



**2565.** \*χ|qū<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>d∇ 'to separate' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to divide; part') > K: MG, G χvedr-ī 'part, share, plot of arable land' ¶ DCh. 1743, Chx. 2348 || IE \*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>wejd<sup>h</sup>-/\*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>wid<sup>h</sup>- > NaIE \*wejd<sup>h</sup>-/\*wid<sup>h</sup>- v. 'separate, divide' > OI vīdh- 'be destitute/bereft of, lack, want', nīr-vīddha- 'separated from each other, isolated', vī'dhu- 'lonely, solitary', vīdhu'ra- 'bereft, bereaved (of a loved person), alone, solitary', ? 'vīdhā- 'distribute' || L d. di-vid-ō / -ēre v. 'separate, divide', Um UEF 'partes' accus. pl. (< \*wejf-f), vetu 'dividito' (< \*wejf<sub>1</sub>e<sub>1</sub>tod) | ⇨ IE \*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>wid<sup>h</sup>ewo-s 'separated' > L viduus 'deprived, bereaved, destitute', W gweddw 'widower', Gk ἡ(Ἔ)ύθεος 'unmarried youth'; ⇨ IE \*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>wid<sup>h</sup>ew-ā 'widow' > OI vīdhavā, Av vīdavā id., NPrs بيوه bīve (< CINPrs bēva) 'widow(er)' || L vidua 'widow; divorced \ unmarried woman' || OIr fedb, Cm guedeu 'widow' || pAl {O} \*widewā > Al ve id. || Gt widuwō, OSx widowa, OHG wituwa, NHG Witwe, Δ Wi(t)tib, AS widewe id., NE widow || Pru widdewu 'widow' | Sl \*v<sub>1</sub>do<sup>1</sup>va id. > OCS ВЪДОВА v<sub>1</sub>do<sup>1</sup>va, SCr udòva, Slv vdòva, Cz, Slk v<sub>1</sub>do<sup>1</sup>va, P wdowa, R вдо'ва, Uk v<sub>1</sub>do<sup>1</sup>va, Blg d. вдо'вица id. || EI 642 (Huld) quotes Ht SALu(i)dati- 'widow', which is not confirmed by Ts. W and other available sources; if Huld's perplexing interpretation of SALu(i)dati- (with unexpected lack of h-) is valid, the derivational origin of the IE word for 'widow' (or only of the Ht word) is to be reconsidered || ⇨ NaIE \*<sup>o</sup>woid<sup>h</sup>-son- > Gmc \*wajsan- 'orphan' > OFrs wēsa, OHG weiso > NHG Waise ¶¶ P 1127-8, Dv. #617, ≈ EI 160 and 642 (\*wi-d<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>- 'put asunder' ⇨ \*wid<sup>h</sup>h<sub>1</sub>eweh<sub>1</sub>- 'widow'), WH I 359 and II 785-6, Bc. G 351, Pln. 762-3, ≠ M K III 210-1 and M E II 556 (OI vīdh- < vī-dh-a, vī-'dhā-), Brtl. 1443, F I 625-6, O 497, Fs. 562, Ho. 393, Ho. S 87, Kb. 1163, 1218, Schz. 327, KM 865, En. 273, Glh. 650, Vs. I 281-2 || ¶: NaT \*üdü<sub>1</sub>- > OT üdü<sub>1</sub>- v. 'choose (one of several); part, separate', Xk üzür- v. 'choose (one of several)' ¶ Cl. 67-8, BIG 254.

**2566.** (2?) \*<sup>r</sup>χ<sup>1</sup>ûd<sub>1</sub>∇?<sub>1</sub>∇ 'get (somewhere), reach (some place), clash (with sth.)' > K \*χwed-/\*χwd- 'meet, come across, hit (the goal); be found' > OG χwd-/χwed- 'meet (begegnen)' (da šexudes magas ... '[they] befall him'), G {DCh.} χvdoma ~ χdoma 'come across, pass by', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'meet, be found', G {Chx.} χvedr-/χvd- 'meet (treffen), hit', G G/I χvden-/χvdin- 'meet (unwillingly), come across', Mg, Lz χvad- 'meet

(treffen)', Sv {K} χωῖd- ({K}: < \*χωῖ-+ed) 'meet (begegnen, treffen)'  
 ¶¶ K 258, K<sup>2</sup> 328, FS K 484-5, FS E 549-50, Chx. 2346, DCh. 1728-9 ||  
**HS:** pre-B \*\* ✓Hwṭ > B \*✓Hwḡ > Ah awḡ 'parvenir à', Gd awaḡ  
 'rejoindre, arriver à', Kb awaḡ / yəββ<sup>w</sup>əḡ 'atteindre, parvenir', BMn  
 awδ 'arriver' ¶ Fc. 1461, Lf. II #1650, Dl. 851-2 || ? S: Ar ✓hd? G 'help  
 so. against, rescue so, from (tyranny)', Ar ✓hd? G + ?ila 'seek a refuge  
 towards, se refugier auprès de qn.' ¶ Hv. 114, BK I 389 || | ?σ D \*uṭṭ- 'be  
 trapped \ caught in a trap' > Gdb uṭṭ id., Gnd urrānā 'be jammed in a  
 trap' (of fish) ¶¶ D #598 ◇ The N glottal stop \*ʔ survives in S and  
 indirectly in B (\*dʔ > \*ṭ > \*ḡ).

**2567.** <sub>2</sub> \*Xag∇ 'dry, hard' > **HS:** S: Ar ʔaḡāḡḡ- 'dur' (crâne) ¶ BK I  
 379, Fr. I 344 ('durum [caput]') || C \*✓hgg > EC \*hgeg-/\*hgog- ({Ss.}  
 \*(h)geg-/\*(h)gog-) vt. 'dry' > Sa -ohgog- 'be dry', pOr {Bl.} gog > Or gog-  
 , Kns kok- 'dry', Arr gog- vi. 'dry', ḡḡá- adj. 'dry', Dsn gogu adj. 'hard,  
 dry', ḡḡob- 'be hard\dry', Elm ḡḡ-íḡa 'dry' ||| Ag: Bl {R} hāḡ<sup>w</sup>ag-  
 'vertrocknen, verdorren', Km, Aw kag- 'dry' (k- < \*hg?) ¶ AD SF 256,  
 Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, ≈ LmS 365 ||| **A:** M \*°ag- v. 'dry (up)'  
 (unless it is \*ʔag-) > WrM aḡ-, HIM aḡ-ax 'dry, dry up' ¶ MED 12.

**2568.** <sub>2</sub> \*Xa<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>gæ 'to lack, to want' > **HS:** SES \*✓hḡg (= \*-hūg-?) >  
 Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓hḡg v. (d. stems): Mh pf. ḡātūg / sbjn. yḡḡtḡwōg, Hrs pf.  
 ḡātōg / sbjn. yḡḡtḡwōg v. 'need', Mh pf. ḡatwḡg, Jb E pf. ḡat'eg, Jb C  
 pf. ḡat'eg (sbjn. yḡḡtḡg) v. 'need', Hrs ḡāḡah (pl. ḡḡāt) n. 'need,  
 thing', Mh ḡḡḡt (pl. ḡḡwōyag), Jb E ḡḡt, Jb C ḡḡḡt (pl. ḡḡ) n.  
 'need, thing, something' ¶ Jo. M 193, Jo. J 120, Jo. H 63 || Eg MK ḡḡy  
 ({EG} ḡḡj, {Fk.} ḡḡj) vt. 'injure, destroy, annul', vi. 'fail' ¶ EG III 212-3,  
 Fk. 182 || C: HEC {Hd.} \*hōg- > Kmb, Sd hōg- v. 'lose, miss, lack' ¶ Hd.  
 322, 372 ||| **IE:** NaE \*ā<sub>l</sub>ḡ<sup>h</sup>-/\*āḡ<sup>h</sup>-/\*īḡ<sup>h</sup>- '(be) needy' > Gk [Theo.]  
 ḡḡν 'poor, needy (arm, dürftig)', Gk Δ [Hs.] ḡḡνες · κενός, πτωχός  
 'those without property, beggars', κτεεν-ήχης · πένης 'poor', Gk ḡḡν  
 'I long for' ||| Av āžī-š 'eager desire (Begierde)', NPrs ḡḡ id., Av āžā-  
 š 'Streben, Eifer', izyati 'endeavours to obtain, longs for', ḡžā  
 'Streben, Eifer', OI ḡhā 'request, desire', ḡhatē v. 'endeavour to  
 obtain; long for', ē'ha-ḡ 'desirous, wishing' ¶ WP I 49-50 (IE \*āḡ<sup>h</sup>-), ≈  
 P 14-5 (err.: ÷ Tc A ākāl, B akālk 'wish', which are of MIn origin, see  
 Ad. 2), M K I 97, 130, F I 200, Vl. I 29 ||| **AdS** of **A:** NaT \*āḡ-sü-  
 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' (< N \*h|X<sup>r</sup>ā<sup>l</sup>ka 'to need, to



~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, üehse 'armpit'; with a \*-n-sx.: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS  $\bar{o}xn$  'armpit'; with a \*-t-sx.: ON  $\acute{o}st$ ,  $\acute{o}str$  'throat-pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr  $\Delta \bar{o}ste$ , AS ocusta ~  $\bar{o}xta$  id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE \*a $\bar{g}$ s-el-  $\rightarrow$  \*aks-el-  $\rightarrow$ ) ON  $\acute{o}xl$ , AS  $eaxl$ , OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel || L  $\bar{a}la$  (< \*aks $\bar{l}a$ ) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx. -illa);  $\rightarrow$  OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm  $\omega\bar{u}n\bar{l}\bar{p}$  anuth (< \*asnuth) 'armpit' || ? $\phi$  OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE \* $\acute{o}k$ - without \*-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (\*h $\bar{a}$ e $\bar{k}$ s- 'shoulder[-join]; axle'; \*h $\bar{a}$ e $\bar{k}$ sleh $\bar{a}$ - 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ On the connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' see below. Connection with IE \*a $\bar{k}$ s- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶ P 6, Dv. #243, ≈ EI 516 (\*h $\bar{a}$ e $\bar{k}$ s- 'shoulder[-joint]; axle'; \*h $\bar{a}$ e $\bar{k}$ sleh $\bar{a}$ - 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 || HS: Eg: {EG} MK/NK  $\check{h}cc.t$  'shoulder (Schulter, Achsel), armpit', MK {Fk.}  $\check{h}cc.t$  'armpit',  $\check{h}cc$  v. 'carry under the arm' ¶ EG III 204, Fk. 181 || ? $\phi$  B \*Hay $\nabla$ t > Tmz t-ayt-t (pl. t-uyat), Kb  $\check{t}ayacc$  (pl.  $\check{t}uyat$ ) 'shoulder', Izd tayt (pl. tuyat) 'armpit' ¶ Valid if N \*-kEC- may yield B \*-y $\nabla$ t- ¶ Dl. 923, MT 786, Mrc. 16, 420 || Ch: ?? Ke {Eb.} kósi 'shoulder' ◇ The connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' (at both the pIE and the pN levels) is not clear (semantic change [and if so, in which direction?] or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?).

**2571. \*XakER $\nabla$**  'plain' ([in descendant lgs.]  $\rightarrow$  'field') > IE \*he|a $\bar{g}$ ro- > NaIE \*a $\bar{g}$ ro-s 'field, field in cultivation' > OI 'ajra-h 'field, plain' || Gk  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  'field', Gk Hm  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  'farm' || L ager 'land in cultivation, a field', Um AGER 'ager'; L  $\rightarrow$  Izn i $\bar{g}$ ar 'terrain' || Gt akrs, OSx akkar, OHG ackar  $\stackrel{d}{\leftarrow}$  ac(c)har, NHG Acker, AS æcer 'field (in cultivation)', NE acre || ? Arm  $\omega\bar{p}un$  a $\bar{r}t$  'field' ¶ ≈ P 6, EI 200 (\*h $\bar{a}$ e $\bar{g}$ ro-s 'field, pasture'), ≈ M K I 23, ≈ M E I 52, ≈ WH 22 (\*: \*a $\bar{g}$ ro- 'land  $\leftarrow$  'pasture'  $\leftarrow$  a $\bar{g}$ - 'drive cattle'), Bc. G 327, F I 16, Mn. 5, Schz. 83, Ho. 8, Ho. S 2, Kb. 13, EWA I 40-2, KM 6-7, Sl. 132 || HS: CS \* $\check{h}kr$  'field in cultivation' > Sr {Br.}  $\check{h}kwr$ ? (= \* $\check{h}ak\bar{u}r\bar{a}$ ?) (not att. with vocalization signs) 'ager', Ar {Ln.}  $\check{h}ak\bar{u}r-at$  'a piece of land retained and enclosed by its proprietor for sowing and planting trees', MHb, JPA  $\check{h}kr$  G v. 'lease, rent (a field, a plot of land)', JEA  $\check{h}kr$  G

'contract agricultural land as a tenant'; S  $\rightarrow$  Sum *akar* 'field' ¶ Js. 43, Sl. 460, Sl. P 201, Br. 231, Ln. 616, Lv. II 49-50 || A: M \**e*erme (unless with \**φ*-) 'open plain' > WrM *egerme*, HIM *ээрэм* 'open plain, desert, steppe', WrO *ekerme tala* 'wasteland, barren plain' (*tala* 'plain'), Kl {Rm.} *ērṃ* ~ *ērma* in: *ērṃ caṽān tālā* 'leere, weite Wüste' (*caṽān* 'white') ¶ MED 299, Krg. 76, KW 131 ◇ The sound corr. between S \**k* and IE \**g* suggests a common heritage rather than borrowing. Therefore the hyp. of IE \**agrō*-s as a loan from either Sum *akar* 'field (in cultivation)' or from S needs revising (*F* ≈ AD IEH 23) ◇ M \**e*- from N \**a* is due to regr. as. (infl. of N \**E* of the next syll.).

2572. (<sub>2</sub>?) \**χakol*aR∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' > IE \**ag<sub>l</sub>ω<sub>1</sub>r*- > NaIE \**agrō*- 'top, point, summit, uppermost (oberstes)' > OI 'agram 'tip, summit, beginning', *agri'maḥ* 'the foremost', Av *aṽra-* 'der erste, oberste', *aṽrām* n. 'Anfang, das Oberste, Spitze' ||| Ltv *agrš* 'early', *agrums* 'early hour, early morning' || Ht {Pv.} *hekur* 'rock-sanctuary, acropolis' ¶¶ P 8-9, M KI 18, M EI 45, Brtl. 49, Kar. I 56-7, Ts. EI 235-6, Pv. III 287-9 || HS: S \**✓h<sub>r</sub>k* > Ar {Ln.} *ḥarkak-at-*, pl. *ḥarākik-* ~ *ḥarākīk-* 'heads \ extremities of the two hips\haunches that are next the ground when one sits', *ḥārik-* 'upper part of horse's withers', 'branches of the two shoulder-blades of a horse', 'place of growth of the lowest part of the mane, next to back upon which he who mounts lays hold' ¶ Ln. 553 ¶ The mt. may be connected with the S morphophonemic law ruling out roots with the sequence \**h...k* || B {Pr.} \**✓H<sub>ṽ</sub>r* > Ah {Fc.} *āh<sub>ṽ</sub>ar* 'escarpement à pic formant le couronnement (d'une montagne)' ¶ Fc. 1752, Pr. H #348 || ?σ,φ K: Sv *hoqer*  $\neq$  *woqer* 'the very bottom, end' (× N \**ʿ<sub>1</sub>ok<sub>1</sub>i* 'sharp point\edge', q.v. ffd.).

2573. \**χek*∇ 'scrape, scratch' > K \**χok*- v. 'scrape' > MG [VTq.], G *χok*- 'scrape, scratch', Mg *χok*- 'scrape, 'shave', Sv *li-χ<sub>1</sub>-a<sub>1</sub>n-e* 'to scratch' ¶¶ But hardly here Mg, Lz *χak-ar-* 'scrape', that is likely to belong (acc. to K<sup>2</sup>) to K \**ρχek*-/\**ρχik*- 'scrape' ¶¶ K DE 367, K<sup>2</sup> 210, 330, Q 405, Chik. 332-3, Fn. KW-2 95 [#50], DCh. 1751 || HS: S \**✓h<sub>k</sub>k* v. 'scratch' > MHb, JEA *ḥ<sub>1</sub>ḥ<sub>1</sub>ḥ<sub>1</sub> G* 'rub, scratch', Sr *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* id., Ar *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* (pf. *ḥakka*, ip. *-ḥkuku*) {BK} 'gratter; frotter', {Hv.} 'rub (a th.) with, scrape off (gold) with', Gz *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* v. 'itch, scratch, rub, scrape', Tgr *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* 'scratch, scrape, Tgy *ḥak<sub>1</sub>ek<sub>1</sub>e*, *ḥank<sup>ω</sup>ek<sub>1</sub>e* pf. 'scratch', Jb C {Jo.} *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* (pf. *ḥekk*, sbjn. *yḥik*) 'level off', *Sh* pf. *aḥ<sup>1</sup>kek* 'plane, level, smooth', Mh {Jo.} *✓h<sub>k</sub>k G* (pf. *ḥ<sub>3</sub>k*) 'level off, scratch', Hrs {Jo.}

✓ħkk G (pf. ħɜk), Jb C pf. ħɔtkk 'scratch', Ak OB/LB ekēku 'to scratch' ¶ Js. 462, Sl. 46O, Br. 23O, JPS 141, Fr. I 409, BK I 469, Hv. 135, LG 228, Jo. M 173-4, Jo. J 107, Jo. H 58, CAD IV 63-4, Sd. 193, MiK I #2.23 || C: EC \*ħek-/ \*ħok- > Sa ħokuk-, Sml ħoq-, Bn ħoʔ-, Gdl heq-, Arr hēq- v. 'scratch', Rn {PG} ḡχ- 'scratch (an itchy place)', Or hōq- 'scratch (an itch)', Brj hōqōq- 'scratch oneself' (< rdp. \*ħokħok-) ||| Bj {R} ✓hg<sup>w</sup>n (1s p. a-hā'gūn, prs. aħan'gūīn) v. 'scratch, itch' ||| DhI {EEN} ħīq- 'grind' ¶ Ss. PEC 48, 5O, Ss. B 99-100, PG 241, R WBd 113, AD SEC 134 [#7.10], AD SF 157, E PC #528 (pC \*ħok<sup>w</sup>-/ \*ħek<sup>w</sup>-), Grg. 213-4, Hw. A 366, EEN 27 || ?φ WCh: Ang {Flk.} g<sup>w</sup>ak 'rub hard, polish, grind corn' (if Tk. is right in postulating a reg. corr.: AG \*g ÷ S \*ħ) ¶ Flk. s.v. g<sup>w</sup>ak ¶¶ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, DhI, S) ||| D \*ekk- v. 'scratch, card' > MI ekku<sup>k</sup>a, Png eč- v. 'card (cotton)', Kt ek-, Tf ök- v. 'scratch (oneself, an itching limb)', Gnd eh- v. 'weed' ¶¶ D #765 ◊ Blz. KM 115-6 [#9] (K, S, Bj, EC).

2574. \*ħ<sup>1</sup>ok<sup>1</sup>u (or \*ħ<sup>1</sup>ok<sup>1</sup>i?) 'call out, speak (solemnly?); incantations' > IE: Ht ħu<sup>k</sup>- 'conjure, treat by incantation' ¶ As shown in Pv. II 323-7, this NaIE verb is hardly connected with NaIE \*wek<sup>w</sup>- 'speak' (see N \*w<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>o 'call') ¶¶ EI 449 ||| HS: S \*o✓ħky|w > Ar ✓ħky|w G {BK} 'rappor<sup>t</sup>er, relat<sup>e</sup>r', {Hv.} 'relate (a fact)', ħikāyat- {Hv.} 'narrative', {BK} 'récit, histoire, relation; conte' ¶ BK I 472, Hv. 136 || Eg fP ħk<sup>3</sup> 'magic spell (Zauber), supernatural force; incantation' (= {Vc.} \*ħik<sup>?</sup> > \*ħīkī<sup>?</sup>, verbal noun) > Cp Sd/B q<sup>1</sup>ik ħik 'magic'; -d→ Eg: fP ħk<sup>3</sup>.w 'magician', MK {Fk.} ħk<sup>3</sup>.w 'magic, magic spells', ħk<sup>3</sup>y 'magician' ¶ EG III 175-7, Fk. 179, AD WIL (pre-S \*ħ...k > S \*ħ...k) ||| A: T \*hok<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>- ~ \*hoku<sup>1</sup>ı<sup>1</sup>- > OT {Cl.} oqī- 'call out aloud, summon, recite' → 'read', Xlj ħqqu- v. 'read, sing', Osm {Zn.} oqu- 'pronounce aloud, read', Tk oku-, Az oxu-, Tkm oqa-, Uz wqi-, CrTt, QrB, Qrg, ET, LN oqu-, Qzq, Nog, Qq oqi-, LN uqu-, VTt, Bsh uq<sup>3</sup>- 'read' ¶ Cl. 79, Rs. W 359-60, DT 134, ET Gl 439-41 ¶ It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N \*ħ- yields pT \*h- (preserved in Xlj) (see No. 2585 [N \*ħam<sup>1</sup> 'womb, vulva']). But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ◊ IE \*we as a reflex of N \*o is explained by the rule 4 described in AD NGIE 17: N \*-o<sup>1</sup>u > pre-IE<sub>1</sub> \*-u<sup>1</sup>u (⊥ = any cns.) and later pre-IE<sub>1</sub> \*u > IE \*we.

2575. <sub>2</sub> \*ħ<sup>1</sup>o<sup>1</sup>yEK<sup>1</sup>∇ 'lap, lower front part of the belly' > HS: WS \*ħayq- 'lap, loin' > BHb q<sup>1</sup>ħ ħêq [ħēq], Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ħēku 'lap', JA

[Trg.] Արփի հեփ-ա {Js.} 'lap, bosom', {Lv.} 'Schoß', Ar ḥaqw- ~ ḥiqw- 'cette partie du corps qui est au bas des côtes; ceinture', Sb ḥk̄w-rhn du. df., ḥk̄w-ḡ du. cs. 'loins', Gz ḥak̄wē ~ ḥaw̄k̄ē ~ ḥaw̄k̄wē 'hip, loin', Mh {SSL} ḥāk̄əw 'taille' (← Ar?), Jb C {Jo.} ḥak̄'heḥ 'hip(s), hip-bone(s)' ¶ SS \*k̄w and k̄w and Ar qw go back to the S nom. form (...k̄-u) ¶ KB 300, Hnr. 124, MiK I #113, Js. 460, Lv. T I 255, BK I 469, L G 239, SSL LNPM 220, Jo. J 108 || ? WCh: Tng {J} agɔ, {ChL} haɣò, Krkr {Lk.} ḥàkó, {ChL} ḥàkəw 'stomach, belly' ¶ J T 65, ChL || A \*öye|äk 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > T \*öye|äk 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > Chg {PC} öyek id., 'hair under animal's neck', Tv öyek, Alt/Tlt {RI.} öyök 'belly (of animals), belly part of animal's hide', Shor/QK {RI.}, Xk ök 'belly part of animal's hide', Qrg ök id., 'side of a horse', Chg {RI.} أويأك öyäk 'Bauch- und Halshaut des Eichhörnchens', VTt {Bu.} أويأك öyäk 'подбрюшница' (this R word is absent in modern standard R, but in the dialect of the Volga-Kama region it means, acc. to Dal, 'a thong under horse's belly as part of the harness', see Dal III 162) ¶ ET GI 515, Rs. W 369-70, TL 146, 423, PC 86, RI. I 1179, 121, Jud. 597, BIG 136, Bu. I 165 || M {DQA} \*öyekerj 'lower part of animal's belly' > WrM {Kow.} öyeker 'bas-ventre, ventre, entrailles des animaux', {MED} öyüke, HIM еех, еехий 'the thin flesh of the belly; pit of the stomach' ¶ Kow. 553, MED 633 ¶ ≠ DQA #1545 (incl. T and M).

**2576.** ₂ \*XAKAr∇ 'need, want, be hungry' > HS: Eg fP ḥkr 'be hungry', Cpt Sd/B ḥko hko (qual. ḥoker ḥoker), Cpt F ḥka hika id., Eg fOK ḥkr 'a hungry man', Cpt Sd ḥke hēke, Cpt B ḥki hēki 'poor' ¶ EG III 174-5, Fk. 178-9, Vc. 293 || ?σ S \*✓ḥkr > Ar ✓ḥqr (pf. ḥaqira, ip. -ḥqaru) 'be mean, deplorable, contemptible; have no weight\worth', 'devenir vil, méprisable, tomber dans l'abaissement' (if from \*'be poor' ← \*'go hungry'); (pf. ḥaqara) 'être vil et méprisé\dédaigné; mépriser' ¶ Ln. 611, Fr. I 407, BK I 466-7, Hv. 134 || C: SC \*✓k̄w 'hunger' > Irq/Alg {MQK, E} q̄ari, Brn {E} qori, Kz {E} kuliko id. || DhI ḥere id. ¶ E SC 280, MQK 89, EEN 19, To. D 138 || Ch: Mpn {Frz.} k̄r 'hunger' ¶ Frz. DM 31 ¶ Cal. #72 (S, Eg), Tk. I 211 and Tk. SCC 91 [#21.4] (S, Eg, C, Ch) || D \*akkaḥ- 'necessity, want' > Ka akkaḥe, Tl akkaḥa id., 'need', Tm akkaḥai, akkaḥai 'concern, interest, need, necessity' ¶ D #21.

**2577.** \*ḥ¹a1∇ (or \*ḥ-, \*ḥ-) (\*'forehead' →) 'front, edge' > HS: S \*✓ḥlm (or \*\*✓ḥlm) > Ak e llamu 'front' (in space or time) ¶ CAD IV 101, Sd. 203 || ? Eg P ḥ3.t or ḥ3y.t 'front part, face, forehead;



beginning' (unless  $\exists$  was followed by a vowel, sc. it was not from \*l) > Cpt: Sd/B  $\zeta$ l hi, Sd  $\zeta$ lH hiē,  $\epsilon$  $\zeta$ H ehē, A  $\zeta$ l hi,  $\zeta$ ei hei,  $\epsilon$  $\zeta$ i ehi,  $\epsilon$  $\zeta$ iei ehiei 'beginning, front part' ¶ EG III 19-24, Vc. 285, 314, Tk. I 300 || ?φ K: G  $\chi$ ling-i 'edge' (Chx.:  $\chi$ lingi 'Kante, Rand', DCh.:  $\chi$ lingi ~ lingi 'край у доски') ¶ Chx. 2369, DCh. 650, 1749 || U \*a|V (?) > FU {UEW} \*alka '(front\back) edge, beginning; to begin' > F alka-, Es alga- v. 'begin', F alku, Es alg (gen. alu) 'beginning' | pLp \*alkē v. 'begin' > Lp S {Hs.} aalg'e-, Lp N {N} al'ge- -lg-, Lp L {LLO} al'kē-, Lp K āl'ke-  $\mathfrak{d}$  a'l'ke-, Lp Kld аллькэ v. 'begin', Lp L {LLO} al'go -lg-, Lp L al'kō, Lp K ālk  $\mathfrak{d}$  alk 'beginning, origin' ||| pObU \*āləv ~ \*āləŋ ~ \*āvəl ~ \*āŋəl 'beginning, end' {Ht.} > pVg \*āʃəl > Vg: T awl, LK/UL owl, MK/NV/SV ōl, P ōl / nom. pl. owlət, LL ōl / aʃlt, Ss ōwl id.; pOs \*aləŋ > Os: V/Vy/O aləŋ, Ty/Y āʃəŋ, D/K otəŋ, Nz ɔtəŋ, Kz ɔʃəŋ id. ¶ UEW 6-7, Coll. 71, Ht. #26, Lr. #46 (believes that Lp is a loan from F), Lgc. #185, Hs. 206, SaR 24 || ? Sm {Jn.} \*olb 'summit, head' > En {Cs.}: X oħ iʔ, B o r iʔ 'Gipfel, Höhe', X o ħ o 'früher', o ħ oʔ, B o r oʔ 'vor'; Slq Tz {KKIH} olə 'head', Kms {KD} uʃu ~ ulu, Koyb {Sp.} ɥlɥ id. ¶ Jn. 29, Prk. SG 120, KKIH 142, KD 80; Jn. (p.c.) does not connect Sm \*olb with FU \*alka, because the vocalism of the Sm stem does not match that of the FU word || A {SDM97} \*āla 'front side' > NaT \*āl 'front, forehead' > OT al (= \*āl) 'front, facing, prior position', Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Tb, SY, Tk Δ al, Qrg al(d) 'front, front side', ET, Ln ay| id., Tkm āl-a, QK, Qrg al-ʔa 'forward', Tkm Δ al (= \*āl) 'forehead'; NaT \*ālīn 'forehead' > OT alīn (= \*ālīn), Tkm āli, Az, SY alīn id., Tk alīn 'forehead, front, face', Alt alīn 'front', QK {B} alīn 'front side, space in front of', Xk, Tb {B} alīn 'front' adj., Tf, Tv Tj alīn 'face' ¶ Cl. 121, 147 (is not sure about OT al, because in the texts it occurs only with a 3s ppa. in oblique cases [dat., lat., abl.], which may be interpreted as cases of alīn; he suggests that āl appeared later [in Chg, etc.] as reinterpretation of the oblique cases of ālīn), ET Gl 124-5, 146-7, TkR 43, Hüs. 15, B DLT 138, B DChT 100, 102, Jud. 48, Ra. 153 || Tg: Ewk Nr {KD} ālmɯ 'front part of the garment'; ?? Tg \*elmu (with a puzzling \*e) 'front part of footgear' ('передки') > UI əlmi, Ork əlmu ~ əlum, Nn ɜrmu, Neg ɜnmu, Orv ɜmmu ¶ KD KWV 26, STM II 454 || pKo {S} \*àr-p 'front' > MKo àrp, NKo ap<sup>h</sup> ap ¶ S QK #651, Nam 348, MLC 1098 || pJ {S} \*àràp-ar- v. 'appear' > OJ àràp-ar-a-, J: T/Kg arawaré-, K áráwáré- ¶ S QJ #589, Mr. 677 ¶ DQA #66 (A \*āla or \*ēla 'front side': T, Ko) ◇ Cf. IS I 244 (\*Halā): U,

A. If the K cognate (qu., because its final part is not clear) is valid, the initial lr. of the N etymon must have been \*χ- (it is the only one yielding K \*χ- and a S epiglottal cns.). If the K cognate is rejected, but the Ak one is accepted, the N initial cns. could have been \*ħ-, \*ʕ-, \*χ-, or \*ʕ-.

**2578. \*χA1∇** '(be\become) clean' > IE \*<sup>o</sup>ǵ[ā]l- > Lw halali 'clean' → Ht halali id. ¶ Pv. III 13, Ts. W I 126, Lar. 38 || HS: S \*√ħll 'be clean' > Ak elēlu 'become pure', ellu 'clean', JA [Trg.] √ħll D 'wash, rinse', JEA √ħll D 'wash', Sr √ħll D 'wash away, cleanse, purify', Md √ħll D id., 'rinse, wash', ?σ Ug ħll {OLS} 'desacralization, purification', ?σ BHb √ħll D 'entweihen', N 'entweiht werden' ('desacralize' ← 'purify, clean'??) ¶ Sd. 197-8, Js. 470, Lv. T I 260, Sl. 464-5, Br. 231, JPS 142, DM 148, KB 306-7, OLS 176 || C: EC: Sml {DSI} ħal- 'rinse, wash', Sml N {Abr.} ħal- 'wash' || SC: Asa hilus- v. 'strain, filter' ¶ DSI 622, Abr. S 116, E SC 335 (SC \*hel- v. 'clean') || Eg OK ħ3.ty d. 'Bleicher, Wäscher' ¶ Hng. 501 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 96 [#26.6] (C, Eg, S) || D \*al- v. 'wash, clean' > Kn ale v. 'wash', alambu, alumbu, alabu, alubu v. 'rinse, wash', Tm alampu-, alajcu- id., alacu- v. 'rinse', Ml alakuka 'wash clothes by beating', Td ašp- v. 'clean', Tu alambuni 'to wash', Tl {Brown} alamu v. 'wash' ¶¶ D #246 || E: NEI a-lik 'es wurde gesäubert (?)' ¶¶ HK 46.

**2579. \*χelA** 'dwell, live' > HS: WS \*-ħ[ī]ll- v. 'stay, live (somewhere), settle somewhere, encamp' > Sb llh ħll v. 'encamp', Hrs {Jo.} √ħll(l) v. 'stay, alight, live (at)', Mh {Jahn} √ħll G 'stehen bleiben, verweilen, wohnen', {Jo.} v. 'settle', Jb C/E {Jo.} √ħll G id., Ar √ħll G (ip. -ħillu~ħullu) 'descendre dans un endroit, mettre pied à terre, s'arrêter, faire halte', ps. حَلَّ ħulla 'être habité' (un lieu), مَحَلَّ maħall- 'halte; endroit, lieu, place', maħallat- 'campement, hôtellerie, quartier (de la ville)' (in Ar the verb was semantically influenced by the verb √ħll 'dénouer, défaire [un nœud]', the ancient meaning 'habiter' being better preserved in the ps. ħulla 'was inhabited' and in derived nouns: ħulūl- 'habitation, demeure', maħall-, maħallat-, etc.) ¶ BGMR 67, Jahn MS 191, Jo. M 176, Jo. H 58, Jo. J 108, Fr. I 412-4, BK I 472-5 || K: GZ \*χl- v. 'dwell, stay (somewhere)' > Mg χor-ua 'to settle (somewhere)' ('sich ansiedeln') ({K}: < \*oχor-ua ← Mg oχor- 'dwelling'), G χl- v. 'be' (verbum existentiae, copula), 'be (in good, bad, etc. condition)': ga-χla-var(t) 'ich bin, ich bin's', peṭre gaχlavart 'I am

Peter', gaxlavš, gaxlavt 'er\sie\es ist', 'es hat', 'ist vorhanden', (ḡargad/cudad) gaxlavš 'befindet sich (gut\schlecht)'; ⇨ GZ \*ṣa-χ] (= {K} \*(s)a-x](-) 'house' (nomen loci with the literal meaning 'dwelling') > OG, G saχl- 'house', Lz oχor- id., Mg oχor- 'dwelling, abode; farmstead' ¶ Chx. 2365-6, Q 295-6, ≠ K 171-2, K<sup>2</sup> 176 (\*ṣa-χ] ⇨ \*χal-/ \*χl- 'be among, near') || U \*elä- v. 'live, dwell' > F elä-, Es elä- v. 'live (leben, wohnen)' | pLp {Lr.} \*ēlē id. > Lp: N {N} ællet id., S jiel'e- 'live (leben)', L īēllē-, T yīēlle- 'live, visit' | Chr: H {Rm.} əle-, {Ep.} ʙilä- əlā- v. 'live', L ила- ila-, E ile- 'leben, wohnen' | pPrm \*ɔl- id. > Z ol-~ov-, Yz ol- id., Vt ул(ы)– ul(ŷ)- v. 'live' || Hg él- id., pObU \*yēl- (= {Hl.} \*jēl-, {Ht.} \*jäl-/ \*jěl-) > pVg \*yält- v. 'be healthy' > Vg: T yilt-, K/P/V yält-, LL yelt-, UL/O yalt- id.; pOs \*yēlpäyla- ({Hl.} \*yīlpäyla-) v. 'resuscitate' > Os: V yēlwäyla-, Kz yīḡpaḡa-, O yilpāla- id. || Sm {Jn.} \*yilä, {Hl.} \*yile v. 'live' > Ng níllé id.; En {Cs.}: aor. 1s X iḡiḡoʔ, B jiredoʔ id.; Ne T {Ter.} илe(сь), Ne O {Lh.} jīlē, Slq Tz {KKIH} il+ id.; Kms {KD} 1s prs. tíllēem 'wiederaufleben', díli 'lebendig', Mt {Hl.} \*ilā- 'live' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} ilinde, K {Pl.} ilindé, {Mll.} illende 'vividus') ¶¶ Coll. 10, UEW 73, SK 37-8, It. LC 184, Lr. #226, Lgc. #856, N III 863-4, Hs. 780, LG 203, Ep. 167, MRS 131, Ü 53, 294, Ht. #185, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 27, Jn. UK #73, KKIH 110, Hl. M #340 || A: M \*\*ele- v. 'live, be healthy' ⇨ adj. \*ele-ṣür 'healthy', → 'sober' > MM [MA] ايلاور ele\_ūr 'healthy', ايلاورليك ele\_ūrlik 'health', [IM] الr el\_ūr 'sober', الr بى el\_ūr bī 'health', Brt elüür el\_ūr 'healthy, sober', ⇨: Yk äliār~ ölüör id., Ewk NB əlɜr 'sober'; mt. \*eleṣür > \*ereṣül, whence WrM erēgül, HIM epγγl er\_ül, Kl er\_ül 'healthy' ¶ Pp. MA 152, 437, STM II 450, otherwise Klz. MJ 17 || AdS of D \*ill- 'dwelling, house' (< N \*ʔil'A' 'place to stay', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 267-8 s.v. \*ʔelA 'жить'. IS adduces words from K, S, B, C, T, and M, which have no obvious semantic connections with the meaning 'live' and arouse many doubts (concerning both the meaning and phonology). In my opinion, among the words adduced by IS there are reflexes of different N sources: besides N \*χelA 'dwell, live', there are words going back to N \*ʔelV 'clan, tribe' (q.v.), N \*wos|g|V 'stay, be' (q.v.), and possibly other N words.

**2580. \*χelV** 'fence, boundary, border; enclosure' > HS: WS (or S) \*√ħw| ~ \*√ħy| v. 'surround' > Ar ħaw| 'surrounding', ħiwalāʔ-, ħulāʔ- 'seconde membrane qui sort de l'utérus à la parturition (chez les

chamelles)', Sb ḥwł (prep.) 'around', (n.) 'surrounding a tomb chamber'; S \*ḥa'wīl- (?) > Hb ḥēl (spelled חֵיָּל ḥyḷ and חָל ḥl) 'outer rampart, outwork', Ug ḥl 'fortaleza, baluarte; torre, finca, coto'; ?φ Ak ḫillu 'egg membrane' ¶ KB 299, KBR 312, BGMR 73, BDB #2426, OLS 175, BK I 519, Ln. 575-6, MiK I #1.130 || EC: Sml ḥēl 'space surrounding a settlement' ¶ DSI 305, ZMO 187 || K \*°χ|qeł- > G Lch χeł-i 'Grenzzeichen, Steinhaufen im Wald' ¶ Chx. 2332 || IE \*xel- 'enclosure' > Ht ḥali- 'pen, corral; lunar halo' || Gk Hm ἀλωή 'garden, threshing-floor', Gk Cp αλωο = ἀλωω 'garden' ¶¶ Pv. III 26-28, Ts. EI 128-9, FI 82-3, Ch. 67-68 || D \*ell-ay 'limit, border, boundary' > Tm ellai, Ml ella, Td ely, Kn elle, Tl ella id. ¶¶ D #846, Zv. 72.

**2581. \*Xilīq̄** 'dirt, silt, soot' > HS: WS \*√ḥlq̄ v. 'rust', \*ḥ'īlīq̄at- 'rust' > BHb חֵיָּלָה \*ḥeḷq̄ā 'rust' (חֵיָּלָה חֵיָּלָה ḥeḷq̄ā ḥeḷq̄ā 'her rust'), Sq {L} ḥalpe 'dirt', Mh {Jo.} ḥālēt 'rust', ḥālū v. 'become rusted', Jb E/C {Jo.} ḥa'le v. 'rust' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, LLS 174, Jo. M 179, Jo. J 110 || IE: NaIE \*īl-, \*īlu- 'mud' ({P} 'Schlamm'), 'silt' > Gk ἔλυς, -ύος 'mud, silt' || pSl \*jьlbь, \*jьlо, \*jьla 'silt, mud' > OCS нлѣ илѣ 'mud', R ил 'silt', Blg ил, SCr jīla 'silt, slime', Cz jíł, Slk íl 'silt, clay', P ił 'loam, mud' ¶ P 499, Mn. 430, FI 723, Tr. 103, ESSJ VIII 221-2, EI 371 (\*HiHlu- 'mud, swamp') || A: T \*ií ~ \*ií 'soot, dirty smoke' > OT iš 'lamp-black, soot', Tv iš, Qb, Sg, Alt, Tlt, QK iš, Shor, Kü, Qrg iš, Yk iš 'smoke'; possibly with infl. of T \*is 'soot' (< N \*ḥElyšU 'faeces, filth', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 254, RI I 1406, Nj. 164, ≈ ET GI 380 (T ← M \*isü 'smoke', see N \*ḥElyšU) || D (in SD) \*ill- 'soot' > Tm illaṭay 'soot adhering to the inner side of the roof', Kn illḥa id., Ml illara-kkari, illara-kkari 'grime, soot' ¶ D #498 ◊ T \*-í- < \*-ly- < N \*-īq̄-.

**2582. (₂?) \*Xalb** (= \*Xalb?) 'white' > HS: WS \*ḥa'lab- n. 'milk' > BHb חָלָב ḥā'lāb id., MHb חָלָב ḥā'lāb id., 'white of egg' (→ MHb חָלָב חֵיָּלָב ḥeḷbōn 'white of egg'), Pun, Ug, IA ḥlb, JA [Trg.] חָלָב ḥā'lāb / חָלָב ḥal'bā, JEA {Sl.} חָלָב ḥal'bā, Sr {Br.} ḥal'ə, 'b-ā, Ar حَلَب ḥalab- {Fr., BK} 'milk', Gz ḥalab 'sour milk'; d.: Ar ḥalīb- 'milk', Gz ḥalīb, Tgr, Tgy ḥalib 'milk, curds', WS \*√ḥlb v. 'milk' > MHb, JA, Ar, Sr √ḥlb id.; WS (Aram?) → Ak NA ḫilpu 'milk' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, HJ 372, OLS 176, Js. 464, Sl. 461, ≈ Lv. II 52 (JA חָלָב ḥā'lāb / חָלָב ḥal'bā), Br. 232, Fr. I 414-5, BK I 476-7, Hv. 138, LG 229, CAD VI 187 || C: SC ({E} \*ḡilíba 'milk'): Irq {Mgw., MQK} ḡilwā ~ ḡulwā, {Wh.} ḡlwa,

Brn, Alg ilba, Grw ulûwa, Asa liba 'milk' ¶ AD SF 129, 152, Wh. IC 24, E SC 291, Mgw. 110, MQK 55 ¶¶ AD l.c., OS #1230, ≠ EEEA 93 (SC \*iliba 'milk' ← proto-East-Nilotic \*lep- v. 'milk') ¶¶ The S words \*ħa'lab- and \*ħa'līb- have a morphological structure typical of adjectives (the patterns \*Ca'CaC- and \*Ca'CiC-), suggesting an original meaning of adj. ('white?') || IE: NaIE \*alb<sup>h</sup>o- 'white' > L *albus* id., Um *alfu* f. 'white' || Gl *albo-* 'white' || Gk [Hs.] accus. pl. ἄλφους 'white', Gk ἄλφος 'whiteness, white leprosy' || pGmc \*alb-it, \*alb-ut- 'swan' > OHG *albiȝ*, *elbiȝ*, AS *ælbītu*, *ielfetu*, ON *elptr*, *qlpt* || Sl {Glh.} \*ǫlbqdb ~ \*ǫlbędb 'swan' > RChS ΛΕΒΕΔЬ *lebedь*, Blg *лебед*, SCr *lǎbŭd*, Slv *lebed* ~ *labód*, R 'лебедь', Δ 'лебядь', P *łabędź*, Cz *labut'* ¶¶ Adduction of Ht *alpas* 'cloud' is unj. ¶¶ WP I 92-4, P 30-1, Mn. 13-4, F I 81-2, WH I 26-7, Bc. G 327, Vr. 101, Glh. 365, Kb. 16, Schz. 85, ≈ EWA I 152-4, Ts. E I 18, Pv. I 37-8 (rejects the connection of Ht *alpas* 'cloud' with IE \*alb<sup>h</sup>- for lack of semantic proximity), EI 641 (\*h<sup>4</sup>e'l<sup>h</sup>o-s) || ?φ D \*all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N \*hA1∇ 'to shine; bright', q.v.) > Krx *all-* 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} *ále* 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui *alga* 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D #261, Pf. 184 ◇ D \*all- belongs here if N \*-lb- may yield D \*-ll-. If the D cognate is legitimate, the N etymon is \*Xalb∇ ◇ If Ht *alpas* had belonged here, the rec. would have been N \*ħaLb∇, otherwise it is N \*XaLb∇ ◇ Trnt. NE2 (S, IE), AD NM #20.

2583. <sub>2</sub> \*X<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>lm∇ 'to dream' > HS: WS \*✓ħlm v. 'dream' > Hb, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr, SmA, Ar, Gz ✓ħlm G, Mh/Hrs ✓ħlm (pf. *ħaylɜm*, sbjn. *yɜħlōm*), Jb C ✓ħlm (pf. *ħelm*, sbjn. *yah'lum*) id.; WS \*ħul<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>m</sub>- ~ \*ħil<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>m</sub>-, \*ħalām- n. 'dream' > Ph, Ug ħlm, Ar ħulm-, BA *ħelēm*, JA, Sr *ħel'm-ā*, Sb ħlm, Gz *ħəlm*, Hrs *ħālām* (pl. *ħālōm*), Mh *ħām* (pl. *ħə'lawm*), Jb E/C *ħum* (pl. *ɜħ'lom*) id., BHb *ħālōm* id. ¶ HJ 375-6, KB 307-8, KBR 317-8, 320, HJ 375-6, L G 230, A #103, OLS 176, Lv. T I 261, Sl. 465, Br. 234-5, Tal 272-3, Ln. 631-2, BK I 482-3, Hv. 140, BGMR 68, L G 230, Jo. M 179, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 110, Nak. 246, MiK I #2.25 || U: FU \*<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>lm∇, {Sm.} \*ǎlmǎ > FP: Chr: L *omō* n. 'sleep, dream', Δ *om* *omə* id. || Prm {LG} \*onm- ({LG} \*ǫnm-) n. 'sleep' > Z *уH / уHМ-*, Z US *ωn*, Yz *'un*, Vt *уM / уMМ-* id. || ObU \*wūlam / \*wūlm∇ (or \*-δ-) 'dream' > pVg {Ht.} \*ūlm∇ > OVg S Kg *олма*, OVg S VT *олмь*, OVg S Tr *улму*, Vg T *ōlām*, OVg Tb *улым*, OVg N Chd *улмь*, Vg LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss *ūlām*, Vg P *wulām*, Vg NV/SV/LL *ulām* n. 'dream'; ⇨

Vg: T olmāy-, LK/NV/SV ulmāy-, MK/UK ūlmāy-, P wulmāy-, LL ulmāy-, Ss ūlmāy- v. 'dream'; pOs {Ht.} \*wuləm n. 'dream' > Os: V/Vy uləm, Ty uḏəm, D/K otəm, Nz utəm, Kz wŭḏəm, O wuləm id., ? pOs {Ht.} \*aləm n. 'sleep' (> Os: V/Vy/O aləm, Ty/Y âḏəm, D/K otəm, Nz ɔtəm, Kz ɔḏəm) (× FU \*oḏa- v. 'sleep?') ¶ Sm. 542 (FU \*ālmā 'dream' > FP \*alma, Ugr \*ālmā), LG 297, TmK 722, MRS 379-80, ≈ Ber. 45, ≈ Ht. #664, Stn. WV 209, Kn. WV 170.

**2584.** (₂?) \*χoí∇ 'middle; be among' > K: GZ \*χal-/\*χl- v. 'be among\near sth.' > OG, G χl- id., Mg, Lz χoḷ- id. ¶ K 260, K² 325 (GZ \*χal-/\*χl- 'be among, near sth.') || A: T \*oí 'middle' > OT oš 'the heart\centre of a tree-trunk\branch\horn' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 366 || ?σ HS: S \*o-ḥūl- > Gz ✓ ḥwḷ G (js. yə-ḥūl, pf. ḥawala ~ ḥōla) 'mix, mingle', T (pf. taḥawla) 'be mixed, mingled', Tgr (tə)ḥawəla 'eat and drink in community' ¶ L G 249.

**2585.** ₂ \*Xam∇ 'womb, vulva' > HS: Eg fMd ḥm.t 'womb (of a cow\woman), vulva', ?σ fP 'woman' ¶ EG III 76, DW II 597-600, Fk. 168-9, Tk. I 123 || ?σ S \*ḥ∇mḷ∇m(-at)- '∈ internal cavity of animal's body', '∈ part of viscera' > Ar ḥamām-at- {Ln.} 'middle of the breast\chest, (?) sternum', {BK} 'milieu de la poitrine \ du poitrail, sternum', ? ḥammā?- 'fesses', Tgr ḥəmməto 'a dish of entrails cut to pieces', Tgy ḥəmməto 'una pietanza fatta d'interiori di capra\pecora, etc.', ? Sq Δ ḥéʔm {SSL} 'bas-ventre', ? Ak umandū 'ein Teil des Leibesinnern' ¶ Ln. 637, BK I 486-7, Hv. 141, Sd. 1412, LH 62, Bsn. 40, SSL LSNP 1460, MiK I #1.119 || A: T \*haḷ;ḷm or NaT \*aḷ;ḷm 'vulva' > OT, MOg, MQp [incl. CC] am, Tk am, Kr, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt am id., Xlj {DT} hām id. It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N \*χ- yields pT \*h- (preserved in Xlj) (see N \*ʿχ'oḳu [or \*ʿχ'oḳi?] 'call out, speak; incantations') . But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ¶ Cl. 155, Rs. W 18, DT 122, DHST s.v. ḥāḡm ◊ Cf. IS I 245 (supposes that T \*aḷ;ḷm goes back to N {IS} \*Hanga, sc. N {AD} \*ʔanga 'to open', 'opening' [esp. 'mouth']).

**2586.** ₂ \*XEm∇ 'warm' > HS: S \*✓ ḥmm 'be hot', \*ḥamm- 'hot' > Hb ḥm (pl. ḥm̄m ḥam'm-īm) 'hot', JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥam) 'be hot', Ar ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥamma) 'heat (water, a bath, a stove)', Ak emmu 'hot'; ⇨ \*ḥumm- 'warmth, heat' > Hb ḥm̄m ḥom id., Sr {Br.} ḥm̄m ḥuḷm̄mā 'calor, aestus', Ug ḥm {A} 'heat', {OLS} 'heat, drought' ('calor, sequía'), Ar ḥumm- 'chaleur brûlante\excessive (de

midi)', ḥumm-at- 'fever', Ak *u m m u* 'heat' ¶ A #835, OLS 177, KB 312, KBR 325, Lv. T I 266, Sl. 469-70, Br. 238, JPS 145, BK I 485-7, HJ 380, Ln. 636, CAD IV 150-1 || C: DhI {EEN} ḥantū-iḏ- v. 'warm oneself' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} ḥām 'warm', {MQK} ḥām 'hot, warm' (of water), Alg hamis- 'set on fire' ¶ E SC 299, EEN 26, Mgw. 102, MQK 44, Blz. SCL s.v. 'warm' || ?φ Eg XVIII ḥm vi. 'be hot, burn' ¶ EG II 489 ¶¶ OS #1285 (S, Irq, Eg) || A: NaT \*i'm'i'k 'mild\warm' (of weather) > OT {Cl.} imik, Tk An imik ~ umuk id. ¶ Cl. 159, SDD 769, 1419.

**2587.** (₂?) \*Xom∇ 'sour, bitter' > HS \*ḥum- > C \*ḥum- ~ \*ḥam- > Bj {R} -hami (✓ hmy) pcv. 'be bitter, acid, sour' (1s p. 'a-hami, 1s prs. a-hammi), 'hāmi 'bitter, acid, sour' || LEC \*ḥum- ({Ss.} \*ḥam- ~ \*ḥum-) 'bad' (× N ?σ \*XUm∇ '≈ old, bad, miserable', q.v. ffd.) || Eg MK ḥmī.t, Cpt ζμοϥ ḥmu 'salt' ¶ EG III 93-94, Fk. 170, Vc. 299 || S (+ext.) \*✓ ḥmḡ v. 'be sour, be fermented' > Hb ✓ ḥmç G id., pf. 3m (pausal form) ḥā'mēç vi. 'leavened', Sh prtc. maḥ'meçeṭ 'sth. sour-tasting', Sr ✓ ḥmḡ G vi. 'ferment, leaven', JA [Trg.] ✓ ḥmḡ G 'be(come) sour, be leavened', Ar حمض ✓ ḥmḡ G 'be(come) sour', Tgr {d'Ab.} ✓ ḥmḡ [ḥmḡ] G (pf. ḥamḡa) 'become sour\bitter', Ak emēṣu v. 'be sour'; CS d. \*ḥumḡ- 'sourness, vinegar' > Hb ḥomeç, Ug ḥmḡ, JA [Trg.] 𐤁𐤓𐤓 ḥa'maṣ, em. 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 ḥum'ṣ-ā 'vinegar', Ar حمض ḥamḡ- 'salt or bitter plants'; Cn ⇨ Eg N ḥmḡ 'vinegar' ({Vc.} = [ḥumḡ-]), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ḥā-m-za > Cpt Sd ζμϥ ḥamḡ, Cpt B ḥemḡ 'vinegar' ¶ KB 316, KBR 329-30, A #941, Lv. II 73, Lv. T I 266, Js. 478, BK I 492-3, Hv. 143, Br. 230, JPS 147, EG III 99, Vc. 303, Hlk. #169, SivCR 83 || Ch {Stl.} \*ḥama 'salt' > WCh: Fy {J} ḡamâ id. || CCh: Msg ḥom id. ¶ Stl. IF 115 ¶¶ OS #1231 (HS \*ḥam- > Eg, Ch) || IE \*H<sup>w</sup>em-/\*H<sup>w</sup>m- 'raw, bitter, (?) sour' > OI ā'ma- 'raw, uncooked' || Gk ῥμός id. || L amārus 'bitter' || OIr om, W of 'raw' || pGmc \*ampra- (< \*om-ro) > Dt † amper 'sharp, astrigent, sour' ('scherp, wrang, zuur'), Sw amper 'bitter, sharp (piquant)', ON apr 'hard' || ? Arm ḥnuṭ hum 'raw, unripe, sour' ¶ P 777 (\*om-), Dv. #724, EI 478 (\*h₂o'mo-s ~ \*h₂ō'mo-s), MK I 77, WH I 35, Vn. O 21, F II 1149, Sl. 353, Vr. 11, Vr. N 16, Hlq. 17 || ?σ,φ U: FP \*umra 'wild angelica (Angelica sylvestris)' or 'sorrel' (< \*'sour grass') > Er umbrav, umrav 'sorrel', pPrm \*wmra > Z ompa 'Angelica sylvestris', Z US/LL umra, Prmk umra id., Yz 'umra 'angelica' ¶ Lt. 57, LG 205, U 372.

**2588.**  $_2$  \*Xum▽ (= \*χum▽?) 'to wish, to covet' > HS: WS \*-hūm- (~ \*χūm-?) 'wish' > Ar ✓ hwm G (pf. hāma, ip. -hūmu) v. {BK} 'vouloir, désirer', {Hv.} 'be thirsty, long for', {BK} hāyim- 'altéré de soif', Mh ✓ hwm (sbjn. y3hōm) 'want, like, wish, need', Bth ✓ hwm, Hrs ✓ χwm (sbjn. y3χōm) (with a puzzling χ for the expected h), Hbt ✓ χwm v. 'want' ¶ BK I 521, Hv. 151, Jo. M 194-5, Jo. H 145, Nak. #1138 || Ch {AD} \*χ▽m- {AD} 'wish, look for' ({Stl.} \*χam- 'look for') (× N \*qum▽ 'prey, ask') > ECh: LI {ChC} hām- 'look for' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} hūmā 'want' || ?φ WCh: DfB {J} gām 'look for' ¶ Stl. IF 108, 289, ChC, J R 214 || A: NaT \*um- 'ask for, covet' > OT {Cl.} um- id., MQp/OOsm XIV um- v. 'hope', Tk um-, Az, CrTt, Qmq um- id., Ggz, Kr Cr um- v. 'covet, hope', Uz Δ um- v. 'wish' ¶ Acc. to Cl., the meaning 'hope' developed due to the infl. of NPRs مريد omīd n. 'hope', whence Tk um- v. 'hope, believe', Az, Ggz, CrTt, Qmn v. 'hope' ¶ Cl. 155-6. ET Gl 595-6, Vl. I 122 || ?σ pJ {S} àmà-p- 'think', {Mr.} \*omo-pa > OJ {S} òmòp- id., {Mr.} omo-φu- 'think, feel', J: T omó-, K ómó-, Kg òmò- 'think' ¶ Mr. 741, S QJ #160, Kenk. 1442, ≠ DQA #34 (unc.: T \*um- < \*ǎmo 'mouth, taste') ◇ The Ch cognate (if valid) is likely to point to N \*χ- ◇ I am grateful to S. Starostin (p.c., 1976) for drawing my attention to the J cognate.

**2589.** ?σ \*XUm▽ '≈ old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > U: FU \*oma 'old, worn' (of things) > pLp {Lr.} \*j̄mē 'old' > Lp: S oāmīe, L āmēs, N oames, In oami, Kld {SaR} вѣѣмь vūēm 'old' || Er umok 'long ago' || ?Hg (× FU \*soŋk₁▽ 'old' < N \*zoŋE 'old'): ?OHg XI oħut, XII out, XVI awat '(very) old', ?Hg ó 'old, ancient, antique', avar 'dry fallen leaves and parched grass' ¶ UEW 337, Lr. #831, Lgc. #4573, SaR 62, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 || HS: LEC \*hum- 'bad' (× N \*Xom▽ 'sour, bitter') > Sa, Af um-a, Sml hun/ hum- 'bad, evil, worthless', Sml J huŋ-, Or {Bl.} hām-a', {Grg.} ham-ā (Or a < \*u, acc. to Bl.) ¶ R WBd 118, Bl. 107, 201, Ss. PEC 38 (EC \*ham- ~ \*hum-), Hn. S 64, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E PC #519 || SC {E}: Brn, Alg hamis- 'get lost, forget'; ??σ: Brn ham-, Alg hamu 'hardship, distress' ¶ Ss. PC 38, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E SC 334, 379 || IE {Ad.} \*he|oumo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend' || Tc B aume {Ad.} '≈ misery', {Wn.} 'misère', Tc A omäskem {Ad.} 'evil', {Wn.} 'mauvais, méchant' ¶ Vr. 19, Ad. 132 (\*h₂e|oumo-), Wn. 154, 335-6 ◇ Highly qu. (too loose and unreliable semantic connections). Identical with N \*Xom▽ 'sour, bitter'? ◇ Suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB #7a and Blz. LNA #23: N \*hōma) ◇ Hardly



here D \*ūm- 'dumb' (better from N \*'ǰ'umŋ|ñ ▽ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness / remembrance of') and Kl omūn 'soft' (⇔ Blz. LNA #23).

**2590.** \*χ ▽ m ▽ 'wall, (?) wind-break' > HS: WS \*hām-at-, \*hām-īt- 'wall (around a city \ settlement)' > OCn (AkSc) χu-mi-tu (= \*hōmītu), Hb הַחֲוֹמֹת הַחֵמָה 'city wall, wall (around a building or an area of a city)', Ph ḥmūt 'fortress', M'b ḥmt 'wall', Ug ḥmt, (AkSc) ḥamītu 'city wall (Mauer, muro)', Sb ḥmū 'build a dam wall (for a canal)' ¶ KBR 298, HJ 381, A #944, OLS 178, Hnr. 125, BGMR 69, HJ 381 || K: G χim-i 'Zaun aus Rohr', χim-e 'Zaun aus Baumstämmen' ¶ Chx. 2361 || IE: Ht humma 'stable, stall, sty', (?) Lw hum(ma)ti 'stable' ¶ Ts. E I 283-4, Pv. III 373 || ? A: WrMc emile- v. 'screen' ({Z} 'заслонять, закрывать, застѣнять') ¶ Z 81.

**2591.** \*χam<sub>1</sub> ▽<sub>1</sub> gê 'tight, narrow; to squeeze' > IE \*χamǵh- > NaIE \*anǵh- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie (up), squeeze' > Av azaṇhē 'zu bedrängen', ny-āzara 'sie schnürt sich' || Gk ἄρχω v. 'squeeze (esp. the throat), embrace, strangle, throttle' || L ang-ō, -ēre 'press tightly; strangle, throttle' || OIr ing 'Bedrängnis' (P: < \*ṅǵhi), Brtt {RE} \*angios 'narrow' > W yng ~ ing, Crn yn, OBr enc, MBr encq, Br enk id. || Sl \*vež-ati 'to tie' (1s prs. \*vež-ŋ) > OCS ВѢЗАТИ vežati, SCr, Slv vézati, Cz vázati, Slk viazat', R вя'зать (1s prs. вя'жу) id., Blg 'вежа 'I tie' | NaIE \*an'ǵh-u-s 'tight, narrow' > OI am̄hu-ḥ 'narrow', MPrs {M} \*anzūk id. > MncMPrs hnzwg, Prt ṛnžwg, MPrs ⇨ Arm ահանկ anžuk 'narrow, strait' || L angiportus ~ angiportum 'narrow street' || Gt aggwu (adj. ntr.), ON qngr, AS enze, OHG engi, NHG eng 'narrow' || Sl \*q'zъ-къ 'narrow' (f. \*'qzъ-ка, ntr. \*'qzъ-кo), dadj. \*'qzъкъ-ъ > OCS ꙗꙗꙗꙗкъ qzъкъ, SCr љzak, Slv ózek, Cz, Slk úzký, P wazki, R 'узок / 'узкий, in d. (words, forms) without \*-ъкъ: cmpr. \*qžъъ (< \*qz-šъъ) 'narrower' > SCr љžī, Cz úžī id., R (pradj.) 'уже 'is narrower', d. nouns like OR оузота uz-ota 'narrowness', etc. | NaIE \*anǵhos-, \*anǵhes- 'narrowness, oppression, anxiety' > OI 'am̄haḥ / am̄has- ntr., Av azaḥ 'anxiety, trouble' || L angor 'suppression of the throat, mental distress, anxiety', angustus 'narrow', angustia 'narrowness' || ON angr 'ill humour, affliction, sorrow', OFrs angist, OHG angust, NHG Angst 'fear' || Lt aĩkštas 'narrow, cramped', ? ChS ꙗꙗꙗꙗсть qzostъ 'narrowness' (unless d. within Sl) || Ht ham(m)e(n)k- ~ hami(n)k- 'tie; betroth' ({EI}: < \*h<sub>2</sub>mǵneǵh-) ¶ P

42-3, ≈σ EI 64 (\*h<sub>2</sub>emġ<sup>h</sup>- 'tie, constrain'), F I 17-8, M K I 14, M E I 38-9, RastM PJ 157 (on the Mnc letter j for Prt ž), WH I 47, RE 114, Flr. 100, 159, Fs. 13-4, Vr. 10, 687, Kb. 32, 200, Schz. 88, 124, EWA I 253-5 and II 1072-3, KM 22, 165-6, Frn. 11, Glh. 658, 667-8, Vs. I 374 and IV 154, Srz. III 1172, Ped. H 197, Pv. III 64-8 || **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ ħmg > Ar ✓ ħmġ D v. 'cligner l'œil en rapprochant les paupières (pour mieux voir)', 'être maigre, maigrir' ¶ BK I 488 || **U:** FU {UEW} \*aŋke 'narrow, depressed' > F {UEW} ankea 'schwer, bedrängt, melancholisch', {Sz.} ange (gen. ankeen) 'Begrängnis', Es angu- 'gerinnen, starr werden' (both unless ← Gmc [Gt aggwu 'eng', etc., / above]) || OHg agg- 'worry' ('sich um etwas kümmern'), Hg aggód- 'be anxious, worry', Δ aggód- v. 'curdle' (of cow milk) ¶ UEW 12, EWU 10-1 || **D** \*aŋkañam 'space between two posts\pillars\beams' > Kn, Tu aŋkaña, Tl aŋkañamu id., Tm aŋkañam 'space between two pillars' ¶¶ D #28.

