

581. *gʷ 'we' incl. > **K** *gʷ- 'us' incl. > Sv gʷ- 'us' incl. (object px.), OG gʷ-, G gʷ- 'us' (object px.); Sv {TK}: UB gʷi-šgʷey ~ gu-šgʷey, LB gʷišgʷe ~ gušge, L gušgʷe, Ln gušķwe 'our' incl.; the element -šgʷe goes back to K *čʷe- (a component of possessive pronouns) < N *čʷi 'that of..., that which' (q.v. ffd.), *see* also N *w∇y∇ 'we'. The inclusive prn. *gʷ is opposed to the exclusive prn. of 1p *n̄∇ (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Fn. GAS 81, K 60, Dn. IE, Dt. 34 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: Ron {Blz.} *gʷan 'we' incl. (aut. prn.), *-gʷa 'us' incl., *-i-gʷan 'our' incl. > Sha gʷá, Klr ḡʷá 'we' incl. (subject px.), Klr -m-i ḡʷan 'our' incl., Sha -à-m-i-gʷan id. m., -ma-gʷan id. f. | NgzB {Blz.} *gʷa 'we, us' incl., *-gʷa 'our' incl. > Bd a-gʷà 'we' incl., gʷà 'us' incl., -gʷà 'our' incl. (as well as Ngz wà 'we, us' incl., -wà 'our' incl.?); ?? NgzB *gʷa 'we, us' excl., *-gʷa 'our' excl. > Bd žà, Ngz a-žà 'we' excl., -žà, Ngz (ā)-žà 'our' excl. (unless ž- is from *y-, which is a typical Ch marker of 1p excl.) ||| CCh: ? McTr {Blz.} *gaʔan 'we' excl. > Tr ŋgaʔan 'we' excl., -gaʔan-č̣i 'us' excl. (object) ¶ Kr. RChP, ≈ Blz. PPCh2 40-1 (*-g-, *ga- as a morpheme in the above pronouns of Ron, pNgz, and pTr), J R 374 ¶ In the NgzB lgs. and in CCh the morpheme got the meaning of 1p excl. due to opposition to *mun 1p. incl. (*see* N *mi ʔa 'we') ¶ The traces of this ancient prn. are hard to detect accurately, due to numerous phonetic changes and morphological restructuring in the history of branches and subbranches of Ch || **A**: NaT *-k 'we' (subject marker of 1p in some tenses, including past with the ending -tʷ/*-ṭ∇) > OT, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, StAlt -q/-k (postcons.: -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in most lgs., -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in Uz, etc.), e.g. OT käl-tü-k 'we came', StAlt bar-di-q 'we went'; *-k (> -q/-k) in 1p optative: StAlt baraq 'let us go' ¶ The T vl. *k (< N *g) in the word-final position? ¶ Shch. GTVT 155-6, B SS 266, 270, BT 277-86.

582. ₂ *gaʔi or *gaʔy∇ 'high' > **HS**: CS *✓gʔy v. 'be\become high' > Hb ḡḡḡ ✓gʔy|w (pf. ḡāʔā, ip. -ḡʔē) v. 'be\become high, grow tall', JA [Trg.] ✓gʔy|y 'be high', Sr ✓gʔy|w TD 'bear oneself grandly, magnificently, with pride'; Hb ḡḡḡ ḡeʔē 'exalted, proud; hochmutig' (> MHb 'proud'), Sr W ḡḡḡ ḡeʔā, ḡḡḡ ḡaʔyā 'glorious, stately, proud', Hb ḡḡḡ ḡaʔā 'majesty, pride', pCn *gaʔān- > BHb ḡḡḡ ḡāʔōn 'height, majesty; pride', Pun [Poen.] pl. cs. GUNE BEL 'exaltation of Ba'al', Ug {OLS} ḡḡḡ 'arrogancia' ¶ KB 161-2, KBR 168, BDB ##1342-4, 1346, HJ 207, OLS 142, JPS 57, DRS 92 || **U**: FV *kay∇- v. 'rise, become

visible' > Prm: Z kay- v. 'rise, climb, go up-stream' || Lp: L {LLO} kuojijtit v. 'rise' (of the moon), N {N} guojeti- v. 'appear in a wood\mist; get clearer' (of weather) || Er {W} kaye- 'aufgehen (Saaten)' || Chr H koyaš, kayaš v. 'appear, be visible' ¶ Tv. WG33 125-6, LG 115, ≠ UEW 642-3 (rejects the Z cognate and interprets the stem as meaning 'be visible, appear').

583. ₂ *gupa (or *gūpa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike' > HS: C *gʷaʔ- {AD} v. 'butt, strike', {E} v. 'strike' > Bj √gʷʔ (1s: p. a-¹gʷʔ ~ a-¹gʷaʔ = {R} a-gūʔ ~ a-gūáʔ, prs. a-ngʷīʔ) 'stoßen, puffen, einen Stoß geben' ({E} v. 'knock, thump, give a blow') || SC: Irq {E} gʷaʔaŋ 'broken' (stem gʷaʔ-) (not mentioned in MQK) ¶ E PC #57, R WBd 86 || WS *√wʒʔ (pr. st. [> Ar ip.] *°-gaʔ-) v. 'stab\butt\hit' > Gz √wʒʔ (js. -wgaʔ) v. 'pierce\prick\butt\gore\hit', Tgr √wʒʔ ~ √wʒʔ G 'pierce', Sq {L} ʔoge v. 'hit', Ar √wǰʔ (ip. 3m ya-ǰaʔ-u) 'percussit (cultro vel manu)', v. 'hit with the knife or with the palm of the hand' ¶ LG 607, Fr. IV 436, BK II 1486-7, DRS 488 || Eg {Vc.} ≈ *wigʔat- 'coup' > Cpt Sd oγabε uace, Cpt B βαχι βαζι 'coup'; in the Eg texts (Dynasty XX) only a specialized term wʒʔ is attested; it was interpreted by EG as 'Art Getreide oder Verarbeitung desselben', but in Vycichl's view it actually meant something like 'blé battu' ¶ Vc. 242, EG I 376 || A: Tg *guya- v. 'butt' > Ewk guya-, Lm guya-, Neg goya-, Ork guya- v. 'butt', Neg goya 'horns', Orc guya 'fang (of a wild boar, of a musk deer)', Ud guya, {Krm.} guya, Nn goya 'fang' ¶ STM I 168, Krm. 223 ¶ Tg *-y- is likely to have appeared in hiatus after the loss of *-ʔ- ◇ The origin of the initial *w- in WS and Eg is not yet clear. It may have resulted from mt. (**√gʷʔ > *wʒʔ) or from some restructuring of the root in the WS perfect tense and in the Eg derived noun ≈ *wigʔat-. The original form of the verbal stem (without *w-) is preserved in C *gʷaʔ- and in the Ar ip. (-ǰaʔ-).

584. *gaʔû 'catch, take, receive' > K: (pK or GZ) *g- / ?*gʷ- 'acquire, gain, have' > OG g- 'possess' (m0-i-g- 'mitnehmen'), G g- 'acquire, gain (sth.)' (3s aor. m0-i-g0 < *-gʷ-a), Mg {Q} g- id., 'win', Lz g- 'gain': inf. 0-g-apu 'to gain (sth.)'; ? Sv: UB/L {TK} lā₁-g, UB {GP} and LB/Ln {TK} lā₁-g 'stands, there is' (adduced by FS) belong here only if *g- 'be (exist)' (> OG g- id.) is the same √ (which is not certain) ¶¶ K² 24-4, Chik. 457, K 57, FS K 69-70, Ser. 17, 103, Q 211, TK 544, GP 150, 198 || HS: Eg MK ʒʔ v. {EG} 'catch fish', {Fk.} 'spear fish' ¶ EG V 534, Fk. 320 || IE

*g^heu_u- > NaIE *g^hā_u- 'receive, catch' > Lt gā_utī 'to receive, to get, to obtain', Ltv gū_t id., 'to gain', {ME} id., 'to catch, to snatch (fangen, haschen)', {ME} g_au_t 'to snatch (haschen), to try to obtain, to receive' || YAv ga_ona- n. 'gain (Gewinn)' ¶ Frn. 141, ME I 613, 687, Brtl. 482-3 || **A**: Tg *g_a- 'take' > Ewk, Lm g_a- 'take, receive, buy', Sln, Orc, Ud g_a-, Ork g_a- 'take, buy', Neg g_a- 'buy; marry (a woman)', Ul, Nn g_a- 'obtain, buy; gather (berries)', WrMc g_ay- 'take, receive; marry (a woman)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} g_ä- ~ g_äĭ- ~ g_äĭ- 'take', {Y} g_æ- 'take, be given, get, receive', Jrc g_aĭ-bi 'take' ¶ STM I 133-4, Klz. MS 176, Y #1402, Kiy. 135 [#680] || pKo {S} *k_à- > MKo k_à-č_í-, NKo ka_ži-, Δ ka- 'take' ¶ S QK #10, Nam 8, MLC 27, Rm. SKE 83 || T: [1] ?σ T *^ok_lĭ_uā- > OT {Cl.} q_ā- '≈ heap, pack' [2] ?φ Chv x_tv- 'grasp with the mouth' ¶ Cl. 57, Jeg. 314 ¶¶ DQA #470 (A *g_a 'take, put'), Rm. SKE 83 (Ko, Tg) ◇ IS I 225 [#77] (*g_al_hl_u).

585. (2?) *g_uf_v 'to perceive, to care' > HS: SC: Irq {MQK} g_af_aw- 'look at/after', {E} g_af- v. 'watch', g_af_aw- v. 'guard', Brn {E} g_af_id- v. 'nurse in sickness', Kz {E} g_aʔam- v. 'understand' || Dhl {EEN} g_af- vt. 'smell' ¶ ESC 236 (s.v. *g_af- v. 'feel, sense, take notice of'), MQK 36, EEN 30 || Eg L ω_z 'offenbar sein' (ω- going back to the HS px. of intransitivity?) ¶ EGI 406 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [#18.5] || **IE**: NaIE *g^how(ē)- ({EI} *g^hou_u-) v. *g^hou_u- 'perceive, pay heed to' > L fave-ō / -ēre / fāvī / fautum 'be favourable to, help; speak no words of bad omen' (fave- < *fovē- in view of the Um cognate), Um FONS 'favens' (pl. FONER) (< *fowenis) || ON g_á (< *gawōn) 'achtgeben, sich kümmern', geyma, AS zíeman, OSx gōmian, OHG goumen 'beachten, sorgen für, hüten, sich kümmern', {Kb.} 'to care, to guard', bi-goumen 'watch, care for', NGr Sw gaume 'to care for little children', Gt gaumjan 'to notice'; ON gaumr, gaum 'attention', OHG gouma & gauma 'prüfendes Aufmerken', (→) 'enjoyment' ({Schz.} 'Genuß', {OsS} 'Wohlleben'), gouma nēman 'pay attention, notice' || OCS ГОВѢНЬ / ГОВѢТИ 'εὐλαβεῖσθαι 'religiose vereri, be pious', R ГОВЕЮ / ГОВЕТЬ 'prepare oneself to confession \ the Eucharist; to fast', SCr ГОВЕТИ (prs. ГОВЕМ) & gòvjeti (prs. gòvijēm) 'to obey', Cz hověti 'to indulge in sth., to give oneself up to', {P} 'begünstigen, schonen, nachsehen' ¶ WP I 635-6, P 453, EI 418, WH I 464-6, Bc. G 335, Vr. 151,158, 165-6, Schz. 153, OsS 345, Kb. 402, Ho. 129, Fs. 207, Vs. I 423-4, ESSJ VII 72-3 || ???σ **A**: NaT *k_lĭ_u (~ *k_lĭ_ug) 'rumour; fame, reputation' (o₂; × N *K_lʔaʔe¹w_v 'to hear, to notice', q.v. ffd.).

586. *gab∇(-|í∇) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > **HS:** S *gabb- 'top of sth.' > BHb בָּבָב gab / -בָּבָב gabb- 'back of the body' (so called because it is the highest part of pack animals), 'elevation (of altar)', 'mound (for illicit worship)', 'boss, or convex projection, of shield', gab,bōt̪ ʕē'nāw (sc. 'בָּבָב of his eyes') 'his eyebrows', Ug {OLS} גַּב 'lomo, dorso', JA בָּבָב gab, em. אָבָב gab'b-ā 'back (dorsum)', אָבָבָב gibbā'bā 'hill', Sr {Br.} גַּבְבָּ gābī'b-ā 'hump-backed (gibbosus)', Ar ✓ğbb (pf. جَبَّ ḡabba) 'surpasser (en mérite, en vertu)', Ak gabbu 'forehead (of an animal)' | +ext.: [1] S *✓gbh v. 'be high' > BHb, JA הַבָּב ✓gbh 'be high \ haughty', BHb הַבָּב gā'bō^ah 'high', EpHb gbh 'height', IA gbh v. 'be high', v. 'be haughty' (of voice), JEA הַבָּב ✓gbh G 'rise up, be raised', Ar ḡabh-at- 'forehead', ḡabah- 'prominence of forehead', Mh gābhēt 'front', Jb E gābhēt id., 'brow', Ak gab^u 'summit (Gipfel)' (probably here rather than with *✓gbf because *f would have caused a change of *a to e); [2] CS *✓gbn > MHb בָּבָב gā'bīn 'eyebrow', JA בָּבָב gā'bīn, em. אָבָבָב gābī'nā id., JEA gābī'nā {Sl.} 'eyelid', Sr (pl.) عَيْنَاتُ gābī'n-ē 'eyebrows', عَيْنَاتُ gābī'nā {Br.} 'vertex, cacumen', {JPS} 'eyebrow', {Br.} rām gābī'n-ē 'superbus' (lit. 'high-eyebrowed'), IA gbyn, Ar جبين ḡabīn- 'forehead' ¶ KB 163-4, KBR 170, 167, OLS 142, BDB ##1354, 1360-4, 1389, Js. 203-8, Sl. 254, 256-7, Br. 100-2, JPS 59, BK I 246, 249-50, LG 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, A ##617, 620, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7, ≈ MiK I #1.66 (S *gabb-(at)- *'eyebrow, eye-pit, front'), #68 (S *g∇bh(-at)- *'forehead, front'), #69 (S *g∇b(b)īn- *'eyebrow, front') || C: SC {E} *gab- 'above, upon' > Irq {MQK} gawa 'top, place higher up', Kz {E} gawato 'hill' ||| DhI {EEN} gáppo 'on, above', {To.} gáppo 'above, upon' ||| EC: Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side' (× N ? *g'U' b∇ 'hill, mountain'), ?φ Rn gámbār 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gumb∇ 'back [dos], [?] hump') ¶ Hw. A 363, PG 121, E SC 234, MQK 37, To. D 133, EEN 30 || IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-e|-/-.|-/-.|o- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^hōl 'head' > Gk κεφαλή id. ||| Mcd [Hs.] κεβ(α)λή 'head' ||| Gmc: [1] OHG gēbal 'skull, forehead', gibil 'skull', gibilla 'skull, head', MHG gebel 'skull'; [2] AdS of Gt gibla, OHG gibil 'summit', NHG Giebel 'gable(-end)', π 'summit', AS zafol, zēafel 'gable', ON gafl 'Giebelseite', Spitze einer Insel' (< N ? *g'U' b∇ (L∇) 'hill, mountain'); NrGmc ⇨ Fr gable 'gable' ⇨ NE gable ||| Tc A s̄pāl 'head' ⇨ s̄pālu 'excellent' ¶ P 423,

EI 260, FI 806, 835-6, Vr. 152, Ch. 508, 522, OsS 281, 320, Kb. 321, 334, KM 257, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, Wn. 488, Ad. H 131 || **A**: Tg *ga^hb¹un- > Ul gaunt, gaunt-qtā, Ork gawnaxl ~ gaunaxl, Nn Nh/KU gaóna, Nn B gaópa(n-) 'high ground, hill' ¶ STM I 144 || **i** M *gabala 'skull' > WrM gabala ~ gabala 'skull' (× **eb** OI kapāla 'skull'), HIM гавал, Dg {T} gaval, {Pp. SD} gavi^l id. ¶ MED 394, T DgJ 129 || pJ {S} *kàmpú 'helmet' > OJ kēbútūo, J: T ka^hbuto, K kàbútò, Kg kabutó ¶ S QJ #875, Mr. 431 || **D** *ka^hvu¹- 'cheek, jaw' (× N *g^hAb^h ▽ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #111g (added Tg and SC to the comparison with IE *g^heb^h-, but did not distinguish between the reflexes of N *gab^h ▽ and those of N ? *g^hU¹b^h ▽ 'hill, mountain' [q.v.]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #201 (*kabel 'head') (IE, OJ kabu(ri) 'head' + unc. A, Ko, Gil, CK, EA).

587. ₂ *gob^h ▽ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth' > **HS**: HS *g^hω¹ ▽ bb- 'earth, plain' > S *✓gbb > Ar ḡabāb-at- 'plaine, champ, désert', ḡabūbat- 'morceau\motte de terre \ de boue', ? Ak gabīb- ε 'land suitable for pasture' ¶ BK I 246, CAD V 6, DRS 94-5 || Eg P gbb 'the earth-god Geb (Gk κῆβ)' ¶ EG V 164, Fk. 288 || EC: Sd {Mrn.} goba ~ gobba 'campagna, fuori', {C} guobā 'fuori', {Hd.} gobba 'country, outside, exterior', {Gs.} gobba 'world, earth, the country where one lives', {Gs., Hd.} gobbā adv. 'outside', {Gs.} gobbā no dargi 'the place in front of the house', Ged {Mrn.} goba 'fuori', ?σ Rn {PG} ḡōb 'village, clan' ¶ Mrn. S 218, C SE II 201, Gs. 124, Hd. 366, PG 137 ¶¶ Coh. #119, Cal. 214 [#880] || **A**: M *gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert, the Gobi' > WrM gobi, HIM говь id., WrO ḡobi, Kl Ö {Rm.} ḡōw^h ~ ḡow^h, Dgr gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert', Brt губи, Brt A gubí 'desert, steppe'; M **b** Tv ḡov^hu 'steppe, field' ¶ Pp. IM 29, MED 357, KW 153, Kow. 1025, Krg. 313, T DgJ 132, Chr. 159, TvR 478 ◇ IS MS 858 равнина, IS SS #6.14.

588. ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' > **HS**: WS *g^hu¹b^h ▽ n- 'hump' > JPA גבירנתא gbynt^h id., 'hill', **i** Ar {KB ← ?} جبن ḡubn- 'hunchback', BHb גבן gib^hbēn 'a hunchbacked person' (derived by means of the pattern li2'2e_3 used to denote persons with a deformity or another [usually abnormal] physical\psychical quality), **i** Gz {DRS ← ?} g^hω¹abən 'hunchbacked', Grg Mh {L} g^hω¹zβz^hn, Grg Go {L} g^hω¹ebana id. ¶ KB 167, KBR 174, Sl. P 119, DRS 96, L EDG III 257, ≈ MiK I #1.67 || EC: Or {Grg.} ḡōba 'hump of cattle', Or B {Sr.} gobō 'hump of a cow\camel', Or O {Sr.} gobō id., 'hunchback', Or Wt {Sr.} ḡōwō 'hump of a camel', Or Wl

{Brl.} гоббо 'gobbo, gibboso' ¶ Grg. 180, Sr. 313-5, Vnt. 62, Brl. 177 ||
A: M *gūjöbe-ʎe(n) 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? *g'U' bʎ∇ (L∇) 'hill, mountain') > WrM gūbege(n), HIM гүвээ 'hillock, knoll, mound', Kl {Rm.} köwē 'small flat hill'; M *gübey- ~ *göbey- v. 'rise as a hillock' > WrM gūbei-, HIM гүвэй- v. 'protrude, stick out; rise (as a hillock)', Kl göwē- 'etwas hügelig sein, sich wie ein Hügel erheben' ¶ MED 388, KW 138 || **D:** *kup-(∇r)- 'hump' (× N *Kup_∇r'∇ 'hump', q.v. ffd.) || **IE** (× NaIE *gejb^h- 'bend' < N *kib∇ 'hump, bent; to bend', NaIE *g^heyb- 'bend' < N *gu'ʎb'∇ 'to bend' [trans., intr.]): L gĩbbus, VL {ML} *gũbbus 'hunchback' > Port gebo, Ctl gep, It gobbo, It Pv güb id., d.: It gobbino 'humpbacked' ⇨ Fr gobin id. ¶ ML #3755, WH I 597 ◇ Qu. (the S word can be explained as belonging to the root *√gbn 'bend', and alt. connection may be found for M and D as well). Mentioned here as one of the alternatives ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M √ *< N *gūpA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

589. ₂ *gaʎb∇ 'thick, dense; large' > **HS:** S *√gʎb > Ar ġaʎb- 'épais, massif, vigoureux' ¶ DRS 92 || **C:** SC {E} *gáb- 'stout, strong, thick' > Irq {MQK} gawid 'hard, difficult', {E} gawit 'hard', ?gawi 'huge calabash', SC ⇨ Mb -gábi 'become fat' || EC *gaʎb- ({Ss.} *gabʎ- ~ *gobʎ- or *gaʎb-) {AD} 'fat, thick' > Yk {Ss.} keʎp-ey- 'become fat', Or B {Sr.} gabb-ā (f. gabb-ō) adj. 'fat, thick', Af {PH} gabule- 'become fat', Bs {Bnd.} ʎab-i 'fat', Kn {BISO}, Gdl {Bl.} kapp-, Gwd {AMS} kōpi adj. 'fat', Gln {AMS} kōp-o 'Körperfett', kōpo-lakkó 'fettleibig; fettes Fleisch' || Bj {Rop.} gaba 'rich; satiated', gab- 'be rich \ satisfied', ʎ {Blz.← Bnd} gōb 'fat' ¶ Ss. EDB 74, Sr. 308, BIS 66, Bl. G 132, H 107, AMS 209, 241, Rop. 183, Blz. CL 178, Bnd. LE s.v. 'fat', E SC 234, MQK 37 || **A:** NaT *Kāba 'thick' (of hair), 'bushy', 'plump' > OT {Cl.} qabā 'thick, protruding' (esp. of hair, beard, etc.), VTt, Qzq qaba, Qq qapa 'bushy' (beard), Osm qaba id., 'coarse', Tk kaba 'thick' (of tapets, feather-beds), 'large', Tkm qāba 'bushy' (beard), 'thick' (hair), Az qaba 'rude, bulky', Ggz kaba 'soft, fresh' (bread), 'light, loose' (soil), ET X qowa 'large' ¶ Cl. 580-1, Rs. W 21, ET KQ 158.

590. *gu'ʎb'∇ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > **IE:** NaIE *g^heyb-/*g^hub- 'bend' (trans., intr.), 'bent, crooked' > AS ʒeap 'crooked, curved', 'cunning, deceitful', MHG göufler 'thief', göuflich 'diebisch, raubschützenmässig' || Lt dvì-gubas 'twofold, double', trì-gubas 'threefold, triple', Ltv gubt 'to sink, to bow down', gubât 'to stoop',

гуbâtiêš vr. 'to crook, to bend, to stoop' | Sl *гъб- (< *g^hub-) / *g⁺b- (< lengthened grade *g^hūb-) ⇨ *гъбеžь n. 'bend, curve' > OR, RChS ГЪБЕЖЬ гъбеžь 'id., 'joint (articulation)', *гъб-ъкъ-жь 'flexible' > Blg 'Гъбък, Cz, Slk hebký id., *g⁺b-ъкъ(-жь) id. > McdS гибок, гипка, SCr gǐbak, Slv gíbek, Cz, Slk hуbký, P gíbki, R 'гибкий id.; Sl *гъnqti (< **гъб-nq-ti) vt. 'to bend' > RChS, OR ГЪНЪТИ гъnuti ~ ГЪВНЪТИ гъbnuti id. (the variant гъbnuti with restitution of b on the analogy of the forms preserving b, like the ip. -гъbati), Blg 'Гъна, P gíaç / gnę v. 'bend', HLs hnuć vt. 'to bow', LLs gnuś, R гнуть 'to bend'; ip. *g⁺bati 'to bend' > SCr gíbati, OP gíbać, P Δ gíbać, R Δ ги'бать id., as well as with pxs.: OCS СЪГЪВАТИ съ-гъbati 'bend, согнуть', R с-ги'бать, из-ги'бать, вы-ги'бать ip. 'to bend', etc. ¶ P 450, Ho. 125, Lx. 75, Frn. 140, ESSJ VII 187-9, 216-9, StSS 647 || HS: WS *√gwb ~ *√gbb > Md √gwb ~ √gbb, JA/MHb {Js.} √gbb G vt. 'curve', JEA {Sl.} √gbb G vt. 'bend, bend over', Sr gəbī' b-ā 'humpbacked', Gz √gbb D (pf. gabbaba) 'be bent', Amh √g^wbb (pf. g^wəbbəbə), Tgr gəb beḷe v. 'incline' | OSA ωgb 'return, zurückkehren' ¶ Sl. 256, Js. 203-4, DM 79, Lb. I 307, Jo. M 127, Jo. J 80, LG 177, LH 582, DRS 94 || Eg G gb 'sich neigen, sich verbeugen', Eg OK ωзб '(sich) umwenden' ¶ EG I 408 and V 162 || C: EC: Af {Clz.} gūb- 'piegarsi, curvarsi, inchinarsi', 'gūba 'curvamento, piegamento, inchino', Or {Brl.} gugguf- 'chinarsi, curvarsi, piegarsi' ⇨ DhI {EEN} guguḡ-iṭ- v. 'stoop' ¶ Clz. 117, ≈ Brl. 187 (Or gugguf- is not a frq. of gufaω- 'urtare, inciampare'), E SC 330, EEN 32 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Trn.} g^wḡ 'se pencher' || ECh: Ke gòbé vi., vt. 'bend (biegen, sich biegen)' ¶ Eb. 51, ChC ¶¶ ≈ IS I 235 (*÷ S *gawb- 'shield' [> Ar D جوب ḡawb 'shield', Mh gawb, Jb C/E gub 'shield'] and the corresponding C word for 'shield'), Tk. SCC 88 [#18.11], Tk. I 400 || A: pKo {S} *kòp-, *kup- 'be bent', MKo kòp-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- 'be crooked, bent' ¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 124, S QK #1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 202, 220 || ?σ Tg: Ewk giwз 'мимо, vorbei' (acc. to IS I 237, possibly from 'crooked, bent') ¶ STM I 148, IS I 237 || K: Sv L gib- v. 'dislocate (a limb)' ¶ Dn. s.v. gib- ◇ Not here M *gübe- ~ *göbe- 'hillock, hill' (⇔ IS I 237), F N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump' and N ? *g'U' bḡḡ 'hill, mountain' (q.v.) ◇ The discrepancy between the IE and Or ev. (both pointing to a N *p) and that of S, Eg, Af, ECh, Tg, and K

(indicating N *b) may be explained by postulating N *-ʔb-, suggested by Msg -b̄-. The N Ir. *ʔ is the only one leaving no traces in NaIE (as well as sometimes in S and Eg). IE points to a N *u; the Ewk and Sv vw. i is still to be explained ◊ IS I 236-7 [#92] (N *gũpʌ).

591. *gafb∇ (or *gayb∇?) 'hold, seize; collect' > HS *✓gfb > S *°✓gfb > Ar جعب ✓ğfb (ip. -ğfab-) v. 'collect', 'ramasser, réunir' ¶ Ln. 428, BK I 298 || C: Ag *gab- v. 'hold; (→) prevent, refuse' > Bln {R} gab- 'hold', Q {R} gab- 'verweigern, abschlagen, verwehren, verhindern', Xm gigeb- 'verweigern, abwehren, verhindern' ¶ R WB 134-5, R QW 61, R Ch II 46 || Ch: WCh *g'∇b̄- v. 'hold, seize' > Bl {Kr.} gʷz̄b-, Ngm {Kr.} ngap- v. 'seize' || SBC: Bg {Kr.} kubye v. 'hold, seize', Gj {Kr.} ngiḅi, Plc {Kr.} gubùn 'hold', Dw {Kr.} kəḅiy v. 'seize' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} g3f- 'hold' ¶ Stl. ZCh 214-5 [#647] (*g/hab- v. 'hold, seize') || IE: NaIE *gʰabh- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *gʰab- v. 'seize', {EI} *gʰabh- 'take, seize' > Vd gabhastiḅ 'forearm, hand', KhS ggośtä 'hand', Wx gawust 'fist' || L habē- v. 'hold, have', Osc HAFIEST 'habebit', HIPUST 'habuerit', ?φ Um HABE habe 'has', haburent 'ceperint' || OIr gab- 'take' (ga(i)bid 'takes'), W gafael 'to grasp, to hold, to grip' || Gt gabei, OHG gebigi 'wealth', OHG Al kepic, AS ȝiefiz 'rich', ?φ Dt gappen 'to filch' || Lt gabana, gābana, Ltv gabana 'armfull' | pSl *gaba-ti (< L-gr.) > Slk MS haba-t' 'to take, to appropriate (with greed)', Slk haba-t' 'to take (from so.)' ('brát, zabavovat'), 'to rake\shovel up, to seize greedily' ('hrabat, chamtivě brát'), Cz {Kott} habati, Uk {Grinch.} 'габати 'to grasp', Cz Δ habati 'to appropriate', Blr га'баць 'to grasp, to take, to touch' ¶ P 406, EI 563, Mn. 310, Dv. #535, M K I 322-3, M E I 463-4, Bai. 91, WH I 630-1, Bc. G 317, 336, LP § 34, Thr. § 756, YGM-1 230, Fs. 175-6, Ho. 129, WW 94, Kb. 322, ≠ Vr. N 183 (← Moo. I 319) (an unc. hypothesis: Dt gappen ← Yid NB 'ḡaver 'thief' ÷ Yid חבר 'ḡaver 'comrade' ← Hb חָבֵר ḥāḅēr id.), Frn. I 126-7, ESSJ VI 76; Ma. CS 119, GK 120 || D *ka√-a- ({ʔGS} *k-) v. 'grasp' (× N *kʰaw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' and N ʌ *kapa ~ *kapa 'seize?') > Tm kavār v. 'seize, grasp, catch, steal, receive', kavvu ({Km.} < *kavi|avu) v. 'seize, grasp with eagerness', Ml kavarte, kavate 'taking by force, seizing, plundering', kavaruka v. 'plunder', OTI {Km.} kavvu (*kaviyu) v. 'seize, seize by mouth, take away by force', OTm {Km.} kavavu 'embracing, copulation', OTI {Km.} kavayu v. 'embrace, copulate'; D → OI

kavarakī- 'a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D #1326, Km. 327 [##264, 266] (< *kap-∇-) ¶ The D √ is ambiguous (*-v- may go back either to ppD *-v- or to ppD *-p-) || A: NaT *Kāba- > Tkm qāba- v. 'pen (sheep), besiege, fence in, blockade'; (× NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege [enemies], drive [cattle, horses] into an enclosure, capture' < N *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press', q.v. ffd.) > Chg {RL} qaba- 'umgeben, belagern, umschließen, schließen', [BL] {Brv.} 'besiege', Chg {Bu.} qaba- ~ qabʿa- 'encircle', ET X {Ml.} qaba- 'surround', ??σ ET Δ {Mng.} qaba- 'um... herumlaufen' ¶ ≈ ET KQ 159, Ml. X 157, Mng. G 773, Bu. II 2, Brv. BL 21, Rl. II 435 ◇ In several lgs. there is coalescence with N √ *Qapa ~ *Qapa v. 'seize' (q.v.). Both N *gaʿb∇ and N √ *Qapa ~ *Qapa may be ideophonic words or have ideophonic associations. Cf. IS I 313-5 s.v. *qaba ~ *qap'а 'хватать'.

592. *g'uy' b∇ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > HS: S *°√gbb > Ak D √gbb v. 'roast' || EC *gub- vt. 'burn' > Sml, Rn, Or gub-, Bn kub-, Kns kup-, Ged {Bnd.} gûb^u- (←b- Or?) id., Ya {Ss.} kup- 'rot' || DhI {EEN} guβ- vt. 'burn', guβ-iṭ- vi. 'burn' ¶ Bl. 182, BISO 89, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. S 61, PG 128, Sim 15, 25, Grg. 184, EEN 32, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: WCh: Sy {Kr.} gûbm̄ vt. 'burn' ¶ ChL I 212 ¶¶ AD SEC 132 [#6.7] || K *gab-/*gb- vt. 'cook, boil' > G gb- v. 'cook (e.g. silk thread), boil', Lz gub-, gib-, žib- v. 'cook, boil', Mg g3b- ~ gib- v. 'boil silk thread', Sv žäb-/žb- v. 'cook', Sv UB/Ln li-žab, Sv L li-žbi msd. vt. 'cook\boil sth.', vi. 'be cooked, boil' ¶¶ K 58, K² 25, FS K 70-1, Chx. 182, GP 191, TK 487 || ?σ U: FU *kuɣwa- 'dry' > F kuivā adj. 'dry', Es kuiv 'dry, arid' | ?σ Lp: Lp L {LLO} kuifē, kuffi 'wer nicht begreift, wem es schwer fällt lesen zu lernen' ("dry-brained"), Lp Sw {SK} kuife, kuwe 'dumm, einfältig', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} guff3, kuffε 'dumme, unwissende Person' || Os {KrT}: Os V qōyam-, Os D/Kz χōyam- 'fallen, sich vermindern' (vom Wasser) ¶ UEW 196-7, Lgc. SL 63 [#880], Lgc. #2763, SK 231, LLO 253 || A: Tg *°gub-, NTg *°gīb- > WrMc {Z} гувахянь гуwa-xiyan 'fireplace, furnace', {Hr.} gûwahiyān 'Kochloch', 'Gestell, an dem der Kochtopf über dem Kochloche hängt', Ewk gī- v. 'smoke, cure in smoke, dry (meat\fish over weak fire)', gīwun 'place for smoking meat\fish' ¶ STM II 147, 165, Z 354, Hr. 397 || ?σ T *k'ūbeç 'earthenware cooking pot' > OT {Cl.} küveč 'ē pot', XwT XIV küveč 'cooking pot', Tk gūveç, Az güväž 'earthenware cooking pot', Tkm göweč 'jeweller's crucible', Uz Δ köwäš ɖ käwäš 'earthenware pot, pot

for milk', Ggz güveč 'large bowl of clay (макитра)', ? Alt Δ {Vrb.} kōš 'skull' ¶ Justified only if the primary meaning is 'cooking pot', rather than 'eatherware pot' in general ¶ Cl. 687-8, ET VGD 53-4, GRM 121 || pKo {S} kūb- 'bake, fry' > MKo kūp- (¬ kú'f-), Nko kūp|w- ¶ S QK #535, Nam 63, MLC 220 || pJ {S} *káwǎr- v. 'smell' [vi.], 'fumigate' > OJ kawor-, J: T kàor-, K káór-, Kg kaór- ¶ S QJ #897, Mr. 703 ¶¶ DQA #537 (A *gǐūbe 'to smoke, to roast') || IE: NaIE *^og_l^h₁ob_l^h₁- or *^og_l^h₁ωob_l^h₁-, *^og_l^h₁ub_l^h₁- 'fire' > Olt {Mnhr., Schleicher} gabija ~ gubija, 'fire', Lt gabija {Frn.} 'von der Hand gefertigte Wachskerze, Leuchter', Olt {Blz.} Gubija ({Las. → Mnhr.} Gubie) 'fire-goddess' ¶ Frn. 126, Blz. LN I #14, Blz. CS § 7.2.5 (compares the Lt word with Insular Clt *gobenn-/ *gobann- 'smith' and with L faber 'smith'), Mnhr. 51, 172 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [#8], ≈ Blz. LN I #14 (suggested to add Olt + err. φ FU *küpe(-ń▽) 'sparkle') ◇ The absence of the reflex of N *y in the Blt word still needs explaining.

593. *g'U' bǎ▽ (L▽) 'hill, mountain' > HS: S *[√]gbǎ 'hill' > Ug gbǎ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'hill, height, summit', Hb גִּבְעָא gīb'ā, JA אֲגַבְעָא gīb'ā 'hill', Ar ġubaǎ - a place name (KB: 'kleine Hügelsstadt'), ? Ak gabǎ 'summit (Gipfel)' (why did not *ǎ produce the regular change *a > e?), ¿ Amh {DRS} guba 'colline, tertre', ? Amh ገበጌ gəbēta (< **gabǎt-) 'high hill' → Gz ገበጌ gabatā id. | with loss of *ǎ due to rdp.: CS *gabgab- 'hill' > JA אֲגַבְבָּא gībba'ā 'hill', Ar ġabġab-at- 'pierre\rocher dont quelque part sort de l'eau' | +ext. *-l-: S *gabal- 'mountain' > Ar جَبَلٌ ġabal-, Mh {Jo.} gǎbēl, Jb E/C {Jo.} gi'el id., Hb d. גְּבוּל gəbūl id., 'landmark, boundary', Ph, Yd gbl 'border, boundary', Ug gbǎ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'peak, mountain', Ar ġubl-at- 'bosse du chameau' ¶ KB 163-4, 167, KBR 171-4, BDB ##1354, 1360-4, 1389, A ##617, 620, OLS 143, Js. 203-8, Br. 100-2, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7 || EC {Ss.} *gub(b)- 'mountain' > Af gubb-i 'high spot in undulating country', Or gubb-ā 'up, above; top', {Grg.} gubba postp. 'above, over, on', gubbē 'top (of head)', {Th.} gubba 'il disopra, cima, sommità, tetto; sopra, in alto', Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side', Dsn {Ss.} gum, Hr, Dbs gúpò, Gln gúpó, Gwd qupo, Brj 'gubba 'mountain', Dsn {To.} gūmmuti 'hill' || DhI {EEN} gípe '(ant-)hill', {E} gipe 'hill, mountain' || ?σ SC: Kz {E} kipeto 'ant-hill' (× N *kuP_▽ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance') ¶ Ss. B 85, Ss. PEC 15 (Dsn -m < *-b), AMS 159, 201, 233, Grg. 184, Th. 175, Hw. A 363,

To. DL 501, EEN 31, E SC 237, Blz. CL 179 || NrOm {Blz.} * $\text{og}\nabla\text{pp|bb-}$ 'mountain' > Kf {C} $\text{gepp}\bar{o}$, {Msr., HHM} geppo 'hill', {Beke} 'gubbo 'hill, mountain', Mch {L} 'gäppo 'slope, hill' ¶ Blz. OL #109, C SE IV 436, 446, LM 29, 32, Msr. 161 and 138 (Kf geppo 'colle, montagna'), 232 (Kf geppo 'collina'), HHM 118, Beke LDA 98 || Ch {JS} * $\sqrt{\text{g}\omega^{\text{r}}\text{b}^{\text{r}}}$ 'mountain' > CCh: Gdf {IL} $\text{v}\acute{o}\text{b}\grave{a}$, Gv {ChL} $\text{v}\acute{u}\text{b}\grave{a}$, Nkc {ChL} $\text{v}\grave{u}\text{b}\acute{a}$, Glv {Rp., ChL} $\text{v}\omega^{\text{a}}$, Dgh {Frk. in ChC} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}\text{?}\grave{a}$, Ngs {IL} $\text{v}\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | Gude {IL} $\text{g}\text{i}\omega\text{a}$, Gudu {ChL} $\text{g}\text{i}\eta\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | Lmn {Lk.} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}$ id. | ZmB {J} $\text{g}\text{z}\text{b}\text{z}\eta$, ? {Sa.} $\text{g}\omega^{\text{a}}\text{?}$, ? Zm {ChL} goy id. ¶ JS 186, ChC, ChL ¶ Ch *-b- < *-bʰ- || ???σ,ϕ Eg P $\omega\text{z}\text{b}$ 'river-bank, riparian lands, shore' (only if from 'hill, high place' and if b goes back to *bʰ) ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶¶ Tk. I 400 (Eg, EC, CCh) ¶¶ OS #223 || IE: NaIE * $\text{ogh}\text{v}\text{b}_1\text{a}_1$ > MHG $\text{g}\text{u}\text{p}\text{f}(\text{e})$ 'höchste Spitze' -> dim. MHG $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$, $\text{g}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$ > NHG $\text{G}\text{i}\text{p}\text{f}\text{el}$ 'summit', ON $\text{g}\text{a}\text{f}\text{l}$ 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel', AS $\text{z}\text{a}\text{f}\text{o}\text{l}$, $\text{z}\text{e}\text{a}\text{f}\text{el}$ 'gable', (× N * $\text{gab}\nabla(-|\acute{\text{v}})$ 'head', q.v.): Gt $\text{g}\text{i}\text{b}\text{la}$, OHG $\text{g}\text{i}\text{b}\text{i}\text{l}$ 'top\summit', NGH $\text{G}\text{i}\text{e}\text{b}\text{el}$ 'gable, pediment'; NE $\text{g}\text{a}\text{b}\text{le}$ (< ME < MFr < a Gmc lge.) goes back to the same source ¶ OsS 281, 320, Kb. 334, KM 257-8, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, ≈ P 423 || D * kop- ~ * ko|upp- (< N * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\nabla$ 'heap, hill' [q.v.]) > [1] * kop- ({GS} * k-) > Td $\text{k}\text{o}\text{f}\text{o}\text{y}$ 'top of a hill', Kn $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{e}$, Tu $\text{k}\text{u}\text{b}\text{æ}$, Krg $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{e}$ 'top of a coconut tree', Kn $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{u}$, Tu $\text{k}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{ə}$, Krg $\text{k}\text{o}\text{b}\text{a}\text{ḷ}\text{i}$ 'top of a roof'; [2] * ko|upp- ({GS} * $\text{g}\text{Ubb-?}$) > Tl $\text{g}\text{u}\text{b}\text{b}\text{a}\text{l}\text{i}$ 'mountain, hill', ? $\text{g}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{u}$ 'small elevation in a field', Prj $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{a}$ 'small hillock', Gnd $\text{g}\text{u}\text{b}\text{b}\text{a}\text{l}$, Kui $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{a}$, Ku $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{l}\text{i}$ 'hillock', ? Tl $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{u}$ 'the crest or ridge of a roof', $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{m}\text{u}$, $\text{k}\text{o}\text{p}\text{r}\text{a}\text{m}\text{u}$ 'top, summit' ¶¶ D #1731 (a) and (b) ¶¶ × D * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p}\text{-}$ v. 'heap', {GS} * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{p-}$ 'heap' (D #1731 (a), GS 50 [#124]) || U: FU * $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ḷ}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$ 'hill' > F Δ $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$ 'hill, stony ground (in a field), heap of stones', Es $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{p}$ (gen. $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{b}\text{a}$) 'aufgeworfener Hügel, Grabhügel' (× $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{ä}\text{b}\text{as}$ id. [< East Baltic * $\text{k}\text{ā}\text{p}\text{as}$, represented in Lt $\text{k}\text{ā}\text{p}\text{as}$, Ltv $\text{k}\text{a}\text{p}\text{s}$ 'Grab, Grabhügel']) || Vg: T/LK/P $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{p}$, UL kap 'hill' ¶ UEW 138 (FU * $\text{k}\text{ä}\text{p}\text{p}\text{ä}$) || A: M * $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{ḷ}\text{o}\text{b}\text{e-}\text{v}\text{e}(\text{n})$ 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? * $\text{g}\text{ü}\text{ḷ}\text{u}\text{b}\text{ḷ}\text{p}\text{E}$ 'heap, hump, hunchback', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Ch *-b-, Om and FU *-pp-, and D *-p- ~ *-pp- go back to the N cluster *-bʰ- ◇ D, M, EC, and Ch point to a pN labialized vw. of the first syll., while the FU and IE roots are explainable if the pN vw. was *a or *ä (infl. of N * $\text{gab}\nabla$ 'head?') ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M $\sqrt{\text{g}\text{u}}\text{p}\text{A}$ 'to bend' [tr., intr.]), ≠ Blz. DA 161 [#92] (unc. equation of HS with D * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{ḷ}\text{y}_1$ - 'mountain' [D #2178] [reconstructed by Blz. as * $\text{k}\text{u}\text{ḷ}\text{v}_1$ -]).

594. *g'abhE ~ *-hb- 'blunt, weak' > **HS:** SS * $\sqrt{}$ gbh > Mh gzbh 'blunt', gōb3h v. 'blunt', gīb3h v. 'be blunt', Jb C gzb'hun 'blunt', Tgr, Tgy $\sqrt{}$ gbh G 'become blunt' ¶ Jo. M 113, LH 583, DRS 95 || **IE:** NaIE *k^hābh- ~ *k^hōbh- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)' > Gk κωφός {LS} 'blunt, dull, obtuse', κηφήν 'drone; a worn-out, decrepit person', Gk [Hs.] καφάν 'drone' || L hebes / hebetis 'blunt, dull', hebeo / -ēre 'be blunt\dull' || SI *xab-i-ti 'to spoil, to blunt' (*-i- is a caus. sx.) > ChS {Mikl.} хавити хавити 'corrumpere', Blg хав'бя v. 'work in vain, spoil, blunt', SCr habiti, Cz chabíti 'to spoil' ¶ WP I 348-8, F II 64, WH I 637-8, ≠ ESSJ VIII 8-9 (looking for different IE connections of the SI verb) ¶¶ NaIE *k^h is likely to go back to N *g + a vl. lr. || **A:** T *k'āb- 'weaken' > OT QU/U {Cl., MKD} kāv- (aor. kāvā-r) vt. 'weaken', [MhK] küčī kāvdim 'I weakened his strength', Osm gāvšāk 'loose, lax, slack; relaxed, weak, feeble', Ggz gēvšek 'weak, meager', Qrg kōpšök 'schlaff, welk (рыхлый, дряблый)', Tk gēvšek 'weak, locker', OT kevre- vi. 'weaken', Az {Rl.} küvrä- 'become weak\brittle', Tk gēvre- v. 'weaken', Chv хавша- хавša- 'crack with dryness (рассыхаться)' (of tubs, barrels), 'weaken, become flabby', хавшак 'weak, decrepit, flabby (welk, дряблый), locker' ¶ ET VGD 9-10, Cl. 687, 691, MKD 104, DTS 304, Jeg. 283, Fed. II 304-5, Md. 37, 167, Rh. 1595, Rl. II 1524 || Tg: WrMc gebsehun 'lean, meager, emaciated' ({Hr.} 'abgemagert, spindeldünn'), gebsere- v. 'become lean, meager, emaciated' ¶ Z 318, Hr. 839.

595. *gub₁∇₁RE ~ *guRb∇ 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' > **HS:** S: Ak gubārū 'nape (of the human body)' ¶ CAD V 117 || C *g^w∇r∇b- > Ag *g^w∇rb- > Bln {R} gūr'bət 'back (dorsum), back part', Xm {R} žirbā, Q {R} gibrā id.; Ag ⇨ Amh žərba id. and Tgr {Mnz.} gurbət 'back (dos)' ⇨ Sa {R} gūr'bət id. || EC (mt.): Sml garab, Sml N gárab (pl. gárab-ó), Rn {PG} gárab (pl. gàrbó) 'shoulder, shoulder-blade', garbó 'shoulders, upper back', pBn {Hn.} *káràb 'shoulder' > Bn Bi kárub, Bn Sa/J/Ba kárab id., Or {Grg.} gurmū id., {Brl.} gur'mu 'spalla, collo', {Th.} gurmū id. {'la spalla presa nell'insieme'}, Or Wt {Vnt.} gurmū-ni, Or B {Anr.} gurmū' 'shoulder' ¶ Hn. S 60 (pSam *'gáràb- 'shoulderblade'), Hn. BD 127, ZMO 154, Abr. S 87, PG 121, AD SF 73, R WB 160, LH 575, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Vnt. 66 || **IE:** [1] NaIE *^og₁^h₁∇₁urb₁^h₁- > SI *gъrbъ 'back (dorsum)' > OBlg гръб, McdS грб, SCr, Slv gr̂b, OR, RChS гърбъ gъrbъ ~ гръбъ гръбъ ~ горбъ

gorbъ, R Δ горб 'dorsum'; to separate from Sl *gъrbъ, *gъrba 'hunchback' (> Blg гърба, SCR gr̂b, gr̂ba, Cz hr b, P gar b, R горб id.) (related to Lt kuprà, L gibber id.) ¶ ESSJ VII 199-201, ≈ Ma. C 183 ¶ [2] NaIE *gʷerwā ~ *gʷrīwā 'nape of neck' (× N *kôri'h'û 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The merger with N *kôri'h'û accounts for the loss of the precons. *bʰ and for the cns. *gʷ- (instead of the expected *gʰʷ-) ¶ A: Tg *gûre-ke 'nape' (× N *gúr̥E or *gūr̥∇ 'throat, neck') > Nn Nh gurзхз, Nn B gur(з)хз, Nn KU guruxз 'nape', WrMc gurexe 'a large sinew on cattle's neck, breite Sehne am Rinderhalse' ({Z}: 'большая становая жила'), gurexe-le- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, Z 364-5, Hr. 385 ¶¶ In pA there is no phonemic opposition between the N *w and *b, so that the loss of N *b in this word may be understood as follows: N *gub̥∇RE > *guβRE (≈ *guwrE) > A *gūrE ◇ Blz. LB #6b (EC, Sl + unc. Eg gbз, gзb 'arm' and Gmc *kruppaz 'Kropf').

596. (₂?) *gič̥∇ 'injure, irritate' > HS: S *√gθθ > Ak gaṣṣu 'raging, furious', √gṣṣ v. 'gnash the teeth', v. 'bare the teeth', v. 'rage, be raging' (× HS *√gʷS 'tooth' > C *√gʷS id. - F AD SF 70-1), Ar √ğḡḡ (pf. جَّأَ ḡaḡḡa) 'tourmenter, affecter d'une peine \ d'un chagrin', √ğwḡ (pf. جَأَ ḡāḡa) 'affecter quelqu'un, lui causer du tourment \ des inquiétudes \ des craintes' ¶ CAD V 52-4, BK II 298, 356 ¶ ? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gac- v. 'insult' > Hs {Abr.} gatse gāçé 'replying rudely and recklessly to a superior' ¶ Ang {Flk.} kass 'abuse, cursing, defilement' ¶ ?σ Tng kʷadε v. 'fight over sth.' ¶ Stl. ZCh 216 [#662], Abr. H 311, J T 107, ≠ Sk. HCD 80-1 (Hs gatse ← Hs gātsa 'bite') ¶ IE: NaIE {Mn.} *ḡhej̥sd- ~ *ḡej̥sdʰ- v. 'rile, irritate, injure' > OI hīd̥- v. 'make angry, vex', hīd̥i'ta- 'erzürnt, aufgebracht', hēd̥aḡ (hēdas) n. 'anger, hatred', OI BdhSk hēṭṭhati 'verletzt, beleidigt', Av zōiždišta- 'der abscheulichste' ¶ W † gwyth 'anger, wrath' (< *ḡhej̥sd-) ¶ Lt žeidžiù / žeĩsti v. 'injure, wound', žeid̥imas 'injury, wounding', žaizdà 'wound' ¶ -d̥ > *ḡhoj̥sd- > Lt žaizdà 'wound' ¶ var. *oḡej̥sdʰ- > AS cīdan 'to chide' ({Ho.} 'streiten, klagen'), NE chide ¶ Mn. 413, M K III 601, M E II 819, MW 1300, 1303, Ho. 47, Frn. 1285, 1296, ≠ WP I 547, 554, P 427 ¶ ?σ U: FU {UEW} *kič̥∇ 'illness, be sick' > F kitu- 'be tormented, suffer pain; languish, suffer', Es kidu-, kidi- 'kränkeln', kidune- 'grow sickly, be in bad health', kide (gen. kide)

'Kränklichkeit' || Prm: Vt G křž 'Krampf', {Wc.} křž 'Krankheit, Krankheitsgeist', Z {W} křž 'totgeborenes Kind' || Os: V kěčə, O qaši 'illness, sick', D kěčə 'illness' ¶ UEW 153, Sm. 543 (FU *ki|eci 'illness' > FP *kiči, Ugr *kĩčĩ) ◇ FU *kič∇ belongs here if the semantic change was 'to wound' → 'to cause illness'.

597. ₂ *gi'ĉ'∇ (or *giĉ'∇?) 'hip, thigh' > HS: S *gi'ŝŝ' - 'thigh, hip, flank' > Sr 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 gēs'sā 'side, flank, haunch', Ar D ġiŝšā 'corpse, dead body', Mh g3ŝŝēt 'body, corpse', Jb C {Jo} 'ge'ŝt (pl. 'gi'ŝε?) 'side', Ak gilšū ~ gišš(um) 'hip, flank', MHb 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 'gēsēs, JA 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 gisə's-ā 'side, arm' ¶ Br. 126, JPS CSD 75, Js. 241, 261, Lb. D 283, CAD V 73, Sd. 288, Jo. J 79, Jo. M 126 DRS 195-6, MiK I #1.97 (*giŝŝ' - 'torso, body') || Ch {Stl.} *gōŝ' - 'shoulder' > WCh: Mnt {ChL} tāŋ-ġōl id. || Plc {ChL} ḡgʷáŝ id. || Gude {Hsk.} gʷála 'upper arm' || Ech: Skr {Nc.} 'kō-gol id., Mgm {JA} gūl (pl. gōllillá), Mu {Lk., J} gōl 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. IF 196, JA 89, Lk. ZSS 35, 182, ChC, ChL || D (in CD) *kiṭṭ- ({{ǧGS} *k-) 'hip, waist' > Prj kiṭṭa 'hip', Gdb kiṭṭe 'waist', kiṭe pūn 'hipbone' ¶ D #1537 ¶¶ This is the only known case of D *-ṭṭ- apparently from N *-ĉ' (but there are several cases of D *-ṭ- or *-ṭṭ- going back to N *-ĉ'). The problem needs investigating. A possible solution: N *giĉ'∇ with HS deglottalization of *ĉ' || AdS of IE: NaIE {P} *keis- 'arm, thigh, shank' (× N *kiĉ'∇ 'thigh muscle' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The IE cns. *k- proves that the main source of IE *keis- is N *kiĉ'∇ rather than N *gi'ĉ'∇.

598. *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.' > HS: CS *giday- ~ *guday- 'bank, side of a river', *ogadd- id. > BHb 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 gad-ōt-āw ~ 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 gidy-ōt-āw 'its banks' (presumably forms of 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 *gid'yā), Md gada, gidā, g(i)dada 'bank, riverside, waterside', JA 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 gud'd-ā 'wall', JEA gud'd-ā 'wall, side', Ar 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ġudd- 'côté, bord (de toute chose)', 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ġidd-, 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 ġidd-at- 'bord, rive (d'un fleuve)', 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 ġadd- 'rivage, bord (d'un fleuve), surface de la terre' ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, GB 130, BDB 152, Js. 218, Sl. 265-6, BK I 260, DM 73, 88-9, DRS 100-1 || ?σ B: Ah e-ġēde, ETwl agidi 'dune de sable', Sgl {NZ} igidu, igidi id., 'sable', Gh ižidi 'colline de sable', Izn, Rf, Shw, Mz, Wrg, Jrb iždi 'sable', Kb iždi id., 'gravier', Si iždi, Nf židi 'terre'; B belongs here only if the meaning 'dune, colline de sable' is primary ¶ Fc. 394, Dl. 359, NZ 721-2 || C *✓gdm > Bj {R} ge'dim (pl. gidma) 'edge, bank, side' || Ag *g∇d∇m 'side, range, bank' > Bln {R} gəđum 'side, edge, bank'; Ag ⇨ Gz 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆

gadm 'side, direction', Tgr g3d3m 'edge, side', Tgy g3dmi 'side, bank'; ? Bln {R} 'gadī 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless ← Ar wadi id.) ||| EC: Sa {R} 'gade ~ 'gadde (pl. gadu'wā) 'river-bed, valley, wadi' (unless ← Ar wadi) ¶ E PC #44 (+ unc. EC *gudm- 'shoulder'), R S II 145, R WB 139 ¶ An alt. hyp.: Bj ge'dim and Bln gādum ← EthS gadm (possibly connected with the Gz verb ✓gdm 'be in horizontal position, be inclined'); but this latter hyp. fails to explain the et. of the EthS words || Om {Blz.} *gad_ld_j- 'earth, land' > NrOm: Oyda {Fl.} g3dde id., Zs {C} gadē 'terra, paese', Wl/Zl/Gf {C} gadē 'paese', Bdt {C} gadā id., Mch {L} gadó 'clod of earth' ||| SOm: the meaning 'bank of river' is likely to have been preserved in Ari {Bnd.} gidib (unless ← Amh gədēb 'dike, dam, barrier') ¶ Blz. OL #105, C SE III 202, Fl. OWL ms., L M 30, Bnd. AL 145 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gād_rà 'lake, pond', ı Ngm {OS ← ?} godo 'lake' ¶ ChC, Sch. DN 63, OS #869 ¶¶ R WB 139 (C, S), OS #869 (S, WCh, Ag, Sa; *÷ Bdm {Nc.} rġáda 'river', actually a loan from Knr {Lk.} rġádà 'small river' [Lk. B 121]) ||| A: M *gada 'outside, the outside' > Dg {Mr., T} gāda 'the outside, out of doors', {Pp.} g_{ad} 'outside' (direction), Ba {T} gade 'outside, out of doors', Mnr H {SM} g_{ad}a, Mnr M {Pot.} xara id., d.: MM [MA] gadadu 'external', Dx gada-du id., MM [HI] qada_{un} gada_{un}, WrM gadagun 'à l'extérieur'; *gada-na 'outside' > MM [HI] qadana gadana 'à l'extérieur', WrM gadana, HIM гадна (adv., adj., postp.) 'outside, exterior', Dx gadane 'outside, out of doors', Mgl {Rm.} ḡadana 'außen, außer'; *gada-ga > WrM gadaga 'out of, outside, outer', Dg {T} gādag ~ gādig 'outside'; *gada-g-si 'outwards' > WrM gadagsi, HIM гадарш 'outside' (direction), MMgl {Iw.} ḡadāqšī 'outside, outwards', Mgl {Rm.} ḡadaqšī 'nach außen', Dx gadašī 'outwards', Mnr H {SM} g_{ad}as3 'vers le dehors' ¶ MED 342-3, Rm. M 28, Iw. 104, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T BJ 137, Pot. 412, Pp. MA 173, Ms. H 85-6 ¶ In M *gada-na the element *-na goes back to the locative pc. *na < N *?iñ'A' 'place' (q.v.) ||| D *kaṭ(-ay) ({ḡGS} *kaṭ-) 'end, side, beach' > Tm kaṭay 'end, limit, boundary', MI kaṭavu 'beach', Kt kaṭ pāt 'the end, at last', Td kaṭč 'end (of thing, event)', Kn kaṭe 'end, termination, limit', Kdg kaṭe 'end (of row, event, etc.)', Tu kaṭe 'verge, margin, end', Tl kaṭ ṭ akadā 'the very end', Prj kaṭa 'end, side'; D → OMrt kaṭe, kaṭa 'edge, side' ¶¶ D #1109, cp. GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] (*kyad- v. 'pass through, cross').

599. *gadV '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > **HS:** WS *gadd- 'happiness, fortune' > Hb גַּדְּלָא gadl 'fortune', גַּלְגַּל bā-'gadl 'feliciter', Pun, Nbt, Plm, Htr gd, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} גַּדְּדָא gad'd-ā 'genius, god of fortune; luck', Sr gad / gad'dā 'fortune, luck, success', Md gada 'fortune, success, luck, fate', NMd gād 'Glück, Chance', Ar جَدُّ جَدُّ gadd- 'good luck, chance, fortune', Gz ܓܕܕ gadd 'luck' ¶ KB 169, KBR 176, Js. 210, Sl. 260, HJ 212-3, JPS 60, DM 73, Mc. NM 207, LG 180, DRS 100 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gud 'good, nice', {ZL} gudi 'good' || ?σ Bj {R} gūd ~ gud 'Menge, Größe', gūd- 'be many\much\big' || EC *gudd- ~ *gūd- 'big, much' > Kns kutt- id., Or gúdd-a?, Dsn gudd-u, Elm {Bl.} gūt-iḏa 'big', {Ss.} gūt 'many', Arr guḏḏá 'big', guḏḏa-haḏ- 'grow big, become many\much'; ?σ Sml gídd-i 'whole, entire', Bs gidd-i, ? Af gadd-a 'wealth' (unless ← EthS); HEC (← EthS?): Hd {L} gadaʔa 'luck' ¶ LG 180, Hz. NSA 138, ZL Ag 8, R WBd 90, Bl. 106, 140, Ss. PEC 16, ZMO 162, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, PH 108, Blz. CL 180 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} gādá 'beautiful' ¶ Wdk. BY 123, Lm. Y 345 || **IE:** NaIE *ghedh-/*ghodh- v. 'be suitable\good' > Gmc *gōðā 'suitable' > Gt gōþs 'gut, tüchtig, schön', ON góðr, OHG guot, NHG gut, OSx gōd, AS ȝōd 'good', NE good; Gmc *gað- 'gefallen' > MLG gaden id., OHG gi-gat ȝ ge-gat 'suitable' || Sl *goditi (se) v. 'to suit, to be fortunate' > OCS ГОДИТИ 'to satisfy', 'gratum esse, morem gerere, placere', Blg годѧ v. 'arrange, prepare', не ми годи 'is not to my advantage', SCr gōditi 'to make a deal', Slv to mi godi 'it is pleasant, I like it', Cz hoditi se, R го́диться 'to be suitable', P godzić 'to bring to an agreement', godzi się 'it is permitted\lawful'; → Sl *godъ 'appropriate time' > OCS ГОДЪ 'time (hora, tempus); year; appropriate time', SCr gōd 'holiday, year, appropriate time', Cz hod 'religious feast', OR, RChS ГОДЪ 'time, year', R год 'year'; → Sl *god-ьнъ(jb) 'suitable, appropriate' > ChS ГОДЬНЪ, Blg 'годен, P godny, R 'годный id. | Ltv gadīties 'to happen, to occur, to be found', Lt {Bg.} godyti 'aufspüren, ausfindig machen', Ltv gōds 'honour, glory', Lt guōdas, Lt Zh goda 'honour' || ? OI 'gadhya- 'what one readily holds fast, what suits one' (× ← gadh- 'cling to, hang on to') || pTc *kātk- > Tc A/B kātk- 'rejoice, be glad' || amb Gk γηθέω, Gk D γᾰθέω 'rejoice' (× IE *gāwedh-, whence L gaudē- 'rejoice, be happy') ¶ P 423-4, ≈ EI 64 (unc.: Gmc *gōðā 'suitable', etc. < IE *ghedh- 'join, fit together'), Fs. 218-9, F I 303-4, M KI 320-1 (gadhya- ← gadh-), Vr. 181, Kb. 345, 416, Schz. 148, 155-6, OsS 246, 358, KM

277-8, Ho. 134, Ho. S 28, ESSJ VI 187-92, StSS 173, Wn. LE 32, Wn. 197-8 (Tc ÷ Gk), Ad. 150, Frn. 159-60, Tr. 74, F I 303-4 (Gk < *gāwed^h-) || D *kaṭ- ({{GS}} *gaḍ-) 'fixed time' (× ← *kaṭ- v. 'pass' [< N *gaṭṭ- 'to pass through\over', q.v.] and/or *kaṭ- 'end' [< N *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.']) > Tm kaṭu, keṭu 'fixed time, period, term', Ml gaḍu, keṭu 'term, instalment', Kt gaḍv, gayr̄ 'fixed or appointed time', Td koḍf 'stipulated period of an agreement', koṛy 'fixed period (of imprisonment or purgatory), fixed time for paying a loan', Kn gaḍa, gaḍavu, gaḍi, gaḍu, gaḍuba, gaḍuvu 'limit, limited time, period', Tu gaḍu 'a time, fixed time or place', Tl gaḍuvu 'term, period, limit of time' ¶¶ D #1109 ◇ Hardly here T *kata 'times' ('mal') > OT qata id. (Cl. 596), which is semantically conceivable as a cognate, but the vl. T *-t- for the expected *-ḍ- makes the connection hardly acceptable.

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > A {DQA} *gēdì 'back, behind' > M *gede ~ *geḷi (< *gedi) 'nape of neck, occiput, back part' > WrM gede id., WrM geḷige, HIM гэээг 'nape of neck, plait\braid of hair, pigtail, queue', Brt гэээгэ 'plait of hair', Brt W гэээгэ 'occiput'; MM [MA] gedergü, Mnr {SM} gīdiergū, {T} gedergu 'backwards' ¶ MED 372, 381, Pp. IM 118, Pp. MA 169, SM 136, T 322 || Tg *gedi 'occiput' > Ewk gēdimuk ḍ gēḍmuk, gētkēn, Neg gēḍmuk, Ul gēki(n-) id., Lm gēḍkē, gēḍmēk ~ gēḍamēk id., 'occiput bone', Ud gēḍigē 'occiput, nape of neck' ¶ STM I 177 || NaT *Kā|ēḍi-n 'backwards' > OT, Chg kāḍin 'behind', ET keyin ~ kāyin, Qrg kiyin adv. 'afterwards, later', postp. 'after', Qzq keyin id., 'backwards', {RI.} kein 'behind', Alt kiyin, Ln kiin 'back part', Qq, Uz keyin 'backwards; afterwards, after', Xk кизин kizīn adj. 'hind' (of animal's legs, wheels, etc.), Sg/Qb/Qc {RI.} kezīn, Kü/Shor {RI.} kāzīn 'back part, backwards', adj. 'hinder'; hardly here T *kōt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 70) ¶ Cl. O4, ET KQ 23-4, BIG 73, ET KQ 23-4, RI. II 1054, 1137-8, 1176-7, 1344-6, Rs. W 246 || pJ {S} *kítà 'North' > OJ kítà, J: T kitá, K kítà, Kg kíta ¶ S QJ #811, Mr. 452 ¶¶ DQA #492, ADb. KL, S AJ 71 || ?ϕ K: GZ *ked- 'back of head, neck' > OG kēd- 'neck', G kēd- 'nape of neck', Mg kindir id., 'back of head' ¶ K² 214, Chx. 1546 || HS: Ch *gidaH- 'neck, occiput', {Stl.} *giHad- ~ *gidaH- 'neck' > WCh: AG: Su {J} ḷēt, Kfr {Nt.} ḷèt 'occiput' | BT: Krkr, Krf {Sch.} ḡiḍò, Glm {Sch.} ḡirya 'neck' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} gēr̄, EDng {Fd.} gājā, Skr gēt-im, ? {Sx.} gèrè, Kjr kīda id. ¶ J S II 67, Nt. 16, Stl. IF 174 (without AG), Sch. BTL 57, 87, Cp. 62, Fd. 312,

Blz. EChWL #59 || C: Ag: Xm T {CR} gīd- adj. 'de derrière' || EC: Sd {Hd.} gidensa, gedensa 'after', {Gs.} gedensa 'last, the end', gedensanni, gedensā 'aftewards', Sml {DSI} gadā 'behind' ('dietro, indietro') ¶ AD SF 239, Hd. 19, Gs. 179, DSI 248 || ? NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} gedo(n) 'behind', gedon 'dopo' || ?ϕ IE: NaIE *gʰed- 'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate' (× NaIE *oḡh|gʰed- 'hole' > ON gat, OFrs jet 'hole, opening', AS zeat 'doors, opening', OSx gat 'hole') > Gk [Hs.] χόδανον accus. 'τὴν ἕδραν 'podex', Gk χέζω 'defecate' || OI 'hadati 'defecates', Av zađah- 'podex' || Arm ձեւ շէտ 'tail' || pAl {O} *zeča or *zetya > Al dhjes (aor. dhje va) 'defecate' ¶ The contamination with NaIE *oḡh|gʰed- 'hole' may explain the cns. *d for the expected *dʰ ¶ WP I 571-2, P 423, M K III 573-4, F II 1078-9, LS 1996, O 83, Sl. 176-7 ¶ IE *gʰed- was adduced here by IS MS 342 (→ S CNM 5), but omitted in IS I ◇ The roots of M, Ch, C, and (if here) IE suggest a N *g-, while K (GZ) *k- still needs explaining ◇ IS MS 342, IS I 227-8 [#81], AD NM #106.

601. (₂?) *gud∇ (or *güdü∇?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > HS: S *√gdd ~ SS *√gdy 'cut, chop' > BHb √gdd TL (Hithpo'el) (ip. ַיִּטְגֹּדֵי yitgō'dā) 'make incisions in one's own body', MHb √gdd G 'cut, cut off', BA √gdd G (inv. pl. ַיִּטְגֹּדֵי god'dū) 'umhauen', Sr √gdd G 'cut off/out', {Br.} 'abscedit, amputavit; discidit', Md √gdd 'cut off, put an end to', Ar √ğdd (pf. َجَدَّ ġadda) 'cut out (a garment), cut off (a fruit)', ? Sb √gdd Sh†(?) assign (allouer, attribuer)', √gdy Sh†(pf. hgd) 'make a grant of land', gdyt 'grant of land', {Rk.} 'allotment', Qt {Rk.} gdyt 'portion, allotment, assignment', {DRS} šgdđ 'repartir, accorder', Tgr pf. G gēdda 'tear off, separate', Gz gēddū 'piece of wood cut off with an axe/saw', Ak ∧ √gdd G (inf. gadādu) 'chop'; +ext.: CS *√gdv v. 'chop (off)' (< *√gdd influenced by S *√kʰv 'cut/break off' < N *Kutv∇ [or *Kutv∇?] 'cut off, tear [off]', q.v.) > Hb, JA, Sr √gdv G id., Ar َجَدَّ √ğdv G 'cut off' ¶ In Aram there was a merger with S *√gδδ 'cut, break to pieces' (> Ar َجَدَّ √ğδδ G [pf. َجَدَّ ġaδδa] id.) ¶ KB 169-70, 173, 1685, Js. 210, 213-4, Br. 103, 105, JPS 60, Hv. 79-81, BGMR 49, Rk. D 52, ≈ Rk. 36 (gdyt 'allotment' ← {Lnd. SD 52} Qt\Sb gdyt 'renewal'), LG 180, CAD V 8, DRS 99-102 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} g̃dú vt. 'snap in two (a rope, etc.) by pulling, pluck (fruit from tree)', gādú vi. 'snap in two' (as a rope), 'snap off (fruit off tree)', 'break loose (sth. tied by rope)' ¶ Sch. DN 59, 64 || A: AmTg *gude- v. 'be torn apart' >

Orc gudз-, Ul, Nn Nh gudē-, Ork gudзdз- id., Nn Nh gudē- 'hole (in clothes), rags'; d.: AmTg *gude-çi 'tear asunder' > Nn Nh gudзĉi-, Orc gudзti-, Ud gužasi- id. ¶ STM I 167 || ?ϕ IE: NaIE *gʷedʰ- 'destroy' (× N *kʷôd̥ 'destroy, break, cut' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ If NaIE *gʷedʰ- does not belong here, the N etymon may be either *gud̥ or *gūd̥.

602. *gud̥ ~ *gut̥ 'belly, middle' > HS: C {AD} *gʷd̥- 'middle, belly' > EC *gud- > Af {PH} gude (pl. gudēda) 'middle, waist', Sml {DSI, ZMO} n. gudo, {ZMO} gude n., Sml N {Abr.} gúdi 'inside' (and Or goda, gadi {Ss.} id., {Grg., Sr.} 'down'??), Hd {Ss.} gud-a 'half, middle'; EC {Ss.} *gidd- 'middle' > Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} židd-ū id., 'between', Or Wl {Brl.} giddu id., židdu 'inside' (adv.), 'between', Or H {Ow.} židdū 'between', Hr, Dbs, Gwd kitte 'middle', Gln kitte id., 'half', HEC {Hd.} *giddo 'inside' > Sd, Ged giddo, Brj {Hd.} gididi 'inside, interior'; ? HEC {Hd.} *godoba 'belly' > Sd {Gs.} godobá, Ged godoba, Hd godabo, Kmb godaba id. || Bj {Blz. ← Rop.} gʷadāb (pl. gʷadaba) 'chest, front part of the body' ¶ AD SF 239-40, PH 116, DSI 277, Abr. S 97, ZMO 168, Ss. PEC 16, 18, Grg. 139, 176, Sr. 339, Brl. 175, 265, Ow. 265, AMS 164, 208, 258, Hd. 26, 84, 193, 242, 279, 318, 365-6, Blz. CL 176 (Bj ÷ HEC), ≈ Blz. EDB 13 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gádâvâ 'between' || CCh: Gdr {Mch} gзdзf 'belly', ? Bcm {Sk.} žèdè id. || ECh: Ke {Eb.} g̀̀d̀̀, ? Nd D {J} gūž, Kwn kážā 'belly' ¶ JI II 21, Sch. DN 63, Eb. 51, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'belly' || IE: NaIE *gud-/ *geud-, *gudo-m 'gut' > OI gu'dam id. || Mcd [Hs.] γόδα· ἔντερα 'guts, bowels' || Gmc: NLG küt 'gut', NGr B kütz 'ε part of bowels', MDt küt Weichteile im Tierkörper', Dt kuit, kiete 'fish roe, calf of the leg', NE Δ kyte, kite 'belly, stomach (Magen)' (but not NE gut, which is of different origin!) ¶ P 393, M KI 339, EI 179 || K: GZ *gudā 'leather bag, wineskin' > OG, G, Mg, Lz guda- id. ({K} GZ ← IE gudo- 'entrails') ¶ K² 34-5 || A: M: [1] M {ǂPp.} **gūdiɣe > *gūžeɣe 'stomach of animals' > MM [MA] gūžēni ačā-an 'pack carried on the belly', WrM gūžege, HIM γγззз id., 'rumen used as container for butter, kumiss, etc.', Brt γγззз(н), Dg {T} gūžē, MMgl {Iw.} gūžān 'belly', Kl γγззз gūžān 'paunch, peritoneum, belly', {Rm.} gūžēn 'Wamme, third stomach of the ruminants (Blättermagen)', Ord gūžē 'panse de ruminant, ventre', Mnr H {SM} gūžīē 'stomach, paunch', {T} gužīē 'stomach, belly'; ↗ Ewk PT/Brg/Y/I/Nr gudiɣē, Sln gudзгз, gudзгз 'belly, peritoneum', Ud gudiз, {Krm.} gudē, Mc Sb gužugз 'peritoneum, container for liquids (made of a dried stomach)' | [2] with

delabialization *ü > *e: M *gede-sün 'belly' > MM [HI] gedesün 'intestine', MM [IM] گيسون gesüsün (Iw.: < *gedsün), WrM gedesü(n) ~ gedüsü(n), HIM гэдэс, гэдсэн, Brt гэдэһэ(н) 'belly, stomach', Kl {Rm.} gesŋ, Ord {Ms.} g_ed_usu, Mnr NR {SM} g_id_īēsэ, Mnr H {T} gedese, Dg {Pp.} г_эд_эс, Dx kižīēsun 'intestine, belly', Mgl {Rm.} gesân 'stomach' ¶ Pp. MA 172, Pp. DN s.v. г_ѣ_д_ѣ_с, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 274, MED 373, KRS 148, KW 135, 140, Rm. M 28, STM I 167, Krm. 223, SM 136, 140, T 322-3, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 20, Iw. 103-4 || Tg *guedi(-ke) 'belly, peritoneum' > Ewk Δ gudī, Lm gudi 'peritoneum, stomach', Neg gudi 'peritoneum, content of an animal's stomach', Nn Nh gužž 'stomach (of animals)', WrMc гувежіхе 'stomach' (some of these words may be loans from M) ¶ STM I 167 || U: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *k'o'tê 'belly', q.v.) > Chr: L кыдал къ'баł 'waist (поясница)', H кыдал 'кабаł id., {Rm.} къбаł 'Hüfte', H кыдалаш ка'балаš, {Rm.} кабаłäš adj. 'middle, L къба'lan 'in the middle', Uf къбаł 'middle of the body, middle', B къбаł 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *küt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *küçalı > LK/MK/UK k^ωäçı́, UL/Ss koçı́ id.; pOs {HT.} *kōt > Os: V/Vy kōt, Ty/Y kōt, D/K qōt, Nz/Kz qūt, O qut 'space between', d.: V kōtəw, O qutəp 'middle', D qōtəpnə 'in the middle' | OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *küti, Ugr *küti 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF 379-80, Ht. #337, Trj. VD 145 || D *kuṭ- ({{GS}} *k-) 'entrails' (× N *quzṽ 'entrails, pluck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ U *-t- and IE *-d- suggest pN *-t-, C, Ch, and K *-d- are likely to point to a N voiced *-d-, while M and Tg *-d- may go back to both. The cause of the variation *-t- ~ *-d- is still to be discovered. IE *g- for the expected *g^h- still defies explanation ◇ Blz. LNA #15 (suggested to add the D cognate).

