'halt, limp, be lame', Ar حَجَر ✓ħğr v. G {BK} 'empêcher qn. d'approcher, lui interdire l'accès', {Hv.} 'prevent, hinder, withhold, restrain', v. D 'be surrounded by a halo' (the moon), حَجَر ḥuğur- 'chair qui antoure le sabot de la bête', Ar D maħğar 'abgegrenztes Weidegebiet', Sb ħgr 'reserve (sth. for exclusive use)', mħgr 'land reserved (for so.'s exclusive use)', OYmn {Slw.} mħgr 'Plantage; bebautes, umfriedetes Landstück; abgegrenztes Weideland', ? Ak egēru 'to twist, to perverse' ¶ KB 279, KBR 290-1, A #903, OLS 174, HJ 348, Js. 424, Br. 214, Ln. 516-8, BK I 380-1, Hv. 111-2, Lb. 360, BGMR 67, Slw. 67-8, Sd. 190, CAD IV 41-2 || ? amb Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *g^ωaHar 'gird' > Su {MtS} g^ωoHar, Ang {Flk.} g^ωar | pBT *gār- v. 'tie to, bind' > Bl ġar-, Ngm {ChL} ngar-, Pr {ChL} ƳzriƳò, ? Tng {J} keri 'tie, bind, imprison, fasten' ¶ Stl. ZCh 243 [#42], 246 [#40], ChL, J T 98, AD ChSC 33 ¶ The WCh ✓ may be alternatively equated with Tg *g^ur₁i₁- 'tie under' (STM I 174) || A: NaT *e|ägir- vt. 'encircle, surround' > OT {Cl.} ägir- id., v. 'twist, spin', Tk eğir-, Tkm eϑir-, Uz jigir-, ET egi(r)-, Az äyir-, Qzq iyir-, Kr G, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt iyir-, Tv ēr- 'spin, twist (threads)' ('прямать, сучить'); the meaning 'spin, twist' is probably due to coalescence with a different ✓ ¶ Cl. 113, ≈ Rs. W 37, ET Gl 227-31 || M *eϑere- 'surround, rotate, revolve, twist' > MM [S] {H} e₁e₁e₁-, WrO {Krg.} ēr- 'surround', WrM ege₁e₁e₁-, HIM ээрэ- 'rotate, whirl, twist, spin', Brt ээрэ-, Ord ēre- v. 'spin', Kl ээр- id., 'twist (zwirnen)', {Rm.} ēr- id., 'drehen, im Kreis um etwas gehen' ¶ H 42, MED 299, Ms. O 242-3, Krg. 78, KRS 706, KW 131, Chr. 781 || ?σ pKo {S} *ə₁r₁i 'spool' > MKo ə₁r₁i id., NKo ə₁lle 'reel, spool, bobbin' ¶ S QK #413, Nam 360, MLC 1144 ¶¶ DQA #417 (A *eg∇r∇ '[to] twist, [to] spin').

2570. ₂ *XakEC∇ 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit' > IE: NaIE *aks- → *ağ(e)s- (and\or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (× N *gotK∇ 'popliteal space [back of the knee], armpit') > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa

~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, üehse 'armpit'; with a *-n-sx.: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS $\bar{o}xn$ 'armpit'; with a *-t-sx.: ON $\acute{o}st$, $\acute{o}str$ 'throat-pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr $\Delta \bar{o}ste$, AS ocusta ~ $\bar{o}xta$ id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE *aġs-el- ~ *aks-el- >) ON qxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel || L āla (< *aksla) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx. -illa); b→ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm **uñulp** anuth (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE *ok- without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ṛeḱs- 'shoulder[-join]; axle'; *h_ṛeḱsleh_ṛ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ On the connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' see below. Connection with IE *aḱs- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ṛeḱs- 'shoulder[-joint]; axle'; *h_ṛeḱsleh_ṛ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 || HS: Eg: {EG} MK/NK ḥcc.t 'shoulder (Schulter, Achsel), armpit', MK {Fk.} ḥcc.t 'armpit', ḥcc v. 'carry under the arm' ¶ EG III 204, Fk. 181 || ?φ B *Hay∇t > Tmz t-ayt-t (pl. t-uyat), Kb tayacc (pl. tuyat) 'shoulder', Izd tayt (pl. tuyat) 'armpit' ¶ Valid if N *-kEC- may yield B *-y∇t- ¶ Dl. 923, MT 786, Mrc. 16, 420 || Ch: ?? Ke {Eb.} kúsi 'shoulder' ◇ The connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' (at both the pIE and the pN levels) is not clear (semantic change [and if so, in which direction?] or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?).

2571. *XakER∇ 'plain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'field') > IE *he|aġro- > NaIE *aġro-s 'field, field in cultivation' > OI 'ajra-ḥ 'field, plain' || Gk ἄγρός 'field', Gk Hm ἄγρός 'farm' || L ager 'land in cultivation, a field', Um AGER 'ager'; L b→ Izn iġar 'terrain' || Gt akrs, OSx akkar, OHG ackar ^d ac(c)har, NHG Acker, AS æcer 'field (in cultivation)', NE acre || ? Arm **uṛun** aṛt 'field' ¶ ≈ P 6, EI 200 (*h_ṛeġro-s 'field, pasture'), ≈ M K I 23, ≈ M E I 52, ≈ WH 22 (*: *aġro- 'land < 'pasture' < aġ- 'drive cattle'), Bc. G 327, F I 16, Mn. 5, Schz. 83, Ho. 8, Ho. S 2, Kb. 13, EWA I 40-2, KM 6-7, Sl. 132 || HS: CS *√ḥkr 'field in cultivation' > Sr {Br.} **حكه** ḥkwr? (= *ḥakūrā?) (not att. with vocalization signs) 'ager', Ar {Ln.} **حَاكُورَة** ḥākūr-at- 'a piece of land retained and enclosed by its proprietor for sowing and planting trees', MHb, JPA √ḥkr G v. 'lease, rent (a field, a plot of land)', JEA √ḥkr G

'contract agricultural land as a tenant'; S \rightarrow Sum *akar* 'field' ¶ Js. 43, Sl. 460, Sl. P 201, Br. 231, Ln. 616, Lv. II 49-50 || A: M **e*erme (unless with **φ*-) 'open plain' > WrM *egerme*, HIM *ээрэм* 'open plain, desert, steppe', WrO *ekerme tala* 'wasteland, barren plain' (*tala* 'plain'), Kl {Rm.} *ērṃ* ~ *ērma* in: *ērṃ caṽān tālā* 'leere, weite Wüste' (*caṽān* 'white') ¶ MED 299, Krg. 76, KW 131 ◇ The sound corr. between S **k* and IE **g* suggests a common heritage rather than borrowing. Therefore the hyp. of IE **agrō*-s as a loan from either Sum *akar* 'field (in cultivation)' or from S needs revising (*F* ≈ AD IEH 23) ◇ M **e*- from N **a* is due to regr. as. (infl. of N **E* of the next syll.).

2572. (₂?) **χako|aR* ∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' > IE **ag_lω₁r*- > NaIE **agrō*- 'top, point, summit, uppermost (oberstes)' > OI 'agram 'tip, summit, beginning', *agri'maḥ* 'the foremost', Av *aṽra-* 'der erste, oberste', *aṽrām* n. 'Anfang, das Oberste, Spitze' ||| Ltv *agr̃s* 'early', *agrums* 'early hour, early morning' || Ht {Pv.} *hekur* 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' ¶¶ P 8-9, M KI 18, M EI 45, Brtl. 49, Kar. I 56-7, Ts. EI 235-6, Pv. III 287-9 || HS: S **✓h_rk* > Ar {Ln.} *ḥarkak-at-*, pl. *ḥarākik-* ~ *ḥarākīk-* 'heads \ extremities of the two hips\haunches that are next the ground when one sits', *ḥārik-* 'upper part of horse's withers', 'branches of the two shoulder-blades of a horse', 'place of growth of the lowest part of the mane, next to back upon which he who mounts lays hold' ¶ Ln. 553 ¶ The mt. may be connected with the S morphophonemic law ruling out roots with the sequence **h...k* || B {Pr.} **✓H_ṽr* > Ah {Fc.} *āh_ṽar* 'escarpement à pic formant le couronnement (d'une montagne)' ¶ Fc. 1752, Pr. H #348 || ?σ,φ K: Sv *hoqer* ∂ *woqer* 'the very bottom, end' (× N **ʿ₁ok₁i* 'sharp point\edge', q.v. ffd.).

2573. **χek* ∇ 'scrape, scratch' > K **χok*- v. 'scrape' > MG [VTq.], G *χok*- 'scrape, scratch', Mg *χok*- 'scrape, 'shave', Sv *li-χ₁-a₁n-e* 'to scratch' ¶¶ But hardly here Mg, Lz *χak-ar-* 'scrape', that is likely to belong (acc. to K²) to K **ρχek*-/**ρχik*- 'scrape' ¶¶ K DE 367, K² 210, 330, Q 405, Chik. 332-3, Fn. KW-2 95 [#50], DCh. 1751 || HS: S **✓h_kk* v. 'scratch' > MHb, JEA *ḥḥḥ* ✓*h_kk* G 'rub, scratch', Sr ✓*h_kk* G id., Ar ✓*h_kk* G (pf. *ḥakka*, ip. *-ḥkuku*) {BK} 'gratter; frotter', {Hv.} 'rub (a th.) with, scrape off (gold) with', Gz ✓*h_kk* G v. 'itch, scratch, rub, scrape', Tgr ✓*h_kk* G 'scratch, scrape, Tgy *ḥak₁ek₁e*, *ḥank^ωek₁e* pf. 'scratch', Jb C {Jo.} ✓*h_kk* G (pf. *ḥekk*, sbjn. *yḥik*) 'level off', *Sh* pf. *aḥ¹kek* 'plane, level, smooth', Mh {Jo.} ✓*h_kk* G (pf. *ḥ₃k*) 'level off, scratch', Hrs {Jo.}

✓ħkk G (pf. ħɜk), Jb C pf. ħɔtkk 'scratch', Ak OB/LB ekēku 'to scratch' ¶ Js. 462, Sl. 46O, Br. 23O, JPS 141, Fr. I 409, BK I 469, Hv. 135, LG 228, Jo. M 173-4, Jo. J 107, Jo. H 58, CAD IV 63-4, Sd. 193, MiK I #2.23 || C: EC *ħek-/ *ħok- > Sa ħokuk-, Sml ħoq-, Bn ħoʔ-, Gdl heq-, Arr hēq- v. 'scratch', Rn {PG} ḡχ- 'scratch (an itchy place)', Or hōq- 'scratch (an itch)', Brj hōqōq- 'scratch oneself' (< rdp. *ħokħok-) ||| Bj {R} ✓hg^wn (1s p. a-hā'gūn, prs. aħan'gūīn) v. 'scratch, itch' ||| DhI {EEN} ħīq- 'grind' ¶ Ss. PEC 48, 5O, Ss. B 99-100, PG 241, R WBd 113, AD SEC 134 [#7.10], AD SF 157, E PC #528 (pC *ħok^w-/ *ħek^w-), Grg. 213-4, Hw. A 366, EEN 27 || ?φ WCh: Ang {Flk.} g^wak 'rub hard, polish, grind corn' (if Tk. is right in postulating a reg. corr.: AG *g ÷ S *ħ) ¶ Flk. s.v. g^wak ¶¶ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, DhI, S) ||| D *ekk- v. 'scratch, card' > Ml ekku^ka, Png eč- v. 'card (cotton)', Kt ek-, Tf ök- v. 'scratch (oneself, an itching limb)', Gnd eh- v. 'weed' ¶¶ D #765 ◇ Blz. KM 115-6 [#9] (K, S, Bj, EC).

2574. *ħ¹ok¹u (or *ħ¹ok¹i?) 'call out, speak (solemnly?); incantations' > IE: Ht ħu^k- 'conjure, treat by incantation' ¶ As shown in Pv. II 323-7, this NaIE verb is hardly connected with NaIE *wek^w- 'speak' (see N *w¹a¹q¹o 'call') ¶¶ EI 449 ||| HS: S *o✓ħky|w > Ar ✓ħky|w G {BK} 'rapporтер, relater', {Hv.} 'relate (a fact)', ħikāyat- {Hv.} 'narrative', {BK} 'récit, histoire, relation; conte' ¶ BK I 472, Hv. 136 || Eg fP ħkɜ 'magic spell (Zauber), supernatural force; incantation' (= {Vc.} *ħikʔ > *ħīkiʔ, verbal noun) > Cp Sd/B q¹ik ħik 'magic'; -d→ Eg: fP ħkɜ^w 'magician', MK {Fk.} ħkɜ^w 'magic, magic spells', ħkɜy 'magician' ¶ EG III 175-7, Fk. 179, AD WIL (pre-S *ħ...k > S *ħ...k) ||| A: T *hok¹u₁- ~ *hoku₁- > OT {Cl.} oqī- 'call out aloud, summon, recite' → 'read', Xlj ħoqu- v. 'read, sing', Osm {Zn.} oqu- 'pronounce aloud, read', Tk oku-, Az oxu-, Tkm oqa-, Uz ωqi-, CrTt, QrB, Qrg, ET, LN oqu-, Qzq, Nog, Qq oqi-, LN uqu-, VTt, Bsh uq¹- 'read' ¶ Cl. 79, Rs. W 359-60, DT 134, ET Gl 439-41 ¶ It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N *ħ- yields pT *h- (preserved in Xlj) (see No. 2585 [N *ħam¹ 'womb, vulva']). But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ◇ IE *we as a reflex of N *o is explained by the rule 4 described in AD NGIE 17: N *-o₁u > pre-IE₁ *-u₁u (⊥ = any cns.) and later pre-IE₁ *u > IE *we.

2575. ₂ *ħ¹o¹yEK¹∇ 'lap, lower front part of the belly' > HS: WS *ħayq- 'lap, loin' > BHb q¹ħ ħêq [ħēq], Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ħēqu 'lap', JA

[Trg.] Արփի հեփ-ա {Js.} 'lap, bosom', {Lv.} 'Schoß', Ar ḥaqw- ~ ḥiqw- 'cette partie du corps qui est au bas des côtes; ceinture', Sb ḥk̄w-rhn du. df., ḥk̄w-γ du. cs. 'loins', Gz ḥak̄wē ~ ḥaw̄k̄ē ~ ḥaw̄k̄wē 'hip, loin', Mh {SSL} ḥāk̄əw 'taille' (← Ar?), Jb C {Jo.} ḥak̄'heḥ 'hip(s), hip-bone(s)' ¶ SS *k̄w and k̄w and Ar qw go back to the S nom. form (...k̄-u) ¶ KB 300, Hnr. 124, MiK I #113, Js. 460, Lv. T I 255, BK I 469, L G 239, SSL LNPM 220, Jo. J 108 || ? WCh: Tng {J} agɔ, {ChL} haɣò, Krkr {Lk.} ḥàkó, {ChL} ḥàkəw 'stomach, belly' ¶ J T 65, ChL || A *öye|äk 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > T *öye|äk 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > Chg {PC} öyek id., 'hair under animal's neck', Tv öyek, Alt/Tlt {RI.} öyök 'belly (of animals), belly part of animal's hide', Shor/QK {RI.}, Xk ök 'belly part of animal's hide', Qrg ök id., 'side of a horse', Chg {RI.} أويأك öyäk 'Bauch- und Halshaut des Eichhörnchens', VTt {Bu.} أويأك öyäk 'подбрюшница' (this R word is absent in modern standard R, but in the dialect of the Volga-Kama region it means, acc. to Dal, 'a thong under horse's belly as part of the harness', see Dal III 162) ¶ ET GI 515, Rs. W 369-70, TL 146, 423, PC 86, RI. I 1179, 121, Jud. 597, BIG 136, Bu. I 165 || M {DQA} *öyekerj 'lower part of animal's belly' > WrM {Kow.} öyeker 'bas-ventre, ventre, entrailles des animaux', {MED} öyüke, HIM eex, eexий 'the thin flesh of the belly; pit of the stomach' ¶ Kow. 553, MED 633 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1545 (incl. T and M).

2576. ₂ *XAKAr∇ 'need, want, be hungry' > HS: Eg fP ḥkr 'be hungry', Cpt Sd/B ʔko hko (qual. ʔokεp hoker), Cpt F ʔika hika id., Eg fOK ḥkr 'a hungry man', Cpt Sd ʔhke hēke, Cpt B ʔhki hēki 'poor' ¶ EG III 174-5, Fk. 178-9, Vc. 293 || ?σ S *o✓ḥkr > Ar ✓ḥqr (pf. ḥaqira, ip. -ḥqaru) 'be mean, deplorable, contemptible; have no weight\worth', 'devenir vil, méprisable, tomber dans l'abaissement' (if from *'be poor' ← *'go hungry'); (pf. ḥaqara) 'être vil et méprisé\dédaigné; mépriser' ¶ Ln. 611, Fr. I 407, BK I 466-7, Hv. 134 || C: SC *o✓k̄w 'hunger' > Irq/Alg {MQK, E} q̄ari, Brn {E} qori, Kz {E} kuliko id. || DhI kére id. ¶ E SC 280, MQK 89, EEN 19, To. D 138 || Ch: Mpn {Frz.} k̄r 'hunger' ¶ Frz. DM 31 ¶¶ Cal. #72 (S, Eg), Tk. I 211 and Tk. SCC 91 [#21.4] (S, Eg, C, Ch) || D *akkaḥ- 'necessity, want' > Ka akkaḥe, Tl akkaḥa id., 'need', Tm akkaḥai, akkaḥai 'concern, interest, need, necessity' ¶¶ D #21.

2577. *ʁ¹a1∇ (or *h-, *ɣ-) (*'forehead' →) 'front, edge' > HS: S *o✓ḥlm (or **o✓ɣlm) > Ak e llamu 'front' (in space or time) ¶ CAD IV 101, Sd. 203 || ? Eg P ḥɜ.t or ḥɜy.t 'front part, face, forehead;

beginning' (unless \exists was followed by a vowel, sc. it was not from *l) > Cpt: Sd/B ζ l hi, Sd ζ lH hiē, ϵ ζ H ehē, A ζ l hi, ζ ei hei, ϵ ζ i ehi, ϵ ζ iei ehiei 'beginning, front part' ¶ EG III 19-24, Vc. 285, 314, Tk. I 300 || ?φ K: G χ ling-i 'edge' (Chx.: χ lingi 'Kante, Rand', DCh.: χ lingi ~ lingi 'край у доски') ¶ Chx. 2369, DCh. 650, 1749 || U *a|V (?) > FU {UEW} *alka '(front\back) edge, beginning; to begin' > F alka-, Es alga- v. 'begin', F alku, Es alg (gen. alu) 'beginning' | pLp *alkē v. 'begin' > Lp S {Hs.} aalg'e-, Lp N {N} al'ge- -lg-, Lp L {LLO} al'kē-, Lp K āl'ke- \mathfrak{d} a'l'ke-, Lp Kld аллькэ v. 'begin', Lp L {LLO} al'gō -lg-, Lp L al'kō, Lp K ālk \mathfrak{d} alk 'beginning, origin' || pObU *āləv ~ *āləŋ ~ *āvəl ~ *āŋəl 'beginning, end' {Ht.} > pVg *āʃəl > Vg: T awl, LK/UL owl, MK/NV/SV ōl, P ōl / nom. pl. owlət, LL ōl / aʃlt, Ss ōwl id.; pOs *aləŋ > Os: V/Vy/O aləŋ, Ty/Y āʃəŋ, D/K otəŋ, Nz ɔtəŋ, Kz ɔʃəŋ id. ¶ UEW 6-7, Coll. 71, Ht. #26, Lr. #46 (believes that Lp is a loan from F), Lgc. #185, Hs. 206, SaR 24 || ? Sm {Jn.} *olb 'summit, head' > En {Cs.}: X oħiʔ, B oriʔ 'Gipfel, Höhe', X oħo 'früher', oħoʔ, B oroʔ 'vor'; Slq Tz {KKIH} olə 'head', Kms {KD} uʃu ~ ulu, Koyb {Sp.} ɥlɥ id. ¶ Jn. 29, Prk. SG 120, KKIH 142, KD 80; Jn. (p.c.) does not connect Sm *olb with FU *alka, because the vocalism of the Sm stem does not match that of the FU word || A {SDM97} *āla 'front side' > NaT *āl 'front, forehead' > OT al (= *āl) 'front, facing, prior position', Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Tb, SY, Tk Δ al, Qrg al(d) 'front, front side', ET, Ln ayl id., Tkm āl-a, QK, Qrg al-ʔa 'forward', Tkm Δ al (= *āl) 'forehead'; NaT *ālīn 'forehead' > OT alīn (= *ālīn), Tkm āli, Az, SY alīn id., Tk alīn 'forehead, front, face', Alt alīn 'front', QK {B} alīn 'front side, space in front of', Xk, Tb {B} alīn 'front' adj., Tf, Tv Tj alīn 'face' ¶ Cl. 121, 147 (is not sure about OT al, because in the texts it occurs only with a 3s ppa. in oblique cases [dat., lat., abl.], which may be interpreted as cases of alīn; he suggests that āl appeared later [in Chg, etc.] as reinterpretation of the oblique cases of ālīn), ET Gl 124-5, 146-7, TkR 43, Hüs. 15, B DLT 138, B DChT 100, 102, Jud. 48, Ra. 153 || Tg: Ewk Nr {KD} ālmɯ 'front part of the garment'; ?? Tg *elmu (with a puzzling *e) 'front part of footgear' ('передки') > UI zlmī, Ork zlmɯ ~ zlum, Nn zrmu, Neg znmɯ, Orv zmmu ¶ KD KWV 26, STM II 454 || pKo {S} *ār-p 'front' > MKo àrp, NKo ap^h ap ¶ S QK #651, Nam 348, MLC 1098 || pJ {S} *àràp-ar- v. 'appear' > OJ àràp-ar-a-, J: T/Kg arawaré-, K áráwáré- ¶ S QJ #589, Mr. 677 ¶ DQA #66 (A *āla or *ēla 'front side': T, Ko) ◇ Cf. IS I 244 (*Halā): U,

A. If the K cognate (qu., because its final part is not clear) is valid, the initial lr. of the N etymon must have been * χ - (it is the only one yielding K * χ - and a S epiglottal cns.). If the K cognate is rejected, but the Ak one is accepted, the N initial cns. could have been * \hbar -, * ς -, * χ -, or * ψ -.

2578. * χ A1 ∇ '(be\become) clean' > IE * $\text{o}\chi^{\text{a}}\text{l}$ - > Lw *halali* 'clean' \rightarrow Ht *halali* id. ¶ Pv. III 13, Ts. W I 126, Lar. 38 || HS: S * $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll 'be clean' > Ak *elēlu* 'become pure', *ellu* 'clean', JA [Trg.] $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *D* 'wash, rinse', JEA $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *D* 'wash', Sr $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *D* 'wash away, cleanse, purify', Md $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *D* id., 'rinse, wash', ? σ Ug \hbar ll {OLS} 'desacralization, purification', ? σ BHb $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *D* 'entweihen', *N* 'entweiht werden' ('desacralize' \leftarrow 'purify, clean'??) ¶ Sd. 197-8, Js. 470, Lv. T I 260, Sl. 464-5, Br. 231, JPS 142, DM 148, KB 306-7, OLS 176 || C: EC: Sml {DSI} \hbar al- 'rinse, wash', Sml N {Abr.} \hbar al- 'wash' || SC: Asa *hilus-* v. 'strain, filter' ¶ DSI 622, Abr. S 116, E SC 335 (SC * \hbar el- v. 'clean') || Eg OK \hbar 3.ty d. 'Bleicher, Wäscher' ¶ Hng. 501 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 96 [#26.6] (C, Eg, S) || D * $\text{a}l$ - v. 'wash, clean' > Kn *ale* v. 'wash', *alambu*, *alumbu*, *alabu*, *alubu* v. 'rinse, wash', Tm *alampu-*, *alajcu-* id., *alacu-* v. 'rinse', Ml *alakkuka* 'wash clothes by beating', Td *aṣṣp-* v. 'clean', Tu *alambuni* 'to wash', Tl {Brown} *alamu* v. 'wash' ¶¶ D #246 || E: NEI *a-lik* 'es wurde gesäubert (?)' ¶¶ HK 46.

2579. * χ e1A 'dwell, live' > HS: WS * $\text{-}\hbar^{\text{i}}\text{l}$ l- v. 'stay, live (somewhere), settle somewhere, encamp' > Sb *llh* \hbar ll v. 'encamp', Hrs {Jo.} $\sqrt{\hbar}$ l(l) v. 'stay, alight, live (at)', Mh {Jahn} $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *G* 'stehen bleiben, verweilen, wohnen', {Jo.} v. 'settle', Jb C/E {Jo.} $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *G* id., Ar $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll *G* (ip. $\text{-}\hbar\text{illu}\sim\text{-}\hbar\text{ullu}$) 'descendre dans un endroit, mettre pied à terre, s'arrêter, faire halte', ps. $\text{حَلَّ}^{\text{ل}}$ \hbar ulla 'être habité' (un lieu), مَحَلَّ *maḥall-* 'halte; endroit, lieu, place', *maḥallat-* 'campement, hôtellerie, quartier (de la ville)' (in Ar the verb was semantically influenced by the verb $\sqrt{\hbar}$ ll 'dénouer, défaire [un nœud]', the ancient meaning 'habiter' being better preserved in the ps. \hbar ulla 'was inhabited' and in derived nouns: \hbar ulūl- 'habitation, demeure', *maḥall-*, *maḥallat-*, etc.) ¶ BGMR 67, Jahn MS 191, Jo. M 176, Jo. H 58, Jo. J 108, Fr. I 412-4, BK I 472-5 || K: GZ * χ l- v. 'dwell, stay (somewhere)' > Mg χ or-ua 'to settle (somewhere)' ('sich ansiedeln') ({K}: < * $\text{o}\chi$ or-ua \leftarrow Mg $\text{o}\chi$ or- 'dwelling'), G χ l- v. 'be' (verbum existentiae, copula), 'be (in good, bad, etc. condition)': *ga- χ la-var(t)* 'ich bin, ich bin's', *peṭre ga χ lavart* 'I am

Peter', *gaxlav*s, *gaxlavt* 'er\sie\es ist', 'es hat', 'ist vorhanden', (ḳargad/cudad) *gaxlav*s 'befindet sich (gut\schlecht)'; ⇨ GZ **ṣa-χ*ḷ- (= {K} *(*ṣ*)*a-χ*ḷ-) 'house' (nomen loci with the litteral meaning 'dwelling') > OG, G *saχl-* 'house', Lz *oχor-* id., Mg *oχor-* 'dwelling, abode; farmstead' ¶ Chx. 2365-6, Q 295-6, ≠ K 171-2, K² 176 (**ṣa-χ*ḷ- ⇨ **χal-/χl-* 'be among, near') || U **elä-* v. 'live, dwell' > F *elä-*, Es *ela-* v. 'live (leben, wohnen)' | pLp {Lr.} **ēlē* id. > Lp: N {N} *ællēt* id., S *jiel'e-* 'live (leben)', L *īellē-*, T *yīelle-* 'live, visit' | Chr: H {Rm.} *ale-*, {Ep.} *βιλᾶ-* *älä-* v. 'live', L *ила-* *ila-*, E *ile-* 'leben, wohnen' | pPrm **ɔl-* id. > Z *ol-~ov-*, Yz *ol-* id., Vt *ул(ыр)- ul(ṫ)-* v. 'live' || Hg *él-* id., pObU **yēl-* (= {Hl.} **jēl-*, {Ht.} **jäl-/jěl-*) > pVg **yält-* v. 'be healthy' > Vg: T *yilt-*, K/P/V *yält-*, LL *yelt-*, UL/O *yalt-* id.; pOs **yēlpäṽlä-* ({Hl.} **yīlpäṽlä-*) v. 'resuscitate' > Os: V *yēlwäṽlä-*, Kz *yīḫpaḫə-*, O *yilpälə-* id. || Sm {Jn.} **ṽilä*, {Hl.} **ṽile* v. 'live' > Ng *ńil+de* id.; En {Cs.}: aor. 1s *X iḫi ro?*, B *jiredo?* id.; Ne T {Ter.} *иле(сь)*, Ne O {Lh.} *jīlē*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *il+*- id.; Kms {KD} 1s prs. *íilíem* 'wiederaufleben', *díli* 'lebendig', Mt {Hl.} **ilə-* 'live' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} *ilinde*, K {Pl.} *ilindé*, {Mll.} *illende* 'vividus') ¶¶ Coll. 10, UEW 73, SK 37-8, It. LC 184, Lr. #226, Lgc. #856, N III 863-4, Hs. 780, LG 203, Ep. 167, MRS 131, Ü 53, 294, Ht. #185, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 27, Jn. UK #73, KKI 110, Hl. M #340 || A: M ***ele-* v. 'live, be healthy' ⇨ adj. **ele-ṣür* 'healthy', → 'sober' > MM [MA] *إيلاور* *ele_ür* 'healthy', *إيلاورليك* *ele_ürlik* 'health', [IM] *الر* *elür* 'sober', *الور بي* *elür bī* 'health', Brt *elüür elür* 'healthy, sober', ⇨: Yk *älīār~ ölüör* id., Ewk NB *элэр* 'sober'; mt. **eleṣür* > **ereṣül*, whence WrM *erēgül*, HIM *ерүүл* *erül*, Kl *erül* 'healthy' ¶ Pp. MA 152, 437, STM II 450, otherwise Klz. MJ 17 || AdS of D **ill* 'dwelling, house' (< N **ṽil'A* 'place to stay', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 267-8 s.v. **ṽelA* 'жить'. IS adduces words from K, S, B, C, T, and M, which have no obvious semantic connections with the meaning 'live' and arouse many doubts (concerning both the meaning and phonology). In my opinion, among the words adduced by IS there are reflexes of different N sources: besides N **χelA* 'dwell, live', there are words going back to N **ṽelV* 'clan, tribe' (q.v.), N **wos|g|V* 'stay, be' (q.v.), and possibly other N words.

2580. **χelV* 'fence, boundary, border; enclosure' > HS: WS (or S) **ḫw| ~ ḫy|* v. 'surround' > Ar *ḫaw|*- 'surrounding', *ḫiwalā?*-, *ḫulā?*- 'seconde membrane qui sort de l'utérus à la parturition (chez les

chamelles)', Sb ḥwł (prep.) 'around', (n.) 'surrounding a tomb chamber'; S *ḥa'wīl- (?) > Hb ḥēl (spelled חֵיָּל ḥyḷ and חָל ḥl) 'outer rampart, outwork', Ug ḥl 'fortaleza, baluarte; torre, finca, coto'; ?φ Ak ḫillu 'egg membrane' ¶ KB 299, KBR 312, BGMR 73, BDB #2426, OLS 175, BK I 519, Ln. 575-6, MiK I #1.130 || EC: Sml ḥēl 'space surrounding a settlement' ¶ DSI 305, ZMO 187 || K *°χ|qeł- > G Lch χeł-i 'Grenzzeichen, Steinhäufen im Wald' ¶ Chx. 2332 || IE *xel- 'enclosure' > Ht ḥali- 'pen, corral; lunar halo' || Gk Hm ἀλωή 'garden, threshing-floor', Gk Cp αλωο = ἀλωω 'garden' ¶¶ Pv. III 26-28, Ts. EI 128-9, FI 82-3, Ch. 67-68 || D *ell-ay 'limit, border, boundary' > Tm ellai, Ml ella, Td ely, Kn elle, Tl ella id. ¶¶ D #846, Zv. 72.

2581. *Xilīṽ 'dirt, silt, soot' > HS: WS *√ḥlṽ v. 'rust', *ḥ'īlīṽat- 'rust' > BHb חֶלְיָא *ḥeł'ṽā* 'rust' (חֶלְיָא חֶלְיָא ḥełṽā ḥełṽā 'her rust'), Sq {L} ḥalṽe 'dirt', Mh {Jo.} ḥ3lēt 'rust', ḥ3lū v. 'become rusted', Jb E/C {Jo.} ḥa'le v. 'rust' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, LLS 174, Jo. M 179, Jo. J 110 || IE: NaIE *īl-, *īlu- 'mud' ({P} 'Schlamm'), 'silt' > Gk ἔλυς, -ύος 'mud, silt' || pSl *jbḷb, *jbḷo, *jbḷa 'silt, mud' > OCS нлѣ ілѣ 'mud', R ил 'silt', Blg ил, SCr jīla 'silt, slime', Cz jíł, Slk íl 'silt, clay', P ił 'loam, mud' ¶ P 499, Mn. 430, FI 723, Tr. 103, ESSJ VIII 221-2, EI 371 (*HiHlu- 'mud, swamp') || A: T *ií ~ *ií 'soot, dirty smoke' > OT iš 'lamp-black, soot', Tv iš, Qb, Sg, Alt, Tlt, QK iš, Shor, Kü, Qrg iš, Yk iš 'smoke'; possibly with infl. of T *is 'soot' (< N *ḥElyṽU 'faeces, filth', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 254, Rl. I 1406, Nj. 164, ≈ ET Gl 380 (T ← M *isü 'smoke', see N *ḥElyṽU) || D (in SD) *ill- 'soot' > Tm illaṭay 'soot adhering to the inner side of the roof', Kn illṽa id., Ml illara-kkari, illaṽa-kkari 'grime, soot' ¶ D #498 ◊ T *-í- < *-ly- < N *-īṽ-.

2582. (₂?) *Xalḷṽ (= *Xalbṽ?) 'white' > HS: WS *ḥa'lab- n. 'milk' > BHb חָלָב ḥā'lāḇ id., MHb חָלָב ḥā'lāḇ id., 'white of egg' (→ MHb חָלָב חָלָב ḥeł'bōn 'white of egg'), Pun, Ug, IA ḥlb, JA [Trg.] חָלָב ḥā'lāḇ / חָלָב ḥal'bā, JEA {Sl.} חָלָב ḥalḇā, Sr {Br.} ḥal'əḷḇ-ā, Ar حَلَب ḥalab- {Fr., BK} 'milk', Gz ḥalab 'sour milk'; d.: Ar ḥalīb- 'milk', Gz ḥalīb, Tgr, Tgy ḥalib 'milk, curds', WS *√ḥlb v. 'milk' > MHb, JA, Ar, Sr √ḥlb id.; WS (Aram?) → Ak NA ḫilpu 'milk' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, HJ 372, OLS 176, Js. 464, Sl. 461, ≈ Lv. II 52 (JA חָלָב ḥā'lāḇ / חָלָב ḥal'bā), Br. 232, Fr. I 414-5, BK I 476-7, Hv. 138, LG 229, CAD VI 187 || C: SC ({E} *ḡilíba 'milk'): Irq {Mgw., MQK} ḡilwā ~ ḡulwā, {Wh.} ḡlwa,

Brn, Alg ilba, Grw ulûwa, Asa liba 'milk' ¶ AD SF 129, 152, Wh. IC 24, E SC 291, Mgw. 110, MQK 55 ¶¶ AD l.c., OS #1230, ≠ EEEA 93 (SC *iliba 'milk' ← proto-East-Nilotic *lep- v. 'milk') ¶¶ The S words *ħa'lab- and *ħa'līb- have a morphological structure typical of adjectives (the patterns *Ca'CaC- and *Ca'CiC-), suggesting an original meaning of adj. ('white?') || IE: NaIE *alb^ho- 'white' > L *albus* id., Um *alfu* f. 'white' || Gl *albo-* 'white' || Gk [Hs.] accus. pl. ἄλφους 'white', Gk ἄλφος 'whiteness, white leprosy' || pGmc *alb-it, *alb-ut- 'swan' > OHG *albiȝ*, *elbiȝ*, AS *ælbītu*, *ielfetu*, ON *elptr*, *qlpt* || Sl {Glh.} *ǫlbqdb ~ *ǫlbēdb 'swan' > RChS ΛΕΒΕΔЬ *lebedь*, Blg *лебед*, SCr *lābūd*, Slv *lebed* ~ *labód*, R 'лебедь, Δ 'лебядь, P *łabędź*, Cz *labut'* ¶¶ Adduction of Ht *alpas* 'cloud' is unj. ¶¶ WP I 92-4, P 30-1, Mn. 13-4, F I 81-2, WH I 26-7, Bc. G 327, Vr. 101, Glh. 365, Kb. 16, Schz. 85, ≈ EWA I 152-4, Ts. E I 18, Pv. I 37-8 (rejects the connection of Ht *alpas* 'cloud' with IE *alb^h- for lack of semantic proximity), EI 641 (*h⁴e'l^ho-s) || ?φ D *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright', q.v.) > Krx *all-* 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} *ále* 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui *alga* 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D #261, Pf. 184 ◇ D *all- belongs here if N *-lb- may yield D *-ll-. If the D cognate is legitimate, the N etymon is *Xalb∇ ◇ If Ht *alpas* had belonged here, the rec. would have been N *ħaLb∇, otherwise it is N *XaLb∇ ◇ Trnt. NE2 (S, IE), AD NM #20.

2583. ₂ *X^ra¹lm∇ 'to dream' > HS: WS *✓ħlm v. 'dream' > Hb, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr, SmA, Ar, Gz ✓ħlm G, Mh/Hrs ✓ħlm (pf. *ħaylɜm*, sbjn. *yɜħlōm*), Jb C ✓ħlm (pf. *ħelm*, sbjn. *yah'lum*) id.; WS *ħul_L∇_m- ~ *ħil_L∇_m-, *ħalām- n. 'dream' > Ph, Ug ħlm, Ar ħulm-, BA *ħelēm*, JA, Sr *ħel'm-ā*, Sb ħlm, Gz *ħalm*, Hrs *ħālām* (pl. *ħālōm*), Mh *ħām* (pl. *ħɜ'lawm*), Jb E/C *ħum* (pl. *ɜħ'lom*) id., BHb *ħālōm* id. ¶ HJ 375-6, KB 307-8, KBR 317-8, 320, HJ 375-6, L G 230, A #103, OLS 176, Lv. T I 261, Sl. 465, Br. 234-5, Tal 272-3, Ln. 631-2, BK I 482-3, Hv. 140, BGMR 68, L G 230, Jo. M 179, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 110, Nak. 246, MiK I #2.25 || U: FU *^ra¹lm∇, {Sm.} *ǎlmǎ > FP: Chr: L omo n. 'sleep, dream', Δ om ǎ omə id. || Prm {LG} *onm- ({LG} *ǫnm-) n. 'sleep' > Z yH / yHM-, Z US ωn, Yz 'un, Vt yM / yMM- id. || ObU *wūlam / *wūlm∇ (or *-δ-) 'dream' > pVg {Ht.} *ūlm∇ > OVg S Kg oлма, OVg S VT oлмъ, OVg S Tr yлмy, Vg T oлām, OVg Tb yлым, OVg N Chd yлмъ, Vg LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss ūlam, Vg P wulām, Vg NV/SV/LL ulām n. 'dream'; ⇨

Vg: T olmāy-, LK/NV/SV ulmāy-, MK/UK ūlmāy-, P wulmāy-, LL ulmāy-, Ss ūlmāy- v. 'dream'; pOs {Ht.} *wuləm n. 'dream' > Os: V/Vy uləm, Ty uḏəm, D/K otəm, Nz utəm, Kz wūḏəm, O wuləm id., ? pOs {Ht.} *aləm n. 'sleep' (> Os: V/Vy/O aləm, Ty/Y āḏəm, D/K otəm, Nz ɔtəm, Kz ɔḏəm) (× FU *oḏa- v. 'sleep?') ¶ Sm. 542 (FU *ālmā 'dream' > FP *alma, Ugr *ālmā), LG 297, TmK 722, MRS 379-80, ≈ Ber. 45, ≈ Ht. #664, Stn. WV 209, Kn. WV 170.

2584. (₂?) *χoí∇ 'middle; be among' > K: GZ *χal-/*χl- v. 'be among\near sth.' > OG, G χl- id., Mg, Lz χoł- id. ¶ K 260, K² 325 (GZ *χal-/*χl- 'be among, near sth.') || A: T *oí 'middle' > OT oš 'the heart\centre of a tree-trunk\branch\horn' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 366 || ?σ HS: S *o-ḥūl- > Gz ✓ ḥwł G (js. yə-ḥūl, pf. ḥawala ~ ḥōla) 'mix, mingle', T (pf. taḥawla) 'be mixed, mingled', Tgr (tə)ḥawəla 'eat and drink in community' ¶ L G 249.

2585. ₂ *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva' > HS: Eg fMd ḥm.t 'womb (of a cow\woman), vulva', ?σ fP 'woman' ¶ EG III 76, DW II 597-600, Fk. 168-9, Tk. I 123 || ?σ S *ḥ∇m₄∇₄m(-at)- '∈ internal cavity of animal's body', '∈ part of viscera' > Ar ḥamām-at- {Ln.} 'middle of the breast\chest, (?) sternum', {BK} 'milieu de la poitrine \ du poitrail, sternum', ? ḥammā?- 'fesses', Tgr ḥəmməto 'a dish of entrails cut to pieces', Tgy ḥəmməto 'una pietanza fatta d'interiori di capra\pecora, etc.', ? Sq Δ ḥéʔm {SSL} 'bas-ventre', ? Ak umandū 'ein Teil des Leibesinnern' ¶ Ln. 637, BK I 486-7, Hv. 141, Sd. 1412, LH 62, Bsn. 40, SSL LSNP 1460, MiK I #1.119 || A: T *ha₄;₄m or NaT *a₄;₄m 'vulva' > OT, MOg, MQp [incl. CC] am, Tk am, Kr, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt am id., Xlj {DT} hām id. It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N *χ- yields pT *h- (preserved in Xlj) (see N *ʿχ'oḳu [or *ʿχ'oḳi?] 'call out, speak; incantations') . But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ¶ Cl. 155, Rs. W 18, DT 122, DHST s.v. ḥāḳm ◊ Cf. IS I 245 (supposes that T *a₄;₄m goes back to N {IS} *Hanga, sc. N {AD} *ʔanga 'to open', 'opening' [esp. 'mouth']).

2586. ₂ *XEm∇ 'warm' > HS: S *✓ ḥmm 'be hot', *ḥamm- 'hot' > Hb ḥm (pl. ḥm̄m ḥam'm-īm) 'hot', JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥam) 'be hot', Ar ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥamma) 'heat (water, a bath, a stove)', Ak emmu 'hot'; ⇨ *ḥumm- 'warmth, heat' > Hb ḥm̄m ḥom id., Sr {Br.} ḥm̄m ḥu₄m₄mā 'calor, aestus', Ug ḥm {A} 'heat', {OLS} 'heat, drought' ('calor, sequía'), Ar ḥumm- 'chaleur brûlante\excessive (de

midi)', *ḥumm-at-* 'fever', Ak *u m m u* 'heat' ¶ A #835, OLS 177, KB 312, KBR 325, Lv. T I 266, Sl. 469-70, Br. 238, JPS 145, BK I 485-7, HJ 380, Ln. 636, CAD IV 150-1 || C: DhI {EEN} *ḥantū-iḏ-* v. 'warm oneself' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} *ḥām* 'warm', {MQK} *ḥām* 'hot, warm' (of water), Alg *hamis-* 'set on fire' ¶ E SC 299, EEN 26, Mgw. 102, MQK 44, Blz. SCL s.v. 'warm' || ?φ Eg XVIII *ḥm vi.* 'be hot, burn' ¶ EG II 489 ¶¶ OS #1285 (S, Irq, Eg) || A: NaT **i'm'i'k* 'mild\warm' (of weather) > OT {Cl.} *imik*, Tk An *imik* ~ *umuk id.* ¶ Cl. 159, SDD 769, 1419.

2587. (₂?) ***Xom** ▽ 'sour, bitter' > HS **ḥum-* > C **ḥum-* ~ **ḥam-* > Bj {R} -*hami* (✓ *hmy*) pcv. 'be bitter, acid, sour' (1s p. 'a-*hami*, 1s prs. a-*hammi*), 'ḥāmi' 'bitter, acid, sour' || LEC **ḥum-* ({Ss.} **ḥam-* ~ **ḥum-*) 'bad' (× N ?σ ***XUm** ▽ '≈ old, bad, miserable', q.v. ffd.) || Eg MK *ḥmī.t*, Cpt **ḤMOY** *ḥmu* 'salt' ¶ EG III 93-94, Fk. 170, Vc. 299 || S (+ext.) *✓ *ḥmṣ̂* v. 'be sour, be fermented' > Hb ✓ *ḥmṣ̂ G id.*, pf. 3m (pausal form) *ḥā'mēṣ̂ vi.* 'leavened', *Sh* prtc. *maḥ'meṣ̂eṣ̂* 'sth. sour-tasting', Sr ✓ *ḥmṣ̂ G vi.* 'ferment, leaven', JA [Trg.] ✓ *ḥmṣ̂ G* 'be(come) sour, be leavened', Ar **حمض** ✓ *ḥmṣ̂ G* 'be(come) sour', Tgr {d'Ab.} ✓ *ḥmṣ̂* [*ḥmṣ̂*] *G* (pf. *ḥamṣ̂a*) 'become sour\bitter', Ak *emēṣ̂u* v. 'be sour'; CS d. **ḥumṣ̂-* 'sourness, vinegar' > Hb *ḥomeṣ̂*, Ug *ḥmṣ̂*, JA [Trg.] **ḥmṣ̂** *ḥa'maṣ̂*, em. **Ḥmṣ̂** *ḥumṣ̂-ā* 'vinegar', Ar **حمض** *ḥamṣ̂-* 'salt or bitter plants'; Cn ⇨ Eg N *ḥmṣ̂* 'vinegar' ({Vc.} = [*ḥumṣ̂-*]), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} *ḥā-m-za* > Cpt Sd **ḤMY** *ḥamṣ̂*, Cpt B *ḥemṣ̂* 'vinegar' ¶ KB 316, KBR 329-30, A #941, Lv. II 73, Lv. T I 266, Js. 478, BK I 492-3, Hv. 143, Br. 230, JPS 147, EG III 99, Vc. 303, Hlk. #169, SivCR 83 || Ch {Stl.} **ḥama* 'salt' > WCh: Fy {J} *ḥamâ id.* || CCh: Msg *ḥom id.* ¶ Stl. IF 115 ¶¶ OS #1231 (HS **ḥam-* > Eg, Ch) || IE **h²em-*/**h²m-* 'raw, bitter, (?) sour' > OI *ā'ma-* 'raw, uncooked' || Gk *ḥmōg id.* || L *amārus* 'bitter' || OIr *om*, W of 'raw' || pGmc **ampra-* (< **om-ro*) > Dt † *amper* 'sharp, astrigent, sour' ('scherp, wrang, zuur'), Sw *amper* 'bitter, sharp (piquant)', ON *apr* 'hard' || ? Arm **ḥnuṣ̂** *hum* 'raw, unripe, sour' ¶ P 777 (**om-*), Dv. #724, EI 478 (**h₂o'mo-s* ~ **h₂ō'mo-s*), MK I 77, WH I 35, Vn. O 21, F II 1149, Sl. 353, Vr. 11, Vr. N 16, Hlq. 17 || ?σ,φ **U**: FP **umra* 'wild angelica (*Angelica sylvestris*)' or 'sorrel' (< *'sour grass') > Er *umbrav*, *umrav* 'sorrel', pPrm **wmra* > Z **ompa** '*Angelica sylvestris*', Z US/LL *umra*, Prmk *umra id.*, Yz 'umra' 'angelica' ¶ Lt. 57, LG 205, U 372.

2588. $_2$ *Xum∇ (= *χum∇?) 'to wish, to covet' > HS: WS *-hūm- (~ *χūm-?) 'wish' > Ar ✓ hwm G (pf. hāma, ip. -hūmu) v. {BK} 'vouloir, désirer', {Hv.} 'be thirsty, long for', {BK} hāyim- 'altéré de soif', Mh ✓ hwm (sbjn. y3hōm) 'want, like, wish, need', Bth ✓ hwm, Hrs ✓ χwm (sbjn. y3χōm) (with a puzzling χ for the expected h), Hbt ✓ χwm v. 'want' ¶ BK I 521, Hv. 151, Jo. M 194-5, Jo. H 145, Nak. #1138 || Ch {AD} *χ∇m- {AD} 'wish, look for' ({Stl.} *χam- 'look for') (× N *qum∇ 'prey, ask') > ECh: LI {ChC} hām- 'look for' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} hūmā 'want' || ?φ WCh: DfB {J} gām 'look for' ¶ Stl. IF 108, 289, ChC, J R 214 || A: NaT *um- 'ask for, covet' > OT {Cl.} um- id., MQp/OOsm XIV um- v. 'hope', Tk um-, Az, CrTt, Qmq um- id., Ggz, Kr Cr um- v. 'covet, hope', Uz Δ um- v. 'wish' ¶ Acc. to Cl., the meaning 'hope' developed due to the infl. of NPRs مريد omīd n. 'hope', whence Tk um- v. 'hope, believe', Az, Ggz, CrTt, Qmn v. 'hope' ¶ Cl. 155-6. ET Gl 595-6, Vl. I 122 || ?σ pJ {S} àmà-p- 'think', {Mr.} *omo-pa > OJ {S} òmòp- id., {Mr.} omo-φu- 'think, feel', J: T omó-, K ómó-, Kg òmò- 'think' ¶ Mr. 741, S QJ #160, Kenk. 1442, ≠ DQA #34 (unc.: T *um- < *ǎmo 'mouth, taste') ◇ The Ch cognate (if valid) is likely to point to N *χ- ◇ I am grateful to S. Starostin (p.c., 1976) for drawing my attention to the J cognate.

2589. ?σ *XUm∇ '≈ old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > U: FU *oma 'old, worn' (of things) > pLp {Lr.} *j̄mē 'old' > Lp: S oāmīe, L āmēs, N oames, In oami, Kld {SaR} вѡѡммь vūēmím 'old' || Er umok 'long ago' || ?Hg (× FU *soŋk₁∇ 'old' < N *zoŋE 'old'): ?OHg XI oħut, XII out, XVI awat '(very) old', ?Hg ó 'old, ancient, antique', avar 'dry fallen leaves and parched grass' ¶ UEW 337, Lr. #831, Lgc. #4573, SaR 62, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 || HS: LEC *hum- 'bad' (× N *Xom∇ 'sour, bitter') > Sa, Af um-a, Sml hun/ hum- 'bad, evil, worthless', Sml J huŋ-, Or {Bl.} hām-a', {Grg.} ham-ā (Or a < *u, acc. to Bl.) ¶ R WBd 118, Bl. 107, 201, Ss. PEC 38 (EC *ham-~*hum-), Hn. S 64, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E PC #519 || SC {E}: Brn, Alg hamis- 'get lost, forget'; ??σ: Brn ham-, Alg hamu 'hardship, distress' ¶ Ss. PC 38, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E SC 334, 379 || IE {JAd.} *he|oumo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend' || Tc B aume {Ad.} '≈ misery', {Wn.} 'misère', Tc A omäskem {Ad.} 'evil', {Wn.} 'mauvais, méchant' ¶ Vr. 19, Ad. 132 (*h₂e|oumo-), Wn. 154, 335-6 ◇ Highly qu. (too loose and unreliable semantic connections). Identical with N *Xom∇ 'sour, bitter'? ◇ Suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #7a and Blz. LNA #23: N *hōma) ◇ Hardly

here D *ūm- 'dumb' (better from N *'ζ'umη|ñ ▽ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness / remembrance of') and Kl omūn 'soft' (⇔ Blz. LNA #23).

2590. *χ ▽ m ▽ 'wall, (?) wind-break' > HS: WS *hām-at-, *hām-īt- 'wall (around a city \ settlement)' > OCn (AkSc) χu-mi-tu (= *hōmītu), Hb הַקִּיּוֹן hō'mā 'city wall, wall (around a building or an area of a city)', Ph ḥmyt 'fortress', M'b ḥmt 'wall', Ug ḥmt, (AkSc) ḥamītu 'city wall (Mauer, muro)', Sb ḥmy 'build a dam wall (for a canal)' ¶ KBR 298, HJ 381, A #944, OLS 178, Hnr. 125, BGMR 69, HJ 381 || K: G χim-i 'Zaun aus Rohr', χim-e 'Zaun aus Baumstämmen' ¶ Chx. 2361 || IE: Ht humma 'stable, stall, sty', (?) Lw hum(ma)ti 'stable' ¶ Ts. E I 283-4, Pv. III 373 || ? A: WrMc emile- v. 'screen' ({Z} 'заслонять, закрывать, застѣнять') ¶ Z 81.

2591. *χam₁ ▽₁ gē 'tight, narrow; to squeeze' > IE *χamg^h- > NaIE *anġ^h- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie (up), squeeze' > Av azaṇhē 'zu bedrängen', ny-āzara 'sie schnürt sich' || Gk ἄσχω v. 'squeeze (esp. the throat), embrace, strangle, throttle' || L ang-ō, -ēre 'press tightly; strangle, throttle' || OIr ing 'Bedrängnis' (P: < *ŋg^hi), Brrt {RE} *angios 'narrow' > W yng ~ ing, Crn yn, OBr enc, MBr encq, Br enk id. || Sl *vež-ati 'to tie' (1s prs. *vež-ŋ) > OCS ВЯЗАТИ vežati, SCr, Slv vézati, Cz vázati, Slk viazat', R вя'зать (1s prs. вя'жу) id., Blg 'вежа 'I tie' | NaIE *anġ^h-u-s 'tight, narrow' > OI am̄hu-ḥ 'narrow', MPrs {M} *anzūk id. > MncMPrs hnzwg, Prt ṛnžwg, MPrs ⇨ Arm աճուկ anžuk 'narrow, strait' || L angiportus ~ angiportum 'narrow street' || Gt aggwu (adj. ntr.), ON qngr, AS enze, OHG engi, NHG eng 'narrow' || Sl *q'zъ-kъ 'narrow' (f. *'qzъ-ka, ntr. *'qzъ-ko), dadj. *'qzъkъ-jъ > OCS ЖЗЪКЪ qzъkъ, SCr ūzak, Slv ózek, Cz, Slk úzký, P wazki, R 'узок / 'узкий, in d. (words, forms) without *-ъkъ: cmpr. *qžъjъ (< *qz-šъjъ) 'narrower' > SCr ūžī, Cz úží id., R (pradj.) 'уже 'is narrower', d. nouns like OR ОУЗОТА uz-ota 'narrowness', etc. | NaIE *anġ^hos-, *anġ^hes- 'narrowness, oppression, anxiety' > OI 'am̄haḥ / am̄has- ntr., Av azaḥ 'anxiety, trouble' || L angor 'suppression of the throat, mental distress, anxiety', angustus 'narrow', angustia 'narrowness' || ON angr 'ill humour, affliction, sorrow', OFrs angist, OHG angust, NHG Angst 'fear' || Lt aĩkštas 'narrow, cramped', ? ChS ЖЗОСТЬ qzostъ 'narrowness' (unless d. within Sl) || Ht ham(m)e(n)k- ~ hami(n)k- 'tie; betroth' ({EI}: < *h₂m̄neġ^h-) ¶ P

42-3, ≈σ EI 64 (*h₂emġ^h- 'tie, constrain'), F I 17-8, M K I 14, M E I 38-9, RastM PJ 157 (on the Mnc letter j for Prt ž), WH I 47, RE 114, Flr. 100, 159, Fs. 13-4, Vr. 10, 687, Kb. 32, 200, Schz. 88, 124, EWA I 253-5 and II 1072-3, KM 22, 165-6, Frn. 11, Glh. 658, 667-8, Vs. I 374 and IV 154, Srz. III 1172, Ped. H 197, Pv. III 64-8 || **HS:** S *^o✓ ħmg > Ar ✓ ħmġ D v. 'cligner l'œil en rapprochant les paupières (pour mieux voir)', 'être maigre, maigrir' ¶ BK I 488 || **U:** FU {UEW} *aŋke 'narrow, depressed' > F {UEW} ankea 'schwer, bedrängt, melancholisch', {Sz.} ange (gen. ankeen) 'Begrängnis', Es angu- 'gerinnen, starr werden' (both unless ← Gmc [Gt aggwu 'eng', etc., / above]) || OHg agg- 'worry' ('sich um etwas kümmern'), Hg aggód- 'be anxious, worry', Δ aggód- v. 'curdle' (of cow milk) ¶ UEW 12, EWU 10-1 || **D** *aŋkañam 'space between two posts\pillars\beams' > Kn, Tu aŋkaña, Tl aŋkañamu id., Tm aŋkañam 'space between two pillars' ¶¶ D #28.

2592. *^ʁo_l?a_lmuś|ś∇ (or *^ʁo_l?a_lmU(-ś|ś∇)) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collar-bone', 'shoulder', or sim. > IE: NaIE *om(e)so-s 'shoulder' > OI 'amśa-_h id., Oss I on, Os D onä 'shoulder-blade' || Arm nlu us (gen. usoy) 'shoulder' || Gk ὠμος id. (< *osmos, cp. ἐπ-ομμάδιος ~ ἐπ-ωμάδιος adj. 'on the shoulders') || L *umerus* 'shoulder', Um uze, ONSE 'in umero' || Gt ams 'shoulder', ON áss 'mountain ridge' || pTc {Ad.} *āns|ce > Tc A es, B āntse 'shoulder' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Pv., EI) Ht anassa- 'body part in the rear of the lower torso', prob. {Pv.} 'hips, buttocks' (possibly connected with L *ānus*, see Ivn. R III-VIII 162 and Po. PBH 205) ¶¶ P 778, EI 515-6 (*h₁h⁴omsō-s), M K I 14, M E I 37, Ab. II 227-8, F II 1148-9, WH II 815, Bc. G 339, Slt. 203-4, Wn. 182, Ad. 43-4, Ad. H 20, 28, 147, Pv. I-II 63-4 || **HS:** WCh {Stl.} *ʔam(śi) and {AD} *wam(śi) 'arm' > SBc: Bg {J} ʔámśí, Kir wam, wamsi, Plc am, Gj womži id. || Ngz {Sch.} áamáġ 'hand, arm' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231 [#790], Sch. DN 9, ChC || ?σ Eg MK/G xms ({EG} ħmś) v. 'bend one's back in respect' ¶ EG III 367, Fk. 201 || **U** *wamś∇ 'rump, crupper, shoulder' > FU: pOs *waməs > Os: D woməs 'bones of the shoulder', V waməs 'withers, crupper', Vy waməs 'back part of the animal's trunk; pelvis and the back end of the spine together with the surrounding meat', Ty wāməs 'back part of the body, loins with their meat' || Sm: Ne: T ямэ 'groin', T O {Lh.} yâ:pcara 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Oberschenkel und dem Bauch um die Genitalien', T Y yâ:msara, T MZ yâ:mз, F wĕâms ~ wĕâmc

id.; En: X {Cs.} 'bařaro, B {Cs.} 'bařado 'loins (Kreuz am Rücken)'; Ng {Cs.} bob'sudu 'loins, waist' ¶¶ Coll. 66, UEW 556, KrT 225, Lh. 103
 || A {ADb.} *omuř > T *omuř 'collar-bone', 'breastbone', or sim. > Chg {PC}, MQp, OOsM omuz, Tkm omuđ, CrTt, Qmq, QrB omuz 'shoulder', Tk omuz, Ggz omuz 'upper part of the back', Tk Δ omuz 'back, horse's chest', Uz ωmiz 'shoulder', 'arm-hole (in garments)', Chv ъмѣр 'animal's breast, dewlap (подгрудок)', Tkm omurdan 'shoulder, upper part of a sleeve' (with *ř > r before a cns. [Hl.'s law]); ↗ *omurtka ~ *oňurtqa 'backbone' > OT oγurγa id., Tk omurğa, Qzq omirtqa, Qrg omurtqa, OOsM XIV, Tkm oňurγa, Az onurγa ¶ ET Gl 453-5, Md. 171 (*omuř), 41 (*oňuriγ, *oňurga), Cl. 92-3, Rs. W 361-2, TL 240-1, ADb. SR 136-7, 188-90 ¶ The original meaning is likely to be 'collar-bone', 'breastbone', or sim., the semantic shift to 'shoulder' in the lgs of the SW area (within and near the former Byzantine Empire) may be due to the infl. of Gk ὤμος 'shoulder' || ppM {Pp.} *omuri-γun > M *omuruγun > MM [S] {Koz.} [UygSc?] omoru, {H, Pp.} omori-ud ({H} pl. of omori h?) 'breastbone', WrM omuruγun, HIM оμπρυγ 'sternum, clavicle, breast', Brt {Pp.} omořuň 'horse's breast', Kl {KRS} оμπρη 'грудь' (= 'chest?'), Kl D {Rm.} omrūn, Kl Ö {Rm.} omrū 'chest (cavity), breastbone', ? Mnr H {SM} muršdag 'Adam's apple'; M ↗ Nog, Qq, Qzq omiraw 'horse's breast; breast', Qrg omurō 'breast (of horses and other animals)', Qmq omuraw, VTt, Bsh umraw 'collar-bone', Alt omurū 'stature (стан)', Xk omiriγ, Sg/Qb/Qc/Kü {RI.} omriγ 'front part of a horse's breast' ¶ MED 611, Vld. 196, KRS 397, KW 285-6, H 124, SM 251, ≈ ET Gl 453-4 (the authors try to find a T et. for omraw ~ omuraw without considering it a loan from M), KumRS 243, BIG 126, RI. I 1170-1 ¶¶ Pp. VG 68, KW l.c., ADb. SR 308 [#18] ◇ The A cns. *-ř- may be explained by a hypothetical (reg. in some conditions?) change: N *-ś- > **-ź- > A *-ř-. Another possible case of this pre-A rhotacism is A {AD} *p'ok'ūr- 'bovine animal, bull' related to L pecus / pecoris (< N *poKü '[herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.] with a sibilant extension). An alt. solution of the problem is morphological: N *ś∇ (or *ś̂∇) may have been an aux. word (> sx.) used to form derived nouns or cds., esp. those with the abstract meaning; this N *ś|ś̂∇ underlies the pIE abstract nouns with the stem-final *-os (e.g. *gēn-os > L gen-us [gen. gen-er-is], Gk γέν-ος [gen. γέν-ε-ος], OI 'jan-aḥ [gen. jan-as-aḥ]), and the Tg nomina collectiva with the sx. *-sa / *-se (Ewk mō-sa

'grove, a group of trees' and Ork *mōso* 'forest' ← Ewk, Ork *mō-* 'tree', *F Vas.* 258, 788, STM I 540-1). In this case the abovementioned IE, S, Ch, and U words with a sibilant go back to the N cd. **ʰo_lʷa₁mu-ś|ś∇*, while those without the sibilant go back to N **ʰo_lʷa₁mU* without the element **ś|ś∇*, while A **-ř* is a different sx. ◇ U and WCh **wa-* (in U **wamś∇* and WCh **wam(śi)*) are likely to go back to N **ʰo_lʷa-* (> ***Hga*).

2593. (₂?) **ʰān∇* (or **-ŋ-*) 'to bow, to bend down, to descend' > **HS:** CS **√ħny|w* > Ar *√ħnw G* (ip. *-ħnuw-*) v. 'recourber, plier; pencher la tête pour boire', *√ħny G* (ip. *ħniy-*) v. 'courber, recourber, cambrer (un bois)', *ħanw-* 'crooked', 'courbé, courbure', BHb *√ħny* (ip. *-ħ^anē*) v. 'decline, encamp', Amr *√ħny|w* v. 'encamp' ¶ KB 319, KBR 332, Fr. I 437-8, BK I 506, Hv. 147 || ? (+ext.) Eg OK *χnd* ≈ bend (wooden sticks)', Eg MK {Fk.} 'bend (wood), twist together (flower-stems)' ¶ EG III 312, Fk. 195 || **A:** T **än|ŋ-* ({Md.} ppT **e.ŋ-*) v. 'descend, come down' > OT, XwT *en-* 'descend, come down', Tkm *eŋ-*, Chv *an-* v. 'descend, come\go down', Yk {Pek.} *äŋiyä~äniä* 'slope' ('покатость, сполн'); (here??) Tkm *īn-*, Tk *in-*, Ggz *jin-* 'descend' ¶ Cl. 168, Rs. W 43, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, Pek. 270, ET Gl 353-4 (T **īn-* 'descend'), Md. 34, 164 (T **ěŋ = *ä.ŋ* 'descend'; rejects the connection with Tkm *īn-*), S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292. All forms except Tkm *īn-*, Tk *in-*, and Ggz *jin-* can be accounted for by T **än-*; the Tkm long *vw.* in *īn-* may suggest a pT long *vw.*, but may be alternatively explained as going back to *ji-* (with a prosthetic **j-*, as in Ggz). Acc. to Md. 34, Tkm *īn-* does not belong here. Tk *in-* and Ggz *jin-* must be of the same origin as Tkm *īn-* ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1533 (T < A **ŋēni* 'go [down, away]', see N **ŋæñE* 'go [away]') || ?σ,φ **K:** G I *χvanχval-* 'sich winden' ¶ Ghl. 749, Chx. 2345.

2594. **χin∇* 'be happy\glad, love' > **K:** Sv: UB *-χēn-* 𐎠 *-χen-* 'bring good news', msd. UB/L *li-χēn-e*, LB/Ln *li-χen-e* 'bringing (/to bring) good news' ¶ TK 484, Dn. s.v. *-χēn-* || **HS:** CS **ħinn-* > Hb *ħn* *ħen* 'favour' / +ppa. *ħinn-* (3m *ħin'n-ō*) 'grace, beauty; favour, approval', MHb *ħen*, JA [Trg.] *ħnħ ~ ħnħ ħin'nā* 'grace, favour, loveliness', Ph *ħn* 'favour', OA, IA *ħn* {HJ} '(quality) which procures favour'; S **√ħnn*, **-ħunn-* > BHb *√ħnn* (pf. *ħānan*, ip. *yā-ħon*, pf. c. *ħnħ way'yāħon*) 'be gracious, generous', Ph *√ħnn N*, Pun *√ħnn G*, Ug *√ħnn G /D* (?) 'be benevolent, merciful towards so.', Amr {G} *√ħnn* 'be gracious, be merciful', JA *√ħnn G* (pf. *ħnħ an*, ip. *ħnħ yē'ħon*) v. {Lv.}

'jem-m günstig\gradevoll sein, sich seiner erbarmen', Ar ✓ħnn G (pf. حَنَّ ħanna) {BK} 'avoir une grande tendresse pour qn.; avoir compassion de qn.; être ému (de tristesse, de joie)', {Hv.} 'long for her child' (a woman), Ak enēnu 'seek grace'; -d> *ħa'nān- > Htr ħnrn? 'pity, compassion', Sr سِنُّ ħanā'n-ā (abs. سِنُّ ħa'nān) id., 'mercy', Ar حنان ħanān- 'mercy, blessing, tenderness of heart', 'pitié, compassion', Plm ħnrn? 'clement, merciful' ¶ KB 318, 321, A #947, OLS 78-9, HJ 386-7, 389, BK I 498-9, Hv. 145, G A 20, Js. 481, 484, Lv. T I 268-70, Sl. 474, 457, JPS 149 || A: M *inag > MM [S] inah 'Favorit, Günstling', WrM inag, HIM янаг 'beloved, darling; favourite, lover; friend', 'benevolence, affection' ¶ H 82, MED 409-10 || D *iñ- 'pleasant, agreeable' > Tm iñ- 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable', Ml in(ip)ram, inupram, inima 'pleasure, delight', iniya 'sweet', Kn in, ini, ine 'sweetness, pleasantness, loveliness', Tu, Tl impu 'agreeableness, pleasantness', Tl incu 'be agreeable', ?? Brh hanēn 'sweet' ¶¶ D #530 ◇ Hardly here FU *int∇ 'energy' (LG 209-10, SK 108); NaIE *ans- 'be favourable' (P 47) is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with S *✓?nš id. (< N *?añ∇, s∇ ≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful', q.v.) ◇ Blz. SNE #14 (*ħin∇ in S, A + *÷ IE + *÷ U), ≠ Bmh NMF (*÷ IE *ans-, S).

2595. 2 *Xañ∇, s∇ 'together, with' > D *-āñ > Tm -āñ 'with' (ending of instr.), ? OTI {An.} -əñ ~ -ə id. (čēyi 'hand' ↔ čētə(ñ) 'with the hand') ¶¶ An. SG 211-3 || HS: Eg fP ħnr 'together with', 'and' ¶ EG III 110-2, Fk. 172 ||| This N etymon may underly the second element *(i)ħen- of the HS compound aut. prn. *?aniħEn-n∇ 'we' (*?an- [focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns] + *(i)ħen- + *nu∇ 'we, our') found in S, Bj, and B: S *?a'niħnu 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 ?a'naħnū, Ph ?nħn, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA † 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 ?a'naħnā, IA ?nħn(h), Plm ?nħnω, Sr سِنُّ ħa'nan ~ (archaic) سِنُّ ?nħnn (probably سِنُّ) * *?anaħnan), Ar نَحْنُ naħnu, Gz naħna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nāħā, Jb E 'nħa, Jb C 'nħan ~ 'nħa, Sq {Jo.} ħan ~ 'ħanhən, Ak (a)nīnu ¶ KB 69, 1669, Lv. T I 40, Sl. 144, PS 250, Br. 28, Nld. CSG § 163, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Sd. G § 41) || C: Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', {R} he'nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōn, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han'nē ≈ he'nē 'our' (× N *ħin∇ [= *Xin∇?] 'other'?) ¶ R BedS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2 || B *hanā-ϣ 'us, 'to us' > Tw {Pr.} ānϣ ≈ hānϣ id. (ffd. see N *ñ∇ 'we' excl.) ¶¶ If this

conjecture is right, the HS word *ʔaniḥEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together'. For an alt. et. of *ʔaniḥEn-n∇ *F* s.v. N *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other'.

2596. *Xü'w' iñC∇ (or *X'ü' ñC∇?) 'thin, narrow' > HS: Eg Md/NK ḥns ({EG} ḥnś) 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ EG III 116 || C *✓ řnC: ?φ EC: Sa {Wlm.} řenda 'little, small', Af {PH} řunḏa 'be small, be young', ?φ Arr *ʔiní 'child, boy' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} řncay 'boy' ¶ AD SF 143, HP 62, Hw. A 341 || U: FU *°wińća (~ *°wić∇?) 'thin, narrow' > Ugr: ObU {Ht.} *wīńć∇ > pVg *wĩś > Vg: T üś, LK/UK wiś, P/LL íś 'small', UL uś ēηk 'elder brother's youngest daughter (младшая золовка)' (ēηk 'elder brother's daughter'); pOs *wǎńć 'narrow' > Os: V/Vy wǎńť, Ty/D wǎť, Nz/Kz waś | Hg [early XIX] vézna 'hager, schwächig', Hg O vézna 'lean, thin, slight (sovány, cingár)', Hg vézna 'puny, sickly, peaky, weak' ¶ UEW 899 (*wǎńća ~ *wǎć∇), Coll. 123 (*wǎńć∇), Ht. #696, EWU 1631 || A: T *jinç-ḵä 'thin' > OT jinčgä 'thin, slim, delicate', Tk iñce, Az, Ggz inžä, CrTt inže, Tkm īñče (ī < *ji), Qmq inče, QrB inčke ~ inčge, Nog jiniške, Qq žiniške, Qzq žiñiške, VTt ньśkä, Bsh ньskä, Uz ingičkä, ET iničkä, Δ jinžige, Qrg, Ln ičke, Alt cícke, Tv čijøe, Yk sińńigäs 'thin', Xk һичке nuske, Chv чинче śinž_e 'thin, narrow' ¶ Cl. 945, Rs. W 203, ET Gl 364-5, NogR 124, Tn. SJ 403 || M *üćü-ken ~ *öćü-ken 'small, little' (× N *ηUÇ∇ 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) || ? pJ *úsú-'thin' > OJ úśú-, J: T ùsu-, K úsu-, Kg úśi-, Ns ùśú-; *÷ J Sh inčá and J Ns ìkk'á 'short' (acc. to Starostin, from pJ {S} *mìnsìkà 'short') ¶ S AJ 269 [#102], S QJ #102, Mr. 843 ¶¶ S VL 228, ≈ SDM97 s.v. *ńiñč'í and *ηüč'e, ADb. NNN 34, ≈ DQA #1544 (A *ηóyću thin, small' > incl. T *ōçu-, M *öćü-, pJ *úsú-) || D *ūńć- 'lean, thin; to dry up' > Tm urñcaṭṭai 'leanness, thinness', Tl ũca 'withered, lean, thin', Prj ūń- v. 'dry up, become emaciated' ¶¶ D #735 ◇ If the N etymon is *X'ü' ñC∇, U *wi- < *ü- may be a case of "labial fission" (see Introduction, § 2.2.7). But the rec. *Xü'w' iñC∇ is preferable, because it is able to account not only for FU *°wińća, but also for T *jinç-ḵä (*Xü'w' i- > **üi- > **yi- > T *ji-).

2597. *Xäñ∇k∇ (↔ *Xäηk∇?) 'jaw, palate' > HS: WS *hink-, *ha'nak-'palate, lower jaw' > BHb ḥḥ ḥek id. / +ppa. ḥikk- (ḥik'k-ō 'his palate'), JA [Trg.] ḥḥ ~ ḥḥ ḥik'k-ā 'palate', JEA ḥḥ ḥin'k-ā ~ ḥḥ ḥik'kā, Sr ḥḥ ḥen'k-ā ~ ḥḥ ḥek'k-ā and pl. ḥen'k-ā 'palate,

pharynx', Ar ḥanāk- {BK} 'palais et la partie de la bouche sous le menton correspondante au palais', {Hv.} 'palate; lower jaw', Tgr ḥanək 'palate' (<b- Ar?), Mh ḥannūk, Jb C/E ḥo'nuk 'gum and palate', Hrs ḥennək 'gum and uvula' ¶ KB 300, KBR 313, Lv. II 82, Js. 455, Sl. 457-8, Br. 244, Ln. 639, Fr. I 437, BK I 505, Hv. 147, Jo. M 182, Jo. J 112, Jo. H 60, MiK I #1.124 || U *āḡḡ 'chin, jaw, jaw-bone' (× N *ʔāḡḡ|gḡ 'chin' [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU *āḡḡ 'jaw' > pVg {Ht.} *āḡḡ 'jaw' > Vg: T āḡḡ, LK/MK āḡḡ, P āḡḡ 'jaw' ¶ Ht. #39 (*÷ Os *oñčəḡ ({HL.} *āñčəḡ) that can be better explained from N *Γaḡḡ'U 'cheek' [q.v.]) || A ({DQA} *ēḡa, -k'ḡ 'chin, jaw') (× N *ʔāḡḡ|gḡ '↑', q.v. ffd.): NaT *āḡḡ or *ēḡḡ 'cheek', T *eḡäk 'chin, jaw, cheek', pJ {S} *áḡk- 'jaw, chin; gills', Tg: WrMc eḡge 'beak' ¶¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, TkR 798, Hüs. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45, S QJ #163, STM II 457, DQA #434.

2598. ʔσ (₂?) *XḡNkḡ (= *XäNka?) 'to untie, to open' > HS: S *o✓ḡnk > Ar ✓ḡnk *Sh* (pf. ʔaḡnaka) 'éloigner, écarter, chasser' ¶ BK I 505 || C *ḡink- v. 'open, untie' ({E} v. 'remove, open') > Ag ≈ *ʔḡnk- (× N *ʔaḡga 'to open' × N *ḡEko 'to open [?], to bare, to uncover') > Bln {R} ʔḡnk- 'öffnen, auflösen, aufbinden; befreien', Xm {Ap.} ʔk-s-, {R} iek-~ek-, Q ʔñč-, ʔñš- v. 'open, undo' || SC: ı pRt {E} *ḡink- v. 'push away' (E cites no reflexes in individual lgs.) || ? EC: Or {Grg.} ḡīk- v. 'loosen, untie', {Th.} ḡīc-u 'slegare, sciogliere, rilasciare, liberare' ¶ E PC #530, Ap. AV 4, R WB 37, Grg. 207, Th. 195 || U: FU *aḡa 'untie, open (lösen, öffnen, aufmachen)' (× N *ʔaḡga '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ A: Tg: Ewk SB ʔḡḡḡḡ- 'stretch (растягивать)' ¶ STM II 458.

2599. ₂ *χ|q'a'ḡḡ,ḡḡ (or *χ|q'a'ḡḡ) 'to bend' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ḡḡḡ (1s p. a-ḡa'ḡḡ) 'biegen, krümmen' || ? SC: Alg ḡoḡḡḡḡ- v. 'bend, wrap' ¶ R WBd. 116, E SC 259 (SC *ḡoḡḡḡḡ v. 'bend, fold' > Alg ḡoḡḡḡḡ- and Mb ḡòḡḡḡḡ 'joint [of body]') || IE *ḡenk- (~ *oḡenk-?) 'bend' > Ht ḡīnk- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' ¶ Ts. EI 250-1, Pv. III 292-6 || NaIE *aḡk- vt., vi. 'bend' > OI 'aḡcatī, 'acatī 'bends, curves', MPrs aḡčītan 'bends' || Gk ḡḡḡḡḡ 'elbow', ḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡḡḡḡ 'bent arm' || Lt Δ ánka 'loop' || L [Fest] aḡcus 'qui aduncum brachium habet' || Tc A aḡcäl 'bow (arc)' || ? NaIE d. *oḡkḡ-s 'crooked, hook' > Gk ḡḡḡḡḡ 'barb of an arrow' || L uncus 'crooked, hook' || OIr ékath 'fish-hook' || OHG aḡḡḡ 'hook', ds.: AS aḡḡel 'fish-hook, hook', ON qḡḡull 'fish-hook', OHG aḡḡul 'fishing-rod', NHG Angel 'fish-hook' || OI 'aḡ'ka-ḡ. n. 'hook, curve, bend', Av aka- 'hook' || OCS ḡkḡḡḡ

ογκοτῶ 'hook' ¶ P 45-7 (*ank-), EI 61-2 (*h₂enk- ~ *h₂eng- 'bend an object so that it stays bent'), and ≈ AHDI 3 (all of them do not distinguish between NaIE *ank- and *ang-), M KI 19, 24, M EI 47, 52-3, Vr. 687, Ho. 6, Kb. 32, EWA I 251-3, KM 22, F I 10-2 and II 347, Wn. 146, WH I 46 and II 816, Frn. 11.

2600. *Xān̄∇t̄∇ 'grain, kernel' > HS: S *h̄int̄-at- (~ *h̄unt̄-at-?) 'wheat' > Hb הַחֵטְהַיִתְּ h̄iṭṭā, Ug ḥṭṭ, OA ḥṭḥ, IA ḥnt̄? ~ ḥṭḥ, Plm ḥ(y)t̄?, JPA, JEA אַחַתְּ h̄iṭṭə't̄ā, Sr 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 h̄eṭṭə't̄ā, Md ḥṭita, Ar حنطة h̄inṭat- (↳ Sq {L} ḥinṭeh), Ak uṭṭatu 'wheat', Gz χαῖττα ~ ḥaṭṭat- 'grain, seed', BA pl. יִבְּחֵי h̄inṭ-īn 'grains of wheat', Jb C {Jo.} 'h̄iṭṭet 'ear of rice', 'h̄iṭṭe 'ears of rice, food, beans' ¶ KB 294, 1710, KBR 307, Lv. II 36, Js. 453, Sl. 453, Br. 227, Ln. 657, BK I 503, Jo. J 119, LG 268 || C {AD} *✓Hyṭ > EC: Sml N {Abr.} ḥādūḍ 'corn, millet', Sml {ZMO} ḥadūḍ 'maize, jowari, millet, sorghum' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} fayitiṭi (pl. fayitoṭo), {MQK} fayitoṭō (snglt. fayitiṭī) 'maize' ¶ AD SF 221-2, Abr. S 102, ZMO 177, MQK 18 || IE (mt.) *h̄et(e)n (/ *h̄et(e)r-?) 'grain, kernel' > NaIE *et(e)n- 'kernel, grain' (× N *qat∇ 'e corn' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} eitrne 'kernel', ScGl eite 'unhusked ear of corn', eitean 'kernel, grain' || Gk ἕττος 'a thick soup of pulse, pea-soup' || AdS of Ht ḥat(t)ar 'e cereal' ('ein Getreideart') (< N *qat∇ '↑') ¶ P 343, F I 582, Ts. E I 220, Pv. III 247 (Ht ḥat(t)ar ← ḥat- 'dry up') || D *aṅṭi 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *H'ä'ñt∇ 'kernel' [q.v. ffd.], whence D *-ṭ- rather than *-t-) ◇ Since Ht ḥat(t)ar goes back mainly to N *qat∇, it provides no decisive ev. for N *χ-. Therefore the N rec. is with *X- (= N *χ- or N *h̄-).

2600a. (₂?) *Xayno (= *h̄|χayno) (a variant reconstruction instead of *?ayno, q.v. s.v.) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') > HS: C {E} *hang^ω- 'brain' > EC *hang∇- 'brain' > Sa {Wlm.} hangal, pl. hangul id., Af {PH} ḥángal 'brain', Or B {Anr.} engu ~ engō id. || ? DhI {E} řàni 'head' || Ag ↳ Amh angol 'brain' and Tgr ḥangal ḥangal (pl. ḥanāgāl ḥanagāl) ↳ Bln {R} hang^ωel (pl. hanāg^ωal) 'brain'; Ag: Aw ang^ωal id. may be either a return loan from EthS (as suggested in AD SF) or an inherited C word (as in E PC) || ?? C ↳ Mb angálo 'head' (E SC 276 reconstructs SC *řaṅ- 'head' on the basis of Mb and DhI) ¶ E PC #522, AD SF 153, PH 126, To. D 136, EEN 13, ≈ E SC 27; acc. to E SC, the stem of DhI and Mb may go back to SC *řaṅ- 'above, up' (> Irq {MQK} řāṅ 'past, already, ancient times', {E} aṅ 'in the past, long ago',

Brn 0η 'mountain', *see* E SC, MQK 15), but the direction of semantic change may have been the opposite as well || ? EthS (a loan from a C lge.): Gz ʔang^ωəf 'marrow, the soft fat of animals', Tgr ʔəngəʔə, Tgy ʔang^ωəʔə, Amh ang^ωa 'marrow' ¶ L G 28-9 ¶ If the pN etymon is ***ʔayno** (a reconstruction based on the assumption that Gz ʔang^ωəf is of pS origin), the unexpected C *ħ- has to be accounted for. It may be explained if we reconstruct pN ***ħ|xayno** and suppose that the EthS word is a loan from a C lge. that has lost the initial lr.; an alt. hyp. is to suppose that C {E} *ħang^ω- goes back to a cd. ***ħ|x... ʔayno** || NrOm: Kcm {CR} anqā, {Fl.} ʔnqā 'head' ¶ Blz. OLBP #56 || Ch: CCh: Cb {ChL} ʔáŋgàrà, Mrg {ChL} aŋgada 'brain', Mbk {Mch.} ānga, Bana {Lk.} yánga 'head' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'brain', Mch. VCSP 173 ¶¶ For the HS comparison *see* AD SF 15 and Blz. OLBP #56 || **U** *ayne (~ *ayn^o?) (U {Coll.} *ayno, FU {UEW} *ayne) 'brain, ? marrow' > F aiv^o(t) 'brain, temple, temporal (bone)', Es aju 'brain' pLp {Lr.} *vōjŋə > Lp N {N} vuoīŋâš-: pl. vuoīgŋâšâk || Lp L {LLO} vuoīŋam ~ vuoī'ŋam 'brain' || pMr {Ker.} *oyʒə > Mk yŋ uy 'marrow, brain' || ? Hg aɣy 'brain, marrow' (OHg also 'skull') || ?? Sm: Nn T ҺЭВЭЙ 'brain' (unless ← ҺЭВА 'head'); acc. to Coll. 2, here also Ng {Cs.} ɕiə, En X {Cs.} əe, En B {Cs.} ebê, Slq: Nr/Ke {Cs.} kŋu, NP {Cs.} kŋŋ 'brain' || ?φ Y: OY O {Mat.} аборъ 'мозгъ' ('brain' or 'marrow') ¶¶ UEW 5, Sm. 542 (FU *ǎjŋi 'brain' > FP *ajŋi, Ugr *ǎjŋī), Coll. 2, Lr. #1425 (does not distinguish it from Lp *vōyŋə v. 'breath'), Lgc. #8741, Ker. II 173, Ter. 415, Cs. 227, IN 294 || **IE**: NaIE *ong^ω- 'anoint', *ong^ω-en-~*ŋg^ω-en- 'fat, grease' ({EI} IE *h₃eng^ω- 'anoint') > OI aŋj-, a'nakti (3p aŋjanti, pp. ak'ta) v. 'smear, anoint', 'ājyam 'melted or clarified butter (used for oblations, for sacrifice, and for anointing anything sacrificed or offered)' (< ā + ajya < *ŋg^ωy^o-) || Arm **օճանեմ** ôcanem < *aycanem 'I anoint' || L unguō / pp. unctus v. 'anoint, besmear', Um umtu 'unguito' || OIr imb, W ymen-yn, OCrn amen-en, Br amann 'butter' || OHG anko, ancho, MHG, NGr Al anke id. || Pru anctan, ancte id. ¶ WPI 81, P 779, EI 24, Dv. #779, WH II 819-20, EWA I 263-5, OsS 20, LG § 8.1, Me. EAC 237, Tp. P A-D 91, En. 142, MW 133 ◇ Cf. UEW 5 (FU, Y, T); UEW mentions "türk. *ǎŋ 'Gedächtnis, Verstand'", probably a misprint for T *āŋ (a dubious connection). The U stem belongs here only if its medial cns. is *-ŋ- (as reconstructed by Coll. and UEW); but Hl. [p. c.] suggests an alt. rec. with a medial *-w-;

in the latter case (acc. to Hl.) the U stem may be a d. from U *oywa 'head' (UEW 336-7). If the latter conjecture is right, the U stem does not belong here, and the pN stem is to be reconstructed as *h|χano or *ʔano rather than *h|χayno or *ʔayno. But Hl.'s et. faces difficulties: the initial vw. of U *ayη|we 'brain' is different from that of U *oywa 'head', and Lp -η- may hardly go back to U *-w-; at least, such a possibility is not envisaged by Krh.'s historical phonology of Lp (Krh. 76-197, Krh. HL 274-7) ◇ ≈ AD NM #68, S CNM 11 ◇ Cf. Gr. II #48 (*ayu 'brain').

2601. ₂ *XUηg∇ 'throat' > HS: Eg fXVIII ḥngg 'pharynx' ('der Schlund [in dem die Zunge sitzt]') ¶ EG III 121 || S: Ar حَنْجَرَةٌ ḥanġar-at- 'larynx', حَنْجَرٌ ḥnġr D 'égorger', {Hv.} cut open the throat to'; ?? حَنْجُودٌ ḥunġūd- 'larynx' ¶ BK I 501-2, Hv. 146 || C {AD} *h¹anK^war 'throat, pharynx' > Bj {R} ankar 'palate, gullet (Schlund), throat', Bj A {AD} 'hankar 'gullet (Schlund), pharynx, and the back part of the mouth' || EC: pSam {Hn.} *hangúri > Sml hunguri, Bn {Hn.} ha'ḥure 'throat', Sa {R} anqar 'palate, throat' ¶ AD SF 153-4, Hn. S 63 || WCh: ?? Ngz ḡúrââîyá 'throat' ¶ Sch. DN 127 || A: T *öñäç > OT {Cl.} öñüç, Tv öš 'larynx, wind-pipe', Xk ögös, ET öngäč, Alt öc 'wind-pipe', Sg ös 'thorax', VTt үнэч үнэč, Brb önäč, Bsh qəḏəḏl ünäs, Qzq, Qq öñeš, Qrg, Ln qizil öngöč, QK öč ~ öš, Uz qizil ωñäč 'gullet, oesophagus', Bsh ünäs 'front side of the neck', Yk öñüs 'muscles of the occiput', öñüs bas 'blood-vessels of the neck' ¶ Cl. 172, DTS 387, ET Gl 536, ≈ ADb. SR 138 (unc. *öñäç ← *ömgen '[upper part of the] breast') || M *öñgeleḡür (× N *ḡomKê '[ε part of the] neck') > WrM öñgelegür, HIM өнґөлүр {MED} 'depression above (sic!) the Adam's apple', {Kow., Luv.} 'depression under the Adam's apple', Kl {KRS} өңгүлүр öñgölür id., {Rm.} öñgölür 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Adamsapfel und dem Brustbein' ¶ MED 638, Kow. 498, Luv. 322, KRS 418, KW 297 || Tg: Neg унэз 'bird's crop, Adam's apple', Lm унрэ 'ε muscle of the neck of male reindeer/elks' ¶ STM II 279-80 || pJ {S} *ùnà(-nsi) 'back of head, nape' > OJ una, ùnàzì, J: T ùnàzì, K únáží, Kg unaží ¶ S QJ #1114, Mr. 563 ¶¶ DQA #1573 (A *òñi(č∇) 'windpipe, part of neck').

2602. *Xup∇ 'press, crush, rub' > HS: CS *-hūp- ~ *√hpp 'rub, clean by rubbing': [1] CS *-hūp- > MHb √hwp (prm. -hūp-, pf. ḡḡ ḥāp) 'rub the head with natron or another mineral in order to cleanse it', {Lv.} 'reiben, abreiben (eine Art des Kämmens)', Sr √hwp G v. {Br.}

'wash (one's head)', {JPS} 'rub, cleanse, sprinkle', **𐤀𐤍𐤁** ḥaw'p-ā {Br.} 'lautio (capitis et barbae)'; [2] CS *✓ḥpp > MHb ✓ḥpp G v. 'rub; cleanse (one's head)', Ar ✓ḥff G 'pluck (the hair of the face), shave (the head \ beard \ moustache)', ({Ln.} 'cut\clip the hair of one's head, one's beard\moustache') ¶ Lv. II 24-5, 94, Js. 437, 492, Br. 221, JPS 132, BK I 455, Ln. 597, Hv. 131 || IE: NaIE *ub- 'press, press down' > OI ub'jati 'presses down, keeps under, subdues', Av ubjya'te 'wird niedergedrückt' || Lt P ũbiti 'zur Eile drängen' ¶ WP I 193, P 1103, M K I 107, Frn. 1156 || U *°op₁pe > Sm {Jn.} *ṭp- v. 'press, squeeze' > Ne T Δ ḥыбарць 'crumple\squeeze (in a hand), 'pinch with fingernails', Ne T O {Lh.} ḡṭb₁arć 'in der Hand zusammendrücken, in der Hand drücken', Ne F {Lh.} ḡṭppṭrḥś id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ṭpa-qo 'press\squeeze' ('давить'), ṭpqaḷ-qo 'crush, squash (раздавить)', Slq Nr {Cs.} ḡpa'ap 'drücken' ¶ Jn. 25, Ter. 406, Lh. 34, KKIИ 196, Cs. 103, 212 || A: NaT *u|ob- 'crush, crumble, rub to powder' > OT {Cl.} uv- v. 'crush, crumble, reduce to powder', Tk ov-, uv- Δ o- 'rub, crumble', Ggz ū-, CrTt oṽ-, QrB uω-, Bsh Iω-, VTt u- 'rub, rub to powder', Az oṽ- id., 'crumble', SY uṽ- 'crush', Xk uṽ-, Qmq uω- 'crumble', Kr uω- id., 'knead' ¶ Cl. 4-5, Rl. I 1591, ET Gl 401-3 ◇ U *o- (for the expected *u-) is still to be explained ◇ Hardly here A {ADb.} *op'a 'powder' → 'flour' (F N *?opa '≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt').

2602a. *χAr∇ 'tracks, path, way' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road') > HS: Eg fP ḥr.t 'Weg, Landweg' ¶ EG III 144 || S: Ar ḥār-at- {Ln.} 'a quarter of a city\town consisting of several narrow streets and having but one general entrance', {Hv.} 'quarter of a town, street' ¶ Ln. 666, BK I 525, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} *h₂rh₁ > Ah hurat, ETwl ḡurat 'suivre à la trace' ¶ Pr. H #65, Fc. 638, PGG 136 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} ṭar, Ang {ChC} ṭaṛ 'road' || Klr {J} aṭáw 'Weg' ¶ ChC, J R 350 ¶ OS #122 || K: GZ *χer- 'step; make a path\road' > Mg χar- 'eine Spur durch den Schnee treten', Lz χar-i n. 'step', OG χer- v. 'lead, steer a course' (of pilots), G χer- 'show the way', s-χer-v-el-i 'Richtungsgeber, Steuer' ¶ FS K 481, FS E 547 || D: SD *āṛ- 'way' > Tm āṛu 'way, road, path', Ml āṛu 'way, manner', Td oṛ 'way, entrance into thicket' ¶ D #405 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [#104] (incl. D and WCh).

2603. ??φ *χ¹aw₁a¹rE (or *χawEr∇) 'bright, white' > HS: CS *✓ḥwr, *-ḥwar- (~ *-ḥūr-?) 'be bright\white' > □BHb ✓ḥwr G (3mp ip. 𐤀𐤍𐤁' yeh^εwārū) 'turn pale', MHb {Js.} ✓ḥwr D (pf. 𐤀𐤍𐤁

ḥiw'wer) 'make clear\evident', BA 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥiw'wār 'white', JA [Trg.] ✓ḥwr G (pf. 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥ^a'war) 'be white, pale', JEA ✓ḥwr G 'become white, be lighter in colour', Sr ✓ḥwr G (pf. 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥā'war) 'be(come) white', 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥēw'wār 'white', Md hiwara, hawara id., Ar {Ln.} ✓ḥwr D (pf. ḥawwara) 'whiten (clothes, wheat, food)', {BK} ✓ḥwr G (pf. ḥāra, ip. -ḥūr-) 'wash\whiten clothes'; but Ar ✓ḥwr G (pf. ḥawira) 'have its white and its black strongly delineated' does not necessarily belong here, it may be related to Mh and Jb ✓ḥwr 'turn black' ¶ KB 287, 1706, Dlm. 104, Lv. T I 240-1, Js. 438-9, Lv. II 26-7, Sl. 435, Br. 223, JPS 133-4, DM 142, BK I 509-10, Ln. 665, Jo. M 195 || IE (+ext.) *xarǵ-, *xarǵi- 'white' (× N *ǵ'a'hrǵ [- *ǵ'a'hrǵ - *zǵ'a'hrǵ] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]') > Ht ḥarki- 'white, bright' || NaIE *arǵ(i)- 'be white, by shiny' > OI 'arjuna-ḥ 'shiny white', rōj'ra- 'radiant, gleaming', {MW} 'red(dish)', raja'ta-ḥ 'whitish, silver-coloured' || Gk ἄργός, ἄργήεις 'shining, bright, white', ἄργυ-όδους 'white-toothed', ἄργυρος 'silver' || Msp ARGORIAN 'made of silver' || L argu-ō / -ēre 'put in clear light' || Clt: Gl (in n. pr.) {Schm.} argio- 'shining, bright' ('brilliant'), Brtt {RE} *argios 'snow' > MW eiry, Weira, OCrn irgh, Crn ergh, MBr erc'h id. || Gt aírknīpa accus. 'τὸ γνήσιον, genuineness' (from *aírknis [conjecture for aírknis] 'clear, immaculated' → 'holy'), OHG erkan {Kb.} 'steadfast, noble, agile', {EWA} 'hervorragend, ehrwürdig, fest, bestimmt, wirklich', {Schz.} erchan, erchen 'fest, wirklich', {OsS} érchan, érchen 'recht, echt' || Tc: A ārki, B ārkwi 'white' ||| ⇨ IE *ǵ'ǵē-ḡt-om ({EI} *h₂ǵē-ḡt-om) 'silver' > OI raja'tam, Av arəzatəm, OPrs (a)rdata-, KhS āljsata- id. || L argentum id., Osc argentud id. (abl.) || OIr argat, W ariant, MCrn arians, Cm arhans, Brt arc'hant 'silver' || Arm արծաթ arcat^h id. (-at^h under the infl. of erkat^h 'iron') ¶¶ Pv. III 169-71, Ts. G I 197, P 64-5, EI 14 (*h₂arǵi- 'white'), 641 (*h₂ǵē-u- ~ *h₂ǵē-es- id., *h₂ǵē-ḡt-om 'silver'), M K I 50-1, 120-1, and III 34, F I 132-4, WH I 66-7, Bc. G 312, Vn. A 88-9, Schm. KGP 134, Billy 14, RE 133, Fs. 25, Kb. 208, Schz. 126, OsS 147, EWA II 1140-2, Slt. 129-31 Wn. 167, Ad. 49-50 ¶¶ IE *-ar- < *-a_ur- (loss of *u before sonorants) || A: T *ürüḡ ~ *Ewrüḡ 'white' (× N *ǵ'o'mrE 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', q.v. ffd.) > OT, Yk ürüḡ id., Chg XV ewrürḡ 'shining, bright, clear weather', MQp XIII ūrün 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ?

Qrg ürün baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, Jud. 825, TL 601.

2604. * χ oR₁∇₁w∇ 'herd\pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?') > **K:** G χρο_v-a, {DCh.} χρο 'pack (as of wolves, etc.), herd (of deer, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2391, DCh. 1756 || **HS:** S * \sqrt{hwr} > Ar ħawar- {BK} 'taureau', {Fr.} 'taurus', {Hv.} 'ox' ¶ Fr. I 440, BK I 510, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} * $\sqrt{h_2rw}$ > Ah tahrut 'herd (of camels, of sheep\goats)', Izd tawrut (pl. tiwra) id., Ah ehere (pl. ihərawan) 'menu bétail', Twl {ABs., Nic.} ehəre (pl. ihərwan), Gh ih₁ə₁ri id., possibly Ty ehəri 'calf', Sus ahruy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tihray) 'brebis' ¶ Fc. 640, Pr. H #397 || C: EC {Ss.} *ħor 'herd' > Kns hor-ēta 'wealth, livestock', Or horī id., 'cattle', Gdl horet 'cattle', HEC {Hd.} *hor 'herd, property' > Ged hore 'herd', hor-te 'property', ?? Brj hor-?- v. 'breed' ¶ Ss. B 101, Bl. 200, Hd. 79, 118 || **A:** AmTg *ora|on-, *ora|ok∇ 'animal(s)' (× N * $\sqrt{or'u}$ 'antelope, deer, mountain goat?') > Ul oro(n-) 'animal', Ud {Shn.} ʔo, {Krm.} ʔʔ (< *oroko) 'animal, bird' ¶ SMT II 25, Krm. 273 ◇ If AmTg *ora|on- and *ora|ok∇ belong here, the N etymon is * χ oR₁∇₁w∇, otherwise it is * χ UR₁∇₁w∇.

2605. (₂?) * χ aRč∇ (= * χ aRč∇?) 'rub, scratch' > **HS:** S * $\sqrt{hr\theta}$ v. 'plough, till the earth' > BHb 𐤃𐤒𐤏 $\sqrt{hrš}$ v. G 'plough; engrave', OCn $\sqrt{hrš}$ v. 'plough', Ug $\sqrt{hr\theta}$ G v. 'plough, till (the earth)', IA 𐤃𐤒𐤏 \sqrt{hrt} v. 'plough', Plm \sqrt{hrt} , SmA, Md \sqrt{hrt} G 'engrave', JA [Trg.] \sqrt{hrt} G id., {Lv.} 'eingraben, aushöhlen', Sr \sqrt{hrt} v. G 'dig out, furrow', Ar حرت $\sqrt{hr\theta}$ G {Hv.} 'till and sow (the earth)', {BK} 'labourer \ cultiver la terre', Tgr \sqrt{hrs} v. 'plough', Ak erēšū 'to cultivate/plant (a field), to seed by drilling seed into a furrow by means of a seeder-plow' ¶ KB 343, KBR 357, OLS 181, HJ 407, Js. 507-8, Lv. T I 286, Tal 298, Br. 260, JPS 160, DM 153, BK I 403, Hv. 117, CAD IV 285-9 || \sqrt{hsy} (1s p. 'a-hasi, prs. ahansi) pcv. 'schärfen, spitzen' ¶ R WBd 127 || **A:** M *arči- > MM arči- [S] {H} 'wipe', [MA] v. 'clean, wipe clean', [IM] {Pp.} 'sweep, rub', WrM arci-, HIM арчи- v. 'wipe\clean\dry by rubbing; erase, weed', Kl arč(b)- {KRS} vt. 'clean, wipe', {Rm.} 'rein fegen, abputzen, abwischen', Dg {T} arč i- vt. 'clean' ¶ H 8, Pp. MA 104-5, 432, MED 51, T DgJ 122, KRS 52, KW 15 || **IE:** Ht ħars- v. '≈ till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak, as supposed by Pv.) ¶ Pv. III 184-5, Ts. E I 183, EI 434 ¶ The loan hyp. may solve the enigma of the irreg. Ht s (for the expected IE *-st- or *-d-) ◇ If Ht ħars- is an inherited cognate, the N etymon is * χ aRč∇, but if it

is a Semitism, the pN source is to be reconstructed as ***XaRčV** (= ***χ|ħaRčV**).

2606. *XⁱiRgV 'ε (horned?) artiodactyl' > **HS**: S *✓ħrg > Gz ħargē, ħargī 'ram, male of sheep and goats', Ar ħarağ-at- 'troupeau de chameaux', ħurğ- 'chamelle grande et forte', ħarağ- 'chamelle maigre, exténuée de fatigue', ħurğāğ-, ħurğūğ- 'chamelle grande, forte et rapide à la course' ¶ BK I 404-5, LG 242 || C: EC {Ss.} *org- 'ε male herbivore' > Sml org-i 'billy-goat', Rn órgèy, Arr ʔòrgí 'uncastrated billy-goat', Or B órg-e' 'baby she-camel', Gdl {Ss.} ork-eta 'billy-goat', {Bl.} ork-ēt 'non-castrated male goat older than ca. two months', Hr ork-akko 'billy-goat', Ya org-ej 'male giraffe'; ? cp. also (with mt.) Sml agor 'bull-calf to two years old', Rn {PG} ògôr 'oryx, gemsbok' ||| Bj {R} er 'gane, 'argin 'sheep, ram' ¶ The loss of the expected initial cns. in C is still to be explained ¶ Ss. PEC 23, Bl. 112, PG 238, 243, Hw. A 343, R WBd 29 || **IE**: NaIE *york|k̄- 'roe deer' (× N *ń'a¹Rq̄a|æ [= *ń'a¹Rq̄a|æ?] 'ε deer' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A** {ADb.} *irge 'ram' > NaT *irk > OT {Cl.} irk 'ram', Tb {B} irk, Qb/Sg/Tlt {Rl.} ir(i)k id., Qmq, QrB irk, ET Δ {Jr.} eyik ~ iyik, Ln īk, Tv irt 'castrated ram', Qrg irik ~ irk, Tk Δ irk 'three-year old castrated ram' ¶ Cl. 220, ET Gl 377-8, Rl. I 1459, 1464, 1833, Jud. 303-4, Jr. 99 || M *irge > MM [S] irge, WrM irge, HIM ирэг, Ord {Ms.} īrge, Kl ирг irgā, Mnr H {SM} yergē 'castrated ram, wether' ¶ H 83, MED 414, Kow. 326, KRS 272, Ms. O 387, SM 492 ◇ The reflexes of this N word denote camels in Ar and Or only, while elsewhere they refer to horned animals. It may be tentatively suggested that originally the etymon denoted horned animals.

2607. *χar'ü 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' > **HS**: S *°✓ħry > Ar حَرَى ħarā- 'gîte de la gazelle; aire de la maison, espace compris entre les murailles; plage; lieu où l'autruche dépose ses œufs', {Fr.} حَرَاة ħarā-t- 'atrium, mediumque domus; tractus latus; nidus ovorum' ¶ Hardly here (because of χ-) Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ Fr. I 373, BK I 417, CAD VI 114-5 || ?? Eg fO x̄r 'under', x̄rū 'which is under', Eg fMK x̄rω 'base, lower side, under-side' (unless from unattested hypothetical Eg {Vc.} *x̄r 'heel' > Cpt B 𐩧𐩣- χa- 'heel' or akin to Mh {Jo.} 𐤆𐤒𐤁𐤌i 'under, underneath' [as supposed by Tk.]) ¶ EG III 386-90, Fk. 203, Vc. 282-4, Tk. I 142-3, Jo. M 308 || **IE** *xery- = *xry- ({EI} *h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N *gar'i¹ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v. ffd.]) and (possibly) IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' (× N *z'a¹lH₁rV

'low place, valley', q.v. ffd.) > Ht *har i-s* (gen. *har iyas*) 'valley' || **U**: FP {LG} **are* 'pit, ravine, valley' > pPrm **or* (JLG} **or*) 'ravine, gully' > Vt Sr/Y *зr*, Vt Kz *or* 'Flußbett, Graben', Vt {W} *ur* 'Graben', Vt N *ur-kirem* 'ravine (овраг, лог)' (*k+r-* 'wash away, break through' [of water]), Z Ud *orov* 'rut, gully' (рытвина, промоина) (× Z *or-* 'be torn'), Z {TmK} *көдж-өрөм кзж-зрэм* 'former river-bed in a bend of a river' (кзж 'bend of a river') || Chr XVIII {Pl.} *оръ* 'ditch (ровъ)' ¶ LG 207 (*÷ Os V *ur+* 'old river-bed', which goes back to pOs **wor+*, F Stn. D 163), ≈ UEW 721 (connecting the Vt and Chr forms with FP **orkv* 'depression, valley') || **A**: T **ö:ı́r* 'valley' > OT {Cl.} *öz* 'valley (and the like)', Osm XVIII *öz* 'wadi', Tk An *öz* 'valley' || Chv {Ash.} *var* 'ravine' ¶ Cl. 278-9, SDD 1124, Ash. V 167 ¶ The *vw.* **ö* (instead of the expected **a*) is probably due to the palatalizing and labializing infl. of the *vw.* of the second syll. || **D** (in SD) **aı́i* 'place where a lagoon\river joins the sea' > Tm *aı́i* 'place where the lagoon joins the sea', *aı́iuv* 'rivermouth', Ml *aı́i id.*, 'bar', Kn *aı́ave* 'mouth of a river in which the tide ebbs and flows, bar', Tu *aı́uve* 'rivermouth, harbour', Krg *aı́ubāgalu* 'mouth of a river' ¶ D #278 ◇ It is worth paying attention to **K**: G *χriaı́i* 'steiniger Abhang, Geröllhalde' (Chx. 2389), although the structure of this word and its prehistory are not clear.

2608. (₂?) ***χ'or't'A'** 'scrape (off), 'rub off' > **K** **χwet-/χwt-* v. 'scrape' > G *χvet-* id., 'tear\scrape off, sweep', Mg *χvaı́-* 'scratch, gnaw', Lz *χvaı́-* v. 'gnaw', Sv UB {GP} -*χwiı́-/χwt-* (msd. *li-χwı́e*) vt. 'exterminate', -*χwet-* (msd. *li-χwet*) vi. 'perish' (of a multitude) ¶¶ K 259, K² 328-9, FS K 485, FS E 550, Chik. 425, TK 485, GP 188-9 || **HS**: S **oı́hıt* > Ar *ı́hıt* G vt. 'rub off (mud), bark (a tree)', ??σ {BK} vi. 'fall off' (leaves of trees) ¶ Fr. I 339-40, BK I 373, Hv. 110 || ? **A**: NaT **ot'a-* 'cut (grass)' (× < T **ot'* 'grass, vegetation') > OT {Cl.} *ota-* 'cut (grass)', 'pull up (weeds)', Tk *ota-*, Qzq, Qq *ota-*, Alt *oto-* & *odo-*, VTt, Bsh *uta-*, Xk *oda-* 'pull up (weeds)' ¶ Cl. 34-5, 42, ET Gl 482.

2609. ***χ'or't'i'** '€ fish' > **HS**: S **öhüt-* > Ar *hüt-* {Ln., BK} 'fish' (esp. 'a great fish'), {Hv.} 'salmon-fish' ¶ Ln. 663, BK I 508, Hv. 148 || C: Bj {R} *hūt* 'fish' (< Ar?) || WCh {Stl.} **hadv* 'fish' > NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} *eudei*, {Sk.} *ı́đáı́*, Cg {Sk.} *hâtı́*, Kry {Sk.} *ı́đé*, My {Sk.} *ı́đı́*, Jmb {Sk.} *áwúdá* ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [#747] || **A** **oı́ı́t'i'* > Tg **öçv* 'small fish' > Orc *očko* ~ *očoko*, Ul *očo(n-)*, Ork *otoa*, Nn Nh *očaqā*, Nn B *ocoa* 'small fish', WrMc *ocā* ~ *oca* '€ species of *Gobio* (gudgeon or the like) with a large

mouth and red eyes' ¶ STM II 29, Z 120, 131, Hr. 738 ¶¶ Tg *ç (earlier *çī < A *t'ī?) suggest a final A *i || IE: NaIE *o|ati- > Lt atīs, Ltv āte 'halibut, turbot' (× N *çatU '€ fish', q.v.) ¶ Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274.

2610. *XVtV 'quick' > IE: NaIE *ēt-/*ōt- 'earlier, quick(ly)' > ON áðan 'earlier, before' || Lt U {Gtl.} otu 'quickly', otūs 'eilfertig, behend, Eile habend, dringend' | ⇨ NaIE *ētro-/*ōtro- 'quick' ({P} 'rasch, heftig') > OHG ātar (< *ēt'ro-) {EWA} 'scharfsinnig, rasch, eifrig (acer)', {OsS} atar 'quick, clever, sharp (acer, fugax, celer)', AS ædre, OFrs ēdre, OSx ādrō 'at once, forthwith', ON áðr 'earlier' (< 'early') || Ltv ātrs 'quick, fast, swift', ātri 'quickly, fast, swiftly', Lt U {Gtl.} otrūs 'lebhaft, feurig, temperamentvoll; gierig (beim Fressen und Trinken)', ? Lt K átrej 'schnell, heftig, ungestüm' || ?? Tc {Wn.}: A atär, Tc B etre 'hero' (unless an Iranian loan, as suggested by Bai.) ¶ P 345, EI 194 (? *ētro- 'quick, fast'), Vr. 2, Kb. 47, OsS 33, EWA I 379-81, Kar. I 84, Frn. 518-9, Gtl. LS 99, Ho. 9, SiSS 22, 50, 228, 485, Wn. IE 23, Wn. 152 || HS: S *✓ħtk v. 'hurry, go fast' > Ar ✓ħtk G (ip. -ħtiku) v. {Hv.} 'walk at a quick and short pace', {BK} 'marcher rapidement d'un pas serré', Ak {Sd.} etākū 'sich beeilen, sich dranhaltē' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 375, Hv. 110, Sd. 260 || A: M *ū|ōd-tür > MM {HI} öter 'vite, rapidement', WrM üdter ~ ödter ~ üdtür, HIM γδτῆρ 'immediately, quickly, rapidly'; the element *-tür may be identical with *tür > WrM tür, HIM τυρ 'temporarily, for a short time', MM [MA] türgen 'quick, fast' (türgen usun 'quick water') ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 854, 996, KW 415, Pp. MA 359.

2610a. (₂?) *XEtVRV or *XiLtVrV 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root' > IE: NaIE *ētor, *ētrom, *ētrō 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, internal organ' (× N *qūhE,tV 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie') > AS ædre, æder, ON æðr 'vein', OHG ādra 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew', NHG Ader 'vein, artery' || Gk Hm ἤτορ 'heart', Gk A ἤτρον 'abdomen, the part below the navel', as well as [??] Gk ἤτρον, Gk D ἄτρον 'the warp in a web of cloth', Gk ἤτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || OIr inathar 'entrails' ¶ P 344, EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ'), Mn. 254-5, Dv. #256, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn *āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNR æd 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ') || HS: S *o✓ħtr > Ar hitār- (pl. ħutur-) 'corde principale de la tente à laquelle on attache d'autres pour mieux la tendre' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 374 || Eg P/MK ħtr 'Strick, Seil', Eg

Md/L/G ħtr v. 'bind together' > Cpt Sd 𐌆𐌵𐌲𐌱 hōtar 'réunir, attacher, lier'; cp. Cpt Sd 𐌆𐌷𐌲𐌱 hetre 'navel' (← 'navel string'); ?σ: Eg: fOK ħtr 'yoke of oxen', fXVIII 'span of horses; horses' > Cpt Sd 𐌆𐌲𐌵 hto, Cpt B 𐌆𐌲𐌵 htho 'horse' (Cpt b→ Bj {R} hatāy id.) ¶ EG III 199-202, Fk. 180-1, Vc. 315-6, Ws. 400, Tk. I 304 || WCh: Su ɖugur v. 'darn (flicker)' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC 35; loss of the initial lr. in the AG lgs., as in Su {MtS} gwohar 'belt' [< HS *√ħgr id.] and in Mpn kǝr 'hunger' [< HS √ħkr 'be hungry']) || A: ? T *jilt'ír (< **jilt'âr ~ **ilt'âr) 'root' > OT jiltiz, Osm {Rl.} يلديز jildiz, Kr jildiz, Chg {Rl.}, Uz ildiz, ET iltiz 𐌆 žildiz, Δ jildiz, Alt žiltis, SY žiltis ~ jiltis, Shor čiltis, SY jiltis ~ jiltis, Kü {Rl.} jildis, Tf sildis, Yk silis id. ¶ T *j- < prosthetic *y-? ¶ Cl. 922, Rs. W 200, ET Gl 350, TL 109, DTS 267, KRPS 264, Rl. I 1495 and III 488, 521, Ra. 230 ◇ If the phonetically questionable T cognate is valid, the N rec. is *XILtǃǃ, otherwise it is *XEtǃǃ.

2611. *χawǃ 'to rain, to spurt' > IE: Ht he(ω)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain' ¶ Pv. III 301-4, Ts. EI 235, 238-40 || HS: Eg: fP ħw.t, ħy.t, MK {Fk.} ħwyt n. 'rain', MK/NK/L ħwy, ħy ({Fk.} ħwǃ) v. 'rain' (with 'the sky' as subject), as well as amb Eg fMK ħwy v. 'flow, flood' and amb Eg P/G ħwy, ħy n. 'flood (of a river\watercourse)' (× N *Xôyǃ 'to swim, to float, to flow', q.v.) ¶ EG III 48-9, Fk. 165 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} hǃí 'rain' || Ech: Smr {J} ʔ0 v. 'rain', {OS ← ?} ʔωā 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #1303 and Tk. I 46 (both: Eg, Ch) || A: T *°ab- v. 'spurt' (× N *qapǃ 'to stream, to flow') > OT U ǃ h. l. ab- v. 'spurt' (of blood) (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1.

2612. *χawiǃ 'drive, chase, pursue' > HS: S *°√ħww > Ar ħaww- {Fr.} 'propulsio camelorum', {BK} 'action de faire marcher les chameaux' ¶ Fr. I 438, BK I 507 || Eg ħwy v. 'drive off (cattle)' (× Eg OK ħwy v. 'beat, strike', whence the double meaning 'Tiere schlagen und dadurch treiben') ¶ EG III 46-8, Fk. 165 || B *°√hʔy v. 'chase, pursue' > Ah ahi 'chasser devant soi rapidement', TnsI, ETwl, Ty huyyāt 'chasser' ¶ Fc. 541, Pr. H #441 || ? K *°χ|qew- > G χev- 'zurückweichen, sich zurückziehen' (← *v. 'be driven back') ¶ Chx. 2322 || IE *xweǃHx- v. 'pursue, chase' > AnIE *xwey- v. 'run, flee' (← *v. 'pursue' or ← *v. 'be driven \ chased \ pursued') > Ht huwaiǃ-

/hуа- 'run, hurry', HrLw hуаа(n)та or hu(i)уа(n)та 'they ran'
 || NaIE *we₁ǰ₁ǰ₁- v. 'pursue, drive' (≠ {P} 'worauf losgehen, es erstreben, erjagen') (× N ***way**∇ 'want, wish, strive for') > Av vī- (vayeⁱti, vyeⁱnti) 'pursue, chase', OI vēti ~ 'vayati 'follows, strives, leads, drives' || Gk Hm (F-)ῥώκη 'pursuit', Gk Crn ῥώκει '(he) pursues' || Tc A wā-, B wāуа- 'will drive, lead' || ON veiða, AS wæðan to hunt, wander', OHG weidōn {Kb., Schz.} 'to graze, to hunt', NHG weiden 'to lead\drive to pasture; to graze'; ON veiðr 'hunt', AS wāð 'hunting; wandering, travelling', OHG weida {Kb.} 'prey (Beute), food (Futter), pasture', {Schz.} 'Beute, Fang, Futter, Weide', NHG Weide 'pasture' || Lt vejū, vūti v. 'drive\chase (away)', Ltv vajāt 'verfolgen' | Sl *vojb > OCS **BOH** војь 'warrior'; ⇨ [1] *vojinь id. > OCS **BOHN** воин, Cz, Slk vojín, R воин; [2] Sl *vojьna 'war' > OCS **BOHNA** воина, SCr † vōjna, R война; [3] Sl *vojь-ska ~ *vojь-sko 'army' > OCS **BOHCKA** воиска, Blg войска, SCr, Slv vójska, Cz, Slk vojsko, P wojsko, R войско, Uk вісько || NaIE pp. *wī-to- 'pursued' > OI {MW} vī- 'ta- pp. 'approached, desired, liked' || Lt vūtas 'pursued' || L in- vītus 'unwilling' ¶ This prtc., together with other forms with *-ī- (Av vī-tar- 'Verfolger, Nachjagender', etc.), provides ev. for a stem-final lr. (sc. the stem is a seṭ-base). The original lr. must have been a light one (it yields zero in AnIE) with unknown vocalic colouring (*Hχ in my notation). Mayrhofer equates OI vēti with Ht wiуа- 'schicken, jagen', but it is unt. because Ht wiуа- is actually u-iуа- ('schicken' ← *'herschicken', acc. to Ts. W) with the px. u- 'her', cp. p-iуа- 'hinschicken' ¶ P 72-3, 1123-4, EI 208 (*we₁ǰ(H)- 'go after'), Hirt IG II 108 (on *-ī- as ev. for seṭ-bases), M K III 255-6, MW 1004, WP I 79, F I 747-8, WH I 79 and II 713-4, Vr. 650-1, Ho. 382, 384, Sw. 200-1, Kb. 1161-2, Schz. 313, KM 846, Tp. P A-D 142-3, SchmB EV 75, StSS 719-56, Vs. I 334-5, Chr. II 279, Glh. 678, Frn. 1185-6, 1267, Ad. 36, Ts. W 95, Pv. III 419-23 || A *āb∇ 'hunt; to hunt; wild game' (× N *Γ^oω∇ 'wild sheep\goats', 'wild game'??) > NaT *āb 'hunting, wild game' > OT {Cl.} āv id., {DTS} ab ~ av 'hunting', OT Og [MhK] āw id., XwT aω ~ av id., 'wild game', Chg aω, MQp [CC] uv 'hunting (venatio)', Tkm āv, Tk av 'wild game, hunt', Tk av, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, VTt aω ~ av, Qmq haω ~ aω 'hunting', Uz aω, ET av ǰ āω ǰ oω ǰ ō 'wild game, hunt', Qrg ū 'hunt'; ? NaT **a₁ǰ₁b- > Tk Δ {ET ← THDS} av- v. 'drive (away), chase' ¶ Cl. 3, DTS 1, 68, ET Gl 62-3, TL 417-8, THDS I 390, Rs. W 1 || M *a₁ǰ₁ba

'chase, hunt' > MM [S, MA], WrM *aba*, HIM *ab* id., 'Jagd, Treibjagd', MM [IM] *aŵ* ~ *ab* 'battue', Kl *ab aŵb* 'battue', {Rm.} *aŵ_a* 'Vogeljagd, Vogelfang'; MM [MA, IM] d. *aba-la-* v. 'hunt' ¶ MED 1-2, KRS 20, KW 19, H 1, Ms. H 33, Pp. MA 93, T VM 105 || ? Tg **wā-* ({S} < ***aŵā-*) 'hunt, kill' > Ewk, Neg, Lm A, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn *wā-*, Lm *mā-* 'kill, get game\catch (of hunt, fishing)', Sln, Crj *wā-* 'kill', WrMc *wa-* 'kill, hunt', Mc Sb *vā-* 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-9, Y #739 ¶¶ Pp. VG 46, S CNM 10 (suggests to adduce Tg **wā-*) ◇ In A and in some IE lgs. there is semantic change 'drive\chase' → v. 'hunt'. The IE stem-final light lr., unless it is of suffixal origin, provides ev. for a N stem-medial lr., which may be only *?, because this is the only lr. which both yields zero in AnIE and K and can be lost in S and Eg.

2613. *Xay^rü^r 'live' > HS: WS **✓h_yw* (G prm. **-h_yaw-* > CS **-h_yay-*) v. 'live' > Sb†wuih *h_yw*, Gz *✓h_yw* (pf. *ሐይወ* *h_ywa*, js. *-h_yaw* ~ *-h_yū*), Sq {L} *✓h_yḡ* ({DMü.} *ṣa'se* 'le^hye'il vivra peut-être'), Hb *היה* *✓h_yw|y* (ip. *-h_yē*), Ph pf. *ḥw?*, Ug *✓h_wy* ~ *✓h_yy*, Amr {G} *✓h_yy*, IA *היה, היא* *✓h_yw|y* G, BA *איה* *✓h_yw|y* G, JA [Trg.] *יהי* ~ *איה* *✓h_yw|y* G, JEA {Sl.} *יהי* *✓h_yy* G, Sr *لس* *✓h_yw|y* G (ip. 3m *لَسَّ* *n-īhē* ~ *لَسَّ* *n-ī<?>hē*) 'live', Ar *حي* *✓h_yy* ~ *✓h_yw* G (pf. *حَيَّ* *h_yya* ~ *حَيَّى* *h_yiya*, ip. *-h_yā*) id., *حيوان* *h_yw-ān* 'living, animal; life'; WS **h_yy-* adj. 'alive, living' > Hb, BA, JA *יה* *h_y*, Ug *ḥy*, (AkSc) *h_yy-*, Pun, IA *ḥy*, Amr {G} *h_yy-*, Sr *لَسَّ* *h_yy-ā* (abs. *لَسَّ* *h_y*), Ar *h_yy-*, Sb *ih* *h_y*, Sq {L} *h_y* id.; the substantivized pl. of the S adj. **h_yy-* means 'life': Hb pl. *ימים* *h_y'yīm* (sg. cs. *יָם* *hē*), Ph, Ug *ḥym*, BA *ימים* *h_y'yīm*, Ar *حياة* *h_yyāt-* (sg. < pl. **h_yy-āt-*), Mh {Jo.} *ḥyūt*, Jb {Jo.} *ḥyūt* ¶ KB 295-7, KBR 307-10, GB 225-7, 906, A #911, Br. 228, OLS 185-6, G A 19, Js. 454, Lv. T I 252-3, Sl. 453-4, Beyer AHG 23, 27, JH 86-7, HJ 365-9, PS 1251-4, Fr. I 448-9, BK I 522-4, Hv. 151-2, LG 252, LLS 171, Jo. M 196, Jo. J 122, BGMR 74-5 || C {AD SF} **✓h_yw* > Bj {R} *hāy-* scv. 'live, be healthy', *hāy* 'alive, living', {AD} *hayīt* 'situation', ? *u* 'hiyu 'husband' (← *'person' ← *'living being'?) ||| EC: Sa {Wlm.} *ḥeaw* 'people, Menschen', *ḥe'awto* 'person'; ? Sa {R} *h_y-* 'live' (if {R} *h* is [ḥ] and unless it is a loan from EthS; the word may have merged with the C reflex of N **how^ri^r* 'become, appear', q.v.) ||| SC: Irq {MQK} *ḥawāta* 'husband, male', {Wh.} *ḥáwāta* 'man, husband', Brn {Mnh.} *ḥawata* 'Mann' ¶ AD SF 156, R WBd 132-3, R S II 200, MQK 49 || ? Eg *fp ḥw* 'food' (≡σ: Fr

viande) ¶ EG III 44, Fk. 160 || ? Ch: Bdm {Tlb.} ai ju 'live' ¶ Tlb. 453 ¶¶ Coh. 103, Cal. 175-6, IS I 242 (with references to earlier studies), AD SF 156 || IE *heyu-/*hejw- > NaIE *ayu-/ayw- 'life' > OI 'āyu 'life', 'āyu-h̄ 'vital power', ā'yū-h̄ 'lebendig, beweglich', Av āyū, gen. yaoš (< *hēyu-/*hyew-) 'lifetime, lifespan' || Gk αἰών 'vital power, life, eternity', Gk αἰεί, Gk Cp αἰΐεί 'ever', Gk Cp υΐαυζ ζαν 'during one's lifetime' || Al {Jokl} eshē 'Zeitraum' ({Jokl} < *aywesya) || L aevus, aevum 'lifetime, time of life, period of time; eternity' || OIr áes 'life, age' || Gt aiws, OHG ēwo, ēwa 'eternity' ⇨ ēwīg 'eternal' (> NHG ewig id.), ON ævi, æfi 'eternity, lifetime'; Gt aiw 'ever' (in the construction ni ... aiw 'never'), ON æ 'always', AS ā, o 'ever, always', OHG io, NHG je 'ever' || Tc A āym- {P} 'spirit, life' ¶ P 17, Mn. 7, M KI 77, FI 35-6, 49, WH I 21, Fs. 30-1, Kb. 211-3, 506, Schz. 126-7, 175, EWA II 1175-8, Vr. 680, 682, Ho. 1, Jokl LKU 34, Wn. 173, EI 352 and 548 (*hoyus / gen. *hoyus 'vital force, life, age of vigour') || A: NaT *öy > StAlt öй öy, Tlt {Rl.}, Qmn {B} öy, Tv өй öy 'moment, time, season', Tb {B} öy 'time'. IS adduces Yk öyün 'future, time', which is a loan from Tg (F below) ¶ Rl. I 1172, BT 118, B DK 238, B DChT 142, TvR 333 || M *üye 'time, generation' > MM [HI] üye 'generation', [S] uye(n) üye(n) 'old, earlier', WrM üye, HIM, Brt üye, Kl üy 'time, epoch, period, age; generation', Dg {Mr.} uie 'generation'; the meaning 'generation' may have been a result of a merger of homonyms: M *üye 'time' × M *üye 'joint of body' ¶ MED 1001-2, Chr. 495, KRS 547, Ms. H 109, H 167, Mr. D 231 || Tg *uyv-, *uyv-(n-) 'life, living' > UI uyū, uyūn- 'living', Nn Nh uyū, Nn B uyū(n-)~uyz(n-) 'living, alive', Ork uyū(n-) 'living; a living being; life', Mc weyχun 'living', 'provision', weyzu- v. 'resuscitate'; Tg ⇨ Yk öyün 'future, life, lifetime, time' ¶ STM II 252, Sun. UJ 245, Antn. YSK 49 || pJ {S} *z̄ȳz̄- 'grow old' > OJ òyù-, J: T/Kg oí- K òì- ¶ S QJ #1337, Mr. 740 ¶¶ DQA #1560 (pA *öye 'life, age') ◇ Cf. AD LRC #62: IE, S; IS I 242-3: HS, IE, A. The initial *ö ~ *ü in Altaic is due to regressive as. of the kind called «Altaic vowel breaking» bringing about Altaic ascending diphthongs. The source of the ass. infl. must have been both rounded and palatal, sc. N *ü ◇ Gr. II *247 (*ayu 'live') (IE, A, J, CK, EA).

2614. *Xôy ▽ 'to swim, to float, to flow' > HS: Eg MK ĥwυ v. {EG} 'flow' (of a river) ('fließen, fluten'), {Fk.} 'overflow, surge up' (of the Nile), amb Eg P/G ĥwυ 'flood' (× N *xaw ▽ 'to rain, to spurt' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 48, Fk. 165 || U *uye-~*oye- v. 'swim' > F ui- 'swim, float', Es

uju-, Δ oju-, ojo- 'swim' | pLp {Lr.} *vōjɜ v. 'swim, float' > Lp N {N} vuoggjâ-/j-, Lp L {LLO} vuodja-, Lp Kld vūjje-, Lp Nt vuojje- id., Lp S {Hs.} vuoje- 'swim' | pMr {Ker.} *uyə- > Er ye- uye-, Mk ye- uyə- id. | Chr: L ия- iya-, E iya-, H iä- id. | pPrm *uy- > Vt uya-, Z uy- id. || pObU *wūy- 'swim, float' > (1) pVg *(w)ūy- > Vg: T oy-, LK (w)oy-, UK/P wuy-, UL/Ss uy- id., (2) pOs *uy- > Os: K üy-, frq. üyit-, D uyit- v. 'crawl' (of a snake) | Hg úsz- v. 'swim' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *u- id. > Ne F Ly ηū-, Slq (aor. 1s): Tm u'ag-, Tz ūñǎg- id., Tz {KKIH} ū-, Mt {Hl.} *u.ḷ- v. 'swim' ¶¶ Coll. 64, UEW 542, Sm. 536 (U *uxḷ- 'swim' > Sm *u-, FU, FP *uji-, Ugr *ũjĩ-), It. #211, Lr. #1422, Lgc. #8748, Hs. 1448-9, LG 296, Stn. D 20, Jn. UK 42-3 #122, Jn. 29, KKIH 192, Ker. II 173-4, Hl. M #1108 || A {SDM97} *oye|o (or *uyo) v. 'swim' > M *oyi-mu- 'swim' (unless it is *φoyi-mu-?) > WrM oima-, oimu- v. 'swim', HIM оймо- id., Kl õm- v. 'bathe, swim', Ord oõmo- {Ms.} v. 'wade', as well as possibly M {DQA} *üyi- v. 'sink, put in a pot for boiling' (> WrM üy(ü)-, HIM үй-, Ord {Ms.} ū-, Mnr H {SM} wī- v. 'put [meat, vegetables, etc.] into boiling water or soup in order to cook it') and M *üyer 'inundation, flood' (> MM [HI] {Ms.} üyer, WrM üyer, HIM үер id.) ¶ MED 604, 999, 1002, SM 48, Ms. H 109 || Tg *uy∇- v. 'swim' (of birds) > Ewk PT/Y/Urm uyu-, Ewk B uwu-, Ewk Y/Nr/Skh/Urm uñu-, Neg oyuyan- ~ oɣuyan- v. 'swim' (of a waterfowl), Ud X {Shn.} uyan- ~ wuyan-, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} wayan- v. 'swim (on the surface of water)', Nn KU oyana- id. (of waterfowls and mammals) ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 217 || pJ *z̥yánk- or *z̥yank- v. 'swim' > OJ oy(ū)og-, J: T oyóg-, K óyóg-, Kg òyòg-, Ns ògʷ-, Ht ù-, Y ùn- ¶ S QJ #74, Mr. 744 ¶¶ DQA #1559 (A *òye 'swim'), S AJ 220 #209, 238 #90, 267 #74, 277 #70, MED 604-5, KW 304, SM 182, STM II 253, Pp. VG 140, Rm. EAS I 98 ◇ The U and the A (M and Tg) stems were equated by many authors: Rs. UA 42, Coll. 147, AD LRC #81, IS MS 355, Rédei (UEW 542), and others. The Eg cognate has not been adduced so far ◇ ≈ Gr. II *377 (*oye 'swim') (U, A, J + err. Ko).

2615. *Xažü∇, *XažU∇E, *XažEw∇, or *Xaž,∇,wE 'to cover, to spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]') > HS: S *^oħašw-, *^oħš'y|w¹ > Ar ħašw- 'pailles, crin, plume, tout ce qui sert à remplir un coussin\oreiller', ħašīyat- (pl. ħašāʔ-) 'matelas, lit' ¶ BK I 119 || U: FU *a|ož∇ 'bed (ein mit etwas bedeckter, zum Liegen [Schlafen] geeigneter Platz)' > Prm *wóí (LG) *wóí-) 'bed, bedding, litter (spread for animals

to lie upon)' > Vt валес *vaíes* 'feather-bed, bed, mattress', Z *voí* / *voíí*- 'fell of reindeer or elk', *uv voí* 'bedding (made of cloth)' (*uv* is 'bottom'), Z *voízs*, Z USs *oízs* 'bedding, litter (for animals to lay upon)', Z Δ *voí-pás*, Z USs *oí-pás* 'bed' (*pás* is 'coat'), Prmk *oípaś*, Yz 'uípaś 'bedding' || Vg {Kn.}: T *á'íá't* 'bed', Ss *ōíát-yīw*, *ōíát-pum* 'hay as bedding (Bettheu)' (*yīw* is 'wood', *pum* is 'grass, hay') | Hg *ágy* 'bed' ¶ UEW 4, Sm. 542 (FU, FP **oođi*, Ugr **áđĩ* 'bed'), MF 74, LG 62, WVD VII 28 || D **a]*- v. 'spread, cover' > Kn *a]ur* v. 'enclose, cover, overspread', OTI, TI *alamu* v. 'spread, extend', Knd *almi* v. 'level, spread out' ¶ D #307, Km. 285 [#45] || A: Tg **e]be*- v. 'cover' > Ewk *z]b3*- 'cover a tent with reindeer fells or cloth', Neg *z]b3*- id., 'cover oneself with sth.', Orc *zbb3*, Ud *zgb3*- v. 'roof', UI *z]b3m3* 'foot-gear', *z]b3n3* 'a sacking cover for fish and meat', Nn KU *z]b3* 'roof', UI, Nn Nh *z]b3n3* 'sail', WrMc *e]be*- v. 'roof; to thatch, to cover' ¶ STM II 445 || T **ä]ü*- > OT *äšü*- v. 'cover, envelop' ¶ Cl. 256 ◇ In the N etymon (**Xažü]w*, **XažU]E*, **XažEw]w*, or **Xaž]wE*) the cns. **w* or the reflex of the labialized *vw*. is preserved in S **hâšw*- and in Tg **e]be*- (**w* or **U]w* > Tg **b*), but lost in U and D. OT *äšü*- suggests that **Xažü]w* or **XažU]E* are the preferable reconstructions. Tg **e*- and T **ä*- (rather than **a*-) are explained by as. caused by the front *vw*. of the second or third syllables.

2616. **ya* 'which?', 'what kind of?' > K: Sv *yä*- *ä* *ya*- 'who?': Sv UB nom. *yär*, erg. *yärd*, dat. *yä-s*, gen. *iša* ~ *yeša*, Sv L nom. *ya-r*, gen. *ya-š*, Sv UB nom. *yä-r*, gen. *i-ša*, Ln nom. (*y*)*är* ¶ Top. SJ 83, TK 637, Dn. s.v. *yar* || IE: Sl **jakъ*(*jъ*) 'what kind of?, which?', **jakъ* 'how?': Sl **jakъ*(*jъ*) > OCS *якъ* *якъ* id., Blg *як*, SCr *jâk* m. (*јака* f., *jâko* ntr.), Cz, Slk *якý*, Lls †, P *яки*, Uk *який*, R S *який* 'which?', 'what kind of?'; Sl **jakъ* 'how?' > OCS *яко* *яко*, P *як*, Uk, Blr *як* id., P *яко* 'as' (OCS and P *яко* resulted from merger of **jakъ* with Sl **ako* 'as') ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht *-ya* pс. 'and, also' ¶ Sl **jakъ*(*jъ*) and **jakъ* are derived from the IE descendant of N **ya* with the sx. *-k- (ffd. see N **ka*, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive [singling out] prn.) ¶ ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || A: M **ya* ~ **ya-n* 'what?' > MM [IsV] *ya* 'what?' (*ya kilū bi* 'what have I done?'), [L, IsV, IM] *ya*n 'what?', [MA] id., 'what ...!' (exclamatory: *ya*n *öter* 'how quick [he is]!', *какой быстрый!*), as well as Brt *яа*, Dx *ya*n 'what?, which?', Ba *ya*n 'what?' (or from **yaçun*?); M **yaç*a- interr. v.

'was tun?' > WrO {Krg.} $\text{yā-} \sim \text{yā-}$, HIM, Kl $\text{яа-} \text{yā-}$ id., WrM d. yagaki- id., 'how to act?'; M *yā-yūn 'what?, what kind of?, which?' > MM [HI] $\text{yā}_1\text{u(n)}$, WrM yagū(n) , HIM юу(н) , Brt юун , Mnr H {SM} yān id., {T} yāṅ 'what?', Ord yū id., $\text{yūn} \sim \text{yūn}$ 'which?', Kl юн yun , {Rm.} yūn 'what?', WrO yūu n 'what?, why?' ¶ Pp. L III 77, Pp. MA 387, 450, Ms. H 110, MED 423-5, Lg. VMI 73, SM 487, T 337, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Ms. O 406-7, Krg. 700-1, KRS 707, 713, KW 218, 221, Chr. 785, 787 || Tg *yā 'what?' > Ewk \bar{e} , Sln \bar{i} , Neg $\bar{e}wa$, Orc yāwu , Ud {STM} y3w3ṅi id., {Krm.} y3?u 'what?', 'who?' (of animals), WrMc yā 'what?, who?'; Tg *yā- interr. verb ('was tun?') > Ewk, Neg $\bar{e}-$, Lm $\bar{ā}-$, Orc, Ud $\text{yā-} \sim \text{y3-}$ id. ¶ STM I 288, Krm. 243 || **D** *yā 'what?, which?' > Tm, Ml yā 'what?', Td e^{θ} (obl. $\text{e}^{\theta}\text{-n}$) 'which person\thing?', $\text{e-}/\text{ey-}$ 'which?, what?' interr. adj., Kn yā 'what?, which?', Kdg, Klm e- , Tl e- 'which?', Knd aye 'which?, what?'; Tm yāvan , Ml $\text{yāvan} \sim \bar{e}van$, Kt evn , Kn yāvanu , Kdg $\text{e}^{\nu}\text{ā}_1\text{n}$, Tl $\text{e}^{\nu}\text{ā}^{\text{d}}\text{u}$ 'which man?', Nkr $\bar{e}n$ 'who?' (m.), Gdb eyin 'which man?', eynd 'who?', Gnd benond 'who?, which man?', Knd $\bar{e}n$ 'who?', Krx endr 'what?' ¶¶ D #5151 ¶¶ Knd aye may go back to demonstr. $\text{*?a} + \text{*yā}$ (like HS *?ayy-) || **HS:** ? Ch: CCh: Msg yā 'where?' || WCh: Hs yāyā 'how?' (\times N *?āy^{∇} 'which?', 'what?') ¶ ChC ||| This etymon may be an *AdS* of the relative pronoun *yō- in IE and FU (see N $\text{*y}^{\text{r}}\text{iyo}$ 'which' [rel. prn.], 'that which, related to'). N *yā sE (with the dem. prn. *sE) is an *AdS* of IE *-is- (of cmpr.) and of the K genitive ending *-iš (see N *sE 'he\she' and N $\text{*y}^{\text{r}}\text{iyo}$ 'which') ◇ IS I 277-8 (*j^{r} 'which, what kind of' [interr. and rel.]), Gr. I 225-9 ("interrogative J" in IE, U, A, Gil + unc. Ai) ◇ Cf. N *?āy^{∇} '↑'.

2617. ? *yE (= $\text{*y}^{\text{r}}\text{i}$?) 'these, they' (deictic marker of animate plural) > **HS:** B {Pr.} *ī- , nominal px. of m. pl.: {Pr.} *ī-yūnāb 'feathers' \leftrightarrow sg. *ā-yānīb 'feather' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. $\text{i-yūnab} \leftrightarrow$ sg. āyānib), *ī-dihāran 'feet' \leftrightarrow sg. *ā-dihār 'foot' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. $\text{i-dārān} \leftrightarrow$ sg. adār , Kb {Dl.} pl. $\text{iḡarṅān} \leftrightarrow$ sg. aḡar), Tw, Shl, etc. i- (with allomorphs depending on the environment); according to Vc. ADB, this px. goes back to a df. art. of m. pl. ¶ AiM 211-2, Pr. M IV-V 14-6, 50-63, Dl. 180 || Eg O y- , px. of pl. in dem. pronouns: yprn 'these' m., yptn 'these' f. (\leftrightarrow prn 'this' m., trn 'this' f.), yprf 'those' m., yptf 'those' f. (\leftrightarrow sg.: prf m., trf f.), yprw 'these' m., yptw 'these' f. (\leftrightarrow sg.: $\text{pry} > \text{pw}$ m., $\text{ty} > \text{tw}$ f.) ¶ Lpr. 68 || C: Bj R $\text{yā} / \bar{ā}$ 'the' nom. pl. m., $\text{yē} \sim \text{yi} / \bar{e} \sim \text{i}$ accus. pl. m. (yā , yē , yi before vowels and lrs., otherwise $\bar{ā}$, \bar{e} , i) (\leftrightarrow $\text{wū} / \bar{u}$ 'the' nom.

sg. m., $\omega\bar{o}$ / \bar{o} accus. sg. m.), Bj {Rop.} $\psi\bar{i}$ 'the' pl. (before nouns beginning with \bar{h} -), $i \sim \varepsilon$ 'the' pl. (before disyllables with a long vw.) || EC {Zab.} $*-\nabla y(-)$, marker of pl. > Sml Me {Lm.} $-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{t}$ ($-t\ddot{t}$ is an article of f. sg.) (nin 'man' - pl. $nim-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{t}$, luk 'leg' - pl. $lu\bar{?}-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{t}$, ilmo 'child' - pl. $ilma\delta-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{t}$), Arr $-\acute{a}y \sim -\acute{e}y$ (sirg-at 'mad person' - pl. $sirg-\acute{a}y$, kedeté 'bee' - pl. $ked-\acute{e}y$, $t\bar{o}ma-t\acute{e}$ 'water-pot' - pl. $t\bar{o}m\acute{a}y$), Elm $-ay$ ($\acute{o}na-te$ 'fruit' - pl. $\acute{o}nay$, $h\acute{a}ruw\acute{a}te$ 'girl' - pl. $h\acute{a}r\acute{u}way$, $\acute{e}lete$ 'jackal' - pl. $\acute{e}lay$), Or $-eyyi / -iyye$ (obolēssa 'brother' - pl. $oboleyyi$, Or B $\acute{d}aha$ 'rock, stone' - pl. $\acute{d}ah\bar{a}yye$, $w\bar{a}ti$ 'baby-calf' - pl. $wat\acute{i}yye$), Kns {BISO} $-iyya / -aya$ (ap-itta 'fire' - pl. $ap-iyya$, okk-atta 'cow' - pl. $okk-aya$), Gdl $-ayya, -iyya$ ($q\acute{i}m-ayt$ 'old man' - pl. $q\acute{i}m-ayya$, $h\acute{a}l-itt$ 'stick' - pl. $h\acute{a}l-iyya$), Sd $-\nabla yye$ ($bal-i\check{c}\check{c}a$ 'gazelle' - pl. $bal\acute{i}yye$, $og-\bar{e}ssa$ 'doctor' - pl. $o'g\bar{e}yye$), Ya $ai \sim -ay \sim -ey$ (ilm\acute{a}mu 'tear' - pl. $ilm\acute{a}may$, $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\mu\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha$ 'penis' - pl. $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\mu\bar{\omega}\rho\acute{a}\acute{i}$, $mor\check{z}i\bar{?}$ 'sinew' - pl. $mor\check{z}ey$) ¶ Rop. 9, R BedS 6O-1, Zab. MNPC 77, 113-4, 118-9, 141-2, 156, 169-7O, 19O, 241-2, 296 || ? pre-S morpheme ($*-r^1i$?) of nom. plural, which followed the case ending and later merged with it into nom. pl. $*-\bar{u}$, accus. pl. $*-\bar{i}$, gen. pl. $*-\bar{i}$; the palatality of the accus. pl. $*-\bar{i}$ (contrasting with the accus. sg. $*-a$) points to a palatal element within the original marker of pl., so that the prehistory of the S case/number $sxs.$ may be conjectured as follows: accus. sg. $*-a$ + pl. $*-r^1i$ > accus. pl. $*-\bar{i}$, nom. sg. $*-u$ + pl. $*-r^1i$ > nom. pl. $*-\bar{u}$, gen. sg. $*-u$ + pl. $*-r^1i$ > gen. pl. $*-\bar{i}$ || IE $*-j$, plural ending of the animate gender (> NaIE m. and f.) of dem. and interr. pronouns, e.g. $*t\bar{o}-j$ 'these' (animate gender) > OI $t\bar{e}$, Lt $ti\check{e}$, OCS $\tau\bar{h}ti$, OR $\tau\bar{e}t\check{e}$, R τe , Gt $\bar{p}ai$ id., Gk B/D/Hm $\tau\acute{o}\acute{l}$ (m. pl. of the df. art.; Gk A/I $o\acute{l}$ id. was created on the analogy of m. sg. \acute{o}), L $i\bar{s}-t\bar{i}$ 'those' (thou-deixis), as well NaIE m. pl. locative $*t\bar{o}-j-su$ 'in these' > OI $t\bar{e}\zeta u$, OCS $\tau\bar{e}\chi\bar{x}$ $t\check{e}\chi\bar{x}$ id., Gk Hm $\tau\acute{o}\check{\sigma}$, Gk A $\tau\acute{o}\check{\zeta}$ (dat. pl. of the df. art.). The form $*t\bar{o}j$ is specifically connected with the animate (> masc.) gender and not with the inanimate (neuter) one (where the marker of plural is $*-h\bar{o}$ > $*-a$ [$< *-\bar{h}\bar{o}$ and $*-\bar{a}$ [$<$ thematic vowel + $*h$]). In some dialects this $*-o\bar{j}$ -form of nom. pl. m. spread to the system of nouns and adjectives (declension of the $*-o$ -stems), whence such forms as Gk $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota$ 'wolves', $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\acute{l}$ 'gods', OL $\rho\acute{o}\rho\lambda\acute{o}\epsilon$ 'peoples', L $lu\bar{p}\bar{i}$, OCS $\bar{b}l\bar{x}\bar{c}h$ $\bar{v}l\bar{x}ci$ 'wolves', L $\bar{v}ir-\bar{i}$, and OIr fir ($< *vir\bar{o}j$) 'men', Gt $blindai$ 'blind' (m. pl.) || Ht $k-\bar{e}$ 'these' (pl. anim. of the dem. prn. {Rsk.} $k\bar{a}-\bar{s}$), $ap-\bar{e}$ 'those', HrLw $\bar{i}i$, pl. anim. of the dem. prn. $\bar{i}-\bar{s}$ ¶¶ Bks. 20O-6, Brg. KVG 39O-1,

406-6, Brand. GS II 76-7, Vnd.² II 78-9 (Sl *tě > OCS ТН ti, OR ТѢ tě), Rsk. 68-70, Mer. SGA 322-3 || **U** {Coll.} *-yī/-ṛī (> -ī-, -ṛī-), marker of pl. in oblique cases > FU *-y, pl. ending in obl. cases: F koulu-i-ssa 'in schools', kalo-i-ستا 'from fishes', Lp N sul'lu-i-d accus. 'islands' (from sulo 'island') || ? Sm {AD} *-y/*-ṛī-, (+ppas.) {Hl.} *-y- (marker of plural): Kms {Kü.} žaṣa-ṛī-m 'rivers' (accus. pl.), žaṣa-ṛī-n 'of rivers' (↔ sg. žaṣa-n 'of [a\the] river'), žaṣa-ṛyeṛ 'rivers' (nom. pl.), possibly also Ne {Coll.} ḡudiṛ 'hands' (gen. pl.) (↔ ḡuda 'hand'), Tv {Coll.} kindaj 'smoke' (accus. pl.) (↔ kinta [nom. sg.]), En {Coll.} yoheṛ 'rivers' (accus.-gen. pl.) (↔ yaḡa [nom. sg.]); +ppas.: -y-nə 'my ...s' (*-y- pl. + *-nə 'my' with pl. nouns) > Mt {Hl.} *-n|ńE (*ayənE [Mt M {Sp.} анне] 'my children') ¶¶ Hj. US 233, It. LC 41-6, Kü. KJ 383, Kü. SUKF I 31-8, Coll. CG 297-8, Hl. M 145 || **A**: Tg *-ye, pl. of the interr. prn. *ḡuy 'who?' > Ewk, Neg nī-yə ~ ḡī-yə, Lm ḡī-yə ~ ḡī-yə, Orc ḡī-yə '¿quiénes?' ¶ STM 660 ◇ IS interpreted this N etymon as a sx., which is untenable, because in the descendant lgs. it functions both in the word-final and in the word-initial position (the latter in Eg (y-) and B) and as a separate word in Bj, which proves that N *yE was movable, and hence it was a separate word ◇ ≈ IS I 12 (IE, U, HS), Gr. I 108-10 ("plural I" in IE, U, CK, EA, unc. Gil).

2618. *yī 'he', (?) 'that' (anaphoric) > HS *yī- 'he' (verbal px. of 3m) > S *yī- id. > Ak i-, pWS *yī- (with verbs having a thematic vw. *a) > BHb yī-, ye- (e.g. ַיְבֹכְוַי way'yebkəj 'and he wept'), Gz yə-; the vw. *-a- in Ar ya- and in BHb yā- (ַיְבֹכְוַי way'yāqəm 'and he stood up') is due to analogical generalization of the vw. in the paradigm of the verbal personal pxs. ¶ Hz. VP 35-48 | N *yī may be also present in S *miy∇ 'who?' (possibly from N *omi yī = N *mi 'what?' + N *yī 'he', see ffd. N *mi 'what?') || B *ī-, verbal px. of 3m > i- in modern B lgs. || C *yī-, verbal px. of 3m: Bj (?)i-; EC: Sa, Af, Rn y-, Sml yī-, y-, y-a- (-a- in yaqān 'knows' and yahay 'is' goes back to a px. of imperfectiveness ← aux. verb, / AD IPCV), Dsn yī-, y-; Ag: Aw yī-; C *yī- is probably present in Or i-sa 'he' (the marked nominative i-n-ni), Aw ́-n 'this', in SC: Irq {Mous} ṛinós, ṛís, pl. ṛinoṛín, ṛinín, {Wh.} ìnós ~ ìnúš 'he, she', pl. ìnòṛín 'they', Grw ìnó(s), pl. ìnòṛín, ìnín, Alg in, pl. ina, Brn ina 'he, she', pl. iney 'they' ¶ Zab. VC, AD KJ, AD IPCV, Hz. AL 21-2, PH 259-62, Grg. 22, PG 42-4, To. DL 200-2, Wh. 57, Mous GI 112 || NrOm: Hrr {CR} yī, Zl/Gf {C}, Wl {LmS} ī, Male {AzA} ṛí 'he', Bsk {Bnd.} ṛiy 'he', iy 'his' ¶

CR H 63O, LmS 92, 273-4, AzA 8O-2, C SO 38, 48, Bnd. MO 11 || Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness: Dr gám-î: 'the ram' (↔ gám 'ram'), Zr g+mān-i 'the husband' (↔ g+mān 'husband'), EDng àk-í 'the fire' (↔ àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-6O || IE *ʔeḡ-/ʔi (or *hēḡ-/*hī- ?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (× N *h¹i 'iste' or 'hic') > OI a'ḡ-am m., GAv aḡ-ēm m., OI i'ḡ-am f., OI i-'d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' || Gk Cp ἔν 'eum, eam' || L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') || OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< *i-s), ed ~ hed (< *id or *id-ā) 'it', pl. hé || Gt i-s 'he', accus. in-a, ntr. ita 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu eR, iR, iaR rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', iḡ ~ eḡ 'it', NHG er m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' || Lt jì-s 'he', jì 'she' | Sl *j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. *jb, f. nom. *ja, ntr. nom.-accus. *je > OCS, OR m. H i, f. ѿ ja, ntr. ѿ je; Sl *j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. ѿго jегo 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. ѿмоу jemu 'to him, to it', etc. || AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' (Mer. HHG 61-7); but Ld -i- (enclitic px. of the 3rd pers.) does not necessarily belong here: it looks like a variant of a more typical -a- id. (Mer. SGA 319: "A fianco di -a- [in lidio] compare qualche volta una forma di -i-... Si può provvisoriamente accettare che si tratti d'una variante per evoluzione fonetica") ¶ P 281-3, Bks. 2O2, M K I 13, 46, 86, M E I 1O3, WH I 72O-1, F I 726, Fs. 296, Vr. 1O5, EWA II 1O92-11O7, LG § 358, Thr. §§ 25, 4O5, Frn. 194, ESSJ VIII 2O4-5, Gsm. LW 129 || K *h₁i 'that' (distal deictive stem), 'he' > G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi-, Sv i- 'that' (× N *h¹i 'iste' or 'hic', q.v. ffd.) || A *i > T *-i/*-i 'his/her/their' (after cnss.; *-i and *-i are distributed acc. to the palatal harmony of vowels; in lgs. with labial harmony of vws. there are additional allomorphs -ü/-u) > OT, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg, Tkm, CrTt, EF Δ, Nog, Qq, Alt -i/-i, Qzq, Xk -l/-i, VTt -b/-b, Tk -i/-i/-ü/-u, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qrg, Tv, Tf -i/-i/-ü/-u, Bsh -b/-b/-b̄/-b̄, Kr T/G -i/-i/-u, Yk -ä/-a/-ö/-o, Chv -b, (stem-final vw. -ā or -e + ppa. >) -i, (after geminated cnss.) -i; ? Blq ino1 'that'; the T allomorph *-si / *-si 'his/her' (after vowels) is of more complicated origin (probably N *sE 'he/she' [q.v.] + vw. *-i/i induced by the postcons. allomorph) ¶ Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP ∇, Sev. KP ∇, PhTF ∇, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || M *i- 'he' (gen. *i-nu, in other cases *i-ma-, which goes back to the N accusative construction *yi mA 'him') > MM, WrM i-nu 'his', i ma-, stem of the obl. cases of 'he'; *-i 'his' > PCIWrM -i id.; gen. *i-nu > Dg Cc {Pp.} īḡ ~ īḡ̃ 'he', gen. iḡī, as well as WrM inu

(focalizing marker of the theme) ¶ Pp. IM 214-5, MED 412 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #582 *i (a deictic √; T, M i- 'he' + deictic *i- in Ko and J; no distinction between the reflexes of N *yī 'he' and N *h'ī 'iste') ◇ Cf. IS I 270-2 (combines together N *yī 'he', N *h'ī 'iste', and N *h'e' 'this' as variants of the same word), Gr. I 81-5 ("third-person I ~ E" and a similar "pronoun/demonstrative" in IE, U, A, Gil, and Ai).

2619. *yī 'a couple' (inanimate) ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of dual) > IE: the NaIE ending of dual (ntr.) *-o-ǵ / *-i(:): [1] NaIE ntr. *-o-ǵ (of *-o-stems) (*-o- belonging to the stem): OI ὑὔ'gē 'two yokes', OCS **нзѣ** izě, [2] NaIE *-i(:) of consonantic stems: Av **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎** *īsa't-i*, Gk **ἑκατ-** *ε*, L **vigintī**-ī 'twenty', OCS **р ѡ ѡ ѡ** *imen-i* 'two names', **тѣлѣсн** *těles-i* 'two bodies'; [3] NaIE *-aǵ, nom.-accus. du. of *ā-stems m., f.: OI **αῶ** *αῶ* 'two mares', OIr **tuath** 'two peoples' (sg. *tuath* 'people') (< pClt *touthaj), Lt **ranki**, OCS **р ѡ ѡ** *račě* 'two hands'. Bks. 194-5 reconstructs the IE dual ending of nom. ntr. as *-iH₁ (sc. *-iH) - mainly on the ev. of NaIE *-ī in OI (**αῶ** *αῶ* 'eyes'), which would suggest N *yīH₁, but since this IE lr. has no counterpart in S and Eg, I am inclined to suppose that the length of i in OI is of analogical origin and does not go back to any ancient Ir. ¶ Brg. KVG 388-9 || **HS:** S *-ay, the marker of accus.-gen. dual > Ar -ay, -ay-ni accus.-gen. dual (ʔibn-ayni accus.-gen. 'two sons', ʔibn-ay accus.-gen. cs. 'two sons of ...'), with loss of case distinction: BHb -'ayim du. (st. abs.) (**יָמַי** *yō'm-ayim* 'two days'), -ē du.\pl. cs. (**קַרְנֵי** *kar,nē* 'horns of ...'), OAk -ī-n (**ḡalmīn annīn** 'diese beide Bildnisse'), Ak OA -ēn (**ḡēnēn patītēn** 'two open shoes') ¶ Br. AG § 69, Sd. G 76 [§ 61] || Eg -ωy du. masc., -ty du. fem. (nominal sxs.): zn.ωy 'two brothers', zn.ty 'two sisters' || ? Ch: Hs D/Dm {Vc.} -ay, -āyē, dual sx.: *fantaziye* 'zwei Hacke' ¶ Vc. HÄ 93-6 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 60 (S, Eg, B) || **A:** T palatalization of *-r in names of paired body parts > T *kōr 'eye, both eyes' (> OT *kōz* [*kōz-in kōrūp* 'seeing with the eyes'], Tk *gōz*, Tkm *gōδ*, etc. 'eye'; cp. T *kūr- v. 'see' < N *g'ūr **ر** 'look, look for' [q.v. ffd.]), *k'ökür 'breast, two female breasts' (> OT *köküz* 'chest, breast, both breasts of a woman' [*köguzi qara* 'with black breasts'], Tk *gōğüz* 'breast', Tkm *gövüθ* 'female breast, woman's breasts', Chv: L **кăкăр** *kăg_ьr*, H **кăг_ьр** id., etc.; cp. without the reflex of *yī: T *k'ökür-äk 'breast, chest' > Tkm *kükrek*, Qrg *kökürek*, Qzq *kökrek*), T *t'īr 'knee' (> OT *tīz*, Tk *diz*, Tkm *dīδ*, Tv *dis-kek*, Chv *čьr*), T *muyhur (> *mühür) ({Md.} *bo.ḡḡ'or) 'horn(s)' (> OT *mühüz* **د**

müyüz, Tk бoуrуз, Tkm buynиδ, Az buynиz, Chv {Ash.} тъура 'horn(s), [cd.] Chv L тъураg_a, Chv V мiраg_a ~ мураg_a, Chv MK мiрагa 'horn', cp. M *mögere-sün 'cartilage, gristle') ¶ Cl. 570, 712-4, 736, 756, Rs. W 202, 288, 294-5, 347, 482, Ash. VIII 292, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, Md. 51, 169, 174, Tkr 194-5, 420, MED 545, KW 268 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *-i- dual (IE, HS).

2619a. *y∇, pc. of hypocoristic (?) address (vocative) > HS: S *-ay- (diminutive-hypocoristic infix): *yulaym- (S *yulaym- 'boy, young man', *yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > OA ϑlym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm ϑlym 'servant', JA אָלְמָא ϑalê'mā, JEA {Sl.} אָלְמָא ϑalê'mā 'young man', Sr ϑalay'm-ā 'boy, a youth', etc.; f.: SmHb אַלְמָא 'maid', IA ϑlym^h, ϑlymt-, Plm ϑlymt[?] 'female servant'), which is a diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from S *'yal∇m- 'young man' and *'yal∇m-at- 'maid' (ffd. see s.v. *giḷu 'boy, young man'); Ar ḡumayl- (hypocoristic of ḡamāl- 'beautiful'); Ar ya, preposition of the analytical vocative case || K: GZ *-ia, a diminutive suffix: G, Mgr -ia: G zam-ia 'old chap, братец', Mgr žimaia id., G baç-ia 'little hare', Mgr kıboia 'crawfish', parpalia 'butterfly' ¶ K 100, K² 80 || IE: NaIE *-yo-/*-iyō-, a diminutive suffix: Gk παιδ-ίον 'Kindchen' (from παῖς 'child'), ὄρνιθ-ιον 'Vögelchen', L -iō in pūsiō 'a little boy', pūmiliō 'a dwarf' (from pūmilus 'a dwarf'), seneciō (diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from senex 'old man'), OCS робншъ robištъ 'servulus' (-ištъ < *-īt-yō-s) ¶ Brg. KVG 337-8 || U: FU *-y > BF *-y in diminutives: F Δ enoḷ 'mother's brother', kukkoḷ 'петушок' (diminutive of kukko 'cock'), Krl A moamoḷ 'mother', kägöḷ 'cuckoo', F Δ, Vp reboḷ 'fox', Krl Ld, Vp kukoḷ, Ing kukkoḷ 'cock', Krl Ld meššoḷ 'capercailie', taloḷ 'house', Vp lámoy 'fire' (from lám 'warm'), Ing tüttöḷ 'girl' ¶ Laan. 214-5 || A: Tg *-(a)y, hypocoristic suffixes (usually in address words): Ewk -y in hypocoristic address forms of nouns: akā-y 'братец!' (from akā 'brother'), zḱz-y 'сестрица!' (from zḱz 'sister') ¶ Vas. 757 ◇ Evidence of the analytical origin: the etymon is represented by suffixes, by a prefix (that is, it was movable) and by a preposition.

2620. *yabE (~ *yapE) 'to cover, to fence, to protect' > HS: Eg MK ḷb.ω 'refuge, shelter' ¶ EG I 62, Fk. 15 || C: DhI {EEN} žāβ-, {E} žaβ- v. 'save' || SC: Irq {MQK} yāw- 'protect with a fence', {E} yaw- v. 'enclose, fence', Alg yaba 'fence' || HEC {Hd.} *if- 'be covered' ⇨ caus. *if-iḷs- v. 'cover' (× N *qup∇ [- *qūp∇?] 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover') >

Hd {Hd.} if-ī̄s-, Kmb {Hd.} if-is- v. 'cover', Hd if-očču n. 'cover, stopper (e.g. cork)', Sd {Gs.} if-iččo n. 'cover'; C ↷ Grg {L}: Ch efa v. 'cover with a lid, stop up (an opening)', Ez, Ms effä id., Gt ifä, Ed, Sl, Wl iffä, Ms, Go iffa n. 'lid, cover' ¶ E SC 315, MQK 122, EEN 29, Hd. 44, 284, 323, 373, L EDG III 19 || ? WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ábû 'hiding, seeking refuge' ¶ Sch. DN 4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 104 [#34.1] (SC, DhI, Eg, Ch) || A: T *jap- 'cover; build (a wall)' > OT {Cl} jap- 'cover (things), build (a wall)', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jap- v. 'cover, shut', OOsM jap- v. 'cover; hide, conceal', Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, QrB, Qrg žap-, Qzq, Qq žap, Xk čap-, Tv šip-, Tf ćip'-, Yk sap- 'cover', ?σ: Tk yap-, Ggz jap- 'make, build' ¶ Cl. 870-1, Rs. W 187, ET J 126-9 || M *ibe(-xe)~*ipe(-xe)- > MM [HI] {Ms.} ihē- v. 'protect', ihe₁en 'protection', ihēgde- 'be protected', [S] {H} ihe₁e- ~ ihē- 'protect, help', ihe₁el ~ iheyel 'protection (Schutz)', WrM iβε-, HIM ивэ- v. 'pad, lay sth. between or under', WrM iβεge-, HIM ивээ- 'protect, help', Ord {Ms.} iwegē- 'traiter avec bonté (prince, ses sujets)', WrO {Krg.} iβε- v. 'protect, save', iβē- 'save, rescue, protect', iβεge- v. 'protect', Kl † ивэ- iwä- 'patronize, protect (покровительствовать, опекать)', Kl {Rm.} iwē- 'be-\unter-schützen, hüten, helfen', Kl ивэл iwäl 'protection, care', {Rm.} iwēl 'Schutz, Hut, Segen, Hilfe', Brt W эбигээл 'patronage, protection' ¶ Ms. H 62, Ms. O 390, H 81, MED 396, Krg. 89, KRS 262, KW 212, Chr. 753 || Tg *y|upsi 'garment' > Ul upsi 'shaman's garment', Neg upsi id., 'skirt', Nn B ufsi 'belt' ¶ STM II 281, Ci. N 285 || pKo *psí- 'wear\put on (headgear)' > MKo psi-, sí-NKo ssi- ¶ S QK #900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1023-4 || pJ {S} žp- 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ op-, òpòp-, J: T ò-, K/Kg ó- ¶ S QJ #1047, Mr. 742-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #644 (A *jòpe '[to] cover, wear'; M, Tg, Ko, J), Pp. VG 236, 286 ¶¶ The change of M *i- < N *y∇- and that of Tg *y|yp- < **ip- (assimilatory labialization) < N *y∇P- are still to be investigated || IE: NaIE *yebh- / (SA) *ojbh- 'copulate' (× possibly IE ?? *yeP- 'enter' > pTc {Ad.} *yäp- 'enter' and Lw ipatarma 'west') > OI 'yabhati 'copulates', BdhSgd २२५२५३२५ 'adulterous' || Gk D οἴφω 'futuō' || Sl {Bern.} *jeb- (1s prs. *jeb-ŋ, inf. *jeti and *jebati) 'futuere' > Blg prs. еба 'futuō', SCr jébēm / inf. jèbati, Slv jêbam / jèbati, P jebać, R prs. ебу / inf. еть ~ ети ~ ебать, Uk ібати y'batu 'futuere', OCz jebati id., 'beat' ¶ WPI 198, P 298, ≈σEI

508 (*yeb^he/o- 'copulate' ← 'enter\penetrate'), M K III 7, M E II 398-9, F II 371, Bern. I 452, ESSJ VIII 188 (Sl *jěbati with *ě on the ev. of Uk i in yǐ'batu, but his *ě is at variance with many attested forms, e.g. R p. ёб yob), BER I 474, Ad. 496-7 Mlc. CL 91 ¶¶ The semantic change 'cover' (v.) → 'futuere' is most natural when referred to cattle ('the steer covers a cow'), so that it may be supposed that it occurred in the language of the IE cattle-breeders.

2621. *yād'a' (or *yadā) 'to go' > U: FU *°yā|eδ∇ (or *°yā|e|∇) 'go' > ObU *yēl- > pVg *yǎl- > Vg: T yil-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL yāl-/yǎl-, UL/Ss ya|-'go' ({BV} 'сходить, съездить'); pOs *yēl- ({Hl.} *yīl-) > Os V/Vy yēl-'go' ({Trj.} 'ходить, ездить') ¶ Ht. #184, BV 151, Trj. S 91 || **A:** NaT *jāḍa- v. 'walk', *jāḍa-k (jāḍa-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (N *ā > T *a due to vowel harmony) (× N *rayd∇ 'foot, track; to walk' [q.v.]) > OT, MT jāḍa-ṣ 'on foot, 'pedestrian', Chg {Rl., Cl.} jaya- 'im Wasser gehen, indem man Grund unter sich hat', Tk yayalík n. act. 'walking', Tk yaya, Az jayaṣ, ET jayaq, Uz jayaw, VTt žāyāw, Bsh jāyāw, Qzq žayaw, Qrg žō, Alt žoyu, SY jazaṣ, Xk čazaṣ, Tv čadaṣ, Tf ćad_aṣ, Yk saṭī 'pedestrian, on foot' ¶ Cl. 887, Rs. W 177, ET J 68-9, TrR 918, Rl. III 72, Ra. 193 || **HS:** B *✓y|wdw 'go' (× N *w∇d₁∇₁∇ 'walk, go, set out for', q.v. ffd.).

2622. *y'o'd∇ 'claws (as of a lobster\scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers \ claws (e.g. of a lobster)' (→ [in HS and pre-K] 'arm, hand') > D *iṭukk- 'claws of a lobster\scorpion', 'take between the claws' > Tm iṭukku 'prehensile claws (of a scorpion \ lobster)', iṭukku v. 'take between the fingers \ toes, grasp as with pincers', iṭukki 'prehensile claws of a crab\scorpion, pincers, tongs', Ml iṭukku 'claws of lobster', Kt ikl 'tongs', Kn ikkur, ikkurā, Tu ikkuḷi 'pair of tongs \ pincers', Kn iṛkurī, Kui ḍipa 'tongs, pincers', Kn iḍaku v. 'pinch, tweak' ¶¶ D #444 || **A:** Tg: WrMc yōḍa- v. 'hold (something that hangs down)', {Z} 'держу въ рукѣ что свѣсивши, несу небрежно, повѣсивъ въ рукѣ', {Hr.} 'in der am Arme herabhängenden Hand tragen' ¶ Z 202, Hr. 1022 || **HS:** S *yad- 'hand' > BHb ṭ₁'yād 'hand, forearm', cs. ṭ₁'yad, st. prn. ḵṭ₁'yā'd-ō 'his hand', du./pl. ḵṭ₁'yā'dayim, pl. cs. ḵṭ₁'yā'dē, Ph, Ug, IA yd 'hand', JPA ṭ₁'yad (~ ṭ₁'ā ṭ₁'ēḍ ~ ṭ₁'ā ṭ₁'ēḍ), BA cs. ṭ₁'yad, Sr ḵṭ₁'yā'd-ā, cs. ḵṭ₁'yad ~ ḵṭ₁'yā'd, Ar yad-, Sb, Mn, Qt yd, Gz ḵṭ₁'yad, OAk, Ak ṭ₁'id-u(m), Eb i-tum = {Frnz.} yidum 'hand', i-tim yidim gen. sg. and accus.-gen. du. 'hands',

Mh {Jo.} indf. ʔīd, df. ʔa-yd, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ed 'arm (from fingertip to shoulder), hand', Hrs {Jo.} ʔayd 'hand, arm, forepaw', Sq {Jo.} 'ʔʔʔd, {L} ʔed 'hand'. In some lgs. (Aram dialects, SES, Eth, Ak, Eb) there is as. *ya- > *yi- and later (ʔ)i- ¶ KB 39-71, KBR 386-8, HJ 443-9, A #1138, OLS 520-1, Br. 295, Nld. CSG § 146, BK II 1624-5, LG 7, BGMR 167, Rk. 80-1, MA 108, Jo. M 460, Jo. J 313, Jo. H 146, LLS 52, Krb. EG 19, 21, Frnz. EL 144, BHKKLMBLz. SAL #96, MiK I #1.291 || Eg √ d hier. *'hand' (unless alternatively, Eg fP {ʔRö.} ʔ 'arm' [ʔRö.: HS *d > Eg ʔ]) ¶ EG I 156 and V 414, 580, Fk. 308, Tk. I 37 || ? K: pGZ *dlaqʷ- 'elbow' (if from N *ʔ'o'd∇ ʔa'∇qU 'bend of arm' = *ʔ'o'd∇ + *ʔa'∇qU 'a bend, a joint in a limb', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *i- from N *y∇- needs investigating (cp. the item no. 2646) ◇ The semantic change 'claw of a lobster\scorpion' → HS 'hand' is a typical zoomorphic metaphore (reminding the NE slang usage of paw for 'hand', muzzle for 'face', etc.).

2623. (₂?) *yugê (or *yukê?) 'to drink' > U: FU *yuxē (or *yuke?) v. 'drink' > F juo-, Es joo- (inf. II juu-a, Is p. jōin), Lv inf. juo-dъ id. | pLp {Lr.} *yukэ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} juvge-, L {LLO} juhka-, N {N} jukkâ- / -g-, Kld югкэ, K {Gn.} jukke- id. | pChr {Ber.} *yüy- > Chr: L йүа- yüa- (inf. йүаш yü'ash), B yüya-, Uf jüa-, H йүä- yüä- (inf. йүаш yü'ash) id. | Prm {LG} *yu- > Z, Vt ю- yu-. Prmk, Yz yu- id. || ? ObU: ? pOs *yāńć- id. (belongs here if *-ńć- is a sx.) > Os: V/Vy yāńť-, Ty/Y yeńť-, D/K yańť-, Nz yaś-, Kz yeńś-/yańś-, O yeńś-/yeś- 'drink'; ?? Vg: T äy-, LK äy-, MK/UK/P/LL äy-/äy-, UL/Ss ay- id. | OHg ≥XI i-, üu-, Hg i v- (/i-, i sz-), Δ ihu- id. ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 105, Db. OS xxvii, xxxii, It. #231, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *juxi-, Ugr *jǔgĩ-), SK 124, SSA I 249, Lr. #285, Lgc. #1807, SaR 427-8, Gn. 468, Ber. 12, MRS 155, Ep. 52, LG 335, Ht. #726, MF 329-30, EWU 629-30, Mägiste ELLE || A: NaT *ʔu:;g or *ʔo:;g > OT jū|ōḡ, {DK} jōḡ 'meal for the dead', {Cl.} jōḡ 'funeral feast' (the vw. ō was reconstructed by Cl. and DK on the basis of the Ar spelling with g in MhK, which is not a sufficient proof), OT VI ⇨ BzGk VI [MnP] δόϣτα 'Turkic funeral feast' (Gk δ- renders eOT j- and thus confirms the hyp. of an obstruent pT *j-) ¶ Cl. 895, MKD 229 || ? HS: Ch: Tng {J} yē ɘ ē v. 'drink' ¶ J T 86 || EC (× C *√ʔg 'drink' < N *ʔ'æ'go id. [q.v.]): Arr {Hw.} ʔig-, Dsn ʔík, Elm {Hn.} īk-, Kns ik-, Msl/Gdl {Bl.} uk- v. 'drink' ¶ Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482.

2623a. *yuh∇ 'to tie, to bind', 'sth. that binds\ties' > IE: NaIE *yēy- {E} 'bind, join together' > OI 'yau-ti 'binds, unites', yū'ti-

'Verbindung, Vereinigung' || ? Blt: Lt *jáutis* 'ox, steer' ({EI}: 'that which is yoked'), Ltv *jūtis* 'fork in a road' ¶ EI 64, M K III 25, 28-9, Frn. 191 || **A**: T **jular* (with a sx. *-lar of n. coll.) > OT *yular* ({Cl. *yulār* with unj. vowel length) '(a horse's) halter', Osm {RI.} *yular*, Tk *yular*, Ggz *yular*, Alt *žular*, Slr *žulur*, Tv *čular*, Yk *sular* id., Slr *čuliř* 'short rope (part of a horse's bridle)', Chg {ShSB} *yular* 'a rope attached to the animal's neck', Tk Δ *yular* 'golden thread hanged on a woman's forehead' ¶ Cl. 932, ET J 244-5, RI. III 554, ShSB 105, Tn. SJ 314-5 || **HS**: C: Bj {R} *yāy* 'rope' ¶ R WBd 243, 336.

2624. ₂ **yak* ▽ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water' > **A**: T **jag-* v. 'pour down, pour rain' > OT *jaṽ-* id., MU, XwT, MQp, Chg, OOsM *jaṽ-*, Tk *yağ-*, Tkm, Az, ET, Slr, CrTt, Kr, SY, Xlj *jaṽ-*, Gz *jā-*, Uz *jaṽ-*, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh *jaṽ-*, Qzq, Qq *žaw-*, Qrg *žā-*, Alt *žā-*, Xk, Shor, Tv *čaṽ-*, Tf *čaṽ-*, Chv L *çy- šu-*, Δ *śṽv-* v. 'pour rain'; T d. **jagmur* n. 'rain' > OT *jaṽmur*, MQp [CC] (*j*)*amṽur*, Tk *yağmur*, Az *jaṽmur*, Tkm Δ *jaṽmir*, ET *jamṽu(r)* ~ *janmur*, Uz *jamṽir*, Qmq *janur*, VTt *janṽır*, Bsh *jamṽır*, Qzq *žanbir*, Qq *žamṽir*, Qrg *žamṽir*, Alt *žanmir*, Xk *nanmir*, Yk *samir*, Chv L *çymäp šumır* 'rain' (in some lgs. and contexts also 'snow') ¶ Cl. 896, 903-4, 908, ET J 57-8, TL 25, Rs. W 177, Tkr 804, Äz. 182, Jeg. 216-8, Fed. II 127-8, 135-6, Ra. 193 || Tg **yaku-* 'be covered with water' (of ground) > Ewk *yaku-* id.; Tg **yaku*ᵛᵛ 'ground covered with water, pit filled with water' > Ewk *yaku* 'grassy swamp, puddle, pit filled with water', WrMc *yōxon* 'pit filled with water, ditch (in a field)' ¶ STM I 339 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #620 (Tg < A **jak*ᵛᵛa) || **HS**: Eg Wc *ikn* 'draw (water), (Wasser) schöpfen' ¶ EG I 139.

2625. **yäk*ᵛᵛ 'ice, cold' > **IE**: NaIE **yeg*ᵛᵛ- 'ice' > ON *jaki* 'piece of ice, icicle', NGr Sw *Jäch*, *Gicht* (= *Gejicht*) 'hoarfrost; frozen dew on trees'; dim.: Gmc {Vr.} **jekulaz* > ON *jokull*, Sw *jökel*, NLG *īsh- hekel*, *jäkel*, OLG {Vr.}, OHG *ihilla*, NGr Δ *ichel* 'icicle', AS {Ho.} *žicel(a)*, *žicele* 'icicle, ice' (ž = [j]), NE Δ *ickle* 'icicle', NE (cd. >) *icicle* || OIr *aig* (gen. *ega*), Brtt {RE} **yagis*, {Vn.} **yago-* > W *iā*, OCrn [ȝ] *iey* 'ice'; ↗ Brtt **yagnyos* 'cold' (← **'icy'*) > OCrn *iein*, MCrn *yeyn*, *yen*, MBrn *yen*, Brn *ien* 'cold' || Ht *eka-* n. 'cold, frost, ice', e|*ikuna-* adj. 'cold' ¶¶ WP I 206, P 503, EI 287 (**yeg-* 'ice, icicle'), Vr. 289, 294, Ho. 142, Sw. 74, Km. 495, Vn. A 28, RE 106, Frd. HW 40, 81, Pv. I 257-9 || **HS**: C: Ag {Ap.} **ʔṽṽaṽ-* 'ice' > Bln {Ap.} *ʔṽṽaṽa*, {R} *eğāğā* 'hail, ice, snow', Q {Ap.} (*y*)*eṽaṽa*, {R} *yegāğā* id., Aw {Ap.}

3ʎaʎi 'ice'; possibly (but not certainly): Aw {Bnd.} 3gumi 'cold', {Hz.} 3g3mt- v. 'feel cold' ¶ Ap. AV 6, R WB 17, R QW 149, R DQW 650 (s.p. 14), ≈ AD SF 263 || ??φ NrOm: Kf {C, Fl.} aḳ- 'be cold', {Fl.} aḳḳo, {C} aḳḳō 'cold', Shn {Fl.} aḳa, {C} aḳā, Amuru {Fl.} ákʷa, Anf {Fl.} aḳo 'cold' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE IV402 ¶ The unexpected glottalized ḳ needs explaining || **U** (+ext.) ≈ **yäkša > **[1]** FU *yäkšǎ 'cool, cold' > F jäähty- & jähty- 'grow cold, become cold\cool', Krl yähtü- id., Vp yäühtu- 'congeal' | Lp: N {Fri.} iksem, jiksem 'frigidus', L {LLO} jiekso- 'get cooler\colder' (weather), jeuhsas 'cold and windy' (weather), T {TI} yik:sem adj. 'cold' | pMr {Ker.} *yäkša > Er экше ekše, Mk эше, {Ps.} äšä, Δ yäšä 'cool; cool weather', Mk эшкс äšks adj. 'cool' | pChr yükšə- 'get colder' > Chr: L yükšem (inf. йүкшаш yük'šasš), B yükše, Uf jükše-, H ükše- (inf. үкшаш 'ükšasš) id. || Os: V yöʎli, Ty yäʎʎi n.\adj. 'cold', D yäʎtə 'cold, cool', Kz yīʎī 'cool' || **[2]** FV *yakša 'cool, cold' > Es jahe (gen. jaheda) 'cool', jahtu- 'cool down, become cool', Lv yū? id. | Lp Sw {LÖ} juoskos 'rigidus', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} jūöskje n. 'cold', jo'sko? 'get cooler' | Er якшамо yakšamo, Mk якшама yakšama adj. 'cold', Er якшамо, Mk якшам yakšam n. 'cold, cold weather' ¶ The variation *yäkšǎ ~ *yakša suggests an old U √ with combination of a front vw. and a back one (probably **yäkša) with subsequent as. (due to "vowel harmony") in two opposite directions ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 90-1, 631, It. #241, SK 133, SSA I 260, TI 65, ERV 776, 801, PI 318, 321, Ker. II 37, Ber. 13, MRS 156, 641, Ep. 132 || **D** (in NED) *o^hya|e^hk- > NED *o^hek- 'become cool' > Krx ēx- vi. 'lose heat, cool', ēxta'ā- vt. 'cool', Mlt ēge 'become cool', ēgtre 'make cool' ¶ D #875, Pf. 186 [#43] ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this N etymon from N *yāñ_gē 'ice; to freeze'), Blz. DA 162 [#98] (suggested to add NrOm).

2626. *yūka 'attach, tie\bind to' > IE: NaIE *yeugg- / *yung- v. 'bind, harness, yoke' > OI yuj- (prs. 1s yu'najmi, 3s yu'nakti, 3p yu'njanti), Av yaog- / yuǎ- v. 'harness, yoke, join', d.: MPrs ā-yōxtan- v. 'harness', žuxt, CINPrs جفت žuft 'yoke, pair', NPrs žoft 'pair' || Gk ζεύγ-νῦ-μι v. 'yoke, put to; bind, bind fast' || OHG untar-jouhhen 'subjugare' || L jung-ō / -ēre 'join, unite, connect' || OIr cuing 'yoke' (< *kom-yung-) || Lt jūngti (1s prs. jūngiu) 'to yoke, to join, to connect', Ltv jūgt 'to harness, to put to' || **[1]** IE *yug-om 'yoke' > Ht iuka- id. || NaIE *yugo-m id. > OI yu'ga-m, Av yuga-,

CINPrs جف' žuḡ id. || Gk ζυγόν id. || L jugum id. || OW iou, W iau, OCrn ieu, Brt ieo id., Ir ughaim 'harness' || Gt, OSx juk, ON ok, OHG joh, NHG Joch, AS ζεος ~ ιος 'yoke', NE yoke || Sl *jǵgo > *jǵgo 'yoke' > OCS нго іго, Blg, R 'иго, SCr †, b іго, Slv igō, Cz, Slk jho id., P jugo id., 'ε cross-beam', SCr Δ jìgo 'ε cross-beam' || Lt jūngas 'yoke' (with n due to the infl. of jūngti 'to join'), Ltv jūg-s 'yoke' || [2] NaIE d. *yeuḡ-os ntr. 'yoke\team of beasts' > Gk ζεύχος ntr. id., team (of oxen\horses\mules) (Gespann)' || L jūgera pl. ⇨ sg. jūgerum 'a measure of land, ≈ 2,500 m²' (← 'a plot ploughed by a team of oxen') || MHG jiuoh 'ein Morgen Landes' ¶¶ WP I 201-2, P 508-10, ≈ EI 64 (*yeu- 'bind, join together' [see N *yuhv 'to tie, to bind'], *yeu-g- 'join together; yoke'), EI 655 (*yuhv-m 'yoke'), Bc. 726, M K III 19-21, M E II 412-3, 417-8, Horn 95, Vl. I 517, Sg. 364-5, BK 151, F I 609-10, 615-6, WH I 726-31, Vn. C 273, LP § 35.3, YGM-1 295, Dnn. 774, KM 333, Fs. 304, Vr. 417, Kb. 522, 1107, Schz. 178, OsS 465, KM 333, Ho. 141, Lx. 102, Frn. 196-7, ESSJ VIII 206-8, Glh. 274, Pv. II 495-6, 498-9 || HS: EC: Sml {DSI} yōke 'legare le mani \ i piedi a qualcuno', yōko 'legatura delle mani \ dei piedi' ¶ DSI 647 || NrOm: Mch {L} 'yokka(yé) v. 'spin', Kf {Msr.} yokke id., Kf {C} yok- 'domare (un bue per l'aratro); filare (il cotone ecc.)' ¶ C SE 520, Msr 241, L M 58 || A: T *jūgān (~ *jugan?) 'bridle' (< pre-T **jūgān?) (× N *Lukā?v '≈ flexible rod, thong', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #38 (*yeu 'belt') (IE ÷ U *yaye 'belt').

2627. *yaks'o' 'to loosen, (?) to untie' > U: ppU **yaksō- > IP *yaksa- ~ *yoksa- 'untie' > pMr {Ker.} *yuksa- > Er yukśe- (inf. юксемс jukśems), Δ ukśe-, Mk yuksa- v. 'untie' || Krl A yaksa- vi. 'undress', Krl {Gn.} yakśa- id., vt. 'ausziehen, entblößen', Vo yahza- 'die Fußbekleidung ausziehen', ?σF jaksa-, Es jaksa-, jāksa- 'be able to, have strength enough to' || Prm {LG} *jusk- > Prmk, Vt юскыны yusk+n+, Yz jusk- v. 'unharness' ¶ IE 'take off'), Ker. II 46, LG 336 ¶ The variation *yaksa- ~ *yoksa- suggests an earlier etymon with a stem-final *-o (*yaksō-) with subsequent vowel assimilation in two opposite directions || A: NaT *jas- 'loosen' > OT jas- v. 'unstring (a bow); disband (troops)', MQp XIII jas-, OOSm ≥XIV jas-, Tk yas- v. 'unstring (a bow)' ¶ The √ *jas- 'flatten; flat' (represented in OOSm, Tk, and other T lgs., see Rs. W 191 and ET J 155-6) is either a semantic derivative from 'unstring the bow' or a different (albeit homonymous) root ¶ Cl. 973 || HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *yok- v. 'become loose' > Kfr {Nt.}

ʏòk 'loosen', Gmy {Hf.} ʏòk 'become loose', Ang {Hf.} 'be shaky, loose' ¶ The loss of N *s in WCh is still to be explained ¶ Hf. AG #184, Nt. 45.