**2592.** \*<sup>ʁ</sup>o<sub>l</sub>?a<sub>l</sub>muś|ś∇ (or \*<sup>ʁ</sup>o<sub>l</sub>?a<sub>l</sub>mU(-ś|ś∇)) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collar-bone', 'shoulder', or sim. > **IE:** NaIE \*om(e)so-s 'shoulder' > OI 'amśa-<sub>h</sub> id., Oss I on, Os D onä 'shoulder-blade' || Arm nlu us (gen. usoy) 'shoulder' || Gk ὠμος id. (< \*osmos, cp. ἐπ-ομμάδιος ~ ἐπ-ωμάδιος adj. 'on the shoulders') || L *umerus* 'shoulder', Um uze, ONSE 'in umero' || Gt amś 'shoulder', ON áśś 'mountain ridge' || pTc {Ad.} \*āns|ce > Tc A es, B āntse 'shoulder' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Pv., EI) Ht anassa- 'body part in the rear of the lower torso', prob. {Pv.} 'hips, buttocks' (possibly connected with L *ānus*, see Ivn. R III-VIII 162 and Po. PBH 205) ¶¶ P 778, EI 515-6 (\*h<sub>1</sub>h<sup>4</sup>omsō-s), M K I 14, M E I 37, Ab. II 227-8, F II 1148-9, WH II 815, Bc. G 339, Slt. 203-4, Wn. 182, Ad. 43-4, Ad. H 20, 28, 147, Pv. I-II 63-4 || **HS:** WCh {Stl.} \*ʔam(śi) and {AD} \*wam(śi) 'arm' > SBc: Bg {J} ʔámśí, Kir wam, wamsi, Plc am, Gj womži id. || Ngz {Sch.} áamáġ 'hand, arm' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231 [#790], Sch. DN 9, ChC || ?σ Eg MK/G xms ({EG} ħmś) v. 'bend one's back in respect' ¶ EG III 367, Fk. 201 || **U** \*wamś∇ 'rump, crupper, shoulder' > FU: pOs \*waməs > Os: D woməs 'bones of the shoulder', V waməs 'withers, crupper', Vy waməs 'back part of the animal's trunk; pelvis and the back end of the spine together with the surrounding meat', Ty wāməs 'back part of the body, loins with their meat' || Sm: Ne: T ямэ 'groin', T O {Lh.} yâ:pcara 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Oberschenkel und dem Bauch um die Genitalien', T Y yâ:msara, T MZ yâ:mз, F wĕāms ~ wĕāmc

id.; En: X {Cs.} 'bařaro, B {Cs.} 'bařado 'loins (Kreuz am Rücken)'; Ng {Cs.} bob'sudu 'loins, waist' ¶¶ Coll. 66, UEW 556, KrT 225, Lh. 103  
 || A {ADb.} \*omuř > T \*omuř 'collar-bone', 'breastbone', or sim. > Chg {PC}, MQp, OOsM omuz, Tkm omuđ, CrTt, Qmq, QrB omuz 'shoulder', Tk omuz, Ggz omuz 'upper part of the back', Tk Δ omuz 'back, horse's chest', Uz ωmiz 'shoulder', 'arm-hole (in garments)', Chv ъмѣр 'animal's breast, dewlap (подгрудок)', Tkm omurdan 'shoulder, upper part of a sleeve' (with \*ř > r before a cns. [Hl.'s law]); ↗ \*omurtka ~ \*oňurtqa 'backbone' > OT oγurγa id., Tk omurğa, Qzq omirtqa, Qrg omurtqa, OOsM XIV, Tkm oňurγa, Az onurγa ¶ ET Gl 453-5, Md. 171 (\*omuř), 41 (\*oňuriγ, \*oňurga), Cl. 92-3, Rs. W 361-2, TL 240-1, ADb. SR 136-7, 188-90 ¶ The original meaning is likely to be 'collar-bone', 'breastbone', or sim., the semantic shift to 'shoulder' in the lgs of the SW area (within and near the former Byzantine Empire) may be due to the infl. of Gk ὤμος 'shoulder' || ppM {Pp.} \*omuri-γun > M \*omuruγun > MM [S] {Koz.} [UygSc?] omoru, {H, Pp.} omori-ud ({H} pl. of omori h?) 'breastbone', WrM omuruγun, HIM оμπρυγ 'sternum, clavicle, breast', Brt {Pp.} omořuň 'horse's breast', Kl {KRS} оμπρη 'грудь' (= 'chest?'), Kl D {Rm.} omrūn, Kl Ö {Rm.} omrū 'chest (cavity), breastbone', ? Mnr H {SM} muršdag 'Adam's apple'; M ↗ Nog, Qq, Qzq omiraw 'horse's breast; breast', Qrg omurō 'breast (of horses and other animals)', Qmq omuraw, VTt, Bsh umraw 'collar-bone', Alt omurū 'stature (стан)', Xk omiriγ, Sg/Qb/Qc/Kü {RI.} omriγ 'front part of a horse's breast' ¶ MED 611, Vld. 196, KRS 397, KW 285-6, H 124, SM 251, ≈ ET Gl 453-4 (the authors try to find a T et. for omraw ~ omuraw without considering it a loan from M), KumRS 243, BIG 126, RI. I 1170-1 ¶¶ Pp. VG 68, KW l.c., ADb. SR 308 [#18] ◇ The A cns. \*-ř- may be explained by a hypothetical (reg. in some conditions?) change: N \*-ś- > \*\*-ź- > A \*-ř-. Another possible case of this pre-A rhotacism is A {AD} \*p'ok'ūr- 'bovine animal, bull' related to L pecus / pecoris (< N \*pokoü '[herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.] with a sibilant extension). An alt. solution of the problem is morphological: N \*ś∇ (or \*ś̂∇) may have been an aux. word (> sx.) used to form derived nouns or cds., esp. those with the abstract meaning; this N \*ś|ś̂∇ underlies the pIE abstract nouns with the stem-final \*-os (e.g. \*gēn-os > L gen-us [gen. gen-er-is], Gk γέν-ος [gen. γέν-ε-ος], OI 'jan-aḥ [gen. jan-as-aḥ]), and the Tg nomina collectiva with the sx. \*-sa / \*-se (Ewk mō-sa

'grove, a group of trees' and Ork *mōso* 'forest' ← Ewk, Ork *mō-* 'tree', *F Vas.* 258, 788, STM I 540-1). In this case the abovementioned IE, S, Ch, and U words with a sibilant go back to the N cd. *\*ʰX'o<sub>l</sub>ʔa<sub>l</sub>mu-ś|ś∇*, while those without the sibilant go back to N *\*ʰX'o<sub>l</sub>ʔa<sub>l</sub>mU* without the element *\*ś|ś∇*, while A *\*-ř* is a different sx. ◇ U and WCh *\*wa-* (in U *\*wamś∇* and WCh *\*wam(śi)*) are likely to go back to N *\*ʰX'o<sub>l</sub>ʔa-* (> *\*\*Hga*).

**2593.** (<sub>2</sub>?) *\*ʰX'äñ∇* (or *\*-ŋ-*) 'to bow, to bend down, to descend' > **HS:** CS *\*√ħny|w* > Ar *√ħnw G* (ip. *-ħnuw-*) v. 'recourber, plier; pencher la tête pour boire', *√ħny G* (ip. *ħniy-*) v. 'courber, recourber, cambrer (un bois)', *ħanw-* 'crooked', 'courbé, courbure', BHb *√ħny* (ip. *-ħ<sup>a</sup>ñē*) v. 'decline, encamp', Amr *√ħny|w* v. 'encamp' ¶ KB 319, KBR 332, Fr. I 437-8, BK I 506, Hv. 147 || ? (+ext.) Eg OK *χrd* ≈ bend (wooden sticks)', Eg MK {Fk.} 'bend (wood), twist together (flower-stems)' ¶ EG III 312, Fk. 195 || **A:** T *\*än|ŋ-* ({Md.} ppT *\*e.ŋ-*) v. 'descend, come down' > OT, XwT *en-* 'descend, come down', Tkm *eŋ-*, Chv *an-* v. 'descend, come\go down', Yk {Pek.} *äñiyä~äñiä* 'slope' ('покатость, слон'); (here??) Tkm *īn-*, Tk *in-*, Ggz *jin-* 'descend' ¶ Cl. 168, Rs. W 43, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, Pek. 270, ET Gl 353-4 (T *\*īn-* 'descend'), Md. 34, 164 (T *\*ěŋ = \*ä.ŋ* 'descend'; rejects the connection with Tkm *īn-*), S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292. All forms except Tkm *īn-*, Tk *in-*, and Ggz *jin-* can be accounted for by T *\*än-*; the Tkm long vw. in *īn-* may suggest a pT long vw., but may be alternatively explained as going back to *ji-* (with a prosthetic *\*j-*, as in Ggz). Acc. to Md. 34, Tkm *īn-* does not belong here. Tk *in-* and Ggz *jin-* must be of the same origin as Tkm *īn-* ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1533 (T < A *\*ŋēni* 'go [down, away]', see N *\*ŋæñE* 'go [away]') || ?σ,φ **K:** G I *χvanχval-* 'sich winden' ¶ Ghl. 749, Chx. 2345.

**2594.** *\*χin∇* 'be happy\glad, love' > **K:** Sv: UB *-χēn-* 𐎠 *-χen-* 'bring good news', msd. UB/L *li-χēn-e*, LB/Ln *li-χen-e* 'bringing (/to bring) good news' ¶ TK 484, Dn. s.v. *-χēn-* || **HS:** CS *\*ħinn-* > Hb *ḥn* *ħen* 'favour' / +ppa. *ħinn-* (3m *ħin'n-ō*) 'grace, beauty; favour, approval', MHb *ħen*, JA [Trg.] *ḫḫn ~ ḫḫn* *ħin'nā* 'grace, favour, loveliness', Ph *ħn* 'favour', OA, IA *ħn* {HJ} '(quality) which procures favour'; S *\*√ħnn*, *\*-ħunn-* > BHb *√ħnn* (pf. *ħānan*, ip. *yā-ħon*, pf. c. *ḥḥḥ* *way'yāħon*) 'be gracious, generous', Ph *√ħnn N*, Pun *√ħnn G*, Ug *√ħnn G /D* (?) 'be benevolent, merciful towards so.', Amr {G} *√ħnn* 'be gracious, be merciful', JA *√ħnn G* (pf. *ḥḥḥ an*, ip. *ḥḥḥ yē'ħon*) v. {Lv.}

'jem-m günstig\gradevoll sein, sich seiner erbarmen', Ar ✓ħnn G (pf. حَنَّ ħanna) {BK} 'avoir une grande tendresse pour qn.; avoir compassion de qn.; être ému (de tristesse, de joie)', {Hv.} 'long for her child' (a woman), Ak enēnu 'seek grace'; -d> \*ħa'nān- > Htr ħnrn? 'pity, compassion', Sr سِنُّ ħanā'n-ā (abs. سِنُّ ħa'nān) id., 'mercy', Ar حنان ħanān- 'mercy, blessing, tenderness of heart', 'pitié, compassion', Plm ħnrn? 'clement, merciful' ¶ KB 318, 321, A #947, OLS 78-9, HJ 386-7, 389, BK I 498-9, Hv. 145, G A 20, Js. 481, 484, Lv. T I 268-70, Sl. 474, 457, JPS 149 || A: M \*inag > MM [S] inah 'Favorit, Günstling', WrM inag, HIM янаг 'beloved, darling; favourite, lover; friend', 'benevolence, affection' ¶ H 82, MED 409-10 || D \*iñ- 'pleasant, agreeable' > Tm iñ- 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable', Ml in(ip)ram, inupram, inima 'pleasure, delight', iniya 'sweet', Kn in, ini, ine 'sweetness, pleasantness, loveliness', Tu, Tl impu 'agreeableness, pleasantness', Tl incu 'be agreeable', ?? Brh hanēn 'sweet' ¶¶ D #530 ◇ Hardly here FU \*int∇ 'energy' (LG 209-10, SK 108); NaIE \*ans- 'be favourable' (P 47) is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with S \*✓?nš id. (< N \*?añ∇, s∇ ≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful', q.v.) ◇ Blz. SNE #14 (\*ħin∇ in S, A + \*÷ IE + \*÷ U), ≠ Bmh NMF (\*÷ IE \*ans-, S).

2595. ₂ \*Xañ∇, s∇ 'together, with' > D \*-āñ > Tm -āñ 'with' (ending of instr.), ? OTI {An.} -əñ ~ -ə id. (čēyi 'hand' ↔ čētə(ñ) 'with the hand') ¶¶ An. SG 211-3 || HS: Eg fP ħnr 'together with', 'and' ¶ EG III 110-2, Fk. 172 ||| This N etymon may underly the second element \*(i)ħen- of the HS compound aut. prn. \*?aniħEn-n∇ 'we' (\*?an- [focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns] + \*(i)ħen- + \*nu∇ 'we, our') found in S, Bj, and B: S \*?a'niħnu 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 ?a'naħnū, Ph ?nħn, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA † 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 ?a'naħnā, IA ?nħn(h), Plm ?nħnw, Sr سِنُّ ħa'nan ~ (archaic) سِنُّ ?nħnn (probably سِنُّ) \* \*?anaħnan), Ar نَحْنُ naħnu, Gz naħna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nāħā, Jb E 'nħa, Jb C 'nħan ~ 'nħa, Sq {Jo.} ħan ~ 'ħanhən, Ak (a)nīnu ¶ KB 69, 1669, Lv. T I 40, Sl. 144, PS 250, Br. 28, Nld. CSG § 163, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Sd. G § 41) || C: Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', {R} he'nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōn, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han'nē ≈ he'nē 'our' (× N \*ħin∇ [= \*Xin∇?] 'other'?) ¶ R BedS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2 || B \*hanā-ϣ 'us, 'to us' > Tw {Pr.} ānϣ ≈ hānϣ id. (ffd. see N \*ñ∇ 'we' excl.) ¶¶ If this

conjecture is right, the HS word \*ʔaniḥEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together'. For an alt. et. of \*ʔaniḥEn-n∇ *F* s.v. N \*hin∇ (= \*Xin∇?) 'other'.

**2596.** \*Xü'w' iñC∇ (or \*X'ü' ñC∇?) 'thin, narrow' > HS: Eg Md/NK ḥns (EG ḥns) 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ EG III 116 || C \*✓ iñC: ?φ EC: Sa {Wlm.} ienda 'little, small', Af {PH} iunḏa 'be small, be young', ?φ Arr \*ʔiní 'child, boy' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} zncay 'boy' ¶ AD SF 143, HP 62, Hw. A 341 || U: FU \*°wiñca (~ \*°wić∇?) 'thin, narrow' > Ugr: ObU {Ht.} \*wīñc∇ > pVg \*wĩś > Vg: T üś, LK/UK wiś, P/LL iś 'small', UL uś ēḥk 'elder brother's youngest daughter (младшая золовка)' (ēḥk 'elder brother's daughter'); pOs \*wäñc 'narrow' > Os: V/Vy wäñt, Ty/D wāt, Nz/Kz waś | Hg [early XIX] vézna 'hager, schwächig', Hg O vézna 'lean, thin, slight (sovány, cingár)', Hg vézna 'puny, sickly, peaky, weak' ¶ UEW 899 (\*wäñca ~ \*wäc∇), Coll. 123 (\*wäñc∇), Ht. #696, EWU 1631 || A: T \*jinç-ḵä 'thin' > OT jinčgä 'thin, slim, delicate', Tk iñce, Az, Ggz inžä, CrTt inže, Tkm iñče (ī < \*ji), Qmq inče, QrB inčke ~ inčge, Nog jiniške, Qq žiniške, Qzq žiñiške, VTt ньśkä, Bsh ньskä, Uz ingičkä, ET iničkä, Δ jinžige, Qrg, Ln ičke, Alt cícke, Tv činxe, Yk siññigäs 'thin', Xk һичке nuske, Chv чиңче śinž\_e 'thin, narrow' ¶ Cl. 945, Rs. W 203, ET Gl 364-5, NogR 124, Tn. SJ 403 || M \*üćü-ken ~ \*öćü-ken 'small, little' (× N \*ηUÇ∇ 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) || ? pJ \*úsú- 'thin' > OJ úsu-, J: T úsu-, K úsu-, Kg úši-, Ns úsú-; \*÷ J Sh inčá and J Ns ìkk'á 'short' (acc. to Starostin, from pJ {S} \*mìnsìkà 'short') ¶ S AJ 269 [#102], S QJ #102, Mr. 843 ¶¶ S VL 228, ≈ SDM97 s.v. \*ñiñč'i and \*ñüč'e, ADb. NNN 34, ≈ DQA #1544 (A \*ñóyč'u thin, small' > incl. T \*ōçu-, M \*öćü-, pJ \*úsú-) || D \*ūñc- 'lean, thin; to dry up' > Tm urñcaṭṭai 'leanness, thinness', Tl ũca 'withered, lean, thin', Prj ūñ- v. 'dry up, become emaciated' ¶¶ D #735 ◇ If the N etymon is \*X'ü' ñC∇, U \*wi- < \*ü- may be a case of "labial fission" (see Introduction, § 2.2.7). But the rec. \*Xü'w' iñC∇ is preferable, because it is able to account not only for FU \*°wiñca, but also for T \*jinç-ḵä (\*Xü'w' i- > \*\*üi- > \*\*yi- > T \*ji-).

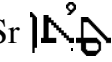

**2597.** \*Xäñ∇k∇ (↔ \*Xäḥk∇?) 'jaw, palate' > HS: WS \*hink-, \*ha'nak- 'palate, lower jaw' > BHb ḥḥ ḥek id. / +ppa. ḥikk- (ḥik'k-ō 'his palate'), JA [Trg.] ḥḥ ~ ḥḥ ḥik'k-ā 'palate', JEA ḥḥ ḥin'k-ā ~ ḥḥ ḥik'kā, Sr ḥḥ ḥen'k-ā ~ ḥḥ ḥek'k-ā and pl. ḥen'k-ā 'palate,

pharynx', Ar ḥanāk- {BK} 'palais et la partie de la bouche sous le menton correspondante au palais', {Hv.} 'palate; lower jaw', Tgr ḥanək 'palate' (<b- Ar?), Mh ḥannūk, Jb C/E ḥo'nuk 'gum and palate', Hrs ḥennək 'gum and uvula' ¶ KB 300, KBR 313, Lv. II 82, Js. 455, Sl. 457-8, Br. 244, Ln. 639, Fr. I 437, BK I 505, Hv. 147, Jo. M 182, Jo. J 112, Jo. H 60, MiK I #1.124 || U \*āḡḡ 'chin, jaw, jaw-bone' (× N \*ʔāḡḡ|gḡ 'chin' [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU \*āḡḡ 'jaw' > pVg {Ht.} \*āḡḡ 'jaw' > Vg: T āḡḡ, LK/MK ḡḡ, P ḡḡ 'jaw' ¶ Ht. #39 (\*÷ Os \*oñčəḡ ({HL.} \*āñčəḡ) that can be better explained from N \*ΓaḡḡU 'cheek' [q.v.]) || A ({DQA} \*ēḡa, -k'ḡ 'chin, jaw') (× N \*ʔāḡḡ|gḡ '↑', q.v. ffd.): NaT \*āḡḡ or \*ēḡḡ 'cheek', T \*eḡäk 'chin, jaw, cheek', pJ {S} \*áḡk- 'jaw, chin; gills', Tg: WrMc eḡge 'beak' ¶¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, TkR 798, Hüs. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45, S QJ #163, STM II 457, DQA #434.

**2598.** ʔσ (₂?) \*XḡNkḡ (= \*XäNka?) 'to untie, to open' > HS: S \*o✓ḡnk > Ar ✓ḡnk *Sh* (pf. ʔaḡnaka) 'éloigner, écarter, chasser' ¶ BK I 505 || C \*ḡink- v. 'open, untie' ({E} v. 'remove, open') > Ag ≈ \*ʔḡnk- (× N \*ʔaḡga 'to open' × N \*ḡEko 'to open [?], to bare, to uncover') > Bln {R} ʔḡnk- 'öffnen, auflösen, aufbinden; befreien', Xm {Ap.} ʔk-s-, {R} iek-~ek-, Q ʔñč-, ʔñš- v. 'open, undo' || SC: ḡ pRt {E} \*ḡink- v. 'push away' (E cites no reflexes in individual lgs.) || ? EC: Or {Grg.} ḡīk- v. 'loosen, untie', {Th.} ḡīc-u 'slegare, sciogliere, rilasciare, liberare' ¶ E PC #530, Ap. AV 4, R WB 37, Grg. 207, Th. 195 || U: FU \*aḡa 'untie, open (lösen, öffnen, aufmachen)' (× N \*ʔaḡga '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ A: Tg: Ewk SB ʔḡḡḡḡ- 'stretch (растягивать)' ¶ STM II 458.

**2599.** ₂ \*χ|q'a'ḡḡ,ḡḡ (or \*χ|q'a'ḡḡ) 'to bend' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ḡḡḡ (1s p. a-ḡa'ḡḡ) 'biegen, krümmen' || ? SC: Alg ḡoḡḡḡḡ- v. 'bend, wrap' ¶ R WBd. 116, E SC 259 (SC \*ḡoḡḡḡḡ v. 'bend, fold' > Alg ḡoḡḡḡḡ- and Mb ḡòḡḡḡḡ 'joint [of body]') || IE \*ḡenk- (~ \*oḡenk-?) 'bend' > Ht ḡīnk- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' ¶ Ts. EI 250-1, Pv. III 292-6 || NaIE \*aḡk- vt., vi. 'bend' > OI 'aḡcātī, 'acātī 'bends, curves', MPrs aḡčītan 'bends' || Gk ḡḡḡḡḡ 'elbow', ḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡḡḡḡḡḡ 'bent arm' || Lt Δ ánka 'loop' || L [Fest] aḡcus 'qui aduncum brachium habet' || Tc A aḡcäl 'bow (arc)' || ? NaIE d. \*oḡkḡ-s 'crooked, hook' > Gk ḡḡḡḡḡ 'barb of an arrow' || L uncus 'crooked, hook' || OIr ékath 'fish-hook' || OHG aḡḡḡ 'hook', ds.: AS aḡḡel 'fish-hook, hook', ON ḡḡḡull 'fish-hook', OHG aḡḡul 'fishing-rod', NHG Aḡel 'fish-hook' || OI 'aḡ'ka-ḡ. n. 'hook, curve, bend', Av aka- 'hook' || OCS ḡkḡḡḡ

ογκοτῶ 'hook' ¶ P 45-7 (\*ank-), EI 61-2 (\*h<sub>2</sub>enk- ~ \*h<sub>2</sub>eng- 'bend an object so that it stays bent'), and ≈ AHDI 3 (all of them do not distinguish between NaIE \*ank- and \*ang-), M KI 19, 24, M EI 47, 52-3, Vr. 687, Ho. 6, Kb. 32, EWA I 251-3, KM 22, F I 10-2 and II 347, Wn. 146, WH I 46 and II 816, Frn. 11.

**2600. \*Xān̄∇t̄∇** 'grain, kernel' > HS: S \*h̄int̄-at- (~ \*h̄unt̄-at-?) 'wheat' > Hb הַחֵטְהַיִתְּאֵ, Ug ḥṭṭ, OA ḥṭḥ, IA ḥnt̄? ~ ḥṭḥ, Plm ḥ(y)t̄?, JPA, JEA אַחַתְּאֵתְּאֵ, Sr  ḥeṭṭeṭṭe, Md ḥṭita, Ar  ḥinṭat- (→ Sq {L} ḥinṭeh), Ak uṭṭatu 'wheat', Gz ḫaṭṭat ~ ḫaṭṭat- 'grain, seed', BA pl. ḫiṭṭiṭ 'grains of wheat', Jb C {Jo.} 'ḫiṭṭet 'ear of rice', 'ḫiṭ 'ears of rice, food, beans' ¶ KB 294, 1710, KBR 307, Lv. II 36, Js. 453, Sl. 453, Br. 227, Ln. 657, BK I 503, Jo. J 119, LG 268 || C {AD} \*✓Hyṭ > EC: Sml N {Abr.} ḥaḏūḏ 'corn, millet', Sml {ZMO} ḥaḏūḏ 'maize, jowari, millet, sorghum' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} ṣayitiṭi (pl. ṣayitoṭo), {MQK} ṣayitoṭō (snglt. ṣayitiṭi) 'maize' ¶ AD SF 221-2, Abr. S 102, ZMO 177, MQK 18 || IE (mt.) \*h̄et(e)n (/ \*h̄et(e)r-?) 'grain, kernel' > NaIE \*et(e)n- 'kernel, grain' (× N \*qat∇ 'e corn' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} eitrne 'kernel', ScGl eite 'unhusked ear of corn', eitean 'kernel, grain' || Gk ἕττος 'a thick soup of pulse, pea-soup' || AdS of Ht ḥat(t)ar 'e cereal' ('ein Getreideart') (< N \*qat∇ '↑') ¶ P 343, F I 582, Ts. E I 220, Pv. III 247 (Ht ḥat(t)ar ← ḥat- 'dry up') || D \*aṅṭi 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N \*H'ä'ñt∇ 'kernel' [q.v. ffd.], whence D \*-ṭ- rather than \*-t-) ◇ Since Ht ḥat(t)ar goes back mainly to N \*qat∇, it provides no decisive ev. for N \*χ-. Therefore the N rec. is with \*X- (= N \*χ- or N \*h̄-).

**2600a.** (₂?) \*Xayno (= \*h̄|χayno) (a variant reconstruction instead of \*ʔayno, q.v. s.v.) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') > HS: C {E} \*hang<sup>ω</sup>- 'brain' > EC \*hang∇- 'brain' > Sa {Wlm.} hangal, pl. hangul id., Af {PH} ḥángal 'brain', Or B {Anr.} enḡu ~ enḡō id. || ? DhI {E} ṣàni 'head' || Ag → Amh angol 'brain' and Tgr ḥangal ḥangal (pl. ḥanāgəl ḥanagəl) → Bln {R} hang<sup>ω</sup>el (pl. hanāg<sup>ω</sup>əl) 'brain'; Ag: Aw ang<sup>ω</sup>al id. may be either a return loan from EthS (as suggested in AD SF) or an inherited C word (as in E PC) || ?? C → Mb angálo 'head' (E SC 276 reconstructs SC \*ṣaṅ- 'head' on the basis of Mb and DhI) ¶ E PC #522, AD SF 153, PH 126, To. D 136, EEN 13, ≈ E SC 27; acc. to E SC, the stem of DhI and Mb may go back to SC \*ṣaṅ- 'above, up' (> Irq {MQK} ʔāṅ 'past, already, ancient times', {E} aṅ 'in the past, long ago',



Brn 0η 'mountain', *see* E SC, MQK 15), but the direction of semantic change may have been the opposite as well || ? EthS (a loan from a C lge.): Gz ʔang<sup>ω</sup>əf 'marrow, the soft fat of animals', Tgr ʔəngəʔə, Tgy ʔang<sup>ω</sup>əʔə, Amh ang<sup>ω</sup>a 'marrow' ¶ L G 28-9 ¶ If the pN etymon is **\*ʔayno** (a reconstruction based on the assumption that Gz ʔang<sup>ω</sup>əf is of pS origin), the unexpected C **\*ħ-** has to be accounted for. It may be explained if we reconstruct pN **\*ħ|χayno** and suppose that the EthS word is a loan from a C lge. that has lost the initial lr.; an alt. hyp. is to suppose that C {E} **\*ħang<sup>ω</sup>-** goes back to a cd. **\*ħ|χ... ʔayno** || NrOm: Kcm {CR} anqā, {Fl.} ʔnqā 'head' ¶ Blz. OLBP #56 || Ch: CCh: Cb {ChL} ʔāngàrà, Mrg {ChL} aṅgada 'brain', Mbk {Mch.} āngā, Bana {Lk.} yāngā 'head' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'brain', Mch. VCSP 173 ¶¶ For the HS comparison *see* AD SF 15 and Blz. OLBP #56 || **U** **\*ayne** (~ **\*ayn<sup>o</sup>**?) (U {Coll.} **\*ayno**, FU {UEW} **\*ayne**) 'brain, ? marrow' > F aiνo(τ) 'brain, temple, temporal (bone)', Es aju 'brain' pLp {Lr.} **\*vōjη3** > Lp N {N} νυοiηâš-: pl. νυοiηâšâk || Lp L {LLO} νυοiηam ~ νυοi'ηam 'brain' || pMr {Ker.} **\*oyʒə** > Mk уѣ уу 'marrow, brain' || ? Hg agy 'brain, marrow' (OHg also 'skull') || ?? Sm: Nn T Һэвэѣ 'brain' (unless ← Һэва 'head'); acc. to Coll. 2, here also Ng {Cs.} ǫiā, En X {Cs.} ae, En B {Cs.} ebê, Slq: Nr/Ke {Cs.} kũu, NP {Cs.} kũη 'brain' || ?φ Y: OY O {Mat.} аборъ 'мозгъ' ('brain' or 'marrow') ¶¶ UEW 5, Sm. 542 (FU **\*ājri** 'brain' > FP **\*ajri**, Ugr **\*ājri**), Coll. 2, Lr. #1425 (does not distinguish it from Lp **\*vōyη3** v. 'breath'), Lgc. #8741, Ker. II 173, Ter. 415, Cs. 227, IN 294 || **IE**: NaIE **\*ong<sup>ω</sup>-** 'anoint', **\*ong<sup>ω</sup>-en-~\*ng<sup>ω</sup>-en-** 'fat, grease' ({EI} IE **\*h<sub>3</sub>eng<sup>ω</sup>-** 'anoint') > OI añj-, a'nakti (3p añjanti, pp. ak'ta) v. 'smear, anoint', 'ājyam 'melted or clarified butter (used for oblations, for sacrifice, and for anointing anything sacrificed or offered)' (< ā + ajya < **\*ng<sup>ω</sup>yō-**) || Arm **օճանեմ** ôcanem < **\*aycanem** 'I anoint' || L unguō / pp. unctus v. 'anoint, besmear', Um umtu 'unguito' || OIr imb, W ymen-yn, OCrn amen-en, Br amann 'butter' || OHG anko, ancho, MHG, NGr Al anke id. || Pru anctan, ancte id. ¶ WPI 81, P 779, EI 24, Dv. #779, WH II 819-20, EWA I 263-5, OsS 20, LG § 8.1, Me. EAC 237, Tp. P A-D 91, En. 142, MW 133 ◇ Cf. UEW 5 (FU, Y, T); UEW mentions "türk. \*āj 'Gedächtnis, Verstand'", probably a misprint for T **\*āη** (a dubious connection). The U stem belongs here only if its medial cns. is **\*-η-** (as reconstructed by Coll. and UEW); but Hl. [p. c.] suggests an alt. rec. with a medial **\*-w-**;

in the latter case (acc. to Hl.) the U stem may be a d. from U \*oywa 'head' (UEW 336-7). If the latter conjecture is right, the U stem does not belong here, and the pN stem is to be reconstructed as \*h|χano or \*ʔano rather than \*h|χayno or \*ʔayno. But Hl.'s et. faces difficulties: the initial vw. of U \*ayη|we 'brain' is different from that of U \*oywa 'head', and Lp -η- may hardly go back to U \*-w-; at least, such a possibility is not envisaged by Krh.'s historical phonology of Lp (Krh. 76-197, Krh. HL 274-7) ◇ ≈ AD NM #68, S CNM 11 ◇ Cf. Gr. II #48 (\*ayu 'brain').

**2601.** <sub>2</sub> \*XUηg∇ 'throat' > HS: Eg fXVIII ḥngg 'pharynx' ('der Schlund [in dem die Zunge sitzt]') ¶ EG III 121 || S: Ar حَنْجَرَةٌ ḥanġar-at- 'larynx', حَنْجَرٌ ḥnġr D 'égorger', {Hv.} cut open the throat to'; ?? حَنْجُودٌ ḥunġūd- 'larynx' ¶ BK I 501-2, Hv. 146 || C {AD} \*h<sup>1</sup>anK<sup>w</sup>ar 'throat, pharynx' > Bj {R} ankar 'palate, gullet (Schlund), throat', Bj A {AD} 'hankar 'gullet (Schlund), pharynx, and the back part of the mouth' || EC: pSam {Hn.} \*hangúri > Sml hunguri, Bn {Hn.} ha'ḥure 'throat', Sa {R} anqar 'palate, throat' ¶ AD SF 153-4, Hn. S 63 || WCh: ?? Ngz ḡúržážíyá 'throat' ¶ Sch. DN 127 || A: T \*öñäç > OT {CL} öñüč, Tv öš 'larynx, wind-pipe', Xk ögös, ET öngäč, Alt öc 'wind-pipe', Sg ös 'thorax', VTt үнэч үнэč, Brb önäč, Bsh қыбыл үнäs, Qzq, Qq öñeš, Qrg, Ln qizil öngöč, QK öč ~ öš, Uz qizil ωñäč 'gullet, oesophagus', Bsh ünäs 'front side of the neck', Yk öñüs 'muscles of the occiput', öñüs bas 'blood-vessels of the neck' ¶ Cl. 172, DTS 387, ET Gl 536, ≈ ADb. SR 138 (unc. \*öñäç ← \*ömgen '[upper part of the] breast') || M \*öñgeleür (× N \*řomKê '[ε part of the] neck') > WrM öñgelegür, HIM өнґөлүр {MED} 'depression above (sic!) the Adam's apple', {Kow., Luv.} 'depression under the Adam's apple', Kl {KRS} өңгөлүр öñgölür id., {Rm.} öñgölür 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Adamsapfel und dem Brustbein' ¶ MED 638, Kow. 498, Luv. 322, KRS 418, KW 297 || Tg: Neg унэз 'bird's crop, Adam's apple', Lm унрэн 'ε muscle of the neck of male reindeer/elks' ¶ STM II 279-80 || pJ {S} \*ùnà(-nsi) 'back of head, nape' > OJ una, ùnàzì, J: T ùnàzì, K únáží, Kg unaží ¶ S QJ #1114, Mr. 563 ¶¶ DQA #1573 (A \*òñi(č∇) 'windpipe, part of neck').

**2602.** \*Xup∇ 'press, crush, rub' > HS: CS \*-hūp- ~ \*√hpp 'rub, clean by rubbing': [1] CS \*-hūp- > MHb √hwp (prm. -hūp-, pf. ḡḡ ḥāp) 'rub the head with natron or another mineral in order to cleanse it', {Lv.} 'reiben, abreiben (eine Art des Kämmens)', Sr √hwp G v. {Br.}

'wash (one's head)', {JPS} 'rub, cleanse, sprinkle', **𐤀𐤍𐤁** ḥaw'p-ā {Br.} 'lautio (capitis et barbae)'; [2] CS \*✓ḥpp > MHb ✓ḥpp G v. 'rub; cleanse (one's head)', Ar ✓ḥff G 'pluck (the hair of the face), shave (the head \ beard \ moustache)', ({Ln.} 'cut\clip the hair of one's head, one's beard\moustache') ¶ Lv. II 24-5, 94, Js. 437, 492, Br. 221, JPS 132, BK I 455, Ln. 597, Hv. 131 || IE: NaIE \*ub- 'press, press down' > OI ub'jati 'presses down, keeps under, subdues', Av ubjya'te 'wird niedergedrückt' || Lt P ũbiti 'zur Eile drängen' ¶ WP I 193, P 1103, M K I 107, Frn. 1156 || U \*°op<sub>1</sub>pe > Sm {Jn.} \*ṭp- v. 'press, squeeze' > Ne T Δ ḥыбарць 'crumple\squeeze (in a hand), 'pinch with fingernails', Ne T O {Lh.} ḡṭb<sub>1</sub>arć 'in der Hand zusammendrücken, in der Hand drücken', Ne F {Lh.} ḡṭppṭrḥś id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ṭpa-qo 'press\squeeze' ('давить'), ṭpqaḡ-qo 'crush, squash (раздавить)', Slq Nr {Cs.} ḡpa'ap 'drücken' ¶ Jn. 25, Ter. 406, Lh. 34, KKIH 196, Cs. 103, 212 || A: NaT \*u|ob- 'crush, crumble, rub to powder' > OT {Cl.} uv- v. 'crush, crumble, reduce to powder', Tk ov-, uv- Δ o- 'rub, crumble', Ggz ū-, CrTt oṣ-, QrB uω-, Bsh Iω-, VTt u- 'rub, rub to powder', Az ov- id., 'crumble', SY uṣ- 'crush', Xk uṣ-, Qmq uω- 'crumble', Kr uω- id., 'knead' ¶ Cl. 4-5, Rl. I 1591, ET Gl 401-3 ◇ U \*o- (for the expected \*u-) is still to be explained ◇ Hardly here A {ADb.} \*op'a 'powder' → 'flour' (F N \*?opa '≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt').

**2602a. \*χAr▽** 'tracks, path, way' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road') > HS: Eg fP ḥr.t 'Weg, Landweg' ¶ EG III 144 || S: Ar ḥār-at- {Ln.} 'a quarter of a city\town consisting of several narrow streets and having but one general entrance', {Hv.} 'quarter of a town, street' ¶ Ln. 666, BK I 525, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} \*h<sub>2</sub>rh<sub>1</sub> > Ah hurat, ETwl ḡurat 'suivre à la trace' ¶ Pr. H #65, Fc. 638, PGG 136 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} ṭar, Ang {ChC} ṭarḡ 'road' || Klr {J} aṭáw 'Weg' ¶ ChC, J R 350 ¶¶ ≈ OS #122 || K: GZ \*χer- 'step; make a path\road' > Mg χar- 'eine Spur durch den Schnee treten', Lz χar-i n. 'step', OG χer- v. 'lead, steer a course' (of pilots), G χer- 'show the way', s-χer-v-el-i 'Richtungsgeber, Steuer' ¶ FS K 481, FS E 547 || D: SD \*āḡ- 'way' > Tm āḡu 'way, road, path', Ml āḡu 'way, manner', Td oḡ 'way, entrance into thicket' ¶ D #405 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [#104] (incl. D and WCh).

**2603. ??φ \*χ'aw<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>'rE** (or \*χawEr▽) 'bright, white' > HS: CS \*✓ḥwr, \*-ḥwar- (~ \*-ḥūr-?) 'be bright\white' > □BHb ✓ḥwr G (3mp ip. 𐤀𐤍𐤁' yeh<sup>h</sup>ē'wārū) 'turn pale', MHb {Js.} ✓ḥwr D (pf. 𐤀𐤍𐤁

ḥiw'wer) 'make clear\evident', BA 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥiw'wār 'white', JA [Trg.] ✓ḥwr G (pf. 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥ<sup>a</sup>'war) 'be white, pale', JEA ✓ḥwr G 'become white, be lighter in colour', Sr ✓ḥwr G (pf. 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥā'war) 'be(come) white', 𐤆𐤍𐤏 ḥēw'wār 'white', Md hiwara, hawara id., Ar {Ln.} ✓ḥwr D (pf. ḥawwara) 'whiten (clothes, wheat, food)', {BK} ✓ḥwr G (pf. ḥāra, ip. -ḥūr-) 'wash\whiten clothes'; but Ar ✓ḥwr G (pf. ḥawira) 'have its white and its black strongly delineated' does not necessarily belong here, it may be related to Mh and Jb ✓ḥwr 'turn black' ¶ KB 287, 1706, Dlm. 104, Lv. T I 240-1, Js. 438-9, Lv. II 26-7, Sl. 435, Br. 223, JPS 133-4, DM 142, BK I 509-10, Ln. 665, Jo. M 195 || IE (+ext.) \*xarǵ-, \*xarǵi- 'white' (× N \*ǵ'a'hrǵ [- \*ǵ'a'hrǵ - \*zǵ'a'hrǵ] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]') > Ht ḥarki- 'white, bright' || NaIE \*arǵ(i)- 'be white, by shiny' > OI 'arjuna-ḥ 'shiny white', rǵj'ra- 'radiant, gleaming', {MW} 'red(dish)', raja'ta-ḥ 'whitish, silver-coloured' || Gk ἄργός, ἄργήεις 'shining, bright, white', ἄργυ-όδους 'white-toothed', ἄργυρος 'silver' || Msp ARGORIAN 'made of silver' || L argu-ō / -ēre 'put in clear light' || Clt: Gl (in n. pr.) {Schm.} argio- 'shining, bright' ('brilliant'), Brtt {RE} \*argios 'snow' > MW eiry, Weira, OCrn irgh, Crn ergh, MBr erc'h id. || Gt aírknīpa accus. 'τὸ γνήσιον, genuineness' (from \*aírknis [conjecture for aírknis] 'clear, immaculated' → 'holy'), OHG erkan {Kb.} 'steadfast, noble, agile', {EWA} 'hervorragend, ehrwürdig, fest, bestimmt, wirklich', {Schz.} erchan, erchen 'fest, wirklich', {OsS} érchan, érchen 'recht, echt' || Tc: A ārki, B ārkwi 'white' ||| ⇨ IE \*ǵ'ǵǵ-ḡt-om ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>ǵǵ-ḡt-om) 'silver' > OI raja'tam, Av arəzatəm, OPrs (a)rdata-, KhS āljsata- id. || L argentum id., Osc argentud id. (abl.) || OIr argat, W ariant, MCrm arians, Cm arhans, Brt arc'hant 'silver' || Arm արծաթ arcat<sup>h</sup> id. (-at<sup>h</sup> under the infl. of erkat<sup>h</sup> 'iron') ¶¶ Pv. III 169-71, Ts. G I 197, P 64-5, EI 14 (\*h<sub>2</sub>arǵi- 'white'), 641 (\*h<sub>2</sub>ǵǵ-u- ~ \*h<sub>2</sub>ǵǵ-es- id., \*h<sub>2</sub>ǵǵ-ḡt-om 'silver'), M K I 50-1, 120-1, and III 34, F I 132-4, WH I 66-7, Bc. G 312, Vn. A 88-9, Schm. KGP 134, Billy 14, RE 133, Fs. 25, Kb. 208, Schz. 126, OsS 147, EWA II 1140-2, Slt. 129-31 Wn. 167, Ad. 49-50 ¶¶ IE \*-ar- < \*-aur- (loss of \*u before sonorants) || A: T \*ürüḡ ~ \*Ewrüḡ 'white' (× N \*ǵ'o'mrE 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', q.v. ffd.) > OT, Yk ürüḡ id., Chg XV ewrürḡ 'shining, bright, clear weather', MQp XIII ūrün 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ?

Qrg ürün baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, Jud. 825, TL 601.

**2604.** \*χ<sub>0</sub>R<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ω∇ 'herd\pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?') > K: G χ<sub>0</sub>ρ<sub>0</sub>v-a, {DCh.} χ<sub>0</sub>ρ<sub>0</sub> 'pack (as of wolves, etc.), herd (of deer, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2391, DCh. 1756 || HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓h<sub>2</sub>w<sub>2</sub>r > Ar hawar- {BK} 'taureau', {Fr.} 'taurus', {Hv.} 'ox' ¶ Fr. I 440, BK I 510, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} \*<sup>o</sup>✓h<sub>2</sub>r<sub>2</sub>w > Ah tahrut 'herd (of camels, of sheep\goats)', Izd tawrut (pl. tiwra) id., Ah ehere (pl. ih<sub>3</sub>rawan) 'menu bétail', Twl {ABs., Nic.} ehare (pl. iharwan), Gh ih<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>ri id., possibly Ty ehari 'calf', Sus ahruy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tihray) 'brebis' ¶ Fc. 640, Pr. H #397 || C: EC {Ss.} \*hor 'herd' > Kns hor-ēta 'wealth, livestock', Or horī id., 'cattle', Gdl horet 'cattle', HEC {Hd.} \*hor 'herd, property' > Ged hore 'herd', hor-te 'property', ?? Brj hor-?- v. 'breed' ¶ Ss. B 101, Bl. 200, Hd. 79, 118 || A: AmTg \*ora|on-, \*ora|ok∇ 'animal(s)' (× N \*<sup>o</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>'u<sup>1</sup> 'antelope, deer, mountain goat?') > Ul oro(n-) 'animal', Ud {Shn.} <sup>o</sup>o, {Krm.} <sup>o</sup>o? (< \*oroko) 'animal, bird' ¶ SMT II 25, Krm. 273 ◇ If AmTg \*ora|on- and \*ora|ok∇ belong here, the N etymon is \*χ<sub>0</sub>R<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ω∇, otherwise it is \*χUR<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ω∇.

**2605.** (2?) \*XaRč∇ (= \*χaRč∇?) 'rub, scratch' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓hrθ v. 'plough, till the earth' > BHb <sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup> ✓hrš v. G 'plough; engrave', OCn ✓χrš v. 'plough', Ug ✓hrθ G v. 'plough, till (the earth)', IA <sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup> ✓hrt v. 'plough', Plm ✓hrt, SmA, Md ✓hrt G 'engrave', JA [Trg.] ✓hrt G id., {Lv.} 'eingraben, aushöhlen', Sr ✓hrt v. G 'dig out, furrow', Ar <sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup> ✓hrθ G {Hv.} 'till and sow (the earth)', {BK} 'labourer \ cultiver la terre', Tgr ✓hrs v. 'plough', Ak erēš<sup>u</sup> 'to cultivate/plant (a field), to seed by drilling seed into a furrow by means of a seeder-plow' ¶ KB 343, KBR 357, OLS 181, HJ 407, Js. 507-8, Lv. T I 286, Tal 298, Br. 260, JPS 160, DM 153, BK I 403, Hv. 117, CAD IV 285-9 || ?φ C: Bj {R} ✓hsy (1s p. 'a-hasi, pres. ahansi) pcv. 'schärfen, spitzen' ¶ R WBd 127 || A: M \*arči- > MM arči- [S] {H} 'wipe', [MA] v. 'clean, wipe clean', [IM] {Pp.} 'sweep, rub', WrM arci-, HIM arci- v. 'wipe\clean\dry by rubbing; erase, weed', Kl arč(b)- {KRS} vt. 'clean, wipe', {Rm.} 'rein fegen, abputzen, abwischen', Dg {T} arči- vt. 'clean' ¶ H 8, Pp. MA 104-5, 432, MED 51, T DgJ 122, KRS 52, KW 15 || IE: Ht hars- v. '≈ till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak, as supposed by Pv.) ¶ Pv. III 184-5, Ts. E I 183, EI 434 ¶ The loan hyp. may solve the enigma of the irreg. Ht s (for the expected IE \*-st- or \*-d-) ◇ If Ht hars- is an inherited cognate, the N etymon is \*χaRč∇, but if it

is a Semitism, the pN source is to be reconstructed as **\*XaRčV** (= **\*χ|ħaRčV**).

**2606. \*X<sup>i</sup>iRgV** 'ε (horned?) artiodactyl' > **HS**: S \*√ħrg > Gz ħargē, ħargī 'ram, male of sheep and goats', Ar ħaraġ-at- 'troupeau de chameaux', ħurġ- 'chamelle grande et forte', ħaraġ- 'chamelle maigre, exténuée de fatigue', ħurġaġ-, ħurġūġ- 'chamelle grande, forte et rapide à la course' ¶ BK I 404-5, L G 242 || C: EC {Ss.} \*org- 'ε male herbivore' > Sml org-i 'billy-goat', Rn órgèy, Arr ʔòrgí 'uncastrated billy-goat', Or B órg-e' 'baby she-camel', Gdl {Ss.} ork-eta 'billy-goat', {Bl.} ork-ēt 'non-castrated male goat older than ca. two months', Hr ork-akko 'billy-goat', Ya org-ej 'male giraffe'; ? cp. also (with mt.) Sml agor 'bull-calf to two years old', Rn {PG} òġôr 'oryx, gemsbok' ||| Bj {R} er 'gane, 'argin 'sheep, ram' ¶ The loss of the expected initial cns. in C is still to be explained ¶ Ss. PEC 23, Bl. 112, PG 238, 243, Hw. A 343, R WBd 29 || **IE**: NaIE \*york|k̄- 'roe deer' (× N \*ń'a<sup>1</sup>Rq̄a|æ [= \*ń'a<sup>1</sup>Rq̄a|æ?] 'ε deer' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A** {ADb.} \*irge 'ram' > NaT \*irk > OT {Cl.} irk 'ram', Tb {B} irk, Qb/Sg/Tlt {Rl.} ir(i)k id., Qmq, QrB irk, ET Δ {Jr.} eyik ~ iyik, Ln īk, Tv irt 'castrated ram', Qrg irik ~ irk, Tk Δ irk 'three-year old castrated ram' ¶ Cl. 220, ET Gl 377-8, Rl. I 1459, 1464, 1833, Jud. 303-4, Jr. 99 || M \*irge > MM [S] irge, WrM irge, HIM ирэг, Ord {Ms.} īrge, Kl ирг irgā, Mnr H {SM} yergē 'castrated ram, wether' ¶ H 83, MED 414, Kow. 326, KRS 272, Ms. O 387, SM 492 ◇ The reflexes of this N word denote camels in Ar and Or only, while elsewhere they refer to horned animals. It may be tentatively suggested that originally the etymon denoted horned animals.

**2607. \*χar'ü** 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' > **HS**: S \*°√ħry > Ar حَرَى ħarā- 'gîte de la gazelle; aire de la maison, espace compris entre les murailles; plage; lieu où l'autruche dépose ses œufs', {Fr.} حَرَاة ħarā-t- 'atrium, mediumque domus; tractus latus; nidus ovorum' ¶ Hardly here (because of χ-) Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ Fr. I 373, BK I 417, CAD VI 114-5 || ?? Eg fO x̄r 'under', x̄rū 'which is under', Eg fMK x̄rω 'base, lower side, under-side' (unless from unattested hypothetical Eg {Vc.} \*x̄r 'heel' > Cpt B 𐩧𐩣- χa- 'heel' or akin to Mh {Jo.} 𐤆𐤒𐤁𐤌i 'under, underneath' [as supposed by Tk.]) ¶ EG III 386-90, Fk. 203, Vc. 282-4, Tk. I 142-3, Jo. M 308 || **IE** \*xery- = \*xry- ({EI} \*h<sub>2</sub>eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N \*gar'i<sup>1</sup> 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v. ffd.]) and (possibly) IE \*HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' (× N \*z'a<sup>1</sup>lH<sub>1</sub>rV

'low place, valley', q.v. ffd.) > Ht *har i-s* (gen. *har iγas*) 'valley' || **U**: FP {LG} \**are* 'pit, ravine, valley' > pPrm \**or* (JLG} \**or*) 'ravine, gully' > Vt Sr/Y *зr*, Vt Kz *or* 'Flußbett, Graben', Vt {W} *ur* 'Graben', Vt N *ur-kirem* 'ravine (овраг, лог)' (*k+r-* 'wash away, break through' [of water]), Z Ud *orov* 'rut, gully' (рытвина, промоина) (× Z *or-* 'be torn'), Z {TmK} *көдж-өрөм кзж-зрэм* 'former river-bed in a bend of a river' (кзж 'bend of a river') || Chr XVIII {Pl.} *оръ* 'ditch (ровъ)' ¶ LG 207 (\*÷ Os V *ur+* 'old river-bed', which goes back to pOs \**wor+*, F Stn. D 163), ≈ UEW 721 (connecting the Vt and Chr forms with FP \**orkv* 'depression, valley') || **A**: T \**ö:ɹ* 'valley' > OT {Cl.} *öz* 'valley (and the like)', Osm XVIII *öz* 'wadi', Tk An *öz* 'valley' || Chv {Ash.} *var* 'ravine' ¶ Cl. 278-9, SDD 1124, Ash. V 167 ¶ The *vw.* \**ö* (instead of the expected \**a*) is probably due to the palatalizing and labializing infl. of the *vw.* of the second syll. || **D** (in SD) \**aɹi* 'place where a lagoon\river joins the sea' > Tm *aɹi* 'place where the lagoon joins the sea', *aɹi v u* 'rivermouth', Ml *aɹi id.*, 'bar', Kn *aɹave* 'mouth of a river in which the tide ebbs and flows, bar', Tu *aɹ u ve* 'rivermouth, harbour', Krg *aɹubāgalu* 'mouth of a river' ¶ D #278 ◇ It is worth paying attention to **K**: G *χriaṭi* 'steiniger Abhang, Geröllhalde' (Chx. 2389), although the structure of this word and its prehistory are not clear.

**2608.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***χ'o't'A'** 'scrape (off), 'rub off' > **K** \**χweṭ-*/\**χwṭ-* v. 'scrape' > G *χveṭ-* id., 'tear\scrape off, sweep', Mg *χvaṭ-* 'scratch, gnaw', Lz *χvaṭ-* v. 'gnaw', Sv UB {GP} -*χwiṭ-*/\**χwṭ-* (msd. *li-χwṭe*) vt. 'exterminate', -*χweṭ-* (msd. *li-χweṭ*) vi. 'perish' (of a multitude) ¶¶ K 259, K<sup>2</sup> 328-9, FS K 485, FS E 550, Chik. 425, TK 485, GP 188-9 || **HS**: S \**o'ħtt* > Ar *ħtt* G vt. 'rub off (mud), bark (a tree)', ??σ {BK} vi. 'fall off' (leaves of trees) ¶ Fr. I 339-40, BK I 373, Hv. 110 || ? **A**: NaT \**ot'a-* 'cut (grass)' (× ← T \**ot'* 'grass, vegetation') > OT {Cl.} *ota-* 'cut (grass)', 'pull up (weeds)', Tk *ota-*, Qzq, Qq *ota-*, Alt *oto-* *odo-*, VTt, Bsh *uta-*, Xk *oda-* 'pull up (weeds)' ¶ Cl. 34-5, 42, ET Gl 482.

**2609.** \***χ'o't'i'** 'ε fish' > **HS**: S \**o'ħūt-* > Ar *ħūt-* {Ln., BK} 'fish' (esp. 'a great fish'), {Hv.} 'salmon-fish' ¶ Ln. 663, BK I 508, Hv. 148 || C: Bj {R} *hūt* 'fish' (← Ar?) || WCh {Stl.} \**hadv* 'fish' > NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} *eudei*, {Sk.} *ϣэдáj*, Cg {Sk.} *hâtî*, Kry {Sk.} *ϣэдé*, My {Sk.} *ϣэдí*, Jmb {Sk.} *áwudá* ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [#747] || **A** \**o:ɹt'i'* > Tg \**oçv* 'small fish' > Orc *očko* ~ *očoko*, Ul *očo(n-)*, Ork *otoa*, Nn Nh *očaqā*, Nn B *ocoa* 'small fish', WrMc *ōca* ~ *oca* 'ε species of *Gobio* (gudgeon or the like) with a large

mouth and red eyes' ¶ STM II 29, Z 120, 131, Hr. 738 ¶¶ Tg \*ç (earlier \*çī < A \*t'ī?) suggest a final A \*i || IE: NaIE \*o|ati- > Lt atīs, Ltv āte 'halibut, turbot' (× N \*çatU '€ fish', q.v.) ¶ Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274.

**2610.** \*XVtV 'quick' > IE: NaIE \*ēt-/\*ōt- 'earlier, quick(ly)' > ON áðan 'earlier, before' || Lt U {Gtl.} otu 'quickly', otūs 'eilfertig, behend, Eile habend, dringend' | ⇨ NaIE \*ētro-/\*ōtro- 'quick' ({P} 'rasch, heftig') > OHG ātar (< \*ēt'ro-) {EWA} 'scharfsinnig, rasch, eifrig (acer)', {OsS} atar 'quick, clever, sharp (acer, fugax, celer)', AS ædre, OFrs ēdre, OSx ādrō 'at once, forthwith', ON áðr 'earlier' (< 'early') || Ltv ātrs 'quick, fast, swift', ātri 'quickly, fast, swiftly', Lt U {Gtl.} otrūs 'lebhaft, feurig, temperamentvoll; gierig (beim Fressen und Trinken)', ? Lt K átrej 'schnell, heftig, ungestüm' || ?? Tc {Wn.}: A atär, Tc B etre 'hero' (unless an Iranian loan, as suggested by Bai.) ¶ P 345, EI 194 (? \*ētro- 'quick, fast'), Vr. 2, Kb. 47, OsS 33, EWA I 379-81, Kar. I 84, Frn. 518-9, Gtl. LS 99, Ho. 9, SiSS 22, 50, 228, 485, Wn. IE 23, Wn. 152 || HS: S \*✓ħtk v. 'hurry, go fast' > Ar ✓ħtk G (ip. -ħtiku) v. {Hv.} 'walk at a quick and short pace', {BK} 'marcher rapidement d'un pas serré', Ak {Sd.} etākū 'sich beeilen, sich dranhaltten' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 375, Hv. 110, Sd. 260 || A: M \*ü|öd-tür > MM {HI} öter 'vite, rapidement', WrM üdter ~ ödter ~ üdtür, HIM yдтэр 'immediately, quickly, rapidly'; the element \*-tür may be identical with \*tür > WrM tür, HIM тур 'temporarily, for a short time', MM [MA] türgen 'quick, fast' (türgen usun 'quick water') ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 854, 996, KW 415, Pp. MA 359.

**2610a.** (₂?) \*XEtVRV or \*XiLtVrV 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root' > IE: NaIE \*ētor, \*ētrom, \*ētrō 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, internal organ' (× N \*qūhE,tV 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie') > AS ædre, æder, ON æðr 'vein', OHG ādra 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew', NHG Ader 'vein, artery' || Gk Hm ἡτορ 'heart', Gk A ἡτρον 'abdomen, the part below the navel', as well as [??] Gk ἡτρον, Gk D ἄτρον 'the warp in a web of cloth', Gk ἡτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || OIr inathar 'entrails' ¶ P 344, EI 359 (\*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ'), Mn. 254-5, Dv. #256, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn \*āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNr æd 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (\*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ') || HS: S \*°✓ħtr > Ar ħitār- (pl. ħutur-) 'corde principale de la tente à laquelle on attache d'autres pour mieux la tendre' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 374 || Eg P/MK ħtr 'Strick, Seil', Eg



Md/L/G ħtr v. 'bind together' > Cpt Sd 𐤆𐤍𐤐𐤂 hōtār 'réunir, attacher, lier'; cp. Cpt Sd 𐤆𐤍𐤐𐤂 hētre 'navel' (← 'navel string'); ?σ: Eg: fOK ħtr 'yoke of oxen', fXVIII 'span of horses; horses' > Cpt Sd 𐤆𐤍𐤐 hto, Cpt B 𐤆𐤍𐤐 htho 'horse' (Cpt b→ Bj {R} hatāy id.) ¶ EG III 199-202, Fk. 180-1, Vc. 315-6, Ws. 400, Tk. I 304 || WCh: Su ḍugur v. 'darn (flicker)' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC 35; loss of the initial lr. in the AG lgs., as in Su {MtS} gwohar 'belt' [< HS \*√ħgr id.] and in Mpn kǝr 'hunger' [< HS √ħkr 'be hungry']) || A: ? T \*jilt'ír (< \*\*jilt'âr ~ \*\*ilt'âr) 'root' > OT jiltiz, Osm {Rl.} يلديز jildiz, Kr jildiz, Chg {Rl.}, Uz ildiz, ET iltiz 𐌆 žildiz, Δ jildiz, Alt žiltis, SY žiltis ~ jiltis, Shor čiltis, SY jiltis ~ jiltis, Kü {Rl.} jildis, Tf sildis, Yk silis id. ¶ T \*j- < prosthetic \*y-? ¶ Cl. 922, Rs. W 200, ET Gl 350, TL 109, DTS 267, KRPS 264, Rl. I 1495 and III 488, 521, Ra. 230 ◇ If the phonetically questionable T cognate is valid, the N rec. is \*XILt̪Vf̪V, otherwise it is \*XEt̪VR̪V.

**2611.** \*χaw̪V 'to rain, to spurt' > IE: Ht he(ω)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain' ¶ Pv. III 301-4, Ts. EI 235, 238-40 || HS: Eg: fP ħw.t, ħy.t, MK {Fk.} ħwyt n. 'rain', MK/NK/L ħwy, ħy ({Fk.} ħwî) v. 'rain' (with 'the sky' as subject), as well as amb Eg fMK ħwy v. 'flow, flood' and amb Eg P/G ħwy, ħy n. 'flood (of a river\watercourse)' (× N \*XôyV 'to swim, to float, to flow', q.v.) ¶ EG III 48-9, Fk. 165 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} h̪wí 'rain' || Ech: Smr {J} ?0 v. 'rain', {OS ← ?} ?wā 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS #1303 and Tk. I 46 (both: Eg, Ch) || A: T \*°ab- v. 'spurt' (× N \*qapV 'to stream, to flow') > OT U ġ h. l. ab- v. 'spurt' (of blood) (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1.

**2612.** \*χawi̪?V̪ 'drive, chase, pursue' > HS: S \*°√ħww > Ar ħaww- {Fr.} 'propulsio camelorum', {BK} 'action de faire marcher les chameaux' ¶ Fr. I 438, BK I 507 || Eg ħwy v. 'drive off (cattle)' (× Eg OK ħwy v. 'beat, strike', whence the double meaning 'Tiere schlagen und dadurch treiben') ¶ EG III 46-8, Fk. 165 || B \*°√h̪y v. 'chase, pursue' > Ah ahi 'chasser devant soi rapidement', Tnsl, ETwl, Ty huyyāt 'chasser' ¶ Fc. 541, Pr. H #441 || ? K \*°χ|qew- > G χev- 'zurückweichen, sich zurückziehen' (← \*v. 'be driven back') ¶ Chx. 2322 || IE \*xwe̪j̪x̪- v. 'pursue, chase' > AnIE \*xwey- v. 'run, flee' (← \*v. 'pursue' or ← \*v. 'be driven \ chased \ pursued') > Ht huwai̪-

/hуа- 'run, hurry', HrLw hуаа(n)та or hu(i)уа(n)та 'they ran'  
 || NaIE \*we<sub>i</sub>ǰ<sub>1</sub>ǰ<sub>1</sub>- v. 'pursue, drive' (≠ {P} 'worauf losgehen, es erstreben, erjagen') (× N \***way**∇ 'want, wish, strive for') > Av vī- (vaye<sup>i</sup>ti, vye<sup>i</sup>nti) 'pursue, chase', OI vēti ~ 'vayati 'follows, strives, leads, drives' || Gk Hm (F-)ἰωκῆ 'pursuit', Gk Crn ἑλώκει '(he) pursues' || Tc A wā-, B wāуа- 'will drive, lead' || ON veiðа, AS wæðan to hunt, wander', OHG weidōn {Kb., Schz.} 'to graze, to hunt', NHG weiden 'to lead\drive to pasture; to graze'; ON veiðr 'hunt', AS wāð 'hunting; wandering, travelling', OHG weida {Kb.} 'prey (Beute), food (Futter), pasture', {Schz.} 'Beute, Fang, Futter, Weide', NHG Weide 'pasture' || Lt vejū, vūti v. 'drive\chase (away)', Ltv vajāt 'verfolgen' | Sl \*vojь > OCS **ВОИ** војь 'warrior'; ⇨ [1] \*vojинь id. > OCS **ВОИН** voin, Cz, Slk vojín, R воин; [2] Sl \*vojьна 'war' > OCS **ВОИНА** voina, SCr † vōjna, R война; [3] Sl \*vojь-ska ~ \*vojь-sko 'army' > OCS **ВОИСКА** voiska, Blg войска, SCr, Slv vójska, Cz, Slk vojsko, P wojsko, R войско, Uk вісько || NaIE pp. \*wī-to- 'pursued' > OI {MW} vī- 'ta- pp. 'approached, desired, liked' || Lt vūtas 'pursued' || L in- vītus 'unwilling' ¶ This prtc., together with other forms with \*-ī- (Av vī-tar- 'Verfolger, Nachjagender', etc.), provides ev. for a stem-final lr. (sc. the stem is a seṭ-base). The original lr. must have been a light one (it yields zero in AnIE) with unknown vocalic colouring (\*Hx in my notation). Mayrhofer equates OI vēti with Ht wiуа- 'schicken, jagen', but it is unt. because Ht wiуа- is actually u-iуа- ('schicken' ← \*'herschicken', acc. to Ts. W) with the px. u- 'her', cp. p-iуа- 'hinschicken' ¶ P 72-3, 1123-4, EI 208 (\*we<sub>i</sub>ǰ(H)- 'go after'), Hirt IG II 108 (on \*-ī- as ev. for seṭ-bases), M K III 255-6, MW 1004, WP I 79, F I 747-8, WH I 79 and II 713-4, Vr. 650-1, Ho. 382, 384, Sw. 200-1, Kb. 1161-2, Schz. 313, KM 846, Tp. P A-D 142-3, SchmB EV 75, StSS 719-56, Vs. I 334-5, Chr. II 279, Glh. 678, Frn. 1185-6, 1267, Ad. 36, Ts. W 95, Pv. III 419-23 || A \*āb∇ 'hunt; to hunt; wild game' (× N \*Γ<sup>o</sup>ω∇ 'wild sheep\goats', 'wild game'??) > NaT \*āb 'hunting, wild game' > OT {Cl.} āv id., {DTS} ab ~ av 'hunting', OT Og [MhK] āw id., XwT aw ~ av id., 'wild game', Chg aw, MQp [CC] uv 'hunting (venatio)', Tkm āv, Tk av 'wild game, hunt', Tk av, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, VTt aw ~ av, Qmq haw ~ aw 'hunting', Uz aw, ET av ǰ āw ǰ ow ǰ ō 'wild game, hunt', Qrg ū 'hunt'; ? NaT \*\*a<sub>i</sub>ǰb- > Tk Δ {ET ← THDS} av- v. 'drive (away), chase' ¶ Cl. 3, DTS 1, 68, ET Gl 62-3, TL 417-8, THDS I 390, Rs. W 1 || M \*a<sub>i</sub>ǰba

'chase, hunt' > MM [S, MA], WrM *aba*, HIM *ab* id., 'Jagd, Treibjagd', MM [IM] *aŵ* ~ *ab* 'battue', Kl *ab aŵb* 'battue', {Rm.} *aŵ<sub>a</sub>* 'Vogeljagd, Vogelfang'; MM [MA, IM] d. *aba-la-* v. 'hunt' ¶ MED 1-2, KRS 20, KW 19, H 1, Ms. H 33, Pp. MA 93, T VM 105 || ? Tg \**wā-* ({S} < \*\**aŵā-*) 'hunt, kill' > Ewk, Neg, Lm A, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn *wā-*, Lm *mā-* 'kill, get game\catch (of hunt, fishing)', Sln, Crj *wā-* 'kill', WrMc *wa-* 'kill, hunt', Mc Sb *vā-* 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-9, Y #739 ¶¶ Pp. VG 46, S CNM 10 (suggests to adduce Tg \**wā-*) ◇ In A and in some IE lgs. there is semantic change 'drive\chase' → v. 'hunt'. The IE stem-final light lr., unless it is of suffixal origin, provides ev. for a N stem-medial lr., which may be only \*?, because this is the only lr. which both yields zero in AnIE and K and can be lost in S and Eg.