602a. *gu₁ʔ₁dE ~ *gü₁ʔ₁dṽ (or *gu₁ʔ₁žE ~ *gü₁ʔ₁žṽ) 'to guard, to watch, to be on the watch for' > HS: C: Bj ✓ g^ωʔd pcv. 'guard' ({{R}} 1s: p. a-gũ'ʔad, pqp. 'ī-gũ'ʔed, prs. agũa'nīd) || PEC **ga^rz¹- (or **ga^rz¹-?) > EC: Or {Th.} gād-, {Brl.} gad- v. 'spy', 'darsi al brigantaggio', {Grg.} gād- v. 'plot against, plan to destroy, spy on', {L} gadō 'thief'; possibly (but not certain): HEC {Hd.} gāz- v. 'wage war, raid', *gāzō 'war, campaign' > Kmb {L} gāžžō 'raid', {Hd.} gāzu 'war, campaign', gāz- v. 'wage war', Tmbr {L} gažžē 'raid', Hd. {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} gād- v. 'wage war',

gādo n. 'war, campaign'; without HED the EC rec. may be *gad- ¶ AD SF 301, Hd. 164, 278, 317, 363, L Z 120, Th. 144, Brl. 158, Grg. 154 || ?σ S *^o✓gδw > Ar ✓ğδw (pf. ^oجَدَّ ġaḍā) 'se tenir d'un pied ferme sur qch., se dresser sur les doigts du pied (pour mieux voir)' ¶ BK I 270, ≠ DRS 103 || A: NaT *Kūδ- ~ *k|k'ūt- v. 'wait, lie in wait for' > OT {CL} kūδ- id., Qq küy- ~ küt-, Az жүд- ġūd- 'trace, track (следить, выслеживать), look for', Tki küt-, Qrg küt-, VTt, Bsh kḅt-, Uz kut-, ET küt- 'wait', Qzq, Nog küt- 'wait for', Ln küt- 'wait, lie in wait for', Yk küt-; the variant *k_uūt- is based on metanalysis (from forms like küttim (kūδ-ti-m) 'I waited') ¶ Cl. 701, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 107-8, Az. 188 || E: El ku-te- 'sehen, schützen' ¶¶ HK 544-5 ◇ The rec. with N *ǰ is valid if the Ar and HEC cognates are accepted. But if they are rejected (for semantic reasons), a better N rec. will be *g_uǰdE ~ *g_üǰd∇.

603. *ga_udi (~ *ga_uti?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > HS: S *gadiy- 'kid' (→ 'lamb') > BHb 'גָּדִי gāḏī 'kid, lamb' (pl. גָּדִים gādā'yīm with -ā- possibly due to the generalized model of pl. of the segolate nouns), EpOHb 'גָּדִי gḏy, Pun gḏ?, [Plt.] GADE, Ug gḏ(y) {OLS} 'kid (cabrito)', pl. {A} gḏym, OA gḏ? 'goat', JA [Trg.] גָּדִי gād'y-ā 'kid, lamb', JEA gād'y-ā, Sr ^oגָּדִי gād'y-ā, Md gādīa 'kid, young goat', Ar ġaḏy- 'kid (chevreau)', Ar NY ǰadi & ǰidi id., Ak NB gādū 'male kid' (← WS) ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, HJ 213-4, OLS 144-5, Lv. T I 126, Sl. 260-1, JPS 60, DM 73, BK I 267, Ln. 393, Bns. NJ I 206-7, CAD V 9, DRS 100-1 || B *yāid 'kid, (young) goat' > Ah {Fc.} e-yāid (pl. i-yāid-ən), Ty, ETwl e-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən, Ty i-yāyd-ən) 'chevreau', Gh {Nh.} i-yāid (pl. i-yāid-ən), Gd {Lf.} a-yāid (pl. yāid-ān) id., Izd {Mrc.} i-yāyd (pl. i-yāyd-ən) 'young he-goat (jeune bouc, chevreau)', Tz a-yāḏ 'he-goat'; fem. *t∇-yāid∇-t 'she-goat, female kid' > Ty, ETwl te-yāydat 'chevrette' (pl. Ty tiyāydat, ETwl šiyāydat), Gd ta-yāydat (pl. tāyāyḏ) id.; Gd tē-yāḏ ~ tē-yāy, Kb tā-yāḏ (pl. ti-yāḏḏin), Tz ta-yāḏḏ (pl. ti-yāḏḏin), Izd {Mrc.} tā-yāḏḏ (pl. ti-yāḏḏin), Si tyāḏ (pl. tyāḏin), SrSn tāyāt 'she-goat' ¶ Fc. 1711, Lf. II ##1869, 1876, 1921, Mrc. 37, 51, Stm. 160, 227, GhA 75 ¶ The emphatic *y (for the expected *g) is puzzling || EC: Or {Brl., Th.} gadamsa 'kudu antelope', Or B {Vnt.} gadamsa (nom. -ni), Brj {Ss.} gādama 'greater kudu antelope', Ged gadansa 'antelope, buffalo' (← Or?) ¶ Ss. B 75, Brl. 157, Th. 142, Brl. 157, Sr. 308, Vnt. 57, Hd. 20, 192, 240 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gada 'ε antelope' > Hs gādā 'common (crested) duiker (antelope) Cephalophus Grimmi (=

Sylvicopra grimmia)' | BT: Gera gadere 'bushbuck' | NrBc: P' {MSk.} gatará 'buck' | ? SBC: Jm {Gw.} kító, Gj {ChL} kiti, Buli {Gw.} kīt, Zar {Gw.} kicdi, Sy Zk {Gw.} kicdu 'antelope', Dw {ChL} kidi 'duiker' | Ngz {Sch.} gádùwà 'crested duiker' || CCh: ZmB {J} gódàɣ, {Sa.} gútay 'buck', Dgh {Frk.} ʒádá girè 'antelope' ¶ ChC, ChL, Abr. H 282, Sch. DN 64 ¶¶ Sk. HCD 74 || IE: NaIE *gʰǵʰajdo- '(young) goat', {El} *gʰajdo-s 'goat' > L haedus 'kid, young goat' || Gt gait̥s, ON geit̥, OSx gêt̥, OHG gei z̥ 'goat', NHG Geiß 'she-goat', AS zāt̥ 'goat', NE goat ¶ P 409-10, EI 229, WH I 632, Fs. 186, Schz. 150, Kb. 324, KM 242, Ho. 124, Ho. S 26 ¶¶ The *media* *-d- (for the expected *-dʰ-) is puzzling. It may be explained if the IE word is a loan from HS or from one of its branches (F IS DIES 4 [IE ← S], AD IEH 14 and fn. 11 [IE ← early pS]) || D *kʰaʰt̥-, {GS} *kyaq̥- 'young male of horned domestic animal' > Tm kaṭā, kaṭav̥u, kaṭay 'male of sheep\goat\buffalo', kaṭāri, kiṭāri 'heifer, young cow', kiṭā 'buffalo, bull, ram', Ml kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāv̥u 'young male of cattle', Kt kaṛč̥ naṅ 'buffalo calf between 2 and 3 years', kaṛč̥ kurl 'cow calf between 2 and 3 years', Kn kaḍas̥u, Kdg kaḍiṭ̥i, Tu gaḍas̥ə 'young cow\buffalo', Gnd kārā 'young buffalo', Knd gārālu, Kui grāḍu 'calf', Kui kṛaj̥ 'young female buffalo\goat', Krx kaṛī id., kaṛā 'young male buffalo', Brh xar̥ 'ram', xarās 'bull, bullock'; D → pInA {Tu.} *kaṭṭa- and *kaḍḍa- 'young male (horned domestic) animal' (*kaṭṭa- > Kshm kaṭʰ 'ram, sheep in general', Lhn kaṭṭa 'buffalo calf', Hnd kaṭiyā 'buffalo heifer'; *kaḍḍa- > Ori kaṛā 'castrated male buffalo', kaṛāj̥ 'young buffalo cow') and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo' ¶¶ D #1123, Tu. ##2645, 2658, GS 166 [#416], 28 [#15] ◇ The B and IE precons. *j̥ / *y and D {GS} *-ya- suggest the presence of *y before *d (or *t). Alternatively, a mt. (possibly favoured by root structure patterns in B and IE) may be assumed (if we believe that S *gadiy- preserves the original position of *y). IS DIES 4 supposed that IE *gʰajdo- is a loan from S, because the root-internal vw. *a is not typical of IE. But I do not find it a sufficient argument for a loan hypothesis because there are still other genuine IE nominal roots with an internal *a ◇ AD NM #49.

603a. *geʰdʰüš̥ ▽ 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > HS: S *gawîš̥- > Ar {Fr., Ln.} جَوْشْ ḡawš̥- 'middle of the night' (or 'part of the night') → {Fr.} iter per totam noctem factum', Ak (from lists of synonyms) gēš̥u, translated in CAD and by Sd. as 'spend the night', 'übernachten'

¶ CAD V 64, Sd. 287, Fr. I 325, Ln. 487, Dc 109 ¶ The Ak vw. -ê- could have pointed to a lost S *ʕ or *h (inf. *gaḥāš|θ|šum, *gaʕāš|θ|šum, *gaš|θ|šāʕum, or *gaš|θ|šāhum), which would suggest a lr. in the N√, but this is ruled out (the expected lr. is absent in the IE cognate). A preferable solution is to assume that the Ak word is not a *CaCāCūm-infinitive, but a different nominal pattern, possibly S *'CaCiC- (like S *'raʔiš- 'head' > Ak rēšum), sc. S **'gaw|yiš- from HS **'gawġ- (with *ġ < *d|tš) with reg. *a_i > Ak ē ¶ The Ar word ġawš- is likely to result from merger of S *'gawīš- 'night' and S *'gaw_i∇_iš- 'breast, middle' (> Ar ġawš- 'breast, middle of the man'), hence the meaning 'middle of the night' (one of the semantic variants registered by mediaeval Arab lexicographers and later by Lane) || Ch {AD} *ga^ʕš-, {Sh.} √gs₂ 'night' > WCh: Gj {Sh.} gāsì, Buli {Sh.} ṅgàst, Tule {Sh.} gašè, Zul {ChL} gəsí id. ¶ JI II 258, ChC, ChL || ?? NrOm: ?? Kf {HMM} 𐤎𐤓𐤕 (y3či) yiči 'yesterday' || ? Dzd: Mj {AY} gota 𐤎 gōt, Shk {AY} gōta, {Fl.} got3, Na {Fl.} god3? id. ¶ HHM 421, Fl. OWL, AY WShND s.v. 'night' || K: OG, G gušin 'yesterday' ¶ Ser. 73, Chx. 217 || IE: NaIE {P} *ġ^hdyes / ? *ġ^hdis (> simplified variants *ġ^he(:)s, *ġ^hyees) 'yesterday' > OI 'hyas 'yesterday' (< *ġ^hyees), hyastanaḥ 'gestrig', OPrs diya(ka), NPrs دىگ ~ دى dīg ~ dī, Sgd ʔzyy myḏ, Oss: I znon and D äzinä 'yesterday' (< *zi-na-) || Gk χθέξ 'yesterday', Gk El [Hs.] σερ-ός (σερ- < *ġ^hyees) id. || pAl {O} *de > Al dje id. || L herī, herě id. (< IE *ġ^hesi), hes-ternus 'gestrig' || OIr in-dé (*ġ^hdyes), MW, W doe, OCm {doy, Cm dē, MBr dech, Br {LP} deac'h, {Bc.} dec'h 'yesterday' || ON í gær (< Gmc *gēz-), OSw i gár id. (< IE *ġ^hēs), AS ʒeostra(n), NE yester-day, OHG gesteron 𐌎 gesterên, NHG gestern, MDt gisteren 'yesterday', ?σ Gt gistra-dagis 'to-morrow' ¶ P 416, Bc. 1000, El 654 (*(d^h)ġ^hyees 'yesterday'), M K III 614, M E II 822, Ab. IV 313, VI. I 946, 953, LP § 28, SEv. 221, YGM-1 193, ECCE 231, Huld BAE 53, O 68, F II 693, Pis. AIHÇ, Vr. 197, Fs. 215, Kb. 330, Schz. 151, OsS 311, Ho. 128, KM 254 || A *o^ʕēç∇ > T *k'ēç 'late, evening' > OT {Cl.} kēč 'late, lateness', Cmn keč 'late', Chg ≥XV keč 'late, slow; long time', geč qurun 'late evening', Tk geç, Tkm gīč, Az κεч gež, Ggz, Qmq geč, CrTt, Qrg keč 'late', VTt kiš, Bsh kis 'evening', Blq keč 𐌎 kēc, Kr Cr, Uz keč, ET káč, Alt keć, Nog, Qzq, Qq keš 'late, evening', Chv каç kaś 'evening, night'; (-d) T *k'ēçä 'late in the evening' (→ 'night', 'yesterday') > OT {Cl.} kēčä 'late in the evening, late evening', Ggz gežä '(by) night, late in

the evening', Tk гесе id., 'late evening', Tkm gīžе, Az жеңә gežä '(by) night', Qmq geče, Nog keše, Qrg S keče, VTt † кичә kišä 'night', VTt кичә kišä, Qz keše, StAlt кеце 'yesterday', Bsh kisä, Qq keše id., 'evening', Uz кеңә 'night, yesterday', ET kečä, Xlj {DT} kīęčä 'evening, night', Xk (d.?) кичее kižē 'yesterday', Tv kežē, Tf кʷеžе, Yk kīāsä ~ kīāsā 'evening, in the evening' ¶ Cl. 692-3, Rs. W 245, ET VGD 50-2, Md. 35 (*kēć 'late, evening'), GRM 107-8, KumRS 99, Jud. 383, Nj. 666, BT 81, KrkR 320, NogR 164, BIG 78, DT 150, Ra. 202-3, Pek. 1077, Jeg. 93, Fed. I 237-8 ◇ The original structure of the word is problematic. The proposed tentative N rec. ***ge'd'üš** suggests the following later phonetic changes: [1] N ****gedüš** > ****güdüš** > ****güdš** > K ***guš** and HS ***guš** (> -d> S ***gawiš-** and Ch ***gaš-**), [2] N ****gedüš** > ****gēdiš** > pre-IE ****gdiš** > IE (stressed) ***gʰdʲes** / (unstressed) ***gʰdis**, [3] N ****gedüš** > ****gejš** > ***gēš** (complementary lengthening) > A ***gʰēš** > T ***kʰēš**.

604. *gařügæ 'covet, long for', (→?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE ***gʰeǵh-** 'covet' > Gt faihu-geigan 'to covet', ga-geigan 'to win, to obtain', with the *n-infix: OHG gīngen 'to long for', gīngo 'das Verlangen', gīngēn 'to require' || ? Lt {P} giežúos 'heftig verlangen', Lt pa-giēžti 'to crave for revenge', pagiežà 'rancour, craving for revenge' (unless < Lt gižti 'to become sour', gaižti 'to become bitter') ¶ P 427, Fs. 136, 181, Schz. 151, Kb. 363, Frn. 129 || **U:** FU ***kEyš**- v. 'utter a mating call' (of birds in courtship ritual), v. 'sing' (partially ×FU ***küye** [or ***keye-**] 'lust, amorous calling sounds' < N ***kuyE** 'be hungry, desire, want', [in descendant lgs.] → 'be in heat, lust') > pLp {Lr.} ***kikэ-** v. 'emit amorous calling sounds, mate' (of birds) > Lp: L {LLO} kihkat v. 'mate' (of birds), N {N} gikkât, Kld kīgge-(δ) id. | Prm ***koy-** ({LG} ***koy-**) > Z N koy-, Z US koy- 'utter a mating call, mate' (of birds), Z Δ koyt, Yz 'kuť 'mating place of birds (ТОК)' || pObU {Ht.} ***kēy-** ~ ***kōy-** v. 'mate\copulate' (of birds), 'utter a mating call' > pVg ***kăy-** id. > Vg: T kiy-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kăy- id., LL/Ss kay- id., 'sing a magic song' (of shamans); pOs {Ht.} ***kōy-** ({Hl.} ***kōy-**) 'mate, utter a mating call' ({Trj.} 'токовать, ворковать') > Os: V/Vy kōy-, Ty kōy-, Y kōy-, D kēy-, K kăy-, Nz/Kz key- id., O qoy- v. 'prophecy, exercise magic by singing' | Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' ¶ Coll. 79, UEW 143-4, Sm. 543 (FU ***kixi** 'rut' >

FP *kixi-, Ugr *kĩgĩ(-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. #231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167, Lt. 45 || **A:** NaT *Kūg- 'be in heat, mate' > OT kūg 'the mating of rams and wild animals in the mating season', Qrg kū-gö kel- 'be in heat, be ready to be mated' (of female animals) (lit. 'come [kel-] to [-gö] the heat'), Qzq kūy|ö- v. 'mate' (of cattle, sheep, and dogs) ¶ Cl. 709-10, Jud. 472-3 || M *guyu- v. 'ask, implore, require, beg' ({Pp: 'bitten, betteln'}) (× N *gEhōwy▽ 'to go\drive away', q.v. ffd. × N *gâ₁ʔ₁y▽ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon']) ¶ MED 365, ≠ Pp. VG 49 || **HS:** S *_o√gḡgḡ > MHb 𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍 ḡiḡ'gū²ḡ 'longing for, paternal love', ? Ar تَجَفَّعٌ taḡḡaḡḡa v. 'throw oneself on the ground out of grief' (unless ←- ḡḡaḡḡa 'kneel' [of camels]) ¶ Lv. I 350, Js. 261. Hv. 91 ◇ The S root suggests an internal *₁ within the N word. The contraction of the N internal *-a₁ü- accounts for the long vw. in T. The transformation of N *-a₁ü- into IE *-e₁- still needs investigating.

605. *gEhōwy▽ 'go away, drive away (forttreiben)' > **HS:** WS *_o√ghh ~ *_o√ghy 'run away' > Ar √ḡhh (pf. ḡḡahha) v. 'drive away', {BK} 'chasser ignominieusement', Sr √ghw|y (pf. ḡḡahā) 'flee, escape', Md √ghw|y (act. prtc. ḡḡahā) 'flee from', Gz √g^wy (js. yə-g^way) 'run, run away, flee', Tgy √g^wy G 'flee, run way', Amh (3n)g^wzy 'one who flees', Sq {L} *_o√gwy 'flee' → šī-guḡa 'fugitif', ? ge v. 'flee, hurry', ¶ Br. 106, DM 81, LG 209, LLS 105, BK I 341, DRS 104 || SC ({E} *gōw- 'go out\away'): Irq {Mgw.} ḡōw v. 'flee', {MQK} ḡōw-, {E} ḡōw- 'run away'; → (caus.) pRt *gu-s- > Irq {MQK} ḡūs- 'chase, drive away', {E} ḡus- 'drive out', Alg {E} ḡusim- 'chase away' ¶ E SC 238-9 [##36, 42], Mgw. 114, Wh. SI, MQK 40, 42 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *g^wa / *ga8 (= *ga₁w|y) vt. 'chase, drive' ('treiben') > Ang (rdp.) kwok v. 'drive away; gallop' || pBT √gy v. 'run (away), chase', Tng kay- (vb. n. kāy₁) v. 'chase, drive, pursue', kā₁p₁ 'run after!', Krkr {Lk.} guy- 'run away', ?σ Bl {Lk.} gay- 'ride' || Bks ḡā 'wegtreiben', Fy ḡ^wè id., 'wegstoßen', DfB ḡâh 'weg-\ver-treiben, verjagen', ḡâh '(weg-)treiben (wie ein Hirt)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 219 [#695], J R 86, 142, 215, J T 96, Flk. s.v. kwok ¶¶ ≈ OS #910 (BT, SC, Gz; does not distinguish this √ from S *-gīʔ- to come', EC *gay- 'arrive', CCh *g^w▽- 'enter', and ECh: Kbl ḡiy₃ 'come'), Stl. ZCh 246 [#43], Lk. PPV 135, J T 96, ChC || **IE** (IE {E} *ḡ^heh₁- 'leave [go away]'): NaIE *ḡ^hē(ḡ)-/*ḡ^hi- or *ḡ^hē(ḡ)-/*ḡ^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen'), (× N

***g'a'ž∇** 'to go; way, path') > OI 'jihītē 'geht fort\hervor', {MW} 'start forward' (× md. of the √ *g^heh₂- 'leave, abandon') > OI ✓ hā-], Av ā-zā- 'herangehen' || Gk Hm κίχάνω, Gk A κίχάνω (based on the prs. form *κί-χη-μυ) v. 'reach (erreichen, erlangen)' (← *'go' ← *'go away') || Gmc: OHG gā-n 𐌺 gā-en 𐌺 kēn, NHG gehen, OFrs, OSx gā-n, AS ȝā-n, OSw, ODn gá, Sw, Dn gǫ, Gt Cr geen 'to go', NE go || Blt (× NaIE *g^wā- < N *kuṣa 'to go, to advance, to follow', q.v.): Lt Δ gó-ti 'to go', Ltv gāju 'I went' ¶ WP I 542-4, EI 349 (*g^heh₁-), 115 (on IE *g^weh₁- 'come' see N *kuṣa '↑'), ≈ M KI 426, MW 1296, FI 861-2, Ho. 123, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 312, Hlq. 316, Fs. 182, 213, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, FI 208-10 ¶ It is doubtful that OI 'jahātē 'leaves, abandons' and Av zazāhi 'entlasse' belong here ¶¶ NaIE *g^hē(i)- may be also explained as going back to *g^hēy(i)- ¶¶ AD NGIE || U *kuṣ∇ '≈ drive (so., sth.)' > Ugr *kuṣ∇ {Rd.} 'treiben, jagen' > Vg: Ss {BV}, LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- v. 'entice (an animal), set (a dog) on', 'verführen, antreiben', N {MK} xujti-, ML khujti-, P khujtēti- [xuytati-], khwqjti ~ khujti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben', P {Rd.} kuyt- 'entice (манить)' | OHg hajt- '(zu etwas) bewegen, treiben', Hg hajt- v. 'drive (treiben, jagen); incite, urge on (anreizen, anziehen, antreiben)' || Sm *ku- vi. 'drive by the water stream', vt. 'drive sth.' (of a stream\wind) > Ne T d. xу''-ла-сь ~ xу''лесь, Ne F {Lh.} χυῶ̄, χυῶ̄'ῶ̄ 'von der Strömung getrieben schwimmen', Ne T BZ xув, Ne T Y xῶ̄, Ne F {Lh.} χῶ̄β 𐌺 χῶ̄ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', ?φ,μ Slq Tz {Prk.} kurī- ~ qurī-, {KKIH} d. kurī-qo 'carry sth.' (of a stream, wind), 'swim with the stream' ¶¶ UEW 858, BV 142, MK 117, EWU 515, Jn. 76, KKIH 122, WVD 140 || ?σ A ({ADb.} *g^ow- v. 'hunt, pursue, look for'): T *k₁ob- 'follow, pursue, chase' (× T k₁og- < N *gokE [= *goki?] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *gob(jo)- v. 'hunt, drive (a wild animal)' > Ewk PT g^o∅-, Ewk Tmt g^owyo-, Ewk SB/Skh/Urm g^owjo- v. 'hunt with a dog for sables', Lm A gobja- 'hunt by driving (a wild animal)', Lm Δ obja- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for mountain rams', Neg gobjo- 'hunt with a dog (on fresh snow)', Orc gobžono- 'drive sables on snow', Ork 'hunt with a dog, hunt for sables, hunt in winter' ¶ STM I 157 || ?σ M *guyu- ~ *guyi- 'ask, implore, request, beg' ({Pp: 'bitten, betteln'}) (← *'pursue') (× N *gaṣūgæ 'covet, long for', N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > MM [HI, S] guyu- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} guyu-* 'ask' (att.

guyulduba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM гууу-, HIM гуй-
 x 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Kl {Rm.} gū-χα 'bitten, werben', guí gū-χα
 'to beg for alms', {KRS} һуу-х үү-хъ id., ⇨ M *guyuli > WrM гуили,
 HIM гуйль, Kl һууль үүл 'begging, alms', {Rm.} gūlí, guíη 'alms', Mnr
 H {SM} q̣ue'śǰ̣i ~ q̣uzǰ̣'i 'beggar', ? q̣ue'ṛla- 'demander avec instance,
 prier, mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365, KRS 171, KW
 156-7, SM 124-5, ¶¶ Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10.

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of' >
HS: C {AD} *g^w∇g|k- > Ag *gūk- > Bln {R} gūg- (pl. gūkək), Xm T {CR}
 g^wug 'way' || Bj {R} gīg- scv. 'go away' || HEC: Hd {AD, Hd.} gōgo
 'road', Kmb {C} gōggō 'way'; ?σ C ⇨ Gz ✓ggw (pf. gōgawa, js.
 yāgōgū) v. 'err' ¶ AD SF 256, AD MLX s.v. gōgo, R WB 144, R WBd 93,
 Hd. 280, L G 185, qu. Ap. ANH 23 (suggests assimilation from HEC
 *dōgo 'way' as an alt. et. of Hd gōgo and Kmb gōggō) || Om: NrOm: Zs
 {Si.} 'goge 'road', Shk {Bnd.} kōku, Mj {C} kōk || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} gōgí
 'road, path' (loans from HEC?) ¶ AD SF 256, Bnd. AL 157, Si. ACh 6 ||
 Ch {JS} *✓gk 'path' > WCh: Dr {J} gókó, Bl {Mk.} gōgō 'road', Pr {Frz.}
 kókkò 'way' ¶ JS 200, ChC, Frz. P 36 || **A:** T *k_L'og(∇)- v. 'follow the
 tracks of, track (game), hunt' (× T *k_L'ob- 'follow, pursue, chase' < N
 *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away') > OT [QB, MhK] qōv- v. 'follow,
 pursue, chase', MT XIII [a Tefsir] qōv- v. 'hunt', Chg, XwT XIV qaw- v.
 'pursue, drive away', MQp qōw- v. 'pursue', Osm qōw- ~ qōy-, Tk kōv-
 , Δ qōy- 𐌆 gōy-, Tkm qōw-, Az gōw-, Xk χōy-, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog,
 Qzq, Qq, Uz quw-, Ggz kū- 'chase, follow, pursue', Qrg, Alt qū-, Tlt {Rl.},
 Tb/QK {B} qōy-, VTt qu-, Bsh qbw- 'follow the tracks of, pursue', Qmn
 qō- 'keep an eye on, pursue, look for', Sg/Qc/Qk/Qb {Rl.} qōy-, Xk
 xōf- χōy- v. 'follow so.', ET qōy-li- v. 'pursue, chase, follow' || Chv
 xǎv- xbv-, Chv L xuy- xuy-, Chv Δ xbv- 'drive away, chase, pursue' ¶
 We cannot distinguish between T *k'- and T *k'- for lack of Tv and Tf
 cognates. But if Tv † xō-r 'to invite (e.g. a shaman)' belongs here (?σ),
 the pT initial cns. is *k'- ¶ Cl. 580 (? T *kōb with a long *ō [unj. rec. of
 length on the insufficient ev. of MK's spelling with g] [at variance with
 the ev. of Tkm]), DTS 461, Rs. W 275 (*qōy-), ET Q 9-10, Rh. 1490,
 Tkr 402, Hüs. 83, Nj. 605-6, BN 124, BT 97, B DChT 128, B DK 223, B
 DLT 164, BIG 283, Rl. II 515, 663, 883-4, 1040, KRPS 372, Jeg. 288, Fed.
 II 315-6, MM 455, Jeg. 288, Fed. II 315-6, ≈ Md. 44, 169 (pT *k'ob- with
 unj. *k'-), TvR 483 || ?σ,φ M *güyiyi- 'run' > MM [S] {H} guiyi-

'laufen, rennen', [HI] {Ms.} gū(y)ī-, [MA, IM] {Pp.} gūj- 'run', WrM gūi- ~ gūyū, HIM гүй- 'run, flow', Mnr H {SM} g_uē'- id., {T} guī-, Mgl {Rm.} gūī-, Brt гүй- 'run', WrO gūū-, Kl гүү- gū- 'run, flee', Ord g_ūj- 'run, gallop', Dg {Mrm.} guī- 'laufen, rennen' ¶ Pp. MA 172, 437, H 52, Ms. H 57, 59, Ms. O 275, MED 389-9, SM 140, T 323, Krg. 775, KRS 150, KW 140, Rm. M 28, Chr. 164, Klz. D I 135 || Tg: Nn Nh/KU gυqo- v. 'run at a trot' || pJ {S} *kāká- 'run, gallop, flee' > OJ kaka-, J: T kaké-, K/Kg kākè- ¶ S QJ #804, Mr. 702 ¶ STM I 149 ¶¶ DQA #530 (A *gǐǒ'k'ó 'run, send: T, M, Tg) || AdS of U *koke- v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *ҚоҚе 'to look, to see' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IS I 309-10 [#183] (*Кокі 'идти по следу, следовать': U, A), AD NM #31, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate because [as far as Vv. thought] it is isolated within A), S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

607. *gaKt'ä' 'couple, one of a pair' > HS: NrOm: Gng: Kf {C} gut- v. 'be two', guttō 'two', {Fl., Msr.} gutto, Mch {L} 'gutto, Anf {MYTY} gutto, {Gt.} guttó, {C} guttō, Mch {Lm.} gutto, Amuru {Fl.} gitta, Shn {Lm.} gíttà 'two' ¶ C SE IV 308, 451, LM 34, Lm. Sh 316, Fl. OWL s.v. 'two', Msr. 86, Gt. 353, MYTY 117 ¶ Acc. to C and Lm., the Gng numeral is a loan from EthS kəlpēt- 'two' (hardly convincing) || Eg {EG, Vc.} *зωτ 'twenty' (this approximate reading of the numerical sign for '20' is assured by two wordplays) > Cpt: Sd зoуwт зuōt, B зwт зōt 'twenty' ¶ EG V 252, Vc. 333 || U *kakta ~ *käktä 'two' > F kaksī (gen. kahden), Es kaks (gen. kahе) id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōktē > Lp: N {N} guokite, S {Hs.} guokte, L {LLO} kuokte, Kld kūx:t id. | pMr {Ker.} *каѣт > Er кавто kavto, Mk кафта 'kaftə id. | pChr *koktē > Chr H/L/E attr. кок kōk, subst., pred. L коктыт коктѣт, H кокты коктѣ id. | ItPrm *kūk > Z, Vt k+k, Yz k+k id.; acc. to Lt. 192, Prm *ū (for the expected *ū < FU *ä) is due to the infl. of *ūt 'one', the original *ū being preserved in Z кōкъямыс кзкуам+s, Z I, Prmk Δ k+k'уам+s, Vt XVIII кыкъямыс 'eight' > Modern Vt тямыс id. || pObU *kīt(∇) 'two' > pVg *kīt∇ id. > OVg kitta 𐌆 кита, Vg: T kiç, LK/MK/UK/P, NV/SV, LL/UL/Ss kit; pOs *kit- / *kät- id.: the variant *kit- is found as a bound morpheme in derived and compound forms of Os E and some other dialects: V/Vy {Trj.} kittā, Ag/Uy/Ty/Y {Trj.} kitanti, Sl {Trj.} kitantā, UY {Trj.} kitānti, Sh {Stn.} kītām-tak 'both', Sl {Trj.} kitkōtān ~ -ōŋ 'twelve', Ag/Ty/Uy {Trj.} kitsāt 'two hundred', Sl {Trj.} kitsir 'of two kinds (дворякий)', kitmātəx 'for the second time (вторично)', while in the free morpheme (the attr. numeral 'two') and the subst.

numeral 'two' the stem is always (in all Os dialects) {Ht.} *kät > {Ht.} V/Vy kät, Ty/Y kät, D kēt, K/O kāt, Nz/Kz qāt, {Stn.} Sh qāt 'two' (attr.), subst. numeral: V {Trj.} kätkən (-kən is a du. formant), Sh {Stn.} qatən 'two' || Hg ké t (attr.), kettō 'two' || Sm {Jn.} *kitä, {Hl.} *kite 'two' > Ng {Mik., Hl.} síti, {Ter.} сити siti', En {Ter.} 'siðe, En {Cs.} X sire, B side, Ne T сидя, T O {Lh.} síde', Ne F {Popova} /šíta/ [šícǎ], {Lh.} síczǎ, Slq Tz {KKIH} šitti, Slq Tm {KD} šida, Kms {KD} šide, Koyb {Sp.} сыда, {Pl.} tschidä джидя, Mt {Hl.} *kidǎje (Mt: M {Sp.} кыды, {Pl.} kiddä, K {Pl.} gide, M/T/K {Mll.} kidde) || ? Y: T {Krn.} kiyoñ, {Ku.} kiyyoñ 'are two', {Ku.} kiyyoñ- 'be two', {Jc. → Ang.} kijol 'two', kiji 'zu zweit' ¶¶ Coll. 21, Coll. CG 406, UEW 118-9, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Ugr *kektä, FP *kaktä), SK 146, Lr. #509, Lgc. #2880, Hs. 686-7, Ker. II 51, Ber. 18, LG 140, 151, Lt. J 130, Ht. #339, Trj. S 104, 114-5, Trj. VD 58-9, Stn. OG 58, 144-5, Jn. 71, Ter. NgJ 149, Ter. EJ 446, Cs. 92, KP 191-2, Hl. MNJ 214, Hl. M #481, Ppv. 121, Ptp. 50, 100, Krn. JJ 182-4, Ku. 91, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#16] (Y ← U) || A *gagta 'one of a pair' > Tg *gagda (~ ğ *gakta) 'one of a pair' > Ewk, Neg, Orc gagda, Nn B/KU gagda, WrMc гагда ~ гагта, Mc Sb gadз 'one of a pair', Lm gād id., 'half', Ud gagda 'one of a pair, the other one, second' ¶ STM I 135, Ci. 299, Vas. 80 || pJ {S} *kātā 'one of two sides' > OJ kātā id. ¶ S QJ #1311, Mr. 442 || M *gagča > MM [MA] {Pp.} gaqča, [HI] qaqca (= gagča), [IsV] qaqča (= gagča) 'alone', [S] {H} ħahca 'einzig, allein', WrM гагца 'alone, single, the only one', Kl {Rm.} gакcǎ 'allein', Ord g_agč'a, WrO гагца 'sole, only', Dg {Lg.} gašǎ, {T} gašqā(r) 'alone' (< d. *gagčaǎr id.); the var. *ganča 'alone' (> WrM ганца, HIM ганц, Brt ганс, Kl һанц, {Rm.} *gaḡ]ča, Ord g_anč'a) is akin to WrMc ganž'i 'whole' and may result from paradigmatic merger of both mentioned roots ¶ Pp. MA 175, Ms. H 88, H 56, Lg. VMI 41, MED 343, Ms. O 287, Krg. 310, KRS 15, KW 141, 143, Chr 145-6, T DgJ 131, Z 301 || T *k'ata 'time(s) (Mal)', 'whole' (× T *k'at 'layer, row' < N *kañ|ñ∇(-t∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') > OT {Cl.} qata '(so many) times' (bir qata 'one', üç qata '3 times', qač qata 'many times'), OT [MhK] {Rl.} qada 'time (Mal)', MT [Tefsir], OXwT XIV qata id., Tk kat, Kr T/G kat, Qmq, VTt, Bsh qat 'time (Mal)', Chv хут хут ɘ хот id., Chv L хута xud_a 'whole' (кун хута '[for] the whole day'), хуташ xud_aš 'together', Az gat '-fold\ple' (with numerals: üç-gata 'threefold, triple'); Shor/Sg/Bltr/Qc {Rl.} qada, Xk хада xada, Tv qatay

'together', StAlt qatay id., 'side by side (рядом)'; ? Yk χat 'for the second time, again' (← *'the other one' ← *'one of a pair') ¶ Cl. 593, 596, ≈ ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ash. XVI 250-2, 257, Fed. II 371-4, Rl. II 305-6, BIG 262, TvR 231, JkR 488, Pek. 3393-4 ¶¶ DQA #472 (A *gàgta 'one of a pair') ◇ AD SShS 299-300 (U, A, HS).

608. *g|koḶE (r∇) 'chest, breast' (→ [in descendant lgs.] 'belly', 'heart') > HS: Ch: ECh: Mu {Lk.} gāk (pl. gōgúk) m. 'chest', f. 'female breast', Tmk {Cp.} gògèr m., Mkl {J} gíggiré 'poitrine' ||| WCh: Klr {J} kúkôh 'Brustkorb' ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, Cp. 64, J LM 101, J R 353 || ? S: Ak kukku(b)bu 'pig's stomach' ¶ Sd. 421 ||| U: FP *kōkt∇ 'belly' > F kōhtu 'womb', Es kōht (gen. kōhtu) 'belly, abdomen, stomach (Magen)' ||| Prm: Vt kōt kōt 'belly, stomach', Vt Sr/Kz {Wc.} kōt 'belly, heart', Vt G {Wc.} kōt 'stomach, heart', Z I kōt 'belly' in cds.: kōt-ku 'peritoneum' (ku 'skin'), kōt-ku ū 'bottom part of the belly' (ū 'bottom'), Prmk {W} kōta 'pregnant' ¶ UEW 670 ||| A ({SDM95, SDM97} *kōk'e 'breast; to suck' [→ 'chest', 'belly']): [1] T *k'ōkūr 'chest, breast' > OT kōküz ({Cl.} kōgüz) id., MQp, Cmn kōgūs ~ kōvūs 'breast, female breast', Tkm ΓΘΒΥC gövüθ, Az kōkūs ~ kōks, ET kōkūs ~ kōgūs, SY kōkūs ~ gōs, Ln kōküz id., Uz kōkük kōks 'breast, heart, soul', Tk gōgūs 'breast, bosom, thorax', Ggz gūs, Alt kōgūs, Xk kōgīs 'breast, thorax', Yk kōyūs 'breast, middle of the back, spine' ||| Chv kākāp kōg_βr 'breast, female breast' | [2] NaT *k'ōküräk 'chest, upper part of the body' > Chg XII [San.], Tkm kükrek, Blq kōküräk, Bsh kōkräk, Nog, Qzq, Qq kōküräk, Qrg kōkürök, ET kōkräk 'chest, breast', Qmq kōküräk, VTt kōkräk, Uz kōkräk kōkräk 'breast, female breast', Brb {Rl.} kōkrök 'chest, upper part of the body', MQp {Rs.} kōkräü 'Rumpf, Oberkörper', Tv kōkerek 'ankle-bone of cattle', Slr {Tn.} küpräx ~ kōp̄r̄ix 'breast' ¶ Cl. 712, 714, Rs. W 288, ET VGD 54-5, ET KQ 136-7, Grøn. 150, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, BIG 87, Hüs. 173, Äz. 213, Nj. 652, UzR 229, Tn. SJ 393, 398 ¶ The T stem *k'ōkūr (if originally 'female breasts') may represent an ancient word group with N *yī ('a couple' > a pc. of dual) (*-r∇ yī > *-ry- > -r-), while in the stem *k'ōküräk 'chest' no marker of dual is present || M *kōkün 'female breast' > MM [MA] kōken, [S] kōkan [kōkän] (pl. kōkot [kōköt]), WrM kōkü(n), HIM xōx 'female breast, nipples', Kl kōkē kōkē, Dx gōgō, Ba kugō, ShY hgōn id., Mnr H {SM} k'ug_ūō 'mamelle, sein', MMgl {Iw.} kōkē 'nipple', Mgl {Rm.} kōkâ 'Zitze'; M *kōkü- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > WrM kōkü-, HIM xōxē- id., Kl

көкк көкәкә v. 'suck (breast), suck in', MM [MA] köke- v. 'suck (breast, water)', [S] коко- [kökö-] v. 'suck, suckle', MMgl {Iw.} kökə- v. 'suck milk', Mgl {Rm.} kōka-ṛā 'sucks (mother's breast)' ¶ Pp. VG 132, S AH 234 [#13], MED 483, SM 208, Pp. MA 220, H 103, Iw. 112-3, KW 237, KRS 313 || Tg *xukū-n 'female breast' > Ewk ukun, Ewk UL hukun, Ewk Hng hukuhu, Lm ôkən, Neg ôxôn, Orc oko(n-), Ud {Shn.} oko, Ul куз(n-), Ork qō(n-) ~ qū(n-), Nn Nh kũ, Nn Bk ku(n-), Nn KU ukuń, WrMc хухун, Mc Sb хухун 'female breast'; -d> Lm ôkəń 'milk', Sln uxũ, Neg ôxôńô 'milk'; Tg *xukū- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > Ewk ŷuku-, Neg ôxô-, Lm ôk- id. ¶ STM II 254-5, S AJ 208 [#18] ¶ S, AD, and Md. (SDM95) reconstruct Tg *xukun ~ *kukun 'female breast', but for the variant with *k- there is no ev. (Ul *kukun is not registered in dictionaries) ¶ Tg *x- may be due to as.: A *kok'e > **k'ok'e > Tg xukun || pKo *kokʌj- 'heart (of wood), pith, core' > MKo kokʌjyan, NKo kogəni ¶ S AJ 256 [#138], S QK #138, Nam 45, MLC 134 || pJ *kəkəz 'heart' > OJ kəkòró, J: T kokóro, K kókòrò, Kg kokoró, Ns kòró, Sh kúkúru, Ht kùkùru, Y kùgùrù ¶ S AJ 270 [#138], S QJ #138, Mr. 454 ¶¶ DQA #867 (A *kək'e 'breast; to suck; heart'), S AJ 32-3, 280 [#128], ADb. SR 13 ¶¶ A *k..k- for the expected *g..k- is probably due to the Lallwörter-factor (cp. NHG Zitze, R сися 'mother's breast').

608a. *gawK∇ 'long, high, far' > U: FU *kawka 'long' > F kauka 'das Ferne', kaukaa 'from afar, at a great distance', kauan 'long, for a long time', Es kaua id., kauge 'distant, far, remote' || Er kuvaka, Mk ku'vaka 'long' || ? Lp Ar kāw'kas-sayūen 'an einem entlegenen, langweiligen Ort' || Os: V kow, D xōw 'long, far, remote'; V kōkə, D xōwa, O xōwi 'far' ¶ UEW 132 || A ({DQA}) *gók'ì 'high; peak': Tg *gugda 'high' > Ewk gugda, Sln gugda, Lm gūd, Neg gogda, Orc, Ud gugda, Ul, Ork, Nn B gugda, Nn Nh/B gogda, WrMc godoxon 'high'; without the sx. -da: Ud gugana- v. 'jump up' (of animals) ¶ STM I 166 || M {DQA} *gögde-gür 'hilly' (← **gögde *'hill') > WrM gögdügür 'hilly', Kl {Rm.} gögdəgŕ 'hügelig, uneben' ¶ MED 386, KW 137 || pKo *kəkáj 'peak, height' > MKo kəkáj, NKo kogä ¶ S QK #222, Yu 61, MLC 134 || pJ *kúkì 'peak' > OJ kukji, NJ [RJ] kúkì ¶ S QJ #293, Mr. 462 ¶¶ DQA #549 (supposes that Tg *-da and M *-de go back to a sx.) || IE: NaIE *ko|auk|k- 'high' > Gmc *'hauha-/ *hau'ga- id. > Gt hauh-s, ON hár (from OScn *hauha-R), OHG hōh, NHG hoch, AS hēah 'high', NE high || ? pTc

{Ad.} *keuǰ > Tc: A koc, B kauc 'high, up, above' ¶¶ Fs. 249, Vr. 210, KM 312, Ad. 209, ≈ P 589 || ?φ HS: B *✓Hgg > Ah aǰaǰ, WTwl ugag, Ty igag, Shl T {Stm.} agug 'be far\remote, go\move away (s'éloigner, sich entfernen)' ¶ Fc. 405, PGG 82 ¶ The origin of B *H- (a px.?) is still to be discovered ◇ IE *k- (rather than *g^h-) is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same root. The A labialized vw. (for N *a) may be due to the infl. of N *w ◇ Blz. IB #104d (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA #31 (N *ǰawk|ga 'high, long' > IE, FU), ≠ Blz. LNA #11 (equates the A root with FU *kokka 'Hervorstechendes, Spitze', Y kókä [sc. pY *kökə] 'head', and D *kukk- id., see N *ǰaku [or *ǰokU?] 'hook' and N *ǰâRǰub|p▽ 'top, summit, crown [of the head]').

609. *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE: NaIE *g^he|l- v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {E|} 'cry out; sing' > ON gjalla ~ gella 'laut tönen, schreien', OHG gëllan {E|} 'to resound loudly' (> NHG gellen 'to shrill'), AS ǰiellan 'to shout, to yell', NE ǰell; ON gala (p. gōl) 'to shout, to sing', AS ǰalan 'to sing, to call, to shout', OHG galan 'to sing, to conjure, to enchant'; WGmc cd. *nahta-galōn 'nightingale' (← 'cantatrix nocturna') > OSx, OHG nahtagala ~ nahtigala, NHG Nachtigal, AS nihtegale 'nightingale', NE nightingale || R Δ 'галить' 'to shout, to cry, to weep', 'to shout in a fit of anger, to be angry', на'галить 'to shout\sing rythmically (while working)'] ???σ names of birds: Gk χελιδών (< χελιδών) 'swallow', rdp. κίχλη, Gk D κιχήλα 'thrush', ?? SI *galъ, *galъka 'jackdaw, crow' > Blg гал 'jackdaw', McS Δ gal 'crow', OR galъka, R 'галка 'jackdaw', etc. (the SI words may alternatively be connected with SI *gal- denoting black colour, F ESSJ VI 96-7) ¶ WP I 628, P 428, EI 89, Vr. 169-70, OsS 252, 296, 635, Ho. 123, 129, 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 311, 324-5, KM 245, 500, ESSJ VI 93 (does not distinguish this R verb from homo- and paronymous verbs such as галить 'to play pranks', OCS galiti 'to jump, to rejoice'), 96-7, F I 862 and II 1084-5 || A: Tg *gele- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *go|▽ 'look, look for, wish') > Ewk g3l3-, Orc g3l3- v. 'ask, wish', Sln g3l3- v. 'look for, ask', Lm g3l3- id., Δ v. 'wish', Neg g3l3- v. 'ask', Ud g3l3- v. 'call for, ask for, wish', Ul g3l3- ~ g3li-, Ork g3l3- v. 'ask, require, look for', Nn Nh/B g3l3- v. 'ask, invite, look for'; Tg *gele|e|ne- v. 'go to fetch (sth.)' > Ewk g3ln3-, Sln gal3n3-, Lm g3ln3-, Orc g3nn3- ~ n3nn3-, Ud g3n3- id.; Tg *gele|jkte- v. 'look for' > Ewk g3l3kt3-, Lm g3l3t- ь g3l3ç-, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn g3l3kt3-, Ud H galakta-

id. ¶ STM I 179, Krm. 224 || HS: WS *-gīl- ~ *-gūl- > Ug {OLS} ✓ gl v. 'rejoice (regocijarse)', gl 'an ecstatic cry of joy (grito estentóreo, de júbilo)', Hb ✓ gyl (3m ip. לִּיגֵי יָא-גִּיל) v. 'shout in exultation, rejoice', לִּיגֵי גִּיל 'rejoicing', Tgr ✓ gwł (pf. רָא גּוּלָא) v. 'dance and sing', ?ס רָא גּוּלָא 'banquet, revelry', Tgy רֶבֶא גֻּעַלָא 'e popular dance' ¶ OLS 145, KB 182, KBR 189-90, LH 591 ◇ Tg *gele- < **gale- (regr. as.).

610. *gaLū|u (← *ga'ya'Lū|u) 'tortoise' > HS: CS *gall- id. > MHb לִּיגֵי gal (pl. מִיִּגֵי gal'līm) id., Sr ḡḡ ~ ḡḡ gal'lā, Md gala id. ¶ Lv. I 328, Br. 115, DRS 126 || WCh: Dr {Kr.} ḡūldúkú 'small tortoise' ¶ ChL I 133 || IE {EI} *gʰeluh-s > NaIE *gʰelū ~ *gʰ(e)lōu 'tortoise' > Gk χέλυς, χελύνη id. || SI *želī / *želb- > RChS ЖЕЛЫ želɤ, gen. ЖЕЛЪВЕ želb-е, SCr (Δ?) žělva, Slv žělva, OCz želva, P źółw, gen. źółwi, R Δ ЖОЛВЬ 'tortoise' ¶ WP I 631, P 435, EI 595, F II 1086-7, Vs. II 41, Ma. CS 593, HIK 443 || A: Tg: WrMc giyaltu (ǵaltu) 'e a marine fish that resembles a long belt' (or 'cuttlefish?') ¶ The palatalized initial stop (ǵiɥ- [ǵ-]) is still to be explained ¶ STM I 138, Z 372, Sin. TM 272 (on palatalized cnss. spelled as Ciɥ-) || ?φ D: [1] D *kull- ({{ϑGS}} *g-) 'e shellfish, shell' > Tu gulla 'e small shellfish', Tl gulla 'a shell, a white pustule', Prj gula 'snail', gulli 'shell, cowrie', Kui gola, goli 'shell' (reborrowing of the D word from Oriya?) || [2] Tm kiḷińcil 'bivalve, mussel, oyster-shell', Ml kiḷińci 'a shellfish', kiḷińčil 'oyster shell' ¶¶ D ##1585, 1795 ◇ The odd element -iɥ- in the Mc cognate suggests that the original word had some additional internal phonemes, so that the N etymon may be something like *ga'ya'Lū|u (cp. WrMc giɥōlo 'crown of head' [{STM} ǵōlo ~ ǵōlu] and Mj gaylli 'head', both possibly from N *goy∇Lu 'skull' [see s.v. *goLu 'skull']). Tm kiḷińcil points to a N word-final *ū as preferable to *u. The pIE final *H may point to a final *-H∇ at the pN level, but it seems more plausible to ascribe it to some morphological analogies of declension. The latter is suggested by the short u in χελύνη. If the D words belong here, the vowels of the first syll. in D (*kull-, Tm kiḷińcil, and Ml kiḷińci) need explaining.

611. *gE1∇ (or *gEʔa1∇) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *ǵʰalgʰ- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake') > Arm ճաղկ załk 'rod, switch, stick' (< *ǵʰalgā) || Gt galga 'pole, cross', OHG galgo 'gallows, cross', ON galgi, AS ʒealzā, OFrs galga, OSx galgo, NHG Galgen 'gallows' (← 'cross'), NE gallows || Lt žalga

'perch, pole, rod', {Ju.} žaĩgas id. ¶ Ptrs. H 155 explains the alternation *-g^h-/*-g- by different generalizations in the paradigm *ǵ^hoǵ^h / gen. *ǵ^hǵ^hn-es. The extension *-g^h-/*-g- is of obscure origin (as almost all extensions) ¶ WPI 540, P 411, EI 442 (*ǵ^halǵ^heh_ǰ-), Slt. 314-5, Fs. 189, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 311, KM 229, Vr. 153, Frn. 1284-5 || K: eNG, NG ǵal-i 'tree trunk without boughs' ¶ SSO I 130, DCh. 160, Chx. 152 || U: FU (< d.?) *^okälta > ObU ≈ *kält∇ (× N *k^ʳä'ǵ^ʳh'û 'stick, hook, bar' [q.v. ffd.]) > Vg Ss {Ht.} kalt 'pole, Stange' in pāts-kalt 'a pole of the перевес (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} patas-kält 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs *kält > Os: V/Vy kält, Ty/Ag kâḗt, Y kâḗ(t), Kr/K kât, O kält 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz [перевес] aufgehängt ist'), Nz qat, Kz qâḗt id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish-trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. #747, Trj. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶ Since there are no ObU words with *ǵt or *ǵt (in contrast to the existing cluster *lt, F Ht. ##590, 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition *l ↔ *ǵ ↔ *ǵ was neutralized before *t (a cluster *Lt) || HS: S: Ar جَالَة ǵāl-at- 'washer(woman)'s beetle' ('battoir de blanchisseur') ¶ BK I 519 || D ?ǵ *kīl(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'peg, pin, nail' > Tm kīlam 'nail, pin, spike', Ml kīlam 'wedge, bolt, nail', Td ki'sḡ 'handle (of pot, spoon, axe, knife)', Ku'l 'hinge of box', Kn kīl, kīlu 'pin, peg', kīla 'stake, peg', Tu kīlḡ, kīlḡ 'joint, hinge, peg', Tl kīlu 'joint, hinge', cīla 'iron nail, wooden pin'; probably D ḡ→ OI (attested in the Mahabharata and reconstructed from later InA lgs.) kīla-ḡ {MW} 'sharp piece of wood, stake, pin, peg, bolt, wedge' (ḡ→ OI kīla-ka-ḡ id.), reborrowed in some D lgs. (e.g., Tm kīlakam 'pin, bolt, wedge, joint'). An alt. et. (proposed in D 510 [App. #510]) is that the D √ is a loan from InA, but the OI word has no clear IE et., except for postulating (after M) that *kǵ^h-lǵ-s is derived from NaIE kēlā-'strike' and connecting it (at the level of "Wurzelverwandschaft") with Sl *kǵlḡ 'stake, picket' (the connection with OHG kīl, NHG Keil 'wedge' is rejected by M, because OHG kīl goes back to Gmc *kī^ʳḡla-, F WPI 544) ¶¶ DED #1346, D 510, M K I 216, Tu. #3202, WPI 436-8 ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of IE *ǵ^h- (suggesting a front vw. in N) and that of IE *a (pointing to N *a) may be resolved by supposing that the N source was *ǵE?al∇. The

latter may be interpreted as ***gīʷal̥** on the ev. of D ***ī̄**, but the absence of the expected traces of N ***ī** in IE is against the rec. of ***ī**.

612. *gīLʷ 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE ***gʰe̯l-/gʰol-/gʰ̥̊l-** (or ***gʰal-?**) id. > OIr *galar* 'illness, grief', W *galar* {YGM} 'mourning, grief' (IS: Clt from NaIE ***gʰ̥̊l-**) || ON, Ic *galli* 'defect, vice', OSw *galli* id., 'pain', MLG *galle* 'wounded place on the skin', AS *Ʒealla* 'galled place on the skin', NE *gall* id. || Lt *žalà* 'harm, hurt, injury', Ltv *zalba* ~ *zēlba* 'injury, wound, pain' | Sl: R Δ *на'зола, на'зол* 'sorrow, annoyance, grief', *на'золить, до'золить* v. 'vex, distress', Uk *на'золити* id., *зо'лок* 'painful place in a wound' || ?σ: Ped. H 38 (and after him Szem., P, Čop, and EI) adduced here Ht *kallar-* adj. 'ungünstig, unheilvoll', {Pv.} 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious', {E} 'sth. evil/unpleasant' (highly qu.) ¶¶ ≈ P 411 (***gʰal-, *gʰal-ar-**), EI 43 (***gʰalH-r/n-**, BSI < ***gʰalH-o/eh_h-**), SB 108, LP § 284, YGM-1 230, Vr. 154, Bv. 211, Frn. 1286, Vs. II 39, Dal II 417, Pv. IV 20-1, Ts. EI 465 || K: GZ ***g̥l̥w-** 'grieve, deplore' (× N ***go̥l̥** | **∇** 'to weep' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: SS ***√g̥l̥w** ~ ***√g̥y** > Mh {Jo.} **√g̥l̥w** (pf. *gēl̥w*, sbjn. *ȳz-g̥l̥w*) 'be ill, fevered, have a short illness', Hrs **√g̥l̥w** (pf. *gēl̥w*, sbjn. *ȳz̥g̥l̥w*) 'be fevered, have fever', Jb E/C *gī'zī* 'be ill, fevered', Mh, Hrs *gōl̥w*, Jb E/C *g̥l̥e?*, Sq {Jo.} *g̥l̥e* 'fever', Sq {L} *g̥(ȳ)ole* 'illness', Tgr *guyu* pp. 'von einer schleichenden Krankheit befallen' ¶ Jo. M 119, Jo. H 40, LLS 109, LH 596, DRS 108 || A: Tg ***gil(a)-, gil̥k-** > UI *gēl-*, *gil-*, Nn Nh/KU *g̥l̥k̥* v. 'ache (ныть, болеть)', WrMc *gila-* 'be sad/melancholy/worried', Lm Sk *g̥l̥ko-* v. 'ache' (of the heart), *g̥l̥kon* 'melancholy, sadness, anxiety', Ork *gil̥çi-* v. 'ache' (of a wound, an injury) ¶ STM I 151, Vas. 100, Ci. 301 ¶¶ DQA #2655 (pA ***g̥l̥o** 'be unhappy, endure') equates Tg ***gil(a)-** 'ache' with T ***kol-** 'beg', M ***golu-** 'abhor, contemn' (MED 359) and pJ ***k̥r̥ápá-** ~ ***kuà-** 'endure' (> OJ *k(w)orapa-*, J T *koraé-* id.), which is too risky both phonetically and semantically. The M and J verbs may be alternatively (and phonetically better) connected with N ***go̥l̥** | **∇** '↑'. If nevertheless the T, M, and J cognates are accepted, the N rec. must be something like ***giyoLʷ** ◊ IS I 229 [#83] (***gil̥**).

613. *goLu (or ***goy∇Lu?**) 'skull' > IE: NaIE ***gʷh̥ol̥w-/gʷh̥olu-/gʷh̥e̯lu-** (or ***gʰol̥w-/gʰolu-/gʰe̯lu-**) 'head' > Arm **գլուխ** (gen. **գլխոյ**) 'head' || Lt *galvā*, Ltv *galva* id., Pru *galwo* 'toe of a boot', *glawo* (conjecture for *galwo*) 'head', *galbo* [galvo] id. | Sl

*gól'va (accus. *gól'vq) 'head' > OCS ГЛАВА glava, Blg гла'ва, SCr gláva, Slv glāva, Cz, Slk hláva, P głowa, R голо'ва (accus. 'голову), Uk голо'ва ¶ P 39-50, Me. EAC 36, Sl. 298, Frn. 131-2, En. 174-5, Tr. P E-H 261, Glh. 230, ESSJ VI 221, ≠ EI 45 (BSI and Arm < *g_l'_loH'w-eh_h- 'bald-pate') || HS: S *gulgul_l-(at-) 'skull' > Ak gulgullu, gulgull-at-u id., BHb תגולגולת gul'golēṭ, JA {Js.} אגולגולתא gulgul'tā ~ אגולגולתא gulgal'tā, JEA {Sl.} אגולגולתא gulgol'tā id., Ar {RB} جُلْجُلَة ḡulḡul-at- id. (the word is not mentioned in dictionaries of Classical Ar {Fr., BK, and Ln.}, but only in those of the modern lge., but its existence in Ancient Ar is suggested by its CIAr metaphoric sd.: جُلْجُل {Ln.} ḡulḡul- 'small bell, consisting of a hollow ball of metal'), Sr gāgūl'tā 'Golgotha' (← JA?), Ar جَلْجَلَة ḡalaḡ-at- 'skull, head' ¶ KB 183, KBR 191, Sl. 268, Js. 221, RB 426, BK I 311, Ln. 438, JPS 60, DRS 118, MiK I #1.79 || Eg fOK 3333 'head' ¶ EG V 530-1, Fk. 319 || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} geli, gaylli, Mj DJ gâli 'head', Shk geri, gari id. (-r- < *-l-) ¶ Fl. OAM 28 || Ch: ECh: Kwn {J} gólò, Kwn M {J} góló 'head' || CCh: Mkt ḡ3l 'head' ¶ Ba. 406, Ji II 183 ¶¶ Tk. I 322 || A: Tg: WrMc giyōlo ({STM} ḡōlo ~ ḡōlu, {Hr.} giyolo) 'crown of head' ¶ STM I 160, Z 375, Hr. 368 ◊ WrMc giyōlo 'crown of head' ({STM} ḡōlo ~ ḡōlu) and Mj gaylli 'head' may be interpreted as suggesting an element *y∇ within the N etymon (*goy∇Lu?) (cp. WrMc giyaltu [ḡaltu] < N *ga_lya_lLū|u 'tortoise', see s.v. *gaLū|u) ◊ IS I 237-8 [#94] (*gUÍ∆ 'round, ball': IE, S [words for 'skull, head'] + Hs ḡulúlu 'ball of earth'; *÷ words meaning 'round', 'turn round').

614. *goI∇ 'look, look for, wish' > IE: NaIE *g^whel- ~ *ghel-, {E} *g^whel- v. 'wish' > Gk ἐθέλω ~ θέλω 'I want, wish', Gk [Hs.] παλίξει· θέλει 'wants' || Sl *želě- ~ *žela- v. 'wish' > OCS ЖЕЛѢ-ТИ želě-ti, ЖЕЛА-ТИ žela-ti 'to desire, to wish' (ἐπιθυμεῖν, θέλειν), SCr жєлєти ~ željeti / prs. жєлѣм, želīm, Slv želėti, želīm, OCz želeti / želeji, Slk želet', Blg же'ла-я, R же'ла-ть / prs. же'ла-ю, Uk же'ла-ти v. 'wish' || MHG gilen 'betteln', ON gilja 'verlocken, verführen', Dn gilje, Nic, Far, NNr, Sw gilja 'zur Liebe verlocken, werben', ON gildra, gildri 'trap, snare', OSw gæl-, giælskaper 'Unzucht' || ? Arm գեղձ gełz 'a wish, Sehnsucht' ¶ The Gk cognate points to IE *g^wh-, while the Gmc cognate suggests *gh, the Sl and Arm reflexes being ambiguous ¶ P 489, EI 629, FI 258-9, 447-8, Vr. 167, Lx. 73, Vs. II 40-1, Glh. 707, Ped. GDIE 2Off. (adduces Arm

gełʒ), Sl. 33-4, Xud. I 269 || **A:** [1] NaT *K0l- v. 'ask for' (×N *k'a'ṭX'o' 'call [appeler], shout', q.v. ffd.) || [2] The √ in question influenced the A root {DQA} *gēla 'search, hunt', whence Tg *gel- v. 'ask, beg' (< N *gaLE 'shout, cry' [→ 'weep', 'ask for', q.v. ffd.]) || ? pJ {S} *kār- 'hunt for, demand, search; drive' > OJ kār-, J: T kár- ~ kār-, K/Kg kár- ¶ S QJ #1367, Mr. 704 || AdS of T *k'ä|ele-íč- 'woo, ask in marriage' > Qmq geleš id. (× ← T *k'älin 'bride' < N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes') ¶¶ The variant [1] (the A √, represented by T *K0l-) is preferable because of its vw., corresponding to the N vw. suggested by the IE cognate ¶¶ DQA #494 (A *gēla 'search, hunt' > Tg, J, T *k'ä|ele-íč-) || **HS:** Ch: ECh: Ke gòlé v. 'look', gòldé v. 'seek (suchen)', Kwn {J} kalde id., Kbl {Cp.} gowól, Li góól v. 'see' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} ṽal v. 'beg, beseech, want, ask', ?μ Gdr {MCh.} ηgel v. 'want', ?μ Msg {Trn.} ḡ'gω`l' v. 'look' || WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} gul-, Sir {Sk.} ηgúlu- v. 'see' || SBC: Zar K {Sh.} gali id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'look for', 'want', and 'see', Eb. 52, RpB 42 || SC: Kz gal- v. 'see', SC ⇨ Mb -gali v. 'try' ¶ ESC 235 (equates Kz and Mb with Irq giris- v. 'select' and reconstructs SC *gal- or *gāl- v. 'look at, look over') || ??σ Eg XIX gḗω 'staunend blicken, beaufsichtigen', gḗgḗω 'staunen über, staunend blicken auf' ¶ EG V 151 ¶¶ Tk. I SCC 87 [#18.3].

615. *goLV 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE (in the prehistory of Indic, Gk, and Gmc) *g^ωelb^h-/*g^ω0lb^h- 'womb; young (of an animal)' (from earlier **g^ωh^elb^h-?) ({EI} *g^lω₁elb^hu-s 'womb') > OI garbhaḥ, Prth gr^ṛb, YAv garəβa- 'womb', Av garəbuš 'young of an animal' || Gk δελφύς, gen. δελφύος 'womb', δέλαφαξ 'young pig', δελφίς, -ίνος 'dolphin' (sc. 'womb-[fish]') || ON kalfr, OHG calb, NHG Kalb, AS éealf & éielv 'calf', NE calf; Gt kalbō 'female calf, heifer', OHG kalbā 'female calf'; OHG kilburra & kilbra & kilbira & chilburra 'lamb', AS éilfor- / éeolforlamb 'ewe lamb', NGr Sw kilbor 'young ram' || NaIE (in Indic and Gk) *sm_ḡ-g^ωelb^h(e)yo- 'born from the same womb' > OI 'sa-garbhyaḥ id., Gk Hm/I ἀδελφεός, Gk A ἀδελφός 'brother' ¶ P 473, ≠ 359, EI 615, M K I 329 and III 414, M EI 474-5, Bai. 81, F I 19, 863, Ch. 18-9, Fs. 305-6, Schz. 179, Kb. 525, 540, OsS 469, 487, Ho. 45, 48 || **HS:** C: Ag *gār (Ap.) *gār) 'calf' > Bln {R} gær (pl. gæl), {Plm.} gAr, Q {Ap.} gār, {R} gær, pl. gæltī, Km {Ap.} gār, {CR} gær (pl. gæltā ~ gæltī), Aw {Fl.} gara ¶ R WB 157-8, Ap. WLQ 4 || NrOm: Wl {dL} gallua 'calf' || **A:** M *gölüge 'young animal', esp.

'young dog' (× N *gU^hÍE '≈ canine animal', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The element *b^h- in the IE cognate goes back to N *bA (adjectival pc. forming analytical [→ derived] names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, and animal names): IE *g^ʷe^lb^h- < N *^ogoL[∇] bA. The plain voiced *g^ʷ- (for the expected *g^{ʷh}-) in the attested IE languages may be due to regr. dis. (a kind of Grassmann's law, but functioning not only in Indic and Gk, but in Gmc as well; for other cases in Gmc *see* Prok. CGG 203-4 and Collinge 57-8).

615a. ₂ *goL[∇] 'tail' > HS: Om {Blz.} *g^ol- id.: SOm: > Ari {Bnd.} g^o(:)li, Dm {Bnd.} g^o(:)lan, Hm {Fl.} g^ulo ~ g^oli id. ||| NrOm: Bsk {Bnd.} g^ol^ʹsi, Dk {Fl.} g^olse, Dwr {Lm.} g^oilano, Wl {Lm.}, Gf {Mrn.} g^oyna, Gm {Hw.} g^oina id. ¶ ≈ LmS 380-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'tail', Bnd. AL 159 ||| D (in NED only) {^oGS} *g^lko^l]- 'tail' > Krx x^olā, Mlt q^oli id. ¶ D #2135 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#29] (D, Om).

615b. *g^ol^ʹ∇ 'to weep' > HS: B: Si g^ols v. 'weep' (× N *kaLč[∇] 'voice; to speak\cry\weep') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 ||| D *k^o]- ({^oGS} *g^o]-) 'grief; weep' > Td g^o], g^o]m 'sorrow', Tu g^olu, g^olu 'grief, lamentation', Tl g^ola 'wailing', ? g^odu 'grief, affliction' ¶¶ D #2252, GS 159-68 (on reflexes of D *-]-) ||| K: GZ *g^lo(w)- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *gⁱL^ʹU^ʹ 'illness, pain, distress') > OG g^l- / g^lo^v-, G g^l-, g^lo^v- 'grieve, deplore' (m-g^l-an 'ich bedaure', lit. 'it saddens me', e-g^lo^v-s 'er betrauert'), Mg r^g(w)- 'mourn' (v-i-r^g-3n-k 'ich trauere') ¶ K 63 (*g^lo-), K² 31 (*g^lo(w)-), Abul. 94, Q 304, Chik. 259, FS K 82 and FS E 86 (*g^l-) ||| ?σ A *g^ol^ʹ∇ '≈ suffer' > M *g^olu- 'abhor, contemn' > MM [HI] {Ms.} q^olu [g^olu]- 'trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion', WrM g^olu-, HIM r^olo-x, Brt r^olo-x 'abhor, be fastidious; reject', WrO {Krg.} g^olo- 'reject, be dissatisfied, neglect, despise', Kl r^olo id., {Rm.} g^ol- 'mit etwas unzufrieden sein, ausmustern' ¶ MED 359, Ms. H 90, Krg. 314, KRS 166, KW 150, Chr. 156 || pJ {S} *k^ər^əp^ə- → *ku^ə- 'endure' > OJ k(w)orapa-, J: T koraé-, K/Kg k^or^əè- ¶ S QJ #887, Mr. 712 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2655 (pA *g^lòlo 'be unhappy, endure'; incl. M, J).

616. *g^ulE 'go (away), start going (away), set out' > K *g^ual- 'go!' (used in inv. only) > OG g^uale 'go!' (inv.), Sv (← G?): UB {FS} g^uäle, {TK} g^uäl, L {FS} g^ual 'go!' (FS: 'geh, mach dich auf!') ¶¶ K 60, K² 28, FS K 78, FS E 81-2, TK 179, Top. Sh III 69 (Sv ← G) ||| HS: S *[√]g^lw 'depart, leave one's place\country, be sent away (out of one's country)' > BHb ג^לל [√]g^lw^ly (pf. ג^לל g^llā) 'leave; go into exile', ג^לל g^llā

'exile', JA ✓g|w|y (pf. גָּלָה gā'lē ~ הָלָה gā'lā) 'go into exile, go away, disappear', JEA גָּלָה ✓g|y G vi. 'emigrate, go into exile; withdraw', Sr ✓g|w (pf. גָּלָה) 'go into exile, flee', Md ✓g|ʔ D v. 'exile, send away, banish', gluta 'exile, banishment', Ar ✓ǵ|w G (pf. جَالَّ ḡalā) 'go forth, emigrate', Sh (pf. أَجْلَى ʔaǵlā) 'cause to emigrate' (drought, etc.), 'emigrate', Jb C {Jo.} ✓g|ʔ ~ g|w|y: ʕg'tɔlɔʔ 'move from one's place', e'goli 'shift (animals) from one place to another', e'gle vt. 'shift from one place to another', Gz tagalgala pf. 'was taken into exile', Ak {Sd.} NA/NB galû 'go into exile' (← Aram?) ¶ KB 183-4, KBR 191-3, BDB 162-3 [#1540], Js. 248, Sl. 286, Br. 115, DM 92-3, BK I 319-20, Hv. 96, Jo. J 74-5, L G 190, Sd. 27, DRS 120-1 || B *✓g|H 'go, go away' > Ah aǵal (pf. iǵla. < pB *yā-glah) 'go away (partir, s'en aller)' (Fcj. 25 = Pcj. I A 7, pattern {Pr.} *-BCih/-BCah), ETwl, Ty ɛǵlu ({Pr.} *ǵlu) 'partir, passer, continuer son chemin' (Pcj. I A 7), Gh taǵali 'départ', Kb {DI.} jlu (= {DI.} g|u) (pf. yā-jla) 'go'; ? Izd {MT}, Tmz AH {MT}, CM {NZ} gulu 'arriver, parvenir à' ¶ Fc. 241, 2001, Crt. 24, GhA 51, DI. 254, MT 152, NZ 767-8 || ʔ C: EC *gal- 'enter, go home' > Sml gal- ǵ gel-, Bs, Brj gal-, Rn gel-, Bn kal- 'enter', Or gal-, Kns, Gdl kal- 'enter, return home', Dsn gāl 'go and spend the night', Arr gal- 'enter a house, go home', HEC *gal- 'stay overnight' > Sd, Ged, Kmb gal-, Hd gār- id. | DhI {EEN} gāliy-, {E, To.} gālij- 'go home' || C ɔ→ Mb -gale 'go home' ¶ Bl. 182, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. B 76, AD SF 61, PG 124, Grg. 161-2, Hw. A 359, E SC 235, EEN 31, To. DL 499, To. D 133 (Dhl gālij- ← Or) ¶¶ OS #879 (*gal- 'go, enter') || A: Tg *gūli- 'set out/off' > Orc gūli-, gūlin-ɔ- 'set out, go away', Ud gulin-ɔ 'set out', Ork, Nn gūlin-, Ewk PT gūlisin-, Ewk {Cs.} gūlina-, Lm Ol/P gūlan-, Lm O gūlɔn- id., 'move on (to a new place)' (of nomads) ¶ STM I 170 || U: FU *kulke 'move, go (on land or on water), stroll' > FU: F kulke- 'go, walk, travel, wander', Es kulge- 'proceed, take one's course, pass' | pLp {Lr.} *kolke- vi. 'run (of water), float, roam, wander about' > Lp: L {LLO} kāl'kā-, N {N} gq|gâ- id., S {Hs.} gālgedh, Kld kolke- 'flow' | Er kolge-, Mk kolgā- 'drip, run' (of liquid), 'leak' | Prm: Z k+vt-, Z Δ k+lt- 'swim (with the stream)', Z Δ k+lal- 'swim/travel on water (with the stream), float, drift on water', Yz {UEW} kAlt- 'flow (with the stream)' || pOs *kɔʔal- > Os: V qɔʔal 'walk, step (schreiten)' (↔ 'run'), D χoχət, Kz χŵχəʔ- 'run' | OHg halad- 'vorangehen', Hg halad-, Δ hallad- 'go, make way, advance, go on,

proceed, travel' ¶ UEW 198, Coll. 26, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kulkī-, Ugr *kũlkĩ- 'run'), Lr. #442, Lgc. #1896, Hs. 552-3, Ker. II 64, LG 149, Trj. VD 148, MF 525, EWU 516-7 ¶ Both Coll. and UEW adduce the Sm stem of Ne T xу"лacь 'be friven by the stream', but since U *-l- is not preserved in Sm, while -l- of the Ne form belongs to a sx., the comparison of the underlying Sm {Jn.} *ku- vi. 'treiben' with FU *kulke- is not reliable (≠σ,φ).

617. *gũĀ 'dwelling, (→ [in descendant lgs.] house') > **U:** FU *kũĀ 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *KũĀ 'clan, village') > F kŷlä, Es kŷlä 'village', F Δ kŷlä 'dwelling, house' || pLp {Lr.} *kʒʒy- v. 'visit, pay a visit' > Lp: L {LLO} kał'jē, N {N} gâł'i-, I {TI} kolli-, Kld kʒłŷyeδ id. || Vg: T kŷl, LK kʷäl, P kʷäl, käl, Ss kol 'house' ¶ Coll. 93, UEW 155-6, Lr. #303, Lgc. #2343b:2, TI 105 || **A** *gũ:Ā (or *-ũ-) 'dwelling, cottage' > T *k'ıl ~ *k'ül 'house, home' > Tk gıl {Deny} 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', Xzr (in names of towns): Es-kıl, Es-gıl (lit. 'old city\ village'), Σαρ-κελ שרכיכ *{šarke|il} (lit. 'white city'), Yk kŷlä 'porch (сени), covered passage in a building' (unless from Tg), ? Chv kıl, Δ kŷl 'house, dwelling' ¶ Rm. EAS I 48, Rs. W 270, Deny GLT 347, Ash. VI 208-9, VII 69, Fed. I 291-2, Gomb. BTL 200 || Tg *°gũle > Ewk gũł 'dwelling, house, hut' ¶ STM I 171 || pJ {S} *kùrà 'shed' > OJ kura id., J: T kurá 'go-down, warehouse, store-house, cell, cellar', K kùrà, Kg kùrá id. ¶ S VL 218, S QJ #259, Mr. 464, Kenk. 1108 ¶¶ S l.c. (pA *gũ:Ā or *-ũ-), DQA #575 (A *gũłi) || **HS:** EC: Sml {R} gól 'Zimmer, Stube', {DSI} gól 'piega nella parte anteriore della futa, dove le donne usano mettersi oggetti', {R} góla 'eingeschlossener Raum, Gemach, Stall für das Vieh', {ZMO} góle 'enclosure, chamber; meeting place', Or Wt {Sr.} góla 'room', Or {Grg.} góla 'innermost private part of house', Or Wl {Brl.} góla 'ambienti separati in capanne Galla per diversi usi; stanzino; cella; camera', Sd {Gs.} gólló 'stable, cowshed, manger; inside of'; EC -b> Wl {C} góllē 'house'; EC → EthS: Gz gól 'stable, crib, manger', Tgr gól 'stable' ¶ R SS II 168, DSI 271, ZMO 164, Sr. 314, Gs. 27, Grg. 177, Brl. 179, LG 189 || Ch: ECh: Ke kuli 'village, house', Kwn, Smr kùlù, L kúl 'hut' (× N *KũĀ 'clan, village', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The delabialization *ũ > *i in T *k'ıl ~ *k'ül (< N *gũĀ) needs investigating ◇ IS MS 341 (*gũłn 'жилище'; U, Tg).

