

836. *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction) > **IE:** NaIE *g^{we} (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas' > Gk δέ (postpositive adversative-copulative pc.) 'but, whereas' ||| pSl *že 'whereas, as for; as you know; same' (enclitic pc. with adversative-thematic function, as well as with the functions of reminding the logical\causal connections of the event [like NHG doch: R Он же знал; Что же делать?]) and indicating the similarity\identity: 'same', e.g. R тот же 'the same') > OCS, OR же же, R, Uk же, P -že, Cz же J Delb. VS II 502ff., F I 353, ESISJ-SGZ II 759-60, Vs. II 39, SJSS 592-8 ||| ? **K:** OG u^{ke} 'же, уже' (cnjc. of causal reminder, adversative cnjc.), {Fn. in Shan. G} 'denn, folglich' (ra^u-me u^{ke} q^opad ars čuenda 'Что же нам делать?' ['If so, what shall we do?'], vitar u^{ke} a^ç h^xedavs 'wie sieht er denn nun?' [Ioh. 9.19], šen u^{ke} xara zēy x^mrtisay 'bist du denn Gottes Sohn?' [Lc. 22.70]), u^{ke}-tu 'but if, if': u^{ke}etu šen xar zēy x^mrtisay 'but if thou art God's son' [Mt. 4.3], u^{ke}etu ara 'but if not'); OG u^{ke} is probably a cd., the glottalization belonging to the first component J Ser. 169, Shan. G 169 ||| **HS:** Ag *-k¹a > Bln {R} -žā 'nun, also, aber' (R: "wird an Worte angefügt welche als besonders bedeutungsvoll im Satze hervorgehoben werden sollen") J R WB 131 ||| **U:** FU *-k₁∇₁ 'also, the same, too': F -kin, -kaan / -kään, Es -ka 'also' ||| Er -gak / -kak / -yak id. (сон-гак сы вечерс 'he, **too**, will come to the party', сонзэ-як примизь комсомолс 'they accepted him, **too**, to the Komsomol') ||| Chr L -гак -yak in тугак tu-yak, тыгак ть-yak 'also'; ? -ак -ak 'same' after dem. pronominals (ть-яу-ак 'of the same kind\quality', туšk-ак 'to the same direction') ||| ? Vt uk 'ведь, же' (cnjc. of logical reminder) (бере кылэд цук 'ведь останешься позади \ опоздаешь', '**don't forget that** you will remain behind \ be late'), ?? ik 'same' (сыче ик siče ik 'of the same kind\quality', отчы ик o^tč+ik 'to the same direction', тунне ик 'just today, not later than today') ||| Vg Ss -k^{we}, pc. of emotional attitude towards the event ('unfortunately', 'I don't care', etc.): wos-k^{we} mīni 'let him go, **I don't care**' (wos mīni 'let him go'), kañiko^l ti-k^{we} ou^xpi '**unfortunately**, the vacation are just about to end' J RErS 372, RMarS 172, 751-2, RUdS 242, Rmb. 198 ||| **A:** T *-k|gu > ET -yu (pc. of logical reminder, 'ведь, же') ({BN} u-yu 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ba(r) yu 'ведь есть') J BN 57, 160 ||| Tg *-ka / *-ke / *-ko (a focalizing pc. that emphasizes the theme): Ewk -ka/-kz/-ko id. (bi-kz 'я-то, as

for me'), Nn -ka/-kз (ńoani-ka didesi 'as for him, he will not come', 'он-то не придет') ¶ Vas. 758, Pt. 60 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 71-3 || ? M *kü, p.c. emphasizing the preceding word (× N *K'ü' [dem. pr., q.v. ffd.] × N *ʔ'o'kE [= *ʔ'o'kü?] 'self', q.v.).

837. ₂ *kU, particle of plurality (used mostly with pronouns) > K: GZ *tkwen 'you' (pl.), 'vos' > OG tkuen, G tkven, Mg, Lz tkva(n)-; GZ *tkwen- 'your, vester' > OG tkuen-, G tkven-, Mg, Lz tkvan- id. ¶¶ *°Sk... > Sv: UB sgäy, L sgay, Ln sgä 'you' (pl.), UB isgwey, L isgwe, IB isge, Ln isķwe 'your, vester', most probably from K *tkwen influenced by K *sen 'thou' ¶¶ K 176, K² 75-6, Chik. 223-4, TK 299, 703 ¶ This prn. goes back to a cd. *t'ü 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; this suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'vester = of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou' < 'thy' [see s.v. N *t'ü' and its assibilated N variant *s'ü' on K *si]) || U *-k₁k∇₁, marker of pl. (× the N particle of collectivity *g∇): [1] with nouns: pLp {Krh.} -k > Lp: N -k, S/L -h, -h̄, -∅, I -h (pLp {Krh.} *kōdē-k 'houses' > Lp N goade-k, Rr goātieh id., pLp {Krh.} *tuntere-k > Lp N duod'darak 'mountains') || Hg -k, pl. ending of nouns ¶¶ [2] with pers. pronouns: BF (nom. case) *-k: Lv mēg ~ meg 'we', F, Es me (< *me-k); but in the oblique cases the marker of pl. is *j rather than *-k: F gen. meidä-n, accus. meidä-t, prt. meitä, iness. mei-ssä, Krl K: gen. mjän, accus. miät, prt. mej-dä, Vp gen. mīde ~ mīden, iness. mīš, Vo gen. mejye-n, prt. mej-dä, iness. mej-z Es prt. mei-d, iness. mei-s || Os (verbal pers. ending of 2p): V -taʋ/-taʃ, D -ta, O -ti || OHg XII miʋ miü, Hg mi, Δ mü ɖ mū 'we', OHg XII tiʋ [tiü], XVI thew, XVIII thü, Hg ti 'you' (pl.) (if OHg -ü < *-ʋ < *-k); cp. also Hg Δ mik ɖ mük ɖ miŋk ɖ müŋk 'we' ¶¶ [3] with possessive pers. endings of nouns: BF {Mark} (sg. possessi) *-me-k 'our', *-te-k 'your (vester)', *-se-k 'their', (pl. possessi) *-nnek (< *-n-me-k) 'nostri', *-ndek 'vostri', *-nsek 'their' > Ing Hv tejyen valassanneg 'in eurer Macht', hejyen yumalasseg 'their god', F (with loss of the final *-k) isämme 'our father', isänne 'your (pl.) father', isänsä 'their father'; Vo E-mmag 1p, -ttag 2p, F Δ -meʔ 1 pl., -teʔ 2p (palammeʔ 'we burn'), Es V -miʔ, -deʔ || pLp {Korh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *δēk 2p (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t'ü' 'thou'): Lp N ač'čamek 'our father', ač'čadek 'your (pl.) father',

ač'česek 'their father' | Mr: Er BI -mok/mek 'noster, nostra, nostrum' (sg. possessi), -nok/-nek 'nostri, -ae, -a (pl. possessi); in StEr and Mk the opposition of sg. ↔ pl. possessi is lost: StEr nok/-nek 'our', Mk -ńkă 'our' < pMr {Srb.} -n-m∇k || OHg -mk ~ -ŋk 'our' (urōmc ~ uronc 'our Lord'), Hg -nk 'our', -tok / -tök / -tek 'vester', -∇k 'their': Hg házurk 'our house', házatok 'your (pl.) house', házuk 'their house' || [4] with pers. endings of verbs: amb FU *-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p: 1p *-me-k ~ *-mä-k, 2p *-te-k ~ *tä-k > Vo E -mmag_ 1p., -ttag_ 2p, F Δ -me? 1p, -te? 2p (palamme? 'we burn'), Es V -mi?, -d_e? | pLp {Krh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *dēk 2 pl. (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t'ü' thou) | Mr Δ -m0k, ending of 1p (Er/Mk -nok id. may go back to *-n-m0k) || OHg -m0k 1p (v0gmuc 'sumus'), Hg -tek / -tok 2p | Os: (sbcj.): pOs {Ht.} *-y^ω 'we' (> V {Trj.} -öš, -y, -š, -öš, Vy {Trj.} -əw); pOs *-tby / *-təy 'you' pl. (> V {Trj.} -btby / -ətəš, MO {Stn., Trj.} -(ə)tə, Kz {Stn.} -(ə)ti) ¶ Laan. 154-6, 228-30, Krh. 280-3, Rv. N 67-9, 72, Wkm. FOUL 43, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Srb. IMMJ 52-4, Ber. GVF 325, Fkt. EJ-66 181. Fkt. MJ-66 203-4 ¶ The FU ending *-k is ambiguous, because it may belong together with FU *-kk∇, suffix of collectivity (> F -kko / -kkö id. [koiivikko 'birch forest', männikkö 'pine forest'], Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns) (see the N collectivity particle *g∇), but the close parallelism with the usage of K *tkwen- 'ye' suggests that the U - K comparison is more plausible ◇ Hardly here (for phonological and other obvious reasons) the Arm pl. ending -p -k^h in nouns, pronouns, and verbs (am-k^h 'years', me-k^h 'we', duk^h 'you' pl., beri-m-k^h 'we carry', berri-k^h 'you [pl.] carry'). But other explanations of this Arm ending are not plausible either (see Me. EAC 56-7, 66-72, 91-2, 117-9) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 101-6 ("dual KI(N)" [partially → pl.] in U, Gil, CK, EA, and Arm), 115-6 ("plural KU" in EA, CK, Gil).

838. *k∇ 'out of, from' > HS: EC: Sa {R} -ko 'from' (Man'dar-ko 'from Mandara'), used also in the system of verbal cases: ablativus-conditionalis -m-ko ~ -n-ko 'since, if'; Sa causalis (a verbal case) -k 'because', Sml ka 'from' (pv. with functions comparable with the abl. case of nouns: Sml N {Abr.} wān ka tégey 'I parted **from** him\her\it\them', lit. (indic. pc.+) 'I from parted'), 'away' (ka dúrug 'move away from it!'), Bn J k'á, Bn K k'í- ~ k'á 'from, out' (pv.: Bn J múŋ-ka a-k'á-bah-a 'I come **from** this house, lit. 'house-this I-from-come', Bn K míŋ-ka w0-hō-k'á-bah-a id.), Rn k'á postp. 'from' (k'ór ka 'from Korr'),

ká- pv. '(her-/hin-)aus-', probably also Sd {Mrn.} -ka[?]e 'when' (ra[?]we-ka[?]e ωīdi'ra ful'tu 'on finishing [their work] they crossed to the other side of the river') ¶ AD KJ 34, 86-7, 89, Abr. S 143, Hn. BD 43, 67, PG 168-9 || K *-ka 'from' > Sv UB -ka 'out, through', Mg -k, -ki, -kɜ, -ku, Lz -k, -k0 (erg. case ending, presumably from an abl., as in NHG √on: agens marker in passive sentences ← 'from') ¶¶ K S 48-52, 111-3, Kiz. ZJ 66-9, Q O21-2, O133, Marr 16, GP US 93 || A: Tg *-du-ki / *-tu-ki ({Bz.} *-du-kl) 'from' (ending of abl.) > Ewk, Lm -duk/tuk, Sln -duxi/tuxi, Neg -dukkoy, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i), Nn -duy; the element *-du/*tu is likely to go back the Tg dat.-loc. *-d^ll^l a_l 'to, in' (< N *d_loy_a 'place [within, below], inside' and possibly N *rad∇ 'limit, edge'? [→ 'up to, until'] + N *k∇ 'out of, from') ¶ Bz. 79, Ci. 256-7, Sun. S 160-2, 210-25.

839. *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy' > HS: [1] *ku 'thee' > S: Ak ku(ω)āti > kâti ~ kâta 'thee' accus., (ana) ku(ω)āšim > kâšim 'to thee' || C *ku 'thee' > EC {Ss.} *ku ~ *ki 'thee' (no gender distinction) > Sa, Sml, Bn ku, Af kō, Rn ki, Dsn k0, Or si, Kns ke, Sd hē, Brj šē, Elm ki- pv., Dsn kúo 'thou' (subject); Arr ké 'thou' nom., kéhe 'thee' (the variant *ki may go back to HS *k-i 'thee', see below [3]) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} kó-wa 'thee' (with the accus. ending -wa) || ?? Ch: WCh: Sy gu/ga (ga belongs to [2]) || [2] *k-a 'thee' m. > S *-ka id. (verbal sx.) > BHb -k̄ā, Ar, Gz -ka, Ak -ka || B *-ək id. (sx.) > Tw -ək, Shl -ək ~ -k, Kb {Han.} -ik, Shw -ík- ~ -k̄ak, Gd -šak, Si -(i)k 'te' accus., Si -a-k, -ka 'tibi' ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 39 || C *ka 'thee' m. > Ag: Bln {R} -k̄ā (verbal sx.) || Bj -hō-k(a), verbal sx. || Ch *ka 'thee' m. > Hs ka, Bl k̄ā, Ang/Su {Kr.} ṽa, Gm ga, Bl ka, Krkr k̄à, Mu {Lk.} ka (Kr. RChP √, AD EPCChL √); probably (with loss of gender distinction): Sy gu/ga (gu < HS *ku?), Gv xa, Nkc ṽa 'thee' || possibly Eg kω ~ cω 'thee' m. (< *k∇-ω, where *-ω is a sx.) || [3] *k-i 'thee' f. > S *-ki id. (verbal sx.) > Ar -ki, BHb -k̄, Gz -k̄ī, Ak -ki || Eg cω 'thee' f. (encl.) (< *ki-ω) || C *ki 'thee' f. > Ag: Bln {R} -k̄ī (sx.) || Bj -hō-k(i), verbal sxs. || SC {∂E} *ki 'thou' (< *thee') > Irq ki, kiη, Alg ki, Brn igi 'thou'; the object prn. 'thee' f. in Irq {Mous} is i (< *ki?) || Ch *ki 'thee' f. > Hs ki, Bl šī, Ngm čî, Su yi, Mu {Lk.} ki (Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL) || [4] *k-am 'thee' f. > B *-kam 'thee' f. > Tw -kām, Kb -(i)kām, Si -im, Gd -(i)kām ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 40 || Ch *k∇m > Ngz, Du k̄m, Bade ḡm, Bdm {Lk.}

-gɛm || Eg ɔm 'thee' f. (encl.) || [5] *ku 'thy' > C: EC: Hr {AMS} -áhu 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Arr -k0, Dsn kú / kù (no genus possessoris) || Ag {Ap.} *kʷɜ- > Bn n̄- kʷə- (px.) 'thy', kũ-t [kʷɜt] 'thee' (-t is a sx. of accus.), Xm {Ap.} kɜ-t 'thee' accus. (→ kɜt 'thou' nom.) || SC: Brn {Wh.} 0g(ú), {E} -g/-0g, Irq {Wh.} 0k, Alg {Wh.} 0g, Irq/Alg {E} -k/-0k 'thy' (no gender distinction) || Ch: Gj gʷà, Sy w a, Gude -ku/-kʷà, Mln -gu 'thy' (no genus possessoris); Bl (k)kù, Tng k0, Bdm {Lk.} -gu 'thy' (m. possessoris) || Eg amb -k 'thy' m. > Cpt -k -k id. || B amb *-ək 'thy' m. > Tw -(ə)k, with kinship nouns: Si -ək, Gd -ik, Shl {La.} -(i)k ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-70, Lf. I 351, La. CBM 47, La. S 114-5, Ai. SKBJ I 39 ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək are ambiguous: they may alternatively go back to HS *ka 'thy' m. (see [6]) || [6] *k-a 'thy' (masc. possessoris) > S *-ka id. > Hb -k̄ā, Ar, Gz -ka, Aram -k, Ak -ka || C: Bj -k̄ā id. || EC *ka 'thy' (without genus possessoris) > pSam {Hn.} -aha 'thy' > Rn -aha, Bn -aha, Sml -ā || WCh: Hs -ka, Su -ɸā, ? Bl -k0 'thy' (masc. possessoris) || Eg amb -k id. (> Cpt -k -k id.) || B amb *-ək id. ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək may alternatively go back to HS *ku || Ch: Hs -ka, Su -ɸa 'thy', Krf k̄ā 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Pdk mà-ka, Glv ɸà, Klb -n̄à/-kà 'thy' (no genus possessoris) || [7] *k-i 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > S *-ki id. > Ar -ki, Hb, Aram -k, Gz -kī, Ak -kī || EC: Hr {AMS} -āhi id. || Ch: Hs -ki, Krf čī, Bl (š)šī id. || [8] *k-∇m 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > B *-∇m ({Pr.} *-əm) > Tw -(ə)m, with kinship words: Shl -m, Gd -im ¶ Pr. M I-III 64, La. CBM 47, Lf. I 351, Ai. SKBJ I 39-40 || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} -(g)um, {Kr.} -əm 'thy' (fem. possessoris), Ngz (-ā)-kəm ¶¶ AD PP 71, Br. SS § 151, Sd. G § 41-2, AD SF 77-8, 260, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 172, Bl. 130-1, R BilS 618-20, 685-8, Ap. Kh I 263, Ap. ACA 202-11, Hz. NSA 134-5, Hn. S 30, Hw. A 185, 213, 228, AMS 91, To. DL 211, E SC 243, 245-6 (SC *ki * 'thee' f., *ku * 'thy' m., though the extant ev. point to a subject prns. *ki 'thou' f. and *ku 'thou' m.), Mous 113-7, Wh. IC 17, 58, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Brq. PS ∇, Kr. RChP ∇ || K *g- 'thee, to thee' (verbal px.) > OG, G, Lz g-, Mg g- ~ r-, Sv ž-, ža₁- ¶¶ K 57, FS K 68-9, Top. SJ 84 || A: T (after vowels) *-g, (after cnss.) *-ug / *-üg 'thy' > OT (after vowels) -ɸ / *-g, (after cnss.) -uɸ / -üg / *-iɸ / *-ig, Az Δ -ɸ / -ɸ / -uɸ / -üɸ ~ -w / -uw id. (gen. göz-üɸ-ün 'of thy eye', baba-ɸ-in 'of thy grandfather', accus. at-uw-i 'equum tuum'), Chv L -u / -ü. The Chv sx. -u / -ü may go back only to rounded allomorphs *-ug / *-üg, hence I am inclined to assume that the OT unrounded allomorphs *-ig / *-ig are secondary. They are due to labial harmony of vowels, which is

a rather recent morphophonemic phenomenon. Acc. to Tekin GOT 63, "in Orkhon Turkic the labial harmony is at its first stage of development". Side by side with the allomorphs *-g / *-ug / *-üg, there are nasalized allomorphs *-(u/ü)ŋ (~ *-iŋ/*-iŋ?). In OT we find both unnasalized and nasalized variants of the sx. In most later lgs. of the NaT branch, the allomorph *-(∇)ŋ is the only one in use. Acc. to Bz. Tsch 726-7, the nasalized variant is represented by the Chv optional allomorph -ɔŋ-, used in the oblique cases side by side with the usual *-u/*-ü: the genitive -ɔŋ-ɔŋ 'of thy ...' alongside with -u-ŋ. This suggests that Chv reflects the pT distribution: the allomorph *-(∇)ŋ was originally used in the oblique cases only, and it may be conjectured that it resulted from nasalization of the sx. *-(u/ü)g by the adjacent genitive ending *-ŋ ¶ CafD A 302, Kon. GJTRP 148, Lvt. IM 14-5, Shch. OSMI 73, Shir. VL 44-5, Tekin GOT 122-4 ◊ AD PP 71-4, 112.

840. *koʔi¹ 'to call' > **HS:** Ar ✓kʔy (pf. كَأَي kaʔaya) {Fr.} 'verbis dolorem affecit', {BK} 'causer à qn. de la peine par des paroles dures' ¶ Fr. IV 2, BK II 850 || Eg fNK kɜ v. 'say; invoke the name (of some deity)', Eg fXXII kɜ 'name', ? Eg fP kɜ (> Akk MB ku, Gk -κε- in Μυκερλυος, χου- in Χουακ, name of a month) 'Ka (soul, spirit, essence of a being, personality)' ¶ EG V 85-92, Fk. 283, Vc. 74 || **IE:** NaIE *gʷē(j)-/*gʷō(j)-/*gʷī- v. 'call, shout' (→ 'sing') > OI gā-: gāyati ~ gāti 'sings', gā'-tu-, gā'-ti- 'Gesang', gī'ta- 'sung', gā'tha-, 'gāthā 'song', Av gāδa 'sacral song' || Gt qainōn 'to mourn, to bewail (κόπτεισθα, πενθεῖν)', ON kvēina 'jammern, klagen', AS cwānian 'to lament, to mourn'; cwiðan 'be-lan-klagen', OSx quīthian 'wehklagen' || pSl *gaj-, inf. *gaja-ti > OR ΓΑΓΑΤΗ gayati (prs. ΓΑΓΟ gayu) 'to shout, to croak', R Δ 'Гаять 'to shout, to speak'; pSl *gaji-ti 'to shout, to produce noise' > R Δ 'Гайть id., Cz Δ hájit 'to cheep plaintively' (birds); pSl gajъ n. 'cry, shout' > R Δ Гай id., 'noise' ¶ WP I 526-7, P 355, M KI 333-4, M EI 482-4, Fs. 385-6, Vr. 336 (no IE et. of kvēina), Ho. 64, 66, Ho. S 59, Bern. I 291, ESSJ VI 84-6, Ped. TIE 183, 263, ≈ EI 519 (ignores Gmc; *geh₁(i)- 'sing') || **U** *ko|a,∇ > Sm {Jn.} *kã-, {Hl.} *ka- v. 'call, ask for' > Ne T (d.) ханзъ, Ne O {Lh.} xāńć, En B {Cs.} d. (1s obj. aor.) каґабо, Slq Tz {KKIH} qɜri-qo to call (for so.)', Mt {Hl.} *kaŋ- v. ? 'ask for' (Mt M {Sp.} каґнамъ 'I ask for, прошу') ¶ Jn. 56, KKIИ 160, Hl. M #424.

840a. *keʔi (or ₂*k|ʔey∇) 'make, do' > **A:** M *kī- 'do, act' > MM [S] kī-, [PP] k'ī- id., WrM kī-, HlM хий-(x), Kl {Rm.} kī-, ke(:)-, MMgl {Iw.}

kī- id., Mnr {SM} g_i- 'do, act', Mgl {Rm.} kēnā, kinā 'power' ¶ Pp. IM 36, Iw. 112, MED 462-3 || pJ *kì-túk- v. 'build' > OJ k̄iduk-, ItOJ [RJ] k̄itúk-, J: T k̄izúk-, K/Kg k̄ízúk- ¶ S QJ #1185, Mr. 710 ¶¶ DQA #791 (A **k̄_l'j 'do, make'; incl. M, J) || D {tr., GS} *key- 'do, make' > Tm cey, Ml ceyka, Kt gey- ~ key-, Td k̄iy-, Kn key ~ kai ~ gey, Kdg, Gdb key-, Tl cēyū, Klm (prs.) ka-, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku ki-, Brh (prs. indef.) kē- (other variants of the stem in the paradigm [kar-, kannin] are due to borrowing and contamination from Blc kan- and Sin J kar-) ¶¶ D #1957, GS 59-60 [#171], 66 [#209], Bray I 155 || K: GZ *g- 'build' > G, Mg, Z *g- id. ¶ K 57, K² 24, FS E 72 || HS: B *√gH 'do, make' > Ah əǵ (pf. iǵa), Gh əǰ (pf. iǰa), Mzb əǰ (pf. iǰu), BSn, Izn əǰǰ, Mtm, BSlh əǰǰ 'do', CM {NZ} əǰ ǰ əy ǰ əǰ 'do, act', SrSn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/A {Rn.} əʃ, Kb əǰ, Shwy, Nfs əǰ, Gd εǵ (pf. iǵω) ¶ NZ 694-7, Fc. 374-82, Dl. 246, Dlh. M 67, Rn. 350, Lf. II #469 ¶ In most B lgs. there is a homonymous verb *√gH 'put' (possibly a sd. of *√gH 'do') || Ch: CCh: Gzg gē 'do, make', ? Lgn ʏǰn id., 'work', LmP {ChC} gi 'do' ||| ECh: ı Smr {OS ← ?} giya 'build' ¶ Lk. G 122, Lk. L 95, ChC ¶¶ ≈ OS #912 (HS *gay∇; incl. B, Ch) ◇ The K and B cognates are valid if K, B, and Ch *g- are from *k̄ (as.). If they are not, the N rec. (based on A and D only) will be *k|key∇. But even the latter rec. is valid unless M *-ī-, pJ *-i-, and D *-ey- may go back to *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?), while the M, J, and D words may be traced back to N *goy∇ 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ On N *-eHi- > M *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS I 309 [#182] (*key∇ 'делатъ' in D and A [T, M]).

841. ?₂ *kEǰû 'pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heyu-/*ǵ^hu- v. 'pour', *ǵ^heyu-mṅ 'sth. poured, libation' (× N *gEqû 'pour, flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448 (*ǵ^heyu-), M K I 442, M E II 821, WH I 563-4, Ad. H 37 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q or *ǰ|y) is still puzzling. One may suggest a mt. + loss of the lr.: N *gEqû > eIE *ǵ^heyu > *ǵ^heyu- || HS: S *o√k̄w (or *o√k̄y?) > Gz √k̄w v. (js. yak̄aw) 'pour' ¶ LG 272 || SC: Irq {MQK} kuṽus- 'spill', Brn {E} kuṽus-, Alg {E} kuṽumis- v. 'spill, pour'; SC → Mb {E} -ku 'draw water' ¶ E SC 248 [#57] (pSC *k̄uṽ- or *k̄iṽ- 'draw water'), MQK 63 ◇ Qu., because NaIE *ǵ^heyu-/*ǵ^hu- is phonetically better explained as belonging to N *gEqû.

842. *kuǰa 'to go, to advance, to follow', (< ?) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks' > IE *g^weh-/*g^wh- > NaIE *g^wā-/*g^wā- 'go' > OI

'jigāti (P: ÷ Gk βίβησι*) 'goes', aor. 'a-gā-m 'I went (away)' (= Gk ἔβην), OAv gā́t 'soll hingehen', Av gāman-, MPrs gām, NPrs گام gām 'a step', OI gā-'tu-h 'Gang, Weg, Raum, Ort', Av gā́tu-š, OPrs gā́tu 'place, seat' ||| Arm կայ kay 'there is', կամ kam 'stand, be' ||| Gk ἔβη 'went', βήμα 'a step, pace', βάλνω 'I go' ||| Blt (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'go away, drive away'): Lt Δ γότι 'to go', Ltv gā́ju 'I went' (-d→ present stem *gāy- with the present tense sx. *-y-) ¶ WP I 676-7, P 463-4, ≈σ EI 115 (*g^ωeh_β- 'come'), M K I 432, M E I 482-3, Vl. II 943, Horn 198, FI 208-10, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, Tum. 407 ||| HS: S *^o✓kfy > Ar علك kāfi-n 'qui prend la fuite' ¶ BK II 909 ||| C: Ag: Aw {Beke} ka-, Aw Kk {Fl.} ka- v. 'walk', Aw {Wldm.} ka- 'go', Aw {Bnd.}, Dmt {CR, R} kas v. 'walk' ||| SC {E} *ka^ω- v. 'advance, go forward' > Irq {MQK} ka^ω 'go to' ¶ E l.c., Blz. CWL, MQK 60 ||| U: [1] FU *küy∇ 'follow, follow the tracks of' > Z Ss k+yəd-, Z Δ {SZ} k+yəd- 𐎠 k+yed- 'lie in wait for, track (game), follow the tracks of' ||| Os V {Trj.} köy- 'scurry about, dart about, run to and fro'; Vg: T küy-, UK k^ωäy-, K/MK/NV/SV/LL k^ωāy-, P *k^ωäy-/k^ωāy-, UL/Ss koy- vt. 'track (game), follow, pursuit' | OHg követ- 'follow', Hg követ- 'follow, go' ||| [2] FU *k^uy∇- v. ≈ pursuit, hunt' > Vg: K/Ss xuyt-'lead astray, drive on', P kuyt 'entice (a beast)' | ? Hg hajt- v. 'drive, propel' ¶ UEW 155, 858, SZ 185-6, Trj. VD 141, Ht. #745, IG 151, MZsFUE 203, 244-5, 378-9, EWU 826-7 ||| A: T *Kob- 'follow the tracks of, follow, pursue' (× N *gEhōwy∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 49, Rs. W 275 (both equate T with M *guyu 'ask, implore', see N *gâ₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon'] and N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') ||| D *kā- 'go' > Krx kā- 'go', Mlt (Drs.) kále 'go, come to', Brh kā- (prs. indef. kāv, kās, kāe, kā-n, kāre, kār, prs.-ft. kāva, kāsa, kāik, kāna, etc.) 'go, depart' ¶¶ D #1419 ◇ IE *g^ω- (rather than *g^hω-) points to a N *ku- (rather than *kü-). The vw. *ü in FU is probably due to vw. harmony (FU or pre-FU **küyE < *kuyE, if *-E belongs to a sx.). D *-ā- < N *-u₁a- (contraction). FU *küy∇ and T *Kob- are likely to represent the primary meaning of the N word ('follow the tracks of').

843. ₂ *kab∇ 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *gab^h- 'goat, lamb' > Clt (× IE *kapro- 'he-goat'): OIr gabor, NIr gabhar, W gafr 'he-goat', OBr {Flr.} gabr, MBr gaffr, Br {Hm.} gavr 'goat', OCrn [VC] gauar, MCrn gaver ||| Um habina(f) 'lambs' (accus. pl.) ¶ WP I 553, Bc. G

336, LP § 48, SB 105, Flr. 173, YGM-1 230, Hm. 310, EI 229 || **HS:** S *¹kabaš- 'ram, lamb', *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׁ 'keḅeš ~ (mt.) כַּבֵּשׁ 'kešēḅ, SmHb 'kābāš 'young ram', pl. BHb kaḅāš-īm, SmHb kābāšām 'lambs', Amr {G} kabš(ān)um (f. kabšatum, kibšatum) 'lamb', SmA כַּבֵּשׁ kbš 'lamb' (← SmHb?), Ar كَبِش kabš- 'ram' (→ Sr كَبِش kabš-ā id.), Mh {Jo.} 'kabš, Hrs, Jb E kabš 'lamb', Jb C כַּבֵּשׁ 'male lamb', Sq {Jo.} kubš '(?) lamb', Ak kabsu 'young ram'; S *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׂה kibšā (pl. kaḅāšōt), SmHb kābāšā id., Amr kabsatum p.n., Jb C {Jo.} kebšet 'female lamb', Ak kabsatu 'young ewe' ¶ KB 438-9, KBR 460, 501, G A 22, BH IV 134, Tal 377, Br. 317, BK II 855, Hv. 641, Jo. M 202, Jo. H 66, Jo. J 125, Sd. 418 ¶ S *¹kabaš- goes back to a N cd. (word group), accounting for the ext. *š || B *k∇b∇H 'he-goat' > Dmn ikbi, NdA akbu (pl. ikba) id., ? Gnc TEGUEVITE, TEQUIBITE, TEOFUIVITE = (Wlf.) tegebite sheep, female goat' ¶ Wlf. 489-90, Wlf. EAW 58 ◇ Wlf. l.c.; the B cognate was suggested to me by Blz. (p.c.).

844. *kab∇ 'rise, stand up' > **HS:** S *^o✓kbw > Ar ✓kbw (pf. kabā, ip. -kbū) 'rise' (dust), 's'élever en l'air (la poussière)' ¶ Hv. 642, BK II 856 || C: Ag *kib- 'stand up, rise' > Bln {R} kib-, kibb y- id., Xm {R} čib-t- 'remain, wait, stand', Xm T {CR} čibičú 'si levò in piedi' ¶ R WB 211 || **U:** FU *kawa- 'rise' > F kavua-, kapua- 'climb (a tree, over a fence), clamber (over the fence)' (-p- on the analogy of -p-/∇- stems) || Os: Vy qaḡaḡaḡ-, D χowat- 'mit dem Wasser aufsteigen', O χowla- 'rise to the surface (e.g. fat in a cooked soup, sweat)' ¶ UEW 131-2 || **A:** AmTg *kab- v. 'stand still, stop' > Ork qaw- ~ qau- v. 'stop, stand still', Ork qaw ~ qau, Nn Nh qawqa ~ qaoqa adv. 'immovable', qawun- vt. 'stop', Nn Nh kaožarača- 'remain standing still' ¶ STM I 358.

845. ₂ *kab∇ 'calabash, gourd' > **HS:** Ch: WCh ≈ *kab∇ id. (× N *Kab'E?∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel?') > Hs kābò 'a small calabash for load carried on the shoulder', kàḅákí 'ε large calabash of food', Ngz {Sch.} kámí 'small calabash bowl used especially to store grain' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561], Brg. KVG 513, 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || C: DhI {EEC} kíβo 'gourd', {To.} kíβo 'gourd, calabash' ¶ EEN 11, To. D 140 || Eg N kb 'vessel for wine and other liquids' ¶ EG V 117 ¶ OS 307 [#1407] (HS *kab- 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg kb, DhI, Hs) || **A:** NaT *Ka₂b 'pumpkin' > Tk Δ kap, QrB qab id.; → NaT dim. *Kābak 'pumpkin,

gourd' > OT qabaq 'pumpkin, gourd', MQp XIII قَبِق, XIV [CC] qabaq 'pumpkin', Tkm (aš-)qābaq, Δ qāvaq, Tk kabak, Az gabaq, Ggz kabak, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg qabaq, Uz qawoq, ET qapaq, qaVa, Ln qaVa 'pumpkin' (aš 'food' is added in some lgs. [Tkm, Qrg] to distinguish the word from its homonym for 'eyelid') ¶ Cl. 582 and DT 173 (both interpret *kabak as 'small container', as if derived from *kāb 'bag, skin' [see N *K̄ab'E? 'wickerwork, bag, vessel'], but this is a scholarly "folk et.", which is hardly probable).

846. *kib∇ 'hump, bend; to bend' > IE: NaIE *gejb^h- 'hump, bend' > L gibbus 'hump, hunch' (P: "expressive" gemination < *gībus), gibber /-a/ -um adj. 'hump-backed' || Nr Δ kejv 'schief, gedreht, verkehrt', kejva 'left hand' || Lt Δ giebus 'awkward, clumsy (plump, ungeschickt)', Ltv ġeĩba ~ ġeiba 'awkward, clumsy person' ¶ P 354, WH I 597, Frn. 143 || HS: S *√kpp v. 'bend' (× N *K̄upE [or *K̄up∇] 'to bend') > JA, MHb, Sr, Ak √kpp id., Sr كِب كِب kəp̄ī'p̄-ā 'hump', JA, Sr كِب كِب √kpw|y v. 'bow', ? Htr kpp? 'ε architectural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar √kff 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', {BK} 's'entortiller les pieds, etc., avec un chiffon' ¶ Sl. 596-7, Js. 661, Br. 339-40, HJ 531, BK II 909 || A: M *°kōbüre- v. 'bend, bow down' (× N *K̄upE [or *K̄up∇] '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ In many lgs. N *kib∇ contaminates with N ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' (q.v.). This merger may be responsible for S *p (instead of the expected *b).

847. *kob∇ 'to hew, to cut' (→ 'to plane') > K: G kwab- 'in Felsen hauen (z. B. Behausung)' ¶ Chx. 1551 || HS: B: Ah ta-kūba 'sword' (pl. ti-kūba-īn), Gh {Nh.} takuba id. (pl. čikubawin); Tw → Songhai {Sk. ← ?} takuba, Hs tákōbī 'sword' ¶ Fc. 726, Ba. 981, Sk. HCD 250 || C: Bj √k^wbb pcv. 'cut' ({R} 1s: p. 'a-kbub, pqp. 'i-kbub, prs. ak^wāmbīb), n. ag. k^wabīb || Ag {Ap.} *kab-/*kāb- 'cut' > Xm {Ap.} k̄āb-, {R} kab-, Km {Ap.} kab-, {CR} kav-, Aw {Ap.} kew-/kep-, {Plm., Hz.} kew- (1s kep- < *keb-?-), Bln/Q {R} kab- ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WBd 135 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kabi 'long knife' > Su {J} kɜp 'knife', Ang {Flk.} kɜp 'ε long knife' | ?μ Hs tá-kōbī 'sword' (if ta- is a px.) ¶ Cp. also Ch *√gb 'cut' > WCh: AG: Ang H, Mnt gap, Gmy {ChL} g+p, Kfr {Nt.} gáp, Chip {ChL} gɜp || CCh: Nz g+badi id. ¶ The comparison with Ch *√gb is highly qu., because the Ch √ is likely to have more reliable connections with S *°gūp- 'cut' (> Ar √ğwf 'pierce the abdomen with a spear') ¶ ChL, ChC, Stl. ZCh 205 [#557], 214 [#641], Ba. 981, Abr. H 843, Nt. 14,

Flk. s.v. күр, Hv. 105 || **A** {ADb.} *kob- v. 'plane' > Tg *kuba- v. 'plane wood (строгать)' > Ewk kuwa-, Neg koa- ~ kowa- ~ коуа-, Orc koa- ~ ku(ω)а-, Ul kua- id., Lm quwun 'planing-knife, shaving-knife, скобель', Nn KU qoatamsa 'shavings, chips (стружка, щепки)', WrMc quwatixiya, xuwatixiya 'scrape off, plane off' ¶ STM I 421 || ? NaT *Kob₁∇₁á- > Qrg qopšo- 'plane around, scrape off, clean the surface (with a knife, etc.)', ?σ OT [MhK] qovša- ~ qovša-, OT U qovušā- 'polish' ¶ DTS 452, 462, Jud. 405 || **Gil**: Gil A қзв-/к'зв- v. 'hew' ¶¶ ST 414, ST RN 374.

847a. *koh₂'ä'bv (↯ *koh₂'ä'p∇?) 'frog, toad' > **HS**: EC *kUp- > Kns kup-āta, Hr/Gln {AMS} hup-e 'toad'; HEC: Brj kōp-i {Ss.} 'toad', {Hd.} 'frog, toad' ¶ Ss. B 117-8, Hd. 204 || Om [1] Bdt koppe 'toad' (← EC?) || [2]: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gof₁r 'frog' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} gofra 'toad', gobzr-si 'frog', Kf {C} geppečč-ō, geppečč-ē id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 447 ¶ The Om voiced cns. *g- still needs explaining || **IE**: NaIE *g^ωēb^h-ā / ? *g^ωab^h- 'toad' > Pru gabawo id. (Tr.: < *g^ωab^h-) || Sl *žāba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad' > OCS жаба žaba, Blg, R, Uk жаба, SCr žāba, Slv žába, Cz žába, P żaba id. || ? L bufō 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶¶ IE ↷ K (GZ?) *ōǵwebu- > Mg žvabu 'frog', Lz A mžvabu, Lz X(m)žvabu 'toad' ¶ P 466, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, En. APG 62 (on the derivational form of gabawo), Tr. 8, Tr. P E-H 124-7, WH I 121, Ert. ED 130, K IEK 110-2 || **D** *k'a'pp- 'frog' > Kt kepak 'frog, toad', Td kopin, Kn карре, Kn Hv keppe, Tu каррæ, Tl карр, Gnd kappe, Knd kapokī, Ku kappa 'frog', Kdg kappe 'toad' ¶¶ D #1224(a) ◇ NaIE *ē (/ *ə?) points to a N lr., that in the light of the K zero reflex must be weak (N *H₂). L -f- and K -b- suggest a pN *-b-, while Bsk, Dm -f- and Kf -pp- are likely to favour N *-p- (but the devoicing may also be due to the lr.). The discrepancy between D *a (which cannot go back to N *o or *u) and the IE and HS forms (that point to a N labialized vw.) may be explained by supposing a bisyllabic N sequence *-OH₂ä- (*ä suggested by IE *ē and D *a) ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#64] (suggested to add the EC and D data).

848. *k'a'č'U 'skin' > K *^okič|cw- > G kicv-i 'fish-scales' ¶ Chx. 1561 || **HS**: CCh: BM: Br, Ngx kīsim, Chb k^ωucì, WMrG k^ωúçì, kúçè 'skin' ¶ ChL || **U**: FP *k'a'č'ca (> *käččä / *kač'č'∇?) 'skin, hide' > pLp *kāč'č'ē > Lp N {N} гаč'č'е / -č'č' 'skin of porpoise or whale' || Prm *kuć- 'skin' > Z кучик kućik id., Prmk кучік kućik, {W} kuć 'skin, hide', Yz kú'ćik

'human skin', Vt {W} *kuɖsi* (= *kući*?) 'skin' (-k is a sx.) ¶ LG 148, N II 4 ¶ Lp N *gač'č'e* goes back to FU **käčćä*, while Prm **kuć-* points to a back vw. (*a or *o) in the first syll. of pFU; the discrepancy may be accounted for by vw. harmony: an early (pre-harmonic) stem **käčća* with subsequent as.: **käčća* > **kačća* and **käčća* > **käčćä* || A **kač'č'U* > Tg **kaču(-ki)* 'leather clothes' > Nn Nh/KU *qačol* ~ *qačoy* ~ *qaču* ~ *qačuy*, Nn Δ *qačiki* 'leather garment for men', Ul *qačul* ~ *qačuy* 'fur coat (made of dog fell)', Orc *qaču*, Orc X *kačuki* 'garment made of elk skin', WrMc *qaciki* 'old coat from shabby hide (of deer or saiga antelope)' ¶ STM I 386 || pKo {S} **kàč* 'skin, leather, hide' > MKo *kàčòk*, *kàč^h* (*kàs*), NKo *kažuk* (Rm.: = *kažok* id., Ko Sl *kažuk*, Ko N {Rm.} *kažugi*, Ko {S}: Ph *sal-gat*, Chs/Ks *kažúk*, Hm *kažúk*, Kw *kažuk* id., NKo *sal-gat* (*sal-gač^h-*) 'skin surface', NKo † *kat* (/kač^h- 'fur, leather, hide' ¶ S AJ 254 [#77], Rm. SKE 102, S QK #77, MLC 25, 63-4, 896 ¶¶ Rm. l.c., S AJ 296 [#573] (**kač'č'U* || T **k'č'āčāč* ({DQA} **Kač-(g)āč*) > OT {Cl.} *qačāč* 'silk fabric' ¶ Cl. 590 || ?φ M **quč'i*- v. 'cover, wrap' > MM *quč'i*- [MA] {Pp.} 'wrap (with a coat, a turban, leather)', [S] {H} 'einpacken, herumrhüllen', WrM *quči-*, HIM *хучи-* vt. 'cover, cover up; cover oneself with a blanket, WrO *хучи-* vt. 'cover, dress, wrap up', Kl *хуч-*, {Rm.} *хуч-*, Brt *хуша-* id., v. 'roof', Ord {Ms.} *quč'i-*, Dg {T} *χoci-* ~ *koč'i-* vt. cover', Mnr H {SM} *χoč'i-* 'pack\wrap up, wrap' ¶ Problematic because of the unexpected **u* (as. A **a...ü* > ***u...ü* and later M **u...i*?) ¶ Pp. MA 307, H 70, MED 979, SM 169, Ms. O 518, Krg. 29, KRS 617, KW 200, Chr. 60, T DgJ 178 ¶¶ DQA #695 (A **káč'u* 'covering, skin [шкура, кожа]') ◇ Lp proves that the N medial cns. is emphatic (*-*č|č-*). In K and CCh the word-medial cns. was deglottalized (in K due to dis., in HS deglottalization is a typical phenomenon - positional change dependent on supersegmental factors such as tones or on stress?).

849. **KEč'U* ~ **k'ü'č'U* (or *-č-) 'knife' > HS: C: Bj {R} *kōsa* ~ *kūsa* id. || Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk.} *kíčà*, Ngs {ChC} *k^híčò* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'knife', ChL || U: FU **keč'U* ~ **küč'U* 'knife' > pChr {Ber.} **küč'U* ({Ber.} **küč'U*) id. > Chr: L *küžö* 'küžö, U/B *küzö*, M *küžü*, H *күзэ* || pObU {Ht.} **kēčəy* 'knife' > pVg {JHl.} **käškēj*, {Ht.} **käškāy* > OVg: S SSs *kotschlaj*, N SoG *kēsche*, E TM *kätschi*; Vg: LK/MK *kāsi* ~ *kāsī*, UL/Ss *kasay* id.; pOs {Ht.} **köčəy* > Os: V/Vy *köčəy*, Ty *kǎčəy*, Y *kǎčəy*, D/K *keča*, Kz *kešī*, O *kesi* id. | Hg *kés* id. ¶ UEW 142, Sm. 545 (FU **käci*, FP **käči*, Ugr **käč-*), Ber. 28 [#138], MRS 257, 276, Ht.

145 [#220] || **A**: Tg *kuçe(n-) 'knife' > Ul kučэ(n-), Ork kučэ(n-) ~ kučээ ~ kuti ~ kutiээ, Ud kusigэ, Nn Nh kučэ́:, Nn B kucэ(-), Mc Sb kuš́i id., Ul kučэ́э-, Ork kučэ́э-, Nn Nh kučэ́э́-, Nn B kucэ́li- v. 'prick with a knife', Mc Sb kuš́ilэ- v. 'cut with a knife', cp. Tg *kuč́i 'knife' > Ewk uč́i, Sln usxž́:, {Iv.} уцікан, учикé, уч'кó id. ¶ The variant with *x- (a regular reflex of N *K-) may be due to as. (N *k...č́ > *k...č́) ¶ STM I 441 and II 296, Krm. 253 || ?σK: G K kič́o 'meat-hook (of a butcher)' ¶ Chx. 1562 ◇ If the K cognate is valid, the N affricate is *-č́-, otherwise it is *-č́č́-. It is tempting to adduce here (in spite of the semantic distance) Bj {R} kōэ 'tooth' and Dsn {To.} káč́u id.

850. ₂ *k'ʉ'č́∇ or *K'ʉ'č́∇ 'ant' > HS: EC: Gwd kuč́ā'č́itē 'ant' ¶ AMS 229 || NrOm: Kf {C} k̄āč́ō 'ε red ant', Wl {LmS} k̄āč́uwa id., {C} k̄āč́ōā 'ant', Zl {C} k̄āč́ō, Kcm {LmS} k̄āč́o 'black ant' ¶ C SE IV 483, C SO 33, LmS 428 || Ch: CCh: Nkc {Kr.} kùš́éš́é 'termite' ||| ECh: Ll {Grgs.} gúśi id. ||| ? WCh: Hs kíyāš́í (pl. kíyāš́ū) 'ε small ant' ¶ Ba. 615, ChC, ChL || **U** *kuč́∇ 'ant' > ObU {Ht.} *kōč́yāy 'ant' > pVg {Ht.} *kāš́yay > Vg (partially within cds.): T kaš́qāy, LK xoš́xət, pl. xoš́īt, UK kosī, P koš́šiy, NV/ML koš́ši, UL xōssuy, Ss xōswoy; pOs *koč́yay ({Hl. *kāč́yay-) id. > Os: V/Vy qoč́y+, Ty qāč́y+, Y qač́y, D xāš́yāy, K xāš́yāy, Nz/Kz xāš́ya, O xāš́yā || Sm {Jn.} *kzč́∇ (~ *k'č́∇?) 'ant' > Slq d.: Tz {KKIH} k'ita, Tm {KD} qēž́_a id.; ⇨ Sm *kzč́∇mkā ~ *kuč́∇mkā id. > Ne T W xudumga, Ne O xūδumgæ, Kms {KD} k'ēdāmgā, Koyb {Sp.} кадума id. ¶¶ UEW 192-3, Ht. #221, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 65, KKIИ 123 ◇ If the N etymon is *k'ʉ'č́∇, NrOm *k- is due to as., otherwise (if the N word is *K'ʉ'č́∇) the EC and Ch intial cns. is due to HS deglottalization.

851. *k'a'd|t∇ 'rock' > **A** *kada 'rock, hill' > M *qada 'rock, cliff' > MM [S] qada 'Abhang, Felswand', WrM qada(n), HIM xад(ан) 'rock, cliff, crag', Kl {Rm.} xada 'rock, mountain', {KRS} xад xадь 'rock, crag (скала, утес)', Dg xad(a), Mnr H {SM} qada, {T} qada, Dx {T} qada id. ¶ H 55, MED 902, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T DgJ 172, KW 158, KRS 565 || Tg *kada > Ewk, Lm kadār, Sln xadār, Neg kadā, kada(ʉ)a 'rock (скала, утес)', Ud kada 'large stone, stone', Ul qadal, Orc kada 'rock, mountain', Ewk kadaʉa, Ork qada 'rock (скала)', WrMc xada, Mc Sb xada 'rock, peak' ¶ STM I 153-4, Krm. 244 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #699 (incl. M, Tg) || **D** (in GnD) *kāt|tī > Gnd kātī & k'hātī 'cliff, bank', Ku gāti 'precipice'; D ⇨ InA *g'haṭṭa ¶ D #1449, Tu. #4414 || **HS**: ECh: Jg{J} kokode 'stone hill' ¶ J J s.v. || B *kāt∇r ~ *gādīr: [1] *kāt∇r > Mz t-

čatar-t 'petite levée de terre, petit talus', Wrg t-katar-t 'levée de terre',
 ? Ah tā-kātar-t 'petit bourrelet de terre (naturel ou artificiel) retenant
 des eaux'; [2] *gādīr > Izn, Rf B a-ždir 'falaise, rocher à pic', Kb a-gadir
 'talus; terrain en forte déclivité, escarpement', Tmz a-gadir 'talus', CA
 {NZ} tagudirt 'colline' ¶ Rn. 351, Dl. 251, Fc. 943, MT 147, Dlh. M 25,
 Dlh. Ou 158, NZ 735 ¶ The variants *kāt∇r and *gādīr my result from
 different directions of assimilation from the original **✓kdr || EC: ???
 Sa {R} kudō 'glatt ausgewaschener Felsen über welchen ein Wasserfall
 geht' (unless derived [acc. to R] from kūd- 'laufen, fliehen') ¶ R S II
 208 || ?σ,φ S: Gz katamā 'extremity, summit' ¶ L G 298 ◇ The N rec.
 may be either *k'a'd∇ or *k'a't∇.

852. *kud∇ (or *Ḳud∇) 'to plait' > U: FP *kuḡa- v. 'plait, weave' > F
 kuḡo- id., Es kudū- id., 'knit' || pLp {Lr.} *koḡē- 'weave, knit' > Lp: S
 gürr'edh, U güddeet, L kātēt, N godḡe-, K {Gn.} kott'e- || Er, Mk
 кода- weave, plait' || pChr {Ber.} *kuā- > Chr: H кое- (inf. коаш), L inf.
 куаш, B/Uf kue- 'weave' || Prm {LG} *kū- > Z кы- kī-(nī) 'weave, knit,
 plait' , Prmk {Rog.} inf. кый-ны, Yz inf. kū-н^, Is prs kū'y-a 'weave,
 plait', Vt inf. ку-ыны 'weave' ¶ UEW 675, Sm. 552 (FP *kudā-), It.
 #183, Lr. #440, Lgc. #2512, Ber. 23, MRS 201, 235, LG 152-3, Lt. J 138
 || D *kuḡ- ({GS} *k-) v. 'plait' > Krx kud- v. 'plait, braid, twist', Prj kudp-
 v. 'weave baskets, etc. out of bamboo', Gdb kurp- v. 'plait split bamboos
 to make baskets', as well as words for wickerwork: Tm kuḡalaj
 'basket of palmleaf, cover of palmleaf (against rain)', Kn kudpu 'small
 basket', Tu kudupu 'a strainer made of wickerwork' ¶¶ D #1653 ||
HS (× N *ḡad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle', q.v. ffd.): Ch
 {Stl.} *koḡa < *ḡoda 'pot' || AdS of S *kadd- 'jar'.

853. (₂?) *kūd'a¹ 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety
 within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'male relative-in-law') > U: FU
 {IS} *kūḡü 'male relative-in-law' > F куту 'husband's\wife's brother', Vp
 küdu, Es küdi, Δ küdü 'husband's brother' || ObU: pOs *kül∇ 'wife's
 sister's husband' > D kitā, O kili 'wife's sister's husband'; Os *kül∇ (×
 N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an
 exogamic system of tribes') > Os: V küli 'wife's sister's husband', niḡ-
 küli 'wife's sister' (niḡ- means 'woman'), Ty kiḡi, Nz kitā, Kz kiḡi
 'wife's sister's husband, wife's sister', Kr kitā 'wife's younger sister,
 wife's younger brother's daughter'; Os ⇨ Vg: UL kil 'wife's brother',

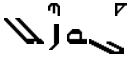
{Reg.} 'wife's sister; sister's husband', Ss kil 'wife's sister', N {Mu.} kil 'wife's brother, sister's husband; wife's elder sister' ¶ UEW 154, Trj. VD 143, Trj. S 125, Stn. D 620, MK 213 || A: T *k'üðä-gü 'younger sister's husband, daughter's husband' (-gü is an adjectival sx.) > OT küðägu ({Cl.} k'üðä-gu), Chg küyäv, MXwT küðägü, MQp küyägü 'bridegroom', [CC] küyägü 'daughter's husband', Tkm giyew, Blq, Nog kiyew, Uz kuyaw, Qrg küyö, Alt küyü, Tv küdē, Δ kütō, Tf hūdā, SY küzegı, Xk kızı id., ET küyoşul id. (cd. with oşul 'son'), Tk güveü, Ggz güvā, Az göyüm (with 1s ppa. -m), Δ kiyāw ≅ žiyāw, Qmq giyeü, Qzq, Qq küyew, VTt kiyāw, Bsh kbyāw, Chv kbrü id., 'bridegroom', Yk kütüō 'daughter's husband; sister's\cousin's husband, mother's younger sister's husband', Chv kbrü (gen. kbrv-ьн) id., 'younger sister's husband; bridegroom' ¶ Cl. 703, ET VGD 43-6, TL 297-8, Ra. 192, Jeg. 109, Fed. I 283, Pokr. TR 60-3, TvR 268 || M *quda ({Pp.} *kudā < *ku'da) 'father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law' (in pl.: 'the heads of two families related through the marriage of their children') > MM [S] χ u d a, [HI] g u d a id., WrM q u d a, HIM χ y d, Brt χ y d a, Mnr H {SM} g u d ā id., Kl {KRS} χ y d χ u d b 'father of the son-\daughter-in-law (свaт)', {Rm.} χ u d b 'people related through the marriage of their children'. Poppe (Pp. PLVM 8) reconstructs a long *ā in the second syll. of this M word (*kudā) and supposes that originally this *ā goes back to a stressed vw. (*ku'da). Poppe's rec. is right if his accentual theory of pM is justified ¶ MED 979, H 70, Ms. H 59, KW 194, KRS 607, SM 123 ¶¶ DQA #905 (*kude 'relative-in-law') || ?φ K *kwiš-]o- 'wife's sister's husband' > G kvisl-, G Mt/M kviseli, Mg kvišil- ({IS} < *kwišol- < *kwiš-al-), Sv {TK} d.: UB me-kšwel (pl. lä-mkošla), L mekšol, Ln mokšäl (pl. lamokšala), Sv {K} me-kwšel ≅ me-kwšöl ≅ mo-kšāl (mo < *me- due to the infl. of the lost stem-final *w, sc. K *kwiš-]o- yields eSv *kwšw- > Sv kšw-) ¶¶ K 198, K² 217, FS E 377 (*kwiš₁-, TK 217 ¶¶ Acc. to sound laws we expect K *kwid-. The observed pK stem *kwiš-al- may have originated from the genitive **kwid-iš- + sx. *-al- (with a contraction *-dš- > *-š-). This can be understood if we take into account the K tendency of inflexion based on case sxs. added to the genitive form, like in the case of OG ṭpil-is-i 'Tbilisi' (stem + gen. sx. + sx. of casus rectus) ◇ IS I 302-4 (N *küda), AD NM #110, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

854. *koşd∇ ~ *kodş∇ 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *g^wōd^h- / *g^wēd^h- id. > Gmc *k^wād- > AS c^wēad, OFrs quād 'dung, excrement, dirt', OHG quāt ~ kōt 'dirt, manure', MHG quāt ≅ quōt ≅ kōt ≅

kāt, NHG Kot 'dirt, filth, mire, mud'; MHG quāt 'wicked, abominable', MLG quād, Dt kwaad 'wicked, ugly', ME cwēd 'bad' || SI [1] *gādъ (< *g^ωōd^h-) 'reptile, vermin, sth. also. abominable' > OCS ΓΑΔЪ gadъ 'reptile, serpens', Blg гад 'vermin', SCr gād 'disgust, nausea; snake', Slv gād 'adder (Vipera)', Cz, Slk had, P gad, OR, RChS ΓΑΔЪ gadъ 'reptile, snake', R, Uk гад 'reptile; abominable person'; [2] *žadati se (< *g^ωēd^h-) > OP žadać sie 'loath, be disgusted at', *žadъnъ-(jъ) > OP žadny, Slvnz žadnī 'ugly' | Lt gėda '(feeling of) shame', Pru accus. gīdan 'Schande', nigīdings 'shameless' ¶ Ho. 64, Kb. 577, KM 397, ESSJ VI 81-2, Bern. I 289-90, Glh. 225, Frn. 142, En. 177, 215, Tr. P E-H 231-3 || HS: S *^o✓kd̥ > Ar kud̥-at- 'vil et méprisé' ¶ BK II 875 || ? B *✓kyd̥ (and secondary *✓Hkd̥) 'détester, mésestimer' (× N *ҚаHд̥ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety', 'anger, hate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ GhA 89, 104, Fc. 749, 769-71, Msq. 87 ¶ The emphatic *d̥ is likely to go back to the cluster *d̥ || D (in SD) *kott- ({{ṖGS}} *k-) 'dirt' > Tm kottai 'rotteness, blot, blemish', Ml kotta 'dust, dirt as on the clothes of a traveller', Tu kottæ 'trash, dirt' ¶ D #2094 ◇ D *-tt- (regularly from N *-t̥- rather than from *-d-) may be accounted for by the N cluster *-d̥-

855. o. *k|KEd̥'ś|ć'û 'to sneeze' > HS: S *^o✓kd̥ś̥ id. > Ar ✓kds G 'sneeze' (animals) ¶ BK II 874, Hv. 647 || IE: NaIE *kseu-/ksēu- (~ *skeu-/skēu-) v. 'sneeze' > OI 'kṣāuti 'sneezes', 'kṣava-h, 'kṣut, kṣuta-m n. act. 'sneezing' || SI *къха-ti, mom. *къх-нq-ti 'to sneeze' > ChS къхнѣти къхнqti id., SCr Δ kǎxnuti, kǎxnuti 'to cough, to sneeze' (phonetic irregularities due to onomatopoeia); SI *čixa-to 'to sneeze' > Blg 'чихам I sneeze', Slv číhati, ULs čičhać, LLs tśičhaś, P czchać, R чи'хать 'to sneeze' | ?ϕ Lt čiaudėti 'to sneeze' | The metathetic variant *ske(:)u- is represented by Lt skiáudėti (prs. ski audžiu), Ltv šķauť, šķiaũdīt 'to sneeze' ¶ P 953, M K I 287, 291, 295, ≈ M E I 429-30, Frn. 74, ≠ ESSJ XIII 176, 110, EI 133 (? *skeu- or *kseu- 'sneeze') ¶ ESSJ and M consider the OI and SI verbs to be pure onomatopoeia and reject any attempts of etymologizing them || U: [1] (+ext.) FU *kićnā- v. 'sneeze' > pLp {Lr.} *kʷsnē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gasn'edh, L {LLO} kasnēt, N {N} gās'tet, Kld kēš'neδ id. | Er kešña-, kešne-, Mk kšña- | Vt кизъны- kižn+-, Vt Sr kižn+- id. ¶ UEW 662, Lr. #329, Lgc. #1982, Hs. 573-4 || [2] *kE^tl_vś¹ or *kE^tl_vć¹ 'sneeze' > Sm {Jn.} *kāc̥- ⇨ *kāc̥_vr-, {Hl.} *kācir- id.

> Slq Tm {KD} q'āčag (1s aor.) id.; d. (augmentative) verbs: Ne F {Lh.} śā:taras (< *käs̄r-), Ng {Mik.} katirśa, En (1s aor.: En X {Cs.} sériṇaro?, En B {Cs.} sēdiṇado? id., Kms {KD} qā:darlām 'I sneeze', Mt {Hl.} *kādār- 'sneeze' (Mt M {Sp.} кадыргамъ 'I sneeze') ¶ Jn. 63, Hl. M #448.

856. *k|gog_LU_JǰE_LʔV_J 'set fire to, burn (sth.)' > **K:** GZ *g(u)z- v. 'kindle, set fire' > OG, G gzn-, gz- id., G ma-guz-ał 'charred log', guzguza cecχli 'flame (пылающий огонь)', ma-guz-, ni-guz-ał- 'Glut', guzguz- 'Knistern des Feuers', Mg rz-, Lz gz-, z- v. 'kindle' ¶ K 62, K² 30, FS K 80, FS E 84, Ser. 40, Chik. 260, Q 305 || **IE:** NaIE *ks̄V̄- (or *k^ωs̄V̄-) v. 'burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J_V 'to kindle', q.v. ffd.) > OI 'kṣāyatī vi. 'burns', kṣā'tī f. 'singeing, heat', caus. kṣā'rayatī 'makes (sth.) burn' ||| ???σ Arm **gwal** c^ha^w 'pain', **gwasnūl** c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion', aor. **gwasēay** c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̄s̄āp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̄s̄-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. gor OI) ¶¶ The qu. Arm cognate (**gwal** c^ha^w 'pain', **gwasnūl** c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion'), if valid, points to IE *k̄s̄- ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M A I 430 || **HS:** S *ogawzV̄l- (< ?? *gaguzV̄l-) v. 'kindle' (att. in Aram lgs.) > Sr ✓ gwzł (pf.  gawⁿ'zεl) v. 'kindle, set on fire', gawzā'l-ā, gawzal-'t-ā 'flame, fiery coal, fire, heat', NENA {Orh.} gōzaltā id. (← Sr?), ? TA {Rt.} gizlayle 'Festakt am Weihnachtsabend, bei dem ein Holzhaufen in Brand gesteckt wird' ¶ Br. 111, PS 697-8, JPS 63, Rt. 177, Orh. 75, DC 107 || Ch {Stl.} *guz- 'kindle' > WCh: Tng {J} kɔzε 'light a fire, strike a light' ||| ECh: MfG {Brr.} mɔ-gɔzɔey 'allumer le feu', Mkl {J} gōzé 'activer\attiser le feu' ¶ Stl. IF 184, J T 102, J LM 105, Brr. MG II 279 || **A:** M *kögǰi- v. 'begin to flame, blaze up' > WrM kögǰi-, HIM хөгжи- id., MM [MA] kögǰi- vi. 'burn, shine' ({Pp.} kögǰibe sara 'the moon shone'), Kl {Rm.} kögǰi- 'auflodern, zu brennen anfangen' ¶ MED 481, KW 236, Pp. MA 220 || **D** (in NED) *ko(č)č- v. 'catch fire, inflame, burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J_V '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ S, Ch, and K *g- is either original (< N *g-) or due to as. (*k...g > *g...g). M *k- point to a N *k-. IE *k- or *k^ω- (rather than *g- or *g^ω-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K_L^ωJ_S-.

857. ι ***kaḳE** (= ***kaḳi**?) (or ***ḳ**-?) 'angry, bad' ('böse') > **K:** G **kik**- v. 'blame, reprimand' ¶ Chx. 1561 || **IE:** NaIE ***k|k̄ak|k̄**- 'bad' > Gk **κακός** id. || NPhr **κακο(υ)ν** id. (?) (unless a loan from Gk) ¶ Ch. 482, F I 758-9 || **A** {ADb.} ***kaḳ'i**- '(to be) angry' > NaT ***Kak** (~ ***Käk**?), ***KakI**- > OT **qakI**- ({Cl.} **qakI**-) v. 'be angry' and prob. {Cl.} **käk** 'a desire for revenge' (← *'malice, spite, secret hatred'), Osm {Rh.} **qaqI**- v. 'scold', Tk **kakI**- v. 'blame, scold' ¶ Cl. 609, ET KQ 223-4, Rh. 1419, Dr. TM III 1400 || ppM ***qaqI** > M ***qakI**- {ADb.} v. 'be angry' > WrM **qakI**-, HIM **хакИ**- v. 'despise' ¶ MED 915 || Tg {ADb.} ***kaḳi**- 'angry' > Ewk **kakI**- 'angry, ferocious', WrMc **χaxi**- 'hot-tempered, irascible' ¶ STM I 363 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 16 ◇ In most lgs. (except for G and Ewk) the initial cns. is due to as. (e.g. IE ****g|ḡak|k̄** > **k|k̄ak|k̄**-). G ***kik**- may be explained by mt. of the vw. ***i** (***kaḳi** > ***kik**-).

858. (ι ?) ≈ ***k'Eho'ḳa** 'green\blue, green plants' > **IE** ***keh̄ko**- ({EI} ***keh̄ko**-m) 'edible greens' > NaIE ***kēko**- 'green fodder, greenstuff' > OI **śāka**-m, Pali **sāka** 'potherb, vegetable' || Lt **šėkas** 'fresh-grass fodder', Ltv **sēks** 'fresh green forage', ? Pru **schokis** 'grass' || Gmc: [1] {Vr.} ***xag^wō** > ON, Ic **há** 'aftermath, after-grass', NNr **há**, Δ **háν**, **hov** id.] [2] ?φ ***xag^wja** 'hay' (× ⇨ Gmc ***xawwan** 'to hew' < NaIE ***kaw**-/***kāw**-/***kū**- v. 'strike, hew' < N ***ḳaxū** ⇨ ***ḳaxyU** 'to strike\push', q.v.?) > Gt **haw**i, ON **hey**, OSx **hōi**, **hōgi**, OHG **hew**i, NHG **Heu**, AS **hieǵ** 'hay', NE **hay** || Ht **kikla**- 'greenery, grass' (< ***keko**-lo-) ¶¶ WP I 381, P 544, M K III 320-1, M E II 628, Tu. #12370, RhDS 701-2, Mn. 607, Vr. 199, 226, Fs. 252, OsS 377, Kb. 462, KM 306, Ho. 158, Ho. S 35, Frn. 970-1, En. 244, Pv. IV 174, EI 620 || **A** ***kōk'e** 'green\blue' > M ***kōke** id. > MM [MA, IM] **kōke**, [HI] **kökö**, WrM **kōke**, HIM **хөх**, Brt **хүхэ**, Klm **kökö**, Dgr **kuke**, Mgl {Rm.} **küká** id., Dx **kugǵ**, Ba {T} **koge**, Mnr M {Pot.} **күко**, Mnr H {SM} **k'uguo** 'blue'; MM [MA, IM] **kōke** 'sky' is a sd. influenced by the T word for 'sky' (pT ***k'ōk**); this particular direction of infl. is suggested by the phonetic shape of the words for 'green\blue' and 'sky' in some M lgs.: MMgl **kökə** 'blue' and **kök** 'sky' (the latter obviously from ET **kök** 'sky') ¶ MED 482, KW 236, Rm. M 31, Pp. MA 220, 440, S AJ 243 [#213], T 340, T DgJ 151, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, Ms. H 72, Iw. 112, Pot. 412 || T ***k'ōk** 'blue\green' (→ 'sky') > OT **kök** 'blue, blue-green, sky', MT [IM] **gōk** 'blue, sky', Tk **gök**, Ggz **gök**, Az **göy**, Blq **kök**, VTt, Bsh **kük** 'blue, sky', Tkm **gōk**, CrTt **kóK**, Qmq **gök**, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET **kök**, Uz **kök** 'blue, green, sky', Alt,

Ln, Xk, Tv kök, Tf kǝk' 'blue, green', Yk kũũχ 'blue', Chv kǝvak, Chv MK kǝak 'blue, green, gray-blue (сизый)'; T ɸ → Hg kék 'blue' ¶ Cl. 708-9, Rs. W 287, ET VGD 66-8, TL 60, 604, Jeg. 96, Fed. I 245-6, Ra. 204, Dr. TM I 64Off., Md. 48, 169, EWU 721, Gomb. BTL 21 || Tg *kuku 'blue\green, gray' > Ewk kuku 'blue\green', Ewk I kuku-ʒin 'stone, from which green dye-stuff is produced', WrMc {Hr.} kuku 'grün, blau, grau', {Z, Hr.} kuku iħan 'a gray cow', kuku fulan {Hr.} 'blaugraues Pferd', {Z} 'dark-blue horse, gray horse', Mc Sb kuku 'gray' (kuku unihan 'gray cow') ¶ STM I 426, Z 289, Hr. 599, Klz. MS 214 ¶ Both the Ewk and the Mc words may be of M origin ¶¶ IS AG 340-1 (A *köke 'green\blue'), DQA #897 (A *kǝk'e|i id.) || HS: ?ϕ WCh {Stl.} *gaki 'grass' > Hs hákì 'grass' | Ang gǝk 'high grass on river banks' | ? P' hʷaqa 'stalk' | ? Klr {J} ʔakʷén 'Busch, Wildnis' ¶ Stl. ZCh 223 [#727], J R 350, ≈ Sk. HCD 102 || ?? E: MEI, AchEl ki-ik 'sky, heaven' ¶¶ HK 465 ◇ Tg *k- and T *k'- point to a N *k-, while IE *k̄- (for the expected *ǵ-) may be due to regr. as. ◇ The N words *k̄UkE 'dark, black' and ≈ *k'Eho'ka 'green\blue, green plants' (even without taking into account the questionable details of their reconstruction) cannot be identical for two reasons: (1) each of those words is represented in M by separate roots (M *köge 'soot' < N *k̄UkE and M *köke 'blue\green' < N ≈ *k'Eho'ka), and in M there is a phonological difference between them, which must go back to a difference in pN, (2) there is a semantic difficulty: if the basic meaning is 'dark, black', it hardly can change into 'green plants', and viceversa ◇ IE *k̄- (for the expected *ǵ-) may be due to as. (*ǵ...k > *k̄...k).

859. *k'a'la (or *kaliya ~ *kalaya?) 'vessel, boat' > K: G {Chx., DCh.} kila 'clay pot', G {Chx.} I/G kila 'ε a unity of dry measure (for corn and flour)', G {DCh.} 'weight measure (≈ 1 pud ≈ 16 kg.)' ¶ Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339 ¶ One cannot rule out the possibility of borrowing from some Aram dialect || HS: CS *kaliy- ~ *kalay- '(?) vessel' > Hb כְּלִי kə'lī 'vessel, receptacle; piece of equipment; instrument' (pausal form כְּלִי kəlī, pl. [+ppa.] כְּלִיָּנוּ kəlī-nū 'our vessels\utensils', MHb pl. כְּלִים kəlīm), Pun kl, M'b k'ly 'vessel', EpJA pl. klyr 'vessels', Ar O {Rnh.} kēlāw 'Krüge', Tgr {Mnz.} ከሌ kəlē 'marmite' ¶ KB 456, KBR 478-9, LH 389, Rnh. 170, Vlr. rRnh. 514, HJ 512 || Eg MK kɜy 'ε boat of Nubian type', Eg NK kr 'small ship', ≈ boat' ¶ EG V 101, 132, Fk. 283 || EC: Or {Grg.} killa 'small bowl for roasted coffee and butter', {Th.} killa (nom. killa-r ~ kill-i) 'piatto, coppa, piccolo piatto rotondo',

Or Wl {Brl.} killā 'scodella di legno per conservarvi burro e vivande; coppa; conca; piatto' ¶ Grg. 247, Th. 63, Brl. 232 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} kílé, Ngm k^uelle, Krkr k3li 'pot' ||| CCh: Bdm {Nacht.} káloē 'Gefäß' ||| ECh: Brg {J} kōlì 'pot' ¶ ChC, ChL, Nw. K 127, Lk. B 108 ¶¶ Coh. #192 (S, Eg k3y), OS #1423 (S, WCh, Bdm, Or; pHS *ka1∇y 'vessel') ||| A: Tg *kala(n) 'cauldron, vessel' > Ewk kalan id., 'iron bowl', Ewk Brg kalan 'vessel, cup', Ewk kawā-kan (dim.) 'kettle', Ud kala(n-), Ul qala(n-), Nn qalã id., 'saucepan' ¶ STM I 364-5, Krm. 244 ||| D: [1] *ka1- ({{GS}} *k-) > Tm kalam 'vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship', Ml kalam 'pot, vessel, ship', Kt kalṁ 'clay pot in the making', Kn kala 'pot, vessel', Kdg kala 'big pot', Tu kara 'earthen vessel', Tl kalamu 'ship', ? Brh kalland 'broken earthen pot, old pot' ||| [2] *kall- ({{GS}} *k-) > Tm kallai 'plate made of leaves sewn together', Kui kali, Mlt kale 'leaf-cup', Knd kala id., 'cup', Png kala 'leaf-plate'; D → Prkr khallaga-, khallaya 'leaf-cup' ¶¶ D ##1301, 1305 ◇ G kila, Or killa, and the WCh word (e.g., Dr kílé) may be explained by regr. assimilation (*kaliya > ≈ **kiliy∇).

860. *ka1∇ 'to lie (liegen)' (→ 'to spend the night') > IE: NaIE *gōl- / *gōl- / *gōl- 'lie (down)' > Lt guliu / guĩti 'lie down, go to bed', Ltv guĩt 'to go to sleep' (P: < *gōl-); Lt guléti 'to lie'; Lt guõlis 'bed, couch; lair, den (of animals)', Ltv gõļa 'Nest, Lager' (< IE *gōl-) ||| Arm {P} կաղաղա kaṭaṭ 'cave, lair, or some other sleeping place of wild animals' ||| Gk γωλεός {Ch.} 'tanière, trou', {F} 'Höhle, Schlucht' ||| OSw kolder, Sw kull, Nr Δ kold, kuld 'litter \ brood \ nest of young ones; children of the same married couple' ({{P}}: < 'from the same bed') ¶ P 402, Frn. 175-6 (IE *gwo1-), Hlq. 522, Ch. 244, FI 336, Sl. 310 ||| HS: EC: Gdl {Fl.} kel-aḍ- v. 'lie' ¶ Blz. CWL ||| U: FU *ka1∇ 'stay overnight' > Prm: Vt көлыны k3l+n3 'sleep, stay overnight', Z voykov / voykol- '24 hours; time including one night' (< voy 'night' + kol- 'spending the night'), Z US oyk3l-, Prmk oyk3l- id. ||| ObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'spend the night' > pVg kūl- id. > Vg: T/P/SV kōl-, LK/UL/Ss xūl-, MK/LL *kūl-; pOs *ka1- id. > Os: V/Vy qal-, Ty/Y qãḍ-, D/K χot-, Nz χot-, Kz χotḍ-, O χal- | Hg hál- id., 'sleep' ¶ Coll. 80, UEW 120-1, Sm. 545 (FU *kãlã- 'stay overnight' > FP *kala-, Ugr *kãla-), MF 251, Ht. #247, LG 61.

861. *ka1|í∇ 'to bark (a tree), to remove vegetation'; → 'bare, naked'. The etymon has two semantic variants, the second one ('bare, naked') is likely to be a sd. from the first one ('bare' as 'peeled,

barked'). If so, we have to reconstruct two semantic variants of the N word: [1] N ***ka**l|í∇ 'to bark, to remove vegetation' > D {tr., GS} *ka|v. 'weed' (× N ***qA**l|í∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck') > Tm ka| v. 'weed, pluck', MI ka|a 'weed, tares', Kt ka|, Kdg ka|e 'weeds', ka|v- 'take\scoop out, flick away dirt from (semi-)liquid (e.g. clay)', Kn ka|e n. 'weed', Brh xallij v. 'uproot (vegetables)'; but D *ka|∇p- (> Tu kalepini, kalepuni v. 'strip off, remove' and TI kalupu 'weeds') is likely to belong to N ***qa**l'ü'P∇ 'to bark (a tree), to cut off', 'bark, peel' (q.v. ffd) ¶¶ D #1373, GS 167 [#420] ||| [2] N ***ka**l|í∇ 'bare, naked' > IE: NaIE *g^oal- 'naked, bare' > Gmc *ka|wa- 'bare, naked' > OHG calo (adj. calawēr) & chalo, NHG kahl, AS {Sw.} calo (gen. calwes) 'bald', {Ho.} calu, MLG kale 'bald, bare', NE callow; AS calwa, OFrs kale, MLG kalewe, OHG cal(a)wa 'bareness, mange' ||| Ltv {ME} gāle, Δ gāla 'thin ice crust (not covered by snow); ice on the ground (in springtime)' (today in: ledus gāle 'ice crust') || SI *g^ol̥b (dadj *g^ol̥b-jb) 'naked' > OCS голъ golъ, Blg гол, SCr gōl (f. gōla), Slv gōl, Cz, Slk holý, P goły, R 'голый, Uk 'голий id. ¶ Sw. 32, Ho. 43, OsS 469-70, Kb. 526, KM 339, P 349, Kar. I 283, ME I 617, Turk. 168, ESSJ VII 14-5, Glh. 236-7, ≈ EI 45 (err. adduction of the BSl word for 'head' and rec. of IE *g^ol(H)w^o-s 'bald, bare') || U: FV: F kalju, kalja, kalea 'bare, naked, bald, smooth' || ? Mk {Ahl.} kalış 'naked, bald', kalışgada 'get bald, remain naked' (unless ← R голыш 'naked person\thing') ¶ Ahl. MM 155, SK 148 || D: Td koq̄ 'without leaves' (a tree in winter), 'half dry, half green (when tree is being killed by stripping bark)' ¶ D #1373 ◇ Td -o- still needs explaining ◇ IS I 289 [#156] (IE, D, A, C; *÷ U *ka|∇ [sc. U {UEW} *ka|w∇] 'film, thin skin', M *qali- 'bark', Or qōla 'skin, hide' [on all of them see N ***Qa**l'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark'], Or kāl̄lē 'skin, hide', A: T *Ka|ka 'bald' [see N ***Qa**l'ü 'bare, naked']).

862. *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > HS: S *kall-at- 'daughter-in-law, bride' > BHb קַלְלָה kal'lā, Ug {OLS} klt, JA קַלְלָה kallə't-ā, Sr كَالْلَا kallə'tā, Ak kallātu, Ak A kallatu ~ kallutu id., Eb {Frnz.} kallatum 'wife, son's wife (sposa, nuora)', Ug klt {OLS} 'bride', (?) 'son's wife', {A} 'Braut, mannbare Tochter', Sb hkl̄ln inf. 'to marry (a wife)', Mh k3lōn, Jb C/E 'k3'lun 'bride, bridegroom', Hrs k3lōn3t 'bride', k3lānīn 'bridegroom',

Sq {Jo} 'kɜlan 'bridegroom' ¶ KB 455, KBR 477-8, OLS 216, Js. 645, Sl. 584-5, JPS 216, OLS 216, A #1321, Sd. 426, Frnz. MLE 168, BGMR 77, Jo. M 209 ¶ The origin of the element *-n- in SES is not clear (the hyp. of a dis. *-ll- > -ln- is too speculative) || Ch: WCh: SBc {Sh.} > Gj Mg, Zem D kálì, Gj G kìlì, Gj B kàlí, Zem Z kâl, Zem Ch kálèη, Sy Zk kʰèl, Sy B kèl, Sy Z kèl 'woman' || ? Hs Kc kóló 'daughters' ¶ Sh. SB 13, ChC, ChL, Ba. 620-1 || ?? EC: Dsn {Fl.} galiet 'woman' ¶ Blz. CWL ¶¶ OS #1419 (S, Ch) || K *ka- 'young woman, maid' > OG kal-i 'daughter, maid' (asa moxuda kali ese 'this maid has not died', Mt. 9.24), kala 'maid' (kala ... a ydeg 'damsel, ... arise!', Mark 5.41), G kal-i 'woman, daughter', (čemi \ šeni \ misi) kal-i '(my \ your \ his) wife' ¶ Chx. 1534, Ser. 165 || IE: NaIE *g̃l̥ōu-/*g̃l̥ōu-/*g̃el̥u- 'brother's wife, husband's sister' > Gk A γάλως 'husband's sister' || L glōs id., 'brother's wife' (secondary reinterpretation as an -s-stem, hence gen. glōris) || Phr [Hs.] γέλαρος ~ γάλλαρως (ce. : -p- for -f-?) 'brother's wife' || Sl *zǝl̥t̥ (gen. *zǝl̥v̥e) 'husband's sister' > ChS зълѡва зьлѡва, Blg зълва, SCr zàova, Slv zōlva, OCz zelva, P zełwa, zołwa, R Δ золва; ds.: R зo'ловка, Uk золвиця id. ¶ ≠ P 367-8, F I 286-7, IS I 295, WH I 610, Glh. 692-3, ≈ EI 521-2 (*g̃l̥h̥₃-wos 'husband's sister' with an unj. morpheme boundary) || U: U (or ppU) {Coll.} *kälü, ({It., UEW} *käl̥w̥, {Jn.} käl̥i-w) 'female relative-in-law' > F käl̥y 'daughter-\sister-in-law' ('Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders, Schwester des Mannes oder der Frau'), Es käl̥i, Δ käl̥ü 'husband's brother, husband's brother's wife' || pLp {Lr.} *käl̥y- 'käl̥y', *käl̥y-ēnnē 'sister-in-law' (*ēnnē 'mother') ({Lgc.} 'gegenseitige Verwandtschaftsbeziehung der Frauen zweier Brüder') > Lp S {Hs.} gaaluo- '-in-law' (in cds.: gaaluo-jeen'edjeh 'ianitricēs, wives of brothers or cousins'), Lp L {LLO} käl̥ō-ji(e)tnē 'wife of husband's brother or cousin', Lp N {N} gäl̥ō-jædne 'sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife)' || pMr {Ker.} *käl̥ə > Mk кел kél, Δ kiyał 'Schwägerin', Er kíyalo кияло 'brothers' wives (in relation to each other)' (Ker.: Er kíyalo < *kyalo < *kyäl̥ < OMr *káľ < pMr *käl̥ə) || Prm {LG} *keli 'wife of husband's brother' > Z Ud/Lu keV, Z Ss/Le kel, Prmk K, Yz kelya id., Vt N káli 'wife of husband's brother (older than ego)' (address of a younger daughter-in-law to an older one) || Os: Ty kiɸi 'wife's sister', Kr kitə 'daughter of wife's younger brother'; (× N *küď'a' male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [→ 'male relative-in-law']): Os: Ty

kiϕi, V küli, D kitə, O kili 'husband of wife's sister'; Vg: Ss kil 'wife's sister', UL kil 'wife's sister, wife's brother' || Sm {Jn.} *keľb (= {Jn.} *keľā) 'relative-in-law' > Ne O {Lh.} śēř, Ne F {Lh.} śjeř 'husband of wife's sister, wife of husband's brother', En X {Cs.} sēři?, B sēři 'Schwager', Ng {Cs.} śalun, sealun 'Schwager' ('husband of the wife's sister'), Slq Tz {KKIH} šelī 'husband of the wife's sister', Slq Nr {Cs. ms., Ps.} šäl 'свояк, Schwestermann, Mann der Schwester des Mannes, Schwager' || pY {IN} *keľ- 'relative-in-law' > Y K {IN} keľ-il id. (-il is a nominal sx.), Y T {Ku.} keľil 'male relative-in-law (свояк)', {Coll.} kelil 'the husband of the wife's sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife's brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband's sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband's brother or male cousin'; cp. also OY O {Mat.} кальмо 'maid (дѣвка)' ¶¶ UEW 135-6, Coll. 23, Coll. CG 406 (U *kälü), Coll. JU 78-9, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *käläw, Ugr *kälä-, Sm *keľə 'in-law'), Lr. #354, Lgc. #1902, N II 38, Hs. 517-8, Ker. II 52-3, ERV 269, LG 120, UR 121, Jn. 67, KKH 174, Cs. 67, 90, 277, Ps. B 148, Ku. 107, IN 226, ≈ 245, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#19] (Y ← U) || ¶ A *k'e'lin, *k'e'li- 'female relative-in-law, bride' > T *k'elin ({Md.} ke·li·n) 'bride, son's wife' > OT kälın id., Chg kelin, OXwT kälın, MQp [CC] kelin, Az ğälin, QrB ğelin 'bride', Qmq ğelin, VTt, Bsh килєн kilьн, Alt kelin, Xk килін kilin, SY, Ln kelin 'daughter-in-law, young brother's wife', Tk ğelin, Tkm, Ggz ğelin, CrTt, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg kelin, Qzq келін kelin id., 'bride', Uz kelin 'recently married young woman, daughter-in-law, brother's wife', Tv kelin 'daughter-in-law', Chv kin 'young brother's wife' (← VTt kilьн?), Chv {Ash.} kilьнтбš 'young female relatives-in-law in a household' ¶ Cl. 719, DTS 296, Rs. W 250, ET VGD 16-8, ≈ TL 302, Jeg. 113, Fed. I 295-6, Md. 91, 167, Ash. VI 216-7, 223] The same root with a different sx. is found in T: VTt käläš 'bride, young wife', Brb {Rl.}, SbTt Tb/Tm {Rl.} käläš id., 'bride, sweetheart (Geliebte)'. Acc. to Xak., the word without sxs. is attested in OBlgh كِيَال (pronounced *kiĵäl or *kiĵal) 'wife' (possibly with vowel breaking - cp. Chv a < pT *ä). M. Erdal (Erd. √) does not confirm Xak.'s hyp. ¶ Xak. 79, Rl. II 1114 || Tg *kelin > Ewk Ag/Skh/Chmk kəlin, Ewk Urm kəli, Lm kəli (pl. kəlin-il), Orc, Nn kəli, Ul, Ork kəli / kəlin- 'husband of the wife's sister', Neg kəli 'husband of a woman from the wife's clan', WrMc keli 'husband of the wife's elder sister', 'male relative-in-law', xexə keli 'wife of the husband's brother' (xexə means 'woman') ¶ STM I 446 ¶¶

DQA #755 (A *kele|i|o 'daughter-in-law, bride') || D (in NED) *kall_i, 'female relative-in-law' > Krx xallī 'father's younger brother's wife', Mlt qali 'mother's sister' ¶ D #1318, Pf. 189 ◇ The meanings 'bridegroom', 'male relative-in-law' are demonstrably secondary and are due either to broadening of meaning (by eliminating the semantic element of female sex) or to back formation (as in Hrs) ◇ The narrowing *ä > *e in the pre-history of T (or already of A?) is still to be elucidated (cp. N *käl'h' ▽ 'to walk' > T *k'el(ü)- 'come, arrive') ◇ IS I 295-6 (with further bibliography), AD NM #109 ◇ Gr. II #338 (*ka| 'sibling-in-law') (IE, U, Y, and A [all ← IS], Gil., CK).

863. *k'o'1 ▽ 'bough, stick' > HS: C: *ka| 'stick' (× N *k'ä' |í'h'û or *k'ä' |í'h'û 'stick, hook, bar') > Kns xal-itta 'crutch, stick', Gdl hal-itt 'stick', Sml labada ka| 'the ulna and radius bones' (← *'the two sticks'), ? Dbs ka|te 'door-pole' ¶ Ss. B 114 || NrOm: Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} kallō 'wood (Holz)' (× N *k'ä' |í'h'û '↑?') ¶ C SE III 204 || IE: NaIE *g_Lω₁o| 'bough' > Arm կողր koʔr (pl կողեաք koʔea-kʰ) 'bough, branch' || OR ГОЛЬ голъ 'branch', Cz hůl 'wand'; -> *golvje > R Δ голъ'я, Uk гілля 'bough, branch', Blr голлë 'brushwood', Slv goljè 'boughs without leaves' (× Sl *golv 'naked, bare') ¶ WP I 640, P 403, Sl. 423, Vs. I 434, Ber. I 326, ≈ ESSJ VII 16-7 (does not distinguish it from *golv 'nakedness' < N *ka|í ▽ 'to bark [a tree], to remove vegetation' → 'bare, naked', q.v.), Srz. I 546 || ?σ A: NaT *°koluna > OT qoluna 'the young shoot of a plant or tree' ¶ Cl. 623-4 (supposes that the OT word is a loan from some IE lge.) || D *kōl 'thin twig, stick', {GS} *kōl- 'stick' > Tm kōl 'stick, staff, branch', MI kōl 'staff, rod, stick', Kt kōl, Td kω+·s, Kdg kōl+, Gnd kōlā, Klm kolā ɖ kōla 'stick', Ka kōl, kōlu, Tu kōlv ~ kōlu, Tl kōla 'stick, staff', Prj kōl, Gnd kōla 'shaft of arrow', kōl 'big wooden pestle', Png kōl, Mnd kūl, Kui kōdu, Ku kōlū ɖ kōlu 'pestle' ¶¶ D #2237, Zv. 64, GS 69-70 [#226].

864. *k'o'Li (or *k'o'Liʔu?) (= *k'o' |íi [or *k'o' |íiʔu?]) 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *glej₁- v. 'paste, smear' > Gk γλίσ 'glue', γλοιός 'glutinous substance, gum' || L glūs / glūtis, glūten 'glue', glis / glitis 'humus tenax' || OIr glen(a)id (< *gli-nā-ti) 'sticks fast' (p. -gíuil), W glynu 'to adhere', MBr en-glenaff 's'attacher' || MLG klei 'glue', Frs klay, AS clæǵ 'clay', NE clay; Dn klæg 'viscous loamy mud', OHG klenan 'to paint, to glue', ON klīna 'to smear' || Lt gliejù / gliēti v. 'smear, putty' | Sl *glbjb > Cz Δ, Slk glej, R Δ

глей 'clay', Uk глей 'sticky clay', SCr glêj 'ε clay' ||| the IE √ with exts.: *glej^h- (> OHG klēbēn, NHG kleben 'to paste, to glue'), *glej^d- (> OIr gloé^d 'glue', NE Δ clite 'glue, mud'), *glejm- (> AS clām 'glutinous substance, glue', {Ho.} 'Leim, Mörtel, Klei; Pflaster', clāman 'to smear', Lt gléimēs 'mucus, slime'), *glejn-/glin- (Gk γλίνη 'glutinous substance', Sl *glína 'clay' > Blg, R, Uk глина, SCr, Sln glína, Cz hlína, Slk hlina, P glina), *glejt- (> AS clīpan 'to adhere, to stick to', L glittus 'sticky, adhesive', Lt glitūs 'viscous, sticky, slimy'), *glejw- (Gk γλοιός 'glutinous substance', Lt gléivēs 'mucus, slime', Sl *glěvъ > R Δ глѣв 'slime of fish, slime on beverage, глѣва 'slime on fish') (ffd. see P 363-4 and ESSJ 125-6) ¶ WPI 612-4, P 362-4, Sw. 6, Ho. 50, 52, OsS 496-7, Kb. 547, Vr. 317, KM 375, FI 312-3, WH I 611-2, LP §§ 34.2, 459.2, Thr. 45, YGM-1 236, Ern. 211, 259, Frn. 156-7, ESSJ VI 121, 125-6, 162, Glh. 231, ≈ EI 108 (*glojw^o-s 'clay') || HS: B *√k^lH (*ku^l∇H) > Sll k^wli (pf. ik^wla) 'smear with soot' ¶ Ds. 109 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} k^ll^hú v. 'plaster, smear on' ¶ Sch. DN 87 || A: M *qoluga- 'rub' > WrM qoluga- ~ qolgu-, HIM холго- 'injure\damage by constant rubbing', Kl {Rm.} χολφα-χα ~ χολ^hqqa 'reiben, einreiben' ¶ MED 958, 960, KW 182 || ?σ D (in SD) *ku^li- ({ǰGS} *k-) v. 'wash oneself, moisten' > Tm ku^li- v. 'bathe, wash one's body', Ml ku^li 'bathing, ablution', Kdg ku^li take bath', Tu ku^lu^hkur i v. 'wet, moisten', kolambæ 'bath' ¶ D #1832 ◇ The apparently irregular D *u may be explained if we suppose a final labialized vw. in the pN source (*k^lo^ll^hi^hu) (suggested by M *qoluga-) and the regr. as. N *o...u > D *u...u. IE *g- (< N *ko-) is reg. in preconsonantal position. The N rec. *k^lo^ll^hi^h or *k^lo^ll^hi^hu is valid if the D root belongs here.

865. *ku^l∇ (or *kuwæ^l∇?) 'to work' > HS: Eg fP k^l.t n. 'work, construction', Eg fMK k^lw.ty 'ε worker' ¶ EG V 98-102, Fk. 283 || S *√k^ll > Ar √k^ll D 'faire des efforts, agir avec zèle et empressement dans qch.' ¶ BK II 918 || A: NaT *k^lu^l 'slave' > OT, MQp qu^l '(male) slave', Tk ku^l, Tkm, Az qu^l, Qzq к^lл qu^l, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET, Shor, Tv qu^l, Qzq qu^l, VTt, Bsh q^l 'slave', Xk χu^l, Yk kulut 'slave, servant', Tf hu^l 'hired farm labourer'; T ⇨ NPrs {Dr.} قول qūl 'slave', G qu^li 'slave, hired servant' (× G qu^li 'coolie' ⇨ R 'кули ⇨ NE coolie ⇨ Tl kū^ll 'hired labourer, coolie') ¶ Cl. 615, ET Q 120, TL 318, Ra. 191, TvR 263, Rl. II 966, Dr. TM III ##1519, 1572 ¶ Tf h- is not clear, it

hardly points to a pT *k'-(\Leftrightarrow IS's hyp. [IS AG] of Tf h- from T *k'-, that is not supported by recently recorded lexical stock of Tf [not yet known to IS]), cp. Tv qul (Tv q- suggests pT *k'-) || Tg *kelūme, *ke:le 'servant, working person' > Ewk kəlm̩ id., Lm Ol/Al kəlm̩ 'servant, slave', Lm A kəlm̩, Ork kəlm̩ 'industrious, hard-working, assiduous' ¶ STM I 447 || M: Kl {Rm.} kel̩ 'slave, prisoner' ¶ KW 224 ¶¶ The origin of Tg *e and of Kl e of the first syll. is unknown ¶¶ S VL #84, DQA #942 (A *kūl̩ 'servant, slave') || D *kūli ({GS} *k-) 'working for wages' > Tl kūli 'wages, hire, working for wages, kūlī 'hired labourer, coolie', Ml kūli 'hire, wages (esp. daily)', Tm kūli 'wages, pay', kūlikkāran, kūliy-ā 'hired labourer, cooly', Kn kūli 'hire, wages, day-labourer, coolie', Kdg ku'li 'wages', Tu kūli 'hire', Prj, Gnd kūli 'labourer's wages', ?φ Kt ku'z̩ 'daily wages' ¶¶ D #1905 ◇ The vw. *e in Tg and Kl may be explained if we suggests a pN etymon *kuwæ̌l̩ ◇ In T and D there may be coalescence with N *kūl̩ 'clan, village' (whence later 'subordinate member of the clan' → 'slave') and N *q̌'ǓǓ 'boy, child' (whence in T and D the meaning 'servant, slave').

866. *kǓl̩ (or *ǩhō̌l̩?) 'snake, worm' > HS: Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kωol 'male snake'; ? Dr {J} kórj 'cobra', ? Bl {Mch.} kuredi 'snake' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} kuli, Br {ChL} kul̩m̩ 'worm' || ECh: Smr {J} kʷàl̩, {Nacht.} kúl̩, Ll {Grgs.} ǩl̩ 'snake' ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 23. Lk ZSS 79, Fik s.v. kωol || ?σ S: Ar kahūl- 'spider' ¶ BK II 940, Hv. 668 || U *kǎp̌ǔl̩ 'worm' > Prm {LG} *ǩol̩ 'intestinal worm' > Z kov / kovy-, Z Lz ǩol̩, Z US šǩol̩ (LG: "with a prothetic š"), Vt ǩol̩ ǩal̩ id. || Os V qǔ 'tape-worm' || Sm: Ne T жалы 'a long worm' (я' жалы 'earth-worm', сарë' жалы 'rain-worm'), Ne O χατ̌'τ̌ 'Angelwurm, Regenwurm', Slq Tz {KKIH} q̌, Tz/Tm/Ch {KD} q̌ 'intestinal worm' || pY {IN} *kel- 'worm' > OY K {Bil.} kalnindsha, {Merk} kelnyntscha, YK {IN} kel-iš̌ə id. ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 227, LG 125 (U **kūl̩; broadening of the vw. due to the infl. of *l), Ter. 728, KKIJ 164, IN 226, 30, ≈ Rd. UJ 39 [#30] (Y ← U) || A {IS} *kūli, {DQA} *kǓl̩ > Tg *kūlī-n 'snake', with the dimin. sx. *-kān: *kūli-kān 'worm' > Ewk kulīn, Ewk Th kulunay 'snake', Ewk kuli-kān, Ork qola ~ qol̩ʷa ~ qol̩a 'worm, insect', Neg kolixān 'worm, intestinal worm', Ud kuliga, Orc kulā, Nn Nh qolā 'worm, caterpillar, snake', Ul qol̩ 'ε an insect (living on water)', qola 'worm' ¶ STM I 428 || pKo {S} ǩry̌à,̌ňí 'adder, viper' > MKo ǩry̌à,̌ňí, NKo kuřà,̌ňi ¶ S AJ 172 [#180], Rm. SKE 132 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 132, S AJ 293 [#438], DQA #912 (A *kūl̩

'snake, worm') || ?φ K *g_wel- 'snake' > OG g_wel-, G g_wel-, Mg g_wer-, ng_wer-, Lz mg_wer- id., Sv: UB/Ln {TK} u_ž-är, L {TK} u_ž-ar pl. 'snakes' (whence the bf. sg. Sv UB/Ln/L wi_ž- < *u_ž- < *u_ž-i), Sv Δ sg. hi_žw- 'snake' ¶¶ K 61-2 (adduces the Sv cognate), K² 29, FS K 79-80, FS E 83 (rejects the Sv word), TK 744, GP 103 ¶ The voicing N *k- > K *g- defies explanation || IE: it is tempting to adduce Gk χέλι-υδροσ 'snake' or 'tortoise\turtle' (the second component from ύδωρ 'water'?) and L colubra 'snake', but the comparison is prevented by the initial Gk χ- and L c- [k-] that cannot go back to the expected IE *g^w- ¶ Cp. WH I 248, F II 108, Ch. 1253 ◇ IS I 308 [#179] (Ch, K, U, A), AD GD 18 (K, U, A) ◇ Gk χ- and L c- may go back to a cns. cluster of a velar cns. with a lr., suggested by Ar kahūl- (< N *k^whōl^w?).

867. *k^wl^w 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *g_ǵeu_l-/*g_ǵou_l- 'glowing coals', {EI} *geu_l- ~ gu_l- ~ *gu_l-m 'fire, glowing coals' > ON kol 'charcoal', OHG kolo ~ cholo, col, NHG Kohle 'coal', AS col id., 'glowing coal', NE coal; NGr Sw cholle 'glow (glimmen)' || Clt: OIr {WP, P} g_ual 'charcoal', NIr g_ual 'coal' (< *g_ǵeu_l- → *g_ǵou_l-) || Tc B sóliye 'hearth' ¶ ≈ WP I 563, P 399, EI 104, Dnn. 387, Ho. 56, OsS 50, Kb. 554, KM 388, Ad. 635 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} kalo- 'fry', kalona 'frying-pan', {R} kilōy- scv. 'roast, cook' || SC ({E}*ka_il-) > Kz kalemuko, C → Mb ikale 'charcoal' || EC *kul- > pSam {Hn.} *k^wl^w 'heat, warmth' > Sml kulayl id., Rn kul^w 'heat', Bn {Hn.} ku^w 'heat, pain'; Sml {DSI} kul 'calore', Dsn {To.} kullá? 'hot', Arr {Hw.} kuldá 'hot', kulil- 'warm oneself', Elm {Hn.} 'kúlla? 'Hitze' ¶ R WBd 142, Rop. 203, E SC 242, EK 12, Hn. S 67, Hn. E 280, DSI 373, PG 204, To. DL 513, Hw. A 375, Blz. RL 261, Blz. DL s.v. 'warm', HL 118 || A *k^wl^w > Tg *xuldü 'warm, heat', (?) 'flame' > Nn xul^w 'be warmed', Ul xuldu 'hot', Ork xuldu- 'warm', Ud ugdi v. 'warm, be warmed', Ewk uldi, accus. uldi-w₃ 'flame'; Nn xul tay, xulun tay 'warm' (of water) ¶ STM II 260 || M *k^wl^w i- vt., vi. 'warm, become worm' > MM [MA] k^wl^w i- 'warm oneself', WrM k^wl^w i- ~ k^wl^w i- 'warm, become warm\flushed', IM {T} x^wl^w i- vt. 'heat, warm (one's hands)', WrO k^wl^w i- 'heat up', Brt x^wl^w i-, Ord g^wl^w i- ~ g^wl^w i- 'warm oneself by the fire'; →: WrM k^wl^w i-ge-, HIM x^wl^w i-ge-, Kl k^wl^w i-ge-, {Rm.} k^wl^w i-ge- id. ¶ Pp. MA 222, MED 484-5, T VM 24, Krg. 740, Ms. O 270, KRS 315, KW 238, Chr. 619 || T *k^wl^w 'ashes, cinders' (× N *g^wl^w 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones', N *ku^wl^w [or *ku^wl^w m])

'smoke, ashes' and/or N * $\text{ḲE}^{\text{y}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{a}$ 'to burn' [intr.], 'to burn [sth.]', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') > OT $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$ 'ashes, cinders', MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Tkm $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Tk $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Az $\text{κ}\gamma\lambda$ $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Uz $\text{к}\ddot{\text{y}}\lambda$ $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, SY $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Xlj $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l} \sim \text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Slr $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, VTt, Bsh $\text{κ}\theta\lambda$ $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Tv $\text{x}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Tf $\text{h}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Chv $\text{к}\ddot{\text{e}}\lambda$ $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$, Chv H $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{l}$ 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 269-70 ¶¶ \approx DQA #1140 (* $\text{k}'\text{u}|\text{e}$ 'to heat, to burn': Tg, M, T), S AJ 281 ¶¶ A * k' - for the expected * k - may be due to the infl. of the reflex of the abovementioned N * $\text{ḡULP}\nabla$ and/or N * $\text{ḲE}^{\text{y}}\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{a}$ || D (in SD) * $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ - ({ ḡGS } * k -) 'firebrand, fire' > Tm $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ i id., Ml $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ i 'firebrand, firewood', Kt $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{y}\text{l}$ 'burning firewood', Td $\text{k}\ddot{\text{w}}\text{+}\text{y}\text{y}$ 'firebrand, embers', Kn $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ i, $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ e, Tu $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ i, $\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{ll}$ i 'firebrand' ¶ D #2158 ◇ D * o (for the expected * u from N * $\hat{\text{u}}$) needs explaining ◇ \approx Blz. LB #4a and \approx Blz. LBNA #29 (both: IE, T + unc.: FU * $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\hat{\text{z}}\text{m}\nabla$ 'ashes' [in fact from N * $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\hat{\text{z}}\text{m}\nabla$ 'smoke, ashes', q.v.] and MKo $\text{k}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{r}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-m}$ 'soot').

868. * $\text{k}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{h}_1\text{l}\nabla$ 'power, force; be able' > IE: NaIE * $\text{ḡ}_1\text{h}_1\text{al-}$ 'be able' > W gallu , Crn gallos 'ability, power', 'be able', OBr {Flr.} * gal 'acte violent, activité, passion, force' (in proper names, cds., and d. words, e.g. im-ro-galou 'activité, travail actif'), Br gallout v. 'pouvoir', galloud n. 'pouvoir, puissance', OIr gal 'bravery', Gl \rightarrow VL {Wb.} * galia , {Gml.} * gala 'force', {Diez} * gala 'bravery' (> ds.: [?] Prv galhart \approx brave, jovial fellow' \rightarrow Fr gaillard , Port galhardo , Sp gallardo , It gagliardo) || Lt $\text{gali}\ddot{\text{u}}$ / $\text{gal}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ti}$ 'be able, be allowed', $\text{g}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}$, $\text{gali}\grave{\text{a}}$ 'might, power', $\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}\text{lti}$ 'bei Kraften sein, sich wohl befinden' ¶ WPI 539-40, P 351, SB 107, LP § 35.7, YGM-1 231, ECCE 245, Flr.173, 220, Hm. 306, Dtn. 258, Bally 76-8, Wb. IV 30-1, ML ##36511, 3657, Diez 151, Frn. 131, EI 3 (* gal- 'be physically able') || HS: WS: [1] * -w-kal- , * $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ 'be able' > BHb יכל $\check{\text{y}}\text{kl}$ id. (3m ip. $\text{y}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{ḳal}$) 'be able\capable of; endure, comprehend; prevail', BA (TV) יכל $\text{y}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{ḳil}$, (BbV) $\text{y}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{ḳol}$ 'be able, prevail', IA $\check{\text{y}}\text{kl}$ id. (ip. 1s ḳ-k , 2m ṭ-k , 3m ṽ-k), ChrPA {Schlt.} $\text{y}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{ḳol}$ 'be able, have the right to', Nbt ṽkl id., JA {Dlm.} $\check{\text{y}}\text{kl}$ G (3m ṽik'kol), JEA {Sl.} $\check{\text{y}}\text{kl}$ G 'be able'; * $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ (originally D and Sh^{\dagger} ?) 'entrust to' (\leftarrow 'make so. be allowed to') > Ar $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ Sh^{\dagger} 'se confier dans qn.', G (bf. from Sh^{\dagger} ?) $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ 'confier \ racommander une chose\affaire à qn.', OSA wkl (D ?) 'entrust', Mh $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ (caus. stem) (pf. $\text{aw}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{z}}$) 'entrust with', Jb C {Jo.} $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ (pf. $\ddot{\text{o}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{z}}$) v. 'trust with, entrust to', Sq {Jo.} $\check{\text{w}}\text{kl}$ (pf. $\text{'ok}\ddot{\text{z}}$) id.; [2] * $\check{\text{w}}\text{kh}$

'be able' > OA, IA \checkmark khl 'be able, have the right to, be allowed', BA prtc. D כָּהֵל kāl'hēl 'able', JA, Gz \checkmark khl 'be able, can', OSA \checkmark khl 'be successful, réussir', khlt 'power', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} \checkmark khl 'be able (to do sth.)', Sq {L} khel 'be able, know', ??σ Ar \checkmark khl (pf. kahala) 'reach mature age' (← *'be in position to do things'), كَاهَل kahl-(un) 'grown up' ¶ KB 392-3, KBR 410-1, HJ 456, 489-90, Dlm. 183, Sl. 534, Schl. G § 137, Schl. 83, BK II 1598-9, Hv. 668, Lb. III 2590, Lb. LAD 60, 66, Nld. rLb 417, BGMR 77, 160, L G 277, Jo. M 205-6, 426, Jo. J 128, 290, Jo. H 67 || C: Ag: Bln {R} kaḥal- 'be able' (← EthS?), Aw {Hz.} kal(i)-, {Plm.} kal- 'be able, can' || D *kali ({ʔGS} *k-) > Tm kali 'strength, force', Kn kali 'man noted for valour and prowess, hero', EpTI kalitanamu 'bravery'; D → EpOI kali 'hero' ¶¶ D #1308.

869. *kaṭ'ʔ'∇ 'to approach, to come' > HS: WS \checkmark klʔ id. > Ar \checkmark klʔ D (pf. kallāʔa) 'aborder quelqu'un, s'approcher de quelqu'un', Mh \checkmark klw (pf. kəlū, sbjn. yəklī) 'come, bring home (animals, a wife)' ¶ BK II 920, Jo. M 209 || C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *kāl̄lèi ~ *kāl̄léià inv. 'come!' > Sml kālei, Rn 'kale(y), Bn 'kāl̄e / kāl̄lià id. || SC: Rft ≈ *kʷal- (× N *kôíʔ'ú' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel') > Irq {MQK} qʷalāḡ inv. 'come!', Brn {Dempw.} kʷalē id. ¶ Hn. S 65, MQK 89, Blz. SCL s.v. 'come'₃ || U *k∇|∇ > ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} qāl- v. 'run', qältir(+)-, qältimp+- 'walk, stroll (ходить, идти, гулять)' || pY {IN} *kel- 'come' > Y K/T kel-, K {Jc.} kel- 'come, arrive', OY XVII {Wts.} kaltei 'come' ¶¶ Gy. USz 304, KKI 159, UEW 134, Krn. JJ 273, 282, Ku. 106, AD KY, Ang. 112, 122 || A *k'āl̄ü- (with the type of length based on pre-A lengthening in an open syll.) > M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' > WrM qal(u)-, HIM хала-(x), Kl {Rm.} χala- 'nahe kommen, anfallen, sich über einen stürzen', ? MM [S] qalit- 'sich annähern, anschließen'; M → WrMc χala- ¶ MED 916, KW 162, H 58 || AmTg *kāl- > Nn Nh qāl- 'come near, approach', Ul kāl- id., 'attack', Ork qal- 'sneak up to' ¶ STM I 369 || T *k'el(ü)- 'come, arrive' (× N *käl'h'∇ 'to walk' [accounting for the front vw.], q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *kè- 'come' > OJ kə-, J: T/Kg kú-, K/Ht/Y kù-, Ns kʷ-, Sh č- ¶ S AJ 265 [#13], S QJ #13, Mr. 616 ◇ In some lgs. there may be coalescence with N *gûlE 'go (away), set out' (q.v.) ◇ The front vw. of the T cognate *k'el- 'come, arrive' may have resulted from contamination with N *käl'h'∇. Alternatively, effect of vw. harmony cannot be ruled out: A *k'alü > T *k'el(ü)- and M *qal(u)-, although in this case we would have to expect *k'äl(ü)-, because under the

palatalizing infl. of vw. harmony *a usually becomes *ä rather than *e
 ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*ke|'come') (A *k'e| and Yk ke| 'come, go' + err. U
 *kälä 'wade' [that in fact goes back to N *käl'h' ▽ 'to walk, to make
 one's way with effort, to wade'] + err. IE *ke|eu- 'road', as well as Gil.,
 CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s neglect of sound laws does not allow him to
 distinguish between three N sources, which proves that his method of
 impressionistic comparison is wrong).

870. *kolpa 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE *g^wel- v. 'die, feel pain' > Lt
 gālas 'death, end', Pru golis 'death' (accus. gallan) id.,
 galintwei v. 'kill' || AS cwelan 'to die', cwellan 'to kill', OSx
 qualm 'death, murder', OHG qualm n. 'ruin, pain, torture' || OIr at-
 baill '(he) dies', OCrn [VC] bal 'pestis', MW baluent 'peste, fléau',
 W ball 'plague, death', ballu 'to die' (< *g^wl̥-n-) || Arm կեղեւ
 keḷem v. {Slt.} 'peinige, quäle', {Bedr.} 'wound, hurt' ¶ P 470-1, Ho. 64,
 Ho. S 59, OsS 692, Kb. 577, Vn. A 98, Frn. 145, En. 174, Tp. P E-H 142-5,
 275, YGM-1 39, Slt. 380-1, ≈σ EI 349 (g^wel- 'strike, stab') || HS: S
 *^o✓k|? > Ar ✓k|? v. 'come to the end' (life) ({BK} 'toucher à sa fin,
 arriver à son terme' [se dit de la vie d'un homme qui meurt]) ¶ BK I
 919, Hv. 662 || SC: Irq qāĉ {MQK} 'die' (of many) ¶ MQK 85, Blz. SCL
 s.v. 'die' || U *kōla- v. 'die' > FU *kōla- > F kuole-, Es koole- | pMr
 {Ker.} *kūl̥- > Er kulo-, Mk kulā- | Chr H/L/E kole- id. | Prm *kul- > Vt
 kul+-, StZ kuv-, Z Δ kul- || *kōl-/*kālā- id. > pVg *kāl-/ *kal-ā- > Vg: T
 kāl-/kāl-ā, LK/UL xōl-, MK/UK/SV kōl-, P/NV/LL kōl-/kol-, Ss xōl-; pOs
 {Ht.} *kāla-/ *kol- ({JHl.} *kīla-/ *kāl-) > Os: V/Vy qāla-/qol-, Ty qāĉ-,
 qāĉa-/qōĉ-, Y qāĉ-/qōĉ-, O xāl- and xālā-, D/K/Nz xāt-, and Kz xaĉ-
 id. | Hg hal- || Sm *kāp̥- ({Jn.} *kāp̥-), {Hl.} *kaḅ- v. 'die' > Ne T xa-
 сь v. 'die', xa-бэй 'dead', Ne FKs {Lh.} kā-ś 'to die', kā-p̥ 'dead', Ng
 {Ter.} кодя kuodā v. 'die', {Cs.} 1s aor. kŭ[?]am ({Cs.} kŭ[?]am) id.,
 куа'буа 'dead', En X {Cs.} 1s aor. kārō[?], En B {Cs.} kādō[?] id., En X
 {Cs.} kābe, En B {Cs.} 'kabe 'dead', Slq Tz {KKIH} qu-qo 'to die', Kms
 {KD} 1s prs. k'úlem 'I die', {Adl.} ku ↔ be 'dead', Koyb {Sp.} cmpd.
 кулягандамъ 'I die', кайма 'dea', Mt {Hl.} *kā- v. 'die' (Mt: M {Sp.}
 хадайбага 'death', K {Pl.} chaàsigaani 'to die') ↔ Mt {Hl.}
 *ka:;yuma 'dead' (Mt: T {Ml.} kchaíma, K {Ml.} gáima, {Pl.} gáhàima
 'dead', kaíma 'мертвечина', M {Sp.} кайма, {Ml.} khaíma 'dead');
 Mt ↔ Xk хама хама, хаама хāма, Qc {Rl.} qāma, qami 'carrion' ¶
 Coll. 28, UEW 173, Db. OS xxiv-xxv, Sm. 538 (U *kāxl̥- 'die' > FU, P

*kooli-, Ugr *kålĩ-, Sm *kåē-), It. #155, LG 143, Ht. #253, Ht. rHt 71-3, Jn. 56-7, Hl. M ##367, 399, KKIИ 165, Rs. W 228, Ker. II 79 ¶¶ The vowels of the first syll. in Mr, Chr, and Prm suggest a FU stem-final *a, while -e in F and Es is an innovation (the verb was transferred to a different class of conjugation) ◇ IS SS #7.4 and IS MS 370 (IE, U; not here K *qwil- and D *kōl- v. 'kill', that actually belong to N *qola 'to kill' [q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II #96 (*kola 'die') (IE, U, J, CK).

871. *kol₁∇,∇ (or *kol₁∇,∇?) 'to peel, to bark' > U: [1] FU *koŷ∇ 'skin, peel' (× N *koŷ∇ 'to skin, to bark [wood]', q.v. ffd.) [2] If F kolo- (inf. koloa, kolota) v. 'bark, strip, peel' is etymologically different from F kolo 'hole', it may belong here as well; in this case FU koŷ∇ represents a variant with elision of an internal vw.: N *koŷ∇ > *koŷ∇ > FU *koŷ∇, while F kolo- represents a var. without syncope ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 14, SK 212 || HS: S *°✓kly > Gz ✓kly G 'pull out (the weeds), peel off, undress, strip off', Amh pf. kəlla 'take off the clothes' ¶ LG 282 || A *kol∇- v. 'bark, skin' > Tg *kola- id. > WrMc qola- v. 'take off the skin (of an animal's body), bark (a tree), break off (tile from the roof)', Mc Sb qolama ~ qoluma v. 'peel, pare, shell; peel off, pare off', Ewk kōlū- 'take off a film from sth.', Sln χōl-, χōli- 'tear off, rip off', Lm qolq̄- 'take off the skin from jerked fish' ¶ The Ewk and Sln forms may result from coalescence of the inherited Tg word with Mongolisms (← M *qayula- > HIM хуула- 'bark a tree') ¶ STM I 407, Y ##1166, 1716, Z 281 || M *qol-t-ul- v. 'peel off' > WrM qoltul-, HIM холтло-(x) 'peel off, free from covering', Kl {KRS} холтл-x χoltъ-χъ v. 'bark, peel'. {Rm.} χoltъċj-χα (< *qolta-ċi-) 'die Rinde abschaben, wegkratzen, losreißen'; M *qoli-: *qoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *koŷ∇ '[big] fish' [q.v. ffd.] × N *koŷ∇ '↑'); M *qolta-sun 'tree bark' > WrM qoltasun ~ qoltusun, HIM холтос, WrO χoltosun, Kl холтхсн χltχъ-сън; ? M *°qoli-bar- > WrO χolibar- 'fall off, peel off' ¶ MED 959-60, KRS 594, KW 183, Krg. 275, 277 || ?φ K: G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin' (× N *keŷ?ê 'skin; to skin' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ G -i- belongs to the heritage of N *keŷ?ê ◇ IS I 171 (U, A), AD LZL 363 (HS, U, A).

872. *käl'h'∇ 'to walk, to make one's way (with effort), to wade' > HS: B *°✓kly v. 'walk' (× N *kôí'û' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel') > Ah tēkle ({Fc.} tēklé) (pl. tākliwīn) 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Kb t̄iшli (pl. t̄iшliwin) 'marche; allure; action de marcher';

cp. B \sqrt{wkl} v. 'travel, step' (< N \sqrt{wkl} , q.v. ffd.) and B $\sqrt{wkl} \sim \sqrt{kwl}$ 'track, footprint' (< N \sqrt{wkl} [q.v. ffd.] \times N \sqrt{kwl} ?) || C: EC: Sa {R} $kālāh$ - 'travel (verreisen, eine Reise machen, wandern)', $kālāh$ n. 'travel (Wanderung, Reise)', ? Sml {DSI} $kallah$ -, Sml N {Abr.} $kalah$ - 'go (somewhere) in the early morning' || SC ({E} \sqrt{wkl}) v. 'go, travel' (\times N \sqrt{wkl} , q.v. ffd.) ¶ R S II 215, Abr. S 147, E SC 43, 265 || Ch: Ang {Flk.} kel 'wander without aim' ¶ Flk. s.v. || U: FU {UEW} $\sqrt{kālā}$ - v. 'wade' > pLp {Lr.} $kālē$ - id. > Lp: S {Hs.} $gaal'edh$, L {LLO} $kālīē$ -, N {N} $galle$ -, Kld $kālī'e$ - id.; {UEW (with a query)}: Lp \rightarrow F $kahlaa$ - \sim $kaalaa$ - v. 'wade' \rightarrow Es $kahla$ - v. 'wade, walk in water' || Er $kele$ -, Mk $кяле$ - $kälə$ - v. 'wade' || Chr: L $кел$ -ш 'walk through mud\water; wade', Uf/B $kela$ -, H $kelä$ - id. || Prm \sqrt{kel} - v. 'plod, make one's way (through)' > Z $келны$ kel -/ kel -, Yz $kōl$ -, kel - id., Vt $келны$ 'beat a track\path (by walking)', Vt G $kōl$ - v. 'wade', Vt Sr $kōl$ - 'ins Wasser treten' || ?σ ObU {Ht.} $\sqrt{kūl}$ - v. 'rise, rise ashore' > pVg $\sqrt{kūl}$ - 'rise' > Vg: T $\sqrt{kūl}$ - \sim $\sqrt{kūl}$ -, LK/MK $kōl$ -, NV $\sqrt{kūl}$ - \sim kal -, P $kōl$ - \sim $\sqrt{kūl}$ -, kal -, IL $kōl$ - \sim kal -, UL/Ss $\sqrt{kūl}$ -; pOs $\sqrt{kūl}$ - \sim $\sqrt{kūl}$ - 'rise, rise ashore, land' > Os: V/Vy $kūl$ -, Ty $kīl$ -, Y $kūl$ -, D/K kit -, Nz $kkīt$ -, Kz $kīl$ -, O kil - id.; V/Vy $kōləx$ -, Ty $kefəx$ -, Nz $qatīy$ -, Kz $qafī$ - 'заехать', UY $keləx$ - 'arrive to the shore, rise to the shore' || Hg kel - 'rise' || Y: [1] pY {IN} \sqrt{kil} - 'wade' > Y: K {IN} kil - \sqrt{il} - id. (\sqrt{il} - is an iterative sx.), {AD} $kiljīyoy$ 'wadable' ($kiljīyoy$ \sqrt{il} 'wadable river\stream', lit. 'wadable water'), {Jc.} $kiljīyoi$ 'бродячий', Y K {Jc.} kel - 'fahren' || [2] pY {IN} \sqrt{kel} - 'come' (\times N \sqrt{ka} 'to approach, to come', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ It. #245, Coll. 20, UEW 133-4, Lr. #347, Lgc. #2081, Hs. 514, LG 120, MF 347-8, Ht. #133, Trj. S 118, 125, IN 225-7, Ang. 112, AD YN s.v. kel -, Jc. JR, Krn. JJ 273, 282, \approx Rd. UJ 46 [#64] (does not distinguish Y \sqrt{kil} - 'wade' from Y \sqrt{kel} - 'come') ¶¶ The meaning 'rise' is a Ugr innovation: 'rise' \leftarrow 'rise ashore after wading a river' (cp. Os Ty/Y {Trj.} $ma utə kīfəsəm$ 'I rose to the shore', Os UY $keləy$ - 'rise to the shore', Trj. l.c.) || A: T $\sqrt{kel(ü)}$ - ({Md.} \sqrt{ke} - = {Md.} $\sqrt{kē}$ -) 'come, arrive' (\times N \sqrt{ka} 'to approach, to come', q.v. ffd.) whence the meaning of the T stem) > OT {Cl.} $kāl$ - 'come, arrive' (aor. $kālūr$ \sim [with analogical generalization of *i] $kālir$), OT U (BrSc) {Gbn.} $kāl$ -, Chg XV kel - (aor. -ür, converb -ü), pOg {Md.} $\sqrt{gāl}$ - id. ({Md.} $\sqrt{gē}$ -) (> Tk $gēl$ -, Tkm $gēl$ -, Az $gāl$ -, Ggz $gēl$ - id.), Qmq $gēl$ -, Uz, Ln, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Yk, Tv kel -, ET $kä(l)$ -, VTt, Bsh, Xk $кил$ - kil -, Tf $kēl$ -

id., Chv kil- id., 'walk, go (gehen, fahren)' ¶ T *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch, VTt, and Bsh kil- ¶ Cl. 715, Gbn. ATG 313, Rs. W 248, EF VGD 14-6, Ra. 203, TvR 237, Md. OJ 172 [§ 2.6.2.2] (on T *e > Chv i), 226 [§ 3.2.2.2], 276, Jeg. 112, Fed. I 292-3 ¶ IS I 294 reconstructed pT *kāl- with unj. rec. of a long vw. on the basis of Tk SW and the Brahmi spelling of OT U (but not MK's Arabic spelling without markers of length), against the decisive ev. of Tkm and Yk; the quality *ä was reconstructed on the alleged ev. of Az, but recent research (Md., Md. OJ, Adb. SR) has shown that the Az distribution of e and ä is an innovation and does not reflect the pT opposition, which has remained in Chv and Yk only, so that the correct pT rec. is *k'el- || ? pKo ká- 'go, go away' > MKo ká-, NKo ka- ¶ S AJ 254 [#72], S QK #72, Nam 2, MLC 6 || D (in NED) *kaḷ- > Krx kāl- (imv. kalā, gerund kālā, ft. kālos ~ kāos, inf. kānā < *kāl-na) 'go, lead to (as a road), progress', Mlt {Drs.} p. kálē 'go, come to' ¶ D #1419, Pf. 187-8 [#64] ◇ IS I 293-5 [#161] (IS did not take into account M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' and Tg *kaḷ- 'approach', as well as (probably therefore) did not distinguish between N *kāl'h'▽ (his *kāl'h'▽) and N *kaḷ'▽ 'to approach, to come' (q.v.) ◇ The change N *ä > T *e is still to be explained (see N *kālû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > T *k'elin 'bride, son's wife') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*kel 'come') (U *kälä 'wade' [< N *kāl'h'▽] + err. IE *keleu- 'road' + err. A *k'el- and Yk kel- 'come, go' [< N *kaḷ'▽ 'to approach, to come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr. neglects sound laws and therefore cannot distinguish between these N words, see above N *kaḷ'▽).

873. *kālw▽ 'together, whole' > HS: S *kull- 'totality, completeness, all of' (× N *Kūḷ'ä' 'clan, village' [→ 'everybody'], q.v. ffd.); S *k'äl- > Amr {G} kälä 'all' and possibly SES: Mh kāl, kali 'all, whoever', Jb E käl, käl-, Jb C kälh (käl, 'käl), käl-, Sq {Jo.} käl, käl id.; CS *√kll v. 'unite, include' > Hb, Aram kll G id., Ug kll D {OLS} 'completar, acabar' ¶ KB 457, A #1320, OLS 213-5, HJ 500-7, G A 22, Jo. M 207, CAD VIII 504-6 || Eg fp cnw (if {Tk.} < *√kllw) 'every, jeder' ¶ EG V 377-9 || C: Dh1 {EEN, To.} pakkale 'all' || ?σ SC: Irq {E} kila 'very much, completely', {MQK} kila? 'truly, perfectly, very' ¶ E SC 288, EEN 20, To. D 127, MQK 60 || SOm {Tk.} *kūḷ- 'all' > {Bnd., FL.}: Dm kull, Hm, Hm K wull 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kálù 'gather' || ?? Sha {J} hwalʒn 'alle' ¶ J R 275, Frz. P 35 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.7] ¶¶ The main source of S *kull-,

SOM $*k^{\omega}ull-$, and Sha $h^{\omega}al\text{ɜ}\eta$ 'all' may be N $*\text{Ḳuṭ}^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$, while S $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$ -, the CS verb $*\check{r}kll$, Eg $k\text{ɜ}$, Dhl, and (?) Irq words may go back to N $*kalw\text{∇}$ or to both N etyma together || A: Tg $*^{\circ}kalb\text{∇}$ (< $**kalw\text{∇}$) 'together' > Ewk Ald/Ucr $kalbuld\bar{i}$ v. 'gather (reindeers), Ewk U $kalo-kalo$ (interjection used to gather reindeers in a flock) ¶ STM I 365 || D $*kal-$ ({ḡGS} $*k-$) 'unite, meet' > Tm $kala$ v. 'unite in friendship, form friendly\matrimonial alliance with, copulate', $kalakku$ 'joint', Ml $kalappu$ 'the whole, sum', Kn $kali$, $kale$ vi. 'join; come together, meet', Tl $kalayu$, $kaliyu$ vt., vi. 'join, unite, meet, copulate', Gnd KS/RSr $kali-$, Gnd DM $kāliyānā$ v. 'meet', Knd $kali-$ 'meet, come together', Ku $kalvi$ \bar{a} - 'be united together' ¶¶ D #1299 ¶ The \check{r} is to be distinguished from D $*kal-$ v. 'mix' [D #1299] (unless 'mix' is not a secondary meaning developed from 'join') $\neq\phi$ IS SS 349 [#13.12] (HS \div K $*q(\omega)l$ 'all' [sc. $*q\omega\bar{E}l-$ 'all, one', see N $*qaywE(-L\text{∇})$ 'alone', 'entire']).

874. $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}\text{ṬX}^{\text{r}}\text{ö}^{\text{r}}$ 'call (appeler), shout' > HS: S $*^{\circ}\check{r}kl\check{h}$ > Gz $\check{r}kl\check{h}$ (pf. $kal\check{h}a$) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har $\check{r}kl\check{h}$ (pf. $k\check{e}la\check{h}a \sim kal\check{h}a$) v. 'call so. by shouting' \rightarrow Sa {R} $kallah-$ id. ¶ LG 282-3 || ? B $*^{\circ}\check{r}wkll$ (\times N $*\text{ḲaL}\text{∇}\text{ḡ}\text{ḡ}\text{ḡ}$ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise') > Ah $sakkalal$ 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || C: \rightarrow Mb {E} $-kalá\check{r}e$ v. 'shout' (E [SC 268]: $*\div$ Irq $k^{\omega}ala\check{r}- \sim q^{\omega}ala\check{r}-$ v. 'be joyfull\glad', Kz $\check{r}^{\omega}a\check{r}aliko$ 'voice') ¶ E PC #513 ($*\div$ Bj {R} $k^{\omega}ali$ 'singing', Ya $-q\bar{e}l-$ v. 'sing', and Sml $qayli$ v. 'shout, cry'; on the latter see N $*\text{ḲAyLa}$ 'shout, call') || This N etymon may be an *AdS* of HEC $*ku\bar{l}-$ v. 'tell' (see s.v. N $*qU\text{ṭ}\text{ṭ}\text{ṭ}\text{ṭ}\text{∇}$ 'speak') || Ch (pCh {JS} $*k^{\text{r}}\text{ä}^{\text{r}}$ l- v. 'call') > ECh: EDng {Fd.} $k\grave{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'call (appeler)', ? $k\hat{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'shout (crier)', Brg {J} $k\grave{o}l\acute{e}$ v. 'call', $k\hat{o}l\grave{e}$ v. 'shout', Jg {J} $k\acute{o}l-$ 'nennen, rufen' || $\rightarrow\phi$ CCh: Glv {Rp.} $xul-$, Dgh {Frk.} $x\acute{w}l\grave{a}$ v. 'cry' ¶ ChC s.v. 'call' and 'cry', J J 114, Fd. 301-2 || IE: NaIE $*gal-$ v. {EI} 'call out, speak' > W $gal\omega$ 'to call, to summon', OBr $galu$ 'clameur' (< $*gal-w-$), MBr {Flr.} $galu$ 'appel', {Em.} $galver$ 'celui qui appelle', Br $galv$ 'appel, cri', OIr {SB} $gall$ 'famous' (< $*gal-no-s$), $gleter d\acute{a}la$ 'die Versammlungen sind vorgeladen' || Gmc (\times Gmc $*kal'za$ 'calling [Ruf]' < NaIE $*gal\acute{o}l'so-s$ < N $*kaL\check{c}\text{∇}$ 'voice; to speak\cry') > ON $kalla$ 'rufen, nennen, sagen' (\rightarrow NE *call*), AS $ceallian$ 'to call', OHG $kall\bar{o}n$ 'to chatter, to talk' || Sl $*gol\acute{g}ol-\text{ь}$ (< $*gal-gal-$) 'speech' > OCS ГЛАГОЛЬ $glagol\text{ь}$ 'speech, word', Blg Δ $glagul\text{ь}$, McdS Δ $glagol$ 'speech, conversation', SCr † $\text{ГЛАГОЛЬ} \sim \text{ГЛАГОЛЬ}$, OCz $hlahol$ 'speech', Cz

hlahol 'noise'; SI *golgoli-, *golgola- v. 'speak' > OCS ГЛАГОЛАТИ glagolati, Blg † глаго'ля, SCr † глаголити ~ глагольити 'to speak', Cz hlaholiti, hlaholati 'to produce sounds, to speak' ¶ P 350, ≈ EI 89, SB 107, YGM-1 231, Flr. 173, Ern. 252, Hm. 307, LP § 256, Vr. 298-9, Kb. 526, ESSJ VI 204-5 || ?σ D *kō] 'slander, tale-bearing' (× N *Kohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie', q.v. ffd.) || A: NaT *kōl- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *gōī∇ 'look, look for, wish?') > OT, Chg, OXwT, MQp [CC], Kr qōl- v. 'ask for', MQp xv qōl- v. 'pray', Kr qōl 𐤀 kōl-, SY qōl- ~ q'ōl- 'beg, beg one's pardon', Tv (d.) qōldan- v. 'ask for, beg', qōldanči 'beggar' ¶ Cl. 616-7, Rs. W 277, ET Q 36-7, Rl. II 584-5, TvR 246 || ?φ Tg *kēl₁e₁- v. 'call, ask' > Ewk PT kēlē-, Orc kēlēgi- v. 'invite, call', WrMc χelne- v. 'go to ask, ask\call\invite' ¶ STM I 447, Z 411 ¶¶ The front vw. of the Tg √ has not yet found explanation (as., vw. harmony?) ◇ The IE guttural *g- points to the N vw. *a, while D and T suggest N *o. A possible solution may be connected with vowel as. (caused by N *o of the second syll.?). The long vw. in D may be due to compensatory lengthening (loss of the original l_r).

875. (₂?) *k∇₁∇₁y∇ 'lumbar region' > HS ≈ *kulay- 'kidney' > S *'kulay-at- id. > BHb pl. כְּלֵיֹת kəlā'y-ōt, MHb (BbV) כְּלֵיָה (ce. for כְּלֵיָה כ?) kol'yōt 'kidney' (see Yv. II 905; the Masoretic sg. כְּלֵיָה kilyā is a bf. from the pl. form), Ug klyt, Sr كَلَيْتْ kōlī't-ā, Ar كَلِيَّة kuly-at-, Gz k^walīt, Mh {Jo.} kəlyīt, Hrs {Jo.} kəlīt, Jb C {Jo.} kuž'ēt, Sq Δ {SSL} kə'lyōt, Ak kalīt-um 'kidney', JA kul'yā id., 'testicle' ¶ AD PSH 48, KB 479, OLS 217, Js. 620, Br. 329, BK II 926, Hv. 664, WKAS I 337, LG 284, Jo. M 209, Jo. H 8, Jo. J 131, SSL LSNP 1460-1, ≈ MiK I #1.156 (S *k^waly-at-) || C {AD} *(m-)k^w∇₁∇₁? 'kidney' > Bj {R} ān'k^wel^a ~ un'kul^a, {AD} haŋk^walāyt id. || EC ≈ *kal(al)i id. > Sml kelli, Rn {Bl} kalasi, {PG} kālāssi ({Bl}: < *kalal-ti), Elm kal, Kns xallā, Gwd xalle, Brj kala'ttē, Or kalē, Or M {AD} kulaliti, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kalē, Or Wt {Sr.} kalēttī id., Or Wl {Brl.} kalé id., 'side of body', Arr kalan-té f., kalan-ó pl. 'kidneys' || DhI {EEN} kallu pl. 'kidneys' || SC: pRt {E} *k^wal- 'lumbar region' > Irq karutome 'second stomach', Kz kōli-ngayo 'backbone' ¶ AD SF 77, 195-6, E SC 333, 373, Ss. B 113, Ss. PEC 12, Bl. 16, 192, PG 177, Hw. A 371, Brl. 225, Sr. 343, EEN 10 || SOM: Ari G {Fl.} kela 'kidney' || NrOm: Wlt {LmS} killahuwa, Gm {Hw.} kila'ho 'kidneys', Dwr {C} killē 'liver' ¶ Bnd. AL 153, LmS 410-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'kidneys', Blz. OLBP s.v. 'kidney' || CCh: Br {ChL} kulš'i 'kidney(s)' || G'nd kùlkùlárà, Hw kùliša id.

|| ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} mo-korá id. ¶ AD SF 77, AD SEC 133, Tk. SCC 90 [#19.8], E PC #95 || ? D *kōl- 'belly, entrails' (× N *gōl₁?₁∇ 'belly, entrails', q.v. ffd.) || A: Tg *kalda- 'ε internal organ' > Ul qaldamu 'ε part of stomach of the "kaluga"-fish (used as a medicine)', Ork χālda 'diaphragm, peritoneum', WrMc haldā 'spleen of fish; fish-sound; epiploon of sturgeon (used for curing furuncles)' (↳ WrM qalda 'spleen of sturgeon') ¶ STM I 361, Z 390, MED 918 ◇ Blz. DA 156 [#20].

876. ₂ *kaLč∇ 'voice; to speak\cry\weep' > HS: S *^o✓k₁θ v. 'speak, tell' > Mh, Hrs ✓k₁θ v. 'tell, speak', Jb ✓k₁θ v. 'tell' ¶ Jo. M 209, Jo. J 130-1 || Ch: DfB {J} kalas v. 'weep' || B: Si gəls id. (× N *gōl₁||∇ 'to weep?') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || IE: NaIE *gə|o₁'so-s, -m 'voice, a cry' > Oss: I хъæлæс qälās, D ყälās 'voice, throat (глотка)' || Sl {IS} *gō₁sъ (gen. *gō₁sa) 'voice' > OCS гласъ glasъ, SCr glās (gen. glāsa), Slv glās, Blg глас, df. гла'сът, R, Uk 'голос (gen. 'голоса), Cz, Slk hlas, P głos || Gmc *kal'za n. (× N *k'a₁TX'o₁ 'call [appeler], shout') > ON kall 'calling (Ruf), name' ↳ Gmc verb: ON kalla 'to call', AS ceallian id., 'to shout' (> NE call), AS calla 'Rufer', OHG kallōn ~ challōn 'to chatter, to talk', MHG kallen 'to speak much and loud' ¶ WP I 538, P 350, Ab. II 288-9, ESSJ VI 219-20, IS IA 111, Glh. 230, Vr. 298-9, Ho. 43, 45, OsS 470, Kb. 526, Lx. 103, ≠ EI 89 (Sl and Gmc < IE *gal- v. 'call out, speak').

877. *ko₁u 'to fly; wing' > IE: NaIE *g^ωelu- v. 'fly' > L volā- v. 'fly', volucer adj. 'flying, winged', volucris 'bird' || OI garut'mant- 'ε bird', garudāḥ 'ε a mythical bird'; but OI *garut 'wing' (mentioned in traditional Indian lexicons) is not an attested word, but a philological abstraction from garut'mant- ¶ Cu. GGE 474, Dv. #356a, WH II 828, M K I 325, M E I 471, WH II 828 || HS: C: EC *kōl- 'wing' > Bn kōl-i, Dsn kūōl, Elm kōl, Or kōl-a, Kns xōl-a, Brj 'kōl-i, Gwd xōl-akko, Gln hōl-o 'wing', Arr kollá 'wings' (→ 'leaves?'), Hr hōl-o 'feather', Or {Bl.} kōl-a id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kōla id., 'feather', Or Wt kōlē 'feather' || DhI kōl- v. 'fly' || ? Bj {R} -kil v. 'fly' (1s p. a-'kil, prs. aḥ'kīl), ke'lāy 'bird'; but hardly here Bj {R} -kil v. 'kreisen' ¶ Ss. B 117, AMS 162, 202, 242, Sr. 346, Hw. A 374, To. D 140, E SC 245, R WBd 13, To. DL 513 || A: T *k'u₁ > NaT *k'uš 'bird' > OT quš, Tk kuš, Tkm, Az, Slr quš, Ggz, Uz, ET, Qrg, Tv quš, VTt κοω qōš, Bsh κοω qōš, Qzq quš, Nog, Qq qus, SY gus, Xk χus 'bird', Xlj guš ~ quš 'Sperling, Spatz', Yk kus 'duck' ¶ Cl. 670, Rs. W 305, ET Q 180-1, TL 168, Dr. TM III #1561, DT 122 || ?

M *quladu_{1n} 'ε bird of prey' > WrM quladu sibagun {Gl.} "white kite" ('белый коршун'), {Kow.} 'Falco buteo (buse, busard, cassard, мышелов)' (= 'Buteo buteo?') (sibagun is 'bird'), Kl {Rm.} χυλδα 'Sumpfwaihe oder ein weißer Falke', {KRS} хулд χυλδъ, Brt хулда 'harrier (лунь)'; M ⇨ Brb quladī 'vulture', Shor qiladī, Chv {Rm.} хълат 'Mäusefalk', {Ash.} хълат, Chv Δ хълат ѓ хълач ѓ хълащ 'ε bird of prey (ε hawk or kite)' ¶ Gl. II 169, Kow. 924, KRS 609, KW 195-6, Chr. 600, Rs. W 298, Ash. XVI 316-7, Jeg. 290, Fed. I 321-2 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ū₁a|o|u 'a kind of big bird' (T, M + err. Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow', see N *K₁u|o|₁∇ 'raven, crow') ◇ T and M *u (for the expected *o) in the first syll. may be explained by as. (N *ko₁ū > **ku₁ū).

877a. *ku₁∇ 'to flow, to gush, to leak' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} kīl / kēl 'pour' ¶ J Mu || IE: NaIE *g^wel- > OI 'galati 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' || Gk βλύω 'gush forth' ('quelle hervor'), {EI} 'well up' || OHG quellan, NHG quellen 'to gush, to well', NHG Quell(e) 'a spring' ¶ M E 329, KM 572, ≈ P 471-2, EI 207 || U: FU *ku₁k∇- v. 'stream, leak' (× U *kulke- 'swim, move [sich bewegen zu Lande und zu Wasser]') > Er, Mk ko₁ge- 'triefen, rinnen, sickern' || Lp N gq₁gâ-/lg- 'run' (liquids: water, tears, blood, etc.) || ObU {Ht.} *kū₁āψ- > pOs *ku₁āψ- 'rinnen\fließen (Schweiß), fließen (Wasser in einem kleinen Bach)' > Os: Vy ku₁āψ-, Kz χῶφῖ-, O χυλι- id. ¶ UEW 198, It. #176, LG 149, Ht. #264, Stn. D 491, Trj. S 189 || D (att. in CD) *^okū₁- v. 'leak', 'run from a punctured vessel' (water) > Nkr kū₁- id., Klm ku₁- (p. ku₁ṭ-) '(wasser) run from punctured vessel or tap' ¶ D #1919.

878. *kū₁∇ or ***ku₁IE** 'cold; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g₁gel- 'cold', v. 'freeze' > L gelū 'frost, icy cold', gelidus adj. 'cold, icy-cold, frosty, icy', gelā- v. 'cause to freeze', Osc [StB] γελαν · πάχνην (accus.?) 'hoarfrost' || ? Gk [Hs.] γελανδρόν · ψυχρόν n. 'cold' or 'cold water' (but {EI}: γελανδρόν "is widely discredited") || AS calan 'grow cold, cool down', ON kala 'freeze, make cold'; Gmc prtc. *kald- 'cold' > Gt kalds, ON kaldr, NNr, OFrs, OSx kald, Sw kall, Dn kold, AS ceald, NE cold, OHG, NHG kalt, MDt cout 'cold'; Gmc *kōlja- > OHG kuoli, NHG kühl, Dt koel, AS cōl 'cool, cold', NE cool; OHG kuoli n. 'coolness', ON kólna 'grow cold' ¶ P 365-6, EI 113, WH I 585-6, Pln. II 683, FI 294, Vr. 297-8, 325, Fs. 306, Ho. 42, 45, 56, Ho. S 40, OsS 470, 525, Schz. 179, 187, Kb. 526, 573, KM 343, 411 || K *k₁w₁∇- > Lz kor- ~ kir- v. 'cool', Mg {Chik.} kir- vi. 'freeze with astonishment (გაშეშეშედა, обомлеть)', ? Sv: UB {GP} li-kwēle 'to cool off (food)',

'to be cooled off' (food), Ls {Dn.} li-kwēl-e 'to cool, to let catch cold (о-/про-студить)', Ln {TK} li-kwele id., Sv {Ni.} χwi-kwel-i 'become cold', χwi-kwāl-e 'make cold' ¶¶ Chik. 338-9, GP 173, Ni. s.v. холодѣть, холодить, Dn. s.v. kwēl, TK 453 || HS: C: Bj {R} kũlínfe, kũlímfe 'rainy season' ¶ R WBd 142 || Ch (× N *K̄EL₁H₁∇ 'cold?'): ECh: Kwn {J} kǎl, Kbly {Cp.} kàlɛ, Dng {Lk.} kùlúú 'cold' ¶ JI II 80-1, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'cold' || U: FP *kũl|mä 'cold' > F kylmä adj. 'cold, cool', n. 'cold', Es külm adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | pLp {Lr.} *kɛlmē- v. 'freeze' > Lp: S {Hs.} galm'edh, L {LLO} kal'mē- 'freeze' (humans), (imprs.) 'the ground is frozen', N {N} gâl'bme- / -lm- (imprs.) 'freeze, cause a frozen crust\ice to form on snow\water', Kld {TI} kēl'me- 'become cold, freeze'; L {LLO} kalmas, attr. kal'ma, Kld kɛłmas 'cold', N {N} gâlmâs / -l'bm- 'frozen' | Er kełme, Mk kełmä adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | Chr: L кылме кълме, Uf/B кълме, H кылмы кәлмъ 'frozen' | Prm **kũnm- > *kũn 'frozen', *kũn / *kũnm- 'frost, cold' > Z, Vt кын k+n 'frozen', Vt Sr k+n, Vt K kɛn / kənm-, Vt G k+n / k+n- 'frost, cold', Vt, Z Ud k+nmas 'feels cold' (a person), Vt k+n+m+n 'be frozen, congealed' ¶ It. #408, LG 152, UEW 663, Sm. 552 (FP *kũlmä), SK 254, Lr. #307, Lgc. #1903-4, Hs. 555-6, TI 105, MRS 267, Ep. 55 ¶¶ In FU the palatality of N *Í was lost in precons. position || A *k₁'₁ö'∇ > M *köldē- vt. 'freeze, congeal' > WrM köldē- ~ köldü-, HIM хөлдө-(x), Brt хүлдэ-, Kl көлд-х köldəχə id.; M б→ Ewk Nr küldɛ- 'freeze' ¶ MED 485, KRS 314-5, KW 238, STM I 428 || T *k'ö'∇ > NaT *k'öš'ijüg'∇ 'feel cold, freeze' > VTt күшөг- küšbg- vi. 'feel cold, be chilled, suffer from cold\dampness, become numb with cold' (a person), Bsh küšbg- 'get drenched to the skin', Yk köhüy- [köšüy-] 'become numb with severe cold', Tv köžü- id., 'freeze', Tf kóšü- id., v. 'stiff', Qrg köšü- 'become calm, be serene\untroubled', köšüp uyquça kirgen 'he fell asleep peacefully', {Rl.} köšü- 'zittern, beben' ¶ ET KQ 127, TatR 345, JkR 182, Pek. 1172, Jud. 434, Rl. II 1306, 1151 ¶¶ Posch AAL 383, DQA #845 (A k₁'₁ü'ie 'freeze') ¶ A secondary connection with T *K'Í 'winter' (< N *g'U'∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter']) || D (in SD) *ku|- ({}GS} *k-) > Tm kułir 'feel cold, be cool, get numbed', Ml kułir, kułur 'coolness, cool, refreshing', kułukułu 'intense cold', Kt kułak in-, kułku] in- 'feel cold' (hands, feet, body)', Kn kułir vi. 'be cool\cold', n. 'coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost', Kdg {D} kuł+ 'cold feeling is' ¶ D #1834 ◇ IS I 304-5 [#176] ◇ The lack of

reflexes of the labiality of the N vw. **ü* or **u* in IE **ǵǵel-* may be explained by the law ruling out any sequence of two sonants in a $\sqrt{\quad}$, sc. N **kū|uí* ▽ > pre-IE **ǵǵeyl-* > IE **ǵǵel-* (see AD NGIE § 12). In U the precon. **í* lost its palatality. Hardly here T **k'í* 'winter', for phonetic reasons it is better to refer it to N **gií* ▽ (> pCK {Md.} **ǵǵil* 'ice, block of ice', see s.v. **gií* ▽ #, ▽ 'd' ▽ 'ice, frost; to freeze') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #168 (**kul* ~ **kel* 'freeze') (IE, U, A, Ko, CK).

879. ₂ **koí* ▽ 'pair, one of a pair' > HS: S **✓kl*? 'pair, both' > Ug *kl₂t* du. f. 'both (hands)', BHb *כִּלְיָיִם* *kil'ayim* 'of two kinds; both', Gz *kəl?-ē*, *kəl?-ettū* 'two', Mh {Jo.} *kəlō(h)*, f. *kəlayt*, Hrs {Jo.} *kəlō*, f. *kəlayt*, Jb C {Jo.} '*kəl'w(h)*', Jb E {Jo.} '*kəl'w(h)*', Sq {Jo.} '*kala* 'both (of)', Ak *kilān*, f. *kilat₁t₂ān* 'both', (× S **kull-* 'all') Ar *kill-āni* ~ *kull-āni* 'both, the two' ¶ KB 453, KBR 475-6, A #1312, OLS 214, Rb. AWA 69, BK II 919, Jo. M 207, Jo. J 129, L G 282, Sd. 475, CAD VIII 353ff. || SC: Brn {E} *kalel-* 'be similar' ¶ ESC 366 ¶¶ Ro. 139, 245 [#240] reconstructs pMM **kal-* 'be equal', which is (even if reconstructed well) is a loan from Fulani *kala* 'pareil' (Zb. 289) || ? Eg fP *ky* 'other' ¶ EG V 110-4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.9] || A: T **k'ó* > NaT **k'óš* 'a pair, one of a pair' > OT {Cl.} *qōš* id., Tk Δ *koš* 'pair of horses', Tkm *qōš* 'pair (yoke) of oxen\horses for ploughing', *qōša* 'pair, two; double', Kr Cr, ET *qōš*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *qōs*, Xk *χōs* 'pair', SY *qōš* 'forming a pair', Uz *qōš*, VTt, Bsh *quš* id., 'double', Qrg *qōš* id., 'pair', Tv *qōš*, Tf *qōš'*, VTt, Bsh *quš*, Uz *qōš* 'double; twin, consisting of two similar parts', Yk *χōs* 'additional, the second one (of a pair)'; ET Q 91 mentions VTt *qušš* and Bsh *qōšš* ('double?') that are not registered in standard dictionaries and have a strange change of the reg. *u* into *uš*, *qōš* that resemble processes in Chv; \rightarrow **k'óš-* 'link to' > Tk *koš-* 'add, harness', Tkm *qōš-*, Qzq *qōs-*, Qrg, Alt *qōš-* 'add, link to', Tv *qōš/qōž-* 'add a new part (to the garment, footwear); unite in pairs', Tf *qōš'* 'add a new part (to the footwear)'; NaT \rightarrow M: WrM *qōs* ~ *qōus*, HIM *χoc*, Kl *χōš* 'pair' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 90-3, Ra. 221, Tkr 191-2, ≠ Shch. SF 194 (T **kōš* with unjustified **ō*), MED 970, 974 || M **qolba-* v. 'couple, unite, combine, link to' > MM [MA] *qolba-* 'be combined to, add', WrM *qolba-*, *qolbu-*, HIM *χолбо-*, Kl {KRS} *χолвх χолвб-(хб)* 'unite, combine, link to', {Rm.} *χолва-* 'paaren, vereinigen', WrO {Krg.} *χolba-* v. 'couple, join', Ord {Ms.} *χolbo-*, Mnr H {SM, T} *χulō-* 'lier ensemble, joindre, unir'; M **qolbu* *ψa* 'pair, coupled' > WrO *χolbā* id. ¶ MED 957, KRS 593, KW 184,

SM 181, T 377, Pp. MA 301, Krg. 276, H 65 [MM qolba(ᵛa)ra- 'vereinigen, zusammentun'] || Tg *xulbü- '(Indian) file \ string of objects; move in Indian file, be bound together' > Ewk ᵗulbu-, Lm ulbuᵇçi-, Neg ulbul- 'move in Indian file (following one another)', Nn Nh xūēlbi- 'bind together, wrap', Ewk, Lm ulbulᵗz- 'Indian file, line\string of objects', Lm ulbukz 'vertebral column', Ork ulbumži adv. 'in Indian file', Nn KU xulbīz, Nn Nh xulbikz 'bundle' ¶ STM II 258 || pKo {S} *kārᵇ- 'compete, match, compare, line together' > MKo kārᵇ- (kārᵇ-), NKo kalᵇ- kap-, karu- id.; *kārᵇ- > ⇨ MKo kār'ó- 'form a couple' ⇨ MKo kār'ó-kí, NKo karogí 'twins' ¶ S QK #348, Nam 21, 23, MLC 12, 48 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1115 (A *k'óíba 'couple; to couple, combine'; incl. T, M, Tg, Ko).

880. ₂ *koíHa 'oak' > IE *gʷelh-/ *gʷleh- > NaIE *gʷelə-/ *gʷlā- 'acorn, oak' > Arm կաղիւ kaᵗin 'acorn, hazel-nut', կաղնի kaᵗni 'oak, hazel-tree' || Gk βάλανος 'acorn' || pBlt *gīl-s (< *gʷl̥-s) [gen. *gīles] ⇨ *gīliyā ~ *giliyā > Ltv zīle, † dzīla 'acorn', Lt gīlė, gylė, Pru gile id. || +ext. *-nd- > L glāns (gen. glānd-is) 'acorn' || BSl: Lt gilėndra, gilėndrė 'reiche Ernte an Eichen, Nüssen, Beeren, Pilzen' || Sl *želqdb 'acorn' > ChS жєλѣдѣ želqdb, Blg жєлѣд, SCr žělūd, Slv želod, Cz žalud, Slk žalud', P żołądź, R жєлудь ¶ Acc. to P, the primary meaning was 'oak' ¶ P 472, Dv. #870, EI 407 (*gʷelhᵇ- 'acorn'), Sl. 166, Kar. II 560, ME I 556 and IV 732, FI 213, Frn. 151, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 234-5, Vs. II 44-5, Glh. 707, Frdr. PITA 131-2 || A: [1] (A {St.} *kúlap'∇ 'oak-tree' >) AmTg *kolopo(-kta) 'ε tree' > Orc † kolobo-kto, kopolo-kto 'ε fir-tree', kopolo 'log', Ud X kofolo-kto 'ε tree', Ud I/Sm kofolo-kto 'dry thin trunks of fir-tree or larch' ¶ STM II 407-8, Krm. 251 || pKo {S} *kārəp 'oak' > MKo kārəp, NKo karam-namu ¶ S QK #896, Nam 3 || pJ {S} kásípà 'Quercus dentata (ε oak)' > OJ kásípà, J: T kásiwa, K kásiwà, Kg kaśíwa ¶ S QJ #974 ¶¶ DQA #1113 || [2] A {ADb., SDM97} *k'óíā 'oak' (the deviant *k'- is due to the infl. of N *k'ôR, ∇, ź (∇χ)∇ '≈ oak?') > AmTg *xolonk∇ 'oak' > Nn Nh xoronqola, Orc olonkā ~ olonkī, Ud olonkō id. ¶ STM II 16, Krm. 275 || pJ *kasi 'Quercus acuta (ε oak)' > OJ kàsì, J: T kási, K kási, Kg kaśí ¶ S QJ #976, Mr. 441 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'óíā 'oak' ◇ S NSShS #30 (A, IE).

881. *kama 'peel (rind)' (→ 'dandruff', 'scab') > HS: S *°✓kmy > Ar ✓kmy (pf. كَمَى kamā) 'se mettre une cuirasse sur le dos ou une casque

sur la tête', pf. كَمِيّ kamiya 'être tout couvert d'une armure' ¶ BK II 932 || C: Aw {Beke} kamād 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gāmād 'bark' (× N *kom₁∇, t₁∇ 'to cover; lid, cover') ¶ Blz. CWL || U *kama 'crust, rind, peel' > F kamarā 'crust, scalp, callus', Es kamar 'rind, crust' || Chr: L/B kom 'crust (as of bread)', Uf kom id., 'peel (of fruit\vegetables)', H kom id., 'shell' || Prm *komeí, ({JLG} *kōmeí) 'peel, crust; > Z Lu komí, Yz 'kumí 'peel of potatoes \ turnip \ radish \ swede', StZ komzí, Z US kōmzí 'lump of heavy dough (for baking a crust of pies, etc.)', Vt kumeí 'bark of lime bast'; ? Prm *k^om > StVt kōm kōm 'crust, peel of fruit\potatoes, (egg-nut-)shell', Vt Sr/G kōm, Vt Kz kōm id., 'bark' || Hg háml- v. 'peel, scale', OHg hámt-, Hg hánt- v. 'strip, peel off (bark)', OHg hámc̄s, Hg hánc̄s 'inner bark' || ? Vg {Kn.}: LK pōksām-kōmtol, P nēr-kamtul 'nut-shell' (pōksām, nēr 'nut') || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *kāmъ- '(fish-)scales' > Ne Т с я в, Ne O {Lh.} śāβ 'fish scales', Ng {Mdd.} kamu; Sq LTz {KD} qā:m 'scales', Slq Tz {Prk.} d. komtä 'fish scales' (innacurate spelling for qomtä?) → ??σ {KKIH, Prk.} qomtä 'mint, money'; Kms {KD} q'ām ~ q'ām 'scales (e.g. fish-scales), money' || pY *kimer 'inner side of hide' > YK kimer id. ('мездра') (-r is a nominal sx.) ¶¶ Coll. 23. UEW 121-2, Sm. 545 (FU *kāmā 'skin' > FP *kama-, Ugr *kāmā-), LG 132, MRS 212, RMarS 274, Ü 73, Ep. 46, Lt. J 135, U3S 216, EWU 522, Jn. 63, Erl. 76, 99, KKIH 162, KD 25, Hl. M #465, IN 227-8 || A: M *°qama- 'be mangy' > WrM qama- id., M *qamaγu 'scab, mange' > MM [IM] قامأوو qama:u, Brt xamyγ id. ('парша'), WrM qamaγu, HIM xamyγ id., 'scabies, itch', WrO γamou ~ γamuu 'itch, scab, mange', Kl γamū 'Krätze', Ord γamū 'scab' ¶ Pp. MA 444, MED 923, Krg. 251, KW 165, Chr. 544, Ms. O 332.

882. *kam∇ 'grasp, press' > IE: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together, grasp' > Arm ճմլեմ čmlem v. 'press, squeeze, trample' || Gk [Hm] aor. γέντο 'he grasped' (< *gen-to) || OIr {SB, P} gemel, W gefyn 'fettors' || ON kumla 'to squeeze', NNr kumla 'to knead, to press together' || Ltv gūmt (1s prs. gūmst u) 'to grasp' || Sl *žm-q / žę-ti v. 'press, squeeze' > SrChS жьмѣ жьmq / жати žę-ti, SCr žmēm / žęti, OCz žmu / *žieti, Cz Mr, Slk žmu (inf. žmat', bf. from prs.), P źmę / źąć, R жму / жать, Uk жму / 'жати' ¶ P 368-9, EI 450 (misquotes Ltv gumst u as Lt), FI 297-8, SB 111, YGM-1 232, Vr. 334, Kar. I 125, Vs. II 36, 59, Ma. CS 591 || HS: B

* \sqrt{kmm} > Ah $\text{ək}m\text{əm}$ 'serrer, presser' ¶ Fc. 810 || ?? S * $\sqrt{k\text{m}\text{w}}/\text{y}$: Ak $\text{kam}\hat{u}$ 'fetters', ?? $\sqrt{k\text{m}\text{w}}/\text{y}$ (inf. $\text{kam}\hat{u}$) 'capture an enemy' (if \leftarrow *'bind' or 'grasp') ¶ CAD VIII 128-31 || Ch: Hs $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'seize, catch' || Dr {Nw.} $\text{k}\bar{\text{z}}\text{me}$ 'pick (e.g. beans) one by one' || Bu {Hf.} $\text{kim}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'wegnehmen' || ? EDng {Fd.} $\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'arracher par force (des mains de qn.)' ¶ Sk. HCD 134, Nw. K 128, Hf. B 286, Fd. 310 || C {AD} * \sqrt{kmm} 'seize, take possession of, possess' > Ag: Q {R} $\text{kam}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}$ - 'possess', Bln {R} kim 'Besitz, Macht', kim - 'sich in den Besitz setzen, erwerben, bekommen; haben, besitzen', Xm {R} kim - 'possession', Km {CR} $\text{kem}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'wealth', Aw {Plm., Hz.} kim - 'steal' || SC: Irq {Wh., Wd.} $\text{-k}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$ - 'possess' ¶ AD SF 217, R WB 220-1, Wh. SI, Wd. #1865 || A: Tg * kama - v. 'press (теснить, прижимать)' > Ewk kama -, Ork, Nn $\text{kama}\bar{\text{l}}$ - id., 'oppress', Lm kam - 'squeeze, vice', Neg $\text{kama}\bar{\text{l}}$ - 'oppress, forbid', Ul $\text{qama}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{l}}$ ~ $\text{qama}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'tightly (тесно)', $\text{qama}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'press (теснить)', encicle (hunted animals) ¶ STM I 369 || ? σ NaT * Kama - v. 'surround\encircle\besiege (enemies), drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, capture' > Uz qama - 'drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, arrest', Qzq, Qq, Qrg qama -, ET qami - id., 'surround (enemies), VTt, Bsh, Qmq qama - 'surround, encircle, besiege', (\times NaT * $\text{K}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ba}$ - < N * $\text{ga}\bar{\text{r}}\text{b}\nabla$ [or * $\text{ga}\bar{\text{y}}\text{b}\nabla$?] 'hold, seize; collect'): Chg [Rabg.] qaba - 'umfassen, umgeben, belagern'; NaT * Kamti - > Qq, Nog qamti - 'grasp', Qzq qamti - 'intercept, borrow, snatch' ¶ Rl. II 435, 479, Jud. 335, KrkR 366-8, Sht. 256, Nj. 590, \approx ET KQ 159 || D * kam - ($\{\text{tGS}\}$ * k -) > OTl $\text{kam}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'hold, seize; occupy, seize by force', Tl $\text{kam}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'hold, seize', ? Mlt {Drs.} kam - 'gather one by one' ¶ \neq D #1326, Km. 325 [#255] (both derive the Tl word from * $\text{ka}\bar{\text{v}}$ - 'seize') ◇ IS I 290-1 [#157] (* $\text{kam}\bar{\text{u}}$; S, B, C, Ch, IE, ?D, T, Tg; * \div U, M, and Ko). U * $\text{kom}\nabla(\bar{\text{r}}\nabla)$ 'hollow hand' belongs not here, but to N * $\text{go}\bar{\text{s}}\text{m}\nabla$ \rightarrow * $\text{gom}\bar{\text{s}}\nabla$ 'hand, fist' (q.v.) ◇ \approx Gr. II #332 (IE, A, CK + err. U).

883. * $\text{kam}\nabla$ 'full, whole, all' > IE: NaIE * gem - '(be) full' > Gk $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ v. 'be full' (a ship, etc.), $\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ v. 'fill full of, load' || Sl * žьmьnь 'handful' > R, Blr, Uk жменя , Slk žmeň id., Cz žemně 'bundle of two handfuls of flax' || Um GOMIA, kumiaf accus. f. pl. 'gravidās'; Um \rightarrow L gumia 'glutton, gourmand' ¶ FI 296, WH I 626, Bc. G 336, \neq P 368-9 (considers it a sd. from * gem - 'grasp'), Vs. II 58, Mikl. E 408, Ma. CS 593, Mul. 194, Pln. 737, \neq EI 450 ($\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega$ < * gem - 'press') ¶ Coalescence (esp. in Sl) with IE * gem - 'grasp' || HS: C: EC: pBn {Hn.} * $\text{kom}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$ 'all' >

Bn Bi komōm, Bn Ba/J komōmo; Cm {Bnd.} xumme 'all' (if in Cm, like in other Dullay dialects, x- < EC *k-) ¶ Hn. BD 90, Blz. CWL || B *✓kmm 'gather (amasser)' > Kb щəmməm, Tmz kəmməm id., ETwl/Ty ƙəmmə́t 'ramasser' ¶ MT 334-5, Dl. 404, GhA 93 || Eg fMK km v. 'complete; total up to, amount; put an end to' ¶ EG V 128-30, Fk. 286 || S +ext. *✓kml > Ar kamaḷ- 'the whole, totalité, le tout', Sb ḥkml caus. v. 'complete (a work), be successful', Mh ✓kml (pf. kōmɜl) v. 'finish', kōmɜl id., Jb ✓kml: Jb C kōl 'be finished, complete', caus. v. ekūl 'finish', ekmil v. 'finish', Hrs kēmɜl v. 'finish' ¶ Fr. IV 59-60, BGMR 78, BK II 930, Hv. 665, Jo. M 210, Jo. H 68, Jo. J 131 || Ch: Pr kémò v. 'fill' ¶ Ftz. P 36 ¶¶ Tk. I 43 (Eg, Pr) || A *kam∇ 'together, all' > M *qamu- 'gather together' > MM [HI] qamu-, WrM qamu-, HlH xama-x id.; M *qamug 'all, whole; everyone, everything' (←b- or →b- T?) > WrM qamug, HlM xamaḡ id., MM [HI] qamuḡ 'tous'; M qamsu- > WrM qamsu-, HlM xamca- 'be united\combined, come\be together'; M *qamtu > MM [MA, HI] qamtu, WrM qamtu, HlM xamt 'together, jointly', Mnr H {T} xamdu, {SM} xamd_i, xamd_u, Mgl {Rm.} qamtu, Dx hantu, Ba hamte 'together' ¶ Ms. H 87, MED 924-5, T 373, T DnJ 140, T BJ 150, SM 153 || ? NaT *kḷ'ḷamag 'all, whole' > OT qamaḡ 'all', Chg qamug ~ qamiḡ, MQp qamuḡ 'all', OOSm qamu 'all, the whole', Tk †, Δ kamu 'all', StAlt qamiq 'much, multitude', Xk xamiχ, Tv xamiq 'all', Yk xamiy-, xomy- {Pek.} 'gather', {JkR} 'arrange, put in order' ¶ Cl. 627, EF KQ 243-4, Rh. 1473, DTS 414-6, TvR 467, Rs. W 229, Pek. 3291-2, JkR 478. 496 ¶ The word belongs here unless it is an early loan from MPrs hmʔg [hamāḡ] (as Cl. believes), which is unlikely in view of its presence in Tv and Yk. It may also be a loan from M *qamug (F above); the latter hyp. may explain the cns. χ- in Tv xamiq 'all, whole' || Tg *kamurḷi, 'together' > Ul, Ork qamur ~ qamurḷ, Nn qamor ~ qamur 'together'; d.: Ork qamur- 'be united', Nn qamorḷgo- 'be united'; Tg *kamçi- > WrMc qamci- 'unite, gather together' ¶ STM I 371, Z 259-60 || ?σ U *k'a'mE > Sm *k'z'm- > Ng {Hl.} kamsür- 'be united with', kamsaru- vt. 'add, join (присоединить)', kamsüʔmalədəsa 'to unite with oneself (объединить с собой)' ¶ Hl. US 118.

884. *kämê (or *kamê) 'blood' > U *kaḷme 'blood' > Sm *kɜm ({Hl.} *kɜm), {Jn.} *kɜḷm id. > Ne T xə́m', Ne O {Lh.} χḗm', Ne F {Lh.} kḷē'm, Ng {Ter, Mik.} kām id., En {Hl.} keʔo 'coagulated blood', En X {Cs.} kîʔ, En B {Cs.} kîʔ, Slq Tz {KKIH} kɜm, Kms {KD} k'z'm ~ k'ɜm, Koyb

{Sp.} камъ, Mt {HL.} *kəm id. (Mt M {Sp.} кемъ id., Mt K {Pl.} гомду 'his blood') ¶ Jn. 65, Hl. TO 43, Hl. M #477, KP 90 [#491], Cs. 81, KKH 116 || A: Tg *°kem- > WrMc kemīn 'coagulated blood; brain covered with blood' ¶ Z 270, STM I 448 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Tal {IL} kʰiēm, {Sch.} kʰiēm 'blood' || ECh: Smr {J} m. kʷàmǵé, f. kòmwin, pl. kʷàmǵadʰ, kòm 'red' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} kəmé 'red' || ?φ Higi {ChL}: HgF ʒəmú, FIG ʒəm(i), Kps ʒume, HgG xume 'red' || ? Eg fP cms 'red, ruddy' ¶ EG V 369, Fk. 304 ¶¶ NrOm: not here the Anf {Gt.} word 'kīma 'menstruazione' (Gt. 354), which is identical with Anf {MYTY} ʔimmo 'dirt' (MYTY 118) and belongs together with Shn kīmā 'Dreck' (Lm. Sh 326) || ?μ D *kem- ({ʔGS} *k-) 'red' > Tm, Ml cem-, Tu kem-, Tl kem- (in a few composita) ¶¶ D #1931 ¶¶ The D cognate is valid unless *kem- is an extension of D *ke- 'red' > Tm, Ml ce-, etc. (D #1931) ◇ Tg and D *e suggest a N front vw., while U *a may go back to N *ä (regr. as.). But if the D cognate is rejected, there is an alt. hypothesis: N *kamê > U *kaḷime and Tg *°kem- (regr. as. of the vw. from *kamê). The comparison with D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. C). But D *kem- is a qu. cognate both for phonetic reasons (*e instead of *a < N *ä) and because it is likely to be an extension of D *ke-, *key- 'red' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #45 (*kem 'blood').

885. ₂ *kEm∇ (or *kEmho) 'to give birth' (→ 'family') > IE {E} *ǵemH-, {Pv.} *ǵemH^ω- (= {Pv.} *ǵem-A₁^ω-) 'marry' (of a male) > NaIE *ǵem-/ *ǵme- ({ʔPv.} *ǵemə-) 'marry', 'relative, relative-in-law' > Vd jāmī-h 'related' (brother and sister), OI (post-Vd) jāmī-h 'daughter-in-law', Av zāmaoya- 'son-in-law's brother', OI 'jāmātā / jāmātar-, Av zāmātar- 'son-in-law', NPrs دَامَاد dāmād {VI., BM} id., 'bridegroom', {Sg.} 'son-in-law; wooer, lover' || Gk γαμέω (aor. ἔ-γῆμα, Gk D ἔ-γαμα) 'marry' (of males), γαμέτης 'spouse', γάμος 'marriage, wedding', γαμβρός 'son-in-law' || partially contaminated with IE *ǵenH- 'give birth' (< N *kǎnhæ id., q.v. ffd., whence L gener / -ī 'son-in-law', Ltv znõts, Lt žentas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zētb id., 'bridegroom', and AnIE: Ht kaena 'a relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld kāna (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ WP I 574-5, P 369-70, EI 369, Szem. KT § 20.3.1, M KI 430, VI. I 796-7, Horn 117, FI 287-8, WH I 590, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || HS: S *°kim- > Ak foAk, OB kimtu ~

kimatu ~ kintu 'family, kin', Ak LB kīmu 'family' ¶ CAD VIII 375-, Sd. I 479 || C: Ag: Aw {CR} kaman-, Bln/Q {R} kabān-, Km {CR} kabān- 'give birth' || Dhl kēm- id. || SC: Asa komit- id. ¶ ESC 243, AD SF 65 ◇ Identical with N *kāmə 'blood'? ◇ If Pv.'s rec. of IE *ǵemh^ω- (*ǵem-A₁^ω-) is right, the N rec. must be *kEmHo. But in this case the absence of an Inlaut vw. in Ak kimtu is strange. The only N Ir. conceivable here is *h (it is regularly lost in Ak, but yields *ə in NaIE).

886. UA₂ *kōm∇ 'sth. hollow' > U: FU *k^om∇ 'hollow' (n., adj.) > F komi, komo id. || Chr H {Rm.} kom in palkom 'sky, the vault of heaven', koman 'with vaulted surface' || Os: V kōm in r+tkom 'Raum unter einem umgestülpten Boot', D xom, Kz xōm 'hollow\concavity (e.g. under an overturned boat)', V kōmar 'hollow under ice', Vy kōmә 'concavity' || Hg homorú 'hollow, concave' ¶ UEW 227 || A {DQA} *kúomi 'hollow, cavity, inner angle' > Tg *kum- > Ewk kumṇa 'hollow (in a tree); hole, burrow (of an animal)', WrMc {Hr.} kumḍun 'Leere' ¶ STM I 431, Hr. 600 || pKo {S} *kùm- 'cavity (впадина), hole' > MKo kùmк, kùmú (kùmúk), NKo kumәṇ ¶ S QK #196, Na, 59, 63, MLC 201 || pJ {S} *kúma 'inner angle, cavity' > OJ kúma, J: T kumá, K kúma ¶ S QJ #255 || ?σ M *kömeg_L > WrM kömüḡ, kömüḡei 'shed', 'roof' (esp. 'roof over a portico'), 'eaves; awning, canopy; overhang of a mountain', Brt хүмэг 'hollow\empty place; gorge, ravine, cleft (ущелье, теснина, расселина)', ?σ Ord k'ömögī 'le penchant est d'une montagne\colline' ¶ MED 487, Chr. 620, Ms. O 427 ¶¶ DQA #918 (M, Tg, Ko, J) ◇ Resh. NNE #4 (A, U) ◇ Cf. also HS: S: Ar kumm-at- 'round cap', kimm- 'calyx of a flower, envelope of the palm-blossom' (BK II 927, Hv. 664), but these words are more likely to be derived from Ar ✓ kmm 'cover'.

887. *k^um∇ (L∇) '(stinging) insect' > U: FU *^okum∇∇ ~ *^okam∇∇ > ObU *kōm∇∇к ~ *kāmə]әк 'beetle' > pVg {Ht.} *kōmlāk > Vg: P komlәx, Yk {Vxr.} xomlәx ~ xōmlәx, NV komlāk ≋ komlāk, SV komlāk, IL kamlāk, Ss xomlax id.; pOs {Ht.} *kamә]kay > Os: V/Vy qamә]q+, Ty qāmә]q+, Y qāmә]q+, D xōmә]xay ≋ xāmә]xay, K xōmә]xay, Nz xōmә]xa, Kz xōmә]xa 'small insect, beetle' ¶ Ht. #269, BV 137, Trj. VD 146, Trj. S 144, Stn. D 496-7 || A: T *^ok_Lumíuy > OT {Cl.} qumšuy 'louse' or 'tick' ¶ Cl. 629 || NrTg *kumi_Lr_L, *kumi-kēn > Ewk kumikēn, Ewk Brg kumir, kumirkēn '(small) insect', Sln xumīxз 'ant'; Tg *kum∇(-ke) 'louse' > Orc kumз, Ewk, Lm, Neg kumкз, Sln xuṅкз, Nn kuṅкз, Ud X/A kumugз, Ud A kumuз 'louse' ¶ STM 430 || pKo *kā_Lmә_Lr_L 'leech' >

MKo $k\bar{e}_1m\grave{a}_1r\acute{i}$, NKo $k\bar{e}_1m\grave{a}_1r\acute{i}$ ¶ S QK #972, MLC 84 ¶¶ *÷ (⇔ S AJ 272) pKo {S} $k\bar{e}_1mi\grave{x}$ 'spider' and pJ {S} * $k\grave{u}m\grave{u}\hat{a}$ id. ¶¶ T * \acute{i} and Tg * r for the expected * l still need explaining ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 290 [#378] (A * $k\grave{u}l\grave{u}m\check{\nabla}$), DQA #847 (A * $k\grave{u}l\grave{u}m\alpha$ 'blood-sucking insect') || HS: S * $\check{v}k\grave{l}m \sim$ WS * $\check{v}k\grave{l}m \sim$ WS * $\check{v}k\grave{m}l$: [1] * $\check{v}k\grave{l}m >$ Ak $kalmat\upsilon$ 'parasite, louse (on animals, plants, and human beings)', JA כַּלְמָא $kal'm\bar{a}$, כַּלְמָתָא $kalm\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$ 'vermin', (as. *- lm - > - nm -): Mh {Jo.} $k\grave{a}n\grave{a}m\bar{u}t$ (pl. $k\grave{a}'nawm$), Bth {Jo.} $k\grave{a}n\grave{a}m\bar{i}t$, Jb E {Jo.} 'šinit, Jb C {Jo.} 'šinit, Sq {L} 'kon\grave{a}m 'louse', BHb כִּנְיָוֹת $kin'n\bar{a}m$ 'gnats' (acc. to the versions in LXX, Vulg., Philo, and Origen) or 'lice' (acc. to Psh. and Trg.), MHb כַּנְיָוֹת $k\bar{a}'n\bar{i}m'm\bar{a}$ 'worm'; [2] * $\check{v}k\grave{m}l \sim$ * $k\grave{m}l >$ OA $k\grave{m}l$ 'louse', JA כַּלְמָתָא $k\bar{a}lm\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$ 'vermin', Sr {PS} قَامِلَات $k\bar{a}l'm\bar{a}$ 'louse', Ar $qaml-at-$ 'louse', coll. $qaml-$ 'lice, louse', Sb $k\grave{m}l\bar{t}$, $k\grave{l}m$, $k\grave{l}m\bar{t}$ 'insect pests, (?) locusts', Gz $k\grave{w}\bar{a}m\bar{a}l \sim$ $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}l$ 'louse' ¶ CAD VIII 86-7, HJ 1013, Js. 645, 1378, Sl. 1021, PS 3635, Fr. III 500, BK II 816, BGMR 105, LG 432, LLS 221, Jo. M 212, KB 461, KBR 483, BDB 487-8 [#3654] || ???σ Eg kmy 'e snake' ¶ Mks. III #4395 || C: EC {Ss.} * $kilm-$ 'tick (insect)' > Af {PH} $kilim$, - i 'ticks', Sa {R} $kilin$, Brj 'šilm- \bar{a} , pSam {Hn.} *čilim > Sml N šílin (pl. šílmó), Rn {Oo.} čilim, {PG} čilím, Bn šílm- \acute{i} 'tick', Arr silmé, Or 'silm- $i\check{r}$ & šilm- a / šilm- \bar{i} , {Grg.} silmī, Or Wl {Brl.} silmi id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} šilmī 'small tick (on cows)' ¶ Bl. 156, 190, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 173, Hn. S 77, PG 85, Abr. S 232, PH 147, Oo. 72, 393, Grg. 358, Brl. 374, Sr. 389 || Ch: CCh: Bdm komāli 'black ant' || WCh: Hs $k\grave{u}m\bar{a}$ 'flea (of rats, dogs)', Gw {Mts.} $kuma$ 'flea of dogs' ¶ ChL, Ba. 637, Mts. G 68 ¶¶ In S and WCh there is secondary glottalization (* $k\grave{}$ - for the expected * k -) of tabuistic and "expressive" origin and/or due to contamination with different roots ◇ The vw. * a in FU * $^{\circ}kam\check{\nabla}l\check{\nabla}$ (> ObU * $k\bar{a}m\bar{a}l\grave{a}k$ and * $kam\bar{a}l\grave{kay}$) needs explaining ◇ IS I 308-9 [#180] (? * $k\grave{a}m\bar{a}$ 'stinging insect'; HS [S, C, Ch], A).

888. * $k\grave{u}m\hat{a}$ (or * $k\grave{u}Hm\hat{a}$) 'man, person' > K: GZ {K, FS} * $kmar-$, {GM} * $k\grave{m}ar-$ ~ * $kmar-$ 'husband' > OG, G $kmar-i$, Mg, Lz $komo\check{z}i \sim$ $komon\check{z}i$, Lz $kimo\check{z}i$ 'husband', Lz $i-komo\check{z}-u$ 'married' (a woman); K * $^{\circ}km-$ > Mg $komoli \sim$ $kumoli$, Mg BM $komoi$ 'man (male person)', Lz $komoli \sim$ $kimoli$ 'husband' ¶ K 198, Chik. 34-5, FS K 337-8, FS E 379, GM S 462, Q 345 || HS: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} $k\grave{u}m\grave{a}$, ? Mgm {J} $g\grave{i}m\acute{u}$, ? Bdy {AJ} $g\grave{e}n$, $g\grave{e}m\grave{o}$ 'man (person)' ¶ JI II 267, JA LM 87, AJ 77 || IE: NaIE * \check{g}^hom- /* \check{g}^hm- 'man (person)' > OL $hem\bar{o}$ 'person', accus. $hem\bar{o}nem$ (preserved in L

nēmō 'nobody' < **ne-hemō), L homō (gen. hominis) 'person', Osc humuns 'homines', Um homonus 'hominibus' || Gt guma 'άνήρ, man', ON gumi, OSx gumo, AS zuma, OHG gomo 'person, man'; OSx brūdi-gomo, OHG brūti-gomo, NHG Bräuti-gam, AS brūd-zuma 'bridegroom', NE bridegroom || Olt žmuō, accus. [Dk.] žmūni, Lt pl. žmónēs 'men', sg. (d.) žmogūs ~ žmōgus 'person', (d.) žmonā 'woman', Pru smūni [zmūni] 'person' (accus.?), smoy ([z-]; {P}: to read smoa?) 'Mann' ¶ But pTc *śāumo (> Tc A śom 'young man', Tc B śaumō [pl. śāma] 'person. man') is better interpreted (after Wn. and Ad.) as d. from Tc *śāu- 'live' < IE *gʷjōu- 'live' ¶ P 415, WH I 654-5, Bc. G 337, Fs. 225-6, Vr. 194, Ho. 140, Ho. S 10, 29, Kb. 399, Schz. 103, 152, KM 97-8, Frn. 1319-20, En. 251, Ped. T 108, Wn. 486, Ad. 636, Ad. H 118 ¶ The irreg. *g̃h- for the expected *g- is due to folk-etl. connection with a different word, possibly with *g̃h̄dem-/ *g̃h̄dom- ({EI} *dʰg̃h̄om-) 'earth', like in Hb: ʔāḏām 'person' linked by folk et. with ʔāḏā'mā 'earth' (in fact both going back to the S root *√ ʔdm 'red') ¶ In IE the labial element of N *kūmâ > **g̃h̄eum- > *g̃hem-) ¶ ≠ EI 366 (*dʰg̃h̄om- 'man' < *dʰg̃h̄om- 'earth'), 248 (*dʰg̃h̄emon 'man' < *dʰgg̃h̄(e)men 'on[to] the ground'). An alternative solution of the problem is to reconstruct N *kūHmâ with *H lost (quite regularly) in K, ECh, A, and U || A: M *kūmū-n (pl. *kūmū-s) 'person' > MM [MA] kūmūn, [IsV] kūmū, [HI] gūʔūr, WrM kūmūr (pl. kūmūs), HIM xγH. xθMγγH, MMgl kū, Dx {T} kun, Mnr H {T} kun, {SM} k'un, Dg {Mr.} xū, {T} kū ~ xū, Ba {T} kuη ¶ Pp. MA 441, Ms. H 59, Lg. VMI 52, Iw. 114, MED 501, Mr. D 25, SM 211, T 341, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, T DgJ 150 || ? Tg *komâ > Neg komo 'relatives, kinsmen', Nn B qomol 'grand-grand-grandson' ¶ ≠ SDM97 s.v. *kiηo 'person; people, country' and ≠ DQA #849 (A *kiune; unc. comparison of M *kūmū-n with T, Tg, and J *K-n-roots) || U *k'o'm∇ 'man, person' > pZ *kəm- ({Lg} *kəm-) 'person' > Z, Prmk komi, Yz 'komi 'a Komi person (= Ziryene, Permyak, and Yazvian)'; Vt kum in set phrases: v+ž+ kum 'a kinsman' (v+ž+ 'root, kin'), {W} sara kum 'Ziryene people' || Vg: T kom, LK xom, Yk {Vxr.} xθM xōm, P kum, Ss xum 'man (male person)', P k+m 'husband' || OHg hírn 'male (animal)', Hg hírn id., adj. 'male' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} qum / qup 'person' (morphophonemic variants; on their distribution see KHG 143-4), Ke qum, Tur qup id., Tm {KD} kop 'person,

man, husband' ¶¶ Coll. 14, UEW 168 (reconstructs *koy(e)-m∇ without any direct ev. of *-y-, only on the basis of a supposed derivational link with *koye 'man, person'), LG 132, BV 143. EWU 559, KKIH 165 ◇ The U and Tg back *o is probably due to the infl. of the stem-final back vw.: N *kūmâ > *komâ ◇ AD LRC #154 (IE, K, M, ??U), ≠ SNSShS #5 (unc. comparison of M *kümü-n [allegedly from *k_l'uŋi] with IE *genə- 'be born' [see N *känhæ 'to give birth'] and K (GZ) *gen- 'calf [suckling]; to make suck') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #292 (*kum ~ *kun 'person') (IE, U, A, CK + err. Ko, J).

889. ₂ *k∇mç∇ (or *K∇mç∇) 'to jump' > K *°k∇nç- > Mg kenč- v. 'jump' ¶ Q 342 || HS: WS *√k_mç ~ *°√kmz > Ar √qmş v. 'galoper, aller au galop', IA [Frh.] k_mş 'grasshopper', Gz √k_nş 'leap, spring away', Jb C/E √kmz 'jump': Jb C pf. kũz, 3m subj. ykũz, prs. yókmoz 'jump', Jb E kəzmé't 'a leap' ¶ L G 435, Di. 450, Jo. J 132, Jo. M 212, HJ 1013, BK II 813 ◇ In the descendant lgs. there is progressive (N *k...ç > *k...c) and regr. (N *k...ç > *k...ç) assimilation.

890. ₂ *kamç∇ (or *Kamç∇) '(sth. connected with) hand/arm' > HS: S *√k_mç̂¹ ~ *°√kmç̂ 'handful' (different directions of as. from *√kmç̂?) > [1] *√k_mç̂¹ - > BHb 𐤎𐤓𐤕𐤓 'komεç 'handful', Ak NB k_enç_u id. (?) (←b- Aram?), ?σ Ug k_mç 'un montón de' (a measure); BHb, JA √k_mç G 'enclose with the hand, take a handful/fistful', JEA {Sl.} √k_mç G 'take a handful'; [2] *kum_l∇_jç̂ - > Ar kumš-at-un 'handful' ¶ KB 1036, BK II 929, Js. 1386, Sl. 1026, HJ 1036, OLS 368, CAD XIII 209 || A: M *qamç_u∇_in 'sleeve' > MM [MA] qanč_u(n), [IM] qanč_u, [IsV] qanč_in, WrM qamç_ui ~ qanç_ui ~ qanç_u, HIM ханцуй, Brt хамсы, WrO ханса(n), Kl ханцн, {Rm.} ханçă, ханçŋ, MMgl {Iw.} qamč_i, Mgl {Rm.} qamč_i ~ qamč_u, Mnr H {SM} ханç_i, {T} ханç_i, Dx qanč_un, Ba qanč_on, Dg {Pp.} ханč_i id. ¶ Pp. MA 291, 444, Lg. VMI 42, MED 921, 927, Chr. 543, Krg. 233, KRS 576, KW 166, Iw. 122-3, SM 156, T 373, T DnJ 116, T BJ 137.