2628. *yæʔæ (or *yæʔhæ?) '(very) bright, white' > HS: S *^o-yik̄- > Ar ✓ yqq (ip. -yiqq-) 'être d'une blancheur éclatante' ¶ BK II 1631 || C: Ag *^oyaʔq- > Bln {R} yaq- 'be light\bright (hell)' ¶ R WB 365, ≈ AD SF 185 || ?? Eg L/G iʔh 'shine (leuchten)' (unless connected with Eg MK ʔh 'light [hell], light [lux]') ¶ EG I 138 and V 66 || IE: NaIE *yeḱ-(o-s)/*oiḱ-(o-s) 'light colour, clearness, brightness' > OI 'yaś-ah ntr. 'beauty, splendour', Av yasō.h'ya- 'Ansehen verleihen', YAv yasō.bər^əta- 'in würdiger Weise dargebracht' ||| SI *ěsь, *ěsa n. 'light colour, radiance' > SCr jas 'clearness', Slv jās 'light, splendour, radiance', jása ~ jesa 'a ride cut in a forest', Slk jas 'radiance, glitter'; ⇨ *ěsьнъ adj. 'clear, light (hell)' > OCS jasьнъ, Blg 'ясен, SCr jāsān, Slv jásen, R 'ясен / 'ясный 'clear', Cz, Slk jasný, P jasny 'clear, bright', Uk 'ясний ~ ясний 'bright, clean' | Lt aiškus 'clear, bright' ¶ Mn. 440, M K III 12, M E II 405-6, Bern. I 276, ≈ ESSJ VI 50-3 (SI *ěsa, *ěsь, *ěskьнъ with unjustified *k) || U *yækk[∇] > Sm {Jn.} *yek[∇] (unless it is *íek[∇]) 'white' > Ng {Pl.} d. дѣкагá, Slq Nr {Cs. in Lh.'s interpretation} 'cāg(a), Slq MKe {KD} tēʔa, Slq EKe {Kzm., Katz} т'е:къ tēqā 'white' ¶ Jn. 42, Katz SQ 179-181, Kzm. DMSJ 274, KD D 73, Cs. 133, 153, 302, CsL SSM 96 ||| FV *yak¹t¹'e¹r[∇] 'red' (probably from N *^oyæʔæ ʔAht¹d[∇] 'light red', see N *ʔAht[∇] - *ʔAhd[∇] 'red') > Er yak¹tere, Mk yak¹tar, Chr: L йошкарге yoš¹karʒe, Н йакшаргы jak¹ʒarʒ 'red' ¶ ERV 800-1, Üp. 300, ≠ UEW 606 (Chr < FV *ak¹te-r[∇] or *ak¹š[∇]-ter[∇] 'gelt, güst, unfruchtbar') ||| A: ?φ M *yaga-ʔan 'pink' > WrM yagan, HIM ягаан 'pink, ruddy, violet, lilac', {Kow.} 'vermeil, rouge clair', IM {T} yaʔān, Brt ягаан 'pink' ¶ MED 423, Kow. 2246, T VM 273, Chr. 795 || ?φ pJ {S} *àkà- 'bright, red' (× N *^hawk¹a¹ 'light [lux]; bright', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *ikere 'light (lux), lighting appliance (светильник)' > Neg UA ikэрэ, Neg LA, Nn iхэрэ 'light (lux)', Neg ikэрэ ~ iхэрэ, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn iхэрэ 'lighting appliance, lamp (burning fat), candle', Ng LA iхэрэ-, Ork ikэрэč'i- v. 'light' ¶ STM I 302 ¶¶ S AJ 110, 277, SDM97 (A *āk¹a 'light, white' > T, J, Tg), DQA #634 (T, J, Tg, M) (A *jāka 'light, white') ◇ Resh. NNE #3 (A, FV *yak-ś¹t¹'e¹r[∇]). The age of the semantic change 'bright, light' → 'pink, red(dish)' is not clear. It may be rather ancient (because it is present in several branches of N: FU, M, and J). But it may

also result from cds. (e.g. N ***yæKæ çAht|d∇** 'light red' → 'pink') (that are not necessarily very ancient) with ellipsis in M and J. M ***-g-** is likely to go back to ***-k-** < N ***-K̥h-**. Tg ***i-** as a reflex of N ***yæ-** still needs investigating.

2629. *yoK̥E (or ***ʔoK̥E?**) 'seize, catch' > **HS**: Eg fOK ɪcɥ (= {EG} ɪtj) 'nehmen, rauben, fortführen', fNK ɪcɜ 'etw. fortnehmen' ʃ EG I 149-50, Fk. 34 || EC: Hr/Dbs {AMS} ekk-, Gln/Gwd {AMS} akk- 'take' ʃ AMS 260 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} ɥak 'pick up\out, ladle out', Mpn {Frz.} ɥák 'hold, catch', Su {J} ɥak id., 'seize', Cp {J} ɥák 'catch, seize' || Bl {Lk.} ɥokk- 'pflücken', Pr {ChL} ɥukò 'seize' || Bg {Sh.} ɥok 'carry (load)' ||| ECh: Jg {J} ʔek-it- 'take' ʃ JI II 62, J S 88, J J 112, Frz. DM 67, ChL, ChC ʃ ʃ Tk. I 235 || **D** (in SCD) ***okk-** ({ʔGS} ***-gg-**) v. 'trap' > Tl oggɥ 'lay a trap\net, lay a wager', Gnd HMB {BB} oğ- v. 'set (fishtrap)', Gnd Mn {Ph.} ɥaggānā, ɥakkānā 'set snare', Kui oğa- v. 'trap, snare', Ku oğ- v. 'set a trap', ūrū oğali v. 'noose' (ūrū 'a snare') ʃ D #934 || **A**: ʔσ Tg ***ukī** 'fishing-tackle, trap (for fish\birds)' > Lm ūkit, Neg uɣī, Orc, Nn uki id., Ewk ukī id., 'fishtrap', WrMc uku 'fishtrap', 'trap for birds' ʃ STM II 253 || **IE**: NaIE ***eĵk̥-/ *īk̥-** 'take possession, possess' (***eĵk̥-** is a SA from ***ĵek-**?) > OI 'īśē, 'īṣṭē 'owns, possesses, is master of', Av ise 'is lord over', isē 'ich verfüge' ||| Gt aigan* 'to have' (aih 'I have', aigum 'we have'), ON eiga, OSx êgan, OHG eigan, AS āzan 'to possess', NE own v.; ⇨ ON eigan, OSx êgan, OHG eigan, NHG eigen, AS āzen adj. (← pp.) 'own', NE own; Gt aigin, ON eigin, OSx êgan, AS āzen 'possession' ||| ʔσ Tc B aĵk- 'know, recognize' ʃ The length of ***i** in ***īk̥-** is still puzzling ʃ P 298-9, EI 270 (***h_ǵeĵk̥-** 'possess'), M K I 96, M EI 207, Fs. 20, Vr. 95-6, Ho. 2-3, Ho. S 14, Sw. 8, Kb. 187, OsS 126, EWA II 981-3, KM 156, Ad. 101-2 ◇ HS de-emphatization ***K̥** > ***k**.

2629a. 2 *yil∇ 'burn' (trans.), 'kindle' > **A**: Tg ***yila-** id. > Mc Sb yila-, Ewk ila-, Lm ɥla- id., Sln ila- 'сжечь', Orc, Ud ila- 'kindle'](×N ***yeɫ₁ay₁∇** 'to shine; light [lux]'): Sln ilā: 'light (lux)' ʃ STM I 303-4 || ʔʔσ M ***ilc̥in** 'warmth, heat' > WrM ilci(n), HIM илч(иН) id. ʃ MED 403 || **HS**: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} yila 'burn' (tr.) ʃ ChC || ʔʔ AdS of **IE** ***^hel-** (≈ ***^hal-**) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' (see N ***^ha¹ɫ∇** 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result').

2630. *ye₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light (lux)' > **U** *ye₁l]ä 'light; sun, day' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *yē₁l₃kk₃s 'clear (weather), bright' > Lp: L {LLO} jielakis, N {N} jæ₁lâkâs ~ jâlâkâs 'complete cloudlessness, clear weather', K {Gn.} jie₁χ₀s 'clear weather' || Sm {Jn.} *yelä ~ *yälä 'light (lux), sun, daytime' > Ne: T яля, T O {Lh.} yā₁'e, F {Lh.} yā₁ḏḏä id.; Ng {Mik.} 'jalit' 'daytime'; En {Cs.}: X 'jere, B 'jere 'daytime'; Slq: Tz cē₁l+ 'daytime, sun, light', Tm {KD} tē₁l 'daytime', d. tē₁läd 'sun'; Kms {KD} žā₁·ā ~ dá₁·ā ~ cá₁·ā ~ tá₁·ā 'daytime', žā₁·mā 'es tagt, es dämmer', Koyb {Sp.} джялла 'daytime', джяллокбла 'I am lighting (свѣчу)' || pY {IN} *ye₁z- > Y K {IN} ye₁ōž₁e 'sun' (formally a prtc.), OY K {Bil.} yelónsha, {Merk} jelondscha 'sun'; ???σ Y K/T ye₁z- 'boil, be cooked' (← *'fire' ← 'light'??) ¶¶ Coll. 17, UEW 96-7, Lr #261, Lgc. #1618, Jn. 40-1 (Sm *yälä), Jn. p.c. (Sm *yelä ~ *yälä), Cs. 11, 51, 83, 135, 187, KKIИ 103, KD 14, Pot. 38, 47, IN 224, 303, ≈ Rd. UJ 36 [#13] (Y ← U) || **K** *₁h₁el- v. 'lighten' (× N ***hA**1∇ 'to shine; bright', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: T *ja₁u- ~ *j₁l'ū₁- > NaT *jaš₁u- ~ *j₁š'ū₁- v. 'flash, shine' > OT jaš₁- id., XwT XIV j₁š₁- v. 'shine', MQp XIV y₁š₁- 'flash' ('لَمَع'), Shor čaš₁- v. 'lighten', Kr G jas 'lightning' | ⇔ T *ja₁in ~ *j₁l'in > NaT *jaš₁in 'lightning' > OT, XwT XIV, Qmq, Tb {RL} jaš₁in, Uz jaš₁in, Nog jas₁in, VTt, Bsh jāš₁in, Alt žāž₁in, Shor {RL} čaž₁in, Xk, Sg {RL} čaz₁in id. || Chv /ś₁ś₁bm/ [ś₁z₁bm] id. ¶ pT *a- of the first syll. is likely to result from the ass. infl. of the following *a ¶ Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, Md. 104, 160 (reconstructs pT *jā₁č₁u- with -č₁- on the alleged ev. of Chv. *-ś₁-, but the latter may be explained by as. [*ś₁...l̄ > ś₁...ś₁]) ¶¶ The pT back vw. *a (~ *i) for the expected *e (< N *e) may be due to vw. harmony (regr. as.) ¶¶ Md. 104 equates the T √ with M *nō₁le- 'fire, flame' and Tg *nū₁- 'kindle', which is less plausible semantically (albeit not ruled out as an alt. or an additional source of the T root); cp. Pp. VG 38 and STM I 609 that equate the M and Tg √ with T *ja₁in 'flame' (that does not belong here, but goes back to N ***ž**a₁∇ or ***ž**a₁∇∇ 'flame', q.v.) ¶ M *ile 'clear, manifest; visible' hardly belongs here (⇔ IS); it goes back to A *ilā- 'seen, visible' < N ***ʔ**i₁∇ 'eye' (q.v.) || **D** *ell- 'light (lux), sun' > Tm el id., 'lustre, splendour', elli, ellai 'sun, daytime', Ml ella 'light (lux), ilakuka v. 'shine, twinkle', Tl {Km.} elamu 'be shiny\splendid' ¶¶ D #829 ◇ D *-l- and U *-l- point to a N *-l-; hence T *-l- is secondary, probably from *-ly- < N *-l∇y-, the vw. *∇ (most probably *a) being

suggested by the fact that in U and D *-l- has not been palatalized, sc. it was not in direct contact with *-y- ◇ IS MS 362-3, IS I 281-2.

2631. (₂?) *y^{ra}mU (or *yom∇) 'go' > HS: S *^o✓ymm > Ar ✓ymm D 'aller prendre qch., diriger sa lance à dessein contre qn.' ¶ BK II 1634 || U (att. in Ugr) *^oyom∇ 'go, set out\off' > Vg: T yām- / yam-, LK/P yōm-, Ss yīm- 'go' | ? OHg XIV indol- 'bewegen, rücken', Hg indul- 'start, begin to move, set out\off, depart', OHg XV indeit- 'abgehen lassen', Hg indit- 'start, set off; set going' (-dul- and -dit- are derivational sxs.) ¶ UEW 100-1, MF 319-20, EWU 613 || A: ?ϕ M *yabu- 'go, walk' > MM [MA, IM, PP] yabu-, WrM yabu-, HIM ява-х, Ord yawu^h-, Mnr H {SM} yū^h-, {T} yū-, Mnr M {T} yau-, Dx {T} yawu-, Ba {T} yu-, Mgl {Rm.} yobu- id., WrO {Krg.} yabu- 'go', Kl йов-х, {Rm.} yow-хъ, Brt яба-ха 'to go, to walk, to travel' ¶ Pp. MA 385, 450, Pp. KP 159, MED 420, SM 494, T 338, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Krg. 701-2, KRS 279, Rm. RW 220, Chr. 793-4 ◇ U *-o- may be due to regr. as. (*a...U [= *a...o?] > *o...∇) or to the labializing infl. of *m. If M *yabu- does not belong here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as *yom∇.

2632. *y^{ra}m∇ (or *yoma) 'good\fit' > HS: S *^o✓ymn 'right (dexter)' > BHb yā^hmīn 'right side', 'right hand', Ug ymn, Ar yaman-, Gz yamān, Ak imnu (f. imittu) id., Eb a-me-nún, aḷi-me-tum (= yaminum, f. yamittum ~ yimittum) 'right (dexter)', IA, Plm, Nbt ymn 'right side', Sr yammī^hn-ā ^h ^h ^h 'right side', adj. 'right', JPA Bz yam^hmīn 'right side\hand', JEA {Sl.} yammī^hnā id., 'right foot', JA [Trg.] yammī^hn-ā, Sb ymn 'right hand', Ar yamīn- 'right hand, right side' ¶ A #1179, OLS 529, KB 396-7, KBR 415, HJ 461, Js. 580, Sl. 536-7, Sl. P 242, Br. 303, BK II 1634-5, BGMR 168, Krb. EG 20, Frnz. EL 135-6, MiK I #1.292 || Eg O imn 'right (dexter)', imn.t 'right side, west', Cpt: Sd εMNT emnt, B εMENT ement 'west, western', Sd/A/O aMENT, B aMENT† amenti, A/L εMNTε emnte 'les enfers, l'Enfer' ¶ EG I 86, Fk. 21, Vc. 11, 43 ¶ Tk. I 37 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *^oyoma 'good' > ObU: Vg: T yomās, LK/MK/UK yāmās, P yomās, NV yomās ^h yamās, SV/LL yamās, UL/Ss yomas 'good'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K yēm, Nz/Kz yām ~ yīm, O yim 'good' | OHg ≥XII, Hg jó, Δ gyaó ^h gyó 'good, fit', Hg java 'the best' ¶ UEW 850, Ht. #738, MF 339, EWU 645 || A: NaT *jama- 'make good\fit' → v. 'patch' > OT jama- ({Cl.} yamā-) v. 'patch', Chg jama- v. 'patch, repair' ¶ Cl. 934-5, Rs. W 184 || ? M *^onimbayī (< **^ham- < **yam-) > WrM nimbai, HIM нямбай adj./adv. 'precise, accurate, careful; thorough'

¶ MED 584 || ?? Tg *nam qw. 'well, good, fit' > Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn nam id.
 ¶ STM I 580 ◇ U *o may be explained by the labializing infl. of *m, which suggests a N etymon *yam▽. An alt. N rec. is *yoma (presupposing that NaT *a of the first syll. and Tg *a are due to regr. as. *yoma > *yama).

2633. *yām▽ 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water' > HS: CS *yamm-'sea' > BHb 𐎧𐎢𐎫𐎠 yām (pl. 𐎧𐎢𐎫𐎠 yām'm-ī m) 'sea, large lake', Ph, Ug, OA ym, BA, JEA yam'm-ā, Sr yam'm-ā, Ar 𐌵𐌹𐌶 yamm-'sea', JA [Trg.] yam'm-ā 'sea, lake'; Cn 𐌸 → Eg fXVIII ym, (EgSSc) {Hoch} ya-ma, ya-mu (= yamma/u) 'sea', Cpt: Sd εΙΟΜ eiom, B ΙΟΜ iom, A/F ΙΑΜ iam id. ¶ KB 395, HJ 458-9, Br. 303, OLS 527-8, EG I 78, Hoch #52, Lv. T I 336, Js. 579, Sl. 536, Reym. 163ff., RR 1181, BK II 1634, Eg I 88, Fk. 18 || ?? B *ʔamaH|w|y- 'water' (with the masc. article *ʔa- and the pl. ending *-ān: *ʔa-ʔamaH|w|y-ān > *ʔa-ʔam-ān > *ām-ān pl. 'water') > Ah, Gd ām-an, Kb, Shl, Wrg, Mz, Izd, Si, Zng aman, Nf {Beg.} amēn, amān, Awj {Prd.} imīn 'water', Gd {Lf.} āman id., āmtn 'in water' ||| Gnc AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (going back to the eB form *ʔa-ʔam-ān) ¶ The second syll. *maH|w|y- (with *-aH|w|y- reflected in the final a < *ā in the attested B lgs.) may be due to contamination with HS *ma₁y₁w- 'water' (see N *mûhi 'water') ¶ Vc. UB 314, Vc. ADB 143, Fc. 1139, Lf. II #O951, Mrc. 91, Dl. 479, La. S 228, La. MChB 196, Bs. NLB I 48, Wlf. 513, Nic. LBM 202, Beg. 215, 272, Prd. 139, Pr. M IV 146 (reconstructs pB *Ha-māH-an without taking into account the Gnc form suggesting a syll. between the px. and *m) || Ch *₁H▽₁y▽₁m- 'water' > CCh: Tr {Nm.} ʔyim, G'nd {ChL} yèma, Gbn yème | BM: Cb yèmi, BuP {Mch.} jimi | HgNk yiemi | Lmn ími | Suk {IL in ChC} yâm | Mtk {Sb.} ìyâm ~ yàm, pMM {Ro.} *yam id. > Gzg {Lk.}, Mf {BLB} yam, MfG {Brr.} yám, as well as {Ro.}: Mada, Myn, Mlk, Zlg, Mofu yám, Mkt yáw | Db {Lnh., ChL} ytm, Kola {Sb.} yîm, Msy {Mch.} yim | Msg {Mch.} yim ||| WCh: Su {J} àm, Tal {J} ham, Ywm {J} yam | Fy/DfB/Bks {J} ham, Klr {J} ʔâ:m | Krkr {J} ʔam, Tng am ||| ECh: Mgm {J} àmmi | Brg {J} ʔàmi, Mu {J} ʔàmú, ʔàm, Jg ʔám, Mjl {DB} ām, Kjk {DB} àmé 'water' | (with the px. *k-): Kwn {J} kām, Kbl {Cp.} kāmè, L {Grgs.} kámá id. ¶ JI II 340-1, ChL, ChC, Ro. 362-3, BLB 387, Brr. MG II 259, Blz. EChWL #94 ¶¶ ≠ Ap. ANH 23 (joins those suggesting to adduce S *may- 'water', which is phonetically unacceptable) || U: Sm {Jn.} *yām {AD} 'large body of water (sea, large river)' > Ng {Prk.} 'дзьяма 'žama, {Cs.} jam 'sea', Ne Т ям 'sea, large river', {Cs.} jam 'sea', {Lh.}

yâ:m? 'large river, the Ob', Ne F L {Lh.} yěâ:m 'large river', Kms {Cs.} nam ('large river?') ¶ Jn. 40, Ter. 841, Cs. 12, 52 || D *am 'water' > Tm am, ām, Krx amm, Mlt amu id. ¶¶ D #187 ¶¶ IS (IS I 279-80) adduced NED *amm with a query ◇ AD GD 5 (HS, U), IS I 279-80 (HS, U, D), S CNM 6.

2634. *yum¹a¹ 'day, daylight' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'sky, heaven, god') > **HS:** S *¹yawm- (or *¹yawam-?) 'day, daylight' > Ak ūm-u, Eb {AD} yaw₁a₁m-ū (a-*wa*-mu) pl. 'days' ({Krb., Frnz.} yawmū), BHb 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 'yōm 'day' (pl. 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yā¹m-īm), Ph, Pun 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yūm, Ug ym, (AkSc) {Hnr.} yōmu, OA 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 ywam, IA 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 ywam = BA 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yōm, em. 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yō¹m-ā 'day', JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yō¹m-ā 'day, sun', Sr W 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yaw¹m-ā, Ar يوم yawm-, Sb mui ~ mi y(ω)m, Qt mui ywam 'day', Gz yōm 'today', Mh {Jo.} 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yawm, Hrs {Jo.} 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yōm 'sun', Jb E/C {Jo.} yum 'sun', Jb E yum, Jb C yu(h)m 'day', Mh 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yūm pl. 'days', Hrs 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yōmāt (pl. 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yīm), Sq {L} yōm 'day'; JA 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡 yamā¹m-ā 'daytime, daylight'; BHb pl. yā¹m-īm and Eb a-*wa*-mu (if it is yawamū) 'days' suggest the presence of *a after *w (lost in sg. and preserved in pl.: sg. *¹yawam- > [posttonic syncope] *¹yawm-, but pl. *¹yawa¹m-ū/ī without syncope) ¶ KB 382-4, HJ 448-53, Br. 299-300, OLS 527, BK II 1637-8, LG 627, Js. 569, 580, Sl. 529-30, Hnr. 133, Krb. EG 29-30, Frnz. EL 137 || C: Bj {R} -āyīm (1s p. a-¹āyīm, prs. é-¹e'yīm ~ 'ēyūyīm), Bj B {R} -yaym v. 'pass the day', Bj {Rop.} ¹āyīm id., 'pass the noon-time' ¶ R WBd 37, Rop. 158 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2576 (err. genetic comparison of S *¹yawm- with Jg {J} yom 'day', while in fact Jg yom is a loan from Ar ChCS yōm [RL 541-2]) || **U:** FU (att. in FV) *yuma 'sky, heaven, god' > BF d. (with the derivational sx. *-la): F jumala, Vp jumal ~ yumal, Es jumal, Δ jummal 'god' || Mr XVIII {Strl.} Jumishipas ({UEW}: = jumi-š-pas) 'Mordvinian gods', Er ёндол yondol, Mk ёндол yondal 'lightning' (lit. 'heaven fire' or 'god's fire', with Er/Mk tol 'fire') || Chr {Ber.} *yumъ 'sky, weather, god' > Н йымы ыъмъ, Люмо yumo, Uf yumo 'god', {Ü} yumändür, yumän-tür 'horizon' ('edge of sky'), B {PsS} yumo 'sky, the chief god' ¶ UEW 638, It. #173, SK 122, SSA I 247, Ber. 12, MRS 163, 782, Ep. 32, Rm. BT 31, PsS 99, Ü 311-2 || **IE:** NaIE *ye|om-, name of a mythical being (deity) > Vd Ya¹maḥ (name of a mythical being ruling the spirits of the dead), Av Yima- (name of a legendary king of Iran), MPrs žam(-šēt), CINPrs جم žam, جمشيد žäm-šēd (names of kings [lit.

'rex', 'rex splendidus', šēd from a Phl word for 'lux']) | Nrs proper names: Ash imrā, Pra yumrā (< *yama-rāža 'king Yama') || ON Ymir (name of a primordial giant in the Norse mythology) ¶ M K III 8, VI. I 528, Sd. 369-71, Vr. 678, Gnt. AWH 337.

2635. *yän_h|ʔ_h∇ (or *ʔän_h|ʔ∇??) 'speak, say' > HS: Eg √ ĩn 'speak, say' ¶ EG I 89, Tk. I 124-5 || B {ʔPr.} *√ ynH (or *√ wnH) 'say' > Ah imv. ənn (3s pf. inna, Pcj. I A 9 = Fcj. 11), Ty/ETwl {GhA} ɛnɛu (3 pf.: Ty yəɛɛna, ETwl inɛna), BSn {Ds.} ĩni (3s pf. inna), Gh {Nh.} ən (3m pf. inna), Gd ɛn (3m aor. inna), Kb, Wrg, Mz ini (3s pf. yəanna), Sll, Tmz, Rf, Izn, SrSn ini (3m pf. inna) ¶ Fc. 1279, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 119 (on Pcj. I A 9), Nh. 151, GhA 137, 246-7, Dl. 535-6, MT 457-8, Ds. 96, Ds. B 100, Dlh. Ou 209, Dlh. M 130, La. S 226-7, Rn. 391 || C: Bj {R} -(ʔ)an (1s p. a-'ʔan, 3m p. y-an, 1s prs. 'a-'ʔani ~ 'ʔani, 3m prs. 'yī-ni) 'say' ¶ R WBd 19-20, R BedS IV §§ 306-7 || WCh: Ngm {Nw.} ana 'say' || CCh: ZmB {Sa.} ĩn id. || Ech: Mu {J} ʔéŋ, Kw {J} àné id., ? EDng {Fd.} ànà ~ àn (introduces indirect speech) 'They say that', 'he says that', ? Mkl ʔùnté 'say, declare' ¶ ChC, J DM 19, Fd. 10 ¶¶ OS #40, Tk. I 124 || U *āñhe 'speak; voice' > FU *āne 'voice, sound' > F ääni id. | pLp {Lr.} *yēnə 'voice' > Lp: L jietna, N jiednâ, Kld yīnn id. || Hg ének, ének 'song' || pY {IN} *an- 'speak' > Y: K/T ańńə- (an-ńń-) 'speak', an-təy- 'say, reply' ¶¶ UEW 25, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *äni, Ugr *änĩ 'voice'), Lr. #267, Lgc. #1737, IN 215, Ang. 17 || D {GS} *yan-, {tr.} *enɛ- ~ *a^rɛ- 'say' > Tm en id., Ml ennuka v. 'sound, say, think', Kt in-, -n-, Td in-, Kdg p. en-d-, ft. em-b-, Prj en-, Gdb in- 'say (so-and-so)', Kn en, ennu, an, Tu anpi- ~ inpi-, Tl anu 'say, speak', Nkr, Nk en-, Gnd in- ɔ ind-, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kw in-, Kui inba 'say', Krx an- 'say, tell', Mlt {Drs.} áne 'think\say\do thus' ¶¶ According to Bur., the variation *e- ~ *a- in D suggests a ppD *ya- ¶¶ D #868, Zv. 58, 129, GS 133-4 [#344], Bur. DS V 602 ◇ The rec. of a N initial *y- is suggested by the B and D data (interpreted according to Bur.'s theory and Pr.'s pB reconstructions), while the Eg, C, and Ech data point to a N initial *ʔ- ◇ The pB root-final *H and the long vw. in FU point to the presence of a lr. in pN, while the absence of any final lr. in Eg suggests that the N word-medial lr. was a "weak" one: *h or *ʔ ◇ IS I 280-1 (*jAnɔ).

2636. ???σ (ı?) *yæɛ_hT∇ '≈ stretch, strain, pull' > D (in McTm) *ēnt- v. 'stretch' > Tm ēntu 'stretch out the hands', Ml ēntuka 'take up, stretch arms\legs' ¶ D #894 || ?φ A: T *jā|ēt(ä)- v. 'lead, pull' > OT {Cl.}

yēt|d- 'lead (a horse)', {DTS} yēt- id., 'pull (a person by the hand, an animal by a bridle rein), Tk yēt-, yede-, CrTt, Nog jet-, Tkm īt-, Tv čet-, SY jet- 𐌆 žit-, Ggz jede- 'lead', Yk sīāt- 'lead by the hand\rein\rope', ?? Chv śavъt- 'lead by the hand, by a rein' ¶ Cl. 884, DTS 258-9, ET Gl 387-8, Jeg. 202, Pek. 2194-5 ¶ The long vw. is suggested by Yk and (according to IS) by the voiced -d- in Tk yede- ¶ The loss of the N *η (with complementary vowel lengthening?) is still to be explained || ?σ U *yāntā 'sinew, tendon' (× N *yaʔoη₁y₁E 'sinew, tendon') > F jārne (gen. jānteen) 'tendon, sinew, cord' || Lp Nt {Tl} yēādd_ā-pes_{sā} 'loaded gun' (pes_{sā} is 'gun') || Chr: H yābān, Uf/B yūbān 'bowstring', L {MRS} йыдан yā¹bān 'string for lockering wool and fluffing it up' (шерстобойная струна) || ObU {Ht.} *yE:ntāy 'bowstring' > Vg *yāntāy > Vg: LK yantāy, MK/UK yōntāy, P yanti ~ yāntu_w, NV yantu, SV/ML yāntu_l, LL yantū, UL yānta_w, Ss yāntew_w id.; pOs {Ht.} *yōntāy > Os: V/Vy yōntāy, Ty/Y yōntāy, D/K yēntā, Nz yīntā, Kz yīntī, O yinti id. || OHg i_deg 'sinew, bowstring', Hg i_deg 'nerve' || Sm {Jn.} *yent_ъ 'bowstring' > Ne T e_n, T O {Lh.} yēn, Ne F {Cs.} jien, Ng {Cs.} yenti, En X {Cs.} jēddi, Slq Tz {KKIH} čīntī, Slq Tm {KD} čǎn¹d, Kms {KD} nen³ id. ¶¶ UEW 92, Cl. 18, Sm. 537 (FU, FP *jānti, Ugr *jāntī 'bow string'), TI 52, Ht. #195, Jn. 43, KKIH 105 ◇ If U *yāntā belongs here (in contamination with *yaʔoη₁y₁E), its vw. *ā of the first syll. may go back to *a of N *yaʔoη₁y₁E (> U *ä [regr. as. *a...E > *ä...∇]) (q.v.) ◇ IS I 281 [#147] (D, A, U).

2637. *yaʔoη₁y₁E ⇨ *yoʔaη₁y₁E (or *yawaη₁y₁E ⇨ *yowaη₁y₁E?) 'sinew, tendon' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow [weapon]') > HS: Eg: [1] Eg fO i_wr₁t_ε 'bow (weapon)' ('Art Bogen') ¶ EG I 55, Fk. 13 | [2] Eg MK i_ny 'Schnur; Seile des Schiffes', {Mks.} 'corde, lien', {Vc.} 'ficelle, corde (d'un navire)' > Cpt Sd/A e₁n_ε 'entrave, lien pour les pieds' ¶ EG I 93, Mks. I #O322, Vc. 65 || U [11] *yoηse ~ *yoηkse 'bow (weapon)' > F jousi (gen. jousen), joutsī 'bow' || pLp {Lr.} *yōks₃ 'bow' > Lp: S {Hs.} juokse, L {LLO} juoksa, Kld jū¹s: || pMr {Ker.} *yoηgaks 'bow' > eMr XVIII {SJRN} i_oh_ks yoηks, Er {Ker.} yoηks id., {KC} кедь ёнкс 'ε hand tools' (кедь is 'hand'), Er SA {ERV} ёнс 'hand-driven device for carding wool, wool-carding bow (ручная шерсточесалка, лучок)', Mk {Ker.} -yoηks 'bow' || pChr {Ber.} *yoηāž 'bow (weapon)' > Chr: H yāη¹ēž, Uf yoηēž, M yoηūž || ObU {Ht.} *yōyāθ 'bow (weapon)' > pVg {Ht.} *yā¹æt > Vg: T yāwt 𐌆 yawt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss yowt, P/SV

yäxt, NV yäwt, LL yext; pOs {Ht.} *yoʷəʃ > Os: V/Vy yoʷəl, Ty yaʷəʃ, Yyaʷəʃ, D/K yoχət, Nz yuχət, Kz yūχəʃ, O yoχəl id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ɪntʰ 'bow, shooting bow' > Ne T ҺЫН, {Lh.} ɲɪn, Ne F {Lh.} ɲɪn, Ng {Ter.} dɪntə, En {Cs.} eddo id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ɪntɪ id., üntɪ 'arc', qōn üntɪ 'rainbow', Slq Ch {Cs.} yɪnʒe 'bow', Kms {KD} ɪnə, jɪnə id., Koyb {Sp.} инэ, Mt {Hl.} *mindɪ 'bow' (influenced by Sm *wɪn-, *wɪntɪ- v. 'bend, bend a bow') (Mt: T/K {Mll.} mɪndɪ, K {Pl.} mɪndɪ 'Bogen', M {Sp.} мынди 'shooting bow') ¶¶ Coll. 19, UEW 101-2, It. #90, Ht. #179, MK 180, Sm. 537 (U *jɪnɪɪ, FU, FP *joŋsi 'bow string'), Lr. #290, Lgc. #1838, Hs. 804, MF 317, Ker. II 45, Fkt. RMS 136, Ber. 11, Jn. 25, KKH 192, 196, Cs. 102, Hl. M #678 ¶¶ [2] AdS of U {UEW} *yānte 'sinew, tendon' (× N ???σ *yæŋT ∇ ≈ to stretch, strain' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T {Rs.} *jān 'bow (weapon)' (> *jāy ~ *jā) > Bsh jan, Shor nan, OT jā, Tkm jāy, Tk yay, Az, Ggz, Kr, Nog jay, Uz jay, Qzq, Qq žay, Qrg žā, Alt žā, Yk sā id., Chv L šu in ykʃy uk-šy 'шерстобитный лук' ('a bow for lockering wool and fluffing it up'), Δ ωk-šy 'shooting bow' (Chv L uk- < T *ok 'arrow') ¶ Rs. W 186, Cl. 869, ET J 74-5, Ash. III 203-4, Fed. II 129 || ? pJ {Vv.} *ya > OJ {S} ya 'arrow' ◇ U *-k]se goes back probably to a sx. of derivation. Eg ɪwɪn and T *jān with a long vw. suggest two syllables between between N *y- and *-ŋ-, which explains the apparent conflicting ev. of *o in U and *ā in T ◇ ≈ AD NM #26, ≈ S CNM 13 (equates T *jān 'bow' with Tg *jeje-n 'sharp point' and has doubts about the N et. in question), ≈ Vv. AEN 8 ("The ev. for reconstructing Turkic *ž rather than *y is more than meager"; in fact, in my system there is neither T *ž- nor *y-, but a palatal obstruent *j- [suggested by the BzGk transcription with δ- and by the T phonological structure avoiding initial sonorants]; the remark on pJ *ya < A *dān or *žān with pJ *y- from *d]ž- and not from N *y- is interesting, but still has to be proved).

2638. *yāŋ, g, ê 'ice; to freeze' > U: FU *yāŋe 'ice' > F, Es jāä id. | pLp {Lr.} *yēŋz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} jīēŋe, L {LLO} jīekŋa, N {N} jīegŋâ, Kld ӀӀӀ, K {Gn.} yīŋŋ | pMr {Ker.} *yāx id. > Er эй ey, Δ en ɛ ev ~ iy ~ i, Mk эй äy, Δ yäy | pChr {Ber.} *iy 'ice' > Chr: L ий iy, B iy, Uf i, H и i | Prm *yō ({LG} *yō̆) id. > Z йи ji, Z US yt, Yz 'yü, Vt йö yz || ObU {Ht.} *yēŋk 'ice' > pVg yāŋk ∇ id. > OVg S ChusO jánka, OVg S Kg янка, анка, , OVg S SSs jōng, jāng, OVg N SoG jank, Vg: T íāŋ, LK/MK/NV yīŋk, P/SV/LL/ML yīŋk, UL/Ss yāŋk id.; pOs {Ht.} *yōŋk / *yēŋk, {ϑHl.}

*yǎŋk/*yǐŋk > Os: V/Vy yǒŋk, Ty/Y yǎŋk^ω, D/K/Nz/Kz yęŋk, O yonk 'ice' || OHg xv ieg, xvi ŷeeg ɖ gŷeegh 'ice', Hg jég (accus. jeget), Δ gyég 'ice, hail' ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 93, Db. OS xxx, It. #244, Sm. 543 (FU, P *jǎŋi, Ugr *jǎŋkǐ), Lr. #168, Lgc. #1738, SaR 92, Gn. 484, Ker. II 37, Ber. 8, MRS 138, Ep. 20, LG 111, Lt. J 123, Ht. #197, Hl. rHt 71-2, MF 338, EWU 642 || A: NaT *jǎ|e_i:ŋ ({Rs.} *jǎŋ) 'pieces of ice on the surface of water\ground' > Tv ченъ, Кс нинъ niŋ 'шуга (pieces of thin ice on a river)', Qb Sl íeŋ id., 'drifting of ice', Xk Δ нинъ niŋ 'drifting of ice', Sg/Qb {Rl.} neŋ 'ice on the ground, snow-crust' ¶ Rs. W 197, TvR 527, Rl. III 677, BIG 117 || ? Ko N {Rm.} jǎŋ ērgi- ~ aŋ ērgi- 'freeze, stiffen entirely in the cold' (unless ← Chn iŋ 'ice'), ?? Ko {Rm.} aŋgi_i-da 'congeal, stuffen, become solid', NKo {MLC} aŋki-ta 'curdles, congeals' ¶ Rm. SKE 55, MLC 1154 ¶¶ Rs. W 197, Rm. SKE 55 (Ko, Tg) ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce here OJ yuk_i and J yuki 'snow', but if OJ y- goes back to pJ *d-, such comparison is unt. || HS: Ch: Dr {J} cd. yér-_i d'ér-á-lì 'hail' (the second part related to Tng {J} dǎg_ltk 'hail') ¶ ChC, J T 77 ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this N etymon from N *yǎk'a' 'ice, cold'), ≈ Rs. UAW 31 and Rs. W 197 (U, A; + err. Ewk iŋ- 'cold' [in fact from Tg *xiŋ_i∇_i]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #219 (*yénka 'ice') (IE, U, A, J + qu. CK).

2639. ?₂ *y∇P_i 'to rise; up' > HS: S *^o✓yP_i > Ar ✓yP_i G 'climb (a mountain), be grown up', yafa_i- 'hill', yāfī_i- 'élevé' ¶ BK II 1631, Hv. 903 || IE: NaIE *epi-/*opi-/*pi- 'upon' (direction, place) (loss of *j_i- by analogy with *pi- < **^rj_i?^r p_iH_i-?) > Gk ἐπί / ἔπι 'upon' || OI 'ap_i- ~ pi-px. {MW} 'near, over', OI 'ap_i 'also, and', Av a_ipi, OPrs a_ipiy 'bei, nach' || Arm u ew (> NEArm yeV) 'and, also' || L ob 'auf - hin, nach - hin, auf - zu' → 'in front of; in return for, to the purpose; because of' || ? Gt iftuma adj. (← sprl.) in iftumindağa 'on the following day' || Pru ep- pv. 'be-' (← *'over'), Ltv ap prep. 'around', Ltv ap- pv. 'round', Lt apiẽ 'about' || Sl *ob prep. (+ accus.) 'against' (as a prep. of direction), 'against the surface of' (direction) > OCS, OR объ объ, о о, R, Uk об(о), о, P о, Δ об, Lls ωо ~ we ~ ho, Hls ωо, Slk, SCr о, Sln об ¶ WP I 122-3, P 323-5, 1105-7, MW 55, M K I 39, M E I 86, F I 535, WH II 192-4, Fs. 290, Frn. 12-3, En. 93, 169, Vs. III 96, ESSJ XXVI 71-4, ESISJ-SGZ I 133-4, 140-1, Sl. 397-8, EI 391 (*h_iepi ~ *h_iopi 'near, upon') ¶¶ The absence of NaIE *ə- in the apophonic zero grade suggests the pIE lr. *ʔ- or the glide *j_i-. The evolution N *y∇- > NaIE *e- still

needs investigating (shall we suppose an intermediate stage ****jēpi-**/****j̥pi-** [cp. AD NVIE]?) ◇ The alt. hypothetic NaIE cognates ***upo**/***up-**/***eup-** 'up' and ***up-s-** 'high' are ruled out because of the absence of the expected ***ə** in the intercons. position in ***ups-**; on NaIE ***up(o)**, ***ups-** see s.v. N ***ɥup̥** 'to take wing; up' ◇ The pN rec. ***y̥p̥ɥi** is more plausible than the formally possible alt. rec. ***y̥p̥ɥi**, because the N obstruent cluster ***-P̥ɥ-** is more likely to undergo as. (N ***-P̥ɥ-** > ***-bɥ-**) than the N cluster ***-P̥ɥ-** (obstruent + sonorant).

2640. ***yUPX̣** 'leopard' > HS: C: Ag ***y'ip-** 'leopard' > Bln {R} 'yībā, pl. yīf, Dmb/Q {R} yībā 'leopard. panthere' ¶ R WB 365, R QW 149 || K ***owepχ-** 'leopard' > OG **vepχi-**, MG [VTq.] **vepχvi**, G **vepχvi** ~ **vepχi** id. ¶ Abul. 157, DCh. 506.

2641. ***yEgi** or ***y'u'gi** 'both, two (persons)' > A: T ***|ekk'i**, {Md.} ***ē.k(k)i** 'two' (× A ***p'Ek'ye**, {SDM} ***p'æk'e** 'follow, be next' < N ***p'E'Ḳy̥** 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of') > OT **ekki**, MQp XIV **ikki**, Uz, ET, Qzl, Sg/Qb/Kc/Tb {Rl.} **ikki**, Xlj {DT} **äkki**, Yk **äkki** ~ **ikki**, Tk **iki**, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr G **iki**, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ, Qrg, Alt {BT}, Tb {B} **eki**, Qzq **ekī**, VTt, Bsh **икε** **ikb**, Qmn {B} **eki** ~ **iki**, Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} **äkki** (ä = /e/, no opposition /e/ ↔ /ä/), QK {B} **eki** ~ **ekki**, Shor **iygi**, Xk **iki** **ικι**, Ln **īke** ~ **īkke** ~ **īške**, Tv **iŷi**, Tf **iñʷi**, ET Δ {Jr.} **iški** ~ **iški**, {Ml.} **iške**, Slr {Tn.} **iʃki** [**iški**] ~ **iʃke** [**iške**] ~ **iški** ~ **iški** ~ **iʃki** ~ **iʃk'i**, {Kk.} **ššq+** ~ **šqi'**, SY {Tn.} **išqi** ~ **iški** ~ **ški**, Chv **иккѣ** **ikkb**, **икѣ** **ig_b**; T ***ikkiř** 'twin(s)' (d. at the pA or the pT level) > OT {Cl.} **ik(k)iz**, {DTS} **ikkiz** ~ **ekiz**, MQp XIII **jikiz**, OTkm XV **ikkiz**, Tkm **ekiδ**, Az **ekiz**, Qzq **egiz**, Nog, Uz **egiz** id., Qq, Qrg **egiz**, Alt **egiz** id., 'couple', Chv **yькьr** 'double', **yькьreš** 'twins' ¶ Cl. 100-1, 119, Cl. TN 20 (on the pT geminated ***-kk-**), DTS 167-8, 206-7, ET Gl 252-4, 337-9, Md. 90, 163 (T ***ēk(k)i**), Rl. I 682, 1421, Nj. 174, BT 190, B DLT 32, B DChT 37, B DK 49, BIG 412, Ra. 200-1, Jr. 139, Ml. UN 113, Tn. SJ 121, Tn. SSJ 71, DT 109, Jeg. 67-8, Fed. I 162-3 ¶¶ The gemination of **-k-** may reflect a pA cluster ***-k'y-** || M ***iki|ere** 'twins' (unless ← T) > MM [MA] **ikir**, WrM **ikere** ~ **ikire**, HIM **ихэр** id., WrO **ikire** id., 'pair', K1 **икр** **ikr**, Brt **эхир** 'twin(s)' ¶ Pp. MA 195, MED 401, Krg. 101, KRS 267, KW 206, Chr. 779, ≠ DQA #1785 (M < A ***p'jòk'e** 'next, following') || U: [1] Sm ***yькь** 'twin' (< U ***yuḳḳ** [or ***í-**, ***ž-**]) > Ne T d. **яха** **yaχaʔ**, {Lh.} **yāχā**, Ne F {Lh.} d. **jāχa'íáɛ**, Ng {Cs.} **'jaka**, En {Cs.} **'jeho**

id., Slq Tm {KD} çāṽa šz'tāṽ 'two twins' ||| [2] U {Coll.} *-kä / *-ka, ending of dual of nouns: Vg N -ṽ (āpa-ṽ '2 cradles', pūt-+ṽ '2 kettles'), Os V -ṽan / -ṽan / -qan / -kan (köt-kan '2 hands', weli-ṽan '2 reindeers'), etc., Sm: Ne T nom. -haĩ / -gaĩ / -kaĩ, En -h+ĩ / -g+ĩ / -k+ĩ, Ng nom. -gɜy / -kɜy, Slq Tz -qj, as well as an ending of dual in verbs: Kms {Kü.} -ṽby / -gṽy (ending of 3d)¶¶ Jn. 34, Coll. CG 302-3, Ht. ChrO 123-40, Kálmán ChrV 43-4, Ter. NJ 380, Ter. EJ 442, Ter. NgJz 422, KHG 168-9, Kü. KJ 383 || K *°-qe > OG XI-XIII -qe, G F -qe, G Ing -q, G Mt/Kx -qe ~ -qe, sx. of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and 3rd persons (geubnebi 'I say to thee' ↔ geubnebigē 'I say to you [pl.]', unda 'he wants' ↔ undage 'they want') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Chik. Q || ? HS: the final element *ṽ (< ppB *k) in pB *hanā-ṽ 'us, 'to us' (> Tw {Pr.} ānṽy ḏ hānṽy id.), in the postnominal sx. *-naṽ 'our' (> Tw -nṽy, Kb, Shl -naṽ, Si, Wrg -nnṽy, etc.), in the postverbal sx. *-(ṽ)nṽy 'us' (> Ah -nṽy, Kb, Shl, Wrg -aṽ, Si -anaṽ, Zng -ang) ¶ Pr. M I-III 164, 170-3, AiM 216-7 || WCh: Ron {J}: Fy kon 'we' du., Bks kún, Sha gâṽn, Klr yĩḡî:n id., proclitics: Fy, Bks kú, Sha gí, Klr ḡí id. ¶ J R 371, 390 ◇ In G (or already in pK?) the original meaning of dual shifted to plural. If the N vw. of the first syll. was *u (as suggested by Sm), the T and M vw. may be explained by vowel harmony and by the infl. of pN *y-: N *yugi > *yüki > yiki > T *ik'i, M *iki|ere.

2642. *yar^rû^r 'to shine (leuchten), to burn' > A: NaT *jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT {Cl.} jarū- 'be/become bright, shine', XwT XIV, Chg XV jaru-, MQp XIV, Qmn/Kr {Rl.} jari- id., Uz ёри- jari- v. 'be bright\light, dawn', ET joru-, Qrg žari-, Kr, SbTt jari-, Alt žari-, Xk, Shor čari-, Tv čiri-, Tf ćiri-, Ln jayu- v. 'shine (leuchten)'; ⇨ T *jaruk n. 'light, gleam', adj 'bright, shining' > OT jaruq id., MQp XIV jaruq, [CC] jariq n. 'light', Tkm Δ jariq 'bright', Kr jarik ḏ jariχ, Slr jaruχ, Uz ёруф joruṽ, ET joruq, Qzq, Qq žariq, Qrg žariq, Alt žariq, Xk čariχ, Tv čariq n. 'light', adj. 'bright' ¶ Cl. 956, 962-3, Rl. III 120, ET J 134-5, Bu. II 327, Rs. W 189, Ra. 200 || M *yarṽ- 'shine, gleam; burn (as fire)' > MM [MA] {Pp.} yarilduba v. (p.) 'burned' (of fire), Kl {Rm.} yar-χъ 'blinken, schimmern (in der Ferne), leuchten', WrO {Krg.} yaralza- v. 'gleam, glisten, sparkle', Kl {KRS} ярлзх yarъlзъ-χъ, HIM {Luv.} яралза- 'glitter, gleam (сверкать, блестеть)' ¶ Pp. MA 387, KW 216 (mentions WrM yara-, which is not confirmed by the available dictionaries of WrM), Krg. 706, Luv. 695, KRS 711 || ?σ Tg *ya:ṽr^ru^r-,

*ya_;rukta- 'have a good look at, examine' > Ewk ērukta-, Lm āru- 𐎠 ēru- 𐎠 yāru-, Neg ēwukta 𐎠 ēyukta-, Orc āoktaçī- ~ yauktaçī-, Ud I {Krm.} yzuktəsi-, Ud K/Sm {Krm.} yaktasi-, Ul yorosu/ι-, Ork ēroqto-, Nn: Nh yārsi-, B yāraqta-, KU yāroqta- id. ¶ STM I 291, Krm. 243 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 68, Rs. W 189 (T, M) || **D** (in McTm) *°er- 'shine' > Tm er_i 'shine, litter', Ml er_ikkā 'shine (as sun)', er_ippu 'sunshine' ¶ D #861 || **HS**: Ch *✓yr 'burn' > WCh: Bg {Sh.} yar, ? Tala Sh {Sh.} yā vt. 'burn' || ?? CCh: Bdm {Lk ← Nc.} yīrau ~ yirau ~ yērau 'heat, day' ¶ Sh. SB 34, JI II 54-5, Lk. B 131 || ? Eg G ĩr.t ≈ flame'; but Eg G {Crn., Vc.} ĩrr 'shed light' hardly belongs here, because Cpt Sd ειελεε εielele and Cpt B ιελεε ielele, ελεε elele 'shine, glitter' point to an Eg *✓ill (÷ Hb - 𐤁𐤇𐤏 ✓hll 'leuchten') ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 62, Crn. 46 ¶¶ OS #2579 ◇ IS MS 364 (*jar_h 'сиять': A, D).

2643. ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' (< *'to cause misfortune') > **U**: FU *yer∇ v. 'curse, scold' > Prm {LG} *yör- (÷ {LG} *jör-) v. 'curse' > Z ěp- yor-, Z US yor-, Prmk yord-, Yz 'yur-, Vt юриськ- yuriśk-, {Wc.} yūr-, Vt B yAr- id. || Vg {Kn.}: T/LK/P/Ss yēr- v. 'curse, scold' ¶ UEW 97-8, LG 101 || **A** *ye_;r- > pJ {S} *ira-t- or *dirat- 'be annoyed' (× N *žä?°r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate'??) > OJ ira-t-, J T iradat- ¶ S QJ #833, Mr. 698 || NaT *je_;r- ~ *je_;ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N *ze_;r∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N *žä?°r∇ '↑') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A *žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted'; incl. T, J) || **D** (in McTm) *īr- 'grief, anger' > Tm īral 'grief (as of a broken heart), deep-seated sorrow', Ml īra, īru 'anger, fury', īruka, īrekka 'be angry' ¶ D #553 || **HS**: S: Ar yarr- 'evil, calamity', {BK} 'mal, malheur, inimité' (unless ← ✓yr 'be hard') ¶ BK II 1626, Hv. 902 ◇ Is D *ī- a legitimate representative of N *ye-? The matter is still to be investigated ◇ Līra 'anger' and OI iras'yati 'is angry' do not belong here (see M K I 91, P 335, and WH I 717-8).

2644. *yoR∇(-b∇) 'firm, strong, hard' > **HS**: S *°✓yrr > Ar ✓yrr G 'be hard' (a stone), ?ayarr- (pl. yurr-) 'dur et uni naturellement (comme une pierre)'; possibly also ??? ✓?rb G 'être dur \ difficile' (se dit des temps, du sort), ?? ✓?rb TD (pf. ta?arraba) 'be hard towards so. in' ¶ BK I 22-3 and II 1626, Hv. 6, 901-2 || ? Eg √?t ≈ (so.'s) strength (Kraft), {Fk.} 'striking-power (of god, etc.)' > Cpt O HT- ēt- in HT ч ēt-f 'sa force' ¶ EG I 2, Fk. 1, Vc. 56 || ? C: Bj {R} e'rāb 'strong

(mächtig, stark)' (of people) ¶ R WBd 28 || U: FU *^oy_{or}∇ > ObU {Ht.} *y_{ōr} 'force, power' > pVg *y_{ār} > Vg: ML {Mu.} y_{ōr}, Ss {Kn.} y_{ōr} 'Kraft, Macht; kräftig, mächtig', {BV} ёр тапа 'by force, with difficulty (насилу, через силу)'; pOs {Ht.} *y_{or} ~ *y_{or} 'force, strength, power, violence' > Os: K/Nz/MO yur, Kz y_{ūr}, O y_{or} id. ¶ Ht. #203, MK 175-6, BV 31, Stn. 403 || A: T *^oj_{ar}b 'firm, solid' (× N *d_al_yRE ∇ - *d_al_yRE 'be[come] stiff/firm') > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 ◇ The unexpected T *a may belong to the heritage of N *d_al_yRE ◇ N *b∇ is probably identical with the N adjectival pc. *bA that formed compound (> derived) names of quality bearers (q.v.).

2645. *y_ā?_{ūr}U (= *y_ā?_{ūr}o?) 'body of water' > HS: B: Zng {Bs.} t-ier-t 'river' || NrOm: Anf {Bnd.} yuro 'river' || CCh: Msg {Mch.} e_re_r?, {Trn.} àrê, {GKrs.} e_ré ð rē 'river', {Brt.} erē 'Tal', Mbara {TrnSL} rē 'river' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 93, TrnSL 289 || ?? Eg i_trω 'river', i_tr 'the Nile' (with puzzling -t-), [AkSc] nār_uy_a-r_u-[?]u-ú 'the Great Riber' or 'the Nile', DEg y_r, y_r 'Fluß, Kanal', Cpt: Sd ειοορ ειοορ, B ιορ ιορ, A ιωωρε iōōre 'canal, watercourse'; acc. to Vc., the history of the word is as follows: *yatraw > *yarraw > dis. *y_a?raw ¶ EG I 146-7, Er. 49, 50, Vc. 66 || S: BHb 𐤀𐤊𐤍 ~ 𐤀𐤊𐤍 y_a?_{ūr} 'the Nile', 'big river' (e.g. 'the Tigris') [Dn. 12.5-7], 'wasserführende Stollen eines Bergwerks'; Vc. 66 suggests the reading y_{ōr}, which is ruled out by the spelling var. 𐤀𐤊𐤍; unless the word is a loan from Eg, it may go back to *^oy∇[?]ār- or *^oy∇[?]ur- ¶ KB 364-5 || IE {EI} *yuHr- > NaIE: Blt *y_{ūr}- 'sea' > Lt j_{ūr}a, pl. j_{ūr}ēs, Ltv j_{ūr}a, Pru i_{ūr}in 'sea' || ? Thr i_{ur}as (name of a river) ¶ Frnk. 198-9, Kar. I 362-3, ≈ P 81, EI 636 || U: FV {UEW} *y_{är}wä 'lake' > F j_{är}vi (gen. j_{är}ven), Es j_{är}v id. | pLp {Lr.} *y_{āv}rē id. > Lp: S jaavrie, L jaurē, N jawre, Kld ya^v:re | pMr {Ker.} *y_{ära}-kə > Er эрьке e_rke, Mk эрькке ä_rkə id., 'pond' | Chr: Lep yer, Uf/B yer, H йäp y_{är} 'lake' ¶ UEW 633, It. #242, SK 132, Lr. #258, Lgc. #1673, Ker. II 38, MRS 114, Ep. 28 || A: ?_u T *j_{Ir}-mak 'river, waterstream' > Chg [LM] j_{Ir}maq 'large river, waterstream', Qmq j_{Ir}maq, Uz i_rmaq 'waterstream, affluent', Tk i_rmak 'river', VTt {Rl.} ž_{Ir}maq 'die Bucht', Chv ś_{Ir}ma 'small river' ¶ Dubious because the meaning of *j_{Ir}- is not clear ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl. 664-5, Rl. IV 124 || D *y_ār_u, {GS} *y_{ād}- 'river', → 'water' > Tm y_{ār}u ~ ā_ru 'river, brook', Ml ā_ru, Tl ē_ru 'river', Kt peyv-e_r id., te:lv_i-e_r 'the Pykara river', Tu ā_rъ 'river, stream', Prj per-ed 'river' (per- 'big'), Gdb ber bereṭ 'big river' (ber 'big'), Gnd y_{ēr} ð ē_r, Knd

ē_ɹ(u), Png ez, Mnd ey, Kui ē_ʒu ɛ ēsu, Ku ēyū ɛ ēyu 'water' 𐌆𐌆 D #5159, GS 134 [#345] ◇ D *-ɹ- suggests an intervocalic N *-r-. FV *yār_{wä} may go back to N *yā_ʔūrU + sx. *-A ◇ IE *H in *y_uHr- and BHb -ʔ- in yā_ʔōr (unless the Hb word is a loan from Eg) suggests the presence of a lr. (N *yā_ʔūrU). The vw. *u in IE and ō in Hb. suggest that the vw. of the second syll. was *u or *ü (*yā_ʔūrU). The absence of *u or *w in the IE Auslaut suggest that the N final labialized vw. was *o ◇ Blz. LB #96 (suggested to add the T and Zng words), Blz. LNA #24 (suggested to add the B, Om, Ch, Blt, and T cognates).

2645a. ₂ *y_∇ɹ|g_∇r_∇ 'honeycomb', {ʔ} 'beehive' > HS: WS *y_aɹ|ɣ_∇ɹ- (or *w_aɹ|ɣ_∇ɹ-) > BHb 𐌒𐌒𐌐 'y_aɹ 'honeycomb', snglt. cs. 𐌒𐌒𐌐 y_aɹ^a,ra_t id., JA [Trg.] y_aɹ₁ra_t d_uɣ₁šā id. (d_uɣ₁šā 'honey'), ? (d.?): Gz ma_aɹ̄ ~ ma_aɹ 'honey, honeycomb', Tgr, Tgy m_eɹ_ar, Amh mar 'honey' 𐌆 KB 404, Lv. T I 340, Di. 207, ≈ LG 326, Ap. CAAL 29 || D {Blz.} *y_āɹ- 'honeycomb, beehive' > Tm i_ra_vu, i_ral, Δ i_rā_ttu, Kdg te_n-eri, Tu e_di, Kui ʒēka 'honeycomb', Kn i_rle id., ēri 'empty beehive', Gnd y_eri 'the bee's comb in which the eggs and grubs live', Gnd HM a_ey 'part of hive where bees and grubs live' 𐌆𐌆 D #517 ◇ The S-D equation was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [#111]).

2646. *y_Eɹ_∇ 'ε (young of a) ruminant animal' > HS: CS *₁y_aɹ_∇ɹ- 'kid' > BHb pl. 𐌒𐌒𐌐 y_aɹ̄-ō_t 'kids', Ar y_aɹ- 'chevreau'; WS *y_aɹ- > Ar y_aɹ- 'calf', {Hv.} 'young calf', ? Tgr w_eɹ_e 'mountain-goat' 𐌆 KB 404, BK II 1626, 1630, Hv. 602, LH 235 || U: FU *_oy_Era > Z йōpa y_zra 'elk' 𐌆 ≈ LG 113 (adduces [with a query] Chr {Ü} й_бг_ар y_bgar 'ε a beast', which is a loan from T or M) || D *i_r- 'antelope, deer' (× N *_ɹi_R'i' '[male, young] big ungulate') > Tm i_ralā_i 'stag', 'ε deer', Kn e_ra_le ~ e_ra_le 'ε antelope, deer', Tu e_ra_le 'antelope, deer', EpTl i_ri (pl. i_rilū) 'stag', i_rri 'antelope', Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' 𐌆𐌆 ≈ D #476 ◇ Not here Chr {Ü} й_бг_ар y_bgar 'ε a beast', because its connection with the N etymon in question contradicts the rules of sound correspondences known so far. It may be a loan from a T or M word that belongs to N *₃Eg|k_∇r_∇ 'antelope' ◇ D *-r- is the reg. reflex of N *_r-clusters (here *-r_∇-). D *i- from N *y_∇- needs investigating (cp. the item no. 2622).

2647. *y_aɹ_∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) *y_aɹ_∇ id. > Os: V/Vy y_eri- v. 'draw (lines), scratch (on the surface of sth.)' ('чертить, царапать'), Ty/Y y_āri- id. ('einen Strich ziehen, kratzen

[Nagel, Holzsplitter usw.]) | ?? Hg ír-, Δ ír- 'write', Δ 'einen Muster zeichnen, malen' (unless ← Blgh, cp. Chv śír- 'write', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ UEW 850, MF 321-2, Trj. S 72 || A: T *jań- ({Md.} *jǎń-) (× N *ńiR∇ 'rub, scratch, draw\make a sign', q.v.) > OT, OOsM XIV, Chg XV jaz- 'write', OTkm XIII -جـ jaz- (read by Cl. as jāz- on the insufficient ev. of the plene spelling), Tkm яз- jaδ- (short a), Tk yaz-, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, ET, Ln jaz-, Bsh jaδ-, Uz ёз- jǎz-, QrB, Qrg žaz-, Qzq, Qq žaz-, Xlj jaʔz- id.; the variant *jǎR- (represented by Chv ҫыр śír and by the M loanword zírʉ- 'draw, paint') belongs to N *ńiR∇ ¶ Cl. 984, Md. 104, 160, DT 221, TkR 807 (yaδ- with a short a), ET J 70-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #1470 (*ńǎǎǎ 'to draw' > T, M + unc. Tg *ńiru- 'draw' [in fact from N *ńiR∇] and MKo nirk- 'to read') || D (in SD) *eʔut- v. 'draw (lines, pictures)' > Tm eʔutu v. 'write, paint, draw', Ml eʔutuka v. 'paint, write, learn', Kt eʔd-, Kdg əʔid- v. 'write' ¶ D #853.

2648. ₂ *yah₁∇₁ń∇ 'broad open place' > HS: S *oʔahar- or *oʔahar- > Ar yahar-, yahr- 'broad place', {BK} 'endroit vaste, spacieux' ¶ BK II 1637, Hv. 905 || A: T *jańi 'broad open place' > OT jazī id., Tkm ҫызы jaδi 'steppe, vast space', Tk yazī 'plain, valley', Nog Δ jazī, ET jazī ǎ jāzī ǎ jezi 'steppe', Alt/Kü {Rl.} jazī (= žazī) 'vast plain', Qzq Δ žazī, Qrg žazī 'plain', Xk čazī 'field, steppe', Yk śihī 'glade' ¶ Cl. 984, Rs. W 194, ET J 73, Rl. III 229, Jr. 155, Ml. UN 116, Mng. G 738, BIG 306.

2649. *yAs∇ 'bone', (?) 'limb, joint (articulation)' > U: FU *yāse 'limb, joint (articulation)' > F jāser 'joint (articulation)', 'member', Es jāse 'limb' | pMr {Ber.} *yāzǎǎ 'limb, joint' > Er ээне ežne, Mk ээне äžnä, Mk P {Ps.} yǎžǎ ~ yǎznǎ 'joint (Gelenk)' | pChr {Ker.} *yǎžǎ id. > StChr L йыжың yǎžǎ, Chr E Δ јыжың, Chr H ежың yežǎ | Prm {LG} *yǎz- 'joint, articulation (in a limb, in a plant)' > Vt ёз yǎz 'joint\bone (in a plant)', Z UV yez 'Gelenk', Z P {Wd.} yzǎ 'Muskel, Gelenk', Z йёзви yzǎ-vi, Z USs yzǎ-v+y, Vt ёзви yǎz-vi id. (with vi 'force?') || Hg íz 'limb, joint' ¶ UEW 95, Sm. 552 (FP *jāsī 'joint'), MF 333, It. #243, 211, 291, Ber. 11, Ker. II 40, LG 112 || A: M *yasun 'bone' > MM [MA, IM, LV] yasun, [IsV] yāsun 'bone', WrM yasun, HIM яс(ан) id., 'corpse', K1 ясн yasn 'bone', Brt яһа(н) id., 'skeleton', Mnr H {T} yase, {SM} yāsǎ, Mgl {Rm.} yōsun, (ArSc) {Wr.} yāsūn ~ yāsū, Dgr {T} yasun, Dx {T} yasun, Ba yasun 'bone' ¶ Acc. to Hattori's hyp. (Hatt. LV),

Mgl long vowels go back to long vowels in pM; but his hyp. has not yet been sufficiently proved to reconstruct here pM *yāsun, the more so that Mgl {Rm.} yōsun has a deviant ō, while in Mgl (ArSc) yāsū(n) (just as in IsM) the orthographic ā reflects the Persian spelling of [a]-sounds; in any case, the et. of pM long vowels (if any) is unknown ¶ MED 430, KRS 711-2, Chr. 802, Pp. MA 388, 450, Pp. L III 77, Lg. VMI 73, SM 490, T 337, T DgJ 197, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Rm. M 30, Wr. B 171 || HS: Ch (× N *yōč̣ 'bone'): WCh {Stl.} *y|waṣ(-ḳ) 'bone' > pAG *ʔas > Su j̣íyēs, Ang jis ~ yis, Cp *ʔés | SBc: Zem, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} yes, es, Sy yiski, Gj {Sh.} pīsī, Dw ʔis | BT: Tng {J} wos, Krkr ʔ|osu, Ngm {Kr.} ʔwòsô, Krf {Gw.} wóseŋi || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ʔìsí, Ll {Grgs.} ísî; Skr {Sx.} ʔsīñí; Mgm {J} ʔássú, Mkl {J} ʔòssé, Jg {J} ʔaso, Brg {J} ʔásó 'bone' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231-2 [#795], JI II 36-7.

2650. *yoṣ > go\run, go away' > HS: S *^o✓yʃṣ|ṣ̌¹ or *^o✓yṣ̌ʃṣ|ṣ̌¹ > Ar ✓yʃṣ (pf. yassa, ip. ya-yiʃṣ-u) 'aller, partir, s'éloigner' ¶ BK II 1627 || ?φ Eg: fOK ʔẓy ≈ go! (gehe!)', MK {Fk.} ʔṣ (< ʔẓ) id. ¶ EGI 126, Fk. 29, Tk. I 176 (considers ʔ- to be prosthetic and equates the Eg word with Mz zwa 'go', Hs žě 'go to', and related words of other B and Ch lgs.) || IE: NaIE *e̯jṣ-/ *iṣ- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' (× NaIE *e̯jṣ-/ *o̯jṣ- 'move with impetus' < N *ʔiẓ̌ 'strong, healthy?') > OI iṣ̣'nā-ti, iṣ̣yati 'sets in motion, swings', Av aēṣ̌- '(sich) in eilige Bewegung setzen' || OSx ovast (< *oḅ-a̯st?) n. 'haste', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st 'haste, zeal (Eile, Eifer)', ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', {EI} 'go dashing' ¶ P 299-301, EI 506 (*ḥe̯jṣ- 'set in motion'), M KI 94, M EI 271-2, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240, Vr. 98 || U: FU *y^ro¹ṣ > Z islav-n̄, Z Lu/LV/Ud +slav-n̄, Prmk +slaṣ-n̄, Yz ʌṣ'laṣ-n̄ id. || ObU *y^ro¹ > Os D/K yut- v. 'ski' ¶ LG 110, Stn. D 418 || ? A: Tg *^oṣ̌- v. 'retreat' > Ewk, Lm ōṣ- id., Neg ōṣ-, Ork ōsṣ- v. 'step aside, clear (a place)', Ul ost-, Nn Nh/B ōṣ-, osṭqo- v. 'clear (a place), tidy up' ¶ STM II 25-6 ◇ Eg fOK z (for the expected ṣ) still needs explaining.

2651. *yul̄t̄i¹ 'with', 'with, by' (instrumental), 'together with' > HS: S *ʔitt̄ 'with (cum)' > OAk, Ak v̄itti, ittum 'with, along with', 'by' (agens of ps. verbs), Ak MB/NA it̄u 'with, beside', BHb ʔe̯t̄ 'with' (/ -ʔe̯t̄ ʔitt̄- before pronominal endings: 'ʔe̯t̄ ʔitt̄-ī 'with me', etc.), Ph, Pun ʔt̄ 'with, near, beside', Tgr ʔʔt̄ 'by, with' (here also ʔʔt̄ 'on, in?'), Hrs hʔt̄ 'with, at the home of, at' ¶ Ug ht̄, interpreted in A #862 as 'with', actually means 'now' (OLS 169-70) ¶ CAD VII 302, 312,

KB 97-8, A 93, HJ 131-2, LH 349, Jo. H 53 || ? C: Bj {R} -t 'in, an, bei, von, aus, mittelst' ¶ R Bd § 134b || IE: Ht -it, ending of the instr. case ¶ Rsk. 54, 56, Mer. SGA 275, 292 || K: GZ {K} *-it, ending of the instr. case > OG -it(a) ~ -yt(a), G -it / (after stem-final -o, -u) -t, Mg -it / (after stem-final vowels) -t, Lz -t(en) id. ¶ K 101, K S 99-104, Fn. GAS 55-61 || U: FU *^oyutt∇ > Ugr *yutt∇ > ObU {Ht.} *yōt 'with' > pVg {Ht.} *yōt > Vg: LK/MK yāt, Ss yot id.; pOs {Ht.} *yōt (= {ǧHl.} *yūt) id. > Os: V/Vy yōt, Ty yōt, Y yōta | Hg Δ yāt 'Namensbruder' (< **'together with'?) ¶ UEW 852 (pUgr *yut∇ 'friend, comrade'), ≈ Coll. 18, Ht. #210 || A: Tg *-ji (< **-di), ending of the instr. case > Nn, Ul, Ork, Ud -žī, {Krm.} -žū, Sln -ji, Neg -ji ~ -di, Lm -t, -ç, (after a stem-final -n) -ji, (stem-final) -n + *ji > Lm -ń, ? WrMc -i (< *-ji artially due to metanalysis) ¶ Bz. 1027, Ci. 257-8, Krm. 86 || D *-t∇, ending of the sociative case > Tm -tū, Ml -tā id., Klm -at, Brh -at - endings of the instr. case, Brh tō (postposition) 'together with' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 250-386, An. SG 209-14 ◇ The least grammaticalized meaning (originally 'together with?') is preserved in Brh and probably underlies Hg Δ yāt 'Namensbruder' ◇ Ht -it and K *-it suggest a front vw. (≈ N *i), while FU *^oyutt∇ point to a labialized u-like vw. The solution may be N *u, that was palatalized into i by as. to *y- and to final *-^ri. S, D, and K point to a N plain *t, while U *-tt- is a regulat reflex of N *-t- or some cns. clusters. The solution may be N *-?t- or another cluster (*-⊥t-, where ⊥ is a symbol for an unspecified cns.).

2652. *yaHt∇ (= *ya?t∇?) 'stranger, foreigner' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enemy') > A: NaT *jāt' 'foreign(er)' > OT jāt' 'stranger, foreigner; strange, foreign', Chg jat ~ jad 'strange, foreign', MQp [incl. CC] jat, OOsM jad 'stranger, foreigner', Tkm jāt, Qrg žat 'strange, so. else's (fremd); other', Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jat 'fremd', Az jad, Uz ěd jad, Qzq, Qq žat id., Tk yad, Alt žat 'strange, foreign'; Qp b→ Blgh > Chv yut 'fremd' ¶ Cl. 882, ET J 158-9, TL 564, DTS 247, Jeg. 352 || D (in McTm) *ēt- 'stranger, foreigner, enemy' > Tm ētalar 'foe, enemy', ētilar 'stranger, neutral', ētilār 'other, strangers, foes, enemies', ētinmai 'strangeness, foreignness, enmity', Ml ētil 'neighbourhood', ētalar 'enemies' ¶¶ *ē- < *ya_{i,j}- reg. ; the irreg. reflex of N *-t- (D *-t- for the expected *-t-) may be accounted for by the preceding lr. (assuming that N *-Ht- may yield D *:-t-) ¶ D #890 || HS: Eg ǐǐd

'enemy' ('der Frevler, Feind') (unless ← Eg XIX/G ðɛd 'der Elende, der Arme') ¶ EG I 35.

2653. *yʷw∇ 'tree' > IE: NaIE *eǵwā / *oǵwā, *eǵwō-s id. (SA from *yew-/*yow-) > Gk ῥα, ῥή, ῥη 'service-tree (Sorbus domestica)' □ || Arm այգի aygi 'vineyard' || L uva 'bunch of grapes, vine' || Gl *iʷo-s 'yew' (↳ VL *īʷu-s > Fr if, Fr S lieu id.), OIr éo, W ywen (coll. yw), OCrm [ʃ] hiuin ('taxus'), Crm {ECCE} ewen (coll. ew), Br iʷin id. || ON úr, OHG īwa, NHG Eibe, MLG īwe, MDt ijf, AS īw, éow 'yew', NE yew || Pru iuwis 'yew', Lt ievà, jievà, Ltv iēva 'bird-cherry tree' || Sl *jǐva 'willow' > OR НВА іва, R, Uk, Blg ива, SCr ìva, Slv íva, Cz jíva, Slk iva, P iwa || ? Ht e(y)a(n)- 'evergreen tree' ¶¶ P 297-8, EI 654 (*h₁eǵwō-s 'yew'), ≈σEI 63 (*Hoǵwō/e_ǵ- 'berry, fruit'), F II 343, WH II 849, SB 46, Billy 90, ML #4560, Wb. IV 826, Dauz. 398, YGM-1 447, Hm. 400, ECCE 200, Vr. 679, Ho. 189, Kb. 519, OsS 460, KM 154, Frn. 183, En. 186, ESSJ VIII 248-9, Glh. 281, Pv. I-II 253-7 || HS: Eg G iʷy 'shrub or tree' ¶ EG I 49 || U *yʷw∇ 'tree' > FU *yʷw∇ 'tree' > ObU {Hl.} *yʷw∇ id. > pVg *yīw id. > OVg: S Tg ю, S Tr ю, S Chus ю, ју, E TM јју, N SoG јиу, W P иуъ, Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/NV yīw, P yüw, SV/LL īw, ML/UL/Ss yiw id.; pOs {Ht.} *yʷy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty yuy, Y yuw, D/K/O yux, Nz/Kz yūx id. || Sm {Jn.} *ye|ɜ₁w₁ 'pine-tree' > Ne: T {Ter.} e (= ye), T O {Lh.} yē', F L {Lh.} jje' id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} cō id., Tm P{KD} tō, B/Y {Cs.} tō, NP {Cs.} tūe, Kar {Cs.} tū, MO, UO küe 'Föhre, Fichte'; Kms {KD} dú, d^ωz̄: (= jū, j^ωz̄:?) 'Fichte, Föhre', Koyb {Sp.} джѐ 'pine-tree'; Mt {Hl.} *čä id. (Mt: T/K {Mue.} dschä, K {Pls.} dja, M {Mue.} tsjä, {Sp.} тчя) || pY {IN} *yaʷ 'birch-tree' > Y T yā id., OY NW {Lnd.} jaijāl id. ¶¶ Coll. 18, UEW 107, Sm. 537 (U *jox̄i- 'tree' > FU *juxi, Ugr *jugī, Sm *jē), Ht. #175 (ObU *yuy∇), Hl. rHt 73, Sm. #31, Jn. 42, ≈ Jn. UK 260 (U *y∇Hi), KKIH 106, Cs. 127, 154-5, KD 16, Pot. 48, Hl. M #194-5, IN 223.

2654. *yowʷ∇ '≈ good, right, proper' > IE: [1] NaIE *yeu-s ~ *you-s 'good, right, proper; goodness' > OI 'yōh (yōs) ntr. 'welfare, happiness, prosperity', Av yaoš 'Heil', yaoš dā- 'heilkräftig machen', yaož-dāθra- 'Heilkräftigkeit, Vervollkommnung', yaož-dā- 'purification ritual', MPrs yōž-dahr 'holy' || OL ious > L iūs (gen. iūr-is) n. 'right, law', d. iustus 'just, equitable; lawful' || OIr (h)uisse 'just, gerecht' (< *yus-tiyos) ¶¶ [2] NaIE *yewā- v. 'ease,

relax, benefit' > NPrs **يَاوَر** *yāvār* 'helper', **يَاوَرِي** *yāvārī* 'assistance' || Gk **ἔειω** v. 'allow, let' ¶ WP I 203, P 512, EI 410-1 (**yew(e)s-* 'order\normality required by the rules of ritual'), Mn. 447, M K III 27-8, M E II 420-1, Vl. II 1509, Sg. 1527, WH I 733-4, Thr. § 25, LP § 20, Ch. 308-9, ≈ F I 434 (**ἔειω** < ??? NaIE **sewā-*, cp. OI **ἔαυι-** 'set in motion') || **A**: M **yō-sun* 'generally accepted rule, custom, habit' > WrM **yosun**, HIM **ёс(оH)**, Brt **ěho(н)** id., MM [HI] **yosun** id., 'principle, norm', WrO {Krg.} **yosun** 'manner, custom, way', KI **йосн** **yosъn** id., '(political) power', {Rm.} **yosη** 'Sitte, Gewohnheit, ererbte Praxis' ¶ MED 435-6, Ms. H 111, Krg. 712, KRS 280-1, KW 219 (supposes that M **yosun** is a loan from Chn **yō**, but it is not clear which Chn word was meant), Chr. 228 || **HS**: Eg NK **ἰωε** 'be glad (sich freuen)' ¶ EG I 49 || Ch: Krkr {Kr.} **yəwəw**, {J} **ṛyawaṣ**, {IL} **yawo** 'good' ¶ ChC, ChL.

2655. **y*¹iyo 'which' (rel. prn.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation): **II** as a prn. (× N ***ya** 'which?') > IE: NaIE: **yō-*, rel. (and interr.?) pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. **yō-s*, f. **y-ā*, ntr. **yō-d*) > OI m. **ya-s**, f. **yā**, ntr. **ya-d** id., Av **yō** 'which' rel. || Gk **ὅς** m., **ἥ** f., **ὅ** ntr. id. || Clt: GI **DUGHONTI-IO** 'who serve' || ? Phr **τος (νλ)** 'whoever' || Sl m. ***jb-že** (> OCS **нже** *i že*), f. ***ja-že** (> OCS **яже** *ja že*), ntr. ***je-že** (> OCS **јеже** *je že*) 'which' (rel.) || Ltv **ja** 'if' (< ntr. ***yad**), Lt **je i** ~ **je i** 'if' ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht - **ya** pc. 'and, also', ≈ P 383 (does not distinguish this √ from the NaIE dem. **eĵ-/*e-*), EI 457 (**yō-s* / **yeh_h* / **yō-d* 'who, what, that' rel.), M K III 14, ≈ M E II 390 (IE ***Hyō-**), F I 434, Frn. 182, En. LG 825, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) **yō-* 'which' (rel.) (→ 'whatsoever') > F **jō-ka** (gen. **jōn-ka**) 'which' (rel.), 'every', Krl **yoka** 'which' (rel.), F, Es **Δ jos** 'if' (< loc. of **yō-*?) || Lp: N **jūogâ** 'something, something or other', L {LLO} **juka** 'some', Klf **yukke** every' || Chr: H **юж** **yuzh**, L **южо** **yuzho**, Uf/B **yuzho** 'some (irgendeiner, некоторый)' ¶ UEW 637, It. #87, SK 116-7, Ep. 31, MRS 782 || **III** As a postnominal pc.: IE: NaIE *-(i)yō- 'related to', suff. of adjectives, e.g.: (1) NaIE ***pātr-iyo-s** 'fatherly, paternal, belonging to (the) father' > OI **pitr(i)yaḥ**, Gk **πάτριος**, L **patrius** id., (2) Av **asnyā-** 'day-...', referring to (the) day' ← **azan-** 'day', (3) Sl *-**ьj-**: OCS **чловѣчь** (pronominalized adj. **чловѣчьи** *člověčii*), R **человечий** 'of a person, human', (4) Tc A -i, sx. of possessive

adjectives (marí-i 'of the moon, lunaire'), Tc B -i, sx. of acp. (yām-i 'doing, making') || Ht -iy-, sx. of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within') ||| Here also L -ī (gen. sg. of the *o-stems), OGIr -i id. in maqi (makk^ωi) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name) (Bks. on Itc-Clt *ī: "an adjectival sx."), as well as the glide in L -ae (gen. sg. of *-ā-stems) ¶¶ BD II/1 190-1, Vnd.¹ I 403, Saf. GHJL 131-2, Bks. 192, KK 28, 86, Kron. EHS I 168-70 ||| Possibly here also [1] NaIE *-is- of cmpr. (< N *'y'iyō sE, lit. 'than / related to + he\she') (in OI bah-īyas- 'stronger', Gk βρῦσσων 'shorter', L mell-ior 'better', OHG eng-iro 'narrower', Pru maldaisei 'die Jünger', OCS старѣиш- star-ějš- 'older', Gt hard-iza 'harder', and OHG hert-iro id., see BD III:1 551-62) and [2] *-ist(h)o- of sprl. (< N *'y'iyō sE č'ü', lit. 'than / related to + he\she + that which'), see s.v. N *č'ü' 'that of ..., that which' || HS: S *-iy-, sx. of denom. adjectives ("nisbah") and of nomina gentilitia > BHb -ī (f. -i'yā and -īt, both from *-iy-at-), Amr -iy-, Ar -īy-, Gz -ī, Ak -iy-, in Aram within compound sxs. (of the same meaning) -ā-y-; Hz. is probably right in adducing here the S genitive case ending *-i (> Ar -i, Ak -i, Ug -i, Gz -∅) ¶ Br. G I 397 [§ 220], Hz. ACCS 219-21, Siv. U 49, Hnr. 294-301 || Eg -y, sx. of denom. adjectives: ncr'y 'divine' (< ncr 'god'), zəby 'belonging to a jackal' (< zəb 'jackal'), also in denom. nouns: xtm'y 'Siegel-schneider' (< xtm 'seal') ¶ Ed. §§ 246, 342 || ? B *-ī, sx. of deverbal nouns > Zng {Bs.} etš-i 'food' ¶ Bs. MS I 156-8 || C: Bj {RHd.} -i gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding other grammatical affixes) (wi-ṗōr-i bāba 'pueri pater', ṗi-bāba wí-wi-ṗōr-ī-b 'patrem pueri' [-b, marker of accus. in nominal phrases], wi-ṗōr-ī-t de 'pueri mater' [-t is a fem. marker of accus. in nominal phrases]), {Rop.} -i (gen. sg. m.), -t-i (gen. sg. f.): 'tak-i 'kām 'a man's camel', ta'kat-t-i 'kām 'a woman's camel'); Bj A {AD} -(y)i, ending of gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding another affix) (-t of fem. possessi, -b of accusative possessi) ||| EC: Sa {R} -(h)i, genitive ending (galāy'to-hi lak 'camel's leg'), Af {PH} -i, -i-h (genitive ending: awk-í migař 'the boy's name', káy danan-ih gēra 'his donkey's tail') ¶ AD KJ 34, 109, Rop. 14-5, RHd. B 109, PH 226-7 || NrOm: Shn {PB} -i (gen. ending: fokk-i gašō-ni 'river-of bank-on', sc. 'on the bank of the river') (but Rtl. does not mention this ending), Kf {C} -e (gen. ending: tāt-e bušō 'king's son'), -i, Bdt -i (gen. ending) ¶ Zab. CO 619-20, PB SMS

68, C SE IV 294-7, Fl. KL 373, Rtl. ShM || possibly K *-iš̄ (ending of the gen. case) (< N *^ry¹iyo sE, lit. 'which is' × N *ya sE id.) > endings of gen.: OG, G -is, -s, Mg -iš̄, -š̄, Lz -š̄, Sv -iš̄ (~ iš̄), -äš̄ (ä -aš̄). On the origin of the cns. *-š̄ in this K ending see N *sE 'he\she' ¶¶ K S 88-93, K 103 || U ≈ *-ī ~ *-y∇, sx. of denom. adjectives > F -i (at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha): silm-i-vesi 'water for the eyes and the face' (silmi- 'eye'), lehm-i-karja 'herd of cows' (lehmä 'cow') || Vg {Sz.} -i at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha (tāli- 'winter-...' ← tāl 'winter'; xōli 'morning-...' ← xol 'morning', iŋli 'der untere' ← iŋl 'bottom'), Os {Sz.} xō'd_i 'house-..., belonging to the house' ← xō't 'house', tōwi 'pond-..., of a pond' ← tōw 'pond' || Hg -i, sx. of denom. adjectives (isten-i 'divine' ← isten 'god', tegnapi 'of yesterday' ← tegnapi 'yesterday') || Sm ending of denominative adjectives: Ne -й, -i, -i (Ne T пуй, Ne T O {Lh.} руi, Ne F рui, руй 'situated behind' [cp. Ne F Ks рui 'buttocks, hind part'], Ne T F теЙ, Ne T O тēi 'gestrig, of yesterday' [cp. тēη 'yesterday'], Ne T тǎңы, Ne T O таŋi 'sommerlich' [cp. Ne T та' таŋ, Ne F таŋ 'summer']), Ng {Cs.} -ya (куфуya 'leathern' ← 'куфу 'leather'), En -yo (En X {Cs.} тēyo, En B {Cs.} тēyo 'gestrig' [cp. тē? 'yesterday']) ¶¶ Sz. 86-8, 100, Coll. CG 264, Lh. PUAS 55-60 ◇ IS I 14, 282-4 (besides denom. sxs. in HS, IE, and U, IS adduces here the sx. *-i of deverbal nouns and prtcs. in A and the D sx. *-i of converbs, which is less concincing).

2656. *žoʔa (or *žoʔya, *žoyʔa) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow' > K *zω- v. 'bear a young' (of animals) > OG zω-, G X/Ing zV- id. || Sv {K, FS} z(ω)-, msd. {K, FD} li-zāi ~ li-zwel-i, Sv UP {GP} li-zāi v. 'bear a young' ¶¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 131-2, FS E 142, GP 151 || HS: Eg fP z3 'son' ¶ EG III 408-10, Fk. 207 || U *^osoya (or *^osoi|žā) > Sm {Jn.} *soyā v. 'be born, grow', {HL.} *soya- 'give birth' > Ne T соя-сь, {Lh.} sōy'ā:- v. 'be born, grow up', Ne F {Lh.} xōy'gā-š̄ 'gebären, verschaffen', En X {Cs.} (1s aor.) соâro, En B {Cs.} (1s aor.) соjâdo v. 'grow', Slq Tz {KKIH} sōć(+)- id. ('вырасти'), Kms {Cs.} 3s p. s̄bīe 'gave birth to', Koyb {Sp.} суйламъ 'I give birth', Mt {HL.} *soyā- 'give birth' (Mt M {Sp.} соягура 'I give birth') ⇨ Mt {HL.} *soyū|h|k 'Gewächs, Gras, Heu' (Mt: M/T/K {Mll.} sóiu 'gramen' [sc. 'grass'], M {Sp.} соёкъ 'hay, grass', T {Mll.} heelim-soiu 'hay' [heelim means 'dried']) ¶

Jn. 142-3, KKIИ 170, Hl. M ##898-9 || **A:** ??σ Tg *s₀ᵛᵛ- v. 'mate' (of animals) > Ewk s₀-k_{an}- v. 'mate', Ud s₀-n_i id.; hardly here WrMc з_уу (pl. з_у-с_е) 'son' and Jrc {Md.} žuy-il, {Kiy.} žuwii 'child', because Mc/Jrc ž- is not the reg. reflex of N *ž- (reconstructed on the ev. of K and U) ¶ STM I 271 and II 105, Kiy. 113 (#294), Md. ChF 138 (#294); Ewk -k_{an} may be a verbal sx. (F Vas. 700-1).

2657. *žig'o'd∇ 'stake, peg', ([in descendant lgs.' → 'paling, fence') > **K** *z_ϕude 'fence' > OG z_ϕude 'fence, wall', G, Mg z_ϕude 'fence', Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} z_ϕwid id., L z_ϕud id., ı Sv Δ {Wrd.} zghwid id., 'boundary' (a variant with z- is not confirmed by other sources); GZ *z_ϕwed-/z_ϕwd- v. 'fence in, enclose' > OG m₀-z_ϕudva msd., G z_ϕud- v. 'fence in, enclose', ?σ Mg z_ϕvind-/z_ϕod- v. 'destroy, exterminate' ¶¶ K 89 (Sv z_ϕud ← G), K² 62, Abul. 171, DCh. 533-4, TK 848, Wrd. 596, 604 || **IE** *h₀d^h-/*h₀ed^h- > NaIE *od^h-/*ed^h- 'stake, stake fence, enclosure' > AS eod₀r 'enclosure, fence, hedge; dwelling', OHG etar 'fence (Zaun), edge (Rand)', ON j₀đur-r, jađar-r 'Rand, obere Zaunstange' ||| Sl *odrъ > OCS oδpъ odrъ 'bed (κλίνη, κράββατος), funeral bier (σπορόζ)', Cz odr 'stake (Pfahl)', SCr ođar 'bier, catafalque', {P} 'rankender Weinstock', Blg oδp 'flooring (настил)', Slv ođar id., 'hayloft' ||| ? Gk ὄστριμον (< *od^h-tro-?) 'byre, enclosure for cattle' (↔ Frisk) ¶ ≈ P 290, ≈ WP I 121, Vr. 289, Ho. 91, Km. 210, OsS 154, EWA II 1166-8, Vs. III 123-4, Ch. 833, ≠ F II 438 || **A:** Tg *⁰sigdi- 'peg' > Ewk sigdiwūn ɹ higdiwūn id. (with vowels of the closed series: accus. sigdiwūnmɹ) ¶ STM II 76, Vas. 349, 476 || **D** *č₀i:ᵛt- 'bamboo pin' > Prj čitam 'bamboo pin (for leaf cup)', Gnd itam 'leaf-pin' ¶¶ D #2641.

2658. *žed₀h₀ü|u (or *žend∇₀h₀ü|u?) 'pull, drag, draw' > **K:** GZ *zid- v. 'drag, pull' > OG, G zid- id., Mg {Q} zi(n)d- id., 'pull out', Lz zd- v. 'take, arise, drag' ¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 133, Chik. 275-6, Q 237 || **HS:** S *⁰√zd₀w > Ar √zd₀w (prm. -zduw-) 'tendre, étendre', 'extendit (manus versus rem)' ¶ Fr. II 231, BK I 982, 1322 || EC {Ss.} *zit- v. 'pull' > Sml žīd-, pBn *(h₀ē-)₀šīd- (> Bn Bi (h₀ē-)₀šīd-, Bn J/Kj h₀ē-šīd-, Bn K h₀ē-šīd- id.), Rn žīt- {Sim} id., {PG} id., 'drag', Kns tit-, Gd tiš-, Gwd, Gln sit-, Hr sič-, Brj diḍ- (< *dit-ḍ-) 'pull' ¶ Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 55, ≠ Hn. S 83, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166 || **A:** NaT *j₀ü:ᵛḍ- v. 'carry' > OT {Cl.} jūḍ- id. ([MhK] o₁ jük jūḍtī 'he carried the burden'), Tlt jüy- v. 'carry (?)', ET {Nj.} jüdi- 'load sth. on an animal', ET Δ {Jr.} jūd- ~ jüd- 'carry\load sth. on one's shoulders' ¶ Cl. 885, DTS 283, Rl. III 611, Nj. 793, Jr. 161

|| D *čēnt-/čēt- ({{ṖGS}} *s-) v. 'draw' > Tm cēntu v. 'draw (as a rope running over a pulley)', Kn sēdu, sēndu v. 'draw up (water from a well), pull in (as string of kite), draw in with the mouth', Kdg sēd- v. 'drink a deep draught', Tu sēduni v. 'draw water', OTI {Km.} cēđu v. 'pull up, draw up as water', TI cēđu, cēdu id., Mlt čēnde v. 'remove in small quantities from a heap' ṖṖ D #2812, Km. 364 [#475] (the TI word < ← pSD *cē- / *tē-) ◇ The origin of D *-n- has not yet been elucidated. It is likely to be a Dravidian morphological infix. Alternatively, comparison between D *čēnt- and Mg zi(n)d- suggest a N etymon *žend∇_hü|u ◇ K, S, OT, and Tlt provide evidence for N *-d-, while EC and ET seem to point to N *-t-. This contradiction may be removed by supposing a N cluster *-dh- or *-d∇h- (> *-dh-), that explains the origine of *-t- in the prehistory of EC and ET: *-dh- or *-d∇h- > -th- (assimilative devoicing) > *-t- (a hyp. supported by the D cognate: D *t may go back to N *-dH-, but not to an intervocalic *-d-). NaT *-ü_; may be due to regr. as. (N *žē...ü|u > **Zü...ü > T *jü_;?).

2659. *žôg_l∇_?U - *žôgU_?∇_? 'hill' > K *zugw- 'hill' > Mg zugu 'hill' in n. l.: Zugđiđi, etc.; Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} zugw, zwigw, UB {GP} zug, L {TK} zugw 'hill' ṖṖ FS K 137, FS E 148, TK 253, GP 105 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *žig^wa 'hill, rock' > Su {J} žwák 'rock' ('Felsen') | Krkr {Kœ.} žigawa, žigawa 'hill' | Ngz {Sch.} žigwāj 'small hill formed by hoeing in which grain is planted' | NrBc: P' {MSk.} žigíya 'rock' Ṗ Stl. ZCh 194 [#462], J S 68, Sch. DN 85, ChC s.v. 'rock', MSk. 228 || U *ćuk_k∇ 'hill, summit' (× N *čū_k∇ 'thorn, point, summit') > pLp {Lr.} *ćokk_z > Lp: N {N} čok'kâ / -kk-, L {LLO} tjâhkkâ 'summit, mountain peak', S {Hs.} tjâkke id., 'hill', K {Gn.} čokk, Kld {TI} čok: 'Spitze', {SaR} чōγκ 'sharp' | Prm {LG} *ćuk > Z чук čuk 'mountain peak, small hills (небольшая возвышенность)' || ObU: Vg: T čakal 'heap (of hay, etc.)', LK šaxal 'Insel (auf der Wiese, auf dem Sumpf)', ML mē-šokal 'small hill', Ss ur-šaxal 'hill'; Os: Ty řák 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D řák '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O šâx ~ šâk 'Hammer' (← 'Spitze') || Sm {Jn.} *sok 'hill' > Ne: T cōxō 'high pointed hill', T O {Lh.} sōxō 'hoher runder Erdhügel'; En X {Cs.} d. sōro, En B {Cs.} d. sōdo 'Landspitze' | Slq Tz {Prk., KKH} sōq 'promontory (мыс), Vorgebirge, hohe Landzunge' ṖṖ Coll. 8, UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #450, Hs. 1298-9, Gn. 725, SaR 398-9, TI 676, LG 312, Jn. 143, Ter. 567, KKH 170, Erl. 209 ṖṖ The meanings 'sharp', 'edge', 'hammer' in the FU lgs.

are hardly derivable from N ***zôg**_L∇?U ~ ***zôg**U_L?∇, 'hill', but may be attributed to the heritage of N ***čuk**∇ 'thorn, point', which also accounts for the U affricate ***č**- (for the expected ***ś**-) || **A** (≈ ***zUk**'∇): NaT ***joK** 'high ground' > OT joq id.; d.: [1] NaT ***jokaru** ~ ***jokari** (< ***joK-garu**/I, directive of ***joK**) 'upwards' > OT, Chg joqaru, Tk **yoKari**, Tkm Δ joqori, ET yuqari, VTt, Bsh juɣarɔ, Yk soɣoru id., [2] NaT ***jokuš** 'a rise (in the ground), ascent, slope' > Kr Cr, Osm {Rh.} joquš, Tk **yoquš** ¶ Cl. 896, 906-7, ET J 213-5, Rh. 2216 || Tg: Ud B/Sm {Krm.} sügbo 'gentle slope (of a hill near a river)' ¶ STM II 118, Krm. 290 ◇ U points to a pN ***u** (in the first syll.), while the deviant T ***o** still needs investigating. Alternatively, it may be tentatively suggested that the pN vw. was ***o**, while U ***u** results from a kind of regr. as. (N ***zôg**_L∇?U > ***zuku** > U ***čukk**∇ ◇ The apparent reflex of N ***K** in U and T is likely to go back to N ***-g**∇?-

2660. ***z**∇gEr∇ (or ***z**∇rg∇?) 'back (dorsum)' > K ***o**z|žurg- > OG, G zurg-i id. ¶ Chx. 420, Ser. 69, DCh. 531 || **HS**: B [1] ***✓zgr** 'back (dos)' > Kb {Dl.} a-zajur (pl. i-zajur-ən), Kb Z {La.} a-zagur 'dos', Ntf {La.} a-zagur 'chevelure'] [2] ??σ B ***✓zgr** v. 'be high, tall, long' > Ah hægræt id., təhhægræt ~ təzzægræt 'hauteur', Ttq {Msq.} pl. i-həžər-ən 'high (in a high position)' ('haut [élevé]'), 'long', həžərən 'long', tazəžərət 'hauteur', Wrg zzəgrər v. 'be long, tall', WTml, Ty zəgrət v. 'be long, high, tall', Tnsl šəžrət, Gh zəžrət, zəžər, Gd zəgrət, Mz zzəžrət, Tmz zəgrit v. 'be long', Tmz azəgrar, Mz azəžrar, Rf Wr/Br/A a-zəgrär, Nf {La.} a-zəgrār 'long' ¶ Dl. 936, Fc. 531, GhA 211, MT 797-8, Dlh. Ou 387-8, Dlh. M 248, Msq. 148, 176, Rn. 325, La. MChB 115, La. S 253, Pr. H #182 ¶ B [2] ***✓zgr** v. 'be high, tall, long' belongs here only if the original meaning was v. 'be high' ← 'be on an animal's back' || **A** (≈ ***z**∇gEr∇): NaT ***jağir** 'back\withers of a horse' (→ 'saddle-gall') (×N ***dagor**∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back') > OT, Az, Tkm jaɣir 'saddle-gall', OT U {Bai.}, Chg [San.], {Bu.} jaɣir 'shoulder-blade', Tk **yağir** 'horse's withers, saddle-gall', Tk Δ jaɣir, Chg {Bu.} **يفر** jaɣir 'back', VTt Δ žawɔr 'shoulder', Tki jeɣir, Uz jaɣir, ET jeɣi(r), Ln jaɣiy, Qzq, Qq žawir, Nog jaɣir, Qrg žōr, StAlt žūr 'saddle-gall', Chv: H šorɔm, L šurɔm 'back (dorsum), loins'; ⇨ NaT ***jağirin** ~ ***jağirni** 'back (of a pack-animal)' (×T ***jağrin**, {ADb.} ***jaɣrun** 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' < N ***dagor**∇) > Tkm jaɣirni 'back (dorsum)', Tk Δ

jaʏrɪn, Uz jaʏrɪn, Qmq jawrun, Nog jawɪrɪn, Qzq žawrɪn, Qrg žōrun id.; T *jagɪr ↔ M *daʏari 'abrasion, saddle-sore' (> MM [S] da,ari, WrM dagari, HIM дайр) ¶ The d. *jagɪrɪn 'animal's back' proves that the original meaning of *jagɪr was 'back' rather than 'saddle-gall' ¶ Cl. 905, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Rh. 2188, TkR 805-6, MED 218 || M *seʏer ({Pp.} *segēr) > Kl {Rm.} sēr 'upper back, back (dorsum), nape; spine', WrM seger, HIM сээр 'spine, backbone, spinal column', Brt һээр 'e appendix of a rib (отросток реберной кости)' ¶ MED 682, Chr. 709, KW 328 || ?σ Tg *sigde ({ADb.}: < **sir-de < **siʏr-de) 'spinal column, sinew of the back, vertebra' > Ewk sigdɜ 'sinew of the back, vertebra, sirloin', Neg sigdɜ 'mountain ridge', Orc, Ul, Nn, Ud {Krm.} sigde 'a sinew of the back' ¶ STM II 76-7, Krm. 283-4 ¶¶ Pp. VG 73, 127, ADb. SR-D 443-4 [#3] ¶¶ But T *sirt 'back, mountain ridge' (Cl. 846) hardly belongs here (unless it is an early loan from M).

2661. (₂?) *zEgUt∇ (= *žEgUt∇?) 'thigh, leg' > IE *h₂ekT∇ (or *ʔ-) > Ht egdu, igdu 'leg' ¶ Pv. I-II 260-1 || **A** (≈ *zEgUt∇ 'thigh, hip'): NaT *jot∇ (and *°ja|o|g|ut∇?) 'thigh, upper leg, shin' > OT {Cl.} jōta 'thigh', {DTS} jōda jōʔa ɖ jōta 'shin, upper leg', ET jōta id., StAlt žodo, Xk, Tv, Shor čoda 'shin', SY jōta ɖ jawta ɖ jowta 'bone in a leg of a sheep', Yk soto 'lower part of the hind leg, shin' ¶ Rs. W 207, Cl. 886, ET J 29-30, DTS 269, 275, Tn. SJJ 185, BN 79 || M *seʏüžin 'hip, thigh' > WrM següzi(n), HIM сҮҮж sūž 'pelvic bone, pelvis, hip, upper part of the thigh bone', Kl сҮҮж sūžə 'hip-bone, pelvis, hip', Ord sūž-i 'os iliaque, hanche', Mnr H {SM} sūž-i 'hanche', MMgl {Z} seūž-i 'upper part of buttocks, haunch', Dgr seūž-i {T} 'hip', {Mr.} 'lower back' ¶ MED 684, KW 342, KRS 466, SM 357, Iw. 131, T DgJ 163, Mr. D 211 || Tg *°sigdi-pu > Ork sigžipu 'the upper part of the tarsus' ¶ STM II 77 || pKo {S} *hà,túj,h 'foot, leg' > MKo hà,tʰúi id. ¶ S QK #320, Nam 485 ¶¶ DQA #2564 (A *ziǒgtu 'thigh, leg') || **HS:** ?σ S *°√š|sgd > Ar √sgd (pf. سجد sağida) v. 'be swollen' (a foot), ʔasğadu 'swollen' (foot) ¶ BK I 1052, Hv. 309 ◇ If the S cognate is accepted and its initial cns. is *š, the N reconstruction is likely to be *žegUt∇.

2662. *ž∇kU 'to tie' > K *sķw- (< *zķw- [as.]?) v. 'tie, bind' (× N *śāk,∇,ʔU 'plait, tie, bind, wicker') > OG mo-sķw- 'sich verschränken', sķul-, nasķw- 'knot', sķun- v. 'decide', G sķven-/sķun- v. 'close, shut', sķul-i 'zu bindend, Bund, Knoten', Mg sķv-/sķu-

~ skv-/sku-, Lz skv- ~ skv- v. 'tie (up)', Sv UB le-skv-er, Sv Ln lenskv-er 'rope' ¶¶ K 164, K² 160, FS K 272-3, FS E 302-3, Gm. SSh 71, Chx. 1265-6, TK 409 || **HS**: CS *z'ik̄k̄- (+ ending of pl.) 'fettors' > BHb zik̄k̄-ī m pl., JA [Trg.] {Lv.} ἰῖῖῖ z i k̄'k̄ ī n pl. id., Sr zεk̄k̄-ē pl. 'fettors' ('vincula') ¶ KB 266, GB 203, Lv. I 232, Br. 203, ≈ Js. 396 (JA ἰῖῖῖ z ī k̄ ī n), PS 1042 || **U**: FU *°śäku- v. 'plait' → FU *°śäkt∇- (or *°ś-) v. 'mend (a net, footwear, etc.), plait, set snares' (× N *°śäk_L∇, ?U '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The vw. *ä in FU *°śäku- does not necessarily point to a N vw. *ä, because here FU *ä may belong to the heritage of N *°śäk_L∇, ?U.

2663. *zûL∇ 'to fall, to crush down' > **K**: GZ *žwel-/ *žwl- v. 'fall, crush down' > OG {Abul.} zuł- 'fall down', da-zuł- ({DCh.}: = da-zwl-) v. 'collapse', G T na-zl-ob-ī 'landslide', Lz žol- ~ žul-: mi-žol-e-e-n ~ mi-žul-e-e-n 'es ist offenbar hinuntergefallen \ hinabgestürzt' ¶ K² 64, FS K 140-1, Abul. 109, 170, DCh. 364, Ghl. 403, Xb. 126-7 || **HS**: WS *√zll v. 'fall (vehemently, e.g. from a rock or to a precipice' (→ v. 'attack') > Jb √zll G (pf. zell, sbjn. 'yuzzəł) v. 'fall from a ledge \ a rock; accost, attack'; Gt 'zottel v. 'fall off a rock \ a precipice', Mh, Hrs √zll v. 'attack', (× N *°z'ī∇ 'to slip, to slide') ?σ Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ya-zill-u) v. 'slip' (foot), 'glisser sur un sol glissant' (a foot, a person) ¶ Fr. II 246, BK II 1002, Hv. 293, ≈ DRS 738, Jo. M 46, Jo. J 318 || **IE** *_LH_Jwel-/*_LH_Jwōl- v. 'fall/fell down' > Arm գլեմ 'I incline' || Sl (caus. stem) *valí-ti 'to fell, to pull down' > OCS валити valiti 'to overturn', Р в'алитъ, Uk в'алити, Sln valíti, Р walić, Slk valit' 'to fell, to pull down', HLs walić id., rf. walić so 'to fall down (повалиться), to fall', Blg вали v. 'fall' (of rain, snow, hail), в'ал-еж 'precipitation, falling of rain\hail\snow' ¶¶ This verb is to be distinguished from its homonym (**IE**: NaIE *wel(ə)- / *wlē-, *welu-, *wlej- < N *wA||í_L∇, 'h'∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve', q.v.) that means 'roll' (v.) at the level of NaIE, in pSl, and in Arm (IE *_LH_JwelH-/*_LH_JwōlH- / **_LH_JwleH- > pSl *vali-ti, *vala-ti v. 'roll', Arm գլեմ 'I roll, wheel') ¶ Slt. 81-2, Chr. I 132, Ghl. 661, Trof. 340, BER I 114, ≠ P 1140-3.

2664. 2 *ZařīE(-ŋ∇) ⇄ *Zäřīa(-ŋ∇) '(be) awake\alive' > **HS**: S *°√zřl > Ar √zřl (pf. zařila, ip. -zřal-) {BK} 'être gai, dispos et alerte; marcher d'un pas rapide par suite de la vivacité naturelle', {Ln.} 'be brisk, lively, active', {BK} √zřl Sh (pf. řazřala) 'rendre vif, alerte', zařil- 'vif, dispos' ¶ Ln. III 1232, BK I 991-2 || **A** ({AD} ≈ *zälâ(ŋ∇),

{†DQA} *zelâ(η∇) 'be awake, live' [→ 'human being']: Tg *sel_ηe- 'wake up' > Ewk, Sln s3l3-, Orc s3n3-, s3n3gi-, Ud s3l3-, s3l3gi-, Ul s3n3-, s3ni-, Nn s3n3- vi. 'wake up', WrMc sela- vi. 'have a good time, cheer up, be happy' ¶ STM II 141 || T *jal_αη-uk 'human being' > OT {DTS} jalaηuq ~ jalηuq ~ jalη(∫)uq, {Cl.} jalηuq id., Chv śIn(ь) id. ¶ Cl. 930, DTS 227-9, ≈ TL 325, ≈ Fed. II 153-4 || pKo *sār- 'live' > MKo sār-, NKo sāl- id.□; ⇨ pKo *sār^ʼm 'person' > MKosār^ʼm, NKo sāram ¶ S QK #64, Nam 290, 293, MLC 871, 897 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2554 (A *zela 'be awake, live'; incl. T, Tg, Ko) ◇ The semantic ties between the supposed cognates within A are qu., and the et. is not certain.

2665. *zōg1E 'back part\side' > A: M *sölür > WrM sölür ~ sülür, HIM cөлөр adj. and n. 'bending backward (as a bow); one who throws back his head' ¶ MED 731 || Tg *sugli > EwkM sulīn 'back (dorsum)', Ewk Chlm sulīn 'hump', Ewk PT solin 'dorsal fin (of a fish)', Ork sulī 'withers (of a reindeer, horse, bear)', Nn Nh soglĩ, Nn KU solt 'wild boar's mane', Orc sūli 'mane' ¶ STM II 70, 107, 124 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2569 (*zǐúá) 'spine' (does not distinguish between reflexes of N *zōg1E and those of N *zēí₁∇₁-(Қа) ≈ back [dos]) || HS: S: Ar zuṽl-at- 'podex', {BK} 'cul, derrière' ¶ Ln. III 1235, BK I 995 || D *cōll- ({†GS} *zǐ₃-?) 'back part\side' > Krx cōllā 'back wall or back side of a house', Mlt cōle 'the back of the house', ? Kn colleya, colleha, jolleha 'pointed end of a female's bundle of hair at the back of the head', Tl jolleму, jol₁lemу 'a tire formed by weaving the tresses in chains and then coiling them up at the back of the head' ¶¶ D ##2858-9.

2666. *zīl₁∇ 'to shove', 'to knead\stir' > K: GZ *zel/*zil-/*zǐ- v. 'crumple, press, knead, rub' > OG (da)zela- v. 'press, rub', G zel-/zil- id., Mg {Q} zal- v. 'knead', zeli ~ zeri 'dough', ma-zal-i 'dough-kneader', Lz 0-zal-e 'trough for kneading dough', {FS} 'Knetmasse, Knetgefäß'; ? Zan: amb Mg z-/zu-, amb Lz z- (if from *zǐ-) v. 'knead, rub, mix' (alternatively belonging to N ≈ *zīH₁∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' [q.v.]) ¶ FS K 130-1 and FS E 141 (GZ *zel/*zil-), Schm. 111, Chik. 274-5, Q 235, K² 57 || HS: SES *✓zǐ > Mh pf. zūla, sbjn. ʏzǐē, Jb E/C pf. 'zela₁ v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. M 467, Jo. J 319 || A *^ʼz₁iL∇- > M *silexe- > WrM silege-, HIM шилээ- v. 'stir fire with a poker', Ord šilē- 'attiser avec le tisonnier' ¶ MED 705-6, Ms. O 616.

2667. ?σ₂ *zēLq∇P₂∇ 'sorcery, witchcraft' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'calamities') > HS: S *^ʼzǐχp > Ar zalχaf-at- 'malheurs, calamités' ¶ BK

I 1004 || ? B *^o√zlw (< **√zlh₁φ?) 'calamities' > Kb z̥zəlwī 'traverser une periode malheureuse' (unless from B *√zlw 'être tordu', *F* Pr. H #267, Fc. 599) ¶ Dl. 944 || **A** *({AD} *zEL∇bE, {SDM95} *zil∇be, {SDM97} *zäl∇bi '≈ sorcery, witchcraft'): NaT *je|ilbi- > OT {Cl.} je|vi id., Xk čilbigen 'monster', Yk ilbi 'demoniac, possessed'; T **b**→ WrM cilbi ~ cilvi 'sorcery, trickery, deception' ¶ Rs. W 196, Cl. 919-20, Kow. 2346 || ?σ M *silmu- > WrM {Cev.} silmusun, HIM шулмас, Kl šulm̥ ~ šulmu (pl. šulmuš) 'demon' ({Rm.}: 'Teufel, ein böser Geist') ¶ Luv. 659, Cev. 859, KW 867 || ?σ pKo {S} *sġā₁b v. 'be annoyed, vexed, sad' > MKo sġā₁p/w-, NKo sā₁rā₁p/w- id. ¶ S QK #607, Nam 305, MLC 935 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2560 (A *zġäl∇bi 'sorcery, wutchcraft; to investigate [by magic power]'; incl. M *silmu-, T, Ko, J) || If this N stem goes back to a cd., its first component ****z'EL∇** may be discerned (with a query) in **IE *Xel-** 'harm' (> Ht halluwai- v. 'resort to violence, brawl, quarrel', vt. 'savage, fight', halluwai- n. 'violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel') and in NaIE *el- (> Arm եղեռն eḷērn 'rascality, offence, misdeed, malice, fatality', Gk ὄλλυμι [ft. ὀλέσω] v. 'destroy, make an end of', ?? OIr {P} elc 'böse') ¶¶ P 306-7; F II 378-9 and Ch. 792-3 (both: no et. of ὄλλυμι); Pv. III 49-51; Ts. EI 275 and Pv. III 363-8 reject the comparison of Gk ὄλλυμι with Ht hulla- 'smash, quash, defeat' (proposed by other scholars and quoted in P 307) ◇ Qu. for lack of close semantic connections both within branches of A and between HS and A.

2668. *z'ê₁∇₁-(Ka) 'back (dos)' > **A**: T *jI₁ 'spine' → 'mountain ridge' → 'mountain forest(s)' → 'thicket' (→ 'thick, dense') > NaT *jIš > Yk sis 'spine, rump, mountain ridge, mountains', OT jiš {Cl.} 'the upper part of the mountains covered with forests, mountain forests', {Ml.} id. ('чернь [лес и горы]'), Alt žiš, Tb žiš, Xk čis id., SbTt {Tm.} jIš aḡac 'fir-tree' (aḡac 'tree'); Cl. reads the OT word as jīš, with a long ī on the unreliable ev. of the plene spelling in Maḥmud al-Kashghari's بيش پيش 'downward slope'; the Yk ev. contradicts Cl.'s hyp. of a long vw. ¶ Cl. 976, Ml. PDP 392, DTS 268, MKD 228, ET J 44, Rs. W 202, Rl. III 497-8 and IV 161, Tm. 92 ¶¶ SDM97 (*zi₁∇ 'spine, nape'), ≈ DQA #2569 (adduces pJ {S} *sasū 'sticking edges of the roof beams' > OJ sasū, which is unc. because of lack of reliable semantic proximity; DQA reconstructs *zi₁ú₁a 'spine' combinig reflexes of N ***z'ê₁∇₁-(Ka)** and those of N ***z'og₁E** 'back part\side', q.v.) || **U**: FU

(att. in FV) *ś|šeLkă 'back (dos)' > F selkă, Es selg id. | pLp {Lr.} *ćēlkē 'back, spine' > Lp: N {N} čiel'ge id., Kld {Tl} č'ēl:k:a_ 'spine', T {Tl} č'el:k:e 'small of the back, rump' | Chr L 'шылыж 'š'ьл'ž 'small of the back (loins)', Uf/B š'ьл'ž id., 'rump', M {Wc.} š'ile 'back (dos), sacrum', Chr (= Chr Uf?) {Ū} шылыж 'muscles of the back' ¶ It. #333, UEW 772, SK 995-6, Lr. #152, Lgc. #610, TI 661, MRS 753, Ū 283, Ber. 320 (pChr *šil) || HS: S *°√z|k > Ar zalaq- 'fesses (d'une bête de somme)' ¶ BK I 1006 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose simplification of the final cns. cluster in T: N *-í_∇_К_∇ (in N *zēí_∇_К_а) > pre-T **-íK' > †T†-í, but this is very doubtful, because no other cases of such simplification are known ◇ N *-a accounts for the T vw. *i (vowel harmony: *E...a > *i) ◇ Resh. #13 (U, A).

2669. *z'u'g_∇_í_∇ (↔ *z'∇g'u'í_∇?) 'flow, pour' > K: GZ *z'wēl- v. 'pour' (of heavy shower) > G I z'wēl- id., {Chx.} z'wēl-a 'heavy rain, shower', Mg z'var-z'vali id., z'var-z'val-an-s 'rain falls in a shower' ¶ K² 63, FS K 137-8, Ghl. 236, Chx. 423 || HS: S *°√z'p > Ar √z'p (pf. zaṣala, ip. -z'pāl-) 'verser par petites quantités', zuṣl-at- 'quantité d'eau, etc., versée en une seule fois' ¶ BK I 995, Ln. 1234-5 || ? B *°√z'z v. 'flow, run' (coalescence of two roots: *°√z'z v. 'flow' and *°√z'z v. 'run', the latter not belonging here?) > Ah aḥal v. 'flow (couler), run', BSn azzal, Gd {Mot.} əzzal id., Izn, Rif, SrSn √z'z, Mz, Kb azzal 'courir, couler (eau)' ¶ Fc. 553-7, Rn. 442, Pr. H #212, Dlh. M 389, Dl. 940 || ʔ IE: Ht {Frd.} huwalla 'ausgießen' ¶ Frd. HW 78 (rejected by Ts. E I 425 and not mentioned by Pv.) || A: T: [1] T *j'u'í- > NaT *j'u'š > OT {Cl.} j'u'š- v. 'pour out', ? Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jus- v. 'wash away' (of water) ('ab-\\weg-spülen'); ↗ OT j'u'šul- v. 'be poured out' (of water) ¶ Cl. 976, 978, Rl. III 566 ¶ The cs. *-í- (rather than *-l-) in T*j'u'í- is due to contamination or to a *-y-sx. [2] (here?) T *ju:| 'spring, fountain' (× N ??φ *žER_u_ī_∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' [q.v. ffd.] × N *LiL_∇ 'water, sea'?) ¶ T *-l- in *ju:| belongs to the heritage of N ??φ *žER_u_ī_∇ || ?φ D *čall-, {Km.} čal-/*če]-, {GS} *cal- v. 'pour out, sprinkle, disperse' (× N *čal_∇ 'pour (out)', q.v. ffd.) ¶ D *-ll- is inherited from N *čal_∇.

2670. *z'Eng_∇ 'black, dirt-coloured, dirty' > K *°z|zang- > G zang- vt. 'make black/dirty' ¶ Not here G zangi 'negro' (↔ NPrs zāngī 'Negro, Ethiopian', possibly connected with Ar zaṅğ-) ¶ Chx. 390 || HS: S: Ar

زَنْجُ zāŋǧ- زَنْجُ {Ln.} زَنْجُ zīŋǧ- '∈ nation of the blacks' ('East Africans, Ethiopians') ¶ Ln. 1256, Hv. 297, BK I 1015 || A ({SDM97} *zāŋe(r)∇) 'yellowish, brown, gray': NaT *°jegren 'yellow' (of a horse) > OT jegren 'chestnut (colour)'; T ⇨ M: WrM zegerde, HIM зээрд 'red, chestnut (colour)' ¶ Cl. 914, ET J 22-3, MED 1043 || NrTg *siŋar_r- 'yellow, brown, gray' > Ewk siŋama 'yellow, yellowish-gray, brown, dirt-coloured', Ewk siŋarīn, Neg siŋaylŋ 'brown, yellow, gray', Ewk siŋālǝ-, Lm hŋāī- 'become yellow', Lm hŋaŋa 'yellow, brown', Sln śiŋarī 'yellow' ¶ STM II 90.

2671. (₂?) *zāŋ'k'∇ 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'waterskin', 'wineskin', 'sleeve', 'coat', etc.) > HS: CS *zi'n'k'- 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' > IA, Plm zḳ 'goat-skin (used to transport oil, wine, etc.)', JA ziḳ'ḳ-ā 'hose, waterskin, wineskin', Sr zεḳ'ḳ-ā 'wineskin, leathern bottle', SmA zḳ 'waterskin', Aram ⇨ Ar ziqq- and Ak NA ziḳḳ- 'wineskin', Ar ⇨ Gz zəḳ 'leathern bottle, leathern bag' ¶ GB 205, HJ 339, Js. 396, BK I 998, JPS 119, Tak 238, LG 642, CAD XXI 129, Sd. 1531, DRS 785, Hv. 291 || A ≈ *zāŋ|gUn∇ ({SDM97} *zög(e)n∇, {SDM95} *zag(u)n∇) 'sleeve' > T *jāŋŋ ~ *jāgn 'sleeve' > OT {Cl.} jeŋ, [MhK] jāŋ, Tk yen, Tkm, Uz jeŋ, ET jāŋ, Qzq, Qq žeŋ, VTt жиH žin, Bsh eH jьŋ, Qrg žeŋ, Alt žen, Tv čeŋ, Xk нинь nŋ, Yk sīāḫ, Chv śanb, Δ śavnb ɖ śan ¶ Chv Δ -vŋ- points to a pT *-gn- (= *-g^ωn-?), Chv *a provides ev. for pT *ä, but VTt i goes back to *e (< *ä under the palatalizing infl. of pT *j- or VTt ž'-?) ¶ Cl. 940, Rs. W 197, ET J 186-7, Ash. XII 27, 39, Jeg. 202, Fed. II 94, Rl. III 312, 322, 328 || Tg *sūŋ 'outer garments, coat' > Ewk [^]sun ~ [^]sūn (accus. sun-mɜ), Neg sūn, Ork sō(n-) ~ sū(n-) 'outer garments', Sln sū: 'coat, oriental robe (халат)'; Ewk ⇨ Yk son 'outer garments' ¶ STM II 126, Vas. 369-70 || pJ suān-tàj 'sleeve' > OJ suódè, ItOJ [RJ] sódè, J: T sòde, K sódé, Kg sode ¶ S QJ #360, Mr. 529 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *zög(e)n∇ 'sleeve'), DQA #2563 (A *zjogn_v, sc. *zjogn∇) || ?σ D (in GnD) *čaŋk∇r̄∇, *čaŋk∇n̄ 'basket' (< 'leathern sack'?) > Knd songoři 'basket that holds four seers of grain', Png haŋgoŋ, Mnd haŋguŋ '∈ basket', Ku hāŋgoř'i ~ haŋgoři ~ haŋuŋi 'small basket'; D ⇨ OI caŋgērī- 'basket' ¶ D #2288, Tu. #4565 ◇ The voicing of N *K̄ in A (if the pA rec. of DQA is accepted) is due to the voicing infl. of *ŋ within the cns. cluster. The labialized vw. in Tg and Ko and the labial glide in pJ may be due to the infl. of the

labialized vw. of the second syll. ◇ SDM97 l. c. (A, U) ◇ Hardly here IE *(s)k|ken- 'abgespaltene Haut' (> Gmc *skenþa- > ON skinn, AS scinn, NE skin 'skin', W cenn 'Häutchen, Haut'), because this stem is inseparable from the v. *(s)ken- 'abspalten' (OIr scáin- v. 'split') and from words for 'film, scales' (W cenn id., OCrn [LC] cennen 'membrana', Br skant 'écailles', OIr ceinn 'écaille') and requires an additional hyp. of metathesis (F P 929-30, Vn. C 55, S 29).

2672. o† *záp∇ or *záp̄∇ 'to strike' > K: GZ *zep- v. 'strike repeatedly' ('thrash, flog; trample down') > G zep- {K²} id., {Chx.} 'fetstampfen, festtreten (z. B. die Erde), flach\weich klopfen (z. B. Fleisch)', Mg zap- v. 'lash', Lz {K²} zap- 'lash', {FS} 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ The irreg. *z- for the expected *ž- may be due to the onomatopoeic associations of the word ¶ K 87, K² 57, FS K 131, FS E 141 (*zep-), ≈ F KW1 #20 (*zap-) || HS: WS (+ext.) *√zbṭ 'strike, hit' > Ar Y/D √zbṭ G 'kick', Gz √zbṭ G 'strike, smite, plague, beat', Tgr √zbṭ G 'hit', Tgy √zbṭ G 'hit lightly', Amh √zbṭ G 'beat, thrash' ¶ Lb. 1818, L G 632, ≈ Di. 1050, DRS 672-3 || U: FP *sapp∇- v. '≈ strike (a heavy blow)' > Prm {LG} *sap- > Z sapk+n+ 'to cut off; to insert with a heavy blow; to chop at sth. with an axe', Vt sapk+n+ 'to let fall, to knock down (by pushing. striking)' | ? Chr H šäp- 'kaya-š 'to scatter, to put into disorder' ¶ LG 249 || D *čapp- ({θGS} *č-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N o *čapp, ɾ, a 'beat, strike, chop' [q.v. ffd.]).

2673. ?σ₂ *zōR∇ 'foreign, hostile' > HS: S *zar- 'foreign(er), enemy', whence the verb *√zṛr or *√zwr v. 'be foreign, hostile' (with insertion of an additional cns. in the root-medial position due to requirements of the S verbal morphology and on the analogy of triconsonantic verbs) > BHb zār 'strange, foreign(er), non-Israelite' (→ prt. Hoph'al מוֹזָר mū'zār 'estranged' > NHb מוֹזָר mu'zar 'strange, queer'), Ph zr {HJ} 'strange, other', OA zr 'foreigner', Yd zr {HJ} 'stranger', Ar zā'ir- (acp.) 'visitor, pilgrim' (interpreted as a participle, cp. Ar √zwr v. G 'visiter [un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect]') (× WS *-zūr- v. 'visit' < N *zūr'i 'look at, examine') | Ak zā'iru ~ zē'iru ~ zēru 'hostile', √zṛr (inf. zēru ~ ze'āru 'dislike, hate, avoid' ¶ KB 256, 268, KBR 267, 279, JH 80, HJ 340, Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, L G 646, CAD XXI 14, 94-7 || A: Tg *sorj- v. 'fight', *sorjn n. 'fight, battle' > Ork sōri id., Ul sorl id., soru-, sorl- v. 'fight', Nn sorũ 'fight, battle', sorl- v. 'fight' | WrMc sori- v. 'shoot at each other' ¶ STM II 113 || ? AdS of IE: *her- > NaIE *er- v.

'be angry, hostile' (< N ***zeɣr**∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' [q.v. ffd.]).

2674. ***z̑UR**'i' (= ***z̑UR**'i'?) 'look at, examine' (or ***žUR**'i' 'to watch, to spy') > K: G **zver-** 'auskundschaften, rekognoszieren; belauern' ¶ Chx. 404 || HS: either [1] WS *-**zūr-** v. 'visit' (× S ***zar-** 'foreign[er]' < N ?σ ***zoR**∇ 'foreign') > Ar -**zūr-** G v. 'visiter (un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect)', Qtb {DRS} **štzr** 'tenter de visiter', Tgr/Amh {DRS} ✓ **zyr** (pf. **zəyyərə**) 'visiter, aller en pèlerinage', Mh **zōr** v. 'visit a saint's tomb', v. 'visit (so.)', Jb E/C **zōr** v. 'visit', ?σ SmA **zrw** 'idolatry' ¶ Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, Tal 228 || or [2] S ***-šūr-** (or ***-θūr-**) > BHb -**šūr** ({trad.} *✓**šwr**) v. 'behold, regard; to watch stealthily, lie in wait' ¶ GB 816, KB 1345-7, BDB 1003, ≈ DRS 710 || IE ***h₁wer-** 'look at, pay attention' (× IE ***wer-**/***wor-** id. < N ***war**∇ 'look, watch', q.v. ffd.) || A: M ***sori-** v. 'test, examine, try out' > Wm **sori-**, HIM **сори-**, Brt **хори-** id., MM [S] **sori-** 'prüfen, versuchen' ¶ MED 729, H 136, Chr. 685 || D ***čūr-** 'see, look' (× N ***čûr**∇ ~ ***čûr**∇ id., q.v. ffd.) ◇ The rec. of the initial sibilant depends on the S cognate: if the latter is *-**zūr-**, we reconstruct pN ***z̑-**, but if it is *-**šūr-**, the N cns. is ***ž-**. Since the N etymon in question is not the main source of D ***čūr-**, the latter provides no decisive ev. for N ***ř**.

2675. ***zeɣr**∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' > K ***žar-** > G **zar-** v. 'hate, detest', **zar-ob-s / e-zar-eba** 'er ist unlustig \ überdrüssig', Sv: UB/LB {TK} **žar** 'state of being bored' (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎧𐎢𐎠), Sv UB {GP} **žaräy** 'so. quick to take offence or to become bored', Sv {FS} **li-žär** 'langweilig werden\sein', **m-a-žär-da** 'mir wurde es überdrüssig' ¶¶ FS K 138, FS E 149-50, Fn KW1 35 [#21], Chx. 391-2, 424, TK 683, GP 254, ≈ K² 63 (adduces G **zar-** 'be lazy' and reconstructs K ***žar-**/***žr-** id.) || HS: S ***z̑r** (× N ***z̑ur**∇ 'fear, frighten') > Ar **zāṣir-**, **zāṣir-** 'méchant, dont on évite la société' ¶ BK I 990 || IE: ***h₁er-** > NaIE ***er-** v. 'be hostile' (× N ?σ ***z̑E**∇**Rz**∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' × N ? ***zoR**∇ 'foreign, hostile' [q.v.]) > Av **ham-ara-** 'Gegner, Widersacher', **ham-arəna**, OPrs **ham-arana-** 'feindliches Zusammentreffen, Kampf', OI **sam-a'ra-** 'strife, conflict' || Gk **ἔρις** (gen. **ἔριδος**) 'strife, quarrel' || SI ***rāt** (gen. ***rāti**) 'fight, battle, army' ({M, Vs.}: < ***or-ti-s**) > OCS **рѣть** **рать** (gen. **рати**) 'battle, war; enemy troops', R †, Uk **радь** 'army', SCr **rāt**, Blg **рат** 'war' ¶ M K III 436, FI

559-60, Glh. 519, StSS 579, Vs. III 448 || **A:** NaT *je₁r- ~ *je₁ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N ?σ *yer▽ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' × N *žäʔ'ô'r▽ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate') > OT **يیر** jer- ({Cl., Dnk.} jēr-) v. 'loathe / be disgusted at (sth., esp. food), criticize, blame', OT Og **يیر** jer- ({Cl.} jēr-) 'loathe (food)', Osm {Rh.} **يیر** jer- ~ jir- id., Tk **yer**- v. 'loathe, blame, slander', Tkm **īr**- v. 'bore (so.)', Qzq **žer**- v. 'loathe', Yk **sir**- id., 'blame', Qq **žeri**- v. 'loathe, shun', Qrg **žeri**- v. 'shun, keep aloof [from] (e.g. its own youngs)' (of animals), Alt **žeri**- ({Rl.} jäpи), Tlt {Rl.} **järi**- id., QK {Rl.} **järi**- 'abhor' ¶ The length of the vw. is not certain: in Tk the initial **ī**- may go back to *ye-, Yk has a short vw., and Cl.'s and Dnk.'s rec. of the OT *ē is based on the precarious ev. of the Arabic spelling. Yk **i** and Tkm **ī** suggest that the pT vw. was *e₁ rather than *ä₁ ¶ Cl. 955, DTS 257, MKD 223, Rs. W 198, ET J 193, Rh. 2202, Rl. III 338-9, Jud. 250-1 ¶¶ Not here (because of the Anlaut) pJ {S} *ira-t- or *dirat- 'be annoyed' (see N ?σ *yer▽ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') (⇔ DQA #2598) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A *žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted').

2676. *zóΓRû (or *zóRΓû) 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas' > K *zɣwar- 'limit, bound' > OG zɣvar i id., G {Chx.} zɣvari 'Grenze, (Grenz)scheide', Lz ɣoʒ 'border (of house), court', Sv {TK}: UB häɣwra, LB äɣwra, L aɣwra, Ln läɣwera 'boundary, border'; d. K {K²} *ozɣwan- v. 'limit, restrict' > OG, G zɣvan- id. ¶¶ Chx. 422-3, DCh. 927, 532, Abul. 171, TK 894, ≈ K² 62 (*zɣwar- ← *zɣwan-) || **IE** *w₁orw- > NaIE *w₁orw₁-s 'furrow, boundary-ditch, boundary' (× d. from NaIE *w₁orw₁-/*w₁rw₁- 'plow, dig up' < N *w₁ur₁û 'to scrape', q.v. ffd.) > Gk Mc ωο-ωο, {ChB} ωο₁rw₁- '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], Gk A ὄρος, Gk I οὐρος, Gk Crc {Hofm.} ἡορ₁ος, ὄρβος, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} ὄρ₁ος 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar ὄρος, Gk οὐρον 'boundary, limit', Gk Hm οὐροί pl. 'trenches\channels for hauling up ships and launching them again' || L (amb-)ur₁vā- 'surround (a territory) by a boundary-ditch', [ɣ] ur₁v₁us 'circuitus civitatis', Osc ur₁v₁ú {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?])' || Nlr forba 'glebe-land' || Lt ur₁v₁as 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv ur₁v₁a 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' || ?? OI ūr₁v₁ah 'dungeon' (⇔ M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denies the connection of ūr₁v₁ah with this IE √]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (*w₁orw₁-s 'furrow'), ≠ WP II 352-3, F II

425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54, 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 || **U**: FU *śor∇ 'small area between two geographical objects, strip of land' > pPrm *śur > Z Ud mu-śur 'waldige Strecke Landes (bes. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' (mu is 'earth, land'), Vt śures, Vt SW śu'res 'road, way' ||| pObU *sār > pVg *sar̄ 'valley, small swamp' (× N *z'a'ḥ₁r∇ 'low place, valley', q.v.) > Vg T sar̄ 'small swamp', LK/MK sār 'Engpaß', UL/Ss sori 'valley'; pOs *sārt ({[Hl.]} *s̄rt) 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' > Os: K/O sārt, Nz/Kz sōrt id. In some forms there is infl. of the homonymous (or paronymous) √ for 'narrow' (represented by Hg szoros 'tight, close' and szorul- v. 'get narrow') ¶ UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#601], MF 595, LG 275.

2677. *z'a'hr∇ (↔ *z'a'hr∇ ↔ *z|z'a'hr∇) 'shine, be bright; light (lux)' > **HS**: WS *√ zhr 'shine' > JA [Trg.] זָהַר √ zhr G (pf. זָהַרְתָּ zə'hār) 'shine, bloom', Sr √ zhr G 'be clear, transparent, bright', Ar √ zhr v. G 'shine' (moon), 'glow' (fire), BHb √ zhr v. *Sh* 'shine', MHb √ zhr *D* 'brighten', Hrs {Jo.} √ zhr *I* (pf. zēhār, sbjn. yəzhōr) 'shine' (but Hrs √ zhr *I* 'appear', Tgr √ zhr *Sh* [pf. אָזַחַזְתָּ ʔazharə] 'become manifest, appear' and **HUC** zahər 'open, offenkundig' are more likely to belong to N *z'E'hr∇ ↔ *z'E'R∇ 'see, know', q.v.), BHb זָהַר 'zohar 'shining, brightness', JA {Js.} אֲזָהַרְתָּ zah^ar-ā 'light; brightness, splendour, moon', אֲזָהַרְתָּ zih^ar-ā 'moon, moon-light' (× N *zæh'a'Ra 'moon'?), Sr zah'rā 'brightness, splendour, flashing', Ar زَهْرَةٌ zuhr-at- 'whiteness, shining colour, beauty' ¶ KB 254-5, KBR 265, BDB ##2094-6, Js. 382, 384, 391, Lv. T I 212, JPS 111, Ln. 1261-2, BK I 1019-20, Hv. 298-9, Jo. H 149, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ B *°√ zrr > Kb izrir v. 'être clair, dégagé (ciel)' ¶ Dl. 954 || ?σ WCh (× N *zæh'a'Ra '↑', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} zār, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} zār, Mnt {J} zayí 'star' ||| DfB {J} žórèt id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [#519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) || **A**: NaT *jaru|I- v. 'shine, send out light' (× N *yar'û 'to shine [leuchten], to burn', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2556 *zēra (incl. T + unc. comparisons with M, Tg, J) || **U** *ś|c'a'r∇ 'bright (hell), white' (× N ? *ś'E'Xar∇ 'bright; daybreak') > FU *c|sar∇ > pLp {Lr.} *cōrē 'half-white, bright gray, gray-haired' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} 'čōṛrāk 'half-white' (of hair), S {Hs.} tjuōries, S Sn {Lgc.} 'čūōrīēs '(Renntier) mit hellen Haarspitzen', L {LLO} tjuorrē 'reddish-yellow, bright gray' (a dog), N {N} čuorre / -r- 'mottled brownish gray colour of (animal's) hair' ||

?φ Prm *ǰǝr ({{LG}} *ǰǝr) 'bright (colour), pale' > Z ǰǝr, Z US ǰǝr 'gray (hair), grey hair', Vt ǰar+t 'light (colour)', ? Vt ǰar 'Morgendämmerung' || ? Sm *sǝr, *sǝr- 'white' > Ne: T {Ter.} cǝp", T O {Lh.} sǝr?e, F L {Lh.} χ+ǝr; Ng {Ter, Hl.} cыp; En {KD} θē, {Ter.} cы' / cыp-; Slq Tz {Prk., KKIH} sǝr+; Kms {KD} d. sīrε, sīri, {Cs.} siri, Koyb {Sp.} d. cыpы id. ¶¶ Lr. #205, Lgc. #782, LLO 1184, N I 442, Hs. 1349, LG 92, Jn. 138, Lh. 410, KP ##1224, 1309, Hl. US 137, KKIH 169, Ptp. 35, ≠ UEW 36 (equates the Prm *ǰǝr with Vg *šīr-/šir- 'dusk, dawn' and OHg szir 'gray', which is unc., see N *šihr∇ '≈ gray, bright') || ? IE *xarǵ-, *xarǵi- 'white' (× N ??φ *χ'aw,a'rE [or *χawEr∇] 'bright, white', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the IE cognate is valid (in spite of the unexplained ext. *-ǵ-), the initial N cns. is *ǰ-, otherwise it may be *ǰ- as well. The Prm cognate favours N *ǰ-. The N lr. *-h- was lost in IE probably due either to dis. (*xahr- > *xar-) or to the merger of the two lrs. (*xh- > *x-). If the U cognate is rejected (because of its ambiguity in the Sm part), the N initial cns. will be less specified (*ǰ|ǰ).

2678. *ǰ'a',H,r∇ 'low place, valley' > IE *haHr- 'level\open place, vast space' (× IE *xarǵi- 'valley, low place' < N *gar'i' 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v.] × N *xar'ü' 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' [q.v. ffd.]?) > NaIE {WP} ? *ārǝ- 'open place, vast space' > OI abl. ā'rāt 'from a distant place', loc. ārē 'far away' || L ārea 'a level\open place' || Ltv âra 'outdoors', âres 'open country', ? Lt óras 'air, weather' ¶ WP I 79, ≠ M K I 78 (equates the OI word with L olim 'formerly, at that time'), M E I 173, ≠ WH I 65, ≠ Frn. 518 (equates the Blt words with NaIE *ār- v. 'plough'), Kar. I 76 || U: FU *šǝr∇ 'valley, ravine, low place' > pPrm *mu-šǝr, *šǝrt (*ä = {{LG}} *ε) 'valley, ravine; space between two rivers \ swamps \ mountains' (*mu is 'earth') > Z mǝǝr 'ravine, depression', šǝrt 'high fir-tree forest in a low place; a moist place in a river valley'; Litkin and Guljajev distinguish this √ from the Vt paronym mu-šur 'lange Strecke Weges, waldige Strecke Landes (bzw. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' that goes back to FU *šǝr∇ 'small area between two geographical objects' (< N *ǰǝr∇ [or *ǰǝr∇] 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas') || in the ObU lgs. both FU stems merge, their vw. going back to *ǝ of FU *šǝra and their meaning reflecting both roots: ObU {Ht.} *šǝr- > pVg *šǝr̄ > Vg T sarē ~ sārē 'small swamp', Vg LK/MK sār, UL/Ss sori 'Waldrücken zwischen zwei Seen', {BV} 'saddle between two mountain peaks, forest between two

swamps' ¶ LG 176-7, UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#601], Stn. WV 232, BV 106 ||
A: T jar ({Md.} *jār) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (← *'valley'?) (×N
 *degar▽ 'hill, summit', q.v.) > OT ja:̄r ({Cl.} jār) 'a vertical bank of a
 river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water',
 Tk ȳar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln jāy 'precipice', Tkm žar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', Alt
 žar, Xk čar 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq žar, Qrg, Uz žar id., 'precipice, steep
 bank', Qzq žar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L ҫып ś+r 'precipice, steep
 bank', ? Yk s̄ir 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT jār with a long vw.
 on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg.
 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6,
 Pek. 2475 ¶ FU *ä (for the expected *a) may be due to vw. harmony
 (infl. of a front vw. of the next syll.).

2678a. ₂ *z'É'hR▽ – *z'É'R▽ 'see, know' > **K:** GZ {K²} *zer-/*zir-
 v. 'look', {AD} 'look' or 'see' > OG, G mzer-/*mzir- 'look', Mg žir-, Lz
 (n)žir- ~ zir- ~ çir- 'see, find' ¶ K² 57-8, Chik. 390 || **HS:** S: [11] WS
 *✓zhr G (ps.) 'be seen', *Sh*, [?] *D* (caus.) 'instruct, warn' (← **'let
 know'; ≡σ: Tl inv. cū 'see!' - cūmī, cūḏī 'take care!', exclamation of
 warning [D #2735, Km. 359]) > Hrs {Jo.} ✓zhr G (pf. zēhar, js. yāzhōr)
 'appear', Tgr ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. ܐܘܫܘܘܐ ʔazharə) 'become manifest, appear'
 and ܘܫܘܥ zahər 'open, offenkundig' (but Hrs ✓zhr G 'shine' belongs to
 N *z'a'hr▽ – *ž'a'hr▽ – *z|ž'a'hr▽ 'shine, be bright' [q.v.]), BHb
 ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. ܘܫܘܥ hi-z'hīr) {KB} 'warn', {BDB} 'instruct, teach, warn',
 JPA B {Sl.}, SmA ✓zhr *Sh* 'warn', BHb ✓zhr *N* (pf. ܘܫܘܥ niz'har) 'be
 instructed, admonished, warned', BA ܘܫܘܥ zāhīr-īn pl. 'careful,
 cautious', IA zhr {HJ} *T* 'take heed, take care of', JPA ✓zhr G {Js.}
 'look out, guard', MHb ܘܫܘܥ zā'hīr, JEA ܘܫܘܥ zə'hīr 'careful', JPA Bz
 {Sl.} ܘܫܘܥ zhyr 'careful, prudent, watching over', ChrPA {Schlt.}, Md
 ✓zhr *D* 'warn', ChPA *G* zhr acp. 'animum attendens ad cavendum';
 [2] S *°✓zrr > Ar {Ln.} ✓zrr (pf. zarra) 'increase in intelligence (and in
 probation and experience)', ✓zrr (pf. zarira) 'become intelligent' ¶ Jo.
 H 149, KB 254-5, 1700, BDB 264, HJ 307, Js. 381-2, Sl. 400, Sl. P 172-
 3, Schlt. 54, Tal 222-3, BK I 1025-6, Ln. 1222-3, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ
 B *-zraH- ~ *-zruH- ~ ? *-ziHr- 'see; know' (×N *čûr▽ ~ *čûr▽ 'see,
 look', q.v. ffd.) || ??φ Eg fP ɛyɜ (EG} ɛjɜ) 'recognize so. (erkennen);
 perceive; know' ¶ EG IV 30-1, Fk. 212 ¶¶ Zl. KÄLV 115 (Eg, B) ¶¶ Both
 the B and the Eg cognates are qu. because of the irreg. sibilant (*z for
 *z in B, ɛ for z in Eg [ɛ due to the infl. of the lr. *h?]) ◇ IS MS 333 s.v.
 видеть *žir ʌ (K, Eg, B) ◇ The N lr. (*h) is suggested by WS *✓zhr, B

*zraH- ~ *-zruH- ~ ? *-ziHr-. S points to the pN sequence *-hR-, while most B lgs. suggest that the lr. was the last cns. of the N word. The uvularization in B belongs to the heritage of N *čûřr̥ ~ *čûřr̥.

2679. ₂ *žaw_L∇_Jr̥∇ 'young of a beast' > K: GZ *mo-zwer- 'heifer' > G mo-zver-i, Lz mo-zar-i ~ mo-za-i ~ mu-zar-i id. ¶ FS K 132 || A: T {Md.} *jabru, {Dr.} *jabriϣ 'young of an animal' (× A *dä|bru id. > pTg *deb_Lu_Jren > Ul dзuru(n-), Ork dзwrз(n-) ~ dзurз(n-) 'young of a bird', WrMc deberen 'young of a beast\bird' [STM I 239]) > Chg, MQp javri 'young of an animal', Osm {Rh.} jawri ~ jawru id., 'one's child', Tk цавру 'young of a beast, nestling', Chg [BaL] javri 'young wild animal', [AFT] jawri 'chicken, young bird', CrTt {Rl.} jäwrü; Chg jawru-q id., 'child', Chv L çăvăr ṣ́ṿr, Chv H {Md.} ṣ́ṿr, Chv L çypă śuṛ ({Md.} śuṛ), çyri śuri ({Md.} śuri) 'young of a beast' ¶ Rs. W 178, Md. 28, 16O, Jeg. 219, ≈ Fed. II 14O-1, Rh. 2195, TrR 917, ET J 53, TL 168-9 ¶¶ Pp. AU 105 (T, Tg).

2680. *zûřE 'fear, frighten' > K *°z|zar- v. 'frighten', n. 'horror' > OG zar-i 'terror, horror', NG zar- v. 'frighten, inspire horror', še-zar- 'jemanden in Angst/Schrecken setzen' ¶¶ Chx. 392 || HS: S *°zr̥ (× N *zeřr̥∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed') > Ar z̥r̥ TD tazarrafa 'être prompt à faire du mal', {Hv.} 'hasten to do mischief' (× S *zr̥ 'sow, cast seeds'??) ¶ BK I 985, Hv. 287 || A: M *süre- > WrM, HIM süre- v. 'awe, inspire horror'; M *sür(e)key- > WrM sürkey, HIM суркий-, Ord sūṛxī ~ sūṛḥxī 'terrible, frightening', Kl суркə 'extraordinary, exceptional' ¶ MED 745, Ms. O 599, KRS 465 || D (in McTm) *cūr(-) v. 'frighten' > Tm cūr- v. 'frighten, be cruel', cūr 'fear, suffering', Ml cūr 'fiend, affliction, disgust' ¶ D #2725.

2681. *ž|ž'i_LH₂∇ ~ *ž|ž'i_LH₂R∇ 'be very cold' > K *°z|zwr- > G z(∇)r- 'freeze, congeal' ({Chx.} 'erfrieren [lassen], abfrieren') ¶ Chx. 416, 426, DCh. 529, ≠ K 65 (G < K *žr- 'become damp\wet, freeze') || IE: NaIE *srē_g-/srī_g- 'cold' (AdS of N *ś∇Riχka 'cold', q.v. ffd.) || U *ś_Lr̥∇- or *č_Lr̥∇- '(crust of) snow\ice' (× N ?σ *cAR_L∇_Jϣ∇ ~ *cAϣR∇ 'freeze, feel cold') > Lp {LLO} tjar'va čar'va 'so hart gefrorener Schnee, daß man darüber gehen kann', Lp Ml {Schl.} tjar'va tjar'wa 'Harsch, zusammengefrorene Schneedecke', tjar'ka tjar'ka 'gefrorener Erdboden' | Prm *ćir > ZI ćir 'thin ice over snow', Z Vm/LV/Ud ćir 'hardened surface of the ice', Z UV ćirs 'frozen surface of the ground'; ? Prm ⇨ Krl {Wc.} čirte 'thin snow-crust (after a

thaw)' || Hg szirony 'thin crust on ice over snow; hoarfrost' (acc. to EWU, -ny is a denom. derivational sx.) || Sm {Jn.} *s+rã 'snow' (× N *ćar∇ [or *čar∇] 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface', q.v.) > Ne: T сыра, T O {Lh.} s+rã, FN {Lh.} χ+rṛbã 'snow, winter'; Ng {Cs.} 'siru, {Mik.} sürü id.; En {Ter.} сыра, En {Cs.}: X 'sira, B sira 'snow'; Slq Tz {KKIH} s+r id.; Kms {KD} sərə, {Cs.} sirä, Koyb {Sp.} сыра, {Pl.} sirrä id.; Mt {HL.} *sirä (Mt T/M {Mll.} sirrä, Mt K {Mll.} sérre, {Pl.} sira) id. ¶¶ Not here Z ćarəm, ćars 'ice crust on snow' (↔ UEW 464), that goes back to N *ćar∇ (or *čar∇) '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ LLO 1139, Schl. 137, MF 789-90, EWH 1439, Wc. FUAA 256, LG 307, Jn. 140, KKIH 173, Hl. M ##891-2, ≈ UEW 464 s.v. *śarə (with *a on the presumed ev. of Z ćarəm and without taking into account Lp) ◇ Hg sz- points to a pU *ś (hence to N *ź-), while Prm *ć- (< U *ć- reg.) and IE *s- suggest a pN *ź-. If the N cns. was *ź-, the IE initial *s- (for the expected *h-) may be accounted for by some special reflex of N *ź- in the precon. position or in the position before *r. If the initial N cns. was *ź-, G zr- is likely to result from a precon. desaffrication of K *z-.

2682. *rǝ'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' > K *oz|žerg-wŋ- v. 'trample down' > G zergn- 'feststampfen, festtreten (z. B. Erde)', v. 'press, trample, ram' ¶ Chx. 402, DCh. 521 || HS: CS *√zrg > Ar √zrğ 'frapper avec le fer du bout inférieur de la lance', NNEA {Mcl.} zergā 'short spear' ¶ BK I 984, Fr. II 232, Mcl. 89, DRS 791 ¶ The meaning is likely to have been influenced by the paronymous Ar verb √zğğ 'frapper, percer avec le zuğğ-, c.-à-d. avec le bout inférieur de la lance' (< zuğğ- 'ferrure pointue au bout inférieur de la lance') (BK I 973, Fr. II 225) || ?σ IE *h₁erg₁h₂χ₁- (× N *r∇g₁∇₁∇₁ 'to quake, to move in agitation' [q.v. ffd.]) > NaIE *erg₁h₂- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σ EI 508 (*h⁴orǝhe₁ ~ *h⁴r₁ǝhor 'mounts, covers') ¶¶ The meaning of IE *h₁erg₁h₂χ₁- is influenced by N *r∇g₁∇₁∇₁ || U: FP *śark∇ v. 'break; [?] fell' (× FU *śärke- 'break, split, chop' < N *śäRĶê ≈ break, split, cut' [q.v.]) > F särkeä v. 'break' || Lp L {LLO} tjer'kav 'log, billet' (< *'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} čiergâ 'piece that has been sawn off' || Chr W 'šärχ-em, E šer'χ-em {It.} 'öffnen, zerstreuen', Chr H šärgä- {Ep.} v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', Chr L {MRS} шepra- v. 'open wide, cut through, move/slide apart' || Mk {Pl}

сяряфто- śārā-ftə- v. 'fell' | Vt s3rī- сōры- v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ It. #268, SK 1170-1, N I 387, LG 267.

2683. ?σ *z'É}Rz'∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' > **K:** GZ *zrz-in- v. 'perturb' ('verwirren, приводить в смятение'), 'excite' > OG zzen- id., G zzen-/zrzīn-: m-zrzn-is 'mich übernimmt ein Zittern\Schauern, ich erzittere\schauere', Mg z3r3z3nī, zīrzīnī 'noise, hubbub (крик, шум, вопль)' ¶ K 88-9, Chx. 417, Q 237 || **HS:** CS *zarīz- 'ready to fight, brave' > Sr zərīzā {JPS} 'brave, valiant, strenuous; ready, swift', {Cst.} 'puissant, fort, rapide', MHb ז'ר'ז זā'rīz {Lv.} 'gerüstet, zu etwas geschickt, befähigt', JEA ז'ר'ז זə'rīz 'swift, diligent, valiant', Ar [Qam.] zarīz- {Fr.} 'agilis, mundus', {DRS} 'agile, propre'; CS *√zrz D v. 'arm, instigate' > JA [Trg.] {Lv.} √zrz D 'strengthen, instigate', {Lv.} 'rüsten, ansporren', JEA √zrz D 'arouse, encourage, arm, strengthen', MHb {Lv.} √zrz D 'zu etw. ansporren', SmA √zrz D 'hasten, hurry', Sr √zrz {Cst.} D v. 'arm', G 'être vaillant' ¶ The S cognate is valid unless it goes back to *z∇rz- 'girth' (> JA [Trg.] zə'rāz / zar'zā) ¶ Lv. I 553-4, Lv. T I 420-1, ≈ Js. 412-3, Sl. 420, Cst. 92, JPS 120, Tal 239, Fr. II 233, DRS 793 || **IE** *h₂er₁H₁- > **[1]** NaIE *√er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' > OI (rdp.) 'iyar-ti 'sets in motion', md. 'īrtē, Av iyar-/īr- 'set (oneself) in motion', OI r_o'nō-ti, Av ər^ənao'ti 'arises, moves', OI r_o'ti-ḥ ~ 'r_o'ti-ḥ 'attack', Av -əratī- 'energy' || Gk ὄρνυμι 'I stir up, set on, incite', md. ὄρνυμαι (pfc. ὄρωρα) 'move, stir oneself' || OIr {P} ad-orth 'Erregung' || Gmc {Vr.} *arn- > ON ern 'tüchtig, energisch', Gt arniba 'ἀσφαλῶς, sicher', d.: OHG ernoſt n. 'earnest, zeal', {EWA} 'Energie, Entschlossenheit, Ernst', MHG ernoſt 'Festigkeit, Ernst', NHG Ernst 'earnestness', ernst 'earnest', AS eornost 'zeal, earnestness; earnest, serious', NE earnest || **[2]** AdS of NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile' (< N *zeſr∇ 'hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 326-32 (× other roots), M K I 90, 122-3, and III 436, F II 422-4, WH II 222-3, Vr. 105, Fs. 58, Km. 208, OsS 150, EWA II 1144-5, Lx. 47, KM 172-3, Glh. 519, Vs. III 448, EI 506 (*h₁er- 'set in motion').

2684. *z'e'rd∇ 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear' ('to cause to grow') > **K** *z|zard-/*z|zrd- v. 'grow; bring up, feed' > OG, MG zrd- v. 'feed, raise, bring up' (Mt. 6.26, III Kings 18.4, etc.; VT 5.19), OG zrd- v. 'be brought up' (Job 31.18), G zard-/zrd- ~ rd- v. 'grow', 'raise, bring up', Mg rd-id., Lz rd- v. 'grow', Sv (ə₁)rd-: msd. {K²} lī-rd-i (with compensatory

lengthening), Sv LB/L {TK} *lirdi* 'to grow', ({FS} 'wachsen, heranziehen'), Sv UB/L/Ln {GP, TK} *li-rdi* 'rear so.\sth., grow\cultivate sth.; be reared, grow up', *li-rd-e* 'be somewhere, dwell, live, exist' ¶¶ K 88, K² 57, Chik. 308-9, Q 304-5, Marr 181-2, Abul. 169, Ser. 68, Chx. 416-7, Dn. s.v. *rd*, Ni., TK 446, GP 165, FS K 129, FS E 139-40 (**zard-/zrd-*) ¶¶ K, K², and FS K reconstruct here K **z-*, but since the Zan and Sv reflexes are zero, one cannot distinguish here between K **z-* and **ž-* (*F* Mach. KEDP 165)

|| HS: WS **✓zrd* (or **✓δrd*) v. 'sprout' > Mhb [Msh.] *✓zrd* {Lv.} 'Zweige oder Reben in die Höhe ziehen, aufschliessen lassen', *zərā'ḏ-īm* 'shoots, sprouts', ? Tgr *ՀՀԶ* *zareda* '(scarf) hanging long down, (cow) long-tailed' ¶ Lv. I 552, Js. 411, LH 497 || IE **Hordh-* > NaIE **ordh-* v. 'grow, rise' (× N **h₁erU* 'ascend, rise'?) > OI *ṛd̥h-* v. 'thrive, prosper, succeed', Av *arəḏ-* v. 'grow', Oss D *irāzun* id. || OIr *ard* 'high, big' || Dt *aarden* 'to thrive, to grow', ON *qrð* n. 'crop, harvest', AS *earð* ~ *ierð* 'harvest' (× NaIE **ar(ə)-* v. 'plough' < N **garH∇* 'crush, grind', whence AS *ērian*, OHG *arjan* 'to plough', AS *earð* ~ *ierð*, OHG *art* 'ploughing') || pSl **rod-i-ti* (/1s prs.-ft. **rod-j-q*) 'to give birth' > OCS *родити* *roditi* (/ *рождаѣ* *roždq*), SCr *ròditi*, Slv *rodíti*, Cz *roditi*, Slk *rodit'*, P *rodzić*, R *родить*, Uk *родити* id., Blg *родя* 'give birth'; pSl 1s prs. **orist-q* 'I grow' (*-st- < *-d-t) > OCS *растѣ* *rast-q*, SCr *rástē*, Uk *росту* id., n. act. Sl **orstb* > OCS *расть* *rastb*, SCr, Slv *rāst*, R *рост* 'growth' | Ltv *rādīt* 'create, produce', {ME} 'give birth to' ||] possibly IE **ṛdu-* > NaIE **ardu-* 'steep, high' > L *arduus* 'steep, towering, lofty', ON *qrðugi* 'steep', OIr *ard* 'high, big', Av *arəḏva* 'upright', ? Ht *harduppi* '≈ high' ¶¶ Mn. 886-7, otherwise P 399, M K I 124 (OI *ṛd̥h-* < NaIE **al-* 'grow'), M E I 118-9 (no definite et. of OI *ṛd̥h-/ardh-*), Vr. 688, Ho. 86, 94, 187, Km. 45, OsS 27, 31, ≠ Vr. N 5-6 (Dt *aarden* ← *aarde* 'earth'), Vn. A 87, Vs. III 490-2, 505, Glh. 518-9, Ma. CS 420, Chrn. II 118-9, ME III 462, Pv. III 203, EI 269 (**h₂erdu-s* 'high, lofty') || ?,φ U: FU {UEW} **serä*, {Ker.} **sērä* 'old' (of age), 'grown up' > pMr **sīrə* > Er *сыре* *sīre* 'old' (of age), 'grown up' (of a wolf), Mk *сире* *śīrə* 'old' || ? Hg *öreg* 'old' (of age), Δ 'large' ¶ UEW 440, Ker. II 142, MF 515 || D **čer-* v. 'thrive, grow' > Tm *ceṛi* id., Ml *ceṛikka* v. 'be fertile', ? Kui *seṛi* 'bride' ¶¶ D #2789 ◇ The U and D roots belong here if U **-r-* and D **-r̥-* may go back to N **-rd-* (or **-rd̥-*?). Cf. Fn. KD (equates K with D **cand-* v. 'grow').

2685. *z|zity|qa 'dirt, excrements' > K: G zitχ-i 'dirt' ¶ Chx. 408 || IE: NaIE *°sk|k̑e|d|H₁- > Gmc *ski(:)t- 'defecate' > ON skíta, Nnr, Sw Δ skita, Dn skide, OHG scīz̄an (> NHG scheißen), Dt schijten, AS scītan v. 'defecate'; ON skítr, AS scitte 'diarrhoea', NHG Scheiße 'excrements', NE shit ¶ IE *sk|k̑- may be due to as.: *zity|qa > *city|qa > IE sk|k̑e|d|H- ¶ Vr. 494, Vr. N 619, Kb. 887, , OsS 800, KM 641, Sw. 148, Hi. 280, ≠ EI 144 (Gmc < *skeh₁-d- 'cut') || U *sitta 'excrements' > F Δ sitta, Es sitt 'dirt, filth, excrements', F Δ sittu-, Es sitti-, sittu- v. 'defecate' | Prm *sit 'dung, excrements' > Z cit sit, Vt сѣтъ sítid. || Sm {Jn.} *tüt 'excrements' > Ng {Cs.} tí?, tí̄?, Slq Tz {KKIH} tüt, Slq Tm {KD} tōd̄, Kms {KD} thù?, {Cs.} thū?d̄ id.; Sm *tüt- 'defecate' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. tí'di?em, Slq Tm {KD} tō'tku, 1s aor. tūnnaḡ, Kms {KD} 1s prs. thū'í'em, Mt {HL.} *tūdər- id. (Mt K {PL} tjudernjam 1s prs.) ¶¶ Coll. 57, UEW 444-5, It. #390, LG 258, Jn. 167-8, KKIH 89, HI. M #1071 || ?σ D *°ci|t̑o ({}GS} ≈ *z|z̑id̑o) 'greasy substance' > Kn (← TI?) jid̑du 'a smeary, greasy or oily substance, as ghee or oil', TI jid̑du 'oilness, grease, greasiness, unctuousness' ¶ ≈ D #2516 ◇ G z- suggests N *z- (but does not rule out *z̑- as a possibility either), while IE *sk|k̑- points rather to a N affricate.

2686. (₂?) *z|zew|h₁∇ 'to mix' > K: G (ga-)zav- 'vermischen, verdünnen' ¶ Chx. 388, FS K 131-2 || U ≈ *sewk-t∇, {UEW} *sokta- v. 'mix, stir up', (?) v. 'sift' > F {Coll., UEW} seuh̑to- v. 'stir up, mix, muddle up' | ?σ Er сувтне- suvtne-, Mk 'сифонде- sífānda- v. 'sift, sieve', Er сувтемь suvtém(e), Mk 'сифтем síftam, Δ súftam 'sieve' | ?σ Chr: H šakte, U šokte, M sokte 'sieve' || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Chl/UO tuaktam, Kar/B tèaktam, MO tuaktau, Ke tuoktau v. 'mix, stir up (flour, meal)' ¶¶ Coll. 56, UEW 446 (does not include F seuh̑to- "for phonetic reasons" and reconstructs U *sokta-), Cs. 150 ¶¶ The element *-t- in the U stem may be interpreted as a verbal (frq. or another?) sx. (F Lh. PUAS 294-316, 322-7), the cns. *k may go back to a sx. || ?σ HS: S *°√ xw̑h > Ar √ zw̑h G 'réunir ce qui était dispersé' ¶ BK I 1025 ◇ Cf. N ≈ *z̑ih₁∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' (q.v.).

2687. *záyh₂∇ or *záh₂y∇ 'summer', ([in the prehistory of descendant languages] → 'year') > K *za- 'year, (?) 'summer' > Sv {TK}: LB zä (dat. zäw) 'year, summer', UB/Bc zäy (dat. zäys ~ zäw), L zay 'year'; the first element in names of seasons: [1] GZ *za-mtar- 'winter' >

G zamtar-, Mg zotonǰ- id.; acc. to K 87, the element *-mtar- may be connected with Sv UB lintw-, Sv L lunt- 'winter' and may be akin to S *ma'tar- 'rain' (> BHb 𐤌𐤅𐤍 mā'tār, Ak miṭr-u 'rain', Ar maṭar- 'heavy rain'); [2] G za-pχu- 'summer' (cd. with K *pχ- 'warm') 𐤆𐤆 K 86-7, 194, K² 56, TK 251 || HS: B {Pr.} *√zyh₁ 'of the same age' > Ah huyyat v. 'be of the same age', Twl {Nic.} zəyyat id., Ah a-hi 'one of the same age', Kb {Dl.} ṭizzya '(one) of the same age' (pl. ṭizzyiwin), Mz {Dlh.} a-zuyi 'égal d'âge, de force', Wrg {Dlh.} ta-zuya 'égalité, égal d'âge', Gd {Lf.} zaǰǰawεn 'compagnons du même âge' 𐤆 Pr. H 73 [#445], Fc. 542-3, Dl. 964, Dlh. M 257, Dlh. Ou 401, Lf. II #1772 || A: T *jāy 'summer' > OT {Cl.} jāy 'summer, spring', Az, Qmq, SY, Ln jāy, Bsh jāy, VTt ǰäy, QrB, Qrg ǰay, Alt ǰay, Xk, Tv čay, Tf ć'ay, Yk say, Chv L šu (gen. šv-εn) 'summer', Nog Δ jāy 'spring'; -d> T *jāy-lak 'summer pasture' > Tkm jāy-la ~ jāy-laṣ 'pasture', Tk 'jāy-la, Az, Qmq jāy-la, Qzq, Qrlq ǰaylaw, Alt ǰaylu 'summer pasture' 𐤆 Cl. 980, Rs. W 179, ET J 74, 78-9, TL 74-5, Ra. 194, Fed. II 128 ◇ The rec. *ǰah₂y∇ is suggested by the long vw. *ā in T and presupposes a mt. N *ǰah₂y∇ > *ǰayh₂∇ in the prehistory of B. Otherwise (if B *√zyh₁ preserves the ancient order of N *y and *h₂), there must have been a mt. in pre-T.

2688. (ǰ?) *ǰ|ǰæ₁y|ǰ|ǰ,ǰ∇ 'to fill', (?) 'to overfill, to overflow' > K: GZ *ziz-in- {FS} 'fill, overfill', {K²} v. 'crowd (to overflowing)' > G G, Mg ziz-in- {K²} id., {FS} 'vollstopfen, vollfüllen' 𐤆 K² 58-9. FS K 133, FS E 144, Fs KW-3 #14 || A: T: OT [MhK] 𐤅𐤅𐤔-ti 'he filled' 𐤆 Cl. 884 || HS: ? EC *zāz- 'flood; to flow' > Sml dād- 'flood', dād-ad- 'overflow', Kmb {Hd.} zāz-, Sd/Hd {Hd.} dād- 'spill, flow', Brj {Hd.} dād- 'float', ? Kns {Bl.} tāt- 'leave residue (food, drink)' 𐤆 ≈ Ss. B 50 (unc. EC *daṛd- <d- *daṛ- 'rain'), Hd. 184, 274, 344, 357, LZ 119-20 (proving the phonetic law: *z > Sd, Hd *d).

2689. *ǰ|ǰUħEb∇ 'to swallow, to eat' > K: Sv: {Ni.} zweb- 'eat', msd.: UB/Ln {GP} li-zweb, Lx li-zeb, L li-zob 'eat sth.' (prs. (-)izbi); UB/Ln le-zweb, L le-zob 'food', UB {GP} zobläy 'eater (good \ bad eater)' 𐤆 Ni. s.v. 𐤆ctb, TK 394, 432-3, GP 145, 152, Dn. s.v. zob || HS: S *°√š|šhb > Ar √šhb (ip.. -šhab-) 'avaler avec avidité (en buvant et en mangeant)' 𐤆 BK I 1057 || Eg: fMd sxb ~ Md/XVIII sxp ({EG} śhb ~ śhp) v. 'swallow (einschlürfen, einnehmen [Heilmittel])' > Cpt {Vc.}: Sd cwꜥn sōhp, A cwꜥn sōχ₂p v. 'swallow' 𐤆 EG IV 268-9, Fk. 244 𐤆𐤆 Vc. 206, Tk. I 173

|| **A:** Tg *jeb/p- v. 'eat' > Ewk, Lm j3b- ~ j3p-, Sln j3g- ~ j3b-, Neg j3w- ~ j3p-, Orc j3pt3-, Ud {Krm.} ž3- ~ ž0- ~ ž3pt3-, Ul ž3p-, Nn ž3b/p-, WrMc že-, žef- ¶ STM I 279-80, Krm. 236 ◇ If Ar s- is from S *š-, the N rec. is *žUħEb∇, but if the Ar sibilant is from S *s-, we may suppose a N initial *ž- with as. *-zħ- > *-sħ- in Ar and a similar as. in Eg (or a reg. change z > s in the history of Eg). Tg *jeb/p- points to pN *ž.

2690. ₂ *žom∇n̄∇ '≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a) dream' > **K:** GZ *zman-, K *zm- (< **zmn-) v. 'think, dream' > OG, G zman-, Mg {FS} zim- (inf. zim-ap-a) v. 'dream', Lz zmon- v. 'think', {FS} me-v-o-zmon 'I think'; Mg zim- v. 'dream', Sv {Srij.} zm- (msd. li-zm-āi-un-e) v. 'träumen' ¶¶ The meaning 'dream' is reinforced by the semantic infl. of *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' (< N *žom₁∇₁R∇ 'dream' [q.v.] ¶¶ K 88, ≈ FS K 134, ≈ FS E 145-6 (*žm-), ≈ F KW1 #22, Chx. 409-410 || **A:** Tg *jōm₁∇₁n- 'remember, think, have a day-dream' > Ewk jōn- v. 'remember', jōmkit/ĉ- 'recall, have a day-dream (мечтать)', Sln jōmō- 'be recalled', jōn- 'think', Lm jōman- 'recall, remember (from time to time)', jōmqъn 'thought', Neg, Ul jombu-, Orc jōmbu-, Nn Nh/KU jōmbo- 'think of, invent (придумать, выдумать)', Neg jōn- 'remember', Ud žōŋi-, Ork dōndu- 'remember', WrMc žom/n- 'remember' ¶ STM I 264, Krm. 234.

2691. *žom₁∇₁R∇ 'dream' > **K:** GZ {K, K²} *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' > OG, G sizmar- id., Lz izmož(e)-, ezmožā- id.; d. (× N *žom∇n̄∇ '≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a dream)') (?) GZ *zman-/*zmn- v. 'dream' > OG, G zman- id., Lz zmon- 'think'; cp. GZ *zman-/*zmn- v. 'dream' ¶ K 172, K² 177, FS K 134 (*žm-), FS E 145-6, Chx. 1246 || **HS:** CS (?) *o√šmr v. 'be\keep awake in the night' (< **'doze, be half-asleep' < *'dream') > Ar √smr 'passer la nuit à causer, deviser pendant la nuit; veiller'; it is not clear whether BHb šimmū'rīm '(night of) observance' (Ex. 12.42) belongs here, because it is either a semantic merger of the √ in question with Hb √šmr (< S *√θmr) v. 'guard' or a word derived from the latter √ only ¶ BK II 1136-7, GB 849) || ?? WCh {Stl.} *sām- v. 'sleep' > AG: Su sām, Tal {IL} sām, Gmy sām, Kfr {Nt.} sām, Ang {Flk.} sām, {ChC} sēm, Cp {Kr.} sam v. 'sleep' || BT {Stl.}: Ngm, Maha som, Buli hōm id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 178 [#305], ChL s.v. 'sleep', JI II 298-9, J S 81, Flk. s.v. sām || **IE** *Hon(e)r- → *h^wen(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE *oner- 'dream' > Arm անուրջ anuřž (< *onōr-yo) 'a dream' || Gk ὄναρ id., ὄνειρος id., 'god of

dreams' ||| pAl {O} *anryā > Al: T *ëndërr*, G *andërr* 'dream' (<*onr-yo-) ¶¶ WP I 180, P 779, Mn. 1647, FI 393-4, Kf. 40, 97, O 92, My. 11, Slt. 287-8, Me. LHLG I 222f., EI 10 and 169-70 (*^h₃enr̥, *^h₃onr̥ 'dream') ¶ In all probability, pIE as. *-nr- < *-mr- ||| U: FP *šompr̥ ∇ ∼ *šopr̥ ∇ v. 'dream, day-dream' > Z *шобрөдлы-* *šobrzdli-* v. 'appear in one's phantasy\dream' || ? F *hourata*, *houria*, *houraila* v. 'be delirious, be wandering (in one's mind)', F Δ *hoprehtia* id., F *houre* 'chimera, delirium, phantasm', Es Δ *houri-* v. 'speak thoughtlessly' ('puhua umpimähkään, ajattelemata') ¶ SK 82, LG 320 ¶ Z -b- is a reg. reflex of U, FU *-mp-, while the F and Es forms suggest U, FU *-p- ¶¶ In all probability, U *-mpr- < *-mr- (a typical epenthesis of a homorganic plosive within a cluster of a nasal cons. and r).

2692. *^rǵaP̥ ∇ (or *^zaP̥ ∇?) to make, to work' > IE *Hop- (or H^wep-) > NaIE *op- v. 'work', *op-os ntr. 'work' > OI 'apaḥ [apas] 'work', Av hv-apaḥ- 'good work' ||| L *opus* / *oper-is* 'work', *oper-ā-* v. 'work', Osc *úpsannam* 'operandam', *upsed* 'fecit', Um OSATU 'facitō' ('make' 3s imv.) ||| AS *ēfnan* 'to carry out, to do', ON *efna* 'to work, to do', OHG *uoben* {Km.} 'üben, pflegen, tun', {Schz.} 'üben, ausüben, pflegen' (> NHG *üben*) ||| ? Tc A *opṣaly* 'season\time for action' ¶ P 780, Dv. #544, EI 649 (*^hHopes- n. 'work'), WH II 217-8, Bc. G 320-1, 340, Mul. 304, Ho. 88, Vr. 94, Km. 1116, OsS 1057, Schz. 304, KM 799, Ad. 76-7 ||| A: NaT *jap- 'make, prepare' > OT QU, MT *jap-* v. 'make', OT U *jap-* 'create', Tk *уар-*, Ggz, Chg *уар-* 'make, build', Ggz, Kr, Ln, VTt Δ, ET Δ *jap-* 'make' ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Br. MT 37, ≠ Cl. 870-1 (unc.: OT, Az *žap-*, Tk *уар-* 'make' ← T *jap- v. 'cover') ||| HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *sab- / *cab- (< *t-sab-) v. 'do' > Bln *hab-*, Xm {R} *sab-* ∼ *cab-*, {Ap.} *s'ab-*, Q *šeb-*, Km {CR} *səb-* ∼ *zəb-*, Aw *c3w-* (1s *c3p* [= {AD} < *s₁∇b-ʔ- with ʔ- of the marker of 1s]) ¶ Ap. AV 17, AD SF 97, E PC #253 ||| K: G *žapa-* v. 'work hard' (unless a loan from some T lge.) ¶ Chx. 2432-3 ◇ The G word (until it is a loan) suggests a pN *^ž-. If the G word does not belong here, the N rec. must be registered as *^zaP̥ ∇.

2693. *^žæśχ|q ∇ 'blood' > K **zisχ*̥- 'blood' > OG, G *sisχl-*, Mg *zisχar-*, *zisχir-*, *zisχer-*, Lz *di(n)cχir-*, Sv UB/LB/Ln/L *zisχ* 'blood' ¶¶ K 87, K² 59, FS K 133-4, TK 252, Dn. s.v. *zisχ* ||| IE **h₂esx-r̥*, gen. **h₂esx-n-es* 'blood' > OI 'asr̥k, 'asr̥t, gen. *as'naḥ* id. ||| Arm *արիւն արիւն* id. ({Ped.} < **asriyon*, {P} < **esr̥-*) ||| Gk *ἔαρ*, *εἶαρ*, Gk [Hs.] *ἦαρ* id. ||| OL

as(s)er ~ assyr id. || Ltv asins id., pl. asinis || pTc *yāsār > Tc A ysār, B yasar (pl. ysār a) id. || Ht e|isxar, gen. esxanas 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw āsḡar-/asḡan-* 'blood', āsḡanuwant(s)- 'bloody' ¶¶ P 343, WP I 162, EI 71 (*¹h₁esh₁r̥ ~ *¹h₁esh₂ōr / gen. h₁esh₂'n-os '[flowing] blood'), M K I 66, F I 422, WH I 72, Slt. 129, Kar. I 78, Wn. 607-8, Ad. 487, Ad. H 114, Pv. I-II 305-313, Mlc. CL 35-6, Ivn. SA 153 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) *^očósk∇ or *^očokś∇ > pObU *čōkās 'bear's blood' > pVg *šāwās > Vg LK/P šows, MK/UK sows, UL sōws, Ss sōws id.; pOs *čōvas / *čovās ({Hl.} *čōvas / *čāvas) > Os Kr čoxāš, Sh šōwš id. ¶ Ht. 132 (#99) ¶¶ pObU *-kās is a reg. reflex of both U *-śk∇ and *-kś∇ ¶¶ PFU (or pU?) *č- for the expected *š- may result from dis. (**šósk∇ > *čósk∇) || **A**: Tg *sēkse (< *sēs-kse < as. *jes-kse) 'blood' > Ewk sēksə ~ sēwsə ~ sēgsə, Sln sēkčə, sētčə, Lm hēs, Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn sēksə, Ork śēkśə, Ud sakeæ 'blood' ¶ Tg *-ksa/-kse is a reg. sx. of uncountable nouns (such as 'meat', 'fish', etc.) ¶ Ewk sēšī- v. 'flow' (of blood) and Neg sē- id. are most probably bfs. based on metanalysis of Tg *sēksē as *sē-kse and/or *sēk-kse ¶ STM II 138-9 || ? **HS**: Eg fP {EG} zχn 'ein innerer tierischer Körperteil als Speise', 'ein Backwerk in Form des Fleischstücks', {Fk.} 'kidney-fat' ¶ EG III 470-1, Fk. 241 ◇ IE and Tg point to a front vw. (*æ) in the first syll. of the IE word, while FU *o in *^očósk∇ or *^očokś∇ is puzzling. It may be explained by regr. as. if we reconstruct the N etymon as *žæśχ|qo or *žæśox|q∇. If the N word was *žæśχ|qo, IE *x (in hēsx-r̥ / *h_osx-n-es) rather than *x^w is explained by its preconsonantal position.

2694. *žāzid∇ 'to cut' > **HS**: Eg fMK ž^εđ v. 'cut (off\down)' ¶ EG IV 422, Fk. 262 ¶¶ Hardly (⇔ many scholars) akin to S *✓šr̥t̥ 'cut' (Eg ε is not cognate with S *r) || **IE**: NaIE *laǵdh- / *lidh- v. 'cut, wound' > Gk λίστρον 'a tool for levelling \ smoothing', 'spade', 'ε shovel', λιστρέω v. 'dig round (a plant)', λισγάριον 'Grabscheit, Hacke zum Ebnen des Bodens', {LS} 'spade, mattock' ({P}: dim. of *λίστρος [< *λιδ-σκο-]) || L laedō, laedēre v. 'hurt, injure' || ? Lt lydīmas 'glade (in a woodland), clear space, clearance', Ltv līdums 'clearance, assart', (līduma) līst (prs. līdū) 'to make a clearance, to clear woodland for tillage', Lt lūdūtī id., 'to smooth' ¶ WP II 378-9, P 652, F II 129, WH I 749, ≈ Frn. 364 (rejects the abovementioned IE connection of the Blt ✓ and unconvincingly proposes a different et.), Kar. I 519, 540 || **U**: IP *laδ∇ 'incision, notch' (→ 'trace') > F latu, F Δ laju 'track, ski-

track', Krl Ld, Vp řadu 'ski-track' | Lp: N {N} lat'to / -tt-, L {LO} lãhtoo, Snk {TI} řaðða id. | pChr {Ber.} *lodbə 'notch; mould (for making bricks)' > Chr: Н лады ladbə id., Uf lodbə 'notch', L lod-(aš) 'I make a notch' | Prm: Z lu 'mould' ¶ UEW 682, SK 280, MRS 279, 293, Ü 106, Ber. 31, LG 163 || D (in GnD) *naṭ- v. 'cut, tear' > Gnd naṭk- & neṭk- v. 'cut (wood), cut by splitting', Png naḍ- (p. naṭt-) v. 'be torn\severed', naḍ- (p. naṭ-) v. 'tear, sever', Mnd naḍ- v. 'be broken\snapped' ¶ D #3586.

2695. *ǰä'Ki'd∇ 'move, go' > U: FU *läkte v. 'go, go out' (× N *LaḶa 'leg?') > F lähte- 'go, proceed; go off\away', Es lähe- 'go' (part of the suppletive paradigm of the verb minē-), lähk 'Gehen, Fortgehen' | Lp: Kld {SaR} л̄ххте- 'go out', K {Gn.} l̄χte-~ie-, T likte- 'sich begeben' | pMr *liṣta- > Er ливте- lív'te-, líf'te- 'carry out, lead (an animal) out', Mk лифте- líf'ta-, Δ líx'te- & liš'te- id. | Chr: L лекташ lek'ta-š 'go out', Uf lekta-, H {Ep.} лăктăш, {MRS} лăкташ 'läktä-š id., 'set off (sich auf den Weg machen)' | Prm *lōkt- ({JLG} *lōkt-) 'arrive, come' > Z lōkt-, Z US lōkt-, Yz 'lōkt-, Vt lōkt- || pOs *lüṣat > Os: V lüṣat- 'go out', D tiwät- 'go out\away' ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 239-40, Sm. 552 (FP *läkti- 'depart'), It. #252, #271, SaR 160, ERV 341-2, PI 148, MRS 284-6, Ep. 60, LG 160, Gn. 1332, It. #271, Ker. II 79-80 || HS: WCh *ǰǰak∇'d' - ({Stl.} *šǰak∇d-) v. 'move' > Hs zǰkùḍǰ v. 'hitch up (the child slung on one's back)', Ngz ǰǰgdú vi. 'move off road, detour' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#476], Abr. H 963, 980, Sch. DN 47 || S *o✓škd > Ar ✓škd v. 'give' (← *vt. 'move') ¶ BK I 1257, Hv. 372 || IE: NaIE *lejtʰ-~*l i(:)tʰ- v. 'go' (× N *Lič∇ 'to pass, to go away' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D {Km.} *naṭ-a-, [GS] *ńaḍ- v. 'walk, go, pass' (× N *rayd∇ 'foot; track; to walk', q.v. ffd.).

2696. *ǰUḶU (= *ǰoḶU?) 'juice' > HS: SC: Irq {E} Ḷaqʷa 'sap' ¶ ≈ E SC 223 || IE: NaIE *sekʷo-/*sokʷo- 'juice' > Gk Ḷπός 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig-trees' || SI *sǰkь 'juice' > OCS сокъ сокъ, Blg сок, SCr sǰk (gen. sǰka ~ sǰka), Sln sǰk (gen. sǰka ~ sǰku), R сок (gen. сока ~ соку), Uk сiк (gen. соку), P сок || ? L sūcus 'juice' (× N *šǰsuḶaḶ∇(ř∇) 'resin' × IE *seuk- 'suck?') || pTc *sekwe > Tc: A saku, B sekwe 'pus' ¶ P 1044, EI 499-500 (*so'kʷo-s 'sap, resin'), WH II 622-3, F II 405-6, Frn. 756-7, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241, Glh. 570, Vs. III 708, Brü. 506, Ad. 698 || A: NaT *juk 'resin, gum' > Xk чyx čuḶ, Qzl šuḶ, Qb juq, Tv čuq, Tf čuq 'resin', Shor/Sg {RI.} čuq 'Baumharz,

Teer', Qrg žuq 'sth. stuck to', ??φ OT U [UMT] {Rcm.} jū 'juice'; ⇨ NaT *juk- 'stick to' > Qrg žuq-, Alt žuq-, Xk čux- id. ('прилипать') ¶ Rs. W 119, BIG 324, Rl. III 2165, Jud. 267, BT 58, DTS 283, Rcm. I 283, TvR 546, Ra. 198 || ? M *sigü-sün 'juice' (× N *šūḱ'a' 'to drink, to suck' [q.v.]) || Tg *š|čükse₁ 'juice, sap' > Ewk çūksə, Neg çūksə, Orc čūksə id., Lm çūs 'juice of plants (esp. berries), juice (of meat, fish)', Ork sūksə ~ tūksə 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. A *žūgi 'juice' (erroneously connected with pKo *skúr 'honey', that belongs to N *śṽḱṽ 'honey' or 'bee' [q.v.]) ◇ IE *e/o (in *sek^ωo-/*sok^ωo-) points to a N *o rather than *u; if so, T *u, Tg *ü, and L ū must be explained by the infl. of a N word-final *ū (at variance with the IE ev. for a word-final *o) and/or by a merger with other words. M *i (< *ü?) still needs investigating ◇ ≠ The glottalized Irq ĉ- may result from ass. glottalization (N *ž...ḱ > **ĉ...ḱ > Irq ĉ...q^ω). The rules of distribution of IE *l- and *s- as reflexes of N *ž and *ž are still to be investigated. M *s- points to N *ž- ◇ ≠ IS MS 366.

2697. ₂ *žomṽ 'be hot', 'sun', (?) 'flame' > HS: S *'šam'a'š- 'sun' > Ak šamaš, šamš-, Eb {Ptt.} sī-piš, Sb šmš, Ar šams-, BHb 'šemeš, Ug špš, (AkSc) {Hnr.} šapšu, Ph, IA, SmA šmš, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA em. šim'š-ā, Amr {G} šamsu or šapšu 'sun'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} šamša (ša-m-ša, ša-ma₃-ša, etc.) n. l. In Cn (incl. Ug) and Aram there was an as. law: *š...š > š...š. S *'šamaš- may go back to the a N cd. *ožomṽ mežṽ ('≈ hot sunlight'), cp. N *mežṽ 'sun, light; to shine' ¶ HJ 1168-9, KB 1468-71, OLS 449-50, Hnr. 183-4, Lv. T II 497, Js. 16O2, Sl. 1136, Tal 914, BK I 1269, G A 31, Dah. LCE 178, Hoch #402 || Eg fOK šm, šmm v. 'be hot' (esp. of fire and sun) ¶ EG IV 468-9 || ? Ch: WCh *ž|ṽmṽ > Ang {Flk.} lem 'sun'; unlike Stl. ZCh #844, I do not see enough semantic reasons for connecting this word with Plc liyem 'sky, god', Dw lem-zi 'sky' and lem-si 'god' || U: FU *|]omṽ 'flame, embers' > Chr: H lomḅž, lombḅž, L/B lomḅž 'ashes' (< 'embers') || pPrm *|o]om- v. 'flame', n. 'embers' > Z lomaw-, Yz lu'mal- v. 'flame', Yz lum 'embers', ? Vt Sr/M lumit 'warm' || Hg lánḡ, Δ lang 'flame' ¶ UEW 250, MRS 294, Ü 107, Ep. 62, LG 160-1, Lt. 53, It. #53, MF 386-7.

2698. (₂) *žUN₁ḡ₁ṽ '(young?) ungulate' > HS: S *'šanaḡ- > Ar شَنِجْ šanaḡ- 'camel' ¶ Ln. 16O4, Fr. II 455, BK I 1275 || A ({AD} *zūntṽ ~ ? *zu₁ḡṽ): NaT *junt 'horse' > OT, OQrg junt id., Chg junt 'mare', MQp junt 'horses', OOsM jont 'mare; horses', Osm {Rh.} يوند yund 'wild,

unbroken brood-mare', Tk ɥont 'unbroken mare', ɥont ɥil 'Horse Year (one of the 12 years in the Turkish animal cycle)', Tk Δjund 'horse; male ass', jont 'unbroken horse', SY $\text{jut} \text{ɛ} \text{jot} \text{ɛ} \text{jüt} \text{ɛ} \text{jüt}$ 'horse', Yk {Pek.} sono-ɥos 'young horse'; T $\text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{Sm}$ {Jn.} $^* \text{ɥuntā}$ 'horse' (> Ne T юно , T O {Lh.} ɥún:ǎ , Ng {Strl.} junta , En {Ter.} дюда , Slq Tz {KKIH} ćuntā , Kms {KD} īnɛ , Koyb {Sp.} инѣ , Mt {Hl.} $^* \acute{n}hunda$ 'horse' [Mt: M {Sp.} нундо , M {Mll.}, A {Msr.} nunda , {Pl.} нонда , T {Mll.} njúndä , K {Mll.} njunda) ¶ Rs. W 211, Cl. 946, Rh. 2221, ETJ 253-4, Pek. 2279, Jn. 49, KKI 107, Hl. M #789 || Tg $^* \text{sōn}n\grave{a}(n) \sim ^* \text{sōn}d\grave{a}(n)$ 'young reindeer, reindeer-calf' > Ewk $\text{sōn}n\grave{a}$ 'new-born domestic reindeer, wild reindeer-calf', Lm $\text{hōn}n\grave{b}-\text{çan}$ 'reindeer-calf (of the first half-year), young ungulate (lamb, foal, calf)', Neg $\text{sōn}n\grave{a}\text{çān}$ 'new-born reindeer', Orc $\text{so}n\text{ɔ}\text{ç}\text{ɔ}(n-)$ 'new-born elk', Ork $\text{sōn}d\text{o}(n-)$ 'reindeer yearling, calf, foal, young bear'; $-\text{çan}$, $-\text{çān}$, $-\text{çon}$ is a diminutive *sx*. ¶ STM II 110-1 || M $^* \text{osunda-sun}$ 'female elk\deer' > WrM sundasu , HIM сундас id. ¶ MED 737 ¶¶ DQA #2574 (A $^* \text{zunti}$ 'a young animal'), SDM97 (A $^* \text{zūn} \nabla$ id. > T, Tg), S VL 226 (T, Tg). This type of length (S's type 2) is of prosodic origin and does not point to any pN lr. A $^* \text{-t} \nabla$ may go back to a *sx*. || ?? U: FV $^* \text{ćo}n \nabla$ 'male\young ungulate' > F sonni (gen. sonnin) 'bull' ({FUV} 'Stier, Bulle, Farre'), Es sōnn (gen. sōnni) 'Bull, Stier; Hengstfüllen, Widder', Lv sonn 'ram' | Prm {LG} $^* \text{ćān}$ 'foal' > Z чань ćān , Zr чуньы $\text{ću}n\text{+}$ ¶ FUV 614, LG 301 ◇ FU $^* \text{ćo}n \nabla$ may belong here only if it goes back to a nominal compound $^* \text{X-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{o}n \nabla$ ($^* \text{-t-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{-} > ^* \text{-ć-}$) with subsequent loss of the initial part of the compound. If FU $^* \text{ćo}n \nabla$ belongs here, it suggests a word-medial N $^* \text{-ń-}$ or $^* \text{-ni-}$, sc. N $^* \text{ĴU}n\text{,g} \nabla$ or $^* \text{ĴUNig} \nabla$.