618. *gũLâ 'bend, be crooked' > **IE:** NaIE *g̃h_wel-/*g̃h_ul- id., 'go astray' > OI 'hvaratē 'goes crookedly, goes astray, deviates',

hvalati 'gerät auf Abwege, strauchelt', hvalā- 'das Irren', Av zbar-go crookedly', Prs zūr 'false; liar' || L fall-ō / -ēre / fefelli / falsum 'deceive' || Lt pa-žvīl-ti 'sich neigen', pažulnūs 'sloping, slanting', Ltv zvaltītiēs 'to reel, to stagger', 'wanken, schwanken' || Sl *zъlъ (f. *zъ'la, ntr. *zъ'lo, dadj. zъlъ-jъ) 'bad, wicked' > OCS зълъ zъlъ id., Blg зъл, SCr zǎo (f. zlǎ, ntr. zlǒ, aadj. zlī), Slv zěl, Cz, Slk zlý, P zły, Uk злий id., R злой (pradj. зол) 'wicked, cruel, angry' || Gk φορκός 'bandy-legged' ¶ WP I 643-4, P 489-90, ≈ M K III 619-20, Frn. 23-4, 560, Glh. 692, Vs. II 99-100 || HS: Ch: WCh: Gmy/Cp {ChL} kuł, Ang saɹ-kuł, Kfr {Nt.} dá-kùl 'left (gauche)' || CCh: Mf {BLB} gúlá, MfG {Brr.} 'gùlà, Lgn M {Bou.} gèlì, Ms {ChL} gulu, BnnM {ChL} gula id. || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} kàb gùlà, Kbl {Cp.} kǎbi-gùlà, EDng {Fd.} gèlè id., Ke {Eb.} gùlà 'links', Mgm {JA} nù-gìlá 'left hand', nùgùl 'gaucher; de gauche' ¶ ChC, ChL, BLB 158, Brr. MG II 124, Eb. 53, JA LM 112, 153 || ?σ S *√gɫɪd (< d. or cd.?) > Ar √ǧɫɪd D 'renverser' ¶ BK I 317, DRS 131 || K: G Kzq glun-i '(am Ende) gekrümmter Stock (zum Spielen)' ¶ Chx. 198 || A: M: [1] {Rm.} *ogulu-yi- > Kl {Rm.} gulī- 'seinen Kopf seitwärts wenden, schief sein, schielen (mit den Augen)' ¶ KW 154 || [2] M *guɫǰa- 'bend' (× N *gûLǰ∇ 'bend, twist', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #99b (IE, Ch, M + unc. EC *gur- 'left').

619. *gohɫ∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > HS: WS *√ghɫ v. 'glow as coal' > Hb gā'hēlēt 'glow of coal', pl. gāhā'līm id., Ar Yǧayhal, miǧhal 'stick for raking coals', Amh gāla v. 'be red-hot' ¶ KB 180, KBR 188, Rb. AWA 26, Uild. 169, DRS 112 ¶ Here we reconstruct S *h (rather than *χ) because of the incompatibility of an initial *g and medial *χ in the same √ in pS || D *kōɫ- ({ǧGS} *gōɫ-) > Tl gōlincu, Gnd RSr gōlis- vt. 'fry' ¶¶ D #2246 || K: [1] *gwal- v. 'parch by its heat' (of the sun parching the soil) > G gval-/gɫ- id. || [2] GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.) ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || A ({SDM97} *gōl'a', {DQA} *gɫoɫ'a 'burn' [tr.], 'fire'): M *gāl 'fire' > MM [MA] accus. غالى gālī (gāl-ī), [IsV] قال qāl ([gāl]), [HI, S] qal (= [gāl]?), WrM gal, HIM гал gal 'fire, conflagration', Kl, Ord gal, Dg galʷi ~ galʷb ~ galʷ, MMgl [Z] ḡāl, Mgl ʷā:l (ā: due to the impact of the Persian-Tajik labialization ā > ā: ~ ǝ), Mgl M ʷāl, Mnr H {SM} gar, Ba {T} xal, {Pot.} гал 'fire'; M *golumtan 'hearth' > MM [MA] golumtan id., [S]

ɣolumta golumta 'Feuerbecken, Herd', WrM golumta, HIM
 ГОЛОМТ 'fireplace in a yurt, hearth in a tent' ¶ MED 346, 359, T DgJ
 130, T BJ 149, Ms. H 87, H 57, 65, Pp. MA 174, 179, Lg. VMI 41, Iw.
 105, Pot. 411, KW 141-2, Rm. M 28, Wr. 177, S AJ 235 [#31] ¶ M *a is
 still to be explained (infl./reflex of the A final *-a, as suggested in
 DQA?) || Tg *gūl- v. 'glitter, kindle, light a fire' > Ewk ǰgūl- v. 'glitter,
 flash', Lm gūl-, Nn B gōla- v. 'kindle, light a (camp-)fire', Lm gūlū- v.
 'catch fire', Ewk guluwun, Lm gūlūn, Neg gōlowun 'a (camp-)fire', Orc
 gōgžō(n-), Ul, Nn B gōlžō(n-), Nn Nh gōlžō, WrMc golon tuwa 'fires
 (by night in a road\field\camp)' ¶ STM I 169, S AJ 225 [#291] ¶¶ S AJ
 294 [#490] (*gūal-), SDM95 s.v. *gual∇ 'burn, fire', SDM97, DQA
 #526, Pp. VG 24, 75 | This N word may have semantically influenced A
 *ok'ūl∇ 'ashes, cinders, charcoal' (< N *k'ū' | ʃ∇ [or *k'ū' | ʃ∇?] 'dirt,
 mud', q.v. ffd) || ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *gʰlō- (or *ǵʰlō-) 'coals, charcoal' >
 ON glóðr, AS ʒlæð, OFrs glēd, OHG gluoþ 'glowing coals, red-heat',
 NHG Gluþ 'embers, heat', OHG gluoen 'to burn, to glow', AS ʒlōwan
 'to glow', NE glow ||| Clt: W glo 'coal', Crn glow 'charcoal', OBr {SB}
 glaou id. (not confirmed by Flr.), Br glaou 'charcoal', MBr {Ern.} d.
 Glouher n. pr. (← 'charbonnier', cp. Br Δ gloaouaēr id. and W
 glōwr 'coal-miner, collier'), snglt.: W gloyn, MBr {SB} glouenn, Br
 glaouenn 'piece of coal' ¶ Vr. 175, Ho. 133, Schz. 153, OsS 338-9,
 Kb. 397, KM 263, SB 120, ≠ P 433 (unc. et. of the Brtt word), YGM-1
 235, ECCE 246, Ern. 261, Hm. 315 ¶ NaIE *gʰ|ǵʰlō- represents a
 metathetic variant **gōlʰ∇; the labiality of the guttural stop was lost in
 the precons. position ◇ Cf. AD AltAD #15 ◇ D *-l- suggests a N plain
 *-l- ◇ S NS #17 equates A *k'jalū (> T *k'ūl 'ashes', Tg *ǵjal 'coal')
 with IE *ǵeul-/*ǵuel- 'coal'. In my opinion, they go back to different N
 words (Altaic from N *gohl∇ 'fire, glow', IE from N *kūl∇ 'glowing
 coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook').

620. *gowlu (or *gowlü?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^hel(u)- (or
 *ǵ^wel(u)-) 'deep; valley' > Blt: Lt ǵilūš, Ltv dziļš, Pru (f. accus.)
 gillin 'deep', Lt ǵūlis, gelmē 'depth', Ltv dzelme / dzelmenis
 'depth, deep place (in water)' ||| Clt: OIr glenn, Ir gleann 'valley', W
 glyn, Br glen 'valley', Crn glyn 'deep valley' ¶ Frn. 151, Kar. I 253,
 En. 177, Maz. PKP I 550, Thr. 215, ECCE 246, YGM-1 236 || HS: EC *gōlū
 'valley' > Af {PH} gōlō 'gorge into which a stream runs, valley', Or E gōlū
 'valley', Or gōla 'gorge', Sml gōl 'foot of hill', Gln/Gwd {AMS} kōlle,

Gwd {AMS} kollé 'river', Cm {Hab.} gōle 'small river', Brj gōlō 'slope', as well as possibly Or gōla 'corner, edge' and EC {Ss.} *geł- {AD} 'below, under, (?) deep' > Or žal-a (↳ Brj žálo), Kns, Gdl keł-a 'below, under', Hr, Dbs, Gln kalá 'under', kálu 'below', Sa {R} gale 'deep' ¶ Ss. B 83, 109, PH 115, Abr. S 94, Bl. 183, Th. 172, AMS 242, 275 || Ch: WCh: Hs gúlbtí 'river' || CCh: Dgh {Fk.} glág^ωà, {ChL} gúlág^ωà 'river' || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} kəłzmi 'deep' ¶ Eb. 67, ChC, ChL || ? B *√głmm > Ah āgalmam, ETwl agalmam, Ty egalmam, Tdq aǵalmam, Gh aǰalmam 'lac, bassin, mare', SrSn {Rn.} agg^ωalmām, Izn ayalmām 'lake, pool, puddle', Shl {NZ} ag^ωlmim 'mare, étang', CM {NZ}, Rf agalmam ǎ ayalmam ǎ aželmam, Shw agalmam, agalmim id., 'abreuvior, bassin', BSn galmam 'small lake', Kb ag^ωalmim 'pont d'eau stagnante, mare' ¶ Rn. 354, NZ 781-2 || S: Ar جَلْهَابٌ ḡilhāb- 'valley' (going back to a HS cd.?) ¶ BK I 319 || **A** *gōw_L∇_Llu 'valley' > NaT *Kōl id. > OT {DTS} [MhK] qōl 'valley, wadi', {Rs.} [QB] qōl 'lowland, river-bed', Tkm gōl 'lowland', Qmq qōl 'valley', SY qōl 'water-bed', Tv χōl 'dry river-bed', VTt qul id., 'ravine', Xk χōl id., 'valley', Qrg (in place-names) qōl 'river-bed, river valley', Sg/Shor {Rl.} qōl 'lowland, valley (without river), Chg/ET {Rl.}, SbTt Tr {Rl.} qōl 'lowland, river-bed', QrB {Rs.} qōl 'small valley, brook' ¶ Rs. W 277, EF Q 43-6, TL 90, DTS 453, Rl. II 582-3, BIG 285 || M *gōw_L 'valley, river bed, river' > WrM gōul, HIM rōl 'river, river-bed, valley', Ord gōl id., Kl {KRS} hōl yōl, {Rm.} gōl, Brt rōl 'river, middle', Mnr {T} gōl 'river', Mnr Nr {SM} gūōr 'river, valley with a river, or dry river-bed', Mgl yōl 'river bed' ¶ The absence of the expected final vw. in pM still needs explaining ¶ MED 362, SM 125, T 325, Rm. M 28, KRS 165, KW 149-50 || Tg: WrMc gōlo 'middle, main deep part of the river-bed, valley; province', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gōlo, {Y} /gōla/ [gōl] 'province' ¶ Z 341-2, Hr. 347, Klz. MS 182, Y #1032 || pKo {S} *kōr > MKo kōr, NKo kōl 'valley' ¶ S QK #683, Nam 51, 90 || pJ {S} *kura > OJ kura, kura-tani 'deep valley' ¶ S QJ #1604 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *gōw_L∇_Llu 'valley'), DQA #543 (A *gōblu 'valley'), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, T, M, Tg), STM I 160 (M, Mc) || **D** *kōlli ({ǰGS} *k-) 'valley' > Ml kōlli 'valley, corner', Kn kōlli, kōlle 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay', Klm kōlli 'small stream with rocky bed', Tu kōlli 'a bay' (the meaning 'corner, bend' may be due to contamination with a different √) ¶¶ D #1839 ◇ The expected initial cns. in IE is *g_L^{ωh}_L-. In the prehistory of Clt the labiovelar cns. is likely to have lost its labiality in the preconsonantic position ◇ Hardly here FU *kōl∇

'crack, slit, gap' (> F *kolo* 'hole', Vt *kwald-* 'sich spalten', pOs **kɔ]-/*kɔ]-* 'Spalte, Zwischenraum', etc.; see UEW 174-5) because of the cns. **-]-* and for lack of typologically reliable semantic connection (\Leftrightarrow Blz, LNA) $\diamond \neq$ IS I 231-2 #86 (**gɔlHɔ* 'heart' in K **gul-* id. and A {IS} **gɔl^r∇* 'middle'), \approx Blz. DA 161 [#94] (suggested to adduce Clt, WCh, and CCh + unconvincingly U).

621. ? ₂ **gū|u_L?_J∇* (= **gū|u_L?_J∇(-m∇)*?) or **gū|u_L?_JL∇(-m∇)* '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > HS: S **^o√glm* > Ar *جَلَم* *ǧalam-* (coll.), pl. *ǧilām-* {BK} 'espèce de mouton de Taïf (aux jambes hautes, dépourvues de laine); bouc; chevreau' ¶ Fr. I 298, BK I 318 || C: Bj {R} *gūlāh* 'female Sterpsiceros antelope' ¶ R WBd 95 || A: NaT **k'ūlmiz* 'roe deer' (Capreolus) > OT QU *kūlmiz* 'female roe deer', Shor, Xk *kūlbūs*, Tv *хγлбγс* 'the male of the wild goat', Alt *kūlmūs*, Sg/Qb {RI.} *kūlbūs*, Tf *hūlbūs* 'male roe deer' ¶ Cl. 718, Shch. Zh 121, ET KQ 139, TL 153-4, Ra. 192, BT 99, BIG 95, RI. II 1479 ¶ STM II 264 \diamond NaT **k'-* may be explained as going back to N **g...?*. If the NaT cns. cluster **-lm-* is ancient, the original **-í-* cannot be excluded, hence the N etymon is to be formulated as **gū|u_L?_JL∇(-m∇)*.

622. **gɔl_L?_J∇* 'belly, entrails' > K **gul-* 'heart, breast' > OG, G *gul-* id., Mg, Lz *gur-* id., Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} *gwi*, L {TK} *gu*, Δ {K ← ?} *guh-* 'heart' ¶¶ K 66, K² 35, FS K 88-9, and FS E 93-4 (in all four sources **gul-*); K p. c. (**gwo]-*) (*F* in IS I 231 fn.), Schm. 103, Chik. 65-6, TK 181-2 || D **kōl-* ({ǧGS} **k-?*) 'belly, entrails' (× N **k∇l_L∇_Jy∇* 'lumbar region'?) > Krx *kūl* 'belly, stomach, womb', Mlt {Drs.} *kóli* 'abdomen', Brh *xōl* 'womb, entrails'; D \rightarrow OI \wedge *kō'la-* 'breast, lap', Prkr *kōli* 'breast, bosom', Lhn *kōlī* 'chest of an animal', etc. (*F* Tu. #3607) ¶¶ \approx D #2244 (hyp. with a query: D \leftarrow InA), \approx Pf. 169 (the same hyp.), Tu. #3607 (admits that the word is originally not Aryan) ¶ To my mind, the D word was borrowed not from, but into InA at an early epoch (probably from the northern dialects of D, with which OI first came into contact) || IE: NaIE **g^hel-ond-/*g^hol-ŋd-* 'entrails' > Gk *χολάδες* 'entrails, guts', *χόλικες* id. || SI **želqdb*, **želqđ-ькь*, **želqđ-ьсь* 'stomach' > OR *želudь*, *želudьькь*, RChS *želudьькь*, R, Uk *же'лудок*, Blg *же'лудькь*, SCr *žèludac*, Slv *želôdec*, Cz *žaludek* ~ *žaloudek*, P *żołądek* id. ¶ P 435, F II 1108-9, \neq Vs. II 44, Glh. 707 ¶ The lack of labialization in **g^h-* still remains unexplained || HS: ECh: LI {WeibP} *mú-gúlú*, {Grgs.} *múglú*, Ms {ChL} *mugula*, Bnn {ChL} *mõgũla*, BnnM {ChL}

mugulna, Msm {ChL} mugul 'heart' ¶ WeibP s.v. mú-gúlú 'heart', ChL III
 ◇ The long vw. in D (and the short *e in IE) may point to a lr. after the
 N cns. *1. The loss of that eventual N lr. in IE (*gʰol-ŋd-) suggests that
 the lr. could be only *? ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 #86 (*gʰolHΛ 'heart' in K *gul-
 id. and A {IS} *gʰolΛ 'middle'). In the light of the facts known today, the
 A word is not akin to K *gul- 'heart', but belongs to N *gowlu (or
 *gowlü?) 'deep; valley' (q.v.).

623. ₂ *gʰo₁y₁∇₁l₁∇ 'pudendum muliebre' > HS: WS *✓g₁l₁ 'clitoris,
 foreskin' > Mh {Jo.} gʰlōt, Jb E/C {ðJo.} giŕ¹ʕt 'clitoris' (assimilatory
 glottalization *-l₁- > *-ŕ¹-), Sr gəla^ʕt-ā 'foreskin', Ar جلع ✓ǧ₁l₁ G
 'ôter\enlever le prépuce (dans la circoncision)' (× Ar ✓ǧ₁l₁ G 'ôter
 l'habit, le vêtement') ¶ Jo. M 118, Jo. J 75, JPS 71, Br. 119, BK I 316,
 DRS 131, MiK I #1.76 || SC: Irq {MQK} gʰalāy (pl. gʰalē), {E} gʰalay,
 Qz {E} gilaʔiko 'vagina' ¶ E SC 372, MQK 42 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} gūlé,
 {ChL} gʰūléy 'vagina', Msg {Mch.}, Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} gi'liŋ, Msg
 {Röd. → Lk.} 'gili 'pudendum muliebre' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. M 56 || **D** (in
 SD) *ko₁y₁∇₁l₁i ({ŕGS} *g¹-) 'pudendum muliebre' > Kn, Tl gollī, Tu
 koyilæ id. ¶¶ D #2138 ◇ Blz. DA 155-6 [#37] (D, SC, Ch).

624. *gi¹h¹o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *gʰel¹h¹ω¹-/*gʰelh¹ω¹-
 ({EI} *gʰel¹- ~ *gʰel¹- 'yellow') > NaIE *gʰelā- / *gʰlō- 'yellow, green' > OI
 'hari-h₁ 'pale, yellowish, greenish', Av za¹ri- 'yellow(ish), gold-
 coloured', Av za¹rita-, Phl zart, NPrs زرد zärd 'yellow, pale', زر zär
 'gold', KhS ysar- 'be reddish, yellow', ysarūna 'yellow, red', NPrs
 زريون zär-yūn {Sg.} 'yellow; green and pleasant', Sgd zrywn 'green';
 -> OI 'hiraŋyam, Av zaranya-, OPrs daraniya-, Sgd zyrn 'gold',
 KhS ysarrnaa- 'golden' ||| Gk χολή 'gall' (← *'yellow'), χλόη 'first
 green shoot of plants', χλωρός 'greenish-yellow, pale green' ||| L
 helvūs 'honey-coloured, isabel-yellow', (h)olus, -eris, † helus
 'culinary vegetable, pot-herb' (← *'green') ||| OIr gel, NIr geal 'bright,
 white', W gell 'yellow', OBr {Flr.} gel 'brun, roussâtre', MBr guel(l)
 (gell) 'bai, roux, brun', Br gell 'brown' ('brun, bai'); a Clt lge. -> L
 gilvūs 'pale yellow' (of horses) (Ert. ED 169-70) ||| ON gulr, OHG
 gēlo (aadj. gēlawēr), NHG gelb, OSx gelo, AS ŷeolu 'yellow', NE
 yellow ||| Ltv zelū / zel̃t 'become\grow green', Lt želiū / žēlti
 'grow, sprout' (of plants), Žeĩvas 'greenish, yellowish'; Lt žālias, Ltv
 zaļš, Pru saligan ({En.}: [zalyan]?) 'green' || Sl *zelenъ(jb) 'green' >

OCS **ЗЕЛЕНЪ** zelenъ, Blg зе'лен, SCr zèlen, Slv zelèn, Cz, Slk zelený, P zielony, R pradj. 'зелен, attr. зе'лёный, Uk зе'лений id.; pSl *zельje > OCS zeliје 'λάχανον, vegetables', OR zeliје id., 'potion', R 'зелье 'potion', Blg 'зеле, Cz zelí 'cabbage', SCr зѣлье = zělje 'greens; sorrel', Slv zélje 'grass' ||| ⇨ NaIE (dial.) *ǵʰel-t-/*ǵʰol-t- 'gold' (⇨ NaIE forms that had lost *ǵ in the prevoc. position?) > Gmc: Gt gulþ, ON gull ~ goll, NNr gull, Sw, Dn gulđ, OHG gold, NHG Gold, AS ȝold 'gold', NE gold ||| Ltv zēlts 'gold', Lt E želtas 'golden, gold-coloured' || SI *zolto 'gold' > OCS **ЗЛАТО** zlato, Blg 'злато, SCr zlâto, Slv zlatô, Cz, Slk zlato, P złoto, R, Uk 'золото' ¶ P 429-30, Mn. 413-4, M K III 581, M E II 805-6, F II 1104-6, 1109-10, VI. II 126, Sg. 612-7, Gersh. AM 25, 29, Bai. 346-8, WH II 600, 639, 654, SB 112, Flr. 173, Ern. 296-7, Hm. 311, Dnn. 354, Ern. 296-7, OsS 296, 340, Kb. 325, KM 244, 264, Ho. 127, 134, Ho. S 25, Vr. 194, Hlq. 311-2, Fs. 224-5, Frn. 1287, 1296-7, En. 241, Glh. 694-7, Vs. II 92-3, 103-4, ≈ EI 654 (*ǵʰel- ~ *ǵʰel- 'yellow' with the var. *ǵʰel- based on Lt geĩtas 'yellow' [that in fact belongs to IE *ǵʷʰel- 'yellow, gall' > L fel 'gall', etc.]) || **HS**: S **√ǵlʰ > *o√ǵlw|y > Ar جلو√ǵlw (pf. جَلَا ḡalā) 'rendre brillant \ éclatant \ resplendissant', n. ḡilā? 'éclat, brillant', and n. act. of √ǵlw 'rendre brillant' ¶ BK I 320-1 || **U**: FU (att. in BF) *kī̃|√- v. 'glitter, shine' > F kiilu- v. 'glimmer, glisten', kiil-tä- v. 'shine, glisten', Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed', Vp kiłtata- v. 'shine (glitter, sparkle)' ¶ SK 191, ZM 205 ¶ The BF √ is ambiguous. It might alternatively belong together with IE *ǵel- 'bright; to shine', but the corresponding M and Tg roots indicate that the initial cns. was voiced, hence it is preferable to equate all of them with IE *ǵʰelʰʷ-, which is confirmed by the long ī in BF (pointing to a presence of a lr. in N) || **A** ({DQA} *ǵile- v. 'shine, glitter'): M *gilü-, *gila- > MM [MA] gile- in gilečikü hodut 'shining stars', WrM gilügen 'shimmering, bright'; WrM {MED} gilai-, {Rm.} gilai- ~ gilui- v. 'shine', Brt gilai-, HIM ḡalay- id., as well as possibly M *gilulün > WrM gilun ~ gilün, Ord ḡölön, Mnr {SM} ḡilōn 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl giləg 'smooth, shining' ¶ Pp. MA 172, MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 || Tg *gil-, *ǵil-ta- ~ *ǵil-te- vi. 'shine' > Ewk PT/Brg/Y/Np giltana-, Ul giltən-, Nn Nh/B giltən-, Sln gilūtə- id., Ew Ucr/Chmk geltan, Ewk Brg giltas adj. 'shining', Ork giləmji 'shining' (of eyed), WrMc giltaxun, giltari 'shining, clean, bright' ¶ STM I 151-2 || pJ {S} *kìrà- 'shining, glittering'

> OJ *k_Li_Lirà-k_Li_Lirà* id., J: T *kíra-kíra*, K *kírà-kírà*, Kg *kira-kíra* 'glitteringly', T/Kg *kira-mék-*, K *kírá-mék-* v. 'glitter, glisten, sparkle' ¶ S QJ #805, Mr. 708, Kenk. 969 ¶¶ DQA #510 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as **h* (which is the only N lr. that both yields **ə* in NaIE and is liable to be lost in S [between vowels], later yielding Ar *-ʔ-* in certain hiatus positions) ◇ In some lgs. we observe the meaning 'smooth' (Lv *kīlaz*, M **gilu|ūn*), either resulting from an independent metonymic change (smooth things [such as ice] are shining) or induced by words going back to the paronymous N etymon **gU_LE_LhU* 'be smooth') ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [#84] (**gi^rh_u* = **gi^rh_u* 'smooth and shining': IE, FU, M, Tg; **÷* words for 'smooth' [our N **gU_LE_LhU*]) ◇ Gr. II #337 (**kel* 'shine') (IE, U, and A [all = IS], J + qu. Gil).

625. **gU_LE_LhU* 'be smooth' > IE **gh₁eh^ω-d^h-*/**gh₁h^ω-d^h-* 'be smooth', {EI} **gh₁ehd^h-(ro-)* 'smooth' > NaIE **gh₁ōd^h-*/**gh₁ad^h-* 'be smooth' > L *glaber* 'smooth, without hair, bald' ||| ON *gladr*, OFrs *gled*, OHG, MHG *glat*, NHG *glatt* 'smooth'; the semantic variant ON *gladr*, OHG, MHG *glat* 'shining, glänzend', AS *zlae|aed* id., 'glad, pleasant', NE *glad* is due to the infl. of (or goes back to) the reflexes of N **gi^rh^o* 'to shine, to glitter' ||| Lt *gluodnūs*, *gluōdnas*, *glodūs* '(uo < **ō* < **eh^ω*) 'smooth', {Fm.} *glódžiu* / *glósti* v. 'polieren, schleifen, glätten', Ltv *glāstu* / *glās(t)īt* v. 'stroke, caress', Pru *glosto* 'whetstone' || SI **gladъ* > SCr † *glad* 'smooth'; SI **gladъ-къ* (jъ) id. > OCS *гладъкъ* *gladъкъ*, Blg 'гладък', SCr *glāđak*, Slv *gládek*, Cz, Slk *hladký*, P *gładki*, R, Uk 'гладкий', Uk *глад'кий* id.; caus. v. SI **gladiti* 'make smooth' (→ v. 'iron, stroke') > OCS *гладити* *gladiti* id., etc. ¶ P 431-2, EI 529, WH I 603, OsS 335, WW 115, Kb. 325, Lx. 73, KM 260, Ho. 132, Frn. 158, En. 179, IS I 230, Bern. I 300-1, ESSJ VI 114-7 ||| HS: WS **√g₁h* 'be bald' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA *𐎧𐎢𐎡√g₁h* *D* (caus.) 'cut\shave the hair', Ar *√ǧ₁h* (pf. *جَلَجَ* *ǧalīha*, ip. *-ǧlaḥ-*) 'lose one's hair on both sides of the head', (pf. *جَلَجَ* *ǧalāha*) 'eat away the bark of trees, leave the tree "bald" (without bark)' (of camels), *ǧalaḥ-* 'boldness on both sides of the hair', Gz *√g^ωh* (pf. *g^ωalḥa*) 'be shaved', Tgr *√g₁h* *G* 'be bald, shave one's hair', Tgy *√g^ωh_y* (pf. *g^ωelḥayə*) 'raser la tête (pendant la période de deuil)' ¶ KB 185, KBR 193, GB 141, Sl. 285-6, Js. 247, Ln. 441-2, BK I 312, Hv. 94, L G 191, LH 441-2, DRS 123 || C: Bj {R} *g^ωā_Lʔa* 'baldness

in the fore part of the head' || K *^oglu_uω₁- 'smooth' > G glu, glu_v-i 'smooth, even', glu_v- 'be smooth' ¶ Chx. 198, DCh. 324 || U: FU *kū]∇ 'be smooth, slippery' > Prm *gūlit > Vt g+l+t 'smooth, slippery', Z g+l+d 'slippery, slipping (скользящий)', 'good for skiing \ driving in a sledge' (of snow-covered ground) | ?? Lv kīlaz 'smooth, covered with ice' (× N *giT'h'o 'to shine, to glitter', as suggested by the final -az, common with Es -as [Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed']) || pOs *kū]ə ({[Hl.} *kū]ə) 'smooth, slippery' > Os: V/Vy kō]i, Y kō]i, Nz qū]ə, Kz qū]i, O qū]i ¶ UEW 156, Coll. 80, LG 84, Stn. D 625, Hl. rHt 71, Tv. FUI 54, Kt. 133 || ?φ A: (× N *giT'h'o '↑') M *gilu]ūη 'smooth, bright' > WrM gilurη ~ gilūrη, Ord g_ölöη, Mnr {SM} žilōn 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl gilæg 'smooth, shining' ¶ MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87 ◇ IE *g^h- (rather than *g^{ωh}-) because of its preconsonantal position ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [#84] (*gi^hh'u 'smooth and shining': S, K, IE; *÷ words for 'shining' [our N *giT'h'o]).

626. ₂ *gūL]∇ 'bend, twist' > HS: S *^o√glz > Ar √ğlz G 'plier, ployer, rouler; tortiller, tordre avec force' ¶ BK I 314, DRS 122 || B: [1] *√glz > Rif sə-gillaz 'bouleverser' | [2] ?σ B *√glz > Kb glilaz, Wrg glillaz 'se rouler, se vautrer sur le sol'; SB with the px. *z∇-: Ah zə-ğğalallah, ETwl, Ty zəgallulaz, Gh pf. isžalalaz 'se rouler dans la poussière' ¶ Dl. 258, Pr. H 41 [#100], Fc. 435, Dlh. Ou 96-7, NZ 791 || A: M (× N *gūLâ 'bend, be crooked?'): *gulžay- v. 'bend' > WrM gulžai-, HIM гулзай- id., d.: [1] Kl {KRS} hулжи- gulži- 'be bent\crooked', {Rm.} gulžī- 'seinen Kopf abwärts oder seitwärts drehen' (vom Pferde), Ord {Ms.} g_ulžī- 'être recourbé en bas; laisser pendre la tête', [2] WrO gulzuu 'turned, twisted', Kl {KRS} hулзу gulzū 'twisted' (adj.); M *^ogulžagay > WrM gulžagai, HIM гулзгай 'awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; M *gulžagar > WrM gulžagar, HIM гулзгар 'bending under its own weight', Kl {Rm.} gulžjār 'schiefhalsig; schiefäugig; schief (nicht gerade aus), sich seitwärts biegend' ¶ MED 367, KRS 168-9, KW 154, Krg. 319, Ms. O 312.

626a. ₂ *gA]l]∇ 'wind (ventus)' > HS: ECh: Smr {J} gālē, Nd D }J} gāl, Tmk {Cp.} gāl 'wind' | Lai: Kbly {Cp.} kà]z, Ll {Grgs.} kà]ó 'wind' (a [reg.?] devoicing *g- > Lai k-) ¶ ChC || D: [1] *kāl]i 'wind' > Kn gāl]i, gāl], Tu gāl]i, gāl]i, Knd, Ku gāl]i, Tl gāl]i 'wind, air', Kdg ga]i, Klm ga]i, Nkr ghāl]i, Nk ghāy, Gnd gāl 'wind'; ? [2] Tm kāl 'air, wind', Ml kāl]u 'wind' ¶ D ##1499, 1481 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [#97] (suggested to equate Ch

with D and erroneously with T *kał-, sc. with OT {Cl.} qalıq 'air, atmosphere, [visible] sky', sc. 'space above the earth' [in fact derived from OT qalı- v. 'rise in the air', see N *kał'h'i 'high; be high' and Cl. 620]).

627. *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter') > K: GZ *gwal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *gohı∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn' [trans.]) > OG gual-, G gval-/gol-, Mg golop- 'be' (of drought), OG gualva, G gvalva 'drought' ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || HS: EC *gi:ı]al- 'dry season, winter' > Sml {DSI} žīlāl 'stagione secca; stagione di siccità e carestia; inverno', Sml N {Abr.} žīlāl 'dry season', Af {PH} gilal 'winter', Sa {Wlm.} gīlal 'highland harvest season' ¶ DSI 344, PH 113 || A: T *K'ÍÍ 'winter' (× N *gi'ı∇#, ?∇'d'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' [q.v.] or its initial component *gi'ı∇) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV qıš, Tk kıš, Tkm, Az qıš, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, Alt, Xlj qıš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qıš, VTt, Bsh qıš, Uz, ET qıš, Xk χıš, Tv, Tf qıš, Chv xěп xьl 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341-2 ¶ Possible contamination with (or infl. of) T *Kö'ı- (> NaT *Köš-) 'feel cold' (see N *kü'ı∇ or *ku'ıÉ 'cold; to freeze') ◇ The delabialization N *u > T *ı occurs in several N words and needs further investigation. It is not necessarily explained by the infl. of N *gi'ı∇ ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equates GZ *gwal- with A *k'ı|ı|ıla 'get\make dry', see N *Koxıa 'be dry').

627a. *gUh'ıÉ '≈ canine animal' > HS: B: Ah {Fc.} a-gūlah 'male wolf' (< *gūı∇β < N *ogUh'ıÉ bA with *bA of animal names?) ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H #95, NZ 779 || C: Bj {R} ga'lāb (pl. ga'lab) 'striped hyena' < N *ogUh'ıÉ bA || SC: pRt {E} *gwehela 'jackal' or 'dog' > Kz {E} gwehela 'jackal', Brn {E} gwehera, Alg {E} gwihira, gwehera 'dog' ¶ R WBd 95, E SC 328 || Ch: WCh: Grn {Jgr.} g'ulúm 'hyena' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} kúıım id., ? Mtk {Sb.} ηgəléηgəlé, ?? Glv {Rp.} ηgelaxbáğəvə, {ChL} ηeləxəğəvə id. ¶ Jgr. 185, ChL, ChC || K: GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG mgel-, G mgel- ~ gel-, Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- ~ gwer- ~ mžwer- 'wolf' ¶ K 130, Chik. 87 ¶ The initial *m- is a nominal px. || A (≈ *gō'ı'k'∇ 'young canine, whelp' [or 'young mammal?']): M *gölüğe (× N *goL∇ 'foetus, baby') > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüğe 'pup (young dog)', HIM rəłəg id., 'kitten', Ord {Ms.} gölögö, Kl {Rm.} gölgə, {KRS} rəłr göleg 'young animal', esp. 'young dog', Mnr H {T} gəlğə, Mng Nr {SM}

g_uōrg_uō 'pup, young dog'; these M words have also the meanings 'sprout, shoot', but in the light of the T cognates these must be secondary sds.; WrM {MED} gölügele-, HIM гөлөглө-х, Kl gölg]-xə v. 'whelp' ¶ The M element *-ge may be connected with the M dim. sx. *-qan/*-ken (F Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, Kow. 2602, SM 143, T 323, KW 137, KRS 146 || T *k_l'ōšēk > Blgh ⇨ Hg kölyök 'young of an animal; whelp, puppy, kitten' || NaT *k_l'ōšālek 'a young animal' > OT {Cl.} köšāk id., MQp kōšek 'camel colt', Tk köşek, Tkm kōšek, Az köšāk, Ggz, Qq köšek, Uz Δ {Shch.} küšāk, küšälāk id., Osm XIV köšek id., {Rl.} 'young of an animal' ¶ Cl. 753, Shch. Zh 106, ET KQ 126-7, Rl. II 1305 ¶ T *k' < A *g- regularly (IS AG 339-42) ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, 78, IS AG 341, DQA #898 (A *k|gōšī|e(k∇) 'young of animals') ¶¶ The pA semantic component 'young' is probably connected with the dim. sx. *-k'.

628. *gií_l∇#_l∇'d'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze' (and *gií∇ 'ice, frost') > IE: NaIE *g^he_lad- 'ice, hail' > NPrs ل_رآل žāl , ه_لآل žālē 'hoarfrost, dew; hail', Tj ж_ол_а 'hail, dew' (acc. to Rast. SGZIJ 107, *-ld- > pIrn *-rd- > NPrs and Tj -l-) || Gk Hm χ_αλαζα n. 'hail' || Sl *želd- > OCS ж_лѣд_лица žlědica 'frozen rain', Slv žlěd 'ice-covered ground, Glatteis', P žłódź 'frozen rain, ice-covered ground', Uk оже_леда 'rain with snow, ice-covered ground' ¶ WPI 629-30, P 435, EI 287 (*g^he_lh₂d- ~ *g^h](h₂)ed- 'hail'), Vl. II 175 (NPrs ه_لآل 'hail'), BM 265, Sg. 636, Horn 152, RTdS 187, 975, F II 1065-6, Mikl. E 407-8, Brü. 665 || HS: S ✓gld 'freeze' > Ar ✓ğld (pf. ج_لد ğalida) 'be frozen' (of ground), ج_ليد ğalīd- 'hoarfrost, ice', JA {Trg.}, JEA ג_לי_ד galī'd-ā, MHb ג_לי_ד galī'd 'ice', Sr |ج_ليد galī'dā 'ice, crystal', ʔaglī'd-ā 'ice, frost', NNEA {Orh., DRS} |ج_ليد glīdā 'ice'; in the S lgs. there is secondary association and sometimes coalescence with the root *✓gld 'be(come) hard' ¶ BK I 313-4, Hv. 95, Lv. I 331, Sl. 287, DRS 118, JPS 70, Orh. 86, DRS 119 || A: [1] A *gií_ld_l∇ 'cold' > Tg *gil'd'∇ 'cold' > Ewk gilli 𐎂 gildi, Neg gullgd_l ~ gull_lst, Lm gildā 𐎂 gilrā 𐎂 gilla adj. 'cold' (of a liquid), Ud {Rm.} gilihi adj. 'cold' ¶ STM I 151, Krm. 222 || [2] A *gií∇ > T *k'í 'winter' (× N *g'U'í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.); it may go back to N *gií∇ without the second N component *ʔ∇'d'∇, as in pCK {Md.} *ʔīl 'ice, block of ice' (Md. ECK 42) ¶¶ DQA #511 (A *g'í'ò 'cold') ◇ The IE velar *g^h- is quite

reg. In the framework of AD's theory on N vowels in the IE prehistory (AD NGIE and NVIE) it is explained as follows: N *gíí- > pre-IE *g^hǫj̥l- > *g^hǫl- (loss of glides before a sonant) > IE *g^heɫ- (*ǫ is transformed into the apophonic vw.). IE *g^h...d for the expected *g^h...d^h is still to be explained (ds.?).


629. ₂ *g^rA¹m∇ (and *g^rA¹mɛ∇?) 'altogether, full' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓gmm 'be full; gather' > Ar ✓ǧmm (pf. ^{جَمَّ}ǧamma) id., 'be filled up' (of a well), 'collect in a well' (water), 'fill', Ar Mgr ✓ǧmm D 'remplir la mesure jusqu'au bord', possibly also BHb 𐩦𐩣𐩪 gam, Ug g m, M'b, J'd g m 'also'; [2] (+ext.??): WS *✓gmɛ (× S ✓gmɛ 'fist, handful' < N *g^oɛm∇ - *gomɛ∇ 'hand, fist') > Ar جمع ✓ǧmɛ, Mh ✓gmɛ (pf. gūma, sbjn. yǝgmē ~ yǝg¹mɛ?), Jb C gīɛ v. 'gather', Ar ǧumɛ- 'totalité, le tout' ¶ BK I 321-2, 326-9, HJ 225, KB 187-8, KBR 195-6, OLS 147, Jo. M 120, DRS 141-3 || B: Shl gum, 3m igum 'be enough', Kb ǧǧamgām 'être plein à ras bord' ¶ NZ 797, 799, Dl. 259 || C: HEC *gumʔa 'all' (for phonetic reasons hardly from Ar ǧumɛ-) > Hd, Kmb guʔma 'all', Sd {Gs.} guma- vi. 'assemble, gather' || SC: Brn {Blz. < ?} g^oŋ 'all' ¶ Hd. 19, 280, 319, Gs. 133, Blz. RL 256 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gam 'fill, be(come) full' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} gam id., Su {J, Hf.} gam, {IL} gām, Tal {IL} gām 'full', Su {J} vt. 'fill', Ang {Lax} gām id., {Flk.} gam vt. 'fill, complete' || BT: Dr {Nw.} gámì, Pr {Frz.} kémò 'fill' (*g- > Pr k-), ? Bl {Lk.} gom- 'zusammentreffen', ? BT *ŋ-g∇m- > Ngm {Sch.} ŋgama 'full', Bl {IL} ŋg^wómáni 'full', Krkr {Sch.} nǰámú 'fill', Gera ŋgùmtì-mí, Glm {Sch.} ŋgànd-áà vi. 'be full', vt. 'fill', Grm ñàm-tǎ 'fill'; ? Pr kómú-rày 'everybody' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gám 'also' ¶ JI II 156, ChC, J S 66, Hf. AG 24, Flk. s.v. gam, Nw. K 125, Lax 113, Sch. BTL 87, 119, 137, 144, Lk. PPB 135, Frz. P 36-7, Eb. 50 ¶¶ OS #888 (*gam- 'be full': S, WCh) || A *g^rā¹m- 'all, filled in' > Tg *ga¹ḿ ~ *gemu 'all': *ga¹ḿ > Orc gām 'all (of them), every, all kind of', WrMc ǧanḿi 'all (of them, of him, of it)'; *gemu > Ork {Pt.} ǧэм ǧэм ~ ǧым (? : there is no Ork phoneme ы) 'all of them, all, everything', WrMc gemu 'all (of them), altogether (alle, insgesamt, sämtlich)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gem, gemu 'alle, alles, sämtlich, insgesamt', {Y} /gumə/ [gum] 'all', Jrc {Kiy.} gemur 'altogether', gemur ina 'all of it' ¶ STM I 138, 179, Pt. JO 72, Z 301, 321, Hr. 334, 343, Klz. MS 177, Y #2816, Kiy. 138 [#757], 145 [#841], S AJ 207 [#2] (Tg *gemu) || pJ {S} *kám- 'be filled in, stuffed' > OJ kòm-, J: T kóm-, K/Kg kòm- ¶ S QJ #865, Mr. 712 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #496 (A *gèmo 'to complete,

to fill in'; incl. Tg, J) ◇ It is hard to decide if the basic HS √ is *√gm or *√gmɤ, hence the N etymon may be either *g¹A¹m∇ or *g¹A¹mɤ∇ (*g∇mɤ∇ being less probable, because the cluster *mɤ is more likely to undergo as. to *ɲɤ that the cluster *m + approximant *ɤ). We cannot rule out the possibility that the N word with *ɤ and that without it are two different words.

630. *g¹e¹m∇ 'strong, firm' > HS: S *^o√gmm > Ar √ğmm (pf. جَمَّ *ğamma*) 'be abundant', 'be rich' (of vegetation), ?σ Jb {DRS} gimm 'abonder, se collecter à nouveau' (water after being depleted) (×√gmm 'gather') ¶ BK I 321-2, Hv. 97, Jo. J 76, DRS 141 || Eg: DEg {Er.} gm 'Kraft, Stärke', Cpt: Sd бом сом, B зом зом 'force, power' ¶ Er. 580, Crn. 330, Vc. 340 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gam- 'be strong' > Su {J}, Ang {ChL} kam, Gmy {ChL} kəm || Krkr {Stl.} n-gam, Tng {J} kwamɪɪɪ 'firm' (*g- > Tng *k- regularly) || ? Hs gamza 'strong man' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#674] (AG, Krkr), ChC, ChL, J T 187 || U *k¹e¹mä > FU *kämA 'hard, firm' > F kämä 'stiffness, rigidity, inflexibility', kämeä 'thick, firm' || Er keme, Mk kemä 'hard, firm' || Hg kemény id. || Sm: Slq Ke/NP {Cs.} kôm, Slq B {Cs.} kûm 'zäh, hart', Slq LTz {KD} qōmen, Slq Tm {KD} qōm id., Kms {KD} kom·d^əlām vt. 'harden', bāzā kom·d^əlām 'harden iron', {Cs.} komde^lam, komd^läm '(Eisen) härten' || pY {IN} *kim- 'strong, firm' > Y: K {IN} kimžī- v. 'fight' (-žī- is an iterative sx.), kimžāš- 'stand firm (psychologically), крепиться, мужаться', K {AD} kimji-k inv. id., 'bear up!' ('крепись'), {Jc.} (Jc. JR) kimžeck 'stand firm, take heart\courage' ('крепиться, мужаться'), {Ang. ← Jc. [texts]} kimdeš-, kimdieš- 'fest bleiben' ¶¶ UEW 137, Coll. 87, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *kämä, Ugr kämä- 'hard'), MF 349-50, ERV 251, Cs. 121, 181, 232, DK 32, Ang. 117, Jc. JR, AD YN, IN 227, 306, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#20] (Y ← U) || D (in SD) *kēm- ({GS} *k-) 'strong, hard' > Ml kēmam 'strength, solidity', Kn kēmā 'callosity, as that of a wart' ¶ D #2003 ◇ The correspondence between FU *ä and D *ē is irregular; it may be suggested that FU *ä goes back to U *e (as. *e...ä > *ä...ä), cf. pY *i ◇ Blz. SNE #2 (U, D, ? Hs) ~ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. Ch, Eg, D).

630a. ₂ *gUm∇ 'heavy' > K: Sv: UB, LB, Ln gwämi, Ls gwami 'heavy' ¶ TK 179, Ni. s.v. тяжелый, GP 93 || HS: CCh: Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} gumá, Msg P {Trn.} gзма, Mbara {TrnSL} gímáy, Mlw {Trn.} gîmâ 'heavy' ¶ TrnSL 262, Trn. LDM 24, Trn. LM 90, ChC, ChL ◇ Connected

with N *g'e'm∇ 'strong, firm'? ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. K and Ch; does not distinguish this etymon from N *g'e'm∇ '↑').

631. *goʃm∇ ⇨ *gomʃ∇ 'hand, fist' > HS: WS (or CS) *✓gmʃ 'hollow\closed hand' > Sr  gāmāʃatā 'handful, fist (manipulus, pugillus)', Ar جمع 'gūmʃ- 'fist, back surface of the fist' ('poing, poignée, main fermée; partie extérieure de la main, les doigts étant fermés)', ? Jb {DRS} ʒīʃ, 'yama, 'yami, yāmʃah 'fist' ¶ Br. 121, BK I 327, ≈ DRS 143 || C {AD, HL} *ganaʃ- 'hand, palm of hand' > Bj R ganʔa id., Bj A {AD} tu 'ganaʔa 'palm of hand' ||| EC: pSam {Hn.} *gaʃām 'hand, arm' > Sml gaʃān, pl. gaʃāmo, Sml J gāʃ, pBn *kàʔán > Bn Bi kaʔan, Bn J/Ba/K kaʔán; Bs gene 'hand, arm'; Elm {HL} gene 'hand', Kns kanʔā-ta, Gdl {HL} kana(ʔ)a-ta, {Ss.} kanaʃ-at, Gato {HL} kanʃa-te, Or Wt {Hn.} ganáʔ, Or BI {Sr.} ganā 'palm of hand', Hr/Gln {AMS} pl. kanáʃe, Gwd {AMS} kanʃate, Brj {Ss.} ganaʔ, {Hw.} gaʃnā 'palm\ball of hand', Sa {HL} ginnāʃ-ta 'palm of hand', Af {PH} gennaʃ, gennáʃa 'palms of hand, soles of foot' (snglt. gennaʃ-ta), Ya {HL} kinneʔe 'hand'; see also Sa/Af {R} gaʃmad (pl. 'gāmōd) 'hollow hand, fist' (but the Af word is not found either in PH or in Clz.) ¶ AD SF 316, Bl. 161, Hn. S 82, Hn. BD 111, Hn. W 62, R S II 156, R A II 59, Ss. B 77 (EC *ganʃ- 'hand'), HL 99 (C *ganaʃ- 'hand, arm'), PH 112, Sr. 310, AMS 167, 207, 247, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 178 || U *kom∇(r∇) 'hollow hand' > pLp {Lr.} *kōmērē 'handful' or sim. > Lp: Kld {TI} kuzmmeř 'handful', N {N} goabmer 'the two curved open hands put together to receive\catch sth.' || ?? F kahmalo, kamahlo, Vp kamahʔ d kahmaʔ d kahmā, Es kamal 'hollow of one's hands', Lv kōmal, Lv W kâ:mal 'handful'; -hm- in F and Vp and the vw. a may be due to the infl. of the BF verbs represented in F kahmaa- 'blindlings greifen' and F kahmi- 'nachschnappen, хватать'; it is tempting to suppose that this h is a trace of N *ʏ, but in the light of U comparative phonology such conjecture is not valid || Er komoro komoro, Mk komop komər 'handful' || Z {W} kam+r id. || Sm {Jn.} *kāmā ~ *kemā (outstretched) arms' > Ne T сева id., d. севай 'armful', Ne O {Lh.} śēβ·aʔ·i, Ne F {Lh.} śie·mmā id., Slq Tm {KD} q'ā:m 'outstretched arms', Slq Tz d. qō'mal- v. 'embrace', Kms {KD} d. q'ā:məru' 'outstretched arms'; ? ⇨ Sm *kām∇r- (~ *kām∇l-, *kem∇l-) v. 'embrace' > Mt {HL} *kāmər- 'umarmen, mit beiden Händen umfassen' (Mt M {Sp.} камырнама 'I embrace') ¶¶ UEW 175-6 (rejects the BF cognates), Lr. #472, Lgc. #2639, TI 134, Ker. II 65, Kt. 149, ZM 175, Jn. 63-4, KKHU

164, KD 24, HI. M #464 || ?φ A {DQA} *kòmpo 'fist, wrist' > Tg *kombo- 'wrist, ε part\bone of the hand\forearm' > Neg kombox̄ 'wrist, metatarsus, radius (bone)', Orq qomũ 'wrist, funny-bone', Nn: Nh qombulo, KU qombu 'back side of the hand, wrist' ¶ STM I 409, On. 224, ADb. SR 260, 300-1 || pJ {S} *kəmpusi 'fist' > OJ kòbùsì, J: T kòbuśi, kóbuśi, K kòbúśí, Kg kobúśi ¶ S QJ #883, Mr. 453 || ?φ NaT *K'opa, *K'opa-k 'fist, wrist' > Qrg qobuq 'arthritis of metacarpus', Tb, QK qoboq 'wrist', Tv qowades, Tf {Cs.} kofadeš 'fist' ({DQA}: < *k_l'_lopa-adií) ¶ ADb. SR 194 (acc. to ADb, the Tv-Tf word may be a reborrowing of the Tk word from Tg and Ket, which is rejected by DQA) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #875 (A *kòmpo 'fist, wrist'; incl. Tg, J, T) ¶¶ The change A *-mp- > T *-p- is not yet clear ◇ The devoicing of N *g- to A *k- still defies explanation (as. *g...p > *k...p or infl. of the A reflex of N *K̄ap'á' 'palm of hand, sole of foot?').

632. *gumb ▽ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill' > HS: C: EC: Sml gumbur 'small hill, low isolated hill', Dsn {To.} gummuti (pl. gummusam) 'hill', Rn {PG} gámbar 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gab ▽ (-|í ▽) 'head') ¶ ZMO 169, To. DL 501, PG 121, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gumb 'back', Ari {Bnd.} gemar, Hm {Bnd.} 'gEMER 'mountain, hill' || NrOm: Kf {C} gubbbo, Mch {L} gúbbo 'back (dos)' ¶ Fl. OO 316, C SE IV 436, L M 29, Bnd. AL 155, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || ?φ CCh: Gdr {Mch.} 'g3bb0 'buttock' ¶¶ But Hb gab, Ug. gb, and JA gab'bā 'back' do not belong here (⇔ Blz. DA), but go back to S *gabb- 'top of sth.' (the back is the highest point of animal's body) < N *gab ▽ 'head' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FU (or FV?) *kump ▽ 'hill' > F kumpu 'hill' || Lp L {LLO} kåbbå 'Anhöhe, kleiner Berg, Hügel' || Mk kumba 'hummock. tussock' || ?φ pVg *kämp 'hill, heap' ({MK} 'Hügel, Haufen') > Vg: T/K {MK} kämp, N {MK} kamp ¶ LG 83, MK 190, ≈ UEW 203 (does not distinguish between this √ and U *kump ▽ 'wave') || D (att. in SD) *kump- 'back' > Tm kumpam 'upper part of the back between the shoulders', Ml Δ kumbi 'buttocks', Td kub 'back; behind' ¶ D #1747 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA #27 (D, HS, including [unc.] S *gabb- [presumably 'back'] and HEC *gōb- 'neck').

633. ₂ *gim_l ▽_l ċ' ▽ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and\or nose' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh') > HS: S *√ gnç > Ak StB ∧ √ gnṣ G, Ak StB D (inf. gunnuṣu)

{CAD} 'sniff, wrinkle one's nose', {Sd.} 'Nase, Lippen hochziehen', Sr {PS} ^{١٠}جُنَابِيّ ^{١١}gūnāṣā 'derisio, subsannatio, irrisio'; ?σ Ar ✓ğnṣ D (pf. جَنَّص ^{١٢}ğannaṣa) 'ouvrir\écarquiller les yeux (de frayeur)'; ?φ WS *✓km|ḥç > Ar ✓knṣ D (pf. kannaṣa) 'renifler, remuer le nez pour se moquer de quelqu'un', EthS: Gz kamsūs 'one who smiles', Tgr kəmsəs belə, Tgy kəmsəs bəle vb. clc. 'smile' ¶ The vl. k- in Ar and EthS still defies explanation (lexical attraction of a different word?) ¶ CAD V 40, Sd. 280, PS 755, BK I 339, L G 286, DRS 160 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gāmsú 'laugh' | NrBc: Kry {Sk.} үзмэцэ, Wrj {Sk.} үзnc-, My {Sk.} үamáʔs-, Mbr {Sk.} үзһʔsa, Jmb wumaš- id. | SBC: Bg {Sh.} kómás, Zr K {Sh.} gʷàmšé, Grn {Hrn.} ḡgánsí id. || CCh: Bu {Hf. from unprofessional records} kumší 'laugh, laugh at' | ? Gude {Srp.} wúsìn 'laugh' | Mtk ḡwas id. | Dgh {Frk.} ḡḡásá id., Glv {Rp.} ḡubas- 'laughter' || ECh: Mb {Lk.} gèmís, {J} gàmàsé, Jg {J} gims-, Brg {J} gèmsí 'laugh' | Tmk {Cp.} gáǰ, Nd D {J} gʷsâ id. ¶ Nw. #79 (Ch. *gamsə), JI I 108 (Ch. *✓gms₂) and II 218-9, Sch. DN 68, Sh. BZ 36, Hrn. G 46 [#265], Jgr. 186, Hf. B 260, RK 90, Cp. 60, Lk. ZSS 182 || **D** (in SD) *kič-/ *kinč- 'make a grimace by showing the teeth, grin' > Kt ḡinǰ- '(dog) shows teeth with a snarl', kičv- 'make a grimace (of derision, etc.) by opening mouth and drawing back lips', Kn kišī 'expand\open\withdraw the lips from the teeth so as to show them; grin', Tu kišb 'grinning, kišī-kišī 'a titter, laugh'; D b> InA *khiss- v. 'grin' ¶ D #1510, Tu. #3889 ◇ Lack of as. *-mç|ç- > *-Nç- in Ch (and EthS?) suggests the existence of a vw. between the Inlaut cnss. and its loss in the prehistory of S and D.

634. *gʷu¹m₁∇₁ç¹∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend' > HS: S *°✓gmç|θ > Gz ✓gmç v. 'incline, bend', Tgr ḡzmčuy 'crooked, perverted' ¶ L G 195-6 || ?φ,σ Ch {Stl.} *ḡuǰi-n 'knee' > CCh: Mdr {Mk.} uǰǰe, {Mch.} úkjə, Glv {Rp.} ḡùnǰa, Gdf ḡʷíǰà, Dgh {Frk.} ḡʷíǰé, {IL} ḡʷíǰè, Gv {ChL} ḡʷíǰà, Nkc ḡʷunǰa id. || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ḡuǰǰ id. ¶ JI II 215, Stl. IF 193, ChC, ChL || **U**: FU *kʷu¹n¹ç¹∇ (or *ko|án¹ç¹∇) 'bent' > ObU {Ht.} *kūn¹ç¹ id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūšnā > Vg: ML {Mu.} khāšnē, K {Mu.} khāsnē- ~ khāsnä- 'elastisch, biegsam', N {Mu.} ḡāsnē, ML khasnä 'der elastische Teil des Holzes', Ss {Kn.} xūsna 'der aus Birkenholz bestehende Teil des Bogens'; ?? possibly Vg: T {WVD} kʷòškʷ-, MK {WVD} kʷāšš-, P {WVD} kōšš-, LL {WVD} kʷpašš- (= kʷašš-) '(seinen Kopf) neigen, sich verbeugen'; pOs {Ht.} *kuñç- > Os: V/Vy/Ty quť-, D χuñť-, Nz/Kz χűś, O χuś 'obere Birkenholzlage am Bogen' ¶ Ht. 153-4 [#298], MK 112, WVD

VII 130 || D *kunc̥- ({{GS}} *k-) '≈ low; to bow' > MI kuńcuka v. 'stoop, bow', Td kwic̥ 'humble, low', Tl kuncu v. 'depress' ¶¶ These words belong here unless they are connected with Tm kurur̥ku v. 'bend', MI kur̥kuka v. 'sink low', etc., as in DED #1474 and D #1767 ¶¶ ≈ DED #1474 ◇ The lack of as. *-m̥č̥č̥- > *-N̥č̥č̥- in HS suggests the existence of a vw. between the word-medial (→ root-medial) cns. and its loss in the prehistory of U and D.

635. *gʰā¹m̥∇,śa '∈ waterfowl, ∈ bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *gʰans- 'goose' > OI har̥nsa-h̥ 'goose', har̥ns-ī 'female goose, swan' || Gk χήν (gen. χηνόσ), Gk D/B χάν (< *χανσ, gen. *χανσόσ) 'goose' || OIr géiss 'swan' (< f. *gʰans-ī ÷ OI har̥ns-ī) || Gmc *gans-iz (transformed into a noun with an *i-stem) > ON gás (pl. gæs), OHG gans (*i-stem), NHG Gans, AS ȝōs (pl. ȝēs) 'goose', NE goose (pl. geese); Gmc *gans-iz ⇨ Sl *gōsb 'goose' (an inherited word would have had an initial *z-) > Blg r̥c m., Slv gōs (gen. gosī), OCz, Cz Δ, Slk f. hos (gen. husi) f. 'goose', Cz (restructured) husa f. 'goose', P gęś, Blr r̥cb (gen. r̥ci) f. id., Uk r̥cb f. 'female goose', OR r̥cb gusb, R r̥cb m. 'goose' || Lt žas̥is (žãsi), Ltv zōss, Pru sansy ({{En.}: [zansi]) id. ||| with a sx. *-er-: L ānser (< *hānser) 'goose', Gmc: MHG ganzer ~ ganser 'male goose', NHG (with restructuring) Gänserich id. ¶ P 412, ≈ EI 236 (*gʰan-s, "perhaps derived from *gʰan- 'yawn, gape'"), M K III 571, M E II 799, F II 1094-5, WH I 52, LP § 26.10, Vr. 157, Ho. 135, OsS 261, Kb. 316, Lx. 53, KM 231, Frn. 1292-3, En. 242, ESSJ VII 88-9 (unconvincingly rejects the Gmc origin of Sl *gōsb), Bern. I 342-3 (recognizes this Gmc origin as a possibility) ||

HS: Eg MK ȝms ({{EG}} ȝmś) {Fk.} 'avocet (Pecurvirostra, a shore bird)', {{EG}} '∈ Vogel (mit aufwärts gebogenem Schnabel)' ¶ EG V 574, Fk. 322 || **A** {S} *gas∇ '∈ bird (∈ waterfowl?)' > Tg *gasa 'waterfowl, bird' > Orc gasa, Ul, Ork, Nn gasa 'waterfowl, duck', Ud gaHä 'bird, duck', {Krm.} gahä 'duck', Neg gasa 'swan', Ewk gasa 'crane', WrMc gasχa, Mc Sb gasχχ 'bird' ¶ STM I 143, S AJ 207 [#10], Krm. 221 || ?σ M *geske > WrM {Kow.} geske 'faucon/épervier qui a sur la queue et les ailes une raie blanche', Kl {Rm.} geskə 'Fischadler, weißgeschwänzter Adler' ¶ Kow. 2458, KW 135 ¶ S AJ 289 [#338], DQA #484 (A *gasōi 'crane, aquatic bird') || **U:** [1] *kânś|ć∇ > Sm: Kms {Cs.} konzu? 'gull (Möwe)' | [2] ?φ *kaś∇ (or °-ć-) '∈ duck' > Prm *kuos∇ ({{Lt.}} *kuos∇) > Vt kwaśi 'male duck' || ObU *kās- > pOs *kas- > Os: V/Vy qas, Ty/Y qās,

Kz χ₃₅ 'merganser', D χ₀₅ 'a wild fish-eating duck with a pointed beak' | [3] ?φ FU *k¹ō¹s∇ > Chr: L k₀₅, E k₀₅₀ 'goldeneye (Bucephala)' | Prm *k¹ō¹s+ś {/Lt.} k¹ō¹s+ś > Z k₀₅+ś 'gray duck', Yz k₀₅is 'merganser' | ?? F k₀₅kelo 'mercanser (Gänsesäger, Gans-, Sägetaucher), Es k₀₅kel 'e waterfowl' (Prm *ō points to a pFU *ō) ¶¶ The adduction (UEW 111) of Slq (Slq LTz čeη kueče 'graue Wildente', Slq Ke kuetj ~ kuettjə ~ kodje, and Slq N kueč [in compound names of species of ducks]) is highly questionable for phonetic reasons ¶¶ Cs. 181, ≈ UEW 111 (*kać∇ ~ ? *kańć∇), 673, MRS 225, Ü 75, Lt. 51, Lt. J 139, LG 135, Trj. S 146 ◇ The lack of as. *-mS- > *-nS- in the prehistory of Eg suggests the presence of a vw. between the N word-medial cnss. ◇ Gr. II #182 (*ka(n)s 'goose) (IE, A, CK).

636. *gAñ|ń∇ 'see, perceive' > HS: Ch {JS} *gan- ~ *gin- 'see' > WCh: Hs gání 'see, look at' | Tmbs {Sh.} à gīnī 'you see!' | ECh: Skr {Sx.} gēnīyē, {Lk.} géna-gō 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, Abr. H 298-9, ≈ Sk. HCD 77 | K: GZ *gen-/*gn- 'learn (erfahren), apprehend, understand' > G gen-/gn- 'learn, understand' (še-v-gen 'I learned, ich erfuhr', še-gn-eba {DCh.} 'to understand, to learn, to guess', {FS} 'erfahren, erkennen'), Mg gin-, g3n- 'understand, learn' (v-i-gin-en-k 'I understand, apprehend', ki-i-b-g3ni 'I learned [erfuhr]', kī-gin-u 'he learned'), Lz gn- 'learn', {K²} 'hear' (n-a-gn-u 'er begriff', o-gn-u 'erkennen', o-gn-i 'I understood'), Sv (← G?) ma-mgān-a 'I suppose' ¶ K 63, K² 27-8, FS K 75-6, FS E 79, DCh. 1401-2 | D {Pf.} *kāñ- / *kañ- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'see' > Tm, Kn kāñ, Ml kāñuka, Kt kañ-/kañ-, Td koñ-, Kdg kañ-, Tl kanu, Brh xaniṇ 'see', Tu kāñṣāvuni ~ kāñisāvuni v. 'show, represent', Klm kañt, kañakt 'seen, visible', Nkr kank er- 'appear', Prj kañp- 'look for, seek', Gdb kañp- v. 'search', Krx xan- 'be pleasant to the eye' | possibly also D *kañ, *kañṇ, {Pf.} *kañ, {GS} kañ- 'eye' > Tm, Kn kañ, Ml kañ, kañṇu, Kt, Gdb, Knd, Mnd kañ, Td koñ, Kdg kañṇi, Tu kañṇṣ, Tl kanu, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd kan, Png kañga, Kyu kanu, Ku kan(n)u ~ kannū, Krx xann, Mlt qanu, Brh xan id. ¶¶ D ##1159, 1443, Pf. 2, GS 168 [#425].

637. *genû 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^henu-/*ǵ^henw- 'jaw, chin' > OI hanu-ḥ 'jaw', Av zanu- id. (attested: accus. du. zanva 'jaw from both sides'), Prt znx, KhS ysanuwa 'jaw-bone', ZPhl zānak ~ zanak 'jaw', NPrs زَنَحْ zānāḫ, Psh zana 'chin' | Phr α-ζήν (accus. α-ζένα)

'beard' ({EI}: < *h₁ŋ_o-ĝen- '[that which] on the chin') ||| Clt (× IE *ĝ|genu- < N *kǎñ_ly_u [or *kǎñ∇yu] 'cheek, side of the face'): OIr ġin (gen. geno) 'mouth', W ġên (pl. ġenau) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} ġen 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} ġuen 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} *genowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn ġenau, MCrn ġanow, OBr, MBr, Br ġenou 'mouth' ||| Tc (× IE *ĝ|genu- < N *kǎñ_ly_u '↑'): Tc A {Wn.} śanw- (att.: du. śanwe-m, {Ad.} śanwe-m) 'jaw' ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2, M K III 576, M E II 801, Brtl. 1662, 1689, Vl. II 149, Sg. 624, Horn 118, Bai. 345, Mrg. 102, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, OsS 489, Ho. 49, Ho. S 41, KM 369-70, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1, Ad. H 110, ≈ EI 322 (OI hanu-h₁ < IE *ĝenu- 'jaw' [unt. because of h-], see N *kǎñ_ly_u 'cheek') ||| HS: C: Bj {R} ġe'nūn (pl. ġe'nin) 'jaw, jaw-bone', {BechG} ġu'nūn 'jaw' (but Rop. translates the word as 'gum [of teeth]') ¶ R WBd 99, Rop. 136 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *ġen 'cheek' > Gmy {Hf.} ġen, Mnt {Hf.}, Kfr {Nt.} ġɜn, Su {J} ġén id. | BT: Gera {ChL} ġeni 'face', Dr {J} ġɜngá 'cheek' | NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} ġana 'chin', P' {MSk.} ġànčáka 'cheek' | Sbc: Sy ġúvŋ, Buli ġùŋf 'cheeks' ||| CCh: ZmD {KNC} ġín, {Srp.} ġin, ZmB {Sa.} ġĩn 'cheek', Lame {ChL} ġíní, LamP {ChL} ng^uen 'cheeks' ||| ECh: Mb {Lk.} ġín (pl. ġényó) 'forehead' ¶ JI II 68-9, 76-7, Stl. ZCh 218 [#678], Hf. AG 25 [#218], ChL I 72, 196, 208, III 197, 205, Lk. ZSS 182, KNC 8 || WS *✓ŋgn ~ *✓wgn > Ar ʔağn-at- ~ ʔiğn-at- ~ ʔuğn-at- {Fr.} 'gena, praesertim superior ac prominentior malae pars oculis et temporibus proxima', {BK} 'pommette, partie saillante de la joue au dessous de l'œil', wağ(a)nat- ~ wağinat- ~ wuğnat- 'joue saillante', Ar Eg {DRS} wagna 'cheek', Ar O {DRS} wağna 'pommette', Mh wɜgnēt 'cheek-bone', Hrs wɜgnēt (pl. wɜgēn) 'cheek', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'eğɜnt 'cheek-bone', Jb C {Jo.} ɔğɜn 'have prominent cheek-bones' ¶ Fr. I 16, BK I 14 and II 1494, Jo. M 424, Jo. H 134, Jo. J 288, DRS 493-4, ≈ MiK I #1.84 (S *ġu/in-, *ŋ/w∇gn- '[area including] cheek-bone and eye-socket') || B (a root with an ext.?) *✓gnz 'forehead' > Sll {Ds.} i-ğɜnzi, Shl {NZ} ignzi, Tz {Stm.} i-ğinzi, Dmn {Rn.} tagunza, Kb {Dl.} ta-g^wanza 'forehead', Ntf taunza 'frisettes du front' ¶ Stm. 188, La. MChB 112, Ds. 136, Rn. 356, Dl. 266, Dray 229, NZ 841 ¶¶ Blz. EDB 11-2 (Bj, Ch, B) ||| D (in SD) *keññ- ({ǧGS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm cenñi, cenñai, Tu kenni, kennæ id., Ml cenni, kenni 'temples', cennam 'jaw, cheek', Kt keyñ 'cheek just in front of ear', Kn kenne 'the upper cheek'; D ⇨ OI kenāra- 'temples, upper part of cheek' ¶ D 1989 ◇ In some of the descendant lgs. there was mutual infl. (sometimes coalescence) of the

etymon in question and N ***kǎn̄_Ly_Ju** 'cheek, side of the face' (q.v.) ◇ WS *ʔ- and *w- in *√ʔgn ~ *√wgn are likely to be due to the restructuring of the root in the derivational and phonetical prehistory of Semitic words ◇ ≈ Blz. DA #6 (D, IE, HS *gin, gun 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N ***genû** and N ***kǎn̄_Ly_Ju** '↑').

637a. *gʷoʔa'n ▽ 'much, big' > K: Sv: UB/Ln gun, L gūn 'very; plenty of' ¶ TK 176, GP 94 || HS: EC *gān- 'be(come) big' > Brj gān- id., gann-an-ē 'big', Kns kān- 'be left to grow big', Gdl kān- 'big', Dbs kāna 'big', kān- 'grow' || Dhl gāno 'big, large' || SC: Kz {E} kantaʔawu 'very', ʔσ Brn {E} goŋ 'all' ¶ Ss. B 73, 78, AMS 16, E SC 236 (pSC *gān- 'very, very much'), E K 14, To. D 133 || WS *√gnn > Ar √ğnn (pf. ğunna) 'become abundant \ dense \ luxuriant' (of herbage), Tgy √gnn G (pf. gennene) 'be numerous\strong', Gz √gnn G (pf. ganna, sbjn yağnan) 'become important', Tg √gnn G (pf. gennene) 'exceed the measure', Amh √gnn G 'être abondant, augmenter', Grg So √gnn (pf. gennene) {LRS} 'be very large', {L} 'exceed' (sɜmɛw yɛgennene 'famous', lit. 'whose name is exceeding'), Grg Wl gene 'large' ¶ Ln. 462, L G 198, L EDG III 284, LRS 146-7 || ? WCh: Mnt {Nw.} kun 'big' || CCh: Nd D {J} gānâ 'thick (dense)' ¶ NwM CChPhL 241, 232, ChC || Eg fP grn '≈ angesehen sein, mächtig sein' ¶ EG V 173 || B: Shl gigan ~ kigan 'beaucoup' ¶ NZ 818 || IE: NaIE *gʷhono-s 'üppig, reichlich', *gʷhen- 'be abundant' > Gk εὖ-θῆν-λα 'plenty, prosperity' || Arm jnqñ yogn 'much, many' ({P}: < *i + *o-gʷhono- or *-o-gʷhono-) || ?σ: Lt ganā, Ltv gan(a) 'enough' | Sl *goněti > OCS **ГОНѢТИ** goněti 'be enough' || ?σ OI gha'na- 'dense, compact' ¶ EI 3, P 491, M KI 84, 357, FI 586-7, Frn. 132-3, ESSJ VII 22 || D: SD *kañ- '≈ heavy' > Tm kaña 'heavy, stout, abundant', Ml kanakka 'become solid, heavy', Td ken 'densely' (of shade) ¶ D #1404 || ?φ A: AdS of T *k'ēŋ 'wide, broad' (< N ***gānh** ▽ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy of vowels (C and D *-a(:)-, Sv u), the labial element in IE *gʷh- and the length of the vw. in EC and Sv L may be accounted for by a highly hypothetical N ****oʔa-** ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [#10] (incl. K, C, Ch, Eg, IE, D).

638. *gʷoʔiñ ▽ 'to beat, to strike' > IE *gʷhen-/*gʷhon-/*gʷhn-/*gʷhŋ- 'strike' > OI 3s prs. 'han-ti 'strikes, kills' (3p prs. 'ghn-anti, inv. ja'hi, pp. ha'ta-), 'hatya- 'Erschlagen', ha'tyā n. act. f. 'killing', Av ža'n-ti 'strikes', OPrs a-žanam 'ich erschlug, (→)

besiegte' || Arm **qawñ** gan (gen. **qawñi** gani) 'bastinado, blows with a stick\whip\lash', **qawñem** ganem 'I cudgel \ scourge \ whip', **qñem** žn-em 'I beat \ cudgel \ whip' || Gk **θέρνω** 'I strike', rdp. **ἔπεφνον** 'I killed', n. **φόνος** 'murder' || L of-fend-ō / -ēre 'strike, knock, dash against', de-fend-ō / -ēre 'repel, ward off, defend' (-n- is not an infix of prs., which is evidenced by the pfc. of-/de-fendi and the sup. of-/de-fensum) || OIr gonid '(he) wounds\slays' || Gmc *gunθijō (÷ OI hatyā 'Tötung' < *g^wh^htiā) > ON guþ-r, gunn-r, OSx gūth, AS Ʒūð 'fight, battle', OHG gunda 'fight' || Lt Δ ginčià (< *g^wh^htiā), Lt giñčas 'argument, controversy', giñklas 'weapon' | Sl *gon- v. 'struggle, harm' > SCr **прѣгон** & **prijégon** 'fight', *gon-oba, -obъ > Slv gonóba 'damage, ruin', Uk го'ноба, Blr Δ 'гонаб' 'annoyance, vexation' ⇨ Sl *gonob-i-ti 'to ruin, to harm' > Slv gonobíti id., R Δ гоно'бить 'to tire, to cause suffering' || Tc A {Wn.} **kuñac** 'fight, battle' ¶ It is possible (but not certain) that the BSl verb for 'chase, drive' (> Sl *žen-q / *gъna-ti id., Ltv dzenu / dzīt id., Lt genu / giñti 'drive [to the pasture]') belongs here as well, the underlying semantic development being 'beat' → 'push' → 'chase, drive away' || Ht kuen- 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld {Gsm.} qān-/qēn- in f-is-qān- v. 'destroy' ¶¶ WP I 679-81, P 491-3, EI 548, Mn. 379-80, M K III 575-7, M E II 800-1, Slr. 80-1, F I 657-8, Ch. I 425-6, WH I 332-3, Thr. § 756, Vr. 195, Ho. 140, Ho. S 29, OsS 357-8, Kb. 415, Frn. 152-3, ESSJ VII 24-5, 196-7, Tls. 433, Wn. 243, Pv. IV 206-12, Ts. EI 604-6, Gsm. LW 127 || **HS:** C: EC gan- 'beat, strike' > Sml {DSI} gan- v. 'strike, shoot, throw', Rn {PG} gana v. 'shoot; bleed an animal for food', Sd {Gs.} 'beat, strike, hit', {Hd.} 'hit', Ged {Hd.} gan- 'hit, whip', Hd {Hd.} gan- 'hit, thresh by driving ox', gan-am- v. 'fight' (lit. 'hit each other') ¶ DSI 254, ZMO 153, PG 121, Hd. 80, 241, 271, Gs. 112, AD VZ 211 || S: Ak Λ **gerū** 'to butt, to gore', ζ Gz {Dillm.} **g^wanʔa** 'thresh' (unless a misinterpretation of 2 Esdras 23.15, as supposed by L) ¶ CAD V 60-1, Sd. 284, Dillm. 1177, L G 196 || **A:** Tg: Ewk Uc **gunça-**, Ewk Z/Sm/Tkm **g3nç3-** v. 'punish' || T *k'iy-na- 'beat (so.), cause suffering' (× ← ζ T *Kiy- 'be difficult', if Qrg qiyit- 'make difficult\tormenting' is derived from it rather than from *qiy-n-) > VTt, Bsh **qbyna-** 'beat', Tv **xyyna-** 'be difficult, torment', ET qiyni/a- ~ qizni-, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt qiy-na- v. 'torment, torture', Uz qiy-na- id., 'make difficult', Chv **xěñě-** **xyñb-** 'beat, flog', ? Osm qiyin-, Tk **kiyir-** 'feel languor and aching in the limbs' (unless d.

from *qiy- 'cut'); T *kiyn 'punishment, torture' > OT qiy, OT QU qin ~ qiyin, MT [Tf.] {Cl.} qiyin, Chg qin id., XwT XIV qin 'pain, torture', Cmn XIV qin 'suffering, martyrdom', VTt {Rl.} qbybn 'punishment, flogging' ('Strafe, Prügel'), StAlt qiyin 'punishment, torture, suffering, oppression', Qry {KRPS} qiyin 'suffering', OOsM qin 'torture, pain', {Rl.} 'Qual, Plage', Qmq qiyin 'labour, work', Tk kiyin 'oppression, cruelty', Chv xěh xbn 'suffering, misfortune', T б→ OHg, Hg kín 'pain, torture, torment'; in some lgs. → 'difficult, complicated': VTt, Bsh qbybn, Qrg qiyin, ET qiyin ~ qižin 'difficult', Qmq, Nog, Qzq qiyin, Uz qiyin id., 'complicated', Qq qiyin 'complicated' ¶ Cl. 631, ≈ ET Q 218-9, Rl. II 718, 726, Rh. 1510, TatR 309, BR 355, BT 103, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 342-3, KrkR 379, Sht. 272-3, BN 122, Nj. 632, Gomb. BTL 95, EWU 753, Ash. XVII 21-4 ◇ The transformation of N *-r¹ʔi- into T *-iy- and the origin of Ewk 3 still need investigating. In IE the loss of the pre-sonantic *j (< N *ʔi) is a phonetic law. T *k'- < N *g...ʔ-. N *-ʔi- may be helpful in solving the problem of Ak e, because *aʔi regularly yields Ak ē (cp. S *raʔiŝ- 'head' > Ak rēš- id.). But why here the vw. e is short? ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #12 (N *gon(y)∇ 'kill'; he suggested to add [unconvincingly] ı Hb/Aram ✓ gnʔ 'concussit', ı Eg gn.t 'wound, slit' [absent in EG; does he mean Eg gn 'gravieren, einritzen?'], and Kl {Rm. ← Zw.} gonŋ 'die Toten').