891. *kom_l∇_jdE 'e basket, vessel' > U: FU *konte 'knapsack of birch-bark' > F kontti id. | Prm *kud∇ > Vt kud+ 'bast-basket', Vt Sr 'eine Art großer Korb', Z kud 'bent basket of bast, (wickered) bast-basket (пукoшкo)', Z Vm kuda 'large wooden box for flour and corn, пудовкa' || ? amb ObU {Ht.} *kūnt ~ *k̄nt 'large basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt > Vg: T kōnt, LK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt; pOs *k̄nt > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q̄nt, D/K χent, Nz χ̄nt id. (× ObU *kūnt- ~ *k̄nt- 'carry on

the back' < U *kanta- 'carry') ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 124, 177-8, Ht. #292, as well as Wc. TLP 76 and LG 741 (both sources suppose a Chv origin of the Prm word) || **А:** NaT *Komṭa > QuK {RL} qomda 'box', Qb {RL} qomda 'coffin', SbTt Tb {RL} qumta 'ε ein Schächtelchen', SbTt Bkl {Tm.} qumta, SbTt Ltm {Tm.} qunta 'box, bag (коробка, сумка)', Bsh qumta 'small box\case'; Volga Qp *qumta ⇨ Chv L кунтă kund_ь 'bast-basket' ¶ RL II 671, 1050-1, Tm. 133-4, BR 347, Fed. I 307-8, ≠ Jeg. 118 (supposes a FU origin of the Chv word) || M *qobdu 'case; box; quiver' (× N *Қорṽ 'trunk, log'??) > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver for arrows', WrM qobdu, HIM ховд 'case; long and narrow box; quiver', Kl {KRS} ховд 'long and narrow box; case (футляр), quiver', {Rm.} χobda 'quiver', Brt хобто 'box, chest (сундук)' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 949, KW 181, KRS 591, Chr. 574 || ?? Tg *komṭṽ- > Neg komtaxan 'birch-bark box for keeping small objects' (unless d. from *komta- v. 'close, cover', 'lid' < N *kom_ṽ, ṭṽ 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ STM I 409 || ?σ pJ *kámátí- 'door frame' > OJ kamati, J: T kamaći, K kamaćí, Kf kamáći ¶ S QJ #869, ≈ Mr. 431 ¶¶ DQA #876 (A *kómṭṽ 'box, frame') || **HS:** S *kand- 'jug' > Ug knd 'jug', Ak NB kandu 'ε a container of earthenware or silver, mainly for wine' (← WS?) ¶ A #1337, CAD VIII 148-9, ≠ HJ 487-8 (Ak kandu * ← WS *kadd-) ◇ UEW 177 (FU, T, M, Tg).

892. *kom_ṽ, ṭṽ 'to cover; lid, cover' > **U:** FP *komta 'lid, cover' > F kansi (gen. kannen) 'cover, lid, deck', Lv kōńĉ (pl. kōńĉad_) 'lid (Deckel)', Es kaas (gen. kaane) 'lid, cover (of a book)' | Lp: K {Gn.} koamploš 'lid (Deckel)', T {Gn.} kīømte 'outer surface', N {N} goaw'de / -wd- 'projecting roof' | Er kundo 'lid (of a trunk, tub)', Mk {Ps.} kunda 'lid' | Chr: L/H комдыш комбъš, Uf комбъš 'lid' | Z kud 'cover, outer surface' ¶ UEW 671, Sm. 552 (FP *komta 'lid'), SK 157, Kt. 150, ERV 314, MRS 213, Ü 73, Ep. 46, LG 143-4, Db. OS x (FU *kamto- > *kamte- / *komta-) || **А:** Tg: Orc kumta- v. 'cover'; Tg *komtan 'lid (of a vessel, basket)' > Neg komtan, Orc qumta(n-), Ul qōmta(n-), qumta(n-), Ork qupta(n-), Nn Nh/KU qomṭã, Nn B qoṅta(n-) id.; ⇨ *kumta-la- v. 'cover with a lid' > Ul qumtala-, Ork quptala-, Nn Nh/KU qomtala- id. | Tg *kumbṽ-kte 'upper eyelid' > Neg kumbuktз, Ul kumbiktз ~ kumtз, Nn kumuktз 'eyelid', Lm {Pp.} kзmdзmkз 'eyelids'; Nn B kumul-kumul ta- 'close the eyelids tightly' ¶ STM I 409, 447 || M *kōmüsge 'eyebrow(s)' > WrM kōmüsge, HIM хөмсөг, WrO kümüske ~ kümüskü ~ kōmüskü, Kl күмсг күмсэг, {Rm.}

kümska ~ kömska, Ord k'ömösk'ö, Mnr k'üomosg_üo; M ⇨ WrMc xumsun id. | WrM kömüg, kömügei 'shed, roof', esp. 'roof over a portico' | Brt xymэдxэ 'superciliary arcs; eyebrows', Dg {Mrm.} kumṛk 'eyelid' ¶ MED 487, Krg. 741, 754-5, KRS 324, KW 239, 246, Ms. O 428, SM 213, Chr. 620, Klz. D II 117 || ?σ pKo {S} *kùmìt 'hair on temples' > MKo kùmìt ~ kumis id.; MKo küi mit^h (reinterpreted as 'roots of the ears') > NKO küi mit^h [küimit] 'roots of the ears' ¶ S QK #315, Nam 59, 65, MLC 228 || ?? T: OT [MhK] qom-: sūv qomdī 'the water was covered with waves' (legitimate cognate only if it is a bf. from **komT-through forms like *kom-dī < *komT-dī) ¶ Cl. 625 ¶¶ Pp. VG 19, 68 (M and Tg words for 'eyelid'), ≈ DQA #877 *kūmu 'wrap up, cover' (Tg equated with OT qum-, M *qumi 'fold, gather up, close tightly', pKo *kām- v. 'wind around', and pJ *kūm- 'plait, interwine, combine'), DQA #917 (A *ku|om|e 'eyebrow, hair on temples': M, Tg, Ko) || HS: S (mt. and as.) *^o✓ ktm v. 'cover, close' > Ak ✓ ktm (inf. katāmu) v. 'cover, conceal', katammu n. 'cover, lid (for a kettle or oven)' ¶ CAD VIII 297-303 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Beke} kamád 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gämäd 'bark' (× N *kama 'peel [rind]' [→ 'dandruff, scab'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 149 (FU, Tg) → UEW 671 (FU, Tg) ◇ Cp. Gr. II #82 (*kom 'cover') (A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

893. *kañ ▽ 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' > U: FP (att. in FL) *^okansa 'pair; one of a pair, comrade' > Prm *kōz ({{LG} *kōz) 'pair, couple' < Z goz / gozy-, Z US gōz, Yz 'guz, Vt kuz, Vt B ko'z ({{LG} kθz) 'pair', Z gōzya 'married couple' | Es kaasa, Δ kās 'comrade; spouse' | Lp: N {N} gāz'ze 'household' (⇔ 'a single individual'), Vfs {Lgc.} nūō'rz g_äcc^uε 'young couple' (nūō'rz 'young'), Kld {TI} kāñc 'comrade' ¶ It is not yet clear if F kansa 'people' and Lp N gāz'ze 'assembly of people' belong to the same √ (with the semantic change from 'couple; married couple' to 'household' to 'folk, people'), or it is a homonymous word of a different origin (maybe a loan from eGmc *xansā [> Gmc *xansō > Gt hansa 'troop, multitude', OHG hansa, AS hōs 'troop', MHG hanse, hense 'society']) ¶ UEW 645 (FP *kansa 'Volk, Leute; Genosse, Freund'), LG 77, Fs. 245, Kb. 431 || A *k_l'an- > M *qani > WrM qani, HIM хань 'friend, companion, partner', Ord xani, WrO xani 'friend, comrade', Kl {KRS} хань 'fellow-traveller, companion', {Rm.} xañj, Brt хани, Dg {T} xani 'friend, companion'; ? MM [S] qanilqa- 'vergleichen, gleichstellen' ¶ MED 930, Ms. O 334, Krg. 232, KRS 576, KW 165, Chr.

546, T DgJ 173, H 60 || pJ *kànàp- v. 'match' > OJ kànàp-, J: T/Kg kaná-, K káná- ¶ S QJ #761, Mr. 703 || ??φ T *k_l'_oη_lu_l'i 'neighbour' (unless a d. from T *k'ón- 'settle down') > OT T koñuṣu (= qoñuṣu?) 'neighbour', OT, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg xv qoñšI, MQp XIV [CC] qoñšI ~ qoñšu, OOsM ≥XIV qoñšI~qoñšI, Tk komṣu, Ggz qomšu, Qrg qoñšu, Nog, Qq qoñSI, Uz qošni, Δ qoñbč ≙ qoñš, Az ΓΟΗΨΥ qoñšu, Qmq χonšu, ET qošna ~ χošna, Xk χonžIX id. ¶ *÷ (⇔ DQA) T *Konak ~ *Konuk 'guest' (obviously derived from T *k'ón- 'settle for the night on a journey, settle down', see ET Q 55-6, Cl. 634, 637) ¶ Cl. 640, ET Q 66-8, BIG 286 ¶¶ *÷ (⇔ DQA) Tg *xanḡi-, which means not 'other', but 'side' (so in Ul, Ork, Nn), while Lm āηlll and Neg anṣki ~ aṣki 'other' belong to a different N etymon (N *Hañ∇ 'other') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #985 (A *k'āno 'match, other side'; incl. M, J) || HS: S *k∇na_lwat- 'comrade, person of equal social status' > Ak kinātu ~ kinattu id., 'colleague', IA knt 'companion, colleague', BA הַנְּוֹתָּ (pl. +ppa.) kə'nāw-āṭ-ēh 'her colleagues', {GB} 'her comrades', Sr 𐤊𐤍𐤁 kə'nāṭ, 𐤊𐤍𐤁 kə'nāṭ-ā 'companion, fellow-servant, colleague' (Zimmern, Sd., Kaufman a.o. suppose that the Aram word is a loan from Ak) ¶ CAD VIII 381-3, Sod. 479, HJ 520-1, KB 1725, GB 910, JPS 220 || B *√knw 'be a twin' > Ah əknu, Kb √knw (imv. iṣniw) id.; Ah ē-kne, Sll i-kni ~ i-kinnu, Mz a-čniw (pl. a-cniwən), Kb i-ṣən, Wrg i-kin, akniw, Izn iḡən, aḡniw, SnSr aḡən 'twin', Mz tačniwṭ, Kb ṭi-ṣən-ṭ, Wrg tikint, takniwṭ 'female twin' ¶ Dl. 411, Fc. 831, Ds. 163, Dlh. M 23-4, Dlh. Ou 147, Rn. 346 ¶¶ In B and S the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N *koñi 'woman, wife' (whence the meaning 'co-wife').

894. *kañ|ñ∇(-ṭ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > HS: S *kann- '≈ stem' → 'basis' > Ak kannu 'slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)', Sr 𐤊𐤍𐤁 kan'r-n-ā 'stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)', JA kan'r-n-ā {Js.} 'base, stand', JEA {Sl.} kan'r-n-ā 'stem, stalk, original position', ? BHb 𐤊𐤍 ken 'shoot; stand (base of a wash basin kiyyūōr)' (the vw. e is puzzling), Md kana 'base, fundament', Tgr 𐤎𐤅𐤁 kan-əṭ (pl. 𐤎𐤅𐤁 kənan) 'rowing-pole' ¶ Br. 333, JPS 217. KB 460, KBR 483, Js. 648, Sl. 587, DM 198, LH 416, CAD VIII 157 ¶ There is probably contamination of the S word in question with a different word, meaning '≈ place' || C: Ag {Ap.} *kan- 'tree' > Bln, Xm, Q kana, Aw kani ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WB 221-2 || ?? WCh: Buli {IL} k^uíndè, {ChL} kíndí 'tree' ¶ ChL, ChC || D: [1] (in McTm) *kaññ- 'sprout, shoot' > Tm kaññi id., Ml kaññi 'shoot of betel vines'

||| [2] D *kañ∇kk- 'stick' > Kt kañk 'thin dry sticks', Kn kañike, kañuku 'stalk of millet', kañḍike 'stalk, stem', Tu kañaku 'firewood', Tl kañika 'stick', ? Ku kandi 'stick, twig', Krx kañk 'wood, timber', Mlt kanku 'wood' ¶¶ D ##1165, 1185, 1454-5 || U: FU *kanta 'tree stump, tree-trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *gUrañd∇ 'log, trunk of a tree'??) > F kanta (gen. kannan) 'tree-trunk, stem; base; standpoint; heel', kannas (gen. kannaksen) 'tree-trunk; end of sleigh-runner; neck of a land, isthmus', F kanto (gen. kannon), Es kand (gen. kannu) 'stump' || pLp {Lr.} *kōntōy 'tree-stump' >> Lp: S {Hs.} goodde, Kld kūñd: 'windfallen tree', L {LLO} kuottōi id., 'stump', N {N} guod'do 'stump' || Er kando, Mk kanda '(wind)fallen tree' || ObU {Ht.} *kīnt∇ > pVg *kīnt(∇) 'wooden pillar functioning as the vertical support of a storehouse' > Vg: P/NV/LL kēnt, UL xānta id.; pOs *kant > Os: Vy (čoməl-)qant 'each of the two horizontal beams, fixed upon the pillar of a forest storehouse and serving as its base', Ty/Y {Trj.} qānt, Kz χant 'pillar of the storehouse', D χont 'lattice base at the bottom of a storehouse (support of its floor)' ¶ UEW 123, Coll. 85, Sm. 543 (FU *kīntā 'tree stump', FP *kēnta, Ugr *kīnta), Lr. #522, Lgc. #2865, TI 166, Ht. #293, Trj. 144 || A: Tg *kende- 'threshold' > Neg kəndə, Orc kəndərku ~ kəndər(ə)xi, Ul kəndərxi(n-), Nn Nh kəndərxi, Nn B kəndətixə(n) ¶ STM I 448 || T *kāt 'layer, storey (of a house)' > OT qat, Az gat, Chv χut & χot 'layer, fold, storey (of a house)', Tkm gat, Uz qat 'layer, fold, row', Tk kət, Ggz kat, Tv qāt, Tf qāt 'layer, row, storey', ET, SY qat 'layer', Kr Cr, Qrg, Alt qat, χq χat 'layer, row', Qmq, Qq, VTt, Bsh qat 'layer, storey', Xlj qāt 'fold', Yk χat 'again' ¶ Rs. W 241, Cl. 593, ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-1, Ra. 219, TvR 223 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #764 (A *kēnt'∇ 'threshold, floor') || ? AdS of IE: NaIE *^og|ḡgenb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡonb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡnob_l^h₁- 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N *gän_l∇₁ḡ¹∇ 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) > *^og|ḡgenb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡonb_l^h₁-/*^og|ḡnob_l^h₁- (× 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' ¶ P 369, 378-9 ◇ The N postalveolar or

palatal ***ñ** is reconstructed on the ev. of ***ñ** in D ***kaññ-** and ***kañ**∇**kk-**; in precon. position (U ***kanta**, D ***kāmp-**) the postalveolarity is lost due to neutralization ◇ Tg ***e** of the first syll. is probably due to reg. as. (infl. of the root-final ***e**) ◇ ≈ AD NM #87, S CNM 4-5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

895. *k**¹onE** 'to touch' ([in K] → 'work up') > **U**: FU ***kon**∇- v. 'touch' > ObU {Ht.} ***kān-** 'anrühren' > pVg ***kān-** > Vg: T/O **kan-**, MK **kān-**; pOs {Ht.} ***kān-** ({Hl.} ***kān-**) > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz **χān-** ¶ Ht. #276, Hl. rHt 71 || **A**: M ***kōnde-** 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N ***koñdE** 'to harm, to spoil', 'to touch') > MM [S] **kōnde-** 'anrühren', WrM **kōnde-**, HIM **көндө-** 'touch, irritate', WrO {Krg.} **kōndō-** 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} **көндө-** **kōndə-** 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} 'sich fühlbar machen' (šarχ_a **kōnd**_Ḷ**nā** 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'); M ***könüxe-** > WrM **könüge-**, HIM **көнөө-** v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', WrO {Krg.} **könō-** 'torment, torture, bother' ¶ H 104, MED 490, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239 ¶ The meaning of the M root suggests contamination of N ***k¹onE** 'to touch' and N ***koñdE** 'to harm, to spoil', 'to touch' || **K**: G (amo-)kn- {Chx.} 'rühren, schlagen (z. B. Eier), einrühren; bearbeiten\gerben (Häute); zer-quetschen\drücken', {DCh.} vt. 'full (woolen cloth), roll (dough), dress (hides)' ¶ Chx. 1566, DCh. 31 ◇ The K cognate is valid if its primary meaning is 'to touch'. If this is the case, the N initial cns. is ***k-**. Otherwise we cannot distinguish between N ***k-**, ***ḳ-**, and ***q̣-**.

896. *koñi**** (or ***kuñi**) 'woman, wife' > **IE** ***g^wen(-eH)** ({EI} ***g^wenh_Ḷ** / gen. ***g^wneh_Ḷ-s**) 'woman' > NaIE ***g^wen(-ā)** / ***gun(-ā)** id., gen. ***g^wn-ās** > OI **gnā** 'goddess, divine female', Av **gəñā**, **ʒnā** 'wife, woman', OI 'jani-ḥ, Av **ǰaini**, NPrs **نن** **zān** id. || Arm **կին** **kin** 'woman' || Gk **γυνή** 'woman', Gk B **βανᾶ** (< ***g^wonā**) || Clt: OIr **ben** (< ***g^wenā**), gen. sg. **mná** (< ***g^wn-ās** 'woman, female', Brtt {RE} ***benā** > OW **ben** 'women', **benyω** id. (← 'féminin'), OCrn, Crn **benen**, MBr **benō** 'woman', Br **e-ben** 'his wife' || ??? Al **zonjē** 'lady, woman' (if from ***g^wen-yā**, as suggested by Ped. GA 324.; but O 526 derives it from IE ***wik̂-pot-ny-ā**); but Al G **grue**, Al T **grua** 'woman, wife' cannot belong here (⇔ My. 132 and P 473). because IE *-n- did not rhotacize in Al G || Gmc: (IE ***g^wenōn** >) Gt **qīnō**, OSx **quena** 'wife', OHG **quena** ~ **kwena**, MHG **quene** 'woman, wife', AS **cwene** 'woman, female serf, whore', NE **quean**; NaIE ***g^wēni-s** > Gt **qēns** 'wife', ON **kvæn** ~ **kván** ~ **kvǫn**

'woman', OSx *quān* 'woman, wife'; ON *kvinna* 'woman, wife', NNr, Sw *kvinna*, Dn *kvinda* 'woman', AS *cwēn* 'wife, queen', NE *queen*; ON *kona* 'woman', NNr *kona*, Dn *kone* 'wife, woman' || Pru *genno* 'woman' || Sl **že'na* 'woman' > OCS, OR *жѣна* *žena*, Blg *же'на*, SCr *žèna*, Slv *žéna*, Cz, Slk *žena* 'woman, wife', P *żona*, R *же'на* 'wife', Uk *π жо'на* 'woman' || pTc {Ad.} **śānā* > Tc: A *śān* (pl. *śnu*), B *śana* (obl. *śno*) 'woman, wife' || AnIE: Lv *wanatti* & *unatti* 'women' ¶¶ WP I 681-2, P 473-4, EI 648, M KI 351, 418, VI. II 44, Horn 148, F I 333-5, Vn. B 31-2, RE 147, Hamp AIEW 143, Huld 66, 136, Ped. GA 324 (Al *zonjē* < **gʷen-iā* or <† **gʷiā*- 'life'), Fs. 388, Ho. 64, Ho. GEW 78, Ho. S 59, Sw. 38, Kb. 582, HDEL 1070, Vr. 325, 336-9, Schz. 189, Sl. 168-9, En. 176-7, Tp. PE-H 207-10, Glh. 708-9, Vs. II 46, StSS 216, Wn. 476-7, Chr. I 298-9, Ad. 620, Ad. H 31, 34, 42 || HS: C: Ag {AD} **kʷɜ|in-* ~ **ʔɜkʷin-* (pl. **ʔɜkʷin-*), {Ap.} **ʔaxʷin-*/**ʔaxʷan-* 'woman' > Dmb {R} *kʷīnā*, Knf {TBZAC} *kuna*, Aw {Hz., Bnd.} *yuna*, Aw D {CR} *χuo'nā*, Bln {Plm.} *ʔaxʷina* (pl. *ʔɜkʷin*), Xm {R} *iwna* (pl. *ukʷn* ~ *iokʷn*), Xm T {CR} *eqʷen* (pl. *aqnu*), Km {CR} *yawīna* ~ *wīna* (pl. *yawīn*) 'woman' ¶ AD SF 213-4, Ap. AV 6, R WB 18, Blz. CWL || NrOm {Blz.} **k∇n-* 'woman' > Cha {C} *kontirā* 'woman', ?σ Kf {C} *kenešō*, {Msr.} *keneso* 'cognata', {HHM} *kenešo* 'brother-in-law' || SOM: Hm K, Ari G {FL.}, Ari {Bnd.} *kan* 'sister' ¶ C SE III 170 and IV 462, Blz. OL #62, HHM 295, Msr. 247, Bnd. AL 158 || B: Ah *tē-kne* (pl. *tēknewīn*), Tmz *ta-kna* (pl. *ta-kanwin*), *ta-šna* (pl. *ta-šanwin*), Kb *ташна*, Rif, SrSn *taḵna*, Izn *taḵna*, Wrg *takna*, Sll *tākna* (pl. *tākniwin*), Mz *ta-čna* (pl. *tačniwin*, *tičniwin*), Izn *taḵna*, Rif, SnSr 'co-wife', Izn *ta-wašun-t* 'wife', Ah *əknu*, Kb ✓*knw* 'be a co-wife' ¶ Fc. 831, MT 339-41, Dl. 409, 411, Ds. 68, Dlh. M 24, Dlh. Ou 148, Rn. 346 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} *kinītu* 'Nebenfrau (?)' ¶ Sd. 480 || Ch: WCh: NrBc {Stl.} **kina* 'co-wife' > {Sk.}: Wrj *kinai*, Jmb *kina*, My, Kry *kin*, Mbr *kinā*, Cg *kīne* id. ¶ Sk. NB 16, Stl. ZCh 256 [#120] ¶¶ In S, Ch, and B there may have been coalescence with the reflexes of N **kañ∇* 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' (> B *✓*knw* 'be a twin') || A: NaT **kūni* 'co-wife' (×N **Ḷinʔu* [> as. **Ḷünʔü*] 'exercise magic', → [in descendant lgs.] 'be jealous') > OT, XwT *kūni*, Tkm *gūni*, Az *gūnu*, Qrg *künü* 'co-wife', MQP [incl. CC] *kūni* 'concubine', Tk Erz *günü* 'Freundin'; a cd. with *-*taš* (> -*daš*/-*däš*) 'fellow-': Uz *кундош* *kundaš*, Qq *kündes* 'co-wife', ET *kündäš*, Qrg *kündöš*, Nog, Qzq *kündes*, VTt, Bsh *көндәш* *kündäš* 'co-wife, rival' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 105-6, Tkr 222, SD 688, Jud. 467, BR 280, Nj. 664,

UzR 224, Pokr. TR 66 ¶ Og g- points to a pT *k' || pJ {S} *kuanami 'first wife (in polygamy)' > OJ kuanamj̄i id. ¶ S QJ #1518, Mr. 456 ¶¶ DQA #921 (*kune 'one of several wives') ◇ IS I 306-8 [#178]. The meaning 'co-wife' in HS and A obviously reflects the polygamous system of marriage. But it is not necessary to share IS's hyp. (IS I 308) interpreting it as traces of the archaic kinship system in which women of one exogamous moiety were potential collective wives of men of the opposite moiety; cf. the traces of this system preserved among the Gilyaks (Shtr. GO 129-284, Krn. N 259-93) ◇ Gr. II #431 (*kun 'woman') (IE, A, J + qu. EA) ◇ The vw. *ü in T *k'üni results from regr. as.

897. *kuñä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *gou̯n-/gun- 'hair' > Av gaona- 'hair, colour of hair', Psh yūna 'hair of the body', KhS ggūna- 'hair', Oss D yun, Oss I хъуын qw3n id., 'wool', OI guṛaḥ 'thread, string, sinew, chord' (OI -ṛ- is still puzzling: a prakritism?) || ? Gt kuna-wida 'fettors (ἄλυσις)', OHG kuna-wid 'chain, fettors', cuonio-wid 'fettors', [γ] khuna-withi, chun-widi 'catenae' || ? Sl *guna ~ guña > SCr gūnja 'body hair of a domestic animal', 'ε garment', Blg гyна 'furcoat', Cz Δ huňa 'woolen cloth with nap', Cz houňa, P gunia 'ε cloak of woolen cloth', R Δ гyня 'worn-out garment' ⚡ 'furcoat', Uk гyня '(caftan of) coarse heavy woolen cloth' ¶ M K I 338, M EI 489-90, Mrg. 25, Bai. 86, Ab. III 326-7, Fs. 315-6, Kb. 569, 573, ESSJ VII 175-7, ≈ EI 252 (*gou̯r̥ / *gu'n-os 'body hair [of animals]') || **U:** FU (att. in FP) *kūn|ñä 'hair, wool, feather(s)' > F kynä 'feather' || pPrm {LG} [1] *gūn > Z гын g+n, Z Vsh gūn 'felt', [2] {LG} *gōn > Z гон g3n 'feather(s), wool of horses\cattle', Yz gōn 'woolen mittens, felt', Vt gon 'wool, dough, hair of the body' ¶ LG 80, Lt. J 107, ≈ UEW 664 (equates BF *kūnā with Z k3yn3s 'small long coop') || **D** (in SD) *kūntal ({ǵGS} *k-) 'human hair' > Tm kūntal 'long flowing tresses of a woman', Ml kūntal 'woman's hair', Kn kūdal 'hair (of the head or body)', Tu kuzalъ 'hair of the head', Krg kūdlu 'hair'; D ⇨ OI kuntalaḥ 'hair of the head, lock of hair' ¶ D #1892, M K I 229 ◇ FU *kūn|ñä results from synharmonic as.: ***kuñä** > *kūn|ñä.

898. *k'ay'ñ∇ (or **kañ∇??**) (often in cds.) 'wing, feather' > HS +ext. (← cd.?) *k∇n∇p(∇r)-: S *ka'nap- 'wing' > Hb ካንታ kā'nāp, Ug knp, (AkSc) {Hnr.} kanapu, JA ካንታ kə'nāp, em. كَانِبْ kan'əj'pā, JEA {Sl.} كَانِبْ kan'p-ā (pl. كَانِبْ kan'əj'pē), Sr كَانِبْ kanə'pā, Ar كَنْف kanaf-, Gz kənf (pl. kənaf), Tgr, Amh kənf, Tgy kənfī 'wing', Ak kappu

id. (× kappu < *kapp- 'palm of hand'), Yd, IA {HJ} knp 'skirt of a garment'; EthS ⇨ Bln {Plm.} kanfi 'wing', {R} 'kanfə 'feather', Aw {CR} kenfī, Qbn {L} kānf^ωa 'wing' ¶ Brst. 184, KBR 486, GB 353-4, A #1345, OLS 220, BK II 937, Hnr. 138, Sl. 589, Js. 651, L G 287, HJ 519, R WB 224, MiK I #1.145 || C: Ag *k∇np- (unless ⇨ EthS): Xm {R} kiff 'wing', Q {R} kamb, kemb id., 'feather', Km {CR} kəmbī 'wing' || ??φ Bj {R} ?an'būr (pl. ?anbir ~ ?anber), Bj A {AD} (hu) ?anbūr (pl. hu ?anbir) 'wing' || EC {Ss} *kimbir 'small bird' > Rn čimbír id., Sa, Af {PH} kimbir-o, Bs {Ss} kimbir-i, Dsn {To.} kimírri 'bird', Arr {Hw.} kirmaté 'bird(s)', Sml šimbir, pBn {Hn.} *šimmír (> Bn šimir ∂ šimmir ∂ simmir), Or šimbir-a ∂ simbir-a ∂ šimpirrē 'bird' || ??φ SC: Irq {Wh.} hâmpa (pl. hampêri), {MQK} hampa 'wing' ¶ AD SF 30 (*kEmp∇r- 'bird'), 65 (pC *kanp- 'wing, feather'), Ss. PEC 13, 15, PG 85, Hw. A 373, To. DL 511, PH 147, Hn. BD 95, E PC #381 (pC *kanf-/kinf-, MQK 48, CR K 214 || ? SOM: Ari G {Fl.} kāfi (< *kanfi?) 'wing' ¶ Fl. OO 321 || ? Ch: CCh: Db {Lnh.} kòpók, {Sb.} kòpók 'feather' || WCh: Fy {J} kámāk id. || EC: Mkl {J} kâmbirsá (pl. kâmbàrí) 'wing' ¶ ChC, J LM 118, J R 87 ¶¶ AD SF 65 (S, C), OS #1426 (S, Ag) || **A** *k'ayna 'wing, large feather' (→ 'leaf of a door\gate') > M: [1] *qana 'e feather' > WrM qana {Gl.} 'the feathers (in a wing) immediately behind the "hairy feathers"', {Kow.} 'les petites plumes des ailes des oiseaux, c. à d. celles qui sont après les quatre ou cinq premières dans la même rang', Kl {Rm.} χana 'die grossen Federn der Flügel, die ebene Fläche der Flügel'] [2] sd. (infl. of T?): WrM qanan, HIM xana 'section of lattice wall of a yurt; lath; wall', Kl xana 'lattice wall of a yurt', {Rm.} χana id., 'Wandstücke', Ord χana 'treillis de tente, mur', Brt xana 'wall' ¶ MED 927, Kow. 719, Gl. II 68, KRS 575, KW 165, Ms. O 332, Chr. 544 || pT {Md.} *ka.jnat∇ or {AD} *kajnat or *kjanat 'wing' > NaT *k'ānat- 'wing' > OT qanat, Tk kanat, Az ganad, Tkm gānat, Ggz kanat, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, ET, Ln qanat, Uz qanot, SY {Tn.} qana^ht (with preaspirated t) ~ qi.jnat, {Mal.} qanat ~ qi.jnat, Xk χanat, Tv {Ra.} qanat, Tf hanat (Md.: < *ka?nat) 'wing', Yk kinat ~ ki.jat 'wing' (Yk I < *a in this position is reg.) || Chv L šunat 'wing' (acc. to Md. OJ 72, pT *ka.j- > pre-Chv *ki.jā- > *x.jā > Chv L šu-)] sd.: Tk kanat, Az g_anad_, Ggz, Nog qanat, Uz qanot 'leaf (of a door>window)', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Qmn/QuK/Tb qanat, Xk χanat 'a section of lattice wall of a yurt' ¶ Cl. 635, ET KQ 252-3, TL 504, Ra. 186, Rs. W 520, Md. OJ 72, 217-8, 274, Rl. II 111-3, ESSJ KQ 252-3, S AJ 194-5 [#216], Jeg. 218, Fed. II 137, Tn. SJJ 199, Mal. ZhU 52, 63, AD AltAD

|| pJ {S} *kántuà 'gate' > OJ kád̀wò, J: T kádo, K kàdó, Kg kadó id. ¶ S QJ #898, Mr. 431 ¶¶ ≈ STM97 s.v. A *kenta 'elbow, angle' (T, Tg + unc. pJ *kàntuá 'angle, corner', see N *kámč'ó' 'to bend; bend, corner'), ≈ DQA #826 (A *kḗna 'elbow, angle'; incl. T) || D ≈ *kent- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'feather' > Gdb kenduṭ (pl. kendum), Gdb P kendiṭ 'feather', Gnd kendi, Gdb K kendiṭ, Png kḗndid (pl. kḗndil) 'hair' ¶¶ D #2002 ◇ The D vw. *e may be explained if it is supposed that N *ay contracted into Gnd and Gdb e. HS *k∇n∇p(∇r)- may go back to a cd. (N *k'ay'ñ∇ 'p'ur, y, ∇, see N *p'ur, y, ∇ 'wing, feather(s)') ◇ Blz. LB #53c.

899. *kü, y, ñûA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > HS *✓knɣ (× N *k'ũñigU 'to bend, to incline, to bow'?) > CS *✓knɣ '≈ be bent, bow, incline' > Ar kanīɣ- 'estropié de la main, qui a la main cassée', ʔaknaɣ- 'mutilé et estropié de la main', ✓knɣ (pf. kanīɣa, ip. -knaɣ-) 'contractus et corrugatus fuit', 'être contracté\tordu', kanaɣa ɣalā v. 'submit to', BHb N pf. ܢܝܩܢܝܢ ni-k'naɣ 'have to submit, be humbled, humble oneself', SmA ✓knɣ G vi. 'yield, submit, be humble', JPA ✓knɣ pp. 'depressed, modest' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935-6, KB 461-2, KBR 484-5, Tal 397, Hv. 667, WKAS K 388 ¶ The Hb and Aram verb may go back to N *k'ũñigU '↑' or to result from coalescence of both N sources || ? B *✓knH v. 'incline' (× N *k'ũñigU) > Izd pf. ikna, Sll knu (pf. ikʷna) '(se) courber', Kb əɬnu (pf. yəɬna) 'se pencher, s'humilier, se courber', Gd εknu (pf. yεkna, Lcj. 22) '(se) courber' ¶ Dl. 409, Ds. 79, Mrc. 65, Lf. I 264 (on Lcj. 22) and II #0775 || IE *ǵenu-/*ǵonu-/*ǵneɥ- ({EI} *ǵonu / gen. *ǵenu-s) 'knee' > OI 'jānu, KhS yṣānuā-, Sgd zʔnwk, MPrs zānūk, NPrs ܙܢܘܢ zānū 'knee' || Arm Ժուկ cunɣ (pl. Ժուկք cunk-kʰ) id. || Gk γόνυ id. || L genū (gen. genūs) || Clt *gnūnes (dis. > *glū-nes) > OIr glúin, NIr glúin, Brtt {RE} *glūnos > MW, W, Br glin, Crn glyn || Gt kniu, OHG knio ȝ kniu, NHG Knie, AS cnéo 'knee', NE knee || pTc {Ad.} *kenw- > Tc: A kanw- (du. kanwem), B keni (du.) id. || Ht genu, g|kinu-, g|kanu- id. ¶¶ P 380-1, EI 336, M K I 429, Vl. II 107-8, Horn 144, F I 321, WH I 592-3, RE 107, LG § 268, Fs. 313, Kb. 551, Schz. 182, KM 382, Ho. 54, Sl. 165-6, Wn. 187, Ad. 193, Ad. H 137-8, Pv. IV 146-51 || U: FU *küyñä-(rā-) 'forearm, elbow' > F kyynärä, kyynäs, Δ küjñärä 'ell', kyynärpää 'elbow' (pää 'end'), kyynärvarsī 'forearm' (varsī 'stalk, shaft'), Es küünar 'forearm, ell' || pLp {Lr.} *kzrñēlē 'elbow' > Lp: S {Hs.} garnjere, L {LLO} karñel, N {N} gar'dnjel, Kld karñel || Er

кене́ре кѣнѣ́ре, Mk кене́рь кѣнѣ́р id. | Chr: L кыне́рвуй кѣ́нер'wuy 'elbow', H кѣ́нервуй кѣ́нерwuy 'elbow joint' (вуй 'head'), H кѣ́нер кѣ́нер 'ell' | Prm *gúr 'forearm' > Z Ud g+r 'unity of length for measuring linen (ell)', Z g+rǝǝa, Vt g+rþum 'elbow' || ObU {Ht.} *kǔñ- > pVg *kǔñʂal > Vg: LK kʷänʂal, UL konlōwɫ, Ss konlōwɫ 'elbow'; pOs {Ht.} *kǔññäy ({Hl.} *kǔññäy) id. > Os: V/Vy kǔññi, Ty kǔññi, Y kǔññi, D kǔññäy, K kǔññäy | Hg kǔññök id. ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 158-9, Sm. 544 (FU *kǔñärä 'elbow', FP *kǔñärä, Ugr *kǔñ-), SK 257-8, Lr. #322, Lgc. #1957, Hs. 565, MRS 269, 276, Ep. 55, MF 372-4, It. #415, SSK 257-8, LG 85, SZ 97, Ht. #281, Hl. rHt 71 || A: ? Tg *xüñçen 'elbow' (× N *kǔñçǎ '∈ part of leg', q.v. ffd.; this merger accounts for Tg *x-) ¶¶ The Tg root is unconvincingly equated in DQA #824 (A *kēñǎ 'elbow, angle'; ≈ {SDM} A *kǔyña, *k'ǔyña) with M *kai, *kan-ǔu 'fronte legs, sleeve' and pJ *kanaj 'rule, gusset' ¶¶ DQA l.c. mentions T *Kaynat 'wing' that goes back to N *kayñǎ 'wing, feather' || ? D *kǔñ ({ǧGS} *g-) 'a bend, curve, hump on the back' (× N *k'ǔñigU 'to bend, to incline, to bow?') > Tm kǔñ, kǔñal 'a bend, curve, hump on the back', Ml kǔñ 'a humpback', Tm kǔñan, Ml kǔñan 'humpbacked', Td ku'n 'hunchback', Kn kǔñu, Tu, Tl gǔñu 'a hump', Kn kǔña, gǔña 'a humpbacked man', Kdg kǔñ, Tu gǔñæ 'hunchback', Tl gǔñi 'humpbacked', Ku guʔu 'hump of cow', cp. also Kt ku'n- v. 'be in bowed position', Tm kǔñu- v. 'curve', Gnd guñ- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D #1927 ◇ IS I 304 (*kǔyñA = *kǔyñA), ≈ S NSShS #28 (IE, Tg + unc. M and J) ◇ Gr. II #128 (*ken 'elbow') (IE, U, A +unc. J, EA).

900. (₂?) *kǔñhæ 'to give birth' > IE *ǧenH-/*ǧneH- 'give birth' ({E}) *ǧenh₁- 'beget a child; be born') > NaIE *ǧenə-/*ǧnē-/*ǧnō- > [1] thematic present: OI 'janati 'gives birth', OL gen-ō, Gk γενέσθαι 'give birth', 3p ip. OI a-jan-anta, Gk ἐ-γέν-εντο, cp. Arm aor. ծնայ (1s prs. ծնանիմ 'I give birth, am born'), OIr gain- 'be born' (-ga(i)nethar 'is born), conj. -genathar, as well as W geni 'to be born, to bear', Br genel 'to give birth'; [2] reduplicative present: (athematic) OI jajanti, Av zizanti, (thematic) Av zizananti 'they give birth'; (zero grade): Gk γίγνομαι 'I become, appear', L gignō, -ěre 'bear, beget, bring forth', OI ft. gignethar; [3] pfc.: OI jajñē 'I am born', 3s ja'jāna, Gk γέγονα 'is born', OIr rogénar (*ǧe-ǧn-) 'natus sum'; [4] *-sk0-present: L nā-scor 'I am being born'; [5] NaIE

*ġenH-o/es- ~ *ġonH-o/es- ntr. 'birth, kin' > OI 'janaḥ / janas- 'race (Geschlecht, Abkunft)', Av (in cds.) zana- 'people (Volk), human race', Gk γένος (G γένεος) 'race, stock, family', L genus (gen. generis) id., 'birth, descent, origin; kind', Arm ծիւ cin 'birth, origin', cp. OIr ganet 'birth'; [6] *-to-prtc. and sim.: *ġn̄-to-s, *-ā, *ġnō-to-s, *-ā > OI jā'ta-ḥ, Av zāta- 'born', L nātus (co-gnātus, a-gnātus) (< IE *ġn̄tos) id., 'son', Plg CNATOIS 'nātis', GI GNATUS (with a long *ā) 'son', GNATHA (with *ā) 'daughter', ON kundr 'son', Gt -kunds 'descending from', Gk γυνάτος 'a relative, brother', Ltv znōts 'son-in-law'; *ġenā-to-s, -t-ā > L genitus 'born', W geneth 'girl' (← 'daughter'), ? (× IE {Pv.} *ġemh^ω- < N *kEm[∇] [or *kEmHo] 'to give birth' → 'kin, family'): BSl: Lt žēntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zētb id., 'bridegroom' > OCS зятѣ zętb, Blg зет id., SCr zēt, Slv zět' OCz zět', Cz zet', Slk zat', P zięć, R, Uk зятъ 'daughter's husband'; Al: T dhëndër, G dhândërr 'groom' || AnIE (× IE *ġemH- < N *kEm[∇] or *kEmHo 'to give birth' → 'kin, family'): Ht kaena n. 'relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld kāna (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ Pv. IV 12-4 (suggests that the words for relatives-in-law belong to the IE √ *ġemh^ω- [= {Pv} *ġem-A₁^ω]), P 369-70, 375-7, EI 56, ≈ 369 (L gener and Al dhëndër < NaIE *ġem- 'marry'), M KI 415-6, M E I 567-8, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Billy 83-4, LP § 431.19, 554, Thr. §§ 549, 597, 737, 756, FI 297, 306-8, WH I 597-600, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Slr. 97-8, Pv. IV 12-4, Ts. EI 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || D: [1] *kaṇ- ({ṡGS} *k-) 'bear, bring forth' (× N *Kaṇ[∇] 'begin, originate, be new') > TI kaṇu 'bear, bring forth', 'beget', Brh xaniṅ 'give birth to'; [2] D *kaṇr- 'child, young of animals' (× N *k'an'E' 'young, child', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 || ?σ HS: S *kann- > Ar kann-at- 'son's wife, brother's wife' ¶ BK II 932 ¶ ≡σ: Ltv znōts and Sl *zētb 'son-in-law' || ?σ Eg XX kn (an epithet of the Sun-god as creator) ¶ EG V 131 ◇ My preliminary working hyp. (for the time being) is that the basic meaning of this N word was 'acquire new relatives' - both through birth (whence the meaning 'give birth, beget') and through marriage; the latter meaning may be discerned in the IE *-t-derivatives meaning 'son-in-law' and in Ar kann-at- 'daughter\sister-in-law' ◇ ≠ S NSShS #4 (equates the IE √ with A *k₁'uni 'person; people, country' and K *ġen- 'calf; to suck the udder') ◇ D *-ṇ- (in *kaṇ- and *kaṇr-) is not a decisive ev. of a pN *-n-

because *-ŋ- in these D roots may belong to the heritage of N ***Kaŋ** and ***k'an'E'**.

901. *kiŋho ~ *kihŋo 'see, observe, examine, know' > **IE *gēnh^ω- / *gneh^ω-** (= {E1} *gneh₃-) 'know' > [1] NaIE *gēnə-/*gñō- > OI jñā- 'know', jā'nāti 'knows', Av paiti-zānanti 'sie nehmen sich an', thematic: 2p paiti-zānata 'you (pl.) recognize', OPrs 3s ipf. a-dānā 'he knew (kannte)', Av zanā-_t, zanān, Psh pē-žanī 'recognizes', NPrs دان دان dān-ād 'is able; it is possible', (d.) دانستن dānestān 'to know, to be able', دان dānā 'learned' || Gk ἔ-γνων 'I knew' || Arm ծանեայ caneay 'I recognized', անծան an-can 'unknown', ծանալք canawt^h 'known' || OIr itar-gninim, asa-gninaim 'sapio' || Gt, OSx, OHG kunnan 'to know, to understand, to be able', ON, OFrs kunna, AS cunnan 'to know', NHG können 'to be able', p/prs. (< IE pfc.): Gt, ON kann, AS can(n), NE can, OFrs, OSx, OHG kan, NHG kann 'can'; d.: Gt (ga)kannjan, ON kenna 'bekannt machen', AS cennan 'to explain, to determine', OSx kēnnian '(er)kennen', OHG ir-kennen, NHG erkennen 'to recognize', OHG bi-kennen, NHG kennen 'to know' || Lt žinaũ / žinóti, Ltv zinu / zināt 'know, be aware', Ltv zīstu ~ zinu / zīt 'know, recognize, perceive', Pru posinnat 'bekennen' || Tc A {Ad.} knānā- 'know' || [2] NaIE pp. *gñō- 'to-s 'known' > OI jñā'ta-_h, Gk γνωτό-ς, L nōtu-s id., OIr gnáth id., 'accustomed', W gnawd 'customary', Gl Eposognatus n. pr. ('accustomed to horses'), Pru pa-sinnāts 'known'; [2a] variant pp. *gñō- 'to-s 'known (bekannt)' > Lt pažintas, Gt kunp-s, ON kunnr, kuđr, AS cūđ, OSx kūth, OHG, NHG kund || [3] NaIE n. act. *gñō-ti- > OI 'pra-jñāti-_h 'knowledge (of the way to...)', Gk γνώσις, L nō-ti-ō 'knowledge', Sl *znatъ 'the known people, aristocracy' (> OCS **ЗНАТЬ** znatъ, R знатъ), and inf.: Sl *znā-ti 'to know' (> OCS **ЗНАТИ**, SCr znàti, Slv znáti, Cz znáti, Slk znat', P znać, R знатъ, Uk 'знати), Lt žinóti, Ltv zināt 'to know', Pru ersinnat 'to recognize (erkennen)' || [4] NaIE *gñō-sk- > OL gnōsc-ō, -ēre, L nōsc-ō, -ēre 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of', cds.: co-gnōsc-ō, -ēre id., 'get to know, learn', a-gnōsc-ō 'recognize' || Gk Epr γνῶσκω, Gk (rdp.) γιγνώσκω learn to know, perceive, mark' || OPrs cnj. xšnāsātiy 'daß er erkenne' || Ht ganes(s)-, kanes(s)- ({E1}: < *gñēh₃-s-) 'recognize, discern, identify;

acknowledge' ¶ P 376-8, Dv. #117, EI 337-8, M K I 429, M E I 599-601, Sg. 500-1, Horn 118, Mrg. 105, Me. VP 60, 103, F I 308-9, WH I 429 and II 176-8, LP §§ 9.1, 431.3, 456, YGM-1 236, Fs. 316-7, Vr. 334, Ho. 46, 63-4, Ho. S 41, 44, Schz. 180, 185-6, Kb. 535, 569, 571, KM 364, 392, 412, SGGJ IV 412, Sl. 96-7, Frn. 1310-1, En. 232, Tp. P E-H 86, Glh. 698-9, Pv. IV 42-6, Ts. E I 478-80 || **HS:** WS *✓khn 'be clever, foretell' > Ar ✓khn (pf. kahana) v. 'foretell, soothsay', Mh 'kathən v. 'pretend (illness, etc.) to attain one's object', Jb C 'kathən id., 'be cunning'; acp. *kā'hin- 'clever person, foreteller' > Ph, Pun, Ug, IA, Nbt khn, Sr کَاهِنٌ kāhnā, Md kahna, Gz kāhan 'priest', BHb כֹּהֵן kō'hēn, JA כֹּהֵן kā'hēn / כֹּהֵן אֲנִי kāh^a'n-ā, JEA {Sl.} כֹּהֵן קָהֵן kāh'nā 'priest, kohen (member of the hereditary clergy)', Ar كَاهِنٌ kāhin- 'foreteller, diviner; pre-islamic priest; businessman', Mh kō'hən, Jb E 'kuhun 'cunning, cheat', Hrs kē'hən 'grown up, adult, clever' ¶ A #1294, HJ 490-2, KB 440-1, KBR 461-2, OLS 212, Js. 615, Sl. 554, Br. 319, BK II 940, L G 278, Jo. M 206, Jo. J 129, Jo. H 67 || C *✓k^ʔn > Ag {Ap.} *kin-/kan- 'see, learn' > Bln, Xm kən-t- 'learn', Q kin-t-, Aw kan-t- 'see'; Aw {Hz.} a-qəṣṣ 'I know', ya-qəṣṣ '(he) knows' ||| EC: Sml (past tense stem) -iqīn- 'know': Sml N p.: 1s 'iqīn, 2s 'tiqīn, 3m 'yiqīn, 3f 'tiqīn, 1p 'niqīn, etc., prs.: 1s aqān, 2s taqān, 3m 'yaqān, etc.; Brj aqan-ḏ- 'learn', aqan-s- 'teach', ? HEC: Ged egeṣn-, Sd egenn- 'know'; Ya -qēnoṣ 'know' ||| Bj {R} -kān pcv. (formally md.) (1s: p. a-'kān, prs. ak'tēn) 'know (kennen, wissen)', {Rop., Alm.} -kan id. ¶ The cnss. k and q (< *k) in Aw, Sml, Brj, and Ya cannot be explained without postulating a glottalizing factor, which may have been a glottal stop *-ʔ- that clustered with *k- in the prefixe-conjugated verbal forms: 3s *y∇-kʔ∇n > *y∇kʔ∇n; that is why the cnss. *k (> q) has been preserved just in such verbal forms (in Aw and Sml), as well as in Brj and Ya forms presumably going back to similar prefix-conjugated verbs ¶ AD SF 63-4 (*✓kʔn), R WB 222, R WBd 142-3, Ap. 13, Hn. Y II 128 || ?φ Eg N cññ 'blicken auf ...' ¶ EG V 384 ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (1998) (adduction of Eg) || **A:** M *kina- 'examine carefully, observe, trace' > WrM kina-, HIM хяна- id., 'investigate', Kl {Rm.} kin-χα 'forschen, durchmustern, sorgfältig durchgehen', {KRS} кинх 'be diligent, assiduous', Brt хина- 'observe; check, revise', Ord k'ina- 'faire qch. avec soin, avec circonspection, avec prudence' ¶ MED 469, KW 231-2, KRS 301, Chr. 572, Ms. O 421 ◇ NaIE ◇ N *i > pre-IE *e_ɨ > IE *e (loss of the glide before a sonant) ◇ ≈ IS I 296-7 [#163] (*kEN∇; C, IE + K *gen-/*gn- 'understand, feel' [which to my mind belongs to N *gAn|n∇

'see, perceive']; hardly here S *√ kny v. 'name', Eg cny 'distinguish', ? T *Kön(ä)- 'agree'), ≠ S NSShS #5 (NaIE *ġena-/ *ġnō- equated with K *gen- / *gn- and with T *Köne- 'agree, admit, acknowledge' [actually T *k'ön- 'be straight', see Cl. 726-7, ET VGD 74-5]).

902. *kän₁y₁u (or *kän₁∇y₁u) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *ġ|genu- id. > Gk ἔνυς, -υος 'jaw; side of the face, cheek' || L gena 'cheek' (instead of the expected *genu on the analogy of mala 'cheek, cheek-bone') || Clt (× IE *ġ^henu- < N *genû 'jaw, cheek'): OIr ġin (gen. ġeno) 'mouth', W ġên 'cheek, chin' (pl. ġenau) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} ġen 'jaw', MBr {Flr.} ġuen 'cheek'; Brtt {RE} *ġenowes (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn ġenau, MCrn ġanow, OBr, MBr, Br ġenou 'mouth' || Gmc (-nn- < *-n_w- of the obl. cases, generalized throughout the declension paradigm): Gt kinnus, ON kinn 'cheek', OSx kinni, OHG cinni ≈ chinni, NHG Kinn, AS éinn 'chin', NE chin || Tc A śanwem^m du. 'jaws' (× NaIE *ġ^henu- due to the Tc merger of IE *ġ|g- and *ġ^h-) ¶ No cognate distinguishes between reflexes of *g- and *ġ-, hence rec. of unequivocal *ġ- is justified only if we take into account NaIE *ġonadh- '≈ cheek, jaw' (see below) ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2 (*ġenu-), EI 322 (*'ġenu- 'jaw'), F I 298, WH I 589-90, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, Kb. 551, KM 369-70, Ho. 49, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Hm. 312, Wn. 470-1 (Tc śanw- < *ġēnu-), Ad. H 110, EI 322 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *kōña > F kuono 'muzzle, snout, nose, mouth', Vo kōno 'muzzle, snout', Es koon (gen. koonu) id., 'chin' ({W} 'Kinn, Rüssel, Schnauze') || Mk koñä, Er koña 'forehead' ¶ Db. OS xxv, SK 240, W EDW 358 || **D** (in SD) *kaññ- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm kaññam 'cheek, ear', Ml kannam 'cheek, jaw', konni 'cheek', Kn kanna 'the upper cheek' ¶ D #1413, #1989 (Ml konni) || **N** *kän₁y₁∇-d∇ (originally a cd.?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *ġonadh- / *gnadh- '≈ cheek, (?) jaw' > Lt žándas 'cheek', Ltv zōds 'chin' || Gk γνάθος, γναθμός 'jaw, cheek' || Mcd κάναδοι · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'jaws' ¶ Tr. 365, F I 316, Frn. 1289, P 381-2 || **HS**: Ch: Hs kúnčǐ 'cheek, side of the face' (pl. kúmātu with m on the analogy of words having the alternation of a precon. n [< *m] and prevoc. m), kúndükukì 'cheek-bone' ¶ Ba. 641 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 152 || **A**: Tg *k'a^hnt∇- > Neg koḡtovk^h ~ koḡtopk^h 'nose (of a deer\elk\bear)', Nn B koḡtoro 'nose (of a wild boar)', Ewk PT kaḡtakā-, kaḡtarat- v. 'grin, bare one's teeth', kaḡtarga- v. 'grin (скалится)' ¶ STM I 375, 413 ◇ D *-ññ- and IE *-n- suggest that FV *-ń- does not go back to N *-ń-. The source of FV

(actually Mr) palatality is probably a N *-y- (lost in IE, HA, and D), which is also responsible for the long vw. in FU (complementary lengthening due to the contraction of the N cluster *-ñy-). A different solution is to suppose that Mr -ń- is due to language-specific Mr processes (a y-sx.?) ◇ FU *ō < pre-U *ā (a reg. change) < *ä: (due to harmony of vowels) < *ä with complementary lengthening). Tg *-¹a¹- < A **-ä- (regr. as., "harmony of vowels") ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [#6] (D, IE, HS *gīn, gūn 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *kǎñ₁y₁u and N *genû '↑').

903. *ken₁∇₁c₁∇d∇ 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint' > HS: S *✓knsd 'top of shoulder' > Mh kənsīd (pl. kənsōd) id., Jb C/E kən'sed (pl. kə'nabsəd), Sq {Jo.} 'kozi (pl. 'kəzhə) 'shoulder', Gz kəsād ~ kəsāc 'neck' (š is purely graphic, due to the merger of OEth s and š in the new EthS lgs.), Ak kišādū 'neck, throat, necklace' ↘ Md kšada {DM} 'throat', {Kfm.} 'neck ornament' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. H 69, Jo. J 133, CAD VIII 446, Sd. 490, DM 224, LG 296, Kfm. AIA 64, MiK I #1.147 || ?φ K: G I {Chx.} kinč-i 'Nacken, Widerrist', G I/Rch {Ghl.} kinč-i 'neck (γολβγρόν)' ¶ Chx. 1559, Ghl. 571 ¶ -č- < *-ct-?? || A: Tg *kende(-ke) 'shoulderblade' > Ewk kəndəkē, Lm kēndət, Neg kəndəkə, Ork kəndə id. ¶ STM I 448 || AdS of M *qonda|u- (< N *q¹o¹ñ₁∇ 'back, rear', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KW 185, MED 962, Kow. 869, KRS 596, H 66 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1103 (A *k¹jūnc²o 'sleeve, elbow; top of boot [голенище]) || D *kenṭ-, {ḡGS} *geṇṭ- 'joint (articulation), ankle' > Tm kenṭay 'ankle', Ml kenṭppu 'joint (articulation)', Kn giṇṇu, geṇṇu 'joint (as of a finger), knot (as of sugar cane)', Kdg giṇṇi 'joint in wrist\ fingers, knot in cane', Tu gaṇṭb, gaṇṭu 'ankle, knot in string\reed\cane', Tl gaṇṭu, gaṇṭa 'knot', Nkr kaṇḍe 'joint in bamboo'; D ↘ OI gaṇḍa-ḥ 'joint' and pInA *gēṇḍa- ¶¶ D #1946, Tu. #3998, ≠ M KI 318 (supposes a different D source for the OI word) ◇ In most lgs. a contraction *-nḥd- > *-nd-. D *ṇ is postalveolar due to the ass. infl. of the following *ṭ, which is the reg. reflex of N *d.

904. *koñdE 'to harm, to spoil', (← ?) 'to touch' > IE: NaIE *g^ωend^h-v. 'injure, damage' > OI [Dhat.] gaṇḍh-ayatē 'injures', OI [∧] gandhana- 'Verderben', Pali gandhana- 'injuring' ||| Gk δέννος 'reproach' (< *g^ωend^h-no-) ||| Lt gendū / gésti 'spoil; deteriorate', Ltv ġinstu / ġint 'be ruined; spoil, damage' ¶ P 466, Frn. 149-50, Tu. #4016; ≠ M KI 321 and M EI 461 (no etl. connections of the OI stem

outside InA), F I 366 and Ch. 263 (no et. for δένυος) ¶ The IE √ *gʷendʰ- was reinterpreted in some descendant lgs. (in Lt and probably in some others) as a present stem with a nasal infix, whence (bf.) Lt p. gedaũ, inf. gés̄ti, and some derivatives, e.g. Lt pagadas 'damage', gadinti 'to spoil' || HS: NrOm: Kf {C} gond- v. 'harm, damage; be bad', gondō 'bad', {Cc.} gat- 'destroy (demolire)', Mch {L} gondo 'bad', Shn {Lm.} gōndà 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, C SE IV 446, R K 42, Lm Sh 309 || C: Ag *gʷaḍ- > Bln {R} gʷāt- 'berühren, angreifen, Schaden zufügen', Q {R} gʷad- ~ god- 'harm; touch, attack', Km {CR} gæd y- 'damage, harm (Schlechtes antun)', Aw {CR} gʷad- 'touch, attack; destroy'; Ag ⇨ Amh ገዳ gʷædda v. 'damage, injure, harm, ruin' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gaḍē 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, R WB 165, L CAD 217, Grg. 61 ||| A: M *kōnde- 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N *kʰonE 'to touch') > MM [S] kōnde- 'anrühren', WrM kōnde-, HIM xəhdə- 'touch, irritate', WrO {Krg.} kōndō- 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} kəndə- kōndə- 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} 'sich fühlbar machen' (šarχa kōnd_lb_lnā 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'); M *kōnūye- > WrM kōnūge-, HIM xəhəə- v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', WrO {Krg.} kōnō- 'torment, torture, bother' ¶ H 104, MED 490, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239 ◇ The voiced initial *gʷ- in Om and C and the absence of *d in M *kōnūye- are not yet clear ◇ The meaning 'touch', preserved in Ag and M, may have been primary, so that the semantic development may have been as follows: 'touch, irritate' → 'harm, spoil' ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'портить' (*kʰoṛndʷ in IE and Om).

905. UA₂ *KʷuṛṇyaHíE ~ *KʷuṛṇyaHíE- *KʷuṛṇaHíE 'sunshine, daybreak' > A: T *Kuṛṇā́ (or *Kuṛyā́) {Cl.} 'blazing heat of the (midday) sun' > OT quyāš id., Chg, OXwT quyaš 'sun', MQp quyāš 'sun's rays', Tkm Δ quyāš 'sun, blazing heat of the sun', Tk Δ guyaš, Kr Cr, Qq, Qmn quyaš, Uz quyaš, VTt, Bsh qḅyaš 'sun', Nog qiyas 'blazing heat of the sun', Yk kuṛṇās 'hot weather, intense heat (Sonnenglut, зной)'] (synharmonic variant of *Kuṛṇā́- with the infl. of T *kʷün 'sun, day'): T *Kʷüṇā́ ~ *Kʷünā́ 'sunshine' > OT künāš 'sunshine, sunny place', Chg künäs ~ künāš, Tk güneš, Δ köveš, Az күнәш günäš, Ggz, Qmq güneš, Kr Cr, Tlt küneš 'sun', Tkm güneš 'sun; blazing heat of the sun (солнцепёк)', Chv хёвел хьвел, Δ xöl 'sun' ¶ Cl. 679, 734, Rs. W 307, 309, ET Q 112-3, ET KQ 103-4, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 341 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #531 (A *gḷòyṇu 'dawn, daylight'; incl. T) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr)

*^okoyŋ∇í∇ 'glow in the sky' (×U *koye 'Morgenröte') > Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' (with loss of the palatality of *í) || Os {Ht.} *kuńǎí 'red evening- and morning-glow in the sky' ('Röte am Himmel (morgens und abends') > Os: V quńǎí, Vy quńǎl, Ty quńǎǎ, Y quńǎǎǎ, D/K χuńí, Nz χuńíǎí, Kz χqńíǎǎ ~ χuńíǎí (D/K/Nz í < pOs *í, -ǎí & -ǎǎ in Nz, Kz, and O may be due to inter-dialectal borrowing) ¶ Ht. #742, St. D 522-3, EWU 514-5, UEW 167 (Hg-ObU word < U koy∇ 'dawn' + an unknown sx.) ◇ *K'u'ńyaHíE ~ *K'u'yńaHíE (or *K'u'ńaHíE?) may be a (Uralo-Altaic?) d. from (or a cd. with) *KūñE 'sun, day' (see N *Kūñ∇ ~ *KūñE). An alt. hyp.: the FU word is derived from FU *koya 'dawn', while T *Ku'ńǎí ~ *Kūñǎí is derived from T *k'ün, so that the resemblance between T *Ku'ńǎí ~ *Kūñǎí and FU *koyŋ∇í∇ is casual. DQA #531 tries to derive the T word from an unc. A *gǐòyńu 'dawn, daylight' ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA #16 (A *÷ U *kuŋe 'moon, month').

906. *kań|mp∇ 'soft excrescence (lip, mushroom)' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- (or *g^ωemb-) 'excrecence, tumour, lip, mushroom' > Psh yumba 'tumor, swelling', MPrs gumbad 'dome, fire-temple' (< convexity) || Lt gumbas 'bump; lump, knob; growth, excrecence, tumour', Ltv gumba 'tumour, swelling, heap' || Sl *gqba 'sponge, mushroom, agaric', 'lip' > OCS ГѢБА gqba 'sponge', Blg ГѢБА 'agaric, mushroom', Slv góba, Cz houba, Slk huba 'sponge, mushroom', SCr gūba id., 'tinder; tetter, leprosy', HLs huba 'mouth, muzzle', LLs huba id., 'lip', P gęba 'mouth, face, muzzle', OR, RChS ГѢБА guba 'sponge, mushroom', R, Uk гуп'ба 'lip', Blr 'гуп'ба 'lip, mushroom' ¶ McK 38, Mrg. 25, Frn. 176, ESSJ VII 78-80, Glh. 252, ≠ P 396 (includes the reflexes of this √ in an amorphous pool of different *geu-, *gau-, *gū-roots) || HS: B *√knf > BSn {Bs.} tǎ-šńǎf-t 'lip'; B *√knfr 'lip, muzzle' > Kb {Dl.}, Kb Z {La.} ašńǎfir 'lip', Shnw {La.} ačńǎfir 'large lip', Ntf {La.} kńǎfir 'muzzle'; B → Ar Mgr χanfōrǎ 'muzzle' ¶ Dl. 98, La. MChB 110 || C *k∇mp∇r- 'lip' > Ag *k∇mp∇r- > Km {CR} kəmbər (pl. kəmbər-tən), Q {R} kanper, Xm {R} ki'fir (pl. ki'fir-t) 'lip'; Ag → EthS: Gz ከኅፈር kanfar (pl. kanāfar), Tgr, Tgy, Amh ከኅፈር kənfer 'lip'; EthS → Bln {R} kanfər ~ kūnfūr (pl. ka'nāfər ~ kə'nāfər), Sa {R} 'kamfer (pl. kanāfer) 'lip' (the form of pl. [typical of the EthS lgs.] proves that these words are Semitisms) ¶ R S II 217, R WB 224, R Q II 85, CR K 214, L G 286-7, LH 418, Bsn. 608 || S *k∇np∇r- > Ar kinfir-at- 'tip of the nose' ¶ Fr. IV 65, ≈ MiK I #1.146 || U: FV *kamp∇(r∇)

'mushroom' > pLp {Lr.} kōmpər id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guobbere, L {LLO} kuoppar, N {N} guobbâr, Kld kūmbar, T kīmber id. | Chr (lost) *kūmba ⇨ OBlgh *kūmpā ⇨ Chv кăмпа kămb_a 'mushroom', VTt, Bsh гəмбə gəmbə 'mushroom', and Prm *göbE ({JLG} *göbE) > Z гоб gob, Z US gōb 'Bolletaceæ (губчатый гриб)', Vt gubi, Vt Ur gūbi 'mushroom' ¶ Lr. #519, Lgc. #2852, Hs. 680-1, SZ 81, LG 76-7, Fed. I 253, ≠ Jeg. 99 (Chv ⇨ OR gōba), Sm. 552 (? FP *ko|amp∇) ◇ IS I 291-2.

907. *kuńčê (or *kuńčê) (probably = *kuńčī or *kuńčī) '(finger)nail, claw' > IE: [1] NaIE *gʷisti-s (or *gʷisti-s) 'finger' > Brtt: W bys, OCm [VC] bis, bes, OBr (in ds.), MBr bis, bes, Br biz 'finger'; Brtt ⇨ OIr *biss in biss ega 'icicle' (lit. 'finger of ice') ||| ON kvistr, NNr, Sw, Dn kvist 'branch' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 53, Flr. 83, Ern. 68, Hm. 84, Vr. 339 ||| [2] NaIE *gʷosd_ho-, *gʷosd_hi- 'nail' > W both 'nave of a wheel, boss of a shield', Gl *bottos 'nave of a wheel' (⇨ VL Gl *bottos > Fr Δ bout id., d. bouton, boutin, boutel id., and possibly Fr bouton 'button'); ? Brtt ⇨ OIr bot 'tail, penis', Nir bod 'penis' ||| Sl *gvozďb (~ *gvozďb?) 'nail' > OCS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďb 'nail' (ἦλος, clavus), Blg гвозд, HLs hódzď, LLs gózdź, P gwoźdź, RChS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďb ~ ГВОЗДЪ gvozďb, R, Uk гвоздь 'nail', Blr гвоздзь 'wooden nail' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 73, LP § 25.5, YGM-1 51, 65, Dnn. 73, ML #1239b, Vr. 339, ESSJ VII 185-6 (* ÷ Sl *gvozďb 'forest') ¶ Here we should have expected a NaIE **y (< N *ń), which possibly really existed before elimination of **y due to the IE laws of root structure ||| U *küñče 'fingernail, claw' > FU *küñče > F kynsi / kynte- 'fingernail, claw, hoof', Es küñs 'fingernail, claw' | pLp {Lr.} *kəncə id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gadssē, L {LLO} kaddsa id., N {N} gāz'zā, Kld {SaR} kəññc, {TI} kəñ:z 'fingernail, claw, hoof' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kinčə > pMr *kinčə > Er кенже kenže, Mk кенже keñžə id. | pChr {Ber.} *küč id. > Chr: L күч küč, H кыч kəč | Prm {LG} *güž∇ id. > Z гыж g+ž (/ *g+žy-), Z Vsh/EV güž, Yz глž (gen. глžлн), Vt гижи giž+, Vt Δ g+ž+ ||| ObU *küñč 'claw, fingernail' > pVg {Ht.} *küñš id. > Vg: T küñš, LK/UL kʷäš, MK kʷäns, UK kʷäs, Yk {Vxr.} kəns, P kəš, NV/SV kʷänš, UL/Ss kos, Ss {BV} кос, конс, N {Mu.} kʷass; pOs {Ht.} *köñč id. > V/Vy köñč, Ty köñč, Y köñč, D/K köñč, Nz/Kz küš, O qus || Sm {Jn.} *kətā 'fingernail, claw' (× N *k'ü'ta 'fingernail, claw, nail' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 157, Coll. 30, Sm. 544 (FU *küñci, FP *küñči, Ugr *küñčī), It.

#409, Lr. #311, Lgc. #1870, Hs. 543, TI 102, SaR 147, Ker. II 55, Ber. 26, LG 84, Lt. J 107, Ht. #287, BV 40, Jn. 55-6 || HS: S *kin|mθ|ç- 'shin' > Ak kimṣu ~ kinṣu ~ kiṣṣu 'shin, calf of the leg' (→ 'knee'), as well as Gz k̄ʷayṣ 'leg, shin' ('shin' ← *'hoof', like in Sl *noga 'leg, foot' < BSl *nogā 'hoof' < IE *ongʰ- 'fingernail' or in OI 'aŋghr̥i 'foot' from the same IE √ *ongʰ- 'fingernail'); Gz k̄- for **k- is due to glottalizing as.]?φ S *o√ gθw/y > Ar √ ḡθw/y (pf. ḡaṯā, ip. -ḡṯiy- ~ -ḡṯuw-) 'stetit in extremis pedum digitis', {BK} 's'élever sur le bout des pieds' ¶ CAD VIII 373-5, Sd. 478-9, L G 457 (does not accept any connection between the Gz and the Ak words), Fr. I 244, BK I 253 ¶ In the highly qu. Ar cognate the cns. *g- for the expected *k- may be accounted for by neutralization of the opposition vd. ↔ vl. within a cluster of two obstruents (*-kθ- ~ *-gθ-) || Ch: Kwn M {J} k̄inžirgí 'fingernail' (and Kwn {J} k̄ínirki 'finger?'), Grm {J} k̄ʷančà 'fingernail'; but hardly here Cg {Sk.} k̄in, Mnt {J} k̄àn-sáy id., and other words for 'fingernail' in the WCh lgs. without the expected sibilant and especially those with the initial k̄-, unless some contamination with a different word can explain the phonetic irregularities ¶ ChC, JI II 137, ≈ Stl. 212 [#628] || ?φ A: Tg *xosī-kta 'fingernail, claw' > Ewk osīkta, Lm ostъ, Neg ōtta, Ork xosiqta id., Ul xusta id., 'nail', Sln ušikta ~ ušikta 'fingernail, hoof', Nn Nh/B xosiqta, Nn Nh xosaqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta ~ wajikta 'fingernail', WrMc wasiχa(n), ošoxo 'claw' ¶ STM II 26-7, Krm. 219 ¶ The unexpected *x- (for *k-) and *-s- (for *-č-) are due to the association of the noun with the Tg verb *xosī- 'scratch' (STM II 26-7) || pKo {S} *koč 'spit (for roasting), skewer; awl, gimlet' > MKo koč id., NKo kot kos 'a borer, awl, gimlet', k:0ž'i 'skewer' ¶ S AJ 257 [#170], S QK #170, Nam 54, MLC 164, 174 || pJ {S} *kùsì 'spit, skewer, comb' > OJ kùsì id., J: T/Kg kuší, K kùsì id., 'broach, prod' ¶ S QJ #201, Mr. 466, Kenk. 1120-1 ¶¶ S AJ 16 and 280 [#347], DQA #1073 (pA *k'jùčù 'to scrape; claw, sharp stick') (Tg, Ko, J; proposes a connection with the A verb for [A ≈ *k'ič̣] 'scratch') ◇ If the S cognate *kin|mθ|ç- is not accepted, the reconstructed N affricate may be either *č̣ or *č̣. The NaIE cognate *gwisti- is likely to confirm the rec. of N *-č̣- (cp. N *yôč̣ 'bone' > IE *xʷest̥H₂- ~ *xʷost̥H₂-) ◇ The IE reflex of the N nasal cns. suggests that before *č̣-affricates the neutralization of the nasal cns. was not complete: N *n̄ (*n|ñ) was still distinguished from *ń. The Tg vw. *-o- for the expected *-u- still needs explaining.

908. (₂?) *kangga 'to wrap, to tie' > IE: NaIE *gengh- v. 'wind, tie, spin, plait, weave' > ON *kǫngur 'winding, wicker-work' ⇨ kǫngur-vāfa ~ kǫngul-vāfa 'spin', MHG kanker 'ε spider', NGr Δ Kanker id.; ? ON kinga 'Brustschmuck, Brosche'; NrGmc ⇨ F kangas 'web', kankuri 'weaver' ||| Sl *gǫžь > Blg гѡж m. 'bandage, turban', Slv gōž f. 'leather strap (used to fasten the flail to the handle, the yoke to the pole [Deichsel])', OCz húže 'rope', Cz Δ houž, houže 'tight plait (жгут)', OR гѡжь гужь, R гуж 'tug, leather strap or loop (used to fasten the shaft of a cart to the shaft-bow, etc.)', R Δ гуж 'rope, strap of a flail' ¶ P 380, Vr. 309, 342, SK 155-6, Lx. 103, ESSJ VII 93-4 ||| **А:** T: Osm {Rh.} قنغال qanḡal, Tk kangal 'a coil, a skein', Chg, Osm {Rl.} قنغال qanḡāl 'ein in Form eines Rades zusammengelegter Strick, ein gewundener Bündel', Osm {Rh.} qanḡalla-, Tk kangalla- v. 'coil, wind in a skein', {Rl.} qanḡalla- 'zusammenrollen', as well as possibly Tkm ганжыга qanžıya, StAlt {BT} кандьага qanžaya, Alt {Rl.} qanžıya, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qanžıya, Uz қанжиға qanžıya 'торока, der hintere Teil des Sattels, wo etwas zugebunden wird', Osm {Rh.} qanžıya 'breast-strap at the front of a saddle', Xk Δ ханҷауїла- 'tie to the торока', and Chg {Rl.} qantar- vt. 'die Zügel des Pferdes an den Sattelknopf festbinden' ¶ Rl. II 119-22, Rh. 1424-5, TkR 151, Jud. 340, BT 71, UzR 603 ||| ?σ,φ **D:** McTm *kamp- > Tm камраї 'slips of wood forming the binding of a book made of palm leaves', Ml камра 'wooden peg which goes through a native book' ¶ D #1244.

909. (₂?) *kangv 'ε waterfowl' > **А:** Tg *kangu id. > Ewk Tng kangalas 'gosling', Orc kangu 'wild duck', Nn {Pt.} к̄анго, Ul qanḡulu 'merganser (Mergus)', WrMc qanḡu r̄ex̄e 'loon (Gavia)' (r̄ex̄e 'duck'); Ewk ⇨ Yk ханалас 'ε goose' ({Pek.} 'гусь-стервятник') ¶ Vas. 191, Pt. 62, Sun. UJ 202, Z 252, Pek. 3310 ||| ? pKo {S} *kón 'swan' (unless a loan from Chn) > MKo kón, NKo koni ¶ S QK #292, Nam 50, MLC 136 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #721 (A *kǎnu 'swan'; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. SKE 123 ||| **D** *kaḡkaḡam ({ḡGS} *k-) 'ε waterfowl' > Tm kaḡkaḡam id., Tl kaḡkaḡamu 'a large bustard with a red head' ¶¶ D #1083 ||| ?σ **HS:** Eg P krm.t 'ε ein böser Vogel' ¶ EG V 132.

910. ₂ *koŋ'z'v 'crotch (of body)' > **HS:** Eg Md kns (< *knz?) 'body part between the anus and the genitalia (= perineum?)', {DW after Dawson} 'hypogastric region', {Fk.} '(?) pubic region' ¶ EG V 134, DW II 907-8, Fk. 286 ||| **А:** M *qoŋzu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch;

back part' > MM [S] qonžiya-sun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM qonžusun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch', Kl {Rm.} χond_asn̄ id., Mnr H {SM} q_uänž_iäsə 'la derrière (des hommes, des animaux)', {T} qonžose 'back part'; behind' ¶ H 66, MED 96, KW 185, SM 123, T 325.

911. *kohp∇ 'cave, pit' > HS: S *^okahp- > Ar kahf- 'grotto, cavern; shelter' ({Fr.} 'specus, spelunca larga et ampla' → 'asylum, locus effugii') ¶ Fr. IV 67, Hv. 668 || ?φ Eg fP cṛt.t 'burrow, hole in the earth' ¶ EG V 364-6 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Hs kâfē {Ba.} 'hut made of wood (or corn-stalks) and grass', {Ba., Abr.} 'verandah fixed to a house wall', Hs {Abr.} kâfî 'hut of cornstalks' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} kúpì, Tr {Nw.} кэба, {Mch.} kɪba, Gude {ChL} kùv^ωá, {Mch.} kuva, FIM {ChL} kùvú, FIB {ChL} kùvún 'hut' ¶ Ba. 524, Abr. H 447, ChC, ChL ¶¶ ≠ OS #1430 || **K** *kwab- 'cave, hollow in the ground' > OG kwab-, G kvab- 'cave', Mg kvib- 'cave, hollow in the ground (котловина)', ? Sv (← G?): UB/Ln {TK} kwäb (pl. kwabär), L {TK} kwab, Sv {K} kwäb, kwaba 'cave'; it is possible (but not certain) that G kvab- 'cauldron' and Mg kvib- 'small cauldron' belong here as well ¶ K 197, K² 216, TK 788 || **U**: FP *kōppE or *kōppa 'pit; hollow' (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ 'hollow, empty, hole', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: Tg: WrMc qobi 'hollow, depression' ({Hr.} 'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung') ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr. 692 || M: [1] M *qobi- → WrM qobil, HIM ховил 'groove'; WrM qobiki, HIM ховхи 'ε chisel with a grooved blade', [2] *qoyu-sun 'empty' (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ) > MM [HI, S] qo_osun id., WrM qogusun, HIM хоосон 'vacuum, emptiness; empty, void', WrO χōson ~ χōsun 'empty, void', Kl хоосн, {Rm.} χōsn̄, Brt хооһо(н) 'empty', Mnr H {SM} χōž₃sn̄ 'vide, désert, inhabité', {T} χōžen, Ba {T} χoson, Dg {T}, Ord {Ms.} χōson 'empty' ¶ Ms. H 90, Lew. II 45, H 66, MED 949, 953, Ms. O 361, Krg. 272, KRS 597, KW 191-3, Chr. 574, 587, SM 169, T 375, T BJ 150, T DgJ 178 || pJ {S} *kúl_mp_uá 'cavity' > OJ kúb_lu_ó, J T kubo ¶ S QJ #669, Mr. 461 || T *Kobu 'hollow\depression between hills\mountains' (→ [1] *Kobuk 'a hollow; hollow, empty', [2] T *kobu-í 'hollow, a hollow) (× N *gup^ʁú^ʁ, q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ DQA #859 (A *kóbú 'hollow, cavity'; incl. T, M, Tg, J) ◇ Eg p and U *-pp- suggest a pN *-p-, which is at variance with K *-b-; the apparent controversy may be accounted for by the deglottalizing (de-emphasizing) infl. of the N lr. *h.

912. *ko^ʁp∇ 'mucus, slime' ([in some B lgs.] → 'saliva'), 'filth\dirty on the surface (mould, soot)' > IE: NaIE *^og^ωēbh-/*^og^ωabh- 'slimy' ({P}

'schleimig, schwabbelig') (→ 'slimy fish') > Gmc: Nr Δ kvapa 'to secrete liquid', Sw Δ kvabba, NLG quabbeln 'von Fettigkeit zittern', NE quab; OSx {P} quappa 'burbot (Lota)' (absent in Ho. S), MHG quappe id., NHG Quappe 'burbot and other slimy fish (e.g. rockling, Enchelyopus)', OHG Δ ({OsS} OMG) quappa 'cappedo, ein Fisch mit breitem dickem Kopfe' || (× N *kOH₂'ä'b∇ [- *kOH₂'ä'p∇?]) 'frog, toad', q.v. ffd.): BSl: Pru gabaωo 'toad' and Sl *žāba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad', as well as L bufō 'toad' ({Ert.}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶ P 466, KM 572, OsS 692, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, Ert. ED 130 || HS: S: Ar kafχ-at- 'écume abondante' ¶ BK II 913 || B *✓kfH ~ *✓kfs (partially ɫ) 'foam, saliva, slime' (× N ɫ *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble?') > Wrg {Dlh.} t-kuffi 'mousse, écume, tissu graisseux et floconneux dans les entrailles d'un animal qu'on écorche', ETwl/Ty {GhA} takæffe 'mousse, écume', Ah {Fc.} tã-kuffe 'mousse blanche (de lait qu'on vient de traire; de savon), Kb Z {La.} tikuffta 'mousse', Tmz {MT} a-kuffi (pl. akuffan) 'écume, masse blanchâtre des liquides', Gh {Nh.} takufit, Gd {Lf.} twkæffe, Kb i-kufftan, BSn {Bs.} a-kuffu, a-kufkuf, Rf Wr {Rn.} kuffi, Izn, Rf B/A {Rn.} tkuffi, Kb {DI.} iɯufftan (pl.), Zng {Bs.} ikuffan 'foam', Shenua {La.} ixufa, BMn {La.} tixuffa 'salive', Btw {La.} kufu 'crachat', Izn {Rn.} tikuffa, Rf Tz {Rn.} ikuffän, SrSn {Rn.} ikufän, Ntf {La.} takufas, Wrg tikufas 'saliva', Zng {Bs.} akuffo (3s pf. ikuffo) 'écumer'; ⇨ Wrg {Dlh.} -kkæfkæf-, Ah sə-kkæfkæf v. 'foam' ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, La. MChB 121, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, DI. 395-6, 399, Lf. II #0736, Bs. MS I 231 || U: FV *k'o'pp∇ 'mould' > pLp *kōppz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} гуорре, L {LLO} куоһра, N {N} гуоррâ, Kld kūbb || pChr {Ber.} *kupъ- (={Ber.} *kupâ-) 'grow mouldy' > Chr Ch/YO/V kūpa-, K къра-, Chr E {Ü} купа- id., Chr L купаш ку'ра-š, Chr H кыпаш 'къра-š 'to grow mouldy, to be covered with mould' (water); Chr B {Trc.} кур 'mould' ¶ UEW 680 (FV *kâpp∇), Lr. #528, Lgc. #2904, Hs. 691, Ber. 24 [#109], MRS 246, 270, Ep. 52, Ü 85 ◇ The Gmc verb and the B √ have ideophonic associations, which have influenced their form.

913. *keyp∇ (→ *küyp∇?) 'light (not heavy)' > U {Coll.} *keypä id. > FU *kepä > F kepeä, keveä 'light, easy', Es {W} kebjä, kebi 'light, quick, weak' || pLp {Lr.} *kēppē 'light (levis)' > Lp: S {Hs.} g'öörpe-ke, N {N} gæp'pâd, Kld kīēppēs id., L {LLO} kiehppē 'light, easy', N {N} gep'pis 'easy' || ? Vt Sr kapčī 'leicht, mild' || Hg kevéš 'few' || Sm

{Jn., Hl.} *keyp∇- 'light (levis)' > Ne T сѣбѣ, Ne O {Lh.} sīb₁ī, En {Cs.} sēbi, Slq Tz {KKIH} šēpī ~ šēpī, ?? {Prk.} sзpeη, Slq Tm {KD} šabāga id., Slq Nr {Cs.} s äbeak 'I am light', Mt {Hl.} ı̇ *kühä, ı̇ı̇ *kīhā 'levis' (Mt {Pl.} kúhe ~ kiíhe) ¶¶ UEW 146-7 (U *kepā), Coll. 24, Coll. CG 406 (*keypā), W EDW 258, Lr. #385, Lgc. #2272, Hs. 644, Jn. 67, Lh. 447-8, KKIH 174, Hl. M #570 || **A:** M *°kübki- > WrM kübki- 'be very light (of weight)' ¶ MED 195, Kow. 2582 || pKo {S} *kàp₁ı̇- 'light (of weight)' > MKo kàp₁ı̇-yáp-, NKo kabya₁p- ¶ S QK #499, Nam 5, MLC 17 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #929 (unc. comparison of the Ko root with M *kübü- 'rise to the surface, float, drift' and Tg *kepu- ~ *kopu- id.; reconstructs pA *kup₁e 'light [of weight], floating on the surface') || **HS:** Ch: WCh *k^w∇f- > NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj k^wófúrá, Cg kòfáfá, Kry k^wàk^wáfáná 'light (levis)' ||| Ech: Ke {Eb.} k3faη id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 67 ◇ If the N etymon is *keyp∇, the labialised *k^w- in NrBc and *ü in M may be explained by the assimilatory infl. of N *p. If we accept the N rec. *küyp∇, the U vw. *e remains unexplained.

914. *kep₁H₂∇ (= *kep₁∇?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *gēp₁H₁- > NaIE *gēp₁h- ~ *gēb₁h- 'jaw, mouth' > Irn (< *gēp₁h-): Av zafar-, zafan- 'mouth, jaws of animal (Maul)', Phl dahān, NPrs دَاهَان dāhān ~ دَاهَان dāhān 'mouth', Orm zānbō 'jaw' ||| OIr gop 'bill (of birds), mouth', NIr gob 'bill, protruding mouth, snout', Gl → VL Gl *gobbo- (with "expressive" gemination) > Fr gobet 'gobbet, mouthful', gober 'to gulp down, to swallow (with greed)' ||| Gmc: MHG kiuwe ɔ̄ kiwe 'jaw, jaw-bone', 'throat (Rachen) (of animals and the devil)', kiuwel, kiwel 'jaw, jaw-bone', NHG Kiefer, NLG keve 'jaw', ON kjaptr ~ kjǫptr 'jaw, jaws (of animals)' (Maul, Kinnbacke, Kiefer)', NNr kjeft, Dn kjæft ab 'mouth, throat', Sw käft 'mouth (of animals)', ab 'throat' ||| Sl *zobъ > R зоб 'crop, craw (of birds)', LLs zob, P dziób 'beak' | but NGr Δ kiefe 'gill (of fish)', NLG keve, ON káfi id., and Gmc *kēfala id. (> AS céaf₁, NE jow₁, jole, OSx kaflos) (⇔ EI) belong together with Sl *žabra 'gill' < NaIE *gēb₁h- 'gill', which is likely to be a different IE √ ¶ P 382, Vl. I 944, Horn 131, Bai. 222-3, Brtl. 1657, Thr. KR 60, ML #3814, Kö. #4289, Dnn. 375, Vr. 311, Lx. 108, KM 367, Vs. II 31-2, 10, ≈σ EI 173 (*gēp- 'eat, masticate' [usually of animals]) ||| **K** *°qap- 'chin, 'jaw' > Sv: UB/LB qap-rä-y, U/LB qaprä, Ln/L qapray {TK} 'chin', {GP} 'lower jaw, chin', Sv {Ni.} qaprä 'jaw'; d.: *ni-qap- 'chin' > OG dat. ni-qap-sa 'to the chin' (p < *p by as.), G ni-qap-i ~ ni-qap-i id., Mg n3q3- ɔ̄ niq̄u ɔ̄

nuḡu- 'chin', Lz nu(n)ḡu 'mouth, face', Sv Ln niḡpa, Sv L niḡba 'chin', Sv {Ni.} niḡpa 'jaw' ¶¶ K 148 and K² 142 (*ni-ḡap- 'chin'), FS K 169, FS E 184, Abul. 329, Q 291, Chik. 49-50, Ni. s.v. подбородокъ and челюсть, TK 342 || HS: Ch: DfB {J} kápâk (pl. kapák) 'cheek', Ch {Stl.} *gobi 'chin, cheek' (× N *ḡAb∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) || A: Tg {ADb.} *°kefe ({S} *°kewe) 'lower jaw' > Ewk kɜwɜ id., Lm kɜwɜ̄, Lm Sk kɜbɜ̄ id. 'chin' ¶ STM I 442-3 ¶ The rec. of Tg *-f- is based on A. Dybo's version of the Tg historical phonology (ADb SR), where Ewk -ɜwɜ- and Lm -ɜwɜ- ɔ̄ -ɜbɜ- go back to pTg *-efe- || D *kepp- 'cheek, temple' ({ǵGS} *k-) > Ml ceppi 'cheek', Kn keppate id., keppe 'temple', Tu keppæ, kebbu 'cheek, temples', gebbu 'temples', ? Tl cēpa cekkuḡu 'gills' ¶¶ D #1989 ◇ K *ḡ...ḡ < **k...ḡ (as.) ◇ NaIE *-p^h- ~ *-b^h- suggests the presence of a N lr. The absence of any lr. in K suggests N *ḡ, *ḡ, or *ḡ. Among these three the most plausible is *ḡ, because only *ḡ can account for the voicing in IE *-b^h- ◇ Cp. N *ḡAb∇ 'jaw, cheek' and N *ḡ'a'w_lo_ḡE or *ḡ'a'w_lo_ḡ∇y∇ 'skull; occiput'. In the descendant lgs. semantic and phonetic infl. of the heritage of these N words cannot be ruled out.

915. *kop∇r∇ (or *-b-?) 'many, big' > HS: S *✓kbr 'many, big' > Amr {G} ✓kbr 'be great', BHb ✓kbr *Sh* (caus. verb) 'increase' (ip. 3 m יִבְרֵי y-a-kbīr 'will multiply [words]'), Yd, IA ✓kbr 'be plentiful', Yd kbr 'might (?)', OA kbr 'abundance', Sr كَبْر kab'bīrā 'much, big', BHb kab'bīr 'strong, mighty; great, much', Ar ✓kbr 'become stout\tall, grow big', kabīr- 'great, old', JA, Sr ✓kbr (pf. kəḥar) 'abound, increase', Sb kbr 'great', Gz ✓kbr 'be honoured, great', Ak ✓kbr (inf. kabārū) 'be big, thick' ¶ KB 438, KBR 458-9, BDB 460 [##3624, 3627], JH 115, HJ 486-7, 531, G A 22-3, Fr. IV 3-4, BK II 853-4, Hv. 641, BGMR 75-6, LG 274, Sd. 415 || WCh: Hs Skt/Kc kabri, StHs káurī, Gw {Mts.} keberi 'thickness' ¶ Ba. 589 ¶¶ OS #1410, ≈ Sk. HCD 140-1 || D *kopp∇r- ({ǵGS} *k-) '≈ increase' > Tl kop(ḡa)ramu 'increase, rise, swell', kopparinta 'increasing', Krx xopōrxolā, xoporkā 'abundant, swarming' ¶¶ D #1731 (a) || A: M *°köbüre- > WrM köbüre-, HIM xγβpɜ-x v. 'grow, sprout, germinate' ¶ MED 477 ◇ The comparison with D is qu., because the D words may alternatively go back to pD *kupp- 'heap' < N *ḡuḡ∇ 'heap, hill' (q.v.). If the D root belongs here, its cns. *r (that regularly goes back to cns. clusters with N *r) needs explaining. Does it suggest a N etymon *kop∇rḡ|h∇ or *kop∇rḡ|y∇?

916. *ku_Psa 'extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g^wes-/ *g^wōs- id. > OI 'jasatē 'is exhausted' || Gk σβέννυμι 'I extinguish' (aor. σβέσ-σασ) || ?σ Gmc: Gt qistjan 'to ruin', fra-qistnan 'to be ruined', OHG quist 'torment', fir-/ir-quisten 'to destroy' || Lt gēsti id. (1s prs. Olt, Lt Zh gēsū), Ltv dzēst 'to extinguish' | Sl caus. *gas-i-ti (caus.) id. > RChS ΓΑΣΗΤΗ gasiti, Blg га'ся, SCr gāsiti, Slv ggasíti, Cz hasiti, Slk hasit', P gasić, R га'сить, Uk га'сити id.; vi. *gas-nq-ti 'be extinguished' > Blg 'гасна, SCr gāsnuti, Slv gāsнити, Cz hasnouti, Slk hasnúť', P gasnać, OR gasnuti, R 'гаснуть, Uk 'гаснути || pTc *kās- > Tc A kās-, Tc B kās-, kes- {Wn.} 's'éteindre', {Ad.} 'come to extinction, be extinguished' || Ht {Pv.} kest-, kist-, gist-, {Ts.} kist- (md. v.) 'be extinguished, die out, perish' || IS I 311 adduces here IE *k^wsep- 'dark' (presumably mt. from *g^wpes- with as. *g^ws- > *k^ws-) > IE 'kṣap- 'night', Av xšap- 'darkness', Gk ψέφας id. (with a puzzling ψ- [Specht UID 11 supposes a tabuistic replacement]), Ht isparnt- 'night' ¶¶ P 649, EI 188, M K I 285, 425, F II 685-6, Fs. 388-9, Kb. 583-4, Schz. 189, OsS 696, Frn. 149, ESSJ VI 104-5, Ts. EI 409-11, 592-4, Pv. I-II 431-5 and IV 167-8, Wn. 210, Ad. 177, Ad. H 67, 70 || HS: CS *kb_w: BHb כבה ✓kby|w G 'go out' (fire), D (pf. הבהב kib'bā) 'extinguish', JA ✓kby|w D id., JA {Js.} ✓kby ~ ✓kb_w G, JEA {Sl.} ✓kby G 'be extinguished, go out', Ar ✓kb_w v. G (pf. kabā) 'smoulder in the ashes' (of fire) ¶ KB 435-6, KBR 457, Sl. 550-1, Js. 608, BK II 857, Hv. 642 ¶ The absence of the expected *-š- may be explained by weakening *-š- > *-h- > zero, as in grammatical morphemes and pronouns || U *kupsa- 'extinguish; die out' (fire) > Lp T {TI} kopse- id. | Es kustu- 'be extinguished, die out', Lv kis:t-² kūs:t- id. (-i- ~ -ü- [normally from BF *-ü-] is irreg.; UEW supposes dis.) | Prm *kus- 'go\die out' (fire) > Z, Vt kus- || ObU: Os: V qāwla-, Ty *kōpəφ- id.; d. (with a *t-sx.): V/Vy qowət-, Ty/Y qopət- vt. 'extinguish' || Sm {Jn.} *kəptā-, {Hl.} *kəpta- vt. 'extinguish', ı {Jn.} *kəptə- 'go out, die out' (fire) > [1] vt.: Ne T хăбтась, Ne O {Lh.} χaptā-, Ne F kaptā-š, Ng {Ter.} kaptu-đa, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. kótabo, Slq Tz {KKIH} qapti+qo, Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. qab₂tab₂, Kms {KD} 1s prs. q'uptərǎlām ~ qu?btərǎlām, Koyb {Sp.} 1s prs. кубдремь, Mt {Hl.} *kabtə- vt. 'extinguish' (Mt M {Sp.} каптестъ 'I extinguish'), [2] vi.: Ne: T хăбтёсь, O {Lh.} χapť"ō, F kap'ćō (< *kəptə-yəy-), Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. kaptua-m (? < *kəptā-y-), En X {Cs.} kotiaro?, Slq Tz {Prk.} qaptey-

Kms {KD} quʔbdōlám 'go out, die out' (fire) ¶¶ Coll. 29, UEW 214-5, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kupsā-, FP *kupsa-, Sm *kəptā-), It. #180, Kt. 130, LG 147, Trj. S 159, 176, Jn. 54, KKIH 158, KD 33-4, HI. M #372 || ?φ A: AmTg *gūp- > Nn gūpuv-, Ork gupu-, Ul gūpu-, gōkpi- 'extinguish', Nn gūp-, gūkpu-, Ork, Ul gūptu- 'go out' (fire) ¶ STM I 159 ¶ The cluster -kp- is to be explained (mt. from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx.?). The voicing of N *k- (to Tg *g-) and the absence of the expected sibilant are still puzzling ¶¶ DQA #540 (pA *gūp'a|u 'extinguish'; incl. Tg) ◇ In IE the N cluster *-P_s- contracted to *-s-; IS suggested (with a query) that in Tg this cluster may have been contracted to *-p-, which is unc. ◇ IS I 311 [#185] (*KuPśa, sc. {JAD} *KuPsa; IE, U, Tg), AD SSh 297 [#1] (N *kupsa, adduces S; an attempt to explain the N word with a sibilant as a d. from that without sibilant, as in Tg and S) ◇ Gr. II #134 (← IS) (*kupsa 'extinguish') (IE, U, A + unc. EA).

917. *kar ▽ 'twist, turn around, return' > HS: WS *✓kr̥r 'turn, twist' > Ar D {Lb.} ✓kr̥r G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'faire un tour, rouler', Ar ✓kr̥r G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'come back', 'follow by turns' (night and day), karr-at- 'time (mal), repetition of an action', ✓kr̥r D 'repeat', Sb krr 'return'; with root rdp.: WS *✓kr̥kr 'turn round' > Ar ✓kr̥kr 'turn the millstone', Ug kr̥kr 'tanzen lassen', {OLS} ✓kr̥kr 'torcer, retorcer', BHb prt. מְכַרְכֵּר mə-kār'kēr 'dancing', MHb ✓kr̥kr (p. kir'ker) 'auf- und abgehen, tanzen', כִּירְכִיר ~ כִּירְכִיר kir'kûr {Js.} 'circle, circuit, round about way; whirl', JA [Trg.] כִּירְכִיר kir'kār'ār 'dance', Tgr ✓kr̥kr (pf. kerkere) 'roll', Gz na-kʷarkʷar, na-kʷarkʷār 'rotation, rolling, whirlpool', ✓kʷarkʷar N ʔankʷarkʷara 'roll, roll around' ¶ OLS 223, Ln. III 2562-3, BK II 878-9, 888, Hv. 648-9, LG 292, A #1383, KB 476, KBR 500, Lv. II 407, Js. 669-70 || D *kaṛ- ({{φGS} *g-) 'whirl, turn around' > SD: Tm kaṛaṅku v. 'whirl', n. 'whirling, gyration', kaṛakku vt. 'spin (as yarn)', MI kaṛaṅṅuka v. 'turn around, whirl', Kt gaṛa, gaṛagaṛa 'whirlingly, around and around', ʔ Tu gaṛb, gara, gaṛagara, garranæ 'a whirling noise', Kn gaṛa, gaṛagaṛa 'whirlingly, around and around', ?φ kor̥i, kor̥e v. 'whirl' ¶ D #1387 || A: M *qari- vi. 'return' > MM [HI, MA, IM] qari id., WrM qar̥i-, HIM xar̥i-, Ord {Ms.} xari- id., 'go back', Mnr {SM, T} xari-, Mgl {Rm.} qar̥ina, Dx qar̥i-, Ba xare- id., Kl {KRS} xap-x xār-xe, {Rm.} xār-xa 'return' ¶ Pp. MA 293-4, 444, Ms. H 88, MED 937, SM 162-3, T 374-5, T DnJ 125, T BJ 149,

KRS 590, KW 177, Rm. M 31 ◇ Not here WP's and P's erroneously reconstructed IE *ger- 'drehen, winden', based on an unc. comparison of ON *karmr* 'Brustwehr' and Sw *karm* 'Rückenlehne aus Flechtwerk' with OI *gartah* 'high seat in a chariot' (WP and P arbitrarily: ← *'wicker-work') and with OI *gunah* 'thread, string' (which cannot belong here, because in the light of the Ir ev. its original meaning is 'hair', FN *kuñä 'hair') (FMKI 327, 338), as well as on adducing stems with extensions: *gerg-, *gerk-, etc., some of which have their own N connections (FN *k'a'Rka 'turn, plait, wrap').

918. *kaR∇ 'rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE *ger- 'rise' > OI 'jaratē 'wakes up, is awake' (pfc. 'jāgara, jā'gāra), (rdp.) jā'garti 'is awake, awakes', Av gārē 'zu wachen über...', pfc. jāḡāra || Gk ἐγείρω 'awake, rouse, stir up', ft. ἐγερῶ || pAl *en-gradā > Al: T ngre 'lift, raise' ¶ WP I 598 & P 390 (*ger-, *grēj-), M KI 421, 427, F I 437, Hamp AIEW 145, O 296 || HS: S *✓krr 'jump' > Mh ✓krr (pf. kər, sbjn. yəkrēr), Jb C ✓krr (pf. kerr, sbjn. 'yakkur), Jb C ✓krr (pf. 'ker) 'jump, jump on to so.' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. J 131 || B: [1] *✓wkr (< **✓w-kr, with the px. *w- of vi.) > Izn {Rn.}, Si {La.} əkkər, SrSn {Rn.} əkkər, Gd {Lf.} əkkər (pf. ikkər, Lcj. 8), Kb əщщər, Tmz AH {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} (pf.) kkər 'get up, rise, stand up', Nf {La.} əkkər vi. 'awake, wake up'; [2] *✓nkr (< **✓n-kr, with the px. *n- of vi., reflexivity, etc.) > Thg {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} ənkər 'get up, awake', Izn, Rf, SrSn ənkər 'se relever', Sll nkər, Tmz AH nšər 'get up, rise, stand up', Zng {TC} enkur / pf. yunker 'se lever' ¶ Dl. 412-3, Mrc. 155, Rn. 394, La. S 252, MT 486-7, Fc. 1377-82, Ds. 169, Lf. I 242-4 and II #O789, DCTC 289 || A: M *qaray₁- 'jump, leap, skip' > WrM qarai-, HIM xaray-, WrO qarai-id., Ord xarā- 'monter (une monture)' ¶ MED 233, Krg. 264, Ms. O 339.

919. (2?) *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch' > A: NaT *k'ir- 'scrape, scratch' (× N *k'ir'X'∇ 'scrape, scratch', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr.} *kīr-, {GS} *gīr- v. 'scratch, draw lines' > Tm kīr₁ id., v. 'scribble, write', Ml kīr₁ 'a stripe', kīr₁ka v. 'scratch, draw lines', Kn gīr₁ id., 'scrape', kīr₁ v. 'scratch, scrape', Tl gīr₁ id., Kt kīr 'a mark, line', Tu kīruni, gīruni v. 'scratch, wound slightly by nails', kīr₁, gīr₁, gīru 'a scratch, superficial wound', Nk k^hīr, Gdb gīri, Ku giri 'a line', Prj gīr 'a line, mark', Gnd kirwān₂ 'a scratch', Knd gīr, Kui gīra 'line, mark, scrape'; D ⇨ OI kiraka- 'a scribe' ¶¶ D #1623, GS 190 [#483] || HS:

B *✓krkr v. 'scratch' (→ 'itch'), 'rake' > Thg karkar 'gratter (une chose) (pour en retirer un objet qui y est enfoncé)', ETwl, Ty ✓krkr (inv. ƷʁƷʁ with secondary uvularization of r) 'gratter, être gratté', Wrg {Dlh.} kkarkar (pf. yattkarkar) 'démanger, éprouver du prurit, donner des démangeaisons \ du prurit', Shw {Hy.} a-karkar (pl. i-karkar-an) 'rake' ¶ Fc. 874-5, GhA 98, Hy. 36, Dlh. Ou 149 || ?σ IE: NaIE *g^her- v. '≈ rake' > Lt žeriu / žer̃ti 'glühende Kohlen zusammenscharren', Lt E nu-žerti 'wegwischen, wegscharren' ¶ ≈ P 441 (*g^her- 'kratzen, ritzen, scharren'; *÷ Gk χαράδρᾱ 'Erd-riß\spalte, Schlucht', χαράσσω, A χαράττω 'spitze, scharfe, kerbe, schneide ein'), Frn. 1302 ◇ The absence of lr. after the N cns. *r is suggested by the D cns. *-r- and by the accentuation in Lt.

920. (₂?) *korê ≈ 'e deer, antelope' > ?μ K: G kurciķi 'Gazella subgutturosa' ¶ G -ciķ- remains unexplained ¶ Chx. 1588 || A: Tg *kōrbe 'male reindeer' (< N *korê bA) > Ewk kōrbē ɖ korbo, Neg kō:rbò, Ork kōrbo ~ kurbo ~ kurbu 'male reindeer', Ewk PT/Urm kurbɜ 'female elk, female sable' ¶ STM I 414 ¶ The long *ō is of positional origin: it is a reg. reflex of a N vw. in an open syll. ¶ Tg *-be apparently goes back to the N pc. *bA used in animal names (q.v.) || D *kor(r)e ({θGS} *g-) 'e deer' > Tl gorre in: kukka-gorre 'barking deer, Cervulus muntjac', koṇḍa-gorre ~ koṇḍa-gorre 'deer, antelope', Klm gorra 'deer', Gnd KM gorre 'four-horned antelope', Gnd Mrd {Lind} gore 'deer' ¶¶ D #2165b, BB CVG #1209.

921. o? *kur▽ ~ *kar▽ 'crane' > IE *ger₁H₁- ({P, E} *ger-) id. > Arm կրակակ kṙunk id. || Gk γέρανος, Gk [Hs.] γέρην id. || L grū-s (gen. gru-is) id. || W, Crn, Br garan id. || MLG kran(e), krōn, OHG cranuh ~ cranih, MHG kran(e), kruon, kranech 'crane', NHG Kran 'lifting crane'; NHG Kranich, MLG kraneck, AS cran, cranoc ~ cornuc 'crane', NE crane || Lt gérvė, Ltv dzeŗve, Pru gerwe 'crane'; cp. also Lt garnỹs, Ltv gārnis 'heron' | Sl *žeravъ > Blg 'жеpав, SCr žèrav, Slv žerjav, Cz žeráv, P żóraw, Blr 'жорав 'crane'; ⇨ Sl *žeravъjb > ChS, OR жеравль žeravль, R жу'pавль, R Δ, Uk жуpавель, SCr ždrâlǝ > ždrâl id. (← adj. 'of a crane') ¶ P 383-4, EI 140-1, F I 299 (no et. of the Gk words), WH I 624, Ho. 59, Flr. 173, Kb. 561, OS 510-1, Lx. 114, KM 400, Ho. 58-9, Slr. 171-2, Frn. 137-8, En. 177, Tr. P E-H 223-7, Vs. II 67-8, Glh. 705, IS I 292 (supposes heteroclisis in IE), ≈ P 383-4 || HS: S (WS?) *kurk₁▽y₁- 'crane' (unless

← Ak ← Sum kur.gi 'goose') > JA {Lv.} אֲרָכָה kurkə'y-ā ~ אֲרָכָה kurkiy'y-ā, Sr كُرْكَاةُ kurkə'y-ā (pl. kurkawā't-ā), Md kurkia, Ar kurk-īy- (pl. kurākīy-) 'crane', Gz kōrkī id., k^warākī id. (Ls: ← Ar pl. kurākīy-); Ar (or EthS) ↔ Sml {R} 'kurki id. ¶ Lv. II 405, Br. 346, Fr. IV 28, BK II 888, LG 291, R SS II 247, CAD VIII 561-2 || U [1] *kark∇ 'crane' > Lp: L {LLO} kuor'ka, N {N} guor'gâ / -ra- | Er kargo, Mk karga || Sm {Jn.} *къръ, ? d. *къръуъу 'crane' > Ne T xǎrë, Ne O {Lh.} χαίρω, Ne F {Lh.} kaίρω, En {Ter.} kori (all < *къръуъу), Slq Tz {KKIH} qa'ra, Slq Tm {KD} qora, Kms {Cs.} kuro, (*къръуъу >) Kms {KD} k'uru'y'u, Koyb {Sp.} куръерокъ; Mt {HL} *körüöh (Mt M {Sp.} куроў, Mt K {Pl.} korùh, korù) || [2] *kurk∇ 'crane' > F kurki (gen. kurjen), Es kurg (gen. kure) || pY {IN} *kur- > YK {IN} kur-čëŋ 'white crane (стерх)' (-čëŋ is a nominal sx.), {Ang. ← Jc.} kurceŋ 'Storch' ¶¶ UEW 128, Jn. 54, KKIИ 158, Hl. M #557, IN 230, Ang. 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [#18] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *kar∇ 'crane' > Ewk karan, Ewk Δ karawul, karał, kraw 'gray crane'; *kor∇ > Nn {Prtd.} kopо 'crane' ¶ ≈ STM 379 (does not distinguish between the word for 'crane' and that for 'black') || D [1] *kUruk- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'heron, crane' > Tm kuruku 'heron, stork, crane', Ml kuriyan, Td košk 'heron', Tu korŋgu 'crane, stork', Tl pegguru ~ begguru (< peru-kuru) 'adjutant crane', Gnd Mrd koruku 'crane' || [2] ? *kokk- (< **kork-) ({ǰGS} *k-) 'crane' > Tm, Kn kokku, Tl kokkera, Prj kokkal, Gdb kokalin, Ku kokoŋa 'crane', Ml kokku, Gdb kokkale 'heron' ¶¶ D #2125 ¶¶ Both *kUruk- and *kokk- are likely to back to pre-D **kork- with different development of the cns. cluster. D *-r- < N *r in a cns. cluster ◇ IS I 292-3 [#159] (*kar∇/*kur∇) ◇ The variability of the vw. of the first syll. is due to the onomatopoeic association of the word.

922. *ku|or∇ 'thick, fat' > IE (with exts.): [1] NaIE *g^wretso- 'thick, large' > L grossus 'thick' || Clt: W bras 'thick, large', Crn brās 'great, large', Br bras 'big, proud', OIr {Vn.} bras 'grand; vaniteux, violent' || ? [2] NaIE ġ^wrendh- 'big' ([in Gk] → 'proud') > L grandis 'full-grown, great, large' || Gk βρένθοσ 'haughty carriage, arrogance', βρενθύομα 'bear oneself haughtily' ¶ P 485, EI 574, SB 183, WH I 617-8, 623, FI 266 (no et. of βρένθοσ), Vn. B 79, Hm. 103 || K *kur- 'thick, stout' > G kur-i 'a thick cheek of a child', G Xv/P kur-i 'cheek, thick cheek', G kur-ul-a 'heap, multitude', Sv kwr-iw {FS} 'beleibt' ¶¶ FS K 340, FS E 381 || A: T *k_l'ür 'thick (dicht), dense' > Tkm gü'r 'thick,

bushy' (esp. of hair, eyebrows), Tk *gür*, Az *gür*, CrTt *gu' id.*, 'abundant', VTt, Bsh *кѠр кѠр* 'fat' (cattle), Tlt {Rl.} *kür* 'fat, stout', Xk *kür ot* 'thick quick-growing grass', Tv *xür* 'well-fed', Tf {Cs.} *kür ~ hür* 'grob', Chv *kär* 'abundant', 'fat' (cattle), 'thick' (grass); T \rightarrow Kl {Rm.} *kür* 'dick, fest' ¶ Cl. 735, Rl. II 447, ET VGD 106-7, Rs. W 309-10, BIG 97, ChVS 84, Cs. KKS 101, KW 246 || Tg: Ewk I *kur* 'swelling, tumour', Ewk Uc *korodop*-v. 'be swollen and cause pain' ¶ STM I 416 || ?σM **qur*- > WrM *qur-la-*, HIM *хурла-* v. 'accumulate fat in the coarse of a year' (animals), 'grow in clusters' (plants), Ord *χurlūl-* 'laisser engraisser (un animal)', WrM *qurtai* 'having fat accumulated during the preceding year' (animals) ¶ MED 991, Ms. O 372 ¶ Apparently a merger with M **qura-* 'gather'. The cognates are valid unless they are ds. from **qura-* 'gather' || ? pKo **kürk-* 'thick' > MKo *kürk*, NKo *kulk-kuk-* ¶ S QK #445, Nam 63, MLC 219 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #569 (A **gūri* 'wide, broad, thick'; incl. Ko, T) || D **kor* ({{GS}} **k-*) 'fat (adj., n.), stout' > Tm *koru* adj., n. 'fat', Ml *koru* adj. 'fat', Td *kwaip* 'fat, in good circumstances', Kn *korvu*, *korbu* 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl *k(r)ovvu* 'become fat, fatten', Klm, Nkr *koru*, Gdb *ko'kuṭ ḍ koḍukuṭ ḍ koḍukuḍ*, Gnd *ko'winṣ ḍ kurwinṣ ḍ ko'venṣ ḍ ko'vonṣ*, Png, Ku *ko'va*, Mnd *k'ruva*, Kui *k'ōga* 'fat', Gnd *korū-* 'become fat', Knd *ko'vu*, Ku *korowa* 'fat of animals', Prj *ko' ḍ ko'v-*, Png *k'ō-* 'be fat', Kui *krōga* 'fat, tallow, suet' ¶¶ D #2146 ◇ Fn. KD #87 (K, D).

923. **k'o'ṣRṅ* - **k'o'Rṣ'ū'* (probably **k'o'yRṅ* - **k'o'Ry'ū'*) 'be heavy, be stout\thick' > IE **g^wreHu-*/**g^wrHu-* > NaIE **g^wer(ə)-*, **g^wru-* 'heavy' > OI *gu'ru-h* 'heavy, important, venerable' (cmp. 'garīyan, sprl. *gāriṣṭha-h*), Av (in cds.) *gouru*, NPrs *گراں* *gerān* 'heavy' || Gk *βαρύς* id. || L *gravis* (< **g^wrə-w-is*) 'heavy, important', L (← OscU) *brūtus* 'heavy, immovable' || OIr **bair* ([ʃ] accus. pl. *bairi*) 'heavy', W *bryw* 'strong, vigorous' || Gt *kaúrjōs* 'heavy' (nom. pl. f. of **kaúrūs*) || Ltv *grūts* 'difficult', 'hard' (e.g. *grūti laiki* 'hard times') ¶ WPI 684-5, P 476-7, EI 264 (**g^wreH-u-*/**g^wrH-u-*), MK I 340, Vl. II 959-60, FI 221-2, WH I 620-1, Vn. B 8, YGM-1 59, Fs. 310, Kar. I 321 || HS: S **✓kṣr* > Ar *✓kṣr* G (pf. *kaṣira*, ip. *ya-kṣar-u*) 'be big-bellied' (a child) ({{BK}} 'avoir le ventre tendu, gros, et être gras'), 'be fat-humped' (a camel), *kaṣir-* 'big-bellied', 'gras et qui a le ventre tendu' (a boy) ¶ Hv. 658, BK II 908 || A **KURṅ* > Tg **xurge-*

'heavy' > Ewk *urgə*, Lm *urgə*, Sln *urgərđi*, Neg *uygəgdı*, Orc *uggə*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *ugəhi*, Ul *χužəsi*, Ork *χudə*, Nn Nh/B *χuygə*, WrMc *užerŋ* STM II 283-4, Krm. 300; Tg *-rg- may go back to N ***-R̥ʷ-** (cp. Tg **bılga* 'throat' < N ***baḷi,ɣa** 'to swallow; throat', q.v.); the initial *x- (the regular reflex of A ***k'-**) may have resulted from Altaic secondary aspiratization (***kH-** > ***k'-**) || pKo {S} ?σ **korʌ-~*koro-* > MKo *korʌ'oı-*, NKo *küerop-/küerow-* v. 'suffer, be troublesome\hard\painful', MKo *koro'om*, NKo *küero-um* 'suffering' ¶ S QK #176, Nam 46, MLC 189 || pJ {S} ?σ **kürù-sì-* 'hard, difficult, agonizing' > OJ *kürù-si*, J: T/Kg *kuruśi-*, K *kúruśi-* ¶ S QJ #217, Mr. 833 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1091 (A ***k'juru** 'heavy; hard, difficult'), ≈ SDM97 s.v. ***k'Ur∇** (both adduce Tg **xurga-*) ◇ ≈ S NSShS #18 (IE ÷ A ***k'ure** 'heavy, difficult' [***k'-** based on Tg **x-*]).

924. ₂ ***ko,ɰ,r∇** 'embers, hearth' > HS: S ***kawr-** 'kiln' (→ 'furnace') > Ak OB/OA/MA *kūr-* 'crucible (for metal and glass), kiln, brazier' ([?] ʰ → BHb *כור* *kūr*, JA *kūr* (em. *kūr-ā*) 'small smelting-furnace', Sr *kūr*, -ā 'a fire, furnace, kiln, crucible, refining-pot', Ar *کور* *kūr* 'blacksmith's furnace, bellows', 'Esse, Blasbalg'), OSA {Mü.} *kwr* 'furnace (?)', Gz *kawr* 'furnace'; Aram ʰ → G *kura* 'forge-hearth, furnace, cooking-stove' ¶ CAD VIII 571, KB 445, KBR 466, Br. 323, JPS 211, BK II 942, WKAS K 431, Hv. 667, Müller WMT 98, L G 300, Kfm. AIA 65, Chx. 1586 || ?φ C: Ag ***k∇k∇r-** 'hearth stone' > Bln {R} *ka'ğal* id. ¶ R WB 215-6 || A ***k'ōrâ** 'embers; burn' > NaT ***Kōr** 'embers' (× N ***kārḥ₂'U'** 'to burn [sth.], to heat?') > Tkm *gōr*, Osm *قور* *qor*, Tk *kor*, Az {Äz.} *gōr*, Ggz *коор* *kōr*, Uz *қўр* *qwr*, Qrg *qor* 'glowing coal within ashes'; but T ***Kō,ɰ,ɰ'** (> Bsh *κϣə quδ*, Qq *qoz* 'live coal', StAlt *qos* id., embers') belongs to N ***góræ** 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v.) ¶ ET Q 74-6, Tkr 189, Hüs. 84, Äz. 110, GRM 281, Jud. 405, UzR 637, Rl. II 548-9 || Tg: Ewk PT *korō-* vi. 'burn down', Ewk Nk *korowkān-* vt. 'burn down' ¶ Vas. 912, STM I 416 ◇ ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T √, together with several others, into the etymon ***gUr∇** 'embers').

925. ₂ ***koyR∇** 'male animal' > HS: C: EC ***korm-** id. > Sml *korme* 'stallion', Or B *korma* 'male (animal), bull' ||| SC: Irq/Brn {E} *karama* 'steer', Alg {E} *karama* 'bull', Irq {MQK} *karāma* (pl. *karmu*) 'castrated animal' ¶ DSI 371, Sr. 347, E SC 262, MQK 39 || Eg P, DEg *kə* 'Stier' > OCpt *ko ko* 'taureau' ¶ EG V 94-6, Er. 555, Vc. 71 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [#19.5] || U ***koyra** 'male animal' (× N ***güR∇** 'beast' [q.v.] and

possibly a d. of U *koϥe 'male, man' < N *goy∇ 'man, people') > F koira 'dog', koiras (gen. koiraksen) 'male animal', Es koer, Vp kojr 'dog' | Prm *kūr > Z кыр kír 'male' (of carnivorous animals), StZ, Z UV/I {SZ} kír pon 'male dog' (pon 'dog'), Z I {Wc.} kír, Yz kΛr 'male dog', Z UV {FF} kír-kэр 'male reindeer', Prmk kír 'male' (of mammals and birds), Z Ud {Wc.} kírэс 'tom-cat' || ObU {Ht.} *kīr∇ 'male animal' > pVg {Ht.} **kīr id. > OVg E TM kār, OVg W P кер, OVg S Ss kähr, Vg: T kār, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML kэр, LK/UL/Ss xār id.; pOs {Ht.} *kar id. > Os: V/Vy qar, Ty/Y qār, D/K χor, Nz/Kz χor, O χar || Sm {Jn.} *korā 'male animal' > Ne T xopa id., 'male reindeer', Ne T O {Lh.} χōr'ā (gen. pl. χōr' < *korэ-), Ne F {Lh.} kōrrāā id., En B {Ter.} kora, {Cs.} 'kura, En X {Cs.} kuĥa 'not castrated male reindeer', Ng {Cs.} 'kuru id., {Hl.} kuru 'bull', Slq Tz {KKIH} qōr† 'male reindeer, sire bull', Kms {Cs.} kura 'bull (Ochs)', {KD} k'ora ~ q'ōra id., 'male animal', ku'ra t'ō 'male reindeer' (t'ō 'reindeer') ¶¶ UEW 168-9, LG 153, Lt. J 132, TmK 358, SZ 188, Wc. SW 109, KPR 213, FF 435, Ht. #319, Jn. 74, KP #600, Cs. 50, 81, 181, Hl. US 120, KKI 163, KD 32, 34, 72, ≠ Sm. 543 (F koira, etc. belong to FU *kōji 'male').

926. *kūr'p'∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat' > IE: NaIE *g̃wer(ə)- 'shine; be hot' > OI jūr'ñih 'blaze, glowing fire', 'jvarati 'is feverish', jva'rah 'fever', jūr'tih 'fever' || ? MDt coorts, Dt koorts, MLG kortz 'fever' || Ltv zvērôt 'to glow, to glare, to flash' ¶ WP I 647, P 479, M K I 443, 450, Vr. N 350, Kar. II 571-2 || **HS:** S: Ak StB kararû 'brilliance of the sun at midday; midday' ¶ CAD VIII 207 || C: Ag {Ap.} *k̃war- 'sun' > Bln {Plm.} k̃wara, {R} k̃wara, Xm {R} k̃wera 'sun, day', Xm T {CR} k̃wera, Q {R} k̃wāra, Km {Bnd.} k̃wāra 'sun' || ?? EC: Sml {DSI} qorraĥ, Sml N {Abr.} qórráĥ (secondary glottalization *k > Sml q?) ¶ AD SF 77, Ap. AV 14, R WB 225, R Q II 86, R Ch. II 63, DSI 503, Abr. S 205, Blz. CL 180, ≠ Ss. B 156 (Sml qorraĥ * < EC *qorraĥ) || Ch: WCh: Bele kārā 'sun' || ECh: Kwn {J} kārā, Kwn M {J} kárán 'morning'; Mu {J} kéré 'be hot', kérít 'hot' ¶ Sch. BTL 30, ChC ¶¶ OS #1433 (Ak, Bele) || **D** *kur(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'glisten; shining (glänzend)' > Tm kuru v. 'glisten', kuru n. 'brilliance, effulgence', kurumai 'lustre, brightness', Kt kurz 'beautiful\handsome person', Klm, Nkr, Gnd kuro, Nk khura 'silver' ¶¶ D #1782 || **A:** T: [1] T *Kōre- 'catch fire, flame up' > Tkm kōre- id., OOs {Zaj.} kōr-, VTt kbjre- 'catch fire', Bsh kbjre- vi. 'burn, glow', Tk Δ d. kōrele- vi. 'start burning'

][2] T *Kōře- vt. 'poke a fire' > OT {Cl.} köze-, Qb {Rl.} köze- 'poke a fire'; ? Tkm kōðe- vi. {Cl.} 'burn up', {TkR} 'carbonize' (unless <† *kōz 'burning embers'; in any case, *-ř- is due to the infl. of *Kōř)][3] T *Kōř (~ *k'ōř?) 'burning coal\embers' (× N *gōřæ 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v. ffd.); T *-ř- < N *-ř- in *gōřæ ¶ ET KQ 85-6, Zaj. S II 87 || (+ext.?) Tg *kurgī 'flame', *kurgī- vi. 'burn' > Ewk kurgī 'flame', kurgī- vi. 'burn', 'scorch' (the sun), Sln xudji- vi. 'flame up', Neg kurgī-sin- 'blaze up, catch fire', ↳ Ul kuržī- vi. 'crackle and buzz' (burning firewood) ¶ STM I 435 || ?σ M *kīra^ř 'a > WrM {Gl.} kiraga, ũr-ũn kiraga 'at\before dawn', WrM {MED} kiraga, HIM {MED} хяраа, {Luv.} үүрийн хяраа 'dusk before dawn', үүр хяраалах 'be dawning' (ũr, үүр 'daybreak, dawn') ¶ Gl. III 608, MED 470, Luv. 597 ¶ The M stem is a valid cognate unless the meaning 'dawn' is based exclusively on ũr, үүр, while kiraga has an auxiliary semantic function (sth. like 'border', cp. kīra, хяр 'summit, ridge', so that the literal meaning of ũr-ũn kiraga is '≈ dawn's ridge') ◇ D *-r- (regularly from N *r|ř-clusters, but not from the N intervoc. *-ř-) and the traces of the lr. in IE point to a N lr.; since the only N lrs. lost in Ak and not transforming *a into e are *h and *ʔ, the N lr. is likely to be *h|ʔ. An alt. rec. is N *kūri^ř ▽, whence later: [1] **kūriy ▽ > **kūry ▽ > T *Kōře- and *Kōř, [2] (elision of *i): **kūr^ř ▽ > T *Kōre- and D *kur- ◇ ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (includes this T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gūr ▽ 'embers').

927. *korǵ ▽ 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^ωer(H)- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow' (× N *kōri^h ũ 'throat, neck' [q.v.]?) > OI girati, gr^oṇāti 'swallows, eats', Av jaraiti 'swallows' ('schluckt'), OI ga'raḥ n. 'drink, poison' ||| Arm կեր keř (gen. կերոյ keřoy) 'nourishment, food, prey', եկեր e-keř 'ate' ||| Gk βιβρώσκω (aor. ἔβρων) 'devour', βορύ 'food (of a predator)' ||| L vorō, -āre 'eat greedily, swallow up' ||| OIr túarae 'food' (*to-g^ωr-iyā?) ||| ON krás 'dainty morsel', AS {Vr.} crās id., 'nourishment', OHD querdar, NHG Köder 'bait, lure', ||| Lt geriū / gėrti, Ltv dzeru / dzerīt v. 'drink' ||| Sl *žbrq / *žėrti 'swallow, devour' > OCS пожьрѣти po-žbrěti 'swallow', RChS жьрѣ жьрq / жьрѣти žbrěti 'deglutire', SCr Sr ждрѣм / ждрѣти, SCr Cr ždrēm / ždrijėti 'eat greedily\much, fressen' (and SCr d. žderati id.), Slv žrēm / žrėti, OCz žru / žrietī, Cz žeru / žrāti, Slk žerem / žrat', P žrę /

žreć, Uk жру / 'жертв ~ 'жрати, Blr жру / жерць id., R жру / жрать ab 'eat' ¶ P 474, EI 175 (*g^wer(h₃)- 'swallow'), M KI 325, 335, F I 235-6, WH II 836, Vr. 329, OsS 64, KM 387, Vn. T 162, Frn. 148-9, Vs. II 62-3, Glh. 706, Srz. I 890 || HS: S *^o✓krɪ > Ar ✓krɪ 'sip in (liquid), drink by sipping in, drink with the mouth without holding the vessel' ¶ BK II 886, Hv. 651 || D *kōr- ({ǵGS} *k-?) 'eat (greedily), drink' > Ml kōrukā 'eat greedily', Kn κοῖῖ v. 'drink', Tl krōlɪ 'drink, eat', Ku gronǵ- v. 'drink, guzzle' ¶¶ D #2233 || A: pJ {S} *kúrá-p- 'consume, eat' > OJ kura-p-, ItOJ [RJ] kúráp-u, J: T kúra-, K kúra-, Kg kurá- ¶ S QJ #361, Mr. 716 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ürgo, DQA #1088 (pA *k'jürgelɔ 'feed, eat', that in fact does not belong here [except for the J cognate] because of the initial *k'- and because its meaning in T, M, and Ko is 'belly, stomach').

928. *kor₁h₁ 'be angry\embittered' > HS: S: [1] with loss of N *h: CS *-kūr-, *✓krw|y 'be distressed, be in depression' > BA ✓kry TD 3f pf. אַתְּכָרִית ~ אַתְּכָרִית ʔi/εt-kar'y-at 'was distressed', JA {Dlm.} כָּרִיאַ kar'y-ā adj. 'suffering', Sr ✓kry (pf. كَارِآ kə'rā ~ كَارِآ kə'rī) 'be sad \ displeased \ annoyed, grieve', Md ✓krʔ 'betrübt sein'; [2] with preservation of *h: WS *✓krh 'dislike, hate, be angered' > Ar ✓krh (pf. kariha, ip. -krah-) 'disprove, dislike' (↳ Mh ✓krh [pf. kōrɜh] 'dislike'), Mh ✓krh (pf. kɜrūh), Hrs ✓krh (pf. kɜrōh), Jb C ✓krh (pf. 'kerɜh) v. 'hate', Mh karh ~ kerh, Hrs 'kerɜh, Jb E/C kɜrh 'hatred', Jb C e'korɜh v. 'anger'; [3] S *^okur₁h₁- > Ak fOB kūrɪ 'daze, depression, stupor', inf. kârɪ 'be in depression, in a stupor' ¶ BDB #3735, Br. 342, Dlm. 197, JPS 224, DM 222, Nld. MG 365, CAD VIII 240, 570-1, BK II 891-2, Hv. 652, Jo. M 214, Jo J 134, Jo. H 69, ≈ KB 1727 (*✓kry|^rw¹ 'be distressed' ← *✓krw|y 'be short') || C: Ag: Xm {R} k^war- ~ kar-, Dmb {R} kar- 'be angry', Q {R} kārīŋ 'anger'; Ag ↳ Tgy H {R} ✓k^wry (pf. ከጋጭ k^werɐyɐ) 'be angry' ↳ Sa {R} kūrāy ~ kūrā (sc. k^warāy ~ k^warā) 'Zorn, Ärger, Betrübnis', kūrāy- (= k^warāy-) 'zornig sein, sich betrüben, traurig werden' ||| DhI {EEN} kor- 'be in trouble' ¶ R Ch II 62-3, R Q II 86, R S II 223, EEN 12 || NrOm: Kf {C} kār- v. 'anger (adirarsi)', kārō n. 'anger (ira)', ? Anf {MYTY} kārō 'fight' ¶ C SE IV 462-3, MYTY 117 ¶¶ OS #1482 (HS *kor- 'be angry') || Ch: Su {J} k^war 'hassen, ablehnen, nicht wollen' ¶ J S 71 ¶¶ OS #1482 (S *✓krh, WCh, Ag, Om, DhI + err. Sa [in fact ↳ EThS ↳ Ag]) || ?σ IE: NaIE *^og^wer₁ǵ₁- 'scold' (× N *kuRh₁ 'shout, cry') > Gk Lc [Hs.] δειριᾶν · λαιδορεῖσθαι 'to

abuse, to revile' ¶ ≈ WP I 585, ≈ P 478, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et.) || A *k'ōr∇ > NaT *Kō_l;r- 'feel\be humiliated, be angry' > Qzq {Rl.} qor, Qrg, Qq, Qmq qor 'despised \ humiliated by the society', Qzq {Rl.} 'Schande', Nog qor 'humiliation, abuse', SbTt Tb {Rl.} qor 'shame', SbTt B {Rl.} qor 'Angst, Qual, Trauer; Tadel, Beleidigung' ¶ Rl. II 549-50, Jud. 406, KrkR 401, Grøn. 200, TvR 484, Ra. 190 || M *qoruda- > WrM qoruda-, HIM xopdō- 'be chagrined, be grieved\sad, repent, hate', Kl xopd- 'bear malice, be resentful'; WrM qoora 'embitterment, hate'; M ⇨ Tv xorada-, Ewk korōdā- 'be angry' ¶ MED 968, KRS 599-600, Krg. 282-3, Z 282 || Tg *kōr_lu_l 'anger, resentment' > Ewk I koru 'angry', Ul qorv(n-), Nn Nh qōro 'resentment', Ul qoročt-, Nn Nh qōrost- v. 'resent', WrMc qoro- 'be grieved\sad, anger', qoro 'grief, offence', (M ⇨ ?) 'harm, damage' ¶ STM I 415-6, Z 282 ¶¶ But we cannot adduce here (for lack of reliable semantic proximity) A*k'ōr∇ 'harm' > T *k'ōr 'harm', M *qōr_la_l 'harm', *qōran 'poison' (ffd. *see* ET Q 73-4, Ra. 190, MED 968, 973) || D *kor_l- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'anger' > Tl kor_lalu 'grow angry', kor_lako_la 'angrily; anger, angry look', Tm t kor_luko_lu v. 'bubble with anger' ¶¶ D #2166, Km. 337 || U: FU *kur∇ 'anger' > Er/Mk kor {Ps.} 'Verdruß, Gram, Ärger', Er XVIII {Dms.} kop 'reproach (укоризна)', ? Mk {PI} kop 'disposition\temper, envy', ? Er kop {KC} 'disposition, temper', (ERV} id., 'self-respect' || ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg *kōr- > Vg: LK xor-, MK k^ωār-, P kor-, NV k^ωor-, SV k^ωōr-, LL k^ωār- 'scold (zanken)', SV k^ωarrakat-, LL k^ωarkat- id., {Mu} MK khārj-, khōrj- 'be annoyed\angry, become enraged'; pOs {Ht.} *korām- > Os: Vy qorām-, qāram-, Ty qōram-, D/K/Nz xurām-, Kz xūram-, O xoram- 'take offence at, be sulky', 'refuse to eat from grudge' (children) | OHg harag 'anger, angry', Hg harag 'irritation, resentment, grudge, anger' ¶ UEW 220-1, Ps. M 81, PI 126, ERV 292, Fkt. RMS 296, Ht. #308, Kn. WV 72, Stn. WV 132, Mu. AKE 297, Trj. S 173, EWU 527 ◇ IS I 301 [#172] (all relevant families) ◇ The Ar and NES forms point to a N lr. *h. D *-r_l- goes back regularly to a N intervoc. *-r-, which suggests either the presence of a vw. between N *r and *h or the loss of *h in pre-pD before the change N *-r- > D *-r_l- (in this latter case the hyp. of an internal vw. is superfluous). In A there is complementary lengthening of the vw. *o due to the loss of N *-r_l∇_lh-. The FU vw. *u (for the expected *o) needs explaining.

929. *kur₁h₁ 'hill, mountain' > IE {E} *g^worH-/*g^wrH- ({P} *g^wer-) > NaE {Wtk.} *g^wera-/g^wora- 'mountain' > OI gi'ri-h₁ 'hill, mountain, elevation', Av ga'ri-š 'mountain(s)' || pAl {O} *gura > Al gur 'rock, stone' || BSl (×N *goR₁h₁ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain', q.v.): pSl *go'ra (accus. *g^or^o, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ropa gora, R, Uk ro'pa, SCr g^ora, Cz, HLs hora, P, LLs g^ora id., Slv g^ora id., 'mountain forest', Blg ro'pa 'forest, wood(s)', Slk hora id., 'woody mountain' | ? Lt girià, Lt Z gⁱrè 'forest, wood(s)', Ltv † dzir₁a, dzire id. ¶ ≈ P 477-8 (*÷ Gk δειράς / -άδος, Gk Cr δηράς 'ridge of a chain of hills', F I 358), Dv. #801, EI 270, AHDI 25, M K I 335, O 127, ESSJ VII 29-31, Db. SA 24, Glh. 238, ≈ Kar. I 291-2 (adduces Ltv garš 'long'), Frn. 153 || **HS:** C: EC *k₁r- > Sa {R} kōro 'Berg, Gebirge', Sml {ZMO} kur 'hill, mound', Sml N {Abr.} kúr(-tī) 'hill, mountain', Rn {PG} kúr 'small hill, hillock', Elm kōran 'mountain' || C: Bj {R} kār (pl. kar) 'hill, height' ¶ R S II 220, PG 204, ZMO 243, Abr. S 155, ≈ AD SF 80 || S: [1] S *kawr- > Sb kawr 'hill', Ar Hdr {Mü.} kawr 'mountain' ¶ BGMR 80, Mü. WMT 98] [2] Gz karīr '(round) hill' (unless ← ✓krr 'round'); ? Mh kər'mayn (pl. kərmōm) 'mountain'; Ug {OLS} krk 'pico', [Ak. sc.] ku-re-ka-at [?] ¶ LG 294, Jo. M 214, OLS 223, Hnr. 140 || Eg fN krkr 'heap of stones' ¶ EG V 136 || CCh: Nz kūròmó 'mountain' ¶ ChL || **U:** FP *kur₁h₁ 'hill, steep slope' (×N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁ 'rock, isolated mountain') > ? Es Δ kuruk (gen. kurukā) 'small ridge of hills (väike kõrkustik)' | Lp L {LLO} kār₁r₁ā 'long ridge of woody hills' | Chr: H {Ep.} кырык, L кур₁ык 'kur₁ык, k₁ык, Uf kur₁ык 'mountain', B {Ps.} kuruk 'hill' | Prm *kūr > Z кыр k₁ыр 'high abrupt riverbank, precipice (обрыв); mountain', Yz kōr-yōlōn 'auf der Höhe' (yōl 'top, summit') ¶ UEW 677, MRS 249, Ep. 53, Ü 86, 97, Ps. OT 52, LG 153 || **D** *kur₁- ({᠑GS} *k-) 'hilly country' (×N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁ '↑') > Ml kur₁icci id., Tm kur₁am 'Kurava tribe of the mountains', kur₁inci 'hilly tract', Kn kur₁umba (name of a caste of mountaineers), Tl kor₁ava (name of a tribe of mountaineers), Gnd kurmal 'shepherd' ¶¶ D #1844 || ? **A:** amb NaT *k₁ir 'crest of the mountain, mountain, high ground; foothills, slope' (×N *K₁irH₁ [= *gⁱ'i₁r₁h₁?] 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.] × [in some lgs.] N *K₁ir₁h₁ 'edge, end'; ?? ×N *goR₁h₁ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain') ◇ ≠ S NSShS #7 (IE *g^wer-/*g^wor- *÷ A *k^ori 'hill, embankment, boundary' [actually from N *K₁'o₁r₁h₁] *÷ K *gora 'small mountain, hill' [in fact from N *goR₁h₁]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (the same unc.

comparison and rec. of N *g^w-], Blz. LB #111 #c (suggested to add Sb, Ar Hdr, and EC), Blz. DA 161 [#89] (dubious equation of this N etymon with D *kur_z- 'island' and Elm kóran 'island') ◇ If the rec. of a lr. in IE (as in AHDI and EI) is right, the N rec. may be *kur_zh_z with loss of *h in S (where N *-h- is sometimes lost); the N word-medial vw. is suggested by D (because *-r_z- is from the N intervocalic *-r-). Otherwise (if pIE is *g^wer-), N rec. is *kur_z.

930. *kuRh_z 'shout, cry' > IE *g^werH- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; wail' > OI gr_oṅāti, gr_oṅī'tē 'calls, invokes, praises', Av aⁱbi-gar^ənte 'praises', garah- 'a praise, praise song' || OIr bard, W bardd 'bard', MBr barz 'village fiddler (ménétrier)', Gl b→L bardus id. (< *g^w̄_o-d_l'_o-s) || pAl *grisa > Al prs. gēr'shas, aor. grisha 'invite, beckon to come' || Lt giriū / girti v. 'praise, commend', Ltv (rf.) dziĩrtiēs 'boast', Pru girtwei v. 'praise'; ? Lt gēras 'good' | Sl *gornъ, *gorno > OCS гopнъ gornъ, гopно gorno 'verse', Cz hrany pl., Slk hrana 'funeral knell', Hls hrano 'phrase, dictum', Lls grono 'speech, conversation; tale; proverb' || OHG quēran & chuēran [xwēran] 'to sigh, to moan, to lament' || Gk Lc [Hs.] δειπᾶν λουδορεῖσθαι 'to abuse, to revile' (× N *kor_zh_z 'be angry\embittered') ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) Gk γῆρυς, Gk D γᾶρυς 'voice, speech' (see F I 305) ¶ WP I 585, P 578, ≈ EI 449 (*g^werH- 'praise'), M K I 343, Hamp AIEW 145, O 115, Vn. B 18-9, Frn. 154, En. 17, Tp. P E-H 247-9, ESSJ VII 49, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et. of δειπᾶν), OsS 694, Kb. 582 || **HS:** B *-w-kur 'scold' (× N *kor_zh_z '↑', q.v.) > Thg {Fc.} ak^war, Gh akžar 'injurier', Izn/Rf {Rn.} akkər 'insulter', Izn t_yukk^wra, Rf t_yukk^war 'an insult' ¶ Fc. 876, Rn. 345 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} kúruwâ n. act. 'shouting' ¶ Sch. DN 100 || **D** *kur- v. 'bark, shout, groan' (× N *gur^h 'to bark, to howl', 'to cry, to shout', q.v. ffd.).

931. *kôri^hû 'throat, neck' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^wrīwā ~ *g^werwā 'the back part of the neck, nape, neck' (× N *gub_zRE 'back, back side, nape [of neck]' [q.v.]??): [1a] NaIE *g^wrīwā 'nape of the neck, neck' > OI grī^vā, Av grī^vā id., Phl grīw 'neck, throat', NPrs {Vl., Sg.} گریبان gerībān, {BM} گریبان gārībān 'collar, opening\breast of a garment', Psh grēwa, grawa 'collar-bone, collar' || Ltv grīva 'mouth (of river), estuary' (← *'throat') | Sl *grīva 'mane' > RChS, OR грива griva, Blgr, R, Uk 'грива, Blr 'грыва, SCr grīva, Slv grīva, Cz hřiva, Slk hriva, P grzywa id.; the ancient meaning '(part of)

neck' is better preserved in OR ΓΡΗΒΝΥΗ *griv̄n̄i* adj. 'of the neck', ΓΡΗΒΑ *griva*, Slv *grīvna*, and Cz *hřivna* 'necklace' || [1b] NaIE **g^werwā* > Gk A δέρη, Gk I δειρή, Gk Ls δερρά, δέρᾱ, Gk D δήρα, Gk Ar δερρα 'neck, throat' ¶ P 475, EI 391-2 (**g^werweh_h*- ~ **g^wriHw-eh_h*-), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, VI. II 990-1, BM 422-3, Sg. 1086, Mrg. 24, FI 367-8, LS 375, Kar. I 317-8, ESSJ VII 129, Glh. 247 | [2] NaIE **g^wer(ə)*- 'throat' (× N **kor̄s̄* 'eat, drink, swallow'?) > OI *galah̄* 'throat', Av *garəman* 'throat, neck', NPrs *گولو* *golū* ~ *گالو* *gālū* 'neck, gullet, throat', Psh *ṡaraj* 'windpipe, throat' || Gk βάραθρον, Gk Hm βέρεθρον 'gulf, pit' (← *'throat') || Tc B *kor* 'neck, throat' ({Ad.}: unless to IE **kuhr*- 'hole, opening') ¶ P 474-5, EI 391-2 (**g^werweh_h*- ~ **g^wriHw-eh_h*- 'neck'), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, Mrg. 26, VI. II 1026, Sg. 1096, Horn 207, FI 219 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 129-30, Glh. 247, Wn. 23, Ad. 203-4 || HS: S **✓kr̄h* > Ar *kāriḥ*-, *kāriḥ-at*- 'gosier, gorge' ¶ BK II 882 || B **✓kr̄m* 'neck, nape of the neck, back (dos)' (× N **Ḳām̄U, Ḳ̄* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade' [whence later 'nape'], q.v. ffd.) || C: Ag {AD} **✓kr̄m* 'throat, nape' > Bln {R} *kir'mā*, *kr̄mā* id. ¶ R WB 227 || D {tr.} **kUral*-, {GS} **koral*- 'throat, voice' (in Tm and Ml: × N **guṝs̄E* or **gūṝs̄* 'throat, neck') > Tm *kural*, Ml *kural*, *kural̄*, Kn *koral*, *koral̄*, *kor̄u*, *kō*, *kōlu* 'voice, throat', Kdg *kora* 'gullet, windpipe', Tu *kur̄el̄* 'nape of the neck', Tl *kr̄ōl(u)cu* v. 'sing, read out' ¶¶ D #1774, GS 221 [#539] ◇ NaIE **ī* (< **iH*) and Ar **ḥ* suggest a N lr. Among the two possible N lrs. (**ḥ* or **χ* > S **ḥ*), the first one is preferable because it is more compatible with the loss of the lr. in B, Eg (?), C, and Ch. The expected sonant **i/ĵ* was lost in the IE variant stems **g^werwā* and **g^wer(ə)*- probably within clusters of two sonants (ruled out by IE morphophonemic laws). In the prehistory of D we must suppose a syncope: N **kōriḥ'ū* > **kōurHū* > D **kur*- (D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N **r*-clusters) ◇ FU **kur̄k̄* 'throat' (UEW 676) is better equatable with Tg **gor̄ka* 'uvula, palate' (STM I 161) and hence does not belong here (see N **guR'k'U* 'throat'). Neither does D **kuṝḡk*- 'throat' (D #1370) belong here, because *-ṝ- goes back to N **ṝ* (see N **guṝs̄E* or **gūṝs̄* '↑') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #390 (**kur* 'throat') (IE + err. A, U, Gil).

932. **kor̄wa* 'fade, rot, decay', 'coagulate' (blood, etc.), 'get sour\rancid\bitter' (of food) > IE: [1] NaIE (in Iir only) **ḡer*- 'decay' (× IE **ḡerH*- 'grow, age, mature' < N **kiṝHa* 'old', hence the palatality of

*g̃-) > OI 'jarati 'decays', Av za'rīna 'aufreibend', Oss lä-zār3n 'to wear out' (cloth) ¶ M K I 420-2, Ab. IV 305, ≈ P 390-1 ¶ [2] NaIE *greūt- 'curds' > OIr, NIr grúth 'coagulated milk, curds' ¶ ME cruddes, curdes pl. 'curds', NE curds, NE Sc croods id. ¶ IE *g- (rather than *g^w-) is due to its preconsonantal position ¶ ≈ P #406, Dnn. 386, SB 119, HDEL 323, Skeat 149, ≈ EI 451 (? *greūt- 'compress') ¶ HS: B *√krw > Thg a-kru 'coagulated milk', karāt 'be(come) coagulated' (milk, blood), ETwl k̃r̃r̃w, Ty k̃r̃r̃t 'be(come) coagulated' (milk) ¶ Fc. 842-4, GhA 100 ¶ In ETwl and Ty there is secondary (non-phonemic) emphatization of k (typical of these dialects - F GhA VIII) ¶ S +ext. *°√krz > Ar karīz- 'soft sour curds; sour milk' ('caseus mollis acidusque; lac acidum'), {BK} 'fromage aigret' ¶ Fr. IV 24, BK II 884 ¶ WCh: Jmb k̃r̃wá 'decay, rot' ¶ ChC, Sk. NB 18 ¶ K: Sv {Ni.} -kwer, Sv UP {GP} kwer-/kwr- vt. 'rot' ¶ Ni. s.v. гнить, GP 174, 266-7 ¶ U: FU *ko|arwa 'bitter' > F karwas (gen. karwaan) 'bitter, acrid' ¶ pPrm *kurit 'bitter' > Z курьд kur+d, Z курьт kur+t ¶ pObU {JHl.} *koraw|y > pOs *korəy ({JHl.} *kārəy) > Os: V qorəy- 'become sour', V qorəy-, Vy qorəy- 'be sharp\pungent' (taste of sour or spicy food, strong vodka), 'be biting' (salt in a wound), qorəy(tə) ul 'sour berry' ¶ UEW 128-9, LG 147, Stn. D 551, Trj. S 173, Hl. rHt 71-4 (on the pOs vowels and on the problem of pObU *w and *y) ¶ A: NaT *Kor > OT qor ({Cl.} qōr) 'the residue of sour milk used to make yoghurt; (baker's) yeast, leaven', Tkm qor 'ferment (residue of sour milk) used to prepare čal (beverage of mare's sour milk)', Qzq qor {MM} 'ferment for kumiss (fermented mare's milk)', {Sht.} 'yeast, leaven, ferment for kumiss', Qq qor id., Qrg qor 'ferment for buza (alcoholic millet beverage) and kumiss', Bsh qur 'ferment for kumiss; malt', SbTt B/Tr {Tm.} qōr, {Rl.} qor 'yeast, leaven', ET qor ~ qo 'sorrel', Uz qwr-quť 'accumulated wealth, treasure' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 72-3, Tkr 188-9, MM 449, Sht. 267, Jud. 405, BN 125, Nj. 601, Tm. 131, Rl. II 549 ¶ M *quru-: [1] ⇨ *qurusi- 'become rancid' > WrM qurusi-, HIM хурши-х 'be(come) rancid' (chiefly of fats and meat), Kl хурш-х 'become rancid' (fats); probably also [2] M *quru-sun 'ε cheese' > WrM {Rm.} qurusun 'ε cheese (?)', WrO {Krg.} qurusun 'cheese', Kl {KRS} хурсн хурсьн 'dried curds', {Rm.} χурсη 'trockener Käse aus saurer gekochter Milch'; [3] *qurūd 'serum, sour milk' > MM [IM] qurūd 'serum', [HI] qurūt (= qurud), WrM qurud, HIM хурьуд 'ε Mongolian cheese' ¶ Pp. MA 446, Ms. H 92, MED 991, Krg. 298, KW 199, KRS 612-3 ¶ D *korapp- ({ǵGS} *k-)

'sour milk, curds' > Tu κουαρι id., nir-кууелъ v. 'curdle, coagulate', Gnd korop & korrop & kurrop & korrup 'buttermilk' ¶¶ D #2162 ◇ The cnss. *-t- (in IE, Prm, B), *-z- (S), *-s- (M), and *-pp- (D) are likely to go back to the second elements of N cds. (some of them functioning as derivational sxs. in the descendant lgs.) ◇ From the history of culture we may infer that this N word was originally applied to coagulating blood, to fat, to meat, and possibly to food made of corn, but only later (in the independent neolithic history of IE, HS, and D) it was applied to milk ◇ BF (or FU?) *a may be due to partial contamination with N *k̑aR₁∇ʔ₁∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain'. The existence of the N internal vw. (*∇) is suggested by D *-ȓ- (< N intervoc. *-r-) ◇ An alt.: two N etyma: [1] N *k'ü'R∇ 'fade, rot, decay' (> IE *g̑er-, Sv -kwer, WCh: Jmb k̑èȓùwá 'decay, rot') and [2] N *kU|ar₁u₁wa 'coagulate, get sour\rancid' (all the rest).

932a. *kor₁∇w₁∇ '∈ a gallinacean' > HS: S *^o✓krw > Ar karawān- (pl. kirwān-) '∈ partridge' ¶ BK II 892 || Ch: WCh: Sbc {Stl.} *k^wa₁r / *k∇w∇r 'hen' (or 'chicken = hen\cock') > Zar {Sh.} k^wār id., Gj {ChL} kowùl, Buli {ChL} kor, Plc {ChL} koro 'hen' || Tng {J} k^warte ~ k^watre 'guiney-fowl' || CCh: Mkt {Ro.} k^wátà-kùrúk 'francolin', Gude {Hsk.} kúrúkìnɜ 'chicken house', ? Gude {Hsk.} kúrúkútà, Gudu {ChL} kúrúkútò 'dove' || ? Lame {ChL} kòrókú, LamP {ChL} kuruk 'dove' ¶ J T 109, Ro. 256 [#293], Stl. ZCh 264 [#24], ChL, Sh. BZ 28, Hsk. 217 || ??φEC: Brj go'r(r)-itte (pl. go'r-óna) 'hen', Arr gorórri coll. 'partridges, francolins' ¶ Ss. B 84, Hw. A 362 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1505 (CCh *kurak 'dove, francolin' - S *kurk- 'crane') || A: M *qoru 'wild gallineacean fowl' (× N *k̑ôR₁iʔ₁E '∈ a gallinacean', q.v.) > WrM qoru, {Rm.} qora 'hazel grouse, gray hen', {Rm.} 'Auerhahn', WrO xoru id., Kl xop 'capercaillie', (Rm.) xop 'Auerhahn'; M *qoru ⇨ the T lgs. which are or were adjacent to the Mongols: Qzq {Rl.} qur 'wild gallinaceous fowl' (generic: 'Auerhuhn, Birkhuhn, Rebhuhn'), {RKazS} qūr 'black grouse, wood-grouse, partridge', qara qūr 'wood-grouse', Qrg {Jud.} qara-qur 'male black grouse', Qq qaraqur 'black grouse' (qara 'black'); later the stem was re-borrowed from T into M in the narrowed meaning 'black grouse': WrM qur, HIM xyp, Kl xyp xurъ, Brt xypa 'black grouse', WrO xur 'heathcock' ¶ MED 968, 987, Krg. 284, 297, KW 187, KRS 597, 610, Chr. 601, Rl. II 918, Jud. 347, RKazS 131, 307, 812 || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' > Alt, Shor kürtük, Xk kürkü ~ kürtü, Chl kürtü, Kü kürtä, Tv kürtü, Tf hūr't'ù, Yk kurtuyaχ id. ¶ TvR 269, Ra. 192, Rs. W 311 ¶ T *ü (<

A and N * D) is probably due to regr. as. (infl. of *-tük) || **D** * kōr- 'fowl' > Klm kōr 'hen', {SR} 'cock, fowl', Nkr kōr , Gnd kōrr , Knd kōru 'hen', Prj kōrr 'cock, hen, fowl', Gdb kōr ḍ kōrru 'cock', Png kozu ~ kuzu , Mnd kuy , Kui kozu , Ku koyu ḍ koju 'fowl' ¶¶ **D** #2160 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [#60] (HS, D + unc. ϕ IE * kerko- 'cock').

933. * $\text{ka}^{\text{r}}\text{ry}^{\text{v}}$ 'to dig' > **HS**: WS * $\sqrt{\text{kry}}$ > BHb, MHb $\sqrt{\text{kry}}|\text{w}$ (pf. כָּרָה $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ā}$) 'dig, hollow out', ? Pun 3m pf. kr^{p} ($\sqrt{\text{kry}}$) 'cut out, hew', Ug {OLS} $\sqrt{\text{kry}}$ G 'cavar, clavar', JEA $\sqrt{\text{kry}}|\text{w}$ (pf. כָּרָה $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ā}$ ~ כָּרִי $\text{kā}^{\text{r}}\text{ē}$) 'dig, drill', Md kr^{p} ($\sqrt{\text{krw}}|\text{y}$) 'dig out, excavate', Ar $\sqrt{\text{krw}}$ (pf. كَرَّى karā) 'dig (the earth), dig a canal', Sb kry 'pit for trapping game', Gz $\sqrt{\text{kry}}$ (pf. karaya) 'dig (a well, in the ground), make holes, dig up, excavate' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, BDB #3738, HJ 535, OLS 225, Lv. II 399-400, DM 222, BK II 892, Hv. 653, BGMR 79, LG 294-5 || **U**: FU * kara 'dig' > Er/Mk kara- v. 'dig; peck, pick; hollow' | pChr {Ber.} * kora- 'ausgraben' > Chr: L kope- kore- , H {Wc.} kare- v. 'make small gutters for drainage; furrow', Uf kore- id., v. 'flute' | Prm * kūr- 'dig, break through (a dam), wash away (a bank)' > Z Le kīr- 'dig (a gutter)', Z V kīr- 'dig around', Z кыр- kīr- 'be broken through', 'be washed away, collapse' (banks)', Vt кыр- kīr- 'break through the dam' (water) ||| **Os**: D χer- , O χir- 'dig' ¶ UEW 221-2, Coll. 85, SZ 188, ≈ LG 153, ERV 234, PI 102, Ber. 19 ¶ UEW 221-2 reconstructs either * kur^{v} (if Mr and Chr are excluded) or * kara (if they are not) || **A**: T * $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r-}$ ~ * $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{v}}$ 'dig' > OT qaz- , Tk kaz- , kaz^{v} , Tkm qaδ- , qaδa- , Az qaz^{v} , Ggz kaz^{v} , CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Xlj qaz- , Nog qaz^{v} , Tt qaz^{v} , Bsh qaδ^{v} , Uz qaz- , qazi- , StAlt, Tv qas- , Tf qaṣ- , Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ The lenis * k^{v} is reconstructed on the ev. of Tv and Tf q- ¶ Cl. 806ET KQ 185-6, Ra. 219, TvR 218, DT 176 || **D** (in GnD) * kār- ({ ṰGS } * k-) 'dig' > Gnd HMB/DM kār- , Gnd Mu {Bh.} kār- ~ kār^{v} , Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku kār- , Kui kārpa / kārt id. ¶ Most relevant lgs. and ds. provide ev. for D - r- , against the ev. of Gnd Mu, where a variation - r- ~ - r^{v} - is observed ¶ D #1467 ◇ T * -r- and D * -r- may be explained if a N * -ry- is reconstructed. D * -r- < N * -r- clusters (in this case of * -ry-). The original cluster accounts also for the D long vw .

934. ₂^{v} * $\text{ka}^{\text{r}}|\text{æR}^{\text{c}}|\text{c}^{\text{v}}$ 'tie together, plait' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{gers-}$ id. > Gk ῥέπρον 'anything made of wicker-work: oblong shield, wicker body of a cart', pl. ῥέπρα 'wattled screens\booths' ||| Sw Δ kars , karse 'basket of willow-twigs, small sack', ON kass^{v} 'Weidenkorb', Sw kār^{v} 'basket

for fish, net sack', NNr *kjēssa* 'basket, basket-work of bast' ¶ FI 300-1, ≈ P 392-3 (**ġers-* 'drehen, winden'; **ġ-* on the ev. of the unconvincingly adducted Arm *ծառ* *cāṛ* 'tree' and *ծուռ* *cuṛ* 'crooked, bent'), Vr. 303 || HS: S **o*✓*kr's*' > Ak OB ✓*kr̄s* (inf. *karāsu*) 'tie, fasten' ¶ CAD VIII 209.

935. *KURc∇ 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > K: GZ **kurč-* v. 'peel, remove husk' > OG *na-kurc-eni* 'peel (of fruit)', G *kurc-* v. 'peel, remove husk', {DCh.} *na-kurc-eni* 'scales', Lz *do-kurč-ol-a* 'removing maize husk', Mg **kurč-* → G Gr {Ghl.} *kurč-el-a* 'peel of onion\garlic\maize, shell of nuts, pod of beans', {K²} *kurč-al-a* 'maize husk', G I {Ghl.} *kurč-na* 'to peel maize, to remove tassels from maize-cobs', G (← Mg ?) {Chx., DCh.} *na-kurč-ali* {DCh.} n. 'peel (of onion, garlic, etc.)', {Chx.} id., 'involucral leaves of maize-cob' ¶ K² 220, FS K 340-1, FS E 382, DCh. 966, Chx. 931, Ghl. 193 || HS: S **o**kurs|s̄∇m-* > Ak fOB *kursimt-* ~ *kur̄simt-* 'scale (of snakes, of scale-cuirass)' ¶ Sd. 511 || IE: Ht *kursa/i-* 'skin, fleece, hide' || (× N **Ḳor'a*' [or **ḲoRa* and **Ḳ'orū*?] 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust'): NaIE **krūs-* 'crust' > L *crusta* 'crust, rind, shell', ?? Osc *krustatar* {P} '≈ *crusta_* (*gleba_*) *tegitor*' (but Pln: '≈ *cruentantor*', Bc.: '*cruentetur*' ?) || (× NaIE **kreus-* 'freeze, congeal' < N **Ḳär̄, ūs|š∇* 'congeal'): OHG (*h*)*rosō* {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' ¶¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. EI 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Bc. G 314, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-3 (unc.: EI 113 (*crusta* < IE **k^wrus'tēn* '(freezing) cold'), Kb. 803 ¶¶ NaIE **k-* for the expected **g-* is the heritage of **Ḳor'a*' '↑'.

936. *kiRû_hgæ 'to gnaw' > IE (with several assimilative transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) **g^wru(:)ġ^h-/g^wrouġ^h* ~ **g^wru(:)ġ-/g^wrouġ-* ~ **g^wruk|k-* v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N **γ^wR_l∇, ḡ¹∇* 'to gnaw') > BSl (< **g^wrouġ_l^h-/gru(:)ġ_l^h-*) > Lt *gráužti* (1s prs. *gráužiu*), Ltv *graūzt* v. 'gnaw' | BSl (< **g^wrouġ_l^h-/gru(:)ġ_l^h-*) > Lt *gráužti* (1s prs. *gráužiu*), Ltv *graūzt* 'to gnaw' | pSl **griz-ti* / prs. **griz-q* v. 'gnaw' > OCS *г_рызѣ* *grizq* / *г_рыстн* *gristi* v. 'bite, gnaw', Blg *гриза* 'gnaw', SCr *grīsti*, Slv *grīsti*, Cz *hrúzti*, P *gryźć*, OR, RChS *г_рызтн* *grizti*, R *г_рызтѣ* 'to gnaw' || Arm *կրծեմ* *kərcem* v. 'gnaw, nibble' || Gk *βύκω* 'I bite, eat greedily', *βρύχω* 'I gnash my teeth; I bite' ¶ WP I 697-8, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, FI 272-3 || K: G I *kirkn-* v. 'chew (with a toothless mouth)' ¶ Chx. 1560 || A: Tg **kirge-* v. 'gnaw' > Ewk *kirgз-* 'gnaw (a bone)', Lm

qurǵǵ, UI kirkiču-, Ne B kǝrkǝ- 'gnaw', Ne Nh kǝrkǝli-, kǝrlǝli-, qǝrǝqǝli- id. (of mice, rats) ¶ STM I 398 ◇ SI *ǝ and Gk ũ (both from IE *ū) suggest the presence of a N lr. (*H). K *-k- may either go back to N *-Hg- or result from assimilative devoicing (N *k...g > *k...k).

937. ₂ *k'a'Rka or *k'a'Rka 'turn, plait, wrap' > IE: NaIE *gerg- ~ *gerk- 'bend, plait' > Gk γυρϑαθός ~ γερϑαθός 'wicker-basket, creel', NGk γερϑαθί 'basket' || ON krókr 'Biegung, Bucht, Haken' || SI *gǝrč- 'be bent\crooked, writhe', *gǝrčb, *gǝrča 'cramp' > Blg Δ γϑρϑβλ 'sth. bent\crooked', Blg XIX {Gerov} γϑρϑβ 'writhing, convulsion, cramp', Blg γϑρϑ, McdS γϑρϑ, SCr grč 'cramp', Slv grčiti se 'to writhe with pain', SCr grča, Slv grča, Slk hrča 'knot (cyk) within wood' (a merger with SI *kǝrč- 'squirm, writhe') ¶ ≈ WP I 593-8, ≈ P 375-80, ≈ F I 335, Vr. 331, ≈ ESSJ VII 201-2, Glh. 245 || HS: S *✓krk v. 'turn round, wind, wrap' > Sr ✓krk 'encircle, roll\wrap round', Ak ✓krk (inf. karākū) 'interwine' ¶ CAD VIII 199, Br. 345, JPS 226-7 ◇ If the N etymon is *k'a'Rka, NaIE *gerk- remains unexplained. If this etymon is *k'a'Rka, NaIE *gerg- may be due to as., and the root-final *k in S is a reg. result of deglottalization (typical in HS).

938. ₂ *kärEm∇ 'wall, walled\fenced enclosure' > HS: S (WS?) *karim- 'vineyard' (← *'fenced garden'?) > Hb קרמ 'kerem, SmHb 'kāram (pl. kā'rēmam), Ph, Amn, Ug kr m, JA [Trg.], JEA קרמ kar'm-ā, Sr كرم kar'mā, Ar karm- id., Gz karm 'vine, grapevine'; ??σ Ak karmu 'ruin, ruin heap'; Ak karmu belongs here if its meaning goes back to 'ruined settlement' ← 'walled\fenced settlement' (which is suggested by the contexts in the Ak literature) ¶ AD SNSE 78, KB 474, KBR 498, BH IV 144-5, OLS 223, Sl. 603, Js. 671, Br. 347, BK II 889, LG 293, HJ 53, CAD VIII 218 ¶ S *i of the second syll. is evidenced by SmHb pl. and Gz || Eg P/OK kǝrṇw 'vineyard' ({Vc.} = *kaṛnaw < *karmaw ~ *karnaw), Eg fXIX kǝm 'garden (with vine, flowers, vegetables)' ({Vc.} [= *kaṛmu < *karmu]) > DEg kǝm 'garden' > Cpt Sd/B 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠 cōm 'garden, vineyard, field', pl: Sd 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪 cōom, A 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩠𐩪 cōome id. ¶ EG V 106, Fk. 284, Vc. 340, Er. 557 || B *-yṽrṽm- 'walled settlement, village' > Ah a-yṽram (pl. i-yṽarm-ān) 'village, ville, bourg; tout lieu habité par des sédentaires', ETwl, Ty aṽram (pl. i-yṽarman) 'ville', Ttq aṽarām (pl. i-yṽarman) id., taṽarāmt 'village', Tmz {MT} i-yṽarām (pl. i-yṽarman), Dmn {La.} 'village, ksar, village fortifié', Mz a-yṽarm 'cité, ville, village entouré de remparts \ de murs', Dmn {La.} i-

ʏrām, Ntf {La.} tiʏrāmt 'maison flanqué de tours; forteresse' ʏ Fc. 1758-9, GhA 72, MT 204, Dlh. M 154, Msq. 357, La. MChB 1-2 || **A:** M *kerem 'mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure' > WrM kerem, HIM хэрэм id., WrO {Krg.} kerem, Kl Ö {Rm.} kerem 'wall (Mauer), fortress', Kl {KRS} † керем, Brt хэрэм 'wall of a fortress, fortress', Ord {Ms.} k'erim 'rempart, grande muraille'; M б→ Sln xэрэм 'town wall', WrMc keremu id., 'rampart (of a military camp)', {Hr.} keremu 'krenelierte Stadtmauer, Zinne, Lagermauer' ʏ MED 457, KW 227, Krg. 725, KRS 296, Chr. 652, Hr. 583, Z 272, STM I 482 || NaT *Kärmän 'fortress, town, city' > MQp [CC] kermen 'civitas', OOsM [AH] kärmän 'town, city', Kr Cr kerman, Kr G kermen 'town, city'; T б→ Chr L karman, Chr H kärmän 'fortress', T б→ NPrs کرمان kirmān kermān 'castle, emporium', {Vl.} 'urba munita, castrum, emporium' б→ Tk † kirman 'fortress'; T б→ OR керемень keremень 'fortress' ʏ Rs. W 256, ET KQ 52-3, TAG 97, Nm. ET 12ff., Rl. II 1108, Ash. VI 102, Dr. TM III #151 = 2096 and IV 300-2 (supposes that the Tk word is derived from T *kir- 'umspannen'), Vs. II 224, Vl. 822, Sg. 1024, Grøn. 149, Fed. I 230, Vl. II 822 || Tg *keren 'fence' > Nn Nh kэрэ, Nn KU xэрэ 'stall for cattle, stable, shed', Ork kэрэ(n-), Neg kыыэ(n-) 'fence', Ul kэрэ(n-) id., 'stall', 'border, frontier', Ork, Ul kэрэn-, Neg kыыэn- v. 'fence in', WrMc heren 'stable (for horses)' ʏ STM I 482-3 ◊ N *ä is evidenced by Chv a (< T *ä < N *ä). B *ʏ- suggests a N emphatic cns. (*k|g-), but *k- in S, Eg, and Tg point to a N plain vl. *k-.

938a. *kiR∇P∇ '(ε?) fish' > HS: Ch *kir∇p- 'fish' > WCh: Hs kífí || AG: Tal {IL} kyèp, Ywm {IL} kʰiʔəpʰ id. || Klr {J} kírîf id. || BT: Dr šúrúwó, Krkr čarafù, Bl {IL} kerwo, Gera {ChL} kîrfá, Ngm {ChL} kérúwô id. || NrBc: Krf {Sk.} kârfí id. || SBc: Bg {Sh} kîp, Kir {Sh.} čirəp id. || CCh: Skr {IL} kʰíʔíʔ || Gudu {ChC} xîʔfu, Gude {ChC} hîʔfin, {ChL} xurʔin id. || ZmB {J} kérfé id.] (infl. of N *K01∇ '[big] fish?'): CCh *kʰi|uʔip- 'fish' > BM *k∇lf∇ > Klb kàlfi, Br k+lfa, Mrg xilif, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì id. || Higi sb.: HgNk k+lþé, HgB k+lþó, Kps kùlùpʷé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu || McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, Glv kúlfà, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc kèlèté id. || Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílíf, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. || Db {Lnh.} kílíf, Kola {Sb.} kilíf id. || Ms kuluf-fa, {Kr.} kulufna, Bnn kúlùvá 'fish' ʏ Ba. 636, ChC, ChL, Ro. 252 || **A:** Tg *kirp- > Nn Nh kirpu, Nn B/KU kirfu, WrMc kirfu 'sturgeon' ʏ STM I 399 || **IE:** NaIE *ogǵ∇rb- > Gmc *karp-

'carp' > OHG karpfo, NHG Karpfen, MDu carpe(r), Du karper, Ic karfi, Gmc (Gt *karpa?) → Late L carpa (first attested in Cassiodorus [a Latin writer of Gothic origin, 6th. c.]), Sp, Port, It, Prv carpa → Fr carpe → ME carpe > NE carp ¶ KM 354.

939. *käRt∇ 'cut (off), notch' > HS: S *✓krt 'cut off' > Hb ✓krt (pf. כָּרַת kār'rat, ip. כָּרַת' yī-'krōt) 'cut off\down, fell', Ph, M'b ✓krt 'cut', Tgy ✓krt G 'cut', Tgr ✓krtt id., Ak ✓krt G 'cut off, break off' (but Ak ✓krt 'strike' does not necessarily belong here) ¶ KB 476, KBR 500-1, GB 364, BDB #377, HJ 538-9, CAD VIII 215, L ESAC 27, LH 401, Bsn. 592-3 || **K:** G I/R {Chx.} kirčn- 'in kleine Stücke\Brocken zerteilen, zerstückeln', G Mt karčn- 'umhacken' ¶ K *č < N *t + a sibilant or an affricate (belonging to a sx.)? ¶ Chx. 1561 || **A** *k'ärt'i- > T *k'ärt- v. 'notch' (× N *kæRt∇ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces'?) > OT {Cl.} kært- v. 'gash, cut a notch in', Ggz, Nog, Qzq, ET, Alt, QK kert-, VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt-, Tf k'ert-, Chv kart- 'cut a notch', Tk kert-, Tkm, Uz, SY kert- id., 'make an incision', Tv kert- v. 'notch, carve (by chopping, cutting)', Az kærtik, Tkm kertik n. 'notch', Qmq kert, Az kært, VTt kirt 'incision', Chv kart 'notch'; the Og words (Tk, Tkm, Ggz, Az) have a vl. k-, which goes back (acc. to IS's theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k'-) to N *k̄-, hence these words formally belong to N *kæRt∇, but it is better to suppose here a partial coalescence of N *käRt∇ and N *kæRt∇, the meaning of both represented in different T lgs. ¶ Cl. 738, ET KQ 54-5, Rl. II 1102, Rs. W 257, BT 81, RAltS 267, B DLT 162, B DChT 127, TvR 238, Jeg. 91, Fed. I 231, Md. 168 ({Md.} *k'ēr't- = *k'ärt'-) ¶ Chv a points to a T *ä, while VTt and Bsh i suggest a pT *e; this conflicting ev. may be accounted for by the merger of N *käRt∇ and *kæRt∇. Tv k- provides ev. for pT k', but the Og lgs. are likely to suggest pT *k'- (acc. to IS' theory [IS AG 338-41] of Og k- < pT *k'-); this and other cases of pT *k' > Og k- suggest that IS's hyp. of pT *k' > Og g- needs a revision (positional limitations?) || M **kerti- > *kerč'i- v. 'make incisions, notch' > WrM kerč'i-, HIM хэрчи-х, Kl kerč'- id., → Neg kətč'i- id.; but M *kerč'i- 'cut' (> WrM kerč'i-, HIM хэрчи-, Kl kerč', etc.) (× N *k∇Rč∇ 'to cut', q.v.) ¶ MED 455, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4, Cl. 738 ◇ An alternative N rec. is *keRt∇, which accounts for VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt- and for G I/R kirčn-, but cannot explain Chv kart (Chv a is a reflex of T and N *ä) and G Mt karčn- ◇ Hardly here Ht kartai- 'cut, clip, severe', because it is obviously related to IE

*ker-t- 'cut' (Vd kr̥n'tati, Av kərəntaiti, Lt kertù / kiřšti, OCS črěsti) ¶ Ts. E I 523-4, Pv. IV 109-10.

940. *keRt∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait' > IE: NaIE *ǵǵerd- > Gk γέρδιος ~ γερδιός 'weaver', γέρδις id. ||| L (← Gk?) gerdius id. ¶ FI 300, WH I 594 || **HS:** B *✓krd v. 'tie' > Ah, ETwl, Ty əkrəd id., Gd əkrəd v. 'tie, knot' ¶ Fc. 850, GhA 97, Lf. II #0799 ¶ The voiced *d is probably due to the infl. of the reflexes of N *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird' (q. v.) || **U:** FU {It.} *kert_l∇ 'tie together' > Lp I {It.} kōrt·'eδ 'anbinden (mit Schlingen)' | Prm *kärt- 'tie together' ({LG} *kert-) > StZ kərtav-, Z Δ kərtal- 'tie, attach', Vt kertt-+n+ 'tie, tie together' ||| ?φ Os V kärt-, Os Ty kárt- v. 'sew' (unless ← pOs {Ht.} *kir- 'sew, put on shoes') ¶ It. #346, LG 142, ≈ UEW 139 (attaches the Prm word to the FU ✓ *kär∇ 'tie'), Ht. #310 ◇ On the connection between the Gk word and CS *✓grd 'weave', 'web (tela, textura)' see s.v. N *gE|aRd∇ ↑.

941. (₂?) *k∇RT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *ǵred- / *ǵrod- v. 'scratch' (pointing to N *k∇Rt∇) > Gmc *krattōn (with intensivity gemination): OSw kratta, MLG kretten, OHG krazzōn ȝ chrazzōn, MHG, NHG kratzen 'scratch'; Gmc → It grattare, Fr gratter id. ¶ Vr. 331, Schz. 184, OsS 511, Diez 222, KM 401, Kb. 561, ≈ P 405 || **HS:** B *✓krđ 'scratch, scrape' (suggesting N *k∇Rt∇) > Thg əkrəđ 'être raclé, se racler', Gh əkrəđ 'racler', Sll kəđđ (pf. ik^wəđđ), Kb əw^rəđđ, Izd kəđđ 'gratter', Tmz kəđđ ȝ šəđđ '(se) peigner; racler', Tmz AH šəđđ 'gratter' ¶ Fc. 854, TM 345 || WS *✓grd 'scrape, scrape off' (pointing to N *g∇Rd∇) > BHbTD 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤃 hiṭ-gā'ređ '(he) scraped himself', Pun mgrd 'scraper, scratcher', JA, Sr ✓grd G 'scrape\scratch off', JEA ✓grd G 'scrape', MHb ✓grd G v. 'scratch, scrape, comb', Md grida 'scanty, scraped, mere', Ar جرد ✓ğrd G (pf. ġarada) 'strip (a branch of its leaves, a tree of its bark, a skin of its hair)', Jb C ✓grd (pf. 'g^wr^wd) vt. 'strip (a tree of its branches), strip so. of his uniform, disarm', Mh ✓grd (pf. g^wr^wd) vt. 'undress, strip so. of everything, cut (a branch of a tree)' ¶ KB 194, KBR 202, HJ 594, Js. 265, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299, Br. 132, DM 96-7, Ln. 405-6, BK I 275-6, Hv. 84-5, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 123-4 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kúrtí v. 'rub', Mu {J} kòròdé / kúrut 'scratch' ¶ ChC, Eb. 75 || ?σ A: NaT *k'art ≈ scab, eczema' > OT qart 'ulcer', Qrg qart 'scab on a wound', sarī qart 'eczema' (sarī 'yellow'), Tv kart 'crust', Tf qārt 'bark (of shrubs), bast, nut-shell, peel'

¶ Cl. 647, ET KQ 314-5, Jud. 316, 353, TvR 230 ◇ NaT *k'art does not solve the problem of distinguishong between N *r and *r', because in precon. position N *r' yields T *r ◇ The variation of the glottal features (*t ~ *ṭ ~ *d, *k- ~ *g-) still defies explanation [different directions of as., ideophonic influences (so called "expressivity" & "intensity")?].

942. *kuʔr∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect' > HS: B *kūr_l∇_ld- 'flea' > Kb a-šurad̄ (pl. išurdan), Tmz akurdu ~ agurdu (pl. ikurdan), BMn {Bs.} kūrād, Shl {Bs.} akurd, SrSn {Rn.} aḵurdu, {La.} aḵurdu, Rf Wr/B/A ḵorḍu, Izn šurḍu, Nf kurdi ¶ Rn. 343, La. S 284, Bs. NLB II-III 82, Dl. 416, MT 344 || Ch: WCh: Hs k^ωark^ωatà (~ ḵ^ωark^ωata), Gw {Mts.} k^ωark^ωata 'louse' | NrBc: Mbr {Sk. HCD} kurt# '(?) flea, louse' (not mentioned in Sk. NB, ChC, and ChC) | SBc: Bg {Sh.} k^ωārī, Grn {Hrn.} kúryá, Buli {ChL} kòrgúdò id. | ? Pr {ChL} kórómò id. (or to N *ḶuRm∇ 'worm, insect'?) || ECh: Mgm {JA} kùrgìtínè 'worm', EDng {Fd.} kùrgìtā 'ε worm', as well as (??) Ll {Cp.} karà 'louse', Bdy {JA} kúrāne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} kúrìlè 'larva of locust' ¶ Ba. 69O, Mts. G 72, AIJ 92, J LM 129, JA LM 102, Hrn. GP #156, Sh. BZ 3O, ChC, ChL, ≈ Sk. HCD 162 ¶ The words of Ll, Bdy, and Mkl may alternatively belong to N *ḶÔR'E' 'worm, maggot' || ? S (mt. and regr. as.?) *✓gdr: Mh gǝdērǝt (pl. gǝdārtǝn), Hrs gǝdōr 'worm', Jb E gǝdi'rǝt, Jb C ǝǝdírát 'small insect that eats wood\clothes' ¶ Jo. M 114 || A: T *k'ūrt- 'worm', (?) 'beetle' (× N *ḶÔR'E' '↑') > OT, Chg, OXwT qurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd, XT gurt ǫ gōrt, gurdāq ǫ gōrdaḵ, NrXT Shi gurt da^ha, Qzq, Qq, QrB, CrTt, Qrg, Uz, Tv qurt, ET qurut, Yk ḵurt, Tv qurt, Xlj {DT} qūřt 'worm', VTt, Bsh q'ört 'worm, bee', Tf qúrt' 'worm, beetle', Yk kurjaḃa 'vermin', Chv хурт ḵurt ǫ ḵort 'insect, worm' ¶ Cl. 648, ET Q 167-8, TL 181-2, Ra. 222, Rs. W 313-4, DT 18O, DH ChT, Fed. II 367-8, ≈ Md. 68, 17O and Md. OJ 153, 28O (T **k'-) || D (in CD) *kur∇ṭ... 'leech' (× N *Ḷ'Ū'R'∇'d∇ ~ *ḶŪRṭ∇'∇ 'stinging insect') > Prj kurṭubi, Gdb kurṭum 'leech' ¶ D #1798 ◇ B and T *ū point to a N *uH (in the light of the S cognate most probably *uʔ), which may also explain D *r (< N *ʔr).

943. ≈ *kaʔo (or *k'o'ró?) 'onager, wild ass (?)' > HS: S *okurr- > Ar SL kurr- {Shrn.} 'young donkey, donkey colt', {Hv.} 'ass'; S *okurr- may be the source of the NaIE loanword *k^ho|ar- 'donkey' (> OI 'kharā-ḥ, Av ḥarō, KhS kharā-, Prs خر ḵār, Oss ḵäräg id.; pAl {O} *kara > Al T/G kērr 'donkey, foal'); this IE word cannot be an inherited cognate

of the S word (\Leftrightarrow Blz. DA), because there is no genetic correspondence between S *k- and IE *k^h-, while borrowing (S *^okurr- \rightarrow IE *k^hor-) is phonetically plausible (the non-glottalized S *k- is likely to have been slightly aspirated, cp. Kartvelian: Georgian /k/ = [k^h] ¶ Shrn. 1048, Hv. 648, \approx M K I 302-3, Ab. I 57, GI 562 (fn. 2), O 183 ¶ But not here Jb C/E 'k̄e'raḥ 'male donkey', Jb C 'k̄ere'ḥeṯ 'female donkey' (possibly from \checkmark k̄rḥ 'be bald, hornless') [Jo. J 149, Jo. M 235] || NOm: Kf {C} kūrō, Mch {L} kúro, Cha {C} kūrā, Anf {Gt.} kuro, She {CR} kur, Hz {SiW} kúrurp 'donkey' ¶ C SE III 171 and IV 463, L M 37, Gt. 355, SiW BA 11, CR NGS 621 || Ch words for 'donkey': WCh: BT {ChC}: Krkr koro, Ngm kórô || Ngz {Sch.} k^ωárá, Bd {ChC} koro || CCh: Tr {Nw.} kóró || BM {ChL}: Bu, Ngx k^ωara, Cb, Wmd, Mrg k^ωara, WMrg k^ωarə ~ k^ωara, Hld k^ωará || McHigi {ChL}: HgNk, HgG k^ωarà, HgB, Kps, FIK k^ωara, HgF k^ωara || BB: Gudu {ChL} k^ωára, Bcm {Sk.} k^ωarété || Ktk: Bdm {Cyffer} kórò || Msg {GKrs.} kurék || McMs {ChL}: Ms kərta, Lame káró, LamP koro, Bnn k^ωarda, BnnM kərta || Kwn {ChC} kúrā, Kwn M {J}, Kbl {Cp.}, Smr {J} kúrā, Ng D {J} kūrō, Tmk {Cp.} kóra ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 196, ¶¶ OS #1480 (pHS *kor- > S, Ch, Om) || IE *g_l^ωorde^ho-s {EI} 'wild ass (Equus hydruntinus)' or 'onager/kulan (Equus hemionus)' > OI garda^hha- 'ass', garda^hhi 'she-ass, jenny', Tc B kerapo 'ass' ¶ EI 33-4, \approx M K I 327-8, P 214-5. Bc. #3.46, Ad. 195-6 || D *kařut- ({†GS} *g-) 'ass' > Tm kařutaḡ, Ml kařuta, Kt kařt, Td katy, Kn kařte ~ katte, Kdg katte, Tu katte, Tl gāḡida, Klm gaḡdi, Nkr gaḡdi, Prj gade ḡ garad, Gnd gāḡdi, Ku gāḡde ¶¶ D #1364 ◇ The IE element *-b^ho- in *g_l^ωorde^ho- goes back to the N adjectival pc. *b^hA (q.v. ffd.). If the NaIE initial stop was labiovelar (*g^ω-), it points to a N *^o, but if it is velar (*g-), it suggests a N *^a. The D cognate suggests that N *kařo is more plausible than *k^ořo (S and Om *u and the initial k^ω in the Ch lgs. being explained by regr. as. of vowels) ◇ In the light of the history of the ass and its domestication (in the light of archæological data) it may be supposed that the word originally denoted the wild ass or the onager. On the history of the wild ass, onager, and on domestication of the ass see EI 33-5, GI 562-4, Zeuner HDA, Mason EDA, CIB NHDA, Bgl. 464-7, Bökönyi 299, Vogel 119 ◇ \approx Blz. DA 157 [#55] (suggested the equation between D, HS, and the IE root of OI kharā- [considered to be a genetic cognate]).

944. *k^ořa^oř (= *k^ořa^ořU?) 'hawk, \in bird of prey' > K: GZ *kor- 'hawk' > OG, MG, G, Mg kor-, Lz kur-, mkur-, mki(r)- id. ¶ K² 218-9, Chx. 1576,

DCh. 1344, Chik. 103 || **A** *k|kart'∇ 'ε bird of prey' > T: [1] NaT {Cl.} *Kart'āl > OT qartal 'eagle, vulture', Osm {Rh.} qartal 'Arabian vulture, Vultur monachus', Chg qartal, Tk kartal, Ggz 'kartal, Az, Tkm Δ gartal 'eagle', SY qaltar 'ε bird of prey (living in the mountains)'; [2] Yk kīrt 'hawk' ¶ Cl. 648-9, ET Q 316-7, ≈ TL 169, Rh. 1445, Rl. II 200, Rs. W 239 || Tg: WrMc qarč'in {Z} 'vulture' ('коршунъ'), {Hr.} 'kite' ('Milan') ¶ Z 263, Hr. 575, ≠ STM I 379 || M *qarč'i (< **qarti?) > WrM {Gl.} qarč'i 'cormorant (Phalacrocorax, баклан)', Kl Ö {Rm.} χarč'i 'Wasserrabe (Phalacrocorax carbo)'; M **qartigay ⇨ Sg/Qc {Rl.} qarč'iyay 'hawk', Uz qarč'iyay, Tkm гарчыгай qarč'iyay 'goshawk (Accipiter gentilis), Tlt/Kr {Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.}, VTt, Qmq qarč'ya, Bsh qarš'ya, Qzq, Qq, Nog qarš'ya, QrB кьартджыгъа qart'iyay, ET {BN} qa(r)č'igu, Sg/Qrg {Rl.} qart'iyay, Alt {Rl.} qarčā 'hawk', Qmn qartaq, Xk, Tv χart'iyay, Tf hart'iyay 'falcon', Shor {Rl.} qartayay 'hawk, vulture', QK dim. {Rl.} qartāžaq (Rl.: < qartayay + -žaq) 'small hawk' ¶ KW 170, Rs. W 237, ET KQ 317-9, Pp. MA 293, Ms. H 88, H 61, MED 936, Kow. 850, Gl. II 135, Krg. 267, KRS 581, Rl. II 200-4, Jud. 354, ≈ TL 169 ¶¶ pA lax *k' is evidences by WrMc qarč'in, unless the latter is a Mongolism. M *qarč'igay may be analyzed as *qarti- + *-gay, possibly a nominal sx. of quality bearers which may be identical with the sx. *-gay/*-gey forming poss. pronouns from the gen. of pers. pronouns: WrM minü 'of me' ⇨ minü-gey 'mine', manu 'of us' ⇨ manu-gay 'ours', etc., as well as with *-gay/*-gey of nomina imperfecti (performer of an action that has been and still is: *yabu-gay 'one who has been walking\going'), / Pp. IM 219-21, 73. T *Kartāl is qu. as a cognate, because it may go back to a cd. with the first element T *kara, M *qara 'black' (cp. NaT *kara kuš 'eagle', lit. 'black bird') ¶¶ For more details on the word in A lgs. see ET KQ 317-9 (with further literature) ¶¶ The word was borrowed by some Sl, U, Irn, and some Caucasian lgs. (see Dr. TM I #278), incl. Chr H kəršünğəš 'hawk' and R коршун 'kite' (Rm. BT 47, Vs. II 342-3) ¶¶ *÷ Tg: Neg karax̄ 'game (ducks, geese, etc.), Nn qarqay 'ε bird' and qarmor 'sand martin (Riparia)' [STM I 379], which are better explainable as onomatopoeic and/or derived from Tg *kara 'black' (⇨ M, see N *QarhA 'black') || **D** (in SD) *kaṛu ({†GS} *k-) 'ε bird of prey' > Tm kaṛu, kaṛuku 'griffin vulture (Gyps indicus), eagle (Aquilina falconida)', Ml kaṛu, kaṛuku 'eagle, vulture', Td kər'č' 'kite', Tu kaṛu ḍ kaṛu 'vulture' ¶ D #1362 ◇ If the

final vw. of the N etymon was labialized (as in the D reflex), we may try to explain the vw. *o in GZ *kor- by regr. as. (N *k'a'íU > *kor∇).