**2613. \*Xay<sup>r</sup>ü<sup>r</sup>** 'live' > HS: WS \**✓h<sub>y</sub>w* (G prm. \**-h<sub>y</sub>aw-* > CS \**-h<sub>y</sub>ay-*) v. 'live' > Sb†wuih *h<sub>y</sub>w*, Gz *✓h<sub>y</sub>w* (pf. *ሐይወ* *h<sub>y</sub>wa*, js. *-h<sub>y</sub>aw* ~ *-h<sub>y</sub>ū*), Sq {L} *✓h<sub>y</sub>ḡ* ({DMü.} *ṣa'se* 'le<sup>h</sup>ye'il vivra peut-être'), Hb *היה* *✓h<sub>y</sub>w|y* (ip. *-h<sub>y</sub>ē*), Ph pf. *ḥw?*, Ug *✓h<sub>w</sub>y* ~ *✓h<sub>y</sub>y*, Amr {G} *✓h<sub>y</sub>y*, IA *היה, היא* *✓h<sub>y</sub>w|y* G, BA *איה* *✓h<sub>y</sub>w|y* G, JA [Trg.] *יהי* ~ *איה* *✓h<sub>y</sub>w|y* G, JEA {Sl.} *יהי* *✓h<sub>y</sub>y* G, Sr *لس* *✓h<sub>y</sub>w|y* G (ip. 3m *لَسَّ* *n-īhē* ~ *لَسَّ* *n-ī<?>hē*) 'live', Ar *حي* *✓h<sub>y</sub>y* ~ *✓h<sub>y</sub>w* G (pf. *حَيَّ* *h<sub>y</sub>ya* ~ *حَيَّى* *h<sub>y</sub>iya*, ip. *-h<sub>y</sub>ā*) id., *حيوان* *h<sub>y</sub>w-ān* 'living, animal; life'; WS \**h<sub>y</sub>y-* adj. 'alive, living' > Hb, BA, JA *יהי* *h<sub>y</sub>*, Ug *ḥy*, (AkSc) *h<sub>y</sub>y-*, Pun, IA *ḥy*, Amr {G} *h<sub>y</sub>y-*, Sr *لَسَّ* *h<sub>y</sub>y-ā* (abs. *لَسَّ* *h<sub>y</sub>*), Ar *h<sub>y</sub>y-*, Sb ih *ḥy*, Sq {L} *h<sub>y</sub>* id.; the substantivized pl. of the S adj. \**h<sub>y</sub>y-* means 'life': Hb pl. *ימים* *h<sub>y</sub>'yīm* (sg. cs. *יָמִים* *hē*), Ph, Ug *ḥym*, BA *ימים* *h<sub>y</sub>'yīm*, Ar *حياة* *h<sub>y</sub>yāt-* (sg. < pl. \**h<sub>y</sub>y-āt-*), Mh {Jo.} *ḥyūt*, Jb {Jo.} *ḥyūt* ¶ KB 295-7, KBR 307-10, GB 225-7, 906, A #911, Br. 228, OLS 185-6, G A 19, Js. 454, Lv. T I 252-3, Sl. 453-4, Beyer AHG 23, 27, JH 86-7, HJ 365-9, PS 1251-4, Fr. I 448-9, BK I 522-4, Hv. 151-2, LG 252, LLS 171, Jo. M 196, Jo. J 122, BGMR 74-5 || C {AD SF} \**✓h<sub>y</sub>w* > Bj {R} *hāy-* scv. 'live, be healthy', *hāy* 'alive, living', {AD} *hayīt* 'situation', ? *u* 'hiyu 'husband' (← \*'person' ← \*'living being'?) ||| EC: Sa {Wlm.} *ḥeaw* 'people, Menschen', *ḥe'awto* 'person'; ? Sa {R} *hāy-* 'live' (if {R} *h* is [ḥ] and unless it is a loan from EthS; the word may have merged with the C reflex of N \**how<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>* 'become, appear', q.v.) ||| SC: Irq {MQK} *hawāta* 'husband, male', {Wh.} *háwāta* 'man, husband', Brn {Mnh.} *ḥawata* 'Mann' ¶ AD SF 156, R WBd 132-3, R S II 200, MQK 49 || ? Eg *fP ḥw* 'food' (≡σ: Fr

viande) ¶ EG III 44, Fk. 160 || ? Ch: Bdm {Tlb.} ai ju 'live' ¶ Tlb. 453 ¶¶ Coh. 103, Cal. 175-6, IS I 242 (with references to earlier studies), AD SF 156 || IE \*heyo-/\*hejw- > NaIE \*ayu-/ayw- 'life' > OI 'āyu 'life', 'āyu-ḥ 'vital power', ā'yū-ḥ 'lebendig, beweglich', Av āyū, gen. yaoš (< \*hēyu-/\*hyew-) 'lifetime, lifespan' || Gk αἰών 'vital power, life, eternity', Gk αἰεί, Gk Cp αἰΐεί 'ever', Gk Cp υΐαυζ ζαν 'during one's lifetime' || Al {Jokl} eshë 'Zeitraum' ({Jokl} < \*aywesya) || L aevus, aevum 'lifetime, time of life, period of time; eternity' || OIr áes 'life, age' || Gt aiws, OHG ēwo, ēwa 'eternity' ⇨ ēwīg 'eternal' (> NHG ewig id.), ON ævi, æfi 'eternity, lifetime'; Gt aiw 'ever' (in the construction ni ... aiw 'never'), ON æ 'always', AS ā, o 'ever, always', OHG io, NHG je 'ever' || Tc A āym- {P} 'spirit, life' ¶ P 17, Mn. 7, M KI 77, FI 35-6, 49, WH I 21, Fs. 30-1, Kb. 211-3, 506, Schz. 126-7, 175, EWA II 1175-8, Vr. 680, 682, Ho. 1, Jokl LKU 34, Wn. 173, EI 352 and 548 (\*'hoyus / gen. \*'hoyus 'vital force, life, age of vigour') || A: NaT \*öy > StAlt öй öy, Tlt {Rl.}, Qmn {B} öy, Tv өй öy 'moment, time, season', Tb {B} öy 'time'. IS adduces Yk öyün 'future, time', which is a loan from Tg (F below) ¶ Rl. I 1172, BT 118, B DK 238, B DChT 142, TvR 333 || M \*üye 'time, generation' > MM [HI] üye 'generation', [S] uye(n) üye(n) 'old, earlier', WrM üye, HIM, Brt üye, Kl üy 'time, epoch, period, age; generation', Dg {Mr.} uie 'generation'; the meaning 'generation' may have been a result of a merger of homonyms: M \*üye 'time' × M \*üye 'joint of body' ¶ MED 1001-2, Chr. 495, KRS 547, Ms. H 109, H 167, Mr. D 231 || Tg \*uyv-, \*uyv-(n-) 'life, living' > UI uyv, uyvun- 'living', Nn Nh uyv, Nn B uyv(n-)~uyv(n-) 'living, alive', Ork uyv(n-) 'living; a living being; life', Mc weyχun 'living', 'provision', weyχun- v. 'resuscitate'; Tg ⇨ Yk öyün 'future, life, lifetime, time' ¶ STM II 252, Sun. UJ 245, Antn. YSK 49 || pJ {S} \*zÿz- 'grow old' > OJ òyù-, J: T/Kg oí- K òì- ¶ S QJ #1337, Mr. 740 ¶¶ DQA #1560 (pA \*öye 'life, age') ◇ Cf. AD LRC #62: IE, S; IS I 242-3: HS, IE, A. The initial \*ö ~ \*ü in Altaic is due to regressive as. of the kind called «Altaic vowel breaking» bringing about Altaic ascending diphthongs. The source of the ass. infl. must have been both rounded and palatal, sc. N \*ü ◇ Gr. II \*247 (\*ayu 'live') (IE, A, J, CK, EA).

**2614.** \*Xôy▽ 'to swim, to float, to flow' > HS: Eg MK ḥwy v. {EG} 'flow' (of a river) ('fließen, fluten'), {Fk.} 'overflow, surge up' (of the Nile), amb Eg P/G ḥwy 'flood' (× N \*xaw▽ 'to rain, to spurt' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 48, Fk. 165 || U \*uye-~\*oye- v. 'swim' > F ui- 'swim, float', Es

uju-, Δ oju-, ojo- 'swim' | pLp {Lr.} \*vōjɜ v. 'swim, float' > Lp N {N} vuoggjâ-/j-, Lp L {LLO} vuodja-, Lp Kld vūjje-, Lp Nt vuojje- id., Lp S {Hs.} vuoje- 'swim' | pMr {Ker.} \*uyə- > Er ye- uye-, Mk ye- uyə- id. | Chr: L ия- iya-, E iya-, H iä- id. | pPrm \*uy- > Vt uya-, Z uy- id. || pObU \*wūy- 'swim, float' > (1) pVg \*(w)ūy- > Vg: T oy-, LK (w)oy-, UK/P wuy-, UL/Ss uy- id., (2) pOs \*uy- > Os: K üy-, frq. üyit-, D uyit- v. 'crawl' (of a snake) | Hg úsz- v. 'swim' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*u- id. > Ne F Ly ηū-, Slq (aor. 1s): Tm u'ag-, Tz ūñǎg- id., Tz {KKIH} ū-, Mt {Hl.} \*u.ḷ- v. 'swim' ¶¶ Coll. 64, UEW 542, Sm. 536 (U \*uxḷ- 'swim' > Sm \*u-, FU, FP \*uji-, Ugr \*ũjĩ-), It. #211, Lr. #1422, Lgc. #8748, Hs. 1448-9, LG 296, Stn. D 20, Jn. UK 42-3 #122, Jn. 29, KKIH 192, Ker. II 173-4, Hl. M #1108 || A {SDM97} \*oye|o (or \*uyo) v. 'swim' > M \*oyi-mu- 'swim' (unless it is \*φoyi-mu-?) > WrM oima-, oimu- v. 'swim', HIM оймо- id., Kl õm- v. 'bathe, swim', Ord oõmo- {Ms.} v. 'wade', as well as possibly M {DQA} \*üyi- v. 'sink, put in a pot for boiling' (> WrM üy(ü)-, HIM үй-, Ord {Ms.} ū-, Mnr H {SM} wī- v. 'put [meat, vegetables, etc.] into boiling water or soup in order to cook it') and M \*üyer 'inundation, flood' (> MM [HI] {Ms.} üyer, WrM üyer, HIM үер id.) ¶ MED 604, 999, 1002, SM 48, Ms. H 109 || Tg \*uy∇- v. 'swim' (of birds) > Ewk PT/Y/Urm uyu-, Ewk B uwu-, Ewk Y/Nr/Skh/Urm uñu-, Neg oyuyan- ~ oɣuyan- v. 'swim' (of a waterfowl), Ud X {Shn.} uyan- ~ wuyan-, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} wayan- v. 'swim (on the surface of water)', Nn KU oyana- id. (of waterfowls and mammals) ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 217 || pJ \*z̥yánk- or \*z̥yank- v. 'swim' > OJ oy(ū)og-, J: T oyóg-, K óyóg-, Kg òyòg-, Ns ògʷ-, Ht ù-, Y ùn- ¶ S QJ #74, Mr. 744 ¶¶ DQA #1559 (A \*òye 'swim'), S AJ 220 #209, 238 #90, 267 #74, 277 #70, MED 604-5, KW 304, SM 182, STM II 253, Pp. VG 140, Rm. EAS I 98 ◇ The U and the A (M and Tg) stems were equated by many authors: Rs. UA 42, Coll. 147, AD LRC #81, IS MS 355, Rédei (UEW 542), and others. The Eg cognate has not been adduced so far ◇ ≈ Gr. II \*377 (\*oye 'swim') (U, A, J + err. Ko).

2615. \*Xažü∇, \*XažU∇E, \*XažEw∇, or \*Xaž,∇,wE 'to cover, to spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]') > HS: S \*oḥašw-, \*oḥḥḥ'w' > Ar ḥašw- 'pailles, crin, plume, tout ce qui sert à remplir un coussin\oreiller', ḥašīyat- (pl. ḥašā?) 'matelas, lit' ¶ BK I 119 || U: FU \*a|ož∇ 'bed (ein mit etwas bedeckter, zum Liegen [Schlafen] geeigneter Platz)' > Prm \*wóí (LG) \*wóí-) 'bed, bedding, litter (spread for animals

to lie upon)' > Vt валес *vaíes* 'feather-bed, bed, mattress', Z *voí* / *voíí*- 'fell of reindeer or elk', *uv voí* 'bedding (made of cloth)' (*uv* is 'bottom'), Z *voízs*, Z *USs qízs* 'bedding, litter (for animals to lay upon)', Z  $\Delta$  *voí-pás*, Z *USs qí-pás* 'bed' (*pás* is 'coat'), Prmk *oípaś*, Yz 'uípaś 'bedding' || Vg {Kn.}: T *á'íá't* 'bed', Ss *īlāt-yīw*, *īlāt-pum* 'hay as bedding (Bettheu)' (*yīw* is 'wood', *pum* is 'grass, hay') | Hg *ágy* 'bed' ¶ UEW 4, Sm. 542 (FU, FP \**oođi*, Ugr \**áđĩ* 'bed'), MF 74, LG 62, WVD VII 28 || D \**a*]- v. 'spread, cover' > Kn *a|ur* v. 'enclose, cover, overspread', OTI, TI *alamu* v. 'spread, extend', Knd *almi* v. 'level, spread out' ¶¶ D #307, Km. 285 [#45] || A: Tg \**eibe*- v. 'cover' > Ewk *zlbz*- 'cover a tent with reindeer fells or cloth', Neg *zlbz*- id., 'cover oneself with sth.', Orc *zbbz*, Ud *zgbz*- v. 'roof', UI *zlbzmz* 'foot-gear', *zlbznz* 'a sacking cover for fish and meat', Nn KU *zlbz* 'roof', UI, Nn Nh *zlbznz* 'sail', WrMc *eibe*- v. 'roof; to thatch, to cover' ¶ STM II 445 || T \**älü*- > OT *äšü*- v. 'cover, envelop' ¶ Cl. 256 ◇ In the N etymon (\**Χažü*ᵛ, \**ΧažU*ᵛ, \**ΧažEw*ᵛ, or \**Χaž*ᵛ, *wE*) the cns. \**w* or the reflex of the labialized *vw*. is preserved in S \**ħašw*- and in Tg \**eibe*- (\**w* or \**U*ᵛ > Tg \**b*), but lost in U and D. OT *äšü*- suggests that \**Χažü*ᵛ or \**ΧažU*ᵛ are the preferable reconstructions. Tg \**e*- and T \**ä*- (rather than \**a*-) are explained by as. caused by the front *vw*. of the second or third syllables.

**2616. \*ya** 'which?', 'what kind of?' > K: Sv *yä*- *ä* *ya*- 'who?': Sv UB nom. *yär*, erg. *yärd*, dat. *yä-s*, gen. *iša* ~ *yeša*, Sv L nom. *ya-r*, gen. *ya-š*, Sv UB nom. *yä-r*, gen. *i-ša*, Ln nom. (*y*)*är* ¶ Top. SJ 83, TK 637, Dn. s.v. *yar* || IE: Sl \**jakъ*(*jb*) 'what kind of?, which?', \**jakъ* 'how?': Sl \**jakъ*(*jb*) > OCS *якъ* *якъ* id., Blg *як*, SCr *jâk* m. (*јака* f., *jâko* ntr.), Cz, Slk *jáký*, Lls †, P *яки*, Uk *який*, R S *який* 'which?', 'what kind of?'; Sl \**jakъ* 'how?' > OCS *яко* *яко*, P *як*, Uk, Blr *як* id., P *яко* 'as' (OCS and P *яко* resulted from merger of \**jakъ* with Sl \**ako* 'as') ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht *-ya* pc. 'and, also' ¶ Sl \**jakъ*(*jb*) and \**jakъ* are derived from the IE descendant of N \**ya* with the sx. \*-k- (ffd. see N \**Ḳa*, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive [singling out] prn.) ¶ ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || A: M \**ya* ~ \**ya-n* 'what?' > MM [IsV] *ya* 'what?' (*ya kilū bi* 'what have I done?'), [L, IsV, IM] *yañ* 'what?', [MA] id., 'what ...!' (exclamatory: *yañ öter* 'how quick [he is]!', *какой быстрый!*), as well as Brt *яа*, Dx *yañ* 'what?, which?', Ba *yañ* 'what?' (or from \**yaḷun*?); M \**yaḷa*- interr. v.

'was tun?' > WrO {Krg.}  $\text{yā-} \sim \text{yā-}$ , HIM, Kl  $\text{яа-} \text{yā-}$  id., WrM d.  $\text{yagaki-}$  id., 'how to act?'; M  $\text{*yā-yun}$  'what?, what kind of?, which?' > MM [HI]  $\text{yā}_1\text{u(n)}$ , WrM  $\text{yagū(n)}$ , HIM  $\text{юу(н)}$ , Brt  $\text{юун}$ , Mnr H {SM}  $\text{yān}$  id., {T}  $\text{yāṅ}$  'what?', Ord  $\text{yū}$  id.,  $\text{yūn} \sim \text{yūn}$  'which?', Kl  $\text{юн yun}$ , {Rm.}  $\text{yūn}$  'what?', WrO  $\text{yūu n}$  'what?, why?' ¶ Pp. L III 77, Pp. MA 387, 450, Ms. H 110, MED 423-5, Lg. VMI 73, SM 487, T 337, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Ms. O 406-7, Krg. 700-1, KRS 707, 713, KW 218, 221, Chr. 785, 787 || Tg  $\text{*yā}$  'what?' > Ewk  $\bar{e}$ , Sln  $\bar{i}$ , Neg  $\bar{e}wa$ , Orc  $\text{yāwu}$ , Ud {STM}  $\text{y3w3ṅi}$  id., {Krm.}  $\text{y3?u}$  'what?', 'who?' (of animals), WrMc  $\text{yā}$  'what?, who?'; Tg  $\text{*yā-}$  interr. verb ('was tun?') > Ewk, Neg  $\bar{e-}$ , Lm  $\bar{ā-}$ , Orc, Ud  $\text{yā-} \sim \text{y3-}$  id. ¶ STM I 288, Krm. 243 || **D**  $\text{*yā}$  'what?, which?' > Tm, Ml  $\text{yā}$  'what?', Td  $\text{e}^\theta$  (obl.  $\text{e}^\theta\text{-n}$ ) 'which person\thing?',  $\text{e-}/\text{ey-}$  'which?, what?' interr. adj., Kn  $\text{yā}$  'what?, which?', Kdg, Klm  $\text{e-}$ , Tl  $\text{e-}$  'which?', Knd  $\text{aye}$  'which?, what?'; Tm  $\text{yāvan}$ , Ml  $\text{yāvan} \sim \bar{e}van$ , Kt  $\text{evn}$ , Kn  $\text{yāvanu}$ , Kdg  $\text{e}^\nu\text{ā}_1^n$ , Tl  $\text{e}^\nu\text{ā}^\text{d}^\text{d}^\text{u}$  'which man?', Nkr  $\bar{e}n$  'who?' (m.), Gdb  $\text{eyin}$  'which man?',  $\text{eynd}$  'who?', Gnd  $\text{benond}$  'who?, which man?', Knd  $\bar{e}n$  'who?', Krx  $\text{endr}$  'what?' ¶¶ D #5151 ¶¶ Knd  $\text{aye}$  may go back to demonstr.  $\text{*?a} + \text{*yā}$  (like HS  $\text{*?ayy-}$ ) || **HS:** ? Ch: CCh: Msg  $\text{yā}$  'where?' || WCh: Hs  $\text{yāyā}$  'how?' ( $\times$  N  $\text{*?āy}^\nabla$  'which?', 'what?') ¶ ChC ||| This etymon may be an *AdS* of the relative pronoun  $\text{*yō-}$  in IE and FU (see N  $\text{*y}^\text{r}^\text{i}^\text{yo}$  'which' [rel. prn.], 'that which, related to'). N  $\text{*yā sE}$  (with the dem. prn.  $\text{*sE}$ ) is an *AdS* of IE  $\text{*-is-}$  (of cmpr.) and of the K genitive ending  $\text{*-iš}$  (see N  $\text{*sE}$  'he\she' and N  $\text{*y}^\text{r}^\text{i}^\text{yo}$  'which') ◇ IS I 277-8 ( $\text{*j}^\text{r}$  'which, what kind of' [interr. and rel.]), Gr. I 225-9 ("interrogative J" in IE, U, A, Gil + unc. Ai) ◇ Cf. N  $\text{*?āy}^\nabla$  '↑'.

**2617.** ?  $\text{*yE}$  (=  $\text{*y}^\text{r}^\text{i}$ ?) 'these, they' (deictic marker of animate plural) > **HS:** B {Pr.}  $\text{*ī-}$ , nominal px. of m. pl.: {Pr.}  $\text{*ī-yūnāb}$  'feathers'  $\leftrightarrow$  sg.  $\text{*ā-yānīb}$  'feather' (> Ah {Pr.} pl.  $\text{i-yūnab} \leftrightarrow$  sg.  $\text{ā-yānib}$ ),  $\text{*ī-dihāran}$  'feet'  $\leftrightarrow$  sg.  $\text{*ā-dihār}$  'foot' (> Ah {Pr.} pl.  $\text{i-dārān} \leftrightarrow$  sg.  $\text{ā-dār}$ , Kb {Dl.} pl.  $\text{i-dārān} \leftrightarrow$  sg.  $\text{ā-dār}$ ), Tw, Shl, etc.  $\text{i-}$  (with allomorphs depending on the environment); according to Vc. ADB, this px. goes back to a df. art. of m. pl. ¶ AiM 211-2, Pr. M IV-V 14-6, 50-63, Dl. 180 || Eg O  $\text{y-}$ , px. of pl. in dem. pronouns:  $\text{yprn}$  'these' m.,  $\text{yptn}$  'these' f. ( $\leftrightarrow$   $\text{prn}$  'this' m.,  $\text{trn}$  'this' f.),  $\text{yprf}$  'those' m.,  $\text{yptf}$  'those' f. ( $\leftrightarrow$  sg.:  $\text{prf}$  m.,  $\text{trf}$  f.),  $\text{yprw}$  'these' m.,  $\text{yptw}$  'these' f. ( $\leftrightarrow$  sg.:  $\text{pry} > \text{prw}$  m.,  $\text{ty} > \text{tw}$  f.) ¶ Lpr. 68 || C: Bj R  $\text{yā} / \bar{ā}$  'the' nom. pl. m.,  $\text{yē} \sim \text{yi} / \bar{ē} \sim \bar{i}$  accus. pl. m. ( $\text{yā}$ ,  $\text{yē}$ ,  $\text{yi}$  before vowels and lrs., otherwise  $\bar{ā}$ ,  $\bar{ē}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ) ( $\leftrightarrow$   $\text{wū} / \bar{ū}$  'the' nom.

sg. m.,  $\omega\bar{o}$  /  $\bar{o}$  accus. sg. m.), Bj {Rop.}  $\psi i$  'the' pl. (before nouns beginning with  $h-$ ),  $i \sim \varepsilon$  'the' pl. (before disyllables with a long  $vw$ .) || EC {Zab.}  $*-\nabla y(-)$ , marker of pl. > Sml Me {Lm.}  $-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{a}$  ( $-t\ddot{a}$  is an article of f. sg.) (nin 'man' - pl.  $nim-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{a}$ , luk 'leg' - pl.  $lu\ddot{a}-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{a}$ , ilmo 'child' - pl.  $ilma\delta-\bar{a}y-t\ddot{a}$ ), Arr  $-\acute{a}y \sim -\acute{e}y$  (sirg-at 'mad person' - pl.  $sirg-\acute{a}y$ , kedeté 'bee' - pl.  $ked-\acute{e}y$ ,  $t\bar{o}ma-t\acute{e}$  'water-pot' - pl.  $t\bar{o}m\acute{a}y$ ), Elm  $-ay$  ( $\acute{o}na-te$  'fruit' - pl.  $\acute{o}nay$ ,  $h\acute{a}ruw\acute{a}te$  'girl' - pl.  $h\acute{a}r\acute{u}way$ ,  $\acute{e}lete$  'jackal' - pl.  $\acute{e}lay$ ), Or  $-eyyi / -iyye$  (obolēssa 'brother' - pl.  $oboleyyi$ , Or B  $\acute{d}aha$  'rock, stone' - pl.  $\acute{d}ah\bar{a}yye$ ,  $w\bar{a}ti$  'baby-calf' - pl.  $wat\acute{i}yye$ ), Kns {BISO}  $-iyya / -aya$  (ap-itta 'fire' - pl.  $ap-iyya$ , okk-atta 'cow' - pl.  $okk-aya$ ), Gdl  $-ayya, -iyya$  ( $q\acute{i}m-ayt$  'old man' - pl.  $q\acute{i}m-ayya$ ,  $h\acute{a}l-itt$  'stick' - pl.  $h\acute{a}l-iyya$ ), Sd  $-\nabla yye$  ( $bal-i\check{c}\check{c}a$  'gazelle' - pl.  $bal\acute{i}yye$ ,  $og-\bar{e}ssa$  'doctor' - pl.  $o'g\bar{e}yye$ ), Ya  $ai \sim -ay \sim -ey$  (ilm\acute{a}mu 'tear' - pl.  $ilm\acute{a}may$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\mu\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha$  'penis' - pl.  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\mu\bar{\omega}\rho\acute{a}i$ ,  $mor\check{z}i\ddot{a}$  'sinew' - pl.  $mor\check{z}ey$ ) ¶ Rop. 9, R BedS 6O-1, Zab. MNPC 77, 113-4, 118-9, 141-2, 156, 169-7O, 19O, 241-2, 296 || ? pre-S morpheme ( $*-r^1i$ ?) of nom. plural, which followed the case ending and later merged with it into nom. pl.  $*-\bar{u}$ , accus. pl.  $*-\bar{i}$ , gen. pl.  $*-\bar{i}$ ; the palatality of the accus. pl.  $*-\bar{i}$  (contrasting with the accus. sg.  $*-a$ ) points to a palatal element within the original marker of pl., so that the prehistory of the S case/number  $sxs$ . may be conjectured as follows: accus. sg.  $*-a$  + pl.  $*-r^1i$  > accus. pl.  $*-\bar{i}$ , nom. sg.  $*-u$  + pl.  $*-r^1i$  > nom. pl.  $*-\bar{u}$ , gen. sg.  $*-u$  + pl.  $*-r^1i$  > gen. pl.  $*-\bar{i}$  || IE  $*-j$ , plural ending of the animate gender (> NaIE m. and f.) of dem. and interr. pronouns, e.g.  $*t\bar{o}-j$  'these' (animate gender) > OI  $t\bar{e}$ , Lt  $ti\check{e}$ , OCS  $\tau\bar{h}ti$ , OR  $\tau\bar{e}t\check{e}$ , R  $\tau e$ , Gt  $\bar{p}ai$  id., Gk B/D/Hm  $\tau\acute{o}l$  (m. pl. of the df. art.; Gk A/I  $o\acute{l}$  id. was created on the analogy of m. sg.  $\acute{o}$ ), L  $i\bar{s}-t\bar{i}$  'those' (thou-deixis), as well NaIE m. pl. locative  $*t\bar{o}-j-su$  'in these' > OI  $t\bar{e}\zeta u$ , OCS  $\tau\bar{e}\check{x}\bar{x}$   $t\check{x}\bar{x}$  id., Gk Hm  $\tau\acute{o}\check{\sigma}l$ , Gk A  $\tau\acute{o}\check{\zeta}$  (dat. pl. of the df. art.). The form  $*t\bar{o}j$  is specifically connected with the animate (> masc.) gender and not with the inanimate (neuter) one (where the marker of plural is  $*-h_2$  >  $*-a$  [ $< *-\bar{h}_2$  and  $*-\bar{a}$  [ $<$  thematic vowel +  $*h$ ]). In some dialects this  $*-o_j$ -form of nom. pl. m. spread to the system of nouns and adjectives (declension of the  $*-o$ -stems), whence such forms as Gk  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota$  'wolves',  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\iota$  'gods', OL  $\rho\acute{o}\rho\lambda\acute{o}\epsilon$  'peoples', L  $lu\bar{p}\bar{i}$ , OCS  $\bar{b}\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{c}\bar{i}$   $\bar{v}\bar{l}\bar{b}\bar{c}\bar{i}$  'wolves', L  $\bar{v}\bar{i}\bar{r}-\bar{i}$ , and OIr  $\bar{f}\bar{i}\bar{r}$  ( $< *v\bar{i}r\bar{o}j$ ) 'men', Gt  $\bar{b}\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{i}$  'blind' (m. pl.) || Ht  $k-\bar{e}$  'these' (pl. anim. of the dem. prn. {Rsk.}  $k\bar{a}-\bar{s}$ ),  $\bar{a}\bar{p}-\bar{e}$  'those', HrLw  $\bar{i}\bar{i}$ , pl. anim. of the dem. prn.  $\bar{i}-\bar{s}$  ¶¶ Bks. 20O-6, Brg. KVG 39O-1,



406-6, Brand. GS II 76-7, Vnd.<sup>2</sup> II 78-9 (Sl \*tě > OCS ТН ti, OR ТѢ tě), Rsk. 68-70, Mer. SGA 322-3 || U {Coll.} \*-yī/-ṛī (> -ī-, -ṛī-), marker of pl. in oblique cases > FU \*-y, pl. ending in obl. cases: F koulu-i-ssa 'in schools', kalo-i-ستا 'from fishes', Lp N sul'lu-i-d accus. 'islands' (from sulo 'island') || ? Sm {AD} \*-y/\*-ṛī-, (+ppas.) {Hl.} \*-y- (marker of plural): Kms {Kü.} žaṣa-ṛī-m 'rivers' (accus. pl.), žaṣa-ṛī-n 'of rivers' (↔ sg. žaṣa-n 'of [a\the] river'), žaṣa-ṛyeṛ 'rivers' (nom. pl.), possibly also Ne {Coll.} ḡudiṛ 'hands' (gen. pl.) (↔ ḡuda 'hand'), Tv {Coll.} kindaj 'smoke' (accus. pl.) (↔ kinta [nom. sg.]), En {Coll.} yoheṛ 'rivers' (accus.-gen. pl.) (↔ yaḡa [nom. sg.]); +ppas.: -y-nə 'my ...s' (\*-y- pl. + \*-nə 'my' with pl. nouns) > Mt {Hl.} \*-n|ńE (\*ayənE [Mt M {Sp.} анне] 'my children') ¶¶ Hj. US 233, It. LC 41-6, Kü. KJ 383, Kü. SUKF I 31-8, Coll. CG 297-8, Hl. M 145 || A: Tg \*-ye, pl. of the interr. prn. \*ḡuy 'who?' > Ewk, Neg nī-yə ~ ḡī-yə, Lm ḡī-yə ~ ḡī-yə, Orc ḡī-yə '¿quiénes?' ¶ STM 660 ◇ IS interpreted this N etymon as a sx., which is untenable, because in the descendant lgs. it functions both in the word-final and in the word-initial position (the latter in Eg (y-) and B) and as a separate word in Bj, which proves that N \*yE was movable, and hence it was a separate word ◇ ≈ IS I 12 (IE, U, HS), Gr. I 108-10 ("plural I" in IE, U, CK, EA, unc. Gil).

**2618.** \*yī 'he', (?) 'that' (anaphoric) > HS \*yī- 'he' (verbal px. of 3m) > S \*yī- id. > Ak i-, pWS \*yī- (with verbs having a thematic vw. \*a) > BHb yī-, ye- (e.g. ַיְבֹכְוַי way'yebkəj 'and he wept'), Gz yə-; the vw. \*-a- in Ar ya- and in BHb yā- (ַיְבֹכְוַי way'yāqəm 'and he stood up') is due to analogical generalization of the vw. in the paradigm of the verbal personal pxs. ¶ Hz. VP 35-48 | N \*yī may be also present in S \*miy∇ 'who?' (possibly from N \*omi yī = N \*mi 'what?' + N \*yī 'he', see ffd. N \*mi 'what?') || B \*ī-, verbal px. of 3m > i- in modern B lgs. || C \*yī-, verbal px. of 3m: Bj (?)i-; EC: Sa, Af, Rn y-, Sml yī-, y-, y-a- (-a- in yaqān 'knows' and yaḡay 'is' goes back to a px. of imperfectiveness ← aux. verb, / AD IPCV), Dsn yī-, y-; Ag: Aw yī-; C \*yī- is probably present in Or i-sa 'he' (the marked nominative i-n-ni), Aw ́-n 'this', in SC: Irq {Mous} ṛinós, ṛís, pl. ṛinoṛín, ṛinín, {Wh.} ìnós ~ ìnúš 'he, she', pl. ìnòṛín 'they', Grw ìnó(s), pl. ìnòṛín, ìnín, Alg in, pl. ina, Brn ina 'he, she', pl. iney 'they' ¶ Zab. VC, AD KJ, AD IPCV, Hz. AL 21-2, PH 259-62, Grg. 22, PG 42-4, To. DL 200-2, Wh. 57, Mous GI 112 || NrOm: Hrr {CR} yī, Zl/Gf {C}, Wl {LmS} ī, Male {AzA} ṛí 'he', Bsk {Bnd.} ṛiy 'he', iy 'his' ¶

CR H 630, LmS 92, 273-4, AzA 80-2, C SO 38, 48, Bnd. MO 11 || Ch {Sch.} \*-i, marker of definiteness: Dr gám-î: 'the ram' (↔ gám 'ram'), Zr g+mān-i 'the husband' (↔ g+mān 'husband'), EDng àk-í 'the fire' (↔ àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || IE \*ʔeḷ-/ʔi (or \*hēḷ-/\*hī- ?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (× N \*h¹i 'iste' or 'hic') > OI a'ḡ-am m., GAv aḡ-ām m., OI i'ḡ-am f., OI i-'d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' || Gk Cp ἔν 'eum, eam' || L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') || OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< \*i-s), ed ~ hed (< \*id or \*id-ā) 'it', pl. hé || Gt i-s 'he', accus. in-a, ntr. ita 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu eR, iR, iaR rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', iḡ ~ eḡ 'it', NHG er m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' || Lt jì-s 'he', jì 'she' | Sl \*j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. \*jb, f. nom. \*ja, ntr. nom.-accus. \*je > OCS, OR m. H i, f. ѿ ja, ntr. ѿ je; Sl \*j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. ѿго jегo 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. ѿмоу jemu 'to him, to it', etc. || AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' (Mer. HHG 61-7); but Ld -i- (enclitic px. of the 3rd pers.) does not necessarily belong here: it looks like a variant of a more typical -a- id. (Mer. SGA 319: "A fianco di -a- [in lidio] compare qualche volta una forma di -i-... Si può provvisoriamente accettare che si tratti d'una variante per evoluzione fonetica") ¶ P 281-3, Bks. 202, M K I 13, 46, 86, M E I 103, WH I 720-1, F I 726, Fs. 296, Vr. 105, EWA II 1092-1107, LG § 358, Thr. §§ 25, 405, Frn. 194, ESSJ VIII 204-5, Gsm. LW 129 || K \*h₁i 'that' (distal deictive stem), 'he' > G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi-, Sv i- 'that' (× N \*h¹i 'iste' or 'hic', q.v. ffd.) || A \*i > T \*-i/\*-i 'his/her/their' (after cnss.; \*-i and \*-i are distributed acc. to the palatal harmony of vowels; in lgs. with labial harmony of vws. there are additional allomorphs -ü/-u) > OT, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg, Tkm, CrTt, EF Δ, Nog, Qq, Alt -i/-i, Qzq, Xk -l/-i, VTt -b/-b, Tk -i/-i/-ü/-u, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qrg, Tv, Tf -i/-i/-ü/-u, Bsh -b/-b/-b̄/-b̄, Kr T/G -i/-i/-u, Yk -ä/-a/-ö/-o, Chv -b, (stem-final vw. -ā or -e + ppa. >) -i, (after geminated cnss.) -i; ? Blq inoḷ 'that'; the T allomorph \*-si / \*-si 'his/her' (after vowels) is of more complicated origin (probably N \*sE 'he/she' [q.v.] + vw. \*-i/i induced by the postcons. allomorph) ¶ Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP √, Sev. KP √, PhTF √, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || M \*i- 'he' (gen. \*i-nu, in other cases \*i-ma-, which goes back to the N accusative construction \*yi mA 'him') > MM, WrM i-nu 'his', i ma-, stem of the obl. cases of 'he'; \*-i 'his' > PCIWrM -i id.; gen. \*i-nu > Dg Cc {Pp.} īḡ ~ īḡ̃ 'he', gen. inī, as well as WrM inu

(focalizing marker of the theme) ¶ Pp. IM 214-5, MED 412 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #582 \*i (a deictic √; T, M i- 'he' + deictic \*i- in Ko and J; no distinction between the reflexes of N \*yī 'he' and N \*h'ī 'iste') ◇ Cf. IS I 270-2 (combines together N \*yī 'he', N \*h'ī 'iste', and N \*h'e' 'this' as variants of the same word), Gr. I 81-5 ("third-person I ~ E" and a similar "pronoun/demonstrative" in IE, U, A, Gil, and Ai).

**2619.** \*yī 'a couple' (inanimate) ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of dual) > IE: the NaIE ending of dual (ntr.) \*-o-ǵ / \*-i(:): [1] NaIE ntr. \*-o-ǵ (of \*-o-stems) (\*-o- belonging to the stem): OI ὑὔ'gē 'two yokes', OCS **ИЗЪ** izě, [2] NaIE \*-i(:) of consonantic stems: Av **𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎** **𐬀𐬎𐬎** **𐬀𐬎𐬎** 'twenty', OCS **р** **ИМЕНН** imen-i 'two names', **ТЪЛЕСН** tēles-i 'two bodies'; [3] NaIE \*-aǵ, nom.-accus. du. of \*ā-stems m., f.: OI 'ἀσῡῡ' 'two mares', OIr **tuath** 'two peoples' (sg. **tuath** 'people') (< pClit \*touthaǵ), Lt **ranki**, OCS **РАУѢ** račě 'two hands'. Bks. 194-5 reconstructs the IE dual ending of nom. ntr. as \*-iH<sub>1</sub> (sc. \*-iH) - mainly on the ev. of NaIE \*-ī in OI (**𐬀𐬎𐬎** 'eyes'), which would suggest N \*yīH<sub>1</sub>, but since this IE lr. has no counterpart in S and Eg, I am inclined to suppose that the length of i in OI is of analogical origin and does not go back to any ancient Ir. ¶ Brg. KVG 388-9 || **HS:** S \*-ay, the marker of accus.-gen. dual > Ar -ay, -ay-ni accus.-gen. dual (ʔibn-ayni accus.-gen. 'two sons', ʔibn-ay accus.-gen. cs. 'two sons of ...'), with loss of case distinction: BHb -'ayim du. (st. abs.) (**𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍** yō'm-ayim 'two days'), -ē du.\pl. cs. (**𐤀𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍** kar,nē 'horns of ...'), OAk -ī-n (**𐤅𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍** annīn 'diese beide Bildnisse'), Ak OA -ēn (**𐤅𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍** patītēn 'two open shoes') ¶ Br. AG § 69, Sd. G 76 [§ 61] || Eg -ωϣ du. masc., -τϣ du. fem. (nominal sxs.): zn.ωϣ 'two brothers', zn.τϣ 'two sisters' || ? Ch: Hs D/Dm {Vc.} -ay, -āyē, dual sx.: fantaziye 'zwei Hacke' ¶ Vc. HÄ 93-6 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 60 (S, Eg, B) || **A:** T palatalization of \*-r in names of paired body parts > T \*kōr 'eye, both eyes' (> OT köz [köz-in körüp 'seeing with the eyes'], Tk göz, Tkm göδ, etc. 'eye'; cp. T \*kūr- v. 'see' < N \*g'ūr **𐤅𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍** 'look, look for' [q.v. ffd.]), \*k'ökür 'breast, two female breasts' (> OT köküz 'chest, breast, both breasts of a woman' [köguzi qara 'with black breasts'], Tk göğüz 'breast', Tkm gövüθ 'female breast, woman's breasts', Chv: L **кăкăр** kăg\_ьr, H **кăг\_ьр** id., etc.; cp. without the reflex of \*yī: T \*k'ökür-äk 'breast, chest' > Tkm kükrek, Qrg kökürek, Qzq kökrek), T \*t'īr 'knee' (> OT tīz, Tk diz, Tkm dīδ, Tv dis-kek, Chv čьr), T \*muyhur (> \*mühür) ({Md.} \*bo.ḥḥ'or) 'horn(s)' (> OT münüz 𐤍𐤁𐤍𐤁𐤍

müyüz, Tk бoуrуз, Tkm buynиz, Az buyniz, Chv {Ash.} тъура 'horn(s), [cd.] Chv L тъураg\_a, Chv V мiраg\_a ~ мураg\_a, Chv MK мiрагa 'horn', cp. M \*mögere-sün 'cartilage, gristle') ¶ Cl. 570, 712-4, 736, 756, Rs. W 202, 288, 294-5, 347, 482, Ash. VIII 292, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, Md. 51, 169, 174, Tkr 194-5, 420, MED 545, KW 268 ◇ IS MsN s.v. \*-i- dual (IE, HS).

**2619a. \*y∇**, pc. of hypocoristic (?) address (vocative) > HS: S \*-ay- (diminutive-hypocoristic infix): \*yulaym- (S \*yulaym- 'boy, young man', \*yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > OA ϑlym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm ϑlym 'servant', JA אָלְמָא ϑalê'mā, JEA {Sl.} אָלְמָא ϑalê'mā 'young man', Sr ϑalay'm-ā 'boy, a youth', etc.; f.: SmHb אַלְמָא 'maid', IA ϑlym<sup>h</sup>, ϑlymt-, Plm ϑlymt<sup>?</sup> 'female servant'), which is a diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from S \*'yal∇m- 'young man' and \*'yal∇m-at- 'maid' (ffd. see s.v. \*giḷu 'boy, young man'); Ar ḡumayl- (hypocoristic of ḡamāl- 'beautiful'); Ar ya, preposition of the analytical vocative case || K: GZ \*-ia, a diminutive suffix: G, Mgr -ia: G zam-ia 'old chap, братец', Mgr žimaia id., G baç-ia 'little hare', Mgr kıboia 'crawfish', parpalia 'butterfly' ¶ K 100, K<sup>2</sup> 80 || IE: NaIE \*-yo-/\*-iyō-, a diminutive suffix: Gk παιδ-ίον 'Kindchen' (from παῖς 'child'), ὄρνιθ-ιον 'Vögelchen', L -iō in pūsiō 'a little boy', pūmiliō 'a dwarf' (from pūmilus 'a dwarf'), seneciō (diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from senex 'old man'), OCS робнщъ robištъ 'servulus' (-ištъ < \*-īt-yō-s) ¶ Brg. KVG 337-8 || U: FU \*-y > BF \*-y in diminutives: F Δ enoḷ 'mother's brother', kukkoḷ 'петушок' (diminutive of kukko 'cock'), Krl A moamoḷ 'mother', kägöḷ 'cuckoo', F Δ, Vp reboḷ 'fox', Krl Ld, Vp kukoḷ, Ing kukkoḷ 'cock', Krl Ld meššoḷ 'capercailie', taloḷ 'house', Vp lámoy 'fire' (from lám 'warm'), Ing tüttöḷ 'girl' ¶ Laan. 214-5 || A: Tg \*-(a)y, hypocoristic suffixes (usually in address words): Ewk -y in hypocoristic address forms of nouns: akā-y 'братец!' (from akā 'brother'), zḱz-y 'сестрица!' (from zḱz 'sister') ¶ Vas. 757 ◇ Evidence of the analytical origin: the etymon is represented by suffixes, by a prefix (that is, it was movable) and by a preposition.

**2620. \*yabE** (~ \*yapE) 'to cover, to fence, to protect' > HS: Eg MK ḷb.ω 'refuge, shelter' ¶ EG I 62, Fk. 15 || C: DhI {EEN} žāβ-, {E} žaβ- v. 'save' || SC: Irq {MQK} yāw- 'protect with a fence', {E} yaw- v. 'enclose, fence', Alg yaba 'fence' || HEC {Hd.} \*if- 'be covered' ⇨ caus. \*if-iḷs- v. 'cover' (× N \*qup∇ [- \*qūp∇?]) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover' >

Hd {Hd.} if-ī̄s-, Kmb {Hd.} if-is- v. 'cover', Hd if-očču n. 'cover, stopper (e.g. cork)', Sd {Gs.} if-iččo n. 'cover'; C ↷ Grg {L}: Ch efa v. 'cover with a lid, stop up (an opening)', Ez, Ms effä id., Gt ifä, Ed, Sl, Wl iffä, Ms, Go iffa n. 'lid, cover' ¶ E SC 315, MQK 122, EEN 29, Hd. 44, 284, 323, 373, L EDG III 19 || ? WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ábû 'hiding, seeking refuge' ¶ Sch. DN 4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 104 [#34.1] (SC, DhI, Eg, Ch) || A: T \*jap- 'cover; build (a wall)' > OT {Cl} jap- 'cover (things), build (a wall)', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jap- v. 'cover, shut', OOsM jap- v. 'cover; hide, conceal', Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, QrB, Qrg žap-, Qzq, Qq žap, Xk čap-, Tv šip-, Tf ćip'-, Yk sap- 'cover', ?σ: Tk yap-, Ggz jap- 'make, build' ¶ Cl. 870-1, Rs. W 187, ET J 126-9 || M \*ibe(-xe)~\*ipe(-xe)- > MM [HI] {Ms.} ihē- v. 'protect', ihe<sub>en</sub> 'protection', ihēgde- 'be protected', [S] {H} ihe<sub>e</sub>- ~ ihē- 'protect, help', ihe<sub>el</sub> ~ iheyel 'protection (Schutz)', WrM iβε-, HIM ивэ- v. 'pad, lay sth. between or under', WrM iβεge-, HIM ивээ- 'protect, help', Ord {Ms.} iwegē- 'traiter avec bonté (prince, ses sujets)', WrO {Krg.} iβε- v. 'protect, save', iβē- 'save, rescue, protect', iβεge- v. 'protect', Kl † ивэ- iwä- 'patronize, protect (покровительствовать, опекать)', Kl {Rm.} iwē- 'be-\unter-schützen, hüten, helfen', Kl ивэл iwäl 'protection, care', {Rm.} iwēl 'Schutz, Hut, Segen, Hilfe', Brt W эбигээл 'patronage, protection' ¶ Ms. H 62, Ms. O 390, H 81, MED 396, Krg. 89, KRS 262, KW 212, Chr. 753 || Tg \*y|upsi 'garment' > Ul upsi 'shaman's garment', Neg upsi id., 'skirt', Nn B ufsi 'belt' ¶ STM II 281, Ci. N 285 || pKo \*psí- 'wear\put on (headgear)' > MKo psi-, sí-NKo ssi- ¶ S QK #900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1023-4 || pJ {S} žp- 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ op-, òpòp-, J: T ò-, K/Kg ó- ¶ S QJ #1047, Mr. 742-3 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #644 (A \*jòpe '[to] cover, wear'; M, Tg, Ko, J), Pp. VG 236, 286 ¶¶ The change of M \*i- < N \*y∇- and that of Tg \*y|yp- < \*\*ip- (assimilatory labialization) < N \*y∇P- are still to be investigated || IE: NaIE \*yebh- / (SA) \*ojbh- 'copulate' (× possibly IE ?? \*yeP- 'enter' > pTc {Ad.} \*yäp- 'enter' and Lw ipatarma 'west') > OI 'yabhati 'copulates', BdhSgd 𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫 'adulterous' || Gk D οἴφω 'futio' || Sl {Bern.} \*jeb- (1s prs. \*jeb-ŋ, inf. \*jeti and \*jebati) 'futuere' > Blg prs. еба 'futio', SCr jébēm / inf. jèbati, Slv jêbam / jèbati, P jebać, R prs. ебу / inf. еть ~ ети ~ ебать, Uk ібати y'batu 'futuere', OCz jebati id., 'beat' ¶ WPI 198, P 298, ≈σEI

508 (\*yeb<sup>h</sup>e/o- 'copulate' ← 'enter\penetrate'), M K III 7, M E II 398-9, F II 371, Bern. I 452, ESSJ VIII 188 (Sl \*jěbati with \*ě on the ev. of Uk i in yǐ'batǐ, but his \*ě is at variance with many attested forms, e.g. R p. ёб yob), BER I 474, Ad. 496-7 Mlc. CL 91 ¶¶ The semantic change 'cover' (v.) → 'futuere' is most natural when referred to cattle ('the steer covers a cow'), so that it may be supposed that it occurred in the language of the IE cattle-breeders.

**2621. \*yād'a'** (or \*yadā) 'to go' > U: FU \*°yā|eδ∇ (or \*°yā|e|∇) 'go' > ObU \*yēl- > pVg \*yǎl- > Vg: T yil-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL yāl-/yǎl-, UL/Ss ya|-'go' ({BV} 'сходить, съездить'); pOs \*yēl- ({Hl.} \*yīl-) > Os V/Vy yēl-'go' ({Trj.} 'ходить, ездить') ¶ Ht. #184, BV 151, Trj. S 91 || **A:** NaT \*jāḍa- v. 'walk', \*jāḍa-k (jāḍa-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (N \*ā > T \*a due to vowel harmony) (× N \*rayd∇ 'foot, track; to walk' [q.v.]) > OT, MT jāḍa-ṣ 'on foot, 'pedestrian', Chg {Rl., Cl.} jaya- 'im Wasser gehen, indem man Grund unter sich hat', Tk yayalík n. act. 'walking', Tk yaya, Az jayaṣ, ET jayaq, Uz jayaw, VTt žäyāw, Bsh jāyāw, Qzq žayaw, Qrg žō, Alt žoyu, SY jazaṣ, Xk čazaṣ, Tv čadaṣ, Tf čad\_aṣ, Yk satī 'pedestrian, on foot' ¶ Cl. 887, Rs. W 177, ET J 68-9, TrR 918, Rl. III 72, Ra. 193 || **HS:** B \*✓y|wdw 'go' (× N \*w∇d<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇ 'walk, go, set out for', q.v. ffd.).

**2622. \*y'o'd∇** 'claws (as of a lobster\scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers \ claws (e.g. of a lobster)' (→ [in HS and pre-K] 'arm, hand') > D \*iṭukk- 'claws of a lobster\scorpion', 'take between the claws' > Tm iṭukku 'prehensile claws (of a scorpion \ lobster)', iṭukku v. 'take between the fingers \ toes, grasp as with pincers', iṭukki 'prehensile claws of a crab\scorpion, pincers, tongs', Ml iṭukku 'claws of lobster', Kt ikl 'tongs', Kn ikkur, ikkurā, Tu ikkuḷi 'pair of tongs \ pincers', Kn iṛkurī, Kui ḍipa 'tongs, pincers', Kn iḍaku v. 'pinch, tweak' ¶¶ D #444 || **A:** Tg: WrMc yōḍa- v. 'hold (something that hangs down)', {Z} 'держу въ рукѣ что свѣсивши, несу небрежно, повѣсивъ въ рукѣ', {Hr.} 'in der am Arme herabhängenden Hand tragen' ¶ Z 202, Hr. 1022 || **HS:** S \*yad- 'hand' > BHb ṭ<sub>1</sub> yād 'hand, forearm', cs. ṭ<sub>1</sub> yad, st. prn. ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> yā'd-ō 'his hand', du./pl. ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> yā'dayim, pl. cs. ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> yā'dē, Ph, Ug, IA yd 'hand', JPA ṭ<sub>1</sub> yad (~ ṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ~ ṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub>), BA cs. ṭ<sub>1</sub> yad, Sr ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> i'd-ā, cs. ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> yad ~ ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> i'd, Ar yad-, Sb, Mn, Qt yd, Gz ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ḵṭ<sub>1</sub> ad, OAk, Ak ṭ<sub>1</sub> id-u(m), Eb i-tum = {Frnz.} yidum 'hand', i-tim yidim gen. sg. and accus.-gen. du. 'hands',

Mh {Jo.} indf. ʔīd, df. ʔa-yd, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ed 'arm (from fingertip to shoulder), hand', Hrs {Jo.} ʔayd 'hand, arm, forepaw', Sq {Jo.} 'ʔʔʔd, {L} ʔed 'hand'. In some lgs. (Aram dialects, SES, Eth, Ak, Eb) there is as. \*ya- > \*yi- and later (ʔ)i- ¶ KB 39-71, KBR 386-8, HJ 443-9, A #1138, OLS 520-1, Br. 295, Nld. CSG § 146, BK II 1624-5, LG 7, BGMR 167, Rk. 80-1, MA 108, Jo. M 460, Jo. J 313, Jo. H 146, LLS 52, Krb. EG 19, 21, Frnz. EL 144, BHKKLMBLz. SAL #96, MiK I #1.291 || Eg ∇ d hier. \*'hand' (unless alternatively, Eg fP {ʔRö.} ʔ 'arm' [ʔRö.: HS \*d > Eg ʔ]) ¶ EG I 156 and V 414, 580, Fk. 308, Tk. I 37 || ? K: pGZ \*dlaqʷ- 'elbow' (if from N \*yo'o'd∇ ʔa'∇qU 'bend of arm' = \*yo'o'd∇ + \*ʔa'∇qU 'a bend, a joint in a limb', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D \*i- from N \*y∇- needs investigating (cp. the item no. 2646) ◇ The semantic change 'claw of a lobster\scorpion' → HS 'hand' is a typical zoomorphic metaphore (reminding the NE slang usage of paw for 'hand', muzzle for 'face', etc.).

**2623.** (₂?) \*yugê (or \*yukê?) 'to drink' > U: FU \*yuxē (or \*yuke?) v. 'drink' > F juo-, Es joo- (inf. II juu-a, Is p. jōin), Lv inf. juo-dъ id. | pLp {Lr.} \*yukэ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} juvge-, L {LLO} juhka-, N {N} jukkâ- / -g-, Kld югкэ, K {Gn.} jukke- id. | pChr {Ber.} \*yüy- > Chr: L йүа- yüa- (inf. йүаш yü'áš), B yüya-, Uf jüa-, H йүä- yüä- (inf. йүаш yü'áš) id. | Prm {LG} \*yu- > Z, Vt ю- yu-. Prmk, Yz yu- id. || ? ObU: ? pOs \*yāńć- id. (belongs here if \*-ńć- is a sx.) > Os: V/Vy yāńť-, Ty/Y yeńť-, D/K yańť-, Nz yaś-, Kz yeńś-/yańś-, O yeńś-/yeś- 'drink'; ?? Vg: T äy-, LK äy-, MK/UK/P/LL äy-/äy-, UL/Ss ay- id. | OHg ≥XI i-, üu-, Hg i v- (/i-, i sz-), Δ ihu- id. ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 105, Db. OS xxvii, xxxii, It. #231, Sm. 543 (FU, FP \*juxi-, Ugr \*jǔgĩ-), SK 124, SSA I 249, Lr. #285, Lgc. #1807, SaR 427-8, Gn. 468, Ber. 12, MRS 155, Ep. 52, LG 335, Ht. #726, MF 329-30, EWU 629-30, Mägiste ELLE || A: NaT \*oju:ig or \*oju:ig > OT jū|ōḡ, {DK} jōḡ 'meal for the dead', {Cl.} jōḡ 'funeral feast' (the vw. ō was reconstructed by Cl. and DK on the basis of the Ar spelling with g in MhK, which is not a sufficient proof), OT VI ⇨ BzGk VI [MnP] δόϣτα 'Turkic funeral feast' (Gk δ- renders eOT j- and thus confirms the hyp. of an obstruent pT \*j-) ¶ Cl. 895, MKD 229 || ? HS: Ch: Tng {J} yē 𐌆 ē v. 'drink' ¶ J T 86 || EC (× C \*✓ig 'drink' < N \*ʔ'æ'go id. [q.v.]): Arr {Hw.} ʔig-, Dsn ʔík, Elm {Hn.} īk-, Kns ik-, Msl/Gdl {Bl.} uk- v. 'drink' ¶ Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482.

**2623a.** \*yuh∇ 'to tie, to bind', 'sth. that binds\ties' > IE: NaIE \*yēy- {E} 'bind, join together' > OI 'yau-ti 'binds, unites', yū'ti-

'Verbindung, Vereinigung' || ? Blt: Lt *jáutis* 'ox, steer' ({EI}: 'that which is yoked'), Ltv *jūtis* 'fork in a road' ¶ EI 64, M K III 25, 28-9, Frn. 191 || **A**: T \**jular* (with a sx. \*-lar of n. coll.) > OT *yular* ({Cl. *yulār* with unj. vowel length) '(a horse's) halter', Osm {RI.} *yular*, Tk *yular*, Ggz *yular*, Alt *žular*, Slr *žulur*, Tv *čular*, Yk *sular* id., Slr *čuliř* 'short rope (part of a horse's bridle)', Chg {ShSB} *yular* 'a rope attached to the animal's neck', Tk Δ *yular* 'golden thread hanged on a woman's forehead' ¶ Cl. 932, ET J 244-5, RI. III 554, ShSB 105, Tn. SJ 314-5 || **HS**: C: Bj {R} *yāy* 'rope' ¶ R WBd 243, 336.

**2624.** <sub>2</sub> \**yak* ▽ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water' > **A**: T \**jag-* v. 'pour down, pour rain' > OT *jaṣ-* id., MU, XwT, MQp, Chg, OOsM *jaṣ-*, Tk *yağ-*, Tkm, Az, ET, Slr, CrTt, Kr, SY, Xlj *jaṣ-*, Gz *jā-*, Uz *jaṣ-*, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh *jaṣ-*, Qzq, Qq *žaw-*, Qrg *žā-*, Alt *žā-*, Xk, Shor, Tv *čaṣ-*, Tf *čaṣ-*, Chv L *çy- šu-*, Δ *š̄v-* v. 'pour rain'; T d. \**jagmur* n. 'rain' > OT *jaṣmur*, MQp [CC] (*j*)*amṣur*, Tk *yağmur*, Az *jaṣmur*, Tkm Δ *jaṣmir*, ET *jamṣu(r)* ~ *janmur*, Uz *jamṣir*, Qmq *janur*, VTt *janṣır*, Bsh *jamṣır*, Qzq *žanbir*, Qq *žamṣir*, Qrg *žamṣir*, Alt *žanmir*, Xk *nanmir*, Yk *samir*, Chv L *çymäp šumır* 'rain' (in some lgs. and contexts also 'snow') ¶ Cl. 896, 903-4, 908, ET J 57-8, TL 25, Rs. W 177, Tkr 804, Äz. 182, Jeg. 216-8, Fed. II 127-8, 135-6, Ra. 193 || Tg \**yaku-* 'be covered with water' (of ground) > Ewk *yaku-* id.; Tg \**yaku*ᵛᵛ 'ground covered with water, pit filled with water' > Ewk *yaku* 'grassy swamp, puddle, pit filled with water', WrMc *yōxon* 'pit filled with water, ditch (in a field)' ¶ STM I 339 ¶¶ ≠ DQA #620 (Tg < A \**jak*ᵛᵛa) || **HS**: Eg Wc *ikn* 'draw (water), (Wasser) schöpfen' ¶ EG I 139.

**2625.** \**yäk*ᵛᵛ 'ice, cold' > **IE**: NaIE \**yeg*ᵛᵛ- 'ice' > ON *jaki* 'piece of ice, icicle', NGr Sw *Jäch*, *Gicht* (= *Gejicht*) 'hoarfrost; frozen dew on trees'; dim.: Gmc {Vr.} \**jekulaz* > ON *jokull*, Sw *jökel*, NLG *īsh- hekel*, *jäkel*, OLG {Vr.}, OHG *ihilla*, NGr Δ *ichel* 'icicle', AS {Ho.} *žicel(a)*, *žicele* 'icicle, ice' (ž = [j]), NE Δ *ickle* 'icicle', NE (cd. >) *icicle* || OIr *aig* (gen. *ega*), Brtt {RE} \**yagis*, {Vn.} \**yago-* > W *iā*, OCrn [ȝ] *iey* 'ice'; ↗ Brtt \**yagnyos* 'cold' (← \**'icy'*) > OCrn *iein*, MCrn *yeyn*, *yen*, MBrn *yen*, Brn *ien* 'cold' || Ht *eka-* n. 'cold, frost, ice', e|*ikuna-* adj. 'cold' ¶¶ WP I 206, P 503, EI 287 (\**yeg-* 'ice, icicle'), Vr. 289, 294, Ho. 142, Sw. 74, Km. 495, Vn. A 28, RE 106, Frd. HW 40, 81, Pv. I 257-9 || **HS**: C: Ag {Ap.} \**ʔṣṣaṣ-* 'ice' > Bln {Ap.} *ʔṣṣaxa*, {R} *eğāğā* 'hail, ice, snow', Q {Ap.} (*y*)*eṣaxa*, {R} *yegāğā* id., Aw {Ap.}



3ʎaʎi 'ice'; possibly (but not certainly): Aw {Bnd.} 3gumi 'cold', {Hz.} 3g3mt- v. 'feel cold' ¶ Ap. AV 6, R WB 17, R QW 149, R DQW 650 (s.p. 14), ≈ AD SF 263 || ??φ NrOm: Kf {C, Fl.} aḳ- 'be cold', {Fl.} aḳḳo, {C} aḳḳō 'cold', Shn {Fl.} aḳa, {C} aḳā, Amuru {Fl.} ákʷa, Anf {Fl.} aḳo 'cold' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE IV402 ¶ The unexpected glottalized ḳ needs explaining || **U** (+ext.) ≈ \*\*yäkša > **[1]** FU \*yäkšǎ 'cool, cold' > F jäähty- & jähty- 'grow cold, become cold\cool', Krl yähtü- id., Vp yäühtu- 'congeal' | Lp: N {Fri.} iksem, jiksem 'frigidus', L {LLO} jiekso- 'get cooler\colder' (weather), jeuhsas 'cold and windy' (weather), T {TI} yik:sem adj. 'cold' | pMr {Ker.} \*yäkšə > Er экше ekše, Mk эше, {Ps.} äšä, Δ yäšə 'cool; cool weather', Mk эшкс äšks adj. 'cool' | pChr yükšə- 'get colder' > Chr: L yükšem (inf. йүкшаш yükšāš), B yükše, Uf jükše-, H ükše- (inf. үкшаш 'ükšāš) id. || Os: V yöʎli, Ty yäʎʎi n.\adj. 'cold', D yäʎtə 'cold, cool', Kz yīʎī 'cool' || **[2]** FV \*yakša 'cool, cold' > Es jahe (gen. jaheda) 'cool', jahtu- 'cool down, become cool', Lv yūʎ- id. | Lp Sw {LÖ} juoskos 'rigidus', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} jūöskje n. 'cold', jo'skoʎ- 'get cooler' | Er якшамо yakšamo, Mk якшама yakšama adj. 'cold', Er якшамо, Mk якшам yakšam n. 'cold, cold weather' ¶ The variation \*yäkšǎ ~ \*yakša suggests an old U √ with combination of a front vw. and a back one (probably \*\*yäkša) with subsequent as. (due to "vowel harmony") in two opposite directions ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 90-1, 631, It. #241, SK 133, SSA I 260, TI 65, ERV 776, 801, PI 318, 321, Ker. II 37, Ber. 13, MRS 156, 641, Ep. 132 || **D** (in NED) \*oʎa|eʎk- > NED \*oēk- 'become cool' > Krx ēx- vi. 'lose heat, cool', ēxta'ā- vt. 'cool', Mlt ēge 'become cool', ēgtre 'make cool' ¶ D #875, Pf. 186 [#43] ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this N etymon from N \*yāḡ, ḡ, ē 'ice; to freeze'), Blz. DA 162 [#98] (suggested to add NrOm).