639. ₂ *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep' > HS: B ✓ gHn v. 'lie, sleep' > Ah {Fc.} aǧan (pf. i-ǧan) (Pcj. 30) 'être accroupi (les membres antérieurs et postérieurs repliés)' (of camels, oxen, etc.), ETwl/Ty aǧan (pf. ETwl i-gbn, Ty ya-gbn, Pcj. I.A.5) id., Tnsl ižbn 's'accroupir' (of a camel), Gh ažan 'kneel' (animal), Kb jan v. 'sleep, lie', Shl, Izd ✓ gn, Tmz Iz, ASgr {MT} gen ~ žen id., Zng {TC} egun 'baraquer' (of an animal) ¶ Fc. 452-6, 2002, GhA 55, 246, Pr. M VI-VII 102-6, Dl. 262, MT 158, NZ 816-8, DCTC 289 ¶ Pcj. I A 5 (= Fcj. 30) implies the presence of a lr. in the root *✓Ch∇C || Ch: BT {Stl.} *gand∇ v. 'lie down' > Bl {IL} gandi, {Lk.} gand, Maha {Stl. ← ?} gandi id., Dr {Nw.} gándè 'put down (a mat), lay down (a person)' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Stl. ZCh 246 [#39], Nw. M s.v. gandi, Nw. K 125, Lk. PVB II 135, ChC || D {tr., GS} *kaŋ- ({ʔGS} *k-) v. 'dream, sleep' > Tm kaŋavv- v. 'dream', kaŋā, kaŋavv n. 'dream, sleep', Ml kināvū, kana(:)vū, Kt kančn, Td konof (obl. konot-), Kn kana, kanasū, Kdg kenači, Tu kana, n. 'dream', Gnd kančk- ɘ kanžk- ɘ kansk- ɘ kanisk- v. 'dream', Krx xandr-, Mlt qandre v. 'sleep', Mlt qanqen. 'sleep' ¶¶ D #1407, Pf. 93 (*kan- < ka|n-), GS 158 [#392b], 32 [#38]

◇ D *-ŋ- (the usual reflex of N *-n- outside cns. clusters) suggests that the lr. was lost in pre-D prior to the change of N *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

640. *gūñ_hi ⇝ *gū_hñi (or *gūñ_ʔi ⇝ *gū_ʔñi) 'to think' > K *gon- 'think, (try to) remember' > OG gon- 'think' (me esre mgonies 'so I think', Rom. 8.18), gonebay 'understanding (Verstand)', G gon- (aor. -gon-e-) 'think, (try to) remember', gun-eba 'state of mind, thought', Mg gon-: mo-gon-ua 'to recall (sich erinnern), to make up (a story), to feign', Lz (n)gon-: mo-vi-ngonap 'I remember, il m'en souvient (припоминаю)', Sv gwn- ɖ gn- / gon-: {FS} li-gn-ew-i 'ausdenken, suggerieren, zu verstehen geben', aor. at-gon-w-e 'er suggerierte, er gab ein', Sv {TK}: UB li-gwn-ew-i, LB lignewi, L lignwi, Ln li-gon-äw-i msd. 'to invent' ¶¶ K 63-4, K² 31, GM S 288, IS I 284, Fn. KW-4 #5, ≈ FS K 81, ≈ FS E 87-8 (*gon- 'think'; *÷ forms belonging to K *gn- 'hear'), Chik. 262-3, Q 21, Marr 135, TK 429 || HS: Eg fP gr.t 'Andenken', Eg MK {Fk.} gr.wt 'records, annals' ¶ EG V 173, Fk. 290 || A: M *guni- > WrM guri-, HIM гүни- v. 'grieve, be afflicted\sad', Kl {Rm.} guñj- 'traurig sein, leiden, betrübt sein', Kl Ö {Rm.} guñjg 'Kummer, Traurigkeit, Langweile' ¶ MED 368, KW 155 || Tg *gūn- 'think, say' > WrMc guri- 'think, remember' (Rm.: 'denken, nachdenken'), Mc Sb {Mrm.} guni- 'denken, nachdenken', WrMc gurin, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gunin 'thought', Ewk, Neg gūn- 'say' ¶ Z 347-9, Klz. MS 184, ≈ STM I 171 || pKo {S} *kìñìr- 'take care of, look after' > MKo kìnìr'ù-, NKO kINIRI- ¶ S QK #754, Nam 66, MLC 232 || pJ {S} *kèñè-m- {Mr.} v. 'like, be fond of' > OJ kònòm-, J: T konóm-, K kónóm-, Kg kònòm- 'like, fancy, be fond of' ¶ S J #210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 || T *k'un '≈ thought' > VTt қон қбн 'attention, care', Alt/Tlt {RI.} qūn 'Geist, Seele, Wunsch', Bsh Δ қбнт, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz qunt 'attention, care', VTt Δ, Bsh қбнар, Qrg qunar 'usefulness', VTt Δ қбнбқ- v. 'get used, become accustomed', Chg {PC}, Alt, Tb {B} qunuq- 'grieve (about\for)', Tv qunuq- v. 'yearn', Chg {PC, RI.}, Tki {Zn.} qunuq 'sad, grievous', Tv qunuq id., 'impressionable, sensitive' ¶ ET Q 147-5, TvR 265, Zn. II 723, PC 440, RI. II 908 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 291 [#405]; ≈ S VL 218 (pA *gūñi- 'think': M, Tg, pJ), ≈ DQA #577 (A *gūno 'think': M, Tg, Ko, J, T) ◇ IS I 234 [#89] (*gū^rñ^ri 'think'; K, A [T, Tg]) ◇ The long vw. in Tg suggests the presence of a N lr., that, acc. to the K data, may be *ʔ, *h, *ɸ, or *ħ. The Eg cognate favours the rec. of a N *h or *ʔ (the laryngeals most liable to be lost in Eg).

641. *gänh ▽ 'side (of sth.), width' > **K** *°gan- 'side, width; outside' > OG, G gan- id., G ganieri 'broad'; ?σ GZ *gan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG gan-, G ga(n)-, Mg, L gō- id., 'out of, from'; compound preverbs: K {K} *ga-mō- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ga-mō 'out of, from', OG, G ga-mō-, Mg, Lz gō-mō- id.; compound adv.: GZ *ga-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G gare, Mg, Lz gale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); K *°-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *°gänh ▽ nu 'from the side (of)' (see N *nu 'from, out of, of') (× N *°gay ▽ nu 'from the side', see N *gay ▽ 'side, outside') ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-3, 218, Dt. 14 ¶ This K √ may have contributed to the meaning and form of K *gan- 'outside' < N *gay ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || **HS:** WS *√ gnḥ > Ar جنج ḡinḥ- 'side, side of the road', جنج ḡunḥ- 'side, place at the side of a road (where people stop to rest)', جناح ḡanāḥ- 'arm, wing', Jb {Jo.} ḡenaḥ 'wing', Sq {Jo., DRS} ganḥ 'side' ¶ BK I 337-8, Jo. J 77, DRS 157, MiK I #1.86 || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} gangēfi 'edge of the higher area around a house, screen, shield', {E} gangzfi 'rim of hat' ¶ E PC #378, MQK 37 || Eg P ʒnḥ 'wing', ? Eg XVIII ʒnḥ 'leg or its part' ¶ EG V 577-8 ¶¶ MiK I #1.86 || **D** (in McTm) *°kān-al 'seashore' > Tm kānal 'seashore, salt marsh', Ml kānal 'sandy barren land' ¶ D #1508 || **A:** NaT *k'ēḡ (~ *k'āḡ?) 'wide, broad' > OT {Cl.} kēḡ, MQp XIV, XwT XIV keḡ, Chg ≥XV geḡ id., Tk geḡ, Az кеҢ ḡen 'wide', Tkm ḡīḡ, Qmq geḡ, Blq keḡ ~ geḡ, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb, Uz, Ln, SY keḡ, VTt, Bsh kiḡ, ET kāḡ, Yk {Pek.} kīāḡ, {Md.} kāḡ 'broad, wide' (Md.: T *ē > Yk ā after k-), d.: Tk geḡniṣ, Ggz geḡniš, Az ḡeniš 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 724-5, ET VGD 46-7, Rs. W 254, Pek. 1074, Md. 9, 167 ◇ T *-ḡ is probably a normal reflex of N *-nḥ-. The long vowels in D and T point to the loss of an ancient lr., while D *-ḡ- suggests that the loss of the N lr. *ḥ preceded the change of the N intervoc. *-n- into D *-ḡ-. The T vw. *ē (besides the expected *ā) still needs explaining.

642. *g ▽ n̄ ▽ b ▽ or ≈ *g ▽ n̄ ▽ b ? ▽ 'side, edge' > **HS** *ganb- 'side (of the body, of sth.)' > WS *ganb- id. > Plm gb id., Sr gab 'b-ā, Ar ḡanb- 'side of man's body, side', BA gab, gabb- 'side(?)', Mh, Jb C ganb, Jb {DRS} yanb 'side'; ⇨ WS *√ gnb v. 'put aside (auf die Seite bringen)' > Ar √ ḡnb G 'put aside (mettre sur le côté)', Mh ḡatnṣb Gt v. 'take so. aside from the group', Md √ gnb v. 'put aside, steal', Hb √ gnb G 'steal, take by stealth', Pun, IA √ gnb v. 'steal, rob', JA, Sr √ gnb G

'steal' → OA, IA *gnb*, JA, Sr *gannā'ḫ-ā*, Md *ganaba* 'thief'; Aram → BHb *gan'nāḫ* id.; Sb ✓ *gnb* v. 'be beside, se trouver à côté de' ¶ GB 145, 899, KB 163, 190-1, KBR 198, BK I 334-5, HJ 207, BDB 170 [##1589-90], OLS 142, Sl. 293-4, Js. 256-7, DM 77, 95, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, BGMR 50, DRS 150, MiK I #1.85 || C: EC **gabb-* ({Ss.} **gab-*) 'side; near, at' > Af *gabbe* 'side (of back)', Sml *gebi* 'riverbank', Kns *kapa* 'next to, near', Brj 'gaba, Hr, Dbs *kape*, Gln *kápe*, Gwd *kapa* 'side'; a variant EC **gamb-* may be represented in Af *gám̄bi* 'side, direction' (unless an Arabism) and in Or *gama* 'direction' || Ag {Ap.} **gap-* 'side' > Bln {R} *gaf* 'side of body, side, half', *gaba* 'side, riverbank', Xm {Ap.} *gɜwá* 'near', Q {R} *g(ə)ba* 'side, near', {Ap.} *gab-ɜl* 'near'; Ag → EthS: Gz *gabō*, Tgr *gəbo*, Tgy *gobo* 'side' || Bj {R} *gəb* ~ *geb* 'side', *gebi* 'near' ¶ AD SF 234 (C **g∇p̄(p̄)-*), Bl. 136, R WbD 87-8, Ss. B 74, 76, AMS 268, PH 109, Ap. AV 10, E PC #378 (Bj, Ag, Irq), L G 176 || ? Ch: Hs *gǎḫà* 'bank of a river or stream' (unless a sd. of Hs *gáḫà* 'joint, limb') ¶ Ba. 335, Sk. HCD 73 || ?? Eg √ *ωɜb* 'riverbank, riparian lands, sea-shore'; ? Eg [WCP] *gḫɜ* '(eastern, western) side' (unless a sd. of Eg MK *gḫɜ* 'arm') ¶ EG I 409, V 163, Fk. 76 ¶¶ AD SF 234 (C, S), OS 193 [##856] (C *÷ Hs, cf. S, Eg) || IE: NaIE **gʷaʷmbʰā* '≈ jaw' > Gk [Lyc.] *γαμφαί*, Gk *γαμφηλαί* 'jaws (of animal)' || amb Sl **gqba* 'mouth; jaws (of animal) (Rachen)' (× Sl **gqba* 'lip, mushroom' < N **kañ|mp∇* 'soft excrescence [lip, mushroom]', q.v.) > OCz *húba*, Cz, Slk, HLs *huba*, ULs *guba* 'muzzle, mouth', Blg 'rḫba, Uk 'ryba, P *gəba* 'mouth, muzzle', SCr Δ *gǔba*, SCr d. *gǔbica*, Slv d. *gōbəc* 'mouth (of animals), muzzle', R Vlg/Vt *ryba* 'chin' ¶ WPI 534; ≠ FI 288, and Ch. 209 (Gk *γαμφηλαί* 'jaws of animals', bf. *γαμφαί* ÷ *γόμφορ* 'bolt', *γομφίος* 'grinder-tooth'); ≈ Vs. I 468, ≈ ESSJ VII 78-80, ≈ Glh. 252 (refers Sl **gqba* exclusively to N **kañ|mp∇*) || U: FU **k∇mp∇l∇* > ObU {Ht.} **kīm(p)əl-* 'Saum, Rand' > pVg **kīmplī* > Vg: T *kiplī*, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL *kēpəl*, UL/Ss *kēmpli* id.; pOs **kiməl* id. > Os: V/Vy/O *kiməl*, Ty/Y *kiməḫ*, D/K *kimət*, Nz *kīmət*, Kz *kīməḫ* id. ¶ Ht. #272 ◇ Eg *gḫɜ* '(eastern, western) side', Ag {Ap.} **gap-* 'side' (acc. to AD SF 234, from C **g∇p̄(p̄)-*), and Hs *gǎḫà* 'bank of a river\stream' suggest a Ir. *? within the N etymon (to be reconstructed as ≈ **g∇n̄l∇, b?∇*). NaIE **gʷaʷmbʰā* '≈ jaw' (for the expected **gʰaʷmbʰ-*) may be somehow connected with the infl. of the N Ir. *? in ≈ **g∇n̄l∇, b?∇* ◇ IE **g...bʰ* (rather than **gʰ...bʰ* < N **g...b*) may be due to a kind of dis. similar to

the later obligatory dis. in OI (*g^h...b^h > g...bh) and in Gk (*g^h...b^h > *k^h...p^h > κ...φ).

643. *gændû 'male' > **A:** M *gendü(n) > MM gendü 'male animal', [S] gendü, WrM gendü(n) 'male of carnivorous animals; small male panther; male tiger', Kl {KRS} гeндн gendän 'male (of some animals)': гeндн ноха 'male dog', гeндн барс 'male tiger', {Rm.} gendŋ 'male (of any animal)' ¶ H 49, MED 376, Mub. 137, KW 133 || NaT *Kenṭü '(him/her/it)self' > OT {Cl.} kântü & kändü, Chg, Qp, OOsM kälendü, Ggz kendi id., Tk kendi, Δ {Rs.} kändü, ḡändi id., 'one's own', Yk kini 'he, she, it' ¶ On the ev. of Yk we have to reconstruct T *e rather than *ä (the Og lgs. do not distinguish between pT *e and *ä) ¶ Cl. 728-9, ET KQ 38-9, Rs. W 252, Rs. MTS 38-9 ¶¶ Pp. VG 25, ≈ KW 133 (M, T; *÷ Tg *ŋen 'dog' *÷ Kms men 'dog'), DQA #498 (A *gent∇ - *k- 'male, self') || **HS:** C: SC: Irq {EldM, MQK} g^wanda, Alg {EldM} g^wandù 'ram', Brn gondi 'male sheep' ¶ EldM 61, MQK 42 || B: Rif {Rn.} aganduz, Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ayanduz, Kb {Dl.} aganduz 'calf', Tmz {MT}, BSn aganduz ~ ayannuz 'veau (à sa naissance)', CM {NZ} aganduz & ayannuz, Snd agandus 'calf', Shw aganduz 'calf (2 years old)'; B ⇨ Ar Mrc {Bss.} ≈ ganduz 'calf', Malt {Aq.} gendus 'a bull, young ox'; the final -uz ~ -us suggests reborrowing of a Berber word from African Vulgar Latin (Afro-Romance) ¶ Rn. 356, MT 159-60, Dl. 264, NZ 827-8, Aq. BM 301 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.15] (SC, B) || ?σ CS (or Aram ⇨ Ar?) *gund- > IA F gnd[?] 'band, troop', JA گندگ gundā id., {Lv.} 'Heer, Schar', JEA gundā 'troop of soldiers', Md gundā 'army', Ar جند ḡund- 'comrades, body of warriors, army', 'any kind/species of creatures or created things, regarded as alone \ by itself' ¶ HJ 228, Lv. I 312, Js. 223, Sl. 269-70, DM 84, Ln. 400-1, BK I 338, DRS 153-4 || **D** {tr.} *kañṭ-, {GS} *gand- 'male (person, animal)' > Tm kañṭan 'warrior, husband', kañṭi 'buffalo bull', kañavan 'husband', Ml kañavan id., kañṭan 'male' (esp. of cat), Kt gañḍ 'male', Td koḍḥ 'Badaga husband', Kn gañḍu 'male sex, a male, man; strength, manliness', gañḍa 'strong manly male person, husband', Kdg kañḍa, 'male' (of dogs and wild animals), Tu gañḍu 'male, valiant', Tl gañḍu 'male' (of the lower animals), 'bravery, strength', Nkr gaṛek 'man, male', Mlt geñḍa 'male'; D ⇨ OI ∧ gañḍa-, gañḍīra- 'hero' ¶¶ D #1173, GS 25 [#8], 184 [#462] ◇ The semantic change 'male person' → '-self' (in T and Ar) has parallels in other lgs., such as Lt pāta, Av -pati- 'himself' from

NaIE *poti- 'husband, lord'. The vw. *u in S is probably connected with the N *û of the second syll. ◇ The T cognate suggests N *e, while D points to N *ä (or *a). ◇ IS I 226-7 [#79] (A, D). This discrepancy needs investigating.

643a. ₂ *gond∇ 'ε ant' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {LmS} g^wanden (= {R} gũn'dæn) 'ant'; Ag ↗ Amh ገ-ገዳ ገ gundan 'ε black ant' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gondā 'ε ant' ¶ LmS 380, Grg. 180, L A 214, R Ch II (s.p.) 47 || WCh: DfB {J} gándîf 'small red ant' | Dr {J} gúndám 'ant' ¶ J R 214, ChC ||| D *koñt- 'ε ant' > Gdb konđkī ~ konđke, Gnd gōđe ≙ gōđo 'large black ant', ?? Klm kanđa 'big ant' ¶¶ D #2096 ◇ Connected with N ≈ *gôtt∇ 'ant'?

644. *gän_L∇, 'p'∇ (~ *gän_L∇, p∇?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' (← 'thin trunk'?) > IE: NaIE *gǵomb_Lh₁- ~ *gǵomp- (< **g^hǵ^homp-?) ~ *oǵǵnob_Lh₁- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood' (× N *kañ|ñ∇(-t∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree', q.v.): [1] *oǵǵomp- > ON kumbr, AS cumbor 'wood-block', MHG kumpf 'sth. pruned, blunt (gestutzt, stumpf)', ? Nr Δ kump 'Klumpen', ? NNr {Ar.} kump 'meat dumpling' | [2] *oǵǵgenb_Lh₁-/*oǵǵonb_Lh₁-/*oǵǵnob_Lh₁- (× N *kañ|ñ∇ 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [→ 'log']) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', koppusteinn 'Rollstein', Dn kampesten id., NE chump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing-stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes, dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole' | [3] NaIE *ǵomb^ho-s 'tooth' (× N *kǵäbʔâ 'bite', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h 'tooth, tusk' ||| Gk γόμφο-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail', Gk γομφ-ίλο-ς 'grinder-tooth, molar' ||| pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhëmb, G dhamb 'tooth' ||| Sl *zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS зѣбѣ zqбѣ, Blg зѣб, SCr zûb, Slv zôb, Cz, Slk zub, P ząb, R, Uk зуб | Blt *žambas 'tooth' (↗ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zóbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. žam̃bis 'wooden plough' ||| OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kambr, NNr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb ||| pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369, 378-9, Vr. 334, 342, Ar. 411, 465, Ho. 54, 63, Kn. 534, ≈ OsS 500-1, Lx. 111, 118, KM 380-1, FI 319-20, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BES I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5, and XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-1, Glh. 699, 701-2, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slr. 254-5, Wn. 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, EI 594

(* \hat{g} omb^hos 'tooth', * \hat{g} emb^h- 'show the teeth, bite') || HS: C: Ag * g_3np- > Bln {R} genbi ~ gembī / pl. genfūf, Aw {R} gumb, gumbi, Xm {R} gi**b** 'stick, staff', but in the Q-Km branch with k-: Q {R, CR} kenbī 'stick, staff, rod', Km {CR} kembē, kām**b**ī 'stick, staff, pole' ||| EC: Sml {R} gambā**l** 'Keule, Totschläger', Qbn {L} gummá 'stick', Ya {Lm. ← ?} kuma 'club' ¶ R WB 154, R Ch II 44, R QW 84, R SS II 171, CR 214 || NrOm: Kf {C} gumbō 'long stick', Mch {L} 'gumbo, Anf {MYTY} gumbo, Dwr {L} gomba 'stick', Gm {Hw.} gūpé id., {Lm.} gūfe, Shn {Lm.} gum'ba 'club, stick' ||| SOM: Ari {Bnd.} gufa 'stick' ¶ Lm. Sh 309, C SE III and IV 444, LM 31, MYTY 117, Bnd. AL 159, Hw. EG s.v. 'stick' ||| D *kāmpo ({ \hat{g} GS} *k-) 'stalk, trunk, bamboo' > Tm kāmpu 'bamboo; flower-stalk, handle, shaft', Ml kāmpu 'bamboo; stem, stalk, stick', Kt ka'v, Ku kamba ~ kām**a** 'handle', Td kō'f 'hollow stem, handle of tool', Kn kāmu, kāvu, Tl kām**a** 'stem, stalk, handle', Gdb kāmē 'stalk of a spoon', kāmē 'handle of ladle', kanve 'stick', Kdg ke'mbi 'bamboo (≈ Oxytenanthera monostigma)', Gnd kāmē 'stalk of a spoon' ♪ kāmē 'handle of ladle', Ku kamba ♪ kām**a** 'handle' ¶¶ D ##1454-5 ||| U: ppU ≈ **kāmωE > FU *kāmE (/ *kUmE?) '(hollow) stalk' > F käämi 'winding-spool, quill' | Lp N {N} gâbme / gâme- 'long feather; stalk of a feather, caulis pennæ' | Prm * $g^{\hat{h}}m\check{\nabla}$ 'hollow stalk' > Z gum (gen. gumy-) 'hollow stalk; staff (of a flail)', Vt gum†, Vt Ur gūmo' 'hollow stalk'; the Prm vw. may go back to FU *ā with the labializing infl. of *m and/or the infl. of the labial element (*ω) of the next syll. ¶ Coll. 86, LG 82, ≠ UEW 422 ¶ The absence of the expected labial stop may be explained as follows: * $g\check{a}n_{\check{\nabla}}pE$ > pre-U **kän|mωE > *kāmωE ◇ Qu. ◇ If the original N etymon is * $g\check{a}n_{\check{\nabla}}p^{\hat{h}}\check{\nabla}$, the IE initial * $g^{\hat{h}}g-$ (rather than * $g^{\hat{h}}|g^{\hat{h}}-$) is accounted for by the IE law ruling out combination of an aspirated voiced stop and a vl. one in the same √ (** $g^{\hat{h}}|g^{\hat{h}}omp-$ > * $g^{\hat{h}}omp-$).

645. *gañt∇ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE * $g^{\hat{h}}end-$ /* $g^{\hat{h}}\eta d-$ 'hold, get, contain' > Gk χανδάνω (aor. ἔ-χαδ-ον) 'take in, hold, contain' (1s ft. md. χέλωμαι) ||| Lprehend- (< * $praj-hend-$) 'lay hold of, seize, grasp' ||| OIr ro-geinn 'is contained, finds place in' (< * $g^{\hat{h}}\eta d-ne-t$), eNW {DvM} genni 'contineri, comprehendi, capi', W genni † 'to be contained' ¶ Not here Gmc *git- (> NE get, etc., see N * $g\check{a}t\hat{a}$ 'grasp, take, possess') ¶ P 437-8, Mn. 319, 326-7, FII 1071-2, EM 803f., WH II 359, Vn. R 40, SB 111, YGM-1 233, ≈ EI 564 (* $g^{\hat{h}}e(n)d^{\hat{h}}-$ 'seize, take in'

with unj. *-d^h-) || U *kanta- 'carry' > F kanta-, Es kand- v. 'carry' || pLp *kōntē- 'carry' > Lp: L {LLO} kuoddē- id., N {N} guod'de-/dd- 'carry, bear', Kld {TI} kū^hnte- 'carry', S {Hs.} guōdd'e-me 'das Tragen' (← n. act. of *guōdd'edh 'carry') || Er кандо- kando-, Mk кандо- kandə- 'carry, bring' || pChr {Ber.} kondə- 'bring' > Chr: L/H канде- kande- id., Uf {Ü, Wc.} konde- id., {Ps.} 'tragen (*?), bringen' || ObU *kūnt-~*kīnt- 'carry (on the back)' > pVg *kūnt- 'carry' (> Vg: P/NV kunt-, UL/Ss xūnt-), pOs *kantəm- 'carry on the back' (> Os: V/Vy qantəm-, Ty qāntəm-, D/K xontəm-, Nz xontəm-); ObU *kūnt~*kīnt 'basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt- id. (> Vg: T kōnt ~ kōt, IK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt), pOs *kīnt id. (> Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qīnt, D/K xent, Nz xīnt) || Sm {Jn.} *kāntā-, {Hl.} *kanta- v. 'carry' > Ne T хана- съ, Ne F {Lh.} kānnāś, En {Ter.} kada-ś 'to carry', Slq Tz {KKIH} qənti- 'carry away', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. kūz'ndab_ id., Kms {KD} quń'im, quń'om, qundoϕam, qunduϕam 'I carry away', qundo'lá m 'I carry, bring, lead', Koyb {Sp.} куналдыгамъ, кунадлагамъ 'I carry', Mt {Hl.} *kandə- v. 'carry, drive (fahren)' (Mt M {Sp.} кандыямъ 'везу' [vt. 'ich fahre'], кандіямъ 'ношу' ['ich trage'], кандіямъ 'тащу' ['ich schleppe']) || Y: T {Krn.} qandeyl 'to accompany (проводить)', K/T {IN} qontə- 'carry away, lead away (относить, отводить)', K {IN RJ} хонто-м qontə- 'carry' ¶ UEW 124, Coll. 22, ≈ Sm. 538 (U *kānti- 'carry' > FU *kāntā-, FP kanta-, Ugr *kānta-, Sm *kān-), It. #21, Lr. #521, Lgc. #2863, Hs. 683, MRS 175, Ep. 38, Ü 73, Ps. OT 45, Wc. TT 56, Ber. 19, Ht. #292, ≈ Jn. 59-60 (Sm *kāntā- ← *kān- 'go'), Hl. M #415, KKIИ 160, KD 34, IN 278, IN RJ s.v. нести, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#17] (Y ← U) || D (in NED only) *k∇nt- 'possess, purchase' > Krx xēnd- / xindyas v. 'buy, purchase', Mlt qende- 'take along with, possess' ¶ D #2001 ◇ ≈ AD LRC #136, ≈ IS MS 332 s.v. 'братъ' *kantā.

646. ₂ *gUñ∇ or *gUñ∇ 'male genitalia' > HS: EC: Dsn {To.} gun-u (pl. gunti) 'testicles' ¶ To. DL 501 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gññi (pl. gññáñín), Bd {ChL} gññán 'penis' || Pdl {ChL} g^ωùn, Tr {Nw.} gñ, Mtk {ChC} ηg^ωzn id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 60, Nw. WLT 38 || D (in SD) *ku|oññ∇ ({ϑGS} *k-) 'penis' > Ml куṇṇa, Kn Δ куṇṇe mar i, Kdg kuññe, Tu куṇṇæ id. ¶ D #1697 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#32].

646a. *gaη∇ (or *ga?oη∇??) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hηg^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' > Gk κοχώνη (< *καχώνā < *κῆχ-) 'perineum', {F} 'Stelle zwischen den Schenkeln, Hinterbacke' ||

OI 'jaŋghā 'shank, lower par of leg', 'Unterschenkel', ja'ghanaḥ m. 'rear part, buttock, pudenda', Av zanga-, zānga- 'ankle', bi-zangra- 'having two legs', čaṣṣarə-zangra 'having four legs', Phl zang 'ankle, shank', Oss: I zāng, D zāngā 'shank' ¶ P 438-9, F I 937, M K I 411-2, Ab. IV 297 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} gîŋgîné 'cuisse' ¶ J LM 102 || D (+ext.) *kaŋt̥- 'flesh of thigh, flesh' > Kt kaŋt̥-po't 'flesh of hind thigh of animal', kaŋt̥-ka'l 'calf of leg', Kn kaṇḍa 'flesh, meat', Kdg kaṇḍa 'piece/lump of meat', Tl kaṇḍa id., 'flesh', Nkr k'haṇḍe 'piece, piece of flesh', Gnd k'hāṇḍum & k'hāṇḍ 'flesh, mutton', Knd kaṇḍa 'meat, flesh, muscle'; in some D lgs. (esp. in Nkr and Gnd) there is contamination with the loan from OI khaṇḍa- 'piece' ¶¶ D #1175, Tu. #3792 || A: NaT *k'ōŋ > OT qōŋ ät 'muscle, firm flesh' (ät is 'flesh, meat'), Qzq {Cl.} qōŋ, qōŋ eti 'the thick part of the thigh', Qzq qōŋ 'croup of a horse', Qrg {Jud.} qōŋ 'the soft flesh of the thigh', Qrg T, ET qōŋ 'hind part, hind quarters', Tv qōŋ é't 'meat without bones' (é't 'meat'); T → Kl χοŋ 'thick flesh of the croup' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 58-9, DTS 456, Jud. 403, Nj. 606, ≈ Rs. W 280 (T ← M) || M: [1] ?? WrM {Cev.} qōŋgu, HIM {Luv.} хонго 'fleshy rear part of the thigh', Kl {Rm.} ch χοŋgā ~ χοŋgā 'buttocks'] [2] M (+ext.?) *qōŋzu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' (× N *koŋ'z'∇ 'crotch', q.v. ffd.), Kl d. χondaσχο 'flesh of the thigh, rump'] [3] M *qondulayi > WrM qondulai, HIM хондлой 'rump, hip', Kl {Rm.} χondaḷā id., muscle, thigh', Brt хондолой 'buttocks' ¶ MED 962-3, KW 185, Chr. 583, Cev. 689, Luv. 536 ◇ The unexpected M *q- (for *g-) and the T and M vw. *o (for the expected *a) may be explained if we suppose the existence of an internal lr. *ʔ and *o within the N etymon (*gaʔoŋ∇) that will account both for the A devoicing *g- > *k- and for the A vw.

647. ʌ ≈ *gūʒaŋ'o' 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call', etc.) > IE: NaIE *gʰwen-/ *gʰwon-, {EI} *gʰwono-s 'a sound, voice' > Arm ճայն 'voice, sound, cry (shout), noise' (< *gʰwon-yi-) || pAl {O} *žana, {Huld} *zan (gen. *zan-i) > Al T zě (pl. zěra), Al G zâ (pl. zana) 'voice' || pTc {Ad.} (?) *kene > Tc: A kaŋ, B kene 'melody, tune' || pSl *zvǔně-ti 'to ring' > OCS звѣнѣти zvǔněti, Slv zvenéti, Cz zníti, Slk zniet', R зве'нетъ id., Blg (prs.) звини'я v. 'ring', pSl *zvонъ (~ *zvono?) 'ringing, clanging' > OCS звонъ zvонъ, McdS звono, SCr zvōn, zvōn, zvōno, Slv zvōn, Cz, Slk zvон, P dzwon, R звон, Uk (д)звiн ||] variant stems **gʰwengʰ- ~ **gʰwenk- in

BSl: Lt *žvėng-ti* (1s prs. *žvėngi u*), Ltv (← Cur?) *zvaņdzināt* 'to neigh', Lt *žvangėti* 'to clank, to clang, to ring, to tinkle, to clatter'; Sl **zvŏkъ* 'sound' > R, McdS *звук*, SCr *zvok*, Cz, Slk *zvuk*; Sl **zvękъ* > Blg *звек*, McdS *звек*, SCr *zvĕk*, Slk *zvĕk* 'ringing, clanging, chime', P *dzwięk* 'sound' ¶ P 490-1, EI 534, Sl. 315-6, Huld 134, O 521-2, Glh. 703, Vs. II 87-8, Frn. 1325-6, Wn. 186, Ad. 193, Ad. H 27, 37 || HS: S **o*✓*gim* > Ar ✓*ġim* (pf. *ġaġima*) 'have a gruff voice', *Sh*†(pf. *ġaġama*) 'groan' ¶ BK I 301-2 || B: ?*o* Gd *gāngān* 'have a gruff voice, speak with a gruff voice' ¶ Lf. II #0518 || U **kaŋ*∇ 'call, ask' > ?? OHg, Hg *híŋ-* 'call, name, summon' || Sm {Jn.} *kāŋ-*, {Hl.} *kaŋ-* 'call, ask (for)' > Ne T *ханзъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *χάνץ* id., En {Pu.} *kāŋa* 'er ruft', En B {Cs.} 1s aor. obcn. *kaŋabo* 'I called, asked', Mt {Hl.} **kan-* 'bitten(?)' (Mt M {Sp.} d. *кагнамъ* 'прошу') ¶¶ UEW 125-6, Coll. 14 (**kīŋa-*), EWU 564, Jn. 56, KP 79, Hl. M #424 || A: Tg **gīaŋna-* > WrMc *gīyaŋna-* 'explain, interpret (толковать), declare', Orc, Ul *gaŋga* 'ask riddles', Ud *gaŋŋa* 'riddle'; ? Ewk *gundz-* 'speak' ¶ STM I 140, Krm. 220, S AJ 225 [#295] || ? T *u* **k'īŋ-* + ext.: [1] **k'īŋira-* v. 'ring, clank' > Tv *qīŋira-*, StAlt *qīŋira-* id., Qrg *qīŋira-* v. 'jingle, clank', *qīŋir* 'sound of jingling\clanking'; [2] Tlt {Rl.} *qīŋila-* 'leise für sich singen', *qīŋsi-* 'heulen, wimmern, winseln', Tlt/Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} *qīŋzi-* 'wimmern', Alt {RAIS} *qīŋzi-* v. 'yelp' (of a dog) ¶ Jud. 491, RAltR 204, OTS 179, Rl. II 709-10, RAIS 55 || ??σ,φ D: McTm **kumuŋ-* > Tm *kumirū* v. 'resound, trumpet, bellow', *kumural* 'oaring, resounding', *kumurū* v. 'resound, roar', Ml *kumuruka* v. 'make thundering sound' ¶ D #1744 ◇ A N final labialized vw. is suggested by S **m* (< N *-ŋ- near a labialized vw. [reg.?]), but it could not be either **u* or **ū* (that survive a IE **u*/*ū*), so that it must have been N *-o ◇ T **i* (in **k'īŋ-*) results from delabialization (**i* < **u*) and regr. as. (**u* < **ū*). The delabialization **i* < **u* is rather typical and needs investigating ◇ Qu. (onomatopoeic associations of the word [→ root] at different historical levels).

648. **g'ä'ŋ'X'a* 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE **ġhengh-* v. 'step' ('schreiten'), 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} 'step, walk' > Gmc **gīnxti* ~ **ganxti* ({Pk}: < *ġheng-ti* ~ *ġhong-ti*): AS *zīht* 'going (Gang)', MHG *gīht* id., 'trip', Gt *gāhts* in cds.: *fram-gāhts* 'προκοπή, progress', *inn-at-gāhts* 'entry', *un-at-gāhts* 'ἀπρόσιτος, unapproachable';

o*-grade: Gt *gagg* 'way, road', ON *gangr*, AS *Ʒanz*, OHG *gang* n. act. 'going', 'course, way', MHG *ganc*, NHG *Gang* n. 'going'; \rightarrow **gangan* 'to go' > Gt *gaggan* (3s prs. *gaggiþ*, 3s p. *gaggida*), ON *ganga*, OSx, OHG *gangan*, AS *Ʒanzan* id. ||| OI '*jam̄haḥ* ntr. {MW} 'moving, going, course', {P} 'Schritt, Flügelschlag' (but OI {Bt., M} '*jam̄haḥ* 'Schwinge, Flügel' is likely to belong together with OI '*jañghā* 'shank, lower par of leg' to NaIE **ghengh-*/ghnggh-* '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' < N **ganḡ* [or **gaʔonḡ*??] '≈ flesh of leg\thigh\buttocks', see s.v.) ||| Clt: W *rhy-gyngu* 'to amble' ||| Lt *žēngti* (1s prs. *žengiū*) 'to step, to walk, to march', *žirngsnis* 'a step' ¶ P 438-9, EI 546, M KI 410-2, M E I 562-4, Bt. II 246, MW 407, Ab. IV 297, Ho. 123, 130, Kb. 314, Lx. 53, 73, Fs. 164, 181-2, Vr. 156, Schz. 147, KM 230-1, Frn. 1299-300, F I 937-8 ||| HS: S **ḡnḡ* > Ar *جنگ* *ḡnḡ* 'walk quickly', Gt 'marcher d'un pas précipité' (of a camel) ¶ BK I 337 ||| U: FU **kaḡkḡ* 'climb, step up' > Z *kay-*, Yz '*kay-* 'climb' ||| ObU {Ht.} **kḡk-* 'climb (klettern)' > pVg **kḡk-* > Vg: T *kāḡk-*, LK *xānḡ*, MK/SV *kḡk-*, UK/NV/LL *kḡk-*, P *kaḡk-*, ML *kāḡk-*, UL/Ss *xāḡk-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **kḡk-* ~ **kaḡk-* id. > Os: D/K *χonχ-*, Nz *χun-*, Kz *χōḡk-*, O *χon-* | Hg *háḡ-* 'step up, mount, ascend' ¶ UEW 127, MF 239, LG 115, Ht. #301 ||| A: ?σ Tg: Nn Nh *ganḡ-* v. 'ski' ¶ STM I 539 ◇ Here we may suppose peculiar phonetic developments within clusters of **N* + uvular consonants: in the prehistory of IE and FU the N lr. **X* is likely to have merged with the preceding **ḡ* into the IE cluster **-ngḡ-* and the FU cluster **-ḡk-*. An alt. solution: Ar *ḡnḡ* is a loan from another S lge. or dl. (merging S **χ* and **ḡ*) and goes back to S **ḡnḡ* < pre-S **ḡnḡ* with S de-emphatization from **ḡnḡ*, so that the pN etymon can be reconstructed as **ḡ'ä'ḡga* > FU **kaḡkḡ* and IE **ghengh-* (for ***ghenk-* due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. cns. in the same root) ◇ The U and Tg **a* (most probably from **ä*) may be due to synharmonic as. (regr. as.).

649. **gunḡ* 'K' E ~ **güḡ* 'K' ▽ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > A: Tg **ḡḡngḡ* > WrMc {Hr., PSchm.} *ḡḡngḡ* 'back of the head', *ḡḡngḡlu* 'tuft\crest of birds (Haube, Federtolle, Schopf)', {Hr.} *ḡḡngḡluḡge* 'having a tuft on one's head' (a bird); see also WrMc {Z} *ḡḡngḡan* 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 172-3, Hr. 384, Z 349 ||| D (in SD) **kuḡḡk-* 'nape, neck' > Ml *koḡḡa* 'throat', *kuḡḡci* 'nape of neck', Kn *kuḡḡke* id., 'shoulder', *ḡoḡka* 'throat', ? *ḡóḡ* 'neck' ¶ D #1645 ||| HS:

Om: NrOm {Blz.} *gan₁ŋ₁- > She {C} gonno 'collar-bone, clavicle', Cha {C} gannē 'neck', Kcm {Blz. ← ?} gonno 'nape of neck', Gnj {Si.} 'gonil, Drz {Fl.} gana-morge, Oyda {Fl.} ganna 'neck', Dk {Blz. ← ?} g₃nná 'upper back' ¶ Blz. OLBP #80, C SE III 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'neck', Si. ACh 17 || Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} ganà (cs. gandè) 'back', Bdm {Lk. ← Nc.} 'ŋgunī 'Nacken' || ?σ WCh: Ang {Flk.} gwongwon 'Adam's apple' ¶ Nw. WLT 38, Lk. B 123, Flk. s.v. gwongwon ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #80 (Om, CCh) || IE: NaIE *knok(k)o- / knek(k)o- 'nape of neck; hill' (× N *ŋiKa [or *ñiKa?] 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ADb. MER 10 [#59] (Tg, D) ◇ In Tg there is progressive assimilation *g...K > Tg *g...g.

649a. ?φ ≈ *goŋ'H'äl∇ ~ mt.: *gol'H'∇ñ∇ 'forearm' > HS: C: Bj {R} g^wen'hāl 'forearm (Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen)', g^ũl'hān (= g^walhān), 'g^ũlhe (= g^walhe) 'forearm' || ??,φ SC: Kz {E} guhuluko 'ankle' ¶ R WBd 95-9, E PC #534 || ?φ B *yūīl-/*yūall- 'arm' (if *yū < HS *g+χ) (× N *gawī∇ or *gawEī∇ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > Ah, BSn ayil (pl. iyallan), BMn yil, Izn ayil, Gd āyil (pl. yallan) 'arm', Zng {TC} i?y 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II #1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || A: Tg *ŋāla 'hand' > Ewk ŋāł ɛ ŋāla, Sln nāla ɛ nāli, {Iv.} ŋala, Lm ŋāl, Neg, Orc ŋāla ~ ŋala, Ud, Ul ŋala, Ork, Nn ŋala, WrMc galā, Jrc {Pvn.} ŋala id. ¶ STM I 656-7, Pvn. 262 || U: (with loss of N *goŋ-) FU *äl∇ 'space between the arms, armful; lap, bosom (of a garment)' > Chr: H элтем eltem, L элте el'te, Uf öltö, öltäš 'armful', H eltäle-, Uf öltala-, B eltala- 'put one's arms round, embrace, carry in arms' || Er eí, Mk äí 'bosom of a garment' || Prm {LG} *ól- id. > Vt {Bor.} al 'id., 'lap', Yz öliž, Prmk ölöž, Z: LLz 0l0ž, USs ɛłɛž 'bosom of a garment used to carry things' || ObU {Ht.} *āl {AD} 'lap, space between the arms' > pVg *āl > Vg: Ss āl-tāšl 'armful' (tāšl 'full'), T āl, LK/MK/UK/NV ȳl, P/SV/LLz ȳl 'lap'; pOs *āl 'lap' > Os: V/Vy āl, Ty áɸ, D áɸ, Nz at, Kz aɸ, O ál id., N āl-tēl 'armful' (tēl 'full') ¶ It. 291, Coll. 77, UEW 23, MRS 773, Ep. 18, LG 61, Ht. #18 || AdS of IE *H^wel∇n- ({EI} *h₃el∇n)- 'elbow, forearm' > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id. (< IE *x^wel- or *Xol- 'elbow' < N *rUL∇ 'knee, elbow', q.v. ffd.).

650. *gup^u 'hollow, empty, hole' > HS: WS *gawp- 'hollow' > Ug gpt (= *gōp-āt-) 'caves', Ar جوف^ج ḡawf- 'hollow, inside of a house, belly', ḡawfu-l-layli 'middle of the night', pl. ʔaḡwāf- 'entrails', Tgr gōf (pl. ʔagwāf) 'interiour, heart, soul', Mh, Hrs gawf- 'chest'; S *o/ḡwgp

(prm. *-gwap-) 'be hollow' > Ar \checkmark ǵwaf (ip. -ǵwaf-) id., 'be empty' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, BK I 357, Hv. 105, A #684, LH 594, Jo. M 127, DRS 108, ≈ MiK I #1.100 (*gawp- 'chest and abdominal cavities of body\corpse') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} gōf 'empty hollow in ground', 'empty well, dried-up well', Sml {ZMO} gōf 'dried-up well', 'dry river-bed', {DSI} gōf id., 'socket of the eye (orbita dell'occhio)', ?φ Arr yûb 'hole, den' (for *g- > y- cp. Arr yîrr 'upper arm' < N *gAr▽ '≈ hand') ¶ Abr. S 93, DSI 273, ZMO 165, Hw. A 400 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} gúbè 'hole' || WCh: Dw {ChL} gup, Zar {ChL} gǔp 'chest' | Dir {Sk.} gúbàdú 'chest' || ?? CCh: Gude {ChL} gǔwa, FIJ gùw'ì, Nz {Mch.} gówε, {ChL} gò?o, FIB {ChL} gù?ùn, Bcm {ChC} gwé, {ChL} gwèy, FIM {ChL} ègʷǔ 'hole', Lmn {Lk.} òghùbù, óghbù id. ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *geup-/*goup-/*gup- 'hollow, pit' > Gk γύπη [Call.] 'cave', [Hs.] 'hollow in the earth; lurking-place, den; vulture's nest' || Gmc: ON kofi 'small chamber, hut', Ic kofi 'hut', Nnr kove 'larder, store-room', MHG kobe 'stall, pig-sty; cage; cavity (Höhlung)', NHG Koben, NLG Kofen 'pig-sty', AS cofa 'cave, chamber, pig-sty', NE cove 'concavity or recessed place in a structure' || Sl *župa > P župa, Uk 'жупа 'salt-pit', OCS d. жупище župište 'grave' ¶ IS I 232, F I 335, Ch. 243, Vr. 323-4, Ar. 452, Lx. 112, KM 386, Paul 338, Ho. 56, Vs. II 65-, St SS 321 || U **kōppE (× N *kohp▽ 'cave, pit') > FP *kōppa 'hollow; sth. hollow' > F kuoppa 'pit', Krl K kūoppa Krl A kūoppu, Krl Ld kūop:, Vp kop 'pit', Es koobas (gen. koopa), Es Δ kōp 'cave, cavern, grotto' | pLp *kop▽- 'hollow out' > Lp L {Wk.} ko3po- id., pLp {Lr.} *kopē 'hollow, depression' > Lp: N {N} goppe / -b-~-v- 'hollow; round-shaped bottom', S {Hs.} güppie 'Loch, Tunnel', L {Wk.} ko3pe- 'Aushöhlung; enger, runder Alpental', Fr/O {Wk.} gū3pʷε 'sledge produced by hollowing out a tree trunk', Krsv {Lgc.} k'ōprijε & k'əprijε 'pit' & 'depression, small valley in the mountains', Klt {It.} k'āp̄p̄, Kld {Tl} ko,p:ē, {SaR} коабпъ 'pit' | Prm *gōp ({{JLG} *gōp) 'pit, depression' (< **gūp < pre-Prm) *kūpp▽ < *kōpp▽) > Vt gop 'pit, depression'; hollow, narrow gully', Z g3p 'small pit, hole (in the ice), puddle, small lake', Yz gōp 'deep quiet place in a river, depression, pit'; Prm *gōp (⇔ Rd. rLG 421) may belong here, suggesting the following prehistory: FU *kōppa > (due to the labializing infl. of *pp) *kūpp▽ > pre-Prm *gūp > Prm *gōp ¶ Rd. rLG 421 is right in pointing out that F uo does not correspond to pPrm *ǔ (= {{JLG} *ǔ), but in his etl. dictionary (UEW) he does not propose any et. either to F kuoppa or to the Prm √. To my mind, this

phonetic discrepancy may be explained by postulating a pre-harmonic U *kōppE, that due to vw. harmony may have yielded both *kōppa (> BF *kōppa > F κιορρα) and *käppE (> Prm *kōp) ¶ SK 240, Lr. #456, Lgc. #2561, N II 177, Wk. EUL 272, Wk. LLW 45, Hs. 697-8, TI 147, SaR 113, LG 80, Lt. J 106, ≈ IS I 233 (*÷ F κορρα 'basket' [not 'hollow'] and Mr and Os words for 'skull', better explainable as belonging to N *k'a'w_lo_pE or *k'a'w_lo_p∇y∇ 'skull; occiput', N *qUbr'E' 'basket', and/or N *K_{ab}'E?∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v.]) || A: T: [1] NaT *KobI 'hollow, ravine, pit, depression between hills\mountains' > OT [MhK] qovI 'hollow', Az gobu 'hollow in the ground, (narrow) gorge\gully', Δ gobu ɘ gobi ɘ qovU 'ravine, pit, depression (often flooded)', StAlt qobI 'ravine, narrow gully, hollow in the ground', Alt/QK {RI.} qōbI 'ravine, Talhöhllung ohne Fluß', MQp [BMTQ] {Zaj.} qoba 'creux, cavité, fosse', Osm {RI.} قوبه qoba 'Loch, Grube, Graben' (↳ G Kzq gob-i 'Grube; Stelle im Wasser, wo sich die Fische sammeln'), Qzq, Alt qobI, Tb qobI ~ qōbI, Tk Δ qobu ɘ qowu, Qmq Δ qowu 'depression between hills' | ↳ [2] NaT *Kobuk 'hollow, empty' > OT qovUq id., 'a hollow', MQp [CC], Osm {Cl.} qovUq 'hollow', MOg qowUq 'anything hollowed out and empty', Osm qoYUq ~ qovUq, Tk kovuk 'hollow' (n., adj.), 'cavity, cave', Tkm qowUq, Tk Δ goVuk, goYuk, qawUq, gawik 'hollow, a hollow', Xk, Sg χαχ 'hollow' (a tree), 'hollow of a tree-trunk', ET Δ quaq 'empty' (of a melon, water-melon), Az goVug 'bubble'; [3] T *Kobu-í > MQp [CC] xiv qovUš, Nog quwIS 'hollow', VTt кувъш quwъš id., 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Bsh qъwъš, Qmq quwUš 'a hollow', Osm qoYUš ~ qovUš 'large hall, dormitory', Tk koğus ~ kovus 'cell (in a prison)', Az гофуш qoYUš 'hollow of a tree-trunk', Qzq, Qq quwIS 'cavity, hollow body', Nog quwIS 'a hollow (depression)', Chv хăвăл хъvъl id., 'cavity' ¶ Cl. 583, ≈ Cl. 581, Rs. W 273, ET Q 5-7, 18-20, Hüs. 83, Rh. 1490, Jeg. 282, Md. 44, 169, MKD 144, DTS 461, BT 84, Zaj. VAKBM I 39, Rh. 1490, AzDDL 144, RI. II 657-60, Bu. II 69 || M [1] *gobiya > Kl D {Rm.} göwā 'niedrige Stelle, Tal'; M *gobil 'cavity, hole' > WrM gobil, HIM говил id., 'pit, hollow, groove; depression'; M ↳ Qrg qobul 'groove, rut (in the ground)', Tv xovul, Tf hōbōl 'groove'; T ↳ Brt хобол, Kl ховл id., Oyr qobul id., 'small hole' ¶ MED 357, Kow. 1025, KW 152-3, Krg. 313, Chr. 153, Jud. 361, TvR 478, Ra. 189 |[2] *qoYU-sun 'empty', ? 'hollow' (× N *kohp∇ 'cave, pit', q.v. ffd.) || Tg: [1] WrMc qobI 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.}

'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung') (× N *kōhp▽ '↑') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 [2] ?σ,φ AmTg *gebū(n-) 'empty' > Orc, Ork gɜwū(n-) ~ gɜun(n-), Ud gɜu, Ul, Nn B gɜu(n-), Nn Nh gɜũ id. ¶ The vw. *e is probably due to vw. harmony ¶ STM I 176 || pJ {S} *kúmpuá 'cavity' > OJ kúb(ū)ó, J T kubo id. ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *kopu 'hollow, cavity'), ≈ DQA #859 (A *kǒbú id., incl. T *Kobuk, J, M *qoɣusun, and Tg *qobi) || D (in McTm) *ku|opp- > Ml koppam 'pitfall for catching elephants', Tm koppam 'keddah (an enclosure constructed to trap wild elephants)' ¶ D #2103 ◇ FU *ō belongs to the heritage of N *kōhp▽. M *o (as a representative of N *u) still needs explaining. The vowels of the second syll. in the A lgs. (T *i and *u, Tg *u, pJ *uə) point to a N high labialized vw. (*u or *ü) ◇ IS I 232-3 [#87] (*gop'a 'hollow, empty').

651. ₂ *gæ'ʔ'Up▽ 'body' > HS: WS *gūp- ~ *gīp- 'body' > BHb גּוּפָא *gū'pā* 'corpse' (att. cs. גּוּפָא gū'pāt, pl. גּוּפָא gū'pōt), JA, MHb גּוּפָא gū'pā 'body' (JA em. גּוּפָא gū'pā), JEA gū'pā 'body, self', Htr גּוּפָא 'person' (or 'corpse, dead body'), Ar جيفة, ġīf-at- 'corpse', Jb C mgaf'fat, Jb E mɜgɜ'fat 'corpse, carcass' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, ≈ DRS 108, ≈ MiK I #1. 100 (all of them connect the root with WS *gawp- 'hollow' [see N *gup'ú' 'hollow, empty, hole'], which is semantically unj.), Sl. 270-1, BK I 362, Jo. J 72, HJ 231 || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ɣɜvə, HgN gwə, Kps gùvə 'body' ¶ ChC, ChL || A: T: [1] *k'e|äbre 'body, trunk of a body' > OT {Cl.} kövre 'body', Tkm гөвре göwre 'trunk of a body'; [2] *k'öbde(η) id., 'body, corpse' > OT k|gövdöη, Tkm göwde 'corpse, trunk of a body', VTt гәүдә gäwdä, Nog кевде kewde 'body, trunk of a body', Qzq кеуде kewde 'torso, trunk of a body, chest', Qq gewde ~ kewde id., 'body', Qrg ködö(n), Uz gawda, Chv хевде ~ хьвде 'trunk of a body; energy, strength', Tk гөвде, Az кевдә göwdä 'trunk of a body\tree' (× N *Kop▽ 'trunk, log', accounting for the semantic narrowing: 'body' → 'trunk of a body?') ¶ Cl. 688, 690, Rs. W 688, ET VGD 52-3, TL 267, TkR 193, TatR 120, Jeg. 297 || M: [1] *keɣür 'corpse, dead body' > WrM kegür, HIM, Brt хүүр id., WrO küür, Kl күр, {Rm.} kūr, Ord {Ms.} k'ūr 'corpse'; [2] *keberdek > WrM {Krg.} keberdeg, WrO köbö(r)döq 'torso, trunk', Kl көврдг kövrdæg 'trunk (of a body), torso, breast', {Bdm.} 'trunk of a body (туловище)', Kl. Ö {Rm.} köwrdæg 'Brust, Brustknochen, Rumpf', Ord

k'emerdek 'thorax, poitrine' ¶ MED 443, Krg. 736, 746, KRS 309, 326, Bdm. 84, KW 242, 250, Ms. O 413, 438, Chr. 634 || Tg {DQA} *^oχ_jeburen 'corpse' > WrMc eoren~ oren ~ ūren id. ¶ STM II 289-90, Z 60, 131, 177 || ?φ pJ {S} *kámpánáj 'corpse' > OJ kábáné, J T kabane ¶ S QJ #1380, Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #992 (A *k'ébá 'corpse' > T *k'Ebre, M *keür, Tg, J), Ci. EApk 124 ◇ M *k- and Tg *x- (< A *k'-) are likely to go back to N *g∇?-

652. (₂?) *gopk̄a '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp stick' > A: M *goqa 'crook, hook' > WrM goq̄a, HIM goχ, Brt goχ₀, Kl goχ₀ id. ¶ MED 363, KW 149 || ? Tg *g_uak∇ 'hook' > Nn g_uaq₀ 'hook for hanging up a cauldron', Ewk, Orc gok₀ 'hook', Mc goq₀on 'hook, hook for hanging up sth.'; some of the forms present in Tg are loans from M (e.g., Nn and Neg goχ₀ 'hook'), for other forms (with medial -k-, -q-) Mongolic origin is less plausible, but not ruled out || U: FU *kopkka (or, with an alt. phonological interpretation, *kopka) 'crook, hook, sharp point' > F koukka, koukku 'crook', Es Δ kouk (gen. kouga) '(ε) hoe', pLp {Lr.} *kōkkē (× U *kokka 'protruding point, hook' × N *kaku [or *koku?] 'hook') > Lp: N {N} goakke 'hoe', I {It.} koäkk', Klid kuak̄a 'hook', K kōa?kk̄a 'hoe, hook' || Chr kopka 'ploughshare' (Üp̄ymarij quotes the word only within the cd. kopka-par̄ña 'crooked end of a ploughshare', lit. 'ploughshare's thumb', Coll. quotes Chr kopka 'plough' without indicating the source) || ?? acc. to LG 77, Z gog+n, Z US gog+n, Yz goḡa₁t 'scraper (скобелъ)' (≠ Rd. rLG 421) ||| pOs *kaγap 'fish-hook' (× FU *^okok_k∇p∇ 'ε hook' < N *kâRkub|p∇ 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.]) > Os {KrT} Vy qaγaw, Y qaγap, Try qâγap, quγp-, Os D {KrT} xaχap 'wooden fish-hook for pikes' ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 171-2, Stn. D 459, SK 208-9, 225-6, Ü 74, Lr. #468, LG 77, Trj. S 142, KrT 291-1 || ? IE: the expected IE cognate is likely to have coalesced with the the IE reflex of N *kaku, which is NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw' > Gmc *xōka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > ON hækja 'Krücke', OHG hāco ~ hākko ~ hāgo, NHG Haken, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook ||| SI *kogъtъ ~ *kogъtъ > OR, R 'коготь', Cz Δ kohát 'claw', HLs kocht 'awn, brome (Bromus)' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, OsS 365, Kb. 423, KM 283, Ho. 167, ESSJ X 109-10, Trof. 86 ◇ In all reflexes, except for U, there is assimilation within the cluster N *-P̄k̄- > *-k̄k̄- (> *-kk-, *-k-). In the history of this N lexeme the date of vw. breaking of *o is under doubt: if all attested words of

the Tg lgs. are Mongolisms, the vw. breaking took place not in pA, but rather in Nn ◊ Cf. AD AltAD #19.

653. *gâ'p'sA 'paw, hand' > IE *g^hes-r-, *g^hes-to- 'hand': [1] IE {Sturt., Pis., Hamp, F, Ch., EI} *g^hesr- > Ht *kessar* (dat. *kesri*) id., SAn: Lw *is(sa)ri-*, HrLw *istr(i)-*, Lc *izr(i)-* id. ({Pv.}: before front vowels IE *g^h- > SAn zero) || NaIE *g^hes-r- 'hand' (but hardly NaIE *g^her- 'hand' [P 447, Dv. #270], see N *gAr▽ '≈ hand') > Gk χείρ / gen. χείρ-ός 'hand', Gk D χήρ / χηρός, Gk Ae accus. sg. χέρρα, pl. χέρρα id. || Arm **ձեռն** *zeṛn* (gen. **ձեռնի** *zeṛin*) id. (< accus. *g^hesr-m) || pAl {O} *dārā (singularized ntr. pl.) > Al T *dorē* (pl. *duar*), G *dor* 'hand' || Tc A *tsar*, Tc B *ṣar* id. || [2] NaIE *g^hesto-, {EI} *g^hosto-s 'hand' > OI 'hasta-h, Av *zasta-*, OPrs, KhS *dasta-*, NPrs **دست** *däst* 'hand' || ? L *praestō* adv. 'present, at hand' (< *praj hestōd 'at hand', cp. Gallius: *praesto* 'quod prae manibus est') || Lt *pa-žastē*, *pa-žastis* 'space under the arm, armpit' ¶ P 447, EI 254, Slt. 316-7, F II 1082-3, Ts. E I 558-63, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, M K III 588, M E II 812, WH II 356, Huld 54, O 70-1, Horn 126, Frn. 560, Wn. 521, Ad. 649-50, Ad. H 128, 146, Pv. IV 160-5, Ivn. SA 153, Ivn. XJ² 85 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: SBC: Buli {ChL} *gāpūšà* 'shoulder' | Gmy {ChL} *kīšat* id. | ? Ngz {Sch.} *gāptā* id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} *ṣābāzāk* id. || ?? ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kósí*, Kwn {J} *kosī* 'hand, arm' (unless k0- is a px.) ¶ Eb. 73, ChC, ChL || **U**: FU *kEps^ā (*kāpsä ~ *kipsä) 'paw, animal's leg/foot, fell from a paw/leg' (× N *KĒP₂▽Z▽ 'paw, hoof') > F *käpsä* 'hare-foot (for dusting, etc.)', Krl A *kāpčü* 'foot (of ducks and other birds); paw', Krl Ld *kāpč* ~ *kāpš* 'foot (of birds, etc.)', Vp *kāpš* '(hen's) foot; paw (of dogs, otters)', Es *kāps* 'heel', {W} *kāps-jalad* 'cooked pig-feet' | Chr: B *küpš* 'nap of cloth' (< *'nap made of the skin of animals' legs'), L *küpš* 'strands of wool in home-made woolen cloth' | Prm *kūs 'fell from an animal's leg' > Z **кыс** *kīs* id., 'footwear made of a fell from an animal's leg with the fur on the outside', 'a fell from a leg used to line up the bottom side of ski (for braking when skiing uphill)', Yz *kōs* 'skin of the legs of an animal (horse, elk, etc.) (used as brakes under the ski when skiing uphill)', Vt *kusla-* v. 'brake (when skiing uphill)'; {UEW}: Prm *ū < *i or *ä due to the labializing infl. of *p || ObU {JHl.} *kōpəθ ({Ht.} *kōpəθ) 'fell from an animal's leg (Pfotenfell)' > pOs {Ht.} *kōpəϕ ({JHl.} *kōpəϕ) id. > Os: V/Vy *kōwəl*, Ty *kōpəϕ*, Y *kōpəϕ*, D/K/Nz *kepət*, Kz *kepəϕ*, O *kopəl*; pVg

*kũt 'skin of an elk's leg' > Vg: LK/MK/UK k^ωāt, P kāt ~ k^ωāt, NV/SV/LL k^ωāt, UL/Ss kot id.; ObU *ō, Cht ü, and Prm *ū are due to the labialization caused by *p (*F* Rd. rLG 421) ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 159-60, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kũps̄ 'leg skin', Ugr *kũp̄-; does not take into account BF), LG 154, Lt. J 133, Ht. #303, Hl. rHt 71-3 || **D** {tr.} *kač|y∇, {Pf.} *kay/*key ({GS} *k-) 'hand, arm' > Tm kai, Ml kai, kayyi, Kt, Kdg kay, Tl cēyi (accus. cētī), ce(y)yi, Klm ki· ɘ key ɘ kīy ɘ kiyu, Nkr kī, Kui kayu, kagu, Ku kēyu(:) ɘ ke(y)yu ɘ kayyu, Krx xekkhā id., Ml kayyu, Tu kai, Tl kēlu, kai, Nk kī, Prj, Png key, Gdb ki ɘ kiyyu ɘ kiy, Gnd kay, Knd kiyu ɘ ki∇u, Mnd kiy, Mlt qeqe 'hand', Kn kay, kayi, kayyi, key 'hand, forearm' ¶¶ If GS's pD rec. *ke∇- 'hand, arm' is right, the D word does not belong here ¶¶ D #2023, IS I 227, Pf. 45, GS 186-7 [#471] ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [#80] (IE *g^hes-, D *kač- + qu. Om *✓kč 'hand'; *÷ FU *kāte 'hand', *F* s.v. N *Kāt∇ 'hand').

654. ₂ *gEqû 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^heu-mṅ 'sth. poured, libation' > OI ju'hōti v. 'sacrifices' (esp. 'pours butter into fire'), hu'tah pp. 'sacrificed', 'hōman- 'libation, sacrifice', Av zaotar, zaōr- 'priest, sacrificer', OI 'hōtrā 'an offering, sacrifice (Opfergabe)', Av zaōrā 'libation' || Gk χέ(*F*)ω 'I pour', Gk Hm aor. ἔχευα 'poured' (< *e-g^heu- + *-σα), Gk χεῦμα 'that which is poured, a stream, libation' || Phr [Hs.] ζευμάν·πηγῆν accus. 'stream [?]' (< *g^heu-mṅ) || Arm ճոյլ Յօյլ 'what is smelted \ cast \ founded', n. 'font, cast' (< *g^heu|o-), ճուլեմ zulem 'I cast, smelt, found' || Lfū-tis 'water(ing)-can', fū-tilis 'easily poured, brittle' || pTc *ku- > Tc A, B ku- v. 'pour' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448, M K I 442, M E II 821, F II 1090-3, WH I 563-4, Slt. 259, Wn. 239, Ad. 179-80 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q) needs explaining. One may suggest a mt. + subsequent loss of the lr.: *gEqû > eIE *g^hHeu > IE *g^heu- || **HS**: CS *-gīχ- ~ *-gūχ- v. 'pour forth, gush out' (of water) > Hb ✓gyḥ (-gīḥ-) 'burst forth' (of dashing water, of sea), JA [Trg.] ✓gyḥ G 'break forth, stir up', Sr ✓gwh (pf. gāḥ, ip. nə'gūḥ) 'gush out, pour forth' (of water), 'flow' (of tears), ?σ Ar ✓ğw|yχ (pf. جَاخَ ḡāχa) 'ronger et enlever la berge' (of water) ¶ KB 181, KBR 189, BDB 161 [#1518], Js. 237, Br. 108-9, JPS 63, BK I 350, DRS 107 ◇ An alt. comparison (with better semantic connections, but with phonetic problems): N ? *kEζû 'pour, flow' (q.v.) > IE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v. 'pour' ÷

HS: S * $\sqrt{k}f\omega$ 'pour', SC: Irq {MQK} ku \bar{u} s-, Brn ku \bar{u} s-, Alg ku \bar{u} umis- v. 'spill, pour'.

655. $\text{₂}^*gAr\bar{\nabla}$ '≈ hand' > HS: Eg fP $\bar{z}r.t$ 'hand, handful' ¶ EG V 580-5, Fk. 323, Tk. I 319 || EC: Arr $yirr$ 'upper arm' ¶ Hw. A 400 || **A** * $gar\bar{\nabla}$ > M * $gar(i)$ 'hand, arm' > MM [MA] gar , [IM, IsV] qar , WrM gar , HIM Γap , Kl gar , Dgr $gari$, $garb$, Ba χar , MMgl {Iw.} gar , Mgl qar , ? Dx qa 'hand, arm' ¶ MED 350, T 325, T DgJ 130, T DnJ 124, T BJ 136, Mr. D 19, Iw. 104, Rm. M 31 || T * $k'ar$ 'upper arm (brachium)' or 'forearm' > ET U qar 'upper arm', Chg qar 'arm', Qzq, Qq qar 'forearm', Bsh Δqar in $qu\check{s}$ - qar 'forearm' (lit. 'double arm'), Qrg qar - $\check{z}ilik$ 'humerus', SY {Tn.} qar $simiq$ 'a bone in the forearm' || Chv L $\times y p \times ur$ 'double cubit (the double distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger)' | d. (← a form with ppa.?): T * $k'ari$ (Md.) * $k'ari$ 'forearm' > OT, MT, MQp $qari$ 'forearm; cubit ("arshin")', Chg $qari$ ~ $qaru$ 'arm, upper arm, ∈ cubit', OOsM $qaru$ 'arm, hand', Osm {Rl.} $qaru$ - $\check{z}a$, Brb {Rl.}, Qrg $qari$ 'upper-arm', Az $\Delta qari$ 'upper half of animal's leg', Xlj $qari$ 'half-fathom', Tkm $qari$ id., 'lower leg of a quadruped, shin-bone', VTt $\Delta qarb$ 'length of an arm from elbows to fingers', Nog $qari$ 'length of a forearm', QrB $qari$ 'cubit', Qzq, Qq $qari$ 'forearm (of humans and animals)', Chv {Ash.} χurb 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', ET Tr $keri$ 'arm's length, cubit', Uz $qari$ 'a unit of length (2 arshins)', StAlt, Shor, Uz $\Delta qari$ 'upper arm', Tv $qiri$ 'ulna', Tf $qiri$ id., 'forearm', Yk χar , χar id., 'lower part of the foreleg' | d. (substantivezed adj.) T * $k'ar-a$ '∈ part of arm/leg' > VTt $qara$ 'unit of length (≈ 1 m)', Uz $qara$ san 'shin', Yk χara 'upper arm, ulna' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ADb. SR 160-4, 195-8, ET KQ 278-83, Dr. TM III #1477, Jud. 355, BT 74, Ra. 223, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 361, Md. 103, 166 || Tg: WrMc $garga$, $gargan$ 'limbs (arms and legs)' ¶ STM I 141, Z 310 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. * $gara$ 'upper arm', SDM97 s.v. * $ga|era$ 'arm' (adduces pJ * $kata$ 'shoulder' [> OJ $kata$, J T $kata$], alternatively equatable with N ≈ * $\check{K}u_y_t_{\bar{\nabla}}P_{\bar{\nabla}}$ 'shoulder' or with N * $\check{K}at\bar{\nabla}$ 'hand') || $\check{z}z$ IE: acc. to P 447, NaIE ?? * $\check{g}her$ - 'hand' (> Arm $\acute{d}t n \acute{u}$ $ze\bar{r}n$ 'hand' || Gk $\chi\acute{\epsilon}l\bar{p}$ 'hand' || pAl * $d\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ > Al: T/G $dor\bar{e}$ [pl. T $duar$, G $duer$] 'hand'), but in the light of Ht $kessar$ - 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE * $\check{g}hesr$ - (see N * $\check{g}\acute{a}r'p'sA$ 'paw, hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dv. #270 ($\check{g}her$ - 'mano come cosa attiva'), P 447 (s.v. * $\check{g}hesto$ -), O 70, Huld 54, Sturt. CGHL 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Slt. 316-7, FII 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, Pv. IV 160-5, Ts. E I 558-63 ◊ If P's rec. of the alleged IE cognate is

accepted, the N rec. should be ***gära** (the A *a of the first syll. being accounted for by regr. as. ***ä...a** > ***a...a**), otherwise we reconstruct an unspecified ***A** (***ä|a**) in N ***gAr∇**.

655a. ₂ ***gER∇** 'entrails' > **HS**: S: Ar جريئة *ǧirrīy-at-* ~ جريئة *ǧirrī?*-at- 'estomac (d'oiseau)' ¶ BK I 272 || C: Ag *gir- (*gir-/ *gil-) 'gut(s), entrails' > Bln {R} gir ~ žir (pl. gilil ~ žilil), Q {R} žir, Xm {R} zil'lā id., Km {CR} žar 'entrails' || amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gar i 'body, trunk' (× N ***gAr∇** 'belly, inside', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ AD SF 205, R WB 158 ¶¶ ≈ AD SF (C, S) || **IE**: NaIE *ǧher- 'gut(s), *ǧhor-nā 'entrails' > OI 'hira-ḥ 'band, strip', hi'rā 'vein, artery' || Gk χορδή 'gut, string of gut' || L haru-spex 'one who foretold the future from the inspection of entrails', hīra 'gut, intestine' || ON gorn 'gut', pl. garnar 'entrails' (< *ǧhor-nā), OHG mitti(la)-garni, AS miczern, OSx midgarni 'internal fat, suet' || Lt žarnà (accus. žárna), Ltv zařna 'gut' ¶ P 443, EI 180 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73 (IE, HS + unc. U, HS, D reflexes of N ***guR∇** 'belly, body' and N ***gAr∇** 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

656. ₂ ***geR∇** 'throat' > **HS**: WS *girr-, *√grr > Mhb גְּרֵרָה *gērā* 'neck' (Lv.: 'der Hals, eig. der Ort, wo das Tier die Speise heraufbringt'), Tgy ገግግግ *gʷeraro* 'throat, trachea'; CS *girān- > BHb גְּרֵרֹן *gārōn* (cs. *gārōn*, st. pron. *gārōn-*, pl. [attested in Mhb] *gārōn-ōt*) 'throat, neck' (*gārōn* is a bf. from the stem *gārōn-* in cs., st. pron., and pl.), Ar جرآن *ǧirān-* 'front part of a camel's neck'; rdp.: S *g∇rg∇r- 'throat, gullet' > BHb pl. t. גְּרֵרֹת **gargārōt** 'throat', (→) 'neck' (att: +ppa. 2m: גְּרֵרֹת *gargārōt* 'thy throat') ({KBR} 'pharynx' → 'neck'), Mhb גְּרֵרֹת *gar'geret* 'Gurgel', Ug {OLS} grgr 'garganta (?)', Sr gaggar't-ā 'throat', Md gangarata 'throat, tonsils' (pl.), Ar [Nbg.] جرجر *ǧarāǧir-* 'throat (?)' (originally pl. fractum), Tgy gʷargʷarit 'goitre' (Bsn. 'gozzo'), Ak gaggurītu 'e part of the body of an animal: ? throat' ¶ GB 147-8, KB 194, KBR 201-2, OLS 151, Lv. I 355, 358, Br. 103, DM 77, Hv. 87, Bsn. 872, LG 201, CAD III 9, DRS 175-7, MiK I #1.95 (S *girān-), #102 (S *gʷar(gʷ)ar(at)- 'throat, gullet') || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gurér 'throat' ¶ Hz. NSA 139-40 || B *√grgr > Ntf {La.} agargur, {Dray} ahengur, agergur, CM aǧargur, BSn agargur, Izn aǧarǧur 'goitre' ¶ La. N 57, Dray 243, NZ 854 || Ch: ?? ECh: Tmk gēr 'neck' (unless to N ***gædi** 'back part; occiput, nape of neck') ¶ Cp. 2.6 || cp. also CCh *√grd 'throat; to swallow' (> Msg G {Trn.} gurđok, Mlw

{Trn.} gùrđôk 'throat', Mtk: Mf {BLB} gərđ- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} gérđan 'palate', see N *gúr̥E or *gür̥V 'throat, neck'), Kfr {Nt.} gägárák 'throat' (× N *gUR'k'U' 'throat?'), Tr {Nw.} góra 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS Ir.), Mu {J} góró (pl. gòrâr) 'neck', etc. (× N *gúr̥E or *gür̥V '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ OS #960 || U: FP *kerV 'throat, gullet' > F ker o, kerus id., Es kōr̥i 'throat, larynx' | pLp {Lr.} *k3r3s 'windpipe, trachea' > Lp: S {Hs.} g'ir̥se, L {LLO} karas id., Kld k3rs 'throat, windpipe' | Prm *g3r- ({{JLG} *g3r-) 'throat' > Z ropw gorš 'throat, larynx', Z US g3rš, Yz gorš id., Z Le gorań 'Adam's apple' (acc. to LG, -š and -ań are likely to be dim. sxs.) ¶ UEW 660, SK 184, Lr. #319, Lgc. #1268, Hs. 612, LG 79.