945. *korú 'stick, log' > **IE:** NaIE *g^weru- 'sharp stick, roasting-spit' > L verū (gen. verūs) ntr. 'javelin, spit', Um berua pl. 'spits (verua)', berus abl. pl. 'verubus' || OIr bir (accus. biur) 'spit, spear', NIr bior, MW ber, W bêr 'spear, lance', OCrn [VC] ber, Br ber 'roasting-spit' || Gt qairu 'σκόλοψ (thorn, pointed stake?)' || ?σ Gk {Hs.} βάρυες· δένδρα 'trees' || ?σ Pru garian ~ garrian accus. 'tree' ¶ But Av grava- 'stick, cane', Phl graw 'cane', and Tc A kru 'reed' belong rather to a different etymon ({Ad.} ? *g_Lh_Lrewo-m 'reed, rush') ¶ WP I 689, P 479, Mn. 357, Brtl. 529, McK 37, LS 307, FI 253 (no et. of βάρυες), WH II 766-7, Bc. G 330, Pln. II 729, Vn. B 51-2, YGM-1 44, Fs. 386, En. 175 (Pru ÷ Lt girià, Ltv dzirča 'forest', see N *kur_L∇h_L∇ 'hill, mountain'), EI 481 (*g_Lh_Lrewo-m 'reed, rush'), 536 (*g^weru 'spear, spit') || **HS:** B: Sll a-kuṣay 'large stick for beating'; ? Thg ã-kāra 'petite tige de bois (qui se place dans la bouche des chevreaux pour les empêcher de téter)', Gd {Lf.} a-kraru 'bâton à remuer\tourner les sauces\bouillies, etc.' ¶ But B *ȳari- 'stick' is to be kept apart, it rather belongs to N *Ḳar∇ '(sharp) stick, peg' (q.v.) ¶ Ds. 34, Lf. II #O793, Fc. 848 || ? WS *✓krk > Mh kəršədūt (pl. kəršēd), Jb E kər'šə'dət, Jb C kər'šə'dət (pl. ko'rošud) 'knobbed club'; ? amb Ug krk {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S *°✓krk < N *Ḳar∇ '↑', q.v.) ¶ Jo. M 215, OLS 223, Hnr. 140, Grd. #1303 || **A:** Tg *kōri- v. 'build (out of logs)', *kōri 'building' (← **'log') (× N *Ḳur∇ [or *Ḳurû?] 'plait\wattle\tie together?') > Nn qorɫ- v. 'build out of logs', Ork qorima, Neg kouma 'made of logs', Ork qoruma, Neg kouça 'wall made of logs', Ul, Orq, Nn Nh qorɫ, Neg kouçan 'log cabin (сруб) for a bear', Ul qorɫ 'shed (хлев), stable; cage for birds', Nn qorɫ 'storehouse for food', Orc koi (← *kouj < *kōri) 'wooden storehouse for food; sepulchral cabin (могильный домик)', Neg kou (← *kōri) 'log house' ¶ STM I 415 || **D** (in SD) *koṛ- 'bar of metal' > Tu koru, Tm koṛu id., Tm, Ml koṛu 'ploughshare', Kn kuṛa, kuṛu, guṛa, guṛu id., 'iron use in cauterizing', ? Kt kov 'iron point of plough' ¶ D #2147.

946. ₂ *kor∇ '≈ fig tree' > **HS:** B: Izd {Mrc.} a-kurr (pl. i-kurr-an), {MT} a-kurṛ (pl. i-kurṛ-an) 'figue précoce', and with secondary emphatization k- > q-: a-qurṛi-, a-qurṛu (pl. i-qurṛ-an) id.; in other B dialects (with emphatization): {La.} Zmr, Tmz Iz āqorṛo (pl. iqorṛan),

ASgr qorǧo, Tfl taqorrit 'green fig' | a Wanderwort presumably of Berber origin: B ≈ **✓ k^rm¹ 'fig-tree' (> Kb a-šamlal 'ε a kind of fig-tree?') → AfR *karmus → Ar Mgr {Gass.} كَرْمَة karama (pl. kiram) 'fig-tree', كَرْمُون karmūn 'fig', Ar Mrc {DMA} karmūš 'fig' → Kb lkarmus, akarmus, takarmust 'figuier de Barbarie, figue de Barbarie' ¶ Gass. 808, DMA-ME 65, Mrc. 291, MT 538, La. MChB 421-2, DI. 95, 419, ≠ Zav. LS 99 (in Ar karmūn an AfR ending *-us was added to Ar karm- < HS *✓ krm 'vine') || D: Tm koṛiṛci 'trees or plants, as the figs, which bear without blossoming' ¶ D #2254.

947. *kUṛṽ (= *kuṛṽ?) or *kuṛyṽ 'young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE *g^werb^h-/*g^wreb^h- 'infant, young of an animal' (< *kUṛṽ bA or *kuṛyṽ bA with *bA of animal names) > Gk βρέφος 'babe in the womb, foetus; new-born babe; young of animals (foal, whelp, cub, etc.)' || OIr bro(m)mach 'foal' (< *g^wromb^hākos), NIr bromach 'colt' || Sl *žer¹b-ę / *žerb-ęṭ- 'foal' > OCS жрѣба žrěbę, Blg жре'бе, OSCr ždrijēbe, SCr ждрѣбе ždrijēbe, Slv žrebè, Cz hříbě, Slk žriebä, P źrebie, Uk жереб'я, Blr 'жеребе id., R pl. жере'бята 'foals', sg. (originally dim.) жере'бѣнок 'foal' || ambHt kurka- 'foal, colt', which may be alternatively equated with Phl kurrag, NPrs كُرْه korre ~ كُرْه kore {Sg.} 'colt of a horse\camel\ass (1 or 2 years old)', Arm (← Irn) քուրակ k^huṛak 'colt, foal', and Mcd [ϣ] {LS} κύρνος 'bastard' ¶ WP I 689, P 485, F I 266, LS 1014, Vn. B 95-6, Dnn. 90, Vs. II 48, Glh. 705-6, BER I 554, Ts. E I 651, Pv. IV 267-8, VI. II 826, Sg. 1026, EI 615 || HS: C *k^wṽr (~ *^okṽr?) 'young of an animal', {AD} *k^wṽrk^wṽr 'puppy' > EC: Sa {R} k^warkūr 'puppy', ? kare (pl. karuwa) 'dog', Arr kēr 'dog', kēr 'bitch' || Ag: Xm {R} coll. k^wark^war, sgl. k^wark^warā 'puppy', kr^wur id. ¶ AD SF 77, R Ch II (s.p.) 63, R S II 220, 432, Hw. A 373 || A: T *k¹īr 'daughter, girl' > OT {Cl.} qīz, Tk kīz, Δ gīz, Ggz kīz, Az qīz, Tkm qīḏ, Xlj qīz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qīz, VTt qḏz, Bsh qḏḏ, Uz qīz, Alt, Tv qīs, Tf qīs, Xk χīs, Yk kīs id. || Blgh هير {Erd.} hīr id. + ppa. (هيري hīr-¹i 'his daughter'), Chv хѣр хѣр 'daughter' ¶ Cl. 679-80, ET Q 190-1, Rs. W 269, TL 195-6, TkR 227, TvR 280, Ra. 223, DT 176, Erd. 46-9, 115 (Blgh h is an "alternant" of ɣ; OBlgh ī < pT *ī), Jeg. 298, Fed. II 344, Md. 70, 168 || D: [1] D {tr., GS} *koṛ- 'young, tender', 'infant', (→ ?) 'daughter, bride, daughter-in-law' > Tm kuṛa 'young, tender', kuṛaku

'youthfulness, beauty, infant', ?σ Tu koræ 'weak, small', Tl koḏuku 'son', kōḏalu 'daughter-in-law', Klm, Nkr koVve 'young of a bird\animal', Klm korāḷ 'younger brother's wife', Nkr korāḷ 'daughter-in-law, bride', Gdb korāḷ, Gnd B koriāḷ 'son's wife, younger brother's wife', Nk kola id., 'bride', Gnd M koriāḷ, Ku kuḷia ḏ kūria 'daughter-in-law', Gnd Nr koriyaḷ id., 'sister's daughter, younger brother's wife', Prj koḷ 'very young', koḷol 'bride', Knd koḷo (pl. -k) 'female child', (pl. -r) 'male child', Mlt {Drs.} qóro 'infant', Brh xarruni 'wife' ¶¶ D #2149, GS 174 [#439] ¶¶ The D cognate is acceptable on condition that the meaning 'sprout' (present in most D lgs.) is either secondary or represents a different homonymous D √ ¶¶ [2] D *kur- ~ {tr., GS} kuḷ- 'young of an animal' (× N *gur₁E₁w∇(-T∇) 'young [carnivorous] animal?') > Tm kuruku 'young of an animal', Kt kurḷ 'young cow (up to three years)', Tu kurulæ, kurḷæ 'young pig; a baby', Png kurnḷa 'young male child', kurnḷi 'young female child', Klm, Nk, Prj kurra, Gnd kurra ḏ kurrā ḏ kura, Knd kuḷa, Ku kurra ḏālu 'male calf', Krx kurū 'colt' ¶¶ D ##1791, 1801, GS 154 [#391] ◇ The length of the T vw. *ī suggests that the original vw. was followed by a cluster (*-Ry-), while the quality of this vw. is "lautgesetzlich", because T *ī may go back to N *u. If the vw. of the N etymon is *u (as suggested by D *kur- ~ kuḷ-, by Ht kurka-, and by T *k'īr), the vw. *o in D *koḷ- is still to be explained ◇ *÷ Bj ḷōr 'child, boy' and Ag *q^ωzr-/*ḷzq^ωzr- v. 'beget, child', that underly my own err. pC rec. *k^ω∇r- 'child, son' (AD SF 82-3) (see N *hoR'i' 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' on Bj ḷōr and N *ḷ'ogU1∇ [or *H₂o qU1∇] 'offspring, child; to beget, to bear a child' on Ag *q^ωzr-/*ḷzq^ωzr-) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [#45] (incl. D and T + err. C *k^ω∇r).

948. *kuh^h∇ (or *küh^h∇?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season' > HS: S *^o✓khwr > Ar kahwar- 'big black cloud'; +ext.: WS *✓krm v. 'rain', n. 'rainy season' > Ar ✓krm (pf. karuma) 'yield rain' (clouds), Ar Del-karamāt 'the rainy months', Gz karamt 'rainy season (Jany-July to September)' (→ 'year'), Tgy kərəmti (> Bj {R} ke'rinti), Tgr kərəm, Amh kərəmt 'rainy season'; EthS ⇨: Sml N {Abr.} káran, káran-ti 'the lesser rainy-season (in the autumn) in Western Somaliland', Sml {R} ke'ran (pl. ke'ramo) 'lesser rainy-season in October', Sml {DSI} karan 'pioggia di fine estate', Sa {R} ✓krm (3m p. 'yi-krima) 'die Erde befeuchten (der Regen)', kar'mā (pl. 'karmām 'rainy season from July to October', Af {PH} karma (pl. karmōmi) 'autumn rainy season' ¶

Fr. IV 28, 67, BK II 888-9, 939, Hv. 652, Lb. II 1455, L G 292-3, L CAD 157, LH 398, Bsn. 590, DSI 359, Abr. S 148, R SS II 247, R S II 222, PH 144 || **K**: G *kurux-* 'get covered with rainclouds', (→) 'darken, grow gloomy' (a person's face) ¶ Chx. 1587 || **A** **k'ūrE* (or **k'ūrā*?) 'autumn; rain, storm' > T **k'ūr* 'autumn' > OT *kūz*, Tk *güz*, Ggz, Qmq, Qq *güz*, Tkm *güjδ*, VTt *κθз kḅz*, Bsh *κθз kḅδ*, CrTt *kuž*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qrg, ET *kūz*, Uz *kuz*, Alt *küs* id., {Pek.} *küs orto* 'mid autumn' (*orto* 'middle') || Chv *кӗр kbr*, Δ *kḅr* ¶ Cl. 757, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 94-5, Ra. 204-5, Dom. 66, BT 101, TvR 269, Fed. I 277, Md. 171, JkR 201, Pek. 1339-44 || M **qura* 'rain' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, HI, P] *qura*, WrM *qurā*, HIM, Kl *хур*, Dx, Ba *qura*, Dg *χwar*, Mnr {SM. T} *χurā* ¶ Pp. KP 156, Pp. MA 310, 445, Lg. VMI 47, Ms. H 91, MED 987, KW 197, T 377, T DnJ 116, T BJ 138, SM 184, Mr. D 29 || Tg **kỵ̣re-* 'storm, strong wind' > Lm *kur* id., Ewk *kurgəkūn* 'strong wind', Ul *kūrə(n-)* 'storm' ¶ STM I 436 ¶ S AJ 294 [#510], DQA #943 (A **kūrē* 'autumn; rain, storm').

949. **kiřHa* 'old' > IE **ǵerH-* > NaIE **ǵerā-* 'old, (?) grown up' > OI *ja'rā* 'old age', KhS *ysar-* 'be old', OI *jarati* 'makes old, grows old', *jaran* 'decayed', *jari'man* 'old age' (heavy base), Av *a-zarəšant* 'nicht-alternd', *zarəta-* 'altersschwach', Phl *zarmān* 'old man; old age, decrepitude', NPrs *زَر* *zār* 'old person', Psh *zōr*, Oss I *zār*, Oss D *zārā*, *zārwā* 'old age', Oss I/D *zārond* 'old' || Gk *γέρων / γέροντ-* 'old man', *γραιγή* 'old woman', *γηράσκω v.* 'age, grow older' || pAl {O} **grāwā* 'old woman' > Al: T *grua*, G *grue* id. || Arm **ծեր** *ceř* (gen. **ծերոյ** *ceřoy*) 'old, aged; old man' || Gmc: ON *karl* 'man, old man', OHG *karl* & *karal* & *charal* 'man, husband, beloved', MLG *kerle* 'free man, strong man', NHG *Kerl* 'fellow', AS *céorl* 'man, free man of the lowest rank; husband', NE *churl* || Sl **zbrě-ti* (1s prs. **zbrějq*) 'to ripen' > OCS **збрѣти** *zbrěti* (1s prs. **збрѣхъ** *zbrějq*), SCr *zrěti*, Slv *zréti*, Cz *zráti*, Slk *zret'*, OP *zrzed'*, R *зреть*, Uk 'зріти id., Blg (1s prs.) 'зрєя 'ripen' || pTc **kwär-* > Tc: A, B *kwär-* c. 'age, grow old', B adj. pl. *śrārī* 'old' (of people) ¶ M K I 420-2, Vl. II 122, Sg. 612, Horn 146, Bay. 346, Ab. IV 299, 304-5, McK 98, Mrg. 103, FI 301-2, O 125, Slt. 164, Vr. 301, Schz. 179, Kb. 530, KM 365, Ho. 46-7, Glh. 700-1, Vs. II 106, ≈ P 390-1, Ad. 236, 644, EI 248 (**ǵerH-* 'grow, age, mature'), 409 || **D** (in SD) **kiř-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) 'old, aged; old age' > Tm *kiřam*, *kiřaṭu* 'old age', 'aged person\animal\thing' (contemptuous), *kiřavaṇ* 'old man', *kiřavi* 'old woman', MI

kiṛavan 'old man', kiṛavi, kiṛatti 'old woman', Kn keṛava, keṛiva 'old man', Tu kīrв 'ancient, old' ¶ D #1579; on i/e alternation in SD *see* Zv. 65-70 || HS: WCh: Hs K kíríbzá 'anything old', ? ʌ Hs kʰárárràḅē 'become old \ infirm \ decrepit' ¶ Ba. 609, 703 || It is tempting to adduce here the HS root \approx * \sqrt kʷr (or *kʷr-?) > SC: Irq kuru, Brn kori, Alg kʷari 'year'; Ch: Zala {ChL} kʷərsì 'old' (person), Jg {J} korm- 'aufwachsen', but the HS rounded back vw. makes the comparison too shaky; it is more plausible to equate it with T *Kurt-ga- 'old woman' || A: The A reflex of this N word may have influenced the reflexes of T *Kari 'old' (< N *garʷi 'old') in some T lgs., namely ET qeri, Xk кипi kiru 'old', ET qeri-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk кипi- kiru-, Yk kiriy- 'grow old' ◇ \approx IS I 297-8 [#165] (*kirHΔ 'old': IE, D) ◇ Cp. N *garʷi '↑' (q.v.).

950. ? *koʷrʷi 'external ear' > A: Tg *kora-ka 'external ear (ear conch)' > Ewk, Orc korokto, Ul, Ork, Ne Nh qoroqto id., Lm qorət id., 'ear'; *koro- > Ork qoro-lon- v. 'move one's ears' (animals) ¶ STM I 416 || U: FU *korw 'ear, leaf' (× N *qURʷi 'ear' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D *kuʷ- 'ear-ring, ear' (× N *qURʷi) ◇ Qu., because two of the three cognates have an alt. explanation.

951. ₂ *kʷiʷuS 'mouse' > HS: Ch \approx *kusm > WCh: Hs kūsù, Gw {Mts.} kúšu 'rat, mouse' | Su {J} kʷuzum, Ang {ChL} gùzùm, Kfr {Nt.} kázúm, Gmy {Kr.} g+s+m, {Sh.} kesem, Chip kʷə́m {ChL} 'rat' | Krkr {ChL} čàsə́, Gera {Sch.} kàsámí, Krf kòtòmù, Bl {ChL} kʷəsú, Dr kóm 'rat' | DfB {J} kúsúm 'mouse', Bks {J} kúším 'rat' | Kry {Sk.} kúsám, Mbr {Sk.} kúšə́ 'rat', My {Sk.} kúsám~kúsəm, P' {MSk.} kúsánčiki 'mouse' | Bg kusam, Kir {ChL} kʷàsám, Zul kʷúsúmè, Plc {ChL} kúsùm, Gj {ChL} kúsə́, Zar K {ChC} kúsə́ 'rat' | ?? Bd {ChL} kùmə́n 'rat' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ho-kuʷum 'mouse' > {Ro.}: Zlg kòhóm, Mofu hʷóm, Hrz, Vm kʷám, Mada òkóm, Myn àkfúm id.; ? Mtk {ChC} kʷəm 'rat' | Msg Nh {Trn.} gusúm, Msg {GKrs.} kusúm 'mouse', Msg D {Mch.} kúsúm 'rat' | ?φ ZmB {ChC} gʷáʷiɲ (= gʷaʷiɲ ~ gʷaʷiɲ?) id. | Gzg {Lk.} goʷomo 'Hausratte' | Tr {Nw.} yum 'rat' || ECh: Brg {J} kumo, Mb {J} kumó, EDng {Fd.} kûmnò, Ke kòmòm (pl. kámám) 'rat' ¶ ChC, ChL, JI I 137 and II 270-1 (Ch * \sqrt ksm 'rat', incl. 'mouse'), Ba. 658, Nt. 19, Sch. BTL 151, Ro. 295 [#485], Lk. G 123, Fd. 303, Eb. 73, ≠ Sk. HCD 157, \approx Stl. IF 99-100 (pCh *ku-ʰasami 'rat'; the err. rec. was induced by Kfr {JI} kóezúm, which reproduces Nt.'s spelling with oe for ɜ, *see* Nt. 1: "oe = ə") || A: NaT *kʷiske,

*KüsE 'rat, mouse' > OT {Cl.} küskū id., SbTt {Rl.}, Tlt/Tln {Rl.} küskü, Sg/Kü/Qc/Qb {Rl.} küskä, Qzl {Dom.} küške 'rat', Xk, Tv küske 'mouse', Tk Δ köskü 'mole'; VTt көсе кӱсь 'rat', ET küsätkä, Δ küsötkä 'field mouse' ¶ Cl. 750, ET KQ 153-4, Rs. W 312, Rl. II 1501, TatR 342, TvR 269, Shch. Zh 150.

952. ₂ *k|geHs∇ 'warm, hot, hot season' > HS: B *✓(w-)kHs 'be warm, hot' (× N ? *K̄eZ̄E 'warm, warm weather'??) > Ah ukas (pf. yakkus) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-ukəs vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} akkus (pf. ikkus) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Nc.} góssurho 'heat', Mgm gázǎńí 'heat', gázàntà ~ gásàntà 'hot (as fire)' ||| WCh: Zul {ChL} gisi, Buli {ChL} k̄is 'dry season' ¶ Lk. ZSS 33, JA LM 86, ChL || U: FV *kesä 'summer' > F kesä id. | pLp {Lr.} *kēsē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} giesie, L {LLO} kiessē, N {N} gæssē, Kld k̄iēs̄ | pEr *kizə 'summer' > Er кизэ kize id., Mk киза kiza ɖ kiza 'year' ¶ UEW 660, Lr. #393, Lgc. #2294, Hs. 603-4, Ker. II 62.

953. *kasw∇ 'grow, increase; (become) big' > HS: S *°✓kš|šw|y ~ *°✓kš|š|h > OAk kasā'um inf., Ak kašû inf. {Sd.} 'stark zunehmen', {CAD} 'to yield profit', D kuššû {CAD} 'to make profit, to make strong' ¶ Sd. 463, CAD VIII 294 || U: FU *kaswa- 'grow, increase' > F, Es kasva- vi. 'grow, increase' | Er како- kaso-, Mk како- kasə- id. | Chr: L кушка- kuška- id., H {Rm.}, Uf/B kuška- vi. 'grow' ||| OHg haszon 'Fruchtertrag, Ertrag von Nutztieren; (materieller usw.) Vorteil, Nutzen; Gewinn', Hg haszon 'advantage, benefit, profit, gain' ¶ UEW 129-30, Coll. 86, Rm. BT 59, Ker. II 50-1, LG 91, MF 273-4, EWU 535 || D *kač- ({ǧGS} *g-) 'great, big' > Tm kaɣa 'great', Ml kaɣa, Png gaʒa 'big', Tl gaja 'large', Ku kaʒa ɖ kaʒʒa 'big, great' ¶¶ D #1093.

954. *k'ü'š'∇ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > IE: NaIE *g̃eṷs- 'pebbles' (× N *K̄E'ŋ'ĉ∇ ~ [?] *K̄E'ŋ'ĉ∇ 'gravel, pebble[s], coarse sand') > MHG kies, NHG Kies 'gravel'; AS ciosol, cisel id., OHG kisil ɖ chisil, NHG Kiesel 'pebble', NLG keiserling, keserling, kieserling 'pebble, small stone' ||| Pru sixdo ({En.} [zigzdo]) 'sand', Lt žiezdrà 'gravel, coarse sand', {Frn.} 'grain of sand \ of coarse sand', Žiēzdras 'sand' ||| Phr [StB] ὄσσα 'stone' ¶ P 356, Ho. 49, OsS 492, Kb. 546, KM 368, Frn. 1307, En. 248 || K *°kwīš- > OG kwīša, mkwīša, G kviša 'coarse sand, pebbles'; G ⇨ Sv {Ni.} kwīše 'sand', {TK} kwīšār adj. 'of sand, sandy' ¶ Abul. 459, Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339, Ni. s.v. пѣсокъ, TK 790 || HS: B *°✓kwz̄ ~ *°✓kz̄z̄ 'coarse sand' (× N *K̄E'ŋ'ĉ∇ ~ [?] *K̄E'ŋ'ĉ∇ '↑')

> Ah e-kəwəz 'coarse sand', Tmz {MT} əkzəz 'sand'; B *^ouzz > Ah ta^uəzzit 'sable gros' ¶ Fc. 838, , Crt. 430, MT 358 || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} kēsa 'sand' (unless ← Knr čésà id.) || Ech: Smr {J} kúsraín 'pebbles' ¶ Lk. B 112, ChC, Lk. KL 191 || ?^o C: Ag: Bln {R} 'qūšā (pl. qūš) 'sand' (× N ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ~ [?] ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇) ¶ R WB 245 || | U: FU {UEW} ***kâč** ∇ 'sand, gravel' > Prm ***gŭž**a 'gravel' > Vt ГЫЖЫ, ГЫЖ 'grain of sand', Z kžža, Yz 'kūža 'gravel' || pOs ***k+č** id. > Os: V/Ty q+č, Kz/Sn χ+š, O -χis ¶ Coll. 80 (FU ***kač** ∇), UEW 226, LG 139, Stn. D 429 ◇ FU *-č- is likely to go back to ****-č-** < N ***-š?**- ◇ NaIE ***gēis-** for the expected ****gweis-** is due to the infl. of ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ~ (?) ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [#12] (equates the FU root with reflexes of N ***ḳeč** ∇ 'clay, earth' and N ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇ (~ ***ḳE'ḡ'ĉ** ∇?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand'.

955. ***käš** ∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel' > HS: CS ***✓kš** ~ ***kš** > BHb **𐤀𐤓𐤕** 'kaš ~ (after the change š > s) **𐤀𐤓𐤕** 'kaš 'vexation, anger', JA **𐤀𐤓𐤕** kaš^a-ā 'anger', Hb, IA, SmA, JA ✓kš 'be vexed\angry', JEA ✓kš 'be angry', Ar ✓kš (pf. kašša, ip. -kšš-) {Bl.} 'être dans l'anxiété', {BK} 'être trouble et inquiet' ¶ KB 467-8, KBR 491, HJ 528, GB 357, Js. 656, Sl. 594, Tal 402-3, Fr. IV 38, Bl. 697, BK II 902 || | U: FU ***ḳäš** ∇ > OHg ≥XIV **kés**a 'Kampf, Streit' ¶ EWU 740-1, ≠ UEW 162 || | D ***kač**- (={GS} ***ka's**-) 'quarrel' > Ml **kaçakka** v. 'quarrel, abuse', Kt **kač** 'party in a quarrel', Tu **kaccāṭa** 'quarrelling', Tl **kaçamu** 'quarrel, dispute', Prj **kaçri** 'enemy', Gdb **kaçar** 'anger, sorrow', Kui **kāse** 'hostility, enmity, blood feud' ¶¶ D #1089 || | A ***käles** ∇ 'suffer' > Tg ***kese-** id. > Ewk **kəsē-**, Ud **kəsē-** id., Nn B **kəsē-** 'repent', d. (caus.) Ul **kəsūč**- 'make suffer, torment', ? WrMc **kesemburu** 'squandrel' ¶ STM I 454-5 || pKo {S} ***kīs**- v. 'suffer, undergo, experience' > MKo **kīš**-, NKo **kīš**- ¶ S QK #745, Nam 44, MLC 114 || ?^o pJ {S} ***kasika-** 'exhausted, wasted' > OJ **kasika-**, J T **kašike-** ¶ S QJ #1690 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #777 (pA ***kés**a 'suffer'; incl. Tg, K), Rs. W 258 (T, M, Tg) ◇ Cf. N ***ḳašix** ∇ 'to scold'. The phonemic distinction between -s- and -ç- in Tl **kaçaru** 'scold, rebuke' (< N ***ḳašix** ∇) and **kaçamu** suggests that this distinction is of pD origin, sc. that there was a pD phonemic distinction between the D reflexes of N ***-š** ∇, **χ**- and ***-š**-.

956. ***kiš** ∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck' > HS: S ***✓kš** > Ar ✓kš v. 'peel' (× N ***kež** ∇ 'skin; to skin', q.v. ffd.) || | U: FU ***kiš** ∇ v. 'tear (off), pluck' > F **kiš** ∇ - 'jerk, twitch; pluck; tear; pull (by)' ('abziehen, los-zer-reißen'), Es **kiš** ∇ - 'tear, pull, pluck' || pLp {Lr.} ***kš** ∇ - 'tear,

pull, jerk' > Lp: S {Hs.} gǎjku- 'abreißen, abbrechen', L {LLO} kai'ħkō- 'zer- \ entzwei- \ los- \ nieder-reißen', N {N} gâi'ko- / -ik- 'tear, pull (sth. or at sth.)', Kld кышшкэ, K {Gn.} kīške- 'tear, tear asunder' ∥ Mk киськоря- kīškāra- v. 'pinch', {UEW} kśteŕa- 'zwicken, kneifen', Er скиря- śkiŕa- 'pinch, nibble' ∥ ?σ Hg Δ kisáŀ- 'ärgern, aufreizen' ¶ UEW 162, Lr. #331, Lgc. #1884, Hs. 547, SaRS 144, PI 114, ERV 591, MF 366-7 ¶ Not here FU *keš̂∇- v. 'tear' (UEW 151-2) (see N *ḲEŠU (→ *Ḳ'ü'š̂∇?) 'to skin, to tear') ∥ D *kič̂- (={ḡGS} *kič̂-) v. 'pinch, pluck' > Tl gičcu v. 'scratch, pinch', Klm kism-, kīseŋ, Nk kis-/kič̂-, Prj kīk-, Gdb kisk-, Gnd kisk-, kism-, kič̂-, Png, Mnd kič̂-, Kui kisa, Kui, Ku kič̂- v. 'pinch', Prj kič̂- v. 'pluck (strings of instrument with finger)', Knd kis- v. 'pinch, nip, squeeze with fingers', Krx kič̂- v. 'break into very small pieces with the fingers', ? Mlt kise v. 'dig out a thorn from the flesh', Brh kiškiŋ v. 'pluck, break off' ¶¶ D #1513, Km. 343 [#363] ∥ A: M *kisu- > WrM kisu- ~ qusu- 'scrape, shave' (× N *ḲEŠU (→ *Ḳ'ü'š̂∇?) '↑', q.v. ffd.).

957. *kat∇ 'speak, think' > IE: NaIE *go(:)d- (~ *ḡo(:)d-?) 'speak, think' > OI 'gadati 'says, speaks' ∥ Sl *gadati 'to guess, to talk, to speak' > OCS гадати gadati, Cz hádati, Slk hádat' 'to guess, to think (to be of the opinion), to suppose', OR гадати gadati id., 'to think (meditate), to discuss', Uk гадати 'to think', R гадать 'to guess', Slv gádati id., 'to chatter', Blg гадая v. 'guess', Cz Δ gadat', R Sml гадать 'to speak', Slvz {Lrz.} gǎďác 'to speak, to talk', P gadać 'to talk' ∥ Lt žǎdas 'speech, language', žǎdis 'word, speech', Ltv zadināt 'to speak to'; the Blt words have an apparent reflex of IE *ḡ-, which still defies explanation ¶ M KI 319-20, ESSJ VI 77-8, Vs. I 381, ≈ Bern. 288, Frn. 1283-4, 1321-2; ≠ EI 535 (OI < *g^ωet- 'say', see N *koṭ∇ ~ *kuṭ∇ '≈ magic utterance and its results') ∥ HS: B *√kth ~ *kty 'think, remember' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} əḳtu id., Thg, Gh əktu (pf. iḳta), Gd ɛktət 'remember', Sll {Ds.} ək^ωti (1s pf. k^ωtiϣ, 3m pf. ik^ωti), Tmz {MT} ktəy (pf. kti) id. ɖ štəy (pf. *sti) 'recall, think', Izd {Mrc.} ḳti 'recall, remember', Zn {Rn.} əḳti 'recall', Zng √kty: {MH→Nic.} uḳtaɣəg-də^h 'je me rappelle (vers) ici' (= 'il me revient', 'je me prends à me souvenir [que]') ¶ Fc. 923, Nh. 208, Ds. 216, 267, MT 355, Lf. II #0835, Mrc. 214, 240, Rn. 341, GhA 207, Nic. 329 ∥ ?ϕ EC: Arr geḍ- 'say' (× N *koṭ∇ ~ *kuṭ∇ '↑') ¶ Hw. A 360 ∥ U *k^ra¹t₁t₁∇ (or *k^ra¹s|š̂∇) > Sm *kət- ~ *kət∇, d. *kətt∇ 'say, relate (erzählen)' > Ne: T

хѣта-сь, O {Lh.} χῆτᾶ, F {Lh.} k̄īt̄a- id.; En {Mik.} k̄ita-ś 'relate (erzählen)'; Slq Tz k̄t̄i-qo 'say', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. k̄ē'da id. ¶ Jn. 66, Ter. 803, KP 92, KKIИ 117.

958. *k̄i't̄U' ~ *k̄i't̄U' 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' > IE: NaIE *gēid- > ON, NNR kitla, Sw kittla, Dn kildre, AS c̄itelian, OSx kitilōn, Dt kittelen, OHG {KM} kizzilōn & kuzzilōn, {OsS} chizilōn, chuizlōn, NHG kitzeln 'to tickle' || ? Arm կծեմ, կծանեմ kcanem v. 'sting, prick, nip, itch' ¶ P 356, EI 451, Vr. 310, Ho. 50, OsS 494, Kb. 543, 577, KM 372 || A: ւ T *Kitik- v. 'tickle' > Tk ḡid̄ik, Ggz ḡid̄iq, Az ḡid̄iq, VTt q̄b̄t̄q, Qzq q̄it̄iq, Qq, Nog, Qmq q̄it̄iq, Qrg q̄it̄iyi, Uz q̄it̄iq, ET q̄ittiq, Chv кѣтѣк к̄b̄k̄ n. 'tickling', VTt {Rl.} q̄b̄t̄q-la- v. 'tickle' ¶ Rl. II 787-8, Jeg. 102, MM 467 || ?σ,φ Tg *xutu- v. 'itch, tickle' (× N *k̄u|od'a'h̄∇ 'to pierce', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cp. DQA #1038 (A *k̄'j̄āda 'itching, pungent') || D [1] *kit- ({ϑGS} *k-) > Kui k̄īti 'tickling', Mnd kiti ki- id., Tu kid̄k̄il̄b̄, kid̄(̄)kel̄b̄, kid̄k̄b̄l̄b̄ 'armpit, tickling' || [2] Kt kuṭ 'clitoris' (× N *k̄ôṭ'E' ~ *koṭUṭE 'membrum muliebre, anus?') ¶¶ D ##1551a, 2049 ◇ IE *-d- and Kt ṭ suggest a N *-t-, while D *-t- points to a N *-ṭ-. The variation is accounted for by the ideophonic association of the word. The vw. u in Tg and Kt may point to a labial element (rounded vw.) at the end of the stem.

959. (₂?) *k̄'ä'pit̄∇ (or *k̄æ'pit̄∇?) 'suck, (?) eat liquid food' > IE: NaIE *ḡēid- 'suck' > Lt ž̄ĩndu / ž̄ĩsti, Ltv z̄ĩž̄u / z̄ĩst̄ (3s prs. z̄ĩd̄) v. 'suck' || Gk Hm νεο-γυλλός (or νεο-γυλός) 'new-born, young (of animals)' (acc. to Scholia Odysseæ, γάλακτι τρεφομένης 'nourished by milk'), interpreted by Schw., F, P, and other scholars as 'recent sucker' ('seit Kurzem saugend') and reconstructed as *νεο-γυδλός ¶ Frn. 1314, Schw. GG I 323, FII 304, Ch. 744, P 356 || HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} kaḏ- (= kaḏ-) scv. 'suck' ¶ R WBd 137, Rop. 202 || ?σ D (tr., ϑGS) *kaṭṭ- 'soup (of pulses)' > Kn kaṭṭu 'the water in which pulses have been boiled, decoction of pulses', Tl kaṭṭu id., 'dal-soup', Tu kaṭṭb̄ 'essence', b̄ē|ēta kaṭṭb̄ 'decoction of pulses', Prj kaṭ 'soup' ¶¶ D #1150 ◇ Bj *-ḏ- < *-ṛṭ- < N *-ṛit- ◇ If D *kaṭṭ- belongs here, the N rec. is *k̄ä'pit̄∇, otherwise it is *k̄æ'pit̄∇.

960. *koyt̄∇ 'filthy liquid, filth' > IE: NaIE *ḡw̄ēid- id. ({EI} 'be foul \ purulent') > Gk δέψα 'slime, filth' (P: < *ḡw̄eid-s-a) || ? Gmc: ON, NNR kveisa, Sw kvesa 'bump, tumour (Beule, Geschwulst)', Sw Δ kvisa, kvesa, MLG quēse 'blood blister' || Sl *ž̄id-ьк̄ь 'watery' (liquid) (× IE

*g^wh_ei_d-/*g^wh_oi_d- > Arm գէջ gēž / gen. գիջոյ gižoy 'humid, moist') > ChS ЖИДЪКЪ židъkъ 'úδapός, (too) watery', SCr žíđak, Slv žídek, Cz židký, R 'жидкий 'watery, liquid'; SI *židja > R 'жижа 'slush, filthy liquid; liquid part of soup', d.: Blr 'жыжка 'slush; liquid food' ¶ P 469, EI 490, F I 359, Vr. 337, Vs. II 53-4, Glh. 709, Chr. 302, Ld. A 74-5 (SI ÷ Arm) || HS: CS *√k_{tm} 'be dirty, stained' > BHb (N prtc.) םתבנ ni-k'tām 'stained', JA [Trg.] םתבנ kə'tīm id., MHb םתבנ 'kə'təm, JA םתבנ ki'tmā '(blood-)stain', Sr √k_{tm} G v. 'stain, defile', Ar katam- 'Isatis tinctoria as a dye for hair', {Hv.} 'plant for dyeing the hair black' ¶ KB 480, KBR 505, BDB #4387, Br. 352, WKAS I 53, Hv. 644 || ?σϜ: NrTg *kuta 'marsh, quagmire' > Ewk kuta 'peat-bog, quagmire', Ewk Nr kuta 'clay', Lm kuta 'quagmire, marsh (топь)', Neg kota 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 439 || NaT *Köter ~ *Kötre id. > VTt Mn/I, Bsh kütər 'quagmire', Bsh Δ kütər 'swamp, puddle', Sg ködre 'quagmire, marsh', Shor {Rl.} ködrä ~ küdrä, Alt {Vrb.} küdre, Chv (← VTt) kütər 'swamp' ¶ ET KQ 154-5, TTDS 286, Ash. VII 89, Rl. II 1286, 1488, Vrb. 189 || pJ {S} *kutaj 'bog' > OJ kute ¶ S QJ #1383 ¶¶ DQA #938 (*kut'iti 'bog, marsh') || D (in GnD) *koṭṭṭr- ({ṭGS} *g-) 'dirty' > Kui goṭri 'muddy, dirty', Gnd M g'honṭo, Ku groṭa' 'turbid' ¶ D #2067 ◇ Qu., because P's IE rec. is far from from being reliable, and the S cognate has an unexplained extension *m.

961. *ku't'HE (or *kü't'H∇) 'to rise; (?) high place' > Ϝ: NaT *k'öt- '≈ lift up, carry (on the back)' > OT U {DTS} köti- 'rise' (not mentioned in Cl.), Az {Rl. → Rs.} ġöt- 'aufheben, abnehmen' (not registered in Hüs., Äz., AzRL, and AzDDL), Az Kz {Dzh.} ġötü- 'raise', Slr {Tn.} k'öht- ~ küht- ~ küt- ~ kut- 'carry in the back', Yk köt- 'fly', kötoχ- 'lift up'; ⇨ caus.*k'ötär- ~ *k'ötür- 'lift up, raise' > OT {Cl.} kötür-, ET {Nj.} -كوتەر kötär-, Uz кўтар- kwtar-, Qmq göter-, Blq kötür-, Nog, Qzq, Qq köter-, VTt, Bsh kütär-, Qrg kötör-, StAlt ködür-, Qmn/Tb {B} ködür-, ködör-, QK {B} ködör-, SY köhtir-~köṣtir-~k'öhtir-, Xk көдир- ködir-, Tv ködür- id., Tkm göter- 'lift up, carry', Tk götür-, Ggz götür- 'carry (away), bring' (the meaning dependent on the case of the adverbial modifier of place), Az көтүр- ġötür- id., 'take'; T (or NaT) *kötär- ⇨ M *köter- 'lift up' > ħ WrM {Rm. ← ?} kötür-, Kl {Rm.} kötr- 'aufheben, heben' ¶ DTS 319-20, Cl. 706, ET VGD 86-8, Rl. II 1279-85, 1602, Rs. W 294, Dzh. 48, Pek. I 1174-8, Tn. SJ 397, Tn. SJJ 189, Nj. 646, TkR 204, TvR 256, TrR 352, Hüs. 187-8, KW 239 || M *kütü|gür > WrM

kütügür 'elevation, hilly country', {Kow.} 'élévation, hauteur, lieu élevé; une bosse sur la poitrine' | M *kötül 'hill, mountain pass' > Kl κῆτλ, {Rm.} kötl̥, Brt xγτᾶλ 'small height, hill; low mountain pass', WrM kötüł, HIM xῆτῆλ 'mountain pass, low pass' ¶ MED 493, 509, Kow. 2596, KRS 319, KW 242, Chr. 633 || Tg *°kūte- > Lm kōtəʁ n. act. 'ascent, climbing (a mountain)', kōtəʁə id., 'hill', kōtəpki 'on the top (of a mountain), uphill', kōtəʁ- v. 'climb (a steep mountain)' ¶ STM I 421 ¶¶ S AJ 288 [#288], DQA #893 (A *kōt'ī; incl. T, Tg, ≈ M), Rm. EAS I 147 (T, M + unc. Ko kə,t- 'aufsammeln, aufrollen, vollenden') || U: FU *°küδ∇ (or *külâ) > pObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'stand up' > pVg *kʷāl- > Vg: T kʷāl-/kʷäl-, LK/MK kāl-, NV kʷāl-/kał-, P kāl-/kʷal-, kał-, LL kāl-/kał-, UL/Ss kʷāl- id.; pOs {Ht.} *kül-/°kjaləʁ- > Os: V/Vy kül-, Ty kiɸ-, Y küɸ-, D/K kit-, Nz kīt-, Kz kīɸ-, O kil- id. ¶ Ht. #249 || ?σ,φ D *kuṭṭ- ({ʁGS} *gudḏ-) ~ *kuntḏ ({ʁGS} *gunṭ-) 'hill, high place' > Kn gudḏa, gudḏu, Gnd guṭṭa 'mountain, hill', Tl guṭṭa id., 'heap', gudḏe 'field on mountain slopes, a high field', Knd gudḏe 'hill field', Gdb guḏiya 'small field for cultivation of vegetables', Ku guḏia 'field of dry cultivation', Png, Mnd guṭi 'bank of river', Kdg gudḏe 'heap'; a nasalized variant is present in Tm kunṭu 'small hill' ¶¶ D #1682 ¶ Both the phonetic shape (presence of a nasalized variant) and the meaning (esp. 'heap') raise doubts about the validity of this cognate || ? HS: C: SC: Irq {E} kutuω- v. 'swell' (a wound, etc.); SC ⇨ Mb -kútu 'climb' ¶ E SC 247 [#43] ◇ The fortis *-t'- in A (> T, M, Tg *-t-) and the geminated -ḏḏ- in D lgs. suggest a N lr. after the dental stop.

962. *k'o'tê 'belly' > IE: NaIE *gʷet- 'belly' > L botulus 'gut, sausage' (⇨ OscU) || Gt qīpus 'stomach, womb', ON kvíðr 'belly, womb', AS cwið(a) {Ho.} 'Bauch, Leib', {Sw.} 'womb', OHG quitī 'vulva, womb', d.: MHG kütel 'entrails' || Gk [Hs.] βύττος 'pudenda muliebria' || pTc {Ad.} *kācān- > Tc: A kāts, B kātso 'belly, stomach, womb' ¶ WH I 113-3, EI 2 (*gʷetus 'stomach, womb'), Ert. ED 27, 68, Fs. 390, Vr. 338, Ho. 66, Sw. 39, Kb. 584, OsS 691, ≈ WP I 560, 671, ≈ P 481, ≠ FI 278, ≠ Ch. 203, Ad. 156 || HS: Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} kʷāt̃n, Tala {Sh.} kādu 'belly' || CCh: BuP {Mk.} kuta id. | Lmn {Mk.} xudi id., {Lk.} xudī '(?) my belly' | Mdr {Eg.} húḏé, Glv {Rp.} xūda, Gdf {Sh.} xʷodà, Dgh {Frk.} xʷḏè | Suk {Mk.} xut 'belly' | Mtk {Sb.} hʷâḏ, pMM {Ro.} *hʷod > Mik {Ro.} hʷód, Mkt {Ro.} hùḏ, Mada/Myn {Ro.} hóḏ, Mofa {Ro.}, MfG {Brr.} hʷád 'belly' || ECh: Mb {J} hàt, ? Ke {Eb.} gīdà, Nd D {J} gùḏ

id. ¶ JI I 9 (pCh *✓kt and *✓kđ 'belly'), JI II 20-21, Ro. 210-1, Brr. MG II 132 || U: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *gud▽ or *gut▽ 'belly, middle', q.v. ffd.) > Chr: L кыдал къ'дал 'waist (поясница)', Н кыдал 'къ'дал id., {Rm.} къ'дäl 'Hüfte', Н кыдалаш къ'далäš, (Rm.) къ'дäläš adj. 'middle, L къ'дälan 'in the middle', Uf къ'дал 'middle of the body, middle', В къ'дал 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *küt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *küçal > LK/MK/UK k^ωäčl, UL/Ss kočl id.; pOs {HT.} *köt > Os: V/Vy köt, Ty/Y kö't, D/K qöt, Nz/Kz qüt, O qut 'space between', d.: V kö'taw, O qutap 'middle', D qötapna 'in the middle' || OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, IP *küti, Ugr *kütī 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF 379-80, Ht. #337, Trj. VD 145 ¶¶ FU *-t- (for the expected *-tt-) is puzzling. Is it due to the merger with N *gud|t▽ 'belly, middle' (q.v.)? ◇ NaIE *g^ωet- points to a N *o, just as FU *ü (palatalized due to regr. as. *o...e > *ü...e that caused "harmony of vowels").

963. ₂ *koṭû 'to drip, to exude liquid' → 'sap, pitch' > IE: NaIE *g^ωetu 'pitch' > OI 'jatū 'lac, gum' || L bitūmen 'asphalt, bitumen' (← Clt or OscU) || OHG quitī, cutī 'glue, resin' > MHG küt(e) > eNHG Kütt, NHG Kitt 'cement, mastic cement', AS cwidu, cwiodu, cwudu 'mastic (a gum)' ({Ho.} 'Gekautes, Baumharz'), NE cud; with apophony: ON kváða, Sw káða 'pitch', ODN kvæde, Nr Δ kvæde 'birch sap', kōða, kvæða 'beestings' ¶ P 480, EI 500, M K I 415, WH I 107, Vr. 335, Hlq. I 542, Ho. 65, Lx. 120, Kb. 584, KM 372 || HS: WS *✓kṭr 'drip; pitch' > Ar ✓qṭr (ip. -qṭur-) 'drip', qaṭr- 'resinous juice of the dragon's blood', qāṭir- 'dripping; gum', qaṭr-at- 'drop', qaṭrān- ~ qiṭrān- 'wood-tar' (→ Gz қаṭrān, Sq {L} қаṭrān, Fr goudron 'tar, pitch', Sr {PS} қаṭrān 'oleum picinum'); a merger with N *Kot▽(-R▽) 'smoke' (q.v.): JA ✓kṭr *Sh*††(pf. ʔaḳṭar) 'let the incense rise', Ar قطر ✓qṭr v. D (pf. qaṭṭara) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes-wood', JEA {Sl.} қаṭā'rā 'incense', BHb תַּרְטִיף қаṭoreṭ 'incense', JA қаṭur-t-ā 'incense', SCn *қаṭar-ōtu/i pl. (< **қаṭurōtu/i on the analogy of other segolate nouns) → Eg (EgSSc) қа-да-ру-та 'incense'; Sb mḳṭr 'incense altar' ¶ Fr. III 463-5, BK II 765-7, Hv. 614, KBR 1095-6, LG 454, LLS 373, PS 3597, KB 1022-4, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 1008-9, BGMR 109, Hik. #239, SivCR 46 || C: Ag {AD} *қ^ωзt- 'be humid, wet, fresh', {Ap.} *q^ωзt- 'be wet' > Bln {R} q^ωeṭ- ~ qūṭ- (= q^ωəṭ-) 'be humid, moist', 'be green,

fresh' (grass), Xm {R} qũt̄- (= qʷət̄-) id., 'be raw' (meat), 'be unripe' (fruit), Q {R} hʷet̄- ~ wet̄- 'be humid, moist, raw', Km xotām ~ xʷātām 'humid' || ?φ EC: Or {Th.} žiḏā 'humid, soft, fresh', žiḏu 'be humid\soft\fresh', {Grg.} žīḏā 'wet, fresh', Or H {Ow.} žīḏā 'wet', Or Wt {Hn.} žīḏ- 'be wet', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} žīḏā 'wet, humid' ¶ R WB 247, R Ch. II 69, R Q II 78, CR K 209, Ap. AV 17, AD SF 256, Th. 165, Grg. 235, Ow. 265, Sr. SO 340, Hn. W 64 ◇ Ag *kʷət- may have resulted from mte. (*kʷ...t < *kʷ...t̄).

964. *koṭṭṭ ~ *kuṭṭṭ '≈ magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate') > HS: S *^o✓kṭṭṭ > Ar qitṭṭ- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' ¶ BK II 764 || C: Bj {Rop.} kʷatī 'fortunate, happy', {R} 'kʷati 'happy (glücklich)', {Rop.} kʷatīm- 'be fortunate\happy' || ?φ EC: Arr geḏ- 'say' (× N *katṭ 'speak, think?') ¶ Hw. A 360, Rop. 209, R WBd 150 || **A** *kūt'ṭ > T *kūt 'good luck, happiness' > OT {CL.} qut 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness', Osm قوت qut, Tk kut, Tkm gut, Qzq, Uz qut 'good luck, prosperity, happiness', Alt qut 'vis vitalis, foetus', Xk χut, Yk kut, Tv qut 'vis vitalis, spirit, soul', Tlt {Rl.} qut id., 'spiritual life', Nog, Qq, Qrg qut id., 'happiness', VTt, Bsh qḅt 'soul, spirit, good fortune, happiness' || Chv kḅt 'good fortune, happiness' ¶ Cl. 594, Rs. W 305, ET Q 175-7, Rh. 1480, Rl. II 990-1, Jud. 452, BIG 294, TvR 82, Pek. 1261-3, Ash. VII 194 || M *qutuḡ > MM [HI] {Ms.} qutuḡ qutuḡ 'happiness', [S] qutuḡ ({H} ḥutuḥ) 'holy', WrM qutuḡ, HIM хутар 'sanctity, holy rank; happiness, bliss; benediction', WrO {Krg.} χutuḡ 'holyness, sanctity', Kl {Rm} χutuḡ 'Glückseligkeit, Heiligkeit'; MM [MA] {Pp.} qutuḡtu 'happy', [IM] قطفنو (misspelling for قطفنو) qutuḡtu 'blessed', [S] qutuḡtu ({H} ḥutuḥtu) 'holy, blessed', WrM qutuḡtu, HIM хутарт, Mnr {SM} χudugt'u 'saint, holy', ε title of the highest clergy ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 313, 446, H 73, MED 992, Krg. 291, KW 200, SM 174 || Ko {Rm.} kut 'magic, sorcery' ¶ Rm. SKE 132 || ?φ pJ kántuá 'ability, talent' > OJ kàdwó ¶ S QJ #886, ≈ Mr. 432 ¶¶ In Tg (Ewk kutu 'fortune', WrMc χuturi id., 'happiness', and Jrc hutur 'happiness', see STM I 440, Z 438-9, Hr. 475-6, and Kiy. 116 [#343]) the sound corr. are not regular, and the words are likely to go back to loans from M ¶¶ ≈ DQA #937 (A *kūt'á 'fortune'; incl. T, M, J) || ?σ IE: NaIE *gʷet- 'proclaim, utter' (→ 'ban') > L vət-ō 'forbid' || ON kwiḏa 'poem', kveḏa 'say, speak', Gt

qipān, OSx quethan, AS cweðan id., OHG quedan id., 'talk', ON kvēðja 'anreden, begrüßen, aufordern', ON kvíðr 'Mitteilung, Aussage, Urteil', AS cwide 'what is said, expression, statement; proverb, saying; decree', OSx quidi 'speech, word' ||| Arm կոչեմ koč'em (aor. կոչեցի koč'ec'h'i) 'I call, I name' ||| ? Irn: Sgd չտ 'says' (× N ***kat**∇ 'speak') ¶ P 480-1, Mn. 358, WP II 776, Fs. 389-90, Vr. 337-8, Sw. 38, Ho. 65, Ho. S 59, Schz. 187, Kb. 576, Slt. 381-2, ≈ EI 535 (? ***g^wet-** 'say'; + unj.: OI gadati 'says', in fact from N ***kat**∇ '↑') ◇ IE ***g^wet-** and Ar qitū- belong here if their meaning goes back to something like 'magic utterance'. Otherwise (e.g. if the original meaning of IE ***g^wet-** is 'say') we have to do with two homo- or paronymous N words, one of them meaning '≈ say', the other one 'be fortunate'. There is discrepancy in vowels: IE points to a N ***o**, while T (as well as M?) suggests ***u**. A possible solution is postulating two N words: [1] ***koṭ**∇ 'public utterance' > IE: NaIE ***g^wet-** 'proclaim, utter' and HS: S ***o**✓kūt > Ar qitū- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' ||| EC: Arr geḏ- 'say' and [2] ***kuṭ**∇ 'good luck, happiness' (← 'magic, sorcery'?) > HS: C: Bj kwatī 'fortunate, happy', k^watīm- 'be fortunate\happy', A ***kūt**∇ > T ***kūt** 'good luck, happiness', M ***qutug** 'happiness'. Ko {Rm.} kuṭ 'magic, sorcery' may belong to either of these N words or to both (contamination).

965. ***k^rū¹ṭa** (or ***k_r-**?) 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'nail') > HS: S ***o**kūtṭ- (× N ***koṭ**∇ 'tip, end, sharp point') > Gz k^wəṭṭ, k^wəṭṭā 'butt end of spear, spear with squared iron part, slender spear' (ass. glottalization of the initial ***k-**) ¶ LG 452 ||| K: GZ ***kīt-** 'finger' (and 'fingernail'?) > Mg, Lz kīt-i 'finger', G {KEGL} kīt-i ~ kit-i 'thickened bottom part of a stalk\trunk near the root', ? G Kzq {FS} kīt-i 'stick', ??σ G {FS} kīt-i '∈ kind of vine-branch' ¶ FS K 184, FS E 202, Fn. KL 179-80, KEGL IV 1219 ||| U ***o**ku^rṭṭa (regr. as. from ***kū^rṭṭa**?) > Sm {Jn.} ***k_rṭā**, {HL} ***k_rṭa** 'claw, fingernail' (× U ***kūⁿčē** 'fingernail, claw' < N ***kūⁿčē** or ***kūⁿčē** '[finger]nail, claw'?) > Ne T xāda, Ne T O {Lh.} χαδᾶ, Ne F {Lh.} kattāb 'finger-\toe-nail, claw', En X {KD} kōḏa, {Ter.} kōḏa id., {Cs.} 'kora, En B {Cs.} 'koda 'fingernail', Ng {Cs.} 'katu id., Slq Tz {KKIH} qat+ 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, hoof', Slq Ch {Cs.} 'kačē ({Jn.'s interpretation} k'āčē), Kms {KD} k'ā^oda 'claw, hoof, nail', Koyb {Sp.} koda 'fingernail', kyda 'hoof', Mt {Hl.} ***kada** 'fingernail, hoof' (Mt: M {Sp.} кадамъ 'my fingernail', кадыде 'its hoof', K {Pl.} chadada 'his fingernail') ¶ Sm ***b** may go back only to U ***u** (see Sm. 484 ¶ Jn. 55-6,

Ter. 714, Lh. 16O-1, Ter. SILSJ 286, KP 97 [#541], KKIИ 158, KD 24, Cs. 48, 8O, 114, 221, Hl. M #377 || **A**: Tg *^okita-kun 'finger-toe-nail' > WrMc χιταχυν ~ χιτχυν, Mc Sb κιαταχων id. ¶ STM I 466, 384, Y #76, S AJ 208 [#22], SDM97 114 (Tg **kjata-kun; *÷ Ne B qataxι 'брысок, large bar') ¶¶ The delabialization N *^u > K and Tg *i is observed in other etl. items as well ¶¶ S AJ 290, ≈ DQA #740 (incl. Tg) ◇ The rec. of N ***k**- (rather than ***Ḳ**-) is based on the ev. of Tg. S ***ḳ**- < **k- is due to regr. as., in K one may suppose shift of glottality ***k**...**t̚** > ***ḳ**...**t̚**? An alternative hyp.: N ***ḳ**- and de-emphatization (due to an unknown cause) ***ḳ**- > ***k**- in Tg. ◇ Blz. KM 135 [#13] (adduces K {Fn.} *ḳit-i 'finger').

966. *kaṣṣṣ ▽ 'hard, dry' > **HS**: S *^o✓**ḳṣṣ** > Ar ✓**qṣṣ** G (pf. qaṣaṣa, ip. yaqṣaṣu) 'être sec, desséché, aride' ¶ BK II 782-3 || **A** ***ḳat**' ▽ 'hard' > NaT ***ḳat** id. > Tk Δ qat 'hard, dry', Qmn {B} qat 'firm'; NaT ***ḳat**- 'be\become hard\firm\tough' > OT qat- id., Chg qat- 'be hard\tough', Tkm qata-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bsh, ET qat-, Chv χιτ- 'harden', Uz қот- qot-, Alt, Tv qat-, Tf qḳt'-, Xk, Yk χat- id., 'dry up', Qmq qat- id., 'freeze', Qzq qat- 'harden, freeze'; d. ***ḳat**'ig 'hard, firm, tough' > OT qatiṣ, Tk kaṣṣi, Tkm qati id., Az qati 'dense, hard, tough', Uz, ET qattiq, VTt, Bsh qatb, Qzq qatti, Qrg qattu, StAlt qatu, Xk χatiṣ, Tv кадыг, Tf qḳt'iy 'hard, tough' ¶ Cl. 395-8, ET KQ 334-5, Ra. 219-20, Hüs. 76, TkR 163-4 || M *qata- vi. 'get dry, dry up; become hard' > MM [HI] qada- 'get dry', WrM qata-, HIM, Brt xata-, Ord {Ms.} qat'a-, Kl {KRS} xatx χatb-χb, {Rm.} χatb-χα 'get dry\hard', 'get tempered' (steel)', Mnr {T} χadā- 'get dry', {SM} χadā- 'devenir dur\sec\robuste, se raidir, s'affermir', Dgr {T} χata-, {Mr.} kaṣe- 'get dry', MM [HI] d. qata-ar 'manque de pluie, sécheresse', [MA] qatā-qsan adj. 'dried', MMgl {Iw.} d. qatād 'unobtainable'; d.: M *qata^ṣu 'hard' > MM [MA, HI] qata-u id., WrM qatagu, HIM xatuy 'hard, steadfast, tight', Ord qat'ū 'hard'; *qatan, *qatanu 'hard, strong' > MM [S] qatan 'steel', qatanu ({H} ḥatangḥu) 'hard as steel, firm', WrM qatan, HIM xatan 'hard, strong', Brt xatan 'made of steel', WrM qatanu, HIM xatanra 'strong, hard, harsh', Brt xatanra adj. 'dried, dry', Mnr {T} χadon 'hard, firm', {SM} χadōn 'dur, ferme, fort, constant'; M ⇨ Yk χatan ~ χatan 'hard, firm'; M *qata-ṣa- vt. 'dry (make dry), harden' > MM [HI] qada- vt. 'dry, make dry', WrM qataga-, HIM, Brt xataa-, Mnr {SM} χadā- id., Dg {Mr.} katā- id., {T} χatā- id., 'harden', Kl {KRS}

хата- *χata-*, {Rm.} *χatā-* 'make dry', 'temper (steel)' ¶ H 63, Ms. H 85, 89, Pp. MA 295-6, Iw. 124, MED 943-4, Chr. 560-1, KRS 582-3, KW 172, SM 146-7, T 372, Mr. D 181-2, Pek. 3399 || Tg *kata- > Ewk Ald/Z kata 'dry, meager', Ewk K kata 'firm (крепкий)', Ewk PT/Np/Nr katā 'sharp' (of a knife), Orc kata 'hard, firm', Ork qata, qatta 'firm', Ne Δ katā, Ne Nh/KU χatā 'firm'; Ewk Ald/SB/Tng/Ucr katā- vt. 'get dry (from drought)', WrMc qata- (prs, qata-mbi) vi. 'harden, get dry' (Z: 'засыхать, твердѣть послѣ сырости и просушки, высыхать, быть провялень'), Mc Sb qatə-mə 'become bone-dry'; there is partial contamination with loans from M (e.g., Neg kata- 'temper [metal], Ul χata(n-) 'sharp, firm', Ne χatā 'firm', as can be seen from their meaning]'temper'] or from their phonetic shape [χ-]) ¶ STM I 383-4, Z 255, Y #1819 || pKo {S} *kūt- 'hard' > MKo kūt-, NKo kut- ¶ S QK #614, MLC 216 || pJ {S} *kátá- 'hard' > OJ kátá- id., J: T kàta-, K kátà-, Kg káta- 'hard, firm' ¶ S QJ #560, Mr. 831 ¶¶ S AJ 70 (A *k_i'at'a 'hard'), ≈ DQA #1020 (A *k'ét'ò 'hard'; incl. T, M, Ko, J) || D *kaṭṭ- ({ṭGS} *gaṭṭ-) 'hard' > Tm kaṭṭ- vi. 'harden, consolidate', Ml kaṭṭi 'what is condensed, solid, ingot', Kt kaṭṭ 'solid lump', Kn gaṭṭi 'firmness, hardness', Knd gəṭṭi, Gdb gaṭṭin 'hard', Tu gaṭṭi, gaḍḍḍ 'firm, hard', Tl kaṭṭu 'become hard', gaṭṭi, gaḍḍḍu 'hard', Klm gaṭṭi 'thick (density)', keḍk 'hard', Kui ḍṛahpa 'be hard', ḍrai 'hard, stiff', ? Krx kaṛār-, kaḍr- v. 'congeal, freeze' ¶¶ Km. 321 (D *kaṭ-/ *kaṭṭ-), ≈ D #1148 (does not distinguish between the √ in question and homonymous roots meaning 'tie, bind', etc.) , ≈ An. SG 132 (Tm -ṭṭ- < *-ṇṭṭ-) ¶¶ D *-ṭṭ- (rather than *-t-/ *-tt- as the reg. reflex of N *-ṭ-) may be accounted for by the preceding N Ir. ◇ Tg *k- points to a N *k-, while S *k- in *^o✓kṛṣṭ is due to regr. as. (N *k...ṭ > *k...ṭ).

967. *kaw ▽ 'call (exclaim), shout' > IE: NaIE *g^ow-/*g^w- 'shout' > OI 'gavātē 'sounds', redupl. 'jogū- (gen. pl. 'joguv-ām) 'praising' || Gk γόος (< γόφος) 'weeping, wailing', γόω v. 'groan, weep', γόης 'incantator'; Gk βόή, Gk D βοά 'a loud cry, shout' (β- < NaIE *g^w-) || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× NaIE *g^hau(ə)- 'call, invoke', pp. *g^hu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' < N *gāw^h ▽ (or *gāw^h ▽?) to call) || OHG gi-kewen 'to call, vocare', AS cīezan 'to call, to call out, to name' ¶ WP I 634-5, P 403, M KI 331, 445, F I 247-8, 317-8, Schz. 180, Kb. 539, OsS 485, Ho. 47, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr guth < NaIE *g^wow- [> Gk βόή 'a loud cry, shout']) || HS: C: Bj {R} ikuw-, ik^w- scv. 'lament, wail, shout',

'utter a cry' (animals) ¶ R WBd 13 ¶ Initial i- is probably a rest of the personal px. that remained after restructuring the former prefix-conjugated verb into a suffix-conjugated one || D *ka_uv- ~ *ka_v(v)- ({{GS}} *k-) 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *gäw_v∇ [or *gäw_v∇?] '↑') > Tm ka_uvai 'sound, noise, roar', ka_var v. 'call, summon', Tu hauji 'noise, tumult, alarm', Prj ka_vd- v. 'curse, abuse', Krx ka_uwār 'tumult of angry voices, roudy shoutings', Mlt kawye v. 'use vile language'; here also pseudo-onomatopoeic (secondary interpretation as onomatopoeia): Kn ka_va pseudo-imitative ideophone for the sound of angry language, Tl ka_vaka_va 'aloud' (of laughter) ¶¶ D #1341.

968. *kiw_v∇, h'ê' 'stone' > HS: Ch *✓kw ~ *✓g_w (or *k^w∇? ~ *g^w∇?) 'stone' > CCh: Mtk {ChL} k^wa? 'stone', Mf {BLB} k^wa, {Sb.} k^wâ || Bdm {Cfr.} kâú, {Lk.} ka_u, Ktk Af {ChC} kao || Nz {Mch.} kwââ, {Mk.} kwaa id. ¶ ChC, ChL, BLB 198 || WS ≈ *✓kw_h > Gz k^wak^wəh (pl. kawākəh) 'stone, rock, stony ground', Ar kāh-, kīh- 'rugged face of a mountain, side of a valley consisting of the hardest and roughest stone', {Hv.} 'foot of a mountain', {BK} 'versant d'une montagne' (in the prehistory of Ar *∇w∇ > ∇) ¶ L G 280, Hv. 669, BK II 941 || K: GZ *k_wa- 'stone' > OG k_va-y, G k_va, Mg k_ua ~ k_wa, Lz (n)k_va, mk_va id. ¶ K 197, K² 215-6, FS E 376-7, Q 346, Chik. 187 || U: FU *kiwe 'stone' > F, Es ki_vi id. || Er/Mk ke_v ké_v id. || Chr L/H k_v kü, Uf kü, B küy id. || Prm *ki 'stone, millstone' > Vt k_ö k₃, Vt SW k_o' 'millstone', Z iz-ki id. || ObU {acc. to Hl.'s theory} *k_äw 'stone' > pVg {Ht.} *k_äw > Vg: T küw, LK/MK/P k_äw, UK/NV/SV/LL/ML k_äw, UL/Ss kaw; pOs {Ht.} *kö_v 'stone' > Os: V/Vy k_öš, Ty/Y k_äš^w, Y k_äw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O ke_w || Hg k_ö (accus. k_öv_et) id. || pY *qay- 'stone' > Y T qay-í id. (nominal sx. -í) ¶ Coll. 89, It. #180, UEW 163-4, Db. OS xxx, Sm. 543 (FU *kiwi, P *ki_vi, Ugr *k_īw_ī), Ht. #235, Ker. II 58, LG 123, IN 244 || ?σ IE: Ht ku(wa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N *K_{on}'h'∇ 'yellow?') ¶ Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 ◇ AD GD 16 (K, U), IS I 298 [#166] (Ch, K, U), AD NM #83, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST), Uch. p.c. [May 14, 2000] (drew my attention to the Ht word).

969. *koy∇ ~ *kay∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon' > U *koy∇ 'spoon, scoop' > Lv {Kt.} k_ōi & k_āi 'spoon' || Prm *koy (JLG} *k_ōy) 'shovel' > Z LV koy 'small shovel for throwing in hot stones into the brewery tun', Z USs k_ōy, Yz koy 'hunter's shovel', Vt M kuy 'spade'; Prm *koy- (JLG} *k_ōy- v. 'draw (schöpfen), shovel' > Z koy- 'draw liquid

(from a vessel) and pour it out' (a merger with *koy- v. 'throw'), Z I koy- v. 'shovel snow' || Sm {Jn.} *kuy 'spoon' > Ne: T Y/E xу, O {Lh.} χū; Ng {Mik.} kü; En d.: X {Cs.} kûri, B {Ter.} kuδe; Slq Tm {KD} kuyag 'spoon', ? q'ūyā' 'landing-net', Slq MKe {KD} kÿy:an 'puukuppi (wooden cup\dish)'; Kms {Cs} d. kuigū 'spoon' ¶¶ UEW 117, LG 128 (s.v. кой and койны), Jn. 74, KP 103-4, Ter. SSJ 205, ≠ Sm. 552 (Vt kuy, Z koy < FP *ka|ojwa 'dig, spade') || | A: Tg *kuyE (= {Bz.} *köy∇) > Neg kuyēmi ~ kuyāni, WrMc {Z} куй и, куй ни (= {Sin.} кuy-i ~ кuy-ni), {Hr.} kuili 'spoon' ¶ STM I 425, Z 288, Hr. 599, Sin. TM 358 (on the value of Mc {Sin.} ку) || M *qayiba > Ord {Ms.} χāwa t'ogō 'marmite à large ouverture et dont le bord s'avance en dehors' (t'ogō 'chaudière, marmite'), WrM qaiba 'large kettle, frying-pan' ¶ Ms. O 347, MED 911 || | D (in SD) *kayūil ({ǂGS} *k-?) 'spoon, ladle' > Ml kayūil, Tu kaīl 'ladle, spoon', Krb kīlī 'ladle' ¶ D #1257 ◇ U and T point to a rounded vw. of the first syll., while M and D suggest apN *a. This discrepancy needs explaining.

970. *kä'ʔ'yu '(small) bird' > HS: Eg fXVIII қу 'bird' ¶ EG V 17 || Ch: WCh: Hs Δ қ'āwā 'ε a bird'; AG: Ang {Flk.} kī 'fowl', {Brq.} kī 'hen', Su {J} k'wē, Mnt kiye id., Gmy {Hf.} kē, Kfr {Hf.} kō 'hen, chicken', cp. also {Nt.} k'wōm 'bush fowl', Su {J} k'wōm 'partridge' || | ECh: Kwn {J} kōyō 'bird' || | CCh: ?σ Mdr kuye 'hawk' ¶ Ba. 705, JI II 23, J S I 71, Flk. s.v. kī, Hf. AG 24 [#197], Nt. 22, Brq. AP ¶¶ OS #1598 (*koy-) (Eg, AG, ECh, Mdr) || | U *käy∇ (small) bird' > Prm *kay id. > Z кай kay id., Vt кыйкай kiy-kay '(hunter's) game, wild birds and mammals' (< *kiy 'catch, hunt' + *kay 'bird') (rather than *kiy 'snake' + *kay, as in UEW 133) || | ObU: Vg Ss {Kn.} koy 'small bird (Vöglein)', wās-koy 'duckling', lunt-koy 'gosling' (wās 'duck', lunt 'goose'), Vg N {MK} koy, kuyi 'Sprößling, Kind'; Os Kz qūy 'young of a fowl (duck\hen\goose\swan)' || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kay 'goose' (Mt: M {Sp.} кай, {Mll.} khai, T {Mll.} kai, K {Mll.} gai, {Pl.} гай, ghai) ¶¶ UEW 133, LG 115, Ht. #743, WVD VII 327, 464, MK 217, Stn. D 597, Hl. MTKV 21, 65, ≈ Hl. M #383 (unc.: Mt *kay ← T *kaī 'goose') || | A: Tg *kuyū-ken 'young bird' > Ewk kuyūkən 'young fowl (duckling, gosling, chicken)', Sln xuyūxē, Lm kuyukən 'young bird', Neg kuyixēn ~ kuyuxēn ≡ kuyukən 'duck', WrMc xoyxo 'tailless chick'; *kuyū-kī > Ewk kuyukī ~ kuyzkī 'goose' (*-ken/kan is a dim. sx., *-kī is a sx. of animal names, F Vas. 761) ¶ STM I 425 ◇ The discrepancy between the words pointing to N *k- (Tg, AG, ECh) and

those suggesting N *K̄- (Eg, Hs) may be explained away by postulating a l_r. (most probably *ʔ), lost in most lgs., but producing a cluster *kʔ (> *k̄) in the prehistory of Eg and Hs. The labial element in the first syll. (in some Ch lgs. and in Tg) is probably due to regr. as.

971. *kôʔyʔûʔ (most probably *kôʔyʔûʔ) 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > U: FU {UEW} *koye ~ *koya id. > F koi, kōja 'moth, maggot, mite', Es koi 'moth' | Lp Nt {TI} kũājyā, kũājě, kũājja 'grub that gnaws clothes and food', ? Lp Kld {TI} kōj̄χə, K {Gn.} kũājχ 'moth' | Er ki 'clothes-moth' | Chr L {Ü}, B {Wc.}, M kiye 'moth' | Prm *käy {JLG} *kεy 'moth' > Vt кей, {W} kōī id., Z UV кзы 'small white hard worm (in meat)' || ObU: Vg T {Kn.} kiy ɖ käy 'moth'; Os V {Stn.} key id. || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kiwä 'worm, snake' > Ne: T сибя, O {Lh.} síb̄e 'larva of a gadfly under reindeer's skin', F {Lh.} síβ̄:əā id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} šü 'snake', üt-š+ 'leech' (üt 'water') ¶¶ UEW 167-9, TI 141, 159, Gn. 125, Ü 67, LG 139, SZ 170, Stn. D 596, Jn. 72, KKIИ 177, 193 || A {ADb.} *kuy∇ (= *k̄uy∇) 'noxious and parasitic insect' > T *k̄üyä 'moth' > OT {Cl.} küyā '(clothes-)moth', Tk gǔve, Tkm гүе güye, Az күвә güwä, Uz kuya, ET küyā, Qmq гюе güye, VTt, Bsh к̄üyä, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt күе, Qrg kübö, Uz küya, Xk kō id., Yk d. кейүүр küyūr id. ⇨ HIM, Brt хүйр 'moth', Ewk kuyur 'moth', Lm kuyur 'larva of beetles' || Chv к̄ве, Δ k̄ve 'moth' ¶ Cl. 754, ≈ Rs. W 297, ET VGD 94, Hüs. 189, RKumS 413, RAltS 303, Jeg. 103, Fed. I 267-8, OMT I 489, STM I 425 || Tg *kuyī-kta 'larva of a gadfly (under reindeer's skin)' > Ewk kuyīkta ~ kuwīkta ~ kuyakta ~ kuyiktə id., Lm kōyit, Neg kuyiktə, Ork kūhiktə ~ kuñittə 'gadfly larva'; ⇨ (bf.) Ewk kuyī- v. 'penetrate under reindeer's skin' (gadfly larvae), Lm kōyin- v. 'lay eggs' (a gadfly); Ewk ⇨ Yk kuyukta 'gadfly larva' ¶ STM I 424 || pKo *kúj̄tá,kí 'maggot, worm, grub' > MKo ¶¶ ADb. KL, Rs. W 297, Rs UAW 19 || ?σ IE: NaIE *ḡwōy- (× *ḡwōy- 'disgusting, filth') > Sl *gav-ědb, *-ěda coll. 'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin) (*-ědb is a sx. of collective and uncountable nouns) > Blg 'гавед 'small creeping animals (гады)', SCr gāvēd coll. 'wild animals', Cz Δ havěd' 'parasitic insects', 'poultry', Slk haved' id., 'rabble', P gawiedź 'small animals' (→ 'kiddies', 'gaping crowd'), R Δ 'гаведа 'creeping animals (lizards, frogs, etc.); disgusting insects' ¶ P 484, ESSJ VI 110-1, SBR 186 || HS: EC: Af {PH} kǎʔay 'flies', {R} qāʔi Sa {R} 'qāʔe n. 'fly' ¶ R S II 230, R A II 74, PH 140 ◇ The rec. of the

final vw. *û is justified if IE *^og^wōy- belongs here ◇ IS MS 349 (*g^ro¹ya 'moth' in U and A) → Gr. II #268 (*koya 'moth') (U, A, Ko, Ai), Rs UAW 19 (U, A).

972. *kouy^ro¹ (or *kuuy^ro¹) 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, to nourish')
 > HS: Eg fMK kɜ 'nourishment, food', ?? Eg fP kɜ 'the Ka (spirit as part of personality), strength' > Eg (AkSc) ku, (GkSc) χου (in the month name Χουακ) (unless from kɜ 'name', see N *ko^ri¹ 'to call'); Vc.'s vocalization of kɜ 'the Ka' is *ku ʃ EG V 86-91, Vc. 74 || IE *g^we^hh^w- / *g^wye^hh^w- 'be healthy, live' ({EI} *g^we^hh₃- 'live') > OI 'gayaḥ 'vital strength, life', Av gayō 'life, lifetime' || Arm Կեամ keam (aor. Կեցի keci) 'I live, am alive' (< *g^wi^y-ā) || Gk Hm ζώω (aor. ἐβίωον) 'live' || OIr {Vn.} bíad, biad 'nourriture, tribut de vivres' (the unexpected b- due to a loan from Brtt and/or the infl. of OIr betha 'life'); W bwyd, OCm [VC] buít, OBr {Flr.}, Br boued ~ boed (< Clt *g^wei-tō) 'food, nourishment' || Lt gýti 'to get better, recover', Ltv dzîti 'to recover'; Lt ãr-gajus 'rest, Erholung' | Sl *žǐ-ti 'to live, to recover' > OCS ЖИТИ žiti id., SCr žiti, Slv, Cz žiti, Slk žit', P żyć, R жить 'to live'; (caus. >) Sl *goji-ti vt. 'to fatten, to cure' > Blg го'я vt. 'fatten', SCr gòjiti vt. 'to bring up (a child), to nurse; to fatten', gòjiti se 'to be well fed, to fatten', Slv gojiti vt. 'to nurse, to fatten', Cz hojiti, P goić vt. 'to cure', Slk hojit', R Δ 'гоить, Uk гоїти 'hojitu 'to cure (wounds)', OR ГОНТИ goiti {Srz.} 'ЖИВИТЬ' || L vīta, Osc biítam 'life' || pTc {Ad.} *śāw- ~ *śāy-ṭ Tc: A śo-, B śāy-/śāw- 'live' ||] d. IE *g^wi^h-wō- > NaIE *g^wi(:)-wō- 'alive, living' > OI jīva-, OPrs jīva-, Av juua-, YAv juia- || L vīvus, Osc (nom. pl.) bivus id. || OIr béu, béo id.; Brtt {RE} *biwos id. > W byw, Cm bew, Br bev id.; derived verb: W byw 'to live, to dwell', Cm bewa, MBr beva, Br bevañ† 'to live' || Lt gývas, Ltv dzîvus 'alive, living', Pru gīwu, giwīt 'live', gi(j)wan 'life' | pSl *žīvъ 'alive, living' > OCS ЖИВЪ živъ id., Blg жив, SCr, Slv živ, Cz, Slk živ 'alive' | R жив 'is alive', R жив-ой, Uk жив-ий, P żywy 'living' | ? (with shortening *ī > *i) Gt qiuas 'living' || Gk βίος 'life' ʃ P 467-9, EI 356, M K I 324, 439-40, M EI 467-8, 594-5, FI 237-9, 618-9, Fs. 390-1, WH II 808-10, Bc. 313, Sl. 98, Vn. B 37, 47-8, RE 110, Flr. 88, Hm. 95, Frn. 154-5, ESSJ VI 1196-7, Vs. II 51-2, 57, Glh. 710-1, Db. SDKI (on shortening *ī > *i in Celto-Italic and Gmc), Wn. 484-5, Ad. 627, Ad. H 31 || U: FU *kuye 'fat' > F куи 'tallow, fat' | Er kuya, Mk kuya, {Ahl.} kuyä n., adj. 'fat', Er/Mk

куѡа- 'grow fat' | pChr {Ker.} *koya > Chr: L коѡа ко'ѡа, B коѡа 'fat, tallow', adj. 'fat', U коѡа, H {Ep.} каѡа n. 'fat' | Prm *^okōy ({{Lt.} *kōy) > StVt кōй кзѡ, Vt Sr кзѡ, Vt Kz kōy 'tallow, fat', adj. 'fat', Vt G кзѡ n. 'fat'; Prm *koy {{Lt.} *koy-) is represented in Vt куѡайыны kѡay-ɪnɪ 'grow stout' ||| Hg háj n. 'leaf-lard, fat' ¶ UEW 195-6, Sm. 544 (FU, P *кѡјі, Ugr *кѡјі 'tallow'), Ber. 18, Ker. II 70, MRS 229, Ep. 36, Ü 70, U3S 218, 220 ||| ?σ A: M *^oqoya > WrO {Krg.} χοϋοτā 'sated', χοϋα ũgei 'unsated' (ũgey 'not'), Kl {Rm. ← Gl.} χοϋο, χοϋοτē 'nahrhaft, reichlich' ¶ KW 181, Krg. 279, 281 ¶¶ Hardly here A *k_l'_lgyu∇ {DQA} 'thick, saturated' (sc. 'thick, dense') > T *Koyu-g id., pJ *кѡá- id., pKo *kā_l-r- 'be thick, fertile' (DQA #908) ||| K: GZ *g_w- vt. 'feed, fatten' > Mg g_v- id. (v-0-g_v-an-u-an-k 'ich füttere, mäste', i-b-g_v-an-u-n-k 'ich werde fett'), Lz g_v- (g_v-an-er-i adj. 'fat', Sv g_w-/g_u- (lu-g_w-ar adj. 'fat', li-l-g_w-ar-i 'to feed (animals), to fatten') ¶ FS 76-7, FS E 80 ◇ The K voiced *g- suggests that the N lr. must have had voicing effect in the pre-history of K. It must have been *ɣ (because the other N voiced "laryngeal" *ɣ would have been reflected in K as a pharyngeal). In Eg the N lr. *ɣ must have been changed into ʒ due to an incompatibility law (k^ɣ- is not attested in any word in Eg). If the original N etymon is *kuɣɣ'ɔ' (with *u suggested by FU), the variant *kouɣ'ɔ' (underlying the M and [most probably] the IE cognates) may be due to regr. as. of vowels ◇ IS I 299 [#168] (IE, U, M); ≈ S NSShS (A, IE, K).

973. *kouH∇ 'skin, bark' > IE *g^we_hḡ- (*g^weH_ḡ-?) / *g^wiH- 'skin' > NaIE *g^we_hḡ- / *g^wi- > OI jī-na-m, jī-la-h 'leathern bag' ||| Mir {P} bian 'peau' ¶ WP I 666, P 469, M K I 437-9, ≈ Vn. B 48-9 (Ir bian *< IE *b^hei- 'couper') ||| U: FU *koua 'bark, fruit-skin, fur' > F која, Krl која 'bark' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_uḡ_uye- v. 'bark (a tree)', kuḡ_uo'ye'z 'bud (of a tree or grass)' | Z {W} кзѡа 'agaric (on a tree)' ||| Os Ty qōy 'fur from the forehead of an animal (reindeer, cow, bear, etc.) used to make soles of footwear' | OHg hāj 'bark, fruit-skin', Hg Δ hāj, Hg héj 'fruit-skin, shell, bark, eye-lid, pillow-case' ¶ UEW 166, Lgc. SL #817, KrT 280, Stn. D 440, EWU 543-4 ||| A: NaT *k'uy-ka 'skin' (*-ka is a sx.) > OT {Cl.} quykā 'skin, fur', ET quyqa 'skin of the head (of humans); singed and cooked skin of a sheep's head', Nog quyqa 'tetter, mange', Bsh койка qōyqa, Qq quyqa 'singed skin', Qzq қўйқа qūyqa 'singed head of an animal', Tv куйга quyqa, StAlt куйка quyqa, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} qujya, Tlt {Rl.} quyuqa 'skin of the head', Qrg куйка quyqa id., 'skin of a

singed head (of sheep\goats)', Xk xуѣѣа хууѣа 'skin of the head (with hair)', Yk куѣаха 'skin of the head, singed hide' ¶ In ET and Qrg there is contamination with N *Ḳæ'h'uy∇ 'to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 113 || M *quyiqā- (× N *Ḳæ'h'uy∇) > WrM қиіқа, HIM хуѣх 'animal skin from which the hair has been singed; scalp', Brt хууха 'skin of the head, scalp', ?σ Kl хуух 'thick skin'; M *quyiqā-la- > WrM қиіқала-, HIM хуѣхла-, Kl хуухл- 'singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass, etc.)', Brt хуухал- 'singe (legs and head of an animal before cooking)' ¶ MED 983, KRS 615-6, Chr. 607 || Tg *kō-kta ~ *kōkton 'bark' (esp. 'bark of cork oak') > WMc ҳоқтон 'bark of young trees used in manufacturing bows; a float', ҳоқрон моо 'cork oak', Neg kōkta 'float (of a fishing-net)', kōkta mōnɪn 'cork oak', Orc kōkto, Ul qoqto 'a float', Nn Nh/KU qōqtō, Nn B qoχto 'cork oak, a float', Ud {Shn.} kōkto 'Phellodendron bark; a float', {Krm.} 'Phellodendron (a tree with light bark, бархатное дерево)' ¶ STM I 405, Krm. 250 ¶ Tg *-kta is a sx. of mass nouns ◇ The vw. *u (for the expected *o) in T and M needs explaining ◇ AD MR 261 (IE, U), IS I 299-300 (*kouHa; IE, U, ? T).

974. *kouh∇ 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > IE: NaIE *g^weyā- 'overcome, ruin', *g^wiyā 'violence' > Gk βίᾱ, βίη 'bodily strength, force' || ON kveita {P} 'to overpower', {Vr.} 'ein Ende machen, umbringen', ? Gt qistjan 'to destroy' || Ir: OI jyā, jiā 'power, violence', parama-jyā-h̄ (-ji'āh̄) 'having the greatest power', jyā- (prs. ji'nāti) {MW} v. 'overpower, oppress, deprive so. of property' ¶ The supposed Irn cognates (YAv {M} zinaṭ 'bringt jemandem um etwas, beraubt', {Brtl.} zinaka adj. 'schädigend' [?], OPrs adīn- 'entreißen, rauben', KhS ysān- 'carry off', and OI jyā- in the meaning 'deprive of property') belong here if the meaning 'deprive, carry of' is secondary (← 'overpower, ruin') ¶ WP I 66-7, P 469-70, H 158 (*g^wyeḥ_h- 'physical power; overcome, oppress'), M K I 448, M E I 602-3, MW 426-7, Brtl. 1697, Hinz 43, Bai. 350, F I 235, Vr. 337 || HS: CS *✓kwh̄ 'be strong', *kawh̄- 'strength' > BHb ḱṷ 'kō^ah̄ 'power, strength', EpHb kḷ 'strength', Md ✓khw̄ 'be strong', Ar ✓kwh̄ (pf. kāḥa) 'overpower', n. act. kawh̄- ¶ KB 446-7, KBR 468-9, BK II 941, Hv. 669, DM 195, 205, HJ 496 || K: GZ *kw̄-, *kwn- (*kun-) 'have, possess' > OG kw̄-, kwn-, G kv̄-/kon-/kn- 'have, possess', Mg, Lz kun- put on': Lz

dolo-kun-u 'to put on; clothes', Mg miḡa-kun-ali, ge-kun-al-oba 'clothes' ¶ FS E 381, Fn. G 236, Chx. 1571-4.

975. *kāyω∇ 'to chew' > IE: NaIE *ḡyew-/*gyew- 'chew' > Irn *ḡya∇- (< *ḡyeu-) > NPrs {Horn} جاويدن ḡāwī-dān, {BM} جويدن ḡāwī-dān, Psh {Mrg.} ḡō'v-ul & ḡōyəl 'chew' || OHG kiūwan & chiuwan, MHG kiūwen, MMG kûwen (↳ NHG kauen), MDt cauwen & couwen, Dt kauwen, AS céowan 'to chew', NE chew; OHG {OsS} chuwâ & chiwâ & chēwâ, MHG kiuwe, kiwe, kēwe 'jaw' || Lt žiáuna 'jaw', Ltv žaũnas f. pl. 'jaw-bone(s)', Žaunāt 'to eat quickly and greedily; to eat slowly' | pSl *ḡuj-ŋ / *ḡva-ti 'chew' > OCS жуйѣ žuję / жьвати ḡvati, OCz ḡvu / ḡvátı, Slk žujem / ḡvat', P žuje / žuč ~ žwe / žwać, R жу'ю / же'вать id.; SI {BER} *žuna > Blg 'жуна 'lip' || pTc {Ad.} *śuḡā- 'eat' > Tc A/B {Ad.} śuḡā-, {Wn.} śwā-, B śu- id. ¶ P 400, ≈ EI 175 (*ḡyeuH-; unc. adduction of ON tyggja 'chew, eat', with *-H- reconstructed probably on the ev. of -ggj-; on tyggja see ON tugga 'bite', Vr. 600-2), BM 157, Horn 93, Mrg. 106, BM 157, Vr. N 309, Ho. 47, Schz. 181, Kb. 543, OsS 493, Lx. 109, Frn. 1302-3, Vs. II 39-40, Chn. I 294, BER I 559, Wn. 490, Ad. 631-2, Ad. H 65 || R *k'āb∇- 'chew' > T *k'āb(ä)- 'chew' (the stem-final *-ä- is evidenced by the OT aorist kāvār) > OT kāv- id., Osm {Rh.} gev- 'chew; mumble in the mouth, as a beast its cud', Tk {TrR} gev- 'chew by a mouth without teeth'; d. *k'ābīl 'chewing; cud' > Tk geviş id., Tkm ḡāvüš, Az ḡöyüş, Bsh күйүш kbyš, Qzq күйіс küjīs 'cud', ↳ *k'ābīlā- 'ruminate, chew' > OT kāvše- 'chew the cud', Chg kāvšā-, Az көвшә- ḡövsā- ~ көjšә- ḡöyšā- 'chew', Tkm ḡāvüše-, Tk Δ gevšen-, Uz kawša-, ET köyşi- ~ köši-, Δ köšā-, Qmq güyše-, Bsh kbyšā-, Nog küyze-, Qq güyse-, Qzq küyse-, Qrg küyşö-, Qrg, Alt kepše-, Tv keḡžen- 'ruminate', Ggz gevšen-, VTt küšā- 'chew, ruminate', Xk kipsen- 'eat/ruminate (while walking)' || Chv kavle- 'ruminate' (or < *k'ābilE-?) ↳ Chr kavlem 'I chew', Er kavía-ms, Mk kavíla-ms 'to chew (slowly)'; *k'ābilE- > Tk gevele- 'ruminate', etc. ¶ Cl. 687, 692, Rs. W 244, ET VGD 5-7, S AJ 196 [#245], Rh. 1602, TrR 333, TkR 239, UzR 197, TvR 294, Jeg. 84, Fed. I 210-1, Fed. ChM 187 || M *kēbi- v. 'ruminate, chew the cud' > MM kebi-, WrM kebi-, HIM хувэ-х, Kl кеб- kew-, Mnr {SM} k'ēyi-, {T} keyi- id. ¶ Pp. MA 212, MED 439, T 338, KRS 288, KW 229 || Tg *keḡb- > Lm kēwrī- v. 'gnaw' ¶ STM I 442-3 || (??σ) Acc. to Starostin, pJ *kùp- 'eat' > OJ kup-, J: T kú-, K/Kg kù-,

Ht hò-, Y φύ- id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#119], S QJ #119, Mr. 718 ¶¶ S AJ 69 (*kābi ~ *kebi), S VL #230 (*gābi), KW 229, ≈ DQA #787 (A *kēpu 'chew'; incl. T, M, Tg) || HS: C: Ag: Bln k^war- 'chew, bite' ¶ R WB 224 ◇ IS I 293 [#160] (IE and A [T, M, Tg]), Mng. E-1 ◇ Not here D *kavu]- 'cheek' (D #1337), because the OI loanword карола 'cheek' (Tu. #2755) suggests an eD stem with a labial stop (*kabu]-, whence later *kavu]-) and thus favours an etl. connection of the D stem with N *qAb▽ 'jaw, cheek' or (less plausible) N *gab▽(-|í▽) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') (q.v.).

976. UA₂ ?φ *kouw'a' 'birch tree' > U *kouw'a' id. > F κοινυ, Es kōiv (gen. kōiv) id. | ? Lp P {Set.} kḡāyēvū ~ kḡāivū id. | pMr {Ber.} *kiy-/*kuu- + *l-sx. > Er килей kīley, Δ kīleḡ, Mk келу kēlu 'birch-tree'; *kiy-keḡ/*kuu-keḡ (*keḡ 'bark') 'birch-bark' > Er кигор kigor, гигерь gigeḡ, Δ kiv-geḡ, Mk кевгор 'kevgar, куйгор 'kuygar 'birch bark' (-gor, -gar-, -geḡ 'bark') | pChr {Ker.} *ku 'birch-tree' > Chr: L куэ kue, Ug/B kue, H куги kuḡi ~ коги koḡi id. || Vg: T kēí 𐌆 kēí, LK/So xāí id. | ?? Hg һајó 'ship', Δ hi jjó, hi jjó 'small trough-like boat, made of a tree-trunk' (← *'boat of birch-bark'?) || Sm {Jn.} *koḡy 'birch-tree' > Ne: T xo, O {Lh.} xō, F d. ku'yɔkɔ id.; Ng {Hl., Mik.} kūā, {Cs.} 'куа; En {Ter.} koa 𐌆 'kua; Slq Tz {KKIH} qā, {Prk.} qā, qwā; Kms {KD} d. k'u'j'ú, k'o'j'ú, {Cs.} küyü, Koyb {Sp.} d. кую; Mt {Hl.} *kuḡa (Mt: M {Sp.} ко, {Mil.} kúa, K {Mil.} kùga, {Pl.} кугà, T {Mil.} кúо) ¶¶ UEW 169-70. Coll. 25, Set. FUS 42, Ker. II 60, Ber. 22, Ps. OT 50, Rm. BT 52, Jn. 73, Hl. US 120, Hl. M #565, KP 95, KKH 159 || A ?φ ({ADb.} *k'aw- 'birch-tree'): M *qu-sun ({ADb.} *kuu-sun, sc. *quβ-sun) 'birch-tree' > WrM qusum, HIM хус, WrO ḡusum, Kl хусм ḡusmḡ, Brt хуһа(н) ¶ Rs. UAW 27, KW 199, MED 991, KRS 613, Krg. 291, Chr. 608-9 || NrTg *kībe > Ewk kiwэ 𐌆 kīwэ 'birch-bark', Ewk Nr/K kiwэ 'birch-tree', Lm kīwэ, Lm Sk kībэ 'birch-bark' ¶ STM I 390-1 ¶¶ ADb. KL ¶¶ J kaba 'birch-tree', although phonetically resembling the A word, does not belong here, because it goes back to OJ kaniḡa < *kanipa id. (Mrt. J 431); Pröhle: the U √ (*kouwa) *÷ OJ kupa, J kuwa 'mulberry tree' (Prl. JUA 171) ◇ IS I 300 [#170]. The word may have been borrowed by the N dialects underlying U and A from aboriginal lgs. of Northern Eurasia. The details of the phonetic prehistory of M *qu-sun and NrTg *kībe are not clear.

977. *kež̥ê 'skin; to skin' > **HS:** S *^okš̥ʔ (× N *^{ki}š̥ʔ, ∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck') > Ar ✓ kš̥ʔ G (pf. qaš̥aʔa, ip. yaš̥aʔu) v. 'peel', 'écorcher, dépouiller d'écorce ou de la peau supérieure, de coque', ✓ kš̥ʔ G (pf. qaš̥iʔa, ip. yaš̥aʔu) 'être pelé/écorché de manière que la peau de dessous paraisse sous la peau extérieure' (se dit d'un outre), 'avoir la peau dure et gercée au point qu'elle s'écaille' (se dit des mains) ¶ BK II 900 || **K:** G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin (from cooked tongue), remove bristles\hair (from the hide\skin of an animal)' (× N *^{ko}l, ∇, √ ∇ [or *^{ko}l, ∇, √ ∇?]) 'to peel, to bark?') ¶ Chx. 1558 || **U:** FU *keže 'skin, leather, peel (of fruit)' > F kes̥i (gen. ked̥en) 'membrane, pellicle, film, scale', kes̥i- v. 'scale off, peel off', Es kes̥i (gen. kee) {W} 'leere Hülse\Schote; abgeworfene Schlangenhaut' || Lp I -katt (gen. -kā̄ða) in sarve's-katt 'reindeer skin', Lp T {Gn.} katt 'Fell' || pMr {Ker.} *ked̥ə > Er кедь, {Ps.} ked̥ ~ kā̄d, Mk кедь ked̥ 'hide, skin, skin of fruit' || Prm *kií (× U *kaíw ∇ < N *^{ka}í'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) > Z kií 'seed-coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff', Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' || Vg: IK -k^wā̄l̥an 'hide' (in yäl̥pəŋuyk^wā̄l̥an 'deer hide', lit. 'hide of a holy beast'), P -kāl̥an 'hide' (in wuykāl̥an 'bear hide', lit. 'beast hide'), NV k^wā̄l̥am 'bear hide', UL -koína 'hide' (in pupak^wkoína 'bear hide' [pupak^we is 'bear']) ¶ UEW 142-3, W EDW 269, Ker. II 58, ERV 247, LG 124 || **A:** Tg *^okel... > Ewk Tk/Tmt k̥ɜlk̥ɜ 'fur overshoes', Ewk Ucr k̥ɜlk̥ɜ id., 'fur boots (УНТЫ) for children (made of hide on reindeer legs)' ¶ STM I 446.

977a. *kuž̥m ∇ (or *^{ku}ž̥ ∇ m ∇) 'smoke, ashes' > **IE:** NaIE *^og^we|lm- > Gmc: NHG Qualm 'smoke', NGr Gtn Quulm 'thick smoke', MLG quallem, NLG, Dt kwalm 'smoke', Dn kwal 'steam' ¶ KM 572, Vr. N 373 || **U:** FU *kuž̥m ∇ 'ashes' > pre-Mr {Ker.} *kul̥m̥ > pMr *kūl̥aw > Er кулов kulov, Δ kulow & kulon, Mk кулу kulu || ObU {Ht.} *kūž̥m ∇ id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūl̥m ∇ > OVg: W P кy(л)ма, S Tr хyлма, W Sol кyльмь, Vg: T kōl̥am, LK/Ss xūl̥am, MK/UK/LL kuíam, P/NV/SV kuíl̥am; pOs {Ht.} *kayam > Os: V/Vy qayam, Y qāyām, D/K xoyam, Nz/Kz xoyam || Hg hamu id. ¶ UEW 194-5, Ht. #229, MF 259, It. #239, Ker. II 70-1 || **A:** T *^k'ül 'ashes, cinders' (× N *^{ku}ū| ∇ 'glowing coals' [q.v. ffd.], N *^gULp ∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones', and N *^{ke}'y|ʔ' a|a 'to burn' [intr.], 'to burn [sth.], 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') || **HS:** S *^okuš̥ê- > ECh: Kwn {J} k̥is̥é, Li {WeibP} k̥us̥á, {Grgs} k̥us̥á 'smoke', Ke {Eb.} k̥és̥é id., 'vapour' ¶ ChC, Eb. 65, Blz. EChWL

#77 || S *^okušš- > ? ϕ Ar kušš- 'pollen of palm-trees' (← *'dust' ← *'ashes') ¶ BK II 494, Hv. 855 ◇ Sauv. 92 (U, T), as well as ≈ Blz. IB #4a and ≈ Blz. LBNA #29 (both sources: U, T + unc. IE *geu̯l- 'coal', see N *kú̯l̥ 'glowing coals').

978. ?₂ *ka³ ' (young) dog' > HS: Eg MK czm (< Eg O *czm - *csm) 'hound, dog' ¶ EG V 409-10, Fk. 308 || B *-k³zīn- ~ *-k³zzūn- (*-k³zīn-, *-k³zzūn-...) > as. *-g³zīn- and (with secondary emphatization) *-q³zīn- ~ *-q³zzūn- '(young) dog' > Sll {Ds.} ikzin, Nfs ugzin, Skn g³zīn, Tmz ikzin ~ Δ iqzin, Izn {Rn.} aqzin, Rf A/B {Rn.} aqazzun id., Kb {Dl.} aqžun (pl. iq^wžan) 'dog' (term of abuse); Si agurzani 'dog' (a re-borrowing from a Berberism in a local dial. of Ar, to judge from the pl. algurazan?) ¶ Dl. 657-8, MT 357, Beg. N 222, Rn. 370, La. S 114, NZ 935 || C: Ag {Ap.} *g³z³η- 'dog' (*-η- < *-m-) > Bln g³d³η, Xm, Q g³z³η, Aw gs³ēη, g³s³ēη, Knfl {TBZAC} kassanη ¶ Ap. AV 11, R WB 143, TBZAC 102 || amb SOm (× N ? *^go³q³zīn- (-R³) 'e canine' × N *^{ka}q³zīn 'young dog\wolf'): Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aks³η), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akš³i, Hm B {Fl., Ldl.} qaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL #124, Ldl. H || ECh: Brg káž³āη 'dog' ¶ JI II 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 186, Blz. OL l.c. (Om, Ag, Eg, B), Ap. AV 11 (Ag, Eg) || A: Tg *kaçl- 'young dog' (× N *^{ka}q³zīn 'young dog\wolf') > Ewk kaçi-kān, Sln xas-xā: id. (-kān, -xā: is a dimin. sx.), Lm qaça, Neg kaçl, kaçi-xān, Ud kas³anžiga, {Krm.} kasanžiga, Nn B qasqa, Nn KU qačqa 'young dog', and possibly (in spite of the aberrant vocalism) Ork k³çik³, Nn Nh k³çič³, k³çič³k³ ¶ STM I 385, Krm. 246 ¶¶ Tg vl. *-ç- for the expected voiced *-j- is puzzling ◇ Tg *k- and Eg c- point to a N plain vl. *k-. The voiced *g- in Ag and in some B lgs. is due to regr. as. (*kz > *gz). But the emphatic q- in several B lgs. remains unexplained; in any case, it cannot be ancient (pB), because HS *q, unless geminated, yields B *ç and never *q.

979. *Ka, a pc. of request > IE: NaIE {Brg.} *kā, *kom/*kem, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.) > OI kam (Vd 'tiṣṭhā 'su kam maghavan 'bleib doch sogleich stehen, oh Herr', 'avā 'nu kam 'juāyān yaj'navanasah 'helf als Stärkerer den Opferliebenden'); this emph. pc. is used after inv. (as well as after dat. and after other particles) || Lt -k, -ki, ending of inv.: eĩk, eĩki 'go!' | R -ka, Δ -ko, pc. asking for immediate fulfillment of the request/order (expressed by the inv. or otherwise), ? Slk -k- (has moved before the inv. ending): sadkaj(te) iv. 'sit down!' || ? Gk κε / (prevoc.) κεν, Gk D kā, enclitic pc. of potentiality (convergence with a homonymous particle [or particles] of different origin?) (Gk Hm ὡς κέν οἱ γαῖα χάνου! 'O, if the earth had yawned for him! [= 'had swallowed him!']) ¶ BD II/3 1000-1, ≈ P 515-6, ≈ M K I 159 (kam 'well'), MW 251-2 (kam as an affirmative particle 'yes, well'), LS 847, 933, ≠ F I 805, Vs. II 147, Bern. I 463, Ma. CS 185 || **U** *-k∇, sx. of inv. > FU: F Δ -k ~ -ʔ (2s inv. ending) (lue-k 'read!'), F -Ø (< *-k) (ending of 2s inv.): lue 'read!' sg., Vo E lug3-g, Lv lūg id.; BF 2p inv. *-ka-ta / *-kä-tä (*-ta/*-tä pl.) > F luke-kaa 'read!' pl., Vp luge-ga-t id. | Lp N -kku-, marker of inv. in 1s and 3s (lë-kku-m 'let me be'), *-k > -Ø, inv. 2s (the former presence of *-k is evidenced by the weak grade of the syll.-initial cns.: boade 'come!' < *pota-k) | Mr -k, 2s inv.: Er soka-k 'plough!' || Sm *-k, 2s inv. > Ne T -ʔ (-'', e.g. xaj-'' 'call!'), En, Ng -ʔ, 2s inv. (En mota-ʔ, Ng matu-ʔ 'cut!'), Ng -gu-, marker of inv. in 1s (matu-gu-m 'let me cut'), Slq Kt {Cs.} -k, 2s inv. (tāde-k 'set on fire!') ¶¶ Coll. CG 304-5, Laan. 235-7, Cs. GSS 524, 533 || **A**: Tg *-ka/*-ke, sx. of 2s inv. (with variants: *-kal/*-kel, *-ki) > Nn KU -ka, Orc -ka/-k3/-ʃa/-ʃ3, Sln -xa id., Ewk -kal/-k3l/-kol, Neg -xal/-kal id., WrMc -ki (neutral-polite inv. used when addressing an equal); the suffix *-ki- is use also in forms of 1s and 3s inv. > Ewk -gi-, Ul -ʒi-, Ud -hi- ¶ Ci. 278-9, Ci. N 35, Ci. S 236, Bz. 144-5, Vas. 726, 759, Sun. G 187-8, Sun. M 170, Sun. KUD 100, Sin. LM 272 ¶¶ Acc. to IS, here also M *-qu/*-kü within the benedictive sx. *-dqu-n/*-dkü-n, which is hardly convincing, because benedictive is actually a participle, sc. a derived noun (ffd. see Pp. IM 253-4) || ?σ **D** *-k∇, sx. of optative > OTm -ka id. (kaŋ-ka 'look!', 2s opt.), CITm {An.} -(u)ka (opt.: seyu-ka 'let him do'), Kt -k- (sx. of optative), OKn {Gai} -(u)ge/-ke id. (tan-ge 'prosper!'), ClKn -(u)ge/-ke (sx. of opt.: keru-ge 'pereat!, percant!'), Tu -k-/-g-, sx. of inv. in 1s and 1p (paŋu-ke 'let me say', maḷ-pu-g-a 'let us do'), Tl -ga (kalpuga 'let us study', bar-ka 'let us come', Tl Brh

{An.} ampugε 'let me do'), Klm -ka- opt.: vakkan(d) 'let him come', vakkar 'let them come' from va(r)- 'come', Krx -ke~ -kē, sx. of optative ("prospective") (bar-ke 'come, please'), ? Mlt {SKD} -ku, sx. of inv. ft., ? Brh -ak, emphatic pc. added to inv. (kar-ak 'do!') ¶¶ An. SG 367-71, RmA OTV 772, Sbr. DVM 497-8, Brigel GTL 52, Gai 90, Hahn KG 43, Grnr. 370, SKD 58 || ?σ HS: EC: Or -kā, emphatic pc. usually added to imperatives (translated by Grg. as 'so, then, therefore' and by Brl as 'dunque!, quindi!, perciò!, ebbene!') ({Mrn.} kottu-kā {IS} 'иди-ка', {Grg.} nagātti bullā-kā '≈ so, spend the night in peace!', sc. 'so, good-night!', {Brl.} dugi-ka 'dunque bevi!') ¶ Grg. 239, Mrn. O 117, Brl. 221 ◇ IS I 331-2 (IE, U, A, D, ? C), Gr. I 193-6 ("imperative KA" in IE, U, A, Gil, ChK, EA).

980. ? *Ka, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > IE: NaIE sx. *-k- in Ilr *a₁-ka- 'one' > MtA *a₁ka- 'one' (in Ht ayka-wartanna), OI ēka-ḥ, NPrs يك yek 'one'; OI 'asr_ok 'blood' nom. sg. (↔ gen. sg. as'naḥ) || L-k- in senex (sene-k-s) 'old man' (-k- only in nom. sg., cp. gen. sg. sen-is, nom. pl. senes) || Gk -k- in κῆρυξ 'herald' (cp. OI kār_uḥ 'Lobsänger'), μύρμηξ 'ant' (cp. Gk μύρμος, OI vamar ī id.) | NaIE *-ko- (f. *-k-ā), sx. of denom. adjectives and nouns: OI marja-'-ka-ḥ 'male', sana'-ka-ḥ 'old', OCS ВЕЛИКЪ veli-kъ 'big', ТЪНЪКЪ tьnъ-kъ 'thin'. The same sx. is probably present in the Sl pronominal adjectives and adverbs *jakъ(jь) 'what kind of?, which?', *jako ~ *ako 'how?', *takъ(jь) 'such', and *tako 'so', as well as in Lt tók-s m., tokiàf. 'such', Lt Em. tókias, f. tókia id., Lt jóks 'irgendeiner' ¶ Hirt IG III 114-8, Vs. IV 12, 552-3, Fr. 194, 1105, ESSJ I 64-5, 171 || A: T *-k, nominal sx. for concrete objects: OT qulqaq ~ qulaq 'ear', qaraq 'eyeball' (acc. to Cl., ← 'small black thing' ← qara 'black'), bičaq 'knife' (← bič- 'cut'), kesek 'piece (cut off from sth.)' ← kes- 'cut, cut off' ¶ Cl. xliv, 293, 620-1, 652, 748-9 || Tg *-k > Ewk -k for quality bearer ('the one having the quality X'), e.g. sagda-k 'the elder person; first-born one' (← sagdan- 'get older'), n. ag.: julgāk 'neighbour (person)' ← julgā- 'live in the neighbourhood' ¶ Vas. 341, 757 || U: U *-k^a, sx. of denom. nouns: Lp T {Gn.} māy_yeg, Lp K {Gn.} māy_eϑ, Krl, F Δ {Kt.} ma_{jo}ā (< *majaϑa), Er miya_v 'beaver', Lp T kāy_eeg, Lp K {Gn.} kāy_eϑ, Vp kayag, Vd kayaga, Es S kayak 'sea-gull', Os Ty {Lh.} wāsəχ 'duck', Ne T O {Lh.} ta_rē-ḥq 'squirrel', En B {Cs.} faeha 'salmo peljet' (cp. Vt paya 'abramis

brama')] FU *-k'a¹, sx. of denom. adjectives: Lp N {N} bâččâ / bâč'čâg- 'bitter, fetid', Vp vayag, Vd vayaga 'unvollständig', Chr H {Wc.} yak''šar-ʒə, Chr Uf yoš'kar-ʒə 'red, red colour' (Chr yak''šar & yoš'kar attr. 'red'), Vg LL yânt-ʒ 'big']]] U *-kk-, pronominal sx. of distinctiveness (singling out): Er šeke 'the same, that same' (←đ še 'that'), Nn T O {Lh.} čŭk·f̄ 'this', Ng {Cs.} takā 'iste' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 333-43
 ◇ Hardly here Jg {J} kē 'one', probably from N *gaywE 'alone', 'entire' ◇ ≈ Gr. I 123-9 ("absolute K" in EA, CK, Gil, Ko, T, IE).

981. *Ḷo 'who?' > U *ko- ~ *ku- 'who' > F ku-ka 'who?' (↔ mi-kä 'what?'), koska 'when?', Es ku-ɛ 'where (wohin)?', kuɦu 'where?', kui 'when?', kuidas 'how?' | Lp: N gu-, gq-, goa- in derivatives: gutti / -d̄- 'who, which', goab'ba 'which of two?', L kâbbā id., S {Hs.} güt'te 'which of many?', goâbba 'which (of two)?', Kld kū (gen. kōn) rel. prn. 'who, which' | Er kona 'which?', Mk kona 'which' (rel.), Er/Mk koda 'how?', Er kodamo, Mk kodama 'what for?', Er koso, Mk kosa, koza 'where?' | Chr: L kö, H kü 'who?', L kudo, H kъдъ 'which?', L kuze 'how?', kušto 'where?' | Prm {LG} *kod- (JLG *kōd) 'who?', 'which?' > OPrm kōd- 'who, which' rel., Z kod 'who?', kod- 'which (of two)?', Z US kōdi 'who?', Prmk kzd-, Yz 'kud-, kudik 'which?', Vt куд kud, кудиз kudiz 'which (of two)?' | ObU *kō- 'who?' > Vg: T kan, LK хон, хан, хʷan, P kon, Ss хōηка 'who?'; Os: V qoyt, D хōyə, O хōy id. | ObU {Ht.} *kūn 'when?' > pVg *kūn id. > Vg: T kōn, LK хūn, MK kūn, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kūn, UL хūn, Ss хун; pOs *kun id. > Os: D/K/Nz/O хun, Kz хōn, V/Vy/Ty/Y qunta | Hg ho- in hol, Δ hon, hun 'where?', OHg ha 'when' rel., Hg ha 'if' || Sm {Jn.} *ku- 'what\who?', 'which?' > Ne T O {Lh.} d. хu'i 'wohin, wer?', Ne T хăняна 'where?', хурка 'welcher?', какой? (qualis?'), Ne F {Lh.} ku'kkf̄ 'who?', Ng {Cs.} d. куа, куніе 'welcher', En {Cs.} hōke id., Slq Tz {KHG} qay 'what?, who?', kuti 'who?' (with an irreg. k- for the expected q- < U, Sm *k-), Kms {KD} q'ăda 'how', k'um·en, Koyb {Sp.} куминэ 'how much\many?', Mt {Hl.} *ku- (stem of interr. pronouns) (Mt: M {Sp.} кулгү 'what for? [qualis?]', куй 'from where?'); Sm {Jn.} dat. *ku-η, loc. *ku-nâ 'where?' > dat.: Ne T ху?, Ne O хū?, Ne F {Pl.} куη, En {Ter.} кyo?, {Cs.} kŭ? id.; loc.: Ne T хуна, Ne F kunnă, Slq Tz kun, Mt {Hl.} *kuna (Mt: M {Sp.} куна) || Y: Y T {Krn.} qadi, Y T/K {Krn.} хади (= /qadi /?) 'who?', 'which?', T qūodeban, K ходоме(йе) 'qualis est?', T qamlal, qabu, qabud, K хамлол, хамун 'how much\many',

K/T qa-dunūt, qa-dunūn 'which one?' (from qa- + tunūt, tunūn 'this'), K/T {IN} qon 'where?', qodo 'how?', K qay 'when?' ¶¶ UEW 191-2, Brgl. SG 61, Hs. 122-9, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 247, LG 125-6, Lt. DPJ 133, Lt. J 94, TmK 290, SZ 158, U3S 224, Ht. #279, Jn. 75, Cs. 49, 82, KHG 296-8, Hl. M ##563, 571, 576, 589, IN 246, Krn. JJ 88-91, Krn. IMJJ 234-5 || IE *k^ωo-/*k^ωe-/*k^ω-, a generalized interr. stem, used in combination with morphemes of deictic, gender-differentiating, and postpositional origin, e.g. *k^ωo-s 'who?' (with *-s, marker of nom. of the active gender), *k^ωo-d 'what?' (with *-d of the non-active gender), *k^ω-i-s 'who?' (with deictic *-i- and active nom. *-s), *k^ω-i-d 'what?' (with deictic *-i- and non-active *-d), etc.: *k^ωo-s 'who?' > OI kaḥ, Av kō, OPrs kaš, Gt huas, OSw hvar, AS hwā, NE who 'who?', Pru kas, Lt kās, Ltv kas 'who\what?', Gk Hm τέο, Gk A τοῦ 'whose?' (< *k^ωe-sjō), *k^ωeĵ 'who?' > L quī, OIr cia, Brrt: OW pui, MW, W pwy, Crn pyu, MBr, Br piυ, piou; *k^ωe-s 'who?' > OHG (h)wēr, NHG weēr id., as well as Al T kē, Al G kâ 'whom?' (< accus. *k^ωe-m); *k^ωo-d 'what?' > Vd 'kad, L quod, Pru ka, OW, MW, W pa; *k^ω-i-s 'who?' > Av čiš, Gk τίς, L quis, Osc pis ~ pīs PIS, Ht, Pal, Lw kuis id., OPrs čiš-čiy 'whoever'; *k^ω-i-d 'what?' > Gk τί, L quid, Osc píd, OIr cid, OW pi, MW, Crn py, OBr pi, pe, MBr, Br pe, Ht, Pal kuit, ? Lw kui 'what?'; *k^ω-u (and cds.) 'where?' > Vd 'kū, Av kū, L ubī, Osc puf, Um pufe PVFE, pue PVE 'where (wo)?', Gk Cr ὅ-που, Gk Sr πῦς (< *που-ς) 'where (wohin)?', MW cω, cωd 'where (wo, wohin)?', as well as ?? Ht kuwapī 'where (wo, wohin)?, when?' (but Ts.: cd. of *k^ωo-); according to Ad., in Tc the prn. for 'who?, what?' goes back to a cd. of *k^ωu 'where?' or *k^ωis 'who?' + dem. prn.: pTc *kuse (accus. *kuče) > Tc A kus (accus. kuc), Tc B kuse (accus. kuce) 'who, what?' ¶¶ P 644-8, Bks. 203-7, M K I 192, WH II 410-3, Bc. G 342, Pln. 702, F II 903-4, Vn. C 91=2, RE 145, LG § 373, Kb. 1170, KM 853, Frn. 199, En. 190, Tp. P I-K 244-58, O 207, Ts. E I 611-4, 693-4, Pv. IV 218-32, KT 165, Wn. 246, Ad. 186-8, Ad. H 156-7, EI 455-7 || HS: C: Bj {R} kā-k(̃) 'how?' (interr. kā- + -k(̃) of manner (see N *Ḳuya 'manner' [→ 'like, as']), {Rop.} kāk 'how?' ¶ R WBd 138, Rop. 203 || NrOm: Mch {L} kō 'who?', Kf {C} kō-ne, kō-n 'who?', kō-č 'to whom?', {HHM} koni, konočī 'who?', Shn {Lm.} kónnī, Anf {MYTY, Lm.} ko-nne 'who?' ¶ L M 35, Lm. Sh 328, C SE IV 282-4, R K 53, HHM 409, MYTY 113 || ?? Ch: Hs kà, kākāk 'how?', Gw kò 'how?'; the structure of kākāk may be as in Bj (interr. + *-ḳ∇ 'as, like') ¶ Ba. 513, 531, Mts. G 65 ¶¶ Hardly here Mh

{Jo.} *kō* ~ *koh* 'how?', 'why?', Hrs {Jo.} *kō(h)*, Jb {Jo.} E/C *koh* 'why?' (= {Btn.} *ḵo*, adduced by IS with a query), where *k-* goes back to S **ka-* 'as, like', just as in Ar *kayfa* 'how?' (see N ***Ḷuya** '↑') || **N** **k'a-*, interr. pronominal stem > Tg {Bz.} **xa-* with *sxs.*: **xa-i* 'what?', 'who?' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh *χāl* ~ *χay id.*, WrMc *ay*, Mc Sb *ay* 'what?', 'which?', and possibly Sln *ašū* 'who?'; Tg {Bz.} **xa-dū* 'how much\many?' > Ul *χadu*, Nn Nh/B *χado* ~ *χadu*, WrMc *udū*, Ewk, Sln, Neg *adī*, Lm *adu*, Orc *adi*; Tg **xa-lī* 'when?' (< prolicative case) > Ul, Ork *χāl*, Nn Nh *χāl*, Orc *ālā* ~ *āli*, Ewk *alī*, Neg *ālī* ¶ Bz. 114, STM I 4-5, 14-5, 32, 286-8 ¶ But Tg **ya* 'what?' does not belong here, it goes back to N ***ya** 'which?' (q.v.) || NaT **k'a-* (interr. pronominal stem, preserved in *ds.*): **k_l'a-ńu* 'which?', 'what?' (> OT *qayu* ~ *qańu*, Qzq *qay*, Tv. *qayI*, Yk *χaya* 'which?'), **k_l'ač* 'how many?' (> OT *qač*, Tk *kač*, Ln *kač*, SY *qač* ~ *qaš*, Xk *χas*, Tv *kaш* *qaš*, Tf *qáš'*, Yk *χas*), **k'ačan* 'when?' (> OT, ET, Ln, SY, Qrg *qačan*, Alt *qačan*, Tk *kačan*, Az *hačan*, Ux *qačon*, Bsh *qasan*, Qzq *qašan*, Uz *qačon*, Xk *χažan*, Tv *qažan*, Tf *qáň^hIn*, Yk *χahan*), **k'ay-sI* 'which?' (> OT, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Tf *qaysI*, Tkm *χayθI*, Uz *qaysi*, VTt *qaysъ*, Bsh *qayhъ*, Alt *qažI*, Tv *qayizi*, Xk *χayzi*), **k'ay-da* ~ **k'an-da* 'where?' (> OT *qayda* ~ *qanda*, Tkm *χanda*, Uz, ET, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf *qayda*, Bsh *qayda*, Xk *χayda*, Yk *χanna*), etc. ¶ Rs. W 226, 232, 271, Cl. 589, 632-3, ET KQ 191-3, 340, DTS 418, Ra. 217-9, Rl. II 99-100 || **M** **qa-* in *ds.*: **qa-ya* 'where?' (> MM [HI, S] *qa_la*, WrM *qaga*, HIM *xaa*, Kl *χā*), **qa-mi_lya* 'where? (place and direction)' (> WrM *qamiga*, {Rm.} *qamiya*, Kl *χamā*), etc. ¶ MED 895, 923, Ms. H 85, H 54, KW 164, 175 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. **k'e*/**k'a-*, KW 175 (M, T) ◇ The *vw.* **a* (for the expected rounded *vw.*) in T, M, an Tg still needs explaining ◇ The original opposition N ***Ḷo** 'who?' ↔ N ***mi** 'what?' was neutralized in IE (where N ***Ḷo** was generalized as the main interr. prn.) and partially in HS (S, Eg, B, C, where the generalized prn. was N ***mi**). The ancient opposition has been preserved in U (**ko-* 'who?' ↔ **mi-* 'what?'), in Chv (*kam* 'who?' ↔ *měh mьn* 'what?'), and in Itelmen (*ķe* 'who?' - *min* 'what for, which?') ◇ IS I 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A + ** Sml ku-ma* 'who?' [in fact *ku-* is a marker of masculine] + **÷* words for 'as, like' in HS, which are better accounted for by N ***Ḷuya** 'manner' → 'like, as', q.v., because the semantic change from 'who?' to 'as, like', though not ruled out, is too complicated to be preferable) || In U and A there are forms traceable back to N (dialectal?) ***ḶE** 'who?' (with a *hic-deixis*?) > **U** **ke-*

'who?' > F *ken* 'who?', Es *kes* (gen. *kelle*) id., 'which?' || Lp: S {Hs.} *gie*, Vfs {Lgc.} *g_īē*, *g_ēā* 'who?', N {N} *g_ī* / *g_āē*- 'who?', 'what kind of' (of persons), Kld *kīē* 'who?', 'which?' || Er *ки* *ki*, Mk *кие* *kiyə* 'who?' || Chr: L/Uf/B *kō*, H *kü* 'who?' || Prm **kin* 'who?' > Z Δ, Prmk, Yz, Vt *kin* || Hg *ki* 'who?' || Sm {Jn.} **ki-*, **kim(∇)* ~ **k+mä* 'who' > Ne T *хибѣ*, Ne F {Lh.} *kim'āā* (both from **k+mä*) 'who?', En {Mik.} *šie*, {Prk.} *sie*, {Ter.} *sēa*, Kms {KD} cd. *šün·de*, *šün·di* ~ *šin·dä*, Koyb {Sp.} *семъ*, Mt {HL} **k+m* (or **kim*) 'who?' (Mt M {Sp.} *кымъ*) || pY {IN} **kin* 'who?' > Y T/K {Krn., IN} *kin* 'who?' ¶¶ UEW 140-1, Lgc. SL 47, Hs. 122, PI 111, Ker. II 59, Jn. 69, KP #1221, KD 64, 66, Hl. M #486, Krn. JJ 87-9, Krn. IMJJ 233, IN 228 || A **k'E* 'who?' > T **k'Em* (**k'im* ~ **k'äm*) 'who?' > OT *kim* *käm*, Tk *kim*, Tkm, Az, Uz, ET *kim*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg *kim*, Slr *käm*, SY *kem* *kim*, Alt *kem*, Qmn/Tb {B} *kem*, Xk *kem*, Yk *kim*, Tv *qim*, Tf *qum* (labialization from **qim?*), Chv *kam* ¶ Cl. 720-1, Rs. W 271, Ra. 222, Jeg. 87, Tz. UIS s.v. *kim*, Fed. I 219-20 || M **ken* 'who?' (also 'which?') > MM *ken*, WrM *кєн*, HIM *хэн*, Kl *ken*, Mnr H {T} *ken*, {SM} *k'än*, MMgl [Z] *keyan*, Mgl *ken*, Dx *kīēn*, Ba *каң* ¶ MED 457, KW 265, SM 196, T 338-9, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, Iw. 111 ◇ IS I 348 (U, A), 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A), Gr. I 217-24 ("interrogative K" in IE, U [including Y], A, Ai, ChK, EA + unc. Gil) ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., **ḲE* is a Uralo-Altaic innovation, a variant interr. word based on the analogy of the dem. particles/pronouns. The opposition of the N iste-deictic **h'e'* 'this' (≈ IS's **ʔi* / (?) **ʔe*) vs. pronouns with back vowels (e.g. N **ha* 'ille') was introduced into the system of interr. pronouns, so that alongside with N **Ḳo* 'who?' a new hic-deictic inter. prn. **ḲE* 'wer hier?' appeared. Starostin, A. Dybo, and Mudrak try to unite the A reflexes of N **Ḳo* and **ḲE* by reconstructing pA **k'a_{ly}* (SDM97 s.v.), which is not a good solution, because the difference between N **Ḳo* and **ḲE* has survived not only in A, but also in U. The variation **e* ~ **ä* ~ **i* in the U and A lgs. is still to be explained.

982. **Ḳ'ü'*, dem. prn. (animate?) > IE **kē-*, **kī-*, **kēj-*, **k(i)yo-* 'this' > NaIE: Arm *u* - *s*- 'this' (anaphoric, hic-deixis), *-u* -*s* def. art. (hic-deixis) || Gk **kē-* in *κεῖνο-ς*, *ἐ-κεῖνο-ς* 'that person\thing', *(ἐ)κεῖ* 'there', {EI}: Gk *Mc za-wē-te*, Gk *σῆτες* 'in this year' ({EA}: < **k_{yeh}-wetes*) || L *ce-* in *ce-do* 'give here!', *hi-c* 'this', *hi-s-ce* 'this', *si-c* 'so', *nun-c* 'now', **kī-* in *cis* 'on this side of', *ci-tro* 'hither' || OIr *cé* 'here, on this side' (< **kēj*) (in *bith cé* 'ce monde-ci'), OIr *coi*,

Gl κούτ 'here, on this side' || Gt hi mma 'huic', hi na 'hunc', ON hann, OHG F hē, OHG [HB] hēr, AS hē 'he', NE he; OHG cds.: hiu-tu 'today' (> NHG heute), hiu-ru (< *hiu-jāru) 'this year' (> NHG heuer) || Lt šī-s, Ltv šī-s, Pru schis 'this' | pSl *sb m. / *si f. / *se ntr. (prnl. *sb-jb, *si-ja, *se-je) > OCS сь сь / сн си / се се 'this', SCr Δ sāj / sa / se, Sln sej, R †, Uk сей || Al sot 'today' (< {EI} *k̑eh_π-diHtej) 'this year' > Al si vjet 'this year' (< pAl *cyej wetej dat.-loc.) || AnIE: Ht ka- / ki- 'this' (the variants ka- and ki-distributed within the inflexional paradigm of genders, cases, and numbers), kinun 'now', Pal ka-, ki- 'this', Lc ki 'this' ntr., Car ka-t 'here (?)', Lw za-/zi-, HrLw za- 'this one' (z < IE *k̑) ¶ P 609-10, Bks. 202, Me. AAE 59-61, Gd. 107-8 (OArm so- this'), Tum. 272-7, F I 475-6, WH I 193, 222, 644-5, II 187-8, Vn. C 51, Me. AAE 59, Fs. 255, Vr. 209, Krahe GSW II 67-8, Schz. 124, 160, KM 169, 306-7, Zhr. IN 230, Ho. 150, Ho. S 31, Frn. 990, En. 243-4, Vs. III 591-2, Glh. 537-8, O 397, 399, Pv. IV 3-12, ABIV III 215-9, Shv. K 327, EI 453 (*k̑is 'this [one]') ||

HS *k̑- 'this' m. > C {AD} *k̑- 'this' m. (↔ *t- f.) > EC {Ss.} *ka (nom. *k-u) dem. prn. m. (↔ f. *t-pronouns) > pSam {Hn.} *k-, marker of m. in dem. pronouns (↔ fem. *t-) (*k-an 'this', *k-a 'this [there]', *k-ās 'that', *k-ō 'that [there]', *k-ī 'that [referred to earlier]' ↔ fem.: *t-an, *t-a, *t-ās, *t-ō, *t-ī), nom. *-k-u (> Sml [-k-] [= -k-/-g-/-h-/-h-] [marker of m. in dem./poss. pronouns and clitics, opposed to the marker of f. [-t-] = -t-/-d]), Bn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (Bn J -ka 'this' m. ↔ -ta 'this' f., etc.), Rn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (e.g., -ka(n) 'this' m. ↔ -ta(n) 'this' f.), Or Wt ka(n) 'this' (↔ t-a(n) f.), k̑ 'this' nom. (↔ t-ù f. nom.), k̑ni 'this specific' (↔ t-āni f.), Or Wt k- - marker of masc. in possessive pronouns (-ki 'my', k̑ia 'mine' m. possi [↔ -ti 'my', t̑ia 'my' f. possi], etc.), Or H {MAZ} kana 'this' m. (nom. kuni) (↔ tana 'this' f., nom. tuni), k-, marker of masc. possi in possessive pronouns: k̑iyya 'my' m., k̑ē 'thy' m., etc. (↔ t̑iyya 'my' f., t̑ē 'thy' f., etc.), Dsn ka (determiner), Elm -k-, masc. gender marker in predicative demonstratives: t̑f̑ ì-'k-ā̀lù 'this is the snake' (t̑f̑ 'snake' is m.) ↔ hárúwá-té ì-'t-ā̀lù 'this is a girl', pHEC {Hd.} *ka / nom. *ku 'this', demonstrative determiner, m. (↔ *ta / nom. *ti 'this' f., dem determiner [f.]), *konne / nom. *kūni 'this', dem. prn., m. (↔ *tenne / nom. *tīni 'this', dem. prn. [f.]) > Sd {Hd.} ko(nne) / nom. kuni - dem. determiner, m. (↔ te(nne) / nom. tini, dem. determiner [f.]), Ged {Hd.}

konne / nom. kunni dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow tenne / nom. tinni dem. determiner [f.]), Kmb {Hd.} ka / nom. ku dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow ta / nom. ti f.), Hd {Hd.} ka / nom. ku(k) dem. determiner (m.) (\leftrightarrow ta / nom. tu(t) f.), Brj {Ss., Hd.} 'ka (nom. 'ku) 'this' m (\leftrightarrow ta, nom. či 'this' f.), Sd {Hd.} konne / nom. kuni 'this', dem. prn. m. (\leftrightarrow tenne / nom. tini 'this' f.) ||| Dhl (ʔú)k^wa 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow (ʔ)íta f.), (ʔú)ku 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow (ʔ)ítu f.) ||| SC: Irq {Mous} qáʔ 'that (visible)', ʔ ká 'this' (for neuter nouns) ¶ AD SF 258-9, Ss. PEC 62, Ss. B 111, To. DL 225, Hn. S 27-9, Anr. DSN 119, MAZ 11-2, Hn. BD 30-1, Hn. W 36-8, Hn. NBLK 185, 227-8, PG 40-1, C SE II 129-31, Hd. 153, Mous 90-1, To. D 39, Blz. CL 180 || SOM: Ari ko_ɔná, ka 'this', kase, konase 'that', Ari G okona, kōn- (+ sxs.) 'that', Hm ka 'this, that' ¶ Bnd AL 159-60 || WS *-ku ~ *-ka, deictic element of iste- and ille-deixis, added to dem. pronouns: BA 𐎠𐎡 dē-k 'that', f. 𐎠𐎡 dā-k, pl. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 ʔil'lē-k, IA [Eleph.] 𐎠𐎡 zk, 𐎠𐎡𐎢 zrk id., Ar δāli-ka ~ δā-ka 'iste' m. (f. tāli-ka ~ tā-ka ~ til-ka, pl. ʔawlāʔi-ka), Mh {Jo.} δē-k, δay-k 'that', (as an introductory particle) δɜ-k, pl. elyē-k, Hrs δēk, δīk (pl. 𐎠𐎡k) 'that', Bth δε-k, δɜ-k, pl. 𐎠𐎡k, Jb E {Jo.} 'δɜ'kun, 'δi'kun, pl. i'zō-k, Jb C {Jo.} 'δɜ'kun, 'δukun, pl. i'zō-k, Gz {Br.} zə-'kū 'that', accus. zə-k^w-a, pl. ʔalla-'kū; CS *kā 'here, so' > Pun kʔ, (RomSc) [Plt.] CO 'here', BHb 𐎠𐎡 kō, Ug {OLS} k, BA 𐎠𐎡 kā 'here, so', Nbt, Plm kʔ 'here', DA, OA kh, IA kʔ 'thus' ¶ Br. G I 318-23 [§ 107], Br. AG 30-1, Fr. I 93, Jo. M 79, KB 439-40, 1723, KBR 461, OLS 207, HJ 483-4, 489 || Ch *k-: WCh: Hs k^wàní 'this' (ham k^wàní 'this water' \leftrightarrow ham 'water'), Ang {ChL} kò-ŋ^wì 'this', kò-p^wáná, kò-dà 'that', Ngz {Sch.} gùzìp-gú 'the slave' (\leftrightarrow gùzìp 'slave') ||| CCh: Mrg {Hf.} dem. enclitic KI 'this [near]' (\leftrightarrow ta 'that [far]' \leftrightarrow ná 'that [known]'), dem. prn. k'í 'this one' (\leftrightarrow tá 'that one [far]' \leftrightarrow ná 'that one [known]') || Glv {Rp.} k^wàn, k^wán 'this', k^wanna 'this (one)', k^wa x(a) 'that', Gzg ha 'this' (ŋgos-a ha 'this woman' \leftrightarrow ŋgos 'woman') || Ms kayni 'this', kayna 'that', Lame k^wàmɛné 'this', k^wàmɛní 'that' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} ka [ká] - marker of masc. within demonstratives (\leftrightarrow ta [tá] fem. \leftrightarrow ku [kú] pl.), e.g. í-kà 'that (relative proximity)' m. \leftrightarrow í-tà f. \leftrightarrow í-kù 'those' pl., {Sch.} būr ǎŋ-kà 'this lion' (cp. būrì 'lion' m.), Smr ka 'this', alo-ka 'that', Ll {WeipP} kán 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tán f.), kolon 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow tolon f.), Jg {J} kô 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tô f.), Mu gán 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow dàn f.), Mgm kānè 'this' m. (\leftrightarrow tānè f.), kō 'that' m. (\leftrightarrow tō f.), Bdy kānè 'this', kō 'that' ¶ ChL, RpB 56-7, Hf. M 85-8, Fd. 32, 262, Sch. ED 158-9, PG 19, Blz. EChWL ##84-85 ||| A *k_l'jü 'this' > T *Kö ({SDM} *K'ō without

justification of the lax *k' and the long vw.) 'that (seen) > SY {Tn.} gō ~ gu ~ kō ~ ku id. ({Ml.} 'BOH TOT'), Qmq {Dmt.} göne 'there (far, but seen)' ('BOH TAM'), Qrg ti-gi 'that (seen)' ('TOT, BOH TOT'), 'he (seen)' ({Jud.} 'OH, BOH OH'), {Rl.} TIGĪ 'jener, der dort gegenüberliegende', Xk TIGi tlgL 'BOH TOT', Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} tigl, Brb (Rl.) ti-gĪ 'jener, jener dort' ||| Chv: L кѳ ку 'this', H kō, Δ k̄v̄ ̄ k̄ id. ¶ Tn. SJJ 77-8, Ml. ZhU 23, Dmt. GKJ 80, Jeg. 114, Fed. I 300-2, Lvt. IM 32-4, Jud. 731, Rl. III 1353, 1419, BIG 227, 416, S AJ 192 [#149] (mentions Slr ku, not confirmed by other available sources) || pKo *kī 'this' > MKo kī, NKo ki 'this' ¶ S AJ 254 [#89] || pJ {S} *k̄́- demonstr. √ > (1) OJ k̄́- 'this', J: T k̄́re, K k̄́ré, Kg k̄́í, Ns k̄́-ṅ, Sk k̄́-nù, Ht k̄́-nù, Yn k̄́-nú id.] (2) OJ ka- 'that', J: T k̄́-re, K k̄́rè 'he', Ht k̄́-nù, Y k̄́nú 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [#77], S QJ #77 || ? M *kü, pc. emphasizing the preceding word, including the preceding dem. prn.: WrM ene-kü 'the same, the very same' (ene is 'this'), tere-kü 'the same' (tere is 'that'), MM [HI] kü ~ gü {Ms.} particule corroborative, [S] ку ~ гу {H} hervorhebende Partikel; M *kü may go back to a coalescence of the N dem. prn. *k̄́'ü', N *?o'kE (= *?o'kü?) 'self', and possibly N *ko 'whereas, but, also, doch' ¶ MED 484, H 51, 105, Ms. H 57 ¶¶ DQA #895 (A *k̄́ 'this'; the lax *k [rather than *k' -] is not justified), S AJ 56, 104, 277 [#73], Rm. SKE 114 (Ko, M), Ktw. PLA 71-3 (adduces ET ѱу 'ведь, же' [{BN} u-ѱу 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ба(r) ѱу 'ведь есть'], which may be better explained as belonging to N *ko '↑', q.v., cp. IE *g^{we} 'but, whereas' of the same origin) ||| Gil: Gil A ку(-) 'that (absent, just mentioned)' ¶¶ Pnf. I 241, ST 22 ◇ HS *k- results from deglottalization of *k̄́, which is likely to suggest a pN *k̄́- (rather than *q̄́-), but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could happen after the pre-HS merger of *k̄́ and *q̄́ ◇ In IE, Mrg, and A (Chv, Ko) the word means 'this', which may be the original meaning, while in S and SY it has got the deictic meaning of 'iste' or 'ille'. In EC, EDng, and Gmc this word (→ morpheme in HS) has got the meaning of masc. demonstrative (opposed to HS *t̄́ fem. and IE *t- ntr.), which may suggest that pN *k̄́'ü' referred to animate beings only ◇ Gr. I 91-4 ("demonstrative KU" in A [including J], Gil, EA, AnIE).

983. *k̄́∇ (= *k̄́∇?) 'towards', directive pc. > HS *k̄́∇ ~ *k∇ > WS *k∇ 'at, in' (of time), ? (in Mn only) 'to' > Mn {CR} k- 'to' (k-?ɔɔ 'ad Asad, Asado'), OSA Sb k- 'when, lorsque', Mh {Jo.} k(ɜ)- 'at, in' (of time), Hrs

{Jo.} k-, Sq {L} ke id., Ar SA k- 'at, in' (of time) (k-sōbāḥ 'in the morning'), BHb kə-/ki- (+ infinitive) 'when' (lit. '≈ at\in... [his] -ing') (כָּבֹא kə-ḥō 'when he came' - Gen. 12.14; כִּי-שָׁמְעָהּ ki-š'mōaḥ 'when he heard'), כַּאֲשֶׁר ka-ʔ^ašer 'when' (lit. '≈ at\in which') ¶ KB 433, BGMR 75, Jo. M 200, Jo. H 65, L LS 211, CR CAME 165 || B *ʕ∇ (< *k∇) 'towards, in' > Tmm {BoudL} ʕa 'to(wards)' (direction), BMn {Bs.} ʕ- id. (iruh ʕ-iχt n tala 'il alla à une fontaine'), Shl {Stm., La., Ds.} ʕ- 'in' ({Stm.} ʕ-wulīnu 'in my heart') ¶ BoudL T 505, Stm. 109, La. CBM 110, Ds. 85-6, Bs. ZOu 60 ¶ In my opinion, Rf/SrSn ɡ ~ ɡi, Si/Wrs/BMn ɡ, and Kb ɡ 'in' (Rn. 350, Ib. DRE 159, La. S 130, Dl. 133, Bs. ZOu 59-60) do not belong here, they are rather a reduced form of B *ɡīɡ and *d∇ɡ ~ *ɡ∇d 'in' || EC *-k∇ > Af {R} -hō, -h 'to' (dative), {Clz.} -ak 'to' (dative, directive) (**abbak** ... ṯyan 'they told **the father**' ['dissero **al padre**'], **bāʕel-ak** a'mōd ta'məta 'venne **presso il marito**', haḷ-ak '[tied] to the tree'), Sa {R} -kā, -k, {TB} -ak - marker of dat.-accus. ({R} jō-k 'to me', {TB} **fāras-ak** illō ohōya 'I gave **the horse** bread'), Sml N {Abr.} ku (/gu) (preverbal proclitic) 'on to, on, to' ('kūrsigī bū ku 'fādīstay 'he sat down on the chair', méḷ dōw ínankīsī ku árkaɣ 'he saw his son in a near place', 'būrʕo bū 'nó gu yī'mī 'he came to us at Bur'o'), ? Bn K -ka (loc.) in haḷ-ka 'there', Dsn {To.} ká 'her-, to' (adposition [= preverb\postposition] of movement towards the speaker), Elm {Hn.} -ka 'to' (dative) (precedes the indirect object), -ka- 'to, for' (benefactive) (precedes the verbal stem) (yesé nūm a'nāḡ-ka 'héle kōne 'I brought the children [hele] food', yesé nūm 'héle a'nāḡ-ka-kōne id., yesé mín hele aḡ-ká-dis-a 'I built a house for the children'), Sd {Mrn., TB} -ho 'to' (dative) (bē'tō-ho 'to the girl') ¶ R A II 854 [= 62], R S II 202, Clz. 72, Abr. S 153, Hn. NBLK 196-7, Hn. BD 54, To. DL 232-3, Mrn. S 28, TB LA 515, AD SF 259 || NrOm: Na {AY} -ḡa 'in' (isi ḡay-ḡa wūta 'he fell in [sc. 'to'] the water'), Shk {AY} -ḡa 'in' (ínčú-ḡa 'in the tree'), Bnc {Wdk.} -ḡán ~ -kan 'in, at', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} -ko 'towards' ¶ AY NG 25, AY ShM 6, Mrn. O 30, Wdk. BY 160 || ??φ CCh: Bdm {Lk.} ɡɜ prep., {Nc.} ɡe, ɡo, ɡa, ɡ 'to' ({Lk.} nača ɡɜ woli-anɜ 'er sprach zu einem Jungen', {Nc.} dōmō ū ɡe na 'ich komme zu dir', dōmo gateni ɡ au 'mich sandtest du nach Feuer'), Lgn {Lk.} ɡa ~ ɡā 'to' (prep. with a noun denoting a person) 'zu, chez, κ (κoμy-π.): ndɔɣ 'wagɜr ɡa ɡɜnɜm 'I went to the woman'), ɡi, ɡī 'towards, to' (direction: ndɔɣ 'wagɜr 'ɡī

ʏa'ʔa 'ich ging zum Hause hin', 'yālō 'gī ʏule'gā 'sie kamen zur Tür'), ?
 ge, gē 'in' (locative prep.) ¶ Lk. B 67, Lk. L 54 || U {Coll.} *-kk∇ / *-k∇,
 directive (= lative, {Hj.} lative-prolative) case marker > Ing -k (sx. in
 adverbs: ala-k 'nach unten'), -ʔ in F dialects and in Standard F (alaʔ
 'nach unten', lūōʔ 'towards') | Lp N dir.-loc. -g (after disyllabic stems), -
 kko, -kkō, -gō, -kō / -kē (after monosyllabics): dokkō 'thither',
 dei'kē 'hither', dâggō 'there, that way' (of a movement), bæi'veg
 'by day', ik'ko 'at night', Lp Ar {Lgc.} -k 'in' (temporalis): kirrak 'in
 springtime', iyyak 'in the night' | Mk/Er prolative ('along, по') -ga ~ -ka
 ~ -va ({Srb.}: intervoc. -v- < *-ʏ- < *-k-) | Chr L -ke ~ -ko ~ -kō
 'to(wards)' in adverbs and postpositions: oHЧЫКО 'onʒə-ko 'ahead'
 ('vorwärts'), ül-kō 'down, nach unten', čod'ra 'vel-ke 'towards the
 forest' || Os V {Trj.} prolative -öʏ / -oʏ (kiriw way-oy manwəl 'the
 steamboat sails **on** [sc. **along**] the river Vakh'), translative -əʏ / -ʏʏ, -
 ka, -qa (ač-əʏ ʏəʏiʏəʏ 'turned **into** a sheep', itn-əʏ ʏəməʏä 'the evening
 came', tələkkə ʏəməʏä 'the winter came' [lit. '**into** evening\winter it
 became]), Os Sr {Ht.} translative -ʏʏ / -ʏə (kāt-ʏʏ '[transformed] into
 a house'); Vg N {Rmb.} translative -ʏ / -iʏ (piyanēr-iʏ patsum 'I became
 a young pioneer', nāʏw-iʏ 'на дрова, to be used as fire-wood') ¶ Coll.
 CG 295-6, Sz. 58, Hj. US 220, It. LC 56, Décsy UP 70, Lgc. SWL 114, Srb.
 IMMJ 25-6, Rmb. 54-5, Trj. VD 54-5, Ht. XJ 309 || Sm: Slq Tz {HL.}
 translative -q0 (for nouns with ppas.), -t-q0 (< gen. -n + -q0), and
 possibly infinitive sx. -q0; it is interesting to note that Cs. and Lh.
 sometimes wrote the marker of translative q0 as a separate
 postposition: {Cs.} kait q0 ippand? 'warum liegst du?' ¶¶ Hl. SelJ
 365-9, 371, Kü. SUKF I 99-100; Hj. LIKSz 124, 128 and Hj. LIS 271 (in
 both papers Hajdú explains the Slq endings as going back to U *k-
 lative); ≠ Kü. SUKF I 100, 145-51 (*: Slq q0 interpreted as a prtc.
 *∇/kâ 'being') || A: T *-ka / *-kâ 'to' (dative-directive case ending) >
 OT O -qa/-kâ, OT Y/U -qa/-qä/-ʏa/-gä, OT Og -qa/-qä/-ʏa/-ga/-ja/-jä,
 OT (different dialects) (after ppa.) -a/-ä, ET, VTt, Bsh -qa/-kâ / -ʏa/-gä,
 Uz -qa/-ka/-ʏa, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog -qa/-ke/-ʏa/-ge, Shor, Tv -qa/-
 ke/-ʏa/-ʏe and (with vowel stems) -: (lengthening of the stem-final
 vw.), Qrg -qa/-qo/-ke/-kō/-ʏa/-ʏo/-ge/-gö, StAlt -qa/-qo/-ke/-kō/-
 ʏa/-ʏo/-ge/-gö and (with vowel stems) -:; Xk -xa/-xo/-ke/-ko/-ʏa/-
 ʏo/-ge/-gö/-:; Yk -ʏa with 20 positional allomorphs, Az -a/-ä/-ja/-jä-
 , Tkm -a/-ä/-:; Tk -a/-e/-ʏa/-ʏe, Slr -qa/-ke/-kâ / -(ʏ)a / -(g)e / -(g)ä,

Chv -a/-e ¶ Adj. 149-53 (wrongly interprets the Runic letter ä as e - *F* Thomsen LM), Kon. GJTRP 149, 153-4, Nas. JTPU 36-8, Isx. IS 103-19, Tn. SJ 106-7 || M: acc. to Rm. VAJ 39-40, the fossilized affix *-ʏa (< *qa) (loc. and possibly dir.) is preserved in an adv.: WrM qami-ḡa ~ qaga, HIM xaa 'where?' ({Rm.} 'wo?', 'wohin?'), to which we may add WrM qaga ʏaga 'here and there' ¶ MED 905, 923 || ?? Tg *-k- within the lative-prolative sx. *-kī preserved in some adverbs (e.g. *sola-kī 'upstream' > {Ci.} Ewk solokī, Neg soloxī, Lm holakī, Ud soloixi, Ul sōli) and in the compound sx. of the allative case *-ti-kī- (> {Ci.} Ewk -tkī, -tikī, Sln -tḡī, -tixī, Neg -tki, -tixi, Lm -tkī, -takī, Ud -tigi) ¶ Ci. 256, 268-9, Bz. 85-7 ¶¶ Ko: Rm. VAJ 41-2, Book 51, and after them IS I 369 assume that the Ko cognate of the above A sx. is Ko NW -(e)ge (dative). In fact, Ko NW -(e)ge goes back to MKo -ʌy kəy, sc. gen. ending -ʌj + dative postposition kəj 'to', e.g. arahannʌy-kəj ~ arahannʏy-kəj 'to the arhat' (*F* Lee GKS 203-4). Lee Gi-Moon (l.c.) identifies this postposition kəj with the adv. kəj 'an dem Ort'. The A et. of the Ko marker of dative is valid only if MKo kəj 'in the place' may be connected with T *-ka/*-kā, which is qu. ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 39-42 || D dative endung *-ko (postcons.) / *-kko (postvoc.) (= {Zv.} *-(k)ku) > OTm, CITm, Ml -ku/-kku, OTl -ku(n) ~ -ki(n), CollTm, Tl -ku ~ -ki, Irl -(k)ke ~ -(k)kye, Kt, Td -k/-g, OKn, CIKn -ke/-kke, -ge/-gge, Kdg -kī / -gī, Tu -k†/-g†, Klm, Prj, Gdb S -(u)ŋ (< "empty morph" -n- + *-ko), Prj N -(u)g, Knd -ŋ, Gnd -k, Kui -gi/-ki, Ku -(t)aki ~ -ki, Krx -ge(:)/-ke(:), Mlt -(i)k 'to' (dat.), Brh -ki 'for' ¶ Zv. CDM 29-31, Shanm. DN 264-368, 378-81 || ? IE: NaIE *k^u 'towards' > Sl *kъ(n) id. > OCS, OR къ, R к / ко, SCr к / кă, Slv к, Cz к / ке, Blg Δ κ; in Blg κъм 'towards' the element -м is secondary (× κъм 'near, околно' [÷ L cym 'with?']) || Sgd ku (Sgd B/M ꝑkω, kω, kωꝑ, ChrSgd qω) 'to' (direction, dative), 'in' ¶¶ The IE cognate is qu., because there is an alt. et. of the Sl and Sgd forms drawing them back to IE *kom / *km̥ (> OI kam [after dative] [reinforcing pc.: dat. + kam = 'in order to': sú'bhē kam 'um zu glänzen'], Av kām [benefactive postposition after dat.] 'in favour of') ¶¶ Vs. II 146-7, LivXr SJ 505, Bn. SI 70-3, M K I 159, M K III 664, M E I 304-5, ≠ P 515-6 (an unc. hyp. drawing back Sl *kъ 'towards' to IE *ka(:) ~ *ke ~ *kom 'wohl'), ESISJ-SGZ I 99-106, ESSJ XIII 170-1, unc.: E 646 (Sl *kъ < IE *ko(m) 'with') || ?? K: MG [VTq] kēn (postposition of direction), G -kēn(a) 'to, towards' (marker of dir. case) ¶ DCh. 603,

NCh. 246, Vogt GLG 72, Chx. 365 ¶¶ The G cognate is highly qu. because this postposition\ending is added to the gen. form of the noun, which suggests that it goes back to a pre-G or pK noun ◇ IS I 368-9 (HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 137-9 ("dative KA" in A, Ko, U, Y, Gil, CK). IS I 368 sees a M cognate in the lative sx. *-g̃si / *-gsi within adverbs, which is not certain; I prefer to equate this M sx. with the FU translative ending *-ksi (> F -k̃si, -kse, Mr -ks) and to look for their common N source without necessarily connecting it to the N etymon in question.

983a. *k̃ʾAʾiʾb∇ or *k̃ʾiʾAʾb∇ 'cold, ice' > HS: Eg fP k̃b(b) 'be\become cool', Eg fMK k̃b(b) 'die Kühle', DEg k̃b 'kühl sein, kühl, sich kühlen' > Cpt: Sd KB A kba ~ KBO kbo, B XB OB k^hbob id. ¶ EG V 22-4, Er. 533, Vc. 71 || C: EC *k̃ab- 'cold' > Sml qabow, Rn 'χόβο 'coolness; cool', Arr k̃abbanoω- 'become cold', k̃abbat 'cold thing, cold', Or k̃abbana, Kns qappanāω-, Gdl k̃appanaω- 'become cool' || Ag *ka(n)b- 'be cold' (with a puzzling *n): Bln {R} kanb-~kamb-. Q {R} kab-, kanb- ¶ Bl. 180, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. EDB 112, AD SF 81, Hn. S 71 (pSam *qabō 'cold'), PG 191, Hw. A 377, R WB 223 ¶¶ AD SEC 135 and OS #332 (both: EC, Eg) || K: G qop̃iç̃a 'frozen ground' ¶ Chx. 613 || D (in NED) *k̃iv- > Krx k̃ibā 'frost, ice', Mlt {Drs.} k̃iωe 'cold, cool' ¶ D #1618 ◇ N *ʾ is suggested by K (N *-ʾ∇b- > *-ʾb- > K *-p-) ◇ Blz. LB #26c and Blz. LNA #32 (HS, D) (Blz. LNA: N *k̃ib∇).

984. *k̃oʾbE 'to fill; whole' > HS: S *^o✓k̃ʾb > Ar ✓qʾb 'boire beaucoup et se remplir de' (with min + name of beverage), 'manger\boire, prendre ce qui est dans une vase' (× N *k̃äbʾâ 'bite' [→ 'eat']), ?φ Ak gabbu 'entirely, all, every' ¶ BK II 656, CAD V 4-5 || ?? C (SC?) → Mb kabuna ~ xabuna 'all' ¶ ESC 249 || K: G I k̃apan- 'schwer beladen', G k̃veb- v. 'feed' ('nähren, füttern') ¶ Chx. 549, 576 || A *k̃_lʾop̃'E v. 'be full, whole' > NaT *k̃_lʾöp̃- 'abundant, much' (× N *k̃uP∇ 'heap, hill?') > OT köp 'abundant, luxuriant, much', Chg, OXwT, Osm {Rh.} köp, ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv köp, VTt, Bsh küp, SY {Tn.} köp^h ~ кер^h, Tf k̃ēp 'much, many', Tkm, Kr, Qmq köp, Uz кўп kwp id., 'very'; here also (?) Tv x̃öy 'much, many' ¶ Tf k- points to a pT lenis *k̃^l-, while Osm, Tkm k- (and Tv x-?) favour the rec. of a pT *k̃^l- ¶ Cl. 686-9, DTS 317, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 107-8, Rh. 1580, S AJ 187 [#115], TvR 258, 488, Tn. SJJ 187, Ra. 204 || M *kö|üb-ċin 'whole, all' > WrM köbcin, HIM x̃öbч, x̃öbчин 'whole, complete, all, everything', Ord g̃übċ'in 'tout, tous', WrO kübcin 'entirely, wholly, all', MM [S] gubč'in 'ganz,

völlig, alles, insgesamt'; M → WrMc гуѡѡі id., Mc Sb /gufač̣ī/ [gufč̣ī] 'entire, whole' ¶ MED 475, Ms. O 273, Krg. 749, H 51, Hr. 378, Y#2812, STM I 426 || Tg: [1] *_lx_lupka- 'all' > Ewk upkat/ç-, Ewk M/Nr/Tk/Tt/Urm upkał, Ewk Tng upka-t, upka-l, Ewk Tkm opkat 'all, everybody, whole', Neg opkał, Ud ufał 'everybody' ¶ STM II 281 | [2] Tg *kupu(-kte, -l∇) 'whole' > Ewk kūktz ~ kuwukti, Lm kubəç, Neg, Nn kupuktz, Ul kuptz, Ork qopolo, kupuktz, kupuču 'whole', Sln xokkoji 'entirely', Ud kufula ɘ kufulz id., 'everywhere' ¶ Tg *k- (for *x, which is expected in the N context) needs explaining (regr. as.?) || ? pJ {S} *kúpá-pa- v. 'add' > OJ kúpápá-, J: T kúwae- ~ kuwaeé-, K kúwáé-, Kg kuwaeé- ¶ S AJ 271 [#176], S QJ #176, Mr. 718 ¶¶ S AJ 27, 285 [#233], DQA #884 *kǝp'∇ 'all (весь)' (T, M, Tg *kupukte, without pJ, which was mentioned in earlier versions [SDM95, SDM97]) || D *kopp- ({ǝGS} *k-) v. 'be full' (-d→ v. 'fill') > Prj kopp- v. 'be full', kopip- v. 'fill up', Gdb kop- v. 'be full', kopup- v. 'fill', koppen 'full', Mnd kupki- v. 'fill', Ku kuppu ānay v. 'overflow'; Tm kuppam may go back to a coalescence: D *kopp- v. 'be full' × *kupp- 'heap' ¶¶ D #1731(a) (does not distinguish *kopp- v. 'be full' and *kupp- 'heap'), cp. GS 50 [#124] (*kup- 'heap').

985. *_lk_lu_lɣ_lbE 'thorn' > IE: NaIE *keuβ- 'thorn, thorny plant' > OHG hi ufo 'haw, wild rose, hawthorn', MHG hiefe, NHG Hiefe 'hip, haw', NNr hjūpa, OSx hiopo 'hip', AS héopa 'hip, brier', NE hip (a plant) || Pru kaāubri ({En., Tp.}: ce. for *kāubri) 'thorn' ¶ WP I 380-1, P 595 (wrong rec. of *k̄-), OsS 403, Ho. 157, Ho. S 34, Kb. 471, Lx. 88, KM 307, En. 186, Tp. P I-K 104-6 || HS: CS *kubb- 'thorn, a prickly plant' > MHb כוב kuḅ (pl. kuḅ'b-īm, kuḅ'b-īn), JA [Trg], JPA כובא, כבא kuḅ'b-ā id., Sr كَبْأ kuḅ'b-ā 'spina, baculus spinosus', Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} kubb- 'salsa et amara planta' ¶ Br. 315, Lv. II 282-3, Js. 616, Fr. IV 2 || ?σ K: G Lch ḱop̄-i 'nave, hub of a wheel (of a two-wheeled bullock car)' (× N *ḱuP∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance'?), as well as possibly G ḱubera 'Ährchen (an der Getreideähre)', G I ḱipḱipa 'collar-bone', G R ḱipḱipa 'chickens's forked bone (furcula)' ¶ Chx. 594, 612-3, 635 ¶ The glottalization of the labial cns. may be due to as. || ? A: M *kögöl (if from **köbül) > WrM kögöl, Kl κөгөл kögəl, {Rm.} kög̊] 'blackthorn, Prunus spinosa' ¶ MED 481, KRS 310, KW 236 ◇ If the K words belong here, the N initial cns. is *ḱ, otherwise it is *Ḳ (i.e. *either *q̄ or *ḱ). The IE *-b- for *-b^h- is explained by the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √. In S there is a

deglottalized *k-. If the N etymon is ***ḱ**¹**uʔbE**, we have to assume that S and IE lost the precons. ***ʔ**, while in Kartvelian the N cluster ***-ʔb-** yielded ***-p-**.

986. *Ḳab'Eʔ'∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' > HS: S: [1] S *ḱaby- 'wickerwork; vessel' > Ak {Sd.} ḱabû 'Geflügelstall', ḱabûṯ-u 'Becher, Kelch', Sr **ܩܒܐ** ḱεḅ'ūā 'Behälter' [2] CS *kabb- '(ε) vessel' > BHb **קב** ḱab '(ε) a measure of capacity', IA ḱb, JA, JEA **קב** ḱab'b-ā, Sr **ܩܒܐ** ḱab'b-ā id. (S ḱ → Gk κύβος id.), and ḱ Plm ḱb 'crater, bowl (?)' ¶ Ell. 147, BDB 866 [#6894], Lv. IV 232-3, Sl. 977-8, Br. 639, KBR 1060, Sd. 889-90, ≈ F I 750 || Eg fMK ḱbū 'jar for beer' (> Cpt B **ΚΗΒΙ, ΚΑΒΗ** 'cruche') ¶ EG V 25, Fk. 277, Vc. 71 || WCh (mte.) *kaḅ∇ 'basket' > Su {J} kàβεν 'game-bag made of leaves' || DfB {J} kàḅâ 'basket', Sha kaḅâ 'basket for millet' || (× N ***kab**∇ 'calabash, gourd', q.v. ffd.) Hs kàḅákí 'ε large calabash for food' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561] (*kaḅḅ∇ 'calabash'), Ba. 515, J S 68, J R 216, 286, Sch. DN 92-3 || IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box' (IE *-p- < *-bʔ- < N *-**b**∇ʔ-) > Gk κύπη 'crib, manger' || L capula 'scoop', capulus 'coffin', capēd-o / -inis '(ε) an earthen bowl used in sacrifices', capsā 'box, case (for books, etc.)', capsus 'Wagenkasten' || OHG hafan, havan 'dish, vessel, kettle', NHG Hafen 'earthen pot/vessel' ¶ P 527-8, WH I 157, 162-3, F I 783, Kb. 421, ≈ OsS 361, Schz. 158, KM 280 || A: NaT *k'āb 'bag, sack' > OT qāb 'leather bag, wine-skin', OQp XIII **قَاب** qap, Cum XIV hap 'sack', Chg XV qab 'vessel, wine-skin', Osm XVI qaV 'a sloughed snake's skin', Tkm qāp 'sack, earthenware', Tk kap 'earthenware, dishes, vessel', Az **قاب** gab 'vessel, case', Ggz kap 'earthenware', ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Bsh, Qrg qap, Uz **қоп** qop, Xk, Tv **қар** 'sack', VTt qap 'sack of bast mat', Alt qap 'leather bag' ¶ Cl. 578, ET KQ 266-7, TAG 86, Df. III #1364, Hüs. 67 || M (d.?) *qabturgan 'bag' > MM [MA] {Pp.} qabturga 'pocket', WrM qabtagan, HIM **қавтра** 'bag, pouch, purse; pocket', Ord qab_t'arga 'small bag, purse for tabac and pipe', WrO **қабтаға** ~ **қабтаға** 'bag, pouch, pocket', Kl **қабтх**, {Rm.} **қабтаҳă** 'pocket', Kl Ö {Rm.} **қабтұғă** 'Beutel, Tasche'; M ḱ → Alt {Rm.} qaptırҗа 'small leather bag' ¶ MED 899, Kow. 760, Gl. II 86, Pp. MA 285, Ms O 282, Krg. 238, KRS 562, KW 167 || pJ {S} *kàpì 'shell' > OJ kàpìì, J: T kái, K kái, Kg kaí id.; the adduction of pJ *kàpì 'egg' (as in DQA) is unc. ¶ ≈ S QJ #149, Mr. 433 ¶¶ Cp. DQA #972 (A *k'āp'ā 'a k. of vessel, box': incl. T *Kapırçak and M

*qayurĉaq ~ *qayirĉaq [possibly derived words], J *kàpì 'egg, shell' || AdS of K: G *qurprieli*, Sv *qurpr* 'wine-skin' (< N *k'ü'ry▽p▽ 'sack, wicker basket' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The K root suggests N *k-, but since the N word in question is not the main source of the K word, one cannot distinguish between N *k- and *q- ¶¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. мѣхъ, TK 351, GP 132 ¶ K *-p- is likely to go back to N *-b▽?-

987. *kăbʔâ 'bite' (→ 'eat') > IE: NaIE *ġebʰ- v. 'eat, gnaw, chew' > Lt *žėbiù / žėbti* v. 'eat slowly', *žėbiu / žėbeti* 'essen, picken' || Sl *zoba-: pSl inf. *zōbati 'to eat' > OCS **ИЗОБАТИ** *izobati* 'to eat up' ('aufessen, verzehren') (of a person), **ОЗОБАТИ** *ozobati* 'to eat off, to destroy (e.g. a vineyard)' (of an animal), **ПОЗОБАТИ** *pozobati* 'to eat\peck up' (of birds), SCr *zòbati*, Slv *zóbati*, Blr *за'баць, 'зобаць*, Uk **Δ** *зо'бати*, Cz *zobati*, Slk *zobat* 'to eat (esp. corn, fodder)' (of animals), Blg *зобам* 'eat (esp. corn, fodder)'; ⇨ Sl *zōbъ 'food (corn) for animals' > Blg *зоб* id., Slv *zōb* f. 'fodder corn', SCr *zōb* id., 'oats', Cz *zob* 'fodder for birds', P *zób* 'fodder (корм)' || MHG *kifer* 'to gnaw, to chew' | NaIE *ġembʰ- 'bite, tear asunder' (a variant stem with a nasal infix - probably, originally a stem of the present) > Arm **ծամեմ** *camem* 'I chew' (aor. **ծամեցի** *camecʰi*), **ծամելի** *cameli* 'jaw, cheek' || OI *jam̐bhatē* 'snaps at', {P} 'schnappt', caus. Vd *jam'bhayati* 'crushes to pieces', Av *ham ... zambayaδwem* 'zertrümmert!' (inv. 2p) || Lt *žėbiù / žėbti* 'cut to pieces' | Sl *zėb-q / *zė-ti 'tear asunder, lacerate' > OCS **ЗАБЪ** *zėb-q / *ЗАТИ* *zė-ti* 'lacerare', R *зябъ*, Uk *зя'бля* 'land ploughed in autumn for spring sowing' | ⇨ *ġombʰo-s 'tooth' (× NaIE *genbʰ- / *gnobʰ- 'peg, stick' < N *gän₁▽, 'p₁'▽ 'stem, stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 369 (on *ġembʰ-, *ġombʰo-), M K I 419, F I 319-20, Kb. 527, Lx. 107, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BER 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, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slt. 254-5, Wn. 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, ≠ P 382 (does not distinguish IE *ġebʰ- 'eat, gnaw, chew' from *ġep(ʰ)- ~ *ġebʰ 'jaw, mouth') ¶¶ IE *ġ- for the expected *k̑- is due to the IE rejection of **teġʰ-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) ¶¶ The IE nasalized stem *ġembʰ- may have been influenced by the reflex of N *k̑em▽ 'to bite' (q.v.) || HS: WS *o√k̑bʔ ~ *o√k̑ʔb > Ar √q̑bʔ 'manger, se remplir de boisson', √q̑ʔb 'manger et boire, prendre ce qui est dans un vase' (× N *k̑oʔbE 'to fill; whole'); (??) +ext.: S

* $\sqrt{\text{kb}\check{\text{c}}}$ > Mh, Hrs $\sqrt{\text{kb}\check{\text{s}}}$ v. 'sting, bite' (a scorpion\snake) ¶ BK II 656-7, Jo. M 222, Jo. H 73 || K: GZ * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-}$ v. 'bite' \rightarrow * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-en-}/\text{*kb-in-}$ v. 'bite' > OG, G $\check{\text{k}}\text{ben-} / \check{\text{k}}\text{bin-}$, Mg $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibir-}$, Lz $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibin-}$ v. 'bite'; \rightarrow K * $\check{\text{k}}\text{b-il-}$ 'tooth' > OG, G $\check{\text{k}}\text{bili}$, Mg $\check{\text{k}}\text{zbir-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{ibir-}$, Lz $\check{\text{k}}\text{ibi(r)-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{ibr-} \sim \check{\text{k}}\text{irb-} \sim \check{\text{c}}\text{ibr-}$ id. ¶ K 106-7, K² 87, Schm. 16-7, FS K 171 || A: ? ϕ AmTg * $\text{k}\check{\text{e}}\text{pu-}$ v. 'gnaw, bite' > Orc $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{puti-}$ id., 'gnaw through', Ud $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{fug}\check{\text{z-}}$ v. 'bite in pieces' ('разгрызаты') ¶ *- p- is from A *- p' - < N *- $\text{b}\check{\text{?}}$ -; Tg * k- for the expected * x- may be due to a secondary association with an onomatopoeic word (Neg, Ork $\text{k}\check{\text{z}}\text{pur-k}\check{\text{z}}\text{pur}$ - an imitation of the sound of gnawing) unless the onomatopoeia is secondary and the Tg word goes back to N * $\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{ä}}\text{b}\check{\text{?}}\hat{\text{ä}}$ 'bite' ¶ STM I 452 || T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ v. 'bite' (\times T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ 'seize' < N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ id.) > Az, Tkm $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Nog $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$, ET {BN} $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'bite', Qq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Qzq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ id., 'seize with the teeth', Uz $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'bite' (of animals), VTt $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ v. 'take into the mouth, seize with the teeth', Qrg, StAlt $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with mouth\teeth', Bsh $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{b-}$ v. 'bite', Tf $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with the mouth' (of a flying insect), v. 'bite' (of a fish), Chv $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}/\text{b-}$ v. 'take into the mouth, eat' ¶ Rs. W 218, ET KQ 264-6, Ra. 218, Ash. XVI 84, Hüs. 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, NogR 131, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, UzR 622, BN 118, Fed. II 380 ¶ The merger of T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ v. 'bite' with T * $\text{k}'\text{ap-}$ 'seize' explains the polysemy in Az $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'grasp, bite', Qq $\text{q}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$, Qzq $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{b-}$ id., 'seize with the teeth', Tkm $\text{g}\check{\text{a}}\text{p-}$ v. 'catch (sth. thrown in the air), seize, bite', Chv $\text{x}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'take into the mouth, seize', Qrg $\text{q}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'seize with hands, seize with the mouth\teeth', etc.; there is also infl. of the onomatopoeic factor. The back vw. * ä may be explained by those two factors and/or by vw. harmony: * $\text{k}'\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\hat{\text{ä}}$ > * $\text{k}'\text{äp-}$ || D * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ \sim * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$, {GS} * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ > Tm $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ (p. $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ i), $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ (p. $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ i) v. 'seize with the mouth', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ n. 'bite, seizing by the mouth (as dog), eating', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', Ml $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'seize with mouth, bite', $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'snap at, eat as a dog or a madman', Tl $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'seize by mouth', ? Png/Mnd $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ 'bite', Kui $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{g}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ v. 'chew the cud', Ku $\text{g}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'eat fast', ? $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ v. 'eat fast like a dog'; D \rightarrow OI $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'mouthful, morsel', Pali $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ 'small piece, mouthful'; the variant * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ may be due to contamination with N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ 'to seize' ¶ D #1222, GS 107 [#279] || ? σ U: FU * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ > Er Δ {Jv.} $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{-ems}$ 'to swallow', Mk $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}$ $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{-ems}$ id., Δ {Jv.} 'to take sth. into the mouth' (\times N * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla \sim$ * $\check{\text{Q}}\text{ap}\nabla$ '↑') (N *- $\text{b}\check{\text{?}}$ - > *- p- > FU *- $\text{p}\check{\text{ä}}\text{-}$ > Mr $\text{-p}\check{\text{ä}}$) (\times FU {Sz.} * $\text{k}\check{\text{ä}}\text{p-}$ '≈

grasp, take' < N ***Ḳap**∇ ~ ***Ḳap**∇ '↑') ¶ Jv. 176, PI 101-2 ◇ The vw. *a in FU *^okapp- and T *^k'ap- is due to regr. as. (N ***ä...â** > ***a...∇**) ◇ IS I 313-4 (does not distinguish between N ***ḳäbʔâ** 'to bite' and N ***Ḳap**∇ ~ ***Ḳap**∇ 'to seize') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #60 (***κερ** 'bite').

988. ***ḲæbL**∇ (or ***-Lb-**?) 'to support, to lean' ([in IE] → 'to help') > IE: NaIE ***ḱelb-** ~ ***ḱelp-** ~ ? ***g_l^h₁elb_l^h₁-** 'help' (different results of compulsory dis. from the original ***ḱelb^h-**, due to the IE root-structure rejection of ****tegh-**roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) > Gt hilpan, ON hjalpa, OSx, AS helpan, NE help, OHG helfan, NHG helfen 'to help' || Lt šelpiũ / šělpti v. 'support', (NaIE ***g_l^h₁elb_l^h₁-** >) OLt gélbti, Lt gelbéti, Ltv ġelbēt 'to help', Pru galbimai 'we help' ¶ WP I 447, P 554, EI 266 (***ḱelb-**), Fs. 255-6, Vr. 231, Ho. 154, Kb. 451, Schz. 163, KM 302, Frn. 144, 971-2, En. 17, Tp. PE-H 134-6 || HS: B ✓**kb**l v. 'support' > Ah əkbəl 'soutenir (empêcher de tomber en étayant par dessus ou par côté)', ETwl, Tyr əkbəl 'soutenir, maintenir debout' ¶ Fc. 729-30, GhA 88 || A: M ****kelbe-** (× N ***Ḳiy_l∇_lí** 'to bend, to bow'): ***kelbey-** v. 'lean, bend to one side' > WrM **kelbey-**, HIM хэлбий- v. 'lean (to one side)', Kl {Rm.} **kelwi-xə** 'sich lehnen, seitwärts biegen', M ⇨ WrMc **kelfi-** v. 'lean, incline to one side'; M ***kelberi-** > WrM **kelberi-**, HIM хэлбэрэ-(x) 'lean, incline'; MM [S] **kelberi_l-** (caus. of **kelberi-**) 'schiefschräg werden lassen', **kelbes** 'mir einer Wendung' ¶ MED 446, 450, 467, Kow. 2531-2, Ms. H 69, H 97, KW 224, Z 269-70.

989. ***ḳ'ä'ćU** or ***ḳ'ä'ć∇w∇** 'wild goat', 'é antelope' > K ***ḳ'icw-** ~ ***ḳ'wic-** 'female ibex', (?) 'colt' > OG **ḳ'icw-**, G Δ, Mg **ḳ'vic-** 'colt', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} **ḳ'wic-ra** 'female ibex' ¶¶ K² 95, TK 354-5, Ni. s.v. **коза** || HS: B [1] ***✓y_sʔ** 'goat, sheep' > ETwl, Ty **te-y_se** (pl. **ta-y_siwen**) 'goat, sheep', Ah {Fc.} **ti-y_se**, Gh {Nh.} **č'i-x_si**, Kb **ti-x_si** 'goat', Izn, Rf **ti-x_si** (pl. Izn **ti-x_səswin**) 'sheep'] ?? [2] ***✓kss** > Tmz {MT} **a-ksas** (pl. **i-ksas-n**) 'mouton à laine courte ou frisée', ? Kb ✓**kss** 'commencer à brouter (agneau, chevreau)' ¶ GhA 73, MT 351, Dl. 424-5, 908, Fc. 908, 1781, Rn. 366 || NrOm {Blz.} ***keş-** 'goat' > Bnc {Wdk.} **keš**, Gmr {Bul.} **кэцъ** id. ¶ Blz. OL #147, Wdk. BY 105 || Ch: WCh: Hs **káčáw_ri** 'male duiker' (unless from Niger-Congo lgs., / Hehe {Sk. ← ?} **kicimba** 'dikdik'), Ngz {Sch.} **gáskâ_l** 'roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus koba)' || CCh: Mkt {Sk. ← ?} **kucub_l** 'gazelle' (unless from the aforementioned Niger-Congo source), Klb **kušiši** 'goat' ¶ Ba. 586, Sch. DN 70, Sk. HCD

140 | | **A:** T *k'äçi or ?? *k'äcü (Mdx.) *k'eč'i) 'goat' > NaT *k'äçi or ?? *k'äcü > OT Og, Chg, Kr kăči, Tk keçi, Az, Ggz keči, MQp {Cl.} kăči ~ kăši, Tkm, NWXT A, NrXT D1/Shu/Ze, NETX G/J/L geči, SEXT Chs, SWXT H/QB/SA găči, SEXT XO găčči, NrXT D2, NWXT ShT gečči, NrXT Dg geči, SWXT J/PK găči, NrXT L, NEXT M, NrXT Q geči, SEXT R gatči, Xlj {DT} gočü, VTt kăžă, Bsh kăză, ET K {Bu.} kăčki ||| Chv кача kaž_a, качака kaž_a-g_a id.; it is not clear if NaT *üčkü ~ (dis.?) *ečkü 'goat' has anything to do with this N word, it may go back to N *gužê '≈ sheep, goat' (q.v. ffd.) with the T dim. sx *-k∇, but mutual infl. of both etl. sources is highly probable ¶ ≈ Cl. 24, Rs. W 246, ET VGD 34-6, ≈ TL 426, DT 108, Bu. II 116, Jeg. 95, Fed. I 242, Md. 35 (pT *k'eč'i), DH ChT #123 (in word-lists of different XT dialects), Shch. Zh 117-8 ◇ The unexpected *k∇w- in K *k∇wic- is still to be explained (mt. *k∇icw- > *k∇wic-?). If the N etymon is *k'ä'č∇w∇ (as suggested by Ch), the final syll. was lost in T ◇ AD NM #44, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs).

990. *kēc∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *kēs- v. 'cut, stab, chop' > OI śas- v. 'cut down, slaughter' ||| Gk κεύζω v. 'split, cleave, Gk Hm κείων acp. 'cleaving' ||| OIr ces 'spear'] ↯ NaIE {P} *kōstro- 'knife, spear, javelin', {EI} *kōs-trom ~ *kōs-dhrom 'cutting instrument, knife' > OI śastram 'knife, dagger' ||| Gk κέστροα {LS} 'hammer, ε bolt' ({By.} 'marteau pointu, poinçon') ||| pAl {O} *cestrā > Al thadēr 'adze' ||| d.: L castrō, -āre v. 'castrate' ¶ P 586, Mn. 494, 614, EI 336, FI 806, ≈ FI 820-1 (κέστροα ↯ κεντέω v. 'prick, goad'), LS 944, WH I 179-80, M K III 319, M E II 626, Vn. C 79, Vr. 225, YGM-1 84, O 471 | | **K** {IS} *°kac-/°kç- v. 'cut', (?) 'chop' > Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB {IS ← Top.} kç- 'chop', {GP} msd. li-kç-e 'chop down (a tree)', {IS ← Top.} na-kacw 'scar (рубца)', {GP} na-kacw 'chopped; wounded with a knife', Sv L {IS ← Top.} kç- v. 'cut', {Dn.} kç-/kçič- 'cut off' ¶ IS I 320, GP 175, 230 (with k for k due either to the idiolect of the lge. speaker [Ms. Chato Gudjedjani] or to inaccurate recording), Dn. s.v. kçič | | **HS** *k∇s- > amb S: [1] *°kçss > ζ BHb ✓kçss *Po* (3m ip. קָצַץ יָצַץ qəḳəṣ 'ses) 'tear out, pluck out' [Ex. 17.1] (a qu. traditional interpretation based on the JA Targum translation קָצַץ יָצַץ qəḳəṣ 'he will pluck'), MHb {Lv.} קָצַץ קָצַץ qəṣā'sā (pl. קָצַץ קָצַץ qəṣā'sōt) 'abgeschnittenes Stück, Erdscholle', MHb ✓kçss (pf. קָצַץ קָצַץ qəṣā'sas) 'zerkauen'; [2] S *°kçç ~ *°kçç v. 'cut off' (as. *kç < *kçs) (× N *kUç∇ 'cut/chop into small pieces' × N *kōc∇ 'shorten by cutting' × N *Kēc'a' 'tip, end [extremity]') > BHb ✓kçç D (pf. קָצַץ קָצַץ qəḳəṣ) v.

'chop off, trim', Ug \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ {OLS} 'cut (trinchar)', Sr \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$) 'cut off', JA {Js.} \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ G (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳas ~ $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳaṣ) 'cut, fell', JEA {Sl.} \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ G 'cut down/off', Ar \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ G (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ qaṣṣa) v. 'cut off', Ak {Sd.} \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (inf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$) 'abschleifen'; CS \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ > BHb \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ |w D (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳiṣ) 'cut off piece by piece by piece, break/chop off', Pun \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ D v. 'cut, extirpate', JA {Js.} \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳaṣ) ~ \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳaṣ) 'cut, break into pieces', JEA \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ G 'cut off, set aside', Sr \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'ḳaṣ), ChrPA $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (= \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$) v. 'break off (bread)', Ar \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (pf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ qaṣṣa) 'couper le bout d'une oreille (d'une chamelle/brebis)', [3] S \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ v. 'cut' > MHb {Js.} \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ Sh 'cut', SmA \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ v. G 'divide', Ar \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ v. G {BK} 'casser/rompre de manière que les deux parties se séparent', {Hv.} 'divide, distribute, separate', Ak \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (inf. $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$) v. 'cut (trees, wood), cut weeds, cut/chop herbs' (with reg. deglottalization responsible for the absence of $\text{ḳ}ṣ$ -roots in Ak), MHb {Lv.} $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'chip, splinter', JEA {Sl.} $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'chip' (\rightarrow NHb $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ ke(y)'sam id.); S \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ v. 'practice divination' (> Hb, SmA, Sr, Md, Sb, Gz \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ id.) hardly belongs here, it is semantically nearer to WS $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'share' (\rightarrow 'lot') (see N $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'a share' [\rightarrow 'lot', 'fate']) ¶ CAD VIII 240-1, BK II 737-9, 755-6, Hv. 605, 607, Klein 577, 585, HJ 1022, KB 1041-2, 1046, 1050-1, KBR 1116, 1125-6, BDB ##7096, 7112, OLS 376, Js. 1397, 1405, 1407, Sl. 1014, 1033-4, Tal 789, Sd. 457, Lv. IV 346-7, 362 || ?σ B \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (< \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$), \checkmark $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ (\times N $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'cut/chop into small pieces') > Tz -ḳas- (~ -ḳaz-) 'zwicken, stechen', Izd {Mrc.} $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'piquer (insecte)', Kb ḳḳusu 'être fendu' ¶ Stm. 181, Dl. 629, Mrc. 193 || U: FU (att. in Prm) $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - v. 'cut' > pPrm {LG} $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - v. 'cut' (\rightarrow 'cause pain') ({LG} 'рубить, резать, колоть') > Vt $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - vt. 'skin and chop to pieces (a carcass)', {Mu.} $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - (= $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -) v. 'cut/chop to pieces (meat, wood), Z $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'colic', Z Sk $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ bičkz 'has a stitch in his side' (LG consider the correlation Z 0 ÷ Vt a to be a typical reflex of *ḳ when followed by a palatal cns.) ¶ LG 137 || ?φ A: Tg $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - v. 'unrip, rip up' > Nn $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -li- ~ $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -čī- id., $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -kz unripped', U1 $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -li- ~ $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -čz-, Ork $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -čī-, Orc $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ ti-, Ud $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ si-, Ewk, Neg $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -, Lm $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - / $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ - v. 'unrip, rip up' ¶ STM II 439, Krm. 313 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1021 (A $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ 'rip, tear apart': incl. Tg) ¶¶ The voicing of the intervoc. N affricate in Tg still defies explanation || D (in CD) $\text{ḳ}ṣṣ$ -

({ǂGS} *k-) to shave' (with puzzling quality of the vw.) (× N ***ḲayCä** 'hair'??) > Prj *kēč-*, Gdb *kēs-* v. 'shave', Gdb *kesal* 'razor' ¶ D #1995 ◇ IS I 320-1 [#196] (HS, K, IE + *÷ U **käćŋ / kećŋ* 'knife, point', ?A **k'äsä*, ?D **kacc-* v. 'bite'). A {DQA} **k'āsī* 'cut; piece' (> T **k'äsä-*) hardly belongs here because of the irreg. *s (for the expected affricate). D **kacc-* v. 'bite' is not a reliable cognate (≠σ). The forms ascribed by IS to the U √ **käćŋ / kećŋ* belong in fact to FU **kečŋ* 'knife' (UEW 142) and to FU **kaća* 'Ende, Spitze' (UEW 110) (actually from N ***Ḳeč'a** 'tip, end').

990a. ***Ḳečŋ** 'clay, earth' > HS: WS **ḳačç-* > Ar *qaṣṣ-* 'gypsum', {BK} 'plâtre', Sq {L} *qas(ṣ)* [= *ḳaṣ(ṣ)*] 'plâtre, argile' ¶ BK II 745, Hv. 607, L S 382-3 || ??φ,σ WCh: Hs *ḳásā*, Gw {Mts.} *kaša* ≙ *kasa* 'earth, soil, land' ¶ Ba. 575-6 || K **ḳec-* 'clay, clay vessel' (× N ***Ḳoṛačŋ** 'basket, wickerwork', [in descendant lgs.] → 'earthen vessel') > OG *ḳec-* 'clay, earthen vessel, tile', G *ḳeci*, Mg *ḳici* ≙ *ḳeci* 'frying pan of clay', Lz *ḳic-* 'pan of stone', Sv UB/LB/ Ln/L *ḳec* 'large earthen wine pitcher (dug in the earth)', 'grand pot (creusé dans la terre)', *ḳḳḳḳḳḳ* ¶¶ K 108 (GZ **ḳec-* 'clay'), K² 90, FS K 175, FS E 191, Abul. 197, Chx. 573, 575, Q 259, TK 347 || D: SD **kečar-* 'mud' > Kn *kesar* 'wet soil, mud', Tu *kesar* 'mud, mire' ¶ ≈ D #2020 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [#12] (incl. K, S, Hs, D), ≈ Sk. HCD 168 (Hs, Gw + unc. parallels in branches of HS).