2698a. $^* \text{ĴEH}_2\text{P} \nabla \text{ } \neg \text{ } ^* \text{Ĵih}_2\text{EP} \nabla$ (or $^* \text{LEH}_2\text{P} \nabla \text{ } \neg \text{ } ^* \text{LiH}_2\text{EP} \nabla$?) '≈ spade, shovel, ladle' > IE: NaIE $^* \text{lēp-}/^* \text{lāp-}$ 'spade, shovel' > BSl: Lt lopetā 'spade, shovel', Ltv lāpsta id., 'shoulder-blade', Pru lopto 'spade' | ? Sl $^* \text{lopāta}$ 'spade' > ChS λοπατα lopata , SCr lōpata , Slv lopáta , Cz, Slk lopata , P łopata , R, Uk лопата id., Blg лопата 'spade, oar' || ??σ Ht lappa {CHD} 'ε a metal implement (tongs?)'; the connection of the Ht word cannot be seriously discussed before its meaning is investigated (cp. N $^* \text{la} \text{,q} \text{,pa}$ 'palm of hand, sole of foot, sth. flat') ¶¶ ≈ P 679, ≈ Frn. 339-40, En. 205, Glh. 382, ESSJ XVI 39-43, CHD L-N 40, Ts. E II 32-3 || K: G $\text{lapo}t\text{-}i$ {Chx.} 'large wooden spoon', {DCh.} id., 'scoop, ladle (ковшъ)', G I/G {Chx.} laperi 'a broad flat wooden

spoon', G {DCh.} *laperi* 'ladle (разлившая ложка), iron shovel' ¶ Chx. 664, 666, DCh. 642-3 || U **lipp*∇ 'spade, ladle, spade-shaped board' > FU **Li:;pp*∇ > F *liippi* 'ladle \ scoop made of birch-bark', Es *lipits* 'Spatel, Rührholz', ? *lipp* (*lipi*) 'small thin board' || ? Er {Ps.} *lípiš*, *lípuža* 'eines von den Brettern zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden', pl.: Er *lípužat*, Mk *íebžat* 'Bretter zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden' || pY **li:;pə* ({IN} **lipə*) > K {IN} *lipə*, {Rd.← IN) *līpə* 'snow-shovel', {Jc.} *līpe* n. 'shovel' ¶ ≈ UEW 690, IN 232, Ang. 141, ≠ Rd. UJ 39-40 [#31-2] (Y ← U **lap*∇ 'Ruder' and [?] U **lapa* 'Fläche, Blatt') || HS: S **o*✓*šhb* > Ar ✓*šhb* G 'enlever\racler avec une pelle (la terre, etc.)' ¶ BK I 1196 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (as isolated within HS), the initial N cns. may be either **ẑ* or **L* ◇ Some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

2699. **ẑUqU* 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' > HS: WCh {Stl.} **ẑ|šag*^ω- (= **ẑag*^ω-?) v. 'be rotten' > Hs *zág*^ω*àně* 'putrefied (meat, fish, etc.)' || Ngz *ẑíg*^ω*àđú* v. 'putrefy, decompose, go rancid' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#475], Abr. H 961, Sch. DN 45 || EC: Or *sūka* 'clot', *sūkaʔa* v. 'clot, curdle' ¶ Grg. 366 || K **o*lage- 'rotten' > G *lage-* id. ('verfault, verdorben') ¶ Chx. 669, FS E 221, ≠ K² 107 (adduces Lz *loqa-* 'sweet', see N **Lagû* 'tender, mild' [→ 'sweet']) || A ({SDM97} **zük*'o 'rotten, turbid'): ? NaT **jog-urt* 'curdled, coagulated milk' (× N **d∇R₁H₂∇g|K∇* 'sediment [in food], refuse' [q.v.]?) > OT, Tkm *jovurt*, Tk *yoğurt*, Az *jovurd*, Nog *juvırt*, Qrg *žūrat*, Yk *sūōrat* 'curdled milk' ¶ Cl. 905-6, ET J 207-8; an additional source is a d. from T **juvur-* v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' (et. preferred by Cl.) || M: HIM *шогши-х* v. 'turn too sour' (of sour milk), Brt *шогшо-* id. ¶ Luv. 656, Chr. 728, Cev. 853 || Tg **sük* 'turbid\muddy water', **sükü* 'turbid, muddy' > Ewk *sik* 'turbid\muddy water', *siki* 'turbid\muddy', Neg *sux̄* id., Lm *hıqυ*, Lm A *saq* ~ *s3q* id., 'turbid water' ¶ STM II 80-1 || pKo {S} **sà,k-* v. 'rot, become spoiled' > MKo *sà,k* id., NKo *ṣà,k-* v. 'rot, decay, corrupt' ¶ ≈ S QK #820, MLC 940 || ?σ pJ {S} **súk-* 'make paper (out of soaked mash)' > OJ *suk-*, J: T *sùk-*, K/Kg *súk-* ¶ S QJ #508, Mr. 758 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **zük*'o 'rotten, turbid' > T, M, Tg, Ko), DQA #2568 (A **zjúk*o 'to rot, to ferment' > T, M, Tg, J) ¶¶ The rec. of a voiced A **z-* depends on the validity of the T cognate. If it is not valid, we cannot distinguish between A **z-* and **s-* ◇ The voicing of the velar cns. in WCh and T still defies explanation.

2700. ₂ ***ǰæh'a** Ra 'moon' > HS ***ǰh_lǰ_r**- 'moon' > WS ***ǰh_lǰ_r**- 'moon' > JEA **𐤔𐤁𐤏𐤃** **𐤏** **ǰah^ar-ā** [sah^ar-ā], Sr **sah^r-ā**, Ar **šahr-**, Gz **šāhr** (= [šahr(ə)]) 'moon', BHb d. **𐤔𐤁𐤏𐤃** **𐤏** **ǰah^ar-ō'n-īm** 'crescents (amulets or jewelry)', Sb **šhr** 'novilunium, beginning of month', OYmn **شهر** **šhr** ({Slw.} *šahr-) (= Hmr ***ǰhr**-?) id., Mh **šēhər**, Hrs, Jb **šēhər** 'first crescent of the moon', Sq **šē·hər** 'moon' ¶ KB 1222, KBR 1311, Br. 462, BK I 1281-2, BGMR 132, Slw. 127, Jo. M 376, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 250, L G 528 || C {E} ***šēh-** 'moon' > EC {Ss., Bl.} ***leʔ-**, {E} ***leh-** id. > Kns **lea**, Gdl **leha**, Rn {PG} **yéyyàh** (cs. **yeyyakkí**), Or {Grg.} **ǰiʔa**, Or H {Ow.} **ǰiʔá**, Or B/O {Sr.} **ǰia**, Or Wt {Hn.} **ǰīa**, Or Wl {Brl.} **ǰiʔa**, Or Δ {Ss.} **ǰaha**, Arr {Hw.} **léʔ** 'moon', Hr/Dbs {AMS} **leʔo**, Gln {AMS} **leʔo**, Gwd {AMS} **leʔayyo**, Cm {Hab.} **lēʔo** id. (the **l** due to the infl. of C ***šēf-** 'light' ?), Ya **leʔ-** 'moon' || SC: Irq {E} **šahaṇ**, {Wh.} **šâhaṇ^w** (pl. **šáhēri**), {MQK} **šahaṇ^w**, Brn {Wh., E} **šehen**, Alg {E} **šehē**, {Wh.} **šehēy**, Kz {E} **šahayiko**, Asa {E} **lehek** 'moon', **↳** Mb {E} **m-šīhe** id. ¶ E PC #569, Bl. 111, 163, 205, Ss. PEC 21, 36, PG 299, Grg. 234, Sr. 339, Ow. 265, Hw. A 381, Hn. W 61, Brl. 270, ESC 212 (s.v. SC ***šē:he** 'moon'), Wh. IC 24, MQK 94, AMS 258 || B ***-zīr-** '(full) moon, moonlight' > Si {La.}, BMn {Bs.} **taziri**, Grr {Bs.} **tziri** 'moon', Tmz {MT} **taziri** **↳** **tiziri** **↳** **dziri** 'moon, full moon', Kb **tiziri**, Snd, Zww {La.} **tiziri** 'moonlight', Wrg **taziri** 'full moon', Mz **taziri**, Gd **tazīri** id., 'moonlight' ¶ MT 812, Dl. 955, Lf. II #1832, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 396, La. S 254 || **ʔ** WCh (× N ***ǰ'a** hr **ǰ** [- ***ǰ'a** hr **ǰ** - ***z**ǰ'a hr **ǰ**] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} **zār**, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} **zār**, Mnt {J} **zayí** 'star' || DfB {J} **ǰórèt** id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [#519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) ¶¶ The meaning 'moonlight' may point to a contamination with HS ***ǰzhr** 'shine (leuchten)' (F s.v. N ***ǰ'a** hr **ǰ** 'ǰ') || A: M ***sa_lra** 'moon' (→ 'bright' in derived words) > MM [IM, IsV] **sara**, [MA] **sara(n)**, WrM **sara**, HIM, Kl **cap**, Mnr H {SM} **sara**, Ba **sare** 'moon', Dx **sar** 'month'; the meaning 'hell, light' is attested in the WrM d. **sara-gul** 'bright, light, clear' (cp. Dx **sarūl** 'moon, month') ¶ KW 313, MED 674, KRS 441-2, T 357, T DnJ 133, T BJ 146, SM 326 || **ʔ** **ʔ** **ʔ** Tg {SDM} ***sē** 'year' > Orc, Ul, Nn **sē** 'year (of life), age', Ud **s3**, WrMc **se** id., Jrc **sege** 'age', **genehej sege** 'last year', **tuman sege** 'long life' (lit. 'ten thousand years') ¶ STM II 133, Kiy. 102-3, 146 [##082, 102, 866] || **ʔ** **ʔ** **ʔ** pKo {S} ***sā_lr** ~ ***sā_r** > MKo **sā_lr** ~ **sā_r** 'year, age', NKo **sa_l** id., **sā_l** 'beginning of the year' ¶ S QK #821, Nam 290, 300, MLC 896, 950 ||

pJ {S} sátúkúĵ 'the fifth month of the moon calendar' > OJ satukĵi, J: T sàcuki, K sácúkí, Kg sacúki id. ¶ S QJ #702, Mr. 515 ¶¶ DQA #2556 (A zēra 'light; moon; moon cycle [year]' > M, Tg, Ko, J + unc. T *jar- v. 'shine'). The authors of DQA reconstruct an A voiced *z- on the alleged ev. of T *jar- v. 'shine', but the adduction of T *jar- (obviously from N *ǰ'a'hr▽ (↔ *ǰ'a'hr▽ ↔ *z|ǰ'a'hr▽) (↑)) is hardly acceptable, therefore it cannot justify an unambiguous rec. of A *z- ◇ The B cognates point to a N voiced cns., sc. *ǰ- ◇ What was the ancient meaning of N *ǰæh'a'Ra: 'moon' or 'bright' (as suggested by Rm. for Altaic [KW 313] and by IS for Nostratic [IS MS 363])? The semantic change of 'moon' into 'bright' is rather rare in the lgs. of the world, although attested in M (see above) and S (S *o✓šhr in Ar ʔašāhir- 'couleur blanche du narcisse', see BK I 1282), while the opposite one (from 'bright' to 'moon') is much more typical (it occurred in L, Sl, and MHb), but we cannot accept it for proto-Nostratic because it will not explain the coincidence of meaning ('moon') in S, C, and M.

2701. ₂ *ǰ▽r₁▽X▽ ~ *ǰ▽X'₁▽r▽ (= *ǰa'X'Er▽?) 'to cut, to wound' > HS: CS *✓šrh > JA ✓srh (pf. sə'rəh) 'cut, castrate' ({Lv.} 'schneiden, einschneiden, kastrieren'), Sr ✓srh v. 'hurt, injure', 'tear, wound (as wild beasts)', Ar ✓šrh v. 'cut, split' ('couper, disséquer, fendre') ¶ Lv. III 588, Br. 497-8, JPS 390-1, BK I 1212 || A: NaT *jār- v. 'split, cleave (with a sharp instrument)' > OT {Cl.} jar- id., MQp XIV, Chg XV jar- 'split', Tkm яр- jār-, Qzq žar- v. 'cut asunder, cleave', Tk ɣar- v. 'split, cut off, cut short', Az jar-, Uz jār- vt. 'split, cleave', Ggz, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog jar-, Blq, Qrg žar-, Alt žar-, Xk čar- 'split asunder, chop, cleave', Uz jār-, ET ja(r)-, Qzq žar- v. 'split', Qq žar-, Ln jay-, Tv čar- 'chop', Tf ćar- 'split (a bone)'; ⇨ (probably) NaT *jāra n. 'wound' > XT {DH} jāra, Tkm jara (short a?), Tk ɣara, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Uz, ET jara, Qzq, Qq žara, Qrg žara id., Chv L ɸɸp- šur- 'split, tear asunder, unrip' ¶ Cl. 954-5, ET J 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg. 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, TAG 104, KW 215, Tkr 819, Ra. 194 ¶ ??? × A {ǰDQA} *p'jāre, {SDM97} *p'āre v. 'split' < N *pāri'ʔ'E (or *pāryE?) 'to tear, to split', only if S's rec. of A *jā is justified || Tg *sṯir- ({SDM97} *sür-) v. 'cut, cut out' > Ewk ṯsṯir-, Lm hṯir- v. 'cut (leather, cloth), cut off', Neg siy- 'cut', Nn Nh/B surē 'axe', ? Nn {On.} surīē- vi. 'tear, tear off' (of skin) ('от-\за-\раз-дираться') ¶ STM II 93-4, 123, Vas. 356-7, Pt. 121, On. 380-1, Sem. BD 186 || pJ {S} *sṯir- v. 'cut, shave' > OJ sṯir-, J: T sṯir-, K/Kg sṯir- ¶ S QJ #997, Mr. 756 || ?? AdS of A: M *sirqa- v.

'injure, cause pain', *sirqan 'wound, sore' (< N *sírka ~ *sír'ga 'pain; be ill/wounded', q.v. ffd.) 𐎓𐎎 SDM97 (A *z'ä're 'cut, tear, shave'), DQA #2575 (A *zjäre id.).

2702. *ǰ'A'ǰ'∇ (= *ǰ'A'ǰ'o?) 'to lie (liegen)' > K *zəw-/zəw- 'lie' ({K} v. 'lie' [of inanimate]) > OG zē-/z- 'lie' (s-zē 'you [sg.] lie', zē-s 'lies', m-i-c [< *mi-z-s] 'I have'), Mg zū- / zūv- / zūz- (zū-n 'lies', mu-m-o-zūz 'I wear, I have on [me], zə-d-z 'it lied'), Lz zū-/z(v)-, zū-/z(v)- 'lie' (zū-n 'lies', mō-zū-n 'es liegt bei [auf] mir', 'I have'), Sv {FS} zī-/zā₁- (zī 𐎎 zā₁ 'is', χ-ā-z 'es liegt darauf', χ-ō-z 'es liegt bei ihm'), Sv L {Dn.} z- 'lie on...' (māz 'lies on me', ǰāz 'I lie on thee', χāz 'I lie on him/her', etc.), Sv UB/LB l-iz 'is, exists' (and 1s χw-iz 'am', 2s χ-iz '[thou] art') 𐎓𐎎 K 233, K² 279, FS K 422, FS E 475, Chik. 434, Dn. s.v. z-, GP 151, GP US 54, TK 424 || A *ǰa- (= {S, SDM} *ǰa-) 'lie' > pKo {S} *čáḷḷ- v. 'sleep' > MKo ča-, čá-si-, ča'ap-so, NKo ča-, ča-si- id.; acc. to S QK, NKo hon.čumu-si- 'sleep' may go back to pKo *čəḷw-u-si- ~ čəḷup-si- id. 𐎓 S AJ 254 [#78], S QK #78, Nam 422, MLC 1374, 1380, 1497 || ? T (× N *nāt'o' 'bend, bow, incline' [intr.], q.v. ffd.): NaT *jat'- 'lie (liegen)' (if derived from **ja-) 𐎓𐎎 S AJ 283 [#181], SDM97 (A *ǰa- 'lie) || IE *ses- v. {E} 'rest, sleep, keep quiet' > Ht ses- / sas- v. 'sleep, rest, remain, keep quiet' || NaIE *os'e's- > OI 'sas-ti 'sleeps', sas'vartā 'stealthily', Av haḥ-mī 'I sleep' 𐎓𐎎 EI 527, Frd. HW 188, Ts. W 93-4, M K III 449 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as *ǰ, because it is the only laryngeal that does not cause vowel lengthening in the *∇HC-position in NaIE (and leaves no traces in AnIE). The final vw. is likely to have been *-o (whence K *-w-, but no *-u- in IE) ◇ Hardly here D *k̄ā- 'die (sterben)' (> Tm cā-, Krx xē?e-na, Brh kahin id., cf. F D #2423, Em. *C 366), because, acc. to my tentative working hyp., D *k̄- (> SD, SCD *č- ~ ∅, GnD, CD *č-, NED *k-, Brh k-) goes back to the N lateral obstruents (cp. N *šeḷa,r∇ 'reach, approach, enter' > D *k̄ēr-), hence D *k̄a- is from N *č̄Aḷ∇ 'be lost, die'.

2703. ₂ *ǰ'ûgb∇ (or *ǰ'ûgb∇?) fig tree (ε?) > HS: S *o✓zḡb > Ar ʔazḡab- 'a big fig-tree' 𐎓 BK I 993 || CCh: Glv {Rp.} acúwa 'fig tree' 𐎓 RpB 7 || D *čuv-, {GS} *ǰuv- 'fig tree' > Tm cuvī 'white fig, Ficus infectoria; stone fig, Ficus gibbosa parasitica', cuvālaḷ 'pipal, Ficus religiosa', Klm ǰuvī id., Ml cuvann-āl 'Ficus infectoria', Kn juvvi mara id., Tl juvvi 'Ficus tsiela', Prj ǰū meri, Gnd ǰū maḥa 'ε sp. of Ficus' (Kn mara, Prj meri, Gnd māḥa 'tree') 𐎓𐎎 D #2697, GS 116 [#307]

◇ S NM 10 inconvincingly suggests to adduce here A {S NM 7} **žiug* 'berry', reconstructed by him from NaT **jigdä* 'jujube tree/berry' and WrM {Pp.} *zigde* 'jujube (berry)' (to my mind, both go back to N **diḡ* 'edible cereals/fruit', q.v. ffd.), as well as to adduce M **žexergene* '€ berry' and Tg **jüksi-kte* '€ berry' ({S} **žüksi-kte* 'blueberry') ◇ ≈ AD NM 51 [#54], S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs), 10.

2703a. ₂ **zeH,b* '€ a bird' (probably 'gallinaceous' and/or 'waterfowl?') > HS: Ch ≈ **za_lb* 'guinea fowl' > WCh: Hs *zābō*, Gw {Mts.} *žābùwá* | Pr {Frz.} *čáw* | NBc: Cg {sk,} *sābūn*, Kry *zábūr*, Ny {Sk.} *zábūrku*, {ChL} *zābīrākú*, Wrj {Sk.} *zābrī-yāj*, P' {MSk.} *žāvúna*, Mbr *čápūr*, Diri *ázāvúná* | SBc: Bg {Sh.} *šāp*, Kir {ChL} *šāpmō*, Plc {ChL} *žībún*, Zar {Kr.} *žubmō* | Ngz {Sch.} *zābānū*, Bd {ChL} *sāvānín* || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *čívàn*, Pdl {ChL} *sívandí* | BM {ChL}: Mrg *c+vūr*, Bu *c+vūr*, Cb *zùvùrá* | HgB {ChL} *zìvùnó*, Kps {ChL} *zìvùné*, FIK {ChL} *zìvín*, Gude {ChC} *zòvìna* | Glv {Rp.} *žábúrà*, Gv {ChL} *žábúrà*, Mnd {Mch} *žácìrè*, Dgh {Frk.} *zāvìrà* | Mtk {Sb.} *zāpān*, Myn/Mofu {Ro.} *zāvár*, MgG {Brr.} *žāvár / čavár*, Mada {BrrB} *zāvār*, Mkt {Ro.} *zāvúr*, Hrz *sāvna*, Mf {BLB} *zāpān*, Gzg {Ro.} *čùvún* | Db {Lnh.} *zāvún*, {ChL} *zāvún*, Kola {Sb.} *zòvòḡ* | Gdr {Mch.} *zavuna* | Ktk {Bou.} *sāfāḡ* | Zm {ChL} *žafan*, ZmB {J} *cófnók* *ḡ* {Sa.} *zāmbàkà* || Ech: Smr {J} *šībārí*, EDng {Fr.} *zùpùlò*, Mkl {J} *zóbíló*, Jg {J} *sùbíló*, Brg {J} *zóbóló*, Mu {J} *zòbòlò* 'guinea fowl' ¶ Chc, ChL, Sk. NB 25, MSk. 185, Sch. DN 181, Nw. WLT 42, Ro. 265 [#339], BrrB 279, Brr. MG II 208, BLB 393 || D **čēv-* '≈ cock, male of birds' > Tm *cēval* 'male of birds and fowls, cock, male swan, kite', Δ *cāvalu* 'cock', Ml *cēval* ~ *cāval* 'cock, male of birds', Mlt *čawve* 'cock-bird' ¶¶ D #2818 ◇ Cp. also K: G *čibuχa* 'snipe (Gallinago)' (Chx. 1033), though this is hardly a valid cognate (for both phonetic and semantic reasons) ◇ Hardly here D (att. in NED): Krx *čubbā*, Mlt *čuwe* 'peacock' [D #2676] ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#62] (Ch equated with D **čēv-* and with NED **čub-* 'peacock').

2704. **zeybA* 'tail, penis' > HS: CS **zubb-* > Ar *zubb-* 'penis', Ar NY *zibbin*, *zibb*, *zubb* id., *zubbah* 'vulva', MHb d. {Dlm.} *zob'bān* {Dlm.} 'skin that surrounds penis', {Lv.} 'der Beutel, welcher das männliche Glied der Tiere verhüllt', {Js.} 'the bag which contains animal's member' ¶ BK I 268, Bns. NJ II 484, Dlm. 118, Lv. I 517, Js. 383, DRS 669, MiK I #1.293 || B: Tmz {MT} *azbub* 'clitoris' (← Ar *zubb-*?) ¶ MT 790 || Possibly AdS of EC **dub-* (-d→ **dab-*) 'tail, hinder part' and of Om {Blz.} **dub-* 'tail' (both from N **dub_l* 'back, hinder

part, tail', q.v. ffd.); hardly here Sa daba ~ zaba ~ баба 'Rücken' (better to be equated with *damb- 'back') || U *seypä ~ *saypa 'tail' > Es saba, F Δ sapa id. | Lp N {N} sæi'be, L {LLO} sei'pē ~ sāi'pē id. ¶ The variation *seypä ~ *saypa may be due to two ways of synharmonic generalization of an early **seypa || Sm {Jn.} *tāyṽā, {Hl.} *taywa 'tail' > Ne Т тэвă, {Lh.} tæ'β·ă', Ne FL {Lh.} tæ'e'ipβă'ъ, Ng 'tzybu, Kms {KD} t'īma id., Mt {Hl.} *tayba id. (Mt M {Sp.} дайба) ¶¶ UEW 438, LLO 947, Jn. 150, Coll. 55, SK 969, Hl. M #943 || A: Tg: Ud žiba 'penis' ¶ Krm. 232, STM I 255 || ?φ M *čibe > WrM cibe, HIM чив, Kl {Rm.} čiwă, čiw] 'penis' ¶ MED 174, KW 442-3 ◇ Do M *i and Ud i represent a legitimate development of N *ey?.

2704a. ₂ *ʳʳ' ∇ cχ a L ∇ 'fire; (?) burning wood' > K: GZ *ʳ' ečχ] - 'fire' > OG, G cecχ]-, Mg da(n)čχzr-, dačχir-, Lz dačχir-, dačχur-, dačχer- id. ¶ K 234 and K² 280-1 (GZ *zečχ] -); ≈ FS K 424 and FS E 478 (GZ *zečχ-) || A: M *ʳʳ' uçal- (> *čučal-) > Ord žuč'ali 'fire' ({Ms.}: εφ. for 'fire'), WrM cуcали, HIM цуцал 'torch, firebrand; partly burnt wood', {Kow.} 'brandon, tison, flambeau', Kl цуцл сусъл 'firebrand (головёшки)', {Rm.} cуcу] 'firebrand; partly burnt wood', Brt {Chr.} cуcал id.; WrM {ChrR} cуcала- v. 'kindle, set on fire' ¶ MED 204-5, Kow. 2210, KRS 643, KW 434, Chr.39, Ms. O 221 ◇ Fn. KD #69 equates the K √ with the D √ that is reconstructed by him as *cičcu 'fire', which is unt. because this D √ is *kičč- (F Zv. 115 [#131], DED #1272, D #1514).

2705. ?φ (₂?) *з ∇ c|č ∇ '≈ willow' > K {K²} *žèč_lw]n-, {FS} *žèč- 'willow, Salix babylonica' > OG zeçn- 'willow', G zeçn-a- 'willow, pussy-willow', Mg ziçon- ~ čiçon-, Sv: L ča₁čā₁nd, Ln čiçā₁nd, UB/Lx ča₁čā₁nd, Lx ča₁čā₁ndra id. ¶¶ K 237, K² 286, FS K 425, TK 866 || IE: Ht sisiya(m)ma- (?) '∈ tree' ('willow?') ¶ Frd. HW EH 104, Ts. W 76 || ?φ A: Tg *sujе-gde 'willow' > Ud sužgdз 'willow', WrMc сузиqde 'red willow resembling a linden', Neg sujgdз 'poplar' ¶ Cp. N ?σ *ž a_l, ž ∇ χ U '≈ ∈ leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits ('linden-tree, Tilia' or sim.)' (q.v.) ¶ STM II 120, Krm. 288 ¶ A kind of mt. and dis. (*ž...č > *s...ž)?

2706. *ž ig U 'thorn' > K: GZ *žigw- ({FS K} *žig-) 'thorn' > G I žigve {Ghl.} 'thorn', {Chx.} 'Dorngestrüpp', žigva {FS} 'Dorngestrüpp', {Chx.} 'steifes Borstengras (Nardus stricta)', G Gr/I žigur-a-i {FS E} 'Schilfgras', {FS K} '(food made of) sarsaparilla (Stechwinde, Smilax), wolfberry (Lycium, дepeзa, ∈ thorny bush)', Mg {Q} žigiri ~ žigzri 'thorn' ¶ FS E

479-80, FS K 425-6, Chx. 2072, Ghl. 686, KEGL VIII 746-7, Q 374 || **HS:**
 S *^oz^ru^lgg- > Ar ^uز ^uzuğğ- 'arrow-head, pointed iron-foot of a spear,
 point of the elbow', zuğğ- (pl.) 'short lances, javelins', ✓zğğ (pf. ^uز
 zağğa) 'pierce with the pointed iron-foot of a spear'; ? S *^lza|ik-at- > Ak
 zik-tu 'sting (of a scorpion); sting, barb, point', JA [Trg.] תקת
 zə'kat, em. אלתת zik-t-ā, JEA zik-tā 'goad', Sr zεk-'t-ā {PS}
 'stimulus', {Br.} 'stimulus, virga, baculus', {JPS} (derived?) zākū't-ā
 'goad'; ? CS *zik- > BHb תיקת zik-k-īm 'fire arrows' (h. 1. Pr. 26.18),
 MHb {Js.} תיקת zik-īn 'sparks, burning arrows'; 'shooting stars
 (meteors)', JA {Js.} אלתת zik-ā 'shooting star' ¶ BK I 973, CAD XXI 132-
 3, Js. 395-6, 411, Sl. 411, Br. 204-5, PS 1151-2, JPS 119, KB 266, KBR
 278, DRS 682, 786 || ??φ Ch: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zak^w- ~ *zuk^w- 'stab,
 pierce' > Wrj nza^w-, Mbr zu^w-um-, Cg zug-um id. || CCh: Mf {BLB} zuk^w-
 'enfoncer, piquer dans' ¶ Sk. NB 41, Tk. NB 172, BLB 126 ¶¶ Tk. NB 172
 || **A** *^zigün∇ 'thorn, needle' > NaT {Rm.} **jigünä > *jignä 'needle,
 thorn' > OT U (MnSc), OT QU [MhK] jignä, Chg, XwT ignä, MQp [CC]
 igine, OTkm {TAG} يكتا jignā, Tkm inne, MQp {TAG} يينا jīnā
 'needle', Tk iğne, Az iynä, VTt inä 'needle, thorn', SY {ET} ijinne
 'needle, needle of a conifer', {Tn.} jinne ~ žinji 'needle', ET {BN} jinä ~
 ignä, Δ žinä, Uz igna, Qzq ине ыне, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt iyne, Bsh
 ьnä, Xk иње ње, Tv ine, Yk inä ¶ Cl. 110, TAG 12, 110, ET Gl 367-9,
 TrR 432, Grøn. 105, BN 63, 76 || M *^zešün 'needle' > MM [MA] جون
 {Pp.} že.ün, [IM] جون {Pp.} žün, [HI] {Ms.} žö.ün, WrM zegün ~
 zegüü, HIM зүү(н-), MMgl {Iw.} žaün, Mgl {Rm.} žöün, Mnr H {SM}
 žiü, Dx žun, WrO zün, Kl зун (gen. зуннә), {Rm.} zün id. ¶ MED
 1044, Pp. MA 205, 439, KRS 260-1, KW 485, Rm. M 42, H 89, T 334, T
 DnJ 120, Iw. 109, Ms. H 69, Krg. 685 ¶¶ KW 485 (M, T), Rm. EAS II 206
 (M, T *jigünä) ◇ If S *^lza|ik-at-, CS *zik-, and NrBc *zak^w- ~ *zuk^w-
 belong here, their cns. *-k- suggests HS *✓zğ? and N *^zig∇?U. The
 vw. *u in S *^oz^ru^lgg-, in NrBc *zuk^w-, and in Mf zuk^w- may have been
 induced by the N word-final *U.

2707. ₂ *^zôg∇ 'shoulder' (or 'ē part of the shoulder') > **HS:** C: Ag: Bln
 {R} zəg ~ zēg 'shoulder(-blade)', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side' ||
 SC ⇨ Mb ki-zóga ~ ki-zóxa ~ ki-zóka id. || CCh: Mofu {Ross.} ma-
 zag^wóm, Mlk {Ross.} zágòm 'shoulder' ¶ Ross. 325 [#637] ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5-
 6 (Ch, SC) || **A:** M: MM [S] {H} зорудус 'in den Rücken, den Rücken

entlang' | M {Adb.} *²uʁan 'waist part of the backbone' > WrM 30(n), HIM 300(n) 'base of spine; vertebrae, spine' ¶ H 92, MED 1068 || AdS of NaT *jagrIn ({Adb.} *jaʁun) 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' (< N *dagor∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back' × N *²∇gEr∇ [or *²∇rg∇?] 'back' ['dorsum']) ¶ ET J 65-7, TL 242-3 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Adb.) Neg joktoχōn 'a hollow between shoulder-blades' and Ud jokpo 'pectoral arch (of birds)', because the primary meaning of this Tg √ is 'angle' (STM I 262) ¶¶ Adb. MSR 199, ≈ Adb SR-D 443.

2708. *²Ug'U' 'to move somewhere' (intr., trans.) > HS: S *^o√zgw > Ar √zǧw (3m pf. **زَجَا** zaǧā, 3m ip. ʁa-zǧū) 'pousser, faire aller' ¶ BK I 976 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} zage, zege v. 'follow', zga v. 'return back (zurückkehren)' || ECh: Mb {J} žàgé v. 'follow' ¶ Lk. L 127-8, ChC s.v. 'follow' || **а** ({DQA} *²ugi- v. 'carry [on the back]'): M *²ü|öge- ({Pp.} *²ü|öge-) v. 'move/carry (sth.), transport' > MM [S] 3u₁e- 'hinstellen', MM [HI] d. žüge₁ü- 'faire transporter', WrM {Pp.} 3ǧge-, {SM, MED} 3öge-, HIM 3eθ-x v. 'move (sth.) from one place to another, transport', Kl 3eθ- zō- id., 'carry\convey from one place to another' ('возить, таскать'), Ord {Ms.} žō- 'transporter', Mnr H {SM} žō- id., {T} žō- id., Ba {T} žō-, Dg {T} žug-ā-, {Z} джүвэ- id., Dx {T} žue- 'carry from one place to another' ¶ MED 1074, KW 479, H 94, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 212, SM 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, T DgJ 144 || Tg *jugū-/ *juge- v. 'transport, convey' > Ewk juχū- v. 'carry\transport from one place to another' ('перетащить, перенести, перевезти'), Lm juχu-, Neg juwu- ~ juχu-, Orc žusi-, Ud žū-, žūgi-, {Krm.} žū-, žūsi- id., WrMc 3uwe-, 3uwenu- v. 'carry\convey from one place to another, transport on ships' ¶ STM I 269-70, Krm. 234 || pKo {S} *čì > MKo čì-, NKO čì- v. 'carry on the back' ¶ S QK #601, MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31 || ?φ pre-T {Cl.} **jū-, {Rm.} **jü- ⇨ (with the sx. *-δ-, see Cl. xlvi) T *jūδ- > OT jūδ- v. {Cl.} 'carry (sth.)', {MKD} vt. 'load, حَمَلٌ', Tlt {Rl.} jüy- 'carry out' (?), ?φ ET Δ {Jr.} jūd- 'carry, load on one's shoulders'; ⇨ T *jük n. 'load, burden' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC], Chg ≥xv jük id., Tk ʁǧk, Tkm, A, Kr, Nog, ET, SY jük, Uz juk, Alt žük, Xk čük, Chv śьk id. ('груз, тяжесть'), Tv {Ra.} чүьк čűk, Tf {Ra.} ćűk 'load\burden (carried on the back)', Qmq jük, Qzq, Qq žük, VTt, Bsh йөк jǧk, QbB žük 'load' ¶ Cl. 885-6, 910-1, Rm. W 212, ET J 262-3, MKD 235, Rl. III 611, Jr. 16, BT 59, Ra. 199 ¶¶ Pp. VG 28, 111, Rm. SKE 31 (Ko, T, M, Tg), DQA #2629 || **д** *čō(y)- ({ǧGS} s- or *ś-?) 'drive (away), send' (× N *²'U'χU

'cause [so., sth.] to move from one place to another' ['lead, send'], q.v. ffd.).

2709. * \bar{z} Ug ∇ 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > **A** * \bar{z} 'Ugdu > T: NaT *jogdu > OT {Cl.} j \bar{o} ṽdu 'the long hair under a camel's chin', ? ϕ Qrg čūda 'long hair of a camel (under the throat, on knees); long soft sheep wool' (č̣- suggests borrowing from a T lge with initial devoicing) ¶ Cl. 899, Jud. 877 || M (← T?): WrM z \bar{o} gdur, HIM/Br \bar{t} z \bar{o} rdop 'long hair on the throat of a camel, mane of a lion', Kl z \bar{o} rdp z \bar{o} gdər 'mane of a camel\lion', Ord {Ms.} žu'gd'r 'long hair on the neck\legs\head of a camel' → Qrg ž \bar{o} ṽd \bar{o} r 'lock of hair on camel's occiput; long feathers under the throat of a golden eagle or a krasavka (∈ crane)', Tv č \bar{o} ṽdur 'loose-hanging skin on camel's\bull's breast under its throat' ¶ MED 1067, KRS 250, Chr. 255, Ms. O 216, Jud. 255, TvR 537 || **HS**: B: Sll {Ds.} a-zāg 'crin du cou', Ah ā-ha \acute{g} (pl. i-ha \acute{g} gān) 'crête de poils de la bosse de chameau', ETwl/Ty {GhA} ā-zag (pl. i-z \bar{b} gg- \bar{n}) 'crin (poil de crinière), crinière', Gh {Nh.} a-zež 'poil (des personnes)' (pl. i-zažž- \bar{n}) ¶ Pr. H #171, Fc. 530, Ds. 83 || SC → Mb i-zigizigi 'mane' ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 || **IE**: Ht suksuqa 'Stirnhaar [?] (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes)' ¶ Ts. W 77 ◊ Not here **K**: G zua 'horse hair' (< N * \bar{z} ü \bar{h} \bar{y} ∇ 'fibre, thick hair').

2710. \bar{z} U \bar{g} ' \bar{r} ' ∇ g ∇ (or * \bar{z} ü \bar{g} ∇ ' \bar{r} ' ∇) (? 'bring' →) 'give, give in exchange' > **HS**: S * \bar{o} ✓ \bar{c} g \bar{w} (or * \bar{o} ✓ \bar{m} g \bar{w}) > Gz šagga \bar{w} a v. 'bestow favour, give graciously', šag \bar{g} ā 'grace, favour, gift' ¶ S * \bar{c} - < ** \bar{z} ? \bar{r} ?) ¶ LG 551 || Ch: pAG {Stl.} *zugum 'present, gift' > Su {J} zūgūm, Ang {Flk.} zum || CCh: Msy {Mch.} skam v. 'sell' || ECh: Mu {J} sag 'bring' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #298, ChC || **A**: Tg *jugē- v. 'exchange' > Ewk ju \bar{x} ē- \bar{l} g \bar{z} -, Neg ju \bar{x} -t-, Nn, Ul ž \bar{u} z-č \bar{i} -, Ork du \bar{z} -li ¶ STM I 270, S AJ 225 [#304] || pKo *č \bar{u} - 'give' > MKo č \bar{u} -, NKo č \bar{u} - (× a N word underlying Ugr *čay ∇ 'give', see UEW 841) ¶ S AJ 252 [#35], S QK #35, MLC 435 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 294 [#556] (A *č \bar{u} ag ∇), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *čögā 'give, exchange', ≈ DQA #242 (A *č \bar{i} ōge id., incl. Tg, Ko).

2711. * \bar{z} Eg|k ∇ r ∇ (= * \bar{z} Eg|k ∇ r ∇ ?) antelope' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *žagari '∈ antelope' > Hs Kc {Sch.} ž \bar{a} gá \bar{r} ī, {Abr.} ž \bar{a} gá \bar{r} ī 'buck duiker', Hs K {Ba.} ž \bar{a} gátī id. || BT: Gera {Gw.} jw \bar{a} ngere (j = ž) 'roan antelope' || CCh: Gude {ChL} ž \bar{i} g \bar{r} á, Nz {ChL} ž \bar{u} g \bar{l} á, FIM ž \bar{t} g \bar{r} ú 'antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [#460], Sch. BTL 117, Abr. H 413, Ba. 485, ChL || **A**: M *ž \bar{e} xere(n) 'gazelle' > MM ž \bar{e} ren {Ms.} 'gazelle', {Lew.} 'antelope', WrM

zegere(n), HIM зээр 'antelope' (sc. 'gazelle'), Kl {KRS} зээрн zērəŋ 'Persian gazelle, джейран', {Rm.} zērŋ 'Reh, Rehkuh'; M б→ NPrs جيران žejrān 'gazelle', OOsM جيران žeyran, Tk ceγran, Az žeyran, Tkm žeren, Alt žēren, SY žigir 'antelope', žiger, jiger 'deer, roe' (the SY loanwords preserve the old M stem-medial cns. *-ɣ- as -g-), R джейран 'gazelle' (← T ← M); it is hardly tenable to postulate a pT source of the above words of T lgs. (Rm.'s pT *žāgīrān) because the word is not attested in texts preceding the Mongolian conquest and is easily explained as a loan from M; Chr {Ü} йыгар jьgar 'ε a beast' may be a loan from the abovementioned T/M source ¶ Ms. H 67, Lew. II 29, MED 1043, KRS 246, KW 474, Dr. TM I ##301-2, Rs. W 194, Ü 314 || D (in SD) *oćikar- > Kn cigari, cigare 'black buck of antelope' ¶ ≈ D #2504 (connecting this word with Kn jirke, Tu jirkæ, and Tl jirka 'antelope', which in fact belong to N *ž'a'ń₁∇₁g|kU 'antelope' [q.v.]).

2712. *žega 'to get\be sated' > K: GZ *žey-/ *žy- v. 'be sated, be filled' > OG, G žy-/žey- id., Mg ržy-, Lz žy- id. ¶ K 235-6, K² 280, FS K 423, Q 313-4, Chik. 390-1 || IE *seḡ-/ *sḡ- 'be sated', *seḡ-ti- 'satiety' > NaIE *sā-/ *sə- v. 'be\get sated', *sā-ti- 'satiety' > OI a-si-n- 'unsatable', sā-tan 'pleasure' || Tc: A {Wn.} si-, si-n- vt. 'satisfaire, rassasier', vi. 'être satisfait\rassasié', B {Ad.} sou- 'satisfy oneself, be satisfied' || Gk ἄω (aor. inf. ἄσαι) vt., vi. 'sate; take one's fill (of sth.)', ἄατος (< *ḡ-sə-to-s) 'unsatable', ἄμενα (with ā) 'satisfy oneself' || L satur 'sated', satis 'enough' || OIr sáith (< *sāti-) 'satiety, sufficiency' || Gt saps, ON saðr, OSx sad, OHG sat 'satt, gesättigt', NHG satt 'sated', AS sæd 'sated; weary, disgusted with', NE sad || Lt sótis 'satiety, satiation', sotūs (accus. sōtū) 'sated', Ltv sāts 'satiety, moderation', Pru sātuinei · "sättigt" | It is not clear if one may adduce Sl *sītь 'sated' (> OCS сѣтъ sītь, R сѣт, 'сѣтый, P сѣту, Cz sýtý, Blg сѣт, SCr sīt, sītī, etc.) because of its deviant vw. || Arm հաճ hač 'content(ed), pleased, satisfied' || Ht {EI, Ad.← ?} sāh- v. 'stuff full, clog up' ¶ WP II 444-5, P 876, EI 500 (*seh₂(i)- 'satisfy, fill up' ⇨ *seh₂tis 'satisfaction', *sh₂tos 'satisfied'), Mn. 1113, F I 159, WH II 481-2, Vn. S 15-6, Fs. 411-2, Vr. 459, Ho. 267, Kb. 829, KM 625, Wn. 426, Frn. 857, En. 242, Vs. III 821, Chr. II 222, ≈ Glh. 550 (explains Sl *ī in *sītь by postulating its origin from IE *seḡ^ω₁-, which is unc., because IE *eḡ^ω would have yielded NaIE *ō rather than

***u** [a reg. source of Sl *i] and because OIr *sáith* suggests **sā-*), Ad. 703 || **A** {DQA} **žē-* 'eat' > T **jē-* v. 'eat' > OT/Qp {Cl.} *jē-*, Tk *ye-*, Δ *jī-*, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg *je-*, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Uz *je-*, Tkm *ий- ī-* (< **jī-* < **jē-*), ET *je(y)-* ~ *jä-*, Ggz *ji-*, SY *je-* ~ *ji-* ~ *ži-*, Ln *je-* ~ *ji-* ~ *že-*, Qzq, Qq *že-*, Qrg *že-*, Alt *ži-*, Tb *je-*, Xlj *jīḡ-*, *jē-*, Xk *чи- čl-*, Tv *či-*, Tf *čí-*, Yk *sīā-*, Chv *śi-* ¶ Cl. 869-70, Rs. W 194, ET Gl 333-5, DT 224, Tz. UIS 107, Ra. 196, Fed. II 114-5 || pKo {S} **čā-* 'eat' > MKo *čā-sí-* id., NKo *časi-* id. ¶ S QK #25, Nam 411, MLC 1380 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2596 (A **žē* 'eat'; incl. T, Ko), ≠ S AJ 35, 281 ◇ IS MS 340 (**zeḡn* v. 'eat'), Glh. 550 (**SaHU* / **SUHa*) ◇ Hardly here **U** **seḡe-* 'eat' (see N **sēg|k* ▽ 'to eat, swallow').

2713. ₂ **žḡg'i* 'rancid, bitter, rank, fetid' > **K** {FS} **žay-*, {K} **mžay-* 'rancid' > G *mžay-*, G G *žay-* 'rank, rancid, bitter', Mg *žuy-*, Sv {K} *māžiy* 'rank, rancid' ¶¶ K DE 363, K² 130, FS K 420, FS E 473, Mach. K 25, DCh. 926, Glh. 684 || **HS**: S **√zḡḡ* > Ar *žay-*, *zuy-* 'odeur fétide des aisselles' ¶ BK I 993, DRS 776 || ?φ B **√zḡy* ~ *z* **√zḡy* v. 'be bitter' > Gh *ižža* 'bitter', Si {La.} *žay* v. 'be bitter', Skn *zāy* 'bitter', Nf *yažay*, Snd *yažāi* 'it is bitter' ¶ La. S 194 ¶ The forms registered without emphatization of **z* may be due to inaccurate recording ¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 5 (Ar ÷ ≠φ Ak *žay* 'duften', ≠φ,σ Kz *žipā-muko* [pl. *žipā-iko* 'sperm']).

2714. ≈ **žih₁* ▽ 'to press, to knead, to rub' > **K** **zḡh-*, {K, K²} *z-* 'press, squeeze' > Mg {Q, Chik.} *z-* 'knead', Lz {Chik.} *z-* 'crush' (ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ, раздавить) (unless < **z|-* < N **žilḡa* 'to shove', 'to knead\stir' [q.v.]), Sv {K} *zih-* v. 'press, squeeze (?)' ¶¶ K 86, K² 55-6, Q 235, Chik. 274-5, FS E 141 || **IE**: Ht *saḡ-/siḡa-* 'festdrücken, einprägen' ¶ Ts. W 67, Frd. HW 175 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: pSBc **zḡw-* v. 'press' ('давить, мять') > Buli *nžòwú*, Plc *žòwú* | NrBc: Pa'a {MSk.} *žew* id. || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} *čey* v. 'press' ¶ Stl. ZCh 262 [#16], ChC s.v. 'press' || ?? S **√zḡw* > Mh, Jb *√zḡw* v. G 'bump into, push out of the way' ¶ Jo. M 467 ◇ The origin of Sv -h- (most probably, from some N lr.) still needs investigating.

2715. (₂?) **ž'o'hE* 'to scatter' > ?φ **K**: GZ **čw(i)-* {K²} vi. 'pour, fall' (of dry substances) > OG *gardamocwiden zecit* 'fall from the sky' (Matth. 24.29), G *čvi-* vi. 'pour, fall' ('сыпаться', 'hinunter-\herunter-\ab-fallen), Mg *č(i)-*, Lz (n)č- id. ¶ K 224 ('sich verschütten'), K² 265,

FS K 398-9 ¶¶ K *c- is probably from *ch- < pre-K *ǵh < N *ǵv̥h- || HS: S *o-zūh- > Ar ✓zw̥h (pf. zāha, ip. -zūh-) 'dispenser', 'scatter' ¶ BK I 1025, Hv. 300 || IE: [1] IE *seh₁y₂- > NaIE *sē(i)-/*sə(i)- v. 'sow' > L ser-ō (< *se-s-ō) / -ēre / sē-vī / sǎ-tu-s 'sow' || Gmc *sējan > Gt saian (p. saísō), ON sá (p. sera), OHG sāen, NHG säen, OSx sāian, AS sāwan 'to sow', NE saw || Lt sé-ti (1s prs. séju), Ltv sēt (1s pr. sējū) 'to sow' || Sl *sě-ti (inf.) / 1s prs. *sěj-q 'sow', (-d) *sěja-ti inf. 'to sow' > OCS inf. сѣти sěti ~ сѣяти sějati / prs. сѣх sějǫ, SCr sījati / sījēm, Slv sejati / sějem, OCz sieti / sěju, Cz síti / seji, P siać / sieję, R 'сеять / сею, Blg (1s prs.) 'сея v. 'sow' || Clt d.: OIr síl 'a seed (Same)', W hil 'seed, progeny' || Ht sā(i)- {Ad. ← ?} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot' | -d) [1a] NaIE *sē-m̥ 'a seed (Same), sowing' > L sēmen 'a seed' || OSx, OHG sāmo, NHG Same id. || Olt sēmuō 'sowing', Lt sémenys 'linseed', Pru semen 'a seed' || Sl *sěmę (gen. *sěmen-e) 'a seed (Same)' > OCS сѣма sěmę, Blg 'семе, SCr cěme & sjěme, Slv sěme, Cz simě, Slk semeno, P siemię, R 'семя | [1b] NaIE d. *sē-to-, *sə-to- pp. 'sown, scattered' > L sǎtum 'sown' || Clt: Britt [RE] *satos 'seed (semen)' > W, Br had, OBr att, MBr hat, Crn hās || Gt mana-sēps 'mankind, world' (lit. 'man-seed'), ON sǎð 'chaff; seed', OHG sāt 'seeds, seed-field', NHG Saat, OFrs sēd, AS sǎd 'sowing, seed', NE seed | [1c]: L sǎtio n. act. 'sowing, planting' || OIr, Nlr saithe 'swarm, litter' (< *satio), W haid, Br hed 'swarm' || [2] NaIE *sē(i)- 'scatter, sift' > Lt sijó-ti, Ltc sijât 'sift' || Sl: OCS расѣти rasěti (< *raz-sěti) ~ расѣяти rasějati 'to scatter, to disperse', Cz rozsíti, R рас'сеять 'to disperse', Hls sác (1s prs. saju), Lls sas 'to sift', OCS просѣяти pro-sějati 'to sift (cribrare, durchsieben)', Cz prosíti, R про'сеять id. || Gk ἡθέρω (ἡ-θέρω) v. 'sift' | NaIE d. *sēi-to 'sieve' > Lt síeta-s, Ltv siēt-s, Sl *síto 'sieve' > Blg, R 'сито, SCr sító, Slv síto, Cz síto, Slk, P sito | NaIE d. *sē-tlo- v. 'sieve' > W hidl, OBr sizl, Br sil, OIr síthlaid 'he sieves' || Gmc *sēθla n. 'sieve' > ON sǎld, Dn sold, Sw sǎll, ↳ F seula, Krl siekla & šiekla id. ¶¶ Hardly here Ht {Pv.} ishūwa(i)- v. 'shed, throw, scatter, pour' ({Pv.}: ÷ Gk ἰνύω 'empty out', OI iṣ- 'impel' < IE *HeṷsH-), {Frd., Ts.} suhha- 'schütten' ¶ P 889-90, EI 534 (*seh₁- 'sow'), 505 (*seh₁-men 'seed'), 518 (*seh₁(i)- 'sift', *seh₁-tlo- 'sieve'), WH II 512, 522, Vn. S

108-9, 121-2, RE 127, Fs. 344, 403-4, Vr. 459-60, Hlq. 1142-3, SK 1005, Kb. 817, 827, 829, OsS 736, 742, 745, Ho. 267, 270, Ho. S 62, Frn. 774, 778-9, 783-4, En. 245, Vs. III 600-1, 615, Glh. 546, 550, SJSS 385, 625-6, Chrn. II 160, FI 624-5, Ad. 683, Pv. I-II 404, Frd. HW 196, Ts. W 67, 77.

2716. ?σ₂ *¹zof₁∇₁k∇ 'back end, tail' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, to follow [game] by the tracks') > **HS:** S *^ozaf₁∇₁k- > Ar {BK, BKIG, Dz.} zafak-at- 'tail', Ar Mgr {Dz.} zafk-at- 'derrière, cul', ?? Ar zafk-at {Fr.} 'mora, qua subsistunt', {BK} 'temps que l'on reste quelque part', {Hv.} 'delay, stay in a place' ¶ Fr. II 238, BK I 991, Hv. 280, BKIG II 416, Dz. I 593 || B *[✓]zhg (= {Pr.} *[✓]zh₁g) > Ah əhəǵ v. 'suivre rapidement', ETwl/Ty {GhA} əzəǵ, Tnsl {Pr. ← ABs., MtT} əšəǵ id., Gh {Nh.} čī-m-zik 'vengeance'; B *-zūk- (< *-zuHk-) > Tz ta-zuk-t, Tmz {MT} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'buttock, hip, thigh', Izd {Mrc.} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'fesse' ¶ Fc. 524, Pr. H #170, GhA 210, MT 801, Mrc. 116, 421 || C: EC: Sml žēgō, Sml N žēgō 'nape of the neck', Arr {Hw.} zéh id. || ? C → Mb {E} ki-zóga ~ ki-zóya 'shoulder' ¶ ZMO 219, Abr. S 139, Hw. A 401, E SC 190 || NrOm {Blz.} *zikk- ~ *zukk- 'back (dorsum)' > Shn {Beke} 'žikkō, {Lm.} žīkǎ, Bdt {C} zahī, Kcm {Fl.} zahe, Wl {C} zikkō, {Beke} zokko, {LmS} zokkuwa, Dwr {C} zikkō, {Beke} 'zokko, {LmS} zokke, Oyda {Fl.} 'zokko, Gm {Hw.} zókkō, Male, Dc {LmS} zokko id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #4, Lm. Sh 323, LmS 568, Hw. EG || **A:** M: WrM zōgu 'barb of a harpoon' ¶ Gl. III 511, MED 1067 || **AdS** of **IE** *sehǵ-/ *shǵ- > NaIE *sāǵ-/ *sǵ- 'scent out, track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (P, Vn., F: an ancient hunting term) (< N *¹sahk'a¹ 'search, find, know', q.v. ffd.).

2717. *³zūk₁∇₁?₁∇ ~ *³zūk₁∇₁E 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants)' > **HS:** S *^o✓zkw > Ar ✓zkw (pf. كَزَّ zakā, ip. -zkū) v. 'grow' (a plant) ¶ BK I 1002, Hv. 292 || ?φ Eg fMK skǵ n. 'crops', (??) → Eg fP skǵ ({EG} śkǵ) v. 'plough, cultivate a field' (× ÷ S *[✓]škk > Ar sikk-at- 'ploughshare', Ak ✓škk 'aufreihen, eggen' ÷ Hs sàk^ωámí 'ε hoe') ¶ EG IV 315-6, Fk. 251, Tk. I 217-8, Hv. 327 ¶¶ The S-Eg comparison is qu. φ (there is no proof that Eg ś is cognate with S *z), therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects it; however, it is acceptable if the devoicing *³ > Eg ś is accounted for by as. or if the noun skǵ is primary, while the verb skǵ is derived from it or does not belong here || **U:** FU *sükś∇ 'autumn' > F syksy, syys, Es sügis (/sügisē-) id. || pLp {Lr.} *ć3kć3 id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaktje, L {LLO}, U {Schl.} tjaktja, N {N} čâk'čâ, K {Gn.} čēǵč

|| pMr {Ker.} *sukśa > *sokśa 'autumn' > Er сѣкъсь śokś, Δ sokś, śoks, Mk сѣкъсе śokśa, Δ śokś, śoks, seks || pChr {Ber.} *šičь id. > Chr L 'шыже šьže, Chr H шыжыи šaža || Vt сѣзьыл siž+1, Vt G śiž+1 id. || ObU {Ht.} *θū̄yas id. > pVg {Ht.} *tūkās id. > Vg: T tüks, LK/SV tāx^{ws}, MK/NV tāk^{ws}, P tāxs ~ tāxs, LL tāxs, UL/Ss tak^{ws}; pOs {Ht.} *sō̄yas id. > Os: V/Vy sō̄yas, Ty sē̄x^{was}, Y/D/K sē̄was, Nz/Kz sūs, O sus || Hg ősz id. ¶ UEW 443, Coll. 116, Db. OS xxx, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU, FP *śukśi, Ugr *θū̄ksī), Lr. #103, Lgc. #449, Hs. 1300, Gn. 730, Ker. II 145, Ht. #133, U3S 392, Ep. 161 ¶ Lp *ć-, Er, Mk ś-, and Os *s- (reg. reflexes of FU *ś-) are due to as. (*s...ś > *ś...ś) || | A ≈ *ǰük∇(-r∇) 'edible cereals, millet' > NaT *jügür 'millet' > OT QU jügür ~ ügür (MKA III 9) id., OT U ügür ≙ üyür ∈ 'small seed, millet', MU üyür 'millet', Qrg S {Jud.} žügorü 'sorghum', Qrg N {Jus.} žügorü 'maize', Osm čökäri 'grains of Bukharian millet'; T ⇨ Kl Ö žügür 'kaoliang (Sorghum japonicum)' ¶ Cl. 275-6, TL 458, Br. MT 94, KW 116, Jud. 272 || Tg *jiy|ga ~ ? *jiy|ge 'millet' > Orc žī̄3-kt3, Ud žakta, Neg jākta, {PSchm.} jū̄akta id., Nn Nh/KU žī̄3kt3, Nn B žikt3, ž3kt3 id., 'rice', Sln jakta 'porridge, food', WrMc že 'fine millet; corn' ¶ STM I 244 || pKo *čòh 'millet' > MKo čò / čòh-, NKo čò id., {Rm} čjò 'millet, Setaria germanica' ¶ S QK #249, Nam 427, MLC 1568, Rm. PKE 37 ¶¶ Rm. PKE 37 (T, Ko), Rm. EAS I 65 (erroneously adduces Chv śbǵbr 'bread', which is from T *juǵu-r 'kneaded' [Jeg. 205-6, ET J 243-4]), DQA #2616 (A *ǰjū̄gi 'millet') || | D *čugg-, {ǰGS} *sugg- 'harvest, season of harvest' > Gnd sugge 'harvest', Kn suggi 'the season of gathering crop (esp. the time of reaping corn and grain), spring (from the middle of March to that of May)', Tu suggi 'harvest, the second rice-crop, the 12th Tulu month (March-April)' ¶¶ DED #2176, D #2647 ◇ IS MS 370 (*zuk^h 'harvest'), AD NM #16, S CNM 12.

2718. ?WW *ǰ'a'k∇n̄∇ 'elephant' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} žānā (pl. žān), Q žānā (pl. žān, žānt), Aw {Fl.} zigoni 'elephant'; C ⇨ Amh zshon ⇨ Xm {R} zohon ~ zehon || EC ≈ *zakan- id. > Af {R} dakāno (pl. dōkūn), Sa {CR} dakun, Sml Hw/Og {R} dagon ~ dogon id., Or B/O {Sr.} dannabā arbā, Or Wt {Sr.} dannawā arbā 'female elephant' (arbā 'elephant') (⇨ Dhl {EEN} dānnaβa, {To.} dānnabe 'female elephant') || pHEC *zāne ({Hd.} *zāne) 'elephant' > Kmb {Hd.} zanē(-čču) (pl. zanākata), Sd {Hd., Gs.} dān-iččo (pl. dāniwo), Hd {Hd.} dāne-ččo id. || Ya {Hn.} so'gómèj (pl. sogomejdi) id. || Dhl {EEN} dōkkōmi, {To.} dokōmi

'elephant' ¶ AD SF 107, PH 79, Hd. 56, 274, 344, 358, LZ 120, Hn. Y II 124, Sr. 285, EEN 28, To. D 132 || Om: NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf/Bk/Cha {C} dangarsā, Dwr {CR} dangarsa, Gm {Hw.} dangārsi, Zs {C} dongor, Bdt {C, CR} zakkā, Kcm {Lm. ← ?} zākka, Hrr {Hw.} zākka 'elephant' || Ym {Wdk.} zāknó id. || Kf {C} dangiyo, Mch {L} dāngao, {Lm.} dengawo, Anf dangeččo, Shn {Mrn.} dangas, {C} dangeša id. (but {Lm.} dangeššá 'buffalo') || ? Mj/Na {Lm. ← ?} dōr, Shk {Lm. ← ?} dōro 'elephant' ||| SOm: Hm {Fl.} donger, Ari B dongor id. ¶ AD SF 107, Blz. OL #133, Wdk. BY 139, L M 27, Lm. Sh 296-7, CR H 666, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG, Hw. NKL 222 || Ch ≈ *^rz'∇k∇n- 'elephant' > WCh: BT: Tng {J} yugne, Tng B {ChL} yókuné, Gera {Sch.} yoni, Ngm {ChL} yàwèn, Krf {Gw.} yiwuni, {Sch.} yūnī, Bl {Mch.} jauno? (j = [y]) id. || Ngz {Sch.} žaunàk (pl. žaunànín) id. || NrBc: My {Sk. in ChC} yáwùn, {ChL} yéwìn, Sir {Sk.} yōwání, Mbr {Sk.} yáwìn, Jmb yáwàn id. || Bg {J} yuwàn, {Csp.} yuwan, {Sh.} ywàn, Grn {Hrn.} yíwón, {Csp.} yōwón id. ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} žùwàn id. ¶ JI II 124-5, Sk. NB 20, Sch. DN 83, J T 171, ChC s.v. 'elephant', ChL, Hrn. G #145, Sh. BZ 29, Csp. 16, 48 ||| **A:** NaT *jagān 'elephant' > OT jaṽān, XwT XIV, MU XIV [Rbg.] jaṽan, SY jaṽan ~ jaṽan, Tv čān, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān (= žán) id. (here also Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān, Alt {BT} žān 'big, great'??); T ⇨ M *žāṽan > WrM žagan, HIM заан zān 'elephant' ¶ MED 1023, Kow. 2245 ¶ Cl. suggests that Alt/Tlt jān and Tv čān may be reborrowings from M ¶ Cl. 904, ET J 60, Rl. III 79, TvR 504 ||| ?**ϕ** D *yān(aṽ), [GS] *yān- 'elephant' > Tm yānai, ānai, Ml āna, Kt, Td a'n, Kn āne, yāne, Kdg a'ne, Tu ānæ, Tl ēnūgu, ēnika, Klm enāgī & ēngi, Nkr ēnagī, Prj ēnu, Gdb ēnig, Gnd yēnī & aṽnī & ēnal & ēni & ēn, Knd ēngu & ēni ¶¶ D #5161, GS 134 [#347] ||| **IE:** loans from unknown sources: Gk γίγας (gen. γίγαντος) 'giant', Lt † gogas 'giant' (P 'wielkolud'), Ltv Δ gāgan-s 'giant; long rope', ? OI gaja-ḥ 'elephant' ¶ F I 305-6, Frn. 161, ME I 616, M K I 314, M E I 458 ◇ The unexpected D *y- needs explaining; it is likely to suggest that D *yān(aṽ) is a loanword ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#51] (suggested that D {Blz.} *yān [sc. *yān-] may go back to *iyan < *čīyan < *čīgan).

2719. (₂?) *žā1∇ (or *žā1∇1∇) 'flame' > **U:** FU *śala(-) 'lighten; lightning' > F salama 'lightning' ||| ObU {Ht.} *sā1- v. 'lighten' > pVg {Ht.} *sā1- > Vg: T sā'1-, LK/UL/Ss sā1-, MK/UK/NV/LL/ML sā1-, P sā1- ~ sā1- v. 'lighten', P salna 'lightning'; pOs {Ht.} *sāl-, *sāla- v. 'lighten' > Os: V sāl-, sāla-, Ty sāḥ-, Km sāt-, Nz sōt- id., Y sāl, D/K sāt 'lightning'

¶ UEW 459, Coll. 111, Ht. ##589 || A *ǰali- > NaT *jal- v. 'blaze, burn, shine' > OT jal- id., StAlt {BT} ǰali-, Tlt {RL} jalī-, Shor {RL} čal- id., Yk sal- 'roast (on fire)'; ⇨ [1] NaT *jalIn 'flame' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg jalIn, OOSm jalIn, Tk ɣalIn, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog jalIn, Qzq, Qq žalIn, Qrg žalIn, Tlt {RL} jalIn, Xk čalIn, Qzl {Jk.} šālIn 'flame', Tv čalIn n. 'heat from the fire', Tkm jalIn id., 'flame'; [2] NaT *jalKIn 'flame' > Tk ɣalkIn, ET jalqun, Uz jalqin, Qzq žalqin, VTt, Bsh jalqɛn, Alt žalqIn, Tb/QK {RL} jalɣIn ¶ Rs. W 181, Cl. 918, 929, ET J 106-7, TL 356-7, 363, Rl. III 165, 1877, Md. 160, TvR 515, BIG 310 ¶ Cf. N *ǰuɣIṽ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' (possibly a secondary source of the T √) || M *ǰali 'flame' > WrM ǰali, HIM заль 'flame, spirit', WrO {Krg.} zali 'flame, splendour, glory', zaliɕa- v. 'blaze, flame', Kl заль n. 'flame' ¶ MED 1031, Krg. 659, KRS 239 || ? HS: amb S *°√zlɣ 'burn (so.'s skin) with fire', (× N *ǰūhṽ, lɣṽ (or *ǰu, hṽ, lɣE) 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the S word goes back to the N etymon in question, the N rec. is *ǰalṽ (not *ǰalɣṽ, because N *-lɣ- yields U *-ǰ-). Otherwise it is N *ǰalṽ.

2720. *ǰæLṽ 'to swing, to wave, to be shaky', (?) 'to spring, to leap' > HS: WS *°√zl(z)l > BHb √zll N 'shake, quake' (of mountains) (3p pf. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 ná'zollū), Ar √zll D 'faire trembler, secouer, agiter', TD (pf. tazalzala) 'be agitated, quake' (esp. of earthquake), zalzāl 'earthquake', ChrPA mzdll 'drunken', Sr √zll G {Br.} 'subsiliuit', Gz {L} √zll G 'move, be shaken, swing, be agitated' ¶ Br. 196, BK I 1004-5, BDB 272, ≈ DRS 738, L G 638 || A: Tg: WrMc ɣele, ɣelen 'shaky, shaky gait of a drunken man; doubtful, uncertain' ¶ Z 977 || IE: NaE *sel- / {Brg.} *s.ɔ- v. 'jump, leap' > L salīō (pfc. saluī) vi. 'spring, leap, jump, bound', frq. saltā- 'dance' (VL *saltā- 'jump' > It saltare, Fr sauter, Sp, Prt saltar), L n. act. saltus (gen. saltūs) 'a spring, leap, bound' || Gk ἄλλομαι ({Brg.} < *s.ɔy-) vi. 'spring, leap, bound', ἄλα 'a spring, leap, bound', ἄλις n. 'leaping' || (+ext.) Sl *°sɔlpa-ti (or *°sɔlpa-ti?) 'to spring, to leap' > ChS сльпати slɔpati ~ сльпати slɔpati id. ¶ WP II 505, P 899, H 323, WH II 468, F I 76, BD I 467, Tr. 256, Mikl. E 307, Mikl. L 861.

2721. *ǰiIṽ 'to slip, to slide' > HS: S *°√zll (or CS *°√zll) > Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ɣa-zill-u) v. 'slip away, lapsavit in loco lubrico', msd. zall- 'sliding' (× N *zûLṽ 'to fall, to crush down'), Ar D {Lb.} √zll 'glisser', NNEA {Mcl.} 𐎠𐎡𐎢 zêl zīl, zil n. 'sliding (glissade)' (← Ar?); +ext.: Ar

✓ z1χ v. 'slip' ¶ Fr. II 246, Ln. 1241, 1244, Hv. 293, Lb. 1847-8, Mcl. 86, ≈ DRS 738) || A: T *jīl- v. 'slide' (× T *jīl- v. 'creep' < N *ǰiXīV ~ *ǰiīXV 'to creep, to crawl') > VTt U ẓ̌ɫ- 'slide downhill', VTt I, SbTt Tō jīl- id., 'slide', Xk čīl- v. 'slide, ski', Tv čīl- 'slide (of sledge)', Yk sīl- v. 'ski', Alt/QK/Kü {RI.} jīl- v. 'slip' ¶ Length of T *i is due to the merger with T *jīl- v. 'creep' ¶ ≈ ET J 40-1, Rs. W 200, TTDS 178, 579, Tm. 90, Pek. 2440, RI. III 481 || M: WrM žildam, HIM жалдам 'skillful skater' ¶ Kow. 2347, MED 1055, Rm. EAS I 65-6 (mentions WrM ẓ̌ilgā, ẓ̌ilgai, ẓ̌ilgam, ẓ̌ilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', not confirmed by Kow., MED, Gl., and Bb.) || ?σ U *ś[čil]- 'smooth', v. 'whet' (× N *śīī - *śīīayV 'smooth, slippery', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *sleǵ-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (× N *śīī - *śīīayV '↑' [q.v. ffd.], see also N *ǰV L'i'Kæ 'to slip, to slide' and N *śV LχitV ~ *śV LχidV 'to slip').

2722. *zag_lV_li (or *zag_lV_layV) 'secret(ly); to deceive' > HS: S: Ar zaṣāl- 'counterfeit, adulterated' (of money, metal) ¶ Ln. 1235 || U *sala- v. 'do sth. secretly, steal' > F, Es sala n. 'secret', F salaa 'secretly, stealthily', Es salaja 'secretly' || pLp *sōlē 'thief, thievish, secretly' > Lp: S {Hs.} suoleh- 'steal', Vf {Lgc.} sūō'·'zḥ 'thief', sūā'·'dām̄ v. 'steal', L {LLO} suola 'thief', suollēt 'in secret, secretly', suolāti- 'steal', N {N} suolâ / -llâg- 'thief, thieveish', suoladi- 'steal, go stealthily', Kld {SaR} cūлл 'thief', cyэлнэ 'steal' || Er, Mk sala- 'steal' || pChr *solъ 'thief', *solъ- 'steal' (Ber: *šolə, *solə-) > Chr: H шолы šolъ 'thief', L шолып šolъp, Uf šolъp adj./adv. 'secret, -ly', H, L шолышт- šolъšt-, M solъšt- 'steal' || pObU {Ht.} *θūlām- v. 'steal', *θūlmV k 'thief' > pVg {Ht.} *tūlām- 'steal' > Vg: T tolmānt-, LK/MK/UL tūlmant-, P/NV/SV tuləmt-, LL tūləmt-, UL/Ss tūlmant- id.; pVg {Ht.} tūlmək 'thief' > Vg: T tōlmək, LK/MK tūlmək, P/NV/SV/LL tulmək, UL/Ss tūlmək id.; pOs {Ht.} *ɬalām- 'steal' > Os: V/O lalām-, Vy yalām-, Ty/Y ɬāɬām-, D/K totām-, Nz tətām-, Kz ɬɬɬām- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ɬalmək 'thief' > Os: Vy yalmaq, Y ɬāɬmaq, D/K totmaχ, NMz tətmaχ, Kz ɬɬɬmaχ, O lalmaχ id. || Sm {Jn.} *tālā-, {HI.} *tale- v. 'steal' > Ne: T тале-сь, T O {Lh.} tāl'ē-, F {Lh.} tāɬɬje·-ś; Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. tole'pama; En {Cs.}: (1s aor. obj.) X takibo, B tarebo 'steal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} tēl+- id., tēl+t 'secretly', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. tūzī'ab_ 'steal'; ⇨ Sm augm. {Jn.} *tālbyr-, {HI.} *talzr- 'steal' > Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'āyzerlam, Mt {HI.} *tälzr- (Mt M {Sp.} телернымъ 'I

steal') || Y: K {IN, Jc.} 010- v. 'steal, {Jc.} 'olol 'theft' ¶¶ UEW 430-1, Coll. 55, Sm. 540 (U, FU *sǎlǎ-, FP *sala-, Ugr *sǎla-, Sm *tǎlä- 'steal'), Lr. #1175, Lgc. #7150, Lgc. SL #2255, Hs. 1266, SaR 331, Ber. #338, MRS 716-7, Ep. 152, Ht. #141, Jn. 150-1, Lh. 470, KKH 182, Hl. M #975, IN UASJu 86, Ang. 194, ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [#51] (Y ← U), KD 470 || ¶ (? *ǰal'i¹-): NaT *jala 'false accusation' > OT {Cl.} jalā ≈ false accusation; (?) suspicion', MQp [CC] jala 'false accusation', Nog, VTt, Bsh jala, Qzq, Qq žala, Qrg žala 'slander', SbTt jala id. (in jala jabu 'to calumniate'), Alt {Rl., BT} žala n. 'fine (Strafgeld, Geldbuße)', Chv L (< VTt?) jula jup 'to pretend, to speak deceitfully (лукавить), to calumniate'; NaT *jalʷan 'a lie; untruthful' > OT {Cl.} jalʷān id., 'a liar', MQp XIV jalʷan 'a lie', Tk ɥalan, Ggz, Az, Tkm, Qq jalan, Qzq Δ žalan, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jalʷan, Uz jalʷan, QBl, Qrg žalʷan, Qzq, Qq žalʷan id. ¶ Cl. 919, 926, ET J 87, 91-2, BT 44, Rl. III 154 and IV 36, Jeg. 347, TkR 811 || M *ǰali 'ruse, deceit' > WrM ɷali, HIM заль 'ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit', WrO zalida- v. 'deceive, trick', zalidul 'cunning, ruse'; ⇨ WrM ɷaliqai, HIM залхай, зальхай 'treacherous, cunning', Ord {Ms.} žǎliχā 'astucieux', WrO {Krg.} zaliχai 'crafty, wily', Kl {Rm.} zaǎliχā 'listig, hinterlistig', ? Ba zelu 'cunning, cute' ¶ MED 1031, KW 465, Ms. O 183, Krg. 659, T BJ 140 || Tg: [1] AmTg *jelēn 'deceit, lie' > Ul žǰlǰ(n-), Ork žǰlǰ(n-), žǰllǰ(n-), žǰllǰ(n-), Nn Nh žǰlǰ id.; Ul žǰlǰči-, Ork žǰlǰn-, žǰ(1)lǰn-, Nn Nh žǰlǰn- v. 'deceive, tell a lie'; Ul žǰlǰ(m)bu, Ork žǰllǰmǰŋgu, Nn Nh žǰlǰŋku, žǰlǰpi 'deceiver, liar'; [2] Tg *jelum n./adj./adv. 'secret(ly)' > Ewk, Neg ɷlum, Lm ɷlǰm id., Lm ɷlǰm-, Ork ɷlum- 'approach stealthily, steal in' ¶ STM I 28 ¶¶ KW 465 (A *ǰal; T *ǰal- 'hide', M), DQA #2590 (A *ǰela 'deceive') ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. тайный *zalḥ (U, A).

2723. ?σ *ǰAḥU1ḅ ≈ (calf of) leg', (?) 'bone of leg' > K *ǰḅḅwal-, {K, K²} *ǰǰwal- 'bone' (× N ?φ *śewḅnǰḅ 'ε bone'??) > OG ɷual-, G ɷval- id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln žǰžw id., ? Mg ⇨ G Gr žǰžgḅ- 'robust man' (← *'bony man') ¶¶ K 241, K² 291, Gh. 782, TK 888 || HS: SC: Kz {E} ɷulu-tiko 'calf of leg' ¶ E SC 353 || S *ǰ|ḅaḥā| > Gz {L} zaḥā| 'hind leg', Amh zal id. ¶ LG 634, DRS 714 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 6 || D *ǰallatḅ- 'cloth for legs' > Tm, Ml callatam 'short drawers', Kt ɷala|m, ɷa|m 'perineal cloth', Kn callaḅa, cal(a)ḅa, collana, colḅna 'drawers\breeches', Tu callaḅa, callaḅa, Tl callaḅa, damu 'short breeches'; D ⇨ OI

calanaka- 'a short petticoat' ¶ D #2379 || ?σ A: Tg *jalan 'knee, elbow, joint (of a limb)' > Ewk Z jāla 'elbow', Ewk, Neg jalan, Orc, Ud, Ul žala(n-), Ork dala(n)-, Nn žalã, WrMc žala, žalan 'joint (of a limb), Ewk Sm † jalan 'ell', Lm jalbn 'joint of the knee' ¶ STM I 245-6.

2724. *ž'ixl̥ ~ *ž'ixl̥ 'to creep, to crawl' > HS: CS *√zhl̥ (~ *°√zlx̥) 'creep, slide' > BHb, JA [Trg.] √zhl̥ v. 'creep, crawl', Sr 𐌆𐌵𐌰 zāh̥l-ā 'locustae repentēs' (← acp. G 'crawling') Ar Δ √zhl̥ {GB ← Lb.} 'gleiten', {Del.} 'sich verkriechen' ¶ GB 196, KB 256-7, KBR 267, Js. 390, Lv. T I 213, Br. 194, Lb. PD 428, DRS 714 || IE: NaIE *sel- (~ *tsel-?) v. 'creep, crawl' (× N *ž'it̥ 'to slip, to slide') > OI 'tsarati 'creeps on, sneaks', tsaruh̥ 'a crawling animal', Av sruant- 'crawling' || Lt seléti 'to creep, to tread noiselessly' || Arm unḡim (*s*oḡim (< *tsol-?) 'I glide, creep into, slip' || MDt, ME slīken 'leise gleitend gehen, OHG slīhhan ~ slīchan 'to crawl, to slink', NHG schleichen 'to crawl, to creep' || ? OIr selige 'turtle' || ?? Al shlligē ~ shelligē 'viper' (acc. to O xix, the change *s > Al sh [outside the intervoc. position after *ī, *ū] is irreg.) ¶ *t- in OI and pre-Arm may be a remnant of a px., e.g. *d- as a zero grade of the px. *ad- 'to' ¶ P 900, EI 141 (*t)sel- 'sneak\crawl up on'), Hamp AIEW 145, M K I 540-1, Kb. 909, OsS 822, KM 655, Frn. 774, Vn. S 81-2, O 425 (treats Al shlligē as a tabooistic description from lig) ¶ The absence of traces of a lr. points to a metathetic variant *ž'it̥ of the N etymon ¶ The meaning 'slip, slide, glide' may be due to the merger with N *ž'it̥ '↑' || A *ž'ilâ- 'creep' > T *jil- 'creep' > Qrg žil-, VTt Δ ž'yl- 𐌆 jyl-, Uz žil-, Alt žil-, Xk, Qzl čil-, Yk sīl- id.; ⇨ T *jilān 'snake' > OT {Cl.}, Tkm jilān, MU, XwT jilan, MQp, Chg jilan ~ ilan, Tk 𐌆ilan, Az илан jilan, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog, SY jilan, VTt, Bsh jylan, ET, Ln ilan, Uz ilan, QrB, Qrg žilan, Qzq, Qq žilan, Alt žilan, Xk, Tv čilan, Chv śblen, Δ śblen; the loss of the vowel length of *i in T *jilān (or in Tkm jilān?) is still to be explained ¶ ET J 40-1, 277, TL 180, Cl. 930, Jeg. 210, Fed. II 106-7 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. ползти *zil̥ (IE, A, S + *÷ ? K *zir̥t̥ > Mg zir̥t̥- 'to slip'), Resh. NNE #14 (U, A).

2725. *ž'uh̥l̥ (or *ž'uh̥l̥) 'smoulder, burn' (intr.); 'live coals' > HS: S *°√zlf̥ 'burn (so.'s skin) with' (fire) > Ar √zlf̥ 'brûler avec le feu (p. ex. le pied à quelqu'un)' ¶ Fr. II 249, BK I 1005, Hv. 293 || EC: Rn {PG} ž'iláh̥ 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (× N *č'it̥ 'Lh̥ [char]coal, soot') ¶ PG 167, Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30 || K *°cχ'u' >

Sv L cχul-, cχwł- v. 'singe, burn the surface of (опалить, обжечь)', msd. {TK}: UB/Ln li-cχwłe, L li-cχwłi id. ¶ TK 478, Dn. s.v. cχul- || IE: NaIE *swel₁ai- vi. 'smoulder, burn' > OI {MW, M} *swar- v. 'shine' || Gk έλλη, έλη 'sun's heat/warmth', έλάνη 'torch of reeds', άλέα warmth, heat (of fire) || AS swelan, OFrs swela vi. 'to burn, be to burnt up', MLG swelen > NLG swēlen ⇨ NHG schwelen 'to smoulder' || Lt svilti / svilū vi. 'singe, burn without flame', Ltv sviļt (prs. svilstu, svilū, svilū) 'to burn, to singe, to glow' ¶ WP II 531-2, P 1045, EI 88 (*swel- 'burn'), ≈ M K III 563 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *seh₁wel- 'sun'), MW 1281, F I 458-9, Ho. 334, KM 692, Frn. 954 || U *śūže or *šūže 'charcoal' > F syzi (gen. syden), Es süsi (gen. söe) id. | pLp {Lr.} *ćzδz id. > Lp: S tjirre, L tjatā, N {N} čâđđâ / -đ-, I čičđđa id. | pMr {Ker.} *śed id. > Er, Mk cedь śed, Er Δ {Mu.} śäd | pChr {Ber.} *šüy id. > Chr: L шүй šüy, B, M šüy, Uf šü, H шү šü id. || ObU {Ht.} *süđ 'charcoal' > pVg *süli > Vg T süli & süli; pOs *söy ({HL.} *süy) > Os V/Vy söy id. || Sm *šiyъ ({Jn.} *siyъ) 'live coal' (*šūže < as. U *śūže, unless the U etymon is already *šūže) > Ne F {Lh.} tu's śiy ~ tu's śey id. (tu's 'fire'); En T {Adl.} sié 'pruna', En {Cs.} compd. tûsio 'coal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sić+ id.; Kms {Cs.} si? id.; Mt {HL.} *ki (or *kī, *kiyi?) 'live coal' (Mt T/K {Mil.}, T {Adl.} gi 'pruna') ¶ UEW 477-8, Coll. 59, It. #426, Sm. 540 (U *śūđi, FU, FP *śūđi, Ugr *śūđī, Sm *sijə 'charcoal'), SK 1149, Lr. #99, Lgc. #437, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139, Ber. II 72, MRS 742, Ep. 157, Ht. #563, MK 573, Jn. 140, KKIH 170, Ptp. 45, Hl. M 79 (unc. on Sm *s- > Mt k- preceding *e, i, and *ü), 276 [#479] || A: T *jula 'torch, lamp, a light' and M *žula id. (× N *žuyā 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' [q.v. ffd.]) || Possibly here also d.: T *julťur ({Md.} *jūldur) 'star' (× N *žuyā) || D *čujl-/*čūl- 'fireplace' > Tm cuļļai 'potter's kiln, furnace', cūļai 'kiln, furnace, funeral pile', Ml cuļļa 'potter's furnace', cūļa 'brick-kiln'; D ⇨ OI, Prkr cullī- 'fireplace' ¶ D #2709 ◇ The K vl. cnss. *cχ- (for the expected vd. *zϕ- < N *ž...ϕ) may point to the presence of a lr. ≈ *h (that regularly disappears in S) ◇ ≈ IS MS 370 s.v. уголья *śuλΛ (IE, U + *÷ D *čutϕ 'burn'), ≈ AD LZL 361-2 (*žulϕΛ, sc. AD [notation of AD ND] *žulϕ E 'smoulder, burn': U, A [T, M], HS [S, C] + *÷ D *čutϕ 'burn').

2726. $\text{₂} * \text{ʒ} \nabla \text{L} \text{r} \text{i} \text{K} \text{æ}$ 'to slip, to slide' > HS: S $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zlg}$ (or $??\sigma$ WS $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zlg}$) > Ar زَلَج *zalǧ*- 'slippery place', $\checkmark \text{zlg}$ 'courir légèrement et glisser à la surface du sol' (and $??\sigma$ MHb, JA [Trg.] $\checkmark \text{zlg}$ G 'drip, flow', Gz $\checkmark \text{zlg}$ 'flow, trickle, drop'); cp. also Ar D {Lb.} v. $\checkmark \text{zhlq}$ (pf. *zahaḷaqa*) 'slip (glisser)', Ar $\checkmark \text{zhlq}$ TD (pf. *tazaḷaqa*) v. 'slide/slip upon one's posteriors' (ḥ due to contamination with CS $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zhl}$ 'creep, slide', F s.v. N $* \text{ʒ} \text{i} \text{X} \text{I} \nabla \sim * \text{ʒ} \text{i} \text{I} \text{X} \nabla$ 'to creep, to crawl') ¶ Lb. 1827, BK I 1003, Ln. 1220, Js. 401, L G 637, DRS 733 || IE: NaIE $* \text{sle} \text{i} \text{ǵ}$ - 'slippery, smooth', v. 'stroke, rub (the surface of sth.)' > Sl $* \text{s} \text{l} \text{ь} \text{z} \text{ь} \text{k} \text{ь}$ 'slippery' > OCS СЛЪЗЪКЪ *slъzъkъ*, Slk *slizkŭ*, P *ślizki*, Uk *слизь'кий* id., as well as ($\times * \text{slizъkъ} \leftarrow * \text{slizъ}$ 'slime') Slv *slizak*, Cz *slizkŭ*, *slzkŭ*, R Δ 'слизкий' 'covered with slime, slippery'; possibly \times N $* \text{s} \text{ũ} \text{I} \text{ǵ} \text{ũ} (-\text{k} \hat{\text{e}}) \rightarrow * \text{s} \text{i} \text{I} \text{ǵ} \text{i} (-\text{k} \hat{\text{e}})$ 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' in R 'слизь' 'mucus, slime', Uk *слиз*, Slv *sliz* id., Blg 'слиза' 'saliva' || ON *slíkr* 'Schleim auf der Fischhaut', Ic *slíkur* 'smooth', Gmc pp. $* \text{sli} \text{x} \text{ta}$ 'geglättet' > Gt *slaihts* 'λεῖος, smooth', ON *sléttr* 'smooth, even', OHG *slēht* 'smooth, plain', MHG *slēht* 'straight, even, smooth', NHG *schlicht* 'smooth, plain' (and *schlecht* 'bad?'), AS *sliht* 'smooth, even' (> NE *slight*) || OIr *fo-slig*- 'frotter, enduire' || Gk $\lambda \iota \gamma \delta \eta \nu$ {P} 'die Oberfläche streifend', {LS} 'just scraping \ grazing' (IE $* \text{sl-}$ > Gk $\lambda -$) ¶ P 663-4, Fs. 437-8, Vr. 515, Ho. 299, Skeat 570 (et. of NE *slight*), Kb. 907, OsS 819-20, Lx. 197, KM 654-7, Vn. S 133, F II 121, Vs. III 671-2 || ?? A: Rm. EAS I 65-6 mentions M (WrM?) *zilga*, *zilgai*, *zilgam*, *zilgag* 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', but these words are absent in the standard dictionaries of M (those available to me) ◇ Derived from N $* \text{ʒ} \text{i} \text{I} \nabla$ 'to slip, to slide' (q.v.)?

2727. $* \text{ʒ} \text{r} \text{A} \text{i} \nabla$ 'to be weak' > K: G *vi-zaḷ-ebi* 'be weakened' ¶ Chx. 2053, 2095 || HS: CS $* \text{zaw} \text{l-}$ 'cheap', $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zaw} \text{l}$ 'be worthless, cheap' (or S $^{\circ} \text{zaw} \text{l-}$ 'cheap', $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zaw} \text{l}$, if MHb is borrowed from Aram) > JPA, JEA, MHb זָלַל *zāl* 'cheap', JA [Trg.] $\checkmark \text{zaw} \text{l}$ G (pf. זָלַל *zāl*) 'be worthless, cheap', JEA זָלַל *zāl* 'low price', SmA $\checkmark \text{zll}$ G 'be unworthy'; KB mentions IA [Frh.] *zaw* or *zl* 'of little value (geringschätzig)' (not confirmed by HJ) ¶ KB 256, Js. 386, Lv. I 522, Sl. 404, Tal 231-2 || ? Eg MKL *zəw* 'weak' (a person), *zəw-^s* 'weak of arm' (unless $\leftarrow * \text{zəw}$ 'zerbrechen') ¶ EG III 419, Fk. 209 || A ($* \text{ʒ} \nabla \text{i} \nabla$ ({DQA} $* \text{ʒ} \text{ě} \text{i} \text{o}$) 'weak, quiet'): NaT $* \text{ja} \text{i} \text{-}$ $\sim * \text{j} \text{i} \text{i} \text{-}$ 'be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet' > Qrg *žāši-*

q 'weak', 'lean' (of meat), žašī- 'become soft\weak', 'start going bad' (of meat), Yk sīhīy- 'become tame' ¶ Rs. W 192, Jud. 241, JkR 362-3 || M *žaliqa- '≈ be lazy, tired, apathic' > MM [HI] žaliqaj 'laziness', WrM žaliqai, HIM зал(ь)хай 'negligent, lazy', WrO {Krg.} žaliqai 'careless', WrM žalqadu, HIM залхуу 'lazy, idle', Kl {KRS} залху žalχu 'lazy, lazy person', {Rm.} žalχū 'faul, träge, müde, apathisch', Dg {T} žalkō 'lazy person', {Mr.} žalekō 'lazy', WrM žalqa-, HIM залха- 'get tired', Dg {Mr.} žalekō-re- v. 'tire, get\be tired' (but WrM žalqa-, HIM залха- 'be afraid\frightened' is likely to go back to another √); M *žalira- > MM [S] žalira- 'vom Zorn ablassen', WrM žalira-, HIM залира- v. 'shirk, be lazy\nonchalant, rest from work' ¶ MED 1032, H 85, Ms. H 65, KW 465, KRS 239, T DgJ 142, Mr. D 175, Krg. 659 || Tg *°jēl- > Ewk jēl- 'become quiet' (of a sound) ¶ STM I 283 || pJ {S} *dās- > OJ jāsa-, J T yaseru 'be emaciated', OJ jāsu {S} 'quiet, easy', {Mr.} 'easy, cheap', J: T/Kg yasú-, K yásù- 'quiet, easy' ¶ S QJ #556, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2163, S AJ 135 (on pJ *d- > OJ j-) ¶¶ DQA #2591 (*žělo 'weak, quiet').

2728. *ЗаHúí∇ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE *suh₁- / *suhel- / *seh₁wel- / suhōl- ({M} *suḡ₂l- / *suḡ₂el- / *seḡ₂uel- / *suḡ₂ōl-) > NaIE {P} *sa₁wel- / *s(u)wel- / *s(u)wōl- / *sūl- 'sun' > Vd 'svaḥ₁ ('svar) ~ 'suvaḥ₁ ('suvar) (gen. 'sūr-as, dat. sūr-ē) 'sun, sunshine, splendour, bright sky', Av hv ar θ 'sun' (gen. hūr-ō), MPrs χᵛ ar, NPrs هور hūr, خور ~ خور χor, Oss I χūr, Oss D χor id.; personifying d. with *ya-: OI sūryaḥ₁ ('sūr-ya-s) 'sun, sun-deity' ||| pGk {M} *hāwel- ⇨ *hāwel-yo- > Gk Cr [Hs.] ἄβέλιος, Gk D/Ae/Ar ἄέλιος, Gk Hm ἠέλιος, Gk A ἥλιος 'sun' ||| L sōl 'sun' (< *suḡ₂ōl-, {E} < saḡl- < *seh₁ul-) ||| MW heul, W haul, OCrn [VC] heuul, MCrn heul, hou1, OBr {Flr.} hou1, MBr heul, heaul, Br heol, Br V hi(a)ol 'sun' ||| Gmc {Fs.} *sōwulā > Gt sauil, ON, Ic sól, AS sōl 'sun' ||| {P} *sāwelyā, {Frm.} *saḡliyā > Blt: Lt sáulē, Ltv saũle, Pru saule 'sun' || SI (× IE *suḡ₂en-, / below) *sьlnь 'sun' in derived words: [1] SI *po-sьlnь 'sun-wise (from the east to the west)' > R Δ 'посолонь, SCr Cr Δ na oposun id., [2] SI *°bez-sьlnь-нь > OCS БЕСЛЪНЬНЪ besьlnьnъ 'ánήλιος, without sun', [3] R Δ солно'пѣк 'full blaze of the sun', солнново'рот 'solstice, Sonnenwende', [4] SI *sьlnь-це 'sun' (originally dim.) > OCS СЛЪНЬЦЕ slьnьce, Blg 'слънце, SCr sūnce, Slv sōnce, Cz

slunce, Slk slnce, P słońce, R 'солнце, Uk, Blr 'сонце 'sun' || NaIE *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (< IE *suHen [{M} *su₂en-] < N ***ЗаHúí∇** + the N genitive pc. *nu [> IE marker of oblique cases in heteroclitic nouns]) > Av gen. x^vēng 'of the sun' (< *swen-s) (in {Brtl.} x^vēng.darasa adj. 'den Anblick der [wie die] Sonne gewährend') || Gt sunnō, ON, OSx, OHG sunna, NHG Sonne, AS sunna ~ sunne 'sun', NE sun || Glh. 594 mentions ; Lw si(h)wal- 'sun', not confirmed by available sources (Lar., GI, etc), while Mlc. CL 194 translates Lw si(h)wal- as 'stiletto' or sim. ← *'sharpness'; if there is a lr. in this Lw word (and if its reading and Glh.'s interpretation are right), it will suggest a strong lr. (*x) in pIE and a ***X|Q** in pN ¶¶ P 881-2, Ptrs. H 268 (IE heteroclitis: nom. *sāu-el, gen. *su-'n-es with unacceptable treatment of *-el as a sx.), EI 556 (*'seh_ul- / gen. *sh_u'w-en-s 'sun'), M K III 496, 563, 566-7, M E II 793-4, WD II/2 938, BM 189, 599, Horn 111, Vl. I 746 and II 1484-5, Ab. IV 246-8, WH II 553-4, YGM-1 281, Flr. 214, Hm. 378, F I 631, Fs. 412, 460, Vr. 529, 561, Ho. 306, 330, Ho. S 72, Kb. 988, OsS 894, Schz. 275, KM 716, Frn. 765-6, En. 243, Vs. III 340, 710-1, Glh. 594, Brtl. 1880 || **HS**: B *z∇hl- ({{Pr.} *✓zh₁l-) (= sg. *zahl- / pl. *zihl-?) 'sunshine, daylight, day' > Ah ahəl (pl. ehīlān), Ttq ahəl (pl. ehilan), Tnsl ašəl (pl. išilan), Twl {Pr.} azəl ~ ašəl ~ ažəl, Ty {Pr.} āzəl ~ āžəl, Gh azəl (pl. iżilan) 'day', Kb azəl (pl. izilan) 'clarté du jour; pleine chaleur', Sll azəl ~ azäl 'daylight', Shnw azil 'le jour, plein soleil', Skn {Sm.} azél 'day', Si {La.} azəl 'jour naturel, au jour' || Gnc P {Wlf.} zelóy 'sun' ¶ Pr. H #219, F 579, Dl. 941, La. MChB 181 [nt. 1, 3], Wlf. 588 ¶¶ The adduction of S *°✓šχl (> Ar ✓šχl 'clarify a beverage') [AD NSAS 170] is too qu. (?σ); if it is accepted, the N etymon must be ***Žaquí∇** || **A**: T *ja₁č₁l- v. 'blaze, flame' > OT jaš_u- v. 'flash, shine', XwT/MQp {Cl.} jiš₁- 'shine', Shor čaš- v. 'lighten', Chv šíś/ž₋- v. 'lighten, flash, shine'; ⇨ T *ja₁ik > NaT *jaš₁ik 'sun' > OT QU [MhK] jaš₁iq 'sun', Chg XV jaš₁iq id.; it is not clear if this word is identical with Osm, Tkm iš₁iq, Tk 1ṣ1q, Az iš₁ṣ 'bright, light, a light', MQp XIV iš₁iq 'rays of light; light, brightness'; T *ja₁č₁ln 'lightning' > OT, XwT jaš₁ln, Chg jaš₁ln ~ iš₁ln, MQp jaš₁ln ~ jāš₁ln, Qmq jaš₁ln, Uz jaš₁ln, Nog jaš₁ln, VTt, Bsh jāš₁bn, Alt žāš₁ln, Sg čaz₁ln, Shor čaž₁ln, VTt {ǝRl.} jaš₁ʔm, ET {Rl.} jaš₁im, Chv šíž₁ʔm id., (?) Kr Cr ješ₁im 'reflection of a distant lightning (seen in the sky) (зарница)' ¶ The rec. of *č is based on Chv -ś/ž₋- (< *-č₋ reg.); but if Chv -ś/ž₋- is here due to as., the pT rec. must be *ja₁-;

even if the rec. of *-ĺç- is right, this *-ĺ- may well result from ass. palatalization due to *ç; in both latter cases Chv śiź_bm may belong to T *jalIn (< N *ǰalV [or *ǰalVçV] 'flame', q.v.) or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Rs. W 192, Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, 65-6, Rl. III 247-8, Ash. XII 171-3, Jeg. 214, Fed. II 123, Md. 104, 160 (*ǰalčũ 'блестеть') || ? pJ *sas- v. 'shine' > OJ, J T sas- id. ¶ S QJ #592 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2565 (A *zǰoía 'shine; blaze'; incl. T, J), Md. 104 (qu. T *jalčũ ÷ M *nōl'ũ'ɣe 'flame' ÷ Tg nul- 'kindle') ◇ If the primary meaning in T is 'sun', that of pN is 'sun, sunshine, day'. But if in T the primary meaning is 'shine', we must suppose the same meaning in pN ◇ ≈ AD NSAS 169-70 (*ǰalčũ; IE, B, T + *U *yeLa 'shine' and qu. S *o✓ŝχl) → Glh. 594.

2729. *ǰAħiǰV (or *ǰAɣiǰV?) 'wolf, dog' > HS: S: Ar zalħab- 'wolf' (< N *ǰAɣiǰV-bA with the adjectival pc. *bA for animal names [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1001 || EC: Af {PH} dálħu (pl. dalāħá) 'striped hyena', Sa {R} dālehō (pl. dalāh) "der Wolf" (= 'lycaon pictus'?) ¶ PH 79, R S II 106 ¶¶ In HS there is metathesis and an obscure devoicing: *-ɣL- > *-ħ- || K *ǰaɣ- 'dog' > OG, G ǰaɣl-, Mg ǰoɣor-, Lz ǰoɣo(r)-, Sv UB/Ln ǰeɣ (dat. ǰaɣw), L ǰeɣ ¶¶ K 236, K² 283, FS K 429-30, FS E 484 (*ǰaɣl-), TK 684 || D *čākil-, {ǰGS} *ǰǰāɣil- 'ε dog' > Kn jāɣila 'dog', Tu jāvaɣa nayi 'wolf-dog', Tlg jāgilamu 'hound, hunting dog' ¶¶ An interesting case of D {GS} *-ɣ- from N *-ħ- (or *-ɣ-?) ¶¶ D #2459, GS 159, 168 (on the reflexes of pD *-l-) ◇ K *ɣ- (if it is from N *-ħ-) may be due to as. (*ǰVħ- > *ǰVɣ-).

2730. *ǰalXV (or *ǰalHV) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE *sal_la- 'saliva, wet dirt' > L salīva 'saliva' || ScGl sal 'wet dirt, ear-wax', OIr saile 'saliva', W haliw id., 'spittle' (← L?), Br halo, hal id. || ?? Gk ὀλόγ (WH: < ὀλόγ?) 'dark liquor (the ink of the cuttle-fish, blood)' ¶ × homonymous *sal- words of different origin ¶ ≈ WH II 468-9, ≠ P 879, ≈ Mn. 1110, F II 381, Vn. S 14, Hm. 368 || A: T *jāl 'tears' (× N *ńog'ä'l_lyV 'slime, tears [?], moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 975-6, ET J 161-4 (both of them treat jaš 'fresh', jaš 'green', jaš 'tears', jaš 'year of one's life', etc. as one polysemous T word), DT 218, Jeg. 120-1 || Tg *jalj- v. 'flow' (of saliva) > Ewk jalj-; d. *jalj-ksa 'saliva, slime' > Ewk jaliksa, Lm jalsɤ, Orc diliksɤ ~ duluksa 'saliva', Neg jalsa, Ud ǰale^hä, Uj ǰēlčusqa, ǰulauqsa, Ork jelusqa, Nn Nh ǰuloqsa 'saliva', 'slime (as on the skin of fish)'; *jalj-ptun 'bib (protecting the baby's garments from saliva)' > Ewk jaliptun, Neg jalipun ¶ STM I 246

|| ? M: HIM, Brt залхаг 'slime, mucus, pus' ¶ Luv. 190, Cev. 263, Chr. 248 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2586 (A *ǰǎlu 'saliva'; incl. M, Tg) || D *ǰa]∇ ({ǰGS} *ǰǰ-) 'slime, mucus' > Tm caḷi 'catarrh, mucus blown out of the nose, phlegm', Ml caḷi 'mucus, semen', Tl jalubu, Gdb ǰalbu 'a cold, catarrh, influenza' ¶¶ D #2409 || ? HS: WS *√zlh > MHb {Js.} חֲלִי 'zεlaḥ 'sprinkling fluid, perfume', MHb √zlh v. G 'drip, wet', JA [Trg.] √zlh v. G id., 'sprinkle', JEA √zlh D 'sprinkle', Sr √zlh v. G 'pour out, sprinkle, bedew', Md zhʔl pf. 'sparsit', Ar D {L from unk. source} mezelaḥ 'vessel for drawing water', Gz √zlh v. G or D 'drain out, draw\empty all the liquid from a vessel, wring out a wet garment' ¶ Js. 401, Sl. 414, Br. 197-8, JPS 116, LG 637 || WCh: Mpn {Frz.} zēl 'saliva' ¶ Frz. DM 69 ◇ The T long vw. points to the presence of a N lr. (following N *-í- rather than preceding it, otherwise we would have expected a long vw. in IE [and D?]). If the S cognate is rejected (for insufficient semantic proximity), one remains with N unspecified cnss. *ǰ- and *H ◇ AD GD 7, ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. слизь *zα/1/α (IE, Tg, D).

2731. ?σ *ǰom∇ 'spice, spicy mineral, spicy food' > K {K2} *ǰm(u)-, {FS} *ǰum- 'salt' > Mg ǰimu id. (d. ǰimol- v. 'salt'), Lz (n)ǰumu, Sv: UB/LB/L ǰim (LB gen. ǰǎm-am) 'salt'; ⇨ K *ǰmar- 'vinegar' > OG ǰmar-i id., Mg ǰumor-i, Lz ǰumo(r)-, nǰumor-, Sv ǰimar id. ¶¶ K 239-40, K 289-90, FS K 437, FS E 493-4, Dt. ASK I 51, Chik. 23, Chx. 2081, Q 376, 416, TK 888, GP 313 || D *ǰomm-, {ǰGS} *ǰǰomm- '≈ spicy food, (spicy) soup' > Klm ǰomma 'broth', Gnd M/B {Tr., Ph.} ǰammō 'meat-soup, curry' ¶¶ D #2851, BB CVG #1394 || HS: B *°√zmm > Tmz azammum 'orge encore légèrement verte qu'on moissonne pour le griller et piler, sert à confectionner le bendeq (pâte faite du blé grillé)' ¶ MT 807 ||? Eg smyr (< *zmyr?) 'soda (Natron)' ¶ Mks. II #78.3538.

2732. *ǰæm,ʔ,∇ (or *ǰ-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' > HS: WS (or CS) √zmm > Ar √zmm G {Ln.} tie, bind, fasten', Sr √zmm G (pf. zam) 'tie\train a tree, tie a vine', zamā'm-ā 'tie of a vine', Gz √zmm G (pf. zamama, js. yəzməm) 'tie with a cord the lower jaw of a horse\mule', zamām 'nose rope of an animal, halter, muzzle of a wooven cord' ({Nld.}: ← Aram/Sr) ¶ Ln. 1248-9, BK I 1008, JPS 117, LG 638, Nld. NB 41, DRS 748-9 || Eg fp zmə 'unite; be united with, join' ¶ EG III 446, Fk. 225 || ?σ K {K} *ǰma-, {FS} *ǰam- 'brother' > OG ǰma-y, G ǰma id., ǰama, ǰam-o id. (used as vocative), ǰam-ia, ǰam-iḳ-o 'brother' (dim., used as vocative), G P ǰam-ula 'brother' (dim.), Mg ǰima, Lz ǰuma 'brother', Sv: UB ǰǎm-il, LB ǰim-il, L/Ln ǰumil 'brother (in relation to a

sister)' ¶ K 239-40, K² 288-9, FS K 428-9, FS E 483, Chx. 2056, 2080, TK 890 || IE: NaIE *som-/sm̥- 'together, with' (× N *s̥im̥ 'name, the same [→ IE 'one'] [q.v.]) > OI sa-'ha, (in cds.) sadha- 'together, jointly, with', Av hadā, haḍa, OPrs hadā id. (< N *ǵæm̥, ǵ, ǵ da [*da 'in' < N *d̥oy̥a 'place, inside']); OI 'sam- 'together', Av ham-, han-, hən-, ḥam-, OPrs ha(m)- 'with, together' || Lt sam-, s̥a- px. 'together' (sam̃das, sam-dà 'hire, rent' [*som- + *dh̥ē- 'put'], sambuvis 'coexistence', s̥a-junga 'union, alliance'), Ltv so- [sū̃o-] px. 'together' (s̃o-wardis 'Namensvetter' [ṽard-s 'name']), Pru sen prep. 'with, together', san- (in sanday 'go away!' ← *'with god') | Sl *sq- px. 'together', e. g. *sq-sěd-ъ 'neighbour' (lit. 'Mit-wohn-er') > OCS сѣсѣдѣ, Blg сѣсѣд, SCr cȕced ȕ sũsjed, cȕced ȕ sũsjed, Slv s̃osed, Cz soused, P s̃asiad, R co'ced, R Δ, Blr cȕ'ced, Uk cȕ'cid id. | ? BSl *su 'with' (here unless from IE *ksu̥n̥, cp. Gk ξύν, σύν 'with') > Lt s̃u 'with', Sl *s̃b (+ instr.) 'with' > OCS, OR сѣ сѣ, Blg c / cѣ, SCr s / sa, Slv s / z, Cz s / se, R c / co, Uk, Blr з | OI 'smaṭ 'together, jointly', Av maṭ 'together, with' || Gk ἄ- / dis. ἄ- (α copulativum, px. of union\likeness), ἄμα prep. 'together with, at the same time with' (× IE *sem- 'one') ¶ P 902-5, EI 646 (*som- '[together] with'), M K III 450, 548, M E II 779-80, Frn. 753-4, 935-6, En. 242, 246, En. APG 152-3, Vs. III 539-40, 736, F I 1, 83, Ch. 2, 68-9 || A: NaT *jā|emā|e ({Cl.} *jāmā) 'and; also, too' > OT {Cl.} jā mā id., XwT XIV j̃mā ({Cl.} y.me:) 'and', MQp XIV [CC] jemese (Rs.: < *jEmā-ārsā) 'or also' ¶ Cl. 934, ≈ Rs. W 196, ≈ Rl. III 388-9 ◇ If the K√ belongs here, the N initial cns. is *ǵ-, otherwise it is *ǵ|ǵ- (= *ǵ̃-).

2733. *ǵiω̃m̥, ǵ, ǵE 'leopard' > IE: NaIE *sing̃h̥o- 'leopard' or 'lion' > Arm Ինձ inz (gen. pl. Բնձուկ ǵnzu-c^h) ~ Ինժ inc 'leopard' || OI sim̃ha-h̥ 'lion', Pali, Prkr s̃īha- id. ¶ WP II 508, Mn. 158, EI 350 (?? *sin'g̃h̥os- 'leopard'), 356, Tu. #13384, Hü. I 450, Ach. II 243, Slt. 420-1, M K III 463, M E II 727-8 (no et. of OI sim̃ha-h̥) || HS: EC: HEC *zagum 'leopard' (metathesis *-mg- > *-g̃m̥-) > Tmbr {L} zegu'ma, Sd dagūn-č̃o id. | Ya {Hn.} suṅqai (pl. suṅqaimo') 'lion' ¶ LZ 120, Hd. 91, Hn. Y II 129 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ǵǵǵǵǵ, Bd ǵǵ-ǵǵ-ēn 'lion' | Hs zāk̃i, Gw ǵāk̃i id. || CCh: pMrg *ǵiṅ̃y > Cb {ChL} ǵuṅ̃y, WMrg {ChL} ǵiṅ̃y, ? Br {ChL} c̃iṅ̃i, ? Ngx {ChL} c̃iṅ̃i id. | Lgn {Lk.} z̃ṽz̃ni id. | Db {Lnh.} nǵágàw id. | Ms {Mou.} z̃í m̃í, ? {J} s̃ônà, ? Bnn {ChL} z̃ónà, ? BnnM {ChL} s̃ona id. || Ech: Mkl {J} s̃ũw̃w̃ú, Kwn {ChC} s̃emk̃i, s̃emg̃i id. ¶ ≈ Sk.

HCD 295, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN || D *²ci²v²∇ηki 'leopard' and sim. (×N *²ĉ²i²'b²∇²ϕ²∇ or *²ĉ²i²'b²∇²ϑ²∇ 'hyena' and N *²si²b²∇²ϑ²∇ 'beast of prey') > Tm ci²vi²ñki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml ci²vi²ññi 'hunting leopard', Kn si²va²ñgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl ci²v²ãgi, ci²v²v²ãgi, ci²v²va²ñgi, si²v²ãgi, si²va²ñhi, si²v²va²ñgi 'hyena' ¶¶ D #2579 || ?σ A: ?σ,φ AmTg *²ye²ŋgu > Ul ²ye²ŋgul(i) 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU ²ye²ŋgur, Nn B ²ye²ŋguru 'wolf', ?φ: Orc ñ²ŋgu, Ud ñ²ŋgu id. (×N *²Lü|u²ŋ²'gæ²?²∇ 'ε beast of prey') ¶ STM I 498, 639, 650 || ?? M: HIM жингэр 'bitch' ¶ Luv. 180, Cev. 247 ¶ Dubious, because not attested in M outside HIM (even in WrM) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1200 (A ²le²ŋg∇ 'ε predator' > HIM, Tg) ◇ In IE, pMrg, and D there is as. *-mg- > *-ŋg- ◇ AD NM #4 (*²Si²w²∇ηgE 'leopard'), S CNM 5 (suggested to adduce T *²jebken [sc. *²je|äbken] 'wolverine', that in my opinion is likely to belong to N *²ǰæ²?∇b²∇ 'ε beast of prey', q.v.; ÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 17 (doubts about the semantic changes in Tg).

2734. *²ǰamaka ~ *²ǰam∇K²∇ 'to throw, to cast' > HS: CS ✓zn²ḱ 'throw' > Sr ✓zn²ḱ G 'throw', BHb ✓zn²ḱ D h.l. 'spring out, hervorspringen', MHb ✓zn²ḱ D {Js.} 'squirt, sputter, reject wih force', Sh (pf. ²hiz'nīḱ) vt. 'drop, pour' ¶ Br. 201, KB 265, Js. 407, DRS 765 || ? Ch: Msg {Trn.} ²š²ñ²∇k²∇ 'throw' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE {WP} *²sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike' > Lt Δ prs. smag-i² / inf. smōg-ti (Δ) 'throw (sth. heavy)', (Δ and StLt) 'fling, beat, whip', Lt Δ smōgis 'heftiger Wurf, Schlag' || Sl *²smaga-ti 'to strike, to flog' > P smagać 'to whip, to flog', R Δ сма'гать, Uk смаг'нути, сма'гати 'to strike, to flog' || Sw smäcka 'heftig niederwerfen', {Hlq.} 'slänga (to fling)', NGr Δ schmacken 'to cast, to fling away', MLG smacken, Dt smakken 'to throw, to fling, to slap, to smack', NE (← MLG or MDT) smack v. 'strike heartily \ noisily' ¶ WP II 682, Mn. 1221, Tr. 270, Mikl. E 309, Frn. 848, DLKZ†746, PiesS 662, Vs. III 683, Hlq. 1006-7, Vr. N 655, HDEL 1219 || A: M *²ǰa²ŋgu- > WrM ²ǰa²ŋgu- vt. {MED} 'cast, throw; direct to', Kl за²ñħx за²ŋϕъ-ħъ, Brt за²ŋгаха за²ŋга-ħа 'to raise one's hand (in order to strike), to swing (e.g., one's arms)' ('замахиваться, размахивать'), ('raise one's hand' → 'threaten'): WrM ²ǰa²ŋга-, WrO за²ŋħа- 'threaten' ¶ MED 1035, Gl. III 427, KRS 241, Chr. 249, Krg. 655 ◇ As. *²m²ḱ > *²ŋ²ḱ (> S *²n²ḱ) and *²m²k > M *-ŋg.

2735. *²ǰen∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sheaf of corn') > K: OG, G ²zna 'sheaf of corn' ¶ Chx. 2082, DCh. 1621

|| IE: NaIE {WP} *song^ho/ā- or *sonko- 'sheaf of corn, straw, chaff' (×N *^rś' äŋka ≈ bough, inedible or less valuable parts of plants [straw, rind of fruit]?) > Arm **𐎒𐎛𐎥** unġ (gen. **𐎒𐎛𐎥𐎵** aŋgoy) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG **sange** 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ **Sange**, Sangel, NE Δ **sangle** 'sheaf of corn', NLG † **sangeln** 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ἄχυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, FI 203-4 || D *čēŋ- / *čenn- ({GS} *ś-) 'ear of corn' > Tm ēnĭ, Tl ennu, vennu, Knd seŋen (pl. seŋeku), Gnd KM en id., Gnd śen 𐌆 han id. 𐌆 san 'head of jowar' 𐌆 seŋk pl. 'corn', Klm, Prj čen 'head of paddy', Nkr śen 'head of jowar', Gdb čennu 𐌆 sen 'ear of corn or paddy', Krx hessu čannu 'head of rice', Mlt čanu 'pod' ¶¶ D #2798.

2736. *ǰE|aŋ 'to burn' (intr.), 'live coal (embers), fire' > HS: Eg P zrzr.n.t 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ EG III 461 || S *^o✓znd 'strike fire' > Ar ✓znd G 'faire jaillir le feu (à l'aide d'un zand-)', zand- 'briquet consistant en deux morceaux d'une espèce du bois qui frottés l'un contre l'autre donnent le feu' (↳ Amh {DRS} zand [zənd?] id. [?] [{DRS} 'briquet fait de deux bâtons']) ¶ BK I 1016, DRS 759 || B: Zww {Ds.} zizān- 'get warm\heated', Kb {Dl.} zizān id. (secondary emphatization), Zng {TC} oṛžūžun, {MH→Nic.} o-zzurn 'fire' ¶ Ds. IVB 257, AiM 260, TC D 3, TC Z 306 (oṛžūžun) || ? WCh: Krf žinžinj 'charcoal' ¶ JI II 66 ¶¶ Tk. I 128 (Eg, B, Ch) || A ({SDM97} *ǰāna, i.e. *ǰāna 'burn; ashes, [live] coal'): T *jan- vi. 'burn, blaze up' > Tk ȳan-, Tkm, Az, Kr, Nog, ET jan-, Qq žan-, Qrg žan- id., Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Ln jan-, Uz jan-, Qzq žan-, Chv L śun- vi. 'burn' ¶ Cl. 942, 947-8, Rs. W 184, ET J 112-3, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136 || Tg *jaṛn- ({DQA} *jjan-) 'flame' > Ewk PT/Ald/Z/Np/Uc jānṛ-, Ewk Nr/Skh v. 'blaze', Ud žaŋa 'live coal', ? Ewk Sm yandřa, ? Ewk Np yanda 'ceremoinal fire', ? Nn B yaŋgora v. 'kindle, stoke (a hearth)', WrMc ȳaŋga, ȳaŋgan 'torch' ¶ STM I 249, 341-2, Krm. 231 || pKo {S} *č'áĵ 'ashes' > MKo č'áĵ, NKo čä, Ko Δ: Chs čäL, PhN/Hm čä, Ks čê, Chj čä, Kw Lčä ¶ S QK #2, Nam 418, MLC 1409 || pJ {S} *dàni 'tar, pitch' > OJ yàni, J: T/Kg yaní, K yánì ¶ S QJ #186, Mr. 573 ¶¶ S AJ 287, SDM97 (A *ǰāna), DQA #2603 (*ǰiājnà 'to burn; ashes; tar') || U: FU *ś|sin|ñe ({UEW} *śine) 'charcoal' > Lp N {N} čidnâ / -n- id. || Hg szén (accus. szenet) 'coal', Hg Δ szén 'fire, live coal' ¶ UEW 480, Sm. 549 (FU, Fp *śiini, Ugr *sinĩ 'charcoal').

2736a. ₂ ***ǰ**∇**ñ**∇ 'image, sign' > **HS**: Eg fMKL z_{nrn} 'statue, sculptural \ pictorial image; image, figure; likeness', ? fMK z_{nrn} 'official document, written list, and sim.' ¶ EG III 460, Fk. 232 || **IE**: Ht sena- ~ sina 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)' ¶ Ts. W 74-5.

2737. ₂ ***ǰ**E**h**N∇ 'lie down, sleep' > **K**: GZ *ǰin- 'lie, sleep', *ǰil- (< **ǰin-l-) n. 'sleep' > OG, G ǰin- v. 'sleep, fall asleep', ǰil-i n. 'sleep', Lz ǰir-i id., o-nǰir-u 'go to bed, fall asleep', o-ǰin-u 'lie down (sich hinlegen)', {Marr} ǰin- 'lie down, lean (ложиться, прислониться)', Mg ǰir-, nǰir- v. 'lie, sleep', v-o-nǰir-u-an-k 'I go to sleep', Lz o-nǰir-e, Mg o-nǰir-al-i 'bed' ¶ K 238, K² 287, FS K 434, FS E 489-90, Marr 236-7 || **HS**: WS ***ǰ**z**h**n > Gz **ǰ**z**h**n G 'be tranquil \ quiet \ calm, repose', Ar **ǰ**z**h**n G 'be slow, dilatory (in doing sth.)' ¶ LG 634, Fr. II 229, BK I 980, Hv. 285, DRS 716 || NrOm: Zl {C} zand-†Wl {C} zin[?]- 'lie (giacere), sleep', {Bnd.} zln[?]-, Dc {Bnd.}, Gm {Hw.} zin[?]-, Drz {Bnd.} zina[?]- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL #218 (NrOm *zin-/*zan- v. 'sleep'), Hw. EG, C SO 36, 45 || Ch: WCh: Pr {ChL} ǰingénò 'lie down', Dr {J} ǰówàn 'dream' || CCh: ?? Tr {Nw.} ǰine n. 'dream' (unless from HS *s∇n with the reg. Tr voicing of cnss.), Pdl {ChL} ǰèni v. 'sleep', ǰina v. 'dream' || BB: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} ǰírò v. 'dream', ǰirité n. 'dream', Mln {ChL} zùrî^{tí} n. 'dream' || FIM {ChL} zunuft 'lie down' ¶ JI II 108, ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT ##312, 458 || ? ϕ EC: Af {PH} dīne 'sleep, spend the night', Sa/Af {R} dīn- ~ dīn- v. 'sleep', Sa {Bnd.} dīne 'sleep', {R} dīn ~ (rare) dīn n. 'sleep' (only if Af/Sa d- may go back to EC *z-) ¶ PH 92, R A II 839, R S II 126 \diamond Blz. KM 123-4 [#30] (K, EC, Om, Ch), \neq AD NSAS 167 (adduced HS *s∇n-, **ǰ**w**s**n 'sleep, dream', cp. N ? σ ***s**'**ü**'N∇ [= ***s**'**ü**' η ∇?] 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' and N ***ś**i|**ü**ñ'**û**' 'sleep, dream' [see s.v. N ***ś**i|**ü**ñ'**î** (-k∇) 'dark, night'])).

2738. ***ǰ**|**ç**i**χ**|**ǰ**ñ∇ '€ ungulate' > **K** ***o**c|**ç**χen- 'horse' > OG, G cχen-i id. ¶ Srj. 254, DCh. 1605-6, Chx. 2041, KEGL VIII 681 || **U**: FU ***o**ç'**ī**' η ñ∇ > OHg \geq XIII csina 'foal' (? \times N ***ǰ**'**a**'**ñ**∇**g**|**k**U '€ antelope' [q.v.]) ¶ EWU 212-3 || **D** ***ç**i η |**m**k- ({ θ GS} ***ǰ**|**z**-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (\times N ***ǰ**'**a**'**ñ**∇**g**|**k**U '€ antelope?') > Kn ǰin η ke, Tu ǰin η kæ, Tl ǰin η ka 'antelope', Kn Bl ǰimke 'deer' ¶¶ D #2504 ¶ The element *-k- ~ *-mk- is likely to go back to a sx. or to a component of a cd.

2739. ***ǰ**∇**ñ**h∇ \approx to acquire, to obtain, to increase' > **K**: GZ *ǰen-/*ǰin- 'add, be added, acquire' (\times N ***ǰ**E**ñ**q∇ 'seek, try to obtain') > OG ǰen-/ǰin- 'acquire, gain', G ǰin-/ǰen- {Chx.} 'erwerben, anschaffen',

{Kl.} 'add, increase', Mg $\text{z}\dot{\text{i}}\text{n}$ - v. id., 'acquire', Lz (n) $\text{z}\dot{\text{i}}\text{n}$ - 'add, be added. increase, be increased' ¶ K 235, K² 279, FS K 422, FS E 476 (* $\text{z}\dot{\text{e}}\text{n}$ -/* $\text{z}\dot{\text{i}}\text{n}$ -), Q 374-5, Chik. 389, Chx. 2065 || HS: Eg XXII $\text{z}\text{r}\text{n}\text{.}\omega$ 'kaufen, an sich bringen' ¶ EG III 461 || IE * $\text{se}\text{n}\text{X}$ - '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sarh - 'seek, try, strive for; require' || NaIE * $\text{se}|\text{an}\dot{\text{a}}$ -, * $\text{se}|\text{an}\dot{\text{u}}$ - '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (× N * $\text{š}\nabla\bar{\text{n}}\text{.}\nabla\text{.}\text{r}\nabla$ 'make, build' × N * $\text{z}\text{o}\eta\text{X}\nabla$ 'want, wish' × N * $\text{z}\bar{\text{E}}\eta\text{q}\nabla$ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D * $\text{č}\text{e}\eta\text{a}$ 'much, many' > Knd $\text{s}\bar{\text{e}}\eta\text{a}$ 'much', Png heni 'many', ? modern Tl {Km.} $\text{ś}\bar{\text{a}}\eta\text{a}$ 'a lot' ¶¶ D #2824 ◇ N * h is the only Ir. that yields h in Ht and is lost in K (and may be lost in the HS lgs.). If the Ht cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be * $\text{z}\nabla\bar{\text{n}}\text{.}\text{h}\text{z}\text{.}\nabla$. If D * $\text{č}\text{e}\eta\text{a}$ belongs here, the N nasal is * n , otherwise we remain with a less specified * $\bar{\text{n}}$ (sc. N * $\text{n}|\dot{\text{n}}$).

2740. (₂?) * $\text{z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\nabla\text{N}\nabla$ (= * $\text{z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\nabla\text{'n}|\dot{\text{n}}\text{'}\nabla$?) 'to copulate', (?) 'membrum virile' > HS: WS * $\check{\text{z}}\text{ny}$ v. 'fornicate' > BHb $\text{h}\dot{\text{n}}\dot{\text{t}} \check{\text{z}}\text{ny}|\omega$ G id., JA $\check{\text{z}}\text{ny}|\omega$ G 'commit fornication, become involved with another man' (of a wife, betrothed girl), Sr $\check{\text{z}}\text{nw}|\text{y}$ G (pf. $\text{L}\dot{\text{J}}\text{ ze}'\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$) 'commit whoredom', SmA $\check{\text{z}}\text{ny}$ G (pf. zrh), Ar $\text{زنى} \check{\text{z}}\text{ny}$ G 'commit adultery \ fornication', Mh $\check{\text{z}}\text{ny}$ id., Hrs, Jb E/C, Gz {L} $\check{\text{z}}\text{ny}$ 'fornicate', Gz $\text{z}\text{z}\text{nyat}$, $\text{z}\text{z}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'fornication, sperm', BHb prtc. $\text{h}\dot{\text{n}}\dot{\text{t}} \sim \text{h}\dot{\text{n}}\dot{\text{t}} \text{z}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'whore, fornicatrix', NNEA {Mcl.} $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'fornicatrix, prostitute', Plm $\text{z}\text{ny}\text{t}^?$ 'whore, harlot'; Mn $\text{t}\delta\text{r}\text{t}$ 'fornication', and Ug drt 'lujuria, fornicación' (with WS * δ -) may be explained (after MiK) by the infl. of WS * $\check{\text{z}}\delta\text{mm}$ 'blame, reprove; dispise, disgrace' (< N ?σ * $\check{\text{z}}\text{E}\text{m}\nabla$ 'way [??]' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 263-4, KBR 275, Tal 234-5, Lv. I 545-6, Lv. T I 225, ≈ Js. 406, JPS 118, Mcl. 88, BK I 1018, Hv. 298, L ESAC 19, L G 642, Jo. M 468, Jo. H 149, Jo. J 149, DRS 760, MiK I #2.84 || K * $\text{z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{an}$ -/* $\text{z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{n}$ - v. 'copulate, get pregnant, be in heat' (of animals) > G $\text{z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{n}$ - 'be in heat' (animals), {Chx.} $\text{m}\text{-z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{-a}\text{-ob}\text{-a}$ 'Läufigkeit, Brunst', {DCh.} 'heat (of animals), mating', MG {SSO}, G {DCh.} $\text{m}\text{-z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{n}\text{-ob}\text{-a}$ 'copulating' (of dogs and wild beasts of prey), {Chx., DCh.} $\text{m}\text{-z}\dot{\text{u}}\omega\text{-a}\text{v}\text{-i}$ adj. 'in heat (läufig, brünstig)', Mg $\check{\text{z}}\text{un}$ -, $\check{\text{z}}\text{ud}$ -/ $\check{\text{z}}\text{vid}$ -, Lz $\check{\text{z}}\text{und}$ - v. 'kiss', Sv {FS} $\check{\text{z}}\text{u}\omega\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ -~ $\check{\text{z}}\omega\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ -/ $\check{\text{z}}\text{u}\omega\text{n}$ -: $\text{li}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\omega\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{-i}$ / $\text{ad}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\text{u}\omega\text{n}\text{-e}$ v. 'get pregnant' (of an animal), Sv UB {GP} $\text{li}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}\omega\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ msd. 'copulate' (of cats, dogs, wolves, bears) ¶ K² 291, FS K 437, FS E 493, Chx. 877, DCh. 927, GP 191 || ? D * $\text{č}\text{u}\eta\dot{\text{n}}$ - (/ * $\text{č}\text{u}\eta\dot{\text{t}}$ -?) ({GS} * $\text{c}|\acute{\text{c}}$ -) > Tm,

Ml *cunṇi*, Kn *tunṇi*, *tunṇe*, Krx *ḥòṇḍō* 'membrum virile' ¶¶ D #2666.

2741. *ǰ'a'ń₁∇₁g|kU 'e antelope' > HS: B *z∇nk∇ḡ- > Ah {Fc.} *tihānkād*, Twl {Pr.} *azānkād* & *ažānkād* & *tašānkāṭ*, Ty {Pr.} *azānkād*, ETwl/Ty {GhA} *ažānkād* (as. *z...ḡ > ẓ...ḡ) 'gazelle' ¶ Fc. 679, Pr. H #319, GhA 222 || Ch: WCh: Hs *zānkē* 'duiker antelope' | Ang {Flk.} *zung* 'e antelope' (Hs *kānki*) | Sir *zəŋgʒri* 'e a big antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 191 [#418] || ?? C: Ag *č'a'ng∇n- > Bln {R} *šə'n'gīnā* 'Antilope strepsiceros (female)', Xm {R} *šajē'nā* id. ¶ R WB 326 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 11 (Ang ÷ B *✓zmm 'Antilope oryx') || A: M: WrM {Kow.} *zāŋgu-tai*, {MED} *zāŋguudai* 'young antelope or elk' ¶ Kow. 224O, MED 1035 || U: FU *č'óh'∇ 'male or young ungulate' > F *sonni* 'bull, bullock', Es *sōnn* 'bull, female foal, ram', Lv *sonn* 'ram' | Prm {LG} *čāñ* 'foal' > Z *чань* *чаñ*, Vt *чуньы* *čuñ+* id. || ?? OHg *zXIII csi na* 'foal' (× N *ǰ|č'ix|yñ∇ 'e ungulate' [q.v.]) ¶ UEW 614, It. #121, LG 301, EWU 212-3 || D *č'ij|mk- ({ǰGS} *ǰ|z-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N *ǰ|č'ix|yñ∇ '↑') > Kn *ziŋke*, Tu *ziŋkæ*, Tl *ziŋka* 'antelope', Kn Bl *zimke* 'deer' ¶¶ D #2504 ◇ FU *o for the expected *a may be due to the infl. of the N word-final *U (> M *-u). The absence (loss?) of the FU reflex of N *-g|k- still needs investigating. D *i belongs to the heritage of N *ǰ|č'ix|yñ∇ ◇ Cp. Blz. DA 157 [#54] (B, WCh, D).

2742. o *ǰiŋo 'sing, produce (musical, ritual?) sounds by voice' > K *o|žēn- > G P *žen-* 'sing' ¶ Chx. 401 || HS: CCh: Msg {Trn.} *zVnV* ({Trn.} *z'n')* 'sing' || ? WS (or SS?) *✓zym (prm. *-zīm-?) > Gz ✓zym G (pf. *ᩤ᩠᩵ᩁ zēma*) 'produce a tune, sing', *ᩤ᩠᩵ᩁ zēmā* 'harmony, melody, song, liturgical chant', Ar Mgr {Cln.} pf. *zām* [zam] 'mugir', 'grogner' (sanglier), 'roucouler' (pigeonneau) (unless an independent o), Ar Sd {DRS} *zīm* 'cris' ¶ The S word belongs here if N *-ŋ- may yield S *-m- ¶ LG 638, DRS 725-6 || IE: NaIE *seng^{wh}- 'say, make an incantation, sing' > Gmc *sing^{wan} > Gt *siggwan* 'to sing, to read aloud, to prophesy', Gt Cr *singhen*, ON *syngva* ~ *syngja*, OSx *singan* 'to sing', OHG *singan* 'to sing, to sound', NHG *singen* 'to sing', AS *sinzan* id., 'to sound', NE *sing*; Gmc *sang^w-s > Gt *saggwas* 'Gesang, Musik, Vorlesung', ON *sqngr* '(sacred) song(s)', OSx *sang* 'singing, song', OHG *sang* 'song, sound', NHG *π Sang* 'song', AS *sanʒ* 'song, singing, poem; noise', NE *song* || Prkr *samghai* 'sagen, belehren', {E} 'say, honour', pIAr {Tu.} *sanghati ~ *sāhati 'tells' || Gk *ἄμφη* (<

*song^{whā}) 'divine voice, prophecy; voice' ||| Clt: MW *de-(h)ongli* 'explain' ¶ × N *SUŋ_lg_l'o' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' (q.v.), the meaning 'sing, song' going back to N *z'ingō, while the other meanings are likely to be connected with N *SUŋ_lg_l'o' ¶ WP II 246, P 906-7, EI 519 (*seng^{wh-} 'sing, make an incantation'), Dv. #368, AHDI 58, F II 392-3, Fs. 403, 419, Vr. 573, 578, Ho. S 62, 64, Ho. 270, 294, Kb. 828, 855, OsS 743, 766, Tu. 757 (pIAR without specification) ||| A: M o *z'ingine- > WrM *z'ingine-*, HIM *жингэнэ-, жинхнэ-* vi. 'ring, tinkle' (of bells) ¶ MED 1057.

2743. *zōŋE (or *zōñE) 'old' > K *z'wen- 'become old' > Lz *mžven-* (n. act. o-mžven-u) id.; ⇨ K *z'wen-l- ~ GZ *z'wel- 'old' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK, GP} *žwineł-* 'old' (inanimate), Sv UB {GP} *žwinäld* 'formerly', Sv {Ni.} *žwneł-* 'become old'; OG *zueł-*, G *zvel-*, ? Mg *žveš-*, Lz (m) *žve(š)-*, *nžveš-* 'old' (Mg/Lz *-š- < the gen. ending *-š-, see Top. NS 238-9) ¶¶ K 238 (*z₁wen- 'grow old', *z₁wel- 'old'), FS K 432-3, FS E 488 (*z₁w- 'alt, altern'), TK 889, GP 313 ||| U: FU *soŋ_lk_l∇ 'old' > pChr {Ber.} *soŋgъ > Chr: H {Ep.} *шоньы šonъ* 'old' (of animate beings), {UEW} *šonъb* 'old', L *шонго šonъo* 'old, decrepit' (of a person), Uf/B *šonъo*, M *soŋъo* id. ||| OHg *agg* 'old' (of persons/things), Hg *agg* 'very old, aged', OHg *agg-* 'grow old', ? OHg *av-* 'altern, abgenutzt werden', ? OHg *avul-* 'altern', ? Hg *avul-* 'become obsolete \ antiquated', ? OHg XI *ohut*, XII *out*, XVI *awat* '(very) old', ? Hg *ó* 'old, ancient, antique' ¶ Coll. 71 (*soŋ∇), UEW 448 (*soŋ_lk_l∇), Sm. 548 (FU *soŋkǎ, FP *soŋka, Ugr *θǎŋka), Bk. S 94, Ber. 66 [#345], MRS 719, Ep. 152-3, Ü 268, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 ||| A: T *o'j'önü- > Tv *čönü-* 'grow decrepit\old', *čönük* 'aged, very old, decrepit' ¶ TvR 543, ≈ Rs. W 213 ◇ To distinguish from the reflexes of N *s'e'ñ∇ 'long time; old' (q.v.).

2744. *zEŋq∇ (= *z'Eŋq∇?) 'seek, try to obtain' > IE *senX∇ (× N *š∇ñ_l∇_l∇ 'make, build' × N *zōŋX∇ 'want, wish' × N *z'∇ñh∇ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase') > Ht {Ts.} *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' ('suchen, versuchen; erstreben, planen'; fordern, verlangen') ||| NaIE *se|anə-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > OI *san-* (prs. *sa'nō-ti*, aor. '*sanat*) 'gain, obtain, procure', Av *han-* 'obtain, achieve' ||| ? Gk Hm *ἀννυμαι* (Mn: < *san-ju-) 'take, take hold of' (unless *aj_l-nu- ← IE *aj_l- 'seize' [> Ht *ai-* 'give']), Gk *ἄννυμι*, (thematized) *ἄνύω ~ ἄνύω*, Gk Hm *ἄνω* (< *ἄνω*) 'effect, achieve,

accomplish' ||| OIr {P} *con-sní* 'fights (for sth.), wins', {Vn.} 'il se bat (pour), il dispute (qch.), il gagne', *do-seinn* 'pursues, strives', ?σW *cynyddu* 'to overrun, to win', {P} 'erobern, zu gewinnen suchen', {YGM} 'to increase, to grow, to augment' ||| MHG *senen*, NGr Sw *sanen*, *sānen*, NHG *sehnen* 'to long, to yearn', MLG *senentlīken* 'sehnsüchtig' ¶¶ WP II 493-4, P 906, EI 3 (**sen(h_ǵ)*- 'seek, accomplish'), Mn. 1111-2, M K III 427-8, Vn. C 200, ≈ LP § 631, YGM-1 149, F I 41, 115, KM 698, Ts. W 70 || HS: mt. Eg fP *zχn* 'look for, seek', *zχn.ω* n.act. 'looking for, seeking' ¶ EG III 468-70 || A: T **jind-* > OT {CL} *jind-* 'search (smth.), seek (smth.)' ¶ Cl. 946 || K: GZ **zen-/zīn-* 'acquire, add' (× N **ζ̣ν̄nhν* '≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Not here (because of *o)FU **soŋe* 'wish, want' (< N **ζ̣oŋχν* id. [q.v. ffd.]). K **z-* suggests N **ζ̣-*, but the K √ is ambiguous, so that its ev. is not decisive.

2745. **ζ̣oŋχν* 'want, wish' > HS: S **o*√ *znḥ* > Ar √ *znḥ* (pf. *zanaḥa*, ip. -*znāḥ-*) v. 'praise' ({BK} 'louer, comblor d'éloges'), Ak *zerū* 'be angry, hate', *zerū* 'angry' ¶ BK I 1016, Hv. 297 || IE: NaIE **se|anā-*, **se|anu-* 'try to obtain, obtain' (× N **ζ̣Eŋqν* 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd. × N **ζ̣ν̄nhν* '≈ acquire, seize, increase' × N **ṣ̌ν̄n̄₁ν₁ν₁* 'make, build') || ? Ht *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N **ζ̣Eŋqν* [= **ζ̣Eŋqν*?] '↑', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU **soŋe-* v. 'wish, want' > ObU **θōŋk-* (~ **θāŋkā-*?) v. 'want' > pVg **tāŋk-* id. > Vg: LK/P *taŋk-*, MK *taŋk-* ~ *tāŋk-*, Ss *taŋx-* id.; pOs **ḑāŋka* / **ḑoŋk-* ({JHl.} **ḑāŋka* / **ḑāŋk-*) > Os: V *lāŋqa-*, Vy *yāŋqa-*, Ty/Y *ḑāŋq-* ~ *ḑāŋq^ω-*, D *tāŋχ-*, K *tāŋχ(a)-*, Nz *tāŋχa-*, Kz *ḑāŋqa-* id. ||| BF (× FU **ṣ̌|soŋe* v. 'desire, want' < N **ṣ̌oŋqν* 'wish' [→ 'love', 'wish evil to so.', 'strive'], q.v.): Es *soo_vi-* v. 'wish, want', F *soo-* 'not to grudge, allow, wish', Vo *sō_vi-* v. 'hope, wish' ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. #146, IG 256 ||| An alt. (and less plausible) etymon: N **ζ̣oŋhν* 'want, wish' > HS: WS **o*√ *zny* > BHb *נניז* √ *zny|w* G (3f pf. cons. *נניזתניז* *wattiz^hnē*) 'become involved with another, commit fornication' (of a wife, betrothed maiden) (see N **ζ̣ū_wν_Nν* 'copulate') ¶ KB 264, KBR 275 || IE: Ht *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N **ζ̣Eŋqν* [= **ζ̣Eŋqν*?] 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.) (without NaIE **se|anā-*, **se|anu-*) ◇ Not here WrM *zōŋ*, HIM *zēh* 'will, arbitrariness', it is obviously a sd. from MM *zōŋ*, WrM *zōŋ* 'omen, sign', which is a loan from Chn (F MED 1075, Kow. 2408) ◇ The latter alt. et. presupposes the loss of N **h* in S. Zero cons. in S and h in Ht can point only to N **h*.

2746. *ǰ'ü'ŋka (or *ǰ'ü'ñika) 'to bend' > K: G znek-/znik- 'bend, curve' (zn- < *ǰ|ǰn-) ¶ Chx. 411-2, DCh. 526 || ? HS: C: Ag: Aw {E} z3kk-v. 'stoop' || ? Bj {Rop.} ✓ dgy (3m p. i-dgi; di'gīti fantīt 'he is combing [his hair] back'), but acc. to R's data, the ✓ is ✓ tgy ({R} imv. 'tegya, p. 'adgi, plqp. e'tāg, prs. atan'gī) with d by as. (-tg- > -dg-) in the past tense only; but forms with t may have resulted from bf. (based on -dgi interpreted as phonemic -tgi) ¶ E PC #397, R WBd 223-4, Rop. 169 || S: ? Ar {Fr., BK} زكّية zṽnkīyat- (vocalization not attested) / pl. زكّوات zṽnkāwāt- 'stirrup, fulcrum equestre, escabeau', {Bel., Hv.} زَنكَاوَة zankāwat- / pl. زَنكَاوَات zankāwāt- id. (unless the word is a loan from NPrs, as believed by Hv.; cp. Tjk uzangu 'stirrup'), TA {Rt.} zingo id. (← Ar?) ¶ Fr. II 259, BK I 1017, Bel. 299, Hv. 298, Rt. 568, DRS 763 || IE: NaIE *swe(n)g- ~ *s(w)enk- '≈ bend' > OI 'svajatē 'embraces, clasps', Vd 'pari-ṣvañjīyas 'fester umfassend', Av pariš-χ[∨]aṣta- 'rings umschlossen', Sgd {Grsh.} 𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮 (*avahvanǰa-?) 'Umfassen' || ?σ OIr seng {Vn.} 'mince' (← **'flexible'), NIr seang 'slim, slender' || MHG, MLG swanc 'biegsam, schwankend, beweglich', NHG schwank 'pliable, flexible, supple; slender', AS swancor 'pliant, supple'; NaIE *swenk- > Gmc *sweng- > OHG swingan, NHG schwingen 'to swing', AS swinȝan vi. 'to flutter, to fling oneself', NE swing v. ¶ WP II 526-7, P 1047-8, EI 63 (*swe(n)g- 'bend, swing'), M K III 558, M E II 788, Vn. S 85-6, IED 92, Kb. 1006, OsS 916-7, Lx. 220, KM 688-9, 694-5, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, 338, ≈ Mn. 1346 || U *śîṅe n. 'curve, bend, sth. bent' > F sii 'big beam (rafter) under the inner roof' || Prm *śig > Z сигör śigör 'slope of a roof/haystack', śigorav-n+ 'to roof a house', ZI śig 'Gewölbe', Vt сиг śig 'garret' || pOs *siṅ > Os: V siṅi, Ty/Y/D siṅ 'bend of a sledge-runner (сгиб полоза нарты)', Kz siṅ id., 'leichte Krümmung (eines Baumes)', Nz siṅ 'bend of the skis' || Sm {Jn.} *siṅ (~ *sṽṅ?) 'hind part of a tent (sc. that opposite to the entrance)' > Ne: T си' śi', T O {Lh.} śī'ṣ, FL {Lh.} sīṅ; Ng {Pop.} saṅ, {Ter.} s+ṅ; En {Hl.} śīē', {Ter.} se' id. || Kms {KD} s+ṅ id. ¶¶ UEW 480-1, LG 254, Lt. 182, Stn. D 1348-9, Trj. S 429, Jn. 141, Ter. 554, Xm. 140, Hl. TO 43, KP 189-90 ◇ If the N vw. of the first syll. is *ü, its delabialization (*ü > *i) in U needs explaining.

2747. ι ***zap**∇ 'hold, seize, catch' > **IE:** NaIE *sep- 'hold, handle (skillfully)' > Av hap- 'hold', OI 'sapati 'touches, handles, caresses; venerates' || Gk ἔπω (mostly with pxs: ἄμυρ-έπω, ἐφέπω, μεθέπω, περι-έπω) 'prepare, elaborate, is busy about' (in the last meaning × ἔπω < IE *sek^ω- 'follow') ¶ ≈ P 909, EI 450 (*sep- 'handle [skillfully], hold [reverently]'), Brtl. 1764, M K III 429-30, F I 548 || **A** ***zap**∇ ({SDM97} ***zap**∇) v. 'catch, hold' > Tg *japa- v. 'catch, seize, take hold' > Ul žapa-, Ork dapa- ~ dappa-, Orc žawa-, Ud žawa- id., 'take', Ewk jawā-, Ewk VI/I/Ucr jabā-, Lm jaw-, Sln, Neg jawā- 'catch, seize, take hold', WrMc zafā- id., 'take', Mc Sb žafz- ~ žavz- 'catch, seize, take hold, hold', Jrc žafa- 'capture, catch' ¶ STM I 240-1, Y##1522, 1539, Kiy. 118 [##365-6] || pKo {S} *čap- v. 'catch, take hold' > MKo čap-, NKo čap- ¶ S QK #512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2580 (*zap'u; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. EAS I 64, Rm. SKE 23, Pp. VG 28 || **K:** GZ *čap- 'take, seize' > G çap- 'seize' (açapna 'he stole'), 'learn, study' (← *'take knowledge'), Mg, Lz çop- 'take, seize, hold'; the metaphorical meaning 'learn, study' is attested in OG (mo-çap-e 'pupil') ¶ K 248, ≠: FS K 441, FS E 497-8, K² 293 (equating G çap- 'study, learn' with Lz çop-, nçop- id. [which is likely to be an old loan from G] and reconstructing GZ *čap- 'learn, study') ¶ mte.: N ***zap-** > **čap- (> K *čap-) ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. братъ *zap^h, IS SS #10.33 (in both sources IE, A).

2748. (₂?) ***zap**∇ 'to cover' > **HS:** WS *√zbn > Hrs √zbn G (pf. zzbōn, sbjn. yzzbēn) v. 'protect', Mh √zbn Sh (pf. hzzbūn, sbjn. yz'hazbzn) id., Jb E/C ez'bin v. 'accompany and protect so. apprehensive', šzẓīn 'go with so. for protection', Ar D {Lb.} √zbn D 'défendre, donner asile', zibn 'secours, aide, protecteur', ?σ Ar Mgr {DRS} √zbn D 'soudoyer des mercenaires' ¶ Jo. H 148, Jo. M 463, Jo. J 315, Lb. 1820, DRS 675-6 || **A:** NaT *jap- 'v. 'cover, shut' > OT jap-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, Qzq, Qq žap-, QBlq, Qrg žap-, Alt žap-, Xk čap-, Qzl šap-, Yk sap-, Tf čip- v. id., Tv šip-/šiv- v. 'cover'; ⇨ *ja^rig 'roof' > Tlt {Vrb.} jabu, Sg, Shor čabiϕ ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Tl 530, DTS 235, TvR 585, Ra. 200, ≈ Cl. 870-1 || **U:** ?ϕ FU: Mk {Ps.} šopā-, Er čopo- vi. 'hide' (× Mk šopā-, Er čopo- 'enter [a forest], dive, fall [into a hole]') ¶ Ps. sL 105, ERV 755 ◇ Mk and Er 0 (probably from FU *0) may be explained by assimilating infl. of FU *-pp- or Mk-Er -p-.

2749. ι * $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$ 'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > IE: NaIE *skeip- ~ *skip- v. 'pinch' > Arm χit^h (< *skiptis) 'gripes, colic' ||| Sl *šćьр- / *šćip- > ChS $\psi n\psi a\tau i$ štípati 'vellicare', R $\psi i\psi a\tau$ ь (prs. $\psi i\psi l\psi u$), P $s\psi c\psi y\psi a\psi c$, Cz štípat, SCr štípati (prs. štīpām), Slv ščípati 'to pinch', Blg 'шипя v. 'pinch', R $\psi e\psi o\psi t\psi$, Cz špetka 'a pinch' | Lt $s\psi k\psi p\psi a\tau a$ 'small piece, a crumble', Ltv šķipšana, šķipsta 'a pinch; a lock (of hair)' ¶ Mikl. L 1135, Vs. IV 503, 507, ME IV 42, ZVSZ 434, ≈ P 922, ≈ Glh. 614, ≈ Frn. 805 ¶ IE *skeip- < pre-IE *ćip- < * $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$ (due to the pre-IE root structure law ruling out a voiced cns. and a glottalized one in the same $\check{\nabla}$ [the source of the IE incompatibility of media aspirata and tenuis within a root]) ||| **U:** FU *ćēpp(-) v. 'pinch', (?) n. 'finger-tip' (× N *ćēpř(-) 'finger') > Chr: H {MRS} $\psi i\psi v\psi e\psi t\psi a-$, {Ep.} $\psi i\psi v\psi e\psi t\psi ä-$ $s\psi'we\psi t\psi ä-$ v. 'pinch, nip', $\psi i\psi v\psi e\psi t\psi ыш$ $s\psi'we\psi t\psi ä\check{s}$ n. 'pinch', L $\psi i\psi v\psi ыш\psi a-$ $\check{s}\psi w\psi \check{s}\psi a-$, U $\check{s}\psi w\psi \check{s}\psi e-$, B $\check{s}\psi w\psi \check{s}\psi a\psi a-$ v. 'pinch' | Prm *ćер-, *ćзрє́- ({{LG}} *ćєрє́-) n. 'pinch, finger-tip', v. 'pinch' > Z S $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psí$ 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} $s\psi'р\psi з\psí$ 'finger-tip', {KPR} n. 'pinch', Z $\psi e\psi o\psi l\psi t-$ $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psí\psi t-$, Prmk $\check{s}\psi'р\psi з\psí\psi t-$ v. 'pinch', Vt $\psi e\psi ы\psi l\psi t-$ $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psí\psi t-$ v. 'pinch, jam' (ушипнуть, прищемить), Z $\psi e\psi o\psi л\psi я$ $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psí\psi a$ 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psi р$ 'Zwick, Kniff', $\check{s}\psi р\psi з\psi r\psi t-$ v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'ćерја́л- 'kneifen, rupfen' ||| OHg, Hg $s\psi i\psi p$ 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F $\psi y\psi p\psi y$, $\psi y\psi p\psi i$ 'finger-tip' and of Lp Kld $\psi i\psi e\psi p$ 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU *ć-), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 303, Szin. 28 ||| ?σ **D** *ćipram ({{ϑGS}} *c|ć|s-) 'bundle, parcel' (← *'a pinch') > Tm $\psi i\psi p\psi r\psi a\psi m$, Tl $\psi i\psi p\psi r\psi a\psi m\psi i$ 'bundle, parcel', Ml $\psi i\psi p\psi r\psi a\psi m$ 'bundle' ¶¶ D #2534 ||| **A:** pKo {S} *ćip- v. 'pick up, pinch' > MKo $\check{s}\psi p-$, NKo $\check{s}\psi p-$ id., {Rm.} 'pinch; pick up, take, arrest' ¶ Rm. SKE 34-5, S QK #1018, MLC 1554-5 || Tg: WrMc $\psi i\psi f\psi u-$ v. 'pinch', $\psi i\psi f\psi u-\psi u-$ 'be pinched' ¶ Z 991 ¶¶ Rm. 1.c. ◇ IS MS 373 s.v. шипать * $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$ (IE, U, A).

2750. * $\acute{z}or^rU^i$ 'crawl, creep' > K * $\acute{z}j\check{\nabla}wr-$ / * $\acute{z}j\check{\nabla}wer-$ v. 'creep, crawl' > OG $\psi wr-$, G $\psi vren-$ / $\psi vrin-$ / $\psi (v)rom-$ / $\psi vr-$ / $\psi ver-$ 'kriechen, klettern', {DCh.} 'crawl', {AxT} 'лезть', {GL} 'ramper, se traîner' ¶ Chx. 2070-2, DCh 1622-3, KEGL VIII 746, 775, AxT 439, GL 569 ||| **HS:** B * $\check{\nabla}zrrw$ > Ah {Fc.} $\psi \acute{a}r\psi ru$, $\psi \acute{a}r\psi w-$ 'se traîner, être traîné', Twl {Pr.} $\psi \acute{a}r\psi ru$ (n. act. a- $\psi \acute{a}r\psi ru$) id. ¶ Fc. 662-3, Pr. H #394 ||| **D** * $\check{s}or^r\check{\nabla}k_1-$ ({{ϑGS}} *ś-?) 'crawl, creep' > Krx $\check{s}org-$ 'move forward with one's seat on the ground, crawl on the hands and seat, move on with difficulty', Mlt

čorge, čorgre 'creep along stealthily', čorgtre v. 'drag the feet, trudge', ? Kdg oġġ- 'wriggle on belly' (of a child) ¶¶ D #2854.

2751. *ʒ^or∇ '∈ bird of prey' > K: GZ *žer- 'kite' > OG zeri (Lev. 11.13), G zer-i, zer-a 'kite (Milvus)', Lz mžāž-i, Mg *žāž- ⇨ G Gr žāž-a-i id. ¶ FS K 431, DCh. 1615, KEGL VIII 733 || HS: Eg fP ʒr.t '∈ bird of prey (falcon, kite, or sim.)' (> Cpt: Sd tpe tre, B tpe t^hre 'milan'), Eg fXXII ʒr.ty 'falcon or sim.', Eg {Mks.} ʒr 'Milan'; a semantically less probable cognate: Eg MK zwrwt '∈ bird' ¶ EG III 429 and V 596-7, 601, Mks. II #4942, Vc. 220, BnH ÄW s.v. dr 'Milan', Hng. 1011 (ʒrω 'Vogel [*Milan]) ¶ Eg ʒr.t and ʒr suggest that Eg ʒ- is a regular representative of N *ʒ-. But this is the only etymon with such representation of N *ʒ-, as against one semantically weak case of N *ʒ- yielding Eg z- (N *ʒUw∇ 'to eat, to taste' > ??? Eg zω.t 'wheat') and one ambiguous case of N *ʒ- or *ž- yielding Eg z- (N *ʒæm_l?∇ or *žæm_l?∇ 'together; to unite, to tie together' > Eg zmḅ 'unite; be united with, join'). The problem is open for further research || A: NaT *jō_lrī '∈ bird of prey' > Qrg žōru 'vulture', SY jōrī '∈ bird of prey (bigger than sar)' ¶ ET J 29, Jud. 262.

2752. (₂?) *ʒ|zōR∇ 'hand (palm of hand and fingers) ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span') > HS: WS *'zar-at- (unless ⇨ Eg fP ʒr.t 'hand, palm of hand') > BHb תרז 'zerεt 'span (as a measure)', ı Ug {Grd., Dah.} dr.t id. (not mentioned in A and OLS), IA תרז zrt, JA [Trg.], JEA ארתז zar't-ā, SmA zrt, Md zirta id., Sr zar't-ā {JPS} id., {Br.} 'spithama', MHb תרז 'zerεt 'little finger (Kleinfinger)', Tgr {LH} rəyam zera(t) 'middle finger', {d'A} rəyam zerat 'little finger' (rəyam 'long') ¶ KB 272, BDB 284-5, Grd. UT 710, Dah. UH 7ff., HJ 342, Lv. T I 232, Sl. 422-3, Tal 241, Br. 208, JPS 121, DM 168, ≈ DRS 806, LH 161, MiK I #1.298 || NrOm: Ym rl. {C} zerum 'hand' (× N *žER∇_læ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' [q.v.]) ¶ C SE III 89 || U: FU *sor∇(-ś∇) 'span' > pChr {Ber.} *sor, *sorž > Chr: YU šor, M šorž, Uf sorž id. || ObU {Ht.} *θōrās 'span' > pVg {Ht.} *tārās > Vg: T tarās ({Mu.} tārās), LK/MK/UK tōrās, UL tōrās, Ss tōrās id.; pOs {Ht.} *sorās, *sort 'span' > Os: O sorḳs, Ty/Y sōrt, D/K/Nz surt, Kz sūrta id. ¶ UEW 448, Coll. 3, Sm. 548 (FU, P *sorśi, Ugr *θārsī 'a unit of length [≈ a quarter of meter]), Ber. 67 [#352], Ht. #165, MF 194 || ? D *čōt-/ *čot- (/ *čōh-?) (*ž-?) 'span' (if from *čor-_t-) > MI cōt_ta-ccān- 'span of the thumb and the forefinger', Kt čōt 'breadth of four fingers', Kn cōtu, cu_tu, Kdg

ĉu·t̥i, Tu cōt̥u, cōt̥t̥u, cōŋt̥u 'the small span of the thumb and the forefinger', Tu cu·t̥t̥i 'a span', Tl ʒu·t̥t̥ili 'the small span' ¶¶ D #2834 ◇ Qu. (the S word may be a loan from Eg); if the S cognate is rejected, it changes the N rec.

2753. ? (₂?) ***ǰûr**∇ 'inside of body, heart' > **HS:** S ***zawr-** > Ar **zawr-** 'upper part of the breast' ¶ Hv. 3O1, DRS 7O9 || C: Ag {Ap.} ***ʒʒr** 'entrails' > Bln ʒʒr, Xm zʒla, Q ʒir, Aw zʒri ¶ Ap. AV 23, R WB 158-9 || **A** ({S} ***ǰür**∇k'∇ 'heart') (× N ***dür**∇ – ***dUrE** 'entrails, heart') > T ***jür-äk** 'heart' > OT **jüräk**, Tk **yürək**, Tkm, Ggz, Qmq, Nog **jürek**, ET **jüräk** ~ **žüräk**, Az **üräk**, Δ **jüräk**, Ln **jüjek**, Uz **juraq**, Qzq **žürek**, VTt, Bsh **jbräk**, Qrg **žürek**, SY (j)örek, Alt **žürek**, Xk, Tv **čürek**, Shor **čürex**, Tf **ć'ürek**, Yk **süräχ**; Chv **čbre** (← a NaT lge.) ¶ Cl. 965, Rs. W 213, ET J 270-1, TL 276 (T ***jürek**), Ra. 199, Jeg. 324, S AJ 179 [#41] || M ***ǰü|irüken** 'heart' (× N ***dür**∇ – ***dUrE** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? Tg: Sln **ju'rugu** 'heart' (unless ← M) ¶ STM I 278 ¶¶ S AJ 282 [#176], ≈ DQA #2624 (A ***ǰür**(∇)k'e; incl. T, M) || ??σ **D:** Tm **cūr̥u** 'anus' ¶ ≈ D #2724 ◇ Qu. (the A cognate is ambiguous).

2754. ***ǰ'U'R**∇ (= ***ǰoR**∇?) 'female being' > **K** ***zurā-** 'female' > Lz **zura-** 'female animal', Mg **zura-** 'coward', Sv: L {TK} **zuray**, LB/Ln {TK} **zurä**, UB **zuräy** {TK} 'ewe, female goat', {GP} 'female animal', d. UB/L **zurāl**, Ln **zural** 'woman' ¶¶ K 89 and K² 61, (***zura-**), FS K 137, FS E 149, Q 238, TK 253, GP 105 || **IE** ***sor-** 'woman, female' in cds.: **[1]** **AnIE:** Ht **-sara-**, sx. for female beings: **ishassara-** 'lady, mistress' (← **isha-** 'lord, master'), **supessara** 'chaste girl, virgin' (← **suppi-** 'rein'), ***hassussara** (SAL.LUGAL-ra) 'queen', HrLw **hasusara** 'queen', Lw {Mlc.} **nāna-sri(ya)** gen. 'sister' (← **nāni-(ya)** gen. 'brother') | **[2]** **NaIE** ***tri-sr-es** / ***tri-sor-** 'three' f. (← *'three women') > OI **tisrah**, OIr **téoir** id., **NaIE** ***k^wetwor-sres** 'four' f. > OI **catasrah** | **[3]** **NaIE** ***swe-sor-** 'sister, female member of the clan' (← *'[one's] own girl\woman', a cd of ***swe-** 'own' + ***sor-**) > OI ***svasar-** (nom. **svasā**), Av **χ^var̥har-** 'sister' ||| Arm **pnjn** **k^hoyr** (< ***swesōr**) id., gen. **ptn** **k^heř** (< ***swesr-os**) ||| L **soror** id. ||| OIr **siur** (< ***swesōr**), W **chwaer**, OCm [LC] **huir**, MCm **hoer**, **hor**, OBr **guoer** ({Flr.}: spelling for **hūoer**), MBr **hoar**, Br **c'hoar** 'sister' ||| Gt **swistar**, OSx **swestar**, OHG **swester**, NHG **Schwester**, Dt **zuster**, AS **sweostor**, s(ω)**ustor**, ON **systir** id. (→ NE **sister**), Sw, NNr **syster**, Dn **søster** id. ||| BSl: Lt **sesuō** (gen. **seseřs**), Pru

swestro id. | Sl *ses'tra, accus. *ses'trǫ (passed into the *-ā-declension) id. > OCS сестра sestra, Blg, R, Uk cec'тpa, SCr sèstra, Slv. séstra, Cz, Slk sestra, P siostra id. || Gk Δ [Hs.] ἑορ · θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός 'daughter, cousin' ({EI} 'cousin's daughter', probably emending Hs.'s glossa to θυγάτηρ ἀνεψιού) || pTc {Ad.} *šäšer > Tc: A šar, B šer 'sister' ¶¶ Kron. EHS I 109-12, Pv. I-II 384, Ts. W 28, Mlc. CL 154-5, WP II 533, P 642, 1051, 1090-2, ≈ EI 521 (*'swesor / gen. *swe'sr-os 'sister'; doubts about the element *sor in *'swesor), M K I 506, III 565, M E II 796, Renou § 269, F I 530-1, WH II 563-4, Vn. S 123 and T 51-2, Slr. 62-3, Flr. 195, Fs. 469, Vr. 574, Ho. 330, 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 917-8, Schz. 278, Frn. 777-8, En. 260, Glh. 545-6, Vs. III 612, Ad. 661 || HS: CCh: Suk {IL} zër, {Mk.} zür 'woman' ¶¶ JI II 347, Mk. I 318 || ?σ Eg fP zr.t 'ewe' (only if the form is primary, while zr 'buck' is a bf.) ¶ EG III 462-3, Fk. 235 || U *śVr|ða > Sm {Jn.} *sǝrā 'widow(er)' > Ne: T cəšpa sǝra 'widow(er)', cəšpa he sǝra hé 'widow', T O {Lh.} sǝr'a 'widow(er)', Ne F N χῆ'r'rāā id.; Ng {Cs.} 'seru; En {Cs.} 'siħa ~ sira id.; Slq Kt {KD} sǝrū ne'j'γum 'widow'; Kms {KD} seri 'widow(er)', serine 'widow'; the Sm cognate is valid only if the meaning 'widow' is primary, whence a broadened meaning 'widow(er)'. The change of meaning 'woman' → 'old woman' (→ 'widow') may have been induced by the reflexes of U *serā 'old' (UEW 440) ¶ Jn. 138-9, Cs. 31, 65, 91, 189, 304.

2755. *žarVrV 'hedgehog' > K *žǝrǝrb- id. > MG [KC] gǝrǝrbi, eNG {SSO} zǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog', gǝrǝrbi {SSO} 'big hedgehog' ('ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃ'), G zǝrǝrbi ~ zǝrǝrbi ~ † gǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog', {DCh. RGS} zǝrǝrbi, gǝrǝrbi id.; the word gǝrǝrbi may go back to a cd. (SSO: gǝrǝrbi = didi zǝrǝrbi 'big zǝrǝrbi') ¶ Chx. 422, 2092, DCh. 1624 (zǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog'), DCh. RGS 94, SSO I 181, 291, and II 360 || IE *śXVr- > some AnIE lge. reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] σχῦρ · ἐχῦνος 'hedgehog' ¶ Ch. 1257 || U: FU *śa|brV > pObU *śā|ōr > Vg: T {Mu.} śār 'badger', P {Mu.} mǝ-sor mǝ-sor 'hedgehog' (mǝ 'earth') ¶ MK 552 || A: M *žariβ|γa 'hedgehog' > MM [HI, MA] žari,a, [IsV] žarja-sun, [NQ] {Pel.} žaria, {Pp.} žarya, WrM zaraga, HIM zarā, Kl zapā, {Rm.} zarā, Brt zapra zaryā, Dg {T} žǝrǝ, MMgl žairā, Mgl {Lg.} žājra & žējra id., M ⇨ Tjk žayra 'porcupine' ¶ Ms. H 65, Pp. MA 201, Lg. VMI 37, MED 1037, Kow. 2301, KRS 241, KW 467, Chr. 252, T DgJ 143 ◇

All data (except Vg) suggest a N affricate (*ʒ-). K *-b- is likely to go back to the N component *bA of animal names (q.v. ffd.).

2756. ₂ *ʒ'a'hR∇ 'flower, blossom', ? 'unripe berry' > HS: CS *zah_la_r- > Ar zahr-, zahr-at- ~ zahar-at- 'flower, blossom', ?? JA [Trg.] ✓ zhr v. G 'bloom' (× ✓ zhr 'shine') ¶ Ln. 1261-2, Js. 382, Lv. T I 212 || EC *zarār- 'flower' > Bs darāra, Or {Th.} darara (nom. dararri), Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} darārā, Or M/Gj {LLC} darāra, HEC {L} *zarār- > Kmb/Qbn/Alb zarār-, Sd darār-o, Brj darār-a 'flower' ¶ Ss. B 53-4, 195, Th. 93, Grg. 99, Sr. 285, LLC 77, L Z 120, Hd. 66 || U: FU *ć'a'r∇ ({UEW} *ćâr∇) 'flower, blossom; unripe berry' > Lp {Fri.} čuruk 'bacca immatura, cruda', Lp N čuoro / čur'ru- 'unripe cloudberry' || ?? Prm *ć|žor∇ > pZ {LG} *ž∇r∇- > StZ дзоридз žoriž 'flower', Z UV/Vm/I/Sk žoriž, Z Le žzriž 'flower of berries', Prmk žor, Yz žoriž 'unripe' (of berries); -ž is a derivational suffix; if the FU vw. is *a, the Prm vw. *o (for the expected *w [{JLG} *u]) is irreg. || ObU {Ht.} *ćār- > pVg *ćārī 'flower' > Vg: K/P/LL śōr, Ss śōri id.; pOs {Ht.} *ćarak > Os Kz śorax 'blossom', śorxat- 'Blüten bekommen', Nz śorxam- 'Beerenknospen bekommen' ¶ Coll. 76, UEW 47-8 (rejects the Prm cognate), LG 92, Ht. #83.

2757. ₂ *ʒ'∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' > HS: WS *✓zrm > BHb 'zerem 'heavy rain', JA [Trg.] זרמית zar'mīṭ, זרמית זרמית zarā'mīṭ id., MHb ✓zrm v. G 'stream', ?σ OSA ✓zrm in š-zrm (an epitheton of the moon-god ʃm) ¶ KBR 281-2, Js. 414, ≈ Lv. T I 231, BK I 984, Mü. AS AHL 308 || IE: NaIE *sermo- 'flowing' > Vd 'sarma {Bt., WP, P} 'flowing, das Fließen', {MW} 'going, running, flowing' (RV I 80.5) || ? Gk ὄρμη 'a violent movement onwards, assault' || hydronyma: Σέρμιος, Fr la Sermanne (< Gl *Sermannā), It N Sermenza (< *Sermentia), Vn n. l. Sirmiō (< *Sermiō), Pnn n. l. Sirmium, P n. l. Śrem ({P}: < Vn *Sermo-) ¶ WP II 49-50, P 909-10, Bt. VII 84, MW 1183, F II 419-20, ≠ M K 471 (denies that the OI ✓ means 'flow') ¶ We may try to etymologize the IE word as derived from *serH- v. 'stream, flow', but in this case the absence of the lr. in *sermo- will remain unexplained.

2758. ₂ *ʒ'∇RT∇ 'pudenda muliebria', 'lewd' > HS: S *°✓zrd > Ar zirdān- 'pudenda muliebria' ¶ BK I 984 || IE: NaIE *sert- v. 'practise lewdness' > ON serða / sarð / ps. prtc. sorðinn ~ stroðinn v. 'Unzucht treiben' (↳ AS seorðan 'copulate with a woman'), OSw sarþ 'stupravit', MLG serden, MDt seerden, OHG sertan 𐌺

serten & serden 'to sleep with, to copulate', MHG sërten id., 'stuprare, to torture' || ?σW serth {P, Vr.} 'obscene', {YGM} 'discourteous, unclean, base' ¶ P 911, Vr. 470, Kb. 845, Schz. 249, OsS 757, Lx. 192, Ho. 290, YGM-1 391.

2759. *ǰûr'û' 'to stream' > HS: B *√zrr 'be liquid, melt' > Tmz {MT}, Izd {MT ← ?} zrir vi. 'être\devenir liquide; fondre' | B *√wzr 'flow, stream' (× N *'w∇R3∇ - *'w∇3∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dl. 952, MT 811 || C: EC: Sa {R} zār- 'fließen, rinnen', zær 'Bach, kleiner Fluß, fließendes Wasser', Af {PH} darēra n. 'pouring out until empty', ?σ dara 'pool, lake, pool left behind in wadi; water which seeps out of the ground' || Ag: Xm {R} zær 'river' ¶ R S II 332, PH 80-1, R Ch II 96 || IE: NaIE *serH-, *srey- v. 'stream, flow' (< N *ša'ri'X∇ 'to stream, to flow' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ But IE *sermo- (> Vd 'sar ma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N *ǰ∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.) ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 554-5, M E II 784-5 || A *ǰu|ûr∇ ({S} *ǰur∇ ~ *-û-) > T *jür- 'swim' > NaT *jüz- > OT jüz- 'swim', Tk yüz-, йүз- Tkm jüδ-, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog jüz-, Tlt/QK {Rl.} jüs-, VTt йөз- jöz-, Bsh йөз- jöδ-, Az, ET üz-, QrB, Qrg žüz-, Qzq, Qq žüz-, Alt дьүс-/дьүз- žüs-/žüz-, Xk čüs- 'swim' ¶ Cl. 984, ET J 281, TatR 194 || ?σ NrTg *jurku 'rapids in a river' (× ÷ M *dargil 'rapid current', see MED 233) > Lm jurku 'rapids in a river, rapid current', Neg jöyku 'fairway in a river' ¶ STM I 277 ¶¶ S AJ 284 [#207]; DQA #254 (pA *čúrka - *-jü- 'swift stream, current' > Tg, M) || D *čōr̄- ({θGS} *c|s-?) v. 'tickle, drip' (× N ? *čōr∇ 'to drip, to trickle', q.v. ffd.).

2760. ? *ǰaš∇ 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)' > K *zeša- 'fire-wood' > OG, G šeša-, Mg diška-, Lz diška-, diška-, ?φ Sv UB/LB/L/Ln zek (dat.: UB/LB zekw ~ zek-s) (zek(w) hpl. from the expected *zeskw?) ¶¶ K 234, K² 280, FS K 424, Chik. 157, TK 252, GP 104 || U: FU *°caš|sk∇ 'bush (shrub), brushwood' > StChr L čašker 'thicket (чаща, чащоба)', Chr L {Ü} čaškar 'shrubs (bushes)', Chr E {Ps.} čaškar 'dichter Gebüsch', Chr H {Rm.} 'caške·r 'das Reis, Reisig', {Ep.} cašker, č+šker, Chr {Coll.} čaška 'small-wood, brushwood, scrub', 'birch' ¶ Coll. 74, Ep. 136, MRS 668, Ü 242, PsS 157, Rm. BT 150 || Gil: Gil: A çes / zes / jes {зеч}, ES çer 'branch, bough' ¶¶ ST 349, Krn. N 485 (ES çer 'bough') || ?σ, φ HS: Eg fp 553 'Art kostbares Holz' (as. from *z5 with a sx.??) ¶ EG IV 279.

2761. ?₂ ***ǰiš**∇ 'fire' > **U**: FP ***ć**¹š∇ vt. 'burn, scorch' > Chr L {MRS} чыждыр-аш ѡъѡдыр-аш vt. 'burn, scorch', {Ü} ѡъѡдыра- v. 'scorch' (of the sun) | pPrm ***ć**š- or ***ć**iš- > Z чишкав-ны **ć**išкав- ~ **ć**išкал- v. 'burn, scorch; touch with frost (прихватить морозом)', Vt чышка- **ć**uška- v. 'scorch, burn (one's skin, fingers); pour boiling water on, scold', чыштаськы- **ć**uštaśki- 'be burnt (esp. of food, so.'s skin)' ¶ Lt. 186, LG 308, MRS 682-3, Ü 250 || **HS**: Eg fp **ɛ**ʒ.t = {Vc.} [*siʒya.t] 'fire, flame' (mt. of voiced and vl. cnss.: **ziC- > *siʒ-?) > DEg sty.t > Cpt: Sd **сате** sate, B **сат** sati, A **сете** sete ~ **сеете** seete id. ¶ EG IV 375-6, Fk. 257, Er. 475, Vc. 197 ¶ The unexpected Eg affricate ʒ (for the fricative ɛ) may be due to dis. (from the expected *z∇s).

2762. ***ǰu**w∇ 'to eat, to taste' > **K** ***ǰ**ow- v. 'fill one's mouth with food, eat one's fill, graze' > OG ʒow- (~ ʒov- ~ ʒo-), G ʒov- v. 'graze', Lz ǰum-, ǰup-, nǰ-, ǰ-, ǰv- id., Sv ǰūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' (msd. {Fn.} li-ǰūb-e) ¶¶ The origin of Sv -b- (from K *-w-?) is still to be established. On an alt. (highly problematic) et. of Sv ǰūb- see s.v. ***ć**iP₁∇, **rae** 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' ¶¶ K 240, K² 290 (GZ ***ǰ**ow- 'graze'), Fn. KW-2 44-5, FS K 436, FS E 491-2 (pK ***ǰ**ow-) || **HS**: CCh: Ngs zàwé, Mdr {Eg.} zá, Glv {Rp.} z-, Gdf {IL} zú(?)à 'eat (soft things)' | It is not clear whether we should adduce here the √ *z∇m- 'eat (soft things)' that is represented in most other subgroups of CCh (see JI II) ¶ JI II 120-1, ChC, ChL || ??σ EC: pSml {Hn.} *zeǰ- v. 'try, test' (if ← 'to taste') > Sml is ku deǰ, Bn kí-déǰ v. 'try, test', Rn {Hn.} yêy id. (= {PG} ye y- 'look at?') ¶ Hn. S 77, 38 (on the particle ku in Sml and kí- in Bn), PG 299 || Perhaps here: Eg P zω.t {EG} 'wheat (Triticum durum)', {Hng.} 'Dinkel' ¶ EG III 426, Hng. 674 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zu 'guinea corn, sorghum' (← 'food?') > {Sk.}: Wrj zū-na, My/Kry zu, Mbr ǰū, Cg zun 'guinea corn, sorghum' ¶ Sk. NB 24, Tk. NB 173 || **D** (in McTm) ***ć**u|ov- v. 'taste' > Tm **cuvaǰ** v. 'taste, eat, chew', **cuvaǰ** n. 'taste, flavour, sweetness', Ml **cuva** n. 'taste, flavour', **cuvekka** v. 'taste' ¶ D #2396 (b).

2763. ?₂ ***ǰi**X∇ (or ***ǰ**iX∇) 'come, (?) go (away)' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***ǰ**∇ 'enter, come' > Hs zō 'come' | NrBc ***ǰ**a 'enter' > Wrj, Kry za, P', Sir za, Jmb, Mbr, My za- ¶ Stl. ZCh 187 [#382] || CS *-zīh- > Ar √ zyḥ G (ip. -zīh-) 'go away, be far away', as well as (× CS *√ zḥh 'remove' < N ***ǰ**'U'XU 'to cause so./sth. to move from one place to another'), BHb

✓zɣ|wħ ꝥ ✓zħħ *N* (3m ip. ꝥꝥ' yiz'zāħ) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓zwħ *G* (ip. ɣə'zū^aħ) vi. 'be unsteady, move' ({Lv.} 'weichen, von der Stelle sich fortrücken'), vt. 'remove, turn away' ¶ Ln. 1775, BK I 1030, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, DRS 700 ¶¶ S l.c. || A: Tg *ji- 'come' > Nn, Ul ži- 'come, approach', WrMc ži-, Mc Sb ži- id. ¶ STM I 255, Y #1172 ¶¶ DQA #2599 (equates the Tg ✓ with T *jet- 'reach' [Rs. W 199] and with M *žid-kü- > Kl zütka- 'strive').

2764. *z'U'χU 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' ('to lead, to send') > K *žeyw-/*žyw- v. 'lead' > OG žyw-/žeyw-v. 'lead', G žeyv-/žyv-/žy- v. 'lead, march at the head of, accompany', Mg {K} b-žyu-k 'I go in front of', {Q} n-žyver-i 'leader (предводитель)', Sv {TK}: UB mu-žwey ~ mu-žeyw, Ln mužwey ~ mažwey, L mu-žoy 'leader', Sv {K} li-žoyw, Sv UB {GP} li-žwey v. 'lead (so.)' ||| ⇨ K *žyw-ān- v. 'send' > OG žywan-/žywn- v. 'send, make a present of', žyweni ~ zyweni 'present', G žyvan-/žyvñ-, Mg, Lz žyon- / žyun- v. 'send', Sv {FS} žywān-, žywan-, žoywan- 'take with oneself, send' ¶¶ K FSK 27, K 240-1, K² 285, FS K 432, FS E 487-8, TK 576-7, GP 164 || HS: CS *✓zħħ ~ *✓zwħ (× N *z'ixv or *z'ixv 'come, [?] go [away]', q.v.) > Ar ✓zħħ (3m ip. ɣa-zuħħu) 'ôter (une chose) de sa place', 'faire aller en avant et en arrière, pousser en avant et en arrière', BHb ✓zɣ|wħ ꝥ ✓zħħ *N* (3m ip. ꝥꝥ' yiz'zāħ) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓zwħ *G* (ipf. ɣə'zū^aħ) vi. 'be unsteady, move', vt. 'remove, turn away', Sr ✓zwħ *G* vi. 'move, stir/arise oneself in action, rise', vt. 'put in motion' ¶ BK I 977, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, JPS 112, Br. LS 192 || D *čō(y)- ({ǰGS} s- or *ś-?) (× N *z'Ug'U' 'to move somewhere' [intr., tr.], q.v.?) > Ka sō, sōvñ, sōħñ v. 'drive off, chase away', ? Tm oꝑꝑñ, oꝑꝑñ v. 'drive away', ? Gdb čōy- ꝥ soꝑ- v. 'send' ¶¶ D ##2866, 2878 ◇ IS MsN (N *z'uçä 'вести' [?]: K + qu. A *z'uge- v. 'carry'). S suggests an original vl. word-medial *-χ-. The voiced *y in K is due to as.: pre-K *žχ > K *žy. Connected with N *z'Ug'U' '↑'?

2765. (₂?) *z'vχi 'to plait, to bind' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > K: GZ {K} (?) *zax- v. 'spin' > G zax- id., Mg tuχ- id. (tuχuns 'he spins'), Lz tχ- v. 'spin' (tχups 'he spins') ¶ K 233 || ? HS: Eg fP zħ 'Zelt aus Matte aus Leinenstoff' ('Zelt aus Matte' interpreted by EG as 'Flechtwerk'), zħ-ñcꝑ 'Leinenstoff' ¶ EG III 464-5 || ? B: Gh ta-zayzay-t

'corde' ¶ Pr. H #450 || ? CCh: Lame {Sa.} zèó 'corde' ¶ Sa. DL 434 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (B, CCh, Mb {E} u-zi 'thread') || IE *seḡ- ({Pv.} *seE₂-) / *seḡy- v. 'bind' > Ht ishiya-, ishai- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw 3p prs. active gender hishiyanti (≡ Ht prtc. nom. pl. com. ishiyantís) || NaIE: [1] NaIE *°sē- > Vd 'a-sā-t 'he bound', 'sā-tum v. 'bind', ava-sā-tar 'unbinder' | [2] NaIE *°se|oy- (< IE *sḡe|oy-) / *°sēy- > Vd saya'tvam 'binding', OI sē'tar- 'binder', 'sētū-h 'binding; fetter, bond', Av hāy- v. 'bind' || L saeta 'fishing line; coarse hair, bristle' || ON seiðr 'Band, Gürtel', seil 'cord, rope, fetter', OSx sêl, AS sāl 'rope, fetter' (> NE sole), OHG seil 'rope, string', NHG Seil 'rope, cord'; ?? OHG silo 'belt', {OsS} 'Geschirr für Zugvieh, Riemenwerk des Zugviehs', NHG Siele 'breast-piece (of harness)' || Lt siēti (prs. siejù), Ltv siēt (prs. siēnu, sēju) 'to bind', Lt saĩtas n. 'tie; leash, lead; tether', {Frn} 'Eimer-schnur-kette, Trag-band-bügel, Strick', saĩlas 'Eimerschnur, Tragbügel' | [3] NaIE *°sy- (< IE *sḡy-), *si(:)- (< *sḡi(:)-) > OI 'syati 'binds, ties, fetters', Vd si'ta- 'bound' (unless from *sā-to- < *sḡ-to-), Av hirū- 'bond, fetter' | -d> [3a] NaIE *si-man- > Gk ἰμάς (gen. ἰμάντος) 'leathern strap/thong, lash of a whip' || OI sī'mā / sī'mān- 'parting of the hair, boundary' || ON sími 'Band, Strick', OSx sīmo 'rope', AS sīma 'string, band, bond', NGr Δ Seime 'rope for drying linen' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 398-403, Ts. E I 384-8, Mlc. CL 70, P 891-2, M K III 501, 549-50, 745, WH II 462, FI 724-5, Vr. 468, 476, Ho. 269, 294, Ho. S 63-4, Kb. 837, 853, OsS 750, 764, Frn. 755-6, 783 ◇ Hardly here IE *syuḡx- > *syū- v. 'sew' (because of its sonorants *y and *u), FN *zūh₁y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair'.

2766. *zūh₁y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair' > K {K²} *zua-, {FS} *zū- 'horsetail hair' > G zua 'horsetail hair, horsehair', Mg žua, Sv {Marr} ža₁/ ži 'horsetail hair' ¶¶ K² 290, FS K 436-7, FS E 492, Chx. 2089, Q 376, 416, Marr JNDR 773 || IE *syuḡx- v. 'bind, sew' (mt. from **suḡy-?) > NaIE *syū- / *sīy- v. 'sew', *syū-to- 'sewn', *syū-d^hlā 'awl' > OI 'sīvyati 'sews, joins (bindet/fügt zusammen)', syū'ta- 'sewn' || Gk κασσύω (< *kat-súō) 'sew' || L su-ō / -ēre, suī, sūtum v. 'sew', sūbūla (< *syū-d^hlā) 'awl' || Gt siujan, ON súja, AS siow(i)an ~ seowian (> NE sew), OHG siuwen 'to sew'; (NaIE *syūto- >) MHG siut 'Naht', ON sjóðr, AS séod 'bag, pouch, purse'; (NaIE *syū-d^hlā >) OHG siu(ω)ila, NHG Säule 'awl' || Lt siūti (prs. siuvù), Ltv šūt (prs. šuju ~ šuvu ~ šūnu) 'to sew', Pru schutuan 'Zwirn', Lt siuvik-

as ~ -is, siuvéjas, Ltv šuvējs ~ šuvājs 'tailor', Pru schuwikis 'shoemaker' | pSl *šiti (inf.) 'to sew' > OCS ШИТИ šiti, SCr šiti, Slv šiti, Cz šiti, Slk šit', P szyc, R шить id.; pSl *šijq 'I sew' > OCS ШИЯ šijq, Blg 'шия, SCr šijēm, Slv šijem, R шью; pSl *šidlo 'awl' (< NaIE *syū-dʰlo-m) > P szydlo, Cz šídlo, Blg, R 'шило, SCr šilo, Slv šilo; pSl *šitъ pp. 'sewn' > OCS ШИТЬ šitъ, R ШИТ(ЫЙ) || Тс А су- 'sew' || Ht {Ts.} suel- (= {Pv.} suwel-) 'Faden, Band', {Ts.} suwarwil- 'Material für Festbinden, Binse(?)' || ↪ IE *syuh-men- > NaIE *syū-men- 'band' > Gk ὑμήν 'thin skin, membrane' (ὑμήν ὑπόρρις 'the large dorsal sinew of cartilaginous fish'), Pru schumeno 'Schusterdraht', OI 'syūman- 'band, strap', Ht {Ts.} sum(m)anza(n)- {EI} 'thread', {Ts.} 'Strick, Band' ¶ WP II 514, P 915-6, EI 573 (*syuh₁- 'sew'), M K III 477-8, M E II 734, MW 1273, F II 964, WH II 631-2, Ho. 290, 296, Fs. 425, Vr. 479, 572, Kb. 860, OsS 769-70, Lx. 196, KM 627, Ho. 290, 296, Frn. 789-90, En. 244, Vs. IV 438, 443-4, Glh. 607, Ts. W 77, 78, 80, Pv. I-II 403 || U *süye 'fibre' > F сыу 'fibre, filament; annual ring (of a tree)', F † syi 'fibre', † syve (gen. syveen) 'fibre, nerve' | pChr {Ber.} *šiy 'annual ring of a tree' > StChr L ший šiy, H ши ši, B šöy, U šiya id. | Prm {LG} *sε > *se > *si ({LG} *sε > *sε > *si) > Z ci si 'fibre, Vt cñ si 'layer', Vt Y {Wc.} si 'annual ring' || Sm *ti ~ *tü ~ ? *tiw 'fibre, annual ring of a tree' > Ne T ти, {Lh.} tí, Ne F {Lh.} cí 'annual ring', Ng {Cs.} tí, En X {Cs.} tí, En B {Cs.} tí 'Holzader', Slq: Tm {KD} pod-tü, Nr {Cs.} pōt-tü, B {Cs.} puť-tü, Tz/Kar {Cs.} puot-tü 'Holzader' (pod- [pōt-] means 'of [a] tree') ¶ UEW 443, Coll. 59, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP *süxi, Sm *ti 'annual ring'), Ber. 62, MRS 705, Ep. 150, LG 257, Jn. 161, Jn. UK 223, Cs. 63, 80, 166, 236.

2767. Ll. o†*žüžv ~ *žühžA 'teat, female breast' > HS: S Ll. o†zīz-id. > BHb ṽṽ zīz 'nipple, full breast', ? Ug {A} zd 'female breast' (× N *čayv_dv_yv 'female breast'), Ar AT {Dz.} زيرة zīz-at- 'female breast, teat', Ak NA zīz u 'teat' ¶ KB 268, A #321, BK I 1032, Dz. I 619, Sd. 1532, CAD XXI 149, MiK I #1.295 || Ll. K: GZ {K} *žuzu 'female breast' > OG, G žuzu-i, Mg žuzu- id. ¶ K 235, K² 281; FS K 427 and FS E 481 (*žu-) || U: FU {Coll.} *čühčä (< *čühča) 'female breast' > pLp {Lr.} *čihčē id. > Lp: S tjiddjie, Ll. tjidjtjē, N čičžžē, Klt čičžž id. | Chr L чызе čzē 'female breast, nipple, teat' || Hg szügy 'breast of animals'; Ll. cšēcs 'mamma' (with phonetic transformation due to the

tendencies of Lallwörter) | ObU {Ht.}: Vg (partially in cds.): T šúšəw, LK/MK šós, šōš, P šís, NV šúša, SV/LL šús, UL šís, Ss šís, šús 'nipple, teat'; Os {Ht.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y túť, Nz šúša, Kz šúšī 'nipple' ¶ Db. OS xxxi (FU *ćīćä), Coll. 75, Coll. CG 402, 410 (FU *ćünć∇), Lr. #139, Lgc. #568, MRS 683, MF 113-4, LG 311, Ht. #824 || ?φ A: Tg *jadan (~ *jajan) 'udder, female breast' > Ewk jadan, Lm jəjin ə jajan 'udder', Neg jəyan, Ork dadaqta 'female breast' ¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. is puzzling (as. from **žūža in a Lallwort?) ¶ STM I 242 ◇ The length of *i in S may be due to the loss of *ń. The loss of *ń and other irregularities may be due to the phonetic tendency of nursery words to the □∇□∇-structure (whence K *žuzū, pre-ObU *ćUćU, Hg cšěcš, S *zīz-).