657. *g'ir̥V 'hate, be hostile' > HS: S *√gyr ~ *√gry > Mh √gyr (pf. g3yōr, sbjn. y3-gyēr), Jb √gyr (pf. Jb C gēr, Jb E gēr) v. 'oppress', Ak √gry (inf. gerû, p. -gri) 'be hostile', gērû 'foe', Ug √gry G 'attack', IA √gry G 'sue, institute suit against'; ?σ (× *√gry 'incite, provoke') BHb √gry D 'stir up strife', √gry TD 'engage in strife', JA √gry TD (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿) {Js.} 'attack', {Lv.} 'sich reizen', JEA √gry TD 'fight, contend', Sr √gry TD (pf. 𐤃𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿) 'provoke \ stir up strife, pick a quarrel' ¶ Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, CAD V 61-3, OLS 152, HJ 234-5, KB 195, BDB 173, Js. 268, Lv. T I 359, Sl. 300, JPS 77 || Eg fP 33y 'be hostile', fMK 33y.t 'wrongdoing', 33yw 'opponent', ?? Eg: {EG} MK 3r3r 'fremde Länder', 3r3r 'aus der Fremde kommen' (of birds), NK 3r3r 'fremder Mann', 3r3r 'fremd\feindselig handeln (gegen den Bruder)', MK {Fk.} 3r3rî 'stranger', 3r3ry 'strange' ¶ EG V 514-8, 604, Fk. 318, 324 || IE: [1] ?? Ht kurur 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy' || [2] (+ ext.) NaIE *g^hers- 'repugnance, abhorrence' > Arm qawp2huf garšim 'I abhor, detest, hate' || ON gersta 'ärgern, böse machen', MHG garst 'rancid taste, stench', MHG, MLG garst 'rancid', Dt garstig 'rank, rancid, musty', NHG garstig id., 'nasty, foul, disagreeable' ¶¶ Not here (⇔ P) Av grāhman-, interpreted by P as 'Sünder, Frevler', but actually meaning '≈ gift' (Bai. 442, Brtl. 530) ¶¶ Ts. EI 665-7, Pv. IV 280-6, ≈ P 445, Sl. 371-2, Vr. 165, Vr. N 185, Lx. 53, KM 233 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of vw. changes in the prehistory of IE (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the lack of palatality in the NaIE initial cns. is reg. (*gi > *g^haj > *g^hej > *g^he [loss of a glide before another sonant]) || D *kir-ukk-, *ker- ({{θGS} *k-) > Tm ceru v. 'hate, dislike', cirukku 'be angry with', Kt cirv- id., Td kirk 'violent anger', Tl cirra, cirru 'anger, displeasure', Brh kirēṅ 'abuse' ¶¶ D #1597.

657a. ?σ₂ *giR∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg' > HS: Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} g̀̀rdáĭ, Cg {Sk.} g̀̀rdé 'leg' || CCh: Zm {J} g̀̀rày 'thigh', ZmD {Srp.} gore, BtD/BtG {Srp.} g̀̀rgačĕ 'leg' ¶ JI II 220, ChC, ChL || **A:** Tg *gĭram 'bone' > WrMc giran, Mc Sb giram 'bones, corpse', WrMc giranġi, Jrc girangi 'bone(s)', Ewk giramna id., Sln giranda, Ul ġramsá 'bone', Lm O ġramna, Neg ġyamna 'skeleton', Orc ġiamsa 'bone(s)', Ud ġeäma^{Ha}, Ork ġiransa, Nn Nh/KU ġirmaksa, Nn KU ġramna, Nn B ġirmsa id., 'skeleton' ¶ STM I 154, Kiy. 125 [#510] ◇ Doubtful because of the semantic difference between 'leg' and 'bone' (but compare German Bein).

657b. ₂ *guR∇ 'belly, body' > HS: C: SC: Irq {MQK} ġura? 'belly, interior', Irq/Alg {Wh.} ġûra, Grw/Brn {Wh.} ġura?a 'stomach' ¶ MQK 41, Wh. IC 25 || **U** *kur∇ 'body' > Lp: N {N} ġqrod ~ ġqrog 'body, carcass', L k̂arot id., 'trunk of a living animal', I korōd 'carcass' || ObU *kūr 'body' > pOs *kōr > Os: Kz eφ-χqr 'body, surface of a body' (eφ 'body'), V kōr 'shape\image (of a guardian spirit, person, animal), Vy/Ag/Ty/Y {Trj.} kōr 'shape, appearance (образ, вид)'; pVg *kūrĭ 'shape, image', {Alq.} 'Schattenbild, Gestalt' > Vg: P is-kor, Ss is-χor 'Schattengestalt', MK is-k̂ar id., 'spirit' LK χor, Ss {Ht.} χuri 'Bild, Gestalt, Form' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} χar- 'self' (χar?n 'myself', χart 'thysself', χarta 'him\her-self'), En: X keδe?, B kere? '-self' (rf. prn.) ¶ UEW 216, Trj. S 183, Ht. #312, Ter. 891 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73 (SC, U + unc. HS, D, and IE reflexes of N *gER∇ 'entrails' and N *gAr̥∇ 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

657c. *guR∇ 'forest' > HS: Ch: CCh: Ms {ChL} ġuruda, BnnM ġura 'forest', Bnn {ChL} ġora 'bush (forest)' || ECh: Mb {J} ġurá 'bush', Nd D {J} ġ́r̄m̄ĭġ 'forest' ¶ Cp. also Hs kúr̄m̄ĭ 'forest' ¶ ChL, ChC || **IE:** NaIE (att. in Blt) *g₁^{wh}er- > Lt ġiria, Lt Z ġiré, Ltv dzir̄a ~ dzire 'forest', Pru ġarian ~ ġarrin 'tree' ¶ ≈ P 478, ≈ Frn. 153 (both equate it with Sl *ġora, OI ġiri-, and Av ġairi- 'mountain') || **U** *kur∇ 'forest, bushes (Gebüsch)' > Er куро kuro 'bush (shrub), bushes (Gebüsch)' || Os: D χār 'coniferous forest, forest with much game', Kz χār 'woods' (χār tāχĭy m̄āntĭ 'move to the forest for hunting [whole families]'); Vg: T {MK} khār(é)p 'grove (Hain)', {Knn.} k̄́ĭ-kār̄p 'birch wood' (k̄́ĭ 'birch'), N/ML {MK} khw̄ar̄p ~ khwor̄p 'birch wood (березняк)', LL/P {MK} khōrp, K {MK} khōrép ~ khworép ~ kh(ω)qrép 'pine\fir-wood' || Sm: Nn F {Lh.} kūr 'thicket (thick wood\bushes) on

riverbanks' 𐌺𐌺 {Rd.}: FV *-p- is a sx. 𐌺𐌺 UEW 217, ERV 31, MK 109, Lh. 213.

658. ₂ *gURV 'to roll' > K *gor-/*gr- vi. 'roll, wallow' > OG gor-, ngor-, G gor- vi. 'roll, wallow' ('rollen, sich wälzen'), Mg gorgol-, Lz ngor-/ngr-, Sv gur-/gwr- v. 'roll' 𐌺𐌺 K 64, K² 31, FS K 83-4, FS E 88-9, Chx. 202, Abul. 96, Ser. 41 || HS: EC: Sa {R} gūr- 'rollen, wälzen, in Kugelform bringen' || SC: Irq {E} g^ωang^ωaraʔa- v. 'roll (downhill)', {MQK} g^ωang^ωarāʔ- 'roll, roll down' 𐌺 R S II 160-1, E SC 372, MQK 43 || WCh: Hs gárà v. 'roll any circular object rapidly along the ground' 𐌺 Ba. 362 || ?σ Eg P gǝǝ v. 'turn over (kentern)' 𐌺 EG V 149 𐌺𐌺 ≈ Tk. SCC 89 [#18.13].

659. ₂ *gūrV 'beast' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^hwēr- ({EI} *ǵ^hwēr / gen. *ǵ^hwer-os) 'wild animal' > Gk: A θήρ (gen. θηρός), L φήρ, Th φείρ 'beast' || L ferus (f. -a, ntr. -um) 'wild' (L e [rather than ē] is due either to Celto-Italic shortening of long vowels [Dybo's law, F Db. SDKI 13] or to generalization of {EI} *ǵ^hwer- obl.) || BSl: Lt žvėris, Ltv zvērs 'beast', Pru accus. pl. s^ωīrins ([zV-]) | pSl *zvěrb 'wild beast' > OCS zъѣръ zvěrb, Blg звяр, McdS зver, SCr звѣр њ zviĵēr, Slv zvěr, Cz zvěř, Slk zver, P zwierz, R зверь, Uk звір (in BSl the word was transferred to the *i-declension on the basis of the accus. sg. form with Baltic *-i, Sl *-b < IE *-m̥, *-n̥s) || Tc B d. śerwe 'hunter' ({Ad.}: < *ǵ^hwer-wo- 'he of the animal'), d. śer- v. 'hunt' 𐌺 WP I 642-3, P 493, 𐌺 23, F I 671-2, WH I 487-8, ME 409, Tr. 374-5, Frn. 1327, En. 261, Vs. II 87, Glh. 702, Ad. 633-4 || A (× N *goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear'): M *göreʒen 'wild animal', *göreʒe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > [1] *göreʒen 'wild animal' (× M *göregen n. 'hunt, chasing; game' < N *goRHæ) > MM [S] göre₁e 'Wild', Kl {Rm.} görē 'wild animal, deer, game'; [2] *göreʒe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > MM [S] göre₁esün id., [MA] görēsün 'wild goat', [IM] görēsün 'antelope', WrM güregesün ~ görügesün, HIM гөрөөс(өн) id., 'game, wild beast', Ord {Ms.} görösü 'game, wild beast', Brt гүрөөһэ(н) 'wild goat, roe', Kl {KRS} гөрәсн göräsən 'saiga antelope (Saiga tatarica)', {Rm.} görēsŋ 'wild animals, deer or antelopes', MMgl {Iw.} göresün 'wild ass', Dg {T} gurēs 'antelope, wild beasts', {Mr.} gurēse 'a quadruped, wild animal', ?φ Mnr H {SM} k'ūporosз 'bête féroce, bête sauvage; sauvage' 𐌺 SM 215, Iw. 104, H 51, Pp. MA 172, 437, MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166, Mr. D 153, T

DgJ 133 || Tg: [1] *gurma-(kun) 'hare' > Nn gormaxō̃ 𐌆 g°ormaxo(n-), LMa gulmamaxun, Jrc {Kiy.} gulmahaj 'rabbit'; Nn Nh gurm3 toqsa 'sacred hare', gorma-qsā 'hare's hide'; [2] NrTg *gurn- 'ε small fur-bearing animal' > Ewk gurnun 'squirrel', Lm 'gurnata 'weasel' ¶ STM I 161, 174, Kiy. 105 [#150] || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *gur'X'a 'antelope') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorani 'reindeer') ¶¶ S CNM 6-7, DQA #572 (*gú|óri|e 'deer, game') || AdS of U *koyra 'male animal' (× N *koyR∇ 'male animal' [q.v. ffd] × a derivative from U *koye 'male, man' < N *goy∇ 'man, people') ◇ IS I 237 [#93] (IE, M). Cf. N *gur'X'a 'antelope, male antelope' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal').

659a. *gE'ɣ'or∇ (or *gEwor∇??) 'grain' > HS: Ch: [1] WCh {OS} *giɣur- 'millet' > Hs {Ba.} gèrō̃, Δ {Sk.} gyauro 'bulrush-millet', Gw {Mts.} gero 'millet' || Su {J} gèwuro id. || Sy {Sk.} goro 'sorghum' || Ngz {Sch.} gāvárkà ~ gāvvrákà id. || CCh: Zm {Srp.} guirany 'corn' || Ech: Smr {J} góráwe 'ε corn' || [2] *g∇r- 'bean(s)' > WCh: Ang {ChL} g+rəm || ? Fy {J} kerem id. || CCh: Mnd {Mch.} gírē, {ChL} gire, Glv {ChL} ɣágùrà, {Rp.} àg3ra, Gv {ChC} ηg3rè, Nkc ng+re, Dgh {Fk.} ηgrè id. || Ech: EDng {Fd.} gèrjèη, Jg {J} gír(k) id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. HCD 83, Ba. 377, Sch. 219 || S: [1] S *gir(-at)- 'ε small grain' > MHb 𐤂𐤓𐤁 gē'rā 'seed of carob (St. John's bread, Ceratonia)', Ak girū 'twenty-fourth part of a sheqel' -> BHb 𐤂𐤓𐤁 gē'rā id. || [2] CS *gargir- 'a berry, small grain' > BHb pl. 𐤂𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤓𐤁 gargā'r-īm 'ripe olives', MHb 𐤂𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤓𐤁 gar'gēr, JA [Trg.] 𐤂𐤓𐤁𐤂𐤓𐤁 gargā'r-ā 'berry, small grain, Ar ġirġir- 'bean' ¶ DRS 177, 181, KB 193-4, Klein 108, Js. 266, Löw II 403, Ln. 401, BK I 274-5, Sd. 291 ¶¶ OS #211 || D *kor- 'millet, a grain' > Knd kōrēη 'a grain', Tm kural 'Italian millet', Kt koy], Kui kueri 'Setaria italica', Kn korale, Tl korralu, Prj koyla 'Panicum italicum (a kind of millet), Gnd kohala(:) 𐌆 koɣla 'Panicum miliare', gorraη 'mandeya corn, Eleusine coracana' ¶¶ D #2163 ◇ The D and S data suggest that the N internal cns. was not *w (but most probably a weak lr. *ɣ or *h). If this is true, the cns. -w- in several Ch languages is a hiatus-based innovation influenced by the labialized vowel ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [#82] |||| Cp. also ?? N₂ ≈ *gER∇Sd∇ (or cd. *gE'ɣ'or∇ S∇d∇?) 'ε cereal' > IE {E} *ġhresdh(i)- (gen. *ġhr'ṣdh-os) 'barley' > NaIE: L hordeum id. || OHG, OSx gērsta, NHG Gerste, Dt gerst id. || ?φ Gk Hm κρῖ, Gk κριθή

id. || Al drithë 'grain' || Ht karas ntr. ({EI} = [kras], [kars]?) {Ts.} 'wheat (?)', {EI} 'ε wheat' (absent in Pv.) ¶¶ EI 51, P 446 (IE *g^herzd^(h)-), GI 565 (IE *g^h(e)rd^h-), Bc. # 8.44, WH I 656-7, KM 250, O 75, Ts. W 34, Ts. E 498 || **HS**: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} gerda 'sorghum', {Ov.} girda 'Korn, Getreide' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 56.

659b. *giʔ^or∇ 'ε grass' > **HS**: S: Ar ḡāʔr- 'herbe grande, longue, d'une végétation riche' ¶ BK I 244 || **IE** (mt.; × N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow'?) *g^hreH^ω-/*g^hrH^ω-: +ext.: NaIE *g^hrōs-/*g^hrās- 'grass, herbs' > Gt gras 'χόρτος, λάχανον (grass, garden-herbs)', OFrs gres, gers, OSx, OHG gras, NHG Gras, AS ʒræs, ʒær̥s 'grass', NE grass || L grāmen 'grass, turf' (< *g^hrās-men) || SI *grōzdb (gen. *grōzda), *grōzdb 'cluster' > OCS ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ, Slv grōzd 'cluster of grapes', SCr grōzd id., 'grapes', Blg ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ, R ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ, Δ ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ 'cluster (of berries, grapes, etc.)', OR, RChS ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ grōzdb 'grape' | + another ext.: AS ʒrǣd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant' (× N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow', q.v.) || Ht {Pv.} kariyant- 'grass', karitasxa 'grassland, lawn' ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, Bern. I 355, ESSJ VII 142-3, Glh. 250, WH I 639-40, Pv. IV 80, Ts. E I 507, 510 || **A**: NaT *k_lʔ^orän 'sedge' > VTt, Bsh kürän, SbTt kürän, Brb {Rl.} körön, Xk köreṅ ot, Alt, Tlt {Rl.} körön id. ¶ ET KQ 147-8. Rl. II 1251, 1454 || M: Kl {Rm.} kür̥ṅ 'eine Pflanze (giftig), sedge (Carex), henbane'; WrM kürmeli, Hlh xypmäl 'sedge (Carex)' ¶ KW 248, MED 506, Kow. III 2650 || **D** *kīr- 'greens, vegetables' > Tm kīrai id., 'pot-herbs', Ml cīra 'greens, eatable leaves', Δ kīra, cīra 'spinach', Kt kīr, Td kīry 'Amarantus', Kn kīre, kīre '(various species of) greens', Tl kīra, kīre 'herb, vegetable, greens' ¶¶ D #1617 ◇ T *k^ʔ- and M *k- are probably from *gʔ < N *giʔ- ◇ Blz. LB #71c (suggested the comparison between IE, D, and T).

660. *geʔ^or∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'to build walls\huts') > **HS**: C: EC: Ged {Hd.} gōʔre, Brj {Hd.} gōre 'shed for animals', Or {Grg.} gōrrō 'partition, wall' || SC: Irq {Wh.} ḡârʔai (pl. ḡârʔâwe) 'wall of the verandah', {E} garʔay 'verandah of house', {MQK} garʔay 'front of the house, area near the house' (× N *gAr∇ 'belly, inside') || Bj {R} gāʔra ~ garʔa ~ gara 'fenced courtyard around the house'; eBj or Ag *gaʔrat ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) Tgy {R} ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋ ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋꙋ ⇨ Bln/Sa {R} 'qāʔrat id. ¶ Tgy ꙗꙋꙋꙋꙋ is isolated within S and EthS, while

Bj $g\bar{a}^?ra$ has cognates among the C lgs., suggesting a C origin of the Tgy word ¶ R WBd 87, R WB 234, Grg. 181, Hd. 94, 242, Wh. SI, MQR 37. ≈ E SC 233 (pSC * $g\bar{a}d-$ 'dwell, reside, abide' based on an unc. comparison of the Irq word with Dhl * $g\bar{a}d-$ 'stay') || Ch: WCh: Hs $g\bar{a}rg\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ 'low wall or mound to prevent rain water from flowing into a booth' || ECh: Mkl {J} $g\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ (pl. $g\bar{a}r-d\bar{a}r\bar{i}$) 'clôture d'épineux' ¶ Ba. 366, J LM 98 ¶¶ ≈ OS #852 (* $ga?ur-$ 'wall, yard'), #956 (* $gor-$ 'wall, house, dwelling') || A * $ge_r i^1 r\bar{\nabla}$ {AD} 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent' > M * $ge_r ir$ 'house' > MMgl {Iw.} $gehir$ 'house', MM [S] {H} $geyit$ pl. 'houses', [LM, S, MA, IM, IsV] ger , WrM, WrO ger , HIM $г\bar{a}p$, Ord, Mnr H {SM} $g\bar{e}r$, Brt $г\bar{a}p$, Mgl {Rm.} ger , Ba {T} gar , Dg {Mrm., T} $geri$, $ge\bar{r}$ 'house' ¶ H 49-50, Pp. MA 170, 437, Pp. L III 69, Lg. VMI 30, MED 377-8, Ms. O 259-60, Krg. 770, Chr. 171-2, M 133, T 322, T BJ 136, T DgJ 131, Klz. D I 133, Iw. 103 || T * $k'er\bar{a}k'ü$ 'lattice-work wooden frame of a yurt (tent)' > OT {Cl.} $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}k\bar{u}$, {DTS} $kerekü$, Tkm † $gerege$, Bsh $kir\bar{a}g\bar{a}$, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg $kerege$, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}x\bar{a}$, Uz $keraga$ id. ¶ Cl. 744, ET VGD 24-5, Rl. II 1090, Sht. 125, KrkR 315, UzR 209, Dr. TM III #1629 || *AdS* of (infl. on) Tg * $gerbe-$ 'make perches, clean trunks from boughs' < N * $gor\bar{\nabla}b|p\bar{\nabla}$ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #503 (T, M, Tg) || D * ke_r- ({ $\bar{G}S$ } * $k-$) > Kn ki_r v. 'confine, close, shut, block up, make a fence, cover', Tm $ce_r u$ v. 'control (as the senses), hinder, prevent', $ci_r a\bar{i}$ v. 'restrain, imprison, dam up', Ml $ce_r i y u k a$ 'be thronged', $ce_r u k k u k a$ 'dam up, enclose', $ci_r a$ 'enclosure', Kt $\bar{c}e_r$ 'imprisonment', Td $ke_r f-$ '(water) is dammed', Tl $ce_r a$ 'prison, imprisonment', Knd ke_r- v. 'close, shut (as a door, box); build a board (as enclosure)' ¶¶ D #1980 || ? K: G $da-v-h-gurgur-eb$ 'ich hege um' ¶ Chx. 217 || Possibly an *AdS* of IE (NaIE) * $g^h\bar{o}r-to-$ 'encircled land'; the N etymom in question is hardly the main source of NaIE * $g^h\bar{o}r-to-$, because the latter has no long vw. (the expected trace of the N lr.) (see N * $g\bar{a}rd\bar{\nabla}$ 'encircle, surround, fence in', q.v. ffd.) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here FU $k^{\bar{a}^1} r\bar{\nabla}$ > Prm * kar 'settlement, fortified settlement', but the FU vw. \bar{a}^1 (> Prm * a) suggests that the word belongs to N * $g\bar{\nabla}yo^1 R\bar{\nabla}$ 'heap of stones, (walled) settlement' ◇ The N lr. (probably * \bar{r}) is suggested by the reflexes in Bj (?), Tgy (\bar{r}), K (lack of * \bar{r}), and M; the N vw. between * \bar{r}^1 and * \bar{r} is suggested by the M and D ev. (D * $-r-$ < intervoc. * $-r-$ rather than < * \bar{r} -cluster).

661. * $g^{\bar{u}^1} r\bar{\nabla}$ 'look, look for' > K * $og^{\bar{u}^1} r\bar{\nabla}$ (or * $og\bar{a}|\bar{a}r\bar{\nabla}$) > Lz, Mg $gor-$ v. 'look for' ¶ Chik. 264-5; GM S 334-5 and Test. KV $\bar{\nabla}$ (both on the

origin of Lz and Mg 0) || HS * $\sqrt{g\check{r}}$ > S * $\sqrt{g\check{r}}$ *'see' > Ar جَعْرَانَةٌ *ǧiṣrān-at-* 'eye' ¶ BK I 300 || Eg fMK $\check{z}\check{r}$ v. 'search out, investigate; seek' (× N * $\check{c}\check{u}\check{r}\check{r}\nabla$ ~ * $\check{c}\check{u}\check{r}\check{r}\nabla$ 'to see, to look' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 539, Fk. 320 || EC: Af {PH} *gorrise* v. 'look for, search, seek', *goran* 'searching, studying', Sa, Sa Ir {R} *gūr-* 'look for', {Wlm.} *gúro-kio* 'I shall look for' ¶ PH 115, R S II 161 || ? B: Nf *sə-ggār* 'look for', possibly also * \sqrt{grw} 'find' > Ah, Tdq *aǧru*, ETwl, Ty *aǧrəw*, Gh *aǧraw*, Tnsl *iǧrəw* id. ¶ La. S 214, NZ 857, 895-6 || Ch {JS} * \sqrt{gr} 'look for' > CCh: Db {Lnh.} *ǧl̥r*, Msy {Mch.} *ǧər*, Ms {J} *ǧārā*, ? Bdm {Lk.} *kəra* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 171 || IE: NaIE * $\sqrt{g\check{h}erā-}$ ~ ? * $\sqrt{g\check{h}werā-}$ > Sl **zbrěti* / **zbr̥q* 'look' > OCS *zbrěti* / *zbr̥h* *zbr̥j̥q*, SCr *zrěti* / *zrēm*, Slv *zr̥iti* / *zrēm*, R *зреть* / *зрю*, P *źrzc̥* / *zrzę*, Cz *zřiti* / *zřim* | Lt *žiurėti* 'to look (at)' ¶ Frn. 1316, Tr. 366, ≈ Glh. 700 (??σ: Sl **zbrěti* < IE * $\sqrt{g\check{h}erā-}$ / * $\sqrt{g\check{h}rē-}$ 'shine') || A: T **kör-* v. 'see' > OT, MQp, XwT, Chg *kör-*, Tk *gör-*, Az, Tkm, Qmq *gör-*, ET, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, SY, Xk, Tv, Yk *kör-*, CrTt *koṛ-*, VTt, Bsh *kür-*, Uz *kwr-*, Qzl {Dom.} *kör-*, {Jk.} *kör-* ~ *kör*, Qb {Cs.} *kör-*, Tf *kör-*, Chv *кур-* *kur-* & *kor-* 'see'; T **kör* 'eyes' (< N * $\sqrt{g\check{u}r}\nabla$ *yi*, where **yi* 'a couple' is a marker of dual) > OT {Cl.} *köz*, XwT, MQp *köz*, Chg, OOSm *göz*, Tk *göz*, Az *ǧöz*, Tkm *гөз* *göḍ*, CrT *goź* ~ *koź*, Qmq *göz*, XT {Dr.} *geːz*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tb, ET, Ln, SY *köz*, Uz *kwz*, Alt, Xk *kös*, VTt *küz* (→ Chv *күç* *kuś* ~ *koś*), Bsh *küḍ*, Qmn *köz* ~ *kö* ~ *küs* 'eyes' ¶ Cl. 736, Rs. W 292, 295, ET VGD 60-3, 77-9, Ra. 240, Md. 49, 170, Fed. I 310-1, 314-5 (Chv *күç* ← VTt *küz*), ≠ Md. 50 (T **kör̥s* 'eye') || Tg **gur-* 'understand' > Sln *guru-* 'understand, learn (*узнатъ*)' ¶ STM I 174 || M **gori* 'hope, expectation' > WrM *gori*, HIM *горь*, Brt *гори* id., Ord *g_ori-ug^w* 'c'est en vain, cela n'ira pas' (with *-ug^w* 'without') (÷ WrM *gori ügei* 'without hope') ¶ MED 361, Ms. O 307, Chr. 157 || pKo {S} **kírì-* 'long for, miss, think of' > MKo *kírì-*, NKo *kiri-* ¶ S QK #915, Nam 68, MLC 237 ¶¶ DQA #554 (A **gōre* 'see, understand'; incl. T, M, Ko, Tg **gur-*) || D **kur̥-i* ({ \sqrt{GS} } **g-*?) 'mark, sign' > Tm, Ml, Kn *kur̥i* 'mark, sign, aim', Tm *kur̥i-* v. 'draw, sketch outline in painting, design', Kt *gury ∇* 'good aim', Td *kur̥y* 'aim', *kur̥p* 'a mark (made by a person to show he was there)', Kn *kur̥i* v. 'mark, take note of, regard', Kdg *kur̥i* 'drawing, sectarian mark', *kur̥i-* v. 'paint', Tu *guri* 'aim, mark', Tl *guri* 'an aim, design', Ku *gur-* v. 'aim at', Mlt *kurke* v. 'write' ¶¶ D #1847 ◇ If the N vw. was

ū* (suggested by IE), we still have to explain the M back vw. **o* (regr. as. *ü*...â > **o*...∇??).

662. *gæhR∇ - *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE **ǵʰer̥h-* / **ǵʰre̥h-* > NaIE **ǵʰer̥a-* / **ǵʰr̥ē-* '≈□ shine' > OIr *grían* f., NIr *grian* 'sun' (< **ǵʰr̥ējnā*) || ON *grá-r*, NNr, Dn *grá*, OFrs *grē*, OHG *grāo*, NHG *grau*, AS *Ʒræw*, *ƷræƷ* 'gray', NE *gray* ~ *grey* ('gray' ← *'bright') (Gmc **ē* < NaIE **ē* < **e̥h*); with the sx. *-*u-*: ON *grújandi* f. 'dawn' || Pru *sari* ([z-]) f. 'Glut', Lt *žarà* f. 'aurora, sunray', *žāras* id., *žerėti* 'to shine, to sparkle, to twinkle', Ltv *zars* 'ray' || Sl **zo'ra* (accus. **zōřq*) 'sunrise, aurora' ("stem I" **ǵʰer̥a-*) > OCS *зорѣа* *zorja*, McdS *зора*, SCr *zòra*, Slv *zórja*, Cz *zoře*, P *zorza*, R pl. 'зори, R Δ *зо'ря*, pl. R *зори*; Sl **za'ra* id. > OCS *зарѣа* *zarja*, Blg, R *за'ря*, Slv *zárja*, Cz *záře* ¶ P 441-2, Thr. §§ 222, 470, ≈ Bc. 54, Dnn. 383, Vr. 185, Schz. 154, Kb. 405, KM 268, Ho. 135, Frn. 1290, En. 242, Glh. 699-700, EI 514 (**ǵʰer-* 'shine, glow') || HS: WS **✓ghr* > Ar *جهر* *✓ǵhr* *G* v. 'dazzle so. with the sunlight' (of the sun), Sr *✓ghr* *G* 'be dazzled' (of the eyes), Mh {Jo.} *✓ghr* (pf. *gʷhēr*, sbjn. *uʷghör*), Jb E/C *✓ghr* id., Sq {L} *✓ghrr* 'être\devenir clair', Tgr *✓ghr* *G* v. 'glow, coal (verkohlen)' ¶ BK I 343, Hv.102, Br. 107, JPS 62, LLS 104, Jo. M 117, Jo. J 73, LH 559, DRS 104 || Ch: Hs *gārí* 'sky' || Msg {Rlf.} *gerna* 'day', Msg G {Trn.} *gìrnâ*, Msg P {Trn.} *gərna*, Msg {Ov.} *gìrná* 'today', Msg G {Trn.} *gìrvîdî* 'day-time', Msg P {Trn.} *gərɜvɜdɜy* 'moment', *gərɜvɜdɜy* *marbay* 'noon' (*marba-* 'in the middle') ¶ Ba. 367, Trn. LM 90, Trn. LDM 17, 23, Lk. M 56, ChC || A: M **gere* 'light, brightness' (× N **g'e'lyrâ* 'fire, hearth') > MM [IM] *gere* 'light', [S] *gere* 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM *gere*, HIM *гэрээ* id., 'light, lustre', Kl {Rm.} *gerə* 'torch, wick', Ord *gere* 'light, brightness', Mnr H {SM} *gərīē* 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} *gere* 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx *gīēren* 'light, ray'; ⇨ M **gerel* 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] *gerel* 'light', [S] *gerel* 'Glanz', WrM *gerel*, HIM *гэрэл* 'light, beam of light', Kl *гэрл gerəl* ~ *gerl* 'light, ray, brightness' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, Ms. H 56, KW 134, MED 378-9, KRS 139, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114 || Tg: WrMc *gere-* v. 'dawn', Mc Sb {Y} *gerəmə* 'to break' (of a day), WrMc *usiḡagerišē-mbi* 'a\the star shines' ¶ Z 324, Y #2662 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #A1535 (A **gari* 'light [lux]'; M + unc. Tg **garpa* 'ray of light, arrow') ◇ IS I 228-9 [#82].

662a. *gaHr∇ (= *gaʔr∇?) '(ε?) fish' > **HS:** Eg G gr 'fish' (coll.) ¶ EG V 180 || ? SOm: Hm {Ldl.} kara 'fish' ¶ Bnd. AL 150 || U *kōre 'ε fish' ('whitefish?') > F kuore / kuoree- 'smelt, Osmerus', Krl kūōreh, Vp kořeh id.; BF ⇨ R κορυχα, κορυωκα id. || ? Z, Vt gurina 'gudgeon' || Sm: Slq: N {Cs.} kor, UO {Cs.} kuor, Tz {Cs.} kuor, kôr, Kar {Cs.} kûr 'Coregonus muksun (a Siberian whitefish) (Castrén's k is very likely to represent Slq q), Kms {Pls.} kuru 'lenok ('Salmo lenoc' [= 'Brachymystax lenoc?']), Koyb {Coll.← Pls.?)} hurru 'Salmo corregonoides' ¶¶ Coll. 29, SSA I 441-2, Vs. II 344, LG 83, Cs. 118, 181, Pls. Z #C-356, Rs. W 282, BIG 287, Rl. II 550 || D: McTm *kāraj > Tm kāraj 'a sea-fish', Ml kāra 'a fish' ¶ D #1476 ◇ D *-r- (reg. from *r-clusters) and the long vw. in U and D suggest the presence of a lr. (sc. D *-r- < N *-Hr-); U *ō < pre-U *ā < N *aH; on U *ō < pre-U *ā see Db. OS xxv-xxvi. The absence of the lr. in Eg suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ (= *ʔ or *h, which are the only laryngeals liable to be lost in Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [#65] (suggested to equate D with T, U, SOm + unc. with Tg).

663. (₂?) *gûʔw¹r∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell' > **HS:** WS *-gūr- v. 'dwell' > Hb -gūr- (pf. 𐤂𐤀 gār, ip. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 ya-'gūr) 'dwell (as alien and dependant)', MHb -gūr- (𐤂𐤀 gār / 𐤂𐤀𐤍 ya-'gūr) 'dwell (wohnen)', Ug {TOu-1} gr (✓gwr) 'être un hôte, séjourner', {OLS} ✓gw|yr N 'hospedarse, acogerse', ✓grgr 'avecindarse', Md guara 'temporary dwelling, (?) exile', Sb ✓gwr v. 'visit (a sanctuary)'; ⇨ WS *gaʔwir- 'inhabitant' > BHb 𐤂𐤀 gēr 'protected citizen, stranger living in so.'s country', MHb 𐤂𐤀 gēr, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} 𐤂𐤀𐤍 giyyō'r-ā 'stranger, proselyte', Sr giyyō'r-ā 'alien, foreigner, stranger; proselyte', Ar جار ġār-, Gz 𐤂𐤀 gōr, Tgr, Tgy 𐤂𐤀 gor, Mh gəwayr, Hrs gor, gwīr 'neighbour': ⇨: Gz ✓gwr TL (pf. tagāwara) 'dwell together in a neighbourly way', Jb C pf. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 gēr (sbjn. 𐤂𐤀𐤍 gēr) 'become so.'s neighbour' ¶ KB 193, KBR 184-5, 201, TOu I 588, BGMR 51, Js. 236, OLS 150, Sl. 278-9, JPS 68, DM 82, LG 207, LH 592, Jo. M 128, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, DRS 109 || EC: Sml {ZMO} guri 'house, home', Rn gūra 'move to a new dwelling-place', ?σ Arr gūr- 'migrate' (unless akin to Arr gōr 'road, way'), Sd {Gs.} gare 'tribe, people, village' ¶ ZMO 170, DSI 281, PG 131-2, Hw. A 32-3, Gs. 116 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gar∇ 'town' > Bl {ChL} g̃r̃wú, {Bnt.} 'gor u, ı Ngm {Stl. ← ?} gargu, Krf {Sch.} ġirí 'town' || Hs g̃r̃í, Gw {Mts.} ġerí 'town, inhabited environment' || Dw {ChL} ġerí

(← Hs gārī?) 'town', Jm {Gw.} girga 'village' || ECh: Jg {J} gēr 'village', EDng {Fd.} gēgēr 'town' ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [#685], Stl. VZCh 67, Abr. H 305, Bnt. LWS 22, Sch. BTL 54, ChL, ChC ¶¶ Not here Wl {C} guollē 'house', which is probably a loan from Or (Or {Brl.} gola 'a room within a hut', {Sr.} gola 'room', {Th.} gola 'capannuccia') (see N *gūīA 'dwelling' [→ 'house']) ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 78-8 || D *kūr- ({{GS}} *k-) '≈□ roof, hut' > Tm kūrāi 'sloping roof (commonly thatched with grass or palm leaf), small hut', Ml kūrā 'hut, thatch', Klm kurođi 'hog-house' ¶¶ D #1904 || A (if AmTg is *gūr-): AmTg *gūr|y- v. 'roof' > Ork gui-~guy(u)-, Nn Nh gui-, Nn B guyu- id., Ul guyū- id., 'v. 'thatch'; d.: Ork guidz ~ guydz, Nn Nh guičε, Nn B guycz, Ul guičz ~ guyčz, guiptz 'a roof' ◇ The N cluster *-'w' r- yields D *-r- (while intervoc. *-r- would have yielded D *-r̥-).

664. *gar^rī 'old' > HS: EC: pOr {Bl., Ss.} *gerf- 'grow old' > Arr gēr 'old man, elder, husband', Or žār- (< *žar- < [mt.] < *žarf-), Gato, Turo, Kns ker-, Msl, Bss kerʔ-, Gdl {Ss.} kerʔ-, {Bl.} kerđ- id., Arr gair 'old', Or {Grg., Brl.} žarsa 'old person', {Brl.} žar-ti 'old woman', ?φ Arr žàʔar 'old woman' (generic) ¶ Bl. 207, Ss. PEC 37, AD VZ 208, Hw. A 360, 369, Grg. 229 || Ch {JS} *✓gr ({{Nw.}} *garψ) 'grow old' > WCh: || BT: Krkr {ChL} gārà 'old', Krf {Sch.} gārò 'old' (of a thing) || NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} ʔerá 'grow old', gārā sánna 'old (person)', gārìyáḳ^wai 'old woman', ? g^yaràná 'old' (of a thing), Cg {Sk.} gār^lisán 'old' (man), gār^umé 'old woman', Kry/Mbr {Sk.} ʔar-, Jmb {Sk.} ʔâr- 'grow old', My {Sk.} ʔaràhòzèhè 'old man', ʔaràhòzàkù 'old woman', P' {MSk.} fiarà 'grow old', Sir {Sk.} ʔzrà id., ʔâr^wá 'old (thing), g^zrá 'old woman' || SBc: Grn {Gw.} garan 'old man', {Hrn.} gāgārìn 'old person', Buli {ChL} gòrmbàm id., gòrm+š̂t̂ 'old woman' || Ngz {Sch.} gārú 'grow old' || ? Hs gířmà 'exceed in age, be older than' (unless ← Hs gířmā 'bigness; to grow big') || CCh: Tr {Nw.} gōrз, ? Gzg {Nw.} gal 'grow old' || ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} gúé 'grow old' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. #64, Ba. 390-1, Hrn. #170, Sch. DN 69, Sk. HCD 85, Lk. ZSS 33 || IE: Ht karū 'early, formerly', karu(u)ili 'former, ancient' ¶ Pv. IV 112-5 || A: NaT *k'ari 'old' (of human beings and animals) > OT, MQp XIII, Osm ≥XIV, Chg XV qarī, Tkm гарры, Qq garrī, Qq, Qrg, Alt qarī, Uz qarī, ET qerī, Xk kiru id., Qzq {DQA} qāri id., {MM} qariya 'old man', ET qerī, Xk кипи kiru id., Az qarī 'old woman', Tk karī, Ggz qarī 'wife, married woman', d.: Qq

qariya 'old man'; pT *k'arɪ- ({}Md.) *k'arɪ- > OT qarɪ- ({}Cl.) qarɪ- 'be(come) old', Tk karɪ-, Tkm garrɪ-, Uz qari-, ET qerɪ-, Qrg, StAlt qarɪ-, Tv, Tf qirɪ-, Xk kirɪ- - kirɪ-, Yk kirɪy- 'grow old', Az garɪ- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman) ¶ The variant with i, ɪ, or e of the first syll. may be due to the infl. of the reflex of N *kiřHa 'old' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-2, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #775 ◇ The rec. of N *ř is based on EC {Ss.} *ř, which is only tentative (what is certain is that it is a lr. resembling *ʔ and lengthening the preceding vw. in Or). Therefore our N *ř here is tentative and not free of doubts. A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ Gr. II #283 (*kara 'old') (IE, A + err. J + qu. EA).

665.₂ *gArɪ∇ 'belly, inside' > HS: pC {E} *garɪ- > LEC {Bl.} *garɪ- 'belly' > Gwd {AMS} karɪ-étto, Gln {AMS} karɪitto, Hr/DbS {AMS} karaɪ-čé, Or gara-ʔ ({}Bl.): < *gara-a < *garɪ-a), Kns kár-itta, Turo kér-itta, Gato kár-a, Msl, Bss karʔ-a, Gdl kard, Dsn gēre, Elm gére, Arr geréʔ id. ¶¶ ?? amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gar i 'body, trunk', Bj A {AD} garouy- 'self', e. g. ʔU ga'rōy-u 'myself', ʔU garō'yok 'thysself' (× N *gER∇ 'entrails', q.v.) ¶¶ SC: Irq {MQK} garɪāy 'front of the house, area near the door', {E} garɪay 'verandah' (× N *ge'ř∇'r∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v.) ¶ EPC #500, ≈ AD SF 205, R WBd 87, Rop. 186, Bl. 207, AMS 167, 207, 232, Hn. NBLK 205, Hw. A 360, To. DL 49, MQK 37 ¶¶ D: SD *kar(a)l- 'entrails' > Ml karal, karul 'lungs and heart; liver, bowels; heart', Ml karił, Kt karl 'heart', Kn karul, karalu 'an entrail, the bowels', Kdg karɪ 'interstines', Tu kar(a)lu 'bowels, liver' ¶ D *-r- < *-rH- ¶ D #1274 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #73a (incl. C, D; no distinction between the reflexes of N *gArɪ∇, N *gER∇ 'entrails' [q.v.], and N *guR∇ 'belly, body' [> U *kur∇ 'body, SC *gur∇ 'belly']).

666. *girɪ∇ 'to cut' > HS: WS *řgrɪ 'cut' > BHb ʔgrɪ řgrɪ 'cut down, trim (a beard), diminish', JA řgrɪ 'cut (head hair, beard), diminish', JEA řgrɪ G 'be inferior, shave the head', Sr řgrɪ 'shave (hair\beard), deprive of hair, make a tonsure', Plm אנתגג grɪtʔ pl. 'hairdressers', Mh řgrɪ (pf. gōra, sbjn. yʔgrɪʔ) 'shave (usually the head)', Jb C řgrɪ (pf. 'geraɪ, sbjn. 'yɔgraɪ) 'cut, shave off (all the head hair)', Sq {L} řgrɪ (pf. 'garaɪ) 'cut (hair)' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, Lv.

I 363, Sl. 304, Br. 134, JPS 79, HJ 235, LESAC 16, Jo. M 123, Jo. J 78, DRS 190 || EC: Sa, Af ✓gr̥ 'cut (off)' > Sa {Wlm.} -igre̥- id., Sa {R} ✓gr̥- (p. 'i-gr̥i̯, imv. e'gr̥i̯ ~ i'gr̥i̯) 'ab-\lein-schneiden', Af {R} ✓gr̥- (p. 'i-r̥g̥i̯, imv. i'r̥g̥i̯) 'abschneiden (Baum, Hals)', {PH} ir̥g̥i̯e 'cut, cut down, harvest', gara̯e v. 'cut off in the middle of doing sth.', garu̯ 'harvest, mutilation', ?φ Arr kūr- 'cut, reap, castrate, cut down'; but EC *gawra̯- v. 'cut the throat' is probably derived from the reflex of N *gūr̥E ~ *gūr̥V 'throat, neck' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 316, R S II 161-2, R A II 60, PH 110-1, 137, Hw. A 381 || U *kir̥ > FP *kir̥ä- 'hew, strike' (× N *k̥i'r̥u̯V 'strike, hit' [q.v. ffd.]) || pY {IN} *kir̥(e) 'knife' > OY O {Mat.} кире or кирье id. ¶ IN 306, ≈ IN 228 || A: Tg *giri- 'cut out, cut out cloth for dress-making' > Ewk ḡir-, Lm ḡir-, Neg ḡi- ~ ḡi-, Orc ḡi- ~ ḡiḡi, Ud ḡi-, Ul, Ork, Nn ḡir- id., WrMc giri- v. 'trim; cut off (grass, branches)' ¶ STM I 153-4, Bz. 21-2 (*ḡir-), S AJ 224 [#280] (*giri-) || pJ *k̥ir- 'cut' > OJ k̥ir-, J: T k̥ir-, K/Kg k̥ir- ¶ S AJ 272 [#194], S QJ #194, Mr. 709 || ? pT *k̥ir- > MT [IM] k̥i'r- 'cut off, clip' ¶ Cl. 643 ¶¶ S AJ 298 [#297], ≠ DQA #528 || D *kir̥ ~ *ker̥ ({ḡGS} *k-) 'shave, cut (with a sickle)' (partial coalescence with N *k̥ir̥X̥V 'scrape, scratch') > Tm cir̥ 'shave, cut with a sickle', Ml cir̥ 'shaving', Kn kiri 'shave', Tu kirejuni 'cut (as straw, grass-stumps)', Klm kerk-, Nk ker-, Mlt qere- 'shave', ? Brh kar̥iḡ 'shear, crop down, mow down' ¶ Tm cir̥ 'get scratched', Ml cir̥eka '(shave), scrape', and Kn kere 'scratch' go back to N *k̥ir̥X̥V '↑' ¶¶ D #1564.

667. *goR̥V '≈□ hill, (small?) mountain' > HS: S: Tgr ḡC̥ ḡ̥r̥ 'Bergkamm, mountain-ridge' (hardly ← ḡ̥r̥ 'neck, throat'), ??σ Ar ḡar̥(a)-at- 'monticule de sable, terrain sablonneux' (if 'monticule' is the primary meaning) ¶ LH 576, BK I 281 || C: [1] EC: Sml {DSI} guro 'the highest point of sth., summit', Or {Ss} ḡōrrō 'mount, small hill', {Th} ḡōro 'elevazione, collinetta, terrapieno', {Brl.} ḡoro 'terrapieno, mucchio, luogo elevato, collinetta' (Brl. did not indicate the length of vowels) || [2] C *ḡā̯r- (× N *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point') > Ag: Q {R} gara 'rock' || EC: Or {Th.} gāra (nom. gāri) 'montagna, catena di montagni, altezza', {Grg.} gāra 'mountain', Sd {Gs.} gāra 'hill, small mountain' ¶ DSI 282, Ss. B 84, Th. 151-2, 173, Brl. 182, AD SF 61, Grg. 157, Gs. 175 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} gurá, Anf {Gr̥.} gurá, HzMa {Fl.} gura, Na {Fl.} ḡara, Shk {Fl.} ḡra 'mountain' ¶ ≈ Lm.

Sh 311, Grt. 352, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} gîrí 'rock' (but EDng {Fd.} gîrpì and Mgm {JA} gûrbú 'rock' are plausibly cognate with S *✓grb 'rock, highland') || ? CCh: Gdr {Srp.} girmāa, {Mch.} garmā 'mountain' ¶ ChC, JA LM 89 || K: GZ *gōra- 'small mountain, hill' > G gora, Mg gōla- ~ gvāla- 'mountain', Lz gōla- 'summer roaming place' ¶ K 64, K² 31-2 || IE: NaIE *^og_lh₁er- (att. in BSI) 'mountain', ? 'forest' (×N *kur_lh₁ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd. ×N *guR 'forest') > pSl *gō'ra (accus. *gōrō, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ropā gora, R, Uk ropā, SCr gōra, Cz, Hls hora, P, Lls gōra id., Slv gōra id., 'mountain forest', Blg ropā 'forest, wood(s)', Slk hora id., 'woody mountain' || Lt giriā, Lt Z girē, Ltv † dzirā, dzire 'forest, wood(s)' ◇ Cp. FP *kur 'hill, steep slope' and D *kur- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'hill country' (both most probably from N *kur_lh₁ '↑') ◇ ≈ Blz. IB #111d (suggested to add Shn, Anf, Dng, and Mgm), ≈ Blz. KM 133-4 [#7], ≈ Blz. LNA #17 (*÷ OSA ✓grb 'campus montanus, saxum', M and pJ words for 'stone').

668. (₂?) *gVRæfû '≈□to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE *g^hrēu-/*g^hraū-/*g^hrū- 'fall upon, fall in' > Gk χρᾶεῖν inf., Gk Hm ἔχρα(φ)ε 'fall upon, attack, assail' || L ingru-ō, -ere 'fall upon, assail' || Lt griáuti (prs. griáuju) 'to bring\throw down, to overthrow; to tear down, to demolish', Ltv grāūt (prs. grāuju, p. grāvū) 'to destroy, to wreck', Lt griūti (prs. griūvū) 'to fall (down), to crash\tumble down, to fall in', Ltv grūt 'to collapse, to break down' ¶ ≈ WP I 647-8, ≈ P 460, F II 1114-5, WH I 700-1, Frn. 171 || HS: S *✓grf > Ar جرع ✓ǵrf Gt 'break (a piece of wood), Sh† (ʔaǵrafa) 'fall' ¶ BK I 280 || EC: Sml garāf- 'nock, beat, thrash' ¶ DSI 25, ZMO 154 || ?ϕ K: G ngr- 'destroy; fall in' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 977.

669. *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE *g^her-, *g^herh̄-/ *g^hreH̄- > NaIE *g^her-, *g^herā-/ *g^hrē- 'sharp point' (partially ×N *g^ha¹Rž '≈ to stretch, to drag') > Gk χάρμη 'point of a lance, spear-head' (< *g^hr̄- without lr.) || Nr Δ gare 'point (Spitze)'; *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grāt (pl. græte) 'sharp fish-bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain-ridge', NHG Grat 'edge, ridge', Gräte 'fish-bone', MDt graet id., Dt graat id., 'ridge' || SI *grōtb 'sharp point' > Cz, Slk hrot id., P grot id., 'arrow, dart' ¶ P 440, F II 107, Lx. 75, KM 268, Vr. N 217, ESSJ VII 140 || U *kara 'sharp bough (of a coniferous tree), stick' > F kara 'peg, bar (of a lock), tang (of a knife), (metal)

rod, denuded tail of a bull', *karahka* 'bough, young fir-tree', *karas* 'young fir-tree, long bough of a fir', Es {W} *karā* 'denuded tail of an animal (entblößte Rute der Tiere)', *jummi-kara* 'icicle' || Sm: Ne: T *χαρβ*, T O {Lh.} *χάρβ*, F {Lh.} *kārβ* 'larch'; Ng {Cs.} '*karu* 'dry larch', En B {HL.} *kaḍī*, {Ter.} *kaḍī* 'spruce', {Cs.} *kadī*, {Prk.} *kade* 'fir-tree', En Kr {Dolgix} *kaḍī*, En X {Cs.} *karī* id.; the metonymy 'bough' → 'tree' is parallel to that found in F *karahka*, *karas* ¶¶ SK 160-1, W EDW 208, Ter. 747, Lh. 166-7, Cs. 47, 245, KP 80 || **A**: Tg **gara* 'bough' > Ewk *gara* 'bough, dry branch, stick', Sln *gar*, *gara* 'branch', Neg *gaya*, Orc, Ud *gā*, Ul, Ork, Nn *gara* 'bough, branch, rowlock (made of a bough) in a boat', ? WrMc *garḡa*, *garḡan* 'bough, branch' ¶ STM I 141 || pKo {S} **kárh* 'knife, sword' > MKo *kár* / *kárh-*, NKo *kʰal* ¶ S QK #415, Nam 19, MLC 1669 || pJ {S} **kàtànà* 'knife' > OJ *kàtànà*, J: T *kataná*, *katána*, K *kátànà*, Kg *kataná* ¶ S QJ #419, Mr. 443 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #483 (A **gǎ́r̥ʰ* 'sharp edge'; incl. Tg, Ko, J) || **D** **kar̥* > Tm *karu* 'prong, barb, spike', D **kar̥kk-* ({GS} **k-*) > Tm *karukku* 'teeth of a saw\sickle, jagged edge of palmyra leaf-stock', Ml *karukku* 'teeth of a saw\file, thorns of a palmyra branch', Kn *karaku*, *karku* 'a jag, notch, dent, toothed part of a file\saw', Tl *karagasamu* 'a saw' ¶¶ D #1265 || **HS** **g̥r̥H-* 'thorn, sharp point' → ? 'summit of a mountain' > WCh **gr̥* 'thorn' > Klr {J} *gírí* m. (pl. *gírēr*), *gírí* f. (pl. *gírýér*) 'thorn' || Ang {ChL} *g̥r̥* 'thorn' || ? Hs *gársání* 'a very thorny weed', ? *mágáryá* 'jujube (a thorny tree)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [#741] (**h̥gar̥* 'thorny plant'), ChL, J R 352, Ba. 369, 744 || C **g̥r̥* 'rock, mountain' (× N **gōR̥* '≈hill, (small?) mountain', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 226 [#78] (IE, U, D, Tg; *÷ M **gar-* 'go\come out, emerge, appear'); OS RPV I 67 #4 (adduction of the Hs and Ang words to N) ◇ IE and D (D **r-* goes back to N cns. clusters with **r*) suggest the presence of a lr. The absence of traces of the N (and IE) lr. in Gk *χάρμη* is puzzling.

670. *ι* ≈ **gErH̥* 'to belch, to eruct' > **HS**: B [1] **gr̥* 'belch' > Ah *ágrī* v. 'belch', Ah *ta-ágray-t* (pl. *ti-ágraīn*) ~ *tugrayt* (pl. *tuágraīn*), Gh *ta-žray-t* (pl. *čī-žrain*) n. 'belch, eructation'; [2] ? *ι* eB **gr̥* > *ι* → Ar Mgr *gr̥* 'belch' (in Ar Mrc {DMA} pf. *gerrāḥ* 'cause to belch', pf. *tgerraḥ* 'v. 'belch, burp') *ι* → Kb {DL.} *ǎǎargāḥ*, {NZ} *ggurraḥ*, BMn {Bs.} *gurraḥ*, Izd {Mrc.} *gārraḥ*, Shl/CM/Fgg/Shw/Mz {NZ} *gr̥*, CA *gurraḥ*, Zng {NZ} *agārraḥ* v. 'belch' ¶ Fc. 483, Dl. 273, DMA I 44, 167, NZ 899,

903 ¶ The root is likely to originate in eB (at the time when *ʕ still existed in B) or have its *ʕ due to onomatopoeia || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gərḥí v. 'belch' || U: FU *ker∇ 'belch, ruminare' > Prm *görǰ- ({LG} *gǰrǰ-) 'belch' > Z гордзьод- gorǰzd-, Yz 'gurǰot-, Vt гурзыны gurǰ-, Vt B gǰrǰ-, Vt SW gǰrǰ- id. || Vg: T kērkañtākt-, LK kerañt- 'belch', Sg kērañt- id., 'ruminare' || Hg kērǰdz- 'ruminare' ¶ UEW 151, MF 354, LG 78 || A ≈ *kāk'Er- ({S} *kāk'ir∇) 'belch' > T *kākir- ({Md.} kākir- = {Md.} *kākir-) > OT kagir- ~ kākir-, Tk geǰir-, Tkm gāǰir-, Az кәҗир- ǰäyir-, Xlj {DT} gāǰür-, VTt, Bsh кикер- kikir-, Qzq кекір- kekir-, Uz kekir-, ET keki(r)- ǰ kekij-, CrTt, Qry Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg kekir-, StAlt kegir-, Tv кегир- keǰir-, Xk кигір- kigir-, Yk кәҗәрт- keǰert- (with shortnenig *ā > e in a polysyllabic stem), Chv какәр- kaǰr- id. ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 37, TkR 239, Jeg. 85, Fed. I 213, Md. 35, DT 117 || M *kekere- 'belch, eruct' > MM [MA] kekere-, WrM kekere-, HIM хәхрә-, Brt хәхәр-, Kl кекр- kekьr-, {Rm.} kek̄r- id. ¶ Pp. MA 213, MED 446, KRS 290, KW 223 || o†Tg *keker- v. 'belch' > Ul кәхәрзәц-, Nn kērзәci- id., WrMc kekere- id., 'hiccup' ¶ STM I 445 ¶¶ S VL 200 ¶¶ The A √ ≈ *kāk'Er- may be explained by rdp. and as.: reduplicated *gErH∇-gErH∇ > **gErHgErH∇ > **gErk'ErH∇ (*Hg > *k') > (regr. as.) *kErk'Er∇ > *kāk'Er∇ (loss of *r with Ersatzdehnung) || ?? o D: Kn gār̄r̄a (sound in imitation of loud belching), Tl gār̄r̄u (sound produced in belching) ¶¶ Kn, Tl a < N *ā, unless this word is an independent onomatopoeia ¶¶ D #1401.

671. *gorho 'be(come) big\long, grow' > IE *gʰreH^ω-/*gʰrH^ω- > NaIE *gʰrō-/*gʰra- 'grow, become green' > ON gróa, OHG gruoen 'to flourish, to grow', OSx grōian 'grünen', AS ǰrōwan 'to grow', NE grow] ⇨ ON græn-n, NNr, Dn grøn, Sw grön, OHG gruoni, NHG grün, OFrs grēne, OSx grōni, AS ǰræne 'green', NE green] + ext.: (×N *giʰo'r∇ 'grass') AS ǰræd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant, weed']?? WGmc *grautā- 'big' > AHG groz, NHG groß, OSx grōt, Dt groot, AS ǰrēat id., NE great ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, Vr. 190, 192, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, WH I 639-40 || HS: S *√grhm > Ar جرّهم ǰirhām- 'huge' (of a camel), 'huge camel', ǰurāhim- 'big, huge' (Fr: 'magnus', BK: 'gros, corpulent') ¶ Fr I 271, BK I 284 || B *-Hgur- (> *-:g^ω∇r) 'be bigger than', ?? *√grw 'be much\many' > Kb {Dl.} aj^ωar

(3m pf. $yuj^{\omega}ar$), Sll {Ds.} $ag^{\omega}ar$ (3m pf. $y\ddot{u}g\ddot{a}r$), Ah {Fc.} $a\acute{g}ar$, Izn, Rf {Rn.} $a\check{z}ar$ v. 'surpass', Tmz {MT} $ag\ddot{a}r$ (pf. $ug\ddot{a}r$), ASgr {MT} $a\check{z}ar$ id., 'be older \ bigger \ more numerous \ better', ETwl {GhA} $ag\ddot{a}r$ (3m pf. $og\ddot{b}r$) 'être plus grand que, être supérieur à', Gd {Lf.} $\bar{a}g\ddot{a}r$ (3m pf. $y\ddot{u}g\ddot{e}r$) 'l'emporter sur, surpasser, être plus grand que', Ntf {Dray} $ag\ddot{u}r$ (3m pf. $yug\ddot{e}r$) 'surpasser', Zng {TC} pf. $yug\ddot{e}r$ 'être plus grand', ?? Izn {Rn.} $y\ddot{a}rru$ ({Rn.} $\check{g}r^{\omega}$) 'be much\many' ¶ Fc. 468, GhA 56, 246 (on Pcj. I A 3), Rn. 352, MT 162-3, Dl. 267-8, Ds. 270, Lf. I 255 and II #O524, Dray 452, DCTC 289 (fn. 29), NZ 846-8 || Ch: [1] $*\check{g}r$ v. 'surpass' > WCh: BT {Stl. VZCh} $*gar-$ id. > Krkr {Lk.} $gar-$, {ChL} $g\grave{i}r\hat{a}n$, $g\ddot{z}ru-$, Ngm {ChL} $g\grave{i}r\acute{a}$, {Nw.} $garan$ id. ||| ECh: Kwn {Lk.} $gar\acute{a}te$ 'big' | [2] $*g\check{V}r-$ 'long' > WCh: Ngm {ChC} $g\ddot{z}r\hat{a}$, Bl {IL} $garan$ id. || CCh: Nz {ChL} $g\ddot{i}r$, Bcm {ChC} $g\grave{u}r\acute{e}g\grave{u}r\acute{e}$ 'long' ¶ Stl. VZCh #71, Stl. VZCh B #93, JS 257, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'big' ||| K $*og\omega ar-$ > G $g\omega ar-$ 'wachsen, gedeihen' ¶ Chx. 189 ||| A: Tg $*gora$ 'far', 'long' (of time) > Ewk $goro$, Lm gor , Orc, Ud $g\ddot{o}$, Nn $goro$, WrMc $goro$ id., Sln $goro$ 'far' ¶ STM I 161-2 || ???σ M: MM $g\ddot{u}r$ [HI] {Lew.} 'universel, général, vaste, grand', {Ms.} 'universel, entier, multitude', [S] {H} 'universal, allgemein, sämtlich, gesamt' ¶ H 52, Ms. H 58, Lew. 39, Rs. W 319 ¶ The M cognate may be valid only if Lew.'s interpretation as 'vaste, grand' is justified ||| D ?φ $*kar-$ ({ϑGS} $*k-$) > Tm $karumay$ 'strength, greatness', Ml $karu$, $karu$ 'stout, hard', Kn $kara$, $karu$ 'greatness, abundance, power', Tl $karamu$ 'much, great, very' ¶¶ D #1287 ◇ IE $*h^{\omega}$, S $*h$, and D $*-r-$ (regularly from N $*-rH-$ rather than from N $*-r-$ between vowels) point to a presence of a *lr*. in the N etymon ◇ A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N $*gar^{\check{r}}i$ 'old' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA #13 (N $*g\ddot{o}ri$ 'long, far, high' > Ch, A, WGmc $*\ddot{z}gr\ddot{z}el-$ 'long' [see N $*g^{\check{r}}a^{\check{r}}R\check{z}\check{V}$ '≈ to stretch'], FV $*korka$ 'high' [see N $*K\hat{a}R\check{K}ub|p\check{V}$ 'top, summit']).

671a. $*goRH\ae$ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear' > IE: NaIE $*g^{\omega}hr\bar{e}-$ vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N $*g^{\check{r}}o^{\check{r}}R\check{z}\check{a}e$ 'to feel' [q.v.]) > OI $jighr\bar{a}ti$, 'ghr $\bar{a}ti$ 'smells (sth.)' (pp. $ghr\bar{a}ta-$), $ghr\acute{a}nam$, $gr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ n. 'smell, nose' ||| Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\varphi\rho\acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< $*odes\ g^{\omega}hr-$) (Gk A aor. $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\varphi\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$) | \rightarrow NaIE $*g^{\omega}hr\bar{e}-ti-s$ n. 'smell, smelling (Geruch)' > OI $gr\bar{a}ti\check{h}$ id., Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\varphi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 'sense of smell, smell' ¶ WPI 697, P 495, M KI 433, F II 438-9 ||| HS: B $*\check{g}rH$ > Zng

{TC} ɔgrīh 'hear', {Bs., Msq.} gār a (pf. i gr a) 'listen, hear', ?σ: Ah aǵru 'discerner (comprendre et distinguer)', ETwl ɛgru, Ty aǵru 'discerner, apercevoir', Tnsl {Pr.} aǵrāh 'discerner', {DTM} pf. iǵrɛh 'discerner, comprendre, voir' ¶ Bs. MS I 169, Msq. Z, Pr. H #106, DCTC 288, NZ 876-8, Ks. VZ 84-5 (claims that -h in Zng is secondary, but cf. Tnsl) || Eg Md grɥ.t 'ε a part of the ear (ear-hole?)' ¶ EG V 181, DW 921 || EC: Kns kurrá, Mos koworó 'ear', Or: {Th.} gurra, nom. gurri, {Grg., Brl.}, B/O {Sr.}, W {Sr., Hn.} gurra, T {Mrn.} 'gurrā, H {Ow.} gurrá, M {AD} 'gurrā, nom. gu'rri' 'ear', W {Sr.} gur(r)ī 'earwax'; an unknown C lge. b→ Amh ǵoro 'ear' ¶ Th. 180, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Sr. 317, Hn. W 67, AD MsO, Lm. SKE 534 ¶¶ Blz. DA #12 || AdS of S * \sqrt grh > Ar جرح \sqrt ǵrḥ G 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)' (< N *gārḥ∇ 'try to obtain, wish, need') ¶ BK I 275 || A: M *göreɣen n. 'hunting, chasing; game' (× N *güR∇ 'beast', q.v.) > WrM görüge(n), HIM rəpəə n. 'hunting, chasing; game', Kl rəpe göre, {Rm} görē n. 'hunt'; *göreɣe-le- v. 'hunt' > WrM görügele-, HIM rəpəəle-x, Kl rəpəle-x gīrāl-xə, Brt rɥrəəle-xə id. ¶ MED 387, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166 ¶ The M stem either contaminated with M *göreɣe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal' (< N *güR∇ '↑' (q.v.) [whence WrM görüge(n) 'game']) or goes back to it. In the latter case the M \sqrt does not belong here || ?φ D *kuṛ- 'ear-ring, ear' (× N *gUR₁W₁∇ [= *gUṛ₁W₁∇?] 'ear' [q.v. ffd.] × N? *koṛ₁W₁∇ 'external ear') ◇ Blz. DA 152 [#13] (D, HS).

672. *gārḥ∇ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > HS: WS * \sqrt grh > Ar جرح \sqrt ǵrḥ 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)', {Ln.} 'apply oneself with art and diligence to get \ obtain \ gain \ acquire', Ar D {L < ?} Ar جرح \sqrt ghr G (mt.) 'emporter', Sq {L} \sqrt grḥ G 'ramasser' ¶ BK I 275, Ln. 405, L LS 115 || IE *ǵ^her₁H_X₁- > Ht kar-i(ya)- 'be gracious towards, gratify', Ht kargaranti 'readily, willingly, eagerly' (acc. to Ts., a fossilized dat.-loc. of a prtc. from *kar-kar- with intensive rdp.; according to Pv. <b- Lw sg. ntr. prs. prtc. [in -anti-] of *kar-kar-) || NaIE *ǵ^her₁a₁-, {EI} *ǵ^hor-(ye/o)- 'desire' > OI \sqrt har-: 'haryati 'yearns for, likes, is fond of', ζ Av zarā- 'striving, aim' (if this semantic interpretation of the word is valid) || Gk χαίρω v. 'rejoice', χάρις 'grace, favour' || Um heri 'vult', HERIEST 'volet', L horior, hor(i)tor v. 'urge on, incite' || OHG girī 'greediness, covetousness, ambition', NHG

Gier, Gt *gairnei* n. 'wish, desire', OHG *ger* 'covetous, greedy' ({Schz.} 'verlangend, begierig nach'), *gerno* 'voluntarily, greedily', NHG *gern(e)* adv. 'willingly, gladly, with pleasure', ON *gjarn*, AS *georn* 'desirous, eager', Gt *gairnjan*, ON *girna*, OHG *gerōn* 'to desire, to wish, to strive to', NHG *begehren* 'to covet, to desire', AS *ziernan* id., 'to yearn', NE *yearn* ¶¶ Pv. IV 80-1, 89, Ts. EI 511, Frd. HW 101, P 440-1, EI 158, M K III 583, M E II 804, F II 1062-5, WH I 657-8, Bc. G 336, Fs. 186, Kb. 327-9, 369, Schz. 150-1, KM 60, 250, 257, Vr. 168, 170, Ho. 127, 129 || U **karma-* v. 'want, wish' > Er/Mk *karma-* v. 'want, intend' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} *χαρῶν*- v. 'wollen, Lust haben, mögen', En X {Cs.} *κόμα*, B {Cs.} *κομα-* v. 'want', Ng {Cs.} *karbutu-* id., Mt {Hl.} **karənžər-* (or **harənžər-*?) 'want' (Mt: M {Sp.} *харынджёргамъ* 'I want') ¶¶ Coll. 22, UEW 128, Cs. 304, Hl. M #429 || ?*φ,σ* A: NaT **k'ärgä-* ~ **k'äräk-* 'be necessary' > OT {Cl.} *kärgä-* 'be deficient (?), be worthy (?)', OOSm *كر كملك*, Tk *gerek-*, CrTt, Nog *kerek-*, SbTt *käräk-* 'be necessary'] ⇨ NaT **k'ärgä-k* 'necessary', 'necessity' > OT {Cl.} *kärgäk* id., Tk *gerek*, Az *кәрәк* *ğäräk*, Tkm *гәрәк* *gerek* 'is necessary', 'necessity', Qmq *gerek*, CrTt, Qry Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, SY *kerek*, Bsh *käräk* 'is necessary', Blq, Alt *kerek* id., 'need'; T ⇨ M: WrM *kereg*, HIM *хэрэг* 'need, necessity', 'thing' (abstr.), 'matter' ⇨ Tv *херек*, Alt *kerek*, Xk *kirek*, Yk *kereχ* 'business, matter' ¶ The Og lgs. provide ev. for pNaT **k'-*, while the apparently conflicting ev. of Tv *χ-* is not valid (because the Tv word is from M); Bsh and SbTt point to a NaT **ä* of the first syll. ¶ Cl. 742-3, Rs. W 256, ET VGD 25-7, TvR 475, MED 455-6 || ?*σ* D (in SD) **kar-* ({*ǰGS*} **k-*) 'aim at, intend, think, point' > Kn *karu* v. 'point, aim at', Tm *karutu* v. 'intend', Kt *kart* 'purpose, aim strenuously striven for' ¶ D *-*r-* < N *-*rH-* ¶ D #1283 ◇ Ar *ħ* and Ht zero point to N **ħ*. The absence of traces of the lr. in NaIE is still puzzling. But cf. NaIE **g^oḡ_lh_lerə-* 'look' (see N **g^oḡ_lḡ_rḡ_r* 'look, look for'). U **a* in the first syll. of **karma-* is likely to be due to vw. harmony: eU **kärma-* > U **karma-* ◇ ≈ Gr. II #93 (**keri* 'desire') (IE, U, A, Ai, EA).

673. **gur_lE_lw_rḡ(-Tḡ)* 'young (carnivorous) animal' > HS: S **gur_li_lw-* id. > BHb *גור* *gūr* 'cub (of a lion, jackal, etc.)', JPA *גור* *gūr* 'cub', JEA *גור* *gūr* *g^ow^or^oy^o*?, Sr *جور* *gur^oy-ā* 'young lion', Ak *gerru* 'young carnivore', Ar *جور* *ğurw-* id., 'cub' ¶ KB 177, KBR 185 || B: Rf

Bq a-garrud 'young partridge', SrSn awarrud 'young of an animal' ¶ Rn. 352, NZ 866 || **A:** NaT *Kūrt- 'wolf' > OT, OUg MOg, Chg xv qurt, XwT qurd, Tk kurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd, CrTt {Rs.} qurt, XT gurt ɘ gurt ɘ gōrt ɘ gōrt, Bsh Δ qōrt 'wolf', Ggz kurt 'predator' ¶ Cl. 648DTS 203, Rs. W 303, ≈ ET Q 167-8, ≈ TL 160 (unc.: ← *kurt 'worm' as an Og tabuistic replacement; in fact, the word is present in different ds. of OT and in different branches of NaT, within proper names and in the totem name idi qurt ['lord-wolf'] of ancient Turks, see TL 643), DH ChT || **D** {tr.} *kur- ~ {tr., GS} *kur- 'young of an animal' (× N *KURV 'young of an animal, child', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The D root *kur- may belong here only if N *-rɯ- (or pre-D *-rɯ- < N *-rVɯ-) yields D *-r- (a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters).

673a. ? (2?) *g'o'R∇Hw∇ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE *gh̥hr̥əu- 'scrape, rub away' > Gk χραύω* (att.: cnj. aor. χραύση) v. 'scrape, graze, wound slightly' || ON grjón 'groats, flour' (< *'ground corn'), Far grón, grún, NNr grjon, Dn, Sw gryn 'groats' ¶ ≈ P 460-2 (*gh̥rēu-/ *gh̥rəu-/ *gh̥rū- reconstructed due to adduction of highly qu. cognates and stem variants with extensions), Vr. 190, F II 1115-6, 1120-1 || **U:** FU *k'o'rɯ∇ 'scrape, whet, rub' (× N *gor∇b|p∇ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ **A:** M: WrM guranzu, HIM гупанз 'whetstone' ¶ MED 369.

674. *gurX'a 'antelope, male antelope' > HS: C {AD} *√gʷrʰ > Bj {R} garuwa 'antelope' || EC: Sd {Gs.} guruʔm-iččo (pl. guruʔme) id., 'gazelle, roe' || SC: Irq {MQK} gʷarēh, {Wh.} gʷarêhi, Grw {FL} gʷeraʔahi, Alg {FL} gʷeraʔai, gʷarehe 'dik-dik antelope', Brn {FL} gʷereha 'decula antelope' ¶ AD SF 72-3, Wh. DI, MQK 43 || NrOm: Wl/Dwr {C} gārā id. ¶ C SO 30, Blz. OL #157 || Ch: WCh: Gmy žirri ~ žirri 'roe', Ngz {Sch.} g̣ṛàf̣ịyà 'e antelope' || CCh: Bdm ḡǝrí, Lgn (Lk.) garia 'antelope' ¶ ChC s.v. 'duiker' || **A:** M *gūra(n) 'antelope', {STM} 'male roebuck' > MM gura {IS ← ?} 'e hornless antelope', WrM gura(n), HIM gur {MED} 'roebuck, wild goat', {Gl.} '(male) saiga (a sheeplike antelope Saiga tatarica)', Brt {Chr.} гупа(н) 'male roe', Kl Ö {Rm.} gurɯ 'roebuck; male antelope, male saiga', Ord D {IS ← ?} gurun id.; M → Ewk S gūran 'wild goat'; the length of pM *u is suggested by the loanword in Ewk ¶ MED 368, Gl. II 230, KW 155, Chr. 160 || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *gūrV 'beast') ¶ S QK #271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. ANE 16 (on the ev.

of Ko Δ korani \approx koreni \approx koren he suggests that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorani 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *gU|ürU 'deer, roebuck', see DQA #572 (on Ko *kòráni), Rm. SKE 125 || D *ku:ur- ({ǵGS} *k-) '€ deer, antelope' > Ml kūrān 'hog-deer', Klm kori, Prj kuri, Ku kurhu \approx kruhu \approx kluhu 'antelope', Gdb kuruy 'deer', Gnd kurs 'deer, antelope', Kui kruhu \approx krusu 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; D \rightarrow OI kurañga- '€ antelope', 'antelope/deer (in general)' ¶¶ D #1785 ¶¶ D *-r- suggest an original cns. cluster (*-rH-), because the intervocalc N *r yields D *r̥ \diamond IS I 234-5 [#90]. Cf. N *korê '€ deer, antelope' and N *gūr̥ 'beast' (\approx Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal') \diamond AD NM #36, Vv. AEN 16 (doubts about the Ko reflex), S CNM 6-7 ($\div\div$ Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseyan; suggests a different interpretation of M *gūra, equating it with pTg *ñūr 'male' [of small wild animals] and probably with T *uri 'male child, son' < pA *ñura [*ñ- > *g regularly]).

675. *gor̥b|p̥ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g^hreb^h- id., 'dig' > Gt graban, ON grafa 'to dig', AS ƶrafan, OHG graban 'to dig, to carve', NHG graben, OSx gravan 'to dig' || Ltv grebt (prs. grebju) 'to carve, to hollow out, to scrape', greblis 'gouge, scraper', Lt gréb-ti 'to rake', greblỹs 'rake' || Sl *greb- v. 'scrape, rake, dig, row' > OCS грѣвѣ grebq / грѣти greti, R грѣбу / грѣсти v. 'row', Blg грѣба 'draw (liquid), dig, row', SCr grēbēm / grēpsti 'scrape, scratch', Slv grēbem / grēbsti 'dig, scratch', Cz hřebu / hřebsti, hřesti 'bury', Slk hriebú / hriebst' 'dig, rake up', P † grześć 'to bury'; \rightarrow Sl *grebi (gen. *grebene) 'comb' > Blg 'гребен, SCr grēben, Slv grebēn, VCz hřeben, Slk hrebeň, P grzebień, R 'гребень, Uk 'гребінь || \rightarrow NaIE *g^hrob^h- (with sxs.) 'pit' > Gt graba 'Graben', AS ƶrafu 'cave, grave', ON grqf id., 'pit', OSx graf, OHG grab 'grave, tomb', NHG Grab, AS ƶræf 'grave', NE grave || Sl *grobъ 'grave, pit' > OCS гробъ grab, Blg гроб 'grave, tomb', SCr grōb, Cz, Slk hrob, P grób, Uk гріб 'grave', Slv grōb id., 'pit for potatoes', R гроб 'coffin' ¶ WP I 653-4, P 455-6, EI 159, Fs. 218-9, Vr. 184, 193, Ho. 135-6, Ho. S 28, Kb. 403-4, Schz. 153, KM 266, Kar. I 310-1, Frn. 165-6, ESSJ VII 109-13, 133-4, Glh. 245-9 || HS: WS *√grp (prm. *-grup-) 'sweep away, (?) scrape' > BHb √grp G (ip. yi-'grop) {BDB} 'sweep away', Ar √ğrf جرف G (ip. yağrufu) id., MHb, JA [Trg.] {Js.} √grp G 'scrape, sweep', JEA {Sl.} G 'rake (an

oven), scrape clean', Ar SL جرف ✓ ḡrf G vt. 'rake up', Mh {Jo.} ✓ ḡrf G (pf. ḡzrōf, sbjn. yzḡrēf), Jb E/C ✓ ḡrf G 'sweep \ muck out', {DRS} 'balayer' ¶ Hv. 86, BK I 280, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 124, BDB 175, Js. 272, Sl. 305, ≈ DRS 190-1 || U: FU *k'ō'rṡ 'scrape, scratch, rub' (×N ? *g'ō'RṡHṡ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim., q.v.) > F karṡi- 'scrape, scratch, graze, rub, polish' || Prm {LG} *kur- (or *kEr-) 'scrape, rake (out, together)' > Vt kuryar+-, Vt Ur kūrṡal-, Vt B ko'rṡal- ({LG} kərjal-) 'scrape, eat the rest of the food', Z kur-aṡ- 'scrape\rake out, gather, eat the rest of the food', kurt- v. 'rake (hay), kuran n. 'rake' || Vg MK karśal- '(mit der Angel kratzend) umhertappen, (mit dem Hamen im Teiche) durch das Wasser ziehen (um Fische zu fangen)' || Hg Δ horol-, hurul- 'rub, whet, scratch' ¶ F-i- in karṡi-, Prm *-al, *-yal-, Vg -śal-, and Hg -l- are sxs. of frequentativity ¶ UEW 188-9, MF 302-3, LG 146, Ht. #239 || D *kōṡ- v. 'scratch' > Kn ḡōṡu id., Tm kōṡai 'a scratch (as on the body)', Tl kōṡa vt. 'scrape with a grater, scratch', Kui ḡrōpa / p. ḡrōt- vt. 'claw, scratch' ¶¶ D #2257 ¶¶ The length of *ō is due to the loss of *ṡ in the cluster **rṡ (Ersatzdehnung). The ancient cns. *r changed to D *ṡ after the loss of *ṡ || ?φ A: Tg *ḡerbe- 'clean trunks from boughs, prepare perches (incl. those used in building a tent)' > Ewk ḡzrbz- id., Lm ḡzrbzn- 'prepare perches from trunks', Ork ḡzlbzn- id., 'cut (sticks, boughs)', Neg ḡzybz- ḡ ḡzdbz- 'go to prepare perches', Orc ḡzbbz- 'prepare perches', Nn ḡzrbz- 'make perches by cutting trunks, prepare rods, cut twigs' ¶ STM I 181 ¶ The unexpected vw. *e still defies explanation (infl. of A *ḡe, 'i' rṡ 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent'? [see N *ḡe'ṡrṡ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place'])).