991. ₂ ***Ḳičŋ** (or ***Ḳiçŋ**?) 'thigh muscle' > IE: NaIE **kejs-* 'thigh, forearm (Vorderarm), thigh muscle' (infl. of N ***Ḳiçŋ** 'hip, thigh' [q.v.]) > Dt *hijs*, *hijze* {vD} 'piece of smoked meat (stuk rookvlees)', {P} 'Muskel, Lendenstück, Keule', Dt Lm *hies* 'popliteal space' || Lt *kiš-ka* 'thigh, haunch', {Frn.} 'Kniekehle, Unterschenkel, Hesse, Hachse (von Tieren)', Ltv *ciš-ka* 'thigh, haunch' || ?? OI *kiṣku-* 'forearm' (Frn.: k- for the expected c- due to the infl. of *kaḳṣā* 'Achselgrube'; it may alternatively be explained as a Dravidism from ppD ***kiçṭ-*) ¶ WPI 365, P 543, Frn. 260, ≠ M KI 213, MEI 355 (*kiṣku-* 'Stiel einer Axt' → later 'forearm'), Kar. I 182 (Ltv *ciška* and Lt *kiškà* < **kikšā* through mt.) || HS: S **kiçŋ*- 'thigh muscle' > Ak *kišlum*, *kašlu* 'thigh, thigh muscle (Lende, Lendenmuskel)', BHb *ḳeṣel*, JA [Trg.] *kiš-l-ā* 'loins, side', Ug *ḳsl* {A} id. (coll.), {OLS} 'lomo, espalda', SmA (?) *ḳsl* 'loins', Ar *kišl-* {Fr.} 'nervus dimissus de arcu', {WKAS} 'die Sehne des zum Krepeln der Wolle gebrauchten Bogens' ¶ KB 466, KBR 489, BDB #3689, Js. 654, Tal 401, Sd. 486, A

#1357, OLS 226, WKAS K 194, MiK I #1.153 ◇ Here S *k- results from deglottalization of N *k̥- (rather than of *g̥-), which suggest a pN *k̥-, but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could occur later than the merger of N *k̥- and *g̥-.

992. *k̥oć∇ (or ***g̥oc∇**) 'shorten by cutting' > K: either [1] {FS} *k̥wec- 'cut (off), cut hair' > OG {Abul.} k̥wec- v. 'cut\shear (hair)' [Acta 18.18, I Cor. 11.6], mo-k̥wec-, da-k̥wec- v. 'cut off (hair)', m-k̥wec-ari 'barber', G {Chx.} k̥wec- 'beschneiden, kürzen, stutzen (z. B. Haare)', Sv {FS} k̥wec-/k̥oc- v. 'cut off', Sv {Ni.} k̥wc- v. 'cut', Sv UB {GP} li-kwec, li-kwce v. 'cut short', verbal nouns of result: mekwce 'cut off', näkwic 'cut; fragment', Sv L {Dn.} k̥ic-/k̥c- 'cut\chop off (a small part)' ||| or [2] K *°g̥w∇č̥- > Sv L {Dn.} ot-g̥wīč̥a 'he cut off (e.g. a hand)' ¶¶ FS K 183, Abul. 112, 205, 257, 267, Chx. 580, GP 173-4, 218 (with k for k̥ as in the case of k̥č̥- for k̥č̥-, / s.v. N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut'), Dn. s.v. k̥ic and g̥wīč̥ || **HS** *k̥∇c- v. 'cut, cut off' > S *✓k̥č̥č̥ v. 'cut off' and ě*k̥ss id. (× N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) || Eg RT ĩk̥s 'abschneiden' ¶ EG I 138 || ? C: Bj {R ← Stz.} 'k̥ʷaša 'Beschneidung' ¶ R WBd 150 || **IE**: NaIE *°k̥l̥w̥es-/°k̥l̥w̥os- v. 'cut' > pSl *°čes-/°kosa: *°čes- is preserved only in Slv čēs (gen. čěsa) 'splinter, chip' ('щепка, лучина'); *ko'sa 'scythe, cutting weapon' is general Slavic: ChS коса 'falx', Blg, R, Uk ко'са, Blr ка'са, SCr kòsa, Slv kósa, Cz, Slk, P kosa 'scythe', OR, RChS коса 'scythe, pole-axe, battle-axe', OCz kůsa, kosa 'halberd' ¶ ESSJ IV 91 and XI 133, Glh. 335-6, ≠ P 586 (connects Sl *kosa with IE *k̥es- v. 'cut' [see N *k̥ec∇ 'to cut'] in spite of the fact that Sl *k- does not go back to *k̥-) || **D** *kuč̥č̥- 'splinter', 'stump' (× N *k̥Uč̥∇ 'to cut\chop into small pieces', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The rec. of either N *k̥oć∇ or N *g̥oc∇ depends on our choice of the K cognate.

993. *k̥oʔać∇ 'basket, wickerwork' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'earthen vessel') > IE {E} *k̥was- 'basket' -d→ NaIE *k̥was-yo-, *k̥was-lo- 'wicker basket' ('geflochtener Korb'), 'Flechtwerk', *k̥we(:)syā 'vessel': [1] *k̥was-yo-, *k̥was-lo- 'wicker basket' > L quālu-m ~ -s id. (< *k̥waslo-m/-s, as can be seen from the dim. quāsilu-m/-s - with -s- from an emphatic *-ss-) ||| pSl *k̥ošb̥ (*k̥wasjos) / gen. *ko's̥a 'basket' > OCS, OR кошь кошь, Blg, R Δ кош, SCr kòš, Slv kòš, Cz, LLus koš, Slk kôš, Hlus kòš, P kocz, Uk кіш 'basket', pSl *košelb̥, *košela, *košelb̥ 'wickerwork, a wattle, Geflecht' > LLs kóšela 'wattle-fence', OP, P koczela, OR кошель кошель 'wicker basket', R ко'шель id., 'small

sack' | [2] *k^we(:)sjā 'vessel' > pSl *čǎša 'cup' > OCS, OR **Чаша** čaša, R **чаша** 'cup, bowl', Blg **чаша** 'a glass', SCr **čāša** 'bowl', Slv **čáša** 'cup, a glass', P **czasza**, OCz **čieše**, Cz **číše** 'bowl' | Pru [El.] **kiosí** 'Becher' || OI **caṣakaḥ** 'drinking-cup'; Irn **č** → Arm **ճաշակ** čašak 'cup, mug, glass' ¶ WP I 507, P 635, EI 52, WH II 397, M K I 380, ESSJ IV 30-1 and XI 187-9, 195-7, Glh. 173, 337, SPS II 117-8, En. 193, Tr. P I-K 371-3, M K I 380 || HS: S *kaʔas- 'vessel' > BHb **כוס** kōs, SmHb {BH} **kuwʷās** 'shell-shaped goblet, cup', Ug, Ph, IA, Htr **ks**, Ph **ḵs** (ḵ < *k...?), SmA **כס** ks ~ **כאס** kʔs 'cup', JA **כוס** kās-ā ~ **כאס** kas's-ā {Js.} 'cup, calyx', JEA {Sl.} **כוס** kās-ā 'cup, bowl', Sr **كاس** kās / **كاس** kās-ā, Md **kasa** 'drinking-bowl, cup', Ar **كأس** kaʔs- '(wine-)cup' ({BK} 'coup à boire [surtout remplie de vin]'), Ak **kāsū** 'drinking-bowl'; SCn *kōs- **č** → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} **ku-cì** 'cup', {EG} **kc** 'Krug aus Metall', Eg L **k3** 'vessel of silver' ¶ KB 444 (WS **č** → Ak), KBR 466, OLS 225, BH II 491 and IV 136, HJ 521, 1018, A #1348, PS 1776, BK II 849-50, WKAS I 13-4, Js. 652, Sl. 590, Tal 399-400, DM 199, Sd. 454, CAD VIII 253-6, Hlk. #265, SivCR 9, 20, 47, 86, EG V 148, Hlk. 523 [#265], Tk. AANM 1 ¶ The distribution of the vowels and the glottal stop in the lgs. provides ev. for a pS ***CaʔaC**-structure; the hyp. of Sum origin of the S word is unfounded (CAD VIII 256) || B *k^uʷss- 'pot, drinking vessel' > Ah, Gh **akus** (pl. **ikassan**) 'pot, vase pour boire', Gd **twkəs** (pl. **takassan**) id. ¶ Fc. 911, Lf. II #0317 || C: Ag: Xm {R} **kūskūšā** (pl. **kūskūš**) 'Wasserkrug'; Ag **č** → EthS: Gz **k^wask^was** 'pitcher, pot', Tgy **k^wask^wasti** 'phial of glass or metal' (**č** → Af {R} **kūš'kūsti** 'Gefäß, Krug, Schale'), Amh **k^w3sk^w3st** 'water jug' ¶ LG 296, R Ch II 63, R A II 78 ¶¶ Ap. ANH 22 and Tk. AANM 1 (both: Eg **kc** **č** → S) || K: [1] G **ḵvaçia** 'small earthen pot' ¶ Chx. 575 || [2] K *ḵec- 'clay, earthen vessel' (× N *ḵeć∇ 'clay, earth', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *koća 'basket (made of birch bark), vessel' > FΔ **kosio**, **kalakosio** 'großer Fischkorb aus Birkenrinde' (**kala** 'fish'), Krl A **kojza**, **kozja** 'kleiner Rindenkorb mit Henkel aus Birkenrinde' | Lp: N {Fri.} **guöšše** 'Rindenkorb', T {Gn.} **kišše**, K {Gn.} **kūjšš**, Nt {Gn.} **kuo;šš** 'Tragekorb aus Birkenrinde', Klt {TI} **koček** 'schmaler Korb aus Birkenrinde' | Mk **кучю**, Δ **κούου** 'spoon' || ObU *kōć- > Vg Ss {Kn.} **sān-xos** 'kleiner Rindenkorb', {BV} **санхос** 'чуманчик' (ε 'birch-bark vessel'), Vg LK {Vxr.} **sānχōs**, **sānχōsp** id. (**сан**, **sān** 'Birkenrindenschachtel', 'чуман' [ε 'birch-bark vessel']); Os: V {Trj.} **qoća**[k], A/UA/Ty/Y/UY {Trj.} **qoći**, Vy {Trj.} **qoćaq** 'a birch-bark

scoop used to drink water from and to scoop out water from a boat' ({KrT}: Ty qǒti, V qoťa]q+ 'Trinkgefäß aus Birkenrinde', Vy qǒčaq 'Rindenschachtel von der Form einer Schöpfkelle, die in die Wiege gestellt wird') ¶ UEW 192 (FU *kuć∇ 'Korb, Schachtel aus Birkenrinde'), 164 (FU *koća id., FU *koća or *kuća 'Trinkgefäß'), Gn. 194, TI 151, PI 137, BV 99, KrT 345, Trj. S 176, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU *kuc/š i 'birch bark vessel', FP *kuš i, Ugr *kǔčĩ [what does Sm. mean by Chr kuužaa, Vt kož, Z kuža, where are they registered?], *kücärη id. > FP *kǔčä-, Ugr *kǔčä-) || A {DQA} *k'āč'a 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > Tg *xaçu-xan 'cauldron' > Orc xačuan, Ul xačoa(n-) 'cauldron', Ork xaçuyā(n-) 'suspended cauldron', Nn Nh xačoχã id., Nn KU xačoχoã ~ xačã id., 'birch-bark box', WrMc xaçuyān mucen 'three-legged cauldron', ? xañcuxā ~ xañcuxān 'cauldron (for coal)' ¶ STM I 464-5, Vv. AEN 10 (believes that in the AmTg lgs. the word id a loan from Mc) || NaT *Kāça 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > ET Δ {MI.} qača 'clay bowl', {Jr.} qača ~ qačä ~ qačĩ 'bowl, vessel', Tkm qar qāžaq 'kitchen earthenware', Az qar qāžaq 'tableware, dishes, kitchen utensils', Tk kapkacak id., {Bu.} qar qačaq 'pots and pans' ¶ ET KQ 342-3, Rs. W 217, MI. UN 122, Jr. ET 235, Bu. II 1 || ???φ M: WrM küce ~ güce, HIM ryc 'small kettle used for tea, oil, etc.', WrM {Kow.} küce 'théière', Brt rycə 'small tea-kettle'; this M word makes the impression of being a loan from some unknown source and therefore is highly qu. as a cognate ¶ MED 388, 495, Kow. 2613, Chr. 166 ¶¶ S CNM 2 (A *k'āč'a) ¶¶ DQA #984 (A *k'āč'∇: T, Tg) || D (in SD) *ku|oč-a- (+ sx.) ({ϑGS} *k-, ? *-s-) 'potter' > Tm kuyam (/ kucam- as the first member of cds.) 'potter caste', kuyavan ~ kucavan 'potter', Ml kuyavan ~ kuśavan id., Tm f. kuyatti ~ kucatti, Ml f. kuyatti 'potter (woman)', Tm kō, Kn kōva, kuvāra, Tu kisave 'potter' ¶ D 1762 ◇ ≈ IS I 365 [#241] (*KucΛ = {IS} *Kuc∇): HS (incl. S *✓kwsr 'basket'), IE, U, ≈ AD NM #23, S CNM 2 (suggested to adduce the T cognate). The change of vowel quality in A (*ā for the expected *ō) is unexpected, the word may be a loan ◇ Gr. II #75 (*koca 'container') (IE, U, J).

994. ₂ *ka₁h₂c|č∇ 'young man' (→ '[grown-up] man') > K *kač- 'man, person' > OG, G kač-i id., Mg, Lz qoč- id., Sv: UB/Ln čāš, L čaš 'husband' ¶¶ K 106, K² 87, FS K 170-1, Schm. 118, Chik. 43, TK 860-1 || U: FU *ka₁čā 'young man' > Chr L kače kače 'bridegroom, young man', {Ps.} kače, Chr Y {Tv.} káčь 'bridegroom' (Chr б→ Chv каччя

kaččъ 'unmarried young man'; the direction of the borrowing is suggested by the fact that the Chv word is isolated in T and A, while the Chr word has obvious cognates within U) || Vg: N {Mu.} xūś, ML {Mu.} khus ~ khus, P {Mu.} khus 'servant; knave (of cards)', LL {Kn.} kxūs, Ss {Kn.} xūz 'id., 'worker, serf', P/SV {Kn.} kuś, NV {Kn.} kūs 'knave (of cards)' | OHg hūs ~ hēs 'young man, hero', Hg hōs, Δ hēs 'hero' || Sm {Jn.} *kāḫsa (= {Jn.} *kāāsa), {Hl.} *kaḫsa 'man, person' > Ng d. {Mik.} kōdumu, {Cs.} kuajumu, En {Ter., Cs.} kāsa, Ne T xacava, Ne O {Lh.} χāsaβ'ā id., χāś'e 'young man', Ne F Ny {Lh.} kas'sa 'man, young man', Kms {KD} k'uzā, Koyb {Sp.} kyza 'man, person', Mt {Hl.} *kaḫsa 'person' (Mt: M {Pl.} kasa, kaza, {Sp.} kazy, K/T {Mil.} chāssa, A {Adl.} chasa) ¶ Ps OT 57 (Chr → Chv), UEW 110 (Chr Y káčъ 'bridegroom' ← Chv), Coll. 15, MRS 184, WVD VII 133, MK 130, MTE II 159, EWU 584, Jn. 61, Hl. M #438, Fed. I 242 ◇ IS I 315-6 [#191] (*kac'ā 'man, young man': K, U) ◇ Sm *āḫ (= {Jn.} *āā = {Hl.} *aḫ) points to a additional element (most probably Ir.) within a √. This Ir. (denoted as *H₂) may be *ʔ, *h, *ɸ, or *ħ (because these are the only laryngeals that yield zero in K) ◇ AD NM #23, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs).

995. ₂ *Kaωc'∇ 'share (Anteil)' (→ 'lot', 'fate') > IE: NaIE *kaus- ({WP} *qaus-) v. 'draw lots' > Gk {LS} καυός 'lot' (*kaus-no-s) (not καῦνος, as was believed earlier, F P 537, but καυός, on the ev. of Herodianus Grammaticus) || Sl *kъšъ > RChS, OR **къшь** къšъ 'lot (Los), fate', ChS, OR **къшннн са** къšiti sę 'sortiri, to cast lots', **прѣкъшннн** prěkъšiti 'to win at dice' ¶ WP I 332, P 537, Ch. 506, LS 932, HrdG I 178, Bern. I 672, ESSJ XIII 247, Srz. I 1416 || **HS:** WS *k'is_l∇_m- 'share' (→ 'lot') > Ar qism- 'portion, share', qismat- 'repartition, allotment; lot/fate (decided by God)', Hb **קָסָם** {KBR} 'prediction, survey of future events; decision (by means of an oracle)', SmA **qsm** 'division', JA **קִיסְמָא** qis'm-ā {Lv.} 'Zauberei, Ausspruch', {Js.} 'divination, divining tool', JA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} **קָסָם** √ qsm G 'divine', JEA {Sl.} **קָסָמָא** qassā'mā 'diviner', Sr **qesmā** 'lot, sortilege, soothsaying', Plm **qsm?** 'soothsaying'; hence some d. verbs in descendant lgs.: Ar √ qsm G v. 'divide, distribute', SmA √ qsm v. 'divide', BHb √ qsm G (ip. -qsm) v. 'consult an oracle or the spirit of a dead person, soothsay', JA √ qsm, Sr √ qsm v. 'soothsay', Md √ ksm v. 'tell fortunes, soothsay, bewitch', Gz **ḡastakāsama, ḡastakāsama** 'divine by omens, foretell by means of magic'; → SmA qsm prt. G 'sorcerer',

Sb mḵsm 'oracular decision' ¶ GB 432, KB 1042, KBR 1115-6, BDB #7081, OLS 226, Js.1397, Sl. 1030, Tal 788-9, BK II 737-8, Hv. 605, DM 222, BGMR 108, L G 446 || SC: Irq {E} qasīs- 'divide', {MQK} qasīs-id., 'distribute' || DhI {EEN} qāṭāḍ- 'divide' ¶ E SC 250, MQK 85, EEN 19.

996. *ḲayCä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *kaṷs-(√r-) '(long) hair' > OI kēsarā- 'hair, mane' || Lcaesariēs 'hair of head' || Tc A sísrī (< *śisrī-) 'mane' || ? BSI (× N *ḳa'č'U 'scratch', q.v.): Lt kasà, Ltv kasa 'tress, braid' | Sl *ko'sa (accus. kòsq) 'hair of the head; tress, braid' > ChS KOCa kosa, Blg KOCa. SCr kòsa, OCz, P kosa 'hair of the head', OR, RChS KOCa kosa, R, Uk KOCa 'tress, braid' ¶ WP I 329-30, P 520, WH I 133, M K I 268, M E I 401, Frn. 226, Vs. II 345, ESSJ XI 131-3, Glh. 335, ≈ EI 251 (*k(e)h_ṷis√r- 'mane'); ≠ Čop IU IV 152 [#49] (equates IE *kaṷs- [his *kaṷ-s-] with U *kay√ 'hair') || HS: Ch: WCh: Grn G/Mb {Sh.} k^yàsàr 'hair', Jm {Gw.} kyeko id., as well as (?) Bg {J} kēbsi, Bg/Kir {Sh.} k^yâpsì id. | ?? Hs gǎšì (pl. gǎsúsúwà, gǎsú, gǎsúsúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gǎša 'hair, beard, feather' (if g- instead of ḳ- may be explained by the infl. of nearly-synonymous words like gēzà 'mane' or gìzò 'long matted hair on a man's head', F s.v. N *gæz√ '∈ hair, wool'; alternatively, it may be a loan from Ful gāsa 'hair') || ECh: ?? Kbl {Lk.} kesebo 'hair' ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. 27 [#66] (Ch *gasi 'hair'), Sh. SB 47, Ba. 370, Mts. G 42, Sk. HCD 80, Zb. 190, Lk. ZSS 92, Blz. EChWL #37 || A: NaT *k'ä'čä (or *k'e'čä) 'felt' > OT {Cl.} kăčā, Osm XVI kečä, Chg {PC, Bu.} كيجه kečä, Tk keče, Ggz kečä, Az kečə kečä, Tkm keče, Xlj {DT} kăčä, ET Δ {ML.} gǎžì ḍ gežì, Chv (← a NaT lge.?) kbśše id.; the rec. of T *ä in the first syll. is based on the OT spelling only and therefore is qu., because the old etl. distinction of *ä and *e has not been preserved either in Az or in other modern lgs. with this √ (F ADb. SR-D 51-6) ¶ Cl. 694, ET KQ 59-60, Hüs. 16, DT 146, POC 483, Bu. II 116, 174, Jeg. 110 || ?σ,φ D (in CD) *kēč- ({{ḷGS}} *k-) 'to shave' (× N *ḳec√ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.).

996a. 2 *Ḳäč'√ '(be) cold; freeze' > HS: S: Ak fOB kaṣû 'become cold, cool off', Ak StB/NB kaṣû 'cool' (of the evening) (deglossalization *ḳ > k- due to the Ak law of incompatibility of two glottalized cnss. in the same root) ¶ CAD VIII 269-70 || C: EC {Ss.} *ḳīz- 'cold' > Sd, Ged, Hd ḳīda, Alb, Qbn ḳī'za (deglossalization *-ç- > *-z-?) || Ag: Bln {R} ḳažḳaž-, Xm {R} ḳazḳaz-, Q {R} ḳeḳez- 'abgekühlt sein\werden, kalt sein'; Ag ⇨ EthS: Tgr ḳəzḳəzə 'be cold', Amh {L}

ḳəzzəḳəzə vi. 'cool', 'be cold' (of water) ¶ L Z 120, Ss. PEC 4, R WB 245, LH 257, L CAD 79 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} kōčó ~ kōčó 'be cold' | Shk {AY} ḳeč, Mj {Fl.} ḳeč-us, {AY} ḳeʔuz, ? Na {AY} ḳeʔu 'cold' (of air) || SOm: Hm B {Fl.} ḳəžǐ ~ ḳəžǐ, Hm K {Fl.} ḳəžə ~ ḳəžə-mu, Bk {Fl.}, Ari G {Fl.} ḳəžǐ, Ari U {Fl.} qəžǐ ~ ʔəžǐ, Dm {Fl.} ḳižin 'cold' ¶ Wdk. BY 129, 148, AY WShND, Fl. OWL s.v. 'cold', Blz. OL s.v. 'cold' || U: FP *kāc̥∇ 'become cold', 'freeze' (of a person)' > Chr H kižē- (inf. kižǎš) 'feel cold' | Prm *kež- > Z кѳдзѳд кэž+d, Vt кезьыт kež+it, Δ kež+it 'cold', Z kэžav-nit 'become cold' ¶ UEW 648, Ep. 43, Ber. 17, LG 139 ◇ Not here (⇔ Sauv. 106) Mc γεσεω 'frost' and Nn *gečǐ (actually gəčǐ-) 'freeze' (< Tg *gek̥ti-, see STM I 178) ◇ Blz. LB #26b (HS, U), Blz. LNA #26.

997. *ḳeč'a' 'tip, end (extremity)' > HS: CS *ḳičč- 'tip, end' (× N *ḳec∇ 'to cut') > BHb ḳeč / +ppas. ḳičč- (ḳičč-ō 'his end') 'end, border', Ug ḳə 'end, tip', JA ḳeč / ḳəč-ā 'end, term', Sr ḳeč 'end', SmA ḳə 'end'; CS *ḳičč-at- >, Ph ḳəčt cs., Pun ḳəčh, Plm ḳəčʔ 'end, border', Sr ḳeč(ə)'t-ā (cs. ḳečət) 'extremity, outskirt' ¶ KB 1044-5, KBR 1118, HJ 1021, A #2434, OLS 375, Tal 793, PS 1404, JPS 515-6 || U **keča 'tip, point, end' > (vw. harmony) FU *kača ~ *kečä > [1] (from *kača): F kasa 'sth. protruding, end (Ecke), corner (Winkel)', Es {W} kirve kačsa 'lower tip on the blade of an axe' || [2] (from *kečä): pLp *kēčē 'tip, point (Spitze)' > Lp: S {Hs.} giedije, L {LLO} kiehtjē, N {N} gæčče, Kld kīēžž || Hg hēgy 'tip, summit, mountain' (× U *kaž∇ 'mountain' < N *kał∇ 'rock, hill, stone') || pY {IN} *kič- 'end, tip' > □Y:K {IN} kiš-il, T {IN} kič-il id., T {Ku.} kičit 'end, edge', K {Jc.} kičit 'Ende', kič- 'Ende', K {IN} kiši-tə-, T {IN} kičo-tə- v. 'finish' (-l is a sx. of deverbal nouns, -tə- is a sx. of vt.) ¶¶ Coll. 86, UEW 110, Db. OS x, xxxi, Lr. #379, Lgc. #2237, Hs. 591, Ang. 115, Ku. 93, IN 227, ≈ Rd. UJ 45-6 [#63] (Y ← U) || A: M *kičir 'ends of a bow' > WrM kičir, HIM хичир id., Ord nūmū gēč'ir id. (nūmū 'bow') ¶ MED 464, Ms. O 264 ¶ M *i of the first syll. (for the expected *e) may be explained by regr. as. (*e...i > *i...i) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #125 (*kaci 'edge') (U, Ai, ? Ko + err. A *koše 'end' + unc. J).

998. *ḳuč∇ 'cut\chop into small pieces' > K {FS} *ḳuč- id. > G {Chx.} ḳuč- 'shred (into small pieces)', '(in kleine Stücken) zerhauen, zerhacken, zerstückeln', Mg ḳuču 'small, low', {Q} ḳuču-ḳuču 'small, low-

statured', {FS} $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'small, low'; Sv {TK}: UB/L $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\bar{o}$, UB $\kappa we\check{\upsilon}\bar{o}$, UB/Ln $\kappa(w)e\check{\upsilon}o$ ~ $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}o$ 'little, small, a little' (< N * $\kappa U\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ × N * $\kappa U\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ 'small' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ FS K 195, K² 105 (GZ * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ -), FS E 214, Chx. 647, Q 263, TK 349-50, GP SED 131, Ni. s.v. маленький || HS * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - v. 'cut\chop to pieces' > S *- $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - v. 'cut off', (× N * $\kappa ec\nabla$ 'cut' × N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ [or * $goc\nabla$] 'shorten by cutting'): S * $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut off, cut to pieces' > BHb $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ G v. 'break off, cut off piece by piece; chop off', MHb $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ (ip. - $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}$, 2m $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$) v. 'cut (off) (e.g. one's nails, plants)', Ug $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut (trinchar)', JA [Trg.] $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut down (a tree)', JEA {Sl.} $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut down/off', Sr $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ (pf. $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$, ip. - $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, - $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$) v. 'cut short, clip (wings/beard)', SmA $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ 'cut', Mh, Jb $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'chop', Mh $a\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$, Jb C $e\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'shave\cut off (one's moustache)', Sq {Jo.} $\kappa e\check{\upsilon}$ v. 'cut', Ak $\check{\upsilon}\kappa\check{\upsilon}$ D v. 'cut short, clip (wings, nails)' (dis. $\kappa...e$ > $\kappa...e$) ¶ KB 1050-1, KBR 1120, BDB 893 [#7112], A #234, OLS 376, Js. 1339, Lv. T II 352, Lv. IV 272, 361-2, Sl. 1034, PS 3699, JPS CSD 512-3, Tal 793, Jo. M 328, Jo. J 151, Sd. 457 || B: Kb $\check{\upsilon}\check{\upsilon}$ (pf. $i\check{\upsilon}i$) 'être fendu (ustensile)' (× N * $\kappa ec\nabla$ 'cut') ¶ Dl. 629 || ? C: Bj {R ← Stz.} 'k^waš a 'Beschneidung' (× N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ (or * $goc\nabla$) '↑') ¶ R WBd 150 || ? Gil: Gil A [$qo\check{\upsilon}$] in $qo\check{\upsilon} moqs$ '(chopped up) block of wood' ('чурка') (moqs is 'piece') ¶ ST RN 457 || D * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ - ({{GS} *k-) 'splinter', stump' (× N * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}\nabla$ or * $goc\nabla$ '↑' [q.v.] and N * $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}\hat{\nabla}$ 'tree' [→ 'Holz'], 'trunk of a tree') > Tm $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'splinter, bit of stick, stalk', $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'splinter, peg, stick', Ml $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'chip, piece of straw', ?Kn $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump', Tu $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump of a shrub', Prj $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, Gdb $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, Knd $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$, ? Png, Mnd $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'stump of a tree' ¶ D #1640.

999. * $\kappa'o'\check{\upsilon}$ (or * $\kappa'o'\check{\upsilon}$?) 'bone' > IE: NaIE * $\kappa|k^wost-$ 'bone, rib' > L $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}ta$ 'rib' || Sl * $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$ 'bone' > OCS $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$ $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, R $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, P $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}stb$, Cz $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$, Blg $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$, SCr, Slv $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}st$ 'bone' ¶ P 617, WH I 281, Glh. 336-7, Vs. II 349, ≈ ESSJ XI 167-173 (unjustified rejection of the obvius L-Sl connection) || K: G $\kappa o\check{\upsilon}$ -i 'ankle of the foot' ¶ Chx. 618 || HS: Eg fP $\kappa e\check{\upsilon}$ 'bone', Cpt Sd/B $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$ $\kappa a\check{\upsilon}$ id. ¶ EG V 68-9, Fk. 281, Vc. 87-8 || B * $\check{\upsilon}a\check{\upsilon}$ 'bone' > ETwl, Ty $e\check{\upsilon}b$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}b$), Ah {Fc.} $e\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Gh $i\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Gd $\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $\check{\upsilon}a$), Izn, Rf $i\check{\upsilon}a$, Izd $i\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Sll $i\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Wrg $i\check{\upsilon}a$, Si {La.} $i\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Kb {Dl.} $i\check{\upsilon}a$ (pl. $i\check{\upsilon}a$), Zng {TC} $i\check{\upsilon}a$ ¶ Fc. 1780, Lf. II #1255, Dl. 629, Dlh. Ou 246-7, GhA 73, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || EC: Dsn {To.} $\check{\upsilon}a$ 'leg' ¶ AD SF 298-9 (* $\kappa\nabla\check{\upsilon}$ - 'bone'), To. DL 502 || NrOm: [1] Na {Fl.} $\kappa u\check{\upsilon}$ 'bone',

[2] ?σ {Blz.} *k̥us 'foot, leg': Na {Fl.} k̥us, HzMa k̥asi id. || SOm: Dm. {Bnd.} k̥ʊs, {Fl.} k̥us 'bone' ¶ Blz. OLBP #20, Fl. OO 317 || Ch {Stl.} *k̥as^{r1} 'bone' > WCh: Hs k̥aš^{r1} id. | Su {J} j̥es id. | NrBc {Tk.} *k̥as- 'bone' > Wrj k̥āsunà, Kry k̥āsù, My k̥úsí, P' {MSk.} k̥ás-kì, Cg k̥é-k̥ésè-n, Mbr k̥á-k̥ásè, Jmb k̥è-k̥ási id. ({Stl.}: all either from *ha-k̥asi with regr. as. or with rdp.) | DfB {J} k̥^uas, Bks k̥^uas, Klr g̥^uaš^aw 'bone' || CCh: Tr g̥^uš id. | HgNk {Kr.} g̥^uš id. | Mlw {Trn.} k̥èš-ké, Msg P {Mch.} k̥éš-ké, {Trn.} keške, Msk {Trn.} k̥íš^{r1} id. || ECh: Dng {Lk.} k̥āso, k̥ási, EDng {Fd.} k̥āsò, Ke {Eb.} k̥áskè, Kwn {ChC} k̥ísigí, Nd {J} g̥ūsé, Smr {J} g̥ūs^{r1}, Bdy {J} k̥ás-ko 'bone' ¶ JI II 36-7, ChC, ChL, Stl. IF 103, J R 217, Sk. NB 47, Tk. NB 182, Trn. LDM 26, Trn. LM 98, Lk. ZSS 17, Blz. EChWL. s.v. 'bone' || S: [1] ?φ S *^o✓k̥ss or *^o✓k̥šš > Ar ✓qss 'ronger les os' (unless a semantic derivative of Ar ✓qss 'chercher', 'seek after sth.') | [2] ??φ S *^okaçç- > Ar qaçç- 'poitrine, os de la poitrine' ¶ Fr. III 449, BK II 735, 745 ¶¶ If the glottalization in S *ç is ancient (rather than caused by assimilation), S *ç for the expected *θ (< N *č) is due to the rather frequent S (or HS) loss of a marked phonemic feature, which may explain the rareness of the phoneme *θ in S (cp. the same process in N *čawχ∇ 'to cry, to exclaim' > S *^o✓çwħ) ¶¶ OS #1557 (B, Eg, Ch, EC, Om), Tk. PAA 20 (WCh, Eg, B), ≠ Sk. CDH 168 || ?φ A: Tg *^o[x̥]ā∇ > Ew ājɜ 'bone of elk's hind leg' ¶ STM I 17 ¶ The length of the vw. a is due to a special Altaic type of lengthening of the vw. in open syllables (resulting in T short vowels and Tg long vowels). The quality of the vw. still needs explaining || D (in NED) *kōč^{r1}∇L 'bone' > Krx x̥ōč^{r1}, Mlt qoč^{r1}lu id. ¶ D #1288 ◇ Not here pMr *keskə 'sacrum (Kreuzbein)' (> Er каське kaśke, Mk кеска keskə) (it goes back to FP *keske 'middle', / Ker. II 57). If the N etymon is *k̥^{r1}o^{r1}č^{r1}∇, the K glottalized *-č^{r1}- (and S *ç) may be due to as. (infl. of *k̥-) ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 344 (reconstructs *k̥aS∇ 'bone': HS [Eg,C,Ch,B], IE + *÷ S and FU), AD SF (HS [C,Ch,Eg,B], IE), and Blz. DA 156 [#42]. The meaning 'breastbone' in Ar and 'rib' in L may be ancient ('≈ bone of the breast').

1000. *Kařč∇ 'to advance with effort' > HS: S *^o✓k̥řθ | > Ar ✓qřθ | 'tirer un pied après l'autre, comme qn. qui marche dans un bournier épais et cherche à s'en retirer', 'marcher comme un homme embourbé' ¶ BK II 776 || U: FP *kōč^{r1}- v. 'crawl, clime (klettern, kriechen)', 'run' (of animals) > Lp: N Δ {Fri.} guoccat v. 'run' ('løbe'), OSw {LÖ} qwotset v. 'run' (of animals), Tn {Lgc.} kuoc-, A {Lgc.} kuog^{r1}- v. 'crawl, kriechen' (of a snake), v. 'run' (of a dog), L {Wk.} kuög^{r1}ca- {Wk.}

kuəɔɔa-) id., 'klettern', Vfs {Lgc.} kuöc- 'klettern', Tf kuoɔc-/kuoc- 'hinaufklettern', I {Tv.} kuos·ið 'über das Wasse hinlaufen (von Schwimmvögeln)' || Vt: {W} gþžilt- 'kriechen', Δ {U3S} гыжылт- v. 'linger, loiter', Sr/G {Mu.} gþžilt- 'langsam gehen, kriechen', Uf {Wc.} gþžilt- 'schleichen, to walk slowly', M gþžilt- v. 'crawl' (of babies) ¶ Tv. IA 70, Wk. LLW 51, Lgc. #2860, U3S 417 || A: NaT *Kaç-, {Tz.} *kač- v. 'flee, run away' > OT qač- id., Tk kaç-, Tk WAn {Tz.} qāč-, Tkm, Az гач- qač-, StAlt, Tb qač-, Ggz kač-, ET, Kr, Qmq, Qrg qač-, Uz qoč-, Uz Af {Tz.} qāč-, VTt кач- qač-, Bsh qas-, Nog, Qzq, Qq qaš-, Tv qaž-, Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ Cl. 589-O, Rs. W 217, ET KQ 340-2, Tz. UIS 95 ¶ Tv q- (rather than χ-) suggests a pT lenis *k'- (for the expected fortis *k'-), which is still puzzling. Tz. UIS 95 reconstructs here a half-long vw. (on the ev. of Anatolian and Uz dialects) ◇ Cp. IS I 309 [#181] (*Kač n: U, A) ◇ U (FP) *ō (< pre-U *ā) reflects N *aɿ (in U there is no *ā).

1001. *Kâ'ɿ'çit ▽ 'ram, sheep' > IE: NaIE *k^het- (?) ({WP} *qhet-) 'sheep' > OIr cīt 'sheep (mouton)' (< *ketni-?), citén 'lamb', cetnat 'ewe' ||| Arm խոճ χoɟ 'ram' ({WP} < *qhoti-), ռչխար oč^hχaɾ 'sheep' ({WP} < *qhotjuqh-), խաշն χašn 'flock of sheep; sheep' ||| ?φ ON haðna, MHG hatele, NGr Δ hätte ɖ hättel ɖ hättel 'goat' ¶ WP I 384 (the Ir-Arm comparison is dubious and rejected by Pokorny), Vn. C 108, Vr. 200 ||| A {ADb.} *k₁'uɕ- 'ram, wether', {DQA} *k₁'oɕ' ▽ 'ram' > NaT *Koç 'ram' > OT Og ≥XI qoč, Tk koç, Az, Xlj qoč, Kr qoč, Qq qoš, Uz Δ qoč ɖ qōč 'ram', Tkm qoč 'uncastrated ram; ibex', Qzq, Qq qoɕ (a quieting interjection for sheep during milking), Qrg qoč ~ qoš (an interjection for sheep), Qq d. qošaqaɳ 'lamb', Nog d. qošanay end 'lamb, kid'; T ⇨ Hg kos, G qoč-i 'ram'; NaT *koçnar '(uncastrated) ram, sire-ram' > OT {Cl.} qoçnār ɖ qoçɳar ɖ qoçuɳar 'ram', Tk koçkar 'fighting ram', Tkm qoçgar 'young uncastrated ram', Slr qošqur ɖ qoškōr ɖ koškōr 'ram', Chg xv qoçqar 'wild ram, ram', ET qoçqa(r), Uz, MQp [CC], Qmq, Kr qoçqar, VTt Δ qušqar ɖ qučqar ɖ qucqar, Bsh Δ qusqar, Tv qošqar 'ram', Qzq, Nog, Qq qošqar, Qrg qoçqor 'uncastrated ram, sire-ram', StAlt qoçqor 'wild mountain ram' ('дикий каменный баран') ¶ Cl. 592 (believes that T [Og] *qoč is a loan from M, which is hardly acceptable because the word is attested in Og long before the Mongolian conquest), Rs. W 274, ET Q 87-9, TL 432-3, TkR 190-1, DT 119, Tn. SJ 390, 465, MM 452,

NogR 175, KrkR 405-6, KRPS 372, Jud. 410, BT 80 || M *quča(n) 'ram, lamb' > MM [IM, IsV, HI] quča 'ram', [MA] quča 'lamb', WrM quca(n), HIM xуц id, 'uncastrated lamb', Ord quč'îâ 'ram', Mnr H {SM} χυζῖâ 'ram', χυζῖâ χοργα 'uncastrated lamb' (χοργα 'lamb') ¶ Lg. VMI 40, Ms. H 91, Pp. MA 307, MED 979, Ms. O 318, SM 174 ¶¶ Rs. W 274, ADb. KL 8 ¶¶ DQA #863 || HS: S *°kař'θ¹- or *°kařt- > Ar قفط qařt- 'troupeau nombreux de moutons' ¶ BK II 782 ¶ S *t (for the expected *θ) is due to defricativization of *θ (Ar ڤ) at the pS (or Ar?) level - maybe due to borrowing from Aram (where S *θ yields t) ◇ If this comparison is right, IE *kʰet- may be explained as resulting from mt. of aspiration: *kʰet- < *ketʰ-, the phoneme *tʰ going back regularly to N *č̣. If the A cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be *Kâř't ▽.

1002. ₂ *Kayeč ▽ 'heat, summer heat' > HS ({OS} *kayič-): WS *kayθ- 'summer' > OCn [EA] kēču, Hb קַיִיץ 'kayič, Ug kθ, OA כַּיִיץ kuyš? (= kay'θ-ā) 'summer', JA {Js.} כַּיִיץ kē't-ā ~ כַּיִיץ kay't-ā 'heat, summer', JEA כַּיִיץ kay'tā 'summer', Sr كَيِيز kuy't-ā id., Ar قَيْظ qayθ- 'summer heat, the hottest part of summer', Sb *iq kuyθ 'summer, summer crops', Mh kuyθ 'summer before the rains', Jb E/C kuθ 'spring (which is hotter than the rainy season)', Hrs kuyθ, Sq {Jo.} 'kəyay 'summer' ¶ KB 1026-7, HJ 1020-1, A #2439, OLS 379, Hv. 637, BK II 847, Js. 1357, Sl. 1012, BGMR 112, Jo. M 247, Jo. J 157, Jo. H 81 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} kēč 'heat', {Bnd.} kēč 'warm', Kf {C} kēčō 'heat (hot weather)', Mch {L} kēčč(i)ye), {Lm.} kēččō 'heat', Shn {Lm.} kēčá 'heat, warmth', Anf {MYTY} koco 'hot', Ym {Wdk.} kīčú 'hot', Mj {Bnd.} kēcua 'warm' ¶ Wdk. BY 106, 158, 178, C SE IV 482, L M 45-6, Lm. Sh 345, Bnd. PO 150, MYTY 121, Blz. OL #198 (pOm *koyč- 'warm') || ECh: Mu {Lk.} kàjáw 'fever' ¶ Lk. ZSS 187 ¶¶ OS #1563 (pHS *kayič-), Blz. o.c. (pHS *kayč-) || U: [1] FU *kač ▽ 'warmth, summer heat, (effects of the) sunlight; be warm' > Prm {LG} *gōž ({}LG} *gōžl) 'full blaze of the sun' > Vt gužā-n+ 'be bleached in the sun' (cloth), Z gōž / gōžy- n. 'sunburn', gōž vōž+n '(right) in the sun', Z gōž-y+-, Z US gōž-y+-, Yz gōž-yi- v. 'spend the summer'; -d→ Prm *gōž-3m 'summer' > Vt gužem, Z gōž3m, Z US gōž3m, Yz 'gōžΛm id. || ObU: pOs *kač- > Os: Vy qač-, Ty/Y qāč- 'be warm\hot', pOs *kačəm 'warm', 'maintaining warmth' (of clothes, house) > Os: V/Vy qačəm, Ty/Y qāčəm, D/K χočəm, Ni/Kz χοšəm, O χasəm || [2] FU *kečä 'sun, day' > pChr {Ber.} *kečə > Chr: L/B keče, H kečə, Chr Uf kečē, B keče id. || pMr {Ker.} *kačī > Er čī, Mk šī id. ¶ UEW

114, 141-2, Coll. 80, Sm. 552 (FP *keččä 'sun'), LG 77, SZ 81, Lt. J 105, Stn. D 427-8, Ber. 13, Ep. 43, Ker. II 157 ◇ IS I 348-9 [#224] (*ḲEčċa) ◇ FU *kesä 'summer' (> F kesä, etc.) hardly belongs here (⇔ IS l.c.), but probably goes back to N *k|geHs▽ 'warm, hot, hot season' (q.v. ffd.). This is suggested by FU *-s-, which is not a reg. reflex of N *-čċ-.

1003. *Ḳa'č'U 'scratch, scrape off scales' > IE *kes-/ksey- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gk [Hdt.] κέσκειον 'tow', ξέω 'I scrape', ξύω 'I scratch, scrape' || OIr cír 'comb' ({Vn.}: < *kēs-rā) || SI *čes-āti (1s prs. *čëšq) 'scratch' > OCS ѡЕСАТН česati / ѡЕШѠ češq, SCr česati, Slv čésati, Cz česati, Slk česat', P czesac', R чесать, Uk чесати 'to scratch', Blg чеша 'I scratch' || Blt: Lt kàsti 'to dig', † 'to scrape, to scratch (scharren)', iter. † kasúti id., Ltv Δ {ME} kast (iter. kasīt) 'scharren, Erde aufwerfen, harken'] BSI (× N *ḲayCä 'hair', q.v. ffd.) Lt kasà, Ltv kasa 'tress, braid', SI *kò'sa 'hair of the head; tress, braid']? mt.: Blt *skū- ~ (+ext.) *skut- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (× NaIE *skl̥w̥ēy- 'poke\rake\stir' < N ?σ *ća|oxû '≈ mix, process grains') > Ltv skūt (prs. skuju ~ skuvu ~ skūnu, p. skuvu) 'shave'; (+ext. *-t-): Ltv skust (prs. skutu) 'scratch, shave', Lt skūsti (prs. skutu) v. 'scrape, scour, shave, peel, scale' || Ht kes-, kis(ε)-, kisai- v. 'comb' ¶¶ P 585-6, EI 570 (*kes- 'comb'), Mn. 494, FI 834, II 335-6, 341-2, Vn. C 105-6, Vs. II 345 and IV 340-50, ESSJ XI 131-3, Glh. 175, 33, Kar. II 212, Frn. 226, 823-4, ME II 168-9, Frd. HW 111, 108, Ts. E I 587-8, Pv. IV 157-9 || K *°Ḳač|čwr- (as. from **Ḳačwr-) > G Ḳačr- ~ Ḳačwr- v. 'scratch, kratzen' (× N *ḲḲr̥|Ḳč'▽ 'to scratch') ¶ Chx. 560, DCh. 599 || HS: CS *√Ḳšš ~ *√Ḳšw' ≈ rub, scrape off' > Ar √qšš G 'broyer, écraser en frottant dans la main', √qšw v. G 'wipe (the face), bark (wood), skin (a snake)', ? Hb קַשֵּׁת קַשֵּׁת קַשֵּׁת qāšēṯ, pl. qāšēṯā 'scales'; WS *√Ḳšr 'scales' > Ar qišr- 'rind, fish scales', Gz qāššār 'fish scales, shell', √Ḳšr D v. 'peel, scrape, take off scales' ¶ BK II 740, 744, Hv. 605, 607, KBR 1150, LG 448 || NrOm: Kf {C} Ḳučċ- v. 'scratch', Ḳučċō 'itch, scab', Anf {Gt.} Ḳuśá 'scabbia' ¶ AD SF 88, Gt. 358 || Ch: CCh {Stl.} *k|ec̣- 'scrap, scratch' > Gude ḳwac̣ 'scratch slightly' (a mouse) || Dgh {Frk.} xčà 'shave' || Mf ḳwēče-ḳwēče 'chatouille', MfG -ḳč- 'gratter (la terre)' || Hs ḳōčà 'slight wound of abrasing' ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [#708], Stl. IF 182 || A: pJ {S} *kàsù-r- v. 'scrape' > OJ kàsù-r-, J: T/Kg kasúr-, K kásúr- ¶ S QJ #497, Mr. 705 || D

{tr.} *kačć-, {GS} *kačć- 'itch, scab' > Knd kačći, gačći, Tu gačći id., Kdg kačći 'itch', Tl gačći 'itch, scab', Kasi 'itching, desire', Nkr k'hačć, Prj kačćra, Gnd gačći ~ gačću, Knd gazi, Kui kasa 'itch', Krx k'hasrā id., xās-v. 'scratch for relief' ¶¶ D #1104, GS 90 [#262], 116 [#308] ◇ Cp. IS I 343-4 (S, IE, D, his rec. is *k̥ačć) ◇ The sibilants in most descendant lgs. are regular reflexes of N *-č̥-. The glottalized affricate in K and Kf is explained by progr. as. (N *k̥...č̥ > *k̥...č̥) ◇ T *kič- v. 'scratch (gratter), itch' and Tg *xosī- v. 'scratch (égratigner)' do not belong here (≠φ: the vw. of the 1st syll. and the Tg *-s-).

1004. *k̥ačć (= *k̥ačć) '(young) dog\wolf' > HS: WS *✓k̥š̥(m) 'hyena' > Jb C {Jo.} 'k̥e'š̥et (pl. 'k̥e'š̥ōš̥) 'wolf', Ar qaš̥- 'male hyena', quš̥ā- 'cri de l'hyène', qaš̥am- 'hyena', ?'lion' (unless the latter is from qaš̥am- 'old'), OYmn قشة qš̥h̥ (Slw.) qiš̥ša 'beast of prey', Ar Y {Slw.} qiš̥a (pl. qiš̥āt) id. ¶ Jb, OYmn, and Ar Y are likely to have lost S *š̥ ¶ Jo. J 153, BK II 743, Slw. 178-9, Rossi AS 163 || B *qq̥z̥z̥īn ~ *qq̥z̥z̥ūn 'young dog, dog' (× N ? *kačć 'young dog') > Izd {Mrc.} a-k̥z̥in (pl. i-k̥z̥in) 'chien, chiot', Izn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/T {Rn.} aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inən), Rf B/A aq̥azzun (pl. iqz̥inən), BSn a-qz̥īn, Tmz {MT} ikz̥in (pl. ikz̥inn), ASgr {MT} iqz̥in ~ aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inn), BMn {Bs.} aqž̥un (pl. iqzan), Grr {Bs.} aqz̥in (pl. iqz̥inan), Jrb {Bs.} aḡzim, Kb Z {Bs.} aqž̥un, Shw {Bs.} اقزن aqz̥in, {Hy.} agzim (pl. igz̥emen) 'petit chien', SrSn {Rn.} ṭa-qz̥in-t 'chienne', Kb {Dl.} aqž̥un (pl. iq̥ž̥an) 'dog' ¶ Mrc. 51, 291, Rn. 370, Dl. 667-8, MT 357, 553, Bs. NLB I 310, Hy. 21, Hy. DFCh 100 || SOm {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N ? *ḡ¹ok̥č̥š̥|č̥ (-R̥) '∈ canine', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Blz.) Eg czm 'dog' and Ag *g̥z̥z̥η- id. (both from N ? *kačć '↑') ¶¶ Blz. OL l.c. (Om, Ag, Eg, B) || U: FU (att. in Prm) *°kačć (or *°k̥č̥č̥) > Prm {LG} *ku|ūč̥ 'young dog' > Z кычи kīčī, кычан kīčan, Vt кучапи kučapi id. ¶ LG 155 || A: Tg *kač̥ 'puppy' (× N ? *kačć '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? K: one may take into account Sv {Ni.} k̥oč̥ol 'young dog' (from K ?°k̥|č̥ - and the merger with Sv {Ni.} k̥oč̥ol 'little') unless it is a sd. of k̥oč̥ol 'little' or a mistaken transcription of k̥oč̥ol 'little' ◇ The N cns. *č̥ is reconstructed as lateral on the ev. of S (and FU, where *č̥ < N *č̥ regularly) and as a vl. affricate on the ev. of U. The voiced sibilant in B may go back to a cluster: N *-č̥- > (ass. voicing) *-č̥- > *-č̥- > B *-z̥-.

1005. *kAĉ∇ (= *kǎĉ∇?) 'to burst, to crack; to split' > **HS:** S *-kīŝ- v. '≈ break, skin' > Ar ✓ qyġ G (قَاضٍ qāġa / -qīġ-u) v. 'be broken' (of an egg), 'casser (œuf, bouteille)', ✓ qwġ G (pf. qāġa / ip. -qūġu) 'défaire, séparer les parties qui étaient ensemble', {Hv.} 'destroy (a house), pull off (a tent)', BHb *Sh* ip. ʔ'ġ' y-ā-'kīġ vt. 'demolish' ({KB} 'niederreißen'), vi. 'gape open' ({KB} 'auseinanderklaffen)'), ? Ak -kūġ- (inf. kāġu) 'Haut abziehen, schinden' ¶ KB 1019, KBR 1090, BK II 834-5, 846, Hv. 633, 637 || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *kaĉ∇ 'burst, tear' > Vg {Kn.}: T kün-kaśmāt-, kün-kaśl- 'bersten, reißen, abspringen (eine Schlittenkufe, ein Brett)', LK el-xaśamāt-, el-xaśl- 'sich ablösen, losgehen, abfallen', UL xot-xaśmat-, xot-xaśl- 'zerreißen, sich abnutzen, sich abtragen (Kleidungsstücke)' (kün-, el-, and xot- are preverbs) || Hg hasad- v. 'burst, crack', has-ít- v. 'cleave, split' ¶¶ UEW 854 || **K** *°kuĉġ- > G {Chx.} kuĉ- 'zerhauen, zerstückeln' ¶ Chx. 647 ¶ The K vw. remains unexplained (× N *KĚŠU [or *K'ū'ŝ∇?] 'to skin, to tear'?) ◇ FU *kaĉ∇ points to a N vw. *a or *ǎ of the first syll., S *-kīŝ- suggests that N *ǎ is more plausible than *a.

1006. *kad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to build, to make pottery') ⇨ N cd. or d. *kad∇-L∇ 'wattle-fence' (→ 'wall', 'building') > **IE:** NaIE *kat- 'wickerwork, wattle-fence' > L catīrus 'dip dish\bowl', ?σ catēna (< *kates-nā) 'chain'](× NaIE *kot- 'fence, shed' [→ 'house'] < N *Kotā [~ *Kota?] 'fence, wall, hut, settlement', q.v. ffd.) > Sl *kotъ, *kot-ъcb 'shed, stall' ||| Gt ηερjo 'ταμειχον, Kammer', AS heaðor 'enclosure, prison' ||| Irn *kat- 'house' > Av kata- 'chamber' ¶ P 534, ESSJ XI 211, 214-5, Horn 188, WH I 181-2, ≈ Fs. 254-5, Ho. 153, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ IE *-t- for the phonetically reg. *-d^h- is due to the IE root-structure rule that rejects **g^het-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √); in some cases the contamination with N *Kotā (~ *Kota?) '↑' may have played a role as well ||| **K** *ked-/ *kd- v. 'build' > G {DCh.} ked- 'corner-stone', Lz VAr kid-, Lz X kod- v. 'build', Mg kid- vt. 'partition with a wall' ('перегораживать'); K *kedel-/ *kdel- 'wall' > G ked-el- (gen. ked-l-is), Lz kida, koda 'wall' (loss of *-l due to metanalysis of the pl. form kidał-epe, cp. on such cases GM S 88), Mg Sn kida(la)-, Mg SmZ kзда(la)- ~ kzdela- 'wall' (< *kdel- with an anaptyctic ə ~ i), Sv: L čwed, UB/LB/L čwäd (pl. čwäd(w)-är), Lx čed id. ({IS}: *ked-l-(a) > pre-

Sv *čædw > čwe|ad(w), *F* IS rGM 129) ¶¶ IS I 316, K 107, K DE 358, K² 87-8, FS K 166, 462 (Sv čwed-, čwäd- < K *čwad-), Q 257, 261, Chik. 294, Schm. 107, Zhgh. LT (on the origin of w in the Sv noun), TK 864
 || HS: S (with a deglottalized *k-; × N *kud∇ or *Kud∇ 'to plait?'): [1] CS *kadd- 'jar, vessel for liquid' > Hb כַּד kad (pl. כַּדִּים kad'd-īm) 'pitcher', Ph kd (*kad(d)) 'pitcher, jar' [↳ Gk κύδ(δ)ος 'jar, vessel for water\wine' ↳ L cādus 'jar' and probably Mg ḫoṭo 'pot']), Ug kd, (AkSc) kaddu {A} 'jar', {OLS} 'ε measure of capacity for liquids', JA כַּדָּא kad'd-ā 'jar', [Trg.] כַּדְנָא kad'n-ā ({Js.}: *ce.* for כַּדְתָּא kaddə-t-ā?) 'jug', JEA {Sl.} כַּדָּא kad'd-ā 'storage vessel', Sr {Cst.} كَدْدَانْ kaddā'n-ā 'small narrow-necked jug' (in PS and JPS printed as كَدْدَانْ kaddā'n-ā), Ar kadd- 'mortar' (an alt. et. was proposed by B. Podolsky, who suggested that this S word is a loan from D *kiñṭ- jug'); [2] WS *kud∇r- 'earthen pot' > MHb כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, JA כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā ~ כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā, Sr كَدْرَانْ kadrā'n-ā '(earthen) pot', JEA {Sl.} כַּדְרָא kād'r-ā 'cooking pot', Ar qidr- 'chaudron; marmite en cuivre', qadar-at- 'petit flacon', Mh kādər 'pot'; but the adduction of Ar qadd- and Ak *qadû 'pot' (IS I 316 and AD SF 67-8 after Cal. 212 and Coh. #226) is to be rejected because the Ak word does not exist, and Ar qadd- has been quoted after Cal.'s misinterpretation (repeated by M. Cohen); in fact, qadd- does not mean 'form' (as in Cal. l.c. and Coh. l.c.), but 'skin of a lamb\kid' → 'body, size' [Ln. 2491, Fr. III 404, BK II 682-3], which has no semantic connection with the N word in question; [3] N *kad∇-L∇ 'wattle-fence' (→ 'wall') may be represented in CS *kuta|l- 'wall' > BHb כַּתַּל *kət̪el* 'wall' (att.: כַּתַּלְנוּ kət̪l-ēnū 'our wall'), MHb כַּתַּל 'kət̪el, BA כַּתַּל kət̪al 'wall', JA [Trg.] כַּתַּל kət̪l-ā, JEA {Sl.} כַּתַּל kət̪l-ā 'wall', ?σ Sr كَتْلَانْ kət̪l-ā 'stern, poop', but an alt. hyp. (with better phonetic corr.) attributes this stem to N *Kōta 'fence, wall' (→ 'house') (*see* s.v. N *Kōta [~ *Kōta?]); [4] ?σ CS *kdn v. 'bind' (→ v. 'couple, yoke') > Sr {JPS} kdn (pf. kə'dan) v. 'yoke, couple, join, bind', MHb kdn (pf. kād'an) v. 'yoke', Ar kdn G {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', {Hv.} 'wrap oneself in clothes' ¶ KB 439, KBR 460, 505, BDB #3537, OLS 210, Hnr. 136, Js. 612, 614, 1318, Sl. 553, 567, 1010, Br. 318, JPS 205, PS 1068, Cst. 151, Js. 614, 627, F I 551-2, Masson ESG 44, Q 261, BK II 686, 872, 875, Hv. 647, HJ 487-8, Lv. IV 248-9, BK II 686, Jo. M 224, ≠ Pod. NHE 199-200 || Eg fp kd v. 'make earthenware, build, shape, create' > Cpt

Sd/B **кѡт** kōt, **кѣт-** ket-, **кѡт-** kot- id.; Eg Md **ḳd** 'pot' ¶ EG V 72-5, Fk. 281-2, Vc. 89-90, Crn. 64-5, Crum 122 || NrOm: Zs {Lm.} **ḳeḳe** 'Zaun des Geheges', Shn {Lm.} **kaḳḳà** id., 'Gehege für Rindvieh'. But the Om word for 'house' (Kf {C} **ḳēḳō**, etc.) belongs not here, but rather to N ***ḳoḳa** (~ ***ḳota**?) '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Lm. Sh 335 || Ch {Stl.} ***koḳa** < ***ḳoda** 'pot' (× N ***kud** ▽ 'to plait?') > WCh: BT: Bl {Mch.} **kuḳa** 'pot', Gera **k^ωàḳà** 'calabash', Krf {Sch.} **k^ωàḳó** id., ? **k^ωàḳì** 'cooking pot' ||| CCh: HfF **k^ωad^{ya}** 'small pot' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} **kóḳà** 'a kind of small jar' ¶ Stl. IF 175, ChC s.v. 'pot', Sch. BTL 141, 151, Fd. 288 ¶¶ Coh. #226, Cal. 212, Stl. IF 175 ||| ?σ **ḳ**: NaT ***kat-** v. 'weave, plait, twist (wool into thread)' > VTt, Bsh, Alt **qat-**, Xk **ḳat-** 'twist, plait, weave (threads, ropes)', SY **qat-** 'weave (a rope)', Tf **qat'** v. 'twist (внѣтъ), plait', Tv {TvR} **qáḳta-** v. 'weave, twist (a thread, rope)' (× **qáḳta-** 'add layers' < **qáḳ** 'layer'); the irreg. phonetic form is probably due to contamination with T ***kat-** v. 'mix' (< N ***ḳat** ▽ 'mix') ¶ Ra. 219, TvR 233, Cl. 594-5, Rs. W 219, 241, ≈ ET KQ 336-7 || **D [1]** (tr., ḳGS) ***kaḳḳ-**, {Km.} ***kaḳ-** v. 'tie, build' > Tm, Tl **kaḳḳu**, Ml **keḳḳuka**, Kt, Klm, Gdb **kaḳ-**, Td **koḳ-**, Kdg **kaḳḳ-**, Tu **kaḳḳuni**, Nkr, Prj **kaḳḳ-**, Nk **kaḳ-/kaḳḳ-** id., Kn **kaḳḳu** v. 'bind, tie, dam', Gnd **kaḳḳā** 'a dam in the river for catching fish', Knd **kaḳa** 'bundle (of hay)', Kui **kāḳ-** v. 'fix, fasten', Mlt **gaḳa** 'rope, cord'; [2] < (?) ***kaḳḳī** ~ ***kattī** 'mat, mat-wall' > Gnd **kaḳḳī** 'palmleaf mat', **katti(:)** **ḳ** **ketti** 'mat', Knd **kati** 'wall', Ku **katti** 'mat-wall' **ḳ** **kati** 'wall' ¶¶ D #1147, 1205, Km. 320-1 [#234] ◇ IS I 316-7 (***ḳad^h** 'сплестать из прутьев', K-IE-A-Ch), AD GD 16 (Eg, K, IE), AD NM #91; S CNM 3 (÷÷ NC).

1007. (₂?) ***ḳ'ā'd'i'** 'take, hold' > K ***ḳid-** 'take, hang' > OG **ḳid-** v. 'take, hang' (aḳiḳida mḳarta twista 'she took it on her shoulders', Gen. 21.14), G **ḳid-** 'hängen, aufhängen, aufpacken', Mg **ḳi(n)d-** v. 'take with the hand', Lz **ḳid-** 'snatch, hang', Sv **ḳid-/ḳed-/ḳad-/ḳd-** v. 'take' ¶¶ K 112, FS K 171-2, Chik. 292, Chx. 586-8 || **HS:** S ***^oḳdy** > Sr **ḳdy** *D* (pf. **ḳ^ḳad'dī**) v. 'keep possession of, not let go, hold fast, retain' ¶ Br. 646, JPS 489 || Ch: ?σ WCh {Stl.} ***kḳt-** v. 'get' > AG: Su {J} **kāt** 'bekommen, erlangen, finden', Ang {Flk., Hf.} **kat**, Gmy {Hf.} **kat** v. 'find, get', Kfr {Nt.} **kát** v. 'meet, get, find', Mpn {Frz.} **kát** v. 'find' || Bl **kuḳ** v. 'get', Tng {J} **koḳt-** v. 'hold, keep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 206 [#570] (+ Hs **kyāuta** 'present' [with a query], which is phonetically qu.), Stl. SF, J S 69, J T 102, Nt. 18, Hf. AG 23 [#188], Frz. DM 25 ||| ? **ḳ**: M ***qadagala-** 'preserve, save, keep, take care of' > MM **qadagala-** [S] 'besorgen', [HI]

'prendre soin de, gouverner', [MA] 'take care of', WrM qadagala-, HIM хадгала- v. 'place in safekeeping, preserve, save, keep', Ord xad_agala- 'conserver, garder, avoir la garde de' ¶ H 55, Ms. H 85, Pp. MA 285, MD 902, Ms. O 321 ◇ K *i suggests that a front vw. in the N etymon is more likely than *a. In M *-a- of the first syll. may be from N *-ä- due to vw. harmony || ? E: AchEl ki-ti- 'haben, behalten' ¶¶ HK 489-90.

1008. *k'ôd∇ 'destroy, break, cut' > IE: NaIE *g^ωed^h- 'destroy' (× N *gud∇ 'cut, tear' [q.v.]) > ? OI ∧ gan'dhayatē 'injures' || Gk δευνύζω v. 'abuse, revile', [Hdt.] δέυνος 'reproach' || Blt (× IE *g^ωhend^h-, cp. L of-fendo): Lt gendū / gésti v. 'spoil, deteriorate', gadinū / gadinti v. 'spoil', Ltv ģinstu / ģint v. 'be destroyed' ¶ WPI 665-6. P 466-7, 491-2, M KI 321 (OI < IE *g^ωhend^h-, cp. L of-fendo), FI 366 (no et. of δευνύζω and δέυνος), Frn. 149-50 ¶¶ IE *g^ω- for the expected *k^ω- due to the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ || K: GZ *kōd- vi. 'hew, hollow; cut\peck\chop\wound' (× N *kulo^ha^h∇ [~ *kad₁a₁h∇?] 'pierce', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS *√ kdd (*-kudd-) > Sr √ kdd v. 'tear\cut away', MHb {Lv.} √ kdd G 'cut, separate, perorate', Ar √ qdd v. G 'cut lengthwise, dilacerate, cut off into shreads', Gz √ kdd v. 'cut, cut open, tear apart' ¶ Br. 645, Lv. IV 244-5, BK II 682, Hv. 590, L G 420 ◇ Qu., because the IE and Ugr recs. are still open to discussion ◇ If the K cognate is legitimate, the initial N cns. is *k-, otherwise it may be either *k- or *g-.

1009. ?₂ *kUd∇ 'die' > HS: NrOm: Kf {HHM} kito v. 'die, fall' (× N *k'ohad∇ 'dip, plunge, descend') ¶ HHM 61, 97 || K *k^ωwed-/*k^ωwd- 'die' > G kvd- v. 'die', OG m-kud-ari 'dead'; cp. Sv {Ni.} kwād 'loss (caused by death)' (< N *kōs₁a₁d∇ 'be deprived of') ¶ ≈ K² 91-2, Chx. 575-6, Ser. 102, Ni. s.v. 'лишить, лишение'.

1010. *kA^hū^hd∇ or *kū^ht∇ 'neck, (?) nape, shoulder' > HS: S: Ar qawad- 'length of the neck' ¶ BK II 832 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} ket̄t̄ō, Mch {L} kättó, Amuru {Fl.} kétto, Anf {Fl.} kεtto, {C} ket̄t̄ō, {Gt.} ket'tto, Shn {Lm.} kēt-ta, Omt {Mrn.} kōde, Wl {C} kōdē 'neck', Zl {C} kōdīyā id., {LmS} kōdīya 'throat', Gf {AIA} kōde, {C} kōdā, kuodā 'neck', {LmS} kōda 'throat', Bdt {C} kōdē, {LmS} kōde 'throat', Bsk {LmS} kōça, Dk {Blz.} kōç, Cha {C} kīttā, Malo {LmS} kōde, Dwr {AIA} kōdīya, Gm {Hw.} kōdē 'neck', Dc {LmS} kōdē 'throat, neck' | BMa {Fl.} kitišē, Sz

{Fl.} kiṭiṣi, Sz1 {SiW} kéšè, ketéšé 'neck' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} ḳadá, ?? Dm {Bnd.} gēte 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174, IV 489, Grt. 358, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, L M 48, ≈ Blz. OLBP #84, AIA ODS 4 [#26], Hw. EG, SiW ABK 15, Fl. OWL, Bn. AL 155 || ? SC: Brn qōsa 'nape of neck' ¶ E SC 268 (pSC *ḳ^ωaṭ^{ya}) || D *kutt- 'throat, neck' > Kn kuttige id., Tl kutika, kutuka 'throat', kuttuka, kuttuka id., 'gullet', Nkr kutka, Knd gotika 'throat', Knd Sv kutu 'neck', Prj kunda gōlu 'nape of neck', Png kuta aspond, Mnd kuta ahpond, Ku kuta ve'uri ḳ kutha wiuri 'hiccough' (Ku ve'uri 'hiccough') ¶¶ D ##1718, 5383 || U *kūtt∇ ~ *kütt∇ 'shoulder, back' (× N ≈ *Ḳū_{ly}t_∇P_∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.)?? ◇ If Ar qawad- belongs here, the rec. is ≈ N *ḲA^ʔū^ʔd∇ with subsequent contraction *-ʔ∇d- > *-ṭ- or -ḍ- (in the prehistory of most descendant lgs.) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [#27] (incl. D, Om, SC, U + unc. equation with HS **ḳurti ~ **ḳurli).

1011. *ḳoṣ_la_d∇ 'be deprived of; deprive of' > HS: S *^oḳṣd > Ar ḳṣd G : pf. 3f qasad-at 'had no husband', {Fr.} 'conjugue orbata fuit' (× qisād- 'conjug') ¶ Fr. III 471-2, Hv. 617 || K *^oḳwd- > Sv {Ni.} li-ḳwdune 'to deprive of', ḳwäd 'loss (caused by death)' (× K *^oḳwed-/*^oḳwd- 'die' < N ? *ḲUd∇ 'die') ¶ Ni. s.v. 'лишить, лишение', ≈ K² 91-2 || IE: NaIE *ka(:)d- v. 'deprive of, destroy' > Gk Hm κεκαδῶν asp. 'depriving of', ft. κεκαδῆσαι 'will deprive of', Gk Δ [Hs.] aor. inf. κεκαδῆσαι · βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, φεισάσθαι, στερῆσαι ('≈ to harm, maltreat, deprive of') || OI kaḍanam 'destruction' || ?? Tc A kaṭ 'destruction (?)' ¶¶ *d- for the expected *-d^h- is due to the IE root structure laws that reject **g^heṭ-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √) ¶ WP I 341, P 516, M K I 149, FI 811, Ch. 510-1, Wn. IE 27, Wn. 190 (Tc < IE *(s)kod-) || A: ? T *^oḳo_ṣḍu^r > OT {Cl.} qōḍuz 'a woman who no longer has a husband because he is either divorced or dead', [MhK] 'femme seule ('al-mar'atu-ḍ-ḍayyib)' (unless ← qōḍ- v. 'put down, abandon') ¶ Cl. 608, MKA I 305, MKD 141 || D *koṭṭ-, {ḡGS} *goḍḍ- 'having no children, barren' > Tm koṭṭu, Kn goḍḍi 'barren woman', Kt goḍḍ 'man who has no children', goḍy 'barren woman', Kn goḍḍu 'state of being barren', Tu goḍḍu 'barren', Tl goḍḍu id., 'empty', Knd goḍu 'barren' ¶¶ D #2074 ◇ IE *k- points to a N vw. *a (suggesting a pN *ḳoṣad∇ > [syncope] **ḳad∇ > IE *kad-).

1012. *ḲaHd∇ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ [in some IE lgs.] 'care'), 'anger, hate' > IE: NaIE *k_lkād-/*k_lkād- 'troubled state of mind, anger,

hate' > Gk κήδος, Gk D κῆδος 'caring about, anxiety, grief, trouble' ||| Osc CADEIS AMNUD 'inimicitiae causa' ||| OIr cáis n. 'hate; love', OW, Crn, MBr cas, Br kas 'hate' (< *kād-si), W cas 'hateful; hatred', cas 'hater, enemy', casáu v. 'hate, detest, abhor'; W XVII [Dv.] cawdd 'offensa, ira, indignatio', Crn cūth 'sorrow, grief, trouble', MBr {Em.} cueuz, Br keuz n. 'regret'; MW cadw, cadu 'to care about', W cadw 'to keep, to preserve, to save, to guard', MBr {Em.} cuezaff 'to regret' (× N *k'ā'd'i' 'take, hold'?) ||| Gt hatis 'hate, anger', ON hatr, heti, NE hate, OHG haz, NHG Haß, AS hete 'hatred'; Gt hatan, OSx haton, OHG hazzēn, NHG hassen, OFrs hatja, AS hatian 'to hate', NE v. hate ⇨ n. hate, hatred ||| ?? Av sādra 'suffering, pain' ¶ P 517, EI 259 (*kēh_hdes- '≈ concern, hate'), M K III 61-2, F I 836-7, Bc. G 313, Vn. C 22, YGM-1 77, ECCE 229, Ern. 137, Vr. 213, Fs. 247-8, Ho. 150, 157, Kb. 440, Schz. 160, KM 292 ¶ If Av sādra belongs here, the IE etymon will be *kād-) ||| A: NaT *Kaδgu 'sorrow, grief, anxiety, care' > OT {Cl.} qaδyu, Tkm gayyi, Tk kaygi, CrTt, Kr, Qrg qayyi, Uz qayyu, Chv χuyy_h id., Qmq qayyi, VTt, Bsh qayy_h, Ln qayya 'grief, sorrow', Az gayyi, Blq qayyi 'care' ¶ Cl. 598-9, ET KQ 201-3, Rl. II 8-10, 295-6, Nj. 596 ||| D *kat-({θGS}) *k-, -t-) v. 'be angry' > Tm katavu id., Ml katam 'wrath', Kn kāti ~ kati 'anger', Klm kati 'anger, hate', ? Ku kandri 'anger' ¶¶ D #486 ||| HS: B *√kyd (and secondary *√Hkd) 'detester' (× N *kozd ~ *kodz 'filth, dirt; abominable'?) > Ah əkyəḏ 'mésestimer, avoir la rancune contre ..., avoir du ressentiment contre...', ETwl, Ty əkyəḏ 'mésestimer, sous-estimer, détester', Gh əkyəḏ (noun) 'hate', Ttq {Msq.} kîəḏ 'détester', ETwl, Ty əkəḏ id. (n. act. əkkəḏ), Ah əkəḏ 'avoir horreur (aversion extrême)', ikkəḏ 'horreur (aversion extrême)' ¶ The Tw verb əkəḏ belongs to Fcj. 66 = Pcj. I A 3, which apparently presupposes rec. of a pB stem *-Hku|id, but the Ah, ETwl, Ty noun ikkəḏ, əkkəḏ suggest that the conjugation pattern of this verb in Ah is not original, but results from morphological re-interpretation ¶ Fc. 749, 769-71, GhA 89, 104, Nh. 167, Msq. 87 || ? (mt.) S: Ar √hqd G (ip. -hqudu) 'brood a secret hatred' ¶ BK I 466, Hv. 134 || If E.'s SC reconstruction is valid, we may add pSC {E} *ka_iḏr- 'be angry' > Asa ʕaririt 'quarrel', SC ⇨ Mb -xaro 'be angry'.

1013. *K'ohad ∇ 'dip, plunge, descend' > IE *g^ωeHd^h- > NaIE *g^ωād^h- 'plunge, dip in' > OI 'gāhatē 'dives, plunges into', Av accus.

pl. ν i-gāṣō 'Schluchten', guḑa- 'Tiefe' || OIr báidid '(he) plunges, drowns', W boddi 'to drown, to be drowned', Crn bedhy, bodhy, {ECCE} būdhy (prs.-ft. būth), MBr beuziff, Br beuziř 'to drown' || Gk βῆσσα, Gk D βῆσσα 'wooded combe, glen' (< *βῆσα), Gk βυθός, βυσσός 'the depth of the sea, bottom' (β for γ due to the infl. of βῆσσα) ¶ WP II 665, P 465, EI 160 (? ḡ^ωād^h- 'dive'), M K I 334-5, ≠ M EI 486 (OI < NaIE *ḡ^ωad^h-, cp. SCr gāziti 'treten, waten'), FI 234, Vn. B 6, ECCE 217, YGM-1 49, Ern. 65, Hm. 80 ¶ IE *ḡ^ω- for the expected *k^ω- due to the IE morphophonemic rejection of **teḡ^h-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) || D (in SD) *kōṭaj_ḡ ({ḡGS} *k-) 'west' (← *'sunset?'), {GS} *kōṭaj_ḡ 'monsoon' > Tm kōṭaj_ḡ, Kn kōṭe 'west wind', Ml kōṭa id., 'west', Kt kēṛ 'southwest monsoon', Td kṵāṛ 'monsoon' ¶ D #2203, GS 68 [#217] || ?σ HS: S *^o√kḏḥ > Ar √qḏḥ G (pf. qadaḥa, ip. -qdaḥ-) 'be sunk into it socket (eye)' (× S *^o√kḏḥ G 'perforate' < N *k_ulod^ha^hḥ ▽ [~ *kad_ua_hḥ ▽?]) 'pierce', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590, ≠ MiK I #2.35 || ?? EC: Brj {Ss.} ḡod- 'go down, descend', Or E {Hw.} ḡadō 'downhill slope' ¶ Ss. B 81 || NrOm: Kf {HHM} ḡito v. 'fall, die' (× N ? *k_udd ▽ 'die', q.v.) || A: T *k_u'_oḡ- v. 'put (down), let' > OT qoḡ- 'hinlegen, lassen' ({Cl.} qōḡ- without direct ev. of the length of o), Tk koy-, Ggz koy-, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Slr, Qmn, Tb qoy- v. 'put', Tkm, Az qoy- v. 'put, let', Tk WAn qoyve- 'freilassen', VTt, Bsh quy-, SY quz- v. 'put', Uz quy- v. 'pour'; with loss of -y-: Osm {Rh.} -قو qo- (aor. qo-r) 'put, place, set', Tk ko- ~ koy-, Kr {Rl.} qo- id. || Chv L xyp- xur- v. 'put' ('κλαστη') ¶ Cl. 595-6, Rs. W 273-4, ET Q 27-9, Rl. II 498-9, Rh. 1497-8, TrR 557, 564, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 361, Md. 41 || ? Gil: Gil A xut- [xud] 'be drowned', xut-ku- caus. v. 'drown' ¶ ST RN 421-2 | ??? Gil A [k'ut] v. 'fall (from above)' ¶ ST 125 ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a lr., but its identity cannot be determined by S (because of the ambiguity of S *^o√kḏḥ) ◇ If the HS (S and NrOm) root belongs here, the N initial cns. is *k_u-, otherwise one cannot distinguish between N *K_u- and *k_u-.

1014. *k_uA^hdê 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *ka|ad^h- v. 'protect, cover' ('hüten, schützend bedecken') > OHG huoten 'to guard' ('behüten, bewachen'), NHG hüten 'to guard, to keep, to take care of'; OHG huota 'hut, cover of a tent', {Schz.} 'Wache', NHG Hut 'hat; keeping, guard, shelter', AS hōd (> NE hood), OFrs hōde 'Obhut', ON hōttr, Ic hattur, hōtue, AS hætt 'hat', NE hat || L cassis / gen. -idis 'helm' (< *ka|ad^h-tis) ¶ WP I 341, P 516, Ho. 146, 167, Vr. 282, OsS 433,

Schz. 172, Kb. 492, KM 322-3, WH I 177 ¶¶ The deviation of the **IE** incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root) still requires explanation (infl. of the Ir.?)

|| **HS: S:** [1] CS *✓kʰd v. 'hide' > BHb ✓kʰd *D* v. 'hide, conceal', *Sh*† v. 'efface; hold', Sr ✓kʰd *D* 'put to shame', *G* 'revere, be modest'] [2] ??

WS *✓kdñ v. 'cover, wrap' (× N ***qad**∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle') > Ar ✓kdñ: kadana bi- v. 'wrap oneself in (clothes)', {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', Ar *D* maqdana 'cover of an oven', Gz ✓kdñ *G* v. 'cover, wrap, clothe', Tgr ✓kdñ *G* v. 'cover, clothe', Tgy ✓kdñ *G* v. 'cover' ¶ KB 447, KBR 469, BDB #3582, BK II 875, Hv. 647, LG 275-6 || C: EC: Or {Th.} qadādu v. 'cover, close', {Grg.} qadāda 'put a lid on', {Th.} qadāda, qadado 'coperchio, tappo, turacciolo', {Grg.} qadāda 'cover, vessel, gourd' || Ag *kʷz̥t- ~ *kʷzd- v. 'cover' > Bln {R} kũt-, kũt- v. 'cover, veil (be- \ zudecken, verhüllen)', kũd 'Deckel', Q {R} kũt-, Dmb {R} ked- v. 'cover' ¶ R WB 230, Th. 267, Grg. 314 ¶¶ AD SF 35 || **K** *°qe:ᵛt- > G (da-)qeᵛt- v. 'close' ('schließen, zumachen'), (gamo-)qeᵛt- 'einschließen, einsperren', (mi)qeᵛt- '(zu-\ver-\ab-)schließen' ¶ Chx. 571 || **U** *kādē (or *kiḏē, *käḏire) > Sm *ker(ḅ) v. 'put on (clothes), wear' > Ne T cepā(сѣ), Ne F {Lh.} śje'ra-ś, Ng {Mik.} šerādi id., En X {Cs.} 'seribo, B {Cs.} 'seribo 'anziehen' (1s aor. s/obc.), Slq Tz {KKIH} šēr- v. 'put on, wear', Kms {KD} šērālām id. (1s prs.), Koyb {Sp.} серля 'I am putting on', Mt {Hl.} *ker- vi. 'dress', d. *kerət(ə)- v. 'put on' (Mt: M {Sp.} кернамъ 'I am dressing myself' ['одеваюся'], керытьямъ 'I put on') ¶ Jn. 68, Hl. M ##470, 472, Cs. 90, KKIИ 174 || **A:** NaT *kād- v. 'put on (clothes, footwear), wear' > OT kāḏ-, Tk giᵛ-, Qmq giᵛ-, Az, Tkm gey-, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Ln key-, CrTt, Kr, VTt, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz kiᵛ-, Qzq kīᵛ-, Bsh кьᵛ-, SY kez-, Xk кис- kis-, Tv ket-, Tf keᵛt-, Yk kāt- id. ¶ Cl. 700, ET VGD 12-4, Ra. 203, Rs. W 246, BIG 78 ¶ The pT vw. *ä is evidenced by Yk э ä (while pT *e yields Yk i, / Pp. J 54, ADb. SR-D 51-7) || M *kedür- v. 'wear (a garment) over one's shoulders' > WrM kedür- id., Kl көдр- id., {Rm.} ködr̥- 'über (seine Schultern) werfen, sich bemanteln'; M *kedürge '(rain-)coat, cover (Bedeckung)' > WrM kedürge, HIM хэдрэг 'coat', Kl көдрг 'raincoat', {Rm.} ködr̥gə 'Mantel, großes Tuchstück über die Schultern geworfen, Bedeckung' ¶ MD 442, KRS 312, KW 236 || ?? Tg [1] *°ᵛᵛaᵛd'u 'cloth' > WrMc adu id., Jrc {Kiy.} hatu 'dress, clothing'] [2] *ᵛᵛetu- v. 'put on, wear' > WrMc

etu- id., etuku 'garment', Lm 3tik 'upper garment of women' ¶ STM II 469, Z 31, 73, Kiy. 127 [##551, 554] ¶¶ ADb. KL 14 (T, M), DQA #806 (*kjadī or *k'ajdi 'put on, wear' > T, M, ? Tg *^ol_ladu) ¶¶ The pA lenis *k'- for the expected fortis *k'- is puzzling; if the Tg cognate really belongs here, the vl. *-t- requires explanation (effect of the lr.?).

1014a. *kawud∇ (r...) (or *kawūd∇ (r...)) 'tail' > IE: NaIE *kawud- (more plausible than *kouud-) 'tail' > L cauda 'tail', cōda 'tail' (> forms of Romance lgs.: Sp coda, Rum coadă, Fr queue); acc. to Ernout, cōda is an early dialectal monophthongization from cauda; alternatively, cauda may be a hyperurbanism for cōda || ? Lt kuōdas 'tuft of hair, of feather' ¶ Ert. EDVL 140, WH I 185, ≠ Frn. 311: believes that Lt kuodas is a bf. from kuodēlis 'Flachsbüschel' (← Blr ку'дзеля 'flax tow' < pSl *kǫdelb), which is less semantically plausible than to suppose that Lt kuodēlis 'tuft of flax tow' results from a merger of kuodēlis 'small tuft of hair' (dim. from kuodas) with Blr ку'дзеля, because the semantic change 'tail' → 'tuft, Schopf' is widespread (cp. below Mc irge-ce 'schopfig' < Tg *xürgü 'tail') ¶ If the NaIE stem is *kawud-, it suggests a pN *kawud∇, but if it is *kouud-, L au for the expected ū < *ow is unexplainable. Therefore the NaIE rec. *kawud- is more plausible || K *kud- / (?) *kwed-, {FS} *kwad- 'tail' > OG kud- 'tail', G kud- 'tail, end', Mg, Lz kudēl-, Sv: UB haḵwäd, LB häḵed, L aḵwed-, Ln aḵwaḷ 'tail' ¶¶ K 117, K² 103, FS K 176, FS E 192, Schm. 120, Chik. 92, GM S 311, TK 891 || HS: B *k∇w∇d- 'tail' > Izn i-šuwadū, Rf Wr/T a-šugg^waḷ id. ¶ Rn. 349 ¶ Here š < pB k (cp. Rf B/A t-kira ÷ Rf Tz t-šira, Izn ti-šira 'cire', Rf Bq/A a-ḵarra ÷ Rf Tz a-šarra 'grêle', etc., F Rn. 23: "š. Stade le plus avancé... d'altération de l'occlusive post-palatale {sc. k}. S'observe constamment chez les Tz et quelquefois dans les autres parlers") || ? Ch *k∇t∇r ~ *k∇d∇r > WCh {Stl.} *kitari 'tail' > BT: Tng {J} kōdor, Pr {Frz.} kéré̄t, Grm {Sh.} kītírí, Krf {Sch.} kītírí, Krkr {Al.} čātár | NrBc: Wrj {IL} k^wátáré | SBc: Kir {Sh.} kèr, Tala {Sh.} kítze, Grn {Sh.} kurau, {Jg.} kèru, Buli {Sh.} kudar, Tule {Sh.} k^yērɜ, Wnd {Sh.} čur, Zar K {Sh.} kír, Zar GL k^yír, Zar L kîr, Sy B k^yērɜ, Sy Zk kírɜ, Sy Z kier | Ngz {Sch.} kùtír^w, Bd {IL} uktír^w id. || CCh: Cb {IL} k^wudæ | Lmn {Lk.} (ù)x^tírí | Mdr kátal^wa, Gdf {IL} xóthí^wl^w, Dgh {IL} xóthòlè, Ngs {IL} x^tíí | Gdr {Mch.} kútrā | Msg P {Mch.} gíder | Ms {J} gìdèrdà ¶ JI II 316-7, CWL, Stl. ZCh 207 [#573], Sh. SB 32 ¶ Here infl.

of Nigrític lgs. is possible; cp. pBantu *-kída 'tail' (Mssn. 53) || A {S} *k'udurgi, {Adb.} *k'udur-, {SDM97} *k'üdorg∇ 'tail' > T *k_L'uduruk > OT {Cl.} quδruq, Tk кyуpуk, Az quyruq, Slr gurux, Ggz kuyruk, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, StAlt, Qmn, Tb, QK, Uz quyruq, Tkm guyruq, ET qu(y)ruq, VTt койрык q'ыргъq, Bsh q'ыргъq, Qzq q'ыргъq, Nog, Qq quyriq, Xk хузuruq, SY guz(u)ruq, Xlj qurduq, Tv, Tf quduruq, Yk kuturuk, Chv xüre, Δ хьvре 'tail'; ⇨ *k_L'udurgun 'crupper, Schwanzriemen' > OT [MhK] quδurγun, {Cl.} quδurγūn id. ⇨ M *qudurga 'crupper, breeching (harness)' ('Schwanzriemen [des Sattels und des Pferdegeschirrs für Wagen]') > MM [MA] qudurga 'crupper (harness)' ('подхвостный ремень'), WrM {Rm., Kow.} qudurgan 'Schwanzriemen', 'croupière', {MD} qudurga(n), HIM худрага {MD} 'crupper, breeching', Kl {Rm.} χudr̥γα, Dg χudurga 'crupper under the tail; cp. also WrM quδusqa id. (probably a loan from T, cp. Chg [MA] quyušqun id.) ¶ Cl. 604-6, DTS 463-4, Rs. W 296, ET Q 114-7, TL 145, Ra. 221, DT 180, Jeg. 313, Fed. II 377, DT 180, Pp. MA 308, KW 195, MD 980; Md. 62 and Md. OJ 99-102 (Md. reconstructs a special pT cns. *ǰ for the cases of sound corr. NaT *-δ- ÷ Chv -y-: pT *k'uzruk > NaT *kuδruk and Chv xüre [< OChv *xuyre], but it is easier to explain these cases, almost always preceding T *-r-, as a positional treatment of pT *δ before T *r: pT *δr > OChv *-yr-, otherwise *-δr- would have yielded Chv *-rr-, which does not exist); the pT lenis *k' (evidenced by Tv and Tf) is still to be explained || Tg *xürgü ({Adb.} < *xuyrgen) 'tail' > Ewk irgi, Sln iggi ~ irgi, Lm irgā, Neg Līxi ~ iygi, Neg H idgi, Orc iggi, Ud igi, Ul xužu, Ork xudu, Nn Nh xuygu id., Mc Sb {STM} irge 'метелка' (= 'crest on bird's head, Schopf?'), WrMc {Hr.} irge-ce 'schopfig', {Z} irge-ce řexex ~ erge-ce řexex 'хохлатая утка' (= 'schopfige Ente'), {Hr.} 'mandarin duck' ¶ STM I 325, Z 88, 118, Hr. 503, Pp. VG 33 || pKo {S} *s-kòrí 'tail' > MKo skòrí, Ko: Ph/Chj kkorí, Sl korí, Chs kkóri, PhN kkonđen, Ks korandē, Hm ko_ri ¶ S AJ 254 [#86], S QK #85, Nam 50, MLC 140 ¶¶ S AJ 53, 284 [#208], Adb. KL 9, DQA #1074 (A *k'júdo(rg∇)) ◇ L cauda and B *k∇w∇d- suggest a pN *kaw∇d∇, which in the light of K and A evidence is to be interpreted as *kawulüd∇ ◇ IS I 327-8 (K-IE-A-Ch); Md. OJ 101-2 (÷ err. φ D *ko||]- 'tail').

1015. *KôXAd∇ 'scold', (??) 'shout at' > IE *kouHd-/ *kuHd- > NaIE *kouad-/ *ku(:)d- v. 'scold', (??) 'shout at' > OI kut-'sā 'abuse, blame',

kut'sayati 'abuses, blames', NPrs **نكوهيدن** *näkūhīdān ~ nekūhīdān*
 'to despise, to blame' ||| Gk **κυδάζομαι** 'am reviled', **κυδάζω** 'I revile,
 abuse', **κύδος** 'reproach, abuse' ||| Gmc: OGtn **huta** 'to call in
 (herbeirufen)', Nr **Δ huta-** v. 'shout, make noise, shout threateningly at
 (a dog), treat with disdain', ON **hóta** 'to threaten', OSx **for-hwātan**,
 OHG **wāzān** ({P} **hwāzān**) {Kb.} 'to oppose', fir-**wāzān** 'to curse, to
 damn'; Gt **hōta**, ON **hót** 'threat'; ***kud-skō-** > AS **husc**, OHG **hosc**,
 OSx **hosk** 'insult, mockery' ||| Sl ***kudi-** > OCS **кудити** *kuditi*
 'vituperare', RChS, OR **kuditi** 'to insult, to blame', Blg **кудя** v. 'talk
 scandal, blame', Slv **kūditi**, Slk **kuditi** 'to blame', SCr **kūditi** id.,
 'to slander' ¶ WPI 348-9, P 595-6, M KI 228, VI. II 1345, Sg. 1423, F II
 40, Vr. 250, Fs. 286, Ho. 179, Ho. S 38, Kb. 1153, OsS 419, Schz. 312,
 WW 366, ESSJ XIII 82-3 ¶ IE *-d- for the expected *-dʰ- is due to an IE
 incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae
 and tenues in the same root) ||| HS: S ***√kdh** > Ar **√qdḥ** (ip. -**qdaḥu**)
 'speak ill of', {BK} 'attaquer l'authencité de la généalogie de qn.', L (pf.
qādaḥa) 'revile one another' ¶ In S (or Ar) there is mt.: N ***ḲōXAd** > S
 ***√kdh** (or Ar **√qdḥ**) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590 ||| U ***kot** (or *-a-, *-
tt|k|s|k|š|š|k-) > pSm {Jn.} ***kāt** v. 'scold' (× N ***ḳazix** ~ *-**ž**- 'to
 scold' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| A: M ****qoti-** > ***qoči-** 'blame, slander' > WrM **qoci**,
 HIM **xоч** 'mockery', ***qocila-** > WrM **qocila-**, HIM **xочло-(x)** v.
 'slander, vilify; blame; make fun of', Kl **xочл-x** **χočb|χb** 'to be
 jealous, to suspect', Kl Ö {Rm.} **χoč]-χα** 'to rebuke, to reprimand, to
 scold' ¶ MED 951, KRS 602, KW 191 ||| D {tr.} ***kaṭi-** v. 'reproach,
 scold' > Tm **kaṭi-** v. 'reprove, rebuke, chide', Mlt **qaṭye** v. 'reproach,
 scold, abuse' ¶¶ A less plausible D cognate: D {tr.} ***kat-√r-**, {ḡS} ***gad-**
√rḡd- 'shout, scream, make noise' > Tm **kataru** 'cry aloud from
 pain\grief, scream, yell', Ml **kataruka** v. 'roar, lament', Ka **gadaru**
 'produce a loud sound', Tu **gaddala** 'noise', Tl **gadumu, gaddincu**
 v. 'rebuke, scold' ← D {GS} ***gad-** 'scream, yell, scold' ¶¶ D ##1126,
 1189, GS 25 [#7] ◇ U *-t- and pre-M *-t- (> M *-č-) (for the expected
 vd. consonants) are likely to result from devoicing within the cluster *-
Xd- < N *-**XAd-** ◇ The meaning 'shout' is represented in NrGmc (and
 D?) only. Therefore we must either suppose that this meaning belongs
 to the ancient heritage and has been lost in most lgs., or to admit here a
 typologically rare case of semantic change from 'scold' to 'shout' (the
 opposite of the reg. change from 'shout' to 'scold').

1016. *k_ul_od'a'h_h∇ (~ *k_ad_ah_h∇?) 'to pierce' > ?σ IE: NaIE *k^we(:)d- / *k^wo(:)d- v. 'sharpen', *^ok^wod- 'sharp' (× N *k_ot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.]) > Gmc {Wtk.} *h^watjan > ON hvætja 'to sharpen', AS hwéttan (> NE whet), MLG wetten, OHG (h)wezzen, NHG wetzen 'to whet'; AS hwæt, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || ? L triquetrus 'three-cornered, triangular' (acc. to WH, < *tri-k^wadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 554, ≈ P 636, AHDI 33, EI 510 (*k^wed- 'whet, sharpen'), WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || HS: WS *[✓]k_dh v. 'bore, perforate, pierce' > JA, Sr, MHb [✓]k_dh G v. 'bore, perforate', JEA [✓]k_dh G 'bore through, break through', Ar [✓]q_dh v. G 'perforate, make a hole', Sq {Jo.} [✓]k_dh G (pf. k_ādaḥ) 'pierce' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, Lv. IV 245-6, Br. 645, Js. 1314-5, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. M 223 || EC {Ss.} *k_ud_h- ~ *k_ad_h-, {AD} ≈ *k_udaḥ- (> [var.] *k_adaḥ-) 'thorn' > Sml qodáḥ, Rn kùd_áḥ (cs. kuḍakkí), Elm eḍ, Arr {Hw.} k_èd_èh, Or {Bl.} k_orā-tti, {Brl.} k_or_é / k_oratti, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} k_orā(t)tī, Gdl k_ud_ḍ-ēt, Kns q_ét-ta ¶ Bl. 180, Ss. PEC 49, PG 203, Hw. A 378, Brl. 346, ≈ Th. 75 (Or k_or_e), Sr. 354, AD SF 81 || K *^ok_od- v. 'cut \ peck \ chop \ wound' (× N *^rk_od∇ 'destroy, break, cut') > OG k_od- 'hew (wood), G k_od- v. 'castrate; chop; hollow'; šemo-k_od- v. 'carve signs on trees', G k_od- v. 'wound, hurt' ('verwunden, verletzen'); ? ⇨ GZ *k_odaḥ- 'woodpecker' > G k_odaḥ-, Mg k_idu- ~ k_ḍḍ, Lz k_id-, (m)k_ud- id.; G W k_odara- id.; GZ *k_od- 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub' > Mg, Lz k_od- id., MG, G k_od- 'vessel (and measure) for dry substances, tub' ¶ K 113, K² 97-8, FS K 187-8, FS E 205-6, Chx. 605-6, Chik. 106-7, Ghl. 297 || A *k_u'_uad- > M *qadqu- v. 'pierce, stab, prick' > MM [MA, S] qatqu- id. ('stechen, stecken'), [IM] qat_yu- 'strike with a spear', WrM qadqu-, HIM xatpa-(x) 'pierce, stab, prick', Ord q_ad_xu- 'piqueur', ? Mnr H {SM} q_as_qu- id.; M ⇨ Chg {Bu.} qada- v. 'nail (sth. to sth.), pierce, prick', Qzq qada- v. 'dive (sth.) in, thrust, stick in; sew', Nog qada- to pierce, nail to', VTt qada- v. 'prick', Tv qada- v. 'stick in, thrust', Tf qada- v. 'nail to, prick'; Cl. believes that this T [✓] is a loan from M because it is not attested in the T texts previous to the Mongolian conquest ¶ Pp. MA 296-7, 444, H 63, MED 904, SM 121, Sht. 251, Rs. W 217-8, Ra. 216 || NaT *Kaḍu- v. 'stitch\sew (a garment)' > OT {Cl.} qaḍu- v. 'sew or stitch (e.g. a garment) firmly', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qay_r-, VTt qay_b- (⇨ Chv xay_r-), Bsh qay_r-, Tkm g_aya- 'sew (a garment, a

hem, etc.) with a small stitch' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 199-200, Jud. 324, Sht. 253 || ?ϕ Tg *xid̄ar- v. 'hurt by pricking; (be) prickly, bitter' > Nn Nh s̄idar̄l 'pain from a blow\needle\splinter in one's skin', Nn, Ul s̄idar̄sl 'pricking, burning', Nn, Ul s̄idar̄sl-, Ork s̄idar̄l-sl- v. 'be pricking, smart, burn (one's skin)', Ork s̄id̄ār̄ull- 'sour', Ewk Tt idar 'bitter (горько)', Ewk idari- 'feel bitter\sour\piquant taste, feel acute pain from burning', Lm ʌd̄br- be sour; turn sour' (fish), ʌd̄brsl 'pungent, bitter, sour', Neg ʌdasi 'bitter'] ?σ,ϕ Tg *xutu- 'itch, tickle' (× N *k̄i't̄'U' ~ *k̄i't̄'U' 'to tickle, [?] to itch'?) > Nn Nh χotor̄laq '(it is) tickling', χotor̄sl- v. 'itch', Ul χot̄ursl-, Orc xutunsi- ~ xutuñisi-, Ewk utuni ~ utuñi-, Lm ʌtuñ-, Neg ot̄oxon- id., Ud {Shn.} utuni^{Hi}, Ud Sm {Krm.} utunihi, Orc xutuñā, xutuñisi 'it itches' ¶ Tg *i in *xid̄ar needs explaining ¶ STM I 297-8 and II 294-5, Krm. 303 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1038 (A *k̄'j̄āda 'itching, pungent'; incl. Tg *xid̄ar-) || D *kutt- > Tm kuttu v. 'puncture, pierce, bore', Ml kuttuka v. 'pierce, stab', kuttu 'a stab, prick', Kt kut- v. 'pierce, prick', Td kut- v. 'pierce, stitch, sew', Tu kuttuni v. 'bore, pierce', Knd gut- v. 'stitch, pierce', Mnd kut- v. 'punch with fist', Png kund- id., 'pierce with spear', Kui kuta, Ku kut- v. 'prick' ¶¶ D #1719 ¶¶ D *-tt- may point to a presence of a vl. lr., because the D reflex of N *-t- is *-t̄- ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *i is still to be explained. Cp. a similar case: N *b̄'u'X̄ra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b̄īra 'river, brook' ◇ The variant *k̄ad̄a,h̄ of the N lexeme resulted probably from regr. as. *-u|o...a- > *-a...a-.

1016a. ₂*K̄AdX̄ ▽ 'strike fire, kindle' > HS: WS √k̄d̄h id. > BHb √k̄d̄h G v. 'set fire to', Pun D or Sh †(prtc.) {HJ} m̄qd̄h 'one who lights (the lamps in the temple)', Ar √qd̄h v. G 'strike fire (with flint)' ({Hv.} 'strike fire with a steel'), Sr √k̄d̄h G 'catch fire, blaze up', JEA {Js., Sl.} √k̄d̄h G 'be inflamed', Mh, Hrs, Jb C/E {Jo.} √k̄d̄h (pf.: Mh 'k̄awd̄z̄h ~ k̄zd̄ōh̄, Hrs k̄zd̄ōh̄, Jb 'k̄edaḥ) 'strike a spark \ a light' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, HJ 986, Br. 645, JPS 489, Js. 1315, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. J 141, Jo. H 73 || D: SD *katt- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'kindle, burn' > Ml kattuka id., kattikka v. 'set on fire, burn', Kt kat- (p. katy-) vi. 'burn', 'light (lamp)', kat- (p. kat̄-) vt. 'set fire to', Td kot- (p. koty-) vi. 'burn with flame', 'light' (lamp), Kn kattu 'begin to burn with flame, cause to burn with intensity', Kdg katt- 'burn with a blaze', Krg kanti v. 'kindle' ¶ D #1207.

1017. *ḲUḍ, ∇, X∇ 'draw (schöpfen) (water), ladle out' > **HS:** WS *√ḳḍh id. > Gz √ḳḍh id., Ar √qḍh v. *G* 'ladle out (soup from the pot)', qadaḥ- 'drinking cup, bowl', Sb ṃḳḍh '(i) cup\vessel (for offerings)' ¶ BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, L G 420 BGMR 103, Fr. III 405 ¶¶ The √ is found in C: Bj {R} √g̣ḍh pcv. 'ladle out', Ag: Bln {R} ḳadaḳ̣^w- v. 'ladle, pour', Xm {R} qadaq-, Q {R} hedax- v. 'ladle', but it is probably a loan from Semitic (Ag from EthS √ḳḍh, Bj from Ar √qḍh) (*F* ¶ R WB 235, R WBd 91, AD SF 284) || **A:** NaT *ḳuḏ- v. 'pour (liquid)' > OT {Cl} quḏ- 'pour out', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET quy- 'pour (liquid)', Tkm quy-, Kr, Qrg quy-, Yk kut- 'pour (gießen, schütten)', VTt, Bsh q̣ḅy- id., 'shed (leaves)', 'shed (hair)' (of animals), Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} v. 'cast (metal)', Tv qut- 'pour, pour in', Tf qut'- 'pour in' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 296, ET Q 109-11, Ra. 222, Rl. II 888-9 || AmTg *kodUrp∇n '∈ ladle' (a cd.) > UI qodurpu(n-), Nn: Nh qodoruqo/ṽ, Nh/KU qodorpō/ũ, B qodorfo(n-) ¶¶ The A lenis *k'- (> T *k'-, Tg *k-) for the fortis *k'- is still to be accounted for || **D** {in McTm} *oḳṭṭ- 'pour\shoot out' > Tm koṭṭu v. 'pour forth, shower down, empty the contents of a basket\sack', Ml koṭṭuka v. 'shoot out, empty a sack'; ⇨ D *kōṭi ({ḡGS} *k-) 'passage to carry out excess of water, outlet (of a tank) for surplus water' > Kn kōṭi id., Tm kōṭi 'weir of a tank, outlet for surplus water', Tl kōṭi 'outlet of tank' ¶¶ D ##2065, 2197 ◇ The N intervocalic *-d- regularly yields D *-ṭṭ-/-ṭ-, but some N cns. clusters of laryngeals with *ḍ yield (under conditions, which are still to be determined) D *-tt- or *-t- (*F* N *ḳu|od'a'h∇ 'pierce' > pre-D *kuḍh- > D *kutt- id.), hence we may suppose pre-D *ḍH- < N *-ḍ, ∇, X-.

1018. *Ḳ'a'dḲud∇ 'tip, top' > **IE:** NaIE *kakud- 'peak, summit' > OI ka'kud- (nom./acc. ka'kut) id. || L cacūmen 'the extreme point, top, tip, summit' || ? Gmc *xagu- ⇨ *xagu-la > *xagila > OFrs {P ← ?} heila 'head' (not mentioned in Stl.) ¶ P 588-9, ≠ M K I 135, M EI 287, WH I 127 ||| *AdS* of NaIE *kaput ~ *oḳ[ka]put 'head' (< N *ḳ'a'ẉ, o, p̣E 'skull; occiput', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** S *ḳadḳud- ~ *ḳudḳud- 'crown (of the head), sinciput' > BHb קָדָקְדָ קָדָקְדָ id. (+ppa: וְקָדָקְדָ קָדָקְדָ 'his crown\sinciput'), JA אָדָקְדָ קָדָקְדָ id., 'summit', MNA kotke 'skull', Ug ḳḍḳḍ 'crown of the head, head', Ar (a derived word) muqadd- 'le derrière de la tête; partie de la tête et du cou, comprise entre les deux oreilles', Ak ḳaḳkadu 'head, top', Eb gag-gú-tum ḳaḳḳudum (= Sum SAG. IGI '≈ crown of the head' or 'front of the head')

¶ KB 1002, KBR 1071, Js. 1317, A #2392, OLS 363, Js. 1317, Sl. P 476, OJ M 180, BK II 683, Sd. 899-900, CAD XIII 100-12, Krb. EG 12-3, MiK I #1.159, HR SDW 472-3, 830-49 || **D:** [1] D *kōt̥/*koṭ̥- 'summit, top' (× N *Ḳot̥ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N *Ḳ̥R̥_l̥_t 'summit, top') || [2] NED *kukk- (× N *ḲâRḲub̥p̥ 'top, summit, crown of the head') > Krx kukk 'head, extremity', Mlt kuku 'head' ¶ D #1630 ◇ IE *d (rather than *d^h) is due to an incompibility law.

1019. *ḲakU (or *ḲokU?) 'hook', 'tooth, fang' > **K:** {AD} *Ḳaḳw- 'hook' (× N *ḲaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal') > G Ḳaḳvi 'hook' ('Haken, Hâkchen'), Lz Ḳoḳ-a, Ḳoḳari ~ Ḳuḳari id. ¶ FS K 167-8 (GZ *Ḳaḳ-), Chx. 543, BU 219 || **HS:** S *kakk- '(ε) tooth, sharp stick' > JA, Sr kak'k-ā, Md kaka 'tooth, molar', JEA kak'kā 'molar tooth', Ak kakk-u(m) 'stick, weapon' ¶ Br. 326, Lv. II 325, Sl. 580, DM 197, Sd. 422 || **IE:** NaIE *koḡ-/*keḡ- 'hook, claw' > pGmc *xōka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > OHG hāko, hāgo, hākko, OFrs hok, MLG.hōk, MDt hoek, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook; ON hækja, NNr høkja 'Krücke' || Sl *koḡb̥t̥ ~ *koḡb̥t̥ > OR КОГОТЬ kogoť, R, Uk 'коготь, Cz Δ kohát 'claw', HLs kochť 'awn, костерь (a weed cereal)' || Ht kaka-s 'tooth' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, Ho. 167, Kb. 423, OsS 365, ESSJ X 109-10, Vs. II 275, Pv. IV 14-5, ≈ EI 272 (*ko(n)ḡos 'hook'; *(n) on the problematic ev. of Mlr alchaining 'weapon rack' and Lt kéngė 'hook on the wall' [← MLH henge 'Hänge' ← Gmc verb for 'hang'], see Frn. 239) ¶ The lack of labialization of the IE stem-final cns. is still to be explained (infl. of N *ḡoPḲa '[ε] tooth, hook, sharp stick'?) || **U** *kōkka 'a protruding point, hook' > FL *kōkka > F kōkka 'sth. protruding, a protruding point; stem of a ship (Vorderstevēn); penis', F Δ kōkka 'hook, fish-hook', Krl kōkka 'hook, Vorderstevēn', Krl A kōkku 'penis', Krl Ld kōk̄, kōkke' 'hook, penis' | pLp {Lr.} *kōkkē (× N *ḡoPḲa '↑') > Lp: N ḡoakke {SK} 'hoe', {N} 'hood on a cradle', L {SK} kō^oḡkke 'ein sich rückwärts biegendes Holz, das aus dem Vorderteils des Schlittens hervorstehet', {LLO} kō^ohkē 'Holzbogen als Schutzdach der Wiege', Nt {TI} kō^oḡkkā, I {It.} koakki 'hook', Kld kuḡḡkā id., {SaR} куḡḡкь 'hook (вешалка, крючок)', Lp K kō^oḡkkā 'hoe, hook' || pY {IN} *kōkā 'head (of a fish\animal)' (× N *ḲâRḲub̥p̥ 'top, summit, crown of the head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ UEW 171-2 (FU, Y), Lr. #468, Lgc. #2614, Hs. 630-1, SK 208-9, 225-6, Lr. #468, IN 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Jc. JR s.v. kōka || **A:** Tg *xūkte or *xūykte 'tooth' (probably < **xūk-kte or *xūyk-kte, where *-kte is a sx.) > Ewk

īktɜ 'tooth', Neg īktɜ 'tooth, canine', Nn xukte 'tooth', ? WrMc weyxе 'tooth, fang, horn', Jrc weyhe 'tooth' ¶ STM I 300, S AJ 215 [#129], Kiy. 124 [#182] || ??φ pJ {S} *kunki 'nail, peg, hook' > OJ kùg_Lì ~ kùg_Lì, J: T kùgi, K kùgí, Kg kùgi ¶ S QJ #889, Mr. 462 ¶ On the reflexes of Tg *-kt- (incl. *-kt- > Mc -x-) F Ci. 229-30 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1128 (A *k'ōkí 'hinge, hook'; incl. pJ *kunki), Vv. AEN 11 (Tg *xūkte ÷ ItOJ kiba 'fang' < pJ *ku|q-ɫi-n'ō' -pa 'fang-tooth' [Mr. 450]; denies the connection of Tg *xūkte with the N etymon in question) || D (tr., †GS} *kokk- 'hook' > Tm, Tl kokki id., Ml kokka 'clasp, hook', Kt koky, Td kw+ky, Kn kokki, kokke, Kdg kokke 'crook, hook', Tu kokkæ 'hook, clasp', Gnd kokki 'hoe' ¶¶ D #2032 ¶ The association of this D noun with the paronymous verb *koŋkk-/*kokk- 'bend' is secondary (folk et.). It brought about merged forms like Tl koŋki 'hook' ◇ The rec. *kaku presupposes that the labialization of the vw. in U, D, and Tg is due to N *U (still preserved in K as *w); the N vw. *a is reconstructed on the ev. of K and IE (initial *k- without labialization or palatalization). The long *-kk- in U may be explained by as. (N *kaku > **kaʔu). But if we prefer to suppose that the labialized vw. in U, A, and D is ancient, the N rec. must be *kōk∇ (which does not explain IE *k- and K *-a-) ◇ Fn. KD 342 (K, D) ◇ AD NM #91; S CNM 3 (÷÷ ST; suggests to adduce here A *gek'ō 'hook', which is less plausible from the phonetic point of view).

1020. *kuke 'dark, black' > K: G I kuḡun-aχ-i 'dark, black', G kuḡun-et-i, kuḡun-at-i 'darkness' ¶ Chx. 638 ¶ K *-k- (rather than *-k-) is probably due to as. || HS: Eg fp kkw (= {Vc.} *[kikyaw]) 'darkness' > Cpt: Sd kake kake, B xakh k^haki ¶ EG V 142-3, Fk. 287, Vc. 74 ¶¶ Blz. KM #10 suggests to add Ak kukkû 'darkness', but it is likely to be a loan from Sum ku₁₀.ku₁₀ 'darkness' (CAD VIII 499) || A: M *köve 'soot' > MM [MA] köyē, WrM köge ~ kö ~ kögege, HIM xœœ, Mnr H {SM} k'ō id. ¶ MED 478, SM 204, T 339 || Tg: WrMc {Z} kuku 'black' (× kuku 'gray, blue' < N ≈ *k'Eho'ka 'green\blue'), ? {Z, Hr.} ku 'soot on the bottom of a kettle' ('Rußansatz des Kesselbodens') (from M?) ¶ Z 288-9, Hr. 597 ¶ Mc k- (regularly from Tg *k-) instead of Tg *x- is due to as. and/or to the merger with N ≈ *k'Eho'ka ◇ Fn. SK 97 [#160] (K, Sum kuku 'verdunkelt, Finsternis'), Blz. KM 116 [#10] (K, Eg. Ak).

1021. ₂ Ll. *kaqa 'penis' > IE: NaIE *kak- 'male genitalia' > AS haḡan 'genitalia', MHG {KM} hagen, NHG Hagen, NGr Δ Hegel, NGr Sb {KM} heigel 'bull kept for breeding' ('Zuchtstier'), Haksch 'Zuchteber',

NHG hecken 'to mate' (birds), NE hetch; OHG hegidruos, hegidruosa, hegidruosi 'penis, testicle, pudendum', MHG hegedruos, heidruose 'testiculus, pudenda' ||| Ltv kakale 'penis, scrotum' | RChS КОУАНЪ кочанъ 'membrum virile' ¶ WP I 334, Kb. 443, OsS 378, Lx. 83, KM 295, ME II 132; ≠ Vs. II 356-7 and ≠ ESSJ X 104-5 (both: КОУАНЪ ← кочанъ 'cabbage-head') ||| U: FU ɫ *°kakk- > pObU *°kāk- > pVg *kāk- 'penis' > Vg: N {Mu.} kōk, UL {Kn.} kō:k, {Kn.} Ss kōg id. ⇨ Vg N {Mu.} kōkti 'coire' (the preservation of the stop -k may be due to ideophony or to the Lallwort-association of the Vg noun) ¶ WVD VII 142, MK 218, UEW 172.

1022. *KaKu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgel' > HS: B: Ah ā-kakkawa 'stick' ¶ Fc. 777-8 ||| IE: NaIE *keku- {P} 'keulenformiger Stock', 'Stock mit hammerartigem Quergriff' > Av čakuš- n. 'hammer\battle-axe for throwing' ('Wurfhammer, Wurfaxt'), NPrs چکش čäkoš 'a brazier's hammer' ||| Pru [El.] queke · "Stecle" ('Tannenast als Zaunstab'), Ltv čaka {Kar.} 'a cudgel with a side-branch', {ME} 'Knüttel mit Knorren\Wurzelende als Griff' ¶ WP I 381, P 543, Brtl. 575, ≈ Kar. I 184 (connects Ltv čaka with IE *kāk- 'bough, branch', which is err., because IE *k̄- yields Ltv s-), ≈ ME I 401 (unc. comparison of Ltv čaka with Cz čakan 'morning star'), En. 200, Tr. PK-L 380-2, Vl. I 584 ¶ The irreg. Ltv č- (for the expected k-) may be due to dialectal palatalization (F Rudz. LD 306-8) or borrowing from a different Baltic lge. ||| A [1] (< d.): T *°Kagu- > OT qāṣīl (Cl. qāṣīl) 'a willow shoot, a rod used for chastisement' ¶ Cl. 610 (supposed that the vw. a was long on the insufficient basis of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling with the letter 'alif) || M ≈ *qāqu'ṣ'ulī 'fishing rod' > WrM qāqu(i), HIM хажуль id., 'fishhook', Kl {Rm.} qaxūli id., {KRS} хажуль qaxul 'fishing rod', Brt хажули id. ¶ MED 947, KW 141, KRS 162, Chr. 564 ¶ The strange shape of the word and the unexpected long vw. ū in HIM, Brt, and Kl suggest borrowing | [2] ?φ A *k'Uk'∇ 'stalk, root' > T *k'ök 'root' > OT, MU, MQp, Chg [San.], Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr, CrTt, Qzq kök, Tk kök, Tv kœk, Chv кăк кьк, Δ k'ök 'root' ¶ Cl. 708, Rs. 287, ET KQ 91-2, TL 109, S AJ 182 [#67], Md. 51, 169 (*k'ök') || pKo *kòkìrì ~ *kòkòrì 'stalk' > MKo kòkìrì ~ kòkòrì, NKo kòkèi id. ¶ S QK #481, Nam 401, MLC 1330 || pJ *kùkù-i 'stem, stalk' > OJ kuki, J: T/Kg kukí, K kúkì id. ¶ S QJ #166, Mr. 462 ¶¶ In A *k'Uk'∇ the rounded vw. of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ DQA #1076 (A *k'juyk'è 'root, stem'; incl.

T, Ko, J), S AJ 284 [#199] (both papers tie in Tg *xūkte 'tooth', which is hardly acceptable [≠σ]; F N ***ḳakU** 'hook', 'tooth, fang') || K: GZ ***ḳaḳw-** 'hook' (× N ***ḳakU** '↑', q.v. ffd.).

1023. *ḲoḲe 'to look, to see' > IE: NaIE ***k^weḱ-/k^woḱ-**, ***k^weḱ-s-**, ***k^weḱ-** 'see' > OI 'kāsātē 'appears, is brilliant, shines' (medium voice, which may be interpreted as 'is seen'), caus. (ava)kāsayati 'läßt hinblicken', Av ākasat̄ 'erblickte', NPrs **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** āgōh 'aware, wary; intelligent, knowing; prudent', **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** negōh ~ **اَلْاَعْيَانِ** negāh n. 'look, aspect; glance; observation'; ***k^weḱ-s-** > OI 'caṣtē (3p caḳṣatē) md. v. 'sees, appears', Av čaš-te, -āite 'teaches', MPrs čašītan 'to teach'; Av, OPrs čašman-, NPrs **چشم** čäšm 'eye' || Gk Ep τέκμωρ, Gk τέκμωρ 'fixed sign, fixed mark, boundary' || ***k^weḱ-** > Sl *kazā-ti (1s prs. *kažq) v. 'show' > OCS **КАЗАТИ** kazati, Slv kázati, R по-казать, Δ ка'зать 'to show', SCr kázati 'to show, to say', Blg 'кажа v. 'say', RChS, OR kazati, R с-казать, Δ ка'зать, Uk ка'зати, Blr ка'заць 'to say', OCz kázati, LLs kazaś, HLs kazać 'to order', Cz kázati, Slk kázat' 'to preach, to order', P kazać 'to narrate, to preach, to order' || ?φ It is tempting to adduce here WGmc {KM} *guggjōn > OHG (?) guckan 'to look', NHG gucken 'to look, to peep', NLG kucken, Yid **קוקן** kukn 'to look', ? Dt kijken id., but both the cns. and the vowels violate the reg. sound corr. (ideophonic factor, as.?) ¶ P 638-9, M K I 204, Vl. I 45 and II 1342-3, Sg. 90, 1424, F II 66-7, ESSJ IX 168-70, Kb. 415, KM 276, Vr. N 368-9, KM 276, Glh. 314-, E 25 (***k^weḱ-** ~ ***k^weḱ-** 'appear') || HS: C: SC: Kz kekem- v. 'hear' || DhI kēk- v. 'watch, look at' || ? Ag: Aw {Hz.} **ḱkoḱḱn**, **ḱkoḱḱn**, Knf {TBZAC} eg^waw v. 'hear' ¶ E SC 243, E K 13, EEN 11, To. D 139, Blz. CWL || U: FU ***koke-** v. 'see, experience, find' (× N ***gokE** [= ***goki?**] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of?') > F **koke-** v. 'experience, find out', Es **koqe-** v. 'fear', as well as 'experience, undergo' (a recent innovation due to the infl. of F) | Lp Kld {TI} **kuo]k-ä-** v. 'inspect the fishing equipment' || Sm {Jn.} ***k0-** v. 'see, find' > En (1s obj. aor.): En X **koabo**, En B **kuabo** 'suchen, finden', Ne T **xo-cb**, T O {Lh.} **xōś** v. 'find', Ne F {Lh.} **kō-ś** id., Sq Tz {KKIH} **q0-q0** 'to find, to catch sight of, to discover', Kms {Cs.} **kuíim**, {KD} 1s prs. **k'uíám** 'I see, examine, perceive, find', Koyb {Sp.} **кубамь** 'I see', **куламь** 'I find', Mt {HL} ***k0-** 'see, find' (Mt: M {Sp.} **коямь** 'I find', K {M} **ischingo** 'I do not

see' [išchin 'I do not']) 𐤇𐤇 Coll. 25, UEW 171, SK 208, Jn. 72-3, Cs. 80, 181, KKI 162, KD 34, Hl. M #513 || D *kokk- v. 'raise the head or project the neck in order to see sth.' > Knd kok- 'raise\project the head while seeing a distant object', Kui gopka (< *gok-pa, p. gōkt-) 'stretch forth, stretch the neck in order to observe sth.', Ku gōk- 'look up, await' 𐤇𐤇 D #2180 ◇ IE *-g̃- in *^ok^ωe^{g̃}- (> Sl *kazǎ-ti) still needs explaining.

1024. 𐤇 *k^oʔk^oʔ ▽ 'beak', 𐤇ʔto peck' (of a bird) > K: GZ *kək- v. 'peck, poke (with the beak), knock' (× 𐤇) > G kək- id., 'snatch a hasty meal', Mg kək- v. 'pound, grind, knock', Lz kək- id.; GZ *kək-ωŋ- v. 'peck' (of a bird) > G (amo)-kək- v. 'pick up (grain from a vessel, from the ground with the beak)', (a)-kək- v. 'pick up (grain from the ground)', (da)-kək- v. 'break sth. with the beak', Mg kəkən-, kəkən- v. 'peck' (of a bird), Lz kəkən- id., 'eat a little at a time' ('есть понемногу') 𐤇 K 108, K² 88, FS K 174 (*kək-) || U: FU *k^okk- v. 'peck' (of a bird) > pPrm *k^okk- id. > Z koka^v-n⁺ v. 'peck, gouge', Z US koka^l- id., Yz kokaś- v. 'have sexual relations', Vt kukčásk⁺-, Vt Ur kukčásk- v. 'peck' (of hens) 𐤇 LG 129, SZ 161 || A: AmTg *xak^oʔ- ~ *^oxoko- 'beak' > Nn Nh xaqaā, Ul xaqa(n-) 'beak', Ud {Shn.} ʔai, {Krm.} aʔ ~ ʔa id., Ork xoqo(n-) id., 'nose (= front part) of a fish' 𐤇 STM I 17, Krm. 203 || D *kokk- ({ǧGS} *k-) 'beak' > Mnd kokku 'long beak, bill', Kn kokku, Tu kokku, kokkāyi, kōkāyi 'beak, bill', Kdg kokki 'beak' 𐤇𐤇 D #2034 ◇ The absence of regular correspondence of vowels of the first syll. may be attributed to onomatopoeia and ideophony.

1025. *ka^l ▽ (-m ▽) 'spot, stain; be spotty' > IE: [1] NaIE *kel- 'spot, stain' > OI kar^lka- 'white, a white horse', NPrs چرك čerk 'dirty; matter (pus, sanies vulneris)' || Gk κελλός 'gray', κελευός 'black' || [2] NaIE *kel-mo- 'stain' > OI kalmaṣa-ḥ 'stain, dirt', NPrs {Sg., BM} چرمه čärme 'white\gray horse', Krd čerme 'white' || NGr Sw Helm 'a white blaze on the cattle's forehead', Sw Δ hjälm {Hlq.} 'white blaze on the cattle's\horse's forehead', Sw hjälmig 'having a white head or a white blaze on the forehead' (of cattle\horses) || [3] ?φ NaIE *kāl-/*kal- 'stain' > Gk κηλῆς / κηλῆδος, Gk D καλῆς 'stain' || L cālidus, callidus {WH} 'mit einer Blässe auf der Stirn versehen' (of horses), Um CALERSU kaleřuf accus. pl. 'cal(l)idos, with a white forehead (oxen)', ? L caligo 'fog, darkness' || ? OIr caile, later (Mlr) gaile 'stain' || Lt kalýbas, kalývas 'white-necked' | Sl *ka^l 'dirt, mud' >

OCS, OR **КАЛЪ** kalъ, SCr **kāl** ~ **kāo** 'dirt, slime', Blg **кал** 'dirt', Slv **kāl** 'dirt in a puddle', Cz, Slk **kal** 'liquid dirt, mud', P **kał** 'dirt, puddle', R **кал** 'faeces' ¶ P 547-8, M KI 171, 184, VI. I 570, BM 163, Sg. 891, FI 813-4, 840-1, WH I 139-40, Bc. G 330, Vn. C 11-2, LP § 258, Frn. 208, Hlq. 357, ESSJ IX 127-9, Glh. 310 || **HS**: S *^o✓q̄lm 'stain' > Gz **q̄alm-at** 'stain, blemish' ({Di.} 'macula') ¶ ≈ L G 428 || **A**: M *qalī^uun > MM [S] **qalī^uun** 'brown horse with a black mane and a black tail', WrM **qalī^uun**, HIM **халиун** 'brown, isabella'; M *qaltar 'variegated, spotted' > WrM **qaltar**, HIM **халтар** id., 'blemished; having a white muzzle', Kl {Rm.} **χaltṛ** 'brown with a bright muzzle or a white mane'; M ⇨ Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qc/QK/Qb {Rl.} **qaltar** 'brown with a white mane' (of horses), R Δ **халтарый** 'bay with brighter spots' (of horses), WrMc **qaltara** 'dark-bay with a white breast, a bright muzzle, and a white blaze on the forehead' (of horses) ¶ MED 920, H 58, KW 163, Rl. II 259, Z 257-8 || T *Kaí- 'white blaze' (× T *k'áí 'bare, without hair' < N ***Ḳaíṣû** 'bare, naked') > Chg **قاش** qaš 'a white blaze on the forehead of a horse', Xk **χazar-** 'turn gray' (of hair), 'become white\bright', Tv **qažarar-** 'go gray' (of hair), 'show white (from afar)', Tlt {Rl.} **qažay-** id., **qažaj^uan čač** 'gray hair'; T *Kaí-Ka 'white blaze' > OT {Cl.} **qaš^ua** 'with a white head and darker body' or 'with a white blaze on the forehead', Tkm Δ, Az **qaš^ua** 'white blaze on the forehead of an animal (esp. horse)', Tk Δ, Uz, ET, Ln, VTt, Bsh, Qrg **qašqa**, Blq **qaš^uχa**, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY **qasqa**, Xk **χas^uχa**, Chv (⇨ a NaT lge) **χuška**, Δ **χurška** id. ¶ Cl. 671, ET KQ 350-1, Rl. II 395, 398-9, TvR 218 ¶ T *í (for the expected *l) may be due to the infl. of *k'áí 'bare, without hair; bald place' || **D** (in SD) *kaí- ({ḡGS} *k-) 'stain, spot, mole' > MI **kala** 'mark as of small-pox, scar, mole', Kn **kale**, **kali** 'scar of an old wound, mark of small-pox, stain of mud\oil', Kdg **kale** 'scar, white spot on nail', Tu **kalæ** 'scar, mark, blemish, stain'; D ⇨ OI **kalan̄ka-** 'stain, soil, impurity', **kalan̄a-** 'stain, blot' ¶ D #1313, M K I 177-8.

1026. *Ḳêla (= *Ḳela?) 'stalk, a hair' > IE: NaIE ***kei-** 'stalk' (→ 'arrow') > OI (× N ***ḲERṼ** [= ***ḲERU?**] 'hair') **śa'ra-** 'reed (Saccharum sara), arrow', **śa'la-h̄** 'staff', **śala-** 'hedgehog's needle', **śal'ya-** 'spear-head, arrow-head'; (× NaIE ***ker-** 'hair' < N ***ḲERṼ** 'hair'?) the second part (*śala-) of OI **ka'pucchalam** 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd. with *kaput- 'head') ||| Arm **սաղարթ** sałart^h 'leafy branch, leaf, long hair' ||| Gk **κῆλα** ntr. pl. 'arrows' ||| OIr **cáil**

'spear (lance, javelot)' (< *k̂l̂-yo-) || ON *hali* 'point of a shaft; tail' || Pru *kelian* 'spear' (a centum-reflex of *k̂-), unless it is from IE *kel- v. 'prick' || pAl {O} *cala > Al *thel* (< *k̂ol-ni or *k̂l̂-ni) 'big nail, spike' ¶ P 552-3, M K III 306, 313-4, M E II 615-6, 621-2, F I 838, Vn. C 10-1, Vr. 204, En. 192, Tp. P I-K 307-8, O 473-4, ≈ E I 537 (*k̂el(H)- '[spear]point') || A {S} *k̂'ıl̂∇(-ka) 'thick hair' > T *k̂'ıl̂k' id. > NaT *k̂'ıl̂ id. > OT *qıl* 'hair' (esp. 'horse hair, bristle'), MU, Tb *qıl* 'hair of the tail', Tkm *gıl*, Ggz *kıl*, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt *qıl*, Uz, ET *qıl* 'hair', Tf *hıl* 'horse hair', Tk *kıl*, Az *gıl*, Qmq *qıl*, Tv *χıl* 'hair, bristle', VTt, Bsh *qъл* 'horse hair, bristle', Ln *qıl*, Xk *χıl* 'hair, wool', SY *qıl* 'wool' || Chv *хѣлѣх ѡьльх* 'horse hair, string' ¶ Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 220-1), the pT word-final cluster *-l̂K regularly yields NaT *-l̂ and Chv -l̂k|χ or -l̂k|χ (distribution of ь and ь acc. to the laws of vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 614, Rs. W 262, ET Q 204-5, TL 196-7, Ra. 192-3, Jeg. 297-8, Fed. II 342, S AJ 178 [#37], Md. 70, 168 || M *kilga-sun 'horse hair' > MM [S] {H} *kılqasun* 'hair of horse tail', WrM *kılqasun*, HIM *хялгас(ан)* 'horse hair', Kł {Rm.} *kılүъсн* id., {KRS} *килһсн* 'hair, horse hair', Dg {Mrm.} *хилас, хиласе, хиласѣ* 'thread, string (Schnur)' {Mr.} *šilāse*, {T} *šilās* 'thread' ¶ H 102, MED 466, Klz. D I 139, Mr. D 216, KRS 300, KW 231, T DgJ 183 || Tg *xiń-ŋa-kta 'hair', *xińŋa- 'take off the hair from the hide' > Nn {Gru.} *xińa-xta*, Nn Nh *suŋa-ŋta* 'wool, down', Ul *suńaŋta*, Ork *suńaŋta*, Orc *ińaŋta*, Ewk *ińaŋakta*, Lm *ιŋŋŋt*, Neg *i(ń)ńakta* ~ *ińŋakta* 'animal's hair, wool, down', Ud *ińakta* 'wool, human body hair', Sln *ińakta* ~ *ińatta* 'wool, hair', WrMc *ińŋaŋa* 'down (of birds and mammals)', Ewk *ińŋa-* 'take\scrap off the hair from the hide' ¶ STM I 247 || pKo {S} *kār(h)- 'hair, horse's mane' (× N *Kaly∇ '[lock of] hair, eyebrow, eyelash') > MKo *kārki* 'horse's mane', NKo *məri-kʰarak, məri-kʰal* 'hair (of one's head)' (*məri* means 'head'), *kālki* 'mane', Ko: Chs *kʰal*, PhN *k:ał*, Ks *kʰáł*, Hm *kʰâł*, Sl *qʰal* 'hair' ¶ S QK #115, MLC 43, 608 || J: Starosin (S AJ 255 #115) adduces pJ *káĵ 'hair' > OJ *ke*, [RJ] *ké*, J T *kè* (S QJ #34, Mr. 447), but the word may alternatively (to my mind, more plausibly) belong to N *Kaly∇ '↑' (q.v.) || D *kel(l)- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'hair, feather' > Gnd *kel* (pl. -k) id., Knd *kelu* (pl. -ku), Png *kel* (pl. -ku), Ku *kellū* (pl. *kelka*) 'feather'. Kui *kelu* (pl. -ka) 'large feather, quill', Krx *kalgā* 'plumes' ¶¶ D #1973 ◇ The D and IE cognates point to a N *e, so that the vowels *i and *I in the Altaic lgs. are still to be explained ◇ Cp. IS I

351-2 [#228] (**Ḳila* 'stalk, a hair'; IE, A, D + **÷* FU **kalke* 'hair' [actually belonging to N **Ḳaly* ▽]).

1026a. **Ḳe* | A 'speak, say' > A: T **Kälä*- v. 'speak, say' (→ 'ask') > Chv *kala*- 'speak, say', Xk *klle*- 'ask for', VTt K *keläü* 'to prey', VTt Δ *keläü* 'to wish'; d.: NaT **Käläçü* 'speech, word(s)' > OT {Cl., DTS} *keläçü*, Chg *käläçi*, *käläçü*, Tk Δ *keleži* ≈ *geleži*, Tk EAn *gäläži* id., Blq *kelec*, Qmq *geleči* ¶ The vw. **ä* in the first syll. (unexpected in the light of the D cognate) may be due to the infl. of N **ḲAyLa* (if it actually was **ḲäyLa*) 'shout, call' ¶ Cl. 716, Rs. W 248, ET KQ 32-3, DTS 296, TTDS, Jeg. 85-6, Fed. I 214-5 || ? pKo {S} **kàró*- 'say' (× N **ḲAyLa* 'shout, call' and possibly N **ḡU₁ḡ₁▽* 'speak, call') > MKo *kàródáj*, Nko *kalodue* 'say' ¶ S QK #91, Nam 11, MLC 12 || HS: EC: Sa {R} -*kal*- ~ -*kal*- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. '*əḡeə* ~ '*əḡeə*, prs. '*aḡāə* ~ '*əḡeə* ~ '*əḡeə*) (× N **ḡU₁ḡ₁▽* '↑') ¶ R S II 232 || D **ke* | - ({*ḡGS*} **k^re* | -) v. 'speak' (× N **ḲAyLa* '↑?') > Tm *kiḷa*- v. 'express clearly, mention\state specifically', *kiḷavv* 'word, speech', *kiḷappu* 'speech, utterance', Gnd *kel*(l)- v. 'tell' ¶¶ D #2017b ◇ The attempt to find a common source of the above words for 'speak, say' and those for 'tongue' (our **Ḳ^reḡ|hi¹lé* 'tongue') (IS I 346-7, #221 [**Ḳä¹H¹ä* > U, A) and my own former investigation) is less convincing from both semantic and phonetic points of view (e.g., the discrepancy between **l* in the N lexeme for 'speak, say' and **l* in that for 'tongue').

1027. (₂?) **ḡe* | ▽ (or **ḡe* | ▽) 'lack, be insufficient' > K **ḡel*-/**ḡal*- > OG, G *ḡel*-/*ḡl*- v. 'lack, be short of, diminish' (× N **Ḳa^rḡ¹▽* '[be] few, [be] too small\thin\light', q.v.): aor. -*ḡel* (*da-v-a-ḡel* 'ich zog ab, ich verminderte'), prs. *m-a-ḡl-s* 'I lack' (literally 'to me is insufficient'), G X *ḡal*-/*ḡl*- v. 'lack, be insufficient', Mg, Lz *ḡor*- v. 'need, wish' (acc. to IS I 323, the stem-final *r* in a verb suggests a denominative origin: Zan **ḡor* 'a need' < K **ḡal*-), Sv *m-a-ḡu* 'I need' (*ḡu* < **ḡ_o*-), *ḡl*- (*x-o-ḡl-i* 'he lacks', *li-ḡl-i* 'to lack'); acc. to IS, Sv *ḡl*- is a loan from G | → GZ **m-ḡl-e*- 'deprived, lacking' (→ 'short') > OG, G *moḡle*-, G X *mḡle*-, Lz *mḡule*- 'short', Mg cd. *ḡe-ḡule* 'deprived of a hand' (with *ḡe*- 'hand') ¶ K 106 (**ḡal*-), K² 89 (**ḡel*-/*ḡl*-), 123 (**m-ḡl-e*-), Schm. 119, F KW3 24, FS K 173, FS E 189 (**ḡel*-/**ḡl*- 'diminish, be deprived of, lack'), Chik. 296, Mach. XS 270 || U **ke* | | ▽ > FU **ke* | | ke- v. 'need, must, shall' > pLp {Lr.} **k₃lk₃*- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} *galgedh*, U {Schl.} *gal'gat* id., L {LO} *kal'kat* 'werden, sollen, müssen', N {N} *gâl'gât* 'shall, must', Kld

кэ́л:геδ 'need, shall, must' | Er † кельге- ке́йге-, Mk кельго- ке́йга- v. 'love' | Chr L күл күл (inf. кү́леш), H 'келеш кел-' 'it is necessary, must', Uf күл- v. 'need, must', B күл- 'nötig sein, brauchen' | Prm {LG} *кәл- > StZ ков-ны, Z US күл-, Prmk, Yz көл- v. 'be needed\necessary; want, like', StVt күлэ күлэ, Vt Ur/B күлэ, Vt Shm кууе 'is necessary, should be' || Hg кәлл- v. 'be wanted\necessary' || ? F келраа- v. 'fit' ('taugen, annehmlich sein') may belong to U *ke||∇-, but not to FU *ke||ke- || Sm: Slq Nr/Ch {Cs.} kelemna- v. 'lack' ('fehlen, mangeln') ¶¶ Coll. 87 (*kelke-), UEW 145 (FU *kelke-), Sm. 543 (FU, FP *kelki-, Ugr *kilki- 'must'), Db. OS xxxii, Lr. #305, Hs. 551-2, ERV 250, PI 108, MRS 190, 258, Ep. 41, LG 125, MF 348-9, Sz. MNyH 122 || A: ?σ NaT *Kilä- ({Md.} *Kile-) 'wish, ask for' > Chv кәле кәле- id., QrB кәле- v. 'want', VTt Msh кәля- кәля- v. 'wish, want', Xk кәле- кәле- v. 'ask, care', Ln кәле-, Slr кәле- ~ кәля- ~ кәли- 'ask, wish', Slr U кәля-, Slr E кәле|ä|i- 'be required, incumbent' ¶ Tn. SJ 379, TTDS 237, Jeg. 104, Fed. I 270-1, BIG 79, Md. 75, 168 ◇ If NaT *Kilä- belongs here, its deviant vw. *i is to be explained ◇ IS I 323 (*kel̥ in K, U, Slr *÷ T *k'ärgä- 'be insufficient, lack').

1028. ₂ *Köl|íā 'beat, strike' > HS: S *°✓kly > Ar ✓qly (pf. قلى qalā, n. ag. qaly-) 'frapper qn. à la tête; renverser, abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', 'frapper le bois qulat-un avec un autre appelé miqlā?- (jeu d'enfants)' (قلاة qulat- 'petit morceau de bois placé verticalement sur le sol et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau de bois appelé miqlā?-') ¶ BK II 808 || D *köl- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *Köl|íqa 'to knock, to strike, to hit' and partially N *gola 'to kill') > Tm көл v. 'strike, hit', көл 'killing, murder', Ml көлкә, көл|ikkә v. 'hit', Kt көл-/көһ- v. 'pain, trouble, Td kw+]- v. quarrel', v. '(urine) troubles' (sc. 'troubles one who wishes to urinate'), Tu көһpini v. 'hit', көлpuni, көлpuni v. 'come into collision', Klm gōl- v. 'beat, shoot with bow', Nkr gōr- v. 'strike, beat, kill' ¶¶ D #2152 || IE: in BSI the expected reflex of N *Köl|íā (NaIE *°k_lω₁e- 'strike') is likely to have merged with IE *k_lω₁olH-/°k_lω₁leH- > NaIE *k_lω₁olə-/°k_lā- v. 'strike, beat' (< N *Köl|íqa '↑', q.v.), but the accentuation in the BSI infinitive (Lt kálti, Ltv kaít, pSl *kólti), in Lt káltas 'chisel' and kálvis 'smith' points to a lr. in the IE √, so that the main source of the IE root is N *Köl|íqa.

1029. *Kōlā (or *Kōl_{ly}ä?) 'long, far' > IE: NaIE *k^wel- 'far, distant' > OI cara'ma- 'last, the outermost', KhS tcarama- 'last, even' || Gk τῆλε 'far off, at a distance, afar', Gk τηλοῦ, Gk Ae πῆλυι 'afar, far away', Gk πάλαι 'long ago' || Brtt {RE} *pellōs 'far' > OW, MW, W, Crn, Br pell 'far', OBr pell 'far (in time)' ({Flr.}: 'far in space' is not attested), W pellaf 'the outermost' ¶ WP I 517-8, P 640, M KI 377, M EI 533, Bai. 136, F II 465, 891-2, RE 93, Flr. 282 (Clt < IE *k^welso) || **U**: FV *kü|lyä 'wide, broad' > pLp {Lr.} *k₃lyē 'broad' > Lp: S {Hs.} guljeke, L {LO} kal'jē, N {N} gâl'lje | Er ke'ie, Mk ke'í 'breadth'; Er ke'ley, ke'ew, ke'ej, Mk ke'í 'broad' ¶ UEW 663. Lr. #304, Lgc. #1911, Hg. 678 || **A**: M *qola 'far, distant' > MM [IM, MA, IsV] qola, WrM qola, Hlm xολ, Klm χολῶ, Mnr {T} χολο, {SM} χολο ~ χυλο, Ba, Dx χολο, Dg χολ, MMgl qolā, Mgl {Rm.} qolo 'far' ¶ Pp. MA 306, 445, MED 956, T 376, Iw. 127 || ??φ pKo *k'ir- 'long', v. 'prolong' > MKo k'ir'ú-, NKo kirī- 'prolong', NKo k'īl- 'long' ¶ S QK #49, Nam 81, MLC 264, 279 ¶¶ unc.: S AJ 295 [#524] and DQA #829 || **HS**: AdS of Eg fP k₃y 'be high', 'high, tall', k₃.ω 'height, length' (its main source is N *k_aā'h' 'high; be high'; more likely than N *g_aʔi ~ *g_aʔy∇ 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 1-4, Fk. 275 || **D** *kōl ({{GS}} *k-) > Kn kōl, kūl 'length, largeness', Tl kōlu 'big, huge; much, very' ¶¶ D #2239 || **Gil**: Gil A k'āl- 'be long', k'āla 'long' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ The IE ev. rules out pN *-í- ~ *-ly-, because a palatal element within a N word would have brought about a "movable *s-" in IE. Therefore *y in FV and Eg is likely to go back to a sx. If the FV cognate is *külyä, its vw. *ü is due to regr. as. ◇ Blz. LB #104b and Blz. LNA #27 (suggested to equate A with D).

1030. *Kōl∇ '(big) fish' (or *Kōl∇ and *ka|∇?) > IE: NaIE *k^wolal- 'ε big fish' > KhS, YAv kara, Sgd krw kpy 'ε monster fish' || OHG *hwalis > MHG wels > NHG Wels 'sheatfish, Silurus', Gmc *x^walirōn id. > OHG {P←?} hwelira, NHG {Paul} Weller id. (but OHG walir, walira 'whale'); Gmc *x^walaz ~ *x^waliz 'whale' > ON hvalr, AS hwæł, NE whale, OHG (h)wal, MHG wal, NHG Wal, Wal-fisch id., MHG wels 'sheatfish' || Pru kalis - "Welz" 'sheatfish, Silurus glanis' | ?σ Sl {Trb.} *k_l.bъ ~ *k_l.bъ 'Gobio fluviatilis (ε small fish)' > P kielb, R Δ κολβ, κολβ id. | Lt kilbūkas id., 'fish' (unless from P) || ?? A possible cd. *Hs-k^wal- may be represented by Gk ἄσπαλος 'fish' and L squalus 'ε a big fish' ({WH} 'Meersaugfisch?') (unless we accept P's suggestion that s- in Lsqualus is based on the analogy of squatus

'e a big fish' and squāma 'scale') ǰ Bai. 53, WH II 581-2, P 958 (*^(s)k^walo-s or *k^walo-s 'eine größere Fischart?'), LS 259, F I 167-8, SevR IEShF, Vr. 268-9, Ho. 179, Kb. 1136-7, OsS 435, 1082, Schz. 307, Lx. 306, 317, KM 834, 851, Paul 719, 734, En. 188, Tp. P I-K 168-71, ≈ H 510 (*^(s)k^walo-s 'sheatfish, wels'), Trb. SE29-39: 38 || **HS**: EC: Af {PH} kúllum, Sml {DSI} kallūn, Sml N {Abr.} kállūn 'fish', kallūm- 'catch fish' ǰ PH 151, DSI 357, Abr. S 148, ≠ AD SF 81-2 || Ch: WCh: Hs kúl mā 'e large fish' || CCh *k^ri|u^rip- 'fish' (× N *kⁱR∇P[∇] '[e?] fish', q.v. ffd.) > BM *k[∇]lf∇ > Kib kàlfi, Br k+l fà, Mrg xilif, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì 'fish' | Higi sb.: HgNk k+l+pé, HgB k+l+pó, Kps kùlùp^wé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu id. | McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, Glv kúlfà, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc kèlèté id. | Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílif, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. | Db {Lnh.} kílif, Kola {Sb.} kilúf id. | Ms kuluf-fa, {Kr.} kulufna, Bnn kúlùvá 'fish' ǰ Ba. 636, ChC, ChL, Ro. 252 || ? SES: Jb {Thm.} kāl, Mh {Thm.} kell 'whale' || ?? Ak kulīl- ~ kulull- 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' (a reborrowing from Sum or borrowing of a Sum cognate of the N word?) ǰ Thm. 100, CAD VIII 526-7 ǰ OS #1496 || **U** *kala 'fish' > FU *kala > F, Es kala id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōlē > Lp S {Hs.} gūollie, L {LO} kuollē, N {N} guolle, Kld kūll' | Er/Mk kal id. | Chr H/L/Uf/B kol id. || ObU *kūl id. > pVg *kūl > Vg: T kōl, LK/UL/Ss xūl, MK/UK kūl, P/NV/SV/LL/ML kul, pl. kūlāt; pOs *kul > Os: V/Vy quł, Ty/Y quḫ, D/K χuť, Nx χūt, Kx χūḫ, O χul | Hg hal id. || Sm {Jn.} *kālā, {Hl.} *kale 'fish' > Ne T халя, Ne O {Lh.} χā́'е, Ne F {Lh.} kā́'á'ā, Ng {Mik.} kol+, En X {Cs.} kaře, En B {Cs.} kare, Slq Tz {KKIH} qēl+, Kms {KD} k'ōřā, Koyb {Sp.} кола, Mt {Hl.} *kālā (Mt: M {Mll.} chállä, {Pl.} ghallä, галле, {Sp.} kele, K {Mll.} chállì, {Pl.} kalé, T {Mll.} kállä) || ?? pY {IN} *qal- 'fish (??)' > cd.: YT qaldawa {IN} 'scales, hide', {Ku.} 'scales, bark' (qal- 'fish [?]' + sawa 'hide, skin') ǰ Coll. 21, It. #18, UEW 119, Sm. 538 (U, FU *kālā, FP *kala, Sm *kālā 'fish'), Lr. #511, Lgc. #2886, Hs. 689, Ht. #245, Jn. 59, KKIИ 161, Hl. M #461, IN 244, Ku. 250, 295 || **A**: [1] A *k'ol∇ 'fish' > M *°qoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *k^ol_l∇_l∇ [↔ *k^ol_l∇_l∇?] 'to peel, to bark') > WrM qolisun, HIM холис(он) 'fish-skin' ǰ MED 959 || Tg *xol-sa 'fish' > Ewk ołlo, Lm olrъ, Neg oło, Orc olto, Ud {Krm.} ołoho, Ul xolto(n-), Nn Nh/KU xolto ǰ STM II 14, Krm. 275; the cluster *-ls- is reflected by Lm -lr-, Ud -loh-, etc. (in spite of Vovin's doubts [Vv. AEN 3-4]) || pKo {S} *kòràḡ 'whale',

МКо {S} kòràj, {Vv.} kuòlày, NKo korä id. ¶ S QK #1081, MLC 138 | [2] ? Tg *kali € a 'freshwater fish' > Ewk kali 'crucian (carp)' ('карась'), Ud kali 'cisco (Coregonus)' ('сиг') ¶ STM I 366 ¶ The unexpected *k- (for *x-) suggests borrowing || (a loanword?) М *qalimu 'whale' > WrM qalimu, HIM, Brt † халим id.; М б→ (possibly) Tg *kalima 'whale' > Ewk kalim 'whale', Ewk A kalim id., 'fish in its seasonal running in rivers (ходовая рыба)', Lm qalim, Neg kalim, Orc kalima ~ kālma, Ud kalima, Ul qalma, Ork, Nn qaluma, WrMc qalimu 'whale' ¶ MED 920, Chr. 538, STM I 366-7, Ci. 309 ¶¶ S CNM 2 reconstructs A *k'ula and suggests to adduce Ko-J (sic!) *kur∇-ra 'whale'; Vv. AEN 3-4 (does not find the reason to reconstruct *-sa in Tg *xol-sa); ≈ DQA #713 (A *kalu 'a k. of fish'), #1042 (A *k'ula 'a k. of big fish'; adduces pJ *kàra 'plaice') || D *koll- ({ǵGS} *k-) '€ fish' > MI kolli, Tu koleji '€ fish'; ? Gnd kīl 'fish' ¶¶ D #2139 ◇ IS I 288-9 [#155] (*kala > Tg *kalima, U, HS), AD GD #161 (U, C, Tg *xol-sa 'fish'), MichMR 8-11, AD NM #73, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn), Vv. AEN 3-4. The vw. *a of the first syll. (for the expected *o) in U *kala and in Tg *kali is puzzling, so that we may suggest two N words: (1) *kaI∇ for U and for Tg *kali, (2) *KōI∇ for the rest ◇ ≈ Gr. II #156 (*kal 'fish') (IE, U, A, Ko, Gil, CK + qu. EA + err. J).

1031. ₂ *kōL∇ (bA) (or *K-?) dog\wolf, whelp' > IE: NaIE *okʷol-/ *okul-, *kʷelb-/ *kʷolb- '(young?) dog' > Lt kalẽ, kãlẽ 'bitch' || Gmc *xʷelþo-z, *xʷalþo-z 'whelp, young dog' > ON hvelþr, Dn hvalþ, Sw valþ, AS, OSx hwelp, NE whelp, MDt welp, wulp, wolp, OHG welpf ʒ welp̄h, MHG welf, NHG Welf id. || ? Gk EI [Hs.] κύλλα · σκύλαξ 'young dog' (or 'young animal') || Al kēlysh 'young of animal, cub' ¶ Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Kb. 1168, OsS 438, Schz. 315, KM 851, Frn. 208, F II 47, O 176-7, ≈ EI 168 (?? *(s)kōli 'young dog') || HS: S: [1] S *kaIaḅ- 'dog' > Hb כַּלְבָּי 'kələḅ (pl. כַּלְבִּים kələḅ-īm), Ph, Ug, IA, Sb klb, Amr {G} kalbum, JA {Trg.}, JEA כַּלְבָּא kal'b-ā, Sr كَلْبٌ kal'b-ā (abs., cs. كَلْبٌ kə'ləḅ with ε [e] due to a late Aram distribution: the second vw. in nomina segolata is always e unless preceding a lr. or r), Md kalba, Ar kalb-, Gz kalb, Tgr kəlb, Tgy kəlbi, Ak kalbu(m) 'dog', Sq {L} kalb 'dog, wolf', Mh {Jo.} kawb (pl. kəḅlōb), Hrs {Jo.} kawb ~ kōb (pl. kəḅlōb), Jb E/C {Jo.} kəb (pl. 'kəḅlōb) 'wolf, dog' ¶ KB 453, A #1313, OLS 214-5, Dlm. 188, Sl. 580, BK II 921, G A 22, L LS 218, L G 282, Jo. M

208, Jo. J 130 ¶ The SES cognates (Mh *kawb*, etc.) point to S **kalb*- rather than **kalab*-, because the reg. Mh reflex of **kalab*- would have been **kaḷēb* [2] a variant without deglottalization: S **o*✓*ḳ*ḷb in OYmn *ḳlwb* ({Slw.} *qillawb*-) 'Schakalwolf' ¶ Slw. 183-4 || B: Ty {Fc.} *ākūlan* 'wolf, lycaon' ¶ Fc. 799 || CCh: BM: BuP {ChL} *klā*, Bu {ChL} *kilā*, Cb {ChL} *klɔ̀à*, WMrg {ChL} *klɔ̀a*, *kìyà* 'dog' || Ktk: Bdm {Cfr.} *kàlé*, {Lk.} *keḷi*, Lgn {Lk.} *kàlè*, {Bou.} *gàléw*, Gf {Lk.} *gàleu* (pl. *gàllē*), {Lbf.} *gəḷəw*, Ktk Mk {Lbf.} *keḷəw*, Ktk Ks {Lbf.} *keḷə*, Ktk Af {Lbf.} *gàḷəō* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'dog', ChL, Lk. ZSS 145, 147, Lk. B 112, Lbf. VC 162 ¶¶ OS #1521 ◇ HS **k* results from deglottalization of **ḳ*, which suggests that in thim etymon the initial cns. was **ḳ*-, but **q*- is not excluded either (if the merger of **ḳ* and **q* preceded the HS deglottalization) ◇ N **bA* (within **ḳôL* ▽ *bA*) is an adjectival pc. forming animal names (see N **bA*) ◇ Cf. Trnt. NE2 20 (S, IE: Gmc, Lt), BmK 474 s.v. **k*^ω[^h]alp'- / **k*^ω[^h]alp'- (S, IE: Gmc). The identification of the rounded vw. in pN is still a problem. The Elean Gk and Tayert Tw cognates suggest N **u*. Cp. N **o*gUḥÍE *bA* (see N **gUḥÍE* ≈ canine animal').

1032. **ḳuṭ'ā* 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') > IE: NaIE **k*^ωel- 'clan, troop' > OI *kr̥'ṣṭi*- 'man, people, race' || Gk *τέλος* 'body of soldiers' || SI **čelādь* (< ***čel-jadь*) 'family', (coll.) 'younger\subordinate members of the family' > OCS *челѣдь* *čeljadь* 'populus, familia', Blg *челяд*, *челед* 'children, family', SCr *čeljād* 'women\members of the family' (coll.), 'family', Cz *čeled'* 'servants, clan', Slk *čel'ad'* id., 'relatives', OR *челѣдь* *čelāđь* [*čelāđь*] 'slaves, servants', R *челядь* 'house-serfs' (coll.); SI **čelo-věky* 'person (human being)' (lit. 'child [**věky*] of the clan [**čel-o-*]) > OCS *чловѣкъ* *člověky*, Blg *човек*, Slv *človek*, Cz *člověk*, P *człowiek*, R *человек* 'person (human being)', SCr *човек* *čòvjek*, SCr K *človek* 'person, man (male person)', Uk *чоловік* id., 'husband' ¶ WPI 517, P 640, M KI 263-4, F II 871-3, ESSJ IV 40-2, 48-50, Glh. 181 || HS [1] C: Bj {R} 'kilmo 'Gehöft, Dorf' ¶ R WbD 142 || Ch (× N **gūṭA* 'dwelling, house?'): Ech: Ke {Eb.} *kuḷi* 'village, house', Kwn, Smr {J} *kùlù*, Li {ChC} *kúl* 'hut' || WCh: SBc: Bg *k^ωàl* 'house, hut', Kir {ChL} *k^ωàl* 'house', Buli {ChL} *k+la*, {IL} *kā̀lā* id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 74 || [2] (× N **kalw* ▽ 'together, whole'): S **kuḷl*- 'all, every, the totality' > Hb *כָּל* 'kol' / *-כָּל* 'kuḷl'- 'all' (cs. *כָּל כָּל*), Ph, M'b, Amn, Ug, OA, OSA *kl*, Pun *kl*, [Plt.] CHYL or CHIL,

IA, Htr kl ~ kωl, BA כֹּל kol, em. כֹּל kol¹-ā, JEA {Sl.} כֹּל kol¹-ā, BA, JA, JEA cs. כֹּל kol, Sr W kul¹ /kull-, Sr E כֹּל kol, Md kul, Ar کُلّ kull- id., Gz k^ωall- 'all', k^ωall-ū 'every-thing\body, all', Ak kull- aṭu 'all, totality'; S *kull- → B: Tmz kul, ku, Kb kul, mkul, -mkull (followed by a noun in état libre) 'every, all off' (the hyp. of borrowing is confirmed by a phonetic argument: in Kb the cns. k has not undergone either lenition or palatalization *k > ʃ [compulsory for intervoc. *k in Kb]); S *k¹a¹- (*-a- due to the merger with N *ka¹w¹): Amr {G} ka¹a 'all' and possibly SES: Mh kāl-, kali-, Hrs ka¹, kā¹, kall-, Jb E ka¹, ka¹-, Jb C ka¹, ka¹, 'ka¹, Sq {Jo.} ka¹, ka¹ id. ¶ KB 451-2, 1724, HJ 500-7, A #1320, OLS 213-5, Sl. 559-60, DM 206, Nld. MG § 226, Br. 326-7, BK II 918, BGMR 77, L G 281, Jo. M 207, Jo. H 67, CAD VIII 504-6, G A 22, MT 329-30, Dl. 400 || SC: Irq {E} kila 'very much, completely' ¶ E SC 288 || SOm {Tk.} *k^ωull- 'all' > {Bnd., Fl.}: Dm kull, Hm, Hm K wull 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || U: FU *kü¹l¹ä 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *gü¹A 'dwelling, house', q.v. ffd.) || A: NaT *k¹ul 'slave' (× N *ku¹ 'to work', q.v. ffd. × N *g¹U¹U¹ 'boy, child') || D: AdS of D *kü¹li 'working for wages' (< N *ku¹ '↑' × N *g¹U¹U¹ '↑') ◇ Not here Sv L q¹law 'child, boy' (⇔ S CNM 9), see N *g¹U¹U¹ '↑' ◇ IS I 362-3 [#239] (*Ḳū¹l¹ä 'community, clan').

1033. ₂ *Ḳ¹u¹l¹ 'brown' > HS: B *^o-y¹wā¹- 'be brown' > Ah, ETw¹ i¹y¹wā¹ 'be brown' ¶ Fc. 1746, GhA 74 || A *k¹u¹l¹ > NaT *Kula > OT {Cl.} qulā 'dun with black mane and tail' (of horse's coat), Chg, Osm, Alt qula 'light brown, brown', Tk 'kulā id., 'red, russet', 'a red horse', Nog, Qzq qū¹la, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb qula, Xk xū¹la 'light bay with black mane and tale (саврасый)', VTt, Bsh qū¹la id., 'light dun, isabella', QT qula 'light dun', Qmq qula 'brown', Ggz kula, Tk Δ qula 'blond' ¶ Cl. 617, Rs. W 298, ET Q 121-2 || M: [1] (← T?): WrM qula, HIM xyl 'fawn-coloured, tawny; bay, having a black stripe along the spine, with black tail and mane' (horse), Kl {Rm.} xul¹ 'light brown with a black mane and tail' (horse) || [2] ? M *küyilen ({DQA}: dis. from **küyilen) 'gray, bluish' > WrM küyilen id. ¶ MED 498, 963, KW 195 || AmTg *xol- > Ud xoligi, xolío 'yellow', Nn Nh xogžō 'gray, brown' ¶ AmTg¹ (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ¶ STM I 469 ¶¶ DQA #1158 (A *k¹ū¹li 'yellow, brown, gray' > T, Tg, M *küyilen).

1034. *Ḳ¹u¹l¹ 'raven, crow' > U *ku¹l¹ > FU *ku¹l¹(k¹) 'raven' > ObU *kū¹l¹(k¹) 'raven' > pVg *kū¹lāk > OVg N BerG chúlach, OVg W Sol

кѹлаxъ, Vg: T kolāk, LK xolax, MK k^ωolax, P/NV/SV/LL/ML kulax, UL/Ss xolax id.; pOs *kɔlək > Os: V/Vy kɔlək, Ty koləŋk, Y koləŋk, D/K/Nz xuləx, Kz x^ωləx, O xoləx id. || pSm {Jn.} *kulьyъ id. > Ne T xулы, Ne T O {Lh.} xу·л̄ī, Ne F {Lh.} kuφī, Ng {Ter.} kulə, {Cs.} kúlā, En X {Cs.} kúruke, En B {Cs.} kúreke id. | Slq Tz {KKIH} külä, Slq Tm {KD} kulä id. | Kms {KD} k'ū'li ~ k'ú:lī, Koyb {Pls.} kuillæ, {Sp.} кyле id. ¶¶ UEW 200, Coll. 15, MF 292-3, Ht. #259, Jn. 77, KKIИ 122 || **A:** Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow' > Ewk ōlī 'raven', Ewk Ag ólī, Sln oíe ~ olī 'crow', Lm olunja 'ε raven (HOCAY)', Neg ōlī, Ud wali, Orc oli, Ul oli, Ork olī, Nn Nh xolī 'raven' ¶ STM II 13 ¶¶ ≠ S AJ 281 and DQA #1157 (semantically unj. comparison of Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow' with T *kūlī 'bird' and Kl xuldъ 'duck-hawk') || **HS:** ? ECh: Kbl {Cp.} gáləgə 'ε 'crow' ¶ ChC.

1034a. *Kŭlŭ 'fall, fall down\apart' > **HS:** S *-kīl- > Ug ✓k^wlyl G 'fall', Ak OA/OB inf. kīālu~kālu id. (?), Ak OA kīlu adj. prone'; ?? Gz k^walq^wala 'bring down, go downhill' ¶ OLS 364-5, A #2408, Sd. 918, CAD XIII 75-6 (kīālu~kālu "uncertain meaning"), 252, L G 430 || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} kal-, Gude {ChL} k^wūlīč(a) v. 'fall' ¶ JI II 131, ChC, ChL || **U:** FU *kuŭ (~ *kūŭ?) v. 'fall, fall down\apart, drop off, crumble away' (×FU *kuŭ- 'come to end') > Hg hull- 'fall, fall down', Vg: IK xol-, P kul-, Ss xul- 'peel off' (bark of trees) | ObU: Os: Nz kuləy 'crumble' (ice in spring), Kz k^ωləm- 'zerfallen, auseinanderfallen, sich zerkrümeln'; Vg Ss {Knn.} kūlat- 'abgetragen\abgenutzt werden; zergehen, so daß nur die Graten übrig bleiben (Fische, wenn sie lange gekocht haben)' || Prm: Z g+lav-n+, Δ g+lal- 'fall' (of many objects), 'fall out', g+ləd-v. 'drip' ¶ MF 308-9. LG 84, UEW 156, 199-200, Coll. 97 || **A:** T *k_l'ula- 'fall down, collapse' > Qzq, Uz qula-, Bsh q^ola- 'fall, tumble down', Qq, ET qula- 'tumble down, collapse' ¶ ET Q 122-3 || Tg *_lx_lŭ- > WrMc ulu-, uləze- 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep slope, a bank), Ewk PT/Y ulul-, Ewk Ucr ul- id., Ewk PT/Y ulu 'precipice, landslide, landslip', Lm wlsa- 'collapse' (of ground, bank, etc.), ¶ STM II 263 ¶ The Tg ✓ may result from coalescence of the N word in question with N *k^us^r'ŭ 'to fell, to fall' ◇ ≈ IS I 358-9 [#235] (U [unc.: incl. *kula- 'come to an end'], T, Tg), Blz. LB #48.

1035. *K^reʔhi¹lê 'tongue' > **U** *kēle 'tongue, language' > F kieli, Es keel id. | pLp {Lr.} *kēlɜ 'tongue' > Lp: L {LLO} kiella, N {N} giellâ, Kld kīll id., S {Hs.} giële 'voice, language' | Er keí, Mk käl 'tongue,

language' || Prm *kũl id., 'word' > OPrm, Vt, Z Δ k+l, Z k+v, k+vuy, Yz kōl id. || ObU: Os V kōl 'word, news, language', D ket 'word', Kz keφ 'word, news' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *keɣy 'tongue' > Ne F {Lh.} śl̄ē; En d. {Cs.}: En X sioro, En B sioro; Ng d. {Mik.} śēdā, {Cs.} sieja; Slq Tz {KKIH} šē; Kms d. {KD} šekə, Koyb d. {Sp.} сека; Mt {Hl.} *kEy (= *kāl̄ē|iy) id. (Mt: M {Mll.} ki, K {Mll.} gei, M {Sp.} каште, T {Mll.} káschtä, {Pl.} кяштя, K {Pl.} gýste 'his tongue') ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 144-5, Db. OS xxi, Sm. 538 (U *käxli, FU, FP *keeli, Sm *keoy), SK 188, Lr. #419, Lgc. #2412-3, Hs. 594, LG 149, W SDW 134-5, Jn. 66, Lh. 433, KKIИ 174, Hl. M ##450, 508 || **HS:** M *kele(n) ({IS} *kēle(n)) 'tongue, language' > MM [IsV] kēlen 'tongue', [MA] kelen 'narration', WrM kele(n), HIM хэл(эн), MMgl {Iw., Lg.} kēla, Mgl {Rm.} kelān, Mnr H {T} kilīē, {SM} k'īlīē, Dx {T} kīēlīēn, Dg keli 'tongue'; ⇨ M *kele- ({IS} *kēle-) v. 'speak' > MM [MA, IsV] kele-, WrM kele-, HIM хэлэ-, Mgl kelā-, Dx kīēlīē-, Ba kele-, Mnr H {T} kilīē-, {SM} k'īlīē- ¶ Lg. NVMI 113-5, 119, 121-4 and Lg. LML 136 (both on the M vw. e), Lg. VMI 49-50, Pp. MA 213, MED 447, Iw. 111, SM 203, T 339, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 29, T BJ 141 || Tg *xil̄jü 'tongue' > Nn siŋmu ɘ sirmu ɘ ximmu, Ork sinu, Ul siñu, Ud in̄i, Orc in̄i, in̄i, Ewk il̄ji ɘ inni ɘ in̄ji, Neg in̄ni ~ in̄ji, Sln in̄i, Lm j̄3n̄ŋb, WrMc il̄eŋü, Mc Sb (y)il̄3ŋu, Jrc {Kiy.} il̄eŋu ¶ STM I 318-7, Kiy. 125 [#499] || ?φ pKo {S} *hyá₁ 'tongue' > MKo hyá₁ id. ¶ S AJ 58 ¶ S AJ 57-8, 292 [#422] (pA *k'äl̄j̄; adduced here pKo *hyá₁ 'tongue'), DQA #1041 (A *k'j̄äl̄i 'tongue') || **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} k̄z̄l̄ā, Ll {Smn.} kilā- 'tongue' ¶ ChC s.v. 'tongue', Blz. EChWL #88 ◊ The U long vw. *ē and the Tg vw. *i suggest a pN etymon *Ḳeʔ|hil̄ē.

1035a. *ḲôHl̄ä – *Ḳôl̄Hä 'lake, small body of water' > **HS:** C: Ag {AD} *kʷz̄l-/*kʷz̄ll- (= *kʷz̄l̄-), {Ap.} *kʷz̄l-/*kʷz̄l- 'river, valley' > Bln {R} kūr̄ā, {Ap.} kʷara, Xm {R} aqūal, Xm T {CR} qʷär̄a, Km kʷz̄ra || EC: Sml N {Abr.} kāl 'depression full of water' ¶ AD SF 198 (pC *l̄ʔḲl̄kʷḲl̄-/*l̄ʔḲl̄kʷḲll-), Ap. AV 14 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} kʷàl 'valley' (← *'river valley') || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} k̄l̄u 'lake', {Nc.} 'kuil̄ū 'large body of water (the Chad lake, the Shari river)', Ngl {Lk.} kuil̄ā 'pond', Lgn {Lk.} kula 'lake, pond' ¶ J S 71, Lk. L 102, Lk. B 112, 115 || B ?? Gh {Bs.} kulama 'sea, river' || **U** *k'ü¹l̄ä 'small lake, marsh, bay' > pPrm *kōl (= {LG} *kōl) > Vt kal̄im 'puddle (of stagnant water)', {Mu.} kal̄ēm 'inlet or bay in a river' (LG: *o > Vt a due to the infl. of l), Z тыкōла t+kz̄la 'small lake' (ты t+ means 'lake') || ObU *kü]ʔḲ 'marsh' > pOs *k̄j̄aʔ

id. > Os: V/Vy kǝ]əʃ, Ty ke]əʃ, D kǎlə, Kz ka]; pVg kīlǝʃ (with unexplained delabialization ****k^wī-** > ***kī-**) id. > LK kēlī (nom. pl. kelǝt), MK/UK kēlī, P/UL/Ss kelīʃ, NV/SV/LL kēli (nom. pl. kellǝt) || Sm: Slq: ? Tm {KD} kǝl (inexact transcr. for qǝl?) 'Flußbusen', Tz {KKIH} qǝls+ 'bay in a river or in the riverbed of a tributary (filled with water in spring), ? Tz {KKIH} qolt+ large river', {Cs.} tagandes-kold 'the Yenisei' (lit. 'broad river'), Tz/Yel/B {Cs.} kold, Kar {Cs.} kuld 'the Yenisei', Nr {Cs.} kold, Ke {Cs.} koltte, NP kolttu 'the Ob' ¶ UEW 134-5 (U ***kǎl**) and Ht. 149 [#258] (ObU ***kīl**) - both recs. are based on the delabialized Vg cognate without explainig Os ***ǝ**; Stn. OUV (pObU ***-ü-**, which is preferable to Ht.'s rec.), LG 140, Coll. 21-2, Cs. 118, 238, KKIH 156, 161 || **А** ({SDM95} ***k'ǝl**, [DQA ***k'ǝli**): T ***k'ǝl** 'large body of water (natural or artificial), lake, pool' > OT {Cl.} kǝl id., Tk gǝl, Qrg kǝl 'lake, pool', Tkm kǝl, Az кѳл gǝl, Ggz gǝl, Uz кўл kǝl, ET, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg kǝl, VTt, Bsh kül, Alt, Xk kǝl, Tv xǝl, Tf hǝl, Yk kǝl, Chv külb 'lake', OQp {TAG} كول kǝl 'pool' ('Pfütze') ¶ Cl. 715, ET KQ 95-6, TL 91, Dr. TM III ##1682-3, Ra. 190, TAG 100, Jeg. 123, Fed. I 321 ¶ The initial fortis ***k'** is reconstructed on the ev. of Og (Tkm k-) and the Tv-Tf lgs. (Tv x-, Tf h-) || **з** M ***kǝl** (← T??) > Brt xγл xǝl 'lake' (used in names of lakes), WrO kǝl 'bay', Kl {Rm.} kǝl 'flood (of a river)' ('Überschwemmung, Wasserflut'); IS I 306 mentions WrM kǝl 'bay', but I have not succeeded in detecting this word in any available dictionary of WrM (Kow., MED, Gl., Boberg). Acc. to IS, in most M lgs. this word disappeared because of its homonymy with M ***kǝl** 'foot, leg' ¶ Krg. 739, KW 237, Chr. 617 || Tg ***xule-** 'channel, (whirl)pool' > Lm ūl 'deep place in a river (омут)', ulgin 'a quiet and deep place in a river (заводь)', Orc, Ud ūle 'channel (протока)', Ork xulu-pti 'whirlpool', WrMc ulē-r 'canal around the ploughed field (for drainage of rain water), ditch (in ploughed fields)' ¶ STM I 477, II 257, 264, Z 158 || pKo ***kǎrám** 'lake, big river' > MKo kǎrám id. ¶ S QK #226, Nam 11 ¶ ¶ SDM95 s.v. k'ǝl 'lake, basin', DQA #1129 (pA ***k'ǝli**; incl. T, Tg, Ko) ◇ T and M ***ǝ** (rather than ***ü**) are more likely to go back to ***o|u** with subsequent synharmonic palatalization rather than to N ***ü** ◇ IS I 305-6 [#177], Blz. C (suggested to tie in Gh kulama), ≠ S NSShS #22 (A ***ǝ** IE ***g^we**l- 'spring'). IS reconstructs here N ***k-** on the apparent ev. of HS, but in HS the N emphatic cnss. may have de-emphatized reflexes, as in all grammatical words and pronouns (*see* above Introduction, § 2.2.2).

The cognates providing ev. for an original N ***Ḳ**- are found both in HS (Xm aqũal) and in A (Tkm kōl, Tv xōl, Tf hōl, the Tg √ with ***ḡ**-). The connection with IE ***g^wel-** v. 'drop, well out' (proposed with a query by IS) is unlikely. Cp. N ***gowlu** 'deep; valley' (in some lgs. that do not distinguish between N ***Ḳ**- and ***g**-, there might have been contamination of N ***ḲōHlā** - ***ḲōlHä** and ***gowlu**).

1036. *ḲeHu^hlüHê (or ***Ḳe^hul_{ly}ê**??) 'hear' > IE: NaIE {P} ***ḱleuā**-/***ḱlu(:)**- 'hear' > OI **érō_{nō}-ti**, Av **surunaoitī** 'hears' ||| Gk aor. ἔκλυον 'I heard', prs. κλέ(Ϝ)-ω, -ομαι 'I hear' ||| L **cluē-** (**clueo**, -ēre) v. 'be called (heißen)' ||| OIr **cluīn-** v. 'hear' (**ro-cluīnethar** 'hears'), **clúas** n. 'hearing, faculty of hearing, ear', **cloth** 'news, rumour, fame', W **clod** 'fame', Brtt {RE} ***kluwami** v. 'hear' > MW **clɣwaf** 'I hear', W **clɣwed**, Cm **clewes**, Br **klevout** 'to hear' ||| ON **hljóð**, OHG {OsS} **hliuθ** 'Zuhören, Gehör, Laut', Gt **hliuma** n. act. 'hearing', OHG (h)**liumunt** id., 'call, rumour, fame'; (from ***ḱlū-**): OHG **lūt**, NHG **laut**, OSx, AS **hlūd** 'loud', NE **loud** ||| Sl ***slī-ti** (1s prs. ***slībV-ŋ**) 'have the reputation\name\ fame of' > OCS **словѣ** **sluti** (prs. **словѣ slovoŋ**) 'have the name, be called', Slv **slúti** (prs. **slóvem**, **slūjem**) 'be known\famous as', OCz **slúti** (prs. **slovu**), Cz **slouti**, Slk **slut'** id., 'be called', R **слыть** (prs. **слы'ву**), Uk 'слити 'have the reputation of' | Ltv Δ {ME} **slūt** {p. **sluva**), **sluvēt** {prs. **sluv**), 'spread' (of a rumour), 'become known' ||| pTv ***klāw-** > Tc: A, B **klāw-** 'be called \ named' ||| NaIE inv. ***ḱlu-d^{hi}** > OI **érud^{hi}**, Gk **κλύθι** 'hear!' ||| NaIE pp. ***ḱlu(:)**-to-(s) '*heard' → 'renowned, famous' > OI **éruta-h**, Av **srūta-**, Gk **κλυτός**, L (with a px.) **in-clutus** id., OHG **hlot-**, **hlud-** id. (in proper names: **Hlot-hari**, **Clothilde**, **Hluderich** = Clt **Cluto-rigi**), Arm **լու** **lu** 'the hearing' (in **լու առնել** **lu arnel** 'to make known, to bring the news', **լու լինել** **lu lineł** 'to be heard of, to be made known') ||| NaIE ***ḱlewos** 'fame, announcement' (→ †'speech, word') > OI **érava^h** 'glory, praise, renown' ||| Gk **κλέος**, Gk Ph **κλέϜος** 'rumour, report, news' ||| OIr **clú** ntr. 'fame' ||| pAl ***klāusná** (d. from IE ***ḱlewos**) > Al: T **quaj**, G **quaj** v. 'call, give a name' ||| pTc {Ad.} ***kälwe** > Tc B **riem-kälywe** {Ad.} 'fame' ||| BSl (L-gr.): Lt **šlově** 'glory, humour' | Sl ***slāva** 'fame, glory' > OCS **слова** **slava**, Blg, R, Uk 'слава, SCr **slāva**, Slv **sláva**, Cz, Slk **sláva**, P **sława** ||| other ds. include: ***ḱlou-sō-** > Av **sraōša-**

'hearing, obedience', Lt klausà 'hearing, ear, musical ear', Sl *slúxъ ~ *slūxъ n. 'hearing, rumour' > OCS **СΛΟΥХЪ** 'ἀκοή', Blg, R, Uk слух 'hearing, rumour', SCr slūh, Slv slūh, Cz, Slk sluch, P słuch 'hearing'; ⇨ *k̄lous- (+ sx.) > OI **śróṣati** 'hears' || Msp klaosi 'hear' || Lt klausyti, Ltv klausīt 'to hear', Pru klausiton 'to hear, to listen' | Sl *slúšati 'to listen' > OCS **СΛΟΥШАТИ** slušati, SCr slušati, Slv po-slušati, Slk slušat' 'to listen', Cz slušeti 'to suit, to become (to so.)'; Sl *slīšati 'to hear' > OCS **СΛЫШАТИ** slīšati, R 'слышать', P sły szeć id., Cz slyšet 'to hear (of, about), to listen', SCr slīšati 'to listen to, to hear out'; Sl *slōvo (*-es-stem, see gen. *slōves-e) 'speech, word' > OCS **СΛОВО** slovo 'λόγος, ῥῆμα', R, Uk, Blg 'слово', P słow, Cz, Slk slovo 'word', sloveso 'verb', SCr slōvo 'letter (Buchstabe)' || pTc {Ad.} *k̄ley- > Tc: A klyos-, B klyaus- {Ad.} 'hear', {Wn.} 'hear, listen', d.: pTc {Ad.} *k̄leycā(jä)n > A klot- (du. klośäm), B klautso (du. klautsne) n. 'ear' ¶ P 605-7, M K II 372-4, Thr. § 338, SB 102, WH I 237-9, F I 869-70, 877, Vn. C 124-8, RE 103, Vr. 238, Fs. 264, Ho. 164, Kl. 626, 643, OsS 47-8, Frn. 265-6, 1008-9, ME III 942-3, En. 194-5, Tp. P K-L 49-53, Vs. III 664, 673, 678-80, Glh. 558, 563-4, Chrn. II 173-8, ME III 942-3, Xud. I 476, Slt. 94-5, Wn. 218, 221-4, Wn. KTW 112-4, Ad. 222, 230, 232-3, 270, 363-4, Ad. H 16, 70-1, 137, JGH 222, EI 262 (*k̄ley- 'hear', *k̄lu'to-s 'known, renowned', *k̄ley- 'hear'), 192 (*k̄lewes 'fame'), 534 (*k̄leytrom 'a sound') || **HS:** S *°-k̄u'h¹- > Ak -k̄ūl- (inf. k̄âl) 'heed, listen' ¶ Sd. 895-6, CAD XIII 72-5 || C {AD} *m-k̄w̄n¹-/°ma-k̄k̄w̄n¹- 'ear' (≈ {Æ} ✓ m̄k̄w̄l 'hear') > Bj A {AD} ʔan¹ḡw̄īl (pl. ʔanḡw̄il), Bj {Bnd.} anḡw̄īl, {R} an¹ḡw̄īl 'ear' || EC *maḳ¹- v. 'hear' > Sml maḳ¹-, Bs {HL} mā¹-, Dsn {To.} mā¹- || Ag {AD} *ʔanḳ¹- 'ear' > Bln {R} ʔanḳ¹á, Q {R} anḳ¹ə, Aw anḳ¹i 'ear', Aw anḳ¹-/anḳ¹ó v. 'hear' ¶ AD SF 183, E PC #140, R WBd 24, R WB 40, Ap. AV 4, Bl. 261. 265, To. DL 516, HL 188 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ḳ¹al- 'hear' > AG {AD} *ḳ¹'z¹l¹z¹ḳ¹-, {Stl.} *ḳ¹'al-mḳ¹ 'hear' > Gmy {Hf.} ḳ¹elen, Su {J} k̄z¹lḳ¹, {Hf.} k̄z¹lḳ¹ ~ k̄z¹lḳ¹, Ang {Flk.} kalüng, Cp k̄l¹lḳ¹, Mnt {Hf.} k̄z¹lḳ¹, Ywm {IL} k̄z¹l, {Stl.} kal-mok, Tal {IL} k̄w̄z¹l, Kfr {Nt.} k̄z¹lḳ¹ 'hear'; BT: Krkr {Kr.} k̄z¹lá, {J, Lk.} kal-, Grm ip. küllä, Ngm k̄w̄z¹lí, Krf {Sa.} k̄w̄á¹ú-wò || CCh: Bt {Mch.} klḳ¹, Bcm {Sk.} k̄ú¹ḳ¹ id. ¶ JI II 184-5, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 213-4 [#639], Hf. AG #202, Nt. 19 || **U** *k̄ūle- 'hear', 'ear' > FU: F, Es kuule- v. 'hear' | pLp {Lr.} *ku¹z- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guvledh, L {LLO} kullat, N {N} gullât, Kld kulleḳ¹ | Er куля- ku¹a-, Mk куле- ku¹ə- | Chr L/Uf/B/H kola- id. | Prm *k̄ūl- > Vt, Z Δ

kīl-, Z kīv- id. || ObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'hear' > pVg *k^ωāl- > Vg: T k^ωāl 𐌱
 kāl-, LK/UL xōl-, MK kōl-/kol-, P/NV/LL kōl-, Ss xūl-; pOs *kul- > Os:
 V/Vy qul-, Ty/Y quḫ-, D/K/Nz qut-, Kz qōḫ-, O xol- || Hg hall- id.
 || Sm: Ne T xā, Ne F kā ~ ka, En X {KD} kūṛ, (Cs.) kû, En B {Cs.} kô, Ng
 {Hl., Cs.} kou 'ear' || ? pY {IN} *qol- > Y K qol-il 'sound' (× N *qU₁ṛ₁ṽ
 'speak, call', q.v. ffd.) ¶ UEW 197-8, Coll. 93, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kuuli-
 , Ugr *kulĩ- 'hear'), Lr. #492, Lgc. #2781, Hs. 705-6, It. #233, Ker. II
 70, LG 149, Ht. #246, MF 253-4, KP 93, Hl. US 119, IN 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 38
 [#24] (Y ← U) || A: T *k'ul-kāk ({Md.} *ku.lgak) 'ear' > OT qulqaq ~
 qulḫaq ~ qulaq, Tk kulak, Az qulag, Tkm qulag, Uz qulag, Qzq қўлақ
 qūlaq, VTt колак q'laq, Bsh колак q'laq, Ggz kulak, ET, Qmq, QrB,
 Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tv, Tf qulaq, CrTt, Slr qulaḫ, Xlj qulāq, Xk ḫulaḫ,
 Yk kulṽāḫ 'ear' || Chv ḫḫḫa id. ¶ Cl. 620, Rs. W 298, ET Q 124-7, TL
 204-6, S AJ 177 [#22], Ra. 222, DT 179, Jeg. 291, Fed. II 322-3 ¶ The
 lenis *k' (for the expected fortis *k'-) is still to be explained || M
 *qul(a)-qṽ 'middle ear' (→ 'earwax') > WrM qulki, qulaqni, HIM
 хулих 'middle ear; earwax', Brt холхи ~ хулхи, Klm хулх, {Rm.}
 хулхъ 'earwax'; other ds. of the √: *qulmay- > WrM qulmai-, HIM
 хулмай- 'have the ears laid back, be crop-eared', Brt хулмай- 'have
 the ears laid back'; *qulugur > WrM qulugur, Hlm хулгар 'laid or
 pressed back' (of ears), 'crop-eared', Kl {KRS} хулһр 'crop-eared',
 {Rm.} хулүṽṽr id., 'having small ears', etc. ¶ MED 984, Chr. 581, 600,
 KRS 608, KW 196 ¶ The semantic prehistory of M *qul(a)-qṽ 'middle
 ear' is easy to understand on the analogy of Sp oído 'middle ear, organ
 of hearing' (< L audītus 'hearing, Gehör'): like Sp, M distinguishes
 between the (external) ear (pM *čikin, like Sp oreja) and the real
 organ of hearing (middle ear) and derives the word for the latter from
 the verb 'hear' || Tg *xūl- 'be heard, sound' (of a sound) > Nn Nh
 ḫōlžl-, Ul ḫōldl-, Lm ūldḫ- id., Ork ḫulžl 'echo', Ork ḫulbun, Neg olbun-
 , Ewk ūlta- 𐌱 ōlta- 'be heard' (echo). ¶ STM II 263 || pKo {S} *kúí 'ear'
 (× N *K'arē'wṽ to hear, to notice', [in descendant lgs.] → 'ear') > MKo
 kúí, NKo kuí, Ko ds.: Ph kuí, Chs kú:, Ks kuî, PhN/Chj kūi, Sl kφi, Kw kū
 'ear' ¶ S AJ 252 [#22], S QK #22, Nam 64, MLC 226-7 || pJ *kí-k- 'hear'
 (< **kil-k- < A *k'uyṽ-kṽ) > OJ kīk-, J: T kík-, K/Kg kík-, Ns kíkḫ-, Sh
 čl_č-, Ht sḫ_k-, Y k'- ¶ S QJ #37, TS 25, Mr. 708 ¶¶ DQA #1156 (A
 *k'ūyṽ 'ear; to hear') || D (in SD) {tr., GS} *kēl- v. 'hear, listen' > Tm,
 Kn keḷ, Ml kēḷkka id., Kt, Td keḷ-, Kdg k^ḷ- 'hear', Tu kēṽuni

'listen, be attentive' ¶ D #2017(a), GS 170 [#428a], 6O-1 [##174, 181]
 ◇ The discrepancy between U *-l- and D *-l- may be explained if we suppose the following prehistory of D *-l-: N *-l₁üH₁ê > **-l₁ü∇ > **-ly∇ > D *-l₁∇ ◇ Rec. of an alt. (shorter) pN etymon (e.g., *K̥e'h¹ul₁y₁ê) is possible if we admit mt. of laryngeals and/or *w/u-phonemes in the prehistory of some branches of N ◇ IS MS 366 (*q̥¹iw¹l̥). Not here (⇔ IS) K *qur- 'ear', which is better explained otherwise (F N *qUR₁w₁∇ 'ear'). Therefore in the N etymon I reconstruct an unspecified *K̥- rather than *q̥-.