2768. ?σ (₂?) *žə_ly_lž∇χU '≈ ε leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits (lime-tree, Tilia or sim.)' > K {K, FS} *žacχw- 'lime-tree, Tilia' > OG caccχu-, G caccχv-, Mg caccχu- ə cχaccχu-, Lz ducχu-, Sv {TK}: UB zäsχw, LB zesχ, zesχ-ra ¶¶ K 233, K² 278, FS K 420-1, FS E 473-4, Q 370, Abul. 514, TK 251 || ?? HS: S: Ar SL zayzafūn- 'lime-tree' ¶ This word is to be distinguished from the homonymous word Ar SL zayzafūn- 'fruitless sorb-tree', which is probably a loan from Gk ζύζυφον 'jujube-tree, Zizyphus' (though these homonyms are likely to have influenced each other) ¶ Bel. 293, Bel. DFA 681, Hv. 291 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} žəžixi, žəžuri 'dense forest' ¶ It is worth paying attention to Tg *ju_le_lgdēn 'alder-tree' (< *-gd- < *-j-d- < N *-ć|ž- + a sx.??) (> Ewk jugdən, Lm jōdən, Neg jugdēn, Orc jugdɜ(n-), Ud žugdɜ(n-), Ork žuwəgdɜ ~ žuzgdɜ 'alder-tree'), which may well belong to A *zU_l∇_lg_l∇_lt|d∇ > NaT *sögüt|d 'willow' (see Rs. W 429) ¶ STM I 242, 269, and II 120, Krm. 235, 288, Z 970, Hr. 514.

2769. *žəʔ∇b∇ (= *žəʔ∇b∇?) 'ε beast of prey (wolf or sim.)' > HS: S *'əiʔib- 'wolf' > BHb בִּיאַיְ zəʔēb, pl. בִּיאַיְ zəʔēbīm, IA [Frh.] דִּאב dʔb, JPA בִּיִּ dēb, JPA, JEA em. אִבִּי dēbā, SmA בִּי dɛb, Sr בִּי, dē<ʔ>bā, Ar بَيْبِ dīʔb- (b→ Bj {R} dīb), Ak zīb- 'wolf', Gz 𐎧𐎺𐎠 zəʔb 'hyena' (the posttonic vw. is evidenced by BHb, where pS *-'iʔi- yields -əʔē-) ¶ AD PSH 41, 98, 121, 139, KB 250, KBR 260, Js. 276, Sl. 326, Br. 137-8, Lv. I 370, HJ 237, Tal 179, CAD XXI 106, LG 630, DRS 324-5 || Eg fP zəb 'jackal' (either a cognate of or a loan from S) || ?? Eg N ʔshb (= [*ʔ∇shb-]) 'ε wolf or dog' (acc. to EG I 132, a foreign word) (with a prosthetic ʔ∇- and with as. [*-šʔ- >] *-sʔ- > sh) ¶ EG I 132 and III 420,

Fk. 209 || C: EC *z∇Hb- > HEC *zōbb- 'lion' > Sd dōbb-iččo, pl. dōbb-a, Alb zobe-ččo, Kmb zōbbe-čču, Tmbr zob'be-čču, Qbn zōbbō 'lion' | pSam *daɣaw- ~ (mt.) *daɣaɣ- 'jackal' (× N *d'æ'w∇ɣ|g∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal', q.v. ffd.) || ? SC: Irq duɣuma 'leopard' ¶ AD SF 106, Hd. 92, LZ 120 || Ch: WCh ? *žīɿ∇ɿb- ({Stl.} *žīɿ∇b-) > Ngz {Sch.} žīb-dà 'civet cat (Viverra civetta)' || ECh *žabiy- 'hyena' > Bdy žebay-gi 'striped hyena', Mgm žábíyá 'brown hyena' ¶ Sch. DN 84, ChC s.v. 'hyena' ¶¶ OS #2660 || K: G čiba 'young dog' (K *č- < **žH-?), G ciba 'small dog', a call-word for dogs, G Kzq ciba 'Hündchen' (c- is still to be explained) ¶ Chx. 1933, 2003, KEGL VIII 501, 614 || A (*že|äbe-ken): T *je|äbken 'wolverine, glutton (Gulo gulo)' > Tv čepke ~ čekpe, Qb {Rl.} jäkpä, Qmn {B}, Alt {BT} žēken, Alt {Rl.} jākkän (= žākkän), Shor {Rl.} čäkän, Yk {Pek.} siägän ¶ The long vw. in Alt and the diphthong in Yk are due to compensatory lengthening (the loss of *b) ¶ Shch. Zh 140, B K 212, BT 51, TvR 526, Pek. 2185, Rl. III 318, 320, 1948 || M *žeɣek|gen (< **žeɣeken?) 'wolverine' > WrM žegege, {Rm.} žegeke, Brt зээгэн, Kl зеегн zēgän, {Rm.} zēkḡ, HIM зэгээ (< *žegeɣen < mt. *žeɣegen) ¶ CHR. 275, KRS 246, KW 474, MED 1051 ¶¶ 'wolverine' ← (dim.?) 'wolf'; ≡σ: NE wolverine ← wolf ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2571 (A *zībe 'a kind of predator' > T + unc. M *sibor 'panther' and Tg *sibigē 'ε big beast of prey' [in fact from N *sib∇ɿ∇ 'beast of prey', q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≠ BK DA 157 [#56] (an unc. equation of the HS root with D *čī∇ɿ∇anki 'leopard, lynx, hyena' [in fact from N *žīw∇mɿ∇gE 'leopard' × N *č'ī' b∇ɿ∇ or *č'ī' b∇ɿ∇ 'hyena', q.v.]).

2770. *žūɿɿb∇ 'to pour, to flow' > HS: S *-δūb- v. 'flow' > BHb בוז ✓zwb G (ip. -zūḡ-) 'flow', 'drip with fluid', Ug mḏb {OLS} 'flood of tide', JA [Trg.] ✓dwb G 'flow, drip', JEA ✓dwb G 'flow out, discharge', Md ✓dwb v. 'flow', SmA ✓dwb G 'melt, have a discharge', Sr ✓dwb G 'flow out, have an issue (menstruation, semen, etc.), melt', Ar ✓δwb v. G 'melt', ✓zwb v. G 'flow' (← some z-lge.), Ak zābu inf. 'dissolve, ooze' ¶ KB 255, KBR 266, OLS 260, BK I 787, 1024, A #720, Grd. UT #1425, Tal 171, Js. 282, Lv. T I 163, Sl. 315, Br. 144, JPS 84, DRS 329, Sd. 1501-2, CAD XXI 9-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *žub|ḡ v. 'pour' > Hs zuba v. 'pour' | Bl žubb-, Dr žòḡé id. | ? Ngz žičḡú v. 'sprinkle' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -žžḡ- v. 'wetten (the lips, iron)', Dgh {Frk.} žúpà 'be wet', Db {Lnh.} žúp id. ¶ Stl. VZCh #93, Stl. ZCh 194 [#457], Abr. H 975-6, Sch. DN 85, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 136 || Eg fP zžb 'fließen, rinnen', {Fk.} 'drip'

¶ EG III 420, Fk. 209 ¶¶ OS #2669 (*žub- 'flow, pour'), ≈ OS #2631 (*√zub v. 'pour', based on an unc. rec. of pS as *√zwb), ≈ Sk. HCD 547 || K *°žv|p- > ? Zan *žgvp- → GI žger-i 'heavy rain' ¶ Chx. 2436 || A *žub- > M *žubag > WrM žubag, HIM žubar 'irrigation channel, drain' ¶ MED 1077 || Tg *°jub|p- > Ewk juwāt- v. 'have diarrhoea' ¶ STM I 268 ◇ N *-?b- is suggested by ḅ in some WCh lgs.

2771. ?o₂ *ž'ü' ḅṿ, ḅṿ 'ε insect' > HS: S *δ'ü'ḅṿ- ~ δṿḅδṿ- 'a fly' > BHb זבוב zə'ṿṿ, JA [Trg.] זבוב ד' dī ṿṿ-ā, Sr ذبابة dabbā'ṿ-ā ~ ذبابة dabbā'ṿ-ā id., Ar ḍubāb-, Mh {Jo.} ḍab'ṿēt (pl. ḍabēb), Jb E {Jo.} ḍab'ṿt, Jb C {Jo.} ḍab'ṿt (pl. 'ḍeb), Sq {L} dbiboh, Ak zubbū ~ zumbū id., Hrs ḍabbēt (pl. ḍabēb) id., ḍebḍabēt 'worm' ¶ KB 250, KBR 261, JPS 81, Js. 294, Jo. M 79, Jo. J 45, Jo. H 27-8, DRS 326 || B *zvb- 'fly' > Ah {Fc.} a-həb (pl. i-həbb-in) 'mouche plate', ETwl, Ty e-zəbb (pl. i-zəbb-ən) 'mouche (œstre) du bœuf', Tnsl {ABs.} a-šəbb, Gh {ABs.} azəb 'fly', Izd {Mrc.} i-zib (pl. i-zabb-ən) 'mouche de cheval' ¶ Fc. 505, GhA 208, Pr. H #122, Mrc. 170 || Eg MK zb.t ≈ vermin (Ungeziefer), DEg sb 'vermin, louse' > Cpt Sd cib sib, Cpt B cip sip 'vermine, tique' ¶ EG III 432, Vc. 183 || ?φ C: Bj {R} dīṿāb (pl. dīṿab) n. 'flea' ¶ R Wbd 73 || ? Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} žúwāk, Bd {ChL} žúwān n. 'fly' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} žúwāy, pMM {Ro.} *žīway (> Mada {Ro.} žúwé, Myn {Ro.} ážúwé, Mkt {Ro.} žúwáy, Hrz {Ro.}, Mf {BLB} žúwáy, Mlk/Vm/Mofu {Ro.} žúwáy, Zlg {Ro.} žúwé, MfG {Brr.} žážúwáy, Gzg D {ChC} žužuwed, Gzg {Ro.} žižiwéd, Gzg Mj {Lk.} žižuwed), Glv {Rp.} nžúwiyà, Gv {ChL} nžuwà, Dgh {ChC} ḡžúwè, {ChL} nzúwè, Nkc {IL} nzúwè, Mdr {Mk., ChL} nžuwā n. 'fly' || Ech: Mu {J} dūwó, Jg {J} diwó id. ¶ Nw. 52 (s.v. *dīwā 'fly'), ChC, ChL, Ro. 254 [#282], Lk. G 125, RpB 74, BLB 128, Brr. MG II 137 || A {SDM97} *žūbu 'ε stinging insect' > Tg *jube-kte, *jube-n 'wasp, bee' > Ewk juwuktə ɘ juvuktə 'wasp', Sln jūktə, Lm jəwət ~ jəwət, Neg jəwə-ktə ~ jəvəktə ~ jəvəktə, Nn Nh/KU žəwə, žəwəktə, Nn B žəwə(n-) 'wasp, bee' ¶ STM I 268 || ? NaT *jī;bin ~ *çīpin ~ *çī;min > OT čibin ~ čībin 'fly, gnat', Tk cibin, Az čibin 'fly, mosquito, gnat', Tkm čībin, Uz čibin 'gnat', Qmq žibin 'fly', {Rm.} 'Sandfliege', VTt чибен чьбын, ET čivin, Qrg čimin, Alt, Tb {B} čimin n. 'fly', Qzq šibin id., šibin-širkey 'swarm of midges', ?φ Tv šimil 'larve' ¶ The variations *j- ~ *ç- and *-b- ~ *-p- ~ *-m- are due to the ideographic (onomatopoeic) associations of the word ¶ TL 186, Cl. 838,

Rs. W 110, TatR 632, TkR 743, Sht. 235, Nj. 416 𐰽𐰾 ≈ SDM97 (A *ǰūbu > T, Tg + *÷ M *ǰögeu 'bee'), ≠ KW 487 (M, T), Pp. VG 28, 58.

2772. (₂?) *ǰ' a' ǰ' d ▽ (or *ǰ a Hd ▽?) 'spread, be flat' > A: NaT *jāδ- > OT {Cl.} jāδ- v. 'spread out (on the ground, etc.)', XwT/MQp XIV, Chg XV jāy- id., Tk ɟay-, Ggz, Kr jāy-, Uz ёй- jay-, VTt Žāy-, Bsh jāy-, Qzq, Qq žay-, Qrg žay-, Alt {BT} дбай- žay-, Xk čas-, Tv čat-, Tf čat- id., Tkm jāy- v. 'roll out dough', Az, Qmq, ET jāy- id., 'spread out' 𐰽 Cl. 883-4, ET J 76-7, TkR 808, Ra. 195 || M *ǰada-: WrM {MED} ǰadara-, HIM задра- v. 'spread' (here unless from ǰadara- v. 'unfold, unwrap, loosen'), WrM {Rm.} ǰada-ǰai 'lying open, spread out', ?σ Kl задһа 'open, not closed'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} ǰada-i- 'sich ausbreiten', ǰada-ǰar 'flach ausgebreitet'; if the primary meaning of the M √ is 'to open, to loosen', 'apart' (WrM ǰada 'apart'), the M √ does not belong here (⇔ Rm.) 𐰽 MED 1021, Kow. 2277-8, KRS 236 𐰽𐰽 Rm. EAS I 64 and Rm. SKE 24 (T, M + unc. Ko čak:i [Rm.: < čat-ki-] 'to place with the back down', arbitrarily interpreted by Rm. as 'mit ausgebreiteten Armen auf den Rücken legen'), DQA #2584 (A *ǰād ▽ '[to] spread, unravel [расстилать, распутывать] > T, M) || D *čat̥- 'flat(ness)' > Kn caṭṭu, caṭṭa, caṭṭe 'flatness, levelness', Tu caṭṭæ 'flat, level', Knd saṭu, saṭu-ṣaṅku 'flat rock' (ṣaṅku 'stone') 𐰽 D #2308 || ?σ HS: S **°√ δ̥d > (as. in the framework of a rdp. pattern) Ar √ δ̥δ̥ D 'disperse' 𐰽 BK I 772-3 ◇ N *ǰ and *ǰ are justified only if the S cognate belongs here. Otherwise the N etymon is less specific: *ǰ a Hd ▽ ◇ IS SS #3.19 (A, D), IS MS 359 s.v. расстилаться (A, D).

2773. *ǰæwɣ' i' 'bad, ugly', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'left [link]') > IE: NaIE *seuɣo- 'left (link)' > OI saɰ'ɟa- 'left, left hand/arm', Av haoua-, MPrs hōy- 'left' || SI *šuyb 'left (link)' > OCS шoуh šui id. ('εὐώνυμος'), шoуhца šuica 'left hand', Slv šūj (f. šúja) 'left', SCr šūvāk (gen. šuváka) 'left-hander', OR šui 'left', R Δ 'шуйца 'left hand', Uk 'шуйбіч 'on the left side' || ? Clt: MW {SEv.} assewɣ / asseu, W aswɣ 'left' (if from *ad-seuɣo-, as suggested by Ped. and Mn.), ?? Br su (call to a horse to turn left) 𐰽 WP II 472, P 915, EI 349 (*seu'ɣo-s), M K III 449, Tr. 260 (none of them mentions the Clt cognates), Vs. IV 484, Ped. VG II 16, Mn. 38 (reconstructs *a|assewɣos ~ *sewɣos 'left-hand, sinister', adduces the Clt cognate and Arm ահեակ aheak 'left' + *÷ Tc B saiwai v. 'the right'), Bc. 865-7, SEv. 4, YGM-1 34, Wn. 410-1 (rejects the connection of Tc B saiwai with the IE √ in

question) || **A:** ppM * ζ eβün 'left' > MM [L] XIII {Pp.} ζ e_wün, [HI] ζ e_wün, [ISV] ζ üyün 'left', WrM ζ egürn, HIM, Brt ζ YҮH, Kl ζ YH, {Rm., Pp.} zün 'left; east'; M \rightarrow ? Ork d ζ wun'ji ~ d ζ un'j ζ ~ d ζ un'ji 'left', Ewk j ζ ɣin, Neg jixinid ζ gd ζ , Orc ζ žn'ž ζ , Ud ζ žn'ž ζ , {Krm.} ζ ēn ζ ž ζ - 'left', Nn ζ žunč'i 'to the left side', WrMc ζ urn 'at\to the left side' ¶ Pp. L II 1271, Ms. H 67, Lg. VMI 40, MED 1044, STM I 282, Krm. 232, KRS 259-60, KW 485 || **HS:** S * ζ o ζ (rdp.) > Ar ζ o ζ - 'bad, of poor quality' (of palm trees) ¶ BK I 773 || **K:** G ζ žuna 'ugly' ('unschön, häßlich'), G K ζ žurta 'mißgestalteter, häßlicher Mensch' ¶ Chx. 2457 ◇ IS MS 346 s.v. левый (* ζ o ζ , represented in IE and M; adduction of WrMc ζ ebele is to be rejected because the word means 'right side' rather than 'left side' [as in IS l.c.]) ◇ The K and S cognates suggest that the N rec. is * ζ æw ζ 'i' and the meaning of the N word is 'bad, ugly, (→ ?) left' ◇ It is possible to find a semantic connection between this N word and N * ζ o ζ 'a ζ or * ζ a ζ 'o ζ * \approx be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' (q.v.), but the cognates in M suggest that these two etymons have different vowels and hence represent two separate N words ◇ The alternative reconstruction of a pN word (ζ * ζ æw ζ 'i' > IE, M) with the original meaning 'left' ('link') is hardly plausible, because we know from the history of languages that the meaning 'left' is (always?) secondary.

2774. * ζ U ζ 'i' \approx show, advise, get accustomed' > **HS:** Eg fMK z ζ h 'advice', z ζ h ζ 'adviser; clever, understanding' ¶ EG III 465-6 || **K** * ζ w(e)- v. 'get accustomed, train, school' > OG ζ ue-, G ζ ve-/* ζ vi- id., Mg *r ζ k ζ (a)-, Sv ζ k ζ - 'get accustomed (?)' (msd. UB {TK} li- ζ k ζ ne) ¶¶ K 219 (GZ * ζ w(e)-), K² 256 (K * ζ w(e)-); FS K 388 and FS E 436 (* ζ w-), TK 471 || **IE:** Ht siya- md. 'sich zeigen' ¶ Ts. W 75 ◇ Does Ht i suggest a N front vw., i.e. N * ζ U ζ 'i'? ◇ K * ζ - < * ζ h.

2775. * ζ 'a'kU 'be low', 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > **K:** G G {Chx., Ghl.} ζ agvera(-i) 'a short robust person' ¶ Chx. 2424, Ghl. 772 || **U** * ζ oka 'low', 'shallow', 'low water' > Lp: L {LLO} ts ζ hkē 'shallow' (of a lake), N {N} coakke / -g- 'low water' (of river or sea), Kld цуэгкь, K {Gn.} cu ζ kk 'shallow'; L {UEW} ts ζ hkō-, N {N} coakko- / -g- 'fall' (level of water), 'sink' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} t ζ kkē- vt. 'dry out', t ζ kk+ vi. 'dry out', Tur {Lh.} t ζ kk+ id., Ke {Cs.} cakka-, Nr {Cs.} ζ aga- 'austrocknen' || YK {Jc.} ζ o ζ ur ζ - 'be shallow' (of a river), ? YT {Ku.} ζ o ζ une- 'be thin', ζ o ζ uyay- 'grow thinner' ¶¶ UEW 60-1, LLO

1242-3, SaR 381, KКIH 182, Cs. 133, Ku. 235-6, Ang. 39 || **A:** M *žagžai- 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > WrM žagžai-, HIM, Brt загзай-, Kl загзи-х žagžī-хə id., Kl Ö {Rm.} zaṽzā-χα 'kurz und dick sein', Ord {Ms.} žagžā- ~ jaḡžā- 'be short' (of a person); M *žagžai-gar > WrM žagžagar, HIM загзгар ~ загжгар, Kl загзгp žagžəhər, Brt загзагар 'short, stocky' (of a person), 'broad and thick' (of a beard), Kl Ö {Rm.} zaṽzṽṽar 'kurz und dick, von kleinem Wuchs, stämmig', Ord {Ms.} žagžagar ~ jaḡžagar 'short' (of a person); Brt загзүүл žagžūl 'be low\undersized' (of a pine forest) ¶ MED 1025, KRS 235, KW 463, Chr. 243, Ms. O 179 || ?**σ HS:** S *^o✓δkw > Ar ✓δkw D 'être gros, corpulent' ¶ BK I 778 ◇ U *-o- (for *a) is due to the ass. infl. of the labialized vw. of the next syll. G Gr -g- in žagvera- (for the expected -k-) has not yet found explanation.

2776. *žEγL∇ (or *žELγ∇?) 'ε small carnivore mammal' ('fox', [?] 'jackal', 'weasel' or the like) > **K:** eNG žilγao ({SSO} 'šavi mela', literally 'black fox'), G žilγao ~ žilγo 'silver fox', {DCh.} žilγao id., 'red fox', G {Chx.} žilγao 'schwarzer Fuchs' ¶ Chx. 2448, DCh. 1771, KE VIII 1591 || **HS:** S: Ar {Hv.} δuṽāl-at- 'fox', δaṽl- ~ δiṽl- ~ δuṽl- 'jackal, weasel', {Ln.} δaṽlān- ~ δuṽlān- 'jackal' or 'wolf', δuṽāl-at- 'wolf' (? for the expected γ is due to the infl. of δiṽb- 'wolf' or to derivational processes [like pl. fractus **δuṽγ∇, ṽāl- > δuṽāl-?]) ¶ Hv. 194, BK I 762, Ln. 950 || **A:** Tg *jele(-kī) 'weasel' > Ewk jɛlɛ-kī, Lm jiliki, Neg jɛlɛxī, Orc žɛlɛki, Ud žɛlɛxi, Ul žiɛli(n-) ~ žɛli ~ žɛliki, Ork jɛlɛzi, Nn žɛli, žɛlikɛ 'weasel', WrMc zelken 'ε small carnivore mammal' (? {Z} 'бурндук [chipmuck, Tamias], колонок [Siberian weasel, Mustela sibirica], жёлтый хорёк') ¶ STM I 28, Z 977, Krm. 236 ◇ 'Fox' and 'weasel' may be semantically connected as names of two fur-bearing animals.

2777. *žam∇ 'be dying, perish' > **HS:** S *^o✓δmy > Ar ✓δmw|y v. G 'writhe in agony' (of a dying or slaughtered beast) (pf. مَضَّ δamā, ip. -δmiy-, n. act. δamy-) ¶ BK I 783, Hv. 230 || But hardly here Sml ḡimašo 'be dying' (⇔ Blz.), because there is no confirmed etl. identity between Sml ḡ and S *δ || **D** *čam- ({ǵGS} *s-) 'die, be finished', (caus.) 'kill' > Tl samayu 'die, perish, be destroyed', camaru 'kill', Tm camai vi. (p. -v-) 'be consumed \ destroyed', vt. 'finish', camai (p. -pp-) 'kill, destroy', Ml cavati 'consumption', Kt čam- 'be finished \ spent', Kn same, save, savī 'be destroyed \ consumed, wear away',

Gnd ʒavv-kānā ⌘ havk- 'kill' 𐤆𐤃 D #2343 || U: FV *yama- 'be dying' > pLp {Lr.} *yāmē 'die' > Lp: S {Hs.} jāam'edh , L {LLO} jāpmēt , N {N} jābmet , K {Gn.} yām'mēδ 'die, perish' | pMr {Ker.} *yūma- > Er ēma-yoma- 'be missing (get lost, etc.), perish', Mk yoma-yu'ma- , Δ ima- id. | pChr {Ber.} *yom- > Chr: H yamash 'yamaš', L yomash 'yo'maš', B/Uf yoma- , M yoma- 'get lost, perish' || ?? Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} yāmā 'be unable', T Sd {Lh.} héwāw yāp'mā 'my mother is ill', Ng {Cs.} jama-juā 'nicht können' || pY {IN} *yam-p- 'be ill, die' > Y T {Ku.} yaba- , {IN} yawe- 'die', yam'zī- 'be ill', yaw , {Jc.} jobe , Y K {IN} yō , {Jc.} jobo 'illness', ? Y T {Ku.} yaw- 'feel pain' $\text{𐤆𐤃 Coll. 17, UEW 89, Lr. #256, Lgc. #1661, Hs. 753-4, LG 337, Rd. rLG 422, Ker. II 44-5, ERV 182-3, PI 319, Ber. 11, Ep. 25, MRS 147-8, 787, Lh. 97, Cs. 52, Ku. 63-4, Ang. 82, 94-5, IN 224, IN RJ 4} \blacklozenge$ Not here Alt ʒobō- 'be sick' (BT 55), which is a loan from M (pM *ʒoba- 'suffer' < N *ʒo'ʔ'aw or *ʒa'ʔ'ow $\text{*} \approx$ be of poor quality \ appearance; be weak, be bad' [q.v.]) (*see* also Cl. 872) \blacklozenge The U cognate is valid if N *ʒ- may yield U *y- (hyp. formulated by the present author in 1974 [AD NSAS 163-75], but not confirmed later) \blacklozenge Blz. SNE I 239 [#1] (*zama ; U, D + [unc.] Alt ʒobō- , C + Ko samaṅ 'death' [in fact a loan from Chn]).

2778. ?σ_2 *ʒEm 'way (?)' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' > [1] (N) 'blame, fault': HS: WS $\text{*} \checkmark \delta mm \sim \text{*} \circ \checkmark \delta ? m$ > Ar $\checkmark \delta mm$ v. G (pf. $\delta amma$) 'blame, reprove', $\delta amm-$ 'blame, vice'; ($\times \checkmark \delta ? m$ 'drive away, repousser'): $\checkmark \delta ? m$ G 'blame, dispise, disgrace', $\delta a ? m-$ 'vice, shameful action', BHb הַזְּמִיּוֹת zim'mā 'evil device, wickedness' (\times הַזְּמִיּוֹת zim'mā 'plan, purpose' \leftarrow $\checkmark zmm$ 'consider'), 'infamy, shameful behaviour', MHb (\leftarrow Aram) הַזְּמִיּוֹת dū'mā 'woman of ill repute', {Lv.} id., 'woman suspected of illicit intercourse', Ug tdmm {TOu} 'se conduire mal', {OLS} 'trato lascivo \ denigrante', tdmmt {TOu} 'inconduite', {OLS} 'lascivia', Mh {Jo.} $\checkmark \delta mm$ G (pf. δzm , sbjn. yʒδmʒm) 'miscall so. behind his back', Jb E/C {Jo.} $\checkmark \delta mm$ G id., Mh aδmēm 'put all the blame on so.\sth.', Gz $\checkmark zmw$ D 'fornicate, commit adultery\whoredom, have illicit intercourse', Tgy $\checkmark zmw$ D 'fornicate, commit adultery', Amh zemma 'whore, harlot' $\text{𐤆 KB 272, Js. 284, Lv. I 383, BK I 762, 781, Hv. 225, 230, BDB 273, TOu I 201, OLS 463, DRS 335, Jo. M 80, LG 639, Bsn. 723, Kane 1612, MiK I #2.14 || A:}$ M *zime- \sim *zeme- > WrM zimed- v. 'accuse; blame, reprimand', zimele- id., v. 'chide, scold', v. 'lecture', WrO zēm n. 'blame', zem n.

'harm, evil, guilt', *zeme* n. 'blame, fault, reprimand; scolding', *zemele-* v. 'scold, reprove' ¶ MED 1056, Kow. 2348-9, Krg. 667 ||| [2] (N) 'manner of behaviour, natural law': HS: S: Ar *ḡimām-* 'right, due, honour', {BK} 'devoir, obligation', esp. 'l'obligation de protéger les siens' ¶ BK I 781 || A: M **zime* 'conduct, manner of behaviour' > WrM *zime* ~ *zeme*, HIM *zəm* id., WrO *zēm* 'discipline, natural law', *zeme* 'discipline, sacred instructions' ¶ MED l.c., Kow. 2348, Krg. 667 ||| [3] ? (N) 'way' > HS: Eg L/G *zm̄.ty* 'Weg, Straße' ¶ EG III 452 || A: It is tempting to adduce here the M word that is represented by WrM *zəm*, HIM *zəm*, WrO *zəm* 'road, way, pass', Kl {Rm.} *zam* 'Weg, Landstraße' (MED 1033, Kow. 2290, Krg. 661, KW 466, Kg. AD 328 [#1162]), but this M word is at least influenced by (or contaminated with) (if not identical with) the loanword *zām* 'posting station' (MM [S] {R} *žām* id.) probably of Chn origin (← ItMCn ≈ *čām* < MChn {Starostin, p.c.} *čēm* [> Chn M *žān*] 'to stop; stage of journey') (see Kg. AD 328 [#1162], H 85; on the T word *jam* 'posting station' of the same Chinese origin see Cl. 933). If the M word is a loan from Chn, it does not belong here. If there was contamination, the Chn infl. is responsible for the one-syll. structure and the vw. *a* in the M word ◇ It is not yet clear whether the above semantic entities are connected and, if so, whether our tentative hyp. of the semantic development ('wrong behaviour, vice' ← 'conduct, manner of behaviour' [?] ← 'way') is correct.

2779. ??φ **žam|ŋ'∇kæ* ~ **ž'a'k∇'m|ŋ'∇* 'chin, beard' > IE {E} **smeḱ-*, **smoḱwṛ*: [1] **smeḱ-* 'chin' > OIr *smech* 'chin' (< **smeḱā*) ||| possibly L *māla* 'cheek-bone, jaw-bone', 'cheek, jaw', dim. *maxilla* 'jaw-bone, jaw' (*māla* < **smḱ-slā*) ||| [2] **smoḱwṛ* 'beard, (?) chin' > Ht {Ts.} *zamankur* ~ *zamakur* 'beard', *samankurwant-* 'bearded' ('bärtig') || NaIE: OI *śmaśru* 'beard' ||| Arm *մաւրուք* *mawruk^h* ~ *մօրուք* *mōruk^h* id. ||| pAl {O} **smekrā* > Al *mjekēr* 'chin, beard' ||| Lt *smākras*, † *smakrà* 'chin', Ltv *smakrs* 'chin, palate' ||| ?σ AS *smāras* 'lips' ¶ The depalatalized *-k- (in Al and Blt) is due to its precon. position ¶ Frd. HW 259, Ts. W 69, 108, WP II 689, P 968-9, EI 107, 251, M K III 982, WH II 15, Vn. S 140-1, Sl. 180-1, O 269-70, Frn. 839 ||| HS: [1] HS ***ž∇k∇N-* (< N **ž'a'k∇'m|ŋ'∇*) 'chin, beard' > S **ḡa'kan-* 'beard' > BHb *ḡā'kān* id., 'side whiskers', Ph *zḡn*, JA [Trg.] *ḡā'kan*, em. JA [Trg.], JEA *ḡā'kan-ā*, Sr *ḡā'kan-ā*, SmA *ḡā'kan*, Ak *ziḡn-u* 'beard', Ug *ḡā'kan* 'beard, chin', Ar *ḡāq(a)n-* 'chin' | Ak fOB *zūktu* ~ *sūktu* 'chin' ¶ KB 267, KBR 278, AD PhSS 2-5, OLS

135-6, HJ 339, Js. 319, Lv. I 420, Sl. 335-6, Tal 192, Br. 164, Sod. 1061, 1530-1, CAD XXI 125-6, DRS 339, MiK I #63 || WCh *žakam̄ (Stl.) *žakan|m̄) 'chin' > Su {J}, Kfr M {Hf.} žaʕam, Ang {Flk.} žām, Gmy {Hf.} žōm, {Kr.} žoʔóm, Cp {Kr.} žəkəm 'chin', Kfr {Nt.} žagám 'jaw' || BT: Grm {Gw.} žaŋgumu 'chin' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} zúkúmò ~ zúkímò (pl. zûŋkìmàgí) 'chin, beard' ¶ Stl. ZCh 195 [#463], Hf. AGL 22 [#162], Nt. 16, ChL, ChC, J LM 202 ||| [2] ?ϕ C: Bj {R} ša'nak (pl. 'šanaka) 'jaw-bone, chin, beard' ||| Ag ≈ *^oč^ʔ Angabat > Km {CR}, Q {R} šəngabat 'beard, chin' ¶ R WBd 217, R QW 127 ||| A: NaT *janaq, {ðRs.} *jaňak ({ADb.} *jauňak) 'jaw, cheek' > OT janaq, {Cl.} jaňaq 'cheek-bone, cheek', MU, XwT, ET janaq, Chg janaq ~ janaʕ 'cheek', MQp janaq 'cheek, jaw', Bsh, Kr T janaq, QrB žayaq, Qzq, Qq žaq, Alt, Tb žāq, Tf ŋāq, Tv čāq, Yk sɪŋāχ 'jaw, cheek', ? Qzq iyek 'jaw', Qrg žāq, Uz žaʕ 'jaw', Chg janaʕ ~ janaq, Tk ɣanak, Az janag, Tkm, VTt, ET janaq, Qmq jayaq, Slr Ul janaχ, SbT Tb {RL} ŋanaq, Xk nāχ 'cheek', Shor {RL} nāq 'cheek, cheek-bone', Uz janaq 'cheek-bone' ¶ Rs. W 187, Cl. 948, ET J 123, TL 219-20, Tn. SJ 346, Rl. III 627, 636 || Tg *jegī 'chin' > Ewk jɜɜ ɛ jɜw ɛ jɜy ɛ jɜk 'chin, lower jaw', Sln jɜgī, Orc žɜy, Ud {Krm.} žɜi ~ žɜy 'chin', Nn Nh žɜy|ž 'cap-lace tied under the chin', WrMc zelgin ~ zelgiyen id. ¶ STM I 281, Krm. 235 ◇ Tg *e is due to regr. as. (*a...E > *ä...E > Tg *e...) ◇ The connection between HS **ž̄∇k̄∇N- and the supposed IE and T cognates is confirmed by Tg *jegī, but is still not certain. If it does exist, it may be accounted for either by mt. or by a suffixal element *-∇N (cp. S *^lʔuδ-_l∇_ln 'ear', *^lkar-an- 'horn', and *^lgur-an- 'throat' with a sx. *-an- typical of names of body parts). If HS **ž̄∇k̄∇N- does not belong here, in the N rec. the cns. *ž̄- must be replaced by *ž̄- (= ž̄|ž̄|ž̄). The reflexes of the etymon in question should be distinguished from those of N *šäm_l∇_lg∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair' (q.v.).

2780. *žemûga_lH₂ê_l 'fog, smoke, hot/sultry air' > K: G žanq-i 'dense fog' ¶ Chx. 2430 ||| IE: NaIE *(s)meukh- ~ *(s)meug- 'smoke' > Gk σμύχω 'burn in a smouldering fire' ||| Gmc: MHG smouch n. 'smoke, steam', MDt smooch, Dt smook, NHG Schmauch 'dense smoke', AS smoca 'smoke', NE n. smoke; AS smīeć 'smoke, steam', NE Δ smitch 'smoke'; MDt smieken, smuiken, Dt smoken ɛ smuiken, AS smēocan vi. 'to smoke', smocian 'to smoke', NE v. smoke; AS smīećan vi. 'to smoke', vt. 'to fumigate', MLG smōken,

NHG *schmauchen* 'to smoke, to puff at a pipe' || Arm **մխի** *muχ* (gen. **մխոյ** *mχoy*) 'smoke' (< *₁s₁muk^ho-) || Clt: OIr *múch*, Brtt [RE] **mukos* 'smoke' > W *mwg*, Crn *mōk* id., Br *moged* id., *mog* 'foyer, maison, famille, feu', *moug* n. 'suffocation', adj. 'étouffant' || Lt *smāugti* (prs. *smāugiū*) 'to stifle' (← *'to stifle by smoke'), 'to strangle' ¶ WP II 688-9, P 971, EI 529 (*_(s)m(e)uǵ₁^h₁ 'smoke'), F II 752, Slt. 187-8, Vn. *M* 69-70, RE 131, Hm. 576, 584, Frn. 841, Ho. 301-3, OED IX 275, Vr. N 659-60, OsS 835, Lx. 200, KM 662 || **U**: FU **čęnke* 'current of air, hot air, sultriness' > F *henki* (gen. *hengen*) 'breath, current of air, air, spirit, ghost', Es *hing* (gen. *hingē*) 'breath, current of air, soul' | Prm: Vt *жог* *žog* 'hot air (in a oven, in a sauna)', Sr/M {Wc.} *žog*, Vt Uf {Wc.} *žog* 'very hot, sultry' || ObU {Ht.} **čĒnk* > pOs {Ht.} **čęnk* ({Hl.} **čĭnk*) > Os: Ty/Y/D/K *čęnk*, Nz/Kz *šänk*, O *sänk* 'heat, hot' (of air, weather), D {Stn.} *χotnə čęnk* 'it is hot in the room', *mānem čęnk* 'mir ist heiß'; pVg **sänk* > Vg: Tsäk, LK *sāk*, MK/UK *sāk*, P/NV/SV/LL *sak*, Ss *sänk* 'hot, heat' ¶ Besides, there is a FU √ **čün* ∇ 'smoke, fog' (either contamination with N **čün* ∇ 'smoke, smell' [q.v.] or going back entirely to N **čün* ∇) ¶ UEW 57, 59, Coll. 80, U3S 145, Wc. FUAA 246, Ht. #106, Stn. D 287.

2780a. ₂ ***žUhn** ∇ 'show; understand, be taught' > HS: WS **✓δhn* > Ar *✓δhn G* (ip. -*δhan-*) 'understand', *δihn-* 'understanding, sagacity', {BK} 'intelligence', {Fr.} 'ingenium', *δahab-* {Fr.} 'ingenium, intellectus, memoria', {Hv.} 'prudence', Jb C {Jo.} *✓δhn G* (pf. *δε^hen*, sbjn. *y3δ^hun*) 'have sense, have acquired intellectual maturity, be clever', *Sh* (pf. *eδ^hin*) 'teach, instruct' ¶ Fr. II 98, BK I 786, Hv. 232, Jo. J 45 || **K** **°čwen-* > OG *čuen-*, G *čven-* v. 'show' ¶ Ser. 194, DCh. 1576 ¶ K **č-* < ***čh-* < **žh-* (as.).

2781. (₂?) ***žan** ∇ **b** ∇ 'tail, back' > HS: S **δa^hnab-* 'tail' > BHb **בַּנְבִּי** *zā^hnāb*, Ug *δnb*, JA [Trg.] **דַּנְבִּי** *dan^hb-ā* ~ **דַּנְבִּי** *dun^hb-ā*, Md *dinba*, SmA *dnb*, Sr *dun^hbā*, *dunbā^t-ā*, Ar *δanab-*, Gz *zanab*, Tgy *zēneb*, Mh *δznūb*, Hrs *δznēb*, Jb C 'δu^hnub, Sq {L} 'dinob, {Jo.} denob, Ak *zibb-atu* *zimb-atu*, Eb *šè-na-bù* ({Krb.} *δin₁a|₁bu(m)*, {Frnz.} *δinabum*) 'tail']? Gz *zabān* 'back, tail' (← C?; see ↓), ??? Ar {Ln.} *δubāb-* 'point, extremity, sharp edge' ¶ KB 263, KBR 374-5, OLS 140, Br. 159, JPS 87, Lv. I 415, Js. 315, Tal 191, Ln. 952, 980-1, L G 640, L LS 130, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 28, Jo. J 47, CAD XXI 100-2, Krb. EG 44, Frnz. EL 154, DRS 336, BK I 763, MiK I #64 || C: EC {Ss.} **zanb-* ~ **zinb-* 'tail'

(× N *d∇mP∇ [= *d∇mp∇?] 'back, hinder part, tail') > Sa daban 𐎠 zaban 𐎠 ḏaban, Rn {PG} dúb 'tail; buttocks, bakside', Sml {DSI} dambe 'behind, after; hind' ('dietro; dopo; posteriore'), ka dambē (v.) 'essere indietro', Sml N damb-ayn-ayya 'hinten sein', Or {Brl.} daballé 'codino', {Th.} daballe 'tail, tress (of hair)' ({Ss.} < *daban-lē), Hr sinp-ō 'uncircumcised penis', Arr {Hw.} dúmm 'tail', Dsn {To.} dúm 'tail tip'; Gz zabān 'back, tail' may be a loan from a Cushitic source (unless a mt. from S *ḏa'nab-) ¶ DSI 130-1, Ss. WKOS 140, PG 103, Brl. 84, Th. 81, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492, ≠ LZ 126 (doubts about EC {Ss.} *z-), L G 631, MiK I #62 ¶¶ LZ 126 (EC ÷ S) || A: NaT *jan- vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.}, ET, SY, Ln, Chg jan- id., Uz 𐎠- jḏn- vi. 'return' ¶ Cl. 940-2, ET J 111-4 ¶ This T √ may be an AdS of T *jān 'side' (mainly from N *L|žān∇ 'side (of body)' [q. v. ffd.]) || ? IE: NaIE *°dumb- 'tail, penis' (× N *d∇mP∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ NaIE *d- is inherited from N *d∇mP∇.

2782. ւ ≈ *žUñ'č'U (or *žUñčU?) 'ant, stinging insect' > K: GZ {FS} *žinčw-, {K, K²} *žinčwel- 'ant' > OG žinčvel- 'ant', G čiančvela- id. (× *čia- 'worm'), G Gr žinčvela-i, Mg čķičķ-i-ṭia- ~ žginžg-i-ṭia-, Lz dimčķu- ~ dumčķu- 'ant'; *÷ Sv ma,ršķ- 'ant' (or a merger with a different √?) ¶ K 269, FS K 504, FS E 573-4 || HS: C: EC: Sa dūde, Sml Ji {Lm.} dūdū? 'ant', ? Bs {HL} tunče 'red ant', HEC {AD} *čunč- ~ *čuč- 'ant', {Hd.} *čūča 'small ant' > Sd {Gs.} čunča (coll.) 'big black ants', (snglt.) čunč-iččo 'a big black ant', Kmb tuṭi-ta 'small ant', Brj čūččē id.; EC ↗ EthS: Arg tuč, Grg Sl čūnčē, Grg Wl čunče 'gnat', Har čūč 'small black ant', (× N *'ś' A? 'č' ∇ 'ε stinging insect'): o:†Gz šāšūt, šāšōt, šāšēt 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr šašot, Tgy šaše 'ant', Amh čžčat 'gnat' || Ag {Ap.} *čžč- (= {JAp.} *cānc-) 'fly' > Bln, Q šin'sa, Xm {R} šəšə, Aw cāncá id.; Ag ↗ EthS: Gz šənšəña, Tgy šžžžya, Tgr čžžay 'fly' ¶ Hd. 20, 184, 341, 357, Gs. 62, L EDH 50, L G 564-5, LEDG III 183, R WB 308, Ap. AV 19, Hz. AL 11 [fn. 15], Lm. Sh 401-2, HL 144 || NrOm (the data are mainly from {C} and {Lm.}): Kf čučo, Mch {L} čūto, Anf {Lm.} čučo, Mj čūču, Nao {Lm.} čūčo, Wl čūča, Zs, Dc, Gamu čučče, Bdt čunče, Kcm čuse, Bnc {Wdk.} čúč, Wl čunčalle, Dc čunčalle 'ant' ¶ C SE IV 419, Lm. Sh 401-2, Wdk. BY 100, 163 || U: FU *čonča ~ *čońča 'flea' > FΔ sonsar, sonsari 'flea', Krl A, Ld čončoi, Krl A čončoi, Vp sonzar ~ sonzar, Lv {Kt.} sięzar id. || Er чичав čičav, Δ čučav, Mk шичав šičav id. || pChr {Ber.} *šuršə > Chr L шуршо 'šuršo, Chr H шуршы šuršy id. || pObU *čūñč 'flea' >

pVg {Ht.} *šūnš̃ ({AD} *čūnč) > OVg S Vt чючъ, OVg S SSs tschutsch, OVg N SoO шүһшъ, OVg W Sol шүшъ, Vg: T šoš̃, IK šonš̃, MK sons, UK suns, P/NV/SV/LL šuš̃, UL/Ss sus id.; pOs {Ht.} *čuñč > V/Vy/Ty čuñč, Y čunč, D/K čünč, Nz šūnš̃, Kz šūš̃, UL/Ss sus id. ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 39, Ht. #104, SK 1071-2, Kt. 363, ERV 751, PI 305 || **D** (in KK) *^otūnt̃∇ 'ant' > Kui dūndu, dūnduri 'large black ant', Ku {Isr.} dōndō'o'ri id., {Fzg.} dondori, {Slz.} donḡodi 'ant', Ku K {Mah.} dundunu orlā 'black ant' ¶ D #2969 || **A**: ?φ pJ {S} *sunsu-musi (*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumušī 'ε cricket' (× N *č'e'r₁a₁∇ 'ε [stinging?] insect' [q.v.]?) ◇ GZ {FS} *žinčw-, FU *čonča, FU *čońča, and other cognate roots with two hushing consonants or two hissing consonants (in the Anlaut- and Inlaut-position) may be explained by assimilation ◇ IS MS 350 (U, K, C: *žonč₁∇ 'stinging insect').

2783. *žiq∇ 'shame, humiliation' > **K**: G G žaq- 'in Unehre \ in üblen Ruf bringen', žaq-i 'Unehrenhaftes' ¶ Chx. 2433 || **HS**: S *^o✓δyχ > Ar ✓δyχ D (pf. ذَبَّحَ δayyaḡa) vt. 'abase' ({BK} 'humilier, abaisser; soumettre [quelqu'un] à sa volonté') ¶ BK I 790, Fr. II 101, Hv. 233 ¶ S *χ < **q < [HS de-emphatization] N *q̃ || **D** *čikk_o ({θGS} *sigg∇) > Tm cikku 'modesty, shame', Kt čig 'shame, self-respect', Td sig 'shame', Kn (← Tl?) siggu 'shame, decency, modesty, bashfulness, disgust', Tl siggu 'shame, disgrace, bashfulness', Knd sigu, Ku siku, sigu 'shame' ¶¶ D #2500 ◇ The vw. a in the G verb and its derivative is probably due to apophony.

2784. ₂ *žarE 'be good\favourable\beneficial' > **K**: G žer- 'be satisfied; satisfy; get fed up with sth.' ('sich begnügen; zufriedenstellen; satt kriegen') ¶ Chx. 3442-3, 2459 || **A** {θSDM97} *žare ({SDM} *žare) > T *jara- 'be beneficial\useful\suitable for' > OT jara- id., Tk yara- 'be useful, be of value for', Ggz, Az, VTt, Bsh jara-, Alt žara- id., Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET jara-, Qrg žara- id., 'be liked', Qzq, Qq žara-, Xk čara- v. 'fit, match, suit', Chv L цypač- śuraś/ž- vi. 'reconcile' ¶ Cl. 956, UEW 189, ET J 137-8, Ash. XII 265-6, Jeg. 219, Fed. II 141-2 || Tg *jari- n 'for, for the sake of' > Ewk jarin, Sln jārī, Ud žiž, ? WrMc žalin ¶ STM I 253 || pKo {S} *čar 'well, favourable' > NKo ča | ¶ S QK #750, Nam 416, MLC 1376 || pJ {S} *dárž 'good, right' > OJ jóró-si-, J: T yòroší- ~ yoroší, K yóròšì-, Kg yorósi- ¶ S QJ #664, Mr. 845 ¶¶ DQA #2581 (A *žāra 'good, favourable').

2785. *ǰuR∇ 'stake, pole, long piece of wood' > **HS:** Eg M zɜw, Eg XIX zɜyɜ 'Balken', DEg sɜ, Cpt: Sd/B so i, F sa i, A sa 'poutre' ¶ EG III 419, Vc. 185 || B *√zrr 'branch, cluster' > Gd {Lf.} ta-zrira 'branchette porte-fleur', {CM} azerar 'poutre', BMn {Bs.} a-zerrur id., Tmz {MT} a-zrur 'grappe', ?σ ta-zra 'collier', ?σ Kb a-zrar id. ¶ MT 811-2, Dl. 954-5, Lf. II #1844, CM 149 ¶¶ Tk. AANM 2 || **K:** GZ *ǰwar- 'stake, picket' > OG ǰuar-, G ǰvar- 'cross', Mg ǰgunǰg- 'stake (used as a prop for vine), prickle, spike', Lz mǰguǰ-, mǰguǰ- 'stake, post' ¶ K 269, K² 343, Chx. 2445, Q 412 || **IE:** NaIE *swer-/°sur- {E} 'pole, rod' > OI 'svaru-ḥ 'sacrificial post, stake, long piece of wood' || Gk ἔρμα 'prop, support', Gk Hm accus. ἔρμιν-α 'bed-post' || MHG swir 'Uferpfahl', {E} 'mooring post', NGr Sw Schwir(r)en 'pole', AS swīer, swīor 'post, pole (Pfosten), column, prop' || L surus 'twig, shoot, stake' || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} svēre 'Ziehbalken beim Brunnen' (× the √ of Ltv {ME} svēr-t 'mit dem Hebel heben') ¶ P 1050, EI 442, WH II 635, M K III 563, M E II 794-5, ME III 1153-4, F I 561-3, WH II 635, Ho. 337, OsS 917, Lx. 223, Frn. 949, ME III 1153-4 || ? **A:** M: WrM zuruga or zoruga 'arrow with a horn head' (the vw. letter of the first syll. may be read either as u or as o) ¶ MED 1072 (zoruga), ≠ S CNM (the M word *< A *ńōra 'blade, edge'; rejects its connection with N *ǰuR∇) ◇ AD NM 70 [#88].

2786. *ǰä?ô'r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate' > **K:** G ǰor- v. 'gründlich schelten' ¶ Chx. 2453, 2459 || **HS:** S: [1] CS *√δʔr > Ar δʔr G (pf. δaʔira) 'être en colère; abhorrer qch., éviter/fuir qn. (par peur, par aversion, par méprise)', Sr ǰ^ʔdar G pf. (acp. ǰ^ʔdāʔar) 'fight', ?σ JA [Trg.] ǰ^ʔdar pf., acp. {Lv.} 'schlagen, abprügeln' ¶ BK I 761, JPS 81, 97, Lv. I 370, Lv. T I 158 || [2] S *°√δrr ~ *°δw|yr (prm. *°-δūr-, *°-δyar-) '≈ be angry, frighten' > Ar δarār- {Ln.} 'anger and aversion' or 'disapprobation', {BK} 'colère violente, fureur', √δyr (pf. ǰāra, ip. -δyar-) 'avoir en horreur, avoir de la répugnance pour qu'un', ? √δwr (pf. ǰāra, ip. -δūr-) 'effrayer, faire peur à' ¶ BK I 766, 788, 790, Ln. 957, DRS 325-6 || B *√zwr 'reproach, insult' > Izn {Rn.}, Rf T {Rn.} zaur 'réprimander qu'un, lui faire des reproches', Tmz {MT} azwar (pl. izwarn) 'honte, déshonneur, opprobre, insulte' ¶ MT 819, Rn. 320 || Ch: Su {J} ǰigir 'tadeln, zurechtweisen' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC ∇) ¶ J S 67, ≠ Stl.

VZCh #96 (equates Su žigir with Hs zāgì v. 'abuse') || **A:** NaT *je_ɛr- ~ *je_ɛri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N *zeɪr∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A *žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted') || **D** (in SD) *čar-, {ʒGS} *ž|žar- v. 'rebuke; abuse, jeer at' > Kn jar_e, jar_i, jer_e, jer_i id., Tu jaripuni, jar(ə)puni 'to insult, to jeer, to despise' ¶ D #2422 ◇ NaT *e_ɛ (rather than *ä) belongs to the heritage of N *zeɪr∇.

2787. ₂ *žER∇ɹæ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' > **HS:** WS *ðirāɪ- 'arm' > BHb 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 zə'rō_aɪ, Ug ɔrɛ, BA 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 ʔed'rāɪ, IA drɛ, JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 dərā'ɛ-ā, JA [Trg.], JPA 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 ʔed'rə'ɛ-ā, Md dra 'arm', Sr 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 dərā'ɛ-ā 'arm, shoulder', Ar 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 ðirāɪ- {Ln.} 'the fore arm (from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers), cubit'; cubit', OYmn ɔrɛ ({Slw.} *ðirāɪ) 'hill near a mountain', Mh {Jo.} ɔarʔ, Hrs {Jo.} ðerā, Jb C {Jo.} 'ðeraɪ 'forearm', Sq {L} di'reɪi du. 'two cubits', Gz d. mazrā^ɛt 'arm, shoulder (of an animal) ¶ KB 269, 1662, 1695, HJ 342, OLS 141, Br. 168, JPS 98, Ln. 961-2, Hv. 227, Slw. 93-4, L G 379, L IS 136, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 29, ≈ DRS 341, MiK I #65 || EC *zir- > Sa dir-o 'hip', Arr {Hw.} yirr 'upper arm', Dsn ðír 'rib', Brj {Ss.} 'dirri, {Hw.} 'diri 'backbone' ¶ Ss. B 56, Hw. A 400, To. DL 496 || ?σ Om: Ym rl. {C} zerum 'hand' (× N *ž|zoR∇ 'hand [palm of hand and fingers], [in descendant lgs.: → 'span']', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 89 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP (Om, S) || **IE** *srēn-no- > NaIE *srēno- '≈ loins, hip, thigh' > Av rāna- 'the outer part of a thigh; thigh', MPrs rān, NPrs 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 rōn 'thigh (femur)', KhS rranä 'belt (?)', Oss I ron, Oss D ronä 'belt' (← 'that of the thigh') || Lt strénos pl. 'loins, the small of the back' (sg. stréna), Δ sréna 'Lende, Hüfte, Keule', Pru straunay ({Tr., Frn.}: read strannay or strainay, En.: strannay) 'Lenden' ¶ WP II 705, P 1002, EI 260 (*'srēno/eh_ɹ- 'hip, thigh'), Brtl. 1523, McK 70, Vl. II 11, Bai. 361, Sg. 564, Ab. II 419-20, Frn. 889, 921, Tr. APS 439, En. 257.

2787a. ??φ *žER_ɛu_ɛ∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' > **U:** FU (in Ugr) *čär|]ä 'rapid current' > Vg: N {Mu.} sār_lä 'abschüssige Stelle im Flusse, wo das Wasser stürzend fließt', T {Kn.} sār_lī 'настрёвник (на лугах)', LL {Kn.} sār_lə-waŋkə 'ляжина (в болотах)' (= 'low place in a swamp') | Hg sellō 'rapid current' → 'Nixe, Wasserfrau' ¶ The words of Vg T and Vg LL have been quoted in UEW from Kannisto's unpublished papers; unfortunately, the meaning of R Sib настрёвник remains unclear so far (at least, for the present author) ¶ UEW 841, Mu. AKE

537, ESSJ XV 66 (on the meaning of R Sib ляжина), ≈ EWH 1316 (supposes that Hg sellǫ is a substantivized prtc. [with the sx. -ǫ] of sellik [a variant of serlik 'sich zusammendrehen']) || A: Tg *o₁ilan > WrMc žilan ~ žulan 'unfrozen rapid current of water (быстрина), unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river (попынья)' ¶ STM I 257 || M {Rm.} *žila₁u > Kl жалу, {Rm.} žalū 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' | M *žilga > WrM žilga, HIM, Brt жалга 'ravine, dell, basin, ditch', Kl {Rm.} žil₁ǫ 'river bed, dry river bed', žal₁ǫ 'river-bed', {KRS} жалн 'ravine, depression' ⇨ Sln jilga 'ravine' ¶ MED 1055, Chr. 231, KW 107, 109, KRS 224, STM I 257 || T *ju₁:₁ 'spring, fountain' (× N *LiL₁∇ 'water, sea' × N *ž'u₁g₁∇, ₁∇ [- *ž∇g'u₁'∇?] 'to flow, to pour'?) > OT {Cl.} ju₁, {DTS, Gbn.} jū₁, Slr ju₁ ~ ju₁' 'spring, fountain', Qb/Qc {Rl.} ju₁ 'mountain river, brook', Xk ču₁ 'brook', Qz₁ {Jk.} šu₁, Chv čǎ₁l ś₁l, Δ ś₁l₁ 'spring'; Qz₁ (← M?) žilim 'unfrozen patch of water in a river\lake' (× žil₁ 'warm'?) ¶ Cl. 917-8, DTS 277, EF J 244, TL 89, Rl. III 552, 2175, Tn. SJ 365, Jk. K 30, MM 182-3 ¶¶ DQA #2612 (A *ž₁iō₁lu 'river bed, stream') || HS: S *o₁∇δy₁ > Ar mutaḍayyal- 'arrosé d'une pluie légère (un champ)' ¶ BK I 792 ◇ N *-R₁u₁∇- > *-r₁- > -l- (by as.) in A and S ◇ Qu., because the supposed phonetic transformations are too complicated to be certain.

2788. *žaw₁∇ 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment), to fade, to wither' > K: G m-žav-e 'sour' ¶ DCh. 894 || HS: ? AdS of S *o₁∇δw₁y > Ar √δw₁y v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) (< N *žo₁'₁aw₁∇ or *žā₁'₁ow₁∇ *₁≈ be of poor quality\appearance, be weak, be bad', q.v. ffd.) BK I 789, Ln. 989 || IE: Ht siwai- 'sour (bread)' ¶ Ts. W 77 || A: M *žaba₁'₁ara- 'have a bad taste\odour' > WrM {Kow.} žabagara- 'gâter le goût, spoil the taste', {MED} ama žabagara- v. 'have a bad taste in one's mouth, have a dry mouth', Ord žawāra- 'emit unpleasant odour'; M *žaba₁yan 'tasteless, emitting an unpleasant odour' > WrM žabaga(n) {Kow.} 'qui a l'odeur des herbes, qui sent l'herbe', {MED} 'rank odour, halitosis; tastelessness', HIM {MED} заваа(н) id., Kl зава 'unpleasant, foul' (of odour, etc.), Brt забаан 'tasteless', Ord aman žawā 'bad odour in one's mouth', Mnr H {SM} ž₁iāwān 'insipid, fade' ¶ Kow. 2257, MED 1018, KRS 235, Chr. 241, Ms. O 190, SM 85 || ? NaT *jab- 'bad' (× N *žo₁'₁aw₁∇ or *žā₁'₁ow₁∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ⇨ *jabu₁' 'bad', *jab-lak 'bad; extremely', *jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak'.

2789. *ǰoʔʔaw∇ or ***ǰaʔʔow∇** *≈ be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' > **K**: GZ rdp. *ǰ_lw_liǰw- '≈ of ugly appearance' > G Kzq ǰiǰa 'a clamorous, ugly-dressed woman' ({FS} 'schmutzige, häßlich gekleidete Frau'), Mg ǰǰv iǰǰv-in- 'grob\plump aussehen' ¶ Fn. KW-1 38 [#102], FS K 505, FS E 574 || **HS**: S *^o✓δʔy ~ *^o✓δwy > Ar ✓δʔy G 'fade, wither' (of grass), ✓δwy (pf. δawā ~ δawīya, ip. ya-δwī) v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) ¶ BK I 762, 789, Ln. 989 ¶ cp. N ***ǰaw∇** 'to have a changed taste' || NrOm {Blz.} *ǰēʔ- 'bad' > Kf {C} ʔeʔō 'bad' ('brutto, cattivo') ¶ Blz. OL #191, C SE IV 517 || CCh: Ms {Vnb.} ǰoʔo 'evil' ¶ ChL III 169 ¶¶ Blz. l.c. (pHS *ǰ∇ʔw|H'∇ 'bad, evil' > Om, CCh + unc. σ Ag - he certainly meant Bln {R} ǰiǰā, pl. ǰīǰ ~ ǰīk 'a poor person' [R WB 178], that cannot belong here because of its -k/-ʔ-) || **A**: T **jab- (× N ***ǰaw∇** '↑') -d→ [1] T *jabu|ír > NaT *jabu|iz 'bad, evil, wicked' > OT {Cl.} javiz- 'bad', {DTS} jabuz ~ jafuz 'bad, weak', XwT, MQp, Chg jawuz, OOsM javuz id., Osm **ياون** jawuz, Tk ʔavuz 'stern, inflexible, ferocious' (→ 'good, excellent'), Tkm ëvuz jowuδ 'hard' (as in jowuδ günler 'hard times', lit. 'hard days'), ET javuz 'cruel', Uz ëvuz jowuz, VTt jawъz 'wicked, evil, villainous, cruel', Qzq, Qq ǰawiz 'villain, scoundrel; malicious, mean', SY ʔus 'wicked', Yk sūōs 'strict(ness), severe, threatening'; [2] T *jablaq > OT {Cl.} javlaq 'bad, evil', MQp, XwT jawlaq, OOsM javlaq 'extremely', Tk Δ jablaq ʔ javlaq 'coward, miserable'; [3] T *jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak' -d→ OT jabrit- vt. 'weaken', MQp javrut- 'overstrain (a horse)'; [4] ? VTt jabaʔay, Bsh jabaʔъ 'poor' (in VTt jarlъ jabaʔay, Bsh jarlъ-jabaʔъ 'poor people') ¶ Cl. 876-9, 881-2, DTS 222-3, Rs. W 176, Rh. 2195, TkR 312, UzR 141, Sht. 97, Pek. 2351-2, ET J 46-8, Tl 335 || ?σ M *ǰoba- 'suffer', *ǰobalaŋ n. 'suffering' > MM [S] {H} ǰoba ~ ǰobo-, {MA} {Pp.} ǰoba-, WrM ʔoba-, HIM ʔovo-x, Kl ʔov-x, {Rm.} ʔow-, Brt ʔobo- v. 'suffer', MM [S] {H} ǰobolaŋ 'Beschwer, Belästigung', [HI] {Ms.} ǰobolaŋ, [MA] {Pp.} ǰobalaŋ, WrM ʔobalaŋ, HIM ʔovlon, Ord ǰowolŋ, Kl ʔovlŋ ʔowlъŋ, {Rm.} ʔowlŋ, Mnr H {SM} ǰ_log_lŋ 'suffering' ¶ H 91, Ms. H 67, Pp. 207, MED 1065, KRS 249-50, SM 89, KW 476 || Tg *joʔbʔ- > Ewk joʔor- ~ joʔo- ~ joʔo- 'suffer from poverty, be poor', Neg jobo-, Orc ǰobo-, Ud ǰō- id., Lm joʔ- id., v. 'suffer', Sln joʔo ~ joʔo- v. 'suffer', Ul ǰobu, Ork jobbu 'a person in need, a poor man', Nn Nh/B/KU ǰobo- v. 'work; be in need, be poor',

WrMc 30bo- v. 'grieve, suffer', Jrch {Kiy.} žobogun 'hardship' ¶ STM I 260-1, Krm. 233, Kiy. 145 [#844], Md. ChF 138 (žo-bo-hun) || pJ {S} *dyàwà- 'weak' > OJ yuòwà-, J: T/Kg yowá-, K yówà- id. ¶ S QJ 634, Mr. 845 || pKo {S} *čubir 'be hungry, be famished' > MKo čū'irì-, NKo čūri- ¶ S QK #573, Nam 434, MLC 1496 ¶¶ DM97 (*žöb∇ 'weak, bad'), ≈ DQA #2630 (A *žǔjbe 'weak, bad' > M, Tg, Ko, J).

2790. ₂ *ž∇χ∇ 'to push, to strike' > K: G da-žax- 'mit etwas oder gegen jem. stoßen', mi-žax- 'mit etw. gegen etw. stoßen' ¶ Chx. 2434 || HS: CS *✓δħw|y > Ar ✓δħw G 'pousser avec vigueur et faire marcher devant soi', JEA ✓dħy G {Sl.} 'push aside\away, postpone; supersede', {Lv.} 'verstossen', '𐤁𐤍𐤕𐤃 diħūy 'Verstossung, Zurückweisung', BHb (←b-Aram?) ✓dħy|w G 'push, thrust' | ? S *°✓dħħ > Ar ✓δħħ G 'fendre (du bois), broyer' ¶ BK I 765-6, DRS 330, Lv. I 388-9, Sl. 323-4, KB 209-10, BDB 190-1 || C: EC: pSam {Tk.} *z'ah- > Rn {Hn.} žâh-, {PG} žâh- 'beat' || DhI {To., E} dah- v. 'pound' || ? SC: Irq {E} dah- 'knock over\down' ¶ Hn. R 212, To. D 167, E SC 189, PG 165 || ?φEg OK zħ {EG} '?' (über Stampfenden), {Hng.} 'stampfen, zerstoßen', ? fMK {EG} sħm 'zerstoßen, zerstampfen' ¶ EG III 464, IV 215 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žúwà v. 'pound', Diri {Sk.} žūwa, My {Sk.} ižī 'mortar' || Ron: DfB {J} žah ~ žá(hí) v. 'pound (cereals)', Bks {J} nžū 'stampfen, (im Mörser) stoßen' || CCh: ZmB zù? v. 'pound (in mortar)' ¶ Sk. NB 32, 35, J R 143, 2, JI II 268-9 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 8-9.

2791. *žûhd∇ (or *žûhad∇?) 'sweet' > HS: S *°š'uh₁∇₁d- > OAr 'A, CIAr šuhd-, OAr T šahd- 'honey, unrefined honey (in its wax\comb)' (acc. to Rb., *u > OAr T a) ¶ Ln. 1610, Rb. AWA 100, Fr. II 460 || Eg OK pr išč 'Ort, wo Süßigkeiten hergestellt werden' (pr means 'house'), ?σ Eg P išč {EG} '∈ a fruit-bearing garden tree, ∈ holy tree (on its leaves gods wrote the name of the king)', Eg fOK išč {EG} '∈ sweet fruit' (or ?σ Eg fOK {Fk.} '∈ tree, fruit of the išč-tree') ¶ EG I 136, Fk. 31 || B *✓zHd (*-zaHd-/*-ziHd-) 'be sweet' > Ah izad 'be sweet, savory, have a pleasant scent' ({Fc.} 'être agréable aux sens'), ETwl/Ty izad 'be sweet' (izod 'is sweet'), Ttq {Msq.} izid 'is sweet', Gh {Nh.} izid, Kb {Dl.} zid id., BSn/Mtm {Ds.} zēd 'be sweet' (yizēd 'is sweet'), Shw {Hy.} izid 'is sweet' (pl. ziden), Rf/Izn {Rn.} δ-mizid (misprint for δ-mizid?) 'sweet', Izn {Rn.} θazūdi 'sweetness', Rf A/B θazūdi 'sweetness', Zng {TC} ažuδ 'doux' ¶ Fc. 1931, GhA 219, Msq. 96-7, Dl. 928-9, Ds. B 104, Rn. 322, Hy. DFCh 206, Nic. 409, DCTC 296 ¶ The emphatic *z is

puzzling (infl. of the adjacent Ir.?) || ? EC: Arr {Hw.} *saddāb* 'honeycomb' (mrf. *saddaʔmé*) ¶ Hw. A 392 || ? NrOm **šid-* 'honey' > Zs {C} *šidā*, {Si.} 'šida, Bdt {C} *šidā* (not *šidā*, as mentioned by Blz.), {Hw.} *šida*, Kcm/Zrg {Si.} *šida*, Krt {Si.} 'šida, Gnj {Si.} 'šir ¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56, ≈ Blz. OL #73 (Om **šid|d-*, but the variant with *d* is based on misreading of C SO 63), C SE III 207, C SO 63, Si. ACh 5 ¶¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56 || | A: NrTg **jut-* > Ewk *jutī* 'tasty, sweet', Lm *jut* 'sweet' ¶ STM I 279 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the cnss.) NaT **sūçī-* (< ***sūð-čī*) 'be sweet', **sūçig* 'sweet' || | IE **swehd-* > NaIE **swād-* 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N **šûrad* ▽ 'good, happy, pleasant', q.v.): [1] **swādu-s* 'sweet' > OI *swādū-* 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || | Gk ἡδύς, Gk EI *Fādúς*, Gk D ἄδύς id. || | OSx *swōti*, OHG *swuozī* 'sweet, pleasing', NHG *süß*, MDt *soete*, Dt *zoet*, ON *sætr*, NNr *søt*, Sw *söt*, Da *sød*, OFrs, AS *swēte* 'sweet', NE *sweet* || | pTc **swāre* > Tc: A *swār*, B *swāre* 'sweet' | [2] NaIE **swād-w-i-s* > OI *swādūī-*, L *swāvi-s* 'sweet, pleasant' | [3] NaIE **swād-o-* 'savoury, pleasant', **swādos-* 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-*svadas-* 'pleasant' || | Gk ἡδός 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', *μελι-ηδής* 'honey-sweet' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (**sweh_hde/o-* 'be tasty, please'), 560 (**sweh_hdu-s* 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-2, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6 ◊ The unexpected IE *-d- goes back to *-t- < N **d*, devoiced by the adjacent vl. **h*. The origin of the Tg cns. *-t- may be similar.

2792. ₂ **žek* ▽ 'be tight/crammed, tighten' > K **ž|zek_lw₁-* > G Kzq {Ghl.} *ga-zekva* vt. 'to pack tight, to cram full; to trample (ծագրած ցածրեմ, Ժածրեցեմ)', G Kx/Kzq {Chx.} *zek(v)-* 'vollfüllen, vollstopfen', G K {Ghl.} *ga-zek-ili* 'stuffed (ցածրեմով, набитый)' ¶ Ghl. 144, Chx. 2064-5 || | U: FU **λ|lekk* ▽ 'tight, dense, cramped' ('dicht, eng') > Vt *люкыт* 'luk+t' 'crammed', Vt Sr/Kz *luk+t* 'eng', Vt G *luk+t* 'eng' (bes. vom Raume) || | ObU {Ht.} **lūk-* 'thick' (grass, wood), 'dense' (cloth) > pVg {Ht.} **lūk* > UL/Ss *lak^w* id.; pOs {Ht., Stn.} **lök*, {Hl.} **lūk* > Os: VK {Ht.} *lök*, Ag/UA {Trj.} *lūk*, Ty/Y {Ht.} *čök*, {Trj.} *lūk*, Sl {Trj.} *lūk*, Nz {Ht.} *lūk*, Kz {Ht.} *čūk* id. ¶ UEW 260-1, U3S 270, Ht. #373, Trj. S 226, Stn. WV 279 ◊ Cf. N **čik* ▽ 'tight, narrow, dense' (q.v.).

2793. **žok* ▽ 'to push' > HS: S **šok* (× N **šaka* 'to split, to cleave') > Ar {BK} *šqq* G 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois, etc.)', 'pousser' (se dit

d'un dent) ¶ BK I 1252 || Ch: ? WCh *ʒik|q- v. 'push' > NrBc: Kry ʒəkʷtʷ, My a ʒəkʷtʷ | Sbc: Gj ʒəkʷa id. | Ngz ʒʷgʷàʒʷú v. 'jostle\touch\push (repeatedly)' || ? CCh {ChL}: Gude ʒʷgʷìč, Glv šùgʷòʷant, šugà, Gv šùgʷàgʷna, Nkc a šiga v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 189 [#399], Sch. DN 82, 214, ChC, ChL || K *ʒʷq- > Mg ʒʷi- v. 'push' -b> GI ʒʷiqa(v)- 'puffen, Puffe verteilen' ¶ Q 413, Chx. 2447 || IE: NaIE *laḱ|k- or *laḱ|g- v. 'kick' > Gk [Hs.] λάξω v. 'kick', Gk λάξ adv. '(to kick) with the heel/foot', λακτίξω v. 'kick with the heel/foot' | MHG lēcken 'to kick' ¶ Mn. 659; F II 82-3 (no et. of the Gk words); alt. etymologies: P 673, Ch. 619, Lz. 123 || U: FU *ʎokkʷ v. 'push, butt' > F tokata 'stechen, picken' | Chr H 'loʷ-aš v. 'butt' || ? OHg gʷakik 'stechen, bohren', Hg gʷakik 'coire' (× ÷ pObU *yō|ōkkâ 'stechen') ¶ MF 228, an alt. etl. connection: LG 165 || D (in GnD) *čokk- ({GS} *ʒ-?) v. 'strike' > Gnd ʒʷokkânā ʷ hak- ~ hok- ʷ ʒʷukânā v. 'strike, kill' ʷ ʒʷak- v. 'kill', Kui soka ʷ sōka- v. 'strike at', v. 'bite (snake, dog)' ¶ D #2831 ◇ NaIE *a still needs explaining.

2794. *ʒæ|ʷ '€ tree' > K: GZ *ʒel- 'tree, wood (Holz)' > OG ʒel- id., G {Chx.} ʒel- 'stem of a fallen tree', {K²} 'bar', Mg ʒa (pl. ʒal-epi), Lz ʒa, nʒa, mʒa (pl. (n)ʒal-epē) 'tree, wood', Mg ʒal- 'tree-' (first component of a cd.) ¶ K 237, K² 285, FS E 486, Chx. 2065 || U: FU (att. in FP) **ʎæ|e|ʷ 'alder' > (as. *ʎ...|ʷ) > pChr and pPrm *ʎ...|ʷ for the expected *ʎ...|ʷ): pChr {Ber.} *ʎil-ru > Chr: L нōлпō nōl̥pō, B lōl̥pō, H л̥л̥п̥л̥л̥ l̥l̥p̥ə 'alder' | pPrm *ʎil-ru id. > StZ ловп̥у, Z US l̥p̥u, Z UV l̥l̥p̥u, Vt л̥л̥п̥у, Vt SE l̥l̥p̥u (Chr and Prm *pu means 'tree') ¶ UEW 688, Ber. 33, Ep. 64, LG 160, It. #300, Coll. 96, SZ 202 || IE: NaIE *se|ʷ 'beam, board (used as bench, bed, trough, etc.)' (× N *š|su|ʷ 'trunk, log' [q.v.]) with dissimilative delateralization *ʒ...|ʷ > *ʒ...|ʷ > IE *s...|ʷ: > Lt sūolas 'bench', Lt Δ ? s̥il̥è 'trough, pig's trough', sil̥is 'crib', ? Ltv sile 'trough, manger' || AS selma ~ sealma, OSx selmo (sc. 'wooden bed') || L solium 'a chair of state, royal\official seat, throne; bath-tub; sarcophagus' || pAl {O} d. *sālā > Al T g̥joll̥è (< *sēlā) 'slab on which salt for livestock is placed' || Gk [Hs.] ἔλματα (pl.) 'planking, decking' || Gk (← Pls?) σελ̥ξ 'plank', σέλματα (pl.) 'logs of building timber', 'rowing-benches', sg. σέλμα / -τος 'the upper planking of a ship, deck; seat, throne' ¶ Gk σ- (for the expected h-) needs explaining (a loan from Pls or another "pre-Gk" *s-preserving sister-lge.?) ¶ P 898, EI 431 (swel- ~ *se|ʷ 'plank, board'), Ho. 286, F II 691-2, AlBED 288, Frn. 785, 942-3, O 137, ≠ Mn. AHG 87.

2795. $\text{₂}^* \text{ž} \text{u} \text{ř} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń}$ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame', 'ε a light' ('torch' or sim.?) > **HS:** S $\text{°} \text{✓} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$ v. 'shine', $\text{°} \text{°} \text{ř} \text{u} \text{ř} \text{ĭ} \text{a}$ 'flame' > Ar $\text{✓} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$ (pf. řařila) v. 'have a white spot on the tail or forelock (a horse)', $\text{✓} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$ (pf. řařala) v. 'light' (a fire), řuřĭ-at- (pl. řuřaĭ-) 'flamme; tison, morceau de bois allumé par un bout', řařaĭ- 'blaze on the tail or forelock of a horse' ¶ BK I 1240-1, Hv. 368 || **A** (\times N $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ or $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ 'smoulder, burn' [intr.]; 'live coals?'): M $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{la}$ 'light (lux), torch, lamp' > MM žula [MA] {Pp.} 'a light, torch', [PP, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} 'a light, lantern', [HI] {Ms.} 'lamp', WrM žula, HIM žul 'lamp, candle, light', Ord {Ms.} žu'la 'lamp (in front of Buddhist statues and images of divinities)', Mnr H {SM} žülā 'lamp, lantern', {T} žila, Mnr M {T} žula 'lamp, butter-lamp', Dx žula, Ba žila 'butter-lamp (лампадка)' ¶ Pp. MA 210, 439, Pp. KP 152, Lg. VMI 39, MED 1078, Gl. III 517-8, Ms. O 217, SM 96, T 333, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, KRS 255, KW 479 || T $\text{°} \text{j} \text{u} \text{la}$ 'torch, lamp' > OT jula id., XwT XIV jula 'lamp'; \rightarrow T $\text{°} \text{j} \text{u} \text{ł} \text{t} \text{u} \text{r}$ 'star' > OT jultuz, XwT XIII julduz ~ ulduz, MQP XIII, XIV [CC], Chg XV julduz, Tk jıldız, Tkm jıldız, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Uz jıldız, Tk Δ jıldız, XT {Dr.} jıldız \approx juldus, Brb/Tb/Kü {RL.} jıldis, Qb/Qc {RL.}, SY jiltis ~ jultis, Slr jiltis, Tk Δ, Kr T/G, Qmq, Uz, ET Δ julduz, Xlj julduz ~ julduz, Ln julduz \approx juldus, VTt jıldız, Bsh jıldız, Qzq жұлдыз žıldız, Qq žıldız, Qrg žıldız, Alt žıldis, Xk čiltis, Yk sulus, Tv sıldis, Tf sıldis 'star' ||| Chv: L çältař řıldır, H řıldır id. ¶ Acc. to Bang and Br., $\text{°} \text{-t} \text{u} \text{r}$ is a sx. (cp. NaT $\text{°} \text{k} \text{ü} \text{n} \text{d} \text{ü} \text{z}$ 'noon'), in the light of comparative ev. it goes back to N $\approx \text{°} \text{t} \text{°} \text{U} \text{°} \text{r} \text{i}$ 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 919, 922-3, ET J 279-81, Ra. 229, Rl. III 488-92, 553, 559, DT 228, Jeg. 206, Md. 57, 162 (T $\text{°} \text{i} > \text{u}$ due to the infl. of j-), 162, Br. OTG § 47 ¶¶ KW 479 || **IE:** acc. to reg. sound laws, the IE reflex of this N word must be $\text{°} \text{s} \text{w} \text{ē} \text{l}$ - (in the presence of $\text{°} \text{-l}$ - the initial N $\text{°} \text{ž}$ - yields IE $\text{°} \text{s}$ -). It practically means that IE $\text{°} \text{s} \text{w} \text{ē} \text{l} \text{a}$ - v. 'smoulder, burn' (P 1045) goes back to a merger of N $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ \rightarrow $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) and the N word in question (though semantic considerations suggest that N $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ \rightarrow $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$ is the main source).

2796. $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{°} \text{U} \text{°} \text{h} \text{°}$ 'take, take away, pull out' > **HS:** S $\text{°} \text{°} \text{✓} \text{ř} \text{h}$ > Ar $\text{✓} \text{ř} \text{h}$ G 'undress oneself', Δ 'throw off, reject', Ar $\text{✓} \text{ř} \text{h}$ D 'strip so. of his clothes' ¶ Fr. II 446, Hv. 375 || **K** $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{el}$ > Lz žal- ~ žel- in ma-n-žale, ma-n-želonī '(a person) able to carry much (сколько угодно) wood or firewood' ¶ Marr 235 || **IE:** NaIE $\text{°} \text{s} \text{el} \text{(w} \text{0)}$ - 'take, seize, lay hold of'

(dissimilative delateralization $*\text{ʒ} \dots \text{ʃ} > *z \dots \text{ʃ} > \text{IE } *s \dots$) ($\times N$ $*\text{ʃi} \text{ʃu}$ 'take, take away\off\up' [q.v. ffd.] $\times N$ $*\text{ʃe} \text{ʃu}$ 'take off, destroy, pull off') || **A**: T $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'pull out, pluck out, take' > OT $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'take back, redeem (a prisoner); pluck (a bird)', Chg XV $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'pluck out', MQP [CC] $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'redeem', Tk $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'pluck; pull out, tear out (hair), depilate; strip', Ggz, Az, Tkm $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'pull out, pluck out', Uz, Ln $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Qrg $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Qzq $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Qq, ET $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Alt $\text{du} \text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Xk, Tv $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Tf $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - id., Kr Cr, SY $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, Chv $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - id., 'save (so.), liberate', VTt $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'shave', Bsh $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - v. 'pluck' ¶ Cl. 918, ET J 218-9, DTS 277, Rs. W 210, Ra. 198, TvR 546 || **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - \rightarrow $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ -, $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ -, $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ -, ? $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ -: **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - > WrM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - v. 'pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, remove the hair; weed', Kl {Rm.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ 'ausreißen, ausreißen lassen (Haare, Wolle, Federn)'; **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ > HIM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ 'to pull (out), to tear by pulling', Brt $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ 'to pull out, to pluck out (hairs from wool), to tear away, to bark (a tree)', Kl {Rm.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ 'ausziehen, ausreißen lassen', Ord {Ms.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{ga}$ - χ 'arracher (qch. qui croît)'; **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ - > WrM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ -, HIM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ - v. 'pluck (a bird); shed skin \ hair \ feathers', Kl Ö {Rm.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ - χ 'herausziehen (Haare)', Brt $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{mu}$ - χ 'fall out' (of animal's hair), 'cast the coat' (of snakes); **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ - > WrM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ -, HIM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ - v. 'flay, skin, pull out hair\wool', Kl $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ - χ id., Kl D {Rm.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{gu}$ - χ '(die Felle) schlichten, zu lange Haare ausreißen'; ? **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ - > WrM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ -, HIM $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ - χ 'shed skin, lose hair', Kl $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ - χ 'ausfallen (von den Haaren)', ? Ord {Ms.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ} \text{bu}$ - 'mettre bas avant terme' (< *'throw away', as in R $\text{vy} \text{ki} \text{nu} \text{t}$); Kl {KRS, Rm.} $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - χ 'pull out, pluck\tear out (hair, feathers)' may be either a loan from T or an inherited word (< **M** $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -); in any case, Kl $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - (for the expected z- [Pp. IM 114-8]) may be due to the influence of the T cognate ¶ MED 1078-9, 1217, KRS 233, KW 115-6, Chr. 261-2, Ms. O 217-8 || **D** (in SD) $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - ({GS} *s-) > Tm $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'strip off, peel off; tear', Kn $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'tear\strip off, peel; plunder, rob', Tu $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'to peel, to flay, to skin, to pare off', $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ 'pillaging, plundering, robbing', Krg $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - v. 'peel'; D $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ \rightarrow pInA {Tu.} $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - (> Prkr $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ 'to skin', etc.) ¶ D #2856, Tu. #5073 \diamond A dubious cognate: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - v. 'skin' > Wrj, Mbr $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ -, ? Sir $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ ¶ Skn. 40, Tk. NB 173 \diamond \neq IS MS 364 s.v. сильный $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ (?) (K + err. S $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ [sc. $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$]).

2797. $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ (or $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$) '~ to put, to place' > **HS**: S $*\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ - 'put, set' > BHb $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ G (pf. $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$ $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$, ip. $\text{ju} \text{ʃ}$) v. 'place, put, lay', Amr

{G} ✓šym (ip. -šīm-) G 'place', Ph, Pun, Yd, OA šm (ip. [-šīm]), IA šm ~ sm G (ip. [-s|šīm]) 'place, put, set up', BA ✓šym (= ✓sym) (pf. **שׁוּב** šām, inv. pl. **שׁוּבִים** 'šīm-ū) v. G 'put, set, lay', JA [Trg.] ✓sy|wm (spelled with **שׁוּב** š ~ **שׁוּב** s) (ipv. šīm, sīm) 'place, put, appoint', JEA ✓s wm 'put on shoes\sandals', JPA Bz {Sl.} **שׁוּב** ✓s wm G v. 'place', Sr ✓sym (pf. **שׁוּב** šām, ip. -sīm) 'put, lay, set', Ar **شيم** ✓šym (ip. -šīm-) v. G 'sheathe (the sword), penetrate into', {Fr.} 'recondidit (rem in aliquid), immisit (telum in pectus), inivit (virginem), inivit (in rem)', Sb mi_ šym 'set up, erect (sth.), perform (ceremony)', Gz ✓šym (pf. **שׁוּב** šēma, js. **שׁוּב** yā-šīm) 'set, set in order, put, place, appoint', OAk *✓śym (inf. šīāmum) 'fix, determine', Ak ✓šym G (inf. šīāmu > šāmu) 'establish, assign a role \ an activity; allot power\qualities' ¶ KB 1232-6, 1785, KBR 1321-6, GB 783-5, 926, G A 32, G OA 260, Js. 1535, Sl. 793-4, Sl. P 370, Fr. II 473, Br. 469-70, JPS 366 (Sr ✓s wm for ✓sym), BGMR 136, L G 539-40, Sd. 1225, CAD XVII/1 358-64 || **K** *°ž|zm- v. 'do' > OG, G zm- id. ¶ Mol. AGG 71, DCh. 525, Chx. 409 || **D** (in CD) *čum- v. 'catch, lay' > Prj summ- v. 'seize, catch hold of', Klm sum- v. 'catch, seize, buy', Nkr sum- id., v. 'lay', Nk sum- v. 'buy, catch, hold'. The vw. *-u- for the expected front vw. may be due to the ass. infl. of *-m- ◇ The semantic change from 'put' to 'do' (as in K) is quite plausible (cp. the origin of NE do and NHG tun (cf. N *diŕE 'to put, to place' > IE *dʰeh₂- / *dʰeh₂- v. 'put, lay, place'). The rec. of the voiced cns. *ž- is valid if K *°ž|zm- belongs here. Otherwise the N initial lateral cns. remains less specified (*š|č|ć|ž-).

2798. (UA₂ ?) *ž|aHEmU (= *ž|aʔEmU?) '€ berries (bird-cherry?), a (sweet-smelling?) plant with berries(\fruit?)' > U *λōme 'bird-cherry tree' > F tuomi id., Es toom 'bird-cherry' | pLp *θōmз ({Lr.} *δōmε)> Lp: Vfs {Lgc.} 'hipmīē-, -mūore 'bird-cherry tree', N {N} duobmâ / -m- 'bird-cherry', S {Hs.} fuome, Fi {SK} fūom, Nt {TI} tūōmma id. | Mr: Er лѣм ѡм 'bird-cherry tree', d. лѣмзѣр ѡмzор 'bird-cherry', Mk лайме лаумә, Δ {Ps.} лаумă 'bird-cherry tree' | pChr *lom-pu id. (*pu 'tree') > Chr: L ломбо, B lombō, H ломбы lombъ 'bird-cherry tree', Uf lombō id., 'bird-cherry' | Prm {LG} *lōm / *lōmy- ({JLG} *lōm) 'bird-cherry' > Z льōм ѡм / ѡmy-, Yz 'lūm, Vt льōм ѡм id. ||| ObU *λf̄mψ ({Ht.} *δf̄mз) id. > pVg {Ht.} *l̄f̄m∇ > OVg N SoG ljäm, OVg S ChusO léma, OVg S Vt лема, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML lēm, MK/UK lēm, UL/Ss lām; pOs {Ht.} *yom > V/Vy yom, Ty/Y yom, D/Nz

yum, Kz yŭm || Sm *ízm (Hl.) *yzm 'bird-cherry' > pSlq {Hl.} *t̥zm > Slq Tz {Hl., KKH} ćzm, Kms {KD} lem̄ id. ¶ Coll. 64, Db. OS xxiii, UEW 65-6, It. #164 (FU *đōme), Sm. 536-7 (U *đ+xm̄, FU *đ+mi, P *đoomi, Ugr *đ+m̄, Sm *jēθm 'bird-cherry'), Lr. #221, Lgc. ##1119, 8083, Lgc. SL #1389, Hs. 803, Rv. LpFU 33 (on FU *λ- [= {Rv.} *đ-] > Lp d- ɖ h- ɖ f-), Ker. II 80-1 (pMr *lām < *loam < pre-Mr *lōmā), ERV 340-1, Ber. #154, MRS 294, Ep. 62, Ü 107, LG 164-5, Ht. #167, Jn. UK 240, Hl. M #693, KKH 104, KD 36 || **A:** M *²zimu¹u-sun 'bird-cherry, buck-thorn' > WrM {Rm. ← ?} žimugusun, Kl {Rm., RKSA} žimsūn 'bird-cherry', 'buckthorn (Frangula, Wedegorn = Färberbeere)', Kl {KRS} цөмсн cömsn 'bird-cherry, bird-cherry tree' (< *cö|Emü-sün?) ¶ KW 110, KRS 638, RKSA 68, 125, Pp. IM 42 (WrM žimugusun > Kl žimūsŋ 'buckthorn [a plant]') || T *jimurt 'bird-cherry tree' > Tk Δ jumurt, Uz šumurt, VTt Δ, Bsh Δ š̆m̆rt ɖ š̆m̆rt, Brb {Rl., Tm.} jumrut, SbTt {Tm.} š̆mr̆t ɖ jom̆rt, Alt, Qmn {B} žimirit, Tlt {Rl.} jimirit, Kü {Rl.} jumurt, Tb {R} h̆m̆irt, QK {Rl.} jurbut, Xk nimirt, Sg {Rl.} imirt, Qzl {Jk.} umurt, Shor {Rl.} nuburt ~ nibirt ~ nimirt id., as well as possibly (with an obscure phonetic transformation) StAlt дьодро žodro and Tv чодроо čodrō id. || Blgh > Chv: L çěměрт š̆m̆rt, H š̆m̆rt; Blgh ⇨ VTt шомырт š̆m̆rt, Uz šumurt 'bird-cherry', Blg смардлъка 'a good spot for bird-cherries, place with many bird-cherries', Qzq šomirt 'sloe' ¶ Rs. W 211, ETJ 283-4, TL 135-6, Rl. I 406 and III 500, 551, 577, 584, 697, 708, BIG 114, 120, BT 55, B DK 214, Jeg. 211, RKazS 811 || ?? **HS:** S *¹šmm > Ar šammām- 'sweet-smelling streaked melon' (semantic infl. of Ar ¹šmm 'smell') ¶ BK I 1265, Hv. 375 ◇ IS II 37-8 (*λa¹m¹u 'bird-cherry'). The N final vw. was probably *u rather than a front vw. (*ü), as suggested by M *²zimu-(yu-sun) (a N final *ü would have yielded M *²zimü-). U *-e may be explained by a series of conditioned changes, possibly N *²o|aHEmU > as. *²o|aHEmü > (contaction) *²ōmü > U *λōme (delabialization of final vowels) ◇ If the Ar word belongs here, the rec. must be *²o|a²EmU.

2799. ₂ *²z̆m̆z̆z̆ (or *²z̆m̆z̆z̆?) 'wax' > K: G zumiri 'wax; fragrant resin' ¶ Chx. 420 || **HS:** WS *¹šama¹- ~ ? *¹šama¹- 'wax' > Ar šama¹- ~ šam¹ 'wax, wax-candle', šammā¹- 'chandler', Sr šam¹-ā 'wax' (← Ar?), Gz šam¹- wax, candle' ¶ Br. 787, Ln. 1598, Fr. II 451-2, LG 530.

2800. (₂?) ***ʕ**^ʕap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > **HS:** S *^o✓^ʕapp- 'ε vessel' > Ak OB/MA šappu 'ε clay vessel', Ak MA/YB šappatu 'ε clay vessel'; Ak OA (dialectal variant) sappu 'metal vessel' (with a reg. Ak A s?) ⇨ Ug s p id. ('patera'), BHb 𐤍𐤍 sap 'ritual bowl (made of metal)', SmA 𐤍𐤍 s p 'goblet' ¶ Sd. 1027, 1175, KB 720, KBR 762-3, OLS 406, Tal 603 || ?φ **U:** FU *^ošawnū 'ε basket' > pObU {Ht.} *šřwən ({Ht.} *sṽwən) 'birch-bark basket (тыесок)' > pVg *šřn id. > Vg: T šā'n, LK šān, MK/UK sēn, P/NV/SV/LL/ML šēn, UL/Ss sān; pOs *sowən ({Hl.} *sāwən) id. > Os: V/D/K soṇan, Vy sowən, Ty sāw^ωən, Y/O sāwən, Nz suṇan, Kz sūn ¶ Ht. #584 || **A:** M *^ozabi 'small boat' > WrM zabi, HIM завь {MED} id., WrM {Kow.} zabi 'esquif, canot, chaloupe', 'birch-bark boat, small boat'; ⇨ M *zabiya > WrM {MED} zabiya 'a metal water vessel with a spout used in Lamaistic ritual', HIM {Luv.} завья, Brt {Chr.} забья 'large tea kettle', WrO {Krg.} zabiya 'tea kettle', Kl {Rm.} zāwā 'kettle made of copper, tea kettle' ¶ MED 1119, Kow. 2258, Luv. 257, Chr. 242, Krg. 657, KW 470 || Tg *japakun 'quiver' > Orc žapku ~ žapu ~ žapuku, Ul žapav(n-), Nn B žafu 'quiver', WrMc žapqu 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *žapv 'sack') less convincingly equates the Tg √ with pKo *čār 'sack' (> MKo čār) and with pJ {S} *tāpāra 'sack' (> OJ tāpāra, J T tawara). If indeed Tg *japakun 'quiver' goes back to a word for 'sack', it may be equated with FU (in FV only) *čawa 'Sack, Schale' (UEW 619) and possibly with **D** *čavali '(any) cloth' (D #2394) (*F* s.v. N *č^ʕaw^ʕba 'cloth\sack') || ?σ **D** (in SD) *čav∇_ln₁t̄- ({ʕGS} s-) 'ladle, spoon' > Kn savaṭu, savuṭu, sōṭu id., Tu sauṇṭu, sauṭu id. ¶ D #2388 ◇ The U (ObU) cognate suggests N ***ẓ**- rather than ***ẓ**-, while the M, Tg, and D cognates point to the affricate ***ẓ**-. Unless the conflicting ev. is explained, the ObU cognate remains qu. ◇ An alt. N rec. is *šap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > S *^o✓^ʕapp- 'ε vessel', FU *^ošawnū 'ε basket', ?σ D *čav∇_ln₁t̄- 'ladle, spoon' (without including the A words).

2801. ***ẓ**a^ʕp^ʕ∇ 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > **HS:** S *šap-at- 'lip', 'edge, shore, riverbank' > BHb 𐤍𐤍𐤕 šā'pā, OAk šap-tum 'lip, edge, shore', Eb sa-ba-tum = {Krb.} šap_la₁tum (sc. šap_la₁tum), Ug špt, OA, IA špt (+ppa.) id., Sr 𐤍𐤍𐤕 sēp-t-ā, Md sipta, NMd {Mc.} seftā 'lip', JA [Trg.] 𐤍𐤍𐤕 (') sīp-t-ā 'lip, border, hem', JEA sīp'tā (spelled with 𐤍 s and with 𐤍 ṣ: ṣīp'tā) 'lip, shore, edge', SmA

s f h 'lips', Ar šaf-at-, šif-at-, Ar NY T šifah ¶ GB 790-1, KBR 1346-8, JH 315, HJ 1181, A #2663, OLS 450-1, Br. 489, Lv. III 564, Js. 985, Sl. 1188, Tal 604, DM 509, Mc. HM 509, BK I 1251, Bns. NJ I 186, Sd. 1176, CAD XVII/1 483, Krb. 11, Blz. EP, MiK I #1.265 || Eg fP s p . t 'lip', (× N *šap ▽ 'riverbank, river'), Eg fMKL/Md s p . t 'edge; bank (of a waterway), shore' ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 ¶ The contamination with N *šap ▽ is responsible for Eg s- (for the expected š-) || SC: Irq {E} šufi, Brn {Dmw.} šufi, Kz {E} šifito 'lip' ¶ ≈ E SC 212 (s.v. SC *šūf- v. 'sip'), AD SCLC 202, AD SF 117 || ?? WCh: Hs léḫē, Pr {Kr.} lóvòk 'lip' ¶ Ba. 725, ChL I 109 ¶ ≈ OS #572, ≈ Sk. HCD 187, Tk. SCC 85 [#15.1], Tk. PAA 9 ¶ OS #572 (HS *čur- > S, SC), MiK I #1.265 || IE: NaIE *lab-yo-m, -ya, *lab-uro-m, *lab-s- 'lip' > NPrs لب lāb 'lip, edge, shore, bank'; Irn > Z Ízb 'lip' || OL labia, L labium, labrum 'lip' || OHG lefs, leffur, NHG † Lefze, Sw läpp, Nr lepe, OFrs lippa, MLG lippe (NLG ⇨ NHG Lippe), AS lippa id., NE lip || ? SI *lobъzati 'to kiss' > OCS, OR ЛОВЪЗАТИ lobъzati id. (⇨ OCS ЛОВЪЗЪ lobъzъ n. 'kiss'), R π лобзать, SCr Δ lōzbat ~ lōbzat 'to kiss' | ? (⇨) → 'speak': Gk λαβρεύομαι 'talk rashly, brag', {F} 'heftig reden' (× ⇨ λάβρος 'furious' [of wind\water], 'fierce'), the earlier meaning 'speak' is likely to be preserved in the G loanword laparaḳ- 'speak', laparaḳ-i 'speech' || Brrt [RE] *labaros 'speech' > W llafar, OCm, Crn, Br lavar id., d.: W llefar u 'to speak, to utter', Crn leverel 'to tell, to say, to relate', Br lavared 'dire' ¶ P 651, Mn. 655-6, EI 356 (*leb- 'lip'), Sg. 1115, Horn 212, LG 164, WH I 738-O, Kb. 597, OsS 540, KM 430-1, 442-3, Zhr. IN 355, Ho. 204, Hlq. 618, ESSJ XV 241-3, Vs. II 507-8, ≈ F II 66, ≈ Ch. 610, RE 125, Chx. 663-4 || A: M *žabažī(n) 'corner of the mouth' > MM [S] žabažī(n), WrM zabažī, HIM завж id., Ord žawažī 'corners of the mouth, commissure of lips' ¶ H 84, MED 1018, Ms. O 190 || Tg *japka 'edge, riverbank' > Ewk japka id., Sln jakka 'riverbank', Lm jarpq̄b 'interval, chink, border', Neg japka 'gap', Nn Nh žaqp̄a-s̄t 'nearer to the bank (from the river)', žaqp̄a 'strip of water near the bank' ¶ STM I 250-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #2588 (unc.: Tg < A *žáp' ▽ 'crack, interstice') ◇ IE *b points to a N *p̄, while Hs ḫ and Eg p suggest the presence of a cluster *p̄?.

2802. *žerǵû 'vein, sinew' > K *žarǵw- 'vein, sinew' > OG žarǵv-i 'sinew', G žarǵv-i 'vein', Mg žerǵv-i, Sv UB/LB/Ln žärǵw id. ¶ K 236, K² 282-3, DCh. 1612, FS E 483-4, TK 887, GP 313 || ?? AdS of IE: NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string' (< N *séR ▽ 'row' [q.v.]) || U:

FU ***šerw** '≈ blood-vessel' > FP ***šerw** > Es **süüre** (gen. **süürme**) 'Ader (im Holz), Jahresring' (influenced by Es **süü** 'Jahresring') | Prm: Z **вирсер** **vir-šer** 'blood-vessel' (**vir** means 'blood') (to distinguish from the paronymous Prm word ***vir-ser** 'blood-vessel' > Z UV **vir-sər** id. < N ***sāR'U** 'sinew, fibre' [q.v.]) ¶ W EDW 1103-4, LG 264 || **HS**: SES ***šrχ** 'root' (with devoiced ***χ** from the expected ***ʃ** < N ***g**) > Jb C **šir'χ** (pl. **šir'χət**) id. ¶ Jo. J 256 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} **dēšár** 'roots', sg. **dēšar-mō** 'root', {Wh.} **dēšarāmo** 'root, sinew' ¶ MQK 25, Wh. SI ◇ IS MS 341 (followed by S CNM 5) adduced here D ***šir-** (sc. ***šir-**) 'root', but it obviously belongs to N ***širw** - ***šir'ū** 'root' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #89, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 5 ◇ FU ***šs-** for the expected ***λ-** still needs explaining. Is it due to desaffrication ***š-** > ***z-** at a very ancient level (***z-** yielding U ***š-**)?

2803. *širw or ***šir'ū** 'root' > K: GZ ***šir-** 'root, bottom' > OG **šir-** 'root', G **šir-**, Mg **šin(š)**- 'root, bottom' @H0@, Lz {Schm.} **šiš-** 'root' ¶ K 238-9, K² 288, FS K 434-5, Q 414, Chx. 2075-6, Schm. 152 || **HS**: S ***šijuraw-** 'sinew, root' > Gz **šarw**, pl. **šaraw** 'sinew, tendon, nerve, root', Tgr, Amh **sər**, Tgy **sər**, sur 'root, vein, sinew', Sr **šārī-t-ā** {JPS} 'joint, articulation' ({Br.} 'articulus, sutura'), d.: Ar **šarīyān-**, pl. **šarayīn-** 'artery', Ak fOB/OA **šerānu** 'sinew, tendon, muscle', JEA **šuryānā** {Sl.} 'sinew, vein, bronchus' ({Sl.}: ← Ak), {Js.} **šuryānē** **dāšēnā** 'muscles of the eye', Md **širiana** 'vein, artery'; ??? ***šr** (× N ***šā'U'R** 'the calf of the leg, shank') > Ar **šir-at-** ~ **šar-at-**, d.: **širā-**, **šarā-at-** 'bowstring', **šurū-** 'sinew of gazelle's leg' ¶ ≈ LG 535-6, BK I 1082, 1217, 1224, Js. 1542, Sl. 1124, JPS 598, DM 463, CAD XVII/2 308, Sd. 1216, MiK I #1.239, Br. 808 | S ***šur'āš-** 'root' (d.?) > Sb **šrš** 'foundation', **hšrš** v. 'extirpate', ? Ar **šaras-**, **širs-** '(ε) thorny plant', BHb **šrš**, pl. **šrš**, Ph, Ug **šrš**, Sr **šerš-ā**, Ak **šurš-u(m)** 'root' (the as. S ***š...š** > Cn, Aram ***š...š** is a phonetic law) ¶ GB 864, A #2694, OLS 454, Br. 810, BGMR 134-5 || B ***šwr** (***šūr**, ***šw**) 'root, vein' > Izn **azwar**, Tmz **ažur** id., Gd **ažur**, Izd, Sll **ažur** 'root', BSn **ažwar**, BMn **azwar** 'vein' ¶ Mrc. 212, 260, MT 826-7, Ds. 239, Lf. II #1840, La. MChB 476 ¶ The forms with **ž** may have been influenced by the B ***šwr** 'nerf' of different origin || C: Ag ***šir** 'root' > Bln {R} **šir**, pl. **širil**, Xm {R} **šir**, Q {R}, Km {CR} **šer** ¶ AD SF 98 || Ch: WCh ***šarwa** ~ ***šarya** (= {Stl.} ***šarw|ya**) 'root' > Hs **sáywā** id. |

pBT *surya > Bl sori-, Krf sōriyó, Glm súryà id. | pNrBc *šar_Lw_Ja > P šari, Sir šūra, Jmb šera, My šerwa, Mbr šarnani id. | pSBc {Sh.} > Kir šári, Tala šér kí, Wnd šár, Buli šír, Plc šartə, Zar K šòrtú, Zar GL šártà, Sy Zk šártə́, Sy Z šártə̀, Sy B šərgə id. | DfB {J} sūrē id. || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *širay > {Ro.}: Mada širé, Mlk šay, Myn širí, Mkt ših, Hrz šílikà, Zlg žìžé, Mofu šàšáy 'root', ? Gzg šàlák 'medicine' | ZmB šór, ZmD {KNC} šór 'root' || Ech: Smr sárə́, Nd {J} sírwé, Tmk {Cp.} hərəw id. ¶ JI I 140-1 and II 276-7, Stl. ZCh 200 [#511], Ro. 316-7 [#595], Sh. SB 30, KNC 25, Sk. NB 37, Tk. NB 179 (pNB *šar-~*šer-~*šur-); some of the quoted forms may go back to another HS √ represented by S *^o√šrχ 'root' (see N *žeRgû 'vein, sinew') ¶¶ Tk. PAA 18 (NrBc, S) || | D (in GnD) *č̣r- ({ʁGS} *s|ś-?) 'root' > Gnd Δ sīr̄, sīr, (h)īr/ṛ, Png č̣īra, Kui sīru, Ku hīrū, hīru id. ¶ D #2626.

2804. *žaṭ 'fluid, body of water' > HS: S *^ošaṭ- > Ar شات̣ šaṭ- 'large river' ¶ BK I 1229 || | IE: NaIE *lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mire, mud' (possibly ×N ?φ *w_LΔ_LΔ_Jṭ 'moist; moisture') > L latex n. 'fluid, liquid' (hardly a loan from Gk λάταξ) || | ? Gk λάταγ-εγ pl. (sg. λάταξ) 'drops of wine, remains of wine in a vessel' (if it really means this rather than {Ch.} 'fond de la vase') || | OIr {P} laith 'beer, liquid; swamp', Gl Are-late (name of a town to the east of a swamp), Crn lad, OW llat 'liquid' n., {EI} 'slime', W llaid (< *latyo-), OIr lathach 'mud', NIr lathach, laitheach 'mud, mire' || | ON {P, KM} leþja (< *laþyon-) 'loam, dirt', Ic leðja 'silt, slime', OHG letto 'clay, loam', NHG Letten 'potter's clay, loam' || | ? Blt river names: Lt Latupè, Latuvà, Ltv Late ¶ WP II 381-2, P 654-5, EI 639 (*leh_ht- 'wet, moist'), WH I 770, SB 238, YGM-1 301, Dnn. 416, 420, Kb. 608, OsS 550, Bv. 400, KM 437, Paul 373, F II 89, ≠ Ch. 122 || | D *č̣₁at- 'damp, moist, swampy, thin current of water' > Tm cetumpu v. 'become damp and moist; mud, mire; thin current of water as of rivers in summer', cetukku 'mud, mire', catuppu-nilam 'bog, marshy ground', catuval 'swampy ground', Ml catuppu 'marsh', Tl caduku 'mud' ¶¶ D #2326 || | ? A ≈ *žaṭ > NaT *ja_Lṭ 'rain magic' > OT ja_Lṭ id. ¶ Cl. 883, DTS 247, Dr. TM I 157 || | ?φ M *žadagay 'pond, pool' (unless ← *žadagay 'open' through some ellipsis) > WrM žadagay 'pond, pool', Ord ž_{ad}agā 'mare, flaque d'eau, étang' ¶ MED 1021, Ms. O 178 ¶¶ The M voiced *-d- and the Altaic *-t- still defy explanation ◇ If the M word

does belong here, the N initial cns. is * \hat{z} -. The D reflex points to N * \hat{z} -, too.

2805. ? σ (₂?) * $\hat{z}\text{æw}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ (or * $\hat{z}\text{æ}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$?) 'up, upper point, extremity' > **HS:** Eg P $\check{\text{z}}\text{w}\text{ɥ}$ 'sich erheben' ¶ EG IV 431 || SC: Irq/Brn {E} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw}$ - 'get up, awake', Irq {MQK, Wd.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw}$ - 'wake up' ¶ E 212, 216, MQK 103, Wd. 326 || Ch: NrBc {Tk.} * $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw}$ - (> * $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u}$ - ~ * $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ɜ}$ -) 'stand up, rise' > {Sk.}: P', Sir $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u}$, Dir $\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$, Jmb, My, Mbr, Kry $\hat{\text{c}}\text{a}$ -, Cg $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ɜ}$ - id., Wrj $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw}$ id., 'grow' | Sbc: Kir {Sh.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ak}$, Tule {Sh.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{a}$, Wnd {Sh.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u}$, Zar K {Sh.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{i}$ 'stand up' | Ngz {Sch.} $\hat{\text{c}}\text{á}\text{u}$ id. ||| CCh: Lmn {Lk.} $\hat{\text{c}}$ - id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 24, 42, Tk. NB 179-80, Sch. DN 163 ¶¶ Hardly here (\Leftrightarrow Tk.) BHb $\text{X}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{š}\bar{\text{t}}$ (+ppa. 3 m $\text{š}\bar{\text{t}}^{\text{r}}\text{-}\bar{\text{t}}$) h.l. 'loftiness' (or 'pride'?) (> NHb $\text{X}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{si}$ 'highest point'), which is more plausibly understood as derived from $\check{\text{r}}\text{n}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}$ 'rise' (GB 782, KB 1228) ||| **K** * $\hat{z}\text{e}$ 'up(wards), upon' > OG, G ze , Mg, Lz $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}(\text{n})$, Sv $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}$ id. ¶¶ K² 63 ||| **A:** ? σ M * $\hat{z}\text{ebe}$ > WrM $\text{z}\text{e}\text{b}\text{e}$, HIM $\text{z}\text{ɛ}\text{b}$, Brt $\text{z}\text{ɛ}\text{b}(\text{ɛ})$ 'arrowhead, spearhead', Ord {Ms.} $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}\text{w}\text{e}$ 'arrowhead', MM [HI, S] {Ms., Lew., H} $\text{z}\text{e}\text{b}\text{e}$, Kl {Rm.} $\text{z}\text{e}\text{w}\text{ɔ}$ 'weapon(s)' ¶ MED 1042, Ms. O 206, Ms. H 66, Lew. 29, H 88, KW 474, Chr. 271 \diamond SC * $\hat{\text{c}}$ - (and * $\hat{\text{c}}$ - in Chadic?) suggest the presence of a lr. (* r ?) in the N etymon.

LIST OF NOSTRATIC ENTRIES AND OF INDO-EUROPEAN ROOTS

Introduction: Alphabetical order of entries. The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: *ʔ (incl. *ʔ), *ɸ (incl. *ɸ), *b, *c (incl. *ć, *ĉ, *č, *C), *ç (incl. *ć, *ĉ, *č, *C), *č, *č, *ĉ, *ĉ, *g, *g, *ɣ (incl. *Γ), *h, *H (incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂), *ħ, *k (incl. *K, *k), *k (incl. *K), *l (incl. *l, *l̄, *L), *l̄, *m, *n (incl. *n̄, *n̄, *n̄, *N), *n̄, *n̄, *p (incl. *p̄, *P, *P̄), *q (incl. *Q), *q, *r (incl. *R), *r̄, *s (incl. *ś, *ś̄, *ś, *ś̄, *S), *š, *š̄, *t (incl. *T), *t̄, *w, *χ (incl. *X), *y, *z (incl. *z̄, *z̄, *z̄, *Z), *ž, *ž̄, *z̄ (incl. *z̄, *z̄, *z̄, *Z), *ž, *ž̄.

Among the word-medial consonants we distinguish between "weak consonants" (*ʔ [incl. *ʔ and *ʔ], *ɸ [incl. *ɸ], *g, *ɣ [incl. *Γ], *h, *H [incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂], *ħ, *q, *χ [incl. *X], *w and *y) and "strong consonants" (all others).

The entries are arranged as follows:

[1] The basic arrangement: according to the initial consonants and the first word-medial strong consonants. If there are no strong Inlaut-consonants, the weak consonants (according to their place in the alphabet) are taken into account instead.

[2] Within each group of entries with the same initial cns. and the same medial strong consonant the entries are arranged as follows:

- (a) first those without any additional consonants,
- (b) those with a weak cns. preceding the word-medial strong one,
- (c) those with a weak cns. following the word-medial strong one,
- (d) those with a third strong cns.

If in a N etymon in the medial position (Inlaut) there are two weak consonants and no strong one, the priority of one weak consonant over the other (as criteria for alphabetical order) has been established according to the fate of these consonants in daughter languages. For instance, in N *kAħw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' the consonant *w has survived in Kartvelian and Dravidian, while the laryngeal was lost, therefore the entry was placed among the *k-w-entries.

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. Order of vowels: *a (incl. *A), *ä (incl. *æ), *e (incl. ê and *E), *i, *o (incl. ô), *u (incl. *U, *û, *î, *â), *ü, *∇.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (those within the brackets []) and of doubtful presence (those with the brackets [_]) are treated as those with regular consonants. The optional second element

of a N word (that within plain brackets ()) is not taken into account in the order of the entries.

The signs "(₁?)" and "(₂?)" mean that among the compared roots of the descendant languages only one (in the case of "₁?") or only two (in the case of "₂?") may be considered certain. If two language families are compared, their presumably common N etymon (although not certain) may be preceded by "? ₂".

'↑' = anaphoric sign "the above-mentioned meaning of the same word\morpheme"

1. ***ʔa**, pc. of plurality

2. ***ʔa** 'become, be'

2a. (₂?) ***ʔA**, a marker of the male sex (← '(young) man'??) > IE: one of the sources of NaIE *-o- / -e (nom. *-o-s, voc. *-e), sx. of derived adjectives, masc.

3. ***ʔe** (~ ? ***ʔä**) 'not'

4. ***ʔaʔ**▽ 'female', → (in descendant lgs.) marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > IE: NaIE *-ā, ending of the fem. gender

5. ? (Ll.) ***ʔaba** ~ ***ʔapa** 'daddy, father'

6. ***ʔoh₂b**▽ (= ***ʔohb**▽?) 'clan' > IE: NaIE *ēpi- 'friend'

7. ₂ ***ʔ¹a¹bH**▽ 'water, watercourse' > IE: NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river'

8. ₂ ***ʔibrE** 'fig tree'

9. ₂ ***ʔ**▽**ç**|**ç**▽**h**▽ 'back (dorsum)'

10. ***ʔaç¹P**▽ '∈ leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > IE: NaIE *a|osp- ~ *a|ops- 'aspen'

11. ***ʔaç¹**▽ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond'

12. ₂ ***ʔA¹d¹**▽ (= ***ʔA¹d¹**▽?) 'foot'

13. ***ʔûHd**▽(**R**▽) 'breast' > IE: NaIE *ōydh-/*ūdh- 'female breast, mammilla'

13a. (₂?) ***ʔü¹χ¹|y¹d**▽ (or ***ʔu¹hd**▽?) 'one' > ?φ IE: NaIE *°ed₁^h₁- in Sl *ed(ъ)-va 'hardly, only just' and *ed-inъ ~ *ed-ъnъ 'one'

14. (₂?) ***ʔediN**▽ 'pater familias' (or 'owner'?) > ?σ IE: NaIE *°ed^hno- ('≈ clan'?) or cd. *s_w-ed^hno- ('≈ one's own clan')

15. ₂ Ll. ***ʔaga** 'uncle, elder person'

15a. ₂ ***ʔæg**▽**R**▽ '≈ bone of the leg\foot'

16. $?\sigma$ $*\text{ʔa}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (' \approx de ça') > IE $*\text{-}\text{h}_2$ (> NaIE $*\text{-}\text{a}$ and AnIE $*\text{-}\text{a}$), ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.)

17. ${}_2$ $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{k}\hat{\text{e}}$ 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' > IE: NaIE $*\text{a}\hat{\text{g}}\text{-}$ 'drive'

18. $*\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{k}\text{a}$ 'be evil, hate' > IE $*\text{H}_2\text{a}\text{g}\text{-}$ (or $*\text{ʔ}_2\text{a}\text{g}\text{-}?$), $*\text{H}_2\text{a}\text{g}\text{os}$ 'pain, ache', (?) 'evil'

19. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{o}}\text{k}\text{E}$ (= $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{o}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}?$) 'self' (\rightarrow 'myself') > IE $*\text{ʔe}\hat{\text{g}}\text{h}\nabla\text{-m}$ / $*\text{ʔe}\hat{\text{g}}\text{oh}$ 'I'

20. ${}_2$ $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{o}}\text{k}^{\text{a}}\hat{\text{L}}\nabla$ '€ to eat'

21. Ll. $*\text{ʔa}\text{K}\text{a}$ 'elder relative, grandfather'

22. $*\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{l}\text{a}$, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation

23. $*\text{ʔe}\text{l}\nabla$ 'clan, tribe' (\rightarrow 'all', prn. of plurality) > IE $*\text{ʔ}_2\text{ol-}$ > $*\text{o}\text{l-}\text{yo-}$, $*\text{o}\text{l-}\text{no-}$ ('everybody' \rightarrow) 'whole, all, each'

24. $*\text{ʔE}\text{I}\text{A}$, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with $*\text{ʔe}\text{I}\nabla$ 'clan, tribe?') - an alternative reconstruction instead of 1249 ($*\text{I}\text{A}$, analytical marker of collectivity)

25. $*\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{e}}\text{l}\nabla$ 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > IE $*\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{l-}\text{n-}$ 'deer'

26. $*\text{ʔ}\text{i}\text{l}^{\text{a}}$ 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > IE $*\text{ʔe}\text{l}\bar{\text{i}}$ (or $*\hat{\text{x}}\hat{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{l}\bar{\text{i}}?$) \sim ? $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{i}\text{l-}$ > NaIE $*\text{e}\text{l}\bar{\text{i}}$, $*\text{e}\text{l-}$, $*\text{i}\text{l-}$ v. 'rest, stillstehen'

27. $*\text{ʔ}\text{i}\bar{\text{I}}\nabla$ 'eye' > ? IE: Clt: OW {Flr.} ail 'eyebrow', W ael 'supercilium, ora'

28. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{o}\bar{\text{I}}\nabla$ 'that (visible)' > IE: NaIE $*\text{o}\text{l-}$ 'that (remote)'

29. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{o}}\text{l}\nabla$ (or $*\text{ʔo}\text{y}\text{i}\bar{\text{I}}\nabla?$) 'bough, hook' (\rightarrow 'hang on a hook')

30. ${}_2$ $*\text{ʔu}\bar{\text{I}}\nabla$ 'soil, foundation, earth'

31. $*\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{L}\hat{\text{u}}\text{d}\nabla$ 'to grow' > IE $*\text{ʔ}\text{le}\text{y}\text{d}^{\text{h-}}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\text{lo}\text{y}\text{d}^{\text{h-}}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\text{lu}\text{d}^{\text{h-}}$ 'grow'

32. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{EL}\text{I}\text{m}\text{A}$ '€ tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE $*\text{I}\text{m}\text{o-}$ 'elm'

33. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{a}\hat{\text{I}}\text{a}$ 'food' > IE $*\text{ʔa}\text{l-}$ (or $*\text{He}\text{l-}$ > NaIE $*\text{a}\text{l-}$) v. 'feed, nourish'

34. $*\text{ʔu}\text{h}\text{I}\nabla\text{I}\nabla$ 'hut'

35. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{u}\text{I}\text{g}\text{I}\text{a}$ 'cold (Kälte)' > IE: NaIE $*\text{a}\text{l}\text{g}^{\text{h-}}$ 'cold'

36. $*\text{ʔa}\text{m}\nabla$ (= $*\text{ha}\text{m}\nabla?$), dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now'

37. Ll. $*\text{ʔem}\text{A}$ 'mother' (the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg and Ch)

38. $*\text{ʔem}\nabla$ 'seize, hold' (\rightarrow 'take') > IE $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{em-}$ / $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{om-}$ v. 'take, get'

39. $*\text{ʔ}^{\text{o}}\text{m}\nabla$ 'kin, clan, everybody' > IE $*\text{ʔ}\text{H}\text{om-}$ 'every'

40. ${}_2$ $*\text{ʔam}\text{ga}$ 'dry, thirst(y)'

41. ${}_2$ $*\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{m}\text{P}\nabla$ ' \approx wolf'

42. $*\text{ʔam}\text{I}\nabla\text{R}\nabla$ (or $*\text{ʔam}^{\text{o}}\text{I}(-\text{I}\text{R}\nabla\text{I})?$) 'morning, daylight' > IE $*\text{ʔ}\text{H}\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}(e)\text{r}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\text{H}\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m-}\text{n-}$ 'day'

43. *^ʀʀ'o¹mrE 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > IE *^ʀ|_{Hx}ām(e)r / *^ʀ|_{Hx}ām-n 'day'
44. *^ʀʀ'omśa 'flesh, meat' > IE: NaIE *mēm̄s- 'meat'
45. *^ʀʀi¹n¹'A¹ (= *^ʀʀin¹'A¹?) 'place' ([in daughter-lgs.] → 'in') > IE *^ʀen/*^ʀḡ, *^ʀeni 'inside'; 'in, into'
46. *^ʀʀo¹n̄∇ 'self, the same'
47. *^ʀʀäy¹n̄â or *^ʀʀäy¹E¹n̄â 'nothing, there is no...'
48. *^ʀʀA¹n̄s̄∇ (*^ʀʀa¹n̄s̄∇?) '≈ ∈ foot'
49. *^ʀʀa¹n̄_L∇_{s̄}∇ '≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful' > IE: NaIE *ans- v. 'be favourable'
50. (2?) *^ʀʀi¹n̄∇šê 'person, man'
51. *^ʀʀ∇n¹t̄∇ (or *^ʀʀ∇nt̄∇?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' > IE *-ent-/*-ont-, sx. of participles
52. (2?) *^ʀʀa¹ŋo '∈ snake' > IE: NaIE *ang^ωh¹i- ~ *ang^ωi- 'snake'
53. *^ʀʀay¹ŋo 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') - a variant rec. of a N word instead of 2600a: *Xay¹ŋo (= *^ʀh¹|_xay¹ŋo) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (which is more plausible)
54. *^ʀʀä¹ŋ¹g¹∇ 'chin'
55. *^ʀʀa¹ŋq¹i¹ '≈ breathe' > IE *^ʀʀ|_{Hx}anH- (> NaIE *anə-) v. 'breathe'
56. *^ʀʀa¹ŋga 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > IE: NaIE *^oʀ¹a¹ŋg¹h¹- > Lt angà 'opening, aperture, orifice'
57. *^ʀʀ'o¹ŋKa 'to pant, to sigh, to groan' > IE: NaIE *enk-/*onk- v. 'sigh, groan'
58. *^ʀʀ'a¹P∇ 'take, seize' > IE *^ʀʀ¹ep- > Ht ep(p)- / ap(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture', NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, hold'
59. *^ʀʀê¹p¹∇ 'mouth' (→ 'speak')
60. 2 *^ʀʀopa '≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt'
61. ? 2 WW? ≈ *^ʀʀ∇p∇ 'monkey' > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} *abō(n)- 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing
62. *^ʀʀäP¹h¹i 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > IE: *^ʀʀ|_{Hep}H- v. 'cook, bake'
63. (2?) *^ʀʀ∇q∇ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality
64. *^ʀʀ¹ü|u¹q¹yê 'night, dark hours' > IE *^oʀ¹He¹uH- / *^oʀ¹we¹H- / *^oʀ¹wo¹H- > NaIE *a¹u- / *a¹wē- / *a¹wō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep'
65. *^ʀʀar∇ 'earth, land, place' > IE: *^ʀʀ¹er- 'earth', NaIE *ārō- 'open space'

66. *ʔaR∇ 'member of one's clan/family' > IE *ʔaro- ~ *ʔaryo- 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE *aryo- id., Ht ar ā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend'

67. *ʔer∇ 'to divide; one share, one, single'

68. *ʔuRE or *ʔüR∇ 'drink, swallow'

69. *ʔur∇ 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > IE: NaIE *wer-/*wŕ- 'multitude, group of people, troop'

70. *ʔUr∇ (ba) 'squirrel' > IE: NaIE *wer- (and rdp.: *werwer-, as well as post-IE variants in daughter-lgs.: *wēwer-, *wajwer-, *wi:wer-) '≈ squirrel'

71. *ʔ∇ʳ¹∇ (> *r∇ʔ), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) pc. (see 1953: *r∇ [< *ʔ∇ʳ¹∇]) > IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns.

72. *ʔ∇ʳ¹∇ 'towards' (→ 'in?') > IE: NaIE *-r, locative sx. in adverbs

72a. *ʔiʔ|yʳ¹a¹ 'drag, pull, push'

73. *ʔuʔwʳ¹∇ (or *ʔü-?) 'light (lux), fire'

74. *ʔirʔEʔû 'entrails' > IE: NaIE {P} *oreu-/*oreu- 'gut'

75. *ʔerqʳ¹i¹ '∈ ruminant' > IE: NaIE *er-~*eri- '∈ ruminant'

76. *ʔu|or∇q∇ (or *ʔu|or∇q∇ʳ¹∇?) 'path, way'

77. *ʔaRba 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so.', '(?) to use magic tools'; an alt. et.: N *ʔaRpaʔ∇ 'make magic'

78. *ʔARčA (or *ʔAčʔ∇ʳ¹A) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose')

79. *ʔarʔ∇ʳ¹ka (or *yarʔ∇ʳ¹ka?) 'see, observe' > IE: NaIE *re(:)g- id.

80. (₂?) *ʳ¹aRH₂∇m∇ (H₂ = *h?) 'upper part of a limb' > IE: NaIE *arāmo-/*r̄mo- 'arm'

81. *ʔoʳ¹u¹ 'antelope, deer, mountain goat'

82. *ʔüʳ¹∇ or *ʔuʳ¹E 'top' > IE: Ht ar u- 'high' (× N *H₁erU 'go upwards, rise') || ?σ NaIE *wer- 'knob'

83. (₂?) *ʔʳ¹ʳ¹∇w∇ 'large feline'

84. *ʔʳ¹áʳ¹o¹ 'stay, be' > IE *ʔes-/*ʔs- > NaIE *es-/*s- v. 'be'

85. *ʔis∇ (or *ʔiʳ¹s∇?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' > IE *ʔēs- v. 'be seated'

86. *ʔüs∇ 'fire'

87. *ʳ¹∇ś∇ 'they' > IE: [1] *-es (< **-ʔes), nom. pl. com. of nominal parts of speech and participles, [2] *-n-s (< *-m accus. + *-s pl.), accus. pl. com. (of nominal parts of speech and participles), NaIE *-ŋ-s acc. pl. m./f. of consonantic stems

88. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}i|\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{U}^{\text{r}}\text{t}\nabla$ 'to sweep, to rake'
89. * $\text{ʔ}\nabla_1\text{š}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{H}_2\nabla$ 'wild boar' > IE: NaIE * sū-s , * $\text{su}^{\text{r}}\text{w-os}$ '(wild or domesticated) pig'
90. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{at}\nabla$ 'female, woman' (→ HS marker of fem. in nouns & verbs)
91. * $\text{ʔ}itê$ 'eat' > IE * ʔed- v. 'eat' ⇨ IE * ʔodont- , * $\text{ʔdont-}/\text{ʔdnt-}$ 'tooth'
92. * $\text{ʔat}_1\text{ʔ}_1\nabla$ 'come', ? 'walk' > IE: NaIE * °a|e|ot- 'go, walk'
93. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔEtûR}\nabla$ 'day, noon'
- 93a. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}\text{t}\nabla$ 'make' (→ causativizing morpheme)
94. * $\text{ʔey}^{\text{r}}\nabla^{\text{r}}\text{t}\nabla$ 'reach, obtain'
95. * $\text{ʔot}\nabla_1\text{h}\nabla_1$ (or * $\text{ʔot}_1\text{h}_1\nabla$) 'heavy', → 'difficult'
96. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{wû}$ 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > IE: NaIE * °au 'or', * $\text{we}(\text{:})$ / * u 'whether?', 'or'
97. * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{w}\nabla\text{y}\nabla$ 'island, seashore' > IE: NaIE * °ouyo- > Gmc * awja- 'island'
98. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔû}\text{X}i$ 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > IE: NaIE * $\text{ou}(\text{y})\text{o-}$ 'egg'
99. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{y}\nabla$ 'say, speak, call' > IE: NaIE ≈ * aj- '≈ say, speak'
100. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{y}\nabla$ 'mother' (→ 'female', a marker of the fem. [sex or grammatical gender]) > ? IE: pGmc * $\text{aj}\theta\bar{i}$ 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase); NaIE * $-\bar{i}$, * $-\bar{i}-$, a nominal sx. of fem.
101. * $\text{ʔäy}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔäya}?$) 'which?', 'what?'
102. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}\text{y}\nabla$ 'come, arrive' > IE * $\text{ʔej-}/\text{ʔi-}$ v. 'go'
103. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔæ}^{\text{r}}\text{E}kU$ (= * $\text{ʔæ}^{\text{r}}\text{ikU}?$) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth')
104. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{z}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{h}\text{z}\nabla$) 'throat; to swallow' > IE * $\text{ʔ}|\text{ho}\text{ʔ}|\text{hw}(\text{e})\text{s-}$ or * $\text{ʔ}|\text{ho}\text{w}\text{ʔ}|\text{h}(\text{e})\text{s-}$ 'mouth'
105. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔû}^{\text{r}}\text{z}\nabla$ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > IE * $\text{ʔ}|\text{Hou}\text{s-}/\text{ʔ}|\text{Hu}\text{s-}$ 'ear'
106. * $\text{ʔ}|\text{Γa}\text{ʔ}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔ}|\text{g}|\text{ʔa}\text{ʔ}\nabla$) 'grow, become' (→ 'be')
107. * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{r}}\text{æ}^{\text{r}}\text{bU}$ 'female breast, bosom'
108. ≈ * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{C}\text{ü}_1\text{ʔ}\nabla_1\text{P}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{C}\text{y}\text{û}_1\text{ʔ}\nabla_1\text{P}\nabla$) 'salt'
109. * $\text{ʔ}|\text{Ac}\text{'}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔ}|\text{Ac}\text{'U}^{\text{r}}\text{'}\nabla$??) 'to blow, to yawn'
110. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{c}\nabla\text{L}\nabla$ 'guts'
111. * $\text{ʔa}\text{w}\text{c}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔa}\text{c}\text{w}\nabla$) 'light of the sun below\on the horizon' > IE: NaIE * $\text{aus-}/\text{us-}$ (/ * $\text{wes-}?$) 'shine (leuchten)'
112. * $\text{ʔä}\text{c}\nabla$ 'bush, shrubs, forest'

113. * ʰuĉE or * ʰüĉV 'exchange, compensat\ion' (\rightarrow 'trade', 'revenge') $>$ IE * $\text{ᵏHx}_1\text{wes-}$ / $\text{ᵏHx}_1\text{wos-}$, {EI} * wes- 'buy', {EI} * wes-no- 'purchase'

114. * ʰadV 'limit, edge' (?) \rightarrow 'up to, until, towards' $>$ IE * haT ({EI} * $\text{h}_\text{a}ed$) 'at, to' $>$ NaIE * aT 'towards'

115. * ʰo'dU 'go'

116. * ʰudV 'follow' (\rightarrow 'repeat, continue')

117. * ʰæ'go 'to drink' $>$ IE * $\text{h}_\text{e}g^{\text{h}\omega}$ - 'drink'

118. $_2 \approx$ * ʰæ'ya'gV 'fat'

119. * ʰ'ogU1V (or * $\text{H}_2\text{oqU1V}$) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal); to beget, to bear a child'

120. $_2$ * ʰokV (or * $\text{ʰoK}_2\text{V}$?) 'listen' or 'ear'

121. ? σ * ʰayka \approx move (quickly), jump' $>$ IE: NaIE * aig- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren'

122. * $\text{ʰaK}_2\text{o}$ 'water' $>$ IE * HeK^{ω} - (or * HaK^{ω} -) 'water' $>$ NaIE * $\text{ak}^{\omega}\text{-ā}$ id.

123. * ʰ'oK_1i 'sharp point\edge' $>$ IE * $\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek̂-}$ (\sim * HeK̂- ?) / * $\text{H}^{\omega}\text{k̂-}$ 'sharp, pointed' $>$ NaIE * oK̂- / * aK̂- id.

124. * ʰuK_2a (or * $\text{ʰukV}^?a$, * ʰAwuK_2a , * $\text{ʰAwukV}^?a$?) 'see', 'eye' $>$ IE: * $\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ek}^{\omega}$ -/* Heuk- 'eye', v. 'learn'

125. ? σ $_2$ * $\text{ʰEK}_2\text{V}^?_3\text{V}$ \approx to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals)

126. * ʰA1V (= * ʰa1E or * ʰälî) 'height, top', 'climb, go up'

127. * ʰ'a'1V 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.) to produce a particular result' $>$ IE * $\text{h}^1\text{el-}$ (\approx * $\text{h}^1\text{a1-}$) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices'

128. * $\text{ʰä}^1\text{U}$ 'know'

129. * ʰo1V (= * ʰo1ü ?) 'starve, die; dead' $>$ IE {EI} * we1- 'die'

130. * $\text{ʰ|g'æ}^1\text{h1u}$ or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) * $\text{Γ'æ}^1\text{h1u}$ 'reddish, yellow, brown' $>$ IE * He1u- / He1w- 'reddish, yellow'; ? Ht {Pv.} hahli- , {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow'

131. ($_2$?) * ʰu1sê 'recent' (\rightarrow new, young')

131a. $_2$ * $\text{ʰ|gol}_1\text{V}_2\text{V}$ 'leaf'

131b. ? σ * $\text{ʰ'aL}_1\text{o}_2\text{pV}$ 'weak, exhausted' $>$ IE * halp- 'weak, swooned, exhausted'

132. * $\text{ʰa1}^1\text{ü}$ 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' $>$ IE: NaIE * a(:)lu- '€ liliaceous plant of sharp taste'

133. * $\zeta a\acute{1}\nabla qU$ 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > IE * $he\ell k_{L}^{\omega}$ - / * $ho\ell k_{L}^{\omega}$ - 'bent, elbow'
134. * $\zeta im^{\prime}e^{\prime}$ 'suck, swallow'
135. * $\zeta^{\prime}o^{\prime}mdE$ 'stand upright, rise' > IE * $Hend^h$ -/* Hnd^h - v. 'rise, appear'
136. ${}_2$ * $\zeta omK\hat{e}$ '(ϵ part of the) neck'
137. * $\zeta^{\prime}um\eta|\bar{n}\nabla$ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness/remembrance of'
138. * $\zeta\hat{o}y\bar{n}\nabla$ 'see, look; eye' > IE ** $_{L}H_1wejn$ - > NaIE (in IIr only) * $^{\circ}wejn$ - v. 'look, see'; ? * $\widehat{H}\bar{e}n$ (or * $\widehat{?}\bar{e}n$) 'siehe da!'
- 138a. * $\zeta i\bar{n}_L\nabla q\nabla$ 'live'
139. * $\zeta o\bar{n}\acute{z}\nabla$ 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin, or the like)' > IE * $\chi^{\prime}n\acute{o}si$ -s ({EI} * $h_2|h_3n\acute{o}sis$) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword'
140. * $\zeta up\nabla$ 'take wing', 'up' > IE * $Hupo$ > NaIE * upo - 'upon, on to'; NaIE * $up-ero$ - 'upper', * ups - 'high, upper'
141. * $\zeta\nabla P\nabla r\nabla$ '(river-)bank' > IE: NaIE * $\bar{a}per-o$ -, * $\bar{a}per-yo$ - 'shore, river bank', 'mainland'
142. (${}_2$?) * $\zeta\nabla p\nabla R\nabla$ 'wild boar' > IE * $hepero$ - > NaIE * $ap(e)ro$ -s 'wild boar'
143. ${}_2$ * $\zeta Ar\nabla$ 'dry, arid'
144. * $\zeta iR^{\prime}i^{\prime}$ '(male, young) big ungulate' > IE: NaIE * $er(i)-b^h$ - (with the sx. * $-b^h(o)$ - of animal names) 'ε horned artiodactyl' (× N * $H^{\prime}\bar{a}e^{\prime}R\nabla$ 'goat, sheep')
145. ? σ ${}_2$ * $\zeta\nabla r\nabla$ 'run'
146. * $\zeta arH_2|wu$ → * ζaH_2ru 'back (dos), loins'
147. * $\zeta ur\nabla K\nabla$ 'to flee'
148. * $\zeta a^{\prime}r^{\prime}\nabla$ → * ζaRi '≈ without, no' > IE: NaIE * ar - / * $\bar{o}r$ - v. 'deny'
- 148a. ${}_2$ * $\zeta|ge^{\prime}r^{\prime}\nabla$ 'raincloud, rain'
149. * $\zeta a^{\prime}K^{\prime}u^{\prime}$ 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bowstring, bow') > IE * $Herku$ - ~ * $Herk^{\omega}$ - 'bow, net'
150. ${}_2$ * $\zeta Ew\nabla S\nabla$ '(ϵ) grass' > *AdS* of IE * $_{L}H_1wejs$ - > NaIE * $wejs$ - v. 'grow, sprout forth' (< N * $wi\hat{s}^{\prime}\nabla$ 'to grow' [esp. of plants])
151. * $\zeta e\hat{s}^{\prime}i^{\prime}$ 'make, do' > IE: Ht *essa*- / *issa*- 'do, make'
152. * $\zeta o\hat{s}\nabla(-K\acute{a})$ 'ε tree' > IE * $H^{\omega}es$ - 'ash-tree' ({EI} * $h_2eH\bar{o}s$ 'ash')
153. * $\zeta a\ddot{t}U$ 'ε fish' > IE: NaIE * $ateli$ - (and * $^{\prime}a^{\prime}ti$ -?) 'ε fish' (× N * $\chi^{\prime}o^{\prime}t^{\prime}i^{\prime}$ 'ε fish')
154. * $\zeta a\ddot{t}\nabla$ 'to throw, to cast'

155. * ḡot ∇ 'breathe, blow' > IE * $\text{H}^{\omega}\text{ot-}/\text{*H}_2^{\omega}\text{t-}$ > NaIE * $\text{ōt-}/\text{ət-}$ 'breathe'

155a. * ḡut ∇ \approx hand (palm of hand with fingers?)'

156. * ḡawu ∇ 'shout, speak' > IE NaIE (?) * °au- > ο Gk (ipf.) $\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$, ft. $\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omega$, aor. $\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ 'cry out, shout, call aloud'

157. * ḡawou ∇ 'spend the night, sleep' > IE: * $\text{°heuH-}/\text{*H}_2\text{weH-}/\text{*H}_2\text{woH-}$ > NaIE * $\text{au-}/\text{*awē-}/\text{*awō-}$ v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', * aus- id.

158. * ḡuy^{h} ∇ 'to bend' > IE * hweijX- v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid'

159. ? σ * ḡaz^{g} ∇ 'wedge'

160. * ḡiž ∇ 'strong, healthy' > IE: NaIE * $\text{eįs-}/\text{*oįs-}$ 'move with impetus', * isəro-s 'vehement, strong'

160a. * ḡaž ∇ 'white, bright' > IE: Ht asara- ~ esara- 'white, bright'

161. * bA , adjectival pc. forming analytical (\rightarrow derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, and animal names > IE: NaIE * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{o-}$, [1] sx. of animal names, [2] sx. of adjectives

162. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla$, pc. forming analytical (\rightarrow derived) nomina abstracta > IE: NaIE * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{o-s}$, * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{ā}$, sx. of abstract nouns

163. $_2$ * bo? ∇ 'to go'

164. o , ι * būf ∇ 'blow, inflate', (\rightarrow ?) 'swell' > IE: NaIE * $\text{°b}^{\text{h}}\text{ōu-}/\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{əu-}$ v. 'blow'

165. ι * biç ∇ ~ * biĉ ∇ 'small, little'

166. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla\text{ç}_L\text{R}$ ∇ 'to cut'

167. * boča '(young) deer'

168. * biĉ ∇ 'cut, crumble, crush' > *AdS* of NaIE * $\text{peįs-}/\text{*pis-}$ v. 'crush, pound' < N * $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{äy}^{\text{s}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ or * $\text{piš}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ 'crush, break in pieces'

169. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla\text{g}^{\text{ĉ}}$ ∇ \approx bad, wicked'

170. * $\text{b}^{\text{r}}\text{u}^{\text{ĉ}}$ ∇ \approx to tear to pieces'

170a. $_2$ * bAd ∇ 'many, multitude'

171. * $\text{bed}^{\text{ê}}$ 'to pierce, to prick' > IE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ed}^{\text{h-}}$ v. 'pierce, prick, dig'

172. * $\text{b}^{\text{r}}\text{ed}$ ∇ 'back of sth.'

173. * bod ∇ 'body, belly' > ? σ IE: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ud}^{\text{h-}}$ men 'lower part, bottom'

174. $_2$ * $\text{büd}_L\text{R}$ ∇ 'be thick'

174a. * $\text{b}\nabla\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{R}$ ∇ 'to plait' (\rightarrow 'net')

174b. $_2$ * bad_LR ∇ 'be open'

175. (2?) *bûd₁∇₁X|q∇ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > IE: NaIE *b^heud^h- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein'
176. *baHgü (= *baḥ|hgü?) 'forearm' > IE: NaIE *b^hā'g^hu-s 'elbow, forearm'
177. ₂ *bû₁y₁gE 'stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *b^huġ₁^h₁- 'insect'
- 177a. *bAga (or *bAχa?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > IE: NaIE *b^hā- 'appear, become visible'
178. *b^ri'gê 'much' > IE: [1] ≈ *^ob^he|oj₁- > Av baē-var, baē-van, Phl bēvar, NPrs بيور bivār 'ten thousand, myriad', Oss: I bīrā, D berā, bewrā 'many, much, very' [2] one of the sources of *-b^heH, sx. of abstract nouns
179. *beha (or *bāha?) 'shine, be bright' > IE *b^heh|x- / *b^hoh|x- / *b^hh|x- > NaIE *b^hē- / *b^hō- / *b^ha- 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)'
180. ₂ *baH₂∇ 'to tie, to bind'
181. *buHi 'grow, appear, become' > IE *b^heuh- v. 'grow, be'
182. *b^ro'ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > IE: NaIE *b^heug- ~ b^heug^h- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save')
183. *buk^ro' (or *buk^ro'∇?) 'run, run away' > IE: NaIE *b^he(:)g^ω- ~ *b^heug- v. 'flee'
184. *b^ro'ka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > IE: NaIE *b^hōg- vt. 'roast, bake, burn'
185. *bukE∇ 'billy goat, ram' > IE *b^hu(:)ġo-s 'buck, billy-goat', NaIE ({P}: term of endearment) *b^hukko-s 'he-goat, ram'
186. *baḶa (or *bag|k₁a₁?a?) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > IE: NaIE *bak- 'stick, staff used for support, club'
187. ₂ *baḶ∇ 'to look'
188. *buḶa 'bovines' > IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull'
189. *buḶ∇ (or *būḶ∇?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *^obuk(Ḷ)∇ or *^obuk(k)∇ 'cheek'
190. *būḶa '∈ a stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *b^houk-/ *b^huk- 'bee'
191. *būḶ'a' 'to bend; bent' > IE: NaIE *b^heug- ~ *b^heug^h- vt. 'bend'
192. *b^rōhi'ko 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > IE: NaIE *b^heig^ω- / *b^hoig^ω- / *b^hig^ω- 'shine (glänzen)'
193. ≈ *BUḶĶE (or ≈ *BUH₂aḶĶE?) 'to tie', 'tie' (→ 'rope') > IE: NaIE *b^hask^ro' - 'bundle'
194. *baL^rü' 'bad, harm' > IE: NaIE *b^ha|w- 'evil, wicked'
195. *biṬU 'be warm, burn; warm'

196. *buL∇ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > IE (+ ext. or sx.?): NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix'
197. ₂ *b^hü'j|í∇ 'a shoot'
- 197a. *b∇L∇ 'dove' > IE: NaIE: Ltv balôdis, Lt balañdis id. ||| Oss: I bälön, D bäläw 'domesticated pigeon', etc.
198. *biLuʔê (= *biʔuʔê?) 'cloud'
199. *b∇L∇ʔa 'to blow, to inflate' > IE: NaIE *b^hl^hā^h- (/ *b^he^hl_ə-?) id.
200. *baL_ɹ∇ 'blind' > IE: NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) blind, not to see'
201. *ba_li_ɣa (or *ba_li_ɣ'U'?) 'to swallow; throat'
202. *b∇L_h∇ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > IE *b^he^hlH-, *b^hl(o)H-t-, {EI} *b^holom 'leaf', (+ *t-ext.) IE *b^hlH_d- ({EI} *b^hl_hḡd-) 'leaf'
203. *beLk∇g∇ (= *be^hk∇g∇?) 'belly, waist' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hlg^hḡ^h- 'belly'
204. *ba^hl_i'k^ha 'to shine' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hlg-/*b^hḡg-/*b^hleg- 'burn, shine', NaIE *b^he^hlg-/*b^hlig- 'light-coloured', 'shine'
205. ₂ *b∇L_iʔ_ɹ∇_k'ü' 'beat, strike' > IE ≈ *b^hliHḡ(w)- 'strike'
206. *ba^hL^h∇ 'wash, immerse' > Gk βαλανεύον 'a bath, bathing-room' and βαλανεύς 'bath-man'
207. ₂ *bEí∇ 'boil, cook'
208. *bihí|l∇ 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hl_ə- v. 'sound, speak'
209. *baHí∇ 'pain, wound' > IE *b^he^hh^h- 'pain, wound'
210. *b^hoʔi'í|l∇ 'swell' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hl- v. 'swell'
211. *bóíX^ha^h 'tail, penis' > IE: NaIE *b^hl_o- (= *b^hḡno-, *b^hḡHo-?) 'penis'
212. *be^hn|n^h∇ 'younger relative'
213. *b∇hæ^hn^hy∇ 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > IE: NaIE *b^ho^hjno- > Gmc *ba^hina- 'bone, leg'
214. *bæ^hn^ht^h∇ (~ *bæ^hn^hd^h∇?) 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *b^hend^h- v. 'bind'
215. *bo^hŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)'
216. *be^hŋ_ɹ|X_i ≈ head'
217. *bu^hŋgä 'thick; to swell' > IE *b^henḡ^h-/*b^hḡḡ^h- 'lump, thick'
- 217a. *bEP^ht^h∇ 'lip(s), mouth'
218. ? *b∇qâ (= *boqâ?) 'side of body, side' > IE: NaIE *b^hl_hok_lw_l > Sl *b^hok^h 'side of body'
219. *bAr∇ 'earth, land; dust'

- 219a. ***beR∇** 'mud, swamp' > IE: NaIE ***ob^hō¹r-** > SI ***bara** 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small river'
- 219b. ***bor∇** 'mountain, hill'
220. ***buRu** (or ***buRü**) 'break' > IE: NaIE ***b^hre_u-** 'break, tear', {E} ***b^hre_u-** 'cut, break up', (+ext.) ***b^hre_us-** 'break'
221. ***bUr∇** 'turn round, rotate'
222. ₂ ***buR∇** (or ***büR∇**) 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' > (→ 'flint') > *AdS* of IE: NaIE ***b^her-** 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< N ***bô^ra¹** 'pierce, bore')
223. ***buR∇, *buR₁∇-, 'K'∇** 'storm, stormy wind' (→ [in U and A] 'snowstorm') > IE: NaIE {AD} ***b^her-/ *b^he_ur-** v. 'be stormy', 'storm'
224. ***ba^r'eri** 'hold, take' > IE: NaIE ***b^her-** v. 'take, bring, carry'
225. ***bU^rR∇** (probably ***bo^rR∇**) 'to dig; a pit, well' > IE: NaIE ***b^her-** v. 'dig', ?σ NaIE ***b^hrē_u-_r / b^hrē_u-n- / b^hru-n-** 'spring (fons)'
- 225a. (₂?) ***b^rA¹∇r∇** 'ε ungulate'
- 225b. ₂ ***bohr∇** 'loose earth, dust'
226. ₂ ***bUhr∇** 'be light' (of colour)
227. (₂?) ***b^r'h¹R∇** 'blow, inflate, swell'
228. ***b^ruXr∇** 'back, rear'
229. ***bär^r∇** 'to give'
230. ***berE^ra** 'to give birth to; child' > IE: NaIE ***b^her-/ *b^hor-** v. 'give birth', 'child', ***b^her-no-** 'foetus, child', IE ***b^hreH-tēr** > NaIE ***b^hrā-ter-** 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same exogamous moiety' → 'brother'
231. ***bü|ur₁'∇** 'lock of hair, down'
232. ***bär^râ** 'bud, leaf' > IE: Ht **par₁sdu** {Frd.} 'bud, sprout'
233. ***borû₁∇** (or ***barû₁∇**) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > IE: NaIE ***b^hruH-** ~ **b^hreHw-** > NaIE ***b^hrū-** ~ ***b^hrē_u-** 'log'
234. ***bôri^r'U** 'loose earth, dust'
235. ***bArh^r'ê¹** 'to shine' > IE ***b^her₁H₁-** (= ***b^her^h-?**) > NaIE ***b^her₁a₁-** 'shine (glänzen)', IE ***b^her^h-** +ext. > NaIE ***b^hrē-g-** 'shine'
- 235a. ₂ ***bAr^r'h¹∇** 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love')
236. ***borHû** '≈ belly', 'internal organs' > IE: NaIE ***b^hrū-n-** > OI **b^hrū¹'na-m** 'embryo' ||| MHG **br iune, br ūne** 'pudenda muliebria' ||| Cz **br nka** 'placenta'
237. ₂ ***bûrûH∇** 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE ***b^hruH-** > NaIE ***b^hrū-** 'eyebrow'

238. *barq∇ (~ *barX∇) 'to go, to go away, to step'
239. *büryi 'to cover'
240. ₂ *b∇R̥ṽúč∇ '≈ belly' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreus-/ *b^hrus- '≈ chest, belly'
241. *bAR̥ṽḡd∇ 'to pass; way, road' > IE: NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade'
242. *bur̥ṽḡd∇ḡ'∇ (~ *bar̥ṽḡd∇ḡ'∇?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > IE: NaIE *b^hard^hā 'beard'
243. *b^hi^hr∇ḡE 'high, tall' > IE *b^herḡ^h- 'high' -d→ *b^herḡ^ho-s 'mountain'
244. ₂ *b^hE^hR∇ḡ'k^h∇ 'knee'
- 244a. *b^hi^hRk|ḡ∇ (~ *p^hi^hRḡ∇?) 'to dig'
245. UA ₂ *buR̥ṽḡk|ḡ∇ 'run, jump'
246. (₂?) *bôraḶE (or *bôra ḶE) 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hreḱ- v. 'fall, fell'; *bôr^hA^h 'to fall, to let fall'
247. *b∇R̥ṽḡḱæ 'to flash, to shine' > IE: NaIE *b^herḱ- / *b^hreḱ- v. 'shine, glitter', ?σ Ht parkuis 'clean'
248. *baRm∇ '∈ stinging insect' > IE: o†NaIE_{amb} *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect'
249. *baRḷ∇ 'be uneven, rough; bristle' > IE: NaIE {P} *b^hars-, b^hṛsti-, *b^hṛsti- '≈ bristle, point, spike'
250. *b^hA^hḡ∇ 'old'
- 250a. *bo^h∇ or *bu^h∇ 'sun, day'
251. *bô^hḡ^ha^h 'pierce, bore' > IE: NaIE *b^her- id.
252. *bu^hṽḡ(-ḶU) (or *bu^hṽḡ(-ḶU)) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > IE: NaIE *b^hreṽ-/ *b^herw- 'boil', {EI} *b^hreṽ- 'brew'; (here??) NaIE *b^hrēṽ- ḡ / b^hrēṽ-n- / b^hru-n- 'spring (fons)'
253. *b^hu^hX^hra 'watercourse, river' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hr̥ṽḡ-/ *o^hb^hṽ^hr- 'body of water'
254. *ba^hḡ∇ 'big, much, thick' > IE: NaIE *b^her- 'good, big'
255. *bo^hḡ^hṽḡ 'brown, yellow' > IE *b^her- 'brown', *b^hreṽH- id., *b^he- b^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver')
256. ? *b∇ḡ^hṽḡḡd∇ 'hail' (and 'snow?')
257. (₂?) *b^hi^hḡ^hṽḡ^hḡa (or *b^hi^hḡ^hṽḡ^hḡa?) '∈ edible fruit' > IE: NaIE *b^hrūḡ- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)'
258. ? ₂ *bU^hḷč∇ 'to rub, to grind' > IE *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)'

259. ***buʔ₁∇₁š∇** 'bad' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hou̯s- > Gmc *ba_usi, *ba_usu- > OSx bôsa 'Posse', OHG bōsi 'useles, cowardly, weak', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry'

260. ***buš∇** 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > IE: NaIE *b^hosō- 'naked, bare'

261. ***bUš₁∇** (or ***bUš₁ʔ∇**?) 'breath' (→ 'odour, steam, smoke')

262. ***b^ra¹t∇** '≈ luck; good' > IE: NaIE *b^he¹d-, {P} *b^had- '≈ good, fortunate'

262a. ₂ ***bot∇** 'dust' or 'ashes'

262b. ***b^ræ¹gUt∇** 'thigh, (calf of) leg'

263. ***bit₁∇₁ʔ¹∇** 'to hold'

264. ***bôt^r∇** 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout'

265. UA ₂ ***ba₁t∇** '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze'

265a. ***bit₁∇** 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect'

266. ***bu₁t∇** 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'

267. ₂ ***bu₁t₁∇** 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut'

268. ***ba₁g₁ut₁∇** 'kick, push' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *b^hau̯d- / {P} *b^hud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *b^heu̯d- (prs. *¹b^hou̯de₁) 'strike, beat'

268a. ***bag₁∇₁t^ri¹** 'be quick; sudden'

269. ***b^rü¹g¹ât₁∇** 'hunt, try to catch'

270. ***bu₁w₁t₁∇** 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (in some lgs. transformed into *b^hud^h-mo-, *b^hud^h-no > *b^hund^ho-), {EI} *b^hud-¹no- 'bottom'

271. ***b^ri¹χa** (or ***b^ri¹qa**, ***büyχ|qa**?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^he₁iH- /b^hiH 'strike'

272. ***bay∇** 'place', 'to be (somewhere) (= 'estar') > IE: NaIE *-b^he₁iH- /b^hi, postpositive marker of locative

273. ₂ ***b∇y∇** (or ***b∇y^ʔ∇**) 'bee' > IE *b^he₁iH₁-/*b^ho₁iH₁-/*b^hiH- 'bee'

274. ***be^ʔy∇** 'body, self' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul')

275. ***baXy∇** ⇐ ***baXi** '≈ abundant' > (?) one of the sources of IE *-b^ho-s, *-b^hā, sx. of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bė

276. _ʔσ ***b^re¹yX∇** 'tear, cut into pieces'

277. ***b^re¹∇₁ky∇** 'to pour'

278. (₂?) o ***b^uz∇** '∈ insect' > IE: NaIE *b^hey₁H₁-/*b^hoy₁H₁-/*b^hiH- > NaIE *b^hey-/*b^hoy-/*b^hi- 'bee' (× N ?? ***b∇y∇** 'bee')

279. *bʳaʰz̥ ∇ 'strike, thump'
280. *bažê 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > IE: NaIE *^obʰō- v. 'warm, ? roast', ? +ext. *-g[ǵ]-: *^obʰōg[ǵ]- > Gk φώγω v. 'roast, toast, parch'
281. *bUyž ∇ '∈ fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *bʰel- '≈ marten', {E} 'wildcat; any small carnivore'
- 281a. ₂ *bož ∇ 'hair, feather'
282. *bêžU(,q ∇,) ~ *bêž, ∇, q ∇ 'big, high'
283. *bEΓ, ∇, ž ∇ 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)'
284. (₂?) *ćE 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis)
285. (₂?) *ćuqbE or *ćüqb ∇ 'carry away, throw (away)' > IE: NaIE *skeubʰ- {P} 'dahinschießen (flink), schießen, werfen, schieben', {E} 'push away, push ahead'
286. *cog|xč ∇ or *čog|xč ∇ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off'
287. *ć'ü'd ∇ 'outstretched hand, span'
288. *ćodʳU '≈ defect, evil deed'
289. *Ceg ∇ 'breast, milk'
290. ₂ *ćok ∇ 'shelter, primitive house'
291. ₂ *Co'k'ü' 'small, little'
292. ʌ *ć|ćiKaKa 'to tickle' > IE: NaIE ʌ *^oskek-/*^oskok- id.
293. *ciķP, ∇ 'branch, shoot of a plant'
294. *C'a'ı ∇ (= *ć'a'ı ∇?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE *^okʰol-d- > Sl *xōldъ 'cold'
295. *ćeīê 'to peel' > IE: NaIE *skol- 'peel' (n.)
296. *ćEī ∇ 'be quiet, wait'
297. ₂ *co|ıı ∇ 'be\make empty'
- 297a. *ćaxoī ∇ (or *ćoxaī ∇?) 'to wind (round sth.), to tie'
298. ₂ *ćiīX ∇ 'to defecate'
299. *ćoLk ∇ (~ *ćoLk ∇) 'to advance with effort (to creep, to crawl, to climb, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *slenk- (~ *sleng-) v. 'creep, crawl'
300. *ćäıq ∇ 'lean, thin' (of a body), 'reduced'
301. *ćaıEıo 'to split, to cut' > IE *skeı, Hxı-/*skı, Hxı-, {E} *skeı- 'split (apart)'
302. *c'ı?A'm ∇ (or *ciyAm ∇) '∈ grass'
303. (₂?) *ć'o'mH₂E 'to smear, (?) to stroke' > IE: NaIE *smē- ~ *smeı, -d- v. 'smear, stroke'
- 303a. ? ₂ *ć ∇ m q U '∈ fruit, berry'

304. ₂ *c'ru' nč∇ or *č'u' ηc∇ 'to crawl'
305. ₂ *C|Cüηd∇ 'ε mouse'
306. *cuη∇ 'to know' (← 'to have seen?'), 'to see'
307. *c'üηf∇ 'finger, finger knuckle'
308. *c|c'ä'ηK∇ 'to break'
309. ₂ *c∇'p'∇ 'to cover', 'roof, a covering, shelter' > IE: NaIE *(s)kep- v. 'cover'
310. *cÉg∇ (= *c'ä g∇?) 'to jump'
- 310a. *ciqU 'ε small rodent (mouse?)'
311. *c'ar∇ (or *c'ar∇) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface' > IE: NaIE *sker- '≈ hard\dry skin, crust'
312. *c'ER∇ 'small, little' > IE: NaIE (in Gmc) *°sker- (+exts.) 'lean; v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel'
313. ?σ *cUR∇ 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)'
314. *c'awe'r∇ 'finger, hand'
315. ₂ *c'æfR∇ 'to burn sth.'
316. *c'oH₂L∇₁r∇ 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops'
317. ?σ₂ *cAR_L∇₁ψ∇ - *cAψR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever'
- 317a. *c'ûR'k'a 'watch, (?) watch over' > IE: NaIE *swerg_L'- 'watch over, be concerned about'
318. *c'ä'r∇ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate' > IE *skēr(-d^h)- 'defecate (cacare), excrete; dung, excrements'; *'sokr̥- (gen. *s(e)k'ñ-os) 'dung, excrements'
319. ₂ *c'Ét∇ 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *(s)kēd- 'cover'
320. *cow∇ 'look at, look after, protect\guard' > IE: NaIE *(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)'
321. *c'aw'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > IE *(s)k_L^heϥH- 'cover, wrap'
322. ?σ *c'a|oxû '≈ mix, process grains' > ?σ IE: NaIE *skēϥ- 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)'
323. *c'i'χE 'sweep, rub\scratch away' > IE: ?φ Ht sanh- 'sweep, wipe away'
324. *c'a or *c'a (= *Hic|c'a?), a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lgs.: → sx. of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) > IE: NaIE *-isk-, sx. of relative adjectives
325. ₂ *c'æ 'away, downward' > IE: NaIE *°sk̥- > Sl *sъ, prep. 'downward from'

326. *ĉ|ĉi or *ĉ|ĉi, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > IE sx. *-sĉ-, a marker of iterativity\frequency
327. *ĉoXib∇ 'belly'
328. ₂ *ĉū|ub₁∇₁g∇ 'dip in' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dye'), 'immerse'
329. *ĉûd∇ 'point with a finger', (→) 'true, just'
330. ?σ *ĉa₁ʔE₁d∇ 'hunt, hunt for, wish'
331. *ĉaʔi'd∇ 'to advance with effort (run, climb, etc.), to step' > ?φ IE: NaIE *kʰad- or *kʰəd- '≈ go, walk'
332. *ĉuyʔä 'thorn' > IE: NaIE *skʰweĵ₁θ₁-, {EI} *skwēĵ₁-s (gen. *sku¹y-0s) 'needle of a conifer, thorn'
333. *ĉak₁E₁ʔ∇ '∈ snow, ice-crust, hoarfrost'
334. ₁ *ĉEk∇ 'small'
335. *ĉEĪ∇ (*ĉeyĪ∇?) 'to jump' > IE: NaIE *(s)kēl- 'jump'
336. *ĉûĵ∇ 'stalk, stick'
337. *ĉ'û'ĪU (or *ĉ'ĪU?) '≈ entire, intact, pure'
338. ₂ *ĉ∇L∇ 'bend, incline' > IE: NaIE *skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted'
- 338a. *ĉûʔ₁∇₁ĵ|Ī∇ 'small'
339. *ĉûĵ|ĵ∇ 'to prick, to wound'
340. *ĉ'ĪHA (= *ĉ'ĪhA?) 'be wet\moist', 'moisture (water, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *sĉlē-k- / *sĉlā-k 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle'
- 340a. *ĉ'ĪLh∇ '(char)coal, soot'
341. *ĉEm∇ (= *ĉEm∇?) 'to maim, to torment' > IE: NaIE *skēm- 'mutilated, hornless'
342. *ĉ'Īm∇ 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)'
343. (₂?) *ĉamg∇ 'cold'
344. *ĉEmp∇ (or *ĉ'-?) 'bent, crooked' > IE: NaIE *(s)kĉemb- 'crooked', {EI} *(s)kamb- 'curve'
345. *ĉeñ∇ 'tie, bind, plait'
346. ?σ,φ *ĉ|ĉaŋ|ñ∇ 'be of a shining white', 'be bright', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE *skend- ~ *skand- 'be of a shining white', 'moon'
347. ₂ *ĉaP₁∇ (or *ĉaP₁K₁∇, *ĉaK₁P₁∇?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE skep- 'stalk, spear'
348. ₂ *ĉ'Īp∇ 'navel'
349. ψ₀ *ĉ'Īpu(-ʔ∇) 'small bird' > IE: NaIE *sper-, *sperw- id., 'sparrow'
350. *ĉ'o'P₁∇ 'watch, look out, spy' > IE: NaIE *°skĉep- 'watch'

351. o *č̣ap̣_lɣ_la 'beat, strike, chop' > IE: NaIE *skep_lH_l- ~ *skeHb_lH_l- 'split'
352. *č̣Eɸɣ∇ ([as.] > *č̣Ebɣ∇) 'finger'
353. ₂ *č̣∇q∇ 'make dirty; revile'
354. ɫ *č̣oq_la_lɣE 'beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > IE: [1] (+ext.) *skeHt_lH_l- ({EI} *sket_lH_l or *skeh_lt_lH_l-) 'injure, harm', [2] ?σ (+ext.) NaIE *°skē-n- 'push, strike'
355. *č̣aq_la_lʔ¹∇ (or *č̣aq∇) 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > IE: NaIE *°sk|k̄el- > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards'
356. *č̣'A'R∇ (= *č̣'A'R∇?) 'to cross', 'across, over' (direction), 'through' > IE: NaIE *(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through'
357. *č̣or∇ (¬ *č̣awr∇ ¬ *č̣arw∇?) 'tip, top, edge' > IE: NaIE *k^har- 'pointed, sharp', (?) 'rock'
358. *č̣Ur∇ 'narrow' > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°sk|k̄er- (+exts.) v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel; lean'
359. *č̣æΓr∇ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent'
360. *č̣'ū¹gr∇ 'be small, diminish'
361. *č̣ä'h¹ū|ur∇ 'circle; to twist'
362. *č̣Uyr∇ 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > IE *(s)k̄er-(d^h-) 'cacare; dung, excrements'
363. *č̣'e¹r_la_lɣ∇ '∈ (stinging?) insect'
364. *č̣iryâ 'to scratch\chisel, to shape (an object), to fashion'
365. ₂ *č̣âR_li_p∇ (~ *-b-?) 'scratch\chisel, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE *skerb-/*skreb- (~ *-p-), *skrej_lb/p- 'scratch, scrape'
366. ? *č̣or'∇ (or *č̣or'∇?) 'to drip, to trickle'
367. ₂ *č̣Uɣr'∇ 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift'
368. (₂?) *č̣ot∇ 'drop'
369. *č̣'ū¹t∇ (or *č̣'ū¹t'∇?) 'throw, fling, pour' > IE: NaIE *(s)keud-/*(s)kud- 'throw, cast'
370. *č̣AHt∇ ¬ *č̣AHd∇ (= *č̣Aɣ|h_lt∇ ¬ *č̣Aɣ|h_ld∇?) 'red'
371. *č̣oQ_lt∇ 'dark, darkness' > IE: NaIE *skot- 'shade, darkness, shadow'
372. *č̣ow∇ 'inform, make know\hear'
373. ₂ *č̣∇χU 'be alive\healthy'
374. ₂ *č̣a, dem. pronoun of distal deixis
375. *č̣'ū¹ 'that of..., that which' > IE *-istH_o- > NaIE *-ist^(h)o-, sx. of the superlative degree

376. *č|čib∇ 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE *stēb^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick'

377. ₂ *čûb∇ 'bend, turn, turn back, give back' > ? IE: NaIE {P} *^osteub_L^h-ma, *^ostoub_L^h-ma > Clt: W ysturn n. 'bend'

378. *č^raʔu¹ba 'cloth, sack'

379. (₂?) *čay∇d_L∇y∇ 'female breast' > ?φ IE: NaIE *d_L^hed^h- ({P} *d^hed^hn-, {Dv.} *dad^h-) 'milk'

380. ₂ *čEg∇ 'to prick' (→ 'to butt') > IE: NaIE *steg^h- v. 'prick'

381. *ča^rh^a 'to stop, to stand (up)' (→ 'to raise') > IE *steH- (= *stea₂-) / *stHe- / *sth_o- > NaIE *stā- / *^ost^he- (preserved in OI only) / *stā- 'stand'

382. *čika 'to prick, to split' > IE: NaIE {EJ} *steig- 'prick' (or *(s)teig- v. 'prick', 'pointed')

383. *čikU 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' (→ 'thigh') > IE: NaIE *(s)teig^ω- 'shoulder, thigh'

384. *čAk^rU¹ 'to prick (stechen), to gouge'

385. *č^ro¹K_L∇ 'much, heavy'

386. *čA1∇ 'stalk' > IE: NaIE *stel- 'branch, stalk, stem'

387. *ča1∇ 'beat, knock down, fell'

388. *čA1∇ (= *čA1U?) 'to plait'

389. *čeL∇ 'pull away, take away\out, rob' > IE: NaIE *stel- v. 'rob'

390. *čûL∇ 'stalk, branch' > IE: NaIE *stel-/*^ostwōl-o- 'branch, stalk, stem'

391. ₂ *č^r∇L∇(-bA) '∈ canine'

391a. ₂ *čA1∇m∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach'

392. *ča^r1_LU_Lg∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost'

393. *č^ri¹mâ 'to be(come) quiet\silent'

394. ₂ *čoma 'wild bovine'

395. ?₂ *čam∇ć∇ 'get sour\rotten'

396. *čiñ∇ 'other'

397. *č^ra¹ñd∇ 'rise, emerge, jump (up)' > IE: NaIE *skand- 'jump up, rise'

398. ₂ *čûη∇ 'smoke, smell'

399. ₂ *č|čaη_Lk_Lâ ≈ 'push, kick, stumble' > IE: NaIE *steng_L^ω- v. '≈ kick, stumble'

400. (₂?) *č^ro¹η¹∇ ≈ 'to step, to tread'

401. *čapa 'sack, vessel'

402. $_2$ *čEq∇ (or *čEx∇) 'chop, cut'
403. *čaqy∇ (or *čaxy∇?) 'to shine'
404. *čU₁?₁R∇ 'stand, stand up'
405. ($_2$?) *č'i₁gR∇ (~ *č'i₁R'g₁∇?) 'to stop up, to thrust, to plug, to dam'
406. *čAr'h₁'û₁ 'to spread, to scatter' > IE: NaIE *ster-, *steru- / *streu-, *sterə- / *strō|ā- id.
407. ($_2$?) *čERH₂∇ (= *čER₁∇?) 'to stick in, to gouge, to chisel'
408. *č∇Ruq∇ (or *č∇Rüq∇?) 'pile up, put\lay on\over' > IE: NaIE *streu₁a₁- / *strou₁a₁- / *stru₁;₁- 'pile up, build'
409. *č'a₁w'û₁ry∇ 'bull, calf' > IE: NaIE *steur-/stour- 'bull'
410. *č'i₁Rk∇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' > IE: NaIE *(s)terg̃|g- / *(s)treḡ|g- 'rotten liquid, filth', *(s)terk̃- / *(s)trenk̃- '≈ excrements, urine'
411. ($_2$?) *či't₁∇ 'to clean, (?) to wipe'
412. $_1$? *čit₁h₁a 'little bird'
413. ?σ₂ *čAy∇ 'bring, give'
414. $_2$ *čæ|ab∇'y₁∇ '∈ horned animal'
415. *č∇č₁x|y∇ 'be born; a young (of an animal)'
416. *čayd∇ 'strike, beat' > IE: NaIE *₁(s)₁k^(h)a₁d- 'strike'
417. *čUka (or *čUk₁∇?₁∇?) 'to shut, to stop up, to cover' > IE: NaIE *(s)teg- v. 'cover'
418. $_2$ *č|č₁ik∇ 'to cut'
419. *čE₁řk∇ (or *čä₁řik∇?) 'squeeze; tight'
420. *čä₁∇ (or *čä₁?₁∇) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish'
421. $_2$ *č'o₁t₁w₁∇ 'shadow, shade, dark'
422. $_2$ *č∇ř|h₁m∇ 'to taste, to eat'
423. *čäm₁∇₁x∇ 'sour, bitter'
424. *čiw₁n∇(-č₁∇) 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat'
425. *čēn₁?∇ 'narrow, thin' > IE: NaIE *^osten- 'narrow'
426. *č'a₁n₁č₁∇ (or *č'a₁n₁č₁∇) 'tip, (back) end, tail'
427. *čUp₁∇(R∇) 'fingernail, claw'
428. *č∇p₁∇(-t∇) 'thong'
429. *či₁ř₁â 'branch, bough, rod'
430. *čE₁y₁p₁∇ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow'
431. *č'a₁r∇ 'to cut'

432. *čĒR∇ 'look after, guard, observe' > IE: NaIE *ster-g-, *ster-k-v. 'guard, care, take care of', NaIE *°ster- > Sl *starati se 'to exert oneself, to do one's best, to take care of'

433. *čûr∇ 'seize, take, carry'

434. *č'û'R∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' > IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid, dung', v. stain, dacy' ('unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen')

435. (₂?) *č∇R∇ 'flintstone, knife'

436. *čohr∇ 'vessel', (← ?) 'basket'

437. *čûh_L∇_Lr∇ 'top, edge, highest point' > IE: NaIE ? *stu(:)r- ({Mn.} *st_L^h_Lûr-) 'edge, tip, peak' ? NaIE {Mn.} *staurō- 'post, stake'

438. ?₂ *č∇R?∇ 'hoarfrost', (→) 'frozen soil'

439. *čĒR'hæ¹ 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > IE: NaIE *(s)ter_La_L- /strē- v. 'be stiff, be firm, be hard, be strong'

440. *čûrt∇ 'soot' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'black, dirty' (× N *sURt∇ 'dirt[y]')

441. *čûsr∇ ~ *čûsr∇ 'to see, to look'

442. (o?) *čawχ∇ 'to cry, to exclaim' (→ 'to praise', 'fame') > IE: NaIE *steu- 'praise'

443. ₂ *ĉûĉ∇ (or *ŝ-?) 'clean; to clean'

444. *ĉEĉk∇ 'to crush, to split'

445. ?σ *ĉUd∇ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary'

446. (₂?) *ĉ∇d^ri¹ (ka_L?∇_L) '≈ wait, stay, have leisure' > ?σ IE: NaIE *steiġ- '≈ stand still'

447. ₂ *ĉodh∇ 'break (esp. a body part), strike'

448. *ĉ∇d_L∇_Lg∇ ⇝ *ĉ∇g∇d∇ 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE *sk^(h)ed- /*skend- 'split'

449. *ĉih^ri¹ '≈ carry, bring' (→ 'give')

450. *ĉEk_r∇ ⇝ *ĉEk_r∇, ? *-r∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down'

451. ₂ *ĉuK_L∇ 'thorn, point (→ blade), summit'

452. *ĉaI∇ 'to pour (out)' > IE: (+ ext.) NaIE *selg- (WP, P, EI *selġ-) v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge'

453. *ĉo^hĪ∇ 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > IE: NaIE *°sōlo- > L sōlus 'alone'

453a. *ĉum∇ 'to lift, to raise'

454. *ĉiχm∇ 'fat (Fett)'

455. ≈ *ĉ^ri^r?^rä^rnâ 'recognize, know (connaître)'

- 455a. (2?) * $\hat{c}^1 u \bar{n}_1 \text{?} \nabla$ 'to sound, to utter' > IE: NaIE * $s_{w}e\bar{n}$ - 'produce sounds'
456. $?\sigma_2$ * $\hat{c}a|E\bar{n}\check{c} \nabla$ 'large' (\rightarrow 'high, broad')
457. * $\hat{c}^1 e^1 p^1 \nabla$ 'heel, foot, part of leg'
458. * $\hat{c}^1 ay^1 P \nabla$ 'vegetation, leaves' > IE: NaIE * $sajp$ - 'thicket, hedge'
459. * $\hat{c}i P_1 \nabla_1 \text{?} \text{æ}$ (= * $\hat{c}i b_1 \nabla_1 \text{?} \text{æ}$?) 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' > IE * $spe\bar{h}$ - 'be sated'
460. * $\hat{c}ä^1 \text{?} U^1 R \nabla$ 'the calf of the leg, shank' > IE * $seH^{\omega}r \nabla H$ > NaIE {P} * $s\bar{o}_1 \bar{u}_1 r\bar{a}$ id.
461. * $\hat{c}u \text{?} r \nabla$ 'vulva, vagina'
462. * $\hat{c}U^1 r \nabla$ (or * $\hat{c}Ury| \text{?} \nabla$?) 'to twist, to twine'
463. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c}at \nabla$ 'to separate, to scatter' > IE *(s)ked- 'scatter'
464. * $\hat{c}i_1 w_1 t \nabla$ (or * $\hat{c}üt \nabla$?) 'to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)ked- ~ * $skej\bar{d}$ - / *(s)kend- 'split' \diamond An alt. conjecture: two N words: [1] N * $\hat{c}|c\bar{o}t \nabla$ 'split', [2] * $\bar{c}|\hat{c}|\hat{c}|\hat{c}i t \nabla$ (or * $\hat{c}i th \nabla$?) 'split, crush'
465. * $\hat{c}a|o^1 t^1 \nabla$ 'deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\cripple'
466. * $\hat{c}^1 \text{?} \hat{u}^1 w_1 \text{?} \nabla$ 'meat' > IE: Ht {Ts.} $z u \omega a$ 'food, bread'
467. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c} \nabla \chi \nabla$ 'to burn' (trans.)
468. * $\hat{c} \nabla y_1 \text{?} \nabla$ 'girl, (younger) sister' > IE: NaIE * $^{\circ}se y_1 H_1$ - 'sister'
469. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c}A \text{?} \nabla$ 'be lost, die'
470. * $\hat{c}^1 a^1 \text{?} b \nabla$ '(\in) fish'
471. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c}ab \nabla \text{?} \nabla$ 'war', 'warriors, host'
472. * $\hat{c}æ b \text{?} \nabla$ 'shoulder'
473. * $\hat{c}^1 i^1 b \nabla \text{?} \nabla$ (or * $\hat{c}^1 i^1 b \nabla \text{?} \nabla$) 'hyena'
474. $?\sigma_2$ * $\hat{c} \hat{o} b \nabla R \nabla$ 'press together, squeeze (as in a fist)'
475. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c} \nabla_1 \check{c}_1 \nabla_1 g \nabla$ (= * $\hat{c} \nabla \check{c}_1 \nabla_1 g \nabla$ ~ * $\hat{c} \nabla \check{c} g \nabla$?) 'squeeze, press'
476. (2?) * $\hat{c} \nabla h w \nabla$ 'to burn' (trans.) (\rightarrow 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day')
477. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c}o K \text{?} E$ (= * $\hat{c}o g \text{?} E$?) 'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position'
478. * $\hat{c}i K \nabla$ (= * $\hat{c}i g \nabla$?) 'tight, narrow, dense'
479. * $\hat{c}U \text{?} i^1 \text{?} w_1 \nabla$ 'little, small'
480. ${}_2$ * $\hat{c}|\hat{c} \nabla h L \nabla$ 'be compassionate, have mercy'
481. * $\hat{c}^1 i^1 l_1 \nabla_1 \text{?} \nabla$ 'side of body' (\rightarrow 'rib'), 'hip' (\rightarrow 'thigh') > IE: NaIE *(s)k h $l_1 e$ - 'hip, thigh; rib'
482. (2?) * $\hat{c} \nabla H_2 \text{?} \nabla_1 m \nabla$ 'daylight'
483. * $\hat{c} \nabla m_1 \nabla_1 \text{?} s^1 \nabla$ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together'

484. ₂ *ĉ¹a¹n[?]∇ 'to give birth'
485. ?σ *ĉ¹EN₁∇₁q∇ 'to press, to squeeze'
486. *ĉ¹Uñt∇ 'mucus' (in descendants lgs.: → 'sweat', 'dung, filth') > IE: NaIE {P, E} *swejd- v. 'sweat', *swejdes n. 'sweat', *swojdo-, *sweidro-/swidro- id.
487. ι *ĉ¹aηU 'jump, skip'
488. *ĉ¹ap∇ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten'
- 488a. (?? ι) *ĉ¹aP∇ 'to grasp, to take'
489. *ĉ¹ipâ (or *ĉ¹üpâ?) 'be narrow, be compressed'
490. *ĉ¹ap∇₁E 'filth, dung', 'rubbish'
491. ₂ *ĉ¹∇P₁R∇ 'to twist, to plait' > IE: NaIE *sper- 'turn, twist' , {E} 'wrap around'
492. *ĉ¹EP₁t∇ 'to close, to shut, to hide' > IE (mt.): Ht istap(p)- v. 'shut, close'
- 492a. *ĉ¹ehr∇ 'back'
493. *ĉ¹är₁∇ (or *ĉ¹ärU₁∇?) 'female breast, udder'
494. ₂ *ĉ¹er₁∇₁X∇ 'wing, feather'
495. ₂ *ĉ¹ot₁∇ 'mud'
496. ₂ *d¹i¹, a marker of imperfective (← an aux. verb?)
497. *di₁E (~ *d¹∇HU?) 'to put, to place' > IE *d^heñ- / *d^heñh- v. 'put, lay, place'
498. *d¹ûb∇ 'edge, end'
- 498a. *d¹∇b∇ 'hill'
499. *dub₁?₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail'
500. ₂ *d¹Ad∇ 'thick, fat, large'
501. *did∇ 'large, big' > IE: NaIE *^od₁^h₁id₁^h₁-(i-) 'big'
502. *dod₁H₂₁∇ '≈ tip, nipple; to suck (mother's breast)' > IE: NaIE *d₁^h₁ed^h- 'milk'
503. *d¹ü¹ga 'suitable, fit, good' > IE: NaIE *d^heugg^h- v. 'be ready, prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful'
504. ₂ *dähgU 'to watch, to look at'
505. *dagor∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back'
506. *d¹∇wg|₁∇ 'sun, day, morning' (→ 'be bright as the sun') > ?σ IE: NaIE *d^he₁w₁∇₁- 'be bright, shine'
507. (₂?) *di¹h¹a 'look at' > IE *d^hey₁∇₁- / *d^hyeH- / *d^hiH- v. 'see, look at' > NaIE *d^heyə-/ *d^hyā-/ *d^hī- id.

508. *d'E' h₁a 'with', 'together with' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > IE: Ht t_a 'and' || NaIE *^od₁h₁ā|ō > pSl *d_a 'and, but'
509. *de'ʔo'He 'make, do' > IE *d^heĥ- v. 'make, do'
510. *daka 'back (dorsum), back (rear), behind'
511. *d'A'k'o' (~ *d'A'g'o'?) 'to burn' (trans.) > IE: NaIE *d^heg^wh- vt., vi. 'burn'
512. *dûk'U' 'strike, beat'
513. ₂ *dEHik'a' (= *dE₁ik'a'?) 'pierce, dig' > IE: NaIE *d^heĵg- / *d^hōĵg- / *d^hīg- 'pierce, stick'
514. ₂ *dak₁∇₁ʔU ' (young of an) equid'
515. *dik₁E₁ʔU' 'rumple, knead, press' > IE: NaIE *d^heĵĝh- 'knead', {P} 'Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder bestreichen'
516. *daK∇ 'small, thin, short'
517. *dik∇ 'edible cereals\fruit'
518. *doKê ≈ observe, learn (erfahren)' > IE: NaIE *doK|k- v. '≈ make clear, teach, believe'
519. ₂ *d'U'K'∇ 'to approach; near'
520. *da₁∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE *d₁o|k|k₁u- 'sweet'
521. *d'i'īa (= *d'i'īa?) 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > ? IE: NaIE *d^he|l- 'sun, bright'
522. *duīi 'fire; to heat'
523. (₂?) *daHī∇ ⇌ *daīH∇ 'lick'
524. ₂ *dū|u₁H|w|y₁∇ 'itching, lust'
525. *dû₁U₁h∇ 'be mad, be stupid'
526. *da₁qa|U 'wave' > IE *^od^he|H- > ⇨ Gk θάλασσα, Gk A θάλαττα 'sea', Mcd θαλάγγαν accus. 'sea'
527. *dæLb∇ 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through' > IE: NaIE *d^he|b^h- v. 'dig, gouge'
528. ?σ ₂ *dæL'k'a 'to prick' > IE: NaIE *d^he|g- v. 'prick; thorn', {E} 'sting, pierce', 'pin'
529. ?σ ₂ *deL₁∇₁P₁∇ 'to flap, to wave', 'to fly' (← 'to flap wings'?)
530. *d∇lqâ 'feather'
531. *dEgíâ (= *dügíâ?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket'
532. *dûHí|∇ 'dust' > IE: NaIE *d^he₁u₁ə₁l- / *d^hūl- / *d^hw₁o₁l₁- 'dust'
533. *deqí|∇ '(to be) thin'
534. *dA|o₁∇₁∇₁∇ (= *dAío∇ or *dAí₁∇₁∇₁∇?) 'to push, to press, (?) to squeeze' > ?μ IE (+ext.): NaIE *d^he|s- / *d^hĵs- ~ *d^hĵs- / *d₁ās- v. 'squeeze, press'

535. (₂?) *dam∇ or *dam∇d∇ 'to cover, to close'
536. *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust' > IE: NaIE {P} *d^hem- v. 'smoke', 'fly about' (dust); 'blow (blasen, wehen)'
537. *dûm∇ 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet'
- 537a. (₂?) *d∇m∇ (= *dim∇?) 'to breathe, to blow' > IE: NaIE *d^hem- 'blow (blasen, wehen)'
538. (₂?) *d^rû^hhm∇ ~ *d^rû^hmh∇ '(be) dark' > IE: NaIE *d^hem(ə)- 'dark'
- 538a. ≈ *dUm_l?_lû (= *d^ro^hm_l?_lû?) or *dUηw∇ (= *d^ro^hηw∇?) '(ε?) big tree' > IE: NaIE *d^honu-/*d^honw- 'fir'; dUm_l?_lû pu^ri (~ *dUm_l?_lû bu^ri?) or *dUηw∇ pu^ri (~ *dUηw∇ bu^ri?) '(ε?) big tree' (with *pu^ri [~ *bu^ri?] 'tree') > IE: NaIE *^od_l^homb_l^h- (or *^od_l^hamb_l^h-?) 'oak'
539. *dim_l∇,ηa|æ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > IE: NaIE *^od^heng^h|ĝ^h- id. (→ 'earth')
540. ₂ *d∇mP∇ (= *d∇mp∇?) 'back, hinder part, tail' > IE: NaIE *^odumb- 'tail, penis'
541. *d^ro^hñ∇ 'flat, low', (→ ?) 'lowland' > IE: NaIE *d^hen- 'palm of hand; plain, lowlands'
542. *dôñ∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *^od^hen- > Al G dhêrn 'haue aus, schneide', Al T gđhënd 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave'
543. *duñ∇ (or *düñ∇) 'to stream, to flow' > IE: NaIE *d^hen- v. 'stream, flow, leak' -> NaIE *d^hōnu- 'river'
544. *dońćE 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > possibly IE *d_l^h|tes- > Ht dāssu- 'strong, heavy; mighty'
545. *dona 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover, press on'
546. (₂?) *dû_lĝ_lâ '(be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE *^od_l^hengĝ^w_l^h- > Ltv dīñĝt 'to be quiet, to keep one's temper'
547. *daP∇(K∇) 'to stick (adhere), to glue'
548. ₂ ≈ *dûp∇ 'to squat', 'to hide' (intr.) (→ 'to steal') > IE: NaIE *teup- v. 'squat', 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {EI} *teub^h- 'steal'
549. *d^ră^ri^rp∇ 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly; wing'
550. *dap_l∇,γ∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'to push' > IE *dep^h- > NaIE *dep^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike'
551. ₂ *dEq∇ 'earth'
552. ₂ *duq∇ or *düq∇ 'blow (wehen, blasen), breathe' (→ 'smoke') > IE *d^heu^h- v. 'shake, blow' -> *dhu^h-mo- 'smoke, steam'

553. ***diga** 'goat' (or '€ ruminant'?) > **IE: NaIE** {EI} ***dik-s** (***di'g-os**)
({P} ***dig^h-**) 'goat'
554. (₂?) ***dAr∇** 'have a suitable size (be just right, быть впору)'
555. ***duri** (or ***dori??**) 'go, walk'
556. ***dur∇** (or ***dür∇**) 'hole, hollow' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^hwe(:)r-** / ***d^hwo(:)r-** / ***d^hur-** / ***d^hwr̥-**, {EI} ***d^hwór** (gen. ***d^hu'r-os**) 'door, gate'
557. ***dûR∇** 'log, stick' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^hwe(:)r-** / ***d^hwo(:)r-** / ***d^hur-** / ***d^hwr̥-**, {EI} ***d^hwór** (gen. ***d^hu'r-os**) 'door, gate'
558. ₂ ***dUR∇** 'deaf'
- 558a. ₂ ***d'û'r∇** 'woods, bush(es)'
559. ₂ ***dür∇** or ***dUrE** 'entrails, heart'
560. ***da?ur∇** 'to stand, to stay'
- 560a. ***degar∇** 'hill, summit'
561. ***dä_ly_lR∇** ~ ***da_ly_lRE** 'be(come) stiff/firm' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^hr̥ī'r-** / ***d^her-** 'firm'
562. ***der?i'** 'thrust back, drive away' > **IE: NaIE** (+ext.) ***d^hrejb^h-** 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive'
563. ***d'û'r_l?_l∇** 'dirt' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^her-(k-)**, ***d^herj_l-**/***d^hrej_l-** v. 'defecate', 'faeces'
- 563a. ₂ ***dAr̥∇** 'ashes'
564. ***dar_l∇H_l∇** 'hold, hold fast, fasten' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^her(ə)-** v. 'hold, hold fast, hold up'
565. ***dûr_l∇h_l∇** 'to deceive, (?) to outwit' > **IE** ***d^hwer(H)-** > **NaIE** ***d^hwer(ə)-** v. 'deceive, seduce'
- 565a. ₂ ***darH∇** or ***daHr∇** 'path, way'
566. ₂ ***der'p'ûb∇** 'way, path'
567. ***daRuga** or ***daRüga** 'tremble, shake' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^hreugg_l^h-** id.
568. ***dæR'h'∇ga** ~ ***dæR'h'∇k∇** 'to walk, to run; way, path' > **IE:** [1] {EI} ***d^hreg^h-** 'run', [2] **NaIE** ***d^horæg_l^h-** > **pSl** ***dórga** 'road, way', [3] ?σ **NaIE** ***d^hrog^ho-** 'wheel'
569. ***d∇R_lH₂_l∇g|K∇** 'sediment (in food), refuse' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^herəg^h-** 'sediment, residue', {EI} ***d^hrog^h-** 'dregs'
570. ***doRkæ** (~ ***doRgæ?**) 'to bend, to turn, to wrap' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^herġ^h-**/***d^horġ^h-**/***d^hġġ^h-**/***d^hreġ^h-**/***d^hroġ^h-** v. 'turn'
571. ***dur'∇** 'camping-site, abode' > **IE: NaIE** ***d^hwor-**/***d^hur-** 'courtyard, abode', {EI} ***d^hworo-m** 'enclosure, courtyard'
572. ***dû'f'∇_lg|q∇_l** 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram, etc.)'