676. (₂?) *ḡaRŪ'ĉ'a 'crush, break to pieces' (or *ḡṡRŪŝ|ĉṡ 'crush') > HS: WS *✓ ḡrŝ 'crush, crumble' > Ar جرش ✓ ḡrš (pf. ḡaraša, ip. - ḡriš- ~ -ḡruš-) v. 'bray, bruise (wheat, salt)' (→ جَارِشَة ḡārišat- 'hand-mill for groats'), BHb ḡṡṡ ✓ ḡrs G 'be ground' , (→) 'languish', ḡṡṡ wayya-ḡ'res 'caused (teeth) to grind' (ḡ s < ŝ in late BHb), IA {HJ} ✓ ḡrs D 'grind', JA/MHb {Js.} ✓ ḡrs D 'crush, split, grind', SmA ✓ ḡrs G 'crush, mash', Sr ✓ ḡrs G (pf. ḡa'res) 'be broken to pieces, shattered, crumbled', JEA, Sr ✓ ḡrs D 'break to pieces', Amh ✓ ḡṡrs (pf. (a)ḡṡṡṡṡ) 'make coarse-ground flour', Gz d. ḡārŝā 'soft or powdery food'; → CS (or WS?) *'ḡarṡṡ- 'crushed grain' > BHb ḡṡṡ

'gɛrɛŝ 'crushed grain, groats', Sr gār's-ā {JPS} 'meal, flour', SmA grs 'crushed grain'; ⇨ CS *garīš- 'ground' > Ar جريش ġarīš- 'coarsely ground, roughly milled (wheat); groats', MHb ܓܪܝܫ ġārīš 'groats', JA ܕܓܪܝܫ ġārīš-ā id., 'crushed beans' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, HJ 235, Sl. 304, Js. 270-1, Tal 159, Fr. I 266, Hv. 85, HJ 235, JPS 72-3, LG 203, DRS 192-3 || IE: NaIE *gʰreus-/*gʰrou̯s- vt. 'crush, break to pieces' > Sl *grušiti 'to crush, to pound' > SCr grúšiti 'to pound', Cz hrušiti id., 'to crush', R Δ гpyшить 'to destroy, to break, to break to pieces', Blg 'гpyша v. 'destroy'; Sl *gruša > Slv grúša 'coarse sand, gravel', possibly Sl *gruxati > Blg гpyхам vt. 'thresh (corn), pound (corn)', R Ps 'гpyхатъ 'to rumple, to press in (мять, вминать)' || Gmc: MLG grūs 'broken stones' ¶ ESSJ VII 156-7, ≠ 155, ≠ P 405-6 || A: ?φ Tg: WrMc garza vi. 'fall to pieces, burst, break to pieces' ¶ STM I 141, Z 312 || Cf. also (??) T: OT qirčat-, qirčal- 'hit and split' (< N *Ḳ'ī'RûCâ 'to strike', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 647 ◇ If the Tg cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be *g∇Rûš|č∇.

676a. ₂ ≈ *g∇Rć∇g∇ or *g∇Rg∇ć∇ 'ε stinging insect' > K: GZ {K} *grçq-il- 'flea' > OG grçgil-, G (r)çgil-, G X girçgil-, M çgir-~çgær-, Lz mçki(r)-, mçir- ¶¶ ≈ K² 33 (G, Zan + unc. adduction of Sv zisq-~zsq- 'flea') || HS: CS ≈ *g∇rk∇s > 'ε stinging insect' > Sr {DRS} gargā's-ā ~ gargī's-ā 'ε mosquito', Ar SL ġirġis- 'bedbug', ? Ar qirqis- 'ε petit moucheron' ¶ DRS 18, BK I 275 and II 723 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} garsi 'clothing louse' || NOM: Gf {Blz. ← ?} angarço 'ε insect' ¶ Fl. OWL, Blz. KM 134 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} ḡrsâ, Msg P {Trn.} ḡrsa 'louse' || ECh: Kwn {J} ḡrsí, Ll {Cp.} ḡrssà, Nd D {J} ḡrsà, Tmk {Cp.} ḡrsà ~ ḡrsá, Skr {Lk.} ḡrsa, Mkl {J} ġersé id. ¶ ChC, Trn. LDM 27, Trn. LM 109, Cp. 88, J LM 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [#8] (incl. K, Om), ≈ Blz. LNA #10 (Om, Ch, K + unc. EC *ʔazgir- 'louse').

677. *gäRd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE *ġherdh- ~ *ġh̥dh-/*ġhordh-: [11] *ġherdh- 'surround, encircle; a fence' > Lt žárdiena 'abgeschlossene Wiese um das Gerüst zum Erbsen-, Flachs und Getreidetrocknen', žārdis {Frm.} 'Roßgarten, großer umzäunter Weideplatz', {DLKZ} 'aptverta vieta gyvuliams', žārdas 'cattle-pen'; ? Lt žārdas 'grate for drying flax, peas, and corn' and Ltv zārdis (pl. zārdi) 'Gestell, worauf Erbsen, Leinsamen usw. zum Trocknen aufgestellt werden', 'rack, стожары, вешала' (unless Lt žārdas and

Ltv zārds are loans from Sl [cp. P żerdź, Blr жердзь, R жердь 'pole, rod, grate']], Pru sardis ([z-]) 'Zaun, umzäunter Raum' || Sl *zordъ > R Δ zo'род 'fenced place for a stack; stack' || Phr (Latinized) -zordum 'city, town' (in Manezordum and other names of settlements) || Gmc *garda-s (< IE *ǵʰ|ǵʰerdʰ- × IE *ǵʰordʰ-to- 'encircled land' [F below **31**]) > Gt gards 'house', OSx gard 'field' (pl. 'house'), ON garðr 'fence, hedge, courtyard', AS Ʒeard id., 'enclosure', NE Ʒard; ⇨ Gmc *gardan > Gt garda 'stockyard (αὐλή)' (Joh. 10.1: 'sheep-fold'), OFrs garda, OHG garto, NHG Garten, OSx gardo 'garden'; Gmc ⇨ OFr Nr gardin (⇨ NE garden), MFr jardin (⇨ Sp jardín, It giardino), Fr jardin 'garden' || amb Ht gurtā 'citadel, acropolis' (< *ǵʰ|ǵʰrdʰo- or *ǵʰor-to-, see below **31**); the vw. u is puzzling ({Čop}: gurtā- < IE *ǵʰrdʰo- "mit Schwa secundum gerundeter Art") ||| **2** There is a variant stem *ǵʰrdʰ- / *ǵʰordʰ- 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence' > OI gr̥'ha-ḥ 'house', Av gar̥dā- 'cave of daēvas' || Lt gar̥das 'pen; fence, enclosure' || Sl *gorditi 'to enclose, to fence' > OCS градити graditi id., 'to build' (οἰκοδομεῖν, κτίζειν, ædificare), Blg градя v. 'build, erect, fence', SCr grāditi 'to make, to build', Slv gradíti, OR goroditi, R городить, Uk городити 'to enclose, to fence', P gradzić 'to enclose by a fence', Cz hraditi id., 'to fortify', R огородить 'to fence in, to enclose'; Sl *górdъ (gen. *gor'da) 'wall, enclosed settlement' (→ 'town, city', 'garden') > OCS градъ gradъ 'murus, civitas, urbs, hortus', Blg град, P † gród, R, Uk 'город 'city, town', SCr, Slv grād id., 'fortress', Cz hrad, P gród 'fortress, castle', Slk hrad 'castle', OR городъ gorodъ 'fence, fortress, city\town', Blg 'града, R Δ 'город 'fence' || pAl {O} *garda > Al T gardh 'wicker fence, fence' || ? Phr -gordum (in n. l., like Mannagordum 'city of Manne') ||| **3** *ǵʰ|ǵʰordʰ-to- > *ǵʰ|ǵʰor-to- 'encircled land' (× N *ǵe'ʳʷ'rʷ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v. ffd.) > Gk χόρτος 'enclosed place, farmyard' || L hortus 'garden', cohors / gen. cohortis 'an enclosure, yard (esp. for cattle, poultry)' (*kon- + IE *ǵʰr̥tis) || Clt: Gl {Billy} *gorto- 'enclos', *gortiā 'haie' ({Wb.} > Fr gourse, Prov Lm gorsu, and place-names), OIr gort "seges" 'field', NIr gort 'field, corn-field, garden', MW, W garth 'enclosure, garden', OBr {Flr.} ǵorth 'enclos' (in cds.), Br garzh 'haie, clôture', Gl ⇨ It Lm gorz 'siepe, cespuglio' ¶ *-to- in

*ġʰordʰ-to- is a sx. of pp., so that *ġʰordʰ-to- has the etl. meaning 'encircle+-ed' ¶ The loss of palatalization *ġʰr̥dʰ- > *gʰr̥dʰ- may be due to the preconsonantal position (the morphophonemic sonant *r̥ has phonetic features of a cns.); the apophonic grade *gʰordʰ- is an Ablaut from *gʰr̥dʰ- ¶¶ WP I 608-9, P 442-4, EI 199 (*'gʰordʰos ~ *'gʰortos 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'), M K I 344, F II 1113-4, WH I 42-3, 660, IP § 64, SB 115, Dtn. 260, Billy 84, Flr. 179, YGM-1 232, Hm. 310, Wb. IV 200-1, TF 129, Ho. S 24, Vr. 156, Fs. 197-8, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Kb. 319, Schz. 148, KM 233-4, O 110, Frn. 135-6, 1290-1, DLKZ 966, En. 242, Vs. II 105, ESSJ VII 35-8, Glh. 242-3, Ts. EI 658-60, Pv. IV 275-6, Čop IAU 15, Dv. #668 || HS: WS *√gdr 'fence' > BHb גַּדְרָא gādēr 'stone wall', JPA אֶגְדָּר gəḏēr-ā id., Ar جَدْر ġadr- 'wall (mur, muraille); enclosure, fence', d. ġidār- (pl. ġudr-, ġudur-) 'mur, muraille', d.: جُدَار ġidār- id., جَدِير ġadīr- 'enclosed by a wall', Mn {MA} gdr 'wall (mur), enclosure', Mh ġīdōr, Jb E 'gī'dōr, Jb C 'ge'dōr 'wall, cairn, piled stones', Hrs gəḏōr 'cairn, wall', Tgr {d'A} gudur 'parois de la hutte, mur de la maison', Tgy {LH} gidaro 'Schuppen aus Holz und Dornen für die Tiere'; Ar جدر √ġdr (pf. ġadara, ip. -ġdur-) v. 'wall, enclose (sth.) in walls', Mh √gdr (pf. gəḏōr, sbjn. yəḡdēr), Hrs √gdr (pf. gəḏōr), Jb E/C √gdr (pf. 'gō'dōr) 'pile up stones, build a wall'; Pun *gadir ⇨ B: Ah a-gādir, Gh a-dažir (mt.), Sll {Ds.} a-gādir 'mur', Tmz {MT} a-gadir ʾ ayadir (pl. i-gudar-ŋ) 'mur, muraille' (the borrowing is suggested by the vocalism of the B form: full vowels for the expected *ə in inherited pB words, see La MChB 3) ¶ KB 173-4, KBR 181, BK 263, MA 36, Jo. M 114, Jo. J 71, Jo. H 38, LH 600, DRS 102, Fc. 400, MT 447, NZ 734-5 || A: T *Kärtä > Bsh kärtä 'fence, stall', VTt kirtä 'fence, cattle-pen', SbTt Tō kirtä 'cattle-pen', Chv карта kard_a 'fence, cattle-pen, farmyard' ¶ The narrowing *ä > *e (underlying VTt/SbTt *i) is likely to be secondary ¶ Jeg. 91, TatR 258, ≈ Fed. I 232 (unc.: Chv карта ← кар- v. 'fence' [in fact 'curtain off'] < T *ker- 'stretch'), Tm. 99 ¶¶ But Sln x3r]3 'kitchen-garden' is hardly a genetic cognate (x- instead of the reg. g-); it may be a loan from some T lge. (< pT *Kärtä, cp. Bsh kärtä 'fence, stall', T ⇨ R Sb карта) or from Yk xarčax 'a fenced-in pasture' (see STM I 482, Pek. 3367) ◇ The cns. *gʰ for the expected *ġʰ in the IE variant stem *gʰr̥dʰ- / *gʰordʰ- still needs explaining.

678. ${}_2$ *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE * $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{er}^{\text{h}}\text{d}^{\text{h}}$ - 'gird' > Gmc: Gt bi-gairdan, ON gyrða, AS zyrðan, NE girth, OHG gurten 'to gird', Gt gairda, ON gjqrð 'belt, girdle', d.: ON gyrðill, OHG gurtil ~ gurtel, NHG Gürtel, AS zyrðel 'girdle, belt', NE girdle ¶ ≈ WP I 608-9, ≈ P 444, EI 199 (*g^herdh- 'gird' ⇨ *g^hord^ho-s 'fence, hedge, enclosure', see N *gärd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in'), Fs. 90, 185-6, Vr. 171, 197, Ho. 140, Ho. S 24, Kb. 418, Schz. 156, KM 277 || HS: EC: Or B {Sr.} gurdā v. 'belt; sth. worn around the waist', Or Wl {Brl.} gurda id. ¶ Sr. 317, Brl. 190 || ? CS * \checkmark grd > MHb {Lv.} גרד \checkmark grd G 'weave', גרד \checkmark gered, JA {Lv.} גרד gar'dā ~ גרד גרד gir'dā 'Faser\Franse eines Gewebes', Sr {Br.} גרד gar'dā 'web (tela, textura)' ¶ In these forms there is contamination with Hb, JA, Sr v. \checkmark grd 'scrape, comb' (BHb גרד גרד hitgā'reḏ 'scrape oneself'); Sr גרד(א)גראגרא and JA גרד גרא gar'day ~ גרד גרא gir'day 'weaver' are contaminated with (or borrowed from) Gk ὑέρδιος ~ ὑερδιός 'weaver' ¶ KBR 202, Br. 132, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299 ◇ Cf. N *kert∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait'.

679. *guR'k'U' 'throat' > HS: C: Ag *g^wE^rK^w∇m 'gullet, throat' > Bln {R} gūrgū'mā (pl. gūr kūm) id., 'Adam's apple', Knf {TBZAC} gurgum, Aw {Hz.} gurgóm, Dmt {CR, R} g^wergem 'neck'; Ag ⇨ Tgy {Bsn.} גרג גרג g^wergemma 'trachea' || Bj {R} 'gīrgūma 'Adam's apple; gullet, throat, Rachen' || EC: Sa {R} dūrgū'mā id., Af {R} gūrdu'mē 'gullet, throat, jaws-(Rachen)' ¶ R WB 161, R WBd 101, R S II 114, R A II 60, Hz. NSA 139-40, Blz. CWL, Bsn. 872 || B * \checkmark grgf > Tmz, CM {NZ} gārgāf 'swallow a big gulp of liquid' | B \checkmark *g^wrgv^wm > Si {Bs.} ta-gorgum 'gosier' (if not a misspelling for ta-goržumt), B (× AfR reflex of the VL *gūrga [accus. *gūrgam] 'gorge' [> Fr gorge 'throat', OIt gorga 'Kehle, Schlund']) ⇨ Ar Mgr {Bss.} قرجم qržm, {Dl., Beg.} garžuma ⇨ North Berber words for 'throat, oesophagus': Tmz a-garžum, Kb a-jaržum, ta-jaržum-t, Wrg tkuržamt, Sll ageržum, Izd agaržum, Nf taguržama, Si tagaržumt; in view of the exact corr. of B **g^wrgv^wm with Bj 'gīrgūma, Aw gurgóm, etc. the VL word cannot be the only source of the North Berber word ¶ MT 166-7, Dl. 274, Dlh. M 63, Dlh. Ou 155, Ds. 143, La. S 244, Beg. 236, NZ 874, Dauzat 368, Kö. #4401 (VL *gūrga, *gūrgēs 'Strudel, Schlund, Gurgel'), ML #3921 || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gāgārāk 'throat' (× N *gūr^wE ⇨ *gūr^w∇ 'throat,

neck'?) || **U:** FU *kurk₁k₂∇ 'throat, neck' > F kurkkū, Es kurk 'throat, gullet' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kurgā > pMr {Ker.} *kǝrgā ({Ker.} *kǝrgā) 'neck' > Er кирьга kīrgā, Er Kal/Trb {Ps.} korgā, Mk крга kǝrgā id. | Prm *gūr₁k 'hollow (in a tree-trunk)' > Vt g+r₁k id., 'cavity', Z g+r₁ksa 'having a hollow' (of a tree-trunk), g+r₁k 'cavity within a body (e.g. abdominal cavity)' (μφ: 'throat' → 'entrance into a cavity', like Fr gorge in the meaning 'entrance into a flower' or 'entrance into a hollow in timber' [in carpentry]) || ? Sm: Ne T хорака 'throat; neck opening of a garment (ворот)', Ne T O {Lh.} χōrak·ā 'oberster Teil der Brust und unterster Teil des Halses; Kragen', Ne F {Lh.} korrā·k·ā̄b 'oberster Teil der Brust', Koyb {Sp.} курь 'voice, shouting' ¶¶ IS I 235-6, ≈ Coll. 89, ≈ UEW 676, Ker. II 61, PI 130, ERV 266-7, Ps. M 86, LG 85, Ter. 771, Lh. 192-3; IS rejects the hyp. (shared by SK, Vr., and other scholars) about the NrGmc origin of F kurkkū and Es kurk (ON kværk would have yielded F *vērkkū) ¶¶ Acc. to Jn [p. c.], the corr. between the FU and Sm vowels is irreg. || **A:** Tg *gō|urka-kta > Neg gorkakta ~ gurkakta 'palate', Ork gojaqta ~ gojjoqta 'uvula, root of the tongue' ¶ STM I 161 || **Gil:** Gil A qorqr / xorqr / gorqr [gorg-r], Gil ES qorqr 'throat' ¶¶ ST 145, Krm. N 476 ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [#91] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #390 (*kur 'throat') (U, Gil + err. IE, A).

680. *gArʔAm∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > **IE:** NaIE *g^hrem- 'crumble, grind, zerreiben' > Gt gramst-a dat. sg. 'splinter of wood', NGr Sw {TF} grummele 'kleiner Brocken, Brosamen, Griebe' (misquoted in {P} as grummelig 'brockig') || Lt grémžti (prs. grémžiu) 'to scrape, to scratch', grámdyti 'to scrape', Ltv gremžt 'to gnaw' ||| (+ ext.) NaIE *g^whrend^h- (< **g^whremd^h-), {E} *g^hrend^h- 'grind' > Gmc *o^ogrindan 'to grind, to scratch, to rub' > AS z^zrindan id., NE grind ||| L frendō / -ēre vt. 'crush, bruise, grind', vi. 'gnash the teeth' ||| Lt grésti (prs. gréndžiu) 'to scrape, to scratch', int. grandýti ¶ WPI 655-7, P 458, EI 247, TF 142, Fs. 219-20, WH I 545-2, Frn. 167, ≈ 172, HDEL 1518, Ho. 137-8 || **HS:** CS *✓grm > JA ✓grm D 'grind bones' (× gar¹m-ā 'bone'), BHb ✓grm 'gnaw\break bones' (× ←d 'gerem 'bone'), Ar جرم ✓ǧrm (ip. -ǧrim-) 'cut, lop off (a palm tree), shear (sheep), bone (the meat)' ¶ KB 195, KBR 203, BK I 270, Hv. 86 || **D** (in McTm) *°karañt- > Tm karañtu v. 'scrape, paw (as a dog), gnaw (as a rat)', Ml karañtuka c. 'scrape the inside of metal vessels with a grating noise' ¶ D #1268 ◇ D *-r- points

to a N cns. cluster, possibly *-rH- (most probably *-rh- or *-rʔ-, because the N lrs. *h and *ʔ are the only that may disappear in S).

681. *gUraṇdV 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *gʰrendʰ- 'log, beam' > L [ʃ] grunda {EM} 'gutter of a roof, gargoyle', L suggrunda ~ sugrunda {EM} 'projecting roof, entablature, dripstone' ||| ON grind 'grating, grated door', AS ʒrindel 'bar, bolt', OSx grindil id., 'plough-handle', OHG grintil 'bolt, bar, plank; Riegel, Balken, Stange', MLG grindel, grendel id., 'transom (Querholz)' ||| Lt grindis, griñdas, grindà 'floor board', grandà 'plank in the flooring of a bridge', Ltv grīda, grīds 'floor', grōdi pl. 'planks, beams (of a bridge, below the floor, etc.)', akas grodi 'framework of a well, well-curb', Pru grandico 'Bohle' 'plank' | SI *grēda (accus. *grēdo) 'log, beam' > Blg гpe'да, SCr, Slv gréda, OCz hřada, Slk hrada id., RCS ГРАДА grēda [grʲa'da] 'beams, the top of a building', R Δ 'Гряда ~ гряд' 'cross-beam, shelf', P grzędà 'roost (for hens)', Cz hřada id., 'roof beam, rafter'; SI *grēdъ > RCS ГРАДЪ grēdъ [grʲad], Slv grēd (gen. gredī) 'perch, beam, shaft'; it is not clear if P grzędà, RCS ГРАДА, Uk 'Гряда' 'oblong height, ridge, bed in garden', and R 'Грядка' 'bed in garden' belong here ¶ P 459-60, WH I 623-4, EM 283-4, Vr. 189, Kb. 409, , Schz. 154, OsS 352, Ho. 138, Ho. S 29, Frn. 170-1, Turk. 181, En. 180, ESSJ VII 120-2, Glh. 246, Kmc. 572 ||| D *kuraṇṭ- ({ʃGS} *k-) 'log, tree trunk' > kuraṇṭu 'log', kuraṇṭi 'board used as seat; stump', kuraṭu 'piece of wood', Td kuḍ 'large stick, club', Kt kuḍ id., 'bar of door, log', Kn, Tl koḗaḍu 'trunk of a lopped tree, stump', kodaṇṭi 'log', Kdg kuṭṭi 'small piece of wood', Tu kudaṇṭi, kodaṇṭi 'small log', koḗaḍ 'log, stump'; cp. N *kuyrV 'wood (Holz), log' ¶¶ D #1842 ||| HS: SS *gund- 'trunk of a tree' > Gz gʷand, gund 'log, trunk, stem of a tree', Tgy gʷandi 'trunk', Tgr gāday, Amh gānd id., Mh gāndēt (pl. gānēd), Jb Egāndēt, Jb C gān'det (pl. gā'nudtə) id.; EthS ⇨ Sa {R} 'gūnde, Af {R} 'gūndi (pl. Sa, Af 'gūned) 'Holzstrunk, Strunk eines Baumes', Brj {Hd.} gundā 'trunk' ¶ LG 197, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, R S II 157, R A II 59, Hd. 195, ≠ Ss. B 86 (EC *gund-), DRS 153 ||| EC *ginde 'tree-stump, (lower) trunk of a tree' > Ged {Hd.} ginde, Kmb {Hd.} gidēla id., Rn gindó 'base, lower trunk of a tree', Arr gín 'base, bottom, bole', gína ḗoret 'trunk of a tree'; ?σ: Sd {Hd.} ginde 'heel' and Arr ginnḗá id. ¶ Hd. 93, 242, 318, 366, PG 125, Hw. A 361 ¶¶

In S and EC *-nd- < **-rnd- (due to S and C morphophonemic laws) || U: FU *kanta 'stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *kañ|ń ▽ (-t ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The loss of *r before the cns. cluster in FU, S, and EC (FU *-nt-, S and EC *-nd-) is due to S, C, and U morphophonemic laws.

682. (₂?) *gERŠ ▽ (probably *gäR' s|š' ▽, if this is the main source of FU *°kärs|š ▽) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > HS: B *√grs v. 'freeze' > Kb ajrās id., ajris 'froid glacial; glace, gelée', Ah tağrast, ETwl tagrast, Tyr tagarast, Tnsl tažrast, Awj tegerišť 'winter', Rf B afris 'gelée', Shl {NZ} agris ~ agʷrs 'givre, gelée blanche', CM √grs 'geler, être gelé', Gd εgrās 'be very cold' (of weather), Zng {TC} atgärs° 'saison froide' ¶ Dl. 276, Fc. 487, GhA 59, Rn. 353, Lf. II #0462, NZ 887-9, TC D 11 || IE: NaIE *g̃h̃ers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle' > OI {MW} 'harṣatē, hr̥ṣyati v. 'become erect \ stiff \ rigid, bristle' (hair of the body), 'become on edge' (teeth), Av zaršayamna- 'feathers upright', Psh ziž 'rough, stiff', KhS {Bai.} ʏsīra- 'rough' || Gk χέρος, Gk A χέρος 'Festland' || L horreo, -ēre v. 'be rough, bristle' || AS gorst 'gorse', NE gorse ¶ P 445-6, EI 547, MW 1303, M K III 583-4, M E II 807-8, Bai. 352, F II 1089-90, WH I 659 || ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *°kärs|š ▽ (× N *KäR, ʔ, ūs|š ▽ 'to congeal') > ObU {Hl.} *kārāθ- / *kērāθ- 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' > pVg *kārt- 'grow numb (erstarren)' > Vg: T kārtawu-, LK kōrt-, MK kōrt-, NV kārt- / kart-, P/SV/LL/UL/Ss kārt- id.; pOs *kērāθ- (Hl.} *kīrāθ-) 'become numb with cold, from illness, etc. (steif werden, erstarren)' > Os: K kārat-, Kr kērt-, Nz qārat-, Kz qarθa-, O qarla- ¶ Ht. #320, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 679, BV 34.

683. *gaRŽ ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag' > HS: S *√grš (~ *√grš) v. 'drag, trail' > BHb √grš G √grš v. 'drive out', 'cast out (a wife)', √grš D 'drive out (vertreiben)', M'b grš 'drive away', SmA √grš D 'expel', ? OAk √grś G, Ak √grš G 'come\go to so.!', *°√grš > Mh √grš G 'drag, pull out, push', Jb √grš G 'drag into' ¶ KB 196, KBR 204, HJ 236, Br. 135, Tal 160, Sd. 272, CAD V 49, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79 || K *gr̥z- v. 'stretch' (натягивать, вытягивать), be long' > OG, G gr̥z- v. 'prolong, continue', Mg gīnz-or- v. 'stretch, pull out', Sv {TK}: L g̥z-a₁n- (msd. li-g̥z-a₁n-e), UB/Ln g̥z-a₁n- (msd. li-g̥z-a₁n-e) v. 'stretch'; ⇨ GZ *gr̥ze-l- 'long' > OG gr̥zel-, G g(r)zel-, Mg g̥r̥za-/e- ~ girze- ~ g̥zn̥za-/e-, Lz gīnze-, gunze- id. ¶¶ K 65, K DE 361, K² 33, FS K 86-7, TK 428 ||

IE *g^herH-/*g^hreH-/*g^hroH-/*g^hrH₂- v. 'be salient \ prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants) > Gk χοιράς (gen. χοιράδος) {F} 'Meerklippe', {P} 'emportehend, hervorragend; hervorragende Klippe im Meer' (< *g^horyo-), Gk [Λ] χάρμη '(?) ἐπιδορατής (point of a lance, spear-head)', Gk [Hs.] χαρῖα 'hill, mound' ||| ? Sl *grōtъ 'sharp point' > P grōt 'spear's head, dart, javelin', Cz hrōt 'sharp point, spitzes Ende, острие', R † rōt 'spear, dart' ||| Gmc: Nr Δ gare 'point (Spitze)', *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grāt (pl. græte) 'sharp fish-bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain-ridge', NHG Grāt 'edge, ridge', Gräte 'fish-bone', etc. (× NaIE *g^her-, *g^herə-/*g^hrē- 'sharp point' < N *garHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 440, F II 1075 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 140 ◇ The correspondence between IE *H, S *š, and a K vd. sibilant suggests a N sibilant *ž, but the affricate *ʒ for the expected *z in K is still without clear explanation (the variation *ʒ ~ *z is a rather usual phenomenon in K). The appearance of a lateral *ŝ in SES is puzzling, too.

684. *g^ho¹R¹ʒæ 'to feel' > **K**: OG, G grzn- v. 'feel, perceive; understand' ¶ Ser. 41, Chx. 207-8, DCh. 331 ||| **IE**: [1] NaIE *g^hωrē- (< *g^hωreH-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *goRHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| [2] ? NaIE (in Blt only) *g^hω₁h₁erd₁- > Lt gir¹dē¹ti (3s prs. gir¹di, 1s prs. gird¹žiu), Ltv dzirdēt 'to hear' ¶ Frn. 153, ≠ P 478, P 496, ME I 552 ||| **HS**: B *✓grz > Tmz {MT} t-graz 'se repentir, regretter' (used in 3f only in an impers. construction with the [pro]noun of the person as an indirect object: targaž iyī 'I am sorry, I regret' [literally '{it} sorries to me']), Sll {Ds.} at-g^hraž 'se repentir', Ah {Fc., Crt.} mu-ǵrāž 'se repentir de, regretter', ETwl, Tyr m^h-grbž (rf.) 'regretter (vivement), se repentir de', a-m^h-grbž 'regret, repentir', Zng {MH→Nic.} 3m aor. ĩammugraz 'repent' ¶ ≡σ: Sp lo siento mucho 'I am very sorry about it' ← 'I feel it much' ¶ MT 469-70, Ds. 247, Fc. 1173, Crt. 407, 413, GhA 60, Nic. 315, NZ 899, 901-2 ◇ The K affricate *ʒ|ž and the IE cns. *-d₁h₁ (in Blt) point to a N affricate *ž. In IE *g^hωreH- the Ir. seems to suggest N *z, but this apparent ev. is not decisive because of the merger with N *goRHæ.

684a. o *gA¹∇(ʳ¹∇) 'to thunder' > **IE**: NaIE *g^hrem- v. 'thunder, roar, rage', *g^hromos ({EI} *¹g^hromos) 'thunder, loud and low sound' > Av gram 'be angry/furious, be angry at so.', NPrs غرم ʒār(ä)m 'anger' ||| Gk χρόμη, χρόμος 'crashing sound', [Hs.] 'neighing of horses', Gk

χρεμετίλ-, [Hs.] χρεμίλ- 'neigh, whinny' (of horses) || ON gramr, AS zram 'angry', OHG gram 'furious, gloomy', OSx gram 'hostile (feindselig)', grīman 'to rage, to roar (with anger)', MHG grimen 'to rage with distress or pain (vor Zorn oder Schmerz wüten)', AS zrymēttan 'to roar, to grunt; to rage' || Lt grumėti 'to thunder', Pru grumins. : "dunreyn" 'drizzling rain' ({Bzb.}: ← 'a distant thunder?'), ? grīmikan 'song' | Sl *grǫměti 'to thunder' > OCS ГРЪМѢТИ grǫměti, SCr грѹмети & grǫmjeti, grǫmljeti, grǫmiti, Slv grmėti, Slk hrmiel', Pol grzmieć, OR, RCS ГРЪМѢТИ grǫměti, ГРЕМѢТИ greměti 'to thunder', Cz hřměti, hřmítí, R гре'меть, Uk гре'мити id., 'to produce a crashing sound', Blg гър'мя v. 'thunder'; Sl *grǫmь 'thunder' > OCS, OR ГРОМЪ gromь, Blg, R гром, SCr grōm, grōm, Slv grōm, Cz, Slk hrom, P grom, Uk гріmid. ¶ P 458-9, Mn. 337-8, 340-1, EI 582, Brtl. 529, VI. II 605, Sg. 885, F II 1116-7, Vr. 184, Ho. 136, 139, Ho. S 28-9, Kb. 405, Schz. 154, OsS 347, Lx. 76, Frn. 163, En. 181, ESSJ VII 138, 163-4, Glh. 249 ¶ Some of the words apparently belonging to this IE √ (such as MHG, MLG grummen 'brummen, murren') may be independent onomatopoeic innovations || K *gr̥gwin- v. 'thunder' > G gr̥gvin-, Mg gurgin-, gv̥irgvin-, Lz girgin-, Sv gurgw̥n- id.; K *gurgwal- id. > G gurgval-, Lz gurgul- id., Sv g̥ar̥gal- 'produce a crashing sound' ¶¶ K 64, 66, K² 32; FS K 89-80 and FS E 94 (K *gurgw-) || HS: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} g̥r̥z̥n 'thunder, lightning' ¶ Sch. DN 60 || D *kaṛaṛl̥- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'thunder' > Tm kaṛaṛu id., Klm karadil v. 'strike with lightning' (for 'it lightens' they say 'the sky [abar] strikes with lightning'), Nk kaṛalil v. 'lighten' (īz̥ kaṛalil 'the lightning [īz̥] lightens') ¶¶ D #1354.

685. *geṛa or ***geṛya** 'to step, to walk' > A: T *k'ér- v. 'walk about' > OT k̥āz- id., 'travel, traverse', XwT XIII-XIV kez- 'walk about\through', Chg ≥XV kez- 'ramble, travel', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV kez- 'traverse', Qry Cr gez- 'go for a walk (spazieren gehen)', Az g̥āz-, ET k̥āz- ~ g̥āz- id., 'walk', Tk gez-, Tkm geḃ-, Qmq gez- id., 'travel', Nog, Qrg kez-, Tf keṣ- 'walk about', Uz kez-, ET kez- ~ k̥āz-, Ggz gez- id., 'walk', Qq gez- id., 'travel', VTt g̥iz-, Bsh g̥iḃ- 'travel', Tv kez- 'make the round of snares and traps (to check them)' ¶ Cl. 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 10-1, DTS 305, KumRS 94, TatR 115, BR 149, Ra. 203 || M *gar- 'go\come out, climb, pass over\across' > WrM gar-, MM gar- ([ChSc] ḡar-, [ArSc] -غر ḡar-), HIM gar(a)-, Kl, ShY gar-, Mnr H ḡari- id. ¶ M *a (rather than

a front vw.) may be due to regr. as. (*e...a > *a...a) ¶ KW 145, H 61, Ms. H 88, Pp. MA 176-7, MED 350, SM 120-1 || Tg *gǵari- ~ *gǵira- v. 'step, go for a walk' > Ewk gira-kta-, Nn gǵari-, gǵran-, Ork gǵran- v. 'go for a walk', Neg gǵyān-, Ul gēri-, gǵran- v. 'step' ¶ STM I 147, 154-5, S AJ 224 [#285] || J *kàtí n. 'walking' > OJ kati, [RJ] kàtí, J: T kácí, K kácí, Kg kaćí ¶ S AJ 272 [#199], S QJ #199, Mr. 444 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#321], SDM97 s.v. *gǵár^{ra}, DQA #518 (A *gǵǵárá 'to walk, to step') || **HS:** WS *✓gry > Sr ✓gry|w G (pf. gǵarā) 'run\trickle down, be dragged\carried away', Ar جری ✓ǵry (ip. -ǵriy-) G 'run, flow', Mh ✓gry (sbjn. y3-grā, condit. y3-gr3y-3n) v. 'precede', 'pass' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} ✓grw|y G (pf. g3rō, sbjn. y3grī) 'run' (blood, water), 'flow', Jb C ✓gry (pf. 'ge're, sbjn. 'yeg3r) 'follow, go after' ¶ JPS 77, BK I 284-5, Ln. 415-6, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79, Jo. H 41, DRS 186 || ?φ B *-gūr- (< **guyr- or **guHr-?) v. 'go, walk' > Rf Wr/B/A u-ʒur (habit. əgǵur), Izn uyur (habit. əgǵur) id., Mz -žur (imv. ižur, pf. yi-žur) 'marcher, couler', CM {NZ} gǵur- (aor. int.) 'go, go away, walk', Shw ugir ~ ug^wir ~ uyir, Nf ugur 'go, walk' ¶ Rn. 352, Dlh. M 70, NZ 854-5 || C: Bj {R} gerwel-scv. 'walk quickly' || **IE:** NaIE (+ext.) *g^hred^h- v. 'step, walk', {EJ} 'step, go' > Av {P ← SLv.} aiwi-garəθ- 'begin' || L gradior 'I step', gradus 'step' || Gt grid (accus. of *grips) 'step', MHG [γ] griet, grit, griit 'step', NGr B gritt id. || (*-n-present): OIr in-/ad-grenn-, to-grenn- 'pursue' (-enn- < *-ṅd^h-n-) || Lt grīdyti 'to walk, to roam' || (*-n-present) Sl *gręd- (inf. *gręsti, prs. *gręd-) > OCS **ГРѦСТН** gręsti / **ГРѦДѦ** grędǫ 'go, come', Blg Δ 'Гредам, Blg SW 'Грендам id., SCr gręsti / grędēm 'go, walk', Uk гря'сти / гря'ду 'run\drive (fahren) quickly and noisily', R Δ гредут 'they go' ¶ WPI 651-2, P 456-7, EI 546, WH I 615-6, Fs. 222, LP § 566, Thr. §§ 842, 857, Frn. 170, Bern. 349, ESSJ VII 123-4, BER 277-8, Glh. 246 ¶ **IE** *g^h- was not palatalized (reg. in preconsonantal position).

686. *gōrǵæ 'hot; to heat; embers' > **IE:** NaIE *g^wher- 'burn, heat': [1] v.: OI ghr_ō'ṅa-h 'ardour, heat', Λ, Γ ghr_ō'ṅōti 'shines, burns' || OIr fo-geir v. 'heats', guirid 'warms', OIr gorim 'I heat, warm', NIr goraim id., 'I hatch', NIr, Br gor 'heat', W gori 'to hatch'; Brtt {RE} d. *guressākos 'warm, hot' ({P} < *g^whre-ns-o-) > W gwresog, Crn gwresak, B gwrezek id. || Sl *goręti (3s prs. *gori-tb) vi. 'burn' > OCS **ГОРѦТН** goręti (prs. **ГОРНТѦ** goritb), SCr гòрети ǵ

gòrjeti, Slv goréti, Cz hořeti, Slk horiet', P gorzeć, goreć, R го'реть, Uk го'рїти vi. 'to burn', Blg го'ря vi. 'burn' || [2] NaIE *g^whoros ntr. 'heat, embers' > OI ḡ 'haras- 'flame, heat' (one of the possible semantic interpretations) || Gk θέρος 'summer', θέρομαι 'become warm' || pAl {O} *žera > Al zjar r {AlbED} 'heat', {BFU} 'fire' || Arm ջեր չեբ 'heat, warmth; fine weather' || Lt gāras 'steam, vapour, carbon monoxide in the air', Ltv gars 'steam' | *g^whēro- > pSl *žarъ > SCr, Slv žār, P žar, R, Uk жар 'heat, embers', Cz žár 'heat' || [3] *g^whrē- vt. 'warm, heat' > Sl *grē-ti (prs. *grē-j-q) ~ μ *grēja-ti (←d-prs. *grej-) 'to warm, to heat' > OCS грѣяти grějati (prs. грѣх grějǫ), RChS, OR грѣти grěti id., OCS грѣти сѧ grěti sę 'to warm oneself', R греть (prs. грею), Uk грїти, SCr grèjati ~ grìjati & Δ grèti, Slv gréti, Cz hřáti, Slk hriat', P grzac (prs. grzeję) 'to warm, to heat', Blg грея v. 'warm' | Ltv grēmens & Δ grēmeles & Δ grēmes 'heartburn' || pAl {O} *en-grāya > Al ngroh- ~ ngrof- vt. 'warm' || [4] *g^whermo-, *g^whormo- 'warm, warmth', {E} *g^wher'mo-s 'warm' > OI ghar'ma-ḡ 'glow, heat', Av garəma- adj. 'hot', n. 'heat', KhS grāma- 'hot' || Gk θερμός 'hot, warm' || L Γ formus, L formidus id. || Gmc *warma- (×IE *wer- < N *war'i 'to burn, to heat', q.v. ffd.) > ON varmr, AS wearm, OHG, NHG warm adj. 'warm', NE warm adj., Gt warmjan 'to warm' || Thr {E} ger mo- 'warm' || Arm ջերս չեբմ 'warm' || pAl {O} *žerma > Al G/T zjarm n. 'fire' || Ltv gaīme 'warmth', Pru gorme id. || [5] another d.: *g^whor-no-s 'oven, heating fire' > L fornus ~ furnus 'oven' || OIr gorn 'fire' || pSl *gьrnъ ~ *gьrno > SCr gr̄no 'burning coal for heating iron in a smithy', Slk grno, OR ГЪРНЪ гьрнъ, R, Uk горн 'forging furnace' ¶ P 493-5, EI 88, 263, M KI 357-8, 360, III 579, ME I 513, 515-6, II 804, Bai. 92, FI 664-6, WH I 532-4, Thr. § 184, YGM-1 245, LP § 38, Hm. 323, Dnn. 378, RE 143, Vr. 646, Kb. 1147, Ho. 387, Hamp AIEW 146, BFU 642, O 296, 524-5, AlbED 966-7, Sl. 73, Frn. 134-5, En. 179, ME I 652, ESSJ VII 42-3, 116-7, 210-1, Vs. I 441, 456, II 35, Glh. 239, 248, Chr. I 291-2 || HS: S: Ar جَرَّةٌ ḡarr-at- 'pain cuit dans les cendres'; (× N *g'e'lyrâ 'fire, hearth'): Ar جَايِرٌ ḡāyir 'feu; grande chaleur dans le corps, causée par la soif/fèvre/colère' ¶ BK I 272, 361 || C: Bj {R} ✓ g^wr v. 'cook, fry' (1s: p. a'gūr, prs. an'g^wīr; vb. n. 'g^wār i-) ¶ R WBd 99 || Ch: WCh: Hs ḡūrâ v. 'cause fire to blaze up' | AG: Ang {Flk} kur 'charcoal', Su {J} kūr 'ashes' | BT: Tng kuro

'charcoal' || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} g̀ẁvré (sc. g̀ẁvré?), {ChL} ùvùre, Glv {Rp.} yúvra, Gv {ChC} yùvùrà id. | Lgn {Lk.} gurwake 'embers' || ECh: Ke kóráy 'ashes', ? Bar gar u i 'firewood' ¶ Stl. VZCh #72, Ba. 411, J T 106, ChC, ChL, Eb. 73 || **A:** T: [1] *k'ṓr 'embers, live coal' (× N *kūr'p'∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat') > OT {Cl.} kōz, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOSm kōz, MOg göz, Tk kōz, Tkm κεζ kōδ, Az kōz, Bsh Δ küδ, Ln, Xk, Tv kōs 'embers, live coal', Tf kōš 'live coal', Ch кăвар кьвар, Δ к̂вар id., 'burning embers'; here Tv, Tf k- suggests a lax pT *k', while Tk, Az, Tkm k- is likely to point (but not necessarily) to a pT tense *k'-; [2] *Kō,;́r 'live coal' > Bsh κυζ quδ, Qq qoz id., StAlt qos id., embers' ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6. ET Q 74-6, TL 365-6, TkR 411, Hüs. 173, Rl. II 1300, Grøn. 155, Ra. 204, ≈ DTS 321 (OT köze- 'stir'), ≈ Md. 48, 170 (*k'ṓr with unjustified *k'), ≠ Jeg. 97 ¶ The paronymous T word *Kōr 'embers' belongs to N *k̄arH₂'U' 'to burn (sth.), to heat' ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1161 (A *k'úrk∇ 'glowing coals'; incl. T) ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g'ō'p'∇ 'гореть'), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (*g'UR∇ 'burning coal).

687. *gur∇(d∇) (or *gur∇y∇(d∇)-) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lgs.] → 'back side') > K: GZ *gwerd- 'side, flank' > OG gwerd-i id., 'rib', G gverd-i 'side, flank', i-gurd-iV 'near, side by side', Mg gverd-i, gwerd-i, Lz gver(d)- 'half' ¶ K² 29, Ser. 42, DCh. 312, Q 216 || **HS:** B: Sll {Ds.} agarru (pl. igurra), Shl {NZ} agrru 'hip (hanche)' ¶ Ds. 150, NZ 848 || WS *✓grd > Ar جرد ġarad- 'back (dos)' (← *'back side' ← *'side'), Tgr ž̄erid '(muscles of the) neck', Grg Sl ḡardid 'nape of neck' ¶ Fr. I 264, BK I 276, LH 550, LEDG III 291, MiK I #1.92 || Eg fOK {EG} ʒrww 'Rippengegend des Körpers, Seite', {DW} ʒrww 'Seitenfläche; hintere Rippengegend; Seitenfläche der Nase', {Fk.} ʒrww 'side, flank (of a body)', 'wall (?)' ¶ EG V 602, DW 1909-10, Fk. 324 || Ch: CCh: ZmD {ChC} gùrày, {KNC} gùrày 'thigh', ?? Mln ḡirgátìgí id. (unless derived from or compound with CCh *ḡir∇ 'bone') || WCh: Cg {Sk.} gárábùn 'rib' ¶ ChC, ChL, KNC 9 || **A:** T *Kúr > NaT *Kuz > OT {Cl.} quz 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tk kuz, Δ koz ɘ guz 'shady side'; NaT *Kuza'y|δ' > Az гүзей guzey ~ гүзей güzey 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tkm guḃay 'shady side (of a mountain, house, etc.)', T kuzey 'north'; d.: Tb {Rl.} qusqay 'northern' ¶ Cl. 680, ET Q 106-7, Rl. II 1015, Hüs. 86, 89, TkR 207 || **D** {tr.} *kur∇,η,k°, {GS} kuḃuḃ 'thigh, loins' (× N *k̄ûr'U' 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > Tm kur̄aḃku, Kt korg, Tl kur̄uvu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu ɘ kuḃu, Gdb

kuyug, Gnd kuruku 𐌆 kurki 𐌆 koχki, Knd kuṛgu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuṛu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. 𐌆 kūdgū id., 'lap', Ml kuraku, kuravu 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D #1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [#382], 55 [#152] || ? **Gil:** Gil A kədr / ʔədr / gədr (gədr) 'back (dos)' ¶¶ ST 125 ◇ D *-r- (rather than the expected *-r̥- < N *r̥) may be due to the merger with N *kūr̥'U'. Alternatively, T *-r̥- may go back to ** -ry- < N *-r̥y-.

688. *g^re¹lyrâ (or *g^re¹ʔirâ) 'fire, hearth' > **HS:** S *g^ri¹rr-, *√grr ~ *√gyr > Ak FOB girru 'fire', Amh √grr (pf. gerrere) {L} 'be scorching' (sun), {DRS} 'étinceler, être brûlant (feu)'; Ar جَير gāyir 'feu, grand chaleur dans le corps (causée par la soif/faim\colère)' (× N *gor̥æ 'hot; to heat; embers') ¶ CAD III 93-4, L CAD 207, BK I 361, DRS 192 || Eg G ʒr ≈ □ fire' ¶ EG V 595 || C: EC *gīr-a'fire' > Sa, Af gira id., HEC *gīra id. > Sd, Hd, Ged, Kmb gīr-a 'fire', Brj ʒīr-a 'flame', Sd, Hd gīr- vt. 'burn' || SC: Brn {E} giṛru, Alg {E} giṛri 'embers', ?? Irq gilṛi {E} id., {MQK} id., 'red-hot charcoal' ¶ Ss. B 110, Hd. 64, 279, 366, E SC 238, MQK 39 ¶¶ ≈ OS #210 || **U:** FP *ker̥- {UEW} 'offener Steinofen' > Es keris (gen. kerise, kerikse), Δ kiris (gen. kirise) {W} 'upper part of a stove (in peasants' houses), light-house', {Slv.} keris 'vaporizing furnace (with big heated stones)' || Prm {LG} *gṛr ({LG} *gṛr) 'stove' > Vt ryp gur, Vt B/SW gur, Prmk, Yz gur 'stove', Z gṛr / gory-, Z US gṛr 'stove in a sauna\barn' ¶ UEW 660, LG 78, W EDW 265, Slv. 110 || **A:** T *k^rír- 'get hot' > MT XIV [IM] qiz- 'be warm', MQp XIV, Chg ≥XV, OOSm qiz- 'be hot', Cmn qiz- 'glow with heat', Tk kiz-, Qmq qiz-, VTt кыз- qыз-, Bsh qыз-, Tv qis-, Chv xěp- χыр- 'get very hot', Tkm qiz-, Nog qiz- id., 'get warm', Az giz-, Qzq qiz- 'get warm', Ggz kiz-, Qq qiz- 'get very hot, flame up', Yk kīs- 'flare up'; NaT *kizi- > Qrg qizi-, Uz, ET qizi- 'get very hot', Alt qizi- id., 'catch fire'; it is possible (but not certain) that one may adduce here the pT verb *ki_iṛ- 'get red' (> OT qiz- 'get ruddy' [of complexion], Tv qis-, Yk kīs- 'get red'), and its d. *kírīl 'red' (> NaT *kizi), Chv χырлб, ffd. see ET Q 194-6) ¶ ≈ Cl. 681 (unc.: qiz 'be hot' ← qiz- 'be red'), ET Q 187-9, 194-7, Md. 70, 168, Tkr 228, Jeg. 298, Fed. II 343, Ra. 223-4, Rl. II 875, PC 447 || ?? M *gere 'light, brightness' (× N *neh^r'i 'light, fire', q.v. ffd. × N *gæhR̥ - *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light [Licht]') ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g^ro¹r̥ ᱠ ᱦᱟᱱᱚᱴᱥ', vi. 'burn'), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (N *gUR̥ ᱠ 'burning coal') ◇ The SC cognates (Brn giṛru, Alg giṛri) and the long i in EC suggest

the presence of a lr. (*ʔ = *ʔ|h) in the N etymon (unless both SC *ʔ and the EC vw. length are of prosodic origin) ◇ If the N etymon is *geyrâ, the N vw. *-e- was narrowed to a pre-T *-i- (> T *-i- due to vw. harmony) under the infl. of the adjacent *y or *ʔi.

688a. *gūr̥E or *gūr̥∇ 'throat, neck' > HS: EC {Ss.} *gawraʔ- 'cut the throat' (× EC *✓grʔ 'cut' < N *gir̥∇ 'to cut', q.v.) > Sml gowraʔ-, Rn gōrraḥa 'slaughter an animal by cutting its throat', Bn kūraʔ-, Sd gorʔ-, Kmb gor-, Or gorraʔ- 'slaughter an animal'; Or ʔ→ Brj gorraʔ- v. 'slaughter' ¶ Ss. B 84, Abr. S 96, ZMO 166, Grg. 182, PG 127 || WS *gurʔ- 'throat, gulp (gorgée)' > Gz gʷarʔē 'throat, neck, palate', Tgr ʔC.ó gʔrʔʔ 'throat', Ar جَرَعَة gʔurʔ-at- ~ جَرَعَة gʔarʔ-at- 'gulp (gorgée, ce qu'on boit et avale d'un coup)', ✓gʔrʔ (pf. جَرَع gʔaraʔa) 'swallow at one gulp' ¶ L G 200-1, BK I 280, Hv. 8, ≈ DRS 175-6 || Ch (× N *geR∇ 'throat?'): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gāgārāk 'throat' (× N *guRʔkʔUʔ 'throat?') | BT: Krkr {Kœ.} gurgosli 'throat' | Pʔ {MSk.} gùrgʷàḡá id. | ? Hs garefa 'trachea, windpipe' || CCh: Msg G {Trn.} gurḏok, Mlw {Trn.} gùḏòk 'throat' | Mtk: Mf {BLB} gʔrḏ- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} gʔrḏan 'palate' | Tr {Nw.} ʔùʔʷàr id., gora 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS lr.) | BB: Gude {Hsk.} ʔ gùrʔk 'swallowing noisily' | Lame {Sa.} ʔ gùròk id. || ECh: Mu {J} gōrò (pl. gōrār), Tmk {Cp.} gēḗ, Kwn {J} kʔr̥ ʔ kʔr̥í, Ke {Eb.} kùr 'neck' (in KwK *g- > k- regularly) ||| Cf. also nouns with supposed pxs.: Ngz {Sch.} ngúḗááíyá 'throat', Db {Mch.} mungurlum, Hs màḗḗgʷàʔō, Gw {Mts.} màḗḗngòro id. ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, Ba. 758, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh #76, ChC, ChL, Eb. 75 ¶ Gude gùrʔk and Lame gùròk are results of secondary ideophonization (cf. R [in fairy tales and literature for children] зайчик прыг-прыг 'the hare jumped', lit. 'little hare jump-jump', where the deverbal d. прыг [without being ideophonic by origin] functions as an ideophone) ¶ The Tmk and Tr words for 'neck' belong here if the retroflexity of r in Tmk and the glottalization of *g in Tr reflect the HS lr. in N *gūr̥E ~ *gūr̥∇ || B *-gurḡ/ḡḡ- 'neck' (possibly < *gurʔ-at-) > Kb aḡʷarḡ (pl. iḡʷarḡan, iḡʷarḡaḡ) 'neck-opening of a garment, collar (encolure, col)', Awj {Par.} a-ḡārāḡ (pl. ḡarḡā:wān) 'neck', Zng {MH → Nic.} agarḡ (pl. ḡarḡun) 'gosier; haut du cou', {Bs.} اِغْرَدْ agarḡ 'gosier', {Nic., Bs.} اِغْرَضْ agarḡ 'goulot', Izd {Mrc.}

agərǰ (pl. iǰurǰan) 'cou, goulot, encolure', Ah eǰərəǰ 'têtière (de licol)', ETwl, Ty eǰərǰ (pl. iǰərǰən) id., 'nape of neck', ZAS {Loub.} agərǰ, Zn {Rn.}, Tmz {MT} a-gərǰ 'shoulder', Tmz ✓grǰ (inv. gərǰ) 'tordre le cou; avoir le cou tordu'; d.: Sll {Ds.} amggərǰ (pl. imgrǰ), Izd {Mrc.} dim. tamgərǰ (pl. timgrǰ), Zn {Rn.} amgrǰ 'neck', ZAS {Loub.} amgərǰ 'cou, col', Kb amjərǰ (pl. iməjraǰ) 'neck, nape of neck'. Cf. also Wrg {Dlh.} a-gərdu (pl. i-gərda) 'gorgée longue de liquide' (survival of *ǰ in a B dialect??). In addition, it is worth paying attention to B *guHrǰzǰ (< **gurHǰzǰ?) > Ah ǰ-ǰūrəh 'larynx', ETwl, Ty a-gurzǰ (pl. i-gərzan) 'throat', Ttq {Msq.} korzǰ 'throat over the Adam's apple', as well as to Kb a-jərǰuǰ ~ a-jərǰuǰ (pl. ijərǰuǰən) 'throat, larynx, trachea' and to Ntf {La.} a-gərgur 'goitre' (× N *geRǰ 'throat') ¶ Par. A 163, Rn. 352, Ds. 77, MT 465-6, Dlh. Ou 62, Fc. 48O-2, Loub. 547, Mrc. 64, 281, Pr. H #11O, GhA 58, 6O, Dl. 273-4, Msq. 139, Msq. Z 5O1, Nic. 313, Bs. MS I 124, La. N 57, NZ 868-9 || A: M *güre-ǰen '(= part of the) neck' > WrM gürege(n), HIM rǰpəə(н) 'area of the neck below and in front of the ear', Kl {Rm.} güreñ ~ güre 'neck', MM [IM] güreñ sudusun 'arteria cervicalis', WrM gürege(n)-ü sudasu, Kl {Rm.} güreñ sudasǰ 'jugular vein' (sudǰsǰ, sudusun is 'vein, sinew'), ? StKl {KRS} rǰpə güre 'vein'; M ǰ → Chg [MA] күreñ in күреñ tamur 'arteria cervicalis', Qrg күрө, күрө тамыр 'jugular vein', WrMc gürexe id. (gǰ- [rather than ǰ-] being possible in loanwords only) ¶ MED 392, Pp. MA 172, KRS 149, KW 139, Jud. 47O-1, Z 363, Hr. 385, ≈ STM I 175 || Tg *güre-ke 'nape' (× N *gubǰRE 'back, nape [of neck]', q.v. ffd.) || D *kuǰǰ- ({ǰGS} ≈ *guǰǰ-) > Nk guǰǰga 'neck', Gnd B guǰǰgā 'oesophagus', Gnd Ch/G/HMB/KM guǰǰga 'throat', Gnd DM guǰǰgā id., 'neck', Gnd RSr guǰǰga, Gnd A gurǰā 'Adam's apple', Ml korǰā, Kn gorǰke 'throat', ? gǰñ ~ gǰr 'neck' ¶¶ D #1645 ||| The N word in question may be an AdS of D *kǰrǰ- 'throat, voice' (< N *kǰriǰ 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *kuǰǰ- (≈ *guǰǰ-) suggests N *-ǰ-, while D *kǰrǰ- (if it belongs here) points to N *-rǰ- (unless D *-ǰ- belongs to the heritage of N *kǰriǰ ◇ M *ü suggests either a N *ü or a N vw. *u influenced by the front vw. of the next syll. ◇ The N etymon is qu. and hard to reconstruct, because the potential cognates outside HS are not distinguishable from N *kǰriǰ 'ǰ' (due to the neutralization of the glottal oppositions in anlaut) ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [#91] ◇ ≠ Gr. II #39O (*kur 'throat') (A + err. IE, U, Gil).

689. ² *gEy∇ŝ∇ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > IE: NaIE *g^ha₁so-s, {EL} *g^ha₁so-s ~ *g^ha₁ses- 'javelin, spear' ({EL} 'throwing spear') > OI 'hēṣah₁ 'weapon', {EL} 'missile' (?? → hi'nas-ti ~ Vd 'himṣati 'injures, hurts, destroys') ||| GI → L gaesum and Gk γᾰῖσος ~ γᾰῖσον 'long heavy javelin (originally a Gaulish weapon)'; OIr gáe 'spear', fo-gae (later foga) 'javelin (Wurfspeer)', OW {Flr.} guoiu, MW gwaew, W gwayw, Crn gew 'spear', Br goaf 'lance; gaffe, perche munie d'un croc' (× Fr. gaffe) ||| Gmc *gaizas > AS ȝār, OSx gēr, OHG gēr, NHG Ger, ON geirr 'javelin, spear' ||| ?? Gk χᾰῖος 'shepherd's staff' (μφ from 'spear?') ¶ WP I 528, P 410, EI 537, WH I 575-6, SB 104, Flr. 204, YGM-1 260, Hm. 320, LP §§ 14, 23 (3), 34 (3), Billy 76, F I 282-3 and II 1061-2, Vr. 161-2, Kb. 327, Schz. 150, Ho. 124, Ho. S 25, KM 249; ≠ M K III 595, 601, 611 and M E II 820-1 ('hēṣah₁ * ←- hiṣ-/hēṣ- 'injure, hurt' without IE et.) ||| HS: WS *gayaŝ- 'host, armed force' > MHb 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵 'gayis (< AHb *gayiŝ) (pl. 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵 gayā's-ōt), JA 𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪𐾫𐾬𐾭𐾮𐾯𐾰𐾱𐾲𐾳𐾴𐾵𐾶𐾷𐾸𐾹𐾺𐾻𐾼𐾽𐾾𐾿𐿀𐿁𐿂𐿃𐿄𐿅𐿆𐿇𐿈𐿉𐿊𐿋𐿌𐿍𐿎𐿏𐿐𐿑𐿒𐿓𐿔𐿕𐿖𐿗𐿘𐿙𐿚𐿛𐿜𐿝𐿞𐿟𐿠𐿡𐿢𐿣𐿤𐿥𐿦𐿧𐿨𐿩𐿪𐿫𐿬𐿭𐿮𐿯𐿰𐿱𐿲𐿳𐿴𐿵𐿶𐿷𐿸𐿹𐿺𐿻𐿼𐿽𐿾𐿿𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗

121 ◇ FU *küš∇- v. 'fall' (Coll. 79, MK 225-6) should be kept apart (it has a better et. connecting it with N *kūš'ʕ'∇ 'to fell, to fall', q.v.).

690. *g'ā'yūš∇ʔa 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *gʰeǵs- 'be frightened, be scared', {E} 'frighten' > Av zaēša- 'horrible', zōi(ə)šnav- zusammenschreckend, schauernd', KhS ysāṣṭa 'hateful, hostile', NPrs زشت zešt 'hideous, ugly; bad' || Gt us-geisnan 'to be frightened', us-gaisjan 'to frighten', Ic geisa 'to rage, to be ferocious', geiski n. 'fright, terror', ON geiska-fullr 'frightful' (lit. 'full of fright') ¶ Hardly here (for both phonetic and semantic reasons and against P's opinion) NaIE *gʰoǵsd- > OI 'hēḍa- 'anger', OHG geist 'spirit, soul', NHG Geist 'spirit', AS Ʒæst ~ Ʒāst 'spirit, ghost', NE ghost; OI 'hēḍa- 'anger' is likely to belong to N *gič∇ 'injure, irritate' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ EI 214, ≈ WP I 553-4, ≈ P 427, Brtl. 1651, 1692-3, Bai. 353, Sg. 617, BM 260, Vr. 162, Fs. 531-2, Kb. 324, Ho. 122, Bv. 219 || A: Tg *gasa- v. 'worry, grieve' > Neg, Ork gasa- v. 'worry', Ul gasa- 'be sad, grieve (тосковать)', Nn Nh/B gasa-, Nn KU gaso- 'be sad, grieve, worry', WrMc gasa- {Z} 'grieve, be sad', WrMc {Hr.} gasa-, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gasa- 'beklagen, bemangeln; unzufrieden sein, sich beschweren' ¶ STM I 143, Z 304, Hr. 337, Klz. MS 175 || M *gasal₁a₁- > WrM gasal-, gasala-, HIM гасла- 'be sorrowful\afflicted, grieve', Kl {Rm.} gasl- 'betrübt sein, sich grämen', -> M *gasalan > WrM gasalan₁, HIM гасалан(г), Kl {Rm.} gasal₁ ~ gasl₁ 'Gram, Betrübnis, Unglück', {KRS} гасл₁ ҧасл₁ 'grief, sorrow'; the infl. of M *gasal₁a₁- is the source of meaning 'sorrowful' in MM [MA] gašū-ba 'was distressed', WrM gasiḡu(n), HIM гашуу(н) 'sorrowful', while the primary meaning of M *gasiḡun (> MM [HI] gasi₁un, [MA] gašūn, WrM gasiḡu(n), HIM гашуу(н), Mnr ǵašṣn) is 'bitter, sour', hence M *gasiḡun hardly belongs here ¶ MED 353-4, KRS 160-1, KW 146, Pp. MA 178, SM 121, Ms. H 89 || HS: S *^ogšʔ > Ar جشاً ǵšʔ G 'be convulsed, heave (from fear or grief)' (of a soul), {Fr.} 'commota et excita fuit (anima moerore vel concepto terrore)' ¶ Fr. I 279, BK I 295, Hv. 90.

691. ?₂ *g'u'š∇ʔa (~ *g'u'š∇ʔ∇) 'belch, vomit' > HS: S *^ogšʔ ~ *^ogšʔ > Hb (mt.) ǵgšʔ TL (pf. hiḡḡeš) 'vomit loudly', Sr pf. G ga'sā (*^ogšʔ) 'vomit', Ar ǵšʔ G 'belch', Gz ǵgšʔ G 'belch, vomit', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} gššō, Sq ǵgšʔ, Jb C {Jo.} šš-¹gešī 'belch', Ak IB gešū (*^ogšʔ) 'to belch' ¶ KB 200, CAD III 64, Br. 126, JPS 75, BK I

295, LG 205, LLS 117, Jo. M 126, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, Sd. 287, Mik I #2.17 || WCh {Stl.} *ga^rc^h- 'belch' > Hs g^yáçè || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj ʔzèš-, Kry ʔzèš, My gʒla- id., Cg gāžan n. 'belch', Jmb žižášú, Diri gž'šá v. 'vomit' || Ngz {Sch.} gàdžú 'belch' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [#669], ChC, Sk. NB 12, Sch. DN 66, ≈ Tk. NB 178-9 (pNrBc *gžš- > *gžž- ~ *gžč- [secondary glottalization]) || A: T *k_l'us- 'vomit' (× N o†*g_uʔ_la_lsê 'to vomit, to cough', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., because the supposed T cognate has an alt. et.

692. ₂ *gAʔit∇ 'body, flesh' > HS: ?σ,ϕ EC *gīd- 'body, flesh, meat' > Rn žíđ- 'flesh, meat', Sml žid, Sml J žir 'body', Hr {AMS} gīd-o 'mageres Fleisch' ¶ PG 166, ZMO 220, Hn. S 61 (pSam *gīd), AMS 158, ≈ Ss. WOKS 133 (EC *gīd), Blz. RL 260 || Eg fP ž.t 'Leib, Körper' (reinterpretation of *žt?) ¶ EG V 503-6 || D: SD *kaṭṭ- 'body, corpse' > Tm kaṭṭai id., Kn kaṭuku 'a headless trunk'; D ⇨ OI kaṭa- 'corpse' ¶ D #1152 ◇ EC *-d- points to the existence of a N *ʔ (*-ʔ...t- > EC *-d-).

693. ₂ *g^ht^h H₁∇ 'small, little' > HS: C: SC {E} *g^wat₁-/*got₁- ({JE} *g^wat₁-/*got₁-) 'child' > Irq {E, MQK} garma 'boy', Qz goʔolayo 'bull calf' || Dhl {EEN, To.} g^wícca 'child' || C ⇨ Mb -gitutú 'little, small' ¶ E SC 263, WQK 37, EEN 32, To. D 134 || D {tr.} *kuṭṭ-, {IS} *kuḍḍ-, {GS} *gudḍ- 'small, little' > Tu giḍḍa 'short, small', Kn giḍḍu, gudḍu 'shortness, smallness', Tl giḍḍa 'small, dwarfish', Δ gudḍu 'short', Tm kuṭṭa 'smallness; young of a monkey', Ml kuṭu 'small, narrow', kuṭṭan 'boy, lamb, calf', Td kuṭ, Kdg kuṭṭi 'child (of any caste except for Coorgs)', Kui gūṭa 'short, dwarfish', Krx gudru 'dwarfish', Brh ʔudḍū, gudḍū 'small' ¶¶ D #1670, GS 166 [#419], 184 [#465] ◇ IS supposed here a lr. sx.: **-t-H- > D *-dḍ- ◇ Both the SC rec. and the pN one are questionable ◇ Cp. N *k_lUṭ∇ 'small'.

694. *gāṭâ 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *g^hed- v. 'acquire', 'acquisition' > Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy, greediness' || Gmc *git- > Gt bi-gitan 'to find', ON geta 'to create, to obtain, to procreate' (NrGmc ⇨ ME geten > NE get), OHG bi-gežžan 'to get (erhalten), reach', OSx bigetan 'to find', AS bi-zietan 'to receive, to find; to procreate' (> NE beget) || OL praida, L praeda 'booty' (< *prajheda) ¶ WP I 589-90, P 437-8 (*g^hend- and *g^hed-), Mn. 317 (*g^hed-; *÷ OCS žadati 'desire'), Ab. IV 317-8, WH II 352-3, Vr. 165, WW 113, Kb. 331, Ho. 120, Ho. S 26, HDEL 119, 554 ¶ WP and P postulate a variative root *g^hend- ~ *g^hed-, based on Brugmann's theory of a nasal

infix (BD II/3 293ff.), and therefore adduce here the reflexes of **IE** *gʰend- (> Gk χανδάνω 'ich fasse', L praehendō [> prēhendō] id., etc.), but Mn. is probably right in rejecting it and reconstructing a separate root *ghed- (our *gʰed- with *gʰh- on the ev. of Oss I z3d, Oss D zud 'greedy') ¶ **IE** *-d- rather than *-t- (< N *-t-) is due to the **IE** incompatibility law ruling out voiced aspirates and voiceless cns. in the same root || **HS**: C: EC {Ss.} *gaḍ- > Brj gaḍ- 'take', Rn χāta (< *ḡāt- < mte. *gāḍ-) 'take; capture, seize', pKns *kēḍ- v. 'take' > Kns, Turo, Gato qēḍ-, Msl ḡēḍ-, Gdl ḡeḍ-, ? Or E (with a caus. sx.) gaḍḍīs- 'set free, let go' ||| Dhl {EEN} geṭ- 'take, send', geṭṭokum- 'carry', {To.} get- 'bring, send' ||| ? SC (× N *gōṭ- 'pull, draw'??): Irq {Wh.} -gagār-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ Ss. B 75, Bl. 254, PG 186, ≈ AD SF 245, EEN 31, Th. 143 (Or gaddisu ~ gaḍisu 'congedare, licenziare, lasciare andare'), ≈ ESC 237, To. D 134, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || ?σ S *o✓gtt > Ar ✓ḡtt (pf. جَٔتَ ḡatta) 'touch a domestic animal in order to know if it is fat' ¶ BK I 251 ¶ S *-t- for *-t- is due to deglottalization in S (likely to be compulsory in certain conditions, as can be concluded from the absence of *g-t-roots in pS) || **U**: FU *katt- v. 'grasp, hold' (*katt- from **kättâ due to vw. harmony?) > Prm *kut- > OPrm, Z kut- 'catch, hold', StVt кутыны, Vt S kut-, Vt G {W} kut+ 'catch, seize' ||| OHg hat- 'possess', Hg hatalo, 'power, violence' ¶ UEW 130-1, LG 147-8, MF 275-6 || **D** *kat- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'seize' > Tm kaṭuṽu 'seize, grasp', Kn kaḍubu 'seize or hold firmly', kaḍi v. 'steal', Tu kaḍipu, kaḍupu, kaḍpu n. 'stealing, theft', Tl kaḍumu 'seize' ¶¶ D #1200, ≈ Km. 322 [#242] (*kač- > kat-).

694a. ≈ *gōṭ- 'ant', (?) 'worm' > **HS**: EC: Sd {Gs.} gōṭāmo coll. 'ε ants', gōṭān-čō 'ant', Ged {LmS} ḡōṭāmo 'ant', and Sml {ZMO} quḡānyo 'ants' (as. *g...ṭ > *ḡ...ṭ), ??? god 'ε ant' (in godka qurānyada), Dsn {LmS} kūḍin 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, ZMO 334, 452, Gs. 130 || NrOm: Wl {LmS} guṭṭun-iyā 'worm', Omt {Mrn.} guṭune, Gf {Mrn.} guṭane 'worm', Gm {LmS} guṭune 'worm, meat worm', Malo {LmS} guṭine, Dc/Zs {LmS} guṭume 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gòḡnòy 'ε ant' ¶ ChC, Eb. 51 || **U**: FP {UEW} *kutke 'ant' > Es kuk-lane (gen. kuklase) 'ant', Lv kukki 'bug, insect' || pLp {Lr.} kotkэ 'ant' > Lp: S gārke, U gādhka, L kār'hkā, N {N} goḡ'kā, Kld kot:k || pMr {Ker.} *kutkь- > *kotkə- > Er коткудав, {W} kotkodov id. || pChr {Ber.} kutkь- id. > Chr: Н кыткы 'kьtkь, L кутко 'kutko, Uf/B kutko || Prm: pZ *koṭṭ

> Z кодзубкот kožuv-kot, Z US kožul-ko, Z K kot-kožul 'ant' (kožul 'ant') ¶ UEW 678-9, Lr. #463, Lgc. #2581, ERV 298, Ker. II 68, Ber. 25, MRS 250, 272, Ep. 53, LG 135 || D *^okott- ({}GS} *g-) > Kn godda 'ε black ant' ¶¶ D #2096 ◇ Blz. 159 [#72] (C, NrOm, D).

695. ₂ *gōt̪∇ 'pull, draw' > HS: C {AD} *^og^ωt 'draw, pull' > Ag: Xm {R} g^ωit- id.; Ag → Tgr {LH} gētēt ṛabla, Tgy g^ωētēta id. || ?? EC: pSam {Hn.} *gīt/*gītā v. 'pull' (unless it is EC {Ss.} *zit- v. 'pull' < N *^ozed₁h₁ū|u 'pull, drag, draw', q.v. ffd.) > Sml žīd-, Rn {Hn.} žit / 'žita, {PG} žīta 'pull, drag', pBn {Hn. BD} *(hǎ́)-šīd or {Hn. S} šīd 'pull' > Bn: Bi (hǎ́)-šīd, J/Kj hǎ́-šīd, K hǎ́-sīd || ??φ SC (× N *gātâ 'grasp, take, possess'): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ AD SF 245, Hn. S 61, Abr. S 140, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || A: Tg: WrMc goci- v. 'pull, draw' ¶ STM I 163 ◇ WrMc -c- points to a N *-t̪-. HS *t̪ results from deglottalization of N *t̪ (a regular process) ◇ It is tempting to adduce here FU **kut∇- v. 'tear, draw' (reconstructed in MF 3123-3 from Vg T/P kat-, Vg LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear'), but the Vg Sn xūpt- 'put on boots, put load on one's back' and the Os cognate (Os Ty qop̪t̪∇ 'zerstückeln', Os D χǎp̪ət- 'fällen', Os O χǎp̪ət- 'loswinden') point to a pUgr *kup̪-t̪- 'pull, draw' (UEW 859).

696. *gāt̪E 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross' > HS: WCh: BT: Bl {Lk.} gaḏ- 'vorbei\weiter\hinein-gehen; übertreffen', {Bnt.} ga'daωo 'pass by', Krkr {Lk.} gaḏ- id. ?? Tng kaḏε vt. 'go to meet' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Lk. PVB II 135, Bnt. 24, J T 95 || S *^ogāt̪ v. 'go through, cross' > Ar ^ogāt̪ (ip. -qāt̪-) v. 'cross (a river), traverse (a country)', 'migrate (from a cold land to a warm one)' (of birds of passage)' (unless ← ^ogāt̪ 'cut') ¶ Fr. III 465, BK II 768 ¶ The glottalized initial cns. *k̪- is due to as. within forms with a cns. cluster (**-gāt̪- > *-k̪āt̪) || A {DQA} *gāt̪'ī > M: [1] M *gatul- v. 'cross (a river \ mountain)' > WrM gatul-, HIM гатл-ах v. 'cross a river', Kl hatl- gat̪]-, Brt гатал- id., 'cross (a mountain)', Ord gāt̪'ul- 'traverser'] [2] M *getül- > WrM getül-, HIM гэтл-эх v. 'traverse, cross, ford, wade', Ord gēt̪'ül- 'cross (a river)', Kl {Rm.} gēt̪]- id., 'wade', {KRS} гетл- 'get rid of', WrO getel- v. 'save from, escape', Brt гэтэл- 'cross (a mountain, a river)', үбшэнһөө гэтэл- 'get rid of an illness' ¶ MED 354-5, 380, KW 135, 147, KRS 141, 161, Chr. 151, Ms. O 29, 263, Krg. 766, Chr. 151, 173 || NaT *k̪et- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.}, MQp XIII ket-

id., XwT XIII, Chg XV *get-* 'go', MQp [CC] *ket-*, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln *ket-*, ET *kät-*, Δ *ket-*, VTt, Bsh *kit-*, Ggz *get-* 'go away', Tk *git-*, Tkm *git-* (aor. *gider*), Az *ǵet-*, Qmq *get-*, Nog, Uz *ket-* 'go, go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ET VGD 49-50, Rs. W 258 || ?σ pJ {S} **kítá-r-* 'come, arrive' > OJ *kjítár-*, J: T *kitár-*, K *kítàr-*, Kg *kìtār-* ¶ S QJ #1389, Mr. 709 ¶¶ DQA #489 || D {Km., Zv., Pf.} **kaṭṭ-*/**kaṭ-∇* ({GS} **kyad-*) v. 'pass through, cross (sth.)' > Tm *kaṭa* v. 'pass through, traverse, cross', Ml *kaṭakka* v. 'pass over/out, transgress, surpass', Kt *kaṛv-* (p. *kaṛd-*) v. 'cross (a river)', Td *kaḍ-* v. 'leave, pass, cross', Kn *kaḍe* v. 'pass over, transgress, get through', Kdg *kaḍa-*, Prj *kaḍp-*, Gdb *karp-*, Mnd *kṛā-* v. 'cross', Tu *kaḍapuni* v. 'cross, ford, pass', OTINTI *kaḍacu*, TI *gaḍacu*, *gaḍucu* id., Knd *gaṛvi-* v. 'go beyond the boundary of a village', Kui *grāsa-* v. 'pass sth. over/through', Ku *grāncali-* v. 'cross over', Krx *kaṭṭ-*, Mlt *kaṭe-* id., v. 'cross', Brh *ṣarr-* v. 'proceed on foot, make one's way' ¶¶ Zv. 101, ≈ D #1109 (does not distinguish between this √ and **kaṭ-* 'end'), Km. 236, Pf. 65 [#404], 84 [#534], GS 206-7 [#522], 28 [#16], 164 [#407], 166 [#417] ¶¶ D *-ṭ- ({GS} *-ḍ-) is probably from *-ḍi- < N *-ṭi- (as.) ◇ The origin of NaT *-e- (that DQA interprets as pointing to A *-a...i) still needs investigating.