1037. *K̥EHUy¹ü¹ 'testicles' > HS: S ≈ *^o✓k̥lw > Ar Mgr qəlwa 'testicle' ¶ Coh. 127 [#243] || C {AD} *k̥^w∇l(1)- 'testicle(s)' > Ag: Bln {R} k̥^welā ~ k̥^wəlā '(pair of) testicles' (pl. k̥^wəlil) ||| EC: Kns {BISO} kul-ā 'testicles' ¶ AD SF 200, R WB 238, BISO 86 || ? NrOm: Bdt {Hw.} k̥o'loppo 'testicles' (× N *qU¹í|¹E 'penis?') || ??φ Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} k̥^wàlèy 'testicle(s)' | Gdr {Mch.} g̥é|e id. | Ms sb.: Zm {J} g̥è|, {Sa.} g̥é|, LamP {ChL} g̥í g̥é| ||| ECh: Kwn {J} k̥á|á'sá, Ke {Eb.} k̥á|áñ, Kbl {Cp.} g̥á|í, EDng {Fd.} g̥ú|lâ, Mgm {J} g̥ó|lè, Brg {J} g̥ù|lè, Mu {J} g̥ú|lí id. ¶ ChC, ChL ¶¶ Coh. 127 [#243] ||| IE: NaIE {Bern.} *k̥ēy₁-/k̥ō(y₁)- 'testiculi, scrotum' > L cōleus 'testicle', cōleī pl. 'scrotum' (> OIt coglia, Rum coi₁u, Prov colh-s 'scrotum', OFr coil, Fr couille 'testicle'), L cōleō, -ōn-is, (γ) cūliō 'testicle' (> It coglione, Sp cojón, Fr couillon, Prv colhó, Ctl colló) ||| SI *šul̥e(t-) (< *šul-jēt with the dim. sx. *-jēt) > R (†, Δ) nt. шу'ля, pl. шу'лята, Blr шу'ляты 'testicles' ¶ WH I 244, Kö. 286, ML ##2036, 2038, Bern. IeuBS 155, ≈ Vs. IV 486 ||| U: FP *ko¹e 'testicle(s)' > Es Δ kolí 'testicle', F kollí 'dog\cat in heat; tom-cat', kollí-kissa 'tom-cat, cat in heat' (kissa means 'cat') | pLp {Lr.} *kō|z 'testicles' > Lp: N {N} guollâ ~ guol'â, S {Hs.} guole, L {LLO} kuolla, Kld kū|l | pPrm *kō¹ 'testicle' > Z Lu k̥á| {UEW} id., Prmk {KPR} k̥á| 'scrotum', Vt S k̥ó|an, Vt Uf {Wc.} k̥á|an 'testicles' ¶ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this FP√ with one of the Sm words for 'penis' - F s.v. N *qU¹í|¹E 'penis'), SK 211-2, Lr. #510, Hs. 688, KPR 192 ||| D ?σ *kou¹í¹- 'pudendum muliebre' > Ka gulli, Tu kou¹ilæ, Tl gollí id. ¶¶ D #2138 ◇ D *l points to N *l (rather than *í), which suggests that FP *-l- is likely to go back to N *-y₁- ◇ IS SS 335 [#7.3] and IS MS 373 s.v. яичко (testiculus) *q̥o¹l̥ (in both sources U, HS + unc. K *q̥wēr- 'testicles').

1038. (2?) ***Ḳaw'hE'L** ▽ 'outgrowth, inflation, abscess, hernia' > IE: NaIE d. ***kāw₁a₁lā** / ***kūlā** 'inflation (in a body), hernia' > Gk I κήλη, Gk A κῆλη 'tumour', esp. 'rupture, hernia', 'bump (on a buffalo's back)' (< ***kāw₁a₁lā**) || ON haull, AS héala, OHG hōla 'hernia' (< ***kāw₁a₁lā**) || BSI ***kūlā** (< NaIE ***kūlā**) > SI ***kǎla** 'hernia, inflation' > ChS **кѣла** kĕla, **кѣла** kĕla, Blg 'кила, Cz kŭla, Slk kyła, P kiła, Uk 'кила, ки'ла 'hernia', SCr kĭla 'hernia, swelling, outgrowth', Slv kĭla, R кила 'hernia, outgrowth' || Lt kŭla 'outgrowth', kŭlas 'hernia' || Oss: I кѣуллау **ḳwzllaw**, D **ḳullaw** 'hernia' (the glottalized **ḳ**- needs explaining) ¶ WP I 333, P 536-7, EI 268 (***kēuH**] / gen. ***kūH**'l-os 'hernia'), F I 839-40, Vr. 214, Ho. 150, Kb. 476, OsS 414, Frn. 206, ESSJ XIII 262-3, Glh. 317, Ab. I 648 || **HS**: ? S: Ar qayl-at- ~ qīl-at- 'hernia' (unless borrowed from Gk I κήλη 'hernia'), qīllīṭ- id. (ṭ on the analogy of qalṭ- 'deformation'?) ¶ Fr. III 489, 523, BK II 848 || ? B ***g₁h₂z** > Ah a.ǵēlhah (pl. iǵalhāhan) 'hernia' ¶ Fc. 429 || **A**: M ***qolq₁u₁**- > WrM qolq₁ui-, HIM холхой- 'be inflated, have a big belly', Kl холжа-х 'be inflated' ¶ MED 960, KRS 594 ◇ In NaIE ***kāw₁a₁lā** the reflex of the Ir. (the length of *a) precedes *w, while in ***kūlā** the underlying Ir. follows *u; this controversy still needs resolving ◇ Qu., because the M cognate has an unexplained final *-q ▽ (from a sx.), while the Ar words may be of Gk origin.

1039. 2 ***ḲoXīa** 'be dry' > **HS**: S ***g₁ḳh₁** > Ar **qḥl** G (pf. qaḥila) 'become dry, dry up' ¶ BK II 828, Hv. 589 || **A** {DQA} ***k'óla**- v. 'dry, get stale' > Tg ***xolga** 'get/make dry' > Nn Nh/B **χolgo**-, Ewk, Sln, Neg olgō-, Lm olgъ- **ḍ** olga-, Ud ogo-, Orc ogipta-, WrMc olgo- ~ olxo- 'get dry', Ewk, Sln olgī-, Lm, Neg olg₁-, Orc oggi-, oggiç₁-, Ud wagisi-, Ul **χolṣu**- /₁-, Ork **χoldo**-, Nn Nh/B **χolgi**-, **χolgič**-, WrMc **walgiya**- vt. 'dry' ¶ STM II 12-3 || pKo {S} ***korh**- 'get stale, go bad, rot' > NKo kolh- kol- ¶ S QK #168, MLC 160 || pJ {S} ***kárá**- 'dry out, become ripe' > OJ **kárá**-, J: T kàre, K káré-, Kg karé- ¶ S QJ #493, Mr. 704 ¶¶ DQA #1114, Rm. SKE 121-2 (Ko, Tg), S AJ 290 ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equates A with K (GZ) ***gwal**- 'be (of drought)', see N ***g'U'í** ▽ 'season without vegetation').

1040. ***ḲAyLa** 'shout, call' > **HS**: Sml qayl(i)- v. 'shout, call', Sml N {Abr.} qáylo a shout' ¶ Abr. S 202, DSI 496 || **A**: M ***qayla**- v. 'call, shout, weep' > MM [S, MA, IM] qayla- v. 'shout', WrM qayla-, HIM хайла- v. 'weep, cry' ¶ MED 912, H 57, Pp. MA 287-7, 444 || ? pKo {S} ***k'áró**- 'say' (× N ***Ḳ'e₁hi₁lê** 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || **D** ***ke**]- v. 'speak' (×

N *Ḳʿeʔ|hi'lē '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◊ Gr. II #357 (*kel 'speak') (qu. Y, Ko, Gil, CK, EA + err. IE [< N *ḳaL₁∇₁h∇ 'shout'], U, A - cp. N *Ḳʿeʔ|hi'lē 'tongue').

1041. *ḲEʿy|ʔ'a|a 'to burn' (intr.), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast' > A {DQA} *k'jāla 'hot, ashes', {IS} *k'jāla- 'be hot, be warmed' > M *qala- v. 'be\become\feel warm\hot' > WrM qala-, HIM xala-, Kl xala- id., M *qala-γun 'hot, warm' > WrM qala-γun, MM (ArSc) قلاوون qala-γun, (ChSc) xalaγun, HIM, Kl xalūn, Mgl {Rm.} qalūn, qalōun, {Wr.} qalūn, M *qala-ʿy|a- vt. 'heat, burn' > WrM qalaga-, HIM xalā- ʕ MED 916-7, H 57, Ms. H 87, Pp. MA 288-9, KW 162-4, Rm. M 31, Wr. B 176 || Tg *xjal-(ta) 'embers, charcoal' > Ewk ēlla ʕ ēlda, Lm ālrʔ ʕ yaldʔ, Neg ēla, Ud yalaha, Ul sēlta ʕ sjalta, Ork sēlta id., Nn sʕal-ta ʕ sēl-ta ʕ xcal-ta ʕ jala 'coal', Ud {Krm.} yalaha 'coals that have died out'; other ds.: Ewk Np ilakan id., Sln ilgẽ 'live coals', Tg *xīalbʿu|₁- > Ewk ēlbikan 'live coals (used to roast meat)', Neg ēlbu 'live coals', Nn Nh sʕalbu, Nn B salbu 'piece of live coal', Ul sēl-bu ʕ sjalbu, Ud {Krm.} yalaha 'coal', Orc (j)āl-u- v. 'get dirty with coal', Ewk ēl-la- v. 'char, become charred', Sln ilči 'embers, coal', Lm ālrʔ ʕ āllʔ ʕ ēlla ʕ jāldo ʕ yāldʔ, Neg ēla 'coal', Mc yalmanʔi 'soot' ʕ STM I 289-90, Krm. 241 || ? T *k'jāla- 'burn' > Chg, Slr, ET Δ qala- vt. 'burn', Az gala-, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Qrg qala- v. 'fire (a stove, hearth)', Tkm Δ gala-, Tk Δ gala- ʕ qala-, Qrg, ET Δ, Ln qala- 'kindle (fire)', StAlt, Tlt {Rl.} qala- vi. 'burn, catch fire'; acc. to Cl. 617, these words are loans from M *qala- and *qala-γa- (hence the root is absent in the Turkic texts of the pre-Mongolian period) ʕ ≈ ET Q 228-9 (considers *Kala- 'burn' and *Kala-put' to be one word), Rl. II 226, IS I 333, Rs. W 294, ET KQ 228-9 ʕ ʕ IS I 333, DQA #1040 || ? φ pKo {S} *kírí-m 'soot' > MKo kírím, NKo kirim (or ÷ J kura 'dark') ʕ S AJ 257 [#186], but absent in S QK ʕ ʕ DQA #1040 (A *k'jāla 'hot, ashes' > M, Tg) || **D** {tr., ʕGS} *kāl- vi. 'burn' > Ml kāluka id., kālal 'flame', Tl kālu vi. 'burn, be baked', Prj kāl- v. 'smart' ʕ ʕ D #1500 || **HS**: S *√ḳly vt. 'roast, fry, burn' (mt. from **√ḳy|?) > Ak √ḳlw|y (inf. ḳalū) vt., vi. 'roast, burn', BHb √ḳlw|y (pf. ḳlā) v. 'roast', JA, Sr √ḳly (pf. ḳlā), Sr ḳlā, Md √ḳly (spelled ḳl?) v. 'roast, parch, fry', JEA √ḳly G vt. 'burn, roast', Ar √qly|w (pf. قلى ~ قلا qalā) 'frirer dans une poêle à frirer', Gz, Tgy ʕ ʕ √ḳlw v. 'roast, parch', Sb TlqT tkl't 'burning of limestone for plaster

(?)', Sq {L} ✓*q̄l̄∇* 'roast, fry', {Jo.} 'q̄aləʔ v. 'roast (corn)', Mh ✓*q̄l̄∇* v. 'cook, fry', Jb ✓*q̄l̄∇* v. 'fry' ¶ GB 714, KB 1029-30, KBR 1101, Lv. IV 310, Sl. 1017-8, JPS CSD 506, BK II 807-8, L G 431, L LS 375, BGMR 105, Jo. J 145, Jo. M 230, CAD XIII 69-71 || ? Eg NK *q̄rr* [**q̄∇l̄i:l*] 'holocaust (Brandopfer)' > DEg *gll*, *glyl* > Cpt *βλια* *clil* id., but not necessarily Eg *fp q̄rr* v. 'fire (pottery), broil' (that may belong to N **q̄arh₂'u* 'to burn [sth.], to heat' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 || IE: NaIE **ḱel-* 'warm, hot; warm weather' (× N ? **ḱe^hē* 'warm, warm weather', q.v. ffd.) ¶ IS I 332-3 adduces here words meaning 'cold' as well (OI *σίσιρα-*, Lt *šáltas* id., OCS *сланиа* 'hoarfrost', etc., *F Mn.* 634), which is very doubtful: it is difficult to imagine functioning of a lge. which has the same stem meaning both 'hot, warm' and 'cold'. In my opinion, these are rather two different etl. sources (going back to two N words), which were somehow (at least accentually or prosodically) distinguished. IE **ḱel-* 'cold' goes back to N **ḱel₁h₁∇* 'cold' (q.v. ffd.) and is not related to **ḱel-* 'warm, hot' ◇ Cp. IS I 332-3: S, IE, D, A (T, M, Tung.). Cf. AD AltAD #6.

1042. **ḱa^hīsa* (or **ḱa^hīsaʔ*) 'throw, leave' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'remain, wait') > IE **kleh-* 'lay' ({EI} **kleh_h-* 'spread out flat') > NaIE *klā-* 'lay, spread out' > Lt *prs. klóju/ inf. kló-ti* 'spread, make the bed', Ltv *klāju / klāt* id., 'lay (the table)' || SI **kladq/ *klāsti* 'to lay' > OCS *кладѣ* *kladq* / *класти* *klasti*, McdS *кладе*, Slv *kládem / klásti*, Cz *kladu / klásti*, P *kłaśc*, OR *kladu / klasti*, R *кла'ду, 'класти* id., SCr *kládēm (~ klādēm) / klāsti* id., 'put' || Gt *af-hlapan* 'beladen', ON *hlaða*, AS, OSx *hladan*, OHD *hladan* & *hlathan*, NHG *laden* 'to put as a load, to load, to put', NE *load* ¶ P 599, EI 539, Frn. 274-5, ESSJ IX 187-9, Glh. 320, Fs. 6, Vr. 234, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, OsS 405, KM 418 || HS: WS **q̄l̄s* 'leave, throw, sling' > Mh {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, allow, leave; leave off', Hrs ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, leave', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'let, allow', Sq {Jo.} ✓*q̄l̄s* 'drop, let fall', Hb ✓*q̄l̄s* v. 'sling (stones)', JA/Sr ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *D* 'sling', Gz ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *G* 'throw from a sling, hit a ball', ? Ar ✓*q̄l̄s* v. *G* 'pluck, snatch off; drive (sth.) away; take off (one's clothes)', 'arracher, ôter qc. de sa place', Hb *קָלַף* 'q̄eləf, JA *קִיל'ס-ā*, Sr *كَلْف* 'q̄el'ṣ-ā 'a sling', Ug *q̄lṣ* {A} id., {OLS} 'sword'; Sr *مُكَلِّف* *muḱlā'ṣ-ā*, Ar *qulāṣ-at-* {PS} 'glans fundæ, globulus e funda iactus', {BK} 'pierre que l'on enlève du sol pour la lancer', Sr *ماكلثا'ā-n-ā* 'ballista, catapult, funda', Ar *miqlāṣ-*, Gz *miḱləṣ* 'sling' ¶ Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144, Jo. H 75, KB 1033-4, KBR 1106, PS 3638-9, BK II

8O3-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, A #4213, OLS 366 || Eg fMK ʔʔʔ {Fk.} 'vomit', {EG} 'ausspeien, ausbrechen' > Cpt Sd KA BOA ka bol id. (BOA means 'außen, außerhalb') (× ÷ S *-ʔʔʔ- 'vomit', see GB 711-2, KB 1024) ¶ EG V 7, Fk. 275, Vc. 7O || ? B *^o✓wqɫ (= *^o✓wɥɫ) ~ ? *ɥɫ (*w- goes back to a px. of middle voice verbs') > Ah əqqəl 'wait', ? Zng {TC} aɥɥīh 'attendre' ¶ Fc. 1713, DCTC 288, TC FL 2 || U *kaʔa- 'leave, let' (-ð 'remain') > pLp {Lr.} *kōðe- 'leave' > Lp: L {LLO} kuotēt, N {N} guodđet, Kld kūdd'eð | Er kado-, Mk kadə- 'leave, let' | Chr H/L/Uf/B kōðe- 'leave', kōða- 'remain' | F katoa- (inf. kado-ta), Es kadu- 'get lost, disappear, vanish' | Prm *koí- (JLG *koǵ-) 'leave, remain' > Z koí-, Z US koǵ-, Yz 'kuí- id., Vt k+í-, Vt B koǵ- ({JL.} kθí-) 'remain without sth., be deprived of; fall behind, be late' || ObU {Ht.} *kūð- ~ *kīð- 'leave' > pVg {Ht.} *kūí- 'leave, abandon (verlassen)' > Vg: T kōí-, LL/ML kūí-, UL/Ss xūí-; pVg *kūí-t- 'remain (bleiben)' > Vg: T koít-, LK xoít-, MK k^woít-, UK k^wuít-, P/NV/SV/LL kuít-, UL/Ss xuít-; pOs {Ht.} *k+y- (? ~ *kǎy-) 'leave behind' > Os: V/Vy qǎy-, Ty/Y qǎy-, D/K/Kz/O xǎy-, Nz xǎy-; pOs *k+ć- (~ *kǎć-?) 'remain behind' > V/Vy/Ty/Y q+ć-, D/K xet-, Nz xís-, Kz xís- ~ xǎs-, O xís-; pOs *kaćəy- id. > Ty qǎtəy-, K xatəy-, Kz xóśi- | Hg hagny- v. 'let, leave' || Sm {Jn.} *kǎyā- 'leave, leave behind' ('lassen, zurücklassen') > Ne T xae-сь, Ne O {Lh.} xāy·ē, Ne F kāyūīēš, Ng (1s aor. sbcj.) {Cs.} koaeʔema, En {Cs.} kae- (1s aor. kaiβo), Slq Tz {KKIH} qǎć+ id., Mt {Hl.} *koyo- 'bleiben, (?) lassen' (Mt: M {Sp.} koë-xo 'оставляю'); Sm {Jn.} *kǎy-β-, {Hl.} *kajo- 'remain, remain behind (bleiben, zurückbleiben)' > Ne T xaë-сь, {Lh.} xāy·ó-, Ne F kāyūō-š, Ng {Cs.} (1s aor.) kōuʔam, En (1s aor.) {Cs.}: En X kaijaroʔ, En B kaijadoʔ, Kms (1s prs.) {KD} qoyōlām id., Koyb {Sp.} koëgamь 'ich bleibe', Mt M {Sp.} (1s aor.) неменда-хоëгамь 'I remain' || Y: K {Jc.} kudiel vt. 'leave (lassen)', ?? T {Krn.} kudiel 'keep (хранить)', kuderel id., 'put' ¶¶ Coll. 22-3, UEW 115-6, Sm. 537-8 (U, FU *kǎdǎ-, FP *kadǎ-, Ugr *kǎdǎ-, Sm *kǎjǎ- 'leave'), Lr. #503, MRS 203, LG 131, It. #14, Ht. #227, MF 24O, Jn. 58, KKIИ 16O, Hl. M #531, Ang. 128, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 36-7 [#15] (Y ← U) || A *k'ǎla- 'remain, wait' > T {Md.} *k'ǎl- 'remain' ({ʔπAD}: < **k'Ea- < **k'ǎ:l-) > NaT *k'ǎl- id. > OT qāl- 'remain, remain behind', MQp, XwT, Chg qal-, Tkm gāl-, Xlj qāl-, Yk xāl-, Tk kal-, Az gal-, Uz, Tf qal-, Ggz kal-, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Tv qal-, Xk xal- || Chv jul- 'remain' ¶ Cl. 615-6, ET KQ 226-8, Ra. 217, Rs. W 224, DT 174, Md.

110-1, 169 ¶ The lax cns. *k'- (for the expected tense *k'-) is not yet explained || Tg *xala- 'wait' > WrMc aliya-, Nn Nh xalačl-, Nn B xalčl-, Ul xalačl/u-, Ork xalā(t)čl, Orc alāčl-, Ud alasi-, Ewk, Neg alāt- ~ alāč-, Sln alāš-, Lm alat- ~ alač- 'wait'; WrMc aliyaqa- 'wait a little, go slowly', aliyan n. 'waiting', Nn Nh xalanpān- 'wait a little (with)' ¶ STM I 29-30 || ? J {S} *kára- > OJ kara- 'stay away, get apart', J T kara-re-ru 'be driven by, carried away by' ¶ Kenk. 851 || Not here (↔ SDM97) M *qala > WrM qala, HIM жал 'hardship; injuriousness, harmfulness, detriment', Kl Ö {Rm.} xal 'Mühe, Arbeit' (arbitrarily interpreted by STM as 'bitter life experience') ¶ MED 916, KW 161-2 ¶ S VL 199, DQA #962 (A *k'ala|u 'wait, be late'; incl. T, Tg) || ?? ¿ K {IS} *oqe| > ¿ Zan {IS} *xal- > Lz go-nxal- 'go away', Mg gī-kl-īp-u 'to remain with empty hands' ¶ Chik. 288 ◇ U *-z- < N *-īz- (reg.); IS reconstructed N *k- (rather than *q-) on the precarious ev. of the highly qu. K cognate (¿ Zan *xal-). If we do not rely on the K ev., the N word is to be reconstructed with an unspecified *K- (sc. *k|q-) ◇ IS I 318 (kαλα 'go away, leave'), AD LZL 358 (N *xalεa, i.e. *xalīa) ◇ The semantic history of this item may be represented as follows: [1] 'throw' → 'leave' ⇨ 'be left' → 'remain' → 'wait', [2] 'throw' → 'put sth. somewhere'.

1043. *xalza 'cut, hew, chop, stab' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'slaughter') > IE: NaIE *kelə-/*klā- v. 'hew, chop' (× N *qAí|izv 'to break, to tear, to pluck' [q.v.]?) > Gk δύκελλα 'two-pronged hoe, mattock', κόλος adj. 'docked, curtal', 'stump-horned' (of oxen and other horned animals) || Lt kál-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', káltas 'chisel', kélmas 'tree-stump; sth. cut\split', Pru kalo-peilis 'Hackmesser' 'chopping-knife, chopper', preicalis {Tp.} 'anvil' || Sl *kól-ti (prs. *kól-q) 'to prick\stab, to slaughter' > OCS κλατη 'pungere', Blg `коля v. 'prick\stab, slaughter', SCr kláti / kòljēm, Slv kláti / kóljēm id., Uk ко'лоти / ко'лю v. 'prick\stab, chop', R ко'лоть / ко'лю id., за-ко'лоть 'to slaughter', Cz kláti 'to prick\stab, to kill', Cz Δ kláti 'to split', P kłóc / kole v. 'chop\split' (see also N *Koz|íqa 'to knock, to strike, to hit') | Cz klát 'tree-stump, log of wood, club\cudgel' || ? (+ext.) Clt: OIr claidim 'dig', Brtt {RE} *kla(:)d- id. > Crn cledhya, clüdhya, Br klazař 'to dig', W claddu 'to bury, to dig' || NaIE *klā-ro- 'piece of wood, board' > Gk κλήρος, Gk D κλήρος 'piece of wood used as a lot, piece of wood', OIr clár, OW

claur (pl. cloriou 'tabellis') 'board', W clawr 'surface', Br kleur 'limon de charette', 'shaft of a forked thill (in a vehicle)' ¶ P 545-7, ≈ EI 431 (*k]H-ro-s 'plank' ← [unj.] *kēl- 'strike, hew'), FI 392-3, 872-3, 902-3, Vn. C 113-4, RE 88, YGM-1 87-8, Hm. 464, 466, Frn. 211-2, En. 235, Tp. P I-K 175-6, Bern. 551-2, ESSJ X 154-6, Glh. 320 ¶ SI *kól-ti 'to slaughter' belongs here rather than to N *gola 'to kill', which is proved by its acute intonation indicating an IE √ with a lr. (*kēlā- rather than *k^wel- resulting from N *gola) || K *°kał- > G k]l-/kał-/k]v]l- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill' ¶ Chx. 597-8 ¶ The variant k]v]l- is probably secondary || HS: CS *√k]l]s > Hb √k]l]s v. 'carve', Ar qil]s-at- (pl. qila]s-) 'piece split lengthwise, morceau coupé ou fendu en long' ¶ ≈ KB 1033, ≈ KBR 1106, BK II 803, Hv. 625 || EC *kał- v. 'cut off' > Sa kał- v. 'cut off', Sml qał- v. 'carve up', ? Or {Th., Sr.} kał- v. 'flay' ('scorticare una bestia uccisa'); EC *kał- v. 'slaughter' (× N *gola 'kill') > Or {Th., Sr.} kał-, Kns qał-, Gdl kał-, Dsn g]al-, Rn xala, Hd alalēs- vt. 'slaughter' ¶ AD SF 68, Ss. PEC 49, Bl. 197, Bl. G 64, BISO 155, Th. 269, Sr. 351, BISO 155, PG 187, To. DL 502 || ? CCh: pBT *kuł- v. 'shave' > Tng {J} ku]e id., Pr {Frz.} kúlù id., kúlè 'act of shaving' ¶ Stl. VZCh B #119, J T 104, Frz. P 38 || A: Tg *xaldi- v. 'hew, carve' > Ewk aldi-, Neg aldu-, Orc, Ud agdi-, Ul xaldu- ~ xaldu, Ork, Nn xal]i, Mc an]i- v. 'hew, trim', Lm aldu- id., v. 'bark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 31 || Rm. SKE 14 equates the Tg √ with Ko aro-sägida 'to carve, to cut' ¶¶ M √ *quł- (represented in WrM qu]ai-, HIM хула]й-х v. 'have cropped ears' and in Kl {KRS} xul-]ar 'having cropped ears') is not likely to belong here ¶ MED 984, KRS 608 ◇ Because of the coalescence of N *g and *k] in some descendant lgs. (outside K) the homonymic merger with N *gA]l]s ∇ 'to break, to tear' (q.v.) is possible.

1044. *kał]s ∇ 'rock, hill, stone' > IE {EI} *kol]H-ōn- ~ *k]H-'n-os 'hill' > Gk κολώνη, κολωνός 'hill' (ω < *ow?) || L collis 'hill' || Gmc: AS h]yll 'hill' > NE hill (< Gmc *xul-ni-z < IE *kolā-ni-s), MDt hill, hille 'hill'; Gmc *xulma(-z) > OSx holm id., ON holmi, holmr 'island'; Gmc *xulma- → SI *x]l]mъ 'hill' > OCS хл]mъ хл]mъ, Blg х]л]m, Scr h]m, Slh. h]lm, Cz chl]m, P chók]m, R хол]m || Lt kálnas, Ltv ka]ns 'mountain' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, EI 270, FI 906-7, WH I 245, Bc. 23-6, Frn. 209, Ho. S 35, Ho. 183, Skeat 271, Vr. 248, Glh. 271-2, Vs. IV 255 || HS: S *°√k]l]s > Ar qulā]s-at- and qullā]s-at- {Fr. after [Jh.]} 'magnum saxum in planitie extans', [Qam., Jh.] {Fr.} 'gleba, saxumve de solo avulsum ad iaciendum', {BK} qala]s-at- 'rocher séparé des autres sur

une montagne d'un accès difficile' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK II 803 || B: Kb Z {Bs.} i-ŷil (pl. i-ŷalləŋ), Kb AX {Bs.} †i-ŷil-† 'hill' ¶ Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || K *k̄lde- 'rock' > OG, G k̄lde-, Mg k̄zrde-, k̄irde- id., Sv {K} k̄aḷde, k̄(il)de id. (← G?), Sv UB/Ln/L k̄ož 'cliff, rock' ¶¶ K 113, KDE 359, K² 97, GM S 95-6, GP 131, TJ 350 || U *kaž̄∇ ({UEW} *kaž̄a) 'mountain' > Hg hëgŷ 'tip, summit, mountain' (×FU *kaća ~ *kečä < N *k̄ec̄'a' 'tip, end [extremity]') || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} xой 'mountain, mountain ridge, hill', Ne O {Lh.} xoy 'Landrücken (Wasserscheide), mountain ridge', En X {Cs.} kuʔeo, En B {Cs.} ku i ju 'Landrücken', Ng {Cs.} koaja 'mountain ridge', Slq Tz {KKIH} qz ({KD} k'ée) 'steep bank' ('яp', {KD} 'hoher Uferabhang'), 'mountain' ¶¶ UEW 115, Ter. 768, KKIИ 160, Cs. 48, 81, 116 ¶¶ Acc. to UEW, the front vw. in Hg may be due to the palatalizing effect of *-ž̄- (sc. the obstruent *-ǰ-). An alt. explanation is the infl. of a front stem-final vw. (vw. harmony) || D {tr., †GS} *kall̄o 'stone' > Tm kal id., Ml kal, kallu 'stone, rock', Kt, Png kal, Td kaş, Ka kal, kalu, kallu, Kdg kallı, Tu kall̄o, Tl kallu, Prj kel, Gnd kal ɖ kall(i) ɖ kalu, Knd kalu, Brh xal 'stone', Nkr kʰalbada 'stone slab for pounding' ¶¶ D #1298 ◇ IS I 334-5 s.v. *k̄al̄i '(поднимать(ся))' (does not distinguish between N *k̄al̄∇ and N *k̄aḷ'h̄i 'high; be high'). U *-ž̄- < N *-ǰ- (reg.) (F AD LZL ∇).

1045. *k̄'ü'ǰ∇ (or *k̄'ü'ǰ̄∇?) 'dirt, mud' > HS: CS *k̄ulaŷ- 'mud, silt' > Sr 𐌺𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌾𐌿 k̄ulāŷā {Br.} 'lutum, gleba', {JPS} 'lump of earth, earth', Ar qulāŷ- 'cracked dry mud\clay, silt' ({BK} 'boue\limon qui se crevasse pendant la sécheresse') ¶ Br. 669, JPS 494, BK II 804, Hv. 625 || ? B *o✓nkl v. 'be/make dirty' > Ah ənkəl 'souiller, être souillé' ¶ Fc. 1374-5 || K: Sv UB {GP}, Sv {Ni.} k̄ol 'excrement' (< **k̄ŷU-?) ¶ GP 131 || U: FU *o'k̄'ü'ǰ̄∇ > ObU *k̄ū'ǰ̄∇ ~ (with delabialization) *k̄ī'ǰ̄∇ 'swamp' > pOs *k̄j̄ləŷ > Os: V/Vy k̄j̄ləŷ, Ty ke]əŷ, D k̄á]ə, Kz ka] id.; pVg *k̄īləŷ- > Vg: LK k̄ēlī (pl. kelŷət), MK/UK k̄ēlī, P/UL/Ss k̄ēliŷ, NV/SV/LL k̄ēli, kellət id. || A: T *k'ül 'ashes, cinders' (×N *k̄ū'ǰ̄∇ 'glowing coals; to heat \ roast \ fry \ cook', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 281 [#146] ◇ The N lr. is to be reconstructed as *ŷ if N *-ǰ̄- yields U *-ǰ̄- and if K *k̄- goes back here to *k̄ŷ-; otherwise it must have been *ǰ̄ (FU *-ŷ∇ or ObU *-əŷ being a sx.); Altaic vw. length is due to the loss of the lr.

1046. *k̄aḷ'h̄i 'high; be high' > IE *kel₁H₁- > NaIE *kel₁(ə)₁- v. 'be high, rise (above)' > L ante-/ex-/prae-cellō, -ēre v. 'be outstanding, excel', celsus (originally a pp.) 'high', columen 'that

which is raised on high, hight, summit' || Lt *kélti* (1s prs. *keliù*), Ltv *ceļt* v. 'raise' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, WH I 197, ≈ 249-50, Frn. 237-8, ≈ EI 270 (*columen* < **kelH-men* < **kelH*- 'project, tower up', whence **koH-ōn* 'hill' [*see* N **kaH*∇ 'rock, hill, stone']) ¶ The IE lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of the syllabic intonation in Lt and Ltv (IS I 334); but one cannot rule out the possibility of a later morphological restructuring in Blt || HS: S **o*✓*q*ll v. 'lift\raise' ~ **o*✓*q*ly 'high' > Ar {Hv.} ✓*q*ll *G* 'lift\raise', *TL*††(pf. *taqālla*) 'rise high' (of the sun), {BK} 'être placé haut', *qullat*- 'top of the head, summit of a nountain', *قلى* *qulā* (✓*q*ly) 'summits of mountains; tops of men's heads' ¶ Fr. III 485, 494, Hv. 622, 626, BK II 794-5 || B **✓*q*ly (> *✓*q*ly/*✓*q*ly) v. 'rise' > Sll {Ds.} *ā*✓*q*li (pret. *i*✓*q*li) v. 'climb, rise' ('monter [un escalier, sur un arbre\une table\etc.]), Tz {Stm.} ✓*q*li, hab. *āqqā*lāy 'emporsteigen', ASgr {Bs.} *e*✓*q*li^h v. 'rise' ¶ Stm. 182, Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || Eg fP *q*3y (< **q*∇ry-) 'be high; high', Eg fP *q*33 (later *q*3y) 'hill, high ground', Eg fP *q*3t id., Eg fXVIII *q*3yt id., 'arable land' (× N **kaR*∇?,∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain', more plausibly than with N **ga?*i or **ga?*y∇ 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5-6, Fk. 275 || Ch: Hs *q*óíí, Hs Kc *q*óíí 'top', Hs *q*óíí(ú)wá id. || CCh {ChL}: WMrg *kùldì* v. 'lift' | HgNg *kúlútè*, Kps *k*ìltè, HgG *kúlúdè* id. ¶ Abr. H 534, ChL ¶¶ Cal. #322 (Eg, S), OS #1604 (S, B, Ch), Tk. I 65 (Eg, S, B, Hs) | A possible semantically dubious cognate: NrBc {Tk.} **ku*l-*ku*l- 'deep' > {Sk.}: My *ku*l*ku*l, Mbr *ku*l*ku*lo, Kry *ku*l*ku*l*na*, Cg *lu*q3*lu*q3 id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Tk. NB 182 || K: Sv: {Ni.} *q*ā,ltχ-i, L {Dn.} *q*ā,ltχ-i, UB {TK, GP}, L {TK} *q*ā,ltχ-i, LB *q*ā,ltχ-i, Ln {TK} *q*lātχ-i 'high', UB/LB/Ln {TK} *na*-*q*lātχ-i, L *na*(n)*q*lātχ-i 'height' ¶ GP 132, TK 355, 611, Ni. s.v. 'высокий' and 'высота', Dn. s.v. *q*ā,ltχ-i ¶ The element -tχ- may be an ext. (< the second component of a cd.?) || A: NaT **k*'alI- v. 'rise in the air' (→ v. 'jump up') > OT *q*alI- v. 'rise in the air', Tkm *q*al- 'stand up, rise', Alt *q*alI- 'jump over sth.', Tv *χ*alI- v. 'jump, run', Tlt, QK, Qb, Sg *q*alI- v. 'jump, jump up', SbTt Tb {Tm.} *q*alI(y)- v. 'soar', Yk *k*ilIy- 'jump on one foot (a game)'; -d: [1] **k*'al-dir- 'raise' > Az *q*aldir-, T *k*aldir-, Ggz *k*aldir-; [2] **k*alk- 'rise' > Tk *k*alk-, Tkm *q*alq-, Az *q*alχ-, Gg, Uz, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh *q*alq- id.; [3] OT {Cl.} *q*alIq 'air, atmosphere, (visible) sky', sc. 'space above the earth'; in spite of the English translation 'air', this word has nothing to do with the meaning 'air, wind' and therefore cannot be equated with D **k*āl 'air, wind' or with D **k*āl*i* 'wind' (⇔ Blz. DA 162 [#97]) (*see* N **g*Aí|I∇ 'wind') ¶ Cl.

617, 620, ET KQ 224-6, RI. II 239-40, Rs. W 226, BT 70, Tm. 117, ET KQ 224-6 || M *qali- > WrM qali-, HIM хали-(x) v. 'fly \ soar \ skim (in flying); flow over the brim of, overflow' (of a vessel\river), Kl {Rm.} xali-(xα) id., {KRS} халь-х 'to soar', Brt хали-ха 'to flow over the brim of, to overflow' ¶ MED 919, KRS 572, KW 163, Chr. 538-9 ◇ IS I 334-5 s.v. *qali '(поднимать(ся))' (does not distinguish N *qāh'i 'high' from N *qaliv 'rock, hill, stone'). If there was a lr. in the IE stem, it must have gone back to N *h (the only lr. easily lost in HS and able to yield *a in IE) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #309 (*kal ~ *kel 'rise, sky') (IE and A [← IS] + unc.: J, Gil, CK, EA).

1047. *qāh'i 'stick, hook, bar' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bar for locking') > HS: C *kal- ~ ?? *qal- 'stick' > EC: [1] ḫ Or {Tut.} qala 'cudgel'; [2] {Ss.} *kal- 'stick' (× N *k'o'iv 'bough, stick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ss. B 114, AD SF 68-9 || NrOm (× N *k'o'iv): Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} kullō 'wood (Holz)', ? Kf {C SE III} qallo 'stick (?)' (unless = Kf qullo 'sphere', 'bastone di palla') ¶ C SE III 204, C SE IV 485 || S *o√k(ω) > Ar qul-at- (pl. quluwān-) {Hv.} 'pieces of wood with which children play', {BK} 'petit morceau de bois placé verticalement et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau de bois plus grand' ¶ Fr. III 493, Hv. 626, BK II 807-8 || ? Ch {Stl.} *kolu 'hoe' > WCh: Gera {ChC} kwalli, ? Krkr kàlà 'hoe' (unless ← Hs) || Jm {Gw.} kwalo id. || ?? Hs kálāj 'worn out long-handled hoe' (unless ← Knr {Lk.} kúle 'old iron-piece of a hoe') || CCh: Wmd {ChL} kùl, Hld {ChL} kʷùlù 'hoe' ¶ Stl. IF 95, Ba. 537, Lk. KL 207 || K: OG qliṭe {Abul.} 'bar (for locking), lock', {Ser.} 'key' (Luc. 11.52), G qliṭe 'lock' ¶ Abul. 200, Ser. 79, Chx. 602 || IE *kleHw- > NaIE *klāw- ~ *klēw- 'stick, hook, locking bar, lock' > Gk: D κλαῖς / -ῖδος, I κληῖς / -ῖδος, OA κλης, A κλείς / gen. κλειδός 'bar\bolt (drawn or undrawn by a lath or thong)', 'key (a kind of catch\hook, by which the bar was shot\unshot from the outside)' (→ later 'key'), 'hook or tongue of a clasp' || L clāvis 'key', clāvus 'nail, spike', claud-o, -ēre v. 'shut, close' || OIr cló (pl. clóí) 'nail', MW clo 'bolt (Riegel, Verschluss)', pl. cloeu 'clavi', OBr Γ clou {Flr.} 'aiguillon, ferrement', MBr clou 'ferrement', claou 'pointe de fer', W clo 'lock', Br {Flr.} klaou 'verrou', {Hm.} klaouern 'ferrement, bout de fer' || Lt kliūtī (prs. kliūvū) vi. 'to hook (on), to be suspended', Ltv kļāustītiēs 'to hang, to be suspended', caus. Lt kliudytī vt. 'to hang' || Sl *klúčb 'hook, key' > OCS κλυѡбъ klúčb

'key, hook (for torturing)', Blg, R *ключ*, P *klucz*, HLs *kluč* 'key', Blg Δ *kľuč* 'hook for hanging a kettle\saucepan over the fire', SCr *ključ*, Slv *ključ*, Cz *klíč*, OP *klucz*, LLs *kluc* 'hook, key'; SI **kľuka* 'hook, stick with a bent end' > R *кдю'ка* 'stick with a bent end', SCr *ključka*, Slv *ključka*, Cz *klíka*, OP, HLs *kluka* 'hook', Uk *'кдюка* 'stick with a hook, hook'; ? SI **kľuna* > SCr *ključna* 'hook' ¶ P 605-6, EI 272 (**kleh_hwi-s* 'bolt, bar, [wooden] hook'), LS 957, FI 866-7, WH I 229-31, Vn. C 121, Flr. 109, Hm. 464, YGM-1 89, Frn. 274, ESSJ X 50-6, SJSS XV 31-2, Glh. 323-4 || **U**: FU (< d.?) **kälta* > ObU ≈ **kält*∇ (× N ***gE1**∇ 'stalk, twig') > Vg Ss {Ht.} *kält* 'pole, Stange' in *pāts-kält* 'a pole of the *перевес* (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} *patəs-kält* 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs **kält* > Os: V/Vy *kält*, Ty/Ag *kāḏt*, Y *kāḏ(t)*, Kr/K *kāt*, 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 *qaḏt* 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 ¶¶ The cns. l in Os and Vg for the expected *l or *l̄ is accounted for by its position: since there are no ObU words with *lt or *l̄t (in contrast to the existing cluster *lt, F Ht. ##590, 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition *l ↔ *l̄ ↔ *l̄ was neutralized before *t (a cluster *Lt) || **D** **kāla-*, {ḡGS} **gāla-* 'hook, fish-hook' > Kn *gāla*, *gāḡa* id., Ml *kālam* 'fishing hook to catch aligators', Tu *gāla*, Nkr *ga*l, Prj *gēlam*, Gnd *gālam* 'fish-hook', Tl *gāla(:)mu* id., 'a many-hooked instrument for taking out anything fallen in a well'; D \rightarrow OI, Prkr *gala-*, Pali *gaḷa-* 'fish-hook' ¶¶ D #1495 ◇ Not here S **kil_l∇_l?* (> Hb *כַּלְא* 'kele [~ *כַּלְא* *ka'li*] [+ppa. of 3m: *כַּלְא* *kil'ḡō*; pl. *כַּלְאִים* *kaḷā'ḡim*] 'imprisonment, prison', Ak *kīlu* 'Festhalten. Haft', F KB 453, KBR 475), which is d. from the S verb **✓kl?* 'hold, hinder', but it is still possible that N **k'ā'j|f'h'û* 'stick, hook, bar' (→ 'bar for locking') may have influenced this S noun. The N front vw. is qu., because it is reconstructed on the ev. of Os only (D *a < both N *ä and *a regularly).

1048. ₂ ***KEL_lH_l∇** 'cold' > IE: NaIE **kel-* 'cold' > OI *śisira-* 'cool season, cold', Av *sarəta-* adj. 'cold', ZPhl *sart*, NPrs *سرد* *särd*, KhS *sāḏa* 'cold', Oss D/I *sald* 'frozen', Oss I *sälɜn*, Oss D *sälun* v. 'freeze' ||| ON *hēla* 'hoarfrost' (< rdp. **he-hla*), ?μ AS *heolca* 'hoarfrost', Dt *hal* 'frozen ground', ? NGr B *hāl* 'slippery ice-covered ground' (× the Gmc

root for 'smooth, slippery': ON háll id., OHG hāli 'smooth') || Lt prs. šalù (inf. šálti) 'freeze, congeal; be frozen\chilly, feel cold'; Lt šáltas, Ltv saīts adj. 'cold' (< *kōlatos); Ltv saīna 'light frost on the background of warm weather (заморозки)' (e.g. 'first autumn frosts, morning frost'), Lt šalnà id., 'hoarfrost' | Sl *solnà (Gh.) *sol'na) 'hoarfrost' > RChS **CLANA**, Blg **clana**, SCr Δ **slānā**, SCr (with transformed accentuation) **slāna** id.; IS reconstructs here a pSl oxytonic accentual paradigm (preserved in SCr Δ: nom. sg. **slānā**, accus. sg. **slānū**, nom./acc. pl. **slānē**, etc.) ¶ P 551, Mn. 634, M K III 345-6, Bai. 424, Vr. 221, Vr. N 232, Ho. 156, Vl. II 273, Ab. III 27, 64, Frn. 960-1, LKV 609, IS IA 155 (on accentuation in Sl), Gh. 557-, ≈ E 112 (*kēlto- 'cold') ¶ NaIE lost the root-final *l*r. probably in forms like *kēlH∇ > *kēl∇ (the *l*r. in prevocalic position) which were later generalized || HS: EC: Sa {R} qala^ε-ō n. 'cold (Kälte), qala^ε-it- 'feel cold' ¶ R S II 232 || ? Eg P ε-βκῆ 'erfrischen' ¶ EG IV 315-6 || ECh: Kwn {J} kál, Kbly {Cp.} kàlɜ, Dng {Lk.} kùlúú 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *küíE 'cold; to freeze' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Ember ESS #3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 #26, and Tk. AANM 1 suggest to equate the Eg word with S *k̄ar_l∇_lχ- 'ice' (see N *k̄ir_lU_lqa 'ice, hoarfrost'), which is qu. (because Eg ḥ is not cognate with S *χ) || AdS of U: FP *kūl]mā 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *küíE '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≠ IS I 304-5 [#176] (*kū́l̄ 'freeze, cold': U, D, A + K [Zan *kr̄o-] + IE *ḡr̄ge- 'cold') and IS I 332-3 [#208] (*k̄ayla 'hot; to burn' > IE *k̄el- 'warm, hot' and later 'freeze, cold').

1049. *k̄aL_l∇_lh∇ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise' > HS: WS *^o✓k̄l̄h (~ *^o✓k̄l̄χ?) v. 'shout, bellow' > Ar {Fr.} ✓q̄l̄h v. 'low repeatedly' (of camel), {Fr., BK, Hv.} ✓q̄l̄χ v. 'low' (of camel), ?? Gz ✓k̄l̄h (pf. kal̄ha) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har ✓k̄l̄h (pf. k̄el̄aḥa ~ kal̄ha) v. 'shout to call so.' ¶ Fr. III 486, BK II 798, Hv. 623, L G 282-3 (the Eth word can be alternatively (and better) equated with IE *ḡal- v. 'shout', F N *k̄'a'ṬX'o' 'call [appeler], shout') ¶ The variant Ar root ✓q̄l̄χ is likely to be secondary (due to the onomatopoeic factor or to contamination with a different root) || ? B *^o✓wkl̄l (× N *k̄'a'ṬX'o') > Ah sakkal̄al 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || K: G -k̄el-/-k̄l- (aor. 1s a-v-i-k̄eli, 3s a-i-k̄l̄o) 'ingendwo einen grossen Tumult machen, ein Geschrei erheben' ¶ Chx. 599 || IE *k̄el̄h- {E} 'call out to' > [1] NaIE *k̄el-/*k̄o.lē-/*k̄o.lā- (or *k̄l̄o-?) v. 'call, shout, make noise' > Gk καλέω (fut. Gk I καλέω, Gk A καλώ) 'I call', Gk Ae κάλημι id. || L calā- v. 'call, summon', Um kařitu, kařetu, CARSITU 'calato, appellato' (< *kalētōd) || OHG

(h)luoen, luogen 'to roar', MHG lüejen id., 'to bellow', AS hlōwan 'brüllen; OHG gi-hel 'sounding', {OsS} hēl 'loud, sounding' ('laut, tönend'), MHG hal, NHG Hall 'sound', ON hjala 'to chatter' || OI uṣā-kala 'cock' (lit. 'dawn-caller') || Clt: OIr cailech, W ceiliog 'cock' (≡σ R πετυχ 'cock' ← *'singer') || Ltv kaļōt 'to chatter', Lt kalbà 'language', Pru kaltzā, kelsāi 'sie lauten' || AnIE {ABIV.} *kalla-, *kle- > Ht kalles(s)-, kal(l)is(s)- v. 'entice, lure, evoke, summon up, adduce', Lc kileima 'fame' ¶¶ P 548-9, F I 762-3, WH I 141-2, Bc. G 330, Frn. 207-8, En. 188-9, Vr. 230, Kb. 347, 641, OsS 384, 407-8, Ho. 164, Lx. 79, ≠ KM 302, ABIV. III 219, Ts. W 32, Ts. E I 465-6, Pv. IV 22-4, Tp. P I-K 182-4 ||| [2] *klaṽ- v. 'weep' > Gk I κλάω, Gk A κλάω v. 'weep' (< *κλαF-jω, see ft. κλαύσομαι, aor. ἔκλαυσα, adj. κλαυτός) || *klaṽn-y- > pAl {O} *klaṽnya, {Huld} *kíañ- 'cry, weep' > Al: T qaj, G qarj, SG/D kyay, P čay, Ç klay, SI kía, V kañ ¶¶ WP I 490, P 599, F I 865, O 353-4, Hamp AIEW 146, Huld 106, EI 90 (*ke|h₁-) ◇ Gr. II #357 (*kel 'speak') (IE + indiscriminate pêle-mêle of reflexes of three N words: *kaLṽ, hṽ 'shout', *KaYLa 'shout, call', and *K'e|h₁i'le 'tongue' in U, A, Y, Gil, etc.). Without HS cognates and without serious historical phonology nothing better can be achieved.

1050. *Kōl|íqa 'knock, strike, hit' > IE *kṽṽolh-/*kṽṽleḥ- > NaIE *kṽṽolā-/*klā- v. 'strike, beat' (× NaIE *okṽṽel- 'strike' < N *Kōl|íā 'beat, strike') > Lt kal-ù (inf. kál-ti), Ltv kaļu ~ kalu (inf. kaĩ-t) v. 'strike, hammer, forge', Lt káltas 'chisel', kálvis 'smith' || SI *ko'íq / inf. *kó'lti v. 'split, slaughter' (× N *kaLṽa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' [→ 'slaughter'], q.v.) > Blg 'коля, Slk klat', R ко'лю / inf. ко'лоть 'split, slaughter', Slv kláti, Slk klat' 'to split, to slaughter', Cz kláti, OR ΚΛΑΤΗ klati 'to kill'; but not here the homonymous *ko'lyq / *kó'lti v. 'prick' that belongs to N *kaLṽa '↑' (and probably even to a different IE √ *kolh-/*kleh-), though later in BSl (and Gk?) they were reinterpreted as two semantic variants of one verb; the differentiation between SI *kolt'i 'to slaughter' and *kolt'i 'to prick' was first proposed by A. Meillet in 1907 (Me. *MSL* XIV 374) ||| Gk κλάω v. 'break'; ??φ κόλαφος 'a slap, buffet, a blow with the fist', κολαπίζω v. 'slap, buffet' ¶ Hofm. 146, 152, Ch. 538-9, Dybo SA 203, 249-50 (accentual rec. of the pSl forms), ESSJ X 154-6, Glh. 320, Frn. 211-2, F I 866-7, 897; ≈ WP I 436-8, P 545-6, and EUC 549 (*ke|h₁- 'strike') (all of them do not distinguish this √ from NaIE *kelā-/klā- 'hew, chop, slaughter' [< N *kaLṽa '↑']) ¶ The accentuation in the BSl infinitive (Lt kálti, Ltv

kaĭt, pSl *kǝl-ti) and in Lt káltas, kálvis points to a lr. in the IE √ (*kolā- < *kolH-) || **HS:** S *^o✓k̄lχ > Ar ✓qlχ G (qalaxa / -qlaxu) 'heurter, frapper un corps sec contre un autre corps sec', D (pf. qallaχa) 'frapper qn. fortement avec un fouet' ¶ Hardly here Ar ✓ql̄y (pf. قلى qalā, n. ag. qaly-) 'frapper qn. à la tête; abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', because this Ar √ has no lr. (expected in the light of external comparison) ¶ BK II 798, 808 || **U:** FP *ko^r∇- ~ *kaL∇- v. 'knock, strike': *ko^r∇ > F kolata, kolahtaa v. 'knock, strike', kolhia v. 'batter (up), maul, pound (up)', Vp koʒyta, koʒāta v. 'knock, strike', Es kolata-(ma) v. 'kock' | Z USs goǐzd v. 'clatter' ||| *kaL∇ > Mk 'kaltadā- v. 'knock, strike' | F kalata, kalahtaa v. 'knock, rattle' ¶ This is a √ with onomatopoeic infl. (where the meaning 'noise, rattle' is involved) ¶ SK 146, 210, LG 77, 131, SZ 82 || **D** *ko]- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *K̄o|íā 'beat, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The K √ *k̄al-/k̄l- (represented in G k̄l-/k̄al-/k̄w̄l- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill') is semantically and phonetically nearer to N *k̄aLfa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' (→ 'slaughter'), q.v. In several descendant lgs. the reflex of *K̄o|íqa coalesced with or was influenced by N *gola 'kill' (q.v.).

1051. (₂?) *K̄alw̄∇ 'thick' > **HS:** S: Ak k̄āl̄u {Sd.} 'thick', {CAD} 'solid (?)' ¶ Sd. 895, CAD XIII 72 || **A** *k'āl'w̄i- > T {Md.} *k'āl̄i > OT qal̄in 'massive, dense, thick', Tk kal̄in, VTt, Bsh qal̄n, Tv qil̄in, Tf h̄il̄in, Yk χal̄i 'thick' (of flat objects), Az, Tkm gal̄i, Uz qal̄in, ET qel̄in, Δ {Jr.} qāl̄in, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qal̄i, Xk χal̄in, Chv хул̄āн хул̄āн ⚡ хол̄āн 'thick, dense', 'thick' (as grass, wood) ¶ Cl. 622, Rs. W 226, ET KQ 238-9, Ra. 193, Md. 166, 103 (T ÷ M *goliy- 'thick') || M *^oqal̄ba- > WrM qal̄bai-, HIM халбай- 'be broad, wide, baggy' (esp. of garments), WrM qal̄bagar, HIM халбагар 'broad, wide, baggy', ? Brt халхагар id., Brt халбагар 'flat and broad' ¶ MED 918, STM I 365 || Tg *_lx̄al̄bi-n 'broad' > Ewk PT al̄bin, Ewk Sm il̄bun, ? Ewk Chmk/Skh kal̄bin, Neg al̄bun, Ud aḡbi 'broad'; other words of the same √ (without *-n): Ewk al̄bi-gū- v. 'broaden', Ud aḡbi-la-ni 'breadth' ¶ STM I 30 || **AdS** of **D** *k̄ōl̄ ({{GS}} *k-) 'long, large' (< N *K̄olā 'long, far', q.v. ffd.) || ? **E:** El ku-li 'thick' ¶¶ HK 510-1 ◇ Qu., because the Ak word is isolated within HS and both its meaning and reading (ā = [ā] or [ē]?) are questionable.

1052. *K̄aly∇ '(lock of) hair, eyebrow, eyelash' > **HS:** C {AD} *k̄∇^r∇^r∇p|b- > Ag *k̄∇^r∇^r∇b- > Xm {R} (el) qer'nīb 'eyelid(s); Ag ⇨

EthS: Gz *qarnəb* ~ *qarnəb* ~ *qarnab* 'eyelash, eyelid, top of an ear of corn', Tgy *q3rn3b* 'eyelid, eyelash', Amh, Arg *q3nd3b*, Grg SI/WI *q3rb*, Grg M/Ms/Go/So *q3rr3b* 'eyebrow, eyelash' ¶ R Ch II 381, L G 442, L EDG III 496 || NrOm: Kf {C} *qilfō* ~ *killifō* 'eyebrow(s)' ¶ ≈ C SE IV 285 || U: FU (in FV) **ka||ke* 'hair' > F *kalki* (gen. *kaljen*) 'hair, straw' || pLp {Lr.} **kōlk3* 'hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} *guolge* 'hair', L {LLO} *kuol'ka* 'hair (but not the hair of the human head)', N {N} *guol'gâ* 'hair (of human head), coat', Kld *kūlg* 'old hair' || Er *καλγο* *kalgo*, Mk *kalga* 'awn, chaff (of flax\hemp)' ¶ UEW 644, SK 149, Lr. #512, Lgc. #2883, Hs. 688-9, Ps. M 72 || A: T **k'ā́* 'eyebrow' > OT *qaš*, Tk *kaš*, Az *qaš*, Tkm *qāš*, Ggz *kaš*, Uz, ET, Ln, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt *qaš*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *qas*, Uz *qoš*, Xlj *qāš*, Yk *χās* id., Xk *χas* 'edge, river-bank', Tf *haš* 'hill-side, slope (κocογop)', d.: Chg *قالياق* *qalyaq* 'Haarschopf, die Stirnhaare der Pferde' (**í* > *l* in precons. position) || Old Chv {Rs.} **xu|ol* -> Chr *xa|, ol, ul* 'eyebrow' ¶ Rs. W 240, Cl. 669, ET KQ 34, DT 173, Ra. 186 || ? pJ **káj* 'hair' > OJ *ké*, J: T *kè*, K *kê*, Kg *ké*, Ns *kí*, Sh/Y *kí*, Ht *kí* ¶ S AJ 266 [#34] (believes that the word belongs to A **k'ıl∇(-ka)* 'thick hair', FN **Kêla* 'stalk, a hair'), S QJ #34, Mr. 447 || D (in SD) **kāl-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) 'lock of hair in plaiting' > Tm *kāl* id., Kn *kāl* 'a strand or lock of hair in plaiting, tie-rope (used in tethering cattle)' ¶ D #1482 ◇ T **-í-* and D **-l-* point to a N **-ly-*. The contraction of this ancient cluster is responsible for the vowel lengthening in T and D.

1053. **kōly∇* (= **kōly∇*?) 'round; to turn, to turn around, to roll (sth.)' > IE: NaIE **k^wel-* 'round, circle', v. 'turn around' > OI *carati* vi. 'moves, walks, wanders' || Gk *πέλ-ομαι* (3s prs. *πέλει*) v. 'be in motion' (< Gk Ae, hence *πε-* for **k^we-*) || pAl {O} **čel_lja* > Al *sjell* 'I turn' ('drehe'), *sjell rrotull* 'drehe herum', *sjell* 'I turn\direct to...' ('lenke auf, richte auf...'), (→) 'I bring' || NaIE **k^wek_lwo-* ({Eǵ} **k^wek^wlo-m* ~ **k^wok^wlo-s*) 'circle, wheel' > OI *ca'kra-* 'wheel', Av *čaxrō*, NPrs *چرخ* *čärχ* id. || Gk *κύκλος* 'circle' || Phr *κύκλην* 'Ursa major' (lit. 'the chariot') || ON *hvel* ~ *hjól*, MHG *wël*, AS *hwéol* ~ *hweohl* ~ *hweozol* ~ *hweowol* 'wheel', NE *wheel* || pTc {Ad.} **kuk(ä)le* > Tc: A *kukäl*, B *kokale* 'cart, wagon, chariot' || **k^wolo-* 'circle, wheel' > Gk *πόλος* 'axis of the celestial sphere' || L *colus*, *-ūs* 'distaff' || OIr *cul* 'vehicle' (< du. **k^wolō* 'two wheels') || Pru *kelan* 'wheel' || Sl **kōlo* / gen. **kōlese* 'wheel, circle' (< **k^wel-os* ntr. / gen.

*k^wel-es-es) > OCS КОЛО kolo (gen. КОЛЕСЕ kolese) id., Blg коло ~ коло, SCr kōlo, Slv kolō id., Cz kolo, P koło, OR КОЛО kolo 'wheel'; generalization of the stem of the obl. cases: SCr Δ, Slk koleso, R колесо 'wheel', Cz koleso 'big wheel' ||| Tc B kele 'navel, centre' (← *'nave of a wheel') ¶ P 639-40, EI 640, M KI 366, Vr. 232-3, 270, Ho. 181, En. 191, Tp. P I-K 305-7, ESSJ X 141-4, Glh. 329, O 397, Wn. 239-40, JGH 60-1, 71, Ad. 197-8, 200 ||| K *k^we₂l- / *k^wāl- 'sth. round' > Lz kōrkōla 'curly hair; sheep-dung', Mg k^war-k^wal-ia 'round' (dis. *r...r > r...l), Sv: UB k^wāšī, L k^wāšī, Ln k^wašī 'round flat cake of maize flour' ('чупек, ♂ ♂ ♂ ♂') (Sv š < *l, F GM S 82) ¶¶ Lz, Mg *-l- is a regular representative of K *-l- ¶¶ K 110, ≈ K² 93 (Lz, Mg < GZ *k^wer-k^wer-), FS K 181, TK 353, IS I 326 ¶¶ K *k^wer- (G k^wer- 'a round flat cake', 'a round sugar-loaf, a round cheese' and Lz, Mg k^war- 'round flat cake, a round loaf [КОЛОБОК]) are to be kept apart because of the cns. *-r- ||| HS: WS *√k^wl^b 'turn over' > Ar √q^wl^b v. G 'turn upside down', 'turner, retourner', Sb √k^wl^b v. 'till, turn over (soil prior to cultivation)', Gz √k^wl^b v. 'serve, turn over, overturn', Mh {Jo.} √k^wl^b v. 'turn, return', Sq √k^wl^b {Jo.} id., {L} 'turner, rouler', Jb {Jo.} √k^wl^b v. 'turn, return, overturn' ¶ BK II 796, Hv. 622, LG 426-7, LLS 374, Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144-5, BGMR 104 || B [1] *√y^w > Ah əy^wli 'turner autour de..., être autour', Gh əy^wli 'turner autour de...'; [2] *√w^wq^wl (> *√w^wy^wl) 'return, become' > Ah {Fc.} əqqə^wl (3m pf. iqqə^wl) vi. 'return, become', ETwl/Ty əqqə^wl (3m pf.: ETwl iqqə^wl, Ty yəqqə^wl) 'retourner\revenir à', Gh əqqə^wl 'revenir à\chez', Kb qq^wə^wl, uy^wal v. 'become', Izd uy^wul 'revenir', ? Shl {La.} ay^wul id., Tmz {MT} ay^wul 'devenir, revenir' ¶ Fc. 1713-8, 1723-7, 2002 (on Fcj. 27), La. S 289, MT 185, Dl. 607-8, Mrc. 224, Pr. M VI-VII 92 (on Pcj. I A 2), GhA 67, 246-7 (on Pcj. I A 2) ¶ B *w- is likely to go back to the px. of intransitivity *w- ||| C: Bj B {Alm.} k^walāl 'round' ('kugelrund'), Bj {R} k^walāl 'round; ball' ('kugelrund, Kugel'), k^walēl (pl. k^walal) 'circle, circumference; bracelet, anklet' ('Kreis, Umkreis; Armband, Fußring') ||| EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōl (pl. qōlāl) 'loop', Sml {ZMO} qōl 'halter, collar, neck piece', Rn χālī 'strip of animal-hide (tied to people\animals in traditional ceremonies)' ¶ Alm. BS III 41, R WBd 141, Abr. S 203, ZMO 332, PG 188 || Ch: Hs k^wálǎ-k^wàlǎ 'large and round' ¶ Abr. H 579 ||| U: FU *^okoLya 'circle' > F kolja (pl. koljat) 'necklace (made of gold\silver)', Lv kólī: (pl. kólīad_) 'ring' || ??φ Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} kólía 'wheel, circle', kólak '(go) round' ¶ F kolja < FU *koLya × ← Fr

collier, whence the F variant pl. form koljeet. The Slq cognate is highly qu. because the reg. reflex of U *k- is q- rather than k- ¶¶ SK 210, Kt. 144, KKIH 112 || A *k'ul̥- v. 'roll, turn' ({SDM95} *k'ol̥, {DQA} *k'úlo id.) > NaT *Ku̥la- v. 'roll (down), fall down' > Qrg qula-, Qzq qũla- v. 'fall down, crash down', Qq, Uz qula- id., v. 'fall', Bsh q̥la- v. 'fall, fall down', SbTt B/Tr q̥la- v. 'fall', Nog qula- v. 'go straight forward (through water\silt without choosing one's way)', ET ʔuli- 'fall down, crash', d. ʔulat- 'overturn', Slr kulen- ɘ kulen- v. 'roll' ¶ ET Q 122-3, Jud. 440, Tn. SJ 395, KrkR 408, MM 471, NogR 186, BR 337, Tm. 127, Rl. II 96, Nj. 565-6, UzR 629 || Tg *xuli- v. 'go round, be curve (way)' > Ul, Ork x̥li- ~ x̥li-, Nn Nh x̥li-, Neg ol̥li- v. id., 'etw. herum-gehen\fahren', Orc uli- v. 'go round, double (a promontory in a river)', Ewk uli-s- v. 'twist\meander' (of a river), Ewk ulikā, ulisin 'a bend\curve (of a river)', Lm ul̥na id. ¶ STM II 261 ¶¶ DQA #1141 || pJ {S} *k'ér̥-mp- v. 'roll' > OJ k̥ur̥ob-, J T k̥orob, K k̥orób-, Kg korób- ¶ S AJ 271 [#190], S QJ #190, Mr. 713 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *k'ol̥ 'roll, turn', DQA #1141 (A *k'úlo 'roll, turn'; incl. T, Tg, J), S AJ 288 [#281]. The J root is ambiguous, because it may be alternatively equated with M k̥orbe- v. 'turn over, turn from one side to another', Tg: Ewk kurbu-, Sln xubbu- ~ xurb̥-, and WrMc kur̥bu- id., as well as with WrM k̥ürd̥ä- 'wheel' (as suggested in Rm. SKE 129) ◇ The possible D cognates are highly qu.: [1] D *k̥ol- 'bend, curve' > Tm kul̥v̥ id., Kui kl̥ng̥a 'be contracted, bent up', Krx x̥olk̥h- 'cause one to bend the head', x̥olk̥hr- ~ x̥olk̥r- 'bend the head, bow', Mlt kol̥ge vt. 'curve, bend' (D #2136; the semantic connection with the N word is not close enough) | [2] IS I 327 (← ?) mentions D *ku̥li- > ı Tm kul̥al, kul̥ai 'turn round, вертеться' and Mlt {Drs.} g̥ūli 'round'; I have not been able to find the above Tm root in the available Dravidian and Tamil dictionaries; IS probably meant Tm kur̥al v. 'curl' [D #1818] (the mistake being caused by the notation l for ṛ, which is current in literature) ◇ IE, U (as well as D *k̥ol-) point to a pN *o, while the vw. *u in T and Tg still needs explaining ◇ IS I 326-7. IS reconstructs *k̥ol̥, but the T cognate (with *-l-) rules out N *-l̥-, so that the only possible N recs. are with *-ly- or *-ly- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #402 (*kul 'turn') (IE, U, A, J, Gil, CK + qu. Ko).

1054. ₂ *k̥al̥ka (~ *k̥al̥ka?) 'to wind, to twist' > IE: NaIE *kel̥g- vi. 'wind\twist', 'winding; crookedness' > AS hyl̥c̥ n. 'bend, turn',

'Wendung, Drehung; Höcker', NE hulch ||| SI *čylga-ti ~ *čylka-ti, {SPS} *čǰga-ti 'to creep' > OP czołkać się, P czołgać się, Slnz {Lrn.} čěukǎc id., Uk 'човгати' 'to shuffle one's feet, to walk slowly' ||| OIr celg 'ruse, traitrise' (↳ W celg 'deceit') ||| ?φ Arm կեղծք kełc-k^h 'hypocrisy, falsification', կեղծ- kełc- v. 'feign, pretend' ||| NaIE *kļeng- ~ *kļenk- v. 'bend, wind, twist together': *kļeng- > L [Fest.] cling-ō, -ēre 'cingo' or 'cludo' ||| ON hlykkur 'Schlinge, Bucht', hlekkur 'ring, chain', AS hlenčre {Vr.} 'a ring (a link) in a chain', {Sw.} 'link', pl. {Sw., Ho.} 'armour, Panzer', MHG gelenke 'Biegung', NHG Gelenk 'link (in a chain), articulation', gelenk 'flexible, pliable' | *kļenk- > BSl *kļenkj- > Ltv klencēt 'to hobble', Lt klénkti 'to walk quickly', SI *klęčiti 'to bend' > Pol klęczyć 'to bend into an arc', OR, RChS κληαυητη kljačiti 'to bend down, to hink', R Δ 'κλεचितь' 'to twist tight, to tighten, to tie up'; ?? SI *klęčati 'to kneel, to squat' > OCS klęčati, Slv klečati, Cz klečeti, P klęczeć, Uk клячати 'to kneel', SCr klęčati 'to kneel, to squat, to hink'; ?? SI *klękati 'to squat, to kneel' > Blg 'клякам v. 'squat', Cz klekati, Slk kl'akat', P klękać, Uk клякати, Blr 'клякаць 'to kneel'; ?? SI *klęk-nq-ti 'to squat\kneel down' > SCr klëknuti id., Blg 'клекна v. 'squat down', Slk kl'aknúť 'to squat down', Cz kleknouti, P klęknać, Uk 'клякнүти 'to kneel down' ¶ WP I 447, 498-9, P 554, 603, WH I 233-4, Vr. 237, 240, Ho. 183, Sw. 90, 98, KM 244-5, Vn. C 60, YGM-1 82, Frn. 289, ESSJ IV 141 and X 28-9, 32-4, Bern. I 166, Sls. I 124, Lrn. I 147, SPS II 21, EI 62 (*kļeng- 'bend, turn') ||| К *°kļak-wŋ- > G kļakn- ~ kļakvn- 'sich krümmen, winden' ¶ Chx. 599.

1055. *kļoLPV (or *kļoLPV) middle; 'inside, lap, sth. within an angle' > IE: NaIE *klēp- 'lap', v. 'embrace' > OHG *hlāftara > MHG lāfter 'fathom' ||| Ltv klēpis 'lap, a lapful', Lt klėbỹs 'length of an arm, fathom, armful', klėbti 'in die ausgebreitete Arme nehmen, umarmen' (↳ due to the infl. of glėbỹs 'ausgebreitete Arme', 'armful?') ||| ?φ Clt: Brtt {RE} *kalonā 'heart, (?) entrails' > W calon, OCrn, Crn colon f. 'heart', Crn colon m. 'guts', OBr calon(n), Br kalon 'heart' | The variant with an initial *g- (Lt glėbỹs '↑', MHG klāfter, NHG Klāfter 'fathom') is likely to result from a merger with *gleb- v. 'embrace' (> Lt glėbti, OFrs kleppa id.); the infl. of *gleb- may be responsible for the meaning 'to embrace, armful, length of an arm\arms' in IE *klēp- ¶ P 604, Frn. 156, 267, RE 103, Lx. 108, 120 |||

HS: S: [1] S * $\text{ḳal}_\text{ḳ}b-$ ~ * ḳabal- 'middle' (\rightarrow 'heart') > Ak $\text{ḳabl-}\text{u}$, $\text{ḳabal}\text{tu-}$ 'middle, center', Ar qalb- 'heart' (\rightarrow Mh ḳāb , Jb ḳelb id., Hrs ḳalb 'sense, mind, heart', Gz ḳalb 'thought, wish') | [2] S mt. * $\text{ḳap}_\text{ḳ}p\text{a}_\text{ḳ}l-$ 'middle' > Sr ḳāpə'lā 'armful, sheaf' ({PS} 'brachii complexus, manipulus inter brachia comprehensus'), ḳεp'l-ā {JPS} 'an inmost recess, inner chamber', {Br.} ḳap'lā 'sinus, interiora', ? Ak kappaltu 'groin, the area between the thighs' ¶ Br. 683, PS 3692-3, JPS 514, Fr. III 482, BK II 796, Sd. 444, 887, CAD VIII 184-5 and XIII 1-12, Jo. H 75, LG 427, MiK I #161 || ? **K:** G ḳalta (< ** ḳalpta ?) 'lap' ¶ Chx. 545 || **A:** T * ḳolbiç > OT qolbiç 'armpit' (a cd.?) ¶ Cl. 617, DTS 454 ◇ T * l in preconsonantal position (in a N cns. cluster) provides no ev. as to the identity of the N lateral cns. ◇ IE * k- (in the preconsonantal position) is a legitimate reflex of N * ḳo- ◇ If the G word belongs here, the N etymon must have an initial * ḳ- , otherwise it is * Ḳ- .

1056. *Ḳaí'ü|u' (= * ḳaí'ü|u' ?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE * $\text{ḳ}ḷno-$ 'callosity, hard skin' > L callum , callus 'hardened thick skin, callosity' ||| OI 'ḳiḷna 'callosity' (\leftarrow MI < * ḳrḷna) ¶ The stem may have been semantically influenced by IE * $\text{ḳ}ḷal-$ 'hard' (\rightarrow OIr calad 'hard') ¶ WP I 357 and P 523-4 (* ḳalno- , * $\text{ḳ}ḷno-$ \leftarrow * ḳal- 'hard'), \approx EI 523 (* $\text{ḳ}ḷno-s$ 'callosity' \leftarrow * ḳal- 'hard'), M KI 208, WH I 140-1, EM 87, Vn. C 25-6 || **U:** FU {UEW} * $\text{kaíw}ḳ$ (< pre-U * kaíu- ?) ({Db.} * kaíe) 'film, thin skin' > F kalvo 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale , kalu , Lv kaíg 'cataract (of the eye)' || Prm * kií > Z kií 'seed-coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff' (\times FU * keže < N * kež?ê 'skin; to skin'), Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' ||| Hg hályog , Δ hajag , halyag , hálog 'cataract (of the eye)' || ObU: pOs {Ht.} * kǎí'í 'crust, scab' > Os {KrT}: V/Vy kǎí , Nz ḳǎ́ta , Kz ḳǎ́í 'scab, crust' ¶ Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, LG 124, Db. OS xxxi, MF 256-7, KrT 382, \approx Ht. #265 ¶ Not here pVg * kǎ́lap 'outer layer of birch bark' and pOs {Ht.} * kǎ́lap id., 'dandruff' (Ht. 150 [#265]), which belong (together with S * $\text{ḳ}ḷp$ 'bark') to N * $\text{ḳaí'ü}Pḳ$ 'to bark (a tree), to cut off; bark, peel' (q.v.). The Prm ḳ is ambiguous: it belongs here only if its * i is accounted for by the ass. infl. of cns.; otherwise it belongs unambiguously to FU * keže < N * kež?ê '↑'. If we take into account the traces of a front root-final vw. (F Dybo l.c.), the pre-U ḳ may be reconstructed as * kalü || **A:** M * qali-sun 'the outer layers of sth.; peel,

rind, bark, skin' > WrM φ al \bar{i} s \bar{u} n, HIM жалъс, Kl жалъсн χαίσαn, Brt χαίθα(n) id., Mnr H {SM} χαίλιζз 'pellicule, membrane, écale, épiderme' ¶ MED 920, SM 151, T 372, KRS 572 || Tg *xalu- 'pellicle' > Ud B alu 'dandruff', WrMc αλχ \bar{u} ωα 'outer pellicle (of brain\kidneys\heart), skin of fruit'; Tg *xalu-kta 'film, inner side of hide (мездра)' > Lm al̄t̄b id., Ork χαλυqta, Nn Nh/B χαλοqta, Nn KU aloqta, Ewk, Orc, Ud alukta, Neg alta 'the inner side of hide'; Tg *xalu- > Nn KU alu- v. 'remove the inner side of hide', Lm al̄bω- id., v. 'remove a film' ¶ STM I 33-4 || T * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ 'e|ǎ̄ > Tv keš 'skin, hide'; possibly also sd. T *k'eí 'quiver, belt' > OT, XwT XIV keš ({CL.} kēš), Kr {RL.} kǎš, Tv NE xeš, Tf héš, Yk kāsāχ (with dim. -āχ) 'quiver', OT Y {ML.} keš 'belt'; T \rightarrow (?) Psh keš 'cotton blanket, shawl; silk cloth (камка)' ¶ ET KQ 60-1, TvR 239, Cl. 752, Ra. 188, Ml. JPT 107, Shch. SF 195 (*keš), Asl. 713 ¶¶ DQA #963 (A *k'ǎ̄li 'napless skin, membrane', 'шкура без ворса, мездра') || **Gil:** Gil ES {Krn.} hał 'human skin', Gil A hał id., 'human body' ¶¶ ST 422, ST RN 182, Krn. N 398, 490 || **HS:** EC * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ 'ō̄l- > Bn B {Hn.} q̄ol̄z (pl.) 'bark', Gdl {Bl.} q̄ō̄le 'skin', Or {Grg.} q̄ola 'peel, pod, shell, husk', {Brl.} q̄ola 'membrana; scorza; pellicola', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} q̄ola 'bark', Sd {Gs.} q̄ō̄la 'husk, peel, bark' (← Or?), Hr {AMS} q̄ō̄lo 'skin', Arr q̄íl 'leather', as well as ? Gdl {Blz. ← ?} q̄ō^oalla 'bark' (though in Bl.'s description of Gdl there is no phoneme ʕ) and Or {Tut.} kało 'tanned skin' ¶ Brl. 344, Grg. 326, Bl. G 69, Gs. 266, Hw. A 379, Blz. CWL, AMS 182, Hn. BD 93. Sr. 354 || ? ϕ **K:** G q̄rōl-i 'outer shell of a nut\chestnut' ◇ If the K root belongs here, the initial N cns. is to reconstruct as * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ -. N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü|u' is to be distinguished from paronymous N words, such as * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ o \hat{z} ∇ 'to skin, to bark (wood)', N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü'P∇ '↑', and N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ a|í∇ 'to bark (a tree), to remove vegetation' (q.v.). This latter N word (rather than N * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ aí'ü|u') is the source of D *ka|l- v. 'weed' (↔ S, / S CNM 5) ◇ AD NM #94, Vv. AEN 6, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST) ◇ Gr. II #341 (*ka|l 'skin') (U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1057. * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ a'í'∇ '(be) few, (be) too small\thin\light' > **HS:** S * $\kappa_{\bar{L}}$ all- adj. 'light, few' > BHb q̄al 'light (levis)' (f. q̄a|l̄ā), Sq {L} q̄al 'young', Akk q̄allum 'light, scanty'; this adjective in its predicative form was reinterpreted as a verb (WS verbal form of the "New Perfect" and Akk stative), so that a verb ✓q̄ll came into being: Hb q̄al (3p q̄a|l̄ū, 2m ka|l̄ō̄t̄ā) 'is small\insignificant, is fast', Ug q̄l {OLS} 'ir ligero, correr', Ar ✓q̄ll (pf. qa|lla) v. 'be few in number, small in quantity, rare', Gz

✓qll v. 'be light\easy\slight\swift', Jb C {Jo.} qel, Sq {Jo.} qel 'was little', Sq {L} qel(1) 'être petit', Ak ✓qll (inf. qalālu) v. 'be light'; d. WS *qa_ll'īl- adj. 'light, quick' > JA qal'īl, Sr qallī'lā, Md qalil 'light of weight', Ar qalīl- 'few, small, rare', Sb qll 'little, scanty', Gz qalīl 'not numerous, small' ¶ KB 1028-31, KBR 1100-3, OLS 365, ≈ A #2409, Js. 1376, Sl. 1019, Sd. 894, BK II 794, Hv. 621-2, LG 428, LIS 374, Jo. J 144, Jo. M 228, BGMR 105 || C {AD} *qall- > EC *qal- (or *qalʔ-) 'thin, insignificant' > Or qallā 'subtle, thin, meagre', Or B {Sr.} qallā (f. qallō) 'narrow, thin, slender', Kns qallaʔ- 'thin', Gdl qallaʔ- 'narrow', Rn xalma 'become thin' (ipv. xálām), Brj qall- ~ qalʔ- v. 'be thin\narrow', qall-anē- 'thin' ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 124, Sr. 351, AD SF 196, PG 187-8 || NrOm: Kf {C} qall- v. 'be cheap', Mch {L} qall-ī- v. 'despise', ? Dwr {L} gēla 'cheap', ? Bsk {Bnd.} gēlla 'small' ¶ C SE IV 484, LM 47 ¶¶ AD SF 196 || A **k_l'a_l- or *k_l'a_lġ- > M *qalġi- > WrM qalcii-, HIM xalčij- v. 'be(come) too thin or light' (of garment), WrM qalcigar, HIM xalčgar 'light and thin' (of garments) ¶ MED 918 || T *Ka_l'- or *Ka_lġ- > OT qašān 'lazy, underdeveloped, lean', Az {Rl.} qašān 'dünn, fein, zart, schön' (of women), Chg {Rl.} qašān 'unansehnlig, mager, abgezehrt', Chg XV {Cl.} qašān 'lazy, unpleasant', ET qašān {BN} 'lazy, obstinate, blunt', {Nj.} 'lazy, blunt', ET Tr {Rl.} qašān 'stumpf; langsam', Qrg {Jud.} qašān 'lazy, sluggish', Alt qažān, Chv (← a Qp lge) xažān 'lazy', ET {Jr., Nj.} qašār- v. 'become blunt', {Nj.} qašāt- 'make blunt', Qrg {Jud.} qašār- v. 'be lifeless' (e.g., of a country), Qq qasaṅ, Qrg qašāq 'lazy', Uz qaššūq 'poor, beggar', ? Az Sl kašī qašī 'of poor quality' ¶ Cl. 673, ET KQ 348-50, BN 119, Jr. 241, Rl. II 390-1, Nj. 585-6, Jud. 363, KrkR 383, AzDDL 253 || K {K} *qel-/ *qal- v. 'lacking, be short of' (× N *qeīṽ or *qeṣīṽ 'to lack, to be insufficient' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The K root suggests N *k_l-, but its evidence is not decisive (because of its etymological ambiguity). If the G word belongs here, the N etymon must have an initial *k_l-, otherwise it is *K_l-.

1058. (₂?) *k_l'ū'īlṽ 'short, (?) low' > K: GZ *-q_l- (*'shorten') ⇨ {GM} *m_o-q_l-e 'short' > OG moq_le 'short, short-armed', G moq_le, G X m_oq_le, Lz m_oq_le 'short', Mg q_ule id., xe-q_ule 'without an arm' (xe 'arm') ¶ FS K 219-220, FS K 241-2, Chx. 797-8, Chik. 229-30, GM 106-7 || D (in SD) *ku_ll- ({ʔGS} *k_l-) 'short (of stature)' > Tm ku_llam, ku_llal, Kn ku_llu 'shortness in stature', Kt ku_l 'shortness and broadness of figure', Ml kūlan 'young, short, stunted', Tm ku_llan, Ml ku_llan, Kt ku_l(ṇ),

Kn ku]l]a, Kdg ku]l]a 'short man' ¶ D # 2137 || ?σ HS: WS *√kly (~ *√klyw?) 'deep', 'light (levis)' (← *'low') > Gz √kly (js. yə-kli) 'be deep', kəly 'deep (like an abyss)', kaāy 'depth (of river\sea)', Ar qilw- 'light (of weight)' ¶ L G 431, BK II 808, Hv. 626.

1059. *Kohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie' > IE: NaIE *k[ēl-/*k[ēl-/*k[ēl(w)- v. 'deceive' > Gk A κηλέω (with an original -η-) v. 'charm, bewitch', κόλαξ 'flatterer' || L calvor, -ī v. 'form intrigues, deceive', calumnia 'false accusation, calumny' || Gt hōlōn 'συκοφαντεῖν, to calumniate, slander', ON hól 'praise, boasting', hōla 'to praise, to boast', AS hōl 'slander', hōlian 'to slander', OHG huolen 'to deceive' ¶ WPI 446, P 551, EI 154 (*kēl- 'deceive'), WH I 143, FI 839, Fs. 267, Vr. 247, Ho. 168, Schz. 17, Kb. 490 || HS: S *°√khl > Ar √qhl (qahala / -qhalu) v. {BK} 'médire de qn.', {Fr.} 'res turpas memorans vituperavit (aliquem)' ¶ Fr. III 511, BK II 828-9 || Ch: WCh *√kʷl- ({Stl.} *kʷal/r-) v. 'lie (lügen)' > Ang {Flk.} kʷolin, {ChL} kʷolm, Su {J} kʷulap, P' {MSk.} kʷálì v. 'lie', {Sk.} kʷali 'a lie', Hs kàryà 'a lie' (Hs k < WCh *l) || Ech: Smr {J} kùlāgè 'a lie' ¶ Stl. ZCh 213 [#637], ChC s.v. v. 'lie', Ba. 574, Sk. NB 29, MSk. 169, ≠ Sk. HCD 168 ¶ The rec. of a variant with *-r- is unjustified, because Hs k is a reg. reflex of WCh *l || A: M *qulag(u)- v. 'steal' > MM [MA] qulaq-ba, [IM] qulagu-ba p. 'stole', WrM qulagu-, HIM хулгуу- 'steal', Mnr H xulaga- id., 'do sth. by stealth', MM [HI, MA, S] qulagaḷ, WrM qulagai, HIM хулгай 'thief' ¶ MED 983-4, SM 180, Ms. H 91, Pp. 309, 445, H 71 || T *k[̥]ö[̥]i- 'hide' > OT {Cl.} köšī- id., rf. köšin- 'shade oneself, be hidden' ¶ Cl. 753-4 || Tg *xol- ~ xul- 'deceive', xul'e'k 'a lie, deceit' > Nn B xolto-, xoloqta-, Nn Sn xolo- v. 'deceive', Ewk ulēk, Sln ölöx ~ zlöx, Lm ölēk, Neg ölöx ≈ ölök 'a lie, deceit', Orc oloki- v. 'lie, deceive', oloko 'a liar, deceiver', WrMc uluken 'falsely' ({Z} 'ложно, болтливо') ¶ DQA #873 (A *k[̥]oía 'steal, deceive') ¶ STM I 407 and II 265-6 || D *kōl 'slander, tale-bearing, abuse' (× N *k'a'IX'o' 'call [appeler], shout'?) > Tm kōl 'calumny, aspersion, tale-bearing, falsehood', koluttu v. 'slander, calumniate', Kt kōl 'laying information about sth. heard', Kn kōl 'calumny, false imputation', Gdb gōler- v. 'abuse', gōle n. 'abuse' ¶ D #2251 ◇ The absence of labialization in IE *k- can be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE) if we suppose a stem-final sonant *w, that remained in L calvor, calumnia, but was

lost in the Gk and Gmc. In this case the prehistory may be hypothesized as N [??] ***Kohíü** > pre-IE ***kuhlu** > (diphthongization) ***kαu̯hl(u)-** (where ***α** symbolized the vw. underlying the apophony ***e/*o/zero**) > ***kαhl(u)** (loss of pre-sonantic ***w**) > ***kehl-/*kohl-/*kōhl(u)-** > ***kēl-/*kōl-/*kəl(w)-**. M ***u** (of the first syll.) (for the expected ***o**) still needs explaining.

1060. *Kiy_l∇_líi (or ***Kiy_l∇_lí∇_li?**) 'to bend, to bow' > IE: NaIE ***k̑lej-** v. 'bow, incline', {EI} 'lean' > OI 'śrayatē 'clings to, leans upon', 'śrayati {MW} 'causes to lean\rest on, lays on\in, fixes on', Av srita- 'gelehnt', sray- 'lean' || Gk κλίνω v. 'make bend\slope\slant' || Lclīnā- v. 'incline, bend, lean', clīnātus 'inclined, bent, leaned', in-clīnā- v. 'bend, incline', clīvus 'a slope, rise' || OIr clen 'tendance, inclination, désir' || Mir clé 'left; defective, bad', W cledd 'left' || OHG (h)linēn 'to lean', AS hlinian vi. (> NHG lehnēn, NE lean vi.), OHG leinen, NHG lehnēn, AS hlānan vt. 'to lean' (> NE lean vt.), Gt hleidumei 'left (link)' || Lt šliejũ (Lt Zh šlejũ), inf. šliēti 'lean against', pã-šlitas 'windschief, seitwärts geneigt', {PiesS} pa-šlyti 'lean on one side' || ?σ Tc: A klā(w)-, B klāy- 'fall'; Tc B klās-k- 'set' (of the sun) ¶ WP I 490-2, P 600-2, EI 348, M K III 388-9, WH I 234-5, Vn. C 116, FI 873-5, OsS 405-6, Kb. 601, 619, KM 431, AS 161, 164, Frn. 549, 1004, 1006, PiesS 518, Wn. 218-21, Ad. 220-3 || **HS:** C ***k̑l̑** > EC: pSam {Hn.} ***qallōs-** v. 'bend' > Sml qallōsi, Rn {Hn.} 'χόλοχε ~ 'χόλοθε id. ¶ Hn. S 71 || ?? S: Gz qaldad 'arch, circle' ¶ Ls CDG 427 || **A** ***k'iyí'u-** > T ***Kiyí-** > OT qiš- v. 'deviate', MT XIII qiš- v. 'turn away', Osm {Zn.} qiš- 'sich krümmen, sich neigen', Tk gıṣ 'deception, swindle, perfidy', Tkm gīšiq, Qmq, Nog qiyšiq 'crooked, slanting', Nog, Qrg qiyšay-, Qq qiyşay-, ET qiyšay- vi. 'bow\bend to the side, get crooked', Qzq qiyşaqta- vi. 'bow, bend, sway' ¶ Rs. W 268, Cl. 670, Rl. II 835, Dr. TM III 571-3, Jud. 481, Sht. 272, KumRS 211-2, Nj. 631-2, DQA #1107 || M ***kilu-** > WrM {MED} kilui- ~ kilai-, HIM хялай- v. 'look askance at, squint', Kl {Rm.} kuli- 'schielen, schief auf etwas sehen'; WrM kilagar, HIM хялгар 'cross-eyed, squint-eyed; askew, slanting', WrM kilab qulub 'looking askance, giving a squinting\mean look'; M ***kilu-r** 'squint-eyed' > WrM kilu-r, Kl kulṛ id.; WrM ⇨ Tkm {Rs.} qılıy, VTt qılъy 'squint, crooked'; ? ext.: M ***kelte-** > WrM keltei-, HIM хэлтий- v. 'incline from the perpendicular, lean, be crooked', Kl {Rm.} keltε-χə 'auf der einer Seite,

seitwärts gebogen liegen', M *kelbe- > WrM kelbei-, HIM хэлбий- v. 'lean or to be inclined to one side' (× N ***ḲæbLṼ** [or ***ḲæLbṼ**?] 'to support, to lean', q.v. ffd.) ¶ MED 450, 467, Kow. 2531-2, TatR 310, KW 224, 244, Rs. W 263, Dr. TM I 472-3 || ?ϕ Tg *xīl- v. 'pass by (vorbeigehen)' > Ewk, Neg iltən-, Lm jeltan- ɘ iltən-, Lm Ar yēltan-, ?ϕ Ul/Ork/Nn sī- id. ¶ STM I 310-1 || ?σ pJ {S} *kùsù 'strange (← *'deviating') > OJ kùsù, kusi ¶ S QJ #1232, Mr. 833 ¶¶ KW 244 (M, T), DQA #1107 (A *k'īyú 'to deviate, slant') ◇ A vw. after N *y is tentatively suggested because in a precons. position the N sequence *iy is more likely to lose the cons. *y or to produce a long vw. ī (in the descendant lgs.) than in the intervocalic position (while in fact this *y survived in T) ◇ EC suggests the presence of a laryngeal (*ɣ in ***ḲiyLṼ, íṼɣi**), but then the absence of a lr. in the IE root must be explained. It is quite possible that the EC lr. does not belong to the heritage of the N etymon ◇ The K verb ***ḳlaḳ-wṇ-** (> G **ḳlaḳ(w)n-** v. 'bend, swaddle' = 'krümmen, winden', F Chx. 599) is better explained as going back to N ***ḳaLḳa** (~ ***ḳaLka**?) 'to wind, to twist' (q.v.).

1061. *Ḳaíú 'bare, naked' > IE ***ḳ]Hwō-** > ({WH} NaIE ***ḳoləwō-**) 'bald' > L **calvus** 'bald, without hair' || OI 'ati-kūrva-h̄ ~ 'atikūlvah̄ 'entirely bald', NPrs **كَل** **kāl** 'bald' ¶ P 554 (***ḳoləwō-**), ≈ EI 45 (adduces Av **kaυvra-**), WH I 144, M KI 243, Sg. 1039, ≈ Vl. II 802, 858 (NPrs **kāl** = **käčäl** 'bald') || HS: S ✓**ḳl̥s** > Ar ✓**ql̥s** (pf. **qalasa**) 'take off (one's clothes)' (unless ←d {BK} 'arracher, ôter qc. de sa place'), Gz ✓**ḳl̥s** G 'uncover, bare, open, strip, unveil', Tgy ✓**ḳl̥s** (pf. **ḳel̥e**) 'disclose, uncover' ¶ Hv. 624, BK II 802, LG 426 || A: T ***ḳ'ái** > Tf **haš** 'bare, without hair' (of a fell/hide), ? Tv **χaš** 'thin dressed leather', d.: ***Ḳaí-ga** 'bald; having a white head or a white blaze' (× N ***ḲaíṼ(-mṼ)** 'spot, stain; be spotty') > OT **qašva** 'having a white head and darker body', 'having a white blaze on the forehead' (on animals), Chg **qašqa** id., Qzq **qasqa** id., 'bald' (of a person)', Nog **qasqa**, Shor {Rl.} **qašqa** 'bald spot, white blaze', SbTt B {Rl.} **qašqa** id., 'bald' (of a person)', Qrg **qašqa** 'having a white blaze', 'clean, transparent', Bsh, Ln **qašva** 'white blaze; bald' ¶ ET KQ 350-1, Ra. 186, TvR 471, Cl. 671, Rl. II 394-5, Rs. W 241 || M ***qalca-** 'bald' > MM [MA] **qalčayaj** 'bald', WrM **qalcaqai**, HIM **халцгай** 'bald, bare, hairless, grassless, featherless (spot)', Kl {KRS} **халцха** 'grassless (ground)', {Rm.} **χalcb̄yā** 'bar, nicht bewachsen; haarlos, graslos' ⇨ Chg [MA] **qalč+yay** 'bald'; MM [MA] **qalcaq** 'having

a white blaze'; M *qalʒa-n 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' > WrM qalʒan, HIM халзан id., MM [MA] qalʒan 'having a white blaze', M б→ Tv калчан 'bald, bald spot, grassless'; WrM qalʒai-, HIM халзай- v. 'grow bald', б→ Tv калчай- id.; ? M *°qalci- > WrM qalci-, HIM халчи- 'remove unevenness, level off' ¶ Pp. MA 289, MED 918, 922, KW 163, KRS 571-2, TvR 222-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce here U {UEW} *kaíw∇ 'film, thin skin' and thus to find a parallel for IE *-w-, but for semantic considerations it is better to refer the U root to N *Ḳaí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark'.

1062. *Ḳôís'ú' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel' > IE: [1] NaIE *kelw-/*kleu- v. 'travel' > Lt keliáuti, Ltv ceļōt id.; Lt kēlias 'way, road', Ltv ceļš id. (acc. to P, a bf. from the verb) ||| Gk κέλευθος 'way, path' ({Brgm.}: < *κλευθος on the analogy of ἐλεύσομαι 'I shall come/go') (a problematic word: an irreg. succession of two *e-grade syllables, unexplained -θ-; for discussion see F I 815-6) ||| [2] NaIE *kal-n∇- 'path' > L callis 'narrow track, footpath, cattle track' ||| Sl {Glh.} *kol'nъcb > SCr klánac 'narrow path', Slv Δ klanec klánac 'gorge, narrow pass (Hohlweg)' ¶ Frn. 236, F I 815-6, P 554, WP I 356, WH I 140, Frn. 236, Bern. I 547, ESSJ X 140-1 (against the comparison of Sl with L), Glh. 319 ||| HS: S *°✓ḱl̥s > Ar qulʒat- 'way' ({Fr.} 'iter, eiusque mobilitas, iter maritimum navi'), {BK} qālis- 'qui part, qui se lève de sa place' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK 803-4 || B *°✓wkl > Ah s-ukeḷ v. 'travel, step (marcher au pas)', tēkle n. 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Tz, Ntf ākəl, Zww ākul 'piétiner, appuyer avec le pied', BMn ḱel v. 'step', Kb {Dl.} aṣṣṣal 'fouler', ṭiṣṣli n. 'marche, allure; action de marcher', Si {La.} ukeḷ 'walk', Skn {La.} ukəl 'cheminer'] B *°✓wkl ~ *°✓kwl 'track, footprint' (× N *ḱäl'h'∇ 'to walk, to make one's way') > Ah tək-kil-t (-kk- < *-wk-) 'track, footprint (empreinte de pied)', a-kūkəl 'trace', BSn tīšal id., Kb ṭiṣṣal-t (pl. ṭi-kwal ~ ṭi-ṣṣal) 'fois, moment' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dl. 401-3, La. S 257, La. MChB 259-60 || SC: [1] ({E} SC *kʷāš-) v. 'go, travel' (× N *ḱäl'h'∇ '↑') > Kz kʷaš v. 'go away, depart', (C б→) Mb kʷa, kʷašú (E SC 265); see also Mb kʷa, kʷaš i 'path' (E SC 43)] [2] Rft ≈ *ḱʷal- (× N *ḱāl'ʔ'∇ 'to approach, to come') > Irq {MQK} qʷalāḡ inv. 'come!', Brn {Dempw.} kwalē id. ¶ MQK 89, Blz. SCL s.v. 'come'₃ ||| K: GZ *ḱwal-/*ḱwl- 'track, footprint' > OG ḱual-i, G ḱval-i 'track, trace', G d. ḱvle-/ḱvli-: (ga-)ḱvle/i v. 'find the way', mi-ḱvle/i- 'auf die Spur kommen, auf-\aus-spüren', Mg d. u-kul-i 'after, then', Lz i-ḱul-e 'after',

-kule ~ -kule 'after' ¶ K² 90-1, Ser. 80, Chx. 572, 583-4 || U: FU (in ObU only) *^okâí∇ (= *^okoí∇?) > ObU *kâí∇ 'track(s), sign' > pOs *kaí > Os Kz χῶφ 'Anzeichen'; pVg *kǎí > Vg: LK xâí, MK/UK kǎí, P kií, UL/Ss xií 'track, sign'. The pOs vw. *a is a reg. reflex of pFU *^o and *^{ō}, but the origin of the pVg vw. *ǎ is not yet clear. If the Vg vw. results from a conditioned change, the pFU form will be *koí∇. Much less probable as a cognate is FU *kulke- v. 'walk\travel\run' (> F kulke- v. 'walk, go, travel', Es kulge- v. 'proceed, take one's course, run' || pLp {Lr.} *kolkz- v. 'run' [of water], v. 'float [with the current]' > Lp N {N} gqł'gâ-/lg-, Lp S {Hs.} gǎlgedh, Lp L {LLO} kǎl'kǎ-, Lp Kld kol'ge- id. || pMr {Ker.} *kuíga- > Er koíge-, Mk koíga- v. 'leak' || Prm: Z kǎvt-, Z Δ kǎlt-, kǎlal-, Yx kǎlt- v. 'float' || pOs *kǎvǎl- > Os: V qǎvǎl- v. 'step', D χοχǎt-, Kz χῶχǎt- v. 'run' || Hg halad- v. 'go, advance, proceed, travel') || ? Sm {Jn.} *ku- v. 'drift\float' > Ne T ху"ла-сь, ху"лѣ-сь id., Ne T BZ хуѡ, Ne T Y хӯ, Ne F kǎβ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', Slq Tz {Prk.} qurǎ- ~ qǎrǎ- 'tragen\treiben [der Strom]'. FU *kulke may be accepted as a cognate (d.) only if we find the factor responsible for the depalatalization *í > *l and for the discrepancy between the vowels of *kulke and *kâí∇ (where *â cannot be interpreted as *u because of the Os reflex) ¶¶ Ht. 200 [#748], UEW 198, Lr. #442, Hs. 552, LG 149, Jn. 76, Erl. 82, Ker. II 64 ◇ The non-labialized IE *k- may be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE): if the original vw. of the first syllable was *u, then N *kǎíǎ'ú' yielded pre-IE *kewl(ǎ)- > IE *kel(ǎ)- (loss of the *u-glide before a sonorant); but even if the N vw. was *^o, it changed into *u due to the infl. of the vw. *u|ü of the following syll. ◇ Hardly here M *kǎlgen '(means of) transportation' > MM [HI] kǎlgen {Lew.} 'char, véhicule', WrM kǎlge(n), HIM хѡлѡг, Kl {Rm.} kǎlgŋ 'mount or other means of transportation'; M ⇨ Qzq кѡлік kǎlik 'horse and cart; means of conveyance', Qrg kǎlük 'beasts of burden', Nog kǎlik id. ('тягло, тягловая сила'). It is more plausible to suppose that this is a d. from M *kǎl- v. 'harness, hitch (a draft animal) to a vehicle' (> MM [S] kǎl-, WrM kǎl-, HIM хѡл(-ѡх) id.), though a contamination is also possible ¶ MED 484-5, Lew. II 57, H 103, Ms. H 72, KW 238, Jud. 421, Sht. 133, NogR 178, Rs. W 288 ◇ Cp. Čop IU IV 159 (IE, FU) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #71 (*kel 'come') (IE + err. U *kǎlä 'wade' [in fact from N *kǎl'h'∇ 'to walk, to

make one's way with effort, to wade'] + err. A *k'el- and Yk kel- 'come, go' [< N *kaT'?'∇ 'to approach, to come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s disregard of sound laws does not allow him to distinguish between three N words, which proves that his method of comparison is wrong).

1063. *k'äm'o' 'to cover' > HS: B *✓yums > Izn, SrSn ✓yums, inv. әyümäs v. 'cover oneself with clothes or a blanket', ETwl, Ty әyümäs v. 'wrap\cover' ¶ Rn. 364, GhA 69 || ?φ K: Sv: {Ni.} -kwem v. 'cover', UB/LB/Ln {TK} -kwem 'put on (clothes)', UB {GP} li-kwem msd. 'put on (dress) from above' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'покрыть', TK 453, GP 173 || IE: NaIE *k'em- v. 'cover\veil', 'garment' > Gmc *xamiþja- > OHG hemidi 'shirt, garment' (> NHG Hemd 'shirt'), OSx hēmithi, AS hemeðe 'shirt'; Gmc *xamiþja- → Gl → L camisia 'shirt'; Gmc: ON {EI} hamr 'skin, slough', {Vr.} 'Hülle, Gestalt', Sw, Dn, NNr ham 'skin, husk', AS hama 'garment, dress; skin', NE hame 'undergarment' || ? OI śāmulya- 'garment (of a bride)', śāmūla- 'e garment' ({EI} 'thick woolen shirt') ¶ WP I 386, P 556-7, EI 134, WH I 147-8, M K III 325, M E II 6, Ho. 148, 154, Ho. S 32, Kb. 455, OsS 388, KM 303, Vr. 208 || A: M *°qamki- v. 'shut, close, draw together in order to close' > WrM qamki-, HIM хамхи- id. ({Kow.} 'fermer, serrer, joindre'); see also WrMc qamni- v. 'unite, close'; the word may be a loan from M, which will explain the initial unexpected q- ¶ MED 924, Kow. 813, STM I 370 ◇ The apparent reflex of deglottalization *ḳ- > *k- in Sv still defies explanation. The rec. of the N initial *ḳ- (rather than an unspecified *Ḳ-) depends on the validity of the Sv cognate. The vw. *ā in M is due to regr. as. (a kind of vw. harmony): *ā...o > *a...â. This and the palatal IE *k̄ presuppose a N *ā. The labial element in of Sv *ḳw- is due to regr. as. (infl. of a lost labialized vw. of the second syll.) within Sv (F Test. S) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #68 (*kum 'cloud') (IE *k'em- 'hide, cover' ÷ * FU *kum∇ 'cloud', etc.), Gr. II #82 (*kom 'cover' > A [M, Tg, err. T *Kunda-, in fact from N *kom_l∇_l∇ 'to cover?'], Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

1064. ₂ *K'em∇ 'to bite' > A *k_l'em∇ 'gnaw, bite' > NaT *k_l'emir- v. 'gnaw' > OT {Cl.} kāmūr-, Chg kemür-, Tk gemir-, Tkm, Qmq gemir-, Az ġämīr-, VTt, Bsh kim̄r-, Qzq кемір- kemīr-, Uz kemīr-, ET kemī(r)-, Ggz, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt kemir-, Xk kimır-, Tv xemir-, Tf {∂Cs.} hemir- id. ¶ Rs. W 251, ET VGD 18-9, Pp. MA 215 ¶ Tv 8- provides ev. for pT k'-, while the Og data seem to point to a pT *k- || M: [1] *kemki- 'bite, gnaw, crack with teeth' > WrM кемки-, HIM хэмхэ-

'bite, snap the jaw'., Kl кемк- 'bite' (of dogs), {Rm.} кемкi- 'nagen, fressen, kauen, Knochen zerhauen'; M б→ WrMc кемкi- 'bite, grasp by teeth'; [2] *kemi|ele- 'gnaw, nibble, chew' > MM [MA} kemile-, WrM kemeli-, HIM хэмлэ-, Kl кем]-, Ba kaməl-; M б→ Yk kömüllā- id. ¶ Pr. MA 215, MED 451-2, KRS 203, KW 225 || pJ {S} kām- 'bite' > OJ kam-, [RJ] kām-ú, J: T kamù-, K kāmīcuku, Ns kāmī-, Sh kánās, kán-, Ht kà_m_-, Y kām- ¶ S AJ 264 [#7], S QJ #7, Mr. 703 ¶¶ S AJ 112, 274 [#6], DQA #759 (A *kěma|o 'gnaw, bite') || HS: C: EC {Ss.} pcv. *-qom/*-qm- (> *qom-) 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *Ḳ'o'mh∇ [or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?] 'eat, swallow'?) > Sa pcv. -qom-, Af pcv. -okm- 'chew, bite, eat', Rn {Ss.} -aḥam-/ -uḥum- 'chew', {PG} -aḥam- 'eat (sth.)', scv.: Dsn kóm- 'eat' (k- is due to the former clustering of *ḳ and *m), Or qam- 'chew čat', Kns qom- 'chew', Brj qām- 'eat, chew', ? Sd {Gs.} qāma 'eat\drink sth. mixed with sth. else' (unless the Bj and Sd words are borrowed from EthS?), ?φ Arr {Hw.} -ohom-/ -aham- (= [-o'fi'o'm-]/[-a'fi'a'm-]) pcv. 'eat' ¶ Ss. PEC 25, Ss. B 121-2, 124, PG 62, Gs. 255, Hw. A 263-5, To. DL 512 || ECh: Smr {J} k^ωΛm 'eat', Kwn {J, Sa.} kām 'eat (hard food)' ¶ Smr k^ω- is due to contamination with N *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?) '↑? ¶ JI II 121, ChC || IE: The N word in question may have influenced NaIE *ḡembh-/*ḡmḡbh- v. 'bite' and *ḡombh^o-s 'tooth' (F s.v. N *ḳāb?ā 'bite') ◇ ≈ Gr. II #59 (*kem 'chew') (A, CK, EA + err. IE *kemə- 'hum').

1065. *Ḳom∇(-bA) (or *Ḳum∇(-bA)?) 'forehead, front part' [1] *Ḳom∇ or *Ḳum∇) > U: FU *kum∇ 'forehead, front side' > Prm *kúm-es 'forehead, face' (LG: *-es is a derivational sx.) > Z кымөс k+m3s, Vt кымес k+m3s 'forehead, face'; Prm *kúm > Z sin-k+m 'eyebrow' (sin is 'eye') || Hg hom-l-ok 'forehead, front side' ¶ LG 151-2, MF 296-8, ≠ Rd. rLG 424, UEW 201-2 (unc. hyp.: the Prm and Hg words < U *kuma 'gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage; sich beugen'), ≈ Sm. 537 (U *kumā 'face down' > FU *kumā, FP *kuma-, Ugr *kūma-, Sm *kəmə) || A: Tg *^oḲ₁omkat∇ 'forehead' > Ewk, Neg omkoto, Lm omqbt ¶ STM II 17 || [2] *Ḳom∇-bA '≈ that of the front part' (see N *bA [pc. of names of quality bearers] ffd.) > HS: B *ḡnb 'face', *ḡanbū₁b₁ 'beak' (× N *ḡUḡa (-P∇) 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ D *komp-ay ({ḡGS} *k-) 'e protecting wall' > Tm kommay 'rampart, bulwark', Kn kumbē 'wall on a flat roof that serves for a balustrade', Tl komma 'the upper part or coping of a fort-wall' ¶¶ D #2118 ◇ Tg and D point to a N vw. *o in the first syll., while

U suggests *u.†The problem created by this discrepancy still needs resolving.

1066. *K̄um∇ 'sand' > HS: CCh {ChL}: Bnn kunkùmà, Ms gumgumma, BnnM gumguma, LmP hum 'sand' | HgNg k^ωèmmè, FIG k^ωèkùma 'earth (substance)' ¶ ChL || U *kum∇ 'thin snow' > Vt G k̄im id., Vt M k̄im 'hoarfrost' || Hg hó (accus. havat) 'snow' || Sm: Ne χaw? 'thin hard snow that is over soft snow', Kms {KD} k'amo 'snow crust' ¶¶ UEW 204, ≈ Jn. 64 || A *kum∇ 'sand' > T *k'um 'sand' > OT, MQp, Chg qum, Tkm, Az gum, Tk kum, Qzq, Nog, Qrq, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv qum, VTt, Bsh q̄m, Tf hum; ⇨ pT kum-aq 'grain of sand' ⇨ M: WrM qumag, HIM xymag 'fine sand' ¶ Cl. 625, Ra. 191, ET Q 133-4, MED 985 || Tg *x̄imana- v. 'snow' > Ewk, Sln, Orc imana-, Lm um̄n-, Neg imana-, Ul, Ork, Nn sumana-, WrMc nimara- id. ¶ Tg *ī needs explaining ¶ STM I 312-3 ¶¶ Tf h- and Tg *x- suggest pA *k'- and hence pN *K̄- ¶¶ Lm kim̄wun 'sea shore' and Orc k̄ima ≈ k̄imma 'beach' hardly belong here (⇔ Gr.) ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *ī is still to be explained. Cp. similar cases: N *b'u'Xfa 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b̄ira 'river, brook', N *k̄u|od'a'h∇ 'pierce' > ?σ Tg *xid̄ar- v. 'hurt by pricking' ◇ Gr. II #323 (*kum 'sand') (U, A, Gil + qu. Y).

1066a. *K̄Um∇ 'black, dark' > HS: Eg fP km 'be black; black' (✓ kmm): [1] v. n. {Vc.} *kamām > Cpt: Sd KМOM kmom, B XМOM k^hmom, [2] adj. (qualificatif) {Vc.} *ku|ömmey > Cpt: Sd KHM kēm, B XHM k^hēm ¶ EG V 122-4, Vc. 81-2 || C: EC: Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} k̄umma, Gwd {AMS} kumma 'black', Hr/Dbs {AMS} kumm- 'become black' || ?σ Ag: Aw {CR} kemanā 'evening', kem- 'get dark, decline towards evening (вечереть)' ¶ AMS 267, ≈ AD SF 86 || ?σ NrOm: Wl {LmS} q̄amma, Dwr {Bnd.} q̄amma, Bdt {C} q̄amā, {Bnd.} q̄amma, Oyda {Bnd.} q̄āma, Bsk {Bnd.} q̄amma 'night', Gm {LmS} q̄amma 'day (of 24 hours)', Gdc {Bnd.} q̄āmanī 'night', Dc {LmS} q̄amma 'yesterday', Kcm {LmS} q̄amma-na 'evening' ¶ AD SF 86, LmS 432-3 || S: JA [Trg.] 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎, em. 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎-𐤀 'black, dark-complected', MHb ✓ ?km G (pf. 𐤎𐤊𐤀𐤌 𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤀𐤎) 'be sun-burnt \ black' (< caus. *✓š-km) ¶ Js. 25, 64 ¶¶ Cal. #449 (Aram, Eg) || U *kum∇ 'dark' (× N *k̄um∇ (-Tä) 'fog, mist', q.v.) > Hg hi m̄aly 'obscurity, darkness'; twilight, dusk' || Z Δ k̄im̄d- vt. 'shade, screen from light' ('затенять, заслонять свет') || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kündähä 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mil.} k̄üntühä, K {Mil.} ḡünde hä) ¶¶ UEW 204-5, LG 151, Hl. M ##592-3 || A ({DQA}) *k'ume

[or *k'jume] 'black, charcoal'): T *k'ömür 'charcoal' > OT, Cmn XIV, XwT XIV kömür, MQp XIII kämür, Chg xv kemür ~ kömür, Xk kömür, Tlt kömür, Yk kömör 'charcoal', Tk kömür, Tkm, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Qrg kömür, ET kömü(r), Ln kömüy, Kr Cr kömür ~ kömir, Nog, Qq kömir, VTt, Bsh kümьr, Uz kwmür, Tv xömür, Chv къmrъk 'charcoal' (today also 'mineral coal') ¶ Cl. 723, ET KQ 102-3, TL 365 || pKo {S} *kām- 'black' > MKo kām-, kām-, NKo kām-/kām-/kām-/kām- id. ¶ QK #8, Yu 48, MLC 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. LB #14: Om, C, Ch, A + unc. D *kam- 'be singed', Ch and IE roots for 'cloud' - see N *kūm∇(-Tä) 'fog, mist'), ≈ Blz. LNA #30 (suggested to add Aram' unc.: *÷ D *kam- 'be singed' and FV *kūma 'heiß').

1067. *kūm∇(-Tä)/(-R∇) 'fog, mist; cloud' > IE: Ht kammara- 'mist, fog, vapour; shade, dimness (of sight)' || NaIE: Gk [Hs.] κέμμερος· ἄχλυσ, ὀμίχλη- 'mist, fog' ¶¶ Gk κευ- and Ht kam- may be explained as going back to IE *k̄m- < **k̄m- < N **kūm- ¶¶ Pv. IV 35-7, Ivn. SA 154, Čop IU I-1974 99 || **HS:** Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChC} kúmbà, Glv {Rp.} ákumba, {ChL} řákumba, Hrz {Ro.} kúmbà 'cloud' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} kamrá 'clouds' coll. ¶ Eb. 62, RpB 4, ChC, ChL, Ro. 227 [#142] || B: Ah kumb-at 'brouillard humide' ¶ Fc. 807 || **K {K}** *k̄wām-/k̄wām-, {FS} *k̄wām- v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > OG k̄um- v. 'emit smoke' (q̄oweli igi m̄tay k̄umoda 'all mountains emitted smoke'), OG k̄um-, G k̄m- 'burn incense', Mg k̄um- v. 'smoke', d. o-k̄um-apu 'censer, thurible', Lz m̄kom- v. 'emit smoke', Sv {K, FS} k̄wām- id. (msd. li-k̄wāme, 3s prs. k̄wām-e) ||| ⇨ K *k̄wām]- n. 'smoke' > OG, G k̄wām]-i, Sv: UB/Ln {TK, GP} k̄wām, L {TK} k̄wām, {Dn.} k̄wām id. ¶¶ K 108-9, K² 91 (*k̄wām-/k̄wām- v., *k̄wām]- n.), FS K 177, FS E 193-4, Chik. 161, 168, TK 352, GP 130, Dn. s.v. k̄wām ¶¶ IS I 312 tentatively adduces (to N {IS} *KūmTä) Sv UB mu-ṭk̄win 'fog, dark' (but GP SED: Sv UB muṭk̄win 'dark [colour]' without mentioning 'fog' or 'mist'); IS suggests that Sv -ṭk̄win- may go back to **k̄winṭ- (mt.), which is hardly convincing || **U [1]** *kūmtâ- 'fog, haze' > F konto 'fog' (the back vw. o under the regr. ass. infl. of the final back vw.) || Prm *k'ō'd > StVt чынкыт čin-kit 'haze (дымка, марево)', Vt Sr {Wc.} čyŋkīd 'mist', Vt Kz {Wc.} čžŋkzd 'schwacher Nebel, Dunst' (kīt, kīd, kzd means 'smoke') ||| Hg köd 'fog, mist, haze' || Sm *kūmtъ 'smoke' > Ne T сюн, {Lh.} sún', Ne F {Lh.} sún 'smoke, steam', Ng {Mik.} kintə, En {Cs.} súddo, Slq NP {Cs.} súmde 'smoke', Kms d. {Adl.} schunjú id., Koyb d. {Sp.} сюнë, сюнë

'smoke (дымъ, чадъ)', Mt {Hl.} *küdü 'smoke' (Mt M/T {Mil.} kúndö, Mt M {Sp.} кюндү, Mt T {Adl.} kundo, Mt K {Mil.} gúndu 'smoke', {Pl.} gundùchanu 'mist' [chanu means 'dew, moisture in the air']) ⇨ Mt {Hl.} *kündähä 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mil.} kúntühä, K {Mil.} gúndehä) (× N *ḲUmṽ 'black, dark', q.v.) ¶¶ U *-mt- is reconstructed on the ev. of Slq ¶¶ UEW 158 (*kintṽ – *küntṽ; rejects the F cognate because of its back vowels), IS I 312 (*kümtä; does not mention the F word), MF 370, Jn. 79 (Sm *küntь), Hl. MTKV 10, 36, Hl. M ##592-3 (Sm *küntь), Cs. 162, ≈ Sm. 537 (U, FU, FP *künti 'smoke', Ugr *küntī, Sm *küntə; does not take into account the F and Slq cognates) ¶¶ [2] ? FU *kumṽ 'cloud' (× N *ḲUmṽ '↑', q.v.) > F kumuri 'small cloud' || Er k0v0l 'cloud' || Prm: Z кымөр 'cloud' || Vg Ss sēnkiy xomxatas 'es wurde nebelig', xomxatas 'es entstand ein dichtes Schneegestöber, das die Luft ganz verdunkelt' ¶ UEW 204-5, IG 151 || A: AdS of M *küdeŋ 'fog, mist' (< N *Ḳotṽ(-Rṽ) 'smoke', q.v. ffd.) || pKo *kīm 'steam, vapour, breath, smell' > MKo, NKo kīm ¶ S QK #748, MLC 281 || pJ {S} kùmuá-n 'cloud' > OJ kumyo, J: T, K kúmo, Kg kumó ¶ S AJ 264-5 [#11] ¶¶ ≈ DQA #795 || D: Gnd kum 'smoke' & kumpođ 'smoke' ¶ ≈ D #1752 ◇ IS I 312 [#187] (*KümTä in U, M [+unc. T], [?] K: Sv mu-ṭḵwin), Čop l.c. (IE, U), ≠ Blz. KM 135-6 [#14] (unc. equation of the K root with the S, Bln, FV, and D reflexes of N *Ḳumṽ '[be] hot, smoulder', q.v.), ≈ Blz. LNA #35 (CCh, IE, U, Ko, J; unc. adduction of Awn kemana 'evening' and NrOm *ḵam- 'night' [see N *ḲUmṽ 'black, dark']) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #68 (*kum 'cloud') (FU *kumṽ 'cloud' ÷ * IE *kem- 'hide, cover', etc.).

1068. *ḲU?ämṽ(-nṽ) 'a hand with five fingers' > IE *de-km̥t 'ten' ({Szem., Erh.}: < *d₁w₁e- 'two' + **kōmt 'hand with fingers') > OI 'daśa, Av dasā, OPrs *daθa, Phl dah, NPrs 𐎠𐎡𐎣 dā, Oss dās, Psh las 'ten' || Arm տասն tasn id. || Gk δέκα id. || pre-Al {Hamp} *d₁jeθat₁ṽ > Al dhjetë id. || L decem id., Um *desen 'ten' in DESENDUF 'twelve' || OIr deich n-, OW dec, W deg, Crn, Br dek 'ten' || Gmc *texun 'ten' > Gt taíhun, ON tíu, NNr tie, Sw tio, Dn ti, OSx tehan, tian, OHG zehan, NHG zehn, AS tien, NE ten || BSI (< d. *dekm̥ti- 'decade'): Lt dešimtìs, Ltv desmit, Pru dessempts 'ten', dessimpts 'tenth' || Sl *desętb 'ten' > OCS ДЕСАТЬ desętb, Blg 'deset, SCr dèset, Slv desęt, Cz deset, Slk desat', P dziesięć, R, Uk 'десять || pTc

*śäk > Tc: A śäk, B śak id. (its prehistory is not yet clear) || AnIE {Blz.} *deyanta- (< *deġnto- < *deġmto-) > HrLw tinata- 'tithe', Lc sñita 'ten' (< d. *dġmt-ā) || NaIE *ġm'tom 'hundred' (< *dġm'tom {E} 'tenth decade', {P} '(Zehner)dekade') > OI śa'tam, Av satəm 'hundred'; Irn ⇨ Sl *s̑to id.; Ary ⇨ FU *śatam id. || Gk ἑκατόν 'hundred' (< *sem ġm'tom 'one hundred') || L centum 'hundred' || OIr cét, W cant, Br kant, Cm cans id. || Gt, OSx, AS, OHG (in cds.) hund id.; cd. ('Hundertschaft' → 'hundred'): ON hundrað, OSx hunderod, MHG hunderit, hundert, NHG hundert, AS hundred 'hundred', NE hundred || Lt šim̃tas, Ltv sim̃ts 'hundred' || pTc *kante > Tc: A kante, B kante id. ¶ Szem. N 69, Bks. 213-6, EI 403-5 (*'deġm ~ *'deġm₁-t- ~ *deġu- 'ten'), ≈ EI 405 (*ġm'tom 'unit, large unit, hundred'), ≈ Erh. SIM 93, ≈ Blz. N I 290-312, P 191-2, M K II 26, F I 359-40, WH I 327-9, Bc. G 332, LP § 8.1, Frn. 91, En. 159, Tp. P A-D 332-4, Hamp AN 916-9, O 84, Fs. 471, Vr. 590, Ho. 347, Ho. S 74, Kb. 1242, Schz. 333, KM 877, Glh. 191-2, Wn. 475-6, Ad. 139, 619 || **HS:** Ch {JS, JI} *✓ ġmn 'hand' > WCh: P' {IL} kəman, ? {MSk.} dəkəŋ, Sir {Sk., IL} ġámí, Kry {Sk.} kám, Jm {Sk.} ġamá 'hand', My {Sk.} kəm 'arm' || ? Hs kámù 'arm length' || ? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ġéñ 'hand' ¶ JI I 86-7 and II 178-9, ChC, ChL || C ≈ *kU?∇n 'five' > SC {E} *koʔan id. > Irq {Wh., E}, Brn/Alg {E} koʔan, Irq {MQM} kōʔán, Kz {E} koʔana id. || EC: [1] Sa {R} kawān ~ kōn, {Bl.} kaûn, Af {PH} konoy (gen. kōna) 'five'; [2] *ken- 'five' > Bs kení, Dsn čèn, Elm kên, Arr {Hw.} čénn, Or {Grg.} šan, Or H {Ow.} šání, Or B {Sr.} šani, Or Wt {Sr.} šeni, Kns ken, Msl xene, Gdl héne, pSam {Hn.} čan > Rn čán, Sml šan, Sml J šaŋ, Bn šâŋ ¶ E SC 245, MQK 61, PH 149, Bl. 110, 147, 190, 296, Ss. PEC 12-3, Hn. S 77, PG 83, Sr. 104, Ow. 90, Hw. A 350, Grg. 368, AD SF 29-30, To. DL 489 || **U:** FU *kāme(ne) 'palm of hand' > F kämmen, Es kämmal, kämmel 'flat of the hand, palm' || Lp: N {Fri.} kiem (gen. kiemman) 'palm of hand', Nt {TI} kġāmā 'Handteller, Hand' || Os V kōmən-käʔar 'hollow of the hand, fist, handful' (kăʔar 'fist, handful') | U *küme(ne) 'ten' > F kymmenen, † kymmen, Es kümme (gen. kümne) id. | Er, Mk кeмeнь kemeń id. || pY {IN} *kumne- 'ten' > OY O {Mat.} кимнeль 'ten', Y K/T {IN} kuneí id. ¶ UEW 137, 679, TI 101, KrT 292, Ang. UJ 72, Krn. JJ 182, 191, 282, Krn. IMJJ 115, Ku. 102, IN 229 || **A:** Tg *xumnu 'back side of the hand, upper side of the foot (metatarsus)' > Ork xūmnū, Lm ūnm̃, Neg onmu id., Orc umnu, WrMc umxun

'metatarsus' ¶ STM II 274 ◇ SC *koʔan and Sa kaʔan, as well as the labialized vw. in C, in Tg *xumnu, and in U *kūmene suggest a tentative N rec. *ḲUʔäm∇(-n∇); the cognates without labialized vw. or its traces (in IE, Ch, part of EC, FU *kāme(ne)) are accounted for by the loss of *-ʔ- and a subsequent crasis (*Uä > front vw.). The final *-n∇ may be identical with the N genitive prtc. *nu (turned to a marker of obl. cases and later generalized in the paradigm of cases).

1068a. *Ḳumʔ∇ '(be) hot, smoulder' > HS: Ch: WCh: Bl kuméni 'hot, hotness' (regular shift: Bl k- < WCh *ḳ-, see Stl. ZCh 53-6) ¶ G. Nachtigal mentions Bdm {Nc.} kómōge ~ kómege 'Hitze' and kómoguá 'very hot', but these words are likely to be loans from Kanuri (Knr {Nc.} kemége 'heat') ¶ ChC, ChL, Lk. B 114 || S *^o✓ḳmhʔ > Ak fOB and MA ḳamû inf. (pf. iḳmi ~ iḳmu, inv. ḳimi ~ ḳumu) vt. 'burn' ¶ CAD XIII 76-8 || ? Eg km hier. *'heap of burning charcoal' ¶ EG V 122 || U: FV *kūma 'hot, glowing' > F kuuma 'hot, burning', Es kuum 'hot; heat', {W} glühend, heiß, Glut', {W} kuuma- 'glühen', Lv {Kt.} kūmi 'glühend heiß' | Er кумуха kumuxa, {W} kumoka 'fever' ¶ UEW 675-6, SSA I 457, W ESS 424, Kt. 171, ERV 313 || D *kum- 'be hot, smoulder' > Tm kumaj 'be hot\sultry', kumpi 'hot ashes', Ml kumuruḳa, kumiruka 'be hot', Kn kome 'begin to burn', Tu gumulu- 'be hot', Tl kumnu 'smouldering ashes', kumulu v. 'smoulder, burn without flame' ¶¶ D #1752 ◇ If Ak belongs here (in spite of the semantic distance), the N rec. is to be *Ḳumʔ∇, otherwise the reconstructions *kuHm∇ ~ *kumH∇ are possible as well ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135-6 [#14] (incl. Ak, Bl, FV, and D).

1069. ₂ *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (or *Ḳ'o'mx∇?) 'eat, swallow' > HS: S ✓ḳmh 'eat' > Ar G ✓qmh (pf. qamiḥa) 'take into the mouth and eat (parched food), drink', {BK} 'manger qc. de sec', Gz ✓ḳmh (pf. 𐤒𐤍𐤕 ḳamḥa) 'eat (grain or other fodder), graze', Amh ḳamə 'swallow without chewing', Har ✓ḳmh (pf. ḳemaḥa) 'take a mouthful'; ⇨ S *ḳam_laḥ- 'cereals, flour' > Hb 𐤒𐤍𐤕 ḳemaḥ, Ug ḳmḥ, JA [Trg.] {Dlm.}, Sr ḳam'ḥ-ā, JA {Js.} ḳim'ḥā, JEA {Sl.} ḳam'ḥ-ā ~ ḳim'ḥā, Ak ḳēmu(m) 'flour', Ar qamḥ- 'wheat, corn', Gz ḳamḥ 'produce, yield, fruit, leguminous plant' ¶ Lb. 2527, L G 471-2, LEDH 125, KB 1035, KBR 1107-8, A #2419, OLS 367-8, BK II 809, Hv. 626, HJ 1013, Dlm. 364, Js. 1384, Sl. 1023 || ? C: EC {Ss.} pcv. *-ḳom/*-ḳm- (> *ḳom-) 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *Ḳem∇ 'bite', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *k^ωem- 'swallow' > OI 'cāmati ~ 'camati '(he)

sips, drinks, eats' | pIrn *čjam- > Av a-šam- 'sip', šāma- 'gulp', KhS tsām- 'sip'; NPrs چم čäm 'food (cibus potusque)', Oss I цымын c3m3n, Oss D cumun 'to sup, to sip' ||| Arm քիմ-ք k^him-k^h 'palate' ||| Gmc: Ic h^uoma [χōma] 'to swallow' (< *h^vāma < NaIE *k^wemō) ¶ WP I 514, P 640-1, EI 175, M KI 382-3, VI. I 589, Horn 99, Ab. I 321-2, Bv. 323, Slr. 343-4 ◇ The exstant ev. does not allow to distinguish between N *h and *χ, but *h seems more probable, because a cluster *mχ usually tends to change into *ηχ (or *nχ) by as., and as long as traces of such as. are not detected, *h is preferable.

1070. *kamč'o 'to bend; bend, corner' > U: FP *k^ra^hñč^v 'a bend, curve' > Er kañžamo 'popliteal space (lozenge-shaped space behind the knee-joint)' | pPrm *kōž (= {Lt.} *kōž) > Z k3ž 'bend of a river', Yz kŵž 'large bend of a river', Vt kōž 'quiet backwater in a bend of a river' ('заводь, омут', {LG} 'bay') ¶ LG 138, U3S 203 || HS: S *^o✓knθ|š|š or *^o✓kmθ|š|š > Ak ✓knš vi. 'bend', ✓kmš v. 'bend, kneel' ¶ Sd. 431-2, 435-6 || K: G k^unč- 'j-n in eine Ecke drängen' ¶ Chx. 643 || IE: NaIE *kant^ho- 'edge, bend' > Gk κανθός 'angle of the eye' ||| Clt: W cant 'rim, tyre', Br kant 'circle', GI *kantos 'iron tyre; rim, edge (Rand, Ecke)' (in glosses and inscriptions: καντεμ, καντενα, καντεν) ⇨ L canthus 'tyre of a wheel; rim, edge' (Quintilianus: from lgs. of Africa or Spain [sc. CltI?]) and VL *kantus > Sp, Port, It canto, Prv can 'edge, rim, corner, side', OFr chant id. (⇨ chantel id.) > Fr chant 'face étroite d'un objet', chanteau 'hunk of bread' ||| SI *k^ut^h 'corner' > ChS k^ut^h k^ut^h, Blg k^ut, SCr k^ut, Slv k^ut, OCz, Cz kou^t, Slk k^ut, HLs/LLs ku^t, P k^ut 'corner', OR KOYT^h ku^t 'corner in a house', Uk, Blr, R Δ ky^t 'corner' ¶ P 326-7, F I 777-8, Kö. #1851, Krüger GS 219, ML #1616, Vn. C 84-5 (shows that OIr cé^tas 'siège' does not belong here [⇨ P a.o.]), Hm. 420, YGM-1 74, GH DAF 99, Dauz. 160, Dtn. 241, Thr. KR 53, ESSJ XII 75-8, Glh. 363, ≈ EI 143 (*kan-t^h)o 'corner, a bending') || A: pJ {S} *k^unt^ua 'angle, corner' > OJ *k^unt^u, J: T k^unt^u, K k^unt^u, Kg k^unt^u ¶ S QJ #856, Mr. 432 ◇ N *m is reconstructed on the ev. of Ak ✓kmš, in the rest of the cognates *m > *n|ñ by as. to the adjacent affricate. The N word-final labialized vw. is suggested by J and by G -u- (regr. as. *kamčU > G k^unč-); the absence of *u or *u^h-glide in IE suggests that the labialized N vw. was *o.

1071. *k^uly^um^vč^v (or *-č-?) '(≈) shin, thigh' > HS: S *k^uly^um^vč^v '(ε) part of leg' > Gz k^uly^um^vč^v ~ k^uly^um^vč^v 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh' (a late

spelling for *k^wayç̣, *k^waç̣(?), Ak kimçu, kinçu, kiççu 'Unterschenkel' (in Gz *k^w > k^w by as. to ç or *ç̣) ¶ L G 458, Sd. 478 || C *k^wanç̣-/*kunç̣- 'buttocks' (≈ {E}: *k^wandl/*kundl) 'buttocks' or 'muscle' > Bj {Rop.} k^wandīç̣ 'buttocks of an ape' ||| SC: Irq {E} kuç̣ama 'buttocks', ?φ Kz {E} kuç̣uko 'muscle, tendon, sinew'; ?? Irq {MQK} kuç̣umō 'hip, broad backside' (× ←d kuç̣ūç̣- v. 'bulge, bent, not straight') ¶ E CR #354, E SC 367 (reconstructs pRt *kuç̣- 'large muscle'), MQK 63, Rop. 208 ||| K *^ok^w∇nç̣∇χ|q- > Mg k^winç̣ix̣e 'thigh, haunch (бедро, ляжка)' ¶ Q 256 ||| A: NaT *Köç̣ük 'buttocks' > OT {Cl} köç̣ük (unvocalized) id., köç̣ükle- v. 'beat on the buttocks', Sg/Shor {Rl.} köç̣ük 'buttocks'; this T cognate is valid unless it goes back to **köt-ç̣ük ←d T *köt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 700) ¶ Cl. 697, Rl. II 1289 ◇ If Irq {E} kuç̣ama is not valid (derived from the v. kuç̣ūç̣-), the N sibilant is *ç̣|ç̣̣.

1072. ₂ *Käm_LU_Jṛ∇ 'shoulder, shoulder-blade' > HS: S: Ak fMB kumār- {Sd.} 'shoulder and upper part of the arm (?)', {CAD} 'e part of the arm' ¶ Sd. 824, CAD XIII 304 || B *-krūm- 'back (dorsum), nape of the neck, neck' (× N *kôri'h'û 'throat, neck?') > Skn {La.} ta-krūm-t (pl. ta-karm-in), Nf {La.} tukrimt 'neck', Shl {La.} akrum, Nf akrūm 'back (dos)', Wrg {Dlh.} akrum (pl. i-krum-ən), takrumt (pl. tikrumin) 'neck, nape of the neck', Mtm ta-krūm-ṭ (pl. ti-karm-īn) 'neck, nape', tikarmin 'back, spine', Mz ačrum 'nape' ('nuque, haut du cou derrière la tête'), Gd {CM} takurumt 'neck' ¶ Ds. 98, Dlh. M 24, La. S 218, Dlh. Ou 153 ||| A: NaT *k'āb're 'shoulder-blade' > Chg kebze [San.] 'shoulder', {PC} id., 'shoulder-blade', Osm {Rh.} کبزه kəbzə, Tk kebze, Ggz kebze, Tkm kebδ, Qzq kebze, Δ {Rl.} köüzö 'shoulder-blade', Az ğābzä 'handle, grip', Qq kebze 'breast', VTt käüsä 'trunk of a tree', Bsh käüδä 'trunk (of body)' ¶ TL 242-3, ADb. SR 141, 188-9, Rl. II 1198, TrR 528, Tkr 386, Rl. II 1218, San. 323, PC 455 ¶¶ ADb. SR 47, 306 equates this T √ with Tg *kende 'shoulder-blade' (which is hardly convincing) and reconstructs A *kem're (for Tg *kende cp. N *ken_L∇_Jc'∇d∇ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint') ◇ ADb. SR 306 (A *kem're ÷ IE *g^werwā / *g^wrīwa 'nape, back, arm', D *kençe 'carry under the arm'; cp. N *gub_L∇_JRE 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' and N *ken_L∇_Jc'∇d∇).

1073. *kam^t∇ 'burn (be on fire)', 'shine' > IE: NaIE *kend- v. 'shine' > OI [Dhat.] candati 'shines, is bright' ||| L candeo / candere / candui 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter', candidus 'shining

white' ||| W can 'white', cannaid 'white, luminous', OBr kann 'shining, white' (in cds.), Br kann 'd'un blanc brillant' ¶ P 526, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Frl. 95 (OBr cant 'frey-haired, shining' [quoted in P] does not exist), ≈ EI 514 (*(s)kand- 'shine, glitter') ||| HS: B *✓kmd̥ vi. 'burn' > Rf, Izn, Shl ✓kmd̥ ¶ Rn. 345 ¶ In B we may see a mte. **k̥mt̥ > **k̥m̥t̥ (> *k̥md̥) ||| D *kan̥r̥- ({{ǵGS}} ≈ *kand̥-) 'be scorched (by sun or fire), fade' > Tm kan̥r̥u 'be scorched\sunburnt, fade', Ml kannuka 'be scorched', Kn kandu 'be scorched by the sun or by fire, be charred', Tu kanduni 'be fade, wither', Tl kandu 'blackness\discoloration caused by scorching', kandu 'be scorched' ¶¶ D 1410 ||| K: G kamkam- v. 'shine, glitter' ¶ Chx. 546-7 ◇ If the K cognate is valid, the N etymon has *k̥-, otherwise it must be denoted as *K̥- (= *k̥|q̥-).

1074. *k̥'an'E' 'young, child' > HS: S *°✓k̥nn > Mh k̥ʒn'nawn (f. k̥ʒn'nʒt) 'child; little, young', Hrs k̥ʒnnōn (f. k̥ʒn'nʒt) 'little, small', 'small' (= 'young, of a child'): ʒp̥ōrbʒh m-hʒs k̥ʒnnōn 'I have known him since he was small', Sq {Jo.} k̥anhoh 'baby animal', Mh, Hrs mʒk̥'nayw, Jb E mʒk̥'ni 'baby, baby boy', Mh mʒk̥'nawt, Hrs m̥k̥ʒnōt, Jb E mʒk̥'nit 'baby girl', Hrs mʒk̥nī 'grandson', mʒk̥nīt 'granddaughter' ¶ Jo. M 232, Jo. H 76 ||| ? Eg XXII k̥ny 'child in its mother's lap (?)' (unless from Eg fMK k̥ny v., n. 'embrace') ¶ EG V 51, Fk. 280 ||| EC: Sml {DSI} q̥ān 'camel-foal, calf', Sml N q̥ān 'camel-foal'; Or k̥ondāla {Hd.} 'young man', {Grg.} 'young soldier; young man of "draft age"' ¶ Abr. S 200, DSI 477, Grg. 327 ||| IE: NaIE *ken- 'young; child, young of an animal' > OI Vd ka'nīna- 'young', OI kan'yā, Av kaine / kainī- 'girl, virgin', YAv gen. sg. kainīn- id., NPrs كنين k̥ānīz 'maiden, girl; female slave, maid-servant', Δ kīna 'daughter', Krd kanī, kēnī 'bride', (pIrn *kan-tī- >) Oss I čʒnʒ, Oss D kinzā 'bride, son's wife' ||| OIr cano, cana 'whelp (of a wolf), puppy', MW ceneu, W cenau (pl. cenawon) id. ||| Sl *čędo 'child' (unless a loan from Gmc, cp. OHG kind id.) > OCS Чѣдо čędo, Blg 'чедo, Cz čado 'child', R, Uk 'чадo id. ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) words for 'begin, new' (OCS za-čęti 'begin', L re-cēns 'new, fresh, recent', Gk καινός, etc.) (see N *K̥an▽ 'begin, originate, be new') ¶ WP I 397-8, P 563-4, ESSJ IV 102-4, SPS II 191, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, VI. II 902-3, Sg. 1057, Horn 194, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, Vn. C 31-2, ESSJ IV 102-4, ≈ EI 213-4 (*ken- 'fresh') ||| ?φ A (+ext.): NaT *k̥'ā:̥n̥ç 'child, young of an animal' > OT k̥ānč id. ({{Cl.}} k̥ānč) id., OT U VIII

kenč uri kenč kızlar 'young boys and young girls', Osm {Bu.} كنج genč, Tk genč, Ggz genč, Az ġänč 'young' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 20-1, TL 657-8, GRM 110, Rs. W 252, Sht. 124, NogR 160, KrkR 313, Bu. II 139, Rl. II 1082 || M (← T?): WrM kenze, HIM хэнэ 'child born of old parents, late-grown crop', Kl {Rm.} kenze 'late-born (child, young of animals)'; M → Chg كنجة kenže {Rl., Rs.} 'youngest daughter', {Cl.} 'a child born to elderly parents', Qzq, Nog, Qq kenže 'the youngest child; last-born young (of domestic animals)', ET känži 'last-born (child), late (crops)', Uz Δ genža ۛ ġänžä, Qmq †, Qrg kenže 'young' ¶ MED 454, KW 226, BN 83-4, ET VGD 20-1 || D *kanr- ({ʁGS} ≈ *kand-) 'child, young of animals' (= {Pf.} *kanr-) (× N *kāñhæ 'give birth') > Tm kanru 'calf, colt, young (of various animals), young tree', Ml kannu (obl. karru) 'young of cattle, young plaintain tree', kannu / (obl. c.) karru- 'calf' (esp. 'buffalo calf'), Td kor 'female buffalo calf below one year', Kn kanda 'young child', karu, kara, karuuu 'calf', kandu 'calf, young plaintain trees, foetus of beasts', Tu karñzi 'calf', Tl kandu 'infant', Gnd kararñzi 'half-grown young pig', Krx xadd 'child, young animal or plant', Mlt qade 'son' ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 || ?σ K: OG qñin-aq-i 'very small', MG, G qñin- 'small, little, tiny, insignificant', G qñin- 'diminish, make smaller' (if the semantic connection is sufficient and unless the G word is an Iranism [from an unspecified source]) ¶ Srj. 100, DCh. 620, Chx. 605 ◇ If the A cognate is valid, the vw. (*ä in T, e in M) is due to vw. harmony: N *a...E > *ä...∇ ◇ This N word may be identical with N *Qan∇ 'begin, originate, be new' (q.v.) ◇ If the K word belongs here, the N rec. must be *qan'E', otherwise it is *Qan'E' with an unspecified *Q- ◇ IS I 335-6 [#211] (*Qan∇ 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D) ||| The same N word underlies diminutive suffixes in A and possibly in IE, K, and U: A: M *-qan/*-ken, originally dim.: WrM keuken 'child, infant' ← WrM keü (> küü) 'son'; if *-qan/*-ken (> WrM -qan/-ken, HIM -хан/-хэн) derives words from adjectives, it denotes a slight degree of the quality and has a hypocoristic connotation: WrM öndörken 'slightly high', hpc. 'high' (≈ Sp 'altito') (← öndör 'high'), saiqan 'nice, good looking, fine' (hpc. of sain 'good'), ulagaqan (hpc. of ulagan 'red'); with stems of numerals it means 'only': gurbaqan 'only three' (← gurban 'three'), Brt -хан/-хон/-хэн, dim. sx.: баабгайхан

'bear-cub' (← баабгай 'bear'), басагахан (hpc. of басаган 'girl, daughter'), галхан (dim. of гал 'fire'), гэрхэн (dim. of гэр 'house'), саһахан 'a snow-flake' (← саһан 'snow') ¶ MED 369, 461, Pp. GPMJ 107, Hmb. 7, GBJ 70 || Tg *-kan/*-ken, dim. sx.: Ewk -kān/-kēn/-kōn (birakān 'small river' [← бира 'river'], ayakān]hpc. of аya 'good'], dagakān 'very near' [← daga 'near']), Neg, Lm, Ul, Nn -kan/-kэн, dim. sx. (e.g. Nn дэрэкэн [dim. of дэрэ 'table'], morikan 'foal' ← морин 'horse', tugзэкэн 'young of a lynx' ← tugзэ 'lynx'), WrMc -kan/-ken (e.g. yargakan 'more or less true' ← yargan 'true', neciken 'almost straight' and dim. of necin 'straight') ¶ Vas. 759, Pt. 23, Z 191, 220-1 || T: OT -aq / -eq / -uq (after vws. and r) -q / -k dim. sx., e.g. OT adyiraq 'young stallion' ← adyir 'stallion', özek 'small valley' ← öz 'valley', qasud 'small piece of bark' ← qa:s 'bark'); (rare) {Cl.} -qiña / -kiñe, dim. sx. ¶ Cl. xi-xii, 47-9, 278, 285, 665-6 || ? IE *-i-k(0)-, *-u-k(0)- dim. (× *-ik0-, sx. of nouns derived from adjectives: Lt jaunìkis 'young lad, bridegroom' ← jaunàs 'young') > Lt rankìkè (dim. of ranka 'hand'), mergìkè 'girl' (← mergà 'maid'), ožiùkas ~ ožùkas (dim. of ožýs 'he-goat'), Pru wosux 'Bock' (an etymological cognate of ožùkas), Lt broliùkas (dim. of brólis 'brother') || OCS градѹць gradьсь (dim. of градъ gradь 'urbs, hortus'), сынѹкъ synькъ, R сын-ок (dim. hypocoristic of сынъ synь, R сын 'son') ||| OI kumara'kaḥ 'little boy' ||| L (dim. - (i)co- + dim. -ulus, -ula): folliculus 'little sack\bag', musculu-s 'little mouse' ||| OI sísu'kaḥ 'Kindchen' (← 'sísu- 'Kind'), OI paśukā 'kleines Tier', Av pasuka- 'Haustier' (← OI pa'su-, Av pasu- 'cattle, animal'), OI aśva'ka-ḥ (dim. of aśva-ḥ 'horse') ||| Gk -ακο-, -ακ-. e.g. βῶμαξ (dim. of βωμός 'altar'), μεῖραξ 'young girl' ||| It is tempting to adduce here Gmc *-ke|in- > OSx skipikin 'small ship', mannekin 'Männchen', early NHG [Luther] Sönichen, Hensichen (hypocoristic from words for 'son', 'Hans'), NHG -chen (dim. and hpc.), but Gmc *-k- for the expected *-h- defies explanation; an alt. et.: the Gmc sx. goes back to the reflex of NaIE *ġena-to-m 'born' (OHG, OSx kind 'child', see N *kǣnhæ 'give birth') ¶ BD II/1: 487-96, Zhr. IN 325 ||| ? K: OG {Fn.} -aḫ- dim., e.g. mçire-aḫ-i 'tiny, small' (← mçire 'small, little'), ḫidoban-aḫ-i 'small box', G -aḫ- dim., e.g. gor-aḫ-i 'small mountain, hill' (← gora 'mountain'), çign-aḫ-i 'note-book' (dim. of

çigni 'book'), -iḳo, hypocoristic sx. (-o from the voc.): iliḳo (hpc. of ilia 'Elias'), tiniḳo (hpc. of the female name ṭina), sulīḳo 'darling' (hpc. of suli 'soul') ¶ Fn. GAS 50, Vogt GLG 227 || U: FL *-kka/*-kkä, dim. sx. > F vasiikka 'calf, fawn' (← vasa 'fawn'), perikka 'whelp, puppy' (← F XIX peri 'dog' {SSA II 335}, cp. Es peri 'dog'), Ing vālakka 'whitish' (from the word for 'white', cf. F valkea 'white'); H *-kko/*-kkö, dim. > F pääkko 'small head' (← pää 'head'), Vo kotikko (dim of koti 'Sack'), čiutikkz (dim of čiuto 'shirt') | Mr: Er суркске surks-ke, Mk суркска surks-¹kä (both: dim. of суркс surks 'ring'), Mk сукска suks-¹kä (dim. of сукс suks 'worm'), Er таташке tataške (dim.\hpc. of татай tataj 'toy'), цёрка čorka 'boy', hpc. 'son' (← цёра 'son, male person') | Prm: Vt пиоке pioke (hpc. of пи pi 'son'), нылок niлок (hpc. of ныл ni 'daughter'), Prmk нянёк ŋaŋok (dim. of нянь ŋaŋ 'bread'), кочок kзчок (dim. of коч kзч 'hare') (× infl. of R dim. sx -ок) || Os: Kr -ka dim. (ewaka, dim.\hpc. of ewe 'daughter, girl'), māñaka (hpc. of māñā 'younger brother'), Ty i¹aki hpc. (addressing a young boy, cp. Os O i¹si 'younger brother'); Vg: Ss tūrka (dim. of tūr 'lake'), māñk^ωa (dim. of māñ 'small') ¶ Laan. OS 209, 222-3, PI 260, 335, ERV 649, 722, TepiL PJ 153, Sauer NBO 153 || The sx. *-ka/ä is found within FL *ülkä 'boy, young man' > F ylkä '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:lg_ä 'son' (see N *gi¹U¹ 'boy, young man') ¶ SK 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. #10, Lgc. #47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24 ◇ The IE, K, U, and T cognates presuppose a reduction N *-k¹∇n- > *-k¹-, which makes these cognates less certain (though this kind of reduction in derivational sxs. is typical of lgs.) ◇ Öhm. 87-9 (FU, IE).

1075. *kañ¹o¹ (or *kañy¹o¹??) 'to tie' > K *kōn- v. 'tie together' > OG kōna 'bundle', MG [SSO] kōn- v. 'tie together (flowers, twigs, etc.)', G kōn- v. 'tie' (še-kōn-va 'to tie together', kōn-a 'bundle, sheaf'), Sv čwēn-/čōn-: UB li-čwēn-i {K²} 'to tie together', Sv {K²} li-čōn-e 'to be wrapped', Sv UB {GP} li-čōn-e 'to tie round, to wrap up', a-čōn-e 'wraps up', ž-an-čōn-e '(he) wrapped up', la-čōne prtc. 'wrapped up' ¶¶ K 114, K² 98, FS E 206, Abul. 201, TK 483 || HS *✓k¹n ~ *✓kn v. 'tie, plait' > B *-yān- ~ *-yūn- 'rope, band' > Ah, Gh a-yān 'corde', Ah ta-yān-t 'rêne', Tmz ta-yūni 'footwear'; *✓w¹y¹n (< *✓w-y¹n) v. 'tie' > Ah, Gh,

BSn, Si əqqən v. 'tie' ('lier'), Gd εqqən, Nf {La.} aqqən, Mz, Kb əqqən, Tmz qqən 'lier, attacher', uqun 'lien, attache' ¶ Fc. 1733-40, Dlh. M 162, La. S 197, MT 192-4, Dl. 667, Lnf. II #1283 || Eg: G քր v. 'weave', MK քր n. 'mat', MKL քրյ.ω 'weavers' ¶ EG V 48, 50, Fk. 279 || S *^okann- > Ak kann- 'fetter, band, rope, belt, wisp of straw to bind a sheaf' (× ←^ϕ ✓knn [inf. kanānu] v. 'twist?') ¶ CAD VIII 142-3, 156-7 || Ch {JS} *✓kn v. 'tie' (?? ~ *✓kn id.), {Stl.} *կՎն- 'tie to (attacher)' > WCh: SBc: Bg {Sh.} kān, Buli {ChL} k+nnu, {Csp.} kinnu, Tala {Csp.} kānu id. || ?? NrBc: Cg {Sk.} կւն- 'tie', unless from pNrBc *✓dkn (> Wrj {Sk.} դիկն- id.) || CCh: Hw kánàŋ, G'nd {ChL} k+nənč i, Gbn {ChL} k+nənč i, Bk {ChL} kènàđá, Tr {Nw.} gəni, Pdl gəna v. 'tie' || Msy {MCh} kərn id. || Lame {ChL} kənwá 'plait (mat\hair)', ZmB {ChC, ChL} kan, ZmD kán v. 'plait (hair)' || Ech: Mkl sbjn. kìní, pf. gìní, ip. kònìyó 'plait (mat\hair)' ¶ JS 269, Stl. IF 104, ChC, ChL, J LM 122, KNC 11 ¶ OS #1546 (*kən- 'plait' in Ch, B, Eg) || IE: NaIE {P} *kenk- v. 'gird, tie\bind around, tie on' > OI Λ 'kañcatē 'binds', OI 'kañcī 'girdle, belt' || Gk κλυκλίδες pl. 'lattice gates' || L cing(ēre) / cinxī / cinctus v. 'gird' → 'surround, encircle' || Lt kinkaũ/-ýti v. 'harness (horses)' ¶ P 565, EI 224 (*kenk- 'gird, wrap around'), M K I 139-40, F I 849, WH I 216-7, Frn. 255 ¶ IE *-k- is an extension (originally a sx.?) || A: M *qaŋqad- > WrM qaŋqad- 'be solidly attached' ¶ MED 929 || ?ϕ Tg *_Lx_uń- 'tie, tie together' > Ewk uńā- v. 'tie\fasten to, bandage', Lm ô:ńz- 'tie to\together', Orc uńā- 'tie together', Orc uńā, ? Ud unžu 'bundle', WrMc ureri 'cord, bowstring' ¶ STM II 277 ◇ If the rec. *k_an_ly_o' is right, the N cluster *-n_ly- can explain both the Tg cns. *-ń- and the long vw. in K (compensatory lengthening *-[∇]n_ly- > K *-[∇]:n-). The quality of K *ō and Tg *u may be due to regr. as. (*-a_nl_yo > K *-ōn[∇], Tg *-uń-).

1076. *K_an[∇] 'to sing, to sound' > IE: NaIE *kan- id. > L cano / canēre 'sing', Um kanetu 'canito', ař-kani 'accinium, priests' chant' || Gk ἦϊ-καυός 'cock' ('morning-singer'), aor. κανάξαι 'poured with a gurgling sound', καναχή 'sharp sound', esp. 'ring, clang (of metal)' || OIr can- v. 'sing', Brtt {RE} *kanīmi 'sing' > OW cana, MW, W canu, Crm cane, MBr canaff, Br kanañ 'to sing', Br kan 'singing (chant)' || Gt, AS hana, ON hani, OSx, OHG hano, NHG Hahn 'cock'; ← Gt Cr ano, AS henn, NE hen, OHG henna, hanīn, NHG Henne 'hen', with ablaut OSx hōn, OHG huon, NHG Huhn 'hen' ¶ But Tc A

kaṃ (gen. kaṃis), B kene 'melody, tune' do not belong here (because IE *a does not yield pTc {Ad.} *e [> Tc A a, Tc B e], but goes back to NaIE *ǵʰwónos 'sound', as suggested in Wn. 186, Ad. 193, and Ad. H 27) ¶ P 525-6, EI 519, Dv. #368, FI 776, WH I 154-5, Bc. G 329-30, Fs. 243-4, Vr. 208, Kb. 431, 456, Schz. 164, OsS 370, 432, Ho. 149, 155, Vn. C 30-1, RE 128, Ern. 94, Hm. 418 || HS: S: [1] SS *°✓kny ~ *✓knw 'raise a sound of music, sing' > Gz ✓kny L (pf. k̄ānaya) 'raise a sound of music', Tgy ✓kny (pf. k̄anəyə), Tgr pf. k̄ana 'sing'; ↳ Sa k̄ana 'song'; [2] CS *✓kyn 'sing' > BHb הַנְּיָן k̄ī'nā 'funeral song, dirge', Sr كِنْيَان k̄ī'n-t-ā 'song, chant; Hymnus, Klage lied', Md k̄irta 'song', Ar {Dz.} (ʔa)qyana v. 'sing', قَائِنَةٌ qayn-at- {Hv.} 'songstress', {Bl.} 'esclave chanteuse', {BK} 'fille esclave qui connaît le chant et la musique' (× ← qiyān 'slave') ¶ KB 1025-6, KBR 1097, BK II 848, Bl. 676, Hv. 638, L G 437, Br. 664, LH 253 || A: ?φ Tg *ken|ne- 'sing, produce a sound' > Orc k̄n̄xi 'voice (of a person capable to sing)', Ewk k̄ēnā- v. 'praise, thank', Sln x̄ēnī- v. 'praise', Neg k̄ēn̄z- id., 'be proud of', Ud k̄ēni- v. 'scold', Ork k̄ēn̄z- v. 'boast' ¶ STM I 449 || D *kaṃ- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'sound' > Tm kaṃay v. 'sound (as a drum), bellow, neigh', Ml kanekka v. 'sound, low (as oxen)', Kt kaṃv- '(cow\buffalo) bellows for calf', Td kenf- (p. kent-) v. 'roar' (of wild animals, children), Kn kene v. 'neigh', Kdg kene '(act of) bellowing', Kui kanaṛi 'sound, noise' ¶¶ D #1409 ◇ The Tg cognate is qu. because of its *k- (for the expected *ǵ-) and its palatal *-ń-.

1077. *Kaṃ 'begin, originate, be new' > IE: NaIE *ken- ~ *°kan- 'begin, originate, be born, be recent\young' > Gk κατὸς 'new' || L recens / re-cent-is 'new, fresh, young, recent' || OIr cínid 'il sort de, descend de, est mis au monde', cenél 'race, peuple, espèce, genre', ciniud, OW cenetl 'gens, genus, natio', W cenedl 'nation, race', Crn kinethel 'generatio'; Gl Cintus, Cintugnātus ('Primigenitus'), OIr cētne, cēt- 'first', W cyn(t) 'erst, vor, eher' || ?σ Gmc: Brgn HENDINOS 'king' || Sl 1s prs. *čьn-q / inf. *čę-ti 'begin' > OCz 1s čnu / 2s čneš / inf. čietī; usually used with pxs.: *na-čьn-q / *na-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> OCS НАУЬНѢ na-čьn-q / НАУАТН na-čę-ti, Blg на'чена, SCr načēti, Slv načétī, OCz načietī, OP, P Δ nacząc, R нач'ну / нач'ать id.), *po-čьn-q / *po-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> SCr počnēm / počēti, Cz počnu / počítī, P nacząc), *za-čьn-q /

*za-čę-ti v. 'begin, conceive (of a woman)' (> OCS **ЗАЧАТИ** za-čę-ti, R за'чатъ id., P **zacząć** 'to begin'); SI *konъ 'start, beginning' (> 'end'; the semantic change is understandable in the light of SCr **od kona do kona** 'from the beginning to the end') > OCS **kon-** in **ИСКОНИ** is-kon-i 'ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, from the beginning (of times)', R **искони** 'from time immemorial', SCr **kon** '↑', OR **конъ конъ** 'end', Cz **kon** (in **do kona** 'up to the end', **dokonati** 'end one's life'); ⇨ SI *kon-ъсь 'end' (> OCS **коньць** konъсь, Blg, R ко'нец, Uk кінець, SCr **kōnac**, Slv **kónec**, Cz **konec**, Slk, P **koniec**) ¶ P 563-4, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, FI 754, WH II 423-4, Vn. C 64, 103, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, ESSJ IV 109, X 195-6, XI 5-6, and XXI 226-7, Vs. II 140, 307, 310, III 51, Ma. CS 217, Brü. 423-4, Glh. 490-1, StSS 234, 265, 289-90, 357, ≈ EI 213-4 (*ken- 'fresh'; no distinction between reflexes of N ***Ḳan**▽ 'begin, be new' and N ***'ḳ'an'E'** 'young, child') || HS: S ***✓ḳny**|w > BHb **✓ḳny**|w v. 'create, acquire, buy', Ph, Pun, SmA **✓ḳny**|w 'create', Ug **✓ḳny** 'create, acquire', Amr {G} **✓ḳny**, Ar **✓ḳny** ~ **✓ḳnw** G id., IA **✓ḳny**|w 'acquire, buy', JA {Js.} **✓ḳny** ~ **✓ḳnw** 'acquire, obtain', JEA {Sl.} **✓ḳny** 'acquire possession', Gz **✓ḳny** 'acquire', Ak OB **✓ḳny** (p. **iḳnī**) 'keep for oneself', Ak NA **✓ḳnw** (p. **iḳnū**) 'acquire' ¶ KB 1038-9, KBR 1111-2, A #2426, OLS 369-70, Js. 1391, Sl. 1027-8, BK II 825-7, Hv. 631, Tal 785, G A 29, Sd. 898, Fr. III 508-9 || B ***ḳn**'r' > ETwl, Ty **ḳnu** 'être commencé, être créé', Ah **ḳnu** (pf. -**ḳni** ~ -**ḳna**) id., 'avoir son origine' ¶ Fc. 1739, GhA 69 || EC: Dsn {To.} **kâna** 'new' ¶ To. DL 509 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} **kōnū** / **kōnū** 'generate, give birth', {Lm.} **kōn-** 'gebären', {C} **ḳōn-** v. 'generate (generare)', {Wdk.} **kōntō** / **kōntō**, {Lm.} **kōn-t-**, {C} **ḳōn-t-** 'be born' ¶ C SE III 82, Wdk. BY 129, Lm. Y 353-4 || WCh: NrBc {Sk.} ***ḳzn-** ~ ***ḳan-** 'buy' > {Sk.}: Wrj, Mbr, My **ḳzn-**, P' **kʷan-**, Jmb **gzn-**, Kry **kzn-**, Cg **ḳan** ~ **ḳān** id. ¶ Sk. NB 14, Tk. NB 182 (NB ***ḳʷan-** > ***ḳan-** ~ ***ḳzn-**) || D: ***kaḳ-** 'bear, bring forth', ***kaḳr-** 'child, young of animals' (× N ***kānhæ** 'give birth', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D #1411, Pf. 90 ◇ If the K word belong here, the N rec. must be ***ḳan**▽, otherwise it is ***Ḳan**▽ with an unspecified ***Ḳ-** ◇ This N word may be identical with N ***'ḳ'an'E'** 'young, child' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 335-6 [#211] (***Ḳan**△ 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D).

1078. *ḲEḿ|ḡ'û' 'empty' > IE: NaIE ***ḱen**_l(e)w₁- 'empty' > Arm **uḫū** **sin** (gen. **uḫinj** snouy) 'empty, vain' || Gk Hm **κενεῖς** / **ός**, Gk Cp **κενεύς** / **ός**, Gk I **κενός** (< ***κεν** / **ός**), Gk A **κενός** 'empty' ¶ WP I 390, P 564, Bc.

#13.22, Bois. 434, F I 189, Slr. 441, EI 179 (? *k̄e'no-s) || **HS**: C: Ag: Xm {R} gin- 'be empty, without (sth. expected)' ('leer, bar, ohne sein'), gi'nā 'emptiness' ¶ R Ch II 47 || ?σ,φ S: Gz kantū (accus. kantō) 'nothingness, empty thing, emptiness', in cs. 'vain, empty' ¶ LG 288 || **A**: M *kōŋdey 'hollow, empty' > MM [IM] kōŋdey 'hollow', WrM kōndei ~ kōndüi, HIM хөндий, WrO kōndöi, Kl көндө көндä 'hollow, empty' ¶ pM *-dei (> WrM -de i) is a sx. of nominal derivation ¶ Pp. MA 440, MED 487, Krg. 734, KRS 316 || Tg: [1] *x'entü- 'empty' > Orc kəntu, kəntuku, Lm зəтəкəз, зəтəрəн, Neg зəтəкəн 'empty', зəтəс- vt. 'empty', Ewk зəтəкəн 'not full' (a vessel), зəтəс- vt. 'diminish the amount (of liquid in a vessel)' | [2] NrTg *keŋk- > Ewk kəŋkutək 'emptiness', Lm kōŋkī- vt. 'empty' ¶ Tg *k- (for the expected *x-) in *keŋk- may be due to as. (*k̄...k > *k...k) ¶ STM I 450 and II 458 ¶¶ DQA #765 (A *k̄eŋi 'hollow, empty'; incl. M, Tg *keŋk-) ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [#226] (*k̄eñu = *k̄eñu; IE *÷ U *keñ and A *k'äñü 'light, levis').

1078a. *k̄'o'ñ 'back, rear' > **HS**: S *k̄inn- (~ *o'kayn-?) > Ak fOB/OA k̄innatu 'anus, buttocks; rear', Tgr k̄an 'lower\back part; vulva', Ar qayn-at- 'derrière, le bas du dos' (← d. with the dim. infix -ay-?) ¶ CAD XIII 254-6, LH 252, BK II 848 || EC: Or {Grg.} k̄inñi 'spine (esp. at the waist line)', {Brl.} k̄inti 'lombi, natiche' ¶ Grg. 322, Brl. 341 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} k̄əñək, Mnt k̄əñ 'back (dos)' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} k̄ūnya, Dgh {Frk., ChL} k̄w'indà, {IL} k̄w'indò, Gv {IL} k̄w'indà, {ChL} k̄w'indà, Nkc {ChL} k̄w'indà 'neck' ¶ But hardly here Hs k̄āñiyā because of the vw. ā in the first syll. and its meaning (not 'anus', as in Blz. LNA, but 'perineum, female pudenda, anus', where 'anus' is hardly the primary meaning) ¶ JI II 6, ChC, ChL, RpB 55, Ba. 552 || **U**: FU *k̄oñ (+ oblique case endings) 'rücklings, auf den Rücken' > Er кунст kunst 'backward, upon\on the back' (прамс кунст 'to fall backwards', аштемс кунст 'to lie on one's back'), Mk Δ {Ahl.} kunč 'rücklings' || ObU {ϑHI.} *k̄ñ(č)w ({Ht.} *k̄ñ(č)w) 'auf den Rücken' > pVg *k̄ānəw id. > Vg: T kanāw, IK χonī, MK/UK konī, P kōnəw, NV/SV kōni, LL kōnā, UL χōni, Ss. χōni; pOs *k̄ōñčəw id. > Os: V/Vy k̄ōñčəw, Ty k̄ōñw+, Y konw+, K χōñčā, Nz/Kz χōñšā, O χōnsa ¶ UEW 179, ERV 315, Ht. #288 ¶ Os *ñ may be postalveolar due to as. (*Nč > *ñč) and therefore provides no ev. for a pFU *ñ || **A** {SDM} *ku|oñt'w 'rump, anus' > T *k̄'oj 'buttocks, rump, thick part of the thigh' > OT [MKs.] qoŋ ät 'muscle' (ät 'meat, flesh'), Qrg T, ET qoŋ 'buttocks, posteriors', Qq, Qrg qoŋ 'meat of the thick part

of the thigh', Qzq qoŋ id., 'rump', Tv qoŋ æt̃ 'meat without bones; carcass (of an animal), туша' (æt̃ 'meat'); T б → WrM {Rm. ← ?} qoŋ, Klm {Rm.} χoŋ 'Steiß, das dicke Fleisch am Rückenende' ¶ Cl. 632, MKD 142, ET Q 58-9, RI. II 899, KW 185 || M *qoŋd∇- ({DQA} *qondu-) ≈ 'rump, hind part' (× possible infl. of N *ken₁∇₁c̣∇d∇ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint'??) > Klm {Rm.} χondasŋ 'die Stelle unten zwischen den Schenkeln' ({Rm.}: ÷ ĩ WrM qondasun б → WrMc {Rm.} χonsun [= WrMc {Ha.} χonsun 'Hämorrhoidengeschwür'?]); WrM qondulai, HIM хондлой {MED} 'rump, hip', {Kow.} 'cuisse, partie supérieure d'une cuisse', Klm {Rm.} χondalā 'das dicke Fleisch, Steiß, Schenkel', Brt хондолой 'buttocks, posteriors (of humans), rump (of an animal)', Ord χondolī 'croupe', χondolč'oq 'croupe, partie du dos située sous la région lombaire', Klm {Rm.} χoŋgā ~ χoŋgā 'der Steiß (der Kinder)' (in the lge. of children) (÷ ĩ WrM {Rm.} qoŋgai); Klm {KRS} хондсх χондъсхъ 'rump, hind part (of an animal)', {Rm.} χondasχā 'Schenkelfleisch, Steiß, Sitz; Schenkel'; M *qoŋziya-sun 'crotch, anus' > MM [S] {H} qoŋziyasun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM qoŋzusu {MED} 'the junction of the two thighs, crotch', {Kow.} 'соединение обѣихъ лядвій, задница', 'l'extrémité des organes excrétoires, l'organ de l'excrétion', Brt {Chr.} хонзооһо(һ) 'anus' ¶ Kow. 869, 874, MED 962, 963, H 66, Ms. O 352, KRS 596, KW 185, Chr. 583-4, Ha. 595 || Tg *kuŋdu > Ewk kunŋukī ≍ kundukī ≍ kuŋnukī 'rump (of an animal); sacrum' || pKo *kuŋtuŋ- 'croup. buttocks' > MKo kuntuŋ'i, NKo kuŋduŋi ¶ S QK #760, Nam 91, MCL 222 || D *kuŋ(ɬ)- 'buttocks, posteriors, rump' > Tm kuŋɬi 'buttocks, rump', Ml kuŋɬi 'posteriors, anus', Kn kuŋɬe id., 'buttocks', Tl kuɬɬe, Gdb kund 'anus', Ku kūna 'buttock' ¶ D #1693A ◇ CCh, M, Tg, Ko, and D suggest a N phrase *K'o'ñ∇₁K|Q∇₁T∇; the meaning of the element *₁K|Q∇₁T∇ is unknown; the Ch data suggest that it is identical with *K'Aʔ'û'd∇ (or *K'ûɬ∇) 'neck, (?) nap, shoulder'; it may be also connected with N *K'ot∇ 'tip, end'. FU, T, and M point to a pN *o of the first syll., while *u in Tg and D, although within the framework of reg. phonetic correspondences (see above Introduction, _ 2.4), still needs explaining ◇ The HS-U-D equation was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #6g); ≈ Blz. LNA #34.

1078b. *K'uñ∇ 'belly, chest' > HS: NrOm: Sz {Fl.} ka'ni 'belly'; ??σ Wl kanca, Dwr {Bk.} канца 'stomach', Gf {Fl.} қанца, Dc қанце 'belly', and Gm {Hw.} қанцэ 'belly, abdomen' (unless from NrOm *ganC- > Oyda

ganĉe, Zl {C}, Hrr {CR} ganĉi 'stomaco', Shk {AY} g+nŝa, Na {AY} g+nŝu, Mj {AY} ganzu 'belly') ¶ Blz. OLBP #13, Fl. OWL s.v. 'belly', Hw. EG s.v. 'abdomen' and 'belly' || Ch: WCh: Hs k̄undū 'gizzard of chicken or ostrich', tā yi k̄undū 'she is pregnant', Jmb {Sk.} kʰan 'heart, liver', Ngz {Sch.} k̄unú 'stomach (Magen)', Bd {IL} kunu 'belly' ||| ECh: Tmk {Cp.} gèḡón 'ventre' ¶ Abr. H 554, Ba. 641, Sch. ND 98, JI II 20-1, ChC, ChL, Cp. 61 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP #13 || ?σ Eg fMK k̄ny 'Umarmung, Schoß' > DEg k̄n 'sein', Cpt KOYN- kun- 'sein, giron, parties sexuelles', Eg fMK k̄ny v. 'embrace' ¶ EG V 50-1, Er. 538, Vc. 82, Crn. 59 ||| U: FU *kuṇa 'belly' > Z k+nzm, Prmk k+nzm, Yz k^h^am 'belly' ||| Os: V kōñ, D/O χōñ id. | OHg XIV iunhum, yonhan- 'heart, liver', Hg Δ yoh ɖ yuh ɖ ēh ɖ īh 'das Innere, Bauch, Magen' ¶ UEW 208, LG 152, Lt. KY 132, Trj. VD 152 ||| D [1] *kuṇt̄- (ǵGS) *g-) 'chest, heart, internal organ' > Tm kuṇt̄i 'heart, kidney', Ml kuṇt̄i-kkāyi 'cashew fruit with the nut' (analogy of kidneys), Kn guṇḍige 'heart', Tu guṇḍigæ id., 'breast', guṇḍe 'courage', Tl guṇḍe 'chest, heart', Nkr gundur-kāya 'kidney', Gnd B gundur-kāyā id., Gnd Δ gunde 'chest', gunde kaya 'heart', Knd guṇḍa 'chest', Mlt konḍa 'heart' ||| [2] ?φ *kump̄ > Kdg kumme, Gnd kummi 'stomach', Kui kūmba 'lower part of the abdomen' ¶¶ Valid if *-p̄ is a sx. (ext.); otherwise related to A {DQA} *k'ēm̄ 'entrails, liver' (> M *kim, Tg *xemu-gde, pJ *k̄im̄) ¶¶ D ##1693,1757, DQA #1002 ◇ Suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. LB #10a); Blz. LNA #33 (Eg, Om, WCh, U, D *kuṇt̄-).

1079. *kuṇ̄(ṝ) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat, or sim.)' > K (GZ?) *k̄wenr- 'marten' > OG k̄uerna-, G k̄verna-, Mg k̄vinor-i, Lz k̄venur-i id.; Sv: UB/Ch/Ln k̄wen, Lx k̄en, L k̄wen ~ r̄k̄wen id. ({K²}: Sv ⇐ G Lc *r̄k̄ven-?) ¶¶ K 110, K² 92, FS K 180-1, FS E 19, TK 353 ||| IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *okeṇ-/ *kouṇ- 'marten' > Lt kiáunē, kiaunē, Ltv caūna, -e, Pru caune id. | SI *kuna 'marten' > ChS {Mikl.} KOYNA kuna 'ἄλιουρος, felis', Blg 'куна, McdS кyна, SCr, Slv kúna, Cz, Slk, HLs, LLs, P kuna, OR KOYNA kuna, R Δ 'куна ~ ку'на, Uk ку'на 'marten'; SI d. *kunica id. > ChS {Mikl.} KOYHИЦA kunica 'ἄλιουρος, felis', Blg Δ 'куница 'Mustela foina', SCr kùnica, Slv kúnica, P kunica, OR KYNИЦA kunica, R ку'ница, Uk ку'ница 'marten' ¶ Frn. 249, En. 191, Tr. P I-K 279-83, ESSJ XIII 102-6, Glh. 358-9, Tr. 122 ||| HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} qaínâ?i/a, {MQK, E} qayna?i

'civet cat'; ?? SC \rightarrow Mb *kendá* 'zorilla' ¶ Wh. SI, MQK 86, E SC 252 #24 (SC $\kappa_{\text{L}}\omega_{\text{J}}\acute{\alpha}y\grave{\iota}n\grave{\alpha} \rightarrow * \kappa_{\text{L}}\omega_{\text{J}}\grave{\alpha}n\acute{\alpha}$) || ? Ch: WCh: Hs $k^{\text{h}}\hat{a}n\grave{w}\grave{\alpha}$, Pr {Frz.} *kāndà* 'cat', Bl {Kr.} *šžnwa* 'wild cat' || ECh: Smr {Nacht.} *kójna* 'cat' ¶ Abr. H 601, Ba. 702 ($k^{\text{h}}\hat{a}n\grave{w}\grave{\alpha}$), Frz. P 34, ChC, Lk. ZSS 79, \approx Sk. HCD 163-4 || ? S $*\text{o}\kappa_{\text{L}}\nabla n d \nabla r$ - (< $**\kappa_{\text{L}}\nabla n r$ -?) > Ar *قندر* *qndr* (with unknown vowels) 'beaver' ({Fr.} 'animal ad ripam magnorum fluviorum vivens. Exstruit sibi domum duabus portis praeditam. Piscibus alitur') ¶ Fr. III 503 || A $*\text{K}\ddot{u}r\grave{a}n\grave{\alpha}$ (= $*k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}r\grave{a}n\grave{\alpha}$?) (mt. from $**\text{K}\ddot{u}n\grave{a}r\grave{\alpha}$) 'marten, polecat' > T $*\text{r}^{\text{h}}$ $\ddot{u}r\grave{a}n$ > OT {Cl.} *küzän* 'polecat', XwT, MQp *küzen*, [CC] *qara küzen* id., *küzen* 'Mustela', Tkm {Shch.} *göðen* ({Shch.} *гөзән*), Uz *сассиқ кўзан* *sassiq kwzan*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Alt, Xk *küzen*, ET *küzän*, VTt *көзән* *közän*, Bsh *köðän* 'polecat', Qmq *gözen*, Qrg *küzön* 'marten', Tf *küzen* 'Siberian weasel', Tv *küzen* id., 'marten' | Blgh \rightarrow Hg *görény* 'polecat' ¶ Cl. 761, Shch. Zh 146, TL 163, RUzS 537, TvR 269, Gomb. BTL 72-3 || M $*\text{k}\ddot{u}r\grave{e}n\grave{\epsilon}$ > WrM *kürene*, HIM *хүрнэ* 'skunk, polecat, weasel', Kl *күрнэ* *kürnə*, *kürnə* 'polecat', {Rm.} *kürnə* 'iltis', Ord {Ms.} $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}r\grave{e}n\grave{\epsilon} \sim k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}r\grave{i}n\grave{\epsilon}$ 'espèce de putois' ({Pot.} 'Mustela putorius', sc. 'fitchew') ¶ MED 504, Kow. 2636, KRS 328, KW 248, Ms. O 439 || ?σ Tg $*\text{r}^{\text{h}}\text{urike}$ > Ewk *urikə* 'marmot, souslik (Citellus)', ? Orc ($\mu\phi$?) *urikə* \sim *urkə* 'black seal (*непна*) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ If the Tg cognate is valid, the initial pA cns. must have been $*k^{\text{h}}$ - (the reg. reflex of N $*\text{K}_{\text{L}}$ -) ¶¶ TL 162-3 (T, M, Tg) ◇ The word may have denoted some small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat; they are found in different parts of Eurasia, including Southwestern Asia; in modern Israel the marten is well known as *נִמְיָא* *nemi'ya*) ◇ IS MS 346 (K, IE, A), Blz. C ($\div\div$ SC, WCh, and Somray); AD NM #91; S CNM 3 ($\div\div$ NrCs, Yn), Vv. AEN 10 (the supposed mt. in A makes the comparison less reliable).

1080. $*\text{K}\ddot{u}n\grave{\nabla} \rightarrow * \text{K}\ddot{u}n\grave{\text{E}}$ 'sun, day' > A: T $*k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}n$ ({Md.} $*k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}n$) 'sun, day' > OT *kün*, Tk *gün*, Az *күн* *gün*, MQp, OOsm, Chg, Tkm, Ggz, ET, Ln, Qmq *gün*, XT *gīn* ḡ *gi'n*, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Yk *kün*, VTt, Bsh *көн* *kön*, Tv *xün*, Tf *hün*, Uz *kun*, Xlj *kīn* ḡ *kün* 'sun, day', Kr *kün* ḡ *kuñ*, SY *kun*, OBlgh {Erd.} *küen* ({RTF, Erd.} *küwen*), Chv L *kun* 'day' ¶ Cl. 725, ET VGD 100-2, TL 64-5, DT 152, Ra. 679, Tkr 221-2, Md. 59, 171, Jeg. 117, Fed. I 306-7, Erd. 153-4 | T $*k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}n\text{t}\ddot{u}r$ ({Md.} $*k^{\text{h}}\ddot{u}n\text{d}\ddot{u}r$) 'daytime, midday' > OT *küntüz* id., Chg *kündüz* 'day', XwT *kündüz* 'by day', Tk *gündüz*, Az *gündüz*, Tkm *gündüz*, Yk *künüs* 'daytime, by day', Qmq, Qrg, ET *kündüz* id., 'midday', Xk *kündüs* 'midday', *kündes* 'by day', VTt *köndüz*, Bsh *köndüz*, Nog *kündiz*, Qzq *kündiz*, Tv *хүндүс*, Tf

hündüs 'by day', Qrg, ET kündüz, Uz kunduz 'day, daytime', Yk күнүс 'day, by day', Chv кӑнтӑр кӑндӑр, Δ кӑндӑр 'midday, south' ¶ Acc. to Gab. and Md. (TL 78), T *k'üntür goes back to an adverb with a loc. sx. *-túr/*-tūr ÷ M loc. *-dur; cp. T *bal-tur ~ *bil-tur 'last year' (Cl. 729), but in the light of broader comparative ev. the element *-túr/*-tūr may go back to N ≈ *t'U'ri 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 729, DTS 328, ET VGD 102-3, TL 78, Ra. 192, Md. 59, 171, ≈ Jeg. 99, Fed. I 255 ¶ d.: OT күнтүн ~ күнтін 'southern' ¶ DTS 327-8 ¶ HS: WCh *k^ω∇n∇ 'day' > Hs k^ωáná 'a day (period of 24 hours)', Gw k^ωana 'day' ¶ Krkr {ChL} ?žη k^ωùní 'today' ¶ Ba. 677, Mts. G 71, ChL, ≠ Stl. ZCh 213 [#630], 220 [#701], ≠ Sk. HCD 160 ◇ Cp. N *K'u'nyahíE ~ *K'u'yñahíE ~ *K'u'ñahíE 'sunshine, daybreak' (which may be a U-A d. of the N etymon in question).

1081. ?φ ≈ *Ḳa'g'Eñā 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > HS: C (≈ *✓kḥn): EC: Af {PH} i-kḥin-e v. 'like, love, be pleased with', kaḥánu n. 'love', Sa {R} ✓kḥn 'love, wish' (p. 'akhene ~ 'ikhene, inv. ek'hēn), ka'han ~ ke'han n. 'love', Sa I {CR} -kahan/-kehin- 'love, wish', ?φ Arr kaḥím 'lover' m., kaḥim-té 'lover' f. ¶ Bj {R} ✓kḥn 'love' (1s: p. 'akhan, pqp. 'íkhan, prs. akan'hīn; prtc. ke'hana), Bj A {AD} -khan id., khanu n. 'love' ¶ Xm {R} eḳan 'love, wish, desire' (inv. e'ḳan, pfc. eḳa'n-un), Aw {Hz.} žnkan v. 'love, like' ¶ AD SF 63, R WBd 138, R S II 210-1, R Ch II 336, PH 134-5, 142, Hw. A 171 ¶ The pC vl. Ir. *ḥ may go back to *y due to ass. devoicing ¶ B *✓gn 'wish, desire' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} a-gna (pl. agnatḅn) 'goût, désir, prédilection', Ty {Fc.} ā-gna 'souhait' ¶ GhA 55, Fc. 459 ¶ B *-g∇n- < *-gṽ∇n- < (as.) *-ḳṽ∇n- < N *Ḳa'g'Eñā. Af ḥ- is probably from **-y- (assimilative devoicing in the cluster -kḥ- < **-kṽ-) ¶ A: NaT *KIn- v. 'desire, long for' > OT {Cl.} qIn- 'long for, covet', Sg/Shor {Rl.} qIn- 'wish', Kü {Rl.} qIn- 'fall in love', Xk xын- χIn- v. 'wish, want, love', Yk kIn- v. 'mate'; caus. v. *k₁'In-tur- > OT/Osm {Cl.} qIntur- 'arouse desires (in so.)'; d.: *KInik- > Tk Δ qIniq- 'be zealous' ḍ qInik- 'do one's best to succeed', Qlt/Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} qIniq- id., 'be excited', VTt Δ qḅnḅq-, Chv χḅnḅχ- 'get accustomed', Qrg qIniq- id., 'begin to enjoy', Qq quniq- 'begin to enjoy' ¶ Cl. 632, 636, Rs. W 264, ET Q 216-7, Rl. II 725, BIG 299, Pek. 1395 ¶ ?? pJ *kžnž-m- v. 'like, wish' > OJ kònòm-, J: T konóm-, K kónóm-, Kg kònòm- id. ¶ S AJ 272 [#210], S QJ #210, Mr. 712 ¶ U: FU (att. in Ugr) *okEnt∇ 'desire' > OHg keđv 'benevolence, wish,

enjoying, temper', Hg $k\epsilon d v$ 'mood, temper; liking, pleasure' | the ObU cognate is likely to have coalesced with the reflex of N $*k\epsilon n t \nabla$ 'be angry, be in despair' (q.v.), whence pObU {JHl.} $*k\epsilon n t$ 'anger' ¶ UEW 861-2, MF 344, EWU 718-9, Ht. #290, BV 33-4 || IE: NaIE $*kenk-$ 'be hungry, long for' > OI $k\bar{a}n\acute{k}\varsigma a t i$ 'wishes, desires, longs for', 'kakatē 'is thirsty' || (* $k\eta k r u-$ >) > Gmc {Fs.} $*xun\eta r u-$ > Gt $h\bar{u}hrus$, ON $hungr$, OSx, OHG $hungar$, NHG $Hunger$, AS $hun\zeta or$ 'hunger', NE $hunger$; Gt $huggrjan$ 'be hungry, suffer hunger', AS $hun\zeta r(i)an$, OSx $gihungrian$ id., OHG $hungar\bar{o}n$, $hungaren$ {Kb.} 'be hungry for' || Gk [Hs.] {EI} $k\acute{\epsilon}v\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 'is hungry' ¶ M KI 134, 194, P 565 (*÷ Gk, ON, and Lt words for 'burn', 'pain', etc.), Fs. 272-3, Kb. 488, Schz. 171, KM 321, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Vr. 267, ≈ EI 284 ($*kenk-$ 'hunger' [\leftarrow 'burn, hurt']) ¶ *÷ (\Leftrightarrow EI) Lt $kank\grave{a}$ 'Qual, Pein, Marter' (\leftarrow $ke\tilde{n}kti$ 'to harm', see Frn. 240) ¶¶ A possible prehistory of IE $*kenk-$: N ? ϕ ≈ $*k\grave{a}g'E\bar{n}a$ 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > (progressive as.) $*k\grave{a}g\nabla n\nabla$ > (mt.) $*k\grave{a}n\downarrow\nabla\downarrow g\nabla$ > IE $*kenk-$ || E: El $g|kari$ v. 'love, want' ¶ HK 431 || Gil: Gil A $-a\acute{\eta}n-$ 'want' ¶ ST RN 448 ◇ FU $*E$ is likely to have contracted from N $*-a\acute{\eta}n-$, while the pT back vw. $*I$ may go back to a front vw. with the infl. of the heritage of the N word-final $*-a$ (vw. harmony).