573. *dʰoʳ_Lṽ_Lkṽ 'to tread, to trample'
574. *dṽštṽ 'moon' (→ 'star')
575. *doTgiʔû 'fish' > IE {EI} *dʰǵʰuH- > NaIE *dʰǵʰū- 'fish'
576. *daXwṽ (~ *dawXṽ?) 'to press, to push' > IE: NaIE *dʰo|aw- v. 'press'
577. ₂ *dʰæʳwṽ_Lgṽ 'wolf' or 'jackal'
578. *dṽw_Lṽ_Lyṽ 'be ill\weak, die' > IE *dʰey_L-, dʰwe_Lj(H)- v. 'die, faint', {EI} *dʰey_L- 'die'
579. *d_Loy_a (> *da) 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc., 'in') > IE: NaIE *-dʰe, locative ending ('in') in adverbs, NaIE *-dʰi, locative ending
580. *däʳ^ʔṽ (or *däʳ^ʔṽ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *odʰelǵ_Lʰ_L- v. 'strike, beat'
581. *gʳUʳ 'we' incl.
582. ₂ *gaʳi or *gaʳyṽ 'high'
583. ₂ *guʳa (or *güʳa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike'
584. *gaʳû 'catch, take, receive' > IE *gʰeHy_L- > NaIE *gʰāy_L- 'receive, catch'
585. (₂?) *guʳṽ 'to perceive, to care' > IE: NaIE *gʰow(ē)- ({EI} *gʰoy_L-) v. *gʰoy_L- 'perceive, pay heed to'
586. *gabṽ(-|íṽ) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > IE: NaIE *gʰebʰ-e_L-/-o_L-/-lo- 'head, top', {EI} *gʰebʰō_L 'head'
587. ₂ *gobṽ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth'
588. ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' > IE: L gĩbbus, VL {ML} *gũbbus 'hunchback'
589. ₂ *gaʳbṽ 'thick, dense; large'
590. *guʳʳbṽ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > IE: NaIE *gʰeyb_L-/*gʰub_L- id., 'bent, crooked'
591. *gaʳbṽ (or *gaʳbṽ?) 'hold, seize; collect' > IE: NaIE *gʰabʰ- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *gʰab_L- v. 'seize', {EI} *gʰabʰ- 'take, seize'
592. *gʳuy^ʳbṽ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > IE: NaIE *oǵ_Lʰob_Lʰ_L- or *oǵ_Lʰωob_Lʰ_L-, *oǵ_Lʰub_Lʰ_L- 'fire'
593. ? *gʳUʳbṽ (Lṽ) 'hill, mountain' > IE: NaIE *oǵʰǵʰṽb_La_L- > MHG gupf(e) 'höchste Spitze' ⇨ dim. MHG güpfel, gipfel > NHG Gipfel 'summit'
594. *ʳgʳabʰE ~ *-ʰb- 'blunt, weak' > IE: NaIE *kʰābʰ- ~ *kʰōbʰ- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)'

595. *gub₁∇₁RE ~ *guRb∇ 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' > IE:
[1] NaIE *^og₁h₁u₁w₁urb₁h₁- > Sl *g₁rb₁b₁ 'back (dorsum)', [2] NaIE *g^werwā
~ *g^wrīwā 'nape of neck'

596. (₂?) *gič̇∇ 'injure, irritate' > IE: NaIE *g^heįsd- ~ *g^heįsd^h- v. id.,
'rile'

597. ₂ *gič̇'∇ (or *gič̇∇?) 'hip, thigh' > AdS of IE: NaIE *keįs-
'arm, thigh, shank'

598. *gad^a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.'

599. *gad∇ '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > IE: NaIE *g^hed^h-/*g^hod^h-
v. 'be suitable\good'

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > ?ϕ IE: NaIE *g^hed-
'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate' (× NaIE *^og^hh|g^hed- 'hole')

601. (₂?) *gud∇ (or *güdü∇?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > ?ϕ IE: NaIE *g^wed^h-
'destroy'

602. *gud∇ ~ *gut∇ 'belly, middle' > IE: NaIE *gud-/*geüdü-,
*gudo-m 'gut'

602a. *gu₁ṛ₁dE ~ *gü₁ṛ₁d∇ (or *gu₁ṛ₁žE ~ *gü₁ṛ₁ž∇) 'to guard, to
watch, to be on the watch for'

603. *ga₁y₁di (~ *ga₁y₁ti?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > IE:
NaIE *g^hh|g^hajdo- '(young) goat'

603a. *ge^d'üš∇ 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > IE: NaIE {P} *g^hdyes
/ ? *g^hdis 'yesterday'

604. *ga₁ü₁gæ 'covet, long for', (→ ?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE
*g^heįg^h- 'covet'

605. *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away (forttreiben)' > IE > NaIE
*g^hē(į)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(į)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen')

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of'

607. *gaKt^a' 'couple, one of a pair'

608. *g|koḶE (r∇) 'chest, breast' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'belly',
'heart')

608a. *ga_wḶ∇ 'long, high, far' > IE: NaIE *ko|auk|k̄- 'high'

609. *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE: NaIE *g^he|l- v. 'call,
shout (rufen, schreien)', {EI} 'cry out; sing'

610. *gaLü|u (~ *ga^a'ya^aLü|u) 'tortoise' > IE {EI} *^lg^he|uH-s > NaIE
*g^he|ū ~ *g^h(e)lōy 'tortoise'

611. *gE|∇ (or *gE^a|∇) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') >
IE: NaIE *g^ha|g^(h)- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake')

612. *gīL'U' 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE *ǵʰel-/ǵʰol-/ǵʰǵ- (or *ǵʰal-?) id.

613. *gōLu (or *goy∇Lu?) 'skull' > IE: NaIE *gʷʰolw-/gʷʰolu-/gʷʰelū- (or *gʰolw-/gʰolu-/gʰelū-) 'head'

614. *gōl∇ 'look, look for, wish' > IE: NaIE *gʷʰel- ~ *gʰel- v. 'wish'

615. *gōL∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE *gʷelbʰ-/gʷolbʰ- 'womb; young (of an animal)', *sm̥-gʷelbʰ(e)yō- 'born from the same womb'

615a. ₂ *gōL∇ 'tail'

615b. *gōl|l'∇ 'to weep'

616. *gûlE 'go (away), start going (away), set out'

617. *gûlA 'dwelling' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'house')

618. *gûLâ 'bend, be crooked' > IE: NaIE *ǵʰwel-/ǵʰul- id., 'go astray'

619. *gohl∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *gʰlō- (or *ǵʰlō-) 'coals, charcoal'

620. *gōwlu (or *gōwlü?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *g_lʰel(u)- 'deep; valley'

621. ?₂ *gû|u_lʔ, l'∇ (= *gû|u_lʔ, l'∇(-m∇)?) or *gû|u_lʔ, L∇(-m∇) '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat'

622. *gōl_lʔ, ∇ 'belly, entrails' > IE: NaIE *gʰel-ond-/gʰol-ŋd- 'entrails'

623. ₂ *gō_ly∇, l'∇ 'pudendum muliebre'

624. *gīl'h'o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *ǵʰel(Hʷ)-/ǵʰleHʷ- > NaIE *ǵʰelə- / ǵʰlō- 'yellow, green'

625. *gU_lE, hU 'be smooth' > IE *gʰleHʷ-dʰ-/gʰl_gʷ-dʰ- > NaIE *gʰlōdʰ-/gʰladʰ- 'be smooth'

626. ₂ *gûL'∇ 'bend, twist'

626a. ₂ *gA'∇ 'wind (ventus)'

627. *g'U'∇ 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter')

627a. *gU'h'E '≈ canine animal'

628. *gī_l∇#_lʔ∇'d'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *gʰelad- 'ice, hail' (cp. *gī_l∇ without the second N component *ʔ∇'d'∇ in pCK {Md.} *ʔl 'ice, block of ice' and probably in T *k'Íl 'winter')

629. ₂ *g'A'm∇ (and *g'A'm∇?) 'altogether, full'

630. *g'e'm∇ 'strong, firm'

630a. ₂ *gUm∇ 'heavy'

631. *g_oŷm_∇ ~ *gom_ŷ∇ 'hand, fist'
632. *gumb_∇ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill'
633. ₂ *gim_∇∇₁ç_∇ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and/or nose' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh')
634. *g^ru^m∇₁ç_∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend'
635. *g^rä^m∇₁s^a '∈ waterfowl, ∈ bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *g^hans- 'goose'
636. *gAn[|]n[∇] 'see, perceive'
637. *gen^û 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE *g^henu-/*g^henw- 'jaw, chin'
- 637a. *g^ro^an[∇] 'much, big' > IE: NaIE *g^whono-s 'üppig, reichlich', *g^when- 'be abundant'
638. *g^ro[?]iⁿ∇ 'beat, strike' > IE *g^when-/*g^whon-/*g^whn-/*g^wh_ŋ- 'strike', Ht kuern- 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld f-i s-qān- v. 'destroy'
639. ₂ *gAHn[∇] 'lie (liegen), sleep'
640. *guⁿh₁i ~ *gu₁hⁿi (or *guⁿh₁i ~ *gu₁hⁿi) 'to think'
641. *gän^h∇ 'side (of sth.), width'
642. *g[∇]n₁∇₁b[∇] or ≈ *g[∇]n₁∇₁b[?]∇ 'side, edge' > IE: NaIE *g^ra¹mb^hā '≈ jaw'
643. *gæⁿd^û 'male'
- 643a. ₂ *gond[∇] '∈ ant'
644. *gän₁∇₁p¹∇ (~ *gän₁∇₁p[∇]?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' > IE: NaIE *g^lgomb₁h₁ ~ *g^lgomp- (< **g^hg^homp-?) ~ *og^lgnob₁h₁- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood'
645. *gan^t∇ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE *g^hend-/*g^hnd- 'hold, get, contain'
646. ₂ *gUⁿ∇ or *gUⁿ∇ 'male genitalia'
- 646a. *gaⁿ∇ (or *ga[?]n[∇]??) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hng^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks'
647. ₁ ≈ *gü₁an¹o¹ 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call', etc.) > IE: NaIE *g^hwen-/*g^hwon-, {EI} *g^hwono-s 'a sound, voice'
648. *g^rä¹η¹X¹a 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h- v. 'step' ('schreiten'), 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} 'step, walk'
649. *guⁿK¹E ~ *güⁿK¹∇ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > IE: NaIE *knok(k)o-/knek(k)o- 'nape of neck; hill'
- 649a. ?φ ≈ *gon¹H¹ä¹∇ ~ mt.: *gol¹H¹∇n[∇] 'forearm' > ?φ IE *H^we^l∇n- 'elbow, forearm'

650. *g_up^ʰū 'hollow, empty, hole' > IE: NaIE *g_eu_p-/*g_ou_p-/*g_up- 'hollow, pit'
651. ₂ *g_æʔ^ʰU_p∇ 'body'
652. (₂?) *g_oP_Ḳa '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp stick' > ? IE: NaIE *k_og-/*k_eg- 'hook, claw'
653. *g_äʰp^ʰsA 'paw, hand' > IE *g^hes-r-, *g^hes-to- 'hand'
654. ₂ *g_Eq^hū 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *g^he_u-/*g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^he_u-m_ḡ 'sth. poured, libation'
655. ₂ *g_Ar∇ '≈ hand' > *úú* IE: NaIE {P} *g^her- 'hand', but in the light of Ht kessar- 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by PIE *g^hesr-, so that the IE root does not belong here
- 655a. ₂ *g_ER∇ 'entrails' > IE: NaIE *g^her- 'gut(s), *g^hor-nā 'entrails'
656. ₂ *g_eR∇ 'throat'
657. *g^ʰi^ʰr∇ 'hate, be hostile' > IE: ?? Ht kurur 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy'; (+ ext.) NaIE *g^hers- 'repugnance, abhorrence'
- 657a. ?σ₂ *g_iR∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg'
- 657b. ₂ *g_uR∇ 'belly, body'
- 657c. *g_uR∇ 'forest' > IE: NaIE (att. in Blt) *g_l^her- 'forest' or 'tree'
658. ₂ *g_UR∇ 'to roll'
659. ₂ *g_üR∇ 'beast' > IE: NaIE *g^hwēr- ({EI} *g^hwēr / gen. *g^hwer-0s) 'wild animal'
- 659a. *g_Eʔ^ʰor∇ (or *g_Ewor∇?) 'grain' ||| ₂ ≈ *g_ER∇Sd∇ (or cd. *g_Eʔ^ʰor∇ S∇d∇?) '∈ cereal' > IE {EI} *g^hresd^h(i)- 'barley'
- 659b. *g_iʔ^ʰo^ʰr∇ '∈ grass' > IE (mt.) *g^hre^h-/*g^hr^h- '∈ grass': +ext.: NaIE *g^hrōs-/*g^hrās- 'grass, herbs'; + another ext.: AS *zræd* 'grass'; Ht *kar i yant*- 'grass', *kar i tas x a* 'grassland, lawn'
660. *g_eʔ^ʰr∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'build walls, huts')
661. *g^ʰü^ʰʔ^ʰr∇ 'look, look for' > IE: NaIE *g^herā- ~ ?? *g^herā- > Sl *zbrěti / *zbrq 'look', Lt *žiurėti* 'to look (at)'
662. *g_æhR∇ ⇨ *g_æRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE *g^herh̄-/*g^hre^{h̄}- > NaIE *g^herā-/*g^hrē- '≈ shine'
- 662a. *g_aHr∇ (= *g_aʔ^ʰr∇?) '(ε?) fish'
663. (₂?) *g^hū^ʰw^ʰr∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell'
664. *g_ar^ʰi 'old' > IE: Ht *karū* 'early, formerly', *karu(u)ili* 'former, ancient'

665. $_2$ *gArǵ∇ 'belly, inside'
666. *girǵ∇ 'to cut'
667. *goRǵ∇ '≈ hill, (small?) mountain' > IE: NaIE * $^{\circ}$ g $_{\text{L}}$ $^{\omega}$ $_{\text{L}}$ $_{\text{L}}$ er- > pSI *go'ra 'mountain', Lt girià, Ltv † dzir $_{\text{a}}$, dzire 'forest, wood(s)'
668. ($_2$?) *g∇Ræǵû ≈ to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ rē $_{\text{u}}$ -/*g $^{\text{h}}$ ræ $_{\text{u}}$ -/*g $^{\text{h}}$ rū- 'fall upon, fall in'
669. *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE *g $^{\text{h}}$ er-, *g $^{\text{h}}$ er $_{\text{H}}$ -/*g $^{\text{h}}$ re $_{\text{H}}$ - > NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ er-, *g $^{\text{h}}$ erə-/*g $^{\text{h}}$ rē- 'sharp point'
670. ι ≈ *gErH∇ 'to belch, to eruct'
671. *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow' > IE *g $^{\text{h}}$ re $_{\text{H}}$ $^{\omega}$ -/*g $^{\text{h}}$ r $_{\text{H}}$ $^{\omega}$ - > NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ rō-/*g $^{\text{h}}$ rə- 'grow, become green'
- 671a. *goRHæ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\omega}$ $^{\text{h}}$ rē- vt. 'smell, scent out, feel'
672. *gärh∇ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > IE *g $^{\text{h}}$ er $_{\text{L}}$ $_{\text{H}}$ $_{\text{X}}$ - > Ht kar-i(ǵa)- 'be gracious towards, gratify' || NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ er $_{\text{L}}$ $_{\text{a}}$ -, {EI} *g $^{\text{h}}$ or-(ǵe/o)- 'desire'
673. *gur $_{\text{L}}$ E $_{\text{L}}$ $^{\omega}$ ∇(-T∇) 'young (carnivorous) animal'
- 673a. ? ($_2$?) *g $^{\text{r}}$ o $^{\text{r}}$ R∇H $^{\omega}$ ∇ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ |g $^{\text{h}}$ ræ $_{\text{u}}$ - 'scrape, rub away'
674. *gur $^{\text{r}}$ X $^{\text{r}}$ a 'antelope, male antelope'
675. *gor∇b|p∇ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ reb $^{\text{h}}$ - id., 'dig'
676. ($_2$?) *gaRû $^{\text{r}}$ ĉ $^{\text{r}}$ a 'crush, break to pieces' (or *g∇Rû $^{\text{s}}$ |ĉ∇ 'crush') > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ re $_{\text{u}}$ $_{\text{s}}$ -/*g $^{\text{h}}$ ro $_{\text{u}}$ $_{\text{s}}$ - vt. 'crush, break to pieces'
- 676a. $_2$ ≈ *g∇Rć∇q∇ or *g∇Rq∇ć∇ '∈ stinging insect'
677. *gäRd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE: *g $^{\text{h}}$ erd $^{\text{h}}$ - 'surround, encircle; a fence', *g $^{\text{h}}$ r $_{\text{d}}$ $^{\text{h}}$ - / *g $^{\text{h}}$ ord $^{\text{h}}$ - 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence', *g $^{\text{h}}$ |g $^{\text{h}}$ ord $^{\text{h}}$ -to- > *g $^{\text{h}}$ or-to- 'encircled land'
678. $_2$ *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE * $^{\circ}$ g $^{\text{h}}$ |g $^{\text{h}}$ erd $^{\text{h}}$ - 'gird'
679. *guR $^{\text{k}}$ $^{\text{r}}$ U $^{\text{r}}$ 'throat'
680. *gAr $^{\text{r}}$ Am∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ rem- 'crumble, grind, zerreiben'
681. *gUrand∇ 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ rend $^{\text{h}}$ - 'log, beam'
682. ($_2$?) *gER $^{\text{s}}$ ∇ (= *gäR $^{\text{s}}$ |š $^{\text{r}}$ ∇?) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > IE: NaIE *g $^{\text{h}}$ ers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle'

683. *gaRǝ̃ ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag' > IE *g^herH-/*g^hreH-/*g^hroH-/*g^hrH₂- v. 'be salient \ prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants)

684. *g^oʀǝ̃ 'to feel' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^ωhrē- (< *g^hωreĤ-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel', [2] ? NaIE (in Blt) *^og_L^ω_L^h_Lerd_L^h_L- 'hear'

684a. o *gAʀ ▽ (ʀ¹ ▽) 'to thunder' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- id., 'roar, rage', *g^hromo-s ({EI} *'g^hromo-s) 'thunder, loud and low sound'

685. *geʀa or *geRya 'to step, to walk' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *g^hred^h- v. 'step, walk', {EI} 'step, go'

686. *g^oʀǝ̃ 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^ωher- 'burn, heat', *g^ωhoros ntr. 'heat, embers', *g^ωhrē- vt. 'warm, heat', *g^ωhermo-, *g^ωhormo- 'warm, warmth', *g^ωhor-no-s 'oven, heating fire'

687. *guʀ ▽ (d ▽) (or *gur ▽ y ▽ (d ▽)-) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'back side')

688. *g^eʀ_Lʀâ (or *g^eʀ¹ʀâ) 'fire, hearth'

688a. *guʀ_LE or *güʀ_L ▽ 'throat, neck'

689. ₂ *gEy ▽ ŝ ▽ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > IE: NaIE ĝ^hajso-s, {EI} *ĝ^haj¹so-s ~ *ĝ^hajses- 'javelin, spear'

690. *g^aʀ_Lŝ ▽ ʔa 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *ĝ^hejs- 'be frightened\scares', {EI} 'frighten'

691. ? ₂ *g^uʀ_Lŝ ▽ ʔa (~ *g^uʀ_Lŝ ▽ ʔ ▽) 'belch, vomit'

692. ₂ *gAʔit ▽ 'body, flesh'

693. ₂ *g^ut_LH_L ▽ 'small, little'

694. *gäʔâ 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *ĝ^hed- v. 'acquire', 'acquisition'

694a. ≈ *g^ot_L ▽ 'ant', (?) 'worm'

695. ₂ *g^ot_L ▽ 'pull, draw'

696. *gaʔ_L ▽ 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross'

697. *gäw_L ▽ (or *gäw_Lʔ ▽?) 'to call' > IE *ĝ^heu(H)- 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE *ĝ^hau(ə)- 'call, invoke', *ĝ^hawo-s 'a call', pp. *ĝ^hu(:)-to- 'called, invoked'

698. *gay ▽ 'side, outside'

699. *goy ▽ 'man, people'

700. *gâ_Lʔ_Ly ▽ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon')

701. *gähya 'to throw, to leave, to let' > IE: NaIE *ĝ^hē(_L)- 'hurl, cast'

702. *goXey∇ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > IE: *g^wh^eHy-/*g^wh^hHy- > NaIE *g^whāj_̥- ~ *g^whəj_̥- 'light (hell), bright'
703. *gaž∇ 'slanting, skew, bent'
704. (2?) *g^ra¹ž∇ 'to go; way, path' > ? IE *g^hg^heH- > NaIE *g^hē(j_̥)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(j_̥)-/*g^hi- 'go away'
705. ₂ *gæž∇ '∈ hair, wool'
706. *gü^rž∇ ~ *gu^rž¹E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass'
707. ≈ *gUž¹û (~ *gUž¹û) 'laugh, amuse' > IE: NaIE *g^hleu_̥- (< IE *g^hHleu_̥- < **guž¹u-?) v. 'be merry, joke, *g^hoj_̥los 'merry, wanton'
708. ₂ *gUž^r∇ 'wish, be hungry'
709. *gûb∇ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to weave') > IE *xub-/*xweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ub^h-/*web^h- v. 'plait, weave'
- 709a. *ga^rç¹∇ (or *ga^ric∇?) '(leafy) branch, bough' > IE *Xosd-o- 'bough'
710. ? *g^roK∇s|ç∇(-R∇) '∈ canine'
711. *g^re¹r¹∇(-w∇) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > IE: NaIE *o|ald^h- 'wave'
712. *gûL∇ (= *gûl∇?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > IE *xul-/*xwel- 'destroy, defeat'
713. *gil¹U¹ 'boy, young man'
714. *g^ro¹Lpa (or *guLpa?) 'weak, small' > IE *xwelp-/*xwlp- 'small'
715. *gaí∇ 'cereals' > IE *xe_l∇_̥g_l^h_̥- ≈ 'cereals, grain'
716. ₂ *g^ram∇ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek'
717. *g∇m∇ 'darkness, night'
718. *geⁿā¹ 'be large, be copious'
719. ₂ *g^rû¹ñ∇ (or *zû¹ñ∇) 'drink, eat'
720. *gar^ri¹ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > IE *xery- ~ *xry- ({EI} *h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (> Ht har i-s 'valley')
721. *gor∇ 'to cry, to speak, to produce vocal sounds' > IE *xwe(:)r-/*xwr- '≈ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr-/*ār- id. || Lv hīrūt- 'curse'.
722. *gUr∇ 'skin' > ?? IE: NaIE ≈ *erp^h- (< *Heur-p^h-?) / ? *werp^h- '≈ tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)'
723. *garH∇ 'crush, grind' > IE *herH- or *harH- > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough'

724. ₂ *g∇R∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE *ēreb^(h)-/*ōrob^(h)- 'dark'
725. *gu^rrir¹∇ (or *gu^r∇-/*gu^r∇r∇-/*gur∇^r∇?) 'skill, ruse, deceit; to deceive'
726. ₂ *gotK∇ 'popliteal space (back of the knee), armpit' > *AdS* of IE: NaIE *aks- → *aġ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'armpit'
727. *gužê ≈ sheep, goat'
728. *gUž∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > IE *H^wed-, *Hod- > NaIE *od- v. 'smell (sth.)', *od-mā n. 'smell'
729. (₂?) *y^ra¹č¹∇ 'bite, chew'
730. ?φ *Γ äč¹U¹ (= *Γ äč^o or *gä^rič¹U¹?) '(ε) grass'
731. *yôč¹∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > IE *x^west_LH_J- → *x^wost_LH_J- 'bone'
- 731a. ≈ *yay^re¹č¹∇ 'seek, look for' > IE: NaIE *ajs-, *ajs-sk̄- v. 'seek, wish'
732. *yAč¹∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > ?φ IE *xat- 'cut, pierce'
733. ₂ *Γ ūd∇ 'to tie; thong' > IE: *Heud^h-/*Houd^h-/*Hwed^h- v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong'
734. (₂?) *Γ UL∇ 'knee, elbow' > IE *x^wel- or *Xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id., Ht haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect'
735. *Γ uñ∇ 'bend, be bent, sink, fall'
736. *Γ oñ_L∇_Jga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > IE *H^weng_LH_JHo / *H^wnog_LH_J- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^w_LH_Jo-, *nog^w_LH_JHo-, ? *anog_LH_J- id.)
737. *Γ añ^rč¹U 'cheek'
738. *Γ oñt∇ 'heat; to heat' > IE *Xend- > Ht hantais- n. 'heat', NaIE *o^o∇nd- (= *ond-?) > OIr and- v. 'kindle'
739. *Γ ūrū 'to flow, to stream' > IE *Xwr- ≈ 'sprinkle' > Ht hurnai_J-, hurniya- v. 'spray, sprinkle' || NaIE *w^rŋn-/*ūr-/*ayr- v. 'rain, drip, trickle'
740. ₂ *Γ ∇R∇ 'wild boar'
741. *yer^r∇ 'eagle' or sim. > IE *x^{er}-/*x^{or}- 'eagle, big bird'
742. ?σ *yERgE 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE *x^rkt̄- ~ *x^rtk̄- 'bear'
743. *y^ro¹r^kô 'bend, be bent\crooked' > IE *herk^w- → *herku- ({EI} *h_{er}erk^wo-s) > NaIE *ark^w- → *ark^w- 'a bow', v. 'be bent'
744. ₂ *y∇R_L∇_JP∇ 'cloud'

745. (2?) * $\Psi \nabla R_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} \uparrow \nabla$ 'to gnaw' > ? ϕ IE (with ass. transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) * $g^{\omega}ru\hat{k}|k-$ ~ * $g^{\omega}ru(:)\hat{g}^h-$ / $g^{\omega}rou\hat{g}^h$ ~ * $g^{\omega}ru(:)\hat{g}-$ / $g^{\omega}rou\hat{g}-$ v. 'gnaw, bite'

746. (2?) \emptyset * $\Gamma \nabla R \Gamma \nabla H_2 T \nabla$ (= * $g \nabla R g \nabla H_2 T \nabla$?) '€ waterbird' > IE * $Her_{\downarrow} H_{\downarrow} e|oHd-$ '€ waterbird' > NaIE * $a|ar\bar{o}d-$ / $a|ar\bar{a}d-$ 'heron' or sim.

747. * $\Psi \uparrow \hat{u} \hat{s} \nabla$ 'live' > IE * $xwes-$ / * $xeus-$ 'live, dwell, stay' ({EI} * h_2wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay' > Ht $hues-$ / $hwis-$ / $hus-$ 'live, be\stay alive', NaIE * $wes-$ 'be, live, dwell')

748. (2?) * $\uparrow \Psi \uparrow i \hat{s} \nabla b \nabla$ 'to grow; vegetation'

749. (2?) * $\Gamma \uparrow o \uparrow w \nabla$ 'wild sheep\goats', (\rightarrow or \leftarrow) 'wild game' > IE * $x_{\downarrow}^{\omega}o\omega i-$ ({EI} * $h_2o\omega i-s$, gen. * $h_2e\omega y-os$) 'sheep'

750. * $\Gamma o y \nabla$ 'carry, bring'

751. \downarrow * ha , deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis) > IE * $\uparrow o/e-$ no-, {Pv.} (?) * $o-n-yo-$, ?? {EI} * $h_{\downarrow}en-$ 'that'

751a. $_2$ * h^1a , particle of collectiveness > IE * $-h_0$ / (with thematic nomina) * $-e/o-h$ (* $e/o-$ belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE * $-a/-\bar{a}$

752. ? $_2$ * $h^1\ae$ ~ * o^1h^1U , marker of dual (for nomina animata) > IE * $-H(e)$ ~ * H_{\downarrow} , dual ending (nom., animate gender)

753. \downarrow * h^1e^1 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > IE * $\uparrow e-$ > NaIE * $e-$ (gen. * $e-sy_0$) * he , 'this' may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI $asya$, Av ahe 'of this', the dat. OI $asm\bar{a}i$, Av $ahm\bar{a}i$ 'to this', OLat em 'him', etc.

754. \downarrow * h^1i 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. > IE: AnIE: HrLw $\bar{i}-$, nom. $\bar{i}-s$ 'this' ||| IE * $\uparrow e_{\downarrow}-/\uparrow i$ (or * $\hat{h}e_{\downarrow}-/*\hat{h}i-$?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)'

755. \downarrow * h^1u 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > IE * $\uparrow u-$ / * $\uparrow ou-$ / * w_e- / * w_0- 'iste', deictic pc.

756. $_2$ * $hed \nabla$ 'to break'

757. * $h\hat{u}di$ 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil'

758. * $hu|od_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} \uparrow \nabla$ 'be motionless, sleep' (\rightarrow 'be sleepy\giddy')

759. $_2$ * $hak \nabla$ 'slow, inactive'

760. * $h|X^1\hat{a}^1ka$ 'to need, to lack' > IE: NaIE * $eg|\hat{g}-$ 'lack'

761. * $h^1awk^1a^1$ 'light (lux); bright' > IE: NaIE * $aug-$ v. 'shine' \leftrightarrow NaIE * $aug-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{o}(n)$ 'light, gleam'

762. $_2$ * $hUw\hat{a}k\hat{e}$ 'move, walk'

763. *haks̥t̥ 'stand, stop, stay, be'
764. ₂ *hoḱu 'copulate'
765. o? *haɪt̥ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice' > IE: {Pv.} *xel-t-/*xl-et-, d. *x̥l̥'tye/o- ({Pv.} *H₁₀tyé/ó-) '≈ call', ?o: Gk ἄλαλή, Gk D ἄλαλά 'war-cry'
766. *haɪt̥ 'this' > IE: NaIE *al-i̯o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *h₁₀el̥i̯o-s), *^oal-ter 'the other from two', IE *^oal-nej̯ > Sl *ol̥ni 'last year'
767. *hAɪt̥ 'to shine; bright'
768. ₂ *hiL̥ (or *hEyL̥??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star in the sky')
769. ₂ *hiL̥'U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have')
770. *hûL̥ 'push, butt, pierce' > IE *Xw̥el-/*Xul- v. strike'
- 770a. *'h' aɪt̥'j̥E 'on the other side' > IE *ʔal-, *ʔol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus'
- 770b. ₂ *'h' ali'w' 'elephant'
771. ₂ *haL̥ḱu 'to step, to walk'
772. *hAɪUK̥'a' 'be in need (hungry, thirsty), covet' > IE: NaIE *elk-/*olk- (or *alk-?) v. 'hunger, be hungry'
773. *'h' t̥mP'i' 'venomous vermin\(?reptile)' > IE: NaIE *empi- ~ *emb^hi- 'stinging insect'
774. *han̥ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > IE *'x'an ~ *'x'anu ~ *('x'a)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf'
775. *hEñ̥ 'iste' > IE: NaIE *eno-/*ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis), Ht an(n)i- 'that, yonder', ? IE *ñ̥ (or *ñ̥n) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà'
776. ₂ *hûʔEn̥ 'wave' > IE *xun- / ? *xwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', NaIE: pGmc *unθi̯ō, *unθu- 'wave', L unda id.
777. *hAw̥ 'sense, mind, soul'
778. *huP̥ 'bad', 'error, sin' > IE *xw̥ep-/*xw̥op-/*xup- '≈ evil'
779. *her̥ (or *herh|ʔ??) 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > IE *ñ̥er(H)- (> NaIE *er₁ə₁-/*ər₁ə₁-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться')
780. *hoR̥'i' 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' > IE *h^wer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born'
781. *he₁ʔy₁r̥'E' 'male' > ? acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE *ñ̥ers-/*ñ̥rs- (≈ {AD} *ñ̥|ʔers-/*ñ̥|ʔrs-) 'male'
782. *h'o'R̥b̥ 'run'

783. (₂?) *hüRc'∇ '≈ wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > IE: ῥ Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen'

784. *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' > IE *xer'gʰ- 'disappear, die'

785. (₂?) *haRḲa 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > IE *xark- 'hold' > Ht har(α)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have', NaIE *ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a distance, hinder', arx 'stronghold, fortress' ||| Gk ἄρκέω 'ward off, keep off' ||| ? Arm արգելում argelum 'hinder, restrain, hold back'

786. *h'aš'o' 'burn' (of fire) > IE *xes- → *Xas- 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry'

787. *hišE 'to break'

788. (₂?) *h'ot∇ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odour of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odour\scent)' > IE *xʷed- 'odour' > Arm hot 'odour, smell', Gk ὀίω vi. (pfc. ὀίωδα) 'emit an odour, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμή 'smell, scent'

789. ₂ *hawt∇ 'call, speak' > IE *heud > NaIE *°aud- > Gk αὐδή 'voice, speech', αὐδάω 'I speak' ||| NaIE *wed- 'utter sounds, speak'

790. *haw∇ 'to desire, to love' > IE *hew- (or *ʔaw-) > NaIE *aw- v. 'like, favour, want'

791. *how'i' 'become, appear' > IE: NaIE *-ew-(ō), *-euw-(ō), *-euy-(ō) 'be X', sx. of denom. verbs

792. *h'o'w∇ 'pit, depression' > IE: NaIE *a|owent- 'well, spring'

793. *hæ₁ʔ₁w'U' 'to fall, to sink' > IE *Hxou(e) 'down, away' > NaIE *o|au(e) 'down (herab), away'

794. ₂ *ho₁w₁a (or *ho₁wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream'

794a. ? *h∇ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > IE: NaIE *-eḷ 'to', ending of the dative case

795. *H₂i, a pc. of past (preterite); IS tried to connect the IE *e- augment of the past tenses with the vw. *i or the cns. *y, which serve as affixes of past in B, K, U, C, and D

796. ₂ *H₁ic'χ∇ → *-ç- → *H₁ic'Γ|h∇ 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > IE *h|ʔesxō-s ({EI} *h₁es'h₂o-s) 'master'

797. *Häç|ç'i' (= *X|Q|häç|ç'i'?) 'father, ancestor' > ??σ IE: Ht hassu 'king'

798. *H₂eç'U' (or *H₂eH₂iç'U'??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip'

799. *H₂Ud∇ (= *hUd∇?) 'sister', '∈ female relative'

800. *Hüwd∇ (= *Γüwd∇?) 'evening, night'

- 800a. (₂?) *HogE 'top, above'
 800b. ₂ *HAK∇ 'leaf', (?) 'branch'
 801. *H'o'kE (= *H'o'kü or *H'o'kæ?) 'goat' > IE: NaIE *o|ag̃- 'goat' ('he-goat?')
 802. *H₂'ôkU 'head'
 803. *H'i'Kæ 'eat' > IE *heĕ- v. 'eat'
 803a. ≈ *H₂'eI∇ 'sprout, twig'
 804. *H₃iL'i' (= *h̥iL'i'?) (or *H₃i_L'|y_L'i'??) 'entrails' > IE: NaIE *e_ǵli- / *ili- / ? *jeli- (or *īli-) 'entrails'
 804a. *H'ä'í∇ (= *χ|q'ä'í∇?) 'female'
 805. *H₃am'U' 'be/become quiet, enjoy' > ?σ IE: NaIE *am- v. 'love'
 805a. *Homg'ü' 'breast'
 806. (₂?) *H'e'm∇n̄∇ (= *ʔ'e'm∇n̄∇?) 'oak, tree' > IE: OIr omnae 'tree, oak'
 807. *Hañ∇ 'other' > IE: NaIE *a|on- ⇨ : [1] NaIE *a|on-yo- 'other', [2] NaIE *a|ontero-s 'the other (from two)'
 808. *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *e_ǵn- 'other'
 809. o *Hañ'g'∇(t̥∇) (or *Haŋ'g'∇(t̥∇)??) 'duck' > IE *HŋHti- / *HenHti- > NaIE *anati 'duck'
 810. *Hoñka (= *hoñka?) 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle'
 811. *HEñom∇ (= ? *hEñom∇ or ?? χEñom∇) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE *enm- /*nem- /*j_ǵem- 'take, acquire, have'
 812. ₂ *H'ä'ñt∇ 'kernel' > IE: NaIE *endr- 'egg, kernel'
 813. *HUŋ'd'∇ 'root'
 814. *HäŋkU 'fire' > IE {E} *Hŋg^ωni-s > NaIE *ŋgni-s ({P, Dv.} *egni- /ogni-) 'fire'
 815. ₂ ≈ *HU_p∇-(t∇k|g∇) or *HU_LP₁t∇k∇ ~ -∇g∇) (*H = *h or *h̥?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > IE: NaIE {P} *a|o_L;d(e)g_L^ωo- 'stalk'
 816. ₂ *H'æ'R∇ 'goat, sheep' > IE *r̥h̥'er(i)- ({E} *h₁er- 'lamb, kid') > NaIE *er-, eri- 'goat, sheep'; NaIE *er(i)-b^h- 'e horned artiodactyl'
 817. *H₁erU 'ascend, rise' > IE *her- (or *h^ωer-), *h_L^ωerU- id.
 818. *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal'
 819. *H₁â^ʔ∇r̥∇ (= *ʔa^ʔur̥∇?) 'long, big' > IE *Hx'a|o¹HxR- 'long', (?) 'far'
 820. *Ha_Lw∇₁š∇ (= *řawiš∇?) 'male, male person'

821. *Haya 'pursue' > IE *Haj₂- (= *Hxej₂-)/*Hi- > OI i'nō-ti, 'invati 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av inao'ti 3s prs. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt', ? Gk αἰνός 'terrible'

822. *H₂oy∇ (= *hoy∇?) 'by me, my' > IE: [1] pIE stative marker of 1s *-xe ∏ [2] pIE marker ({Bks.} *-h₂) of 1s in md. (yielding Ht prs. -ha(ha)ri, p. -ha(ha)ti, L prs. -o-r, etc.) ∏ [3] NaIE *-ō (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the pres. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem)

823. *hU₁w₁ĉ∇ (or *hUw∇ĉ∇) 'loins, lap'

824. *haLû (or *haLw∇) '∈ a leaf-bearing tree' > IE *helis- 'alder'

825. ₂ *h∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' > IE *Hχlej₁- > NaIE *lej₁- ~ dis. *lej₁r- '≈ flower', Ht {Pv.} alel- 'flower, bloom'

826. ₂ *hEm∇d∇ 'desire, covet'

827. *h¹oNc¹a (or *χoNc¹a) '(front) end, extremity, edge, tip'

828. ₂ *h¹añd∇ (or *χañd∇) 'shade, darkness' > IE *hend^h- > NaIE *and^ho- 'blind, dark'

829. *hU₁ñ|m₁p₁∇?∇ 'navel' > IE *H^ωemb^h- / *H^ωneb^h- ({EI} *h₃nob^h-) > NaIE *omb^h-/*neb^h- 'navel'

830. *(h_iN∇-)rimP∇ or *(h_im∇-)rimP∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd.?) > IE: Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow'

831. *hop₁∇,ĪE 'flow down'

832. *h¹ü¹rχ∇ĉ∇ 'to scratch, to comb'

833. *h¹U¹re|í∇ 'reed'

834. *hE₁y₁šU 'faeces, filth' > IE: Ht isuwan 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains'

835. *hUšE(-g∇) 'look, see' > IE: Ht aus- v. 'see' and usk_i- id.

836. *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction) > IE: NaIE *g^ωe (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas'

837. ₂ *kU, particle of plurality (used mostly with pronouns)

838. *k∇ 'out of, from'

839. *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy'

840. *koʔ¹i¹ 'to call' > IE: NaIE *g^ωē(j₁)-/*g^ωō(j₁)-/*g^ωī- v. 'call, shout' (→ 'sing')

840a. *kefi (or ₂ *k|K_ey∇) 'make, do'

841. ? ₂ *kEš₁û 'pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *g^he_u-/*g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^he_u-m_u 'sth. poured, libation' (× N ₂ *gE_qû 'to pour, to flow')

842. *kuṣa 'to go, to advance, to follow', (← ?) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks' > IE *g^ueh-/ *g^uh₂- > NaIE *g^uā-/ *g^uə- 'go'

843. ₂ *kab^u 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *gab^h- 'goat, lamb'

844. *kab^u 'rise, stand up'

845. ₂ *kab^u 'calabash, gourd'

846. *kib^u 'hump, bend; to bend' > IE: NaIE *gejb^h- 'hump, bend'

847. *kob^u 'to hew, to cut' (→ 'to plane')

847a. *koh₂'ä' b^u (↯ *koh₂'ä' p^u?) 'frog, toad' > IE: NaIE *g^uēb^h-ā / ? *g^uəb^h- 'toad'

848. *k'ä'č'U 'skin'

849. *kEč'U' ~ *k'ü'č'U' (or *-č-) 'knife'

850. ₂ *k'u'č'U' or *k'ü'č'U' 'ant'

851. *k'a'd|t^u 'rock'

852. *kud^u (or *kud^u) 'to plait'

853. (₂?) *küd'a' 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'male relative-in-law')

854. *koč^u ~ *kod^u 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *g^uōd^h- / *g^uēd^h- id.

855. o- *k|kEd^u's|č'û 'to sneeze' > IE: NaIE *kseu₂- / *kseu₁- (~ *skeu₂- / *skeu₁-) v. 'sneeze'

856. *k|gog₁U,žE₁?^u 'set fire to, burn (sth.)' > IE: NaIE *ksV̄- (or *k^usV̄-) v. 'burn'

857. u- *kaķE (= *kaķi?) (or *k₂-?) 'angry, bad' ('böse') > IE: NaIE *k|kāk|k̄- 'bad'

858. (₂?) ≈ *k'Eho'ķa 'green\blue, green plants' > IE *kēhko- (E) *kēh₁ko-m) 'edible greens'

859. *k'a'la (or *kaliya ~ *kalaya?) 'vessel, boat'

860. *ka|^u 'to lie (liegen)' (→ 'to spend the night') > IE: NaIE *gō|^u / *gō|^u / *g_o|^u 'lie (down)'

861 *ka|l|^u 'to bark (a tree), to remove vegetation'; → 'bare, naked' > IE: NaIE *gō|a|^u 'naked, bare'

862. *kälû 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > IE: NaIE *g₂lōu₂- / *g₁lōu₁- / *gēlu- 'brother's wife, husband's sister'

863. *k'o'1^u 'bough, stick' > IE: NaIE *g₁l₁o|^u 'bough'

864. *k^olⁱ (or *k^olⁱʔu?) (= *k^olⁱ||íi [or *k^olⁱ||íiʔu?]) 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *g^leⁱ- v. 'paste, smear'
865. *ku^l∇ (or *ku^wæ^l∇?) 'to work'
866. *k^ul[∇] (or *k[∇]h^ol[∇]?) 'snake, worm' > ??φ IE: Gk χέλι-υδρος 'snake' or 'tortoise\turtle', L c o l u b r a 'snake'
867. *k^ul[∇] 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *g^lg^eu^lo-/*g^lg^ou^lo- 'glowing coals', {EI} *g^eu^lo- ~ g^ul^o- ~ *g^ul^o-m 'fire, glowing coals'
868. *ka^hl[∇] 'power, force; be able' > IE: NaIE *g^lh^la^l- 'be able'
869. *ka^lʔ[∇] 'to approach, to come'
870. *ko^lʔa 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE *g^we^l- v. 'die, feel pain'
871. *ko^l∇₁ʔ[∇] (or *ko^l∇₁ʔ[∇]?) 'to peel, to bark'
872. *k^al^h∇ 'to walk, to make one's way (with effort), to wade'
873. *ka^lw[∇] 'together, whole'
874. *k^al[∇]ʔ^o 'call (appeler), shout' > IE: NaIE *ga^l- v. {EI} 'call out, speak'
875. (2?) *k[∇]l[∇]ʔ^y∇ 'lumbar region' (in HS: → 'kidney')
876. ₂*ka^lč[∇] 'voice; to speak\cry\weep' > IE: NaIE *ga^lo^lso-s, -m 'voice, a cry'
877. *ko^lu 'to fly; wing' > IE: NaIE *g^we^lu- v. 'fly'
- 877a. *ku^l∇ 'to flow, to gush, to leak' > IE: NaIE *g^we^l- > OI 'galati 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' ||| Gk βλύω 'gush forth' ('quelle hervor'), {EI} 'well up' ||| OHG quellan, NHG quellen 'to gush, to well', NHG Quell(e) 'a spring'
878. *kü^l∇ or *ku^líE 'cold; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g^lg^el- 'cold', v. 'freeze'
879. ₂*ko^lʔ[∇] 'pair, one of a pair'
880. ₂*ko^líHa 'oak' > IE *g^we^lh-/*g^wle^h- > NaIE *g^we^la-/*g^wlā- 'acorn, oak', +ext. *-nd-: *g^wlā-nd- and sim. 'acorn'
881. *kama 'peel (rind)' (→ 'dandruff', 'scab')
882. *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press' > IE: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together, grasp'
883. *kam∇ 'full, whole, all' > IE: NaIE *gem- '(be) full'
884. *kämê (or *kamê) 'blood'
885. ₂*kEm∇ (or *kEmho) 'to give birth' (→ 'family') > IE {Pv.} *g^emh^w- (= {Pv} *g^em-A₁^w-), {EI} *g^emH- 'marry' (of a male) > NaIE *g^em-/*g^eme- ({Pv.} *g^eme-) v. 'marry', 'relative, relative-in-law'

886. *UA*₂ *kô^hm^h∇ 'sth. hollow'
887. *k^hu^h1^hm^h∇(L∇) '(stinging) insect'
888. *kü^hmâ (or *kü^hHmâ) 'man, person' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^hom-/ *ǵ^hm- 'man (person)'
889. ₂ *k^h∇mç^h∇ (or *K^h∇mç^h∇) 'to jump'
890. ₂ *kam^hç^h∇ (or *K^ham^hç^h∇) '(sth. connected with) hand/arm'
891. *kom^h∇₁dE '∈ basket, vessel'
892. *kom^h∇₁t^h∇ 'to cover; lid, cover'
893. *kañ^h∇ 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade'
894. *kañ^hñ^h∇(-t^h∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > ? *AdS* of IE: NaIE *ǵ^henb^h∇₁-/*ǵ^honb^h∇₁-/*ǵ^hnob^h∇₁- 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N *ǵ^han^h∇₁r^h∇ 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket')
895. *k^honE 'to touch' ([in K] → 'work up')
896. *koñi (or *kuñi) 'woman, wife' > IE *ǵ^hen(-eh) ({EI} *ǵ^henh_h / gen. *ǵ^hneh_h-s) 'woman'
897. *kuñä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *ǵou^hn-/ǵun- 'hair'
898. *k^hay^hñ^h∇ (or kañ^h∇??) (often in cds.) 'wing, feather'
899. *kü^hy^hñ^hu^hʔA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > IE *ǵenu-/ *ǵonu-/ *ǵneu^h- ({EI} *ǵonu / gen. *ǵenu-s) 'knee'
900. (₂?) *käñhæ 'to give birth' > IE *ǵen^h-/*ǵne^h- 'give birth' ({EI} *ǵenh₁- 'beget a child; be born') > NaIE *ǵenə-/ *ǵnē-/ *ǵnō- id., AnIE: Ht kaena n. 'relative-in-law, kinsman'
901. *kiñho ~ *kihño 'see, observe, examine, know' > IE *ǵenh^h-/*ǵneh^h- (= {EI} *ǵneh₃-) 'know' > [1] NaIE *ǵenə-/ *ǵnō- 'know', [2] NaIE pp. *ǵnō-'to-s, *ǵnō:'-to-s 'known', [3] NaIE n. act. *ǵnō-ti- 'knowledge', [4] NaIE *ǵnō-sk- 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of' || Ht ganes(s)-, kanes(s)- 'recognize, discern, identify; acknowledge'
902. *käñ^hy^hu (or *käñ^h∇yu) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^henu- id.; *käñ^hy^h∇-d∇ (originally a cd.?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *ǵonadh^h-/*gnadh^h- '≈ cheek, (?) jaw'
903. *ken^h∇₁c^h∇d∇ 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint'
904. *koñdE 'to harm, to spoil', (← ?) 'to touch' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^hend^h-v. 'injure, damagey'
905. *UA*₂ *K^hu^hñyaHíE ~ *K^hu^hyñ^haHíE- *K^hu^hñ^haHíE 'sunshine, daybreak'

- 906.** *kañ|mp∇ 'soft excrescence (lip, mushroom)' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- (or *g^ωemb-) 'excrecence, tumor, lip, mushroom'
- 907.** *kuńĉê (or *kuńĉê) (probably = *kuńĉi or *kuńĉi) '(finger)nail, claw' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^ωwisti-s (or *ġ^ωwisti-s) 'finger', [2] NaIE *g^ωozd_l^h_jo-, *g^ωozd_l^h_ji- 'nail'
- 908.** (2?) *kanga 'to wrap, to tie' > IE: NaIE *geng^h- v. 'wind, tie, spin, plait, weave'
- 909.** (2?) *kang∇ '∈ waterfowl'
- 910.** ₂ *koŋ^ʔ∇ 'crotch (of body)'
- 911.** *kohp∇ 'cave, pit'
- 912.** *ko^ʔp∇ 'mucus, slime' ([in some B lgs.] → 'saliva'), 'filth\dirty on the surface (mould, soot)' > IE: NaIE *o^gēb^h-/*o^gab^h- 'slimy' (→ 'slimy fish')
- 913.** *keyp∇ (↔ *küyp∇?) 'light (not heavy)'
- 914.** *kep_lH₂∇ (= *kep_ɣ∇?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *ġep_lH₁- > NaIE *ġep^h- ~ *ġeb^h- 'jaw, mouth'
- 915.** *kop∇r∇ (or *-b-?) 'many, big'
- 916.** *ku_psa 'extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g^ωes-/*g^ωōs- id.
- 917.** *kar∇ 'twist, turn around, return'
- 918.** *kaR∇ 'rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE *ger- 'rise'
- 919.** (2?) *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch' > ?σ IE: NaIE *o^gġ_l^her- v. '≈ rake'
- 920.** (2?) *korê '≈ ∈ deer, antelope'
- 921.** o? *kur∇ ~ *kar∇ 'crane' > IE *ger_lH₁- ({P, EI} *ger-) id.
- 922.** *ku|or∇ 'thick, fat' > IE (+exts.): [1] NaIE *g^ωretso- 'thick, large', ? [2] NaIE _i*g^ωrend^h- 'big' ([in Gk] → 'proud')
- 923.** *k^ʔo^ʔɣR∇ ↔ *k^ʔo^ʔRɣ^ʔ (probably *k^ʔo^ʔɣR∇ ↔ *k^ʔo^ʔRɣ^ʔ) 'be heavy, be stout\thick' > IE *g^ωreHu-/*g^ωr_gHu- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)-, *g^ωo_ru- 'heavy'
- 924.** ₂ *ko_lw₁r∇ 'embers, hearth'
- 925.** ₂ *koyR∇ 'male animal'
- 926.** *kür^ʔ∇ (or *küri^ʔ∇??) 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat' > IE: NaIE *ġ^ωer(ə)- 'shine; be hot'
- 927.** *korɣ∇ 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^ωer(H)- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow'
- 928.** *kor_l∇_h∇ 'be angry\embittered' > ? IE: NaIE *o^ger(ə)- 'scold'
- 929.** *kur_l∇_h∇ 'hill, mountain' > IE *g^ωorH-/*g^ωr_gH- > NaIE *g^ωerə-/g^ωorə- 'mountain'

930. *kuRh ∇ 'shout, cry' > IE *g ω erH- > NaIE *g ω er(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; wail'

931. *kôri \hat{h} û 'throat, neck' > IE: [1] NaIE *g ω rīwā ~ *g ω erwā 'nape of neck', [2] NaIE *g ω er(ə)- 'throat'

932. *kor ∇ wa 'fade, rot, decay', 'coagulate' (of blood, etc.), 'get sour\rancid\bitter' (of food) > IE: [1] NaIE (in Iir) *ōger- 'decay', [2] NaIE *greūt- 'curds'

932a. *kor ∇ w ∇ '∈ a gallinacean'

933. *ka \hat{r} y ∇ 'to dig'

934. $_2$ *ka|æR \hat{c} ∇ 'tie together, plait' > IE: NaIE *g|gers- id.

935. *kURc ∇ 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > IE: Ht kURsa/i- 'skin, fleece, hide', NaIE *krūs- 'crust'

936. *kiRû ∇ h ∇ gæ 'to gnaw' > IE: NaIE (with ass. transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) *g ω ru(:)g \hat{h} -/g ω roug \hat{h} ~ *g ω ru(:)g \hat{h} -/g ω roug \hat{h} - ~ *g ω ruk|k- 'gnaw, bite'

937. $_2$ *k \hat{a} 'Rka or *k \hat{a} 'R ∇ ka 'turn, plait, wrap' > IE: NaIE ? *gerg- ~ *gerk- 'bend, plait'

938. $_2$ *kärEm ∇ 'wall, walled\fenced enclosure'

938a. *kiR ∇ P ∇ '(ε?) fish' > ?? IE: NaIE *ōg|g ∇ rb- > Gmc *karp- 'carp'

939. *kär ∇ t ∇ 'cut (off), notch'

940. *keR ∇ t ∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait' > IE: NaIE *ōg|gerd- > Gk γέρδιος ~ γερδιός, γέρδις 'weaver'

941. ($_2$?) *k ∇ RT ∇ (~ *g ∇ Rd ∇ ?) 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *ōgred- / *ōgrod- v. 'scratch'

942. *ku ∇ r ∇ t|d ∇ 'worm, parasitic insect'

943. ≈ *ka \hat{r} o (or *k \hat{r} o \hat{r} o?) 'onager, wild ass (?)' > IE *g ω orde \hat{b} h ω -s {EI} 'wild ass (Equus hydruntinus)' or 'onager/kulan (Equus hemionus)'

944. *k \hat{a} 'r ∇ 'hawk, ∈ bird of prey'

945. *ko \hat{r} û 'stick, log' > IE: NaIE *g ω eru- 'sharp stick, roasting-spit'

946. $_2$ *ko \hat{r} ∇ '≈ fig tree'

947. *kUR ∇ (= *ku \hat{r} ∇ ?) or *kuRy ∇ 'young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE *g ω erb \hat{h} -/*g ω reb \hat{h} - 'infant, young of an animal' (< *kUR ∇ bA or *ku \hat{r} y ∇ bA with *bA of animal names), amb Ht kURka- 'foal, colt'

948. *ku \hat{r} ∇ (or *küh \hat{r} ∇ ?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season'

949. *ki \hat{r} Ha 'old' > IE *gerH- > NaIE *gerə- 'old, (?) grown up'

950. ? *ko \hat{r} ∇ w ∇ 'external ear'

951. ₂ *k¹ü|uS∇ 'mouse'
952. ₂ *k|geHs∇ 'warm, hot, hot season'
953. *kasw∇ 'grow, increase; (become) big'
954. *k¹ü¹šʔ∇ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > IE: NaIE *ġeġs- 'pebbles'
955. *kăŷŷ∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel'
956. *kiš₁ʔ₁∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck'
957. *kat∇ 'speak, think' > IE: NaIE *g_o(:)d- (~ *ġ_o(:)d-?) 'speak, think'
958. *k¹i¹t¹U¹ ~ *k¹i¹t¹U¹ 'to tickle, ? 'to itch' > IE: NaIE *geġd- v. '≈ tickle, (?) sting'
959. (₂?) *k¹ä¹ʔit∇ (or *kæʔit∇?) 'suck, (?) eat liquid food' > IE: NaIE *ġeġd- 'suck'
960. *koyt∇ 'filthy liquid, filth' > IE: NaIE *g^weġd- id. ({EI} 'be foul \ purulent')
961. *ku¹t¹HE (or *kü¹t¹H∇) 'to rise; (?) high place'
962. *k¹o¹tê 'belly' > IE: NaIE *g^wet- 'belly'
963. ₂ *koṭû 'to drip, to exude liquid' → 'sap, pitch' > IE: NaIE *g^wetu 'pitch'
964. *koṭ∇ ~ *kuṭ∇ '≈ magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate'). An alt. hyp.: two N words: [1] *koṭ∇ 'public utterance', [2] *kuṭ∇ 'good luck, happiness' (← 'magic, sorcery'?).
965. *k¹ü¹ṭa (or *k₁-?) 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'nail')
966. *kaŷṭ∇ 'hard, dry'
967. *kaw∇ 'call (exclaim), shout' > IE: NaIE *g_ow-/*g_w- 'shout'
968. *kiw₁∇₁h¹ê¹ 'stone' > ?σ IE: Ht ku(ωa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone'
969. *koy∇ ~ *kay∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon'
970. *kä¹ʔ¹yU '(small) bird'
971. *kô¹ʔ¹y¹û¹ (most probably *ko¹ʔ¹y¹û¹) 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > ?σ IE: NaIE *^og^wōy₁- > Sl *gaV-ědb, *-ěda coll. 'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin)'
972. *koy¹ʔ¹o¹ (or *kuy¹ʔ¹o¹) 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, to nourish') > IE *g^weġH^w-/*g^wy_eH^w- 'be healthy, live'
973. *koyH∇ 'skin, bark' > IE *g^weġH- (*g^weHġ-?) / *g^wiH- > NaIE *g^wēġ- / *g^wī- 'skin'
974. *koyh∇ 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > IE: NaIE *g^weyā- v. 'overcome, ruin', *g^wi_yā 'violence'

975. *kǎyʷ∇ 'to chew' > IE: NaIE *ǵyeʷ-/ *gyeʷ- 'chew'
976. *UA*₂ ?φ *koyʷ^ʹa^ʹ 'birch tree'
977. *keǵê 'skin; to skin'
- 977a. *kuǵm∇ (or *kuǵ∇ m∇) 'smoke, ashes' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^ωelm- 'smoke'
978. ?₂ *kaǵ∇ '(young) dog'
979. *ǵa, a pc. of request > IE: NaIE {Brg.} *kā, *kom/*kem, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.)
980. ? *ǵa, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > IE: NaIE sx. *-k- in Iir *aǵ-kā- 'one', L -k- in senex (sene-k-s) 'old man', Gk -k- in κῆρυξ 'herald' | NaIE *-ko- (f. *-k-ā), sx. of denom. adjectives and nouns
981. *ǵo 'who?' > IE *k^ωo-/ *k^ωe-/ *k^ω-, a generalized interr. stem (in *k^ωo-s 'who?', *k^ω-i-s 'who?', *k^ωo-d 'what?', etc. ||| *UA*₂ *ǵE 'who?')
982. *ǵ^ʹü^ʹ, dem. prn. (animate?) > IE *kē-, *kī-, *kēj-, *k(i)yō- 'this'
983. *ǵ∇ (= *ǵ∇?) 'towards', directive pc. > ? IE: NaIE *k^ʹu^ʹ 'towards'
- 983a. *ǵ^ʹA^ʹi^ʹb∇ or *ǵ^ʹi^ʹA^ʹb∇ 'cold, ice'
984. *ǵo^ʹbE 'to fill; whole'
985. *ǵ^ʹu^ʹǵ^ʹbE 'thorn' > IE: NaIE *keǵb- 'thorn, thorny plant'
986. *ǵab^ʹE^ʹ∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' > IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box'
987. *ǵǎb^ʹâ 'bite' (→ 'eat') > IE: NaIE *ǵeb^h- v. 'eat, gnaw, chew', NaIE *ǵemb^h- 'bite, tear asunder' -d→ *ǵomb^ho-s 'tooth'
988. *ǵǎbL∇ (or *ǵǎLb∇?) 'to support, to lean' > IE: NaIE *kēlb- ~ *kēlp- ~ ? *ǵ^helb^h- 'help'
989. *ǵ^ʹǎ^ʹćU or *ǵ^ʹǎ^ʹć∇w∇ 'wild goat', 'ε antelope'
990. *ǵec∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *kēs- v. 'cut, stab, chop'
- 990a. *ǵeć∇ 'clay, earth'
991. ₂ *ǵi^ʹć∇ (or *ǵi^ʹć∇?) 'thigh muscle' > IE: NaIE *keǵs- 'thigh, forearm (Vorderarm), thigh muscle'
992. *ǵo^ʹć∇ (or *ǵo^ʹć∇) 'shorten by cutting' > IE: NaIE *^ok^ʹǵ^ʹes- / *^ok^ʹǵ^ʹos- v. 'cut'
993. *ǵo^ʹǵǎ^ʹ∇ 'basket, wickerwork' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'earthen vessel') > IE {E} *k^ωas- 'basket' -d→ NaIE *k^ωas-yō-, *k^ωas-lo- 'wicker basket, Flechtwerk'
994. ₂ *ǵa^ʹǵ^ʹǵ^ʹ∇ 'young man' (→ '[grown-up] man')

995. ₂ ***Ḳawc̣**∇ 'share (Anteil)' (→ 'lot', 'fate') > IE: NaIE ***kaus-** v. 'draw lots'
996. ***ḲayCä** 'hair' > IE: NaIE ***kaɷs-**(∇r-) '(long) hair'
- 996a. ₂ ***Ḳäč**∇ '(be) cold; freeze'
997. ***Ḳec̣**'a' 'tip, end (extremity)'
998. ***ḲUc̣**∇ 'cut\chop into small pieces'
999. ***Ḳ'o'č**∇ (or ***Ḳ'o'č**∇?) 'bone' > IE: NaIE ***k|k^ωost-** 'bone, rib'
1000. ***Ḳaɷč**∇ 'to advance with effort'
1001. ***Ḳâ'ɷ'č|ṭ**∇ 'ram, sheep' > IE: NaIE ***k^het-** (?) 'sheep'
1002. ₂ ***Ḳayeč**∇ 'heat, summer heat'
1003. ***Ḳa'č**U 'scratch, scrape off scales' > IE ***kes-/ksey-** v. 'scratch, comb'
1004. ***Ḳač̣**∇ (= ***Ḳač̣**∇?) '(young) dog\wolf'
1005. ***ḲAč**∇ (= ***Ḳäč**∇?) 'to burst, to crack; to split'
1006. ***Ḳad**∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build, to make pottery') ⇔ cd. or d. ***Ḳad**∇-L∇ 'wattle-fence' (→ 'wall', 'building') > IE: NaIE ***kat-** 'wickerwork, wattle-fence'
1007. (₂?) ***Ḳ'ä'd'i'** 'take, hold'
1008. ***Ḳ'ôd**∇ 'destroy, break, cut' > IE: NaIE ***g^ωed^h-** 'destroy'
1009. ? ₂ ***ḲUd**∇ 'die'
1010. ***ḲAɷ'û'd**∇ or ***Ḳûṭ**∇ 'neck, (?) nape, shoulder'
1011. ***Ḳoɷ₁a₁d**∇ 'be deprived of; deprive of' > IE: NaIE ***ka(:)d-** v. 'deprive of, destroy'
1012. ***ḲaHd**∇ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ [in some IE lgs.] 'care'), 'anger, hate' > IE: NaIE ***k|k^ād-/k|k^äd-** 'troubled state of mind, anger, hate'
1013. ***Ḳ'oHd**∇ 'dip, plunge, descend' > IE ***g^ωeHd^h-** > NaIE ***g^ωād^h-** 'plunge, dip in'
1014. ***ḲA'h'dê** 'to cover' > IE: NaIE ***kə|ad^h-** v. 'protect, cover' ('hüten, schützend bedecken')
- 1014a. ***Ḳawud**∇ (r...) (or ***Ḳawüd**∇ (r...)) 'tail' > IE: NaIE ***kaud-** (more plausible than ***kou_ud-**) 'tail'
1015. ***ḲôXAd**∇ 'scold', (??) 'shout at' > IE ***kou_uHd-/kuHd-** > NaIE ***kou_uəd-/ku(:)d-** v. 'scold', (??) 'shout at'
1016. ***Ḳu|od'a'h**∇ (~ ***Ḳad₁a₁h**∇?) 'to pierce' > ? IE: NaIE ***k^ωe(:)d-** / ***k^ωo(:)d-** v. 'sharpen', ***°k^ωod-** 'sharp'
- 1016a. ₂ ***ḲAdX**∇ 'strike fire, kindle'

1017. *ḲUd₁∇₁X∇ 'draw (water)' (= 'schöpfen'), 'ladle out'
1018. *Ḳ'a¹dḲud∇ 'tip, top' > IE: NaIE *kakud- 'peak, summit' ||| AdS of NaIE *kaput ~ *^ok|k̄a_uput 'head'
1019. *ḲakU (or *ḲokU?) 'hook', 'tooth, fang' > ? IE: NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw'
1020. *ḲUkE 'dark, black'
1021. ₂ Ll. *ḲaḲa 'penis' > IE: NaIE *kak- 'male genitalia'
1022. *ḲaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal' > IE: NaIE *keku- '≈ keulenformiger Stock', 'Stock mit hammerartigem Quergriff'
1023. *ḲoḲe 'to look, to see' > IE: NaIE *k^ωeḱ-/*k^ωoḱ-, *^ok^ωeḱ-s-, *^ok^ωeḱ̄- 'see'
1024. ₁ *Ḳ'o¹Ḳ∇ 'beak', o¹to peck' (of a bird)
1025. *Ḳa1∇ (-m∇) 'spot, stain; be spotty' > IE: [1] NaIE *kel- 'spot, stain', [2] NaIE *kel-mo- 'stain', [3] ?ϕ NaIE *kāl-/*kəl- 'stain'
1026. *Ḳê1a (= *Ḳela?) 'stalk, a hair' > IE: NaIE *kē1- 'stalk' (→ 'arrow')
- 1026a. *'Ḳ¹e1A 'speak, say'
1027. (₂?) *Ḳe1̄∇ (or *Ḳeḱ1̄∇) 'lack, be insufficient'
1028. ₂ *Ḳo1|ía 'beat, strike' > IE: in BSl the expected reflex of N *Ḳo1|ía (NaIE *^ok₁^ωe1- 'strike') is likely to have merged with IE *k₁^ωo1H-/*k₁^ωe1H- > NaIE *k₁^ωo1ə-/*k1ā- v. 'strike, beat' (< N *Ḳo1|íqa 'knock, strike, hit')
1029. *Ḳo1ä (or *Ḳo1₁y₁ä?) 'long, far' > IE: NaIE *k^ωe1- 'far, distant'
1030. *Ḳo1∇ '(big) fish' (or *Ḳo1̄∇ and *ka1∇?) > IE: NaIE *k^ωo1a1- 'big fish'
1031. ₂ *ḲôL∇ (bA) (or *Ḳ-?) 'dog\wolf, whelp' > IE: NaIE *^ok^ωo1-/*^oku1-, *k^ωe1b-/*k^ωo1b- '(young?) dog'
1032. *Ḳu1'ä¹ 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') > IE: NaIE *k^ωe1- 'clan, troop'
1033. ₂ *Ḳ'u¹1̄∇ 'brown'
1034. *Ḳu|o1∇ 'raven, crow'
- 1034a. *Ḳû1∇ 'fall, fall down\apart'
1035. *Ḳ'e¹|hi¹1ê 'tongue'
- 1035a. *ḲôH1ä - *Ḳô1Hä 'lake, small body of water'
1036. *ḲeHu¹h¹lüHê (or *Ḳe¹h¹u1₁y₁ê??) 'hear' > IE: NaIE *k̄1e_uə-/*k̄1u(:)- 'hear', imv. *k̄1u-d^hi 'hear!', pp. *k̄1u(:)-'to-(s) 'heard', *k̄1ewo(s) 'fame, announcement'

1037. *ḲEHUy|'ü' 'testicles' > IE: NaIE *k̂ēu|-/k̂ō(u)|- 'testiculi, scrotum'

1038. *Ḳaw'hE'L∇ 'outgrowth, inflation, abscess, hernia' > IE: NaIE d. *k̂āw_Lā_L / *k̂ūlā 'inflation (in a body), hernia'

1039. ₂ *ḲoXīa 'be dry'

1040. *ḲAyLa 'shout, call'

1041. *ḲE'y|?'a|a 'to burn' (intr.), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast' > IE: NaIE *k̂ēl- 'warm, hot; warm weather'

1042. *Ḳaīza (or *Ḳaīza?) 'throw, leave' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'remain, wait') > IE *kleH- 'lay' ({EI} *kleh_H- 'spread out flat') > NaIE klā- 'lay, spread out'

1043. *ḲaLza 'cut, hew, chop, stab' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'slaughter') > IE: NaIE *kelə-/klā- v. 'hew, chop'

1044. *Ḳaīz∇ 'rock, hill, stone' > IE {EI} *ko|H-ōn- ~ *k_oH-'n-os 'hill'

1045. *Ḳ'ü'ly∇ (or *Ḳ'ü'ly∇?) 'dirt, mud'

1046. *Ḳaī'h'i 'high; be high' > IE *kel_LH_J- > NaIE *kel_L(ə)_J- v. 'be high, rise (above)'

1047. *Ḳ'ā'ly|'h'ū 'stick, hook, bar' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bar for locking') > IE *kleHw- > NaIE *klāw- ~ *klēw- 'stick, hook, locking bar, lock'

1048. ₂ *ḲEL_LH_J∇ 'cold' > IE: NaIE *k̂ēl- 'cold'

1049. *ḲaL_L∇_Jh∇ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise' > IE *kelh̄- {EI} 'call out to' > [1] NaIE *kel-/*k_olē-/*k_olā- (or *k_o]-?) v. 'call, shout, make noise', AnIE *kalla-, *kle- > Ht kalles(s)-, kal(l)is(s)- v. 'entice, lure, evoke, summon up, adduce', Lc kileima 'fame' ||| [2] *kla_u- v. 'weep'

1050. *Ḳo|l|qa 'to knock, to strike, to hit' > IE *k_Lω_Jo|H-/*k_Lω_JleH- > NaIE *k_Lω_Jo|ə-/*klā- v. 'strike, beat'

1051. (₂?) *ḲaL_Lw_J∇ 'thick'

1052. *Ḳaly∇ '(lock of) hair, eyebrow, eyelash'

1053. *Ḳōīy∇ (= *Ḳōīy∇?) 'round; to turn, to turn around, to roll (sth.)' > IE: NaIE *k^ωēl- 'round, circle', v. 'turn around', *k^ωek_Lω_Jlo- 'circle, wheel', *k^ωo|o- id.

1054. ₂ *ḲaLka (~ *ḲaLka?) 'to wind, to twist' > IE: NaIE *kelg- vi. 'wind\|twist', 'winding; crookedness', *kleng- ~ *klenk- v. 'bend, wind, twist together'

1055. *ḲoLP∇ (or *ḲoLP∇) 'middle; 'inside, lap, sth. within an angle' > IE: NaIE *klēp- 'lap', v. 'embrace'

1056. *Ḳaí'ü|u' (= *Ḳaí'ü|u'?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *k]no- 'callosity, hard skin'

1057. *Ḳa'í'∇ '(be) few, (be) too small\thin\light'

1058. (₂?) *Ḳ'u'í|∇ 'short, (?) low'

1059. *Ḳohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie' > IE: NaIE *k]k̑ēl- / *k]k̑ōl- / *k]k̑al(w)- v. 'deceive'

1060. *Ḳiy_L∇, íi (or *Ḳiy_L∇, í∇_i?) 'to bend, to bow' > IE: NaIE *k̑le_i- v. 'bow, incline', {EI} 'lean'

1061. *Ḳaí_zû 'bare, naked' > IE *k]Hwō- > ({WH} NaIE *k_o.ləwō-) 'bald'

1062. *Ḳôí'í'û' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel' > IE: [1] NaIE *ke|w- / *kle_u- v. 'travel', [2] NaIE *ka|n∇- 'path'

1063. *Ḳ'ä'm'o' 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *k̑em- v. 'cover\veil', 'garment'

1064. ₂ *Ḳem∇ 'to bite' > IE: this N √ may have influenced NaIE *ḡemb^h- / *ḡm̑b^h- v. 'bite' and *ḡomb^ho-s 'tooth'

1065. *Ḳom∇(-bA) (or *Ḳum∇(-bA)?) 'forehead, front part'

1066. *Ḳum∇ 'sand'

1066a. *ḲUm∇ 'black, dark'

1067. *Ḳü'm∇(-Tä) / (-R∇) 'fog, mist; cloud' > IE: Ht kammarā- 'mist, fog, vapour; shade, dimness (of sight)', NaIE: Gk [Hs.] κέμμερος· ἄχλυσ, ὀμίχλη 'mist, fog'

1068. *ḲU?ä'm∇(-n∇) 'a hand with five fingers' > IE *de-k̑m̑t 'ten' (< *d_Lw_e- 'two' + **k̑omt 'hand with fingers'), ⇨ NaIE *k̑m̑'tom 'hundred' (< *d̑k̑m̑'tom {EI} 'tenth decade', {P} '[Zehner]dekade')

1068a. *Ḳum[?]∇ '(be) hot, smoulder'

1069. ₂ *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?) 'eat, swallow' > IE: NaIE *k^wem- 'swallow'

1070. *Ḳamč'o' 'to bend; bend, corner' > IE: NaIE *kant^ho- 'edge, bend'

1071. *ḲU_Ly_Lm∇ĉ'∇ (or *-ĉ-?) '(≈) shin, thigh'

1072. ₂ *Ḳä'm_LU_Lí'∇ 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'

1073. *Ḳam't'∇ 'burn (be on fire)', 'shine' > IE: NaIE *kend- v. 'shine'

1074. *Ḳ'an'E' 'young, child' > IE: NaIE *ken- 'young; child, young of an animal', ? IE *-i-k(0)-, *-u-k(0)- dim. (× *-ik0-, sx. of nouns derived from adjectives)

1075. *Ḳañ'o' (or *Ḳañy'o'?) 'to tie' > IE: NaIE {P} *kenk- v. 'gird, tie\bind around, tie on'

1076. ***Ḳan**∇ 'to sing, to sound' > **IE**: NaIE *kan- id.
1077. ***Ḳan**∇ 'begin, originate, be new' > **IE**: NaIE *ken- ~ *°kan- 'begin, originate, be born, be recent\young'
1078. ***ḲE**ñ|η¹ 'empty' > **IE**: NaIE ***Ḳ**en_L(e)w_J- 'empty'
- 1078a. ***Ḳ**'o¹ñ∇ 'back, rear'
- 1078b. ***Ḳ**uñ∇ 'belly, chest'
1079. ***Ḳu**ñ∇(í∇) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat, or sim.)' > **IE**: NaIE *°keu_n-/*°kou_n- 'marten'
1080. ₂ ***Ḳ**üñ∇ ~ ***Ḳ**uñE 'sun, day'
1081. ?φ ≈ ***Ḳ**a¹g¹Eñā 'be hungry\thirsty, desire, long for' > **IE**: NaIE *kenk- 'be hungry, long for'
1082. ***Ḳ**ûyñ∇ 'bucket, basket'
1083. ***Ḳ**üy_La_Jñ∇ 'wolf, dog' > **IE** nom. ***Ḳ**won- / ***Ḳ**wōn, obl. ***Ḳ**un- 'dog'
1084. ***Ḳ**añ?i 'to hasten, to endeavour' > **IE**: NaIE *ken- v. 'hasten to do (sth.), strive with zeal'
1085. ***Ḳ**in?u (> as. ***Ḳ**ün?ü¹) 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be jealous, envy') > **IE**: NaIE ***Ḳ**wen- 'exercise magic' (→ 'participate in magic ceremonies, sacrifice'), pp. ***Ḳ**wen-to- 'magic' (→ 'holy')
1086. ***Ḳ**on¹h¹∇ 'yellow' (or 'e a yellow substance?') > **IE** *k^wŋh- / *k^wŋh- > NaIE (+ ext.) *k_ona¹ko- 'yellow' || AnIE ⇨ Gk Hm κύανος 'cyan, a dark-blue substance'; ?? Ht ku(ωa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone'
- 1086a. (₂?) ***Ḳ**'U¹ñ_LH_J∇ or ***k**'U¹ñ|í∇ 'bee' > ? **IE** *°k|**Ḳ**ŋ¹honk-/*°k|**Ḳ**ŋ¹honk¹k- ({EI} *°kŋ¹honk-s [gen. *°kŋ¹honk¹o-s]) {AD} 'honey, honey-coloured'
1087. ***Ḳ**any∇ 'skin, film, bark' > **IE**: NaIE *(s)k|**Ḳ**en-(d-) 'skin'
1088. ***Ḳ**äñ_Ly_Jû 'light (levis), thin'
1089. ***Ḳ**uñy∇ 'ashes, dust' > **IE**: NaIE *(s)ken_LH_J- id.
1090. ***Ḳ**oñč∇ 'to scratch (so.'s body or sth.), to wound, to make suffer' (→ 'to suffer' > **IE**: NaIE *k^went^h- v. 'suffer' ('leiden, dulden'))
1091. ***Ḳ**'uñigU (= ***Ḳ**'unigU?) 'to bend, to incline, to bow' > **IE**: NaIE *kne_ig^wh- vi. 'bow, incline, bend'
1092. ***Ḳ**an_LK_JE 'to singe, to glow' > **IE**: NaIE *kenk- v. 'parch, dry up, cause burning pain'
1093. ₂ ***Ḳ**'E¹ñit∇ 'louse, nit' > **IE**: NaIE *knid- ~ ***Ḳ**nid- id., *g^hni(:)d- 'nit'

1094. (₂?) *K̥Ant̥∇ '∈ genitalia', 'gland (esp. of genitalia: glans penis, clitoris)' > ?? IE: NPrs kun (< CINPrs kūn) 'vulva'

1095. ₂ *K̥Eñt̥∇ 'be angry, be in despair'

1096. ₂ *K̥Eñ∇ or *K̥ENy∇ 'nest'

1097. ₂ *K̥'ü'ñ∇ 'to burn' (intr.)

1098. ₂ *K̥oñ'č'∇ 'bark of trees'

1099. *K̥uñ,č'∇ 'worm'

1100. *K̥uñž∇ ⇝ *-ńć-, *-ńś- (or *g|kuñž∇ ⇝ *-ńć-, *-ńś-?) 'star' > IE: NaIE *^og_L^h_Jw_oi_sd_L^h_J- 'star'

1101. (₂?) *K̥'üwa'ñfi '∈ blood vessel (with blood), blood' or sim.

1102. ₂ *K̥oñč'∇ '∈ part of leg'

1103. *K̥E'ñ'č'∇ (or *K̥Emč'∇?) (~ *K̥Eñ'č'∇?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand' > IE: NaIE *ĝe_Js- 'pebbles'

1104. *K̥awing∇ 'shoulder joint, armpit'

1105. *K̥äñKa_Lh∇_J 'shell, conch' > IE: NaIE *k̥onk^ho- ~ *k̥ok^ho- 'conch, shell'

1106. *K̥'āpa 'to close, to cover'

1107. ı *K̥ap∇ ~ *K̥ap̄∇ 'to seize' (*K̥- = *g̥-?) (~ *K̥ab∇) > IE: NaIE *kap- v. 'seize'

1108. *K̥ap'ä' 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof' > IE: NaIE *ko|ap- 'hoof'

1109. *K̥AP̄∇ 'leaf'

1109a. *K̥'a'p̄'U' 'bird' > ?σ IE: NaIE (+ext.) *kops- 'blackbird'

1110. *K̥op̄∇ 'trunk, log'

1111. ı *K̥upE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble' > IE: NaIE *keup- 'boil, evaporate'; IE *keupH-/*kw̥up̄- (> NaIE *kw̥ap-) ≈ suffocate, extinguish'

1112. *K̥upE (or *K̥ǖp̄∇) 'to bend (a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.)', 'elbow' > IE: NaIE *k|k̥eub- 'sich im Gelenk biegen'

1113. *K̥'u'p̄∇, -ı̄∇ 'bubble, pustule, blister'

1114. *K̥uP̄∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance' > IE: NaIE *koūpo- 'pile, heap, hill, mountain'

1115. *K̥uP̄∇ 'box, basket' > IE: NaIE *koūp-/*kup- ≈ vessel'

1116. *K̥ah₂æP̄∇ (= *K̥ahæP̄∇?) 'chop, dig' > IE *ke_Lĥ̥p̄- > NaIE *ke(:)p̄- v. 'chop, dig'

1117. *K̥oñ₂ap'U' (= *K̥oñ|sap'U'?) 'bark', (?) 'skin'

1118. *k̥ʰaʷl̥o,ɸE or *k̥ʰaʷl̥o,ɸ∇y∇ 'skull; occiput' (→ [in B, IE] 'head') > IE: NaIE *kaput ~ *°k|k̥aɥput 'head'

1119. *k̥ʰäʷap∇ (or *q- and *-p-) 'sharp stone\rock\cliff' > IE: NaIE *k̥eip̥o-/*k̥oip̥o- ≈ sharp object'

1120. ₂ *k̥aP̥∇L∇ 'occiput, skull' > IE: NaIE *kap(e|ē)lo- 'skull'

1121. ₂ *k̥uP̥∇r̥∇ 'hump' > IE: NaIE *k̥ʰuʷp̥r̥- id.

1122. ₂ *k̥aP̥∇,Sa 'box' (unless a WW) > IE: L capsa 'box, case'

1123. *k̥EP̥∇z̄∇ (= *k̥EP̥∇z̄∇?) 'paw, hoof' > IE: *k̥opH- > NaIE *k̥op^h- 'hoof, claw'

1124. *k̥ar∇ 'curse, scold, (?) be hostile', ? 'punish' > IE: NaIE *kar- v. 'abuse, blame, punish'

1125. ₂ *k̥aR∇ 'to bend; crooked' > IE: NaIE *ker- 'bend'

1126. *k̥ʰaʷR∇ 'to hang' > IE: NaIE *k̥o(:)r- vi., vt. 'hang'

1127. *k̥aR∇ 'to fight; war, troop' > IE: NaIE *koro-, *koryo- 'war, troop', *koryo-no-s 'commander in war'

1128. *k̥ärE 'trunk, (piece of) wood' > ?σ IE: NaIE *kred- (or *°k̥red-?) ~ ? *°k̥l̥ω,ord- 'top of a building, beams, roof'

1129. *k̥är∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie' > IE: NaIE *k̥er- 'cord, thread in a weft', v. 'plait, conjoin'

1130. *k̥æR∇ (or *k̥ER∇) 'horn' > IE: NaIE *k̥er-, *k̥er-ω/u-, *k̥er-əs- 'horn', Ht kar āw ar 'horn(s), antler(s)', IE *k̥r̥no-, *k̥orn- 'horn'

1131. *k̥är∇(-ka) 'small stone' > IE: NaIE *k̥orkā 'gravel'

1132. (₂?) *k̥æR∇ ≈ ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant' > IE: NaIE *k̥i̯k̥er- 'pea(s)'

1133. (₂?) *k̥ERû 'deer, roe' > IE: NaIE *k̥erwo-/*k̥rwo- 'deer'

1134. ?? ₂ *k̥ER∇ 'grow, be(come) big' > IE: NaIE *k̥er- v. 'grow, make grow, breed, feed', *k̥orwo- 'adolescens'

1135. *k̥ER∇ (= *k̥ERU?) 'hair' > IE: NaIE *k̥er- 'hair'

1136. (₂?) *k̥ir∇ 'edge, end, (?) bank (Ufer)'

1137. *k̥orʰaʷ (or *k̥oRa and *k̥ʰorü?) 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust' > IE: Sl *kora 'bark'; ?? Ht k̥urs̥a/i- 'skin, fleece, hide' and NaIE *krus- 'crust' (× N *kURc∇ 'scales, bark')

1138. *k̥oru (or *k̥orü) 'bite, gnaw, chew, eat away' > IE: NaIE *k̥weru- v. 'chew'

1139. (₂?) *k̥ʰoʷr∇ 'rock, isolated mountain'

1140. *k̥ôR̥Eʷ (or *k̥ôR̥L̥,WEʷ?) 'worm, maggot' > IE: NaIE (att. in Sl) *°k̥l̥ω,ŕ̥wi- 'worm'

1141. *k̑urE(-c̑) 'run, run away' > IE: NaIE *kers- v. 'run' | d → NaIE *k̑ȓso-s 'vehicle, chariot'

1142. *k̑ûr'U' (= *k̑ur'U'?) 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > IE: NaIE *kern-/*korn- (or *k̑orn-?) 'hoof, (?) handle'

1143. *k̑ur∇ (= *k̑urû?) 'plait\wattle\tie together' > IE: NaIE *k̑wer_lu_j- 'build, make'

1144. *k̑'ur'∇ 'short' > IE: NaIE *ker-t-, *ker-... 'short'

1145. *k̑oHri 'to cover, to protect, to guard'

1145a. *k̑a_lH₂r∇ 'sharp' > IE: NaIE *k̑ar- 'sharp, pointed, rough' (× N *q̑aH₂r'∇ 'hard, firm' × N *c̑or∇ 'tip, top, edge'??)

1146. *k̑u_lw_jR'E' '(severe) cold'

1147. *k̑ayer∇ '∈ bark, skin' > IE: NaIE *ker- 'skin, hide, bark', *kermen- 'skin'

1148. *k̑uyr∇ 'wood (Holz), log' > IE {E} *k̑ȓsto-~*k̑ȓsti- 'woods' (× N *k̑ôR_l∇_jz̑(∇χ)∇ ≈ 'oak')

1149. *k̑aR_l∇_j∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain' > IE: NaIE *ker-rock, stone'

1150. *k̑eri?A 'cry, shout, call' > IE: (+ext.): Sl *krikъ n. 'shout'

1150a. *k̑arûz̑∇ (or *k̑arûg∇) 'female breast, milk' > IE *kruH-t- > NaIE *krūt- 'female breast'

1151. *k̑'i'rûz̑∇ 'strike, hit' > IE: NaIE *°k̑|kreȗa- *'strike'

1152. *k̑ir∇z̑∇ 'to tear, to break' > IE *kerH- > NaIE *k̑eȓ- 'destroy, break'

1153. *k̑ur_l∇z̑û 'to hammer, to pound' > IE: NaIE *k̑weru- v. 'grind'

1154. *k̑ü|urz̑∇ 'sharp'

1155. *k̑arhA 'black' > IE: NaIE *ker- ≈ black, dirty' ||| +ext.: *kers-n-, *k̑ȓs-no- 'black'

1156. *k̑arH₂'U' (= *k̑arh'U'?) 'to burn (sth.), to heat' > IE: NaIE *keȓ- vt., vi. 'burn' ||| ?? +ext.: (1) OI k̑ūc̑ayati 'scorches, burns' (if from *k̑ȓd-) ||| (2) L carbō 'coal'

1157. *k̑irH∇ (= *q̑'i'ȓz̑∇?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE *k̑ȓH-, NaIE *k̑ȓ- ~ *k̑ir- 'head'

1158. *k̑ir_lU_jqa 'ice, hoarfrost; to freeze' > IE: NaIE (+ extensions) *k̑erno-s, *k̑er-m-, *k̑er-sn- 'ice crust (наледь), snow crust, hoarfrost'

1159. *k̑aR'iwu' 'come in contact (meet, come across, touch)' > IE: NaIE *krej̑- {P} 'über etw. drüberhinstreifen, berühren'

1160. *ḱūr̥w̥ ▽ ~ *ḱurwē 'hard roe, young of a fish' > IE: NaIE *krek- 'fish eggs, frog spawn'
1161. *ḱar̥X̥ ▽ 'bank (Ufer), edge'
1162. *ḱir̥'X̥' ▽ 'scrape, scratch'
1163. *ḱur̥'X̥û' 'blood' > IE: NaIE *kreuH-/*kruH- 'blood (in the body of an animal\human)', 'flesh with blood'
1164. *ḱor̥'üy' ▽ (or *ḱoří) 'lamb'
1165. *ḱur̥'y' ▽ 'sprout from a root' (→ 'sprout', 'root') > IE: NaIE *k^ωer-/*k^ωor- 'root'
1166. *ḱ'arb|p'i' 'belly, inside' > IE: NaIE *kerp-/*krep- (or *k^ωerp-/*k^ωrep-) 'body, belly'
1167. (₂?) *ḱ'i'RûCâ (= *ḱ'i'Rûčâ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaIE *krou̯s- v. 'push, strike'
1168. *ḱ'ü'rû-ψ ▽ ▽ 'shin' > IE: NaIE *krūs- 'shin, shin-bone'
1169. ₂ *ḱuR̥ ▽ ▽ 'sharp'
1170. *ḱ'u'R̥ ▽ ▽ 'hard (жесткий)', 'to dry up, to harden' > IE: NaIE *k|kers- 'hard'
1171. *ḱ̥r̥ ▽ ▽ ▽ (= *ḱarUč ▽?) 'to scratch' > IE: NaIE *kars- 'scratch, rub, comb (wool)'
1172. (₂?) *ḱER̥ ▽ č ▽ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle' > IE: NaIE *kerst-/*kr̥st- 'rough hair, bristle'
1173. *ḱ̥R̥č ▽ 'to cut'
1174. *ḱārd ▽ 'breast, chest' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'heart', 'internal organs') > IE *kerd-/*kērd-/*kr̥d-/*kred- 'heart'
1175. ₂ *ḱiR̥d ▽ 'to scrape' (→ 'to scratch', 'to comb')
1176. ₂ *ḱ'û'r̥|d̥ ▽ 'monkey'
1177. *ḱ'û'R̥' ▽ ▽ ▽ ~ *ḱûR̥ ▽ ▽ ▽ 'stinging insect'
1178. *ḱiR̥g ▽ (or *ḱiR̥k ▽) '∈ stinging insect'
1179. *ḱ'iR̥'g' ▽ or *ḱ'eR̥'g' ▽ '∈ bird of prey'
1180. *ḱorg|kU 'dirt, dung' > IE: NaIE *g^ωorg^ω(or)o- 'dirt'
1181. *ḱ̥R̥ ▽ kE 'skin, bark' > IE: NaIE *kroĝ-no- 'skin, hide'
1182. *ḱâR̥kub|p ▽ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE: NaIE *kakub^h- 'summit, tip'
1183. *ḱuR̥m'E' (or *ḱoR̥m'E'?) 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *k^ωarmo- 'a cover, lid'
1184. *ḱuR̥m ▽ 'worm, insect' > IE: NaIE *k^ωṛmi- / *k^ωerm- 'worm'

1185. $_2$ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{E}}\text{R}\nabla\text{p}\nabla$ 'to cover' (\rightarrow 'roof') > IE: NaIE * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{ro}(\text{:})\text{po-}$ (or * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{ra}(\text{:})\text{po-}$) 'roof'

1186. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{R}\text{u}\text{p}\nabla$ ~ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{R}\text{u}\text{p}\nabla$ 'bark of trees' (\in ?), 'skin' > IE: NaIE * $\text{krey}\text{p-}$ 'crust, crusted', 'rough'

1187. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{R}\text{p}\nabla$ 'to turn (round, towards)' > IE: NaIE * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{werp-}$ ~ * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{werb}_L\text{h}_j\text{-}$ v. 'turn'

1188. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\text{y}\nabla\text{p}\nabla$ 'sack, wicker basket' > IE: NaIE * krep- ~ * kreb- / * korb- 'basket, bag', NaIE * $\circ\widehat{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{rp-}$ > OI $\acute{\text{s}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{rpa-m}$ 'winnowing basket'

1189. * $\text{K}\nabla\text{rH}\nabla\text{P}\nabla$ 'piece of leather (used esp. as footwear)' > IE: NaIE * $\text{ker}\text{ap-}$ / * $\text{kr}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{p-}$ 'piece of cloth, \in footwear'

1190. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{R}_L\text{?}_j\text{ûs}\text{š}\nabla$ 'to congeal' > IE: NaIE * $\text{krey}\text{s-}$ v. 'freeze, congeal', 'ice'

1191. $_2$ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\nabla$ $\acute{\text{s}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}\nabla$ ' \in part of the foot'

1192. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{rt}\nabla$ 'belt; to gird' (\rightarrow [in descendant lgs.] ' \in garment') > IE: NaIE * kerd- v. 'gird', * kerd-so/u- 'belt'

1193. * $\text{K}\nabla\text{R}_L\nabla_j\text{t}\nabla$ 'summit, top' > IE: NaIE * $\circ\text{kred-}$ (or * $\circ\widehat{\text{k}}\text{red-}$?) ~ * $\circ\text{k}_L\omega_j\text{ord-}$ 'top of a building, beams, roof'

1194. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{R}\text{t}\nabla$ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces'

1195. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{r}\text{t}\nabla$ 'flame' > ? IE: NaIE * $\circ\text{k}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{ert-}$ > Gmc * $\text{xer}\theta\text{-}$ 'hearth'

1196. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{E}}\text{R}\text{H}_2\nabla\text{z}\nabla$ (= * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{E}}\text{R}\text{h}\nabla\text{z}\nabla$?) 'hornet, wasp' > IE: NaIE * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{r}\ddot{\text{s}}\text{-}$ r/-en- (= * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{ras-r/en-}$) {P} 'hornet (Hornisse)'

1197. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{R}_L\nabla_j\text{z}(\nabla\chi)\nabla$ ' \approx oak' > IE: [1] NaIE * $\text{k}\omega\text{res-(no-)}$ ' \in tree' ('oak?'), 'wood', [2] ? IE {EI} * $\text{k}\omega\text{r}\ddot{\text{s}}\text{to-}$ ~ * $\text{k}\omega\text{r}\ddot{\text{s}}\text{ti-}$ 'woods'

1198. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{R}\text{z}\text{r}\text{i}\text{'}\nabla$ 'cut into pieces, split, divide'

1199. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\nabla$ '(sharp) stick, peg'

1200. $_2$ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\nabla$ 'be full, fill'

1201. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{r}_L\text{i?}_j\text{E}$ ' \in a gallinacean' > IE: NaIE * $\text{k}_L\omega_j\text{our(0)-}$ id.

1202. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{y}\text{a}\text{r}_L\omega_j\text{i}$ 'fat, tallow'

1203. $_2$ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{U}}\text{S}\text{E}$ 'grown-up man, old (person)'

1204. $_2$ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{S}\nabla$ 'nut' > IE: NaIE * kos(e)lo- (or * $\text{k}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{os(e)lo-}$) 'hazel'

1205. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{U}}\text{s}\nabla$ 'to bend, to bow'

1206. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{š}\nabla$ 'breathe heavily' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'pant, sigh, moan') > IE: NaIE * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{wes-}$ / * $\widehat{\text{k}}\text{us-}$ v. 'sigh, pant, breathe heavily'

1207. * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{y}_j\text{š}\nabla$ ~ * $\text{K}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{?}_j\text{iš}\nabla$ 'look for, desire' (\leftarrow *'be hungry?') > IE: NaIE NaIE * $\text{k}\omega\text{ajs-}$ or * $\text{k}\omega\text{ajs-}$ (or * $\circ\widehat{\text{k}}\text{k}\omega\text{a}\text{aj}\text{s-}$) > L quaer- / pfc. $\text{quaes}\bar{\text{i}}\text{v}\bar{\text{i}}$ ~ $\text{quaes}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'look for, ask (a question)'

1208. * $\text{K}\text{as}_1\text{?}_1\text{V}$ 'be hungry, wish' > IE * kes- 'be hungry'
1209. * $\text{K}\text{o}\acute{\text{s}}_1\text{H}_2\text{V}$ 'to kindle' > IE: NaIE * $\text{ks}\bar{\text{V}}$ - (or * $\text{k}^\omega\text{s}\bar{\text{V}}$ -) v. 'burn'
1210. $_2$ * $\text{K}\text{U}\acute{\text{s}}\text{dV}$ 'to chop, to cut'
1211. * $\text{K}\text{E}\hat{\text{S}}\text{U}$ (\neg * $\text{K}\text{r}\acute{\text{u}}^1\hat{\text{S}}\text{V}$?) 'to skin, to tear'
1212. ($_2$?) * $\text{K}\text{u}\hat{\text{S}}\text{V}$ or * $\text{K}\text{u}\hat{\text{C}}\text{V}$ 'to compensate' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'to pay') > IE * $\text{ke}\text{u}\text{s-}$ 'compensation, price'
1213. * $\text{K}\text{u}_1\text{y}_1\hat{\text{S}}\text{V}$ 'tree' (\rightarrow 'wood, Holz'), 'trunk of a tree'
1214. * $\text{K}\text{u}\hat{\text{S}}^1\text{r}^1\text{V}$ 'to fell, to fall'
1215. * KatV (or * $\text{ka}\text{?}_1\text{V}_1\text{tV}$) 'mix, adjoin, gather'
1216. ($_2$?) * $\text{K}\text{ätV}$ 'hand'
1217. * KotV 'tip, end, sharp point; cutting instrument\weapon' > IE: NaIE * $\text{k}^\omega\text{e}(\text{:})\text{d-}$ / $\text{k}^\omega\text{o}(\text{:})\text{d-}$ 'sharp point; to sharpen'
1218. $_2$ * KotV 'to finish'
1219. * $\text{K}\text{otV}(-\text{RV})$ 'smoke' > IE: NaIE * $\text{k}_1\text{w}_1\text{ed-}$ 'smoke', v. 'smoke, emit smoke'
1220. * $\text{K}\text{r}\text{a}\text{h}\text{o}^1\text{t}^1\text{o}^1$ 'bite, chew, eat' > IE: NaIE * $\text{k}^h_1\text{w}_1\text{ad-}$ v. 'bite, eat'
1221. * $\text{K}\text{ey}_1\text{a}_1\text{tV}$ 'to fall' > IE: NaIE * kad- v. 'fall', NaIE * $\text{k}\text{ke}\text{id-}$ v. 'fall'
1222. * $\text{K}\text{ut}_1\text{V}$ (or * $\text{K}\text{ut}_1\text{t}_1\text{V}$?) (probably * $\text{K}\text{ut}_1\text{t}_1\text{yV}$) 'cut off, tear (off)'
1223. \approx * $\text{K}\text{u}_1\text{y}_1\text{t}_1\text{V}_1\text{P}_1\text{V}$ 'shoulder' > IE: NaIE * $\text{kup-(t-)} \sim$ * $\text{skup-(t-)} \text{id.}$
1224. * $\text{K}\text{r}\text{a}^1\text{t}_1\text{V}$ (or * $\text{ka}\text{?}\text{itV}$?) 'kill, wage a war' (in B, C, NOm, K[?]: \rightarrow 'die') > IE: NaIE * kat- v. 'fight'
1225. * $\text{K}\text{o}\text{ta}$ (\sim * Kota ?) 'fence, wall, hut, settlement' > IE: NaIE * kot- 'shed, wall, hut' (\rightarrow 'house'), Ht $\text{k}\text{u}\text{t}\text{t-}$ {Pv.} 'wall'
1226. * $\text{K}\text{o}\hat{\text{t}}^1\text{E}^1$ (or * $\text{ko}\text{?}\text{U}\text{t}_1\text{E}$) 'membrum muliebre, anus' (\rightarrow 'male genitalia') > IE: NaIE * kut- 'pudendum muliebre, anus'
1227. * $\text{K}\text{U}\text{t}_1\text{V}$ 'small'
1228. * $\text{K}\text{ä}\text{wV}$ 'cavity, hole' > IE: NaIE * $\text{kew}_1\text{a}_1\text{-}$ 'cavity' ||| {EI} * $\text{kou}\text{H}\text{r}_1$ / * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{H}^1\text{n-}\text{os}$ > NaIE {M} * $\text{kew}\text{a}_1\text{-r}_1$ \sim * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{a}_1\text{-r}_1$ / * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{a}_1\text{-n-}$ 'hole, emptiness'
1229. * $\text{K}\text{r}\text{a}\text{?e}^1\text{wV}$ 'to hear, to notice' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'ear') > IE * $\text{ke}\text{w-}$ / * $\text{ke}\text{u-}$ ({EI} * $\text{ke}\text{u}\text{h}_1\text{-}$) 'listen to, perceive, pay attention to'
1230. * $\text{K}\text{r}\text{o}\text{ha}^1\text{w}^1\text{i}^1$ \neg * $\text{K}\text{r}\text{o}\text{ha}^1\text{w}_1\text{i}_1\text{yV}$ 'sinew, thread' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'bowstring') > IE: NaIE * $\text{g}^\omega\text{i}\text{y}\text{a}$, * $\text{g}^\omega\text{i}^1\text{y}\text{os}$ 'sinew, bowstring'
1231. * $\text{K}\text{A}\text{h}\text{wV}$ 'seize, grasp, hold'

1232. *kaxü ~ *kaxu 'strike, push' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hew', 'touch') > IE *kahw-/khw- ~ *kauH- > NaIE *kəw-/*kāw-/*kū- v. 'strike, hew'

1233. *Kay▽ 'look, look for' > IE: ?? NaIE *k^ω₁ey-/*k^ω₁oy- 'observe, look'

1234. (2?) *K'E'yû 'person of the same clan' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'friend') > IE: NaIE *kēj₁w- 'person of the same clan'

1235. (2?) *Koy▽ 'to compensate, to take revenge' > IE: NaIE *k^ωej₁- v. 'take revenge, reprove', 'worth, price', ⇨ NaIE *kwojnā 'compensation, price'

1236. *Kuya 'manner' (→ 'like, as') > IE: NaIE *^o-k^ω₁o (ending of adverbs of manner and of denom. adjectives), NaIE *ku₁: 'how?' (< *k^ω-ku₁: 'which way?', quo-modo?)

1237. *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be in heat, lust') > IE: NaIE *kwoj₁- 'desire'

1238. *Kæ'h'uy▽ 'to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' (→ 'boil, cook') > IE: NaIE *kēy₁-/*kəy₁-/*kū- vt. 'set fire to, burn'

1239. *Kay₁?▽ 'wilderness, desert, woods (esp. in the mountains)' > IE: NaIE *kaj₁to- {P} 'woods, uninhabited land'

1240. *Kuyh▽ 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable' > IE *k^ωej₁H- > NaIE *k^ωej₁ə-/*k^ωij₁ē- v. 'be at rest, repose' ({P} 'behaglich ruhen')

1241. (2?) *Kay₁i₁wa 'to dig' > IE: NaIE *koj₁w- 'pit, hole'

1242. *küZ|3▽(-r▽) 'neck'

1243. *k₁▽w₁z₁▽ ~ *k₁▽?û₁z₁▽ (or *k₁▽w₁z₁▽ ~ *k₁▽?û₁z₁▽) 'to draw (schöpfen); (to) ladle; (?) to dig out' > IE: Ht kasd- 'auslöffeln, ausschöpfen'

1244. ? *KēÊE 'warm, warm weather' > IE: NaIE *kēl-/*k₁l- (~ *k_ol-) id.

1245. *Kōz₁▽ 'to skin, to bark (wood)'

1246. *kazix▽ (~ *-ž-) 'to scold'

1247. *kōž₁▽ 'tree trunk'

1248. (2?) *lA, a marker of verbal constructions [noun + *lA = analytical verb] ([in descendant lgs.] → sx. of denom. verbs)

1249. *lA, an analytical ([in descendant lgs.] → synthetical) marker of collectivity) (or N *?e₁lA, dem. prn. of collectivity, probably connected with N *?e₁l▽ 'clan, tribe?')

1250. *lA, locative pc.

1251. *l̥∇, pc. with diminutive meaning ([in descendant lgs.] → sx. of diminutives) > IE: NaIE *-el̥∇-, sf. of diminutives

1252. *le̥l̥∇₁ (or *le̥l̥∇₁?) 'being, having', analytical adjectivizer ([in descendant lgs.] → formative of adjectives and quality-bearing nouns) > IE *-l̥-, sx. of adjectives)

1253. ₂ *lu∇∇ ∼ *l̥i∇u∇¹∇ '∈ bovine'

1254. *L∇sa 'to hide, to lie hid, to lie in wait' > IE *leH- > NaIE {P} *lā-/ *l̥- (/ *lāj̥-) 'be hidden, lie in wait'

1255. *Lab∇ 'grasp, get, obtain' > IE: NaIE *lab^h- / *lamb^h- 'seize, grasp'

1256. *Lab∇ (or *Layib∇?) 'be soft' > [from N *Layib∇]) > IE: NaIE *lej̥b^h- '≈ weak, lean'

1257. *Lib∇ 'heart' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'life', 'middle') > IE: NaIE {P} *lej̥b^h- or {WH} *lej̥b_l^h- 'live'

1258. *L^ro¹b∇ '∈ grass' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'medicinal \ poisonous grass'?) > IE: Gmc *lubj^ra¹ > OHG {OsS} luppi 'stark wirkender Pflanzensaft; Gift, Vergiftung', ON lyf 'Heilmittel, Zaubermittel'

1259. *Lûb∇ 'be thirsty, be hungry' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'wish, love') > IE: NaIE *leub^h- / *louub^h- / *lub^h- 'desire, love, agree'

1260. *Libh̥∇ (= *l̥ibh̥∇?) 'wet; to get wet' > IE: NaIE *lej̥b- 'pour, be liquid\wet', {EI} 'pour, make a libation'; ₂ *Lib_l^h∇-K̥∇ 'wet; be\get wet'

1261. *L^ri¹c̥∇(-t∇) 'jaw' > IE: NaIE *ol̥e_l¹st- '≈ edge, hem, stripe'

1262. *Lawč̥∇ 'weak, soft' > IE: NaIE *oleus-/louus-/lus- '≈ loose'

1263. *Lič̥∇ 'to pass, to go away' > IE: NaIE *lej̥t^h- ∼ *li(:)t^h- v. 'go, go away, pass'

1264. *l̥ewdA (or *z̥ewdA?) 'look for, find'

1265. *l̥Ega 'lie (liegen), lie down; lay, put' > IE *leg^h- 'lie, lie down'

1266. *LaXga (= *Lahg∇?) 'cut, chop' > IE: NaIE *lag^h- (or *lag^h-) v. 'cut, dig', 'cutting\digging instrument'

1267. *Lig_l^ræ 'to lick, to sip, to suck' > IE: NaIE *lej̥g̃^h- v. 'lick'

1268. *Lagu^r∇ 'body of water'

1269. ?φ ₂ *L∇^rU '≈ fig tree'

1270. *lu^r∇ 'wash, rinse' > IE *louH- 'wash, bathe'

1271. ≈ *L|z̥agU_ly∇₁ 'fat meat' > IE *l̥u_g- or *la_{j̥}- 'fat'

1272. ₂ *l̥AkU 'circle'

1273. *L_ik_∇ 'be ill, suffer disaster' > IE: NaIE *le_ig₋ / *lo_ig₋ / *li_g-id.

1274. *L_uk_a 'to bend; (?) 'flexible twig' > IE: NaIE *le_ug₋ / *lu_g- 'bend, bind together, entwine'

1275. *l_uk_ê 'to gather' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to count') > IE: NaIE *le_ĝ- 'gather, count'

1276. *l_ük_ê 'beat, strike, break' > IE: NaIE *le_uĝ₋ / *lo_uĝ₋ / *lu_ĝ- 'break, break off'

1277. *l_i∇k_U 'let, let go', 'move' (trans.) > IE: NaIE *le_ik_ω- / *lo_ik_ω- / *li_kω- / *li_nk_ω- 'let, leave'

1278. *L_o'_ʔ'i_ka 'cutting instrument' > IE: NaIE *sle_ig₋ id.

1279. *L_u'_ʔä_{ka} 'valley, low-lying lands, plain' > IE: NaIE *lo_uko- 'open land, field, woods and meadows'

1280. *L_uk_ä'_∇ '≈ flexible rod, thong' > IE: NaIE *lo_ĝ- 'rod, sapling', ?? Ht alkista(ri)- 'branch'

1281. *l_ük_∇'_ʔA (or *l_üĶA?) 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to'

1282. *l_üks_∇ 'needles of conifer trees'

1282a. *L_aĶa (= *laĶa?) 'leg' > IE: NaIE *lak- 'foot, ∈ part of leg'

1283. *l_aĶ'u' 'body of water (lake, river, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *laku- / *lakω- 'lake, pool, puddle, pond'

1284. o *l_aĶ'u' 'to lick, to lap' > IE: NaIE *lak_lω₁- 'lick'

1285. ₂ *L_ûĶa 'to shine' > IE *le_uk- 'shine', Ht luk(k)- 'grow bright, dawn'

1286. *L_ûĶa 'to swallow' > IE: NaIE *le_uk- (~ *lo_uk-?) 'throat', ? *lo_uk_lω₁- v. 'swallow, drink' ||| d.: *L_ûĶa-m_∇ 'to swallow'

1287. *l_uĶ'æ' '∈ canine' (→ 'lynx') > IE: NaIE *lu_k- (~ *lun_k-?) 'lynx'

1288. *L_ähaĶo 'to grow; sprout, twig' > IE: NaIE *l_ēk_ω- {WP, P ← Vn.} '≈ flexible twig'

1289. *LEHĶæ (= *LE₁Ķæ?) 'make one's way with effort (crawl, climb)' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSl) *lo_ēĝ_l^h₁- 'crawl'

1290. *l_üHĶa (~ *l_üĶa_∇?) 'to jump' > IE: NaIE *l_ēk₋ / *l_ōk₋ / *l_{ak}- 'jump, leap (lebhaft springen), fly'

1291. *l_owĶ_∇'_∇ 'hole, opening' > IE *lo_uĝ_lH₁-: NaIE *lo_uĝ_l- '≈ hole, opening' > OHG loh (gen. lohhes) 'hole, opening, cave; Loch, Öffnung, Höhle'

1292. *LeqEĶa 'cut, tear' > IE: NaIE {P} *l_ēk₋ / *l_{ak}- 'tear asunder'

1293. ₂ *L_ûĶ_la₁H_∇ 'see, know' > IE: NaIE *le_uk- 'see', *l_aok- 'see, look'

1294. ?σ₂ *L∇K_L∇,h∇ ~ L∇X_L∇,K_a|æ 'to grasp, to catch' > ?σ IE *o₁h₂k₁k̄- > NaIE *o₁lak̄k̄- > L [Fest.] lax 'deceit, fraud', lacio, -ēre 'entice'

1295. *T_uK_UŹ∇ 'twig, strap, lash, whip' > IE *leHk^ω- > NaIE *lĕk^ω- ≈ flexible twig (used to make a whip and a snare for animals)

1296. ₂ *LiL∇ 'water, sea' > IE: NaIE *o₁lirō- > Clt: OIr ler, W † llŷr 'sea'

1297. (₂?) *L|ž_il|í∇ (= *L|ž_ií∇?) 'reed, ∈ water-plant' > IE: NaIE *le_il- ~ *le_ir- ≈ water-plant'

1298. *T_um∇ 'magic, spell, fortune'

1299. *T_ä?_L∇,m^U 'crust, scab'

1300. *T_E'g^U,umê (= *T_i'g^Uumê?) 'wet\cold weather, dew' (→ 'wet snowfall' → 'snow')

1301. *T_{ah}m^U 'swamp; body of water' > IE *leHmeH > NaIE *lāmā 'puddle, swamp'

1302. ₂ *L^Um?∇ 'lion'

1303. *T_{am}_L∇,d∇ 'low' > IE: NaIE *lend^h-/*lond^h- 'plain, lowland'

1304. *L_üm∇g∇ '∈ eat, swallow' > ?φ IE: NaIE (o?) *√(s)lung- / *√(s)leug- ≈ swallow'

1305. (₂?) *L|ž_an∇ 'side (of body)' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *lend^h- 'loins, kidneys', {EI} *lond^hu / gen. *lŋd^hʷ-os 'loins'

1306. *le_ynā (or *le_yná?) 'soft, weak' > IE: NaIE *le_in-, *le_i- 'soft, tender, weak'

1306a. *leNd∇ 'to fly' (→ 'bird') > ?φ IE: Sl *let- v. 'fly'

1307. *L_ü|uŋ^gæ?∇ '∈ beast of prey' > IE: NaIE *lun^{k̄}- 'lynx'

1308. ₂ *L_AŋK_∇ 'tongue, (?) palate' > possibly IE: AdS of L lingua 'tongue' (< N *n₁ang_ü 'tongue')

1309. *l^o₁ŋK_a 'to bend' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'a bow') > IE: NaIE *lenk- v. 'bend', *lonko-s 'a bow'

1310. ₂ UA *LaP_∇ 'stick to; mould'

1311. *l^æ₁p_A 'spleen' > ?σ IE: NaIE *lep- 'liver'

1312. *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' > IE *le_ip- v. 'smear, smear with fat', n. 'fat'

1313. ₂ *LiP_∇ 'crawl, clamber' > IE: NaIE *le_ip- 'climb, clamber'

1314. o *La?_p∇ ≈ to gulp, to eat (esp. liquid food), to eat greedily > IE: o NaIE *lab- ~ *lab^h|p^h- v. 'gulp, swallow'

1315. *le^ʔ₁äpa 'leaf, foliage' > IE: NaIE *lep- 'leaf'

1316. *LahP∇ 'flame; to burn, to shine' > IE *lahp-/ *lh̥p- > NaIE *lāp-/ *l̥ap- vi. 'shine, burn'

1317. *la₁q₁pa 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat' > IE *lehp- or *lahp- 'palm of hand, sole of foot'

1318. *LayP₁∇ 'good, beautiful' > IE: NaIE (in BSI) *^ola|o₁p- id.; possibly (but not necessarily): NaIE *le₁p- 'covet'

1319. *l̥up₁∇₁?a 'bast, bark, film (e. g. of a plant)' > IE: NaIE *leyp- ~ *leyb- ~ *lep- (< **lyep-) v. 'bark\peel', n. 'bark, skin'

1320. *Lüpi?∇ (~ *Lipü?∇) (> *Lüpy∇) 'to slip; slippery' > IE: NaIE *sleyb₁^h₁- 'slip, slippery'

1321. ?_o₂ *L'a₁p₁H₁∇ 'to lick' > IE: NaIE *lab- ~ la₁:p^(h)- 'lick, lap'

1322. *LiP₁h₁a 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to make earthenware') > IE: NaIE *le₁p- 'be sticky'

1323. (₂?) *laPT∇ 'flat, low'

1324. *L∇qU 'be moist\liquid, flow' > IE: Ht lāh- 'pour, pour out (liquids)', lah(h)u- / lah(h)uwa₁ 'pour (liquid, salt, etc.)', vi. 'overflow'

1325. *LAqû 'tender, mild' (→ 'sweet') > IE: NaIE *d₁g₁k₁ku- 'sweet' (< N *da₁∇ 'tasty, sweet' + N *LAqû).

1326. (₂?) *l̥arw∇ 'together, many'

1327. ?₂ *L∇'r₁k∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' > IE: NaIE *lorgā, *lorgi- 'stick, club, cudgel'

1328. *LAS∇ 'be weak, be worn out' (or *LAś∇ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken') > IE: NaIE *les-/ *los- 'weak, damaged, bad'

1329. *Lis∇ 'to gather' > IE: NaIE *les- v. 'gather, pluck'

1330. (₂?) *LiSâ 'small, little, thin' > IE: NaIE *le₁s- / *lo₁s- '≈ small, thin'

1330a. ? *l̥iś∇ 'eat; food' > IE: NaIE (in InA) *^ol|res- v. 'taste'

1331. ?₂ *l̥ûś∇ 'weak' > IE: NaIE *los-/ *les- 'weak, damaged, bad'

1332. *L∇ś∇ *L∇ś∇ 'to lick' ([in descendant lgs.] → v. 'taste', 'tongue') > IE: NaIE (in InA) *^ol|res- v. 'taste', 'tongue'

1333. *luhaś∇ or *lahuś∇ 'lip, mouth'

1334. *L'a₁t₁∇ 'skin\leather, bark' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *letrō- 'leather, skin'

1335. *₁'₁l̥it₁∇ 'exercise magic forces against so., detest; suffer from' > IE: NaIE *₁'₁leit- v. 'detest'

1336. *Lu₁?∇₁t₁∇ 'mud' > IE: NaIE *lut- 'mud, mire'

1337. *l̥iʷr̥h̥a 'dirt, silt' > IE *leuH- > NaIE *lewə- / *lū- 'dirt, filth, mire'

1338. *Lʳaʰχ∇ 'to strike, to fight' > IE *laX- (or *lex-/*lox-?) ≈ attack, fight'

1339. *LEχ|qo 'be ill; ache'

1340. *LawX∇ '(piece of a) trunk, bough' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'board, plank') > IE: NaIE *lōlāw- 'board, plank'

1341. *Lʳoʰyχiʔa 'cheek' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'face') > IE: NaIE *leḱk- 'face, cheek'

1342. *l̥aḷʔy∇ ¬ *l̥ayḷʔy∇ 'not; to disappear' > IE: Ht lē 'do not!', 'not', NaIE *leḱ- 'disappear, shrink'

1343. ₂ *l̥∇yḥ∇ 'to pour; water' > IE *leḱH- / *liH- > NaIE *leḱə- / *lī- ≈ flow, pour'

1343a. *Lʳa|æʰyḥEyḷy∇ 'crooked', 'to bend, to twist' > IE: NaIE *laḱwō- 'crooked' → 'left (gauche)'

1344. *Lizû 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime'

1345. *L∇ž∇ (or *L∇wž∇) '€ nut', 'nut-tree\bush' > IE: NaIE *lasd- 'hazel bush'

1346. *l̥∇ (< *ʔâl̥∇?), pc. in deverbal nominal constructions that nominalizes verbal action ([in descendant lgs.] → sx. of nomina actionis) > IE: NaIE *-l̥∇-, sf. of nomina actionis

1347. *l̥ih̥ç∇ (or *l̥- ?) 'to press, to squeeze' > ? IE: NaIE *ol̥a|aK- > Gk λάκτις, -τος 'pestle'

1348. *l̥ʳüʰkḷʔy∇ 'thick' (of liquids), 'dense', 'narrow, tight'

1349. *l̥|l̥ayUí|l̥∇ (= *l̥ayUí∇?) 'to sleep; sleeping time' (← Ll.)

1350. *l̥ʳʰamḷXy∇ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead' > IE: NaIE *l̥ʳʰemḷə- 'weak, mild'

1351. *mA ({IS} *-mA), pc. of marked accusative > IE *-m / *-m̥, accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender

1352. *mA, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis, and other derived nouns > IE *-mō-, sx. of denom. and deverbal derivatives

1353. *mä ¬ *mähʳoʰ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative) > IE *meH̥, {EI} *mē > NaIE *mē, prohibitive pc.

1354. *mi 'I' > IE: [1a] *-mi 'I', "primary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti]]] [1b] *-m 'I', "secondary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti]]] [2a]

*me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. accus. *mē, *me(:)-m [2b] gen. *me-ne ~ *me_i-ne 'of me, my' [3] postnominal *-mi 'my' > Ht -mi-, etc.

1354a. *miʔa 'we' (*mi 'I' + *ʔa of plurality) > IE: [1] *-me, verbal ending of 1p subiecti, [2] NaIE Δ *me-^rs^r 'we', pers. prn. of 1p.

1354b. *miʔū^r 'we' incl. (*mi 'I' + *ʔū^r 'thou')

1355. *mi 'what?' > IE {EI} *mo-/*me-, {Ped., IS} *mo- '≈ what?', Ht masi- 'how many?', mahhan 'how?', mān 'how?'

1356. Ll. ? *maʔ^ra(-y∇) 'mother' > IE: NaIE *mā-, *mā-yā 'mother' [3] d. NaIE *mā-^rter 'mother'

1357. *mʌʔ∇ 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)'

1358. *^rmUʔæ (probably *^rmUʔe) 'cut, reap (→ 'mow') > IE: NaIE *^rmē- v. 'mow, cut'

1359. (2?) *maʔ₁ga 'good' > IE: NaIE *mā- 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', d. *^omā-no- 'good, early'

1360. *mUč₁∇ 'to press, to squeeze'

1361. *muč₁∇(-k∇) 'to immerse, to wash' > IE: NaIE *mesg- v. 'immerse', {EI} 'dip under water, dive'

1362. ?σ₂ *m∇č₁∇w∇ '∈ rodent'

1363. (2?) *meč₁X_A 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)'

1364. *muč₁∇₁∇ 'damage, (physical) defect, illness'

1365. *mô^rč^rš^r₁∇₁∇₁∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off'

1366. *muč₁∇ 'cupped\clenched hand'

1367. *muč₁∇ 'end'

1368. *m^rA^rč₁∇g∇ 'be foolish, be mad, be intoxicated'

1369. *mAdû 'honey' > IE: NaIE *med^hu- 'honey'

1370. ₂ *mAdU 'lake' ([in descendant lgs.] → pond')

1371. *mud∇ 'finish', 'to end'

1372. (2?) *mæ^rh^rûd∇ 'speak' > IE: NaIE *mēy^h-/*māy^h-/mūd^h- 'speak' (→ 'think')

1373. ₂ *med₁∇₁X∇ '∈ fig tree'

1374. ₂ *magê 'earth, land' > IE: NaIE *mag^hg^h- 'land, earth'

1375. ₂ *magU 'bad'

1376. *mig∇ 'make a present' > IE: NaIE (att. in IIr) *meg₁ω^h- 'present, gift', *^omeng₁ω^h- (with a nasal infix of prs.) 'make a present, grant'

1377. ₂ *mU^rč₁ig∇ (= *mU₁ig∇?) 'snake'

1378. ₂ *mæhgæ 'young, small' > IE: NaIE *mēǵh-/*mōǵh-/*mǵh- 'young (person), little, small'

1379. *'mūyga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE *'meǵh- / *'mig^h- id., d. NaIE *mig^h-_l∇_llā id.

1380. (₂?) *mag_li_lza 'liver'

1381. *magy^lE^l 'to swing, to wave, to sway' > IE *meH(_l)-/*moH(_l)- 'wave, swing'

1382. *mûhi (or *mûhyi?) 'water, fluid' > IE: NaIE *meuə- / *mū- '≈ plunge, wash'

1383. *mäkê, *mäkê-tE 'top, head, hill'

1384. ₂ *'mi^lk^o 'carry, bring, give in exchange' > IE: NaIE *'meǵ^ω- 'exchange'

1384a. *muk∇ 'top, head, hill(ock)'

1384b. *mô^lʔ^lk∇ 'tree, (piece of) wood'

1385. *mo_lkE 'to press' > IE: NaIE *mǵ-/*mōǵ- 'knead, smear'

1386. *me_lh_lkê 'to make, to work' > IE: NaIE *°mǵ_lg- > Gmc *makk-ōn 'to make'

1387. *mEkɜæ (or *mEɜkæ) 'big' > IE *meǵ_HX-/*meǵ_{OH}X-/*meǵ_HX- 'big' > NaIE *meǵ- / *meǵ^h- 'big'

1388. *mâk_l∇_lha '(nape of the) neck, back' > IE: Irn: Pmr: Shgh, Wx māk, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of neck, neck'

1389. ₂ *mAk^ls^la^l 'give, reward'

1390. *muks^la^l ~ *mugz^la^l (or *ma|oH₂uks^la^l ~ *ma|oH₂ugz^la^l?) 'ε rodent (mouse, mole, or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *mūs 'mouse'

1391. *ma_lU (= *ma_lU?) 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE *°mak^ω- > Clt: OgIr gen. maqq^ωi, OIr macc 'son', Crn map / mab 'son', OW map, MW, W, Br mab 'son, boy'

1392. ₂ *mo_lU∇ 'blunt'

1393. *mü_lU∇ or *mu_lU_E 'a bend, corner, hump'

1394. ₂ *m^la^lʔ_l∇_lU_l∇ 'cry, shout'

1395. ₂ *m∇_lU_l∇ ~ *m∇_lU_l∇ 'plain, steppe, field' > IE: NaIE *māk|kō- ~ *mak-/*mōk- 'plain, steppe'

1396. *mæHa_lU∇ 'bend, turn'

1397. ₂ *mU_lHa_lU_l∇ 'frog'

1398. *ma^lX^lU_l∇ 'thin/lean and long' > IE *meh_l-/*mh_l-/*mhe_l- > NaIE *māk_l- / *mak_l- / *ma_l- 'thin and long, slender'

- 1398a. (1) *muK_l∇_lH∇ 'mouth'; (2) *muK_l∇_lξ∇ 'eat\drink (greedily, in large mouthfuls)'
1399. ₂ *muK_č∇_lh_l∇ 'arrive'
- 1399a. ₂ *m^ʼa^ʼK_∇R∇ 'big, long' > IE: Gk μακρός 'long, large'
1400. *mAl∇ 'another, second' or 'two'
1401. *mal∇ 'incline, bend'
1402. *mæL∇ (= *mæí∇?) 'to hide' > IE: NaIE *mel- (*_(s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken'
1403. ?? *m^ʼæ^ʼL∇ ≈ 'eye' > IE: NaIE *^om∇l- > Clt: OIr mala (gen. malach) 'eyebrow', MBr malv_{enn} 'eyelid'
1404. *moī∇ (or *moīh∇??) 'to pound, to gnaw\smash into pieces' > IE *mel-, *melh_l- v. 'grind, pound'
1405. *m^ʼa^ʼH_l∇ (or *m^ʼa^ʼy_l∇) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE *mōlo- ~ ?? *smelo- 'small, little'
1406. *mUhl∇ (~ -Lh-) 'slow, quiet' > IE: NaIE *mel- 'linger, delay, be slow'
- 1406a. *meH^ʼa^ʼī∇ 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'
1407. *^ʼmi_hLi ~ *^ʼmi_Lhi 'be weak' > IE: NaIE *^ʼmīē_l- / *^ʼmī_l- / ? *_lme_l;_u- ≈ 'weak', Ht malisku- ~ milisku- 'weak; light, unimportant (?)'
1408. *mU_lw_lī∇y∇ '∈ animals, meat' > IE: NaIE *mēlo- 'sheep and goats, young\small animal', Ht {Ivn.} milul_li- 'meat' ({Ts.} milul_li- ~ malul_li- 'Körperteil, Weichteile')
1409. (₂?) *me_ly_lī∇ 'mind; be clever' > ?σ IE: NaIE *mel- 'deceive'
1410. *mä_l?∇ 'full, much' > IE *mel- 'much, very, (?) strong'
1411. *mAl_lξ_l∇ 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding' > IE *mel_lH_l- > NaIE *mel- ≈ 'high bank, mountain'
- 1411a. *mæL∇y_lχ∇ 'lizard, small reptile' or sim. > IE: NaIE *mol_l- / (?) *mel- 'small reptile', ??σ OI malūka-h_l '∈ worm'
1412. *mel^ʼH_l∇ 'soft' > IE *mel^ʼH_χ∇^ʼ- (or *^ʼmel^ʼH_χ∇^ʼ-) > NaIE *_lme_la- 'soft'
1413. ₂ *m^ʼa^ʼLd∇ 'young, soft\tender' > IE: NaIE *mal_d^h- id.
1414. *^ʼmäl_gê (or *^ʼmäl_kê?) 'breast, udder' > IE: NaIE *^ʼmel_g- v. 'milk'
1415. ₂ *mUL∇kâ (= *muL∇kâ?) ≈ 'think, deliberate, come to a decision'

1416. ?σ (₂?) *m∇LḲâ '≈ to erase, to undo, not to do' > IE: NaIE *m]ḡk₄ᵂ- > Sl *mьlčǎ-ti 'keep silence' | ?σ Lt mũlkis 'fool'

1416a. *mA1Aḡk∇ 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake' > IE: ?φ OI malūka-ḡ 'e worm'

1416b. *m∇Í∇ 'e small predator' > IE: NaIE {EI} *meli- > L mēlēs ~ mēlis 'marten, badger', Sl *melьcb > Kshb {Lrn.} mɜlc 'badger'

1417. *mAÍHo (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE *mₒlōdʰ-/*molədʰ- 'head, top'

1418. *mAḡ∇ 'herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)'

1419. *mAḡ∇ 'hut, dwelling' (sd. of N *mäḡ∇ 'remain, stay'??) > ? IE: Psh mēna 'house', Ygn mayn, meyn, men 'village', KhS mūna 'abode'

1420. *mäḡa 'remain, stay' > IE: NaIE *men- (prs. *mimne/o-) 'remain, stay'

1421. *maḡû 'man, male' > IE: NaIE *ma|onu 'man, person'

1422. *m'æ'ḡ∇ 'front' > IE *men- '≈ front' > Ht meni-, mena- 'face, cheek', NaIE *men- v. 'protrude, project', 'mouth'

1423. *menê 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE *men- 'go, walk'

1424. ₂ *meḡ∇ 'tear, tear into pieces, divide'

1425. (₂? *mEN∇ (= *mEḡ∇?) 'from' > ?σ IE: NaIE *-mis instr. pl.; NaIE *-mis × dat. pl. *-mos > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. *-miz

1426. ₂ *mEḡ∇ 'tell a lie, deceive' > IE: NaIE *men- 'tell a lie, lure'

1427. *moḡ∇ 'many, much'

1428. *moḡ∇ 'to test, to think' > IE: NaIE *men- 'think', d. *men-os / *men-es- 'mind', d. *mḡ-ti-s (~ *men-ti-s) 'mind, thought'; NaIE cd. *mens-dʰē-/*mḡs-dʰē- 'learn, become wise', Lw mimma- (< *mimne/o-) v. 'regard, favour'

1429. *muḡ∇(-t|d∇) 'egg' (→ 'testicle') > IE: NaIE *mond₄ᵂ- > Sl *mḡd-o 'testicle' (du. *mḡd-ě)

1430. *mûḡ∇ 'defect, damage, physical defect' > IE *mend- '≈ defect'

1431. *mu|oḡ∇ (or *mu|oḡ₄ᵂ, T∇?) 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE *mḡt-, *moniyo-, {EI} *men- 'mountain'

1432. ? *m∇ḡi 'e fish' > IE: NaIE *mₒni- 'e fish' ({EI} *mḡH- '≈ minnow, small fish')

1433. *mAḡḡ∇ 'desire, ask' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *meḡḡn-/*moḡḡn- (in Clt) 'desire, wish', NaIE *men- 'wish eagerly'

1434. **me₁y₁n̄û* 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone'; reflexive-passive formatives in the IE, HS, and Tg verb) > IE **monwo-* / (?) **menu-* 'alone', NaIE **-meno-*/**-mno-*, sx. of medial-passive participles

1435. **m'ä'ñ₁ʔ₁∇* 'rumple, bend' (trans.) > IE: NaIE **men-* 'squeeze, press, trample'

1436. ?σ **mañ₁a* 'to cease', 'to delay' (trans.), 'to finish'

1437. (₂?) **mæñ₁∇* (= **mæñ₁|ŋy∇*?) 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce here L *minō*, -*āre* vt. 'drive (cattle)', ItL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] *minō*, -*āre* v. 'lead'

1438. **mañy'û* 'paw, foot/leg of animals' > IE: NaIE **man₁u₁-* (or **mān₁u₁-*) 'hand', ??σ Ht *maniy₁ahh-* 'hand over'

1439. **mañ₁∇y₁∇* 'speak, call, invoke magic forces' > IE: NaIE **mon-* 'warn, admonish; remind'

1440. ₂ **MAñ∇y∇* or **MAñ∇* '∈ genitalia; copulate'

1441. **miñ₁i₁yä* (or **miñä*) 'woman, female relative'

1442. (₂?) **MAñd∇* 'excitement, wish, desire' > IE: NaIE **mend^h-* 'be excited, wish'

1443. **mañ∇ga* (or **mañga*?) 'strong, numerous' > IE: NaIE **meng^h-*/**m_oneg^h-*/**m_onog^h-* 'numerous'

1444. (₂?) **miñt'û* 'jump, (?) run away'

1445. **m'o'nt∇* ⇨ **m∇tñ∇* 'to be slow, to last' > IE: NaIE **me|ondo-* 'slow'

1446. **MAñt∇* 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE **mento-* 'chin'

1447. **meñ't'ä'* (or **meñ't'ä'*) 'miss one's aim' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be mistaken', 'forget') > IE: NaIE **ment-* '(in) vain; liar, deceit', v. 'lie (lügen)'

1448. **m'o'wE'ñ'∇* 'entrails, belly'

1449. ≈ **mE?awUñ∇* (or **mUñ∇*?) 'breast, heart'

1450. **moyAñ∇* 'neck, nape of neck' > IE: NaIE **mon-* id.

1451. **MAñ'g'∇* ⇨ **MAN₁i₁'g'∇* 'monkey'

1452. UA ₂ **m∇ñK∇* 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?)

1453. **muñḲa|û* (= **muñḲa|û*?) 'make great efforts; (?) be heavy' > IE: NaIE (in Sl) **monk₁ω₁-* > Sl **mŏḱka* 'torment, hard work'

1454. **muñi'H'orḲ∇* (or **muñi ḲarḲ'u¹*?) '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew'

1455. **miqU₁∇₁* 'to push, to fell' > IE **meu₁H-* ~ **m₁eu₁H-* > NaIE **meu(ə)-*, **m₁eu₁ə-*/**mi₁u₁-* 'push, push away'

1456. (₂?) *maga (or *maḵa?) 'humid, wet' > IE: NaIE ≈ *mak- / *māk- 'wet', 'moisten'
1457. *mæqUR∇ 'frog, toad' (or '∈ reptile\amphibian')
1458. ₂ *maR∇ 'sand, dust, earth'
1459. *mAr'û' 'trace, path; to follow, to trace'
1460. *mer∇ 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine' > IE: NaIE *mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter, flash', {EI} 'shine, shimmer'
1461. *moRE (= *moRi?) 'body of water' > IE: NaIE *mor-, *mori / *mōri 'sea, lake', Ht {Ot. → EI} marmar(r)a- 'swamp, marsh'
1462. *mur∇ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie' > IE: NaIE *mer-, (+ext.) *meragʰ- ~ *mergʰ- 'tie together, twist'
1463. *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut' > IE *mer- v. 'crush, crumb'
1464. *muR∇ 'go away, perish, die' > IE *mer-/*mṛ- 'die'; NaIE d. (pp.) *mṛ- 'to-', *mṛt-u-o 'dead'; *mṛ- 'to-m, *mṛ'ti- 'death'
1465. *m∇Rû 'ant' > IE: NaIE *morwi- 'ant', *mouro- / *meuro-, *morm- id.
1466. *m∇R∇ '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE *mar- 'hand', *mar-n- v. 'grasp'
1467. *muΓra 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)'
1468. *muhr∇ 'part, piece'
1469. *mari?∇ 'young man, young male' > IE: NaIE *meryo-, *mer- 'young man' (→ 'husband')
- 1469a. (₂?) *maRi?∇ (or *'maří?∇) 'animal fat' > ? IE: NaIE *smeru- n. 'fat, ointment'
1470. *mæR₁h₁∇ (= *'mæríh₁∇?) 'be wounded, be ill' > ?? IE: ¿ NaIE *(s)mer- (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness'
1471. *märiq∇ 'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > IE: NaIE *mer₁ə₁-/*mor(u)- 'dirty, dark'
1472. *m'a¹rwê '∈ tree' > ?? IE: Ht marmarr(a)- {CHD} '∈ terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht'
1473. *maR₁y₁∇ '(mul-, black-) berries' > IE: NaIE *mor- 'mulberry, blackberry'
- 1473a. *mAr₁y₁∇ 'horned mammal'.
1474. *m∇R₁∇₁C∇ 'to crumb, to crush' > IE: NaIE *mers- 'crush, grind'
1475. (₂?) *m'a¹R₁∇₁ĉ∇ 'be ill, be wounded' > ?? IE: NaIE: Lt merdétī 'agonize'
- 1475a. ₂ *m'û¹rg∇ '∈ (male?) horned mammal'.

1476. *mur₁ʔ₁∇gE (probably = *mur₁ʔ₁∇gæ) 'animal fat, brain, (?) marrow' > IE: NaIE *mreġ^h-/*mrġ^h- 'brain; skull'

1476a. (2?) *mäR₁k₁∇ 'think, believe, be clever'

1477. *marʔ'o¹kE 'side (of body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE *morġ-/*mroġ-/*mrġ- 'edge, border'

1478. *mUrġ∇(-ŋĶ∇) 'root, root-crops, edible roots', (→ ?) 'sinew' > IE: NaIE *mrġk- (~ *brġk-) 'edible roots, (→ ?) carrot'

1479. (2?) *m∇R₁∇₁Ķa 'moist, liquid; to moisten' > IE: NaIE *merk- (or {P} *merk- ~ *merak-) v. 'soak; become wet', *mr_oku- ({P} *mraku-) 'swamp'

1480. *mA¹∇ 'rain' (← or → 'to drop?'), 'cloud'

1481. ?φ₂ *mA¹∇ 'pluck out hair, make bald'

1482. ₂ *me¹∇ 'hoe'

1483. *m¹u¹∇ 'make loud noise'

1484. *mûq₁E₁∇ 'shoulder'

1485. *'me¹ûq∇ 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *smeru- 'ointment'

1486. *'mä¹∇Ķ∇ 'contents of animals' stomach\intestines' > IE: NaIE *smerd- 'dung; to stink'

1487. *mu¹s∇ 'to cover, to conceal, to clothe' > IE: NaIE *mus-/*mou_s- v. 'steal, conceal'

1488. *mûs∇ (= *mûs∇?) 'insect, fly, ant' > IE: NaIE *mus-/*mou_s- 'fly'

1489. *ma₁is∇ ≈ rub, polish'

1489a. ₂ *mA₁H∇₁S∇ 'snake'

1490. (2?) *m∇ś|ś|Ķa¹∇ 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE *mosg-o/en- ~ *mosg^ho- id.

1491. *meʔiś∇ 'hide', (→) 'clothes' > IE: NaIE mo|ajso-s 'hide, fleece'

1492. *mæt∇ 'feel, realize' > IE: NaIE *med- 'think'

1493. *mUt∇ (or *mU_t∇) 'man, person' ([in A] ?σ → 'people, tribe')

1494. (2?) *mût∇ 'die', (←?) (?) 'go away, be removed' > ?σ IE: Ht mutai- v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(ς) 'garbage, scraps'

1495. *matʔ∇ ~ *ma¹ʔ¹t∇ 'approach' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'meet', 'enter') > IE: NaIE *mād-/*mād- (or *mōd-/*mād-) 'approach, meet'

1496. *mat∇'ʔ'∇ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE *mad- 'wet, moist, liquor', v. 'drip' ||| N d. or cd. ₂ *mat∇'ʔ'∇R∇ 'rain' or 'rainy season'
1497. *met∇ħa 'head, top, summit'
1498. *mAt∇d∇ ⇨ *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to measure') > IE: NaIE *med- v. 'measure' ({EI} id., 'weigh')
1499. ₂ *matR∇ ⇨ *maRt∇ 'midday' ([in ObU] → 'south')
1500. *mat̥∇ 'to bend'
1501. *mḀt̥∇ '≈ increase, make long/broad'
1502. *mot̥E 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals'
1503. ₂ *mô̥t̥E 'whole, complete'
- 1503a. *mUt̥∇ 'man, person, a young' (an alternative to 1493: *mUt̥∇ or *mUt̥∇ 'man, person')
1504. ₂ *mû̥t̥∇ (or *mû̥K̥t̥∇?) 'drop', 'tear(s)'
1505. ₂ *m∇'t̥'∇ 'to pull, to pull out (a plant, etc.), to uproot, to reap' > IE: NaIE *met- v. 'reap, harvest'
1506. *m'aʔi't̥∇ (or *m'oʔi't̥∇?) 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > IE: NaIE *mat- (or *mot-) 'worm, larva'
1507. *mû̥r̥t̥∇ 'woman, female'
1508. *m'äy't̥∇ 'earth, land, place, place of residence' > IE: NaIE *mejt̥(h)- 'live (wohnen), remain'; 'stay, residence; place of residence'
1509. *'meyt̥∇ 'throw' > IE: NaIE *(s)mejt̥-/ *met- 'throw, cast'
1510. *mu̥w∇, 'this, that', dem. prn. > ? IE: NaIE: Crn -ma sx. (← encl.) 'this', W yma 'here, this', Br ma(ř) 'this'
1511. *moy∇ 'give, give back, restore' > IE: NaIE *mej- 'exchange'; ? d. *moj̥-no- 'exchange' ||| ? IE *m∇ 'to' (dative) ⇨ NaIE *-mus (dat. pl.), *-me|oH (??) (dat. du.)
1512. ₂ *mu|oy∇ 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)'
1513. ₂ *m∇y∇ 'come' or 'go, pass' > IE: NaIE *mej- ({EI} *mejH-) 'go, pass'
1514. *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > IE *meHj̥- > NaIE *mā|ō(j̥)- 'be\make tired\exhausted'
1515. ≈ *meXAz̥∇ 'man (vir), male' > IE ≈ *omēs / *om̥s- > NaIE *omās / *omas- > L mā̄s (gen. mār-is) adj./n. 'male'
1516. *m'E°χαz̥∇ 'ε berry, fruit' > IE *mexl- > NaIE *māl- 'apple', Ht maħla 'branch of a grapevine \ apple (?)'

1517. *miǵ₁w₁∇-(k∇) 'mix, stir' > IE: NaIE *misǵ- / *mejsǵ- 'mix' (> as. *misk̄- / *mejsk̄-) ~ mt. *meiǵs- ~ *meiǵ- id.

1518. ₂ *miǵ₁∇ (or *miǵ₁∇) 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *^omo|ajso-s 'sheep'

1519. *muǵ₁∇, y∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head' > IE: NaIE *mus-ti- 'fist, clenched hand'

1520. *meǵ∇ 'sun, light; 'to shine' > ??? IE: NaIE *molk- 'fire, firewood'

1521. *mayǵ∇ 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'honey', 'milk') > IE *mel-i-(t) / *mel-n- 'honey'

1522. *n̄^a, prn. of collectivity and plurality > IE: "primary" verbal ending of 3p *-(e)nti, "secondary" ending of 3p *-(e)nt (AnIE: Lw, Pal -nta, Lc nasalized vw. + -te)

1523. *nE, dem. prn. of duality, 'they (two)'

1524. *n̄i 'not' > IE *neǵ, *ne 'not', *n̄- 'un-, -less'

1525. *nu (or *nū?), postp. and pv. 'from', postp. 'of' > IE: *-n 'from' within *-d^he-n (in Gk πó-θεν 'where from?', οὐρανόθεν 'from the sky') ||| *-n-, the marker of oblique cases (presuffix, a morpheme preceding the case endings) in heteroclitic nouns ||| NaIE adv. *nō 'from, away'

1526. *n̄∇ 'we' excl. > IE *ne-/*nō 'we' (stem of oblique cases), e.g. [1] accus. *nō-s ~ *n̄-s, [2] other oblique cases: Ht dat. anzas, nas, L dat.-abl. nō-bis, Gt dat. uns(is), OCS dat. **НАМЪ** namъ, [3] poss. prn. 'our' > HrLw azis (< n̄so-), L noster, OCS **НАШЬ** našъ, Gt unsar, IE *n̄s-mos > Gk Ae ἄμμος, OI as'māka-, Av ahmāka-, [4] accus. du.: OI nau, OCS **НА** na 'us two', as well as Gk A νό id.

1526a. *n̄∇, a marker (pronoun) that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles ([in descendant lgs.] → derived passive verbs) > IE: NaIE *-no-, sx. of passive participles and deverbal adjectives; productive sxs. of daughter-languages: OI prs. prtc. bhind-ā'na-h̄ and pf. prtc. bibhid-ā'na-h̄ ← bhid- 'bind', Gmc *-ono-/-eno-: Gt waurp-an-s, OHG gi-wortan, ON orðenn 'geworden', Gt bit-an-s 'bitten', as well as OCS **НЕСЕНЪ** nes-en-ъ 'carried, getragen', **ЗАБЪВЕНЪ** zabъv-en-ъ 'forgotten'

1527. *n̄aǵE 'go' (→ 'go to do sth.') > ?? IE: NaIE *nā- 'help, be useful'; one of possible sources of the *n-infix in the IE verbal imperfective\present forms

1528. ${}_2$ * $\bar{n}aX_{\downarrow}b_{\downarrow}$ (or * $\bar{n}a\zeta b_{\downarrow}$?) 'hungry and thirsty', 'not to drink' (→ 'to be sober' > IE: NaIE * $n\bar{a}b^h$ - 'sober, hungry and thirsty')
1529. * $\bar{n}\nabla X_{\downarrow}ib_{\downarrow}$ 'thin, meagre' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'weak') > IE: NaIE *(s) $n\bar{e}b^h$ -ri- / *(s) $n\bar{o}b^h$ -ri- 'narrow, thin'
- 1529a. ? ${}_2$ * $\bar{n}ec_{\downarrow}$ 'to plait, to tie together'
1530. ??? ${}_2$ * $N^ra'c_{\downarrow}$ 'falcon'
1531. * $\bar{n}Ad_{\downarrow}$ '(the whole) clan'
1532. (${}_2$?) * $\bar{n}id_{\downarrow}$ '≈ eye; to look' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to look for, to seek?')
1533. * $\bar{n}i_{\downarrow}U_{\downarrow}da$ or * $\bar{n}i_{\downarrow}U_{\downarrow}da$ 'to tie' > IE: NaIE * ned^h - id.
1534. ${}_2$ * $\bar{n}aHgo$ (or * $\bar{n}ag_{\downarrow}o$) 'hungry, thirsty' > IE: NaIE * $n\bar{a}g^{\omega h}$ - 'sober; hungry and thirsty'
1535. * $\bar{n}ig_{\downarrow}E_{\downarrow}X\ddot{a}$ 'to butt, to push, to pierce' > IE: NaIE * $nej\bar{g}^h$ - v. 'pierce'
1536. * $\bar{n}igES_{\downarrow}$ (= * $\bar{n}igE\acute{s}_{\downarrow}$?) 'butt, pierce' > IE: NaIE * $nej\bar{k}\bar{g}_{\downarrow}^h$ s- v. 'pierce'
1537. * $\bar{n}\ddot{u}H_1^rae'$ ⇄ * $\bar{n}\ddot{u}w^rae'$ 'now' > IE * nuH_X 'now' > Ht nu 'now, and, but', $n\bar{u}wa$ - 'still, yet', NaIE * $n\bar{u}$ 'now' ||| N * $\bar{n}\ddot{u}H_1^rae'$ nu (* $\bar{n}\ddot{u}H_1^rae'$ + genitive pc. * nu) '(of) the present time' > IE * nuH_X - n_{\downarrow} > NaIE * $n\bar{u}$ - no - 'jetzig'
1538. * $\bar{n}^ri'h_{\downarrow}w_{\downarrow}$ (⇄ * $\bar{n}^ri'h_{\downarrow}w_{\downarrow}$ ⇄ * $\bar{n}|\eta o\acute{h}i_{\downarrow}w_{\downarrow}$?) 'to lead, to direct (oneself) towards' (→ 'carry [somewhere]') > IE * $nejH_X$ - '≈ lead, direct towards' > NaIE * nej_{\downarrow} - id., Ht nai - / ne - vt. 'send, dispatch'
- 1538a. * $\bar{n}Ak_{\downarrow}$ 'woman' > IE * neK - > Ht $nega$ - ~ $neka$ - 'sister'
1539. * $\bar{n}Eko$ 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover' > IE: NaIE * nog^{ω} - (⇄ * $nog^{\omega}od_{\downarrow}^h$ o-, * nog^{ω} - no -) 'naked'
1540. $\bar{n}^ru'kU$ (= * $\bar{n}uk^ru'$?) (or * $\bar{n}^ru'k_{\downarrow}U_{\downarrow}??$) 'darkness, night' > IE: Ht $neku$ - 'es wird Abend', $neku$ - 'evening', $neku\acute{t}$ 'evening, night', NaIE * $nok_{\downarrow}^{\omega}t$ - / * $nuk_{\downarrow}^{\omega}t$ - 'night', NaIE * $neyK$ - > Lt $ni\bar{u}ks\acute{o}ti$ 'appear\be gloomy, be murky', NaIE * $nu\bar{g}^h|\bar{g}^h$ - or * $nu\bar{k}^h|\bar{k}^h$ - 'night'
1541. * $\bar{n}\ddot{u}k_{\downarrow}$ ⇄ * $\bar{n}ukE$ 'now' > IE: Ht $nu\bar{k}ku$ 'jetzt, sofort'
1542. * $\bar{n}a\zeta a$ 'fell, skin' > IE: NaIE * nak - id.
1543. * $\bar{n}\bar{a}e\zeta a$ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war, kill' > IE: NaIE * nek - 'kill; corpse', NaIE * $\eta\bar{k}$ - > OIr $\acute{e}c$ (< * $\eta|\bar{k}u$ -) 'death', Gmc * $anht\bar{o}$ > OHG $\bar{a}hta$ 'hostile persecution'

1544. ***ñæḲ'ü** 'carry, bring' > IE: NaIE ***neḱ-**/***ḡḱ-**/***enḱ-** 'carry', ? Ht ninink- 'mobilize \ set (people) in motion; move, remove, transfer; set in motion'

1545. ***ñæḲ∇** 'to plait, to tie'

1546. ***ñeḲU** 'relative(s) of a younger generation' > IE: NaIE ***nepōt-** 'grandson, nephew' (if from ****nekpōt-**, a cd. with the second element ***pōt-**)

1546a. ***ñiḱu** 'small, little'

1547. ***ñUḲ∇** 'to strike, to peck, to hit' > IE: [1] NaIE ***neḡk-**/**nuk-** 'hit, push', [2] NaIE ***neḱ-** 'kill', ***neḱu-s** 'dead person, corpse'

1548. ₂ ***ñüḲ∇** ⇝ ***ñuḲE** 'hole'

1549. ***ñäḲ_L∇_Lhê** 'see, perceive'

1550. ₂ ***ñoh_L∇** 'to walk\lead; way'

1551. ***ñô_Lm∇** 'pleasant, gentle, fine'

1552. ***'nim_L∇** 'name, word' > IE ***'no(:)m-n(-)**/***'ḡm-n(-)** 'name'

1553. ***ñ∇Nĉ∇_L∇_L** 'high, big, strong'

1554. ***ñiḡ_L'u** 'hair (of animals)' ([in U] → v. 'unhair, pluck out hair\feathers')

1555. ***ñap∇** 'move to and fro, sway'

1556. ***ñop_L'E** 'breathe, blow'

1557. ***ñôp_L∇_L'h_L'i** 'fog, cloud' > IE ***neb^h-** ⇝ [1] IE ***neb^hos** /***neb^hes-** ntr. 'cloud, fog, sky']]] [2] NaIE ***neb^h-elā** 'cloud, fog'

1557a. ₂ ***N∇p_L∇R∇** 'bank, shore, edge'

1558. ₂ ***ñûq∇** 'to bend, to swing, to sink' > IE ***neḡH-** > NaIE ***neḡa-** vi.\vt. 'bow, nod'

1559. ₂ ***'ñ∇qa** 'assist (help, protect)' > IE: NaIE ***'nā-** 'help, be useful'

1560. ***ñar_L'û** 'thin, narrow' > IE: NaIE: Gmc ***narwa** 'narrow'

1560a. ***ño_L'ḡ_Lr∇** 'moist, mud; (?) to gush'

1561. ***ñaher∇** 'day, sun, daylight'

1562. ***ñe_L'q_L∇r∇** 'forehead, front of the head, (?) nose'

1563. ***ñiXR∇** 'hollow (in the ground, in a tree), hole, pit' > IE: NaIE ***na|o|ar-**/***nēr-** 'hole, hollow in the ground'

1564. ₂ ***ñû_L'r∇** 'to penetrate' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) ***ner-** 'penetrate, plunge, dive'

1565. ***'ñ∇yär∇** 'man (vir), male animal' > IE ***'ner-** 'man, male animal'

1566. ***ñus∇** 'to breathe' > IE: NaIE ***neḡs-** vt. 'smell'

1567. * $\bar{n}\hat{u}s_{\downarrow}y_{\downarrow}\nabla$ 'woman' (general term), 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > IE: NaIE * $snu\sigma\text{-}s$ 'son's wife, brother's wife'

1568. * $\bar{n}i\hat{S}u$ 'smell (odorare), breathe heavily' > IE: NaIE * $ne\upsilon\text{-}v$ 'smell (sth.)'

1569. * $\bar{n}a\uparrow'o^1$ 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) > IE: NaIE (in Gmc.) * net- 'lie down, rest'

1570. * $\bar{n}aH_2\uparrow'o^1$ 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sister-in-law')

1571. * $\bar{n}a\uparrow H_1\nabla$ 'to seek, to seek help; help' > IE * $netH-$ 'help, grace, favour', ? Ht $n\bar{u}t-$ '≈ Glück, Wohlbefinden, Ansehen' or sim., $n\bar{u}t-$ ~ $n\bar{u}-$ '∈ desirable condition'

1572. $_2$ * $\bar{n}a'h^1w^1E^1$ 'vessel' > IE: NaIE * $n\bar{a}y-$ 'vessel (made of a trunk), boat' (in descendant lgs.) → 'ship')

1573. * $\bar{n}\ae w_{\downarrow}y_{\downarrow}\nabla$ 'new' > IE * $newo\text{-}/no\omega o\text{-}$ 'new', NaIE * $newyo\text{-}/no\omega yo\text{-}$ 'new'

1574. * $nayE$ (probably = * $nayi$) 'woman' > IE: NaIE * $-n\bar{i}$, derivational marker of the feminine sex

1575. ($_2$?) * $\bar{n}iz^1\uparrow'U$ 'female'

1576. * $\eta e\hat{z}^1i^1$ 'finger, toe; ? knuckle of a finger'

1577. $_2$ * $\acute{n}ab^1\uparrow'\nabla$ 'warm, heat'

1578. ? ($_2$?) * $\acute{n}a\check{\chi}\nabla$ 'wet, moist' > (possibly) ? σ IE * $y\epsilon s\text{-}v$ 'boil, seethe, ferment' (× N * $\acute{n}o\hat{c}\nabla_{\downarrow}q\nabla_{\downarrow}$)

1579. * $\acute{n}o\hat{c}\nabla_{\downarrow}q\nabla_{\downarrow}$ 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle' > ? σ IE * $y\epsilon s\text{-}v$ 'boil, seethe, ferment' (← * v 'become moist'?)

1580. $_2$ * $\acute{n}ug\nabla$ '≈ ∈ deer, antelope'

1581. ($_2$?) * $\acute{n}ah\ae g^1\ddot{u}^1$ (or * $\acute{n}ah_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}gE^1$?) 'drive, chase' > IE: NaIE * $y\bar{a}\hat{g}^h-$ 'chase, hunt'

1582. * $\acute{n}og\ddot{u}\downarrow\nabla$ (or * $\eta og\hat{u}\downarrow|\acute{I}\nabla$?) 'tear out/asunder, pinch'

1583. ? σ,ϕ ($_2$?) * $\acute{n}\ddot{a}goR\nabla$ (or * $\bar{n}\ddot{a}goR\nabla$) 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas, and sim.)' > IE: NaIE * $neg^{\omega h}r\sigma\text{-}s$ 'kidney(s)'

1584. * $\acute{n}uk\nabla$ 'shake, swing, tremble'

1584a. * $\acute{n}a\kappa o$ 'laugh, be amused' > IE: NaIE * $yek^{\omega\omega}\text{-}/yok^{\omega\omega}\text{-}$ 'laugh, play, be amused'

1585. * $\acute{n}ok_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}\times\nabla$ 'be in front, take the lead, precede, be first'

1586. * $\acute{n}^1a^1\kappa o$ 'soft parts of the animal's body (liver, marrow, suet)' > IE: NaIE * $yek^{\omega\omega}\text{-}r(t\text{-})$ / gen. * $yek^{\omega\omega}\text{-}n\text{-}es$ 'liver'

1587. *ńôĶ∇ or *ńaΓôĶ∇ '∈ canine'
- 1587a. ?σ *ńuĶ∇ (+ an additional N word) '∈ small fur-bearing animal'
1588. *ń'üĶ'ü' (or *ń' iĶ'ü) 'lie down, sink, bow (down)'
1589. *ń'oω|Ha'Ķi (= *ń'oqaĶi?) 'to bend, to be crooked'
1590. ₂ *ńüĶ∇ (or *ńüĶ∇?) 'tear, tear out'
1591. ı *ńäı∇ 'tongue' > ? IE: ı Ht lala- 'tongue', Lw {Lar.} lali- 'tongue (?)', {Mlc.} lāla/i- 'tongue, gossip'
1592. (₂?) *ńoıĶê (or *ńaıĶê) 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow' → 'arrow'), 'to tie together', ([in HS] → 'to put on footwear')
1593. *ńüı∇ 'pluck, tear out (hair, branches), pinch'
1594. *ńagı∇ (or *ńagı∇?) 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled'
1595. *ńog'ä'ııı∇ 'slime, tears (?), moisture, fluid; raw' > IE *yeĥlo-/*yĥlo- > NaIE *yēlo-/*yalo- 'unripe, raw'
1596. *ńihla 'moist, slippery'
1597. *ń'eq'ıaı∇ 'bed of a torrent, valley'
1598. Regional ₂ *ń'äıı∇ 'four'
1599. *ńüıııĶı∇ (= *ńüıııĶı∇?) 'marrow, brain'
1600. *ń∇ı∇ (or *ń∇ı∇) '∈ insect'
1601. ₂ *ńıııı∇ 'scrape, scrape off, rub, polish'
1602. *ńam'o' 'squeeze, grasp' > IE: NaIE *yem-/*yım- 'hold, hold fast, grasp'
1603. ı *ńäıı∇ 'soft'
1604. *ńaıııııı∇ 'grass'
1605. ₂ *ńııı∇ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep'
1606. *ńAıııı'ı' '∈ coniferous tree' > IE: NaIE *yoıııı- 'juniper'
1607. *ń'e'ııı∇ '≈ woman' (and 'woman from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes?') > IE: NaIE *yena-ter / *yona-tr- 'wife of husband's brother'
1608. *ńoııııııı (or *ńoııııııı?) 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue', 'move quickly' > IE: NaIE *yeııııı- / *yoııııı- / *yıııııı- 'stir, move' ({P} 'in heftiger Bewegung sein'), ?? (with pre-IE depalatalisation *ń- > *n-?) Ht {Ts.} nuntar- 'Eile, Hast', {CHD} nuntaras adv. 'promptly, without delay, soon'
1609. ı *ńangü 'tongue' > IE: NaIE *yngĥū- ~ *dngĥū-/*dngĥwā ~ *ıngĥū- id.

1610. ***h₂æns¹i¹** 'dirt, dirty liquid' > IE: NaIE ***h₂si-** 'dirty-coloured; dirt, mud'
1611. ₂ ***h₂a¹pa** 'face', (?) 'nose' ([in A] → 'front')
1612. ***h₂äp¹r¹∇** 'tender, beautiful', 'thin (not dense)', 'sparse' (of hair, wool)
1613. ***h₂i¹q¹u¹** 'grind, crush, rub, rub down\off, rub to powder'
1614. ₂ ***h₂o¹qa** 'lowland, depression'
1615. ***h₂a¹RU** 'swamp'
1616. ***h₂i¹R¹∇** 'rub, scratch, scratch\draw\make a sign'
1617. ₂ ***h₂u¹R¹∇** 'become very hot, shine'
1618. ***h₂a¹ʔRä** (or ***h₂ä¹ʔRA¹?**) 'pungent, strong' (of sensations, feelings, etc.) > IE: NaIE ***yōr-** (an apophonic grade of ***yēr-**?) 'strong, violent'
1619. ***h₂E¹Γ¹Ar¹∇** 'sprout'
1620. ***h₂i¹hr¹a¹** 'to stream; a stream, liquid'
1621. (₂?) ***h₂e¹H¹r¹∇** 'plain, ground'
1622. ***h₂a¹X¹i¹r¹U(-k|gê)** 'cartilage' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cartilage of the vertebrae', 'backbone')
1623. ***h₂är¹H¹ê** (or ***h₂ä¹H¹r¹ê?**) 'unripe, tender, weak'
1624. (₂?) ***h₂a¹R¹ka¹æ** (= ***h₂a¹R¹ga¹æ?**) '€ deer' > IE: NaIE ***york¹k-** 'roe deer'
1625. ***h₂a¹z¹r¹E** '≈ young, new-born' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'springtime') > IE ***ye¹hr-** > NaIE ***h₂yēr-** / ***yōr-** / ***h₂yār-** 'young', 'springtime' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'year')
1626. ***h₂it¹ur¹∇¹q¹∇** 'fist, knuckles of fingers; to strike with the fist\knuckles, hold in the hand'
1627. ***h₂e¹t¹∇** 'stalk, stem, trunk'
1628. ₂ ***h₂o¹z¹w¹∇** (or ***h₂o¹y¹w¹∇?**) 'to hunt, to pursue'
1629. ***h₂ä¹w¹ga** 'hair, down'
1630. ≈ ***h₂i¹E¹χa** 'to see', ? 'eye'
1631. ***h₂E¹y¹U¹(-η∇)** (= ***h₂ä¹y¹U¹(-η∇)?**) 'larvas, worms, nit(s)'
1632. ₂ ***h₂a¹z¹ir¹∇** 'sun', '≈ sunshine, heat (hot weather)'
1633. ***h₂U¹** [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from ***ya¹ h¹U¹** or ***ʔäy¹ h¹U¹** 'which thing?')
1634. (₂?) ***h₂ib¹p¹∇** (or ***h₂æyb¹p¹∇**) 'to bend down, to sink' > IE: NaIE ***kne¹ib-** '≈ bend down, decline'
1635. ??? ***h₂Uc¹ç¹∇** (= ***h₂Uc¹ç¹∇?**) 'late, evening, night; (?) delay' > IE: NaIE ***wes-** 'sunset', NaIE ***wesperos** 'evening'; it is possible that

this etymon took part in the creation of IE *wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay'

1636. $_2$ *ηUÇ∇ 'small, few'

1637. *ηa'ʔ'igu 'to bow, to bend (down), to hang (by sth.), to hang down' > IE: NaIE *kneǵ^{ωh}- 'bend, bow'

1638. *ηiK̄a (more probable than *ñiK̄a??) 'cervical vertebrae, neck, nape of neck' > IE: NaIE *knok(k)0-/*knek(k)0- 'nape of neck; hill'

1639. *η'iωo'ǵ∇ 'extend, stretch, become long'

1640. *η∇í∇ 'h'∇mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (≈ N *ñ∇í∇ '∈ insect' + N *'h'∇mP'i' 'venomous vermin?')

1641. *'η'amT∇ 'give'

1642. *ηæñE 'go (away)' > amb IE (× N ? *ñ'i'hw∇ 'to lead?'): Ht nanna-, nanniya- vi. 'drive, ride in an animal-drawn vehicle', vt. 'drive (animals, persons, evils)'

1643. *ηań∇ 'take so. with oneself, lead' > IE *neǵHx- > NaIE *neǵ(ə)- / *ñī- v. 'lead', Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch'

1644. *η_L∇w_Lań∇ 'sky, cloud'

1645. *ηeh'U'r'i' 'light, fire'

1646. *ηäqaśa 'nose' > IE *nehS- (> NaIE *nās-), in oblique cases *nH0S- 'nose'

1647. ($_2$?) *η'i'Hat'a' '∈ sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' > IE: NaIE *knēd- / *kenəd- 'bite, cut with a sharp instrument'

1647a. ? *ηiṭû 'worm(s), maggot(s), nit' > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ *kñid- 'nit, louse'

1648. *ηaζw'i' 'dead, dead person' > IE: NaIE *nāy- 'dead body; death'

1649. *ηûwäy∇ 'long hair'

1650. *ηuhy'a' 'to rest, to lie, to repose' (→ 'to sleep')

1651. *p'a' 'ille, another (animate)'

1652. $_2$ *P'i'ʔ∇ 'sharp edge, blade'

1653. *puʔi (~ *buʔi?) 'tree, bush'

1654. $_2$ *poǵ|gy∇ 'wooded bank (of a waterway)'

1655. *p'oǵyû 'small', 'child', 'young (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *pōy- /*pəy-/*pū- 'little, child, a young of an animal; few'; with sxs., e.g. *pu-tlo- 'child'

1656. *pAʔiç'∇ 'axe, hammer'

1656a. ?φ P_aCk|K̄∇ (= paCk|K̄∇?) 'hand' (→ 'handful')

1657. *P_uç_l∇₁ϣ∇ 'to press, to squeeze, to crush by squeezing'
1658. *P_l'i'č∇ 'stalks of plants and their fibres used for plaiting'
1659. *p_oč∇ 'to plait' (→ 'sth. plaited, cloth')
1660. ?φ *puč_l∇₁ń∇ 'worm, snake'
1661. *P_uč̣∇ 'to fall'
1662. *p_{le}?|y₁ič̣û (or *p_i?eč̣û) '∈ coniferous tree' > IE: NaIE *pit_lu₁- '∈ coniferous tree'
1663. *p_aĉ∇ 'to open' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hole, slit'), to be widened, to spread'
1664. *P_uĉ'ō' 'hair' > IE: NaIE *po_us-/*pus- 'body hair, down'
1665. *p_a'g'd∇ 'leg' (or '∈ part of a leg'), 'foot' > IE *pe(:)d-/*po(:)d- 'foot'
- 1665a. *p_U'h'_l∇₁d∇(-R∇) 'long, spacious, (?) far'
1666. *P_uqd∇ 'leather bag, scrotum'
1667. *P_ed_l∇₁g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound'
1668. *p_l'i'g∇ 'to pour; rain'
1669. ?φ *p_Ug₁η∇ (or *p_l-?) 'faeces, filth'
1670. *P_oΓi 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out'
1671. *p_ä'ϣ'üwA 'fire' (→ 'heat', 'daylight, day') > IE *peXw-r/n- 'fire'
1672. *p_a'H_l∇₁?¹ü' (= *p_aq∇?ü?) 'strike, split, chop' > IE *peñw-/*pñu- > NaIE *pēw-/*pəu-/*pū- v. 'beat, strike, cut'
1673. o *puħ∇ 'blow (blasen)' > IE: NaIE *pu(:)-/pe_u-/po_u-/p^hu- 'breathe, blow'
1674. *pik'ü' 'to press' (→ 'to crush') > IE: NaIE {P} *pu¹k̄¹- 'zusammendrängen, eng umschließen'
1675. (2?) *poka 'side of a body, side' > IE: NaIE *pog-/*pōg- 'side of a body', *po(:)k-s- 'side, flank' ({P} *pog-/*pōg-, *po(:)k-s- 'Achsel, Hüfte, Lende, Seite')
1676. *P_a'h'k∇ 'spring of water; to spout' > IE: NaIE *°pāgǵ- > Gk πηϣή, Gk D πᾶϣᾶ 'spring of water'
1677. *P_l'ā'Hak∇ (= *P_l'ā'qak∇?) 'hut, village' > IE: NaIE *°pāgǵo- > L pāgus 'community of peasants, village, country district'
1678. *p_l'a'_l∇₁?∇ (= *pakU?∇?) (partially _l) 'to split'
1679. *p_äk̄ô 'to heat (on fire)', 'to be hot' (→ 'to cook, to bake', 'to dry') > IE: NaIE *pek^w- v. 'cook, bake, prepare food on fire'
1680. *P_l'o'K∇ 'to scratch, to comb' > IE: NaIE *pek̄k-, *pek̄k-t- v. 'comb', pek̄kten- n. 'comb'

1681. ₂ *p_oḱü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' > IE: NaIE *peḱu /*peḱwe- 'cattle'
1682. ι *po^ʿḱ^ʷ∇ 'bladder, blister'
1683. (o?) *p_eχḱ∇ 'rub, scrape'
1684. (₂?) *p^ʿE^ʷḱy∇ (or *P_∇ḱy∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE *(s)peḱ- 'look, observe', *(s)peḡ- '≈ look, look after'
1685. *p^ʿô^ʷḱ∇^ʷd∇ (or *p-?) 'to run'
1686. *P_iḱ∇ž∇ 'sticky liquid, pitch' > IE: NaIE *pik- 'tree-pitch'
1687. ₂ *P_a1∇ '(ε?) tooth'
1688. *p_äṯ^ʷA^ʷ 'time (mal, fois), once, one'
1689. *p_a1^ʷo^ʷ 'open ground, plain' > IE: NaIE *p_ol- 'field, plain', *pe_la₁-t- 'plot (of land), place'
1690. *p_äṯ∇ 'inside, entrails, liver'
1691. *P_i1∇ 'a hair, tuft of hair, feather' > IE: NaIE *pilo- 'hair', *pil-t- 'felt', *piles-/pils- 'felt', *pley_u-k-, *pley_u-s- 'feather, hair, wool'
- 1691a. *p_u1E 'be much\big, increase'
1692. *pu_lu (or *pu_lü?) 'to spring forth' (→ 'to flow'), 'to plunge in water' > IE: NaIE *p_ol-/*p_lo- v. 'pour\stream', NaIE *pley_u- 'flow; swim'
- 1692a. ₂ *p_uL∇ 'to blow (blasen)'
1693. *p_∇Lu 'lungs, pluck' > IE: NaIE *pley_u-mon-/*plu-m(o)n- 'lung', *^opley_u-tyā ~ *^oplou_utyā- 'lung(s)'
1694. *p^ʿi^ʷṯ^ʷL∇ 'strong' > IE: NaIE *bel- 'strong'
1695. *p^ʿU^ʷE^ʷ1∇ (or *p_∇-?) 'stinging insect'
1696. ₂ *P_Ey^ʷL∇ 'to fly, to soar'
1697. *p_ily₁ṯâ (or *p_iṯ₁ly₁â?) 'to fall' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^hol- v. 'fall'
1698. *P_el^ʷê^ʷ ⇝ *P_eṯ^ʷê^ʷ 'side of body, side' > IE: NaIE *p_ol- id., 'half'
- 1698a. *P_uL₁∇₃∇ '∈ tree (poplar or sim.)' > IE: NaIE ? *pe_l- 'poplar'
- 1698b. *p_oli₁εE (or *p_oli₁ψE?) 'to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^hel- '≈ split' and NaIE *p_l^he₁-, *p_l^ho₁- 'board (Brett), log of wood'
1699. *p^ʿu₁l₁ḱu or *p^ʿu₁l₁ḱa 'red, yellowish, pale' > IE *p_lḡw-, *p_ol₁H₁w- > NaIE *p_lḡw-/*p_ol(ə)w- 'light yellow, blond, pale, dun'
1700. *p_a1∇^ʷg^ʷ∇ 'settlement, home, wall' > IE *p_olH-/*p_lH- 'fortified settlement'
1701. *p_aly₁∇ 'mud, swamp, lake' > IE *bo₁H- '≈ swamp, pool', *pe₁H- 'swamp'

1702. *pUṪHṼ 'be liquid, be wet' > IE: NaIE *°plə|ad- > Gk πλάδος 'abundance of fluids', πλάδῶ 'humid, fluid', πλάδαρός 'wet, damp'

1702a. *P_ûlṼHû 'grass' > IE ≈ *peloh-/*peleh-, *pel_H_ou- 'straw, chaff'

1703. *P_ä|qA 'half, part' > IE: NaIE *po|ə_-'side of body, side, half'

1704. *pelqê 'to tremble, to fear' > IE {IS} *pelH- / *pleH- '(make) tremble, fear'

1705. *P_iLEqi (= *P_i|ÍEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare' > IE: NaIE *plēj_-/*pləj_-/*plī- 'bare, naked'

1706. *p'a|XṼ 'spade; to dig; pit (sth. dug)' > IE: NaIE *belə_~ *°bəl- v. 'dig, hollow'; ? L pāla 'spade'

1707. *paṪ'iX'ä '€ fish'

1708. *p'ôṪχ|q|Γa 'broad and flat' > IE *plex- 'broad' > Ht palhi 'wide, broad', NaIE *plā-/*pelə- 'broad and flat', *plā-no-/*pelə-no- 'flat'

1709. *P_o|Xæ 'to fill' > IE *pelĥ-/*pleĥ- v. 'fill', NaIE pp. *plē-to- 'filled, full', *plē-no- ~ *pō-no- (< IE *pleĥ-no- ~ *pōĥ-no-) 'full', *plē-mṅ n. act. 'filling'

1710. *pa|yû 'much, superfluous' > IE: NaIE *'pelu- 'great, many' / *p_°|u- 'much' ||| d. *plē-yōs 'more', *plē-yōs-tos 'most'

1711. *peL_i,yA 'to split, to separate' > IE: NaIE *(s)plej_-,*splej_-d- 'split, split off'

1712. (ι?) *puLyṼ 'bubble, blister, round swelling' > IE: NaIE ι *bul-/*bou|- 'round swelling'

1713. *p'ü|lûy,Ṽ 'to wash' > IE: NaIE *°spel- v. 'rinse, (?) wash'

1714. *paLuCṼ (or *paLüCṼ?) 'stinging insect (flea, mosquito, tick)' > IE: NaIE *b_l_h_lus- ~ *plus- 'flea'

1715. ₂ *p'û|i'ç'Ṽ (or *p'û'íi'ç'Ṽ?) 'grey, grey-haired' > IE: NaIE *pelit- 'grey'

1715a. UA ₂ *pAṪy'ak|gṼ 'foot' (and 'sole of foot?')

1716. *paṪUḶü 'axe, hammer' > IE: NaIE *peleĥu- 'axe'

1717. *P_ä'ṷ|ṼḶ (or N *P_E|Ṽ'g?'Ṽ) 'to split lengthwise, to divide'

1718. *paṪ_Ṽ|ṷṷ 'to split', 'axe'

1719. *P_aLṷṷqṼ 'broad and flat' > IE *pletHu-/*p]tHu- > NaIE *plet(h)u-/*p]t(h)u- 'broad and flat', IE *pletH-/*p]tH- > NaIE *plet(h)-/*p]t(h)- v. 'extend, spread'

1720. $_2$ *P₂∇LhEʳʒ'∇ or/and *P₂∇L₁h₁Eç|ć∇ 'split up, separate' > IE: NaIE *plēs-/ *pləs- 'splinter off, tear off'

1721. $_2$ *P₂eí|l∇ (= *peí|l∇?) 'pigeon' > IE *p^ʳe^ʳl- (~ *bel-?) 'pigeon'

1722. *poí∇ 'hollow, empty' > IE: NaIE *bel- 'hollow out, dig', *po|al- 'hollow, bare'

1723. *pe₂ʔ₁íû(-ńE) 'dust, ashes' > IE: NaIE *pel(ω)-, *pe^ʳlō_u-s / *pe^ʳl^ʷ-os 'dust', ?σ *p^ʳe^ʳl^ʷ- 'chaff, husk', ??σ IE *polt- 'soup\porridge of meal'

1724. *p^ʳiʔú'í∇ 'slit' > IE: NaIE *bul₁i₁- 'vulva', *'anus' (→ 'buttocks')

1725. *paí|lH'ä' 'to burn' (intr.), 'to be heated on fire' > IE: *pelĥ- / *pleĥ- > NaIE *pelə- / *plē(ω)- / *plō(ω)- vi. 'burn, be warm'; coalescence with NaIE *(s)p(h)el- v. 'shine'

1726. *p₂äíχ|ʏ∇ 'thumb, big toe; (?) finger' > IE: NaIE *pōl- 'thumb, big toe'

1727. *p₂Aí₁∇₁gæ ~ *p₂Aí₁∇₁gæ 'spleen' > IE *b₁^h₁ḡ^hen- ~ ≈ *(s)p₁ḡ^hen- > NaIE *b₁^h₁ḡ^hen- ~ *(s)pe₁ḡ^h(-en, -ā) ~ *(s)pleng^h- ~ *(s)ple(:)ḡ^h- 'spleen'

1728. *p₂a'íHija 'palm of hand' > IE *p₁ḡ^hm- > NaIE *p₁ḡ^hmā 'palm of hand, hand'

1729. *p^ʳu^ʳyAm∇ ('b'∇) 'snake'

1730. *peñ∇ (or *peñ₁i₁y|H₂∇) 'small dog, whelp'. KU

1731. *p^ʳi'ñ∇ 'piece of wood, trunk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'log, board, pole') > IE: NaIE *pin- 'piece of wood, trunk'

1732. *P₂o'ñ∇ 'path, ford' > IE *'pontoh-s, gen. *p₁ḡ^hth-os 'way, path, ford'

1733. *P₂uñ'ä' or *P₂üñā 'red colour, (?) fox'

1734. *pa₂ʔ∇₁nê 'put, lay'

1735. *P₂Uʔ₁∇₁N∇ (= *P₂Uʔ₁∇₁ñ∇?) 'meat, (?) blood (as food)'

1736. *P₂un₁E₁ya 'hair'

1737. *P₂un₁∇₁ya (i.e. *p₂un₁∇₁ya ~ *p-) 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (→ 'to plait') > IE: NaIE *(s)pen- v. 'plait, spin, tie'

1738. *p^ʳuñ|ḡyú 'to breathe; wind, smoke' > IE: NaIE *pne_u- 'breathe, blow'

1739. ($_2$?) *P₂ú|uñyE ~ *P₂ú|uñi 'smell (odour); to smell (sth.)'

1740. ($_2$?) *p∇ñč∇ 'nose' > IE: ?σ NaIE {P} *bend- / *b₁ḡ^hd-no- 'vorspringende Spitze'

1741. $_2$ *p^ʳon₁'d'∇' ≈ leg, foot'

1742. *P₂∇n₁∇₁-š∇ (~ *-ž∇?) '∈ insect'
1743. (2?) *P₂añt₁∇h∇ 'belly' > IE *pant(∇)x- > NaIE *pant- ~ *p₂∇nd- 'belly', Ht panduha- {Ts.} 'stomach (?)', {CHD} 'bladder (?)'
1744. *P₂ûNž∇ '∈ part of the leg of animals' ('knee', 'foot?')
1745. *p₂'A₁'n∇ (= *p₂ā'n∇?) 'hollowed-out vessel'
1746. *p₂EX|Qña 'keep, protect' > IE *peXy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' > NaIE *pā(y)-/*pō(y)-/*pī- v. 'protect, graze (cattle)', Ht pahs- / pahhas- 'protect, keep, guard'
1747. *p₂iñ₁∇₁γa 'to turn, to plait' ([in descendant languages] → 'to spin', 'to weave')
1748. *P₂ayñ∇₁q∇₁ 'to press, to squeeze, to close'
1749. *P₂uñ|ñčê 'body hair, down, (?) feathers' > IE: NaIE *pous- /*pus- 'body hair, down', fell'
1750. 'p₂'āη∇ 'forehead' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'face', 'head')
1751. (2?) *P₂iηû (or *P₂üηE) '∈ a game bird of medium size (grouse or sim.)'
1752. *'p₂'∇₁ιη'U' (= *'p₂'o₁ιη'U'?) 'palm of hand, (sole of) foot'
1753. *p₂Aη₁i₁k∇ 'joint, shoulder joint'
1754. *P₂oηś∇ 'dust' > IE: NaIE *pēs-, *pēns- 'dust, sand'
1755. *p₂oqi 'to cover, to close' > IE: NaIE *pō- v. 'cover'
1756. ?φ o₂ *P₂uq∇ (or *P₂üq∇?) 'to let out air\gas', (?) 'to emit smell'
1757. *'p₂'aqE?∇ or *'p₂'aq₁∇₁?E 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *pokō- /*pekō-, *pekū- 'fleece'
1758. *par∇ 'to fly, to jump' > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'fly', {Bn.} 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace'
1759. *P₂'A₁'R∇ 'finger' and *P₂AR₁∇₁η|ñak∇ 'finger, thumb' > IE [1]: Tc A prār, B prāri 'finger', [2]: mt.: NaIE *openKro- > Gmc *fingra- 'finger'
1760. *P₂Arû 'stone, rock' > IE *perw-/*peru- 'rock, mountain'
1761. *p₂'e₁r∇ ~ *p₂ûHr∇ (both from *p₂û? 'e₁r∇?) 'fruit' > IE: NaIE *pūro- 'corn, grain'
1762. *P₂eR∇ 'ground, earth'
1763. *per∇ (= *per'o₁?) 'lip, edge' > IE: [1] Ht puri 'lip; rim, edge, border', [2] IE *per- (with a hardly identifiable meaning; {P}: 'das Hinausführen über'), a noun used (in its different case forms) as adv., pv. and prep.: IE *pro, *prō 'in front of, forward, before, forth', NaIE

*prō 'early, in the morning', NaIE *praj̥, *p̥oraj̥, *prej̥-, *p̥ori (dat. of direction from *per-) '≈ forward, in front of, before'; *pr̥o- (nom. or loc. without sx.?) 'hervor', *pera(:) (instr.) 'in front'

1764. *P_{er}∇ 'bottom, buttocks'

1765. *p̥iRo(-Ḳæ) 'to ask' > IE: NaIE *prek̥-/ *pr̥k̥- v. 'ask (a question); ask for sth.'

1766. *p̥ôr'i' (or *p̥ôHar'i'?) 'child, offspring' > IE: NaIE *pari-k-ā 'concubine' or 'whore' (← 'girl')

1767. *por∇ 'leaf' > IE: NaIE *per-, *per-n- 'leaf, fern', Ht parsdu {Ts.} 'Trieb', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage'

1768. (₂?) *P_∇R∇ 'to cross, to pass through' (= N *pær∇, if Az bārā belongs here) > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'cross, go through\over' (→ 'bring over, lead'), IE *per-, *peri (instr. case?) 'across, beyond'

1769. *r̥'äʀE (= *r̥'ährE?) 'to look', 'to be seen' > IE *pehr-/ *ph̥r- > NaIE *pār-/ *par- (P *p̥ār-) v. 'be visible', Ht parai- v. 'appear, emerge (?)'