**2626. \*yūka** 'attach, tie\bind to' > IE: NaIE \*yeugg- / \*yung- v. 'bind, harness, yoke' > OI yuj- (prs. 1s yu'najmi, 3s yu'nakti, 3p yu'njanti), Av yaog- / yuʎ- v. 'harness, yoke, join', d.: MPrs ā-yōxtan- v. 'harness', žuxt, CINPrs جفت žuft 'yoke, pair', NPrs žoft 'pair' || Gk ζεύξ-νῦ-μι v. 'yoke, put to; bind, bind fast' || OHG untar-jouhhen 'subjugare' || L jung-ō / -ēre 'join, unite, connect' || OIr cuing 'yoke' (< \*kom-yung-) || Lt jūngti (1s prs. jūngiu) 'to yoke, to join, to connect', Ltv jūgt 'to harness, to put to' || **[1]** IE \*yug-om 'yoke' > Ht iuka- id. || NaIE \*yugo-m id. > OI yu'ga-m, Av yuga-,

CINPrs جف' žuḡ id. || Gk ζυγόν id. || L jugum id. || OW iou, W iau, OCrn ieu, Brt ieo id., Ir ughaim 'harness' || Gt, OSx juκ, ON ok, OHG joh, NHG Joch, AS ζεος ~ ιος 'yoke', NE yoke || Sl \*jǵgo > \*jǵgo 'yoke' > OCS нго іго, Blg, R 'иго, SCr †, b іго, Slv igō, Cz, Slk jho id., P jugo id., 'ε cross-beam', SCr Δ jìgo 'ε cross-beam' || Lt jūngas 'yoke' (with n due to the infl. of jūngti 'to join'), Ltv jūg-s 'yoke' || [2] NaIE d. \*yeuḡ-os ntr. 'yoke\team of beasts' > Gk ζεύχος ntr. id., team (of oxen\horses\mules) (Gespann)' || L jūgera pl. ⇨ sg. jūgerum 'a measure of land, ≈ 2,500 m<sup>2</sup>' (← 'a plot ploughed by a team of oxen') || MHG jiuoh 'ein Morgen Landes' ¶¶ WP I 201-2, P 508-10, ≈ EI 64 (\*yeu- 'bind, join together' [see N \*yuhv 'to tie, to bind'], \*yeu-g- 'join together; yoke'), EI 655 (\*yuhv-m 'yoke'), Bc. 726, M K III 19-21, M E II 412-3, 417-8, Horn 95, Vl. I 517, Sg. 364-5, BK 151, F I 609-10, 615-6, WH I 726-31, Vn. C 273, LP § 35.3, YGM-1 295, Dnn. 774, KM 333, Fs. 304, Vr. 417, Kb. 522, 1107, Schz. 178, OsS 465, KM 333, Ho. 141, Lx. 102, Frn. 196-7, ESSJ VIII 206-8, Glh. 274, Pv. II 495-6, 498-9 || HS: EC: Sml {DSI} yōke 'legare le mani \ i piedi a qualcuno', yōko 'legatura delle mani \ dei piedi' ¶ DSI 647 || NrOm: Mch {L} 'yokka(yé) v. 'spin', Kf {Msr.} yokke id., Kf {C} yok- 'domare (un bue per l'aratro); filare (il cotone ecc.)' ¶ C SE 520, Msr 241, L M 58 || A: T \*jügān (~ \*jugan?) 'bridle' (< pre-T \*\*jügān?) (× N \*Lukā?v '≈ flexible rod, thong', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ Gr. II #38 (\*yeu 'belt') (IE ÷ U \*yaye 'belt').

**2627. \*yaks'o'** 'to loosen, (?) to untie' > U: ppU \*\*yaksō- > IP \*yaksa- ~ \*yoksa- 'untie' > pMr {Ker.} \*yuksa- > Er yukśe- (inf. юксемс jukśems), Δ ukśe-, Mk yuksa- v. 'untie' || Krl A yaksa- vi. 'undress', Krl {Gn.} yakśa- id., vt. 'ausziehen, entblößen', Vo yahza- 'die Fußbekleidung ausziehen', ?σF jaksa-, Es jaksa-, jaksā- 'be able to, have strength enough to' || Prm {LG} \*jusk- > Prmk, Vt юскыны yusk+n+, Yz jusk- v. 'unharness' ¶ IE 'take off'), Ker. II 46, LG 336 ¶ The variation \*yaksa- ~ \*yoksa- suggests an earlier etymon with a stem-final \*-o (\*yaksō-) with subsequent vowel assimilation in two opposite directions || A: NaT \*jas- 'loosen' > OT jas- v. 'unstring (a bow); disband (troops)', MQp XIII jas-, OOSm ≥XIV jas-, Tk yas- v. 'unstring (a bow)' ¶ The √ \*jas- 'flatten; flat' (represented in OOSm, Tk, and other T lgs., see Rs. W 191 and ET J 155-6) is either a semantic derivative from 'unstring the bow' or a different (albeit homonymous) root ¶ Cl. 973 || HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} \*yok- v. 'become loose' > Kfr {Nt.}

ʏòk 'loosen', Gmy {Hf.} ʏòk 'become loose', Ang {Hf.} 'be shaky, loose' ¶ The loss of N \*s in WCh is still to be explained ¶ Hf. AG #184, Nt. 45.

**2628. \*yæʔæ** (or \*yæʔhæ?) '(very) bright, white' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>-yikʔ- > Ar ✓ yqq (ip. -yiqq-) 'être d'une blancheur éclatante' ¶ BK II 1631 || C: Ag \*<sup>o</sup>yaʔʔ- > Bln {R} yaʔ- 'be light\bright (hell)' ¶ R WB 365, ≈ AD SF 185 || ?? Eg L/G iʔh 'shine (leuchten)' (unless connected with Eg MK ʔh 'light [hell], light [lux]') ¶ EG I 138 and V 66 || IE: NaIE \*yeḱ-(o-s)/\*oiḱ-(o-s) 'light colour, clearness, brightness' > OI 'yaś-ah ntr. 'beauty, splendour', Av yasō.h'ya- 'Ansehen verleihen', YAv yasō.bərʔta- 'in würdiger Weise dargebracht' ||| SI \*ěsь, \*ěsa n. 'light colour, radiance' > SCr jas 'clearness', Slv jās 'light, splendour, radiance', jása ~ jesa 'a ride cut in a forest', Slk jas 'radiance, glitter'; ⇨ \*ěsьнь adj. 'clear, light (hell)' > OCS jasьнь, Blg 'ясен, SCr jāsān, Slv jásen, R 'ясен / 'ясный 'clear', Cz, Slk jasný, P jasny 'clear, bright', Uk 'ясний ~ ясний 'bright, clean' | Lt aiškus 'clear, bright' ¶ Mn. 440, M K III 12, M E II 405-6, Bern. I 276, ≈ ESSJ VI 50-3 (SI \*ěsa, \*ěsь, \*ěskьнь with unjustified \*k) || U \*yækk∇ > Sm {Jn.} \*yek∇ (unless it is \*íek∇) 'white' > Ng {Pl.} d. дѣкагá, Slq Nr {Cs. in Lh.'s interpretation} 'cāg(a), Slq MKe {KD} tēʔa, Slq EKe {Kzm., Katz} т'е:къ tēʔa 'white' ¶ Jn. 42, Katz SQ 179-181, Kzm. DMSJ 274, KD D 73, Cs. 133, 153, 302, CsL SSM 96 || FV \*yakś<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>'e<sup>1</sup>r∇ 'red' (probably from N \*<sup>o</sup>yæʔæ ʔAht|d∇ 'light red', see N \*ʔAht∇ - \*ʔAhd∇ 'red') > Er yakśtere, Mk yakśtar, Chr: L йошкарге yoš'karʒe, Н йакшаргы jakšarʒь 'red' ¶ ERV 800-1, Üp. 300, ≠ UEW 606 (Chr < FV \*akśte-r∇ or \*akś∇-ter∇ 'gelt, güst, unfruchtbar') || A: ?φ M \*yaga-ʔan 'pink' > WrM yagan, HIM ягаан 'pink, ruddy, violet, lilac', {Kow.} 'vermeil, rouge clair', IM {T} yaʔān, Brt ягаан 'pink' ¶ MED 423, Kow. 2246, T VM 273, Chr. 795 || ?φ pJ {S} \*àkà- 'bright, red' (× N \*<sup>h</sup>awk'a<sup>1</sup> 'light [lux]; bright', q.v. ffd.) || Tg \*ikere 'light (lux), lighting appliance (светильник)' > Neg UA ikɜɜ, Neg LA, Nn iɜɜɜ 'light (lux)', Neg ikɜɜ ~ iɜɜɜ, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn iɜɜɜ 'lighting appliance, lamp (burning fat), candle', Ng LA iɜɜɜ-, Ork ikɜɜč'i- v. 'light' ¶ STM I 302 ¶¶ S AJ 110, 277, SDM97 (A \*āk'a 'light, white' > T, J, Tg), DQA #634 (T, J, Tg, M) (A \*jāka 'light, white') ◇ Resh. NNE #3 (A, FV \*yak-ś<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>'e<sup>1</sup>r∇). The age of the semantic change 'bright, light' → 'pink, red(dish)' is not clear. It may be rather ancient (because it is present in several branches of N: FU, M, and J). But it may

also result from cds. (e.g. N **\*yæḲæ** ḲAHT|d∇ 'light red' → 'pink') (that are not necessarily very ancient) with ellipsis in M and J. M **\*-g-** is likely to go back to **\*-k-** < N **\*-Ḳh-**. Tg **\*i-** as a reflex of N **\*yæ-** still needs investigating.

**2629. \*yoḲE** (or **\*ʔoḲE**?) 'seize, catch' > HS: Eg fOK ḲcḲ (= {EG} Ḳtj) 'nehmen, rauben, fortführen', fNK ḲcḲ 'etw. fortnehmen' Ḳ EG I 149-50, Fk. 34 || EC: Hr/Dbs {AMS} ekk-, Gln/Gwd {AMS} akk- 'take' Ḳ AMS 260 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} Ḳak 'pick up\out, ladle out', Mpn {Frz.} Ḳák 'hold, catch', Su {J} Ḳak id., 'seize', Cp {J} Ḳák 'catch, seize' || Bl {Lk.} Ḳokk- 'pflücken', Pr {ChL} ḲukḲ 'seize' || Bg {Sh.} Ḳok 'carry (load)' ||| ECh: Jg {J} Ḳek-it- 'take' Ḳ JI II 62, J S 88, J J 112, Frz. DM 67, ChL, ChC Ḳ Ḳ Tk. I 235 || **D** (in SCD) **\*okk-** ({ḲGS} **\*-gg-**) v. 'trap' > Tl oḲḲu 'lay a trap\net, lay a wager', Gnd HMB {BB} oḲ- v. 'set (fishtrap)', Gnd Mn {Ph.} vaggānā, vakkānā 'set snare', Kui oḲa- v. 'trap, snare', Ku oḲ- v. 'set a trap', ūrū oḲali v. 'noose' (ūrū 'a snare') Ḳ D #934 || **A**: **\*σ** Tg **\*ukī** 'fishing-tackle, trap (for fish\birds)' > Lm ūkit, Neg uḲī, Orc, Nn uki id., Ewk ukī id., 'fishtrap', WrMc uku 'fishtrap', 'trap for birds' Ḳ STM II 253 || **IE**: NaIE **\*eḲk-**/**\*īk-** 'take possession, possess' (**\*eḲk-** is a SA from **\*Ḳek-**?) > OI 'īśē, 'īḡtē 'owns, possesses, is master of', Av ise 'is lord over', isē 'ich verfüge' ||| Gt aigan\* 'to have' (aih 'I have', aigum 'we have'), ON eiga, OSx êgan, OHG eigan, AS āzan 'to possess', NE own v.; ⇨ ON eigan, OSx êgan, OHG eigan, NHG eigen, AS āzen adj. (← pp.) 'own', NE own; Gt aigin, ON eigin, OSx êgan, AS āzen 'possession' ||| **\*σ** Tc B aḲk- 'know, recognize' Ḳ The length of **\*i** in **\*īk-** is still puzzling Ḳ P 298-9, EI 270 (**\*h<sub>ḡ</sub>eḲk-** 'possess'), M K I 96, M EI 207, Fs. 20, Vr. 95-6, Ho. 2-3, Ho. S 14, Sw. 8, Kb. 187, OsS 126, EWA II 981-3, KM 156, Ad. 101-2 ◇ HS de-emphatization **\*Ḳ** > **\*k**.

**2629a. 2 \*yil∇** 'burn' (trans.), 'kindle' > **A**: Tg **\*yila-** id. > Mc Sb yila-, Ewk ila-, Lm ula- id., Sln ila- 'сжечь', Orc, Ud ila- 'kindle' ](×N **\*yel<sub>1</sub>ay<sub>1</sub>∇** 'to shine; light [lux]'): Sln ilā: 'light (lux)' Ḳ STM I 303-4 || **\*σ** M **\*ilcīn** 'warmth, heat' > WrM ilcī(n), HIM илч(иН) id. Ḳ MED 403 || **HS**: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} yila 'burn' (tr.) Ḳ ChC || **?? AdS** of **IE** **\*<sup>h</sup>el-** (≈ **\*<sup>h</sup>al-**) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' (see N **\*<sup>h</sup>a<sup>1</sup>ī∇** 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result').

**2630. \*ye<sub>1</sub>ay<sub>1</sub>∇** 'to shine; light (lux)' > **U** \*ye<sub>1</sub>l]ä 'light; sun, day' > FU: pLp {Lr.} \*yē<sub>1</sub>l<sub>3</sub>kk<sub>3</sub>s 'clear (weather), bright' > Lp: L {LLO} jielakis, N {N} jæ<sub>1</sub>lâkâs ~ jâlâkâs 'complete cloudlessness, clear weather', K {Gn.} jie<sub>1</sub>χ<sub>3</sub>es 'clear weather' || Sm {Jn.} \*yelä ~ \*yälä 'light (lux), sun, daytime' > Ne: T яля, T O {Lh.} yā<sub>1</sub>'e, F {Lh.} yā<sub>1</sub>ḫ<sub>3</sub>ē<sub>3</sub> id.; Ng {Mik.} 'jal<sub>1</sub> 'daytime'; En {Cs.}: X 'je<sub>1</sub>e, B 'je<sub>1</sub>e 'daytime'; Slq: Tz cē<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub> 'daytime, sun, light', Tm {KD} tē<sub>1</sub>l 'daytime', d. tē<sub>1</sub>l<sub>3</sub>d 'sun'; Kms {KD} žā<sub>1</sub>·ā ~ dá<sub>1</sub>·ā ~ cá<sub>1</sub>·ā ~ tá<sub>1</sub>·ā 'daytime', žā<sub>1</sub>·m<sub>1</sub>ná 'es tagt, es dämmer', Koyb {Sp.} джялла 'daytime', джяллокбла 'I am lighting (свѣчу)' || pY {IN} \*ye<sub>1</sub>z- > Y K {IN} ye<sub>1</sub>ō<sub>3</sub>ž<sub>3</sub>e 'sun' (formally a prtc.), OY K {Bil.} yelónsha, {Merk} jelondscha 'sun'; ???σ Y K/T ye<sub>1</sub>z- 'boil, be cooked' (← \*'fire' ← 'light'??) ¶¶ Coll. 17, UEW 96-7, Lr #261, Lgc. #1618, Jn. 40-1 (Sm \*yälä), Jn. p.c. (Sm \*yelä ~ \*yälä), Cs. 11, 51, 83, 135, 187, KKIИ 103, KD 14, Pot. 38, 47, IN 224, 303, ≈ Rd. UJ 36 [#13] (Y ← U) || **K** \*<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>el- v. 'lighten' (× N \***hA**1∇ 'to shine; bright', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: T \*ja<sub>1</sub>u- ~ \*j<sub>1</sub>í<sub>1</sub>'u<sub>1</sub>- > NaT \*jaš<sub>1</sub>u- ~ \*j<sub>1</sub>š<sub>1</sub>'u<sub>1</sub>- v. 'flash, shine' > OT jaš<sub>1</sub>- id., XwT XIV j<sub>1</sub>š<sub>1</sub>- v. 'shine', MQp XIV y<sub>1</sub>š<sub>1</sub>- 'flash' ('لَمَع'), Shor čaš<sub>1</sub>- v. 'lighten', Kr G jas 'lightning' | ⇔ T \*ja<sub>1</sub>in ~ \*j<sub>1</sub>'í<sub>1</sub>in > NaT \*jaš<sub>1</sub>in 'lightning' > OT, XwT XIV, Qmq, Tb {RL} jaš<sub>1</sub>in, Uz jaš<sub>1</sub>in, Nog jas<sub>1</sub>in, VTt, Bsh jāš<sub>1</sub>bn, Alt žāž<sub>1</sub>in, Shor {RL} čaž<sub>1</sub>in, Xk, Sg {RL} čaz<sub>1</sub>in id. || Chv /ś<sub>1</sub>íś<sub>1</sub>bm/ [ś<sub>1</sub>íž<sub>1</sub>bm] id. ¶ pT \*-a- of the first syll. is likely to result from the ass. infl. of the following \*a ¶ Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, Md. 104, 160 (reconstructs pT \*jā<sub>1</sub>č<sub>1</sub>u- with -č<sub>1</sub>- on the alleged ev. of Chv. \*-ś<sub>1</sub>-, but the latter may be explained by as. [\*ś<sub>1</sub>...í > ś<sub>1</sub>...ś<sub>1</sub>]) ¶¶ The pT back vw. \*a (~ \*i) for the expected \*e (< N \*e) may be due to vw. harmony (regr. as.) ¶¶ Md. 104 equates the T √ with M \*nō<sub>1</sub>le- 'fire, flame' and Tg \*n<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>- 'kindle', which is less plausible semantically (albeit not ruled out as an alt. or an additional source of the T root); cp. Pp. VG 38 and STM I 609 that equate the M and Tg √ with T \*ja<sub>1</sub>in 'flame' (that does not belong here, but goes back to N \***ž**a1∇ or \***ž**a1∇∫∇ 'flame', q.v.) ¶ M \*ile 'clear, manifest; visible' hardly belongs here (⇔ IS); it goes back to A \*ilā- 'seen, visible' < N \***ʔ**i1∇ 'eye' (q.v.) || **D** \*ell- 'light (lux), sun' > Tm el id., 'lustre, splendour', ell<sub>1</sub>, ellaj<sub>1</sub> 'sun, daytime', Ml ella 'light (lux), ilakuka v. 'shine, twinkle', Tl {Km.} elamu 'be shiny\splendid' ¶¶ D #829 ◇ D \*-l- and U \*-l- point to a N \*-l-; hence T \*-l- is secondary, probably from \*-ly- < N \*-l<sub>1</sub>∇y-, the vw. \*∇ (most probably \*a) being

suggested by the fact that in U and D \*-l- has not been palatalized, sc. it was not in direct contact with \*-y- ◇ IS MS 362-3, IS I 281-2.

**2631.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*y<sup>ra</sup>mU (or \*yom∇) 'go' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ymm > Ar ✓ymm D 'aller prendre qch., diriger sa lance à dessein contre qn.' ¶ BK II 1634 || U (att. in Ugr) \*<sup>o</sup>yom∇ 'go, set out\off' > Vg: T yām- / yam-, LK/P yōm-, Ss yīm- 'go' | ? OHg XIV indol- 'bewegen, rücken', Hg indul- 'start, begin to move, set out\off, depart', OHg XV indeit- 'abgehen lassen', Hg indit- 'start, set off; set going' (-dul- and -dit- are derivational sxs.) ¶ UEW 100-1, MF 319-20, EWU 613 || A: ?ϕ M \*yabu- 'go, walk' > MM [MA, IM, PP] yabu-, WrM yabu-, HIM ява-х, Ord yawu<sup>h</sup>-, Mnr H {SM} yū<sup>h</sup>-, {T} yū-, Mnr M {T} yau-, Dx {T} yawu-, Ba {T} yu-, Mgl {Rm.} yobu- id., WrO {Krg.} yabu- 'go', Kl йов-х, {Rm.} yow-хъ, Brt яба-ха 'to go, to walk, to travel' ¶ Pp. MA 385, 450, Pp. KP 159, MED 420, SM 494, T 338, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Krg. 701-2, KRS 279, Rm. RW 220, Chr. 793-4 ◇ U \*-o- may be due to regr. as. (\*a...U [= \*a...o?] > \*o...∇) or to the labializing infl. of \*m. If M \*yabu- does not belong here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as \*yom∇.

**2632.** \*y<sup>ra</sup>m∇ (or \*yoma) 'good\fit' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓ymn 'right (dexter)' > BHb yā<sup>h</sup>mīn 'right side', 'right hand', Ug ymn, Ar yaman-, Gz yamān, Ak imnu (f. imittu) id., Eb a-me-nún, aḷi-me-tum (= yaminum, f. yamittum ~ yimittum) 'right (dexter)', IA, Plm, Nbt ymn 'right side', Sr yammī<sup>h</sup>n-ā <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> 'right side', adj. 'right', JPA Bz yam<sup>h</sup>mīn 'right side\hand', JEA {Sl.} yammī<sup>h</sup>nā id., 'right foot', JA [Trg.] yammī<sup>h</sup>n-ā, Sb ymn 'right hand', Ar yamīn- 'right hand, right side' ¶ A #1179, OLS 529, KB 396-7, KBR 415, HJ 461, Js. 580, Sl. 536-7, Sl. P 242, Br. 303, BK II 1634-5, BGMR 168, Krb. EG 20, Frnz. EL 135-6, MiK I #1.292 || Eg O imn 'right (dexter)', imn.t 'right side, west', Cpt: Sd εMNT emnt, B εMENT ement 'west, western', Sd/A/O aMENT, B aMENT† amenti, A/L εMNTε emnte 'les enfers, l'Enfer' ¶ EG I 86, Fk. 21, Vc. 11, 43 ¶ Tk. I 37 || U: FU (in Ugr only) \*<sup>o</sup>yoma 'good' > ObU: Vg: T yomās, LK/MK/UK yāmās, P yomās, NV yomās <sup>h</sup> yamās, SV/LL yamās, UL/Ss yomas 'good'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K yēm, Nz/Kz yām ~ yīm, O yim 'good' | OHg ≥XII, Hg jó, Δ gyaó <sup>h</sup> gyó 'good, fit', Hg java 'the best' ¶ UEW 850, Ht. #738, MF 339, EWU 645 || A: NaT \*jama- 'make good\fit' → v. 'patch' > OT jama- ({Cl.} yamā-) v. 'patch', Chg jama- v. 'patch, repair' ¶ Cl. 934-5, Rs. W 184 || ? M \*<sup>o</sup>nimbayī (< \*\*<sup>h</sup>am- < \*\*yam-) > WrM nimbai, HIM нямбай adj./adv. 'precise, accurate, careful; thorough'

¶ MED 584 || ?? Tg \*nam qw. 'well, good, fit' > Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn nam id.  
 ¶ STM I 580 ◇ U \*o may be explained by the labializing infl. of \*m, which suggests a N etymon \*yam▽. An alt. N rec. is \*yoma (presupposing that NaT \*a of the first syll. and Tg \*a are due to regr. as. \*yoma > \*yama).

**2633. \*yām▽** 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water' > **HS**: CS \*yamm- 'sea' > BHb 𐎧𐎡𐎴 yām (pl. 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠 yām'm-īm) 'sea, large lake', Ph, Ug, OA ym, BA, JEA yam'm-ā, Sr yam'm-ā, Ar 𐤎𐤓 yamm- 'sea', JA [Trg.] yam'm-ā 'sea, lake'; Cn 𐌲𐌿 → Eg fXVIII ym, (EgSSc) {Hoch} ya-ma, ya-mu (= yamma/u) 'sea', Cpt: Sd **eiom** eiom, B **iom** iom, A/F **iam** iam id. ¶ KB 395, HJ 458-9, Br. 303, OLS 527-8, EG I 78, Hoch #52, Lv. T I 336, Js. 579, Sl. 536, Reym. 163ff., RR 1181, BK II 1634, Eg I 88, Fk. 18 || ?? B \*ʔamaH|w|y- 'water' (with the masc. article \*ʔa- and the pl. ending \*-ān: \*ʔa-ʔamaH|w|y-ān > \*ʔa-ʔam-ān > \*ām-ān pl. 'water') > Ah, Gd ām-an, Kb, Shl, Wrg, Mz, Izd, Si, Zng aman, Nf {Beg.} amēn, amān, Awj {Prd.} imīn 'water', Gd {Lf.} āman id., āmtn 'in water' ||| Gnc AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (going back to the eB form \*ʔa-ʔam-ān) ¶ The second syll. \*maH|w|y- (with \*-aH|w|y- reflected in the final a < \*ā in the attested B lgs.) may be due to contamination with HS \*ma<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>w- 'water' (see N \*mūhi 'water') ¶ Vc. UB 314, Vc. ADB 143, Fc. 1139, Lf. II #O951, Mrc. 91, Dl. 479, La. S 228, La. MChB 196, Bs. NLB I 48, Wlf. 513, Nic. LBM 202, Beg. 215, 272, Prd. 139, Pr. M IV 146 (reconstructs pB \*Ha-māH-an without taking into account the Gnc form suggesting a syll. between the px. and \*m) || Ch \*<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>▽<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>▽<sub>1</sub>m- 'water' > CCh: Tr {Nm.} ʔyim, G'nd {ChL} yèma, Gbn yème | BM: Cb yèmi, BuP {Mch.} jimi | HgNk yiemi | Lmn ími | Suk {IL in ChC} yâm | Mtk {Sb.} ìyâm ~ yàm, pMM {Ro.} \*yam id. > Gzg {Lk.}, Mf {BLB} yam, MfG {Brr.} yám, as well as {Ro.}: Mada, Myn, Mlk, Zlg, Mofu yám, Mkt yáw | Db {Lnh., ChL} ytm, Kola {Sb.} yîm, Msy {Mch.} yim | Msg {Mch.} yim ||| WCh: Su {J} àm, Tal {J} ham, Ywm {J} yam | Fy/DfB/Bks {J} ham, Klr {J} ʔâ:m | Krkr {J} ʔam, Tng am ||| ECh: Mgm {J} àmmì | Brg {J} ʔàmì, Mu {J} ʔàmù, ʔàm, Jg ʔám, Mjl {DB} ām, Kjk {DB} àmé 'water' | (with the px. \*k-): Kwn {J} kām, Kbl {Cp.} kāmè, L {Grgs.} kámá id. ¶ JI II 340-1, ChL, ChC, Ro. 362-3, BLB 387, Brr. MG II 259, Blz. EChWL #94 ¶¶ ≠ Ap. ANH 23 (joins those suggesting to adduce S \*may- 'water', which is phonetically unacceptable) ||| **U**: Sm {Jn.} \*yām {AD} 'large body of water (sea, large river)' > Ng {Prk.} 'дзьяма' 'zama, {Cs.} jām 'sea', Ne Т ям 'sea, large river', {Cs.} jām 'sea', {Lh.}

yâ:m? 'large river, the Ob', Ne F L {Lh.} yěâ:m 'large river', Kms {Cs.} nam ('large river?') ¶ Jn. 40, Ter. 841, Cs. 12, 52 || D \*am 'water' > Tm am, ām, Krx amm, Mlt amu id. ¶¶ D #187 ¶¶ IS (IS I 279-80) adduced NED \*amm with a query ◇ AD GD 5 (HS, U), IS I 279-80 (HS, U, D), S CNM 6.

**2634. \*yum'a** 'day, daylight' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'sky, heaven, god') > **HS:** S \*'yawm- (or \*'yawam-?) 'day, daylight' > Ak ūm-u, Eb {AD} yaw<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>m-ū (a-*wa*-mu) pl. 'days' ({Krb., Frnz.} yawmū), BHb יוֹם 'yōm 'day' (pl. יָמִים yām-īm), Ph, Pun יוֹם, Ug ym, (AkSc) {Hnr.} yōmu, OA יוֹם yw m, IA יוֹם yw m = BA יוֹם yōm, em. אֲיוֹם yō'm-ā 'day', JA [Trg.], JEA אֲיוֹם yō'm-ā 'day, sun', Sr W يَوْمٌ yaw'm-ā, Ar يَوْمٌ yawm-, Sb mui ~ mi y(ω)m, Qt mui yw m 'day', Gz yōm 'today', Mh {Jo.} ክፉ-*yawm*, Hrs {Jo.} ክፉ-*yōm* 'sun', Jb E/C {Jo.} yum 'sun', Jb E yum, Jb C yu(h)m 'day', Mh ክፉ-*yūm* pl. 'days', Hrs ክፉ-*yōm*z (pl. ክፉ-*yīm*), Sq {L} yōm 'day'; JA אֲיוֹם yāmā'm-ā 'daytime, daylight'; BHb pl. yām-īm and Eb a-*wa*-mu (if it is yawamū) 'days' suggest the presence of \*a after \*w (lost in sg. and preserved in pl.: sg. \*'yawam- > [posttonic syncope] \*'yawm-, but pl. \*'yawa'm-ū/ī without syncope) ¶ KB 382-4, HJ 448-53, Br. 299-300, OLS 527, BK II 1637-8, LG 627, Js. 569, 580, Sl. 529-30, Hnr. 133, Krb. EG 29-30, Frnz. EL 137 || C: Bj {R} -āyīm (1s p. a-*ʔ*āyīm, prs. é-*ʔ*e'yīm ~ 'ēyūyīm), Bj B {R} -yaym v. 'pass the day', Bj {Rop.} *ʔ*āyīm id., 'pass the noon-time' ¶ R WBd 37, Rop. 158 ¶¶ ≠ OS #2576 (err. genetic comparison of S \*'yawm- with Jg {J} yom 'day', while in fact Jg yom is a loan from Ar ChCS yōm [RL 541-2]) || **U:** FU (att. in FV) \*yuma 'sky, heaven, god' > BF d. (with the derivational sx. \*-la): F jumala, Vp jumal ~ yumal, Es jumal, Δ jummal 'god' † Mr XVIII {Strl.} Jumishipas ({UEW}: = jumi-š-pas) 'Mordvinian gods', Er ёндол yondol, Mk ёндол yondal 'lightning' (lit. 'heaven fire' or 'god's fire', with Er/Mk tol 'fire') † Chr {Ber.} \*yumъ 'sky, weather, god' > Н йымы ыъмъ, Люмо yumo, Uf yumo 'god', {Ü} yumändür, yumän-tür 'horizon' ('edge of sky'), B {PsS} yumo 'sky, the chief god' ¶ UEW 638, It. #173, SK 122, SSA I 247, Ber. 12, MRS 163, 782, Ep. 32, Rm. BT 31, PsS 99, Ü 311-2 || **IE:** NaIE \*ye|om-, name of a mythical being (deity) > Vd Ya'mah (name of a mythical being ruling the spirits of the dead), Av Yima- (name of a legendary king of Iran), MPrs žam(-šēt), CINPrs جم žam, جمشيد žäm-šēd (names of kings [lit.



'rex', 'rex splendidus', šēd from a Phl word for 'lux']) | Nrs proper names: Ash imrā, Pra yumrā (< \*yama-rāža 'king Yama') || ON Ymir (name of a primordial giant in the Norse mythology) ¶ M K III 8, VI. I 528, Sd. 369-71, Vr. 678, Gnt. AWH 337.

**2635.** \*yän<sub>h</sub>|ʔ<sub>h</sub>∇ (or \*ʔän<sub>h</sub>|ʔ∇??) 'speak, say' > HS: Eg √ ĩn 'speak, say' ¶ EG I 89, Tk. I 124-5 || B {ʔPr.} \*√ ynH (or \*√ wnH) 'say' > Ah imv. ənn (3s pf. inna, Pcj. I A 9 = Fcj. 11), Ty/ETwl {GhA} ɛnɔu (3 pf.: Ty yəɔɔa, ETwl inɔa), BSn {Ds.} ĩni (3s pf. inna), Gh {Nh.} ən (3m pf. inna), Gd ɛn (3m aor. inna), Kb, Wrg, Mz ini (3s pf. yanna), Sll, Tmz, Rf, Izn, SrSn ini (3m pf. inna) ¶ Fc. 1279, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 119 (on Pcj. I A 9), Nh. 151, GhA 137, 246-7, Dl. 535-6, MT 457-8, Ds. 96, Ds. B 100, Dlh. Ou 209, Dlh. M 130, La. S 226-7, Rn. 391 || C: Bj {R} -(ʔ)an (1s p. a-'ʔan, 3m p. y-an, 1s prs. 'a-'ʔani ~ 'ʔani, 3m prs. 'yī-ni) 'say' ¶ R WBd 19-20, R BedS IV §§ 306-7 || WCh: Ngm {Nw.} ana 'say' || CCh: ZmB {Sa.} ĩn id. || Ech: Mu {J} ʔéŋ, Kw {J} àné id., ? EDng {Fd.} ànà ~ àn (introduces indirect speech) 'they say that', 'he says that', ? Mkl ʔùnté 'say, declare' ¶ ChC, J DM 19, Fd. 10 ¶¶ OS #40, Tk. I 124 || U \*āñhe 'speak; voice' > FU \*āne 'voice, sound' > F ääni id. | pLp {Lr.} \*yēnə 'voice' > Lp: L jietna, N jiednâ, Kld yīnn id. || Hg ének, ének 'song' || pY {IN} \*an- 'speak' > Y: K/T ańńə- (an-ńń-) 'speak', an-təy- 'say, reply' ¶¶ UEW 25, Sm. 543 (FU, FP \*äni, Ugr \*änĩ 'voice'), Lr. #267, Lgc. #1737, IN 215, Ang. 17 || D {GS} \*yan-, {tr.} \*enɔ- ~ \*a<sup>r</sup>ɔ- 'say' > Tm en id., Ml ennuka v. 'sound, say, think', Kt in-, -n-, Td in-, Kdg p. en-d-, ft. em-b-, Prj en-, Gdb in- 'say (so-and-so)', Kn en, ennu, an, Tu anpi- ~ inpi-, Tl anu 'say, speak', Nkr, Nk en-, Gnd in- ɔ ind-, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kw in-, Kui inba 'say', Krx an- 'say, tell', Mlt {Drs.} áne 'think\say\do thus' ¶¶ According to Bur., the variation \*e- ~ \*a- in D suggests a ppD \*ya- ¶¶ D #868, Zv. 58, 129, GS 133-4 [#344], Bur. DS V 602 ◇ The rec. of a N initial \*y- is suggested by the B and D data (interpreted according to Bur.'s theory and Pr.'s pB reconstructions), while the Eg, C, and Ech data point to a N initial \*ʔ- ◇ The pB root-final \*H and the long vw. in FU point to the presence of a lr. in pN, while the absence of any final lr. in Eg suggests that the N word-medial lr. was a "weak" one: \*h or \*ʔ ◇ IS I 280-1 (\*jAnɔ).

**2636.** ???σ (ı?) \*yæŋT∇ '≈ stretch, strain, pull' > D (in McTm) \*ēnt-v. 'stretch' > Tm ēntu 'stretch out the hands', Ml ēntuka 'take up, stretch arms\legs' ¶ D #894 || ?φ A: T \*jā|ēt(ä)- v. 'lead, pull' > OT {Cl.}

yēt|d- 'lead (a horse)', {DTS} yēt- id., 'pull (a person by the hand, an animal by a bridle rein), Tk yēt-, yede-, CrTt, Nog jet-, Tkm īt-, Tv čet-, SY jet- 𐌆 žit-, Ggz jede- 'lead', Yk sīāt- 'lead by the hand\rein\rope', ?? Chv śavъt- 'lead by the hand, by a rein' ¶ Cl. 884, DTS 258-9, ET Gl 387-8, Jeg. 202, Pek. 2194-5 ¶ The long vw. is suggested by Yk and (according to IS) by the voiced -d- in Tk yede- ¶ The loss of the N \*ŋ (with complementary vowel lengthening?) is still to be explained || ?σ U \*yāntā 'sinew, tendon' (× N \*yaʔoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E 'sinew, tendon') > F jārne (gen. jānteen) 'tendon, sinew, cord' || Lp Nt {Tl} yēādd<sub>ā</sub>-pes<sub>sā</sub> 'loaded gun' (pes<sub>sā</sub> is 'gun') || Chr: H yābān, Uf/B yūbān 'bowstring', L {MRS} йыдан yā<sup>1</sup>bān 'string for lockering wool and fluffing it up' (шерстобойная струна) || ObU {Ht.} \*yE:ntāy 'bowstring' > Vg \*yāntāy > Vg: LK yantāy, MK/UK yōntāy, P yanti ~ yāntu<sub>w</sub>, NV yantu, SV/ML yāntu<sub>l</sub>, LL yantū, UL yānta<sub>w</sub>, Ss yāntew<sub>w</sub> id.; pOs {Ht.} \*yōntāy > Os: V/Vy yōntāy, Ty/Y yōntāy, D/K yēntā, Nz yīntā, Kz yīntī, O yinti id. || OHg i<sub>d</sub>eg 'sinew, bowstring', Hg i<sub>d</sub>eg 'nerve' || Sm {Jn.} \*yent<sub>ъ</sub> 'bowstring' > Ne T eH, T O {Lh.} yēn, Ne F {Cs.} jien, Ng {Cs.} yenti, En X {Cs.} jēddi, Slq Tz {KKIH} čīntī, Slq Tm {KD} čǝn<sup>1</sup>d, Kms {KD} nen<sup>3</sup> id. ¶¶ UEW 92, Cl. 18, Sm. 537 (FU, FP \*jānti, Ugr \*jāntī 'bow string'), TI 52, Ht. #195, Jn. 43, KKIH 105 ◇ If U \*yāntā belongs here (in contamination with \*yaʔoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E), its vw. \*ā of the first syll. may go back to \*a of N \*yaʔoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E (> U \*ä [regr. as. \*a...E > \*ä...∇]) (q.v.) ◇ IS I 281 [#147] (D, A, U).

**2637. \*yaʔoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E** ⇨ \*yoʔoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E (or \*yawoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E ⇨ \*yowoŋ<sub>1</sub>y<sub>1</sub>E?) 'sinew, tendon' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow [weapon]') > HS: Eg: [1] Eg fO i<sub>w</sub>r<sub>1</sub>t<sub>ε</sub> 'bow (weapon)' ('Art Bogen') ¶ EG I 55, Fk. 13 | [2] Eg MK i<sub>1</sub>ny 'Schnur; Seile des Schiffes', {Mks.} 'corde, lien', {Vc.} 'ficelle, corde (d'un navire)' > Cpt Sd/A e<sub>1</sub>ne 'entrave, lien pour les pieds' ¶ EG I 93, Mks. I #O322, Vc. 65 || U [11] \*yoŋse ~ \*yoŋkse 'bow (weapon)' > F jousi (gen. jousen), jouts<sub>i</sub> 'bow' || pLp {Lr.} \*yōks<sub>3</sub> 'bow' > Lp: S {Hs.} juokse, L {LLO} juoksa, Kld jū<sup>1</sup>s: || pMr {Ker.} \*yoŋgaks 'bow' > eMr XVIII {SJRN} i<sub>1</sub>oŋks yoŋks, Er {Ker.} yoŋks id., {KC} кедь ёнкс 'ε hand tools' (кедь is 'hand'), Er SA {ERV} ёнс 'hand-driven device for carding wool, wool-carding bow (ручная шерсточесалка, лучок)', Mk {Ker.} -yoŋks 'bow' || pChr {Ber.} \*yoŋəž 'bow (weapon)' > Chr: H yāŋəž, Uf yoŋež, M yoŋūž || ObU {Ht.} \*yōy<sub>ə</sub>θ 'bow (weapon)' > pVg {Ht.} \*yā<sup>1</sup>ət > Vg: T yāwt 𐌆 yawt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss yowt, P/SV

yäxt, NV yäwt, LL yext; pOs {Ht.} \*yoyəʃ > Os: V/Vy yoyəl, Ty yaywəʃ, Y yawəʃ, D/K yoxət, Nz yuxət, Kz yw̄xəʃ, O yoxəl id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} \*ɪntʰ 'bow, shooting bow' > Ne T ҺЫН, {Lh.} ɲɪn, Ne F {Lh.} ɲɪn, Ng {Ter.} dɪntə, En {Cs.} eddo id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ɪntɪ id., üntɪ 'arc', qōn üntɪ 'rainbow', Slq Ch {Cs.} yɪnʒe 'bow', Kms {KD} ɪnə, jɪnə id., Koyb {Sp.} инэ, Mt {Hl.} \*mindɪ 'bow' (influenced by Sm \*wɪn-, \*wɪntɪ- v. 'bend, bend a bow') (Mt: T/K {Mll.} mɪndɪ, K {Pl.} mɪndɪ 'Bogen', M {Sp.} мынди 'shooting bow') ¶¶ Coll. 19, UEW 101-2, It. #90, Ht. #179, MK 180, Sm. 537 (U \*jɪnɪɪ, FU, FP \*jorɪsɪ 'bow string'), Lr. #290, Lgc. #1838, Hs. 804, MF 317, Ker. II 45, Fkt. RMS 136, Ber. 11, Jn. 25, KKH 192, 196, Cs. 102, Hl. M #678 ¶¶ [2] AdS of U {UEW} \*yānte 'sinew, tendon' (× N ???σ \*yæŋT ∇ ≈ to stretch, strain' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T {Rs.} \*jāń 'bow (weapon)' (> \*jāy ~ \*jā) > Bsh jan, Shor nan, OT jā, Tkm jāy, Tk yay, Az, Ggz, Kr, Nog jay, Uz jay, Qzq, Qq žay, Qrg žā, Alt žā, Yk sā id., Chv L šu in ykʃy uk-šy 'шерстобитный лук' ('a bow for lockering wool and fluffing it up'), Δ ωk-šy 'shooting bow' (Chv L uk- < T \*ok 'arrow') ¶ Rs. W 186, Cl. 869, ET J 74-5, Ash. III 203-4, Fed. II 129 || ? pJ {Vv.} \*ya > OJ {S} ya 'arrow' ◇ U \*-k]se goes back probably to a sx. of derivation. Eg ɪwrn and T \*jāń with a long vw. suggest two syllables between between N \*y- and \*-ŋ-, which explains the apparent conflicting ev. of \*o in U and \*ā in T ◇ ≈ AD NM #26, ≈ S CNM 13 (equates T \*jāń 'bow' with Tg \*jeje-n 'sharp point' and has doubts about the N et. in question), ≈ Vv. AEN 8 ("The ev. for reconstructing Turkic \*ž rather than \*y is more than meager"; in fact, in my system there is neither T \*ž- nor \*y-, but a palatal obstruent \*j- [suggested by the BzGk transcription with δ- and by the T phonological structure avoiding initial sonorants]; the remark on pJ \*ya < A \*dāń or \*žāń with pJ \*y- from \*d]ž- and not from N \*y- is interesting, but still has to be proved).

**2638. \*yāŋ, g, ê** 'ice; to freeze' > U: FU \*yāŋe 'ice' > F, Es jāä id. | pLp {Lr.} \*yēŋz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} jīēŋe, L {LLO} jīekŋa, N {N} jīegŋâ, Kld ӀӀӀ, K {Gn.} yīŋŋ | pMr {Ker.} \*yāx id. > Er эй ey, Δ en ɛ ev ~ iy ~ i, Mk эй äy, Δ yäy | pChr {Ber.} \*iy 'ice' > Chr: L ий iy, B iy, Uf i, H и i | Prm \*yô ( {LG} \*yô ) id. > Z йи ji, Z US yt, Yz 'yü, Vt йö yz || ObU {Ht.} \*yēŋk 'ice' > pVg yāŋk ∇ id. > OVg S ChusO jánka, OVg S Kg янка, анка, , OVg S SSs jong, jäng, OVg N SoG jank, Vg: T íāŋ, LK/MK/NV yīŋk, P/SV/LL/ML yīŋk, UL/Ss yāŋk id.; pOs {Ht.} \*yōŋk / \*yēŋk, {ϑHl.}

\*yǝŋk/\*yĩŋk > Os: V/Vy yǝŋk, Ty/Y yǝŋk<sup>ω</sup>, D/K/Nz/Kz yęŋk, O yonk 'ice'  
 || OHg xv ieg, xvi ŷeeg ɖ gŷeegh 'ice', Hg jég (accus. jęęę), Δ gŷég  
 'ice, hail' ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 93, Db. OS xxx, It. #244, Sm. 543 (FU, P  
 \*jǎŋi, Ugr \*jǎŋkĩ), Lr. #168, Lgc. #1738, SaR 92, Gn. 484, Ker. II 37,  
 Ber. 8, MRS 138, Ep. 20, LG 111, Lt. J 123, Ht. #197, Hl. rHt 71-2, MF  
 338, EWU 642 || A: NaT \*jǎ|e;ŋ ( {Rs.} \*jǎŋ) 'pieces of ice on the  
 surface of water\ground' > Tv чeŋ, Kc нинъ niŋ 'шуга (pieces of thin  
 ice on a river)', Qb Sl íeŋ id., 'drifting of ice', Xk Δ нинъ niŋ 'drifting  
 of ice', Sg/Qb {Rl.} neŋ 'ice on the ground, snow-crust' ¶ Rs. W 197, TvR  
 527, Rl. III 677, BIG 117 || ? Ko N {Rm.} jǎŋ ērgi- ~ aŋ ērgi- 'freeze,  
 stiffen entirely in the cold' (unless ← Chn iŋ 'ice'), ?? Ko {Rm.} aŋgi-  
 da 'congeal, stuffen, become solid', NKo {MLC} aŋki-ta 'curdles,  
 congeals' ¶ Rm. SKE 55, MLC 1154 ¶¶ Rs. W 197, Rm. SKE 55 (Ko, Tg) ¶¶  
 It is tempting to adduce here OJ yukjǎ and J yukǎ 'snow', but if OJ y-  
 goes back to pJ \*d-, such comparison is unt. || HS: Ch: Dr {J} cd. yér-  
 dér-á|ǎ| 'hail' (the second part related to Tng {J} dǎǎ|ǎ| 'hail') ¶ ChC, J  
 T 77 ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this  
 N etymon from N \*yǎk'a' 'ice, cold'), ≈ Rs. UAW 31 and Rs. W 197 (U,  
 A; + err. Ewk iŋ- 'cold' [in fact from Tg \*xǎŋ|ǎ|]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II #219  
 (\*yęnka 'ice') (IE, U, A, J + qu. CK).

**2639.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*yǎPǎi 'to rise; up' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>ǎǎ > Ar ǎǎ G 'climb (a  
 mountain), be grown up', yafaǎ- 'hill', yǎǎǎ- 'élevé' ¶ BK II 1631, Hv.  
 903 || IE: NaIE \*epǎ-/\*opǎ-/\*pǎ- 'upon' (direction, place) (loss of \*ǎ- by  
 analogy with \*pǎ- < \*\*ǎ|ǎ| pǎ|ǎ|?) > Gk ἐπ|ǎ| / ἔπ|ǎ| 'upon' || OI 'apǎ- ~ pǎ-  
 px. {MW} 'near, over', OI 'apǎ 'also, and', Av a|pǎ, OPrs apǎy 'bei,  
 nach' || Arm u ew (> NEArm yev) 'and, also' || L ob 'auf - hin, nach -  
 hin, auf - zu' → 'in front of; in return for, to the purpose; because of' ||  
 ? Gt iftuma adj. (← sprl.) in iftumǎ daga 'on the following day' ||  
 Pru ep- pv. 'be-' (← \*'over'), Ltv ap prep. 'around', Ltv ap- pv. 'round',  
 Lt apǎ 'about' || Sl \*ob prep. (+ accus.) 'against' (as a prep. of  
 direction), 'against the surface of' (direction) > OCS, OR obъ obъ, o  
 o, R, Uk ob(o), o, P o, Δ ob, Lls ωo ~ we ~ ho, Hls ωo, Slk, SCr o,  
 Sln ob ¶ WP I 122-3, P 323-5, 1105-7, MW 55, M K I 39, M E I 86, F I  
 535, WH II 192-4, Fs. 290, Frn. 12-3, En. 93, 169, Vs. III 96, ESSJ XXVI  
 71-4, ESISJ-SGZ I 133-4, 140-1, Sl. 397-8, EI 391 (\*hǎepǎ ~ \*hǎopǎ 'near,  
 upon') ¶¶ The absence of NaIE \*ǎ- in the apophonic zero grade suggests  
 the pIE lr. \*ǎ- or the glide \*ǎ-. The evolution N \*yǎ- > NaIE \*e- still

needs investigating (shall we suppose an intermediate stage **\*\*jēpi-** / **\*\*j̥pi-** [cp. AD NVIE]?) ◇ The alt. hypothetic NaIE cognates **\*upo/ \*up-** / **\*eup-** 'up' and **\*up-s-** 'high' are ruled out because of the absence of the expected **\*ə** in the intercons. position in **\*ups-**; on NaIE **\*up(o)**, **\*ups-** see s.v. N **\*ɥup̥** 'to take wing; up' ◇ The pN rec. **\*y̥p̥ɥi** is more plausible than the formally possible alt. rec. **\*y̥p̥ɥi**, because the N obstruent cluster **\*-P̥ɥ-** is more likely to undergo as. (N **\*-P̥ɥ-** > **\*-bɥ-**) than the N cluster **\*-P̥ɥ-** (obstruent + sonorant).

**2640.** **\*yUPX̣** 'leopard' > HS: C: Ag **\*y'ip-** 'leopard' > Bln {R} 'yībā, pl. yīf, Dmb/Q {R} yībā 'leopard. panthere' ¶ R WB 365, R QW 149 || K **\*owepχ-** 'leopard' > OG **vepχi-**, MG [VTq.] **vepχvi**, G **vepχvi** ~ **vepχi** id. ¶ Abul. 157, DCh. 506.

**2641.** **\*yEgi** or **\*y'u'gi** 'both, two (persons)' > A: T **\*|ekk'i**, {Md.} **\*ē.k(k)i** 'two' (× A **\*p'Ek'ye**, {SDM} **\*p'æk'e** 'follow, be next' < N **\*p'E'Ḳy̥** 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of') > OT **ekki**, MQp XIV **ikki**, Uz, ET, Qzl, Sg/Qb/Kc/Tb {Rl.} **ikki**, Xlj {DT} **äkki**, Yk **äkki** ~ **ikki**, Tk **iki**, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr G **iki**, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ, Qrg, Alt {BT}, Tb {B} **eki**, Qzq **ekī**, VTt, Bsh **икe** **ikb**, Qmn {B} **eki** ~ **iki**, Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} **äkki** (ä = /e/, no opposition /e/ ↔ /ä/), QK {B} **eki** ~ **ekki**, Shor **iygi**, Xk **iki** **ικι**, Ln **ike** ~ **ikke** ~ **ışke**, Tv **iŷi**, Tf **iñ'yi**, ET Δ {Jr.} **iški** ~ **iški**, {Ml.} **iške**, Slr {Tn.} **iʃki** [**iški**] ~ **iʃke** [**iške**] ~ **iški** ~ **iški** ~ **iшki** ~ **iшk'i**, {Kk.} **ĩšq+** ~ **šqi'**, SY {Tn.} **išqi** ~ **iški** ~ **ški**, Chv **иккě** **ikkb**, **икě** **ig\_b**; T **\*ikkiř** 'twin(s)' (d. at the pA or the pT level) > OT {Cl.} **ik(k)iz**, {DTS} **ikkiz** ~ **ekiz**, MQp XIII **jikiz**, OTkm XV **ikkiz**, Tkm **ekiδ**, Az **ekiz**, Qzq **egiz**, Nog, Uz **egiz** id., Qq, Qrg **egiz**, Alt **egis** id., 'couple', Chv **yькьr** 'double', **yькьreš** 'twins' ¶ Cl. 100-1, 119, Cl. TN 20 (on the pT geminated **\*-kk-**), DTS 167-8, 206-7, ET Gl 252-4, 337-9, Md. 90, 163 (T **\*ēk(k)i**), Rl. I 682, 1421, Nj. 174, BT 190, B DLT 32, B DChT 37, B DK 49, BIG 412, Ra. 200-1, Jr. 139, Ml. UN 113, Tn. SJ 121, Tn. SSJ 71, DT 109, Jeg. 67-8, Fed. I 162-3 ¶¶ The gemination of **-k-** may reflect a pA cluster **\*-k'y-** || M **\*iki|ere** 'twins' (unless ← T) > MM [MA] **ikir**, WrM **ikere** ~ **ikire**, HIM **ихэр** id., WrO **ikire** id., 'pair', K1 **икр** **ikr**, Brt **эхир** 'twin(s)' ¶ Pp. MA 195, MED 401, Krg. 101, KRS 267, KW 206, Chr. 779, ≠ DQA #1785 (M < A **\*p'jòk'e** 'next, following') || U: [1] Sm **\*yькь** 'twin' (< U **\*yuḳḳ** [or **\*í-**, **\*ž-**]) > Ne T d. **яха** **yaχaʔ**, {Lh.} **yāχă**, Ne F {Lh.} d. **jāχa'** **íáě**, Ng {Cs.} **'jaka**, En {Cs.} **'jeho**

id., Slq Tm {KD} çāṽa šz'tāṽ 'two twins' ||| [2] U {Coll.} \*-kä / \*-ka, ending of dual of nouns: Vg N -ṽ (āpa-ṽ '2 cradles', pūt-+ṽ '2 kettles'), Os V -ṽan / -ṽan / -qan / -kan (köt-kan '2 hands', weli-ṽan '2 reindeers'), etc., Sm: Ne T nom. -haṽ / -gaṽ / -kaṽ, En -h+ṽ / -g+ṽ / -k+ṽ, Ng nom. -gṽy / -kṽy, Slq Tz -qj, as well as an ending of dual in verbs: Kms {Kü.} -ṽby / -gṽy (ending of 3d)¶¶ Jn. 34, Coll. CG 302-3, Ht. ChrO 123-40, Kálmán ChrV 43-4, Ter. NJ 380, Ter. EJ 442, Ter. NgJz 422, KHG 168-9, Kü. KJ 383 || K \*°-qe > OG XI-XIII -qe, G F -qe, G Ing -q, G Mt/Kx -qe ~ -qe, sx. of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and 3rd persons (geubnebi 'I say to thee' ↔ geubnebigē 'I say to you [pl.]', unda 'he wants' ↔ undage 'they want') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Chik. Q || ? HS: the final element \*ṽ (< ppB \*k) in pB \*hanā-ṽ 'us, 'to us' (> Tw {Pr.} ānṽy ḏ hānṽy id.), in the postnominal sx. \*-naṽ 'our' (> Tw -nṽy, Kb, Shl -nṽy, Si, Wrg -nnṽy, etc.), in the postverbal sx. \*-ṽy ḏ \*-(ṽ)nṽy 'us' (> Ah -nṽy, Kb, Shl, Wrg -aṽy, Si -anaṽy, Zng -ang) ¶ Pr. M I-III 164, 170-3, AiM 216-7 || WCh: Ron {J}: Fy kon 'we' du., Bks kún, Sha gâṽn, Klr yiḡî:n id., proclitics: Fy, Bks kú, Sha gí, Klr ḡí id. ¶ J R 371, 390 ◇ In G (or already in pK?) the original meaning of dual shifted to plural. If the N vw. of the first syll. was \*u (as suggested by Sm), the T and M vw. may be explained by vowel harmony and by the infl. of pN \*y-: N \*yugi > \*yüki > yiki > T \*ik'i, M \*iki|ere.

2642. \*yar<sup>r</sup>û<sup>r</sup> 'to shine (leuchten), to burn' > A: NaT \*jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT {Cl.} jarū- 'be/become bright, shine', XwT XIV, Chg XV jaru-, MQp XIV, Qmn/Kr {Rl.} jari- id., Uz ёри- jari- v. 'be bright\light, dawn', ET joru-, Qrg žari-, Kr, SbTt jari-, Alt žari-, Xk, Shor čari-, Tv čiri-, Tf ćiri-, Ln jayu- v. 'shine (leuchten)'; ⇨ T \*jaruk n. 'light, gleam', adj 'bright, shining' > OT jaruq id., MQp XIV jaruq, [CC] jariq n. 'light', Tkm Δ jariq 'bright', Kr jarik ḏ jariḫ, Slr jaruḫ, Uz ёруф jariy, ET joruq, Qzq, Qq žariq, Qrg žariq, Alt žariq, Xk čariḫ, Tv čariq n. 'light', adj. 'bright' ¶ Cl. 956, 962-3, Rl. III 120, ET J 134-5, Bu. II 327, Rs. W 189, Ra. 200 || M \*yarṽ- 'shine, gleam; burn (as fire)' > MM [MA] {Pp.} yarilduba v. (p.) 'burned' (of fire), Kl {Rm.} yar-ḫḫ 'blinken, schimmern (in der Ferne), leuchten', WrO {Krg.} yaralza- v. 'gleam, glisten, sparkle', Kl {KRS} ярлзх yarḫlzb-ḫḫ, HIM {Luv.} яралза- 'glitter, gleam (сверкать, блестеть)' ¶ Pp. MA 387, KW 216 (mentions WrM yara-, which is not confirmed by the available dictionaries of WrM), Krg. 706, Luv. 695, KRS 711 || ?σ Tg \*ya:ṽ<sup>r</sup>u<sup>r</sup>-,

\*ya<sub>;</sub>rukta- 'have a good look at, examine' > Ewk ērukta-, Lm āru- 𐌲 ēru- 𐌲 yāru-, Neg ēwukta 𐌲 ēyukta-, Orc āoktaçī- ~ yauktaçī-, Ud I {Krm.} yzuktəsi-, Ud K/Sm {Krm.} yaktasi-, Ul yorosu/ι-, Ork ēroqto-, Nn: Nh yārsi-, B yāraqta-, KU yāroqta- id. ¶ STM I 291, Krm. 243 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 68, Rs. W 189 (T, M) || **D** (in McTm) \*°er- 'shine' > Tm er<sub>i</sub> 'shine, litter', Ml er<sub>i</sub>kkā 'shine (as sun)', er<sub>i</sub>ppu 'sunshine' ¶ D #861 || **HS**: Ch \*✓yr 'burn' > WCh: Bg {Sh.} yar, ? Tala Sh {Sh.} yā vt. 'burn' || ?? CCh: Bdm {Lk ← Nc.} yīrou ~ yirau ~ yērau 'heat, day' ¶ Sh. SB 34, JI II 54-5, Lk. B 131 || ? Eg G ĩr.t ≈ flame'; but Eg G {Crn., Vc.} ĩrr 'shed light' hardly belongs here, because Cpt Sd ειελεελ eielel and Cpt B ιελεελ ielel, ελεελ elēl 'shine, glitter' point to an Eg \*✓ill (÷ Hb - 𐤁𐤇𐤍 ✓hll 'leuchten') ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 62, Crn. 46 ¶¶ OS #2579 ◇ IS MS 364 (\*jar<sub>h</sub> 'сиять': A, D).

**2643.** ?σ \*yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' (< \*'to cause misfortune') > **U**: FU \*yer∇ v. 'curse, scold' > Prm {LG} \*yör- (÷ {LG} \*jör-) v. 'curse' > Z ěp- yor-, Z US yor-, Prmk yord-, Yz 'yur-, Vt юриськ- yuriśk-, {Vc.} yūr-, Vt B yAr- id. || Vg {Kn.}: T/LK/P/Ss yēr- v. 'curse, scold' ¶ UEW 97-8, LG 101 || **A** \*ye<sub>;</sub>r- > pJ {S} \*ira-t- or \*dirat- 'be annoyed' (× N \*žä?°r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate'??) > OJ ira-t-, J T iradat- ¶ S QJ #833, Mr. 698 || NaT \*je<sub>;</sub>r- ~ \*je<sub>;</sub>ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N \*ze<sub>;</sub>r∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N \*žä?°r∇ '↑') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A \*žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted'; incl. T, J) || **D** (in McTm) \*īr- 'grief, anger' > Tm īral 'grief (as of a broken heart), deep-seated sorrow', Ml īra, īru 'anger, fury', īruka, īrekka 'be angry' ¶ D #553 || **HS**: S: Ar yarr- 'evil, calamity', {BK} 'mal, malheur, inimité' (unless ← ✓yr 'be hard') ¶ BK II 1626, Hv. 902 ◇ Is D \*ī- a legitimate representative of N \*ye-? The matter is still to be investigated ◇ Līra 'anger' and OI iras'yati 'is angry' do not belong here (see M K I 91, P 335, and WH I 717-8).

**2644.** \*yoR∇(-b∇) 'firm, strong, hard' > **HS**: S \*°✓yrr > Ar ✓yrr G 'be hard' (a stone), ?ayarr- (pl. yurr-) 'dur et uni naturellement (comme une pierre)'; possibly also ??? ✓?rb G 'être dur \ difficile' (se dit des temps, du sort), ?? ✓?rb TD (pf. ta?arraba) 'be hard towards so. in' ¶ BK I 22-3 and II 1626, Hv. 6, 901-2 || ? Eg √ 3.t ≈ (so.'s) strength (Kraft), {Fk.} 'striking-power (of god, etc.)' > Cpt O HT- ēt- in HT ч ēt-f 'sa force' ¶ EG I 2, Fk. 1, Vc. 56 || ? C: Bj {R} e'rāb 'strong

(mächtig, stark)' (of people) ¶ R WBd 28 || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>y<sub>or</sub>∇ > ObU {Ht.} \*y<sub>ōr</sub> 'force, power' > pVg \*y<sub>ār</sub> > Vg: ML {Mu.} y<sub>ōr</sub>, Ss {Kn.} y<sub>ōr</sub> 'Kraft, Macht; kräftig, mächtig', {BV} ёр тапа 'by force, with difficulty (насилу, через силу)'; pOs {Ht.} \*y<sub>or</sub> ~ \*y<sub>or</sub> 'force, strength, power, violence' > Os: K/Nz/MO yur, Kz y<sub>ūr</sub>, O y<sub>or</sub> id. ¶ Ht. #203, MK 175-6, BV 31, Stn. 403 || A: T \*<sup>o</sup>j<sub>ar</sub>b 'firm, solid' (× N \*d<sub>a</sub>l<sub>y</sub>RE ∇ - \*d<sub>a</sub>l<sub>y</sub>RE 'be[come] stiff/firm') > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 ◇ The unexpected T \*a may belong to the heritage of N \*d<sub>a</sub>l<sub>y</sub>RE ◇ N \*b∇ is probably identical with the N adjectival pc. \*bA that formed compound (> derived) names of quality bearers (q.v.).