1082. $*k\grave{u}y\bar{n}\nabla$ 'bucket, basket' > U: FP $*k\grave{u}y\bar{n}\bar{n}\grave{a}$ 'wooden vessel, trough' > Es $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ 'trough', F $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ id., 'drinking trough; gutter-like brewing-vessel' (× F $k\grave{u}n\grave{a}$ 'feather' → 'quill' → 'gutter') | Z $k\grave{z}y\bar{n}\bar{s}$ 'kneading trough; wooden vessel for milk', Prmk $k\grave{z}\acute{n}\bar{s}$ 'tub, vat', Yz $k\acute{o}\acute{n}is$ 'id.; to my mind, Z $-y\bar{n}-$ reflects the original cluster, while Prmk/Yz $*-\acute{\eta}-$ goes back to $*-y\bar{n}-$ (a typologically frequent change) ¶ UEW 664-5 (reconstructs FU $*ki\acute{n}\grave{a}$ → $*k\grave{u}\acute{n}\grave{a}$ and tries to explain Z $*-y\bar{n}-$ by a "sporadic change" $*-\acute{\eta}-$ > $-y\bar{n}-$), LG 139 || A: M $*quniya$ > WrM $quniya(n)$, HIM $xynia$ 'pot-shaped basket of birch bark' ¶ MED 986 || NaT $*k'\bar{o}nek$ (\leftarrow $**k'\bar{o}y\bar{n}ek$) ({DQA} pT $*k'\bar{o}y\bar{n}ek$) 'leathern vessel\bucket\pail' > OT $k\bar{o}nek$ id., Tkm $k\bar{o}nek$, Qzq $k\bar{o}nek$, Qrg $k\bar{o}n\bar{o}k$ 'leathern milking-pail', Uz $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}k$ 'large skin for fermented mare's milk', Nog $k\bar{o}nek$ 'leathern pail', Brb $k\bar{o}n\bar{a}k$ 'bucket, pail', Δ $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}k$ 'birch-bark bucket', Bsh $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}k$ 'wooden tub (кадка), bucket', h\bar{e}t $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}g\bar{e}$ h\bar{e}t $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}g\bar{b}$ 'milking-pail' (h\bar{e}t 'milk'), StAlt $k\bar{o}n\bar{o}k$, Xk $k\bar{o}nek$ 'bucket (of wood or metal)', Qmn $k\bar{o}n\bar{o}k$ 'bucket', Tv $x\bar{o}nek$ $x\bar{o}nek$ 'tea-pot'; T \rightarrow M: WrM {MED} $k\bar{o}r\bar{u}g$ 'bucket, pail', {Kow.}

'bucket, wooden vessel', HIM xƏHƏΓ {MED} 'bucket, pail', {Luv.} 'wooden bucket', Kl KƏHΓ kōnōg 'vessel for milk products and araq (alcoholic drink)' ¶ Cl. 73, ET KQ 104-5, TL 52, TvR 490, MM 224, BR 294, NogR 179, Dm. JBT 161, Jud. 422, B DK 226, TkR 413, BIG 90, UzR 230, MED 490, KRS 316, Luv. 553, Kow. 2565 || pKo {S} *kùńí 'manger, trough' > MKo kùńí, kùńyú, NKo kuyu ¶ S QK #1005, Nam 60, MLC 206 ¶¶ DQA #1159 (A *k'ũńe 'ladle') || HS: CS *k̄an̄kan̄n̄- 'ε vessel' > JA {Js., Lv., Dlm.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄kan̄'n-ā 'vessel, jug (Krug)', JEA {Sl.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄k̄ə'nā, MHb {Js.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄'kan̄ 'wine-oil-vessel; cylindrical vessel let into the ground of the cellar', {Lv.} קַנְקַנְנָן k̄an̄'k̄ān̄ 'jug, long-necked vessel', ? Ug kkrnt̄ {A} 'jugs', {OLS} 'vessel, jug' ¶ Js. 1394-5, Lv. IV 342-3, Dlm. 367, Sl. 1030, A #1307, OLS 212 ◇ The Tv word points to a N emphatic *K̄-, while the HS words allow the rec. of both N *k- and *K̄- (taking into account frequent de-emphatization of N *K̄- in HS). We reconstruct N *-yn̄n̄- rather than *-ń- (suggested by the FU rec. of *k|üńä, as proposed in FUV) on the ev. of T *-n- (because N *-ń- would have remained in pT as *-ń-) and the preceding pT (> Tkm) long vw. *ō (< **öy < N *uy [regr. as.]); regr. as. *-uyñä > pre-T **-öynE.

1083. *K̄üya, ñ̄ ▽ 'wolf, dog' > IE nom. *k̄w̄on- / *k̄w̄ōn, obl. *k̄un- 'dog' (in nom. the L-grade of apophony) > OI śvan- / nom. sg. śvā / gen. śun-as, Vd śuvan- / śuvā / śun-aḥ, Av spā / gen. pl. sñnam, Med [Hdt.] σπάκα, Phl sak, NPrs سگ sāg 'dog' || Arm շուն šun / gen. շան šan id. (š- is not clear) || Gk κύων / gen. κυν-ός id. || OL canēs, L canis id.; the unexpected form of the word (vw. a, etc.) has no generally accepted explanation; its hypothetical origin is traced in Leum. 124, EM 92, and other papers [listed in WH I 153]: gen. *k̄w̄anes (< *k̄w̄o'nes, F Hirt IGV 86) changed into L gen. canis (c- for *ca-) on the analogy of the nom. *kō (< *k̄w̄ō) and the accus. *konem (< *k̄w̄onm̄), subsequently the stem of canis spread over the entire paradigm, whence the nom. canis and the accus. canem || Gl kuno-, OIr cú (gen. con), Brtt {RE} *kūn (gen. *kunos) 'dog' > MW ki, W ci (gen. con, pl. cŵn), OCrn [ŷ] Kl, Crn kŷ, pl. kuen, MBr {Vn.} con ({SB} quy, pl. quon), Br ki / pl. koun || Gt hunds (< *k̄w̄n̄-'to-), ON hundr, AS, OSx hund, OHG hunt, NHG Hund 'dog', NE hound || Lt šuõ (gen. šuñs), Ltv suns (gen. † suns, [in Modern Ltv] suna), Pru sunis 'dog' || Tc A/B ku (accus.: A kum̄, B kwem̄) id. || AnIE: Ht {Pv.} kuwan- 'dog, hound', HrLw śuwanas (gen.?), śuwanai

(accus. pl.) 'dog(s)', {Pv.} zuwan- 'dog'; HrLw ś- < IE *k̂ before HrLw -u-, like in śurnā 'horn' ¶ P 632-3, EI (*k̂(u)'wōn / gen. *k̂u'n-os), M K III 402-3, VI. II 305-6, Horn 164, F II 58-8, WH I 152-3, Fs. 276-7, Schz. 172, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Kb. 488, KM 320-1, SB 92, Vn. C 257, RE 89, Dtn. 249, Billy 60, Frn. 1033-5, En. 259, Sl. 56-7, Wn. 238-9, Ad. 179, Ad. H 19, Mer. HHG 112, ABIV III 250-1 (on HrLw ś- < IE *k̂-), Pv. IV 305 || **HS**: S: Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} qānib- 'lupus latrans', {BK} 'loup qui hurle' (in all probability, from N *k̂üyaṅ + N marker of animal names *bA; in Ar the word was transferred into a 1a:2i3-pattern due to its reinterpretation as an act. prtc. (of a non-existing verb) ¶ Fr. III 502, BK II 818 || B: Gnc GC {Wlf., AiM} CUNA†'dog', Gnc T {AiM} CANCHA ~ CUNCHA 'dog, puppy' ¶ Wlf. 483-4, AiM 256 || Om {Blz.} *k̂jan- ~ *k̂yan 'dog': NrOm > Mj {C} k̂yano, Na {Fl.} k̂iano, Bnc {Wdk.} k̂yan, Shk {Fl.} keanu, Ym {Wdk.} k̂anà, Bdt/Bsk/Male/Oyda/Drz/BMa {Fl.}, Kcm/Dc/Gm/Dwr {Lm.}, BMa/GaMa {Bnd.} kana, Zs/Cha/Wl {C} kanā, Wl {Nnd.} k̂naṅAnf {MYTY, Gt.} kano, {MYTY} kenon, Kf {C} kunāno, Mch {L} k̂na·no, Shn {Lm.} kaná id. || SOm: Dm {Si.} k̂ene, Ari G {Fl.} kani id. ¶ Blz. OL #123, Blz. rLmS 148, 153, C SE III 78, 115, 170, 204, IV 462, C SO 31, 44, L M 37, Fl. OWL, Wdk. BY 106, 127, 150, Bnd. AL 148, Lm. Sh 227, ≈ HL 120, MYTY 117, 121, Gt. 354 || EC: Ya kohen 'dog', pl. kwehman ¶ Hn. Y II 123 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} k̂wēṅ 'dog' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} k̂anà, Jg {J} kañ, Brg {J} k̂ayāṅ, Mgm {JA} k̂āññà id. || ? CCh: Gmrg {Gr. < ?} kenī, {Bnt.} k̂ēnee 'dog' ¶ J R 87, J J 59-60, JI II 106-7, JA 97, Gr. N 371 ¶¶ Blz. rLmS 153 || **U**: FP *k̂üyaṅhā ({IS} *k̂üynā) 'wolf' > Prm {IS} *k̂ōyin ({LG} *k̂ōin) ~ *k̂ion) 'wolf' > Z k̂zin, Yz k̂ōin, Vt G k̂ṅyon, in other Vt dialects wih as. *t̂y > i(y): Vt Δ k̂iyon, StVt k̂ion || Lp N XVIII {Leem} gaidne 'wolf' (Wc.: "veraltet"), Lp N {Fri.} gāidne 'devil (diabolus, fanden)' (interpreted by LG 139 and IS I 361 as gāid'ne) ¶ LG 139, Lt. J 129, Wc. EPS-1912 131, U SC 93 || ?φ A *k̂'ṅṅ > pKo {S} *k̂āṅ- 'dog' > MKo k̂ahí ({S}: < *k̂āṅ-h- < *kaṅṅ-k-) 'dog', NKO k̂ā, Ko ds.: Ph/PhN/SI/NW k̂ā, Chs k̂ā, Ks k̂ē:, Hm k̂ā id.; MKo k̂āṅ'ācī > NKO k̂āṅāžī 'puppy' ¶ S QK #18, Rm. SKE 84-5, Nam 8, 28, MLC 61, 65 || NaT *k̂'ṅṅIK ({DQA} *k̂'ṅṅ-ṅIK) 'bitch' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg, Qmq, QbT, Brb, Qrg qančiq, VTt Δ qanč̣̣̣q, SbTt qanč̣̣̣q, MQp XIII qanč̣̣̣q, Tk kancik, Az ганчыг qanžiq, Tkm qanžiq, Ggz kanžik, Uz, ET qanžiq, Nog qanžiq, Qzq, Qq qanšiq, TbTt/Qmn {Rl.} qanciq, Bsh qansay ¶ Cl. 634-5, ET KQ 255-6, TL 190 ¶¶ The A √ belongs here only if the pN etymon was *k̂üyaṅ with loss of N *-üy- in the prehistory of A ¶¶ S

AJ 296, ≈ DQA # 723 (A *kán̄▽ 'dog'; incl. Ko, T) ◇ IS I 361-2 [#238] (IE, Om, U + unc.: S *ka_la_lb- 'dog', Sa kare, Ch *✓kr and *✓kl 'dog', Tg *(η)inda- 'dog') ◇ Gr. II #105 (*kan ~ *kun 'dog') (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA + qu. Ko).

1084. *Kaṇṇi 'to hasten, to endeavour' > IE: NaIE *ken- v. 'hasten to do (sth.), strive with zeal' > Gk [Hs.] κονεῖν · ἐπειγασθαι, ἐνεργεῖν 'to hasten to do\act', inv. κόνει · σπεῦδε, τρέχε 'hasten, run!', Gk ἄ-κονῖτί 'without effort', ἔγ-κονέω 'I am quick and active' ||| L cōnor / cōnārī 'exert oneself (eine körperliche Anstrengung machen), endeavour, attempt' ||| pClt *kān- ≈ accomplish' > MW dī-goni 'makes, does', MW dīchawn, digawn, W dīchon 'can', dīgoni v. 'labour, be able' ||| ?? SI *kon-ati 'do, achieve' (× *konati 'complete, carry to an end' ← *konb 'end') > Cz konati 'do, achieve', Slk konat' 'fulfill', Slv konáti 'accomplish', OP konać 'act', P do-konać 'fulfill', R Δ κονατb 'do, perform', OCS ukonb 'execution, deed' ¶ P 562, WH I 262, ≈ LS 977 (unc.: κονέω 'hasten' ← 'raise dust'), ≈ Ch. 562 (unc.: ἄ-κονῖτί 'without struggle' ← ? *'without dust' ← κόνις 'dust'), YGM-1 173, 181, ESSJ X 181-2, EI 362 (*kon- 'do, make') || **HS:** WS *✓kṇṇi 'be zealous, eager', 'be jealous, envious' > JA {Js.} ✓kṇṇy D 'be zealous for, be jealous', Gz ✓kṇṇi 'be envious \ jealous \ zealous \ eager', BHb ✓kṇṇi D (pf. **𐤀𐤍𐤍** kīn'nē, ip. 3s **𐤀𐤍𐤍** yā-ḳan'nē) (+ -𐤁 la- + noun) 'be envious\jealous of, fight for, become excited about\against', ChrPA ✓kṇṇi D 'sich bemühen um, nacheifern', Mh/Sq {Jo.} ✓kṇṇi 'be jealous' ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-11, Js. 1390-1, L G 433, Jo. M 232 ¶ In the S ✓ the meaning 'be jealous, envy' is due to the contamination with the reflex of N *Kīnṇu 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' (q.v.) || **D** *kaṇṇ- (?) 'hasten, be quick' > Tm kaṇṇa 'speedily, quickly', ? Tl kranna, krannana 'quickly, rapidly, soon, at once' (the cns. r is puzzling; n for the expected ṇ may be due to as. caused by a n-sx.) ¶¶ D #1181 ◇ D *-ṇ- < palatalized *-n- (both N *-ṇ- and positionally palatalized N *-n- or *ṇ-). Since pN *-ṇ- is ruled out by the IE reflex (because *-ṇ- would have yielded IE *y), the N word must have had a nasal *-ṇ- with a following palatalizing factor (*-i?).

1085. *Kīnṇu (> as. *Kūnṇu^r) 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be jealous, envy') > IE: NaIE *k̄wen- 'exercise magic' (→ 'participate in magic ceremonies, sacrifice') > Av cmpr. span-yah 'more sacred, sanctior', sprl. spaništā- 'most sacred, sanctissimus', (with an *-es-sx. of abstract nouns) spanah-

'sanctity' || Ltv *svinēt* (prs. *svinu*) 'celebrate' || NaIE pp. **k̄wen-*to- 'magic' (→ 'holy') > Av *spānta-* 'holy' || Gt *huns1* 'sacrifice', AS *hūs(e)1* id., 'Eucharist', ON *hūs1* ~ *huns1* 'Eucharist' || Lt *šveñtas*, Pru *swent-* (in place names) 'holy' || Sl **svĕtъ*, **svĕtъ-jь* id. > OCS **СВАТЬ** *svĕtъ*, Blg *свет*, SCr *svĕt*, Slv *svĕt*, Cz *svatý*, Slk *svätý*, P *święty*, R *святой*, Uk *святой* id. ¶ P 630-1, Brtl. 1612, 1618-23, Vr. 268, Frn. 1041-2, Kar. II 339, En. 260, Glh. 597-8, Vs. III 585, EI 493 (**k̄wen(to)-* 'holy') || **А:** M **kinu-* > WrM *kinu*, HIM *хяна-х* 'have a secret grudge; desire the death of a person', MM [MA] *kinetü ere* 'rancorous man' (*ere* 'man'), ?φ Mnr H {SM} *ć'inž'i* 'anger (colère)', *ć'inž'ila-*, {T} *č'inč'ila-* 'be angry' ¶ Pp. MA 219, MED 470, SM 451-2, T 380 || NaT **k'üni* 'jealousy, jealous; envy' > OT {Cl.} *künī*, Chg *küne* 'jealousy, jealous', ET *künä* 'envy', Tk *gürü*, Tlt {Rl.} *künü*, Yk *künü* 'envy, jealousy', VTt *кьнь*, StAlt *күнү* *künü* 'jealousy', VTt Δ *кьнѣ-кѣ* 'jealous', Bsh *көнлә-көнлә-*, Xk *күнне-* *künne-*, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} *künnä-*, Tv *xünnä-* 'be jealous', Qq, Nog *künle-*, VTt *көнлә-көнлә-*, Brb/Kr {Rl.} *künülä-* 'be jealous/jealous', Alt {Rl.} *künürköt-* 'make so. jealous', Kr {Rl.} *künüwč'i* 'jealous', Uz *kunč'i* id., 'jealous'; Tv. 8- points to pT **k'-* (⇔ DQA); (× N **koñi* 'woman, wife'): T **k'üni* 'co-wife' > Tkm *güni* id., Az *күнү* *günü* 'new co-wife', etc. (F s.v. N **koñi* (↑)) ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 104-6, Rl. II 1441-2, BN 90, BT 100, BIG 96, Pek. 1303, TvR 498 || Tg **xüni-* > Ewk *uni-* 'envy, get one's feelings hurt, be unsatisfied (with one's share)', Lm *óń-* 'get one's feelings hurt', Ul, Nn Nh *xüni-*, Nn KU *uñi-* 'get ill (because so. ate in the presence of so. else and did not invite him to share his food)', Neg *uñi-* id., 'suffer (emotionally)', *uñi-ktɜ* 'hurt feelings', Ud *uñi-* 'get ill' ¶ STM II 273-4 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #923 (A **kuni|e* 'envy, respect': T, M) and ≈ DQA #786 (A **kēñu* 'distress, envy'; incl. M **kinu-*) || **Д** **kiñ-* ({ǰGS} **k-*) > Tm *cinä* 'be enraged, be very angry', Ml *cinam* 'wrath', Td *sinm* 'anger', Kn *kinisu* 'be(come) angry', *kinisu n.* 'anger, wrath', Tl *kinijü* 'be angry \ displeased \ irritated' ¶¶ D #1600, Km. 330 (pSD **kin-*) || **HS:** WS **✓kñ?* 'be jealous, envious' (× N **Ḳañ?* 'to hasten, to endeavour') > JA *✓kñy D* 'be jealous', JEA {Sl.} *✓kñy D* 'warn one's wife for unfaithfulness', Gz *✓kñ?* 'be jealous, envious', BHb *✓kñ? D* (pf. *ḲḲḲ Ḳin'nē*, ip. 3s *ḲḲḲḲ Ḳan'nē*) (+ *-Ḳlə-* + noun) {KBR} 'be envious of, rebel against', {trad.} 'be jealous of'), Mh/Sq {Jo.} *✓kñ?* 'be jealous'; the meaning 'be zealous, eager' of this S verb (BHb/JA/ChrPA/Gz *✓kñ?* id.) is due to the merger

with N ***Kān̄ʔi** '↑' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-10, GB 716, Js. 1390-1, Sl. 1028, LG 433, LESAC 47, Jo. M 232 ◇ The IE, T, and Tg cognates point to post-N ***Kūnʔ'ū'**, which is probably a secondary variant resulting from assimilation ***i...u > *ū...'ū'** ◇ IS I 352-3 [#229] (***K̄i n̄'ū'** 'be angry, jealous'; S, T, M, D + ***÷** Eg **ḵnd** 'be angry' [belongs to N ***K̄Ent̄∇** 'be angry']).

1086. *K̄on'h'∇ 'yellow' (or 'ε a yellow substance'?) > **HS**: Eg **fNK ḵny.t** 'ε a yellow mineral used as dye-stuff' ¶ EG V 52 || C: SC {E} ***k̄án-** 'yellow, tan, gray': Irq **qān** {MQK} 'white, red, and black dotted colour of cow (with white stripes)', Asa {E} **ḵānet** 'gray clay', ?? SC **ḵ** → Mb **makéña** 'new grass', **-keña** 'young' ¶ E SC 251, MQK 84-5 || S ***o✓ḵnʔ** > Ar **✓qnʔ** 'be red', **ḵaqnaʔ-** 'red' ¶ BK II 818 || IE ***k̄w̄nh-** / ***k̄w̄nh̄-** > **NaIE** (+ ext.) {P} ***k̄onə'ko-** (for ***k̄w̄onə'ko-**) (< IE ***k̄w̄nh̄(o)ko-** ~ ***k̄w̄nh̄ko-**) 'yellow (as honey or gold)' > **OI** **'kanaka-** (< ***konh̄ko-**) 'gold', **kāncana-** 'golden', **kāncanānam** 'gold' || Gk **κνῆκος**, Gk Mc **kanako** 'saffron' (**→** Gk **κνηκός**, Gk D **κνᾶκός** 'pale yellow, tawny, saffron-coloured') || Pru **cucan** (mishearing or miswriting for ***kunkan**?) 'brown' || the Gmc word for 'honey' (× IE ***k̄nh̄onk-s** {AD} 'honey; honey-coloured' < N ***K̄'U' ḵ_LH_J∇** 'bee'): ON **hunang**, OSw **hunagh**, OSx **huneg**, **honeg**, OHG **honag**, NHG **Honig**, AS **hunez** 'honey', NE **honey** || AnIE **→** Gk Hm **κύανος** 'cyan, a dark-blue substance (used to adorn works in metal)'; ?? Ht **ku(wa)nnan** 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N ***kiw_L∇_Jh̄'ē'** 'stone') ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ WP, P, EI) L **canicae** 'bran' (adduction that leads to an unj. rec. of IE ***k-**) ¶¶ WP I 400, P 564-5, ≈ EI 271 (***k̄nh̄onk-s** / gen. ***k̄nh̄on̄k-os** 'honey-coloured, golden'), M K I 195, F I 882-3 and II 37, Ch. 547, Vr. 266, Kb. 478, Schz. 169, Ho. 178, Ho. S 38, En. 198, Tp. P K-L 349-51, Frd. HW 118, 122, Ts. W 43, Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 || **A**: M: Wrm **qongur**, HIM **xonrop** 'fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut' (of a horse) ¶ MED 962 || **?** **D** (in TmM) ***k̄an̄n-** 'copper' > Tm **kan** 'copper work, copper', **kan̄nān** 'brazier', MI **kan̄nān** id. (unless a WW, cp. Ht) ¶ D #1402 ◇ Both the typology of colour-names and the ev. of Eg, Gk, and SD suggest that the N word in question was not a pure colour-name but rather a name of some yellow substance ◇ The N lr. that turned to **ʔ** in Ar, but survived in IE, may have been only ***h**. This lr. has left traces in M and D (N ***-n̄'h'** - > M ***-n̄g-**, D ***n̄n-**), but lost in Eg. IE and M point to a pN ***o**, therefore the D cognate is dubious because of its unexpected vw. ***-a-**.

1086a. (₂?) * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{U}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{H}_2\text{V}$ or * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{U}^{\text{r}}\text{n}^{\text{r}}\text{H}_1\text{V}$ 'bee' > **HS:** EC {Ss.} *kinn- ~ *kann- 'bee' > Or kann-i-sa, Or B kinn-i-sa, Kns xan-ta, Gdl han-t(a), pSam {Hn.} *činn-i > Sml šinn-i, Rn činn-i ¶ Ss. PEC 6, 24, Hn. S 77 || ? B: [1] * $\text{v}^{\text{r}}\text{kndw}$ > ETwl/Ty {PGG} kəndəwi 'miel végétal, jus d'anzan mûr (fruit de l'arbre tādant)' || [2] ≈ * $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{nzw}$ > Tmz {MT} ti-yinžggwa 'guêpes (vivant dans les trous)', Zn {Loub.} a $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{(n)}\text{žuggwa}$ 'guêpe' ¶ PGG 158, Loub. 532, MT 496 || **D:** SD *ku|on^r'n^ri 'bee' > Irl, PaK kunni, Kt kuñy id., Tu koñi, koñđi 'a sting' ¶ D #1867 || ? **IE** * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-}/\text{*k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{k-}$ ({EI} * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-s}$ [gen. * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{k-os}$]) {AD} 'honey, honey-coloured' (× N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{on}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{V}$ 'yellow', q.v. ffd.) > Gmc *hunanga- 'honey' > ON hunang, Sw honung, Dn honning, OHG hona(n)g ~ honig, NHG Honig, OSx huneg, honeg, hanig, Du honi(n)g, AS hunez id., NE honey || ?? *AdS* of Tc B {Ad.} kro(n)kše 'bee' (< N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ERH}_2\text{V}\text{z}^{\text{r}}\text{V}$ 'hornet, wasp') ¶ EI 271, KM 315-6, Ad. 217 ◇ If IE * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{onk-}$ and B ≈ * $\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{nzw}$ belong here (which is not obvious), the initial N cns. is * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{-}$, otherwise it may be * $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{-}$. N ***H** is to be reconstructed only if the IE cognate is valid and has inherited the lr. from the N etymon in question rather than from N * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{on}^{\text{r}}\text{h}^{\text{r}}\text{V}$ 'yellow' ◇ Blz. DA 159 [#69] (EC, D, Gmc).

1087. * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{anyV}$ 'skin, film, bark' > **HS:** EC: Brj 'kana, 'kanō {Ss.} 'bark of tree', {Hd.} 'piece of bark'; HEC d. v. *kan-s- (with the causative sx. *-s-) > Brj kān-s-, Ged kōn-š-, Kmb kan-š- v. 'peel (e.g. sugar cane)', whence Brj {Hd.} kansa 'strip of bark' and Kmb kanšanata 'strip of bark of sugar cane' ¶ Hd. 111, 203, 207, Ss. B 114 || **K** * $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{an-}$ 'skin, bark' > G $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{an-i}$ {Chx.} 'skin, hide', {DCh.} 'fine skin, skin of fruit, film, fine leather, bark', Sv: {Ni.} $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$ 'bark', UB {GP} $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$ 'skin of plants', UB/Ln {TK} $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{ān}$, L {TK} $\text{K}^{\text{r}}\text{an}$ 'skin' ¶¶ Chx. 547, DCh. 592, GP 128, Ni. s.v. 'kopa', TK 344 || **IE:** NaIE *(s)k r^{r} ken-(d-) 'skin': [1] *k r^{r} ken-(d-) OIr ceinn 'coquille, écaille', W {Vn., YGM} cen, {P} cenn (< *kend-n-) 'film, scales', OCrn cenn-en 'film, skin', OBr {Flr.} cenn-enn 'membrana (pellicule, enveloppe)', MBr quenn 'skin', Br kenn 'scurf' ('crasse de la tête, pellicules; scories'), -ken 'skin' in cds.: bu-ger 'skin of cattle', etc. || ON hinna 'thin skin, peritoneum' (< *kend-n-), Sw hinna, Dn hinde, NNr hinne 'film', AS hionne 'meninx' ('Hirnhaut') || [2] *sk r^{r} ken- 'skin' > Br skant 'scales' (< *sk $\text{r}^{\text{r}}\text{to-}$) || ON skinn '(stripped off) skin, hide' (→ AS scinn 'Pelz' > NE skin), Sw, NNr skinn, Dn skind 'skin, hide, fur', MHG schint 'skin of fruit', Dt Δ schinde 'skin, hide, bark'; d.: OHG scinten d scinden, MHG, MLG schinden 'to

skin, to mistreat' ¶ WP II 563-4, P 929-30, Vn. C 55, Flr. 102, YGM-1 82, Hm. 446, 725, Vr. 228, 493, Ho. 160, 279, Kb. 884, OsS 796-7, Lx. 184, KM 650 || A: T *Kańak (~ *Kańmak > *Kaymak) 'skin of milk' > [1] OT qayaq ~ qanaq id., Xk χayaχ, Sg/Qb/Qc/Bltr {Rl.}, Shor qayaq 'butter', SY qayaq, Xlj qānaq 'cream', Yk χayaχ ~ χaŷaχ 'butter mixed with water and milk, white Yakut butter', [2] Chg, MQp qaymaq 'skin of milk, cream on the top of the milk', Tkm qaymaq, Qmq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Brb, Bsh, ET, Alt qaymaq, Ggz kaymak, Chv χьума 'cream, sour cream', Tk kaymak, CrTt, Qzq, Qrg qaymaq, Uz qaymaq 'cream', Blq qaymaq, Qzl χaymaχ 'sour cream' ¶ Cl. 636, Rs. W 231, ET KQ 200-1, TL 454, DTz. WCh 173, Md. 31, 166, BIG 266, 282, Rl. II 90, Tn. SJJ 199, Fed. II 319-20 ¶ The variant *Kaymak may be interpreted as *Kańmak with *-mak due to some lexical/morphological attraction (possibly of *Kasmaq 'skin of milk' [> VTt qasmaq, Chv χisma, etc.] or other words with the nominal sx. *-mak, which is used to build abstract nouns [→ nomina collectiva], / Rs. MTS 134-5, Jeg. 315, Fed II 383-4, Md. 103, 166) || ? pKo {S} *kʰánʰam 'cloth, material' > MKo kʰánʰam id., NKo kām 'stuff, material' ¶ S QK #967, Nam 13, MLC 49 ¶¶ DQA #2743 (A *kʰóni|e 'cloth' > pKo *kʰánʰam, T *kʰōn 'raw hide for tanning, leather', M *kōn-ǰil, i.e. *kōnǰile(n) 'blanket, bedcover, quilt') ◇ Acc. to IS's theory, the *s mobile in IE is connected with the presence of a palatal element (here *y) within the original √.

1088. *Kǎh̄ly,û 'light (levis), thin' > U: FU (in Ugr only) *küh̄ly,ü (~ *kiwʰñʷ?) > ObU *küh̄əy-/ *küh̄əy- ~ *kiyʰñʷ- 'light (levis)' > Vg: T küh̄ke-ś, LK/MK kəɣnə, UK kīɣnə, P/NV/LL kinna; pOs *küh̄əy ({Hl.} *kǎh̄əy) 'light, easy' > Os: MY kǎh̄əɣ, Y kǎh̄əɣ, D/K/Kr/Nz/Sh kenə, Kz keñ, Sn keñ, O qon || Hg kōrnyǔ 'light, easy' ¶ UEW 862, Stn. D 648, PD 693 ¶¶ In Ugr one may see assimilative labialization of the first vw. in *küh̄ly,ü and a mt. of the labial element in *kiwʰñʷ || A: M *kōngēn 'light (levis)' > MM [MA, IsV] kōngēn, [IM, HI] kōngen 'light, cheap', WrM kōngen, HIM xəh̄gəh̄ id., Brt χūngen 'easy', WrO kōngen, Kl {Rm.} kūngŋ ~ gūngŋ, Ord k'ōngen, Mnr H {T} kōngen, {SM} k'ūngŋuan, Dx kōngen, Mgl {Rm.} kūngōn 'light' (of weight); M *kōnge- 'be(come) light' > MM [S] d. kōngelegü- 'erleichtern', WrM kōnge- 'become easy', WrO kōngü- 'be easy, light' ¶ pM *-gēn (> WrM -ger) is a sx. of nominal derivation (/ Pp. GWM 45, Pp. GPMJ 95) ¶ Pp. MA 223, 440, Lg. VMI 51, Ms. H 72, MED 488-9, KW 246, Rm. M 31, T 340, T DnJ 123, SM 214, Krg. 735, KRS 316, H 104 || Tg *xeñu ({Bz. *xāniü-), *xeñ'u' mkun 'light

(levis)' > Nn Nh/B хз́ну, Ork хз́numi, хзnumi, хзnuли, Ewk ә́nimkūn, Sln зниккӯ:, Lm зyim, зyumkun 'light', Orc хә́nimi, Ul хз́ну, хә́numu 'light, (?) easy', Ud {Krm.}: B знимзсз?, Sm знимуса? 'easy' ¶ STM II 455-6, Krm. 314, Bz. 38 [§ 51b], Pt. 151, Shn. 33, Sun. UJ 255, CiR RES 246 || T *k_l'jä- 'easy' > OT [MhK] кеҗес 'easy' (e.g., of a task), 'shallow (water)', XwT XIV кеҗес ~ кеҗез 'easy, convenient', OQp XIII кеҗез 'easy', Yk kähän 'simple-hearted, naive', Chv kanas 'idleness, rest' ('безделье, покой, отдых') ¶ The unexpected *-η- may be due to the infl. of T *кеҗü- 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 734, Pek. 1029, Ash. VI 53 || pKo {S} *k'ánár- 'thin, fine' > MKo k'ánár-, NKo kanI- ¶ S QK #446, Nam 9, MLC 5 || pJ {S} *k'zámá- 'small (мелкий, menu), thin' > OJ k_lu_lómáka-, J: T komaká-i, K kómákà-, Kg komaká-, Sh guma-, Y gumá- ¶ S QJ #127, Mr. 455, Kenk. 1037 ¶¶ DQA #1004 (A *k'èñó 'light (levis), thin': M, Tg, Ko, J, T) || HS: Ch *✓k(y)n 'small' > WCh: Hs қàнқàнè 'small, little', Mbr {Sk.} k'iyìn 'small' || CCh: Mln {ChL} k'ýèη, Bdm {Lk.} gèrã, Lame {ChL} k'wán+yǎǎ id. || Ech: Kwn {J} končé, Jg {J} kóyán, Kjr kañi id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Ba. 554, Blz. EChWL #76 || ? S rdp. *✓kñkñ > Ar qunquf- 'small, short' ¶ BK II 825 ◇ The labialized vowels of the first syll. in pU (*ü) and pM (*ö) are due to regr. as. ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [#226] (*k'eñu = *k'eñu; U, A + unc. IE *kēn- 'empty'). IS supposed that Tg *-ñ- is a reg. reflex of N *-ñ-, which is not confirmed by other examples, but is theoretically possible. I prefer a tentative rec. of *y following the nasal *ñ. FU *ü and M *ö of the first syll. are labialized as a result of regr. as. (*-ä...û > FU *-ü...ü... and M *ö...).

1089. *k_luñy ▽ 'ashes, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)ken_lH₁- id. (< ***(s)keuñ-?) > L cinis (gen. ciner-is) 'ashes' ({WH}: < **kenis) || Gk κόνης (gen. κόνητος ~ κόνητος) 'dust, ashes' || Tc B eñcuwañe kentse 'rust' (lit. 'iron ash\dust') || pAl {O} skina > Al hi ~ hî 'ashes' ¶ WH I 217-8, F II 911-2, Ad. 193-4, O 147, EI (? *kenHi-s 'ashes'), P 559-60 || U: FU *ko|un|ñ ▽ > FP *ko|un ▽ 'ashes, lye' > pLp {Lr.} *kunз 'ashes' > Lp: S guvne, L kutna, N gudnâ, Kld kunn id. | Chr: L/H/B kon 'lye' | Prm: Z Lu/I kun 'lye', Z кунва kun-va 'lye (alkaline solution)' (va 'water') || ? Yk K {Krm.} kun-te-m 'he soiled (загрязнил)' (acc. to Krm., ← kud-u-l 'dirt') ¶¶ UEW 672, Lr #406, Lgc. #2796-7, MRS 216, Ep. 46, LG 146, Krm. IMJJ 24 || A: pKo *k'ínír- 'ashes' > MKo k'ínírím, NKo kirim ¶ S QK #659, Nam 69, MLC 240 || D *kuñta, {GS} guñda 'dust, powder' > Tl guñda, Mnd guñda 'powder', Prj guñdam id., guñda 'dust', Knd guñda

'powder, dust', Png *gunḍa*, Ku *gunḍa* 𐄂 *gūndū* 'flour', Krx *gunḍā* id., 'powder', Mlt *gunḍi* 'dust'; D 𐄂→ OI *gunḍaka-* 'dust, powder' ¶ D #1692, GS # 466, Tu. #4193 ◊ IE *s-* mobile and pKo **-ń-* suggest the presence of a word-medial palatal element (sc. N **y* in **Ḷuḿy* ▽). As mentioned in the Introduction (§ 2.4), N **Ḷu-* (with word-medial **y*) loses its expected labial element in IE **(s)k-* (rather than **(s)kʷ-*) ◊ Blz. LB #4c (IE, U; Blz. was the first to adduce the Yk cognate).

1090. *Ḷoḿč ▽ 'to scratch (so.'s body or sth.), to wound, to make suffer' (→ 'to suffer' > HS: S **o* ✓ *knθ* > Ar 𐎎𐎗𐎍 ✓ *knḡ* *G* vt. 'grieve' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935, Hv. 667 || K: *G* *ḵečn-* 'j-m eine Streifwunde beibringen, j-n streifen, ritzen', 'make incisions' ¶ Chx. 573, DCh. 606 ¶ The plain **ḵ-* (for the expected **ḵʷ-*) is still to be explained (delabialization connected with the mt.?) || IE: NaIE **kʷentʰ-* v. 'suffer' ('leiden, dulden') > Gk *πένης* 'suffering', *πάσχω* (< **kʷentʰ-sk̑-*) 'I suffer' (ft. *πέσομαι* < *kʷentʰ-so-*) || Lt *kēsti* (1s prs. *kenčiū*) 'to endure, to suffer' ('aushalten, leiden'), Ltv *cīest* 'to suffer, to endure' || OIr *césaid* 'he suffers', *céss(a)im* 'I suffer' (< **kʷentʰ-se/o-* or < *kʷentʰ-se/o-*) ¶ As shown by J. Rasmussen, the prs./ft. forms with **-sk̑-* and **-se/o-* (Gk *πάσχω*, OIr *céss(a)im*) point to a monophonemic origin of **tʰ*, otherwise we would have expected **ə* preceding the cnss. (like Gk **πατάσκω*, etc.) ¶ P 641, F II 478-9, Frn. 246-7, Vn. C 79-80, Ped. VG I 53, 87, 178, II 486, Rsm. AT 86, EI 413 (**kʷentʰ-* 'suffer') || ?σ U: FU **koḿč* ▽ {Rd.} 'Striche ziehen, Striche zeichnen' > Prm: Z {W} *šera koč* 'a spot (on animal's hide) (*šera* 'many-coloured, motley)', Z P/Sk/Ss/Ud {SZ} *šera koča*, Z I (*šera*) *kuča* 'pitted, motley' ('рябой, пестрый'), StVt, Vt S *kučō* *kučo*, Vt Kz *кѣčo* 'motley, piebald (a horse)' ('пестрый, пегий, чубарый'), Vt Y *kúčo*, Vt Uf *křč°* 'motley, spotted' || ObU {Ht.} **kāḿč-* > pVg **kāḿš-*, **kāḿšāḡ-* > Vg: T {Mu.} *khāḿš-*, P {Mu.} *khanš-*, T/P {Kn.} *kanš-*, K {Mu.} *khāḿs-*, N {Mu.} *xans-* v. 'write', T {Mu.} *khāḿ'sāḡ* 'bunt'; pOs **kāḿča-* / **kāḿč+*, **kāḿčāḡ* ({Hl.} **křḿča-* / - + / -aḡ) > Os: V *qāḿča-*, V/Vy *qāḿč+*, Ty *qāḿč-*, Y *qāḿč-*, D/K *ḵāḿč-*, Nz *ḵaš-*, Kz *ḵāḿš-*, O *ḵāš-*, *ḵāḿs-* v. 'write', V/Ty *qāḿčāḡ*, D/K *ḵāḿčāḡ*, Kz *ḵāḿšāḡ* 'bunt' ¶ UEW 176, Ht. 152 [#283], SZ 167, U3S 236.

1091. *ḶuḿigU (= **ḶuḿigU*?) 'to bend, to incline, to bow' > IE: NaIE **kneigʷh-* vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N **ḡa'ḡ'igu* 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.], to hang down' [q.v.]) > L *cōniueō* (< **kon-*

knī(g)uēō) (inf. -ēre, pfc. cōnīvī ~ cōnixī, pp. cōnixus) 'close the eyes, wink, blink with the eyes', nītor (inf. nīti, prtc. nīsus ~ nixus, [Fest.] gnixus) 'lean, support oneself, rest' (nītor genibus 'I kneel', nītor cubito 'I lean on my elbows'), Um CONEGOS, kunikaz 'conixus' || Gmc *xnīʒw-/ *xnīʒw-/ *xnajʒw-: inf. *hnīʒw-an 'to bow, to be bent, to sink' > Gt hneiwan / p. hnaiw 'κλίνειν, declinare' (of the day) [Lc. 9.12], ana-hneiwands act. prtc. 'procumbens' [Mk. 1.7], ON hníga 'to bow, to sink, to fall', AS hnīʒan 'to bend\sink down, to bow', OSx hnīgan 'sich neigen, anbeten', OHG nīgan 'to bow (sich neigen vor, niederbücken)', NHG neigen 'to bend over, to incline' ¶ P 608, ≈μ EI 348 (*knej-g^wh- 'lean'), WH I 261, Som. L² 646, Bc. G 331, Fs. 265-6, Vr. 242-3, Ho. S 35, Ho. 166, Kb. 726, OsS 409, KM 506-7 || **U** *kuŋk^e > Sm {Jn.} *kuŋk^ɛ n. 'curve, bend' > Ne T † xуѠг, T O {Lh.} ʒūŋk 'Bug des Bootes', ʒu·ŋgarc 'doppelt biegen', Ne F {Lh.} kuŋkarǵtaś 'gekrümmte Ränder haben' ¶ Jn. 78 || **A**: T *k'īŋ- (or *k'īŋ- ≈ *k'īyŋ-?) > [1] d. *k'īŋIR (or *kīŋIR) 'crooked, squint-eyed' > OT qīŋIR id., Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, ET Δ qīŋIR 'crooked', Tkm qīŋIR 'angry', Kr qīŋŷIR, Uz qīŋŷir, Ln qīni, Xk χīyīr 'crooked', Tv χīŷīr 'squint-eyed'; [2] Ln d. qīŋla- 'become crooked \ leaning on one side', Yk kīŋnaŷ- vi. 'incline, bend on one side'; [3] Qrg qīŋqay- 'be leaning over, become crooked'; [4] *k'īŋçIR > Chg {PC} قينچير qīnčIR, Uz ("Chg") {Rl., Bu.} qīnčir, VTt Δ qəŋʒəŋ 'squint-eyed', Chv χəŋʒəŋ id., 'crooked'; [5] Tkm qīyīq 'crooked, oblique' ¶ The delabialization *u > T *i is attested in several roots (cp. N *K_ul_uč_u 'worm' > NaT *°KīçI 'intestinal worm') and is still to be investigated ¶ Cl. 639, Rs. W 264-5, ET Q 220-1, PC 452, Rl. II 860, Bu II 106, BIG 298, Tkr 230 || Tg *xunke- > Ewk un_kɛldī- vi. 'bow (before so.)', un_kɛru- id., 'bow one's head', Ud x₃ŋkī-, Ul, Nn k₃ŋkɛɛ-, Ned k₃ŋkɛɛt- 'bow (before so.)' ¶ The cognates with k- are due to as. (?) ¶ STM II 278 || pJ {S} *kúnkúm- 'be curved\bent' > OJ kugum-, [RJ] kúgúmar- ¶ S QJ #1328, Mr. 715 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ūŋka 'to bend, to bow', ≈ DQA #1082 (A *k'jūŋu v. 'bend, bow'; rec. of *j is due to the unc. adduction of M *kiyi- ~ *keye- > WrM keyege 'slanting, leaning to one side', keyede- 'bend dow, lean\slant to one side') || **K** *°k_un^g- (or *°k_un₃- ?) > Zan **k_un₃- → G Gr k_un₃- 'sich bücken, ducken' ¶ Chx. 642 ¶¶ Zan *ʒ goes back to patalized *g?? || **D** *kūŋ- ({ʒGS} *k-) 'be in a bowed position' >

Kt ku'n- id., Tm kũṛu- v. 'curve', Gnd guṇ- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D #1927 || AdS of HS *✓knɪ ≈ be bent, bow, incline' (< N *kũṛuṇûɪA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *-ṛ- may go back either to N *-n- or to *-ŋ- < N *-ñig-. Therefore an unequivocal rec. of a N *-n- (*k'ṛunigU) is not justified enough. The rules and conditions of the Turkic delabialization of N *u (*u > T *I) need investigating ◇ We can be sure about the N initial *k- only if the K cognate is valid. Otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified N *K- (= *k- or *q-).

1092. *KaṇKṛE 'to singe, to glow' > IE: NaIE *kenk- v. 'parch, dry up, cause burning pain' > Gk Hm κάγκανος 'dry (trocken, dürr)', Gk [Hs.] καγκάλνει '(he) parches, dries (sth.)', Gk Hm πολυ-καγκῆς (δίψα) 'parching', Gk πολυ-καγκῆς 'very dry (land)' || Lt kanċā 'pain', keñktī 'to harm, to hurt' ¶ ≈ WP I 401, ≈ P 565 (*÷ Gmc {Fs.} *xunxru- 'hunger'), ≠ EI 284 (*kenk- 'hunger' ← 'burn, hurt'; *÷ words for 'hunger', see N ?φ ≈ *Ka'g'Eñā 'be hungry'), FI 750-1, Ch. 478, Frn. 240 || A: Tg *xeng- 'burn slightly, singe' > Nn Nh xṣṅgi- v. 'singe', Ewk zṅgurṣ- vi. 'burn slightly, singe' ¶ STM II 457 ¶¶ The front vw. is probably due to vw. harmony (A **k'əŋKE > *k'əŋK∇ > Tg *xeng-) || D *kaṇ- ({GS} *k-) 'burn, glow, be very hot' > Tm kaṇi 'be redhot, glow, get angry', kañal 'fire', Ml kanal 'live coals', kānal 'heat, glare', Kt kaṇ redhot', Kn kanal v. 'glow like live coals', Tl kanalū 'be angry, burn, give pain', Kui kamba 'be burned/injured by fire' ¶¶ D #1406.

1093. ₂ *K'E'ñit∇ 'louse, nit' > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ *kñid- 'louse, nit' (× N ? *ñitû 'worm[s], maggot[s], nit', q.v.) > Arm ախիծ anic 'nit' (c < *d-s) || pAl {O} *canidā > Al: G th(ë)'nī, T th(ë)'rī 'louse' || Gk κούγ, mostly pl. κούγδες 'eggs of lice, fleas, and bugs; nits' (o on the analogy of κόυγ 'dust') || W pl. nedd, Cm nēth coll. (snglt. nedhen), Br nez 'nits' || AS hnitu, NE nit, OHG niȝ, MHG niȝ, niȝȝe, NHG Niß, Nisse 'nit' || In Gmc and BSl there is a variant *g^hni(:)d- 'nit' (*g^h- due to the infl. of *g^hen- 'scratch'??) > ON, Nr Δ gnit, OSw gnether, Sw gnet, Dn gnid 'nit' || Ltv gnīda 'nit', ? Lt glīnda id. (dis.: < ≈ *gniṛṇda and/or × ÷ L lens / lendis?) || Sl *gnida id. > Blg, R, Uk Гнида, SCr gnjīda, Slv gnīda, Cz, Slk hnida, P gnida ¶ P 608, FI 912-3, Hm. 598, YGM-1 342, ECCE 774, Hamp AIEW 146, O 476, Ho. 16, Kb. 732, , OsS 410, Lx. 152, Vr. 179-80, Sl. 121-2, Frn. 157-8, Kar. I 304, ESSJ VI 173-4, EI 357 (*k̄(o)nid- 'nit') ¶ The variant *g^hni(:)d- may be due to euphemistic, tabuistic, or other "expressive" modifications ||

HS: WS *kinn- 'louse' > MHb כִּנָּה ~ כִּינָה kin'nā, JEA כִּינָה, כִּינָה kin'nā 'louse, vermin (Ungezieger)', BHb כֶּן ken, pl. כִּנִּים kin'n-īm id., {KBR} 'gnat', Jb C שִׁינִית (pl. kúnúm) 'louse', Sq {Jo.} 'kenum (pl. 'kenhawm) id. ¶ KB 461, KBR 483, Lv. II 348-9, Jo. J 133 || EC: Sml {DSI} qandířil, Sml N {Abr.} qandířil ~ qindířil 'nits' ¶ DSI 487, Abr. S 200 ¶ Sml q̄ (< *ṭ regularly) may be accounted for by an earlier glottalizing as. (*ḳ...t > *ḳ...ṭ) || ? NrOm: Kf {C} č̣i r̄ndō 'small louse' ¶ C SE IV 422 || ? Ch: CCh: WMrg kʷunda, kʷutna 'worm' || (×N *ńE'ɣU' (-ŋ∇) 'larvas, worms, nit[s]', q.v.) WCh: AG: Gmy ńit, Cp r̄iɣεt 'worm' ¶ ChL.

1094. (₂?) *ḲAnt̄∇ '∈ genitalia', 'gland (esp. of genitalia: glans penis, clitoris)' > **HS:** C: Bj {Rop.} kanṭal 'penis' (ṭ = [t̄]) || EC {ṬSs.} *ḳanṭ- ({Ss.} *k'and'₁-) 'gland' > Sml qanžid̄ 'lymphatic gland', Rn {PG} χánid̄ 'gland', Kns {Bl.} qanditta 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Brj {Ss.} 'ḳand-i ~ ḳan?-i 'clitoris' ¶ Rop. 205, PG 189, Ss. B 124 || SOM: Ari/Gll {Bnd.} ḳanti ~ qanti 'testicles' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || CCh: Pdl kândi, Bk kândà 'vagina' || ? ECh: Ll gúnžùló 'testicles' ¶ JI II 323, ChC, ChL || B *✓knḡ (< *✓knṭ) > BSn ṭa-kunnīṭ (pl. ṭi-kunnīḡ-īn) 'derrière de l'homme' ¶ Ds. B 95 || **D** (in SD) *kant- ({ḡGS} *k-) ≈ membrum muliebre' > Ml kantu 'membrum muliebre', Td kod 'pubic hair' ¶ D 1210 || ?? **IE:** NPrs kun (< CINPrs kūn) 'vulva' ¶ ≈ EI 507 (IE *kuts'no-s) ◇ Blz. DA 155 [#34] (C, Om, Ch, D).

1095. ₂ *ḲEnt̄∇ 'be angry, be in despair' > **HS:** CS *✓knṭ id. > MHb Sh חִקְרִיט hiḳ'rīṭ 'annoy, vex, make angry', Sr ✓knṭ G v. 'fear', Ar ✓qnṭ G (pf. qaniṭa ~ qanaṭa) 'despair', 'désespérer (de qc.)' ¶ BK II 823, Hv. 630, Klein 584 || Eg fMK ḳr̄nd 'be furious\angry, be angry with (so.)', DEg knṭ 'anger', Cpt: Sd ḡWNT cōnt, B ḳWNT zōnt 'get angry', Sd ḡONT cont, B ḳONT zont 'angry' ¶ EG V 56-7, Fk. 280, Er. 565, Vc. 342 || **U:** FU *kEnt̄∇ > pObU {Hl.} *kēnt 'anger' > Vg *kānt > Vg: MK {Mu.} kānt, N {Mu.} kant 'anger', {BV} Ss kant 'απο', {Kn., BV} Ss kantə 'angry'; pOs {Ht.} *kēnt 'anger' > Y/D/K kēnt, Nz qānt ¶ Ht. #290, BV 33-4.

1096. ₂ *ḲEn̄∇ or *ḲENy∇ 'nest' > **HS:** S *ḳinn- id. > BHb כֶּן ḳen (pl. כִּינִים ḳin'n-īm), JA כִּינָה ḳin'n-ā, Sr كِنَان k̄en'n-ā id., JEA כִּינָה ḳin'nā, Md ḳina, Ak ḳinn-um 'nest, family' ¶ KB 1036, Js. 1387, Sl. 1013, DM 411, CAD XIII 257, Sd. 922 || **A:** pKo {S} *kín- 'nest' > MKo kíń- v. 'nest', kíś n. 'nest', NKo kíś kit id. ¶ S QK #993, Nam 83, MLC 282 ◇

K: it is tempting to adduce here G P *ḳanaḫia* 'nest' (Chx. 547), but the structure of the word (its vowels) suggests that it is a loan (from an unknown source). If nevertheless the G word is inherited, the N initial cns. is *ḳ* ≠

1097. ₂ **ḳ'ū'ín* ∇ 'to burn' (intr.) > **A:** NaT **k'öñ-* or **k'üñ-* vi. 'catch fire, burn' > OT *küñ-*, Alt *küy-* id., Tkm *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-* vi. 'burn down', Xk *köy-* vi. 'burn, burn down', Osm *göy-*, Tk *göy-* vt. 'burn, burn up', Uz *kuy-*, Qzq, Qrg *küy-* vi. 'burn', Qq *küy-* 'burn oneself', Nog *küy-* 'be burnt' (food), 'be sunburnt', Yk *köy-* 'burn', Tv *хүюк* '(smell of) sth. burnt' ('Гарь') ¶ Cl. 726, Rs. W 286, 307, 309, ET KQ 88-9, Mng. G 746 ¶ Tkm -*ö-* suggests a pT short *-*ö-*, the length in Yk is an innovation (T **ō* yields Yk **ūō*) || M **keḫsi-* ~ **kö|ḫsi-* > WrM *keḫsi*, HIM *хэнши-* vi. 'burn slightly, brown (as food)', Kl {Rm.} *köḫšj-* *ḫ* *küḫšj-* vi. 'smell of burning'; M **keḫsi-gün* n. 'smell of burning' > WrM *keḫsigün*, HIM *хэншүү*, Brt *хүншүү* n. 'smell of frying food \ of burning', Ord *k'ēḫšū* 'relent de friture, odeur de graisse \ d'os \ de viande brûlés', WrO *keḫšöü* 'odour, fragrance', Kl *күһшү* *küḫšü* n. 'smell of burning', {Rm.} *köḫšün* n. 'smell of burning bones/fat'; M *ḫ* → WrMc *kuḫšon* ~ *kuḫšun* adj. {Z} 'smelling of sth. slightly burnt (food, wool)', {Hr.} 'angebrannt, brenzlich', *kuḫšu-* v. {Z} 'boil milk', {Hr.} 'anbrennen (Speisen)'; Kl D {Rm.} *küḫküñ-* 'Brand-geruch\geschmack haben, abgebrannt sein', WrM {Rm. ← ?} *ḫ* *küḫküñi-* (id.?) ¶ MED 454, Ms. O 414-5, Krg. 71, Chr. 625, KRS 326, KW 246, S AJ 242, Z 289, Hr. 602 || Tg **xeḫg* ∇- > Nn Nh *ḫḫḫgi-* vt. 'singe\scorch on fire', Ewk *ḫḫḫgūrḫ*- vi. 'get slightly burnt' (of roasted\fried food) ¶ STM II 457 || pKo {S} **k'ínir-* > MKo *k'ínirim*, NKo *k'irrim* 'soot', NKo *k'iiḫ-* 'be covered with soot' ¶ S QK #659, Nam 669, MLC 240 || pJ {S} **kyànkàr-* vi. 'burn' > OJ *kyògàr-* {Mr.} 'be burning' (→ 'be passionate, yearning'), J: T/Kg *kogaré-*, Kg *kógáré-* {Kenk.} 'burn with passion for'; pJ **kyanka-sa-* {Mr.} 'burn, scorch; yearn for' > J *kogasu* {Kenk.} 'burn, scorch, singe, char' ¶ S QJ #1074, Mr. 711, Kenk. 1003 ¶¶ S AJ 11, 286 [#256], DQA #1145 (A **k'úñe* 'burn [intr.], get burnt') || **HS:** WCh **ḳ'ḫ^uan* vt. 'burn' > Hs *ḳ'ónà* id. | Wrj {IL} *ḳ'ánùnà*, {Sk.} *k'ánúná*, Cg {Sk.} *ḳ'ênú*, Kry {Sk.} *k'ánú*, My {Sk.} *k'ánú*, Mbr {Sk.} *ḳ'ánú* 'smoke' | Kir {Sh.} *k^wana*, Tala {Sh.} *k^wōn*, Buli {ChL} *kónú* vt. 'burn'; Kir {Sh.} *kən*, {ChL} *k+n*, Tala {Sh.} *kunu*, Gj {Sh.} *kùnò*, Buli {Sh.} *kunù* 'smoke' ¶ Stl. ZCh 212-3 [#629], ChC, ChL || Om {Blz} **ḳi(e)n-* 'burn' > NrOm: BMa {Fl.} *ḳ'eni*

vt. burn' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn', Blz. OL #204 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 174 ◇ Not here (⇔ DQA #1145) D *kaŋ- 'burn, glow' (see N *Ḳan_LK_JE 'to singe, to glow').

1098. ₂ *Ḳoń'ć'∇ 'bark of trees' > HS: EC *✓Ḳunč- > Or {Grg.} Ḳunčē 'peel, fibre covering on plant stem', Or S {Sr.} Ḳunčē 'bark of a tree', Ged Ḳūnč'e 'piece of bark' ¶ Grg. 336, Sr. 356, Hd. 325 || U *końćk∇ ~ *koćk∇ '∈ bark' > F kosku, koskus 'thick bark of trees', Es {W} kosk 'in langen Streifen abgezogene Fichtenrinde oder dicke Rinde' | Prm *kać(ka) '∈ bark' > Z kać 'bark of fir-tree (used as food during famine years)', Yz {Lt.} 'kaćka id., {UEW} 'inner layer of bark', Z US/LL kać 'bark of trees' || Os Ty {KrT} q+ńt 'sap layer under the bark of pine- and birch-trees' | OHg hassag, hassu 'bast, strifes of linden-bast, lime-tree forest', Hg hárs 'lime-tree' || Sm {Jn.} *käsā, {Hl.} *kāsa 'bark of trees' > Ng {Mik.} kasu, En {Cs.} 'sasa, Slq Tz {KKIH} qūst, Kms {KD} k'āzā id. ¶¶ Coll. 91, UEW 179-80, LG 119, MF 269-70, W EDW 350, Lt. J 124, EWU 533, KrT 321, Jn. 65, KKIH 164, Hl. M #474.

1099. *Ḳu_Lń'č'∇ 'worm' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} Ḳešā (pl. Ḳiš), Xm {R} eḳasā, Q {R} Ḳešī, Km {CR} Ḳəšā ~ Ḳāšā (pl. Ḳas) 'worm' || DhI {EEN} Ḳūci 'bee larva' ¶ AD SF 30, E PC #613, R WB 245, EEN 19 || U *kuñča > FU *kuč∇ ~ *kuñča 'worm (within the body)' > Chr H kučъ 'intestinal worm', Chr Y kucъ, M kučo, YU kucō; ⇨ Chv L Δ {Ash.} куччă ("read as кучы") 'intestinal worm' || ObU {Ht.} *kūñč > pVg *kūñš 'intestinal worm' > Vg: T kōš, P/NV/SV/LL kunš, UL xūns id.; pOs *kuñč(∇) > Os: K Ḳunč, D Ḳuča, Kr pūy-Ḳunč 'tapeworm', Km Ḳunč 'intestinal worm (also in fish)' || ??φ pY {IN} *kōńčā 'maggot' > Y K/T kōžā 'maggot (on a reindeer)', T {Krn.} kōdeŋ 'worm' ¶¶ UEW 205, Ash. VII 57, Ht. #205, Stn. D 511, IN 229, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 47 [#69] (Y ⇨ U) ¶¶ The unexpected Chr ć and pY *č are still puzzling || A: NaT *°ḲiçI (< **ḲiçI?) Tbl/SbTt Tv {Tm.} qIçI, Brb {Tm.} qIča 'intestinal worm', Tbl {Rl.} qIčI 'tapeworm (Bandwurm)' (unless all of them are loans from FU?) ¶ Tm. 143-4, Rs. W 260, Rl. II 792 ¶ The delabialization *u > T *i is attested in several roots (cp. N *Ḳ' uñigU 'to bend, to incline, to bow') and is still to be investigated.

1100. *Ḳuńž∇ ⇨ *-ńć-, *-ńś- (or *g|kuńž∇ ⇨ *-ńć-, *-ńś-?) 'star' > IE: NaIE *°g_Lh_Jwōj_Jsd_Lh_J- 'star' > BSl: Lt žvaigždė, Δ žvaizdė & žvaiždė, Ltv zvāi(g)zne id., L gvegždáté 'Sternchen' | Sl *gvěž'da 'star' > P gwiazda, Cz hvězda, Slk hviezda, Plb gjozdă,

HLs hwězda, LLs gwězda, OCS **СВѢЗДА** ѕвѣзда, Blg звѣзда > звезда, SCr звѣзда ѕ ѕvijězda, Slv zvezda, R звезда, Uk звiз'да ¶ Assimilation between the Anlaut and the Inlaut of this long Baltic stem may have caused variability of the initial cns. (*g...z > z...z, *g...ž > ž...ž) and the appearance of the unetymological medial g ¶ Tr. 373-4, Frn. 1324, ≈ ESSJ VII 181-3 (derives the BSl stem from IE *ǵʰwoǵ- 'shine' and believes that the Slavic *ǵv- is a secondary development from *zv-), Glh. 702-3, StSS 223 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gǫžǫ ~ gǫšǫ, Bd {IL} gusiaǫ 'star' | Bole {IL} žinžá id. | ? Tula, Kir ŋgaš id. (ŋ- is a px., as in Tera anžinžá?) || CCh: Glv kʷàžàžà, Gv kʷžžžžà, Suk gùmžà, Db {Lnh.} gìmžà, {Kr.} gǫmžà, Gudu gʷùšù, Mln gùmlá, Nz gzmleki 'star' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sch. DN 62 || **U** *kuńć∇ 'star' > Prm {LG} *kǫ|ǫžil (ǫ|ǫžil) 'star' > Z кодзуб kožuv, Z US kož+|, Prmk kžž+v ѕ kžž+|, Vt XVIII кузели, Vt кизили kižíli, Vt B kožó'li ({Lt.} kəžθ'li) 'star' || ObU {Ht.} *kúńć∇ id. > Vg {Ht.} *kūńć∇ > OVg S ChusO/Vt конча, OVg S Kg конся, OVg S Sss koondse, Vg T kōńć; pOs {Ht.} *kɔs > Os: V/Vy qɔs, Ty/Y qos, D/K/Nz χus, Kz χŵs, O χos || Sm {Jn.} *k+ns∇kǫyь, {HL.} *k+ns∇kǫyь 'star' > Slq Tz {KKH} qǫšqǫ, Slq Kt qesaqa id., Slq Tm {KD} qžžqasey id., 'moon', Kms {KD} kúnžžey, kžžžey, k+ňžžey, Koyb {Klp.} kúnzy-gei 'star', Mt {HL.} *kinžžikEy id. (Mt T {Klp.} kinš'i-ki, {Mll.} kinschik-i, Mt K {Mll.} kinschik-ei, {Pl.} gindzschiki, Mt M {Sp.} кинджикей, {Mll.} kinschikei) ¶¶ UEW 210-1, Coll. 15, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kunsǫ, FP *kunsǫ, Ugr *kuncǫ, Sm *k+ns∇ 'star'), MF 307, Ht. #299, LG 126, Lt. 41-2, Jn. UK 263, Cs. 285, KD 35, Sp. SJM 72, Hl. M #489 || **A** ({S} k'ōsi): Tg *xōsi-kta 'star' > Nn Nh xosaqta ~ xoslaqta ~ xoslaqta, Orc xosaqta, Ul xosla ~ xosta, Ork waslaqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta, Ewk ōsīkta, Sln ōšikta ~ ōšitta, Lm ōslaqat, WrMc usiχa, Jrc {Kiy.} ošiča, {Md.} hosiχa ¶ STM II 27, Krm. 219, Bz. 23, S AJ 104 [#119], Kiy. 97 [#O12], Md. ChF 134 ¶¶ S AJ 292 [#417], DQA #1155 (A *k'ūć∇ 'a kind of star'; incl. Tg) ◇ Tg *ō (for the expected *u:;) still needs explaining ◇ AD MR 263, Sin. USN 392-3 ◇ It is not yet clear which of the variants of the stem (that with N *K- or that with *k|g-) is the original one. If it is N *Kúńć∇ (suggested by the Tg cognate), the IE initial *ǵ_l^h- (most probably *ǵ-) is due to the IE root-structure rejection of **teǵ^h-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √).

1101. (₂?) *K'üwa'ŋsi 'ε blood vessel (with blood), blood', or sim. > **HS:** S *ō∇n_l∇_l∇- > Ar qin∇- (pl. qunu∇-) 'membrane qui entoure le cœur;

racine' ¶ BK II 823 || ?? WCh: pNrBc {Sk.} *tak^wan- 'bleeding, cupping blood' > Dir, Sir tak^wana, Mbr tak^wan, My tak^wam ¶ Sk. NB 13, S 250 [#34] ¶ In all probability, NrBc *tak^wan- < *√k|k|^wn 'blood, bleed' || A ≈ *k'üwaŋ∇ 'blood, blood vessel' > M *qana- v. 'open a vein, bleed (an animal, a person)' > WrM {Kow., MED, Gl.} qana-, HIM, Brt хана- id., Kl {Rm.} хана-ха 'zu Ader lassen', {KRS} хангдж хань-гдъ-хъ 'to open a vein (пускать кровь)', MM [S] teme₇en o cisun qana-qu 'to open a camel's vein in order to collect blood' ¶ KW 166, Kow. 719, MED 927, Gl. I 68, H 59, KRS 575 || pT {Md.} *k'jān 'blood' ({θπAD}: < **k'Ean < *k'ā:n) > NaT *k'ān > OT, MQp qān, [CC] qan, OT U, Chg, XwT qan, Tk k_{an}, Tkm gān, XT, Xlj {DT} qān, Slr {Tn.} qān ^d qan, Tk k_{an}, Az gan, Ggz kan, ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt qan, Uz qan, Xk, Tv χan, Tf qan, Yk χān || Blgh {Erd.} xjān, Chv Люн jun id. | NaT *Kana- > OT qana- v. 'bleed (a patient, animal)' ¶ Cl. 629-30, 634, Rs. W 230, ET KQ 251, Ra. 217, Dr. TM III 360-1, Md. 111-2, 169, Erd. 81, 115, 123, 152-3, 163 Jeg. 349, Fed. II 486, DT 173 || Tg *xuj- v. 'flow' (of blood) > Ewk Sx/Urm uj- id.; *xuj, *xuj-kta 'blood vessel' > Ewk VI/Y uj id., Ek uj-kta, Neg oŋtā ~ oŋkta, Lm oŋtъ, Nn Nh/B xonglqta, Nn KU xonglqta, Ul xonglqta → xongoqta, Ork xumuqta, Ud umakta, umukta id. ¶ STM II 278 ¶¶ KW 166 (M, T), S AJ 261 [#151], S VL 198-9 (pA *k'uāŋ∇ > T, Tg), Cl. 634 (M qana- < T), STM97 (A *k'ōŋa > T, Tg), DQA #1068 (A *k'jāno 'blood, blood vessel' > T, Tg) || ?σ D *kuñ- ({θGS} *k-) 'root, tuber' > Png kūñi id., Knd kuñi, Mnd kuni 'tuber', Kui kuna 'tuberous root', Ku kunna 'yam, potatoes', kuna kuča 'radish' ¶¶ D #1683 ¶¶ The meaning 'vein, sinew' is often transferred to roots, because both veins\sinews and roots were used as ropes and bonds ◇ D *-ñ- is a reg. reflex both of N *ñ and of a palatal(ized) nasal. A N palatal nasal (*-ń-) is ruled out by the T reflex (N *-ń- would have yielded T *-ń-). The remaining option is to postulate a palatal vw. (*-i, confirmed by the Tg reflex) that followed the nasal cns. (at the pre-D level) and brought about its palatalization. By that time the N lr. (between the nasal and *i) must have been lost, which is probable if it had been *ɣ (rather than a stronger *ʏ). Tg *-ŋ- suggests N *-ŋ-. T *-n (for the expected *-ŋ) needs explaining. The length of the T vw. is due to the contraction of the A *-üwa- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #45 (*kem 'blood', incl. A, EA + unc. Sm *kem 'blood', Yk čeme id., actually from N *kämê 'blood').

1102. $\text{₂} *k\text{on}\check{c}\nabla$ '∈ part of leg' > **K:** G $\text{kan}\check{c}$ -i 'shin, shank' ('Unterschenkel', {DCh} 'голень') ¶ Chx. 549, DCh. 593 || **A** $*k'\text{on}\check{c}_L\nabla$ > NaT $*k'\text{on}_L\check{c}$ (< $**k'\text{on}\check{c}$) '(∈ part of) leg, boot-leg, leg of trousers' > MQp [CC] $\text{qon}\check{c}$ 'gamba', = (∈ part of) leg', Tkm $\text{qon}\check{c}$ 'boot-leg, leg of trousers', Tk $\text{kon}\check{c}$, Az $\text{qun}\check{z}$, VTt $\text{qun}\check{z}$, Qzq, Qq, Nog $\text{qon}\check{z}$, Tbl {RL}, Tb $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Qrg $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Alt $\text{qon}\check{c}$, {RL} $\text{qon}\check{c}$, Uz $\text{qwn}\check{z}$, ET $\text{qon}\check{z}$, Qmq $\text{xon}\check{c}$ 'boot-leg', Tv $\text{xon}\check{c}$, Tf $\text{ho}\check{z}$ u 'leg of trousers' ¶ T $*n$ (rather than $*\eta$) suggests a pre-T (or Early pT) word $**k'\text{on}\check{c}$ (with $*n < *\eta$ in the preconsonantic position) ¶ ET Q 57-8, Grøn. 199 || Tg: [1] $*x\text{ons}\nabla$ (or $*x\text{ons}\nabla?$) 'shank, shin' > Orc $\text{u}\check{s}$ i, $\text{u}\check{s}$ ui, Ul $\text{xon}\check{s}$ a, Nn Nh $\text{xon}\check{s}$ oã, Nn KU $\text{omsoq}\check{a}$, $\text{omsoqu}\check{a}$, Ewk PT $\text{u}\check{n}$ ukī, umuki , Ewk Tt umoki , Neg $\text{on}\check{c}$ xl, Ud $\text{u}\check{z}$ ηku $\text{u}\check{z}$ uinki ~ $\text{u}\check{z}$ ηki id. ¶ $*-s-$ may be due to the infl. of a different Tg or pA root [2] Tg $*x\check{u}\check{h}\check{c}$ en 'elbow' (× N $*k\check{u}\check{y}\check{h}\check{u}\check{f}$ A 'a joint in a limb [knee, elbow]; to bend in a joint?') > Nn $\text{x}\check{u}\check{y}\check{c}\check{z}$, Orc $\text{t}\check{c}$ o(n-), Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} $\text{is}\check{o}$, Ud K {Krm.} $\text{is}\check{o}$, Ul $\text{un}\check{c}\check{a}$ (n-), Ork $\text{u}\check{z}$ tɜ, Ewk, Neg $\text{t}\check{c}$ ɜn, Sln $\text{t}\check{c}$ ɜn, Lm $\text{t}\check{c}$ ɜn ¶ STM I 336, Krm. 239 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1103 (incl. T, Tg).

1103. $*k\text{E}\eta'\check{c}\nabla$ (or $*k\text{Em}\check{c}\nabla?$) (~ $*k\text{E}\eta'\check{c}\nabla?$) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand' > **HS:** S $*\check{c}$ kaŝŝ- > Ar $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ - {Br.} 'sand and pebbles', {Hv.} 'pebble', $\text{q}\check{a}\check{c}\check{c}$ -at- 'small pebbles', Ar Y {Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{d}\check{a}\check{d}$ 'eine als Mörtel verwendete Mischung aus roter Erde und Kalk', OYmn {Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{d}\check{a}\check{d}$ D ({Slw.} $\text{q}\check{a}\check{d}\check{a}\check{d}$) 'zementieren' or 'bewerfen' ¶ BK II 758-9, Hv. 611, Slw. 180-1 || B $*\check{c}$ kɜɜ ~ $*\check{c}$ kɜɜ ~ $*\check{c}$ zz 'coarse sand' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ 'gravel, [coarse] sand' [q.v. ffd.]) || C: Ag: Bln {R} $\text{k}\check{u}\check{s}\check{a}$ (pl. $\text{k}\check{u}\check{s}$), {Fl.} $\text{qu}\check{s}$ 'sand' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ '↑') ¶ AD SF 88 || Om $*k\check{a}\check{n}\check{c}$ - 'sand' > NrOm: Kf {C} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ inō, Mch {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ -o, Bnc {Wdk.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{m}\check{c}$, She {Beke} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$, Gmr (= She?) {Fl. AGC} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$, Malo {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ e, Nao {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{s}$ a || SOM: Gll {Fl.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}$ 'sand' ¶ Blz. OL #101, C SE IV 484, Fl. AGC 617, Wdk. BY 106, AD SF 88 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} $\text{k}\check{a}\check{c}\check{a}\check{r}$ 'small stone, piece of gravel' ¶ Sch. DN 90 || **IE:** NaIE $*g\check{e}\check{h}\check{s}$ - 'pebbles' (× N $*k'\check{u}'\check{s}\nabla$ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **K:** G $\text{ken}\check{c}$ -i 'a pebble, small stone' ¶ Chx. 568 || ?φ **A** $*k'\nabla\eta\check{c}\nabla$ > $*k'\nabla\eta\check{c}\nabla$ (progr. as.) > Tg $*x\text{on}\eta\check{c}\nabla$ 'sand' > Ewk $\text{o}\check{n}\eta$ 'sand, dust', Orc $\text{o}\check{n}\eta\text{okto}$ 'mud (?)' ('грязь'), Ud $\text{o}\check{n}\eta\text{okto}$ 'sand', Ork $\text{xon}\eta\text{nox}$ l 'grain of sand', $\text{xon}\eta\text{okto}$ 'sand' ¶ STM II 20 ◇ The original affricate may have been $*\check{c}$ (if the G word is a loan from Zan, which presupposes a pK rec. $*k'\nabla\eta\check{c}$ -). The cns. $*\eta|\check{c}$ changed into m in Bnc, into $*n$ in K (as. $*\eta\check{c}$ >

nC), and disappeared in most other descendant lgs. (∇η|ńĉ > *∇ĩĉ > *∇C). In the prehistory of IE the original cluster *-'ŋ'ĉ- is likely to have changed into *-ńĉ- (regr. as.) > *-j̥s- (N *ń > IE *j̥ regularly). An alt. rec. is *k̥Emĉ∇, which is less probable in the light of Tg *xonĉ∇. The cause of the de-emphatization in pre-IE (N *k̥- > *k- [> IE *ǵ]) or the voicing in IE (**k- > *ǵ-) is still not clear. The unexpected Tg *o of the first syll. still needs explaining (regr. as., as suggested by Orc ońokto, Ud ońokto, Ork xononoxu and xonokto?).

1104. *Kawinġ∇ 'shoulder joint, armpit' > **U** *kawinġ∇-a|]∇ (lit. 'under the shoulder-joint', with *a|]∇ 'under') 'armpit' > FU: F kainalo, Es kaenal, Vp kajnal ~ kajmol 'armpit', Es Δ kangla, kangel, kangle 'shoulder-joint (Achsel)' | pLp {Lr.} *kāyŋēl(ē) 'armpit' > Lp: S {Hs.} gaajnj'ele, Vfs {Lgc.} gājŋεłz, Ar {Lr.} kājŋgiel, Nt {TI} kâ·jnel_{qk}, Kld ka'jje_l, T kâ·jje_l id. | Er kaval-alks, kaval-alid. (alks, al 'being under [sth.]') | Chr: L конла коŋ'la 'armpit gore in a shirt', H коныла коŋ'ла, B коŋла, L/Uf конлайымал коŋлауь'mal 'armpit' (yamal 'being under [sth.]') | pPrm *konul ({LG} *kõnul) > Z LV/Ud kunuv, Z P/MS k'ínul, Prmk konuvt, Yz 'kunul, Vt кунул kunul 'armpit', Z кунлӧс kunl-3s, Z LV kunul-3s 'armpit gore in a shirt' ||| ObU: pVg {Ht.} *kālŋ∇ ~ *kanal 'armpit' > Vg: T kalnā, LK xānəl, MK/UK kānəl, P/NV kanəl, UL/Ss xanəl id.; pOs *kuŋən ~ *kunəŋ (as. from **kuŋəl ~ **kuləŋ?) 'armpit' (within cds.) > Os: Nz xunəŋ, Kz xw̄ŋəŋ, V/Vy/Ty/Y qunəŋ, D xōnəŋ, K xānəŋ, O xōnəm | OHg holna, holnya 'shoulder-joint (Achsel), armpit', Hg Δ hólŋ- (+ppa.), hóny, hany, Hg hón, hón-alj 'armpit' || Sm {Jn.} *kālŋ 'armpit' > Ne: T сял', T O {Lh.} śāł̄ā, F {Lh.} śēā·ł̄ ɖ śēā·ł̄ŋā; Ng {Cs.} kalíŋ, {Mik.} kalí; En X {Cs.} séł̄i?, En B {Cs.} séri; Slq Tz {KKIH} qōl'íŋ, Slq LTz {KD} qāłəŋ, Slq Tm {KD} q'āli', Kms {KD} q'āłəŋ, xāłəŋ ¶¶ UEW 178, 645, SK 142, ZM 170, Lr. #339, Lgc. #1886, Hs. 511, TI 81, KMS 136, MRS 220, Ep. 46, LG 146, SZ 180, 187, Ht. #282, EWU 573, Jn. 63, KKIH 164, ≠ Sm. 543 (FU, P *koni 'armpit', Ugr *konĩ-) || **A** {ADb.} *k'awinġ∇₁ {AD} 'armpit, bosom' > NaT {ADb.} *k'ōyŋ 'bosom, armpit' > OT qoyin ~ qoyun ~ qoy, MQp, Qmq, Qrg qoyun, Ggz koynu, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Alt qoyin, VTt кyен quyən, Bsh quyən, Xk xoyin, Uz qoyin, Tf hōy 'bosom', MU qōy, qōyun 'bosom, bosom of garment', Chg qoy(u)n, OOsM qoyun 'breast, bosom, armpit', Tk koyun 'bosom, breast, pocket', Az qoyun, ET qoyun, Ln qoyun, qoyin, qoyini, Xlj qōn 'bosom, an embrace', Tkm qoyun 'an

embrace', Tv χοϋ 'bosom, breast', Yk {Pek.} χοῖν, χοῖν 'armpit, bosom' || Chv хбv ~ хü 'bosom' ¶ Cl. 631, ADb. SR 158-9, ET Q 26-7, Rs. W 280, Jeg. 297, Fed. II 340, Ra. 189, Pek. 3439-40, JkR 499, DT 178 || Tg *xaw∇ηi 'armpit' > Nn xawani ~ xawani, Ul xawa(n-), Orc xawani, Sln owonī ~ oxonī, Neg oxonī 'armpit', Ewk oxonī ɖ owonī ɖ ɖwɜnī, Lm oxnɪ ɖ āwnɪ ɖ ownɪ, WrMc oxo ~ oxo id., 'bosom' ¶ STM II 6 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 449, 454-5 || **D** {IS} *kavun̄k∇ 'armpit' ({ʒGS} *k-) > Kn kavun̄kur, kan̄kur(a), kon̄kur, kon̄kar(a), Tm kamukkaṭṭu (with ass. nasalization *-v- > -m-), Td komkw̄r̄, Tu kan̄kuḷa, Prj kavkor, kavkoḍ, Gnd kākri, kākriṅ 'armpit' (kāk- due to the infl. of Knd/Mrt kāk^h), Kdg kav̄ηki 'vital spot', Tl kaūṅgili 'bosom, breast, an embrace', Prj kav̄ṅgil, kaūṅgil, Gnd kal̄gil 'lap' ¶¶ D #1234 || ?φ **HS**: Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk.} kw̄ak̄w̄sé 'armpit' || ECh: Mb {J} kũgí, pl. k̄ȳak id. ¶ ChC ◊ NaT *-n (rather than *-ŋ) still needs explaining (cp. N *moyAn∇ 'neck, nape of the neck' > T *moyu|In) ◊ IS I 344-6 (*K̄aw̄inḡa 'armpit'; U, A, D), ≈ Gr. II #14 (*kon 'armpit').

1105. *K̄āηKa_h∇, 'shell, conch' > **IE**: NaIE *k̄onk^ho- ~ *k̄ok^ho- 'conch, shell' > OI śaṅ'kha- 'conch' || Gk κόγχη, κόγχος 'mussel, anything like a mussel-shell', κόχλος 'shell-fish with a spiral shell (murex), land snail', κοχλίς 'snail with a spiral shell' || Ltv Δ {ME} sence ~ zence 'e Muschel' ¶ P 614, M K III 290-1 (hyp.: the lexeme is a Wanderwort), M E II 604, F I 889-90, ME III 816 and IV 713, EI 512 (*konkh₂o-s 'mussel[-shell]') ¶ IE *k^h or *k^H still need explaining (a trace of a N Ir.?) || **A** ({SDM97} *k̄aka, {S, SDM95} *k̄iakta, {DQA} *k̄i_haka 'shell'): Tg *k̄iakta (= *k̄iak-cta), *k̄iak-ikta 'conch, shell' > Ewk k̄ēkta, Orc k̄iakta 'shell', Nn qāχta, WrMc qayqari, qayqamar i 'conch', Ul qiaqta ~ kiyakta ~ k^yakta 'conch; shell (скорлупа)', possibly Ewk h̄ēki-kt̄ ~ kiki-cta 'skin' ¶ STM I 386-7 || pJ {S} *k̄ak̄î 'shell, oyster' > OJ k̄ak̄j̄i id., J: T k̄aki, K k̄ak̄î, Kg kak̄í 'oyster' ¶ S AJ 272 [#219], S QJ #219, Mr. 434 ¶¶ S AJ 293 [#471], DQA #811 || **D** *k̄āk-/*kakk- ({ʒGS} *k-) > Ml kakka 'shell, cockle', Tl k̄aki cipra 'a bivalve shell', Klm k̄ake 'shell-fish, shell of snail', Nk k̄aki 'shell-fish, snail'; D ⇨ Sk k̄akinī- ~ k̄akinī- 'the shell Cypraea moneta' ¶¶ D #1423 || **HS**: S: Ar qinqin- 'e coquillage marin' ¶ BK II 825 || Eg XVIII k̄k̄ 'e vessel of alabaster', Eg G k̄k̄.ty '(?) bark', Cpt: Sd k̄oyke k̄uke, B k̄oyki k̄uki 'skin, bark', ? Eg G k̄k̄, Cpt Sd/B k̄wk- k̄ōk- ~ k̄ok kok- v. 'bark' ¶ EG V 71, Vc. 74 || NrOm: DMa {Fl.} q̄oq̄aše, Shn D {Fl.} ḡōq̄a

'inner bark'; but hardly here Shn {Lm.} gōḱa 'dried skin', Kf {C} gokko 'pelle, pellami', Shk {Lm.} gōḱḱo 'skin', which are loans from C (Sd gogā 'skin', Or {Th., Brl.} goga 'skin, bark', etc.) ¶ Fl. OAM 27, Lm. Sh 308, C SE IV 442, Gs. 126, Th. 171, Brl. 179 || WCh: Tal ḱḱḱḱ 'bark', ? Ang {Flk.} kḱk 'skin' || Klr {J} àkḱḱḱḱ 'bark' ¶ JI II 8 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 91 [#21.2] (Eg, Om, Ch + unc. Irq qaḱway 'strip of hide' and Dhl ḱawe 'eggshell', see N *ḱewḱ 'bark, crust, shell') ◇ Tg *k- (for the expected Tg *ḱ- < N *ḱ-) may be due to as. The IE palatalization of the guttural stop and D *ā point to a N *ä, which suggests that pA {SDM97} *ä (> Tg *ḱa) may go back to N *ä.

1106. *ḱ'apa 'to close, to cover' > HS: S *ḱpp, as well as +ext.: *ḱp and (with deglottalization) *ḱpr and *ḱpn: [1] *ḱpp > Ar ḱff (pf. qaḱfa) 'se fermer comme un panier'; [2] WS *ḱp > Ar ḱfl v. G 'lock (serrer)', 'ramaser et serrer dans un magasin', Gz ḱfl 'overlay, cover', Mh/Jb/Sq {Jo.} ḱfl v. 'close, lock'; [3] *ḱpr v. 'cover' > Ar ḱfr G id., BHb ḱpr v. 'smear, pitch'; [4] WS *ḱpn > Ar ḱfn v. G (pf. kafana) 'cover bread with hot ashes, shroud (a corpse)', kafan- 'shroud (linceul)', Gz ḱfn G v. 'cover, veil', Mh, Jb ḱfn 'enshroud (a corpse)' (← Ar?) ¶ BK II 786, 791, 916, Hv. 660, LG 276, 424, Jo. M 235, KB 470, KBR 493-5 || B *ḱyf > Gd εḱēf v. 'hide' ¶ Lf. I 252, 296-7, II #0732 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kúḱí v. 'cover', kúḱí n. 'cover (Deckel)' || CCh: ?ZmB {J} kùḱó v. 'cover', ZmD {KNC} kùḱḱ? ḱí 'close the eyes' || WCh: Ang {Orm.} kḱp v. 'cover', {Flk.} kḱp v. 'close tight, shit up (a fist)' ¶ ChC, Eb. 74, Ormsby s.v. kḱp, Flk. s.v. kḱp, KNC 14 || K: G ḱapan-i 'a cover (for covering food)' ¶ Chx. 571, DCh. 605 || A *k'apa- > T *k'ap(a)- > Tkm Δ ḱap- v. 'close', Tk kapā-, Ggz kapā-, Kr Cr, Nog qaḱā- v. 'close, lock', Chv L ḱup/b- id., v. 'hide'; → T *k'ap-gak, *k'ap-ug 'a cover, lid' > OT qaḱaq 'lid, cover, eyelid', MQp, MOg qaḱaq, Chg qabaḱ/q 'eyelid', OOsM qaḱaq 'eyelid', Tv ḱavaq 'forehead', XwT qabaq eyelid, virgin's hymen', Tk kapak, Tkm ḱapaq, Az ḱapaq, Ggz kapak, Nog, ET, Ln qaḱaq, Qrg qaḱaq, Qzq, Qq, Alt qaḱaq 'a cover, lid', Xk ḱaḱpaḱ, Yk ḱappaḱ, ET qaḱaq id., 'eyelid', Chv ḱob_aḱ 'eyelid' ¶ Cl. 582-3, ET KQ 263-4, TL 212-3, TvR 460 || M *qaḱa- (< **qaḱa-) > MM [HI] qaḱa- v. 'close (fermer)', WrM qaḱa-, HIM ḱaa- v. 'close, surround' ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 905 || Tg: Nn {Prt.} ḱapḱy 'a cloth for covering the face of a dead person', {On.} ḱāptō 'kerchief covering the head from the chin to the sinciput; a cloth worn by a clan's judge when

investigating a case' ¶ On. NRS 455, Prtd. s.v. **χαπτῦ** || **U**: FU (in BF only) *^okapal- > F kapalo, Krl A kabalō, Krl Ld, Vp kabał, Es kapala-
 υōō 'swaddling-band', Vo kapaloittā 'to swaddle, to wrap in swaddling-
 bands' ¶ SK 159, SSA I 304 || **D** *kapp-/*kav- ({^oGS} *k-) v. 'cover' >
 Tm kappu v. 'overspread (as a cloud)', kavī v. 'cover, overspread',
 Ml kappuka id., kavīyan 'wrapper, pillowcase', Kt kavč- v. 'cover
 with a garment', Td kofč- id., Kn kappu v. 'cover, spread, overspread',
 kavī, Tl kappu, Prj kapp- v. 'cover, overspread', Tu kabīyuni v.
 'besiege, surround, overspread', Knd kap- v. 'overcast the sky' (of
 clouds), Ku kap^hanaj v. 'outflank', Krx k^hap- v. 'cover exactly' ¶¶ **D**
 #1221 ◇ Arm **կոպ** kop 'eyelid' and **կափուցանեմ** kap^huc^hanem (aor.
կափուցի kap^huc^hi) v. 'cover, shut, close' (with an irregular k- and
 irregular vowels) are likely to be loans from an unknown source ◇ The
 N initial cns. is ***կ**- unless G **կեբան**-i is a loanword. If **կեբան**-i is a loan,
 the N etymon is ***Καπα** ◇ ≈ Gr. II #342 (*kapa 'skin, bark, cover(ing)'
 (IE, A, Ko, J, Ai + err. U)

1107. **ւ** ***Қар** ▽ ~ ***Қар** ▽ 'to seize' (***Қ**- = ***q**-?) (with a N variant
 ***Қаб** ▽ - possibly due to the infl. of N ***газб** ▽ 'hold, seize' and N
 ***қабъâ** 'bite') > **HS**: S *^o✓**қбw** > Ar ✓**qbw** (pf. qabā, ip. -qbū) v.
 'hold\take with fingers', ***[қр-** ~ ***[қб-** +ext.: CS *^o✓**қрš** > Ar ✓**qfs** G
 'saisir qn. aux cheveux, saisir violamment une chose comme pour
 l'arracher', {Hv.} 'take hold of so. by the hair, grasp', Sr ✓**қрš** D 'catch
 with the open mouth', *^o✓**қбθ** > Ar ✓**qbθ** v. (ip. -qbīθu) 'saisir', *^o✓**қбç**
 > Ar ✓**qbç** (ip. -qbīçu) 'take (sth.) with the ends of the fingers', *^o✓**қбš**
 > Ar **قبض** ✓**qbš** (pf. qabašā, ip. -qbīšū) 'serrer\fermer la main en
 contractant les doigts', ps. (pf. qubišā) 'be seized with the hand, be
 grasped'; less plausibly WS *^o✓**қбl** v. 'receive, accept' (> BHb ✓**қбl** D
 'accept, receive', Aram, Sr, Mh, Tgy ✓**қбl** (mainly D) v. 'receive', Ar
 ✓**қбl** G id.) which may be alternatively explained as d. from S ***қабil-**
 'in front of' ¶ KBR 1061-2, Br. 686, BK II 657-61, 665, 670, 789, Hv.
 584-6, BDB #690, LG 418-9 || Eg P **қfr** 'fassen (jems. Hände)' ¶ EG V
 32 || EC ***қаб-** {Ss., Bl.} v. 'catch, have' > Sa {R} **kab-** id.; pSam ***қаб-** >
 Sml **qab-** {Abr.} v. 'catch hold of, have', {DSI} 'avere, tenere', Rn {PG}
χab- 'have, possess', **χab-s-** 'hold, get hold of; catch, grab'; pBn d. ***қаб-**
зд- ({Hn.} ***qab-зд-**) v. 'catch, seize' > Bn K **қабар-**, Bn Ba **gabд-**, Bn J
obзд-, Bn Bi/Sa/Kj **owд-**; Or {Grg.} **қаб-** 'have, seize', Or H **қаб-** v. 'have,
 hold', Or S **қаб-** ~ **қaw-** v. 'have, catch, seize', Kns {BISO} **qap-** v. 'catch,

have, hold', Gdl {Bl.} $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'catch, have'; Dsn {To.} $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\beta$ 'have', Arr $\kappa\alpha\beta$ - v. 'have', 'mate' (of a male animal); Gwd {Ss.} $\gamma\alpha\pi$ -, $\gamma\epsilon\pi$ -, Gln {AMS} $\gamma\alpha\pi$ - v. 'catch' ¶ Bl. 197, 317, Ss. PEC 14, 48, Hn. BD 97, Abr. S 196-7, DSI 479, Schlee SSR 133, Sim 16, 26, PG 186, Th. 264-5, Sr. 350, 352, Grg. 311-2, Ow. 266, BISO 156, Bl. G 65, Ss. D 216, Hw. A 377, AMS 200, To. DL 502 || ??σ NrOm: Kf {C} $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'swallow', Mch {L} $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\alpha$ v. 'finish, take a mouthful' ¶ LM 47, C SE IV 486 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} * $\gamma\alpha\phi$ - 'grasp' > P' {MSk.} $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\phi\grave{\alpha}$ 'take a handful of', Plc {ChL} $\gamma\upsilon\pi$ -tu, Ngz {Sch.} $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Bd $\gamma\alpha\phi$ 'grasp', Tng $\kappa\bar{\omega}\beta\epsilon$ 'catch a thing', ? Hs $\iota\kappa\alpha\phi$ 'the security of hold'; SBc * $\kappa\bar{\nabla}\beta$ - (mte. from * $\kappa\bar{\nabla}\beta\mid\pi$ -) > Dw $\kappa\bar{\omega}\beta\iota\upsilon$ v. 'seize', Kir $\kappa\upsilon\beta\upsilon\epsilon$ v. 'seize, hold' ¶ ChL, Stl. IF 111 (+ unc. Ang $\gamma\alpha\pi$ 'tongs'), Sch. DN 66 ¶ Plc $\gamma\grave{\upsilon}\pi\tau\upsilon$, Ngz $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Bd $\gamma\alpha\phi$ may alternatively (\Leftrightarrow Stl.) belong to N * $\gamma\alpha\phi\beta\bar{\nabla}$ 'hold, seize' || IE: NaIE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'seize' > Gk $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ v. 'gulp down', $\kappa\acute{\omega}\pi\eta$ 'handle' || pAl * $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha$ (< IE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ -) > Al $\kappa\alpha\pi$ 'I seize, grasp'; pAl * $\kappa\alpha\pi\mu\iota$ (< IE * $\kappa\alpha\pi$ -mi) > kam 'I have' || L $\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\omega$ / - $\epsilon\grave{\rho}\epsilon$ / $\kappa\epsilon\pi\iota$ / $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\upsilon\mu$ v. 'take' || OIr $\kappa\alpha\chi\tau$ 'maid-servant, bondmaid' (\div L $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\alpha$), Brtt (\div L $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\upsilon\varsigma$): W $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\theta$ 'slave', MCrm $\kappa\alpha\iota\delta$ 'captive', Br $\kappa\epsilon\alpha\zeta$ 'pauvre (unglücklich), infortuné' || Gmc: Gt $\eta\alpha\beta\alpha\eta$ 'to hold, to have', ON $\eta\alpha\phi\alpha$, AS $\eta\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\eta$, OHG, NHG $\eta\alpha\beta\epsilon\eta$ 'to have', NE $\eta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$; Gt $\eta\alpha\phi\eta\eta$, ON $\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\eta$, OSx $\eta\epsilon\beta\beta\iota\alpha\eta$, $\eta\epsilon\phi\phi\iota\alpha\eta$, OHG $\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\eta$, $\eta\epsilon\phi\phi\alpha\eta$, $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\eta$, NHG $\eta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\eta$, AS $\eta\epsilon\beta\beta\alpha\eta$ 'to raise', NE $\eta\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$; Gmc pp. (\div L $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\upsilon\varsigma$): ON $\eta\alpha\phi\tau\epsilon\eta$ 'Leibeigener', AS $\eta\alpha\epsilon\phi\tau$ 'prisoner, captive, slave', Gt $\eta\alpha\phi\tau\varsigma$ 'married' (\leftarrow pp. 'behaftet'), OHG $\eta\alpha\phi\tau$ 'hold (gehalten), tied, caught', NHG - $\eta\alpha\phi\tau$ (sx. of adjectives: $\eta\epsilon\beta\eta\alpha\phi\tau$, $\eta\epsilon\phi\eta\eta\alpha\phi\tau$, etc.) || Ltv $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau$ (prs. $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\upsilon$) 'to grip, to snatch, to seize' (generalization of the nasalized form of prs.) || OI $\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\bar{\iota}$ 'two handfuls' (\times N * $\kappa\alpha\pi\bar{\alpha}$ 'palm of hand, sole of foot') ¶ P 527-8, EI 563, WH I 159-60, F I 783-4, Vn. C 3, O 167-9, Huld 142, 145, 167, Fs. 229-30, Ho. 143-4, 153, Ho. S 31-, Kb. 419, OsS 360, 362, 378, KM 278-80, 295, Kar. I 375-6, M KI 154 || $\iota\upsilon$: FU {Sz.} * $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi$ - \approx grasp, take' > Er $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\delta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ 'to grasp, to take quickly', Δ {Jv.} 'to swallow', Mk $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\delta\epsilon$ - $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\delta\epsilon$ - v. 'swallow, seize' and Δ {Jv.} 'take sth. into the mouth' (\times N * $\kappa\alpha\beta\beta\hat{\alpha}$ 'bite') || Vg: ML/LL/P/K {Mu.} $\kappa\eta\beta\epsilon\eta$ 'umnehmen, schnell anziehen (Schuhe)', N {Mu.} $\chi\alpha\beta\epsilon\eta$ ~ $\chi\alpha\beta\epsilon\eta$ id., 'erwischen' ({Mu.} $\epsilon \approx [\text{ə}]$) ¶ Sz. 35, KC 89, ERV 233, Jv. 176, PI 101-2, MK 106-7 ¶ F $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\alpha$ - v. 'take, capture, lay hold of', Es $\kappa\alpha\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha$ - v. 'seize by hand', and Hg $\kappa\alpha\pi$ - v. 'get, receive' are to be kept apart as independent onomatopoeic formations (on the ev. of the

etymologically irreg. phonemes: \bar{a} in BF [F, Es] and k- in Hg) (I am grateful to Jn. who helped me to analyze the FU data) || A *k'ap'∇- v. 'seize, hold' > T *k¹ap- v. 'grasp, seize' > OT qap-, Tk kap-, Ggz kap-, CrTt, Ln, SY qap- id., Az qap- 'snatch, seize', Tkm qap- v. 'catch, grasp, seize with the teeth \ by mouth', ET qap-, Nog qap/b- 'bite', Qq, VTt, Bsh qap-, Tf qāp-, Chv χιρ- 'seize with the teeth, take into the mouth, bite', Qzq qab- v. 'grasp, seize with the teeth', Qrg, Alt qap-, Xk χap- id., 'seize', Qmn, Tb qap- v. 'seize, catch', Xlj qap- 'rob', ? Tv χavir- 'expropriate, raise (taxes), levy (a tribute) ¶ Cl. 580, ET KQ 264-6, Rs. W 218, Ash. XVI 84, S AJ 194 [#211], Hüs. 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, B DChT 123, B DK 219, BIG 273, Fed. I 380, DT 174 ¶ The meaning 'take into the mouth' is due to contamination with N *k̄äbʔâ 'bite' || M *qabu-la- v. 'grasp' > WrM {Rs.} qab(u)la-, {Gl.} qabla- 'catch by hands\mouth', WrO xablu- ~ xabla- v. 'seize in the mouth or by hands', Kl xавл-х 'catch, seize by mouth', 'nachjagen und einholen; festnehmen, ergreifen'; ?σ M *qabu 'skill (esp. in handling a bow), strength' > MM [HI] qabu- in qabutān 'bons archers', WrM {MED} qabu ~ qaba, HIM xав 'skill in hunting\handling a bow, etc.', WrM {Kow.} qabu 'exercise, exercise en tire d'arc, adresse, agilité', Brt xаб 'strength, might, ability', WrO xaba 'capacity, comfort', xab ügei 'unskilled, a bad shot' (lit. 'no xab'), xabutai, xabatar 'skillful', Kl xав χavъ 'dexterity, marksmanship', 'Geschicklichkeit (z. B. zum Schießen)' ||| qu. (?σ): SDM97 adduces M *kab- 'pinch, squeeze, grasp' (actually *qabci- 'squeeze, pinch' [> WrM qabci- id., etc.] and *qabsi- 'put together' [> WrM qabsi- id.]) ¶ Gl. II 86, Ms. H 85, MED 900, Kow. 756, Chr. 524, KRS 561, KW 173-4, Krg. 236-8, SDM97 150 || Tg *xap-ki- v. 'strangle, suffocate' > Ewk apki-, Lm apqъ-, Neg apku- id., Ork apqι ~ χapqι- ~ χapqι- id., 'catch by the throat', Ewk Sm apki- v. 'strangle, suffocate; slaughter (a reindeer)' ¶ STM I 47 || ?σ pJ *káp- 'buy, exchange' > OJ kap-, J: T kà-, K/Kg ká- id. ¶ S AJ 272 [#198], S QJ #198, Mr. 706 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [#318] (T, M, Tg, J), DQA #974 (A *k'ap'∇ 'press, grasp') || D (in SD) *kapp- ~ *kaVV- ({ǂGS} *k-) v. 'seize with mouth' (× N *k̄äbʔâ '↑') > Tm kappu v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', kavvu v. 'seize with the mouth', Kdg kabb- 'seize with wide-open mouth' (of dogs, tigers, etc.) ¶¶ D #1222 ◇ Stl.'s WCh rec. *qof- (if valid) is likely to suggest a N etumon *qapa ◇ IS I 313-4 (*qaba/қар'а 'хватать': HS, K *k̄b- v.

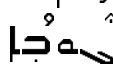
'bite', IE, U, D, A); IS does not distinguish between this √, N ***ḱäbʔâ** 'to bite' (→ 'eat'), and N ***gäsb** ∇ 'hold, seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II #331 (*kap 'seize') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, Gil).

1108. *Ḳap^rä^r 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof' > HS: S *kapp- 'palm of hand' > Hb קַפּ 'kap (pl. תַּפְּוֹתַי kap'pōt), OCn (EgSSc) ka-pa (= *kappa), Ug kṗ, JA [Trg.], Sr kap, em. kap'p-ā, Md kapā, Ar كَفَّ kaff- 'palm of hand', IA {HJ} kṗ id., 'hand', DA {HJ} kṗ 'hand', Mh {Jo.} kaf (pl. kəfəf), Hrs {Jo.} kef (pl. kəfūf), Jb E/C {Jo.} 'kef (pl. ek'fəf) 'palm of hand; paw, claw', Gz kāf 'heel, palm of hand, sole of foot', Ak (× S *ka¹nap- 'wing') kapru 'arm, hand; wing'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ka-pu 'hand' ¶ KB 468, HJ 528-9, OLS 221, ≈ A #1364, Hoch 318, Js. 657, Br. 339, Sl. P 266, JPS 222, BK II 910, Ln. 658, Jo. M 204, Jo. H 67, Jo. J 127, CAD VIII 185-9, Sd. 444, Hlk. #249, SivCR 85, MiK I #1.148 ¶ Hardly here WS *χ∇pp- 'hoof' > Ar خَفَّ χuff- 'sabot, pied (de l'autruche ou du chameau); plante de pied; bottine', Mh {Jo.} χaf (pl. χə¹fəwf) 'hoof, sole of foot', Hrs {Jo.} χef 'paw, hoof', Jb C {Jo.} χaf 'hoof' (BK I 598, Jo. M 438, Jo. H 140, Jo. J 298, MiK I #1.135) || Eg P kb.ωy 'soles of feet', Eg fP cḅ.ω 'sole of foot', cḅ.t, cḅ.ωt id., 'sandal' ¶ EG V 118, 361-3, Fk. 304 || EC: Sml {ZMO} qōb, Sml N {Abr.} qōb 'hoof of horse \ donkey \ cattle'; LEC {Bl.} *ka|ob- 'sandal' > Or {Grg.} kopē 'sandals, shoe', Or B kóbe?, Or W kope?, Sml káb, Bn kob, Arr kob, Gdl hop-ā, Elm kop, kóp-o?, Gwd χopé 'sandal', Gln hop-akkó (pl. hope) '(sole of) foot, sandal', Rn kób 'shoe, sandal', Af kab-eḷ, Kns xóp-ta (pl. xóp-ā) 'sandal, footprint', Gdl hóf-t 'footprint' ¶ Abr. S 203, ZMO 331, Bl. 151, 175, 192, Hw. A 374, AMS 202, 264, PG 198 || ?? NrOm: Anf {Gt.} kibbo 'arm (braccio)' || Ch: [1] Ch: Hs ḱáfà 'foot', ? Hs Kc ḱáfà 'hoof', Gw kápa 'foot, leg'; ? Ang {Flk.} kāp 'sandals' || ? ECh: Kbl, Gabri {AF} kob-in 'my hand' (-in is 'my'), Nng {AF} kebúng, Drm {AF} kobóng 'my arm' (-ng or -ung means 'my'), Kaba {AF} kobí 'arm', kabi kāsī 'hand' || [2] WCh *ḱ|qof- 'hoof' > Hs Sk ḱwáfà, Hs kófatò, Gw kòhóto 'hoof', Ang {Flk.} kωēb, {OS} k^ωēp, {Stl. IF ← ?} k^ωap 'hoof', {Sk.} k^ωep 'foot of all hooved animals except horse' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} kābē 'hoof', ? Lgn {Lk.} kḱáfe, {Mch.} kófe 'fingernail' ¶ Barg. 527, Mts. G 61, Lk. ZSS 87-92, ≠ Sk. HCD 165 ¶¶ OS #1428 (*kap- 'hand' > S, Eg kṗ), #1406 (*kab- shoe, sandal: Wanderwort in Eg, Ch), Blz. OLBP #1 (S, Om, Ch) || IE: NaIE *ko|ap- 'hoof' > Gmc (× N *ḲEP_∇_Z_∇ 'paw, hoof?'): ON hófr, NNr, Dn, Sw hov, OHG huof, NHG

Huf, AS hōf 'hoof', NE hoof ||| SI *kopīt-o, -a, -ъ 'hoof' (× d. from SI *kopa- 'dig?') > Ch, OR **КОПЫТО** kopīto, Blg ко'пито, SCr kōpīto, Slv kopíto, Cz, Slk, P коpуто, R копыто, Uk копито 'hoof' ||| OI караṭī 'two handfuls' (× IE NaIE *kap- v. 'seize' < N ***Қар** ▽ ~ ***Қар** ▽ 'seize') ¶ Av сафа- and OI ḥарна- 'hoof of a horse' are kept aside (they belong to IE ***к̑ор**H- < N ***ҚЕР** ▽ ▽ ▽) ¶ ≠ P 346-7 (IE ***ka**lор^ho- > □ Gmc, OI, Av), ≈ φ EI 272 (***к̑o**'ph₂o-s 'hoof'), M K I 154, Ho. 168, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, KM 318, Vr. 247; ≈ ESSJ XI 33-8 and Glh. 332 (SI *kopīto < d- *kopa- rather than < IE *ko|ap-), Ma. CS 276 ||| **U: [1] FU** (att. in FV) ***kä**ppä ≈ paw, foot' > F Δ **kä**ppä 'paw' ≍ **kä**(p)pä '(seizing) hand', Krl **kä**ppä 'bird's foot', Es **kä**pp (gen. **kä**pa) 'paw', {W} id., 'hand (of little children)', Lv **kä**p'ä 'foot (of a dog, cat); -d > BF ***kä**pälä > F **kä**pälä, Vr **kä**baál 'paw, foot' ||| Er кепе кере, Mk кяпе **kä**pä 'barefoot' ¶ UEW 651-2 (***kä**pä 'paw, hand;), SK 26O-1, SSA I 474, W ESS 246, ERV 254 ||| [**2**] FU ***ka**ppp₁ ▽ > Chr H каβαλ 'heel' ||| ?φ **A: pKo** {S} ***kú**p 'hoof' > MKo **kú**p, NKo kup ¶ S QK #514, MLC 22O || pJ {S} ***kù**pi-(mpi)sù 'heel' > OJ **kù**pīpīisù, J: T **kù**bisu ~ **kì**bisu, K **kù**bisù, Kg kubísu ¶ S QJ #487, Mr. 461 || ?φ M ***qay**ira- (if from ***qay**ira-) 'kick with a hind leg' > WrM **qair**a-, HIM хайра- v. 'kick forward with a hind leg', Ord **χā**r- 'kick aside with the hind leg', WrO **χair**a- 'flail out, kick' (of horses), Kl **хә**р- **χā**r- v. 'kick with the hind legs' (of cows, bulls, and camels), Brt **хай**ра- id. (of cows, camels, sheep, goats) ¶ MED 913, Ms. O 346, Krg 253, KRS 587, KW 18O, Chr. 534 ¶¶ DQA #835 (A ***k**_L'jāpu ~ ***k**_L'e|apu 'hoof, heel') ◇ Eg b for the expected p is still to be explained.

1109. *ҚАР ▽ 'leaf' > **K: OG** ***қ**ep-i 'sheet (in a book)' (Jer. 36.23), G ***қ**ep-i 'sheet (of paper)' ||| **A** ***к**'ap ▽ ... > Tg ***xab**da 'leaf (of a plant) > Ewk abdanna, Ewk Tkm awdan, Lm **zbdan**rə ≍ **zndzndz**, Neg abdana, abdahān, Orc abdasā ≍ abdaha, **χ**amdata, Ud {Krm.} abdehæ, Ul **χ**abdata, Ork **χ**amdata, Ul, Nn Nh **χ**abdata, Nn KU abdana, Nn B **χ**aftaṇa, **χ**abtaca ~ **χ**abca ~ **χ**aftaca, WrMc **abdaxa** id., Neg **abda-xān** 'small leaf, flower'; Tg ***к**_Lṅapa-qa 'leaf' > WrMc {Z} **afaxa** 'leaf (floating on water)', {Z, Hr.} 'sheet of paper', Mc Sb **afzḥz** 'leaf', {Mrm.} **afχa** 'leaf; sheet of paper, paper, Jrc {Kiy.} **abuha** 'leaf' ¶ STM I 3, 5, Z 26, 56, Hr. 12, Krm. 2O3, Kiy. 1O4 [#119], Y #2137, Klz. MS 93 ||| **HS: ECh: Kwn** {J} **kā**pī 'leaf', {Blz. ← ?} **ká**pān id. ¶ ChC, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf'.

1109a. *k'a'p'u' 'bird' > **HS:** Om: NrOm: Kf {C} kafō, {Msr.} ka'fo, {HHM} kafo, Amuru {Fl.} káffa, Zl {C} kafō, Zs {Si.} ka'פו, Zrg {Si.} 'kapo, Wl {LmS} kafuwa_, {C} kafō, {Fl.} kafo, Gf {C} kafā, Gm {Hw.} kapó, Omt {Mrn.} kapo ~ kafo, Bdt {C} kabō, {Fl.} kaffo, Anf {Gt.} kafo, {C} kafō, Cha {Fl.} kafa, Shn {Lm.} kafá, {C} kafā, Dwr {LmS} kafwa ~ kaffo, Bnc {Wdk.} káp, Gnj {Si.} ka'ho, Gem ka'פו, Hz {Siw} kábbi, Sz I kawī?, Sz II kawī?, Malo {Fl.} kafó, Bsk {Fl.} kafa || Mj {LmS, C} kēbi, Na {C} kap^hu, {Fl.} kab, Shk {Fl.} kēbi, {LmS} kafo 'bird' ¶ C SE IV 460 and III 204, C SO 31, 44, 50, 61, 69, Lm. Sh 325, LmS 409, Wdk. BY 143, Si. ACh 12, SiW BA 10, Fsl. OWL s.v. 'bird', Gt. 354, HHM 11, Msr. 195, Hw. EG s.v. 'bird', Mrn. O 148 || Ch: CCh: Kola {Sb.} káḅárâm, FIJ xùbwàtì 'bird' || WCh: Zul kiburi, Kir kuk^wàbìr, Buli kubìr 'dove' ¶ ChC, JI II 23, ChL || ? Eg fMK k^bḥ.ω 'waterfowl' (pl.) ¶ EG V 30 ¶¶ A connection of this root with S *ka'nap-, C {AD} kanp- 'wing', and C *k∇mP∇r 'bird' is not convincing enough (see s.v. N *k'ay'ñ∇ 'wing, feather', AD SF 65) ¶¶ Blz. OL #159 || D: SD *kuppū]- 'bird' > Kn Hv kuppū]u 'a bird', Tu kipulu ~ kip(u)]u 'crow-pheasant' ¶ D #1735 || ?σ IE: NaIE (+ext.) *kops- 'blackbird' > Gk κόψ-τιχος id., Sl *kosъ id. > RChS КОСЪ КОСЪ, Blg, McdS КОС, SCr, Slv kōs, Cz, Slk, P kos, Uk Δ κικ id. ¶ P 614-5, EI 70, F I 930, ESSJ XI 175-8, Glh. 335 || K: G {Chx.} ḅapoeti ḅ ḅapoeti 'a bird older than 1 year', 'ε bird of prey', {DCh.} ḅapoeti 'a year-old bird' ¶ Chx. 550, DCh 593 ◇ The glottalized -ḅ- in Kola and Zul and the geminate *-pp- in D may be accounted for by a N emphatic *ḅ. In Ch there is deglottalization *ḅ- > *k-. The voicing *ḅ > Eg b defies explanation (a reflex of the second component of the underlying cd. [voiced cns. + *Vh|χ]?). SD *u of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. ◇ The equation witween Om, Ch, and D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #12b).

1110. *ḅop∇ 'trunk, log' > **HS:** Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kápaḅ 'tree', Mgm {JA} kûpè '(ε) tree' ¶ ChC, Eb. 68 || ?φ S *ogūb- > Sr  gūb-ā, cs. gūb 'beam, joist, plank' ¶ JPS 62, Br. 100 || U: FU *k'o'pp'E' 'log, boat' > Vt кыпы kîpî 'log (колода)' || pObU {Ht.} *kîp∇ 'boat (Kahn)' > pVg {Ht.} *kîp∇ > OVg: S ChusO kâeba, S VT/Kg каба, S SSs kahbe, W P капъ, E TM kâp, Tb кыпъ, N SoG чар, N SoO хàабъ; Vg: T kâp, MK/OK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML kâp, LK/UL/Ss xâp id.; pOs {Ht.} *kap id. > Os: K χop, Nz/Kz χop, O χар ¶ Coll. 93, U33S 244, Ht. #302 || A: [1] *ok₁'oP∇ 'trunk, log, trough, box' > M *qobu'γ'a > WrM qobuga, HIM

хОВОО 'trough, well bucket', Kl хова χοω, {Rm.} χοωā 'well bucket of leather' (↳ T: Tkm qowa, etc.; ffd. *see* ET Q 12-3) ¶ MED 950, KRS 591, KW 191 || ?? AdS of T: > Tk gövde, Az ğövdä 'trunk (of a tree/body)' (< N *gæʔ'Up∇ 'body') ¶ ET VGD 52-3, Cl. 688 || [2] *k'op'Er∇ 'bridge' > M *köyürge 'bridge' > MM [HI] keürge, WrM kögerge(n) ~ kögürge, HIM хөөрөг, Ord k'örgö, Brt хүүргэ, Mnr H {SM} k'örgüü, {T} kōlgo id., ?? Kl {Rm.} ğūr '(small) bridge' ¶ Ms. H 71, MED 480, SM 205, T 340, KW 140, Chr. 634, Cl. 690 (M ↳ T *köprüg) || T *köpür, -üg 'bridge' > [a] QrB, Kr Cr köpür, Tk Δ köpür ~ köper ≙ küper, Qzq, Qq, Nog köpir, VTt, Bsh küpür, Slr kömur, Chv kab_er; [b] OT {Cl.} köprüg, MQp XIII köprī, XIV (incl. CC) köprü, XwT XIV köprü(g), Chg ≥xv, ET köprük, Uz кωprük, ET kövrük, Tv kǫvürüş, Tv NW xǫvürüg, Tf kǫprüg ~ képrüg, Tk köprü, Tkm köpri, Az körpü 'bridge' ¶ Cl. 690, ET KQ 112-3 || Tg *xururu 'bridge, rift (in a river)' > Jrc hufurun 'bridge', Nn B xurfu, Ewk ðran 'rift in a river (порог, перекат, 'Stromschwelle)' ¶ STM I 479 and II 23, Dr. TM 136 [#561] || ??σpJ *kápará 'shallow sandy place in a river or on its bank' > OJ kapara, J: T kàwara, K káwára, Kg kawára ¶ S QJ #1372, Mr. 446 ¶¶ DQA #1125 (A *k'óp'ira 'rift [in a river], bridge': T, M *köyürge, Tg, J), ≠ Rm. SKE 131 ¶¶ The primary menaing of *k'op'Er∇ is likely to have been 'bridge', whence (a μφ) 'shallow place in a river (natural bridge)'.

1111. ι *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble' > IE: NaIE *keup- 'boil, evaporate' > OI 'κυρῡατι 'is excited, is angry' (< *'is boiling'), 'κῡρα-ḥ 'fury, passion, wrath, anger' || Gk κάπος, [Hs.] κάπυς 'breath', Gk καπνός 'smoke' || OL uarpōs (< *kypōs), L vapōr 'vapour, steam', L cupio 'I desire, long for' (< *'boil with desire') || OIr {Thr.} ad-cobra (< *-kypāt) 'desires' (< *'boils with desire'), vb. n. accobor || BSl: [1] Lt kvāpas 'breath, smell', kvēpti vi. 'to smell (of sth.)', kvēpti 'to pant, to breathe', Ltv kyp̃t 'to ferment' (of wine), Pru kyp̃sins 'fog'; [2] (with a long vw. *ū): Lt kūp̃io-ti 'to pant, to breathe with difficulty', kūp̃eti vi. 'to boil', Ltv kūp̃ē-t 'to smoke, to reek, to steam' || Sl *kīp̃eti vi. 'to boil' > OCS кыпѣти kīp̃eti, Blg ки'пя, SCr кѣпѣти ≙ kīp̃jeti, Slv kīp̃eti, Cz kyp̃eti, Slk kyp̃iet', Р кѣпѣс, R ки'петъ, Uk ки'пѣти id. || IE *keupH-/*kwH̃p- (> NaIE *kw̃ap-) (from *keup- + sx. *-H-) > Gk Hm κεκαφῡ́οτα θυμῡν 'breathing forth one's life' (prtc. pf.) || Gmc (with anomalous Gmc *p < *pH?): Gt af-harpjan 'to suffocate, to extinguish', af-harpan 'to

extinguish', MHG *verwepfen* 'to get stale\ropy' (of wine), ON {Fs.} *hvap* 'dropsical flesh', Ic *hvap* {Bv.} 'flabby flesh\muscle' ¶ P 596-7, M KI 230, FI 781-2, WH II 732-3, Thr. § 227, Frn. 313, 325, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 296-300, ESSJ XIII 265, Glh. 318, Fs. 7, Lx. 285, Bv. 319, ≈ EUC 529 (**k^wh_hwep-* or **k_Lw_Luh_hp-* 'smoke, seethe') || A: T **k'öp(∇)-* v. 'swell, foam, boil over' (**k'*- on the ev. of the Og lgs.) > MQp]CC] *köb-*, Osm XVI *köp-* 'swell', MQp XV *köp-* 'boil over', Az, Blq, ET, Xk, Yk *köp-*, Qmq *göp-*, Nog *köb-*, VTt *küb-* (→ Chv *күп-* *küb-*), Bsh *күбе-* *kübb-*, Qq *кep-* 'swell, be blown up', Alt/Tlt/QK/Kü {Rl.} *köp-* 'swell (anschwellen)', Shor *köp-* v. 'foam, ferment (schäumen, säuern, sauer werden)', Qrg *köp-mö* 'swollen'; → T **k'öpik* 'foam, froth' > OT *körük*, Tk *körük*, Qzq *көбік* *köbik* id., Az *көпүк* *körük*, Chg, OXwT, OQp, Ggz, Tkm, ET *körük*, Qmq *göbük*, Qq, Nog *köbik*, VTt, Bsh *күбек* *kübyk*, Qrg *köbük*, Xk *көбік* *köbyk*, Tv *köbük*, Tf {ET} *k'öpük*, Chv *кәпәк* *kəbək* 'foam', SY {ML.} *көвүк* ~ *kivük* 'foam (in camel's mouth)' ¶ Cl. 687, 689, ET KQ 109-11, Rs. W 291, Bu. II 143, Rl. II 1310-1, Hüs. 174, GRM 287, Jud. 413, 426, Jeg. 100, 124, Fed. I 255-6, 323-4 || ?ϕ U: FU: Lp T {TI} *k'ä^wv^a-* 'boil up, foam (up)' (p. 3s *k'ä^wv^ai*, 1p *k'ä^wv^{en}*) and possibly vt. 'cook' {SK}: Lp T *k'ip'te-δ*, Kld *kij't'e-δ*, Nt *k'ej'tte-d* ¶ TI 127, SK 178, UEW 143-4, Coll. 23 ¶¶ IS I 364 suggests to adduce words of other branches of Uralic that have no traces of **p* (F *keitttää*, etc.), but this is too speculative to be accepted, the more so that they have been explained by UEW as going back to U **keye-* vi. 'boil', 'be cooked', 'be ready' (of cooked food), 'ripen' (UEW 143-4) || HS: B **✓kff* ~ **✓kfy* > ETwl *ukäf*, Ty *əkäf* 'se gonfler, être gonflé' (both from B **✓wkf* with a HS md.-ps. px. **w-*), Zng {IS ← ?} *ukfey* v. 'boil', {Bs.} *✓kf^w* (*akuffo*, aor. *yakuffo*) v. 'foam', u-*kfuč* 'ébullition', ? *л* Kb *щщəfkəf* 'faire un bruit d'eau qui court en bouillonnant']B **✓kfh* ~ **✓kfs* (partially *л*) 'foam, saliva' (× N **ko^rq^p∇* 'mucus, slime' → 'saliva' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II #O736, Bs. MS I 231 ◇ IS I 363-5 [#240] (**Ḳüpä* in IE, T, M, Zng *✓kfy*, Lp T *k'ip'te-*). Cp. N **Ḳ'u^rp∇* 'bubble, pustule, blister' (belongs here as a sd.?) ◇ The front vw. in T may be due to vw. harmony.

1112. **ḲupE* (or **Ḳüp∇*) 'to bend (a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.)', 'elbow' > HS: S **✓kpy* ~ **✓kpy* ~ **-kūp-* ~ **✓kpp*: **✓kpy* 'elbow' > Mh *šəf'fay* (pl. *šəfōf*), Hrs *šəffi* ~ *šəf'fəy*, Jb E *šə'fəf*, Jb C *šə'fəf* 'elbow'; **✓kpy* v. 'bend (a knee), bow' > JA {Lv.} *כפכ* *✓kpy|w*, Sr

✓kpy (pf. **כַּפָּה** kə'pā) id., JBA {Sl.} ✓kpy 'bend over, overturn'; S *-kūp- > Ak StB kâpu v. 'bend (?)', JA {Js.} **כַּפָּה** ✓kwp id. (act. prtc. **כַּפָּה** kā'pīp ~ **כַּפָּה** kā'yīp ~ **כַּפָּה** kā'yēp), Sr ✓kwp id. (pf. **כַּפָּה** kāp 'flexit'), **כַּפָּה** kaw'pā 'flexio'; S *✓kpp (× N *kib∇ 'hump, bend') > BHb ✓kpp G (pf. **כַּפָּה** kā'pāp) v. 'bend, bow down', JEA {Sl.} ✓kpp G vt. 'bend, overcome', Sr ✓kpp (pf. **כַּפָּה** kap) v. 'bow, bend (a knee)', JA ✓kpp (pf. **כַּפָּה** kə'pāp ~ **כַּפָּה** kə'pēp) v. 'bend, curve', Ak ✓kpp 'bend', Sr kəpī'p-ā 'hump', ? Htr kpp? 'ε architectural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar ✓kff G 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', 's'entortiller les pieds, etc., avec un chiffon' ¶ KBR 484-5, Lv. T I 378, Sl. 594-7, JPS 222, Js. 623-4, 661, Br. 323, 339-40, BK II 909, Hv. 658, Jo. M 398, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 268, CAD VIII 192, HJ 531, BK II 909 || Eg fP kfrn '(Arme [in Demut]) beugen' ¶ EG V 32 || Ch {Stl.} *gufi- 'knee' > WCh: Hs g^wīwā id. | Ngz {Sch.} kufú id. | ? Buli {Sh.} gāfìn id. || CCh: ZmD {Srp} giffi, Msm guf id. || ECh {J}: Mgm gìppì, EDng gíró, Bdy gèpé id. | Jg giφo, Brg gífi, Mu gìp (pl. gòbúb) id. | Smr {J} gùbé, Tmk {Cp.} gùb, Nd D {J} gùb¹ id. ¶ Stl. IF 164-5, ≈ JI I 106 (*g∇p- < Ch *✓grp 'knee') and II 214-5 || IE: NaIE *k[̂]eyub- 'sich im Gelenk biegen' > Gk κύβος 'hollow above the hips of cattle', [Rh.] 'knucklebone' → 'a dice' (↳ L cubus 'Kubus, Würfel, Kubikzahl'), Gk [Poll.] κύβων 'elbow' || L cubitus 'elbow' || Gmc (× N ≈ *Kūlyt₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 589-90, Mn. 579, WH I 297-8, F II 39-40, Fs. 277-8, Ho. 184, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319 || A: M *kō|übüre- v. 'bend' (× N *kib∇ 'hump, bend') > WrM köbüre-, HIM xγβpax v. 'bend, bow down, incline' ¶ MED 477 || pKo {S} *kōp-, *kup- 'be bent' > MKo kōp-, *kup-, NKo kop-, *kup- ¶ S QK #1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 220 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #883 (incl. M, Ko).

1113. *K¹u¹p∇, *-l∇ 'bubble, pustule, blister' > **U:** [1] FU *kupp∇ 'abscess, tumour' > F kuppa 'bubble, blister, tumour', Es kupp 'bump, boss', {W} 'Blase, kleine Beule, Knopf; Buckel' || Mk κοπα kopa 'boil, furuncle (Geschwür, Beule), Er {W} kopa 'Beule; Schamgegend' || Hg Δ hupolyag, hup(p)alag, hupojag 'pustule, water-bubble on the skin, furuncle-like tumour; swelling (on a tree, etc.)' || [2] FU *kupe(-n|ña) 'fish-sound, swimming-bladder' > F kupinas, Krl kupino id. | Lp: I ko'pp'ān, Pa koʒp'ēn id. (↳ Krl?) || Vg: T kārən, LK xūl-xōpən, P kul-kōpən, Ss xūl-xōpna id. (xūl, kul 'fish') || [3] FU *kup¹a 'bubble, foam bubble' > F kupla 'water bubble, fish-sound, swelling, tumour', Es kubel, {W.} kubl 'bubble, blister, wheal' | pLp {Lr.} *kop¹ē 'bubble,

fish-sound' > Lp: Kld {TI} ko₁p:lěs, Nt {TI} ko|ppa₁łěs id., N {Fri.} goblo, Vfs {Lgc.} g₁qbqłūō' 'lung' | Chr L кувыл kuwъл, Uf kuwъл, H къwъл 'water-bubble' || ObU: ?φ Os: K χōmāl 'bubble, pustule, wheal, corn (on the foot)', V qomlāη, D χōmālsōχ, Nz χōmlasōχ 'fish-sound' (sqχ 'fell'), Vy yēηki qōmlāη 'water-bubble, wheal', K χōmlāχint- 'produce water-bubbles' (of burned skin); Os m is irreg. | Hg hólɣag, Δ hōjig, hojog, holag, howlag, hōlag 'bubble, urinal bladder, water-bubble', (Δ) 'fish-sound' ¶ UEW 212-4, Lr. #457, Hs. 539, W EDW 413, PI 125, TI 148, MRS 236 || D (in SD) ɿ *ko|upp-, ko|upp^a]- ({ǵGS} *gobb- ~ [?] *kopp-) 'bubble; pustule, blister' > Tm koppa₁am, koppu₁, koppu₁am id., koppa₁i, koppu₁i v. 'blister, rise in bubbles (as water)', koppū₁ 'pustule, blister', Ml koppu₁ 'bubble, pustule', Kn kupa₁isu v. 'blister', Kn T gōbbe, Tu gōbbuli 'bubble' ¶ D #2106 || A *^ok'U¹b∇(k∇) ~ ?φ *k'ab∇ > M *quβqanag 'scrotum of animals' > WrM quqanag, HIM хуухнаг, Brt хууханаг ¶ MED 993, Kow. 875, Gl. 147, Chr. 607 || ?φ T *k₁'₁abuk 'bladder' > OT {Cl.} qavuuq ~ qaγuuq, OQp XIV, Chg ≥XV qawuuq, OOsM ≥XIV qavuuq, Tk kavυk, Tkm, Az gowuuq, Uz қовуқ qawuuq, Qzq, Qq, Nog quwIQ, VTt quwъq, Bsh qъwъq, Xk χōχ, Yk χabaχ id., Osm {Rl.} qawIQ 'hollow object' ¶ Cl. 583, ET KQ 174, Rl. II 467-8 || ?φ Tg *xap- 'fish bladder' > Ewk aγ, Ul χāpa (↳ Neg L xāpɿ), Neg U āpɿ, ?φ Ewk kapata id. ¶ STM I 11, 376 ¶¶ DQA #1049 (A *k'jōba(k∇) - *k'jābu(k∇) 'bladder, scrotum') ¶¶ The vw. *a in T and Tg is puzzling (infl. of a different A root [or N word]?) ◇ Is it connected with N *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble'?

1114. *kuP₁∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance' > HS: S: [1] *^okupp- > Ar quff- 'hill, a height (terrain ou pays plus élevé que les entours); back (dos, dessus d'une ch.)'; [2] WS (or CS?) *kupp- ~ *kipp- > MHb הַפָּה, הַפָּה קִיפָּה kip'pā 'heap, pile', Ar kūf-at- 'mound of sand', 'monticule arrongie de sable' ¶ BK II 786, 944, Hv. 619, 670, Js. 635, Lv. II 375 || SC: Kz {E} kipeto 'anthill' ¶ EK 12 || IE: NaIE *koupo- 'pile, heap, hill, mountain' > OPrs kaufa-, CINPrs كوه kōh, NPrs كوه kuh 'mountain', NPrs كوهان kuhān 'camel'syak's hump', Av kaofa- 'mountain, camel's hump' || pAl {O} *kūpa > Al qipɿ 'stack' || OSx huvil 'hill, hillock', OHG hubil 'hill', NHG Hübel 'hillock'; NNr hov 'a height, small hill' || Lt káupas ~ kaūpas 'heap, pile', kùpstas 'hill' | Sl: [1] *kupъ > OCS коупъ купъ, Blg куп, SCr кӯр, Slv kùp 'heap', Cz kup id.,

'multitude'; [2] *kupa > OR, RChS **кoupа** кupa, Cz, P кupa, R Δ, Uk кyпa 'heap', SCr кỳpa 'heap, cone', Blg кyпa 'heap, pile, stack' ¶ P 591-2, Brtl. 431-2, Ho. 168, Ho. S 38, Kb. 484, OsS 427, KM 318, O 361, Frn. 23, StSS 299, ESSJ XIII 107-8, 114-5 || **К** *қop- > G қop-i 'bump\lump (on one's head)', Sv {Ni.} қwep id., ? Sv UB {GP} қwep 'button of clothing' ¶¶ Ni. s.v. шишка || **А:** NaT *k'öp - *k'öp 'multitude, many' (× N *қopBE 'to fill; whole' [q.v. ffd.]) || **Д:** [1] {tr.} *kupp- 'heap, hill', {GS} *kup- 'heap' > Tm кyppam 'multitude, heap', Ml кyppa 'heap (of dirt\refuse)'. Kt kip 'heap of weeds\rubbish', Td kip 'rubbish', Tl кyppa 'heap, pile', Kn кyппe, гуппe id., 'dung-hill', Kdg кyppi 'a dropping of dung', Tu кyppæ, гуppæ 'heap', Prj кyppa 'stack, mound', koppa 'small hillock', Gdb кyppa, Mnd кupa 'heap', Gnd kope 'hill', Knd кupa 'heap of grain', Png кupa 'heap, stock', Kui кupa 'hillock', Kw kūpa 'mound', кyppa 'stock', Mlt qope 'hep, pile' || [2] *kupp- ({GS} *gubb-) 'knob, protuberance' > Kn gubbi id., кyppu, гуppu 'an abnormal globular excrescence of the body', Ml кyppi 'brass knob on tip of bullock's horn', Tu gubbi, gubbæ 'stud, knob, button', Tl g u b b a 'knob, protuberance, woman's breast', Knd koparam hump of bullock', Mlt gupeṛ 'hump of ox' ¶¶ D ##1731, 1743 || ?φ **U:** FU (att. in BF) *kärü 'cone (of conifers)' > F käpy, Es käbi id. ¶ The unexpected vw. *ä needs explaining ¶ SK 261, SSA II 475.

1115. *Kup̄∇ 'box, basket' > **HS:** S *kupp(-at)- > Ak қypp-u(m) 'box' ('Kasten'), MHb הַבִּיבָה қypp'pā 'basket, box' ('Korb'), IAr qph (emph. qpt?) 'basket', JPA אֲתֵבָה, הַתֵּבָה қyppā'tā 'basket, tub', NSr {PS} **كوب** қyppā 'cophinus cum manubrio instructus', NENA {Mcl.} **كوب** қūpā 'basket with a handle for marketing', Md қyppa, қyppa 'basket, round basket-boat', Ar قفة⁷ quff-at- 'cophinus\qualus (pec. ex foliis palmae contextus) in quo mulier gossypium reponit' ¶ Sd. 928, Lv. IV 270-1, Js. 1338-9, HJ 1019, PS 3552, Mcl. 274, DM 409, Fr. III 478 || Ch: ECh: Mkl {J} kûp 'boîte', ??σ Mgm {JA} kûpè '(ε) tree' || AdS of WCh {S} *kab̄∇ 'basket' (< N *Kab'E'∇ 'wickerwork, bag, vessel' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ S ZCh 205 [#561], J S 69, J R 216, 286, J LMok 126, JA LM 102, Barg. 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || ? **К:** G қybo 'coffin' (here, unless it is a loanword [from L cūpa, cypa '↑?']) ¶ Chx. 635, DCh. 632 || **IE:** NaIE *koupp-/ *kup- '≈ vessel' (× N *qUbr'E' 'basket', [in descendant lgs.] → 'vessel') > Gk κύπελλον 'a big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, gublet', κύπρος 'ε a measure of corn' || L cūpa 'cask' or 'butt', L [ϝ], VL

cuppa 'cup, beaker' > Rum cupǎ, Fr coupe, Sp, Prt, Ctl copa id.,
 ↳ OHG kopf & chopf 'head, mug, bowl, NHG Kopf 'head', AS
 cuppe 'cup', NE cup || Pls (?) ↳ Gk κόφος {LS} 'basket-load', κόφινος
 'basket' ↳ L cophinus 'basket, hamper' > It cofano, Sp cuévano
 id., OFr, Fr coffin id., 'coffin' (↳ NE coffin), Fr coffre ↳ NHG
 Koffer || ? Gmc: ON húfr 'hull of a ship', NLG Wph hūve, AS hūf
 'beehive', NE hive ¶ Long *ū in some lgs. may be due to the heritage of
 N *qUbr'E' ¶ P 591, WH I 310-1, Wn. P 103, FI 936-7 and II 51-2, ML
 ##2207, 2409, Vr. 265, Kb. 555, Ho. 63, 183, EUC 444 (? *kuHp- 'water
 vessel') || A *k_l'_loP∇ > M *qobdu > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver', WrO {Krg.}
 xobdo 'quiver, case', WrM qobdu, HIM xовд, Kl xовд, {Rm.} xobdā
 'case, long and narrow box; quiver', Ord xob_d_o 'coffin', Brt xобто
 'box, trunk (coffre)' (× N *qUbr'E' '↑' × N *kom_l∇_ldE 'ε basket,
 vessel') ¶ MED 949-50, KRS 592, KW 191 || Tg *xobu-r / *xebu-r 'coffin'
 > Nn Nh xɜur, Nn KU xɜwur, Ud xɜu (< STg), Ul xɜuli, WrMc xобо,
 xобор(ɔon), Mc Sb [hovə] [xov] 'coffin' ¶ STM I 464, 467, Y #752
 || pKo {S} *kob∇r 'coffin, box' > MKo kōr ¶ S QK #1035, Nam 54 || pJ
 {S} *k_lu_li 'coffin' > OJ k_li ¶ S QJ #1329, Mr. 449 || NaT *kobur ~
 *kabur > Chg {Rs.} qobur 'Gefäß, Etui', Kü {RI.} qoɣur 'coffin'; OT [MhK]
 {Rs.} qabırčaq, {Cl.} qabırčāq 'box, coffin', OQp XIV qaburčaq 'box,
 casket', Chg {Rs.} qoburčaq 'kleine Büchse' ¶ Rs. W 235, 274, RI. II 518,
 Cl. 586-7 ¶¶ DQA #1072 *k'j_lubu 'box, coffin' (A *k'j_lubu 'box, coffin'
 with unjustified *j), Lee CSMK 112 (Ko, Tg) ◇ IE and U point to a pN
 vw. *u of the first syll. Therefore the M, Tg, and T vw. *o (< A *o?)
 needs explaining.

1116. *k_lah₂æP_l∇ (= *k_lahæP_l∇?) 'chop, dig' > K *k_lāp-/*k_lēp- ({IS}
 *k_lāp-/*k_lēp-) v. 'chop, cut': K *k_lāp- > G k_lap- (aor. -k_lap-e < *-k_lāp-) v.
 'beschneiden, stutzen; (in Stücke) zer-hauen\hacken', {DCh.} 'chop
 (wood), beat, kill', G {DCh.} k_lep- (aor. -k_lep-e < *-k_lēp-) v. 'chop, cut', Sv
 *k_lāp- > Sv UB k_lap- v. 'cut into small pieces (сечь)', Sv L l_l₁-k_lāp-₁ prtc.
 'chopped, cut'; K {FS} *k_le_l_l_lp- v. 'chop into small pieces' > G {DCh.} k_lep-
 ~ k_lep- 'chop, cut', {Chx.} k_lep- 'chop\cut into small pieces' (aor. da-k_lepa
 'er zerhackte in kleine Stücke', inf. k_lep-va), Sv {FS} k_lap- 'chop\cut into
 small pieces' (msd. li-k_lap-n-e id., čwad-k_lap-n-e 'er zerhackte in kleine
 Stücke') ¶¶ IS rGM 133, IS I 318, FS K 174, FS E 190, Srj. FLK 23, Chx.
 557-8, 568-9, DCh. 597-8, 604-5 || HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} kofa 'to make a
 dam', Or {Grg.} kāba 'to put soil up around a plant', Or {Vit.} kōf- v.

'dig', ?σ Or Wt {Sr.} koffa 'vagina' ¶ Sr. 346, Gs. 196, Grg. 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} қарр- v. 'chop, hew', {HHM} нѣкорро 'hew', нѣ карро 'split' ¶ C SE IV 486, HHM 118, 313 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k¹a¹p- v. 'dig, bury' > Hs káftà v. 'dig ground deeply with big hoe (preparatory to planting cassava, etc.)' || Sbc: Kir kəbe, Zul {ChL} ya kəpe, Buli {ChL} kəbu 'bury' ¶ Stl. ZCh 205 [#556], ChL, Ba. 525 || S *^o-kūb- > Ar √ qwb (ip. -qūb-) 'dig (the ground)' ¶ BK II 829, Lv. 632 || ? Eg Md kfɥ vi. 'gape' (of a wound) ¶ EG V 120, DW 904 ¶¶ The plain vl. k in Eg and C is due to the HS deglottalization || IE *ke₁h₁p- > NaIE *ke(:)p- v. 'chop, dig' > NPrs کافتن kāf-tān 'to split, to cleave, to dig', کاو kāv 'excavation, digging' || Gk κόπτω 'I cut off, chop off, fell (trees)', ft. κόψω, aor. ἔκοψα, pfc. κέκοψα (× κόπτω 'I strike' of a different origin) || pAl *kapa > (umlautized) Al кер vt. 'sharpen, hoe, dress (a stone) by flaking' || OHG habba, heppa 'vine-knife, bill-hook, scythe (Rebmesser, Sense, Hippe)', NHG Hippe 'pruning knife, scythe' (< Gmc *xēβjō) || Lt karóti, Ltv karāt 'to chop' || Sl *korǎ-ti 'to dig' > OCS копати kopati, R ко'пать, Blg ко'пая, SCr kòpati, Slv kópati, Cz kopati, P кораć ¶ P 931-2 (does not separate this IE √ from forms belonging to IE *sker- 'split' < N *č₁ap₁ra 'beat, strike, chop', q.v.), Horn 186, Vl. II 775-6, 786, FI 915-6, OsS 272, Kb. 419, KM 310, Frn. 217-8, ESSJ XI 18-20, Glh. 331-2, StSS 290, Vs. II 317, AlbED 376, O 175 || D *kappo ~ *kāv^o ({ǵGS} *k-) > Kn kappu 'dig', kappu, kappa 'hole in the ground, pit', Tl kāvū 'pit, well' ¶¶ D #1223 ◇ The most probable N laryngeal (yielding IE*₁h₁, K length of vw. and a zero in S and Eg) is *h ◇ IS I 317-8 [#193] ◇ ≈ Gr. II #87 (*kap 'cut off') (IE, Sm, A, EA).

1117. *Қон₂ар¹У¹ (= *Қо¹р¹ар¹У¹?) 'bark', (?) 'skin' > HS: C ({E} *kāf- 'hull, rind') > Ag *қарр- > Aw {Bnd.} qar, Bln {R} қāf 'bark' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} qafi (pl. qafō) 'membrane, cover', {Bnd.} qafi, {E} qafa 'bark', {Wh.} qāfta 'peel of fruits', Alg {E} qafaʔi, Brn {E} qafa 'bark' || ? EC: Rn χàbqáh 'dry tree bark' ¶ AD SF 67, 233, E SC 386, E PC #145, R WB 236, Mgw. 105, PG 186, Blz. SCL s.v. 'bark', Blz. RL 257 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k^ωaHab∇ 'bark' > Hs k^ωab|p|f-tò, Ang kōp, Su k^ωaʔap, Zar K k^ωàbà, Zar GL kàbú, Sy Z kóbək, as well as possibly Gj gùp̄s̄η 'bark', Bg kòp̄s̄η id. || CCh: Tr {J} gèbà, Pdl {CWL} g+ḅzr 'bark', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) Gude {ChL} kuvvʔun and Nzn kùv^ω 'skin' || ?? Ech: Kwn {J} kəb̄zrów, Smr kəb̄zréw 'bark' ¶ ChC, ChL, Sh. SB 20, Stl.

ZCh 205 [#558], Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bark' || U *kopa 'bark' > Es kōba 'fir bark' | Er κυβο 'crust, rind', Mk κυβα id., 'bark' | pChr {Ber.} *kuwə > Chr Δ kuwo 𐌆 kuwū 𐌆 kuwъ 𐌆 kūwo {Szl.} 'Hilse, Schale, Schuppe', {Ü} κυβο 'chaff' | pPrm {LG} *ku 'bark, skin' > Vt ku id., Z ku 'fell, skin' || Sm {Jn.} *kopā, {Hl.} *kopa 'skin, bark' > Ne T xobǎ 'skin (of an animal), шкyркa', Ne F L {Lh.} kōp:ǎ, Ng {Cs.} 'kuFu, En X/B {Cs.} 'koba 'skin', Slq {KKIH} qop† 'fell of an animal, skin, bark, rind', Slq K/NP {Cs.} koppa 'skin', Kms {KD} k'uba, k'upa 'skin, hide, leather', Koyb {Sp.} kyba 'skin', Mt {Hl.} *koha|o 'skin, hide, (nut)shell' (Mt M {Sp.} kō 'skin', Mt K {Pl.} κογοτο 'his skin') ¶ UEW 180-1, Coll. 25, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Sm *kopā, FP *kopa), Ber. 26, Jn. 73-4, Cs. 81, 121, KKIИ 162, KD 33, Sp. SJK 41, Sp. SJM 75, Hl. M #520 || A {SDM97} *k'āp'a 'bark, skin' > T *k'ābuk 'bark, shell' > OT qaViq, [QB] qaVuq 'bran', Tk kabuk, Az gabiq, Slr goχ, Nog, Qrg qabiq, Bsh qabъq, Ggz kabuk, Blq qabuq, CrTt qabuχ, ET {Rl.} qobuq 'bark, shell', Tkm gābiq, Qzq, Qq qabiq, VTt qabъq, Qmq qabuq, Uz qabiq, Chv L χubъ 'bark, peel (of a fruit)', Xk χabiχ, Tv χawiq 'husk' ¶ Cl. 583, ET KQ 168-70, Jeg. 305, TvR 460, Rl. II 660-2 || M *qayuda-sun (< *qabuda-sun) 'bark' > WrM {Kow., MED} qagudasun, HIM xuydas, Brt xuydaHa(н) 'sheet of paper', Kl xuydc χūdъs id., {Rm.} χūdъсη 'bark'; M *qayura- (*-y- < *-β-) v. 'peel' > WrM qagura- ~ qaura-, HIM xuyra-x v. 'peel off'; M *qayul- (*-y- < *-β-) v. 'peel' > MM [S] χa,ul-χu v. 'skin, peel' ('abhäuten, abschinden'), WrM qagul-, HIM xuyла-x, Kl xuyл-x χūl-xъ, {Rm.} χūl-χα v. 'peel off, skin, flay', Mnr H χū'li- id. ('peler, écorcher, écorcer'); 'ab-reissen\schaben\ziehen'; M *qayurqa (*-y- < *-β-) > WrM qagurqai, Kl {Rm.} χūrχā ~ χūrχā 'losgerissen, abgerissen (z. B. die Rinde, ein Blatt aus einem Buche)', Mnr H χū'rā- 'se peler, s'écorc(h)er, se détacher'; M *qobqu- v. 'peel, flay' > WrM qobqu-, HIM xovxлo-x id. ¶ MED 909-10, 951, KW 201-2, KRS 614, Kow. 744, Chr. 605, SM 180, 184, H 63 || ?σ Tg *°x₁abda- v. 'clean a tree from branches' (×N *kAPV 'leaf'?) > WrMc {Hr.} abdala- 'abbrechen', {Z} abtala- 'clean the tree from branches, clean branches' ¶ STM I 5, Z 26, Hr. 2 || pKo *kàp^h- (~ *kà₁p^h-) 'bark' > MKo kàp^hír, kà₁pč'ír 'bark', NKo k̄a₁pč'il 'skin, bark, shell', k̄a₁pteki id., 'husk, peel', Ko: Ph k̄a₁pč'il, PhN k̄a₁pč'il, Ks k̄a₁pč'ì, Hm k̄ôpč'ì, Sl k̄ôpč'íl, Chs koptégi, Kw k̄a₁ptegi 'bark', Chj k̄a₁ptegi id., 'skin' ¶ S AJ 251 [#3], MLC

103 || J: pJ *kapa 'skin, leather; bark' > OJ kàpà, J: T kawá id., Kg kawa, Ns kó, Sh kã, Yka id., K káwá 'skin', kàwá 'leather' ¶ S AJ 258 [#3], 26 [#3], S QJ #3, Mr. 445, Kenk. 880 ¶¶ S AJ 274 [#2], SDM95 s.v. *k'ápa 'bark, skin', DQA #988 (A*k'ápa 'bark, skin') ¶¶ Acc. to DQA #1007, the A √ has a variant *k'èp'à ({SDM-95} *k'èp'o) 'husk, shell' > pJ *kàpì 'egg, shell', T *k'ebük 'bran, chaff' anf M *kebe 'bran, husks'. These two variants may represent two different results of synharmonic levelling, suggesting the existence of a front vw. in the second syll. of the N word ◇ The presence or traces of a rounded vw. (*o?) in U and Ch as opposed to the presence of *a in A and C may be explained by assuming a trisyllabic etymon with both *o and *a. This hyp. is directly suggested by Su k^waɣap 'bark' and indirectly by the long vw. in T *k'āpuk. In view of Su k^waɣap the etymon *Қон₂ар'U' is preferred to *Қаһ₂ор ▽ ◇ IS MS 344 (ᵛᵛᵛᵛ 'bark'); IS proposed to equate U *kopa 'bark' with M *qobuɣa 'well bucket (usually made of skin)' (MED 950, KW 191) and with ET qobuq, qobuzaq 'bark' (which is a labialized var. of pT *k'āpuk 'bark'). His rec. of *ᵛᵛᵛᵛ- is based on comparison with K *ᵛᵛᵛᵛ-/ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ- 'skin, fell', which is hardly acceptable (≠ϕ). The Ag *-pp- and the cns. *-ᵛᵛ- in some Ch lgs. may be explained by the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ or *ɣ). The rec. of this lr. will help resolving the contradiction between the ev. of U *-p- (suggesting N *-p-) and that of A *-p' (apparently suggesting N *-p-, but also explainable from *-ʔp- → *-ɣp-). In T *kāpuk and possibly in Ch (Sy Z kóbɜk) one may discern traces of a suffixed element. There is an interesting parallel between M *qaβ'urqay and ECh (Kwn kábárów, Smr kàbɜráw 'bark') ◇ ≈ AD NM #93 (*Қа'p|ʔ'ᵛᵛᵛᵛ), S CNM 5, Vv. AEN 6.

1118. *қ'а'w₁o₁pE or *қ'а'w₁o₁p▽y▽ 'skull; occiput' ([in B, IE] → 'head') > HS: WS *қа'pay- 'occiput, skull' > Sr қāp₁ə'ᵛᵛ-ā, қəpāy-ā, қəppā'ᵛᵛ-ā 'nape of the neck', Ar قفا qafa-n id., {BK} 'derrière du cou, nuque; derrière de la tête, occiput', قفان qafan- 'back of the head', Har қafət, Grg Sl/Wl/Z қəfət 'forehead', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} қəfē, Jb C {Jo.} 'қəfē 'back (dos)'; cp also a S variant stem *o'қ'ī'ᵛᵛap- > Ar qihf- (pl. qihaf-at-) 'os de la tête qui garantit le cerveau', {Hv.} 'skull' ¶ Br. 683, JPS 513, BK II 679, 792, Hv. 589, 621, ≈ MiK I LIX, #1.164, LEDH 122, L EDG III 473, Jo. M 226, Jo. H 74, Jo. J 142 || B *ɣafi (< *қаpi or *қаp▽y) 'head' > Ty, ETwl e-ɣɜf (pl. i-ɣɜfɜwɜn), Ah eɣaf, Wrg iɣaf, iɣf, Si aɣfi, Nf iɣaf, Zng {TC} iʔf 'tête' ¶ Fc. 1700, GhA 65, Dlh. Ou 237, La. S

301, TC Z 310 || ECh: Jg {J} κοφο 'occiput, brain', Mgm {J} κύρο, EDng {Fd.} κόρο 'occiput', Mu {J} κόβο 'nuque' ¶ J J 114, JA LM 102, ChC s.v. 'occiput' ¶¶ OS #337, MiK I #164 || **K** *k̑ap- > Mg k̑ope ~ k̑ope 'crown of the head', USv {TK} k̑äp 'nape', Sv (rdp.): UB {TK} k̑ak̑äp, LB {TK} k̑ok̑ep, L k̑ek̑epay, Ln k̑ek̑epa 'nape, skull'; G {SSO, DCh.} k̑epa 'occiput' may have a deviant vw. e due to the merger with an Aramaism (cp. Sr k̑ap̑āy-a 'nape of neck'), while G J q̑apa 'skull' may be a loan from Ar **قفا** qafa-n (or from Aram?) ¶¶ TK 341, 343, GP 128, ≈ Fn. KW-1 34 ({Fn.} *k̑ep- 'occiput, crown of head' > G k̑epa, Sv k̑ek̑ep-a 'skull') ¶ Cp. also K *°k̑ap- 'chin, 'jaw' < N *k̑ep̑_LH₂∇ (= *k̑ep̑_∇?) 'jaw, chin' (q.v.) || **IE**: NaIE *kaput ~ *°k̑ap̑ut 'head' (× N *k̑'a'd̑ud∇ 'tip, top', q.v.) > L caput / gen. capit-is 'head' || Gmc: ON hōfuð, Gt haubīp, ON haufuð, OHG houbit, NHG Haupt, OSx hōvid, AS héafod 'head', NE head || OI ka'pucchalam 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (a cd. with śala- 'hair'), kapuṣṇikā 'tuft of hair on each side of the head' ¶ But *kap̑l- 'occiput, skull' (> OI ka'pālam 'cup, skull', AS hafola 'head') belongs to N *k̑aP̑L∇ 'occiput, skull' ¶ ≈ WP I 346-7, P 529-30, EI 260-1 (*kaput), M K I 155-7, M E I 300, 302 (no et. of OI words), WH I 163-4, Vr. 279, Kb. 481, Schz. 170, OsS 420, 150, 293-4, Ho. 147, 150 || **U**: FU *koppa 'skull; hollow object' > F koppa 'the front part of the skull, forehead; basket, pannier, shell' (× N *q̑Ub̑ȓ'E' 'basket') , pää-koppa 'skull' (pää is 'head'), Es Δ kopp (gen. kopa) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' || Lp: Kld {TI} v̑š̑ne-k̑ippe 'skull', Nt ūeyv-kūēhp id. (v̑š̑ne 'brain', ūeyv 'head') || Mk {Ahl.} prea-kopaška 'skull' (prea 'head') || ObU: Vg (in cds.) T kap̑, LK x̑p̑, MK/P kop, Ss x̑opi 'skull'; Os Z x̑ōp̑a id. ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 181-2, SK 217, SSA I 400, TI 1730, 1744, Ht. #754, KrT 324, Stn. D 530 ◇ The hypothetical N *o is preserved in FU *koppa (with a syncope *-awo- > *o) ◇ IS I 319-20 (S, B, ECh, K, IE, U + qu. Om: Kullo {Brl.} hupea 'head').

1119. *k̑'a'yap̑∇ (or *q̑- and *-p-) 'sharp stone\rock\cliff' > **IE**: NaIE *k̑eip̑o-/*k̑oip̑o- '≈ sharp object' > OI 'śēpa-h̑ 'tail, penis' || L c̑ippu-s 'pointed pale, stake' || pAl {O} *caip̑a > Al thep 'sharp peak, sharp point' ¶ P 543, WH I 219-20, O 474, ≠ M K III 372-3 || **HS**: S *'kayap- 'stone, rock' > Ak k̑āp- id., BHb **קב** *'kēp* 'rock' (att.: pl. **קבִּים** kē'p̑īm), ChrPA **קבא** kē'p̑ā, Sr E kē'p-ā, Sr W ke'p̑ā 'stone', JA [Trg.] **קב** kē'p̑, em. **קבִּי** kē'p̑ā, JPA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} **קבִּי** kē'p̑ā 'stone, rock'

¶ Sd. 445, KB 467, KBR 492, Lv. T I 361, Dlm. 187, Js. 634-5, Sl. 577 ||
A: NaT *k'aya '(sharp) rock, cliff' > OT qaya 'rock, sharp outstanding
 rock or rocky cliff', Tk kaya, Az, Tkm gāya, Tkm Δ gāya, Ggz kaya, Blq,
 Nog, Bsh, SY, Alt qaya, Qq, Qrg qīya, VTt q̄ya, ET qīya, Uz qaya, Xk, Yk,
 Tv xaya, Tf haya 'rock, cliff' ¶ N *-p- (or *-p-?) has been lost (a reg.
 loss at the beginning of the third syll.?) ◇ S *k- results from
 deglottalization of *k̄-, which suggests a pN *k̄-, although N *q- is not
 excluded either (if the merger of *k̄ and *q preceded the HS
 deglottalization) ¶ Cl. 674-5, ET KQ 198-9, TL 96, Ra. 185.

1120. ₂ *K̄aP̄_L∇_L∇ 'occiput, skull' > **HS:** S *o'k̄ap̄_L∇_L∇ > Ar قَفْلَة qafī-
 at- 'occiput, derrière de la tête' ¶ BK II 791 || **IE:** NaIE *kap(e|ē)lo-
 'skull' > AS hafol, OFrs héila (< *hāvila) 'head' (× N *k̄'a'w_Lo_p∇_E or
 *k̄'a'w_Lo_p∇_y∇ 'skull; occiput') || OI ka'pālam 'cup, bowl, skull' ¶
 WP I 346, M K I 155, M E I 300, Ho. 147, EI 261 (*kapōlo- '≈ head,
 skull').

1121. ₂ *K̄'u'P̄_L∇_r∇ 'hump' > **IE:** NaIE *k'u'p̄_L∇_r- id. > OHG hofar ~
 hovar, AS hofer 'hump' || Lt ku_pr̄ā, Ltv ku_pr(i)s 'hump, hunch' ¶
 P 591-2, Kb. 473, OsS 411, Ho. 168, Frn.314 || **D** (in GnD) *kup̄_r-
 'hump' (× N ? *gū|ub|p̄_E 'heap, hump, hunchback') > Gnd koparam
 'hump of bullock', Mnd gupe_r 'hump of ox', ? KK: Kui kopa 'hump, cow's
 hump', Ku gu_pu 'hump of ox' ¶ D #1731a.

1122. ₂ *K̄aP̄_L∇_LSa 'box' (unless a WW) > **IE:** L capsa 'box, case'
 ↳ Gk κάψα id. ↳ MHb קַבְצָא קַבְצָא קַבְצָא id. ¶ WH I 162-3 || **A** *k'apsa
 > T *k_L'apsa, *k_L'apsak > MQp [CC] qapsa 'box, coffin' (unless ↳ L),
 Tk Δ qapsa 'large basket', Tk kab_sak 'basket' ¶ ET KQ 277 || Tg *xapsa
 > Ewk a_wsa ḏ absa 'box, bag', Lm a_ws_b 'small bag', Orc apsança 'long
 narrow bag for hunt equipment', Ork xapsaw ~ xapsau 'small bag (for
 women)', WrMc 'birch-bark box, boat'; Mc ↳ M: WrM absa(n), HIM
 а_вс(а_н) 'coffin, casket' ¶ STM I 9, MED 5.

1123. *K̄EP̄_L∇_Z∇ (= *K̄EP̄_L∇_Z∇?) 'paw, hoof' > **HS:** S *o'k̄p̄z > Ar
 [Qam.] {Fr.} ?aqfāz- 'anteriores pedes atque genua albicantes habens
 (equus)', {Br.} 'qui a les pieds de devant blancs jusqu'aux genoux
 (cheval)', Ar quffāz- 'long felt-gloves (up to the elbows)' ¶ Fr. III 480,
 BK II 788, Hv. 620 || **IE:** *k̄opH- > NaIE *k̄op^h- 'hoof, claw' > OI
 śa'pha- 'hoof of a horse, hoof', Av safa- 'hoof of a horse', KhS saha-
 , Psh swa, Oss I/D säf-t-äg 'hoof' || ON hófr, OHG huof, NHG Huf,
 AS hōf 'hoof', NE hoof (× NaIE *ko|ap- < N *K̄ap̄'a' 'palm of hand, sole

of foot; hoof', q.v.) ¶ SI *kōpītō 'hoof' hardly belongs here (because of *k- for the expected SI *s- < IE *k̂-; see N *Ḳap̄'ä' '↑') ¶ WP I 346, P 530, EI 272 (*k̂o'ph₂o-s 'hoof'), M K III 297, M E II 608, Ab. III 55-6, Mrg. 71, Bai. 423, Vr. 247, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, Ho. 168 ¶¶ IE *H < N *z or *ž ||
U: FU *kEps'ä' 'paw, fell from a paw/leg' (× N *gä'p'sA 'paw, hand' [q.v. ffd.]).

1124. *kar ▽ 'curse, scold, (?) be hostile', ? 'punish' > **K**: G *krul-* v. 'curse, damn' ¶ Chx. 633 || **HS**: WS *✓*krw|y* > Sb ✓*krw|y* *Gt* (ip. *ϣκτρν*) 'be punished', ? Ar ✓*qry* *TD* (pf. *تَقَرَّى* *taqarrā*) 'pursue (fugitives)', ??φ *Jb* C {Jo.} 'k̄eraṣ 'get into a rage', *kar*'*sun* 'quick to anger' ¶ BGMR 107, Bll. 467, Jo. J 148 || WCh: Su {J} *kārī*, Ang {Flk.} *kār* v. 'punish' | ?σ *NrBc* {Tk.} **k̄war-* > *Jmb* {Sk.} *k̄war*, *P* {MSk.} *aḳ̄war*, *Sir* {Sk.} *akur* 'be angry' | ?? *Tng* {J} *kurm̄us* 'annoyed, vexed' ¶ J S 69, Flk. s.v. *kār*, ≈ *Stl. ZCh* 213 [#635], *Sk. NB* 10, J T 105 ¶¶ *Tk. PAA* (*NrBc.*, *Jb*) || **IE**: **NaIE** **kar-* v. 'abuse, blame, punish' > **Gk** [Hs.] *κάρνη* 'ζημία' 'damage' or 'penalty' || **L** *carinā-* v. 'jeer' || **OIr** *caire* f. 'fault, blame', **OW** *cared* 'nequitiae', **W** *caredd* 'fault', *kerydd* 'blame', **MBr** *karez* id., **Cm** *cara* v. 'blame' || **OHG** *harewēn*, {**Vr.**} *harawēn* v. 'mock, deride' ({**OsS**} 'exasperare'), **AS** *hierwan* v. 'despise, deride, blaspheme, condemn', *hornian* v. 'insult', **ON** *herfiligr* {**Vr.**} 'verächtlich' || **Ltv** *karināt* 'to tease', **Lt E** *k̄irinti* id., **Lt** *k̄airinti* 'reizen, aufbringen, erbittern' | **pSl** **korī-ti* 'to blame', **kor̄b* 'blame' > **OCS** *коръ* *коръ* 'contumelia, ὕβρις', **оу***коръ* *у**коръ* id., {**StSS**} 'оскорбление, поношение, унижение', **корити** *koriti* 'probris onerare', **OR**, **RChS** **корити** *koriti* 'to scold, to abuse, to blame', **R** *ко'рить*, **Slv** *koríti*, **SCr** *kòriti* 'to reproach', **Blg** *ко'ря* v. 'reproach, scold', **Cz** *kořiti* 'to humiliate', **P** *korzyc* 'to reproach, to humiliate'; **Sl** **kara* 'punishment' > **ChS** **кара** *kara*, **R** 'кара', **SCr** *kára*, **Cz** *kára*, **P** *kara* ¶ **WP** I 353, P 530, F I 790, **WH** I 168-9, **Vn. C** 20-1, **Ho.** 159, 170, **Vr.** 223, **Ho.** 159, **OsS** 272, **Mn.** 474-5, **Frn.** 183, 203-4, **ESSJ** IX 151 and XI 74-7, **Glh.** 334, **Mikl. L** 304, 1046, **StSS** 733 || **A**: **NaT** **Karit* 'abuse, insult' > **OT** [MhK] *qarit* n. 'abuse, insult'; **NaT** **K'arga-* v. 'curse, invoke charms on' > **OT** *qargā* ~ *qirgā-*, **Chg** ≥**XV**, **MQp** XIV (incl. **CC**) *qarṣa-*, **Tk** *karḡi-*, **Az** *gargi-*, **Slr**, **VTt**, **Bsh**, **Qmq**, **Qzq**, **Qrg** *qarṣa-*, **Qq** *qarṣa-* ~ *garṣa-*, **Xk** *ḡarṣa-*, **Yk** *kirā-* v. 'curse', **Qrg** *qarṣa-* id., 'invoke charms on', **Tkm** *garṣa-*, **Bl**, **Nog**, **Uz**, **Alt**, **Tv**, **Tf** *qarṣa-*, **Kr T/G** *karṣa-* 'curse; scold, insult' ¶ **T** **k'*- (evidenced by **Tv** and **Tf**) (rather than the expected **k'*-) is still to be explained ¶ **Cl.** 648, 655, **DTS** 428, **ET KQ** 304-5, **DTS** 426, 428, **Rs. W** 237 ◇ ≠φ,σ **Gr. II** 6 (**kor* 'angry').

1125. ₂ *KaR ▽ 'to bend; crooked' > **IE**: **NaIE** **ker-* 'bend' > **Gk** *κορῶνός* 'curved, crooked', *κορώνη* 'anything hooked or curved', *κυρτός* 'hunched, hunchbacked, convex' || **L** *curvus* 'bent, bowed, arched,

curved', *curvā-* v. 'bend, arch, curve' || ?σ OIr *cor* 'mouvement tourant, détour, circuit', OBr (in cds.) *cor* {Flr.} 'cercle; courbure, torsion, repli', W *cor-wynt* 'whirl-wind', Br *cor-uent* 'ouragan, rafale, tourbillon' || pAl {O} **karnutya* > Al *kēr'rus* v. 'bow, bend' || Sl {Bern.} **kъrtьka* 'squatting position' > R 'корточки id., сидеть на корточках 'to squat', ?σ Uk *кор'татися* 'sich durchhelfen, rackern' || ? Tc A *akritär* (*akritar*) 'round' (< NaIE [+ext.] **krejt-*) ¶ P 935 (reconstructs IE *(s)ker- on the only ev. for *(s)- in Av *skarəna-* 'round' [no sufficiently near semantic connection] and in the IE stems with extensions like **skrek-* [in NHG *schräge*, etc.], which are not reliable cognates either, because the additional *-k- is not explained), ≈ F I 927-8 (*κορωνός, κορώνη* ← *κορώνη* 'crow'), WH I 317-8, Vn. C 204-6, Flr. 118, O 184, Bern. I 671, Wn. KTW 112 || HS: S **✓krr* > Mh *z̄k̄t̄z̄rūr* v. 'turn up (as e.g. sth. stolen)', Ak fOB *✓k̄lgr̄r* (inf. *k̄lgar ā r u*) 'sich krümmen, schlängeln' ¶ Jo. M 233, Sd. 902-3.

1126. *K'a'R∇ 'to hang' > IE: NaIE **ko(:)r-* vi., vt. 'hang' > Lt *kar i ū* / *kārti* v. 'hang, hang on the line', Ltv *kar̄u* / *kārt* vt. 'hang', Pru *pacaris* · "Riemen" 'thong' || Gk *κρεμάννυμι, κρίμνημι* vt. 'I hang' ¶ WPI 412, P 573, F II 13-4 (no et. of the Gk words), Frn. 224-5, En. 218 || HS: S **✓krr* 'remain (somewhere)' > Ar *✓qrr* (pf. *qarra*) 'substitit, mansit (aliquo loco)', {BK} 'rester, se fixer dans (un endroit)', {Hv.} 'settle in (a place)' ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 698, Hv. 594 || B: Ah *kāriri* vt., vi. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 891 || C: Ag **kaRkaR-* v. 'hang' > Bln {R} *karkar-*, Q {R} *kəkər-* id. ¶ R WB 226 || Gil: Gil A *ēro-/xro-/k'ro-* vt. 'hang' ¶¶ ST 477, ST RN 82 ◊ ≠ Gr. II 185 (**kar* 'hang') (IE + qu. J, Gil + unc. A, Ko, CK).

1127. *kaR∇ 'to fight; war, troop' > K: G *kriv-* 'boxen, mit den Fäusten kämpfen' ¶ Chx. 631 || IE: NaIE **koro-*, **koryo-* 'war, troop', **koryo-no-s* 'commander in war' > Lt *kāras, kārias* 'war', Ltv *kar̄š* 'army', Pru [El.] *kragis* (ce. for *kargis*) [*karjis*] 'troop', Pru *caryawoytis* 'Heerschau' (accus. sg.), *karigewayte* 'Ansprache an das Heer' || OPrs *kāra-* 'host, people', NPrs cd. *کارزار* *kār-zār* 'battle, battlefield' ({Vl.} 'locus pugnae') || Gk *κόρανος* (< **κοίρονος*) 'captain, ruler; king' || OIr *cuire* 'troupe, armée', Gl (in names) - *corio* (*Tricorii* 'those of three tribes', *Petrucorii* 'those of four tribes') || Gt *harjis* 'army', ON *her* (pl. *her jar*), AS *here* id., OHG *hari, heri* 'army, crowd, troop' > NHG *Heer* 'troop' ¶ P 615-6, Mn.

535, Brtl. 465, Vl. II 764-5, FI 894, Kb. 457, Vn. C 275, Frn. 220, En. 189, Tp. P I-K 221-4, EI 30-1 (*koryo-s 'war') || HS (with root-extensions) *√kṛb, ? *°√kṛ_lω_l > S *√kṛb 'fight' > BA, BHb קָרָב qā'rāḇ 'battle' (Hb ←b Aram), JA [Trg.], Sr qārā'b-ā, Md qṛaba id., JEA qārāḇā id., 'war', Ak MB taḫrubtu 'fight', Aram b→ Ak NA qārābu 'battle, fight' ¶ KB 1059, 1775-6, KBR 1135, Js. 1411, ≈ Sl. 1038 (Aram ←b Ak), Br. 691, CAD XIII 125-6, Sd. 1324; KB and KBR interpret Hb qā'rāḇ as 'hostile approach, battle' on the basis of their err. etymologizing of qā'rāḇ as a d. from √kṛb 'be near' || B **kṛp > *yṛf 'people, tribe' > Ah a-yṛaf id. ¶ Fc. 1773 || Ch {Stl.} *qaraw- ~ *qawar- 'fight, war' > Hs qāřǎ n. act. 'fighting (with so.!' WCh {Stl.} *k'ī'raw 'wrangle' > Hs qērauqērau 'wrangling' || Ang {Flk.} kōr v. 'quarrel, wrangle' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} y^wará 'war' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kūrī v. 'fight', Tmk {Cp.} kṣraw 'war' ¶ Stl. IF 110, Stl. ZCh 213 [#634], Flk. s.v. kōr, Ba. 572, 596.

1128. *kārE 'trunk, (piece of) wood' > HS: S *kār-, *kar- 'trunk of a tree, log' (× N *kuyr∇ 'wood (Holz), log') > BHb קֹרָא qō'rā 'timberwork, beam', MHb {Js.} qō'rā 'joist, beam, post; trunk of a tree', Sr em. qar-ī-'tā, abs. karī {Br.} 'trabs, lignum', {JPS} 'beam, plank', Ar qarīyat- 'stick, yard of a ship (Rahe)', 'poutre dans laquelle on emboîte pilliers qui supportent la maison', ?σ Ak fOB qārīt-ū 'storehouse, granary' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, Hv. 603, BK II 731, Js. 1342, Lv. IV 275, JPS 519, Br. 696, BK II 731, Wehr 903, Hv. 603, Sd. 903-4, CAD XIII 132-3 || U: FU *°kārE > Prm *ker / *kery- 'log' > Z ker / kery-, Yz ker, Vt kor id. ¶ LG 121 || D {tr., GS} *kaṛ- 'wood (lignum)', {GS} 'stick' > Tm kār'al 'firewood, fuel', Tl kaṛṛa 'wood, timber', ? Kt garl 'quill of feather', Klm garr 'quill of porcupine', Prj karra id., 'tooth of comb', Gnd KM karra, Knd gaṛṛī 'shaft of arrow', Gnd B karrē 'a long thin pole of a carrying yoke', Knd kaṛu 'piece of wood\twigs used as fuel' ¶¶ D #1389, GS 153 [#389] || ?σ IE: NaIE *°kred- (or *°kred-?) ~ *°k_lω_lord- 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N *k∇R_l∇_lt∇ 'summit, top' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IE *k- (rather than *k̄-) is reg. in the precons. position ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [#15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [#75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N *kuyr∇ 'wood [Holz], log').

1129. *kār∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie" > K *kar-/kṛ- v. 'tie together, sew' > G qar-/ḳr- 'tie together' (Chx: '[zusammen]binden, fesseln'), Mg

ƙɜr-, *ƙir-, Lz *ƙor-, ƙir- 'tie together', G ƙer-, Sv ƙar-/ƙr- v. 'sew' ¶¶ K 106, K DE 359, FS K 169-70, FS E 185 || HS: S *karr- > Ar karr- 'rope' | WS *√ƙrn v. 'attach sth. to, bind together' > Ar √qrn G id., {Hv.} 'conjoin (sth. with), couple (two horses)', {BK} 'atteler (p. ex., deux chameaux ensemble avec une corde)', Tgr √ƙrn (pf. ƙerene) v. 'couple under the yoke, zu zweit anjochen', Tgy √ƙʷrn (pf. ƙʷerene) v. 'bind two things together', Amh kʷarēññe 'shackle', Gz ʔastakʷārana v. 'bind in pairs'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} ƙarən- 'einjochen die Ochsen, aneinander binden', Sa {R} √ƙrn (sbjn. e'ƙrun, p. ⇔ o-ƙronə) 'einjochen die Ochsen zum Pflügen' ¶ BK II 726-7, 879, Hv. 602, 648, L G 442, R WB 243, R S II 237, LH 242-3 || B *√qrw (> *√yʷrw) > Ah ayraw 'cordelette', ? Zng {Nic.} t-yarr-ək 'j'enveloppe' ¶ Fc. 1778, Nic. 284 || IE: NaIE *k̑er- 'cord, thread in a weft', v. 'plait, conjoin' ({P} 'Schnur, Gewebefaden; flechten, knüpfen') > Arm uարի-ṗsaʔi-kʰ 'cord, band, rope, sinew' (< *k̑ereyā), uարի saʔd / gen. uարի saʔdi (< *k̑rti) 'spider' || Gk κάρπος (< *k̑eryo-s) 'the row of thrums in the loom (to which the threads of the warp are attached)', κάρπω 'I make fast the threads of the warp' || ? OI ḗȓōrkhalā 'chain, fetter' ¶ WP I 409, P 577-8, F I 756, M K III 368-9, MW 1057, Stt. 330-1 || U: FU {UEW} *käre v. 'tie, bind, tie with string' > Mk kārks 'garland, row, cord', Er {Rv.} keʔks 'Bund, Aufgefädertes', {ERV} 'bunch (of beads, ring-shaped cracknels)' || Chr H {Wc.} kerä- v. 'thread a needle, string (beads)' || pLp {Lr.} *kērē 'thread, cord' (> 'catch with a cord') > Lp N {N} gierre 'a twist (twisted cord\rope)' (= {Fri.} 'snur, tvind'), S {Hs.} d. giērestakke 'Laufschlinge (z. B. an einem Lasso)', L {LLO} d. kierastit 'mit dem Fangleine\Lasso einfangen' || ?? BF: F, Es kääri- v. 'wrap', Krl keärīe 'bunch' (adduced by IS with an assumption of a secondary lengthening *ä > BF *ā [Jn. in a p.c. rejects the BF cognate]) || possibly also Z гөрөд gɜrɜd and Vt герд gerd 'knot' || ObU *kīr- > pVg *kīr- 'einflechten' > Vg: T/LK/MK/UL/Ss kēr-, UK/P kēr-/kēr- id., T kērāy- & kārāy- id.; pOs {Ht.} *kir- > Os: V/Vy kir- 'put on shoes', D/O kir-, Nz/Kz kīr- v. 'sew', V/Vy kārantaʒal- 'put on shoes'; amb: V kärt-, Ty kärt- 'sew' (cp. N *keRt∇ 'to tie, [?] to plait') || Hg Δ kür- & kūr- & ker- & kör- 'einjochen, in das Joch spannen' ¶ UEW 139-40 (does not mention the BF and Lp cognates), Lr. #428, Lgc. #2439, N II 98, Fri. 223, Hs. 598, LLO 217, MF 380-1, Ht. #310, LG 142 ¶ Prm *kärt- v. 'tie together' (> Z көртавны, Vt керттыны) [which UEW mentions as belonging here] may be alternatively explained as going back to N *keRt∇ '↑' (q.v.) || ? D (in

McTm) *kaṛṛ- 'bundle' > Tm kaṛṛai 'collection (as of hair), bundle (as of straw, grass)', Ml kaṛṛa 'bundle (as of grass), sheaf of corn'; the D cognate is valid unless its ancient form is *kaṛṛt- = *kaṛṛr- (as supposed by An. on the ev. of Kn karṭe 'bundle'; IS tentatively ties in the Kn word by assuming that in goes back to *kaṛ-nt-) ¶ D #1400, An. SG 129 || A: T *Käräm or *Keräm 'rope' > Bsh kiräm 'flat strap, rope (used to climb boughless trees)', Blgh *käräm > Chv karḅm 'snare made of ropes'; Blgh ḅ→ Chr k'erem 'rope'; IS and SDM97 tried to adduce here T *kär- 'stretch, spread out' (supposing that the original meaning of the verb was 'strain' ← *'tie tightly'), which is unc. on semantic grounds; an additional obstacle is its initial cns. *k' in *Kär- (> Osm/Az *g- in ger-) instead of the expected fortis *k'- ¶ Chv karḅm suggests *ä in the first syll. (*Käräm), while Bsh kiräm points to a pT *e (*Keräm); the problem needs resolving ¶ Ash. VI 94, Rs. TschL 98, BR 263, Cl. 735, Jeg. 90, Rs. W 254 || M *kerü- ({DQA} *kere-) v. 'attach, tie, bind' > WrM kerü-, HIM xəpə- id., 'weave', Kl kəp- 'tie together' ¶ MED 458, KW 227, KRS 296 || Tg *xerke- v. 'tie together' > Ewk ʒrkʒ- id., Nn Nh/B xʒrkʒ- v. 'tie around', Ul xʒrkʒ- v. 'wrap' ¶ STM 369-70 || pKo {S} *kār- 'hang on, put on sth.' > MKo kār-tʰí- id., NKo kār- id.. kār-l̥ʰi- id., 'spread out' ¶ S QK 578, Nam 38, MLC 97, 100 || pJ {S} *kāräm- v. 'wind around, cling to' > OJ kāräm-, J: T/Kg karám-, K kárám- ¶ S QJ #53, Mr. 704 ¶¶ KW 227, ≠ Rm. SKE 104 (connects Ko kār-|l- 'hook on, fasten' with M kere-), DQA #771 (A *kèra 'bind, wind around'; incl. M, J) ◇ IS I 321 [#197] ◇ Gr. I #421 (*kir 'weave' (A, J, Ai + unc. EA + err. IE *kert- 'plait').

1130. *kæRV (or *kERV) 'horn' > HS: S karan- 'horn' > Hb קָרַן 'kæren 'horn', du. קַרְנַיִם qar'nayim, pl. (with secondary [derived] meanings of the noun) קַרְנֹת qar'ānōt, SmHb 'qārān, pl. cs. qār'āni, Ph, Ug qarn, Amr {G} qarṇum, JA [Trg.] קָרַן qar'an, em. קַרְנָא qar'n-ā, JEA קַרְנָא qar'n-ā, Sr قَرْنٌ qar'n-ā, abs. قَرْنٌ qar'en, Ar قَرْنٌ qar'n-, Gz qarṇ, Mh qōn (pl. qārūn), Hrs qōn (pl. qārōn), Jb E/C qun (pl. 'kæ'run), Ak qarṇu(m) 'horn' ¶ KB 1067-8, A #2456, OLS 372, Lv. T II 389, Js. 1423, Sl. 1044-5, BK II 727, G A 29, Sd. 904, LG 442, Jo. M 236, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 149, MiK I #1.168 || Eg NK kr.ty '(two) horns' ¶ EG V 134 || NrOm: Kf {C} qarō, Mch {L} qāro, Anf {MYTY} qarō 'horn', as well as possibly Shn {Lm.} qallā and Ym {Wdk.} kalā id. ¶ Lm. Sh 338, C SE IV 488, L M 48, MYTY 118, Wdk. BY 127 || K *°kr- 'horn' (× K *rka- 'horn'

< N *r̥k₁U₁∇ 'ε horn' > Zan *kr-a > Lz kra, ka, Mg {Q} ka, {Brs.} -kra (written with an Abkhazian article a- as a-kra); more ancient forms are discernible in a derived verb: Lz n-kin- ~ n-kir- v. 'butt' and possibly (with a semantic change) Mg kirin- v. 'wave, wave sth. against so. (взмахивать, замахиваться)'; but G karassa 'horn of ibex', Sv UB {GP, TK} kārāχs, {TK} karaχs, L {TK} keraχs id., 'small horn for drinking' are likely to be loans from Gk κέρασ 'horn' ¶ Q 341, Brs. 74, ≠ K 157-8, DCh. 1327, Ni. s.v. рога, GP 266, TK 780 ¶ The deglottalization of the initial *k̥- still defies explanation || IE: NaIE *k̥er-, *k̥er-w/u-, *k̥er-as- 'horn' > Av sr̥ū-, sr̥vā- 'horn' || Gk κέρασ, Gk Ep gen. κέραος id., Gk Mc ke-ra 'horn (material)', ke-ra-γo 'made of horn', Gk κορύπτω 'butt with corns' || Tc B karse ≈ deer, stag' (< ≈ *k̥r̥so- 'horned one') || Ht karāwar 'horn(s), antler(s)', Lw {E} zarwani(γa)- 'of horn' || IE *k̥r̥no-, *k̥orn- 'horn' > L cornū id. || Clt: OIr corn 'corne à boire, trompette, cor', ? cern 'réceptif (d'une certaine capacité', Brtt {RE} ζ *kornos 'horn' > MW, W, Crn corn, Br korn 'horn', OBr [γ] corn 'scypho'; Gl [Hs.] κάρνον 'τὴν σάλπιγγα accus. 'war-trompet' (the Ir and Brtt words may be loans from L, but the root in Gl points to its original presence in Clt) || Gmc: ORu accus. horna, Gt háurn, ON, NNr, Sw, Dn, OHG, AS horn, NHG Horn 'horn', NE horn || pSl *s̥rna 'chamois' > RChS ср̥на sr̥na, OR с̥рна s̥rna, R 'серна, Uk сер'на, Blg с̥р'на, McdS ср̥на, SCr, Slv s̥rna, Cz sr̥na, P sarna id. || OI s̥r̥nga-m 'horn' || HrLw {Melch.} zurni 'horn' ¶ P 574-7, EI 272-3 (*k̥er- ⇨ *k̥r̥nom, *k̥erh̥₂(s) 'horn'), ≠ EI 273 (*k̥oru 'horn' instead of 'horned animal', see N *K̥ERŪ 'deer, roe'), M K III 369-70, FI 825-7, WH I 276, Vn. C 76, 210, RE 105, Fs. 251, Vr. 249, Fs. 251, Ho. 170, Kb. 479, Schz. 16, KM 316-7, Vs. III 609, Glh. 577, Ad. 145, Nsb. ∇v, Pv. IV 77-9, Iv. SA 162 ◇ IS I 350 [#227] (IE, K, HS + *÷ [with a query] U: BF *k̥īrek 'occiput, crown of the head') ◇ *-n- in IE *k̥er-n- and in S *k̥aran- go back to the N genitive postposition *nu (q.v.) (> the IE marker of oblique cases *-n- in the so-called IE heteroclis, F Ptrs. H 5-7: IE nom. *k̥oru, gen. *k̥er-'n-es) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #202 (*ker 'head') (IE, Ai kirawe 'horns' + unc. CK).

1131. *k̥är∇(-ka) (= *k̥ärU(-ka)?) 'small stone' > HS: C: EC: pOr {Bl.} *k̥irr- 'gravel, small stone' > Or čír-r-ačča {Grg.} 'coarse sand', {Bl.} 'small stone(s)', Kns qír-r-itta 'small stone', qír-r-a 'gravel' || ?? Ag *k̥r̥əŋ 'stone' > Bln/Xm/Q {R} krir̥ id. ¶ Bl. 198, R WB 227, Grg. 84

|| K: GZ **ḡurḡa-* > G *ḡurḡa-* 'stone of a fruit', Lz *ḡurḡa* id., 'grain' ¶ K² 104, DCh. 636 || IE: NaIE **k̑orkā* 'gravel' > OI 'śarkarā f. 'grit, pebbles, gravel', OI Ep śarkara > Pali sakkharā-, Prkr sakara-, Hindi sakkār 'granulated sugar' (an InA source ⇨ Gk σάκχαρον), NPrs شکر šä(k)kär, Ar sukkar- 'sugar', and the words for 'sugar' in the European languages [It zuccherò, NHG Zucker, Fr sucre, NE sugar, R 'сахар, etc.]) || Gk κρόκη, κροκάλα 'abgerundeter Kieselstein am Meeresufer' ¶ P 615, M K III 308-9, M E II 618-9, Vl. II 49-O, Sg. 752, Ch. 985, F II 22, BK I 1114 || D **karṽc̑-* ({*ḡGS*} **g-*) 'gravel' > Kn garasu, garusu, Tl garusu id., Tu karñkallu id., 'hard sand' ¶¶ D #1260 ◇ K *-u- is puzzling (mt.: GZ **ḡurḡa-* < **ḡärU-ḡa?*). D *-r- (regularly from a cns. cluster with N **r*) needs explaining.

1132. (₂?) **ḡæRṽ* ≈ 'ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant' > HS: WS **ḡṽrṽḡ-* id. > Sr كَرَاتُ شَجَرِ كَرَاتُ *ḡerāt̪-t̪-ā* 'fruit of the locust or carob tree'; S ⇨ Gk κεράττια, κερατωνία 'carob tree'; Ar قَرَاظُ qaraḡ- 'fruit of acacia', OYmn ḡrḡ ({{Slw.} qaraḡ-) 'Acacia arabica and its leaves', Tgr {LH} kərəḡ 'Acacia etbaica, Acacia mellifera', Tgy kərəḡ 'ε mittelgroßer Baum Osyris abyssinica', ??σ SmA קָרַט *ḡrṽt̪* 'grass' ¶ Br. 694, JPS 518, PS 3742, BK II 716, Ln. 2517, Slw. 177, LH 245, Tal 799 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} kerem 'bean(s)' || ECh: Kwn k̑irī, Ke k̑irī, Jg ḡir(k) id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 71 || IE: NaIE **k̑iḡer-* 'pea(s)' > Arm uḡutn̑ siseṽn 'chick-pea' || L cicer id. || Gk κριός id. (P: < **κικριός*) || Mcd [Hs.] κίκερροι 'birds' pease (Lathyrus ochrus) || pAl {O} **cerā* > Al thjerrë 'lentils' (from the original IE unreduplicated variant **ḡer-* or with loss of reduplication: **k̑iḡer-* > ***k̑ḡer* > **ḡer-*?); × IE **ḡer-* v. 'grow' (see N ?? **ḡERṽ* 'grow, be[come] big') ¶ P 598, ≠ F II 21-2 (κριός 'chick-pea' ← κριός 'ram'), WH I 212, Sl. 331-2, O 479, EI 106 (**k̑iḡer-* 'chick-pea' ~ 'garbanza'), 248-9 (Al thjerrë < IE **ḡer-* 'grow') || ?σ A **Ke|ärtṽmṽ* > T **Ke|ärtmä|e* 'pear' > MQp [CC] kertme 'pear', [AH] 'elma', QrB kertme, Nog kertpe 'pear', Qmq gertme 'wild pear (Holzbirne)'; T ⇨ OHg ≥XV, Hg kōrte, OHg ≥XI, Hg kōrtvélv 'pear'; ?? Tk Δ ḡärmäšik 'red dogwood, Cornus sanguinea' ¶ Rs. W 257, Grøn. 141, Rl. II 1105, NogR 163, RKB 127, EWU 822 || ?φ M: WrO kedme(n), Kl кедмн, {Rm.} kedmḡ 'pear' (← T?) ¶ KW 222, Krg. 718, KRS 288 || pJ {S} **kù(n)tàmənə* 'fruit' > OJ kùdàmònò, J: T kudámono, K kùdàmònò, Kg kudamonó ¶ S QJ #1101, Mr. 461 ¶¶ KW 222 (T, M), ≈ DQA #836

*kǵorteme 'pear, fruit' ◇ Sem. *-θ- and A *-t∇m∇ may go back to the second part of composite nouns ◇ AD NM #61; S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs). The A cognate is acceptable if the semantic change 'leguminous plant' → 'fruit, pear' is attested in other lgs.