697. **gāwṛ∇* (or **gāwṛ∇*?) 'to call' > IE **ǵ^ho¹u(H)-* 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE **ǵ^ho¹u(ə)-* 'call, invoke', **ǵ^ho¹w0-s* 'a call', pp. **ǵ^hu(:)-t0-* 'called, invoked' > OI 'hava^{tē} 'calls, invokes', hū^{tā}- 'called, summoned, invoked', Av zava^{tī} 'ruft verwünschend an', Av zavaⁿ⁻, OI 'hava-ḥ 'call, invocation' || Gk *καυχ-ύομαι* 'speak loud, boast' (the vw. -α- is due to contamination with N **ka^w∇* 'call [exclaim], shout') || OIr *guth* 'voice' (< **gutu-s*) (× **g-* due to contamination with N **ka^w∇*) || Lt *žavéti* 'to charm, to fascinate', Ltv *zavēt* 'to charm, to cast a spell, to conjure' ('zaubern, hexen') (← *'to invoke charms') || Sl **zъvǎ-ti* (1s prs. *zǎv-ǫ*) 'to call' > OCS *zъvati* / *zъvati* / *zъvati* / *zъvati*, Blg *zъva*, SCr *zvǎti* / *zǎvēm*, Slv *zváti* / *zǎvem*, OCz *zváti* / *zovu*, Cz *zváti* / *zvu*, Slk *zvat'* / *zvem*, P *zwać* / *zoweę*, R *звать* / *зо'ву*, Uk 'звати / *зо'ву* || Tc B {Wn.} *kuwā-*, {Ad.} *kwā-* 'call, invite' ¶ P 413-4 (NaIE **ǵ^hau(ə)-* 'call, invoke', **ǵ^haw0-s* 'a call', pp. **ǵ^hu(:)-t0-*), EI 89-90 (IE **ǵ^hau(H)-*), M K III 585-7, M E II 809-11, F I 802-3, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr *guth* < NaIE **ǵ^wow-* (> Gk *βοή* 'a loud cry, shout')) Frn. 1203, Vs. II 85, Glh. 702, Wn. 292 (Tc < IE **ǵ^hāu-*), JGH 59, Ad. 235 || HS: CS **ǵ^hiy* v. 'call, low' > Sr *ǵ^hiy* (pf.

gə'ā) v. 'call out\upon, implore, low, bellow', BHb ✓ g̃y (pf. ḡḡ'ā) v. 'roar, low', MHb ✓ g̃y (p. g̃ā'ā) 'cry loudly, roar, low', Ug g̃t 'lowing of cattle', JA ✓ g̃y (p. ḡḡ'ā, ḡḡ'ā) v. 'low' ¶ KB 191, KBR 199, A #679, Br. 127, Js. 261, DRS 164 ¶ The meaning 'to low, to bellow, to roar' is due to onomatopoeic reinterpretation of the verb || ?φ Eg fP ḡy 'call upon' ('rufen, anrufen') (× N *g̃w'í'í'í' 'shout, cry, utter sounds' [*inter alia* of an animal] [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 ¶ The loss of the expected *í is still hard to explain || D *kaw- ~ *kav- 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *kaw 'call', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *a suggests that the N front vw. is to be specified as *ä, but the D ev. is not conclusive (because of the ambiguous origin of the D ✓).

698. *gay 'side, outside' > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} gayú 'aside', {E} gayu 'beyond, on the other side', {MQK} gayu 'other side (esp. of a river), area on other side', ? C ⇨ Mb {E} gána, gahana 'outside' ¶ Wh. SI, E SC 237 [#22], MQK 37 || ? K: GZ *gan- 'side, outside' (× N *gänh 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.), K *o-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N *gay nu 'from the side' (*see* N *nu 'from, of') (× N *gänh nu 'from the side (of)', *see* N *gänh 'side of') || U *ka|oy (or *ka|ó|*ka|ó) > Sm {Jn.} *ka|y 'side' > Ng {Cs} kai, kei, {Mik.} kzy is., Slq Tz {KKIH} qō 'side of body', qōq+t prep. 'near' ¶ Jn. 57-8, KKIH 163 || A: Tg *ga 'out!', 'B O H!' > Neg ga 'out!' (a ritual interjection of chasing the illness spirit), Nn ga id. ¶ STM I 132.

699. *goy 'man, people' > HS: S (or WS) *gaw- 'people (Volk)' > BHb 'ḡḡ' gōy 'people, nation; people (persons)', EpHb pl. gyyum 'the heathens', Ph, Pun gω 'community, corporation', Sb gω-m, gwy, Mn gω 'community group', Ak M gā(ḡ|y)-um 'people (Volk)' ({DRS}: ⇨ Cn) ¶ KB 175, KBR 182-3, HJ 215, 221, BGMR 51, MA 57, Sd. 284, CAD V 59, DRS 107 || U *koye 'man (male person), male' > FU: Lp Kld {SaR} κῡῖ, {TI} kuj, Lp T {Gn.} kī jj 'husband' || ObU {Ht.} *kūy 'male' > pVg *kūy > Vg: MK kuy śīś, P kuj śēs 'male wolf', Ss xuy śīśi 'male ermine'; pOs {Ht.} *kuy 'male' > Os: V qu / quy-, D/O χoy 'man, husband'; (in cds.: animal name X + *kuy): Vy/Ty quy, K/O χuy, Nz/Kz χūy 'male (X)' || Sm: StNe T xaeπā- v. 'have a husband, be married' (of a woman), Ne T O {Lh.} χāyū-pā- 'having a husband, married' (of a woman) || pY {IN} *kōy 'man (vir)' > YK/T {IN} kōy id., kōy-pā-d-ō 'boy' (-pā pl., -d- gen., ö 'child'), K {Krn.} koy 'young man' ¶¶ Coll. 13, UEW 166-7, SaR 131, Ht. #232, Jn. 76, Ter. 720, 760, IN 22, Krn. JJ 236, ≈

Rd. UJ 38 [#21] (Y ← U) || **A:** Tg *goy¹ 'other, different' (← *'stranger') > Ul goy ~ goy¹, Ork go¹ ~ goy, Nn goy id., WrMc {Z} гу¹а, Mc Sb gua 'other, different, strange (fremd)', WrMc {Z, Hr.} гу¹а ¹а¹ма 'another person, stranger' ¶ STM I 157-8, Z 353, Hr. 397, Y #3023 ¶ For the meaning cp. Hb gōy 'people' → 'heathen' → 'not Jewish' ◇ AD LRC #133 (HS, U).

700. *gâ₁ʔ₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon') > **U:** FU (att. in Vg) **°kây∇ > Vg: P {Kn.} kuyt- v. 'wave to so., beckon', LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- 'verführen, antreiben', N {Mu.} xujti, ML {Mu.} khujti, K {Mu.} khujti & khwqjti 'hetzen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben' ¶ UEW 858, MK 117 || **A:** Tg *gay∇w- v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand\finger' > Ewk Brg/Z/Np gayiw- 'wave to so., beckon', Ul gayawčy- ~ gayaočj- v. 'point with one's finger at', gayawčy(n-) čumuču(n-) 'index-finger', Nn Nh gawāčj- v. 'show the direction to dogs', gayaočj- ~ gayosj- ~ gayočj- v. 'point with one's hand\finger' ¶ STM I 136 || ?σ M *guyy- v. 'ask, implore, require' (← 'pursue') (× N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want' × N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away') > MM [HI, S, MA] guyy- 'ask, solicit, require', WrM guyy-, HIM гуй-х 'ask, request, beg, solicit' ¶ Rm. 201, Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365 || **HS:** Eg P ззy 'extend (an arm), oppose to', {EG} id., 'das Gesicht jemandem zuwenden' ¶ EG V 514, Fk. 318.

701. *gāhya 'throw, leave, let' > **U:** FU *kaya 'throw, pour' > Er/Mk kaya- 'throw away, take off (clothes), pour' || Prm {LG} *koy- 'throw, throw away' > Vt koy- id., Z koy- id., 'scoop out, pour out' || Hg hajit- 'throw, hurl, cast, fling' ¶ UEW 116-7, MF 215-6, LG 128 || **IE:** NaIE *g^hē(j)- 'hurl, cast' > OI ✓ hay-: hi'nōti 'hurls, casts, sends forth, sets in motion, impels', Vd hē-'ti-h 'missile weapon', Av zaena- 'weapon' || Gmc: Lngb gaida 'spear', AS zād 'goad, point' (← *'spear') > NE goad ¶ WP I 546, P 424-5, M K 595-6, M E II 802-3, MW 1297, 1303, Ho. 121 || **HS:** CS *✓ghy v. '≈□let, be set free' (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away?') > Sr ✓ghy (pf. |^ogā gə'hā, ip. nεg'hē) 'flee, escape', Sh†(pf. ʔag'hī) 'set free, deliver, eschew', Md ✓ghʔ 'flee, escape', BHb ḡḡḡ gē'hā 'healing', ✓ghy|w G (ip. yig'hē) 'heal, cure' (← *'set free from the illness'), Ar ✓ğğğ TD (pf. tağahğaha) 'reculer, se reculer, s'abstenir de qch.', ✓ğğğ G (pf. ğahha) 'chasser ignominieusement' ¶ Br. 106, JPS 61-2, KB 174, KBR 181, BK I 341, DRS

104 ◇ U *a (for the expected *ä) may be due to vowel harmony (regr. as.).

702. *goXey▽ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > **HS: WS** *gawh- 'aurora, dawn' > Ar D {Lb.} جَوْحُ ḡawh (or d. جَوَّاحُ ḡuwwāh) 'la lumière qui précède la lune avant qu'elle se lève, la première clarté qui précède le soleil levant, l'aube', Gz ḡōh, Amh ḡoh 'dawn'; WS v. *✓gawh 'dawn' > Gz ✓gawh (pf. ḡōha), Tgy ḡōha v. 'dawn', Ar D ✓ḡawh (pf. جَوْحُ ḡuwwāh) 'luire, briller' ¶ L G 207, Lb. 308, Lb. D II 906-7, DRS 107 || EC {Bl., Ss.} *guyy- 'day' > Or {Bl.} ḡúyya?, {Grg.} ḡuyyā 'day', Or M {AD} ḡuy'ya', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ḡuy(y)ā 'day, daytime', Or Wl {Brl.} ḡuyya 'giorno, chiaro del giorno', Or H {Ow.} ḡuyā 'day', {Th.} ḡuyau, Or Wlg {Brl.} ḡuyya-awu v. 'dawn', Kns {Bl.} kuy'uāta, Gln kuyy-a?-akkó 'day', kuyyú, Gwd kúyy-ankó 'today' ¶ AD SF 220, Ss. PEC 44, Bl. 134, 213, Grg. 191, Th. 178, Brl. 193, Sr. 318, Ow. 262, AMS 210, 248, 272 || NrOm: Wl {C} ḡey- v. 'dawn (albeggiare)' ¶ C SO 30 || IE: *g^wh₂eny-/*g^wh₂ny- > NaIE *g^wh₂āj₁- ~ *g^wh₂aj₁- 'light (hell), bright' > Gk φατός 'gray, of any colour mixed of black and white' (< *g^wh₂āj₁wos ~ *g^wh₂aj₁sos) |||? (d.?) NaIE {EI} *g^wh₂ajdro-s 'bright, shining' > Gk φαιδρός 'bright, beaming with joy' ||| Lt giēdras 'clear, serene' (of weather, sky, etc.), giedrā ~ gaidrā 'fine weather', Ltv dziedrs 'light-blue', dzidrs 'clear, serene', dzidrums 'clearness, serenity, limpidness, lucidity' ¶ If Gk φατός is from *g^wh₂aj₁sos, it may be equated with Lt gāĩsas 'glow' ¶ P 488-9, F II 981, 984, Frn. 128, EI 83 || U: FU *koye 'redness in the sky (daybreak, evening glow), light in the sky' > F κοί 'dawn, daybreak', Es d. koit id., cd. κοί-βαλγε 'evening glow' || Z кѡа кѡа, Δ kɨva 'redness in the sky (aurora)' ||| ObU ≈ *kūy > pVg *k'u'y > Vg: T koy ({MK} khqj ~ khøj), NV/UL kuy, ML/LL/P {MK} khuj, N {MK} xuj {Coll.} 'morning redness', {MK} 'Morgendämmerung', {Ht.} 'зарница' ¶ But Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' and pOs *kuńǎl 'redness in the sky' do not belong here (⇔ UEW, MF 246-7), they go back to N *K'u'ñyaHÍE ~ *K'u'yñāHÍE ~ *K'u'ńāHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak' (q.v.) || Sm {Jn.} *kâyâ, {Hl.} *kaya {AD} 'sun, daylight, bright sky' > En {Ter.} kaya 'sun', Ne d.: NeT O {Lh.} χāy·erā 'leuchten', StNe T хаера-сь 'to start shining (заблестеть)', 'to become sunny' (weather), 'to clear up' (the sky), хаерë-сь 'to shine, to glimmer, to sparkle' ⇨ хаер" 'sun', Ne F {Lh.} kāyerā- 'klares Wetter sein', χay·er? 'sun', Ng {Cs.} kou 'sun', d. ⇨ kou ru? 'clear' || ?? Slq: Tz {Cs.} kueť, NP {Cs.} küeť, UO kueťe

'Hitze' || Kms {KD} k'уца, Koyb {Sp.} куця 'sun' || Mt {Hl.} *каца 'sun, day' (Mt: T {Mue} сhаја, K {Mue.} сhаї, M {Pls.} кайя id., {Mue.} сhаја 'sun') || ? Y: OY K {Bil.} сhаїl 'God', YT {Krn.} qоу-л, {Ku.} хой-л, T K/T {Jc.} хойл 'god', cds.: T {Ku.} хойнииме 'God's mother', хойн-фурцул 'divine heaven' ¶¶ Coll. 90, ≈ UEW 167 (Os < *куу-nəl), ≈ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *који, Ugr *којї 'dawn'), It. #93, LG 148-9, Ht. #742, MK 116, Jn. 58, Ter. 720-1, Cs. 124, 236, KD 33, Hl. M #389, Krn. JJ 274, Ku. 304, Ang. 255, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [#22] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *gEawan 'dawn, daybreak (aurora)' > Ewk, Neg gēwan, Lm gāwan, Orc gāawan, Ud {Krn.} gāwa, gāwa, {STM} gēāwa, {Krn.} gāwa ~ gāwa, Ork gēwa(n-), Nn: Nh/KU gɽwã, B gɽwa(n-) id. ¶ STM I 145, Krn. 221 || pKo {S} *kúí 'dawn' > MKo h'ájs-kúí, NKo häkúí ¶ S QK #467, Nam 484, MLC 1815 || pJ {S} *ka(i) 'day, period of time' > OJ ke id., -ka 'days' (sx.): patu-ka '20 days', itu-ka '5 days', etc. ¶ S QJ #1597, Mr. 430, 448 || M *geyi- v. 'beam, shine, emit light, dawn' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gei- 'shine, emit light, glitter', [S] {H} gei- 'hell werden (Tag)', WrM gei-, HlM гий- 'shine, emit light, dawn', Brt гий- v. 'dawn', Ord gī- v. 'clear up' (weather, sky), WrO gi- 'shine', Kl {Rm.} gī- 'leuchten, klar machen' ¶ Pp. MA 169, H 50, MED 374, Ms. O 265, Krg. 773, KW 137, Chr. 153 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #531 (A *gìòyú 'day, daylight'; incl. Tg, Ko, J, as well as M *gegege 'dawn, daylight' [rdp. of M *geyi-?]) ◇ The IE lr. *H (rather than the expected *H̄), NaIE *ā and *a need explaining. We may suppose an early loss of the N vw. *E in the prehistory of IE: N *goXey ▽ > **goXy ▽ > IE *gʷhēny-/*gʷhny- and (+ suffixes) NaIE *gʷhaidro-s. Tg *gEawan and Sm {Hl.} *каца suggest a final vw. *a in N (*goXeya), which is at variance with the FU and M ev. (*-e in FU *koye, *-i- in M *geyi-) ◇ IS I 230-1 [#85]; IS compared IE, U, A, C (Or), and Om cognates, but did not adduce the S root *√gwh 'dawn' (probably because the Ar D and the appropriate EthS sources were not available to him). He reconstructed *gоHуа, but indicated that on the ev. of U (lack of lengthening of the vw.) this *H is likely to be identified as *h̄. Now the S material confirms his theoretical prediction. This is one of the cases of IS's linguistic insight similar to Leverrier's discovery of Neptune. Another case is Jb хан'ṭi 'front, front part', which was unknown in the 60's and has become a brilliant confirmation of IS's historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qanṭan 'forehead, front' (see N *qañṭ ▽ id.).

703. *gažV 'slanting, skew, bent' > **K**: G gez-ad 'schief, schräg, schein' ¶ Chx. 187 || **U**: FU *^okâšV > Vg N {MSz.} xusi 'curved' (of a tree) ({MSz.} 'göörbe', {Stn.} 'schief [Baum]'); Os: V/Vy qāsaγ 'schief, gekrümmt (Baum)', D/Nz/Kz χασαη 'krumm, gekrümmt, schief', Vy qāsaγ lγγ {Stn.} 'Pferd, das den Kopf aufrecht trägt' (misprint for '...nicht aufrecht...?'), D/Kr χασα 'Biegung, Krümmung' ¶ Ht. #761, Stn. D 564 || **HS**: Eg fMK gšš ({EG} gśš) 'sich neigen, schief sein', {Fk.} v. 'tilt, favour (so.)' ¶ EG V 205, Fk. 292 || **A**: M *gažī- > WrM gazi-, HIM гажи-х v. 'warp, bend, get out of shape', Brt гажа- id., 'become crooked', Kl {Rm.} gažj- 'sich biegen, seitwärts gebogen sein, schräg\schief sein'; M *gažiq > WrM gaziq, HIM гажиг, Kl һажг gažьg 'crooked, bent', Kl {Rm.} gažiq 'schräg, schief, zurückgebogen'; M *gažīγu 'crooked, curved, slanting' > WrM gaziγu, HIM, Brt гажуу id., Kl {Rm.} gažū 'krummgebogen, schief, schräg' ¶ MED 356-7, Chr. 139, KRS 152, KW 141 || ? **T**: OT {Cl.} qiyiq 'crooked, cut on a slant' (unless < *qīḏiq, as supposed by Cl.) ¶ Cl. 676, ≠ DQA #509 (A *gīγo 'notch; to cut aslant'; incl. T).

704. (2?) *g¹a¹žV 'to go; way, path' > **K** {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *gū¹ž¹V - *gu¹ž¹E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass') > OG gza-γ, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), 0-rz-0li 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', 0-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzugehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ zaγz- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS**: S *^o-gū¹š¹- > Ak NA ✓ gωš (inf. gūāšū ḏ gāšū, p. -gūš) v. 'go, come' ¶ CAD V 58 (determines the meaning of the word on the basis of recent research), ≠ Sd. 283 (gāšū "etwa 'schnell laufen") || ? **IE**: NaIE *g^hē(j)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(j)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen') (× N *gEhōwyV 'to go\drive away' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ P 418-9 (does not distinguish this ✓ from the paronymous verb *g^hē-, *g^hēj- 'be empty, lack, abandon'), AHDI 21 (considers the stem with meaning 'go' to be the middle voice' of *g^hē- 'release, let go'), M K I 426 and II 589, M E II 813-4 (connects OI jīhītē with the root hā- 'leave' only) || **A**: ?σ NaT *k¹ay- > Tv xay- v. 'make the round' ('обходить, делать обход'), 'pass by', OT qay 'street' (loanshift of meaning ['way' → 'street'] due to the infl. of Chinese kaji 'street') ¶ TvR 472, Cl. 674, Kg. AD #458 ◇ In K *gza- there is merger of the N etymon in question and of N *gū¹ž¹V -

*g^uʾ^zʾE '↑'. The main source of the K root is likely to be N *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇] (as suggested by the K cns. *z).

705. ₂ *gæž[∇] '∈ hair, wool' > HS: S *gizz- 'wool, fleece' > BHb 𐤒𐤍 'gez 'fleece of sheep' (Dt. 18.4, Job 31.20), MHb 𐤒𐤍 'gez 'wool', Sr 𐤒𐤍^o gez'z-ā, Ak gizzu 'fleece of sheep', CS *gizz-at- > BHb 𐤒𐤍^o gizzā 'fleece, wool', JEA {Sl.} 𐤒𐤍^o giz'z-ā 'fleece', JA [Trg.] 𐤒𐤍^o gizzat-ā, Sr 𐤒𐤍^o gizzat-ā, Md gizza id., SmA gz {Tal} n. 'shearing', Ar 𐤒𐤍^o gizzat- 'wool clipped at one time; fleece'; S *gizz- ⇨ S *gzz v. 'shear, cut (wool)' > Hb, Ug, Amr, JA, Plm, Sr, Md, Ak ✓gzz, SmA ✓gzz 'shear (sheep)', Ar ✓gzz id. ¶ KB 178-9, KBR 185-6, OLS 154, HJ 219, G A 19, Sl. 273-4, 279, Tal 139-40, DM 89, BK I 285-6, DRS 110 || EC: pDI {Tk.} *gāz- 'hair' > Gln {AMS} kās-o, Cm {Hab.} gāz-o, Gwd {AMS} gēs-o id. | ?σ Sd gāze 'long (hair)' ¶ AMS 246, Gs. 117 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.} *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇]) 'hair' > Hs gāšì (pl. gāsúsúwà, gāsú, gāsúsúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gāša 'hair, beard, feather'; ?? Hs gīzō 'long matted hair on a man's head', ?? Hs gēzà 'mane' (qu. because of its pl. gířàzà) | NrBc {Tk.} *gzz- 'hair' > Cg gè'síyá, Wrj gžžáy, Kry gžžì, P' ngèzá, Mbr ngžží, My ágžžù, Sir gžží, Jmb gžža 'hair' | Ngz gùzàj (pl. gùzàzín) 'pubic hair' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} g^ωĵc, Gzg D {Lk.} ng^ωič 'hair' | Glv {Rp.} gùžà, Gdf {IL} g^ωúžà id. | ?φ Tr ʏos id. | ZmD {Srp.} gēsaua, ZmB {Sa.} ngžsā wá id. ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. #66 (pCh *gasi 'hair'), Stl. ZCh 216 [#658], Ba. 370, 379, 393, Mts. G 42, Sch. DN 77, Sk. NB 25, Tk. NB 172 ¶ The presence of 3 different roots in Hs suggests that here there are several Ch roots, only one of them being the legitimate descendant of the N etymon in question ¶¶ Tk. PAA 16 (NrBc, DI), ≈ Sk. HCD 83 || A: M *gežige > WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг 'plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', MM [MA] gežige 'withers (of a horse)', Kl гижг gižag 'plait\braid of hair' ({Rm.} 'Haarzopf') ¶ M: × *gežige (< *gedige) 'nape of neck' (> WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг id., Kl гижг gižag ~ gižgə 'occiput'), akin to M *gede-η, *gede-s 'zurück' and to T *kæb id., 'back part' ¶ MED 381, Pp. MA 170, KRS 142, KW 131, 135, Rs. W 946.

706. *gū^ʾž[∇] ⇨ *g^ʾu^ʾž[∇]E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass' > K *gza- 'way, path' (× N *g^ʾa^ʾž[∇] 'to go; way, path' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S: [1] WS *-gūz-v. 'go, pass' > Ar جون ✓g^ʾwz (pf. gāza, ip. ya-gūzu) v. 'go, go through, walk, pass', SmA ✓g^ʾwz 'go across, pass', BHb ✓g^ʾwz (pf. 𐤒𐤍 gāz, pf. c.

𐎧𐎡𐎴 way¹yā-gōz) 'pass (vorübergehen)', JA, ChrPA ✓g¹wz G 'go through', JEA {Sl.} ✓g¹wz G 'cease, pass away', Sb ✓g¹wz (pf. g¹z) v. 'go, pass, pass through' ¶ KB 175, KBR 182, Tal 134-5, Lv. I 309, Sl. 268, BK I 353-4, BGMR 51, DRS 106-7 [2] S °*✓g¹zɣ > OYmn ✓g¹zɣ 'go, go away', Ar Y جزع ✓ğ¹zɣ 'go, go away, pass by' (× S °*✓g¹zɣ > Ar ✓ğ¹zɣ 'cut, cross'; the merger accounts for ɣ) ¶ Slw. 61 || C *g¹i₁ɣ₁z- 'road, way' > Ag: Bln {R} gid (pl. g¹iz) 'way'; Ag ? ↳ Gz gəɣz 'journey, wandering, walk' || pEC *g¹iz- > pLEC d. *gitt- (< gid-t-) > Af gita 'trail, road, way', Sml N {Abr.} žid (pl. židad), Bn šid 'road', Rn žit (pl. žitát) 'road, path' ¶ AD SF 60-1, R WB 139, L G 175, Bl. 184, Hn. S 61, PG 168, PH 114, Oo. 71 ¶ The origin of Gz ɣ (↳ C *₁ɣ₁?) is not clear (a merger with some other ✓?) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *küć- v. 'follow the tracks of, follow the way' > pOs {Ht.} *kōć- ({Hl.} *kūć-) v. 'follow the tracks of; to find the tracks; to follow' > Os: V kōť- 'Spuren verfolgen; nicht vom Weg abweichen, den Weg finden', Vy kōť-, D qōť-, Nz/Sh/Kz/Sn qūs- 'Spuren verfolgen, (ver)folgen' || OHg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany; to follow (verfolgen)', Hg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany' ¶ MF 367, EWU 756-7, Stn. D 707-8 ◇ The rec. of N *³ rather than of *³ is based on K *gza-, but since the latter is of ambiguous origin, N *³ is not certain.

707. ≈ *gUžTŭ (↔ ≈ *gUžTŭ) 'laugh, amuse' > HS: S °*✓gδl > Ar ġaδil- 'merry', ✓ğδl (np. -ğδal-) v. 'be merry' ¶ BK I 269-70, DRS 103 || Ch ({JS} *✓g₁y₁l v. 'laugh'): WCh: Klr {J} gi₁el 'laugh' || NrBc: Sir {Sk.} ɣàtlí id. || ECh: Nd D {J} g¹ásâ, Tmk {Cp.} g¹áž id. ¶ ChC, Cp. 60 || IE: [1] NaIE *g^hleu- (< IE **g^hHleu- < **gužlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke' > Gk χλεῦη 'joke, jest' || ON gljú 'joy', AS ȝlēo, ȝliez, ȝlīw 'mirth, jest, ridicule; music; pleasure' || Lt Δ gláuda 'a joke', gláudoti, Ltv glaudāt 'to joke' || OCS глумъ glumъ 'a joke', R глумиться 'to mock, to jeer' || [2] NaIE *g^ho₁los 'merry, wanton' > Gt gailjan 'εὐφραίνειν, to cheer up', AS ȝāl 'wanton, frivolous', OHG gēil 'wanton, insolent, elevated', gēili 'haughtiness, insolence', NHG gēil 'luxuriant, voluptuous', ON gēilig-r 'beautiful' ¶ WPI 634, P 451-2, EI 255-6 (*g^hleu- 'revel'), F II 1103, Fs. 18, Ho. 123, Kb. 323, Schz. 149, KM 242, Vr. 161, Bern. I 308, Frn. 155 || A: T *k¹ül- v. 'laugh' > OT, MQp, Cmn, XwT, Chg kül-, Tk g¹ül-, Tkm, Ggz g¹ül-, Az к¹ул- g¹ül-, Uz к¹ул- k¹ul-, Blq, Qry Cr, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg Alt, Yk kül-, VTt, Bsh к¹өл- k¹ül-, Chv к¹ул- kul- ɖ k¹ul- id., Xk kül- id., 'smile' ¶ Cl. 715-6, ET VGD 98-100, Md. 69, 171, Rs. W

307, Jeg. 115, Fed. I 304 ◇ The IE and T cognates are likely to go back to the variant *gUŽTŪ.

708. ₂ *gUŽųų ▽ 'wish, be hungry' > HS: WS *✓gŝų > Ar جشع ✓gŝų G {Ln.} 'be affected with the most vehement desire \ eagerness \ avidity', {BK} 'désirer ardemment qch., en chercher avec avidité', Jb C {Jo.} gžŝų 'un greedy person' ¶ Ln. II 427, BK I 296-7, Jo. J 79 || EC: Sml gāžų, Sml N gāžų 'hunger' ¶ DSI 243, Abr. S 85 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bele gùhì 'hunger', gùž-àmmá 'thirst' (àmmá 'water'), Glm gúšì, ? Grm kúžú 'hunger' | Ngz {Sch.} gžžì, Bd ʔgžžan 'thirst' | Zul {ChL} gùzumì, Plc guzum 'hunger' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ʔ|ʔqzžm 'hunger' ¶ JI II 196-7, Sch. BTL 147, 155, Sch. DN 59, ChC, ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707] (*guzì 'hunger', includes words belonging to both N *gUŽųų ▽ and to N *Kasųų ▽ 'be hungry, wish'), Lk. L 95 || A: Tg *guje(-n)- > Ewk, Neg gujžn-, Lm gujžn-, Ork gujjilž-, gujilž-, gujžlž- v. 'love, caress', vt. 'pity (жалеть)', Lm gujžn n. 'love, tenderness', Sln gujžn- v. 'love', Orc gužžn-, gužžsi-, Nn B gužžin- vt. 'pity' ¶ STM I 167-8.

709. *gŭb ▽ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to weave') > IE *xub- / *xweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubh-/*webh- v. 'plait, weave' > OI ubh'nāti v. 'laces up', 'ūrŋā-'vabhi- 'spider' (← *'wool-spinner'), Av ubdaēna- 'made of web' || Gk ūphē 'web', ūphos n. act. 'weaving', ūphō 'weave' || ON vefa, OHG weban 'to weave, to plait, to spin', NHG weben, AS wefan 'to weave', NE weave; AS webbian 'anspinnen' || pAl {O} *webnya (< *webhnyō) > Al vej 'weave' || pTc {Ad.} *wāp- > Tc: A wāp-, B wāp- 'weave' || Ht {Pv.} hup(p)ai-, huppiya- v. 'interlace, entangle, ensnare', hup(p)ala- 'net' ¶¶ WP I 257, P 1114-5, EI 572 (*h₂|h₃ebh- 'weave'), Mn. 1495, M K I 107, F II 976-7, Vr. 649-50, Kb. 1155, Schz. 312, Ho. 387-8, O 498, Pv. III 384-6, Wn. 557, Ad. 586, Ad. H 35 || K: GZ {K, FS} *ʔob-, {K²} *ʔweb- v. 'wattle, weave' > G ʔob- v. 'weave, wattle a fence, fence in', Mg ʔob- 'plait, fence in', Lz ʔob- v. 'plait'; ⇨ K *ʔob-e- 'wattle-fence' > OG, G ʔobe-, Mg ʔober-, Lz ʔobe(r)- id., Sv ʔweb (pl. stem ʔob-) 'beehive' ¶¶ K 205, K² 225, 231, FS K 350, FS E 393, DCh. 1354, ≠ K IEK 72-4 (K ← IE; unc.: plaiting is not a new technology [as K claimed], but one of the most ancient industrial techniques) || HS: S: Ar ✓ʔbn G (ip. -ʔbunu) 'fold and hem (the edge of a garment, a skin)', {BK} 'faire un pli et le coudre pour raccourir le vêtement' ¶ Fr. III 257, BK II 433, Hv. 516 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (by those who do not recognize

the legitimacy of cognates that are isolated within HS), the N etymon will be reconstructed as ***ΓÚb∇**.

709a. *ga'ç'∇ (or ***gaʔic∇?**) '(leafy) branch, bough' > **HS**: S *^oϕ∇'ç'- ~ *^oϕ|χa'cc'- > Ar ϕuϑn- (pl. ϕiϑan-at-) 'branch', bough, shoot', Ak M {CAD} ḫaas-u 'leafy branch' ¶ BK II 473, Hv. 526, CAD VI 12 || ?σ C: Ag: Xm {R} χaṣā (pl. χaṣ), Bln {R} a'šā (pl. aš), {Bnd.} āšā, Q {R} ašā, Aw {CR} χaṣī, {Bnd.} ϕuci 'leaf' ||| EC: Kns {BISO} hāššā id., ?σ Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} hāšše 'Kaffeeblatt, Kaffeepflanze', Cm {Bnd.} hāšše 'leaf' ¶ AD SF 157, R WB 55, BISO 34, AMS 163, 253, Blz. CL 179 || ?σ NrOm: Dwr {Bnd.} hayca, Anf {Gt.} ēčo or ēžo, She {Bnd.} aisi 'leaf', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} hayca id. (× or ← hayca 'ear, orecchio') ¶ AD SF 157 ||| **IE** *Xosd-o- 'bough' > Ht {Pv.} hasduer- 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)' || NaIE: Arm **nuun** ost (*o-stem) 'branch, bough' ||| Gk ῥύος, Gk L [Sappho] ῥυδος, Gk Ae ῥυδος 'bough, branch, twig, shoot' ||| Gt aṣtṣ, OHG, OSx aṣt 'branch, bough' ¶¶ EI 80 (*h₂osdo-s 'branch'), Pv. III 239-40, Mn. 893, F II 353, Fs. 60, Ho. S 4, Kb. 47, EWA I 373-5, Schz. 91, KM 34, Sl. 324, IS I 277, ≠ P 785 ||| **A**: M *ačan 'bifurcated branch of a tree' > WrM aca(n), HIM aц(аН) id., 'fork', Ord ač'a 'fourche de bois, branche fourchue, bifurcation', Brt aca 'fork (in a tree\boughs), pitchfork', Kl aц ацъ 'bough, branch; bifurcated, double', {Rm.} аca 'Ast, Gabelung', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} āčā 'Astgabel, Gabelstock (für Zelte)' ¶ MED 7, Ms. O 34-5, KRS 58, KW 18, Chr. 6 Wr. B 118 ◇ ≠ IS I 276-7 (*^ϕαζῆ 'branch'; IE + unc. S *^ϕç {IS's interpretation of S *^ϕiṣ-} 'tree' and allegedly related Eg, B, C, and Ch words). See AD PNCPh § B (discussion of the problems of comparison).

710. ?*g'oK∇ŝ'ç'∇(-R∇) '∈ canine' > **HS**: (mt.) B *[✓]w'rk'n 'jackal' > BSn, Rif, BSlh, BMn, Kb, Shw uššān, pl. uššān, Gd {CM} uššīn id. ¶ Dl. 976, Hy. DFCh 93, Rn. 282 || Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N *Kač'ç'∇ 'young dog\wolf' and N ? *ka3∇ '[young] dog'??) > SOM: Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aksən), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akši, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} kaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || S *[✓]ϕŝr-b > Ar ϕušarrab- 'lion' (*-b- is a sx. of animal names < N adjectival particle ***bA** forming animal names [q.v.]) ||| **U**: FU (in ObU only) *[✓]w'okŝr∇ 'fox' (× N *w'U'žE,Ko ~ *w'o'K∇ž∇ '∈ a canine', q.v. ffd.) ||| **A**: Tg: Ewk guskə 'wolf' ¶ STM I 175 ◇ Qu., because the sound correspondences are not exact, and several supposed cognates have alt. etymologies.

711. *g'e'ɾ'ɿ'∇(-w∇) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > HS: S *°✓ɥly > Ar غلى ✓ɥly G (ip. -ɥlī) 'boil' (of a cooking-pot) ¶ Fr. III 292 || K: OG ɥelva-y 'tempestas (aquae)' (Luke 8.24), 'waves' (Mark 4.37), G ɥelva 'Wogen, Wellengang' ¶ Ser. 169, Chx. 1619, DCh. 1358, ≠ K² 222 (ɥelva ⇨ ɥel- 'be nervous') || IE: NaIE *°o|aldh- 'wave' (*°o-gr. of **e|d^h-?) > ON alda 'Welle', Nic, NNr, Far, OSw alda, ODan aldæ 'wave', NrGmc ⇨ Faalto, Vp ālto id., Lp L altā 'big wave', †Lp Sw (pl.) {Fri.} aldoh 'fluctus, unda maior' ¶ WP I 92, P 31-2 (≡σ: the NrGmc word ← NrGmc word for 'trough' < NaIE *aldh- 'trough'), Vr. 5, SK 1, Fri. 17, LLO 23, Qv. 88, Vs. II 54O, Ho. 84 || D *e'ɿ'∇v- 'a wave' > Klm elava 'a wave', Gnd helva 'a wave, flood' ¶¶ D #83O.

712. *gûl∇ (= *gûl∇?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > HS: S *°-ɥūl- > Ar ✓ɥwɿ (ip. -ɥūlu) v. 'cause to perish, destroy; attack suddenly' ¶ BK II 518, Hv. 539 || C: (pC {AD} ✓*ɥωɿ or *ɥull-, {E} *ɥol- v. 'fight'): EC *ɥol- > Sml ɥól 'army, enemy', Rn ɥól 'quarrel, argument (involving physical violence); anger', Bn B/J/K ól 'war, quarrel', Elm is-olol- v. 'quarrel', Sd {C} ol- v. 'fight', Hd or-a 'fight'; rdp. {E} *ɥolɥol- > **olōl- > Arr lól 'anger', lol- 'be angry, Or lol- v. 'fight' ¶ Bl. 243, Ss. PEC 21, Hn. S 77, Hn. BD 136, PG 142, AD SF 162, EPC #492, Grg. 265-6, Hw. A 382 || IE *xul-/ *x^ωel- 'destroy, defeat' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- {Pv.} v. 'smash, defeat' ({Frd.} hullāi- 'bekämpfen, niederschlagen'), hullanza- {Frd., Ts.} 'fight', {Pv.} 'defeat' (× N *hûl∇ 'push, butt, pierce') || NaIE *ol- (× N *w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' [q.v.]?) > Gk Hm/A ὄλλῦμι (< *ὄλ-νῦ-μι) 'destroy, make an end of', Gk ὀλοός 'destructive, deadly' || L ab-olē- 'destroy' ¶¶ Frd. HW 73-4, Frd. HW EH II 73-6, Pv. III 13-4, 363-8, Ts. E I 273-8O, WP I 87, P 777, EI 158 (*h₃elh₁- 'destroy'), WH I 4-5, F II 378-9 (no et. of the Gk words) || K: GZ *ɥul- 'destroy, beat' > OG {FS} mo-m-ɥul-ali 'destroyed', {FS ← Abul.} 'zerquetscht, zertreten, vernichtet', G mo-m-ɥul-ali 'beaten (a track)', Lz me-ɥur-u 'vernichten, zerstören, verwahrlosen', me-ɥur-as 'will be destroyed' ¶ FS K 358, FS E 4O2, Abul. 27O || ?σ D (in McTm) (× N *ɥol∇ [= *ɥolū?] 'starve, die'): Tm ulai 'perish, be ruined', ulakka 'end, ruin, death', Ml ulacai, ulavv n. 'ruin' ¶ D #671 ◇ One may try to adduce here A *olū- 'die; starve' (× N *ɥol∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.). If Tm ulai and Ml ulacai, ulavv belong here (which is qu.), the N rec. must be *gūl∇ ◇ The D root was added by Blz. (Blz. LB #55 and Blz. LNA #18).

713. *giļ'U' 'boy, young man' > **HS:** CS *'yala_l∇_lm- 'young man, a youth' > Hb עֲלָם 'עלם, paus. 'עלם, Ug ḡlm id., Pun {HJ} ALAM 'young_l man', Plm ʿlm 'servant'; ⇨ CS f. *'yalam-at- 'maid, young woman' > Hb עַלְמָה 'על'מā 'young woman (until the birth of her first child)', Ph ʿlmt, ALMA 'virgin, maid (demoiselle)', Ug ḡlmt 'girl (demoiselle)', Plm ʿlmt 'female servant'; ⇨ (dim.) CS *yulaym- 'boy, young man' > OA ʿlym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm ʿlym 'servant', JA עַלְמָא ʿulê'mā, JEA {Sl.} עַלְמָא ʿulê'mā 'young man', Sr ʿalay'm-ā 'boy, a youth', Ar yulām- 'young man, lad, young slave', f. CS *yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > SmHb ʿlīma 'maid', IA ʿlym'h', ʿlymt-, Plm ʿlymtʔ 'female servant', Ar yulāmat- 'young girl, female slave' ¶ KB 790-1, KBR 835, JH 214, HJ 862, FrdR § 229, A #2150, OLS 156, Sl. 847, Br. 528 || EC *il∇m- (Bl.} *ilm-) (× ⇨ EC *il- 'give birth, beget', cf. Sd, Ged, Kmb il- id.) > Or {Grg.} ilm-a 'boy', Or B/O {Sr.} ilma 'son', pSam {Hn.} *ilem- > Sml ilm-o 'child, baby', Sml N {Abr.} ílmó 'child', pBn *éleŋ > Bn J/B éleŋ (pl. Bn B/K iyâ) 'boy'; Sd {Gs.} ilme 'young of donkeys and horses' ¶ The Bn pl. form suggests that *-m- may go back to a sx. ¶ Bl. 221, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 96, Abr. S 128-9, Grg. 224, Gs. 175, Hd. 70, Sr. 332 || **U:** FU: [1] FU ≈ *i]m∇ 'person' > FΔ ilminen, Ing ilmihīn id., ?? Es inemine id. | ? pLp *zlm- 'person, man' > Lp: S almedje, P almmaš, L almatj 'person', N âlmai 'man' ||| Vg: K {Mu.} ēlam-χolās, W yēlm-kals, N ēlam-χōlas 'person' (χōlas, kals, χōlas 'strange') ||| [2] FU (att. in FL) *°ülkă 'boy, young man' > F ylkă 'bridegroom', Es {W} ülg 'Bräutigam, Mann'; pLp {Lr.} *zlkē 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} älgie 'son', L {LLO} al'hkē 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} аллык, {TI} e]:g_ă_ 'son' ¶ SK 105-6, 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. #10, Lgc. #47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24, SSA I 225, ≈ UEW 81, 627 (derives F ilminen from *lyilma 'sky, heaven' > F ilma 'air, weather'), ≠ Ht. #189 (derives Vg K ēlam-χolās from pVg *yīlam 'weather' < ObU *yīlam 'weather, world') ¶ The labialization *i- > *ü- in *°ülkă may be caused by N *-U. The elements *-m∇ and *-kă are likely to go back to sxs. || **A:** pJ {S} *iru > J iro-to, iro-se 'brothers (родные братья)' ¶ The comparison with J was suggested by Starostin (≈ 1974) || **D** *i]∇ 'young, young man' > Tm, Ml i]a 'young, tender', Tm i]a] 'youth, tender age', Td e] 'young', Kt e] id., 'time of youth', Ka e], e]a, e]e 'tenderness, youth', Kdg ə]eə, 'youth', Tu e]atъ, e]e 'tender, not fully grown', ellyāye 'a youth, junior', Tl ela 'young,

tender', Prj ilēd 'young man, youth', ilē 'young woman, girl', Gdb ilē 'bride', ? Brh ilum 'brother' ¶¶ D #513 ◇ The rec. of N *l̥ is based on the ev. of D *l̥ (reg. from N *l̥ or *l̥) and of Vg l (reg. from N *l̥ or *l̥) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#46] (D, EC, FU) ◇ It may underly diminutive/hypocoristic suffizes in K, NaIE, and U (unless they are a reflex of the N diminutive pc. *l̥∇, see § 122) > K *il- ~ *-∇l-, diminutive sx. (Pshavi Georgian mam-il-a 'daddy, Väterchen' from mama 'father', in other Georgian dialects vocative forms: mam-il-o 'daddy!', ded-il-o 'Mütterchen'; Svan dīn-ōl- [dim. of dīn 'girl']) || IE: NaIE *-el∇-/*-l∇-, sf. of diminutives, e.g. *por̥k-el- '(young) pig' (← *por̥kō- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis id.; Old Ind. śiśūla-s 'Kindchen' (← śiśu- 'Kind'), Greek ἄρκτύλος 'small bear', Latin animula (hypocoristic from anima 'soul'), OHG niftila (dim. of nift 'niece'), Lith. tėvėlis (hypocoristic of tėvas 'father'), mergėlė 'girl' (← mergà 'maid') || U *-l̥j̥l̥∇- ~ *-l̥j̥l̥∇-, diminutive sx. > F pyörylä 'small circle, small ring' (← pyörü 'wheel'), iso-la-mpa 'a bit larger' (from iso-mpa 'larger'), Ziryene gop-al 'small pit' (from gop 'pit', Vasyugan Ostyak kulaí+ 'a small fish' (← kul 'fish'), Hg (dial.) hǎńjǎí 'ant' (from Hg hangya id.) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#46] (D, EC, FU).

714. *g'o'lpa (or *guLpa?) weak, small' > K: G Gr ὑαlp-i 'weak', ? G I ὑλαp- 'baby' ¶ Shar. GL 71, Ghl. 582, 591 || IE *x^welp-/*x^wlp- 'small' > Ht huelpi- 'young, new, fresh, unripe; newborn animal' || NaIE *olp- / *əlp- / ?*lp- > OI 'alpa- 'small, little' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (adduces Ht alpa(nt)- 'sick, weak' and reconstructs [with "??"] IE *h_ǝelpos 'weak'), F I 64, Pv. III 331-2, Ts. E I 259-60, Kron. EHS 266, M K I 56, ≠ M E I 129 (rejects all connections of OI 'alpa-) || A: M *ulba|u- (unless with *φ-) > WrM ulbai-, HIM улбай-, K1 улви- ulwi- 'be(come) soft, weak, limp, feeble, exhausted; waste away'; M *ulba|u-gar > WrM ulbagar ~ ulbugar, HIM улбагар, K1 улвһр ulwъpъr 'soft, tender, weak' ¶ MED 672, KRS 531, KW 449 ◇ M *ulba|u- suggests a pN *u, but in the light of the K cognate a N *o is preferable ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [#96] (K + unt. IE *help- 'weak', Tg alba 'unable', see N ?σ *'r' aL_op∇ 'weak, exhausted').

715. *gaí∇ 'cereals' > HS: S (WS?) *✓ ᵛll > Ar ᵛall-at- 'crops', OYmn ḡlyl ({}Slw.} ᵛalīl-) 'mixture of cereals', Ar ᵛalīl- {}Ln., Slw.} 'date-stones mixed with قَتّ (ε trefoil) or with dough for a camel, which is fed

therewith' ¶ Hv. 531, Ln. 2278-9, Slw. 166 || K: G ṽalva 'zu mähendes reifes Korn'; ? ṽala 'reicher Ertrag des Feldes' (unless a loan from Ar through a third lge.) || IE *xel₁ṽ₁ḡ₁h₁- ≈ 'cereals, grain' > Ht halki- 'grain, corn, grain-crop', ? Lc qelehi 'of the grain-god' || Gk ἄλιξ 'spelt' → L (h)alica id. || Im *arzana- > NPrs أرزن ärzän, Psh ždän ({Asl.} ṛdān) 'millet' || Tc B lyeκsye 'millet' ¶¶ Pv. III 35-9, Juret 20, WH I 29 (ἄλιξ ← ἄλέω v. 'grind'), F I 73 (quotes the above et. of Gk as a possibility), EI 237 (IE ? *h₂h₃(e)lḡ₁h₁ 'grain' or 'millet'; Gk ἄλιξ ← AnIE), Mrg. 106, Asl. 486, Ad. 567 || A *a¹ṽ > T *a¹ 'food' > OT آش {Cl., MKD} āš, XwT XIII, MQp XIV [incl. CC], Chg XV aš id., Tk aš, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, VTt, Bsh, ET, Qr, Alt aš, Qzq, Qq, Nog, SY, Yk aš, Uz oш aš 'food', Az aš 'porridge, boiled grains (каша), pilaf', Qmq aš 'food, bread', Xk aš id., 'corn (cereals)', Tf aš-ñem, aš-ćīškin 'food', Tv áš-čem, áštiv-čemniš 'abounding in food' ¶ T *a¹ with a short *a on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (⇔ Cl. and MKD) ¶ Cl. 253 and MKD 14 (OT āš with unj. long *ā on the insufficient ev. of the spelling آش), DTS 62, ET Gl 210-2, BIG 32, TmR 59, TvR 78-9, Ra. 156 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #32 (A *a¹ṽ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds'; incl. T) ◇ AD NM #17, S CNM 13.

716. ₂ *¹g¹amṽ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek' > HS: EC: Sml řan, řam- (pl. řam-an), Sml N řán, pl. řám-án {Abr., DSI, R.} 'cheek', {E} 'inside of cheek' ¶ Abr. S 13, DSI 87, R SS II 59, E PC #475 || ? S *^o✓ṽmm ≈ □ mouth of animal, muzzle' > Ar d. غمام ṽimām-(at-) {Hv.} 'covering for the mouth of a donkey or a camel', غمامة ṽimām-at- {BK} 'sac en cuir qu'on met sur le museau d'un chameau pour l'empêcher de manger ou de mordre', غمام ṽumām- 'prepuce' (← *'front part\muzzle of a penis') (×✓ṽmm 'cover') ¶ Fr. III 292-3, BK II 498-500, Hv. 534 || ? Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} řwùmáy, My {Sk.} řwùm 'cheek' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} řúmžla 'cheek', FIG ṽwòlòmō id. (mt.?) || ECh: Mu {J} ḡmí, pl. ḡmām 'cheek', Mgm {JA} ḡmè, Nd D {J} dá-ḡm id. ¶ ChC, JS 65, ChL, RpB 96, RpM 150 || A *am¹ 'mouth' > M *aman id. > MM [HI, MA, L, IM] aman, [S] ama(n), WrM ama(n), HIM ам(ан), Kl amḡ, Mnr H ama, Dx, Ba, ShY aman, Dg am(ã) id. ¶ Pp. MA 99, 432, Lg. VMI 16, Iw. 85, MED 35, T 314, SM 5, T DnJ 110, T BJ 133, Rm. M 22 || Tg *am₁a₁-ḡa 'mouth' > Ewk amḡa, Δ amma, Sln amma, {Iv.} amá, amaḡá, amḡá, Lm amḡъ ≍ amḡa ≍ amḡa, Neg amḡa, Orc amma, Ud, Ul aḡma, Ork, Nn amḡa

~ aṅma, Jrc {Md.} amṅa, WrMc aṅga, Mc Sb aṅa 'mouth'; WrMc aṅga has several meanings: 'mouth, mouth of animal, mouth of a river, orifice, ravine' and hence may go back to a merger of three words: Tg *aṅa 'mouth of animal', Tg *am₁a₁-ṅa 'mouth' and a WrMc loanword aṅḡa 'fissure, cleft, ravine' (← WrM aṅ 'fissure, ravine') ¶ STM I 38-9, Kiy. SJL 124 [#494] (amḡa), Md. ChF 133 ¶¶ S AP I 79-81, II 88-9, 185, 205, Ms. H 35, Pp. MA 99, H 6, MED 35, KW 9, Iw. 85, STM I 38-9 ¶¶ DQA #34 (A *ǎmo 'mouth'; incl. M, Tg) ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 244-5: IS interprets M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg *aṅa or *aṅma (sc. *am₁a₁ṅa) 'mouth', and T *am 'vulva' (actually from N *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva', q.v. ffd.) as a pA derivative *aṅma ← *aṅa- v. 'open' (F N *ʔaṅga 'to open').

717. *g∇m∇ 'darkness, night' > K: GZ {FS} *ʔam-, {K} *ʔamen-'night', {K} *ʔame- 'last night' > OG, G ʔame- 'night, at night', Mg ʔuma 'last night', Lz ʔoman ~ ʔoma 'yesterday' ¶ K 200-1, K² 220, FS K 342, FS E 384, Chik. 198, Q 352, Ser. 169, DCh. 1356-7 || **HS:** WS *√ ʔmm ~ *√ ʔmy|w 'be dark, dim' > BHb √ ʔmm *Hoph* (ip. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be darkened' (of gold) ([Vulg.] 'obscuratum est'), MHb [Tos.] ʔm̄ ʔm̄ √ ʔmm G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be dim (cease to flame)' (of coals), JA [Trg.], ʔm̄ ʔm̄ √ ʔmm G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) {Js.} 'be(come) dim', {Lv.} 'be(come) dark \ darkened', JA √ ʔmy|w G (pf. ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ~ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄) 'be\become dark \ dim', ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ ʔm̄ {Lv.} 'darkness', {Js.} 'dimness, twilight', JEA √ ʔmy G 'grow faint', Ar ʔamm- 'dark' (e.g. laṽlat-un ʔamm-un 'a dark night') (× v. √ ʔmm 'cover'), Mh ʔm̄m̄m̄ 'fog', Jb C/E ʔiũm 'heat-mist, fog', Mh C √ ʔmm *Sh* (pf. aʔm̄m̄) 'see only as a blurred image, see as in a fog', Jb C √ ʔmm *Sh* (pf. aʔm̄m̄) 'make a smoke-screen \ dust-cloud' ¶ KB 800-1, Lv. T II 223, Lv. III 661-2, Js. 1087, 1089, Sl. 870, BK II 498-500, Jo. M 137, Jo. J 86 || C: Bj {R} 'humnay ~ 'humne 'late afternoon, evening', {Rop.} himni 'afternoon, the period between 2 p.m. up to sunset' || EC: Hd hēmača 'black', Hd {Hd.} hīmo 'evening, night', Sml J hamīṅ id. (× pSam {Hn.} *hiḡēn id.?) || DhI himmate 'black' || C → Mb -háme id. ¶ R WBd 121, Rop. 196, Blz. CL 177, Hd. 282, Hn. S 63 || **A** Tg: Ewk Sm umulḡz 'shadowy place under a tree' ¶ STM II 270 ◇ IS MS 368 (s.v. *ʔmm̄ 'dark'), IS SS #9.4.

718. *geṅ'ā' 'be large, be copious' > HS: WS *√ ʔny > Ar ʔanīy-'riche, opulent', ʔinā(-n) 'richesse, opulence', Mh ʔe'nay, Jb E/C 'ʔa'ni 'rich', WS *√ ʔny *Sh*†(caus.) 'make so. rich' > Ar √ ʔny *Sh*

(af'ala), Mh pf. heʕnō, Jb C pf. aʕ'ni id., Ar ✓ ʕny T 'become rich', Jb C T pf. ʕutni id. ¶ BK II 512-3, Jo. M 139, Jo. J 87 || U *eñä 'big, large, much' > F enä 'big, much' (enää 'more', comp. enempi 'more'), Es comp. enam 'more' | pLp {Lr.} *ēnē 'much' > Lp: N ædne, S jienje, L iednē, Kld jīenne- | Er íne, Mk íñä 'big' || ObU *₁ēñ 'big' > pVg {Ht.} yänəʕ > Vg: T yinəw ə yänəw, LK/UK yāni, MK yāni, P/NV/SV/LL yāniʕ, UL/Ss yaniʕ 'big', T yünt, P/NV/SV/LL yānt, UL/Ss yanit 'as big as', pOs {Ht.} *eñä 'big' > Os: V/Vy eñə, Ty äñə, D/K enə || Sm {Jn.} *inā 'elder brother' > Ne T dim. нинека, {Lh.} níñ·ē'k·a id., Ne F {Lh.} ppx. 1s níyɔkām 'my elder brother', En {Ter.} inā 'elder brother', Ng {Mik.} níñt 'father's younger brother', Slq NP {Cs.} irné 'elder brother' ¶¶ UEW 74-5, SSA I 106, Lr. #231, Lgc. #866, Ht. #191, Jn. 27, Cs. 107 || A: T *eñ > OT {Cl.} eñ (before adj.) '(the) most' (pc. of sprl.), Cum eñ, Tk en, Tk Δ, CrTt, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qrq, Qrg, Uz, Alt, Tv eñ, Tkm, Qmq, VTt, Bsh in, Az än, Ggz hen id., T → (?) Kl eñ 'sehr, ganz' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 45, MM 148, ET Gl 365-6, KW 122 ◇ Gr. II #236 (*ena 'large') (U, T, CK + qu. M, Tg).

719. ₂ *^rg'úñ∇ (or *₁úñ∇) drink, eat' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} *ʕun- > Sml ʕun-, Rn ħun- eat', Or {Th., Brl.} ħun- v. 'sip, take a sip, taste (a beverage), suck', Arr {Hw.} ʔun- v. 'taste, drink a small amount of' ¶ Bl. 105, 161, 207, Th. 206, Brl. 219, Hw. A 344, SF 162, Abr. S 243, PG 144 || ?σ S *^o-ʕīn- (or *^o-ʕūn-) > Ar ✓ ʕyn G (ip. -ʕīnu) 'be thirsty' || D {tr., GS} *uñ- 'drink, eat, suck' > Tm un 'eat or drink, suck (as a child)', Ml unuka 'eat (esp. rice), suck', Td uñ- 'drink, take the breast', Kn un 'eat', unike 'taking a meal', Kdg uññ- 'eat a meal', Tu un(u)piñi id., 'dine, eat rice', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Mnd un-, Gnd unqāna, Knd, Png uñ-, Kui uñba, Ku ūndali ə un-, Mlt {Drs.} óne v. 'drink', Krx ōn- v. 'drink, eat (rice)', ? Brh kunin 'eat, drink, bite' (k- by contamination with Sindhi k^hāṅnu 'eat') ¶¶ D #600, GS 175 [#443a], 55 [#151] ◇ The rec. of N *g- is unequivocal only if the S cognate is valid, otherwise it may be N *ʕ-, *ʕ- or *g-.

720. *gar'í 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > HS: CS *ʕār- 'valley, cave' > Ar غار ʕār- 'lowland' (BK: 'terrain plat et plus bas que les lieux d'alentour, terrain encaissé, pays plat entouré de hauteurs'); 'hole, cavern, cave'; S d. *m∇-ʕarr-at- ~ *m∇-ʕār-at- 'cave' > Hb מְעָרָה məʕā'rā, Ph מְעָרָה m^ʕr t, Ug m^ʕr t, IA cs. מְעָרָה m^ʕr t, IA, Plm

em. מַעְרָתָא *m^ərət^ə*, JA [Trg.], JEA מַעְרָתָא *mə^əārət-ā*, Sr مَعْرَاتٌ *mə^əar-t-ā*, Ar مَغَارَةٌ *maḡārat-* ~ مَغَارَةٌ *muḡārat-* 'cave', Cn (Ancient Ph?) ⇨ Gk μέγαρα ~ μάγαρα nom. pl. 'sorte de cryptes dans lesquelles, aux Thesmophories, on jettait des porcs vivants', (?) Gk Hm μέγαρον 'grande salle; appartement des femmes', Cn ⇨ Eg N {Alb.} mgrt 'cave' (in syllabic spelling *magarata*); cp. also CS (or WS) **ḡaw_li_r-* (< **ḡār-*?) > Ar ḡawr- 'bottom, lowest part', Ug {OLS} ḡyr 'depresión, pozo, profundidad', and possibly Sq {Ls.} 'eyreh 'lake' ¶ KB 582, KBR 615-6, JH 163, HJ 672, Fr. II 189, Fr. III 301, Sl. 697, BK DAF II 516, Ln. 2307-8, Ch. 674, EG WÄS II 164, Alb. VESO 44, OLS 161, Ls. LS 308 || K: GZ **ḡare-* 'gutter, furrow' > MG [VTq.] ḡar- 'groove' (VTq. 608), G ḡar- 'gutter, furrow', Mg ḡore- 'gutter of mill; wooden dam' ¶ K² 221, Chx. 1615, DCh. 1357 || IE **xery-* ⇨ **xry-* ({EI} **h₂eryo-s*) 'cavity' (× N **χár'ü* 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' × [possibly] IE **HaHr-* 'valley, low place, cave' < N **z'a₁H₁r* 'low place, valley') > Ht *haris* (gen. *harisyas*) 'valley' || Lt *armuõ* (gen. *armeñs*) {PiesS} 'soil, ground; precipice, abyss' ||| Arm *ayn* *ayf* 'cavern, grotto, den, antre' ¶¶ Ts. EI 172-3, ≠ WP I 56 and P 50 (in both: Arm *ayf* ⇨ Gk ἄντρον 'antrum', 'a cave, grot, cavern'), Pv. III 143-4 (IE **A₁er-y-* ⇨ **A₁ry-*), EI 96, Frd. HW 57, Čop IGW-2 135, PiesS 55, Xud. I 43, Bedr. 22 || U: FP **ar* in the meaning 'valley, ravine' (× N **ar* 'earth, land, place') > F *ar* 'vallis inter colles' | ?? pPrm **ar-* > Vt N {UR} *ur-kirem* 'ravine, gully' (*kir-* 'break through, wash away'), Z *k3ž-3r3m* 'old river-bed in the bend of the watercourse' (*k3ž* 'bend of river'); of course, the other semantic variety of FP **ar* ('lowland, [?] low place, river-bed') goes back to N **ar* '↑', and the meaning 'grasbewachsenes Tiefland' of the F word *ar* is probably due to both sources ¶ cp. Coll. 72, SK 24, UEW 17, IG 207, UR 310, Ht. 196 [#712] || A: T: [1] **āra* (× N **ar* '↑') 'space between 2 places' > OT *ara-miz-da* 'among us'; in later T lgs. it is used in the meanings 'space between 2 objects, interval' and 'middle': Tk *ara*, ET, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv *ara*, Uz *ara* 'space between two objects, interval', Tkm *āra*, Kr, Qmq, QrB *ara* id., 'middle', Az, Nog, SY, Xk *ara* 'space between, between', Yk *āra* 'in the way, one in the way between two places' ¶ The length of the first vw. (preserved in Tkm and Yk *āra*) can be accounted for by the initial cns. of N **gar'i* 'valley' (whence later the meaning 'interval, space between 2 places'), but the meaning suggests a merger of both etymological sources (going

back to N words); [2] another case of partial merger is probably рТ *ṓr 'valley' > OT ṓz, OOSm, Tk Δ ṓz id., OT QU ṓzi 'passage between two mountains', Chv var 'ravine, valley' (Ash.: 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол'): it is likely to go back primarily to N *xar'ü' 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' (q.v.) ¶ Ash. V 167, Cl. 196, 278, 281, ET Gl 162-4, ≈ 506-8, TL 532, Pek. I 126-7, TkR 47-8, Fed. I 100-1 ◇ Čop IU-1 32 (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA #21 (N *Harī 'pond, bank'; unc. equation of IE and FU with the HS and D reflexes of N *qer₁'r▽ or *qer₁'r▽ 'brook, stream', q.v.).

721. *gor▽ 'cry, speak, produce vocal sounds' > K *ɣar-/ɣr- 'cry, sing' > OG, G mɣer- 'sing', eNG [SSO], G ɣr- (ɣr-ial-) 'shout, bellow, cry (weap loudly)', Mg ɣor- ɘ ɣvar- v. 'shout, low', Lz mɣor- id., Sv ɣar-/ɣr- 'sing' ¶¶ FS K 343-4, FS E 385-6, K 201, Q 352, DCh. 914-5, 1366, Chx. 898, 1649-5, Chik. 349 || HS: SES *✓ɣry > Mh {Jo.} ɣzrōy (pl. ɣzryēh), Jb C/E 'ɣa'rɔʔ n. 'talk, speech, language', Hrs ɣzrōy (pl. ɣzrīyɔn) 'speech, language; words'; Mh/Hrs ✓ɣry Gt (pf. Mh 'ɣatri, Hrs 'ɣatɔri) v. 'speak', Sq ✓ɣry Gt (pf. {Jo.} 'ɔtɔri) 'call', {L} pf. 'ɛtirī 'speak' ¶ Jo. M 142, Jo. J 88, Jo. H 46, L LS 326-7 || ?φ Eg {AnC} ɣrω 'crier', Eg fO ɣr 'says he, says N' (devoicing *ɣ > ɣ due to syntactically conditioned as.), Eg NK ɣrt.ω 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (× N *qU₁'r₁▽ 'to speak, to call'), ?σ Eg fP ɣrω 'voice' ¶ AnC-1 10, EG III 317-8, 324-5 || IE *x^ωe(:)r-/*x^ωr- '≈□ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr-/*ar- > L ōrā- v. 'speak, prey', Osc URUST 'oraverit' ({EI} 'he pleaded') || Gk ἄρᾶ, Gk I ἄρῆ 'prayer', Gk ἄράομαι 'pray, curse', Gk ἄρῦω 'speak, call' || Sl: R o'pa-ть 'to yell, to bawl', SCr òriti se 'to resound, to be heard' (of a sound) || Lv hīrūt- 'curse' ¶¶ Ht ar(u)wai- (not 'pray, worship', but 'prostrate oneself, fall down, make obeisance') and OI ārya-nti ({M} 'they acknowledge' rather than 'praise'), adduced by some scholars, are to be kept apart ¶¶ P 781, EI 450 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'ask the gods, consult an oracle', *h₂eru- '≈□ pray, curse'), 536 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'speak a ritual formula'), WH II 224, Pln. II 709, F I 127, 158, Vs. III 149, Glh. 456, Pv. I-II 183-5, M KI 78-9, M EI 172 || A *o|ur▽- > M *uri- 'shout, call, invite' > MM [HI] uri- 'call (appeler)', [MA] uri- 'invite', Dg {T} ori- 'shout, call, invite', WrM uri-, HIM ури- 'call, summon, invite', Ba {T} ure-, Dx {T} uru- 'call, invite', Mnr uri- {T} id., {SM} 'invite'; M *u|ori-la > WrM orila-, орило-х 'cry out, shout, scream' ¶ Ms. HI 106, Pp. MA 366, MED 619, 881, T 369, T DgJ 160, T

BJ 148, T DnJ 137, SM 476 || Tg *orē- > Ewk orē- 'shout, bellow', Ewk orē-, Nn B orūnda- 'imitate the beckoning call of a female Manchurian deer', Sln orē- 'call (призывать)' ¶ STM II 23 || T *orī- 'shout, outcry' > OT {Cl.}, MT XIV [IM] orī- id.; ⇨ *or-la- 'make a loud noise, shout' > OT orla- id., Xk orla- id., 'howl, bellow, emit a loud noise' (of animals), Qb {Rl.} orla- v. 'moo'; (?φ) ⇨ *uran > Qzq ұран ūran, Qq uran 'war-cry; public address (призыв)', Qzq {Rl.}, Chg {Bu., Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.} urān 'war-cry', Tlt {Rl.} urān 'Geschrei', Brb {Rl.} uran 'Schrei', uran-la- 'cry (schreien)', {Tum.} ōran 'war-cry', Shor {Rl.} uran-na- 'cry (schreien)', 'sing' (of drunk people) ¶ Cl. 197, BIG 130, Rl. I 1064, 1653-4, Bu. I 121, MM 489, Sht. 290, KrkR 67, Tum. 162, Jud. 806 || pJ {S} *úru-tápa- v. 'complain, sue' > OJ urutapa-, ItOJ [RJ] uttáp-, J: T ùttae-, uttaé-, K úttáe-, Kg ùttàè- ¶ S QJ #1487, Mr. 781 ¶¶ DQA #1582 (A *óru 'cry, shout').

722. *gUr▽ 'skin' > **HS:** WS *ǵ¹ur- > Ug {OLS} ǵr 'skin', BHb נוֹר פֹּר (pl. נוֹרוֹת פֹּרֹת) 'skin, leather', Ph ʕr t pl. 'skin', ? Ar ǵurr-at- ~ ǵarr-at- 'pli (d'une peau, d'une étoffe)', rdp.: Mh {Jo.} ǵʕrǵār, ǵʕrǵārōt 'side of throat', Jb C {Jo.} ǵʕr'ǵʕr'ʕt, ǵar'ǵʕr'ʕt 'dewlap', ?σ Ar ǵurǵur-at- ~ ǵarǵar-at- 'bird's gizzard' ¶ OLS 159, KB 803, Tmb. 256, Hv. 520, BK II 457, Jo. M 141, Jo. J 88, MiK I #1.106 || **D** *ur₁i₁- v. 'peel' > Tm uri v. 'peel (skin, bark)', Ml urikka v. 'flay, skin (a jackfruit, coco-nut)', Td ušt v. 'take off (ring, bangle, shirt, coat)', Kn uricu v. 'flay, strip off skin\covering', Tu (u)rumbu v. 'tear off (as leaves from a twig)', rumbu 'stripping, plucking', rumbuni v. 'strip\pluck off', Nkr uyp- v. 'take off (clothes wrapped round middle)', Prj uyk- v. 'slough its skin' (of a serpent), Gnd uyp?- id., Δ uy- 'be flayed', uysp- v. 'flay', Krx ur-nā 'rub off the leaves of a branch', Mlt urǵre ~ urwre 'fall off' (hair), 'slip off'; D *ur₁i₁ n. 'skin, peel' > Tm uri n. 'rind, bark, peel, skin stripped off', urivai 'skin, hide, peel', Ml uri 'skin', Ku ʒuka 'slough of snake' ¶¶ D #652 || **A:** M *örüme₁n₁ 'scum on boiled milk' > WrM örüme, HIM epem, Brt ǵpmə(ɥ) id., Dg {Pp.} ūrüm, {T} urum 'scum', WrO örömö 'cream', örömede- v. 'cream over, get scummy', Kl epm örm 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Mnr H {SM} yermiän 'cream, cream condensed by cooking'; M ⇨ WrMc oromo ~ oromu, Ewk urumu 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Yk örümä ~ ürümä id., 'film' ¶ MED 644, Krg. 150, KRS 424, KW 300, Chr. 513, SM 492, T DgJ 171, STM II 288, Z 133 || ? **IE:** NaIE ≈ *erph- (< *He₁ur-ph-

?) / ? *wērpʰ- '≈□tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)' > Gk ἔρπος 'a skin (e.g. of a serpent)' || ?σ Arm գերփեմ gerpʰem v. 'plunder, ravage, pillage' || ?σ Sl *vьrp-/*vorp- > OR ВЪРПСТИ vьrpsti / prs. ВЪРПЪ vьrpъ v. 'tear, plunder', {Srз.} 'spoliare', ChS d. НАВРАПЪ na-vrapъ 'pillage', Kshb varpac 'reißen, ziehen', Slv {Mikl.} z-vrpati 'entreißen' ¶ Ch. 377 and F I 571 (both: no et. of Gk ἔρπος), ≈ Vs. I 355, Srз. I 462, WPI 291-2 ◇ D *-r- (usually going back to a N cns. cluster with *r) suggest that in the pN etymon there was a cns. (*w, *y, *ʔ?) adjacent to to *r, that later disappeared in the descendant lgs., but the cns. has not been identified so far.

723. *garH▽ 'crush, grind' > K: GZ *yerɣ- v. 'grind (coarsely)' > G yerɣ- id., Mg ɣarɣ- id., 'talk nonsense'; ⇨ K *yerɣil- 'coarse-ground flour' > OG ɣerɣili 'ground grains', G ɣerɣil-, Mg, Lz ɣarɣil- 'course-ground grains' ¶ K 202, K² 223-4, FS K 346, FS E 388-9, Chx. 1620-1, Chik. 173 || HS: S *^o✓ɣ|χrr > Ak Λ ✓χrr (inf. χarārū) 'grind' ¶ CAD VI 92 || IE *herH- or *harH- ({EI} *h₁erh₃ye/o-) > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' > Gk ἄρῶ v. 'plough, till' || Gt arjan, ON erja, OHG erien, erren, AS ērian 'to plough, to till', NE Δ ear v. 'plough, till'; OHG art 'cultivation, aratio' || L ārā- v. 'plough' || OIr ar- (prs. airim) v. 'plough, till', aired 'arable land', W {P, Vn.} arddu (< *ary-), {YGM, Bc.} aredig, Br arat 'to till, to plough' || Lt árti (prs. ariū), Ltv art (prs. arū) id., Lt artójas, Pru artoys 'ploughman' || Sl *oráti (1s prs. *ōřq) 'to plough' > OCS, OR ОРАТИ ora-ti (prs. ОРѦ orjq), SCr òrati / òrēm, Slv oráti / orjem, Cz orati / ořu, Slk orat' / oriem, P orać / orze, R †, Uk о'рати / о'рю id., Blg o'pa v. 'plough' || Arm աբաւր aɣawɣ 'a plough' || Tc A, B āre id. ¶¶ Not here Ht hars-, harsiya- 'till the earth' (← S *^o✓hrθ id.) ¶¶ P 62-3, Bc. 495, EI 434, F I 147-8, WH I 69, Vn. A 43, 81, Fs. 56-7, Vr. 104, Ho. 94, EWA I 347-9, II 1129-32, Schz. 126, Frn. 17, En. 143-4, Tp. PA-D 107-8, Tr. 13, Vs. III 148-9, Glh. 456, Slr. 126, Me. EAC 152, Ad.49 || D *ar- (+ suff.) 'a plough' > Tm araka 'a plough with bullocks, etc.', Mlt are 'a plough' ¶¶ D 198 ◇ D *-r- < N cns. cluster with *r (in this case *-rH-). In IE and D the N word *garH▽ 'to crush' acquired new meanings: 'to plough' (sc. 'to crush soil') and 'a plough', connected with the appearance of agriculture.

724. ₂ *g▽R▽b▽ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE {P} *ēreb^(h)-/*ōrob^(h)- 'dark' > Gk ὀρϕνός 'dark, dusky', ὀρϕναῖος 'dark, murky', ὀρϕνη (Gk I ὀρϕνᾶ) 'the darkness of night', ὀρϕίνος 'brownish gray' || ON iarpr

'brown', OHG {OsS} *ērpf* 'fuscus', AS *earp* 'dusky, dark', *eorþ* 'swarthy' ¶ P 334, F II 431-2, Vr. 291, Sw. 48, 52, Ho. 93, OsS 150 || HS: S **√* *ʔrb* 'dark' > Ar *√* *ʔrb* G (pf. *غَرِبَ* *ʔariba*) {Ln.} 'be black', {BK} 'être très noir', Ak fOB *erēpu* 'to become dusky\dark', StB *erpu* (~ *erbu*) 'dark', BHb *בְּרָב* 'ערעב' 'evening'; (× S **√* *ʔrb* 'enter' [> Ug, Ph *√* *ʔrb*, Ak *erēbu* id.], responsible for the unexpected *ʔ*): Ug *ʔrb* 'sunset', Sb *mʔrb* 'west' ¶ BK II 449, Ln. 2240, CAD IV 234-5, 279-80, 304, OLS 87-8, KB 830-1, BGMR 18, Rk. IQ 123 || C: Ag: Bln {R} *arəb-* 'be black\blue', *arə'ba* 'blackness, black colour' || EC: Sa {R} *ôr'bā*, *war'bā* 'a cow with black spots' ¶ R WB 47-8 ¶¶ R l.c. (C, Ar).