2645. \*y<sub>ä</sub>?<sub>ūr</sub>U (= \*y<sub>ä</sub>?<sub>ūr</sub>o?) 'body of water' > HS: B: Zng {Bs.} t-ier-t 'river' || NrOm: Anf {Bnd.} yuro 'river' || CCh: Msg {Mch.} e<sub>r</sub>e<sub>?</sub>, {Trn.} àrê, {GKrs.} e<sub>r</sub>é ð r<sub>e</sub> 'river', {Brt.} erē 'Tal', Mbara {TrnSL} r<sub>e</sub> 'river' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 93, TrnSL 289 || ?? Eg i<sub>t</sub>r<sub>ω</sub> 'river', i<sub>t</sub>r 'the Nile' (with puzzling -t-), [AkSc] n<sub>ā</sub>r<sub>u</sub>y<sub>a</sub>-r<sub>u</sub>-<sup>?</sup>u-ú 'the Great Riber' or 'the Nile', DEg y<sub>r</sub>, y<sub>r</sub> 'Fluß, Kanal', Cpt: Sd ειοορ ειοορ, B ιορ ιορ, A ιωωρε ιōōρε 'canal, watercourse'; acc. to Vc., the history of the word is as follows: \*yatraw > \*yarrow > dis. \*y<sub>ar</sub>aw ¶ EG I 146-7, Er. 49, 50, Vc. 66 || S: BHb 𐤀𐤊𐤏 ~ 𐤀𐤊𐤏 y<sub>ar</sub> 'the Nile', 'big river' (e.g. 'the Tigris') [Dn. 12.5-7], 'wasserführende Stollen eines Bergwerks'; Vc. 66 suggests the reading y<sub>ōr</sub>, which is ruled out by the spelling var. 𐤀𐤊𐤏; unless the word is a loan from Eg, it may go back to \*<sup>o</sup>y∇<sup>?</sup>ār- or \*<sup>o</sup>y∇<sup>?</sup>ur- ¶ KB 364-5 || IE {EI} \*y<sub>u</sub>Hr- > NaIE: Blt \*y<sub>ūr</sub>- 'sea' > Lt j<sub>ūr</sub>a, pl. j<sub>ūr</sub>ēs, Ltv j<sub>ūr</sub>a, Pru i<sub>ūr</sub>in 'sea' || ? Thr i<sub>ur</sub>as (name of a river) ¶ Frnk. 198-9, Kar. I 362-3, ≈ P 81, EI 636 || U: FV {UEW} \*y<sub>är</sub>wä 'lake' > F j<sub>är</sub>vi (gen. j<sub>är</sub>ven), Es j<sub>är</sub> id. | pLp {Lr.} \*y<sub>āv</sub>rē id. > Lp: S jaavrie, L jaurē, N jawre, Kld ya<sub>v</sub>:re | pMr {Ker.} \*y<sub>ä</sub>rā-kā > Er эрьке e<sub>r</sub>ke, Mk эрьккe ä<sub>r</sub>kā id., 'pond' | Chr: Lep yer, Uf/B yer, H йäp y<sub>är</sub> 'lake' ¶ UEW 633, It. #242, SK 132, Lr. #258, Lgc. #1673, Ker. II 38, MRS 114, Ep. 28 || A: ?<sub>u</sub> T \*j<sub>ir</sub>-mak 'river, waterstream' > Chg [LM] jirmaq 'large river, waterstream', Qmq jirmaq, Uz irmoq 'waterstream, affluent', Tk ırmak 'river', VTt {Rl.} žirmaq 'die Bucht', Chv śirma 'small river' ¶ Dubious because the meaning of \*j<sub>ir</sub>- is not clear ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl. 664-5, Rl. IV 124 || D \*y<sub>ā</sub>r<sub>u</sub>, {GS} \*y<sub>ād</sub>- 'river', → 'water' > Tm y<sub>ār</sub>u ~ ā<sub>r</sub>u 'river, brook', Ml ā<sub>r</sub>u, Tl ē<sub>r</sub>u 'river', Kt peyv-e<sub>r</sub> id., te:lv<sub>i</sub>-e<sub>r</sub> 'the Pykara river', Tu ā<sub>r</sub>ъ 'river, stream', Prj per-ed 'river' (per- 'big'), Gdb ber bereṭ 'big river' (ber 'big'), Gnd y<sub>ēr</sub> ð ē<sub>r</sub>, Knd



$\bar{e}r(u)$ , Png ez, Mnd ey, Kui  $\bar{e}zu$   $\neq$   $\bar{e}su$ , Ku  $\bar{e}y\bar{u}$   $\neq$   $\bar{e}yu$  'water' ¶¶ D #5159, GS 134 [#345] ◇ D \*-r- suggests an intervocalic N \*-r-. FV \*yärwä may go back to N \*yä?ûrU + sx. \*-A ◇ IE \*H in \*yur- and BHb -? in yä?ōr (unless the Hb word is a loan from Eg) suggests the presence of a lr. (N \*yä?ûrU). The vw. \*u in IE and  $\bar{o}$  in Hb. suggest that the vw. of the second syll. was \*u or \*ü (\*yä?ûrU). The absence of \*u or \*w in the IE Auslaut suggest that the N final labialized vw. was \*o ◇ Blz. LB #96 (suggested to add the T and Zng words), Blz. LNA #24 (suggested to add the B, Om, Ch, Blt, and T cognates).

**2645a.**  $\text{₂} *y\text{∇}\text{r}\text{∇}$  'honeycomb', {?} 'beehive' > HS: WS \*yaf|y<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>r- (or \*was|y<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>r-) > BHb  $\text{רַבִּי}$  'yafar 'honeycomb', snglt. cs.  $\text{תַּרְבִּי}$  yaf<sup>a</sup>raṭ id., JA [Trg.] yaf<sub>r</sub>raṭ d<sub>u</sub>ḥšā id. (d<sub>u</sub>ḥšā 'honey'), ? (d.?): Gz mafār ~ mafar 'honey, honeycomb', Tgr, Tgy mēfar, Amh mar 'honey' ¶ KB 404, Lv. T I 340, Di. 207, ≈ LG 326, Ap. CAAL 29 || D {Blz.} \*y<sup>a</sup>r- 'honeycomb, beehive' > Tm irav<sub>u</sub>, iral, Δ irāṭṭ<sub>u</sub>, Kdg te'n-eri, Tu edi, Kui  $\bar{z}\bar{e}ka$  'honeycomb', Kn ir<sub>l</sub>e id., ēri 'empty beehive', Gnd yēri 'the bee's comb in which the eggs and grubs live', Gnd HM a<sub>ḥ</sub>ey 'part of hive where bees and grubs live' ¶¶ D #517 ◇ The S-D equation was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [#111]).

**2646.** \*yEr<sub>∇</sub> 'ε (young of a) ruminant animal' > HS: CS \*yaf<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>L</sub>r- 'kid' > BHb pl.  $\text{תַּרְבִּי}$  yafār-ōṭ 'kids', Ar yaf<sub>r</sub>- 'chevreau'; WS \*yar<sub>f</sub>- > Ar yar<sub>f</sub>- 'calf', {Hv.} 'young calf', ? Tgr w<sub>er</sub>se 'mountain-goat' ¶ KB 404, BK II 1626, 1630, Hv. 602, LH 235 || U: FU \*yEra > Z йōpa yzra 'elk' ¶ ≈ LG 113 (adduces [with a query] Chr {Ü} йѣгар y<sub>ḅ</sub>gar 'ε a beast', which is a loan from T or M) || D \*ir- 'antelope, deer' (× N \*yir<sup>a</sup>'i' '[male, young] big ungulate') > Tm iralā<sub>i</sub> 'stag', 'ε deer', Kn eral<sub>e</sub> ~ erale 'ε antelope, deer', Tu eral<sub>e</sub> 'antelope, deer', EpTI iri (pl. irilu) 'stag', ir<sub>r</sub>i 'antelope', Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' ¶¶ ≈ D #476 ◇ Not here Chr {Ü} йѣгар y<sub>ḅ</sub>gar 'ε a beast', because its connection with the N etymon in question contradicts the rules of sound correspondences known so far. It may be a loan from a T or M word that belongs to N \*ZEg|k∇r∇ 'antelope' ◇ D \*-r- is the reg. reflex of N \*-r-clusters (here \*-r<sub>∇</sub>-). D \*i- from N \*y∇- needs investigating (cp. the item no. 2622).

**2647.** \*yar<sup>a</sup>∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) \*yar∇ id. > Os: V/Vy yer<sub>i</sub>- v. 'draw (lines), scratch (on the surface of sth.)' ('чертить, царапать'), Ty/Y yāri- id. ('einen Strich ziehen, kratzen

[Nagel, Holzsplitter usw.]) | ?? Hg ír-, Δ ír- 'write', Δ 'einen Muster zeichnen, malen' (unless ← Blgh, cp. Chv śír- 'write', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ UEW 850, MF 321-2, Trj. S 72 || A: T \*jár- ( {Md.} \*jǎ́r-) (× N \*ńiR∇ 'rub, scratch, draw\make a sign', q.v.) > OT, OOsM XIV, Chg XV jaz- 'write', OTkm XIII -جـ jaz- (read by Cl. as jāz- on the insufficient ev. of the plene spelling), Tkm яз- jaδ- (short a), Tk yaz-, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, ET, Ln jaz-, Bsh jaδ-, Uz ёз- jǒz-, QrB, Qrg žaz-, Qzq, Qq žaz-, Xlj jaʔz- id.; the variant \*jǎ́R- (represented by Chv ҫыр śír and by the M loanword zírʉ- 'draw, paint') belongs to N \*ńiR∇ ¶ Cl. 984, Md. 104, 160, DT 221, TkR 807 (yaδ- with a short a), ET J 70-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #1470 (\*ńǎ́jǎ́re 'to draw' > T, M + unc. Tg \*ńiru- 'draw' [in fact from N \*ńiR∇] and MKo nirk- 'to read') || D (in SD) \*eʔut- v. 'draw (lines, pictures)' > Tm eʔutu v. 'write, paint, draw', Ml eʔutuka v. 'paint, write, learn', Kt eʔd-, Kdg əʔid- v. 'write' ¶ D #853.

**2648.** <sub>2</sub> \*yah<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>ǎ́∇ 'broad open place' > HS: S \*oʔa'har- or \*oʔahar- > Ar yahar-, yahr- 'broad place', {BK} 'endroit vaste, spacieux' ¶ BK II 1637, Hv. 905 || A: T \*jǎ́rǎ́ 'broad open place' > OT jazǎ́ id., Tkm † язы jaδǎ́ 'steppe, vast space', Tk yazǎ́ 'plain, valley', Nog Δ jazǎ́, ET jazǎ́ ǎ́ jǎ́zǎ́ ǎ́ jezi 'steppe', Alt/Kü {Rl.} jazǎ́ (= žazǎ́) 'vast plain', Qzq Δ žazǎ́, Qrg žazǎ́ 'plain', Xk čazǎ́ 'field, steppe', Yk śihǎ́ 'glade' ¶ Cl. 984, Rs. W 194, ET J 73, Rl. III 229, Jr. 155, Ml. UN 116, Mng. G 738, BIG 306.

**2649.** \*yAs∇ 'bone', (?) 'limb, joint (articulation)' > U: FU \*yāse 'limb, joint (articulation)' > F jāserǎ́ 'joint (articulation)', 'member', Es jāse 'limb' | pMr {Ber.} \*yǎ́zǎ́ǎ́ 'limb, joint' > Er ээне ežné, Mk ээне äžňä, Mk P {Ps.} yǎ́žňä ~ yǎ́znä 'joint (Gelenk)' | pChr {Ker.} \*yǎ́žǎ́ǎ́ id. > StChr L йыжың yǎ́žǎ́ǎ́, Chr E Δ јыžǎ́ǎ́, Chr H ежың yežǎ́ǎ́ | Prm {LG} \*yǎ́z- 'joint, articulation (in a limb, in a plant)' > Vt ёз yǎ́z 'joint\bone (in a plant)', Z UV yez 'Gelenk', Z P {Wd.} yzǎ́na 'Muskel, Gelenk', Z йǎ́зви yzǎ́-vǎ́, Z USs yzǎ́-vǎ́y, Vt ёзви yǎ́z-vǎ́ id. (with vǎ́ 'force?') || Hg íz 'limb, joint' ¶ UEW 95, Sm. 552 (FP \*jǎ́sǎ́ 'joint'), MF 333, It. #243, 211, 291, Ber. 11, Ker. II 40, LG 112 || A: M \*yasun 'bone' > MM [MA, IM, LV] yasun, [IsV] yāsun 'bone', WrM yasun(n), HIM яс(ан) id., 'corpse', K1 ясн yasǎ́ 'bone', Brt яһа(һ) id., 'skeleton', Mnr H {T} yase, {SM} yāsǎ́, Mgl {Rm.} yǎ́sun, (ArSc) {Wr.} yāsūǎ́ ~ yāsū, Dgr {T} yasun, Dx {T} yasun, Ba yasun 'bone' ¶ Acc. to Hattori's hyp. (Hatt. LV),

Mgl long vowels go back to long vowels in pM; but his hyp. has not yet been sufficiently proved to reconstruct here pM \*yāsun, the more so that Mgl {Rm.} yōsun has a deviant ō, while in Mgl (ArSc) yāsū(n) (just as in IsM) the orthographic ā reflects the Persian spelling of [a]-sounds; in any case, the et. of pM long vowels (if any) is unknown ¶ MED 430, KRS 711-2, Chr. 802, Pp. MA 388, 450, Pp. L III 77, Lg. VMI 73, SM 490, T 337, T DgJ 197, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Rm. M 30, Wr. B 171 || HS: Ch (× N \*yōč̣̅ ▽ 'bone'): WCh {Stl.} \*y|was ▽ (-k ▽) 'bone' > pAG \*ʔas > Su j̄íyēs, Ang jis ~ yis, Cp \*ʔés | SBC: Zem, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} yes, es, Sy yiski, Gj {Sh.} pīsī, Dw ʔis | BT: Tng {J} wos, Krkr ʔ|osu, Ngm {Kr.} ʔwōsō, Krf {Gw.} wósēn̄i || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ʔìsí, Ll {Grgs.} ísî:; Skr {Sx.} ʔsīṅí; Mgm {J} ʔássú, Mkl {J} ʔòssé, Jg {J} ʔaso, Brg {J} ʔásó 'bone' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231-2 [#795], JI II 36-7.

**2650.** \*yos ▽ ≈ go\run, go away' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓yʃs|š<sup>1</sup> or \*<sup>o</sup>✓yšʃs|š<sup>1</sup> > Ar ✓yʃs (pf. yassa, ip. ya-yiʃs-u) 'aller, partir, s'éloigner' ¶ BK II 1627 || ?φ Eg: fOK ʔzɣ ≈ go! (gehe!)', MK {Fk.} ʔs (< ʔz) id. ¶ EGI 126, Fk. 29, Tk. I 176 (considers ʔ- to be prosthetic and equates the Eg word with Mz zwa 'go', Hs žě 'go to', and related words of other B and Ch lgs.) || IE: NaIE \*eḡs-/\*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' (× NaIE \*eḡs-/\*oḡs- 'move with impetus' < N \*ḡiž ▽ 'strong, healthy?') > OI iḡnā-ti, iḡyati 'sets in motion, swings', Av aēš- '(sich) in eilige Bewegung setzen' || OSx ovast (< \*ob-aišt?) n. 'haste', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st 'haste, zeal (Eile, Eifer)', ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', {EI} 'go dashing' ¶ P 299-301, EI 506 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eḡs- 'set in motion'), M KI 94, M EI 271-2, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240, Vr. 98 || U: FU \*y<sup>o</sup>ʃs ▽- v. 'ski, toboggan' > Z islav-n+, Z Lu/LV/Ud +slav-n+, Prmk +slas-n+, Yz ʌs<sup>1</sup>las-nʌ id. || ObU \*y<sup>o</sup>ʃ<sup>1</sup> > Os D/K yut- v. 'ski' ¶ LG 110, Stn. D 418 || ? A: Tg \*<sup>o</sup>šs- v. 'retreat' > Ewk, Lm šs- id., Neg šs-, Ork šssl- v. 'step aside, clear (a place)', Ul ost-, Nn Nh/B šsl-, šslqo- v. 'clear (a place), tidy up' ¶ STM II 25-6 ◇ Eg fOK z (for the expected s) still needs explaining.

**2651.** \*yul<sub>1</sub>t<sup>1</sup> 'with', 'with, by' (instrumental), 'together with' > HS: S \*ʔitt ▽ 'with (cum)' > OAk, Ak ʋitti, ittum 'with, along with', 'by' (agens of ps. verbs), Ak MB/NA itu 'with, beside', BHb תָּעַ ʔeṭ 'with' (/ -תָּעַ ʔitt- before pronominal endings: 'תָּעַ ʔitt-ī 'with me', etc.), Ph, Pun ʔt 'with, near, beside', Tgr ʔʔt 'by, with' (here also ʔʔt 'on, in?'), Hrs hʔt 'with, at the home of, at' ¶ Ug ht, interpreted in A #862 as 'with', actually means 'now' (OLS 169-70) ¶ CAD VII 302, 312,

KB 97-8, A 93, HJ 131-2, LH 349, Jo. H 53 || ? C: Bj {R} -t 'in, an, bei, von, aus, mittelst' ¶ R Bd § 134b || IE: Ht -it, ending of the instr. case ¶ Rsk. 54, 56, Mer. SGA 275, 292 || K: GZ {K} \*-it, ending of the instr. case > OG -it(a) ~ -yt(a), G -it / (after stem-final -o, -u) -t, Mg -it / (after stem-final vowels) -t, Lz -t(en) id. ¶ K 101, K S 99-104, Fn. GAS 55-61 || U: FU \*<sup>o</sup>yutt∇ > Ugr \*yutt∇ > ObU {Ht.} \*yōt 'with' > pVg {Ht.} \*yōt > Vg: LK/MK yāt, Ss yot id.; pOs {Ht.} \*yōt (= {ǧHl.} \*yūt) id. > Os: V/Vy yōt, Ty yōt, Y yōta | Hg Δ yāt 'Namensbruder' (< \*\*'together with'?) ¶ UEW 852 (pUgr \*yut∇ 'friend, comrade'), ≈ Coll. 18, Ht. #210 || A: Tg \*-ji (< \*\*-di), ending of the instr. case > Nn, Ul, Ork, Ud -žī, {Krm.} -žū, Sln -ji, Neg -ji ~ -di, Lm -t, -ç, (after a stem-final -n) -ji, (stem-final) -n + \*ji > Lm -ń, ? WrMc -i (< \*-ji artially due to metanalysis) ¶ Bz. 1027, Ci. 257-8, Krm. 86 || D \*-t∇, ending of the sociative case > Tm -tū, Ml -tā id., Klm -at, Brh -at - endings of the instr. case, Brh to (postposition) 'together with' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 250-386, An. SG 209-14 ◇ The least grammaticalized meaning (originally 'together with?') is preserved in Brh and probably underlies Hg Δ yāt 'Namensbruder' ◇ Ht -it and K \*-it suggest a front vw. (≈ N \*i), while FU \*<sup>o</sup>yutt∇ point to a labialized u-like vw. The solution may be N \*u, that was palatalized into i by as. to \*y- and to final \*-<sup>r</sup>i. S, D, and K point to a N plain \*t, while U \*-tt- is a regulat reflex of N \*-t- or some cns. clusters. The solution may be N \*-?t- or another cluster (\*-⊥t-, where ⊥ is a symbol for an unspecified cns.).

**2652. \*yaHt∇ (= \*ya?t∇?)** 'stranger, foreigner' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enemy') > A: NaT \*jāt' 'foreign(er)' > OT jāt' 'stranger, foreigner; strange, foreign', Chg jat ~ jad 'strange, foreign', MQp [incl. CC] jat, OOsM jad 'stranger, foreigner', Tkm jāt, Qrg žat 'strange, so. else's (fremd); other', Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jat 'fremd', Az jad, Uz ěд jad, Qzq, Qq žat id., Tk yad, Alt žat 'strange, foreign'; Qp б→ Blgh > Chv yut 'fremd' ¶ Cl. 882, ET J 158-9, TL 564, DTS 247, Jeg. 352 || D (in McTm) \*ēt- 'stranger, foreigner, enemy' > Tm ētalar 'foe, enemy', ētilar 'stranger, neutral', ētilār 'other, strangers, foes, enemies', ētinmai 'strangeness, foreignness, enmity', Ml ētil 'neighbourhood', ētalar 'enemies' ¶¶ \*ē- < \*ya<sub>i,j</sub>- reg. ; the irreg. reflex of N \*-t- (D \*-t- for the expected \*-t-) may be accounted for by the preceding Ir. (assuming that N \*-Ht- may yield D \*:-t-) ¶ D #890 || HS: Eg ĭ3d

'enemy' ('der Frevler, Feind') (unless ← Eg XIX/G ǐǐd 'der Elende, der Arme') ¶ EG I 35.

**2653. \*yʷw∇** 'tree' > **IE:** NaIE \*eǵwā / \*oǵwā, \*eǵwō-s id. (SA from \*yew-/\*yow-) > Gk ῥα, ῥή, ῥη 'service-tree (Sorbus domestica)' □ || Arm այգի aygi 'vineyard' || L ǫva 'bunch of grapes, vine' || Gl \*iʷo-s 'yew' (↳ VL \*īʷu-s > Fr if, Fr S lieu id.), OIr éo, W ywen (coll. yw), OCrm [ʃ] hiuin ('taxus'), Crm {ECCE} ewen (coll. ew), Br iʷin id. || ON úr, OHG īwa, NHG Eibe, MLG īwe, MDt ijf, AS īw, éow 'yew', NE yew || Pru iʷwis 'yew', Lt ievà, jievà, Ltv iēva 'bird-cherry tree' || Sl \*jǐva 'willow' > OR **НВА** іва, R, Uk, Blg 'ива, SCr ìva, Slv íva, Cz jíva, Slk iva, P iwa || ? Ht e(y)a(n)- 'evergreen tree' ¶¶ P 297-8, EI 654 (\*h<sub>1</sub>eǵwō-s 'yew'), ≈σEI 63 (\*Hoǵwō/e<sub>ǵ</sub>- 'berry, fruit'), F II 343, WH II 849, SB 46, Billy 90, ML #4560, Wb. IV 826, Dauz. 398, YGM-1 447, Hm. 400, ECCE 200, Vr. 679, Ho. 189, Kb. 519, OsS 460, KM 154, Frn. 183, En. 186, ESSJ VIII 248-9, Glh. 281, Pv. I-II 253-7 || **HS:** Eg G ǐwǵ 'shrub or tree' ¶ EG I 49 || **U** \*yʷw∇ 'tree' > FU \*yʷw∇ 'tree' > ObU {Hl.} \*yʷw∇ id. > pVg \*yīw id. > OVg: S Tg ю, S Tr ю, S Chus ю, ју, E TM јју, N SoG јиу, W P иуѡ, Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/NV yīw, P yüw, SV/LL īw, ML/UL/Ss yiw id.; pOs {Ht.} \*yʷy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty yuy, Y yuw, D/K/O yux, Nz/Kz yūx id. || Sm {Jn.} \*ye|ǵ<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub> 'pine-tree' > Ne: T {Ter.} e (= ye), T O {Lh.} yē', F L {Lh.} jje' id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} čō id., Tm P{KD} tō, B/Y {Cs.} tō, NP {Cs.} tūe, Kar {Cs.} tū, MO, UO küe 'Föhre, Fichte'; Kms {KD} dú, d'wǵ: (= jü, j'wǵ:?) 'Fichte, Föhre', Koyb {Sp.} джѐ 'pine-tree'; Mt {Hl.} \*čä id. (Mt: T/K {Mue.} dschä, K {Pls.} dja, M {Mue.} tsjä, {Sp.} тчя) || pY {IN} \*yaʷ 'birch-tree' > Y T yā id., OY NW {Lnd.} jaijäl id. ¶¶ Coll. 18, UEW 107, Sm. 537 (U \*joxǐ- 'tree' > FU \*juxi, Ugr \*jugǐ, Sm \*jě), Ht. #175 (ObU \*yuy∇), Hl. rHt 73, Sm. #31, Jn. 42, ≈ Jn. UK 260 (U \*y∇Hi), KKIH 106, Cs. 127, 154-5, KD 16, Pot. 48, Hl. M #194-5, IN 223.

**2654. \*yowʷ∇** '≈ good, right, proper' > **IE:** [1] NaIE \*yeu-s ~ \*you-s 'good, right, proper; goodness' > OI 'yōh (yōs) ntr. 'welfare, happiness, prosperity', Av yaoš 'Heil', yaoš dā- 'heilkräftig machen', yaož-dāθra- 'Heilkräftigkeit, Vervollkommnung', yaož-dā- 'purification ritual', MPrs yōž-dahr 'holy' || OL ious > L iūs (gen. iūr-is) n. 'right, law', d. iustus 'just, equitable; lawful' || OIr (h)uisse 'just, gerecht' (< \*yus-tiyos) ¶¶ [2] NaIE \*yewā- v. 'ease,

relax, benefit' > NPrs **يَاوَر** *yāvār* 'helper', **يَاوَرِي** *yāvārī* 'assistance' || Gk **ἔειω** v. 'allow, let' ¶ WP I 203, P 512, EI 410-1 (\**yew(e)s-* 'order\normality required by the rules of ritual'), Mn. 447, M K III 27-8, M E II 420-1, Vl. II 1509, Sg. 1527, WH I 733-4, Thr. § 25, LP § 20, Ch. 308-9, ≈ F I 434 (**ἔειω** < ??? NaIE \**sewā-*, cp. OI **ἔαυι-** 'set in motion') || **A**: M \**yō-sun* 'generally accepted rule, custom, habit' > WrM **yosun**, HIM **ёс(оH)**, Brt **ěho(н)** id., MM [HI] **yosun** id., 'principle, norm', WrO {Krg.} **yosun** 'manner, custom, way', KI **йосн** **yosъn** id., '(political) power', {Rm.} **yosη** 'Sitte, Gewohnheit, ererbte Praxis' ¶ MED 435-6, Ms. H 111, Krg. 712, KRS 280-1, KW 219 (supposes that M **yosun** is a loan from Chn **yō**, but it is not clear which Chn word was meant), Chr. 228 || **HS**: Eg NK **ἰωε** 'be glad (sich freuen)' ¶ EG I 49 || Ch: Krkr {Kr.} **yəwəw**, {J} **ṛyaṛaṛa**, {IL} **yawo** 'good' ¶ ChC, ChL.

**2655. \**y*<sup>1</sup>iyo** 'which' (rel. prn.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation): **II** as a prn. (× N \***ya** 'which?') > IE: NaIE: \**yō-*, rel. (and interr.?) pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. \**yō-s*, f. \**y-ā*, ntr. \**yō-d*) > OI m. **ya-s**, f. **yā**, ntr. **ya-d** id., Av **yō** 'which' rel. || Gk **ὅς** m., **ἥ** f., **ὅ** ntr. id. || Clt: GI **DUGHONTI-IO** 'who serve' || ? Phr **τος (ντ)** 'whoever' || Sl m. \***jb-že** (> OCS **нже** **i že**), f. \***ja-že** (> OCS **яже** **ja že**), ntr. \***je-že** (> OCS **јеже** **je že**) 'which' (rel.) || Ltv **ja** 'if' (< ntr. \***yad**), Lt **jé i** ~ **jeĩ** 'if' ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht - **ya** pc. 'and, also', ≈ P 383 (does not distinguish this √ from the NaIE dem. \**eĵ-/\*e-*), EI 457 (\**yō-s* / \**yeh<sub>n</sub>* / \**yō-d* 'who, what, that' rel.), M K III 14, ≈ M E II 390 (IE \***Hyō-**), F I 434, Frn. 182, En. LG 825, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) \**yō-* 'which' (rel.) (→ 'whatsoever') > F **jō-ka** (gen. **jōn-ka**) 'which' (rel.), 'every', Krl **yoka** 'which' (rel.), F, Es **Δ jos** 'if' (< loc. of \**yō-*?) || Lp: N **jūogâ** 'something, something or other', L {LLO} **jūoka** 'some', Klif **yukke** every' || Chr: H **юж** **yūž**, L **южо** **yūžo**, Uf/B **yūžo** 'some (irgendeiner, некоторый)' ¶ UEW 637, It. #87, SK 116-7, Ep. 31, MRS 782 || **III** As a postnominal pc.: IE: NaIE \*-(i)yō- 'related to', suff. of adjectives, e.g.: (1) NaIE \***pātr-iyo-s** 'fatherly, paternal, belonging to (the) father' > OI **pitr(i)yaḥ**, Gk **πάτριος**, L **patrius** id., (2) Av **asnyā-** 'day-...', referring to (the) day' ← **azan-** 'day', (3) Sl \*-**ьj-**: OCS **҃ловѣуь** **člověčŭ** (pronominalized adj. **҃ловѣуи** **člověčii**), R **человечий** 'of a person, human', (4) Tc A -i, sx. of possessive

adjectives (marí-i 'of the moon, lunaire'), Tc B -i, sx. of acp. (yām-i 'doing, making') || Ht -iy-, sx. of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within') ||| Here also L -ī (gen. sg. of the \*o-stems), OGIr -i id. in maqi (makk<sup>ω</sup>i) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name) (Bks. on Itc-Clt \*ī: "an adjectival sx."), as well as the glide in L -ae (gen. sg. of \*-ā-stems) ¶¶ BD II/1 190-1, Vnd.<sup>1</sup> I 403, Saf. GHJL 131-2, Bks. 192, KK 28, 86, Kron. EHS I 168-70 ||| Possibly here also [1] NaIE \*-is- of cmpr. (< N \*'y'iyō sE, lit. 'than / related to + he\she') (in OI bah-īyas- 'stronger', Gk βρῦσσων 'shorter', L mell-ior 'better', OHG eng-iro 'narrower', Pru maldaisei 'die Jünger', OCS старѣиш- star-ějš- 'older', Gt hard-iza 'harder', and OHG hert-iro id., see BD III:1 551-62) and [2] \*-ist(h)o- of sprl. (< N \*'y'iyō sE č'ü', lit. 'than / related to + he\she + that which'), see s.v. N \*č'ü' 'that of ..., that which' || HS: S \*-iy-, sx. of denom. adjectives ("nisbah") and of nomina gentilia > BHb -ī (f. -i'yā and -īt, both from \*-iy-at-), Amr -iy-, Ar -īy-, Gz -ī, Ak -iy-, in Aram within compound sxs. (of the same meaning) -ā-y-; Hz. is probably right in adducing here the S genitive case ending \*-i (> Ar -i, Ak -i, Ug -i, Gz -∅) ¶ Br. G I 397 [§ 220], Hz. ACCS 219-21, Siv. U 49, Hnr. 294-301 || Eg -y, sx. of denom. adjectives: ncr'y 'divine' (< ncr 'god'), zəby 'belonging to a jackal' (< zəb 'jackal'), also in denom. nouns: xtm'y 'Siegel Schneider' (< xtm 'seal') ¶ Ed. §§ 246, 342 || ? B \*-ī, sx. of deverbal nouns > Zng {Bs.} etš-i 'food' ¶ Bs. MS I 156-8 || C: Bj {RHd.} -i gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding other grammatical affixes) (wi-ṗōr-i bāba 'pueri pater', ṗi-bāba wí-wi-ṗōr-ī-b 'patrem pueri' [-b, marker of accus. in nominal phrases], wi-ṗōr-ī-t de 'pueri mater' [-t is a fem. marker of accus. in nominal phrases]), {Rop.} -i (gen. sg. m.), -t-i (gen. sg. f.): 'tak-i 'kām 'a man's camel', ta'kat-t-i 'kām 'a woman's camel'); Bj A {AD} -(y)i, ending of gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding another affix) (-t of fem. possessi, -b of accusative possessi) ||| EC: Sa {R} -(h)i, genitive ending (galāy'to-hi lak 'camel's leg'), Af {PH} -i, -i-h (genitive ending: awk-í migař 'the boy's name', káy danan-ih gēra 'his donkey's tail') ¶ AD KJ 34, 109, Rop. 14-5, RHd. B 109, PH 226-7 || NrOm: Shn {PB} -i (gen. ending: fokk-i gašō-ni 'river-of bank-on', sc. 'on the bank of the river') (but Rtl. does not mention this ending), Kf {C} -e (gen. ending: tāt-e bušō 'king's son'), -i, Bdt -i (gen. ending) ¶ Zab. CO 619-20, PB SMS

68, C SE IV 294-7, Fl. KL 373, Rtl. ShM || possibly K \*-iš̄ (ending of the gen. case) (< N \*<sup>r</sup>y<sup>1</sup>iyo sE, lit. 'which is' × N \*ya sE id.) > endings of gen.: OG, G -is, -s, Mg -iš̄, -š̄, Lz -š̄, Sv -iš̄ (~ iš̄), -äš̄ (ä -aš̄). On the origin of the cns. \*-š̄ in this K ending see N \*sE 'he\she' ¶¶ K S 88-93, K 103 || U ≈ \*-ī ~ \*-y∇, sx. of denom. adjectives > F -i (at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha): silm-i-vesi 'water for the eyes and the face' (silm- 'eye'), lehm-i-karja 'herd of cows' (lehmä 'cow') || Vg {Sz.} -i at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha (tāli- 'winter-...' ← tāl 'winter'; xōli 'morning-...' ← xol 'morning', iŋli 'der untere' ← iŋl 'bottom'), Os {Sz.} xō'd\_i 'house-..., belonging to the house' ← xō't 'house', tōwi 'pond-..., of a pond' ← tōw 'pond' || Hg -i, sx. of denom. adjectives (isten-i 'divine' ← isten 'god', tegnapi 'of yesterday' ← tegnapi 'yesterday') || Sm ending of denominative adjectives: Ne -й, -i, -i (Ne T пуй, Ne T O {Lh.} руi, Ne F рui, руй 'situated behind' [cp. Ne F Ks рū 'buttocks, hind part'], Ne T F теЙ, Ne T O тēi 'gestrig, of yesterday' [cp. тēη 'yesterday'], Ne T тǎңы, Ne T O таŋi 'sommerlich' [cp. Ne T та' таŋ, Ne F таŋ 'summer']), Ng {Cs.} -ya (куфуya 'leathern' ← 'куфу 'leather'), En -yo (En X {Cs.} тiyo, En B {Cs.} теiyo 'gestrig' [cp. те? 'yesterday']) ¶¶ Sz. 86-8, 100, Coll. CG 264, Lh. PUAS 55-60 ◇ IS I 14, 282-4 (besides denom. sxs. in HS, IE, and U, IS adduces here the sx. \*-i of deverbial nouns and prtcs. in A and the D sx. \*-i of converbs, which is less concincing).

**2656. \*zōʔa** (or \*zōʔya, \*zōyʔa) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow' > K \*zω- v. 'bear a young' (of animals) > OG zω-, G X/Ing zV- id. || Sv {K, FS} z(ω)-, msd. {K, FD} li-zāi ~ li-zωel-i, Sv UP {GP} li-zāi v. 'bear a young' ¶¶ K 87, K<sup>2</sup> 58, FS K 131-2, FS E 142, GP 151 || HS: Eg fP z3 'son' ¶ EG III 408-10, Fk. 207 || U \*<sup>o</sup>soya (or \*<sup>o</sup>soi|za) > Sm {Jn.} \*soyā v. 'be born, grow', {HL.} \*soya- 'give birth' > Ne T соя-сь, {Lh.} sōy'ā:- v. 'be born, grow up', Ne F {Lh.} xōy'gā-š̄ 'gebären, verschaffen', En X {Cs.} (1s aor.) соâro, En B {Cs.} (1s aor.) соjâdo v. 'grow', Slq Tz {KKIH} sōc(+) - id. ('вырасти'), Kms {Cs.} 3s p. s̄bīe 'gave birth to', Koyb {Sp.} суйламъ 'I give birth', Mt {HL.} \*soyā- 'give birth' (Mt M {Sp.} соягура 'I give birth') ⇨ Mt {HL.} \*soyū|h|k 'Gewächs, Gras, Heu' (Mt: M/T/K {Mll.} sóiu 'gramen' [sc. 'grass'], M {Sp.} соёкъ 'hay, grass', T {Mll.} heelim-soiu 'hay' [heelim means 'dried']) ¶



Jn. 142-3, KKIИ 170, Hl. M ##898-9 || **А:** ??σ Tg \*s<sub>0</sub>ᵛᵛ- v. 'mate' (of animals) > Ewk s<sub>0</sub>-k<sub>an</sub>- v. 'mate', Ud s<sub>0</sub>-n<sub>i</sub> id.; hardly here WrMc з<sub>у</sub>у (pl. з<sub>у</sub>-с<sub>е</sub>) 'son' and Jrc {Md.} žuy-il, {Kiy.} žuwii 'child', because Mc/Jrc ž- is not the reg. reflex of N \*ž- (reconstructed on the ev. of K and U) ¶ STM I 271 and II 105, Kiy. 113 (#294), Md. ChF 138 (#294); Ewk -k<sub>an</sub> may be a verbal sx. (F Vas. 700-1).

**2657. \*žig'o'd∇** 'stake, peg', ([in descendant lgs.' → 'paling, fence') > **K** \*z<sub>ϕ</sub>ude 'fence' > OG z<sub>ϕ</sub>ude 'fence, wall', G, Mg z<sub>ϕ</sub>ude 'fence', Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} z<sub>ϕ</sub>wid id., L z<sub>ϕ</sub>ud id., ı Sv Δ {Wrd.} z<sub>gh</sub>wid id., 'boundary' (a variant with z- is not confirmed by other sources); GZ \*z<sub>ϕ</sub>wed-/z<sub>ϕ</sub>wd- v. 'fence in, enclose' > OG m<sub>0</sub>-z<sub>ϕ</sub>udva msd., G z<sub>ϕ</sub>ud- v. 'fence in, enclose', ?σ Mg z<sub>ϕ</sub>vind-/z<sub>ϕ</sub>od- v. 'destroy, exterminate' ¶¶ K 89 (Sv z<sub>ϕ</sub>ud ← G), K<sup>2</sup> 62, Abul. 171, DCh. 533-4, TK 848, Wrd. 596, 604 || **IE** \*h<sub>od</sub><sup>h</sup>-/\*h<sub>ed</sub><sup>h</sup>- > NaIE \*od<sup>h</sup>-/\*ed<sup>h</sup>- 'stake, stake fence, enclosure' > AS eod<sub>or</sub> 'enclosure, fence, hedge; dwelling', OHG e<sub>t</sub>ar 'fence (Zaun), edge (Rand)', ON j<sub>o</sub>đur-r, jađar-r 'Rand, obere Zaunstange' ||| Sl \*od<sub>r</sub>ь > OCS o<sub>Δ</sub>pъ o<sub>d</sub>rъ 'bed (κλίνη, κράββατος), funeral bier (σπορόζ)', Cz o<sub>d</sub>r 'stake (Pfahl)', SCr o<sub>d</sub>ar 'bier, catafalque', {P} 'rankender Weinstock', Blg o<sub>d</sub>ьp 'flooring (настил)', Slv o<sub>d</sub>ar id., 'hayloft' ||| ? Gk ὄστριμον (< \*od<sup>h</sup>-tro-?) 'byre, enclosure for cattle' (↔ Frisk) ¶ ≈ P 290, ≈ WP I 121, Vr. 289, Ho. 91, Km. 210, OsS 154, EWA II 1166-8, Vs. III 123-4, Ch. 833, ≠ F II 438 || **А:** Tg \*o<sub>sig</sub>di- 'peg' > Ewk sigdiw<sub>ūn</sub> ɹ higdiw<sub>ūn</sub> id. (with vowels of the closed series: accus. sigdiw<sub>ūn</sub>mɹ) ¶ STM II 76, Vas. 349, 476 || **D** \*č<sub>i</sub>ᵛᵛt- 'bamboo pin' > Prj čitam 'bamboo pin (for leaf cup)', Gnd itam 'leaf-pin' ¶¶ D #2641.

**2658. \*žed<sub>h</sub>ü|u** (or \*žend∇<sub>h</sub>ü|u?) 'pull, drag, draw' > **K:** GZ \*zid- v. 'drag, pull' > OG, G zid- id., Mg {Q} zi(n)d- id., 'pull out', Lz zd- v. 'take, arise, drag' ¶ K 87, K<sup>2</sup> 58, FS K 133, Chik. 275-6, Q 237 || **HS:** S \*o<sub>√</sub>zd<sub>w</sub> > Ar √zd<sub>w</sub> (prm. -zduw-) 'tendre, étendre', 'extendit (manus versus rem)' ¶ Fr. II 231, BK I 982, 1322 || EC {Ss.} \*zit- v. 'pull' > Sml žīd-, pBn \*(h<sub>ě</sub>-)šīd- (> Bn Bi (h<sub>ě</sub>-)šīd-, Bn J/Kj h<sub>ě</sub>-šīd-, Bn K h<sub>ō</sub>-sīd- id.), Rn žīt- {Sim} id., {PG} id., 'drag', Kns tit-, Gd tiš-, Gwd, Gln sit-, Hr sič-, Brj diḍ- (< \*dit-ḍ-) 'pull' ¶ Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 55, ≠ Hn. S 83, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166 || **А:** NaT \*j<sub>ü</sub>ᵛᵛδ- v. 'carry' > OT {Cl.} j<sub>ü</sub>δ- id. ([MhK] o<sub>l</sub> j<sub>ü</sub>k j<sub>ü</sub>δtī 'he carried the burden'), Tlt j<sub>ü</sub>y- v. 'carry (?)', ET {Nj.} j<sub>ü</sub>di- 'load sth. on an animal', ET Δ {Jr.} j<sub>ü</sub>d- ~ j<sub>ü</sub>d- 'carry\load sth. on one's shoulders' ¶ Cl. 885, DTS 283, Rl. III 611, Nj. 793, Jr. 161

|| D \*čēnt-/čēt- ({{ṖGS}} \*s-) v. 'draw' > Tm cēntu v. 'draw (as a rope running over a pulley)', Kn sēdu, sēndu v. 'draw up (water from a well), pull in (as string of kite), draw in with the mouth', Kdg sēd- v. 'drink a deep draught', Tu sēduni v. 'draw water', OTI {Km.} cēđu v. 'pull up, draw up as water', TI cēđu, cēdu id., Mlt čēnde v. 'remove in small quantities from a heap' ṖṖ D #2812, Km. 364 [#475] (the TI word < ← pSD \*cē- / \*tē-) ◇ The origin of D \*-n- has not yet been elucidated. It is likely to be a Dravidian morphological infix. Alternatively, comparison between D \*čēnt- and Mg zi(n)d- suggest a N etymon \*žend∇<sub>h</sub>ü|u ◇ K, S, OT, and Tlt provide evidence for N \*-d-, while EC and ET seem to point to N \*-t-. This contradiction may be removed by supposing a N cluster \*-dh- or \*-d∇h- (> \*-dh-), that explains the origine of \*-t- in the prehistory of EC and ET: \*-dh- or \*-d∇h- > -th- (assimilative devoicing) > \*-t- (a hyp. supported by the D cognate: D \*t may go back to N \*-dH-, but not to an intervocalic \*-d-). NaT \*-ü<sub>;</sub> may be due to regr. as. (N \*žē...ü|u > \*\*Zü...ü > T \*jü<sub>;</sub>?).

2659. \*žôg<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>?</sub>U - \*žôgU<sub>?</sub>∇<sub>?</sub> 'hill' > K \*zugw- 'hill' > Mg zugu 'hill' in n. l.: Zugđiđi, etc.; Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} zugw, zwigw, UB {GP} zug, L {TK} zugw 'hill' ṖṖ FS K 137, FS E 148, TK 253, GP 105 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*žig<sup>w</sup>a 'hill, rock' > Su {J} žwák 'rock' ('Felsen') | Krkr {Kœ.} žigawa, žigawa 'hill' | Ngz {Sch.} žigwàj 'small hill formed by hoeing in which grain is planted' | NrBc: P' {MSk.} žigíya 'rock' Ṗ Stl. ZCh 194 [#462], J S 68, Sch. DN 85, ChC s.v. 'rock', MSk. 228 || U \*ćuk<sub>k</sub>∇ 'hill, summit' (× N \*čuk<sub>k</sub>∇ 'thorn, point, summit') > pLp {Lr.} \*ćokk<sub>z</sub> > Lp: N {N} čok'kâ / -kk-, L {LLO} tjâhkkâ 'summit, mountain peak', S {Hs.} tjâkke id., 'hill', K {Gn.} čokk, Kld {TI} čok: 'Spitze', {SaR} чōγκ 'sharp' | Prm {LG} \*ćuk > Z чук čuk 'mountain peak, small hills (небольшая возвышенность)' || ObU: Vg: T čakal 'heap (of hay, etc.)', LK šaxal 'Insel (auf der Wiese, auf dem Sumpf)', ML mē-šokal 'small hill', Ss ur-šaxal 'hill'; Os: Ty řák 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D řák '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O šâx ~ šâk 'Hammer' (← 'Spitze') || Sm {Jn.} \*sok 'hill' > Ne: T cōxō 'high pointed hill', T O {Lh.} sōxō 'hoher runder Erdhügel'; En X {Cs.} d. sōro, En B {Cs.} d. sōdo 'Landspitze' | Slq Tz {Prk., KKH} sōq 'promontory (мыс), Vorgebirge, hohe Landzunge' ṖṖ Coll. 8, UEW 42, Lr. #159, Lgc. #450, Hs. 1298-9, Gn. 725, SaR 398-9, TI 676, LG 312, Jn. 143, Ter. 567, KKH 170, Erl. 209 ṖṖ The meanings 'sharp', 'edge', 'hammer' in the FU lgs.

are hardly derivable from N \***zôg<sub>L</sub>∇?**U ~ \***zôg<sub>L</sub>U?**∇, 'hill', but may be attributed to the heritage of N \***č<sub>u</sub>κ<sub>∇</sub>** 'thorn, point', which also accounts for the U affricate \***č**- (for the expected \***ś**-) || **A** (≈ \***zUk**'∇): NaT \***ʝok** 'high ground' > OT *joq* id.; d.: [1] NaT \***ʝokaru** ~ \***ʝokari** (< \***ʝok-garu**/I, directive of \***ʝok**) 'upwards' > OT, Chg *joqaru*, Tk *ʝokari*, Tkm Δ *joqori*, ET *yucar*i**, VTt, Bsh *juɣar**ɔ***, Yk *soɣoru* id., [2] NaT \***ʝokuš** 'a rise (in the ground), ascent, slope' > Kr Cr, Osm {Rh.} *joquš*, Tk *ʝoquš* ¶ Cl. 896, 906-7, ET J 213-5, Rh. 2216 || Tg: Ud B/Sm {Krm.} *sügbö* 'gentle slope (of a hill near a river)' ¶ STM II 118, Krm. 290 ◇ U points to a pN \***u** (in the first syll.), while the deviant T \***o** still needs investigating. Alternatively, it may be tentatively suggested that the pN vw. was \***o**, while U \***u** results from a kind of regr. as. (N \***zôg<sub>L</sub>∇?**U > \***z<sub>u</sub>κ<sub>u</sub>** > U \***č<sub>u</sub>kk<sub>∇</sub>** ◇ The apparent reflex of N \***κ** in U and T is likely to go back to N \***-g<sub>∇?</sub>**).

**2660.** \***z<sub>∇</sub>gEr<sub>∇</sub>** (or \***z<sub>∇</sub>rg<sub>∇?</sub>**) 'back (dorsum)' > K \***z|žurg-** > OG, G *zurg-i* id. ¶ Chx. 420, Ser. 69, DCh. 531 || **HS:** B [1] \***✓zgr** 'back (dos)' > Kb {Dl.} *a-zajur* (pl. *i-zajur-ən*), Kb Z {La.} *a-zagur* 'dos', Ntf {La.} *a-zagur* 'chevelure' ] [2] ??σ B \***✓zgr** v. 'be high, tall, long' > Ah *həgrət* id., *təhhəgrət* ~ *təzzəgrət* 'hauteur', Ttq {Msq.} pl. *i-həžər-ən* 'high (in a high position)' ('haut [élevé]'), 'long', *həžərən* 'long', *təzəžərət* 'hauteur', Wrg *zəgrər* v. 'be long, tall', WTml, Ty *zəgrət* v. 'be long, high, tall', Tnsl *šəžrət*, Gh *zəžrət*, *zəžər*, Gd *zəgrət*, Mz *zəžrət*, Tmz *zəgrit* v. 'be long', Tmz *azəgrar*, Mz *azəžrar*, Rf Wr/Br/A *a-zəgrär*, Nf {La.} *a-zəgrār* 'long' ¶ Dl. 936, Fc. 531, GhA 211, MT 797-8, Dlh. Ou 387-8, Dlh. M 248, Msq. 148, 176, Rn. 325, La. MChB 115, La. S 253, Pr. H #182 ¶ B [2] \***✓zgr** v. 'be high, tall, long' belongs here only if the original meaning was v. 'be high' ← 'be on an animal's back' || **A** (≈ \***z<sub>∇</sub>gEr<sub>∇</sub>**): NaT \***ʝagIr** 'back\withers of a horse' (→ 'saddle-gall') (× N \***dagor<sub>∇</sub>** 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back') > OT, Az, Tkm *ʝaɣIr* 'saddle-gall', OT U {Bai.}, Chg [San.], {Bu.} *ʝaɣIr* 'shoulder-blade', Tk *ɣağIr* 'horse's withers, saddle-gall', Tk Δ *ʝaɣIr*, Chg {Bu.} *يغر* *ʝaɣIr* 'back', VTt Δ *žawɔr* 'shoulder', Tki *jeɣir*, Uz *ʝaɣir*, ET *jeɣi(r)*, Ln *ʝaɣiɣ*, Qzq, Qq *žawir*, Nog *ʝawir*, Qrg *žōr*, StAlt *žūr* 'saddle-gall', Chv: H *śorɔm*, L *śurɔm* 'back (dorsum), loins'; ⇨ NaT \***ʝagIrIn** ~ \***ʝagIrni** 'back (of a pack-animal)' (× T \***ʝagrIn**, {ADb.} \***ʝaɣrun** 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' < N \***dagor<sub>∇</sub>**) > Tkm *ʝaɣIrni* 'back (dorsum)', Tk Δ

jaʏrɪn, Uz jaʏrɪn, Qmq jawrun, Nog jawɪrɪn, Qzq žawrɪn, Qrg žōrun id.; T \*jagɪr ↔ M \*daɣari 'abrasion, saddle-sore' (> MM [S] da<sub>1</sub>ari, WrM daɣari, HIM дайр) ¶ The d. \*jagɪrɪn 'animal's back' proves that the original meaning of \*jagɪr was 'back' rather than 'saddle-gall' ¶ Cl. 905, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Rh. 2188, TkR 805-6, MED 218 || M \*seʏer ({Pp.} \*segēr) > Kl {Rm.} sēr 'upper back, back (dorsum), nape; spine', WrM seger, HIM сээр 'spine, backbone, spinal column', Brt һээр 'e appendix of a rib (отросток реберной кости)' ¶ MED 682, Chr. 709, KW 328 || ?σ Tg \*sigde ({ADb.}: < \*\*sir-de < \*\*siʏr-de) 'spinal column, sinew of the back, vertebra' > Ewk sigdɜ 'sinew of the back, vertebra, sirloin', Neg sigdɜ 'mountain ridge', Orc, Ul, Nn, Ud {Krm.} sigde 'a sinew of the back' ¶ STM II 76-7, Krm. 283-4 ¶¶ Pp. VG 73, 127, ADb. SR-D 443-4 [#3] ¶¶ But T \*sirt 'back, mountain ridge' (Cl. 846) hardly belongs here (unless it is an early loan from M).

**2661.** (₂?) \*zEgUt∇ (= \*žEgUt∇?) 'thigh, leg' > IE \*h₂ekT∇ (or \*ʔ-) > Ht egdu, igdu 'leg' ¶ Pv. I-II 260-1 || **A** (≈ \*zEgUt∇ 'thigh, hip'): NaT \*jot∇ (and \*°ja|o|g|ut∇?) 'thigh, upper leg, shin' > OT {Cl.} jota 'thigh', {DTS} joda jota ɖ jota 'shin, upper leg', ET jota id., StAlt žodo, Xk, Tv, Shor čoda 'shin', SY jota ɖ jawta ɖ jowta 'bone in a leg of a sheep', Yk soto 'lower part of the hind leg, shin' ¶ Rs. W 207, Cl. 886, ET J 29-30, DTS 269, 275, Tn. SJJ 185, BN 79 || M \*seʏüžin 'hip, thigh' > WrM següzi(n), HIM сҮҮж sūž 'pelvic bone, pelvis, hip, upper part of the thigh bone', Kl сҮҮж sūžə 'hip-bone, pelvis, hip', Ord sūž-i 'os iliaque, hanche', Mnr H {SM} sūž-i 'hanche', MMgl {Z} seūž-i 'upper part of buttocks, haunch', Dgr seūž-i {T} 'hip', {Mr.} 'lower back' ¶ MED 684, KW 342, KRS 466, SM 357, Iw. 131, T DgJ 163, Mr. D 211 || Tg \*°sigdi-pu > Ork sigžipu 'the upper part of the tarsus' ¶ STM II 77 || pKo {S} \*hà<sub>1</sub>tú<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub> 'foot, leg' > MKo hà<sub>1</sub>t<sup>h</sup>ú<sub>1</sub> id. ¶ S QK #320, Nam 485 ¶¶ DQA #2564 (A \*ziǒgtu 'thigh, leg') || **HS:** ?σ S \*°√š|sgd > Ar √sgd (pf. سَجِدُ sağida) v. 'be swollen' (a foot), ʔasğadu 'swollen' (foot) ¶ BK I 1052, Hv. 309 ◇ If the S cognate is accepted and its initial cns. is \*š, the N reconstruction is likely to be \*žegUt∇.

**2662.** \*ž∇kU 'to tie' > K \*sķw- (< \*zķw- [as.]?) v. 'tie, bind' (× N \*śāk<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker') > OG mo-sķw- 'sich verschränken', sķul-, nasķw- 'knot', sķun- v. 'decide', G sķven-/sķun- v. 'close, shut', sķul-i 'zu bindend, Bund, Knoten', Mg sķv-/sķu-

~ skv-/sku-, Lz skv- ~ skv- v. 'tie (up)', Sv UB le-skv-er, Sv Ln lenskv-er 'rope' ¶¶ K 164, K<sup>2</sup> 160, FS K 272-3, FS E 302-3, Gm. SSh 71, Chx. 1265-6, TK 409 || **HS**: CS \*z'ik̄k̄- (+ ending of pl.) 'fettors' > BHb zik̄k̄-ī m pl., JA [Trg.] {Lv.} ἰῖῖῖ zik̄k̄ī n pl. id., Sr zεk̄k̄-ē pl. 'fettors' ('vincula') ¶ KB 266, GB 203, Lv. I 232, Br. 203, ≈ Js. 396 (JA ἰῖῖῖ zīk̄ī n), PS 1042 || **U**: FU \*°śäku- v. 'plait' → FU \*°śäkt∇- (or \*°ś- ) v. 'mend (a net, footwear, etc.), plait, set snares' (× N \*°śäk<sub>L</sub>∇, ?U '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The vw. \*ä in FU \*°śäku- does not necessarily point to a N vw. \*ä, because here FU \*ä may belong to the heritage of N \*°śäk<sub>L</sub>∇, ?U.

**2663. \*zûL∇** 'to fall, to crush down' > **K**: GZ \*žwel-/ \*žwl- v. 'fall, crush down' > OG {Abul.} zuł- 'fall down', da-zuł- ({DCh.}: = da-zwl-) v. 'collapse', G T na-zl-ob-ī 'landslide', Lz žol- ~ žul-: mi-žol-e-e-n ~ mi-žul-e-e-n 'es ist offenbar hinuntergefallen \ hinabgestürzt' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 64, FS K 140-1, Abul. 109, 170, DCh. 364, Ghl. 403, Xb. 126-7 || **HS**: WS \*√zll v. 'fall (vehemently, e.g. from a rock or to a precipice' (→ v. 'attack') > Jb √zll G (pf. zell, sbjn. ḡzzə) v. 'fall from a ledge \ a rock; accost, attack'; Gt 'zotte) v. 'fall off a rock \ a precipice', Mh, Hrs √zll v. 'attack', (× N \*°zī∇ 'to slip, to slide') ?σ Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ya-zill-u) v. 'slip' (foot), 'glisser sur un sol glissant' (a foot, a person) ¶ Fr. II 246, BK II 1002, Hv. 293, ≈ DRS 738, Jo. M 46, Jo. J 318 || **IE** \*<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>wel-/\*<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>wōl- v. 'fall/fell down' > Arm գլեմ 'I incline' || Sl (caus. stem) \*valí-ti 'to fell, to pull down' > OCS валити valiti 'to overturn', Р валить, Uk валити, Sln valíti, Р walić, Slk valit' 'to fell, to pull down', HLs walić id., rf. walić so 'to fall down (повалиться), to fall', Blg вали v. 'fall' (of rain, snow, hail), валеж 'precipitation, falling of rain\hail\snow' ¶¶ This verb is to be distinguished from its homonym (**IE**: NaIE \*wel(ə)- / \*wlē-, \*welu-, \*wlej- < N \*wA||í<sub>L</sub>∇, 'h'∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve', q.v.) that means 'roll' (v.) at the level of NaIE, in pSl, and in Arm (IE \*<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>welH-/\*<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>wōlH- / \*\*<sub>L</sub>H<sub>J</sub>wleH- > pSl \*vali-ti, \*vala-ti v. 'roll', Arm գլեմ 'I roll, wheel') ¶ Slt. 81-2, Chr. I 132, Ghl. 661, Trof. 340, BER I 114, ≠ P 1140-3.

**2664. 2 \*ZaṣīE(-η∇) ⇄ \*Zäṣīa(-η∇)** '(be) awake\alive' > **HS**: S \*°√zṣl > Ar √zṣl (pf. zaṣīla, ip. -zṣal-) {BK} 'être gai, dispos et alerte; marcher d'un pas rapide par suite de la vivacité naturelle', {Ln.} 'be brisk, lively, active', {BK} √zṣl Sh (pf. ṣaṣāla) 'rendre vif, alerte', zaṣīl- 'vif, dispos' ¶ Ln. III 1232, BK I 991-2 || **A** ({AD} ≈ \*zälâ(η∇),

{ǂDQA} \*zeġâ(η∇) 'be awake, live' [→ 'human being']: Tg \*seġġe- 'wake up' > Ewk, Sln s3ġ3-, Orc s3ġ3-, s3ġ3gi-, Ud s3ġ3-, s3ġ3gi-, Ul s3ġ3-, s3ġni-, Nn s3ġ3- vi. 'wake up', WrMc sela- vi. 'have a good time, cheer up, be happy' ¶ STM II 141 || T \*jaġġaġ-uk 'human being' > OT {DTS} jaġġuq ~ jaġġuq ~ jaġġ(ǂ)uq, {CL} jaġġuq id., Chv śġn(ǂ) id. ¶ Cl. 930, DTS 227-9, ≈ TL 325, ≈ Fed. II 153-4 || pKo \*sār- 'live' > MKo sār-, NKo sāl- id.□; ⇨ pKo \*sār'ám 'person' > MKosār'ám, NKo sāram ¶ S QK #64, Nam 290, 293, MLC 871, 897 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2554 (A \*zeġa 'be awake, live'; incl. T, Tg, Ko) ◇ The semantic ties between the supposed cognates within A are qu., and the et. is not certain.

**2665. \*zōġġE** 'back part\side' > A: M \*sōlūr > WrM sōlūr ~ sūlūr, HIM cōlōp adj. and n. 'bending backward (as a bow); one who throws back his head' ¶ MED 731 || Tg \*sugli > EwkM sulīn 'back (dorsum)', Ewk Chlm sulīn 'hump', Ewk PT sōlin 'dorsal fin (of a fish)', Ork sulī 'withers (of a reindeer, horse, bear)', Nn Nh sōġġ, Nn KU sōġ 'wild boar's mane', Orc sūli 'mane' ¶ STM II 70, 107, 124 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2569 (\*zġúġa) 'spine' (does not distinguish between reflexes of N \*zōġġE and those of N \*zēġġ∇-(Kǂa) ≈ back [dos]) || HS: S: Ar zuṽġat- 'podex', {BK} 'cul, derrière' ¶ Ln. III 1235, BK I 995 || D \*cōġġ- ({ǂGS} \*zġġ-?) 'back part\side' > Krx cōġġā 'back wall or back side of a house', Mlt cōġe 'the back of the house', ? Kn colleġa, colleġa, jolleġa 'pointed end of a female's bundle of hair at the back of the head', Tl jolleġu, jōġġeġu 'a tire formed by weaving the tresses in chains and then coiling them up at the back of the head' ¶¶ D ##2858-9.

**2666. \*zīġġ∇** 'to shove', 'to knead\stir' > K: GZ \*zeġ/\*zīġ-/\*zġ- v. 'crumple, press, knead, rub' > OG (da)zeġa- v. 'press, rub', G zeġ-/zīġ- id., Mg {Q} zaġ- v. 'knead', zeli ~ zeri 'dough', ma-zaġ-i 'dough-kneader', Lz 0-zaġ-e 'trough for kneading dough', {FS} 'Knetmasse, Knetgefäß'; ? Zan: amb Mg z-/zū-, amb Lz z- (if from \*zġ-) v. 'knead, rub, mix' (alternatively belonging to N ≈ \*zīġġ∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' [q.v.]) ¶ FS K 130-1 and FS E 141 (GZ \*zeġ/\*zīġ-), Schm. 111, Chik. 274-5, Q 235, K<sup>2</sup> 57 || HS: SES \*✓zġ > Mh pf. zūġa, sbjn. ǂzġġē, Jb E/C pf. 'zeġaġ v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. M 467, Jo. J 319 || A \*°z'īġ∇- > M \*sīġeġe- > WrM sīġeġe-, HIM шилээ- v. 'stir fire with a poker', Ord śīġē- 'attiser avec le tisonnier' ¶ MED 705-6, Ms. O 616.

**2667. ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*zēġġ∇P∇** 'sorcery, witchcraft' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'calamities') > HS: S \*°✓zġġp > Ar zaġġaf-at- 'malheurs, calamités' ¶ BK

I 1004 || ? B \*<sup>o</sup>√zlw (< \*\*√zlh<sub>1</sub>φ?) 'calamities' > Kb z̥zəlwī 'traverser une periode malheureuse' (unless from B \*√zlw 'être tordu', *F* Pr. H #267, Fc. 599) ¶ DI. 944 || **A** \*({AD} \*zEL∇bE, {SDM95} \*zil∇be, {SDM97} \*zäl∇bi '≈ sorcery, witchcraft'): NaT \*je|ilbi- > OT {Cl.} je|vi id., Xk čilbigen 'monster', Yk ilbi 'demoniac, possessed'; T **b**→ WrM cilbi ~ cilvi 'sorcery, trickery, deception' ¶ Rs. W 196, Cl. 919-20, Kow. 2346 || ?σ M \*silmu- > WrM {Cev.} silmusun, HIM шулмас, Kl šulm̥ ~ šulmu (pl. šulmuš) 'demon' ({Rm.}: 'Teufel, ein böser Geist') ¶ Luv. 659, Cev. 859, KW 867 || ?σ pKo {S} \*sġā<sub>1</sub>b v. 'be annoyed, vexed, sad' > MKo sġā<sub>1</sub>p/w-, NKo sā<sub>1</sub>rā<sub>1</sub>p/w- id. ¶ S QK #607, Nam 305, MLC 935 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2560 (A \*zġäl∇bi 'sorcery, wutchcraft; to investigate [by magic power]'; incl. M \*silmu-, T, Ko, J) || If this N stem goes back to a cd., its first component **\*\*z'EL∇** may be discerned (with a query) in **IE \*Xel-** 'harm' (> Ht halluwai- v. 'resort to violence, brawl, quarrel', vt. 'savage, fight', halluwai- n. 'violence, brawl, altercation, quarrel') and in NaIE \*el- (> Arm եղեռն ełērn 'rascality, offence, misdeed, malice, fatality', Gk ὄλλυμι [ft. ὀλέσω] v. 'destroy, make an end of', ?? OIr {P} elc 'böse') ¶¶ P 306-7; F II 378-9 and Ch. 792-3 (both: no et. of ὄλλυμι); Pv. III 49-51; Ts. EI 275 and Pv. III 363-8 reject the comparison of Gk ὄλλυμι with Ht hulla- 'smash, quash, defeat' (proposed by other scholars and quoted in P 307) ◇ Qu. for lack of close semantic connections both within branches of A and between HS and A.

**2668. \*z'ê<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>-(Ka)** 'back (dos)' > **A**: T \*JIÍ 'spine' → 'mountain ridge' → 'mountain forest(s)' → 'thicket' (→ 'thick, dense') > NaT \*JIš > Yk sis 'spine, rump, mountain ridge, mountains', OT jiš {Cl.} 'the upper part of the mountains covered with forests, mountain forests', {ML.} id. ('чернь [лес и горы]'), Alt žiš, Tb žiš, Xk čis id., SbTt {Tm.} jIš aṣac 'fir-tree' (aṣac 'tree'); Cl. reads the OT word as jīš, with a long ī on the unreliable ev. of the plene spelling in Maḥmud al-Kashghari's بيش پيچ 'downward slope'; the Yk ev. contradicts Cl.'s hyp. of a long vw. ¶ Cl. 976, ML. PDP 392, DTS 268, MKD 228, ET J 44, Rs. W 202, Rl. III 497-8 and IV 161, Tm. 92 ¶¶ SDM97 (\*zi'∇ 'spine, nape'), ≈ DQA #2569 (adduces pJ {S} \*sasū 'sticking edges of the roof beams' > OJ sasū, which is unc. because of lack of reliable semantic proximity; DQA reconstructs \*zi'ú<sub>1</sub>a 'spine' combinig reflexes of N **\*z'ê<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>-(Ka)** and those of N **\*z'ogIE** 'back part\side', q.v.) || **U**: FU

(att. in FV) \*ś|šeLkă 'back (dos)' > F selkă, Es selg id. | pLp {Lr.} \*ćēlkē 'back, spine' > Lp: N {N} čiel'ge id., Kld {Tl} č'ēl:k:a\_ 'spine', T {Tl} č'el:k:e 'small of the back, rump' | Chr L 'шылыж 'š'ьл'ž 'small of the back (loins)', Uf/B š'ьл'ž id., 'rump', M {Wc.} š'ile 'back (dos), sacrum', Chr (= Chr Uf?) {Ü} шылыж 'muscles of the back' ¶ It. #333, UEW 772, SK 995-6, Lr. #152, Lgc. #610, TI 661, MRS 753, Ü 283, Ber. 320 (pChr \*šil) || HS: S \*°✓z|k > Ar zalaq- 'fesses (d'une bête de somme)' ¶ BK I 1006 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose simplification of the final cns. cluster in T: N \*-í\_∇\_К\_∇ (in N \*žēí\_∇\_К\_а) > pre-T \*\*-íK' > †T†-í, but this is very doubtful, because no other cases of such simplification are known ◇ N \*-a accounts for the T vw. \*i (vowel harmony: \*E...a > \*i) ◇ Resh. #13 (U, A).