1133. (₂?) *KĒRŪ 'deer, roe' > IE: NaIE *k̑erwo-/*k̑rwo- 'deer' (and d.: *k̑erwā 'female deer') > L cervus 'deer, stag', cerva 'female deer' ||| W carw 'stag', Crn carow, MBr {Em.} caru, Br {P} karo 'deer' (< *k̑rwo-, {EI} *k̑eru) ||| Gmc {Vr.} *herutaz > ON hjqrtr, AS heorot, OSx hīrot 'deer, stag', OHG hiruz {Kb.} 'red deer' ||| Blt *širvis > Pru sirwis 'roe' ({En.} 'stirna') and a loanword: F hirvi 'deer, elk' | NaIE *k̑erwā 'female deer' was borrowed by BSl from a centum-lge. (acc. to Trubachev, Clt) with a semantic change 'female deer' → 'cow', whence Sl *k̑ŕva 'cow' (> ChS КРАВА krawa, Blg 'кpавa, SCr krāva, Slv kráva, Cz kráva, Slk krawa, P krowa, R, Uk ко'рoвa) and Blt: Pru curwis 'ox' and Lt kárvē 'cow' (with replacement of *-a by the Lt female-marking sx. -ė) ¶ ≈ P 576-7 and ≈ WH I 208 (both dictionaries derive the stem from *k̑e/or- 'horn'), ≈ EI 273 (*koru 'horn' - instead of 'deer, horned animal'), Vr. 234, Kb. 471, Ern. 100, YGM-1 77, En. 199, 248, ESSJ XI 106-112, Glh. 345-6, Frn. 225 ||| **A:** Tg *xirun 'wild deer' > Nn Nh sirũ, Ul {Sun.} siru(n-), Orc iyu, Neg iyun, WrMc iren id., Ewk Skh/Urm/Chmk irũn, Ewk O/Tkm/Urm irē id., 'male elk'; Tg *xirki > Ewk irki 'wild deer, Ud sigisa 'Manchurian deer' ¶ STM I 327-8, Sun. UJ 234 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1061 (err. comparison of Tg with T *k̑l̑'ŕi 'lamb' & M *quri-gan id.) ||| ? **U:** FU: Prm: Z köp k̑r (/k̑ry-), Yz {Lt. ← Gn.} k̑ŕ 'deer' (unless this is a loan from Ne O xora 'male animal, male wild reindeer', as suggested by Rd. [UEW 168-9], see N *koyR∇ 'male animal') ¶ LG 141, Lt. KY 129.

1134. ??₂ *KĒR∇ 'grow, be(come) big' > HS: ?μ B **√m̑r > *√m̑r 'be(come) big' (×N *m̑a'K̑R∇ 'big, long') > Ah √m̑r (pf. im̑ar) 'be big', Kb √m̑r (in geminated forms m̑q̑q̑∇r) 'be/become big' (imv. im̑uȓ ~ um̑uȓ, pf. m̑q̑q̑ar), Izd √m̑r 'croître, grandir', m̑q̑q̑r 'grandir', Gh am̑ar 'be big', m̑q̑q̑r 'big', Gd {Lf.} m̑q̑q̑r 'be big' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508 ¶ pre-B *√m̑r ← *√k̑r ||| IE: NaIE *k̑er- v. 'grow, make grow, breed, feed' > Arm ut̑ȓut̑ seř(-em) v. 'breed, beget', ut̑ȓim̑ seř im̑ 'be born, grow' ||| ?σ: Gk aor. ἐκόρεσα / ft. κοπέ-σω 'sate, satiate', κόρος one's fill, satiety, Sättigung' ||| L Cerēs, -eris 'goddess of fertile land', Cerus manus 'creator bonus' (-r- in

the OL spelling stands for -rr- < *-rs-), L *pro-cērus* 'tall' (← 'grown upwards'), *creā-* v. 'produce, create', *crē-sc-* v. 'grow' || ON *hirsi*, OHG *hirso* (< **k̑ers-ion-*), *hirsi*, *hirsā*, NHG *Hirse* 'millet' || Lt *šeriù* / *šerti* v. 'feed, fodder', *pāšaras* 'fodder, forage' || ?? pAl {O} **cerā* > Al *thjerrē* 'lentils' (× N **ḲæR∇* '≈ ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant, q.v.) ||| **korwo-* 'adolescens' > Gk **κόρῳς* > Gk A *κόρος*, Gk Hm/I *κούρος*, Gk D *κώρος* 'adolescens', Gk Mc *κο-ωο* 'boy' ||| Irn: Krd *kur* 'son' ¶ P 577, WH I 204-6, FI 218-9, Vr. 229, Kb. 470-1, OsS 402, KM 311, Frn. 975, Slr. 265-6, O 479, EI 248-9 (**k̑er-* 'grow'), 656 (? **korwo-s* 'youth') || AdS of D (in SD) **kir-a-* 'old (aged)' (< N **kirHa* 'old' [q.v.]) ◇ Highly qu. Valid unless B **✓m̑r* goes back exclusively to N **m'a'Ḳ∇R∇* 'big, long' (q.v.).

1135. **ḲER∇* (= **ḲERU*?) 'hair' > HS: S: Gz *ḳarnab* ~ *ḳarnab* ~ *ḳarnab*, Tgy *ḳarnab* 'eye-lash, eye-lid' ¶ L G 442 || IE: NaIE **k̑er-* 'hair' > Gmc {Vr.} **xāra* 'hair' > ON *hár*, Nnr, Dn, Sw *hår*, Dt *haar*, OSx, OHG *hār*, NHG *Haar*, OFrs *hēr*, AS *hær*, NE *hair* || Lt *šerỹs* 'bristle, animal's hair', Δ *širỹs* 'hair', Ltv *sars* (usually pl. *sari*) 'bristle, hair of horse's mane\tail; mane, hair', Lt *šer-ti-s* (prs. *šeriúos*), Ltv *sērtiēs* 'to lose one's hair'; Blt **šarya* > F *harja* 'bristle' || ???ϕ the second part (**śala-*) of OI *ka'pucchalam* 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd. with **kaput-* 'head') (× N **Ḳêla* 'stalk, a hair'?) ¶ ≈ WPI 427, ≈ P 583, M KI 156-7, Vr. 210, Vr. N 229, Schz. 160, Ho. 145, Ho. S 31, Kb. 434, KM 278, Frn. 973, ≈ EI 252 (**k̑er(es)-* '≈ (rough) hair, bristle') || A: T **k'ürk* 'fur' > OT, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV *kürk* id., Chg XV *kürk* 'fur, wool', Tk *kürk* id., Ggz, Az, CrTt {Rl.} *kürk* 'fur coat', Tkm Δ *kürk* 'sheepskin coat', Chv *кёрёк кьрьк*, Δ *кёрёк* 'fur coat' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 311, ET KQ 148-9, TL 475-6, Dr. TM III #1628, Rl. II 1457-9, Ash. VII 288, ≈ Jeg. 108 ◇ Identical with N **ḳär∇* 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie' (q.v.)? ◇ T **ü* may be due to the labializing effect of the N labialized vw. **U* of the next syll.

1136. (₂?) **Ḳir∇* 'edge, end, (?) bank (Ufer)' > HS: Eg N *ḳr* 'end (of a book)', DEg *ḳr* > Cpt *кро* *кρο*, *кpa* *кpa*, *хpo* *к^hpo* 'bank (Ufer)' ¶ EG V 58, Vc. 85 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **ḳ∇r-* v. 'finish' > Hs *ḳāřè* v. 'complete, finish', Buli {ChL} *k^heru* v. 'finish' ||| Ech: Kwn {J} *kár* id. ¶ Abr. H 486, Stl. ZCh 213 [#631], ChC, ChL, ≠ Sk. HCD 166 || A **k'ir^a* ~ **kira* > T: [1] T **Kir* > Chv *xbr-* (+ppa. of 3s: *xbr-b*, *xbr-r-i*) 'bank of a river, edge of a forest'; [2] T **Kir* (= **k'ir*?) '≈ edge, border' (× N **ḲirH∇* 'top,

summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v.] × N ***kur**₁**∇h**₁**∇** 'hill, mountain' [q.v.] × ?? N ***gOR**₁**∇** '≈ hill, [small?] mountain') > OT QU {Cl.} qIR 'dam', OT {Rs.} qIR '(river)bank, dam', Ln qIY, Uz qir 'bank of river\lake', VTt, Bsh qbr, Qmq Δ χIR, Qq qIR 'edge, facet (грань, ребро)', Tv qIR id., 'side (of a solid)', Qzq, Qrg qIR 'edge, facet', Alt qIR id., 'river-bank', Xk χIR 'edge, river-bank', Tlt/Sg {RL} qIR 'edge' ('Ecke, Kante'), QK {B} qIR 'edge, high bank', ET 'slope, hilly steppe, edge', {Nj.} qir 'boundary (between plots of land), edge (as of a table)', StAlt qIR, Xk χIR 'edge (край, грань)' | [3] NaT *KIRig > Qmq qIRIY 'edge (край)', Sg χIRIY, Xk хри χri, Yk kirī id., 'river-bank', Qrg qIRū, ? Chv хьрь 'edge (край, кромка)', VTt qbr̄y 'edge, facet' | [4] NaT *k'irgāg 'edge' > OT [MhK] qIRYAY 'the selvages of a garment and its edge', OT Og [MhK] qIRAX, Az гыраг qIRAY, Tk kirak, kiran, Xlj qIRāY, ET qI(r)Yaq, Δ {Jr.} qIRYaq, Ln qIYaq, Uz qir̄Yaq 'edge, bank', Tkm qIRA id., 'sea-shore', Uz qirra 'edge, facet', Tv χIRA 'a margin (кайма) (made of bone or metal) of the saddle pommel', qIRI 'side (of a solid), facet'; T ⇨ M: WrM kirqag 'border, edge', as well as possibly Mnr H {SM} ć'irīē 'bord, limite' and {T} ćirē 'edge, brim of a hat' ¶ Cl. 641, 653, DTS 445, ET Q 225-7, 242-4, TL 95, Md. 70, 168 (*k'ir∇ 'edge'), Jeg. 299, Fed. II 344, Tkr 233, Nj. 623, Sht. 275, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DLT 175, B DChT 134, DT 172, TvR 278-9, 500, MED 470, 473, KW 232, Rs. W 265-6, Rl. II 732-3, Br. MT 155, DTS 445, TatR 310, BR 358, KrkR 428, BIG 300, Hüs. 92, JakR 211, SM 458, T 380 ¶ T *k'irgāg has the expected initial *k'-, while in *kir the lenis *k- (evidenced by Tv q-) still defies explanation || M *^okira > [1] WrM kira, HIM хяр 'slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle' (homonymous with kira, хяр 'summit\ridge of a mountain', F N ***ḲiRH**₁**∇** '↑'); M ⇨ Tg: Ewk kira, Oc kia ~ kiya, Ud {Shn.} kṣā, {Krm.} kṣā, Ul, Ork, Nn qira 'edge', Lm qir̄y ~ qir̄n id.; [2] WrM kirbegelev. 'trim, border; furnish with a hem or fringe' ¶ MED 470-1, STM I 397 ¶¶ DQA #990 (A *k'āre 'edge'; incl. T, M) || ?σ D (in SD) *kir- ({{ḡGS} *k-) > Ml kir̄i 'corner of the mouth', Kdg kiri 'lip' ¶ D #1591 ◇ Hardly here K *qur- 'edge' ([to my mind] ← K *qur- 'ear') ¶¶ K 213, FS K 374-5, FS E 420.

1137. *Ḳor'a (or *ḲoRa and *Ḳ'orü?) 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust' > HS **Ḳ'ur̄m, **Ḳur-: CS *√ḳrm v. 'bark; crust' > Ar √qrm v. G 'bark (a tree)', qarm-at- 'morceau de peau enlevé par incision du nez d'un chameau', MHb קרמ קרמ qə'rūm 'crust, membrane', JA קרמ קרמ

ʔarā'mā 'skin, membrane', {Lv.} 'Haut, Kruste', JEA {Sl.} ʔarā'mā 'membrane, thin skin', Sr ʔarā'm-ā, abs. ʔarām 'layer \ plate \ covering (of metal, wood, skin), bed-spread' | (× N *ʔURm{E} 'to cover'): BHb ✓ ʔrm G 'cover above' (of skin, with skin), JA ✓ ʔrm G 'overlay, cover (as skin)', Sr ✓ ʔrm v. G 'overlay, plate, encrust' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414,1421, Sl. 1043-4, BK II 723-4, Hv. 601, KB 1067, Br. 696, JPS 520 || B *-ʔurm-/*-ʔrūm- 'crust' > Ah a-ʔrum 'crust of bread', ta-ʔormit 'thick crust (of a wound)', Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} a-ʔrum, Kb {Dl.} pl. i-ʔwärm-an 'bread' (← *'crust of bread') ¶ Fc. 1758, Stm. 160, MT 203-4, Dl. 626-7 || Ch {JS} *✓kʔr 'skin' > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Kir kʔār, Tala, Buli kūr, Wnd kur id., Plc {ChL} kōrî 'bark' (× N *ʔORup∇ ~ *ʔaRup∇ 'bark of trees' [ε?], 'skin') | NrBc: P' {Grgs.} kurri 'skin (of human body)' | Hs ʔírǵì 'untanned ox-hide' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} kurgumne 'outré en cuir pour transporter le mil'; ?? Smr {J} gārē, gārē, Nd D {J} gārē 'skin' ¶ JS 231, JI II 296-7, Fd. 306, Ba. 609 ¶¶ But Bj {R} 'kʔarbe ({R} kūrbe) 'skin (Haut)' (R WBd 245) is better explained as going back to N *ʔORup∇ ~ *ʔaRup∇ '↑' || IE: [1] Sl *kora 'bark' (× N *ʔayer∇ 'ε bark, film') > OCS kopa kora, Bg, R ko'pa, SCr kōra, Slv kóra, Cz kūra, P kora 'bark'; [2] ?? IE (× N *KURc∇ 'scales, bark'): Ht kursa/i - 'skin, fleece, hide' || NaIE *krus- 'crust' (ffd. see N *KURc∇) ¶¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. EI 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-3, Kb. 803, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3 ¶¶ The presence of the consonant *s suggests the importance of the etymological ties of Ht kursa and NaIE *krus- with N *KURc∇ || U *kora- v. 'flay, skin' > ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg {Ht.} *kōr- > Vg: T kor-, IK xʔår-, xor-, MK kʔår-, LL kʔar- ~ kʔār-, P kʔorāt- v. 'peel, flay (schälen, enthauten)'; pOs {Ht.} *kōr- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qōr-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O ʔōr- v. 'flay, bark' || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kīrā-, {Hl.} *kīra- v. 'flay' > Ne T хыра(-сь), Ne O xīrā-, Ne F kīrrā-, Slq Tz {KKIH} kīrī-, Kms {KD} k'zīr-ālim, {Cs.} khirílim, Koyb {Sp.} 3s кырле, Mt {Hl.} *kījīrā- v. 'flay' (Mt M {Sp.} крїямъ 'I flay') || Y: OY K {Bil.} ʔhar, YK {IN} ʔaar qār 'skin', {Ang. ← Jc.} ʔar ~ (?) ʔār 'Balg, Fell, Haut' ¶¶ Coll. 26, UEW 184, Ht. #306, Stn. D 542, Jn. 69, KKIH 117, Hl. M #495, IN 332, IN RJ s.v. кожа, Ang. 252, ≈ Rd. UJ 46 [#66] (Y ← U) || A: NaT *°Kōjīrū- > Osm {Rl.} kōrū- v. 'die Haut abnehmen, abkratzen' ¶ Rl. II 1252 ¶ But T *k'ōrūk 'bellows' (> OT kōrūk, Tkm kōrūk, Yk kūrūt, etc., see ET KQ 118) is either akin with or borrowed from M *kōʔerge 'bellows' (> WrM

kögerge, HIM xəəpəɾ, *see* MED 480) || M *körü-sün 'bark, peel, rind' > MM [S] korisu = körüsü 'skin, uppermost stratum of earth', WrM körü-sün, HIM xöpc(öh) id., 'peel, rind', Kl körsü 'bark, hard crust, skin' ¶ H 104, MED 491, KW 240 || Tg *xura-kta n. 'bark' > Lm urtъ, Ud wakta, uakta, Ul xoraqta ~ xuraqta, Ork xuraqta, Nn Nh/B xoraqta, ? WrMc urixə 'film, membrane'; Tg *xura- vt. 'cover with bark' > Lm ura-, Ork xura-la- ¶ STM II 282 || ? pKo {S} *kúr 'oyster' (← 'shell') > MKo kúr > Nko kul ¶ S AJ 257 [#181] || ? J {S} *kúrí '≈ shellfish (and its shell)' > OJ pama-guri > ItOJ pāmà-gùrí > J T hamá-guri 'the shellfish Meretrix meretrix L.' ¶ S AJ 272 [#218] ¶¶ S AJ 38. 128 [fn. 75], 291 [#441] (A *k'ora- 'bark, shell'), ≈ DQA #1092 (A *k'jürú 'bark, shell'; incl. M, Tg, Ko, J) ◇ NaT *°Kö:;rü-, M *körü-sün, and (possibly) IE *krus- suggest a N etymon ***Ḷorü**, while U *kora, Sl *kora, and Tg *xura-kta point to a N word ***ḶoRa**. It is not yet clear if these are two different N words or variants of the same word. But if *-ü- in NaT *°Kö:;rü- and M *körü-sün goes back to a sx., a N etymon ***Ḷor'a** may be the best rec.

1138. *Ḷoru (or *Ḷorü) 'bite, gnaw, chew, eat away' > **HS**: (+ext.) CS (or WS) *✓ḶrḶ > Ar ✓qrḶ (pf. قَرَضَ qaraḶa / ip. -qriḶ-u) 'gnaw' (of mice), Ug ḶrḶ 'bite', ?σ Gz ✓ḶrḶ 'lacerate, tear away' (semantic infl. of ✓ḶrḶ 'incise, scar'?) ¶ BK II 713, Ln. 2514-5, Hv. 598, OLS 373, L G 440-1, 444 || **IE**: NaIE *k^weru- v. 'chew' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth, chews' || Gk [Hs.] πύρνος · ψωμός 'morsel, bit' || W pori v. 'graze, browse, eat, pasture', por'fau v. 'pasture, graze' ¶ P 642, F II 630-1, M K I 379, Fw. WE 49, YGM-1 366 ¶ IE *k^weru- v. 'chew' × *k^weru- v. 'crush' (< N *Ḷur,Ḷr,Ḷ 'to hammer, to pound') || **K**: G Ḷril- 'gnaw, make holes' (of woodworms) ¶ Chx. 631 || **U**: FU *ko|arḶ- v. 'bite' > Prm *kurtć- 'bite (укусить)' > Z курччыны kurtć+nñ, Vt куртчыны kurtć+nñ || ?? Lp: OSw {LÖ} karva- 'rodere', Vfs {Lgc.} g_āḶwā'sti 'beißen, schnappen' (going back to a FU root variant with *ä - probably due to vw. harmony) || ?? Chr kar- 'eat' (unless from *kačk-, as supposed by UEW) || Hg harap- v. 'bite, take a bite out of sth.' ¶ UEW 129 (rejects the Lp and Chr cognates), LG 147 || **D** {tr.} *koḶ-, {GS} *koḶ- v. 'bite, nibble' > Tm koḶi v. 'nip off the husks of grain, nibble grain', Ml koḶikka v. 'nibble (as a mouse); eat grains by nipping off the husk', Kn koḶuku, koḶaku, kuḶuku, Tl koḶuku v.

'bite, gnaw', Kdg kōri- 'eat grain by cracking husk' (of rats), 'strike' (of snakes), Tu κοζαλε v. 'gnaw' (as rats), Klm kōrk- v. 'bite, sting, nibble', Nkr kōrk- v. 'bite', Prj kōrk- v. 'cut with the teeth, gnaw, nibble', Gdb, Gnd kōrk- v. 'gnaw', Knd kōrk- 'crush with the teeth, bite' ¶¶ D #2164, GS 149 [#377] ◇ IS I 358 [#234] (IE - A; supposes that N *kōr̥ [sc. {AD} N *kōr̥] 'worm' is identical with the etymon in question).

1139. (₂?) *k'ōr̥ 'rock, isolated mountain' > HS: S *qūr- > Ar (coll.) qūr- ⇨ (sg.) Ar qār-at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× N *kār̥ 'point, rock, steep mountain') ¶ BK II 833, Hv. 633 || A *k'ūr̥- > NaT *k'orum 'rock(s); stones (fragments of rock)' (× ⇨ *kōr- 'crumble, collapse' [▷ Tkm Δ qor- id.]) > OT {Cl.} qorum 'a massive rock; pile of rocks', Xlj {DT} gurum 'Hügel, Anhöhe', ET Δ {Jr.} qoram 𐤒 qoyam 𐤒 qurām 'rock', Qzq Δ qorūm 'small stones', Qrg qorum 'pile of rocks (big rock stones); big stone (валун)', Alt, QK, Tb qorum 'fragments of rock (россыпь)', Tv xorum id., 'burial mound', Tf hōrum 'rock', Xk xōrim id., 'very big rocks', QK/Shor/Tlt {Rl.} qorum 'Bergsturz; das Geröll, das sich durch Einstürzen von Feldmassen gebildet hat' ¶ Cl. 660, ET Q 80-1, Ra. 190, Jr. 252, Jud. 409, BT 88, Rl. II 562, BIG 279, TvR 485, B DChT 129, B DLT 166, DT 121 || Tg *xure 'mountain' > Ul xur̥(n-), Sln ur̥ id., Ork xur̥(n-) 'mountain, wood(s)', Nn Nh xur̥̃:, Nn B xur̥(n-), Nn KU ur̥̃ id., Ewk ur̥ 𐤒 ur̥̃ 'mountain, mountain woods', Neg uỹ̥ 'mountain, isolated hill (сопка)', Lm ur̥k̥̃̃n id., 'stone' ¶ STM II 289, S AJ 212 [#79] ¶¶ DQA #1148 (A *k'ori 'hill; embankment [насыпь], boundary'; incl. T, Tg) || ? U: FP *kur̥ 'hill, steep slope' (× N *kur̥h̥ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd.) || ? D *kur̥- ({GS} *k-) 'hilly country' (× N *kur̥h̥ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ There may have been other cognates, but because of reg. phonetic changes in some descendant lgs. they coalesced with reflexes of other N words. Namely, in lgs. that lost certain vowel oppositions the reflexes of N *k'ōr̥ 'rock' may have coalesced with those of N *kār̥ 'point, rock, steep mountain' (q.v.).

1140. *kōr̥ (or *kōr̥w̥?) 'worm, maggot' > A: M *qor̥ > Kl T {Rm.} xōr 'maggots of gadfly'; M *qoru-qay 'worm' > MM [MA] qoraṣay, [IM] qoruṣay, WrM qorūqay, HIM хорхой, Kl хорха, {Rm.} xōrxā 'worm', MM [HI] qoroqay 'insect', [IsV] qorṣay, WrO xoroḫoi ~ xoroḫai, Dx gugi, Dgr {T} xorgo, Mnr {SM} xorguī 'worm, insect' ¶ KW 187-8, Pp. MA 302, 445, MED 970, T DnJ 116, T

DgJ 177, SM 173, Krg. 283, Ms. H 90, Lg. VMI 45 || Tg *_Lx_Jūre 'earthworm' > Ewk ūrē, Neg, Ud ууэ J STM 289 JJ S AJ 54, 282 [#224] || T *k'ūrt 'worm' (× N *ku^ʔr[∇]t|d[∇] 'worm, parasitic insect', q.v. ffd.) JJ ≈ DQA #1069 (*k'jōro 'worm, gadfly'; incl. M, T) || U *^okūr[∇] > Sm {Jn.} *kūr 'maggot, fly' > Ng {Cs.} kīr 'maggots in tainted meat', {Mik.} kīr 'fly', Kms {KD} šūr· 'worm', d. {KD} šurǎīār, {Cs.} šüreär 'fly', Koyb d. {Sp.} сурусари, Mt {Hl.} d. *kürär(ä) 'fly' (Mt M {Sp.} куряръ, куряря id.) J Jn. 79, Hl. M #605 || IE: NaE (att. in Sl) *^ok_Lω_Jwi- 'worm' > Sl *čǫrvь 'worm' > OCS **УРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, Blg 'черев, SCr cǫv, Slv čǫv, Cz, Slk čer^v, P czer^w, OR, RChS **УЬРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, **УРЬВЬ** čǫrvь, **УЕРВЬ** čer^v, R червь, Uk черв J ESSJ IV 171-2, ≈ Glh. 167-8 (unc.: Sl *čǫrvь < IE *k^ωer- 'make'), ≠ EI 649 (Sl *čǫrvь < IE *k^ωṛmi-) || ?σ HS: ECh: Ll {Cp.} karà 'louse', Bdy kúrāne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} kūrīlè 'larva of locust' (× N *ku^ʔr[∇]t|d[∇] '↑') || WCh: Hs k^wâr^kwátà ~ kwarkwátà 'louse' J AIJ 92, 156, J LM 129, ChC, Ba. 690, Abr. H 592 ◇ The Tg and T long vw. and *^w in IE (Sl) and Hs may point to a N *-w- (***ḲôR_L∇_JwE**) ◇ ≈ IS I 358 [#234] (***Ḳor^h** 'to gnaw; worm': IE *k^ωṛmi-, A [M, as well as T *kūrt 'worm']). Cp. N ***ḲuRm∇** 'worm, insect', N ***Ḳ'û'R'∇'d∇** ~ ***ḲûRt[∇]∇** 'stinging insect', N ***ḲiRg∇** (or ***ḲiRk∇**) 'ε stinging insect', and N ***ḲERh₂∇³∇** 'hornet, wasp' (some of them originally connected as derived or compound words?).

1141. *ḳurE(-c[∇]) 'run, run away' > K (+ext.) *^oḳurc|çχl- > G ḳurcχl- v. 'run away, race, gallop' J Chx. 645-6 || IE: NaE *kers- v. 'run' > L curro / cucurrī / cursum v. 'run' (curr(e)- < *kṛso-) || Gk ἐπί-κουρος 'assistant' (← *'running to help') (-κουρος < *korsos ÷ L cursus n. act. 'run') || MW carrawc > W † carrog 'torrent' || MHG hurren vi. 'to move quickly, to hasten' || Lt karšti (prs. karšiu) 'to go quickly, to run' || pTc {Ad.} *kwärsär > Tc B kwarsär, A kursär {Ad.} 'league; course, path' | ⇨ NaE *kṛso-s 'vehicle, chariot' > L currus 'chariot' || Clt: OIr carr 'vehicle' ({Vn.} 'charette, fardier, camion, voiture'), MW carr, W car, OBr carr 'vehicle', Br karr 'voiture, char', Gl [ED] {Billy} κάρρος, κάρρον 'char à l'usage militaire' ⇨ L carrus 'ε four-wheeled baggage-waggon' J P 583-4, ≈ EI 491 (*kērs- 'run' with unj. *kē-), WH I 215, FI 537-8, Vn. C 41-2, Flr. 97, YGM-1 77, Billy 44, Lx. 96, Frn. 224, Wn. 245, Ad. 234, Ad. H 17 JJ IE *kers- < pre-IE *ḳeurs- with loss of a glide *^u besore a sonant

|| **U** *^okū|ir|ðe > Sm {Jn.} *kūrḅ 'run away, flee' > En B {Cs.} 3s aor. simî 'er lief davon' (< *kūrwa-?), Ne T d. сюрмбă-сь, T O {Lh.} súrmbā- v. 'run' (< *kūrə-mp∇-), Ne F {Lh.} šur̄ḅa- id., ? Slq Nr {Cs.} šórmba 'es tropft, fließt', Kms {KD} šur̄ím 'run' ¶ Jn. 79, Ter. 590-1, Cs. 132, KD 66 ¶¶ Not here F karata 'run away' (⇔ AD GD #166) || **A**: NaT *k_l'ürä- v. 'run away, desert' > OT kürä- id., SbTt Tv/Tar (= Qurdaq, Turali) {Rl.} kürä- 'auseinanderlaufen, auseinanderfließen', Yk kürā- 'flee, go away', kürän- vi. 'run away, hide, avoid' ¶ Cl. 737, Rs. W 320, ET KQ 146, DTS 238, Rl. II 1448-9, Pek. 1226, JkR 201 || NKo kīlk- [kīk-] 'run away, escape' (of a criminal) ¶ Rm. SKE 115, Gale 126, S QK #1112 ¶¶ Ewk korō- 'drive away' (< Tg *^okora-) (STM I 416) hardly belongs here (because of Tg *k- and *o for the expected *x- and *u) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #930 (A *kure 'to run, quick'; incl. T, Ko, Tg) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #319 (IE, Sm, A. Ko, Ai, Gil + err. FU + qu. CK).

1142. *ḱūr'U' (= *ḱur'U'?) 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > **A** {ADb.} *k'uru > Tg *xuru-n 'hoof' > Ewk urūn, Ork χūrū 'hoof' (of a reindeer), Orc ūḅki, Ud u, Nn Nh χōrō ~ χōrōã, Nn B χoro(n-) 'hoof'; Tg *xuru 'handful' > Ewk ur, urū, Ud ū, Ul, Orc xuru ~ xurū, Nn xoro ¶ STM II 287-8 || **M** *quruḅ|an 'finger, toe' (← 'hoof') > MM [IM] qurḅan, [IsV] quru,un, [MA, LV] qurūn, WrM quruḅun, HIM xuryy, Mnr H {SM} χuri, {Pot.} xypю, Mnr M {Pot.} кypу, MMgl [Z] qurūn, Mgl {Rm.} qurūn, Dx {T} gurun, Dg {T} qorō 'finger, toe' ¶ MED 991, Pot. 417, Pp. MA 312, 445, Pp. L III 63, Iw. 129, Rm. M 32, SM 185, T 378, T DgJ 30, T DnJ 117 || **IE**: NaIE *kern-/*korn- (or *k̄|korn-, if the Sl cognate is rejected) 'hoof, (?) handle' > Clt: W, Crn carn 'hoof', OBr carn id. ('ungula caballi, sabot de cheval'), Br kar n 'hoof' ('sabat de bête') || ? Sl *černъ 'handle' > Blg, R 'чепен' 'handle, haft, graft', SCr crēn, Slv črēn, Hls črona, P trzon id. ¶ YGM-1 76, Flr. 97, Hm. 426, ESSJ IV 69-70, ≠ P 576 (< *k̄er- 'das Oberste am Körper'), ≠ EI 272 (W carn < IE *k̄rnom 'horn') || **U**: FP *kurm∇ 'hollow of the hand' > Chr H кормыж 'kormъž, Chr L/Uf/B kormъž id., 'handful' || Mk курмозь kurmaž 'handful' || Prm {LG} *kūrim 'hollow of the hand' > StZ кырым 'hand', Z I/Ud, Prmk k+r+m 'hollow of the hand, handful', Yz k^r^m, Vt кырым 'handful' ¶ UEW 677, MRS 223, Ker. II 73, Ep. 46, Ü 75, LG 154, Lt. J 132 || **D** {tr.} *kuḅ∇_lḅk°, {GS} kuḅuḅ 'thigh, leg, loins' (×N *gur∇(d∇) or *gur∇y∇(d∇)- 'hip, side', q.v.) > Tm куḅaḅku, Kt korg, Tl куḅuḅu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu ɘ kuḅu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku ɘ

kurki ⚡ koχki, Knd kur̥gu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuʒu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. ⚡ kūd̥gū id., 'lap', Ml kur̥aku, kur̥avv 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D #1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [#382], 55 [#152] || HS: S *k̥ursull- 'ankle' (< N *k̥ûr̥ ∇ s̥û'ɫ̥ ∇ '€ bottom [bone] of the leg\foot', ffd. *see* N *s̥û'ɫ̥ ∇ 'heel, sole of the foot, bottom') || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' (< N *k̥ûr̥ ∇ s̥û'ɫ̥ ∇, ffd. *see* N *s̥û'ɫ̥ ∇) ◇ If the Sl cognate is accepted, the IE √ has an initial *k-, in that case the pN rec. must be *k̥ur̥'U' (N *u > *u̯ is lost in IE if it is followed by a root-final sonant). But in this case the (otherwise plausible) connection of the N etymon with the cd. *k̥'û'r̥û-ϣ ∇ c ∇ 'shin' (with a front vw. suggested by IE *k̥- in *k̥r̥ūs- > Arm s̥r̥un-kʰ 'leg[s], shank[s]') is ruled out. Otherwise, if the qu. Slavic cognate *černъ 'handle' is rejected, the N etymon is likely to be *k̥ür̥'U', in accordance with its connection with N *k̥'û'r̥û-ϣ ∇ c ∇ ◇ The D, IE, and U cognates are likely to go back to a cd. or cds. (≈ N *k̥ûr̥'U' n̥ ∇ ..., *k̥ûr̥'U' m ∇ ...) ◇ The meaning of D *kur̥ ∇ ɫ̥k̥o 'thigh, leg, loins' may be explained as a semantic change from N 'foot', influenced by the contamination with N *gúr̥ ∇ (d ∇) or *gur̥ ∇ y ∇ (d ∇) - 'hip, side'.

1143. *K̥ur̥ ∇ (= *K̥ur̥û?) 'plait\wattle\tie together' > IE: NaIE *k̥ʷer̥u̯]- 'build, make' (↔ *k̥ʷer̥u̯]- 'pot, kettle') > OI ka'rōti, kar̥ōti (pp. kr̥ō'-ta-) 'does, makes', Av čōrəṭ 'er schafft', kərənao 'they will make', YAv kərəta-, OPrs (unvocalized script) kr̥t pp. 'made', KhS kar 'do, make'; OI ca'ru- 'pot, kettle' ||| W paraf 'I make, accomplish'; OIr cruth, W pryd 'form (Gestalt)'; OIr co(i)re, W pair 'kettle' ||| ON hverr, OHG (h)wer 'kettle', AS hwer 'kettle, pot' ||| BSl: [1] Lt kūr̥ti 'to make up, to create, to build', Pru kūr̥a 3s p. 'built' or 3s prs. 'builds' | Sl *čara 'cup, bowl, goblet' > OR Чара čara, P czara id., R 'чара 'goblet', Uk 'чара, R, Uk 'чарка 'wineglass'; ??? ChS къръни къръѣji and R † корч, корчий 'blacksmith, boiler-maker' (more likely to be a loan from T, smth. like OQp *qurč-čī ↔ OQp qurč 'steel' (*see* Cl. 647)]?σ [2] (→ *'practive withcraft'): Lt kerāī pl. 'witchcraft, spell, sorcery', keréti 'to practice witchcraft' | Sl *čarъ, *čara 'witchcraft, magic, spell' > OCS, RChS, OR Чаръ čarъ, RChS, OR Чара čara 'spell, witchcraft', Cr čara, Slv čār, čára, Cz čáry id., P czarъ, R 'чары id., 'charm', Blg чар 'charm', Uk чар 'magic potion' ¶ On the typological acceptability of the semantic change 'make' → 'practice

witchcraft' *see* Bern. I 136-7 and Bu. 494-6 ($\equiv \sigma$: Sp *hechizo* < L *facticius*); an alt. connection of the BSI stem for 'witchcraft' is NaE *kar- v. 'abuse, blame, punish' (< N *kar ∇ 'curse, scold', ? 'punish'), because abusing and blaming may be originally perceived as magic ¶ \approx P 641-2, EI 362 (*k^wer- 'do, make, build'), M K I 169, 258, M EI 307-9, Frn. 241-2, 319, Vs. IV 316-7, Vn. C 256, Vr. 272, Ho. 181, Kb. 1170, OsS 439, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 300-7, ESSJ IV 21-6, Glh. 171-2 || U *kur ∇ - v. 'fold, bind, tie with string' > F kuro- v. 'gather, pucker up (in a garment)', {UEW} 'fälteln, mit Falten versehen, kräuseln; abschnüren, schnüren', kure 'gather, pucker; wrinkle, crumple; fold' | pLp {Lr.} *kor3- 'tie together' > Lp: S {Hs.} gārredh '(an-\um-\zu-\zusammen-)binden', Vfs {Lgc.} kōrrōt 'tie together', L {LLO} kārāt 'tie\stitch together (with strings, twigs, root fibres, etc.)', N {N} gōrrā- 'tie together', Kld kōrrō- v. 'tie' || Sm {Jn.} *ku(y)rā-, {Hl.} *kura- v. 'tie, plait', vi. *kurъ- 'be tied, plaited' > Ne T хурась id., {Lh.} χurā 'die Last im Schlitten festschnüren', Ne F {Lh.} kur-ḥā-š id., Ng {Mik.} kūrūda 'entangle, enmesh (запутать)', Slq Tz {KKIH} kur+ id., v. 'bandage (забинтовать)', En {Ter.} 3s aor. sbcj. кураза 'he tied up, strapped (увязал)', Kms {KD} kūrīām, Koyb {Sp.} курлямъ, Mt {Hl.} *kura- v. 'plait' (Mt M {Sp.} курамъ 'I plait') || pY {IN} *kur- > YK {Jc.} курит 'сцепившись' ({Ang.} 'sich verkettet habend') || A variant FU (FP) stem *kor ∇ (proposed in IS I 359) > Krl {It.} koruo- v. 'stitch' | pLp {Lr.} *kōrō 'sew' > Lp: S {Hs.} goārudh, L {LLO} kārōt, N {N} goarrot, Kld koarreō | Prm {LG} *kōr- > Z kōp- kōr- 'gather (in a garment)' || U *kur ∇ ~ *kor ∇ is probably the source of some words for wicker-work: Chr E kurukš 'basket of bark' || ObU {Ht.} *kūrāy ~ *kīrāy 'sack' > pVg *kūrāy > Vg: T kōrāw / pl. ko(:)rkāt, LK xūri, MK kurī, UK kūrī, P kūrīy / pl. kurret, NV/SV kūrī, LL kūrī / kurrat, UL/Ss xūrīy; pOs *kīrāy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qīrāy, D/K xerā, Nz xīrā, Kz χīr, O χir || Sm *kor 'vessel' > Ne T хор" χōr? 'bucket, keg', 'Fass', Ne FP {Lh.} kōf 'birchbark bucket', Ng {Ter.} кур, {Cs.} kūr 'barrel', En {Cs.} ку? id., 'box (Kiste)', Slq Tm {KD} kōrḥnžä 'birchbark basket', Kms {KD} qōrī? 'small box for fat' ¶¶ UEW 215, Coll. 29, Lr. ##459, 480, Lgc. ##2568, 2668, Hs. 566, TI 149, It. LC 115 (Lp N goarrot, Krl), LG 141, Jn. 74, 76, KKIИ 121, Hl. M #601, Ht. #321, IN 230, Ang. 130 || A {SDM97} *k₁uru 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building' > T *Kur- 'put sth. in working order, erect (a building), establish' > XwT XIII qur- 'set up',

Chg xv qur- id., 'erect', Tk kūr- 'install, build', Tkm, Az gur-, Uz, ET, Nog, Qmq qur-, VTt коп- q̄r-, Bsh коп- q̄r- 'build, erect', Qzq qūr-, Qq, Qrg qur- 'set up, establish, build' ¶ Cl. 643, Rl. II 920, ET Q 156-7 || ?σ M: [1] *qori- 'enclose, shut in' (× N *ḲoHri 'to cover, to protect', q.v.) > WrM qori-, HIM хори- 'enclose, shut in', Mnr χūōri- 'enfermer, enprisonner, mettre à l'étable'; M *qori^rul > WrM qorigul, HIM хориул 'enclosure, enclosed place'; M *qori^rayan 'courtyard with houses' > MM [S] qoriya_{an} 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', [HI] qoriyan 'cour avec habitations', WrM qoriyan ~ qoruga, HIM хороо 'courtyard, enclosure', Dg {T} χορέ 'courtyard, fence', {Mr.} horiē id., 'stockade for horses and cattle, corral' || [2] M *küriyen > MM [HI] {Ms., Lew.} güriyen 'enclos', WrM küriyen, HIM хүрээ 'anything girding \ encircling \ enclosed; fence; enclosure, yard', WrO kūrē 'enclosure, monastery', Kl күрә, {Rm.} kūrē 'monastery; circle (for games)'; WrM küriyele-, HIM хүрээлэ- v. 'fence off, enclose', WrO kūrēle- 'surround, encircle' ¶ Ms. H 58, 90, MED 506, 966-7, H 67, Lew. II 39, SM 183, T DgJ 177, Mr. D 164, Krg. 758, KRS 326, KW 247 || AdS of Tg *kōri- 'build (out of logs)', 'building' (basically from N *ko^rū 'stick, log', q.v. ffd., as can be seen from Tg *k- < N *k-) || ? pJ {S} *kuru-wa 'rampart of a fortress, quarter in a city' > OJ kuruwa id., J: T kùruwa, K kúrúwá, Kg kuruwá 'an enclosure, quarter in a city; district' ¶ S QJ #891 ¶¶ DQA #931 (A *kuri 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building': T, M *küriyen, Tg, Ko, J) || D (in SD) *kur^r-, *kur- 'basket' (× N *Ḳ^rū^rry^r 'sack, wicker basket', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: CS *ḳ^rwr- 'thread' > Hb קר קūr 'thin thread, spider's web', Ar qa^rwr- 'good and strong cotton-rope; new cotton' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, BK II 833, Hv. 633 ◇ IS I 359-60 [#236] ◇ D *-r- suggests the presence of some cns. following *r in the pre-history of D (reg.: D *-r- < N *r + another cns.) The most probable additional cns. for this case is *w or *y (the lrs. are ruled out for lack of traces in S and IE). Such pre-D *w may go back to N *-u or *-ū. Direct traces of N final *ū may be discerned in OI cā^ru and in D (Ml kurutti, Kn kurve, Tu kurvæ) ◇ Gr. II #258 (*kur 'make') (IE, U, A, J, Ai).

1144. *Ḳ^rū^r 'short' > IE: NaIE *ker-t-, *ker-... 'short' > OI krō^rdhu- 'shortened', Av kərədušā 'in Kürze' || L curtus 'short' || Sl *kor^rt-ькь id. (f. *kórtrьka, ntr. *kórtьko) > ChS кратькь kratькь, Blg

'кратък, SCr *kráta*k, Slv *krátek*, Cz *krátký*, P *krótki*, R *ко'роткий*, 'короток || ?φ Gmc: ON *kortr*, *kurtr*, OSx *kurt*, OHG *kurz* \mathfrak{d} *churz*, NHG *kurz* 'short' ¶ WH I 316-7, M KI 260, M E I 393, ESSJ XI 101-4, Glh. 345, Vr. 327, Ho. S 44, Kb. 575, Schz. 187, KM 414 ¶ IE **ker-* < ***keur-* is due to the law requiring the loss of any sonant preceding the final sonant of the $\sqrt{\text{ }}$. Gmc **k-* for **h-* is still to be explained ¶¶ The connection (if any) with IE *(s)*kert-* 'cut' is secondary || HS: WS * $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* 'be short' > Sr $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* (pf. $\text{كِرْي} \text{ kār ī} \sim \text{كِرْيَا} \text{ kār ā}$) 'be short', Sq {L} *kiri* 'be short' ¶ Br. 342, L LS 225 || B * $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* 'be too short' (of stature, etc.) > Sll *kri* (pf. *ikri*) 'be short', Kb $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ *kry* (inv. əщrī) 'être malingre, de petite taille pour son âge', ? Ah *əkrū* 'avoir une petite figure chiffonnée', ??φ Zng {TC} *yikyīy* 'devenir court' ¶ Ds. 79, Dl. 421, Fc. 842, DCTC 291 || A **k'or*∇ 'short; be diminished' > NaT **Kora-* > OT *qora-* 'be diminished, suffer losses', Qrg *qoro-* vi. 'diminish, decrease', Tlt *qoro-* 'sich verkleinern, sich verringern, abnehmen', Xk {BIG} vi. *χora-* 'diminish', Sg/Qb/Shor {Rl.} *qora-* 'sich vermindern' ¶ Cl. 645, Rl. II 551-2, Jud. 407 || M **qoru-* vi. 'diminish, decrease' > WrM *qoru-*, HIM *хор-*, Kl {KRS} *хор-* id., Kl {Rm.} *χor-* 'knapper\weniger\kürzer sein\werden', ? MM [S] *qoro-* {H} 'verbrauchen, vergeuden, abschaffen' ¶ MED 968, KW 188, H 68, KRS 600 || Tg **xurum-* 'short' > Nn *xurumi*, Ork *xurumi*, *xurdumi*, Ul *xurmi*, Orc *ūmi*, Ewk, Lm *urum-kun*, Sol. *urunku(n)* id., Ewk *urumūr-* vt. 'shorten' ¶ STM II 287-8, Ci. 326, Vas. 454 || pKo {S} *kor-* vi. 'diminish' > Nko *kol-da* ¶ Rm. SKE 122, S AJ 257 [#177] ¶¶ S AJ 292 [#435] || D **kuṛ-* ({ṢGS} **k-*) 'short' (of stature) > Tm, Tl *kuṛu* 'short, dwarfish', Ml *kuṛu* 'short, little, brief', Kt *kūr* 'shortness of stature', Td *kuṛḡ-* 'be short', *kwāṛ-* 'be reduced in size or esteem', Kn *kuṛu* 'smallness', *korē* 'grow little\less\short, diminish', Kdg *koru* 'defect, deficiency', *korate* 'diminishing', Tu *korā* 'brief, short', *kuru* 'little, small', Gnd M *kurrā* 'short of stature', Knd *kuṛi* 'short, shortness'; ?? D **kūr-* > Tm *kūrāi* 'that which is short' ¶¶ D ##1851. 1914 ◇ IE **ker-t-*, **ker-* rules out the possibility of reconstructing **o* in the N etymon. Hence the T and the M vw. **o* (together with pA **o*) (for the expected **u*) is still to be explained. IE **ker(-t-)* is likely to go back to ***keur-* < **Ḳur*∇ ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 367-8 (**Ḳur* ∆ 'short'; HS [S, Ch], D, A, ?IE).

1145. **ḲoHri* 'to cover, to protect, to guard' > A **k'ōr*∇ 'protect, guard (i. a., by covering, fencing in)' > NaT **Kōri-* > OT {Cl.} *qori-* v.

'fence in, protect (a piece of ground)', Chg XV qoru- v. 'restrict, protect', Chg [MA] qoru- 'defend', Qrg qoru- 'protect (against sth.), guard, fence in', Tk koru- v. 'protect, defend, spare', Tkm qōra- 'protect (against so.\sth.), defend' ({ET} qōra-), Az goru-, Qmq, ET qoru-, Qrlq qorī-, Uz qwri- 'guard, protect, defend', Qzq inf. қоры қоруw, Nog qorī- v. 'defend', StAlt qoru 'defence, (protective) fence (ограждение)', Tv xoru- v. 'forbid', vi. 'lurk\hide out of fright' (of birds and other animals); ? Chg {Rs.} qorʕa- 'mit einer Mauer umgeben' ¶ Cl. 645-6, Rs. W 282, ET Q 76-8, TkR 189, Jud. 409, BT 88 || M *qori- 'protect; shut in, confine' (× N *Ḳur∇ [or *Ḳurû?] 'plait\wattle\tie together', q.v.) > MM [S] d. qori-laldu- 'sich gegenseitig oder einer dem andern (den Zutritt) absperren', ? qoriya,an 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', WrM qorī-, HIM xopi- 'protect, prohibit; shut in, confine', Ord qorī- 'forbid', Mnr H {SM} χūōri- 'enfermer, emprisonner, mettre à l'étable, prohiber, défendre'; MM [MA] qorī- v. 'defend' (× ← OT or MT qorī- id.) ¶ Pp. MA 303, MED 966, SM 183 || Tg *xura- ({SDM97} *xurā-) 'escape a danger\death, return to life, recover (from an illness)' > Ewk urā- ~ ūra-, Ud uya-, Nn Nh xora-, Lm ur- 'escape a danger\death', Lm ur-, Ul xora-, xura-, Ork xura-, Nn Nh/B xorago- 'regain consciousness', Ewk urā- ~ ūra- vt. 'save (so.)', Sln d. urgī-, Lm ur- 'recover (from an illness)', Lm ur, Neg oyaygī-, Orc uwa- ~ uya-, Ul xora- ~ xura- 'return to life' ¶ STM II 282 || pKo {S} *kārī v. 'cover, shield' > MKo kārī-, NKo kari- ¶ S QK #742, Nam 13, MLC 13 ¶¶ DQA #1131 (A *k'ōra|o|u 'to protect, to guard'), Rm. SKE 98 || HS: WCh: Tng kōrne v. 'protect, guard, keep, preserve, shelter' | Ang {Flk.} kīr v. 'tend (as of cattle)', Su {J} kyēr 'hüten, bewachen; füttern' | ? (× N *ḡArûh₂∇ 'keep [sth.] out of sight, hide') Hs kǎřè v. 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', kǎříyà 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit; screening off a place' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [#604] (pWCh *ka₁y₁ar- 'protect, guard'), Flk. s.v. kīr, J S I 71, J T 102, Ba. 567, 570, ≈ Sk. HCD 137 ¶ BK II 719 || ? SC: Kz kulum-vi. 'hide' (acc. to Ehret, Kz -l- goes back to pSC *-r-) (× N *ḡArûh₂∇ '↑') ¶ EK 14, E SC 254 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg XIX kṛṣ.ω 'shield', because Cpt ḡā cəl ḡā cəl points to an Eg [l] (EG V 59, ≠ Sk. HCD 137) || U: FU *kor∇ (or *-u-) 'roof, covering (Bezug) of an object' > pLp *°kōr- > Lp N {N} goarân 'hairy skin covering fastened round a reindeer's

drag-rope' || ObU *kūr > pVg *kurī > Vg: UL xuri 'roof of a boat', Ss xāp-xuri id. (xāp is 'boat'), xuri 'roof, birch-bark tilt of a sledge'; pOs *kōra 'roof\tilt (over a boat\sledge), cover' > Os V/Vy/Ty/Y qōra id. (V/Vy kiriw qōra 'roof a boat', pečkān qōra 'case of a rifle', Ty/Y āyʷa] qōra 'tilt of a sledge', Ty sāk qōra 'cover of a coat'), V/Y qōra 'roof (of a house), D χōra 'birch-bark tilt of a boat, leathern case of a rifle', Nz χōra, Kz/O χōr 'roof\tilt of a boat\sledge' ¶ UEW 188, Coll. 79, Ht. #313, Trj. S 184, Stn. D 548-9.

1145a. *Ka₁H₂r∇ 'sharp' > HS: EC *qar- 'point, peak; sharp' > Sml qár, Or qár-a? 'edge', qar- v. 'sharpen', {Grg.} qara n. 'point, sharpness', Gdl qár 'blade', qara 'sharpness', Kns qár-ta 'tip, blade, sharpness', HEC *qar- v. 'sharpen (knife)', *qare 'point; sharp' > Ged qara 'sharp', Sd qara 'point', qar-āmo 'sharp, pointed', Hd {Ss.} qāra 'sharpness' ¶ ZMO 325, DSI 489, Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 || IE: NaIE *k^har- 'sharp, pointed, rough' (× N *ćor∇ 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.] × N *qaH₂r∇ 'hard, firm', whence the meaning 'hard' in NaIE *k^har-) > OI kharā- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خار χōr 'thorn, thistle' || Gk κάρχαρος 'sharp-pointed, jagged' ¶ WP I 355, M K I 302, Vl. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102, F I 796 ¶¶ NaIE *k^har- < pIE *kHar- < (mt.) N *Ka₁H₂r∇ × N *qaH₂r∇ || D *kar- ~ kar- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'sharp' > Ml karu 'rough', karuma 'sharpness of sword', Kn karaku, karku 'sharpness', Tl kara 'sharp', karaku, karuku 'rough(ness), sharp(ness)', Gnd karkara 'sharp', Tm karaṭu 'roughness', Ml karaṭu, Kn karaḍu 'what is rough and uneven', Tu karaḍb, karaḍu 'rough, coarse' ¶¶ D #1265.

1146. *ku₁w₁R'E' '(severe) cold' > HS: WS *qurr- 'cold' (noun) > BHb 𐎧𐎧kor, Ar qurr-, Sr 𐎧𐎧𐎠 qūr-ā, Gz q̄warr id.; CS *qarr- adj. 'cold' > BHb 𐎧𐎧 qar, Ar qarr- id. ¶ BK II 699-700, L G 443-4, KB 1052-3, 1071-2 || EC *qorra > Or {Grg.} qorra 'cold, coldness', qorra v. 'freeze, make cold', {Th.} qorra 'freddo intenso, gelo', qorru 'congelarsi', Or M {AD} qorra 'cold, hoarfrost', Sd {Gs.} qorra- 'become\feel cold, freeze', qorra 'frost, hoarfrost, severe cold', Ged {Hd.} qōrra 'frost' ¶ Gs. 269, Grg. 332, Th. 280, Hd. 251 || ? B *√krr (× N *qir₁U₁qa 'ice, hoarfrost') > Rf aqarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 || K *q̄w¹a¹r- > Sv UB/LB/L/LB {TK} qwarem, Ln {TK} qwārem 'ice', Sv {Ni.} qwarem 'frost, ice', lu-qurāme 'frozen', Sv UB {GP} qwarem 'ice', qwarmob 'frost, freezing', li-qwremi v. 'freeze' ¶ GP 130, 156, Ni. s.v. лёдъ, морозъ, мёрзнуть, мёрзлый,

TK 352 || U *ku_lw_lrâ 'hoarfrost' > F kuura, Krl A kûru id., 'white frost', Es † kuureg, Δ kuurukene (gen. kuurukese) 'kleiner, über den Weg gewehter Schneestreifen' | pLp *kor∇ > Lp L {LLO} kârrālahka 'ice crust on trees, sheet ice (Glatteis)', kârrō- 'hoarfrost covers the trees' | pPrm {LG} *gûer 'white frost, hoarfrost' > Vt gîr, Vt Tl gîzr, Vt NE gîer id., Z r̄yöp gîzr, Z US gîzr, Z UV gîver 'hoarfrost' || ? Hg † hóharmat 'hoarfrost', Hg harmat 'dew' || ? Sm: Slq UKe {KD} kur 'fine snow, hoarfrost', Kms {KD} quro 'Reif, Frost' ¶¶ UEW 215 (U *kura), SK 251, LLO 336, LG 85, KD 34 || A: M *kôr_lü- v. 'cool off, freeze, congeal' > MM *kôr- (MM [HI] p. pf. körbeḡ) v. 'freeze, congeal', WrM kôr ü-, HIM xöpö, Kl kôr- id., 'cool off, become cold', Ord {SM} k'ör-, Mnr k'uori- v. 'freeze, congeal'; WrM kôr, HIM {Gl.} xör 'snow (frozen to ice) on grass', {Luv.} xör car 'hardened snow' (absence of any final vw. due to the infl. of T *Kürt?) ¶ KW 240, MED 490, KRS 319, SM 215, Ms. H 72, Gl. III 665, Luv. 555 || T *k_l'ürt > T Δ kürt, VTt {Rs., TatR} көрт kört 'heap of snow, snow-drift', VTt {Rl.} kürt 'hochaufgestürmter Schnee', Shor {Rl.} kürt 'avalanche', ET Tr {Rl.} kürt 'frisch gefallener Schnee', Qmq, Alt kürt, Chv kbrt, Δ {Md.} kbrt 'snow-drift'; d.: T *k'ört'-ik 'snow-drift, deep snow' > OT, Tlt {Rl.} körtük, Xk körtük, Tv xörtük, Tk Δ, Qrg kürtük, Qzq kürtik, Nog kürtik, Yk kürjük ¶ Cl. 739, ET KQ 149-50, Rl. II 461, Rs. W 311, TatR 328, Md. 55, 170 (k'ö|ürt'-ik) || ?φ Tg {DQA} *okuri- (sc. *k_lr'î-) '≈ freeze' > Ewk kurer- 'cover (windows) with ice, freeze (on windows)', kurilkэ 'snow-drift (сугроб, намёт) after a snow-storm' ¶ STM I 436-7 ¶ The Tg cognate is problematic because of the cns. *k- (for the expected *x-) (← M?) || pJ {S} *kžr- 'freeze' > OJ kór-, J: T/Kg kór-, K kòr- ¶ S QJ #618, Mr. 713 ¶¶ DQA 886 (A *kóre 'to freeze').

1147. *kayer∇ 'ε bark, skin' > A *k'ayEr∇ > M *qayir_l∇_l-sun 'scales' > MM [HI] qairsun 'fish scales', WrM qairsun ~ qairasun, HIM хайрс 'scales (of fishes and reptiles), Kl Ö {Rm.} xārsṅ 'scales, hard bark, callosity' ¶ Ms. H 86, MED 914, KW 180 || T: [1] VTt {Rs.} qayraq 'hard tumour' (homonymy with qayraq 'whetstone' causes a popular et.: 'tumour as hard as a whetstone'), VTt qayr̄ 'bark, lime bast (кора, луб, корьё)', Chv: L хуѣр хуѣр, H {Md.} хуѣр 'bark', ? Qzq qayraq 'hard ground\bottom (of lakes\rivers)' | [2] T *k_l'a_l'r 'bark of trees' (*r < *yr?) > OT {Cl.} qāz ~ qās, OT U qas, Qb {Rs.} qas, Tlt {Rl.} qāza

'birch bark', Az Δ gazmaγ 'a crust of bread which remains on the walls of the furnace' ¶ Cl. 665, Rs. W 223, Rl. II 363, TatR 212, MM 423, Fed. II 352 ¶ SDM95 (s.v. *k'ejir), SDM97 155 (pA *k'eyro) || Tg *xere- v. 'bark (a tree)' > WrMc erē- v. 'bark a birch-tree', Ul x3r3- v. 'scale (dried fish skin)', Tg *xere-kte n. 'bark, skin' > Ewk 3r3kt3 id., Neg 3y3kt3, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B x3r3kt3, Orc 33kt3 'skin', Lm 3rtb id., 'scales' ¶ STM II 466-7 || ? pKo {S} *k'ár-č'hjā,ŋ > MKo k'ár-č'hjā,ŋ 'young skin of a plant' (mentioned in SDM95, but absent in SDM97 and DQA) || pJ *k'árà 'shell' > OJ k'árà, J: T kará, K k'árà, Kg k'ára ¶ S QJ #480, Mr. 438 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'ejro 'bark', ≈ DQA #996 (A *k'érà 'bark': M, Tg, J, T *Kár), S AJ 38 || IE: NaIE *ker- 'skin, hide, bark', (-d) *kermen- 'skin' > OI 'carma 'skin, hide', Av čaraman- 'hide, leather', OPrs čarman- 'leather' || L corium 'thick skin, hide, bark' || Gk κόρυκος 'leather sack' || Clt: ? W corwg, cwrwg 'coracle' (unless ← NE coracle) || Pru kērmens 'body', ? Lt karnà ~ kardà 'lime-bast' || SI *kora 'bark' (× N *Kor'a' 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust') > OCS kopā kora, Blg, R kopā, SCr kōra, Slv kōra, Cz kůra, P kora 'bark' ¶ P 939-41 (does not distinguish between the IE √ in question and other *ker- and *(s)ker-roots), M KI 378, F II 63-4, YGM-1 100, ≈ Frn. 221, En. 192, Tp. PI-K 326-31, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3, WH I 256, ≈ EI 522 (*'kermen; unc.: ← *(s)ker- 'cut') || K: G k'ro- 'shell of a nut' ¶ Chx. 633 || U: [1] pre-U **kayEr∇ > **kayr∇ > **kār∇ > FP *kōr∇ 'skin, bark' > F kuorī 'skin, peel, bark, crust, shell', Es koor 'shell (of eyes), peel, bark' || Er/Mk kár 'bast shoe' || Prm {LG} *kōrs > Z k'rs 'bark' || Sm {Jn.} *kär (?) 'skin, shell' > Ne T cяp'' 'skin, surface', Ne O {Lh.} šār? 'harte Innenfläche der Tierhaut', Ne F {Lh.} šār? in nūm šār' 'Himmelsgewölbe', Slq Tz {Prk.} qora 'hide' || pY {IN} *qar 'skin, hide' > YK {IN} qar id., {IN RJ} χār 'skin', šān-χār 'bark' (lit. 'tree-skin'), OYK {Bil.} char 'skin', tshangar 'bark' || [2] pre-U **ka'yer∇ 'ε bark' > FU *kere > F kerī 'the bark which grows on the birch tree after the first bark has been removed', Es {W} kere 'lime-bast' || pLp {Lr.} *k3r3 'bark' > Lp: S g'irre, L {LLO} karra, N {N} gâr râ, Kld k3rr || Er керь keř, Mk кяр kâr 'bark, sheet of lime bast (лубок)' || Chr: H кёр kər, L күр kūr, B kür id. || Prm {LG} *kōr > Z kor / kory- 'peel', (in a set phrase) 'sheet of lime-bast (луб)', Z Lu kor 'upper layer of bark', Z US kōr 'bark', Vt, Prmk кур kur, Vt SW kūr, Vt B kōr 'lime-bast' || ObU {Ht.} *kīr(∇) 'bark' > pVg *kīr > Vg T/LK/MK/UL/Ss kēr id.; pOs *kir 'snow

crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K kir, Nz/Kz/O ker id.; pOs *kär 'bark' > Os: V/Vy kär, Ty/Y/D/K/O kâr, Nz/Kz kar | OHg kér 'Zwerchfell', (in cds.) -kér 'thin skin, film', Hg kérég 'bark, crust' ¶¶ UEW 148-9, 184-5, Db. OS xxi, xxiii, Sm. 543 (FU *keri|ä 'bark' > FP *keri, Ugr *kirä), It. #308, Lr. #318, Lgc. #1963, Hs. 611, LG 133, 154, SZ 164, Ht. #317, MF 133, Jn. 64-5, IN 245, 326, 332, IN RJ s.v. 'кожа' and 'копа', W EDW 263 || One may try to adduce here HS (S *✓krm, B *krm > *✓yrm 'crust', Bj {R} k^warbe 'skin', Ch ✓k^wr 'skin'), but I prefer to connect this HS √ with N *Kor'a' (or *Kora and *K'orü?) 'to flay, to bark; bark, crust' and (in the case of Bj) with N *kōRup∇ ~ *kaRup∇ 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' ◇ N *-e- is suggested by U *kere; M *qayir_L∇_L- and Tg *xere- also point to a front vw. in the N internal syll. ◇ IS I 341-3 (*Kārä misprinted as *Kārä), Vv. AEN 6, S AJ 38, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST; suggests to adduce G k_rol-i; believes that FU *kōr∇ belongs together with A *k'juru 'bark, shell' and is to be regarded as a different N etymon). In my opinion, this A √ (reconstructed by me as *k'öru-) belongs together with U *kora- v. 'flay, skin' to N *Kor'a' 'to flay' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #26 (*ker 'bark').

1148. *kuyr∇ 'wood (Holz), log' > HS: EC {Ss.} *kor- 'wood' > Sml qor- v. 'trim timber', qor-i 'wood', Dsn g^or 'tree, wood', Kns {Bl.} q^or-ā, {Ss.} qoyr-a, Gdl k^or-ā, Elm ^or-^o?, Arr {Hw.} k^or m., Or {Bl.} k^or-āni 'wood', {Grg.} korān 'firewood', Rn {PG} x^or-^o id., Arr k^or f., Dsn g^or 'tree' ||| Dhl koro 'tree' ¶ Bl. 111-2, 197, Ss. PEC 48, Hw. A 380, Grg. 181, PG 193, To DL 502, To. D 138, Blz. CL 180 || S *kār(iy)-at- 'beam, trunk, stick' (× N *KärE 'trunk, (piece of) wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ AD SEC 135 (S, EC) || K *okwar- > G {Chx.} k_var-i 'Kienspan' ⇨ Mg {Q} k_vari 'chip of wood (лучина)' ¶ Chx. 575, Q 255 || IE {Ei} *k^wṛsto- ~ *k^wṛsti- 'woods' (× N *k^oR_L∇_L∇_L (∇x)∇ ≈ oak') > W prys 'woods', OHG horst, As hyst 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595 || U: FU *kuyr∇ 'a hollowed-out log, trough, boat, wooden vessel' > F kuiru 'long and narrow boat', kuiri, kuirilo 'spoon; boat' | Prm *gūr / *gūry- 'wooden mortar' > Z g+r / g+ry-, Z Vsh/EV gūr, Yz gAr, Prmk, Vt g+r ||| ObU {Ht.} *kūr∇ 'trough, wooden vessel\quiver' > pVg {Ht.} *kūrā > Vg: LK xora 'wooden quiver for arrows', MK k^wora 'box for fish', Ss xura 'trough, dish (Schüssel)', nāl-xura 'box for arrows', śäy-xura 'cup for tea'; pOs {Ht.} *kur+ 'trough' > Os (partially in cds.): V/Ty qur+, Y quri, D kürā, Nz xūra, Kz xūr, O xuri id., V yu-qur+

'mortar, trough' ¶ UEW 196, Coll. 26, LG 85, Ht. #316 || D *kuṛānṭ- 'piece of wood, log, trunk' (× N *gUrandV 'log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [#15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [#75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N *KärE 'trunk, [piece of] wood').

1149. *kaR₁V₁V 'peak, rock, steep mountain' > K: G qarqar-i 'high rock, cliff, steep slope', qarqaṭovani 'steep mountain', ? qorṭox-i 'hill, high ground' ¶ DCh. 596 || HS: B: Sll i-ṽār 'hill', Ntf i-ṽir 'rock' ¶ Stm. 188, La. N 117 || ? HEC {Hd.} *qara 'edge, blade' > Hd {Hd.} qareṭalla 'edge' (× N *KarXV 'bank [Ufer], edge'), *kar- v. 'sharpen (a knife)' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 48-9, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 || Eg fP q̄ṣṣ 'hill', later q̄ṣṣ.t 'high ground' (× N *kaT'h'i 'high; be high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5, Fk. 245, Tk I 65 || S: Ar qār-at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× ← qūr- id. [coll.] < N *K'o'rV 'rock, isolated mountain', q.v. ffd.) ¶ OS ##1551-2 (*kar- 'finish', *kar- 'mountain') || IE: NaIE *ker- 'rock, stone' > Arm քար k'ar (< *kr̥-) 'stone' || ? Gk κρανώς {LS} 'rocky, rugged' || OIr carrac 'rock', OW carrecc (< k̄r̄s-?) 'rock, stone' || Gmc: Nr Δ hōrg 'round mountain-top', ON hōrggr 'heap of stones, place of heathen sacrifice', AS hearz 'heathen temple', OHG hārug 'grove, place of sacrifice', {OsS} 'lucus, nemus, fanum'; NrGmc → F hārju 'mountain ridge, cliff' ¶ P 532; F II 6 and Ch. 577 (both propose no et. for the Gk word), Vn. C 42-3, Vr. 281, Ho. 152, Kb. 438, OsS 375 ◇ N *? is suggested by the second ɛ in Eg q̄ṣṣ ◇ IS I 340-1 (*Kār ʾ 'rock, steep height' in HS [S, Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D *÷ A *kira 'edge').

1150. *keriʔA 'cry, shout, call' > HS: S ✓ k̄rʔ v. 'call' > BHb, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} 𐤏𐤓𐤕 ✓ k̄rʔ 'call, proclaim, recite, read', IA ✓ k̄rʔ 'call, declare', JA {Js.} ✓ k̄rʔ ~ ✓ k̄ry G, JEA {Sl.} ✓ k̄ry G 'call, summon; read', Ph, Pun ✓ k̄rʔ 'invoke', Ug k̄rʔ 'call (rufen, anrufen), invite', Amr {G} ✓ k̄rʔ 'call', Ar ✓ qrʔ G 'read, recite, transmit salutations', OYmn {Slw.} ✓ k̄rʔ v. G 'call (rufen)', Sb, Mn ✓ k̄rʔ v. G 'order, command', Ak qarāʔu ~ qarû ~ kerû inf. 'to invite', Eb {Krb.} qarāʔum (ga-ru₁₂-um ~ ga-ra-um) 'to call' ¶ KB 1053-5, KBR 1128-31, Slw. 176, BK II 701, Hv. 395, BGMR 106, MA 72, A #2448, OLS 370-1, Lv. T II 382, Js. 1418, Sl. 1039-40, G A 29, BDB #7121, CAD XIII 242-3, HJ 1025-8, Krb. EG 18ff., Krb. PE 44 || B **✓ k̄rH > *ṽrH > Ah əṽar (pf. iṽrā) 'call (appeler), mention, read', Gh əṽar pf. iṽra), SrSn, Rf Wr əṽar (habit. aqqar), Sll

{Ds.} ʏ̆ɾ (pf. iʏ̆ɾa), Izd ʏ̆ar (pf. iʏ̆ra) 'call', Tmz ʏ̆ar 'call, invite', Izn ʏ̆ar (habit. əqqar), Kb ʏ̆ar (pf. ʏ̆əʏ̆ra), Zng {TC} aʏ̆ri 'read' ¶ Fc. 1761, Rn. 361, Ds. 18, La. S 195, Dl. 621, MT 197-8, Mrc. 22, DCTC 288, TC Z 311 || K {IS} *ʔk̄īr- (or *k̄īl-) 'cry, shout' > Lz ʔir-, ʔiy-, Mg rʔi- (mt.) ¶ Chik. 297-8, IS I 328, Zhgh. ChMP 75, ≠ K 112 || U: FU *ker̄ɥ̆ä- v. 'call; beg, ask (for)' > F kerjää-, Es kerja- v. 'beg (betteln)' || Prm *k̄ɾ- 'call, ask' > Z kop- kor-, Z US k̄ɾ- 'call (звать), ask, beg (betteln)', Yz kor- 'call, invite, ask', Vt курьны, Vt SW/B kur- 'ask' || Hg k̄ér- v. 'ask' ¶ UEW 149 (FU *kerä-), LG 133, SZ 165, Lt. J 128 || A: Tg {Ci.} *x̄ērī- v. 'shout, call' > Ewk ̄ērī- id., 'invite', Sln ̄ērī-, Lm ̄ēri-, Ul x̄ērsi-, x̄ērsu-, x̄ērčī-, x̄ārčū-, Nn Nh x̄ērsi- v. 'call', Neg ̄yūī- 'shout, call' ¶ STM II 464 || M {DQA} *karī|aya- > WrM qarīya-, HIM, Brt хараа-, Kl хара-, {Rm.} ʔarā-, Mnr H ʔarā-, Dx qara-, Ba ʔara- 'curse, swear, abuse', WrO ʔarā- v. 'curse' ¶ MED 938, Vld. 201, Chr. 549-50, KRS 578, KW 168, SM 159, T 374, TDnJ 125, T BJ 149, Krg. 261 ¶¶ DQA #1024 (A *k'ēr̄o 'to shout, to speak') || IE (+ext.): Sl *krikъ n. 'shout' (> ChS крикъ krikъ, R крик, P krzyk, etc.) and *kričati 'to shout' (> OCS кричати kričati, R кричать, P krzyczec, etc.) may belong here, in spite of the onomatopoeic factor involved. The loss of the expected palatalization of *k- in IE is accounted for by its preconsonantal position ¶ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6 || D *kīr̄- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'shout' > Kt kir̄y-, Td kir̄č̄- v. 'shout', Kn kīr̄u, cīr̄, cīr̄u, Kui kihpa v. 'scream, cry out', Tl cīru ̄ cīru v. 'call', Ku kīr̄r̄ 'shout, moan', Brh kireṅ v. 'abuse', Tm kir̄āv̄u 'cry (as a peacock)' ¶¶ D #1590 ◊ IS I 323-4 [#199] (*q̄erjā) ◊ S *ʔ and B *H suggest an ancient N lr., D *-r̄- rules out a N cluster *-ry-, so that *-y- in BF (if it belongs to the N heritage) is accounted for by a N vw. *i between *r and *ʔ. The N final vw. is likely to be *a (> *a in M, as well as *ä in FU due to vw. harmony). The change from N *e to D *i may be due to regr. as. (N *q̄eri- > pre-D **kiri- > D *kīr̄-). M *-a- of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. (*e...*a > M *a...a).

1150a. *QarûṣṢ (or *QarûḡṢ) 'female breast, milk' > IE *kruH-t- > NaIE *krūt- 'female breast' > Lt krūt̄is, Ltv krūt̄is 'breast, bosom' || W c r o t h 'breast, uterus, vulva' ¶ ≈ P 624, ≈ Frnk. 291 || HS: CS *✓kr̄s (or *✓kr̄y?) > Sr كَرَأْ كَرَأْ kər̄ā'ā 'first milk after birth, curdled milk', ?σ (×N *kor̄ṣṢ 'eat [greedily], drink, swallow'): Ar ✓kr̄s v. G 'sip in', 'humer, boire en humant, en aspirant l'eau' (← *'suck milk') ¶ Br. II

348, Hv. 651 ¶ If Ar \checkmark kr̥s̥ does not belong here, the S root is * \checkmark kr̥s̥|ʏ || B * \checkmark kruH > Ah a-kru, Tyr a-ḡru 'curdled milk' ¶ Fc. 844. PGG 161 || C: Bj kar 'butter' ¶ R WBd 144 || D: SD *kaḡ- v. 'milk' > Tm kaḡa v. 'milk, yield milk (as a cow)', Ml kaḡakka v. 'milk to flow out, milk, give milk', kaḡava, kaḡavu, kaḡru 'milking', Kt karv- v. 'milk', Td kaḡ- v. 'milk, give milk', kaḡ n. 'milk', Kn kaḡem kaḡi v. 'milk, cause to milk', Kdg kara v. 'milk' ¶ D #1385 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [#113] (HS, D).

1151. *ḡ'ir̥s̥ 'strike, hit' > HS: WS * \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ (× N *ḡur̥s̥, ū 'to hammer, to pound') > Ar \checkmark qr̥s̥ v. G 'beat, strike, knock', Jb \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ v. 'strike a spark; sting', Gz \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ 'hit the head with a stick', maḡr̥s̥ 'means of hitting the head, whip, stick' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599, Jo. J 148, LG 439 || Ch: WCh ≈ *ḡir- v. 'forge, pound' (× N *ḡur̥s̥, ū '↑', q.v.) > Glm {Sch.} kír 'mortar' || ? Hs ḡír̥à 'forging, smithing', ḡé̃r̥è v. 'forge', Gw {Mts.} k'íra id. ¶ Sch. BTL 85, ChL III 11, Ba. 596, 607 || K: OG ḡr- (inf. ḡrva) v. 'strike, hit', G ḡr- (inf. ḡvra) trans. class (two-obj. form) prs. -ḡr-av 'jemandem mit etw. einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß versetzen' ¶ Chx. 620-6, 654, DCh. 628-9 || IE: NaIE * \checkmark k̥reua- 'strike' > ?σ Gmc: OHG (h)riuwān (h)riuwān 'bereuen, beklagen, Buße tun, reuen' (> NHG reuen 'regret, repent'), AS hréowan 'to cause sorrow\repentance', hréow 'grief, sorrow, repentance; sad', ON hrygg̊r 'sad (betrübt, traurig)' ¶ WPI 480-1, P 622-3, Kb. 800, Schz. 240, Ho. 173, Vr. 262-3, Lehm. GEL 213 (ON -gg̊- as ev. of a lr.) || U: FP {It., UEW} *kir̥ä- 'strike, hew', {Sm.} *kir̥ä- 'hit' (× N *ḡir̥s̥ 'to cut?') > Er keḡa- v. 'hew, fell' || Chr L k'ḡr-aš, k'ḡr-em v. 'beat, strike, thresh', Chr E k'ḡr-em, Chr M k'ir-em 'to strike (with a stick\hammer)' || Prm *ker- v. 'hew' > Z kerav-, Yz keral-, Vt kora- id. ¶ It. #398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97 || D {Zv., Pf.} *kēḡ-, {GS} *kyēḡ- v. 'winnow' > Ml cēḡuka, Td köḡ-, Kn kēḡu, Δ gēḡu, Tl ceruḡu, Nkr, Nk kēd-, Prj kēd-, kēḡ-, Gdb kēy-, Gnd hēč- & hēh-, Png žēč- v. 'winnow', Kt keḡr-, Klm keḡd-, Krx kēs- v. 'winnow with up-and-down motion', Png, Mnd, Ku hēč̣i, Kui sēsi 'winnowing fan', Mlt kése v. 'sift' ¶¶ D #2019, Zv. 60-1, 117, Pf. 383, GS 205-6 [#519], 151 [#383] ◇ The origin of the D vw. {Zv., Pf.} *-ē- ({GS} *-yē-) is still to be investigated.

1152. *ḡir̥s̥ 'to tear, to break' > HS: CS * \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ v. 'tear' > BHb, JEA, JPA 𐤒𐤓𐤕 \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ G v. 'cut up in pieces, tear; rip to pieces (as sign of mourning or excitement)', JA [Trg.] \checkmark ḡr̥s̥ D 'tear, rend', Md \checkmark ḡr̥? G ,

Ar Mgr {GB} ✓qrɣ 'tear' ¶ KB 1069-70, KBR 1146-7, Js. 1424, DM 415
 || D {tr., GS} *kīr̥- > Tm kīr̥u v. 'slit, tear, cut', kīr̥u 'gash, cut, slice,
 piece', Ml kīr̥u 'rag, shred', kīr̥uka 'be slit, torn; tear, rend', Kt, Kdg
 kīr-, Td kīr̥-, Tl gīr̥u v. 'tear', Tu kīr̥uni v. 'split', Gnd kirr ɔ kir 'a
 wound' ¶¶ D #1624, GS 44-5 [#103] || IE *kerH- > NaIE *kerə-
 'destroy, break' > OI ɛr̥ō'ṛā-ti, aor. a-ɛar̥ī-t 'smash, crush, break' (ī
 is a lengthened grade of *i < *a), Av a-sarəta 'unbroken' || Gk
 κεραιζω 'slaughter, ravage, plunder' || pAl *cera > Al ther v. 'pierce,
 hew, slaughter' || L cariēs 'rottenness, decay' || OIr ar-a-chrin
 'falls to pieces' ¶ P 578, M K III 371-2, F I 842-3, WH I 167-8, Vn. C 237-
 8, O 474-5 ◇ The vw. (*∇) following *r in N is suggested by D *-r̥-,
 which is the reg. reflex of N *-r- in the intervocalic position only, while
 a N cluster *rɣ would have yielded D *-r- ◇ N *k̥ir̥∇ɣ∇ 'to tear' may
 be a semantic variant of N *k̥i'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit'.

1153. *k̥ur̥∇ɣ,û 'to hammer, to pound' ([in IE] → 'to grind') > HS: S
 *°✓k̥rɣ (× N *k̥i'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit', q.v.) > Ar ✓qrɣ v. G 'knock at (the
 door), beat (the drum), hit the butt (arrow)' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599 ||
 C: EC: Or {Grg.} kuraʔa v. 'hit, beat' || Dhl kur- v. 'mince' || SC {MQK}
 karērā pl. 'smiths', Irq {E} kareramo 'blacksmith', {E} karerus- v. 'forge',
 Bm {E} kirara 'axe', C ɔ Mb m-kirané 'blacksmith' ¶ EEN 13, Grg. 337,
 MQK 59, E SC 244 || Ch: CCh: FIJ {Kr.} kura v. 'forge' || WCh ≈ *k̥ir- v.
 'forge, pound' (× N *k̥i'ri'rûɣ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS #1610 (S, Or, Ch), ≈
 Sk. HCD 170 || K: G k̥ver- 'kalt hämmern, (an)legen (z. B. Weg)',
 gamo-k̥ver- v. 'forge', k̥ver-i 'hammer' ¶ Chx. 579 || IE: NaIE *k̥weru-
 v. 'grind' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth', cūrṇa-m 'flour,
 powder' || Gk Hm πύρνον (pl. πύρνα) 'wheaten bread' ¶ P 642, F II 630-
 1, M K I 379, 397-8, ≈ F II 630-1 ¶ The IE √ has coalesced with the
 homonymous *k̥weru- v. 'chew' of different origin (N *k̥oru 'bite, gnaw,
 chew', q.v.) || D *k̥ur̥- ({GS} *k-) v. 'pound, strike' > Tm k̥ur̥u v.
 'pound in a mortar, husk', k̥ur̥u v. 'pound, strike', Gnd A kurka
 'pestle' ¶¶ D #1850 (a) ◇ The Ir. *ɣ in S *°✓k̥rɣ is not necessarily
 ancient, it may belong to the heritage of N *k̥i'ri'rûɣ∇ 'strike, hit'. The D
 cns. *r̥ (that goes back to *r outside cns. clusters) may go back either
 to N *k̥ur̥ or to *k̥ur̥∇ɣ,û.

1154. *k̥ū|ur̥∇ 'sharp' > HS: S *°✓k̥rɣ > Ar ʔaqrɣ-u 'very sharp and
 excellent' (of a sabre) ¶ BK II 719 || A: M *k̥ürü- > WrM k̥ürü- v.
 'sharpen an arrow' ¶ MED 1206 || D *k̥ūr- ({GS} *k-) > Tm k̥ūr- 'be

sharp (as the edge\point of an instrument)', *kūr* 'sharpness, pointed edge', MI *kūr* 'sharpness, point of an arrow', Kn *kūr*, Tu *kurpu* 'sharpness', TI *krūr* 'sharp' ¶¶ D #1898 ◇ IS MS 363 (D, U + *÷ HS ✓*ḳwr*), ≠ Cald. 608 (D *÷ Hb *kūr* 'to pierce, to bore' *÷ "Sanskrit *khur* 'to cut'" [he probably meant Sk Bd *khuraḥ* 'knife' ← MI *khura* < OI *ksura-ḥ* 'knife']) ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster, therefore the preferable S cognate is *✓*ḳr̥* rather than *✓*ḳwr* 'bore, pierce' (as suggested by Cald. and IS MS).

1155. *ḲarhA 'black' > HS: S *°✓*ḳrh* > Ar ✓*qrh* (pf. *qariha*) 'be black or dark blue due to blows' (of skin, body) ¶ BK II 729 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *kārā*, Wl {LmS} *karē-tta*, Zl {C} *karecā*, Chr {C} *kartā*, Zs {C} *kartc*, Gf {Mm.} *kareṭa* ~ *kareṇa*, Gm {Hw.} *karé-ccì*, Bdt *kar-ci*, Hrr {CR} *karzā* 'black', Kcm *kār-ṇa* id., *kār-* 'make black' ¶ LmS 416, Lm. Y 355, Wdk. BY 127, AD SF 206-7, Blz. OL #196 (HS **kari* 'black'), Hw. EG s.v. 'black' || IE: NaIE **ker-* '≈ black, dirty' > Gk [Hs.] *καρυμνόν* · *μέλαν* accus. sg. 'black' || OI *kardamaḥ* 'mud, dirt', *kardaḥ*, *kardataḥ* id., NPrs *جَرْدَه* *čārde* 'colour; bay horse; blackish locust' || AS *hrūm* 'soot', OSx *hrōt*, Dt *roet*, NHG *Ruß* id. ||] +ext.: **kers-n-*, **ḳrs-no-* 'black' > OI *kr̥ṣṇaḥ* 'black, dark', OPrs *kirsna-* 'black' || Pru *kirsnan* 'black' || Sl **čьrnъ* id. > OCS *чрьнь* *čr̥nъ*, Blg 'черен', SCr *cr̥n*, Slv *črn*, R 'чёрный', Cz *černý*, P *czarny* || pAl {O} **čārsnā* 'crow' > Al *sorrē* id. ¶ WPI 485-6, P 573, 583, M KI 173, 264, Vl. I 569, Sg. 391, Ho. 176, KM 616, En. 194, Tp. PK-L 26-8, ESSJ IV 155-7, Glh. 166-7, O 399, ≈ EI 69 (**k̥ṛs̥no-s* with unj. **k̥-*) || A **k̥l̥ara* 'black' > T **k̥ara* id. > OT *qara*, Tk *kara*, Ggz *kara*, Az, Tkm, SY *qara*, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf, Xlj *qara*, Uz *qara*, Xk, Yk *χara*, Chv *Лхура xura* ¶ Cl. 643-4, Rs. W 235, EF KQ 286-8, TL 592-6, Dr. TM III 426, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 362, Ra. 218 || M **qara* 'black' > MM [MA, IM] *qara*, WrM *qara*, HIM *хар*, MMgl *qarā*, Mgl {Rm.} *qarō*, Mnr {SM} *χara*, Dg *qar*, Dx *qara* ¶ Pp. MA 292, 444, MED 931, SM 158, T 347, T DgJ 28, T DnJ 125 || pJ {S} **k̥ur̥ā-* id. > OJ *k̥ur̥ō-*, J: T *k̥uroi*, K *k̥ur̥oi*, Kg *kur̥oka* ¶ S AJ 264 [#8], S QJ #8, Mr. 833 ¶¶ S AJ 54-5, 274 [#7], DQA # 734 (A **k̥l̥aru* 'black') || D: [1] D {tr.} **kar(-)* ~ **kār(-)* 'black', {GS} **kar-* > **kar(-)* > Tm *karu*, MI *kari*, *karu*, Kt *kar*, Kn *kariḍu*, Kdg *kari*, Krg *kardi*, Nk *karen*, *karan*, *kareyan* 'black', Td *kary* 'charcoal' ||] [2] **kar̥-* ({GS} **k-*) 'grow black; black' > Tm *karu* 'grow black', *kāru* 'be blackened', MI *kaṛa* 'blackness',

karu 'black', Kt kar id. (or to [1]?), karp 'blackness', Td kar 'dirt, stain', karf- 'become black\dirty', Kn karē, kari 'blackness', karāngu 'turn black', Kdg kara- 'become black', Tl karā 'blackness, a stain', kari, Gdb karkāl 'black', Knd kari 'blackness'; *kār(-) > Tm, Ml kār 'blackness, darkness', Kt kār, Klm kārī, Gnd kārīal 'black', Kn kār 'blackness', Tu kārъ, kārī 'black, dark', Tl kārу 'black\dark colour' ¶¶ D ##1278, 1395, GS 34 [#50] ¶ In the variant *kar ~ *kār the cns. *-r goes back to a cns. cluster (N *-rh-?), while in the variant *karf- the cns. *-r- is a normal reflex of a former intervocalic *r (loss of the N lr. in some position?) ◇ Ar ✓ qrh and D *kar/*kār suggest the presence of an ancient lr. (*h) ◇ IS I 337 [#213] (*kar^h) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #44 (*kura 'black').

1156. *karh₂'U' (= *karh^h'U'?) 'to burn (sth.), to heat' > HS: Ch: WCh: Gmy {Sh.} kūr, Krkr {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn' ||| CCh: Glv {ChL} kārā id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ?? Eg fP krr v. 'fire (pottery), stoke (a kiln), broil' (unless akin to Eg NK krr [*k^hl^h:l-] 'holocaust, Brandopfer', which is read by Vc. as [*k^hl^h:l-] on the ev. of DEg gl ~ glyl and Cpt βαια clil id.) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 ||| K: OG *kera-y 'fire-place, hearth' (↳ Sv: UB keraü, LB kera, L kerau, and possibly Sv U kārā id.), G kera id. ¶ Chx. 569, Ni. s.v. очагъ, T 346 ¶ The G vw. e (for the expectes *a) still defies explanation ||| IE: NaIE *kera- vt., vi. 'burn' > Gt haúri 'coal', ON hurr 'fire' ||| Ltv {ME} cēri pl. 'Glutsteine auf dem Gewölbe des Riegen- oder des Badstubeofens' | ? Sl {Bern.} *černъ, {ESSJ} *čerěнь > P trzon 'hearth', Uk че'ринь, Blr чарэнь 'bottom of the hearth', Blg {Ger.} чурень, черень 'upper part of the hearth', SCr MN черјен 'place over the fire' ||| ?? +ext.: (1) *-d- after the lr.: OI kūdayati 'scorches, burns' (if from *k^hd-) ||| (2) L carbo 'coal' ¶ But hardly here NaIE *k^hkert- (> OHG herd 'oven, stove', OSx herth, AS heorþ 'hearth', NE hearth), which is likely to belong to N *k^h'o'R^h 'flame' (q.v.); but the latter N word may have influenced L carbo and OI kūdayati (hence the root-medial dental stop) ¶ P 571-2, Fs. 250-1, Vr. 275-6, Kb. 457, Kar. I 167-9, ME I 375, WH I 165-6, M K I 252, Bern. I 146, ≈ ESSJ IV 64-5 (Sl *čerěнь 'net'), EI 88 (*ker-, *kerh- 'burn') ||| D (in SD) *kar^h- > Tm kari (ft. -v-, p. -nt-) ({†GS} *k-) v. 'be charred, scorched, become black' (× D *kar- 'black' < N *karhA 'black'), kari (ft. -pp-, p. -tt-) v. 'char', kari 'charcoal, charred wood', Ml kari, karу 'charcoal', Kt kayr 'charcoal, soot', Td

kary- (p. kars-) 'be singed, scorched', kary- (p. karč-) v. 'heat (new pot to purify it), Kn kari v. 'be scorched, singed, charred', 'fry, roast', Kdg kari- 'be singed', Tu kari 'soot, charcoal' ¶ D #1278 (a) || ? A: AdS of NaT *Kōr 'embers, burning coal' (< N *ko₁w₁r∇ 'embers, hearth', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 340 [#215] (*K̄ar ∆; HS (Eg *÷ S *÷ B), IE, D, ? U *korpe- 'burn' [qu. on phonetic grounds]), earlier: AD GD 17 (HS, IE), ≈ IS I 239 [#95] (attributing the T word to N {IS} *gUR ∆ 'burning coal').

1157. *K̄irH∇ (= *g'ir̄r̄s∇?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE {M} *k̄r̄H-, NaIE {P} *k̄r̄- ~ *k̄ir- 'head' > OI sírah₁ [síras] / gen. sír̄s₁n̄₁-ah₁ ntr. 'head, top' (M: *k̄r̄s₂-os / *k̄r̄s₂-n-es), Av s̄āra-, sarah-, Sgd sr- 'head', MPrs sar, NPrs سر sār 'head, top', Oss sār 'head, upper part' ||| Gk κράς 'head' (Gk Hm gen. κράτος < *k̄r̄s₂-n̄-), κάρηνα ({F}: < *καρασνα) 'heads, mountain peaks', Gk κρᾶνίον 'the upper part of the head' ({P}: < *k̄r̄s₂-n̄-, {F}: < *κράσατος), Gk κάρᾱ, Gk I κάρη 'head' ({F}: < analogical *κάρασα), ἐπὶ κάρ 'headlong' ||| L cernuus 'falling headlong', cerebrum 'brain' (< *kerH̄s-ro-) ||| OHG hirni, hirn, NHG Hirn, ON hjarni 'brain', Dt hersens, hersen-en (pl.) 'brain' (WP: < *k̄ersniom), ON hjarsí 'crown of the head' (WP: < *k̄erson)||| OBr [ʏ] cirn-am 'in fronte' ({Flr} ← 'pointe élevée, sommet [de la tête]'), MBr quern, quernn 'tonsure, crâne' (actually 'crown of the head'), 'somet (d'une montagne)', qern ar penn 'crown of the head', Br kern id., W cern 'side of the head', {CSWD} 'cheek, jaw' ||| Tc B kr̄ān̄i (< *k̄r̄Hsn-i-) '(nape of the) neck' ({Ad.}: ← *'occiput') || Ht cd. kit-kar 'at the head (of)' ¶¶ WPI 403-8, P 574-7, M K III 341, M E II 638-9, Horn 160-1, Brtl. 1565, 1572, Ab. III 73-6, FI 784-5 and II 6-7, LS 990, WH I 206, Vr. 231-2, Vr. N 254, Kb. 470, OsS 402, Flr. 108, Ern. 550-1, Hm. 453, YGM-1 84, CSWD 45, Ad. 214, Pv. IV 201-2, EI 260 (*k̄r̄'reh₂ / *k̄r̄'h₂-os, snglt. *k̄orh₂s₂, coll. *k̄erh₂or 'head') ||| U: FU: BF *k̄irek > F kiire, Es kiir 'sinciput, crown of the head', Lv ki²r 'occiput, crown of the head' ¶ SK 191, Kt. 129 ||| A *k₁'ira > M *ki₁ra > WrM kira, HIM хяр h²ar 'summit\ridge of a mountain' (homonymous with kira, хяр 'slope; a strip attached to the edges of the saddle' [F N *K̄ir∇ 'edge, end']), Kl Ö {Rm.} kirā 'Bergwiesen', ūlin kirē, ūlin kirār 'die Seiten des Bergrückens entlang' ¶ MED 470, KW 232 || NaT *k¹ir 'isolated mountain, crest of a mountain' (× N *kur₁∇h₁∇ 'hill, mountain' × [in some lgs.] N *K̄ir∇ '↑', q.v.) > OT qir 'isolated mountain or block of mountains, crest of a mountain, high

ground; foothills, slope', MQp qIR 'top of a mountain', Chg {Cl.} qIR id., 'a height', Uz qIR 'high ground, hilly steppe', Qzq, Qrg, Alt qIR 'mountain ridge', Tb {B} qIR 'mountain', Qmn {B} id., 'crest of a mountain', Qrg qIR 'crest of a mountain', Qq qIR 'mountain-ridge, high ground', Xk χIR 'mountain, high ground, hill', Qrg, Tv qIR 'mountain-ridge', Qzq qIR id., 'high ground with pastures and areas under cultivation', Qq qIR id., 'a height', ? Tkm qIR 'hilly stony steppe', (?) Tk kIR, Ggz kIR, Nog qIR 'field, steppe' ¶ Cl. 641, DTS 445, ET KQ 225-7, TL 95, TkR 233, MM 463, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DChT 134, BIG 300, RI. II 732-3, TvR 278-9 || ?σ HS: S *k̄ur_l∇_lϕ- > Gz k̄^ωarϕ 'helmet, headpiece' ¶ LG 439 || ??σ K: *^oqir- > G {Chx.} qira n. 'Kopfstand', qiramala 'upside down (mit dem Kopf nach unten)', 'head foremost (kopfüber)' ¶ Chx. 1694-5, DCh. 1380 ◇ If K *qir- and Gz k̄^ωarϕ belong here, the N etymon is *q̄'i' rϕ∇, otherwise we remain with a less specific N *K̄irH∇.

1158. *k̄ir_lU_lqa 'ice, hoarfrost; to freeze' > HS: S *k̄ar_l∇_lχ- 'ice' > BHb ḥḥḥ 'k̄eraḥ 'ice, frost', Sr k̄arḥ-ā, Ak k̄arχ-u 'ice', Ak ✓k̄rχ (inf. k̄arāχu) v. 'freeze, ice up' ¶ KB 1064, KBR 1140, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 126, 131 || ? B *✓krr (× N *k̄u_lw_lR'E' '[severe] cold') > Rf akarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 ¶¶ Ember ESS #3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 [#26], IS I 353-4, and Tk. AANM 1 suggest to equate the S word with Eg P s-ḫk̄ḥ 'erfrischen' (EG IV 315-6) (Tk. AANM 1: Eg s-ḫk̄ḥ ← S), which is doubtful for both phonetic and semantic reasons (see N *K̄EL_lH_l∇ 'cold') || K: G Lch k̄ruχ-va n. 'cold' ('Kälte') ¶ Chx. 634 || IE: NaIE (with extensions) *k̄erno-s, *k̄er-m-, *k̄er-sn- 'ice crust (наледь), snow crust, hoarfrost' > Arm սառնն սառն (gen. սառնն սառն) 'ice, frost', սառնն սառն 'freeze' || Gmc (< *k̄ernos): ON hjarn 'frozen snow crust', OHG hornung 'February' (← *'month of ice \ snow crust') || pSl {IS} *sérnъ (gen. sernà) (< *k̄ernos) > RChS срѣнъ srěnъ, OR серенъ serenъ, P éron ~ éron 'hoarfrost', Blg 'серен 'snow that has frozen together', Cz střín, stříní 'ice on branches of trees'; with traces of the new acute intonation: R Δ ce'pēn 'hoarfrost', Uk [Ber.] {Ves.} ce'pēn 'frozen hard snow', Slk srieň, Δ srien 'hoarfrost'; with secondary accentuation change (mobile accentual paradigm): Slv srēn, R Δ, Uk 'серен id. | Blt (< *k̄er-sn-, *k̄er-m-): Lt šer̃kšnas, Ltv sērksnis, sērсна 'hoarfrost', Lt sr̃nūtī 'to get covered with hoarfrost', šarmà, šar̃mas, Ltv

saŕma ~ seŕma 'hoarfrost' ¶ P 573-4, EI 287 (*k̂er(s)no-, *k̂or(mo/meh_ṛ), Sl. 329-30, Vr. 231, Kb. 480, Schz. 170, IS IA 136, Vs. III 608, Frn. 965, 973-4, Kar. II 173 ¶ The absence of the expected lr. in the IE stem *k̂erno- suggests that the reflex of N *q was lost in the intercons. position (which is quite natural for a stop that cannot be syllabic) || U: [1] FU *°kir∇ > ObU *°kīr > pOs {Ht.} *kir (= {HL.} *kīr) 'snow crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K/Kr kir, Nz/Kz/O ker id. | [2] +ext.: FU *kirte ~ *kerte 'snow crust, frozen soil' > BF *kirte > F kirsi (obl. cases kirte-) 'frost on the ground, ice crust', Es {W} kirɛ 'Eisschicht'; BF *kerte > F kersī 'thin snow crust' | Chr H kært 'snow crust' || Os {KrT}: D kār_dam, Kr kār_tam 'thin snow crust', Ty p^ʼq̄j q^ʼar^ʼt^ʼax 'thin ice crust on the snow' (p^ʼq̄j means 'snow crust') ¶ The variant *kerte (> BF *kerte, Os Ty kār_tax, and possibly Chr H ambkært) is due to the infl. of the FU word *kere 'bark' (UEW 148-9) ¶ UEW 150, Coll. 89, KrT 418, 435, Ht. #317 (does not distinguish pOs *kir 'snow crust' from pOs *kār 'bark' and pVg *kir id. of different origin), ≠ ItK 372 (BF *kirte ← Lt skirsti 'to be covered', apskirsti 'to freeze' [??]) → LCM. NLP 15 || A ({DQA} *k^ʼjār∇, {SDM97} *k^ʼāre 'snow, hoarfrost'): T {Md.} *k^ʼjār 'snow' ({θπAD}: < **k^ʼEare) > Chv L юр jur 'snow' || NaT *k^ʼār 'snow' > OT {Cl.} qār, Tkm qār, Az qar, Ggz каар kār, Xlj qār, Tk kar, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt qar, ET qa(r), Uz qar, Xk qar, Tf qar 'snow', Tv qar, Yk хаар xār id., 'year (of age)' | d.?: Tk kirç 'abundant hoarfrost', Ggz kirč 'hoarfrost, ice crust (изморозь, наледь, иней)' | another d. or cd.: NaT *Kirlaç 'the coldest part of winter' > VTt †, Δ q̄rlaś id., Qrg qirdač 'six coldest days of the winter', Xk xirlas, Chv (← VTt) k̄rlaś ~ k̄rlač ~ k̄rlačъ 'two coldest months of the year' ¶ Cl. 641, Rs. W 235, ET KQ 284-5, ET Q 237-8, GRM 311, Md. 112, 169, Ra. 218, Fed. II 490, DT 173 || M *kiryun 'hoarfrost' > MM [HI] kiray_u, WrM kiray_u(n), HIM хяруу, Ord kirū, Brt хяруу, Dx qireu id., WrO kiriyūn id., 'frost, rime', kiryun ~ kiriyū ~ kiru 'frost', kiruu 'hail, frost', Kl {KRS} kiryū 'hoarfrost', {Rm.} kirū id., 'frozen dew', M *kiryun → NaT *k^ʼiragu 'hoarfrost' > OT [MhK] qirāyū, Chg qiraw 'hoarfrost that falls from the sky', XwT qirayū, MQp qirawū, [CC] kirou, Tk kiragī, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Xlj qiraw, VTt, Bsh q̄raw, Alt quru, Az гыров girow, Uz q̄iraw, Yk kirīā, Tv, Tf xirā 'hoarfrost' ¶ Md. and SDM97 (M *kiryun → T), Vv. AEN 15 (M → T, as evidenced by the

presence of the M gu-sx. in T), Rs. W 265-6, ≈ Cl. 656 (M *kīraγu ← T), ET Q 230-1, TL 36, DT 177]M *kīra-mag 'fine snow, first snow' > WrM kīramag, HIM хярмаг, Brt хирмаг ~ хярмаг, Kl {Rm.} kirmag id., {KRS} кирмг kirmag 'newly-fallen snow' ('пороша'). The element *-mag is a diminutive sx. (F Pp. GWM 41). M *kīra-mag → Yk kīramax ~ kīramay 'newly-fallen snow' and possibly T *kīrpaq 'first (thin) snow' (> Tkm, QrB, Qmq qīrpaq id., VTt qārpaq 'thin snow', Bsh qārpaq 'newly-fallen autumn snow', Xk χīrbīχ 'fine snow', Chv Δ χъррѣк ~ χъррѣχ 'thin fine snow') ¶ Pp. IM 41, MED 470, Ms. H 72, T DnJ 126, Krg. 732, KRS 302, KW 232-3, Chr. 572, 656-7, Rs. W 267, TL 28, Ash. XVI 363 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *k'āre 'snow, hoarfrost' (T, M + err. Tg *xīmansa 'snow'), ≠ DQA #978 (incl. T *k'jār). If pA {SDM97} *ā is a good rec., it points to a reg. change of N *ī into A *ā (supported by some other examples) ◇ IS I 353-4 [#230] (*qīr ʾ 'иней': IE, U, A [T, M], HS > S *✓q̄rχ + *÷ *✓q̄rš, B *yrs [see N *q̄ar, ʾ, ūs|š ▽ 'to congeal'], and Eg s-ʾk̄h 'erfrischen' [see above]); AD NM #10; S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

1159. *q̄ar'iwu 'come in contact (meet, come across, touch)' > HS: WS *✓q̄ry v. 'meet, encounter; happen' (× N *q̄Ur ▽ 'reach, enter', [→] 'happen', q.v.) > Sr ✓q̄ry (pf.]: 𐎒𐎗𐎕 q̄ar'ā) 'meet, encounter; happen', Hb 𐤒𐤓𐤕 ✓q̄ry|w ~ 𐤒𐤓𐤕 ✓q̄r? id., 'happen to', Ug {A, OLS} ✓q̄ry 'treffen, begegnen, sich entgegenstellen; toparse, encontrarse con, salir al paso', Ar ✓q̄ry قرى G v. 'receive (as a guest)', Gz ✓q̄ry (pf. q̄araya) id., 'give hospitality' ¶ KB 1061-4, KBR 1131-2, 1137-8, Hv. 603, BK II 730, A #2454, OLS 374-5, L G 445 || Eg fMK q̄ry {Fk.} 'draw near, attend', {EG} 'bei jem./etw. sein, sich zu jem. gesellen', 'zu jem. hinkommen' ¶ EG V 59, Fk. 280 || K: G q̄ar- v. '(let) approach, touch' (Chx.: 'heran-, zu-lassen, anrühren, berühren, sich nähern') ¶ Chx. 551-2 || IE: NaE *krej- 'über etw. drüberhinstreifen, berühren' > ON hrína 'come across, touch', AS, OSx hrīnan, OHG (h)rīnan 'touch' ||| Ltv kreju, krèju, kríet 'take the cream off (from the milk)' ¶ P 618, Vr. 256, Ho. 174, Ho. S 37, Kb. 793, Schz. 239, ≠ Kar. I 425-6 ||| A **k'arw'u' > NaT *Karba- 'gripe for, touch, grasp' > OT {Cl.} qarvā- v. 'gripe for' (← 'touch'), Tk kavra- 'grasp, take hold of', Tkm garba-, Yk χarbā- 'grasp', Xk χarba- 'gripe for, grasp with hands, take a handful', QK/Sg/Kü/Shor {Rl.} qarba- 'mit den Händen fassen' (a paronymic merger with T *k'arma- 'packen, ergreifen?') ¶ Cl. 646, ET

KQ 302-3, BIG 276, RI. II 213, 216 || M *qargu- 'come across, meet' (< **qarβu-?) > WrM qarɣu- {Kow.} 'heurter contre qch., rencontrer', WrM {MED} qarɣu-, HIM xapra- v. 'meet with, encounter', Kl xaph- xapɣb- id., {Rm.} 'gegen etw. kommen, begegnen, treffen' ¶ MED 936, KRS 597, KW 169, Kow. 845 ¶¶ Altaic *w may point to a labial element at the end of the N word (e.g., N *q̣aRiwu, *q̣aRü, *q̣aRyu, or *q̣aRwi?) or go back to a sx.

1160. *ḳürw∇ ⇨ *ḳurwE 'hard roe, young of a fish' > IE: NaIE *krek- 'fish eggs, frog spawn' > ON hrogn 'roe' (⇨ ME row, NE roe), OHG rogan 'roe, spawn', NHG Rogen 'roe' || Lt kurkulaĩ, Ltv kuŗkulis 'frog spawn' || Sl *krekъ ~ *krĕkъ id. > Slv krĕk, Źabo-krĕčina, krĕk, OP, P (rare) krzek, R Δ κρεκ, κρέκ, κряк id.; in Sl there is contamination with the onomatopoeic imitation of croak, whence the unexpected variations in the form ¶ P 619, AHDI 32, EI 205, Frn. 316, Vr. 259, Kb. 801, OsS 425, KM 604, ESSJ XII 114-5, 144, Vs. II 391 || A: Tg *xurbe- v. 'spawn' > Ewk irbз 'spawning', Ewk irbз-, Ul xulbi-, Nn Nh/KU xurbз-, Nn B xurбу- v. 'spawn' ¶ STM I 324 || ?? T: Az ḳürü, {RI.} ḳüri 'hard-roe' (Hüs. 176, RI. II 1454), unless a loan from Lzg ḳür id. < pLzg *ḳwir (S CNM 14); S CNM adduces "T *ḳörpe 'newborn, newborn lamb'", but the T word does not belong here, because it actually means 'produced late\early in the season' (of animals and crops) (> OT [MhK] كَرِبَا اَغْل ḳörpä oɣul 'a boy born in summer', ḳörpä 'a lamb born late in the season', Qzq ḳörpeš 'lamb born before the regular lambing-season', Qrg {Jud.} ḳürpöŋ 'a lamb born in winter, before the regular lambing-time', ḳörpö 'early lucern', Qzq {Cl.} q̣ürpi 'early crop like lucern', Tkm ḳörpe 'youngest' [of a son], 'fresh, early' [of vegetables]) ¶ Cl. 737, Shch. Zh 114, Jud. 429, 471, Tkr 415-6 || K: G {DCh.} kvirita 'hard roe, soft roe', {Chx.} kviriti 'spawn of fish\frogs' (unless ⇨ Abkh a-ḳwart id., but G ⇨ Abkh is possible, too) ¶ Chx. 1557, DCh. 1338, DCh. RGS 128, 170, NCh. 403 ¶ The lack of glottality in the initial cns. is irreg. ◇ NaIE *krek- may be explained as going back to pre-IE **kr̥ek- < N *ḳ'ürw∇ + ext. ◇ AD NM #78, Vv. AEN 12-3 (suggests to reconstruct Tg *xürbe, which is not different from my rec., because his *ü = my *u), ≠ S CNM 14.

1161. *ḳarX∇ 'bank (Ufer), edge' > HS *ḳarh- > Eg fOK ḳɸh 'Ecke, Winkel, Seite' = {Vc.} *[ḳaɸhaw] (as. *ɸh > ɸh), DEg ḳh 'angle, corner, side', Cpt: Sd kooz kooh, B kooz kooh 'angle, corner' ¶ EG V 19-20, Er.

547, Vc. 91, Crn. 68, Crum 132 || HEC {Hd.} *ḳara 'edge' (× N ? *ḳaR₁∇₂∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain') > Hd {Hd.} ḳareʔalla 'edge' ¶ Hd. 131-2 || ? S *^o✓ḳrḥ > d.: Ar qurāḥītāni 'les deux flancs, les hypocondres' ¶ BK II 708 || A: Tg *ḳari 'border, hem' > Nn Nh ḳār₁-, Ul ḳarpu- v. 'hem with a border, border (clothes)', Nn N/KU ḳār₁čā, Ul ḳār(ṭ)čā 'hem, edging (of clothes)', Nn Nh ḳār₁p₁~, Nn B ḳarf₁(n-) 'hem, ornament on the border of a robe' ¶ ≈ STM I 371 || D *kar∇ 'shore, bank, edge, boundary' > Kn kare, Tu karæ id., Tm karai id., 'ridge of a field, border of cloth', Ml kara 'shore, riverside', karal 'border, margin, edge', Kt, Td kar 'stripes on end of cloth', Kdg kare 'bank', Tl kara 'shore, bank', Brh karrak id., 'brim, border', ? Gnd kar(r)um ḏ karuḡ ḏ garre 'near' ¶¶ D #1293 ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-rH- (reg.) ◇ ≈ DQA #990 (A, D).

1162. *ḳir^X∇ 'scrape, scratch' > HS: WS *^o✓ḳrḥ 'scratch, be\make bald' > BHb ✓ḳrḥ G 'have one's head shaved', ḥḥḥḥḥ ḳḥrḥā 'bald patch', JA ✓ḳrḥ G 'make bald, become bald', JPA Bz ✓ḳrḥ 'make bald', JEA ✓ḳrḥ G 'be bald', Sr ✓ḳrḥ v. G 'become bald', ḳarāḥ 'bald', Ar ✓qrḥ G 'creuser en vain la terre pour trouver de l'eau', qurḥ-at- 'white spot on horse's forehead', Gz ✓ḳrḥ D 'shave, make bald'; (× N *ḳur^X∇ 'blood'): Ar ✓qrḥ G vt. 'wound', qurḥ- 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal' ¶ KB 1063-5, Js. 1415, Sl. P 504, Sl. 1039, Br. 693, JPS 518, BK II 707, Hv. 596-7, MiK I #2.38 || Ch: Bdm {Nc.} kār₁ v. 'scratch, rub' ¶ Lk. B 110 || D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'scratch, scrape, shave' > Tm cirai v. 'shave, cut with a sickle', cirāy 'get scratched', Ml cira 'shaving', Kt kekarv, kekrv- v. 'scratch lightly', Td kerf- v. 'scratch, egg on', Kn kere v. 'shave, scrape, scratch', Tu kerepuni v. 'scrape, polish', Klm kerk-, Nk ker- v. 'shave'. Prj kir-, kirv- v. 'scratch', Mlt {Drs.} qére v. 'shave' ¶¶ D #1564 || A *k'ir(a)- > T *k'ir(a)- 'scrape, strip (hair)' (× N *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch') > OT qir- v. 'scrape, strip (hair)', Chg qir- 'scrape, shave', Tkm gir- 'rub, scrape', VTt кыр- қыр-, Bsh кыр- қыр-, Qzq, Nog qir- 'scrape, shave', Qq, Qrg, Alt qir-, ETt, Uz qir-, Xk, Tv ḳir-, Chv ḡir- 'scrape', Tf qir- 'scrape, scrape clean a hide with a special scraper' ¶ Cl. 643, ETQ 227-8, Rs. W 265, TkR 234, Nj. 624, Ra. 223, TvR 500, BT 105, BIG 300 ◇ IS I 354 adduces IE *ḳerH- 'destroy, break', which is actually nearer to N *ḳir∇₁∇ 'to tear, to break' (q.v.). The assumption of a N lr. is confirmed by the D reflex,

because D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *-rH-, but not of N *-r- (that yields D *-r̥-) ◇ IS I 354 [#231; HS, D, T + *÷ IE, M, and Tg].

1163. *Ḳur̥X̥ú¹ 'blood' > IE: NaIE *kreuH-/ *kruH- 'blood (in the body of an animal\human)', 'flesh with blood' > OI kra'v̥iṣ- 'raw flesh with blood', kra'v̥yam 'blood', YAv xr̥ūm accus. 'piece of flesh', {Brtl.} xr̥v̥īš-γant- 'blood-thirsty' ||| Gk κρέας 'flesh, meat', κρέα 'raw flesh' ||| L cruor 'the blood which flows from a wound, gore; the blood circulating in the body', cruentus 'bloody' ||| OIr crú (< *krūs) (gen. cráu) 'sang répandu', cró (< *kruwos), MW creu, W † crau, Crn crow 'blood' ||| Lt kraũjas, Pru crauγo, accus. krawian 'blood' ||| Sl *kr̥ī (< *kr̥ū-s) id., gen. *kr̥v̥-e (< *kreu-es) > OCS крѣвь крѣвь / gen. крѣве крѣве, Blg крѣв, SCr křv̥ / gen. kř̥vi, Slv kr̥ī / kr̥v̥ī, Cz krev / krve, P krew / krwi, R кровь / 'крови ||| ?σ ON hr̥ār 'raw, fresh, juicy' (← *'with blood'), OHG (h)rāo, rō 'raw, rough', NHG roh, OSx hr̥āo, AS hr̥éaw 'raw', NE raw ¶ WP I 478-9, P 621-2, EI 71 (*'kreuH_β / *kru'h_β-os, *'kreuH_β-s, *'kreuH_β-γo- 'blood [outside of body], gore'), M K I 277, M EI 411, Brtl. 539, F II 11-2, WH I 294-5, Bc. 206, Vn. C 248-9, Frn. 290, En. 197, Tp. P K-L 159-65, ESSJ XIII 67-70, Glh. 355-6, Vr. 251, Kb. 801, OsS 422, KM 605, Ho. 172, Ho. S 36 ||| HS: Eg P/NK cr 'blood' ¶ EG V 386 (interpreted the word cr [att. in NK] as "Bezeichnung für Blut" without explicit justification), Mks. III #3496 (cr 'blood' on new textual ev.) || B *✓krHy > Ah a-karray (pl. i-karray-an) 'piece of cooked meat' ¶ Fc. 870 || S *°ḳ̥r̥h- (*°ḳ̥ur̥h-?) > Ar qur̥h- 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal', {Hv.} qar̥h- 'wound, ulcer', (× N *Ḳir̥X̥¹ ∇ 'to scrape, to scratch') ✓qr̥h G vt. 'wound' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 596 ¶¶ Tk. I 41 (rejects any comparison with Kwn kōwār 'blood' and Ke kor id., explaining these ECh forms as containing a px. *k̥∇- + Ch *b̥∇r- 'blood') ¶¶ The HS plain *k (underlying Eg c- and B *k-) is due to HS deglottalization of *Ḳ- ||| D (in SD) *kuruti ({ḡGS} *kurudi) 'blood' > Tm kuruti 'blood, red colour', Ml kuruti 'blood', Kn kurudi 'coloured red water', Tu kurdi, kurudi 'red liquid (used for auspicious purposes) ¶ D #1788 ◇ IE *-H-, S *-h-, and D *-r- (going back regularly from N *-rH-, but not from N *-r-) suggest a lr. within the N word. The loss of the N lr. in Eg needs explaining ◇ IS I 360-1 [#237] (*Ḳur̥ in IE and D).

1164. *ḳor̥'üy¹ ∇ (or *ḳor̥í) 'lamb' > K: GZ *ḳraw-/ *ḳrw- 'lamb' > OG ḳraw-, G ḳrav-, Mg ḳzrib- ~ ḳirib- ¶ K 115, K² 99-100, FS K 190, FS

E 208 || **HS:** S *karr- 'lamb' > BHb כַּר kar 'young ram', Ug {A} kr 'lamb', OAk {Sd.} kerru, Ak M {Sd.} karru 'ram', Ak {CAD} kirru '(ε a breed of) sheep' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, A #1387, OLS 222, Sd. 468, CAD VIII 410-1 || B *k[̄]rar- > Ah ē-krar, Ty e-kr̄r ({GhA} e-kr̄r) 'ram', Nf a-krar 'billy-goat', B *karr-, *karrī > ETwl ʔ-kr̄r ({GhA} ʔ-kr̄r), Izn i-šarri (pl. ašrarən), Rf Wr/B/A, SrSn i-kr̄r (pl. akrarən), Rf išarri, Kb, Mtm i-šarri, BSn i-šarri 'ram', Sll ʔi-kr̄r-əʔ 'ewe'; B *k[̄]rw- 'lamb' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} a-karwāt, pl. ikarwātən, Ty/Twl ʔ-karw-ʔ ({GhA} ʔ-karwə) 'lamb', Sll i-kru 'young ram' ¶ Fc. 888, 890, GhA 99-100, Rn. 343, Dl. 416, La. S 204 || **EC:** Arr kāriy-té (coll. kāriy) 'heifer goat' ¶ Hw. A 371 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kīr 'fattening ram', Wnd/Sy {ChL} kárò 'ram', Zar K {ChC} kárò 'sheep', Tng {J} kārwa 'cattle' ¶ J T 94, Flk. s.v. kīr, ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 209 [#601] ¶¶ OS #1432, Rö. SL 134 || **A** *k[̄]óri 'lamb' > T *Kóri (or *Kuří?) 'lamb' > NaT *Kózi (~ *Kuzi?) > OT {DTS} qozi, {Cl.} quzi, MU, MOg, XwT quzi, MQp qozi ~ quzi, Chg qu|ozi, Tk kuzu, Tkm quḍi, SY quzi ~ qozi, Xlj quzi, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln qozi, Uz qwzi 'lamb', Az guzu, Ggz kuzu, Blq qozu, VTt † quzʔ 'lamb, young sheep', ET qoza 'sucking lamb', Tv κοζαγα qozaɣa 'kid (of a wild goat)' ¶ Cl. 681 (*-u-), ET Q 108-9 (*-o-), Df. III #1559 (*-o-) DTS 462, Rs. W 285, ET Q 108-9, TL 433, TvR 245, Shch. Zh 113, TatR 293 || M *quri- ⇨ [1] *quri-gan 'lamb' > MM [IsV] قريقان quriqan, [S] quriyan, [MA] qurayan, WrM qurigan ~ quragan, HIM хурга, Kl χurɣə, Mnr {SM} χorga, {T} χurga, Mgl {Rm.} qurɣana [sic], Dx qugan, Ba χurɣan 'lamb', MMgl qurɣan 'lamb, kid'; [2] *quri-sqa 'skin of a newborn lamb' > WrM {Rm.} qur isqan, Kl Ö χursχa, Kl D xürsχa id. ¶ H 72, Pp. MA 310, MED 987, KW 198-9, Gl. II 124, SM 172, Lg. VMI 47, T 378, T DnJ 126, T BJ 150, Iw. 129, Nov. IE 118 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #1061 (A *k[̄]iǝró|u 'lamb, deer'; incl. T, M) || **D** *kor̄i, {GS} *kor̄-i 'sheep' > Tm kor̄i, Td kur̄y, Kdg kori, Tu kuri, OTl gor̄iya, Tl gor̄e, gor̄re, gor̄riya, Klm, Nkr, Nk gorre id., Kt kory aʔ id. (aʔ 'goat'), Ku gōri ~ gorri ~ gōre, Gnd gorre ʔ gore id., 'goat', Ml kor̄i 'ε a small kind of sheep', Kn kur̄i, kor̄i 'sheep, ram', Knd gor̄e 'goat' ¶¶ D #2165 (a), GS 153-4 [#390], 68 [#220] ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of T *-r̄- (suggesting an ancient palatal element) and that of D *-r̄- (suggesting a N intervoc. non-palatal *-r-) may be removed if we reconstruct N *k[̄]or̄'üy' ▽, whence pre- Altaic **kory ▽ > A *kor̄'i > T

*Korí, while in the prehistory of D the N intervoc. *-y- was lost: N *k̥orüy ▽ > *k̥orü > D *kor̥i. An alt. explanation (proposed by IS): in N we should reconstruct *-rí, but in pre-D the palatality of *-r̥- was neutralized before *-i. The K and T reflexes suggest an emphatic N *k̥-, which lost its emphaticity (was deglottalized?) in HS due to a reg. change (*k̥- > *k-) in some unknown (prosodic?) conditions ◇ IS I 3O2 [#173] (*kOr̥i), Mng. E-3 264-9 (T, D).

1165. *k̥ur̥y' ▽ 'sprout from a root' (→ 'sprout', 'root') > IE: NaIE *k̥wer-/*k̥wor- 'root' > Sl *korenь 'root' > OCS **КОРЕНЬ** korenь, SCr kòrēn ~ kòrijēn, Slv korēn, Cz kořen, P korzeń, R 'корень (gen. корня) id. || Lt kēras, Lt Zh kērė 'stump', ?σLtv cęrs 'bush, shrub' || Gk πρέμιον 'bottom of the trunk of a tree, stump', Gk [Hs.] πρέμιον · πᾶν ῥίζωμα 'any root' || ?? OIr crann 'tree; wood (Holz)' ¶ F II 59, Vn. C 222-3, ESSJ XI 62-6 and XIII 242 (on Sl *kьrb 'bush', which was erroneously interpreted by scholars as meaning 'root' and belonging to IE *k̥wer-/*k̥wor-), Bern. I 570, Glh. 333, Frn. 241, Me. SKK 85-6 || A: M *oqur > WrM qur 'shoots, sprouts from the roots' ¶ MED 987 || D (in SD) *kur- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'shoot, sprout' > Tm kuruttu, kuruntu 'sprout', Ml kuruttu, kurunnu id., kurukka 'to sprout, shoot', Kn kurule 'plantain sprout', Tu kurulæ, kurlæ 'fresh shoots of grain' ¶ D #1791 (coalesced with *kur- 'young of an animal') || ?σ HS *✓kry 'stick' (× N *k̥ärE 'trunk, [piece of] wood') > S *o✓kr̥y' 'stick' > Ar قَرِيَّة qarīy-at- id. ¶ BK II 731, Hv. 603 || B **kry > *yry 'stick' > BSn ta-yri-t, Izn ta-yreyt, Rf Tz pl. ti-yary-in, Tz {Stm.} akuray id. || C *k̥vr- 'stick' > Sml N {Abr.} qār(-tī) (pl. qārró) 'big-headed stick', Sml {DSI} qār (pl. qārró) 'clava, grosso bastone' ¶ DSI 478, Abr. S 200 ◇ The D cns. *-r- (usually from N clusters with *r) suggests an additional cns., which (on the ev. of HS) is likely to have been *y. The absence of final vw. in WrM qur needs explaining.

1166. *k̥'arb|p'i' 'belly, inside' > HS: S *k̥ar̥l̥b- (or *k̥ir̥l̥b-) 'inside' > OAk qerbum, Ak B qerbu(m), Ak OA qarbu ~ qerbu 'inside, inner part, middle', Eb {Krb.} kir-bux (qirbu) id., BHb קֶרֶב 'qerəb, SmHb kērəb 'entrails, inward parts', Ug qrb 'inside of the body; within, in'; ? Ar qurb-, qurub- 'side, flank' (unless from S *✓kr̥b 'be near') ¶ KB 1059-60, KBR 1135, BH IV 253, OLS 371, CAD XIII 216, Hv. 596, BK II 704, Krb. EG 22, G OA 226, MiK I #1.165 ¶ Ak OA qarbu provides ev. for a pS *a (*k̥ar̥l̥b-), while SmHb apparently suggests *i

(*k̥ir_l∇_lb-). The controversy may be solved if we know more on the prehistory of the SmHb vowels || Eg fMK k̥ɜb 'intestine, middle (of land)', m̥ k̥ɜb 'in the midst of' ¶ EG V 9-10, Fk. 175 || B: Ah akbār (pl. ikabrān) 'bas ventre' ¶ Fc. 735 || ?φ C: Ag: Bln {R} ge'rōb, grōb (pl. ge'rōf, grōf) 'shape, body' ('Gestalt, Leib, Körper') || LEC *garb- 'belly' > Af garba 'belly', Sa {R} garbā id., 'stomach, womb', pSam {Hn.} *gáràb (pl. garb-o) > Rn {Bl.} 'gárab 'back', {PG} gáràb- 'beside', Gwd {AMS} kerpe 'breast'; (×N *gub_l∇_lRE 'back, back side, nape [of the neck]', q.v.): Sml gárab (pl. garb-ō) 'shoulder', Bn 'kárub (pl. karōb'tɜ) id., Rn {PG} gáràb id., 'shoulder-balde' ¶ Bl. 181, R WB 159, R S II 162-3, Hn. S 60, PG 121, AMS 236 ¶¶ OS #343 (*k̥ir∇b in S, Eg, Gwd), Tk. I 59 (Eg, S) || K ≈ *°karb-a 'belly' > Lz korba, Mg Sn kora, Mg SmZ kvara id. ¶ Chik. 68, Q 345 || IE: NaIE *kerp-/*krep- (or *k^werp-/*k^wrep-) 'body, belly' > MPrs karp 'body', Av kərəfš (pl. kəhrpō) 'appearance, visible shape (das sichtbare Äußere, äußere Gestalt)' (the earlier meaning 'body' is still discernible in the cd. kərəfš-x^war 'Leichenfresser'), OI 'kr̥p 'shape, beautiful apperance' || L corpus / corpor- 'body' || OIr crí ({}EI}: < *kr̥ps) 'body, flesh' || Gmc: AS hrif 'belly (Unterleib), womb', OHG (h)rēf 'lap, womb' ¶ WP I 486-7, P 620, EI 76 (*krep-s / gen. *kr̥p-os 'body'), WH I 277-8, Dv. #349, M KI 260, Brtl. 467-9, Kb. 776, Schz. 235, OsS 422, Ho. 174 || A: M *qarbisun 'uterus, placenta' > MM [S] qarbisun 'placenta', WrM qarbisun 'uterus of an animal, plecenta' ¶ H 61, MED 935 || T {ADb.} *k'arim ({}Md.} *k'ārīn) 'belly, abdomen' > NaT *k'arīn > OT qarīn id., Tk karīn, Az garīn, Qmq, Alt, Xlj qarīn, Bsh qarīn, Uz qarīn 'belly, abdomen (Bauch)', Tkm garīn, Ggz karīn, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qarīn, VTt qarīn, Xk χarīn, Tv χirīn, Tf hirīn id., 'stomach (Magen)', Nog qarīn 'womb, belly', Yk χarīn 'stomach, first stomach of the ruminants' || Chv χir̥m 'stomach, belly, womb' ¶ Cl. 661, Rs. W 238, ET KQ 321-3, TL 277, 353, Ra. 193, Md. 103, 166, Pek. 3375-6, Jeg. 314, Fed. II 382 ¶ pT *-m- may go back to *-b-n- (with *-n- < N genitive pc. *nu 'of: N *k'arb|p'i' nu > **karmn∇ > **k'arm > pT *k'arim) || pJ {S} *kárá-(n)tá 'body' > J: T kárada, K kárádá, Kg karáda id. ¶ S AJ 269 [#115], S QJ #115, Mr. 438 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [#147] (T, J + *÷ pKo *kari 'rib') || D {GS} *karb- 'uterus, foetus' > Tm karu 'foetus, embryo, young of animal', karuppai 'womb', Ml karu 'embryo, yolk', Kt karv 'foetus of animals', Td kef 'pregnant' (of animals), Tl kari 'uterus of animals',

karυυυ 'foetus', Prj kerba 'egg' ¶¶ D #1279, GS 30-1 [#30] ◇ IS I 338-40 [#214] (*Ḳar b^ri¹ 'belly, entrails').

1167. (₂?) *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĈâ (= *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĈâ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaE *krou̯s- 'push, strike' > Gk κρούω 'I push, strike' ||| ON hrōsti 'mashed malt' ||| Lt krūš̄ti (prs. krūš̄ũ) v. 'smash, crash; grind, bruise', Ltv krāusēt 'stamp, trample' | pSl *kruχъ, *kruχa 'piece' (← 'broken') > ChS кроуχъ kruχъ, Cz kruch id., Blg крyχ 'piece of salt', SCr kruħ 'bread'; Sl *krušiti 'to break to pieces, to crumble' > Slv krúšiti, P kruszyc id., OR кроушнѣ krušiti, R крyшить 'to break to pieces'; Sl *кръха 'crumble' > ChS крѣха крѣха, SCr † krħa id., R кро'ха id. (→ dim. 'крошка id.) ¶ P 622-3, F II 27-8, Frn. 302-3, Vr. 261, ESSJ XIII 41-52, Glh. 354, EI 549 (*kreu(-s)- 'strike'), Vs. II 384 || A: T *Ḳir̄a- > OT qir̄a- {Cl.} v. 'hit the side of', {DTS} 'задеть (brush\strike against)' (cp. also N *gaRŪĈ^ra 'crush, break to pieces') ¶ Cl. 647, DTS 445 || ?σ HS: ?σ S *Ḳ^rθ > Ar Ḳrθ (pf. qarīθa) 'grieve (affliger)' ¶ BK II 706, Hv. 596 ◇ If Ar Ḳrθ belongs here, the N et. is *Ḳ^ri¹RŪĈâ. IE *k- (rather than *k̄-) is due to its precon. position.

1168. *Ḳ^rū¹rŪ-ϣ∇c∇ 'shin' > HS: S *kurāḡ- (~ *ku¹raḡ-?) 'shin' > Ug kr̄ {OLS} 'jarrete, artejo', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} קַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kar^rāḡn, em. אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡay¹yā 'die Schenkel, Unterschenkel', JEA {Sl.} אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡā 'leg, foot', Sr קַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡ-ā 'leg\shank\shin (of animals)', BHb du. אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kārāḡ-ayim '(two) lower legs, fibulas' (from *kuraḡ- or an Aramaism), Ar kurāḡ- {BK} 'la partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou chez l'espèce ovine et bovine; os du tibia', {Hv.} 'shank, trotters (of sheep\oxen)', Ak kurītu 'shin (of animals)', Sb kr̄ 'leg of a camel', ? Gz k^warnaḡ 'elbow, forearm'; CS *Ḳr̄ 'buckle at the knees, kneel' > BHb, Ug {A} Ḳr̄ G id., JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} Ḳr̄ G 'bow, bend the knee', JEA {Sl.} Ḳr̄ G 'bow down' ¶ KB 47, KBR 500 (קַרְבֵּי *kārāḡ 'lower leg, fibula'), Lv. T I 390-1, Br. 348-9, Sl. 604, ≈ Js. 673 (אַרְבֵּי קַרְבֵּי kar^rāḡ 'knee, leg'), BK II 887, Hv. 651, Sd. 510, CAD VIII 560, LG 293, BGMR 78, ≈ MiK I #1.157 (S *k^wirāḡ-), A #1389 || K *Ḳwir̄x- ~ *Ḳwar̄x-, {FS} *Ḳwar̄x-, {K} *Ḳwar̄x̄]-, {K²} *Ḳwi(r)̄x- 'foot, bottom part' > OG *Ḳuarc̄χl-, MG, G *Ḳvarc̄χl- 'foot' (in OG cd. Ḳuarc̄χlbe(r)Ḳ-, MG Ḳvarc̄χlberḲ- 'footstool, pedestal'), OG mḲwir̄c̄χ(l)-, G m-Ḳwrc̄χl- 'pedestrian', Mg Ḳuč̄x-, Lz Ḳvc̄xe- 'foot, leg', Sv UB {GP} čiš̄x 'leg', Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L/Ln čiš̄x 'нога, цыбн'

('foot' or 'leg'), pl.: UB/LB č̣a₁ṣ̌χär, L č̣a₁ṣ̌χär ~ č̣iṣ̌χär ¶¶ K 109, K² 95, FS K 178, FS E 194-5, Srj. 10, Chik. 63, Q 262, GP 281, Chx. 575, Abul. 201, TK 862-3 || IE: NaIE *ḳrūs- 'shin, shin-bone' > Arm **սրուկ** ṣrunk^h (pl.), gen. **սրակ** ṣranc^h, **սրուկ** ṣrunic^h 'leg(s), shank(s)' || L crūs / crūr- 'shin, shin-bone, leg' ¶ WPI 49, P 62, WH I 295-6, Sl. 431-2 || D *kurač̣- ({ʒGS} *g-) 'hoof' > Tm kuracu, kuraccai 'horse's hoof', Kn gorasu, gorase, gorise, gorusu, Tl gorija, gorise 'hoof' ¶¶ D #1770 ¶¶ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- (reg.) < N *-r∇H- ◇ The reflex of N *c was lost in S due to the tendency towards triconsonantic roots (sc. due to analogy) ◇ The etymon may be a N cd. with the first element *ḳ'û'rû 'foot, hoof' (see N *ḳ'ûr'U' 'foot, hoof'), but only if the latter has a front vw. (N *û) in the first syll. (which would mean that the supposed Sl cognate *černъ 'handle' does not go back to N *ḳ'ür'U').

1169. ₂ *ḳuR∇č̣'∇ 'sharp' > HS: WS *✓ḳrç v. 'pinch, prick' > MHb ✓ḳrç v. 'pinch', JA (incl. [Trg.]) {Lv.} ✓ḳrç 'pinch, sting, make an incision', JEA {Sl.} ✓ḳrç 'bite, sting', Sr ✓ḳrç, Md ✓grç 'prick', Ar ✓qrç G 'pinch, sting (gnat)', Gz ✓ḳrç G 'incise, scar, cut' ¶ Lv. IV 385, Lv. T II 389-90, Sl. 1046, Br. 699, JPS 520, Hv. 598, LM 97, LG 444 || A: M *qurča 'sharp, acute' > MM [S, MA, HI] qurča, WrM qurca, HIM, Kl хурц, Mnr H {SM} χuḏ₁iä, {T} χuḏa, Brt {Chr.} хурца, Kl {KRS} χурцъ id. ¶ Pp. MA 311, 445, Ms. H 92, H 72, MED 988, SM 174, T 377, KRS 612-3 ¶¶ Pp. VG 121 || NaT *Kurç 'sharp' (× T *Kurç 'tough, hard' < N *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard') > StAlt, Qmn курч qurč, Tb {B} qurč, Tlt {Rl} qurč 'sharp', Qrg qurč 'sharp, steel' ¶ ET KQ 170-1 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #944 (A *ḳ'ür∇ 'cut out', 'sharp'; incl. T, M) ◇ Identical with N *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard' [q.v.]?

1170. *ḳ'û'R∇č̣'∇ 'hard (жесткий)', 'to dry up, to harden' > HS: S *✓ḳrs > JA [Trg.] pp. q̣a'r īs 'hardened', MHb ✓ḳrs N, Sh†(←b- Aram?) 'zusammenschrumpfen, verhärtet werden', Sr ✓ḳrs (pf. 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 q̣a'res) v. 'dry up, harden', 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 q̣ar's-ā 'cold, dry', Ak qarsu 'dry, hard' (←b- Aram?), ?σ Ar ✓qrs (pf. qarasa ~ qarisa, ip. -qris-) 'être très rigoureux (le froid)', {Hv.} 'be severe' (winter), 'be congealed' (water (× N *ḲäR₁ʔ₁ûs|ṣ̌'∇ 'to congeal')); Ar qars- 'severe cold' ¶ Lv. IV 385, Br. 698, HJ 1035, BK II 710, Hv. 597, Js. 1425 || K: G Kx qoraç- v. 'be completely dry' (bread), qoraç-i 'completely dry bread' ¶ Chx. 613 ||

IE: NaIE *k^hkers- 'hard' (partially × N ***qan₂ǎ** 'hard'?) > NNr herren 'stiff, hard', MHG hersten 'erstarren' || Lt šiurkštūs, šiurgždūs 'rough, coarse' || OSi: OR**серехъкъ** serexъкъ 'τραχύς, rugged, rough', R Δ 'шорох 'rough surface', R шершавый 'rough', шероховатый 'rough, rugged', Cz Mr srchký 'hard' (of flax, hemp, cloth), Cz L srchly, Slv srhek 'rough' ¶ ≈ P 583, Lx. 87, Frn. 994, Vs. IV 431-2 (misprint τραχύς for τραχύς), 467-8, Srz. III 340, Ma. CS 468 || **А:** T *Kurç 'tough, hard' > OT [MhK] qurč 'solid and hard (muşmat şalb)', kurč ärän 'hard (şila:b) men', [QB] kurč ärän 'hard\tough man', [MhK] qurča- 'to become hard', qurč tämür 'hard iron', sc. 'steel', Kr T qurč 'strong, firm', Nog quriş 'fragile, brittle'; in younger T lgs. particularly applied to metals, whence 'steel' and 'sharp' (of steel, sword) (× N ***Qur₂ǎ** 'sharp'): StAlt курч qurč, Tlt {Rl.} qurč 'sharp', Qrg qurč 'sharp, steel', ET Δ {Jr.} qurč ~ quruč ~ quyuč, Uz Srt {Rl.}, Kr {Rl.} qurč, VTt корыч q^orǎš, Bsh корос q^or^os, Tbl {Rl.} kuruc, Chv L хурăç хуръś, хурçă хурś, Δ xorăś 'steel', Qzq {Sht., Rl.} құрыш q^urǎš 'white steel', Uz qurč 'bronze', but also with the meaning 'brave' and sim.: Alt {Rl.} qurč kiži 'brave man', Qrg {Jud.} qurč žigit 'a daring man of decision', Qmq къурч qurč 'courageous, daring (бравый, удалой; бодрый)'; with the original meaning: Uz qurč 'dense; weighty', Bsh корос q^or^os, VTt корыч q^orǎš 'firm, strong, stable' (Bsh корос куллы кеше 'a man with strong hands') ¶ Cl. 647, 665, Rs. W 303, ET Q 170-1, DTS 467, BT 96, Rl. II 952-3, Jud. 451, UzR 632, Jr. 256, Sht. 282, BR 339, Jeg. 308, Fed. II 367, KumRS 207-8 || M *qurča 'fat\rich' (of food) > WrM қурса, HIM хурц 'too oily\greasy, rich' (of food), Kl {KRS} χурсъ, Brt {Chr.} хурса 'fat\rich, жирный' (of food) (Brt хурса мяхан 'fat meat', хурса һүн 'fat milk', хурса шүлэн 'fat soup, strong broth') ¶ H 72, Pp. MA 311, Ms. H 92, KW 199, MED 988, KRS 612-3, Chr. 602-3, SM 177, T 377]?φ M *qorǎ- > WrM qorǎi- ~ qorǎi- v. 'dry up, harden (as skin)' ¶ MED 362]? M *^okörǎ- (× N ***QER₂ǎ** 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle'?) > WrM körzei-, HIM хөрзий-х 'become rough, uneven, hard' ¶ M 492.

1171. *Q₂r₂ǎ (= ***QarU₂ǎ**?) 'to scratch' > IE: NaIE *kars- 'scratch, rub', {EI} 'scratch; comb (wool)' > OI kaşati 'scratches, rubs' || Lt karšiù / karšti v. 'card, comb', Ltv kāršu / kārst id. || Sl *korsta 'scab, itching skin disease' (× NaIE *krus- 'crust' < N ***KUR₂ǎ** 'scales, bark', q.v.??) > OCS **кРАСТА** krasta 'crusta lepræ, scab', Blg

'краса 'scabies', SCr krāsta 'scab, smallpox, leprosy', Slv krásta, Slk chrasta, R κο'ρоста 'scab', OCz krásty 'tetter', Cz chrásta 'tetter, scab', chrásty 'scabies', P krosta 'rash, scab' ||| L carr-o / - ěre 'comb (wool)' ||| MDt harst 'rake' ¶ ≈ P 532-3, EI 570, WH I 173-4, Frn. 224, ESSJ XI 93-4, M K I 190 ||| K *^oq̄ač|č̄_Lw_r- > G q̄ačr- / q̄ačvr- v. 'scratch' (× N *^oq̄a'č'U 'scratch, scrape off scales' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 560 ¶ mt. of N *r and *č|č̄ ||| HS: WS *^oq̄rç v. 'nip, pinch' (× WS *^oq̄rç 'prick' < N *^oq̄uR∇č̄∇ 'sharp') > Hb ^oq̄rç Pu 'be nipped off', קָרַח קָרַח קָרַח 'q̄ā'raç 'ṣayin {KBR} 'screw up one's eyes, blink', ? Ug ^oq̄rç {A, OLS} 'gnaw (nagen, abkneifen; mordisquear, roer)', Ar ^oq̄rç G 'pinch', Mh, Hrs, Jb ^oq̄rç v. 'nip' ¶ KB 1070-1, KBR 1148, A #2457, OLS 373, BK II 712, Hv. 598, Jo. M 236, Jo. J 150, Jo. H 77 ||| A: NaT *Kurç- v. 'scratch, itch' > Osm {RI.} قورچه qurčā 'scratching (das Kratzen)', Tk kurca 'scratching, excitation', kurcala- v. 'scratch', Tb {RI.} qurčān 'scab (Grind, шелуда), Chg {VZ} قورچالمق qurčal-(maq) 'sich blutig kratzen', Qq quršānqī 'tetter (парша) of horses', Nog quršānī 'tetter of sheep', VTt корчаңгы q̄ōršānḡy, Bsh q̄ōršānḡy 'scabies' ¶ Rs. W 303, RI. II 953-4, KrkR 413, NogR 189 ||| ? D *kir∇č̄- ({^oGS} *k-) v. 'scrape' > Tu {BhK} kires̄y, keres̄y id., {Mnr.} kirejuni v. 'scrape\clear (as the ground)', Prj kirč̄- v. 'scratch', Krx xerč̄- / xirč̄- v. 'rub off, score', Mlt {Drs.} qerçe v. 'scrape' ¶¶ D #1564, Mnr. 142 ¶¶ The unexpected vw. *i may be due to the infl. of D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ v. 'scratch'. Alternatively, D *kir∇č̄- may have been derived from D *kīra (if so, it does not belong to the N etymon in question) ◇ If the pN etymon is *^oq̄arUč̄∇, the vw. *u in T *Kurç- may be due to vowel breaking: *^oq̄aruč̄∇ > *^oq̄uarč̄∇ > T *Kurç-. If the N etymon was *^oq̄ur_L∇_Lč̄∇ (as may be suggested by NaT *Kurç-) we have to suppose the loss of the glide *^ou in the prehistory of IE: *^oq̄ur- > *K∇ur- > *K∇r-, but in this case the IE vw. *ā remains unexplained, therefore *^oq̄ur_L∇_Lč̄∇ is a less probable rec.

1172. (₂?) *^oq̄ER∇č̄∇ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle' > IE: NaIE *^okerst-/*^okr̄st- 'rough hair, bristle' > Sl *^os̄r̄st̄y 'animal's hair' > SrChS, OR сьрсть сьрсть, Slv s̄r̄st, Cz, Slk srst', P sierść, R, Uk шерсть ||| OHG {EI←?} hursti 'crest' ||| L crista 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' ⇨ Al kreshtē 'mane, rooster's comb' ¶ ≈ Vs. IV 431, ≈ WH I 292, O 19, ≈ EI 252 (*^oker(es)- ≈ [rough] hair, bristle') |||

HS: S: [1] Ar qarθaī-at- 'poil fin et court chez les bestiaux'] [2] Ar qarīs- ~ qarīṣ- 'nettle'; the var. qarīṣ- is influenced by ✓qrṣ 'piquer' < WS *✓q̄rç v. 'pinch, prick' cp. JA ✓q̄rṣ G 'bite, pinch, sting' (see N *K̄uR̄Ṣ̄ 'sharp') ¶ BK II 707, 711-2, Js. 1425 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} aṣṣis, Tmz {MT} aṣṣis 'fils de chaîne coupés, restés sur le métier après que le tissage achevé ait été enlevé', Kb taṣṣist 'frange' ¶ Dl. 628, MT 205 || ?φ A: M *°kōr̄z̄- (× N *k̄'u'R̄Ṣ̄ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, harden'?) > WrM kōr̄zei-, HIM хөрзий-х 'become rough, uneven, hard' ¶ The M labialized vw. *ö may be due to the infl. of *k̄'u'R̄Ṣ̄ ¶ M 492.

1173. *k̄VR̄Ṣ̄ 'to cut' > **HS:** S *°✓q̄rṣ̄ > Ar قرظ ✓qrṣ̄ G v. 'cut' ¶ BK II 716 || ?φ B *✓*q̄rs > *ṣrs v. 'tear, cut, cut the throat (of a person\animal)' > BSn {Bs.} s̄a-ṣr̄as, ETwl/Ty {GhA} aṣṣr̄as 'cut', Sll {Ds.} ṣ̄ars, Si {La.} ṣ̄ar̄as 'couper des régimes de dattes', Izn, Rf ✓ṣr̄ṣ 'tear, cut the throat', Mtm q̄ars 'be torn', caus. aṣṣars 'tear', Ah, Gh, Mz, Wrg aṣṣr̄as, Izd ṣ̄ars 'cut the throat of', Gd εṣr̄as (pf. γε-ṣr̄as) 'immoler, égorger', Zng {TC} eṣr̄as̄ (pf. γεṣr̄as̄) 'égorger' ¶ GhA 72, La. S 219, Ds. 78, Fc. 1776, Dlh. M 155, Dlh. Ou 246, Mrc. 95, Lf. I 232 and II #1250, Rn. 362, DCTC 287 ¶ B *ṣrs < *✓*q̄rs < N *k̄VR̄Ṣ̄ × HS *✓q̄r̄s̄ (> S *✓q̄r̄s̄ 'cut' > Ar ✓qr̄s̄ 'couper', Ak ✓q̄r̄s̄ 'trim\carve [meat], see BK II 711, Hv. 598, CAD XIII 128), HEC *k̄oreš- 'break (bread)' (> Hd k̄oreš-, Kmb k̄ores-), see OS #1592 || K: GZ *k̄reṣ̄- / *k̄riṣ̄- / *k̄r̄ṣ̄- 'cut, cut off' > G k̄reṣ̄-/k̄riṣ̄- 'cut, cut (hair), clip' ('scheren, stutzen'), Mg k̄iraṣ̄-/k̄ir̄ṣ̄-, Lz k̄riṣ̄- ¶ K *ṣ̄ > Zan *č̄ (rather than *č̄k̄) due to the presence of *k̄ ¶ K² 100, Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 || A: M *ker̄č̄i- v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N *k̄æR̄Ṣ̄ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N *k̄æR̄Ṣ̄'i' 'cut into pieces, split, divide') > WrM ker̄ci- and HIM хэрчи- v. 'cut, slice', Kl ker̄č̄- id., {Rm.} id., 'chop into pieces', Ord ḡer̄č̄'i-, Mnr H {T} kir̄ž̄i-, {SM} k̄'ir̄ž̄i- 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx kič̄i- v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M ⇨ Ewk k̄er̄ci-, Ul k̄er̄ču/i-, Nn k̄er̄či- 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', WrMc ker̄ci- 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, SM 204, T 339, T DnJ 123, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4.

1174. *k̄ārd̄ 'breast, chest' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'heart', 'internal organs') > K *m̄ker̄d- / *m̄k̄r̄d- 'breast, chest' > OG, G m̄ker̄d- (gen. m̄k̄rd- is-a), Mg k̄idir-i, k̄əḍər-i, Sv: UB/Ch muṣ̄wed, Lx məṣ̄ed, L/Ln muṣ̄od id. ¶¶ K 135, K² 123, FS K 219, FS E 241, Gud. BT (on the loss of initial *m-

in Mg), T 581-2 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Hs $\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{t}}$ 'chest, breast, bosom', Gw K $\text{ḱi}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{t}}$, Gw Cn $\text{g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱi}^{\text{t}}$ 'chest, breast' || ? ECh: EDng {Fd.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{i}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}\text{o}$, {Lk.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{k}^{\text{i}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}$ 'breast (poitrine)', Dng {Lwn.} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{l}^{\text{o}}$, Mgm $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{l}^{\text{a}}$ 'heart' ¶ Ba. 610, Fd. 301, Mts. G 64, Mts. GD 32, ChC, ≠ Sk. HCD 172 || ? EC $\text{*g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$ 'belly' (mte. $\text{*g}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$ < $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$?) > Arr {Hw.} $\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{?}$ (pl. $\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{o}$) 'belly, abdomen', Gdl $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Kns $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ -itta id., Kns $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}$ postp. 'inside (an area)', Hr/Dbs $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}$, Gln $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}$, Gwd $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{e}^{\text{t}^{\text{t}}}$, Gwd D $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{e}^{\text{ḱ}^{\text{c}}\text{o}}$ 'belly'; the rec. of EC *ḱ^{d} is justified if we find the factor responsible for the change *r^{d} > Kns -r- , Dl -rḱ- ¶ Bl. G 49, BISO 67a, AMS 232, Bl. 281 (on reflexes of EC *g-), Hw. A 360-1 || ?σ WS $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ > Ar $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ 'neck', Mh {Ho.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ 'throat, voice', Hrs {Jo.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Jb C {Jo.} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$, Sq {ILS} $\text{ḱ}^{\text{z}}\text{y}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$ pl. 'throat', ??σ Ar $\text{q}^{\text{u}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{ū}^{\text{d}}$ 'back (dos)' ¶ BK II 709, Jo. M 235, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 148, SSL LSNP 1463, MiK I #1.166 ¶ The stem structure of the SES lgs. points to the absence of a pS posttonic vw. (sc. $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ rather than $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{ḱ}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$) || ?σ B $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$ (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$) > Ty, ETwl $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{-ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-en}$ (pl.) 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates', ??σ: Zng {TC} $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$, Ntf {Dray} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{t}$ (pl. $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$), Sll $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{t}}$ (pl. $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$) 'omoplate', BSn {Ds.} $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{t}}$ 'épaule', Kb $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{t}}$ 'omoplate, épaule' ¶ PrGG 120, TC Z 310, Dray 344, Ds. 204, Ds. B 119, Dl. 625 ¶¶ MiK I #166 (S, B) || **IE** $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-}/\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-}/\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}\text{-}/\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{d-}$, {E} $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ / gen. $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-os}$ 'heart' > NaIE: Arm $\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{u}}\text{n}$ $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{t}}$ id. (gen. $\text{u}^{\text{r}}\text{u}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$) || Gk $\text{π}^{\text{k}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{r}}$ (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$) id., Gk A $\text{κ}^{\text{a}}\text{ρ}^{\text{d}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}$, Gk Hm $\text{κ}^{\text{a}}\text{ρ}^{\text{d}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{ḱ}}$ id., 'stomach' || L $\text{c}^{\text{or}}/\text{c}^{\text{or}}\text{d-}$ 'heart' || OIr $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{d}}\text{e}$ 'heart, middle', W {YGM} $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{a}^{\text{i}}\text{d}^{\text{d}}$ 'centre, middle', Crn $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{e}(\text{y})\text{s}$, MBr [SB] $\text{c}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{i}}\text{s}$ 'middle', Br $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{i}}\text{z}$ id., 'center' || Gt $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{o}}$, , ON $\text{h}^{\text{j}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{a}}$, OHG $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{z}}\text{a}$, NHG $\text{H}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{z}}$, AS $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{or}^{\text{t}}\text{e}$ 'heart', NE $\text{h}^{\text{e}}\text{ar}^{\text{t}}$ || Lt $\text{ḱ}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{i}s$, Ltv $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{s}$, Pru $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{y}^{\text{r}}$ (= [sīr]?) (gen. $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{s}$, accus. $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{n}$) 'heart' || pSl $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-bce}$ id. (with the dim. $\text{sx.}^{\text{r}}\text{*bce}$) > OCS $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{ѣ}^{\text{d}}\text{ь}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ѣ}^{\text{d}}\text{ь}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$, Blg $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{ѣ}^{\text{d}}\text{ь}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$, SCr $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}$, Slv $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{c}^{\text{e}}$, R $\text{с}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}$, Uk $\text{с}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}$, Cz $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{d}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$, OP $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}\text{c}^{\text{e}}$ > P $\text{s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$ id., pSl $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-á}$ (accus. $\text{*s}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}\text{-o}$) 'middle' > OCS $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{ѣ}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ě}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ 'middle, Wednesday' (→ R $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ 'Wednesday'), Blg $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$, SCr $\text{с}^{\text{r}}\text{e}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ ~ $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{a}}$, Slv $\text{s}^{\text{r}}\text{ě}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ 'middle, Wednesday', Cz $\text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{ř}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{a}}$, Slk $\text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{r}^{\text{e}}\text{d}^{\text{a}}$, R Δ , Uk $\text{с}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}$ (R Δ accus. $\text{с}^{\text{e}}\text{p}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{a}}$), P $\text{ś}^{\text{r}}\text{o}^{\text{d}}\text{a}$ 'Wednesday' || Tc {E}: A $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{i}$ 'will', B $\text{k}^{\text{ā}}\text{r}^{\text{y}}\text{ā}^{\text{n}}$ pl. 'hearts' || Ht {Ts.} $\text{k}^{\text{e}}\text{r}$ / obl. $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}$ -, {Pv.} $\text{k}^{\text{i}}\text{r}(\text{t}^{\text{i}})/\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{r}(\text{t}^{\text{i}})$ - (< $\text{*ḱ}^{\text{e}}\text{r}^{\text{d}}/\text{*ḱ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḱ}^{\text{d}}$), Pal $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{-a}^{\text{r}}\text{-t}^{\text{i}}$ id. (dat.-lat. sg.), Lw $\text{z}^{\text{a}}\text{r}(\text{t})$ -, HrLw $\text{z}^{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{-z}^{\text{a}}$ id. ¶¶ P 579-80, E 262-3, FI 787-8, WH I 271-2, Fs. 234-5, Vr. 232, Kb. 462, Schz. 166, Ho. 157, Vn. C 235-6, YGM-1 101, Ern. DELM 455, Hm. 487, Slt. 205-6,

Frn. 986-7, En. 245, Glh. 574-7, Vs. III 605-7, Ts. EI 556-8, Pv. IV 189-91 || **D** *kar∇]- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'internal organ (heart, bowels?)' > Tm karal, karu| 'lungs and heart, liver, bowels, heart', kari| 'heart', Kt kar| 'heart, mind', Kn karu|, kara|u 'an entrail, bowels; love', Kdg kari 'intestines', Tu karalъ, kar|ъ 'bowels, liver' ¶¶ D #1274 ¶¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters; D *-]- is possibly a sx. ◇ IS SS 328 [#4.14], IS I 324-5 [#200] (IE, K), ADDZ VIS (added the Hs cognate), Glh. l.c. (added the EC cognate) ◇ IE *d for the expected *d^h is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root (F IS SS 348 [#13.1]). The connection between 'breast' and 'neck' (as within HS) is quite natural in a society of hunters or cattle-breeders, having such notions as 'dewlap'.

1175. ₂ *K̄iRd∇ 'to scrape' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to comb') > HS: S *✓k̄rd > MHb ✓k̄rd D (pf. 𐤀𐤍𐤍𐤏 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏) 'curry, scrape', Ar ✓qrd G 'ramasser en grattant (p. ex. le beurre ou le lait sur les parois d'une vase)', Ak ✓k̄rd (inf. 𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏) 'pluck wool' ¶ Js. 1412, Lv. IV 372, BK II 709, CAD XIII 126, MiK I #2.36 ¶ Not here WS *✓grd 'scrape, scratch' (< N *kaRT∇ [~ *g∇Rd∇?]) 'to scratch, to scrape', q.v.) || **A:** Tg *x̄|^rdâ- v. 'comb' > Jrc irdihun, WrMc izifun 'a comb', WrMc izi-, Ewk igdi-, Sol idda- ~ irda-, Lm ud-, Neg ugd-, Orc, Nn KU igdi-, Ul sigdu-, Ork sigdi-, Nn Nh/B sigži- v. 'comb' ¶ STM I 296-7, Kiy. 127 [#549], Pp. VG 33 (on the reflexes of Tg *x- before *i) ◇ Cp. N *kaRT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) ↑.

1176. ₂ *K̄'û'r̄d,∇ 'monkey' > HS: WS *k̄'i¹rad- > Ar qird- (pl. qirad-, qiradat-) {BK} 'singe', {Hv.} 'baboon, ape', Gz qard ~ qard, qardināt, Amh q̄rd 'monkey' ¶ L G 440, BK II 709, Hv. 597 || EC: Arr qārran 'vervet monkey', ? Rn káràw 'Guereza monkey' ¶ Hw. A 377, PG 180 || SOm {Blz.} *qaray > Ari {Bnd.} qa:|r 'vervet monkey, Dm {Fl.} qare id., Ari B {Fl., C} qara 'Capuchin monkey' || NrOm: Gongga: Mnj {Fl. after C} qeriyō 'monkey' || COmt (Gf?) {Mrn.} qarō 'monkey' ¶ Mrn. O 155, Blz. OL #122, Bnd. AL 154, Fl. OO 320 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k̄∇r∇ 'monkey' > Su kar, Ang ker 'monkey' || ECh: Mgm {J} mékèrdà 'monkey' ¶¶ OS ##1568-9 ¶¶ The words for 'Colobus (monkey)' in Oromo (Or {Th.} gureza 'scimmia biancanera', {Brl.} guresa 'Colobus', goresa 'scimmia del mantello di lungo pelo bianco sul nero'), in Ari ({Bnd.} gōyr, and in Dime ({Bnd.} gūru) hardly belong here (because of the voiced g-) ¶ Brl. 182, 191, Th. 179, Bnd. AL 154 || **D** *kuraṅk- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'monkey' > Tm kuraṅku id., 'ape', Ml kuraṅṅu 'monkey' (chiefly 'macaco'), Kt

{MED} 'small hawk, small predatory bird', HIM хяргуй id., Kl Ö {Rm.} kirvū, kirvū 'sparrow-hawk', Kl {KRS} кирһү kirvū 'id., Falco vespertinus', WrM kiruɣucaɪ {MED} 'ε (a kind of) small hawk', {Gl.} 'ублюдок орла, ястреба и копчика' ¶ Ms. H 72, Kow. 2552, Gl. III 609-10, MED 471-3, KRS 302, KW 232 || K: G qirqita 'Falco tinnunculus (Turmfalke)', {DCh.} 'кобец, овсянка' ¶ Chx. 595, DCh. 616 ◇ If the G word belongs here and its q- is not due to as. (which is qu.), the initial N cns. is *q-, otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified velar (*K-). The U cognate points to a pN *e, while T, M and K suggest a vw. *i. The phonetic laws that are responsible for this discrepancy are still to be discovered.

1180. *Qorg|kU 'dirt, dung' > IE: NaIE *gʷorgʷ(ōr)ō- 'dirt' > Arm կորկ kork 'dirt-spot, dirt, filth, ordure' || Gk βόρβορος 'mud, mire, filth' ¶ WP I 694, P 482, F I 252 || HS: C: Ag *ʔakʷaɾ > Bln {R} aɣʷar ~ ǎɣar ~ ɔɣar coll. 'dry cow-dung', Xm {R} aɣǎl 'dry dung'; Ag ɔ > Tgr {R}, Tgy H {R} ǎhɔɔ akʷer, Tgy {R} ǎhɔɔ akʷer (these words are not registered in standard dictionaries of Tgr and Tgy, namely in LH and Bsn.); (Tgy and/or Tgr ɔ > ?) Sa {R} a'kʷar ~ ǎ'kar, Af {R} a'kʷar ~ ǎ'kar ~ ɔ'kǎr 'dry dung' ¶ R WB 20, R Ch II 20, R S II 24, R A II 14 || B **qʷrrāg > **yʷrrag 'dung' > Ah a-yarraǵ 'gros excrément (de quadrupède herbivore, d'insecte, d'oiseau)', ta-yarrak 'fumier, large dunghill', ETwl a-yarreg 'droppings of camels, goats, etc.', Gh a-yarraǵ 'fiente', ?? Sll ta-qʷarqʷayt 'fumier de chameaux' ¶ Fc. 1773, PrGG 121, Nh. 161, Ds. 137 || A: M *qorgu-sun 'droppings of sheep, etc.' > MM [S] qorqosun 'Stück Schafmist', WrM qorɣusun 'droppings of sheep and camels', Brt хоргооһо(н) id., Kl хорһсн хорҫьсьн 'ball(s) of droppings (of sheep, goats, camels) (катыш)', {Rm.} хорҫасн 'runde Kotkugel (der Schafe, Kamele, Pferde)', Mnr H {SM} хорḡḡзз 'droppings of sheep, goats, camels, hares'; M *qorgal > WrM qorgal, HIM хоргол, Brt хоргоол id., Ord (Ms.) хорḡḡl 'droppings of animals'; M *qorquy- > WrM qorquɪ-, HIM хорхой-х 'be dirty, untidy' ¶ H 67, MED 965-6, 970, SM 172, KRS 598, KW 187 || Tg *xōri-kta 'dung of reindeer' > Ewk ḡrikta, Lm ḡrut, Ork xorɪqta id.; *xōri-na- > Ewk ḡrina-v. 'defecate' (of reindeer) ¶ STM II 23-4 ¶ The long *ō may be due to complementary lengthening (Ersatzdehnung) due to the loss of *-g- || pKo {S} *kǎrɪm 'dung' > NKo kǎrɪm ¶ S QK #1122, MLC 82 ¶¶ DQA #1132 (A *k'ōrḡ 'dung, excrements') || D (in SD) *kor- ({ǧGS} *k-)

'mud' > Ml *kuraríri* 'mire, mud, fine clay', Kt *k0r* 'manure, filth, mud', Td *kwar* 'mud' ¶ D #2123 ¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters (in this case presumably *-rg|k-) ◇ The B and Tg cognates point to N *K̥-, while the apparent IE and C reflexes of N *k- are due to as. The N word-medial *r was probably followed by a velar stop, which is evidenced in M, B, and (indirectly) in D by reflexes of a N word-medial *g, while in IE there are traces of a N postconsonantic *k. The variation is still to be investigated. In C and Tg the word-medial velar was lost (a kind of dis. or a reg. development of the N cluster *-rg|k-?).

1181. *k̥VR̥K̥E 'skin, bark' > K: GZ: G *kerk-* 'bark, crust, peel', Lz Ar *kyark-* 'skin of the hand' ¶ Chx. 1548-9 || IE: NaIE *kroḡ-no- 'skin, hide' > Clt: OIr *cro(i)cenn* 'skin', Brtt {RE} *krok- id. > MW, W *croen*, MBr *crohenn*, *crochenn*, Br *croc'hen* 'skin', OCrn [ʏ] *croin* ("mastruca" 'sheepskin'), Crn *crōnek* 'skinny'; Gl ↪ L *crocina* 'leather garment' ||| Sl *k̥r̥z̥no 'fur coat' ({ESSJ}: 'cloak, Mantel, плащ') > ChS *kr̥z̥(̥)no* *kr̥z̥(̥)no* 'vestis pellicea', McdS *kr̥z̥no* 'fur', Slv *k̥r̥z̥no* 'leather, hide, fur', Cz *kr̥z̥no* 'military cloak, coat, fur coat', OR *kor̥(̥)z̥no* *kor̥(̥)z̥no*, *k̥r̥z̥no* *k̥r̥z̥no*, *kr̥z̥no* *kr̥z̥no* 'cloak'; Sl ↪ OHG *krusina*, *kursinna*, OFrs *kersna*, AS *crus(e)ne* 'fur coat' ¶ Vn. C 243-4, RE 129, WH I 296, ≈ ESSJ XIII 244 (against the Sl-Clt connection), ≈ Vs. II 327-8 (believes that the Sl word is a loan from some "Eastern" lgs: Os *k̥ar̥c* 'fur' [actually 'fur coat'] ⇔ ESSJ and Ab. I 582), Srz. I 1404, Kb. 575, P 943 (NaIE *krok-no-; supposes a connection with IE *(s)ker- 'cut') || A: M: WrM *qor̥gu* ~ *qoru*, HIM *xyp̥y* 'film, cataract, spot in the eye' (× N *k̥oR̥up̥ 'bark of trees' [ε?], 'skin') ¶ MED 970 ◇ In K there is as. *k...k < N *k̥...k, in Clt in the opposite direction: IE *k...ḡ > Clt *k...k.

1182. *k̥âR̥K̥ub|p̥ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > HS: S *°k̥ar̥k̥ab|p̥- 'skull' (× N *k̥'a'w̥l̥o,̥p̥E or *k̥'a'w̥l̥o,̥p̥V̥y̥ 'skull; occiput' → 'head?') > JA *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥*, em. *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-ā* 'skull, head', *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-t-ā* id. (↪ MdHb *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥-t* id.), Sr *q̥ar̥q̥ab̥'tā* ~ *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'tā* 'head, summit of a mountain' ¶ J. Levy supposes that JA *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥* is from the Gk loanword found in MHb texts (Mishna, Tosephtha) in the form of *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'līn* ~ *q̥ar̥q̥ap̥'līp̥el* 'der Schädel dessen Haar\Fleisch abgeschunden wurde' (< Gk *kápa* 'head' and *κεφαλή* 'head?'), but Sr *q̥ar̥q̥ab̥'tā* makes Levy's hyp. untenable ¶ Lv. IV 390-1, Sl. 1046, ESh

1230, PS 3758, Br. 701, Js. 1426-7 || Eg fMK қзб.т 'skull' ¶ EG V 11 ||
IE: NaIE *kakub^h- 'summit, tip' > OI κα'κυρ, κα'κυβ^h- 'peak, summit'
 || L cacūmen 'extreme point, top, tip, summit' (transformed on the
 analogy of acūmen 'sharp point of anything') ¶ M KI 135, M EI 287,
 WH I 127 || **U:** [1] U *kokka 'head; a protruding point, hook' > pY {IN}
 *kōkə 'head (of a fish, of an animal)' > Y K {IN} kōkə id., {Jc., texts}
 κοκε, {Jc. JR} 'κοκα 'head of an animal' || FL *kokka 'protruding point,
 hook' (× N *kakU [or *kokU?] 'hook; tooth, fang', q.v.) || [2] FU
 *kokk_lk_j∇p∇ 'ε hook' (× FU *kopkka < N *goPka '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp
 stick' [q.v. ffd.]) || [3] FP *kork∇ 'high' > F korkea, Es kōrge id. | Mk
 kurka 'deep' | pChr {Bwer.} *kurək 'mountain' > Chr: H кырык кырык,
 L курык 'кырык, Uf кырык, B кырык ≙ kuruk | ? Prm *kūr > Z kīr / kīry-
 id., 'bluff, precipice', Yz καρ-υα\αν 'auf der Höhe' (υα\ - ÷ Z yiv 'top')
 ¶ IN 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Jc. JR s.v. κόκα, UEW 672, Ber. 24, MRS
 249, Ep. 53, LP 153 || **D** (in NED) *kukk- > Krx kukk 'head, extremity',
 Mlt kuku 'head' (× N *k'a'dkud∇ 'tip, top', q.v.) ¶ D #1630, Pf. 188
 [#69] ◇ In D the final syll. of the N word was lost (*-b- > *-w- >
 zero?). The loss of the reflex of N *-b/p- in U *kokka still needs
 explaining. Eg 3 (usually from precon. *r) suggests that the cns. *R is
 ancient (and lost in some lgs.) rather than an Aram innovation (though
 the epenthesis of *r) ◇ Blz. LB #77b (FL *kokka, Y, D + qu.: IE *kakud-
 'tip, point, peak' [better from N *k'a'dkud∇ 'tip, top'] and IE {Mn.}
 *kakupit- [err. for *kaput-] id., 'head' [< N *k'a'w_lo_pE or
 *k'a'w_lo_p∇y∇ 'skull; occiput; → 'head']).

1183. *k_uRm'E¹ (or *k_oRm'E¹?) 'to cover' > **HS:** S *✓k_rm (× N
 *k_or'a¹ [or *k_oRa and *k₁orü?] 'to flay, to bark', 'bark, crust?') >
 BHb, JA [Trg.], Sr, Ak ✓k_rm v. G 'cover', Ak k_rmu 'ε a garment',
 MHb {Js.} קרעם 'kerem 'fine cloth, gauze' ¶ KB 1067, KBR 1144, Js.
 1421, Lv. T II 388, Br. 696, CAD XIII 127, 268-9 || **IE:** NaIE *k^warmo- 'a
 cover, lid' > Gl ⇨ L parma 'a short round shield', W † {Wld.} parf-
 aes 'shield', parfa 'Schutzplatte, Feuergitter' || ON hvarmr 'eyelid'
 ¶ WP I 506, WH II 256, Vr. 269 || **A:** M *kürmen > WrM kürme(n),
 HIM xypem 'short jacket (worn by men **over** their long gown at formal
 occasions)' (← 'a cover'), Kl {Rm.} kürm_ḡ 'Mongolian jacket', Brt
 xypmэ 'fur-jacket worn over one's fur-coat' ¶ MED 284, KW 248, Chr.
 626 ◇ Gr. II #434 (*kurm 'worm') (IE, U + err. A *k'jōru 'worm, gadfly',
 Gil).

1184. *K̑uRm̑ 'worm, insect' > IE: NaIE *k^w̑ȓmi- / *k^werm- 'worm' > OI 'kȓmi-h̑, NPrs كرم kerm || pAl {O} *krim- id. > Al: T krimb, G krym || OIr cruim 'worm, maggot', Brtt {RE} *primis 'worm' > MBr {Vn.} preff, {Em.} preuf, Br preñv id., OW prem, MW pryf id., W pryf 'insect, vermin', MCrm Γ prif 'vermis', Cm prūf 'worm, vermin', pl. pryves 'insects' || Lt kirmis 'worm, snake', Ltv cirmis, cirminš 'worm, maggot', cirmenis 'maggot, grub', Pru girmis ({En, Tpr} [kirmis]) 'maggot'; (*k^werm- >) Ltv cērme 'earthworm', ceŕme 'worm' | SI *č̑ȓm̑ > Slv č̑m {P} 'Karbunkel, Fingerwurm'; ↗ SI *č̑ȓm̑n̑ 'red' (red dye was obtained from cochineal insects ["worms"], cp. L vermiculus 'small worm, maggot, cochineal' > a name of the red or scarlet colour in some Romance lgs.: Fr vermeil, Prv vermelh, Ctl vermell, Sp bermejo 'scarlet', Port vermelho 'red') > OCS ҮРЬМЪНЪ č̑ȓm̑n̑, Cz čermný, č̑ȓm̑ný 'red', R Δ че'рёмный 'red-haired' ¶ WP I 523, P 649, ≈ EI 649 (*k^w̑ȓmi-s; unj.: + OCS č̑ȓv̑v̑ 'worm'), M K I 261-2, Vn. C 252, Ern. 511-2, RE 148, ECCE 283, Frn. 257, En. 178, Tr. P E-H 243-5, Bern. I 169, ESSJ IV 149-50, Vs. IV 334-5, Bc. 1056, O 197, EM 725, ML #9230 || **U:** FU (att. in FL) *ku₁̑ȓm̑ ≈ larva, maggot' > F kurmu 'gadfly maggot' || pLp *kurm̑ > Lp N {N} gur'bm̑ 'larva of Oedemagena tarandi' ¶ Not necessarily a loan from Ir, as tentatively supposed in IS I 358 ¶ SK 246 (F ← Lp), N II 240 || **HS:** EC: Sa {R} qar'm̑ 'e fly' ¶ R S II 237 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kóróm̑ 'louse' || ??φ,σ ECh: Kbl kúrȓ, Li kòré 'fly' ¶ Blz. EChWL #30, ChC.

1185. 2 *K̑EȒp̑ 'to cover' (→ 'roof') > IE: NaIE *k̑ro(:)po- (or *k̑ra(:)po-), {EI} *k̑ropo-s, *k̑ȓpo-s 'roof' > ON hȓóf 'roof of a boat house; a shed under which ships are built or kept', MDt roef 'roof, lid, deck', Dt roef 'deckhouse, cuddy (of a barge)', MLG ȓōf, ȓūf 'lid, sheltering roof', OFrs ȓōf 'roof', AS hȓōf 'roof, ceiling', NE roof || SI *strop̑ (< **strop̑ > *k̑ropo-) > OCS, OR строп̑ strop̑ 'roof', Blg строп 'garret', Cz, P strop 'ceiling', Slv stròp (gen. strópa) id., 'rafters' || amb Clt: OIr cȓáu, cȓó 'stall, hut, wooden partition', {EI} 'hovel, stall', W cȓaw, Cm cȓaw 'stall', Br kraou 'étable' (× NaIE *°kȓū-/°krow̑ə- v. 'cover, hide' < N *q̑Aȓûh̑₂ > 'to keep [sth.] out of sight, to hide' [q.v.]?) ¶ WP I 477-8, P 616, EI 488, Vn. C 240-1, SB 96, Vr. 259, Ho. 176, Sw. 94, Tr. 309, Vs. III 781-2 || **HS:** [1] Eg ME k̑p 'Schutzdach', Eg NE k̑p.ω 'roof', Eg NE/G k̑p 'ein Gebäude bedachen'

||| [2] (× N *gA|íAb|p∇ [?] *'to cover' →] 'to hide, to conceal': Eg fXIX k3p 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' > DEg k̄p 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd κωπ kōp, Cpt B χωπ khōp vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide' ¶ EG V 104, Er. 53, Crum 113-4, Vc. 84.

1186. *k̄oRup∇ ~ *k̄aRup∇ 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' > K: G k̄orp-i 'bark of cork-oak, cork' ¶ Chx. 614 || HS: WS *✓k̄rp 'peel off' > Ar ✓qrf id., Gz ✓k̄rf 'v. peel off, skin, bark'; WS *'k̄irap(-at)- n. 'bark' > Ar qirf- 'bark of pomegranate', qirf-at- 'bark', pl. qiraf-, Gz k̄arəft 'bark, skin, peel, rind'; probably also WS *'k̄urab- (~ *'k̄irab-?) > Ar qirb-at- (pl. qirab-āt-) 'a large skin for milk or water', Tgy k̄w̄ərbət, Amh k̄orbət 'skin for milk', {L} ቁርብት k̄urbət 'tanned hide used as a sleeping mat', Tgr k̄ərbət 'dressed skin; skin for water\milk\honey', Gz k̄w̄ərbābit, Amh k̄w̄ərbēbičča 'leather bag', ? Gz k̄arb 'eyelid' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414, BK II 704, 723-4, Hv. 596, 600, L G 440-1, LH 242, L CAD 72 || EC: Cm {Bnd.} garb 'skin'; C (← EthS??): Bj {R} 'k̄w̄ərbe ({R} k̄ŭrbe) 'skin (Haut)' || pAg *k̄w̄∇rb-∇t- 'skin' > Xm {R} q̄w̄ər'bī 'skin, hide', Xm Wg {R} q̄w̄ər'bir, Xm T {Bnd.} kerbir 'skin', Q {R} q̄ōrbē ~ k̄ōrbē ~ k̄ōrbī 'skin, leather' ¶ R Ch II 381, R Q II 86, 91, R WbD 145, Blz. EDB 16, ≠ AD SF 67, 279 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sh.} k̄órōpé, Wnd {ChC} k̄w̄òrup 'bark' || Ech: ? Smr {J} k̄w̄àbèráw 'bark' (mt.) || CCh: ??? Plc k̄òrî 'bark' (× N *k̄ayer∇ 'ε bark, film?') ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE *kreup- 'crust, crusted', 'rough' > Clt: L (← Gl) cruppellarii 'armoured people, sc. the Gaulish gladiators who fought in full armour' || ON hrufa 'crust of a wound', NGr B Ruff 'Kruste auf rasch getrocknetem Erdreich', OHG gi-rob {Kb.} 'crude, thick', NHG grob, Dt grof 'coarse', ON hrjúfr 'crude, rough', AS hrēof id., 'leprous' (> NE rough), OHG hriob 'leprous' || Ltv k̄rāũpa 'scab, wart', k̄rāũpis 'scab', nu-krùpēs 'scurfy', Lt kraupūs 'coarse', Lt krùpti, Ltv krùpt ~ k̄rùpt 'to become scabby' || pTc *k̄ärpiye > Tc: A k̄ärpi, B k̄ärpiye 'common, raw, rough' ¶ P 623, WH I 295, Vr. 261, Kb. 370, OsS 305, KM 272, Frn. 290, Ad. 164, EI 490, 523] in some IE lgs. *kreup- contaminated *(s)krep-/*(s)kerp- of different origin (> OHG scorf {Kb.} 'scab, dandruff', AS scēorf 'scurf', Lt karpa 'wart'; F P 944, Kb. 889) || A: M [1] ppM *qoruβu > M *qoruγu (× N *k̄∇R∇kE 'skin, bark') > WrM qoruυ, qorgu, HIM χυρυυ, Kl {Rm.} χορυα 'spot in eye, film, cataract'; [2] ? *qaru- vt. 'scrape\plane (wood)' > WrM qarυ-, HIM xapa-x id. ¶ MED 940, 970, KW 187, Pp. IM 98 (on *-β- >

*-ψ-) || AmTg *χαρπῶ- vt. 'plane\shave (wood)' > Nn Nh χαρπιῶ-, Nn KU χαρπιῶ-, Ork χαρπῶ- id. ¶ STM I 59 ◇ N *o is suggested by M *qoruβu, K, and WS, while M *-a- in *qaru- and Tg *-a- point to a N *a; IE *k- (rather than *k^ω-) may be due to its precons. position. It is possible that the var. with N *a is primary, while *o in N *κορυβῶ is due to regr. as. The meaning 'scrape\plane (wood)' in M and Tg goes back to *'remove the upper layer (of wood)' ← v. *'bark (a tree)' ◇ AD NM #98, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), ≈ Vv. AEN 13 (M *qoruβu is considered a "teleological reconstruction", because the attested M lgs. fail to distinguish *-β- from *-ψ-).

1187. *KüRpῶ 'to turn (round, towards)' > IE: NaIE *k^werp- ~ *k^werb_h- v. 'turn' > Gmc: ON h^uerfa, OSx h^wer^vian 'to turn (wenden, drehen)', AS h^weorfan 'sich wenden, zurückkehren', OHG werben 'wenden, kehren, drehen', Gt h^uaírban 'περιπατεῖν, to walk about', AS h^warf 'circle' || Gk κύρβις (pl. κύρβεις) 'a 3-sided pyramid, turning on a pivot, on which the early laws were inscribed', ??σ καρπός 'wrist' (P: ← *'turning point of a hand') (< *κυάρπος with loss of *^u due to dis.?) || Sl *svьrdьlo, *svьrdьlь 'borer' (< **svьrb-dlo) > SrChS СВРЪДЬЛЪ svьrdьlь, Blg 'сврѣдел, 'сврѣдел, SCr svr̥dao, Cz svider, Pświder id., R Δ 'свердел id., R свер'ло id., 'drill' || Tc B kurrp- 'be concerned with' ({Ad.}: ← *'turn oneself towards') ¶ FI 793 and II 53, WPI 472-3, P 631, EI 607 (*k^werp- 'turn'), Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Ho. S 39, Fs. 279-80, Kb. 1173, Vs. III 573-4, Ad. 184-5 || **HS:** WS *✓krb > Ar ✓krb v. G 'twist (a rope)', Mh ✓krb (pf. k^zrüb) v. 'screw' ¶ Fr. IV 21, Hv. 649, Jo. M 212-3 || Eg Md/BD/G k^rrf v. 'curve, bend' ¶ EG V 60 || **A:** M *körbe- v. 'turn over' > MM [S] körbe- 'sich umwenden, sich drehen', WrM körbe-, HIM xəpβə- 'turn overt, change', ? Kl körvül-xə 'to translate' ¶ H 104, MED 490, KRS 319 || Tg *kurbu- vn. 'turn round' > Ewk kurbu- id., Sln xubbu ~ xurbz- vn. 'turn (ворочаться), turn over', WrMc kurbu- id. ¶ STM I 435 ¶¶ Pp. VG 107, Rm. SKE 129 ¶ The unexpected Tg *k- (for *x-) may be due to as.: N *K...p > *k...p || ?φ D *kuru- ({ǰGS} *k-) v. 'curl' > Tm kuruḷ- id., Ml kuruḷ-, kurḷaḷ- 'curls', Kn kuruḷ, kurḷu 'curl, lock of hair', Tu kurumbilu 'curled hair', Tl kutulu 'hair, curls of hair'; D → Sk kurala-, kurula- 'curl' ¶¶ D #1794, Tu. #3327.

1188. *k^u'ryῶpῶ 'sack, wicker basket' > K: G k^uprieli, Sv {Ni.} k^upr, Sv: UB {GP}, UB/LB {TK} k^upr 'wine-skin' (× N *K^uab'E^u'ῶ

'wickerwork, bag, vessel'?) ¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. МѢХЪ, TK 351, GP 132 ¶ Mt. and as. *ḳ...p > *ḳ...p || HS: S *✓krp > Ak kuruppu 'basket', karpu, karpatu 'earthen container, pot', Ug krpn 'drinking vessel', {OLS} 'cáliz, copa'; ? Gz karabō 'woven basket'; mt.: WS *kṽpṽr- 'basket, vessel' > BHb כַּפֵּי קָדָשׁ kə'pōr 'Becher (aus Gold oder Silber)', MHb כַּפֵּי קָדָשׁ kə'pōr 'plated vessel', Sr كِبْرِيَّةٌ kāpar't-ā {Br.} 'vas e libro palmae textum et picatum', {JPS} 'earthen vessel, crock', Ar kāfir-at-, pl. kawāfir- 'amphoras, jars', {BK} 'jarres de vin', Gz kafar 'basket, bushel' ¶ A #1390, OLS 224, BK II 914, Hv. 660, LG 276-7, 290, GB 358, Js. 657, Br. 340-1, JPS 223, CAD VIII 219-21, 581 || Eg MK ḳrf 'bag', Md/MP ḳrf.t 'linen bag' ¶ EG V 60, Fk. 280 || IE: [1] NaIE *krep- ~ *kreb-/*korb- 'basket, bag' > L corbis 'wicker basket' (↳ ON karfa, kqrf, OHG corb 'basket' > NHG Korb) || Lt krėpšas, krėpšys 'basket, bag', karbas 'basket', Ltv kārba 'bag made of alder-birch-bark' || Sl *korbъ, *korba 'basket, box' > Slv kraba 'box', P kroba 'woven basket', OR КОРОВЪ 'box, woven basket, chest (сундук)', R 'короб 'box' || Gmc *xrepaz, *xrepiz > ON hrip {Æ} 'pack basket', {Vr.} 'Rückenkorb', OHG rēf 'frame for carrying sth. on one's back', {Kb.} 'Korb, Gestell, Trag-Rücken-korb' || ? OIr criol 'sac, coffret, panier' || [2] NaIE *ōūrpa- > OI súrpa-m 'winnowing basket' ¶ ≈ WP I 487, ≈ P 948-9, EI 52-3 (*kreb-), M K III 366, Vn. C 238, SB 97, Frn. 294, TF 103, Vr. 256-7, Kb. 555, 776, KM 394, ESSJ XI 52-4, ≠ P 948, WH I 272-3 || ? A: T *ōkír > OT kiz 'box, cupboard' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 273 || D (in SD) *kurṽv-, *kur- ({ṽGS} *k-) 'basket' (× N *ḳurṽ [= *ḳurû?] 'to plait/wattle/tie together') > Tu kurvæ 'basket', Kn Hv kurve 'small basket', Ml kuriyav, kuriccān 'matbag, light basket of pandanus leaves', kurutti 'basket for catching fish' ¶ D #1779 ◇ T *r and D *-r- (reg. from N *r-clusters) point to N *-ry-.

1189. *ḳṽrHṽPṽ 'piece of leather (used esp. as footwear)' > IE: NaIE *kerap-/*krēp- 'piece of cloth, ε footwear' > L carpusculum 'ε shoe' || OIr cairēm 'shoemaker' (< **kariamōs, IE *k_orap-), W crydd (< Clt. *ka'riyos), Cm chereor, MBr kere~quere, Br kere, kereour id. || ON hriflingr 'leather shoe', AS {Vr.} hrifeling 'lace-up shoe', MHG ribbalin 'ε boot' || Lt kūrpe, Ltv kuŗpe 'shoe', Pru kurpe 'ε shoe' || Sl: [1] *kьpa 'piece of cloth' > ChS {Mikl.} КРЪПА крѣпа 'ύφασμα, textura' ('web'), Blg 'кърпа 'shawl', McdS крпа 'rag, shawl, towel', SCr k`pa, Slv k`pa 'rag, patch'; [2] *kьpъ,

*kьrpь, *kьrpja '€ footwear' > Cz †, Δ krp 'high boot', OCz {Zv.} krpec 'sandal', P Δ kierp '€ footwear', karpie '€ footwear with a wooden sole', SCr Δ kr̥plje 'ski', SCr kr̥plja 'wooden hoop on shoes for walking on deep snow' ||| Gk κρηπίς / κρηπίδος '€ half-boot, men's high boot' ¶ P 581, WH I 172, EI (*kr̥h₁pi-s 'shoe'), F II 16-7, Vn. C 21, Ern. 150, Frn. 318, En. 199, Vr. 255, Lx. 167, Tp. P K-L 323-33, ESSJ XIII 237-40, Glh. 352-3 ||| **HS:** Ch {JS} *✓krp 'footwear' > WCh: Cg {Sh.} kàràpátàn, Mbr {Sh.} kàràkòm 'shoe' ||| CCh: Db {Lnh.} kìràp, Kola {Sb.} kráp, Msg {Kr.} harabág id. ¶ JS ChLR II, ChC ||| **D** {tr.} *ker∇pp-, {GS} *kyerp- 'footwear (sandals, etc.)' > Tm ceruppu, Ml cerippu, Kt kevr, Td kerf, Kn keravu ~ kerahu ~ kerpu, Tl ceppu 'sandal, shoe', ? Klm, Nkr kerri 'shoe, boot', Png ċerup, ċerpu, Gnd serpum & sarpum & sarpo & sarpu & herpunb 'sandal', Knd sepu 'shoe', Ku seppu ~ seppū id., ċepunġa 'sandals', Krx k^harpā 'straps (without sole) crossed over and worn round the ankle' ¶¶ D #1963, GS 205-6 [#521], 63 [#193] ¶¶ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- ◇ AD NM #100, Zv. DP 361-2 ◇ The IE reflexes of this N etymon and those of N *k^oRup∇ 'bark of trees' (€?), 'skin' are different and hence suggest that these are separate N words. Nevertheless, their more ancient etymological connection cannot be ruled out (F S CNM 11).