1770. *P_{og}Ur∇ 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' (a hollow)

1771. *p̥i'h|X|Q'RE 'around' > IE *peri > NaIE *peri (instr.?) 'around'

1772. P_EyR∇(č∇) 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines' > ?σ IE: √ Ht {Ts.} paratarru 'lying prone'

1773. *P_{Ar}l̥?∇ 'bring forth, give birth' (of animals), 'young of animals' ([in descendant lgs.] → v. 'breed') > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'give birth', IE ds. for youngs of animals (*pr̥o-t∇)

1774. ₂ *p̥Ari_{l̥}?∇ 'take out, pull out\off'

1775. *p̥äri'ʔ'E (or *p̥äryE?) 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)per- v. 'tear, be torn, break'

1776. *p̥ar_{l̥}∇_{l̥}'i' 'stinging insect(s)'

1777. (₂?) *p̥Ari'ʔ'∇ 'to strew, to spread, to extend' > IE: NaIE *(s)p̥(h)er-, *sprej̥-, *sprey̥- 'strew, scatter, sow', Ht ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter'

1778. *por'ʔ'û 'to heat with fire, to burn' > IE: NaIE *prey̥s- vi. 'burn'

1779. *por'ä'ʔ'∇ 'summit, top' > IE *perw-/ *peru-, *per-k- 'rock, mountain'

1780. *pürgU(-č∇) ~ *pürč∇g∇ 'flea, gnat, mosquito'

1781. *para'h'i|ü (or *paraʔi|ü) 'weak' > IE: NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy'

1782. *P_{er}'w'∇ 'skin, hide, bark'

1783. *p^ho^hr₁w₁∇ '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' > IE: NaIE *per- 'calf, young bull'
1784. (2?) *P₂ôRw∇ (= *p^hôr₁w∇?) 'to turn, to revolve' > ? IE: NaIE *sper- v. 'turn, twist' ('drehen, winden')
1785. *paR₁a₁Xi (= *pa^hr₁a₁Xi?) '≈ happy, dear' > IE *prehy- > NaIE *prāi₁-/pra₁i₁-/prī₁- 'wish so. well, favour so.'
1786. *p^hAr₁y₁∇ 'run, flee'
1787. *p^hur₁y₁∇ (or *p^hür₁y₁∇?) 'wing, feather(s)' > IE: NaIE *₁(s)₁per- 'feather, wing', Ht partawar 'wing', (?) 'feather'
1788. *P₂∇RC∇ 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (or *p^hAr^hyU^h C∇....., a cd. with *p^hAr₁y₁∇ 'run, flee') > IE: Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape'
1789. (2?) *P₂∇RC∇₁-₁n̄∇ 'heel' or '(sole of a) foot' > IE *pers-nā, *pers-ni- 'heel'
1790. *P₂∇R∇ć₁X₁∇ 'fingernail, claw' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSL) *o^hp^hst- 'finger, (?) toe'
1791. *P₂∇Ri₁ć₁∇ 'break through, tear' > ? IE *pers- ~ *prīs- v. 'break to pieces'
1792. *P₂ärga 'to split' > ?σ IE: NaIE *perg- '≈ beat, strike, wound'
1793. *p^hür∇K₁∇ 'be startled, be scared, fear' > IE: NaIE *perk- n., v. 'fear'
1794. ?σ₂ *P₂∇R₁∇₁K₁æ 'tear out\asunder\off, detach' > IE: NaIE *perk̄- '≈ dig a ditch\chasm', {P} 'aufreißen, aufwühlen'
1795. *p^häRp₁∇ẑ∇ ~ ?₁ *p^häRp₁∇R|₁∇ 'butterfly' > ??₁ IE: NaIE {E} *pelpe₁- 'butterfly'
1796. *parT∇ 'rock, hill' > IE: Gk πέτρᾱ 'rock'
1797. ₂ *P₂UR₁∇₁t∇ '≈ moisture, water' > IE: NaIE *p_ord- '≈ wet, moist, slimy'
1798. *p^hûRt∇₁X∇₁ 'to spit, to vomit, to fart' > IE: NaIE *perd- v. 'fart with noise', *p^hrdi-s n. 'fart'
1799. ₂ *P₂∇R^ht^h∇ 'jerk, pull (out), tear off' > IE: Ht partai- {CHD} v. 'disentangle (?), unravel (?)', {Ts.} 'auszupfen, entwirren'
1800. (2?) *p^hr^hA^hR^ht^h∇^h∇ ~ *p^hr^hA^ht^hR∇^h∇ '≈ rod, young twig, shoot' > IE: NaIE *p^hert^h- 'pole, rod, shoot'
1801. *P₂o^hr^h∇ 'hair'
1802. *p^h∇rd∇₁X|q∇₁ 'quiver, tremble, start (from fear, with suddenness)' > IE: NaIE *sperd^h- 'move convulsively (zucken)', jump up (aufspringen)

1803. *pUṛ_lû,gä ~ *pUṛ_lû,kä 'to jump' > IE: NaIE *sperĝ^h-/*spreĝ^h- v. 'jump, move energetically', ? *(s)prewĝ-/*(s)prowĝ- v. '≈ jump'
1804. *P_eṛ_lṼ_lKü '(ε) bone', 'rib' > IE: NaIE *perkū- 'rib, chest'
1805. *p_eṛ_lKṼ_lṛa_l (or P_eRKṼ_lṛṼ_l?) 'turn round, twist' > ?σ IE: NaIE {P} *sperg-, *spreng- 'wrap up, constrict'
1806. (₂?) *P_asü (or *pṼ^r?^räsü?) 'root, stem of a plant'
1807. ₂ *P_isṼ 'to remain, to stick (steckenbleiben)'
1808. ᵛ *ṛ^riśṼ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip'
1809. *p_os_i 'be hot\warm'
1810. *p_osṼ (~ *bosṼ) 'to fart (without noise)' > IE: NaIE *pesd-id.
1811. (₂?) ᵛ *P_us|š^rE^r or *P_üs|š^rE^r 'to spit, to sprinkle'
1812. *P_EšṼ 'grain, nut'
1813. (₂?) *p_iš^a 'to get\make ready (cooked, ripe)'
1814. *p_išṼ 'gall' > IE: NaIE *bis-(t)lṼ id.
1815. ᵛ *P_ušṼ 'to blow' > IE: [1] NaIE *peus- v. 'blow, blow up, inflate' ('aufblasen'), [2] NaIE *pēs- v. 'blow' (of a person, of wind)
1816. *P_ûšṼ 'rub, smear' > IE: Ht pes(ς)- 'rub, scrub (with soap, etc.)', pasihai- v. 'rub, squeeze, crush'
1817. ₂ *pṼšqṼ ~ *P_eqšê 'spear' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'arrow')
1818. *P_aᵛ_lṛ^sê 'penis' > IE: NaIE *pes- id., Ht pisnatar/-n- 'male parts (penis, scrotum, etc.)'
1819. *p_äy^rš^ri^r (↔ *p_iš^ri^r?) 'crush, break to pieces' > IE: NaIE *peis- (?) / *pis- v. 'crush, pound'
1820. *p_atṼ 'ground, plain; bottom' > IE: NaIE *ped-, *ped-om 'ground', Ht peda-n 'place'
1821. *ṛ^ratṼ 'basket, box' > IE: NaIE *pod- 'box, vessel, pot', IE *pot_lH_lṛ / p_ot_lH_ln-os 'basket' → 'dish'
1822. *pätṼ 'to fall' (~ ? *pṼtṼ-XE 'fall, cast [to the ground]') > IE: NaIE *ped- 'fall', *pet(ə)-/ptē-/ptō- 'fall' (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly?')
1823. *p_EtṼ 'to pass, to go out' > IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- v. 'go, walk'
1824. *P_itA 'hold, grasp, seize' > IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- 'grasp, joint\fit together'
1825. *P_utṼ 'feather, hair' > ? IE *pet-Ṽr/n- / *pter- 'feather, wing'
1826. *pa_lṛ_itṼ (or *pa_?etṼ?) 'ε skin, bark' > IE {P} *baj_{tā} 'goat-skin, garment'
1827. ₂ *P_otKṼ 'to split, to cut'

1828. *p₂aṭṭṇ 'beat, strike'
1829. *p^rä^rṭṇ 'pinch, pluck'
1830. *p₂Eṭṇ (or *p₂Eṭṇ?) 'to fly; bird' > IE: NaIE *pet- v. 'fly'
1831. *P₂ṇṭṇ 'fright, confusion of mind'
1832. ₂*P₂AHṭṇ 'old man' > IE *p₂H₂t-ter(-) > NaIE nom. *pā'tēr, voc. *pāter, gen. *pā'tr-os 'father, head of a clan' ⇨ NaIE *patruyyo-s 'father's brother'
1833. *p₂ṇ^rh^rṭiṇṇ 'liquid secretions, sweat' > IE: NaIE *(s)pōt-/(s)pāt- 'dirty moisture, sweat'
1834. *p₂u₂w₂ṭE (~ *p₂u₂w₂ṭE?) 'hole' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vulva, anus') > IE: Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit'
1835. *p₂aṭḥṇ 'to be open, to open' > IE *pet(H)- id., 'expand, be spread'
1836. *p₂iχ|y₂ṇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool, (?) flintstone' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^(h)e(:)j₂-/*(s)p^(h)i(:)- 'pointed (spitz), a pointed piece of wood'
1837. *P₂ayṇ '(ε) fish' > IE: NaIE *pej₂sk(o)-/*pisk- 'fish'
1838. *p₂üH|Q₂yṇ (= *p₂ügyṇ?) 'to boil, to get ready' (food), 'to ripen' > IE *spe^hy- > NaIE *sp^(h)ēj₂-/*spī- and *sp^hē-/*sp^ha- v. 'ripen, become thick'
1839. *P₂ûX₂yṇ 'to be sick; wound' > IE *pe^hy- (> NaIE *pē(j₂)-/*pī-) v. 'hurt, harm' (→ v. 'blame, abuse')
1840. *p₂ä^zṇ 'to strain, to percolate, to screen (durchsieben)'
1841. *P₂EH|y₂a^zṇ 'ε wild galliform bird'
1842. *P₂o^z₂ṇ₂ṭṇ 'to become hard on the surface\top', 'hard surface ('crust, bark, skin)' > IE: NaIE *pe₂l₂(₂a₂)- 'film, skin'
1843. *p^roqE^zṇ ~ *p^ro^zṇqṇ 'thigh, haunch' > ??φ IE: NaIE *b^hed-'thigh'
1844. *qab[?]ṇ 'to scoop (schöpfen), to draw water'
1845. (₂?) *qUb^zṇ (< *qUp₂ṇ₂ṭṇ?) 'food maid of ground cereals', 'flour'
1846. ?σ₂ *qEcṇ 'wear out, be weakened'
1847. ₂*qic[!]ṇ 'shadow, shade'
1848. *q^ro[!]ć[!]ṇ₂ṇ₂ 'to remove'
1849. ₂*qic[!]E 'see'
1850. *q^rē[!]ĉ[!]ṇ₂ṇ₂ṭṇ 'sink' > IE: ?? AdS of IE *p[?]ēs- v. 'be seated'

1851. $(_2?) *q\check{v}r\check{c}i$ (= $*qa'r\check{c}i$) (or $*q\check{v}r\check{c}i$) '≈ conceive, give birth' > IE $*Xel\sigma s-$ > Ht has(s)-/hans- 'beget, procreate, give birth', HrLw has(a)- 'beget'

1852. $_2 *qad$ 'to hurry, to run'

1853. $(_2?) *q'A'd$ 'belly'

1854. $_2 *qe|id$ ($\neg *g-$) 'speak'

1855. $*q'A'd_{\check{v}}\check{v}o$ 'to step, to walk' > IE: NaIE $*\circ a|e|ot-$ 'go, walk'

1856. $*qag_{\check{v}}a$ 'to fear' > IE: NaIE $*ag^h-$ v. 'fear', 'sorrow', $*\bar{a}g^h-$ 'dread, horror'

1857. $*q'a'li$ 'extend one's hand, seize, take, hold'

1858. $*qa|v$ 'bottom, down' > IE: Ht halluwa- 'deep'

1859. $*q\bar{a}i$ 'hand'

1860. $*q\hat{o}l$ (= $*qu\check{l}$) '≈ lizard, snake'

1861. $_2 *q\check{v}L_{\check{v}}\check{v}$ 'knee; to kneel'

1862. $*q\bar{a}'liy$ (= $*q\bar{a}'liy$) 'melt, dissolve, be wet\moist'

1863. $?_{\phi} _2 *q\check{v}LC$ 'to tear, to be torn'

1864. $*q\check{v}L_{\check{v}}K\bar{a}$ 'blister, pimple' > IE: NaIE $*e\check{l}k\sigma s-$ 'sore, ulcer'

1865. $*q\bar{a}'i$ 'strike, pierce'

1866. $*qo'|\check{v}$ 'fur, mane' ([in HS] → 'wool')

1867. $*qAm$ 'cry, make noise'

1868. $*qAm$ 'grasp, seize' > IE: NaIE $*em-/*_om-$ 'take, acquire, have'

1869. $_2 *qE|am$ 'to dry'

1870. $*qum$ 'prey, ask' (← $*\text{'to exercise magic in order to fulfill one's wish'}$)

1871. $*qum?$ 'to drink; beverage'

1872. $(_2?) *qam|\bar{n}b$ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > IE: NaIE $*amb^h\bar{o}(u)$ du. 'both' | NaIE loc. $*amb^hi$ / $*m\bar{o}b^hi$ 'from both sides, around'

1873. $_2 *q\check{v}m_{\check{v}}L$ (= $*qAm_{\check{v}}L$) 'fur, fell'

1874. $_2 *qE\bar{n}|\eta K\check{v}$ 'strangle, kill' > IE $*\bar{x}enk\bar{k}-$ '≈ wage war, kill' > Ht henkan, hinkan- 'death, deadly disease', ? NaIE $*en\bar{k}k-$ 'pursue the enemy; death'

1875. $*qa\bar{n}\check{v}$ 'forehead, front' > IE $*xant-$ 'forehead, front' > Ht hant- 'forehead, front(age)', NaIE $*ant-$ $*\text{'front'}$ (in prepositions)

1876. (₂?) *qap∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' > IE *xap- (M) h₂ep-) ~ *xab- 'river, (stream of) water' > Ht hapa- 'river', Lw hapa/i- v. 'irrigate, water', NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river'

1877. *qup∇ (or *qūp∇?) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover'

1878. (₂?) *q'a'p'p'∇ 'bank, shore' > ??φ IE: Arm ωψην ap^hn 'bank, shore'

1879. ι *q'æ'p'p'∇ (more plausible than *q'æ'p'p'∇) 'seize, hold' > IE: NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, grasp'

1880. *qapUR∇ ~ *qapU-(R∇) 'to protect, to help'

1881. *qer∇ '(wild) ox'

1882. *qUR'E' 'bend, incline'

1883. *qur∇ 'to strike, to chop'

1884. *q'u'r∇ 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit'

1885. *qe_l'r∇ or *qer_l'∇ 'brook, stream'

1886. *qaRP∇ 'to pluck and gather' ([in descendant language] → 'to harvest', [in A] → 'cereal') > ? IE *xa|orP- > Ht harpas, harpiyas {Ts.} 'feast of harvest' (unless it means {Pv.} 'feast of winter and summer')

1887. (₂?) *qoR_l∇_lt∇ 'cut into, incise, make a hole'

1888. *qA'ri?∇ (or *qA'∇'ri?∇?) 'filth, dirt, faeces' > ? IE: Ht harra- 'verunreinigen, beflecken'

1889. *q'a's∇ 'remember, have in mind'

1890. ₂ *qat∇ '∈ corn' > IE: NaIE *ades- / *ados- '∈ corn', Ht hat(t)ar '∈ cereal' ('eine Getreideart')

1891. (₂?) *q'i't∇ 'appear, become visible'

1892. (₂?) *q∇t∇ (or *q∇p_l∇_lt∇) 'tail, hinder part' (probably '∈ tail of some animal') > IE: NaIE o|ā d(e)g_lω_lo- 'tail' (or 'stalk')

1893. ?₂ *q'a't∇ '∈ tree, stick'

1894. (₂?) *qæ't'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' (intr.) > ?σ IE: NaIE *eti / *oti 'again' (→ 'and')

1895. *qæ'tU (= *qæ'tü?) 'to cross', 'over\through' (direction) > IE: NaIE *eti 'over' (direction) ('darüber hinaus')

1896. *qo_lha_ltâ 'to burn' (trans., intr.), 'to kindle', 'fire, glowing coals' > IE: NaIE *āt-, *(w)āt-r- 'hearth'

1897. *qû_lhE_lt∇ 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie' > ?φ IE: NaIE *ēt(e)r-/*ōt(e)r- 'entrails', (?) '∈ thread'

1898. *qow^ri¹ (or possibly *qo^ʔaw^ri¹ or *qa^ʔow^ri¹) 'orifice, hole; to make a hole'

1899. *qæw^h∇ 'lack, be empty\incomplete' > IE: NaIE 'be empty\wanting' ⇨ *ey̥ə-n- 'empty, wanting'

1900. *qaw_∇y_∇ ∼ *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' > IE: NaIE *aw- 'help, take care'

1901. *q¹ûy∇ (or *q¹æw∇?) 'to wrap, to cover' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to drape', 'to cloth'), 'to tie\bind to' > IE NaIE *ey̥-/*oy̥- vt. 'dress, put on (clothes)'

1902. *q∇, pc. of collectivity ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of plurality) > ? IE: NaIE *^o-k^o > Gmc *-xa / *-xa, sx. of collectivity, ??φ Arm pl. ending -p-k^h

1903. *qAb∇ 'jaw, cheek'

1904. *q¹æb∇ 'belly, stomach'

1905. *qUbr^rE¹ 'basket' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'vessel') > ?φ IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box'

1906. *qac∇ 'gray' (esp. of hair), 'white' > IE: NaIE *kas-, *kas-no- (or *k̂as-, *k̂as-no-) 'gray, white'

1907. *qûd^ri¹ 'hut' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'house') > IE: NaIE *^ok|kud^hyā > Gmc *xudjōn- 'hut'

1908. *qUyigŋU (or *qigŋU) 'cold'

1909. *qûrka|æ (or *qûkr|æ) 'to squat' > IE: NaIE *^ok|keug|g̃- v. 'squat'

1910. *qaL∇ 'neck' > IE: NaIE *kol-s^o- 'neck'

1911. *qola 'to kill'

1912. *q¹U¹U¹ 'boy, child'

1913. *qU_∇?_∇ 'speak, call'

1914. *qaw¹∇ (or *qawE¹∇) 'leg, bone of a limb' > IE: [1] NaIE *kau_∇-/*ku_∇- 'hollow bone', (?) 'leg' [2] NaIE *k_∇^ωe_∇- 'limb'

1915. *qA_∇|¹A_∇|p_∇ (? *'to cover' →) 'to hide, to conceal' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to steal', 'to lie, to deceive') > IE: NaIE *klep- v. 'hide, conceal' → 'steal'

1916. o? *q¹o¹Lûp^r?¹ü 'to gulp, to swallow' > IE: NaIE *^ogh|g̃^hley̥b- > Gmc *gley̥p- > Dn gylpe, gulpe, Frs E, MDt gulpen 'to swallow eagerly'

1917. (2?) *qULp∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones'

1918. ***ǵ**¹uÍU (or ***ǵ**¹uLyU) '(hollow) stalk, reed, hollow (tubular) bone' > IE: NaIE *ka_ul-/*ku_l- 'hollow stalk, tubular bone'
- 1918a. ***ǵ**U'Í|Í'E 'penis, ? vulva'
1919. ***ǵ**AÍ|ÍƆ ▽ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' > IE: NaIE *k_{l̥}l̥a- 'break, cut'
1920. ₂ ***ǵ**aÍ_l ▽_l ▽ 'urinate'
1921. ***ǵ**aÍ'ú'P ▽ 'to bark (a tree), to skin, to cut off; bark, peel' > IE: NaIE *g_le_ub^h-/*g_lub^h- 'peel, take off the bark, strip, cut off'
1922. ***ǵ**om'í' (or ***ǵ**i?om'í'?) 'be hungry\thirsty' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'wish')
1923. ***ǵ**a'h'è ▽ 'to dig' > IE *kHen_lH_j- > NaIE *k^henə-/*k^hñ̥- ~ *ken_lə_j- '≈ dig'
1924. ***ǵ**'o'ñt ▽ 'fall, descend, plunge'
1925. ₂ ***ǵ**u_lñ'ć ▽ 'crawl', 'climb'
1926. ***ǵ**Uñə(-P ▽) (or ***ǵ**oʔəñə(-P ▽)?) 'nose' > σ IE: NaIE *^ok^ωe^hñ¹- , {Ped.} *k^ωeñgno- 'head'
1927. (₂?) ***ǵ**up ▽ 'to divide; a part'
1928. ***ǵ**är ▽ 'smell' > ?σ IE: NaIE *krem-us- / *kerm-us- '(plant) having strong smell'
1929. ***ǵ**oRû (or ***ǵ**uR ▽?) 'to copulate' > IE: NaIE *kou_ru_j- '≈ fornicate'
1930. ***ǵ**oR ▽ (or ***ǵ**ôR ▽?) 'frog, toad' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'tortoise') > IE: NaIE *g^ωred^h- 'frog, toad'
1931. ***ǵ**Ur ▽ (or ***ǵ**ihUr ▽ ~ ***ǵ**Uhir ▽?) 'reach, enter', (→) 'happen'
1932. ***ǵ**ô_wl ▽_l ▽ 'blind, one-eyed'
1933. ₂ ***ǵ**'o_lw|ʔ ▽_l ▽ 'tooth, large\canine tooth, tusk'
1934. ***ǵ**uy ▽_r ▽ 'to love, to covet' (→ 'to prefer')
1935. ***ǵ** ▽¹yo'R ▽ 'heap of stones, bank (rampart), stone wall, walled settlement'
1936. ***ǵ**oR_l ▽ 'gourd' > IE (< cds.?): [1] NaIE *k^ωerk^ω- > OI karkaṭī '€ gourd' || AS hwerhwétte 'cucumber'] [2] ? NaIE *k_l^ωerb^heto- 'gourd'
1937. ***ǵ**Arû_h ▽ (= ***ǵ**Arû^h ▽?) 'to keep (sth.) out of sight, to hide' > IE *^okruH-/*^okrouH- > NaIE *^okrū-/*^okrowə- v. 'cover, hide'
1938. ***ǵ**ur'h' ▽ 'to bark, to howl' (of canines), 'to cry, to shout' > ?σ IE: NaIE *k^ωer-, *k^ωr- 'cry, shout'

1939. *ǵUR_LW_J∇ (= *ǵUR_LW_J∇?) 'ear'
1940. *ǵoRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' > IE: NaIE *^ok[^hkarb_Lh_J- (unless it is *^ok[^hard^h-) > L carbō (gen. carbōnis) 'charcoal'
1941. *ǵæRǵUm∇ 'weasel, ermine' > IE: NaIE *^hkormenid.
1942. *ǵ∇R∇ś∇ (= *ǵ∇RUś∇?) 'to be(come) silent\dumb' > IE: Ht karus(siya)- 'be\fall silent; keep quiet (about)'
1943. *ǵah₂ř∇ 'hard, firm' > IE: NaIE *k^har- 'hard'
1944. o† *ǵuʔ_L∇,sê (or *ǵuH_La,sê?) 'to vomit, to cough' > IE *k^wehs- > NaIE *k^wās- v. 'cough'
1945. *ǵüyt∇ 'bright; to shine' > IE: NaIE *^hkwejd-/*^hkwid- v. 'shine, be white'; *^hkwejd-t- > *^hkwejt- 'white, bright, shining'
1946. *ǵew∇ 'bark, crust, shell'
1947. o† *ǵûw^ri^r∇ 'shout, cry, utter sounds (*inter alia* of an animal)'
1948. *ǵewy∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' > IE *^hke_j- 'lie (liegen)'
1949. ₂ *ǵoy∇ 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' > IE: NaIE *k^woj_j-/*k^wej_j-/*k^wi- 'pile up, gather, build, make', {EI} k^wej_j- 'pile up, build'
1950. *ǵaywE(-L∇) 'alone', 'entire' > IE: NaIE *ka_jw-(e)lō- 'alone, entire, whole', NaIE *ka_j-kō- 'one-eyed'
1951. (₂?) *ǵE^rž^u 'to shape (an object) by chopping, beating, etc.' > IE *kaHw-/kHw- > NaIE *kā_u-/*ka_u- v. 'shape an object by chopping\hammering'
1952. *ǵuʔ∇ 'entrails, pluck' > IE: NaIE *ke_us-/ku(:)s- '≈ intestines, abdomen'
1953. *r∇ (< *ǵ∇^r∇?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle > IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns
- 1953a. ??? *r^ri^r, a particle of plurality \ collectivity, an alternative reconstruction of the grammatical marker of plurality that is otherwise (and probably better) reconstructed as N *r∇ yE (= *r∇ y^ri^r?)
1954. *rûʔ∇ 'go', (?) 'run' > ?? IE: NaIE *re_u-/*erw-/*ru-/*r- 'move' (vi.), 'hasten'
1955. ?σ₂ *r∇ʔi 'see' > IE: NaIE *rē-/rā-, *rī̄-/rē_j- 'think, reckon, count'
1956. *raʔ∇ 'remain, stay'
1957. ₂ *rab∇ 'much, big'
1958. *^rrib∇ 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *^rreb^h- 'cover with a roof'
1959. *r∇^rb^r∇ (or *r∇bh∇?) '≈ move, shake (sich bewegen, schwanken)' > IE: NaIE *reb^h- vi. 'move'

1960. *r¹a¹hb[∇] 'tremble' ([in descendant lgs.] → [1] 'be disquiet, fear', [2] 'rage against so.' → 'attack') > IE: NaIE *ra|eb^h- / r_ob^h- 'rage'
1961. ₂ *ric¹∇ 'small pieces; to crush'
1962. *r[∇]g[∇]ć[∇] (= *rEgać[∇]?) '≈ to add'
1963. *rec¹∇ga 'to tie, to plait' > IE: NaIE *resg- '≈ weave; rope'
1964. ₂ *rač[∇] 'dirt'
1965. ₂ *rUč[∇] 'to run' > IE: NaIE *ret^h- v. 'run'
1966. *raĉê 'to spread, to stretch'
1967. *răĉ[∇] 'to break into pieces; piece, part'
1968. (₂?) *r¹e¹ĉ[∇] '≈ to please, to be pleased; pleasant, acceptable'
1969. *r[∇]ĉ[∇]₁∇₁χ[∇] (or *r[∇]χ[∇]₁∇₁ĉ[∇]) 'to wash'
1970. *r¹o¹dE 'to seek, to wish' > IE: NaIE *red^h-/*rod^h- (or *rad^h-?) v. 'seek, find, get; care for'
1971. *rayd[∇] 'foot; track; to walk' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to journey, to ride, fahren') > IE: NaIE *rej^dh- v. 'travel, move (fahren, in Bewegung sein)'
1972. *r[∇]g[∇]₁∇₁ř[∇] 'to quake, to move in agitation' > IE *ĥerg^h₁H_{X₁}- > NaIE *erg^h- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence'
1973. *rig¹h¹a (or *rigřa?) 'a scratch, line' > IE *rej^kH- > NaIE *rej^k(^h)- 'line, row; scratch'
1974. (₂?) *r[∇]g[∇]₁∇₁ř[∇] (or *ř[∇]g[∇]₁∇₁ř[∇]) 'foot, paw' > ?σ IE: OIr lurgā 'shin-bone'
1975. ?σ *rogU '≈ incline, incline\turn towards'
1976. *rAwg¹U¹ 'to destroy, to tear' > IE *rey^H- > NaIE *rewa-/*rū- 'tear to pieces, tear out'
1977. *rAŷ[∇]₁∇[?] 'follow, accompany' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'drive [a herd], graze') > ?σ IE: NaIE *rey^u-/*erw-/*ru-/*r- 'move, hasten'
1978. (₂?) *r[∇]H₂i (= *r[∇]h|ř|ĥi?) 'thing' > IE *reĥy- > NaIE *rēj⁻ (/ *rej⁻) 'thing'
1979. ? *r¹i¹kæ '≈ straight, row', (?) '≈ to arrange' > IE: NaIE *reġ- '≈ straight; to stretch, to stretch out', *reġī- 'direction, line'; ? NaIE *rej^ġ- > OHG reichen, AS ræcan 'reach, attain', Lt réižti 'stretch, tighten', {Frn.} 'recker, straffen'
1980. (₂?) *r[∇]kE (or *r[∇]kü[?]∇?) 'moist', 'contain\conduct water' > IE: NaIE *reġ- 'moist; pour\conduct water'

1981. *r∇k_LU_J∇ (or *r∇wk_L∇_J∇?) '∈ horn' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSl) *°rog_Lh_J- or *°rog_Lh_J- 'horn'

1982. *r∇k∇_J∇ 'speak, shout, say' > IE: NaIE *rek_L∇_J- / *rēk_L∇_J- id.

1983. *r¹a¹Kâ 'time, term' > IE: NaIE *°rok_L∇_J- > Sl *rokъ 'time appointed beforehand'

1984. *r¹o¹kô 'shelled animal (e.g., tortoise, crayfish)', 'shell (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *rō|āk_L∇_J- > Sl *rákъ 'crayfish'

1985. *r∇k_L∇ 'to skip, to hop, to dance'

1986. *ræ_Lw_JKæ 'sinew' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'cord, rope'), 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *reĕ- 'rope, strap'

1987. *raKax∇ (= *rakaxU?) 'arrange, put in order' > IE: NaIE *rek- ~ *rēk- {P} '(an)ordnen'

1988. *_L¹rôm∇ 'quiet; to rest' > IE: NaIE *_L¹rem(ə)- 'rest, be calm, quiet'

1989. *rûm∇ (or *rûm∇ñ∇) '≈ vein, muscle, strap' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'string, rope') > IE: NaIE *reum̃-/ *roum̃- > Gmc *reuman- '≈ leather strap, thong', Lt raumuō (gen. raumens) 'muscle', NaIE *°rem̃- > Sl *remi / gen. *remene 'leather strap'

1989a. ₂ *r¹û¹m∇ 'ant(s), vermin'

1990. *r¹û¹Hm∇ (= *r¹û¹gm∇?) 'dark' > IE: NaIE *rēmo- 'dark'

1991. *rāwm∇ 'chew' > IE: NaIE *reumen-/ *roumen- 'rumen; ruminate'

1992. *raxûm∇ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals' > IE: NaIE *reumen-/ *roumen- 'rumen, belly'

1993. *r∇yam∇ '∈ (big) fish'

1994. *ri_Lñ_Jĉ∇ '(tuft of) hair' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'eyebrow\eyelash, beard', 'stalk of grass') > IE: NaIE *°rens- (or *°renĕ-) '≈ eyelash, fringe'

1995. *¹rep∇ 'tear off, break' > IE: NaIE *¹rep- '≈ seize by plucking, tearing off, etc.'

1996. *r¹e¹p_f∇ 'make one's way with effort, climb, crawl' > IE *reĥp- (mt. of **r∇pH-?) > NaIE *rēp- 'creep, crawl'

1997. *riga|æ 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky' (= 'wackeln, wackelig sein') > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°reik|ĕ- vi. 'shake' ('wackeln')

1998. *rigû¹z¹∇ (= *rigü¹z¹∇?) 'to tie; loop' ([in descendant lgs.] → to tie [an animal] with a strap) > IE: IE *reig_Lg_LH_J- > NaIE *reig_Lg_L- 'tie, bind', IE **°reĝ_Lg_LH_J- > NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°reĝ_Lg_L- '≈ a tie'

1999. *râš̂∇ 'to sprinkle'; (→ ?) 'dew, moisture' > IE: NaIE *ro(:)s-, *ros-ā 'moisture, dew'

2000. *r∇h∇t̥∇ 'branch, stem, rod' > IE *reĥt-/ *roĥt-/ *rĥt- > NaIE *rēt-/ *rōt-/ *rāt- '≈ rod, stem'

2001. *row∇ (or *rowH∇?) 'dig, scratch, carve' > IE: NaIE *rey̯a- / *ru(:)- 'dig'

2002. *r∇w∇ 'water, stream of water; to drink (one's fill)'

2003. (₂?) *r∇_lh_jw∇ 'mix, (?) shake, (??) 'turn round'

2004. ₂ *r∇wX∇ 'broad' > IE *rey̯H- / *ruH- > NaIE *rey̯a- / *rū- 'spacious, broad', d. *rewes- 'space; wide'

2005. *r∇yE (= *r∇y^ri^r?), a compound prn. of plurality \ collectivity > IE *-ēr/*-r̥, 3p ending of the non-active paradigm of the verb (> Ht hī-paradigm, NaIE perfect)

2006. *sE 'he\she' (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects) > IE: [1] NaIE *s0 'he, this', m. nom., [2] IE *-s, nom. case ending of the animate gender (> NaIE nom. m., f.); [3] possibly IE *-es/*-os, genitive case ending (preserved best in the nominal inflection of consonantic stems) (< the pN deictic *ha or *h^re' + the N pronominal *sE)

2006a. *ś^rü^r (> **ś^ri) 'thou' (possibly an assibilated variant of *t̥^rü^r (> *t̥^ri) > IE *-si (/ *°-sej̯?), "primary" ending of 2s (pres. active) ||| NaIE *-s, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active)

2007. *ś∇ 'to, towards', directive\inessive postp.

2008. (₂?) *S∇_ly_j^rū^r 'be full' > IE: Ht suw- 'full', suwat- v. 'fill (füllen)', md. 'swell, become full'

2009. ₂ *ś^ri^rʔ^rb∇ 'strap, thong'

2010. *ś_li_lʔ_lb∇ (or *ś_li_lʔ_lb∇?) 'clean' > IE {E} *seyp- 'pure, what is taboo for humans' > Ht suppi- 'pure', suppa- 'flesh\viscera of sacrificed animals' || Um supra 'viscera of sacrificed animals'

2011. ?σ *śah^ri^rb∇ (or *śahüba??) 'desert; saline earth'

2012. *śab^rʔ^r∇ 'clay'

2013. *šib∇_l∇ 'beast of prey'

2014. *ś^ro^rb_l∇_lt̥∇ (or *s∇b_l∇_lt̥∇) 'stem, piece of wood' > IE: [1] IE *sp∇t- > Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer', NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle', [2] mt. NaIE *ste_lb^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree'

2015. ₂ *ś^rA^rʔ^rċ^r∇ '∈ stinging insect'

2016. ***Sač'u**¹ (or ***ś'ä'č'u**¹) 'scatter, spread about, pour' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'to winnow, to sift') > IE: Ht *sesariya* v. 'filter, strain', *sesaru* 'sieve'

2017. ***s|šæd**∇ (or ***s|šid**∇?) 'lower part'

2018. ***šid**∇ 'sprinkle, pour'

2019. ***sa'h**¹*ida* 'to take aim', 'to direct (e.g. a weapon) straight to the aim', (→ ?) 'to hit (the goal)' > IE: NaIE ***se|p_l;d^h**- / ***si(:)d^h**- / ***sæd^h**- 'go straight to a goal\aim'

2020. (₂?) ***Sid_lŷ_l∇r**∇ (~ ***Sid∇r_lŷ_l∇**) 'to shovel, to sweep' > ??σ IE: NaIE ***ster_lə_l**- v. 'rob'

2021. ***sagæ** (= ***sage**?) 'obtain, hold' > IE: NaIE ***seġ^h**- 'hold, seize, win (in a battle)'

2022. (₂?) ***sêg|k**∇ 'to eat, to swallow'

2023. ***Sûg**∇ 'back of the neck, back'

2024. ***śûyg**∇|∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing' > IE: NaIE ***sweġ^h|ġ^h**- / ***swiġ^h|ġ^h**- 'produce sound by blowing'

2025. ₂ ***Sigir**∇ 'ē (part of a) leg'

2026. ₂ ***ś'∇y**¹ŷU 'surface of water'

2027. ₂ ***šak**∇ 'sit, dwell'

2028. ***ś'ä**¹*ka|æ* 'strew, spread' > IE: NaIE ***seġ|ġ**- v. 'sow'

2029. ***šahk**¹*a*¹ 'search, find, know' > IE ***sehġ**- / ***shġ**- > NaIE ***sāġ**- / ***sæg**- 'scent out, track, search' (originally referring to hunt), Ht *sak(k)*- / *sek(k)*- 'know, find out'

2030. ***śäk_l∇_l?**U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker'

2031. ₂ ***š∇k∇R**∇ 'intoxicating drink' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'alcoholic drink')

2032. (₂?) ***š'o**¹Ŷo 'to follow' > IE: NaIE ***sek^ω**- id.

2033. UA ₂ ***SoĶâ** (= ***s|ś|śoĶâ**) 'blind'

2034. UA ₂ ***s|šoĶ**∇ 'to stick fast, to be stuck\motionless'

2035. ***šüĶ**¹*a*¹ 'to drink, to suck' > IE: NaIE ***seuĶ**- ~ ***seuġ**- 'suck', Ht *sakiuwai* v. 'water (horses)'

2036. ***ś∇Ķ**∇ 'honey' or 'bee'

2037. ? ₂ ***š∇Ķ**∇ 'to carve, to chisel' > IE ***sek**- v. 'chop'

2038. ₂ ***šuhĶ**∇ 'wish, covet'

2039. ***s'a**¹hĶ∇ 'thick, large'

2040. ***šik_lŷ_la** (or [less probably] ***šik_lŷ_la**) 'to sink' > IE: NaIE ***sek**- v. 'sink' (of water), 'flow down', 'dry up, be exhausted' (of liquid)

2041. ***ṣiKâ'y**∇ 'to pour' > IE: NaIE ***sejk_lʷ**- 'pour out, strain, leak, drip'

2042. ₂ ***SûKüR**∇ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes, parent-in-law' > IE: NaIE ***swekuro-s** 'husband's father', ***swe'krū-s** 'husband's mother', ? ***sweku'ro-** 'wife's brother'

2043. ₂ ***śal'a** 'tie, means of tying' (→ 'rope')

2044. ***śal'a** 'willow' > IE: NaIE ***saliĕ**- 'willow'

2045. ***sAl'e** 'put, throw'

2046. ***śalû** 'intact' (→ 'entire'), 'in good condition, healthy' > IE: NaIE ***sōlo-**, ***solwo-** 'entire'

2047. ₂ ***SiI**∇ 'hole'

2048. ***śiīi** ~ ***śiīay**∇ 'smooth, slippery' > IE: NaIE ***slej-m-** 'slippery', 'smooth', ? -d→ NaIE ***slej-m-āk-** 'snail'

2049. ***śiI**∇ 'be(come) liquid, melt, flow' > IE: Ht {Frd.} **salliya-** vi. md. 'melt, dissolve (in water)'

2050. ***śuI'u** 'lax, loose, slack' > IE: NaIE (in Gmc) ***sleu-** 'hanging down loosely, slack'

2051. ***śu'r**∇ (= ***śü'r**∇?) (or ***s-?**) 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom' > IE: NaIE ***swol-/sul-** 'sole of the foot; ground'; N ***ķûr**∇ **śu'r**∇ 'ε bottom (bone) of the leg\foot'

2052. ₂ ***śæ?ü'L**∇ ~ ***śæ?w'ü'L**∇ 'look for, search, ask'

2053. ₂ ***śi_l?_lL**∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook'

2054. ₂ ***S∇HaL**∇ 'salt, spice' > IE ***seh_l-/*shel-/*sh_l-** 'salt': nom. IE ***seh_l-s** > NaIE ***sāl-s**, accus. IE ***shel-m_o** > NaIE ***sal-m_o**; [] NaIE ***sal-d-** 'spice (malt, salt)'

2055. ***s'u**∇**wol**∇ (= ***süwol**∇?) 'liquid, moisture' > IE: NaIE ***sūl-**, -**ā** 'liquid, sludge'

2056. ***ś'oyi'l'u** 'entrails'

2057. ***sü_lw_l**∇ 'thread, string' > IE: Ht **sue|il**- 'Faden, Band'

2058. ***śalb**∇ 'cut out, pull out'

2059. ***śilk**∇ (= ***śilka**?) 'let out' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'throw', 'fall out') > IE: NaIE ***selg-** 'let out, throw, pour out, free'

2060. ***śal∇m**∇ 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'a place (a depression) where water collects'

2061. ***ś∇Lχit**∇ ~ ***ś∇Lχid**∇ 'to slip' > IE NaIE ***sleid^h-** 'slippery', v. 'slide', ***slid^h-os** 'slippery, smooth'

2062. *śú|žü(-kê) ⇨ *śil|ži(-kê) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' > IE: [1] NaIE *sleiǵ-/ *sliǵ- 'slime, saliva', [2] NaIE *slej- +ext. id.

2063. *fæmi 'fat (Fett)'

2064. (₂?) *sim∇ (= *sim∇ ?) 'name (as a sign of identity), the same' > IE: NaIE *sem-/ *som-/ *sm̥- 'the same, one' (→ 'together')

2065. *sim∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid'

2066. *ś|šêHm∇ 'to swallow'

2067. *s|š'í'Xm∇ 'be dark, darken'

2068. *śâym∇(-t∇) ≈ hips, loins'

2069. *ś'í'm∇ 'to hear'

2070. *śám_l∇,g∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair'

2071. *s'o'm_l∇,gE ⇨ *s'o'gmE 'enter, penetrate'

2071a. *Som∇d∇ (> *Sond∇??) 'sand, small stone', (?) 'dirt' > IE: NaIE *°sa|ond^h- and *sam_la_ld^h- 'sand'

2072. *Sämír∇ 'fat' ('Fett') > IE: ≈ NaIE *smeru- 'fat, grease' ('Schmer, Fett')

2073. (₂?) *SEm_l∇,t∇ 'cold'

2074. *ś|še_ly_lm_l∇,tA 'to tear, to break' > ?σ IE: NaIE *snejt- (mt. < *sejnt-) 'cut, harvest'

2075. *f'e'ñ∇ 'long time' ([in HS] → 'year'), 'old' > IE: NaIE *sen(0)- 'old; former'; NaIE *seno-mātēr 'grandmother'

2076. *śi|üñî(-k∇) (= *śi|üñû?) (or *śiñû) 'dark, night'; *śi|üñû 'sleep, dream' > IE: NaIE *sno_ud_l^h- / *snud_l^h- 'slumber'

2077. *fōñ'í 'one, only; to be separated' > IE: NaIE *seni- / *s_oni-, *senu-, s_o-ter- 'alone, separated', Ht sarni- 'one and the same'

2078. *Soñ∇ (= *šoñ∇?) 'hear' > IE: NaIE +ext. *sent- 'perceive, feel' (→ 'think')

2079. *fûñæ (or *fûyñæ) 'to disappear, to finish' > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°swejñ- 'decrease, (?) disappear', NaIE *swend^h- 'disappear, wither'

2080. ?σ *s'ü'N∇ (= *s'ü'η∇?) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm'

2081. *son'∇q'ü' (= *soni'q'ü'?) 'sinew, tendon; root' > IE: *sneñw-, *senñw-o- 'sinew'

2082. *s'ü'ñç'∇X∇ (= *s'ü'ñç'∇X∇?) 'worm, snake, (?) lizard'

2083. ₂ *śäN'č'∇ 'knee, articulation'

2084. ₂ *Sûñd∇ 'dry up' (intr.) > IE: NaIE *swend^h- 'wither, disappear'

2085. *S^rü¹ñdū '∈ river, body of water' > IE: NaIE *sindh^u- (??) 'river'
2086. (2?) *süN₁∇₁R∇₁∇ (or *süRN∇₁∇) 'nasal mucus', ? '≈ liquid'
> ? IE: NaIE *sero- 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood'
2087. *^rs¹ä₁ñ₁^rz¹â '(lock of) hair, feather'
2088. ?φ₂ *śew∇ñz∇ '∈ bone'
2089. *s|š¹äñ∇ 'tooth'
2090. *sûñ∇ 'to smell (sth.)'
2091. *ś¹äñeXæ (or *säñAXæ) 'to plait, to twist, to tie' > IE *sneñ- / *snoñ- (= *sneñ- / *snoñ-?) > NaIE *snē- / *snō- 'plait, twist' (→ 'spin'),
??σ Ht serahha- {Mn.} 'snare, ambush', {Ts.} 'Hinterhalt'
2092. *SUñ₁g₁^ro¹ 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' > IE: NaIE *seng^{ωh}- 'speak, make an incantation', 'sing'; NaIE *swen- v. 'sound, echo, ring'
2093. *ś¹inkU 'sink, fall' > IE: NaIE *seng^ω- v. 'fall, sink'
2094. *śa^re₁ñ₁k∇ ¬ *śe^ra₁ñ₁k∇ 'be near, approach'
2095. *säñqU 'shoulder, nape, back of the neck'
2096. *Sap∇ 'to taste, to be tasty' > IE: NaIE *sap- ~ *sab- 'juice', v. 'taste, perceive'
2097. *saP₁^rü¹ (-ś∇) 'thorn, pointed stake' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'needle') > IE: Ht sapikkusta- ~ sepikkusta- 'needle'
2098. ₂ *śap∇ 'riverbank, river'
2099. *ś¹ip∇ 'to pour, to drop, to drizzle, to filter\screen' > IE: NaIE *seip- / *seib- v. 'pour, spill, screen'
2100. *ś¹ip∇ '(young of a) bird'
2101. (2?) *ś^rü¹P₁∇ (or *ś^rü¹æP₁∇?) 'to sleep', '(?) to rest (sich erholen)' > IE *swep- / *sup- v. 'sleep' > Ht sup- v. md. 'sleep' || NaIE *swep- / *sup- v. 'sleep, dream' ⇔ NaIE {E} *¹swopniyo-m 'dream'; IE *swep∇r- / *sup∇r- 'dream, sleep'
2102. *S^rü¹p₁∇ 'to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swep- / *seup- 'sweep'; ?σ NaIE *swep- / *seup- 'pour (schütten), scatter'
2103. *śEP₁q₁∇ 'cover, bury' > IE: ?μ NaIE *^osepel- v. 'bury'
2104. *säq₁i₁yê 'matter, pus, gall'
- 2104a. *śaR∇ 'top, hill' > IE *ser- / *sr- > Ht ser 'oben, oberahlb, darauf, darüber', Gk Hm ῥῶν 'peak'
2105. *śAr∇ (na) 'sing, utter ritual\magical incantations'
2106. *säR^rU¹ 'sinew, fibre' > IE: NaIE *ser- 'thread, string'

2107. *śeR∇ 'row' > IE: NaIE *ser- 'fasten together in rows', (P) 'aneinander reihen, knüpfen'

2108. *ś'E'r∇ 'back (dos), nape of neck'

2109. *S'i'R∇ 'red, yellow' > IE: NaIE *ser-/sor- (+exts. *-to-, *-b_Lh₁o-, *-p-, *-k|k̄-) 'red, reddish'

2110. *sūr∇ 'rub, scrape, smear'

2111. *śuŕê 'heavy, large' ([in K] → 'full', 'whole') > IE: NaIE *swer- 'heavy'

2112. *śihr∇ 'late' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'evening, night') > IE: NaIE *sēr- 'late'

2112a. *S'i'hûr∇ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > IE: NaIE {Schn.} *syēǵuro-/*syēǵu'ro-, {EI} *syō(u)ros 'wife's brother'

2113. (₂?) *SuH|wER∇ (= *śuWER∇?) 'sour, seasoned' > IE: NaIE *sūro- 'sour, salty, bitter'

2114. ? *ś'EḂar∇ 'bright; daybreak'

2115. *ś|śayiw∇r∇ 'nit'

2116. *ser_L∇₁X∇ 'grove, coppice; ∈ tree'

2117. *ś_Liy₁ar_LU₁y∇ 'beam' ([in descendant lgs.] → pole')

2118. ?σ₂ *śiRb∇ 'sinew; to sew'

2119. *S'ü'rb∇ ⇄ *S'ü'b∇r∇ 'to swing, to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swerb^h-/*surb^h- v. 'swing, sweep'

2120. *ś∇Rixka 'cold' > IE: NaIE *srēǵ-/srīg-, *srīg-os(-) 'cold, frost'

2121. *śURt∇ 'dirt(y)' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'dirty, black'

2122. *Saś'i' 'to drip' > IE: NaIE *sresk- v. 'drip' (*-esk- goes back to a sx.)

2123. ₂ *Suśi '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain' > IE: Ht sesariya- 'sehen, filtrieren'

2124. *Sûr∇ (= *SuśE?) 'speak, declare' > IE *swer- 'speak (solemnly)'

2125. *śihaŕu, -P₂∇ 'dirt, earth' > IE: NaIE *sroupp-/*srup- 'scabby dirt on the body' ('schorfiges Schmutz am Körper')

2126. *śiŕka ~ *śi'ŕ'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish' > IE: NaIE *serg^h- v. 'languish, be ill'

2127. ₂ *ś|śuś|ś∇ 'worm, snake'

2128. *sa'w'ûś∇ 'get dry, harden' > IE: NaIE *saŷs- / *sus- 'dry, arid'

2129. *sit∇ 'tooth' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sickle?')
2130. *sit∇ 'to tie' ([in d. l.] → 'to spin').
2131. *süt_ly_l∇ ~ *sü_ly_lt∇ 'to drink, to suck (milk); milk' > IE: NaIE *sweǵid- 'milk'
2132. ₂ *s̄∇t∇L∇ 'to set, to put, to collocate' > IE: NaIE *stel- v. v. 'place, put, set' (stellen, setzen)
2133. *s∇Tîm∇ (= *s∇tîm∇?) 'to hear' (←|→ 'ear'), ? 'to feel' > IE: Ht istamass- 'hear', istamana- 'ear'
2134. *sUṭû 'beat, strike' > IE: NaIE *(s)teu-k/g- 'hit, strike'
2135. *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self' ([← '[human] body [??]'] > IE: NaIE *swe- ~ *se- 'himself' ('sich'), gen. {P} *sewe, dat. {P} *seb^heǵ, {Szem.} *seb^hi, enclitic gen.-dat. *s(w)oǵ 'of/to himself', *sw0- (pronominal adj.) 'his own'
2136. ₂ *s̄i^hw∇ 'sun'
2137. ?φ (₂?) *s̄¹äw_lǵ_l∇ 'to want', 'to beg' ([in descendant lgs.] → desiderative, volitive) > IE: NaIE *-s-, *-sy-: [1] volitive sx. *-s- 'want to'; [2] in several lgs. *-s-, *-sy0- changed into a marker of future
2138. *síw^ǵǵ¹a (or *síwga) 'to smear' > ?φ IE: Ht sah- 'verunreinigen, beschmieren'
2139. *SuwH₁∇ 'to push, to cause' (→ 'to ask for', → causative) > IE *seuH_x-/*suH_x- > NaIE *sewə- '≈ set in motion', Ht {Ts.} suwāy- 'stoßen, drängen, schieben', {EI} 'push, urge'
2140. *s¹r̄ü¹wĥâ ṽ *s¹E²uwh∇ 'moisture, water, rain', 'to (be) wet' > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu(ə)-/sū- 'moisture, rain'
2141. (₂?) *s∇wH₂∇ 'to drink'
2142. 0 *s̄¹ow¹y∇ 'to sound' > IE: NaIE {P} *sweǵ_l-/*swi- v. 'sound', +ext.: *sweǵ_lsd- v. 'sound' ('buzz', 'whistle', and sim.)
2143. *siž∇ 'stream, small body of water (lake & sim.)' > IE: NaIE *selos- 'lake, marsh'
2144. ₂ *suǵ|gž∇ 'finger(s), hollow hand'
2145. *sežA 'a relative from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ('father\son-in-law', 'mother's brother', and sim.)
2146. *Si^ǵǵ¹∇ 'to skin, to scratch'
2147. *šuby∇ 'spike, spear; to pierce'
2148. ₂ *šUd∇ 'fasten tightly, strangle, be violent to so.'
2149. *šûřad∇ (= *šûřad∇?) 'good, happy, pleasant' > IE *swehd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant, enjoy' (*swā¹du-s 'sweet', *swād^w-

ī-s 'sweet, pleasant', *s^wād-ō- 'savoury, pleasant', *^swādōs- 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction', *s^wādon-om, *s^wādon-a 'delight, pleasure')

2150. *š^rayū¹d∇ 'throw, (?) leave (abandon)'

2151. *š^rūhi¹?∇ 'fade', 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > IE: NaIE *s^wī- (also +exts. *-g-, *-k-) 'decrease, become less, be(come) silent'

2151a. *š^ra¹q_L∇g_LaR∇ 'soot' (→ 'black')

2152. *š^rah_KE 'to cover, to hide'

2153. *š^ro_Ko^rġ¹ê 'to say' > IE: NaIE *sek^w- v. 'say'

2154. *š^rīL∇ 'quiet' > IE: NaIE *sil- 'be silent, be quiet'

2155. *š^ru_Lġ¹ê¹ 'throat, mouth' > IE: NaIE *swel- v. 'swallow', +ext.: *swelk- 'Schlund', 'swallow'

2156. *š^rū|ugL∇ 'throw down (the enemy), attack, be hostile'

2157. ₂ *š^rU_LH₂L∇ '∈ roe, deer'

2158. (₂?) *š^ra_LΓ∇ 'strike, break' > ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) *slak|k̄- or *slak|k̄- 'beat, strike'

2159. *š^re_L∇ (or *š^re_L∇) 'take away\off, destroy, pull off' > IE: NaIE *sel(wo)- v. 'take away\off, seize'

2160. (₂?) *š^r∇n_L∇_L∇ 'make, build' > ?σ IE *senX- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > NaIE *se|anā-, *se|anu- id., Ht sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require'

2161. *š^rünigo (or *š^rüŋo?) 'snow' > IE: NaIE *sneig^wh- v. 'snow', *snig^wh-, *snoig^wh_o- n. 'snow'

2162. *š^rU_ŋE 'breathe' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soul')

2163. *š^ran_g∇ 'to wish, to like, to love'

2164. ?σ (₂?) *š^ran_{Ka} 'stalks, branches', ? 'straw'

2165. *š^ro_ŋka 'be tight (too narrow), be heavy, be difficult' > IE: NaIE *swenk- 'be heavy \ difficult'

2166. *š^riner∇ 'mouse'

2167. UA ₂ *š^rär∇ 'to spread'

2168. ₂ *š^roRw∇ 'dry; to get dry'

2169. *š^ra^ri¹X∇ 'to stream, to flow' > IE: IE *serH-, NaIE *srey- v. 'stream, flow'

2170. *š^rüRd∇ 'fibre (used as thread)'

2171. *š^rêR_L∇_Lm^rü¹ 'sinew, root'

2172. *š^reh^réE 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > IE *se^rH(wo)- > NaIE *sēr- 'sorgend Obacht geben, schützen, bewahren', *ser-wo- > L

servā- v. 'watch over, keep' || ?? Ld katare- (= kat-sare-) 'stand watch', sarēta 'protector'

2173. *š'ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' > IE *sed- v. 'sit (down)'

2174. *š'i't∇ (= *š'i'tU?) 'thread (made of hair?)'

2175. *š'ayu't∇ (or *šaṭUy∇?) 'twig, rod'

2176. *šaw∇ '(in the) middle' > IE: NaIE *-su, locative pl. ending (← 'among' ← 'in the middle')

2177. *šüwA - *šuwE 'fit, good' > IE: NaIE *su- 'good, well', esp. as the first element in cds. (e.g. *su-bhago- {P} 'beglückend' in IIn and SI)

2178. ?σ(₂?) *šuw?∇ 'weak' > IE: NaIE *°swī- > Ic svía 'to abate' (of pain)

2179. *š'e'wh∇ 'give birth, be born' > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seuḷaḷ-/*sū- 'give birth']]] -d> [1] IE *suH-nu- > NaIE *sū'nu-s 'son', [2] *suH-yu- 'son'

2180. *šûwh∇ 'loosen' ('release', 'let out', 'melt', etc.) > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seuḷaḷ- / *sū- 'let, neglect'

2180a. *š'a?Eb∇ 'to rot; rotten' > IE: NaIE {WP} *k̄saḷp- v. 'rot'.

2181. *š∇bḷ∇ - *š∇ḷb∇ (= *šûbḷ∇ - *šûḷb∇?) 'tribe, people' > IE: NaIE *sebḥā (~ *°swebḥ-?) 'tribe, Sippe'

2182. *šab|pEh'i' 'log, piece of wood' > IE *(s)pehḷ- 'long\pointed piece of wood' > [1] NaIE *°(s)p(ḥ)ēḷ-/*(s)p(ḥ)ī- 'pointed piece of wood', [2] +ext. with *-d- ~ *-t-: Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer', NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle'

2183. *šæbḷ∇X∇ 'tallow, animal fat' > IE: L sēbum 'tallow', sēbōsus adj. 'fat'

2184. ₂ *šad∇ 'to tie'

2185. ?σ *šæd∇w∇ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)' > ? possibly IE: NaIE *°s'ē'dḥ- > Gmc {Wtk.} *sīdō 'side'

2186. *šägaR∇ 'cut, pierce' > IE: NaIE *sker- v. 'cut'

2187. ₂ *š∇y∇ 'ray'

2188. ₂ *š'a'ka 'to cover' (→ 'to clothe') > IE: NaIE *sag- ~ *seg- v. 'cover, wrap, clothe'

2189. (₂?) *šok∇ 'be mad\stupid\intoxicated'

2189a. (₂?) *š'i'ḷ|ḷ'Uk∇ 'flesh, meat'

2190. *šaḷa 'to split, to cleave' > IE: NaIE *sek- v. 'chop', NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe'

2191. ***ÊE**κ₀ 'look at, watch, see' > **IE** *sek^ω- 'look at, see'
2192. ***Êi**κ₁'U¹ 'to get\be cold; cool'
2193. (₂?) ***Ê**śu₁ʔa₁κ₁∇(r₁∇) 'resin' > **IE**: NaIE *^os(ω)ek₁^ω- id.
2194. ***Êi**l₁'û¹ (or ***Êi**l₁'û¹?) 'take, take away\off' > **IE**: NaIE *sel(ω₀)-v. 'take, seize, lay hold of'
- 2194a. ***Êi**l₁∇ (or ***si**l₁∇?) 'fat (Fett)' > **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) *selp- n. 'fat'
2195. ***Ê**śu₁l₁∇ (= ***Êu**l₁∇?) 'trunk, log' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'board', 'trough', and sim.) > **IE**: NaIE *swel- 'plank, board' ~ *sel- 'board', 'trough', 'bench', and sim.
2196. ***Ê**'û¹l₁i 'neck, nape'
- 2196a. ***Êi**ś₁l₁∇yâ or ***Êi**ś₁l₁∇yâ 'tooth, fang' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sharp stick')
2197. ***Ê**₁aH₁'û¹L₁∇ 'dew'
2198. ***Ê**äl₁∇₁qU 'cleave, cut asunder'
2199. ***Ê**äl₁i₁ω∇ (or ***Ê**äl₁i₁ω∇y∇ '∈ a wild gallinacean fowl'
2200. ***Êi**l₁∇(-ma) 'eye; look, examine' > ? **IE**: Clt: OIr sell 'iris de l'œil, œil' ⇨ sellaid '(he) looks'; W sylu, Cm sellos, Br sellout, sellet v. 'look'] OIr súil 'eye'
2201. ***Êi**'f₁ω∇ 'shank, flesh\meat of a limb'
2202. ***Ê**êl₁∇ 'bough, twig, stick'
2203. ***Ê**'a₁nā 'word; say' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'think')
2204. UA₂ ***Ê**æH₁n₁∇ 'mushroom, fungus, sponge (Schwamm)'
2205. ***ÊE**'y₁o₁ntU 'finger(s), fist'
2206. ***Ê**ü₁∇ 'milk; to suck(le)'
2207. (₂?) ***Ê**o₁∇ 'to wish' (→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive' [→ 'to reach'])
2208. ₂ ***Ê**a|o₁∇ ≈ run, jump, climb'
2209. ₂ ***Ê**'a₁∇ 'bark, skin' (→ 'vessel')
2210. ***Ê**'ä₁∇ ≈ bough, inedible (or less valuable) parts of plants (straw, rind of fruit)' > **IE**: NaIE *sonko- (or *song^ho-) 'sheaf of ears, straw, chaff'
2211. ***Ê**ap∇ (or ***Ê**op∇?) 'to sew (leather); leather'
2212. ***Ê**apE₁h₁∇ ≈ log, trunk of a tree' > **IE**: NaIE *sp^hēn- 'long flat piece of wood'
2213. ***Ê**u₁∇ 'breathe in, smell sth.' > **IE**: NaIE *swek₁- v. 'smell (of sth.), smell sweet'
2214. ***Ê**ar∇ 'be dry' > **IE**: NaIE *k₁se(:)r- '(be) dry', *k₁se(:)r-o- 'dry'

2215. ₂ *^rš¹ER∇ 'to roast'
2216. ₂ *^šiR∇ 'skin (of animals), rawhide'
2217. *^šûr∇ 'a herd\swarm\flock (of wild animals)'
2218. (₂?) *^še_la_r∇ 'reach, approach, enter'
2219. *^šo_lr∇ – *^šo_lA_r∇ 'grain, (wild) cereal'
2220. *^šä_{yoy}_li_r∇ 'hair'
2221. *^šihr∇ '≈ gray, bright' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'dark?')
2222. (₂?) *^šiX_lU_r∇ 'side, edge'
2223. *^šêr_w∇ 'insert, thrust in, stop up'
2224. *^šo¹rUb∇ 'to drink, to gulp, to sup, to suck' > IE: NaIE *serb^h- / *sorb^h- / *sr̥b^h- v. 'sip, sup, drink', Ht sarap- / sarep- v. 'sip (nippen)'
2225. *^šE^ʔ∇¹Rb∇ 'coarse hair, eyebrow'
2226. ₂ *^šäR_Kê ≈ break, split, cut'
2227. *^šE_rE_K'a¹ 'red, yellow' > IE: NaIE (in Blt) *^oser|k^ω- 'red, reddish'
2228. *^šER_l∇_rK∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'plait' > IE: NaIE *serk- 'wicker-work, wattling', ? v. 'hedge in', Ht sar-nin-k- 'compensate'
2229. ₂ *^š∇_t∇_w∇ 'cold weather'
2230. (₂?) *^šo_t∇ 'to exercise magic' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to curse', 'to bless')
2231. ₂ *^š|_çu_t∇ ≈ vulva, anus'
2232. *^šat_ʔ'ahi¹ ≈ to take away' > IE: *steH- > NaIE *(s)tā_j- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *(s)tā_yu-s- 'thief, theft', *tā_j- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tā_yu-s-, *tā_ti-s 'thief'
2233. *^š∇_t∇_R∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to twist (means of tying)' > IE: NaIE *stre_l_g- 'twist together; rope'
2234. (₂?) *^rš¹o¹w∇ 'feather, wing'
2235. ₂ *^š∇_w∇ 'to swell'
- 2235a. *^šä^ʔi_wE (or *^çä^ʔi_wE?) 'body of water', (??) 'wet\swampy ground'
2236. ₂ *^šo¹hy∇ 'to wish'
2237. ?σ₂ *^š∇_y∇ 'thing'
2238. *^šü_zĀ 'heart' (← 'breast'??)
2239. *t^ʔä¹ 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > IE [1] NaIE *dē 'away (from), from', [2] NaIE *-de / *-T (archiphoneme *-d^h | *-d | *-t), separative (abl.) case ending || AnIE *-a^ʔi, ablative case ending

2240. *t∇, a postnominal marker (prn.?) of plurality ('together')

2241. *tiʔû 'shine, be bright, be seen' > IE: [1] *deǵ- 'shine, be bright'; [2] *dyeǵ- 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven', Ht siu- 'god', [2a] IE *dyēus-pātēr 'father daylight, father heaven' (name of a god), [2b] d. with an *o-sx.: NaIE *'deǵwo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god')

2242. ₂ ≈ *toʔi 'fig'

2243. *tūʔo¹ 'two' > IE *dwo̯(u) 'two' m. (and *dwəǵ f./ntr.); the initial component of a cd.: NaIE *dwi- 'two-, bi-' || HrLw tu-wa-i 'two', accus. tuwaⁿzi 'duos', Ht cd. da-yuga 'two years old', dān 'for the second time'

2244. ₂ ≈ *taǵi¹ 'to tear' > IE: NaIE *dā-/ *dā-, *dāǵ-/ *dāǵ-/ *dī- v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces'

2245. *tUb∇ (= *tūba?) (or *tiba?) 'grass'; 'dry grass' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'straw'), to cut grass\plants'

2246. *tæbǵ∇ (= *täbǵ∇?) 'follow, run, chase' ([in pN or in descendant lgs.] → 'beg hard, demand')

2246a. ?σ₂ *tæb₁∇₁ś∇ ≈≈ heel; to trample, to kick with the foot'

2247. *taʔæga 'rock, mountain; top'

2248. ₂ *tuʔg¹∇ (or *tūʔg¹∇?) 'listen, hear'

2249. (₂?) *tiʔ∇ 'to flow' > ?σ IE *deǵH- > NaIE *deya-/ *dyā-, *dyā-, *dī- 'hurry, run quickly'. An alt. etymological comparison: N *tiq∇ 'to flow'.

2250. *t'e¹ʔaw¹a¹ 'fire' > IE *deH₂- (= *deə₂u-) > NaIE *dāu- / *dāw- / *du(:)- (/ ? *dēw-) vt. 'burn, kindle'

2251. *toH¹ü¹ ~ *ta|æH¹ü¹ (= *to¹Γ¹ü¹ ~ *ta|æ¹Γ¹ü¹?) 'bring, fetch, give' > IE *deH^w- ~ *deH^ww- > NaIE *dō-/ *dā-, *dōu-/ *dāu-/ *du- v. 'give' || ? Lc M {ABIV.} da-/du- v. 'give (?)', Ld dāv 'I give (?)'

2252. *tawikæ 'insect, vermin, (?) reptile' > IE *deǵǵ- '≈ tick (Ixodes)'

2253. *tekǵ∇ 'to touch' > IE: NaIE *deg|ǵ- v. 'touch'

2254. ₂ *tAkU¹ñ|ñ¹∇ (or *tAkU₁H∇₁?) 'bug'

2255. *tAkæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit' > IE *deġ- v. 'suit, be fit'] ⇨ NaIE *deġ-os 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace']]] ? ⇨ IE *deġs- 'fortunate, right (dexter)'

2256. *t'e¹Kæ 'take, carry' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'get, possess') > IE *deġ- {Mn.} v. 'find, get', {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen', ? Ht {Ts.} taks- 'fügen, bereiten'

2257. *tik̥r̥ü¹ ≈ 'to show' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'say') > IE *deǵk̥- v. 'show' (→ 'say')

2258. *toḱE|a or *taḱE|a 'to tear' > IE: NaIE *deḱ- (or *dek-) v. 'tear (up), reduce to threads'

2259. *täyḱ▽ 'finger', → 'one' > IE: NaIE *deǵk̥|k̥(ᵛ)- 'finger'; an alt. rec.: *ot̥yḱ▽ 'finger' (> IE) and *ṭäḱ▽ 'one' (> HS, T)

2260. *taL▽ 'to shake, to wave' (and reduplication: *taL▽-taL▽) > IE: NaIE *del(d), ? *doul- vi. 'shake, swing'

2261. *täL▽ 'cut (split, trim, cleave)' > IE: NaIE *del̥a₁- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen')

2262. *tiī▽ ≈ 'to rough-hew, to chisel (bebauen), to cut into slices' > IE: NaIE *del̥a₁- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen')

2263. *tuI▽ ≈ 'tell (a story), utter ritual\magical incantations' > IE *del- 'tell, narrate, utter ritual incantations'

2264. ₂ *tUL▽ ≈ 'to line up' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to count') > IE: NaIE *del- ≈ 'row, thread', v. 'count, narrate'

2265. ₂ *t|ṭ▽L▽ 'hang'

2266. *toH₂I▽ (or *toĪH₂▽) 'to fill, to pile up; full'

2267. *ta|ṣ'o¹ ≈ '(back of the) neck, shoulders' > IE (att. in Blt) *od̥l̥h̥eĪH-b-/*od̥l̥h̥oĪH-b-/*od̥l̥h̥oĪH- 'upper arm'

2268. *tæLṣĒ(-ga) 'be long' > IE: [1] *del̥h̥- > NaIE *del̥a₁- 'long', [2] IE *deleḥḡh-/*d̥l̥h̥'ḡh-o- 'long' > Ht d̥aluḱi- 'long', [3] NaIE *d̥longh̥o- 'long'

2268a. *tu|ṣ▽ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit'

2269. *t'a¹Ih▽ ⇄ *tahEI▽ ≈ 'to hit, to damage, to be damaged' > IE *deh̥l-/*d̥h̥l- > NaIE *dēl-/*d̥al- v. 'damage, destroy'

2270. *tæĪh̥'o¹ ≈ 'be\make foolish, deceive' > IE: NaIE *del- {P} 'listig schädigen', *del-os 'lure'

2271. *täĪUH₂A ⇄ *taĪUH₂ä ≈ 'cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain', 'moist' ('humide')

2272. *tAÍ▽ 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant languages] → 'to thresh')

2273. ₂ *tuÍ|I▽ ≈ 'be bright, be light (hell)'

2274. ₂ *tVÍ▽ (= *tA'y|H¹í▽ or *ti'y|H¹AÍ▽?) 'female'

2275. *ti₁?a₁ío 'stone, heap of stones'

2276. *teÍ̄l̥H₂Ī▽ 'to bore, to pierce' > IE: NaIE *del̥a₁- v. 'cleave, carve'

2277. *tem ∇ 'full, complete'
2278. *t ∇ m ∇ (= *tam ∇ ?) 'hair'
2279. ₂ *t ∇ m ∇ 'worm, snake' > IE: NaIE *dem(-el)- 'worm'
2280. ₂ *t'a'h₁ ∇ ₁m ∇ 'fire; to kindle; very hot'
2281. *tamH₁' \hat{u} ' (or *tāmH₁' \hat{u} ') 'earthen wall, hut' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'house') > IE *dom₁H₁u-, *dom₁H₁o-, *demH- (= *dom₁H₁u-, *dom₁H₁o-, *demH₁-?) > NaIE *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build'; +ext. *-r- 'building', v. build, carpenter'; HrLw tama- 'build'
2282. ₂ *t ∇ m₁ ∇ ₁s \hat{u} ∇ 'to gather; dense' > IE *dens-/*d η s- '≈ dense'
2283. *t'o' ∇ N ∇ 'appear' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seem')
- 2283a. *tE η g ∇ l \hat{i} ∇ 'heavenly light in the night (star[s], moon)' > IE: NaIE * $\text{d}\eta$ g₁' \hat{i} lo- > Gmc *tungla- 'star(s), constellation'
2284. *t \hat{o} 'p' \hat{a} 'head, top' > IE: NaIE * do p- ~ *dub- 'tip, summit' (?)
2285. *t \hat{u} |u ∇ 'to blow, to breathe'
2286. *tup ∇ 'tail, back' > ? IE: NaIE *dubb- (if the original meaning was 'tail') > Ltv d \hat{u} ba 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe', Gmc *tuppa 'plait (of hair)'
2287. *ta'P' ∇ k ∇ (or *taw ∇ k ∇ ?) 'to obstruct, to prevent, (?) to overpower'
2288. *teq' \hat{a} e'U' 'say, talk to' > IE *d₁' \hat{e} h̄- 'say' > NaIE *d₁' \hat{e} - 'say', Ht te- {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen'
2289. *ter ∇ 'to tear, to burst' > IE *der-, *derH- v. 'split, tear, burst'
2290. *tuR ∇ 'back, back side' > IE: NaIE *dors-/*ders- '≈ back (dos)'
2291. *t \hat{u} R ∇ or *tuRE 'pierce, stick into; hole' > IE: NaIE *der- v. 'prick, pierce', 'hole'
2292. ? σ *t \hat{u} wr ∇ \neg *tuwrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' > IE (+ext.): NaIE *derb \hat{h} - 'turn, twist\bind together'
2293. *t \hat{u} r \hat{e} \neg *tur \hat{e} 'full, filled'
2294. *tarH₂ ∇ 'to drink'
2295. *tirH ∇ 'lie (liegen), lie down, sink' > IE *dre \hat{h} -/*dr \hat{h} - > NaIE *drē-/drā- v. 'sleep'
2296. *toRg \hat{a} e (= *torg \hat{a} ?) 'weak, loose' > IE: NaIE *dre \hat{g} \hat{h} - '≈ be slack, be loose, be weak'
2297. *t \hat{a} eRp ∇ (or *t \hat{a} eRp ∇ ?) 'tremble, shake' > IE: NaIE * d rep- ~ * d trep- 'shake, tremble'

2297a. *ta^hrû '(ε) tree, log' > IE *deru- / *doru- / *dreu_h- / *drou_h- / *dru-, {EI} *^hdoru / gen. *^hdrou_h-s 'tree, wood'

2298. (2?) *to^hr̥^h∇ 'bark; to bark (remove the bark), to peel' > IE: NaIE *der- v. 'skin, flay, bark'

2299. *t̥^h∇^h∇ 'suffer, endure'

2300. *tA^hr̥q∇ '≈ make an incision, dig' > IE *derH- 'sth. dug'

2301. *tus∇ or *tüs∇ 'against, in the opposite direction' > IE [1] NaIE *dus- 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds.)] [2] NaIE *deu_s- v. 'lack'

2302. *^ht^huS∇ 'bush (shrub)' > IE: NaIE *dus-(mo-) 'shrub'

2302a. *tæ^hs̥^h∇ (more probable than *dæ^hs̥^h∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE *dē_s- / (?) *des- 'find, meet'

2303. (2?) *t̥^hH₂t̥^h∇ 'finger' ([in D] → 'point, sharp edge?') (= *tū_{H₂}t̥^h∇ [?]; an alt. rec. is *ta_{H₂}ünt̥^h∇)

2304. ?φ₂ *tū^hw∇ 'rain; to sprinkle'

2305. *t̥^hw∇ 'head' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'oneself') > IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -za id.

2306. *tayh∇ (or *tagy∇?) 'incline, bend, stagger'

2307. (2?) *ta^hq|g^hayû 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes)' > IE *dehywer- > NaIE *^hdā_jwēr / *^hdā_jwer- (gen. *^hdā_jw^hr-es) 'husband's brother'

2308. *taqoz^hi 'to plait, to wattle' > IE *de^h(y)- > NaIE *dē-/ *dæ-, *dē_j- / di(:)- v. 'bind'

2309. *tū₁y₃|ž^h∇ (or *tū₁w|^hž^h∇) 'ε part of an arm\leg' > IE: NaIE *dou_s- '(upper) arm, shoulder'

2310. *t̥^hä, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects (without distance opposition [proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]) > IE [1] NaIE *t̥^h- (nom.-accus. *t̥^h-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender] [2] *-d = *-T (word-final archiphoneme from **^h-t), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns] [3] IE *-ti, "primary" verbal ending of 3s; IE *-t, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s

2311. *t̥^hi, a syntactic pc. that constructs analytical nomina actionis > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx. of nomina actionis

2312. *t̥^hü^h (> *t̥^hi) 'thou' > IE: [1] NaIE *tū nom. 'thou' and possibly *t̥^hw-om id., AnIE *ti 'thou' nom.] [2] IE *twe and *te 'thee', *tu-

/*twe-//*teu-//*te- (+ case markers or without them) functioning as the stem of the prn. of 2s

2312a. *t̥'ü' ʔa ~ *s̥'ü' ʔa 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (N *t̥'ü' ~ *s̥'ü' 'thou' + N *ʔa, pc. of plurality) > IE verbal endings of 2p: {Bks.} "primary" *-tHe, "secondary" *-te

2313. *t̥∇, a marker of passive participial constructions (verb + *t̥∇ = an analytical construction with the meaning of past participle or passive verbal adjectives) > IE: NaIE *-to-, a marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning), that in some daughter lgs. were incorporated into the verbal paradigm as passive participle

2314. (₂?) *t̥∇, pc. of marked (definite?) accusative (→ accus. of pronouns) > ? IE *°-_le_l∇, accus. ending of personal pronouns

2315. *t̥EʔU 'to take' > IE: Ht d̥a-, HrLw t̥a- v. 'take'

2316. *t̥ab∇ 'fit, good' > IE: NaIE *d̥hab̥h-, d̥hab̥h-ro- 'fit, good'

2317. ?σ₂ *t̥ab∇ '≈ head'

2318. ₂ *t̥æb∇ 'catch, seize'

2319. *t̥'ebA (~ *t̥em_lb_l∇?) 'ruminant (antelope, cervid)'

2320. ₂ *t̥ob∇ 'teat'

2320a. *t̥ûb∇ 'thin, small, of short stature'

2321. (₂?) *t̥üb∇ (or *t̥ubE?) 'calm, quiet, (?) even'

2322. *t̥uh₂ib∇ 'reed, stick' > IE: [1] NaIE *t̥w̥īb̥h-, *t̥ub̥h- 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') [2] ?σ NaIE *d̥heub̥h-/*d̥hub̥h- 'pin, wedge'

2323. ₂ *t̥æb̥ʔU' 'to fill' (or ₂ *t̥æp̥ʔU' 'to fill')

2324. *t̥ub̥ʔ∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > IE: NaIE *d̥heub̥h- ~ *dhumb- 'depression in the ground (filled with water)'

2325. *t̥Ub̥ʔ∇ 'hoof, (finger-\toe-)nail, sole of the foot, heel'

2326. *t̥üb̥ʔA 'deep' > IE: NaIE *d̥heub̥h- 'deep', *dhumb- 'Erdvertiefung'

2327. ?_l *t̥äb̥Ha or *t̥ab̥HE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press' > IE {EI} *dep̥H- > NaIE *dep̥h- 'trample, push, knead, strike'

2327a. *t̥ab̥_l∇_lqa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'kill')

2328. ?φ₂ *t̥∇b̥∇^l∇ 'dip in, immerse'

2329. ₂ *t̥ûH̥c̥^l∇ ~ *d̥ûH̥c̥^l∇ 'glide, slip'

2330. ≈ *t̥äwod∇ 'be full' > ?σ IE *teyt- 'the whole, everybody, people'

2331. *t̥ogæ 'dust, earth' > IE *d̥hēg̥h̥ōm / *d̥hēg̥h̥em- 'earth', Ht tekan / gen. taknas 'earth'

2332. (₂?) ***ṭog**∇ 'straight' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'true') > ? IE: NaIE *de^{k̄}s- 'fortunate; right (dexter)'
2333. ***ṭæg**w∇ 'swell, become thick\large\strong', ? 'become fat' > IE *teHw-/*t_oH-/*t_ou- > NaIE *tēw-/*təu-/*t_wō-/*tū- '≈ big, strong'
2334. ***ṭey**w∇ 'ask (for), beg'
2335. ***ṭaka**|æ (or ***ṭoka**?) 'to touch' > IE: NaIE *tag- v. 'touch'
2336. ***ṭäk**∇ (or ***ṭäk**∇?) 'to attack'
2337. ***ṭ'e**kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' > IE {P} *te^{k̄}p-, {EI} *te^{k̄}s- 'fabricate', {Mn.} *te^{k̄}s- v. 'fashion, carpenter, create, cut (behaben)'
2338. ***ṭiko** 'horror, fear' ([in A] 'abhor, hate') > IE: NaIE *tyeg^w- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {EI} 'give way, pull oneself back (in awe)'
2339. (₂?) ***ṭoku** 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE *teg|^{g̃}u- 'thick'
- 2339a. ***ṭok**∇ '≈ (palm of) hand (with fingers)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span of hand')
2340. ≈ ***ṭe**'h'aka^ʔê 'to put, to set' > IE: NaIE *tāg- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange'
2341. ***ṭok**∇^ʔ∇ ~ ***ṭo**'h'æk∇ 'to burn; fire' > IE *te^Hg|^{g̃}- > NaIE tē^{g̃}|^{g̃}-/*tə^{g̃}|^{g̃}- v. 'burn'
2342. ***ṭU**k|E (→ ? ***ṭU**|^kE) (or ***ṭU**k|E) 'wolf, jackal, fox'
2343. ***ṭä**kt∇ 'louse'
2344. ***ṭ'a**|^{k̄}æ 'be\keep quiet, be silent' > IE: NaIE *tak|^{k̄}- v. 'be silent'
2345. ***ṭi**Ḳa 'be straight' > IE: NaIE *te^jk- / *tink- v. 'be fit; trust'
2346. ***ṭ'o**|^{k̄}o 'run away, run, stream' > IE *tek^w- v. 'run, flow' (EI 'run, flow swiftly')
2347. ***ṭu**Ḳâ 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > AdS of IE *^rt¹ek-/^rt¹k- 'earth' (< N ***ṭog**æ 'dust, earth [substance]')
2348. ***ṭu**Ḳ∇ 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *te^uk- 'offspring'
2349. ***ṭ'ü**|^{k̄}a 'to thrust, to stab, to push' > IE: NaIE *tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick'
- 2349a. (₂?) ***ṭü**Ḳ∇ (or ***ṭük**∇?) 'hair'
2350. ≈ ***ṭ**_lo^ʔ|^{k̄}w_lA 'goat, sheep'
2351. ***ṭag**_l∇_l|^{k̄}a^r 'to stick \ be stuck to sth.', 'to fix\attach (sth. to sth.)'

2352. * $\text{t}ow\text{K}\hat{a}$ 'germ', 'seed' > IE: NaIE (in IIn) * $\text{tey}k_{\text{L}}^{\omega}$ - 'seed, germ'

2353. * $\text{t}eL\text{V}$ 'shout, call' > ? σ IE * tel - 'pronounce magical utterances, pray'

2354. ($_2$?) * $\text{t}'i\bar{i}\text{V}(-\text{K}o)$ (\neg * $\text{t}'-$?) 'tongue, organs of speech' > ? σ IE: NaIE * $\text{tol}k^{\omega}$ - 'speak', \approx declare'

2354a. * $\text{t}\hat{u}\bar{i}\text{V}$ 'fire; to kindle (a fire)'

2355. * $\text{t}'\ddot{a}\chi\bar{a}a \sim *'\text{t}'\ddot{a}\bar{\chi}a$ or * $\text{t}'a\chi\bar{i}E \sim *'\text{t}'a\bar{\chi}E$ 'spleen'

2356. * $\text{t}a\text{r}\text{V} \sim *'\text{t}a\text{r}\text{V}$ ' \approx shoot, sprout, twig' > IE: NaIE * $\text{t}\bar{a}l$ - 'shoot' ('junger Trieb')

2357. * $\text{t}o\bar{i}\text{A}(-k\text{V})$ or * $\text{t}A\bar{i}\text{A}(-k\text{V})$ 'head, top, upper end, tip' > ? σ IE: NaIE * $\text{t}\bar{V}l$ - 'forehead'

2358. * $\text{t}u\bar{i},i,\hat{e}$ 'come, enter'

2359. $_2$ * $\text{t}oLH\text{V}$ 'to cross (a river, a mountain range, etc.)' > IE * $\text{t}oH$ - 'to- 'ford, passage'

2360. * $\text{t}aLh\text{V}$ 'flat' > IE * tel_LH - 'flat, flat ground'

2361. * $\text{t}a\text{L}Ey,\text{'o}$ 'young of an animal, child; to give birth to' > IE: NaIE * $\text{te}(:)l$ - 'young of an animal, child'

2362. * $\text{t}a\text{L}Uya$ 'skin, fell'

2363. * $\text{t}a\text{L}ka$ 'strike, push' > IE: NaIE * $\text{tel}k$ -/* $\text{tol}k$ -/* $\text{t}k$ - v. 'strike, push, crash'

2364. * $\text{t}a\text{L}P\text{V}$ (= * $\text{t}a\text{L}b\text{V}$?) 'vast; room' > IE: NaIE * $\text{tel}p$ - v. 'have room', * $\text{tol}p\bar{a}$ 'space'

2365. $_2$ * $\text{t}\hat{u}\bar{i}E$ (or * $\text{t}\ddot{a}w\hat{u}\bar{i}E$?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long'

2366. * $\text{t}U\bar{i}\text{V}$ (= * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\bar{i}\text{V}$?) 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > IE: NaIE *(s) tel - v. 'drip'

2367. \approx $_2$ * $\text{t}U\bar{i}E\text{V}$ 'breast, female breast'

2368. * $\text{t}a\bar{i},g,\text{V}$ 'be quiet\calm' > IE: NaIE *(s) tel - v. 'be quiet\still'

2369. * $\text{t}u\bar{i},\text{V},\text{'g}\text{V}$ 'spread like a veil\net, cover with a veil\net, catch (fish, etc.) with a net'

2370. * $\text{t}a\bar{i}'h'a$ 'lift up, carry' > IE * $\text{tel}H$ -/* $\text{tle}H$ - > NaIE * $\text{tel}\bar{a}$ -/* $\text{tl}\bar{a}$ - v. 'lift, carry, endure'

2371. * $\text{t}A\bar{i},X,\text{V}$ or * $\text{t}A\bar{i},X,\text{V}$ 'stem', '(ϵ ?) tree' > IE: NaIE * $\text{tel}_L\bar{a}$ - 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree'

2372. * $\text{t}'E'm\text{V}$ 'to feel by touch'

2373. * $\text{t}\hat{o}m\text{V}$ 'to cut (off)' > IE: NaIE * tem - v. 'cut', * tomo-s 'a cut, slice (Abschnitt)'

2374. * $\text{t}o\gamma am\text{V}$ 'to bite, to taste'

2375. ***ṭæqm**∇ (or ***ṭæqUm**∇?) 'sinciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > IE ***tehm̥**ŋ > NaIE ***tēm**ŋ > Sl ***těmę** / **těmen-** 'crown of the head'
2376. ***ṭum**∇, **q**∇ 'dark' > IE ***temH-** > NaIE ***tem(ə)-** 'dark' and ds.: ***temes-** ntr. 'darkness', ***teməsṛā** id., ***temsro-** 'dark'
2377. ₂ ***ṭm**∇, **ka**|æ 'to wet, to dip' > IE: NaIE ***teng**ǵ- v. 'wet, moisten'
2378. (₂?) ***ṭüm**∇, **ḱ**∇ ⇌ ***ṭüh**∇, **ḱ**∇ 'leather sack'
2379. ₂ ***ṭi**'**i**'**m**∇, **n**∇ 'be quiet, be calm'
2380. ***ṭa**ñ∇ 'draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE ***ten-** v. 'draw, stretch, extend'
2381. (₂?) ***ṭa**ñ∇ 'feel, know'
2382. ***ṭi**'**ñ**'**E** 'strong', 'to strain' (= 'violence directed to oneself') > IE: NaIE ***ten-** v. 'stretch (to the uttermost), strain'
2383. ***ṭi**'**h**'**ü**ñ∇ 'mud, silt, dirt' > IE: NaIE ***tiHn-** > NaIE ***tīn-** > Sl ***tīnā** 'mud, slime'
2384. ***ṭa**ñXü ⇌ ***ṭä**ñXu (or ***ṭa**ñXü?) 'thin, short' > IE ***ten**lH₁u- > NaIE ***tenu-** ~ ***t_onu-** 'thin'
2385. ***ṭA**ŋ|ñ∇ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE ***teng**ǵ- v. 'wet, moisten'
- 2385a. ₂ ***ṭe**ŋ'**U**' 'large body of water'
- 2385b. ₂ ***ṭi**ŋ∇ 'hear, listen'
2386. UA ? ₂ ***ṭo**ŋ**E** (or ***ṭüh**∇?) 'butt, lower end of the trunk'
2387. ***ṭo**ŋ∇ 'learn (erfahren), inform' > IE: NaIE ***teng-** / ***tong-** v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', ***tongā** 'sentiment'
2388. ***ṭU**ŋ'**q**'∇ 'swell, swell up'
2389. ***ṭe**ŋ**q**∇ '(ε) tree, (ε) forest'
2390. ***ṭa**ŋga|o 'draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE ***teng**^h- or ***teng**^{wh}- 'draw, pull, stretch, strain'
2391. ***ṭæ**ŋ**Ḵa** 'firm, dense' > IE: NaIE ***tenk-** v. 'be strong, solid, dense'
2392. ***ṭu**ŋ**Ḵ**∇ 'to press, to force oneself, to be too narrow, to be tight' > IE: NaIE ***twenk-** v. 'press'
2393. ***ṭa**'**p**'**E** 'to squeeze, to press' > IE: NaIE ***tap-** v. 'press (down, together), squeeze'
2394. _ι ***ṭa**'**p**'∇ 'hit (the target)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > IE: NaIE ***top-** 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will'

2395. *tʰaʰp̥ (or *tʰaʰP̥?, *tʰop̥, *tʰoP̥?) 'to wade, to cross, to go through, to pass'

2396. ₂ *tʰap̥ (= *tʰapi?) 'to put'

2397. *tʰap̥(-L) 'to feel/touch with one's fingers, to smear' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *^otep- v. 'smear'] NaIE *tep(0)- 'smear; lubricant'

2398. *tʰæp̥ 'to warm, to be warm' > IE *tep- > NaIE tep- v. 'be warm', Ht {Ts.} tapassa-, HrLw tapassa-s 'fever, heat'

2399. ^o *tʰûp̥ 'to spit, to drip' > IE: Lw tappa- {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)', ?? ^o Irn: NPrs تَف tof, Tjk τυφ tuf, Krd Sr تَف tif 'spittle', Wx tuf 'saliva, spittle'

2400. *tʰähipê 'high place, top, hill'

2401. *tʰaʰp̥ʳ 'plunge, immerse' > IE: NaIE *tap̥a- v. 'plunge, immerse'

2402. *tʰaʰp̥_L 'dirt, mud'

2403. ≈ *tʰaP̥h 'flat'

2404. *tʰP̥R̥ ~ *tʰRP̥ '∈ part of the foot', 'foot'

2405. *tʰeq̥ 'to smear, to rub' ([in HS] → 'fat, marrow')

2406. *tʰûq̥i - *tʰûq̥y 'hit, strike' > IE: NaIE *twe(:)j̥-/*twōj̥- v. 'hit, strike'

2407. (₂?) *tʰUq̥ 'near; be close to, approach' > IE: NaIE *^otuw- /?*toy- 'near'

2408. ₂ *tʰVqa 'melt, get spoiled' > IE *teH- > NaIE *tā-/*ta- (+exts.: *tāw-, *tāy-) v. 'melt, dissolve'

2409. *tʰAq̥U 'lie (tell a lie), deceive'

2410. *tʰoʳq̥a 'to plait, to bend', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build', 'to make earthenware', 'to web'), ? (←) 'to twist' > IE: NaIE *tek- v. 'plait, weave'

2411. *tʰoʳq̥a 'hide, skin' > IE {EI} *^ltwek- / *twok- 'skin, hide'

2412. *tʰar̥ '∈ vermin, noxious insects' > IE: NaIE *ter- id.

2413. *tʰaR̥, *tʰaR̥-HVg̥, *tʰaR̥-t̥ 'to drag, to pull' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *tr̥g̥h- (or *trag̥h-) v. 'draw, pull'

2414. ₂ *tʰæR̥ '≈ else, more, other' > IE: NaIE *-tero-, a sx. of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): *k^wo-tero- ~ *k^wutero- 'which of the two?' , *i-tero- 'another', *an-tero- 'the other of the two'

2415. ₂ *tʰera 'to heat, to roast, to fry'

2416. ***ṭeR**∇ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)'
2417. ***ṭor**^rü^r ⇝ ***ṭor**^ryü^r 'bring\come into existence (create, make, give birth, be born)' > IE: NaIE ***twer-** v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay (a rope)'
2418. (₂?) ***ṭURE** 'start, set in motion, begin' > ?σ IE: NaIE ***twer-** v. 'move quickly, stir up'
- 2418a. ***ṭûR**∇ 'hold' > IE: NaIE ***twer-/tur-** 'grip, hold'
2419. UA ₂ ***ṭüR**∇ 'hard roe'
2420. ***ṭehr**∇ 'clean, pure' > ? IE: NaIE ***°terb_Lh_J-** > pSl ***terbi''-ti** 'to clean, stub'
2421. ***ṭu|o_Lw_Jr^rû^r** 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' > IE: NaIE ***tre(:)u_J-**, ***treus-** 'flourish, thrive, ripen'
2422. ***ṭox|qUry**∇ or ***ṭUX|qr**∇ 'dirt; be dirty' > ?σ IE: NaIE {WH} ***tēr-os / ter-_Lā** 'earth'
2423. ***ṭor?**∇ 'fresh, new, young, young animal, child' > IE: NaIE ***torno-** 'young man, young animal', ***t^re^ru-no-** 'young', ***torm-/trōm-** id.
2424. ***ṭor**^r∇h^ra 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE ***terx-/trex-** (= ***trex_β-**) v. 'pass over, cross, overcome' > NaIE ***terā-/trā-** id., AnIE: Ht **tarh-**, **tarhu-** 'siegen, mächtig sein, können'; [2] NaIE ***ter_Laj-** 'hindurch, über ... weg'
2425. ***ṭar**^riH^r∇ 'open, bald'
2426. ***ṭar_L∇_JH^rû^r** 'delicate, thin' > IE: NaIE ***ter-**, ***teru-** 'delicate, weak'
2427. ₂ ***ṭûrHä** 'to bore, to drill' > IE ***terh̄-/treh̄-** id. > NaIE ***terā-/trē-** id. ||| +exts.: [1] ***truH-β-** > Gk τρυπάω 'bore, pierce through'; [2] ? pGmc ***θr-e|-** 'bohren'
- 2427a. ***ṭôrX**∇ 'long, large, far'
2428. ***ṭar_L∇_Jyi** 'to rub' > IE: NaIE ***teri-/trej-** ~ ***ter-** v. 'rub'; ***treu_LH_J-** 'rub'
2429. ***ṭir_Ly_J∇** 'to turn, to bend, to twist' (trans.) > IE ***ter-**, ***ter-k^ω-** 'turn (round)'
2430. ***ṭUr_L∇_Jy∇** 'litter, dirt, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)**ter-** 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit; besudeln; verwesen')
2431. ***ṭury**∇ ⇝ ***ṭuryE** or ***ṭür**∇ ⇝ ***ṭurE** 'row, line; to string' > IE: [1] NaIE ***°twer_{yā}** > Gk σελρά 'cord, rope, string, band', [2] NaIE ***°ster-** 'stripe' (→ 'ray')

2431a. $_2$ * $\text{t}\nabla\text{R}_1\nabla_1\text{b}\nabla$ 'inside of the body, belly' > IE: NaIE * terb_1^{h} - > SI * $\text{terb-}/\text{trbb-}$ 'belly'

2432. * tiRga 'force, strength, effort' > IE: NaIE * treg- v. 'be strong, apply force\violence'

2433. $_2$ * toRga 'hold, prop up' > ? IE: NaIE * derg^{h} - 'hold, grasp'

2434. * $\text{ter}\nabla\text{K}\nabla$ '(ϵ) tree, stick'

2434a. $_2$ * $\text{tURK}\nabla$ 'pierce through; through' > IE: NaIE * $\text{terk}_1^{\omega}\text{e-}/\text{tr}_0\text{k}_1^{\omega}\text{e-}$ 'pierce through; through'

2435. ($_2$?) \approx * $\text{t}'\text{ar}\nabla_1\text{P}_1\nabla_1 \sim$ * $\text{t}'\nabla\text{P}_1\nabla\text{r}\nabla$ 'to tie together' > IE: Ht tar upp- 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten'

2436. * $\text{t}'\text{e}'\text{RP}\nabla$ 'devour, eat, be sated' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'enjoy') > IE: NaIE * $\text{terp-}/\text{tr}_0\text{p-}/\text{trep-}$ v. 'be sated, rejoice'

2436a. ($_2$?) * $\text{t}'\text{o}'\text{R}'\text{P}'\nabla$ 'to need, to suffer, to be moved (with sadness, [?] joy)' > IE: NaIE * terp- 'suffer, endure (suffering)'

2437. * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{Rg}\nabla$ 'firm, dense, strong'

2438. ($_2$?) * $\text{t}'\text{u}'\text{R}_3|\text{z}\nabla$ 'dry, dried up, hard' > IE * ters- > NaIE * ters- v. 'be dry, dry up ('trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', * $\text{tr}_0\text{su-}$, * $\text{tr}_0\text{sro-}$ 'dry'

2439. * $\text{tA}'\nabla$ 'entrails, liver' > ? σ IE: Clt: OIr tarr , Brtt * to|arr- 'belly'

2440. \approx * $\text{t}'\text{U}'\text{ri}$ 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > S \rightarrow IE * $\text{xest(e)r} \sim$ * xster- ({Pv.} * $\text{A}_1\text{est(e)r-} \sim$ * $\text{A}_1\text{st(e)r-}$) 'star' || IE: NaIE * ter- 'star'

2441. * $\text{t}\ddot{u}|u\text{ri}$ 'turn round, surround, enclose' > IE: NaIE * twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in', * tworos 'Einfassung'

2442. * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{r}'\nabla$ (= * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{r}'\text{A}'\nabla$?) '(part of) leg' ('calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee?')

2443. * $\text{tarX}\nabla$ 'throw, disperse, scatter' > IE: NaIE * $\text{sterH-}/\text{streH-}$ > NaIE * $\text{stera-}/\text{str}\bar{\text{a}}-(\sim\text{str}\bar{\text{o}}-/\text{str}\bar{\text{e}}-) \sim$ * $\text{ster-} \sim$ strew- v. 'spread, scatter'

2444. * $\text{tE}'\text{rgE}$ 'to run' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'running place' \rightarrow 'road') > IE: NaIE * $\text{treg}^{\text{h}}|\text{g}^{\text{h}}-$ or * $\text{tr}_0\text{g}^{\text{h}}|\text{g}^{\text{h}}-$ v. 'run'

2445. * $\text{t}\hat{u}\text{t}\nabla$ '(fore)arm'

2446. * tutE 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > IE * $\text{teut-}(\bar{\text{a}})$ 'people (Volk), tribe' > ? AnIE {ABIV} * tuti- 'army (Heer)'

2446a. * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{t}'\text{a}$ 'dust, ashes' (\rightarrow [in descendant lgs.] 'smoke')

2447. ? σ $_2$ * $\text{toHt}\nabla$ (or * $\text{tot}\nabla$?) 'to run, to stream'

2448. *ṭäwḥ∇ 'abandon, leave'
2449. *ṭäy∇ 'louse'
2450. *ṭiyA 'be narrow'
2451. (₂?) *ṭUhy∇ 'eat, feed; food'
- 2451a. *ṭahy∇ 'go away, take away' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > NaIE *tāy- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief', Ht, HrLw taya- 'steal'
2452. *wa 'also, same' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'and') > IE: NaIE *u 'and, but, also', ?φ *aṽ 'again'
2453. *w∇ 'who?'
2454. *wEĉû 'fit (?), good, beautiful' > IE *wesu- / *wēsu- / *eṽs- 'good', Lw {Mlc.} wāsu- 'good'.
- 2454a. *wic|ĉ∇ (or *wEńĉ|ĉ∇?) 'whole, all' > IE: NaIE *weĵs- / *wis- 'whole, every', (pl.) 'all'
2455. *wac̣∇, q∇ 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'), 'dirt' > IE: [1] *w0(:)s-0-s, -ā-, -i-s, *wes-, *wōs- 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty liquid'), 'moisture', [2] ⇨ NaIE *wosə-l0-s 'fluid'
2456. (₂?) *wec̣∇ (or *wic̣∇?) 'to order, to require, to beg'
2457. *weĉ̣∇, ?∇ 'to go out' (→ [in T] → 'go out [of fire]') > IE: NaIE *wesk-v. 'go out, depart'
2458. *w|?ü|uĉ̣∇, y∇ 'to put, to set, to lay'
2459. *wed∇ 'to hunt' (→ [in descendant lgs.] → '[to] wish')
2460. *wed∇ (or *we?∇d∇?) 'push, strike, cut (with weapon)' > IE *wed^h- v. 'push, strike, destroy, slay'
2461. *w∇ḍ∇, f∇ 'walk, go, set out for' > IE: NaIE *wad^h- (or *wad^h-/*wād^h-) 'walk, wade'
2462. *wedhA 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)' > IE *wed^h₄H₃- > NaIE *wed^h- v. 'lead'
2463. *w^ri¹g̣, ?̣, ê 'carry, take (somewhere)' > IE: NaIE *weĝ^h- v. 'carry, convey', *w0ĝ^h0-s 'way'
2464. *wäḳĉ̣ (= *wäḳĉ̣?) 'strong, vigorous; strength' > IE: NaIE *weĝ̣- 'strong, vigorous' (→ 'awake'), *w0ĝ̣0-s 'strenght', *weĝ̣ē- 'be strong'
2465. *waḳ∇, Xa (= *waḳ∇, ĥa?) or *waḳ∇, fa 'to shout' > IE (mt.) *we|ahg̣-/*wĥg̣- > NaIE *wāg̣- / ? *wag̣- 'shout, cry'

2466. (₂?) *w^ra¹Ḳo (or *wæḲo, *woḲo) 'to call' > IE: NaIE *wek^w- (prs. *wok^w-ti) 'speak, call' ||| d. *wek^wos- 'speech' ||| d. *wōk^w-(s) 'voice'

2467. *wik^ra¹ 'back part, behind, backwards' > IE: NaIE *weik- (~ *weig-??) 'yield, give way, draw back'

2468. *woyḱ[∇] 'straight, even, fit' > IE: NaIE *weik- 'true, resembling (like truth), fit'

2469. *wal[∇] 'be strong, be able' > IE: NaIE *wal- id., 'rule over', Ht walliwalli- 'stark, kräftig', walliwallai- 'kräftigen'

2470. *wA¹a (or *wu¹o¹a?) 'big, large, multitude' > IE: NaIE *wel- 'many, much, amount'

2471. ? *w^ri¹l[∇] 'exchange'

2472. *wo¹g¹l[∇] (or *wo¹g¹l[∇]?) 'stay, be'

2473. *waH¹l[∇] 'cry, speak' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) *^ow^oa|a|l- ≈ id.

2474. ? (₂?) *weH¹lyL[∇] (or *weLH[∇]?) (= *weH¹lyL[∇] ⇝ *weLH¹l[∇]?) '≈ hip', 'waist' > ?σ IE: ζ Ht {Frd.} walla 'Schenkel, (?) Bein' (not in Ts. W)

2475. *waL¹æ 'wish, require' > IE *wel^{h̄}- > NaIE *wel¹a₁- /wel¹ē(₁)- v. 'want, choose', n. *w¹l¹ti-s 'wish'

2476. ₂ *w[∇]l¹h¹l[∇] 'to hit, to attack' (→ 'to wound, to kill') > IE *wel¹X- '≈ strike, hit, fight' > Ht walh- 'strike, attack', NaIE *wel¹a₁- 'wound, slay, fight'

2477. *wA¹l¹l¹l¹h¹l[∇] 'to turn, to roll, to revolve' > IE: NaIE *wel(a)- / *welē-, *welu-, *wlej₁- v. 'turn, roll'

2478. *w^re¹l¹l¹l¹h¹l[∇] (or *wil¹l¹l¹h¹l[∇]?) 'field, plain' > IE *wa|el- > Ht wellu- 'unmowed grass; meadow', ? NaIE: L v¹allēs, v¹allis 'valley'

2479. *w^ri¹l¹l¹q[∇] 'liquid; moist, damp'

2480. *¹l¹w^rA¹l¹iy¹l[∇] (or *¹l¹w^ol¹iy¹l[∇]?) 'draw, pull (out, off)' > IE *¹l¹wel- / *¹l¹wol- v. 'draw, pull, pluck, tear out', Ht walli- 'geschoren (?), enthaart' (von Fellen)', {EI} 'plucked'

2481. *wol¹ly¹l[∇] 'look, see' > IE: NaIE *wel- 'see', *w¹l¹-tu- 'Aussehen'

2482. ₂ *waL¹d[∇] 'to give birth'

2483. *wi^rl¹ka[∇] 'wet, moist' > IE: NaIE *welg- 'moist, damp', NaIE *welk- 'moist, wet'

2484. *walḲ^ra¹ 'be bright\white, shine' > IE: NaIE *wlek- / *w¹lk- 'radiant, shining, bright', ? ⇝ NaIE *w¹lkānos {EI} 'smith god'

2485. *w^ru¹Lk̑a (or *w^ru¹Lkaʔ∇) 'remove, dislocate, pull, drag' > IE: NaIE *welk- 'draw, carry (away)'
2486. *wA1Aṭ∇ (= *wa1Aṭ∇?) 'run, flee'
2487. ?φ₂ *w∇L₁∇₁ṭ∇ 'moist; moisture' > ? IE: AdS of NaIE *lat- 'moist' (< N *ḡat∇ 'fluid, body of water')
2488. *w^re¹í∇ 'to shine, to lighten'
2489. *weí∇ or *weí∇K∇ 'shoulder, upper part of the back'
2490. ?₂ *w∇í₁∇₁P₁E 'fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *w_oḡp(-eḡ)- ~ *₁w₁∇loupe(:)ḡ- '≈ fox', Ht {Ts.} ulip(pa)na '∈ predator' ('wolf?')
2491. *w∇mo₁?₁i 'use magical forces' ('make magical signs, utter magical incantations, swear, cause suffering, torment') > IE: NaIE *omō(i)- v. 'swear; torment, vex, annoy'
2492. (?₂) *w^umH∇ (or *h^umh∇) 'spit, vomit' > IE: NaIE *wemə- v. 'spew, vomit'
2493. (?₂) *w|yUm∇R₁T₁∇ or *w|yUm∇r∇ḡT∇ '∈ egg'
2494. *wäñ∇ ~ *₁X∇₁wäñ∇ 'relative (of a younger \ the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'brother\sister-in-law, son-in-law')
2495. *w^ro¹ñ∇ 'wish, love; luck' > IE *wen- 'wish, strive for, love', Ht wen-, went- 'copulate'
- 2495a. (?₂) *w∇₁ṡ∇₁N∇ (= *w∇₁ṡ∇₁ñ∇?) 'stay, (?) be' > (?) IE: Ir fanaim 'wait, stay'
2496. (?₂) *weñd∇ 'to fight, to injure, to hurt' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'wound, injure'
2497. (?₂) *weñd∇ 'to be withered, to dry' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'be barren, wither'
2498. *wen₁?∇₁d∇ 'to turn' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to return') > IE: NaIE *wendh-/*wondh-/*wḡd^h- 'turn, twist, plait'
2499. (?₂) *w^ro¹nṭ∇ 'belly' > IE: NaIE *went-/*wont- id.
2500. *wañ∇Z^ra¹ 'belly' > ? IE: NaIE *wēnes-tro- '∈ internal organ (in the belly)' ('stomach of ruminants?')
2501. *wañ∇ 'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'weaken [sth.], 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > ? IE NaIE *we₁(ə)-/*wī-, +exts.: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *we₁-s '(make) wither, weaken'
- 2501a. ₂ *wEyñ|ñ∇ ~ *wEñ|ñy∇ 'daylight'
2502. *wajE 'to hit, to injure' > IE: NaIE *wen- 'hit, injure'

2503. *wǎŋg'o 'hook' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'handle') > IE: (mt.)
NaIE *wog^{w^hni-s}, *wog^{w^hnes}- 'ploughshare'

2504. *wanK∇ ~ (>?) *wonK∇ 'hole, orifice' (→ 'pit')

2505. (2?) *wǎŋka 'to bend' > IE: NaIE *weng-/*wong- 'bent, crooked'

2506. *wop∇ 'pour, strew' > IE: NaIE *°wep- 'strew'

2507. *w^ra¹qa 'hit, hurt' > IE *weH-/*wOH-/*wH_o- > NaIE *wā-/*wō-/*wə- 'hit, wound'

2508. *wAr^ri¹ 'to burn, to heat, to cook\ fry' > IE: NaIE *wer- v. 'burn, heat', Ht war- /ur- vi. md. 'burn'

2509. *war∇ 'stream of water' > IE: NaIE wer-/*wēr-/*ūr- 'water, flowing water', Lw {Mlc.} wār 'water'

2510. ₂ *waR∇ 'crow, raven' > IE: NaIE *worn- id.

2511. *°war∇ 'look, watch' > IE: NaIE *°wer-/*°wor- id., 'perceive, pay attention to, take care', *°w^or-os 'watching, cautious', ??σ Ht werite- v. 'fear'

2512. *wārE 'make, do' (← 'plait?')

2513. *wer∇ 'to speak; communication, information' > IE: NaIE *wer- 'say, speak, tell', Ht {Ts.} weriya- v. 'call, name, mention', -war- (pc. of quoted speech ← 'said'), Pal wērti 'calls'

2514. *wer∇ 'without, not, void of, (?) empty'

2515. *waŋrê 'wooded hill\mountain'

2516. ₂ *waHr∇ ~ *warH∇ 'to scratch, to scrape, (?) to comb'

2517. *w^ra¹qr∇ (or *w^ra¹rq∇?) 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' > IE: NaIE *wēr-/*ūr- 'rain', (?) 'liquid'

2518. *_{1,1}wex∇r∇ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated' > IE: NaIE *_{1,1}wōr- 'be mad, be giddy'

2519. *wiXR∇ 'male, man' > IE: NaIE *wīr^o-s nom. 'male person, man'

2520. ₂ *we₁y₁r₁∇₁?∇ 'back'

2521. *war?^rŭ¹ ~ *wa?^rŭ¹ 'tie' (→ 'thong', 'rope'), 'to bind, to tie' > IE: NaIE *wer- v. 'bind, tie', *werw- 'a rope'

2522. *w^ra¹R₁∇ (~ *w^ra¹ŋR∇??) 'weak' (of a person) > IE: NaIE *wōr- 'be weak, faint'

2523. *w^ri¹rh^rü|u¹ 'be wide\ broad, expand, spread' > IE {E} *werHu- (nom. *wer¹Hu-s, gen. *wer¹Hou_g-s) 'breadth', werH-os- 'breadth'

- 2523a. *wAr^h∇ 'grain (of cereals)' > IE: Ht {Ts.} warwatna- 'seed, posterity', (?) Lw {Ivn. ← ?} warwalan id.
2524. *wirχ∇ '∈ tree' ('Populus', 'Alnus', or sim)' > IE: NaIE *werno-, wernā 'alder, poplar'
2525. *w∇r₁y₁'E' 'another', *yi w∇r₁y₁'E' 'one and another one' (→ 'two')
2526. *woRd∇ 'grow' (trans.), 'raise, bring up (children\animals)' > IE: NaIE *wred^h-/*werd^h- 'grow', *word^ho-s 'grown, full-grown, upright, high', *w_or_od^h- 'raised, upright, high'
2527. (2?) *woRkê 'to make' > IE: NaIE *werĝ- 'do, make, work'
2528. ₂ *wer∇K₂∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree'
2529. (2?) *weraH₁∇₁t∇ 'root, sinew' > IE: NaIE *wrād-/*w_orād-/*w_orad-/*wrād- 'branch, twig, rod, root'
2530. *wⁱ1R₃∇ 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb, etc.)' > IE: NaIE *wersē-/ī- '(young) herbivorous mammal'
2531. (2?) *w∇R₃∇ ⇄ *w∇₃∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow' > IE *wers-/*wors- > NaIE *wers- 'rain, dew', Ht warsa≠rainfall', Lw warsa- 'drop'
- 2531a. ₂ *wA^r∇ 'way, path' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road')
2532. *wûrû 'to scrape' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to plough') > IE *worw- > NaIE *₁'₁worw-/*₁'₁w_or_ow- v. 'plough, dig up', *worwo-s 'furrow, ditch' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'boundary-ditch' → 'boundary')
2533. *wA^rĉ∇ 'rub, scrape' > IE *wers-/*wors- > NaIE *wers-/*wors- {P} 'drag over the ground', Ht wars- '(ab)wischen, (ab)streifen'
2534. *waS∇ 'rainy weather, rainy season' > IE: NaIE *wes_o / gen. *wesn-es 'springtime'
2535. *wä?₁e₁s∇ 'get tired, be(come) weary\troubled'
2536. (2?) *w∇S₁∇₁∇ (= *wUś₁∇?) 'wide, vast' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *wasd^h- 'wide, long'
2537. *was₁∇₁t₁∇ 'place inside' > IE: NaIE *wa(:)stu ~ *west₁u₁ 'home, house'
2538. ₂ *wiš∇ 'green' > IE: NaIE *wis- > L virē- 'be green, verdant', viridis 'green', ? Gk λόγ 'rust, verdigris'
2539. *wiš[?]∇ 'to grow' (esp. of plants) > IE: NaIE *we₁s-v. 'sprout, grow' ('sprießen, wachsen')

2540. ***wes|çr**∇ 'to wind, to wrap, to clothe' > IE ***wes_LH_X**- / ***wos_LH_X**- 'cover, clothe' > Ht **was(s)**-, **wassiya**-, **wessiya**- vt. 'clothe, cover; put on (clothes)', **wess**- md. 'be clothed', 'be put on' (clothes), NaIE ***wes**- vt. 'clothe', d.: ***wes_o-no**-, ***wes-mŋ**-, ***wes-tro**- n. 'garment'

2541. (2?) ***wAt**∇ 'belly' > IE: [1] NaIE ***udero**- / ***wēdero**- 'belly']? [2] NaIE ***ud-tero**- 'belly, womb'

2542. ***wAt**∇ 'earth, ground, dirt' > IE ***wed**- > NaIE ***wed**- 'ground, earth', Ht **utne**- 'land', 'country' (↔ 'city')

2543. ***wät**∇ 'gut, sinew'

2544. ***wetê** '(flowing) water' > IE ***wed**- / ***wod**- / ***ud**- 'water' ({EI} ***wodr** / gen. ***wedŋ-s** / loc. ***u'den-i** 'water'; coll. ***wedōr** / accus. ***u'den-m** / gen. ***ud'n-os** 'water') ||| NaIE ***o_L'oud**- v. 'flow' (of water) ||| d.: ON **vátr**, AS **wæt** 'humid, wet', NE **wet** ||| Sl ***vědro** 'pail, bucket' (← *'vessel for water')

2545. (2?) ***wAHt**∇ '≈ to smell (sth.), to smell (of sth.)'

2546. ₂ ***wit**∇?∇ 'find' > IE: NaIE ***wejd**- v. 'find'

2547. ***wot_L∇?E** - ***wot_LE?∇** 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > IE ***wed**- / ***ud**- 'utter vocal sounds, speak', ? Ht **uttar** / **uttan**- 'word, speech'

2548. ***wêt^r'y**∇ 'look, see' > IE: NaIE ***wejd**- v. 'see, look', NaIE pfc. 3s ***woyd-e** / 1p ***wid-me** 'know(s)'

2549. ***waṭ**∇ 'heavy, firm, strong'

2550. ***wet**∇ 'year' (and/or 'long time' [→ 'old']??) > IE ***wet**- 'year' ||| ⇨ NaIE ***wetos** / ***wetes**- / ***wets**- 'year', 'old' (lit. 'jährig'), ⇨ NaIE ***wet-elo**- 'yearling'

2551. ₂ ***wit**∇ 'grain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'seed')

2552. ₂ ***waHṭ**∇ 'cold (north) wind'

2553. (2?) ***wAṭ**∇r∇ 'speak' > ? IE: Ht **uttar** / **uttan**- 'word, speech, thing'

2554. ***way**∇ 'want, wish, strive for' > IE ***wej**- 'strive for' > NaIE ***wej**- id.

2555. ***w∇y**∇ 'we' > IE: [1] IE ***wej**- 'we' pl. ||| The cd. ***wej**- + ***dwō** 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt **ue-du**, Gt, AS, OSx **wit**, ON **vit** ||| [2] NaIE ***wē** 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (← ***w∇y**∇ 'h'æ)

2556. *wahy ∇ '(be) weak' > IE: NaIE *wāy-/ *way-/ *wī- '(be) weak', *we_i(ə)-/ *wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *we_i-s '(make) wither'

2557. *woy_i?_iê ~ *wo_i?_iyê 'be strong, be able\capable' ([in descendant lgs.] → probably a passivizing and intransitivizing verbal affix) > IE *we_iH- > NaIE *we_iə- / *wī- 'strength, force'

2558. *wayH ∇ 'to descend; below'

2559. *wäž ∇ 'little, young'

2560. *wiž ∇ 'gray, (?) withered' > IE: NaIE *we_i(ə)-/ *wī-, +exts.: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *we_i-s '(make) wither, weaken'

2561. *w'U'ž_iE_iκ_o ~ *w'o'κ_i∇ž ∇ '∈ a canine' > IE: NaIE *w_oκ^ω-s 'wolf', ?σ,φ AnIE: Lw walwa- 'lion', Ld walw-el(i)- 'pertaining to a lion'

2562. *wi_h_i∇_i∇_i∇ 'spring (fons); to flow' > IE: NaIE *we_is- v. 'flow' ({P} 'zerfließen, fließen') | ⇨ NaIE *wis_o- 'liquid' (→ 'poison')

2563. *Xebž ∇ 'breast'

2564. ₂ *XUć ∇ 'to peel, to bark, to scrape off (hair, etc.)'

2565. *X|qü_iy_id ∇ 'to separate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to divide; part') > IE *_iH_iwe_id^h-/ *_iH_iwid^h- > NaIE *we_id^h-/ *wid^h- v. 'separate, divide' | ⇨: IE *_iH_iwid^hew_o-s 'separated' (→ 'widower', 'unmarried youth'), IE *_iH_iwid^hew-ā 'widow', NaIE *^ow_oi_id^h-son- > Gmc *wajsan- 'orphan'

2566. (₂?) *^rX'û_id_i∇?_i∇ 'get (somewhere), reach (some place), clash (with sth.)'

2567. ₂ *Xag ∇ 'dry, hard'

2568. ₂ *Xa^r?ü_igæ 'to lack, to want' > IE: NaIE *ā_i_iġ^h-/ *aġ^h-/ *īġ^h- '(be) needy'

2569. ₂ *Xæg ∇ r ∇ 'gird, tie around, surround'

2570. ₂ *XakEC ∇ 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit' > ?? IE: NaIE *aks- ~ *aġ(e)s- (and\or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit'; *aġs(ēl)- ~ *aks(-ēl)- 'shoulder (Achsel)'

2571. *XakER ∇ 'plain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'field') > IE *He|aġro- > NaIE *aġro-s 'field, field in cultivation'

2572. (₂?) *Xako|aR ∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' > IE *xag_i^ω_ir- > NaIE *aġro- 'top, point, summit, uppermost (oberstes)'

2573. *Xek ∇ 'scrape, scratch'

2574. *^rX'o_iκ_U (or *^rX'o_iκ_i?) 'call out, speak (solemnly?); incantations' > IE: Ht h_uek- 'conjure, treat by incantation'

2575. ${}_2$ *X^ro¹yEK₂∇ 'lap, lower front part of the belly'
2576. ${}_2$ *XAKAr∇ 'need, want, be hungry'
2577. *X^ra¹∇ (or *h-, *ǰ-) (*'forehead' →) 'front, edge'
2578. *XAI∇ '(be\become) clean' > IE *x^ra¹l- > Lw halali 'clean'
 ↳ Ht halali id.
2579. *Xe¹A 'dwell, live'
2580. *Xe¹∇ 'fence, border, boundary; enclosure' > IE *xe¹-
 'enclosure'
2581. *Xili¹∇ 'dirt, silt, soot' > IE: NaIE *īl-, *īlu- 'mud, silt'.
2582. (${}_2$?) *XaLb∇ (= *Xalb∇?) 'white' > IE: NaIE *alb^ho- 'white'
2583. ${}_2$ *X^ra¹lm∇ 'to dream'
2584. (${}_2$?) *Xo¹∇ 'middle; be among'
2585. ${}_2$ *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva'
2586. ${}_2$ *XEm∇ 'warm'
2587. (${}_2$?) *Xom∇ 'sour, bitter' > IE *H^ωem-/ *H^ωm- 'raw, bitter, (?)
 sour'
2588. ${}_2$ *Xum∇ (= *Xum∇?) 'to wish, to covet'
2589. ?σ *XUm∇ '≈ old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > IE {Ad.}
 *He|oumo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend', Tc B aume {Ad.} '≈ misery', {Wn.}
 'misère', Tc A omäskem {Ad.} 'evil', {Wn.} 'mauvais, méchant'
2590. *X¹m∇ 'wall, (?) wind-break' > IE: Ht humma 'stable, stall,
 sty', (?) Lw hum(ma)ti 'stable'
2591. *Xam₁∇, gê 'tight, narrow; to squeeze' > IE *xam^ǵh- NaIE
 *an^ǵh- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie (up), squeeze', NaIE
 *an^ǵh-u-s 'tight, narrow', Ht ham(m)e(n)k- ~ hami(n)k- 'tie;
 betroth'
2592. *X^ro₁∇, a₁muś|ś∇ (↔ *X^ro₁∇, a₁mU(-ś|ś∇)) 'articulation
 between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'),
 'collar-bone', 'shoulder', or sim. > IE: NaIE *om(e)so-s 'shoulder'
2593. (${}_2$?) *X^rā¹n∇ (or *-ŋ-) 'to bow, to bend down, to descend'
2594. *Xin∇ 'be happy\glad, love'
2595. ${}_2$ *XAn₁∇, ɣ∇ 'together, with'
2596. *Xü^rw¹iñC∇ (or *X^rü¹ñC∇?) 'thin, narrow'
2597. *Xā¹n∇k∇ (↔ *Xā¹ŋk∇?) 'jaw, palate'
2598. ?σ (${}_2$?) *X¹Nk∇ (= *XāNka?) 'to untie, to open'

2599. $_2$ *χ|q¹a¹ñ_L∇_JΚ_J∇ (or *χ|q¹a¹ηΚ_J∇) 'to bend' > IE *xenk- (~ *^oxenk-?) 'bend' > Ht hink- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy', NaIE *ank- vt., vi. 'bend' ||| ? NaIE d. *onko-s 'crooked, hook'

2600. *Xän∇_J∇ 'grain, kernel' > IE *h^{et}(e)n 'grain, kernel' > NaIE *et(e)n- 'kernel, grain' || AdS of Ht hat(t)ar 'ε cereal' ('ein Getreideart') (< N *qat∇ 'ε corn')

2600a. *Xayno (= *h|χayno) (or *?ayno) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') > IE: NaIE *ong^ω- 'anoint', *ong^ω-en- ~ *ng^ω-en- 'fat, grease'

2601. $_2$ *XUηg∇ 'throat'

2602. *Xup∇ 'press, crush, rub' > IE: NaIE *ub- 'press, press down'

2602a. *χAr∇ 'tracks, path, way' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road')

2603. ??φ *χ¹a_w_La¹rE (or *χawEr∇) 'bright, white' > IE (+ext.) *xarġ-, *xarġi- 'white' > Ht harki- 'white, bright', NaIE *arġ(i)- 'be white, be shiny' ||| ⇨ IE *¹x¹r¹ġ-_{nt}-om, {EI} *h₂r¹ġ-_{nt}-om 'silver'

2604. *χoR_L∇_Jw∇ 'herd\pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?')

2605. ($_2$?) *XaRč∇ (= *χaRč∇?) 'rub, scratch' > IE: Ht hars- v. '≈ till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak)

2606. *¹X¹iRg∇ 'ε (horned?) artiodactyl' > IE: NaIE *york|k̄- 'roe deer'

2607. *χar¹ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' > IE *xery- ~ *xry- 'cavity' and (possibly) IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' > Ht hari-s (gen. hariyas) 'valley'

2608. ($_2$?) *χ¹o¹t¹A¹ 'scrape (off), 'rub off'

2609. *¹X¹o¹t¹i¹ 'ε fish' > IE: NaIE *^olati- > Lt atis, Ltv ãte 'halibut, turbot'

2610. *X∇_J∇ 'quick' > IE: NaIE *ēt-/*ōt- 'earlier, quick(ly)' | ⇨ NaIE *ētro-/*ōtro- 'quick'

2610a. ($_2$?) *XE_J∇R∇ or *XiL_J∇r_J∇ 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root' > IE: NaIE *ētor, *ētrom, *ētr_J "blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, internal organ'

2611. *χaw∇ 'to rain, to spurt' > IE: Ht he(ω)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain'

2612. *χawi_L?∇_J 'drive, chase, pursue' > IE *xweij_Hx- v. 'pursue, chase' > AnIE *xwey- v. 'run, flee', NaIE *weij_Lθ_J- v. 'pursue, drive', NaIE pp. *wī-to- 'pursued'

2613. *Xay¹ü¹ 'live' > IE *heyu-/*hej_Lw- > NaIE *ayu-/ayw- 'life'

2614. *Xôy∇ 'to swim, to float, to flow'

2615. *Xažü?∇, *XažU?E, *XažEw∇, or *Xaž_L∇_LwE 'to cover, to spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]')

2616. *ya 'which?', 'what kind of?' > IE: Sl *jakъ(jb) 'what kind of?, which?', *jakъ 'how?'; ? *AdS* of the relative prn *yo- (in IE and U) < N *^ry¹iyō 'which', 'that which, related to'

2617. ? *yE (= y^ri¹?) 'these, they' (deictic marker of animate plural) > IE *-j̄, plural ending of animate gender

2618. *yi 'he', (?) 'that' (anaphoric) > IE *^re_{j̄}-/?i (or *^rh_{e_{j̄}}-/*^rh_i-?), anaphoric dem. prn. 'that, the (just named)', HrLw ī-, nom. ī-ε 'this'

2619. *yi 'a couple' (inanimate) ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of dual) > IE: NaIE ending of dual (ntr.) *-o-j̄, *-i(:), *-a-j̄

2619a. *y∇, particle of hypocoristic (?) address (vocative) > IE: NaIE *-yo-/*-iyō-, a diminutive suffix

2620. *yabE (~ *yapE) 'to cover, to fence, to protect' > IE: NaIE *yeb^h- / *oj̄b^h- 'copulate'

2621. *yäd^ra¹ (or *yadä) 'go'

2622. *y^ro¹d∇ 'claws (as of a lobster\scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers\claws (e.g. of a lobster)' (→ [in HS and pre-K] 'hand, arm')

2623. (₂?) *yugê (or *yukê?) 'to drink'

2623a. *yuH∇ 'to tie, to bind', 'sth. that binds\ties' > IE: NaIE *yēy- (EI) 'bind, join together'

2624. ₂ *yak∇ ≈ to pour, to be covered with water'

2625. *yäk^ra¹ 'ice, cold' > IE: NaIE *yeg_{j̄}- 'ice', Ht eka- n. 'cold, frost, ice', e|ikunā- adj. 'cold'

2626. *yûka 'attach, tie\bind to' > IE: NaIE *yeyg- / *yung- v. 'bind, harness, yoke'; ⇨: [1] IE *yug-o-m 'yoke'] [2] NaIE *yeyg-os ntr. 'yoke\team of beasts'

2627. *yaKs^ro¹ 'to loosen, (?) to untie'

2628. *yæKæ (or *yæK^hæ?) '(very) bright, white' > IE: NaIE *yēk̄-(o-s)/*oj̄k̄-(o-s) 'light colour, clearness, brightness'

2629. *yoK^rE (or *^roK^rE?) 'seize, catch' > IE: NaIE *ej̄k̄-/*īk̄- 'take possession, possess'

2629a. ₂ *yiL∇ 'burn' (trans.), 'kindle' > ?? *AdS* of IE *^rh¹e_l- (≈ *^rh¹a_l-) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' (cf. N *^rʿa¹ī∇ 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result').

2630. *ye₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light (lux)'
2631. (₂?) *y^ra¹mU (or *yom∇) 'go'
2632. *y^ra¹m∇ (or *yoma) 'good\fit' (→ [in HS] 'right [dexter]')
2633. *yäm∇ 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water'
2634. *yum^ra¹ 'day, daylight' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'sky, heaven, god') > IE: NaIE *ye|om-, name of a mythical being (deity)
2635. *yän₁h|₁∇ (or *?änh|₁∇??) 'speak, say'
2636. ???σ (₁?) *yæn₁T∇ '≈ stretch, strain, pull'
2637. *ya₁o₁η₁y₁E - *yo₁?a₁η₁y₁E (or *yawo₁η₁y₁E - *yowa₁η₁y₁E?) 'sinew, tendon' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow [weapon]')
2638. *yän₁g₁ê 'ice; to freeze'
2639. ?₂ *y∇P₁fi 'to rise; up' > IE: NaIE *epi-/*opi-/*pi- 'upon' (direction, place)
2640. ₂ *yUPχ∇ 'leopard'
2641. *yE₁gi or *y^ru¹gi 'both, two (persons)'
2642. *yar^rû¹ 'to shine (leuchten), to burn'
2643. ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' (< *'to cause misfortune')
2644. *yoR∇ (-b∇) 'firm, strong, hard'
2645. *yä?ûrU (= *yä?ûro?) 'body of water' > IE *yuHr- > NaIE: BIt *yūr- 'sea', ? Thr i u r a s (name of a river)
- 2645a. ₂ *y∇₁g₁∇r∇ 'honeycomb', {??} 'beehive'
2646. *yEr₁∇ '∈ (young of a) ruminant animal'
2647. *yar^r∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign'
2648. ₂ *yah₁∇₁r^r∇ 'broad open place'
2649. *yAs∇ 'bone', (?) 'limb, joint (articulation)'
2650. *yos∇ '≈ go\run, go away' > IE: NaIE *e₁is-/*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry'
2651. *yu₁⊥₁t^ri¹ 'with (cum)', 'with, by' (instrumental), 'together with' > IE: Ht -i t, ending of the instr. case
2652. *yaH₁t₁∇ (= *ya?₁t₁∇?) 'stranger, foreigner' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enemy')
2653. *yuw∇ '∈ tree' > IE: NaIE *e₁wā / *o₁wā, *e₁wo-s id., ? Ht e(y)a(n)- '∈ evergreen tree'
2654. *yow^r∇ '≈ good, right, proper' > IE: NaIE *yeu₁-s ~ *you₁-s 'good, right, proper; goodness', NaIE *ye₁wā- v. 'ease, relax, benefit'

2655. *^ry¹iyo 'which' (rel. prn.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation): [I] as a prn. > IE: NaIE: *^uyo-, rel. (and interr.?) pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. *^uyo-s, f. *^uy-ā, ntr. *^uyo-d); [II] as a postnominal pc.: IE: NaIE *-(i)y0- 'related to', suff. of adjectives > Ht -i^u-, sx. of derived adjectives, L -ī (gen. sg. of the *0-stems), Clt *-i (> gen. in OIr and Gl); possibly here also [1] NaIE *-is- of cmpr., [2] *-ist^(h)0- of sprl.

2656. *^zo[?]a (or *^zo[?]ya, *^zoy[?]a) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow'

2657. *^zig^o'd[∇] 'stake, peg', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'paling, fence') > IE *^hod^h-/*^hed^h- > NaIE *od^h-/*ed^h- 'stake, stake fence, enclosure'

2658. *^zed_hü|u (or *^zend_hü|u?) 'pull, drag, draw'

2659. *^zôg_h∇[?]U - *^zôg_hU[?]∇_h 'hill'

2660. *^z∇gEr[∇] (or *^z∇rg[∇]?) 'back (dorsum)'

2661. (₂?) *^zEgUt[∇] (= *^zEgUt[∇]?) 'thigh, leg' > IE *^heKT[∇] (or *[?]-) > Ht eg^{du}, ig^{du} 'leg'

2662. *^z∇kU 'to tie'

2663. *^zûL[∇] 'to fall, to crush down' > IE *_hH_hwel-/*_hH_hwōl- v. 'fall/fell down'

2664. ₂ *^za[?]īE(-[∇]) - *^zä[?]īa(-[∇]) '(be) awake\alive'

2665. *^zog_hE 'back part\side'

2666. *^ziL[∇] 'to shove', 'to knead\stir'

2667. [?]σ₂ *^zELq[∇]P[∇] 'sorcery, witchcraft' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'calamities'). Possibly a cd. with **^zEL[∇] 'harm' > IE *^Xel- 'harm?'

2668. *^zê[?]ī_h∇_h-(K^a) 'back (dos)'

2669. *^z'u'[?]g_h∇_hī[∇] (- *^z∇g[?]'u'[?]ī[∇]?) 'flow, pour' > *ii* IE: Ht {Frd.} huw^{alla} 'ausgießen' (rejected by Ts., not mentioned by Pv.)

2670. *^zE[?]ng[∇] 'black, dirt-coloured, dirty'

2671. (₂?) *^zä[?]η[?]K[?]∇ 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'waterskin', 'wineskin', 'sleeve', 'coat', etc.)

2672. o[?]*^zap[∇] or *^zaP[?]∇ 'to strike'

2673. [?]₂ *^zoR[∇] 'foreign, hostile' > ? *AdS* of IE: *^her- > NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (< N *^zer[∇] 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed')

2674. *^zUR[?]'i' (= *^zUR[?]'i'?) 'look at, examine' (or *^zUR[?]'i' 'to watch, to spy') > IE *_hH_hwer- 'look at, pay attention'

2675. *zeŕr̥ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' > IE: *h^{er}- > NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile'

2676. *zóΓRû (or *zóRΓû) 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas' > IE *w^{orw}- > NaIE *w^{orwo}-s 'furrow, boundary-ditch, boundary'

2677. *z'a'hr̥ (↔ *z'a'hr̥ ↔ *z|z'a'hr̥) 'shine, be bright; light (lux)' > ? IE *xarĝ-, *xarĝi- 'white'

2677a. ₂ *z'E'hR̥ ↔ *z'E'R̥ 'see, know'

2678. *z'a'₁H₁r̥ 'low place, valley' > IE *haHr- 'level\open place, vast space' > NaIE {WP} ? *āro- 'open place, vast space'

2679. ₂ *zaw₁∇₁r̥ 'young of a beast'

2680. *z'ûr̥E 'fear, frighten'

2681. *z|z'i'₁R₁H₂∇ ↔ *z|z'i'₁H₂R̥ 'be very cold' > IE: NaIE *srēĵg-/srīg- 'cold' (*AdS* of N ? *ś∇Riχka 'cold')

2682. *r'ä'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' > ?σ IE *h^{ergh}₁Hχ₁- > NaIE *erg^h- ≈ tremble, leap, fidget' (× N *r∇g₁∇₁r̥ 'to quake, to move in agitation' [q.v. ffd.]), Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence'

2683. ?σ *z'E}Rz̥ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' > IE *h^{er}₁H₁- > [1] NaIE *✓er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' [2] *AdS* of NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (< N *zeŕr̥ 'hate, abhor, be annoyed')

2684. *z'e'rd̥ 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear' ('to cause to grow') > IE *Hord^h- > NaIE *ord^h- v. 'grow, rise'; ?σ IE *X^{or}du- > NaIE *ard- 'steep, high', ? Ht harduppi ≈ high'

2685. *z|z|itχ|qa 'dirt, excrements' > IE: NaIE *°sk|kēj_d₁H₁- > Gmc *ski(:)t- 'defecate'

2686. (₂?) *z|zew₁h₁∇ 'to mix'

2687. *zayH₂∇ ↔ *zah₂y∇ 'summer', ([in the prehistory of descendant languages] → 'year')

2688. (₂?) *z|z|æ₁y|?r̥z̥∇ 'to fill', (?) 'to overfill, to overflow'

2689. *z|z|UħEb∇ 'to swallow, to eat'

2690. ₂ *žom∇ñ∇ ≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a) dream'

2691. *žom₁∇₁R̥ 'dream' > IE *Hon(e)r- ↔ *h^ωen(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE *oner- 'dream'

2692. *z'¹aP̥∇ (or *z̄aP̥∇? 'to make, to work' > IE *Hop- (or h^ωep-) > NaIE *op- v. 'work', *op-os ntr. 'work'

2693. *ǵæśχ|q ▽ 'blood' > IE *h̥esx-r̥, gen. *h̥osx-n-es 'blood' || Ht e|isxar, gen. esxanas 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw āsχar-/asχan-* 'blood', ásχanuwant(s)- 'bloody'

2694. *ǵaǵid ▽ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *laǵdʰ- / *lidʰ- v. 'cut, wound'

2695. *ǵä'Ki'd ▽ 'move, go' > IE: NaIE *leǵtʰ-~ *li(:)tʰ- v. 'go' (× N *Lič ▽ 'to pass, to go away')

2696. *ǵUǵU (= *ǵoǵU?) 'juice' > IE: NaIE *sekʷo-/*sokʷo- 'juice'

2697. ₂ *ǵom ▽ 'be hot', 'sun', (?) 'flame'

2698. (₂) *ǵUN₁ǵ₁ ▽ '(young?) ungulate'

2698a. *ǵEH₂P₁ ▽ ⇝ *ǵiH₂EP₁ ▽ (or *LEH₂p₁ ▽ ⇝ *LiH₂Ep₁ ▽?) '≈ spade, shovel, ladle' > IE: NaIE *lēp-/*lǽp- 'spade, shovel'

2699. *ǵUǵU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid'

2700. ₂ *ǵæh'a'Ra 'moon'

2701. ₂ *ǵ∇r₁∇₁X∇ ~ *ǵ∇'X'₁∇₁r∇ (= *ǵa'X'₁Er∇?) 'to cut, to wound'

2702. *ǵ'A'ǵ' ▽ (= *ǵ'A'ǵ'o?) 'to lie (liegen)' > IE *ses- 'rest, sleep, keep quiet'

2703. ₂ *ǵûǵb ▽ (or *ǵ'ûǵb ▽?) 'fig tree (∈?)'

2703a. ₂ *ǵe₁H₁b ▽ '∈ a bird' (probably 'a gallinacean' and/or 'waterfowl?')

2704. *ǵeybA 'tail, penis'

2704a. ₂ *ǵ'ǵ' ▽ cχ aL ▽ 'fire; (?) burning wood'

2705. ?φ (₂?) *ǵ∇ç|ç ▽ '≈ willow' > IE: Ht sisiya(m)ma- (?) '∈ tree' ('willow?')

2706. *ǵigU 'thorn'

2707. ₂ *ǵôǵ ▽ 'shoulder' (or '∈ part of the shoulder')

2708. *ǵUǵ'U' 'to move somewhere' (intr., trans.)

2709. *ǵUǵ ▽ 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > ? IE: Ht s u k s u q a 'Stirnhaar [?] (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes)'

2710. ₂ *ǵû'ǵ' ▽ ǵ ▽ (or *ǵûǵ∇'ǵ' ▽) (? 'bring' →) 'give, give in exchange'

2711. *ǵEǵ|k ▽ r ▽ (= *ǵEǵ|k ▽ r ▽?) 'antelope'

2712. *ǵega 'to get\be sated' > IE *sex-/*sǵ- 'be sated', *sex-ti- 'satiety' > NaIE *sā-/*sǽ- v. 'be\get sated', *sā-ti- 'satiety', Ht s ā h- 'stuff full, clog up'

2713. ₂ *ǵ∇ǵ'ǵ' 'rancid, bitter, rank, fetid'

2714. ≈ *ǵiH₁ ▽ 'to press, to knead, to rub' > IE: Ht sai- / siya- 'festdrücken, einprägen'

2715. (₂?) ***ʒ**¹**o**¹**hE** 'to scatter' > IE: [1] IE *se^h_{ly}-> NaIE *sē(i)- / *sə(i)- v. 'sow', Ht s^a(i)- {Ad.} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot' | ↯ [1a] NaIE *sē-m_o '(a) seed (Same), sowing' | [1b] NaIE d. *sē-to-, *sə-to- pp. 'sown, scattered' | [1c] L s^atio n. act. 'sowing, planting', OIr, NIr saithe 'swarm, litter', W haid, Br hed 'swarm' ||| [2] NaIE *sē(i)- 'scatter, sift' | NaIE d. *sē_i-to 'sieve'

2716. ?σ₂ ***ʒ**¹**o**₁**∇**₁**k**_∇ 'back end, tail' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, to follow [game] by the tracks') > AdS of IE *seh_g-/*sh_g- > NaIE *sā_g-/*sā_g- 'scent out, track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (< N ***s**a^h**k**^a 'search, find, know')

2717. ***ʒ**¹**u**₁**k**_∇?_∇ ~ ***ʒ**¹**u**₁**k**_∇?_∇**E** 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants)'

2718. ?WW ***ʒ**¹**a**¹**k**_∇**n**_∇ 'elephant'

2719. (₂?) ***ʒ**¹**a**₁**∇** (or ***ʒ**¹**a**₁**∇**₁**∇**) 'flame'

2720. ***ʒ**¹**æ**₁**L**_∇ 'to swing, to wave, to be shaky', (?) 'to spring, to leap' > IE: NaIE *se_l- / *s_ol- v. 'jump, leap'

2721. ***ʒ**¹**i**₁**l**_∇ 'to slip, to slide' > IE: NaIE *sle_l-m- 'slippery', 'smooth'

2722. ***ʒ**¹**a**₁**g**_∇**l**₁ (or ***ʒ**¹**a**₁**g**_∇**l**₁**a**_∇**y**_∇) 'secret(ly); to deceive'

2723. ?σ ***ʒ**¹**A**^h**U**₁**l**_∇ ≈ (calf of) leg', (?) 'bone of leg'

2724. ***ʒ**¹**i**₁**X**₁**l**_∇ ~ ***ʒ**¹**i**₁**X**_∇ 'to creep, to crawl' > IE: NaIE *se_l- (~ *tse_l-?) v. 'creep, crawl'

2725. ***ʒ**¹**u**₁**h**_∇**l**₁**y**_∇ (or ***ʒ**¹**u**₁**h**_∇**l**₁**y**_∇**E**) 'smoulder, burn' (intr.); 'live coals' > IE: NaIE *swel_l_ə- vi. 'smoulder, burn'

2726. ₂ ***ʒ**¹**∇****L**ⁱ**K**_æ 'to slip, to slide' > IE: NaIE *sle_l^g- 'slippery, smooth', v. 'stroke, rub (the surface of sth.)'

2727. ***ʒ**¹**A**¹**l**_∇ 'to be weak'

2728. ***ʒ**¹**a**^h**U**¹**l**_∇ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE *su_hl- / *su_hel- / *seh_wel- / su_hōl- > NaIE {P} *sa_l₁_wel- / *s(u)_wel- / *s(u)_wōl- / *sūl- 'sun' ||| NaIE *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (< IE *su_hen < N ***ʒ**¹**a**^h**U**¹**l**_∇ + genitive pc. *nu)

2729. ***ʒ**¹**A**^h**i**₁**l**_∇ (or ***ʒ**¹**A**^h**i**₁**l**_∇?) 'wolf, dog'

2730. ***ʒ**¹**a**¹**X**_∇ (or ***ʒ**¹**a**¹**H**_∇) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE *sa_l_ə- 'saliva, wet dirt'

2731. ?σ ***ʒ**¹**o****m**_∇ 'spice, spicy mineral, spicy food'

2732. ***ʒ**¹**æ**₁?_∇ (or ***ʒ**¹-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' > IE: NaIE *som- / *sm_o- 'together, with'

2733. ***ʒ**¹**i**₁**w**_∇**m**_∇**g**_E 'leopard' > IE: NaIE *sing^h_o- 'leopard' or 'lion'

2734. *ǰamaka ~ *ǰam∇K∇ 'to throw, to cast' > IE: NaIE *sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike'

2735. *ǰen∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sheaf of corn') > IE: NaIE *songh^o/ā- or *sonko- 'sheaf of corn, straw, chaff'

2736. *ǰE|aṅ∇ 'to burn' (intr.), 'live coal (embers), fire'

2736a. ₂ *ǰ∇ṅ∇ 'image, sign' > IE: Ht sena- ~ sina 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)'

2737. ₂ *ǰEḥN∇ 'lie down, sleep'

2738. *ǰ|c̣iχ|ṽṅ∇ '∈ ungulate'

2739. *ǰ∇ṅh∇ '≈ to acquire, to obtain, to increase' > IE *senX- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require', NaIE *se|anā-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish'

2740. (₂?) *ǰûw∇N∇ (= *ǰûw∇'ń|ṅ'∇?) 'to copulate', (?) 'membrum virile'

2741. *ǰ'a'ń₁∇₁g|kU '∈ antelope'

2742. _o *ǰiṅo 'sing, produce (musical, ritual?) sounds by voice' > IE: NaIE *seng^{ωh}- 'say, make an incantation, sing'

2743. *ǰoṅE (or *ǰoṅE) 'old'

2744. *ǰEṅq∇ (= *ǰEṅq∇?) 'seek, try to obtain' > IE *senX∇ > Ht sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require', NaIE *se|anā-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish'

2745. *ǰoṅX∇ 'want, wish' > IE: NaIE *se|anā-, *se|anu- 'try to obtain, obtain', Ht sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' ||| An alt. (and less plausible) etymon: N ₂ *ǰoṅh∇ 'want, wish' > Ht sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (without NaIE *se|anā-, *se|anu-)

2746. *ǰ'ü'ṅka (or *ǰ'ü'ṅika) 'to bend' > IE: NaIE *swe(n)g- ~ *s(ω)enk- '≈ bend'

2747. _ι *ǰap∇ 'hold, seize, catch' > IE: NaIE *sep- 'hold, handle (skillfully)'

2748. (₂?) *ǰ|zaP∇ 'to cover'

2749. _ι *ǰip∇ 'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > IE: NaIE *skejp- ~ *skip- v. 'pinch'

2750. *ǰor'U' 'crawl, creep'

2751. *ǰ'o'r∇ '∈ bird of prey'

2752. (₂?) *ǰ|zoR∇ 'hand (palm of hand and fingers) ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span')

2753. ? (2?) *¹zûr∇ 'inside of body, heart'

2754. *³ʹUʹR∇ (= *³oR∇?) 'female being' > IE *sor- 'woman, female' in cds.: [1] AnIE: Ht -sara-, sx. for female beings: ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (←† isha- 'lord, master'), supessara 'pure girl, virgin' (←† suppi- 'pure'), *hassussara 'queen', HrLw hasusara 'queen', Lw nāna-srī(ya) gen. 'sister'] [2] NaIE *tri-sor-es 'three' f. (← *'three women')] [3] NaIE *swe-sor- 'sister, female member of the clan'

2755. *³aΓ∇R∇ 'hedgehog' > IE *sX∇r- > some AnIE lge. reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] σχῦρ · ἐχῖνος 'hedgehog'

2756. ₂ *³ʹaʹhR∇ 'flower, blossom', ? 'unripe berry'

2757. ₂ *³∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' > IE: NaIE *sermo- 'flowing'

2758. ₂ *³∇RT∇ 'pudenda muliebria', 'lewd' > IE: NaIE *sert- v. 'practise lewdness'

2759. *³ûrʹûʹ 'to stream' > IE: NaIE *serH-, *srey- v. 'stream, flow'

2760. ? *³aš∇ 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)'

2761. ? ₂ *³iš∇ 'fire'

2762. *³Uw∇ 'to eat, to taste'

2763. ₂ *³iX∇ (or *³ʹiX∇) 'come, (?) go (away)'

2764. *³ʹUʹχU 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' ('to lead, to send')

2765. (2?) *³∇χi 'to plait, to bind' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > IE *sēx- / *sēxy- v. 'bind' > Ht ishiya-, ishāi- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw hishiya- id. || NaIE *sē- 'bind', *se|oy- (< *sē|oy-) id., *sy- (< *sēy-), *si(:)- (< *sēi(:)-) id.

2766. *³üH₁y∇ 'fibre, thick hair' > IE *syuHx- v. 'bind, sew' (mt. from **suHxy-?) > NaIE *syū- / *sīy- v. 'sew', *syū-to- 'sewn', *syū-dʰlā 'awl' || Ht {Ts.} suel- (= {Pv.} suwel-) 'Faden, Band', {Ts.} suwarwil- 'ε Material für Festbinden, Binse(?)' ||| † IE *syuHx-men- > NaIE *syū-men- 'band' > Gk ύμῆν 'thin skin, membrane; dorsal sinew (of cartilaginous fish)', Pru schumeno 'Schusterdraht', OI 'syūman- 'band, strap, seam', Ht sum(m)anza(n)- {EI} 'thread', {Ts.} 'Strick, Band'

2767. Ll. o†*³úú∇ ~ *³úhúA 'teat, female breast'

2768. ?σ *³a₁y₁ʹ∇χU '≈ ε leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits (lime-tree, Tilia or sim.)'

2769. *³æ?∇b∇ (= *³e?∇b∇?) 'ε beast of prey (wolf or sim.)'

2770. *ǰu₁?₁b∇ 'to pour, to flow'
2771. ?o₂ *ǰ'ü₁l₁b∇₁b∇ '∈ insect'
2772. (2?) *ǰ'a₁ʕ₁d∇ (or *ǰaHd∇?) 'spread, be flat'
2773. *ǰæw₁ʕ₁i₁ 'bad, ugly', ([in descendant lgs.] → left [link]) > IE: NaIE *seu₁yo- 'left (link)'
2774. *ǰU₁h₁i₁ '≈ show, advise, get accustomed' > IE: Ht siya- md. 'sich zeigen'
2775. *ǰ'a₁kU 'be low', 'be short and stocky' (of a person)
2776. *ǰE₁ʕ₁L∇ (or *ǰEL₁ʕ₁∇?) '∈ small carnivore mammal' ('fox', [?]) 'jackal', 'weasel' or the like)
2777. *ǰam∇ 'be dying, perish'
2778. ?σ₂ *ǰEm∇ 'way (??)' → [1] (N) 'manner of behaviour, natural law', [2] (N) 'blame, fault'
2779. ??φ *ǰa₁m₁ŋ₁∇Kæ ~ *ǰ'a₁K₁∇₁m₁ŋ₁∇ 'chin, beard' > IE {E} *sme₁k̄- 'chin', *smo₁k̄w₁ŋ₁ 'beard, (?) chin'
2780. *ǰem₁û₁qa₁H₂ê₁ 'fog, smoke, hot\sultry air' > IE: NaIE *(s)me₁uk^h- ~ *(s)me₁ug- 'smoke'
- 2780a. ₂ *ǰUhN∇ 'show; understand, be taught'
2781. (2?) *ǰa₁n₁∇₁b₁∇ 'tail, back' > ? IE: NaIE *dumb- 'tail' (→ 'penis')
2782. ı ~ *ǰU₁n̄₁ʕ₁U (or *ǰU₁n̄₁ʕ₁U?) 'ant, stinging insect'
2783. *ǰiq∇ 'shame, humiliation'
2784. ₂ *ǰarE 'be good\favourable\beneficial'
2785. *ǰuR∇ 'stake, pole, long piece of wood' > IE: NaIE *swer-/*^osur- 'pole, rod'
2786. *ǰä₁?₁ô₁r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate'
2787. ₂ *ǰER∇₁æ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' > IE *sre₁h̄-no- > NaIE *srēno- '≈ loins, hip, thigh'
- 2787a. ??φ *ǰER₁u₁ī∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current'
2788. *ǰaw∇ 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment)', to fade, to wither'
2789. *ǰo₁?₁a₁w∇ or *ǰa₁?₁o₁w∇ *'≈ of poor quality\appearance; weak, bad'
2790. ₂ *ǰ∇₁χ∇ 'to push, to strike'
2791. *ǰûhd∇ (or *ǰûhad∇?) 'sweet' > IE *swe₁hd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant'
2792. ₂ *ǰek₁∇ 'be tight\cramped, tighten'
2793. *ǰok₁∇ 'to push' > IE: NaIE *la₁k̄|k- or *la₁ḡ|g- v. 'kick'

2794. *ǵǣ̄ ▽ '€ tree' > IE: NaIE *sel- 'beam, board (used as bench, bed, trough, etc.)'
2795. ₂ *ǵū̄̄ ▽ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame', '€ a light' ('torch' or sim.?) > ?? IE *s_we_l̄̄̄_{̄̄̄}- v. 'smoulder, burn'
2796. *ǵ'U' 1h'û' 'take, take away, pull out' > IE: NaIE *sel(w̄o)- 'take, seize, lay hold of'
2797. *'ǵ' ▽ m ▽ (or *s̄|ç̄|ç̄|ǵ' ▽ m ▽) '≈ to put, to place'
2798. (UA ₂ ?) *ǵo|aHEmU (= *ǵo|a[̄]EmU?) '€ berries (bird-cherry?), a (sweet-smelling?) plant with berries(\fruit?)'
2799. ₂ *ǵ' ▽ m ▽ r ▽ (or *z' ▽ m ▽ r ▽?) 'wax'
2800. (₂?) *'ǵ' ap ▽ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' or *s̄ap ▽ id.
2801. *ǵa'p?' ▽ 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > IE: NaIE *lab-yo-m, -ya, *lab-uro-m, *lab-s- 'lip'
2802. *ǵeRgû 'vein, sinew' > ?? AdS of IE: NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string' (< N *s̄eR ▽ 'row')
2803. *ǵirw ▽ or *ǵir'u' 'root'
2804. *ǵaṭ ▽ 'fluid, body of water' > IE: NaIE *lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mire, mud'
2805. ?σ (₂?) *ǵæw'î' (or *ǵæ?w'î'?) 'up, upper point, extremity'

**PHONETIC SYMBOLS
and OTHER SIGNS
USED IN THE ETYMOLOGICAL ENTRIES**

Generalities. § 1. In my papers I distinguish between transcription (rendering the phonemes and allophons of the language in question) and transliteration (rendering the characters of the original script). For transcription (as well as for reconstructions) a unified transcription script is used: a, b, c, d, e, etc., while for transliteration (as well as for rendering the original Roman spelling of the language in question and for literal quoting of other scholars in their own notation) a special transliteration-quotation script is used: a, b, c, d, e, etc. Wherever it is necessary to distinguish between phonemic and phonetic transcriptions, the former is denoted by solidi (slant lines) and the latter by square brackets, e.g. Nen F /mañ/ [mäñ] 'I'. Morphophonemic transcription is denoted by broken brackets [], e.g. Old Indian spaṭ (spaś-s) 'beholder', Kota tot (tols) 'full year, anniversary'. These brackets are used also when a morphophoneme is phonetically reduced to zero: Rf

Tm θamϣā(r)^θ 'woman', uǰu(r) 'to go'. For Oscan, Umbrian, Gaulish, Punic and other languages of the I mill. B.C.E and the early I mill. C. E. (as well as for Guanche) a special script (font) "A, B, C, D" is used for the original Latin alphabet of the sources (capital letters), while the transliteration script "a, b, c, d" is used for rendering the Oscan, Umbrian and Phoenician alphabets. "EM:" means "E-mail equivalents" (used by me and some of my colleagues in E-mail). But for proper names of these languages (e.g. Gaulish) (if preserved in Latin sources) the usual spelling with capital and small letters of the "transliteration script" is used (e.g. Gl Remos).

A special sign: The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation). This sign before the semantic definition means that the definition is reformulated rather than quoted word by word.

§ 2. The transliteration is either traditional (for languages with long scholarly tradition of transliteration, such as Old Indian, Avestan, Gothic, etc.) or partially approaching our transcription system (e.g. for Egyptian we use z, s, ħ, ʁ, ʁ, c and ʒ instead of EG's s, ś, ħ, ħ, ħ, t and d respectively, for the ancient Semitic languages we use ħ, ʁ, ʁ, θ, δ, θ and ê instead of the traditional ħ, ħ, ġ, t, d, z and d of the Orientalistic transcription; Arabic ta-marbuta ö is transliterated as ħ (but transcribed as -at-). For Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu we use the traditional indological transliteration. The sign āytam of the Classical Tamil script is reproduced as ∴ (for its meaning cf. MeenS HTL 53, 68-72 and An. GTJ 11). On Coptic see below **Transliteration of Coptic Letters**. For Classical Armenian I usually use transcription script, but in words with letters and digraphs of controversial reading (t ê, o ô, ħ i ω) the transliteration is preferred.

The sign · precedes translations quoted from a glossa or from an ancient\medieval dictionary (e.g. Gk.[Hs.] ἰορούα· χορδή 'gut(s)', Pru [El.] alnē· "Tyer" 'beast', i.e. Pru alnē·, translated in Elbing's dictionary (≈ 1400 C. E.) as Tyer 'beast'). If the quoted translation (e.g., of Prussian, medieval Celtic lgs.) is in Latin script, it is printed here with the "Geneva" letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, β, t, u, v, w, x, y, z) within quotation marks " ".

§ 3. For some languages a kind of super-dialectal transcription or transliteration has been used. In transcribing Arabic, the sign ġ is used to denote a phoneme (spelled as ġ) pronounced [g] in Northern Egypt,

[ǧ] in Sudan, [ǰ] and [ǰ̣] in the rest of the Arab world. For Syriac a super-dialectal transliteration is used combining the vowel distinctions preserved by West Syriac dialect and script (vocalization signs) and lost in East Syriac with the distinctions preserved in East Syriac script only. Thus, the sign ē is used for a vowel preserved as ē in Sr E and changed into ī in Sr W, while for the vowel pronounced e in Sr W ("rəbāṣā") the sign ε is used here. The sign ā denotes the vowel ā of Sr E and o ("zəḵāpā") of Sr W.

For New Persian I prefer the transcription of B. Miller and V. Rastorgujeva to the traditional one. The new transcription reflects the transformation of the former quantitative opposition of vowels into a qualitative one, but still with preservation of the vowel length ($\bar{a} \leftrightarrow a > \bar{u} \leftrightarrow \bar{ä}; \bar{i} \leftrightarrow i > \bar{i} \leftrightarrow e; \bar{u} \leftrightarrow u > \bar{u} \leftrightarrow o$), so that traditional ā, ī, ū, a, i, u have changed into ā, ī, ū, ä, e, o [cf. Rast. GPJ 616-70]; EarNPrs ē (spelled as ī) > NPrs ī (loss of the EarNPrs opposition ī ↔ ē).

§ 4. No distinction is made here between fricatives and spirants (in Martnet's terminology: NE th in this is a fricative, while Sp d in nada is a spirant [Mart. DPh § 2.21, TBC 39-42]). Although this distinction is phonetically justified, the sources usually do not distinguish between them, so that without direct observation we are unable to draw conclusions in this respect. Wherever possible, we can denote the spirants by an underline below a letter for fricatives: Sp nada [¹naḏa]. If the spirants are very weak, we use a superscript letter (ʕ in Rif Berber, ʕ̣ in dialects of Vogul).

§ 5. In our transcription we usually do not distinguish between two types of hushing sibilants: apico-alveolar and predorso-alveolar (for lack of information about it in the description of languages and in dictionaries, as well as because no phonemic opposition is involved).

§ 6. Reconstructions of proto-languages are given either in the unified transcription (as described below), or in transliteration script a, b, c, d (if reconstructions of other scholars are quoted in their own notation). If a proto-language (e.g. pA, pM, pD) does not distinguish between orders of affricates, I transcribe them as ċ̣ (for traditional pA and pM č̣, pD c̣) and ċ̣̣ (for traditional pA and pM č̣̣ or ĵ̣, pD j̣), in order to avoid unjustified identification of the affricates as hushing (č̣, ĵ̣) or hissing (c̣, ʒ̣). In pT and pTg the phonemes usually interpreted as j-, č̣, Tg ĵ̣ are likely to be (in my opinion) palatal stops, therefore I transcribe them as j and ç. The pFU and pU phonemes *č̣̣ and *-č̣̣- (of the FU

transcription) are lateral fricatives and are transcribed as \hat{s} and \hat{z} . But the phonetic nature of the pU and pFU initial $*\delta$ - remains obscure (it cannot have been a voiced obstruent), therefore I transcribe it by a special sign λ .

§ 7. I am aware of the trouble that my symbols (not found in regular computer fonts and in printing offices) may cause to those willing to quote from this dictionary. Therefore I propose quotable equivalents for the my symbols. In this list they follow my symbols and are marked by the sign "Q".

§ 8. In the following lists of symbols we do not include obvious symbols based on Latin letters (such as b, d, t, a, o, etc.).

§ 9. Those colleagues who cannot print subscript and superscript characters (in quotable equivalents of my transcription) may replace them by letters in italics (e.g. c_2 for c_2), which is a less desirable option.

I. In pN reconstructions

CONSONANTS

- ʔ - glottal stop. Q: '
 ʔ^h - cover sign for ʔ|h . Q: '1a
 ʔ^f - cover sign for ʔ|f . Q: '1-2
 ʕ - epiglottal voiced approximant (like Arabic ع). Q: '2
 ʕ^h - cover sign for an unspecified voiced laryngeal (ʕ or ʕ^h). Q: '2a
 ç - voiceless hissing affricate (ç S $*s$, K $*\text{ç} = *c_1$, IE $?(s)K-$, $*-s-$, U $*\text{ć}$, T and Tg $*\text{ç}$, M and D $*\text{ć}^2$). Q: c
 ć - voiceless (presumably palatalized) affricate (ć S $*c$, Eg ç (?), K $*\text{ç} = *c_1$, IE $?(s)K-$, $*-s-$, ?? $*K^h-$, U $*\text{ć}$, T and Tg $*\text{ç}$, M and D $*\text{ć}^2$). Q: c_2
 ć^h - cover sign for $*c|\text{ć}|\text{ć}^h$ (but not for glottalized phonemes: $*\text{ć}^h$, etc.). Q: c_{1-3}
 ć^h - cover sign for an unspecified non-lateral affricate. Q: c/c"1-3
 ć^h - cover sign for $c|\text{ć}$. Q: $c_{1/2}$
 č - voiceless hushing affricate (č S $*\theta$, K $*\text{č}$, IE $*(s)t-$, $*-s-$, U $*\text{č}$, T and Tg $*\text{ç}$, M and D $*\text{ć}^2$). Q: c_3
 č^h - voiceless lateral affricate (č^h S $*\hat{s}$, Eg č , K $*\text{ć}-$, ??? $*-c-$, IE $*s$, U $*\text{ć}$, T and Tg $*\text{ç}$, M $*\text{ć}^2$, D $*\text{ć}^2$ and ? $*\text{č}^h-$). Q: c_4

ç - glottalized hissing affricate (> S *ç and *c, K *ç̣=*ç₁, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, ?? **K^h-, U *ç̣, T and Tg *ç, M and D *ç̣). Q: ç"= ç₅

č - a glottalized (presumably palatal) affricate (> S *ç and *c, Eg ʒ, K *ç̣, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, ?? **K^h-, U *ç̣, T and Tg *ç, M and D *ç̣). Q: č"2

č̄ - cover sign for **č|č̣|č̣̣**. Q: č"1-3

č̣ - cover sign for **č|č̣**. Q: č"1-2

č̣̣ - glottalized hushing affricate (> S *θ and θ, K *č̣̣, IE *(s)t-, *t^h, *-st-, U *č̣̣, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣̣). Q: č̣̣"3

č̣̣̣ - glottalized lateral affricate (> S *ʂ, Eg ʒ, K *č̣̣̣, IE *-s-, U *ʂ̣-, *-č̣-, T and Tg *ç, M *č̣̣̣, D *č̣̣̣ and ? *č̣̣̣-). Q: č̣̣̣"4

Č - cover sign for an unspecified affricate (**č|č̣|č̣̣|č̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣**). Q: Č

Č̣ - cover sign for **č|č̣|č̣̣**. Q: č / č"3/3

g - voiced uvular stop. Q: g₂

ɣ - voiced uvular fricative or spirant (like Arabic **غ**). Q: g₃

Γ - cover sign for **ɣ|g**. Q: g₂₋₃

h - a laryngeal yielding S *h (and zero), Eg h, x (ḥ) (and zero), pIE "strong" laryngeals, K, U, A and D zero; in A and D the pN postvocalic *h produces lengthening of vowels Q: h

H - cover sign: unspecified laryngeal (**ʔ|h|ɣ|ḥ|x|ɣ**). Q: H₂

H₁ - cover sign for "weak" laryngeals (**ʔ|ɣ|ḥ**). Q: H₃

H₂ - cover sign for "weak" laryngeals, including **h** (**ʔ|ɣ|ḥ|h**). Q: H₄

Ḥ - cover sign for **h|g|q**. Q: H

ħ - a voiceless epiglottal fricative that yields S *ħ, Eg ħ and x, IE weak laryngeals, K, U, A and D zero; in A and D the pN postvocalic *ħ produces lengthening of vowels. Q: ħ₂

K - cover sign for **k|g|ḳ|g**. Q: K

ḳ - cover sign for **k|g|ḳ**. Q: K₂

ḳ̣ - glottalized velar cns. Q: k"= k₅

Ḳ̣ - cover sign for **ḳ̣|g**. Q: K"= K₅

ḷ - palatal (or palatalized) lateral sonorant. Q: l₂

ḷ̣ - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) lateral sonorant. Q: l₇

ḷ̣̣ - cover sign for **ḷ̣̣**. Q: l_{1,7}

L - cover sign for lateral sonorants (**ḷ, ḷ̣, ḷ̣̣**). Q: L

ń - palatal (or palatalized) n. Q: n₂

ñ (= **ŋ**) - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) n. Q: n₇

- n̄** - cover sign for **n|ñ|ń**. Q: n_{1,2,7}
n̄ - cover sign for ***n|ñ**. Q: n_{1,7}
N - cover sign for an unspecified nasal consonant (other than ***m**). Q:
N
N̄ - cover sign for an unspecified nasal consonant (including ***m**). Q:
N₂
ŋ - velar or uvular nasal consonant (like **ŋg** in English **long**). Q: n₈
p̣ - emphatic (ejective?) labial stop. Q: p''= p₅
P - cover sign for an unspecified labial stop (**p|p̣|b**). Q: P
P̄ - cover sign for **p|p̣**. Q: p_{1,5}
q - voiceless uvular stop. Q: q
q̣ - glottalized uvular stop. Q: q''= q₅
ř - palatalized (or palatal) vibrant. Q: r₂
R - cover sign for **r|ř**. Q: R
ś - palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish **ś**). Q: s₂
ṣ́ - cover sign for **s|ś**. Q: s_{1,2}
ś̄ - cover sign for **s|ś|š**. Q: s₁₋₃
ṣ̌ - voiceless hushing sibilant (like English **sh**). Q: s₃
š̄ - voiceless lateral consonant. Q: s₄
S - cover sign for an unspecified voiceless sibilant (or lateral obstruent) (**s, ś, š, š̄**). Q: S
ṭ - emphatic (ejective?) t. Q: t''= t₅
T - cover sign for ***t|ṭ|d**. Q: T
T̄ - cover sign for ***t|ṭ**. Q: t_{1,5}
w - labial approximant (like English **w**). Q: w
χ - voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish **j** and Arabic **ح**) = **ħ** of the Orientalistic Transcription. Q: x (= x₃)
X - cover sign for **ħ|χ**. Q: X
y - palatal approximant (like **y** in English **yes**). Q: y
z - voiced hissing sibilant (like English **z**). Q: z
ź - voiced palatalized sibilant (like Polish **ź**). Q: z₂
ž - voiced hushing sibilant (like French **j**). Q: z₃
ž̄ - voiced lateral fricative. Q: z₄
ẓ - cover sign for **z|ź**. Q: z_{1,2}
z̄ - cover sign for ***z|ź|ž**. Q: z₁₋₃
Z - cover sign for an unspecified voiced sibilant. Q: Z

- ʒ - voiced hissing affricate (= $\overline{d\zeta}$) (like Italian *z* in *mezzo*). Q: 3
 ʒ̣ - voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish *cz*). Q: 3₂
 ʒ̥ - voiced hushing affricate (like English *j*). Q: 3₃
 ʒ̣̣ - voiced lateral affricate. Q: 3₄
 ʒ̣̣̣ - cover sign for ʒ̣̣̣. Q: 3_{1,2}
 ʒ̣̣̣̣ - cover sign for ʒ̣̣̣̣. Q: 3₁₋₃
 ʒ̣̣̣̣̣ - cover sign for an unspecified voiced affricate. Q: 3₁₋₄
 ⊥ - cover sign for an unspecified consonant. Q: *cns*

VOWELS

- ä - low front vowel. Q: e₂ = a₂
 æ - cover sign for ä|e. Q: e₁₋₂
 A - cover sign for ä|a. Q: A
 E - cover sign for an unspecified front vowel. Q: E
 ê - cover sign for e|i. Q: e_{1,4}
 ô - cover sign for o|u. Q: o_{1,4}
 U - cover sign for an unspecified rounded vowel (o|u|ü). Q: U
 û - cover sign for u|ü. Q: u_{1,2}
 ü - high labialized front vowel. Q: u₂
 î - cover sign for an unspecified high vowel (u|ü|i). Q: u_{1,2,4}
 â - cover sign for an unspecified back vowel. Q: a₅
 ∇ - cover sign for an unspecified vowel. Q: V

OTHER SIGNS

- ‘ in the word-initial position = a sign for word-initial prelaryngealization (preaspiration?) (according to my preliminary working hypothesis, see above Introduction, § 2.2.6). Q: ’₃
 # - word boundary

II. In PIE and NaIE reconstructions

Here the traditional notation of the IE comparative linguistics is used, with the following exceptions:

in the aspirated consonants the sign of aspiration is a superscript ^h rather than h (*b^h, *d^h, †*g^h·†*ĝ^h, *g^{wh}, *p^h, †*t^h, †*k^h, †*k̂^h, †*k^{wh} for the traditional *bh, dh, etc.). Q: ^h

*ɥ instead of the traditional *j or *i̯. Q: ɥ

*ʷ instead of the traditional *u̯. Q: ʷ

*i̯ and *u̯ as glides of diphthongs instead of the traditional *i and *u (e.g. *e i̯ for the traditional *ei, *e u̯ for the traditional *eu, etc.). Q: ɥ, ʷ

In quotations (Q) the sign of palatality $\tilde{}$ may be replaced by $\text{\textcircled{6}}$ (e.g. $\tilde{g}^h = \text{\textcircled{6}}g^h$, $\tilde{g} = \text{\textcircled{6}}g$, $\tilde{k} = \text{\textcircled{6}}k$)

The pIE laryngeals are denoted as follows:

h - "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) a-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *A₂) (pIE *eh > NaIE *ā). Q: h

h̄ - "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) e-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *E₁) (pIE *eh̄ > NaIE *ē). Q: h₆ (or h^y)

h^ʷ - "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) 0-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *A₁^ʷ) (pIE *eh^ʷ > NaIE *ō). Q: h^ʷ

x - "strong" (yielding h, hh in Hittite) a-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *A₁) (pIE *ex > NaIE *ā). Q: x

x̄ - "strong" (yielding h, hh in Hittite) e-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *E₂) (pIE *ex̄ > NaIE *ē). Q: x₆ (or x^y)

x^ʷ - "strong" (yielding h, hh in Hittite) 0-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s *A₂^ʷ) (pIE *ex^ʷ > NaIE *ō). Q: x^ʷ

X - a cover sign for x|x̄|x^ʷ, i.e. a cover sign for a "strong" (yielding h, hh in Hittite) laryngeal of unknown colouring (\approx Pv.'s *H₁). Q: X

H - a cover sign for an unspecified laryngeal (Hx|X) (\approx Pv.'s *H). Q: H

h - a cover sign for h|x, h°. Q: H^a

h̄ - a cover sign for h̄|x̄. Q: H₆ (or H^y)

h^ʷ - a cover sign for h^ʷ|x^ʷ. Q: H^ʷ

h_x - a cover sign for a "weak" (lost in Hittite) laryngeal of unknown colouring (\approx Pv.'s *H₂). Q: h_x

ʔ - a "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) laryngeal, lost in zero-grade of apophony (unlike all other laryngeals, that yield NaIE *ə in the apophonic zero-grade). Q: ʔ

T - an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition *-d^h ↔ *-d ↔ *-t. Q: T

ə - schwa in NaIE. Q: e₃

◦ - non-phonemic vocoid (schwa secundum) in proto-IE. Q: e₅

‘ (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions) = the prosodic feature (breathed voice, some kind of word-initial devoicing?) that brought about Gk prosthetic vowels, transformation of IE *w- and *y- into Greek h- (cf. Introduction, § 2.2.6). Q: ’₃

- word boundary

III. Transcription of living and extinct languages, transcription symbols of reconstruction (other than in pN, pIE and NaIE)

CONSONANTS

ʔ = glottal stop. Q: ’

’ = weak glottal stop, sub-phonemic glottal stop, glottal stop as a feature of an adjacent phoneme. Q: ’₆

] = unreleased undiscriminate stop, i.e. a stop (with undiscriminate place of articulation) without explosion (as in some ds. of Lp and J), Q:]

∅ = voiceless zero-consonant (short absence of any sound) (preceding a consonant in some Lp dialects). Q: ’₀

ʕ = voiced epiglottal approximant (Arabic ʕ). Q: ’₂

ʕ̣ = glottalized epiglottal consonant. Q: ’₂”

ʕ̣̣ = unspecified voiced laryngeal (ʕ or ʕ̣). Q: ’_{2a}

ʕ̣̣̣ (= ʕ̣̣̣) = glottalized injective or preglottalized b. Q: ”b

b’ = consonant described as "voiced ejective b". Q: b”

β (= ʙ) = fricative b. Q: b₉

ç = voiceless hissing affricate (= t̪s̪), like German z. Q: ç

ç̣ = glottalized (ejective) ç. Q: ç” = ç₅

č = voiceless palatal (or palatalized) sibilant affricate (like Polish č, Tofalar palatal č’, č̣). Q: ç₂

č̣ = ejective č. Q: č’. Q: ç”₂

č̣̣ = voiceless hushing affricate (like English tʃh). Q: ç₃

č̣̣̣ = ejective č̣̣̣. Q: ç”₃.

č̣̣̣̣ = voiceless lateral affricate. Q: ç₄

č̣̣̣̣̣ = ejective lateral affricate. Q: ç”₄

č̣̣̣̣̣̣ (in proto-Kartvelian and Jurchen), postalveolar ç = K {K, FS} ç₁ and Mudrak's Jurchen č̣̣̣̣̣̣. Q: ç₇

č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ (in proto-Kartvelian), postalveolar ç̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ = K {K, FS} ç̣̣̣̣̣̣̣₁. Q: ç”₇

ç̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ = voiceless palatal stop (like Hungarian t̪ɟ). Q: ç₁₀

č̣ = voiceless lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between c, č̣, č̣ and č̣) or a voiceless palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ç or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants). Q: c₁₁

č̣̣ = glottalized lingual affricate č̣ (without phonemic distinction between ç̣, č̣̣, č̣̣ and č̣̣) Q: c[̣]₁₋₄

ɖ (= ɖ̣) = injective glottalized or preglottalized d. Q: "d

d' = consonant described as "voiced ejective d". Q: d"

ɖ̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") d, like Modern Standard Arabic ض. Q: d₁₂ (or a less specific notation: d")

ð (= ɗ) = voiced fricative dental consonant (English th in this) or dental spirant (in Martnet's terminology) (Spanish ɗ in nada). Q: d₉

ð̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") ð, like Arabic ظ. Q: d"9 = d₉₊₁₂

ð̣̣ = lateralized uvularized ("emphatic") ð, like 8th cent. Arabic ض. Q: z₄₊₁₂ (= d₄₊₉₊₁₂ = d"₄₊₉)

ɖ̣ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) d. Q: d₇ (or ɖ̣ of the IPA notation)

ɖ̣̣ = alveolar d (in Dravidian) (= ɖ̣̣ in Indological transcription). Q: d₁₅

ɸ (= ɸ̣) = voiceless fricative bilabial consonant (bilabial f). Q: p₉

ɸ̣ = injective glottalized or preglottalized ɸ. Q: "ɸ

ɸ' = consonant described as "voiced ejective ɸ". Q: ɸ"

ɠ = voiced uvular stop (incl. Mlt {Drs.} ɠ). Q: ɠ (IPA) or ɠ. Q: ɠ₂

ɣ = voiced uvular fricative or spirant (like Arabic ڠ). This sign is also used for a phoneme without opposition ɣ ↔ ɣ̣ (as in pOUg and pOs). Q: ɠ₃

ɣ̣ = an emphatic uvular fricative consonant (typical of Berber). Q: ɠ"₃ = ɠ₃₊₁₂

ɣ̣̣ = voiced uvular spirant. Q: ɠ₃₊₉

ɣ̣̣̣ (superscript) = a uvular spirant (incl. an emphatic one) if it is reduced almost to zero (as in some subdialects of Rif Berber). Q: ɠ₃₊₁₄

ɣ̣̣̣̣ = voiced velar fricative\spirant (fricative\spirant ɣ̣̣̣̣), like in Spanish trigo or New Greek ɣ̣̣̣̣. Q: ɠ₉

ɣ̣̣̣̣̣ = voiced postpalatal lateral (approximant or fricative) (= {KD} Kms π). Q: ɠ₄

ɣ̣̣̣̣̣̣ (superscript) = a voiced velar spirant if it is reduced almost to zero (as in some subdialects of Vogul). Q: ɠ₁₄

- Γ = unspecified voiced uvular cns. ($\Psi|g$). Q: g_{2-3}
 ɦ = voiced h. Q: h_{16}
 ħ = emphaticized (uvularized) h (as in the southern dialects of Twareg); $\neq \text{ħ} [\chi]$ of the Orientalistic transcription!. Q: h_{12}
 ħ = "allgemeiner Mundgeräsch\Geräuschlaut" {Lagerkrantz}, e.g. in Lp. Q: h_{17}
 ɦ = fricative laryngeal onset that is added before vowels in the absolute initial position (in Dsn). Q: $h = h_{14}$
 ħ = voiceless epiglottal fricative (like Arabic ح ; = ħ of the Orientalistic Transcription). Q: h_2
 ĵ = palatalized glottal stop. Q: $'_3$ or (for Eg) ɥ
 j = voiced palatal fricative (like the initial consonant in French hier [jɛ̃r]). In pSl and pGmc reconstructions (in accordance with the tradition) j is used for the palatal approximant (instead of ɥ). Q: j
 ɟ = voiced palatal stop (like Hungarian ɟ). Q: j_2
 ɟ̣ = injective glottalized or preglottalized j. Q: $''j_2$
 ḳ = ejective k. Q: $k'' = k_5$
 ĵ = palatal (or palatalized) l, like Italian gli in voglio. Q: $l_2 (= [IBA]$
 ʎ)
 ɭ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) l. Q: l_7
 ɮ = velarized l (like in Russian л). Q: л. Q: l_{18}
 ɮ̣ = voiceless l. Q: l_{17}
 ɮ̣̣ = voiceless ḷ. Q: l_{17+7}
 λ = a special type of palatal l (different from ĵ), as in U and FU, where $*\lambda$ stands for the traditional (FUV) $*\delta'$ (in the word-initial position). Q: l_{2a}
 ɽ = a consonant (flap or tap) that is intermediate between r and l (Loubignac's ř in ZAS), or a phoneme without phonemic distinction between r and l (as in proto-Agaw). Q: r_4
 m̥ - voiced bilabial consonant with neutralization of the feature of nasality (with allophones [m] and [b]), as in pT. Q: m_2
 ɲ = palatal (or palatalized) n. Q: n_2
 ɳ = alveolar n (like Tamil ɳ). Q: n_{15}
 ɳ̣ (= ɳ) = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) n. Q: n_7
 N = nasal consonant with phonologically neutralized place of articulation (always homorganic with the following consonant). Q: n_x

ν = Old Telugu ardhānusvāra (a nasal consonant [word-final n , preconsonantous N] that is optionally lost in certain environments, e.g. $kalavgu = kalaŋgu \sim kalagu$ 'he disturbed'). Q: n_{14}

η = velar or uvular nasal consonant (like $ŋ$ in English *long*). Q: n_8

p̥ = ejective p . Q: $p'' = p_5$

q = voiceless uvular stop (like Arabic **ق**). Q: q

q̣ = ejective uvular stop. Q: q̣ (a sign that is technically easier than q).
Q: $q'' = q_5$

r_1 = uvular trill (like German r). Q: $r : 20$

\bar{r} = long r (incl. Armenian **ռ** [long trilled r]). Q: rr

\acute{r} = palatalized (or palatal) vibrant. Q: r_2

r̥ = trilled r (with phonemic opposition to r). Q: $r :$

ṛ = alveolar trill (in contrast to post-dental); $\text{ṛ} = \underline{r}$ of Dravidianist notation. Q: r_{15}

ṛ (= r_1) = postalveolar (retroflex) r (Dravidianistic $\text{ṛ} \sim \text{ṛ}$). Q: r_7

ř = obstruent r (like Czech ř). Q: r_3

R = Old Scandinavian (presumably palatalized) kind of $r < *s$. Q: r_{21}

R = voiceless r (like Moksha Mordvin $\text{p} \times$). Q: r_{17}

Ṛ = voiceless alveolar trill (like Konda {DED} R). Q: $r : 17$

ʀ = cerebral flap or tap (like Spanish r in *carra*, or like Hausa r in *sarki*). Q: r_{19} (= {IBA} ɹ)

ɹ = uvular flap or tap. Q: r_{20}

s = denotes both the apico-alveolar s (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar s (as in Spanish, New Greek, Finnish, and Estonian). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far). Q: s

\underline{s} (in proto-Karvelian) = weak $*s$ ($>$ Georgian s , Megrelian and Laz zero). Q: s_9

ś = voiceless hushing sibilant (like English ʃ). Q: s_3

š (in proto-Semitic) = weak $*š$ ($>$ š in Ak, but h , $ʔ$ and zero in most WS lgs.). Q: s_{3+9}

\acute{s} = palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish \acute{s}). Q: s_2

ṣ (in proto-Kartvelian) = {K, FS} $*s_1$ ($>$ G s , Md, Lz, Sv š). Q: s_{7a}

ṣ̣ (in proto-Kartvelian) = {K} $*(s_1)$ ($>$ Svan ṣ̌ , zero in Georgian and Zan). Q: s_{7a+9}

\hat{s} = voiceless lateral consonant. Q: s_4

š = uvularized ("emphatic") s, like Arabic **ص**. Q: s₁₂ (or a less specific notation: s")

ś = apico-alveolar s with flattened body of the tongue (like Toda **ṣ** in BE's transcription of Dravidian). Q: s₁₉

ṣ̣ = infralabialized voiceless domal infradental sibilant (as in Twi and Jibbali; Johnstone's **ṣ̣**). Q: s₂₀

ṣ̣̣ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) s. Q: s₇

ʃ = voiceless palatal fricative (= **ǰ**, **ǰ̣** of Solon [transcription of Poppe, SSTMJ & Ivanovskij], Kildin Lappish **ǰ** [in the new East Lappish alphabet of 1982] and Moksha Mordvinian **ǰ̣**). Q: s₂₁

ṭ̣ = ejective t. Q: t" = t₅

ṭ̣̣ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) t. Q: t₇ (= [IBA] **ṭ̣̣**)

ṭ̣̣̣ = alveolar t (in Dravidian lgs.) (= **ṭ̣̣̣** of the Indological transcription). Q: t₁₅

ṭ̣̣̣̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") t, like Arabic **ط**. Q: t₁₂ (or a less specific notation: t")

θ (= **ṭ̣̣̣̣**) = voiceless dental (or interdental) fricative (like English **th** in **thin**). Q: t₉

θ̣ = ejective θ. Q: t" = t₅₊₉

ʋ = labial approximant. Q: w

ɣ (= **ḳ**) = voiceless velar fricative (like Russian **ɣ**). Q: x (or x₁)

ɣ̣ = a weak x-sound (like **θifriɣ̣θ** in Izn {Rn.}). Q: x₁₄

χ = voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish **j** and Arabic **ح**) = **ḫ** of the Orientalistic Transcription. Q: x₃

ɥ = palatal approximant (like **ɥ** in English **ɥeɥ**). Q: y

z = voiced hissing sibilant. Denotes both the apico-alveolar z (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar z (as in New Greek). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far). Q: z

ž = voiced hushing sibilant (like French **j**). Q: z₃

ẓ̌ = voiced hushing fricative with a broad slit (as in Zng: {TC} "fricative sonore avec un faible chuintement", = {TC} **ẓ̌**). Q: z₂₂

ż = voiced palatalized sibilant (like Polish **ż**). Q: z₂

ṣ̣̣̣̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") z, like in Berber (**ṣ̣̣̣̣** of the Orientalistic Transcription). Q: z₁₂ (or a less specific notation: z")

ḏ = voiced lateral fricative. Q: z₄

- ʒ = voiced hissing affricate (= $\widehat{\text{dʒ}}$). Q: 3
 ʝ = voiced hushing affricate (like English j). Q: 3₃
 ʑ = voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish dʑ). Q: 3₂
 ʑ (in proto-Kartvelian and possibly in Jurchen) = Klimov's ʑ_1 and Mudrak's Jurchen ʑ . Q: 3₇
 ʒ = voiced lateral affricate. Q: 3₄
 ʒ = voiced lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between ʒ , ʝ , ʑ and ʒ) or a voiced palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and j or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants). Q: 3₁₁
 \emptyset = zero consonant

BOUNDARIES

- ˊ = syllable boundary (both in transcription and transliteration). Q: in quotations it may be either rendered by a hyphen or not rendered at all
 \# = word boundary. Q: for lack of a special sign, a scholar may use words (e.g. t\# = t in the Auslaut)

COVER SIGNS (UNCERTAINTY SIGNS) FOR CONSONANTS IN RECONSTRUCTIONS

- | "or" (b|p means "b or p").
 ʔ (in reconstructions) = ʔ|h . Q: '1_a
 x = H|w|y . Q: H|w|y
 ɣ = ɣ|ʁ . Q: '2_a
 C = unspecified affricate. Q: C
 Γ = ɣ|g . Q: g_{2-3}
 H = cover sign: unspecified laryngeal (ʔ|h|ɣ|ħ|χ|ʁ). Q: H_2
 H_1 = cover sign for "weak" laryngeals (ʔ|ɣ|ħ). Q: H_3
 H_2 = cover sign for "weak" laryngeals, including h (ʔ|ɣ|ħ|h). Q: H_4
 H = cover sign for H|g|q . Q: H
 L = unspecified lateral sonorant. Q: L
 N = unspecified nasal consonant (other than *m). Q: N
 P = unspecified labial stop. Q: P
 Q = q|g . Q: Q

- R = r|ř. Q: R
 S = unspecified voiceless sibilant (or lateral obstruent) (s, ś, š, ŝ, K š). Q: S
 T = unspecified dental stop. Q: T
 8 = w|y. Q: W
 X = ħ|χ. Q: X
 X̄ = χ|ϣ. Q: X₂
 Z = unspecified voiced sibilant. Q: Z
 3 = unspecified voiced affricate. Q: 3_x
 ⊥ (in reconstructions) is an unspecified consonant. Q: cns. In formulas we use C as a general sign for consonant.
 [] = for transliterated letters that are not pronounced (e.g. Sr [ʔ]nās with a "deaf" initial ʔ). Q: ()

In cases of neutralized opposition the letter without diacritic signs (denoting the feature which is neutralized) is used. For instance, in pT words with intervocalic voiced obstruents (where the opposition *t' ↔ *ṭ- is neutralized) we use a plain *t-. If the neutralized opposition is between phonemes denoted by different letters, we may use /, e.g. p/b.

VOWELS

- ᵃ = "patach furtivum", i.e. an epenthetic a (appearing in Hb between a long vowel and a following word-final laryngeal cns.: 'rū^ᵃħ 'wind, spirit'), as well the ultra-short a (Hb₂[ħat'aph-pathach]). Q: ᵃ (= a₀₁)
 ɑ = low back vowel (back a). Q: a₃
 α = a vowel in pre-IE from which alternating IE *e/0/zero have developed; ultra-bref (reduced) low back vowel (e.g., in Lamut [= ḅ of STM]). Q: a₄
 ä (= æ) = low front vowel. Q: a₂ = e₂
 æ = [1] in attested lgs.: = ä. Q: a₂ = e₂
 æ = [2] in reconstructions: = ä|e. Q: e₁₋₂
 â = vowel intermediate between ä and a. EM: a'. Q: a₆
 ậ = labialized low vowel. Q: a₇
 e = high a. Q: a₈
 ɛ = low-mid back vowel (= IPA ʌ), like ʊ in English bʊt. Q: a₉
 α = ultra-short a (= Ramstedt's ɑ). Q: a₁₀
 ǣ = ultra-short ä. Q: a₁₁

Λ = low-mid central vowel (= IPA ʌ); in Korean Λ = Korean {Lee} ʌ, {Starostin} ǎ, {Ramstedt} ǧ. Q: a₁₂

ē = slightly labialized e ("leichte spaltformige Labialisation"). Q: e₇

ε = low-mid front vowel. Q: e₆

ɜ = central mid vowel (= IPA and Africanistic ə, FUT ɛ, Wiklund's ɞ, Sammallahti's ɛ̈). Q: e₈

ẽ = slightly labialized central mid vowel (Genetz's ɞ). Q: e₉

ə = ultra-bref (reduced) central vowel, or ultra-bref vowel without phonologic distinction of quality; in Chuvash ə = orthographic ɛ̈; = Sammallahti's ɞ. Q: e₃

ə₁ = back mid vowel (like Estonian ɔ̄) = IPA ɤ (or ʌ of some authors); in Korean ə₁ = Ko {Lee} ə, {Starostin} ə, {Ramstedt} ɛ; in Svan (acc. Tuite's description) ə₁ = ɔ̄ = ə of the traditional transcription. Q: e₁₀

η = high e. Q: e₁₁

ī° = slightly labialized i ("leichte splattformige Labialisation"). Q: i₇

i = palatal glide of a diphthongoid. Q: ɥ₂

ɪ = low i (like i in English ɪt). Q: i₃

ɨ = high mid vowel (like Russian ɨ). Q: i₄

ɥ = lowered high mid vowel (low ɨ). Q: i₅

ɪ = high back vowel. Q: i₂

ɔ = labialized low-mid back vowel (like British English ɔ in ɔg). Q: o₃

ö (= œ) = labialized front mid vowel (labialized e). Q: o₂

õ = labialized front low-mid vowel (labialized ε). Q: o₄.