**2669.** \*ž'u'g\_∇\_í\_∇ (↔ \*ž\_∇g'u'í\_∇?) 'flow, pour' > K: GZ \*ẓwēl- v. 'pour' (of heavy shower) > G I ẓwēl- id., {Chx.} ẓwēl-a 'heavy rain, shower', Mg ẓvar-ẓvali id., ẓvar-ẓval-an-s 'rain falls in a shower' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 63, FS K 137-8, Ghl. 236, Chx. 423 || HS: S \*°✓ẓl > Ar ✓ẓl (pf. zaṣala, ip. -ẓal-) 'verser par petites quantités', zuṣl-at- 'quantité d'eau, etc., versée en une seule fois' ¶ BK I 995, Ln. 1234-5 || ? B \*°✓ẓz| v. 'flow, run' (coalescence of two roots: \*°✓ẓz| v. 'flow' and \*°✓ẓz| v. 'run', the latter not belonging here?) > Ah aḥal v. 'flow (couler), run', BSn azzal, Gd {Mot.} əzzal id., Izn, Rif, SrSn ✓ẓz|, Mz, Kb azzal 'courir, couler (eau)' ¶ Fc. 553-7, Rn. 442, Pr. H #212, Dlh. M 389, Dl. 940 || ʕ IE: Ht {Frd.} huwalla 'ausgießen' ¶ Frd. HW 78 (rejected by Ts. E I 425 and not mentioned by Pv.) || A: T: [1] T \*j'u'í- > NaT \*j'u'š > OT {Cl.} j'u'š- v. 'pour out', ? Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jus- v. 'wash away' (of water) ('ab-\\weg-spülen'); ↗ OT j'u'šul- v. 'be poured out' (of water) ¶ Cl. 976, 978, Rl. III 566 ¶ The cs. \*-í- (rather than \*-l-) in T\*j'u'í- is due to contamination or to a \*-y-sx. [2] (here?) T \*ju:| 'spring, fountain' (× N ??φ \*žER\_u\_ī\_∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' [q.v. ffd.] × N \*LiL\_∇ 'water, sea'?) ¶ T \*-l- in \*ju:| belongs to the heritage of N ??φ \*žER\_u\_ī\_∇ || ?φ D \*čall-, {Km.} čal-/\*če]-, {GS} \*cal- v. 'pour out, sprinkle, disperse' (× N \*čal\_∇ 'pour (out)', q.v. ffd.) ¶ D \*-ll- is inherited from N \*čal\_∇.

**2670.** \*žEng\_∇ 'black, dirt-coloured, dirty' > K \*°ž|zang- > G zang- vt. 'make black/dirty' ¶ Not here G zangi 'negro' (↔ NPrs zāngī 'Negro, Ethiopian', possibly connected with Ar zaṅğ-) ¶ Chx. 390 || HS: S: Ar



زَنْجُ zāŋǧ- زَنْجُ {Ln.} زَنْجُ zīŋǧ- '∈ nation of the blacks' ('East Africans, Ethiopians') ¶ Ln. 1256, Hv. 297, BK I 1015 || A ({SDM97} \*zāŋe(r)∇) 'yellowish, brown, gray': NaT \*°jegren 'yellow' (of a horse) > OT jegren 'chestnut (colour)'; T ⇨ M: WrM zegerde, HIM зээрд 'red, chestnut (colour)' ¶ Cl. 914, ET J 22-3, MED 1043 || NrTg \*siŋar<sub>r</sub>- 'yellow, brown, gray' > Ewk siŋama 'yellow, yellowish-gray, brown, dirt-coloured', Ewk siŋarīn, Neg siŋaylŋ 'brown, yellow, gray', Ewk siŋālǝ-, Lm hŋāī- 'become yellow', Lm hŋaŋa 'yellow, brown', Sln śiŋarī 'yellow' ¶ STM II 90.

**2671.** (₂?) \*zāŋ'k'∇ 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'waterskin', 'wineskin', 'sleeve', 'coat', etc.) > HS: CS \*zi'n'k'- 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' > IA, Plm zḳ 'goat-skin (used to transport oil, wine, etc.)', JA ziḳ'ḳ-ā 'hose, waterskin, wineskin', Sr zεḳ'ḳ-ā 'wineskin, leathern bottle', SmA zḳ 'waterskin', Aram ⇨ Ar zīqq- and Ak NA ziḳḳ- 'wineskin', Ar ⇨ Gz zəḳ 'leathern bottle, leathern bag' ¶ GB 205, HJ 339, Js. 396, BK I 998, JPS 119, Tak 238, LG 642, CAD XXI 129, Sd. 1531, DRS 785, Hv. 291 || A ≈ \*zāŋ|gUn∇ ({SDM97} \*zög(e)n∇, {SDM95} \*zag(u)n∇) 'sleeve' > T \*jāŋn ~ \*jāgn 'sleeve' > OT {Cl.} jeŋ, [MhK] jāŋ, Tk yēn, Tkm, Uz jeŋ, ET jāŋ, Qzq, Qq žeŋ, VTt жиH žin, Bsh eH jьŋ, Qrg žeŋ, Alt žēn, Tv čeŋ, Xk нинь nŋ, Yk sīāḫ, Chv śanb, Δ śavnb ɖ śan ¶ Chv Δ -vŋ- points to a pT \*-gn- (= \*-gʷn-?), Chv \*a provides ev. for pT \*ä, but VTt i goes back to \*e (< \*ä under the palatalizing infl. of pT \*j- or VTt ž'-?) ¶ Cl. 940, Rs. W 197, ET J 186-7, Ash. XII 27, 39, Jeg. 202, Fed. II 94, Rl. III 312, 322, 328 || Tg \*sūn 'outer garments, coat' > Ewk sun ~ sūn (accus. sun-mɜ), Neg sūn, Ork sō(n-) ~ sū(n-) 'outer garments', Sln sū: 'coat, oriental robe (халат)'; Ewk ⇨ Yk son 'outer garments' ¶ STM II 126, Vas. 369-70 || pJ suán-tàj 'sleeve' > OJ suódè, ItOJ [RJ] sódè, J: T sòde, K sódé, Kg sóde ¶ S QJ #360, Mr. 529 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*zög(e)n∇ 'sleeve'), DQA #2563 (A \*zjognV, sc. \*zjogn∇) || ?σ D (in GnD) \*čaŋk∇r̄∇, \*čaŋk∇n̄ 'basket' (< 'leathern sack'?) > Knd songoři 'basket that holds four seers of grain', Png haŋgoŋ, Mnd haŋguŋ '∈ basket', Ku hāŋgoři ~ haŋgoři ~ haŋuŋi 'small basket'; D ⇨ OI caŋgērī- 'basket' ¶ D #2288, Tu. #4565 ◇ The voicing of N \*K̄ in A (if the pA rec. of DQA is accepted) is due to the voicing infl. of \*ŋ within the cns. cluster. The labialized vw. in Tg and Ko and the labial glide in pJ may be due to the infl. of the

labialized vw. of the second syll. ◇ SDM97 l. c. (A, U) ◇ Hardly here IE \*(s)k|ken- 'abgespaltene Haut' (> Gmc \*skenþa- > ON skinn, AS scinn, NE skin 'skin', W cenn 'Häutchen, Haut'), because this stem is inseparable from the v. \*(s)ken- 'abspalten' (OIr scáin- v. 'split') and from words for 'film, scales' (W cenn id., OCrn [LC] cennen 'membrana', Br skant 'écailles', OIr ceinn 'écaille') and requires an additional hyp. of metathesis (F P 929-30, Vn. C 55, S 29).

**2672.** o† \*záp∇ or \*záp̄∇ 'to strike' > K: GZ \*zēp- v. 'strike repeatedly' ('thrash, flog; trample down') > G zēp- {K<sup>2</sup>} id., {Chx.} 'fetstampfen, festtreten (z. B. die Erde), flach\weich klopfen (z. B. Fleisch)', Mg zap- v. 'lash', Lz {K<sup>2</sup>} zap- 'lash', {FS} 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ The irreg. \*z- for the expected \*ž- may be due to the onomatopoeic associations of the word ¶ K 87, K<sup>2</sup> 57, FS K 131, FS E 141 (\*zēp-), ≈ F KW1 #20 (\*zap-) || HS: WS (+ext.) \*√zbṭ 'strike, hit' > Ar Y/D √zbṭ G 'kick', Gz √zbṭ G 'strike, smite, plague, beat', Tgr √zbṭ G 'hit', Tgy √zbṭ G 'hit lightly', Amh √zbṭ G 'beat, thrash' ¶ Lb. 1818, L G 632, ≈ Di. 1050, DRS 672-3 || U: FP \*sapp∇- v. '≈ strike (a heavy blow)' > Prm {LG} \*sap- > Z sapk+n+ 'to cut off; to insert with a heavy blow; to chop at sth. with an axe', Vt sapk+n+ 'to let fall, to knock down (by pushing. striking)' | ? Chr H šäp- 'kaya-š 'to scatter, to put into disorder' ¶ LG 249 || D \*čapp- ({θGS} \*č-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N o \*čapp,ra 'beat, strike, chop' [q.v. ffd.]).

**2673.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*zōR∇ 'foreign, hostile' > HS: S \*zar- 'foreign(er), enemy', whence the verb \*√zṛr or \*√zwr v. 'be foreign, hostile' (with insertion of an additional cns. in the root-medial position due to requirements of the S verbal morphology and on the analogy of triconsonantic verbs) > BHb zār 'strange, foreign(er), non-Israelite' (→ prt. Hoph'al מוֹזָר mū'zār 'estranged' > NHb מוֹזָר mu'zar 'strange, queer'), Ph zr {HJ} 'strange, other', OA zr 'foreigner', Yd zr {HJ} 'stranger', Ar zā'ir- (acp.) 'visitor, pilgrim' (interpreted as a participle, cp. Ar √zwr v. G 'visiter [un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect]') (× WS \*-zūr- v. 'visit' < N \*zūr'i 'look at, examine') | Ak zā'iru ~ zē'iru ~ zēru 'hostile', √zṛr (inf. zēru ~ zē'āru 'dislike, hate, avoid' ¶ KB 256, 268, KBR 267, 279, JH 80, HJ 340, Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, L G 646, CAD XXI 14, 94-7 || A: Tg \*sorj- v. 'fight', \*sorjn n. 'fight, battle' > Ork sōri id., Ul soru id., soru-, soru- v. 'fight', Nn sorũ 'fight, battle', soru- v. 'fight' | WrMc sori- v. 'shoot at each other' ¶ STM II 113 || ? AdS of IE: \*h<sub>2</sub>er- > NaIE \*er- v.

'be angry, hostile' (< N \***zeɣr**∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' [q.v. ffd.]).

**2674.** \***z̥UR**'i' (= \***z̥UR**'i'?) 'look at, examine' (or \***žUR**'i' 'to watch, to spy') > K: G **zver-** 'auskundschaften, rekognoszieren; belauern' ¶ Chx. 404 || HS: either [1] WS \*-**zūr-** v. 'visit' (× S \***zar-** 'foreign[er]' < N ?σ \***zoR**∇ 'foreign') > Ar -**zūr-** G v. 'visiter (un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect)', Qtb {DRS} **štzr** 'tenter de visiter', Tgr/Amh {DRS} ✓ **zyr** (pf. **zəyyərə**) 'visiter, aller en pèlerinage', Mh **zōr** v. 'visit a saint's tomb', v. 'visit (so.)', Jb E/C **zōr** v. 'visit', ?σ SmA **zrw** 'idolatry' ¶ Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, Tal 228 ||] or [2] S \***-šūr-** (or \***-θūr-**) > BHb -**šūr** ({trad.} \*✓**šwr**) v. 'behold, regard; to watch stealthily, lie in wait' ¶ GB 816, KB 1345-7, BDB 1003, ≈ DRS 710 || IE \***h<sub>1</sub>wer-** 'look at, pay attention' (× IE \***wer-**/\***wor-** id. < N \***war**∇ 'look, watch', q.v. ffd.) || A: M \***sori-** v. 'test, examine, try out' > Wm **sori-**, HIM **сори-**, Brt **хори-** id., MM [S] **sori-** 'prüfen, versuchen' ¶ MED 729, H 136, Chr. 685 || D \***čūr-** 'see, look' (× N \***čūr**∇ ~ \***čūr**∇ id., q.v. ffd.) ◇ The rec. of the initial sibilant depends on the S cognate: if the latter is \*-**zūr-**, we reconstruct pN \***z̥-**, but if it is \*-**šūr-**, the N cns. is \***ž-**. Since the N etymon in question is not the main source of D \***čūr-**, the latter provides no decisive ev. for N \***ř**.

**2675.** \***zeɣr**∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' > K \***žar-** > G **zar-** v. 'hate, detest', **zar-ob-s / e-zar-eba** 'er ist unlustig \ überdrüssig', Sv: UB/LB {TK} **žar** 'state of being bored (ἄταρῆς γῆρας)', Sv UB {GP} **žaräy** 'so. quick to take offence or to become bored', Sv {FS} **li-žär** 'langweilig werden\sein', **m-a-žär-da** 'mir wurde es überdrüssig' ¶¶ FS K 138, FS E 149-50, Fn KW1 35 [#21], Chx. 391-2, 424, TK 683, GP 254, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 63 (adduces G **zar-** 'be lazy' and reconstructs K \***žar-**/\***žr-** id.) || HS: S \***z̥r** (× N \***z̥ūr**∇ 'fear, frighten') > Ar **zārīr-**, **zārīr-** 'méchant, dont on évite la société' ¶ BK I 990 || IE: \***h<sub>1</sub>er-** > NaIE \***er-** v. 'be hostile' (× N ?σ \***z̥r**∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' × N ? \***zoR**∇ 'foreign, hostile' [q.v.]) > Av **ham-ara-** 'Gegner, Widersacher', **ham-arəna**, OPrs **ham-arana-** 'feindliches Zusammentreffen, Kampf', OI **sam-a'ra-** 'strife, conflict' || Gk **ἔρις** (gen. **ἔριδος**) 'strife, quarrel' || SI \***rāt** (gen. \***rāti**) 'fight, battle, army' ({M, Vs.}: < \***or-ti-s**) > OCS **рѧтъ** **ratъ** (gen. **ratī**) 'battle, war; enemy troops', R †, Uk **раѧь** 'army', SCr **rāt**, Blg **раѧ** 'war' ¶ M K III 436, FI

559-60, Glh. 519, StSS 579, Vs. III 448 || **A:** NaT \*je<sub>1</sub>r- ~ \*je<sub>1</sub>ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N ?σ \*yer▽ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' × N \*žäʔô' r▽ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate') > OT **يیر** jer- ({Cl., Dnk.} jēr-) v. 'loathe / be disgusted at (sth., esp. food), criticize, blame', OT Og **يیر** jer- ({Cl.} jēr-) 'loathe (food)', Osm {Rh.} **يیر** jer- ~ jir- id., Tk **yer**- v. 'loathe, blame, slander', Tkm **īr**- v. 'bore (so.)', Qzq **žer**- v. 'loathe', Yk **sir**- id., 'blame', Qq **žeri**- v. 'loathe, shun', Qrg **žeri**- v. 'shun, keep aloof [from] (e.g. its own youngs)' (of animals), Alt **žeri**- ({Rl.} jäpи), Tlt {Rl.} **järi**- id., QK {Rl.} **järi**- 'abhor' ¶ The length of the vw. is not certain: in Tk the initial **ī**- may go back to \*ye-, Yk has a short vw., and Cl.'s and Dnk.'s rec. of the OT \*ē is based on the precarious ev. of the Arabic spelling. Yk **i** and Tkm **ī** suggest that the pT vw. was \*e<sub>1</sub> rather than \*ä<sub>1</sub> ¶ Cl. 955, DTS 257, MKD 223, Rs. W 198, ET J 193, Rh. 2202, Rl. III 338-9, Jud. 250-1 ¶¶ Not here (because of the Anlaut) pJ {S} \*ira-t- or \*dirat- 'be annoyed' (see N ?σ \*yer▽ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') (⇔ DQA #2598) ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A \*žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted').

**2676. \*zóΓRû** (or \*zóRΓû) 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas' > K \*zɣwar- 'limit, bound' > OG zɣvar i id., G {Chx.} zɣvari 'Grenze, (Grenz)scheide', Lz ɣoʒ 'border (of house), court', Sv {TK}: UB häɣwra, LB äɣwra, L aɣwra, Ln läɣwera 'boundary, border'; d. K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*ozɣwan- v. 'limit, restrict' > OG, G zɣvan- id. ¶¶ Chx. 422-3, DCh. 927, 532, Abul. 171, TK 894, ≈ K<sup>2</sup> 62 (\*zɣwar- ← \*zɣwan-) || **IE** \*wōrw- > NaIE \*wōrwō-s 'furrow, boundary-ditch, boundary' (× d. from NaIE \*wōrw-/\*wŕw- 'plow, dig up' < N \*wûrû 'to scrape', q.v. ffd.) > Gk Mc ωο-ωο, {ChB} ωο<sub>1</sub>ωο- '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], Gk A ὄρος, Gk I οὐρος, Gk Crc {Hofm.} ἡορ<sub>1</sub>ος, ὄρβος, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} ὄρ<sub>1</sub>ος 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar ὄρος, Gk οὐρον 'boundary, limit', Gk Hm οὐροί pl. 'trenches\channels for hauling up ships and launching them again' || L (amb-)urvā- 'surround (a territory) by a boundary-ditch', [ɣ] urvυs 'circuitus civitatis', Osc urvυú {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?])' || Nlr forba 'glebe-land' || Lt urvas 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv urva 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' || ?? OI ūr'vah 'dungeon' (⇔ M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denies the connection of ūr'vah with this IE √]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (\*wōrwōs 'furrow'), ≠ WP II 352-3, F II

425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54, 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 || **U**: FU \*śor∇ 'small area between two geographical objects, strip of land' > pPrm \*śur > Z Ud mu-śur 'waldige Strecke Landes (bes. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' (mu is 'earth, land'), Vt śures, Vt SW śu'res 'road, way' ||| pObU \*sār > pVg \*sar̄ 'valley, small swamp' (× N \*z'a'ḥ<sub>1</sub>r∇ 'low place, valley', q.v.) > Vg T sar̄ 'small swamp', LK/MK sār 'Engpaß', UL/Ss sori 'valley'; pOs \*sārt ({[Hl.]} \*s̄rt) 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' > Os: K/O sārt, Nz/Kz sōrt id. In some forms there is infl. of the homonymous (or paronymous) √ for 'narrow' (represented by Hg szoros 'tight, close' and szorul- v. 'get narrow') ¶ UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#601], MF 595, LG 275.

**2677.** \*z'a'hr∇ (↔ \*z'a'hr∇ ↔ \*z|z'a'hr∇) 'shine, be bright; light (lux)' > **HS**: WS \*√ zhr 'shine' > JA [Trg.] זָהַר √ zhr G (pf. זָהַרְתָּ zə'hār) 'shine, bloom', Sr √ zhr G 'be clear, transparent, bright', Ar √ zhr v. G 'shine' (moon), 'glow' (fire), BHb √ zhr v. Sh 'shine', MHb √ zhr D 'brighten', Hrs {Jo.} √ zhr I (pf. zēhār, sbjn. yəzhōr) 'shine' (but Hrs √ zhr I 'appear', Tgr √ zhr Sh [pf. אֶחָזַר אֶזְכָּר azharə] 'become manifest, appear' and חָשַׁח zah̄əḥ 'open, offenkundig' are more likely to belong to N \*z'E'hr∇ ↔ \*z'E'R∇ 'see, know', q.v.), BHb זָהַר zohar 'shining, brightness', JA {Js.} אֶזְהָרְתָּ zah̄'a'r-ā 'light; brightness, splendour, moon', אֶזְהָרְתָּ zih̄'a'r-ā 'moon, moon-light' (× N \*zæh'a'Ra 'moon'?), Sr zah'rā 'brightness, splendour, flashing', Ar زَهْرَةٌ zuhr-at- 'whiteness, shining colour, beauty' ¶ KB 254-5, KBR 265, BDB ##2094-6, Js. 382, 384, 391, Lv. T I 212, JPS 111, Ln. 1261-2, BK I 1019-20, Hv. 298-9, Jo. H 149, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ B \*°√ zrr > Kb izrir v. 'être clair, dégagé (ciel)' ¶ Dl. 954 || ?σ WCh (× N \*zæh'a'Ra '↑', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} zār, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} zār, Mnt {J} zayí 'star' ||| DfB {J} z̄órèt id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [#519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) || **A**: NaT \*jaru|I- v. 'shine, send out light' (× N \*yar'û 'to shine [leuchten], to burn', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2556 \*zēra (incl. T + unc. comparisons with M, Tg, J) || **U** \*ś|c'a'r∇ 'bright (hell), white' (× N ? \*ś'E'Xar∇ 'bright; daybreak') > FU \*c|sar∇ > pLp {Lr.} \*cōrē 'half-white, bright gray, gray-haired' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} 'čōṛrāk 'half-white' (of hair), S {Hs.} tjuōries, S Sn {Lgc.} 'čūōrīēs '(Renntier) mit hellen Haarspitzen', L {LLO} tjuorrē 'reddish-yellow, bright gray' (a dog), N {N} čuorre / -r- 'mottled brownish gray colour of (animal's) hair' ||

?φ Prm \*ǰǰr ({{LG}} \*ǰǰr) 'bright (colour), pale' > Z ǰǰr, Z US ǰǰr 'gray (hair), grey hair', Vt ǰǰar+t 'light (colour)', ? Vt ǰǰar 'Morgendämmerung' || ? Sm \*sǰr, \*sǰr- 'white' > Ne: T {Ter.} cǰp", T O {Lh.} sǰr?e, F L {Lh.} χ+ǰR; Ng {Ter, Hl.} cыp; En {KD} θē, {Ter.} cы' / cыp-; Slq Tz {Prk., KKIH} sǰr+; Kms {KD} d. sīrε, sīri, {Cs.} siri, Koyb {Sp.} d. cыры id. ¶¶ Lr. #205, Lgc. #782, LLO 1184, N I 442, Hs. 1349, LG 92, Jn. 138, Lh. 410, KP ##1224, 1309, Hl. US 137, KKIH 169, Ptp. 35, ≠ UEW 36 (equates the Prm \*ǰǰr with Vg \*šīr-/šir- 'dusk, dawn' and OHg szir 'gray', which is unc., see N \*šihr∇ '≈ gray, bright') || ? IE \*ǰarǰ-, \*ǰarǰi- 'white' (× N ??φ \*χ'aw,a'rE [or \*χawEr∇] 'bright, white', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the IE cognate is valid (in spite of the unexplained ext. \*-ǰ-), the initial N cns. is \*ǰ-, otherwise it may be \*ǰ- as well. The Prm cognate favours N \*ǰ-. The N lr. \*-h- was lost in IE probably due either to dis. (\*ǰahr- > \*ǰar-) or to the merger of the two lrs. (\*ǰh- > \*ǰ-). If the U cognate is rejected (because of its ambiguity in the Sm part), the N initial cns. will be less specified (\*ǰ|ǰ).

**2678.** \*ǰ'a',H,r∇ 'low place, valley' > IE \*ǰaHr- 'level\open place, vast space' (× IE \*ǰa:,ri- 'valley, low place' < N \*ǰar'i' 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v.] × N \*ǰar'ü' 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' [q.v. ffd.]?) > NaIE {WP} ? \*ǰaro- 'open place, vast space' > OI abl. ǰrāt 'from a distant place', loc. ǰrē 'far away' || L ǰrea 'a level\open place' || Ltv âra 'outdoors', âres 'open country', ? Lt óras 'air, weather' ¶ WP I 79, ≠ M K I 78 (equates the OI word with L ǰlim 'formerly, at that time'), M E I 173, ≠ WH I 65, ≠ Frn. 518 (equates the Blt words with NaIE \*ǰr- v. 'plough'), Kar. I 76 || U: FU \*ǰšār∇ 'valley, ravine, low place' > pPrm \*mu-šār, \*šärt (\*ä = {LG} \*ε) 'valley, ravine; space between two rivers \ swamps \ mountains' (\*mu is 'earth') > Z mǰǰr 'ravine, depression', ǰǰrt 'high fir-tree forest in a low place; a moist place in a river valley'; Litkin and Guljajev distinguish this √ from the Vt paronym mu-šur 'lange Strecke Weges, waldige Strecke Landes (bzw. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' that goes back to FU \*ǰor∇ 'small area between two geographical objects' (< N \*ǰoΓRû [or \*ǰoRΓû] 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas') || in the ObU lgs. both FU stems merge, their vw. going back to \*o of FU \*ǰora and their meaning reflecting both roots: ObU {Ht.} \*sār- > pVg \*sār̄ > Vg T sarē ~ sārē 'small swamp', Vg LK/MK sār, UL/Ss sori 'Waldrücken zwischen zwei Seen', {BV} 'saddle between two mountain peaks, forest between two

swamps' ¶ LG 176-7, UEW 487, Ht. 185 [#6O1], Stn. WV 232, BV 106 ||  
**A:** T jar ({Md.} \*jār) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (← \*'valley'?) (× N  
 \*degar ▽ 'hill, summit', q.v.) > OT ja:ṛ ({Cl.} jār) 'a vertical bank of a  
 river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water',  
 Tk ȳar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln jāy 'precipice', Tkm žar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', Alt  
 žar, Xk čar 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq žar, Qrg, Uz žar id., 'precipice, steep  
 bank', Qzq žar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L ҫып с̄т̄r 'precipice, steep  
 bank', ? Yk s̄ir 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT jār with a long vw.  
 on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg.  
 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6,  
 Pek. 2475 ¶ FU \*ä (for the expected \*a) may be due to vw. harmony  
 (infl. of a front vw. of the next syll.).

**2678a.** <sub>2</sub> \*z'E'hR ▽ ~ \*z'E'R ▽ 'see, know' > **K:** GZ {K<sup>2</sup>} \*zer-/\*zir-  
 v. 'look', {AD} 'look' or 'see' > OG, G mzer-/\*mzir- 'look', Mg žir-, Lz  
 (n)žir- ~ zir- ~ çir- 'see, find' ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 57-8, Chik. 390 || **HS:** S: [11] WS  
 \*✓zhr G (ps.) 'be seen', *Sh*, [?] *D* (caus.) 'instruct, warn' (← \*\*'let  
 know'; ≡σ: Tl inv. cū 'see!' - cūmī, cūḏī 'take care!', exclamation of  
 warning [D #2735, Km. 359]) > Hrs {Jo.} ✓zhr G (pf. zēhar, js. yəzhōr)  
 'appear', Tgr ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. ܙܗܪܐ ʔazharə) 'become manifest, appear'  
 and HUC zahər 'open, offenkundig' (but Hrs ✓zhr G 'shine' belongs to  
 N \*z'a'hr ▽ ~ \*ž'a'hr ▽ ~ \*z|ž'a'hr ▽ 'shine, be bright' [q.v.]), BHb  
 ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. ܗܝܪܐ hi-z'hīr) {KB} 'warn', {BDB} 'instruct, teach, warn',  
 JPA B {Sl.}, SmA ✓zhr *Sh* 'warn', BHb ✓zhr *N* (pf. ܢܝܪܐ niz'har) 'be  
 instructed, admonished, warned', BA ܝܪܝܐ zəhīr-īn pl. 'careful,  
 cautious', IA zhr {HJ} *T* 'take heed, take care of', JPA ✓zhr G {Js.}  
 'look out, guard', MHb ܝܪܐ zə'hīr, JEA ܝܪܐ zə'hīr 'careful', JPA Bz  
 {Sl.} ܝܪܐ zhyr 'careful, prudent, watching over', ChrPA {Schlt.}, Md  
 ✓zhr *D* 'warn', ChPA *G* zhr acp. 'animum attendens ad cavendum';  
 [2] S \*°✓zrr > Ar {Ln.} ✓zrr (pf. zarra) 'increase in intelligence (and in  
 probation and experience)', ✓zrr (pf. zarira) 'become intelligent' ¶ Jo.  
 H 149, KB 254-5, 1700, BDB 264, HJ 307, Js. 381-2, Sl. 400, Sl. P 172-  
 3, Schlt. 54, Tal 222-3, BK I 1025-6, Ln. 1222-3, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ  
 B \*-zraH- ~ \*-zruH- ~ ? \*-ziHr- 'see; know' (× N \*čûr ▽ ~ \*čûr ▽ 'see,  
 look', q.v. ffd.) || ??φ Eg fP ɛyʒ (EG} ɛjʒ) 'recognize so. (erkennen);  
 perceive; know' ¶ EG IV 30-1, Fk. 212 ¶¶ Zl. KÄLV 115 (Eg, B) ¶¶ Both  
 the B and the Eg cognates are qu. because of the irreg. sibilant (\*ž for  
 \*z in B, ɛ for z in Eg [ɛ due to the infl. of the lr. \*h?]) ◇ IS MS 333 s.v.  
 видеть \*žir ḥ (K, Eg, B) ◇ The N lr. (\*h) is suggested by WS \*✓zhr, B

\*zraH- ~ \*-zruH- ~ ? \*-ziHr-. S points to the pN sequence \*-hR-, while most B lgs. suggest that the lr. was the last cns. of the N word. The uvularization in B belongs to the heritage of N \*čûřr̥ ~ \*čûřr̥.

**2679.** <sub>2</sub> \*žaw<sub>1</sub>r̥ 'young of a beast' > K: GZ \*mo-zwer- 'heifer' > G mo-zver-i, Lz mo-zar-i ~ mo-za-i ~ mu-zar-i id. ¶ FS K 132 || A: T {Md.} \*jabru, {Dr.} \*jabriϣ 'young of an animal' (× A \*dä|bru id. > pTg \*deb<sub>1</sub>ren > Ul dзuru(n-), Ork dзwrз(n-) ~ dзurз(n-) 'young of a bird', WrMc deberen 'young of a beast\bird' [STM I 239]) > Chg, MQp javri 'young of an animal', Osm {Rh.} jawri ~ jawru id., 'one's child', Tk цавру 'young of a beast, nestling', Chg [BaL] javri 'young wild animal', [AFT] jawri 'chicken, young bird', CrTt {Rl.} jäwrü; Chg jawru-q id., 'child', Chv L çăvăr š̆v̆r, Chv H {Md.} š̆v̆r, Chv L çypă šur̆ ( {Md.} šur̆), çyri šuri ( {Md.} šuri) 'young of a beast' ¶ Rs. W 178, Md. 28, 16O, Jeg. 219, ≈ Fed. II 14O-1, Rh. 2195, TrR 917, ET J 53, TL 168-9 ¶¶ Pp. AU 105 (T, Tg).

**2680.** \*zûr̆E 'fear, frighten' > K \*°z|zar- v. 'frighten', n. 'horror' > OG zar-i 'terror, horror', NG zar- v. 'frighten, inspire horror', še-zar- 'jemanden in Angst/Schrecken setzen' ¶¶ Chx. 392 || HS: S \*°zr̆ (× N \*zeřr̆ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed') > Ar z̆r̆ TD tazarrafa 'être prompt à faire du mal', {Hv.} 'hasten to do mischief' (× S \*zr̆ 'sow, cast seeds'??) ¶ BK I 985, Hv. 287 || A: M \*süre- > WrM, HIM süre- v. 'awe, inspire horror'; M \*sür(e)key- > WrM sürkey, HIM суркий-, Ord sūr̆xī ~ sūr̆h̆xī 'terrible, frightening', Kl суркә 'extraordinary, exceptional' ¶ MED 745, Ms. O 599, KRS 465 || D (in McTm) \*cūr(-) v. 'frighten' > Tm cūr- v. 'frighten, be cruel', cūr 'fear, suffering', Ml cūr 'fiend, affliction, disgust' ¶ D #2725.

**2681.** \*ž|ž'i<sub>1</sub>R<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>r̆ ~ \*ž|ž'i<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R̆r̆ 'be very cold' > K \*°z|zwr- > G z(∨)r- 'freeze, congeal' ( {Chx.} 'erfrieren [lassen], abfrieren') ¶ Chx. 416, 426, DCh. 529, ≠ K 65 (G < K \*žr- 'become damp\wet, freeze') || IE: NaIE \*srē̆g-/srī̆g- 'cold' (AdS of N \*śr̆iχka 'cold', q.v. ffd.) || U \*ś̆r̆r̆- or \*ć̆r̆r̆- '(crust of) snow\ice' (× N ?σ \*cAR<sub>1</sub>r̆r̆ ~ \*cAYR̆ 'freeze, feel cold') > Lp {LLO} tjar'va čar'va 'so hart gefrorener Schnee, daß man darüber gehen kann', Lp Ml {Schl.} tjar'va tjar'va 'Harsch, zusammengefrorene Schneedecke', tjar'ka tjar'ka 'gefrorener Erdboden' | Prm \*ćir > ZI ćir 'thin ice over snow', Z Vm/LV/Ud ćir 'hardened surface of the ice', Z UV ćirs 'frozen surface of the ground'; ? Prm ⇨ Krl {Wc.} ćirte 'thin snow-crust (after a



thaw)' || Hg szirony 'thin crust on ice over snow; hoarfrost' (acc. to EWU, -ny is a denom. derivational sx.) || Sm {Jn.} \*s+rã 'snow' (× N \*ćar∇ [or \*čar∇] 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface', q.v.) > Ne: T сыра, T O {Lh.} s+rã, FN {Lh.} χ+r+rã 'snow, winter'; Ng {Cs.} 'siru, {Mik.} sürü id.; En {Ter.} сыра, En {Cs.}: X 'sira, B sira 'snow'; Slq Tz {KKIH} s+r id.; Kms {KD} sərə, {Cs.} sirä, Koyb {Sp.} сыра, {Pl.} sirrä id.; Mt {HL.} \*sirä (Mt T/M {Mll.} sirrä, Mt K {Mll.} sérre, {Pl.} sira) id. ¶¶ Not here Z ćarəm, ćars 'ice crust on snow' (↔ UEW 464), that goes back to N \*ćar∇ (or \*čar∇) '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ LLO 1139, Schl. 137, MF 789-90, EWH 1439, Wc. FUAA 256, LG 307, Jn. 140, KKI 173, Hl. M ##891-2, ≈ UEW 464 s.v. \*śarə (with \*a on the presumed ev. of Z ćarəm and without taking into account Lp) ◇ Hg sz- points to a pU \*ś (hence to N \*ź-), while Prm \*ć- (< U \*ć- reg. ) and IE \*s- suggest a pN \*ź-. If the N cns. was \*ź-, the IE initial \*s- (for the expected \*h-) may be accounted for by some special reflex of N \*ź- in the precon. position or in the position before \*r. If the initial N cns. was \*ź-, G zr- is likely to result from a precon. desaffrication of K \*z-.

**2682. \*rǝ' Rga** 'to strike, to trample, to break' > K \*oz|žerg-wŋ- v. 'trample down' > G zergn- 'feststampfen, festtreten (z. B. Erde)', v. 'press, trample, ram' ¶ Chx. 402, DCh. 521 || HS: CS \*✓zrg > Ar ✓zrg 'frapper avec le fer du bout inférieur de la lance', NNEA {Mcl.} zergā 'short spear' ¶ BK I 984, Fr. II 232, Mcl. 89, DRS 791 ¶ The meaning is likely to have been influenced by the paronymous Ar verb ✓zǝǝ 'frapper, percer avec le zuǝǝ-, c.-à-d. avec le bout inférieur de la lance' (< zuǝǝ- 'ferrure pointue au bout inférieur de la lance') (BK I 973, Fr. II 225) || ?σ IE \*h<sub>1</sub>erg<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>χ<sub>1</sub>- (× N \*r∇g<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub> 'to quake, to move in agitation' [q.v. ffd.]) > NaIE \*erg<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σ EI 508 (\*h<sup>4</sup>orǝ<sup>h</sup>e<sub>1</sub> ~ \*h<sup>4</sup>r<sup>o</sup>ǝ<sup>h</sup>or 'mounts, covers') ¶¶ The meaning of IE \*h<sub>1</sub>erg<sub>1</sub>h<sub>2</sub>χ<sub>1</sub>- is influenced by N \*r∇g<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub> || U: FP \*śark∇ v. 'break; [?] fell' (× FU \*śärke- 'break, split, chop' < N \*śäRĶê ≈ break, split, cut' [q.v.]) > F särkeä v. 'break' || Lp L {LLO} tjer'kav 'log, billet' (< \*'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} čiergâ 'piece that has been sawn off' || Chr W 'šärx-em, E šer'x-em {It.} 'öffnen, zerstreuen', Chr H šärgä- {Ep.} v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', Chr L {MRS} шерга- v. 'open wide, cut through, move/slide apart' || Mk {Pl}

сяряфто- śārā-ftə- v. 'fell' | Vt s3rī- сōры- v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ It. #268, SK 1170-1, N I 387, LG 267.

**2683.** ?σ \*z'É}Rz'∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' > **K:** GZ \*zrz-in- v. 'perturb' ('verwirren, приводить в смятение'), 'excite' > OG zzen- id., G zzen-/zrzīn-: m-zrzn-is 'mich übernimmt ein Zittern\Schauern, ich erzittere\schauere', Mg z3rz3ni, zirzini 'noise, hubbub (крик, шум, вопль)' ¶ K 88-9, Chx. 417, Q 237 || **HS:** CS \*zarīz- 'ready to fight, brave' > Sr zərīzā {JPS} 'brave, valiant, strenuous; ready, swift', {Cst.} 'puissant, fort, rapide', MHb ז'ר'ז זā'rīz {Lv.} 'gerüstet, zu etwas geschickt, befähigt', JEA ז'ר'ז זə'rīz 'swift, diligent, valiant', Ar [Qam.] zarīz- {Fr.} 'agilis, mundus', {DRS} 'agile, propre'; CS \*√zrz D v. 'arm, instigate' > JA [Trg.] {Lv.} √zrz D 'strengthen, instigate', {Lv.} 'rüsten, ansporren', JEA √zrz D 'arouse, encourage, arm, strengthen', MHb {Lv.} √zrz D 'zu etw. ansporren', SmA √zrz D 'hasten, hurry', Sr √zrz {Cst.} D v. 'arm', G 'être vaillant' ¶ The S cognate is valid unless it goes back to \*z∇rz- 'girth' (> JA [Trg.] zə'rāz / zar'zā) ¶ Lv. I 553-4, Lv. T I 420-1, ≈ Js. 412-3, Sl. 420, Cst. 92, JPS 120, Tal 239, Fr. II 233, DRS 793 || **IE** \*h<sub>2</sub>er<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>- > **[1]** NaIE \*√er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' > OI (rdp.) 'iyar-ti 'sets in motion', md. 'īrtē, Av iyar-/īr- 'set (oneself) in motion', OI r<sub>o</sub>'nō-ti, Av ər<sup>ə</sup>nao'ti 'arises, moves', OI r<sub>o</sub>'ti-ḥ ~ 'r<sub>o</sub>'ti-ḥ 'attack', Av -əratī- 'energy' || Gk ὀρνύμι 'I stir up, set on, incite', md. ὀρνύματ (pfc. ὀρωρα) 'move, stir oneself' || OIr {P} ad-orth 'Erregung' || Gmc {Vr.} \*arn- > ON ern 'tüchtig, energisch', Gt arniba 'ἀσφαλῶς, sicher', d.: OHG ernoſt n. 'earnest, zeal', {EWA} 'Energie, Entschlossenheit, Ernst', MHG ernoſt 'Festigkeit, Ernst', NHG Ernst 'earnestness', ernst 'earnest', AS eornost 'zeal, earnestness; earnest, serious', NE earnest || **[2]** AdS of NaIE \*er- v. 'be hostile' (< N \*zeſr∇ 'hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 326-32 (× other roots), M K I 90, 122-3, and III 436, F II 422-4, WH II 222-3, Vr. 105, Fs. 58, Km. 208, OsS 150, EWA II 1144-5, Lx. 47, KM 172-3, Glh. 519, Vs. III 448, EI 506 (\*h<sub>1</sub>er- 'set in motion').

**2684.** \*z'É}rd'∇ 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear' ('to cause to grow') > **K** \*z|zard-/\*z|zrd- v. 'grow; bring up, feed' > OG, MG zrd- v. 'feed, raise, bring up' (Mt. 6.26, III Kings 18.4, etc.; VT 5.19), OG zrd- v. 'be brought up' (Job 31.18), G zard-/zrd- ~ rd- v. 'grow', 'raise, bring up', Mg rd-id., Lz rd- v. 'grow', Sv (ə<sub>1</sub>)rd-: msd. {K<sup>2</sup>} lī-rd-i (with compensatory

lengthening), Sv LB/L {TK} *lirdi* 'to grow', ({FS} 'wachsen, heranziehen'), Sv UB/L/Ln {GP, TK} *li-rdi* 'rear so.\sth., grow\cultivate sth.; be reared, grow up', *li-rd-e* 'be somewhere, dwell, live, exist' ¶¶ K 88, K<sup>2</sup> 57, Chik. 308-9, Q 304-5, Marr 181-2, Abul. 169, Ser. 68, Chx. 416-7, Dn. s.v. *rd*, Ni., TK 446, GP 165, FS K 129, FS E 139-40 (\**zard-/zrd-*) ¶¶ K, K<sup>2</sup>, and FS K reconstruct here K \**z-*, but since the Zan and Sv reflexes are zero, one cannot distinguish here between K \**z-* and \**ž-* (*F* Mach. KEDP 165)

|| HS: WS \**✓zrd* (or \**✓δrd*) v. 'sprout' > MHb [Msh.] *✓zrd* {Lv.} 'Zweige oder Reben in die Höhe ziehen, aufschieszen lassen', *zərā'ḏ-īm* 'shoots, sprouts', ? Tgr *ՀՀԶ* *zareda* '(scarf) hanging long down, (cow) long-tailed' ¶ Lv. I 552, Js. 411, LH 497 || IE \**Hordh-* > NaIE \**ordh-* v. 'grow, rise' (× N \**h<sub>1</sub>erU* 'ascend, rise'?) > OI *ṛōdh-* v. 'thrive, prosper, succeed', Av *arəḏ-* v. 'grow', Oss D *irāzun* id. || OIr *ard* 'high, big' || Dt *aarden* 'to thrive, to grow', ON *qrð* n. 'crop, harvest', AS *earð* ~ *ierð* 'harvest' (× NaIE \**ar(ə)-* v. 'plough' < N \**garHṼ* 'crush, grind', whence AS *ērian*, OHG *arjan* 'to plough', AS *earð* ~ *ierð*, OHG *art* 'ploughing') || pSl \**rod-i-ti* (/1s prs.-ft. \**rod-j-q*) 'to give birth' > OCS *родити* *roditi* (/ *рождѣ* *roždq*), SCr *ròditi*, Slv *rodíti*, Cz *roditi*, Slk *rodit'*, P *rodzić*, R *родить*, Uk *родити* id., Blg *родя* 'give birth'; pSl 1s prs. \**or<sub>1</sub>st-q* 'I grow' (\*-st- < \*-d-t) > OCS *растѣ* *rast-q*, SCr *rástē*, Uk *росту* id., n. act. Sl \**orstb* > OCS *расть* *rastb*, SCr, Slv *rāst*, R *рост* 'growth' | Ltv *rādīt* 'create, produce', {ME} 'give birth to' ||] possibly IE \**ǵrdu-* > NaIE \**ardu-* 'steep, high' > L *arduus* 'steep, towering, lofty', ON *qrðugi* 'steep', OIr *ard* 'high, big', Av *arəḏva* 'upright', ? Ht *harduppi* '≈ high' ¶¶ Mn. 886-7, otherwise P 399, M K I 124 (OI *ṛōdh-* < NaIE \**a<sub>1</sub>-* 'grow'), M E I 118-9 (no definite et. of OI *ṛōdh-/ardh-*), Vr. 688, Ho. 86, 94, 187, Km. 45, OsS 27, 31, ≠ Vr. N 5-6 (Dt *aarden* ← *aarde* 'earth'), Vn. A 87, Vs. III 490-2, 505, Glh. 518-9, Ma. CS 420, Chrn. II 118-9, ME III 462, Pv. III 203, EI 269 (\**h<sub>2</sub>erdu-s* 'high, lofty') || ?<sub>φ</sub> U: FU {UEW} \**serä*, {Ker.} \**sērä* 'old' (of age), 'grown up' > pMr \**sīrə* > Er *сыре* *sīre* 'old' (of age), 'grown up' (of a wolf), Mk *сире* *śīrə* 'old' || ? Hg *öreg* 'old' (of age), Δ 'large' ¶ UEW 440, Ker. II 142, MF 515 || D \**čer-* v. 'thrive, grow' > Tm *ceṛi* id., Ml *ceṛikka* v. 'be fertile', ? Kui *seṛi* 'bride' ¶¶ D #2789 ◇ The U and D roots belong here if U \**-r-* and D \**-ṛ-* may go back to N \**-rd-* (or \**-rd-?*). Cf. Fn. KD (equates K with D \**cand-* v. 'grow').

**2685.** \*z|zity|qa 'dirt, excrements' > K: G zitχ-i 'dirt' ¶ Chx. 408 || IE: NaIE \*°sk|k̑e|d|H<sub>1</sub>- > Gmc \*ski(:)t- 'defecate' > ON skíta, NNr, Sw Δ skita, Dn skide, OHG scīzan (> NHG scheißen), Dt schijten, AS scītan v. 'defecate'; ON skítr, AS scitte 'diarrhoea', NHG Scheiße 'excrements', NE shit ¶ IE \*sk|k̑- may be due to as.: \*zity|qa > \*city|qa > IE sk|k̑e|d|H- ¶ Vr. 494, Vr. N 619, Kb. 887, , OsS 800, KM 641, Sw. 148, Hi. 280, ≠ EI 144 (Gmc < \*skeh<sub>1</sub>-d- 'cut') || U \*sitta 'excrements' > F Δ sitta, Es sitt 'dirt, filth, excrements', F Δ sittu-, Es sitti-, sittu- v. 'defecate' | Prm \*sit 'dung, excrements' > Z cit sit, Vt сѣтъ sítid. || Sm {Jn.} \*tüt 'excrements' > Ng {Cs.} tí?, tí̄?, Slq Tz {KKIH} tüt, Slq Tm {KD} tōd, Kms {KD} thú?, {Cs.} thū?d id.; Sm \*tüt- 'defecate' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. tí'di?em, Slq Tm {KD} tō'tku, 1s aor. tūnnag, Kms {KD} 1s prs. thú'í'em, Mt {HL.} \*tūdər- id. (Mt K {PL} tjudernjam 1s prs.) ¶¶ Coll. 57, UEW 444-5, It. #390, LG 258, Jn. 167-8, KKIH 89, HI. M #1071 || ?σ D \*°ci|t|ō ({}GS} ≈ \*z|z|id|ō) 'greasy substance' > Kn (← TI?) jid|d|u 'a smeary, greasy or oily substance, as ghee or oil', TI jid|d|u 'oilness, grease, greasiness, unctuousness' ¶ ≈ D #2516 ◇ G z- suggests N \*z- (but does not rule out \*z- as a possibility either), while IE \*sk|k̑- points rather to a N affricate.

**2686.** (₂?) \*z|zew|h<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to mix' > K: G (ga-)zav- 'vermischen, verdünnen' ¶ Chx. 388, FS K 131-2 || U ≈ \*sewk-t∇, {UEW} \*sokta- v. 'mix, stir up', (?) v. 'sift' > F {Coll., UEW} seuh-to- v. 'stir up, mix, muddle up' | ?σ Er сувтне- suvtne-, Mk 'сифонде- sífānda- v. 'sift, sieve', Er сувтемь suvtém(e), Mk 'сифтем síftam, Δ súftam 'sieve' | ?σ Chr: H šakte, U šokte, M sokte 'sieve' || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Chl/UO tuaktam, Kar/B tèaktam, MO tuaktau, Ke tuoktau v. 'mix, stir up (flour, meal)' ¶¶ Coll. 56, UEW 446 (does not include F seuh-to- "for phonetic reasons" and reconstructs U \*sokta-), Cs. 150 ¶¶ The element \*-t- in the U stem may be interpreted as a verbal (frq. or another?) sx. (F Lh. PUAS 294-316, 322-7), the cns. \*k may go back to a sx. || ?σ HS: S \*°√ xwḥ > Ar √ zwḥ G 'réunir ce qui était dispersé' ¶ BK I 1025 ◇ Cf. N ≈ \*z|ih<sub>1</sub>∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' (q.v.).

**2687.** \*záyh<sub>2</sub>∇ or \*záh<sub>2</sub>y∇ 'summer', ([in the prehistory of descendant languages] → 'year') > K \*za- 'year, (?) 'summer' > Sv {TK}: LB zä (dat. zäw) 'year, summer', UB/Bc zäy (dat. zäys ~ zäw), L zay 'year'; the first element in names of seasons: [1] GZ \*za-mtar- 'winter' >

G zamtar-, Mg zotonǰ- id.; acc. to K 87, the element \*-mtar- may be connected with Sv UB lintw-, Sv L lunt- 'winter' and may be akin to S \*ma'tar- 'rain' (> BHb 𐤌𐤓𐤕 mā'tār, Ak miṭr-u 'rain', Ar maṭar- 'heavy rain'); [2] G za-pχu- 'summer' (cd. with K \*pχ- 'warm') 𐤆𐤆 K 86-7, 194, K<sup>2</sup> 56, TK 251 || **HS**: B {Pr.} \*√zyh<sub>1</sub> 'of the same age' > Ah huyyat v. 'be of the same age', Twl {Nic.} zəyyət id., Ah a-hi 'one of the same age', Kb {Dl.} ṭizzya '(one) of the same age' (pl. ṭizzyiwin), Mz {Dlh.} a-zuyi 'égal d'âge, de force', Wrg {Dlh.} ta-zuya 'égalité, égal d'âge', Gd {Lf.} zaǰǰawεn 'compagnons du même âge' 𐤆 Pr. H 73 [#445], Fc. 542-3, Dl. 964, Dlh. M 257, Dlh. Ou 401, Lf. II #1772 || **A**: T \*jāy 'summer' > OT {Cl.} jāy 'summer, spring', Az, Qmq, SY, Ln jāy, Bsh jāy, VTt ǰāy, QrB, Qrg ǰāy, Alt ǰāy, Xk, Tv čay, Tf ć'ay, Yk say, Chv L šu (gen. šv-ɛn) 'summer', Nog Δ jāy 'spring'; -d> T \*jāy-lak 'summer pasture' > Tkm jāy-la ~ jāy-laɣ 'pasture', Tk 'jāy-la, Az, Qmq jāy-la, Qzq, Qrlq ǰāy-la, Alt ǰāy-lu 'summer pasture' 𐤆 Cl. 980, Rs. W 179, ET J 74, 78-9, TL 74-5, Ra. 194, Fed. II 128 ◇ The rec. \*ǰah<sub>2</sub>y∇ is suggested by the long vw. \*ā in T and presupposes a mt. N \*ǰah<sub>2</sub>y∇ > \*ǰayh<sub>2</sub>∇ in the prehistory of B. Otherwise (if B \*√zyh<sub>1</sub> preserves the ancient order of N \*y and \*h<sub>2</sub>), there must have been a mt. in pre-T.

**2688.** (ǰ?) \*ǰ|ǰæ<sub>1</sub>y|ǰ|ǰ, ǰ∇ 'to fill', (?) 'to overfill, to overflow' > **K**: GZ \*ziz-in- {FS} 'fill, overfill', {K<sup>2</sup>} v. 'crowd (to overflowing)' > G G, Mg ziz-in- {K<sup>2</sup>} id., {FS} 'vollstopfen, vollfüllen' 𐤆 K<sup>2</sup> 58-9. FS K 133, FS E 144, Fs KW-3 #14 || **A**: T: OT [MhK] 𐤆𐤆𐤔-ṭi 'he filled' 𐤆 Cl. 884 || **HS**: ? EC \*zāz- 'flood; to flow' > Sml dād- 'flood', dād-ad- 'overflow', Kmb {Hd.} zāz-, Sd/Hd {Hd.} dād- 'spill, flow', Brj {Hd.} dād- 'float', ? Kns {Bl.} tāt- 'leave residue (food, drink)' 𐤆 ≈ Ss. B 50 (unc. EC \*daɾd- <d- \*daɾ- 'rain'), Hd. 184, 274, 344, 357, LZ 119-20 (proving the phonetic law: \*z > Sd, Hd \*d).

**2689.** \*ǰ|ǰUħEb∇ 'to swallow, to eat' > **K**: Sv: {Ni.} zweb- 'eat', msd.: UB/Ln {GP} li-zweb, Lx li-zeb, L li-zob 'eat sth.' (prs. (-)izbi); UB/Ln le-zweb, L le-zob 'food', UB {GP} zobläy 'eater (good \ bad eater)' 𐤆 Ni. s.v. 𐤆ctb, TK 394, 432-3, GP 145, 152, Dn. s.v. zob || **HS**: S \*°√ššhb > Ar √šhb (ip.. -šhab-) 'avaler avec avidité (en buvant et en mangeant)' 𐤆 BK I 1057 || Eg: fMd sxb ~ Md/XVIII sxp ({EG} śhb ~ śhp) v. 'swallow (einschlürfen, einnehmen [Heilmittel])' > Cpt {Vc.}: Sd cwꜥn sōhp, A cwꜥn sōχ<sub>2</sub>p v. 'swallow' 𐤆 EG IV 268-9, Fk. 244 𐤆𐤆 Vc. 206, Tk. I 173

|| **A:** Tg \*jeb/p- v. 'eat' > Ewk, Lm j3b- ~ j3p-, Sln j3g- ~ j3b-, Neg j3w- ~ j3p-, Orc j3pt3-, Ud {Krm.} ž3- ~ ž0- ~ ž3pt3-, Ul ž3p-, Nn ž3b/p-, WrMc že-, žef- ¶ STM I 279-80, Krm. 236 ◇ If Ar s- is from S \*š-, the N rec. is \*žUħEb∇, but if the Ar sibilant is from S \*s-, we may suppose a N initial \*ž- with as. \*-zħ- > \*-sħ- in Ar and a similar as. in Eg (or a reg. change z > s in the history of Eg). Tg \*jeb/p- points to pN \*ž.

**2690.** <sub>2</sub> \*žom∇n̄∇ '≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a) dream' > **K:** GZ \*zman-, K \*zm- (< \*\*zmn-) v. 'think, dream' > OG, G zman-, Mg {FS} zim- (inf. zim-ap-a) v. 'dream', Lz zmon- v. 'think', {FS} me-v-o-zmon 'I think'; Mg zim- v. 'dream', Sv {Srij.} zm- (msd. li-zm-ā-un-e) v. 'träumen' ¶¶ The meaning 'dream' is reinforced by the semantic infl. of \*(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' (< N \*žom<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>R∇ 'dream' [q.v.] ¶¶ K 88, ≈ FS K 134, ≈ FS E 145-6 (\*žm-), ≈ F KW1 #22, Chx. 409-410 || **A:** Tg \*jōm<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>n- 'remember, think, have a day-dream' > Ewk jōn- v. 'remember', jōmkit/ĉ- 'recall, have a day-dream (мечтатъ)', Sln jōmū- 'be recalled', jōn- 'think', Lm jōman- 'recall, remember (from time to time)', jōmqъn 'thought', Neg, Ul jombu-, Orc jōmbu-, Nn Nh/KU jōmbo- 'think of, invent (придуматъ, выдуматъ)', Neg jōn- 'remember', Ud žōŋi-, Ork dōndu- 'remember', WrMc žom/n- 'remember' ¶ STM I 264, Krm. 234.

**2691.** \*žom<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>R∇ 'dream' > **K:** GZ {K, K<sup>2</sup>} \*(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' > OG, G sizmar- id., Lz izmož(e)-, ezmožā- id.; d. (× N \*žom∇n̄∇ '≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a dream)') (?) GZ \*zman-/\*zmn- v. 'dream' > OG, G zman- id., Lz zmon- 'think'; cp. GZ \*zman-/\*zmn- v. 'dream' ¶ K 172, K<sup>2</sup> 177, FS K 134 (\*žm-), FS E 145-6, Chx. 1246 || **HS:** CS (?) \*o√šmr v. 'be\keep awake in the night' (< \*\*'doze, be half-asleep' < \*'dream') > Ar √smr 'passer la nuit à causer, deviser pendant la nuit; veiller'; it is not clear whether BHb šimmū'rīm '(night of) observance' (Ex. 12.42) belongs here, because it is either a semantic merger of the √ in question with Hb √šmr (< S \*√θmr) v. 'guard' or a word derived from the latter √ only ¶ BK II 1136-7, GB 849) || ?? WCh {Stl.} \*sām- v. 'sleep' > AG: Su sām, Tal {IL} sām, Gmy sām, Kfr {Nt.} sām, Ang {Flk.} sām, {ChC} sēm, Cp {Kr.} sam v. 'sleep' || BT {Stl.}: Ngm, Maha som, Buli hōm id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 178 [#305], ChL s.v. 'sleep', JI II 298-9, J S 81, Flk. s.v. sām || **IE** \*Hon(e)r- → \*h<sup>w</sup>en(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE \*oner- 'dream' > Arm անուրջ anuřž (< \*onōr-yo) 'a dream' || Gk ὄναρ id., ὄνειρος id., 'god of

dreams' ||| pAl {O} \*anryā > Al: T ëndërr, G andërr 'dream' (<\*onr-yo-) ¶¶ WP I 180, P 779, Mn. 1647, FI 393-4, Kf. 40, 97, O 92, My. 11, Slt. 287-8, Me. LHLG I 222f., EI 10 and 169-70 (\*<sup>h</sup><sub>3</sub>enr̥, \*<sup>h</sup><sub>3</sub>onr̥ 'dream') ¶ In all probability, pIE as. \*-nr- < \*-mr- ||| U: FP \*šompr̥ ∇ ∼ \*šopr̥ ∇ v. 'dream, day-dream' > Z шобрѡдлы- šobrzdli- v. 'appear in one's phantasy\dream' || ? F hourata, houria, houraila v. 'be delirious, be wandering (in one's mind)', F Δ hoprehtia id., F heure 'chimera, delirium, phantasm', Es Δ houri- v. 'speak thoughtlessly' ('puhua umpimähkään, ajattelemata') ¶ SK 82, LG 320 ¶ Z -b- is a reg. reflex of U, FU \*-mp-, while the F and Es forms suggest U, FU \*-p- ¶¶ In all probability, U \*-mpr- < \*-mr- (a typical epenthesis of a homorganic plosive within a cluster of a nasal cons. and r).

**2692.** \*r̥<sup>1</sup>aP̥ ∇ (or \*z̥aP̥ ∇?) to make, to work' > IE \*Hop- (or H<sup>w</sup>ep-) > NaIE \*op- v. 'work', \*op-os ntr. 'work' > OI 'apaḥ [apas] 'work', Av hv-apaḥ- 'good work' ||| L opus / oper-is 'work', oper-ā- v. 'work', Osc úpsannam 'operandam', upsed 'fecit', Um OSATU 'facitō' ('make' 3s imv.) ||| AS éfnan 'to carry out, to do', ON efna 'to work, to do', OHG uoben {Km.} 'üben, pflegen, tun', {Schz.} 'üben, ausüben, pflegen' (> NHG üben) ||| ? Tc A opṣaly 'season\time for action' ¶ P 780, Dv. #544, EI 649 (\*<sup>h</sup>Hopes- n. 'work'), WH II 217-8, Bc. G 320-1, 340, Mul. 304, Ho. 88, Vr. 94, Km. 1116, OsS 1057, Schz. 304, KM 799, Ad. 76-7 ||| A: NaT \*jap- 'make, prepare' > OT QU, MT jap- v. 'make', OT U jap- 'create', Tk ɣap-, Ggz, Chg ɣap- 'make, build', Ggz, Kr, Ln, VTt Δ, ET Δ jap- 'make' ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Br. MT 37, ≠ Cl. 870-1 (unc.: OT, Az žap-, Tk ɣap- 'make' ← T \*jap- v. 'cover') ||| HS: C: Ag {Ap.} \*sab- / \*cab- (< \*t-sab-) v. 'do' > Bln hab-, Xm {R} sab- ∼ cab-, {Ap.} s'ab-, Q šəb-, Km {CR} səb- ∼ zəb-, Aw c3w- (1s c3p [= {AD} < \*s<sub>1</sub>∇b-ʔ- with ʔ- of the marker of 1s]) ¶ Ap. AV 17, AD SF 97, E PC #253 ||| K: G žapa- v. 'work hard' (unless a loan from some T lge.) ¶ Chx. 2432-3 ◇ The G word (until it is a loan) suggests a pN \*ž̥-. If the G word does not belong here, the N rec. must be registered as \*z̥aP̥ ∇.

**2693.** \*ž̥æśχ|q ∇ 'blood' > K \*zisχ]o- 'blood' > OG, G sisχl-, Mg zisχar-, zisχir-, zisχer-, Lz di(n)cχir-, Sv UB/LB/Ln/L zisχ 'blood' ¶¶ K 87, K<sup>2</sup> 59, FS K 133-4, TK 252, Dn. s.v. zisχ ||| IE \*h<sub>2</sub>esx-r̥, gen. \*h<sub>2</sub>esx-n-es 'blood' > OI 'asr̥k, 'asr̥t, gen. as'naḥ id. ||| Arm արիւն արիւն id. ({Ped.} < \*asriyon, {P} < \*esr̥-) ||| Gk ἔαρ, εἶαρ, Gk [Hs.] ἦαρ id. ||| OL

as(s)er ~ assyr id. || Ltv asins id., pl. asinis || pTc \*yāsār > Tc A yūsār, B yūsār (pl. yūsār a) id. || Ht e|isxar, gen. esxanas 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw āsḡar-/asḡan-\* 'blood', āsḡanuwant(s)- 'bloody' ¶¶ P 343, WP I 162, EI 71 (\*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>1</sub>r̥ ~ \*<sup>1</sup>h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>ōr / gen. h<sub>1</sub>esh<sub>2</sub>'n-os '[flowing] blood'), MK I 66, F I 422, WH I 72, Slt. 129, Kar. I 78, Wn. 607-8, Ad. 487, Ad. H 114, Pv. I-II 305-313, Mlc. CL 35-6, Ivn. SA 153 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) \*<sup>o</sup>čósk∇ or \*<sup>o</sup>čokś∇ > pObU \*čōkās 'bear's blood' > pVg \*šāwās > Vg LK/P šows, MK/UK sows, UL sōws, Ss sōws id.; pOs \*čōvas / \*čovās ({Hl.} \*čōvas / \*čāvas) > Os Kr čoxaš, Sh šōwš id. ¶ Ht. 132 (#99) ¶¶ pObU \*-kās is a reg. reflex of both U \*-śk∇ and \*-kś∇ ¶¶ PFU (or pU?) \*č- for the expected \*š- may result from dis. (\*\*šósk∇ > \*čósk∇) || **A**: Tg \*sēkse (< \*sēs-kse < as. \*jes-kse) 'blood' > Ewk sēksə ~ sēwsə ~ sēgsə, Sln sēkčə, sētčə, Lm hēs, Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn sēksə, Ork śēkśə, Ud sakeæ 'blood' ¶ Tg \*-ksa/-kse is a reg. sx. of uncountable nouns (such as 'meat', 'fish', etc.) ¶ Ewk sēšī- v. 'flow' (of blood) and Neg sē- id. are most probably bfs. based on metanalysis of Tg \*sēksē as \*sē-kse and/or \*sēk-kse ¶ STM II 138-9 || ? **HS**: Eg fP {EG} zχn 'ein innerer tierischer Körperteil als Speise', 'ein Backwerk in Form des Fleischstücks', {Fk.} 'kidney-fat' ¶ EG III 470-1, Fk. 241 ◇ IE and Tg point to a front vw. (\*æ) in the first syll. of the IE word, while FU \*o in \*<sup>o</sup>čósk∇ or \*<sup>o</sup>čokś∇ is puzzling. It may be explained by regr. as. if we reconstruct the N etymon as \*žæśχ|qo or \*žæśox|q∇. If the N word was \*žæśχ|qo, IE \*x (in hēsx-r̥ / \*h<sub>o</sub>sx-n-es) rather than \*x<sup>w</sup> is explained by its preconsonantal position.