1190. *KäR₁ʔ₁ûs|š∇ 'to congeal' > IE: NaIE *kreus- 'freeze, congeal; ice' > G τὸ κρύος 'frost', κρυσταίνωμα 'I am congealed with cold, I freeze', κρύσταλλος 'ice, rock-crystal', κρῦμός 'frost' (< *krusmos) ||| OHG (h)rosō {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' (× N *kURc∇ 'scales, bark'??) ||| Ltv pl. kruvēši, sg. kruvēsis, Δ kruesis 'frozen dung', Lt {Zp.} at-krūsti (p. at-krūsaũ) 'to come to life again' (of a frozen person) (← *'to become de-frozen' ||| pTc {Ad.} nom. *krośčē / accus. *krośčänä > Tc: A accus. krośśäm, B krośce / accus. kroścäm adj. 'cold' ¶ WPI 479-80, P 622, F II 28-9, Kar. I 431, ME II 291, Frn. 290, 303, Zp. G 124-5, Kb. 803, OsS 723, WW 238, Ad. 218-9, ≈ EI 112-3 (*k^ωrus^ttēn '[freezing] cold' with unj. *k^ω-) ¶ IE *k- < *k̄- in precons. position ||| **HS:** CS *✓k₁rš > JA קרש ✓k₁rš v. G 'congeal, become solide', MHb {Js.} קרש ✓k₁rš v. G id., 'contract', JEA {Sl.}, SmA ✓k₁rš v. G vi. 'congeal', Sr قرس ✓k₁rš 'become chilled/frozen', قْرَسُ q₁r₁s q₁ar¹š-ā 'snow', Ar قرس ✓qrs (qarasa / yaqrisu) 'be congealed' (of water) (× N *k¹u¹R∇c¹∇ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, to harden') ¶ Lv. IV 393, Js. 1428, Sl. 1047, Br. 701, JPS 521, Tal 803, Fr. III 423-4, BK II

710, Hv. 597 || B ***k^rh^s** > ***y^rh^s** > Ah {Fc.} *y^uarəs* 'être figé (du froid, du peur)', Tns {Pr.} *y^urhəs* id., ETwl/Ty {GhA} *y^urbəs* 'être figé, glacé, gelé par le froid'; Ah *a^yaris* 'frozen water', BMn {Bs.} *a^hrīs* 'ice' ¶ Fc. 1759, Pr. H #585 || U: FU (att. in ObU) ***k^arš^š∇** 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' (× N ***g^ER^S∇** [= ***g^aR^r's|š^r∇?**] 'congeal, grow numb', q.v. ffd.) || D (in KK) ***kač-** ({ǵGS} ***k-?**) > Kui *kaža* (p. *kaži-*) 'be congealed/solidified by growing cold', Ku *kažali* 'be congealed, become curdled' ¶ D #1102 ◇ B ***H** is either an unexplained innovation or an inherited N lr. ***ʔ** or ***h** (the only N lrs. that are liable to fall in pS).

1191. ***k^r'ū^r'∇** **śū^r'∇** '∈ part of the foot' > HS: S *k^uarsull-* 'ankle' > BHb *kar'sol* / *karsull-*, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} *karsull-ā* ~ *karšul'-ā*, Sr *kuršal'-ā*, Tgr *karso* 'ankle-bone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', JEA {Sl.} *karsu'lā* ~ *karšulā* 'ankle', ? Mh {SSL} *ḱr'ṣāt* 'knee-cap', Ak *kursinnu* id., *kišallu*, *kišillu*, *kisallu*, *kisillu* 'ankle bone' ¶ KB 1069, Lv. T II 390, Js. 1423, Sl. 1045 Br. 700, LH 240, SSL LNPM 226, Sd. 511-2, 488, CAD VIII 434, MiK I #1.169, Frnz. LS2 274 [#2.94] || K: GZ {K} ***kurs-** 'heel' ({FS} ***kurs-** id.) > OG, G *kusl-*, Lz *kus-*, ku(r)- id., Mg *kurs-*, *kurc-*, *kur-* id., 'kick by hoof' ¶ K 200, K² 219-20, FS K 340, FS E 381-2, Abul. 459 ◇ For details (on S and K) see N ***śū^r'∇** 'heel' ◇ The etymon is a N compound of ***k^r'ū^r'u'** 'foot, hoof' (see N ***k^u'r'u'**) and ***śū^r'∇** 'heel'. It is preferable to reconstruct here the cns. ***ś** (evidenced by K) rather than ***ć** (suggested by S) on the ev. of the N etymon ***śū^r'∇**. The vw. ***'ū'** is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the reflexes of the N cd. ***k^r'ū^r'u'-y[∇]c[∇]** 'shin' that shares the first component with the compound in question.

1192. ***kurt∇** 'belt; to gird' (→ [in descendant lgs.] '∈ garment') > IE: NaIE **kerd-* v. 'gird', **kerd-so/u-* 'belt' > OIr *cridig-* 'ceindre, entourer', [y] fo-*cridigedar* 'accingat', *cri(u)s* 'belt, circle' (Vn.: < IE **k^rd-tu-*), {P} fo-*chrus* 'Gürtung', W *crys* 'belt, shirt', W *gwregys* (< **gwe-grys* < **gwo-grys*), MCm *grugis*, MBr *gouris*, Br *gouriz* 'belt', MCm *kreis*, MBr *eres*, Br *krež* 'shirt' || pSl **čersъ* (Bern.: < **kerd-so-*) 'belt' > Slk *čeres* 'belt for men', P *trzos*, Uk B *čeres*, R Δ *'чепез* 'leather girdle for carrying money' (in R transformation from *'čeresъ* due to the neutralization of the opposition *s ↔ z* in the word-final position), R Δ *'чепец* 'belt' ¶ WP I 423, P 579, EI 224 (?**kerd-*), Vn. C 238-9, Bern. I 148, ESSJ IV 76-7 ||

HS: S *^okur̥t- > Sr **كُرْتَة** ^okur't-ā {Br.} 'cingulum, tunica', {PS} 'pallium, tegumentum e lana', {JPS} 'a woolen jacket with wide sleeves; a long wrapper'; Sr ^okur't-ā ⇨ NPrs {Sg.} **كُرْتَة** korte 'tunic, waistcoat, jacket', d. **كُورْتَاك** kortäk 'short tunic' and (through Prs) Ar **قُرْطَاق** qurṭaq- 'e a garment (vestis tunicæque species)', {BK} 'e tunique' ¶ Br. 695, JPS 498, PS 3562, Sg. 1021, Fr. IV 427, BK II 716 ¶ S *^okur̥t- < **^okurt- is due to as. || **K:** GZ *^ok̥wart- 'e garment' > OG ^ok̥warti 'long shirt', Mg, Lz ^okurta 'underpants' ¶ FS K 177, FS E 194, Chik. 178 || **A:** NaT *Kur (= *k'ur?) ~ *^oKurt 'belt' > OT qur, Tk k̥ur, Uz Δ, Tv, Tf qur, Yk kur, SY qur ~ qor 'belt', ET qur qušaq 'adorned belt', Qrg, Alt, Qmn/Tb {B} qur, Xk ^oχur 'belt; lace, braid (завязка, тесьма)', Qzq, Qq qūrt 'woolen band that fastens together lattices of a tent' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 150-2, Ra. 222 ◇ The absence of labiality in IE *k- can be explained by loss of the expected glide *^u before the sonant *r (F AD NVIE, AD NGIE - on the pre-history of the IE vowels). In T *Kur we may suppose the loss of the reflex of N *t in a word-final cns. cluster. The lenis T *k- for the expected fortis *k'- has not yet been explained.

1193. *^okur̥t 'summit, top' > **K:** G ^okur̥toχ-i 'hill, a height' ¶ Chx. 614 ¶ as. N *^ok...t > ^ok...t || **HS:** CS *^oka|itar- 'top, headgear' > Ar ^okatr- ~ ^okitr- 'camel's hump', BHb **כַּתְרָה** 'ket̥er, JA [Trg.] **כַּתְרָה** ka't̥ar / **כַּתְרָה** ki't̥r-ā 'crown, high turban (of the Persian king), head-dress (of a horse)', Cn ⇨ Gk κίταρις ~ κίταρις 'e Persian head-dress' (prob. 'tiara'), [Hs.] κίταρις · διάδημα ὃ φοροῦσι Κύπριοι 'diadem worn by Cypriots'; BHb **כַּתְרָה** ko't̥er̥et̥, Pun ^okatr̥t 'capital of a pillar' ¶ KB 482, KBR 506-7, HJ 548, LS 950, Lewy SFG 90, Ch. 529, Js. 682, WKAS K 46, BK II 860, Hv. 643 || B **^okr̥d > *^okr̥d v. 'finish' > Ah, ETwl, Ty ^okr̥ad id. ¶ Fc. 1768-9, GhA 71 || **IE:** NaIE *^okr̥d- (or *^ok̥r̥d-?) ~ *^okr̥d- 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N *^oK̥ar̥E 'trunk, [piece of] wood' [q.v.]) > Gmc: Gt hr̥ōt 'roof, house', ON hr̥ót 'roof, garret', (*kr̥od-s-t- >) OSx hr̥ōst '(carcass of) rafters' ('Sparrenwerk'), AS hr̥ōst id., 'perch', Dt roest 'hen-roost', NE roost; Gmc *^okr̥eta- > MHG r̥āz, r̥āze 'funeral pile' ||| Sl *^ok̥r̥da 'wood-pile' > OCS **кpaдa** kr̥ada 'funeral pile, (?) oven', {Mikl.} 'πυρά, rofus, κάμινος', RChS **кpaдa** kr̥ada 'funeral pile, bonfire, altar', Uk Δ 'κοροδα 'pile of fire-wood', Slv kr̥áda id., '(bon)fire', OCz kr̥ada 'Feuerzeug, Leuchte', P Δ kr̥óda 'pile of sheaves in the field, shock' ¶ WP I 485-6, P 617-8, ≈σ EI 213 *^ok̥red or *^ok̥reh̥d- 'framework, beams'), Sw. 94, Ho. 176, Ho. S 37, Fs.

270-1, Vr. 261, Ho. 176, Lx. 164, ESSJ XI 58-60 || ? D *kōt̥/*koṭt̥- 'summit, top' (×N *Ḳot̥ ▽ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N *Ḳ'a'dḲud ▽ 'tip, top').

1194. *ḲæR̥t̥ ▽ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' > HS: WS *✓Ḳr̥t̥ > Ar ✓qr̥t̥ G 'chop\cut into small pieces', Mh ✓Ḳr̥t̥ (pf. Ḳzrūt), Jb E ✓Ḳr̥t̥ (pf. 'Ḳḳ'rḳṭ) 'chop' ¶ BK II 714, Hv. 599, Jo. M 236-7 || K: G Ḳor̥t̥n- {Chx.} '(aus)hacken, (be-\ab-)rupfen, grob behauen', {DCh.} 'notch\chip wood (дѣлать насѣчку, насѣкать, нарубить)' (the same meaning already in eNG {SSO} Ḳor̥t̥na 'xet mcired daḳoda'), but G Ḳor̥t̥n- 'pinch, tear feathers with the beak' goes back to GZ *Ḳr̥t̥-w̥ḡ- v. 'pluck (out), nip' derived from GZ *Ḳer̥t̥/*Ḳr̥t̥- 'pluck out' (K² 90, 101-2) ¶ Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 ¶ The meaning 'to notch' suggests infl. of the reflexes of N *k̥äR̥t̥ ▽ 'cut (off), notch' || A: NaT *k'e|ärt̥- 'chop, crumble' > StAlt kert̥- 'chop into small pieces, crumble (sth. hard)', Xk кирт- kirt̥- 'chop, crumble'; (×N *k̥äR̥t̥ ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Tk kert̥-, Tkm, Ggz kert̥- v. 'notch', Az k̥ärtik n. 'notch' ¶ BT 81, BIG 77, ET KQ 54-5 || M *ker̥c̥i- v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (×N *ḲæR̥ḳ̥'i' 'cut into pieces, split, divide' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The unexpected ̥ in G needs explaining.

1195. *Ḳ'o'R̥t̥ ▽ 'flame' > HS: S *Ḳur̥t̥- > Ar qur̥t̥- 'flame', {Hv.} 'blaze of fire' ¶ Fr. III 427, BK II 715, Hv. 599 || U: FU (attested in FV) *korta- v. 'scorch, singe' > FHm kort̥ta- 'singe (a slaughtered hog)', 'scorch' (of the sun) | pLp {Lr.} *k̥ōrt̥ē- vt. 'heat (on sun\fire), roast' > Lp: N {N} goar̥'det id., S {Hs.} goārd'edh vt. 'scorch, burn' (of sun, fire), 'sunburn', 'roast on fire', L {LLO} k̥ār̥t̥ē't 'be hot' (the sun), Kld k̥ōārd̥'aḳ 'singe (a plucked bird)' | Er kur̥ta- ~ kir̥ta-, Mk крхта- k̥äR̥'ta- 'scorch, be hot' (of the sun) | Chr B kor̥ḳe- 'fumigate (before a sacrifice\prayer)' || ? Sm: Slq NP k̥ūr̥ra, UO k̥ūr̥a v. 'singe (wood)' ¶ UEW 186-7, SK 220, It. #94, Lr. #481, Lgc. #2573, Hs. 634, TI 134-5, Ker. II 62 || IE: NaIE *ḳert̥- (or *ḳ̥ert̥-) > Gmc *xer̥θ- 'hearth' > OSx, OFrs her̥th, MDt her̥t̥, Dt haard̥ 'hearth, fireplace', OHG h̥er̥d̥ 'hearth, floor of a fireplace, home', {Kb.} 'oven, stove', AS heor̥p̥ 'hearth, fire, furnace', NE hear̥th ¶ The connections with L carbo 'charcoal' and OI k̥ūḳ̥ay- 'brennen machen' are more than qu. ¶ Ho. S 33, Ho. 157, Sw. 87, OsS 390, Schz. 164, Kb. 457, KM 304-5, P 571-2, M E I 385 ¶ The absence of labiality in IE *k- may be explained by supposing either a N etymon *ḲoR̥t̥u (> *Ḳur̥t̥u with subsequent loss of

the expected glide * u before the sonant * r [due to the IE law of eliminating clusters of two sonants]) or N * $\text{K}ur\text{tu}$ (this against the FU ev. of * o), \mathcal{F} AD NVIE, AD NGIE (on the pre-history of the IE vowels and on the conditions of the loss of the glide * u in the prehistory of IE).

1196. * $\text{K}ERh_2\nabla\text{z}\nabla$ (= * $\text{K}ERh\nabla\text{z}\nabla$?) 'hornet, wasp' > K: G $\text{k}razana$ {Chx.} 'wasp', {NCh.} 'wasp, hornet', {TorT} id., 'botfly', {DCh.} 'bumblebee (шмель садовый)' \mathcal{J} Chx. 626, MRKL 377, 395, 806, DCh. 627, NCh. 253 || IE: NaIE * $\text{k}r̥s-r/-en-$ (= * $\text{k}r̥as-r/en-$) {P} 'hornet (Hornisse)' > L crābrō (< pre-L * $\text{k}r̥asrō$ < * $\text{k}̄rasron-$) 'hornet' || OHG hornuz , horniuz , NHG Hornisse, Horlitze, AS hyrnet(u) 'hornet', NE hornet || Lt širšuõ (gen. šršeñs) 'e wasp, hornet', širšė 'wasp', širšuonas , širšūnas 'hornet', Ltv sirsis , Pru sirsilis id. || Sl: OR syršeny ~ šyršeny 'σφῆξ, wasp', R, Uk 'шершень' 'hornet', RChS $\text{str}̣šeny$, $\text{sr}̣šeny$, Blg 'стършел, штърсел, SCr $\text{str}̣šljēn$, Slv $\text{s}̣ṛšen$, Cz $\text{sr}̣šeň$, OP sierszeń , P szerszeń id. || Tc B {Ad.} kro(n)kśe 'bee' (× N * $\text{K}'U'ñ_1H_1\nabla$ 'bee') \mathcal{J} P 576, Dv. #870, Kb. 480, KM 317, Ho. 184-5, Frn. 988, En. 248, Vs. IV 432, ≈σ EI 272-3 (* $\text{k}̄erh_2sṛ$ 'horn'), Tls. 575. Ad. 217 || HS: S * $\text{ok}ṛç$ > Mh $\text{k}zṛōš$ (pl. $\text{k}zṛ'šayn$), Jb E/C $\text{k}e'ṛẓš$ (coll.) 'mosquito, bug' \mathcal{J} Jo. M 236 ◇ The most probable N Ir. (yielding NaIE * a and zero in S and K) is * h .

1197. * $\text{K}ôR_1\nabla\text{z}_1\nabla\text{X}_1\nabla$ '≈ oak' > HS: S * $\text{ok}urz\nabla\text{h}$ - > Ar [Qam.] qurzuḥ - 'e tree' ({Fr.} 'nomen arboris') \mathcal{J} Fr. III 423 || B: BMn a-karrūš 'green oak' || K * $\text{k}ṛç\text{X}\nabla\text{m}$]- 'hornbeam, Carpinus caucasica' > OG krcxeml -, G cxila , G Δ cxemla , rcxemla , Mg cxemur - ~ cximur -, Lz cxemu(r) -, mcxubr -, Sv cxam-ra ~ cxum-ra ~ cxwim-ra (Sv -ra is a tree-designation sx.) $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ K 200, K² 219, FS K 402-3 (* cxeml -) || IE: [1] NaIE * $\text{k}^wres-(no-)$ 'e tree' ('oak?'), 'wood' (× N * $\text{k}uyr\nabla$ 'wood [Holz], log') > Gk πρῦνος (< * $\text{k}^wrs-nos-s$) 'evergreen oak (Ilex)' or 'scarlet oak (Quercus coccifera)' || Gl [GIE] prenne accus. 'arborem grandem (e)', W, Cm, Br prenn 'tree, wood (Holz)'; OIr crann (gen. cruinn) id.; W prys 'Gehölz' (< * $\text{k}^wrs-to-$) || OSx, OHG, MLG horst ~ hurst , AS hyrst 'Gebüsch, Gehölz', NE hurst 'a grove or wooden knoll', OHG hurst 'Gebüsch, Gestrüpp, thicket'; Gmc h > Sl * xvorst > ChS xвpастнѣ xvrastije , R 'хворост' 'brushwood', OSCr, SCR Δ hrāšće 'oaks', Slv hrást 'oak' \mathcal{J} WP I 524 (* $\text{k}^wres-no-$), P 632 (* kwres - / * kwers - with * kw - reconstructed on the dubious ev. of Sl

ǵvorstb*, which he interprets as an inherited word), EI 598 (k^wresno-*s 'tree, brushwood'), F II 595, Vn. C 222-3, Billy 121, Ho. 185, Kb. 492, ESSJ VIII 130-1 (considers the Sl stem to be onomatopoeic) ||| [2] Possibly also NaIE {EI} **k^wrsto-~*k^wrsti-* 'woods' > W *prys* 'woods', OHG *horst*, AS *hyrst* 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595 ◇ In the IE roots the reflex of the N lr. was lost (possibly due to some restrictions of root structure) ◇ Attention is to be paid also to Ar *qirḡiḡ-*, name of a rare tree ('arbore rarae nomen in deserto crescentis, cuius flores flaviores sunt') (Fr. III 426), in spite of the phonetic irregularity: Ar *حن ḡ* does not correspond to K **c*. The non-emph. **k-* in B and K (for the expected B **ḡ-*, K **ḡ-*) is still to be explained.

1198. **ḡærḡi* 'cut into pieces, split, divide' > HS: S **ḡrḡ* '≈ cut, trim' > Ar *ḡrḡ* (pf. *qaraḡa*, ip. *-ḡruḡu*) 'couper, retrancher en coupant', {Hv.} 'curtail', Ug *ḡrḡ* {A} 'eine Abteilung, Wohnung oder Park', {OLS} 'reservado' → 'apartamento; capilla\alcoba sagrada; morada', Ak *ḡrḡ* (inf. *ḡarāḡu*) {CAD} v. 'trim\carve (meat), make dough into loaves (?)', {Sd.} 'zerschneiden' ¶ BK II 711, Hv. 598, A #2461, OLS 373, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 128 ||| K: G (*mi*)*ḡerḡ-* v. 'allot so. his share' ({Chx.}: '(jemandem etwas) zuteilen, (jemandem) seinen Anteil zukommen lassen'), *ḡerḡo(v)-* v. 'separate, isolate' ¶ Chx. 570 ||| A: M **kerḡi-* v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N **ḡærḡ* 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N **ḡvrḡ* 'to cut') > WrM *kerḡi-*, HIM *хэрчи-* v. 'cut, slice', Kl *kerč-* id., {Rm.} id., 'chop into pieces', Ord *ḡerḡi-*, Mnr H {T} *kirḡi-*, {SM} *k'irḡi-* 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx *kič+* v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M ⇨ Ewk *kərḡi-*, Ul *kərḡu/i-*, Nn *kərḡi-* 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', WrMc *kerḡi-* 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, SM 204, T 339, T DnJ 123, KRS 296, KW 228, STM I 453-4.

1199. **ḡarḡ* '(sharp) stick, peg' > HS: B **ḡari-* 'stick' > Skn {La.} *ta-ḡari-t* (pl. *t-ḡar-ta*), Nf {Mot., La.} *ta-ḡuri-t* 'stick (bâton)', Gd {Lf.} *ta-ḡerḡ-t* (pl. *tā-ḡerḡ-ēn*), {CM} *ta-ḡuri-t* (pl. *taḡurḡin*) id., Snd {Prov.} *ta-ḡuri-t* (pl. *ti-ḡarḡ-in*), Awj {Par.} *tāḡarḡit* (pl. *tḡariwīn*) id., Ntf {La.} *ta-ḡūri-t* 'pilon du mortier' ¶ Lf. II #1240, La. S 201, La. MChB 30, Mot. 104, Prov. 101, Par. A 160 ||| S **ḡkrk* > Ug *krk*, (syllabic script) *ku-re-ku*, pl. *ku-re-ka-at* {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S **ḡkrk* >

Mh kəršədūt, Jb E kər'šə'dət, Jb C kər'šə'dət 'knobbed club' [< N *kořû 'stick, log']?) ¶ OLS 223, Hnr. 140 (Ug ku-re-ka-at [?]), Grd. #1303 || D (in SD) *kař• ({řGS} *k-) 'pointed stick, stake' > MI kařu, kařuku 'stake for impaling malefactors', Tm kařu id., 'sharp-pointed pieces of wood strung around cow's neck; trident', Td k0'w 'point, pointed stick, wooden skewer, peg', Kn kař, kařu 'an instrument for perforating an elephant's ear' ¶ D #1361 || A: M *°qaraŋga 'long front teeth of domestic animals, small arrow' > WrM qaraŋga, HIM xapaŋga id., 'thunderbolt' ¶ MED 934 || T: Tv xarbīla 'arrow'; NaT *k'armak ~ *k'armuk 'hook', Tkm garmaq, Osm qarmuq, Tk karmuk 'hook', Chg {Rl.} قارماق qarmaq, Az garmaq, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, VTt, Bsh, SbTt B/Tb/Tr (Rl.), Tlt/Qb/Sag {Rl.} qarmaq, Qrg, Alt qarmaq, ET qa(r)maq, Ln qaymaq 'hook, fishing-rod', Qq, Alt qarmaq, Uz qarmuq, Xk xarmax, QK/Shor/Sag/Qb {Rl.} qarbaq, QK {B} qarbiq 'fishing-rod', Tv xarmaq 'fishing hook', Tv Δ qarmaq 'fishing rod' ¶ Tv Δ qarmaq 'fishing rod' with an unexpected q- (unlike in Tv xarmaq 'hook') may be a loan from another T lge. ¶ ET KQ 309-10, Rl. II 214-9, TvR 230, 470, OTS 243, 630, KRPS 294, RKB 653 ¶ Depalatalization N *ř > T *r in precons. position (Helimski's law).

1200. ₂ *k'ǎ'ǎ'ǎ 'be full, fill' > K: G qor- 'ein Loch in der Mauer ausfüllen, mit Bruchstein ausmauern; sich den Bauch füllen, sich voll(fr)essen' ¶ Chx. 1713 || D *kař- ({řGS} *k-?) 'be full, overspread' > Tm kařumu 'be full, abundant', Tl krammu 'spread, extend, overspread', Kui garžā 'spread out, increase' ¶¶ D #1368 ◇ G 0 still needs explaining.

1201. *Kōř'ǎ'ǎ'E 'ε a gallinacean' > IE: NaIE *k₁ω₁ouř(0)- 'ε a gallinacean fowl' > OI 'cakorah' 'Perdix rufa' (< reduplicated *k₁ω₁ek₁ω₁ouro-) || SI *kurъ 'cock' > OCS, OR **кourъ** kurъ, Blg, Uk, R Δ кур, SCr Δ kūr, Slk kūr, P kur id.; ⇨ SI *kur-a 'hen' > Slv kúra, OCz kura, kúra, Cz Δ kura, koura, Hls, Lls, P kura, OR **кourа** kura, R Δ кyра, R pl. 'кyры, R d. 'кyрица, Uk, Blr 'кyра 'hen'; SI compound *kuro-рѣti 'partridge' (gen. *kuro-рѣtve) (with *рѣti 'bird') > SCr †, Slk †, Cz Δ куроpтva, OCz куроtva, Cz куроpтеv (gen. куроpтve), P куропатва, Uk куро'патва, OR **кourопатка** куропатка, R, Blr куро'патка 'partridge', Slv kurnprat 'Scolopax rusticola' ¶ Ptrs. TPN 133, Bern. I 650-1, ≈ WP I 332, P 536 (*kaur- ⇨ 0 *kau-/keu-), EI 112, ≈ M K I 365, Vs. II 422,

ESSJ XIII 118, 127-30 (rejects the connection between the OI and SI roots and considers them onomatopoeic) || HS: CS *ḡāriḡ- (or *ḡawriḡ-?) 'partridge' (secondary association with the verb √ḡrḡ 'cry, exclaim') > BHb אָרִי קָרִי ḡō'rē 'partridge', Ar qāriyat- 'partridge (Ammoperdix heyi)', 'bee-eater (Merops apiaster)', {Hv., BK} 'short-legged and long-beaked green bird' ¶ KB 1056, KBR 1132, Hv. 603, BK II 731 || Ch: WCh *k^ωḡar / *k[∇]ḡar / *kur- 'fowl' (× N *kor_Lḡ_L '∈ a gallinacean', q.v. ffd.) || A (× N *kor_Lḡ_L '↑', q.v.): M *qoru 'wild gallinacean fowl' || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' || D *kōrī, {GS} *kōr- 'gallinaceous fowl' > Tm kōrī id., Ml kōrī, Kt ko·y, Td kwī·ḡy, kwī·y, Kdg ko·jī, Tu kōrī, kōlī, Tl kōḡī, Gnd ḡōḡōrī ≋ gugōrī ≋ ḡhōḡrī ≋ ḡōḡr 'fowl', Kn kōrī 'cock, hen', 'fowl' (generic) ¶¶ D #2248, GS 173 [#433].

1202. *ḡoyaḡ_Li 'fat, tallow' > HS: S *^o-ḡ[∇]r- (*^o-ḡ^wārr-) < Ar √ḡwr (XI stem) (pf. ḡiq^wārr-, ip. -a-ḡ^wārr-) 'be fat' (of person), muḡawwar- 'fat' ¶ Fr. III 513-4, BK II 833 || A *k_Lḡ_L 'fat' > T {Md.} *k_Lḡ_L 'fat' > NaT *k'azī n. 'fat on a belly' > OT qazi 'fat on a horse's belly; rolls of fat on a man's belly', Bsh казы қабъ, Alt, Tv, Tf qazi, Xk ḡazi, Yk ḡaha 'fat on a horse's belly', Nog, Qzk, Qq, Qrg qazi, ET qezī 'fat on a horse's belly, sausage made from such fat', Uz qazi 'horse-flesh sausage', Bsh Δ қабъ 'rolls of fat on a man's belly'; T ⇨ NPrs غازی ḡāzī {Sg.} 'sheep's chitterlings stuffed with spiceries', {VI.} 'intestina adipalia rebus necessariis referta; genus alimentorum incularum Turaniae' || Chv L jur-^var 'meat\milk\eggs as food; any food other than bread' (var ÷ OT üz 'fat', F Cl. 278-9) ¶ Cl. 681, Rs. W 243, Md. 169, ET KQ 189-80, Ash. IV 352, Fed. II 490-1, Ra. 220, Dr. TM III 359-60 [#1356], S AJ 199 [#285], BM 121, Vl. II 596, Sg. 878 || M *qarbiḡ > WrM qarbiḡ, HIM харвин 'the fat of the abdomen of an animal', Kl Ö {Rm.} ḡärwḡ id. ¶ MED 935, KW 24 || pKo {S} *k_Lirī-m n. 'fat' > MKo k_Lirīm, NKo kirīm ¶ S AJ 252 [#28], S QK #28, Nam 78, MLC 359 ¶¶ Pp. VG 87 (unc. adduction of Tg *kalbiḡ > Ewk kalbiḡ 'Fettpolster unterhalb), S AJ 296 [#552], Dr. TM III [#1356] || D *koḡ_Lḡ_L ({GS} *k-) > Tm koḡu adj./n. 'fat', Ml koḡu adj. 'fat', Td kwaḡp 'fat', Kn korvu, korbu v. 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl k(r)ovvu 'become fat', 'fat', Klm, Nkr koru, Kui k_Lōḡa n. 'fat', Prj koḡ(v)-, Gnd korū- 'be(come) fat', Knd koḡvu, Mnd k_Lruva, Ku korowa 'fat of animals' ¶¶ D #2146, Zv. 148.

1203. ₂ ***ḲUŠE** 'grown-up man, old (person)' > **HS:** CS ***ḱašš-** 'old (man)', ***√ḱšš** v. 'be old', ***ḱaššīš-** 'old' (× N ***ḱac** ▽ 'grey [esp. of hair], white') > MHb, Sr **ḱaš** 'has become old, is old' (WS new pf. of the verb **√ḱšš** < pS predicative adj. ***kašša** 'is old'), JEA **ḱašš-ā** {Lv.} 'senior, senator, hoher Beamter der Regierung', {Sl.} 'elder', Sr **ḱašš-ā**, Ar **qass-**, Sb **ḱšš** 'Christian priest', Gz **qass** 'priest, presbyter', JA [Trg.], JEA **√ḱšš** v. 'grow old', MHb, JEA **ḱaššīš** 'old', Htr, Plm **ḱšš** 'old man, elder' ¶ HJ 1039, Lv. IV 394-5, 400-1, BK II 735, L T II 395, Sl. 1048, 1050-1, Br. 702, L G 447 ¶ Ar **qass-** and Gz **qass** were semantically influenced by Sr **ḱaš** || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} **kʷasá** 'old (person)' | SBc: Tule {Sh.} **kʷōšī** 'person' | NrBc: Sir {Kr.} **kísfíηmúvwēr** 'old man', **kísfíηgùt** 'old woman', Zar K {Sh.} **kìsnì** 'old' ||| CCh: ZmB {J} **kásá** 'old' ¶ JI II 266, Nt. 22, ChL I 209, ChC || **A** ({SDM95} ***kʷuse** 'hunter, man'): Tg ***xüse** 'man, person' (× N ***Ḳülyš** ▽ ~ ***Ḳüʔiš** ▽ 'look for, desire') > Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B **xus3** 'man, male (animal, person)', Ewk **is3gdin** **ḱ** **ih3gdin**, Lm **is3rd3** 'person, hunter', Neg **is3gdin** 'hunter' ¶ STM II 332, 336.

1204. ₂ ***ḲuS** ▽ 'nut' > **IE:** NaIE ***kos(e)lo-** (or ***k̑kos(e)lo-**) 'hazel' > L **corulus** 'hazel-tree', **colurnus** 'made of hazel-wood' ||| Clt {SB} ***koslo-** 'hazel' > Gl **koslo-** id. (in proper names), OIr, OW **coll**, W **collen** 'hazel', Crn **col-widen** 'hazel', OBr **col-guid** 'made of hazel-wood' ||| ON **hasl**, OHG **hasal(a)**, NHG **Hasel**, AS **hæsel** 'hazel', NE **hazel** ¶ WPI 464, P 616, EI 260 (***kos(e)lo-s**), Frdr. PITA 73-7, WH I 280, Dv. #822, SB 92, Vn. C 157-8, Flr.114, YGM-1 97, Vr. 213, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Ho. 146 ¶¶ The absence of the expected glide ***u** (***kouseto-** ~ ***kyuseto-** > ***kʷoseto-**) is still to be accounted for || **A:** NaT ***Kusik** 'nut' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} **qusiq** 'pine kernel', Alt {BT}, QK/Qmn {B} **күзүк quzuq**, Xk **χuzuχ** 'nut', Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} **quzuq** 'cedar nut' ¶ Cl. 667, Rl. II 1019-20, BT 94, B DChT 131, B DK 227, BIG 291, Dr. TM III #1490 || M ***qusi-(gan)** 'nut' > WrM **qusi-gan** (pl. **qosi-d**), HIM **xγwra** 'nut, walnut', Ord **quššiga** 'noix' ¶ MED 991, Ms. O 317 || Tg: [1] ***xusi-kta** 'acorn, nut' > Ud {Krm.} **uhikta**, Ul **osta**, Nn Nh **χosaqta** ~ **osaqta** 'acorn', WrMc **uσιχα** 'fruit with a hard shell and an edible kernel (walnut, acorn, chestnut, etc.)', ? (× N ***Ḳulyš** ▽ 'tree'): Ewk **usikta** 'oak' (if ← 'acorn') |[2] {SDM97} ***kosi-kta** ~ ***koçi-kta** (with ***k-** and ***ç** due to contamination with another **√?**) (= {SDM97} ***koši-kta**) 'nut tree, walnut tree' > WrMc **χuσιχα** 'walnut tree', Ewk

kočikta 'nut tree', Ud kusikta 'Manchu walnut', Ul qačĭlaqta 'nut', Ne Nh qočoa, Ne KU qočiqa, Ne B koco ~ kocoa 'Manchu walnut' ¶ STM I 419 and II 291, Z 437, Krm. 303 || pJ {S} *kusi > OJ {S} kusi '€ nut', ? {Vv.} kusa 'seed' ¶ S QJ #975 ¶¶ DQA #935 (T, M, Tg *kosi-kta, J) ◇ ≈ AD NM #56 (IE, T, Tg + unj.: M *qusi 'cedar' [in fact from N *kulyš[∇] 'tree'] and Olt kasulas 'Jägerspieß' [after Ndr., WH, and P]), S CNM 10-1, Vv. AEN 3.

1205. *KUs[∇] 'to bend, to bow' > HS: S *^oka^wš-, **ka^wšat- (> *kaš₁a₁t-) 'shooting bow' > Ar qa^ws- id.; *kaš₁a₁t- id. > Hb קָשָׁת קָשָׁת 'kəšəʔ, Ug kəš^t, JA [Trg.] קָשָׁת 'kəšəʔ, אֲתָתָת קָשָׁת-ā, JEA kaš^tā, SmA קָשָׁת קָשָׁת, (Arabicised) Hmr [Hmd.] {Slw.} qas^d-, Gz kaš^t, Ak kaš^tu(m) 'bow' ¶ KBR 1155-6, OLS 377, Lv. T II 395, Sl. 1051, Tal 806, BK II 834, Hv. 633, Slw. 178, L G 447 || Eg fP k^sy (EG) k^sj) 'bend down, bow down' ¶ EG V 139, Fk. 287 || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} ksá^všà v. 'bend' ¶ ChC || U: FU *^ok^lsk[∇]- > Prm *k^osk[∇]- v. 'bend' > Vt kos^lkam 'cramps, contracting, bending' ¶ ≠ LG 155 || D (in SD) *kuč^(č)- ({^oGS} *k-) v. 'bend, stoop' (> 'contract, shrink') > Ka kusⁱ v. 'bend, stoop, be lowered, hang down, sink', Tu kuśⁱyuni, kuśⁱpuni, kusⁱpuni 'to contract, to shrink in', Krg kusⁱ 'below' ¶ D #1636.

1206. *küš[∇] 'breathe heavily' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'pant, sigh, moan') > K *k^wes-/*k^us- v. 'moan' > OG k^unes- id. (< d. *k^us-en-with mt.), G k^us-un- ~ k^rus-un- (-r- of ideophonic origin?), Mg k^us-an-s '(he) moans', k^us-ap 'to moan', Lz k^us-ap-s '(he) moans', a-k^us-u 'to moan', Sv k^wec- v. 'moan' ¶¶ K² 94, FS K 182-3, FS E 200, K 117, Chik. 300, GM S 48 || HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} k^až- v. 'breathe' || NrOm: Kf {C} kaš⁽ⁱ⁾- v. 'breathe', Mch {L} kaš^a v. 'rest', Kf {C} kaš^o, Shn {C} kaš^o 'respiro', {Lm.} kašš^š- 'ausruhen', {CR} 'k^ašso 'breath', Anf {MYTY} kaš^o, {C} kaš^o id., Hrr {CR} k^aš- v. 'breathe' ¶ C SE IV 463, MYTY 118, ≠ Lm. Sh 332 ¶¶ AD SF 292 || IE: NaIE *^kwes-/*^kus- v. 'sigh, pant, breathe heavily' > OI 'ś^vasⁱti 'blows, snorts, hisses', Av sušⁱ du. 'the lungs', NPrs شش šš 'lung(s)' || L queror / querⁱ / questus sum v. 'complain, lament, bewail' || ON h^væsa 'hiss, sizzle, snort', {Vr.} 'zwischen, schnauben', AS h^wæst n. act. 'blowing (Blasen)' || Tc B k^wäs- 'lament, bewail' ¶ P 631-2, M K III 401, WH II 403-4, Vr. 274, Ho. 179, Ad. 237, EI 82 and 518 (*^kwesH-mi 'breathe deeply, sigh' with unc. *H) || D *kuč^(č)- ({^oGS} *k-?) v. 'whisper' > Tm kucukucu-

MI kuśukuśukku id., Kn kucu, kusa, kusu 'a sound imitating whispering', Tl gusagusa 'whisper', Gnd kuskusa vařk- vrb. clc. 'whisper' (vařk- v. 'say'), Krx kusmusʔanā 'to whisper'; D ↗ (?) InA *kʰusu-kʰus∇- v. 'whisper' > Prkr khusukhusa id., etc. ¶¶ D #1638
 ◇ K 117 (K, IE).

1207. *Ḳü̯j̯iṣ∇ – ***Ḳü̯ʔiṣ∇** 'look for, desire', (← ?) 'be hungry?') > IE: NaIE *^ok̥kwaj̯s- or *^ok̥kwaj̯s- (or *^okʷaj̯aj̯s-) > L quaer- / pfc. quaesīvi ~ quaesī / pp. quaesīto-/-ā 'look for, ask (a question)' ¶¶ Acc. to Ped. KG II 487ff., cognate with OIr cí- (sc. ad-cí- 'see', for-cí- 'look'), which is rejected by Vn C 89-91 ¶ WP II 480, WH II 396-7 || **HS:** WS *^oḱčd 'look for' > Jb E/C ^oḱčd G 'look for', Mh ^oḱčd 'seek sth. out', ? Ug kšd 'look for' ('buscar'), but not here Ug kšd 'reach' ('alcanzar'), which goes back to S *^oḱšd (> Ak kašādu 'erreichen, ankommen; erobern') ¶ Jo. M 239, OLS 229, Sd. 459-61 || B *^oḱšH 'want, wish, love' (× N *Ḳas_ʔ∇ 'be hungry, wish', q.v. ffd.) || WCh ({Stl.} *ḡuzi, *^oḡuzim 'hunger'): Kfr {Nt.} kəzəm 'hunger' | Bl {Lk.} kuzum, Krkr {Lk.} kúžəm, Pr {Frz.} kóžəm, {ChL} kʷúžəm, Ngm {ChL} kizî, {Sch.}: Dr kíyím, Glm gúšì, Gera kúžúmí, Grm kúžú, Bele gúhì, Krf kúšúnù 'hunger', Tng {J} kúm 'hunger, famine', Krf kúšúm àmmá, Bele guž-àmmà 'thirst' (lit. 'hunger of water [àmmá, àmmà]) | SBc {Sh.}: Bg kustum, Kir kùsəmšímé, Zul gúzúmí, Plc gúzúm, Gj kúzəŋ, Zar K kusɯn 'hunger' | Ngz {Sch.} ḡəžì, Bd {ChL} əgžān 'thirst' | possibly here: Hs ḱíšì 'thirst', ḱíšírwā id. (ʔSk.: = ḱiši-rūwā 'thirst of water' [rūwā is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G kísíruwa, Gw Ch kʷíhʷíruwa 'thirst'; but more probably these Hs-Gw words belong to N *Ḳas_ʔ∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707], J T 104, Sch. BTL 29, 56, 83, 117, 147, Sch. DN 59, Frz. P 36, ChC, ChL, Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD #247, ≈ Sk. HCD 172 ¶ There is no proof that Stl.'s pWCh *ḡ and *^oḡ are indeed uvular rather than velar || **A:** T *k'üse- 'wish, desire, long for' > OT küse- id., MQp XIII küse- 'long for', XwT XIII, Nog küse- 'wish', Qq küse- 'wish, long for', Uz kusa-, Qrg küsö- 'wish, want', Tv küze- (inf. küzār) id., 'dream of' ¶ Cl. 749, KrkR 345, NogR 225, UzR 225, Jud. 472, TvR 269 || M *küse- v. 'wish' > MM [MA] küse- id., WrM küse-, HIM xycə- v. 'wish, desire, long for, crave', Kl κycπ küsəl n. 'wish, goal' ¶ Pp. MA 230, MED 508, KRS 329 || Tg: [1] Tg *^oḱj̯us- > Ewk uslɜ- v. 'go hungry, collapse from hunger' ¶ STM II 291 |[2] Tg *^oḱj̯üse- > Ewk išiganil-, Sln išigə- 'be anxious, worry about'; possibly also *ḱüse- (+ sx.) 'hunter,

person' (× N ***KŪSĒ** 'grown-up man, old [person]') > Nn Nh xus3gžž, Neg is3gdin 'hunter', Ewk is3gdin 𐌺 ih3gdin, Lm is3rd3 'hunter; person', Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/B xus3 'man (vir), male'; the semantic filiation is 'wish' → (1) 'be anxious', (2) 'hunt, hunter' → 'vir' ¶ STM I 332, 336 || pJ {S} *k3s- v. 'wish' > OJ -k0s- (sx. of the volitive verb form) ¶ QJ #1382 ¶¶ Tg *x- points to pA *k'- (the reg. reflex of N ***K**), while Tv k- suggests pT *k' (which is at variance with the phonetic rules known so far) ¶¶ DQA #1106 (*k'jũse- 'wish').

1208. *Kas₁∇ 'be hungry, wish' > IE *kes- 'be hungry' > Ht kast-, kist- 'hunger, starvation, famine' || pTc *kest > Tc: A kaṣt, B keṣt 'hunger' || Iir: OI 'kṣut / kṣudh- 'hunger', 'kṣudhyati 'feels hungry', Av ṣud- 'hunger' ¶¶ EI 284 (*Kos-t- 'hunger'), Pv. IV 121-3, Ts. EI 535-6, Wn. 189, Ad. 199, JGH 223, Pch. 55, M K I 291-2, M E I 440 || HS: B **✓kṣH (× N ***Kū₁∇** ~ ***Kū₁∇** 'look for, desire') > *✓yṣH v. 'want, wish, love' > Izn əχs (pf. yəχs, hab. əqqas), Rf T/Wr/A əχs id., Wrg {Dlh.} əχs (pf. iχsa), Mz {Dlh.} əχs (hab. yəqqas) 'want, love', Si əχs (pf. yəχsa ~ iχsa), Nf yṣ v. 'love, want', Awj {Par.} a'yäš v. 'love' ¶ Rn. 366, Dlh. Ou 372, Dlh. M 155, La. S 192 || EC: Or {Th.} 𐌵ačō 'hunger, appetite', 𐌵ačōč- ~ 𐌵ačōt- 'be hungry, have appetite', 𐌵ačōttu 'hungry' (Or -č- < *-sʔ-?) ¶ Th. 266 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} košay- 'venir fame', košā n. 'hunger', Dc {LmS} kōšā id., Wl {LmS} kōšā id., 'famine, starvation', Dwr kōč-et- 'be hungry' ¶ Mrn. O 149, LmS 418 || ?σ S *°✓kšš or *°✓kss > Ar ✓qss (pf. qassa) 'chercher, rechercher, poursuivre qn. avec persistance' ¶ BK I 795 || Ch: WCh: Hs 𐌵išī 'thirst', 𐌵išīr^á id. (†Sk.: = 𐌵išī-rūwā 'thirst of water' [rūwā is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G kísíruwa, Gw Ch k^yíh^yíruwa 'thirst' ¶ Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD #247, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [#707] (*quzi 'hunger', adduces words belonging to N ***Kas₁∇** 'be hungry, wish' and to N ***gU₁∇** 'wish, b hungry') ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 172 || U (before vw. harmony) **kase-, **kaske- > FP *kāse- ~ *kāske- v. 'want, order' > F kāske-, Es kās₁kī- v. 'order, command' || pChr {Ber.} *küštā- > Chr: L küš't-aš id., E {Ps.} küšt- v. 'command (befehlen)' || Prm: [1] *kōs- ({LG *kōs-}) > Z k3sy+- v. 'want, wish', [2] (with delabialization) *ke|es- > Vt k0s- v. 'compel, order', StZ kesy3d- v. 'charge (with some work), Z UV kesy3t- id. ¶ UEW 653, Sm. 552 (FP *kās₁kī- 'order'), Ber. 28, MRS 264, PsS 58, ≈ It. #250, ≈ LG 122-3, 143, Rd. rLG 423 ¶ The final part *-ke is likely to be a sx., otherwise the Vt verb k0s- cannot be explained ◇ Ht

kas t- proves that no N lr. other than *ʔ may have followed *s, while B *✓yʁsh (with *H reconstructed on the ev. of vowels: pf. Si yəχsa ~ iχsa, Wrg iχsa) points to a N lr. *ʔ ◊ The IE velar *k- suggests that the N vw. was *a; if so, FP *ä is due to vw. harmony.

1209. *kōś₁H₂∇ 'to kindle' > K: GZ *k̄wes- 'strike fire' > G k̄ves-, Mg k̄vas- id., OG k̄ves- 'steel', na-k̄ves- 'spark' ¶ FS K 199, K² 94 (err. GZ *k̄weš-), ≠ K 111 (rejected by K²), Chx. 579 || D (in NED) *kō(č)č- v. 'burn, catch fire' (×N *k|gog₁U₁žE₁ʔ∇₁ 'set fire to, burn [sth.]') > Krx xoss-/xuss- v. 'burn without flame, catch fire, (fire) catches', Mlt qose v. 'be burnt, burn', qos-tre vt. 'burn', 'inflame' ¶ D #2042, Pf. 189 [#92] || IE: NaIE *ks̄w̄- (or *k̄ws̄w̄-) v. 'burn' (×N *k|gog₁U₁žE₁ʔ∇₁) > OI 'kṣāyati vi. 'burns', kṣā'ti f. 'singeing, heat', caus. kṣā'payati 'makes (sth.) burn' || ???σ Arm gwul c^haw 'pain', gwuñnlu¹ c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion', aor. gwutaw¹ c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̄sāp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̄s-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WPI 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ◊ IE *k- or *k̄w- (rather than *g- or *ḡw-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K₁̄w₁s-.

1210. ₂ *k̄Uśd∇ 'to chop, to cut' > HS: WS *✓k̄çd > Ar ✓qçd (ip. -qçudu), ✓qçd G, D 'casser un morceau de bois', {Hv.} vt. 'break asunder', Mh ✓k̄çd (pf. k̄ç'şawd), Jb C/E ✓k̄çd (pf. 'k̄ç'şçd, Jb C sbjn. 'yçk̄ççd) v. 'chop (sth. big)', Hrs ✓k̄çd (pf. k̄çşōd, sbjn. yçk̄çōd) v. 'chop', Jb C k̄ççd v. 'lop, chop' ¶ BK II 748, Hv. 608, Jo. M 239, Jo. H 78, Jo. J 151-2 || K *k̄wešt-/k̄wšt- v. 'chop, cut off' > OG k̄wet- (k̄uet-), G k̄vet-/k̄vt-, Mg, Lz k̄vat- id., Sv d.: UP me-k̄wšđe, L mek̄wešd, Ln mek̄wešdte 'short' ¶¶ K 111 (*k̄we(s₁)t-), ≈ K² 92 (*k̄wet-/k̄wt-), ≈ FS K 180 (*k̄wet-), TK 563 ◊ This is one of the roots suggesting the law: pre-K *st, *št, *št > K *št (= {K} *(s₁)t > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd): S *ʁašarat- → K *ašt- 'ten', S *χamišat- → K *χušt- 'five', N *š∇t∇w∇ 'cold weather' (> S *šitaw- 'winter') > K *štow- v. 'snow' (-d → *štow| - 'snow'), ? N *d∇št∇ 'moon' > K *d|tušte- id.

1211. *KĒŪ (↔ *K'ü'š∇?) 'to skin, to tear' > HS: S *°✓k̄šw (×N *Kōž∇ 'to skin, to bark [wood]') > Ar ✓qšw (ip. -qšū) 'peler un morceau de bois et le dégrossir; ôter la peau à un serpent' ¶ Fr. III 448, BK II 744, Hv. 607 || B *✓wks > Sll {Ds.} k̄k̄is 'enlever, ôter', BSn {Ds.} əkkəs (pf. 3m iksu) id., 'arracher' ¶ Ds. 110, Ds. B 16, 115, 256 || U:

FU *küš[∇]-/*keš[∇] (< *keš^U?) v. 'tear, bark, flay' > pPrm {LG} *kōś- ({LG} *kōś-) v. 'rind, tear' > Vt keś-'(zer-)reißen, spalten, zerschneiden', Prmk kōś- v. 'rind', Z LL kōś- v. 'tear, rind', Yz 'kuś-aI- v. 'tear' ||| pObU *kūš-/ *kūš- > pVg {Ht.} *k^ωīš- ({Stn.} *kūš-) > Vg LK küštāl- 'abziehen (Birkenrinde), loslösen (den Fisch aus dem Netz)', NV k^ωän-kūšap- 'sich lösen (z. B. der Hund)', pOs *kös- ({JHL.} *kšs-) '(zer-, nieder)reißen' > Os V kōs-, Ty kšs-, Y kšs- | OHg XIV kŭzwygnufch ~ kuzuenus, Hg köszvény, Δ köszven ∂ köszfin 'gout, podagra' (← *'limb-tearing illness') ¶ UEW 151-2, It. #370, LG 135, MF 376-7, Stn. D 690-1, RWU 824 || **A:** Tg: [1] *xesi- v. 'scrape off scales from fish' > Ork, Nn B x3si-, Nn Nh x3sisi-, Nn KU 3si-, WrMc eše- id., ⇨ *xesi-kte 'scales of fish' > Neg 3sikt3, Ork, Nn Nh x3sikt3, Nn KU 3sikt3, WrMc esixε id.; aberrant words with -k- (Ewk 3ki-, 3kiks3, Ewk 3ki-, Neg 3xi-) either do not belong here or are due to a merger with different roots ¶ STM II 442-3 | [2] ?σ Tg *_Lxu_Lše- ∂ kuše- 'knife' > Ewk uçi, Sln usx̃:, Ud kusig3, Ul kuč3(n-), Nn Nh kuč3: id. ¶ STM II 296 || (× N *kiš_L?_L∇ 'tear [off], pinch, pluck'): M *kisu- ~ *qusu- > WrM kisū- ~ qusu-, HIM xyca- v. 'scrape, shave', Kl xyca- id., {Rm.} χus- 'abschaben, abkratzen', WrO d. χusulda- 'be scratched', Mnr H k'iz₃- 'ratisser, racler, enlever en raclant' ¶ MED 472, 992, KRS 614, KW 199, Krg. 291, SM 202 ¶¶ DQA #1063 (A *k'jōše 'scrape, shave'; incl. M, Tg *xuše- ∂ kuše-).

1212. (₂?) *Kuš[∇] or *Kuč[∇] 'to compensate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to pay') > IE {Pv.} *keu_s- 'compensation, price' > Ht kussan 'wages, pay, fee, salary, rental price', kusata 'bride-price', Lc qehñ 'rent' || NaIE *^okūsyā 'pay' > Gmc *xū'zō - *xūz(i)'jō > OSx hūria, AS hūr 'hire, wages', MHG hūr 'Miete', NHG Heuer 'hire, wages (of seamen)', NE hire; ⇨ v.: MHG hūren, MLG hūren, Dt huren, AS hūran 'to hire', NE hire ¶¶ Frd. HW 120, Ts. EI 671-4, Pv. IV 290-5, Ho. S 38, Ho. 184, Sw. 98, Lx. 96, KM 306 || **HS:** WS *✓kšy > Ar قضى ✓qšy (pf. qašā, ip. -qšiy-) 'payer ce qui est due', {Hv.} 'pay (a debt) to', Hrs ✓kšy 'pay blood-money', Mh ✓kšy (pf. kšō, sbjn. y3kšā), Jb C ✓kšy (pf. 'ke'še, subj. yeḳ3š) id., 'pay' ¶ BK II 762, Hv. 612, Jo. M 248-9, Jo. J 158, Jo. H 81 ¶ as. *k - š > *k - š (if the N rec. is *Kuš[∇]) || C: Bj {R} - k^ωsi, {Rop.} -k^ωisi v. 'pay one's debt' ¶ R WBd 148, Rop. 209 || ?σ **A:** M *quca- v. 'save, economize' > MM [S] {H} ḥuca- id., WrM quca-

id. ¶ H 70, MED 979 ◇ The N sibilant may have been either *-š- or *-ĉ- (which is supported by the qu. M cognate).

1213. *k_ul_uš^o ▽ 'tree' (→ 'wood, Holz'), 'trunk of a tree' > HS: S *kayš- > Sr **كَايْش** kay's-ā 'wood (Holz)', JA [Trg.] **كَايْش** kē's-ā ~ **كَايْش** kī's-ā {Lv.} 'Holz, Scheit', {Js..} 'twig, chip, wood; tree', JEA {Sl.} **كَايْش** kī's-ā 'wood (Holz), twig', Ak fOAK {CAD} kīštu (pl. kīšātu) 'forest, grove', Ak fOB kīštu 'thicket' ¶ Br. 665, Lv. T II 359, Lv. IV 299, Lv. T II 359, Js. 1364, CAD XIII 272-5, 280-1 || **K** *k_wš- > Sv {Ni.} k_waš 'firewood' ¶ Ni. s.v. **дрова** || **A** *k_lus ▽ ({S} *k'usa) '€ tree' > M *qusi 'cedar, Siberian pine' > WrM **قوسى**, HIM **хуш**, Brt **хуша** id., Kl {Rm.} **χ0š** 'Zirbelfichte', {RKS} **хoшyн модн** 'cedar, Cedrus' (модн 'tree') ¶ MED 991, Chr. 609, KW 189, RKS 232 || Tg *_lx_uš_i-kta 'oak' > Ewk usikta id. (× N *k_us ▽ 'nut', q.v.) ¶ STM II 291 || ? pJ {S} *kasi 'oak Quercus acuta' > OJ kasi, J: T kási, K kàsí, Kg kaší id., б→ Nko kasi 'acorn'; → pJ kási-pà 'oak Quercus dentata' > OJ kásipà, J T kásiwa ¶ S QJ ##974, 976, Mr. 441, MLC 21 ¶¶ S CNM 10-1, ≈ STM l.c. ¶¶ S CNM 10-1, ≈ STM l.c., Adb. KL, DQA #1151 (A *k'usa '€ tree [cedar, oak]') || **D** [1] *kučč- 'stalk, stump of a tree' (× N *k_uč ▽ 'cut\chop into small pieces', q.v. ffd.) || [2] ?? D *kūčč- 'post' > Tm kūccam 'small post used in building', Kn **кусу**, kūca, Tl **гујју** 'post\pillar in a wall for the support of beams', Tl **кūcamу**, Png **gūž** (pl. **gūčku**) 'pillar\post', Tu **гујји**, **гујју** 'pillar\post in water' ¶ The long *ū may go down to N *uy ¶¶ D ##1640, 1878 ◇ S CNM 10-1.

1214. *k_uš' ▽ 'to fell, to fall' > K *_oguš|s- > OG še-gus- v. 'fell, bring down' ¶ Ser. 176 ¶¶ The K voiced *g- may be accounted for by the K creation of "harmonic complexes" (sc. a kind of obligatory mt. and as. of consonants): N *k_uš' ▽ > *k_uš- > *g_uš- > K *guš- || HS: S *_o✓kš' > Ar **قشع** ✓qš' (ip. -qšaf-) 'jeter qn. par terre de manière qu'il tombe la face contre la terre' ¶ BK II 742 || ? Ch ({JS} *(N)gž 'fall') > ECh: ? Skr {Sx.} **gžlé**, EDng {Fd.} **gálè**, Jg **gal**, Mgm **gálaw**, Brg **gàlí** v. 'fall' || CCh: Glv **ḡaž-**, Suk **ḡížì** id. ¶ JS II 98, ChL s.v. 'fall' || **U**: FU *kūš ▽ 'fall to the ground, tumble down' > pLp *kžčž v. 'fall' > Lp: S {Hs.} **gattjeth**, L {LLO} **kahttjat**, N {N} **gâč'čât**, Kld {TI} **kžžžēδ** id. || pVg *kūš- > Vg ML/P {MK} **kušepi** ~ **kušēpi** (= ≈ **kūšepi** ~ **kūšəpi**) 'fall' ¶ Coll. 79, Lr. #302, Lgc. #1877, LLO 194, MK 225 || **A**: Tg *_lx_uš- > WrMc **ulu-**, **uleze-** 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep

slope, a bank), Ewk PT/Y ulul-, Ewk Ucr ul- id., Ewk PT/Y ulu 'precipice, landslide, landslip', Lm ωlsa- 'collapse' (of ground, bank, etc.) ¶ STM II 263 ¶ Tg *-l- may go back to *-zɣ- (by as. from *-šɣ-). The Tg √ may result from coalescence of the N word in question with N *Ḳûl∇ 'fall, fall down\apart' (q.v.) || D *kuçî- ({{ɣGS}} *k-) v. 'sink, descend' > Kn kuɕî 'bend, stoop, be lowered, sink, tumble in', kuɕuku 'state of being lowered or low', Krg kusi 'below', ? Tl kuçiyu 'sink, go down' ¶¶ D #1636, Km. 334 ¶ The D √ may have resulted from coalescence with a different N word meaning 'bend, contract' (whence Tu kuɕiyuni 'contract, shrink in') ◇ Cp. IS I 358-9 [#235] (Tg ÷ T *Kula 'fall down, crash down' and FU *kul∇ 'be worn' < N {IS} *Ḳul∇ 'падать, опадать' [N {AD} *Ḳûl∇ 'fall, fall down\apart', q.v.]).

1215. *ḳat∇ (or *kaʔ∇, t∇) 'mix, adjoin, gather' > K: GZ *ḳet- v. '(ad)mix, add, gather' > OG ḳet- 'decorate', G ḳet- 'make, create', Mg ḳat- 'add, mix in, gather', Lz ḳat- 'add, gather, accompany' ¶ K 108, K² 88, FS K 172-3, FS E 188, Q 250, Chik. 286-7 || HS: S: Ar ✓ qtt G (pf. qatta, n. act. qatt-un) 'mix, gather' ('mêler des aromates avec de l'huile; ramasser, réunir petit à petit'), {Hv.} 'gather, cook aromatics' ¶ BK II 670-1, Hv. 587 || A *k'at' - > NaT *k'at - > OT qat- 'mix (two things); add (sth. to sth. else)', Tk kaṯ- 'adjoin, add, mix', Tkm, Az qat-, Ggz kaṯ-, Nog, Qq, VTt, Qrg, Alt, Ln, SY, Xlj qat-, Xk ḳat- 'mix, admix', Bsh, Qzq qat- id., 'season (soup)', ET qat- 'add, harness', Tv qât/d- id., 'add, fold', Tf qât' - twist (wool into thread) ¶ Cl. 594-5, ET KQ 337, TvR 216, Ra. 219 || D *kaṯ- ({{ɣGS}} *kaḍ-) 'churn, stir' > Ml kaṯayuka, Kt kaṯv-, Td kaṯ-, Gnd karrih- 𐎠 karahtānā 𐎠 karah-, Mlt gaṯye v. 'churn', Tm kaṯai id., v. 'mash to pulp', Kn kaḍe, kaḍi 'churn, stir', Tu kaḍeyuni, kaḍevuni 'stir up', kaḍeɾcuni v. 'knead', Kui kaṯsa id. ¶¶ D #1141 ¶¶ The D root coalesced with different homonymous roots (one of them meaning 'polish, lathe') ◇ The K and S data provide ev. for N *ḳ-, which is seemingly at variance with T *k' - (< N *k - reg.). The controversy may be resolved if we reconstruct a N etymon *kaʔ∇, t∇, so that K and S *ḳ- may have resulted from a cluster *kʔ (which is inevitable in forms of a S finite verb like *ʔa-kʔ∇t and in certain verbal forms in K). Alternatively, we may try to find rules governing the mutual infl. of stops within T roots (mte. N *ḳat- > **kaṯ- > A *k'at' - > T *k'at' -?).

1216. (₂?) ***Ḳāt** ▽ 'hand' > **HS:** S *^oḳāt- 'hand' > Ak ḳātu 'hand, paw' ¶ CAD XIII 183-200 || NrOm *ḳat_u- 'hand' > Oyda {Fl.} ḳatti 'palm of hand', Dk ḳassa 'upper arm', ? Anf {MYTY} kišo 'hand (palm)' ¶ Blz. OLBP #51, MYTY 118 || **U:** FU *kāte 'hand' > F kāsī / gen. kāde-n, Es kāsī / gen. kāe | pLp {Lr.} *kēt̃z 'hand, arm' > Lp: S {Hs.} giēde, N {N} giēttâ, L {LLO} kiehta, Kld κῆδτ, {TI} kī₁t: | pMr {Ker.} *kād̃a > Er keđ, Mk kād 'hand' || pChr {Ber.} *kit 'hand, arm' > StChr L κιδ, Chr H/Uf/B/M/Y/V/K kit, Chr YO/Ch kat | Prm *ki / *ke- 'hand' > Z, Prmk, Yz, Vt ki id., Z ke-piš 'mitten' (lit. 'hand-mitten'), ke-kar 'back of the hand' || ObU {JHL} *kēt̃ ▽, {Ht.} *kēt̃ ▽ 'hand, fore-leg' > pVg *kāt̃ ▽ > OVg S ChusO kata, OVg S Kf ката, OVg SSs kaate, OVg E TM kât, OVg N SoG kat, Vg: T kât, LK/MK/UK/NV *kōt, P/SV/Liz kōt, UL/Ss kât id.; pOs {Ht.} *köt̃ ({JHL} *kōt̃) 'hand' > Os: V/Vy köt, Ty kōt, Y kōt, D/K ket id. | Hg kéz (accus. kezet) 'hand' ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 140, Wc. SW 100, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *kāti 'hand, arm', Ugr *kät̃i), Sz. 23, SK 263, Lr. #433, Lgc. #2452, N II 100-2, SaR 108, Ker. II 57-8, Ber. 17, MRS 195-6, Ep. 43, LG 123, Ht. #340, Hl. rHt 71 || ?σ **h:** pJ *kātá 'shoulder' > OJ kata, J T káta id. (× N ≈ *Ḳū_uy₁t₁ ▽₁ ▽₁ 'shoulder') ¶ ≠ DQA #482 (J < A *gara 'arm') ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [#80] (*gäṭi; FU *kāte + *÷ IE *g^hes-, D *kač̃- + qu. Om *✓ kč̃ 'hand', F s.v. N *gā'p'sA 'paw, hand') ◇ ≠ Gr. II #192 (*kati 'hand') (U + err. A, Ko, J, CK, EA).

1217. ***Ḳot** ▽ 'tip, end, sharp point; cutting instrument\weapon' > **IE:** NaIE *k^ωe(:)d-/*k^ωo(:)d- 'sharp point; to sharpen' (× N *Ḳu|od'a'h ▽ (~ *Ḳad_ah ▽ ?) 'to pierce' [q.v.]) > ON hvatr 'sharp, quick', OSx hwat, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, vigorous'; ON hvetja, AS hwettan 'to sharpen, to incite', NE whet, MLG wetten 'to whet', OHG hwezzan, wezzen 'to whet', NHG wetzen 'to whet', AS hwæt, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || L tri-quetrus 'triangular' (lit. 'dreispitzig') (acc. to WH, < *tri-k^ωadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 55, P 636, WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || **HS:** C: HEC *ḳotto 'small axe, hatchet' > Sd {Gs.} ḳotto id., as well as possibly HEC *ḳotto 'digging stick, hoe' > Sd ḳotto {Hd.} id., Brj ḳotto, ḳottō, Ged ḳotto id., and even (??) the EC verb *ḳot- 'dig, plough' > Dsn gót- 'dig', Elm ot-, Arr ḳot-, Or, Brj, Ged ḳot-, Kns qot-, Gln, Hr, Dbs ḳot-, Gdl ḳoš- 'dig, plough', Sd ḳot- id., 'cultivate', Sml qod-, Bn od-, Bs ot- 'cultivate', Rn χut- {BL} id., {PG} 'dig' ¶ Hd. 50, 208, 252, 381, Gs. 270, Ss. B 127, PG 193, Grg.

333-4, HL 27-8, Hw. A 380, AMS 219, 245, 262, To DL 503 ¶ If the EC verb *k̥ot- does not belong here, the semantic variant *k̥otto 'digging stick, hoe' may have resulted from coalescence of a derivative from this verb and the noun *k̥otto 'axe' || ?σ S *^ok̥uʈʈ- (× N *k̥'ü'ʈa [or *k̥-?] 'fingernail, claw, nail?') > Gz k̥ʷaʈʈ, k̥ʷaʈʈa 'butt end of spear' ¶ L G 452 || A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *_lx_luʈʈ-kēn (with dim. sx *-kēn) > Ewk utkēn 'hatchet (тесак, пальмá)', Lm ôtkēn id., 'sword' ¶ STM 294 || ?φ M *kituga_ln_l ~ *qutuga_ln_l > MM [LM, IM] kituɣa, [MA] qituga, [IsV] {Lg.} kiduɣa 'knife', WrM kituga ~ qutuga ~ qutaga, HIM хутга(н), {Pp.} χut'ũg 'knife, knife-like cutting tool\weapon', Brt хутага, Mnr H {SM} ć'id_og_uō, {T} ćidogo, Mnr M {T} ćitogo, Dx {T} qutogo, Ba {T} htoge, MMgl [Z] qətqaj, Mgl {Rm.} kitkεj 'knife' ¶ Pp. LM III 69, Pp. MA 299, 440, Lg. VMI 50, MED 474, Chr. 605, SM 445, Iw. 126, Rm. M 32, T 379, T DnJ 126, T BJ 151 ¶¶ DQA #1096 (A *k̥'juʈ'u 'ε knife\arrow') || D *k̥ōʈ/*k̥oʈʈ- ({ʈGS} *k-) 'end, summit, top' (× N *K̥'a' dK̥udʈ 'tip, top' and N *k̥ʈR_lʈ_ltʈ 'summit, top') > Tm k̥ōʈu 'summit, peak', Ml k̥oʈi 'top, extremity', k̥ōʈu 'end', Kt k̥oʈ 'top tuft of hair', ? k̥uʈ 'clitoris', Td k̥wɪt 'tip, nipple', Kn k̥ōʈu 'point, peak, top of a hill', k̥oʈʈu 'point, nipple', Kdg k̥oʈi 'top (of a mountain, tree, etc.)', Tu k̥oʈi 'point, end, extremity', Tl k̥oʈi 'tip, top', Klm k̥oʈi, Gnd A k̥oʈi 'point', Gnd RSr k̥oʈi 'end, tip' ¶¶ D #1049 ◇ The apparent reflexes of N *-ʈ- in S and A may be due to as. M *u of the first syll. in *qutuga_ln_l may be due to regr. as. (**o...u > *u...u), but M *i in *kituga_ln_l is still puzzling.

1218. ₂ *K̥otʈ 'to finish' > HS: S *^o✓k̥tʈw|y ~ *^o✓k̥tʈw|y > Ak ✓k̥tʈw|y G (inf. k̥at̥û) v. 'come to an end, perish, become completed', D k̥uʈt̥û vt. 'finish, complete, bring to an end' (the second cns. may go back either to N *t̥ or to *ʈ, due to the Ak incompatibility of two glottalized cns. in one ✓) ¶ CAD XIII 177-83 || Ch ({JS} *✓k̥t): WCh: Fy {J} k̥it̥ vt. 'finish' | Tng {J} k̥ʷaʈe id. | Sir {Sk.} k̥ʷata, Diri {Sk.} k̥úʈú id. || CCh {ChL}: Wmd k̥úʈur̥ vt. 'finish', k̥úʈd̥ vi. 'finish', WMr̥g k̥ʷúʈèy, k̥úʈè, Mr̥g k̥úʈù / àk̥úʈèrí, HgF k̥úʈí, FIG k̥íʈàmtí v. 'finish' ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 105 (Ch *k̥it), J R 87, J T 108 ¶ In CCh and in some WCh lgs. there is shift of glottality N *k̥...t̥ > *k̥...ʈ, where *ʈ is the only Ch glottalized dental stop) || A: Tg *xodi- vt. 'finish, stop' > Ul χodl/ʉ-, Ork χoʈʈl-, χoʈl-, Nn Nh χoʈʈl-, Nn KU oʈʈl-, Orc odi-, Ud wadi-, Ewk, Lm od-, WrMc wazi- ¶ STM II 6 || ?σ,φ NaT *k̥_l'oʈ- 'abandon' (× ← T *k̥_l'oʈ- 'put

down, lay' < N ***Ḳ**'oHad∇ 'dip, plunge, descend') > OT qoδ-, OOSm ≥XIV, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qr, Ln qou-, Tkm, Az ɣou-, Uz qay- 'abandon' ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 27-9 ¶¶ STM II 6, A 1110 (*k'oda|u 'to finish, to abandon') ◇ NaT *-t- belongs to the heritage of N ***Ḳ**'oHad∇ ◇ This N word may be etymologically identical with (or go back to?) N ***Ḳ**ot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point'.

1219. *Ḳot∇(-R∇) 'smoke' > IE: NaIE *k_Lω_Jed- 'smoke', v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Sl *kadi-ti 'to emit smoke\fume' > OCS кадити kaditi, R ка'дить 'to emit fume, to burn incense', Blg ка'дя 'emit fume\smoke, burn incense', SCr káditi 'to smoke sth.', Slv kadíti id., 'to emit smoke', Cz kadíti 'to fumigate, to emit fume', Slk kadit' 'to emit smoke (дымить, чадить)', P kadzić 'to burn, to incense, to fumigate, to give a stink'; SI *čadъ 'smoke, (unpleasant, suffocating) smoke' > Blg, R чад, Cz, Slk čad id., Slv čād id., steam', SCr čād '(unpleasant, suffocating) steam, caligo', P czad, Uk чад 'carbon monoxide, charcoal fumes' || Pru accodis (< *at-kodis?) 'a hole for discharge of the smoke' ||| ???σ Ir: OI 'kadru- 'reddish-brown', NPrs كهر kähär 'chestnut\bay colour (of a horse\mule)', Khw k^hadur 'dirty' (if the semantic history is: 'brown' ← 'dark' ← 'colour of smoke') ¶ P 537 (*ked- 'rauchen, rußen' with *k- on the alleged ev. of the unconvincingly adduced word for 'juniper': Gk κέδρος, Lt kadagỹs, Pru kadegis), ESSJ IV 8-10 and IX 109-11, En. 139-40, Tr. P A-D 70, Tr. P I-K 111-7, M K I 150, M E I 295, Sg. 1066, Tu. #2715 || **HS:** S ***ḳ**ut∇r- ~ ***ḳ**it∇r- 'smoke' > Ak ḳuṭru, JA {KB} **ḳ**uṭrā ~ **ḳ**iṭrā 'smoke, fume, fog', JEA {SL} **ḳ**uṭrā ~ **ḳ**iṭrā 'smoke', Ar **قُتْرَة** qutrat- 'tas de fumier', Ug ḳṭr 'smoke, incense', ? Amr {G} ḳatarum 'smoke, incense'; -> S ***ḳ**utār- > Ak ḳutār- 'fumigant', Eb {Krb.} ḳutāri (gú-da-rí-im) '?' (in pr. n.), Ar **قُتَار** qutār- n. 'smell of cooked meat \ of aloes-wood', Gz ḳattār, ḳattārē 'incense, fumigation', ? BHb **ḳ**iṭūr 'smoke, thick fog' (the irreg. ī suggests that it is a loan from a different Semitic lge.); S ***ḳ**ṭr v. > Ak **ḳ**ṭr G 'rise, billow' (of fog, smoke), D 'cause sth. to smoke, make an incense offering', BHb **ḳ**ṭr D, MHb **ḳ**ṭr v. G 'make a sacrifice (by burning one's offering), go up in smoke', JA **ḳ**ṭr *Sh*† (pf. **ḳ**aḳṭar) 'burn incense, let the incense rise', JEA **ḳ**ṭr *Sh*†vt. 'burn on the altar', Ar **قُتِر**

✓ qtr G 'exhale its odour' (of cooked meat), قطر ✓ qṭr D (pf. qaṭṭara) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes-wood', Gz ✓ kṭr D 'fumigate'; BHb תַּרְבִּיבָה qəṭoreṭ 'smoke/odour of burning sacrifice, incense', JA אַתְרֵבִּיבָה qəṭur-t-ā 'incense'; Sb mḵṭr 'incense altar' ¶ In Hb, Ug, Aram, and Sb there is as. *ḵ...t > *ḵ...ṭ; the Ar forms with -ṭ- are likely to be loans (from Aram?) ¶ CAD XIII 166-8, 321-7, Sd. 930-1, KB 1022-4, KBR 1094-5, BDB 882-3, v. T II 356, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 990, A #2404, OLS 378, G A 29, Fr. III 396-7, BK II 672, 765-7, Hv. 587, 614, BGMR 109, LG 452, Krb. PE 44 || A: M *küden (× N *ḵüm∇(-Tä) 'fog, mist'??) > WrM küden 'fog, mist; darkening, dimness', Kl {Rm.} küdn 'Nebel, Dunst, Dunkel', Kl D {Rm.} küdn 'Nebel, Dunkel, Rauch' ¶ MED 497, KW 244 || Tg *°xoj 'i' r- 'a' n 'snuff' > Ul xoṣoro(n-) 'snuff (in a smoking-pipe)', Nn Nh xoṣorō, Nn KU xoṣlorā id., soot', Nn xoṣlra- 𐤌 xoṣora- 'clean the pipe from snuff' ¶ STM I 468 ¶¶ M *ü in *küden may be due to regr. as. (*°o...e > *ü...e) and to the infl. of N *ḵüm∇(-Tä).

1220. *Ḷ'aho't'o' 'bite, chew, eat' > IE: NaIE *k^hᵛjād- v. 'bite, eat' > OI 'khādati 'chews, bites, eats', KhS khaca 'food' (Bai.: < Irn *xad-čā ← *xad- 'eat'), Prt ḡʔz 'devour', NPrs خَائِدِن xāī-dān 'to chew, to gnaw' || Arm ԽԱԾԱՆԵՄ ḵacanem 'I bite, chew' (< *k^hᵛjād-s) || ? Nr Δ hatra vt. 'itch, irritate the skin', 'sting' (of mosquitos and other insects) ¶ WP I 341, M K I 308, Sg. 446, Bai. 70-2, ≠ P 634, Sl. 380 ¶ If Nr hatra does belong here, the IE √ is *k^hād- (which suggests N *Ḷa^h'...), otherwise we cannot distinguish between IE *k^hād- and *k^hᵛjād-. The NaIE vw. *ā suggests the following sequence of phonetic changes: *Ḷ'aho't'o' > (ass.) pre-IE *kahat∇ > IE *k^hād- || HS: S *°✓ ḵwt > Ar G ✓ qwt (ip. -qūt-) 'feed, nourish'; ?? *°✓ ḵtm > Ar ✓ qtm G 'bite', {Hv.} 'seize with the teeth', qaṭmat- 'bit, fragment' ¶ BK II 773-4, 830-1, Hvc 616, 632 || C: DhI g^ᵛaṭ'- v. 'chew' (mte.?) ¶ ≠ E SC 264, EEN 32 || Ch (pCh {Nw.} *kiḍi 'bite, chew', {JS} ✓ ḵd 'bite'): Ngz {Sch.} kiḍú 'eat sth. which requires chewing (meat, nuts, etc.)', Bl {Nw.} ḡgaḍu 'bite' || Tr k3ḍ3 'bite' || Tmk {Cp.} ḡ3d, Nd D {J} ḡ3d^h 'bite' ¶ Nw. 22, ChC, Cp. 62, Sch. DN 96 || D: [1] D *katukk- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'gorge, lap' > Tm katukku v. 'gorge, glut', Tu gud(u)kuni v. 'lap, bolt', Tl katuku, gatuku, gaḍuku v. 'lack, lick up, eat food defiled by others', Gdb katjap- v. 'lap like a cat' || [2] D *kott- ({ḡGS} *k-) 'bite' (of snakes), 'peck' (as a bird) > Tm kottu id., Ml kottuka 'bite (as snakes)', Kt kōt-, Td kwiθk- v. 'peck, bite', Kdg kōtt-, Knd kōt- v. 'peck',

Tu godduni v. 'peck or devour (as a fowl)', Kui kospa- v. 'peck, bite, sting' ¶ The stem belongs here only if the homonymy with *kott- v. 'hoe, chop' happens to be coalescence of etymologically different roots. Otherwise (if *kott- 'bite, peak' is a mere sd. from *kott- 'hoe, chop, mince'), this D stem is not a valid cognate ¶¶ D ##1197, 2091 ¶¶ D *-t- is a reg. reflex of N *-t̥- and not of *-t-; it is possible that a post-N cluster *-Ht- (< N *-H∇t-) yielded a fortis similar to the reflex of N *-t̥-, sc. D *-t(t)- || U *kat̥^o v. 'feed, graze' > pLp *kōt̥ō > Lp: N {N} guot̥to /-d̥- id., 'feed on, graze on', L {LLO} kuoh̥t̥ō- vb. n. 'graze', kuoh̥t̥ō 'pasture, pasture-land' || Sm *кѣтъ > En {Ter.} Зр козына 'they graze' (reindeer), Ne T хадо, Ne O {Lh.} χαδū 'winter pasture-land', Ne T Y хăдă-сь 'to loosen snow in search of reindeer moss' (of reindeer) ¶ × Sm *кѣтъ 'scratch' ¶¶ The traditional Uralic comparative philology does not recognize stem-final vowels other than *-a/ä and *-e, so that all cases of stem-final rounded vowels in the U lgs. are interpreted as sxs. (F s.v. N *kälû 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'); but there are many cases in which a rec. of a U stem-final rounded vw. would fit well with data both within and outside U. In such cases I tentatively reconstruct a pU rounded vw. (with uncertainty brackets: *-^o, *-^u) ¶¶ UEW 131, ≠ Jn. 56 (does not distinguish the Sm √ in question from *кѣтъ 'scratch') ◇ IE *k^h- points to a N lr. It is most likely to be *h, because *h and *ʔ are the only N lrs. capable to be lost in S, while *ʔ does not produce aspirates in pIE.

1221. *K̥ey₁a₁t̥∇ 'to fall' > IE: [1] NaIE *k̥ad- v. 'fall' > OI éad- v. 'fall off, fall out' || L cad-o / -ēre v. 'fall' || Arm gwāḍ c^hac 'low', gwāḍunluḍ c^hacnum v. 'become\grow low, go down, fall' (P: < *k̥ad̥jo-) || ?σ OIr casar 'hail; lightning' (P: < k̥ad-t-arā; ← 'falling from the sky?'), MW kesseir, W cesair 'hailstones', Crn ceser, Br kazarc^h 'hail' || [2] NaIE *k̥eḷd- v. 'fall' > W cwyddo 'to fall; to cast down', Crn cothe, {ECCE} codha 'to fall', Br {P} koezaff 'I fall', {Hm.} kouezhañ 'to fall' || Gmc (P's interpretation): ON hitta á 'meet (treffen)' (lit. 'fall on ...'), hitta i 'get into ...' (lit. 'fall into ...'), Dn hitte på 'auf etwas verfallen', ME hittan 'auf etwas treffen, finden', NE hit (← 'fall [on ...]') ¶ P 516, 542, EI 191 (*k̥ad-), M K III 294, M E II 607, WH I 128, YGM-1 84, 117, SB 75, Vn. C 46, Hm. 432, 480 ¶ P's interpretation of ON hitta, etc. is qu. (and not accepted by Vr.) || D {tr.} *keḷ-, {GS} *keḷ-a- 'lie (liegen), fall' > Tm kiḷa v. 'lie, lie

down', Ml kiṭakka v. 'lie, rest, dwell', Kn keḍe 'fall down', Kdg kaḍake 'bed', Tu keḍaguni v. 'fall\slip down', Tl keḍayu 'fall, fall over', Gnd ker- 'fall at the face', ? Mlt koḍe 'lie down' ¶¶ D #1524, GS 78 [#247], 162 [#400] || **A**: ?ϕ M *kete- 'lie (liegen)' > MM [MA] kete-, Mnr H {T} kidē- 'lie', {SM} k'id_īē- 'lie down' (of an animal, person), 'dwell' (as a bird in its nest), Dx {T} kižīē- 'lie, lie down, sleep' ¶ M *-t- for the expected *-d- may be on the analogy of the paronymous √ *keḅte- 'lie' (see N *qewy▽ 'stay, lie, rest motionless') ¶ Pp. MA 217, T 339, T DnJ 123, SM 200 || **HS**: SC {E} *ḱat- 'lie down, sleep' > Irq {Mgw.} qāt- 'lie down', Alg/Brn {E} qat- 'lie', Kz {E} ḱat- 'lie, sleep' ¶ E SC 368, E K 14, Mgw. 106, Blz. SCL s.v. 'lie' || Ch: ECh: Kwn {Lk.} kodám 'lie' ¶ Blz. EChWL #48 || ? S *√mḱt (←ϕ *m▽-ḱ▽t-) 'fall' > Ak √mḱt (inf. maḱāt) 'fall down, collapse; fall to the ground', SS: Sb mḱtt 'setting of the sun', Mh me'ḱawṭ 'run off', Jb mo'ḱot 'disappear in a flash, slip away', OYmn {Slw.} mḱt 'Ende (gesagt vom Festland)' ¶ CAD X/1 240-51, BGMT 87, Jo. M 265, Jo. J 171, Slw. 200 ◇ IS I 349 [#225] (*ḱet ḱ; IE, D).

1222. *ḱutṣ▽ (or *ḱutṣ▽?) (probably *ḱut|ṣ▽) 'cut off, tear (off)' > **HS**: CS *√ḱṭṣ 'cut/break off' > MHb √ḱṭṣ G 'cut off', JA √ḱṭṣ G id., 'break off', JEA {Sl.} √ḱṭṣ G 'bite off', Ar √qṭṣ G 'cut, curtail' ¶ Js. 1351, Sl. 1007-8, BK II 767-9, Hv. 614 || C: Bj {R} √ktṣ pcv. 'cut\break off\asunder' ('ab\zer-schneiden\brechen') (1s: p. 'aktaṣ, prs. akantīṣ), ke'tūṣ (pl. 'ketṣa) 'Schnitt' (here unless borrowed from Ar) ¶ R WBd 151 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *kut▽ 'tear, draw' > Hg húz- v. 'draw, tear' ; Vg: T/P ka-, LK/Ss ḱat- v. 'tear' ¶ MF 312-3, ≠ UEW 859 (adduces Os [Ty qḍp+ta- 'zerstückeln', Os D ḱāpat- 'fell trees', etc.] and reconstructs pUgr *kup▽-t▽) || **A**: T {Cl.} *ḱiḅ- or *ḱiy- 'cut, chop' (delabialized from **Kuḅ- due to the infl. of the final unrounded vw.?) > OT [MhK] qiy- (ol jiyāč qiydī 'he cut the piece of wood on the slant'), Chg XV qiy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk ḱiy- 'chop', Ggz, StAlt кый- qiy- 'cut, cut off (twigs, small trees)', Qmn qiy- 'chop, cut on the slant', ?σ Tv ḱidi- 'exterminate' ¶ Qmn -y- may be from T *-ḅ-, cp. ayaq 'foot, leg' < *aḅaq), but Xk ḱiy- 'cut, cut off' points to T *-y- (unless a loan from a -y-language) ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 200, Rl. II 688-90, BT 102, B DK 230, BIG 297, TvR 499 ◇ The Ugr cognate points to N *-t- rather than to *-ṭ-, hence *-ṭ- in CS is due to as. (*√ḱṭṣ < **√ḱṭṣ). T *-ḅ-

(for the expected *-t-) may be explained by a pre-T assimilative voicing of *-t- (infl. of *ʏ), suggesting that the N lr. was *ʏ.

1223. ≈ *K̥ü₁y₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder' > IE: NaIE *k̥up-(t-) ~ *sk̥up-(t-) id. > OI 'śuṗti-ḥ, Av suṗti-ḥ, KhS suta-, MPrs suft, NPrs سفت soft 'shoulder' || pAl {O} *cupa > Al {AlbED} sup 'upper surface of the shoulder; shoulder' (loss of the stem-final *-t-) || Gmc: [1] Gmc {Vr.} *skuftu > MLG schuft, Frs E, Dt schoft 'front shoulderblade (Vorderschulterblatt) of horses and cows'] [2] ? (× NaIE *keub- 'body juncture' < N *K̥upE ~ *K̥üp∇ 'to bend [a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.]', 'elbow') > Gt hups (stem hupi-), OHG huf, NHG Hüfte, AS hype 'hip', NE hip; ON aptr-huppr, Nr Δ hupp, hump 'buttocks (of animals)' ¶ P 590, 627, EI 516 [*(s)k̥up-], M K III 357, O 405, Vr. N 622, Fs. 277-8, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319, Ho. 184 ¶ The IE *s- mobile appears before the original emphatic stops in the presence of palatal elements within the N word (in this case *y [or *ü?]) (see Introduction, _ 2.2.5) || HS: WS *kit₁∇₁p-, S *ka'tip- 'shoulder: WS *kit₁∇₁p- id. > Ar kitf- id., 'shoulderblade' ({Fr.} 'scapula, omoplate', {BK} 'omoplate, os des omoplates'), Mh katf, Hrs kətf, Jb C/E kətf 'top of back, back of shoulder' (in SES the development of vowels is reg., cp. S *'birak- 'knee' > Mh bark, Jb berk); S *ka'tip- > Hb קַתִּיפָ kə'tēp, JA קַתִּיפָ kat'p-ā ~ קַתִּיפָ kit'p-ā, JEA, Sr kat'p-ā, Md kadpa 'shoulder', Ar katif- 'shoulder, shoulderblade'; here probably also (though unvocalized) DSA ktp 'shoilder' and Ug ktp id., 'collar-bone'; Ak d. katappātu 'sternum' or 'ε part of the ribs' ¶ KB 481, KBR 505-6, HJ 258, Fr. III 9, BK II 862, Hv. 644, Sl. 610, Br. 353, MD 195, Jo. M 52, 212, Jo. H 71, Jo. J 137, A #1407, OLS 230, Br. 353, CAD VIII 303, MiK I 1.154 || EC: Sd {Gs.} k̥o'te 'shoulder' ¶ Gs. 269, Hd. 133, 381 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr kàtə̀bəká, Krf {Sch.} kàbàʔá 'shoulder' | ? Hs kàfádà id. ¶ ChC ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 131 (Hs, S + *÷ other lgs.) || U *kūt₁∇ ~ *kūt₁∇ 'shoulder, back' (× N *K̥Aʔ'ū'd∇ or *K̥ūʔ∇ 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder?') > FU *ku₁∇tt∇ 'back (dos)' > Hg hát 'back (dos), backside' | ObU {Ht.} *kūt- {AD} 'behind, in the shadow of' > pVg *kūt₁∇ʏ > Vg: {Mu}: N χūtāʔ?, ML khūtā, LL khūta ~ khuta, K khuti 'behind' (direction) (LL kwäl khū₁∇ta minen 'go behind the house!', jiω-khū₁∇ta uttəm 'ich setze mich hinter den Baum'), {Ht.}: LK χūti, MK/UK kūtī, P kūtəʔ, LL kūta 'im Schatten' (= 'in the shadow of?'), 'im Schutz'; pOs {Ht.} *kutəl > Os V kutəl 'von etwas

bedeckte\geschützte Stelle', Os Y yu w kutəɬ-nə 'unter dem Baum hervor' || Sm.: Slq Tz {KKIH} qottä '(fall) on one's back'; Sm *kütъ 'shoulderblade' > Ne: T с ю д ы, T O {Lh.} śū̄dī, F {Lh.} śū̄'tī id. (< *kütъ-уъ), Slq Tm {KD} šü'dāī lāpa id., Slq Tz {Prk.} šüt+kotī 'the top part of the spine together with the shoulderblades' ¶¶ UEW 225, MF 276-7, Ht. #335, KKIH 163, Jn. 80 || ?φ R: pJ *kātá 'shoulder' > OJ kata, J: T káta, K kàtá, Kg katá id. (× N *Kät∇ 'hand' [q.v.]) ¶ ≠ DQA #482 (A *gara), S QJ #200, Mr. 442 ◇ IE *-pt- may result from mt. (< *-tp-) or from contraction of cns. clusters (F AD SShS); in the latter case IE *-t- is a sx.; in a similar way U *-t₁t₂- may also result from contraction of the cluster *-tp-. The vowels in S *ka'tip- belong to the derivational pattern of adjectives, so that *ka'tip- may have originally meant 'referring to the shoulder'. The final syll. of *Kü₁y₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ was lost in U *kūt₁t₁∇ ~ *küt₁t₁∇, probably due to some structural limitations for roots in U.

1224. *k'a't₁∇ (or *ka?it∇?) 'kill, wage a war' (in B, C, NOM, K[?]: → 'die') > HS: Ch {JS, JI} ✓ kɔ 'kill' > CCh: Gv {IL} k^hɔdɔgānā, Dgh {IL} k^hɔdáyà, {Frk.} kɔà, Gdf {IL} k^hɔdɔgānā || Mtk {Sb.} kɔd, pMM *kaɔ, > Mkt {ChL} kɔdái, {Ro.} kɔd, Mofu {Brr.} -kàd-, {Ro.} kìdè, Gzg D {Lk.} kaɔ, {Ro.} kɔdà; Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} kád 'kill' ¶ JS 153, JI I 105 and II 212-3, ChC, Ro. 398 [#277] || B *✓kty > Ah kətiyat 'to die' ¶ Fc. 935 || C: Ag *kɔt- v. 'die' > Bln kɔr-, Xm kɔr-/kɔt-, Q ki-/kɔy-, Aw kɔr-/kɔt- ¶ R WB 208, Ap. AV 14 || NrOm: Kf {C} kit-, Mch {L} kiti(yé) v. 'die', Shn {C} kito 'death' (not mentioned in Lm. Sh), Ym {Wdk.} kitú / kitù v. 'die' ¶ C SE III 78-9 and IV 465, Wed. BY 129, Lm. Y 358 || S +ext.: S *✓k₁t₁ ~ *✓k₁t₁ v. 'kill' > Hb, IA, BA, JA, Sr ✓k₁t₁, Md ✓g₁t₁, OA, Yd, Sb, Gz, Akk ✓k₁t₁, Ar ✓q₁t₁ id. ¶ KBR 1092, GB 710, HJ 1006, Js. 1349, Sl. 1006-7, BK II 673-4, Hv. 587, Br. 658, MD 87, Fr. III 398, BGMR 109, L G 451, CAD XIII 162 || AdS of K *okwed-/okwd- 'die' (< N *Kud∇ 'die') > G kvd- v. 'die', OG m-kud-ari 'dead' ¶ ≈ K² 91-2, Chx. 575-6, Ser. 102 || IE: NaIE *kat- v. 'fight' > Clt: Gl catu- *'battle' in the gentilicium Catu-rīx (lit. 'battle king'), OIr cath, W cad 'battle, army', Crn cas 'fight' || ON hqǫ 'fight (Kampf)', Hqǫ-r 'god of war', AS heaðu- 'fight, war', OHG hadu- 'battle, fight' (in proper names, e.g. Hadu-mār, Hedwig), MHG hader 'wrangle, fight' || Sl *katora ~ *kotera > OCS котора kotora 'pugna', ChS котепа kotera id., 'quarrel', R Δ котора ~ котора ~ котора, Uk котора 'quarrel'

¶ P 534, M K III 294, Vn. C 47-8, Billy 47, Vr. 278-9, Ho. 153, ESSJ XI 20-1, EI 201 (*katu 'fight') ¶ Hardly here OI $\acute{s}at-ru-h_2$ 'enemy, rival' (possibly akin to Gk $\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'spite, anger', see EI 22; M E II 607 does not find et. for $\acute{s}at-ru-h_2$) || D (in SD) *kāt- ({}GS} *kād-) v. 'kill, fight' > Tm $k\bar{a}tu$ v. 'kill, murder', Kn $k\bar{a}du$ v. 'wage war, fight, contend with', Tu $k\bar{a}duni$ v. 'quarrel, fight, wrestle', $k\bar{a}d\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ 'a fight, war, battle' ¶ D #1447 ◇ The length of *a in D, the palatality in IE, and the irreg. reflexes of the dental cns. (reflexes of *t and *d rather than of *ṭ) in some lgs. suggest the presence of an additional element in the middle of the word (N * $\acute{k}a\acute{p}it\check{\nabla}$?); in this case IE *-t-, D *-t-, and Ch *-ḏ- go back to a secondary *-ṭ- < *-ṛt-.

1225. * $\acute{K}o\check{\tau}a$ (~ * $\acute{K}ota$?) 'fence, wall, hut, settlement' > HS: Early pS * $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}_l\check{\nabla}_l$ - > as. S * $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}_l\check{\nabla}_l$ - 'wall' > BHb כִּוְטַל * $\acute{k}o\check{\tau}el$ * 'wall (of a house)' (att.: כִּוְטַלְנוּ כִּוְטַלְנוּ כִּוְטַלְנוּ 'our wall'), MHb כִּוְטַל $\acute{k}o\check{\tau}el$ 'wall', BA pl. em. כִּוְטַלַּי $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}_l\text{-ay}^l\check{y}\bar{a}$ 'walls', Plm כִּוְטַל ?, JEA {Sl.} כִּוְטַלַּי $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}_l\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'wall', Ak כִּוְטַל {CAD} 'rail, fence', {Sd.} 'Seitenwand', ?σ Sr כִּוְטַל $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}_l\bar{a}$ 'stern, poop'; e-pS * $\acute{k}u\check{\tau}al$ - 'wall, fence' \rightarrow GZ * $\acute{k}ed\check{e}l$ - id. (× \leftarrow K * $\acute{k}ed$ -/* $\acute{k}d$ - v. 'build') > OG $\acute{k}ed\check{e}l$ - 'wall, fence', G * $\acute{k}ed\check{e}l$ - 'wall', Mg $\acute{k}ida(la)$ - ~ $\acute{k}ada(la)$ -, Lz $\acute{k}ida$ - $\acute{k}oda$ - id.; for S *-t- \rightarrow K *-d- cf. S * $\acute{s}ab\check{f}at$ - 'seven' \rightarrow K * $\acute{s}wid$ - 'seven', F K² 251 ¶ KB 480, 1728, KBR 505, GB 368, Js. 627, Dlm. 201, Sl. 567, Br. 352, Sd. 518, CAD VIII 610, K 107, K² 87-8, FS K 166-7, FS E 181-2, LH 211 ¶ *-al- is probably a sx., cp. Tm, Ml כִּוְטַל 'cow-stall, shed, hut' || NrOm * $\acute{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\check{\nabla}$ 'house' > Kf {C} $\text{q}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{o}$, {HHM} $\text{h}\bar{m}\text{ke}\check{\tau}\bar{o}$, {Mrn.} $\text{ke}\check{\tau}\bar{o}$, Chara {C} $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$ $\acute{k}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{s}\bar{a}$, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} $\text{ke}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$ $\acute{k}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$, Zl/Gf/Bdt/Bsk {C} $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{s}\bar{a}$, Gm {Hw.} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}$, Wl {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$, Dawro {LmS} $\text{ke}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$, Dache {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}$, Zs {Si.} 'kēc, {C} $\text{k}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{s}$, {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}$, Zrg {Si.} 'kēc, Male {Si.} 'kēci, Kcm {LmS} $\text{k}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$, BMa {SiWd} $\text{k}\bar{i}\bar{e}\check{\tau}\bar{e}$ id.; ? Shn {Lm.} $\text{ka}\check{\tau}\bar{a}$ 'pen (Gehege) for cattle, fence of a pen' ¶ Cerulli spells these words with q , which he describes as "emphatic" (sc. k) (C SE IV 22-3), but Habte Wold Habte Mikael (a native Ethiopian) spelled the Kf word in Eth script with a plain vl. k, which corresponds well to the words of the NrOm lgs. recorded by Hayward, Moreno, Lamberti, Sottile, Siebert, and Wedekind; to my mind, Cerulli's q - is an inaccurate transcription of k- ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 205, IV 488, HHM 119, C SO 34, 44, 50, 63, Mrn. O 149, LmS 420-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'house', Si. ACh 16, Si. M 9, SiW ABK 17, Lm. Sh 33 || IE: NaIE * $\acute{k}o\check{\tau}$ - 'shed, wall, hut' (\rightarrow 'house') (× N * $\acute{k}ad\check{\nabla}$ 'to plait, to wattle',

'wickerwork, wattle') > Sl *kotъ, *kotъ-ьсь 'shed, stall' > SCr Δ kōt 'shed for livestock', OCz kot, kót 'stall, shop (in the market)' ('будка, лавка [рыночная]), ChS КОТЬЦЬ котъсь 'small room' ({Mikl.} 'νοσσιά, mansiuncula, nidus'), McdS котец, Blg 'коце 'fishweir' ('рыболовный закол'), SCr kōtas id., 'shed, partition in a shed', 'corn-bin', Cz kotec 'shed, partition in a shed', Slv kótec id., 'pigsty', 'cage', OP kocies 'enclosure for livestock\poultry', RChS КОТЬЦЬ котъсь 'cage', R Δ kotec 'fish-trap (made of cane\brushwood), kotъcy 'fishweir, fishing net', Uk kotець 'round fishweir' || Gt herjo 'room (ταμειῶν, Kammer)', AS heaðor 'enclosure, prison' || Irn *kat- 'house' > Av kata- 'room, house', NPrs 𐬀𐬎 kād, Sgd ktʔku 'house', Oss kät 'stable', KhS {Bai.} kata- 'covered place, house' (× Irn *kat- 'cover'?) || Ht kutt- {Pv.} 'wall', {Ts.} 'Wand, Mauer, Seite', HrLw {Mer.} kutaś¹r- 'Mauer', ? Lc {Shev.} kuti (supposedly 'an der Wand') ¶ P 534 (*kat- 'flechtend zusammendrehen, zu Ketten, Stricken, Hürdengeflecht'), ESSJ XI 211, 214-5, Ab. I 490, Horn 188, Bai. 50, ≈ Pv. IV 297-8 (unc.: kutt- < IE *ǵʰu-t- < *ǵʰeu- 'pour'), Ts. E I 676-8, Mer. HHG 77, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ *k- (for the expected *kʷ-) is due to the merger with N *kad 𐬀𐬎 || U: FU *kota 'tent, hut, house' > F kota 'Lappish tent, hut', Es koda 'house, home' | pLp {Lr.} *kōtē 'tent, hut' > Lp: L {LLO} kāhtē, N {N} goatte, Kld kuedd' id., S {Hs.} goādie id., 'house' | Er kudo, Mk kud 'house, home' | Chr: L кудо 'кудо 'hut, summer kitchen', H куды кудъ 'hut, house, dwelling', Uf кудо 'summer hut', B кудо 'summer kitchen' | Prm: OPrm -ko ~ -kq 'house' in the cd. viž-ko ~ viž-kq 'church', Z вичко vić-ko, Z US vić-kq, Z Ud vić-kz, Yz vić-ku, Prmk vić-ku 'church', Z -ka, -ko, -ku, -kz 'house' in cds., Z ker-ka, Prmk, Yz ker-ku, Vt kor-ka 'house; Prm d. *kwo-la 'hut' > Z kola id., Vt kuala 'hut (serving in summer as a kitchen and a dining-room)' || Os: V qat, D xat, O xat 'house' | Hg ház 'house' ¶ Coll. 130-1, UEW 190, Sm. 543 (FU *kotā 'house, hut' > FO *kota, Ugr *kātá), Lr. #487, Lgc. #2692, Hs. 627-8, MRS 240, Ep. 48, LG 115, It. #99, MFU 278-9 || A: M: [1] M *qotan 'enclosure, wall, settlement' > MM [HI] qoton 'city, town', [S] qoton 'enclosure', pl. qotat, qotot, WrM qota(n), HIM хот 'city, town, village; enclosure', Ord qot'o 'town, enclosure', K1 хотн хотьн 'village', {Rm.} хото 𐌆 хоту 'city, enclosure', Dg хотон ~ qoton 'city.

town', Mnr H {T} kude, {SM} k'ud_u, Ba kute 'house, home, family'; M ⇨ WrMc χοτόν, Sln, Nn χοτό, Neg χοτόν, Orc χοτό(ν-) 'city, town'; M ⇨ Uz qwtan 'sheep-pen', Qzq qotan id., 'pen', Nog, ET qotan 'enclosure for animals', Yk χοτόν id., 'stall' ⇨ Ewk koton, Lm qoton 'stall, farm-yard for animals'; [2] M *kōte 'tent' > WrM kōte 'tent', Ba kete 'house, family', Dn kide id. ¶ H 98, Ms. H 90, MED 493, 972, KRS 601, T DnJ 123, T BJ 142, T DgJ 178, SM 206, KW 190, STM I 418-9, ET Q 82-3 || ?σ T *k_l'utu > OT [QB] {Cl.} qutu 'class\group of people' ¶ Cl. 596 || pKo *kót > MKo kót, NKo kos kot 'place, locality, site' ¶ Rm. SKE 127, S QK #759, Nam 50, MLC 169 ¶¶ DQA #894 (A *k_l'ot'∇ -u- 'village, locality': T *k_l'utu, M *qotan, Ko) || D {tr., †GS} *koṭṭ∇ 'hut, shed' > Tm koṭṭam 'cattle-shed', koṭṭakaṭi 'shed with sloping roofs, cow-stall', koṭṭil 'shed, hut'. MI koṭṭil 'cowhouse, shed, house', Kn koṭṭage, koṭ(ṭ)ige 'stall or outhouse (for cattle), barn, room', Kdg koṭṭi, Gnd koṭa, koṭam 'shed', Tu koṭṭa 'hut or dwelling of Koragars', koṭṭya 'shed, stall', TI koṭṭām̄ 'stable', koṭṭāyi 'thatched shed', Klm koṛka, Nkr k'hoṭa 'cowshed', Mlt koṭa 'hamlet' ¶¶ D #2058; some of the words in the D lgs. are influenced by OI γοῤῥα- 'abode for cattle' and its descendant New Indo-Aryan words ◇ The N variant *Kōta (in S, U, and D) is likely to be secondary (regular deglottalization in S, dis. in U and D?). Alternatively, we may suppose a pN *Kōta with assimilative glottalization *-t- > *-ṭ- in pre-IE, Om, and A. The NaIE cns. *k- (for the expected *k^w-) still needs explaining.

1226. *Kōt'E' (or *ko?UṭE) 'membrum muliebre, anus' (→ 'male genitalia') > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} x^wədā 'pudenda mulieris, anus' ||| EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōd, qōdo 'penis cum testiculis', Or B {LLC} kutune 'penis'; C ⇨ Amh kiṭ 'anus' ¶ AD SF 249, LLC 145 || ?σ Ch {Stl.} *ko?ud 'testicles, penis' > WCh: Hs kōdà 'testicles' | ?? Krkr gáwja id. ||| CCh: Gv kiṭi-n^wa, Mdr šè-kuḍà id. | Pdk {Mch.} kúda-ma id. | Ms {J} húḍá, BnnM {ChL} hudo-no id. | Mf {BLB} k^wúḍéč id., MfG {Brr.} k^wuḍey, Mada {BrrB} k^wḍe 'penis' | Mf {BLB} kédár 'vulva' ¶ JI II 323, Stl. IF 104, ChC, ChL, BLB 187, 200, Brr. MG II 14, BrrB 152 ||| IE: NaIE *kut- 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > L curruis (< *kut-no-s) 'pudendum muliebre' ||| Gk [Hs.] κυσός (< *kut-y-os) 'buttocks; pudendum muliebre', ? Gk κύσθος 'pudendum muliebre' ||| ? W c^wd 'scrotum' (× NaIE *(s)keut- 'skin', × W c^wd 'bag, purse, sack?'), W † c^wthr 'rectum, anus' ||| CINPrs kūn 'vulva' ||| perhaps Gmc: OFrs pl. hothan, OHG hōdo, {OsS} haodo, NHG Hode

'testicle' (× NaIE *(s)keut- 'skin') ¶ WH I 309, F II 56, Ch. 603, YGM-1 114, 117, Kb. 473, OsS 410, KM 313, ≈ P 952, ≈ EI 507 (*kut'so-s ~ *kuts'no-s 'anus, vulva') || A: [1] NaT *Kotak 'penis' > Chg قوتاق {RL} qotaq, {Bu.} qutāq 'penis', QrB {Rs.} qotaq 'horse's penis', Qzq {RL} qotaq 'penis', 'tail (Schweif)', Alt/Tlt/QK {RL} qottoq, Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb/Kü {RL} qodaq, ET {AD} qotaq 'penis'; this word for 'penis', which exists in several T lgs., is ostracized as "undecent" by the authors of dictionaries of literary lgs. and therefore lacks lexicographic fixation; d.: ET Δ {KtnM} qotaγ-la v. 'begatten' ¶ Rs. W 284, Rl. II 606, 610-1, Bu. II 70, Mng. G 102 | [2] NaT *Köt 'anus, buttocks' > OT {Cl.} kö't 'buttocks, backside', MQp XIII kö't 'buttocks ('al-'ist)', Tk gö't (/göt-: gö'tı 'his buttocks'), Ggz gö't, VTt, Bsh küt, Kr Cr, Qzq {Ilm.} kö't, Chv кут kut 𐌆 kot 'buttocks', Qrg, Alt/Tlt {RL} kö't id., 'genitalia (male, female)', Uz ket 'hind part, tail'; T *Köten 'anus, buttocks' > MQp, Nog köten, Tk Δ göden, Az gōdān, Qrg kötön, Alt ködön, ET Δ kutän, Chv L kud_ana id. ¶ T *Köt belongs here if its primary meaning is 'buttocks' rather than 'backside' ¶ Cl. 700, MKD 111, ET GD 84-5, TL 281, Jeg. 121, Md. 50, 170 (T *k'öt'), UzR 210 || D: [1] SD *kūti ({ḡGS} *kūdi) 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > Tm kūtī 'pudendum muliebre', Ml kūtī id., 'posteriors', Tu kūdi id., 'anus', Td ku'ḡy 'anus, buttocks' || [2] Kt kuṭ 'clitoris' (× N *k'i't'u' ~ *k'i't'u' 'to tickle', ? 'to itch') ¶ D ##1888, 2049 ◇ Ch {Stl.} *kōʔud and the long *ū in D suggest the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ?), that may account for the variation *k- (in T) ~ *k̄- (reflected in HS and IE), if it is supposed that this *k̄- goes back to *kʔ- ◇ The vw. *-o- in NaT *Kotak (for the expected *u) still needs explaining ◇ Cp. also pKo {S} *kút 'hole, pit' (> MKo kút, NKo kut, kudāḡi, see S QK #462, Nam 62, MLC 197, 216). If the Ko word belongs here, the primary meaning of the N word was 'hole' (see DQA and SDM97 s.v. *kot'e 'hole') ◇ Blz. DA155 [#35] (D, HS).

1227. *kUt∇ 'small' > HS: S *√k̄t̄n 'be(come) small\little\thin' > Hb √k̄t̄n 'be little', Sr √k̄t̄n 'become \ smaller \ weaker', Md √k̄t̄n 'be fine \ thin \ narrow', Gz, Tgr √k̄t̄n 'be thin \ fine \ lean', Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq √k̄t̄n 'become thin', Ak √k̄t̄n 'become thin\narrow'; Hb k̄ā'tān / f. k̄ātan'n-ā 'small', IA k̄t̄yn, JEA יִבְיָ קַאֲתִיִּן, JA/Sr كَاتِيْن كَاتِيْن k̄at̄t̄ī'n-ā 'something small', Gz k̄at̄t̄īn 'fine, thin, subtle', Ar (× √qt̄n 'reside in a place') qat̄t̄īn- {Hv.} 'residant slaves, servants', {BK} 'gens de la maison, domestiques', Ak k̄at̄ru 'thin, fine, narrow, younger'; a CS

(pCn) stem * $\sqrt{k}t\ddot{t}$ without extensions may be suggested by MHb {Js.} $\dot{k}it\dot{k}et$ v. 'make fine' and Ug {A} $\dot{k}\sqrt{k}t\ddot{t}$ (inv. $\dot{k}t$) 'zerkleinern' (not mentioned in OLS) ¶ KB 1021-2, KBR 1092-3, BK II 774, Hv. 617, Js. 1348, Sl. 1005, BK II 774, LG 453, LH 262, Jo. M 245, Jo. H 80, Jo. J 155, Sd. 908, CAD XIII 163-4, 173, Js. 1347, A #2398 || C: Ag {AD} * $\dot{k}^{\omega}t\ddot{t}$ - 'be small' > Bln {R} $\dot{q}t$ ($\dot{k}^{\omega}t$) 'be small, little, few', Xm {R} $\dot{w}it$, Q {R} $\dot{y}et$, \dot{it} id., Bln $\dot{q}t$ 'small number of', $\dot{q}t$ - $\dot{u}x$ 'few, little (quantity)' ¶ R WB 24-5, AD SF 83, Ap. AOL 3 (pAg * $\dot{o}qt$ -/ $\dot{k}^{\omega}at$ -) || NrOm {Blz.} * $\dot{k}ot$ > Shk {Fl.} $\dot{k}ota$ 'small', Gmr {Fl.} $\dot{k}ot$ id. ¶ Blz. OL #153, Fl. OWL s.v. 'small', Fl. AGC 601 || Eg fMK $\dot{k}tt$ 'small', {Fk.} $\dot{k}t$ 'pettiness', {EG} v. 'be small, little', {EG} $\dot{k}tt$ 'child, young of a bird', {Fk.} 'girl' ¶ EG V 147, Fk. 287 || Ch {JS} * $\sqrt{k}dm$ 'small' > WCh: Hs {Ba.} $\dot{k}ad\dot{a}n$ 'a few, a small quantity' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} $\dot{k}od\dot{o}mm\acute{a}$ 'small' || ?? ECh: Mtk {ChL} $\dot{k}^{\omega}ot\ddot{t}$ 'small' ¶ JS 238, ChC, ChL, Ba. 819, Nw. WLT 45 ¶¶ ≈ OS #1615 (* $\dot{k}u\dot{t}un$ 'small'), ≈ Sk. HCD 130 || K * $\dot{k}u\dot{t}u$ - 'small' > G Gr/I $\dot{k}u\dot{t}a$ - 'boy', G I, Mg, Lz $\dot{k}u\dot{t}u$ - 'boy's penis', Sv {TK}: UB/L $\dot{k}ot\ddot{t}$, UB $\dot{k}we\dot{t}\ddot{t}$ -LB $\dot{k}we\dot{t}ol$ ~ $\dot{k}ot\ddot{t}ol$ 'little, small, few' ¶¶ Cp. Sv $\dot{k}o\check{c}\ddot{t}$ $\dot{k}we\check{c}\ddot{t}$ $\dot{k}(\omega)e\check{c}ol$ ~ $\dot{k}o\check{c}ol$ id. < N * $\dot{k}U\check{c}\nabla$ 'cut/chop into small pieces' (q.v.) × N * $\dot{k}U\dot{t}\nabla$ 'small' ¶¶ K 118, K² 105, FS K 195, FS E 214, Q 263, TK 349-50 || A: M * $\dot{q}otul(i)$ > WrM $\dot{q}otul(i)$, HIM хотол, хотоль 'two-year-old marmot, young deer', Kl Ö {Rm.} $\dot{x}ot\dot{t}$ 'young elk, young deer', Brt хотоли 'year-old marmot, female marmot (Marmota sibirica)' ¶ MED 973, KW 190, Chr. 592 ◇ IS I 329-30 (HS, K, D), AD GD #139 ◇ It is worth paying attention to IE: NaIE * $\dot{k}at$ - 'young of an animal; to give birth (of animals)' > L $\dot{c}atulus$, Um $\dot{k}atel$ 'young of an animal' || Sl * $\dot{k}otiti$ $\dot{s}\dot{e}$ 'give birth (of mammals)' (> R $\dot{k}o\dot{t}it\dot{s}y\dot{s}$, Blg 'коти се, Cz $\dot{k}ototi$ $\dot{s}e$, P $\dot{k}oci\acute{c}$ $\dot{s}i\dot{e}$, etc.), Sl * $\dot{k}ot\dot{b}$ 'brood' (> SCr $\dot{k}ot$, Slv $\dot{k}ot$) || ? ON $\dot{h}ad\dot{n}a$ 'young goat' (P 534, Mn. 479, ESSJ XI 204-5, 211). But the unexpected IE vw. * \dot{a} and the lack of traces of N * \dot{u} prevent us from recognizing IE * $\dot{k}at$ - as a valid cognate ◇ Gr. II #346 (* $\dot{k}ut$ ~ * $\dot{k}it$ 'small') (J, CK. EA + err. A * $\dot{k}'i\check{c}'\nabla$ ~ * $\dot{k}'i\check{c}\nabla$).

1228. * $\dot{K}\ddot{a}\omega\nabla$ 'cavity, hole' > IE: NaIE * $\dot{k}ew\dot{u}a$ - 'cavity' > pAl {O} * $\dot{c}awila$ > Al $\dot{t}hell\acute{e}$ 'deep' (< * $\dot{k}owilo$ -) || Gk [Hs.] $\dot{k}\acute{o}oi$ · $\dot{\tau}\acute{a}$ $\dot{x}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\acute{a}\tau\alpha$ $\dot{\tau}\eta\varsigma$ $\dot{\gamma}\eta\varsigma$, $\dot{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\dot{\tau}\acute{a}$ $\dot{k}oi\lambda\acute{o}\mu\acute{a}\tau\alpha$ ('the hollows of the earth and the cavities'), Gk $\dot{k}o\check{\iota}\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ adj., n. 'hollow' (< * $\dot{k}owilo$ -s), L-gr.: Gk $\dot{k}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 'cave, prison' || L $\dot{c}avus$ ({P} < * $\dot{k}owos$) 'hollow, concave' || OIr $\dot{c}úa$ (< * $\dot{k}owos$) 'hollow', $\dot{c}úass$ 'cave', MW $\dot{k}eu$, W $\dot{c}au$ 'hollow', MBr {Em.} $\dot{q}ueu$

'creux, cavité', Br {Hm.} *keu* adj. 'creux', n. *keu* 'caverne, grotte', {Flr., P} *keo* 'grotto' || Ltv {ME} *šāva* 'scheidenartige Spalte oder Höhlung am Baum' | Sl **suĵ-* > OCS, OR *сѹжъ* *suĵb* 'vain', Blg *cyeta*, ChS *сѹѣта* *suĵeta* 'vanity' (↳ R *cy'eta*, SCr *sūĵeta* id.) || with heterocclisis: {EI} **kuHr* / **kuH'n-os* > NaIE {M} **kewā-r* ~ **kuā-r* / **kuā-n-* {AD} 'hole, emptiness' > OI *śūn'ya*m 'emptiness, Einöde', Av *sūra-* 'hole, lacuna' (< *kuur-*), NPrs *سوراخ* *sūrāx* 'hole, orifice' || Arm *սոր* *soɾ* 'hole, opening; den' (< **sovarō-*) || Gk *κύαρ* 'hole' (< **kuwr*) || ?? L *caverna* 'cave' (unless from Etr; *-erna* is considered to be an Etr sx., e.g. in *cisterna*) ¶ P 592-4, Vl. II 346, M K III 365, WH I 191-2, F I 891-2 and II 38, Vn. C 258, YGM-1 79, Flr. 98, Ern. 552, Hm. 455, ME IV 13, Sl. 206-7, Xud. II 374, O 474, Vs. III 797, Glh. 593, EI 96 (**kuH-*, **kuHr* / **kuH'n-os* 'hole, opening') || HS: CS **kaww-* 'hole, opening' > JA *kaw'w-ā*, *kaww-ə't-ā* 'hole, opening, window', JEA {Sl.} *kawwə'tā* (pl. *ka'wê*) 'window, small opening', Sr *كاف* *kaw'w-ā*, *كاف* *kawwə't-ā* 'opening, aperture, hole, window', Ar *كوف* *kuww-*, *كوة* *kuwwat-* 'garret-window, mural aperture' ¶ Lv. II 301, Sl. 557, Br. 320, JPS 20, Fr. IV 68, BK II 940, Hv. 669 || EC **ka:w-* 'hole' > Sml *qaw-*, Kns *qāw-a*, Gdl *qāw*, Brj *qaw-a*, Or B {Bl.} *qa-á*, {Sr.} *qā*, Or Wl {Bl.} *qāww-a* 'hole', {Brl.} *qawa* id. ('buco, foro') ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Sr. 35, Brl. 339 || D **kav-i* ({GS} **gavi*) 'hole, cave' > Tm *kevi* 'deep valley, cave', Kn *gavi* 'cave', Tu *gavi* 'cave, hole, cell', Tl *gavi* 'cavern' ¶ D #1332 || ?ϕ A: NaT **k'uy* > OT *quy* 'a secluded spot, cave', Alt, Tv *quy*, Tf *huq*, Xk *χuy* 'cave', Qrg *quy* 'deep ravine, rift caused by an earthquake' ¶ Cl. 674, Ra. 191 ◇ Cp. N **Qayliwa* 'to dig' (q.v.).

1229. **Q'a?e'w* 'to hear, to notice' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'ear') > IE **kew-* / **keu-* ({EI} **keuh₁-*) 'listen to, perceive, pay attention to' > OI *ka'vi-h* 'skillful, wise; seer, sage, poet', Av *čavīšī* 'ich erhoffte, versah mich' || Gk *κοέω* 'I notice, hear', ? *κῆδος* 'glory' || L *caveō* / *cavēre* v. 'guard against, beware; take care for, provide', {EI} 'take heed' || AS *hāwian* 'look at' || Sl **čŭ-ti* (1s prs. **čŭjŭ*) 'to hear, to feel' > OCS *чѹти* *čuti* 'to feel, to notice', Blg *чѹ-м*, 'чѹв-ам v. 'hear, listen, guard', SCr *čŭ-ti*, Slk *čut'*, Uk 'чѹти, Blr *чѹць* 'to hear, to feel', Slv *čŭ-ti* 'to hear, to be awake', Cz *čítí*, P *czuć*, OR *чѹти* *čuti* 'to feel', *μ*: R 'чѹять id. || ? Ld *kawe-* 'priest' ({EI}: < **kuh₁ej*

'seer') ¶ P 587-8, EI 361 and 418, M KI 187-8, FI 890-1, WH I 186-7, Fs. 251-2, Vr. 226, Ho. 159, Ho. S 36, OsS 417, KM 316, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 || HS: NrOm: BMa {Fl.} kēw-, {SiW} k'éwá, Sz {Fl.} k'iwē, Sz 2 k'wākwā v. 'hear', ? Mch {L} k'äbbi id. (-bb- < *-ww-?) ¶ Fl. OWL, LM 45, SiW ABK 16, SiW BA 13 || ?φ EC: Cg {AMS} qabaq- 'hear', Hr/Dbs {AMS} kapaq-, ? Gln/Gwd apaq- (dis.?) ¶ Acceptable only if -b- and -p- go back to *-w-; alternatively, the Dullay and Mocha words may be tentatively equated with D *kapp- > Krx kapp- 'feel with the hand\feet, know' (D #1225), which suggests a N etymon *KAp▽ ¶ AMS 171, Ss. B 24 || U *ka|ow▽ ({Jn.} *kãw+) > Sm *kãw 'ear' > Ne xā, {Lh.} χā, Ne F {Lh.} kã ~ ka, Ng {Cs.} kou, En X {Cs.} kû, En B {Cs.} kô, Slq UTz {KKIH} qō, Kms {KD} q'u, Koyb {Sp.} ky, Mt {Hl.} *kuh (Mt: T {Pl.} γοκτα, {Ml.} gókta 'his ears', K {Ml.} guk 'ears', {Pl.} κυκτα, kúkta 'his ear', M {Ml.} gu, guk 'ears', {Pl.} κυκτα 'his ear', {Sp.} κύμα 'my ear') ¶ Jn. 62, KKI 163, Hl. M #569, unc. Sm. 538 (Sm *kãw 'ear' ÷ FP *kovra [> F korva 'ear, ? Vt kwar 'leaf, ? Z kor id.] < FU *kãwi < U *kãw+ 'ear') || A: NaT *Kū (× N *gu▽ 'to perceive' × o₂?) > OT {Cl.} kū 'rumour; fame, reputation', Qrg kū 'melody, tune', Brb {Tm.} kü 'sound, voice, noise', Az küy 'sound', Shor {Rl.} küg 'Lärm, Ton', Brb/Tlt {Rl.} kü 'Ton, Lärm, Stimme, Geschrei' (in Brb and Tlt: × T *küg 'melody' [{Cl.}: ← MChn k'jok 'song']), Qrg o†kū 'rumble, boom; fame'; ⇨ NaT *Kū-lük 'famous' > OT {Cl.} kūlük id., Qrg kūlū 'in good condition, quite fine' Sg {Rl.} kūlük 'hero', Xk kūlük 'wise, clever; wisdom', Qzl {Jk.} ku'lük 'verständig, geschickt'; T ⇨ NPrs Δ {Dr.} كولوك kūlūk 'geschickt'; T *k'jū- > OT {Cl.} kū- in the phrase küyü közeδü tut- v. 'protect and keep' ¶ Cl. 686-7, 709, 717-8, ET KQ 128-9, Tm. 105, Jud. 472-3, Rm. W 306, Dr. TM III #1686, Rl. II 1416-7, 1426, 1470-2, BIG 96, Jud. 473, Shch. SF 195 || Tg *xoyipun 'ear-rings' > Ul χοιρο(n-), Nn Nh χουρῶ, Nn B χουφο(n-), Ud wajga ≙ ojga, {Krm.} wayga ~ wayga, Lm olwun ~ oywun id. ¶ STM II 8, Krm. 217 || pKo {S} *kúí 'ear' (× N *KēHu'h'lüHê [or *Kē'h'u|y,ê??] 'hear', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr., GS} *kev- 'ear' > Tm, Ml, Tl cevī, Kt keyv ≙ kev, Td kifý, Kn kivī, Tu kebi, Klm, Nkr kev, Gnd kevi ≙ kawī ≙ kavi, Krx xebdā, Mlt {Drs.} qethwū, Brh xaf id. ¶ D #1977(a), Zv. 57, 119, 153, GS 59 [#169], 66 [#210] ◇ The comparison with Om, EC, Sm, Ko, and Tg was suggested by Blz. (p.c., Blz. DA 153 [#12]), Blz. LB #42a reconstructs pN *k'abi, which excludes IE, T, and Tg.

1230. **Ḳʰohaʷiʰ* ~ **Ḳʰohaʷli,y* ▽ 'sinew, thread' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bowstring') > **IE:** NaIE **gʷiyā*, **gʷiyos* 'sinew, bowstring' > OI 'jyā ~ ji'ā, Av j̄yā- 'bowstring', pIrn d. *žya-ka/-kī > NPrs 𐭪 zeh 'bowstring, lace' and Psh žāī, žāī 'bowstring' || Gk βιός 'bowstring; bow' || amb BSl: Lt gijà, Ltv dzi ja 'thread' | Sl *žī-ca > OCS жица žica 'sinew', SCr žiča 'sinew, string', Blg 'жица 'thread, wire', R Δ жица 'combed wool-yarn' (× NaIE **gʷheja-*/**gʷhī-* 'vein, sinew, rope') ¶ IE **gʷ-* < pre-IE (before the cns. shift) **kʷ-* < ***ḳho-* < N **Ḳoh-* ¶ WP I 670, 694, P 481, 489, EI 78 (**gʷ(i)yeḥ*_ḥ / gen. **gʷiḥ*_ḥ-os), M KI 448, Sg. 630, Vl. II 160, Morg. 105, F I 237, Tr. 87, 90, Frn. 150, Vs. II 57-8, Glh. 709 || **HS:** WS **ḳaww-* 'string, thread', **ḳw?* 'weave' > BHb 𐩧𐩢𐩪 ḳaw ~ 𐩧𐩢𐩪 ḳāw 'string for stretching and measuring', MHb 𐩧𐩢𐩪 ḳaw 'thread, line', → 'circle, zone', JA [Trg.] pl. 𐩧𐩢𐩪𐩠 ḳi wʔ-īn 'webs', JEA (Yemenite trad.) 𐩧𐩢𐩪𐩠 ḳēw aʔē, 𐩧𐩢𐩪𐩠 ḳəw aʔē 'threads', JA {Lv.} 𐩧𐩢𐩪 ḳawʷ-ā 'thread', pl. 𐩧𐩢𐩪 ḳawʷ-īn 'web (Spinnewebe)', Sr ḳawē 'woven', {Br.} 'textilis', pl. ḳawīn, ḳawayyā 'texta', Md ḳaua 'web', Sq {L} ḳa 'thread'; hardly here Ak ḳû(m) 'measure (measuring vessel, etc.)', though this Ak word may have influenced Hb ḳaw~ḳāw ¶ KB 1010-1, KBR 1081, Lv. IV 257, Br. 651, DM 399, L LS 365, Sd. 924-5 (Ak ← Sum gū), CAD XIII 288-91 || B ***ḳaHli,y* > **yāyy-* > Ah ta-yayye 'shooting bow' ¶ Fc. 1710 || **A:** M **quyan* > WrM quyan, HIM хуян 'tendon, sinew, nerve', ? Ord хуян 'rheumatisme'; M **quyi* ~ **küyi* 'umbilical cord' > MM [S] qui, Ord k'ū 'umbilical cord', KI {KRS} ки kī 'umbilical cord (cut off)', WrM küi, HIM хүй id., 'navel', KI {Rm.} kī 'navel' ⇨ M **küyi-sün* 'umbilical cord, navel' > Ord k'ūsū, KI киисн kīsən id., KI {Rm.} kīsṅ, MM [MA] küysün, WrM küisün, HIM хүйс 'navel' ¶ H 71, MED 498, 983, Pp. MA 226, KRS 298, KW 234, Ms. O 365, 441 || **D** **kō-* ({ḡGS} **k-*) v. 'string, thread' > Tm kō-, kōr-, Ml kōkka, korkka, Kn kō-, Kdg koya-, Prj kōp- / kōt- v. 'string', Tm kōccil 'what appears like a string, pod', Kt kō·v-, Klm kō·nz-, Nkr kōnž- v. 'string, thread', Tu kō pæ 'a string of fruits', Tl k(r)ōva 'a string', ? Gnd kāč- v. 'thread needle', 'string' (of garland, beads), ? Mlt kunye v. 'string (as beads)' ¶¶ D 2176.

1231. **ḲAhw* ▽ 'seize, grasp, hold' > **HS:** S **ḳḥw* > Ar ḳḥw (ip. - ḳḥū) {Hv.} v. 'snatch, take the whole of', {Fr.} 'cepit omnino (opes)', {BK} 'râfler, 'enlever, emporter tout' ¶ Fr. III 403, BK II 681-2, Hv. 590 || B ***ḳw* (> **ḳw* / **qwy*) > Sll {Ds.} ăḳwī (3m pf. iḳwī, hab.

iqq^way) 'seize' ¶ Ds. 254 || K *k_aw-/*k_w- v. 'seize, hold, take' > G k_av- v. 'take, hold, occupy', da-k_av-eba 'festhalten', še-k_av-eba 'zurückhalten', da-a-k_av-a 'er hielt ihn fest', Lz k_n- v. 'seize with the hand', Mg d. k_un- ~ k_in- 'hold, draw', Lz d. k_n- v. 'grasp (with a hand), snatch', Sv {FS} k_aw-, k_w- 'take, catch': li-k_w-en-i 'anhalten, festhalten, fangen', x_w-a-k_w-en-i 'ich fange', č-ot-k_äw 'ich hielt fest', la₁-k_äw 'festgehalten, besetzt' ¶¶ K 104-5 (*k₋), K² 84 *k_aw-/*k_w-), FS K 167, FS E 182 (both reconstruct *k_aw-), Chik. 293-4 || D *ka_v- ({ǂGS} *k-) v. 'grasp' > Tm kav_ar v. 'seize, grasp, catch', MI kav_aruka v. 'plunder, rob', Kn kav_ar v. 'take away by force, seize', Krg kam_di v. 'steal', Tl kav_aγ_u v. 'embrace, copulate', ? OTl, Tl kam_uγ_u v. 'hold, seize' ({Km.} -m- < *-v-); D ⇨ OI kav_arak_i- a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D ##1326, Zv. 45, Km. 325 ◇ Fn. KD #24 (K, D).

1232. *k_ax_u ~ *k_ax_u 'strike, push' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'hew', 'touch') > HS: EC: Or {Th.} k_u?-a (nom. k_u?an) 'colpo, percossa, bastonata', {Grg.} k_u?a v. 'chip off', ??σ Arr k_ēh- v. 'split, tear' ¶ Th. 282, Grg. 334, Hw. A 378 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} k_u?- v. 'wound' ('ferire'), k_u?-is- v. 'strike' ('percuotere'), Wl {LmS} k_u?- 'split' ¶ Mrn. O 156, LmS 427 || K: GZ *k_weχ- 'push in, fill in' > G I/Gr k_veχ- vt. {K²} id., {Chx.} 'ingendwo hinein-stecken\zwängen, einkeilen, einquetschen', Mg k_vaχ- 'push\fill in' ¶ K² 94, Chx. 580-1 || IE *ka_hw- /k_hw- ~ *ka_uh- > NaIE *k_aw-/*k_āw-/*k_ū-, *ka_ul_ə- v. 'strike, hew' (× N *qE'z'û 'to shape [an object] by chopping, beating, etc.)' v. 'form an object by chopping\hammering' > ON h_qggva, OHG houwan, NHG hauen, AS hēawan 'to hew', NE hew || Lt k_āuti (prs. k_āuju, p. k_óviau) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', kov_à 'a fight', Ltv n_ò-ka_ūt 'to kill, to slaughter'; Lt k_ūjis 'sledge-hammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' || Sl *kov_ǎ-ti (prs. *k_ūj-q ~ *k_òv-q) 'to forge, to hammer' > OCS KOBA_TH kovati (1s prs. KOB_ǫ kov_ǫ), SCr k_òvati (prs. k_ūjēm), Slv kov_áti, OCz kovati, Cz kouti, Slk kovat', P kuć (prs. kuję), Δ kowac, R ко'вать (prs. к'у'ю) id., Blg ко'ва v. 'forge, hammer'; pSl *k_īǰь 'hammer, stick, cudgel' > OCS K_ЫИ k_īǰь, SCr † kiǰ 'hammer', Lls kiǰ 'stick, cudgel, hammer', Slv kiǰ 'large (wooden) beetle', Cz kuj 'stick, cudgel', P kiǰ 'stick', OR, RChS K_ЫИ k_īǰь 'hammer, cudgel', R Δ ки'й 'stick, hammer (for stunning fish and building stoves)', as well as R ки'й 'billiard cue' (× ← Fr cueue id.) || pTc {Ad.} ka_u- > Tc: A ko-, B

καυ- v. 'strike down, destroy' ¶ WP I 330-1, P 535, EI 549 (*keh_hu- 'strike, hew'), Mn. 483-4, Lehm. GE 213 (ON -ggv- < IE -wX-), Vr. 280, Kb. 483, OsS 491, KM 293, Ho. 153, Frn. 232, En. 198, Trj. P K-L 238-41, ESSJ XII 10-1, Glh. 340, Vs. II 231, Wn. 227-8, Ad. 208 || U: FU *kayV- v. 'hit (the target), touch, push against sth., knock against' > ObU {Ht.} *kāy- id. > pVg *kāy- 'hit (the target), touch, knock against' > Vg: T kāy-/kay-, LK xōy-/xoy-, MK kōy-/koy-, Ss xōy-; pOs *kay- v. 'dash, strike, hit, hit (the mark)' > Os: V/Vy qay-, Ty/Y qāy-, D/K xoy-, Nz/Kz xoy-, O xay- || F καίωτα 'to touch, to touch upon' ¶ UEW 118, Coll. 85, SK 145, Ht. #230, MK 95, BV 13, Trj. S 143, Stn. D 437-8 || A: M *qayī- > WrM qai-, HIM xай- v. 'hew, cut, chop'; b→ M *qayī-čīn 'scissors' > WrM qaiči(n), HIM xайч id., 'tong, pincers', Mnr H {SM} χē'zī (misprint for χē'zī?), {T} χēzī, Mnr M {T} qayzī, Dx qayčī 'scissors'; b→ M *qayī-čī-la- v. 'cut, clip, shear' > Mnr H {SM} χē'zīla- couper avec les ciseaux, tondre' ¶ MED 911-2, SM 166, T 375, T DnJ 124.

1233. *ḲayV 'look, look for' > HS: C {E} *Ḳay- 'hunt, look for' > Ag: Bln {R} qəy-, qāy- (q = [k]) 'hunt, chase after (nachsetzen jemandem)', Xm {R} xay- 'bewachen' || EC: ??σ Ya -qaj- 'kill' ¶ E PC #153, R WB 248, R Ch II 59 || IE: NaIE *k_lω₁ey-/*k_lω₁oy- 'observe, look' > OI 'cāya-ti 'perceives, is afraid of' || SI *čaja-ti (prs. *čaj-q) 'to expect, to hope' (× N *ḲuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > OCS, OR ΥΑΙΑΤΗ čajati 'to expect', SCr čājati, Slv čājati 'to wait, to expect', Cz čajáti 'to wait for, to hope', R чаять 'to expect, to hope' ¶ OI 'cāya-ti 'respects' and Gk τίω 'appreciate, respect' do not necessarily belong here (for lack of reliable semantic ties) (they belong rather to {E} *k^ωeh₁(y)- 'fear, revere' and/or *k^ωej- v. 'take revenge, repent; worth, price', see N *ḲoyV 'to compensate, to take revenge'), hence we need not reconstruct IE *k^ω- ¶ P 636-7, M KI 383, M EI 531. ESSJ IV 10-1, ≈ EI 198 || A: M *qayī- v. 'seek, search; look all around' > WrM qai-, HM, Brt xай- id., Ord χᾱ- 'chercher, examiner', WrO xai- 'seek, search', Kl xəə- χᾱ- id., {Rm.} 'suchen, nachspüren' ¶ MED 911, Ms. O 345, Krg. 255, KRS 587, KW 179.

1234. (₂?) *Ḳ'E'yû 'person of the same clan' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'friend') > IE: NaIE *kēj₁w- 'person of the same clan' > OI 'śēva- 'dear, intimate' || OL cείνις, L cīνις, Osc CEUS 'citizen' || OHG hīwo 'married man, husband', {OsS} id., 'member of the clan (Hausgenosse), servant (Knecht)', AS hīwan pl. 'family, household', hīw-cund 'domestic, familiar' (> NE hind 'farm labourer'), OSx d. hīwa, OHG d.

hīwa 'wife', ON hjú(n) ~ hjón 'one of the household', pl. 'married couple, members of a family', Gt hejwafrauja 'οἰκοδεσπότης, master of the house' || Ltv siēva 'wife' ¶ P 539-40 (believes that *kēiω- is an extension of *kēi- 'lie, liegen'), M K III 376, WH I 224-5, Bc. G 314, Vr. 233, Fs 253-4, Schz. 168, Kb. 472, OsS 404, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, Fs. 253-4, Kar. II 179, EI 214 and 622 (*kēiω-s ~ *kī'ω-s 'belonging to the household') || **HS:** C: Bj {R} 'k^ωāya 'comrade, friend' ¶ R WBd 154 ¶ The labialized k^ω- is probably due to the spread of labiality *u|w (sth. like *k^ω'E'yû > **k^ωUyU > Bj 'k^ωāya) || Eg fP {EG} kyū, {Fk.} ky 'other' (≡σ: Sl *drugъ 'friend' - *drug-ъ/-оуь 'other') ¶ EG V 110-5, Fk. 285 || **A:** ??σ M *qayalid 'second cousin of the father's side' > WrM qayalid, HIM хаялид id. (unless ← *qoyar 'two')] ??σ M *qayira 'love; grace, mercy, compassion' > WrM qaira, HIM хайр id., ← M *qayirala- v. 'love, have mercy' > WrM qairala-, HIM хайрла- id., MM [HI] qairala- 'témoigner de l'affection', qayirala- 'avoir compassion', [S] qayirala- 'have pity of, care for', [MA] qairala-ba tündü 'did him a favour', ← M *qayiran 'dear (chéri)' > WrM qairan, HIM хайран 'dear, nice; pitiable, regrettable', Ord {Ms.} χāran 'digne de pitié'. Mnr H {SM} χē'ran 'cher, chéri' ¶ MED 913, SM 167, Pp. MA 288, Ms. H 86, 89, H 64 ¶ For the semantic change 'friendship' → 'love' cp. R род'ной ('of the same family' → 'beloved').

1235. (₂?) *koy∇ 'compensate, take revenge' > IE: NaIE *k^ωej- v. 'take revenge, reprove', 'worth, price' > Av kāy- 'vergeltēn, büßen', čikayaṭ (he) carries out reprisal, punishes, takes revenge', OI 'cayatē 'revenges, punishes' || Gk A τίω, Gk Ep τίω v. 'pay honour, honour', Gk τίνω v. 'pay (a price by way of return), pay (penalty)', τίσις 'payment (by way of return\recompence), retribution, vengeance' || ? OIr cín (gen. cínad) 'faute, crime, culpabilité, responsabilité' (P: < *k^ωinu-t-s) || Sl *kǎjati 'to reprove, to blame' (→ vt. 'confess') > Slv kájati 'to reprove', OR, ChS καῖατι kajati, R Δ 'каятъ vt. 'to reprove, to blame; to confess', Sl *kǎja-ti se 'to repent' > OCS каῖατι са kajati se, SCr kǎjati se, Slv kájati se, Cz kāti se, Slk kajat' sa, P kajać się, R 'каяться id., Blg 'кая се v. 'repent' || ← NaIE *kwojnā 'compensation, price' > Av kaēnā- 'penalty, vengeance', {Brtl.} 'Strafe, Vergeltung, Rache', ZPhl kēn 'revenge', NPrs کین kīn id., 'hatred, enmity' || Gk ποινή 'quit-money for blood spilt; price, requital, penalty' || Mlr {EI} cín 'guilt, crime, payment due' || Lt

káina 'price, cost, worth'; Pru d. er-kīnint 'to liberate (from the devil)' || Sl *cě'na (accus. *cěno) 'price, worth' > OCS ЦѢНА cěna, Blg це'на, Slv céna, Cz, Slk, P cena id., R це'на (accus. цену), Uk ці'на, SCr céna & cijèna 'price' ¶ P 637, M KI 376, Brtl. 429, 464, Bai. 440, Sg. 1070, F II 573-4, 906-7, Vn. C 101, Frn. 203, En. 170, Tr. PE-H 75-8, ESSJ III 182 and IX 115-7, Glh. 162, 309-10, EI 123 (*k^woĭneh_Ā 'compensation' < *k^weĭ- 'fine, punish'), ≈ 198 (*k^weh₁(y)- 'fear, revere') || HS: B **√(w)kH 'take revenge' > Ah əqq 'être vengé, se venger', Ah, ETwl, Ty eṽa 'vengeance', BMn 1s pf. ūṽī-ṽ 'I took revenge', hab. ttaṽ ¶ Fc. 1683, GhA 64 || ?σ D (att. in NED) *^okōy- v. 'measure' > Krx *xoy- v. 'measure, ascertain the extent \ quantity \ capacity of', Mlt qoye v. 'weigh, measure', as well as ?? Gnd kah- & kaʔ- v. 'measure, count' ¶¶ D # 2227.

1236. *Ḳuṽa 'manner' (→ 'like, as') > U: FU *kuṽa 'custom, manner; as, like' > Er/Mk koy '(national) custom, peculiarity, way of life', Mk кодыма postp. 'like, similar to' || ? Es kuj_u 'shape, form, figure' || Prm {LG} *kod ({{LG} *kōd) 'as, like' > OPrm kōy_d, Z кодь kōd, Z US kōd, Yz 'kud, Vt кадъ kād || Vg {Kn.}: T kəytəl, LK xojtəl, P koytəl, Ss xōytəl ~ xōīt 'like, as (gleich, wie, nach Art)' ¶ UEW 195, Slv. 38-9, W EDW 402, LG 127 || HS: [1] *ka₁ya₁ > S *ka ~ *^okay(a) 'like, as' (preposition of comparison or identity) > OA k-, IA, BA -ḳə-, Ar ka- 'like, as', Hb -ḳə kā- / -ḳə kə-, מִכֶּה kə-'mō 'like', הַכֶּה kā-'zē 'such' (lit. 'like this'), Ug k, Amr {G} ka, ki 'as, like', Ar ka-miḥli-hi 'as him' (lit. 'as his likeness'), Sb k 'as, like', Tgr kə-m 'according to, like', ? Ak kī ~ kē (< *kay] 'as, just as'), kī 'how?', Eb {Krb.} ga ka, gi kī 'as, like'; S *-ka, ending of adverbs of manner: *ṽay-ka(y) 'how?' (lit. 'which like?') > Hb אֵיךְ 'ē-ḳ ~ אֵיכָה 'ē-'ḳā, Ug ṽ'k [*ṽēka], OA, Aram ṽyk, Ak akī ~ akē 'how?'; *ka-ka ~ *ka-kay(a) 'so' (lit. 'this like') > Hb כֶּה 'kāḳ ~ כֶּה 'kā-ḳā, Ak kīkī ~ kīkē ~ kīkiya 'so' ¶ KB 38, II 432-3, 458, KBR 39, 455-6, Seg. AAG 351-2, HJ 45, Br. AG 114, LH 394, Grd. UT §§ 10.9, 12.3, OLS 205-6, G A 22, Ln. 2998, BGMR 237, Sd. 468f., CAD VIII 316-29, 351, Krb. PE 84, 86 || C: Bj {R} kā-k(ṽ) 'how?' (interr. kā- [< N *Ḳo 'who?'] + -k(ṽ) of manner), {Rop.} kāk 'how?, what... like?', Bj {R} bak ~ bakṽ 'so, like this/that' || Ag *-ḳa 'as, like' > Xm {Ap.} wá-qā 'how much\many?', Km wə-ḳa 'how many?', wa-ḣ 'how?' (wa-, wə- is interrogative, cp. Km wā, Xm {Ap.} wír 'what?') || EC: Arr kā-kó(h) 'how much\many?' (kā of quantity [← *manner] + interr. -kó(h), cp.

mākó(h) 'when?', bukó 'which one?' m.), possibly Or: Or B {Sr.} ak(k)a 'way, manners, customs; as, like', Or H/Wt akka 'as, like' ¶ R WBd 46, 138-9, R BedS §§ 182, 192, Rop. 203, Ap. Kh I 264, Ap. K 321, Hw. A 232-4, Sr. 261-2, Grg. 13, Brl. 12-3 || B: Gd əmmək 'how?', 'de sorte que, de manière que' (interr. *m∇- + *-k 'as') ¶ Lf. II #O993 ||| [2] ? HS *°-k∇ ('as, like?') > Ch: Hs kəkək 'like' (prep.), kəkək 'as, like'; the structure of kəkək may be as in Bj (interr. + *-k∇ 'as, like') ¶ Ba. 531-2, 619 || IE: [1] NaIE *°-k_Lω_L (ending of adverbs of manner and of denom. adjectives) > Sl *-ko 'as, like' in the pronominal adverbs *ja-ko 'how?, like' (*ja- 'which' + *-ko 'like, as'), *ka-ko 'how?' (IE inter. *kω_L- + *-ko 'like'), *ta-ko 'so' (*to- 'this' + *-ko) > OCS jakо, kаkо, takо, R как, так, P jak, tak, etc.; this et. is especially plausible if the corresponding Sl adjectives *jakъ 'qualis', *kakъ id., and *takъ 'talis' are based on the adverbs and not viceversa; but even if the basic form were adjectives, an underlying IE *-ko 'like' is not ruled out | [2] NaIE *ku_L 'how?' (< cd. *k^ω-ku_L 'which way? quo-modo?') > MLG wū, OSx hūō, hū, OFrs, AS hū 'how?', NE hōw || ?φ OIr cō 'how?' || ?φ Av čū 'how?' ¶ Brg. KVG § 399, Rch. § 375, Vn C 134, Ho. 177, Ho. S 37-9, ESSJ I 64-5 (s.v. *ako / *jako?), VIII 171 [*jakъ(jъ)], and IX 118-9 [*kako, *kakъ(jъ)], ≠ P 647-8 || A: NaT *-ki ~ *-g in *tāk(i) ~ *täg postp. 'like' (< dem. prn. + *-g 'as' > OT tāk_Lg 'like' (postp.) (a long vw. suggested by MK's spelling), OAz tākī ~ tāk (sän tākī 'comme toi'), Tkm dāk, Uz -dāk (tämir-dāk 'like iron'), Tv дег 'as, like' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 468, Shch. OSMN 88, TvR 151 || Tg *-k (an ending of essive) > Ewk Urm -k (essive before the verb ̄- 'become': burki1̄-k ̄-mi 'become ill'), Lm -k (ending of the essive case) ¶ Vas. 757 ◇ If NaIE *ku_L, *°-ko and Hs kəkək do not belong here, the N rec. will be *k|kuyā.

1237. *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be in heat, lust') > HS: S *°√kwy 'be hungry' > Ar √qwū (np. -qwūy-) 'be very hungry', قوی qaṣā- ~ قوا qaṣā? 'hunger' (× Ar √qwū 'être vide') ¶ BK II 842-3, Hv. 636 || B *°√wq_LH_L (< **√qw_LH_L) v. 'copulate' (× N *hoqū 'copulate', q.v. ffd.) || K {FS} *kō- 'desire' > Mg m-o-kō 'I want' (lit. 'mihi est voluntas'), g-o-kō 'you (sg.) want', o-kō 'wants', Lz kō-: b-kvat-i-kō-n 'ich möge zerschneiden', b-čar-a-kō-n 'ich möge schreiben', Sv ku-: m-a-ku 'ich möchte', ž-a-ku 'du möchtest', χ-a-ku 'er möchte' ¶ FS K 187, FS E 205 || IE: NaIE *kω_L 'desire' > OI kētā-h 'desire, will, intention', Av kaētā- 'Begehren' (in a cd.) || Gk κίττα, Gk

A κίσσα 'false appetite (of pregnant women)', Gk κισσάω, Gk A κιστάω v. 'crave for strange food' (of pregnant women), 'long to do (a th.)' || Pru quāits n. 'will (Wolle)', quoi '(he) wants', Lt kviečiū / kviešti v. 'invite' ({Db.}: Lt iē points to the absence of any lr.) ¶ WPI 475-6, P 632, M K I 265, M E I 399, F I 860-1, Frn. 326, En. 200, Tr. P K-L 366-74, 384-6, Db. SA 235-262 || U: FU *küye (or *keye-) 'lust, amorous calling sounds' (×FU *kEyθ∇- 'utter the mating call' [of birds in courtship ritual], 'sing' < N *gaŷügaæ 'covet, long for', [→?] 'mate, copulate') > Prm *koy- 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of male capercalxies, etc.) > Z Δ koy-, koyt-, Z US kōy- id., Z koy-t, Yz 'kut 'birds' mating season\place' || Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' | ObU {Ht.} *kēy- ~ *kōy- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of birds) > pVg *kǎy- 'balzen' > Vg: T kiy-, UL/Ss *kay-LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kǎy-; pOs {Ht} *köy- ({JHl.} *kǒy-) id. > Os: V/Vy köy-, Ty kǒy-, Y kōy-, D këy-, K kǎy-, Nz/Kz key-, O qoy- id. ¶ Coll. 79, Sm. 543 (FU *kiχi 'rut' > FP *kiχi-, Ugr *kĩgĩ-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. #231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167 || A: M *quyalı > WrM quyalı, HIM хуял 'lust, lasciviousness; lusty, lewd', ? Kl χῦλ 'Hure, Keksweib (der Fürsten)' ¶ MED 263 || ???σ T *k_l'ıy- (unless ← *kiy- 'hew, cut') > OOsM [DQ] 'intend to', Ggz, Qzq, Qrg qıy-, VTt qby-, Chv хăй- χby- 'take a decision to do sth.' ¶ ET Q 197-8 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #701 (incl. T).

1238. *kæ'h'uy∇ (or *kæ'h'üy∇?) to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to boil, to cook') > IE: NaIE *kēy-/*kay-/*kū- vt. 'set fire to, burn' > Gk I καίω, Gk A κάω 'I set on fire, light, kindle' (< *καF-jω), Gk Ep (med.) κηάμην, καῦμα 'burning heat (of the sun)' || pTc {Ad.} *kāun > Tc: A korñ, B kayñ 'sun' (← 'burning heat of the sun') || ?? Blt: Lt kŭlėti 'be blighted, brandig werden' (of corn), kŭlės 'brand, smut, blight (of corn)', Ltv kŭla 'last year's withered (← 'burnt') grass'; the ancient meaning has been preserved in a loan-word in BF: F kulō 'Waldfeuer, withered grass' ¶ P 595, EI 88 (? *kēh_hw- 'burn'), F I 756-7, Frn. 306-7, SK 234-5, Ad. 210-1 || HS: S *✓kwy (*-kwıy-) vt. 'burn' > BHb G prtc. כָּוָה kō'wē 'burn, scorch' (h. l. Jr. 23.29), (N ip. 2m) תִּכְוָה tikkā'wē 'be scorched', JA [Trg.], ChPA, Sr ✓kwy|w (כּוּא, כּוּה) vt. 'burn', Ar ✓kwy (pf. kāwā, ip. -kwıy-) vt. 'cauterize', ? Ak fOB ✓kwy|w (inf. kawû) vt. 'bake' (unless this is a secondary variant of kamû id., as claimed by CAD VIII 131 against the

ev. of Ak OB: *kakkartum ku-wi-i* 'bake *kakkartum*-bread') ¶ Br. 320, KB 441, KBR 463, Lv. II 302-3, BK II 946, Hv. 671, Sd. 441, 466-7 || SOM: Hm K {Fl.} *kaʔo* vt. 'burn', Hm B {Fl.} *ko·ka* id. ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn' || ?? C: Ag **kaw-* 'warm' > Bln {R} *kaw-s-* 'erwärmen', *kaw-r-* 'sich erwärmen', *kawrnā* 'die Wärme', Q {R} *kō-t-* 'such wärmen', *kaw-t-anā* 'Wärme' ¶ R WB 231 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krf {Sch.} *kàʔú-wò* vt. 'burn', Tng {J} *kawε* vt. 'fry (groundnuts, meat)'; NrBc: P' {J} *kù* vt. 'fry, roast', {MSk.} *ku* 'fry', Wrj/Jmb/My {Sk.} *kaw-*, Kry {Sk.} *kàw-*, Cg {Sk.} *kuwa*, Sir {Sk.} *kū* 'fry'; Ngz {Sch.} *kàuyú* 'fry (in oil)' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} *káwá* 'fry' || ECh: Ll {Grgs.} *kúy* 'fry', Ke {Eb.} *kí* vt. 'burn', Mu {J} *kèwí* 'fire' ¶ JI II 54-5, 154-5, 274, J T 96, Sk. NB 22, Eb. 70, Sch. BTL 55, Sch. DN 95 ¶¶ Blz. OL #103 (HS **kawu-* 'burn'), OS #1441 (HS **kaw-* 'set fire') || U **key¹e-* vi. 'boil, be cooked, ripen' > F *keittä-* vt. 'boil, cook', *kiehu-* vi. 'boil', Es *kee-* vi. 'boil, cook' | ? Lp K {Gn.} *kihte-* & *kēhte-* vt. 'cook' | Chr: L *κῦα-* *küa-*, Uf *küa-* vi. 'be cooked, baked, ripen', H *κῦα-* *küä-* 'be cooked, baked', B *küya-* 'ripen, be baked' || Hg Δ *kōved-* 'abgekocht, gedünstet, im großen und ganzen gekocht werden' || Sm: Ne F: Ks *kū-* v. 'ripen' (of berries), Ny *kūbī* 'ripe soft cloudberry' ¶¶ UEW 143, Coll. 23, MRS 256, Ep. 50 || A: [1] NaT **k'ayin-* ~ **k'ayna-* vi. 'boil' > OT *qayin-*, *qayna-* id., Tk *kayna-*, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Xlj *qayna-*, Kr *kayna-*, Xk *χayna-*, Tv *χayin-*, Tf {Ra.} *hējn-*, {TL ← ?} *χaen-* 'boil (sieden)', Az, Tkm *qayna-*, Ggz *kayna-*, Uz, Slr *qayna-* id., 'boil (be cooked)', Yk {Pek.} *kīyin-* ~ *kiyin-* 'cook, be cooked', {JkR} *kīy-* 'boil (sieden)' ¶ Cl. 678, ET KQ 203-5, Ra. 188, JkR 215, Pek. 1371-2 || M **qayira-* > WrM *qaira-*, HIM *хайра-* v. 'fry, grill, roast; singe with hot iron', Brt *хайра-* 'fry, roast; burn through while ironing', WrO *χair-* v. 'brand', Kl *xəap-χār-* v. 'singe, roast' ¶ MED 907, Krg. 257, KRS 587, KW 180, Chr. 534 || pKo {S} **kò'í-* v. 'boil, cook' > MKo *kò'í-*, NKo *kō-* ¶ S QK #536, Nam 48, MLC 137 ¶¶ The vw. *-a- (instead of *e or *ä) in T and M may be due to vw. harmony ¶¶ DQA #751 (A **k_l'eyu* 'boil, cook') || [2] ?φ NaT **k'üh-* vi. 'catch fire, burn' (if *-h- is from *-yn-, as suggested by Cl.) > OT *küh-*, Qmq *güy-*, Tkm, ET, Ln, Xk, Qc, Qb, Sg *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tlt, SY, Ln *küy-*, VTt, Bsh *көй-* *köy-*, Uz *kwy-*, Xlj *κῦν-*, Yk *köy-* ({ET}: < ***köỹ-*) id., Tk *göy-* vt. 'burn, singe' ¶ Cl. 726, ET KQ 88-9 || M **quyiqā* 'scalp; animal skin from which the hair has been singed' (× N **koyH∇* 'skin, bark', q.v. ffd.); M **quyiqā-la-* > WrM

quiqa-la-, HIM хуйхла- vt. 'singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass, etc.)', M → (?) Qrg quyqala- 'singe (a hen, a sheep)', StAlt quyqala- 'singe (a hen, a swine), Tv quyqala- 'singe (a hide)' ¶ The Qrg, Alt, Tv verb is likely to be a loan from M, but it may have been derived within the T lgs. as well, because the verbal derivational sx. -la- is productive both in M and in T (Pp. GPMJ 135, Cl. XLV) ¶ MED 983, KRS 615-6, Chr. 607, Jud. 438, TvR 263, BT 94 || D (in SD) *kuy- ({ǵGS} *k-) vi. *'burn' > Tu куйулуні vi. 'inflammе (as the eyes or a boil)'; Kdg {Em.}: Kdg NI куйⁿ- (fts. куйууⁿ-), Kdg MV куйнд- 'feel prickly' ¶ D #1761 ◇ U *-e- of the first syll. (for the expected *ä or *a) is still to be explained (regr. as. **ä|a...e > *e...e?).

1239. *Қау, ʔ, ∇ 'wilderness, desert, woods (esp. in the mountains)' > IE: NaIE *ka₁to- {Dv.} 'uninhabited land, heath (brughiera)', {P} 'woods, uninhabited land' > OW coit, W coed 'trees, wood', OCrn cuit, MCrn coys, cos 'forest', Br koad id., 'wood (Holz)' || AS hæð, MLG hēde 'heath (land)', MHG heide, NHG Heide 'heath, moorland', Gt haiþi 'field, arable land' (< 'uninhabited land, heath, steppe'), ON heiðr 'highland', Gtn haid 'large forest, woods', Sw hed, Dn hede 'heath, uninhabited land', NE heath ¶ P 521, Dv. 165, 500 [#804], LP § 14, YGM-1 94, Hm. 469, Fs. 237, Vr. 217, Sw. 80, Ho. 146, Lx. 83, KM 297 ¶ The element *-to- goes back to a sx. || HS: S *^o✓k_wlyʔ > Ar قى qīy-, قوا qawa- (< *kaway-), قوا qawāʔ-, قوا qīwāʔ- 'desert, uninhabited land' ¶ BK II 843 || EC: Ya {Hn.} qē (pl. qēʔ) 'mountain', {Gr.} kaiet 'mountain, forest' ¶ Hn. Y II 130, Gr. M s.v. kaiet || NrOm: Male {Gr.} kaho, Cha {C} kuwi 'forest (boscaglia)' ¶ C SE III 170 || D (in SD) *kā ({ǵGS} *k-) 'forest, jungle' > Tm kā 'forest, pleasure-grove', kāṇam 'woodland, grove', Tm K kāvam 'forest', Ml kānam 'jungle', Kn kā 'forest', Tu kāna 'forest, jungle, wood'; D → OI kānana- 'forest' ¶ D ##1418, 1438, Tu. #3028.

1240. *Қуһ ∇ 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable' > HS: S *^o✓k_wlyh > Ar qāh- 'commodе, aisé' (se dit de l'état, de la vie d'un homme riche), 'obéissance', {Hv.} 'comfortable' (life), 'obedience' ¶ BK II 842, Hv. 636 || IE *k^wej_h- > NaIE *k^wej_a- / *k^wij_ē- {P} v. 'be at rest, repose' ({P} 'behaglich ruhen') > L quiē-scō / pfc. quiēvi / sup. quiē-tum 'rest from work, lie down, sleep', quiē-tus adj. 'resting', sleeping, at peace', quiēs (gen. quiēt-is) n. 'repose, quiet; repose at night, sleep; peace' || Irn *čyā- {Bai.} 'be at

rest, happy' > Av šyā- 'be glad, happy', OPrs šiyātaу-, YAv šātaу- 'Freude, Wohlbehagen, Glück', OPrs {Hinz} šiyātiš 'Glückseligkeit, Segensfülle, Wohlstand', Oss: I āncou, D āncounä n. 'rest (quies, Ruhe), rest from work; prop' (< Irn *ham-čyā-na-), I āncayzn, D āncayun v. 'stop, cease, calm\quiet down, become quiet' (< *ham-čyā-), I/D āncad adj. 'quiet, calm' ||| Arm **հանգիստ** han-gi-st 'repose; ease, tranquility; well-being, leisure' (-gi- < *-k^wi-), **հանգչիմ** hangč^him 'I repose, am at ease, rest (from work)' ||| Sl **čī-ti {SPS} 'to be at rest' in ds. and cds.: cd. *po-čī-ti 'to repose, to fall asleep' > OCS **поуити** počiti (1s prs. **поуитѣ** počiję) id., 'to have a rest', R b по¹чить, Slv počīti, SCr d. počīnuti 'to have a rest, to die', Cz spročinout 'to rest', Blg по¹чина 'have a rest, die', Uk спочити 'to take a rest, to repose', ip. *po-čī-va-ti 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose' > OCS **поуивати** počivati, P sproczywać id., R b, † почи¹вать 'to rest, to sleep', Uk спочи¹вати 'to sleep'; Sl d. *čī-la 'a while' > OCz čila id., OCz, Cz Δ včile 'now, immediately'; Sl *koj-i-ti vt. 'to lay (to rest), to calm' (caus. of *čī-ti) > Cz kojiti, Slk kojit', OP, P koić vt. 'to calm', ? Sl *kojiti 'to rear, to bring up' > SCr Δ kōjiti, Slv kojiti id., Cz kojiti 'to breast-feed'; Sl *po-kojь n. 'rest, quiet' > OCS **покон** pokoi, R, Blg по¹кой, Uk покій, SCr pòkoj, Slv, Cz, Slk pokoj id., P pokój 'peace' ||| ⇨ NaIE *k^wī-lo- 'quiet' > L tranquillus (< trans- + *k^wil-nos) (~ ı {WP, P ← ?} tranquīlus) 'quiet, calm'; the shortening *ī > *i is problematic ||| Gmc *x^wīlō 'rest, a while' > ON hvíla 'place of rest, bed', Sw vīla, Dn hvil(e) 'rest', Gt heila, OHG (h)wīla, NHG Weile, Dt wijl, OFrs hwīle 'a while', OSx, AS hwīl(a) 'a while, time', NE while; ⇨ Gt heilan 'cease', ana-heilan {Fs.} 'beruhigen, erquicken', ON hvíla 'to have a rest, to let so. rest', Sw vīla, Dn hvile sig 'to (have a) rest', OHG (h)wīlōn 'sich aufhalten, bleiben', NHG π weilen 'to stay, to stop, to abide, to tarry, to linger', verweilen 'to stay, to remain, to tarry, to linger', Dt verwijlen 'to stop, to remain' ¶ ≈ WP I 510, ≈ P 638, EI 474-5 (*k^weih₁ 'rest, quiet'), ≈ M K I 390, Brtl. 1716-8, Hinz 127-8, Bai. 146, Ab. I 150-2, Vs. III 305, 347-8, SPS II 198, 218, StSS 470, 494, ESSJ X 113, Chr. II 50, 63, ≈ Glh. 310, WH II 406, 700, EM 699, Fs. 284, OsS 439-40, Ho. S 39, Ho. 182, Kb. 1198, HDEL 1453, 1525, Vr. 272, Vr. N 780, 837, KM 848 ||| **u**: FU {UEW} *kuу∇ 'lie (liegen)' > pChr {Ber.} *kiyā- 'lie' > Chr: H {UEW} kie-, {Ep.} inf. киāш kiāš, L kiye- (inf. кияш ki'y-aš), E kiye- id. (pChr *i <

*u due to the palatalizing effect of *-y-?); Chr В куца- 'fleischlichen Umgang pflegen' || Prm {LG} *кЕу|- v. 'lie' > Z куйлыны куylt-n†, Yx күйли-, Vt кыллыны к†й†n† id. || ObU: pVg *күй- v. 'lie, sleep' > Vg: T/MK коу-, LK чоу-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML куу-, UL/Ss чуу- id.; Os O чоу- id. ¶ UEW 197, Coll. 89, Ber. 16, Ht. #744, MRS 199, Ep. 43, LG 144, Stn. D 440 ◇ Alternatively, IE *k^wejH-, U *куу∇, and Ar qāh- may be considered belonging to N *g^wih∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' (see N *g^wey∇ id.), but in this case the U vw. remains unexplained. But even if these are two separate etyma, some semantic infl. of N *g^wey∇ on U *куу∇ is probable ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (*Қоуа 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (*к'уца 'покоиться'), AD GD #135.

1241. (₂?) *Қау, i, wa 'to dig' > IE: NaIE *koj_u- 'pit, hole' ({Specht}: a heteroclitic noun *kaiw_u-t, {E} ? *kaj_uw_u(t) / *kaj_uw_ut-os 'cave, fissure in the earth') > OI 'kēvaṭa-h 'cave, hollow' (-ṭ- < *-rt-) || Gk καλετός 'fissure produced by earthquake', Gk D κατάδᾶς ~ Gk [Eust.] κατάτας 'a pit or underground cavern in Sparta' ¶ FI 753, M KI 267, LS 858, FI 753, Specht D 25, WP I 327, P 512, EI 96 || U {Db.} *кауω, {UEW} *коуωа- v. 'dig, draw (water), ladle (out)' (× N *kou∇ 'to draw [schöpfen]', 'scoop, spoon' [q.v.]) > F kai va-, Es каε va-, Lw kou v- v. 'dig', F kai vo, Es каε v 'well (Brunnen)', Lw kōi, kâ:i 'spoon' || pLp {Lr.} *kōy_vō 'ladle (out), dig' > Lp: L {LLO} kâi'vōt, N {N} goai'vot id., 'shovel, kick up', S {Hs.} goājvudh vt. 'dig', 'dig out with hooves' (of reindeer), 'ladle', Kld koayve- vt. 'ladle' || Er койме коyme, Mk кайме 'каymə 'shovel (Schaufel)' || pChr {Ber.} *куць- v. 'shovel (schaufeln, (с)грести лопатой)' > Chr: L куэ- kue- (inf. ku'aš), E kue-, H коэ- кое- (inf. коaš) id. || Sm {Jn.} *kāy_wā 'spade, shovel' > Ne T сива, Ne O {Lh.} śīβ'ā, Ne F śjεβ'āə 'shovel', En {Cs.} sea, Ng {Mik.} 'каybu 'spade', Kms {KD} qō 'oar' ¶¶ UEW 118, It. #16, Lr. #467, Lgc. #2610, Hs. 630, ERV 276, PI 98, Ker. II 63-4, Ber. 22-3, MRS 235, Ep. 44, Jn. 63, IS I 334 (*÷ Er/Mk каца- 'throw', Prm *коу- id., 'pour') || A: ?σ M *qayib∇ 'oar' > WrM qaiba, qaibi, qaibu, HIM хайв 'ε oar for a raft or boat', Kl хэав χᾶω, {Rm.} χᾶωi 'oar' ¶ MED 911, KRS 585, KW 181 ¶ The M √ is a valid cognate unless it belongs to N *kou∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)'; scoop, spoon' (which is not preferable because of the M vw. *a) ◇ IS I 333-4 [#209] (*Қауωа 'dig': U, IE [does not distinguish this etymon from the reflexes of N *Қāw∇ 'cavity, hole'] *÷ M *qaya-throw'), UEW 170 (U, M [borrowings]) ◇ If M *qayiba belongs here,

the N rec. must be trisyllabic: ***Ḳayiwa**. It is quite possible (even inevitable) that in some descendant lgs. the N paronyms ***Ḳayliwa** 'dig' and ***Ḳäw∇** 'cavity, hole' influenced each other and contaminated.

1242. *ḲüZ|3∇(-r∇) 'neck' > **K**: OG ḳiser-i 'neck', G ḳiser-i / ḳisr- 'neck, nape' ¶ Abul. 199, Chx. 596 || **HS**: C: EC: Sml Ji qož 'neck', ? Gdl {Bl.} ḳóřot 'front half of neck' || SC ({E} *ḳʷaʔya 'neck' [?]): Brn qosa 'nape', Kz ḳʷanzuko 'throat', SC ⇨ Mb kikoža '€ necklace' ¶ E SC 268, EK 14, EPC #162, Bl. G 132 || Om: (×N ***ḲAʔ'û'd∇** or ***Ḳûʔ∇** 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder', q.v.): NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} ḳuoḍē, Zl {LmS} ḳoḍiya, {C} ḳoḍiyā 'throat', Gf {C} ḳuoḍā, {LmS} ḳōḍa, {Mrn.} ḳoḍe, Bdt {C} ḳoḍē, Malo {LmS} ḳōde, Gm {Hw.} ḳóḍe, Cha {C} ḳiʔḱā, Kf {C} ḳeʔḱō, Mch {L} ḳättó, {LmS} ḳētto, Anf {Gt.} ḳettō, Bsk {C} ḳoḱā 'neck', Dc {LmS} ḳōḍe id., 'throat' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} ḳada 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 218, IV 489, C SO 33, 45, 50, 63, 65, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'neck', LM 48, Bnd. AL 155 || **A** *ḳ'üž∇ ({S} *ḳ'üžʷ) 'neck' > M *küžü-šün 'neck' > MM [S] küžü-ürn, [HI] gūžü-ürn, [MA, IM, IsV] küžün, WrM küžügürn, HIM xʷzʷʷ, Kl κʷzʷH küžün 'neck, jugular vertebra', Dx gužun, Dg kužū, {Mr.} χužū, Mnr {SM} gūžü, MMgl {Iw.} kūžün, Mgl {Rm.} kužün ¶ Pp. MA 226, 440, MED 510, Iw. 114, Rm. M 31, SM 140, T 326, Lg. VMI 52, Mr. D 25 || Tg {DQA} *kuju- ~ *kujī- 'neck; bow one's head' > Ork qožl 'neck', WrMc χužu 'bow one's head, bend down, bow low (in kneeling position)', Nn B kužū- 'bend down', Neg kujit/ç- 'kneal and boe down' ¶ Tg *k- (for the expected *x-) still needs explaining ¶ STM I 403, 424 || pKo {S} *k'íc 'collar' > MKo k'íc, NKo kiɛ [kit] id. ¶ S QK #29, Nam 82-3 ¶¶ S AJ 294, DQA #939 (A *küžü- ~ *kòžē 'neck, collar') ¶¶ The de-emphatization in Tg (or pA) (*k- for pA *k' > Tg *x-) is still to be accounted for || **D** (in NED) *k'ē'č∇r 'neck' > Mlt qasru id., Krx xesər 'neck, shoulders' ¶ D #1996, Pf. 189 ◇ The vw. of the first syll. of the D cognate needs investigating.

1243. *Ḳ∇wž∇ ~ *Ḳ∇ʔûž∇ (or ***Ḳ∇wž∇ ~ *Ḳ∇ʔûž∇**) 'to draw (schöpfen); (to) ladle; (?) to dig out' > **K**: GZ *ḳowz- 'spoon' > OG, G ḳovz-, G Δ ḳobz- ~ ḳomz- ~ ḳoz-, Mg ḳʷz- ~ ḳiz- id., Lz ḳuz- ~ ḳiz- 'wooden spoon' ¶ G Δ ḳomz- may have been influenced by some T lge. (see MT XIV [IM] kamič 'ladle') ¶ K 113-4, Chik. 170, Abul. 201, Chx. 606, DCh. 622, Q 257, Cl. 626, Rs. W 229 || **IE**: Ht kasč- 'auslöffeln,


ausschöpfen' ¶ Ts. E I 538 (not found in Pv.) || HS: B $^{**}\sqrt{k}ʔz > ^*\sqrt{y}ʔz$ v. 'dig' > Ah {Fc.} $\text{əy}\text{əh}$ v. 'be digged', BSn $\text{əy}\text{z}$ (hab. $\text{q}\text{əz}$), Izn, Rf, Mtm $\text{əy}\text{z}$ (hab. $\text{q}\text{əz}$), Izd $\text{y}\text{əz}$ v. 'dig', Zng {TC} $\text{a}\text{ʔ}\check{z}$ (pf., aor. $\text{y}\text{a}\text{ʔ}\check{z}$) 'creuser un trou' ¶ Fc. 1702, Pr. H #565, DCTC 294 || C: Ag $^{*}\text{k}^{\omega}\nabla\text{S}$ - v. 'dig out' > Bln {R} $\text{q}\check{\text{u}}\check{\text{s}}$ - (= $\text{k}^{\omega}\text{ə}\check{\text{s}}$ -) 'aufgraben, durchlöchern' ¶ R WB 245 ◇ The K cns. *z suggests pN $^{*}\check{\text{z}}$, but neither N $^{*}\check{\text{z}}$ is ruled out (variations $^{*}\text{z} \sim ^{*}\check{\text{z}}$ are sometimes found in K). The Ht reflex (if valid) points to an affricate.

1244. ? $^{*}\text{Ke}\hat{\text{z}}\text{E}$ 'warm, warm weather' > IE: NaIE $^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{el-}/^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{l-}$ ($\sim ^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}_{\circ}\text{l-}$) id. (\times N $^{*}\text{Ke}\text{y}\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{l}\text{a}$ 'burn, heat, be heated, roast') > L caleo, -ēre v. 'be warm' ({EM}: $< ^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}_{\circ}\text{l-}$), calidus 'warm, hot', calor 'warmth, heat' || Clt: W clyd ($< ^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{l-}$ -to-) 'warm', ? W claear, Br klouar 'lukewarm' || Lt (1s prs.) $\check{\text{s}}\text{yl}\grave{\text{u}}$ (1s p.) $\check{\text{s}}\text{ila}\check{\text{u}}$ (inf. $\check{\text{s}}\text{ilti}$), Ltv $\text{si}\check{\text{l}}\text{t}$ v. 'become warm', Lt $\check{\text{s}}\text{iltas}$, Ltv $\text{si}\check{\text{l}}\text{ts}$ 'warm', Lt $\check{\text{s}}\text{ilum}\grave{\text{a}}$, OLt [Dk.] $\check{\text{s}}\text{ilim}\grave{\text{a}}$, Lt E $\check{\text{s}}\text{alim}\grave{\text{a}}$ 'warmth' || Gmc: ON hlær 'mild, warm' (of weather), hlana 'to become mild' (of weather), OHG lāo, NHG lau 'lukewarm'; ON hlýr id., hlý 'warmth', AS hleow, ge-hleow 'warm, sunny', NE lew || Oss I sãrd, Oss D sãrdã 'summer', Psh psarlay 'springtime' ($<$ pIrn $^{*}\text{upa-sarada-ka}$), possibly also ?σ OI $\acute{\text{s}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{ad-}$ (nom. $\acute{\text{s}}\text{arat}$) 'autumn', Av sarad-, OPrs $\text{θar}\text{,}\nabla\text{d-}$, BdhSgd $\text{sr}\delta\text{-}$, MPrs sāl, NPrs سال sāl 'year' ¶ P 551, Dv. ##305, 551, Ab. III 80, M K III 304-5, M E II 616, WH I 137-8, EM 86, Frn. 959, 984, YGM-1 87, 91, Vr. 235, 240-1, Ho. 163, KM 426, Kb. 591, OsS 535, \neq EI 112 (L caleo, calidus $< ^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}\text{el-}/^{*}\widehat{\text{k}}_{\circ}\text{l-}$ 'cold') || U: FU (att. in FV) $^{*}\text{ke}\hat{\text{z}}|\delta\text{e}$ 'springtime' > pLp {Lr.} $^{*}\text{ki}\delta\text{z}$ id. > Lp N {N} $\text{g}\text{i}\check{\text{d}}^{\text{r}}\check{\text{d}}\hat{\text{a}}$, Lp S {Hs.} $\text{g}^{\text{r}}\text{ijr}\text{e}$, Lp U {Schl.} $\text{g}\text{i}\check{\text{d}}\text{d}\text{a}$, Lp L {LO} $\text{ki}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$, Pa {TI} $\text{k}\check{\text{i}}\delta\delta^{\text{a}}$, Lp Kld {SaR} кыдт , {TI} ktt : id. | pMr $^{*}\text{ke}\hat{\text{d}}\text{a-y}$ 'of spring' > Er $\text{ke}\hat{\text{d}}\text{iy}$ 'spring-sown' (of crops), Mk кеди серот 'keđi sórat 'spring crops' ($\acute{\text{s}}\text{ora}$ 'crop[s]') ¶ UEW 656-7, Lr. #399, Lgc. #2318, Hs. 607-8, SaR 139-40, TI 115, Ker. II 58 || HS: SC {E} $^{*}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\hat{\text{s}}$ - {AD} v. 'warm oneself by the fire', {E} v. 'dry out by the fire' (as in drying meat) \rightarrow Mb - $\text{ka}\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}$ 'warm oneself by the fire'; Ehret adduces here DhI - $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\hat{\text{s}}$ - v. 'harden' ¶ E SC 250 || B $^{*}\sqrt{\text{w}}\text{kHs}$ 'be warm, hot' (\times N $^{*}\text{k}|\text{geHs}\nabla$ 'warm, hot, hot season') > Ah ukas (pf. $\text{y}\text{əkkus}$) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) $\text{s-uk}\text{əs}$ vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} əkkus (pf. ikkus) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 ◇ Qu. for several reasons: the roots of IE and B are ambiguous, SC $^{*}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\hat{\text{s}}$ - is based on a loanword only, and U $^{*}\text{-}\hat{\text{z}}$ - is not the only possible rec. of the intervoc. cns.

1245. *Koz̥∇ 'to skin, to bark (wood)' > **HS:** S *^o✓k̥s̥w (× N *K̥E̥Ū [- *K̥'ü'ŝ∇?]) 'to skin, to tear', q.v.) > Ar ✓qšw (pf. qašā, ip. -qšuw-) v. 'bark (wood), skin (a snake)' ¶ Fr. III 448, BK II 744, Hv. 607 || **U:** FU *koz̥∇ 'skin, peel' (× N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ [or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?] 'to peel, to bark') > pChr {Ber.} *kuδakš- > Chr L кудаш- kuδaš-, Chr P/M/Uf kuδaš-, Chr Ch/YO/V kuδakš-, Chr H кыдаш- кьδaš- 'take off (one's dress, a knapsack)' | Prm *kuí- 'take off, bark (a tree), skin (an animal)' > Z kuí-id., Yz kúí- 'bark (a tree), skin', Vt kílíní 'to take off (one's dress, shoes)' || Vg: LK xāít-, UK kṣāít-, UL xāít- v. 'peel, scutch (hemp, nettle)', T kṣāít- 'refuse\chaff (of flax\hemp)' ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 145, Ber. 22, MRS 239, 265, LG 145, SZ 179 || **A:** M [1] *^oqoli-sun 'fish-skin' (× N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ [or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?] '↑' × N *K̥ol̥∇ '[big] fish')] [2] *qolt'ú'-sun 'bark (of a tree)' > WrM qoltusun, qoltasun, HIM холтос id.; M *qoltu- (+ deriv. sxs.) v. 'peel off' > WrM qoltul-, HIM холтлох, Kl холтлх χoltəlxə, WrM qoltura, HIM холтрох id.; acc. to KW 182, M *qol(u)- ⇨ ps. *qol-da- > Kl χolda- 'abgerieben\abgeschabt werden' and *qolu-da-sun > Kl χoldəsn̥ 'bark of trees' ¶ MED 960, KRS 594, Kow. 932 || ?σ T *k'úí > NaT *k'uš > Qzl {Jk.} χūs, Tk куṣ 'a hairless spot (on horse's skin)' ¶ Rs. W 305 || ?σ Tg *xolda-ksa 'board (Brett)' > Ewk oldokso, Ul χoldoqso id., Lm oldus, Neg oldokso, Ud ogdo, Ork χoldoqso, Orc ogdokso 'coffin' ¶ STM II 13 ¶¶ DQA #1137 (A *k'úía 'bark, scales, scab' > T, M, Tg + unc. J *kásá 'scab' that better matches N *K̥aí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) ◇ AD NM #99, S SN 152 ◇ This et. may be superfluous, because the Ar ✓ is explainable from N *K̥E̥Ū (- *K̥'ü'ŝ∇?) 'to skin, to tear' (q.v.), while the FU and A words in question may go back to N *kol̥∇,ɣ∇ (or *kol̥∇,ɣ∇?) '↑' (q.v.).

1246. *kaz̥iχ∇ (~ *-ž-) 'to scold' > **K:** G k̥icχ- v. 'scold, blame, revile' (regr. as.: N *kaz̥iχ∇ > **k̥iziχ- > G k̥icχ-) ¶ Chx. 597, DCh. 617 || **HS:** S *^o✓k̥δɣ > Ar ✓qδɣ (ip. -qδaɣ-) v. 'revile so.' ({BK} 'dire à qn. des injures, des gros mots'), qaδaɣ- 'foul speech' (× Ar qaδaɣ- 'dirt') ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 695, Hv. 594 ¶ The unexpected -δ- (for -z-) remains to be explained (a merger with Ar {Fr.} ✓qδɣ 'percussit fuste' and qaδaɣ- 'dirt?') || **U** *^okas|š∇ (or *-o-, *-t-|-tt-|-ks-|-kša-|-šk-|-sk-) > pSm {Jn.} *kâtɔ- v. 'scold' (× N *K̥ôXAd∇ 'scold', [??] 'shout at' [q.v.]) > En {Cs.} d.: En X kar u'raro', En B kadudado' 'insult, scold'; Slq {Cs.}: Nr

kuedak, MO/UO kuedaŋ, Ke kuettan, Chl kuedčan (everywhere {Cs.} k = [q]); Kms {KD} d. qudōl'ām 'I scold', Koyb {Sp.} кудолламъ id. ¶ Jn. 61, Cs. 79, 124 || **A**: M *qažī- v. 'scold' > WrM qazi-, HIM хажи- v. 'hate, blame, tease', Kl хаз-х хаз-ха 'to scold' (in Kl: х хаз-ха 'to bite' < M *qažā-) ¶ MED 948, KRS 568 || **D** *kač- ({{GS}} *k-) v. 'scold, abuse' > Tm T kasarū v. 'bargain biterly', Kn gajar(ū) v. 'produce a loud sound, scold', Tl kasarū 'scold, rebuke' ¶¶ D #1089 (does not distinguish between this √ and D *kač- 'quarrel', F s.v. N *käřš∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel').

1247. *kōžř∇ 'tree trunk' > **K**: G kōč-i 'beam', {DCh.} 'the upper beam of the roof' (unless ← kōč-i 'ankle' < N *k'o'č∇ [or *k'o'č∇?] 'bone') ¶ Chx. 618, DCh. 626-7 || **HS**: CS *guδ_l∇_l- ~ *giδ_l∇_l- 'tree trunk' > Ar ġiδi- 'palm-tree stock', BHb 'gezař ~ 'gezař 'stump, root-stock; shoot of a stump', MHb 'gezař 'tree-trunk', Sr  guz^u-ā 'trunk\stump of a felled tree; shoot, rod' (a Canaanism?) ¶ KB 179, KBR 187, BK I 269, Hv. 82, GB 136, Lv. I 319, Br. 112, JPS 63 || **B**: Sll agbžžā (pl. igbžžān) 'tree trunk', ? agayyu 'dry trunk of a dead tree', Shl {NZ} agždi ~ agžži 'tronc, poutre', CM {NZ} ageždi 'piquet au milieu de l'aire à battre, auquel sont attachées les bêtes qui dépiquent', Ntf tigeždit 'solive, perche', Kb tigeždit ~ tig^weždit 'pilier de bois', Shw tagiždit 'colonne' ¶ Ds. 285, DMA 42, Dlh. Ou 107, NZ 754-5 || **C**: EC {Ss.} *gāzz- ~ *gēzz- 'tree' > Sml gēd, Rn {PG} gēy, Bn kēd- 'tree', Bs gā (pl. gād-ōl) 'forest, tree, wood', Dsn gā-č (pl. gāsam) 'shade, shadow', Or gādd-isa ∂ gās-sa ∂ gādd-itū, Kns kāt-a, Gdl kāt-unna id., Dbs/Gln {AMS} kāse 'Verkörperung der Seele in einer Spinne', Brj {Ss.} gādd-ō 'shadow' ¶ Ss. EDB 72, PG 123, Th. 143, To. DL 498, AMS 268 || **U**: FU *koča 'ε conifer tree, branch of a conifer' > F kataja, katava, Es kadakas 'juniper' || pLp {Lr.} *kōccēvē 'branch of a conifer' (→ 'conifer needle') > Lp S XVIII {LÖ} kātse 'ramis et folia abietis, pini vel juniperi', Lp: L kāttsē 'conifer needle', N {N} goac'ce 'pine-needle', Kld {Gn.} kuθ_hce∇ 'branch of a conifer tree' || Vg {Knn.}: Vg E kōś 'a large conifer (pine, spruce, larch, cedar)', Vg P k^wōśpayūw 'spit of conifer wood' (yūw is 'tree, wood'), Vg Ss χūs ūlθα 'a long, thick, branchless cedar' (ūlθα 'cedar') ¶ UEW 165, Lr. #465, Lgc. #2598 || **A**: M *qoži'y'ula > MM [S] {H} qoži,ula-s pl. 'dead standing trees, tree stumps', WrM qozugula ~ qozigula, HIM хозууль 'tree trunk, stump' ¶ MED 975, H 65, ≠ Vv. ANE 14 (M *qoži|ugula * ← xozui- 'be

erect, rise, stick up', but *q ≠ ʋ!) ◇ AD NM #86. The voicing of N *ḳ- in pHS may be due to as.; K *-č̣- and FU *-č̣- are from N *-č̣- (through the stage *-č̣ʔ-?).