725. **gu'rir'∇* (or **gu'∇* ~ **gu'∇r∇* ~ **gur∇r'∇*?) 'skill, ruse, deceit; to deceive' > K **ʔor-* v. 'deceive, tell lies' > G, Mg *ʔor-* id., Lz *ʔor-* v. 'tell lies, lie to', *ʔord-*, *ʔerd-* 'deceive', Sv *ʔr-* 'tell lies, deceive' ¶¶ K 205-6 and K² 232 (G, Z), Chik. 350, FS K 351, FS E 394, Chx. 1543, Q 351-2 || HS: WS **√* *ʔrr*, **-ʔurr-* ~ **-ʔrur-* v. 'deceive' > Ar *√* *ʔrr* G (ip. *-ʔurr*, msd. *ʔurūr-*) 'deceive, allure', *ʔarrār-* 'deceiver', Mh, Hrs, Jb E/C *√* *ʔrr* G 'deceive' (sbjn.: Mh, Hrs *ʔʔʔrōr*), Jb C *šʔʔr'er* 'be led astray' ¶ BK II 445-7, Jo. M 139-40, Jo. H 45, Jo. J 87 || A **ur'∇-* > T **ūr* > NaT **ūz-* > OT *ūz* 'skilled craftsman', Alt, Tv *us*, ET *uz* 'master, skilful, skilful craftsman', Xk *us* 'skilful craftsman', Yk *ūs* id., 'craftsman', Tk *uz* 'good, fit', Tkm † *ūd* 'good, excellent, beautiful', Qrg *uz* 'skilful; skilled craftsman' ¶ Cl. 277, ET Gl 569-70 || M **ura-*: M **ura-n* 'skilful; art, craft, skill' > MM [HI] *uran* 'artisan', [MA] *uran* 'skilful, masterly', [IM] *uran* 'handicraft', WrM *uran*, HIM *ур(ан)* n., adj., adv. 'artisan, master; art, craft; artistic(ally), master(ly), Ord *u'ran* 'habile, habile(té), Kl {Rm} *urṅ* 'Künstler, Meister; Handwerker', Mnr {SM} *uran* 'dexterité, habileté', Dx {T} *uran* 'master', Dg {T} *uran* id., 'skilled craftsman'; Kl {Rm.} *uržṅ* 'Meisterin, sehr geschickte Frau'; M **ura-la-* 'do skilfully, use artifice' > WrM *urala-* 'do\make (sth.) artistically\skilfully', *urālaci* 'artist', WrO {Krg.} *urala-* v. 'contrive, use artifice; be master of, be a craftsman'; WrM *uracud*, HIM *урчуд* pl. 'artisans, craftsmen', WrO *uraci* 'craftsman' ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 365-6, 449, MED 879-90, Rm. W 451, SM 473, T DnJ 137, T DgJ 171, Krg. 179 || ?σ D: McTm **orru-* 'spy out' > Tm *orru* v. 'spy out', Ml *orru* 'private intelligence, secret information', *orran* 'a spy' ¶ McTm **o-* (for the expected D **u-*) needs investigating (cp. SD **o* < D

*u before a derivative *a, *see* Zv. 65-70) ¶ D #1022 ◇ D *-r̥r̥- and S *-r̥r̥r̥- suggest the presence of a second *r in the N etymon. T *-r̥- is probably from *-ry- < N *-rir-?

726. ₂ *gotK̥∇ 'popliteal space (back of the knee), armpit' > HS: S *^o✓y̥t̥k̥ > Jb C {Jo.} y̥at̥'k̥et (pl. 'y̥e't̥j̥k̥t̥z), Jb E {Jo.} y̥at̥'k̥et 'popliteal space', Mh {Jo.} y̥z̥t̥'k̥ay̥t (pl. y̥z̥t̥z̥k̥t̥z̥n) 'hollow at the back of the knee' ¶ Jo. J 90, Jo. M 144 || A {S} *oK̥∇ 'popliteal space, armpit': M *ogu-da-sun 'armpit gore of clothes' (or *φ-?) > WrM {Kow.} oγud̥asun id. ('chateau de l'habit de dessous le bras'), Kl {Rm.} oγū̇d̥ḃṡṅ, oγḋḃṡṅ 'Ärmelzwickel' ¶ KW 283, Kow. 365, S AJ 243 [#254] ¶¶ S AJ 297 [#594], SDM97 s.v. *ɔk'∇, KW 283; S l.c. suggests a Ko cognate *òkóm 'popliteal space' (> MKo òkóm, NKo oγim id., Ko Kw oγumpē {Vv.} 'the inside curve of the knee\elbow'), but Vv. AEN 16 rejects it on morphological grounds: òkóm ({Y} ωòkωóm) ← ok- 'bends (inside) with a nominal sx. -óm || AdS of IE: NaIE *aks- → *aġ̃(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (< *XakEC∇ 'shoulder [Achsel], armpit'): *aks- > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, üehse 'armpit'; with a *-n-sx.: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS ðaxn 'armpit'; with a *-t-sx.: ON óst, óstr 'throat-pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ òste, AS ocusta ~ òxta id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE *aġ̃s-el- → *aks-el- >) ON qxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel || L āla (< *aks̥la) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx. -illa); ↗ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm ʷān̥l̥p̥ anuth (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE *ok- without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (*h̥aēks- 'shoulder[-joint]; axle'; *h̥aēks̥leh̥a- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ On the connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' *see* below. Connection with IE *aġ̃s- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶ The connection between *aks- 'armpit' and *aks(-el)- 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation, or semantic change [and if so, in which direction?], or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). In any case, connection with IE *aġ̃s- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is hardly acceptable for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶¶ The IE root may belong here if N *t̥K̥ may yield IE *ks̥ (cp. AD SShS) or if IE *-s- is a sx. ◇ In AD NM #107 I reconstructed the

N word as *g_o|at_ḲE (> HS, A, IE), S CNM 12 (: "*Go|at_Ḳe ... The A and IE forms point rather to *Ho|a_Ḳe"; this is a misunderstanding: here "*Go|at_Ḳe" is S's notation for N *g_o|at_ḲE. N *g yields regularly A zero and IE *H; there is a contraction *t_Ḳ (from N *-t_Ḳ-) > *K, so that *Ho|a_Ḳe is a reduced variant of N *got_Ḳ∇); Vv. ANE 16 (rejects the Ko cognate; misquotes my former rec. of N *g_o|at_ḲE as *g_o|at_ḲE).

727. *gužê '≈□ sheep, goat' > HS: S: Ar d. ḡaḡīy-, ḡaḡawīy- 'kid (young of goats)', ḡaḡ(a_w)īyū-l-māli 'youngs of camels' ¶ BK II 445 || Ch: it is tempting to adduce BT (Bl {Mk.} ošī 'billy-goat', Krkr ṛōčī, Ngm {Mk.} ošī id.), but in the light of the Krkr pl. ṛōkāj 'goats' it seems more plausible to equate the BT forms with Jmb àk^wá 'goat' and similar forms of other Ch lgs. (< N *H'o'kE 'goat' [q.v.]) || U: FU {Db.} *ūče, {UEW} *uče 'sheep' (or 'ε an animal resembling a sheep') > F uuhī (gen. uuhēn), Es utt (< prt.), Δ uhe 'ewe' || Mk yča uča, Er Kd uča 'sheep' || Chr: Lyжга už'ša, Uf/B užša, H ыжга 'bžša 'fir coat' || Prm {LG} *ūž > Z, Vt ыж +ž 'sheep' || ObU {Ht.} *āč id. > pVg *āš id. (> OVg E TM oścḥ, Vg: LK oš, MK/UK oš; OVg W P/Sl oшъ, Vg: P oš [du. oššēš], NV/ML oš, SV/LL oš / ošī; OVg N: SoG/Ber oāścḥ, Chd/SoO oшъ, Vg Ss oš; OVg S: Vt ачь, SSS аścḥ, oōtsch), pOs *ač id. > Os: V/Vy ač, Ty/Y ač, D oš ɔ oč, K oš, Nz/Kz oš, O as ¶ The long *ū- (suggested by F uuhī) may be accounted for by the loss of the initial *g- ¶ UEW 541, Sm. 552 (FP *uuhī 'sheep'), Db. OS xxxii, Ker. II 178, MRS 625, 762, IG 328, Ht. #4 ¶ UEW reasonably remarks: "Das Vorhandensein des Wortes für 'Schaf' in der FU Grundsprache ist noch kein Beweis für die Schafzucht, aber durchaus für das Kennen eines schafähnliches Tieres". Since wild Oves, Caprae, and Capreoli are (and were) absent in the presumed homeland of FU (both sides of the Urals, Northwestern Siberia), but are typical of the Turan and the mountains of Southern Siberia, this word suggests a southern (Turanic, South-Siberian?) ancient habitat of the early pU lge. Napolskikh (Nap. IU 122-3) suggests a possibility of reconstructing pFU *oča and supposing that it is a loan from Indo-Iranian *aža (> OI a'ja-ḡ 'male goat', a'ja 'goat') < IE *ag(a) 'goat'. But his *oča is at variance with the phonetic laws (F uuhī cannot go back to *oča), so that his hyp. is untenable || A: NaT *učkü ~ (dis.?) *ečkü 'goat' > Chg ≥xv üčkü, Tv öškü 'goat', ET öčkä ~ ečkü, Xk öskü 'goat, he-goat', Ln öčkü, SY üškö, Sg üskī ~ üskä 'he-goat', OT e|äčkü, XwT XIV ečkü, MQp, MOg, Tk Δ, Uz, Kr, Qmq, Qrg ečki, Alt ecki, VTt Δ ички, Nog, Qq eški, Qzq eškī 'goat' ¶ Cf. T *k'äçi 'goat' < N

*k'ä'ćU or *k'ä'ć∇w∇ 'wild goat', 'ε antelope' (q.v. ffd.) (mutual infl. of both T roots?) ¶ NaT *-kü may go back to a dim. sx. ¶ Cl. 24, ET VGD 35-6, Shch. Zh 117-8.

728. *gUž∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg G ɤz v. 'smell, hear', Eg fMK ɤz v. 'perceive' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 || S *°✓yδδ > Ar yāδδ- 'sentiment, sens, faculté de sentir' ¶ BK II 443 ¶¶ Acc. to Tk. (Tk. I 176-86 and 263), the Eg cognate of *δ is z rather than ž. This is true about the word-initial position, but for for the Inlaut Tk. quotes only two lexical correspondences: [1] Ar ✓šδf 'obtain, get' ÷ Eg žzɸ 'empfangen, entgegennehmen, ergreifen', [2] Ar ✓ħδw 'be over against, opposite to' ÷ Eg ħzɸ 'face aggressively, meet (enemy), turn back, turn away'. The example [2] is highly suspicious, because the real meaning of the Ar word (acc. to BK) is 's'asseoir, se placer en face, vis-à-vis à qn.'. Eg ɤz contradicts Tk.'s law of sound corr. (for the Inlaut position) and suggests the necessity either of reformulating it or to find explanation of ž in ɤz || A: M *üže- v. 'see' (× N *hUžE(-g∇) 'look, see', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *°o]∇ > Lm Ol o]w, Lm O w]w 'heat (of animals) ¶ STM II 7 || NaT *üδ- v. 'feel passion, sexual desire' (× N *h'ot∇ 'to smell [odorare, to get the odour of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odour\scent]', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} üδ- 'feel sexual desire' (?); ⇨ *üδ-ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT uδig id., XwT uδüg 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50 || IE *Hwed-, *Hod- > NaIE *od- v. 'smell (sth.)', *od-mā n. 'smell' (× N *h'ot∇ '↑') ◇ Qu., because the IE, T, and M cognates have alt. etymologies.

729. (₂?) *y'a'č∇ 'bite, chew' > K (K or GZ) *yeč- v. 'chew' > G yeč-, Mg yač-, Lz yvanč-, Sv yarč- id.; acc. to Mach. (Gm. SSh 21), Mg yač- goes back to pre-Z **yačk- with subsequent loss of *k due to dis. (in the presence of *y) ¶ Acc. to FS, Sv yarč- is a loan from Mg ¶¶ Gm. SSh 21 (G, Zan), K 202-3, K² 224, FS K 347, FS E 389, DCh. 1359, SSO II 250 || HS: S *°✓fθθ 'bite' > Ar عَضَّ ✓fθθ L 'bite each other'; ??? (with secondary lateralization?) عَضَّ ✓fθθ 'bite' ¶ BK II 276-7, 291 || ?φ A: Tg: WrMc ašu 'put into one's mouth, hold in one's mouth, chew', Mc Sb ʔasʔmʔ, ʔašumʔ 'hold in one's mouth' ¶ Z 29, Hr. I 62, STM I 60, Y #1538.

730. ?φ *Γäč'U' (= *Γäčo or *gäʔič'U'?) (ε) grass' > K *°yič∇ > G yiča {Chx.} 'Sonchus, Gänsedistel', {DCh.} 'осот, серпуха полевая (Sonchus, sawwort)', -G K/Kx/P yič-i 'wolfberry (Lycium)' ¶ Chx. 1635, DCh. 1363 || U **äčU > FP *äč∇ ~ *äčo 'meadow, grassland' > F aho 'meadow', 'clearing (left waste)', {SSA} 'aufgegebene Schwende

(clearing), Brache, trockenenes offenes Gelände', Krl aho 'old clearing on which a young forest has grown', Es Δ ahu 'useless barren field' | pPrm {LG} *ežā 'turf (Rasen, дерн)', 'fallow land (залежь)', 'meadow' > Z əžə ežā 'turf, virgin soil, fallow land, meadow, grass', Yz ižā, Vt oжo ožo 'grass' | LG 331, SK 6, SSA 54 || ?φ **A**: NaT *ot 'grass, vegetation' > OT, Chg ot id., Tk ot, Tv ot, Uz wt, Xlj ūot, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt, Xk, Yk ot, Ux wt, VTt † ut, Chv ud_б ~ vud_б & od_б id., QrB ot 'poison', Tf ot' 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)'; KW 291 mentions Kl ot_o 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', probably a loan from T | Róna-Tás suggests Tc origin of the T word (Tc A/B āti 'grass' < IE *ados 'cereals') (see Dm. NTE 172) | Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-20, Ra. 213 || ?φ **HS**: SC: Irq {MQK} giçō 'grass' | MQK 40, Blz. SCL s.v. 'grass' ◇ The T word is a dubious cognate (the supposed change N *č̣ > T *t has no parallels in other N words). Irq {MQK} giçō (if it belongs here) suggests that N *Γ äč̣'U' is to be interpreted as *gäč̣'U'. The vw. *o in NaT *ot may be due to regr. as. (N *ä...o > *o...). The vw. *i in K *oϕiç̣∇ and in Irq giçō may be interpreted as suggesting the presence of the vw. *i within the N etymon (*gä' ič̣'U'?). Irq g- from N *g-??

731. *ϕōč̣∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > **HS**: S *'ṣaḡam- 'bone, (?) backbone' > Hb ḡṣṣ (pl. ṣṣā'mōt), SmHb 'ṣṣām (pl. ṣṣā:māt), Ph ṣṣm, Ug ṣṣm, Ar ṣṣm-, Ak eṣemtu, Eb {Krb.} a-za-mu-um 'bone', Sr ṣṣmā {Br.} 'coxa, latus', {JPS} 'thigh, side', JPA {Sl.} ṣṣm 'thigh of an animal', Md aṣma 'thigh, side, flank', Mh ṣṣmēt, and Hrs ṣṣmet 'back', Gz ṣṣm ~ ṣṣm 'bone' (either lateralization of the sibilant due to the infl. of SS *'ṣṣ 'bone' [> Jb C 'ṣṣ, Jb E 'ṣṣ, Mh, Hrs ṣṣ 'bone'] or a purely spelling variation due to the merger of ṣ and ṣ̣ in New EthS [acc. to Voigt]) | KB 622-3, KBR 869, BH IV 215, A #2082, OLS 96, Br. 520, JPS 410, DM 13, Sl. P 401, Js. 1063, LG 58, Jo. M 14, 39, Jo. J 39, Jo. H 6, 14, MiK I #1.25 || ?φ Eg G ḡṣ 'bones' (dis. *ṣ > ḡṣ?) | EG III 210 || NrOm: Mj/Shk {Fl.} ṣṣ 'bone' | ≈ Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL || ECh: Lele {Grgs.} ṣṣ, Kbly {Cp.} ṣṣ, Skr {Sx.} ṣṣ, {Lk.} ṣṣ, Mgm {J} ṣṣ, Mkl {J} ṣṣ, Jg {J} ṣṣ, Brgt ṣṣ 'bone' | ChC, JI II 37, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bone' || **K**: G ṣṣ-i 'fang, a large tooth' | Chx. 1646, DCh. 1365, K² 232 (G ṣṣ-i ← Zan ṣṣ- 'swine'?) | -ṣ- for the expected -č̣- due to as.? || **IE** *x^west_lh₁- ← *x^wost_lh₁- ({EI} *'h₂ost [gen. *'h₂est-s]) 'bone' > OI asthi-

, Av *ast-* id. || Gk ὀστέον id. || Los (stem *oss-*) id. || Clt: OIr *asna* 'rib', MW *ass-en* 'rib, lath'; W, OCrn *asen* 'rib', Brtt cd. {RE} **askornos* 'bone' > MW *ascwrn*, W *asgwrn*, OCrn, Crn *ascorn*, MBr *asco(u)rn*, Br *asko(u)rn* id. (a cd., with the second element seen in W *mi-gwrn*, Br *mi-gourn* 'cartilage', W *llos-gwrn* 'tail') || pAl {O} **ašti|a* > Al *asht* 'bone' || Arm **սկր** *oskr* id. ({EI} < **h₂ost-wr*) || Tc B pl. *āsta* 'bones' || Ht *hastai*, *hasti-*, Lw *has(s)a-* 'bone' ¶ P 783, EI 77, M K I 67, M E I 150-1, WH I 225-6, F II 436-7, Vn. A 94-5, RE 84, O 11, Ad. 45-7, Pv. III 233-7, Ts. E I 202-3, Ivn. SA 153 || R **ūč_l'a* 'back, backbone' (× N **hU_lw_lč_l∇* [or **hUw∇č_l∇*] 'loins, lap') > NaT **ūča* 'sacrum, coccyx, backbone, back (dos)' (× N **hU_lw_lč_l∇*) > OT *uča* {Cl.} ≈ □ 'loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV *ūžā*, [CC] *uča* 'back', OOsM XV *uča* 'buttocks', Chg **اچا**, **اچو** *uča* 'back (dos)', Tkm *ūža* 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} *ūža* 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk *uca* [*ūža*] 'coccyx', VTt **оча** **бса**, Bsh **оча** **бса** 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt **уча** *uča* 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *uča* *uča*, Shor/Sg {Rl.} *uča* 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} *uča*, *ūža* 'rump', QK {Rl.} *čža*, Tb *uča*, Qmn {Rl.} *čža* 'back (dos)', ET, Ln *uča* 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt *uča* 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg *uča* 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY *ūža*~*uča*, Nog *uša*, VTt **бса**, Bsh **Δ** **бса** 'loins', Tv *ūža* 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk *uha* 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} **ыса шамми** *č_za š_šmmi* 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thigh-bone', {ET} **ыса чза** 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288. Tkm *ū* provides ev. for a long pT **ū*, while Yk *u* is likely to point to a pT short *vw*. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe - *F* Pp. J 55) ¶ T *č* → M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] *ūča*, WrM **учуца** 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM *ūc* id., Brt *ūsa* 'croup, sacrum', Kl *ūca* 'sacrum, back (dos), hind quarters', Ord *ūč'a* 'hind quarters of animals', Mgl *uča* 'back (dos)'. The opposite direction of the borrowing (M **ūča* → T **ūča*) is hardly acceptable for two reasons: [1] chronological difficulties: the T form *uča* is attested from the 8th c. A.D., sc. long before the Mongolian conquers; [2] pM long vowels lose their length in HIM, Brt, and Kl, while here the *vw*. of these lgs. is long; so that the only possible solution is to accept Ligeti's proposal (Lg. VMI 71) of the T origin of the

M word] ¶ Cl. 20, Lg. VMI 71, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288 || Tg *u|oç∇ka 'fish fin' > WrMc uciqa 'fish fin on the belly', Neg oçaxa & oçaka 'fish fin on the back' ¶ Z 165, STM II 29, 290, Hr. 942 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2720 (A *ūc'∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') ◇ The A and SS reflexes of the N word suggest an ancient meaning 'backbone' that coexisted with the wider meaning 'bone'.

731a. ≈ *yay'e'c'∇ seek, look for' > HS: S *o'✓'ŷŷŷ (~ *✓'ŷ'ŷŷ?) > Ar ✓'ŷŷŷ (pf. ŷašša) v. 'seek, acquire'; ? Gz ✓'χŷŷ (js. yəχŷəŷ) v. 'seek, look for, desire' (a loan from an unknown C source **✓'ŷŷŷ with further as. *-ŷŷ- > -χŷ-?) ¶ BK II 259, LG 266 || C: HEC *has- v. 'want, seek' > Brj hās-, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd has- id. ¶ AD SF 153 (s.v. *hAŷ-'искать', 'хотеть'), Hd. 163, 195, 244, 281, 320, 369, Ss. B 88 || U: FU (att. in BF) *e'c'c'∇- > F etsiä v. 'seek, look for', Krl A ečči-, Krl Ld ečči-, Vp eč-ŷa, ec-ŷä, Vo зccia, Es otsi-, Es Δ ōtsi-, Lv v0'ččä id. ¶ SK 42, Kt. 506 ¶ SK equates the BF word with Lp N occât v. 'seek' (< pLp {Lr.} *oцз id.), but acc. to the reg. sound laws Lp *oцз does not belong here, but is akin to F udella v. 'be curious, inquire' < FU *učč∇, F Krh. 159, SSA I 109, Lr. #799 || IE: NaIE *aj̥s-, *aj̥s-sk̥- v. 'seek, wish' ({EI} IE *h₂e₁js- 'wish for, seek out') > OI 'ēṣati 'seeks, looks for', ē'ṣaḥ 'wish, choice', ic'chati (< *aj̥s-sk̥-) 'looks for', Av iṣa'ti 'wishes' || Arm այց այս' (< *aj̥s-sk̥ā-) n. 'search, inspection' (→ 'visit') || L aerusc-ō /-āre v. 'beg, ask', Um EISCURENT 'arcessierint' || OHG eiscōn v. 'search, question, require', OSx êscōn, ēscian v. 'require', AS āscian v. 'try, require, ask (a question)' (> NE ask) || Lt íeškau / ieškoti 'look for', Ltv iēškāt 'to louse' || Sl *j̥bškā-ti 'to look for, to seek' > OCS ИСКАТИ iskatī (prs. ИСКѦ isko ~ ИЩѦ ištq), R и'с'к'а'т'ь (prs. и'щ'у) id., Blg 'ища 'I look for', 'искама 'I want', SCr i'skatī 'to wish' (prs. i'stēm), Slv ískati, OCz iskatī 'to look for', P i'skać 'to louse, to seek, to search' ¶ Dv. #14, P 16, H 629, M K I 85, WH I 19, Bc. G 333, Ho. 7, Ho. S 17, EWA II 1022-3, Kb. 196, Frn. 182, Slr. 366, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Glh. 278 || A: M *i'ca- (unless it is *φi'ca-) 'hope' > WrM, WrO i'ca-, Kl иц-ic- v. 'hope for, expect', WrM i'caq, WrO i'caq, Kl ицг i'caq n. 'hope' ¶ Gl. I 190, MED 397, Krg. 99, KRS 275, KW 211-2 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #588 (A *i'c'∇ 'hope, see' > incl. M) ◇ M *i- < N *-y'e' -?

732. ***ʷAĉ̌** ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > K *^oʷeĉ̌- > Mg ʷeĉ̌- 'cut (hair), cut' ¶ Q 49 || HS: WS *^oʷĉ̌w 'divide, separate' > Ar عضو ^oʷĉ̌w (ip. - ʷĉ̌ū) 'dépecer (un mouton, etc.), séparer par membres\parties, partager'; S d. *ʷiĉ̌- 'piece, portion' > Ar ʷiĉ̌-at- id., Gz ʷəĉ̌, ʷəĉ̌ā, Tgr ʷəĉ̌, Tgy ʷəĉ̌a, ʷəĉ̌a 'lot' ¶ BK II 283, L G 57 || ?σ C: [1] Irq {MQK} haĉ̌á? 'different, other', haĉ̌īĉ̌īm- 'differentiate, sort out', {E} haĉ̌a 'other'; [2] ??φ SC: Irq {MQK} haĉ̌īt- 'share, receive one another, take turns', {E} haĉ̌it- v. 'share' ¶ ≈ E SC 336 (reconstructs SC *haĉ̌- v. 'be separated, divided up'), MQK 47, 49 || Eg fOK ʷĉ̌ {EG} 'hacken', Eg MK {Fk.} ʷĉ̌ 'hack up, destroy' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 ¶ Hardly akin (⇔ Tk. I 44, 249) to Sa {Wlm.} -uʷuġ- v. 'dig', Ang {Flk.} oġ 'dig', Li ʷaġi 'dig' || D *aĉ̌- v. 'cut' > Gnd aĉ̌ānā v. 'cut off (hand, foot, etc.), split, saw', Mlt asye v. 'chisel' ¶¶ D #46 || ?φ IE *^oġat- 'cut, pierce' > Ht haĉ̌t- 'make a hole (in), pierce, stab, slash'; AnIE → Arm հատ hat 'cut, cutting; fraction, fragment, piece', հատանել hatan-eł 'to cut' (not an inherited word because of -t-, while in an inherited cognate one expects -t' < IE *-t-) || OIr áith adj. 'cutting, piercing' ¶¶ Pv. III 248-255, Ts. E I 215-7, Grp. IVAA 53, Vn. A 54 ◇ The rec. of N *^oʷ- is based on S *ʷ-, Ht h-, and K *^oʷ-. The IE reflex is qu., because it has not been proved that N *-ĉ̌- yields IE *-t-.

733. ₂ ***ʷrūd** ∇ 'to tie; thong' > K *ʷwed- 'thong, belt, leash' > OG ʷwed- (ʷued-) 'thong, leathern tie of a yoke', {K} 'leash of yoke', G ʷved- 'thong; leathern belt', G J ʷved- 'leathern tie of a yoke', Mg ʷve(n)d- 'thong, saddle-girth', Lz ʷved- 'thong, leathern belt', Sv ʷwed 'thong, strap' ¶¶ K 203, K² 225-6, ≈ K IEK 74-5 (K *^o ← IE), GP 269 || IE: *Heuđh-/*Houđh-/*Hwedh- v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong': [1] *Heuđh-/*Houđh- > Lt inf. áusti (1s prs. áudžiū), Ltv aūst (prs. aūzu) 'weave', Lt ūdis 'einmaliges Gewebe' || R Δ ʷc'no 'web in the initial stage of weaving' ||| Arm զօղ z-ôđ 'withe, band; tie, bond', զօղեմ z-ôđem v. 'tie, bind, fasten, attach' (on the prepositional element z- see Me. EAC 94), յօղ ʷ-ôđ 'bond, tie, link; articulation, joint, juncture', յօղեմ ʷ-ôđem 'I tie, bind, unite', ? օղ ôđ 'shoe' (Arm o ô < eArm ay) ||| [2] *Hwedh- 'attach, tie' > OI 'vadhra-h 'leathern strap' ||| Gk [Hs.] ἐθμοί · πολλοί, δεσμοί, πλόκαμοι ({Mn.} 'chains', 'ropes', or sim.) ||| OIr fedan 'Gespann, Geschirr', {Mn.} 'yoke, team', OIr fedil, W gwedd 'yoke' ||| Gt ga-wīdan* 'verbinden' (3s p. ga-wap), OHG

ωέταν vt. 'to yoke, to join' ¶ P 75-6, 1116-7, Mn. 1497-8, FI 448, Fs. 211-2, Kb. 1186, OsS 1132, Frn. 26, Vs. IV 171, Slr. 290-1, ≠ Ach. III 412-3 and IV 607-8, M K IV 137 (rejects the connection of OI 'vadhr̥a- with IE *wedʰ-) ◇ Not here WrM üde- ~ üdü- 'fasten with thongs, cord, or thread passed through a hole or holes', because it goes back to pM *wüde- (> Ba {MYC} χυδου-), see KW 455, MED 995, MYC 688 ◇ IS MS 364 (*gudā 'связывать'), IS SS ##3.13, 9.2.

734. (₂?) *ΓUL∇ 'knee, elbow' > IE *xʷel- or *Xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id. (×N ?φ ≈ *goŋʰ'äI∇ ~ mt.: *goIʰ'∇ñ∇ 'forearm'?) > Gk ὠλένη, ὠλήν 'the arm from the elbow downwards, elbow', [Hs.] ὠλλόν 'elbow' || LuIra 'elbow bone, half ell' || Gt aleina 'ell', ON qln 'forearm, ell', AS {Ho.} éln id. (> NE ell), OHG elina 'elbow, ell, ulna' > NHG Elle 'ell' || OIr uilen 'elbow, angle', W, MCrn elin, Crn elyn, MBr elin, Br ilin 'elbow' || OI a'ni-ḥ ~ ā'ni-ḥ 'the part of the leg just above the knee', ?? NPrs ارن ārān 'ell' || ?σ Tc: A ālem du. 'palms of the hands', B alyiye 'palm of the hand' || Ht haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect', halihla(i)- v. 'genuflect' ¶ P 308, EI 176 (IE *h₃el∇n- 'elbow, forearm'), WH II 812, M K I 72, F II 1146-7, Vn. U 18, YGM-1 214, Hm. 394, Fs. 35, Vr. 686, Ho. 90, Kb. 197, EWA II 1044-9, Horn 5, Ad. 27, Pv. III 28-9, 31-2 || K: Sv: UP yuläy (gen. yuläiš, pl. yulär ~ yulār), LB/Ln yulä, L yulay 'knee', L {Dn.} li-ywlay-e 'to kneel' ¶ TK 797, Ni. s.v. колѣно, Dn. s.v. yulay, GP 269 || HS: ? EC: Sa/Af {R} helūf ~ holūf 'elbow, ell' (Sa/Af {R} h = [ḥ]?) (Sa/Af ḥ- is a reg. errepresentative of N *Γ- [cp. Af ḥéray 'pigs' < N *Γ∇R∇ 'wild boar', q.v.]) ¶ R S II 181.

735. *Γuñ∇ 'bend, be bent, sink, fall' > K: GZ *yūn- > OG yūn-/yōn- 'bend', G yūn- 'biegen, krümmen', Mg yūn- 'bend' ¶ Abul. 129, 303, Chx. 1655-6, K² 22-3 (adduces OG byūn- 'bend' and reconstructs GZ *byūwen-/byūwn-) || HS: Ch: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} wōŋlì 'bend' ¶ ChC || A: M *una- v. 'fall' > MM [MA, IM, L] una-, WrM una-, HIM yna- v. 'fall, fall down', Mnr {SM, T} unā-, Mgl {Rm.} unōna, Dx una-, Ba nā- v. 'fall' ¶ Pp. MA 363, 449, Pp. L II 1261, MED 875, SM 471-2, T 368-9, T DnJ 137, T BJ 143, Rm. M 41 || Tg *ōŋk- 'fall flat \ lie on one's back, (?) turn over' > Ewk ōŋkān- 'fall on one's back', Ewk Np ōŋnī- vi. 'turn over', Lm ōŋkī, Neg óŋkankī, ōŋkiskī, Ul ōndi, Ork ōndon, Nn Nh ónžl, Nn B unžl, WrMc oncoxon '(lying\falling) on one's back', Mc Sb {Y} ?ončžhən, ?ončuhun

'facing upwards', {Mrm.} οηϙχον 'ausgebreitet, auf dem Rücken liegend' ¶ STM II 21, Y #525, Klz. MS 238.

736. *Γονῆ, ∇, ga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > **HS:** Eg fOK ɛr.t 'fingernail, claw; thumb' > DEg ɹr.t 'fingernail, claw', Cpt Sd eine, ine, Cpt B iri 'thumb; hache à deux tranchants, instrument du charpentier' ¶ EGI 188, Er. 63, Vc. 64-5) (< *γ|γονῆ) || **K:** G I/Lch/Gr γvanγv-al-i {Chx., Ghl.} 'hook\peg for hanging up baskets' ({Chx.}: 'Haken [zum Aufhängen von Körben]', {Ghl.} 'grip of a basket') ¶ Chx. 1622, Ghl. 587 || **IE** *H^ωeng_LH_o / *H^ωnog_LH_o- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^ω_LH_o-, *nog^ω_LH_o-, ? *anog_LH_o- id.), ({EI} *h₃nog^h(ω)-) > OI na'kham 'finger-\toe-nail, claw', pIrn *naχa- > Oss I ных нзχ, D niχ 'fingernail, claw', ZrPhl n^ɸhωn, NPrs نأخون nāχon ~ نأخون nāχūn, Ygn naχna id., KhS nāhune 'nails' || Arm եղունգն eł-ungn 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, iron hook' (< a cd. *ełn-ungn 'hind's/roe's hoof'?) || Gk ῥοῦξ, gen. ῥοῦξ-ος 'fingernail' (acc. to Bks., υ is due to dis.: ῥοῦξ- < *onog^h- < *H₃nogh [sc. *H^ωnog^h-]) || L unguis, gen. pl. unguium, [γ] unx 'finger-\toe-nail' || OIr {P} ingu, inga, ionga, {Flr.} ingen, OW eguin, W ewin, OBr {Flr.} euin ~ eguin, Br ivin 'fingernail' || pGmc d.: ON nagl, OHG nagal 'nail' (> NHG Nagel) (cp. Lung-ul-a 'hoof'), OSx naga, AS næȝl 'nail, claw', NE nail || BSl: Lt nāgas, Ltv nags 'finger-\toe-nail', BSl d. (dim.?) *noguti- > Lt nagūtī-s 'finger-\toe-nail' (dim.), Pru nagutis 'finger-\toe-nail', pSl *nōgьtь (gen. nōgьta) id. > OCS ногъть ногъть, R 'ноготь, Cz nehet, P † nogieć, Slv nōhet, Blg 'нокът, pl. 'нокт-и, SCr nòkat, gen. nòkt-a (Blg and SCr -kt- < *-gt- by as. in the oblique cases and in pl. with subsequent generalization of -kt- in the declension paradigm) | BSl *nog-ā 'hoof' > Lt nagà id., Ltv nagas pl. 'both hands, hands and feet', Pru nage 'foot', pSl *no'ga 'leg, foot' > OCS ногa noga, R но'га (accus. ногу), Blg но'га, SCr nòga, Slv nóga, Cz, Slk noha, P noga || ?ϕ pTc {Ad.} *mekwā > A maku pl., B mekwa pl. '(finger\toe-)nails' ({Ad.}: *m- < *n- by as.) ¶ P 780, Mn. 879, EI 389, Flr. 169, Frn. 478-9, En. 213, Glh. 440, Vs. III 78-80, Ma. CS 321-2, M K II 124, M E II 4, Ab. II 217-8, Bai. 181, WH II 818-9, Vr. 403-4, Kb. 711, Schz. 219, Ho. 230, Ho. S 54, KM 501, Bks. IELG 47, Slt. 147-8, VI. II 1271-2, F II 398-9, Ad. 467 ¶¶ IE *-ng^hωH- < pre-IE *-ngH- < *-ng- regularly || **U:** FU *oηt∇ 'thorn, spear' > Chr L {Ü} умдо umdo, ундо undo, Chr M unto 'spear, sting of insects', Chr Uf unδъ 'bayonet, sting of insects', Chr B

unδo 'Bärenspieß, spear, sting' || ObU: pOs *oŋtə(p) ({{Hl.}} *ǣŋtə(p)) 'Bärenspieß, spear' > Os: V/Vy oŋtəw, Ty/Y ǣŋ^wtəp, D oŋtə, Sh ɔŋtə, Kz ɔŋti, O uŋti, N {Ahl.} oŋti, uŋti id.; pVg *ǣwtǎ 'spear' > Vg: T awtā, LK/P owtə, Ss owtə, ML {Mu.} ǣwtä ~ ǣwté id. || ? Sm *ǣŋtǎ 'blade (Schneide)' > Ne T нянд, T O {Lh.} ná':nt, Ng {Mik.} ŋatə, En {Cs.} Kh eddo, En {Cs.} B naddo, Slq Tz {Prk.} āŋti, oŋti, Slq Tm {KD} āŋd, Mt {Hl.} *ǣndä (misprinted as *ǣndā) id. (Mt K {Pl.} éndide id. [+ ppa. 3s]) -> Mt {Hl.} *ǣndəkā (misprinted for *ǣndəkä [?]) 'sharp' (Mt M {Sp.} андыка) ¶¶ Coll. 105, UEW 342, Sm. 542 (FU *o|uŋtǎ 'spear' > IP *oŋtə, Ugr ? *uŋtə), Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 20-1, Hl. M #74, Stn. D 144-5, MK 399 || ?φ D *ǣñi 'nail, peg' > Tm ǣñi 'nail, small spike, peg, linchpin', Ml ǣñi, Tu ǣñi 'peg, nail', Kt ǣñy 'nail of metal or wood', Td ǣñy 'nail', Kn, Tl ǣñi 'nail, linchpin' ¶¶ The word is etymologically connected with OI ǣñiḥ 'pin of the axle' and Pali ǣñi- 'linchpin, bolt, peg', but the direction of the borrowing is not clear: Caldwell suggests that the OI word is from Dravidian, while the 2nd ed. of the Dravidian Etym. Dict. assumes the opposite direction of the borrowing. Since the IE et. of OI ǣñi- (presumably from IE *el-ni-, whence OHG lurn 'bolt, nail of a wheel' and NHG Lürnse < *]-ni, as suggested with a query by Mayrhofer) is highly qu., the D origin of the stem is still rather plausible. If D *ǣñi is an inherited N word rather than a loan from IAr, its *ǣ- (for the expected *o-) remains enigmatic ¶¶ Cald. CGDL² 454ff., DED #295, D app. #10, M KI 72 ◇ But GZ *nek_lu_j- 'little finger' is not related to the abovementioned IE root [⇔ Blz. KM 138], because the change 'finger' → 'little finger' contradicts the laws of semantic typology; on the origin of *nek_lu_j- see N *ñi_{ku} 'small, little'.

737. *Γañ'ĉ'U 'cheek' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} ɣunĉa, Irq {MQK} ɣunĉa 'inside of cheek', {Mgw.} ɣunĉa 'cheek', Brn {E} ɣuĉa 'cheek' (and/or Irq {MQK} ɣanĉamō, {Wh.} ánĉamo 'molar', Brn {Wh.} āĉimo 'tooth' [pl. āĉo]?) ¶ AD SF 307, E SC 278, Mgw. 115, Wh. IC 26, Wh. SI, MQK 15, 112 || **U:** FU: pOs {Ht.} *ōñĉəy 'jaw' > Os: V/Vy ɔñĉəy, oñĉəy, Ty ðñĉəy, Y ðñĉəy, D/K unšə, Kz wŵñšī, O onsi id. ¶ Ht. #39 (* ÷ Vg *ānəx 'jaw') ¶ The final *-əy in Os may be explained by the infl. of ObU *'ā' nəy 'jaw' (< N *Xǣñǎkǎ [- *Xǣŋkǎ?] 'jaw, palate', q.v.) || **K** {FS, K²} *yāçw- 'cheek' > OG yāçu- 'cheek' [Mt. 5.39], 'jaw' [Ψ 31.9], G yāçv-i 'cheek', yāçu 'the upper part of a cheek', Sv Lx yāĉa 'cheek', Sv π yāĉ-ol (with a dim. sx.) id. ¶¶ FS K 344, K² 222 || **A:** NTg *anĉa

'cheek' > Sln ančā, Lm A ańči, Lm B/O ańčln, Neg ančān id., Ewk ančān & hańčan 'cheek, cheek-bone' | ? (cd., d.) AmTg *andasj 'cheek' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh andast ◊ Not here B *g^{ra}z̥z̥ 'cheek' (> Ah aǵaz̥, pl. iǵaz̥z̥an, Gh aǵaz̥, Gd aǵez̥z̥, pl. ǵez̥z̥en) because of the initial *g-. It guancia 'cheek' does not belong here either, because it goes back to a loan from a Gmc lge. (probably Gt *wango 'cheek', attested in a derived word: Gt waggarja dat. 'Kopfkissen') (see KM 837, ML #9499).

738. *rōnt 'heat; to heat' > K: GZ *ϕwent- v. 'melt (wax, fat)' (× K {K²} *ϕwent- 'stream down' > Sv ϕwēnt 'drop'?) > G ϕvent- (inf. daϕventeba) 'melt', Mg ϕvant- v. id. ¶¶ K DE2 175, K² 226, Fn. KW-1 #72, FS K 348, FS E 390 || IE *Xend- 'be hot; set fire to' > Ht hantais- n. 'heat', Pal (bf.) hā- 'be hot' || NaIE *^ond- (= *ond-?) > OIr and- v. 'kindle' (prtc. andithe 'accensus', vb. n. andud) ¶¶ Ped. H 48 (Ht, OIr), Pv. III 107, Ts. EI 154, Vn. A 75 (no satisfactory et. for OIr) || U: FP *onta 'heat, warmth' > Prm: Z öдзд (obl. зды-) 'embers in a stove; speed', {Rog.} öдд 'heat in a sauna', Vt öды зд+ 'strength' | Lp Pa {TI} ođ:·b_ 'Anlage; Eifer' | BF (with an irreg. *i-): Es Δ iñd (gen. iñna) 'rut, heat' (of animals) ('kiima'), F iñta 'desire, lust' ('halu, himo'), into 'eagerness, ardour, zeal' ¶ UEW 719 (suggests that the irreg. BF *i- is due to as.), TI 312, SK 108, LG 209 ◊ The absence of the expected labialization in IE (*x^we- > *o-) still requires explanation.

739. *rūrū 'to flow, to stream' > K: GZ ≈ *ϕwar-/*ϕwr- > G ϕvar-/ϕvr- 'pour (out)', ϕvar-i 'stream' ('Regen-\\Gieß-bach, Strom [von Schweiß, Blut, etc.]'), Mg {Q} ϕvarϕval- vi. 'flow, leek, boil', ϕvarϕval-i 'stream, strong current, boiling', ? Mg/Lz {Chik.} ϕvar- v. 'get soaked (промокать, мокнуть)' ¶ Chx. 1622, 1628-9, Q 350, Chik. 347 || IE *Xwr- '≈□ sprinkle' > Ht hurnaj-, hurniya- v. 'spray, sprinkle', Pal huwarninai 'sprinkles' || NaIE *w_{rn}-/*ūr-/*aur- v. 'rain, to drip, to trickle' (× N *w^{ra}qr̥ [or *w^{ra}rqr̥?] 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' [q.v.] and possibly N *war̥ 'stream of water' [q.v.]) > Gk βάλλω 'I sprinkle' (< *w_{rn}-y-ō), βάλλς (gen. βάλλςος) n. 'drop' || L ūrīna 'urine' (semantic infl. of Gk οὔρον 'urine' < NaIE *wors-/*wers- 'rain, dew' < N *^wVR̥3̥ - *^wVR̥3̥R̥ 'pour, flow', q.v.), ?σ ūrīnor / ūrīnāri v. 'dive' || ON úr 'light rain, moisture', ON úrigr 'dewy', AS ūriz 'moist', ON aur-r (?) 'moisture, wetness' || Pru wurs (< Blt *ūras) 'pond' (× NaIE wer-/*ūr- 'flowing water' < N *war̥ '↑') ¶¶ Pv. III 402-4, P 80-1, 1182, F II 639-40, WH II 840, Vr.

20, 635, Ho. 372, En. 278, ≈ EI 636 (IE **wel̥pHr* 'water') || **A** (?**uRU* 'flow'): M **urus-* 'flow, run, stream' > MM [MA, IsV] *urus-* id., WrM *urus-*, HIM *урса-х* id., 'float; dissolve', Ord {Ms.} *u'ru's-* 'couler', Mnr {SM} *urosз-* v. 'flow, leak', {T} *urose-* 'flow, stream', Dx {T} *urusu-* 'flow' ¶ Pp. MA 368, Lg. VMI 71, MED 886-7, SM 478-9, T 369, T DnJ 137, Pp. IM 203 || ?σ NTg **urU-* > Ewk *urigdə(n)* 'creek, back-water (заводь), slow stream (тихое течение)', Lm *urzn-* 'schmelzen, umschmelzen' (Blei, Erz) ¶ STM II 284, LW 1062 || ?σ pJ {S} **urù-p-* > OJ {S} *urùp-*, {Mr.} *uruφu*, J: T/Kg *uruó-*, K *úrúó-* {Kenk.} 'be moistened, be(come) wet/damp' ¶ S QJ #363, Mr. 780 (pJ **uru-pa-pa-*) || T: [1] Yk *üräk* 'river, brook' |[2] T **örs-* (> NaT **ör∇s-* ~ **öz-*) 'river', v. 'flow' > Yk *örüs*, *üös*, Tk Δ *öz*, Chv *var* 'river', Az Δ *üz-* v. 'flow, stream'; ↗ T **örsän* (> NaT **özän*) 'river, river bed' > Tk Δ, Qmq, Qzq *özen*, Kr *özen* ≙ *özän* ~ *ezen*, CrTt *ozeń*, 'river', Qrg *özön*, Uz *ўзан wzan* 'river bed', QbB, Nog *özen* 'valley' (← *'river bed'), Tv *özen*, Chv *vazan* 'ravine (ложбина, лог, лощина)', VTt *üzän*, Bsh *üðän* 'valley, depression (дол)' ¶ ETGI 510-2, UzR 579, TkR 499, Pek. 1968, 3168, AzDDL 399 ¶¶ Pp. VG 102 (M, Tg), DQA #1584 (A **oruso* 'river; to flow': M, T **örs-*); the J cognate was suggested by Starostin (p.c., 1975) || **D** **ūr-* v. 'spring, flow (as water in a well), ooze' > Tm *ūru* id., Ml *ūruka* v. 'spring as water, ooze', Kn *ūru*, Tl *ūru* id., 'leak out', Td *ur-* 'spring forth, ooze', Kdg *utt-*, Tu *ūrjunī*, *ūruni*, Gdb *ūr-ēr-* v. 'ooze', Klm *ur-* '(house) leaks', Nkr *ūr-* v. 'leak, drip', Gnd *ūsā* 'flow of water, flood', Knd *ūsa* 'spring', Kui *ur-pa / ur-t-* v. 'ooze, spring up', Ku *ūta* 'spring, fountain', Mlt *orbe* v. 'fall in showers' ¶¶ D #761 ◇ IS I 240-1 (K, D, A + qu. S). It is worth paying attention to Sq {Ls.} *ʿeyreh* 'lake' and Ug {OLS} *ɣur* 'depression, well' ('depresión, pozo, profundidad'), but they are more likely to belong together with Ar *ʿawr-* 'bottom, lowest part' < CS **ʿawir-* < CS **ʿār-* < N **gar¹* 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' (q.v.).

740. ₂ **Γ∇R∇* 'wild boar' > K: GZ **ʿor-* 'swine' > G *ʿor-*, Mg, Lz *ʿež-* id. ¶ K 205, K² 232, FS K 351-2, FS E 394-5 || **HS**: EC: Af {PH} *ḥéray* 'pigs' (snglt. *ḥeráytu* 'pig'), {R} *ḥərāy*, Sa {R} *ḥərā* coll. 'wild boars' (snglt. -*ytā*) Or {Brl.} *eria* 'wild boar'; C ↗ Gz *ḥarāwya* 'swine' ¶ R S II 19, PH 128, L G 244, Brl. 138.

741. **ʿer?∇* 'eagle' or sim. > IE **ḡer-/ḡor-* 'eagle, big bird' > NaIE **er-/or-* > OIr *irar* ~ *ilar*, W *eryr*, MBr *erer*, Br/Crn (hpl.?) *er*

'eagle' || Gmc {P} *aran- > Gt ara, ON arí, qrn (< Gmc *arnuz) 'eagle', AS ear n, OHG aro id., NHG Aar 'big bird of prey'; MHG adel-ar (lit. 'noble eagle\bird of prey') 'eagle' > NHG Adler id. || BSl d.: Lt erēlis, Δ arēlis, Pru [El.] arelie (*ce.* for arelis), Ltv ērglis (< *ērdlis) 'eagle' | Sl *o'r̀b̀l̀b̀ (gen. *o'r̀b̀l̀a) 'eagle' > OCS oрbлѣ oрbлѣ, Blg o'pел, SCr o'rao (gen. o'rla), Slv o'rel (gen. o'rla), Cz orel, Slk orol, P orzeł, R o'pēл (gen. o'p'лa), Uk o'pел || Gk ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιθος), Gk D ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιχος) 'bird; cock, hen', Gk ὄρνειον 'bird' || Arm nրոր օբօբ 'sea-mew, sea-gull, cob', nլրուր uբuբ 'buzzard' || Ht haras, haran-, Pal haras(-) (gen. ḥaḥranas) 'eagle' ¶ P 325-6, E 173 (*h₃or- 'eagle'), F II 421-2, LP § 256, Fs. 54-5, Vr. 13, 688, Ho. 86, Kb. 44, EWA I 341-4, KM 1, Frn. 122, En. 143, Tp. P A-D 101-3, Glh. 455-6, Bedr. 570, 580, Pv. III 137-9, Ts. EI 170-1, Carr. P 8-9 || HS: S *sar₁a₁y- > Ak OB/MB/NB erû (~ arû) 'eagle', Ak LB arâniš 'like an eagle', OA {HJ} (?) ʿr 'bearded vulture', JA [Trg.] ʿr ʿar, em. ʿr ʿar 'y-ā {Js.} 'e bird of prey' (prob. 'bearded vulture, Gypaëtus barbatus'), {Lv.} 'e eine Adlerart, Aar' (but {Dlm.} ʿr ʿar, em. ʿr ʿar 'r-ā 'e bird of prey') ¶ CAD I/2 231 and IV 324-5, Sd. 247, HJ 884, Lv. TM I 239, Js. 1109, Dlm. 307 || C: Bj {R} 'ērʔe 'white-tailed sea-eagle' ¶ R WBd 28 || D (in McTm) *oeruvay > Tm eruvai 'e kite', Ml eruva 'eagle, kite' ¶ D #818 ◇ D *-r- goes back to N *r-clusters, which suggests the presence of an additional cns. after N *r. In the light of Bj 'ērʔe and IE it is likely to have been N *ʔ. The IE evidence favours N *ʔ, because it is the only lr. lost (rather than yielding NaIE *ə) in interconsonantal position (*see* Gk ὄρνις).

742. ?σ *ʔERgE 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE *x₂r̥k̥to- ~ *x₂r̥k̥o- 'bear' ({EJ} *h₂r̥t̥k̥o-s) > Ht hart(ag)ga- (= {Pv., EJ} hartka) 'bear' || NaIE {WP, P} *r̥k̥p̥o-s id. > OI 'r̥k̥sa-, Av arša, Oss ars id. || Gk ἄρκτος id. || Arm արջ arž id. || L ursus id. || OIr art, W arth id. || pAl {O} *ar (> OAl XVII [Bgd.] ar) ⇨ pAl *arina > Al arí, pl. arinj id. || Lt irštvà 'bear's den' ¶ Pv. III 201-2, WP II 322, P 875, EI 55-6, FI 141-2, LP § 28, Vn. A 91, WH II 84, Slr. 131-2, O 8-9, ≈ Frn. 187 || A ({DQA} *j̥argi|o 'wild beast of prey'): pKo {S} *írhi 'wolf' > MKo írhi, NKo iri id. ¶ S QK #273, Nam 406, MLC 1327 || Tg *j̥arga 'leopard' > WrMc yarga ~ yarqa 'leopard (with black spots)', Jrc {Kiy.} yarha 'panther', Ud yaga ~ yağä 'leopard' ¶ STM I 337, Kiy. 105 [#148] ¶ ≈

DQA #627 (Tg, Ko) || HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rg}$ > Ar عرّاج $\text{ur}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{g}}$ - pl. 'hyenas', $\text{ur}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{?}$ -u 'hyena' (the vowels belong to derivational patterns) ¶ BK II 210 ◇ DQA l. c. (A, IE).

743. * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{o}^1\text{rk}\hat{\text{o}}$ 'bend, be bent\crooked' > K: OG, G $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ek}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ik}\text{-}$ id., OG $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ek}\text{il-}$ 'crooked', Mg $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ak}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{irik}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ik}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{irok}\text{-}$, Lz $\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{ik}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{r}}\text{lik}\text{-}/\text{v}\check{\text{v}}\text{elik}\text{-}$ v. 'bend', Sv $\text{v}\check{\text{w}}\text{rek}\text{-}$ v. 'wind' ¶¶ K 206, K² 229 (GZ * $\sqrt{\text{r}}(\text{w})\text{r-ek}\text{-}/*\sqrt{\text{r}}(\text{w})\text{r-ik}\text{-}/*\sqrt{\text{r}}(\text{w})\text{r-k}\text{-}$; Sv $\text{v}\check{\text{w}}\text{rek}\text{-}$ "derives from a G source"), FS K 353-4, FS E 397, Chx. 1647, Chik. 270-1, Marr 201, IS I 240 || IE * $\text{herk}^{\omega}\text{-}$ \rightarrow * herku- ({EI} * $\text{h}_{\text{a}}\text{erk}\omega\text{-s}$) > NaIE * $\text{ark}^{\omega}\text{-}$ \rightarrow * $\text{ark}^{\omega}\text{-}$ 'a bow', v. 'be bent' (\times N * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{r}\check{\text{K}}^1\text{u}^1$ 'sinew' [q.v. ffd.]) > OL gen. $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{u-}\bar{\text{i}}$, L arcus , $\text{-}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}$ n. 'bow', Um $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{lataf}$ 'articulatas, circular cakes' || pGmc * $\text{ar}\check{\text{x}}^{\omega}\bar{\text{o}}$ (*'belonging to a bow' \rightarrow) 'arrow' (ffd. see N * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{r}\check{\text{K}}^1\text{u}^1$) ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Fs. 56, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, FI 142-3 || HS: CS * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rk}\text{l}$ v. ' \approx twist\distort; stray from the right way' > JA [Trg.] ערְקַל $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rk}\text{l}$ (pf. $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{el}$) {Lv.} 'verkehren, krümmen, verdrehen' ($\text{gab}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{el}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n mill}\hat{\text{o}}\text{y}^1\hat{\text{i}}$ 'ein Mann, dessen Worte verkehrt sind', Trg. of Prov. 29.19), Sr عرّك $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rk}\text{l}$ {PS} 'torsit, implexit, irretivit' ($\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{el} \text{?}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}\hat{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'tortuosam reddit semitam'), Ar عرّقل $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rk}\text{l}$ (pf. $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}\text{ala}$) v. 'stray from the right course; distort' ({Fr.} 'deflexit a proposito; distorsit [sermonem]') (semantic infl. of * $\sqrt{\text{r}}\text{rk}\text{l}$ 'turn, twist' [Aram\Sr "Par'el conjugation"]) ¶ Lv. T II 247, PS 2964, Fr. III 145 || Eg: it is tempting to adduce Eg fOK $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}$ 'bend', but Cpt Sd/B $\text{w}\bar{\text{a}}\text{rk} \bar{\text{o}}\text{l}\text{k}$ 'plier, courber, contracter' suggests an Eg word-medial * l rather than * r (Vc. reconstructs the pronunciation of Eg $\text{ar}\check{\text{q}}$ as * $\sqrt{\text{a}}\text{rk}$), so that the Eg verb belongs here only if HS *- $\text{rk}\text{-}$ yields Eg *- $\text{lk}\text{-}$ ¶ EG I 211, Vc. 249 || A: Tg * $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{l}\text{u}^1$ - vt. 'bend', adj. 'crooked, slanting' (?) > WrMc $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{u}$, $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{uri}$ {Z} 'crooked, slanting', {Hr.} '(zu)geneigt, schief', $\text{ur}\check{\text{x}}\text{u-}$ 'zur Seite neigen, schief sein', Lm uru- , Ork urru- \sim uru- vt. 'bend', Ewk $\text{urik}\bar{\text{z}}\text{n-}$, Neg $\text{uyix}\bar{\text{z}}\text{n-}$, Ul $\text{ur}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n-}$, Nn uriz- $\text{u}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{z}}$ - vi. 'bend' ¶ STM II 285, Hr. 969, Z 173 ¶ The absence of any reflex of N * $\check{\text{k}}$ (and Tg * $\check{\text{x}}$) in NrTg and AmTg is puzzling || D * $\bar{\text{o}}\text{r-}$ 'crooked' > Td $\text{w}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ry}$ ({Em.} $\text{w}\bar{\text{i}}\text{ry}$) 'steep hillside', Kn $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra}$, $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'state of being aslant, oblique, bending; declivity, crookedness', Kdg $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'slanting', Tu $\bar{\text{o}}\text{re}$ 'crooked, bent', Tl $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra}$ 'oblique, sidelong, bent', Knd $\bar{\text{o}}\text{ra ki-}$ v. 'bend slantingly' ¶¶ D #1062 ◇ The N vw. * $\bar{\text{o}}$ of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the

rec. *ʕw- is right). The final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *kʷ ~ *-ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (*ǵarḱu > IE, K) ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the rec. *ʕw- is right). The N final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *kʷ ~ *-ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (*ǵarḱu > IE, K).

744. ₂ *ʕ∇R₁∇₁P∇ 'cloud' > HS: S *ʕarap(-at)- (~ *ʕ∇p∇r-) 'cloud' > Ak fOB erpetu ~ Ak YB urpatu, Ak Λ erpu 'cloud', Ug ʕrpt, Mh {Jo.} ʔāfōr, Jb C ʕaʕor id., Hrs ʔāfōr 'cloud, dusty wind' (× WS *ʕaʕar- 'dust' > Hb ʕāpār-, Ar ʕafar- 'dust'); but we should keep apart (because of the pS cns. *ʕ-) the word *ʕaraʕill- 'dark cloud' > BHb עֲרַפֵּל ʕārāʕel (pl. MHb עֲרַפְלִים ʕarpilʕīm) id. (> NHb עֲרַפֵּל (ʕ)araʕel 'fog'), Ug ʕrpl 'nube, nubarrón', Sr ʕarpeʕl-ā 'dark fog, mist, thick darkness' ¶ Sd. 243, 1432, CAD IV 302-4, OLS 90, 160, A ##2102, Jo. M 15, Jo. H 7, Jo. J 8, KB 840-1, Br. 549, JPS 429 || C: Bj B {Alm.} 'afrat, Bj {Rop.} afrad (pl. afrada), {R} 'afra 'cloud' ¶ Alm. BS III 2, R WBd 9, 358, Rop. 145 || K: MG [VTq.], G ʕrub-el-i 'cloud' ¶ Chx. 1652, DCh. 1567 ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CCS II 149 and Bm) NaIE *erb^h-/orb^h- 'dark' and S *ʕʕrb (~ *ʕʕrb??) 'evening, sunset', see N *g∇r∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #25c (does not distinguish between these two N etyma).

745. (₂?) *ʕ∇R₁∇₁ʕ₁∇ 'to gnaw' > HS: CS *ʕʕrḱ v. 'gnaw' > BHb ʕʕrḱ (G sprtc. pl. m. עֲרַקִּים ʕōrʕīm) 'gnaw away', Sr ʕʕrḱ G 'gnaw, crunch', Ar ʕʕrq G 'strip (a bone) of the flesh' ¶ KB 841, KBR 808-9, Br. 550, JPS 429, Hv. 466 || K: GZ *ʕerʕ-, *ʕrʕ-wḡ-, {FS} ʕrʕ- v. 'gnaw' > G ʕrʕn-, Mg ʕirʕon-, Lz ʕirʕol-; G ʕerʕ- ¶ K 207, K² 235, ≠ 223 (*ʕerʕ- not distinguished from *ʕerʕ- 'grind'), FS K 356 || ?φ possibly IE (with several assimilative transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) *gʕruk̑k- ~ *gʕru(:)ḡ^h-/gʕrouḡ^h ~ *gʕru(:)ḡ-/gʕrouḡ- v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N *kiRû₁h₁gæ 'to gnaw') > Gk βρύκω 'I bite, eat greedily', βρύχω 'I gnash my teeth; I bite' || BSl (< *gʕrouḡ₁h₁-/gru(:)ḡ₁h₁-) > Lt gráužti (1s pres. gráužiu), Ltv graûzt 'to gnaw' || pSl *griz-ti / pres. *griz-q v. 'gnaw' > OCS ГРЪИЗѦ grizq / ГРЪИСТН grīsti v. 'bite, gnaw', Blg ГРИЗА 'gnaw', SCr grīsti, Slv grīsti, Cz hrúzti, P gryźć, OR, RChS ГРЪИЗТИ grizti, R ГРЪИЗТЬ 'to gnaw' || Arm կրծես կաթեմ (< *kurcem < NaIE *gʕruḡ-) v. 'gnaw, nibble' ¶ P 485-6, F I 272-4, Slr. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, Glh. 237.

746. (₂?) **o** *Γ∇RΓ∇H₂T∇ (= *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇?) 'ε waterbird' > **K** *γarγād- 'goose' > OG γeryed- ~ γeryeτ- id., Mg γorγonǰ-, Lz γorγoǰ-, Sv: UB γarγād, LB γarγad, L γarγānd id. ¶¶ K 201, K² 221, Chik. 103, TK 792-3 || **IE** *Her₁H₁e|oHd- 'ε waterbird' ({EI} ? *h₁orHdeh_h- ~ *h₁r(o)Hdeh_h- id., 'heron [?]) > NaIE *ǵarōd-/ǵarad- > Gk ἑρωδιός, ῥωδιός, ἄρωδιός 'heron' || L ardea id. || ON arta, OSw ärtā 'teal (Kriekente, Anas crecca)', AS earte, ON d. ertla 'wagtail (Motacilla)' || SCr rōda 'stork' ¶ WP I 146-7, P 68, EI 268, FI 572-3, WH I 64, Mn. 31, FI 572-3, Vr. 15, 105, Ho. 86 || ?φ **HS**: S: **o** Ar γarγarat- 'female partridge' ¶ BK II 457 ◇ Cf. AD LRC #67 (K, IE). If Ar γarγarat- belongs here (rather than is an independent **o**), the N rec. must be *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇.

747. *γ'ü'š∇ 'live' > **IE** *xwes-/*xeus- 'live, dwell, stay' ({Pv.} *A₁éws-/*A₁wés-) 'live', {EI} *h₂wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay') > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be\stay alive', ᵚLd {Gsm.} veśfa- 'living (?)' || NaIE *wes- 'be, live, dwell' > OI 'wasati 'dwells, lives, stays', Av vanha'ti 'verweilt' || Gt wisan 'to be, to remain', ON vesa, vera, NNr vera, Sw vara, Dn være, AS wesan (whence NE p. was, pl. were), OSx, OHG wesan 'to be', NHG p. war 'was', prtc. gewesen 'been', Wesen n. 'being, essence' || Mir fó(a)id 'passes the night, stays', {SB} foss 'Bleiben, Ruhe', MW, W gwesti 'lodging', W gwest 'lodging, rest' || Arm գոյ ցոյ 'is, there is', գոն ցոն '(they) are', ագանիմ aganim 'spend the night' || Tc B wäs- v. {Pv.} 'rest, reside', {Ad.} 'dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)' || ? Gk λάω (νύκτα) (< {Pv.} *A₁i-A₁ew-s-) / aor. ἄεσα (νύκτα) (< {Pv.} *A₀wes-s-ᵐ) 'pass the night, sleep' (⇔ F I 706, Ch. 454) ¶¶ Pv. III 332-41, Ts. EI 265-6, P 1170-1, EI 171, 281, M K III 171-2, SB 277-8, YGM-1 265, Fs. 567-8, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Kb. 1183, Schz. 320-1, KM 854, Gd. 41, KT 210, Wn. 564-5, Ad. 597-8 || **HS**: WS *-γīš- 'live' > Ar ✓ ʕyš G (ip. -γīšū) 'live' ({Fr.} 'vitam duxit'), عيش ʕayš- 'life', Mh ✓ ʕyš (3m pf. ʔāyōš, sbjn. yāyēš), Jb ✓ ʕyš (pf. ʕēš, sbjn. yīš) 'live, survive' ¶ Fr. III 249-50, Jo. M 38, Jo. J 20 || **D** *uč-, {GS} *us- v. 'live' > Tm uy- 'live, subsist', Ml uyir ~ uśir, Kn usir, usur, usiru, Tu usuru, usulu, Tl usuru, usuru, Knd usur 'life, breath', Kt učr, Td ü'r, usir 'life', Kdg usir† 'breath', Krx uǰǰ- 'have life, reside, become animated', Mlt uǰe v. 'live', n. 'life' ¶¶ D #645, Zv. 56, 75, 112, GS 124-5 [#320], 53 [#133].

748. (₂?) ***ʕ**¹**iš**¹**∇b**¹ 'to grow; vegetation' > **HS** ***✓****išb** 'grass; to grow' > **S** ***✓****išb** v. 'grow luxuriantly' (grass) > **Ak** inf. *G ešēbu* id.; **S** ***iš**_u**b**- 'grass' > **Hb** **יֵשֶׁב** 'ešēβ, pl. **יֵשֶׁבוֹת** **išbōt** 'herbage, weed', **BA** **אֵשֶׁבָּא** **iš'bā**, **JA** {**Js.**} **עֵשֶׁבָּא** **iš'bā** 'herbage, grass', **JEA** {**Sl.**} **עֵשֶׁבָּא** ~ **עֵשֶׁבָּא** **iš'bā** 'herb', **Plm** **עֵשֶׁב** pl. 'herb', **Sr** **עֵשֶׁב** **iš'bā** / **עֵשֶׁב** **iš'bā** 'green herb, grass', **SmA** **עֵשֶׁב** **iš'bā** 'grass', **Ak** **išbābtu** 'grass\weed', **Ar** **أَشْب** **išb**- 'green grass'; **Cn** **→** **Eg** (**EgSSc**) {**Hlk.**} **ع**-**ب** **u** 'grass (?)' ¶ **KB** 842, **KBR** 889, **HJ** 890, **Js.** 1097, **Sl.** 860, **Tal** 648, **JPS** 420, **BK** II 260, **Sd.** 253, 392, **CAD** VII 233, **Hlk.** #39, **SivCR** 78 || **B** ≈ ***a-kš**_i**uβ** > **Gd** **a-ššəβ** 'herbe bonne pour le bétail', **Ty**, **ETwl** **a-ḫṣa**, pl. **i-ḫṣatn**, **Ah** **a-kasa**, pl. **i-kasātān** 'herbe fraîche et abondante' ¶ **Lf.** II #0167, **GhA** 101, **Fc.** 909 || **CCh:** **Mdr** {**Eg.**} **šbá** 'grass' ¶ ≈ **JS** 123, **ChC** || ?**σ** **EC:** **pSam** {**Hn.**, **Bl.**} ***i****usub** 'new' > **Sml** **i****usúb** 'new, fresh', **Rn** **ḥusúb** 'new' ¶ **ZMO** 73, **PG** 144, **Hn.** S 78, **Bl.** 243 || **A:** **Tg** ***i****seb-** v. 'grow, vegetate' (× **N** ***wiš**¹**∇** 'to grow'??) > **Lm** **i****su-** v. 'grow, vegetate', **Neg** **i****s3w-** id., **Ewk** **i****s3w-** v. 'grow', **Ud** {**Krm.**} **u****i**u-, {**Shn.**} **u****3Hu-** v. 'grow' ¶ **STM** I 332, **Krm.** 242 || ?**φ** **K:** **G** **Kx** **ṽ0ṽ0š-i** 'junges Gras; Trieb des Keimes' ¶ **Chx.** 1646.

749. (₂?) ***ɾ**¹**o**¹**w**¹**∇** 'wild sheep\goats', (→ or ←) 'wild game' > **HS:** **Eg** **fOK** **ɾw.t** 'small cattle (goats and sheep)', 'wild game', 'quadrupeds' ¶ **EG** I 170-1, **Fk.** 39 || ?? **Ch:** **WCh:** **pAG** {**Stl.** **VZCh**} ***ɿ**¹**∇** 'goat' > **Su** {**J.** **Hf.**} **ɿ**¹, **Ang** **ɿ**¹ {**Hf.**}, **Ywm** **ɿ**¹, {**J**} **Gmy** **ɿ**¹ {**Hf.**} || **Ron:** **Fy** {**J**} **ɿ**¹ id. || ? **Wrj** {**Sk.**} **áwáy** id. || **CCh:** **BB:** **Nz** {**Mch.**} **h****ow**ɛ, **d** **Bt** **G** {**Srp.**} **h****ú**é id. || **Mdr:** **Nkc** **o****ɿ**¹**w**¹**a** {**Blg.**}, **Glv** **á****g**¹**w**¹**à** {**Kr.**}, **á****g**¹**w**¹**à** {**Rp.**}, **Dgh** **ɿ**¹**w**¹**è** {**Frk.**}, **ɿ**¹**w**¹**è** {**Kr.**} id., **pMM** {**Ro.**} ***a****w**¹ (-ak) id. > **Gzg** **ɿ**¹**w**¹, **Mada**, **Myn**, **Mkt**, **Vm**, **Zlg** **à****w**¹**ák**, **Hrz** **à****w**¹**á**, **Mlk** **á****w**¹**à****k**; **McMs:** **Zm** {**Srp.**} **h****u**, **ZmB** {**Sx.** in **ChC**} **ú****h**¹**w**¹**ú** id. || ? **ECh:** **Skr** {**Sx.**} **á**-**tú** (pl. **á****w**¹-**tí**) 'wild mountain goat', **EDng** {**Fd.**} **á****w**¹-**kò** id. ¶ **Jl** II 166-7, **ChC**, **J** **R** 88, **J** **S** 67, **ChL**, **Hf.** **AG** 25, #226, **Stl.** **VZCh** **A** #8, **RpB** 4, **Lk.** **G117**, **Ro.** 260 [#311] || **IE** ***h**₁**w**¹**o****wi-** ({**EI**} ***h**₂**o****wi-s**, gen. ***h**₂**e****w****y**-**os**) 'sheep' > **Ht** {**Ts.**} **UDU**-**i**š [***h****a****w**¹-**i**s], **Lw** **x****a****w**¹-, **HrLw** {**Mer.**} **h****a**-**w****a**-**s**, **Lc** **ḡ****a****w**¹**ã** id. || **NaIE** ***h**₁**w**¹**o****wi**-(**s**) 'sheep' > **OI** **á****v****i**- id. || **Wx** **y****obc** (< **Irn** ***ā****v****i**-**č****i**-) 'ewe' || **Gk** **ó****τ****ς**, **Gk** **A** **o****τ****ς**, **Gk** **Arg** **ó****τ****ς** 'sheep' || **L** **o****v****i**-**s** id., **Um** **OUI**, accus. pl. **u****v****e****f** 'oves', **u****v****e****m** accus. 'ovem' || **OIr** **ó****i** 'sheep' || **ON** **ær** 'ewe', **OHG** **ou**, (?) **ou****w****i** 'ewe', **OSx** **é****w****i**, **AS** **é****ow****u**, **é****owe** 'ewe lamb', **NE** **ewe**, d.: **Gt** **aw****istr** 'sheep-cote, sheep-pen', **awepi** 'flock of sheep' || **Lt** **av****i**s, **Ltv** **av**s 'sheep'; **Lt** **ā****v****i****nas**,

Ltv àuns, Pru [El.] awins 'ram' || Sl *ovb-'ca (accus. *ovb-'cǫ) (← dim.) 'sheep' > OCS **ОВЬЦА** овьца, SCr, Slv óvca, Cz ovce, Slk ovca, Rowca, Blg, R ов'ца, Uk вівця 'sheep'; Sl *ovb'ňb 'ram' > ChS, OR **ОВЬНЬ** овьнь, SCr óvan ~ óvan, Slv óven, Blg о'вен, Cz oven || Arm **հովիտ** hoviw (< *_howi-pā-) 'shepherd'; in addition, Mn. and Grgv. adduce OArm **աւղիք** aw-di-k^h 'sheep' (pl.) (di 'flesh, body', -k^h marker of pl.) || Tc B **eyē** ({Ad.}: < *_howēj̥s) 'sheep', pl. awi 'ewes' ¶¶ WP I 167, P 784, EI 510, Mn. 897, M K I 59, M E I 135, F II 367-8, WH II 329, Bc. G 340, Vn. O 14, Mn. AIE 56, 179, Me. EAC 31, Grgv. BEO 128 (believes that OArm awdi 'sheep' goes back to a Phr loan from DM), Slt. 174 (denies the existence of Arm reflexes of this IE √ rather than hoviw, but does not mention awdi), Vr. 681, Fs. 70-1, Schz. 230, Kb. 751, 754, OsS 134, Ho. 93, Ho. S 17, Frn. 28, En. 149, Tr. APS 679, Tp. P A-D 178-80, Vs. II 113, 116, Glh. 461-2, Ad. 92, Ts. E I 230, Mer. HHG 58-9 || ?σ,φ **Α** *āb∇ 'wild game, hunt; to hunt' (× N ***χ**awi₁?∇₁ 'drive, chase, pursue', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 265 [#252] (IE, Eg) ◇ ≈ AD NM #42, S CNM 10 (compares A *āba with IE *awā v. 'wound, hurt' [which I reconstruct as *wā-/wə-] and equates it with Eg **ωḥḥ** 'hew [stones]; pluck; cut [crops]'); ÷÷ ST, Yn), ≠ Vv. AEN 17 (rejects the A cognate because of unj. doubts about the metonymy 'wild game' → 'hunt' in A).

750. *Γοῦ∇ 'carry, bring' > K {K} *ϕω- 'have, carry', {K²} *ϕ(ω)- 'take, take away', {GM, FS} *ϕ- v. 'carry' > OG ϕω-, G ϕ(ν)-, Mg ϕ- / ϕν- 'take, carry, have (sth.)' (msd. ϕvena 'have'), Lz ϕ-, Sv ϕ-/ϕω- 'have (sth. inanimate); take off (some article of clothing)' (msd. liϕwēne 'to have', liϕe 'to take off') ¶¶ K 203 (*ϕω-), K² 224, Chik. 343-4, Q 347-9, Schm. 138; FS K 341 and FS E 382-3 (in both *ϕ-), GP 175 || **HS**: B *✓Hw¹ > Ah awi 'carry, bring', Gh {Nh.}, Snd {Prv.} awi d 'bring' (3s aor. iwī d; d 'her-'), Izn, Rf, SrSn, Sll awi 'carry (away)', awi d 'bring', SrSn T uwī id., Zng 3m aor. yuwa-ddāh 'brings' ¶ Fc. 64, Nh. 123, Prv. 99, Rn. 283, Ds. 18, 226, TC FL 2 || ??φ C {AD} *✓hyw 'give' > Bj {Rop.} -hi(ω)- 'give' (pret.: 1s a'hε, 2m 'thīa, 3m yi'he[~] 2p 'thīna, 3p yi'hīn, inv. m. 'hīa, neg. inv. m. 'bahīwa, n. act. mīaḡ), Bj A {AD} -hiy-/-he || Ag *?ɜw- 'give' > Bln {Bnd.} ɜw-, {R} uw-, Xm {R} (i)ew- ~ uw-, Xmt {CR} iɣw-, Q {R} yuω-, Aw {Hz.} ɜy- || EC {AD} *-hiw-/*-huw-/*-huy- 'give' > Sa {Wlm.} -u-ḥoy-/-o-ḥoy-/-a-ḥay-, pf. -o-ḥoe, inv. uḥu, Af {Ss.} -eḥe-, {PH} 1s pf. eḥē (inv. aḥuw /

aḥuɣ / uḥuɣ), HEC {Ss.} *uɯ(ɯ)-, {Hd.} *uɯɯ- > Sd {C} uɯ-, (ɯ)ou-, {Mrn.} o- ~ u-, Hd/Ged {Hd.} uɯɯ-, Brj {Ss.} uɯɯ- id. ¶ Blz. CL 179, AD SF 151-2, Rop. 79, Ss. EDB 185-6, 230 (EC *-huɯ-), PH 95, Hd. 70, 224, 264, 302 || **D** {tr., GS} *ou- 'carry, drag' > Tm ou- v. 'drag along' (as a flood), 'launch (as a boat), 'send forth, give', Td üy- v. 'chase', Kn ou, uɣ v. 'carry off, carry, convey', Tu ouipuni v. 'draw, pull, drag', Knd o- 'carry, take away', Prj uy-, Gnd ou-/ō- id., 'take', Png ō-, Mnd ū- 'take', Kui opa / ot- 'lead away, take away (persons)', Ku oḷḷali-, ō- 'take away, remove', Krx hoʔo 'take, receive, transport', Mlt oue- 'take away' ¶¶ D #984, GS 72 [#233].