ȭ = vowel intermediate between ö and o. Q: o₅.

ω (= ɔ̄) = high o, intermediate between o and u. Q: o₆.

ɵ = centralized o. Q: o₇

◦, ◌ = non-phonemic vocoid (= {Bi.} ʔ). Q: e₁₂

◌̥ = preconsonantous voiceless vowel glide (as in Lappish) and postconsonantous voiceless ultra-short vowel (as in Nenets); the same sign is used when the final part of the preceding vowel is voiceless (as in Lp L, as described by Wiklund: ◌̥ = Wiklund's ɔ̄); ≈ ɜ. Q: h₁₈

u = labialized high back vowel. Q: u

u = low u. Q: u₃

ü = labialized high front vowel (labialized i), like German ü and French ɥ. Q: u₂

Û = labialized lowered high front vowel (labialized ɪ). Q: u₄

û = vowel intermediate between ü and u. Q: u₅

ʉ = centralized u. Q: u₇
 ʋ = labial glide of a diphthongoid (e.g. п^ʋоs нoц in Russian). Q: ʋ₂
 ɯ = ultra-short back vowel (= \hat{a} of the Finno-Ugric Transcription); ɯ = Chuvash \mathring{a} , Volga Tatar and Bashkir short ɯɪ, High Cheremis ɯɪ. Q: a₁₃
 ɯ̊ = Volga Tatar and Bashkir o. Q: u₁₃
 ɤ = ultra-short (reduced) front vowel; ɤ = Volga Tatar, Bshk э, e (after a consonant), pSm {Hl.} ә. Q: i₁₃
 ɤ̊ = Volga Tatar, Bashkir e. Q: ü. Q: u₂₊₁₃
 Ø = zero phoneme. Q: Ø (if the sign Ø is not available, "-" may be used)

NB: 1. Instead of Lytkin's proto-Permian *ɯ̊, *ɯ̊̄, *ɯ̊̄̄, *ɤ̊, *ɤ̊̄, *ɤ̊̄̄, *ɯ̊̄̄, *ɯ̊̄̄̄ and *ɤ̊̄̄̄ we use *ɯ̊, *ɯ̊̄, *ɯ̊̄̄, *ɤ̊, *ɤ̊̄, *ɤ̊̄̄, *ɯ̊̄̄ and *ɤ̊̄̄̄ respectively.

2. In Sr W there is only one non-ultra-short e-vowel. I transcribe it as ε because in Sr E there are two non-ultra-short e-vowels: a more open ε (usually corresponding to Sr W ε) and a more closed e (usually going back to *aɥ).

COVER SIGNS (uncertainty signs) FOR VOWELS IN RECONSTRUCTIONS

A = a|ä. Q: A

æ = (in reconstructions) = ä|e. Q: e₁₋₂

E (= FUT ʎ) = unspecified front vowel. Q: E

U = unspecified round vowel. Q: U

Î = unspecified high vowel (u|ü|i). Q: u_{1,2,4}

â = unspecified back vowel (a|o|u). Q: a₅

∇ (or ∨) is an unspecified vowel. Q: V

All this refers to transcription, rather than to transliteration or reproducing the national (Roman-based) script. The transliteration and the national Roman spelling are (and should be) quoted in their traditional form.

For more details about the cover signs in the pN reconstruction cf. above § 8.

DIACRITICAL SIGNS

(1) WITH CONSONANT LETTERS

Superscript consonant letters are always used to denote weak consonants (θ , ϑ , \tilde{h} , \aleph , etc.). The superscript letters θ , r denote extreme reduction of a consonant, like in some dialects of Rif Berber: $\theta am\vartheta\bar{a}r\theta$, $\theta am\vartheta ar^{\theta}$ 'woman', $iff\bar{a}\vartheta$ 'he went out'. Q (the quotable equivalents of these signs) is formed by adding 0_1 or $+0_1$ after the letter: $\theta = Q: t_{9+0_1}$, $\aleph = \aleph_{0_1}$.

Reduction to zero is denoted by using morphohonemic brackets $()$: $\theta am\vartheta\bar{a}(r)\theta$ 'woman'. If a superscript consonant letter is adjacent to a letter for a homorganic consonant (e.g. in affricates: $k\aleph$ in Vg dialects), it denotes a weak consonantous elements of an affricate.

Subscript consonant letters (e.g. in Lp Kld $v\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda a\delta$) denote very weak consonants. Their quotable equivalents are formed by adding 0_2 or $+0_2$ to the corresponding character: $v = Q: v_{0_2}$, $\delta = d_{9+0_2}$.

· (\dot{s} , \dot{t} , \dot{b}) - glottalization (both ejective and voiced injective), including preglottalization. In the N reconstructions it denotes an emphatic articulation (without commitment as to its exact phonetic articulation: glottalization, aspiration or tenseness). EM: · (after the letter). Q: " after voiceless consonants, " before voiced consonants (e.g. $\dot{s} = Q s''$, $\dot{t} = Q t''$, $\dot{b} = Q b''$)

' (preceding the letter) - preglottalization (as Sq 'r, 'h, Lp Δ 'p, 't) or injective glottalization (especially of voiceless consonants: 'p, 't). Q: " before a cons., e.g. 'h = "h₂

◦ (after the letter) - tense non-aspirated (in the NrCs languages, in Zng).

¹ (after the letter: b¹) - unreleased stop (stop without explosion, as in Vietnamese and Ndam); cp.] = unreleased undiscriminate stop (see above). Q:]

◌̣ (\underline{d} , \underline{z} , \underline{t}) - uvularization ("emphasis", as in Arabic and Berber). Q: 12 or +12 after letters for consonants

ˆ (after the letter: t^ˆ, k^ˆ, p^ˆ) - fortis. Q: "3

ˆ (after the letter: t^ˆ, k^ˆ, p^ˆ) - lenis, lax; in Azm ˆ denotes lax sonorants ("relâchées") m^ˆ, n^ˆ, ŋ^ˆ. Q: "4

^h (after the letter: t^h, k^h, p^h) - aspirate. Q: ^h (after the letter)

^h and ˆ (preceding the letter: ^ht, ^hp, ^hk = ˆt, ˆp, ˆk) - preaspirate. Q: ^h (before the letter)

̣ (after the letter: ḅ, g̣, ḍ, j̣, ẓ, ṛ, ḷ, ṃ, ṇ, ŋ̣) - devoiced or half-voiced = FUT small caps. EM: h (after the letter), Q: "5b after consonant letters

̤ (after the letter: r̤, l̤) - devoiced final part of the consonant (as in Nen F). EM: h (after the letter). Q: "5c after consonant letters

̥ (after the letter) - half-voiced. EM: h (after the letter). Q: "5a after consonant letters

̦ (preceding the letter) - voiceless consonants with a voiced or half-voiced initial part (as in some dialects of Lp). Q: "5d preceding consonant letters

̧ (under the letter: b̧, ḑ, ģ, ķ, p̧, ţ, q̧) - fricativity resulting from lenition (fricative variants of phonemes or morphophonemes, as in Hebrew, Aramaic and Berber). Q: 9a (or +9a) after consonant letters

̨ under letters for fricatives (β̨, δ̨, γ̨, υ̨, h̨) - lax fricativity (*consonnes spirantes* of Mart. and TBC, such as Sp intervocalic b, d, g = β, δ, γ). Lax fricativity resulting from lenition may be also denoted as above (with a dot under letters for stops: ḅ, ḍ, g̣, ḳ, p̣, ṭ, q̣) if no phonological opposition (ḅ ↔ β, etc.) is involved or known. Q: 9b (or +9b) after consonant letters

̩ (e.g. p̩, t̩) - lax consonants (pT *-p̩- > -p- ~ -b- in daughter lgs.). Q: "4

̪ - syllabic consonant (l̪, ŋ̪, m̪, etc.). Q: "13

̫ over the consonant letter - weak consonant (intermediate between the consonant and zero), e.g. w̫, y̫ = w, y with weak approximation. Q: "14

̬, ̭ over the consonant letter = long consonant, including the so-called "long consonants" in Korean and the Nakh-Daghestanian lgs. Q: "15

̮ (under the letter) - plosive consonant (stop): ħ̮ (plosive ħ), ʕ̮, ʔ̮, ʋ̮. Q: "16 after a consonant letter

̯ (under the letter) - open fricative consonant (with broadened aperture). Q: the diacritic sign may be ignored

̰ (after the letter) - affricatized or half-affricatized stop (k̰ = affricate k̰x̰, t̰ = a half-affricatized t̰ [intermediate between t̰ and t̰́, as Russian т̰х̰]. Q: 23 or +23 (e.g. k̰ = Q: k23, t̰ = Q: t2+23)

̱ (preceding the letter) - slightly affricatized fricative consonant (with a weak initial plosive articulation): ḵ = very weak k + x̱. Q: 24 after consonant letters

̲ or ̳ with dental consonant letters (t̲ = t̲, d̲ = d̲, ɖ̲) - addental or gingival (in contrast with alveolar) consonant. The traditional symbol ̲ is less convenient because it cannot be combined with the under-dot for

glottalization. Q: 25 after consonant letters ($t^ʔ = t_{\text{̣}} = \text{Q: } t_{25}$, $d^ʔ = d_{\text{̣}}$, $d^ʔ = \text{Q: } d_{25}$)

^ʔ with palatal consonant letters ($\ç$, j) - dentopalatal consonants (intermediate between t and $\ç$, d and j), as in dialects of Lapp = Q: 25, +25

$\underset{\sim}{t}$ ($\underset{\sim}{t}$, $\underset{\sim}{d}$, $\underset{\sim}{n}$) - alveolar (in contrast with dental or post-dental) consonant; $\underset{\sim}{t}$, $\underset{\sim}{d}$, $\underset{\sim}{n} = \underset{\sim}{t}$, $\underset{\sim}{d}$, $\underset{\sim}{n}$ of the Dravidianist notation. Q: 15 after cns. letters

$\overset{\sim}{}$ - palatal consonant (e.g. $\tilde{z} = \tilde{j}$) (if distinguished from palatalized). Q: 26 after a cns. letter. But in pIE reconstructions \tilde{k} , \tilde{g} , \tilde{x} is used (according to scholarly tradition) for palatalized consonants: $\tilde{k} = \text{Q: } k_{2a}$ (see below)

^ʼ (over the letter: \acute{s} , \acute{n} , \acute{l} , \acute{w} , etc.) - palatality. Q: 26 after cns. letters

^ʲ (after the letter: $k^ʲ$, $g^ʲ$, $\chi^ʲ$) - palatalization. Q: 2a, +2a after cns. letters
 $\overset{\cdot}{}$ (over the letter) or $\overset{\cdot}{}$ (after the letter) - weak palatalization ($\underset{\cdot}{g}$ -palatalization). Q: 2b, +2b after cns. letters

^ʷ (after the letter: $k^ʷ$, $g^ʷ$, $\chi^ʷ$) - labialization. Q: ^ʷ after the letter

^ʋ (after the letter: $s^{\text{ʋ}}$) - ʋ -labialization (articulated with the upper lip only). Q: ʋ

^ʋ (in word-initial position before diphthong or vowel) - weak approximant functioning as a ʋ -glide (as in dialects of Kola Lapp). Q: ʋ

$\tilde{}$, $\tilde{}$ (over a consonant letter or to its left) - nasalization or (in Chadic) prenasalization of an obstruent (\tilde{p} , \tilde{b} , \tilde{d} , \tilde{t} or \tilde{p} , \tilde{b} , \tilde{d} , \tilde{t}) or nasalization of a cns. (\tilde{y} , \tilde{w} , \tilde{r} , \tilde{r}). Q: 27 after the letter

$\underset{\cdot}{}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{s}$, $\underset{\cdot}{n}$, etc.) = $\underset{\cdot}{s}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{s}$, $\underset{\cdot}{l}$, etc.) - postalveolar or retroflex consonants. Q: 7, +7 after cns. letters

[̣] over letters for sibilants ($\underset{\cdot}{s}$, $\underset{\cdot}{z}$, $\underset{\cdot}{z}$) - symbol of infralabialized domal infradental sibilants, like in Central Jibbali (Johnstone's $\underset{\cdot}{s}$, $\underset{\cdot}{z}$, $\underset{\cdot}{z}$) or in Twi (Ghana); $\underset{\cdot}{s} = [\text{̣}]$ of the IPA transcription. Q: 28 after the letter

[̣] over letters for sonorant consonants ($\underset{\cdot}{y}$, $\underset{\cdot}{w}$, $\underset{\cdot}{n}$) denotes a glottal stop that is simultaneous with the sonorant. Q: " after the cns.

[̣] over letters c and ç is used to denote lingual affricates without phonemic distinction between hissing, hushing, and palatal: $\underset{\cdot}{c}$ for a voiced affricate, $\underset{\cdot}{c}$ for a voiceless affricate, as well as for a palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ç or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants, as well as for an affricate without phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless). Q: 11 after the letters c and ç

[̣] - vibration (e.g. $\underset{\cdot}{\chi}$ - vibrating χ , $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ - $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ with vibration). Q: r .

^ɸ (after the letter) - a sign for clicks (EM: !), namely:

b^ɸ - voiced bilabial click,

ç^ɸ - voiceless palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

ç̣^ɸ - voiceless lateral click,

d^ɸ - voiced addental click,

ḍ^ɸ - voiced alveolar click,

ɟ^ɸ - voiced palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

ɟ̣^ɸ - voiced lateral click,

m^ɸ - nasalized bilabial click,

n^ɸ - nasalized addental click,

ṇ^ɸ - nasalized alveolar click,

ɲ^ɸ - nasalized palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

p^ɸ - voiceless bilabial click,

t^ɸ - voiceless addental click,

ṭ^ɸ - voiceless alveolar click;

aspirated and glottalized clicks should be represented by adding the signs of aspiration and glottalization to the symbols for clicks (e.g., t^{ɸh}, ç^{ɸh}, ṭ^ɸ, ç̣^ɸ); retroflex clicks can be designed by adding the sign of retroflexity to the signs of addental clicks: ṭ^ɸ, ḍ^ɸ, ɲ̣^ɸ).

The clicks are rare in African languages of Nostratic origin (in some South Cushitic languages only). Nevertheless in view of further research of languages of Africa I find it useful to formulate my proposal of transcription of clicks.

(2) WITH VOWEL LETTERS

~ denotes nasality: ã = nasal a; in the Slavic languages nasality is denoted by a cedille: ạ = ã. EM: ~ (after the letter)

ç denotes retroflex articulation (as ʃ̣ in Chinese ɕhi, ri, or ʒ̣ in American English ḅirɔ [ḅʒ̣ɔ])

̣ denotes apical pronunciation: ɨ̣, ụ = apicalized i, u (as ɨ̣ in some East Lapp subdialects denoted in Sotavalta's and Wiklund's transcription as ɨ̣, ụ, or as ɨ̣ in Chinese ɕi).

˘ (over the letter) denotes creaky phonation of vowels.

˘ (over the letter) denotes middle pharyngealization (as in some Daghestanian languages; such pharyngealization is supposed to have existed in the history of Akkadian) and pharyngealization of vowels in

Tuva and Tofalar. NB: $\dot{\text{I}}$ is a pharyngealized I (Tv ЫӢ), while $\dot{\text{i}}$ is a pharyngealized i (Tv ИӢ). EM: I (after the letter).

ʔ and H (before the letter or between vowel letters) denote "interrupted" and "aspirated" vowels (in Ud, according Zinder and Matusевич) (the sign chosen in accordance with the source: H if the source indicates a kind of h); Krm. treats this "interruption" and "aspiration" as phonemes ʔ and h (transcribed so in quotations from Krm.)

'^{h} (a'^{h} , e'^{h} , etc.) - breathy vowels (vowels with breathy voice) and "lax" vowels ({Bender} Dime)

̣ (under the vowel letter) denotes close vowels ($\text{ẹ} = \eta$, closed e). In Tg it denotes vowels of the higher series of vowel harmony

̤ (under the vowel letter) denotes open vowels ($\text{e̤} = \varepsilon$). In pTg it denotes the vowels of the lower series of vowel harmony

$\text{̣}'$ denotes retracted vowels ($\text{a}'^{\text{̣}} = \text{retracted a}$)

$\text{̣}'^{\text{h}}$ denotes advanced vowels ($\text{a}'^{\text{̣h}} = \text{advanced a}$)

̣^{h} (under the letter) - broadened vowel

̣^{h} (under the letter) - narrowed vowel

̂ (over the letter) - narrowed vowel with a convexed middle part of the tongue ("gewölbte Mittelzunge", such as Ū in Karjalainen's description of Ostyak)

̈ denotes front vowels (ä , ü , ö)

̇ denotes half-front vowels (õ , ú)

̣^{h} denotes glides (English mɹ [maɹ], Spanish bien [bʝen], bueno [bʝueno])

̤ (after the vowel letter) denotes devoiced vowels (as in Japanese, Oromo and Wolaytta prosody)

̣ (ẹ , ị , ọ) - lax vowels (as in Slq: ẹ , ị , $\text{ọ} = \{\text{KKIH}\} \varepsilon$, ị [i with subscript ̣], ọ ; or as in Boni)

̣^{h} (under the letter: ẹ^{h} , ọ^{h} , ạ^{h} , etc.) - tense vowels (as in Boni)

Diacritical signs at the beginning of words denote supersegmental features:

'^{h} at the beginning a word - supersegmental anteriorization of all vowels of the word (as in Somali);

̣^{h} at the beginning of a word - supersegmental lowering of all vowels ($\text{i} > \text{ị}$, etc.) (as in the Tungusic languages)

̂ at the beginning of a word - supersegmental higher articulation of all vowels ($\text{u} > \text{Ū}$, etc.) (as in the Tg languages)

Subscript vowel letters denote anaptyctic and ultra-short vowels (e.g. in Kalmuck, Kurukh), as well as the patach furtivum in Hebrew (רָאָה = רָוָה)

Superscript vowel letters $\overset{a}{a}$, $\overset{\varepsilon}{\varepsilon}$, $\overset{\upsilon}{\upsilon}$ denote $\overset{a}{a}/\overset{\varepsilon}{\varepsilon}/\overset{\upsilon}{\upsilon}$ -coloured shva (in Hb and JA: Hb צָוָה^אrayim = צָוָה^ארַיִם).

Superscript vowel letters ($\overset{i}{i}$, $\overset{u}{u}$, $\overset{o}{o}$, $\overset{e}{e}$, $\overset{ä}{ä}$) adjacent to vowels denote glide elements of diphthongoids (e.g. R НОС [n^uos] 'nose', Xlj ju^o] 'road')

(3) WITH BOTH CONSONANTS AND VOWEL LETTERS

⏟ (at the end of a word) - devoiced Auslaut

⏟ (i.e. S_U⏟a)- syllable boundary, e.g. in MM and MKo (rendering the MKo letter ◦ unless it denotes [h̥] - see Lee GKS 130-1, 150-3). Q: ’

(4) QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES OF VOWELS

vowel letters without diacritics of length or shortness denote short vowels (in languages with an opposition short vs. long) and normal ("full") vowels (in languages with an opposition normal vs. ultra-short and with a triple opposition long vs. short vs. ultra-short); an exception: special letters for ultra-short (reduced) vowels $\overset{a}{a}$, $\overset{b}{b}$, $\overset{b}{b}$

˘ denotes a ultra-short vowel (e.g. $\overset{a}{a}$); in languages distinguishing between long and short vowels only (L, Gk, pA) it denotes a short vowel
small subscript vowel letters denote ultra-short vowels (almost zero)

letters followed by $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ denotes half-long vowels

vowel letters with a macron $\overset{\bar{\cdot}}{\bar{\cdot}}$ or with a following colon : denote long vowels

: (in the formula of a root or a stem) denotes vowel length as part of the formula (e.g. in Sv \checkmark : \checkmark W-, cf. 2486. *w \checkmark L \checkmark ∇ \checkmark ∇ 'run, flee')

letters followed by : $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ denote ultra-long vowels

˘ (after the letter) symbolizes "schwachgeschnittene Länge" (in the Samoyed languages)

letters followed by $\overset{\cdot}{\cdot}$ denotes a short vowel (opposed to a long one), e.g. $\overset{a}{a}$.

(5) QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES OF CONSONANTS

Long consonants are denoted by double letters (tt) or by a colon : (t:).

Half-long consonants are denoted by the sign ˙.

Ultra-long consonants are followed by the sign ::.

(6) TONES AND STRESS

ˈ (before the syllable) - full stress.

ˌ (before the syllable) - weak stress

ː (before the syllable) - strong stress (e.g. phrasal stress).

ˑ (before the syllable) - secondary stress

The tones are denoted mostly by supralineal signs over vowels, e.g. by signs of the second supralineal level (higher than regular supralineal signs):

ˊ - high tone; in Kor. and Jap. this sign is quoted after Starostin's papers

ˋ - low tone; in Kor. and Jap. this sign is quoted after Starostin's papers

ˊ - middle tone.

ˊˋ - falling high-to-mid tone. Q: ˊˋ (e.g. ǎˊˋ = áá)

ˊˋˋ - falligh high-to-low tone. Q: ˊˋˋ (e.g. ǎˊˋˋ = áà)

ˋˋˋ - falling mid-to-low tone. Q: ˋˋˋ (e.g. ǎˋˋˋ = àà)

ˋˋˊ - rising low-to-high tone. Q: ˋˋˊ (e.g. ǎˋˋˊ = àá)

ˋˋˊˋ - rising low-to-mid tone. Q: ˋˋˊˋ (e.g. ǎˋˋˊˋ = àá)

ˋˋˊˋˊ - rising mid-to-high tone (mid rise tone). Q: ˋˋˊˋˊ (e.g. ǎˋˋˊˋˊ = áá)

ˋˋˋˋˋ - high rise tone (as in Wedekind's records of Janjero). Q: ˋˋˋˋˋ (e.g. ǎˋˋˋˋˋ = áá)

ˋˋˋˋ - very low tone. Q: ˋˋˋˋ (ǎˋˋˋˋ)

ˋˋˋˋˋ - very high tone. Q: ˋˋˋˋˋ (ǎˋˋˋˋˋ)

_ (after the syllable) - the tone (in ds. of Ko and J) designated by Starostin by a subscript macron: ǎ_ = St.'s ǎ

In transcribing languages distinguishing between more than three pitches of tones the first supralineal level is used for the mid low tone (ˋ, e.g. à) and for the mid high tone (ˊ, e.g. á), so that the tones are denoted as follows (ǎ standing here for any vowel): ǎˋˋˋ, ǎˋˋ, ǎˋ, ǎˊ, ǎˊˋ, ǎˊˋˋ, ǎˋˋˋˋ for very low, low, mid low, middle, mid high, high and very high tones respectfully. They may be denoted by subscript numbers as well: ǎˋˋˋ = a₁, ǎˋˋ = a₂, ǎˋ = a₃, ǎˊ = a₄, ǎˊˋ = a₅, ǎˊˋˋ = a₆, ǎˋˋˋˋ = a₇, falling mid-to-low ǎˋˋˋˋ = a₄₋₂, rising mid-to-high ǎˋˋˋˋˋ = a₄₋₆, etc.

If the tone sign precedes a word (as in MfG), it indicates that the word requires this tone in the preceding word (Brr.'s "ton flottant").

In proto-Slavic reconstructions, in Lt, Ltv and Lv the syllabic intonation (Slavic and Baltic accents) are denoted according to the Slavistic vs. Baltistic tradition.

In transcribing Korean dialects I use superscript L, T and V (preceding the syllable) to designate those tones which are symbolized in St. AJ and SDM95 by capital letters L, T and V (without explaining the phonetic meaning of the symbols).

In transcribing Chinese I use the traditional numeration of the tones (subscript numbers _{1, 2, 3, 4}).

For unwritten languages with expiratory syllabic intonation (like Liv) I use $\bar{\quad}$ (a highly placed macron) for the even intonation (Endz.'s "gedehnter Ton") (or leave the syllable without intonation sign), $\grave{\quad}$ (a highly placed gravis) for the falling intonation (initially-strong and finally-weak syllables; Endz.'s "fallender Ton") and $\acute{\quad}$ (after the vowel) for the stød ("Stoßton"). For written lgs. of this kind (Lt, Ltv) we use traditional accent symbols with traditional transliteration.

(7) ADDITIONAL SIGNS

(used in description and reconstruction of languages)

These signs should not necessarily be reproduced by scholars who quote my data. but have no technical possibility to reproduce the characters. If necessary, their meaning may be rendered by words of explanations.

1, 2, 3, 4 - radicals of S, B and Eg roots

\leftrightarrow - morphological, semantic, or phonemic opposition (L *reges* pl. \leftrightarrow *rex* sg., 'land' \leftrightarrow 'sea', *d* \leftrightarrow *t*); in semantic definitions: "opposite of, antonym of" (e.g., 'right' \leftrightarrow 'left')

\neg = and (for variants of roots and words); or (for alternative reconstructions)

\approx , \pm = approximately (in semantic definitions and in phonetic reconstructions); \approx before a reference means that the etymological or semantic interpretations in the quoted source are only partially shared by the present author

$\lceil \rceil$ - uncertainty brackets: $\lceil \bar{a} \rceil$ = \bar{a} or similar. EM: []

$\lfloor \rfloor$ - uncertainty brackets: $\lfloor \bar{a} \rfloor$ = \bar{a} or nothing. EM: ()

$\langle \rangle$ - brackets for silent letters (in transliteration)

_{1, 2, 3} - these indexes are used for reconstructed or ancient languages in order to distinguish between phonemes with unknown phonetic difference, e.g. OJ \bar{o}_1 and pJ $*\bar{o}_1$ = OJ \bar{o} , pJ $*\bar{o}$ (= $*\bar{o}$).

- ÷ - cognate of
 * - sign of a non-existing word, form or a non-existing meaning (quoted by a scholar)
 * < - erroneous etymology
 * ÷ - erroneous etymological comparison with ...; 'not here ...' or 'hardly cognate with ...'
 ⇔ - "contrary to the opinion of...", "compare otherwise"
 * - sign of reconstruction
 *° - a reconstruction based on one descendant language (or branch of a family) only
 *°° - a reconstruction based on one granddaughter-language only
 ** - a questionable reconstruction or a result of "internal reconstruction"
 * (after a word) - unattested forms (esp. quotation forms: nom. sg., inf., etc.) of a word (reconstructed from the attested forms of its paradigm)
 ↑ - the abovementioned meaning of the same N etymon (in cross-references)
 σ≡ - a semantic parallel
 ? - a questionable N etymology, or a questionable cognate
 ₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only
 ?₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only, with questionable representation in a third language family (or in two other language families)
 ?φ ₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only, with phonetically uncertain representation in a third language family (or in two other language families)
 ?σ - a semantically doubtful connection
 ?φ - a phonetically doubtful connection
 ?σ,φ or ?φ,σ - a doubtful connection (for semantic and phonetic reasons)
 ??σ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic reasons)
 ??φ - a highly doubtful connection (for phonetic reasons)
 ?μ - a morphologically doubtful connection (the derivation is not clear, the root structure is deviant, etc.)
 ¿ - a questionable reconstruction of a daughter-language, a questionable adduction of a lge. or a family of of lgs., or (before '...') a questionable semantic interpretation of a reconstructed or an attested word; 'the sign '¿' before a language name means that the very existence of the form in question is dubious
 [¿] - A. Dolgopolsky's doubts about an opinion (semantic interpretation, etc.) of another author
 + = "adduces" (used in references to other scholars)

The arrows \rightarrow and \leftarrow in references or between abbreviations for authors or bibliographical sources (A \rightarrow B or B \leftarrow A) mean that words\roots published (or registered, reconstructed) in a paper A (or by the scholar A) were later repeated (quoted) in a paper B (or by the author B). For instance, "IS I 224 \rightarrow BmK 261-2" means that the etymology proposed in IS I 224 was later repeated in BmK 261-2; "{BK \leftarrow Fr.}" = "{Biberstein-Kazimirky after Freytag}".

(8) OTHER SIGNS

· - translation within a glossa or an ancient\medieval dictionary (e.g. Gk. [Hs.] ἄρουρα· χορδή 'gut(s)', Pru [El.] alne· "Tyer" 'beast', i.e. Pru alne·, translated in Elbing's dictionary (\approx 1400 C. E.) as Tyer 'beast'). If the translation in a glossa or in an ancient\medieval glossary is in Latin script, the quotation marks are " ", and the text of the translation is in the capital Helvetica script (A B C D...)

√ = "root". Q: "root"

✓ - consonantous verbal root (in the Hamito-Semitic languages)

✓ - consonantous scheme of a derived verbal stem (in the Hamito-Semitic languages. Q: root

✓✓ (or []) - biconsonantous nucleus of roots (in the HS languages)

- word juncture (used in phonetic formulas)

× - contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words (**a** × **b** = 'a contaminated [merged] with **b**'). Q: "merged with"

† - obsolete word, obsolete semantic variant

~ - variant forms. Q: "variant"

≍ - dialectal variants. Q: ~ . Q "dialectal variant" or dialectal variants"

/ - apophonic and other morphological variants of a root\stem distributed according to their morphological role; on the meaning of the solidus (/) in the enumeration of languages and dialects see "Names of Languages, Dialects, Language Families & Subfamilies"

\ = "or", "and\or". Q.: /

↑ = high style. Q: "high style"

↓ = non-standard non-standard"

† = obsolete. Q.: "obsolete"

↳ - ideophonic root (including "nursery words" [Lallwörter]) Q.: "ideophonic"

o = an onomatopoeic word\root;

o₂ = secondary onomatopoeic associations;

'↑' = anaphoric sign "the above-mentioned meaning of the same word\morpheme"

⇓ = "see below"

⇒ = "see to the right" (referring to the following part of the same entry)

× = contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words (**a** × **b** = 'a contaminated [merged] with b')

↳ - source of borrowing, borrowed to (**a** ↳ **b** = 'b borrowed from a')

←↳ - borrowed from (**a** ←↳ **b** = 'a borrowed from b')

↳|←↳ - borrowed in one direction or another (**a** ↳ **b** or **a** ←↳ **b**)

↳ - source of derivation (**a** ↳ **b** = 'b derived from a')

←↳ - derived from (**a** ←↳ **b** = 'a derived from b')

→ - a semantic change to ...

← - a semantic change from ... (on the meaning of → and ← in bibliographical references or between names of scholars see above [end of the preceding paragraph])

→ μ - a morphological change to ...

← μ - a morphological change from ...

≡σ - a semantic parallel

|| - bars between primary families of languages (Hamito-Semitic, Kartvelian, IE, Uralic, Altaic, Dravidian, Elamic)

||, || - bars between secondary families (Anatolian IE, Narrow IE, Semitic, Egyptian, Cushitic, Chadic, Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed, Yukagir, Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusian, Korean)

||| - bars between branches of families (e.g. Germanic, Balto-Slavic, East Cushitic, Central Chadic, Finno-Permian, Ugrian)

|| (and) - bar between subbranches (e.g., Slavic [within Balto-Slavic], Iranian [within Indo-Iranian], Baltic Finnic, Ob-Ugrian, Bole-Tangale)

] - bar between etymological entries of different words of the same root\morpheme or between different variants of a root (reconstructed within a branch of a family), as well as between different semantic variants of the same root (within a primary or secondary family)

] - bars between etymological entries of different words of the same root\morpheme (reconstructed within a secondary family) or between secondary etymological entries (derivatives, compounds) within an entry denoted by |||, as well as between different roots belonging to the same secondary family and going back to the same N etymon

||| or || - bars between etymological entries of different words\stems of the same root\morpheme or between different roots going back to the same N etymon (reconstructed within a primary family)

| - bar between etymological variants of the same N root (within a primary family)

||| - bars between reconstructions of different pN words or their variants within one N etymological entry

| before a D reconstruction means "a reconstruction distinguishing between voiceless and voiced cnss. (GSt.'s theory and IS's ideas on voiced geminates)"

¶ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a secondary family

¶¶ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a primary family

◇ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a Nostratic etymon

◇◇ - sign preceding bibliographical notes referring to impressionistic comparisons which are not based on classical comparativistic methods (historical phonology, regular sound changes, etc.).

≠ - sign preceding bibliographical reference to alternative etymological interpretations (not shared by the present author); sign 'not related to' (e.g. T *arka-n ≠ M *aru) and 'to be distinguished from' (e.g. OI ✓ ɛ ū - 'grant, bestow' ≠ ✓ ɛ ū - 'set in motion').

≠φ = untenable for phonetic reasons

≠σ = untenable for semantic reasons

≈ - sign preceding bibliographical reference to etymological interpretations that are only partially shared by the present author; (in semantic definitions and in transcription) "approximately"

{ } - brackets for the source of information (author or paper, indicated by means of abbreviations - see *Bibliography*)

∫ (preceding the abbreviated name of the bibliographical source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {∫Bz}, {∫IS}, {∫SDM94}

σμ (preceding the abbreviated name of the quoted author) means that his semantic interpretation has been reformulated. Q: "reformulated by Dolgopolsky)"

‡ (preceding the abbreviated name of the source) means "according to X's theory / hypothesis" (e.g. {‡SDM94}, {‡Hel.}, {‡Rsl.}). Q: "according to X's theory / hypothesis"

∂ (preceding the abbreviated name of the source) means "according to X with A. Dolgopolsky's notation" (e.g. {∂ADb.} = "quoted after ADb., but in AD's notation"). Q: "according to X with A. Dolgopolsky's notation"

{A ← B} - sign indicating that the author A quoted data recorded by B

{A ← ?} - sign indicating that we quote a paper by A, but the ultimate source of the information (scholar who recorded the word) is unknown

ε = 'a kind of'; used in semantic definitions if the exact specific meaning of the word\stem is unknown, e.g. 'ε plant' means that we know that the word denotes a plant but we do not know which one,

'e to eat' means that this is a verb denoting some kind of eating. Q: "a kind of"

÷ = 'akin to', 'cognate with'. Q: "'akin to" or "cognate with"

÷÷ = 'cognate with (families\macrofamilies outside Nostratic)'

+ stands between parts of a compound verb

+ after a root (Ari d i f+ 'steal') means that the root is used with sxs.

+ stands between semantic varieties of one descendant word, each one having its own etymology, e.g. D *muṭ- vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N *muda 'to finish' + D *muṭ- 'die' < N *mut∇ ≈ 'go away (?), die'.

IV. Transliteration of Coptic Letters

Ⲁ a, Ⲃ b, Ⲅ g, Ⲇ d, Ⲉ e, Ⲋ z, Ⲍ ē, Ⲏ t^h, Ⲑ i, Ⲓ k, Ⲕ l, Ⲗ m, Ⲙ n, Ⲛ x, Ⲝ o, Ⲟ y u, Ⲡ p, Ⲣ r, Ⲥ s, ⲧ t, ⲩ ω, ⲫ p^h, ⲭ k^h, ⲯ ps, ⲱ o, ⲳ š, ⲵ f, ⲷ x, ⲹ (graphic variant of the prec. letter) x, ⲻ x₂ (used in Cpt A only), ⲽ x₃ (used on Cpt P), ⲿ h, Ⲿ 3 (= Cpt B [ṣ̌], Cpt Sd/A/F [ṣ̌_], = Cpt {ḡLpr.} [č̣, č̣]), ⲿ c (= Cpt B [č^h], Cpt Sd/A/F [č̣_], Cpt {ḡLpr.} [k^y]), ⲿ ti, macron over the letter = ə (e.g. Ⲏ̄ ən).

Quotable equivalents (if my transliteration characters cannot be reproduced): Ⲁ a, Ⲃ b, Ⲅ g, Ⲇ d, Ⲉ e, Ⲋ z, Ⲍ ē, Ⲏ t^h, Ⲑ i, Ⲓ k, Ⲕ l, Ⲗ m, Ⲙ n, Ⲛ x, Ⲝ o, Ⲟ y u, Ⲡ p, Ⲣ r, Ⲥ s, ⲧ t, ⲩ ω, ⲫ p^h, ⲭ k^h, ⲯ ps, ⲱ o, ⲳ š, ⲵ f, ⲷ x, ⲹ (graphic variant of the prec. letter) x, ⲻ x₂ (used in Cpt A only), ⲽ x₃ (used on Cpt P), ⲿ h, Ⲿ 3 (= Cpt B [ṣ̌], Cpt Sd/A/F [ṣ̌_], = Cpt {ḡLpr.} [č̣, č̣]), ⲿ c (= Cpt B [č^h], Cpt Sd/A/F [č̣_], Cpt {ḡLpr.} [k^y]), ⲿ ti, macron over the letter = ə (e.g. Ⲏ̄ ən).

V. Armenian letters

(arranged according to the alphabetical order of the Roman alphabet)

ա a, բ b, ճ c, գ c^h, զ č, ի č^h, դ d, ե e, է ê, լ e w, ռ ə, Ֆ f, գ g, հ h, ի i, կ k, լ k^h, լ l, ղ ճ, մ m, ն n, ո o, օ ô, պ p, փ p^h, ռ r, ս s, շ š, տ t, փ t^h, ու u, վ v, լ w, խ x, յ y, զ z, ժ ž, ձ 3, ջ ž

Quotable equivalents (if my transcription characters cannot be reproduced): ω a, ρ b, δ c, g c^h, α c₃- ζ c₃^h, η d, ϵ e, ξ ê, λ e^w, ρ e₃, Φ f, q g, h h, i i, k k, p k^h, l l, η l₁₈, m m, n n, no , $o\hat{o}$, ω p, ψ p^h, r r, rr , us , z s₃, ω t, ρ t^h, nu u, ψ v, ω w, χ x, y y, z z, δ z₃, α z, ρ z₃

RECOMMENDED QUOTING EQUIVALENTS OF THE TRANSCRIPTION

When quoting data of this dictionary, scholars may find it hard to render the non-standard transcription signs found here. Hence we propose two systems of equivalents of my signs:

A. Some equivalents of the my characters and signs (available in the IPA, SIL, and other commonly used transcription fonts, in the Orientalistic transcription, etc.):

Consonants:	$\exists = \text{ʔ}$	$\zeta = \text{ʕ}$	$b = \text{b}$, 'b	$c = \text{c}$	$\check{c} = \text{č}$	$\hat{c} = \text{ç}$	\hat{c}
	$g = \text{G}$	$\gamma = \text{g}$	$\hat{h} = \text{h}$	$\dot{i} = \text{y}$	$j = \text{d}$	$\underset{\cdot}{j} = \text{'d}$	
$k = \text{k}'$	$\underset{\cdot}{l} = \text{l}$	$\underset{\cdot}{q} = \text{q}'$	$\lambda = \text{ɖ}$	$r = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r} = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{n} = \text{n}$	$\underset{\cdot}{p}$
$q = \text{q}'$	$r = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r} = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r} = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{r} = \text{r}$	$\underset{\cdot}{s} = \text{s}$	$\underset{\cdot}{t} = \text{t}'$	
$\underset{\cdot}{t} = \text{t}$	$\theta = \text{θ}$	$\underset{\cdot}{z} = \text{z}$	$\delta = \text{ḏ}$ (Arabistic ḏ)	$\underset{\cdot}{z} = \text{z}$			

Vowels: $\beta = \text{ʌ}$ $\alpha_1 = \text{ɜ}'$, $\dagger = \text{ï}$, $\text{t} = \text{ü}$

Diacritics with consonants: $\underset{\cdot}{t} = \text{'}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{t} = \text{t}'$); $\underset{\cdot}{s} = \text{~}$; $\underset{\cdot}{z} = \text{~}$

Tones: complex tones of long vowels may be denoted by two vowels with the signs of the respective tone: phases, e.g. $\hat{a} = \acute{a}\grave{a}$, $\acute{a} = \acute{a}\acute{a}$, $\check{a} = \grave{a}\acute{a}$.

Uncertainty signs: The uncertainty brackets may be either spelled out (e.g. $*^1ka|_l a|_b-$ → $*^1kalab-$ or $*^1kalb-$, $*\hat{g}^h|_l er-$ → $*\hat{g}^h|\hat{g}er-$), or replaced by commonly used brackets: $|_l |$ → $()$ (e.g. $*^1ka|_l a|_b-$ → $*^1kal(a)b-$, $*\hat{g}^h|_l er-$ → $*\hat{g}^h(h)er-$), $|^r |$ → $[]$ (e.g. $*\hat{z}a|^r | \nabla$ → $*\hat{z}a[p] \nabla$). The sign ∇ → ψ ; æ (in reconstructions) → ä|e ; ζ → $\psi|G$; H → h|χ ; X → a|U .

B. Those scholars who cannot use the characters of IPA, SIL, etc., are advised to use my system of quotable equivalents for the characters used in this book (see above § 8, parts I, II, and III).

All this refers to transcription, rather than to transliteration or reproducing the national (Roman-based) script. The transliteration and the national Roman spelling are (and should be) quoted in their traditional form.

LIST OF THE RECOMMENDED QUOTING EQUIVALENTS OF THE TRANSCRIPTION

CONSONANTS AND GLIDES, ELEMENTS OF CONSONANTS

Q: ' = ʔ - glottal stop; (in pIE) ʔ, a "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) laryngeal, lost in zero-grade of apophony (unlike all other laryngeals, that yield NaIE *ə in the apophonic zero-grade)

Q: '₀ = ∅, voiceless zero-consonant (short absence of any sound) (preceding a consonant in some Lp dialects)

Q: '₁ₐ = ʔ (in reconstructions) (cover sign for ʔ|h)

Q: '₂ = ʕ, voiced epiglottal approximant (Arabic ʕ)

Q: '₂" = ʕ̥, glottalized epiglottal consonant

Q: '₂ₐ = ʕ̥, unspecified voiced laryngeal (ʕ or ʕ̥) (cover sign)

Q: '₃ or (for Eg) ʝ = ʝ, palatalized glottal stop; (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions) ʝ (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions), the prosodic feature (breathed voice, some kind of word-initial devoicing?) that brought about Gk prosthetic vowels, transformation of IE *w- and *y- into Greek h- (cf. Introduction, § 2.2.6)

Q: '₆ = ʔ̥, weak glottal stop, sub-phonemic glottal stop, glottal stop as a feature of an adjacent phoneme

Q: b" = b', consonant described as "voiced ejective b"

Q: "b = ʔ̥ (= ʔ̥), glottalized injective or preglottalized b

Q: b₉ = β (= ʔ̥), fricative b

Q: c = c, voiceless hissing affricate (= t̪s̪), like German z

Q: c₂ = č, voiceless palatal (or palatalized) sibilant affricate (like Polish č, Tofalar palatal č', č)

Q: c₃ = č̥, voiceless hushing affricate (like English tʃ)

Q: c₄ = č̥, voiceless lateral affricate

Q: c₇ = č̥ (in proto-Kartvelian and Jurchen), postalveolar c = K {K, FS} c₁ and Mudrak's Jurchen č̥

- Q: $c_{10} = \zeta$, voiceless palatal stop (like Hungarian $t\check{y}$)
- Q: $c_{11} = \check{c}$, voiceless lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between c , \check{c} , \acute{c} and \hat{c}) or a voiceless palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ζ or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants)
- Q: c'' , $c_5 = \zeta$, glottalized (ejective) c
- Q: $c''_{1-4} = \check{c}$, glottalized lingual affricate \check{c} (without phonemic distinction between c , \check{c} , \acute{c} and \hat{c})
- Q: $c''_2 = \acute{c}$, ejective palatal (or palatalized) sibilant affricate
- Q: $c''_3 = \check{c}$, ejective hushing affricate
- Q: $c''_4 = \hat{c}$, ejective lateral affricate
- Q: $c''_7 = \check{c}$ (in proto-Kartvelian), postalveolar $\zeta = K \{K, FS\} \zeta_1$
- Q: $\bar{c} = \bar{c}$, cover sign for an unspecified affricate
- Q: d_7 (or d_7 of the IPA notation) = d , postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) d
- Q: $d_9 = \delta$ (= \underline{d}), voiced fricative dental consonant (English th in $this$) or dental spirant (in Martnet's terminology) (Spanish \underline{d} in $ra\u0301da$)
- Q: $d_{15} = \underline{d}$, alveolar d (in Dravidian) (= \underline{d} in Indological transcription)
- Q: $d'' = d'$, consonant described as "voiced ejective d "
- Q: $''d = \underline{d}$ (= \underline{d}), injective glottalized or preglottalized d
- Q: $d''_9, d_{9+12} = \delta$, uvularized ("emphatic") δ , like Arabic $\u0646$
- Q: $g_2 = g$, voiced uvular stop (incl. Mlt {Drs.} g)
- Q: $g_{2-3} = \Gamma$, unspecified voiced uvular cns. ($\Psi|g$)
- Q: $g_3 = \Psi$, voiced uvular fricative or spirant (like Arabic $\u0647$). This sign is also used for a phoneme without opposition $\Psi \leftrightarrow \psi$ (as in pOUg and pOs)
- Q: $g_{3+9} = \Psi$, an emphatic uvular fricative consonant (typical of Berber)
- Q: $g_{3+14} = \Psi$ (superscript), a uvular spirant (incl. an emphatic one) if it is reduced almost to zero (as in some subdialects of Rif Berber)
- Q: $g_4 = \hat{\psi}$, voiced postpalatal lateral (approximant or fricative) (= {KD} Kms π).
- Q: $g_6 = IE, NaIE \hat{g}$
- Q: $g_9 = \psi$, voiced velar fricative\spirant (fricative\spirant g), like in Spanish $tr\u0301g\u0259$ or New Greek ψ
- Q: $g_{14} = \psi$ (superscript), a voiced velar spirant if it is reduced almost to zero (as in some subdialects of Vogul)
- Q: $g^h_6 = IE, NaIE \hat{g}^h$

Q: $g'' = g'$, consonant described as "voiced ejective g "

Q: $''g = \underset{\cdot}{g}$, injective glottalized or preglottalized g

Q: g''_3 (or g_{3+12}) = ɣ , an emphatic uvular fricative consonant (typical of Berber)

Q: $h = (\text{IE}) h$, "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) a-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*A_2$) (pIE $*eh >$ NaIE $*\bar{a}$)

Q: $h_2 = \text{ħ}$, voiceless epiglottal fricative (like Arabic ح ; = ħ of the Orientalistic Transcription)

Q: h_6 (or hy) = (in IE) h̃ , "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) e-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*E_1$) (pIE $*eh̃ >$ NaIE $*\bar{e}$)

Q: $h_{12} = \text{ḥ}$, emphaticized (uvularized) h (as in the southern dialects of Twareg); $\neq \text{ḥ} [\chi]$ of the Orientalistic transcription!

Q: $h_{14} = \text{h̥}$, fricative laryngeal onset that is added before vowels in the absolute initial position (in Dsn)

Q: $h_{16} = \text{ḥ}$, voiced h

Q: $h_{17} = h$, "allgemeiner Mundgeräsch\Geräuschlaut" {Lagerkrantz}, e.g. in Lp

Q: $h_{18} = \text{ɥ}$, preconsonantous voiceless vowel glide (as in Lappish) and postconsonantous voiceless ultra-short vowel (as in Nenets); the same sign is used when the final part of the preceding vowel is voiceless (as in Lp L, as described by Wiklund: $\text{ɥ} =$ Wiklund's ɔ); $\approx \text{ɥ}$

Q: $h^\omega = (\text{in IE}) h^\omega$, "weak" (yielding zero in Hittite) 0-colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*A_1^\omega$) (pIE $*eh^\omega >$ NaIE $*\bar{o}$)

Q: $h^\omega = (\text{in IE}) h_x$, a cover sign for a "weak" (lost in Hittite) laryngeal of unknown colouring (\approx Pv.'s $*H_2$)

Q: $H = H$, cover sign for $H|g|q$ (all laryngeal consonants, as well as uvular g and q); (in IE) H , a cover sign for an unspecified laryngeal ($H_x|X$) (\approx Pv.'s $*H$)

Q: $H|w|y = \text{ħ}$, cover sign for $H|w|y$

Q: $H_2 = H$, cover sign: unspecified laryngeal (ʔ|h|ɣ|ħ|χ|ʕ)

Q: $H_3 = H_1$, over sign for "weak" laryngeals (ʔ|ɣ|ħ)

Q: $H_4 = H_2$, cover sign for "weak" laryngeals, including h (ʔ|ɣ|ħ|h)

Q: H_6 (or Hy) = h̃ , a cover sign for $\text{h̃}|\bar{x}$.

Q: $H^a = (\text{in pIE}) H$, a cover sign for $h|x$, H° H_\circ

Q: $H^\omega = (\text{in pIE}) H^\omega$, a cover sign for $h^\omega|x^\omega$.

Q: j = j, voiced palatal fricative (like the initial consonant in French *hier* [jɛr₁]). In pSI and pGmc reconstructions (in accordance with the tradition) j is used for the palatal approximant (instead of ɥ)

Q: j₂ = ɟ, voiced palatal stop (like Hungarian *cs*)

Q: *j₂ = ɟ̥, injective glottalized or preglottalized ɟ

Q: k'' and k₅ = ḳ, ejective k

Q: k₆ = (in IE, NaIE) k̂

Q: l_{1,7} = N ̄, cover sign for l|̄.

Q: l₂ [= (IBA) λ] = ʎ, palatal (or palatalized) l, like Italian *gli* in *voglio*

Q: l_{2a} = λ, a special type of palatal l (different from ʎ), as in U and FU, where *λ stands for the traditional (FUV) *δ̣- (in the word-initial position)

Q: l₇ = ʎ, postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) l

Q: l₁₇ = ʎ̥, voiceless l

Q: l₁₇₊₇ = ʎ̣, voiceless ʎ

Q: l₁₈ = ʎ̤, velarized l (like in Russian л)

Q: L = L, unspecified lateral sonorant (cover sign)

Q: m₂ = m̄, voiced bilabial consonant with neutralization of the feature of nasality (with allophones [m] and [b]), as in pT

Q: n₂ = ñ, palatal (or palatalized) n.

Q: n₇ = ṇ̃ (= ṇ̃), postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) n

Q: n₈ = ŋ, velar or uvular nasal consonant (like n̄g in English *long*)

Q: n₁₄ = ν, Old Telugu ardhānusvāra (a nasal consonant [word-final n, preconsonantous N] that is optionally lost in certain environments, e.g. *kalav̄gu* = *kalav̄ṅgu* ~ *kalav̄gu* 'he disturbed')

Q: n₁₅ = ṇ̃, alveolar n (like Tamil ṇ)

Q: n_x = N, nasal consonant with phonologically neutralized place of articulation (always homorganic with the following consonant)

Q: N̄ = N̄, unspecified nasal consonant (other than *m) (cover sign)

Q: p'' = p̣, ejective p

Q: p₉ = φ (= p̣), voiceless fricative bilabial consonant (bilabial f)

Q: P = P, unspecified labial stop (cover sign)

Q: q = q, voiceless uvular stop (like Arabic ق)

Q: q'' (or q₅) = q̣, ejective uvular stop

Q: Q̄ = Q̄ (cover sign for q|g)

- Q: $r\bar{r} = \bar{r}$, long r (incl. Armenian **ռ** [long trilled r])
- Q: $r: = \underline{r}$, trilled r (with phonemic opposition to r)
- Q: $r_2 = \acute{r}$, palatalized (or palatal) vibrant
- Q: $r_3 = \check{r}$, obstruent r (like Czech \check{r})
- Q: $r_4 = \text{ʀ}$, a consonant (flap or tap) that is intermediate between r and l (Loubignac's \check{L} in ZAS), or a phoneme without phonemic distinction between r and l (as in proto-Agaw)
- Q: $r_7 = \dot{r} (= r_{\dot{}})$, postalveolar (retroflex) r (Dravidianistic \underline{r} ~ \dot{r})
- Q: $r_{15} = \underline{r}$, alveolar trill (in contrast to post-dental); $\underline{r} = \underline{r}$ of Dravidianist notation
- Q: $r_{17} = \mathbb{R}$, voiceless r (like Moksha Mordvin $\text{p}\times$)
- Q: $r_{:17} = \mathbb{R}$, voiceless alveolar trill (like Konda {DED} \mathbb{R})
- Q: $r_{19} (= \{IBA\} \text{J}) = \text{ʀ}$, cerebral flap or tap (like Spanish r in **ca**ra, or like Hausa r in **s**ar ki)
- Q: $r_{20} = \text{J}$, uvular flap or tap
- Q: $r_{:20} = r_{\text{J}}$, uvular trill (like German r)
- Q: $r_{21} = \mathbb{R}$, Old Scandinavian (presumably palatalized) kind of $r < *s$
- Q: $\mathbb{R} = \mathbb{R}$, cover sign for $r|\acute{r}$
- Q: $s = \text{S}$, denoting both the apico-alveolar s (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar s (as in Spanish, New Greek, Finnish, and Estonian). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far)
- Q: $s_2 = \acute{s}$ - palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish \acute{s})
- Q: $s_3 = \check{s}$ - voiceless hushing sibilant (like English s h)
- Q: $s_{3+9} = \check{\check{s}}$ (in proto-Semitic) - weak $*\check{\check{s}}$ ($> \check{s}$ in Ak, but $h, \text{ʔ}$ and zero in most WS lgs.)
- Q: $s_4 = \hat{s}$ - voiceless lateral consonant
- Q: $s_7 = \text{ṣ}$ - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) s
- Q: $s_{7a} = \text{ṣ}$ (in proto-Kartvelian) (= {K, FS} $*s_1$) ($>$ Georgian s , Megrelian, Laz, Svan \check{s})
- Q: $s_{7a+9} = \text{ṣ}$ (in proto-Kartvelian) = {K} $*(s_1)$ ($>$ Svan \check{s} , zero in Georgian and Zan)
- Q: $s_9 = \text{ṣ}$ (in proto-Karvelian) - weak $*s$ ($>$ Georgian s , Megrelian and Laz zero)
- Q: s_{12} (or a less specific notation: s'') = ṣ - uvularized ("emphatic") s , like Arabic **ص**

Q: $s_{19} = \underline{s}$ - apico-alveolar s with flattened body of the tongue (like Toda \underline{s} in BE's transcription of Dravidian)

Q: $s_{20} = \dot{s}$ - infralabialized voiceless domal infradental sibilant (as in Twi and Jibbali; Johnstone's \tilde{s})

Q: $s_{21} = \mathbb{U}$ - voiceless palatal fricative (= $\check{\chi}$, $\check{\times}$ of Solon [transcription of Poppe, SSTMJ & Ivanovskij], Kildin Lappish j [in the new East Lappish alphabet of 1982] and Moksha Mordvinian $\check{\chi}$)

Q: $S = \mathbb{S}$, unspecified voiceless sibilant (or lateral obstruent) (s , \acute{s} , \check{s} , \hat{s} , $K \hat{s}$) (cover sign)

Q: t'' (or t_5) = ṭ - ejective t

Q: t''_9 (or t_{5+9}) = ṭ - ejective dental (or interdental) fricative

Q: $t_7 = \text{ṭ}$ - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) t . Q: t_7 (= [IBA] ṭ)

Q: $t_9 = \theta$ (= ṭ) - voiceless dental (or interdental) fricative (like English th in $thin$)

Q: t_{12} (or a less specific notation: t'') = ṭ - uvularized ("emphatic") t , like Arabic ط

Q: $t_{15} = \text{ṭ}$ - alveolar t (in Dravidian lgs.) (= ṭ of the Indological transcription)

Q: $T = \mathbb{T}$, unspecified dental stop (cover sign); (in IE and NaIE) T , an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition $*-d^h \leftrightarrow *-d \leftrightarrow *-t$

Q: $w = \mathbb{w}$ - labial approximant; IE and NaIE $*u$ as a glide of diphthongs instead of the traditional $*u$

Q: $w_2 = \text{ᵛ}$, labial glide of a diphthongoid (e.g. $n^u o s$ HOC in Russian)

Q: x (or x_1) = x (= ḵ) - voiceless velar fricative (like Russian x)

Q: x (in IE) = x , "strong" (yielding h , hh in Hittite) a -colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*A_1$) (pIE $*e\text{x} >$ NaIE $*\bar{a}$).

Q: $x_3 = \check{\chi}$ - voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish j and Arabic ح) = ḥ of the Orientalistic Transcription

Q: x_6 (or x^y) = (in IE) $\hat{\text{x}}$, "strong" (yielding h , hh in Hittite) e -colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*E_2$) (pIE $*e\hat{\text{x}} >$ NaIE $*\bar{e}$)

Q: $x_{14} = \text{x}$, a weak x -sound (like $\theta i f r i \text{x} \theta$ in Izn {Rn.})

Q: $x^{\omega} =$ (in IE) x^{ω} , "strong" (yielding h , hh in Hittite) o -colouring laryngeal (\approx Pv.'s $*A_2^{\omega}$) (pIE $*e\text{x}^{\omega} >$ NaIE $*\bar{o}$)

Q: $\text{X} = \mathbb{X}$, a cover sign for $\text{x}|\hat{\text{x}}|\text{x}^{\omega}$, i.e. a cover sign for a "strong" (yielding h , hh in Hittite) laryngeal of unknown colouring (\approx Pv.'s $*H_1$)

Q: $\times_2 = \times$, i.e. $\chi|\psi$ (cover sign)

Q: $\updownarrow = \updownarrow$, palatal approximant (like \updownarrow in English $\updownarrow e s$); IE and NaIE * \updownarrow as a glide of diphthongs instead of the traditional * i

Q: $\updownarrow_2 = \updownarrow^i$, palatal glide of a diphthongoid

Q: $z = z$ - voiced hissing sibilant. Denotes both the apico-alveolar z (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar z (as in New Greek). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far)

Q: $z_2 = \acute{z}$ - voiced palatalized sibilant (like Polish \acute{z})

Q: $z_3 = \check{z}$ - voiced hushing sibilant (like French j)

Q: $z_4 = \hat{z}$ - voiced lateral fricative

Q: z_{4+12} (= $d_{4+9+12} = d''_{4+9}$) = \hat{z} - lateralized uvularized ("emphatic") δ , like 8th cent. Arabic δ

Q: z_{12} (or a less specific notation: z'') = \hat{z} - uvularized ("emphatic") z , like in Berber (\hat{z} of the Orientalistic Transcription)

Q: $z_{22} = \dot{z}$ - voiced hushing fricative with a broad slit (as in Zng: {TC} "fricative sonore avec un faible chuintement", = {TC} \bar{z})

Q: $Z = Z$, unspecified voiced sibilant (cover sign)

Q: $3 = \bar{3}$ - voiced hissing affricate (= $\overline{d\acute{z}}$)

Q: $3_2 = \acute{3}$ - voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish $\acute{d}\acute{z}$)

Q: $3_3 = \check{3}$ - voiced hushing affricate (like English j)

Q: $3_4 = \hat{3}$ - voiced lateral affricate

Q: $3_7 = \dot{3}$ (in proto-Kartvelian and possibly in Jurchen) = Klimov's $\dot{3}_1$ and Mudrak's Jurchen $\dot{3}$

Q: $3_{11} = \ddot{3}$ - voiced lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between $\bar{3}$, $\acute{3}$, $\check{3}$ and $\hat{3}$) or a voiced palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and j or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants)

Q: $3_x = \bar{3}$ = unspecified voiced affricate (cover sign)

Q: $8 = 8$, i.e. $w|\updownarrow$ (cover sign)

Q: cns. (n formulas we use C as a general sign for consonant) = \perp (in reconstructions), cover sign for an unspecified consonant

Q:] after a cns. letter: $b] = \text{'}^1$ (e.g. $b\text{'}$) unreleased stop (stop without explosion, as in Vietnamese and Ndam)

Q: () (in transliteration) = $\perp]$ - for transliterated letters that are not pronounced (e.g. Sr $\perp^?] n \bar{a} s$ with a "deaf" initial $^?$)

Q: " after letters for voiceless consonants = \cdot (\dot{s} , \dot{t}) - glottalization

Q: " after letters for sonorant consonants ($\text{y}, \text{w}, \text{n}$) = ' over letters for sonorant consonants ($\text{y}', \text{w}', \text{n}'$) denoting a glottal stop that is simultaneous with the sonorant

Q: " before letters for voiced consonants = ̣ ($\text{ḅ}, \text{ḍ}$) - preglottalization

Q: " before letters for laryngeal consonants ($\text{'r}, \text{'h}$) - preglottalization

Q: " before letters for voiceless consonants ($\text{'p}, \text{'t}$) - injective glottalization (as in Lp Δ)

Q: "3 after consonant letters ($\text{t}''_3, \text{k}''_3, \text{p}''_3$) = ' (to the right of the letter: $\text{t}', \text{k}', \text{p}'$) - fortis

Q: "4 after consonant letters ($\text{t}''_4, \text{k}''_4, \text{p}''_4$) = [1] ' (to the right of the letter: $\text{t}', \text{k}', \text{p}'$) - lenis, lax; [2] in Azm ' (Q: "4) denotes lax sonorants ("relâchées") $\text{m}', \text{n}', \text{ŋ}'$ = Q: $\text{m}''_4, \text{n}''_4, \text{n}''_{4+8}$; [3] = ̣ (e.g. $\text{p̣}, \text{ṭ}$) - lax consonants ($\text{pT}^* - \text{p̣} - > -\text{p} - \sim -\text{b} -$ in daughter lgs.)

Q: "5a after consonant letters = ̣ (after the letter) - half-voiced. EM: h (after the letter)

Q: "5b after consonant letters = ̣ (after the letter: $\text{b}_-, \text{g}_-, \text{d}_-, \text{j}_-, \text{z}_-, \text{r}_-, \text{l}_-, \text{m}_-, \text{n}_-, \text{ŋ}_-$) - devoiced or half-voiced = FUT small caps. EM: h (after the letter)

Q: "5c after consonant letters = ̣ (after the letter: r_-, l_-) - devoiced final part of the consonant (as in Nen F). EM: h (after the letter)

Q: "5d preceding consonant letters = ̣ (preceding the letter) - voiceless consonants with a voiced or half-voiced initial part (as in some dialects of Lp)

Q: "13 after consonant letters ($\text{l}''_{13}, \text{n}''_{13}, \text{m}''_{13}$) = ̣ - syllabic consonant ($\text{l}'_o, \text{ŋ}'_o, \text{m}'_o$, etc.)

Q: "14 after consonant letters = ̣ over the consonant letter - weak consonant (intermediate between the consonant and zero), e.g. $\text{ẉ}, \text{ỵ}$ = w, y with weak approximation

Q: "15 after a consonant letter = ̣ , ̣ over the consonant letter - marling long consonant, including the so-called "long consonants" in Korean and the Nakh-Dagestanian lgs.

Q: "16 after a consonant letter = ̣ (under the letter) - plosive consonant (stop): ḥ (plosive h), $\text{ṛ}, \text{f̣}, \text{ṿ}$

Q: O1 or +O1 together with preceding letters for consonants = superscript consonant letters (e.g. Q $\text{x}_{\text{O1}} = \text{x}^{\text{O1}}$, Q $\text{t}_{\text{9+O1}} = \text{t}^{\text{O1}}$)

Q: O2 or +O2 together with preceding letters for consonants = subscript consonant letters denoting very weak consonants (e.g. Lp Kld $\text{v}_{\text{ualla}}\text{a}\text{ŋ}$ = Q $\text{v}_{\text{O2}}\text{wallad}_{\text{9+O2}}$)

Q: 2a, +2a ater cns. letters = ^y (after the letter: k^y, g^y, χ^y) - palatalization.

Q: 2b, +2b ater cns. letters = [˘], [˙] (over the letter) or [˘] (after the letter) - weak palatalization (e_h-palatalization). Q: 2b, +2b ater cns. letters

Q: 7, +7 after cns. letters = [˘] (ṧ, ñ̇, etc.) = _˘ (ʃ̇, ʎ̇, etc.) - postalveolar or retroflex consonants. Q: [˘] (over the letter)

Q: 9a (or +9a) after consonant letters = _˘ (under the letter: b̄, d̄, ḡ, k̄, p̄, t̄, q̄) - fricativity resulting from lenition (fricative variants of phonemes or morphophonemes, as in Hebrew, Aramaic and Berber)

Q: 9b (or +9b) after consonant letters = _˘ under letters for fricatives (β̄, δ̄, γ̄, v̄, h̄) - lax fricativity (*consonnes spirantes* of Mart. and TBC, such as Sp intervocalic b̄, d̄, ḡ = β̄, δ̄, γ̄). Lax fricativity resulting from lenition may be also denoted as above (with a dot under letters for stops: b̄, d̄, ḡ, k̄, p̄, t̄, q̄) if no phonological opposition (b̄ ↔ β̄, etc.) is involved or known

Q: 11 after the letters c and ʒ = [˘] over letters c and ʒ that is used to denote lingual affricates without phonemic disrinction between hissing, hushing, and palatal: ʒ̇ for a voiced affricate, ċ for a voiceless affrivace, as well as for a palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ç or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants, as well as for an affricate without phonemic disrinction between voiced and voiceless)

Q: 12 and +12 after consonant letters (d₁₂, z₁₂, t'₁₂, q'₁₂, d₁₂, d₉₊₁₂) = _˘ (d̄, z̄, t̄) - uvularization ("emphasis", as in Arabic and Berber)

Q: 15 after cns. letters = _˘ (t̄, d̄, n̄) - alveolar (in contrast with dental or post-dental) consonant; t̄, d̄, n̄ = t̄, d̄, n̄ of the Dravidianist notation.

Q: 23 or +23 after consonant letters = [˘] (after the letter) - affricatized or half-affricatized stop (k[˘] = affricate k̄x̄, t[˘] = a half-affricatized t̄ [intermediate between t̄ and č̄, as Russian т̄х̄], e.g. Q: k₂₃ = k[˘], Q: t₂₊₂₃ = t[˘])

Q: 24 after consonant letters = [˘] (preceding the letter) - slightly affricatized fricative consonant (with a weak initial plosive articulation): [˘]x̄ = very weak k + x̄ = Q: k₂₄

Q: 25, +25: [1]: after consonant letters = [˘] or _˘ with dental cns. letters (t[˘] = t̄, d[˘] = d̄, d[˘]) - addental or gingival (in contrast with alveolar) consonant (t[˘] = t̄ = Q: t₂₅, d[˘] = d̄, d[˘] = Q: d₂₅); [2] with palatal consonant letters (ç = Q: ç₁₀; j = Q: j₂) = [˘] with consonants = dentopalatal consonants (intermediate between t and ç, d and j), as in dialects of Lapp

Q: 26 after a cns. letter = [1] $\overset{\sim}{}$ - palatality (e.g. Q: 324 = $\overset{\sim}{3}$); [2] $\overset{\prime}{}$ (over the letter: $\overset{\prime}{s}$, $\overset{\prime}{n}$, $\overset{\prime}{l}$, $\overset{\prime}{w}$, etc.) - palatality

Q: 27 after the letter = $\tilde{}$, $\tilde{}$ (over a consonant letter or to its left) - nasalization or (in Chadic) prenasalization of an obstruent (\tilde{p} , \tilde{b} , \tilde{d} , \tilde{t} or \tilde{p} , \tilde{b} , \tilde{d} , \tilde{t}) or nasalization of a cns. (\tilde{y} , \tilde{w} , \tilde{r} , \tilde{r})

Q: 28 after the letter = $\overset{\text{˙}}{}$ over letters for sibilants ($\overset{\text{˙}}{s}$, $\overset{\text{˙}}{z}$, $\overset{\text{˙}}{ʒ}$) - symbol of infralabialized domal infradental sibilants, like in Central Jibbali (Johnstone's $\overset{\text{˙}}{s}$, $\overset{\text{˙}}{z}$, $\overset{\text{˙}}{ʒ}$) or in Twi (Ghana); $\overset{\text{˙}}{s}$ = [ʃ] of the IPA transcription

Q: $\overset{\text{˘}}{}$ in the word-initial position (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions) = $\overset{\text{˘}}{}$, the prosodic feature (breathed voice, some kind of word-initial devoicing?) that brought about Gk prostetic vowels, transformation of IE *w- and *y- into Greek h-

Q: $\overset{h}{}$ after consonant letters (b^h , d^h , $\overset{h}{t}$, $\overset{h}{p}$, $\overset{h}{k}$) = $\overset{h}{}$ to the right of consonant letters aspiration)

Q: $\overset{h}{}$ preceding consonant letters (ht , hp , hk) = $\overset{h}{}$ and $\overset{\text{˘}}{}$ (preceding the letter: ht , hp , hk = $\overset{\text{˘}}{t}$, $\overset{\text{˘}}{p}$, $\overset{\text{˘}}{k}$)

Q: $\overset{w}{}$ after consonant letters = vibration = $\overset{w}{}$ - vibration (e.g. $\overset{w}{\chi}$ - vibrating χ , $\overset{w}{g}$ - g with vibration)

Q: $\overset{v}{}$ in word-initial position = $\overset{v}{}$ (in word-initial position before diphthong or vowel) - weak approximant functioning as a v-glide (as in dialects of Kola Lapp). Q: $\overset{v}{}$

Q: $\overset{v}{}$ after consonant letters = $\overset{v}{}$ (after the letter: s^v) - v-labialization (articulated with the upper lip only)

Q: $\overset{w}{}$ after the letter = $\overset{w}{}$ (after the letter: k^w , g^w , χ^w) - labialization

Q: ! with following letters = signs for clicks (EM: !), namely:

Q: !b = b^E - voiced bilabial click,

Q: !c₁₁ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{c}^E$ - voiceless palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

Q: !c₄ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{c}^E$ - voiceless lateral click,

Q: !d = d^E - voiced addental click,

Q: !d₁₅ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{d}^E$ - voiced alveolar click,

Q: !j₂ = j^E - voiced palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

Q: !j₄ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{j}^E$ - voiced lateral click,

Q: !m = m^E - nasalized bilabial click,

Q: !n = n^E - nasalized addental click,

Q: !n₁₅ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{n}^E$ - nasalized alveolar click,

Q: !n₂ = $\overset{\text{˙}}{n}^E$ - nasalized palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

Q: !p = p^E - voiceless bilabial click,

Q: !t = t^F - voiceless addental click,

Q: !t₁₅ = t̥^F - voiceless alveolar click;

aspirated and glottalized clicks should be represented by adding the signs of aspiration and glottalization to the symbols for clicks (e.g., t^{Fh}, c̣^{Fh}, t̥^F, c̣̥^F = Q: !t^h, !c₁₁^h, !t̥, !c₁₁̥); retroflex clicks can be designed by adding the sign of retroflexity to the signs of addental clicks: ṭ^F, ḍ^F, ñ^F = Q: !t₇, !d₇, !ñ₇

VOWELS

Q: a^a (= a₀₁) = a^a - "patach furtivum", i.e. an epenthetic a (appearing in Hb between a long vowel and a following word-final laryngeal cns.: 'rū^ah 'wind, spirit'), as well the ultra-short a (Hb₁[ħat'aph-pathach])

Q: a₂ or e₂ = ä (and æ in attested languages), low front vowel

Q: a₃ = ɑ, low back vowel (back a)

Q: a₄ = ɶ, a vowel in pre-IE from which alternating IE *e/0/zero have developed; ultra-bref (reduced) low back vowel (e.g., in Lamut [= ɶ of STM])

Q: a₅ = â, unspecified back vowel (a|o|u) (cover sign)

Q: a₆ = ä̇, vowel intermediate between ä and a

Q: a₇ = ậ, labialized low vowel

Q: a₈ = e, high a

Q: a₉ = ɶ, low-mid back vowel (= IPA ʌ), like ʊ in English ɒ ʊ t

Q: a₁₀ = ɶ, ultra-short a (= Ramstedt's ɶ)

Q: a₁₁ = ä̇, ultra-short ä.

Q: a₁₂ = ʌ, low-mid central vowel (= IPA ʌ); in Korean ʌ = Korean {Lee} ʌ, {Starostin} ä̇, {Ramstedt} ɶ

Q: a₁₃ = ɶ, ultra-short back vowel (= â̇ of the Finno-Ugric Transcription); ɶ = Chuvash ä̇, Volga Tatar and Bashkir short ɶ, High Cheremis ɶ

Q: A = A, a|ä (cover sign)

Q: e₁₋₂ = æ (in reconstructions), a cover sign for ä|e

Q: e₃ = ə, ultra-bref (reduced) central vowel, or ultra-bref vowel without phonologic distinction of quality; in Chuvash ə = orthographic ě; = Sammallahti's ɶ; (in NaIE) ə, schwa

Q: e_e = (in proto-IE) ɶ, non-phonemic vocoid (schwa secundum)

Q: e₆ = ε, low-mid front vowel

- Q: $e_7 = \text{ë}$, slightly labialized e ("leichte spaltformige Labialisation")
- Q: $e_8 = \text{ɜ}$, central mid vowel (= IPA and Africanistic ə , FUT ɛ , Wiklund's ə , Sammallahti's ë)
- Q: $e_9 = \text{ɛ̃}$, slightly labialized central mid vowel (Genetz's ə)
- Q: $e_{10} = \text{ə}_1$, back mid vowel (like Estonian õ), IPA ɤ (or ʌ of some authors); in Korean $\text{ə}_1 = \text{Ko } \{\text{Lee}\} \text{ə}$, $\{\text{Starostin}\} \text{ə}$, $\{\text{Ramstedt}\} \text{ɛ}$; in Svan (acc. Tuite's description) $\text{ə}_1 = \text{ɔ} = \text{ə}$ of the traditional transcription
- Q: $e_{11} = \text{ɨ}$, high e
- Q: $e_{12} = \text{◌◌}$, non-phonemic vocoid (= $\{\text{Bi.}\} \text{ʔ}$)
- Q: $\text{E} = \text{E}$ (= FUT ě), unspecified front vowel (cover sign)
- Q: $i_2 = \text{ɪ}$, high back vowel
- Q: $i_3 = \text{ɪ}$, low i (like i in English b i t)
- Q: $i_4 = \text{ɨ}$, high mid vowel (like Russian ɨ)
- Q: $i_5 = \text{ɨ}$, lowered high mid vowel (low ɨ)
- Q: $i_{13} = \text{ɨ}$, ultra-short (reduced) front vowel; $\text{ɨ} = \text{Volga Tatar, Bshk } \text{ə}$, e (after a consonant), pSm $\{\text{Hl.}\} \text{ä}$.
- Q: $o_2 = \text{ö}$ (= œ), labialized front mid vowel (labialized e)
- Q: $o_3 = \text{ɔ}$, labialized low-mid back vowel (like British English ɔ in dɔg)
- Q: $o_4 = \text{ö}$, labialized front low-mid vowel (labialized ɛ)
- Q: $o_5 = \text{õ}$, a vowel intermediate between ö and ɔ
- Q: $o_6 = \text{ɔ}$ (= ɔ̄), high ɔ , intermediate between ɔ and u
- Q: $o_7 = \text{ɵ}$, centralized ɔ
- Q: $u = \text{u}$, labialized high back vowel
- Q: $u_{1,2,4} = \text{û}$, unspecified high vowel (u|ü|i) (cover sign)
- Q: $u_2 = \text{ü}$, labialized high front vowel (labialized i), like German ü and French u
- Q: $u_{2+13} = \text{õ}$, Volga Tatar, Bashkir ə
- Q: $u_3 = \text{u}$, low u
- Q: $u_4 = \text{ü}$, labialized lowered high front vowel (labialized ɪ)
- Q: $u_5 = \text{ũ}$, vowel intermediate between ü and u
- Q: $u_7 = \text{ʉ}$, centralized u
- Q: $u_{13} = \text{õ}$, Volga Tatar and Bashkir ɔ
- Q: $\text{U} = \text{U}$, unspecified round vowel (cover sign)
- Q: Ø (if the sign Ø is not available, "-" may be used) = Ø , zero phoneme
- Q: $\text{V} = \text{∇}$ (or ∨), an unspecified vowel (cover sign)

**ABBREVIATIONS
OF NAMES OF LANGUAGES, DIALECTS,
LANGUAGE FAMILIES, SUBFAMILIES,
AND SCRIPT SYSTEMS**

A. Names of languages, dialects, and families of languages

The sigla of the dialects follow those of the languages either directly (Lp L = Lule Lappish) or after a colon (if several dialects are mentioned), e.g. Lp: N ḡuoros, L kuorōs 'empty' (= "Norwegian Lappish ḡuoros 'empty', Lule Lappish kuorōs id."). If related words of several languages & dialects share the same meaning, it may be indicated either once after the enumeration of the languages\dialects (e.g. Hb 'kελεḅ, Ar kalb-, Ak kalbum 'dog') or after the first of the languages only with the indication "id." after the other language names (e.g. Hb 'kελεḅ 'dog', Ar kalb- id., Ak kalbum id.). If we quote a common word shared by several dialects of the same language or by several languages of the same family and the word has the same phonologic form and the same meaning in all these dialects\languages, their names may be separated by a solidus (slant line), e.g. Os V/Vy/Ty {Ht.} (= Vakh, Vasyugan & Teryugan dialects of Ostyak, as described by L. Honti), Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} (= Burji, Gede'o, Hadiya, Kambata languages, as described by G. Hudson). In these cases the name of the scholar (who recorded or registered the forms) refers to all languages connected by a solidus. Abbreviations: d. = dialect, sd. = subdialect, ssd. = subsubdialect, ds. = dialects, sds. = subdialects, lge. = language. ∇ = attested in different epochs, from the most ancient documents of the lge. (e.g., Eg ∇ = Eg [from the most ancient documents on]), f... = from ... on (of historical variants of lgs.) (e.g. Ak fOB = Akkadian from Old Babylonian on). In the text of the dictionary the word "dialect" is symbolized as dl., dial., or Δ.

A = Altaic

Ab = Abakan (a Sayan Samoyed dialect or a conglomerate of data mostly of Mator origin, after Msr. and Strl.)

AbA = Abkhazo-Adygh language family (West Caucasian)

- Abkh = Abkhaz
 AchEl = Achaemenian Elamite
 Adgg = Twareg of Adghagh
 Af = Afar; d.: Af N = Northern d., Af S = Southern d., Af Tjr = Tajurah d.
 AfR = Afro-Romance (a lge of Latin origin, surviving in North Africa up to the 10th-11th c., according to Lewicki LRA)
 AfS = Afar-Saho lgs.
 Afsh = Afshar
 AfshN = SOg of Afshar-e Nanakchi (near Kabul)
 Ag = Agaw
 AG = Angas-Goemay (Angas-Sura)
 Ah = Twareg of Ahaggar
 AHb = Ancient Hebrew (not attested in the Bible)
 Ai = Ainu (either belonging to or having a considerable amount of ancient loans from A)
 Ak = Akkadian; ds. : Ak A = Assyrian, Ak B = Babylonian, Ak LB = Late Babylonian (spB}, Ak M = Akkadian of Mari, Ak MA = Middle Assyrian (nA), Ak MB = Middle Babylonian (nB}, Ak NA = Neo-Assyrian (nA), Ak NB = Neo-Babylonian (nB), Ak OA = Old Assyrian (aA), Ak OB = Old Babylonian (aB}, Ak StB = Standard Babylonian (used in Assyria of the Neo-Assyrian period) ({CAD} SB), Ak YB = Young Babylonian (jB), OAk = Old Akkadian (aAK); f + dialect name means "from ... on": fOB = from Old Babylonian on"; Ak Bg = Ak of Boghazköy, Ak M = Ak of Mari, Ak Nz = Ak of Nuzi, Ak RS = Ak of Ras-Shamra tablets
 Al = Albanian; Al G = Geg, Al T = Tosk; subdialects: A = Arbanasi Geg (Dalmazia), Ba = Barile Tosk, Be = Berat Tosk, Ç = Çamërian Tosk (Çamërisht), D = Geg of Dushman, Db = Geg of Dibër, Dr = Southern Geg of Durrës, Elb = South Geg of Elbasan, F = Falconara Tosk (Italy), Fr = Tosk of Frashër, Gj = Labërian Tosk of Gjirokastër, Hm = Tosk of Himarë, Kr = Southern Geg of Krujë; Lb = Labërian Tosk (Labërisht), M = Malësiian Geg, Mn = Mandres Tosk, Mt = Geg of Mat, Mz = Tosk of Myzeqe, OT = Southern Geg of Old Tiranë, P = Prishtinë Geg (Kosovo), Prm = Tosk of Përmet, SG = Southern Geg, Sf = Sofiko Tosk, Sh = Shkodër Geg, Sl = Salamis Tosk (Greece), SM = San Marzano Tosk (Italy), U = Ukrainian Tosk, V = Vaccarizzo Tosk (Italy), Z = Zadrimë Geg; standard lgs: StAl = Modern Standard Al (based mainly on Tosk), StAl G = Standard Geg Al
 Alb = Alaba
 Ale = Aleut, ds. : Ale E = Eastern Ale, Ale W = Wesern Ale (incl. Ale A = Atkan), Ale Au = Attuan
 Alg = Alagwa
 AlK = A_lu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)
 Alt = Altay-Kizhi; StAlt = горно-алтайский, ойротский
 Aly = Alyutor, алыторский

Amh = Amharic
 Amn = Ammonite
 Amr = Amorite
 AmTg = Amur Tungusian (subbranch of the Tungusian language family)
 Anc... = Ancient ... (e.g. AncM = Ancient Mongolian, AncHs = Ancient Hausa, AncHb = Ancient Hebrew)
 And = Andian
 Anf = Anfillo (= Grotanelli's "Mao meridionale")
 Ang = Angas; d.: Ang H = High Angas, Ang K = Kabwir d.
 AnIE = Anatolian Indo-European
 'AQ = 'Ali-Qurchi Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the south of Arak, Iran)
 Ar = Arabic; ds.: Ar AT = Arabic of Algeria and Tunisia, Ar CA = Central African d., Ar CB = d. of the coastal part of Batina (Northern Oman), Ar ChCS = Arabic d. of Chad and Central Sudan, Ar ChrNG = Christian fallah d. of Northern Galilea, Ar Cr = Cairo Arabic, Ar D = Dathina d., Ar Df = Dofar (Zfar) d., Ar E = the modern dialects of Asiatic countries (incl. the literary language), Ar Eg = Egyptian d., Ar G = Gulf Arabic (the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Bahrain), Ar Hdr = Hadramauti d., Ar Hm = Hamata Arabic, Ar IB = d. of the inland part of Batina, Ar Ir = Iraqi Arabic, Ar Lb = Arabic of Libya, Ar Mgr = Maghrib Arabic (North Africa), Ar Mrc = Moroccan ds., Ar Ng = Ar. of Nigeria, Ar NY = North Yemenite ds. (including sds.: Ar NY K = k-subdialect, Ar NY SE - Southeastern sd., Ar NY S = Southern sds., Ar NY T = Tihamah sd.), Ar O = Oman Arabic, Ar P = Palestinian Arabic ds., Ar SA = South Arabian ds. (Yemen, southern Oman), Ar Sd = Sudanese ds., Ar SL = Syro-Libanese d., Ar Sp = Arabic of Spain (8th through 15th c.), Ar Y = Yemenite ds. of Ar, Ar Zhl = Arabic of Zahle (Lebanon); dialect groups: Ar B = Bedouin Arabic, Ar F = Fallah (rural) Arabic, Ar Ur = Urban Arabic
 Aram = Aramaic
 Arc... = Archaic ...
 ArcL = Archaic Latin
 Arg = Argobba
 Ari = Ari (a SOm lge.); ds.: Ari B = Bako (Baka), Ari G = Galila, Ari J = Ari-Jinka, Ari U = Ubamer
 Arm = Armenian (Grabar)
 Arr = Arbore
 Ary = Aryan (Indo-Iranian)
 AS = Anglo-Saxon (= Old English); d.: AS A = Anglian
 ASgr = Ayt-Seghrushen
 Ash = Ashkun (a Nuristani lge.)
 Ass = Assamese
 Assh = Ashasha (a Berber dialect)
 Av = Avestan; variants: Av G = Gatha-Avestan, Av Y (= YAv) = Young Av.

Aw = Awngi; dialects: Aw D = Dangela, Aw K = Kwakera
 Awj = Awjila
 Awr = Awroman
 Az = Azeri; ds.: Az Erz = Erzerum d., Az Mgn = Mughan sd., Az Nx = Nukha d., Az Qb = Quba d., Az Qz = Qazakh d., Az Shm = Shamakhī d., Az Sl = Salyan d. (сальянский диалект), Az Tbr = Tebriz d.
 Azm = Azumeyna (Banana-Marba)
 B = Berber
 Ba = Bao'an (Пао'ан, баоаньский)
 BA = Biblical Aramaic
 Bar = Barein
 BB = Bata-Bachama subbranch of CCh
 Bbr = Bubburè
 BChS = Bulgarian Church Slavonic
 Bcm = Bachama
 Bct = Bactrian
 Bd = Bade
 Bdg = Badaga (= Kn Bd)
 Bdh... = Buddhist, e.g. BdhSk = Buddhist Sanskrit, BdhSgd = Buddhist Sogdian
 Bdm = Buduma
 Bdt = Badditu, Baddito, Koyra
 Bdy = Bidiya
 Bel = Belari (a SD lge.)
 BF = Balto-Finnic
 Bg = Boghom (Burrum)
 BG = Bu-gàlambu
 BHb = Biblical Hebrew; variants: BHb B = BHb with Babylonian vocalization; BHb T = BHb with the traditional (masoretic) Tiberian vocalization
 BHlm = Ben-H_alima (d. of Ulad-Ben-H_alima, a B "Zenatian" d. of Central Morocco)
 Bhr = Bihari
 BIzn = Beni-Iznacen
 Bj = Beja; ds.: Bj A = Amar'ar , Bj B = Bishari, Bj Br = Bj of Barka, Bj Hd = Hadendawa, Bj N = the northern dialect (acc. to Reinisch), Bj R = the dialect described by Reinisch (Halanga?), Bj Rp = the dialect described by Roper
 Bk = Boka
 Bks = Bokkos
 Bl = Bolewa, Bolanchi, Bole; d.: BIF = Bolewa of Fika {Meek}
 Blc = Balochi (Beluji)
 Bld = Baldamu
 Blg = Bulgarian
 Blgh = Bulghar
 Bln = Bilin

Blq = Balqar
 Blr = Belorussian
 Blt = Baltic
 Bltr = Beltir (today a d. of Xk)
 BMa = Bambes(h)i Mao (= Bambassi)
 BMn = Beni-Menacer (a B d.)
 BMs = Beni-Messaoud (a B d.)
 Bn = Boni; ds.: Bn Ba = Baddey, Bn Bi = Bireri, Bn Bl = Bala; Bn Bu =
 Bura, Bn J = Jara, Bn K = Kili, Bn Kj = Kije, Bn Sa = Safare
 Bnc = Bench (Gimirra-Bench, Benesho)
 Bngl = Bengali
 Bnn = Banana
 BnnM = Banana-Mouseye
 BNr = bokmål (riksmål, Danish-based variant of Norwegian)
 Bnt = Bantu
 Bot = Bot, Boot (a South Bauchi lge.)
 Br = Breton; d.: Cr = d. of the diocese of Cornouaille, L = d. of Léon,
 T = Trégorrois (diocese of Tréguier), V = d. of Vannes
 Brb = Baraba (= STt B); sd.: Brb Tk Tarmakül sd.
 Brg = Birgit
 Brgd = Burgandi (a D lge.)
 Brgn = Burgundian
 Brh = Brahui
 Brj = Burji
 Brn = Burunge
 Brt = Buryat; ds.: Brt A = Alar d., Brt Ag = Aga d. (агинский
 говор), Brt E = Eastern ds. of Brt, Brt NU = Nizhneudinsk d.
 Brtt = Brittonic (Brythonic) Celtic
 Brw = Barawa
 Bs = Baiso
 Bsh = Bashqort (Bashkir)
 Bsk = Basketo (an Omotic lge.)
 BSl = Balto-Slavic
 BSlh = Beni-Salah
 BSn = Beni-Snus
 Bsq = Basque
 Bss = Bussa
 Bt = Bata
 BT = Bole-Tangale gr.
 BtD = Bata-Demsa
 BtG = Bata-Garua
 Bth = Bathari (Bathari)
 BtM = Bata-Malabu
 Btr = Butura (a lge. of the Ron gr.)
 Btw = Bettiwa
 BtZ = Bata-Zumo

- Bu = Bura
 BuP = Bura Pele
 Bz... = Byzantine, of the Byzantine period (e.g. BzJPA = Jewish
 Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period, BzGk = Byzantine Greek)
 C = Cushitic
 C... = Central ...; ... C = Central d.
 CA = Berber of Central Algeria
 Car = Carian
 Cb = Chibak
 CC = Central Cushitic (= Ag)
 CCh = Central Chadic
 CD = Central Dravidian (Kolami-Parji) {Km., Zv.}
 Cez = Tsezian
 Cg = Tsagu
 Ch = Chadic
 Cha = Chara
 Chg = Chagatay (West Türkistan Islamic literary lge., late XIV-XX);
 Chg Xw = Chagatay of Xwarezm
 Chk = Chukchee
 ChK = Chukchee-Koryak (proto-Chukchee)
 Chl = Chulim (чулымский); dialects: Kü = Küarik (treated as a
 separate lge), Chl U = Upper Chulim, Chl M = Middle Chulim
 Chn = Chinese; d.: Chn M = Mandarin Chinese
 Chr = Cheremis; ds.: Chr B = Chr of Birsk; Chr Ch = Chr of
 Cheboksari; Chr E = Eastern Chr ds.; Chr H = High Chr (= Hill Chr,
 горно-марийский); Chr K = Chr of Kosmodemyansk (sd. of Chr H);
 Chr L = Low Chr (= Meadow Chr, лугово-марийский) (the basis of
 the Standard "Meadow-Eastern Cheremis" ['лугово-восточный
 марийский']); Chr M = Chr of Malmizh; Chr NW = Northwestern Chr;
 Chr P = Cheremis of the former Perm province; Chr U = Cheremis of
 Urzhum; Chr Uf (= Chr E Uf) = Cheremis of the former Ufa province;
 Chr V = Chr of Vetluga; Chr Y = Chr of Yaransk; Chr YO = Cheremis of
 Yoshkar-Ola (Carevokokshaysk); Chr YU = Chr of Yaransk & Urzhum
 Chr... = Christian ... (e.g. ChrSgd = Sogdian of Christian texts)
 ChrPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic ("Syro-Palestinian")
 ChrPAr = Arabic of Palestinian Christians
 ChS = Church Slavonic
 Chv = Chuvash; ds.: Chv H = High Chuvash (верховой [вирьял]
 диалект); Chv K = Kurmish sd. of Chv H; Chv KA = Krasnoarmeysk
 sd. of Chv H; Chv L = Low Chuvash (низовой [анатри] диалект);
 Chv Mr = Morgaush sd. of Chv H; Chv MK = Malo-Karachkino
 (Sarmaś) d. of Chv; Chv V = Vurnar sd. of Chv H
 CK = Chukchee-Kamchadal, Kamchukchee
 Cl... = Classical ... (e.g. ClAr = Classical Arabic, ClArm = Classical
 Armenian, ClNPrs = Classical New Persian, ClTm = Classical Tamil, ClJ
 = Classical Japanese)

- CIJ = Classical (Literary) Japanese (Bungo, based on ItOJ)
 CIKo = Classical Korean (Korean in Rm. SKE) (early NKo that still distinguishes between ǎ and ʌ)
 CIMd = Classical Mandaic
 Clt = Celtic
 CltI = Celtiberian
 Cm = Tsamako, Tsamay
 CM = Berber of Central Morocco
 Cmn = Cumanic (= MQp Cm)
 Cn = Canaanite
 Cnc = C'ancha Ometo
 CnC = Continental Celtic (cover name for Gl, CltI, and some other Celtic lgs.)
 Coll... = Colloquial ..., e.g. CollTm = Colloquial Tamil
 COmt = Central Ometo (cover name for several dialects, incl. Gf)
 Cp = Chip
 Cpt = Coptic; OCpt = Old Coptic, ds.: Cpt A = Akhmimic; Cpt F = Fayumic; Cpt B = Bohairic; Cpt L = Lycopolitan (Sub-Akhmimic), Cpt P = the dialect of the *Books of Proverbs*, Cpt S = Sahidic
 Crn = Cornish
 CrTt = Crimean Tatar
 CS = Central Semitic
 Ctl = Catalan
 Cur = Curonian
 Cz = Czech; dialects: Cz L = Lakh (lašský), Cz Mr = Moravian, Cz MS = Moravian-Slovak, Cz SEB = Southeast Bohemian (= Czech-Moravian) d.
 D = Dravidian
 DA = the lge. of the Deir-Alla inscription
 Db = Daba
 Db sb. = Daba subbranch of CCh
 Dbl = Dyebayli (a B idiom, possibly a d. of Nfs)
 Dbs = Dobase
 Dc = Dache (an Ometo dialect)
 DEg = Demotic Egyptian
 Df = Daffo
 DfB = Daffo and Butura
 Dg = Dagur; ds.: Dg B = Butha D, Dg Cc = Cicikar Dg, Dg Hl = Hailar
 Dg
 Dgh = Dghwede, Duxwide, Zeghvana
 Dhl = Dahalo
 Di = Dirasha (ḏīrāšā) (an EC lge.)
 Dir = Diri (a NrBc lge.)
 Dk = Doka (an Ometo dialect)
 Dl = Dullay dialect cluster (= "Werizoid")
 Dlg = Dolgan

Dlm = Dalmatian
 Dm = Dime (a South Omotic lge.)
 DM = Daco-Moesian (= Dacian)
 DMA = Diddesa Mao
 Dmb = Dembea
 Dmn = Demnat
 Dmt = Damot
 Dn = Danish
 Dng = Dangla, Dangaleat (a common denomination for West Dangla & EDng)
 Dr = Dera, Kanakuru
 Drd = Dardic lge. group
 Drg = Dargwa
 Drm = Dormo = Lukas's "Dormo"
 Drz = Dorze-Jo, Dorze (a d. of the Ometo cluster)
 Ds = Dass; ds.: Ds B = Bodli (Zumbul), Ds Bn = Bandas (Dur), Ds D = Dikshi; Dwat and Wangday are treated as languages
 DSA = Aramaic in Demotic script
 Dsn = Dasenech (= Geleba)
 Dt = Dutch (= Netherlandic, Dutch-Flemish); variants: Dt Fl = Flemish, Dt N = Dutch of the Netherlands; ds.: Dt G = Dutch d. of Gelderland, Dt H = Dutch of Holland, Dt Lm = d. of Limburg
 Du = Duwai
 Dw = Dwat (Dwot, Zodi), a d. of Dass treated as a language
 Dwr = Dawro (Kullo), a d. of the Ometo cluster
 Dx = Dongxiang, Tunghsiang, Santa, дунсянский язык
 Dz = Doze (an Omotic d. within the Ometo dialect cluster)
 Dzd = Dizoid (a subbranch of NOM)
 E = Elamite (family)
 e... = Early (eArm = Early Armenian, eNG = Early New Georgian, eB = Early proto-Berber, eNW = Early New Welsh, eEg = Early Egyptian, eNHG = Early New High German, eU = Early proto-Uralic)
 E... = Eastern ...; ... E = Eastern (d.) (e.g. Os E = the Eastern d. of Ostyak)
 EA = Eskimo-Aleut
 eB = early proto-Berber
 Eb = Eblaite
 EBlt = East Baltic
 EC = East Cushitic
 ECh = East Chadic
 ECs = East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
 Ed = Edomite
 EDng = East Dangla (treated here as a separate lge.)
 eF = Early Finnish (16th - 18th c.)
 Eg = Egyptian; stages and variants: Am = Eg of Amarna Texts, BD = Eg of the Book of the Dead ("Totb."), CT = Coffin Texts (Sargtexte),

DEg = Demotic, Eth = Eg of Ethiopian Inscriptions, G = Eg of the Greek-Roman times, LL = Eg of the late and latest (mostly religious) literature (EG's "Lit. Sp."); Md = Eg of Medical Texts, MK = Middle Kingdom Eg, MKL = Eg of Middle Kingdom literature, MP = Eg of the Mathematical papyri, NK = Eg of the New Kingdom, NKL = New Kingdom literature, OK = Old Kingdom Eg, P = Pyramid Texts, RNK = Eg of the ritual texts of the New Kingdom, RT = Eg of the Royal Tombs of Thebae, St = Saite Dynasty (26th Dynasty), Wc = Eg of the Westcar papyrus (spoken Middle Eg), XVIII = 18th Dynasty, XIX = 19th Dynasty, XX = 20th Dynasty, XXII = 22nd Dynasty, WP = Eg of the Westcar Papyrus; Eg L = Late Egyptian (EG's "Sp."), Eg M = Middle Eg, Eg N = New Egyptian (EG's "Nä."), Eg O = Old Eg; Eg fOK = from Old Kingdom on, Eg fP = from the Pyramid Texts on, Eg fMK = from Middle Kingdom on, Eg fNK = from New Kingdom on, Eg fO = from Eg O on, Eg fM = from Eg M on, Eg fMd = from Eg Md on, Eg fN = from Eg N on, Eg fXVIII = from the 18th Dynasty on (in other cases, if a word is present in different periods of the history, the most ancient is mentioned), EgSSc = Egyptian in syllabic script

eIE = Early proto-Indo-European

EIn = East Iranian (a branch of the Iranian family)

EI = Elamite (language)

Elm = Elmolo

eMr = Early Mordvin (18th c., according to SJRN)

En = Enets; ds.: En B = Baikha d. (Bay); En K = Karasino d.; En M = the d. of Mangazeya (XVIII c.); En T = Enets of Turukhan region; En Tn = Tundra d. ({Hl.}); En X = Khantaika (Хантайка d.), Somatu

eNG = Early New Georgian (XVII-XVIII)

eNW = Early New Welsh (XVII)

eOArm = Early Old Armenian

Ep... = Epigraphic ... (e.g. EpJA = Epigraphic JA, EpL = Epigraphic Latin, EpOI = Epigraphical OI, EpOKn = Epigraphic Old Kannada)

e-p... = Early proto-... (e-pS = Early proto-Semitic, e-pIE = Early pIE, e-pHS = Early proto-Hamito-Semitic)

EpHb = Epigraphic Hebrew

EpTl = Epigraphic Telugu

Er = Erzya Mordvin; sds.: A = Alatir sd. (the area of the river Алатырь), BI = sd. of Bolshoye Ignatovo, Iv = Ivancevo sd., Kal = Kalyayevo sd., LP = Lower Pyana sd., Trb = Torbeyevo (former Kazhkïtka) sd.

ERt = East Rift (subsubbranch of SC)

Es = Estonian; ds.: Es K = Kolga sd., Es N = Northern d., Es S = Southern d., Es SVI = sd. of Southern Viljandimaa, Es V = Võru d.

ES = East Semitic

ESA = Epigraphic South Arabian (= OSA)

eShl = early Tashelhit (16th - 19th c., after Ks. ← Bgr.)

Esk = Eskimo; ds.: Esk I = Inupiq-Inuit, Esk Y = Yupik; sds.: Esk AY = Alaskan Yupik (incl.: PY = Pacific Y (PY K = Konyag, PY Ch = Chugach), CAY = Central AY (CAY BB = Bristol Bay, CAY K = Kuskokwim, CAY Nun = Ninivak Island, CAY NI = Nelson Island, CAY HBC = Hooper Bay & Chevak, CAY Y = Yukon, CAY NS = Norton Sound, including CAY NSU = Unalik), SbY = Siberian Yupik (incl.: SbY Na = Naukan, CSbY = Central SY (= Chaplino), SbY Sr = Sireniki), Esk WII = Wales I, Esk AI = North Alaska I, Esk CI = Canada I (incl. Esk MkI = Mackenzie Bay I), Esk LI = Labrador I, Esk WGI = West Greenlandic Esk I

ET = East Turkic (= New Uygur, уйгурский язык); ds.: ET G = Guma d., ET H = Hami d., ET I = Ili d., ET K = Kashghar d., ET Kc = Kucha d., ET Ta = Tashmaliq d., ET Tr = Taranchi, ET X = Khotan d., ET Y = Yarkand d.

Eth = Ethiopian

EthS = Ethiosemitic

Etr = Etruscan

ETwl = Eastern Tawellemmet

"EurA" = J. Greenberg's hypothetical "Eurasian" macrofamily

Ewk = Ewenki; ds.: Ewk E = Eastern d. (dialect area), Ewk N = Northern Ewenki, Ewk S = Southern Ewenki; sds.: Ewk A = Ayan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ag = Agata & Bolshoy Porog sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Ald = Aldan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk B = Baykit sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Bnt = Baunt sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Brg = Barguzin sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Chlm = Chulman sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Chmk = Chumikan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk D = Dudinka sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Hng = Hingan (ХИНГАН) sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk I = Ilimpeya sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Kch = Kachug sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk M = Maya sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk NB = Northern Baykal sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nk = Nakanna sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Nor = Norilskaya sd. (of Ewk. N; extinct?), Ewk Np = Nepa sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nr = Nercha sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk O = Olekma sds. (of Ewk E), Ewk PT = Podkamennaya-Tunguska sds. (of Ewk S), Ewk Skh = Sakhalin sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Sm = Sim sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tk = Tokko sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tkm = Tokma sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tmt = Tommot sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tng = Tungir sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tp = Tipton sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tt = Totta sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk U = Uchami sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk UA = Upper Amur sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ucr = Uchur sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk UL = Upper Lena sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Urm = Urmi sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk V = Vanavar sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk VI = Vilyuy sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Vtm = Vitim sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Y = Yerbogachen sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Z = Zeya sd. (of Ewk E)

f... = from ... on (Eg fOK = Eg from OK on, Ak fOB = Ak from OB on)

F = Finnish; ds.: F H = Häme d., F MNB = Middle- and North-Bothnian ds. (keski- ja pohjoispohjalaiset murteet), F N = Northern ds. (Peräpohjolan murteet, hinterbottische Dialekte), F SB = South Bothnian (eteläpohjalainen), F SE = Southeastern ds., F Sv = Savo ds.,

F SW = Southwestern ds., F U = ds. of Nyland (Uusimaa) (incl. F I = Iitti sd.)

FA = Firuz-Abad Turkic (a SOg dialect, Iran)

Far = Faroese

Fgg = Figuig, Figig (a B d.)

FL = Finno-Lappish subgr. of FU

Fl... = Fali ..., Fali of ...

FIB = Fali (of) Bwagira

FIG = Fali Gili

FIJ = Fali Jilbu

FIK = Fali Kiria, Fali of Kiria

FIM = Fali (of) Muchella

Fls = Faliscan

FP = Finno-Permian

Fr = French; d.: Fr Lr = Lorraine d.

Frl. = Friulan (= RhR F)

Frs = Frisian

FU = Finno-Ugrian (= Fenno-Ugrian)

FV = Finno-Volgaic

FX = SOg of Qal'aye Farhad-Khan (to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)

Fy = Fyer

G = NG = (New) Georgian; dialects: G A = Acharuli (= Ajar) G, G ArX = Aragva Gorge sd. of G K (Aragvis xeobis kartluri), G F = Pereidnuli (Fereydan) G, G Gm = Gudamaqruli G, G Gr (and G G) = Guruli G, G HA = High Ajar G, G I = Imeruli G (sds.: HI = High Imeruli, LI = Low Imeruli), G Imx = Imerxeuli G, G Ing = Inglouri G, G J = Javakhuri G, G K = Kartluri G, G Kx = Kakhuri G, G Kzq = Kiziquri subd. of G Kx, G Lch = Lechkhumuri G, G M = Mokheuri G, G Ms = Meskhuri G, G Mt = Mtiuluri G, G P = Pshauri G, G R = Rachuli G, G T = Tushuri G, G Ti = Tianuri G, G UA = Upper Ajar, G X = Khevsuruli; a period: EarNG = Early New Georgian (XVII, as registered by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani)

...G = 1) Georgian (in: OG = Old Georgian, MG = Middle Georgian, NG = New Georgian), 2) German (in: OHG, MHG, NHG, MLG, see. ...HG & ...LG)

GaMa = Ganza Mao

GAv = Gath Avestan

Gbn = Gabin

Gd = Ghadamsi

Gdb = Gadba; dialects: Gdb K = Koṇḍēkor Gadba, Gdb O = Ollari, Gdb P = Gdb of Pottangi (Koraput distr.), Gdb Sl = Salur

Gdc = Gidicho

Gdf = Guduf

Gdl = Gidole (Dirayta)

Gdr = Gidar

GeMa = Gebsi Mao

Ged = Gede'o (= Darasa)

- Gemu (an Ometo lge., related to Gf)
 Gf = Gofa (an Ometo lge.)
 Gft = Gafat
 Ggz = Gagauz
 Gh = Ghat
 Gil = Gilyak (Nivkh); ds.: Gil A = Amur d., Gil ES = East Sakhalin d.
 Gj = Geji; ds.: Gj B = Bu (Zaranda), Gj G = Geji proper (Gyanzi), Gj
 Mg = Migang (Bolu, Pelu)
 Gjb = Gojjebi (a lge. of the Gongga subgr. of NrOm)
 Gk = Greek; Gk Hl = Hellenistic Greek; ds.: Gk A = Attic, Gk AC =
 Arcado-Cypriote, Gk Ae = Aeolic, Gk Ar = Arcadian sd., Gk Arg = sd.
 of Argos, Gk B = Bæothian sd., Gk Cp = Cyprian, Gk Cr = Cretan sd.,
 Gk Crc = Corcyrian (Cercyrian) sd., Gk Crn = Corinthian sd., Gk D =
 Doric, Gk Dl = Delphian sd., Gk El = Elian sd. of Gk D (Gk of Elis), Gk
 Ep = Epic Greek, Gk Epr = Epirotic sd., Gk Hm = Homeric Gk, Gk I =
 Ionic, Gk L = Lesbian sd., Gk Lc = Laconian sd., Gk Lr = Locrian sd., Gk
 Mc = Mycenæan, Gk OA = Old Attic, Gk P = Pamphilian sd., Gk Ph =
 Phocæan sd., Gk R = Rhodian sd. (sd. of Rhodes), Gk Sr = Syracusan
 sd., Gk Th = Thessalian sd.
 Gl = Gaulish
 Glf = Gulfei
 Gll = Galila (a SOm lge.)
 Glm = Galambu
 Gln = Gollango
 Glt = Galatian (an ancient Clt lge. in Asia Minor)
 Glv = Glavda
 Gm = Gamo, Gamu
 Gmc = Germanic
 Gmr = Gimirra
 Gmrg = Gamergu
 Gmy = Goemay, Ankwe
 G'nd = Ga'anda
 Gnc = Guanche (dialect cluster); ds.: Fv = Fuenteventura, G = La
 Gomera, GC = Gran Canaria, Hr = Hierro (Ferro), L = Lanzarote, P = La
 Palma, T = Tenerife
 Gnd = Gondi; ds.: Gnd A = Adilabad Gnd, Gnd B = Gnd of the Betul
 district, Gnd Ch = Chhindwara d., Gnd ChM = Maria Gondi of the
 Chanda district, Gnd D = Gnd of Durg, Gnd DM = Gnd of the Dandami
 Marias, Gnd G = Gnd of Gadchiroli tahsil (Chanda district), Gnd HM =
 Gnd of the Hill Marias (incl. Gnd HMB, HMD, HMO, HMS = Gnd HM
 of the areas of Bogan Pallahor, Dhobi, Orcha village, and Sironcha
 tahsil respectively), Gnd K = Koya Gondi, Gnd KB = Gnd of
 Bhadrachalam and Rekapalli, Gnd KD = Gnd of the Koyas of Dorlas,
 Gnd KM = Gnd of the Koyas of Malkangiri tahsil, Gnd KS = Gnd of
 Koyas and Dorlas of South Bastar, Gnd M = Gondi of the Marias, Gnd
 MB = Gondi of the Bison Horn and Dandami Marias (Bastar), Gnd Mn

= Gondi of Mandla, Gnd Mrd = Mardia Gondi, Gnd Mu = Gnd of the Murias of North Bastar, Gnd Nr = Gnd of the Murias of Naraipur (NW. Bastar), Gnd RCh = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Chanda district, Gnd RSr = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Sironcha tahsil; Gnd Sn = Gnd of Seoni, Gnd Y = Gnd of Yeotmal

GnD = Gondvana Dravidian {An.}

Gng = Gongga (a subsubgr. of NOM: Kf, Mc, Shn, Anf)

Gnj = Ganjule (= Ganjawle, a d. of East Ometo)

Gp = Gipsy; Gp A = Asiatic dialects of Gp, Gp Eu = European ds. of Gp

Grg = Gurage; Gurage languages: Grg Ch = Chaha, Grg Ez = Ezha, Grg Ed = Endegeñ, Grg En = Ennemor, Grg Go = Gogot, Grg Gt = Gyeto, Grg Mh = Muher, Grg Ms = Masqan, Grg Sl = Selti, Grg So = Soddo, Grg Wl = Wolane, Grg Z = Zway

Grm = Geruma

Grn = Guruntum; ds.: Grn G = Guruntum proper, Grn Mb = Mbaru

Grr = Gurara (Berber ds. of "ksurs" [villages near Timinun and Badrian])

Grs = Gorrose (a d. of the Dullay dialect continuum)

Grw = Gorowa

Gsc = Gascon

Gt = Gothic; d.: Gt Cr = Crimean Gothic

Gtl = Gotlandic (a d. intermediate between Swedish and Danish)

Gv = Gava

Gw = Gwandara; ds.: Gw Cn = Chanchara d. (Arabishi), Gw G = Gitata d., Gw K = Karshi d., Gw Kr = Koro d. (Gwagwa), Gw Nm = Nimbria d., Gw T = Toni d. (Garaku)

Gwd = Gawwada; d.: Gwd D = Gawwada Dalpena

Gz = Ge'ez

GZ = Georgian-Zan lgs., proto-Georgian-Zan

Gzg = Giziga; ds.: Gzg D = Giziga Dogba, Gzg Mj = Giziga Mijivin, Gzg Mt = Muturua

H... = High ..., Highland ..., верховой ..., горно-...

HAB = Hausa-Angas-Bolewa (Hangbole)

Har = Harari

HAS = SOg of Hoseyn-Abad-e Sarmashad (near Kazerun, Iran)

Hb = Hebrew

Hbt = Hobyot (a dialect belonging to SES)

Hd = Hadiyah(a); dialects: Hd Lb = Libido

Hdr = Hadrami (dialect of OSA)

HEC = Highland East Cushitic

Hg = Hungarian; ds.: Hg S = South Hungarian (sd.: Hg O = Ormánság sd.), Hg Sz = Székely d.

Hg... = Higi ... (dialect cluster); ds.: HgB = Higi Baza, HgF = Higi Futu; HgG = Higi Ghye; HgHm = Higi Humsi {Meek}; HgK = Higi Kamale (= Kps); HgMd = Higi Moda {Meek}; HgMk = Higi Makulu

{Meek}; HgNk = Higi Nkafa; HgSn = Higi Sinna {Meek}; HgWl = Higi Wula {Meek}

...HG = ... High German (OHG, MHG, NHG)

Higi sb. = Higi subbranch of CCh

Hld = Hildi

Hlm = Halima (a Berber dialect)

HlM = Halha-Mongolian; ds.: IM = ds. of Inner Mongolia

HLs = High Lusatian (High Sorbian)

Hm = Hamer (Hamar) (a SOM lge.); ds.: Hm B = Hamar-Ban(n)a,
Hm K = Karo (Kara)

Hmr = Himyarite (Himyanite)

Hnd = Hindi; Hnd Bhj = Bhojpuri Hindi

Hr = Harso

HrLw = Hieroglyphic Luwian (Hier. Luvian)

Hrr = Haruro

Hrs = Harsusi

Hrw = Harawa (a B d.)

Hrz = Hurza

Hs = Hausa; StHs = Standard Hausa; dialects: Hs B = Bausanchi (Bauchi d.), Hs D = Dauranchi (Daura d.), Hs Dm = Damagaranchi (Damagaram d.), Hs G = Gobiranchi (Gobir d.), Hs Hd = Hadejia, Hs K = Kananchi (Kano d.), Hs Kc = Katsinanchi (Katsina d.), Hs Kt = Katagum, Hs Skt = Sakkwatanchi (Sokoto d.), Hs Z = Zazzaganchi (Zaria d.)

Hs' = Hasa'itic, Hasaeen (a ONA dialect of Eastern Arabia)

Ht = Hittite

Htr = Hatra (an ancient Aramaic d.)

Hun = Hunnic (Hsiung-nu)

Hw = Hwona

HZMa = Hozo Mao

IA = Imperial Aramaic, Official Aramaic; IA F = Aramaic words in Frahang-i-Pahlavik (glossaries of Aramaic heterograms in Phl)

Ic = Icelandic

Iir, Iirn = Indo-Iranian (Aryan)

Ik = Ik (= Teuso), a Kuliak lge.

Ilr = Illyrian

Im = Itelmen (= Kamchadal); ds.: Im W, Im E, Im S

IM = Mongolian dialects of Inner Mongolia; IM H = Hejing dialect

InA = Indo-Aryan

Ing = Ingrian (ИЖОРСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); ds.: Ing Hv = Hevaha d., Ing O = Oredezh d., Ing Sk = Soikkola d.

Ir = Irish

Irl = Irula

Irn = Iranian

Irq = Iraqw

IrtTt = Irtyshtatar

Ish = Ishkashimi

It = Italian; dialects and subdialects: Ab = It of Abruzzi, Cl = Calabrian, Mdn = sd. of Modena, Lm = Lombardian ds., Ml = Milanese, N = Northern dialects of It, Np = Neapolitan, Oml = Old Milanese, P = Piemontese, Pv = sd. of Piverone (Piemonte), Sr = sd. of Sora, STs = South Toscanian, Tr = Trentine (d. of Trento), V = Venetian

Itc = Italic

Iz = Izayan (a B d.)

Izd = Ayt-Izdeg (a dialect of Tmz, treated here as a separate lge.)

Izn = Beni-Iznacen

J = Japanese; ds.: J Ak = Akida, J Ht = Hateruma, J Ik = Ikema, J Is = Ishigaki, J Kg = Kagoshima, J Km = Kameyama, J K = Kyoto, J Kt = Keto, J Nk = Nakasuji, J Ns = Nase, J Rk = Ryukyu ds., J Sh = Shuri, J Sz = Sudzu, J T = Tokyo (= StJ), J Ty = Toyama, J Y = Yonakuni

J... = Jewish ...

JA = Jewish Aramaic (common name for JEA and JPA)

Jb = Jibbali (ds.: C = Central, E = Eastern, EM = Mehrizing subd. of Jb E)

JEA (= JBA) = Jewish East Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic); variants: JEA B = standard Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, JEA G = Gaonic JEA, JEA Nd = the d. represented in Nedarim (a tractate in the Babylonian Talmud)

Jg = Jegu

JK = Japanese-Kogurö

JKr = Jeḡnu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)

Jm = Jimi

Jmb = Jimbin, Jimbinanchi

JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Kutscher's "Galilean Aramaic");

JPA Bz = JPA of the Byzantine period

Jr = Jara (a CCh lge.)

Jrb = Berber of Jerba

Jrc = Jurchen

K = Kartvelian

Kb = Kabyle; ds.: Kb AX = Ayt-Khalfun, Kb AZ = Ayt-Ziyan, Kb Ir = Irjen, Kb GK = ds. of Grande Kabylie, Kb M = At Mangellat (= Kb {Dl.}), Kb PK = ds. of Petite Kabylie, Kb Z = Zwawa; if the d. is unnoted, Kabyle of Grande Kabylie is meant

Kbl = Kabalay (Lukas's "Kaba")

KC = Kamchukchee (= Chukchee-Kamchadal)

Kcm = Kachama (= Gatsama, a d. of Ometo)

Kdg = Kodagu; ds.: K = Karāḡa, MV = Merchara-Virajpet, Nl = Nalknad

Ke = Kera

Kf = Kaffa

Kfr = Kofyar; d.: Kfr M = Mernyang (= Merniang, Mirriam)

KG = Konso-Gidole (subbranch of EC)

Kgr = Koguryö
 KhS = Khotan Saka
 Khw = Khowar
 Kjk = Kajakse
 Kjr = Kujarke
 KK = Kui-Kuwi gr. of languages
 Kkd = Kaikadi (a D lge.)
 Kl = Kalmuck; ds.: D = Dörböt, Ö = Ölot, T = Torgut
 Klb = Kilba (Hiba)
 Klk = the Kuliak languages
 Klm = Kolami
 Klr = Kulere
 Kls = Kalasha
 Km = Kemant
 Kmb = Kambatta
 Kms = Kamas, Kamassian
 Kn = Kannada; ds.: B = Barkur, Bd = Badaga, Bl = Bellary, Cr = Coorg Kn (Jenu Kuruba), G = Gowda, Gl = Gulbarga, Hl = Halakki, Hv = Havyaka, K = Kurumba, Km = Kumta, Nn = Nanjangud, O = Ola, R = Rabakavi, Sh = Sholiga, T = Tiptur
 Knd = Konda; d.: Knd P = Pulgura d.
 Knf = Kunfäl (a lge. of the Agaw subbranch)
 Knkr = Kanakuru (= Dr = Dera)
 Knr = Kanuri
 Kns = Konso
 KnT = the Kanuri-Teda languages
 Ko = Korean; ds.: Ko Chs = Chongsando, Ko Chj = Chejudo, Ko Cl = Cenla, Ko Hm = Hamgyongdo, Ko Ks = Kyoongsangdo (incl. Ko Ks S = South Kyoongsangdo), Ko Kw = Kangwondo, Ko N = Northern ds., Ko NW = Northwestern ds., Ko Ph = Phyongyang, Ko PhN = Phyongyang-Namdo, Ko Sl = Seoul d.
 Kor = Koryak (Chawchuwen Koryak, "нымыланский")
 Koyb = Koybal (a Samoyed lge., a d. of Kms)
 Kps = Kapsiki (= Higi Kamale)
 Kpt = Kupto
 Kr = Karaite (Karaim); ds.: Kr Cr = Crimean d., Kr G = Galich d., Kr L = Luck (Луцк) d., Kr T = Trakai (Troki) d.
 Krb = Kuruba (Betta-Kuruba)
 Krd = Kurdish; ds.: Krd K = Kurmanji (= Northern Kurmanji), Krd Sr = Sorani (Southern Kurmanji)
 Krf = Kirfi, Kirifi
 Krg = Koraga; ds.: Krg M = Mudu, Krg O = Onti, T = Tappu
 Krkr = Karekare
 Krl = Karelian; ds.: Krl A = Aunus (Olonets Krl, livvin kieli), Krl K = Karjala(inen), Krl Ld = Lude (lyydiläismurteet), Krl Tv = Tver Karelian (sd. of Krl K)

Krmb = Alu-Kurumba, Jenu-Kurumba, and Pal-Kurumba (Dravidian dialects of the Nilgiri area)

Krt = Kōrete (= Amarro), an Ometo lge.

Krx = Kurux, Kurukh, Kurux, Oraon

Kry = Kariya, Kariyanchi

Kshb = Kashubian

Kshm = Kashmiri

Ksb = Kasaba (= Kasava), a D lge. (or d. of Irula)

Kt = Kota

Ktk = Kotoko; ds.: Ktk Af = Affade, Ktk Glf = Gulfei, Ktk Kl = Klesem, Ktk Ks = Kuseri, Ktk Mk = Makeri

Ktk sb. = Kotoko subbranch of CCh

Ku = Kuwi; ds.: Ku D = d. of Dongriya Kondhs, Ku K = Kubi dialect (labelled so by DEDR xxx), Ku Kt = Kuttia Kuwi, Ku P = d. of the Parja Kondhs of Bisamkatak, Ku Su = Sunkarametta, Ku T = Teḥkriya Kondh

Kū = Kūārik (d. of Chulim)

Kui; d.: Kui KK = Kui of Kuttia Kandhs

Kwm = Kwami

KwK = Kwang-Kera (branch of ECh)

Kwn = Kwang; Kwn M = Mobu d. of Kwang

Kz = Kwadza

L = Latin; ds.: L Prn = Praenestian d., L Ln = Lanuvian, L Sc = Sicilian L; L Ep = Epigraphic Latin

L... = Low ..., Lowland ..., НИЗОВОЙ ..., ЛУГОВО-... ; Literary ... (i.e. written in traditional script, Schriftsprache) (LM = Literary Mongolian, LMc = Literary Manchu, LO = Literary Oyrat)

LamP = Lame-Peve

Lb = Libyan (OLb, an ancient LbB lge.); d.: ONum = East Numidian

LbB = Libyco-Berber (Old Libyan + Berber + Guanche) (= ЛИВИЙСКО-ГУАНЧСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ)

Lc = Lycian (= Lycian A); d.: Lc M = Milyan (= Lycian B)

Ld = Lydian

LEC = Lowland East Cushitic

LEg = Late Egyptian

LG = Low German (cp. MLG)

Lgn = Logone; d.: Lgn M = Mandague

Lh = Lihyanic

Lhn = Lahnda

Ll = Lele

LLs = Low Lusatian (Low Sorbian)

Lm = Lamut (Ewen, ЭВЕНСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); ds.: Lm A = Arman d., Lm C = Central Lamut, Lm E = Eastern Lamut, Lm W = Western Lamut; sds.: Lm Al = Allaykha sd. (of Lm C), Lm An = Anyuy sd. (of Lm C), Lm And = Anadir sd. (of Lm E), Lm B = Bīstraya sd. (of Lm E), Lm KO = Kolima-Omolon sd. (of Lm E), Lm M = Moma sd. (of Lm C), Lm N = Northern Lm (a sd. of Lm E), Lm O = Okhotsk sd. (of Lm E), Lm Ol = Ola sd. (of

Lm E), Lm P = Penzhina sd. (of Lm E), Lm Sk = Sakkirir sd. (of Lm W), Lm T = Tompon sd. (of Lm C), Lm Tg = Tügesir sd. (of Lm W). Lm Y = Yukagir sd. (of Lm W)

Lmn = Lamang; ds.: Lmn Hd = Hidkala, Hitkalanchi, Lm Vz = Vizik, Lmn A = Alataghwa

Ln = Lobnor Turkic

Lngb = Langobardian

Lp = Lapp, Lappish; ds., dialect areas, sds. and ssds. (subsubdialects): Lp A = Akkala Lp (= бабинский диалект) (belongs to Lp E), Lp Å = Åsele Lp (belongs to Lp S), Lp Ar = Arjeplog ssd. (of Lp P), Lp E = Eastern ds. of Lp (Lp Klt, Lp Kld, Lp T), Lp En = Enontekiö ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Fi = Finnmarken sd. (of Lp N, = Ruijanlappi), Lp Fr = Frostviken ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp Gr = Gratangen ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Hr = Härjedalen ssd. (of Lp J), Lp I = Inari Lp (belongs to Lp E), Lp J = Jemtland sd. (of Lp S), Lp Jk = Jokan'g (Yokostrov) ssd. (of Lp T), Lp K = Kola Lp (dialect area of Lp E, including Lp Kld and Lp T), Lp Kld = Kildin d. (of Lp E), Lp Klt = Koltta Lp (= Kolta Lp, Skolt Lp, belongs to Lp E), Lp Krs = Karasjok ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Krsv = Kaaresuvanto ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Kt = Koutokeino ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp L = Lule Lp, Lp M = Maritime sd. (of Lp N), Lp Ml = Malå ssd. (of Lp U), Lp Mr = Meråker ssd. (of Lp J), Lp N = Norwegian Lp, Lp Nd = Neiden (Näätämö) sd. (of Lp Klt), Lp Nt = Notozero sd. (of Lp Klt), Lp O = Offerdal ssd. (of Lp J), Lp OSw = dialects of Lp XVIII of Sweden (incl. Northern Lp L & Northern Lp S) (after {LÖ}), Lp P = Pite Lp, Lp Pa = Paatsjoki (Boris-Gleb) sd. (of Lp Klt), Lp Pl = Polmak (Pulmanki) ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Pr = Parkalompolo ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Rr = Røros ssd. (of Lp J), Lp S = Southern Lp, Lp Sn = Snåsa sd. (of Lp S), Lp Snk = Suonikylä sd. (of Lp Klt), Lp Sw = Swedish dialect area of Lp (= {SKES} Lp R), Lp T = Ter (Turja) Lp (Kert's йоканьгский диалект) (belongs to Lp E), Lp Tf = Tysfjord ssd. (of Lp L), Lp Tn = Tännäs ssd. (of Lp J), Lp To = Tornio sd. (of Lp N), Lp U = Ume Lp, Lp Ut = Utsjoki ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Vfs = Vefsen ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp Vl = Vilhelmina ssd. (of Lp Å)

LSv = Lower Svan

Lt = Lithuanian; dialects: Lt A = Aukshtaitian (Aukštaitis, High Lt, Aukshtaitish) (with sbds.: EA = East Aukshtaitian, WA = West Aukshtaitian; subsubdialect of EA: Lt U = sbd. of Ukmergė), Lt D = Dzuki, Lt P = ds. of former Prussian Lithuania, Lt Z = Zhemaitian (Low Lt, Shamaitish, Samogitian; sds.: Lt K = sds. of the area of Klaipėda [former Memel-Gebiet])

lt... = Late ... (ltBHb = Late Biblical Hebrew, ltMChn = Late Middle Chinese, ltL = Late Latin, ltPrm = Late proto-Permian, ltOHG = Late Old High German), ltHb = Late Hebrew (second half of the 1st mill. A.D.); ltHb B = Babylonian ltHb, ltHb J = Jerusalemite ("Palestinian") ltHb, ltHb T = Tiberian (Northern) LHB

ltL = Late Latin (= proto-Romance)

ltOJ = Late Old Japanese (9th-11th c.)

Ltv = Latvian; ds. & dialect areas: Ltv C = Central dialect area, Ltv E = Eastern dialect area, Ltv H = High Latvian (hochlettisch), Ltv Ltg = Latgalian, Ltv W = Western dialect area

Lv = Livonian; ds.: Lv E = Eastern, Lv W = Western, Lv I = Ira sd., Lv Slc = Salaca sd.

Lw = (Cuneiform) Luwian, Luvian

LycIs = Lycaonic-Isaurian

Lz = Laz (Chan); dialects: Lz A = Atinuri, Lz Ar = Arxaburi, Arkhaburi (архавский), Lz Art = Artashenian, Lz Ch = Chkhaletian (чхальский говор), Lz V = Vicuri, Lz VAr = Vicur-Arkhaburi, Lz X = Khopuri

Lzg = Lezgian

M = Mongolic

M... = Middle ...(e.g. MHG = Middle High German, MLG = Middle Low German, MM = Middle Mongolian, etc.)

Ma = Mao (a NrOm dialect cluster, incl. BMa, HzMa, Sz); when unspecified, Anf {Grot.} (Grotanelli's "Mao settentrionale") is meant

MAI = Middle Albanian (up to the 17th cent.); ds.: G = Geg, T = Tosk

Malt = Maltese

Mb = Mbugu

M'b = Moabite

Mbk = Mboku (Matakam subgr. of CCh)

Mbr = Mburku, Mburkanchi

MBr = Middle Breton

Mc = Manchu; ds.: Mc N = Modern Northern Manchu, Mc Sb = Sibe Manchu

Mc... = Macro- (e.g. McAram = Macro-Aramaic, McDb = Macro-Daba, McDng = Macro-Dangla, McHigi = Macro-Higi, McKbly = Macro-Kabalay, McKtk = Macro-Kotoko, McMdr = Macro-Mandara, McMs = Macro-Masa, McMsg = Macro-Musgu, McMtk = Macro-Matakam, McMu = Macro-Mubi, McOr = Macro-Oromo (Oromoid), McSkr = Macro-Sokoro, McSmr = Macro-Sumray, McTm = Macro-Tamil, McTr = Macro-Tera)

Mcd = Macedonian (an ancient IE lge.)

McdRm = Macedo-Rumanian

McdS = Macedonian (a Slavic lge.)

Mch = Mocha (Shekko)

MChn = Middle Chinese

Md = Mandaic (if not specified otherwise, Classical Mandaic is meant)

md... = modern

Md... = medieval

MdHb = Medieval Hebrew

MdL = Medieval Latin

MdMa = Madegi Mao

Mdr = Mandara; d.: Mdr Mr = Mora
 Mdr sb. = Mandara subbranch of CCh
 MDt = Middle Dutch
 ME = Middle English
 Med = Median
 MEg = Middle Egyptian
 MEI = Middle Elamite
 Mf = Mafa
 MfG = Mofu-Gudur; d.: MfG M = Mokong
 MfM = Mofu-Meri
 Mg = Megrelian; ds.: Mg SmZ = Samurzakan-Zugdidian, Mg Sn = Senakian; Mg BM = Bandza-Martvil sd. of Mg Sn, MgrZ = Zugdidian sd. of Mg SmZ
 MG = Middle Georgian (12th-16th centuries (Shota Rustaveli, *Kartulis cxovreba*, etc.)
 MGk = Middle Greek (of the Roman and Byzantine periods)
 Mgl = Moghol; d.: Mgl Mr = Marda
 Mgm = Migama
 Mh = Mehri (Mahri); ds.: Mh D = Mh of Dhofar, Mh J = Eastern Mh of Jadib and Hawf, Mh Ng = Nagd Mehri, Mh Q = Qishn Mehri, Mh QB = d. of Qishn bedouins, Mh SW = Southwestern Mehri
 MHG = Middle High German, MHG U = Upper German ds. of MHG
 Mlr = Middle Irish
 Mlrn = Middle Iranian (cover name for several Irn lgs.)
 Mj = Maji (= Dizi, an Omotic language), d.: Mj DJ = Dizi-Jeba
 MJ = Middle Japanese (12th-16th c.)
 Mjl = Minjile
 Mk = Moksha Mordvin; a dialect: Mk P = Mk of the former Penza province
 Mkl = Mokilko
 MKn = Middle Kannada (= Kittel's "mediæval dialect of Kannada")
 MKo = Middle Korean
 Mkt = Muktile
 Ml = Malayalam
 Mld = Maldivian
 MLG = Middle Low German
 Mlk = Moloko
 Mln = Mwulyen
 Mlt = Malto
 Mlw = Mulwi (= Vulum, Mogrum, a d. of Msg)
 MM = Middle Mongolian; ds. (variants): MM E = Eastern MM, MM W = Western MM
 MMG = Middle Middle German (Middle German ds. of MHG)
 MMgl = Middle Moghol
 Mn = Minaean, Minaic (מִנְיָנִית), Madhabian
 MNA = Mlahso Neo-Aramaic

Mnc... = Manichaeen (Mnc varieties of languages: MncMPrs, MncSgd)

Mnd = Manda

Mnj = Manjo (one of the sources\components of Kf, according to Fl. MEH)

Mnr = Monguor; ds.: Mnr E = Eastern Monguor (Dongbuyuguyu), Mnr M = Minhe Monguor (= Sanch'uang, Potanin's сань-чуан), Mnr H = Huzu Monguor (Uyangpu, Potanin's y-ян-бy, Tuzuyu), Mnr Nr = Naringol sd. of Mnr H (SM's Monguor)

Mnt = Montol

Mod... = Modern ... (e.g. ModTm = Modern Tamil)

MOg = Middle Oghuz; d.: MOg Tkm = Türkmen d. of MOg ("Old Türkmen")

Mos = Mossiya

MOsm = Middle Osman Turkic

Mpn = Mupun

MPrs = Middle Persian; MPrs Mnc = Manichean MPrs., MPrs T = MPrs of Turfan

MPrt T = Middle Parthian of Turfan

MQp = Middle Qipchaq (13th through 17th c.); variations: MQp A = Armeno-Qypchaq, MQp Cm = Cuman (of the Codex Cumanicus), MQp Mm = Mamluq-Qypchaq (Egyptian Qypchaq)

Mr = Mordvin languages

MR = Middle Russian

Mrc = Marrucinian (an Italic dialect)

Mrg = Margi; Mrg L = Margi of Lasa {Meek}, Mrg M = Margi of Minthla {Meek}; Mrg P = Margi Putai; Mrg Pl = Plain Margi {Meek}

Mrs = Marsian (an Italic dialect)

Mrt = Marathi

Ms = Masa

Ms sb. = Masa subbranch of CCh

Msg = Musgu; Msg G = Musgu Girvidik (= Munjuk), Msg Ng = Musgu Ngilemong, Msg P = Musgum-Pus (= Munjuk de Pouss)

Msg sb. = Musgu subbranch of CCh

Msk = Muskum

Msk {Lk.} = Lukas's "Muzgum-Stadt" (Lk. ZSS 142-4)

Msl = Mashile

Msm = Misme

Msp = Messapic

MsTt = Mishär Tatar

Msy = Musgoy

Mt = Mator (= Mator-Taygi-Karagas); ds.: Mt T = Taigi, Mt M = Mator (Motor) proper, Mt K = Karagas; Mt A = Abakan (a Sayan Samoyed dialect or a conglomerate of data mostly of Mt origin, after Msr. and Strl.)

MT = Middle Turkic; d.: MT Tkm = Türkmeni

- MtA = Mitannian Aryan (↳ hippological words and theonyms in Ht and Hurrite)
- Mtk = Matakam
- Mtk sb. = Matakam subbranch of CCh
- MTl = Middle Telugu (1000 - 1600 A. D.)
- Mtm = Matmata (**mat_ma_t_a**)
- MTsh = Medieval Tashelhit (Ibn Tunart's dictionary, 12th c.)
- Mu = Mubi
- MU = Middle Uyghur
- Mw = Mawa
- MW = Middle Welsh
- Mx = Manx
- My = Miya, Miyanchi
- Myn = Muyang
- Mz = Mzab, Mozabite
- N = Nostratian, Nostratic
- N... = New ..., Neo- (NSr = Neo-Syriac)
- ... N = Northern (d., e.g. Sml N = Northern Somali)
- Na = Na'o (Nayi) (a Dizoid lge.)
- NaD = Narrow Dravidian (ancestor of all D lgs. except Brh)
- NaIE = Narrow IE ("IE proper", ancestor of all IE lgs. except Hittite-Luwian)
- NArm = New Armenian
- NaT = Narrow Turkic, Common Turkic (ancestor of all T lgs. except Blgh and Chv)
- Nbt = Nabataean
- Nd = Ndam; d.: Nd D = Ndam Dik
- NdA = Ndir-Abes
- Ne = Nenets; ds.: Ne F = Forest Nenets (sds.: Ne F K = Konda, Ne F Ks = Kiselevskaya, Ne F L = Lyamin, Ne F Ny = Nyalina), Ne T = Tundra Nenets (sd.: Ne BZ = Bol'shaja Zemlja [ssd: Ne Sd = Ne BZ registered in the area of the Syaida river], Ne Kn = Kanin sd., Ne O = Obdorsk [Salehard] sd., Ne Ym = Yamal sd.)
- NE = New English, ds.: NE Ork = Orkney English, NE Sc = Scottish English, NE Shetl = Shetland English
- NE... = Northeastern ...; ... NE = Northeastern (d.)
- NEArm = New East Armenian
- NED = Northeastern Dravidian
- Neg = Negidal; ds.: U = Upper Amgun (верхнеамгуньский), L = Lower Amgun (нижнеамгуньский)
- NEg = New Egyptian
- NEl = New Elamite
- NET = Northeast Turkic
- NEXT = Northeastern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dialects: G = Gujgi, J = Jonk, L = Langar, M = Mareshk
- Nfs, Nf = Nefusi

- Ng = Nganasan
 NG = New (Modern) Georgian
 NGk = New Greek; variants: NGk D = Dhimotiki, NGk K = Katharevusa
 Ngl = Ngala
 Ngm = Ngamo
 NGr = New German (dialects): NGr Al = Alemannic, NGr Als = Alsatian German (elsässisch), NGr B = Bavarian (Bayrisch), NGr EP = dialects of East Prussia, NGr Gtn = d. of Göttingen; NGr Hs = Hessisch (d. of Hessen), NGr HsN = d. of Hessen-Nassau, NGr M = Middle German ds., NGr NrF = North Franconian German, NGr Ö = Austrian sds., NGr S (= NUG) = Southern German ds. (oberdeutsch), NGr Sb = Swabian German, NGr Sw = Swiss German, NGr Trl = Tirolean German, NGr WF = West Franconian German, NGr Wph = Westphalian German
 Ngs = Ngweshe (= Gvoko, Gboko, Glanda?)
 Ngx = Ngwaxi (Ngwakhi, Ngwahyi)
 Ngz = Ngizim
 NgzB = Ngizim-Bade subbranch of WCh
 NHb = New Hebrew (19th - 21th c.)
 NHG = New High German
 NIc = New Icelandic
 NInA = New Indo-Aryan
 NIr = New Irish
 Nk = Naiki of Chanda (= "Nk. (Ch.)" of DEDR)
 Nkc = Nakatsa
 Nko = New Korean, Modern Standard Korean
 Nkr = Naikri (d. of Kolami) (= "Nk." of DEDR)
 NMd = New Mandaic (Modern Spoken Mandaic)
 Nn = Nanay (Gold); dialects: Nn A = Amur dialect gr. (Nn Nh, Nn SA & Nn G), Nn B = Bikin d., Nn G = Garin d. (= Samar d.), Nn K = Kili (a dial. area, incl. Nn KU, Nn Sn & Nn UU [Kili is considered a separate lge. by Doerfer]), Nn KU = Kur & Urmi d., Nn Nh = Naykhin d., Nn SA = Sakachi-Alan, Nn Sn = Sungari dialect gr. (incl. Nn B), Nn UU = Upper Ussuri d.
 NNEA = Northeastern Neo-Aramaic ("Modern Assyrian"); ds.: H = Hertevin, JIA = Jewish NNEA of Iranian Azerbaijan, JZ = Jewish NNEA of Zakho, U = Urmiya d.
 NNr = New Norwegian (Nynorsk)
 Nog = Noghay; ds.: Nog A = Aqnoghay, Nog P = Noghay proper, Nog Q = Qaranoghay
 NPhr = New Phrygian
 Npl = Nepali
 NPrs = New Persian; NPrs B = Bakhtiyari d. of NPrs
 Nr = Norwegian (BNr = bokmål; NNr = New Nr, i.e. nynorsk; Nr Δ = dialects of Nr)

- Nr... = North(ern) ...
 NrB = North Berber
 NrBc = North Bauchi
 NrCs = North Caucasian
 NrGmc = North Germanic (Scandinavian)
 NrMa = Northern Mao
 NrOm = North Omotic
 Nrs = Nuristani {Kafir} subgr.
 NrSm = North Samoyed subgr.
 NrTg = North Tungusian (subbranch of the Tungusian language family)
 NrXT = Northern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: D1 = Dara-Gaz 1, D2 = Dara-Gaz 2, Dg = Dougha'i, L = Lotf-abad, Q = Quchan, Shi = Shirwan, Shu = Shurak, Ze = Zeyarat, Zo = Zourum
 NSr = Neo-Syriac
 Ntf = Ntifa (a Berber d.)
 NUG = New Upper German (neuoberdeutsch), Southern ds. of NGr
 NW... = Northwestern ...; ... NW = Northwestern (d.)
 NWArm = New West Armenian
 NWS = Northwestern Semitic
 NWXT = Northwestern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: A = Asadli, B = Bojnurd, ShT = Sheykh-Teymur
 Nx = Nakh
 Ny = Nyang'i (= Nyangiya), a Kuliak lge.
 Nz = Nzangi
 O... = Old ...
 OA = Old Aramaic
 OAk = Old Akkadian
 OAr = Old Arabic; dialect areas: OEA = Old East Arabic, OWA = Old West Arabic (Hijaz dialects, H. Rabin's Ancient West-Arabian); dialects: A = Asad, 'A = Al-'Aliyah, An = Ansar, Hd = Hudhail, Hm = Himyarite OAr, Hr = d. of Hauran, Hz = Hawazin, Md = d. of Medinah, Mk = d. of Mekka, Nj = Nejd dialects, O = 'Oman, Q = Qais, Qd = Quda'ah, Qr = Quraysh, R = Rabi'ah, Sl = Sulaim, T = Tamim, Tj = Tajji', TR = Taim ar-Ribab, Y = Yemenite
 OBr = Old Bretonic
 OBrth = Old Brythonic
 ObU = Ob-Ugric
 Occ = Occitanian (Modern Provençal); d.: Occ Lm = Limousin dial. (incl. Occ Cr = sd. of the département de Creuse)
 OChn = Old Chinese
 OCn = Old Canaanite (= Old South Canaanite); OCn Sn = Cn of the Old Sinaitic inscriptions, OCn TA = Cn of the Tell-el-Amarna letters
 OCpt = Old Coptic
 OCrn = Old Cornish
 OCrt = Old Croatian (a d. of SCr)

OCS = Old Church Slavonic
 ODn = Old Danish
 OEAR = Old East Arabic
 OEg = Old Egyptian
 OEI = Old Elamite
 OETH = Old Ethiopian
 OF = Old Finnish
 OFr = Old French; d.: OFr Nr = Old Norman-French
 OFrk = Old Frankish (Old Franconian)
 OFrs = Old Frisian
 Og = Oghuz Turkic
 OG = Old Georgian; ds.: OG H = the dialect represented in the Haemeti texts, OG X = the dialect of the Khanmeti (Xanmeti) texts
 OgIr = Ogam Irish (Archaic Irish in Ogamic inscriptions)
 OGtn = Old Gutnish
 OHg = Old Hungarian
 OHG = Old High German; dialects of OHG: OHG Al = Alemannic d., OHG F = Franconian d. (= OFrk), OHG U = Upper German d. of OHG (altoberdeutsch); OHG R = OHG of the Runic inscriptions
 OHt = Old Hittite
 OI = Old Indian; OI BHS = Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit, OI BdSk = Buddhistic Sanskrit, OI ClSk = Classical Sanskrit, OI EpSk = Epic Sanskrit, OI fVd = OI from Vedic on, OI LSk = Late Sanskrit, OI Sk = Sanskrit, OI Vd = Vedic
 OIr = Old Irish (= Vendryes's "irlandais ancien", i.e. including Middle Irish)
 OIt = Old Italian; ds.: OIt MI = Old Milanese, OIt Pv = Old Pavian (dialetto antico pavese), OIt V = Old (Medieval) Venetian
 OJ = Old Japanese (to the 8th c.); OJ E = Eastern Old Japanese
 OKg = Old Koguryo
 OKn = Old Kannada
 OKo = Old Korean (Silla)
 OL = Old Latin (= Archaic Latin); OL Pr = Old Latin of Praenesta
 OLF = Old Low Franconian, Old Low Frankish (altniederfränkisch)
 OLt = Old Lithuanian
 Om = Omotic
 OM = Old Mongolian
 OMG = Old Middle German (in OsS's terminology)
 OMI = Old Malayalam
 Omt = Ometo (a cluster of ds.\languages); when unspecified (Zs, Wlt, etc.), Omt {Moreno} is meant
 ON = Old Norse; ON R = ON of the Runic inscriptions
 ONA = Old North Arabian, Frühnordarabisch (Lh, Sf, Tmd, Hs')
 ONr = Old Norwegian
 ONum = Old Numidian (Old Libyan)
 OOsM = Old Osman Turkic

- OP = Old Polish
 OPhr = Old Phrygian (= {BajO} старофригийский)
 OPrm = Old Permian (древнепермский язык)
 Or = Oromo; ds.: Or B = Borana, Or BI = Isiolo sd. of Or B, Or Brr = Barareta, Or H = Harar d., Or O = Orma, Or M = Macha, Or S = Southern ds., Or T = Tulama, Or Wt = Wata, Or Wl = Wälläga; Or AM = Afan Monyo (Karakara) sd. of Or O
 OR = Old Russian
 Orc = Orochi
 Ord = Ordos Mongolian (a dialect treated here as a separate lge.)
 Ori = Oriya
 Ork = Orok
 Orm = Ormuri
 ORu = the lge. of the oldest Runic inscriptions
 Os = Ostyak; ds. & dialect areas: Os Ag = Agan sd. (of Os Sr), Os B = Beryozovo sd. (of Os O), Os Cng = Cingala sd. (of Os I), Os D = Demyanka d., Os E = Eastern dialect area, Os I = Irtiřh ds. (collective denomination), Os K = Konda d., Os Km = d. of Kaminskoye, Os Kr = d. of Krasnoyarskie, Os Ks = Koshelevsk sd. (of Os I), Os Kz = Kazim d., Os LD = Lower Demyanka d. (= DT), Os Lk = Likrisovskoye d., Os LK = Lower Konda sd., Os MY = Maliy Yugan d., Os N = northern dialect area, Os Nz = Nizyam d., Os O = Obdorsk (Salehard) d., Os Pim = Pim (Pim) d. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Pt = Pitlyar d. (sd. of Os N), Os Sh = Sherkali d. (= Middle Ob d.), Os Shr = Shuryshkar d., Os Sl = Salim d., Os Sn = Sinya d., Os Sr = Surgut d., Os Ty = Tremyugan d., Os UA = Ust-Agan d., Os UD = Upper Demyanka d. (= DN), Os Uy = Ust-Yugan d., Os V = Vakh d., Os VK = Verknhe-Kalimsk d.; Os Vrt = Vartovskoye d., Os Vy = Vasyugan d., Os Y = Yugan d. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Z = Zavodniye (Zavodinskiye) d.
 OSA = Old South Arabian (= ESA); ds.: Hdr = Hadrami, M = Minaean, Qtb = Qatabanic, Sb = Sabaic, Sabaean
 Osc = Oscan
 OScn = Old Scandinavian
 OCn = Old South Canaanite
 OSCr = Old Serbo-Croatian
 OscU = Osco-Ubrian (a branch of the Itc family)
 Osm = Osman Turkic
 Oss = Ossetic; ds.: Oss D = Digor d., Oss I = Iron d.
 OSw = Old Swedish; OSw Ru = Old Swedish of Runic inscriptions
 OSx = Old Saxon
 OT = Old Turkic; ds. (after Clauson and other authors): OT O = Orkhon d., OT Og = Oghuz, OT OY = Orkhon and Yenisey dialect(s) (Kök-Türkisch), OT Qp = Qipchaq, OT QU = Qarakhanid Uyghur (Xakani), OT Tü = Türkü, OT U = Uyghur, OT Y = Yenisey dialect
 OTl = Old Telugu
 OTm = Old Tamil

OVg = Old Vogul (18th cent.); ds.: OVg E = Eastern, OVg N = Northern, OVg S = Southern, OVg W = Western; sds.: OVg E TM = a sd. (of OVg E) labelled by Honti as "TM", OVg I = Is sd. (of OVg W[?]), OVg L = Lyalya sd. (of OVg W[?]), OVg N Ber = Berezovo (OVg N; three variants: OVg N BerG, OVg N BerO and OVg BerK), OVg N B and OVg N Chd = sds. (of OVg N) labelled by L. Honti as "B" and "C_d", OVg N NSs = Northern Sosva sd. (OVg N), OVg N SoG = a sd. of OVg N labelled by Honti as "SoG", OVg N SoO = a sd. of OVg N labelled by Honti as "SoO", OVg S Chus = Chusovaya sd. (of OVg N; two variants: OVg S ChusO and OVg S ChusM), OVg S Kg = Kungur sd. (of OVg S), OVg S SSs = Southern Sosva sd. (OVg S), OVg S Tg = Tagil sd. (OVg S), OVg S Tr = Tura sd. (OVg S), OVg S Vt = Verxotur'ye (Верхотурье) sd. (OVg S), OVg Str = a sd. (of OVg W[?]) labelled by Honti as "Str", OVg Tb = a sd. (of OVg E or [less plausibly] OVg S?) labelled by Honti as "Tob" (= Tobol?), OVg W P = Pelimskoye sd. (OVg W), OVg W Sol = Solikamsk sd. (OVg W), OVg W U = Ust-Ulsuy (Усть-Ульсуй) sd. (OVg W), 19th cent.; the sigilla "B", "SoG", "SoO", "Str", "Tob", and "TM" (used by Honti after J. Gulya) remain enigmatic because their source (Gulya's manuscript paper "Altvogulische Dialekte") has not yet been published and is not available to the present writer; the queries "[?]" belong to Honti

OW = Old Welsh

OWAr = Old West Arabic (H. Rabin's *Ancient West-Arabian* [see OAr])

OWGmc = Old West Germanic (preserved in proper names in L sources)

OWN = Old West Norse

OY = Old Yukagir; ds.: Ch = Chuvan, K = Kolima, O = Omok, NW = Northwestern d. (Ust-Yansk)

OYmn = Old Yemenite, common name for words of Himyarite and of the Old West Arabic dialect(s) of Yemen (X and early XI cent.), the distinction between them being unfeasible today

Oyr = Oyrat; ds.: Oyr B = Bayit (Bayat), Oyr T = Torgut, Oyr ET = East Torgut (in Sinkiang, Rm's "Osttorgutisch")

P = Polish

p... = proto-...; pp... = Early proto-...

P' = Pa'a, Pa'anchi

PA = Palestinian Aramaic (incl. JPA, BzJPA, ChrPA)

Pæl = Paelignian

PaK = Pa_lu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)

Pal = Palaic

pAl = proto-Albanian

PAry = Pontic (Tauro-Pontic) Aryan (an branch of Aryan that remained in the region north of the Black Sea and preserved in place names; discovered by Trubachev, but misinterpreted by him as part of InA)

PBHb = Post-Biblical Hebrew (e.g. Ben-Sirah, apocryphical literature of the 2nd and the 1st cent. B.C.)
 PCIWrM = Pre-Classical Written Mongolian
 PCIWrMc = Pre-Classical Written Manchu (17th c.)
 Pdk = Padokwo, Paduko
 Pdl = Pidlimti
 Ph = Phoenician; ds.: Ph By = Byblian, Ph OBy = Old Byblian, OPh = Old Phoenician
 Phl = Pehlevi, Pahlavi
 Phr = Phrygian
 pInA = proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructed from InA lgs.)
 Plb = Polabian
 Plc = Polchi; ds.: Plc B = Barang (Baram, Dir = Baram Dutse), Plc Ny = Nyamzax (Langas) and Lundur, Plc P = Polchi proper (Posi); Dira and Buli are treated as separate languages
 Plm = Palmyrene
 Pln = Palana Koryak
 Pls = "Pelasgian" (Pelastian) of IE origin (pre-Greek IE language(s) of Greece) = Philistine
 pLzg = proto-Lezgian
 pMM = proto-Mofa-Mada
 Pmr = Pamir Iranian (common name of Ish, Shgn, Srk, Wx, Yzg, Oroshori, Bartangi, Rushani, and Khufi)
 Png = Pengo
 Pnn = Pannonian
 Port = Portuguese; Port Mrn = sd. of Miranda
 pp... = "pre-proto-...", i.e. Early proto-...
 ppIE = Early proto-Indo-European
 ppT = Early proto-Turkic
 ppU = Early proto-Uralic, pre-proto-Uralic
 Pr = Pero
 Pra = Prasun
 Prc = Parachi
 pre... = pre-... (e.g. preT = pre-Turkic, preCIM = Pre-Classical Mongolian)
 Prdm = Paradomba Turkic (a SOg dial., to the west of Borujin, Iran)
 Prj = Parji
 Prkr = Prakrit
 Prm = Permian
 Prmk = Permyak; Prmk In = Inva d. (иньвенский говор), Prmk K = Kochevo d. (кочёвский говор), Prmk N = Northern d., Prmk Zz = d. of the Zyuzdinci (зюэдинский диалект)
 Prt = Parthian
 Pru = Prussian
 Prv = Provençal
 pSam = proto-Sam {Heine}

- pScn = proto-Scandinavian (proto-North-Germanic)
 PsCl = post-classical (e.g. PsClAr = Post-Classical Arabic)
 Psh = Pashto, Afghani
 pSm = proto-Samoyedic
 pSml = proto-Somali {Lamberti}
 Pun = Punic
 pZ = proto-Ziryene (proto-Komi) (ancestor of Z, Prmk, and Yz)
 Q = Qwara, Kwara; dialect: Q F = {Flad} 'Falashan'
 Qb = Qoybal (= Koibal Turkic); d.: Qb Sl = Salbin d.
 Qbn = Qabenna
 Qc = Qacha (качинский диалект «хакасского» языка)
 QK = Lebed' Tatar, Quu-Kizhi (Chalkan, язык лебединских татар)
 Qmn = Qumanda, Kumanda Tatar
 Qmq = Qumiq
 Qp = Qipchaq
 Qq = Qaraqalpaq; Qq X = Ramstedt's "Chagatay of Khiwa (Хива)"
 QrB = Qarachay-Balqar
 Qrg = Qirgiz; Qrg S = Southern ds. of Qrg; Qrg T = Talas d.
 QrgA = Qirgiz-Altay languages (= Central-Eastern Turkic)
 Qrw = Qorwa Turkic, SOg of Qorwa (to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)
 Qtb = Qatabanian (dialect of OSA)
 QT = Qaraxanid Turkic (West Turkistan, XII-XIV) (tafsirs, Rabghuzi, Ibn-Muhanna)
 Qzl = Qizil (кызыльский диалект т. н. «хакасского языка»)
 Qzq = Qazaq
 R = Russian; ds.: R Ar = ds. of the Arkhangelsk province (gubernija), R Kl = ds. of the Kaluga province (gubernija), R Ks = Kostroma d., R Ng = Novgorod d., R Ol = R of the former Olonets province, R Prm = dialect(s) of the Perm province, R Psk = Pskov d., R Rz = R of the Ryazan region \ province, R Rzh = Rzhhev d., R S = Southern ds., R Sib = Siberian ds., R Sml = ds. of the Smolensk region, R Tv = ds. of the Tver province, R Vlg = ds. of the Vologda region, R Vt = R of the Vyatka region, R W = Western ds.
 RChS = Russian Church Slavonic
 Rf = Rif Berber ds.; ds.: Rf A = Beni-Amret, Rf B = Boqqoya (Iboqqoyen), Rf Bt = Bettiwa, Rf K = Kebdana (Ikhbdhanen), Rf Q = Gela'ia (Iqr'ien), Rf S' = Beni-S'id (Aith-Sghidh), Rf T = Beni-Tuzin (Aith-Thuzin), Rf Tf = Beni-Itteft (Aith-Itteftth), Rf Tm = Beni-Temsanan (Aith-Themsanan), Rf U = Beni-Uriaghel (Aith-Uriaghén), Rf Wr = Rif Beni-Waryaghel
 RhR = Rhaeto-Romance; ds.: RhR F = Friulan, LE = Lower Engadin, RhR Srm = Surmiran, RhR Srs = Sursilvan, RhR Sts = Sutsilvan, RhR TL = South Tirol Ladin, RhR UE = Upper Engadin
 Rk = Ryukyu (dialects of J); pRk = proto-Ryukyu

- Rm = Rumanian
 Rn = Rendille
 Rom = Romance languages
 Rt = Rift (subgr. of South Cushitic)
 S = Semitic
 S... = South(ern) ...; ...†S Ω†Southern (d.) (e.g. Est S = Southern Estonian)
 Sa = Saho; ds.: Sa A = Sa of High Assaorta, Sa I = Irob
 SA = Soleyman-Abad Turkic (a SOg dialect, Iran)
 Sam = Sam = Macro-Somali (subfamily of LEC)
 SAn = South Anatolian Indo-European (Luwian-Lycian)
 Sb = Sabaean, Sabaic (d. of OSA)
 SB = South Berber
 Sbn = Sabine (an Italic lge.)
 SBc = South Bauchi
 SbTt = Siberian Tatar; dialects: SbTt B = Baraba (= Brb), SbTt Ichk = Ichkina dialect (d. of the Ichkina river, SW-Siberia), SbTt TI = Tobol-Irtysh dialect (incl: SbTt Tb = Tobol Tatar (= TbTt), SbTt Bkl = Baykalovo subsubd., SbTt Kk = Kükürände subsubd. (= Cheburga subsubd. of TbTt), SbTt Ltm = Laytamak subsubd., SbTt Tö = Tömen Tt (ТЮМЕНСКИЙ д.), SbTt Tv = Tevriz Tt, SbTt Tr = Tara subd.), SbTt Tom = Tomsk dialect (incl.: SbTt EuCh = Eushta-Chat subd., SbTt Ql = Qalmaq, SbTt OCh = Orsk Chat, орский подговор чатов)
 Sct = Scythian
 SC = South Cushitic
 SCD = South-Central Dravidian
 ScGl = Scottish Gaelic
 Scn = Scandinavian
 SCn = South Canaanite
 SCr = Serbo-Croatian; variants: SCr Ch = Chakav ds., SCr Cr = Croatian, SCr K = Kajkav ds., SCr MN = ds. of Montenegro, SCr Sr = Serbian
 Sd = Sidamo; d.: Sd Hb = Sidamo of Habiela
 SD = South Dravidian
 SEA = South-East Arabian (= Modern South Arabian: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq)
 SES = South-East Semitic (= the ancestor of the Modern South Arabian languages: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq)
 SET = Southeast Turkic (Baskakov's "Qarluq Turkic")
 SEXT = Southeastern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: ChS = Charam-Sarjam, K = Kalat, R = Ruh-abad, XO = Kharwe-'Olya
 Sf = Safaitic
 Sg = Saghay (сагайский диалект «хакасского» языка)
 Sgd = Sogdian; variants: Sgd B = Sgd of the Buddhist texts, Sgd Chr = Sgd of the Christian texts, Sgd M = Sgd of the texts of Mug, Sgd Mn

= Sgd of the Manichaean texts (= MncSg), Sgd OL = Sgd of the Old Letters

Shgn = Shugnani

Shhr = Shahrak Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the east of Shahre-e Kord, Iran)

Shk = Shako (a Dizoid lge.)

Shl = Tashelhit, ds.: Shl A = Shl of Ashtuken, Shl T = Tashelhit of Tazerwalt.; Tashelhit of Semlal (Destaing's "Tachelhit du Sous") and Tashelhit of Tazerwalt are treated as separate lgs. (see Sll and Tz)

Shm = Shumashti (a Dardic lge.)

Shn = Shinashsha (Bworo), d.: Shn D = Dangur Shinashsha

Shnw = Shenua, Shenwa (a Berber lge.)

Shrn = Shirongol (a collective name for Monguor, Dongxiang, and Bao'an)

Shw = Shawiya

ShY = Shira-Yughur (= Shera-Yöghur, Jegün Yogur, Eastern Yugur)

Si = Siwa

Sin = Sindhi; d.: Si J = Jatki dialect

Sir = Siryanchi, Siri (a NBc lge.)

Sk = Sanskrit

Skn = Sokna

Skr = Sokoro

Sl = Slavic

SLEC = Southern Lowland East Cushitic (= Omo-Tana)

Slk = Slovak; d.: Slk MS = Moravian-Slovak (moravsko-slovenské nár_ec_í)

Sll = Tashelhit of Semlal (Destaing's "Tachelhit du Sous")

Sln = Solon

Slq = Sölpup (Selkup); ds.: Slq B = Baikha d., Sl Ch = Chaya d., Slq Chl = Chulim d., Slq F = Farkovo sd. (of Slq Yn), Slq Kar = Karasino d., Slq Ke = Ket' d., Slq LKe = Lower Ket' d., Slq LO = Lower Ob d., Slq LTz = Lower Taz d., Slq MKe = Middle Ket' d., Slq MO = Middle Ob d., Slq MTm = Middle Tim d., Slq MTz = Middle Taz d., Slq NP = Nat-Pumpokolsk d., Slq Nr = Narim d., Slq O = Ob ds., Slq Tm = Tim d., Slq Tur = Turukhan d., Slq Tz = Taz d., Slq UKe = Upper Ket' d., Slq UO = Upper Ob d., Slq UTz = Upper Taz d., Slq V = Vakh d., Slq Vy = Vasyugan d., Slq Y = Yeloguy d., Slq Yn = Yenisey d.

Slr = Salar; ds.: Slr A = Slr of Altiyuli, Slr X = Slr of Khanbakh, Slr U = Slr of Ujirem, Slr Ul = Slr of Ullaghil

Slv = Slovene; d.: Slvn R = Rezjane d. (резьянский)

Slvz = Slovinzian (Slowinzisch, słowiński język, словинский язык)

Sm = Samoyed

Sm... = Samaritan ... (SmA = Samaritan Aramaic, SmH = Samaritan Hebrew)

Sml = Somali; ds. and sds.: Ab = Af-Abgaal, Aj = Af-Ajuraan, Ash = Ashraaf ds., 'Aw = Af-'Awramale', B = Benaadir, Bi = Af-Bimaal, C = Central, D = Darood, Db = Af-Dabarre (Doborre), Dg = Af-Degodiya, Dgl = Digil, Dl = Af-Dolbohaante, Dx = Af-Daakhteri, E = Eastern, Ga = Af-Galja'aal, Ge = Af-Geedabuursi, Gn = Af-Gendershi, Gr = Af-Garre, He = Af-Helleedi, Hw = Hawiyya, I = Isaaq, Af-Isaaq (= Sml N), 'I = Af-'Iise, J = Jabarti, Ji = Af-Jiidu, Md = Mudug, Me = Af-Merka, Mj = Af-Majerteen, Mr = Af-Marrehaan, Mt = Max-aad-tiri, My = Af-May, N = Northern ds., NC = North-Central, NE = North-Eastern, Og = Ogaden (Af-Ogaadeen), Oj = Af-Oojji, Or = Af-Oroole, S = Southern, Sha = Af-Shabelle, Shi = Af-Shingaani, T = Af-Tunni, UJ = Upper Jubba, Wr = Af-Wardeyg, X = Af-Khamari

Smr = Sumray, Somray (Sibine)

Snd = Sened (a B d.)

Snqr = SOg of Sonqor (to the NE of Kermanshah, Iran)

So = So (= Tepeth, Tepes), a Kuliak lge.

SOg = South Oghuz dialects

SOM = South Omotic

Sp = Spanish; Sp Mrg = Spanish of Maragateria

Sq = Soqotri; ds.: Sq M = Mountain (Central) d., Sq N = Northern d. (incl. Sq HS = Ҳадибоҳ-Суқ), Sq S = Southern d.

Sr = Syriac

SrChS = Serbian Church Slavonic

Srd = Sardinian; ds.: Srd Cm = Campidanian, Srd L = Logudorian

Srk = Sarikoli (сарыкольский язык)

SrSn = Srair Senhazha (Senhaja de Sraïr); d.: SrSn Gz = Taghzut,

SrSn AA = Aït-AhmadSS = South Semitic

ST = Sino-Tibetan

St... = Standard ...

StAl = Modern Standard Albanian

StAlt = Standard Altay-Kizhi (горно-алтайский, ойротский)

StChr H = Standard High Cheremis (горно-марийский литер. язык)

StChr LE = Standard Low & Eastern Cheremis (лугово-восточный марийский литер. язык)

STg = South Tungusian

StK = Standard (Modern) Korean

StLt = Standard Lithuanian

StNe T = Standard Tundra Nenets (ненецкий литер. язык)

StVt = Standard Votyak (удмуртский литер. язык)

StXk = Standard Khakas (хакасский литер. язык)

StZ = Standard Ziryene

Su = Sura

Suk = Sukur

Sum = Sumerian

Sv = Svan; ds.: Sv L = Lashxuri d., Sv LB = Lower Bal d., Sv Ln = Lentexuri d., Sv UB = Upper Bal; sds. of LB: Sv Bc = Becho, Sv Ch = Chubexeuri, Sv Ec = Etseruli, Sv P = Pari, Sv T = Tavrari, Sv Lx = Laxamuluri; sd. of Sv L: Sv Chl = Choluri; sds. of UB: Sv I = Ipari, Sv Us = Ushguluri (= Ushkuli), Sv Lt = Lat'aluri, Sv M = Mulaxi-Mestia (= Muzhali-Mulaxi, Central UB); dialect areas: LSv = Lower Svan, USv = Upper Svan

Svr = Savara (a Dravidian lge.)

Sw = Swedish

SWXT = Southwestern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: H = Hokm-abad, J = Joghatay, PK = Pir-Komaj, QB = Qara-Bagh, SA = Soltan-abad

Sy = Saya (Seya, Sayanchi) dialect cluster; ds.: Sy B = Bot (Boot), Sy Zk = Zakshi, Sy Z = Zari

SY = Sarïg-Yugur (= Western Yugur)

Sz = Sezo Mao (Seze), Sz1 & Sz 2 = two sds. of Sezo

T = Turkic

TA = Turoyo Neo-Aramaic; ds.: TA M = TA of Mîdin, TA Mt = TA of Midyat

Tala = Tala; ds.: Tala L = Lungu (Tala), Tala Sh = Sho (Ju), Tala Z = Zangwal (Sor, Zangwal of Zungur)

Tb = Tuba (диалект черневых татар, туба-кижи)

Tbn = Tobanga

Tbs = Tabasaran

TbTt = Tobol Tatar (= SbTt Tb)

Tc = Tocharian; Tc A = Tocharian A. Tc B = Tocharian B

Td = Toda

Tdq = Tadghaq (a Twareg dialect of Adghagh of Ifoghas)

Tf = Tofalar

Tfl = Tafilalt (a Berber d.)

Tg = Tungusic (= Tungusian), Tungus-Manchu

Tgn = Tuggana

Tgr = Tigre

Tgy = Tigray, Tigrinya; d.: Tgy H = Hamasien Tigray

Thr = Thracian

Tib = Tibetan; Tic C = the Central dial. of Tibetan

Tjk = Tajik

Tk = Turkish; ds. and sds.: Tk An = Anatolian dialects, Tk Çr = Çorum sd., Tk Er = Erzurum sd., Tk Iç = Içel sd., Tk Ist = Istanbul sd., Tk Kn = Konya sd., Tk Qrpp = Qarapapaq (Karapapak) d., Tk Rh = Tk of the Rhodope Mountains, Tk WAn = Tk of Western Anatolia

Tki = Türki (traditional literary lge. of East Turkistan)

Tkm = Turkoman (Türkmen); ds.: Tkm NC = North Caucasian Turkoman (туркменский говор Ставрополя), NY = North Yomud d.

Tl = Telugu; ds.: Tl Brh = Brahman Telugu, Tl G = Guntur d., Tl Mr1 = Merolu d.

Tln = Telengit (Tälängit)

Tlt = Teleut (Tälängät)

Tm = Tamil; ds. and variants: B = Brahmani Tm, K = Kollimalai Tm, LP = Tm of Lower Perak, NA = North Arcot, T = Tirunelvali Tm, W = Western Tm

Tmbr = Tembaro (a lge. of the HEC subgr.)

Tmbs = Tambas (a lge. of the Ron subgr.)

Tmd = Thamudic

Tmk = Tumak

Tmm = Timimun (Gurara of Timimun, a Zenetic Berber lge.)

TmM = Tamil and Malayalam

Tmz = Tamazight; ds.: AA = Ayt-'Ayyash, AH = Ayt-Hadiddu, AM = Ayt Myill, AN = Ayt-Ndhir, AS = Ayt-Sadden, Iz = Iziyan (Izayan), Zm = Zemmur; ASgr (Ayt-Seghrushen) and Izd (Ayt-Izdeg) are treated as separate lgs.

Tng = Tangale; d.: Tng B = Biliri d.

Tnsl = Taneslemt

Tr = Tera

Tr sb. = Tera subbranch of CCh

Trgt = Torgut (a d. of Kalmuck and Oyrat)

Ttq = Taïtoq

Tu = Tulu; Tu Br = Brahmin d. of Tulu

Tv = Tuva; Tv NE = Noreastern d. (Тоju d., тоджинский диалект)

Tw = Twareg; ds.: Tw D = Tdraq, Tw M = dislects of Mali, Tw Ng = dialects of Niger (Twl, Ty), Tw U = Tudalt, Tw Ud = ds. spoken in Udalan (NE Burkina-Faso, i.e. Tw D and Tw U); Ah, ETwl, Ty, and Tnsl are treated here as separate lgs.

Twl = Tawellemet (common name of ETwl and WTwl)

Ty = Tayert, Tayrt, Twareg of Air

Tz = Tashelhit of Tazerwalt

U = Uralic

Ub = Ubamer (= Ari U)

Ud = Udihe (Ude, удыхейский, удэйский, удэггейский); sds.: Ud A = Anyuy sd., Ud B = Bikin sd., Ud I = Iman sd., Ud K = Koppi sd., Ud X = Khor (Xor) sd., Ud Sm = Samarga sd.

Ug = Ugaritic

Ugr = Ugric

Uk = Ukrainian; ds.: Uk B = Bukovina d., Uk P = Polesye (Полесье) ds.

Ul = Ulcha, Olcha

Um = Umbrian

USv = Upper Svan

Uz = Uzbek; ds.: Uz Af = Uz ds. in Afganistan, Uz Nm = Namangan d., Uz NmA = Namangan-Andizhan ds., Uz Qp = Qipchaq ds., Uz Srt = dialects labelled "Sart" in the old literature (\approx Uz NmA), Uz U = urban (Iranized) ds., Uz XwOg = Khwarezmic-Oghuz ds.

Uyg = Uyghur (= MUyg)

Vd = Vedic (= OI Vd)

Vg = Vogul; ds.: Vg K = Konda ds., Vg LK = Lower Konda d., Vg LL = Lower Lozva d., Vg MK = Middle Konda d., Vg ML = Middle Lozva d., Vg MO = Middle Ob (Sherkal) d., Vg N = Northern Vogul dialect area, Vg NV = North Vagilsk d. (sds: Vg NVK = sd. of the village Kama, Vg NVZ = Zaozërnaja sd.), Vg P = Pelimka d., Vg Sg = Sigva d., Vg Ss = Sosva d., Vg SV = South Vagilsk d., Vg T = Tavda d., Vg TCh = sd. Chandiri of the Tavda d., Vg TG = sd. Gorodok of the Tavda d., Vg TY = sd. Yanichkova of the Tavda d., Vg UK = Upper Konda d., Vg UL = Upper Lozva d., Vg UsU = Ust'-Ulsuj d. (extinct, cf. Kann. AWD), Vg V = Vagilsk ds., Vg Yk = Yukonda d.

VL = Vulgar Latin; dialect: VL Gl = Gaulish Latin

Vls = Volscan

Vm = Vame

Vn = Venetic

Vo = Vote, ВОДСКИЙ ЯЗЫК, vatja, wotisch

Vp = Veps

Vt = Votyak; dialects: Vt C = Central Votyak (средний диалект), Vt N = Northern Votyak, Vt S = Southern Votyak, Vt SW = Southwestern Votyak; subdialects: Vt B = Beserman Vt, Vt G = Glazov sd., Vt Ks = Kosa sd. (of Vt N), Vt Kz = Vt of the former Kazan province, Vt M = Malmizh sd., Vt MU = Malmizh-Urzhum sd., Vt Sh = Shoshma subdialect of Vt SW, Vt Sl = Slobodskoy sd. (district of Slobodskoy, Kirov oblast), Vt Sm = Vt. of the former Samara province, Vt Sr = Sarapul sd., Vt Tl = Tilovay subd. of Vt C, Vt Uf = Vt. of the former Ufa province, Vt Ur = Ursigurt subdialect of Vt SW, Vt Y = Yelabuga sd.

VTt = Volga Tatar (= Kazan Tatar); dialects: VTt K = Christian Tatar (крещенский), VTt Ks = Kasymov d. (касымовский), VTt W = Western d., VTt M = Middle Tatar d., VTt E = Eastern d.; subdialects: VTt H = Highland sd. of VTt M (= тау ягы сөйләшләре, говоры нагорной стороны Татарстана), VTt I = Ichkino (Ichkina) sd. of VTt M (ичкинский говор) in West Siberia, VTt Mn = Menzelya sd. of VTt M (мензелинский говор), VTt Smb = Simbirsk sd., VTt TYK = Christian Highland Tatar sd. (тау ягы керәшеннәре сөйләше = подберезинский говор), VTt TYT = Tarkhan sd. of Highland Tatar (тау ягы, тархан сөйләше = тарханский говор), VTt U = Ural Tatar (говор уральских татар)

W = Welsh

W... = West(ern) ... (e.g. WCh = West Chadic); ... W = Western (d.) (e.g. Ewk W = the Western ds. of Ewenki)

- WB = West Berber
 WCh = West Chadic
 WCs = West Caucasian
 Wgl = Waigali
 WIrn = West Iranian (a branch of the Iranian family)
 Wl = Wolaytta (an Ometo lge.), Wolamo
 Wmd = Wamdiu
 WMrg = West Margi
 Wnd = Wangday (a d. of Dass)
 Wrg = Wargla, Wargli
 Wrj = Warji
 WRft = West Rift (subgr. of Rift within South Cushitic)
 WrM = Written Mongolian, Schriftmongolisch, Classical Mongolian
 WrMc = Written Manchu (Classical Manchu)
 WrO = Written Oyrat
 Wrs = Warsenis (le Zenatia de l'Ouarsenis)
 WRT = West Rift (subsubbranch of SC)
 WS = West Semitic
 WTwl = Western Tawellemmet
 Ww = the d. of the "Waw" inscription (belonging to Aramaic?)
 Wx = Wakhi (ваханский яз.)
 Xk = Khakas (Хакas, хакасский яз., Abakan Turkic)
 Xlj = Khalaj (Xalaj)
 Xm = Hamir (Хамир, Хамтanga, Khamtanga); dialects: Xm {R} = Chamir, Xm {Ap.} = Khamtanga, Xm T = CR's Hamta, Xm K = Kaĩliña, Xm Wg = Khamir of Wag
 XT = Khorasan Turkic (collective name for NEXT, NWXT, NXT, SWXT, and SWXT)
 Xwr = Khwarezmic (Iranian)
 XwT = Khwarezmic Turkic
 Xzr = Khazar (Хазар, хазарский яз.)
 Y = Yukagir subfamily, Yukagir; ds.: YK = Kolima (= Upper Kolima)
 Yukagir, Y T = Tundra Yukagir
 Y... = Young, e.g. YAv = Young Avestan, Ak YB = Young Babylonian
 Ya = Yaku (Yaaku, Mogogodo)
 Yd = Ya'udic, Samalian
 Ydg = Yidga
 Ygn = Yaghnobi
 Yid = Yiddish; ds.: Yid C = Central Yiddish (Poland), Yid NB = West Yiddish of the Netherlands and Belgium, Yid N = Northern Yiddish (Lithuania, Belorussia), Yid S = Southern Yiddish (the Ukraine, Rumania)
 Yk = Yakut
 Ym = Yemsa (Janjero)
 Yn = Yeniseyan family (Ket a. o.)

Yr = Yurak (= jurazisch {Jn.}, юрацкий; an extinct lge. akin to Ne and En)

Ytv = Yatvingian (ятвяжский), incl. the lge. of the supposedly Yatvian glossarium described by Zinkievicius (Zink. LJZ)

Ywm = Yiwom (= Gerka)

Yz = Yazvian, Yaz'va dialect (in the Prm subbranch of FU) = коми-язьвинский диалект

Yzg = Yazgulami

Z = Ziryene; ds.: Z EV = Eastern Vichegda sd. (of Z UV), Z I = Izhma d., Z Le = Letka d., Z LI = Lower Izhma d., Z LL = Luza & Letka d., Z Lu = Luza d., Z LV = Lower Vichegda d., Z MS = Middle Sisola d., Z MV = Middle Vichegda d., Z Mz = Mezen' d., Z N = Northern dialects, Z P = Pechora d., Z Pr = Prupt sd. (of Z UV), Z Sk = Siktivkar d., Z Ss = Sisola d., Z Ud = Udora d., Z US = Upper Sisola d., Z UV = Upper Vichegda d., Z V = Vichegda d., Z Vm = Vim d., Z Vsh = Vishera sd. (of Z UV)

Z... = Zoroastrian ... (e.g., ZPhl = Zoroastrian Pehlevi)

ZAS = Berber d. of Zayan and Ayt-Sgugu

Zem = Zem (Zeem); ds.: Zem Ch = Chari, Zem D = Dokshi (Lushi), Zem Z = Zem proper; Tule is treated as a language

Zgw = Zaghawa

Zkr = Ida-u-Zikri

Zl = Zala

Zlg = Zulgo

Zm = Zime

ZmB = Zime-Batna

ZmD = Zime-Dari

Zmr = Zemmur (a B d.)

Zn = Zayan

Zng = Zenaga (Tuddungiya)

ZPhl = Zoroastrian Pehlevi

Zr = Zar (Sigidi); ds.: Zr GL = Zar of Gambar-Lere, Zr K = Zar of Kal, Zr L = Zar of Lusa

Zrg = Zergulla (a d. of Ometo)

Zs = Zayse (a d. of Ometo)

Zwr = Zwara (a Berber d.)

B. Scripts

(AkSc) = in Akkadian script\transcription

(ArmSc) = in Armenian script\transcription

(ArSc) = in Arabic script\transcription

(BbV) = in Hebrew script with Babylonian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)

(BrSc) = in Brahmi script

(ChSc) = in Chinese script\transcription

(EgSSc) = in Egyptian syllabic script\transcription

- (EthSc) = in Ethiopian script
 (ChSc) = in Chinese script\transcription
 (GkSc) = in Greek script\transcription
 (HbSc) = in Hebrew script
 (hPSc) = in hP'ags-pa script
 (ISc) = in an Indian script\transcription
 (LSc) = in Latin script\transcription
 (MSc) = in Mongolian script
 (McSc) = in Manchu script\transcription
 (MnSc) = in Manichaeian script
 (OgSc) = in Ogam script
 (PhSc) = in Phoenician script
 (PV = with Palestinian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)
 (RomSc) = in Roman script\transcription
 (RunSc) = in Runic script
 (SumSc) = in Sumerian script
 (SyrSc) = in Syriac script
 (TRSc) = in Turkic Runic script
 (TV) = in Hebrew script with Tiberian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)
 (USc) = in Uyghur script

C. Names of transcription systems

AsT = Assyriological traditional transliteration (for Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Hittite, and other languages with cuneiform script of Sumerian origin)

AT - Africanistic transcription (a variant of IPA, used for languages of Africa)

ET - Egyptological transliteration (Erman-Grapow's transliteration with recent modifications: z for EG's ζ , s for EG's σ). In this book c and ʒ are used instead of ET \underline{t} and \underline{d} ; x and x' are used for EG's \underline{h} and \underline{h}' .

FUT - Finno-Ugric transcription

IET - traditional Indo-Europeanistic transcription

IPA - International Phonetic Alphabet, i.e. transcription of the International Phonetic Association

IT - Indological transcription (traditionally used for the IE, D, and Austroasiatic languages of India)

OT - Orientalistic transcription

SemT - Semitic transcription (a variant of OT used for Semitic languages)

ST - Slavistic transcription

UT - Unified transcription, used in this book

**SYMBOLS OF NAMES OF SCHOLARS,
TITLES OF COLLECTIVE PAPERS,
SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

Scholars and scholarly papers

These symbols (printed in braces near quoted words or roots) indicate scholars who recorded, reconstructed them or registered them in their papers, as well as collected papers mentioning these words or roots. The sign] (preceding the symbol of the source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {]Bz}, {]IS}, {]SDM94}. The sign † (preceding the symbol) means "according to X's theory, hypothesis" (e.g. {†SDM94}, {†Hel.}, {†Rsl.}); {†πAD} means "according to AD's hypothesis about the prosodic origin of some proto-Turkic ascending diphthongs". The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation). If an author has different notations or theories in his\her different papers, the abbreviation of the paper is added (e.g. {Ks. E}, {Ks. Z}, {Stl. ZCh}, {Stl. IF}). The sign "←" between names means "after" ("Bm. ← IS" = "Bomhard after Illich-Svitych"). Accordingly, "→" means "and from him..." ("Fr. → Hv." = "Freytag and from him Hava"). The signs "←?" (after the symbol of an author) mean "quoted by X from an unspecified source" (e.g. {Sk. ←?}). Abbreviations: "ms." = "manuscript", "p. c." = "personal communication", "s. v." = "sub voce" ("under the word"), "q. v." = "quod vide" ("which see"), "l. c." = "loco citato" (in the place cited above). If the symbol of an author precedes the meaning of a word\stem, it means that the scholar in question is responsible for the semantic definition rather than to the form of the word\stem.

The arrows → and ← (A → B or B ← A) between names of scholars mean that words\roots published (or registered, reconstructed) by a scholar A were later repeated in by a scholar B. "Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} gī'liŋ" means that Msg Ng gī'liŋ was recorded by Gottlob Adolf Krause and later published by Johannes Lukas. {IS → BmK} means that the etymology (reconstruction) proposed by V. Illich-Svitych was later repeated or quoted by A. Bomhard and J. Kerns. The arrow ← with a query ("A ←?") means that the source of the form quoted by A (but not recorded by him!) is unknown.

{A} = Joseph Aistleitner; {AB} = A. Alijev & K. Bōrijev (А. Алиев, К. Бөриев); {Ab.} = Vassilij I. Abajev (В.И. Абаев); {Abb.} = Antoine d'Abbadie; {'Abd.} = F. F. Abdallah; {ABiv.} = A. Ajxenal'd, L. Bajun, Vjacheslav Ivanov (А.Ю. Айхенвальд, Л.С. Баюн, Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Abr.} = Roy C. Abraham; {ABs.} = André Basset; {Abul.} = I. Abulaze (ი. აბულაძე); {Ach.} = Hr. Acharyan (Հր. Աճառյան); {AD} = Aharon Dolgopolsky; {Ad.} = Douglas Q. Adams; {ADb.} = Anna Dybo (А.В. Дыбо); {Adl.} = F. Adelung; {ADP} = A. Dolgopolsky & V. Porkhomovskij (В.Я. Порхомовский); {AED} = *Altaic Etymological Dictionary*; {AF} = Adolf Friedrich Herzog von Mecklenburg; {Ahl.} = A. Ahlqvist (Ahlquist); {Ai.} = Aleksandra Ajkhenwald (А. Aixenal'd, А.Ю. Айхенвальд); {AiM} = A. Ajkhenwald & A. Militarev; {AJ} = Francisco Aura Jorro; {Ajd.} = Gubajdulla Ajdarov (Г. Айдаров); {AL} = Antoine Lonnet; {Al.} = Khalil Alio; {AlA} = Alemayehu Abebe; {Alb.} = W. F. Albright; {AlBED} = *Albanian-English Dictionary* (Oxf., 1998); {Alc.} = R. 'Alqala'î (ראובן אלקלעי, Reuben Alcalay); {Alib.} = Louis Alibert; {AlJ} = Khalil Alio & H. Jungraithmayr; {All.} = Edward J. Allan; {Alm.} = H. Almkvist; {ALP} = M. Andrejev, J. Peshchereva, A. Pisarchik (М.С. Андреев, Е.М. Пещерева, А.К. Писарчик); {Am.} = M. Amyot; {AMS} = H. Amborn, G. Minker & H.-J. Sasse; {Ams.} = Amsalu Aklilu; {An.} = M. Andronov (М.С. Андронов); {AnC} = Guillemette Andreu & Sylvie Cauville; {Anz.} = B. Andrzejewski; {AOM} = Abdalla Omar Mansur; {Ap.} = David L. Appleyard; {Ar.} = Vladimir Arakin (В.Д. Аракин); {Arp.} = L. d'Arpino; {'ASh} = Sépher 'Arûkh Ha-shalém; {Ash.} = N. Ashmarin (Н.И. Ашмарин); {Ashir.} = K. Ashiralijev (К. Аширалиев); {Asl.} = Martiros Aslanov (М.Г. Асланов); {Aufr.} = Walter E. Aufrecht; {Av.} = Alessandra Avanzini; {Ax.} = R. Axyndov (Ахындов, Axundov); {AxT} = G. Axvlediani, V. Topuria (გ. ახვლედიანი, ვ. თოფურია); {AY} = Aklilu Yilma; {AzDDL} *Azərbayjan dilinin dialektolozi lüğəti*; {Äz.} = X. Ä. Äzizbäyov (X.Ä. Әзизбәјов, X.A. Азизбеков); {B} = N. Baskakov (Н. А. Баскаков); {Ba.} = G. P. Bargery; {BabD} = G. Babushkin & G. Donidze (Г. Ф. Бабушкин, Г.И. Донидзе); {Bai.} = H. W. Bailey; {BajO} = L. Bajun & V. Orel; {Barr} = James Barr; Bart. = A. Barthélemy; {Battal} = Aptullah Battal; {BB} = T. Burrow & S. Bhattacharya; {Bb.} = Folke Boberg; {BBl.} = Bernard Bloch; {Bbr.} = Friedrich Bieber; {Bc.} = Carl D. Buck; {Bd.} = Budenz József; {BDB} = F. Brown, S. R. Driver & Ch. A. Briggs; {Bdm.} = N. Badmajev; {Bdr.} = Rev. Matthias Bedrossian; {BE} = T. Burrow & M. Emeneau; {Beg.} = F. Beguinot; {BechG} = Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst; {Beke} = C. T. Beke; {Bel.} = père Jean-Baptiste Belot; {Ber.} = G. Bereczki; {Bern.} = E. Bernecker; {BFU} = O. Buchholz, W. Fiedler, G. Uhlisch; {BG} = W. Bang, A. von Gabain; {Bg.} = K. Būga^a {BGMR} = A. Beeston, M. Ghul, W. Müller & J. Ryckmans; {BH} = Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim (ז'ב'ן בן חיים); {Bh.} = Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya; {BhK} = M. Mariappa Bhat & A.