**2694. \*žāzid∇** 'to cut' > **HS**: Eg fMK ž<sup>ε</sup>d v. 'cut (off\down)' ¶ EG IV 422, Fk. 262 ¶¶ Hardly (⇔ many scholars) akin to S \*✓šr̥t̥ 'cut' (Eg ε is not cognate with S \*r) || **IE**: NaIE \*laǵdh- / \*lidh- v. 'cut, wound' > Gk λίστρον 'a tool for levelling \ smoothing', 'spade', 'ε shovel', λιστρέω v. 'dig round (a plant)', λισγάριον 'Grabscheit, Hacke zum Ebnen des Bodens', {LS} 'spade, mattock' ({P}: dim. of \*λίστρος [< \*λιδ-σκο-]) || L laedō, laedēre v. 'hurt, injure' || ? Lt lydīmas 'glade (in a woodland), clear space, clearance', Ltv līdums 'clearance, assart', (līduma) līst (prs. līdū) 'to make a clearance, to clear woodland for tillage', Lt lūdūtī id., 'to smooth' ¶ WP II 378-9, P 652, F II 129, WH I 749, ≈ Frn. 364 (rejects the abovementioned IE connection of the Blt ✓ and unconvincingly proposes a different et.), Kar. I 519, 540 || **U**: IP \*laδ∇ 'incision, notch' (→ 'trace') > F latu, F Δ laju 'track, ski-



track', Krl Ld, Vp řadu 'ski-track' | Lp: N {N} lat'to / -tt-, L {LO} lãhtoo, Snk {TI} řaðða id. | pChr {Ber.} \*lodbə 'notch; mould (for making bricks)' > Chr: Н лады ladbə id., Uf lodbə 'notch', L lod-(aš) 'I make a notch' | Prm: Z lu 'mould' ¶ UEW 682, SK 280, MRS 279, 293, Ü 106, Ber. 31, LG 163 || D (in GnD) \*naṭ- v. 'cut, tear' > Gnd naṭk- & neṭk- v. 'cut (wood), cut by splitting', Png naḍ- (p. naṭt-) v. 'be torn\severed', naḍ- (p. naṭ-) v. 'tear, sever', Mnd naḍ- v. 'be broken\snapped' ¶ D #3586.

**2695. \*ǵä'Ki'd∇** 'move, go' > U: FU \*läkte v. 'go, go out' (× N \*LaḶa 'leg?') > F lähte- 'go, proceed; go off\away', Es lähe- 'go' (part of the suppletive paradigm of the verb minē-), lähk 'Gehen, Fortgehen' | Lp: Kld {SaR} л̄ххте- 'go out', K {Gn.} l̄χte-~ie-, T likte- 'sich begeben' | pMr \*liṣta- > Er ливте- lív'te-, líf'te- 'carry out, lead (an animal) out', Mk лифте- líf'ta-, Δ líx'te- & liš'te- id. | Chr: L лекташ lek'ta-š 'go out', Uf lekta-, H {Ep.} лăктăш, {MRS} лăкташ 'läktä-š id., 'set off (sich auf den Weg machen)' | Prm \*lōkt- ({JLG} \*lōkt-) 'arrive, come' > Z lōkt-, Z US lōkt-, Yz 'lōkt-, Vt lōkt- || pOs \*lüṣat > Os: V lüṣat- 'go out', D tiwät- 'go out\away' ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 239-40, Sm. 552 (FP \*läkti- 'depart'), It. #252, #271, SaR 160, ERV 341-2, PI 148, MRS 284-6, Ep. 60, LG 160, Gn. 1332, It. #271, Ker. II 79-80 || HS: WCh \*ǵǵak∇'d' - ({Stl.} \*šǵak∇d-) v. 'move' > Hs zǵkùḍǵ v. 'hitch up (the child slung on one's back)', Ngz ǵǵgdú vi. 'move off road, detour' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#476], Abr. H 963, 980, Sch. DN 47 || S \*o✓škd > Ar ✓škd v. 'give' (← \*vt. 'move') ¶ BK I 1257, Hv. 372 || IE: NaIE \*lejtʰ-~\*l i(:)tʰ- v. 'go' (× N \*Lič∇ 'to pass, to go away' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D {Km.} \*naṭ-a-, [GS] \*ńaḍ- v. 'walk, go, pass' (× N \*rayd∇ 'foot; track; to walk', q.v. ffd.).

**2696. \*ǵUḶU** (= \*ǵoḶU?) 'juice' > HS: SC: Irq {E} Ḷaqʷa 'sap' ¶ ≈ E SC 223 || IE: NaIE \*sekʷo-/\*sokʷo- 'juice' > Gk ὀρός 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig-trees' || SI \*sǵkь 'juice' > OCS сокъ sokъ, Blg сок, SCr sōk (gen. sōka ~ sǵka), Sln sōk (gen. sōka ~ sǵku), R сок (gen. сока ~ соку), Uk сiк (gen. соку), P сок || ? L sūcus 'juice' (× N \*š'śuḶaḶ∇(ř∇) 'resin' × IE \*seuk- 'suck?') || pTc \*sekwe > Tc: A saku, B sekwe 'pus' ¶ P 1044, EI 499-500 (\*so'kʷo-s 'sap, resin'), WH II 622-3, F II 405-6, Frn. 756-7, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241, Glh. 570, Vs. III 708, Brü. 506, Ad. 698 || A: NaT \*juk 'resin, gum' > Xk чyx čuḶ, Qzl šuḶ, Qb juq, Tv čuq, Tf čuq 'resin', Shor/Sg {RI.} čuq 'Baumharz,

Teer', Qrg žuq 'sth. stuck to', ??φ OT U [UMT] {Rcm.} jū 'juice'; ⇨ NaT \*juk- 'stick to' > Qrg žuq-, Alt žuq-, Xk čux- id. ('прилипать') ¶ Rs. W 119, BIG 324, Rl. III 2165, Jud. 267, BT 58, DTS 283, Rcm. I 283, TvR 546, Ra. 198 || ? M \*sigü-sün 'juice' (× N \*šūḳ'a' 'to drink, to suck' [q.v.]) || Tg \*š|čükse<sub>1</sub> 'juice, sap' > Ewk çūksə, Neg çūksə, Orc čūksə id., Lm çūs 'juice of plants (esp. berries), juice (of meat, fish)', Ork sūksə ~ tūksə 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. A \*žūgi 'juice' (erroneously connected with pKo \*skúr 'honey', that belongs to N \*śṽḳṽ 'honey' or 'bee' [q.v.]) ◇ IE \*e/o (in \*sekʷo-/\*sokʷo-) points to a N \*o rather than \*u; if so, T \*u, Tg \*ü, and L ū must be explained by the infl. of a N word-final \*ū (at variance with the IE ev. for a word-final \*o) and/or by a merger with other words. M \*i (< \*ü?) still needs investigating ◇ ≠ The glottalized Irq ĉ- may result from ass. glottalization (N \*ž...ḳ > \*\*ĉ...ḳ > Irq ĉ...qʷ). The rules of distribution of IE \*l- and \*s- as reflexes of N \*ž and \*ž are still to be investigated. M \*s- points to N \*ž- ◇ ≠ IS MS 366.

**2697.** <sub>2</sub> \*žomṽ 'be hot', 'sun', (?) 'flame' > HS: S \*'šam'a'š- 'sun' > Ak šamaš, šamš-, Eb {Ptt.} sī-piš, Sb šmš, Ar šams-, BHb 'šemeš, Ug špš, (AkSc) {Hnr.} šapšu, Ph, IA, SmA šmš, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA em. šim'š-ā, Amr {G} šamsu or šapšu 'sun'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} šamša (ša-m-ša, ša-ma<sub>3</sub>-ša, etc.) n. l. In Cn (incl. Ug) and Aram there was an as. law: \*š...š > š...š. S \*'šamaš- may go back to the a N cd. \*ožomṽ mežṽ ('≈ hot sunlight'), cp. N \*mežṽ 'sun, light; to shine' ¶ HJ 1168-9, KB 1468-71, OLS 449-50, Hnr. 183-4, Lv. T II 497, Js. 16O2, Sl. 1136, Tal 914, BK I 1269, G A 31, Dah. LCE 178, Hoch #402 || Eg fOK šm, šmm v. 'be hot' (esp. of fire and sun) ¶ EG IV 468-9 || ? Ch: WCh \*ž|ṽmṽ > Ang {Flk.} lem 'sun'; unlike Stl. ZCh #844, I do not see enough semantic reasons for connecting this word with Plc liyem 'sky, god', Dw lem-zi 'sky' and lem-si 'god' || U: FU \*|]omṽ 'flame, embers' > Chr: H lomḅž, lombḅž, L/B lomḅž 'ashes' (< 'embers') || pPrm \*|o]om- v. 'flame', n. 'embers' > Z lomaw-, Yz lu'mal- v. 'flame', Yz lum 'embers', ? Vt Sr/M lumit 'warm' || Hg láng, Δ lang 'flame' ¶ UEW 250, MRS 294, Ü 107, Ep. 62, LG 160-1, Lt. 53, It. #53, MF 386-7.

**2698.** (<sub>2</sub>) \*žUN<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>ṽ '(young?) ungulate' > HS: S \*'šanaḡ- > Ar شَنِجْ šanaḡ- 'camel' ¶ Ln. 16O4, Fr. II 455, BK I 1275 || A ({AD} \*zūntṽ ~ ? \*zu<sub>1</sub>ḡḡa): NaT \*junt 'horse' > OT, OQrg junt id., Chg junt 'mare', MQp junt 'horses', OOsM jont 'mare; horses', Osm {Rh.} يوند yund 'wild,

unbroken brood-mare', Tk  $\text{ɥont}$  'unbroken mare',  $\text{ɥont ɥil}$  'Horse Year (one of the 12 years in the Turkish animal cycle)', Tk  $\Delta \text{jund}$  'horse; male ass',  $\text{jont}$  'unbroken horse', SY  $\text{jut} \text{ɛ} \text{jot} \text{ɛ} \text{jüt} \text{ɛ} \text{jüt}$  'horse', Yk {Pek.}  $\text{sono-ɥos}$  'young horse'; T  $\text{ɔ} \rightarrow \text{Sm}$  {Jn.}  $*\text{ɥuntā}$  'horse' (> Ne T  $\text{юно}$ , T O {Lh.}  $\text{ɥún:ǎ}$ , Ng {Strl.}  $\text{junta}$ , En {Ter.}  $\text{дюда}$ , Slq Tz {KKIH}  $\text{ćuntā}$ , Kms {KD}  $\text{īnε}$ , Koyb {Sp.}  $\text{инѣ}$ , Mt {Hl.}  $*\acute{n}hunda$  'horse' [Mt: M {Sp.}  $\text{нундо}$ , M {Mll.}, A {Msr.}  $\text{nunda}$ , {Pl.}  $\text{нонда}$ , T {Mll.}  $\text{njúndä}$ , K {Mll.}  $\text{njunda}$ ) ¶ Rs. W 211, Cl. 946, Rh. 2221, ETJ 253-4, Pek. 2279, Jn. 49, KKI 107, Hl. M #789 || Tg  $*\text{sōn}n\grave{a}(n) \sim *sōnda(n)$  'young reindeer, reindeer-calf' > Ewk  $\text{sōn}n\grave{a}$  'new-born domestic reindeer, wild reindeer-calf', Lm  $\text{hōn}n\grave{b}-\text{çān}$  'reindeer-calf (of the first half-year), young ungulate (lamb, foal, calf)', Neg  $\text{sōn}n\grave{a}\text{çān}$  'new-born reindeer', Orc  $\text{so}n\text{ɔ}\text{ç}\text{ɔ}(n-)$  'new-born elk', Ork  $\text{sōndo}(n-)$  'reindeer yearling, calf, foal, young bear';  $-\text{çān}$ ,  $-\text{çān}$ ,  $-\text{çɔn}$  is a diminutive *sx*. ¶ STM II 110-1 || M  $*\text{osunda-sun}$  'female elk\deer' > WrM  $\text{sundasun}$ , HIM  $\text{сундас}$  id. ¶ MED 737 ¶¶ DQA #2574 (A  $*\text{zunti}$  'a young animal'), SDM97 (A  $*\text{zūn}∇$  id. > T, Tg), S VL 226 (T, Tg). This type of length (S's type 2) is of prosodic origin and does not point to any pN lr. A  $*\text{-t}∇$  may go back to a *sx*. || ?? U: FV  $*\text{ćo}n\grave{∇}$  'male\young ungulate' > F  $\text{sonni}$  (gen.  $\text{sonnin}$ ) 'bull' ({FUV} 'Stier, Bulle, Farre'), Es  $\text{sōnn}$  (gen.  $\text{sōnni}$ ) 'Bull, Stier; Hengstfüllen, Widder', Lv  $\text{sonn}$  'ram' | Prm {LG}  $*\text{ćā}n$  'foal' > Z  $\text{чань}$   $\text{ćā}n$ , Zr  $\text{чуньы}$   $\text{ću}n\grave{∇}$  ¶ FUV 614, LG 301 ◇ FU  $*\text{ćo}n\grave{∇}$  may belong here only if it goes back to a nominal compound  $**\text{X-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{o}n\grave{∇}$  ( $**\text{-t-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{-} > *\text{-ć-}$ ) with subsequent loss of the initial part of the compound. If FU  $*\text{ćo}n\grave{∇}$  belongs here, it suggests a word-medial N  $*\text{-ń-}$  or  $*\text{-Ni-}$ , sc. N  $*\hat{\text{z}}\text{U}n\grave{∇}$  or  $*\hat{\text{z}}\text{UNi}∇$ .

2698a.  $*\hat{\text{z}}\text{E}n\text{₂}P\text{₂}∇ \text{ } \neg \text{ } * \hat{\text{z}}\text{i}n\text{₂}E\text{P}\text{₂}∇$  (or  $*\text{LE}n\text{₂}P\text{₂}∇ \text{ } \neg \text{ } * \text{Li}n\text{₂}E\text{P}\text{₂}∇$ ?) '≈ spade, shovel, ladle' > IE: NaIE  $*\text{lēp-}/*\text{lāp-}$  'spade, shovel' > BSl: Lt  $\text{lopetā}$  'spade, shovel', Ltv  $\text{lāpsta}$  id., 'shoulder-blade', Pru  $\text{lopto}$  'spade' | ? Sl  $*\text{lopāta}$  'spade' > ChS  $\text{λοπατα}$   $\text{lopata}$ , SCr  $\text{lōpata}$ , Slv  $\text{lopáta}$ , Cz, Slk  $\text{lopatá}$ , P  $\text{łopata}$ , R, Uk  $\text{ло'пата}$  id., Blg  $\text{ло'пата}$  'spade, oar' || ??σ Ht  $\text{lappa}$  {CHD} 'ε a metal implement (tongs?)'; the connection of the Ht word cannot be seriously discussed before its meaning is investigated (cp. N  $*\text{la}_1\text{q}_1\text{pa}$  'palm of hand, sole of foot, sth. flat') ¶¶ ≈ P 679, ≈ Frn. 339-40, En. 205, Glh. 382, ESSJ XVI 39-43, CHD L-N 40, Ts. E II 32-3 || K: G  $\text{lapo}t\text{-}i$  {Chx.} 'large wooden spoon', {DCh.} id., 'scoop, ladle (ковшъ)', G I/G {Chx.}  $\text{laperi}$  'a broad flat wooden

spoon', G {DCh.} *laperi* 'ladle (разливая ложка), iron shovel' ¶ Chx. 664, 666, DCh. 642-3 || U \**lipp*∇ 'spade, ladle, spade-shaped board' > FU \**Li:;pp*∇ > F *liippi* 'ladle \ scoop made of birch-bark', Es *lipits* 'Spatel, Rührholz', ? *lipp* (*lipi*) 'small thin board' || ? Er {Ps.} *lípiš*, *lípuža* 'eines von den Brettern zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden', pl.: Er *lípužat*, Mk *íebžat* 'Bretter zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden' || pY \**li:;pə* ({IN} \**lipə*) > K {IN} *lipə*, {Rd.← IN} *līpə* 'snow-shovel', {Jc.} *līpe* n. 'shovel' ¶ ≈ UEW 690, IN 232, Ang. 141, ≠ Rd. UJ 39-40 [#31-2] (Y ← U \**lap*∇ 'Ruder' and [?] U \**lapa* 'Fläche, Blatt') || HS: S \**o*✓*šhb* > Ar ✓*šhb* G 'enlever\racler avec une pelle (la terre, etc.)' ¶ BK I 1196 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (as isolated within HS), the initial N cns. may be either \**ẑ* or \**L* ◇ Some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

**2699.** \**ẑUqU* 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' > HS: WCh {Stl.} \**ẑ|šag*<sup>ω</sup>- (= \**ẑag*<sup>ω</sup>-?) v. 'be rotten' > Hs *zág*<sup>ω</sup>*àně* 'putrefied (meat, fish, etc.)' || Ngz *ẑíg*<sup>ω</sup>*àđú* v. 'putrefy, decompose, go rancid' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [#475], Abr. H 961, Sch. DN 45 || EC: Or *sūka* 'clot', *sūkaʔa* v. 'clot, curdle' ¶ Grg. 366 || K \**o*lage- 'rotten' > G *lage-* id. ('verfault, verdorben') ¶ Chx. 669, FS E 221, ≠ K<sup>2</sup> 107 (adduces Lz *loqa-* 'sweet', see N \**Lagû* 'tender, mild' [→ 'sweet']) || A ({SDM97} \**zük*'o 'rotten, turbid'): ? NaT \**jog-urt* 'curdled, coagulated milk' (× N \**d∇R<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>∇g|K∇* 'sediment [in food], refuse' [q.v.]?) > OT, Tkm *jovurt*, Tk *yoğurt*, Az *jovurd*, Nog *juvırt*, Qrg *žūrat*, Yk *sūōrat* 'curdled milk' ¶ Cl. 905-6, ET J 207-8; an additional source is a d. from T \**juvur-* v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' (et. preferred by Cl.) || M: HIM *шогши-х* v. 'turn too sour' (of sour milk), Brt *шогшо-* id. ¶ Luv. 656, Chr. 728, Cev. 853 || Tg \**sük* 'turbid\muddy water', \**sükü* 'turbid, muddy' > Ewk *sik* 'turbid\muddy water', *siki* 'turbid\muddy', Neg *sux̄* id., Lm *hıqυ*, Lm A *saq* ~ *s3q* id., 'turbid water' ¶ STM II 80-1 || pKo {S} \**sà,k-* v. 'rot, become spoiled' > MKo *sà,k* id., NKO *ṣà,k-* v. 'rot, decay, corrupt' ¶ ≈ S QK #820, MLC 940 || ?σ pJ {S} \**súk-* 'make paper (out of soaked mash)' > OJ *suk-*, J: T *sùk-*, K/Kg *súk-* ¶ S QJ #508, Mr. 758 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \**zük*'o 'rotten, turbid' > T, M, Tg, Ko), DQA #2568 (A \**zjúk*o 'to rot, to ferment' > T, M, Tg, J) ¶¶ The rec. of a voiced A \**z-* depends on the validity of the T cognate. If it is not valid, we cannot distinguish between A \**z-* and \**s-* ◇ The voicing of the velar cns. in WCh and T still defies explanation.

2700. <sub>2</sub> \***ẑæh<sup>a</sup>ʾRa** 'moon' > HS \***ẑ∇h<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>J</sub>r-** 'moon' > WS \***ʾšah<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>J</sub>r-** 'moon' > JEA **𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤃** **šah<sup>a</sup>r-ā** [sah<sup>a</sup>r-ā], Sr **sah<sup>a</sup>r-ā**, Ar **šahr-**, Gz **šāhr** (= [šahr(ə)]) 'moon', BHb d. **𐤌𐤁𐤏𐤃** **šah<sup>a</sup>r-ō'n-īm** 'crescents (amulets or jewelry)', Sb **šhr** 'novilunium, beginning of month', OYmn **شهر** **šhr** ({Slw.} \*šahr-) (= Hmr \*š∇hr-?) id., Mh **šēhər**, Hrs, Jb **šēhər** 'first crescent of the moon', Sq **šē·hər** 'moon' ¶ KB 1222, KBR 1311, Br. 462, BK I 1281-2, BGMR 132, Slw. 127, Jo. M 376, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 250, L G 528 || C {E} \*šēh- 'moon' > EC {Ss., Bl.} \*leʔ-, {E} \*leh- id. > Kns **lea**, Gdl **leha**, Rn {PG} **yéyyàh** (cs. **yeyyakkí**), Or {Grg.} **žīʔa**, Or H {Ow.} **žīʔá**, Or B/O {Sr.} **žīa**, Or Wt {Hn.} **žīā**, Or Wl {Brl.} **žīya**, Or Δ {Ss.} **žaha**, Arr {Hw.} **léʔ** 'moon', Hr/Dbs {AMS} **leʔo**, Gln {AMS} **leʔo**, Gwd {AMS} **leʔayyo**, Cm {Hab.} **lēʔo** id. (the **l. ʔ** due to the infl. of C \*šēʔ- 'light' ?), Ya **leʔ-** 'moon' || SC: Irq {E} **šahaṇ**, {Wh.} **šâhaṇ<sup>w</sup>** (pl. **šáhěri**), {MQK} **šahaṇ<sup>w</sup>**, Brn {Wh., E} **šehen**, Alg {E} **šehē**, {Wh.} **šehēy**, Kz {E} **šahayiko**, Asa {E} **lehek** 'moon', **↳** Mb {E} **m-šīhe** id. ¶ E PC #569, Bl. 111, 163, 205, Ss. PEC 21, 36, PG 299, Grg. 234, Sr. 339, Ow. 265, Hw. A 381, Hn. W 61, Brl. 270, ESC 212 (s.v. SC \*šē:he 'moon'), Wh. IC 24, MQK 94, AMS 258 || B \*-zīr- '(full) moon, moonlight' > Si {La.}, BMn {Bs.} **taziri**, Grr {Bs.} **tziri** 'moon', Tmz {MT} **taziri** **↳** **tiziri** **↳** **dziri** 'moon, full moon', Kb **tiziri**, Snd, Zww {La.} **tiziri** 'moonlight', Wrg **taziri** 'full moon', Mz **taziri**, Gd **tazīri** id., 'moonlight' ¶ MT 812, Dl. 955, Lf. II #1832, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 396, La. S 254 || **ʔσ** WCh (× N \***ẑ'a<sup>1</sup>hr∇** [- \***ẑ'a<sup>1</sup>hr∇** - \***z|ẑ'a<sup>1</sup>hr∇**] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} **zār**, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} **zār**, Mnt {J} **zayí** 'star' || DfB {J} **žórèt** id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [#519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) ¶¶ The meaning 'moonlight' may point to a contamination with HS \***ẑhr** 'shine (leuchten)' (F s.v. N \***ẑ'a<sup>1</sup>hr∇** '↑') || A: M \***sa<sub>L</sub>:ra** 'moon' (→ 'bright' in derived words) > MM [IM, IsV] **sara**, [MA] **sara(n)**, WrM **sara**, HIM, Kl **cap**, Mnr H {SM} **sara**, Ba **sare** 'moon', Dx **sar** 'month'; the meaning 'hell, light' is attested in the WrM d. **sara-gul** 'bright, light, clear' (cp. Dx **sarūl** 'moon, month') ¶ KW 313, MED 674, KRS 441-2, T 357, T DnJ 133, T BJ 146, SM 326 || **ʔʔσ,ϕ** Tg {SDM} \***sē** 'year' > Orc, Ul, Nn **sē** 'year (of life), age', Ud **s3**, WrMc **se** id., Jrc **sege** 'age', **genehej sege** 'last year', **tuman sege** 'long life' (lit. 'ten thousand years') ¶ STM II 133, Kiy. 102-3, 146 [##082, 102, 866] || **ʔʔσ** pKo {S} \***sā<sub>1</sub>r** ~ \***sā<sub>r</sub>** > MKo **sā<sub>1</sub>r** ~ **sār** 'year, age', NKo **sa<sub>1</sub>** id., **sā<sub>1</sub>** 'beginning of the year' ¶ S QK #821, Nam 290, 300, MLC 896, 950 ||

pJ {S} sátúkúĵ 'the fifth month of the moon calendar' > OJ satukĵi, J: T sàcuki, K sácúkí, Kg sacúki id. ¶ S QJ #702, Mr. 515 ¶¶ DQA #2556 (A zēra 'light; moon; moon cycle [year]' > M, Tg, Ko, J + unc. T \*jar- v. 'shine'). The authors of DQA reconstruct an A voiced \*z- on the alleged ev. of T \*jar- v. 'shine', but the adduction of T \*jar- (obviously from N \*ǰ'a'hr▽ (↔ \*ǰ'a'hr▽ ↔ \*z|ǰ'a'hr▽) (↑)) is hardly acceptable, therefore it cannot justify an unambiguous rec. of A \*z- ◇ The B cognates point to a N voiced cns., sc. \*ǰ- ◇ What was the ancient meaning of N \*ǰæh'a'Ra: 'moon' or 'bright' (as suggested by Rm. for Altaic [KW 313] and by IS for Nostratic [IS MS 363])? The semantic change of 'moon' into 'bright' is rather rare in the lgs. of the world, although attested in M (see above) and S (S \*o✓šhr in Ar ʔašāhir- 'couleur blanche du narcisse', see BK I 1282), while the opposite one (from 'bright' to 'moon') is much more typical (it occurred in L, Sl, and MHb), but we cannot accept it for proto-Nostratic because it will not explain the coincidence of meaning ('moon') in S, C, and M.

2701. 2 \*ǰ▽r<sub>1</sub>▽X▽ ~ \*ǰ▽'X'<sub>1</sub>▽r▽ (= \*ǰa'X'Er▽?) 'to cut, to wound' > HS: CS \*✓šrh > JA ✓srh (pf. sə'rəh) 'cut, castrate' ({Lv.} 'schneiden, einschneiden, kastrieren'), Sr ✓srh v. 'hurt, injure', 'tear, wound (as wild beasts)', Ar ✓šrh v. 'cut, split' ('couper, disséquer, fendre') ¶ Lv. III 588, Br. 497-8, JPS 390-1, BK I 1212 || A: NaT \*jār- v. 'split, cleave (with a sharp instrument)' > OT {Cl.} jar- id., MQp XIV, Chg XV jar- 'split', Tkm яр- jār-, Qzq žar- v. 'cut asunder, cleave', Tk ɣar- v. 'split, cut off, cut short', Az jar-, Uz jār- vt. 'split, cleave', Ggz, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog jar-, Blq, Qrg žar-, Alt žar-, Xk čar- 'split asunder, chop, cleave', Uz jār-, ET ja(r)-, Qzq žar- v. 'split', Qq žar-, Ln jay-, Tv čar- 'chop', Tf ćar- 'split (a bone)'; ⇨ (probably) NaT \*jāra n. 'wound' > XT {DH} jāra, Tkm jara (short a?), Tk ɣara, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Uz, ET jara, Qzq, Qq žara, Qrg žara id., Chv L ɸɸp- šur- 'split, tear asunder, unrip' ¶ Cl. 954-5, ET J 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Jeg. 219-20, 225, Fed. II 139, 155-6, TAG 104, KW 215, Tkr 819, Ra. 194 ¶ ??? × A {ǰDQA} \*p'jāre, {SDM97} \*p'āre v. 'split' < N \*pāri'ʔ'E (or \*pāryE?) 'to tear, to split', only if S's rec. of A \*jā is justified || Tg \*<sub>ˆ</sub>sir- ({SDM97} \*sür-) v. 'cut, cut out' > Ewk <sub>ˆ</sub>sir-, Lm hir- v. 'cut (leather, cloth), cut off', Neg siy- 'cut', Nn Nh/B surē 'axe', ? Nn {On.} surīē- vi. 'tear, tear off' (of skin) ('от-\за-\раз-дираться') ¶ STM II 93-4, 123, Vas. 356-7, Pt. 121, On. 380-1, Sem. BD 186 || pJ {S} \*sər- v. 'cut, shave' > OJ sər-, J: T sór-, K/Kg sər- ¶ S QJ #997, Mr. 756 || ?? AdS of A: M \*sirqa- v.

'injure, cause pain', \*sirqan 'wound, sore' (< N \*sírka ~ \*sír'ga 'pain; be ill/wounded', q.v. ffd.) 𐎓𐎎 SDM97 (A \*z'ä're 'cut, tear, shave'), DQA #2575 (A \*zjäre id.).

**2702.** \*ǰ'A'ǰ'ǰ' ( = \*ǰ'A'ǰ'ǰ'o?) 'to lie (liegen)' > K \*zəw-/ \*zəw- 'lie' ({K} v. 'lie' [of inanimate]) > OG zə-/ zə- 'lie' (s-zə 'you [sg.] lie', zə-s 'lies', m-i-c [< \*mi-z-s] 'I have'), Mg zə- / zəv- / zəz- (zə-n 'lies', mu-m-o-zə 'I wear, I have on [me], zə-d-z 'it lied'), Lz zə-/zə(v)-, zu-/z(v)- 'lie' (zə-n 'lies', mō-zə-n 'es liegt bei [auf] mir', 'I have'), Sv {FS} zī-/zā₁- (zī 𐎠 zā₁ 'is', χ-ā-z 'es liegt darauf', χ-ō-z 'es liegt bei ihm'), Sv L {Dn.} z- 'lie on...' (māz 'lies on me', ǰāz 'I lie on thee', χāz 'I lie on him/her', etc.), Sv UB/LB l-iz 'is, exists' (and 1s χw-iz 'am', 2s χ-iz '[thou] art') 𐎓𐎎 K 233, K<sup>2</sup> 279, FS K 422, FS E 475, Chik. 434, Dn. s.v. z-, GP 151, GP US 54, TK 424 || **A** \*ǰa- (= {S, SDM} \*ǰa-) 'lie' > pKo {S} \*čáḷḷ- v. 'sleep' > MKo ča-, čá-si-, ča'ap-so, NKo ča-, ča-si- id.; acc. to S QK, NKo hon.čumu-si- 'sleep' may go back to pKo \*čəḷw-u-si- ~ čəḷup-si- id. 𐎓 S AJ 254 [#78], S QK #78, Nam 422, MLC 1374, 1380, 1497 || ? T (× N \*nāt'ǰ' 'bend, bow, incline' [intr.], q.v. ffd.): NaT \*jat' 'lie (liegen)' (if derived from \*\*ja-) 𐎓𐎎 S AJ 283 [#181], SDM97 (A \*ǰa- 'lie') || **IE** \*ses- v. {E} 'rest, sleep, keep quiet' > Ht ses- / sas- v. 'sleep, rest, remain, keep quiet' || NaIE \*os'e's- > OI 'sas-ti 'sleeps', sas'vartā 'stealthily', Av haḥ-mī 'I sleep' 𐎓𐎎 EI 527, Frd. HW 188, Ts. W 93-4, M K III 449 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as \*ǰ, because it is the only laryngeal that does not cause vowel lengthening in the \*ǰHC-position in NaIE (and leaves no traces in AnIE). The final vw. is likely to have been \*-o (whence K \*-w-, but no \*-u- in IE) ◇ Hardly here **D** \*k̄ā- 'die (sterben)' (> Tm cā-, Krx xəʔe-na, Brh kahin id., cf. *F* D #2423, Em. \*C 366), because, acc. to my tentative working hyp., **D** \*k̄- (> SD, SCD \*č- ~ ∅, GnD, CD \*č-, NED \*k-, Brh k-) goes back to the N lateral obstruents (cp. N \*š'eḷa,rǰ 'reach, approach, enter' > **D** \*k̄ēr-), hence **D** \*k̄a- is from N \*č'Aǰǰ 'be lost, die'.

**2703.** ₂ \*ǰ'ûgbǰ (or \*ǰ'ûgbǰ?) fig tree (ε?) > **HS:** S \*o'zəb > Ar ʔazəb- 'a big fig-tree' 𐎓 BK I 993 || CCh: Glv {Rp.} acúwa 'fig tree' 𐎓 RpB 7 || **D** \*čuv-, {GS} \*ǰuv- 'fig tree' > Tm cuvī 'white fig, Ficus infectoria; stone fig, Ficus gibbosa parasitica', cuvālaḷ 'pipal, Ficus religiosa', Klm ǰuvī id., Ml cuvann-āl 'Ficus infectoria', Kn juvvi mara id., Tl juvvi 'Ficus tsiela', Prj ǰū meri, Gnd ǰū maḥa 'ε sp. of Ficus' (Kn mara, Prj meri, Gnd māḥa 'tree') 𐎓𐎎 D #2697, GS 116 [#307]

◇ S NM 10 inconvincingly suggests to adduce here A {S NM 7} \**žiug* 'berry', reconstructed by him from NaT \**jigdä* 'jujube tree/berry' and WrM {Pp.} *zigde* 'jujube (berry)' (to my mind, both go back to N \**diḳ* 'edible cereals/fruit', q.v. ffd.), as well as to adduce M \**žexergene* '€ berry' and Tg \**jüksi-kte* '€ berry' ({S} \**žüksi-kte* 'blueberry') ◇ ≈ AD NM 51 [#54], S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs), 10.

**2703a.** <sub>2</sub> \**Ze<sub>L</sub>H<sub>1</sub>b* '€ a bird' (probably 'gallinaceous' and/or 'waterfowl?') > HS: Ch ≈ \**Ža<sub>L</sub>:<sub>L</sub>b* 'guinea fowl' > WCh: Hs *žābō*, Gw {Mts.} *žābùwá* | Pr {Frz.} *čáw* | NBc: Cg {sk,} *sābūn*, Kry *žábūr*, Ny {Sk.} *žábūrku*, {ChL} *žābīrākú*, Wrj {Sk.} *žābrī-yāj*, P' {MSk.} *žāvūna*, Mbr *čápūr*, Diri *žāvūná* | SBc: Bg {Sh.} *šāp*, Kir {ChL} *šāpmō*, Plc {ChL} *žībūn*, Zar {Kr.} *žubmō* | Ngz {Sch.} *žābānū*, Bd {ChL} *sāvānín* || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *čívàn*, Pdl {ChL} *sívandí* | BM {ChL}: Mrg *c+vūr*, Bu *c+vūr*, Cb *žùvùrá* | HgB {ChL} *žìvùnó*, Kps {ChL} *žìvùné*, FIK {ChL} *žìvín*, Gude {ChC} *žòvìna* | Glv {Rp.} *žábúrà*, Gv {ChL} *žábúrà*, Mnd {Mch} *žácìrè*, Dgh {Frk.} *žāvìrà* | Mtk {Sb.} *žāpān*, Myn/Mofu {Ro.} *žāvār*, MgG {Brr.} *žāvār / čāvār*, Mada {BrrB} *žāvār*, Mkt {Ro.} *žāvūr*, Hrz *sāvna*, Mf {BLB} *žāpān*, Gzg {Ro.} *čùvún* | Db {Lnh.} *žāvín*, {ChL} *žāvún*, Kola {Sb.} *žóvòŋ* | Gdr {Mch.} *žāvuna* | Ktk {Bou.} *sāfāŋ* | Zm {ChL} *žāfan*, ZmB {J} *cófnók* *č* {Sa.} *žāmbākà* || Ech: Smr {J} *šībārí*, EDng {Fr.} *žùpùlò*, Mkl {J} *žóč bílò*, Jg {J} *sùbìlò*, Brg {J} *žóbólò*, Mu {J} *žòbòlò* 'guinea fowl' ¶ Chc, ChL, Sk. NB 25, MSk. 185, Sch. DN 181, Nw. WLT 42, Ro. 265 [#339], BrrB 279, Brr. MG II 208, BLB 393 || D \**čēv-* '≈ cock, male of birds' > Tm *cēval* 'male of birds and fowls, cock, male swan, kite', Δ *cāvalu* 'cock', Ml *cēval* ~ *cāval* 'cock, male of birds', Mlt *čawve* 'cock-bird' ¶¶ D #2818 ◇ Cp. also K: G *čibuχa* 'snipe (Gallinago)' (Chx. 1033), though this is hardly a valid cognate (for both phonetic and semantic reasons) ◇ Hardly here D (att. in NED): Krx *čubbā*, Mlt *čuwe* 'peacock' [D #2676] ◇ Blz. DA 158 [#62] (Ch equated with D \**čēv-* and with NED \**čub-* 'peacock').

**2704.** \**zeybA* 'tail, penis' > HS: CS \**zubb-* > Ar *zubb-* 'penis', Ar NY *zibbin*, *zibb*, *zubb* id., *zubbah* 'vulva', MHb d. {Dlm.} *žībīt* *žōb'bān* {Dlm.} 'skin that surrounds penis', {Lv.} 'der Beutel, welcher das männliche Glied der Tiere verhüllt', {Js.} 'the bag which contains animal's member' ¶ BK I 268, Bns. NJ II 484, Dlm. 118, Lv. I 517, Js. 383, DRS 669, MiK I #1.293 || B: Tmz {MT} *azbub* 'clitoris' (← Ar *zubb-*?) ¶ MT 790 || Possibly AdS of EC \**dub-* (-d→ \**dab-*) 'tail, hinder part' and of Om {Blz.} \**dub-* 'tail' (both from N \**dub<sub>L</sub>?* 'back, hinder



part, tail', q.v. ffd.); hardly here Sa daba ~ zaba ~ баба 'Rücken' (better to be equated with \*damb- 'back') || U \*seypä ~ \*saypa 'tail' > Es saba, F Δ sapa id. | Lp N {N} sæi'be, L {LLO} sei'pē ~ sāi'pē id. ¶ The variation \*seypä ~ \*saypa may be due to two ways of synharmonic generalization of an early \*\*seypa || Sm {Jn.} \*tāywa, {Hl.} \*taywa 'tail' > Ne Т тэвă, {Lh.} tæ'β·ă', Ne FL {Lh.} tæ'ipβă'ъ, Ng 'tzybu, Kms {KD} t'īma id., Mt {Hl.} \*tayba id. (Mt M {Sp.} дайба) ¶¶ UEW 438, LLO 947, Jn. 150, Coll. 55, SK 969, Hl. M #943 || A: Tg: Ud žiba 'penis' ¶ Krm. 232, STM I 255 || ?φ M \*čibe > WrM cibe, HIM чив, Kl {Rm.} čiwă, čiw] 'penis' ¶ MED 174, KW 442-3 ◇ Do M \*i and Ud i represent a legitimate development of N \*ey?.

**2704a.** 2 \*<sup>r</sup>z' ∇ cχ aL ∇ 'fire; (?) burning wood' > K: GZ \*<sup>r</sup>z' ečχ] - 'fire' > OG, G cecχ]-, Mg da(n)čχzr-, dačχir-, Lz dačχir-, dačχur-, dačχer- id. ¶ K 234 and K<sup>2</sup> 280-1 (GZ \*z ečχ] -); ≈ FS K 424 and FS E 478 (GZ \*z ečχ -) || A: M \*<sup>r</sup>z' uca]- (> \*č uca]-) > Ord ž uč'ali 'fire' ({Ms.}: εφ. for 'fire'), WrM c uca]-, HIM цуцал 'torch, firebrand; partly burnt wood', {Kow.} 'brandon, tison, flambeau', Kl цуцл сусъ] 'firebrand (головишки)', {Rm.} c uca]- 'firebrand; partly burnt wood', Brt {Chr.} c uca]- id.; WrM {ChrR} c uca]- v. 'kindle, set on fire' ¶ MED 204-5, Kow. 2210, KRS 643, KW 434, Chr.39, Ms. O 221 ◇ Fn. KD #69 equates the K √ with the D √ that is reconstructed by him as \*cicc u 'fire', which is unt. because this D √ is \*kičč - (F Zv. 115 [#131], DED #1272, D #1514).

**2705.** ?φ (2?) \*z ∇ c] č ∇ '≈ willow' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*z eč] w] ŋ -, {FS} \*z eč - 'willow, Salix babylonica' > OG z ečŋ - 'willow', G z ečŋ - a - 'willow, pussy-willow', Mg zičŋ - ~ č ičŋ -, Sv: L č a] č a] nd, Ln č ič a] nd, UB/Lx č a] č a] nd, Lx č a] č a] ndra id. ¶¶ K 237, K<sup>2</sup> 286, FS K 425, TK 866 || IE: Ht si si ya(m) ma - (?) '∈ tree' ('willow') ¶ Frd. HW EH 104, Ts. W 76 || ?φ A: Tg \*suje-gde 'willow' > Ud sužzgdz 'willow', WrMc suziqde 'red willow resembling a linden', Neg sujzgdz 'poplar' ¶ Cp. N ?σ \*z a] y] z ∇ χ U '≈ ∈ leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits ('linden-tree, Tilia' or sim.)' (q.v.) ¶ STM II 120, Krm. 288 ¶ A kind of mt. and dis. (\*z ... c] > \*s ... z)?

**2706.** \*ž ig U 'thorn' > K: GZ \*ž ig w - ({FS K} \*ž ig -) 'thorn' > G I ž ig ve {Ghl.} 'thorn', {Chx.} 'Dorngestrüpp', ž ig va {FS} 'Dorngestrüpp', {Chx.} 'steifes Borstengras (Nardus stricta)', G Gr/I ž ig ur - a - i {FS E} 'Schilfgras', {FS K} '(food made of) sarsaparilla (Stechwinde, Smilax), wolfberry (Lycium, дepeзa, ∈ thorny bush)', Mg {Q} ž ig iri ~ ž ig z ri 'thorn' ¶ FS E

479-80, FS K 425-6, Chx. 2072, Ghl. 686, KEGL VIII 746-7, Q 374 || **HS:**  
 S \*<sup>o</sup>z<sup>r</sup>u<sup>l</sup>gg- > Ar <sup>u</sup>ز <sup>u</sup>zuğğ- 'arrow-head, pointed iron-foot of a spear,  
 point of the elbow', zuğğ- (pl.) 'short lances, javelins', ✓zğğ (pf. <sup>u</sup>ز  
 zağğa) 'pierce with the pointed iron-foot of a spear'; ? S \*<sup>l</sup>za|ik-at- > Ak  
 zik-tu 'sting (of a scorpion); sting, barb, point', JA [Trg.] <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק  
 zə'ka<sup>l</sup>t, em. <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק zik-'t-ā, JEA zik'tā 'goad', Sr zεk-'t-ā {PS}  
 'stimulus', {Br.} 'stimulus, virga, baculus', {JPS} (derived?) zā<sup>l</sup>kū't-ā  
 'goad'; ? CS \*zik- > BHb <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק zik'k-īm 'fire arrows' (h. 1. Pr. 26.18),  
 MHb {Js.} <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק zīk-īn 'sparks, burning arrows'; 'shooting stars  
 (meteors)', JA {Js.} <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק zīk-ā 'shooting star' ¶ BK I 973, CAD XXI 132-  
 3, Js. 395-6, 411, Sl. 411, Br. 204-5, PS 1151-2, JPS 119, KB 266, KBR  
 278, DRS 682, 786 || ??φ Ch: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \*zak<sup>w</sup>- ~ \*zuk<sup>w</sup>- 'stab,  
 pierce' > Wrj nza<sup>w</sup>-, Mbr zu<sup>w</sup>-um-, Cg zu<sup>w</sup>-um id. ||| CCh: Mf {BLB} zu<sup>w</sup>-  
 'enfoncez, piquer dans' ¶ Sk. NB 41, Tk. NB 172, BLB 126 ¶¶ Tk. NB 172  
 || **A** \*<sup>z</sup>igün∇ 'thorn, needle' > NaT {Rm.} \*\*jigünä > \*jignä 'needle,  
 thorn' > OT U (MnSc), OT QU [MhK] jignä, Chg, XwT ignä, MQp [CC]  
 igine, OTkm {TAG} <sup>l</sup>תק jignā, Tkm in<sup>l</sup>e, MQp {TAG} <sup>l</sup>תק jīnā  
 'needle', Tk iğne, Az iynä, VTt inä 'needle, thorn', SY {ET} ijinne  
 'needle, needle of a conifer', {Tn.} jinne ~ žin<sup>l</sup>i 'needle', ET {BN} jin<sup>l</sup>nä ~  
 ignä, Δ žin<sup>l</sup>nä, Uz igna, Qzq ине <sup>l</sup>ыне, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt iyne, Bsh  
 ьnä, Xk инъе <sup>l</sup>не, Tv ine, Yk inä ¶ Cl. 110, TAG 12, 110, ET Gl 367-9,  
 TrR 432, Grøn. 105, BN 63, 76 || M \*<sup>z</sup>e<sup>u</sup>n 'needle' > MM [MA] <sup>l</sup>תק  
 {Pp.} že<sup>u</sup>n, [IM] <sup>l</sup>תק {Pp.} žūn, [HI] {Ms.} žö<sup>u</sup>n, WrM zegün ~  
 zegüü, HIM зүү (H-), MMgl {Iw.} ža<sup>u</sup>n, Mgl {Rm.} žö<sup>u</sup>n, Mnr H {SM}  
 ž<sup>u</sup>iū, Dx žun, WrO zūn, Kl зун (gen. зүүн), {Rm.} zūn id. ¶ MED  
 1044, Pp. MA 205, 439, KRS 260-1, KW 485, Rm. M 42, H 89, T 334, T  
 DnJ 120, Iw. 109, Ms. H 69, Krg. 685 ¶¶ KW 485 (M, T), Rm. EAS II 206  
 (M, T \*jigünä) ◇ If S \*<sup>l</sup>za|ik-at-, CS \*zik-, and NrBc \*zak<sup>w</sup>- ~ \*zuk<sup>w</sup>-  
 belong here, their cns. \*-k- suggests HS \*✓zğ? and N \*<sup>z</sup>ig∇?U. The  
 vw. \*u in S \*<sup>o</sup>z<sup>r</sup>u<sup>l</sup>gg-, in NrBc \*zuk<sup>w</sup>-, and in Mf zu<sup>w</sup>- may have been  
 induced by the N word-final \*U.

**2707.** <sub>2</sub> \*<sup>z</sup>ōg∇ 'shoulder' (or 'ē part of the shoulder') > **HS:** C: Ag: Bln  
 {R} zəg ~ zēg 'shoulder(-blade)', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side' |||  
 SC ⇨ Mb ki-zōga ~ ki-zōxa ~ ki-zōka id. || CCh: Mofu {Ross.} ma-  
 zag<sup>w</sup>óm, Mlk {Ross.} zágòm 'shoulder' ¶ Ross. 325 [#637] ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5-  
 6 (Ch, SC) || **A:** M: MM [S] {H} <sup>l</sup>תק <sup>l</sup>תק 'in den Rücken, den Rücken

entlang' | M {Adb.} \*<sup>2</sup>uʁan 'waist part of the backbone' > WrM  $\zeta\sigma(n)$ , HIM  $\zeta\sigma\sigma(n)$  'base of spine; vertebrae, spine' ¶ H 92, MED 1068 || AdS of NaT \*jagrIn ({Adb.} \*jaʁun) 'shoulder-blade as part of the back' (< N \*dagor∇ 'shoulder-blade, upper part of the back' × N \*<sup>2</sup>∇gEr∇ [or \*<sup>2</sup>∇rg∇?] 'back' ['dorsum']) ¶ ET J 65-7, TL 242-3 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Adb.) Neg joktoχōn 'a hollow between shoulder-blades' and Ud jokpo 'pectoral arch (of birds)', because the primary meaning of this Tg √ is 'angle' (STM I 262) ¶¶ Adb. MSR 199, ≈ Adb SR-D 443.

**2708.** \*<sup>2</sup>Ug'U' 'to move somewhere' (intr., trans.) > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>√zgw > Ar √zǧw (3m pf.  $\text{زَجَا}$  zaǧā, 3m ip.  $\text{ya-zǧū}$ ) 'pousser, faire aller' ¶ BK I 976 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} zage, zege v. 'follow', zga v. 'return back (zurückkehren)' || ECh: Mb {J} žàgé v. 'follow' ¶ Lk. L 127-8, ChC s.v. 'follow' || A ({DQA} \*<sup>2</sup>ugi- v. 'carry [on the back]'): M \*<sup>2</sup>ü|öge- ({Pp.} \*<sup>2</sup>ü|öge-) v. 'move/carry (sth.), transport' > MM [S]  $\zeta\alpha_{\tau}$ - 'hinstellen', MM [HI] d.  $\zeta\ddot{u}ge_{\tau}$ - 'faire transporter', WrM {Pp.}  $\zeta\ddot{u}ge_{\tau}$ -, {SM, MED}  $\zeta\ddot{u}ge_{\tau}$ -, HIM  $\zeta\theta\theta-x$  v. 'move (sth.) from one place to another, transport', Kl  $\zeta\theta\theta-z\bar{o}$ - id., 'carry\convey from one place to another' ('возить, таскать'), Ord {Ms.}  $\zeta\bar{o}$ - 'transporter', Mnr H {SM}  $\zeta\bar{i}\bar{o}$ - id., {T}  $\zeta\bar{i}\bar{u}$ -, Ba {T}  $\zeta\bar{o}$ -, Dg {T}  $\zeta\ddot{u}g\bar{a}$ -, {Z}  $\text{джувэ}$ - id., Dx {T}  $\zeta\ddot{u}e$ - 'carry from one place to another' ¶ MED 1074, KW 479, H 94, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 212, SM 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, T DgJ 144 || Tg \*jugū-/ \*juge- v. 'transport, convey' > Ewk  $\text{ju}\ddot{u}$ - v. 'carry\transport from one place to another' ('перетащить, перенести, перевезти'), Lm  $\text{ju}\ddot{u}$ -, Neg  $\text{ju}\omega\ddot{u}$  ~  $\text{ju}\ddot{u}$ -, Orc  $\zeta\ddot{u}si$ -, Ud  $\zeta\bar{u}$ -,  $\zeta\ddot{u}gi$ -, {Krm.}  $\zeta\bar{u}$ -,  $\zeta\bar{u}si$ - id., WrMc  $\zeta\alpha\omega e_{\tau}$ -,  $\zeta\alpha\omega en_{\tau}$ - v. 'carry\convey from one place to another, transport on ships' ¶ STM I 269-70, Krm. 234 || pKo {S} \* $\zeta\bar{i}$  > MKo  $\zeta\bar{i}$ -, NKo  $\zeta\bar{i}$ - v. 'carry on the back' ¶ S QK #601, MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31 || ?φ pre-T {Cl.} \*\* $\text{j}\bar{u}$ -, {Rm.} \*\* $\text{j}\bar{u}$ - ⇨ (with the sx. \*-δ-, see Cl. xlvi) T \* $\text{j}\bar{u}\delta$ - > OT  $\text{j}\bar{u}\delta$ - v. {Cl.} 'carry (sth.)', {MKD} vt. 'load, حَمَلٌ', Tlt {Rl.}  $\text{j}\bar{u}\ddot{u}$ - 'carry out' (?), ?φ ET Δ {Jr.}  $\text{j}\bar{u}\delta$ - 'carry, load on one's shoulders'; ⇨ T \* $\text{j}\bar{u}k$  n. 'load, burden' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC], Chg  $\geq\text{xv}$   $\text{j}\bar{u}k$  id., Tk  $\text{ц}\ddot{u}k$ , Tkm, A, Kr, Nog, ET, SY  $\text{j}\bar{u}k$ , Uz  $\text{j}\bar{u}k$ , Alt  $\zeta\bar{u}k$ , Xk  $\check{c}\bar{u}k$ , Chv  $\acute{s}\bar{u}k$  id. ('груз, тяжесть'), Tv {Ra.}  $\text{ч}\ddot{u}k$   $\check{c}\bar{u}k$ , Tf {Ra.}  $\acute{c}\bar{u}k$  'load\burden (carried on the back)', Qmq  $\text{j}\bar{u}k$ , Qzq, Qq  $\check{z}\bar{u}k$ , VTt, Bsh йөк  $\text{j}\bar{u}k$ , QbB  $\check{z}\bar{u}k$  'load' ¶ Cl. 885-6, 910-1, Rm. W 212, ET J 262-3, MKD 235, Rl. III 611, Jr. 16, BT 59, Ra. 199 ¶¶ Pp. VG 28, 111, Rm. SKE 31 (Ko, T, M, Tg), DQA #2629 || D \* $\zeta\bar{o}$ (y)- ({ϑGS} s- or \* $\acute{s}$ -?) 'drive (away), send' (× N \* $\zeta\bar{u}$ 'χU

'cause [so., sth.] to move from one place to another' ['lead, send'], q.v. ffd.).

**2709.** \***ʒ**Ug∇ 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > **A** \***ʒ**<sup>1</sup>Ugdu > T: NaT \***j**ogdu > OT {Cl.} **j**oʔdu 'the long hair under a camel's chin', ?**φ** Qrg čūda 'long hair of a camel (under the throat, on knees); long soft sheep wool' (č- suggests borrowing from a T lge with initial devoicing) ¶ Cl. 899, Jud. 877 || M (← T?): WrM **ʒ**ogdur, HIM/BrT **ʒ**ogdop 'long hair on the throat of a camel, mane of a lion', Kl **ʒ**ogdop **ʒ**ogdər 'mane of a camel\lion', Ord {Ms.} ʒuʒduʔ 'long hair on the neck\legs\head of a camel' → Qrg ʒoʔdop 'lock of hair on camel's occiput; long feathers under the throat of a golden eagle or a krasavka (∈ crane)', Tv čoʔdur 'loose-hanging skin on camel's\bull's breast under its throat' ¶ MED 1067, KRS 250, Chr. 255, Ms. O 216, Jud. 255, TvR 537 || **HS**: B: Sll {Ds.} a-zāg 'crin du cou', Ah ā-haǵ (pl. i-haǵǵan) 'crête de poils de la bosse de chameau', ETwl/Ty {GhA} ā-zag (pl. i-zǝgg-ǝn) 'crin (poil de crinière), crinière', Gh {Nh.} a-zež 'poil (des personnes)' (pl. i-zažž-ǝn) ¶ Pr. H #171, Fc. 530, Ds. 83 || SC → Mb i-zigizigi 'mane' ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 || **IE**: Ht suksuqa 'Stirnhaar [?] (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes)' ¶ Ts. W 77 ◇ Not here **K**: G ʒua 'horse hair' (< N \***ʒ**üH<sub>1</sub>y∇ 'fibre, thick hair').

**2710.** <sub>2</sub> \***ʒ**ŭ<sup>1</sup>∇g∇ (or \***ʒ**ŭg∇<sup>1</sup>∇) (? 'bring' →) 'give, give in exchange' > **HS**: S \***ʒ**ŭgŭ (or \***ʒ**ŭgŭ) > Gz ʒaggaŭa v. 'bestow favour, give graciously', ʒagǵā 'grace, favour, gift' ¶ S \***ʒ**- < \*\***ʒ**? ¶ LG 551 || Ch: pAG {Stl.} \***ʒ**ugum 'present, gift' > Su {J} zùgùm, Ang {Flk.} zum || CCh: Msy {Mch.} skəm v. 'sell' || ECh: Mu {J} sag 'bring' ¶ Stl. VZCh A #298, ChC || **A**: Tg \***j**ugē- v. 'exchange' > Ewk juʒē-**lg**z-, Neg juʒz-t-, Nn, Ul ʒuʒ-č i-, Ork duʒ-li ¶ STM I 270, S AJ 225 [#304] || pKo \*čú- 'give' > MKo čù-, NKo ču- (× a N word underlying Ugr \*čay∇ 'give', see UEW 841) ¶ S AJ 252 [#35], S QK #35, MLC 435 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 294 [#556] (A \*čyag∇), ≈ SDM97 s.v. \*čöga 'give, exchange', ≈ DQA #242 (A \*čjōge id., incl. Tg, Ko).

**2711.** \***ʒ**Eg|k∇r∇ (= \***ʒ**Eg|k∇r∇?) antelope' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*žagari '∈ antelope' > Hs Kc {Sch.} žàgàrì, {Abr.} žàgàrì 'buck duiker', Hs K {Ba.} žàgàtì id. || BT: Gera {Gw.} jwangerē (j = ž) 'roan antelope' || CCh: Gude {ChL} žìgìrá, Nz {ChL} žìgìlá, FIM žìgìrú 'antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [#460], Sch. BTL 117, Abr. H 413, Ba. 485, ChL || **A**: M \*žexere(n) 'gazelle' > MM žēren {Ms.} 'gazelle', {Lew.} 'antelope', WrM

zegere(n), HIM зээр 'antelope' (sc. 'gazelle'), Kl {KRS} зээрң zērəŋ 'Persian gazelle, джейран', {Rm.} zērŋ 'Reh, Rehkuh'; M б→ NPrs جيران žejrān 'gazelle', OOsM جيران žeyran, Tk ceγran, Az žeyran, Tkm žeren, Alt žēren, SY žigir 'antelope', žiger, jiger 'deer, roe' (the SY loanwords preserve the old M stem-medial cns. \*-ɣ- as -g-), R джейран 'gazelle' (← T ← M); it is hardly tenable to postulate a pT source of the above words of T lgs. (Rm.'s pT \*žāgīrān) because the word is not attested in texts preceding the Mongolian conquest and is easily explained as a loan from M; Chr {Ü} йыгар jьgar 'ε a beast' may be a loan from the abovementioned T/M source ¶ Ms. H 67, Lew. II 29, MED 1043, KRS 246, KW 474, Dr. TM I ##301-2, Rs. W 194, Ü 314 || D (in SD) \*oćikar- > Kn cigari, cigare 'black buck of antelope' ¶ ≈ D #2504 (connecting this word with Kn jirke, Tu jirkæ, and Tl jirka 'antelope', which in fact belong to N \*ž'a'ń<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>g|kU 'antelope' [q.v.]).

2712. \*žega 'to get\be sated' > K: GZ \*zεγ-/ \*zγ- v. 'be sated, be filled' > OG, G zγ-/zεγ- id., Mg rзγ-, Lz zγ- id. ¶ K 235-6, K<sup>2</sup> 280, FS K 423, Q 313-4, Chik. 390-1 || IE \*seχ-/ \*sχ- 'be sated', \*seχ-ti- 'satiety' > NaIE \*sā-/ \*sə- v. 'be\get sated', \*sā-ti- 'satiety' > OI a-si-n- 'unsatable', sā-tan 'pleasure' || Tc: A {Wn.} si-, si-n- vt. 'satisfaire, rassasier', vi. 'être satisfait\rassasié', B {Ad.} sou- 'satisfy oneself, be satisfied' || Gk ἄω (aor. inf. ἄσαι) vt., vi. 'sate; take one's fill (of sth.)', ἄατος (< \*η-sə-to-s) 'unsatable', ἄμενα (with ā) 'satisfy oneself' || L satur 'sated', satis 'enough' || OIr sáith (< \*sāti-) 'satiety, sufficiency' || Gt saps, ON saðr, OSx sad, OHG sat 'satt, gesättigt', NHG satt 'sated', AS sæd 'sated; weary, disgusted with', NE sad || Lt sótis 'satiety, satiation', sotūs (accus. sōtū) 'sated', Ltv sāts 'satiety, moderation', Pru sātuinei · "sättigt" | It is not clear if one may adduce Sl \*sītъ 'sated' (> OCS сѣтъ sītъ, R сѣт, 'сѣтый, P сѣту, Cz sýtý, Blg сѣт, SCr sīt, sītī, etc.) because of its deviant vw. || Arm հաճ hač 'content(ed), pleased, satisfied' || Ht {EI, Ad.← ?} sāh- v. 'stuff full, clog up' ¶ WP II 444-5, P 876, EI 500 (\*seh<sub>2</sub>(i)- 'satisfy, fill up' ⇨ \*'seh<sub>2</sub>tis 'satisfaction', \*sh<sub>2</sub>'tōs 'satisfied'), Mn. 1113, F I 159, WH II 481-2, Vn. S 15-6, Fs. 411-2, Vr. 459, Ho. 267, Kb. 829, KM 625, Wn. 426, Frn. 857, En. 242, Vs. III 821, Chr. II 222, ≈ Glh. 550 (explains Sl \*ī in \*sītъ by postulating its origin from IE \*seχ<sub>1</sub>ω<sub>1</sub>-, which is unc., because IE \*eχ<sup>ω</sup> would have yielded NaIE \*ō rather than



FS K 398-9 ¶¶ K \*c- is probably from \*ch- < pre-K \*ǵh < N \*ǵv̥h- || HS: S \*o-zūh- > Ar √zwḥ (pf. zāḥa, ip. -zūh-) 'dispenser', 'scatter' ¶ BK I 1025, Hv. 300 || IE: [1] IE \*seh<sub>1</sub>y<sub>2</sub>- > NaIE \*sē(i)-/\*sə(i)- v. 'sow' > L ser-ō (< \*se-s-ō) / -ēre / sē-vī / sǎ-tu-s 'sow' || Gmc \*sējan > Gt saian (p. saísō), ON sá (p. sera), OHG sāen, NHG säen, OSx sāian, AS sāwan 'to sow', NE saw || Lt sé-ti (1s prs. séju), Ltv sēt (1s pr. sējū) 'to sow' || Sl \*sě-ti (inf.) / 1s prs. \*sěj-q 'sow', (-d) \*sěja-ti inf. 'to sow' > OCS inf. сѣти sěti ~ сѣяти sějati / prs. сѣх sějǫ, SCr sījati / sījēm, Slv seǰati / sējem, OCz sieti / sěju, Cz síti / seji, P siać / sieję, R 'сеять / сею, Blg (1s prs.) 'сея v. 'sow' || Clt d.: OIr síl 'a seed (Same)', W hil 'seed, progeny' || Ht s̄ā(i)- {Ad. ← ?} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot' | -d) [1a] NaIE \*sē-m̥ 'a seed (Same), sowing' > L sēmen 'a seed' || OSx, OHG sāmo, NHG Same id. || Olt sēmuō 'sowing', Lt sémenys 'linseed', Pru semen 'a seed' || Sl \*sěmę (gen. \*sěmen-e) 'a seed (Same)' > OCS сѣма sěmę, Blg 'семе, SCr cěme & sjěme, Slv sěme, Cz simě, Slk semeno, P siemię, R 'семя | [1b] NaIE d. \*sē-to-, \*sə-to- pp. 'sown, scattered' > L sātum 'sown' || Clt: Britt [RE] \*satos 'seed (semen)' > W, Br had, OBr att, MBr hat, Crn hās || Gt mana-sēps 'mankind, world' (lit. 'man-seed'), ON sáð 'chaff; seed', OHG sāt 'seeds, seed-field', NHG Saat, OFrs sēd, AS sǣd 'sowing, seed', NE seed | [1c]: L sātio n. act. 'sowing, planting' || OIr, Nlr saithe 'swarm, litter' (< \*satio), W haid, Br hed 'swarm' || [2] NaIE \*sē(i)- 'scatter, sift' > Lt sijó-ti, Ltc sijât 'sift' || Sl: OCS расѣти rasěti (< \*raz-sěti) ~ расѣяти rasějati 'to scatter, to disperse', Cz rozsíti, R рас'сеять 'to disperse', Hls sac (1s prs. sajū), Lls sas 'to sift', OCS просѣяти pro-sějati 'to sift (cribrare, durchsieben)', Cz prosíti, R про'сеять id. || Gk ἡθέρω (ἡ-θέρω) v. 'sift' | NaIE d. \*sēi-to 'sieve' > Lt síeta-s, Ltv siēt-s, Sl \*síto 'sieve' > Blg, R 'сито, SCr sító, Slv síto, Cz síto, Slk, P sito | NaIE d. \*sē-tlo- v. 'sieve' > W hidl, OBr sizl, Br sil, OIr síthlaid 'he sieves' || Gmc \*sēθla n. 'sieve' > ON sáld, Dn sold, Sw sáll, ↳ F seula, Krl siekla & šiekla id. ¶¶ Hardly here Ht {Pv.} ishūwa(i)- v. 'shed, throw, scatter, pour' ({Pv.}: ÷ Gk ἰνύω 'empty out', OI iṣ- 'impel' < IE \*He<sub>1</sub>sH-), {Frd., Ts.} suhha- 'schütten' ¶ P 889-90, EI 534 (\*seh<sub>1</sub>- 'sow'), 505 (\*seh<sub>1</sub>-men 'seed'), 518 (\*seh<sub>1</sub>(i)- 'sift', \*seh<sub>1</sub>-tlo- 'sieve'), WH II 512, 522, Vn. S

108-9, 121-2, RE 127, Fs. 344, 403-4, Vr. 459-60, Hlq. 1142-3, SK 1005, Kb. 817, 827, 829, OsS 736, 742, 745, Ho. 267, 270, Ho. S 62, Frn. 774, 778-9, 783-4, En. 245, Vs. III 600-1, 615, Glh. 546, 550, SJSS 385, 625-6, Chrn. II 160, FI 624-5, Ad. 683, Pv. I-II 404, Frd. HW 196, Ts. W 67, 77.