Shanker Kedilaya; {Bich.} = K. A. Bicheldej (К.А. Бичелдей); {Bii.} = A. Biishev; {Bil.} = Joseph Billings; {Billy} = Pierre-Henri Billy; {Bk.} = Ö. Beke; {BIG} = N. Baskakov & A. Inkizhekova-Grekul (Н. Баскаков & А. Инкижекова-Грекул); {BK} = A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski; {BKG} = R. Batalova & A. Krivoshchëkova-Gantman (Р.М. Баталова, А.С. Кривощекова-Гантман); {BKIG} A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, revue et corrigé par Ibed Gallab; {BKR} = *Bol'shoj korejsko-russkij slovar'*; {Bks.} = R. S. P. Beekes; {Bl.} = Paul Black; {Blau} = Yehoshua (Joshua) Blau; {BLB} = Daniel Barreteau & Yves Le Bléis; {Bl.} = Joan C. Biella; {Blg.} = Larry Bolinger (in ChL); {Bln.} = Franciscus Blanchus (Frangu i Bardë); {Bloch} = Jules Bloch; {Bls.} = Loren F. Bliese; {BISO} = P. Black & Shako Otto; {Blz.} = Václav Blažek; {BM} = B. V. Miller (Б. В. Миллер); {Bm.} = A. Bomhard; {BmK} = A. Bomhard & J. Kerns; {BN} = N. Baskakov & V. Nasilov (Н. А. Баскаков, В. М. Насилов); {Bn.} = É. Benveniste; {Bnd.} = M. L. Bender; {BnH} = Horst Beinlich & Friedhelm Hoffmann; {Bns.} = Peter Behnstedt; {Bnt.} = P. A. Benton; {Boe.} = Voensing (БЕНСИНГЪ); {Böhl} = F. Böhl; {Bold.} = B. V. Boldyrev (Б. В. Болдырев); {Bor.} = T. K. Borisov; {Bork} = Ferdinand Bork; {BosT} = J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller; {Bou.} = P. Bouny (in ChC & II); {BoudL} = A. Boudot-Lamotte; {BR} = *Bashkirsko-russkij slovar'* (1956); {Br.} = C. Brockelmann; {Bray} = Denys de S. Bray; {Brd.} = V. Beridze (В. Беридзе, ვ. ბერიძე); {Brgm.} = Karl Brugmann; {Brgl.} = K. Bergsland; {Brgs.} = G. Bergstrasser; {Brk.} = A. Burykin (А. А. Бурькин); {Brl.} = Padre Mario Borello; {Brll.} = J. Borelli; {Brn.} = S. Biarnay; {Brnd.} = A. van den Branden; {Brown} = Charles Philip Brown; {Brq.} = D. Burquest; {BrR} = Bricchetti-Robecchi; {Brr.} = Daniel Barreteau; {BrrB} = D. Barreteau & André Brunet; {Brs.} = Marie Félicité Brosset; {Brt.} = Heinrich (Henry) Barth; {Brtl.} = Chr. Bartholomae; {Brü.} = A. Brückner; {Brv.} = A. Borovkov (А. К. Боровков); {Brz.} = Mary J. Breeze; {Bs.} = René Basset; {Bsn.} = F. da Bassano; {Bss.} = M. Beaussier; {Bst.} = A. F. L. Beeston; {BSWed.} = Berhanu Nailu, Sisay Dereje & K. Wedekind; {BT} = N. Baskakov & T. Toshchakova (Н. А. Баскаков, Т. М. Тошчакова); {Bt.} = O. Böhlingk; {BU} = İ. A. Bucaklışi & H. Uzunhasanoğlu; {Bu.} = A. Budagov (А.Э. Будаговъ); {Budge} = Sir Wallis Budge; {BuL} = Bu He, Liu Zhaoxiong; {Bul.} = A. Bulatovich (А. Булатовичъ); {Bur.} = T. Burrow; {Burch.} = M. Burchardt; {BV} = A. Balandin & M. Vaxrusheva (А.М. Баландин, М.П. Вахрушева); {Bv.} = Valerij Berkov (В.П. Берков); {By.} = M. A. Bailly; {Bz.} = J. Benzing; {ʒBz.} = according Bz's system of correspondences & reconstruction; {Bzb.} = Adalbert Bezenberger; {C} = E. Cerulli; {Ç} = Eqrem Çabej; {Cab.} = R. Cabolov (Р.Л. Цаболов); {CAD} = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago*; {Caf.} = A. Caferoğlu; {Cain} = Rev. J. Cain; {Caït.} = C. Caïtucoli; {Cant.} = J. Cantineau; {Car.} = Bernard Xaron; {Cc.} = Antonio Cecchi; {Cev.} = J. Ceval (Я. Цэвэл); {Cfr.} = Norbert

Cyffer (mainly in ChC & JI); {Ch.} = P. Chantraine; {ChambU} = B. H. Chamberlain & Ueda K(azutoshi); {ChB} = J. Chadwick & L. Baumbach; {ChC} = *Chadic Word Catalogue*, compiled by H. Jungraithmayr a. o., J. W. Goethe Univ., Francfort; {ChCh.} = N. Chernecov & I. Chernecova (Н.Н. Чернецов, И.Я. Чернецова); {CHD} = *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago*; {Chik.} = A. Chikobava (ა. ჩიქობავა); {Chk.} = I. Chkonia (И. Чконія); {ChL} = *Chadic Word List*, ed. by Ch. H. Kraft; {ChmU} = Basil H. Chamberlain & K. Ueda; {Choy} = Hakun Choy; {Chr.} = K. Cheremisov (К.М. Черемисов); {ChrR} = K. M. Cheremisov, G.N. Rumjancev (К.М. Черемисов, Г.Н. Румянцев); {ChVS} = *Чăвашла-вырăсла словарь* (1954); {Chx.} = K. Tschenkeli (= K'ita Chxenk'eli, კიტა ჩხენკელი); {Cl} = С. Cydendambajev & M. Imexenov (Ц. Цыдендамбаев, М. Имехенов); {Ci.} = Vera Cincius (В.И. Цинциус); {Cim.} = A. Cimino; {CiL} = V. I. Cincius, N. I. Letjagina (Н.И. Летягина); {Cimoch.} = W. Cimochowski; {CiR} = V. I. Cincius, L. D. Rishes (Л.Д. Ришес); {Cl.} = Sir Gerard Clauson; {ClMnh.} = Claus & K. Meinhof; {Cln.} = Georges S. Colin; {Clz.} = Giovanni Colizza; {CM} = G. A. de Calassanti-Motyliniski; {Co.} = Giorgio Conti; {Coll.} = B. Collinder; {Cr.} = Jean-Pierre Caprile; {CR} = C. Conti Rossini; {Crl.} = Chr. Correll; {Crn.} = Jaroslav Černý; {Crs.} = Ferruccio Caressa; {Crt.} = Frère J.-M. Cortade; {CS} = P. S. Coulbeaux et J. Schreiber; {Cs.} = M.-A. Castrén; {Csp.} = Ronald Cosper; {Cst.} = L. Costaz; {Cu.} = Georg Curtius; {Cz.} = A. Czekanowski; {D} = T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd edition; {Dal} = Vladimir Dal (В.И. Даль, W. Dahl); {DB} = Paul Doornbos & M. L. Bender; {Db.} = V. Dybo (В.А. Дыбо); {DBC} = V. Dal & J. Baudouin de Courtenay (В.И. Даль, И.А. Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ); {DC} = David Cohen; {DCTCh.} = D. Cohen, С. Taine-Cheikh; {DCh.} = Davit Chubinashvili (Д. Чубинов, დ. ჩუბინაშვილი); {De.} = Jeffrey Deboo; {Dec.} = Decorse (quoted after Lk. DQM); {DED} = T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*; 1st ed.; {Dempw.} = O. Dempwolff; {Dev.} = Giacomo Devoto; {DH} = G. Doerfer, W. Hesse; {DHS} = G. Doerfer, W. Hesse, H. Scheinhardt; {Diez} = Friedrich Diez; {Dillm.} = August Dillmann; {Dirr} = A. Dirr; {DjM} = B. A. Z. Djibrine, P. de Montgolfier a. o.; {DK} = Robert Dankoff & James Kelly (Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī. *Compendium of the Turkic dialects [Diwān Luġāt at-Turk]*. Edited and translated by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly); {Dk.} = I. Diakonoff (И.М. Дьяконов); {DL} = M. Dietrich & O. Loretz; {dL} = Pasquale da Luchon; {DI.} = J.-M. Dallet; {DLE} = *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, ed. by L. Lesko; {Dlh.} = J. Delheure; {DLKZ} = *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*; {Dlm.} = G. Dalman; {DLS} = M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín; {Dlx.} = B. O. Dolgix; {Dlz.} = Franz Delitzsch; {DM} = E. Drower & R. Macuch; {Dm.} = L. Dmitrijeva (Л.В. Дмитриева); {DMA I} = *A Dictionary of*

Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English, compiled by Thomas Fox and Mohammad Abu-Talib; {Dmn.} = E. Damman; {Dms.} = bishop Damaskin (after Feokt. RMS); {Dmt.} = N. K. Dmitrijev (Н.К. Дмитриев); {DMü.} = D. H. Müller; {Dn.} = K. Dondua (᠘. ᠳᠣᠨᠳᠤᠠ); {Dnk.} = Robert Dankoff; {Dnn.} = Patrick S. Dinneen; {Dolgix} = V. Dolgix (В.О. Долгих); {Dom.} = N. Domozhakov (Н.Г. Доможаков); {DQA} = A. Dybo, O. Mudrak, S. Starostin. *Database Query to Altaic Etymology*; {Dr.} = G. Doerfer; {DrbH} = J. G. Driberg & H. J. Harrison; {DRS} = *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* by D. Cohen and by D. Cohen, F. Bron, A. Lonnet; {Drs.} = E. Droese; {Drv.} = Godfrey R. Driver; {DrvG} = Godfrey R. Driver and J. C. L. Gibson; {Drw.} = A. J. Drewes; {Ds.} = E. Destaing; {Dsb.} = Adolf von Duisburg; {DSI} = *Dizionario somalo-italiano*; {DSi.} = Dinote Kusta & R. Siebert; {Dst.} = Antonín Dostál; {DT} = G. Doerfer, S. Tezcan; {Dt.} = G. Deeters; {Dtn.} = G. Dottin; {DTS} = *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*; {Dv.} = John Davies of Mallwyd; {DW} = H. von Deines & W. Westendorf; {Dw.} = James Dawson; {Dyr.} = N. Dyrenkova (Н.П. Дыренкова); {Dz.} = R. Dozy; {Dzh.} = V. T. Dzhangidze (В.Т. Джангидзе); {E} = Christopher Ehret; {Eb.} = Karen H. Ebert; {Ebb.} = Carl Ebobisse; {Edel} = E. Edel; {EEN} = Chr. Ehret, E. Elderkin & D. Nurse; {EG} = A. Erman, H. Grapow; {Eg.} = Kazuhisa Eguchi; {EI} = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*; {Eit.} = Israel Eitan; {El.} = Elias A. Elias; {Eld.} = E. D. Elderkin; {EldM} = E. D. Elderkin, J. B. Maghway; {Elf.} = Josef Elfenbein; {EM} = A. Ernout & A. Meillet; {Em.} = M. B. Emeneau; {EN} = Chr. Ehret & Nuh; {En.} = J. Endzelīns (J. Endzelin); {ENA} = Chr. Ehret & Mohamed Nuuh Ali; {Ep.} = S. Epin (С.Г. Эпин); "Epst.} = Ya'aqov Nāxûm Hallewî 'Epsht'ayn (י'פ'ש'ט'א'י'ב'ק'ב', J. N. Epstein); "ER} = Erica Reiner; {Er.} = W. Erichsen; {Erd.} = Marcel Erdal; {Erl.} = István Erdélyi; {Ern.} = Émile Ernault; {Ert.} = Alfred Ernout; {{ERV} = *Erzjan'-ruzon' valks* (1992); "ESJS} = *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, ed. by E. Havlová; {ESISJ} = *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků* of the Czech Academy of Sciences; {ESISJ-SGZ} = *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků.. Slová gramatická a zájmena*; "ESSJ} = *Etimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov*, ed. by O. Trubachev; {ET} = *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*; {Eul.} = Wolfram Euler; {Evn.} = D. E. Evans; {EWA} = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* (by A. Lloyd a.o.); {EWU} = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* (ed. by L. Benkő); {F} = Hjalmar J. Frisk; {Far.} = I. Farizov (И.О. Фаризов); {Faz.} = E. Fazylov (Э.А. Фазылов); {FB} = Frangu i Bardhë (Franciscus Blanchus); {Fc.} = père Ch. de Foucauld; {Fd.} = J. Fédry; {Fed.} = M. Fedotov (М.Р. Федотов); {Feist} = S. Feist; {FF} = D. R. Fokos-Fuchs; {Fg.} = E. Fagnan; {FH} = Chr. v. Fürer-Haimendorf; {Fi.} = Wolfdietrich Fischer; {Fick} = August Fick; {Fk.} = Raymond O. Faulkner; {Fl.} = H. C.

Fleming; {Flad} = M. Flad; {FLD} = *Five-Language Dictionary* (Peking, 1957); {Flk.} = H. D. Foulkes; {Flr.} = Léon Fleuriot; {FlrE} = Léon Fleuriot and Claude Evans; {Flsch.} = H. L. Fleischer; {FM} = F. G. Mal'cev (or Mal'cov) (Фёдоръ Мальцевъ\Мальцовъ), {Fn.} = H. Fähnrich; {Foy} = K. Foy; {Fp.} = J. F. J. Fitzpatrick; {Fr.} = G. W. Freytag; {Frd.} = J. Friedrich; {Fri.} = J. A. Friis; {Frk.} = E. J. Frick; {Frn.} = Ernst Fraenkel; {Frnz.} = P. Fronzaroli; {Frz.} = Z. Frajzyngier; {FS} = H. Fähnrich & Z. Sarjveladze (ზ. სარჯველაძე); {Ft.} = E. C. Foot; {Ftl.} = Jacques Faitlovitch; {Fu.} = D. R. Fuchs (= {FF}); {Fvr.} = J. G. Février; {FWM} = F. W. K. Müller; {Fzg.} = A. G. Fitzgerald; {G} = Ignac J. Gelb; {Gab.} = H. C. von der Gabelentz; {GAJ} = V. Verbickij (В. Вербицкий) а.о. (*Grammatika altajskago jazyka*, Kazan, 1869); {Gal.} = Muusa Хаaji Ismaciil Galaal; {Gale} = J. S. Gale; {Gard.} = Sir Alan Gardiner; {GB} = W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, ed. by F. Buhl; {Gbn.} = A. von Gabain; {Gbs.} = J. S. L. Gibson; {GD} = M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes; {Ger.} = Najden Gerov (Найденъ Геровъ); {GhA} = Ghoubeid Alojaly (Ghubäyd ägg-Äläwjəli) {Ghl.} = A. Ghlont'i (ა. ლლონტი); "GI" = Th. Gamkrelidze (Т. Gamq'relidze, თ. გამყრელიძე) & V. Ivanov (Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Gig.} = I. Giganov (Иосифъ Гигановъ); {Giger} = M. Giger (in ChC & JI); {GK} = Zelmíra Gašparíková & Adolf Kamiš; {GKrs.} = Gottlob Adolf Krause (quoted in Luk. DQM); {GL} = I. Gvarjaladze (ი. გვარჯალაძე) & E. Lebanidze (ე. ლებანიძე); {Gl.} = K. Golstunskij (К.Ф. Голстунский); {Glh.} = Alemko Gluhak; {Gln.} = Lionel Galand; {Glv.} = Jevgeni Guljajev (Е.С. Гуляев); {GM} = Th. Gamkrelidze (Tamaz Gamq'relize, თ. გამყრელიძე) & G. Machavariani (Givi Mach'avariani, გ. მაჭავარიანი); {Gml.} = E. Gamillscheg; {Gn.} = Arvid Genetz; {Goit.} = Solomon Dob Fritz Goitein; {Gol.} = Jacobus Golius; {GP} = Chato Gudjedjiani & Letas Palmaitis (M. L. Palmaitis); {Gr.} = Joseph Greenberg; {Grd.} = Cyrus Gordon; {Gren} = A. Gren (А. Грень); {Grg.} = G. B. Gragg; {Grgs.} = M. Garrigues; {Gri.} = W. V. Grigson; {Grinch.} = Boris Grinchenko (Б.Д. Гринченко, В. Hrinchenko); {Grn.} = E. C. Green; {Grøn.} = K. Grønbech; {Grs.} = H. Graßmann; {GrS} = Françoise Grillot-Susini; {Grsh.} = Ilya Gershevitch; {Grt.} = I. Gruntov (И.А. Грунтов); {Gru.} = W. Grube; {GS} = George Starostin (Г.С. Старостин); {Gs.} = A. Gasparini; {GSchm.} = Gernot Schmidt; {GSK} = A. Grünberg, I. Steblin-Kamenskij (А.Л. Грюнберг, И.М. Стеблин-Каменский); {Gt.} = Vinigi L. Grottanelli; {Gtl.} = Leopold Geitler; {Gtz.} = Albrecht Goetze; {Gu.} = Gulya János; {Gusm.} = R. Gusmani; {Gw.} = W. F. Gowers (in ChC, JI, and Sch. BT); {Gy.} = J. Györke; {Gz.} = Viktor Guzev (В.Г. Гүзев); {H} = E. Haenisch; {Hab.} = Eike Haberland; {Hahn} = Ferd. Hahn; {Haig} = Wolseley Haig; {Haa J. Gue Hanoteau}; {Hb.} = H. Hübschmann; {Hbs.} = Johannes Hubschmied; {Hd.} = Grover Hudson; {Herm.} = Eduard Hermann; {Hf.} = Carl Hoffmann; {NHM} = Habte Wold Habte Mikael; {Hi.} = Osamu Hieda; {Hier.} =

Hieronymus (St. Jerome); {Hirt} = Hermann Hirt; {HiuL} = Hiu Lie; {HJ} = J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling; {Hj.} = P. Hajdú; {HK} = W. Hinz & H. Koch; {Hkl.} = Lauri Hakulinen; {HL} = E. Haberland & M. Lamberti; {Hl.} = Eugen Helinski (E. Xelimskij, E.A. Хелимский); {Hlk.} = W. Helck; {Hlv.} = J. Halévy; {HLw.} = Herbert S. Lewis; {Hm.} = Hompó Éva; {Hmb.} = Louis Hambis; {HMC} = *Hun mong chahwe*; {HMü.} = Hans-Peter Müller; {Hn.} = Bernd Heine; {Hng.} = Rainer Hannig; {Hnr.} = John Huehnergard; {Hnz.} = F. Hintze; {Ho.} = Ferdinand Holthausen; {Hofm.} = J. B. Hofmann; {Horn} = P. Horn; {Hp.} = M. Heepe; {Hr.} = E. Hauer; {Hrl.} = C. de Harlez; {Hrn.} = Andrew Haruna; {Hrz.} = Friedrich Hrozný; {Hs.} = Gustav Hasselbrink; {Hsk.} = James T. Hoskison; {Hsl.} = Rev. Stephen Hislop; {Ht.} = László Honti; {Hts.} = Martijn Theodoor Houtsma; {Hü.} = H. Hübschmann; {Huffm.} = H. B. Huffmon; {Huld} = Martin E. Huld; {Hüs.} = H. Hüsejnov (ed.), *Azərbaycanja-rusja lüğhät'*; {Hv.} = J. G. Hava; {Hw.} = Robert J. Hayward (Dick Hayward); {HwTs.} = R. J. Hayward and Yoichi Tsuge; {Hy.} = Père G. Huyghe; {Hys.} = Ramazan Hysa; {Hz.} = R. Hetzron; {I'A} = Iiyas 'Atallah (native speaker of the Christian Galilean d. of Arabic); {Ib.} = Dymitr Ibrizimov (ДИМИТЪР ИБРИШИМОВ); {Ibñ.} = Fray Estéban Ibáñez; {IED} = *Irish-English Dictionary* (Db., 1976); {IL} = members of the Institute of Linguistics 1972 (in ChC & JI II); {Ilm.} = N. Ilminkij (Н.И. Ильминский); {IN} = Irina Nikolajeva (И.А. Николаева); {IS} = Vladislav Illich-Svitych (В.М. Иллич-Свитыч); {IS} = according IS's system of correspondences, in IS's notation; {Isr.} = M. Israel; {IsxP} = F. Isxakov & A. Pal'mbah (Ф.Г. Исхаков, А.А. Пальмбах); {IT} = I. Ivanov & G. Tuzharov (И.Г. Иванов, Г.М. Тужаров); {It.} = Erkki Itkonen; {Iv.} = A. Ivanovskij (А.О. Ивановский); {Ivn.} = Vjacheslav Ivanov (Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Iw.} = Shinobu Iwamura; {J} = H. Jungraithmayr; {JA} = H. Jungraithmayr & Abakar Adams; {Jackson} = K. Ph. Jackson; {Jahn} = A. Jahn; {Jan.} = M. Janaishvili (მ. ჯანაიშვილი); {JB} = Jakob Barth; {Jc.} = W. Jochelson (В. Юхельсонъ); {Jcb.} = H. Jacobi; {JdH} = *Jidai-betsu kokugo daijiten. Jôdai hen*; {Jeg.} = Jegorov; {Jem.} = A. Jemel'janov (А.П. Емельянов); {Jens.} = Hans Jensen; {Jfr.} = Arthur Jeffery; {Jg.} = Ph. J. Jaggar; {JGH} = Jörundur Garðar Hilmarsson; {JH} = Ch.-F. Jean & J. Hoftijzer; {Jh.} = Juhász Jenő; {JI} = H. Jungraithmayr & D. Ibrizimov; {Jk.} = Aulis J. Joki; {JkR} = *Jakutsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by P. Slepcev (П.А. Слепцов); {Jm.} = A. Jamme; {Jn.} = Juho Janhunen; {Jo.} = T. M. Johnstone; {Joh.} = Karl Friedrich Johansson; {Jokl} = N. Jokl; {Joü.} = Paul Joüon; {JP} = J. Prokof'jeva (Е.Д. Прокофьева) (translated textbooks for schools into Slq Tz); {JPS} = *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. by J. Payne Smith; {JR} = Jacques Ryckmans; {Jr.} = G. Jarring; {JS} = H. Jungraithmayr & K. Shimizu; {Js.} = Marcus Jastrow; {Ju.} = A. Jushkevich (А. Юшкевич, А. Juszkiewicz); {Jud.} = K. Judaxin (К.К. Юдахин); {Jv.} = M. Jevsev'jev (М.Е. Евсевьев); {K} =

G. Klimov (Г.А. КЛИМОВ); {KAI} H. Donner, W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*; {Kal.} = A. Kalashev (А. КАЛАШЕВЪ); {Kald.} = M. Kaldani (ՄԱՂՏԻՈՒՄԵ յալուդանի); {Kálm.} = B. Kálmán; {Kang} = Sinhang Kang; {Kar.} = K. Karulis; {Karj.} = K. F. Karjalainen; {KarRPS} = *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*; {Kavt.} = Ivane Kavtaradze (ი. კავთარაძე); {Katz} = Hartmut Katz; {KB} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*; {KB¹} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*; {Kb.} = Gerhard Köbler; {KBR} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson; {KC} = M. Koljadenkov & N. Cyganov (М.Н. Коляденков, Н.Ф. Цыганов); {KD} = Kai Donner; {Kd.} = Mairo Elinor Kidda; {Kenk.} = *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, ed. by Takenobu Yoshitaro; {Ker.} = L. Keresztes; {Kert} = G. Kert (Г.М. Керт); {Kf.} = K. Kristoforidhi (Κωνσταντίνος Χριστοφορίδης); {Kfm.} = Stephen A. Kaufman; {KG} = K. Kushalappa Gowda; {Kg.} = Bernhard Karlgren; {KHG} = A. Kuznecova, E. Helimski, Y. Grushkina (А.И. Кузнецова, Е.А. Хелимский, Е.В. Грушкина); {Kid.} = Mairo Elinor Kidda; {Kiy.} = Gisaburo N. Kiyose; {KJu} = K. Kurdojev, Z. Jusupova (К.К. Курдоев, З.А. Юсупова); {Kk.} = Susan Kakuk; {KKH} = A. Kuznecova, O. Kazakevich, L. Ioffe & E. Helimski (А.И. Кузнецова, О.А. Казакевич, Л.Ю. Иоффе, Е.А. Хелимский); {Klc.} = F. Klichka (Ф.Н. Кличка); {Klg.} = В.П. Калыгин; {Kll.} = Aukusti Herman Kallio; {Klp.} = Julius Heinrich Klaproth; {Kluge} = Friedrich Kluge; {Klz.} = Stanisław Kałużynski; {KM} = Friedrich Kluge abd Walther Mitzka; {Km.} = Bh. Krishnamurti; {Kmbh.} = Bh. Krishnamurti and S. Bhattacharya; {Kmc.} = Daša Komac; {Kmnh.} = A. Kammenhuber; {KMS} = M. Korhonen, J. Mosnikoff & P. Sammallahti; {Kn.} = A. Kono; {Knn.} = Artturi Kannisto; {KNC} = Koye Nadji Cooper; {Kœ.} = S. W. Koelle; {Kört.} = G. Körting; {Kott} = F. Š. Kott; {Kov.} = J. Kovedjajeva (Е.И. Коведяева); {Kow.} = J. É. Kowalewski (Осипъ Ковалевскій); {Koz.} = S. Kozin (С.А. КОЗИН); {KP} = M. Katzschmann & J. Pusztay; {Kpl.} = H. Koppelman; {KR} = N. Kumaraswami Raja; {Kr.} = Charles H. Kraft; {Krapf} = Johann Ludwig Krapf; {Krb.} = Manfred Krebernik; {Krc.} = J. Krecher; {Krg.} = John P. Krueger; {Krh.} = M. Korhonen; {KrkR} = *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {Krl.} = Andrey Korolëv (Koroljov) (А.А. Королёв); {KrlSh.} A. Korolëv and V. Shevoroshkin; {KRM} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev; {Krm.} = I. Kormushin (И.В. Кормушин); {Krn.} = J. Krejnovich (Е.А. Крейнович); {KrS} = B. Krupnik (B. Qarû') & A. Silbermann; {KRS} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev (Б.Д. Муниев); {Krs.} = Wolfgang Krause; {Krsch.} = F. Kurschat; {KrT} = recorded by K. F. Karjalainen & compiled in a dict. by Y. H. Toivonen; {Krt.} = G. Krotkoff; {Krtm.} = P. Kretschmer; {Krtv.} = I. Kuratov (И.А. КУРАТОВ) (quoted in LG); {KS} = I. R. Kortt, Ju. B. Simchenko; {KSchm.} = Klaus T. Schmidt; {KT} = W.

Krause & W. Thomas; {Kt.} = Lauri Kettunen; {Ktl.} = F. Kittel; {Ktn.} = N. F. Katanov; {KtnM} = N. F. Katanov, ed. by K. Menges; {Ktsch.} = E. Y. Kutscher (Y. Qût'sher, קוטשער); {Ktw.} = Władysław Kotwicz; {Ku.} = G. Kurilov (Г.Н. Курилов); {Kü.} = Ago Künnap; {Kur.} = Jerzy Kuryłowicz; {Kv.} = Jorma Koivulehto; {KWK} = Kidanä Wäld Kəfle; {Kzm.} = A. Kuzmina (А.И. Кузьмина); {L} = Wolf Leslau; {La.} = E. Laoust; {Laan.} = Arvo Laanest; {LamP} = Max Lambertz & Georg Pekmezi; {Lar.} = E. Laroche; {Lax} = Beverle Michaelae Lax; {Lb.} = le Comte de Landberg; {Lbf.} = J.-P. Lebeuf; {LCq} = A. von Le Coq; {Ld.} = Evald Lidén; {Ldl.} = Jean Lydall; {Lee} = Ki-Moon Lee; {Leech} = R. Leech (quoted after Lg. LML and other papers of Ligeti); {Leem} = Canutus (Knud) Leem; {Leg.} = Rudolf Leger; {Lens.} = T. Lenssen; {Levias} = Q. Lewî'as (לוי'אס ק, Caspar Levias); {Lew.} = Marian Lewicki; {Lf.} = père J. Lanfry; {LG} = V. Lytkin & E. Guljajev (В.И. Лыткин, Е.И. Гуляев); {Lg.} = L. Ligeti; {Lgc.} = E. Lagercrantz; {LH} = E. Littmann & M. Höfner; {Lh.} = T. Lehtisalo; {LHB} = *Language Hand-book: Gondi* (published by the Tea District Labour association, 1926); {Liim.} = Matti Liimola; {Lind} = A. A. Lind; {Lip.} = Edward Lipiński; {Liu} = Liu Zhaoxiong; {LJ} = Leon Jacobson; {Lk.} = J. Lukas; {LLC} = Fr. Ton Leus, Fr. Joseph Van de Loo, Fr. George Cotter; {LLO} = *Lulelappisk ordbok* by H. Grundström; {Lm.} = Marcello Lamberti; {LmS} = M. Lamberti and R. Sottile; {Lmt.} = H. Limet; {Ln.} = E. W. Lane; {Lnd.} = J. Lindenau (Я.И. Линдену); {Lnh.} = R. Lienhard (in ChC & JI); {Lnn.} = Antoine Lonnet; {Lnr.} = Elias Lönnrot; {LÖ} = E. Lindahl & J. Öhring; {Loth} = J. Loth; {Loub.} = V. Loubignac; {LP} = Max Lambertz & G. Pekmezi; {Lr.} = J. Lehtiranta; {Lrn.} = Fr. Lorentz; {LS} = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott; {LSI} = *Language Survey of India*; {Lt.} = V. Lytkin (В.И. Лыткин); {LTM} = *Lexique tamacheq-français*, 1986; {Luc.} = Steven J. Lucas (in ChC, JI, and ChL); {Lud.} = H. Ludolf; {Lukk.} = P. Lukkari; {Lur.} = Silvia Luraghi; {LuS} = C. B. Lucie Smith; {Luv.} = A. Luvsandəndəv (А. Лувсандэндэв); {Lv.} = J. Levy; {Lvt.} = L. Levitskaja (Л.С. Левитская); {LW} = G. Doerfer, W. Hesch, H. Scheinhardt, *Lamutisches Wörterbuch*; {Lw.} = Ernst Lewy; {Lwn.} = Charles Lwanga; {Lx.} = Matthias Lexer; {M} = M. Mayrhofer; {MA} = Mounir Arbach; {Ma.} = Václav Machek; {Mac.} = R. Macuch; {Mah.} = Gôpînâth Mahânti (G. N. Mohanty); {Man.} = Albert Maniet; {Mark} = Julius Mark; {Marr} = N. Marr (Н.Я. Марр); {Mas.} = p. Carlo Masera; {Mat.} = F. Matjushkin (Ф.Ф. Матюшкин); {MAZ} = Mohammed Ali & A. Zaborski; {Mazur} = Juri Mazur (Ю.Н. Мазур); {MB} = H. Meyer-Bahlburg; {MBhK} = M. Mariappa Bhat & A. Shanker Kedilaya; {McA} = David W. McAlpin; {McC} = Kim R. McCone; {Mch.} = J. Mouchet; {Mchv.} = G. Mach'avariani (გოგო მაჭავარიანი); {McK} = D. N. MacKenzie; {Mcl.} = A. J. Maclean; {Md.} = O. Mudrak (О.А. Мудрак); {Mdd.} = A. Middendorff (А.Ф. Миддендорф); {ME} = K. Mühlenbach, J. Endzelin (K. Mülenbachs, J. Endzelīns); {Me.} = Antoine Meillet; {MED} = *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, ed. by F. D.

Lessing; {Mel.} = P. M. Melioranskij (П.М. Мелиоранскій); {Melch.} = H. Craig Melchert; {Men.} = G. Menovshchikov (Г.А. Меновщиков); {Mer.} = P. Meriggi; {Merk} = K. Merk (К. Меркъ); {Meyer} = G. Meyer; {MF} = Marion P. Fischer; {Mg.} = F. W. H. Migeod; {Mgr.} = O. Mauger; {Mgw.} = J. B. Maghway; {MH} = Muxtar wəl Hamidun (→ Nic.); {MhS} = Korada Mahadeva Sastri; {Mi.} = A. Militarev (А.Ю. Милитарёв); {MiK} = A. Militarev and L. Kogan; {Mik.} = Tibor Mikola; {Mikl.} = F. von Miklosich (F. Miklošić); {Mill.} = Roy A. Miller; {Mirt} = Heide Mirt; {Mitch.} = A. N. Mitchell; {MK} = *Wogulisches Wörterbuch*, gesammelt von B. Munkácsi, bearbeitet und hrsg. von B. Kálmán; {Mk.} = C. K. Meek; {MkA} = Makonnen Argaw; {Mkj.} = Enver Makajev (Э.А. Макаев), {Mks.} = Meeks; {ML} = W. Meyer-Lübke; {Ml.} = Sergej Malov (С.Е. Малов); {MLC} = Samuel E. Martin, Yang Ha Lee, Sung-Un Chang; {Mll.} = Gerhard Friedrich Mueller (Г.Ф. Миллеръ); {Mln.} = Ferenc A. Molnár; {Mlr.} = P. M. Melioranski (П.М. Мелиоранскій); {Mls.} = Cornélie H. Melles; {MLuc.} = M. Lucas; {Mlw.} = Tadeusz Milewski; {MM} = X. Maxmudov and G. Musabajev (X. Махмудов, Г. Мусабаев); {MMach.} = M. Machavariani (M. Mach'avariani, მ. მაჭავარიანი); {Mmr.} = Mouloud Mammeri; {Mn.} = Stuart E. Mann; {Mng.} = K.-H. Menges; {Mnh.} = K. Meinhof; {Mnr.} = A. Männer; {Mnrh.} = M. Mannerheim; {Mns.} = Abdallah O. Mansur; {Mnt.} = Georges Montandon; {Mnz.} = W. Munzinger; {Mol.} = J. Molitor; {Morin} = Didier Morin; {Moss} = Clement F. Moss; {Mot.} = A. de Calassanti Motylinski; {Mous} = Maarten Mous; {MousK} = M. Mous & Roland Kießling'; {MQK} = M. Mous, Martha Qorro, Roland Kießling; {Mr.} = Samuel E. Martin; {Mrc.} = H. Mercier; {Mrç.} = William Marçais; {Mrgs.} = G. Morgenstierne; {Mrm.} = F. Muromskij (Федоръ Муромскій) (after Klz. (D I-II & MS); {Mrn.} = M. Moreno; {MRS} = A. Asilbajev, V. Vasil'ev (А. Асилбаев, В. Васильев) а. о., *Marijsko-russkij slovar'* ; {MS} = M. Ma'sarânî & V. S. Segal' (В.С. Сегаль); {Ms.} = A. Mostaert; {MSk.} = Margaret Gardner Skinner; {Msn.} = Jouni Mosnikoff; {Msq.} = É. Masqueray; {Msr.} = D. G. Messerschmidt; {MSSL} = Ian Maddieson, Siniša Spajić, Bonny Sands, Peter Ladefoged; {MSz.} = B. Munkácsi and M. Szilasi (see Szil. VSz); {MSzFUE} = *A Magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei: Etimológiai szótár* ; {MT} = Miloud Taïfi; {Mtch.} = A. N. Mitchell; {MtS} = *St. Matthew's Gospel in Sura, Maghavul* ; {Mts.} = Shuji Matsushita; {MtT} = *Isēlan A Husketnen es Matiu* (Matthew's Gospel in Tamachek); {Mu.} = B. Munkácsi; {Mü.} = Walter W. Müller; {Mul.} = Frederik Muller; {Mue.} = G. F. Mueller; {Mun.} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev (Б.Д. Муниев); {MW} = Sir Monier Monier-Williams; {My.} = Gustav Meyer; {MYC} = Zhaona Situ, Cheng Naixiong, Wu Jungfeng & Li Keyou (*Měnggūyǔzú yǔyán cǐdiǎn*); {MYTY} = Moges Yigezu & Teshome Yehualashet; {N} = K. Nielsen; {Nak.} = Aki'o Nakano; {Nal.} = V.

Nalivkin (В. Наливкинъ); {Nap.} = Vladimir Napolskix (В.В. Напольских); {Nb.} = Frøydis Nordbustad; {Nc.} = Gustav Nachtigal; {NCh.} = Nik'o Chubinashvili (ნიკო ჩუბინაშვილი); {Ndr.} = Max Niedermann; {Neu.} = Erich Neu; {Neum.} = Günter Neumann; {Nh.} = Nehlil; {Ni.} = I. Nizharadze (И.И. Нижарадзе, ი. ნიჯარაძე); {Nj.} = 'Emir Najib (E. Nadzhip, Э.Н. Наджип); {Nic.} = Francis Nicolas; {NKU} = Nam Kwang U; {NogR} = *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {NM} = E. Nilsson-Mamkok; {NP} = V. Naumkin & V. Porxomovskij (В.В. Наумкин, В.Я. Порхомовский); {NPet.} = Norbert Peters; {Nrs.} = A. N. Narasimhia; {Nsl.} = G. H. F. Nesselmann; {Nt.} = Robert Netting; {Nw.} = Paul Newman; {NZ} = Kamal Naït-Zerrad; {O} = Vladimir Orel (В.Э. Орёл); {OED} = *The Oxford English Dictionary*; {Oett.} = Norbert Oettinger; {OJs.} = Otto Jastrow; {OLS} = Gregorio del Olmo Lete & Joaquín Sanmartín; {On.} = Sulungu Onenko (С.Н. Оненко); {Oo.} = Antoinette Oomen; {Orh.} = A. J. Oraham; {Ork.} = S. Orkun; {Orm.} = G. Ormsby; {OS} = V. Orel & O. Stolbova (В.Э. Орёл, О.В. Столбова); {Os.} = Jürgen Osing; {OSIPL} = members of the Linguistic expeditions of the Department of Structural & Applied Linguistics, Moscow Univ. (Otdelenije strukturnoj i prikladnoj lingvistiki MGU); {OsS} = Oskar Schade; {Osth.} = Hermann Osthoff; {Ot.} = Heinrich Otten; {Otk.} = Jurij Otkupshchikov (Ю.В. Откупщиков); {Ov.} = Adolf Overweg (quoted after Lk. DQM); {Ow.} = Jonathan Owens; {Oxt.} = W. G. Oxtoby; {Oz.} = Ozawa Shigeo; {P} = Julius Pokorny; {Pa.} = James Patrie; {Pal.} = E. W. Palander; {Pap.} = Herbert H. Paper; {Páp.} = József Pápay; {PápB} = J. Pápay, Ödön Beke; {Par.} = U. Paradisi; {Pat.} = S. B. Patwardhan; {Paul} = Hermann Paul; {PB} = H. Plazikowsky-Brauner; {PC} = M. Pavet de Courteille; {Pch.} = P. Poucha; {PD} = H. Paasonen and K. Donner; {Ped.} = Holger Pedersen; {Pel.} = Paul Pelliot; {PG} = Steve Pillinger & Letiwa Galboran; {PGG} = K.-G. Prasse, Ghoubeïd Alojaly (Ghubäyd ägg-Älāw jāli), Ghabdouane Mohamed (Ghabdawan äg-Muxämmäd); {Ph.} = Rev. Phailbus; {PH} = Enid M. Parker & Richard J. Hayward; {PI} = S. Potapkin, A. Imjarekov (С.Г. Потапкин, А.К. Имяреков); {Pic.} = André Picard; {PiesS} = B. Piesarskas, B. Svecevičius; {Pis.} = Vittore Pisani; {Pl.} = P. S. Pallas; {Plm.} = F. R. Palmer; {Pln.} = R. von Planta; {Pop.} = A. Popov (А.А. Попов); {Por.} = V. Porxomovskij (В.Я. Порхомовский); {PorS} = V. Porxomovskij and O. Stolbova; {Pot.} = G. Potanin (Г.Н. Потанин); {Pr.} = Nicholas Poppe (Н.Н. Поппе); {Ppv.} = J. Popova (Я.Н. Попова); {Pr.} = Karl Prasse; {Prb.} = A. Preobrazhenskij (А.Г. Преображенский); {Prc.} = Omelyan Pritsak; {Price} = Colin H. Price; {Prk.} = G. Prokofjev (Г.Н. Прокофьев); {Prtd.} = P. Protod'jakonov (П. Протодьяконов); {Prov.} = D^r Provotelle; {Prs.} = Per Persson; {PS} = R. Payne Smith; {Ps.} = H. Paasonen; {PSchm.} = P. Schmidt; {PSW} = Patrick Sims-Williams; {Psn.} = Georges Posener; {PT} = A. Pyrerka & N. Tereshchenko (А.П. Пыерка & Н.М. Терещенко);

{Pt.} = Taisiya Petrova (Т.И. Петрова); {Ptr.} = N. Peters; {Ptt.} = E. Pettinato; {Pu.} = János Puszta; {Pv.} = Jaan Puhvel; {Pvn.} = A. M. Pevnov (А.М. Певнов); {PW} = H. Plazikowsky & E. Wagner; {Pz.} = A. Pozdnejev (А. Позднеев); {Q} = I. Q'ipshidze (ი. ყიფშიძე, I. Кипшидзе); {Qf.} = Hamdi A. Qafisheh; {Qv.} = J. K. Qvigstad; {R} = Leo Reinisch; {Ra.} = V. Rassadin (В.И. Рассадин); {RamR} = B. Ramachandra Rao; {RAS} = *Russko-altajskij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {Räs.} = Martti Räsänen; {Rasm.} = Jens Elmegård Rasmussen; {Rast.} = Vera Rastorgujeva (В.С. Расторгуева); {RB} = Rohi Baalbaki; {Rb.} = Chaim Rabin (ר'חיים רבין); {Rbc.} = Y. Rubcova (Е.С. Рубцова); {Rbt.} = Martine Robbeets; {Rcm.} = G. R. Rachmati; {Rd.} = Károlyi Rédei (Radanovics); {Rdn.} = A. Rudnev (Андрей Руднев); {RdV} = K. Rédei ← F. A. Volegov; {RE} = Robert W. Elsie; {Reg.} = A. Reguly; {Reich.} = Hans Reichelt; {Rgr.} = Frithiof Rundgren; {Rh.} = Sir James W. Redhouse; {Rhod.} = N. Rhodokanakis; {RHuds.} = Richard A. Hudson; {Ris.} = E. K. Ristinen; {Rk.} = Stephen D. Ricks; {RKB} = *Russko-karachajev-balkarskij slovar'*, ed. by X. Sujunchev & I. Urusbijev; {Rkh.} = W. Rockhill; {RKS} = *Russko-kalmyckij slovar'* (1964), ed. by I. K. Ilishkin; {Rl.} = W. Radloff (В.В. Радловъ); {RLC} = J. G. Magwa a.o. (20 members of the "Ron Language Committee"); {Rlf.} = Gerhardt Rohlf (in Lk. DQM); {RM} = A. V. Romanova, A. N. Myreva (А.В. Романова, А.Н. Мырева); {Rm.} = G. J. Ramstedt; {RMars} = *Russko-marijskij slovar'* (1966); {Rmb.} = Yevdokiya Rombandjeva (Е.И. Ромбандеева); {Rms.} = Kaspar K. Riemschneider; {Rn.} = A. Renisio; {Rnb.} = Gary A. Rendsburg; {Rnc.} = A. Rinchine (А.Р. Ринчинэ); {Ro.} = M. O. Rossing; {Röd.} = Otto Röder; {Rop.} = E. Roper; {Rp.} = E. L. Rapp; {RpB} = E. L. Rapp & B. Benzing; {Rs.} = Martti Räsänen; {Rsk.} = B. Rosenkranz; {Rsl.} = O. Rössler; {RT} = A. Róna-Tas; {Rt.} = Hellmut Ritter; {RTF} = A. Róna-Tas & S. Fodor; {Rtl.} = Franz Rottland; {Ruh.} = Ph. Ruhig; {RuhM} = Ph. Ruhig & Chr. G. Mielcke; {RUjS} = A. Ilijev, Sh. Kibirov, M. Ruzijev & Ju. Cuvazo, *Russko-ujgurskij slovar'*; {Rus.} = Ju. Russkaja (Ю.Н. Русская); {Rv.} = Paavo Ravila; {RW} = I. Ruong & K. Wiklund's orthography of Lapp N; {RXS} = *Russko-xakasskij slovar'*; (1961); {S} = S. Starostin (С.А. Старостин); {Sa.} = Michka Sachnine; {Saar.} = A. Saareste; {Sakth.} = S. Sakthivel; {Sank.} = P. Sankaranarayana; {SaR} = *Saamsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by R. Kuruch (Р.Д. Куруч); {Sarn.} = T. Sarnelli; {Sau.} = Martin Sauer; {SB} = W. Stokes & A. Bezzenberger; {Sb.} = K. Schubert (in ChC & JI); {SBR} = *Slovashko-bălgarski rechnik*; {Sbr.} = P. S. Subrahmanyam; {Sch.} = Russell Schuh; {Scheft.} = J. Scheftelowitz; {Schf.} = Anton Schiefner; {Schl.} = Wolfgang Schlachter; {Schlee} = Günther Schlee; {Schlt.} = F. Schulthess; {Schm.} = Karl H. Schmidt; {Schn.} = Joachim Schindler; {Schw.} = E. Schwyzer; {Schz.} = Rudolf Schützeichel; {SDD} = *Türkiye'de halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi*; {SDM} = S. Starostin, A. Dybo, O. Mudrak (С. Старостин, А. Дыбо, О.

Мудрак); {SDM94}, {SDM95} & {SDM97} = рА reconstruction after SDM (1994, 1995, 1997) (SDM94, SDM95 — with vowels reconstructed after SDM VC); {SE} = I. Smirnova, К. Eyubi (И.А. Смирнова, К.Р. Эйюби); {Seg.} = St. Segert; {Sem} = L. Sem (Л.И. Сем); {Serebr.} = В. А. Serebrennikov (В.А. Серебрянников); {Set.} = E. N. Setälä; {SEv.} = D. Simon Evans; {Sg.} = F. Steingass; {SGGJ} = *Sravnitel'naja grammatika germanskix jazykov*, ed. by M. Gukhman and E. Makajev; {Sgl.} = A. Siegel; {Sh.} = Kiyoshi Shimizu; {Shan.} = A. Shanidze (A. Schanidze, ჯან. შანიძე); {ShanBh} = D. N. Shankara Bhat; {Shanm.} = S. V. Shanmugam; {Shar.} = G. Sharashidze (გ. შარაშიძე); {Shaw} = Robert Barkley Shaw; {Shch.} = A. Shcherbak (А.М. Щербак); {Shn.} = J. Shnejder (Е.Р. Шнейдер); {Shrn.} = 'Avrahám Shárônî (אַבְרָהָם שָׁרוֹן); {Sht.} = Boris Shnitnikov; {Shv.} = Vitali Shevoroshkin (В.В. Шеворошкин); {Si.} = R. Siebert; {Sim} = Ronald J. Sim; {Sin.} = Denis Sinor; {Siv.} = Daniel Sivan (Dánî'él Síwán, דניאל סייון); {SivCR} = Daniel Sivan & Z. Cochavi-Rainey (Z. Kôchávî-Rainey, כוכבי-רײני); {Siy.} = I. M. Siyad; {Sj.} = J. A. Sjögren; {SJRN} = *Slovar' jazykov raznyx narodov v Nizhegorodskoj eparxji obitajushchix, imenno rossjjan, tatar, mordvy i cheremis. ... Damaskina jepiskopa Nizhegorodskago i Alatorskago sochinennyj 1785-go goda*; {SJSS} = *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*; {SK} = *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*; {Sk.} = Neil Skinner; {Sklv.} = Valentina Sokolova (В.С. Соколова); {SKD} = A. Sisir Kumar Das; {Sl.} = Michael Sokoloff; {Slm.} = F. Solmsen; {Slt.} = G. R. Solta; {Sls.} = F. Sławski; {Slv.} = J. Silvet; {SLv.} = Sylvain Lévi; {Slw.} = Ibrahim Al-Selwi; {Slz.} = Frederick Volkomor Paul Schulze; {SM} = A. de Smedt & A. Mostaert; {Sm.} = Pekka Sammallahti; {Smn.} = P. Simons; {Smsz.} = A. Śmieszek; {SMü.} = S. Müller; {Sns.} = G. B. Sansom; {Sod.} = W. von Soden; {Sö.} = Heinz Sölken; {Sp.} = G. Spasskij (Г. Спасский); {Spg.} = W. Spiegelberg; {SPS} = *Słownik prastowiański*; {SR} = P. Setumadhava Rao; {Sr.} = Harry Stroemer; {Srb.} = S. Serebrjakov (С.Б. Серебряков); {Srl.} = Eugene Sirlinger; {Srm.} = N. Syromjatnikov (Н.А. Сыромятников); {Srp.} = F. Strümpell; {Srz.} = I. I. Sreznevskij (И.И. Срезневский); {Ss.} = H.-J. Sasse; {SSAAJ} = A. Belova, I. Diakonoff, A. Militarev, O. Stolbova (А. Белова, И. Дьяконов, А. Милитарев, О. Столбова), *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskij slovar' afrazijskix jazykov*; {SSL} = M.-C. Simone-Senelle, A. Lonnet; {SSO} = Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (სულხან-საბა ორბელიანი); {SSRLJ} = *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*; {SSS} = *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (M., 1994); {SSW} = Ralph & Kati Siebert, Klaus Wedekind; {Starch.} = A. V. Starchevskij (А.В. Старчевский); {Stary} = Giovanni Stary; {Stl.} = Olga Stolbova (О.В. Столбова); {STM} = *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-manchzhurskix jazykov*; {Stm.} = H. Stumme; {Stn.} = W. Steinitz; {StN} = S. Starostin and S.

Nikolajev (С. Старостин, С. Николаев); {Stph.} = Henricus Stephanus; {Str.} = John Street; {Strc.} = Adalbert Starchevskij (А.В. Старчевский); {Strl.} = Ph. J. v. Strahlenberg; {StrM} = J. Street & R. A. Miller; {Sturt.} = E. Sturtevant; {Stz.} = Ulrich Jasper Seetzen; {SulB} = Shaykh Sulayman Bukhari; {Sun.} = O. Sunik (О.П. СУНИК); {SvG} = Harald Sverdrup, Ramon Guardans; {Sw.} = H. Sweet; {SWW} = R. Siebert, K. & Ch. Wedekind; {Sx.} = D. Saxon (in ChC & JI); {SZ} = *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' komi-zyrjanskix dialektov*; {Sz.} = J. Szinnyei; {Szem.} = Oswald Szemerényi; {Szil.} = Móric Szilasi; {T} = B. Todajeva (Б.Х. Тодаева); {Tal} = Abraham Tal (אַבְרָהָם טַל); {TB} = A. N. Tucker & M. A. Bryan; {TBZAC} = Teqebba Biru, Zena Adal & Roger W. Cowley; {TC} = Catherine Taine-Cheikh; {TDS} = *Türkmen dilining sözlügi*, ed. by M. Xamzajev; {Ter.} = N. Tereshchenko (Н.М. Терещенко); {Test.} = Y. Testelec (Яков Тестелец); {TF} = Alf Torp and Hjalmar Falk; {Th.} = G. da Thiene; {THADS} = *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*; {Thm.} = Bertram Thomas; {Thr.} = Rudolph Thurneysen; {Tit.} = J. Titov (Е.И. ТИТОВ); {TI} = Toivo Itkonen; {Till} = W. C. Till; {TK} = Varlam Topuria & Maksime Kaldani (ვარლამ თოფურია & მაქსიმე კალდანი); {Tk.} = Gábor Tákaacs, {TkR} = *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'* (1968); {TL} = *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov: Leksika*; {Tlb.} = P. A. Talbot; {Tll.} = O. Tailleur; {TLw.} = Timothy Lewis; {Tm.} = D. Tumasheva (Д.Г. Тумашева); {TmK} = Dmitri Timushev & Nina Kolegova (Д.А. Тимушев, Н.А. Колегова); {Tn.} = E. Tennishev (Э.Р. Тенишев); {To.} = Mauro Tosco; {Top.} = V. Topuria (ვ. თოფურია, В.Т. Топурия); {TorT} = *Mok'le rusul-kartuli leksik'oni*, by A. T'orot'adze & E. T'orot'adze (ა. ტოროტაძე, ე. ტოროტაძე); {TOu-1} = *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. I; {TOu-2} = *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. II; {Tpr.} = V. Toporov (В.Н. Топоров); {tr.} = traditional (conventionally) reconstruction (e.g. in Dravidian); {Tr.} = C. G. Chenevix Trench; {Trb.} = Oleg Trubachev (О.С. Трубачёв); {Trc.} = V. Troicky (В.П. Троицкий); {Tre.} = padre Gabriele da Trento; {Trj.} = N. Terjoshkin (Н.И. Терёшкин); {Trn.} = H. Tourneux; {TrnS} = H. Tourneux, Chr. Seignobos; {TrnSL} = H. Tourneux, Chr. Seignobos, F. Lafarge; {Trnt.} = V. Terent'ev (В.А. Терентьев); {TrR} = *Turecko-russkij slovar'* by A. N. Baskakov (А.Н. Баскаков), N. P. Golubeva, A. A. Kjamileva, K. M. Ljubimov, F. A. Salimzjanova, R. R. Jusipova; {Ts.} = J. Tischler; {Tsc.} = M. Tosco; {TT} = E. Tennishev, B. Todajeva (Э.Р. Тенишев, Б.Х. Тодаева); {Tt.} = K. Tutschek (Ch. Tutschek); {TTDS} = *Tatar teleneng dialektologik süzlege*, ed. by L. T. Maxmutova (1969); {TtR} = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (M., 1966); {Tu.} = Sir Ralph Turner; {Tuite} = Kevin Tuite; {Tv.} = Yrho H. Toivonen; {TvR} = *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'* (1968); {Tz.} = Semih Tezcan; {U} = T. E. Uotila; {Ü} = Üpymarij (Ўпымарий = Б.М.Васильев); {Uch.} = Alexander Uchitel; {UChG} = T. Uturgaidze, D. Chxubianishvili, J. Giunashvili (თ.

უთუტრგაიძე, დ. ჩხუბიანიშვილი, ჯ. გიტნაშვილი); {UkR} = *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev, 1976); {Ul.} = Carl Christian Ulmann; {Und.} = H. G. Underwood & H. H. Underwood; {UR} = *Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'* (M., 1948); {USS} = *Udmurt-зуч' slovar'*, *Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by V. M. Varushev; {VAbd.} = V. Y. 'Abdallah; {Vaill.} = André Vaillant; {Vas.} = Glafira Vasilevich (Г.М. Василевич); {Vc.} = Werner Vycichl; {Ven.} = I. Veniaminov; {Ves.} = Z. Veselovska (З. Веселовська = З.Н. Веселовская); {Vinn.} = I. Vinnikov (И.Н.Винников); {Vit.} = E. Vitterbo; {Vl.} = J. A. Vullers; {Vld.} = B. Vladimircov (Б.Я. Владимирцов); {Vln.} = A. Vaillant; {Vlr.} = Karl Vollers; {Vm.} = Hermann (Ármin) Vambéry; {Vn.} = Jules Vendryes; {Vnb.} = Rodney Venberg; {Vnk.} = Wolfgang Veenker; {Vnt.} = B. Venturino; {Vogt} = Hans Vogt; {Vr.} = Jan de Vries; {Vrb.} = V. Verbickij (В. Вербицкий); {Vrg.} = Joseph Vergote; {Vrl.} = Charles Virolleaud; {Vrt.} = Edith Vértes; {Vs.} = Max Vasmer; {Vtr.} = E. Vetter; {Vv.} = Alexander Vovin; {Vxr.} = Matrjona Vakhrusheva (М.П. Вахрушева); {VZ} = V. Veljaminev-Zernov (В.В. Вельяминовъ-Зерновъ); {W} = Ferdinand J. Wiedemann; {Wb.} = Walter v. Wartburg; {Wc.} = Yrjö Wichmann; {Wd.} = Wada Shôhei; {Wdk.} = Klaus Wedekind; {WeibP} = Chr. Weibegué, P. Palayer; {Wh.} = W. H. Whiteley; {Wk.} = K. B. Wiklund; {Wl.} = Ekkehard Wolff; {Wld.} = Alois Walde; {Wlf.} = Dominik J. Woelfel; {Wll.} = H. D. Williamson; {Wlm.} = W. E. Welmers; {Wn.} = A. J. van Windekens; {WNL} = Workshop in Nostratic Linguistics (Moscow, Aug. 1994) (S. Starostin, A. Dolgopolsky, A. Dybo, E. Helimski, A. Militarev, O. Stolbova, etc.); {Wnt.} = Werner Winter; {WP} = Alois Walde & Julius Pokorny; {Wr.} = Michael Weiers; {Wrd.} = O. Wardrop; {Wrk.} = F. Wordick; {WrW} = T. Wright, ed. by R. P. Wülcker; {WS} = Werner Sasse; {Ws.} = W. Westendorf; {Wt.} = Calvert Watkins, {Wts.} = N. Witsen; {WVD} = *Wogulische Volksdichtung*, gesammelt und übersetzt von Artturi Kannisto; {WW} = Wilhelm Wackernagel; {WZWed.} = Wolde-Gebriel Tanaba, Zewde Cheru & K. Wedekind; {Xak.} = F. Xakimzjanov (Ф.С. Хакимзянов); {Xud.} = A. Худобашевъ (Ա. Խոսրոբաշեան, A. M. Xudobashean); {Y} = Yamamoto Kengo; {YGE} = 'Aba Yoḥanəṣ Gäbrä-'Əgzi'abḥer; {YGM} *Y Geiriadur Mawr* by H. Meurig Evans & W. O. Thoms; {Ymj.} = Yamaji Hiroaki; {Yu} = Changton Yu; {Yv.} = Israel Yeivin (יִשְׂרָאֵל יֵיבִין); {Z} = I. Zaxarov (Иван Захаров); {Zab.} = A. Zaborski; {Zaj.} = A. Zajączkowski; {Zhgh.} = S. Zhghent'i (ს. ჯღენტ'ი); {Zhong} = Zhong Suchun; {ZL} = Zelealem Leyew; {Zl.} = E. Zyhlarz; {ZM} = M. Zajceva & M. Mullonen (М.И. Зайцева, М.И. Муллонен); {ZMO} = R. David Zorc & Madina M. Osman; {Zn.} = J. Th. Zenker; {Zv.} = Kamil Zvelebil; {Zvd.} = M. Zavadskij (М. Завадский); {ZVSZ} = *Základní všeslovanská slovní zásoba*, ed. by P. Kopečný; {Zw.} = H. A. Zwick.

**Symbols of ancient and medieval sources
and authors**

[Ab.] = *Abushqa* (Chaghatay-Osman dict., 16th c.); [Aesch.] = Aeschylus; [Agr.] = Agricola (Finnish, 16th c.); [AH] = *Kitâbu-l-Idrâk li-lisâni-l-atrâk* by Abû-Ḥayyâ; [AmM] = Ammianus Marcellinus; [Ap.] = *Āpastamba* (OI); [Arist.] = Aristotle; [AT] = *Altan Tobchi* [a Mongolian chronicle, 17th c.] (quoted after MED); [AthV] = *Atharva-Veda* (OI); [Aug.] = Augustine; [AY] = *Altun Yaruq* (OT translation of *Suvarṇaprabhasa*); [Bd.] = P. Budi (Albanian, 17th cent.); [Ber.] = Pamva Berynda (Ukrainian lexicographer, 17th c.); [Bgd.] = P. Bogdani (Albanian, 17th cent.); [Bhatt.] = *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (OI); [BL] = *Bada'i' al-Lughat* (Chaghatay, 15th c.); [BMTQ] = *Bulghat al-Mushtâq fî Lughat at-Turk wa-l-Qifjâq* (an Arabic-Qypchaq vocabulary of the 14th c., ed. by A. Zajączkowski); [Br.] = *Brāhmaṇa* (OI); [Brtk.] = J. Bretkun (*Biblija, Postille*) [OLt, 16th c.]; [BS] = Shim'on ben Sirah (Post-Biblical Hebrew); [BT] = The Babylonian Talmud; [Bzk.] = Gjon Buzuku (Albanian, 16th c.); [Call.] = Callimachus epicus (Greek, 3rd c. BCE); [CC] = *Codex Cumanicus* (Old Qypchaq, 14th c.); [Dhat.] = *Dhātupāṭha* (an ancient Indian list of roots ascribed to Pāṇini); [DI] = Duenos inscription (Old Latin); [Diosc.] = *De Materia Medica* by Pedanius Dioscorides, a Greek physician and pharmacologist (1st c. CE); [Dk.] = Mikalojus Daukša (OLt, 16th c.), [DQ] = *Dede Qorqut* (Old Osman Turkic); [Dv.] = Davies, *Dictionarium duplex* [dict. of Welsh (L., 1632)]; [EA] = Tell-el-'Amarna tablets (Old Canaanite; quoted from Knudtzon EA, Mercer EAT & Rainey EAT); [ED] = *Edictum Diocletiani* [cf. Bibliography] (for Gaulish glosses); [El.] = The Elbing vocabulary (German-Prussian, ≈ 1400 CE); [Eleph.] = Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Egypt, 5th c. BCE); [En.] = Ennius (Latin author, 3rd-2nd c. BCE); [Epc.] = Epicharmus comicus (Gk author, 5th c. BCE); [epigr.] = epigraphic sources; [Eratosth.] = Eratosthenes (3rd c. BCE); [Euc.] = Euclides; [Eust.] = Eustathius (Greek philologist, 12th c. CE); [FB] = Frangu i Bardhë (Franciscus Blanchus) (Albanian, 17th c.); [Fest.] = Sextus Pompeus Festus, a Latin lexicographer; [Frh.] = *Frahang-i-pahlavik*, an Aramaic-Middle Persian glossary; [Ƴ] = glossa, glossaries; Γ = attested in ancient philological (grammatical) literature, but not in texts; [GLE] = *Glossarium Endlicherii* (Gaulish); [Gol.] = Arabic-Latin Dictionary by Golius; [HB] = *Hildebrandslied* (OHG); [Hdt.] = Herodotus (5th c. BCE); [HI] = *Hua-(y)i (y)i-yü* (Middle Mongolian); [Hmd.] = al-Ḥamdâni (Himyarite, 10th c.); [Hs.] = Hesychius; [Hudh.] = Hudhailian poems (Classical Arabic); [IIV] = *Istorija iudejskoj vojny* (Old Russian); [IM] = Ibn Muḥanna's *Ḥilyatu-'insân wa ḥalbatu-l-lisân* (Middle Mongolian and Middle Turkic, 14th

c.); [IS] = *Insadi-Sutra* (Old Uygur); [IsV] = *Istanbul Vocabulary* of Middle Mongolian; [JF] = Josephus Flavius; [Jh.] = *aṣ-Ṣaḥâḥ al-‘arabîya* by al-Jauharî (11th c.); [JT] = The Jerusalemite Talmud; [KC] = *Kartulis cxovreba* (Old Georgian); [KJB] = *King James’ Bible* (English); [KY] = *Kyerim-yusa* [incl. a glossary (named *Koryo_pango_n*) of Middle Korean, 12th c.]; [L] (and [LV], [LM]) = *Leiden Manuscript* [Arabic-MT-MM-Persian vocabulary of 1245; the Turkic part was ed. by Houtsma (TAG), the M part by Poppe (Pp. L I-III)]; Λ = native lexicons and synonym lists (for OI, Ak, a. o. words not attested in texts); [LA] = *Lisân al-‘arab* (14th c.); [LxS] = *Lex Salica* (Latin with OHG words, 6th c. CE); [LXX] = *Septuaginta* (a Greek translation of the Old Testament, ≈ 2nd c. BCE); [Lyc.] = Lycophron (Greek, 3rd c. BCE); [MA] = *Muqaddimatu-l-‘Adab* (Middle Mongolian & Chaghatay, 14th c.); [Man.] = Manetho Astrologus (Greek, 5th c. CE); [Mar.] = *Codex Marianus (Mariinskoje chetverojevangelije)* (OCS); [Mas.] = Masoretic tradition (of the *Vetus Testamentum* in BHb); [MBh] = *Mahabharata* (Sanskrit); [MCh} = Moyun-Churu stela (OT runic inscription, N. Mongolia, 8th c. CE); [Mdr.] = *Midrashîm* (Jewish exegetic literature in MdH and JA); [MhK] = [MKsh.] = Maḥmûd al-Kašġarî, *Kitâbu Diwâni Luġâti-t-Turki* (Old Turkic); [Mlc] = המליץ (Ha-Meliç, a medieval SmHb—Ar—SmAr vocabulary); [MnP] = Menander Protector (a Byzantine author, 6th c. CE); [Mns.] = *Man'yo:shu:* (Old Japanese); [MS] = *Maitrayani Samhita* (Old Indian); [Msh.] = *Mishnah* (מִשְׁנָה) (Middle Hebrew); [Naq.] = The Naqa'id of Jarir (a medieval Arabic poetic text); [Nbg] = 'an-Nâbigha (Arab poet of the 6th c.); [NicE} = Nicander Epicus (Greek author, 2nd c. BCE); [NicR] = Nicoloso da Recco (Italian traveller of the 14th. c., his ms. of 1341 contains data on Gnc); [NihSh] = *Nihon shoki* (Old Japanese); [NN] = anonymous Cheremis-Russian dictionary, ms., Nizhni-Novgorod, 1795; [NQ] = *Nuzhatu-'l-qulub* by Ḥamdullah Qazwîni; [NR] = *Nichû-reki* (Middle Korean); [Nsh.] = Nashwan (Yemenite Arabic with Himyarite substratum, late 10th and early 11th c.); [NT] = *New Testament* and its translated versions; [Opp.] = Oppianus Apamensis (Greek author, 3rd c. CE); [OQ] = *The Legend of Oghuz Qaghan* (Middle Uygur, 13th c.); [Or.] = Origenes (*Hexapla* with BHb in Greek script); [OT] = *Old Testament* and its translated versions; [Pañc.] = *Pañcatantra* (Sanskrit); [Paul.] = Paulus, a Latin lexicographer quoted by Sextus Pompeus Festus; [Plin.] = Plinius; [Plt.] = Plautus; [Pæn.] = *Pænulus* by Plautus; [Pol.] = Polybios (Greek author; 2nd c. BCE); [PP] = Middle Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script; [Praen.] = *Fibula Praenestina* (Old Latin, 5th c. BCE); [Psh.] = *Peshitta* [Syriac translation of the OT and the NT]; [Qam.] = *al-Qâmûs*, an Arabic dictionary by al-Fîrûzâbâdî (14th-15th c.); [QB] = *Qutadghu Bilig* (Old Turkic); [Qr.] = 'al-Qur'ân, Koran; [Rabg.] = Rabġhûzî (Middle Turkic, 14th c.; quoted after Grøn. R, Cl., and Rdl.);

[Rh.] = Rhianus Epicus (Greek author, 3rd c. BCE); [RJ] = *Ruiju Meigishe* (Middle Japanese vocabulary); [Rm] = *Ramayana* (Sanskrit); [RV] = *Rig-Veda* (Old Indian); [S] = *Mongolun Niuca Tobca'an* (*Secret History of Mongols*) (Middle Mongolian); [San.] = *Sanglax* (a Chaghatay-Persian dictionary, 18th c.); [SB] = *Le Mystère de Sainte-Barbe* (Middle Breton); [ŠB] = *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* (Old Indian); [Σχ.] = *Scholia*, early Greek grammarians's remarks\comments on Homer; [SG] = Sankt-Gallen Vocabulary (OHG); [SMD] = Sino-Mongolian documents of the late 14th cent. (after Haen. SMD); [Sph.] = Sappho; [StB] = Stephanos Byzantios (Greek philologist, ≈ 5th c. CE); [Suid.] = Suidas Lexicographus (Greek philologist, 10th c. CE); [Supr.] = the Suprasl manuscript (OCS); [T'A] = *Tâj al-'ârûs* (Arabic dict., 18th c.); [TAG] = *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar nach der Leidener Handschrift* (hrsg. und erläutert von Martijn Theodor Houtsma); [TF] = *Tongki fuqa aqô xergen-i bitxe* (vocabulary of Pre-Classical Manchu); [Tf.] = MT *Tafsir* (interlinear translation of the Qur'an), {acc. to Cl., intermediate between OT X and Chg (cf. Bor. T); [Theo.] = Theocritus (Greek poet, 3rd c. BCE); [1001N] = *Thousand and One Nights* (Arabic); [Tos.] = *Tosefta* (JPA and MHb); [Trg.] = *Targûmîm* (תַּרְגּוּמִים, Aramaic translations of the Old Testament); [TrgJ] = Targum of Jonathan (Jewish Aramaic); [TrgO] = Targum of Onkelos (Jewish Aramaic); [TrgOJ] = Targum of Onkelos-Jonathan type (Jewish Aramaic); [TT] = Old Turkic texts from Turfan; [TV] = Tiberian vocalization of Hebrew; [TZ] = *at-Tuhfatu-z-zakîya fî luġati turkîya* (dict. of MT, 15th c.); [UMT] = Uyghur medical texts (ed. by G. R. Rachmati); [VC] = *Vocabularium Cornicum* (Old Cornish); [Vop.] = Vopadeva (Sanskrit); [Vsr.] = *Visramiani* (Middle Georgian, 12th c.); [VTq.] = *Vepxis T'q'aosani* by Shota Rustaveli (Middle Georgian, 12th c.); [Vulg.] = *Vulgata* (Latin translation of the Old and the New Testament, 4th c.); [WCP] = Westcar Papyrus (an Eg text); [Yajñ.] = *Mitākṣara*, a commentary by Vijñāneṣvara on Yājñavalkya's *Dharmaśāstra*; [Yg.] = Ahmad b. Mahmud Yughnāki (Turkic author, 13th c.); [YChPSh] = *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (Middle Mongolian; quoted after SM); [Z] = Zirni Manuscript (Middle Moghol); [Zhr.} = Zuhayr in Ahlwardt's Diwans (Arabic); [ZhY] = *Zhiyuan* (y)iyü (MM of the 13th-14th c.; quoted after SM and Iw.).

These indications of the source follow the language name.

Books of the Old Testament & the New Testament (and their translated versions) are quoted with generally accepted abbreviations. (ψ ...) means Psalm (+ number).

**ABBREVIATIONS
OF GRAMMATICAL, PHONOLOGICAL, AND ORTHOGRAPHIS TERMS,
FORMS AND CLASSES OF WORD,
TERMS OF THEIR DERIVATIONAL AND SEMANTIC HISTORY,
AND SIGNS DENOTING RECONSTRUCTIONS AND HYPOTHESES**

Cases: accus. = accusative; abl. = ablative; absl = absolutive case; adv.c. = adverbial case; all. = allative; ben. = benefactive case; c. rect. = casus rectus; dat. = dative; dir. = directive; erg. = ergative; ess. = essive; gen. = genitive; ill. = illative ('into'); instr. = instrumentalis; iness. = inessive; lat. = lative; loc. = locative; loc.-dir. = locative-directive; nom. = nominative; obl = oblique case(s), stem of the oblique cases; pred. = predicative (S "stative form"); proc. = processive (Coll.'s processive, Tepl.'s *соответственный падеж* meaning 'along with, according to' in Vt) ; prt. = partitive; rect. = casus rectus (main [unmarked] case); sep. = separative case ('from'); voc. = vocative case, word of address.

Person/number/gender (of verbs, possessive suffixes, etc.): 1s = 1 sg., 2s = 2 sg., 3s = 3 sg., 1d = 1 du., 2d = 2 du., 3d = 3 du., 1p = 1 pl., 2p = 2 pl., 3p = 3 pl., 2m = 2 sg. m., 2f = 2 sg. f., 2n = 2 sg. ntr., 3m = 3 sg. m., 3f = 3 sg. f., 3n = 3 sg. ntr., 2pm = 2 pl. m., 3pm = 3 pl. m., 3pf = 3 pl. f., 3pn = 3 pl. ntr.

Verbal patterns (traditionally called "stems" or "forms", Diak.'s "stirpes" (sg. "stirps"), Hz.'s "degrees", Hb *בְּנֵי־יָמִים*, L *stirpes*, R *породы*) in S, B, Eg, C, Ch: *D* = D-stirps (D-pattern) (II form, Pi'el, fa'ala), *Dt* = DT-stirps (D-stirps with a *t-infix), *G* = G-stirps (Qal, fa'ala), *Gt*, *GT* = Gt-stirps (with a *t-infix, ifta'ala), *Gtn* = the Ak Gtn-stirps (with the infix -tan-, cf. Sd. GAG § 91), *Hoph* = Hoph'al; *I* = Jo.'s "simple (b) stem" (passive/intransitive?) in SES (Mh pf. *θībār* / subj. *γəθbōr* 'be broken', Jb C *θēr* (< *'θēbār] / *γəθ'bor* id., 'feδar / *γəf'δor* 'shiver wuh fear', Hrs *zēhār* / *γəzhōr* 'appear, shine', Sq passive {Ls.} *ḲiḲeḲ*), *M* = M-stirps in B, *N* = N-stirps (Niph'al, 'infa'ala), *L* = lengthened stirps (Ar fa'ala), *Po* = Po'el, *Pol* = Polel, *Pu* = Pu'al, *S* = S-stirps (causative) (in B, Eg, C, and Ch); *Sh* = Š-stirps (Hiph'il, af'ala, causative) (in S), *Sht* (= Št) = Št-stirps (Ar X form istaf'ala and the corresponding SS stirps), *T* = T-stirps (a G-stem with the prefix T), *TD* = TD-stirps (a D-stem with the prefix T, Hb hitpa'el, Aram 'itpa'el, Ar stirps V: tafa'ala) in S; *TL* = TL-stirps (the Arabic stirps VI: tafa'ala). The forms in brackets (... / ...) following the roots of the WS lgs (G-stem) are the perfective aspect (3m sg.)

and the imperfective (stem of 1s, 2m, 3m, 3f, 1p), e.g. Ar ✓ktb (kataba / -ktubu) = Ar ✓ktb (pf. kataba / ipf. -ktubu). In Gz and SES the quoted forms in brackets are pf. and sbjn. In Ak the form in brackets is the infinitive.

Abbreviations of other terms: aadj. = attributive form of adjectives (Gmc. "strong declination of adj."); ab = term of abuse; abf. = autobenefactive, autobenefactivizing (form of verbs); abs. = status absolutus, (of pronouns) absolute pronoun; acc. = according; accus. = accusative; acp. = active participle; act. = active voice; act. prt. = active participle; adj. = adjective; AdS = additional source (if a root\word in a descending lge. goes back to coalescence\contamination of two etymological sources: a main one and an additional one); adv. = adverb; alt. = alternative; alt. hyp. = an alternative hypothesis; AM (in Bibliography) = anno mundi (years of the Jewish Calendar); amb - a word\root is ambiguous, i.-e. may have two (or more) different etymologies; anim. = animate (gender); ann. = status annexus (in B); aor. = aorist (including H.-P. Müller's Eblaitic "Kurzform der Präformativkonjugation"); aor. inf. = infinitive of aorist; ap. = active participle; arc = archaic; † as. = assimilation, resulting from assimilation; asp. = aspirate, aspirated; ass. = assimilative, assimilatory; ass. infl. = assimilatory influence; at. = attributive; att. = attested (e.g. "FU [att. in Z]" = "FU [attested in Z only]"); attr. = attributive (e.g. attributive forms of numerals and adjectives); aubf. = autobenefactive; augm. = augmentative; aut. prn. = autonomous (independent) personal pronoun (pronomina separata, such as IE *tū and S *ʔan-ta 'thou'); aux. = auxiliary; aux. v. = auxiliary verb; b = bookish; ben. = benefactive (form of verbs); bf. = back formation (back derivation); bfs. = back formations; caus. = causative; caus.-rf. = causative-reflexive; cd. = compound form\word, compositum; cds. = compound words\forms, composita; ce. = 'copyist's error, misspelling'; cf. = confer; ch = a word used by\with children; cj. = conjugation class (= Pr.'s and Fc.'s "conjugaison"); cmpr. = comparative degree; cn. = a conjecture; cngt. = connegative (the verbal form used with neg. aux. verbs in the Sm lgs.); cnj. = conjunctive; cnjc. = conjunction; cons. = consonant; cnss. = consonants; coll. = collective, nomen collectivum; com. = genus communis, common gender (⇔ ntr.); conat. = conative (derived verb); coop. = cooperative (derived verbs); corr. = (etymological) correspondence (e.g. sound correspondence); corrs. = correspondences; cp. = compare; cs. = status constructus; ctx. = context form; d. = derivative, derived word, derived stem, derived (from); Δ = dialectal; dadj. = "definite" (pronominalized) adjective (in Blt and Sl); ddn. = distance-deictically neutral (i.e. deixis without the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *iste* ↔ *ille* [proximal ↔ intermediate

↔ distal]); deglott. = deglottalization; dem. = demonstrative; d-emp. = de-emphatization, de-emphatized variant; dem. prn. = demonstrative pronoun; denom. = denominative; der. (= d.) = derivative; dev. = deverbal, deverbative; df. = definite form, status determinatus; df. art. = definite article; dial. = dialectal, referring to a dialect or dialects of the respective lge.; dict. = dictionary; dim., dimin. = diminutive; dir. = directive (case, pre-\post-position); dis. = dissimilation, resulting from dissimilation; dl. = dialect; dls. = dialects; ds. = derived words, derived stems, derivatives; du. = dual; dur. = durative (verb); ε = 'a kind of' (used in semantic definitions if the exact specific meaning of the word\stem is unknown); em. = status emphaticus; emph. = emphatic; encl. = enclitic; end = term of endearment (Kose-wort\form); err. - "erroneous, -ly" (in mentioning papers\opinion of scholars); err. φ = "erroneous, -ly for phonetic reasons"; esp. = especially; et. = etymology; et al. = et alia, and others; etl. = etymologic(al); εϕ. = euphemism, replacement of a tabooed word; ev. = evidence; excl. = exclusive; ex. gem. = expressive gemination; ext. = a root extension (Wurzelerweiterung, determinant, élargissement de la racine); +ext. , + ext. = with a root extension; exts. = root extensions; +exts. = with root extensions; f. = feminine, female; *f* = folkloric; Fcj. = conjugation class (according to Foucauld); fem. = feminine; ffd. = "for further details see ..."; folk-etl. = folk-etymological; frq. = frequentative, frequentativity; ft. = future; fts. = "future-tense stem", stem of the future tense (e.g. in Dravidian); Γ_ = a glossa, attested in ancient\medieval grammatical or philological treatises only, rather than in actual usage in texts; [Υ] = a glossa, attested in ancient\medieval glossaries; gem. = gemination, with a geminated cns.; ger. = gerund; gl. = glottalized; gmc. = geminated consonant; +gmc., + gmc. = geminated initial cns. of the following word (as in the df. art. in Hb); gmc+ = geminated final cns. of the preceding morph; gr. = grade of the IE and Sl apophony (e-gr. = *e-grade; 0-gr. = *0-grade; O-gr. = zero-grade; L-gr. = lengthening-grade; R-gr. = reduction-grade); hab., habit. = forme d'habitude (in B); *hier.*, *hier.* *'...' = a picture of ... used as phonetic character (in Eg script); hist = a word referring to remote past, to history, denoting an object that does not exist to-day; h.l. = hapax legomenon; hon = honorific; hpc. = hypocoristic (form of endearment); hpl. = haplological contraction; hyp. = hypothesis, hypothetic; ʌ - ideophonic root (including "nursery words" [Lallwörter]); id. - idem (the same meaning); id. - word of ideophonic function\structure (albeit not necessarily of ideophonic origin); imprs. = impersonal; imv. = imperative; inanim. = inanimate; inch. = inchoative (verb); incl. = [1] inclusive (pronouns, pronominal forms), [2] "including" (used, *inter alia*, in references to indicate acceptable parts of colleagues' genetic comparisons while rejecting other parts of their comparisons as unconvincing or

erroneous); *indc.* = indicative mood; *indf.* = indefinite, indefinite form, status indeterminatus (as in Arabic); *inf.* = infinitive; *infl.* = influence; *inj.* = injunctive mood; *instr.* = instrumentalis, the meaning of the instrumental case; *int.*, *intens.* = intensive (derived verb); *intercons.* = interconsonantic; *interr.* = interrogative; *intervoc.* = intervocalic; *intr.* = intransitive; *invar.* = invariable; *ip.* = imperfective (aspect); *ipf.* = imperfect (tense); *irreg.* = irregular(ly), an irregular phonetic change; $\iota\varphi$ = ideophon (a word belonging to the grammatical class of ideophons); *iter.* = iterative (verb); *ix.* = infix; *js.* = jussive; *k.* (in semantic definitions) = kind, $k = k\bar{a}t\bar{i}b$ (written version of BHb & BAr at variance with the traditional reading); $\lambda = \Lambda$ = a lexical item in traditional dictionaries (not found in texts); *lc.* = local (a word of local usage); *l.c.* = loco citato; *Lcj.* = conjugation class (according to Lanfry); *lge.* = language; *L-gr.* = lengthening grade (Dehnstufe) of the IĒ apophony; *lgs.* = languages; *lit.* = literally; *Ll.* = (going back to) a Lallwort, a nursery word; *loc.* = locative; *loc.-dir.* = locative-directive; *lr.* = laryngeal; *lrs.* = laryngeals; *lt.* = loan translation; *m.* = masculine; μ = resulting from morphological restructuring; *md.* = medium (middle) voice; *med.* = term of medicine; $\mu\nu$ = metonymy; *mom.* = momentaneous (verb); *mp.* = medio-passive voice; *mrf.* = multiple reference form (cf. Hw. A 160); *msd.* = masdar; $\mu\phi$ = metaphore, metaphoric usage; *mt.* = metathesis, resulting from metathesis; *mte.* = metathesis of emphaticity (shift of the glottalic or emphatic articulation, e.g. $t..k > ṭ...k$); *n* (in 1n, 2n, 3n) = neuter gender; *N.* = noun (in structural formulas); *n.* = noun; *n. abstr.* = nomen abstractum, abstract noun; *n. act.* = nomen actionis; *n-a act.* (= nomina act.) = nomina actionis; *n. ag.* = nomen agentis; *n-a ag.* (= nomina ag.) = nomina agentis; *n. coll.* = nomen collectivum, nomina collectiva; *neg.* = negative; *neg. v.* = negative verb ('do not'); *n. gener.* = nomen genericum; *n. l.* = nomen loci, nomina loci, place-name(s) (toponym[s]); *n.-p.* = non-past (present-future); *n. pr.* = nomen proprium, nomina propria; *nr.* = narrative tense\aspect; *ntr.* = neuter gender; $\mathbf{0}$ = an onomatopoeic word\root; $\mathbf{0}_2$ = secondary onomatopoeic associations; *obj.* = objective conjugation (indicating grammatical categories of the object); *obj.* = object; *obl.* = oblique case(s), oblique; *obx.* = pronominal suffix of object ('me', 'him', etc.) following a verb; *ol.* = verbs of the oligochronic subspect (Aktionsart) (e.g., R *побегать* 'run for a while'); π = poetical, used predominantly in poetry; *p.* = preterite, past; *paus.* = pausal form; *pc.* = particle; *p.c.* = personal communication (in bibliographical references); *Pcj.* = conjugation class (according to Prasse); *pcv.* = prefix-conjugated verb (a verb with prefixes marking person-number-gender) (in C); *pcvs.* = prefix-cojugated verbs; *pers.* = person, personal; *pf.* =

perfective (aspect), perfect; pf. c., pf. cons.x = perfectum consecutivum (wayyiqtol in Hb); pfc. = perfect(ive) (tense) (as in L and Gmc, "passé accompli", Past Indefinite); pfv. = perfective aspect; ph. unr. = phonetically unreliable; pl. = plural; pl. obj. = verbal form referring to several objects'; plrt. = pluralitative, plurality verbs (referring to many objects\subjects, as R *понабрал, мёр*); pl. t. = pluralis tantum; p. n. (= n. pr.) = proper noun, nomen proprium'; poss. = possessive; poss. prn(s). = possessive pronoun(s); postcons. = postconsonantal; postnom. = postnominal; postp. = postposition; postvoc. = postvocalic; pp. = passive participle (including Gk "verbal adj." with *-τός*); ppa. = pronominal possessive affix (suffix or prefix) and pronominal affix of pre-\postpositions; +ppa. = nominal stem (or preposition) preceding pronominal personal affixes (e.g. Hb *אִשְׁתּוֹ* *ʔišt-* in *ʔišt-ō* 'his wife'); ppas. = possessive pronominal affixes; p./prs. = preterito-present (as in the Gmc lgs.); p. prtc. = past participle; pqpf. = plusquamperfect; pradj. = predicative adjective; precons. = preconsonantal; pred. = predicative (e.g. predicative forms of adjectives and numerals (S "stative form")); prep. = preposition; pres. = present; pret. = preterite, past; prevoc. = prevocalic; prm. = primary stem (in S: stem of the pS pf., Eth js., CS [Hb, Ar, Aram] ip.); prn. = pronoun; prnl. = pronominalized (adj., prn.) (as in Blt and Sl); prob. = probably; procl. = proclitic; progr. = progressive; progr. as. = progressive assimilation; prohib. = prohibitive (form, particle); prs. (= pres.) = present; prs.-ft. = present-future (non-past); prs. indef. = present indefinite (tense); pr. st. = primary stem of the S verb (pS and WS old pf. and js., CS ipf., SS sbjn.); prtc. = participle; prtcs. = participles; prts. = preterit stem; ps. = passive; ψ_0 = pseudo-onomatopoeic; ps. cj. = passive conjugation (in Kartvelian); pv. = preverb; pvs. = preverbs; pwg. = paratactical word group (Cl.'s "hendiaduin"); px. = prefix; pxs. = prefixes; *q* = *q̣əre* (traditional reading of BHb & BAr deviating from the written version); qn., qne. = qu'un, qu'une (in French semantic definitions) = quelqu'un, quelqu'une; qu., Qu. = questionable, questionably (both in citing etymologies of other scholars and in advancing AD's hypotheses); qual. = qualitative (a verbal form) (in Cpt.); qu. ϕ = questionable on phonetic grounds; q.v. = quod vide; q.v. ffd. = quod vide for further details; qw. = unchanging quality word (= {STM} *изобразительное слово*); r = rare; $\sqrt{\quad}$ = root; $\sqrt{\text{I}}$ = the first cns. of the root; $\sqrt{\text{II}}$ = the second cns. of the root; $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ = the third cns. of the root; ® = found in religious texts (sakrale Texten) only; rcpr. = reciprocative; rdp. = reduplication, reduplicated form\stem; rec. = reconstruction; recs. = reconstructions; reg. = regular(ly); reg. = regular; a regular phonetic change; regr. = regressive; regr. as. = regressive assimilation; rel. = relative; rel. (= rel. mood) = relative form of verbs (including the pS

and Ak *-u-mood used in subordinate clauses = traditionally called "subjunctive" giving rise to the CS new ipf. > Ar -u-mood); rel. adj. = relative adjective; rel. prn. = relative pronoun; res. = resultative; resp = "language of respect"; rf. = reflexive; rf. prn. = reflexive pronoun; rl. = "royal language" (in Ym); SA = Schwebelaut; sb. = sub-branch (in genetic classification of lgs.); sbcj. = subjective conjugation (that does not indicate grammatical categories of the object [= безобъектное спряжение, Stn.'s "unbestimmte Konjugation"]); sbjn. = subjunctive; sc. = scilicet, that is'; scv. = suffix-conjugated verb (with suffixes of person-number-gender); scvs. = suffix-conjugated verbs; sd. = semantic derivative (result of semantic change); sdl. = subdialect; sds. = semantic derivatives (result of semantic change); s.e. = status emphaticus; σε = synecdoche; sec. 0 = secondary onomatopoeic associations; sem. unr. = semantically unreliable; sg. = singular; sim. = similar; snglt. = singulative (name of one object, nomen unitatis ↔ n. coll.); s/objc. = subjective-objective conjugation (the verbal form indicates grammatical categories both of the subject & of the object [= объектное спряжение, Stn.'s "bestimmte Konjugation"]); spec. = specially; sprl. = superlative degree; srf. = singulative reference form (cf. Hw. A 161); srv. = survives ... (e.g. "S [srv. in Ar]" = "S [survives in Arabic]"); ssd. = subsubdialect; st. abs. (= abs.) = status absolutus; st. idt. = status indeterminatus; st. det. (= df.) = status determinatus; st. pron. = status pronominalis (e.g. Hb. bən- in בְּנִי bə'nī 'my son'); st. r. = status rectus (in Ak); stt. = stative form of the verb (Ak permansive, Eg, Cpt qualificative = pseudoparticiple); sttpf. = stative perfect (perfect with the meaning of stative) (in the WS lgs.); subst. = substantive, having the nature or function of a grammatical substantive (e.g., of substantivized forms of numerals or adjectives); sup. = supinum; sv. = strong verb, i.e. a verb with apophony (in Gmc); s.v. = sub voce; sx. = suffix; sxs. = suffixes; syll. = syllable; synharm. = synharmonic (due to vowel harmony, referring to vw. harmony); top. = toponym; {tr.}† = traditional system of reconstruction; trad. = traditional (interpretation, transcription, etc.); trans. = transitive; trans. cj. = transitive conjugation (in Kartvelian); UA = Uralo-Altai regional word; unc = unceremonious style (used among close friends, with children, etc.); unc. = unconvincing, unconvincingly (on etymologies of other scholars); unc. et. = unconvincing etymology; unc. σ = unconvincing on semantic grounds; unc. φ - unconvincing on phonetic grounds; unconvincingly; unj. = unjustified; unj. φ - unjustified on phonetic grounds; unk. voc. = unknown vocalization, with unknown vowels; unt. = untenable, -ly (in etymologies of other scholars); us. = usually; uv. = uvular; v. = verb; v. ps. = verbum passivum (passive voice); v. st. = verb of state (ГЛАГОЛ СОСТОЯНИЯ); vb. clc. = verbal

collocation (a word group with functions and meaning of a verb); vb. n. = verbal noun, masdar; var. = variant; vd. = voiced; vi. = intransitive verb; vl = vulgar; vl. = (plain) voiceless; voc. = vocative, vocative form; vr. = verbum reflexivum; vt. = transitive verb; vw. = vowel; \mathcal{F} = see; WL = women's language; wv. = weak verb, i.e. a verb without apophony (in Gmc); WW = Wanderwort; $?\mu$ - a morphologically doubtful connection (the derivation is not clear, the root structure is deviant, etc.); $?\sigma$ - a doubtful connection (for semantic reasons); $??\sigma$ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic reasons); $?\sigma\mu$ - a word of doubtful semantic interpretation; $??\sigma\phi$ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic and phonetic reasons); $?\phi$ - a phonetically doubtful connection; $??\phi$ - a highly doubtful connection (for phonetic reasons); \uparrow = high style; \downarrow = non-standard; \dagger = obsolete; $\leftarrow\mathfrak{d}$ = 'derived from'; $\mathfrak{d}\rightarrow$ = 'whence a derivative'; $\leftarrow\mathfrak{b}$ = 'borrowed from, a loan from'; $\mathfrak{b}\rightarrow$ = 'whence a borrowing'; \rightarrow = semantic change ($\mathbf{a} \rightarrow \mathbf{b}$ = 'a changed to b'); \leftarrow = semantic change ($\mathbf{a} \leftarrow \mathbf{b}$ = 'a results from semantic change of b'); \times - contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words ($\mathbf{a} \times \mathbf{b}$ = 'a contaminated [merged] with b'); \approx , \pm = 'approximately' (on the reconstructions and the meaning of reconstructed roots\words). Roman figures in small caps (with or without addition of BC or AD) denote the century: XIII means "the 13th c.", VI AD = "the 6th c. AD". Roman figures preceded by \geq mean "from ... cent. on" (e.g. \geq XIII = "from the 13th cent. on").

The sign J (preceding the symbol of the source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {JBz}, {JIS}, {JSDM94}). The sign \mathfrak{f} (preceding the symbol) means "according to X's theory, hypothesis" (e.g. \mathfrak{f} SDM94}, \mathfrak{f} Hel.}, \mathfrak{f} Rsl.}); $\mathfrak{f}\pi$ AD} means "according to AD's hypothesis about the prosodic origin of some proto-Turkic ascending diphthongs". The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation).

On semantic designation for subfamilies (or sub-sub-families) of languages. If the semantic definition of a word or a root is indicated with the proto-form only, it means that it is preserved in all descendant languages mentioned in the entry; e.g. "pCh *tab ∇ 'mud' > WCh: Hs t \grave{a} b \acute{o} , Gw t \acute{o} bo || BI te \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{b} i, Ngm nd \grave{e} \mathfrak{b} i || Ngz t \acute{a} b \acute{o} || Cg nd \acute{a} b \acute{a} k \acute{u} \acute{a} n, Kry t \acute{a} b \acute{a} k \acute{u} , Sir t \acute{a} b \mathfrak{z} h $\acute{í}$, Mbr nd \acute{a} b \acute{a} k \acute{u} , Dir \acute{a} t \acute{u} b \acute{a} k \acute{u} || Kir nd \acute{o} p or \acute{n} d \acute{o} p, Plc nduw \mathfrak{z} p or \acute{n} duw \mathfrak{z} p, Dw ndw \mathfrak{a} p, i.e. \acute{n} d \acute{u} \mathfrak{z} p or \acute{n} d \acute{u} \mathfrak{z} p || CCh: Tr: Pdl t \acute{a} bd \acute{i} , Hw t \acute{a} b \acute{u} r \acute{a} , G'nd t \acute{z} pta, Gbn t \acute{z} pt \acute{a} , Boka t \acute{z} pt \acute{z} || McHigi: FIM d \acute{u} b \acute{u} || Ktk {Nw.} nd \acute{a} \mathfrak{b} e || ECh: Tmk d \acute{u} b \acute{o} , Nd D

də̀byà" = "pCh *tab̥∇ 'mud' > WCh: Hs tà̀bò id. (↳ Ngz tà̀bó), Gw tòbo id. | Bl tèb̥i id.", etc.

Abbreviations and signs within semantic definitions: anyth. = anything, bc. = become, esp. = especially, smb. = somebody, so. = someone, somebody; sth. = something; th. = thing; \ = or, as well as (between alternative parts within semantic and grammatical definitions) (e.g., 'be weak \ soft' = 'be weak, be soft', sx. of du.\pl. = sf. of du., sx. of pl., 'some-\any-thing' = 'something, anything'); ≈ = approximately; ∈ = a kind of; us. = usually; '↑' = anaphoric sign "the meaning of a N word which is identical with the abovementioned meaning of the same root" (in cross-references within the same entry). In French definitions: ch. = chose, qch. = quelque chose, qn. = quelqu'un. In German definitions: bes. = besonders, d. h. = das heißt, etw. = etwas, jem. = jemand(-em, -es), jem-m = jemandem, jems. = jemandes. In Italian definitions: qs. = qualche cosa. In Latin definitions: pec. = peculiariter (especially).

N. b. If a root\stem of a daughter language family or its branch is found in two or more etymological entries (due to the merger of N roots), it is specified (traced up to the level of attested languages) in one entry only. In the other entry\entries there is a short reference note with a siglum "q.v. ffd." (= "see for further details") that refers the reader to the entry with full information.

Signs denoting reconstructions and hypotheses:

- * - precedes a reconstructed form, word, or morpheme
- ** - precedes an indirect reconstruction (e.g. internal reconstruction)
- *^o - precedes a reconstructed proto-form represented in one branch (of the family) only
- * - precedes reconstruction of meanings
- * - precedes wrong reconstructions (or those not shared by the present author) or wrong translations of words
- ⇔ precedes bibliographical indication of opinions that are not shared by the present author
- ¶ precedes reference to literature concerning the word\morpheme in question in a branch of a language family or precedes comments on the morpheme\word in such a branch
- ¶¶ precedes reference to literature concerning the word\morpheme in question in a language family or precedes comments on the morpheme\word in such a family
- ◇ precedes reference to literature concerning a proto-Nostratic word (root) or comment on a Nostratic word

◇ precedes reference to doubtful opinions concerning etymologies based on long-range relationship of languages

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In the etymological entries lists of bibliographical sources and comments are preceded by special signs:

the sign ¶ precedes a list of sources for a branch of a language family, as well as comments that refer to a branch of a family

the double sign ¶¶ precedes sources and comments for a family of languages,

the sign ◇ precedes sources and comments for the Nostratic macro-family,

the sign ◊ precedes doubtful bibliographical sources and comments that refer to inter-family relationship.

The sign \forall (instead of the indication of pages) means "throughout the paper"

The symbol \Leftrightarrow precedes bibliographical indication of opinions that are not shared by the present author. Those which are only partially shared by me are indicated by the symbol \approx .

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Periodicals and Collective Papers

(**Abbreviation:** Fs. = Festschrift)

AAH = *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).

AAL = *Afroasiatic Linguistics* (Malibu).

AAN = *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Contributi presentati all'8° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica), Napoli, 25-26 Gennaio 1996.* Ed. by A. Baussi & M. Tosco (= *Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica VI*). Napoli, 1997.

AAP = *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere. Schriftenreihe des Kölner Instituts für Afrikanistik* (K.).

AArML = *Annals of Armenian Linguistics* (Cleveland, Ohio)

AAS = *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava).

AAT = *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics. Trieste, April 23-24, 1998.* Ed. by Marcello Lamberti and Livia Tonelli. Padova, 1999.

AAW = *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*; later: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

AAWLM = *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse.*

ABAW = *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften (= Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse)* (Berlin).

AByAW = *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*

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ACAL 3 = *Third Annual Conference on African Linguistics, 7-8 April 1972.* Ed. by E. Voeltz. Bloom., 1974 (= *Indiana Univ. Publications. African series*).

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ADMG = *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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Aeg = *Aegyptus* (Mil.).

AEST = *Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi toimetised* (Tartu).

AFNW = *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften.* (K. - Opladen).

Afr. = *Africa* (L.).

AfrEIL = *Africana. Etnografija, istorija, lingvistika.* Lgr., 1969 (= AfrES VII = TIEMM XCIII).

AfrES = *Afrikanskij etnograficheskiy sbornik* (Lgr.) (a series within TIEMM).

AfrKJ = *Africana. Kul'tura i jazyki narodov Afriki.* Lgr., 1966 (= AfrES VI = TIEMM XC).

AfrM = *Africana Marburgensia* (Marburg).

AfrSt = *Afrikanistische Studien.* Ed. by J. Lukas. B., 1955.

AfSIPh = *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (B - Lpz.).

AGI = *Archivio Glottologico Italiano.*

AHB = *An Aramaic Handbook.* Parts I/1, I/2, II/1, II/2. Ed. by F. Rosenthal. Wb., 1967.

AI = *Acta Iranica.*

AIBL = *Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettre. Comptes-rendus des séances.*

AICDL 1 = *Proceedings of the First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics.* Ed. by V. I. Subramoniam. Trivandrum, 1972.

AIED = *Ancient Indo-European Dialects.* Ed. by H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel. Berk. / LA, 1966.

AIEO = *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Faculté des lettres de l'Université d'Alger, P.).

AIG = *Antiquitates Indogermanicae.* Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. *Gedenkschrift H. Hüntert.* Hrs. von M. Mayrhofer, W. Meid, B. Schlerat, R. Schmidt. In., 1974.

AIIES = *American Indian and Indo-European Studies. Papers in Honor of Madison S. Beeler.* Ed. by K. Klar, M. Langdon, and S. Silver. H., 1980.

AIJ = *Afrikanskoje istoricheskoje jazykoznanije.* Ed. by V. Porkhomovski (V. Ja. Porxomovskij). M., 1987.

AION = *AIΩN. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Annali. Sezione linguistica.*

AION-CMA = *AIΩN. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico. Sezione linguistica.*

AIPhHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves.*

AJPh = *American Journal of Philology.*

- AJSLL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
- AKM = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.
Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- AKPAW = *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- AKS = *Altkaukasische Studien* (Lpz.).
- AKSGW = *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* (Lpz.).
- ALC = *African Languages and Cultures* (L.).
- ALH = *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).
- ALHf = *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* (Cop.).
- ALS = *African Language Studies*.
- AltE = *Altajskije etimologii*. Sbornik nauchnyx trudov. Ed. by V. Cincius and L. Dmitrijeva. Lgr., 1984.
- AM = *Asia Maior* (L.).
- AMAV = *Atti e Memorie della Accademi di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona*.
- AMSL = *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (P.).
- ANETS = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies*.
- AnL = *Anthropological Linguistics*.
- AnS III = *L'Année sociologique*, 3ème série.
- Ant = *Antiquity*
- Anth = *Anthropos*.
- ANyT = *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok*.
- AO = *Archív Orientální* (Pr.).
- AOF = *Altorientalische Forschungen* (B., Ak. der Wiss. der DDR).
- AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).
- AOS = *American Oriental Series* (NH).
- APAW = *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- APCILSHS = *Actes du Premier Congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*. H. / P., 1974.
- APILKU = *Arbejdsrapporter udsendt af Institut for Lingvistik, Københavns Universitet*.
- ArA = *Archief voor Antropologie* (Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren, België) = *Archives d'anthropologie* (Koninklijk Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgique).
- ARA = *Annual Review of Anthropology*.
- Aram = *Aram* (CmM.).
- ARWA = *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- ASFL = *Acta Salamanticensia: Filosofía y letras* (Salamanca).
- ASGM = *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese*.
- ASGW = *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Lpz.).
- ASIPh = *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (B./Lpz.).

ASPA = *Autosegmental Studies on Pitch Accent*. Ed. by van der Hulst and Smith. Dordrecht, 1988.

ASPh = *Actes de la Société philologique* (P.).

ASRI-OS = *American Oriental Society. Middle West Branch. Semi-Centennial Volume. Asian Studies Research Institute. Oriental Series #3*. Ed. by D. Sinor. Bloom., 1969.

ASThHLS = *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*.

ASUL = *American Studies in Uralic Linguistics*. Ed. by Th. Sebeok. Bloom., 1960.

ATC = *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria*.

A3GCSIE = *Atti della Terza Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei*. R., 1984.

AÜ = *Afrika und Übersee* (B., Reimer).

AUAbidjL = *Annales de l'Univ. d'Abidjan. Série H (Linguistique)* (Abidjan).

AUL = *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* (Riga).

AVISIJ = *Aktual'nyje voprosy iranistiki i sravnitel'nogo indojevropejskogo jazykoznnija. Tezisy dokladov*. M., 1970.

AVS = *Allgemeine und vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. Bern, 1953 (= *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte: Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, II*).

AVSJ = *Aktual'nyje voprosy sravnitel'nogo jazykoznanija*. Ed. by A. Desnickaja. Lgr., 1989.

Awal = *Awal. Cahiers d'études berbères* (P., édition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).

AWL = *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (in Mainz). *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*.

BAf = *Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* (Wien, Institut für Afrikanistik & Ägyptologie der Universität Wien).

Balc = *Balcanica* (Belgrad).

BalcLI = *Balcanica. Lingvističeskije issledovanija*. M., 1979.

Balt. = *Baltistica* (Viln.).

BAV = *Berliner Afrikanistische Vorträge (XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Berlin 24.-29.3.1980)*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1981.

BAVSS = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichende semitische Sprachwissenschaft*.

BB = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, hrsg. von A. Bezzenger u. a. (Gött., 1877-1907).

Bb. = *Biblica* (Roma).

BE = *Balkansko ezikoznanie. Linguistique balkanique* (Sofia).

BEHE = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (P.).

BerSAk = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse*.

BHDKerns = *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics, in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*. Ed. by Y. Arbeitman and A. Bomhard. Amst., 1981.

Bi. = *Biblica*.

BICUAER = *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*.

BIFAN = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* (Dakar).

BIILS = *Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University* (Kt.)

BiLE = *Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)*. A cura di L. Cagni. Nap., Istituto Universiratio Orientale, 1984.

BISNEC = *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of North Eurasian Cultures, Hokkaido University* (Sapporo).

BK = *Bedi Karthlisa. Revue de kartvéologie* (P.).

BL = *Baltic Linguistics*. Ed. by Th. Magner & W. Schmalstieg. University Park (Pe.) / L., 1970.

BM = *Bibliothèque du Muséon* (Louv.).

BMJA = *Bespis'mennyje i mladopis'mennyje jazyki Afriki*. Ed. by N. V. Oxotina and A. B. Dolgopol'skij. M., 1973.

BNAC = *Beiträge zur Nordasiatischen Kulturgeschichte*. Ed. by G. Doerfer and M. Weiers. Wb., 1978 (= *Tungusica*, ed. by M. Weiers, I).

BO = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.

BPTJ = *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego. Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de Linguistique* (Wr. / Cr.).

BSELAF = *Bibliothèque de la SELAF* (P.).

BSh = *Beer-Sheva. Studies of the Department of Bible and Ancient Near East, Ben-Gurion University = Bë'er-Sheva^c. Këtav-'et shel ha-Maxláqáh leMiqrá' u-l-lîmûdê ha-Mizráx ha-Qárôv, 'Unîversît'at Ben-Gûryôn ba-Negev*.

BShSh = *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore* (Tiranë).

BSI = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. Ed. by T. Sudnik. M., 1974.

BSI-80 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1980*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1981.

BSI-81 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1981*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1982.

BSI-82 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1982*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1983.

BSI-83 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1983*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1984.

BSI-84 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1984*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1986.

BSI-85 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija. 1985*. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1987.

BSL = *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*.

BSPhL = *Beiträge zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*, hrsg. von G. Bergsträsser.

BSOAS - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Univ. of London.

BSOS - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Univ. of London.

BSPL = *Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de linguistique*.

BSS = *Balto-slavjanskij sbornik*. Ed. by V. Toporov. M., 1972.

Bule = *Bälgarski ezik*.

CA = *Current Anthropology*.

CAAL = *Current Approaches to African Linguistics* (Dordrecht).

CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal* (Wb.).

CArchJ = *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*.

Cauc. = *Caucasica. Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus* (Lpz.).

CBalt = *Commentationes Balticae* (Bonn).

CdE = *Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth* (Brux.).

Celt. = *Celtica*.

ChChLR = *Cheremis-Chuvash Lexical Relations*. Ed. by J. R. Krueger & E. D. Francis. Bloom., 1968.

ChLHSNB = *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic-Nigrific Border Area*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1982 (= MSAA XXVII).

ChLS XI = *Chicago Linguistic Society. Eleventh Regional Meeting* (1975).

ChSt = *Chuvash Studies*. Ed. by A. Róna-Tas. Bdp., 1982.

ChVSF = *Christiania Videnskaps-Selskabs Forhandlingan* (Chr.).

CIFU-1 = *Congressus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus 20-24. IX. 1960*. Bdp., 1963.

CIFU-2 = *Congressus Secundus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. I-II. Hs., 1968.

CIFU-3 = *Congressus Tertius Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. Tall., 1975.

CIFU-3 T = *Congressus Tertius Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. Teesid*. Tall., 1970.

CIFU-4 = *Congressus Quartus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus 9.-15. Septembris 1975*. I-III. Bdp., 1975 (vol. I), 1980 (vol. II), 1981 (vol. III).

CIFU-5 = *Congressus Quintus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. I-VIII. Turku, 1980-1.

CIFU-6 = *Materialy VI Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa finno-ugrovedov*. M., 1990.

CIFU-6 T = *Congressus Sextus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. Tezisy dokladov*. Sikt., 1985.

CIFU-7 1A = *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. 1A. Sessiones plenares. Dissertationes*. Debrecen, (printed at) Kiniszi Mg. Szakszövetkezet nyomdaüzemé, 1990.

CIFU-7 3A = *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. 3A. *Sessiones sectionum. Dissertationes. Linguistica*. Debrecen, (printed at) Kiniszi Mg. Szakszövetkezet nyomdaüzemé, 1990.

CIFU-8 = *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. I-II: Pars I. *Orationes plenariae et conspectus quinquennales*. Pars II. *Summaria acroasium in sectionibus et symposiis factarum*. Jyväskylä, 1995.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

CILIF = *Comparative-Historical Linguistics: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric*. Ed. by Bela Brogyanyi & Reiner Lipp. Amst. / Phil., 1992 (= *Paper in Honor of Oswald Szemerényi* III).

CInL = *Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique* (Louvain).

CIO 14 = *Actes du XIV Congrès International des Orientalistes (Alger, 1905)*. P., 1907.

CIO 21 = *Actes du XXIe Congrès International des Orientalistes (1948)*. P., 1949.

CISChS 1 = *Actes du Premier congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*. P., 1974.

CJS VI = *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, August 1973)*. Jer., 1977.

CL = *Collection linguistique* (P., Klinksieck).

CLAP = *Cercle linguistique d'Aix-en-Provence. Travaux*.

CLN = *California Linguistic Notes*.

CO = *Cushitic - Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic & Omotic Languages, Cologne, Jan. 6-9, 1986*. Ed. by M. Bechhaus-Gerst and F. Serzisko. Hm., 1988.

COL = *Cushitic and Omotic Languages. Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium, Berlin, March 17-19, 1994*. Ed. by C. Griefenow-Mewis & R. Voigt. K., 1996.

CollIE I = Bojan Čop, Varja Cvetko, J. E. Rasmussen. *Collectanea Indoeuropaea I*. Ljubljana, 1978 (= *Univerzita v Ljubljani. Filozofska fakulteta. Oddelek za primeraljno jezikoslovje in orientalistiko. Series Comparativa* III).

Copt E = *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. Ed. by Aziz S. Atiya. NY / Toronto.

CoptS = *Coptic Studies*. Ed. by Godlewski. Wa., 1990.

CPAAL = *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*. Ed. by J. Bynon. Amst. / Phil., J. 1984.

CPChL = *Current Progress in Chadic Linguistics*. Ed. by Z. Frajzyngier. Amst. / Phil., 1989.

D = *Diachronica. International Journal for Historical Linguistics* (Amst. / Phil.).

DA = *Drevnjaja Anatolija*. Ed. by B. B. Piotrovskij a. o. M., 1985.

DAE = *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*.

DCAN = *Dialectologie et comparatisme en Afrique Noire*, eds. G. Guarisma & S. Platiel. P., 1980

DCS = *Dravidian Case System*. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom & K. Kushalappa Gowda. Ann., 1976.

DGO = *Doklady otdelenij i komissij Geograficheskogo obshchestva SSSR* (Lgr.).

Dh = *Dhumbadji! Journal of the Melbourne Association for the History of Language*.

Diogène = *Diogène* (P.).

DJMA = *Drevnije jazyki Maloj Azii*. Sbornik statej. Ed. by I. M. D'jakonov and Vjach. Vs. Ivanov. M., 1980.

DL = *The Dravidian Languages*. Ed. by Sanford B. Steever. L. / NY, 1998.

DOT 23 = *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Ed. by E. von Schuler. Stg., 1989 (= *ZDMG*, Supplement VII).

DOT 25 = *XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Ed. by C. Wunsch. Stg., 1994.

DPhS = *Dravidian Phonological Systems*. Ed. by Harold S. Schiffman and Carol M. Eastman. Seattle, 1975.

DRAN-B = *Doklady Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, serija B*.

DrL = *Dravidian Linguistics (seminar papers)*. Proceedings of the Seminar on Comparative Dravidian held at the Annamalai Univ., Annamalainagar, Jan. 11-14, 1968. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom & N. Kumaraswami Raja. Ann., 1969.

DV = *Drevnij Vostok* (Yer.).

DVES = *Drevnij Vostok: etnokul'turnyje svjazi*. Ed. by G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. G. Ardzinba. M., 1988.

DzKEKSh = *Tbilisis Saxelmc'ipo Universit'et'i. Zveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi* (Tb.).

EA = *Eurasiatica. Journal of Neohistorical Linguistics*.

EAH = *Eastern African History*. Ed. by D. McCall, N. Bennett, J. Butley. NY, 1969. (= *Boston University Studies in Africa* III).

EAZh = **Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու** (*Eminean azgagrakan zhoghovacu, Eminskij etnograficheskij sbornik*) (Tiflis).

EB = *Encyclopædia Britannica*. (14th ed.) I-XXII. Ch./L., ©1971.

EBA = *E. Benveniste aujourd'hui. Actes du Colloque international du C. N. R. S. Université François Rabelais, Tours, 28-30 septembre 1983*. Vol. 1 (ed. G. Serbat). Vol. 2 (eds. J. Taillardat, G. Lazard, G. Serbat). P., 1984.

EC = *Études Celtiques*.

ECam = *Études Camerounaises*.

EDB = *Études et documents berbères* (P.).

EEA = *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*. I-II. Ed. By C. H. Gordon a. o. Winona Lake, Ind., 1987-90.

EEM = *Az etimológia elmélete és módszere*. Bdp., 1976.

EFOu = *Études finno-ougriennes* (Bdp.).

EI = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Ed. by J. P. Mallory & D. Q. Adams. L. / Ch., 1997.

EIMKIM = *Ak'ademik'osi N. Maris saxelobis Enis, ist'oriisa da mat'erialuri k'ult'uris inst'it'ut'is maombe = Izvestija Instituta jazyka, istorii i material'noj kul'tury im. akad. N. Ja. Marra* (Tb.).

EIRJ = *Etimologicheskie issledovanija po russkomu jazyku*. I - II. M., 1960-62.

EIShA = *Enatmecnierebis Inst'it'ut'is shromebi. Aghmosavlur enata seria* (Tb.).

ELL = *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Ed. by R. E. Asher. Oxf.

ELM = *Explorations in Language Macrofamilies*. Materials from the first International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor, 8-12 November, 1988. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1989.

ÉM = *Études mongoles* (P.-Nanterre, Laboratoire d'ethnologie, Univ. de Patris X).

EMC = *Evolution: From Molecules to Culture*. Abstracts of papers. Arranged by R. Dawkins & J. Diamond. Cold Spring Harbor (NY), 1990.

EMWKn = *East Meets West. Homage to Edgar C. Knowlton Jr.* Ed. by Roger L. Hadlich & J. D. Ellsworth. Honolulu, 1988.

EPhTch = *Études phonologiques tchadiennes*. Ed. by J.-P. Caprile. P., SELAF, 1977.

EPMA = *Epigraficheskiye pamjatniki drevnej Maloj Azii i antichnogo severnogo i zapadnogo Prichernomor'ja kak istoricheskij i lingvisticheskij istochnik*. M., 1985:

EPPh = *Estonian Papers in Phonetics* (Tall.).

ESLs = *Ethiopian Studies. Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*. Ed. S. Segert and A. Bodrogligeti. Wb., 1983.

Et 1964 = *Etimologija 1964*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1965.

Et 1965 = *Etimologija 1965*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1967.

Et 1966 = *Etimologija 1966*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1968.

Et 1967 = *Etimologija 1967*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1969.

Et 1968 = *Etimologija 1968*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1971.

Et 1970 = *Etimologija 1970*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1972.

Et 1971 = *Etimologija 1971*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1973.

Et 1972 = *Etimologija 1972*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1974.

Et 1973 = *Etimologija 1973*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1975.

Et 1975 = *Etimologija 1975*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1977.

Et 1976 = *Etimologija 1976*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1978.

Et 1977 = *Etimologija 1977*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1979.

Et 1978 = *Etimologija 1978*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1980.

Et 1979 = *Etimologija 1979*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1981.

Et 1982 = *Etimologija 1982*. Ed. by Zh. Varbot a. o. M., 1985.

Et 1983 = *Etimologija 1983*. Ed. by Zh. Varbot a. o. M., 1985.

Et 1984 = *Etimologija 1984*. Ed. by Zh. Varbot a. o. M., 1986.

Et 1985 = *Etimologija 1985*. Ed. by Zh. Varbot a. o. M., 1988.

Et 1991-3 = *Etimologija 1991-1993*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv. M., 1994.

- Et 1994-6 = *Etimologija 1994-1996*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv. M., 1997.
- ETchCEV = *Études tchadiques. Classes et extensions verbales*. P., 1987.
- ETchVM = *Études tchadiques. Verbes monoradicaux*. P., 1990.
- EtDz = *Etimologiuri žiebani*. Tb., 1987.
- Eth = *Ethnology* (Pittsburgh).
- EtDR = *Etimologija. Issledovanija po russskomu i drugim jazykam*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1963.
- ÉtL = *Études linguistiques* (Niamey, Niger).
- EtM = *Etiopia Meridionale*. P., 1890.
- EtPR = *Etimologija. Principy rekonstrukcii i metodika issledovanija*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1964.
- EvidLar/1 = *Evidence for Laryngeals*. Ed. by W. Winter. Austin, 1960.
- EvidLar/2 = *Evidence for Laryngeals*. Ed. by W. Winter. H., 1965.
- EVTÜT = *Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli toimetused. Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. B: Humaniora*.
- ExHL = *Explanation in Historical Linguistics*. Ed. Garry W. Davis & Gregory K. Iverson. Amst. / Phil., 1992.
- FAB = *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* (Fr.).
- FGS = *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft*. Ed. by Wilhelm Brandenstein. W., 1948.
- FL = *Folia Linguistica. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae*.
- FLH = *Folia Linguistica Historica. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae*.
- FO = *Folia Orientalia* (Cr.).
- FoundL = *Foundation of Language*.
- FS = *Folia Slavica*.
- FsAD = *Languages and their Speakers in Ancient Eurasia. Dedicated to Professor Aharon Dolgopolsky on his 70th Birthday*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin and P. Sidwell. Canberra, Association of the History of Language, 2002.
- FsAx = *Tbilisis Universit'et'i Giorgi Axvledians. Saiubileo k'rebuli mižghvnili dabadebis 80 c'listavisadmi*. Tb., 1969.
- FsBask = *90 let N. A. Baskakovu. N. A. Baskakovu ot kolleg i uchenikov*. Ed. by E. Tenishev. M., 1996.
- FsBH = **מחקרי לשון** *Mexqarê láchôn. Muggáshîm lë-Zë'év Ben-Xayim bë-haggî'ô læçêvâh*. Ed. by M. Bar-Asher a. o. J., 5743 (= 1982/3). (Fs. Ben-Hayyim).
- FsBonf = *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*. I-II. Brescia, 1976.
- FsDst = *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of Léon Dostert*. Ed. by William A. Austin. H., 1967.
- FsErh = *Grammaticus. Studia linguistica Adolfo Erharto quinque et septuagenario oblata*. Ed. by Šefčík and B. Vykypěl. Brno, 2001.
- FsEW I = *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. W. Heinrichs & G. Schoeler. Bd I: *Semitische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*. Beir., 1994.

FsFalk = *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* (Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966). Wb., Harrassowitz, 1967.

FsGim = *Proto-Indo-European: the Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem. Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas*. Ed. by Susan Nacev Skomal & Edgar C. Polomé. Wash., 1987.

FsGPG = *À la croisée des études libyco-berbères. Melanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand*. P., Geuthner, 1993 (GLECS, supplément 15).

FsGr = *Pharaonic Religion and Society (Fs. J. Gwyn Griffiths)*. Ed. by A. B. Lloyd. L., 1992.

FsHatt = *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics Presented to Shirô Hattori on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. by R. Jakobson & Shigeo Kawamoto. Tk., 1970.

FsHaussig = *Byzantino-Altaica. Festschrift für H.-W. Haussig*, hrsg. von H. Váry (= *Materialia Turcica VII-VIII [1981-82]*). Bochum, 1983.

FsHlz = *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical, and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*. = מִיכָאֵל מִיכָאֵל. *Mîkhá'él. Mexkárîm bēhist'ôryáh, bē'epîgrafyáh ûvmiqrá' likhvôd prôf. Mîkhá'él. Helcer*. Ed. by Yitzhak Avishur (Yicxáq Avîshûr יִצְחָק אַבִּישׁוּר) and Robert Deutsch (Rôbert' Dôyt'sh רוֹבֵּרְט דֵּוּיטֶשׁ). T.A. / Jaffa, 1999.

FsHoen = *Festschrift Henry Hoenigswald on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed. by George Cardona & N. Zide. Tüb., 1987.

FsHöf = *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*. Ed. Roswitha G. Stiegner. Graz, 1981.

FsHommel = *Mitteilungen der Vorder-Asiatischen Gesellschaft, 1917/II (Hommel-Festschrift)*.

FsJ = *Von Ägypten zum Tschad-See. Eine linguistische Reise durch Afrika. Festschrift für Herrmann Jungraithmayr zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. by R. Leger and D. Ibrizimow. Würzburg, 2001.

FsJak = *To Honor Roman Jakobson. Essays on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. H. / P., 1967.

FsJarr = *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in honour of G. Jarring*. St., Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul, 1988 (= *Swedish Research Inst. in Istanbul. Transactions I*).

FsKn = *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Festschrift für Johannes Knobloch*. In., 1985.

FsKon = *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik. K shestidesjatiletiju Andreja Nikolajeviča Kononova*. Ed. by S. Kljashtornyj a. o. M., 1966.

FsKov. = *Jazyk. Afrika. Ful'be. Sbornik nauchnyx statej v chest' A. I. Koval'*. Ed. by V. Vydrin and A. Kibrik. SPb./M., 1998.

FsKrahe = *Sybaris. Festschrift Hans Krahe*. Wb., 1958.

FsKur = *Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kury_owicz*. Wr. / Wars. / Cr., 1965.

FsLf = *On Both Sides of Al-Mandab. Ethiopian, South-Arabic, and Islamic Studies presented to Oscar Löfgren on his ninetieth birthday 13*

May 1988 by colleagues and friends. St., 1989 (= *Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions* II).

FsLS = *Studia linguistica in honorem Thaddaei Lehr-Spławiński*. Ed. by T. Milewski a. o. Wa., 1963.

FsLwn = **מחקרים במקרא ובמזרח הקדמון** *Mexqârîm ba-Miqrá² u-va-Mizrâx ha-Qadmôn. Sefer ha-yôvél lë-prôfesôr Lêwensht'am.* J., 5738 (= 1978).

FsMc = *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica. Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*. Ed. by Maria Macuch, Chr. Müller-Kessler & B. Fragner. Wb., 1989.

FsMeen = *Te. Po. Mī. Maṇivīṛāmalar* (Studies presented to T. P. Meenakshisundaran). Ann., 1961.

FsMn = *Eurasia Nostratica. Festschrift für Karl Heinrich Menges*. I-II. Wb., 1977.

FsMnh = *Festschrift Meinhof*. Hm., 1927.

FsMoran = *Lingering Over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Ed. by Tz. Abush, J. Huehnergard & P. Steinkeller. Atlanta, 1990.

FsNeum = *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*. In., 1982.

FsNI = *Festskrift til Konrad Nielsen på 70-årsdagen*. Oslo, 1945 (= *Studia Septentrionalia* II).

FsNm = *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*. Ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Bdp., 1976.

FsPal = *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics, Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Ed. by A. Morpurgo Davies and M. Meid. In., 1976.

FsPed = *Studia Orientalia ... Johanni Pedersen dicata*. Cop., 1953.

FsPEY = *Coreanica et Altaica. Festschrift for Professor Pak Eun-yong on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*. Hayang (Korea), 1987.

FsPH = *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary 1883-1923 of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore*. Ed. by Cyrus Adle and Aaron Ember. Balt., 1926.

FsPlt = *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. Ed. by D. W. Young. East Gloucester, 1981.

FsPol = *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture, and Religion. Festschrift for Edgar C Polomé*. McLean (VA), 1991.

FsPp = *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag*. Wb., 1957.

FsRd = *Rédei-Festschrift*. W. / Bdp., 1992.

FsRisch = *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Annemarie Etter. B. / NY, 1986.

FsRod = *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson. Supplément 12 aux Comptes-rendus du GLECS*. P., 1985.

- FsRos = *Omagiu lui Alexandru Rosetti*. Buc., 1965.
- FsSchl = *Festschrift für Wolfgang Schlachter zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. Chr. Gläser & J. Pusztay. Wb., 1979.
- FsSchr = *Festschrift F. R. Schröder*. Hd., 1959.
- FsSin = *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata*. Ed. by W. Heissig, John R. Krueger, Felix J. Oinas, E. Schütz. Wb., 1976.
- FsSh = *Indo-European, Nostratic, and Beyond: Festschrift for Vitalij V. Shevoroshkin*. Ed. by Irén Hegedűs, Peter A. Michalove, and Alexis Manaster Ramer. Wash., 1997 (= *JIES*, monograph no. 22).
- FsSn = *Issledovanija po vostočnoj filologii. K semidesjatiletiju G. D. Sanzhejeva*. M., 1974.
- FsSP = *Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*. Mdr., 1961.
- FsSpitaler = *Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik. Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Schülern überreicht*. Ed. W. Diem and S. Wild, Wb., 1980.
- FsStang = *Donum Balticum. To Professor Christian S. Stang on the occasion of his 70th birthday 15 March 1970*. Ed. by Velta Rūķe-Draviņa. St., 1970.
- FsStn = *Parallelismus und Etymologie. Studien zu Ehren Wolfgang Steinitz anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstags am 28. Februar 1985* (= *Linguistische Studien*. Reihe 161/II). B., 1987.
- FsStr = *Stand und Aufgaben der Wissenschaft. Festschrift für Wilhelm Streiberg*. Hd., 1924.
- FsSz = *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic and Typological Linguistics: Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi*. Amst. / Ph., 1979.
- FsSzin = *Festgabe Josef Szninneyi zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. vom Ungarischen Institut an der Universität Berlin. B. / Lpz., 1927.
- FsTh = *Festschrift G. Thausing*. Ed. M. Bietak et alii. FORTHCOMING
- FsTop = *Πολύτροπον k 70-letiju Vladimira Nikolajevicha Toporova*. Ed. by T. M. Nikolajeva a. o. M., Indrik, 1998.
- FsTr = *Scritti in onore di Alfredo Trombetti*. Mil., 1938.
- FsVr = *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von P. Anton Vorbicher*. Ed. by I. Hoffmann. W., 1981.
- FsVs = *Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 70. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1956*. B., 1956.
- FsWnd = *Studia Etymologica Indoeuropaea Memoriae A. J. Van Windekens Dicata*. Ed. by L. Isebaert (= *Orientalia Lovabiensia Analecta* 45). Leuven, 1991.
- FsZ = *Studia linguarum. De omnibus linguae rebus scibilibus et quibusdam aliis. Andreae Anatolii filio honorem dicimus*. M., 1997 (Fs. A. Zaliznjak).
- FUCUS = *FUCUS. A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*. Ed. Y. Arbeitman. Amst. / Phil., 1988.
- FUF = *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* (Hs.).

- FUM = *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* (Hm.).
- FUS = *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana*.
- FUTY = *FU-transkription yksinkertaistaminen*. Ed. by Lauri Posti & Terho Itkonen. Hs., 1973.
- FWB = *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Regensburg, 9.-14.9.1973)*. Ed. by H. Rix. Wb., 1975.
- GAPh = *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*. I-III. Wb., 1982-92.
- GATSJA = *Geneticheskiye, areal'nyje i tipologičeskije svjazi jazykov Azii*. Ed. by Ju. Plam, Ü. Sirk, and L. Shkarban (Ju. Ja. Plam, Ju. X. Sirk, L. I. Shkarban). M., 1983.
- GBI = *Godišnjak. Balkanološki Institut. Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo).
- GCL = *Genetic Classification of Languages: A New Approach*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Austin, 1989.
- Ge = *Georgica* (Jena).
- GET 1991 = *Réunion du Groupe d'études tchadiques* (JET, Paris), Sept. 21, 1991. Papers and handouts.
- GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.
- GIG = *Germanen und Indogermanen. Festschrift für Herman Hirt*. Ed. by H. Arntz. I-II. Hd., 1936.
- GIJS = *Grammatičeskije issledovanija po jazykam Sibiri*. Ed. by Je. Ubrjatova. Novos., 1982.
- GIPh = *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*. Ed. by W. Geiger and E. Kuhn. I-II. Str., 1895-1904.
- GK = *Gengo Kenkyû* (Kt.).
- Gl = *Glotta*.
- GL = *General Linguistics*.
- GLC = *Global Linguistic Connections*. Ed. by Gyula Decsi. Bloom., 1983 (= *Bibliotheca Nostratica* V).
- GLECS = *Comptes-rendues du Groupe linguistique des études chamito-sémitiques* (P.).
- GM = *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* (Gött.).
- GMAÄ = *Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*. I-IX. B., 1954-62.
- GNSLIV XV, XVI, XIX = XV (resp. XVI, XIX) *godichnaya nauchnaya sessiya Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR*.
- GRJL = *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Genetic Relationship of the Japanese Language, Oct. 10-13, 1980, Kyoto*. Kt., 1981 = *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University* II, no. 4.
- GSAI = *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*.
- GsAbr = *Papers in Honour of R. C. Abraham (1890-1963)*. Ed. by Philip J. Jaggar. L., 1992 (*African Languages and Cultures*, suppl. 1).

GsBehrens = *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens.* (= AAP, Sondernummer). K., 1991.

GsBr. = *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein.* Ed. by M. Mayrhofer. In., 1968.

GsColl. = *Linguistica et Philologica: Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder.* Ed. by O. Gschwantler, K. Rédei, H. Reichert. W., 1984.

GsCowg. = *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill.* Ed. by C. Watkins. B., 1987.

GsPtrc = *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček.* Ed. by Peter Zamánek. Pr., 1996.

GsSt = *Studia linguistica memoriae Zdislai Stieber dedicata.* Ed. by M. Basaj. Wr. / Wars. / Cr., 1983.

GsWind. = *Studia etymologica Indoeuropaea. Memoriae A. J. van Windekens dicata.* Ed. by L. Isebaert. Leuven, 1991.

HaerIG = *Haeretica Indogermanica. A selection of Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European Studies* (= HFM XLVII/3). Cop., 1974.

Hangeul = *Hangeul* (Seoul).

HAL = *Handbook of African Languages.*

HAT = *Handbuch zum Alten Testament.*

Hesp. = *Hespéris* (P.).

HHP = *In honorem Holger Pedersen.* Ed. J. E. Rasmussen and B. Nielsen. Wb., 1994.

HIG = *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch.* Ed. W. Meid and E. Neu. In., 1979.

HFM = *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* (Cop.)

HL = *The Hungarian Language.* Ed. by Loránd Benkó & Samu Imre. H., 1972.

HO 1 = *Handbuch der Orientalistik.* 1. Abteilung: *Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten.* I-XIX. Ld. / K., 1958-1994.

HO Äg = *Ägyptologie.* 1. Abschnitt: *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache.* Ld. / K., 1959 (= HO 1, vol. I, 1. Abschnitt).

HO AKSE = *Altkeleinsprachliche Sprachen (und Elamisch).* Mit Beiträgen von J. Friedrich, E. Reiner, A. Kammenhuber, G. Neumann, A. Heubeck. Ld. / K., 1969 (= HO 1, vol. II [HO KAGV], Abschn. 1-2/2).

HO ArmKS = *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen.* Mit Beiträgen von G. Deeters, G. R. Solta, V. Inglisian. Ld. / K., 1963 (= HO 1, vol. VII).

HO Ir = *Iranistik.* 1. Abschnitt: *Linguistik.* Mit Beiträgen von K. Hoffmann, W. Henning, H. Bailey, G. Morgenstierne, W. Lentz, etc. Ld. / K., 1958 (= HO 1, vol. IV).

HO KAGV = *Keilschriftforschung und Alte Geschichte Vorderasiens.* Abschnitte 1-4. Ld. / K., 1969 (= HO 1, vol. II).

HO M = *Mongolistik.* Mit Beiträgen von N. Poppe, U. Posch, G. Doerfer u. a. Ld. / K., 1964 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik.* 2. Abschnitt: *Mongolistik*).

HO S = *Semitistik.* 1.-3. Abschn. Ld. / K., 1953-4 (= HO 1, vol. III).

HO Tung = *Tungusologie*. Mit Beiträgen von W. Fuchs, I. A. Lopatin, K. H. Menges, D. Sinor. Ld. / K., 1968 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik*. 3. Abschnitt: *Tungusologie*).

HO Turk = *Turkologie*. Mit Beiträgen von A. von Gabain, O. Pritsak, N. Poppe u. a. Ld. / K., 1963 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik*. 1. Abschnitt: *Turkologie*).

HO UL = *The Uralic Languages. Description, History, and Foreign Influences*. Ed. by D. Sinor. Ld. / NY / Cop. / K., 1988. (= HO. 8. Abt. *Handbook of Uralic Studies*. Vol. 1).

HS = *Hamito-Semitic. Proceedings of a Colloquium held by the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of March 1970*. Ed. by J. and Th. Bynon. L., 1975.

HSF = *Historische Sprachforschung* (continuation of KZ).

HumA = *Human Affairs*.

HW = *העברית ואהיותיה* *Ha-ʿivrît vë-ʾaxyôtèha* (Haifa).

IA = *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay).

IAJK = *Irano-afrazijskije jazykovyje kontakty*. Ed. by G. Sharbatov a. o. M., 1987.

IALR = *International Anthropological and Linguistic Review* (Miami).

IAN = *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka* (M.).

IANS = *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR* (Lgr.).

IASIM = *Istoricheskaja akcentologija i sravnitel'no-istoricheskij metod*. Ed. by R. Bulatova and V. Dybo. M., 1989.

IBK = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* (In.).

IBS = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* (In.).

IBSVK = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft . Vorträge und kleinere Schriften* (In.).

ICCS 2 = *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Roma, 22-26 Sept. 1980). R., 1985.

ICES 4 = *IV Congresso Internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma, 10-15 aprile 1972)*. Vol. 2 (sezione linguistica). R., 1974 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*. Quaderno n. 191).

ICES 6 = *Ethiopian Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Ed. by G. Goldenberg. Rotterdam / Boston, 1986.

ICES 9 = *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Ethiopian Studies*. Moscow. M., 1988.

ICfES 5/B = *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Session B*. Ed. by Robert Hess. Ch., 1978.

ICfES 7 = *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Ed. by S. Rubenson. East Lansing, MI, 1984.

ICfES 8 = *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*. Univ. of Addis-Ababa, 1984). Ed. by Taddese Beyene. I-II. Ad. / Fr., 1988.

- IChJ = *Issledovanija po chuvashskomu jazyku*, Cheb., 1988
 ICHL 7 = *VII International Conference for Historical Linguistics. Program and abstracts.* Pavia, 1985.
 ICHL 8 = *VIII International Conference for Historical Linguistics. Program and abstracts.* Lille, 1987.
 ICL 8 = *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists.* Oslo, 1958.
 ICL 9 = *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists.* Ed by H. Lunt. H., 1964.
 ICL 11 = *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists (Bologna-Florence, Aug. 28 - Sept. 2, 1972).* Ed. by L. Heilmann. Bol., 1975.
 ICL 14 = *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Linguists (Berlin, 1987).* I-III. B., 1990.
 ICSS 2 = *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies.* Ed. by Th. Labahn. I. *Linguistic and Literature.* Hm., 1984.
 ICSS 3 = *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies,* 1988. Ed. A. Puglielli. R., 1989.
 ICTS 2 = *Proceedings of the II Intern. Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies (1968).* Mdr., 1972.
 IEAJ = *Issledovanija v oblasti etimologii altajskix jazykov.* Lgr., 1979.
 IEIE = *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans.* Ed. by G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald & A. Senn. Phil., 1970.
 IEJA = *Issledovanija po epigrafike i jazykam drevnej Anatolii, Kipra i antichnogo Severnoj Prichernomor'ja.* M., 1987.
 IEN = *Indo-European Numerals.* Ed. by Jadranka Gvozdanović. B / NY, 1992.
 IESM = *Illjustrirovannyj enciklopedičeskij slovar'. Mifologija.* Ed. by Je. Meletinsky a. o. SPb., 1996.
 IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Berlin).
 IFGVJ = *Issledovanija po fonologii i grammatike vostochnyx jazykov.* M., 1978.
 IHSC 2 = *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica (Firenze, 16-19 aprile 1974).* Coll. by P. Fronzaroli. Fir., 1978. (= QS V).
 IHSC 4 = *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* Ed. H. Jungraithmayr and W. Müller. Amst. / Phil., 1987.
 IHSC 5 = *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress, 1987.* Ed. by H. Mukarovsky. I-II. W., 1990-1.
 IIAN = *Izvéstija Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* (SPb.).
 IJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal* (H.).
 IJAL = *International Journal of American Linguistics.*
 IJDL = *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics.*
 IJF 2 = *Issledovanija po jaziku i fol'kloru II,* Novos., 1967.
 IK'E = *Iberul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecniereba* (Tb.).
 IK'EC' = *Iberul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecnierebis c'elic'deuli* (Tb.).

IKKNAJO II = *Istoriko-kul'turnyje kontakty narodov altajskoj jazykovoju obshchnosti: Tez. dokl. XXIX sessii PIAC, Tashkent, sent. 1986*, M., 1986. II: *Lingvistika*.

IL = *Indian Linguistics* (Pn.).

IOK 24 = *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München, 1957*. Wb., 1959.

IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies* (TA)

IPhCKrn = *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Ed. by Erich Neu. Wb., 1982.

IPN = *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*. I-. W., 1977-.

IRAN = *Izvéstija Rossijskoj Akademii nauk* (SPb./Ptg.)

IRGO = *Izvéstija Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva* (SPb.).

IrJ = *Iranskije jazyki*. I. Ed. by I. Meshchaninov. M. / Lgr., 1945.

IrJaz 1982 = *Iranskoje jazykoznanije 1982*. M., 1987.

IRLTJ = *Istoricheskije razvitije leksiki tjurkskix jazykov*. Ed. by Je. Ubrjatova. M., 1961.

ISGTJ I = *Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskix jazykov*. I: *Fonetika*. M., 1955.

ISGTJ II = *Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskix jazykov*. II: *Morfologija*. M., 1956.

Isl. = *Islamica* (Lpz.).

IT = *Issledovanija po tjurkologii*. Al., 1969.

ITIFU = *Istoriko-tipologicheskije issledovanija po finno-ugorskim jazykam*. Ed. by B. Serebrennikov. M., 1978.

ITSTI = *Istoriko-tipologicheskije i sinxronno-tipologicheskije issledovanija*. Ed. by Enver A. Makajev. M., 1972.

IUP-UAS = *Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series* (Bloom.).

IVUCH = *Issledovanija vengerskix uchënyx po chuvashskomu jazyku*. Compiled by A. Róna-Tas. Ed. by A. Skvorcov. Cheb., 1985.

JA = *Journal asiatique* (P.).

JAA I = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. I: *Xetto-luvijskije jazyki. Armjanskij jazyk. Indoarijskije jazyki*. M., 1976.

JAA III = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. III: *Jazyki drevnej Perednej Azii (nesemitskije). Iberijsko-kavkazskije jazyki. Paleoaziatskije jazyki*. M., 1979.

JAA IV/1 = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. IV, kniga 1: *Afrazijskije jazyki: Semitskije jazyki*. M., 1991.

JAA IV/2 = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. IV, kniga 2: *Afrazijskije jazyki: Kushitskije jazyki. Livijsko-guanchskije jazyki. Jegipetskij jazyk. Chadskije jazyki*. M., 1991.

JAA V = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. V: *Altajskije jazyki: Tungusoman'chzhurskije jazyki. Mongol'skije jazyki. Tjurkskije jazyki. Korejskij jazyk. Japonskij jazyk. Dialekty japonskogo jazyka. Ajnskij jazyk*. M., 1993.

JAAL = *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* (Princeton).

- JAAS = *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (Tk.).
- JAASbS = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki (Fonetika. Leksikologija. Grammatika). Sbornik statej* (Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). M., 1985.
- JAfr = *Jazyki Afriki*. Ed. by N. Oxotina and B. Uspenskij. M., 1966.
- JAfrL = *Journal of African Languages*.
- JafS = *Jafeticheskij sbornik* (Lgr.).
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JAS = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal = Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calc.).
- JazA = *Jazykovědné aktuality*.
- JB = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JBL = *The Journal of Biblical Literature*.
- JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JDV 4 = *IV Mezhdunarodnaja konferencija po jazykam Dal'nego Vostoka, Jugo-Vostočnoj Azii i Zapadnoj Afriki. Tezisy dokladov*. (Moscow University). I-II. M., 1997.
- JEa = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (L.).
- JEAL = *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*.
- JerSAI = *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.
- JEthS = *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Ad.).
- JFEsUCM = *Jornadas de filología eslava de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de filología*. 16 - 18 de Mayo 1990, Md., 1990.
- JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JIE = *Języki indoeuropejskie*. I-II. Ed. by L. Bednarczuk. Wa., 1988.
- JIES = *Journal of Indo-European Studies*.
- JIPNC = *Jazyki Indii, Nepala, Pakistana i Cejlona. Materialy nauchnoj konferencii 18-20 janvarja 1965 goda*. M., 1968.
- JLSJ = *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan*.
- JM = *Jazyk i myshlenie* (M./Lgr.).
- JM-DN = *Jazyki mira. Dardskije i nuristanskije jazyki*. Ed. by D. Edel'man. M., 1999.
- JM-GK = *Jazyki mira. Germanskije jazyki. Kel'tskije jazyki*. Ed. by N. Semenuk, V. Kalygin, O. Romanova. M., 2000.
- JM-JZI = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. I. Jugo-zapadnyje iranskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, V. Moshkalo, D. Edel'man. M., 1997.
- JMKNS = *Jazyk - mif - kul'tura narodov Sibiri: Sbornik nauchnyx trudov*. Jakutsk, 1988.
- JM-MT = *Jazyki mira. Mongol'skije jazyki. Tunguso-man'chzhurskije jazyki. Japonskij jazyk. Korejskij jazyk*. Ed. by V. Alpatov a. o. M., 1997.
- JM-SZI = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. II. Severo-zapadnyje iranskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, V. Jefimov, V. Moshkalo. M., 1999.
- JM-T = *Jazyki mira. Tjurkskije jazyki*. Ed. by E. Tenishev a. o. M., 1997.

- JM-U = *Jazyki mira. Ural'skije jazyki.* Ed. by Ju. Elisejev, K. Majtinskaja, O. Romanova. M., 1993.
- JM-VI = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. III. Vostochnoiranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, Dzh. Edelman, V. Moshkalo. M., 2000.
- JN I = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. I. Indojevropijskije jazyki.* M., 1966.
- JN II = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. II. Tjurkskije jazyki.* M., 1966.
- JN III = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. III. Finno-ugorskije i samodijskije jazyki.* M., 1966.
- JN IV = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. IV. Iberijsko-kavkazskije jazyki.* M., 1967.
- JN V = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. V. Mongol'skije, tungusoman'chzhurskije i paleoaziatskije jazyki.* M., 1968.
- JNS = *Jazyki narodov Sibiri.*
- JOU = *Journal of the Osmania University* (Hyderabad, India).
- JPNS I = *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa. I. Jazyki i pis'mennost' samojedskix i finno-ugorskix narodov.* Ed. by G. Prokof'jev. M./Lgr., 1937.
- JPNS III = *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa. III. Jazyki i pis'mennost' paleoaziatskix narodov.* Ed. by E. Krejnovich. M./Lgr., 1934.
- JPOS = *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society.*
- JRAI = *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*
- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JRNEA = *Journal of Research on North-East Africa.*
- JSA = *Journal de la Société des Africanistes .*
- JSAI = *Jerusalem Studies on Arabic and Islam.*
- JSFOu = *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja. Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Hs.).
- JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.*
- JTS = *Journal of Tamil Studies.*
- JWAL = *Journal of West African Languages.*
- JWh = *Studies Presented to Joshua Whatmough on his Sixteenth Birthday.* Ed. by E. Pulgram. H., 1957.
- JZV = *Jazyki zarubezhnogo Vostoka. Sbornik statej.* Ed. by N. Syromjatnikov. M., 1977.
- KA = *Komparative Afrikanistik.* W., 1992.
- Kalb. = *Kalbotyra* (Viln.).
- KCsA = *Kőrösí Csoma-Archivum* (Bdp.; reprint: Ld.).
- KEL I = *Kartvelur enata leksik'a,* vol. I. Ed. by V. Beridze. Tb., Mecniereba, 1938.
- Kêmi = *Kêmi, Revue de philologie et 'archéologie égyptienne et copte* (P.).
- KESS = *Kartvelur enata st'rukt'uris sak'itxebi* (Tb.).
- KJ = *Korejskij jazyk. Sbornik statej.* Ed. by B. K. Pashkov. M., 1961.
- KJE = *Kratkaja Jevrejskaja Enciklopedija* (Jewrusalem).

KMSA = *Konferencija molodyx sotrudnikov i aspirantov (tezisy dokladov)*. (Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). Ed. by V. Cybul'skij a. o. M., 1973.

Kr = *Kratylos*.

KSI = Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki Akademii nauk SSSR. *Konferencija po sravnitel'no-istoricheskoj grammatike indojevropejskix jazykov. Predvaritel'nyje materialy*. M., 1972.

KSINA = *Kratkije soobshčenija Instituta narodov Azii* (Moscow).

KSSC = *Kartuli saenatmecniero sazogadoebis c'elic'deuli* (Tiflis).

KSz = *Keleti Szemle. Folyóirat* (Bdp.).

KUAS = *Kyoto University African Studies*.

KZ = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, begründet von A. Kuhn.

LACUS XIV = *The Fourteenth LACUS Forum 1987* (Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States). Ed. by Sheila Embleton. Lake Bluff, Ill., 1987.

LAe = *Lingua Aegyptia*.

LCBLTch = *Langues et cultures dans le bassin du lac Tchad*. Coll. and ed. by D. Barreteau. P., 1987.

LChLE = *Language Change and Linguistic Evolution*. Ed. by W. S-Y. Wang. L., 1988.

LChRM = *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Ed. by P. Baldi. B. / NY, 1990 (= Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 45).

LE = *Language in Ethiopia*. Ed. by M. L. Bender a. o. L., 1976.

LES = *Lingvisticheskij enciklopedicheskij slovar'*. M., 1990.

Lg = *Language* (Balt.).

LHSchw = *Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*. Ed. by Y. Arbeitman. LvN., 1988.

Li = *Lingua*.

LI = *Lingvisticheskije issledovanija. Tipologija. Dialektologija. Etimologija. Komparativistika*. Sbornik statej (Akad. nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). I-II. M., 1984.

LE = *Le lingue indoeuropee*. Ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat & Paolo Ramat. Bol., 1993.

LIFA = *Lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione. Die indogermanischen Restsprachen*. Pisa, 1983.

LinE = *La lingua di Ebla*, a cura di L. Cagni. Nap., 1981.

LingL = *Linguistica* (Ljubljana, Slovenia).

LM = *Language Monographs*. Published by the Linguistic Society of America.

LMAMI. = *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de Jean Perrot. 1re partie: *Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*. 2me partie: *Pidgins et créoles*. P., 1981.

LP = *Language and Prehistory*. Proceedings of a symposium held at Ann Arbor, Mich. (1988), UNPUBLISHED.

- LPosn = *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznan)
- LRDIV-84 = *Lingvisticheskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejshaja istorija Vostoka. Tezisy i doklady konferencii*. I-V. M., 1984.
- LRDIV-89 = *Lingvisticheskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejshaja istorija Vostoka. Materialy k diskussijam na Mezhdunarodnoj konferencii (Moskva, 29 maja - 2 ijunja 1989 g.)*. I-III., M., 1989.
- Ls = **לשוננו** *Lëshônénû* (J.).
- LS-A = *Linguistische Studien*. Reihe A: *Arbeitshefte*. (B.).
- LSFN = *Uchenyje zapiski (Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet)*. Serija *filologicheskix nauk* (Lgr.).
- LSPF = *Linguistica semitica - presente e futuro*. Studi di H. Cazelles, E. Cerulli, G. Garbini, W. von Soden, A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorff. Raccolto da G. Lévi della Vida. R., 1961.
- LTDEK = *Lingvisticheslije isledovanija. Tipologija. Dialektologija. Etimologija. Komparativistika*. Sbornik statej (Akad. nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). I-II. M., 1984.
- LTh = *Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems*. Ed. by Alfred Bammesberger. Heid., 1988.
- LTNS = *Langues et techniques. Nature et société*. Vol. I: *Approche linguistique*. Ed. J. Thomas & L. Bernot. P., 1972.
- MA = *Mélanges Asiatiques* (SPb.).
- MAIB = *Memorie della R. Accademia delle scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali* (Bol.).
- MAIBL = *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et des belles lettres* (P.).
- MAOG = *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).
- MAS-GELLAS = *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques. Recherches en cours - Publications du Groupe d'études de linguistique et de littératures arabes et sudarabiques* (P.).
- MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo*.
- MémAB = *Mémorial André Basset*. P., 1957.
- MemMész = *In memoriam Gedeon Gedeon Mészöly*. Sz., 1961 (NNy, fasciculus extraordinarius).
- MémVc. = *Articles de linguistique berbère. Mémorial Werner Vycichl*. Réunis et édités par Kamal Naït-Zerrad. P./Bdp./Tor., 2002.
- Meroe = *Meroe* (M.).
- MFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Ostasiatiska Samlingarna)* (St.).
- MFOB = *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*.
- MHB = *Mémorial Henri Basset. Nouvelles études nord-africaines et orientales*. P., 1928.
- MIOF = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (B.).
- MiscE = *Miscellanea Eblaitica*. Ed. by P. Fronzaroli (volumes of QS).
- MJJ = *Materialy po jafeticheskomu jazykoznaniju* (SPb./Ptg.).

MKVAW = *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren* (Brux.).

MLGin. = *Mélanges de linguistique et de philosophie offertes à Jacques van Ginneken*. P., 1937.

MLPhM = *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie. Fernand Mossé in memoriam*. P., , 1959.

MLR = *Mediterranean Language Review* (Wiesbaden).

MLRod. = *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson. Supplément 12 aux Comptes-rendus du GLECS*. P., 1985.

MLZh = *Moskovskij lingvističeskij žurnal. The Moscow Linguistic Journal*.

MMCohen = *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*. Réunis par David Cohen. H., 1970.

MNM = *Mify narodov mira. Enciklopedija*. I-II. M., 1980.

MNy = *Magyar nyelv*.

MO = *Le Monde oriental* (Up.).

MQ = *The Mankind Quarterly*.

MRB = *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales*. I-II. P., 1923-5.

MRDTB = *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library)* (Tk.).

MSAA = *Marburger Studien für Afrika- und Asienkunde*.

MSB = *Mitteilungen des Sonderforschungsberichts* (Fr.).

MSFOu = *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia. Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne* (Hs.).

MSL = *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*.

MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Univ. Berlin* (MSOS-2 = MSOS, Abt. 2: *Westasiatische Studien*; MSOS-3 = MSOS, Abt. 3: *Afrikanische Studien*).

MSS = *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*.

MT = *Mother Tongue. Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory*.

MTKJ = *Morfologičeskaja tipologija i problema klassifikacii jazykov*, ed. ny B. Serebrennikov and O. Sunik. M. / Lgr., 1965.

Mus. = *Le Muséon* (Louvain).

MUSJ = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beir.).

MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (B.).

MVÄG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).

NAA = *Narody Azii i Afriki* (M.).

NAS = *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*. Ed. by J. Lukas. Hm., 1966.

NCh = *Nauka i chelovechestvo 1971-1972*. M., 1971.

NCL = *The Niger-Congo Languages: a Classification and Description of Africa's Largest Language Family*. Ed. by J. Bender-Samuel. Lanham, 1989.

NDCAA = *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric, and Amerind*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1992.

NEB = *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*. 15th ed. *Macropædia*. I-XIX. Ch./L., ©1974.

NELM = *Nostratic: Examining a Linguistic Macrofamily*. Ed. by C. Renfrew and D. Nettle. Cm., 1999.

NilES = *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* (Kt.).

NilS = *Nilotic Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples, Cologne, Jan. 4-6, 1982*. Ed. by R. Voßen and M. Bechhaus-Gerst (= *Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik*, Bd. X). B., 1983.

NJMA = *Nadpisi i jazyki drevnej Maloj Azii, Kipra i antichnogo Severnogo Prichernomor'ja*. M., 1987

NJNJ = *Nostraticeskije jazyki i nostraticeskoje jazykoznanije. Konferencija (Tezisy dokladov)*. Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki. M., 197.

NKQ = *'An-naqā'išu wa-l-kitābāt al-qadīma fi-l-Maṭan al-'Arabiyy*. Tunis, 1988.

NLML II = *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics*. II. St., 1975.

NMN = *Nyt Magazin for Naturvidenskab* (Chr.)

NNy = *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* (Sz.) (= *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Sectio ethnographica et linguistica*).

NO = *Nový Orient*.

NSE = *Nostratic: Sifting the Evidence*. Ed. by Brian Joseph & Joe Salmons. Amst., 1998.

NSIE = *The New Sound of Indo-European. Essays in Phonological Reconstruction*. Ed. by Theo Vennemann. B. / NY, 1989.

NSL = *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR. Linguistic Studies*. Ed. by H. Aronson. Ch., 1989.

NSL-II = *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR. Linguistic Studies. Second Series*. Ed. by H. Aronson. Ch., 1992.

NSLE = *Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. Ed. by M. L. Bender. East Lansing / Carbondale, 1976.

NSLS = *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies* Ed. by M. L. Bender. East Lansing, 1983.

NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).

NyD = *Nyelvészeti Dolgozatok* (Sz.).

NyIOK = *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi osztályának közlemények* (Bdp.).

NyK = *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Bdp.).

ÕESA = *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat* (Tartu).

OFUJ-FU = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Voprosy proisxozhdenija i razvitija finno-ugorskix jazykov*. Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1974.

- OFUJ-MPU = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Marijskij, permskije i ugorskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1976.
- OFUJ-PFSM = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Pribaltijsko-finskije, saamskij i mordovskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1975.
- OFVJ = *Očerki po fonologii vostochnyx jazykov.* Ed. by T. Jelizarenkova. M., 1985.
- OIJ-D = *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija. Drevneiranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Abajev, M. Bogoljubov, V. Rastorgujeva. M., 1979.
- OIJ-S = *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija. Sredneiranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Abajev, M. Bogoljubov, V. Rastorgujeva. M., 1981.
- OldP = *S. F. Ol'denburgu k pjatidesjatiletiju naučno-obščestvennoj dejatel'nosti, 1882-1932.* Lgr., 1934.
- ÖLT XIII = *Akten der 13. Österreichischen Linguistentagung (Graz, 25-27 Okt. 1985).* Ed. by Christian Zinko. Graz, 1988.
- OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
- OMD = *Očerki mordovskix dialektov.* I-V. Saransk, 1961-68.
- OmLS = *Omotic Language Studies.* Ed. by R. Hayward. L., 1990.
- On = *Onomastika.* Ed. by V. A. Nikonov and A. V. Superanskaja. M., 1969.
- Or = *Orientalia. Commentarii Pontifici Instituti Biblici (R.).*
- OrA = *Oriens antiquus (R.).*
- Orbis = *Orbis (Lv.).*
- OrS = *Orientalia Suecana.*
- Ors. = *Oriens.*
- OSLAJ = *Očerki sravnitel'noj leksikologii altajskix jazykov.* Ed. by V. Cincius. Lgr., 1972.
- OSMAJ = *Očerki sravnitel'noj morfologii altajskix jazykov.* Ed. by O. Sunik. Lgr., 1978.
- OUM = *Olon ulsyn mongol xel bigchijn erdemtnij anxdugaar ix xural.* I-II. Ed. by Zh. Cölöö. UB, 1961.
- PacA = *Pacific Affairs.*
- PAfrJ = *Problemy afrikanskogo jazykoznanija.* Ed. by N. Oxotina and B. Uspenskij. M., 1972.
- PAS = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. Voprosy xettologii i xurritologii.* M., 1961.
- PAS III = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. III. Istorija i filologija stran Drevnego Vostoka.* M., 1979.
- PAS IV = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. IV.* M., 1984.
- PASC = *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei).*
- PAU-MCO = *Polska Akademia umiejętności - Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste (Cr.).*
- PB = *Pamjati V. G. Bogoraza (1865-1936). Sbornik statej.* M. / Lgr., 1937.
- PBA = *Proceedings of the British Academy.*
- PBalA = *Paleobalkanistika i antichnost'.* M., 1989.

PCDLA = *Problèmes de comparatisme et de dialectologie dans les langues africaines*. Ed. by L. Bouquiaux, G. Guarisma & G. Manessy. P., 1980.

PChL = *Papers in Chadic Linguistics. Papers from the Leiden Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family*. Ed. by P. Newman and R. Ma Newman. Ld., 1977.

PCL = *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cm., 1971.

Pd. = *Paideia*.

PDU = *Papers on Derivation in Uralic. Szegeder und Turkuer Beiträge zur uralischen Derivation*. .Sz., 1987 (= StUA XXVIII).

PFLS = *Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*.

PhAA = *Phonologies of Asia and Africa (including the Caucasus)*. Ed. by A. Kaye. S.l., Eisenbrauns, 1997.

PhFU = *Philologia Fenno-Ugrica* (Freiburg).

PhHAKAW = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philologische und historische Abhandlungen*.

PhMAPhA = *Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association* (Cleveland).

PhS = *Philologische Studiën* (Leuven).

PhTF I = *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Ediderunt J. Deny, K. Grønbech, H. Scheel, Z. Velidi Togan. Vol. I. Wb., 1959.

PIAC XXIX = *Istoriko-kul'turnyje kontakty narodov altajskoj jazykovej obshchnosti. Tezisy dokladov XIX sessii Postojannoj mezhdunarodnoj altaisticheskoy konferencii (PIAC), Tashkent, sentjabr' 1986 g. II. Lingvistika*. M., 1986.

PID = *Problemy izuchenija dal'nego rodstva jazykov na rubezhe tret'jego tysjacheletija. Doklady i tezisy mezhdunarodnoj konferencii (29 maja - 2 ijun'a 2000 g.)*. M., 2000.

PIEJ = *Problemy indojevropejskogo jazykoznanija*. Ed. by V. N. Toporov. M., 1964.

PIEOA = *Publication de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger*.

PIJA = *Problemy izuchenija jazykov Afriki. Materialy konferencii, posvjashchennoj 30-letiju Otdela afrikanskix jazykov Instituta jazykoznanija RAN (4-6 dek. 1995 g.)*. Ed. by N. Koval and V. Vinogradov. M., 1995.

PJ = *Prace Językoznawcze* (a series within ZNUJ , Cr.).

PJAA = *Problemy języków Azji i Afryki*. Wa., 1987.

PJDL = *PILC* (= *Pondicherry Journal of Linguistics and Culture*). *Journal of Dravidian Studies*.

PKL = *Papers in Korean Linguistics*. Ed. by Chin-Wu Kim. Columbia, S.C., 1978.

PL = *Papiere zur Linguistik* (Tübingen).

PLPC = *Proto-Languages and Proto-Cultures*. Ed. V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1990.

PM = *Pamjati akademika N. Ja. Marra*. M./Lgr., 1939.

POAJ = *Problema obshchnosti altajskix jazykov*. Ed. by O. Sunik. Lgr., 1971.

PPOJ = Institut vostokovedenija AN SSSR. *Predvaritel'nyje publicakii Otdela jazykov* (M.).

PPhS = *Proceedings of the Philological Society*.

PPP = *Pis'mennyje pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (edited as\in issues of GNSLIV, M., "Nauka").

PrFSCO = *Proceedings of the First Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Hm., 1988.

PrICSS = *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965*. J., 1969.

PrO = *Polska akademia umiejętności. Prace orientalistyczne* (Cr.).

PrR = *Konferencija "Problemy rekonstrukcii"*, 23-25 okt. 1978 g. Tezisy dokladov. M., 1978.

PrS = *Pronominal Systems*. Ed. by U. Wiesemann. Tüb., 1986.

Pr6BLS = *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*.

PS = *Palestinskij sbornik* (Lgr.).

PSG = *Problemy sravnitel'noj grammatiki indoevropskix jazykov. Nauchnaja sessija*. M., 1964.

PSTj = *Problemy sovremennoj tjurkologii. Materialy II Vsesojuznoj tjurkologičeskoj konferencii*. Al., 1980.

PV = *Peterburgskoje vostokovedenije* (SPb.).

QJMS = *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore).

QS = *Quaderni di Semitistica* (Fir.).

RA = *Revue d'assyriologie* (P.).

RAfr. = *Revue africaine* (P.).

RAL = *Researches in Altaic Languages* (14th Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 1971, Szeged). Bdp., 1975.

RANL = *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche* (R..)

RC = *Revue celtique*.

RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie*.

REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes* (P.).

Recl = *La reconstruction des laryngales* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'université de Liège, fasc. CCLIII), P., 1990.

REIE = *Revue des études indo-européennes* (Buc. / P.).

RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (P.).

RIAT = *Revista del Instituto de Antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* (Tucumán, Argentine).

RicL = *Ricerche linguistiche. Bollettino semestrale dell'Istituto di glottologia dell'Università di Roma*.

RICL-8 = *Reports to the VIIIth International Congress of Linguists*. Oslo, 1957.

RIL = *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe Lettere* (Mil.).

RLangC = *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*. Ed. by E. Polomé & W. Winter. B. / NY, 1992.

RLC = *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1989.

RLV = *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. I-XV. B., 1924-1932.

RNDLUI = *Research Notes from the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan*.

RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Wa.).

RPTch = *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Ed. by J.-P. Caprile et H. Jungraithmayr. P., 1978.

RR = *Russkaja rech'* (M.).

RRAL = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. (= *Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti*). *Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* (R.).

RRL = *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*.

RSE = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (R.).

RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (R.).

RTJV = *Sir Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume* (= *IL*, 2 special volumes). Poona, 1958-9.

RUG = *Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgeven door de faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren*.

SAÄK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*.

SAE = *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Südarabische Expedition*. (W.).

SAfrL = *Studies in African Linguistics*.

SAHS = *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*. Ed. by T. Muraoka. Lv., 1995 (= *Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series IV*).

SaS = *Slovo a slovesnost* (Pr.).

SAZRFV = *Slovenska Akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Razred na filološke in literarne vede. Razprave* (Ljubljana).

SB = *Språklika Bidrag* (Lund).

SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (and earlier: *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*), *Philosophisch-historische Klasse*.

SbH = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*.

SBJAB = *Slavjanskoje i balkanskoje jazykoznanije. Antichnaja balkanistika i sravnitel'naja grammatika*. M., 1977.

SBJJK = *Slavjanskoje i balkanskoje jazykoznanije. Problemy jazykovyx kontaktov*. M., 1983.

SBK = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abt.* (W.).

SBT = *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wb.)

SbW = *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen (later: Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse (W.)*.

SC = *Studia Caucasica* (H.).

Sc. = *The Sciences*.

ScA = *Scientific American*.

SChAL = *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*. Ed. by E. Wolff & H. Meyer-Bahlburg. Hm., 1983.

SChHS = *Studia Chadica et Hamitosemitica*. (Akten des Intern. Symposions zur Tschadsprachenforschung, J. W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main). Ed. D. Ibriszimow & R. Leger. K., 1995.

SCI = *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7^a Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei (Milano, 1^o giugno 1993)*. A cura di V. Brugnatelli. Mil., 1994.

SCL = *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* (Buc.).

SCS = *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*. Ed. by G. Goldenberg and Sh. Raz. Wb., 1994.

SDCS = *Seminar on Dravidian Case System (1974, Annamalainagar, India)*. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom & K. Kushalappa Gonda. Ann., 1976.

SDFU = *Skrifter utgivna genom dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala* (earlier *Skrifter utgivna genom landsmåls- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala*).

SDJ = *Sbornik dialektologicheskix materialov jakutskogo jazyka*. Yakutsk, 1961.

SDL 3 = *Third Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics*. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom & S. V. Shanmugam. Ann., 1972.

SDLI = *Sinxronija i diaxronija v lingvisticheskix issledovanijax*. M., 1988.

SE = *Sovetskaja etnografija*.

SEB = *Studia Etymologica Brunensia* (Pr., "Euroslavica").

SEC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Cr.).

SEP = *Studien zur englischen Philologie* (Halle).

SFB = *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity. Studia minora Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis* (Brno).

SFU = *Sovetskoje finno-ugrovedenije* (Tall.).

SGJ = *Materialy pervoj nauchnoj sessii po voprosam germanskogo jazykoznanija* (Institut jazykoznanija Akademii nauk SSSR). M., 1959.

SGKA = *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur in Afrika. Vorträge, gehalten auf dem III. Afrikanistentag, Köln, 14./15. Oktober 1982*. Ed. by R. Voßen and U. Claudi. Hm., 1983.

SGRozv. = *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski*. I-II. Cr., 1927.

Šhd. = *Šayhadica.*, ed. by Ch. Robin & M. Bāfaqīh. P., 1987.

SHPA = *Studies in the Historical Phonology of Asian Languages*. Ed. by William G. Boltz & Michael C. Shapiro. Amst./Phil., 1991.

SIE = *Studia indoeuropejskie. Études indo-européennes.* Ed. by J. Kuryłowicz. Wr., 1974.

SIJ = *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoje izučenije jazykov raznyx semej. Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija. Rekonstrukcija ischeznuvšix jazykov.* M., 1991.

SIJSE = *Konferencija. Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoje jazykoznanije na sovremennom etape. Pamjati V. M. Illich-Svitycha. 6 - 9 fevralja 1990 g. Tezisy dokladov.* M., 1990.

SILTA = *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata.*

SIN = *Slavistika. Indojeuropeistika. Nostratika. K 60-letiju so dnja rozhdenija V. A. Dybo. Konferencija. Tezisy dokladov.* M., 1991.

SITJ = *Struktura i istorija tjurkskix jazykov.* Ed. by E. Sevortjan a. o. M., 1971.

SJZ = *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo.* Kt., 1954.

SKM = *Saenatmecniero k'rebuli. Lingvističeskij sbornik. Ežghvneba Givi Machavarianis xsovnas. Posvjashchajetsja pamjati Givi Machavariani.* Ed. by Sh. 3i3iguri. Tb., 1979.

SL = *The Semitic Languages.* Ed. by R. Hetzron. L. / NY, 1997.

SLAO = *Studia linguarum Africae Orientalis* (Hd. / K.).

SLCar. = *Studi linguistici e filologici offerti a Girolamo Caracausi.* Palermo, 1992.

SLESI VI = *Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae Sodalitium Israëlense. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting (Tel-Aviv, April 16th, 1988) = Ha-xûg ha-Yiçrá'elî shel xavrey ha-Xevráh ha-'Eyrôpît la-balshánût. Divrey ha-Mivgásh ha-shênátî ha-shîshshî (Tel-Ávîv, 16 bë-aprîl 1988).* J., 1989

SIJ = *Slavjanskoje jazykoznanije* (M.)

SIJD = *Slavjanskoje jazykoznanije. Doklady sovetskoj delegacii na VI Mezhdunarodnom s'jezde slavistov (Praga, 1968).* M., 1968.

SLLE = *S.L.L.E. Linguistics Reports. Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia* (Ad.).

SLNLE = *Survey of Little Known Languages of Ethiopia.* Ed. by K. Wedekind. Ad., 1993.

SLUSSR = *Studies in the Languages of the USSR.* Ed. by B. Comrie. Carbondale / Edmonton, 1980.

SMAE = *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i etnografii* (M./Lgr.).

SMAM = *Sakartvelos SSR Mecnierebata ak'ademiis moambe* (Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR) (Tb.).

SMO = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija méstnostej i plemën Kavkaza* (Tiflis).

SNL = *Studies in Nigerian Languages* (Zaria / Kano, Nigeria).

SNM = *Symposium on the Nostratic Macrofamily* (precirculated papers). Cm., 1998.

SovT = *Sovetskaja tjurkologija* (Baku).

SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (B.).

SpE = *Săpostavilno ezikoznanie* (Sofia).

SPJA = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies*.

SPJOS = *St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*.

Spr = *Die Sprache*.

SprA = *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, ed. by B. Heine, T. Schadeberg, and E. Wolff, Hm., 1981.

SpSib = *Specimina Sibirica* (redigit Janos Pusztay) (Szombathely, Hungary).

SS = *Die Slawischen Sprachen* (W.).

SSCS = *Sprung from Some Common Source. Investigations into the Prehistory of Languages*. Ed. by S. M. Lamb and E. Douglas Mitchell. Stanford, 1991.

SSI = *Sovetskoje slavjanovedenije* (M.).

SSLs = *Semitic Studies: In honor of Wolf Leslau*. Ed. by A. S. Kaye. I-II. Wb., 1991.

SSPCF = *Suplementos del Seminario de problemas científicos y filosóficos* (México, Universidad Nacional de México).

SSUF = *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar*.

StAfrL = *Studies in African Linguistics*.

STAT = *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia. Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ*. Sarja 1 (Hs.).

STAT-B = *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia. Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ*. Sarja B (Hs.).

StChE I = *Studies in Chuvash Etymology*. Ed. by A. Róna-Tas. I. Sz., 1982 (= *StUA* XVII).

StDL = *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics* (Patiala).

StE = *Studi eblaiti* (Univerità degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza").

StGr = *Studi di grammatica dall'XI incontro di grammatica generativa*. Contributi di G. Banti, A. Marcantonio, L. Mereu, A. Tomaselli. R., 1986.

StIE = *Studia indoeuropejskie. Études indo-européennes*. Wr. / Wa.. / Cr. / Gd., 1974.

StIGW = *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*. Ed. by W. Meid. In., 1987 (= *IBS* LII).

StL = *Studies in Language* (Amst. / Phil.).

StLE = *Studies in the Language of Ebla*. Ed. by P. Fronzaroli. Fir., 1984 (= *QS* XIII).

StLO = *Studies in Language Origins*. Ed. W. v. Raffer-Engel, J. Wind & A. Jonker. Amst./Phil., 1991.

StN = *Second Workshop on Comparative Linguistics: Status of Nostratic* (Eastern Michigan Univ., Oct. 21-22, 1993).

StNigL = *Studies in Nigerian Languages* (Zaria / Kano, Nigeria).

StOF = *Studia Orientalia*. Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica (Hs.).

StUA = *Studia Uralo-Altaica* (Sz.).

StWeb = *Studies in Memory of Frank Martindale Webster*. Saint Louis, 1951 (= *Washington University Studies - N. S. Language and Literature XX*).

SuA = *Suomen antropologi*.

SUGIA = *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* (K.).

Suomi = *Suomi. Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* (Helsingfors, Finska Litteratur-Sällskapets förlag).

SUST = *Suomlais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia*.

SuvL = *Suvremena lingvistika* (Zagreb).

SVN = *Uchenyje zapiski (Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet. Vostochnyj Institut). Serija vostokovedcheskix nauk* (Lgr.).

SWAS = *Struktur und Wandel afrikanischen Sprachen (Vorträge vom XX. Deutschen Orientlistentag, Erlangen 1977)*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1978.

TASJ = *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.

TBaltK = *Tarptautinė baltistų konferencija. Starptautiskā baltistu konference. Mezhdunarodnaja konferencija baltistov. International Conference of Balticists*. Viln., 1985.

TC = *Tamil Culture* (Mdr.).

TDAY = *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*.

TDHL = *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*. Ed. by C. Renfrew, A. McJahon, and L. Trask. I-II. Cm., 2000.

TDHLP = *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*. Papers presented for the meeting to be held 19-22 August 1999. Cm., 1999.

TDP = *Tajny drevnix pis'mën. Problemy deshifrovki*. Ed. by I. M. Djakonov (Diakonoff). M., 1976.

TELS I = *Tajmyrskij etnolingvističeskij sbornik. Vypusk I. Materialy po nganasanskomu šamanstvu i jazyku*. Ed. by E. Helimski (Je. A. Xelimskij). M., Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj universitet, 1994.

TES = *Tatarische etymologische Studien. II*. Sz., 1988 (= *StUA XXX*).

T&M = *Textes et Mémoires* (Ld. / Teheran / Liège).

TGDR = *Tôkyo Gaykokugo Daygaku ronshû* (Tk.).

ThAL = Michael Mann & David Dalby. *A Thesaurus of African Languages. A classified & annotated inventory of the spoken languages of Africa*. L. / Mn. / NY, 1988 (1st imprint 1987).

ThSV = *Zur Theorie des Sprachveränderung*. Ed. by Gudula Dinser. Kronberg Ts. (Germany), 1974.

TI = *Tjurkologičeskije issledovanija*. Ed. by A. Borovkov. M. / Lgr., 1963.

TIEMM = *Trudy Instituta etnografii im. N. N. Mikluxo-Maklaja* (M. / Lgr.).

TIES = *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* (Reykjavík).

TIJ = *Trudy Instituta jazykoznanija* (M.).

TJ = *Tokiwa Joshi-tanki-daigaku kiyo*.

- TKA = Institut Vostokovedenija AN SSSR. *Tezisy konferencii aspirantov i molodyx sotrudnikov. Jazykoznanije*. M., 1988.
- TMIV = *Trudy Moskovskogo instituta vostokovedenija*.
- TMIE = *Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie* (P.).
- TMJF = *Tjurko-mongol'skoje jazykoznanije i fol'kloristika*. Ed. by G. Sanzheev and R. Aganin. M., 1960.
- TMNII = *Trudy Marijskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta jazyka, literatury i istorii* (YO).
- TNR = *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.
- TOKJM = *Teoreticheskiye osnovy klassifikacii jazykov mira*. Ed. by V. N. Jarceva. M., 1980.
- TOKJMR = *Teoreticheskiye osnovy klassifikacii jazykov mira. Problemy rodstva*. Ed. by B. A. Serebrennikov. M., 1982.
- TOOIA = *Trudy Obshchestva obsledovanija i izuchenija Azerbajdzhana* (Baku).
- ToxJ = *Toxarskije jazyki. Sbornik statej*. Ed. by V. V. Ivanov. M., 1959.
- TP = *T'oung Pao* (Ld.).
- TPEI = *Teorija i praktika etimologicheskix issledovanij*. Ed. by K. M., Musajev. M., 1985.
- TPhS = *Transactions of the Philological Society*.
- TRT = *Typology, Relationship, and Time*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin and Th. L. Markey. AA, Karoma, 1986.
- TRÜT = *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised*.
- TsHJ = *Tsing Hua Journal* (Peiping).
- TTU = *Trudy Tbilisskogo universiteta*.
- TUM = *T'pilisis Universit'et'is moambe* (Tb.).
- Turc. = *Turcologica*. Lgr., 1976.
- TUSh = *Tbilisis Saxelmc'ipo Universit'et'i. Shromebi*. (Tb.).
- TZES = *Tanamedrove zogadi enatmecnierebis sak'itxebi* (Tb.).
- UAAEJ = *Uralo-altaistika (Arxeologija. Etnografija. Jazyk)*. Ed. by Je. I. Ubrjatova. Novos., 1985.
- UAJ = *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* (Wb.).
- UAY = *Ural-Altaiic Yearbook. Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*. Ed. by Gy. Décsy and A. Bodrogligeti (Bloom.).
- UCeylR = *University of Ceylon Review*.
- UCPL = *University of California Publications in Linguistics* (Berk. / LA)
- UI = *Uralo-Indo-germanica. Balto-slavjanskije jazyki i problema uralo-indojevropejskix svjazej. Materialy 3-ej balto-slavjanskoj konferencii, 18-22 ijunja 1990 g. I-II*. Ed. by V. Ivanov a.o. M., 1990.
- UJb = *Ungarische Jahrbücher* (Bdp.).
- USCES = *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, 1973*. Ed. by Harold G. Marcus. East Lansing, Mi., 1974.
- UUÅ = *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* .

UUÅ FSH = *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift. Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper* (Up.).

VBh = *Vāgbhāratī. Proceedings of the International Conference on South Asian Languages* (July 1 - 4, 1997). M., 1998.

VCh-3 = *Vladimircovskije chtenija III*. M., 1995.

VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (M.).

VDTJ = *Voprosy dialektologii tjurkskix jazykov* (Baku).

VFR = *Voprosy formirovanija i razvitija nacional'nyx jazykov*. M., 1960 (= *TIJ X*).

VGEG = *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Ehstnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*.

VHAAK = *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* (Sweden).

VIDKJ = *Voprosy istorii i dialektologii kazaxskogo jazyka. Qazaq tili tarixi men dialektologiyasinin mäseleleri* (Al.).

VIKJ = *Voprosy izuchenija iberijsko-kavkazskix jazykov*. Ed. by Y. A. Bokarev (Je. A. Bokarev). M., 1961.

Vir. = *Virittäjä*.

VJ = *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (M.).

VKDC = *Vzaimodejstviye kochevyx kul'tur i drevnix civilizacij*. Al., "Nauka" Kazaxskoj SSR, 1989.

VKFU = *Vsesojuznaja konferencija po finno-ugrovedeniju*. Sikt., 1965.

VLFCh = *Voprosy leksikologii i frazeologii chuvashskogo jazyka*. Cheb., 1979 (= *Trudy NII jazyka, literatury, istorii i ekonomiki pri SM Chuv. ASSR LXXXVII*).

VMSII = *Voprosy metodiki sravnitel'no-istoricheskogo izuchenija indojevropejskix jazykov*. Ed. by A. Desnickaja and B. Serebrennikov. M., Izd. AN SSSR, 1956.

VP = *Voice and Power. The Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in honour of B. W. Andrzejewski*. Ed. by R. Hayward and I. Lewis. L., 1996.

VSJ = *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* (M.).

W = *Word* (NY).

WAC-3 = *World Archaeological Congress - 3. Precirculated Papers for Theme 3: Language, Anthropology, and Archaeology*. I-II. [ND], 1994.

WdO = *Die Welt des Orients*.

WS = *Wörter und Sachen*.

WWC = *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*. Ed. by T. L. Markey and J. A. C. Greppin. AA, 1990.

WZFSchU = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität* (Jena).

WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (W.).

WZUG = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der E. M. Arndt-Universität Greifswald*.

X'IMY = *Xeqer wë-^ciyyûn bë-maddá^cey ha-yahădût. Sifrût - miqrá³ - lăshôn*. Haifa, 5736 (=1975-6).

ZA = *Živa antika* (Skopje).

ZAH = *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*.

ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Lpz.).

ZAss = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (B.).

ZAW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

ZBalk = *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*.

ZCPh = *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (B. - Tübingen).

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).

ZE = *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.

ZES = *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*.

ZFL = *Zbornik za Fillologiju i Lingvistiku* (Zagreb).

ZIAN = *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. VIII^e série. Cl. hist.-philol.*

ZIFVUA = *Zapysky istorychno-fjllohichnoho viddilu Ukrajins'koji Akademiji*.

ZII = *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (Lpz.).

ZKS = *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*.

ZKV = *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov* (Lgr.).

ZM = *O zarubezhnyx mongolovednyx issledovanijax po jazyku*. Ed. by C. B. Cydenbambajev e. a. Ulan-Ude, Burjatskoje knizhnije izdatel'stvo, 1968.

ZNUJ = *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace językoznawcze* (Cr.).

ZPhAS = *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (B.).

ZPhSK = *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (B.).

ZS = *Znanije - sila* (M.).

ZSEA = *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Afrika*. Ed. by W. Möhlig, F. Rottland, and B. Heine. B., 1977.

ZSJ = *Zápisník slovenského jazykovedca* (Bratislava).

ZsS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*.

ZSSJ = *Zvukovyje sistemy sibirskix jazykov (Sbornik nauchnyx trudov)*. Novos., 1989.

ZStSJ = *Zvukovoj stroj sibirskix jazykov (Sbornik nauchnyx trudov)*. Ed. by V. Nadeljajev (V. Nadeljaev). Novos., 1980.

ZVO = *Zapiski Vostochnago otdélenija Russkago arxeologicheskago obshchestva* (SPb.).

ZVS = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

Abbreviations of city names in the Bibliography

AA = Ann Arbor, Mich.; Ad. = Addis-Ababa; AixP = Aix-en-Provence; Al. = Alma-Ata, Almaty; Amst. = Amsterdam; Ank. = Ankara; Ann. = Annamalainagar; Ash. = Ashkhabad, Ashgabat; B. = Berlin; Balt. = Baltimore; Bdp. = Budapest; Beir. = Beirut, Beyrouth; Berk. = Berkeley; Bloom. = Bloomington, Ind.; Bol. = Bologna; Brux. = Brussels, Bruxelles; Buc. = Bucarest; Calc. = Calcutta; Ch. = Chicago; Cheb. = Cheboksari; ChH. = Chapel Hill, N.C.; Chr. = Christiania; Cm. = Cambridge (England); CmM. = Cambridge, Mass.; Cop. = Copenhagen, København; Cr. = Cracow (Kraków); Db. = Dublin; Drm. = Darmstadt; Ed. = Edinburgh; FB = Freiburg in Breisgau; Fir. = Firenze, Florence; FN = Fort-National (Algérie); Fr. = Frankfurt am Main; Gd. = Gdańsk; Gen. = Genève, Geneva; Gl. = Glückstadt; Gött. = Göttingen; Gtb. = Göteborg; H. = The Hague; Heid. = Heidelberg; Hild. = Hildesheim; Hm. = Hamburg; Hs. = Helsinki, Helsingfors; Ib. = Ibadan (Nigeria); In. = Innsbruck; Ist. = Istanbul; Izh. = Izhevsk; J. = Jerusalem; K. = Cologne, Köln; Kaz. = Kazan, Kazan'; Kn. = Kano (Nigeria); Kng. = Königsberg; Kt. = Kyoto; Kv. = Kevelaar; L. = London; LA = Los Angeles; Ld. = Leiden; Lgr. = Leningrad; Lpz. = Leipzig; Lv. = Louvain (Leuven); LvN. = Louvain-la-Neuve; M. = Moscow; Md. = Madrid; Mdr. = Madras; Mil. = Milano; Mn. = München, Munich; Nap. = Naples, Napoli; ND = New Delhi; NH = New Haven; Novos. = Novosibirsk; NV = Neukirchen-Vluyn (Germany); NY = New York; Oxf. = Oxford; P. = Paris; Phil. = Philadelphia; Pk. = Peking (Beijing); Pn. = Poona; Pr. = Prague, Praha, Prag; Psh. = Prishtinë, Prishtina; Ptg. = Petrograd; R. = Rome; Sikt. = Siktivkar; SPb. = Saint-Petersburg; St. = Stockholm; Stg. = Stuttgart; Stnf. = Stanford, Calif.; Str. = Straßburg, Strasbourg; Sz. = Szeged; Szék. = Székesfehérvár; TA = Tel-Aviv; Tall. = Tallin(n); Tash. = Tashkent; Tb. = Tbilisi, Tphilisi, Tiflis; Tk. = Tokyo; Tor. = Turin, Torino; Trt. = Toronto; Tüb. = Tübingen; UB = Ulaan Baatar, Ulan-Bator; UP = University Park, Pa.; Up. = Uppsala; Viln. = Vilnius; W. = Vienna, Wien; Wa. = Warsaw; Wash. = Washington, D. C.; Wb. = Wiesbaden; Wr. = Wrocław; Yer. = Yerevan; YO = Yoshkar-Ola; Yok. = Yokohama; Z = Zurich, Zürich; Zr. = Zaria (Nigeria).

Transliteration of non-Roman scripts in bibliographical references

Hebrew characters and vocalization signs: ' = א, v = ב (fricative), w = ו, x = ח, t' = ט, kh = כ (fricative), ' = ע, f = פ (fricative), c = צ, q = ק, ç = ש, sh = שׁ, t = ת, ë = *shwa* mobile, é = *céré* (e.g. sé = סֵ), e = *segol* (se = סֶ), á = *qámác*; a = *patakh*; vowels indicated by *matres lectionis* are transliterated with a circumflex: û = וֹ, ô = וֹ, î = יֹ with a letter ם, ê (or ey, if pronounced so) = עֵ (*céré*) with ם, â = אֵ with a mater lectionis א, but è = *segol* with ם.

Georgian characters: c = ც, c' = წ, ch = ჩ, ch' = ჭ, dz = ძ, gh = გ, j = ჯ, k = კ, k' = ქ, p = პ, p' = ჴ, q = ყ, sh = შ, t = თ, t' = ტ, x = ხ, zh = ჯ.

Armenian characters: b = բ, c = ճ, c' = գ, ch = ճ, ch' = չ, d = դ, dz = ճ, ê = է, ë = ը, ew = լ, g = գ, gh = դ, j = ղ, k = կ, k' = ք, p = պ, p' = փ, r = ռ, rr = ռ, sh = շ, t = տ, t' = ք, x = ք, y = յ, zh = ժ.

Cyrillic script:

1. For Russian (including letters of the pre-1918 orthography): a = а, b = б, c = ц, ch = ч, d = д, e (in the syllable-initial position) = э, e (otherwise) = е, ë = ё, è = э, f = ф, g = г, i = и, j (word-final or preceding a consonant) = й, ja = я, je = е, jë = ё, ju = ю, k = к, l = л, m = м, n = н, o = о, p = п, r = р, s = с, sh = ш, shch = щ, t = т, u = у, v = в, x = х, y = ы, z = з, zh = ж, ' = ь, ` = ъ; in rendering the pre-1918 orthography a zero after the word-final consonant renders ъ, é = ѓ, † = †, v = в.

2. For Ukrainian: as for Russian, except: e = е (always), je = є, h = г, i = і, ji = ї, y = и.

3. For Bulgarian: as for Russian, except: e = е (always), ъ = ѓ.

4. For Serbian: the Croatian (romanized) spelling is used.

5. For Azeri (including both the old and the new Cyrillic orthography): as for Russian, except: ä = ə; gh = ґ; h = һ; i = ы; j = ч; ky = к; ö = ө; ü = ү; y = (in the old orthography) й, (in the new orthography) j; ye = (in the old orthography in the syllable-initial position) е, (in the new orthography) jе; җа = (old orth.) я, (in the new orth.) jа; җу = (old orth.) ю, (new orth.) jу.

6. For Bashkirian: as for Russian, except: ä = ə, dh = ҙ, gh = ґ, h = һ, i = ы; ng = ң, ö = ө, q = к, th = һ, ü = ү, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, ä = ə, y = й, ye = (in the syllable-initial position) е, ya = я, yu = ю.

7. For Chuvash: as for Russian, except: a_ = а́, e_ = е́, h = х, s_ = с, ü = ү́.

8. For Qazaq: as for Russian, except: ä = ə, gh = ґ, i = і, î = и, i = ы, j = ж, q = қ, ng = ң, ö = ө, u = ұ, ü = ү, û = ұ, w (after vowel) = ұ, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

9. For Qarachay-Balqar: as for Russian, except: gh = ґъ, i = ы, j = дж, ng = ңъ, ö = ё, q = къ, ü = ю, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

10. For Qirgiz: as for Russian, except: ä = ə, i = ы, j = ж, ng = ң, ö = ө, ü = ү, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

11. For Tatar (UTt): as for Russian, except: ä = ə, h = һ, i = ɪ, j = җ, ng = ң, ö = ɵ, ü = ʏ, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

12. For Türkmenian: as for Russian, except: ä = ə, h = һ, i = ɪ, j = җ, ng = ң, ö = ɵ, q = ҟ, ü = ʏ, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

13. For Mongolian: as for Russian, except: e (always) = э, j = ж, ng = ң, ö = ɵ, ü = ʏ, i = ɪ, y = й, ya = я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = ю.

14. For Moksha-Mordvinian: as for Russian, except: ä = я.

15. For Erzya-Mordvinian: as for Russian.

16. For Zyriene and Permyak: as for Russian, except: ö = ӧ, i = ɪ, ì = и.

17. For Uotyak: as for Russian, except: ö = ӧ, i = и, ì = ӧ̇, ć = ч, č = ӗ, ȝ = ӗ̇, ž = ж̇.

The Arabic and Ethiopian scripts are romanized according to the traditional Orientalistic transcription.

The Japanese script is romanized according to the traditional system (Romaji).