**2716.** ?σ<sub>2</sub> \*<sup>1</sup>zōf<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>k∇ 'back end, tail' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, to follow [game] by the tracks') > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>zaf<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>k- > Ar {BK, BKIG, Dz.} zafak-at- 'tail', Ar Mgr {Dz.} zafk-at- 'derrière, cul', ?? Ar zafk-at {Fr.} 'mora, qua subsistunt', {BK} 'temps que l'on reste quelque part', {Hv.} 'delay, stay in a place' ¶ Fr. II 238, BK I 991, Hv. 280, BKIG II 416, Dz. I 593 || B \*<sup>✓</sup>zhg (= {Pr.} \*<sup>✓</sup>zh<sub>1</sub>g) > Ah əhəǵ v. 'suivre rapidement', ETwl/Ty {GhA} əzəǵ, Tnsl {Pr. ← ABs., MtT} əšəǵ id., Gh {Nh.} čī-m-zik 'vengeance'; B \*-zūk- (< \*-zuHk-) > Tz ta-zuk-t, Tmz {MT} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'buttock, hip, thigh', Izd {Mrc.} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'fesse' ¶ Fc. 524, Pr. H #170, GhA 210, MT 801, Mrc. 116, 421 || C: EC: Sml žēgō, Sml N žēgō 'nape of the neck', Arr {Hw.} zéh id. || ? C → Mb {E} ki-zóga ~ ki-zóya 'shoulder' ¶ ZMO 219, Abr. S 139, Hw. A 401, E SC 190 || NrOm {Blz.} \*zikk- ~ \*zukk- 'back (dorsum)' > Shn {Beke} 'žikkō, {Lm.} žīkǎ, Bdt {C} zahī, Kcm {Fl.} zahe, Wl {C} zikkō, {Beke} zokko, {LmS} zokkuwa, Dwr {C} zikkō, {Beke} 'zokko, {LmS} zokke, Oyda {Fl.} 'zokko, Gm {Hw.} zókkō, Male, Dc {LmS} zokko id. ¶ Blz. OLBP #4, Lm. Sh 323, LmS 568, Hw. EG || **A:** M: WrM zōgu 'barb of a harpoon' ¶ Gl. III 511, MED 1067 || **AdS** of **IE** \*sehǵ-/ \*shǵ- > NaIE \*sāǵ-/ \*sǵ- 'scent out, track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (P, Vn., F: an ancient hunting term) (< N \*<sup>1</sup>sahk'a<sup>1</sup> 'search, find, know', q.v. ffd.).

**2717.** \*<sup>3</sup>zūk<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?<sub>1</sub>∇ - \*<sup>3</sup>zūk<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>E 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants)' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓zkw > Ar ✓zkw (pf. كَزْ zakā, ip. -zkū) v. 'grow' (a plant) ¶ BK I 1002, Hv. 292 || ?φ Eg fMK skǝ n. 'crops', (??) → Eg fP skǝ ({EG} śkǝ) v. 'plough, cultivate a field' (× ÷ S \*<sup>✓</sup>škk > Ar sikk-at- 'ploughshare', Ak ✓škk 'aufreihen, eggen' ÷ Hs sàk<sup>ω</sup>ámí 'ε hoe') ¶ EG IV 315-6, Fk. 251, Tk. I 217-8, Hv. 327 ¶¶ The S-Eg comparison is qu. φ (there is no proof that Eg ś is cognate with S \*z), therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects it; however, it is acceptable if the devoicing \*<sup>3</sup> > Eg ś is accounted for by as. or if the noun skǝ is primary, while the verb skǝ is derived from it or does not belong here || **U:** FU \*sükś∇ 'autumn' > F syksy, syys, Es sügis (/sügisē-) id. || pLp {Lr.} \*ćzkćz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaktje, L {LLO}, U {Schl.} tjaktja, N {N} čâk'čâ, K {Gn.} čęřč



|| pMr {Ker.} \*sukśa > \*sokśa 'autumn' > Er сѣкъсь śokś, Δ sokś, śoks, Mk сѣкъсе śokśa, Δ śokś, śoks, seks || pChr {Ber.} \*šičь id. > Chr L 'шыже šьže, Chr H шыжыи šaža || Vt сѣзбыл siž+1, Vt G śiž+1 id. || ObU {Ht.} \*θūṽas id. > pVg {Ht.} \*tūkās id. > Vg: T tüks, LK/SV tāx<sup>ws</sup>, MK/NV tāk<sup>ws</sup>, P tāxs ~ tāsxs, LL tāxs, UL/Ss tak<sup>ws</sup>; pOs {Ht.} \*sōṽas id. > Os: V/Vy sōṽas, Ty sēṽ<sup>ws</sup>as, Y/D/K sēwās, Nz/Kz sūs, O sus || Hg ősz id. ¶ UEW 443, Coll. 116, Db. OS xxx, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU, FP \*śukśi, Ugr \*θūksī), Lr. #103, Lgc. #449, Hs. 1300, Gn. 730, Ker. II 145, Ht. #133, U3S 392, Ep. 161 ¶ Lp \*ć-, Er, Mk ś-, and Os \*s- (reg. reflexes of FU \*ś-) are due to as. (\*s...ś > \*ś...ś) || | A ≈ \*žüK∇(-r∇) 'edible cereals, millet' > NaT \*jügür 'millet' > OT QU jügür ~ ügür (MKA III 9) id., OT U ügür ≙ üyür ∈ 'small seed, millet', MU üyür 'millet', Qrg S {Jud.} žügörü 'sorghum', Qrg N {Jus.} žügörü 'maize', Osm čökäri 'grains of Bukharian millet'; T ⇨ Kl Ö žügür 'kaoliang (Sorghum japonicum)' ¶ Cl. 275-6, TL 458, Br. MT 94, KW 116, Jud. 272 || Tg \*jiy|ga ~ ? \*jiy|ge 'millet' > Orc žīž-kt₃, Ud žakta, Neg jākta, {PSchm.} jākta id., Nn Nh/KU žīžkt₃, Nn B žikt₃, ž₃kt₃ id., 'rice', Sln jakta 'porridge, food', WrMc že 'fine millet; corn' ¶ STM I 244 || pKo \*čòh 'millet' > MKo čò / čòh-, NKo čò id., {Rm} čjò 'millet, Setaria germanica' ¶ S QK #249, Nam 427, MLC 1568, Rm. PKE 37 ¶¶ Rm. PKE 37 (T, Ko), Rm. EAS I 65 (erroneously adduces Chv śbḡbr 'bread', which is from T \*juḡu-r 'kneaded' [Jeg. 205-6, ET J 243-4]), DQA #2616 (A \*žjūgi 'millet') || | D \*čugg-, {ḡGS} \*sugg- 'harvest, season of harvest' > Gnd sugge 'harvest', Kn suggi 'the season of gathering crop (esp. the time of reaping corn and grain), spring (from the middle of March to that of May)', Tu suggi 'harvest, the second rice-crop, the 12th Tulu month (March-April)' ¶¶ DED #2176, D #2647 ◇ IS MS 370 (\*zuka 'harvest'), AD NM #16, S CNM 12.

**2718.** ?WW \*ž'a'k∇n̄∇ 'elephant' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} žānā (pl. žān), Q žānā (pl. žān, žānt), Aw {Fl.} zigoni 'elephant'; C ⇨ Amh zshon ⇨ Xm {R} zohon ~ zehon || | EC ≈ \*zakan- id. > Af {R} dakāno (pl. dōkūn), Sa {CR} dakun, Sml Hw/Og {R} dagon ~ dogon id., Or B/O {Sr.} dannabā arbā, Or Wt {Sr.} dannawā arbā 'female elephant' (arbā 'elephant') (⇨ Dhl {EEN} ḡánnaḡa, {To.} dánabe 'female elephant') || pHEC \*zāne ({Hd.} \*žāne) 'elephant' > Kmb {Hd.} zanē(-čču) (pl. zanākata), Sd {Hd., Gs.} dān-iččo (pl. dāniwo), Hd {Hd.} dāne-ččo id. || Ya {Hn.} so'gómèj (pl. sogomejdi) id. || | Dhl {EEN} ḡokkōmi, {To.} dokōmi

'elephant' ¶ AD SF 107, PH 79, Hd. 56, 274, 344, 358, LZ 120, Hn. Y II 124, Sr. 285, EEN 28, To. D 132 || Om: NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf/Bk/Cha {C} dangarsā, Dwr {CR} dangarsa, Gm {Hw.} dangārsi, Zs {C} dongor, Bdt {C, CR} zakkā, Kcm {Lm. ← ?} zākka, Hrr {Hw.} zākka 'elephant' || Ym {Wdk.} zāknó id. || Kf {C} dangiyo, Mch {L} dāngao, {Lm.} dengawo, Anf dangeččo, Shn {Mrn.} dangas, {C} dangeša id. (but {Lm.} dangeššá 'buffalo') || ? Mj/Na {Lm. ← ?} dōr, Shk {Lm. ← ?} dōro 'elephant' ||| SOm: Hm {Fl.} donger, Ari B dongor id. ¶ AD SF 107, Blz. OL #133, Wdk. BY 139, L M 27, Lm. Sh 296-7, CR H 666, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG, Hw. NKL 222 || Ch ≈ \*ʒʷkʷn- 'elephant' > WCh: BT: Tng {J} yuḡne, Tng B {ChL} yókùnè, Gera {Sch.} yoni, Ngm {ChL} yàwèn, Krf {Gw.} yiwuni, {Sch.} yùnì, Bl {Mch.} jauno? (j = [y]) id. || Ngz {Sch.} žàunàk (pl. žàunànín) id. || NrBc: My {Sk. in ChC} yáwùn, {ChL} yéwìn, Sir {Sk.} yōwání, Mbr {Sk.} yáwìn, Jmb yáwàn id. || Bg {J} yuwàn, {Csp.} yuwan, {Sh.} ywàn, Grn {Hrn.} yíwón, {Csp.} yōwón id. ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} žùwàn id. ¶ JI II 124-5, Sk. NB 20, Sch. DN 83, J T 171, ChC s.v. 'elephant', ChL, Hrn. G #145, Sh. BZ 29, Csp. 16, 48 ||| A: NaT \*jagān 'elephant' > OT jaṽān, XwT XIV, MU XIV [Rbg.] jaṽan, SY jaṽan ~ jaṽan, Tv čān, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān (= žán) id. (here also Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān, Alt {BT} žān 'big, great'??); T ⇨ M \*žāṽan > WrM žagan, HIM заан zān 'elephant' ¶ MED 1023, Kow. 2245 ¶ Cl. suggests that Alt/Tlt jān and Tv čān may be reborrowings from M ¶ Cl. 904, ET J 60, Rl. III 79, TvR 504 ||| ?φ D \*yāṽ(aṽ), [GS] \*yān- 'elephant' > Tm yāṽai, āṽai, Ml āna, Kt, Td a'n, Kn āne, yāne, Kdg a'ne, Tu ānæ, Tl ēnūgu, ēnika, Klm enāgī & ēngi, Nkr ēnagī, Prj ēnu, Gdb ēnig, Gnd yēnī & aṽnī & ēnal & ēni & ēn, Knd ēngu & ēni ¶¶ D #5161, GS 134 [#347] ||| IE: loans from unknown sources: Gk γίγας (gen. γίγαντος) 'giant', Lt † gogas 'giant' (P 'wielkolud'), Ltv Δ gāgan-s 'giant; long rope', ? OI gaja-h 'elephant' ¶ F I 305-6, Frn. 161, ME I 616, M K I 314, M E I 458 ◇ The unexpected D \*y- needs explaining; it is likely to suggest that D \*yāṽ(aṽ) is a loanword ◇ Blz. DA 157 [#51] (suggested that D {Blz.} \*yāṽ [sc. \*yāṽ-] may go back to \*iyan < \*čīyan < \*čīgan).

2719. (₂?) \*žāṽ (or \*žāṽṽ) 'flame' > U: FU \*śala(-) 'lighten; lightning' > F salama 'lightning' ||| ObU {Ht.} \*sāl- v. 'lighten' > pVg {Ht.} \*sāl- > Vg: T sā'l-, LK/UL/Ss sāl-, MK/UK/NV/LL/ML sāl-, P sāl- ~ sāl- v. 'lighten', P salna 'lightning'; pOs {Ht.} \*sāl-, \*sāla- v. 'lighten' > Os: V sāl-, sāla-, Ty sāḏ-, Km sāt-, Nz sōt- id., Y sāl, D/K sāt 'lightning'

¶ UEW 459, Coll. 111, Ht. ##589 || **A** \*ǰali- > NaT \*jal- v. 'blaze, burn, shine' > OT jal- id., StAlt {BT} ǰali-, Tlt {RL} jalī-, Shor {RL} čal- id., Yk sal- 'roast (on fire)'; ⇨ [1] NaT \*jalIn 'flame' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg jalIn, OOSm jalIn, Tk ɣalIn, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog jalIn, Qzq, Qq žalIn, Qrg žalIn, Tlt {RL} jalIn, Xk čalIn, Qzl {Jk.} šālIn 'flame', Tv čalIn n. 'heat from the fire', Tkm jalIn id., 'flame'; [2] NaT \*jalKIn 'flame' > Tk ɣalkIn, ET jalqun, Uz jalqin, Qzq žalqin, VTt, Bsh jalqɛn, Alt žalqIn, Tb/QK {RL} jalɣIn ¶ Rs. W 181, Cl. 918, 929, ET J 106-7, TL 356-7, 363, Rl. III 165, 1877, Md. 160, TvR 515, BIG 310 ¶ Cf. N \*ǰuɣI∇ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' (possibly a secondary source of the T √) || M \*ǰali 'flame' > WrM ǰali, HIM заль 'flame, spirit', WrO {Krg.} zali 'flame, splendour, glory', zaliɕa- v. 'blaze, flame', Kl заль n. 'flame' ¶ MED 1031, Krg. 659, KRS 239 || ? **HS:** amb S \*°√zlɣ 'burn (so.'s skin) with fire', (× N \*ǰūh∇, lɣ∇ (or \*ǰu, h∇, lɣE) 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the S word goes back to the N etymon in question, the N rec. is \*ǰal∇ɣ∇ (not \*ǰalɣ∇, because N \*-lɣ- yields U \*-ǰ-). Otherwise it is N \*ǰal∇.

**2720.** \*ǰæL∇ 'to swing, to wave, to be shaky', (?) 'to spring, to leap' > **HS:** WS \*°√zl(z)l > BHb √zll N 'shake, quake' (of mountains) (3p pf. 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍 ná'zollū), Ar √zll D 'faire trembler, secouer, agiter', TD (pf. tazalzala) 'be agitated, quake' (esp. of earthquake), zalzāl 'earthquake', ChrPA mzdll 'drunken', Sr √zll G {Br.} 'subsiliuit', Gz {L} √zll G 'move, be shaken, swing, be agitated' ¶ Br. 196, BK I 1004-5, BDB 272, ≈ DRS 738, L G 638 || **A:** Tg: WrMc ɣele, ɣelen 'shaky, shaky gait of a drunken man; doubtful, uncertain' ¶ Z 977 || **IE:** NaE \*sel- / {Brg.} \*s.ɔ- v. 'jump, leap' > L salīō (pfc. saluī) vi. 'spring, leap, jump, bound', frq. saltā- 'dance' (VL \*saltā- 'jump' > It saltare, Fr sauter, Sp, Prt saltar), L n. act. saltus (gen. saltūs) 'a spring, leap, bound' || Gk ἄλλομαι ({Brg.} < \*s.ɔy-) vi. 'spring, leap, bound', ἄλα 'a spring, leap, bound', ἄλις n. 'leaping' || (+ext.) Sl \*°sɔlpa-ti (or \*°sɔlpa-ti?) 'to spring, to leap' > ChS сльпати slɔpati ~ сльпати slɔpati id. ¶ WP II 505, P 899, H 323, WH II 468, F I 76, BD I 467, Tr. 256, Mikl. E 307, Mikl. L 861.

**2721.** \*ǰiI∇ 'to slip, to slide' > **HS:** S \*°√zll (or CS \*°√zll) > Ar √zll (pf. zalla, ip. ɣa-zill-u) v. 'slip away, lapsavit in loco lubrico', msd. zall- 'sliding' (× N \*zûL∇ 'to fall, to crush down'), Ar D {Lb.} √zll 'glisser', NNEA {Mcl.} 𐤆𐤍𐤏𐤍 zêl zīl, zil n. 'sliding (glissade)' (← Ar?); +ext.: Ar

✓ zлχ v. 'slip' ¶ Fr. II 246, Ln. 1241, 1244, Hv. 293, Lb. 1847-8, Mcl. 86, ≈ DRS 738) || A: T \*jīl- v. 'slide' (× T \*jīl- v. 'creep' < N \*ǰiXīV ~ \*ǰiīXV 'to creep, to crawl') > VTt U žǎl- 'slide downhill', VTt I, SbTt Tö jil- id., 'slide', Xk čil- v. 'slide, ski', Tv čil- 'slide (of sledge)', Yk sīl- v. 'ski', Alt/QK/Kü {RI.} jil- v. 'slip' ¶ Length of T \*i is due to the merger with T \*jīl- v. 'creep' ¶ ≈ ET J 40-1, Rs. W 200, TTDS 178, 579, Tm. 90, Pek. 2440, RI. III 481 || M: WrM žildam, HIM жалдам 'skillful skater' ¶ Kow. 2347, MED 1055, Rm. EAS I 65-6 (mentions WrM žilga, žilgai, žilgam, žilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', not confirmed by Kow., MED, Gl., and Bb.) || ?σ U \*ś[il]l- 'smooth', v. 'whet' (× N \*śīīi ~ \*śīīayV 'smooth, slippery', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE \*sleǵ-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (× N \*śīīi ~ \*śīīayV '↑' [q.v. ffd.], see also N \*ǰV L'i'Kæ 'to slip, to slide' and N \*śV LχitV ~ \*śV LχidV 'to slip').

2722. \*zag<sub>l</sub>V,li (or \*zag<sub>l</sub>V,layV) 'secret(ly); to deceive' > HS: S: Ar zaṣāl- 'counterfeit, adulterated' (of money, metal) ¶ Ln. 1235 || U \*sala- v. 'do sth. secretly, steal' > F, Es sala n. 'secret', F salaa 'secretly, stealthily', Es salaja 'secretly' || pLp \*sōlē 'thief, thievish, secretly' > Lp: S {Hs.} suoleh- 'steal', Vf {Lgc.} sūō'·'zḥ 'thief', sūā'·'dāmz v. 'steal', L {LLO} suola 'thief', suollēt 'in secret, secretly', suolāti- 'steal', N {N} suolâ / -llâg- 'thief, thieveish', suoladi- 'steal, go stealthily', Kld {SaR} cūлл 'thief', cyэлнэ 'steal' || Er, Mk sala- 'steal' || pChr \*solъ 'thief', \*solъ- 'steal' (Ber: \*šolə, \*solə-) > Chr: H шолы šolъ 'thief', L шолып šolъp, Uf šolъp adj./adv. 'secret, -ly', H, L шолышт- šolъšt-, M solъšt- 'steal' || pObU {Ht.} \*θūlām- v. 'steal', \*θūlmV k 'thief' > pVg {Ht.} \*tūlām- 'steal' > Vg: T tolmānt-, LK/MK/UL tūlmant-, P/NV/SV tuləmt-, LL tūləmt-, UL/Ss tūlmant- id.; pVg {Ht.} tūlmək 'thief' > Vg: T tōlmək, LK/MK tūlmək, P/NV/SV/LL tulmək, UL/Ss tūlmək id.; pOs {Ht.} \*ḫalām- 'steal' > Os: V/O lalām-, Vy yalām-, Ty/Y ḫāḫām-, D/K totām-, Nz tətām-, Kz ḫəḫām- id.; pOs {Ht.} \*ḫalmək 'thief' > Os: Vy yalmaq, Y ḫāḫmaq, D/K totmaχ, NMz tətmaχ, Kz ḫəḫmaχ, O lalmaχ id. || Sm {Jn.} \*tālā-, {HI.} \*tale- v. 'steal' > Ne: T тале-сь, T O {Lh.} tāl'ē-, F {Lh.} tāḫ'je·-ś; Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. tole'pama; En {Cs.}: (1s aor. obj.) X takibo, B tarebo 'steal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} tēl+- id., tēl+t 'secretly', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. tūzī'ab\_ 'steal'; ⇨ Sm augm. {Jn.} \*tālbyr-, {HI.} \*talzr- 'steal' > Kms {KD} 1s prs. t'āyzerlam, Mt {HI.} \*tälzr- (Mt M {Sp.} телернымъ 'I

steal') || Y: K {IN, Jc.} 010- v. 'steal, {Jc.} 'olol 'theft' ¶¶ UEW 430-1, Coll. 55, Sm. 540 (U, FU \*sǎlǎ-, FP \*sala-, Ugr \*sǎla-, Sm \*tǎlä- 'steal'), Lr. #1175, Lgc. #7150, Lgc. SL #2255, Hs. 1266, SaR 331, Ber. #338, MRS 716-7, Ep. 152, Ht. #141, Jn. 150-1, Lh. 470, KKIИ 182, Hl. M #975, IN UASJu 86, Ang. 194, ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [#51] (Y ← U), KD 470 || ¶ (? \*ǰal'i¹-): NaT \*jala 'false accusation' > OT {Cl.} jalā ≈ false accusation; (?) suspicion', MQp [CC] jala 'false accusation', Nog, VTt, Bsh jala, Qzq, Qq žala, Qrg žala 'slander', SbTt jala id. (in jala jabu 'to calumniate'), Alt {Rl., BT} žala n. 'fine (Strafgeld, Geldbuße)', Chv L (< VTt?) jula jup 'to pretend, to speak deceitfully (лукавить), to calumniate'; NaT \*jalʷan 'a lie; untruthful' > OT {Cl.} jalʷān id., 'a liar', MQp XIV jalʷan 'a lie', Tk ɥalan, Ggz, Az, Tkm, Qq jala, Qzq Δ žalan, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jalʷan, Uz jalʷan, QBl, Qrg žalʷan, Qzq, Qq žalʷan id. ¶ Cl. 919, 926, ET J 87, 91-2, BT 44, Rl. III 154 and IV 36, Jeg. 347, TkR 811 || M \*ǰali 'ruse, deceit' > WrM ɣali, HIM заль 'ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit', WrO zalida- v. 'deceive, trick', zalidul 'cunning, ruse'; ⇨ WrM ɣaliqai, HIM залхай, зальхай 'treacherous, cunning', Ord {Ms.} žǎliχā 'astucieux', WrO {Krg.} zalixai 'crafty, wily', Kl {Rm.} zaχā 'listig, hinterlistig', ? Ba zelu 'cunning, cute' ¶ MED 1031, KW 465, Ms. O 183, Krg. 659, T BJ 140 || Tg: [1] AmTg \*jelēn 'deceit, lie' > Ul žǰǰǰ(n-), Ork žǰǰǰ(n-), žǰǰǰ(n-), žǰǰǰ(n-), Nn Nh žǰǰǰ id.; Ul žǰǰǰči-, Ork žǰǰǰ-, žǰǰǰǰǰǰ-, Nn Nh žǰǰǰǰ- v. 'deceive, tell a lie'; Ul žǰǰǰ(m)bu, Ork žǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ, Nn Nh žǰǰǰǰku, žǰǰǰǰpi 'deceiver, liar'; [2] Tg \*jelum n./adj./adv. 'secret(ly)' > Ewk, Neg ɣǰlum, Lm ɣǰlǰm id., Lm ɣǰlǰm-, Ork ɣǰlum- 'approach stealthily, steal in' ¶ STM I 28 ¶¶ KW 465 (A \*ǰal; T \*ǰal- 'hide', M), DQA #2590 (A \*ǰela 'deceive') ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. тайный \*zalḥ (U, A).

2723. ?σ \*ǰAḥU1ḅ ≈ (calf of) leg', (?) 'bone of leg' > K \*ǰḅǰwal-, {K, K²} \*ǰǰwal- 'bone' (× N ?φ \*śewḅnǰḅ 'ε bone'??) > OG ɣual-, G ɣval- id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln žǰǰw id., ? Mg ⇨ G Gr žǰǰǰv- 'robust man' (← \*'bony man') ¶¶ K 241, K² 291, GhI. 782, TK 888 || HS: SC: Kz {E} ɣulu-tiko 'calf of leg' ¶ E SC 353 || S \*ǰ|ḅaḥā| > Gz {L} zaḥā| 'hind leg', Amh zal id. ¶ LG 634, DRS 714 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 6 || D \*ǰallaḥ- 'cloth for legs' > Tm, Ml callaḥam 'short drawers', Kt ǰalaḥm, ǰaḥm 'perineal cloth', Kn callaḥa, cal(a)ḥa, collana, colḥa 'drawers\breeches', Tu callaḥa, callaḥa, Tl callaḥaḥamu 'short breeches'; D ⇨ OI

calanaka- 'a short petticoat' ¶ D #2379 || ?σ A: Tg \*jalan 'knee, elbow, joint (of a limb)' > Ewk Z jāla 'elbow', Ewk, Neg jalan, Orc, Ud, Ul žala(n-), Ork dala(n)-, Nn žalã, WrMc žala, žalan 'joint (of a limb), Ewk Sm † jalan 'ell', Lm jalbn 'joint of the knee' ¶ STM I 245-6.

2724. \*ǰiXIV ~ \*ǰiIXV 'to creep, to crawl' > HS: CS \*√zhl (~ \*°√zlx) 'creep, slide' > BHb, JA [Trg.] √zhl v. 'creep, crawl', Sr 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 zāh'l-ā 'locustae repentēs' (← acp. G 'crawling') Ar Δ √zhl {GB ← Lb.} 'gleiten', {Del.} 'sich verkriechen' ¶ GB 196, KB 256-7, KBR 267, Js. 390, Lv. T I 213, Br. 194, Lb. PD 428, DRS 714 || IE: NaIE \*sel- (~ \*tsel-?) v. 'creep, crawl' (× N \*ǰiIV 'to slip, to slide') > OI 'tsarati 'creeps on, sneaks', tsaruh 'a crawling animal', Av sruant- 'crawling' || Lt seléti 'to creep, to tread noiselessly' || Arm unḡiḡ sōḡim (< \*tsol-?) 'I glide, creep into, slip' || MDt, ME slīken 'leise gleitend gehen, OHG slīhhan ~ slīchan 'to crawl, to slink', NHG schleichen 'to crawl, to creep' || ? OIr selige 'turtle' || ?? Al shlligē ~ shelligē 'viper' (acc. to O xix, the change \*s > Al sh [outside the intervoc. position after \*ī, \*ū] is irreg.) ¶ \*t- in OI and pre-Arm may be a remnant of a px., e.g. \*d- as a zero grade of the px. \*ad- 'to' ¶ P 900, EI 141 (\*(t)sel- 'sneak\crawl up on'), Hamp AIEW 145, M K I 540-1, Kb. 909, OsS 822, KM 655, Frn. 774, Vn. S 81-2, O 425 (treats Al shlligē as a tabooistic description from lig) ¶ The absence of traces of a lr. points to a metathetic variant \*ǰiIXV of the N etymon ¶ The meaning 'slip, slide, glide' may be due to the merger with N \*ǰiIV '↑' || A \*ǰilâ- 'creep' > T \*jīl- 'creep' > Qrg žil-, VTt Δ žьl- 𐎠 jьl-, Uz žil-, Alt žil-, Xk, Qzl čil-, Yk sīl- id.; ⇨ T \*jilān 'snake' > OT {Cl.}, Tkm jilān, MU, XwT jilan, MQp, Chg jilan ~ ilan, Tk ɟilan, Az илан jilan, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog, SY jilan, VTt, Bsh jьlan, ET, Ln ilan, Uz ilan, QrB, Qrg žilan, Qzq, Qq žilan, Alt žilan, Xk, Tv čilan, Chv śblen, Δ śblen; the loss of the vowel length of \*i in T \*jilān (or in Tkm jilān?) is still to be explained ¶ ET J 40-1, 277, TL 180, Cl. 930, Jeg. 210, Fed. II 106-7 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. ползти \*zilA (IE, A, S + \*÷ ? K \*zirṭ > Mg zirṭ- 'to slip'), Resh. NNE #14 (U, A).

2725. \*ǰü,hV,lyV (or \*ǰu,hV,lyE) 'smoulder, burn' (intr.); 'live coals' > HS: S \*°√zlf 'burn (so.'s skin) with' (fire) > Ar √zlf 'brûler avec le feu (p. ex. le pied à quelqu'un)' ¶ Fr. II 249, BK I 1005, Hv. 293 || EC: Rn {PG} žiláh 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (× N \*ǰi'ILhV '[char]coal, soot') ¶ PG 167, Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30 || K \*°cχ'u' >

Sv L cχul-, cχwł- v. 'singe, burn the surface of (опалить, обжечь)', msd. {TK}: UB/Ln li-cχwłe, L li-cχwłi id. ¶ TK 478, Dn. s.v. cχul- || IE: NaIE \*swel<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>- vi. 'smoulder, burn' > OI {MW, M} \*swar- v. 'shine' || Gk έλλη, έλη 'sun's heat/warmth', έλάνη 'torch of reeds', άλέα warmth, heat (of fire) || AS swelan, OFrs swela vi. 'to burn, be to burnt up', MLG swelen > NLG swēlen ⇨ NHG schwelen 'to smoulder' || Lt svilti / svilū vi. 'singe, burn without flame', Ltv sviļt (prs. svilstu, svilū, svilū) 'to burn, to singe, to glow' ¶ WP II 531-2, P 1045, EI 88 (\*swel- 'burn'), ≈ M K III 563 (does not distinguish this √ from IE \*seh<sub>1</sub>wel- 'sun'), MW 1281, F I 458-9, Ho. 334, KM 692, Frn. 954 || U \*śūže or \*šūže 'charcoal' > F syzi (gen. syden), Es süsi (gen. söe) id. | pLp {Lr.} \*ćzδz id. > Lp: S tjirre, L tjatā, N {N} čâđđâ / -đ-, I čičđđa id. | pMr {Ker.} \*śed id. > Er, Mk cedь śed, Er Δ {Mu.} śäd | pChr {Ber.} \*šüy id. > Chr: L шүй šüy, B, M šüy, Uf šü, H шү šü id. || ObU {Ht.} \*süđ 'charcoal' > pVg \*süli > Vg T süli & süli; pOs \*söy ({HL.} \*süy) > Os V/Vy söy id. || Sm \*šiyъ ({Jn.} \*siyъ) 'live coal' (\*šūže < as. U \*śūže, unless the U etymon is already \*šūže) > Ne F {Lh.} tu's śiy ~ tu's śey id. (tu's 'fire'); En T {Adl.} sié 'pruna', En {Cs.} compd. tûsio 'coal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sić+ id.; Kms {Cs.} si? id.; Mt {HL.} \*ki (or \*kī, \*kiyi?) 'live coal' (Mt T/K {Mil.}, T {Adl.} gi 'pruna') ¶ UEW 477-8, Coll. 59, It. #426, Sm. 540 (U \*śūđi, FU, FP \*śūđi, Ugr \*śūđī, Sm \*sijə 'charcoal'), SK 1149, Lr. #99, Lgc. #437, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139, Ber. II 72, MRS 742, Ep. 157, Ht. #563, MK 573, Jn. 140, KKIH 170, Ptp. 45, Hl. M 79 (unc. on Sm \*s- > Mt k- preceding \*e, i, and \*ü), 276 [#479] || A: T \*jula 'torch, lamp, a light' and M \*žula id. (× N \*žuyǝ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' [q.v. ffd.]) || Possibly here also d.: T \*julťur ( {Md.} \*jūldur) 'star' (× N \*žuyǝ) || D \*čuj]-/\*čū]- 'fireplace' > Tm cuļļaj 'potter's kiln, furnace', cūļaj 'kiln, furnace, funeral pile', Ml cuļļa 'potter's furnace', cūļa 'brick-kiln'; D ⇨ OI, Prkr cullī- 'fireplace' ¶ D #2709 ◇ The K vl. cnss. \*cχ- (for the expected vd. \*zϕ- < N \*ž...ϕ) may point to the presence of a lr. ≈ \*h (that regularly disappears in S) ◇ ≈ IS MS 370 s.v. уголья \*śuλΛ (IE, U + \*÷ D \*čutǝ 'burn'), ≈ AD LZL 361-2 (\*žulǝ, sc. AD [notation of AD ND] \*žulǝ E 'smoulder, burn': U, A [T, M], HS [S, C] + \*÷ D \*čutǝ 'burn').

2726.  $\text{₂}^* \text{z}^{\text{1}} \text{L}^{\text{1}} \text{K} \text{æ}$  'to slip, to slide' > HS: S  $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zlg}$  (or  $??\sigma$  WS  $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zlg}$ ) > Ar  $\text{زَلَج}$   $\text{zalǧ}$ - 'slippery place',  $\checkmark \text{zlg}$  'courir légèrement et glisser à la surface du sol' (and  $??\sigma$  MHb, JA [Trg.]  $\checkmark \text{zlg}$  G 'drip, flow', Gz  $\checkmark \text{zlg}$  'flow, trickle, drop'); cp. also Ar D {Lb.} v.  $\checkmark \text{zhlq}$  (pf.  $\text{zāhlaqa}$ ) 'slip (glisser)', Ar  $\checkmark \text{zhlq}$  TD (pf.  $\text{tazaḥlaqa}$ ) v. 'slide/slip upon one's posteriors' (ḥ due to contamination with CS  $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zhl}$  'creep, slide', F s.v. N  $^* \text{z}^{\text{1}} \text{i} \text{X} \text{I} \text{V} \sim ^* \text{z}^{\text{1}} \text{i} \text{I} \text{X} \text{V}$  'to creep, to crawl') ¶ Lb. 1827, BK I 1003, Ln. 1220, Js. 401, L G 637, DRS 733 || IE: NaIE  $^* \text{sleijǵ}$ - 'slippery, smooth', v. 'stroke, rub (the surface of sth.)' > Sl  $^* \text{sľzъkъ}$  'slippery' > OCS  $\text{СЛЪЗЪКЪ}$   $\text{сľzъkъ}$ , Slk  $\text{slizkŭ}$ , P  $\text{ślizki}$ , Uk  $\text{слизь'кий}$  id., as well as ( $\times$   $^* \text{slizъkъ} \leftarrow ^* \text{slizь}$  'slime') Slv  $\text{slizak}$ , Cz  $\text{slizkŭ}$ ,  $\text{slzky}$ , R  $\Delta$  'слизкий' 'covered with slime, slippery'; possibly  $\times$  N  $^* \text{s}^{\text{u}} \text{i} \text{ǵ} \text{ü} (-\text{k} \hat{\text{e}}) \rightarrow ^* \text{s}^{\text{u}} \text{i} \text{ǵ} \text{i} (-\text{k} \hat{\text{e}})$  'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' in R 'слизь' 'mucus, slime', Uk  $\text{слиз}$ , Slv  $\text{sliz}$  id., Blg 'слиза' 'saliva' || ON  $\text{slíkr}$  'Schleim auf der Fischhaut', Ic  $\text{slíkur}$  'smooth', Gmc pp.  $^* \text{slihta}$  'geglättet' > Gt  $\text{slaihts}$  'λεῖος, smooth', ON  $\text{sléttr}$  'smooth, even', OHG  $\text{slēht}$  'smooth, plain', MHG  $\text{slēht}$  'straight, even, smooth', NHG  $\text{schlicht}$  'smooth, plain' (and  $\text{schlecht}$  'bad?'), AS  $\text{sliht}$  'smooth, even' (> NE  $\text{slight}$ ) || OIr  $\text{fo-slig}$ - 'frotter, enduire' || Gk  $\lambda\iota\gamma\delta\eta\nu$  {P} 'die Oberfläche streifend', {LS} 'just scraping \ grazing' (IE  $^* \text{sl-}$  > Gk  $\lambda-$ ) ¶ P 663-4, Fs. 437-8, Vr. 515, Ho. 299, Skeat 570 (et. of NE  $\text{slight}$ ), Kb. 907, OsS 819-20, Lx. 197, KM 654-7, Vn. S 133, F II 121, Vs. III 671-2 || ?? A: Rm. EAS I 65-6 mentions M (WrM?)  $\text{zilga}$ ,  $\text{zilgai}$ ,  $\text{zilgam}$ ,  $\text{zilgag}$  'gleitend, glatt, fließend', but these words are absent in the standard dictionaries of M (those available to me) ◇ Derived from N  $^* \text{z}^{\text{1}} \text{i} \text{I} \text{V}$  'to slip, to slide' (q.v.)?

2727.  $^* \text{z}^{\text{1}} \text{A}^{\text{1}} \text{I} \text{V}$  'to be weak' > K: G  $\text{vi-zal-ebi}$  'be weakened' ¶ Chx. 2053, 2095 || HS: CS  $^* \text{zawl-}$  'cheap',  $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zwl}$  'be worthless, cheap' (or S  $^{\circ} \text{zawl-}$  'cheap',  $^{\circ} \checkmark \text{zwl}$ , if MHb is borrowed from Aram) > JPA, JEA, MHb  $\text{זַל זַל}$   $\text{zāl}$  'cheap', JA [Trg.]  $\checkmark \text{zwl}$  G (pf.  $\text{זַל זַל}$ ) 'be worthless, cheap', JEA  $\text{זַל זַל}$   $\text{zāl}$  'low price', SmA  $\checkmark \text{zll}$  G 'be unworthy'; KB mentions IA [Frh.]  $\text{zwl}$  or  $\text{zl}$  'of little value (geringschätzig)' (not confirmed by HJ) ¶ KB 256, Js. 386, Lv. I 522, Sl. 404, Tal 231-2 || ? Eg MKL  $\text{z}^{\text{3}} \text{w}$  'weak' (a person),  $\text{z}^{\text{3}} \text{w}$ - $\text{ᶜ}$  'weak of arm' (unless  $\leftarrow \text{z}^{\text{3}} \text{w}$  'zerbrechen') ¶ EG III 419, Fk. 209 || A ( $^* \text{z}^{\text{3}} \text{V} \text{I} \text{V}$  ({DQA}  $^* \text{z}^{\text{3}} \text{ē} \text{I} \text{O}$ ) 'weak, quiet'): NaT  $^* \text{ja} \text{I} \text{-}$   $\sim$   $^* \text{ji} \text{I} \text{-}$  'be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet' > Qrg  $\text{žāšI-}$



q 'weak', 'lean' (of meat), žašī- 'become soft\weak', 'start going bad' (of meat), Yk sīhīy- 'become tame' ¶ Rs. W 192, Jud. 241, JkR 362-3 || M \*žaliqa- '≈ be lazy, tired, apathic' > MM [HI] žaliqaj 'laziness', WrM žaliqai, HIM зал(ь)хай 'negligent, lazy', WrO {Krg.} žaliqai 'careless', WrM žalqadu, HIM залхуу 'lazy, idle', Kl {KRS} залху žalχu 'lazy, lazy person', {Rm.} žalχū 'faul, träge, müde, apathisch', Dg {T} žalkō 'lazy person', {Mr.} žalekō 'lazy', WrM žalqa-, HIM залха- 'get tired', Dg {Mr.} žalekō-re- v. 'tire, get\be tired' (but WrM žalqa-, HIM залха- 'be afraid\frightened' is likely to go back to another √); M \*žalira- > MM [S] žalira- 'vom Zorn ablassen', WrM žalira-, HIM залира- v. 'shirk, be lazy\nonchalant, rest from work' ¶ MED 1032, H 85, Ms. H 65, KW 465, KRS 239, T DgJ 142, Mr. D 175, Krg. 659 || Tg \*°jēl- > Ewk jēl- 'become quiet' (of a sound) ¶ STM I 283 || pJ {S} \*dās- > OJ jāsa-, J T yaseru 'be emaciated', OJ jāsu {S} 'quiet, easy', {Mr.} 'easy, cheap', J: T/Kg yasú-, K yásù- 'quiet, easy' ¶ S QJ #556, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2163, S AJ 135 (on pJ \*d- > OJ j-) ¶¶ DQA #2591 (\*žělo 'weak, quiet').

**2728. \*ЗаНУ́И** 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE \*suh₁- / \*suhel- / \*seh₁wel- / suhōl- ({M} \*suḡ₂l- / \*suḡ₂el- / \*seḡ₂uel- / \*suḡ₂ōl-) > NaIE {P} \*sa₁;wel- / \*s(u)wel- / \*s(u)wōl- / \*sūl- 'sun' > Vd 'svaḥ₁ ('svar) ~ 'suvaḥ₁ ('suvar) (gen. 'sūr-as, dat. sūr-ē) 'sun, sunshine, splendour, bright sky', Av hv ar θ 'sun' (gen. hūr-ō), MPrs χᵛ ar, NPrs هور hūr, خور ~ خور χor, Oss I χūr, Oss D χor id.; personifying d. with \*-ya-: OI sūryaḥ₁ ('sūr-ya-s) 'sun, sun-deity' ||| pGk {M} \*hāwel- ⇨ \*hāwel-yo- > Gk Cr [Hs.] ἄβέλιος, Gk D/Ae/Ar ἄέλιος, Gk Hm ἠέλιος, Gk A ἥλιος 'sun' ||| L sōl 'sun' (< \*suḡ₂ōl-, {E} < saḡl- < \*seh₁ul-) ||| MW heul, W haul, OCr [VC] heuul, MCr heul, hou, OBr {Flr.} hou, MBr heul, heaul, Br heol, Br V hi(a)ol 'sun' ||| Gmc {Fs.} \*sōwulā > Gt sauil, ON, Ic sól, AS sōl 'sun' ||| {P} \*sāwelyā, {Fm.} \*saḡliyā > Blt: Lt sáulē, Ltv saũle, Pru saule 'sun' || SI (× IE \*suḡ₂en-, / below) \*sьlnь 'sun' in derived words: [1] SI \*po-sьlnь 'sun-wise (from the east to the west)' > R Δ 'посолонь, SCr Cr Δ na oposun id., [2] SI \*°bez-sьlnь-нь > OCS БЕСЛЪНЬНЪ beslьnьnъ 'ánḥlios, without sun', [3] R Δ солно'пѣк 'full blaze of the sun', солново'рот 'solstice, Sonnenwende', [4] SI \*sьlnь-це 'sun' (originally dim.) > OCS СЛЪНЦЕ slьnьce, Blg 'слънце, SCr sūnce, Slv sōnce, Cz

slunce, Slk slnce, P słońce, R 'солнце, Uk, Blr 'сонце 'sun' || NaIE \*swen-, \*sun- 'sun' (< IE \*suHen [{M} \*su<sub>2</sub>en-] < N \***ЗаHúí** + the N genitive pc. \*nu [> IE marker of oblique cases in heteroclitic nouns]) > Av gen. x<sup>v</sup>ēng 'of the sun' (< \*swen-s) (in {Brtl.} x<sup>v</sup>ēng.darasa adj. 'den Anblick der [wie die] Sonne gewährend') || Gt sunnō, ON, OSx, OHG sunna, NHG Sonne, AS sunna ~ sunne 'sun', NE sun || Glh. 594 mentions ; Lw si(h)wal- 'sun', not confirmed by available sources (Lar., GI, etc), while Mlc. CL 194 translates Lw si(h)wal- as 'stiletto' or sim. ← \*'sharpness'; if there is a lr. in this Lw word (and if its reading and Glh.'s interpretation are right), it will suggest a strong lr. (\*x) in pIE and a \***X|Q** in pN ¶¶ P 881-2, Ptrs. H 268 (IE heteroclitis: nom. \*sāu-el, gen. \*su-'n-es with unacceptable treatment of \*-el as a sx.), EI 556 (\*'seh<sub>u</sub>l- / gen. \*sh<sub>u</sub>'w-en-s 'sun'), M K III 496, 563, 566-7, M E II 793-4, WD II/2 938, BM 189, 599, Horn 111, Vl. I 746 and II 1484-5, Ab. IV 246-8, WH II 553-4, YGM-1 281, Flr. 214, Hm. 378, F I 631, Fs. 412, 460, Vr. 529, 561, Ho. 306, 330, Ho. S 72, Kb. 988, OsS 894, Schz. 275, KM 716, Frn. 765-6, En. 243, Vs. III 340, 710-1, Glh. 594, Brtl. 1880 || **HS**: B \*z<sup>v</sup>h<sub>1</sub>- ({Pr.} \*<sup>v</sup>zh<sub>1</sub>-) (= sg. \*zah<sub>1</sub>- / pl. \*zih<sub>1</sub>-?) 'sunshine, daylight, day' > Ah ah<sub>1</sub> (pl. ehīlān), Ttq ah<sub>1</sub> (pl. ehilan), Tnsl aš<sub>1</sub> (pl. išilan), Twl {Pr.} az<sub>1</sub> ~ aš<sub>1</sub> ~ až<sub>1</sub>, Ty {Pr.} āz<sub>1</sub> ~ āž<sub>1</sub>, Gh az<sub>1</sub> (pl. iżilan) 'day', Kb az<sub>1</sub> (pl. izilan) 'clarté du jour; pleine chaleur', Sll az<sub>1</sub> ~ az<sub>1</sub> 'daylight', Shnw azil 'le jour, plein soleil', Skn {Sm.} az<sub>1</sub> 'day', Si {La.} az<sub>1</sub> 'jour naturel, au jour' || Gnc P {Wlf.} zelō<sub>1</sub> 'sun' ¶ Pr. H #219, F 579, Dl. 941, La. MChB 181 [nt. 1, 3], Wlf. 588 ¶¶ The adduction of S \*<sup>o</sup>š<sub>1</sub>χ<sub>1</sub> (> Ar š<sub>1</sub>χ<sub>1</sub> 'clarify a beverage') [AD NSAS 170] is too qu. (?σ); if it is accepted, the N etymon must be \***žaquí** || **A**: T \*ja<sub>1</sub>č<sub>1</sub>l- v. 'blaze, flame' > OT jaš<sub>1</sub>- v. 'flash, shine', XwT/MQp {Cl.} jīš<sub>1</sub>- 'shine', Shor čaš<sub>1</sub>- v. 'lighten', Chv ší<sub>1</sub>/ž<sub>1</sub>- v. 'lighten, flash, shine'; ⇨ T \*ja<sub>1</sub>ik > NaT \*jaš<sub>1</sub>ik 'sun' > OT QU [MhK] jaš<sub>1</sub>iq 'sun', Chg XV jaš<sub>1</sub>iq id.; it is not clear if this word is identical with Osm, Tkm iš<sub>1</sub>iq, Tk ı<sub>1</sub>ı<sub>1</sub>ı<sub>1</sub>, Az iš<sub>1</sub>ı<sub>1</sub> 'bright, light, a light', MQp XIV iš<sub>1</sub>iq 'rays of light; light, brightness'; T \*ja<sub>1</sub>č<sub>1</sub>ln 'lightning' > OT, XwT jaš<sub>1</sub>ln, Chg jaš<sub>1</sub>ln ~ iš<sub>1</sub>ln, MQp jaš<sub>1</sub>ln ~ jāš<sub>1</sub>ln, Qmq jaš<sub>1</sub>ln, Uz jaš<sub>1</sub>ln, Nog jaš<sub>1</sub>ln, VTt, Bsh jāš<sub>1</sub>ln, Alt žāš<sub>1</sub>ln, Sg čaz<sub>1</sub>ln, Shor čaž<sub>1</sub>ln, VTt {əRl.} jaš<sub>1</sub>ьm, ET {Rl.} jaš<sub>1</sub>im, Chv ší<sub>1</sub>ьm id., (?) Kr Cr ješ<sub>1</sub>im 'reflection of a distant lightning (seen in the sky) (зарница)' ¶ The rec. of \*č is based on Chv -š/ž<sub>1</sub>- (< \*-č<sub>1</sub>- reg. ); but if Chv -š/ž<sub>1</sub>- is here due to as., the pT rec. must be \*ja<sub>1</sub>-;

even if the rec. of \*-ĺç- is right, this \*-ĺ- may well result from ass. palatalization due to \*ç; in both latter cases Chv śiź\_bm may belong to T \*jalIn (< N \*ǰalV [or \*ǰalVçV] 'flame', q.v.) or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Rs. W 192, Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, 65-6, Rl. III 247-8, Ash. XII 171-3, Jeg. 214, Fed. II 123, Md. 104, 160 (\*ǰalčũ 'блестеть') || ? pJ \*sas- v. 'shine' > OJ, J T sas- id. ¶ S QJ #592 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2565 (A \*zǰoía 'shine; blaze'; incl. T, J), Md. 104 (qu. T \*jalčũ ÷ M \*nōl'ũ'ɣe 'flame' ÷ Tg nul- 'kindle') ◇ If the primary meaning in T is 'sun', that of pN is 'sun, sunshine, day'. But if in T the primary meaning is 'shine', we must suppose the same meaning in pN ◇ ≈ AD NSAS 169-70 (\*ǰalčũ; IE, B, T + \*U \*yeLa 'shine' and qu. S \*o✓ŝχl) → Glh. 594.

2729. \*ǰAħiǰV (or \*ǰAɣiǰV?) 'wolf, dog' > HS: S: Ar zalħab- 'wolf' (< N \*ǰAɣiǰV-bA with the adjectival pc. \*bA for animal names [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1001 || EC: Af {PH} dálħu (pl. dalāħá) 'striped hyena', Sa {R} dālehō (pl. dalāh) "der Wolf" (= 'lycaon pictus'?) ¶ PH 79, R S II 106 ¶¶ In HS there is metathesis and an obscure devoicing: \*-ɣL- > \*-ħ- || K \*ǰaɣ- 'dog' > OG, G ǰaɣl-, Mg ǰoɣor-, Lz ǰoɣo(r)-, Sv UB/Ln ǰeɣ (dat. ǰaɣw), L ǰeɣ ¶¶ K 236, K<sup>2</sup> 283, FS K 429-30, FS E 484 (\*ǰaɣl-), TK 684 || D \*čākil-, {ǰGS} \*ǰǰāɣil- 'ε dog' > Kn jāɣila 'dog', Tu jāvaɣa nayi 'wolf-dog', Tlg jāgilamu 'hound, hunting dog' ¶¶ An interesting case of D {GS} \*-ɣ- from N \*-ħ- (or \*-ɣ-?) ¶¶ D #2459, GS 159, 168 (on the reflexes of pD \*-l-) ◇ K \*ɣ- (if it is from N \*-ħ-) may be due to as. (\*ǰVħ- > \*ǰVɣ-).

2730. \*ǰalXV (or \*ǰalHV) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE \*sal<sub>l</sub>a- 'saliva, wet dirt' > L salīva 'saliva' || ScGl sal 'wet dirt, ear-wax', OIr saile 'saliva', W haliw id., 'spittle' (← L?), Br halo, hal id. || ?? Gk ὀλόγ (WH: < ὀλόγ?) 'dark liquor (the ink of the cuttle-fish, blood)' ¶ × homonymous \*sal- words of different origin ¶ ≈ WH II 468-9, ≠ P 879, ≈ Mn. 1110, F II 381, Vn. S 14, Hm. 368 || A: T \*jāl 'tears' (× N \*ńog'ä'l<sub>l</sub>yV 'slime, tears [?], moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 975-6, ET J 161-4 (both of them treat jaš 'fresh', jaš 'green', jaš 'tears', jaš 'year of one's life', etc. as one polysemous T word), DT 218, Jeg. 120-1 || Tg \*jalj- v. 'flow' (of saliva) > Ewk jalj-; d. \*jalj-ksa 'saliva, slime' > Ewk jaliksa, Lm jalsɔ, Orc diliksɔ ~ duluksa 'saliva', Neg jalsa, Ud ǰale<sup>h</sup>ä, Ui ǰēlčusqa, ǰulauqsa, Ork jelusqa, Nn Nh ǰuloqsa 'saliva', 'slime (as on the skin of fish)'; \*jalj-ptun 'bib (protecting the baby's garments from saliva)' > Ewk jaliptun, Neg jalipun ¶ STM I 246

|| ? M: HIM, Brt залхаг 'slime, mucus, pus' ¶ Luv. 190, Cev. 263, Chr. 248 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2586 (A \*ǰǎlu 'saliva'; incl. M, Tg) || D \*ǰa]∇ ({ǰGS} \*ǰǰ-) 'slime, mucus' > Tm caḷi 'catarrh, mucus blown out of the nose, phlegm', Ml caḷi 'mucus, semen', Tl jalubu, Gdb ǰalbu 'a cold, catarrh, influenza' ¶¶ D #2409 || ? HS: WS \*√zlh > MHb {Js.} חֲלִי 'zɛlaḥ 'sprinkling fluid, perfume', MHb √zlh v. G 'drip, wet', JA [Trg.] √zlh v. G id., 'sprinkle', JEA √zlh D 'sprinkle', Sr √zlh v. G 'pour out, sprinkle, bedew', Md zhʔl pf. 'sparsit', Ar D {L from unk. source} mezelah 'vessel for drawing water', Gz √zlh v. G or D 'drain out, draw\empty all the liquid from a vessel, wring out a wet garment' ¶ Js. 401, Sl. 414, Br. 197-8, JPS 116, LG 637 || WCh: Mpn {Frz.} zēl 'saliva' ¶ Frz. DM 69 ◇ The T long vw. points to the presence of a N lr. (following N \*-í- rather than preceding it, otherwise we would have expected a long vw. in IE [and D?]). If the S cognate is rejected (for insufficient semantic proximity), one remains with N unspecified cnss. \*ǰ- and \*H ◇ AD GD 7, ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. слизь \*zα/1/α (IE, Tg, D).

2731. ?σ \*ǰom∇ 'spice, spicy mineral, spicy food' > K {K2} \*ǰm(u)-, {FS} \*ǰum- 'salt' > Mg ǰimu id. (d. ǰimol- v. 'salt'), Lz (n)ǰumu, Sv: UB/LB/L ǰim (LB gen. ǰǎm-am) 'salt'; ⇨ K \*ǰmar- 'vinegar' > OG ǰmar-i id., Mg ǰumor-i, Lz ǰumo(r)-, nǰumor-, Sv ǰimar id. ¶¶ K 239-40, K 289-90, FS K 437, FS E 493-4, Dt. ASK I 51, Chik. 23, Chx. 2081, Q 376, 416, TK 888, GP 313 || D \*ǰomm-, {ǰGS} \*ǰǰomm- '≈ spicy food, (spicy) soup' > Klm ǰomma 'broth', Gnd M/B {Tr., Ph.} ǰammō 'meat-soup, curry' ¶¶ D #2851, BB CVG #1394 || HS: B \*°√zmm > Tmz azammum 'orge encore légèrement verte qu'on moissonne pour le griller et piler, sert à confectionner le bendeq (pâte faite du blé grillé)' ¶ MT 807 ||? Eg smyr (< \*zmyr?) 'soda (Natron)' ¶ Mks. II #78.3538.

2732. \*ǰæm,ʔ,∇ (or \*ǰ-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' > HS: WS (or CS) √zmm > Ar √zmm G {Ln.} tie, bind, fasten', Sr √zmm G (pf. zam) 'tie\train a tree, tie a vine', zamā'm-ā 'tie of a vine', Gz √zmm G (pf. zamama, js. yəzməm) 'tie with a cord the lower jaw of a horse\mule', zamām 'nose rope of an animal, halter, muzzle of a wooven cord' ({Nld.}: ← Aram/Sr) ¶ Ln. 1248-9, BK I 1008, JPS 117, LG 638, Nld. NB 41, DRS 748-9 || Eg fp zmə 'unite; be united with, join' ¶ EG III 446, Fk. 225 || ?σ K {K} \*ǰma-, {FS} \*ǰam- 'brother' > OG ǰma-y, G ǰma id., ǰama, ǰam-o id. (used as vocative), ǰam-ia, ǰam-iḳ-o 'brother' (dim., used as vocative), G P ǰam-ula 'brother' (dim.), Mg ǰima, Lz ǰuma 'brother', Sv: UB ǰǎm-il, LB ǰim-il, L/Ln ǰumil 'brother (in relation to a

sister)' ¶ K 239-40, K<sup>2</sup> 288-9, FS K 428-9, FS E 483, Chx. 2056, 2080, TK 890 || IE: NaIE \*som-/sm̥- 'together, with' (× N \*s̥im̥ 'name, the same [→ IE 'one'] [q.v.]) > OI sa-'ha, (in cds.) sadha- 'together, jointly, with', Av hadā, haḍa, OPrs hadā id. (< N \*ǰæm̥, ǰ, ǰ da [\*da 'in' < N \*d̥oy̥a 'place, inside']); OI 'sam-'together', Av ham-, han-, hən-, ḥam-, OPrs ha(m)- 'with, together' || Lt sam-, sa- px. 'together' (sam̃das, sam-dà 'hire, rent' [\*som- + \*dh̥ē- 'put'], sambuvis 'coexistence', sa-junga 'union, alliance'), Ltv so- [sū̃o-] px. 'together' (sô-wardis 'Namensvetter' [vārd-s 'name']), Pru sen prep. 'with, together', san- (in sanday 'go away!' ← \*'with god') | SI \*sq- px. 'together', e. g. \*sq-sěd-ъ 'neighbour' (lit. 'Mit-wohn-er') > OCS сѣсѣдѣ съсѣдѣ, Blg сѣ'сед, SCr сѣ'сед њ сѣ'sjed, сѣ'сед њ сѣ'sjed, Slv sósed, Cz soused, P sasiad, R co'ced, R Δ, Blr сѣ'сед, Uk сѣ'сид id. | ? BSI \*su 'with' (here unless from IE \*ksu, n̥, cp. Gk ξύν, σύν 'with') > Lt su 'with', SI \*s̥b (+ instr.) 'with' > OCS, OR сѣ сѣ, Blg с / сѣ, SCr с / са, Slv с / z, Cz с / se, R с / со, Uk, Blr з | OI 'sma't 'together, jointly', Av ma't 'together, with' || Gk ἄ- / dis. ἄ- (α copulativum, px. of union\likeness), ἄμα prep. 'together with, at the same time with' (× IE \*sem- 'one') ¶ P 902-5, EI 646 (\*som- '[together] with'), M K III 450, 548, M E II 779-80, Frn. 753-4, 935-6, En. 242, 246, En. APG 152-3, Vs. III 539-40, 736, F I 1, 83, Ch. 2, 68-9 || A: NaT \*jā|emā|e ({Cl.} \*jāmā) 'and; also, too' > OT {Cl.} jā mā id., XwT XIV j̃mā ({Cl.} y.me:) 'and', MQp XIV [CC] jemese (Rs.: < \*jEmā-ārsā) 'or also' ¶ Cl. 934, ≈ Rs. W 196, ≈ Rl. III 388-9 ◇ If the K√ belongs here, the N initial cns. is \*ǰ-, otherwise it is \*ǰ|ǰ- (= \*ǰ-).

2733. \*ǰiωm̥, ǰ, gE 'leopard' > IE: NaIE \*sing̥h̥o- 'leopard' or 'lion' > Arm Ինձ inz (gen. pl. Բնձուկ անջու-с<sup>h</sup>) ~ Ինժ inc 'leopard' || OI sim̥ha-h̥ 'lion', Pali, Prkr sīha- id. ¶ WP II 508, Mn. 158, EI 350 (?? \*sin'g̥h̥os- 'leopard'), 356, Tu. #13384, Hü. I 450, Ach. II 243, Slt. 420-1, M K III 463, M E II 727-8 (no et. of OI sim̥ha-h̥) || HS: EC: HEC \*zagum 'leopard' (metathesis \*-mg- > \*-g̥m̥-) > Tmbr {L} zegu'ma, Sd dagūn-č̣o id. | Ya {Hn.} suṅqai (pl. suṅqaimo') 'lion' ¶ LZ 120, Hd. 91, Hn. Y II 129 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ǰǰǰǰǰǰ, Bd ǰǰ-ǰǰ-ēn 'lion' | Hs zāḳi, Gw ǰāḳi id. || CCh: pMrg \*ǰiη̃m̥ > Cb {ChL} ǰiη̃m̥, WMrg {ChL} ǰiη̃m̥, ? Br {ChL} c̣iη̃i, ? Ngx {ChL} c̣iη̃i id. | Lgn {Lk.} zǰṿni id. | Db {Lnh.} nǰǰǰǰ id. | Ms {Mou.} zǰṃí, ? {J} ṣônà, ? Bnn {ChL} ẓónà, ? BnnM {ChL} ṣona id. || Ech: Mkl {J} ṣụẉẉú, Kwn {ChC} ṣeṃḳi, ṣeṃg̣í id. ¶ ≈ Sk.

HCD 295, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN || D \*<sup>2</sup>civ∇ŋki 'leopard' and sim. (×N \*<sup>2</sup>ĉ'i'bv∇y∇ or \*<sup>2</sup>ĉ'i'bv∇f∇ 'hyena' and N \*<sup>2</sup>šib∇f∇ 'beast of prey') > Tm civiŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiŋhi 'hunting leopard', Kn sivaŋgi 'tiger-wolf, hyena', Tl civāgi, civvāgi, civvaŋgi, sivāgi, sivaŋhi, sivvaŋgi 'hyena' ¶¶ D #2579 || ?σ A: ?σ,φ AmTg \*yengū > Ul yzŋgul(i) 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU yzŋgur, Nn B yzŋguru 'wolf', ?φ: Orc ŋiŋgu, Ud ŋiŋgu id. (×N \*Lü|uŋ'gæ?∇ 'ε beast of prey') ¶ STM I 498, 639, 650 || ?? M: HIM жингэр 'bitch' ¶ Luv. 180, Cev. 247 ¶ Dubious, because not attested in M outside HIM (even in WrM) ¶¶ ≠ DQA #1200 (A íeŋg∇ 'ε predator' > HIM, Tg) ◇ In IE, pMrg, and D there is as. \*-mg- > \*-ŋg- ◇ AD NM #4 (\*Siw∇ŋgE 'leopard'), S CNM 5 (suggested to adduce T \*jebken [sc. \*je|äbken] 'wolverine', that in my opinion is likely to belong to N \*<sup>2</sup>ǰæ?∇b∇ 'ε beast of prey', q.v.; ÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 17 (doubts about the semantic changes in Tg).

2734. \*<sup>2</sup>amaka ~ \*<sup>2</sup>am∇k∇ 'to throw, to cast' > HS: CS ✓znk 'throw' > Sr ✓znk G 'throw', BHb ✓znk D h.l. 'spring out, hervorspringen', MHb ✓znk D {Js.} 'squirt, sputter, reject wih force', Sh (pf. ḥiz'nīk) vt. 'drop, pour' ¶ Br. 201, KB 265, Js. 407, DRS 765 || ? Ch: Msg {Trn.} šŋn∇k∇ 'throw' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE {WP} \*sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike' > Lt Δ prs. smag-iŭ / inf. smōg-ti (Δ) 'throw (sth. heavy)', (Δ and StLt) 'fling, beat, whip', Lt Δ smōgis 'heftiger Wurf, Schlag' || Sl \*smaga-ti 'to strike, to flog' > P smagać 'to whip, to flog', R Δ сма'гать, Uk смаг'нути, сма'гати 'to strike, to flog' || Sw smäcka 'heftig niederwerfen', {Hlq.} 'slänga (to fling)', NGr Δ schmacken 'to cast, to fling away', MLG smacken, Dt smakken 'to throw, to fling, to slap, to smack', NE (← MLG or MDT) smack v. 'strike heartily \ noisily' ¶ WP II 682, Mn. 1221, Tr. 270, Mikl. E 309, Frn. 848, DLKZ†746, PiesS 662, Vs. III 683, Hlq. 1006-7, Vr. N 655, HDEL 1219 || A: M \*<sup>2</sup>anŋu- > WrM занŋу- vt. {MED} 'cast, throw; direct to', Kl занĥх занŋуъ-хъ, Brt зангаха занга-ха 'to raise one's hand (in order to strike), to swing (e.g., one's arms)' ('замахиваться, размахивать'), ('raise one's hand' → 'threaten'): WrM занга-, WrO занга- 'threaten' ¶ MED 1035, Gl. III 427, KRS 241, Chr. 249, Krg. 655 ◇ As. \*mḳ > \*ŋk (> S \*nḳ) and \*mk > M \*-ŋg.

2735. \*<sup>2</sup>en∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sheaf of corn') > K: OG, G zna 'sheaf of corn' ¶ Chx. 2082, DCh. 1621

|| IE: NaIE {WP} \*song<sup>h</sup>o/ā- or \*sonko- 'sheaf of corn, straw, chaff' (×N \*<sup>r</sup>ś' äŋka ≈ bough, inedible or less valuable parts of plants [straw, rind of fruit]?) > Arm **ուկ** ung (gen. **ըկոյ** əngoy) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG **sange** 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ **Sange**, Sangel, NE Δ **sangle** 'sheaf of corn', NLG † **sangeln** 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ἄχυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, FI 203-4 || D \*<sup>č</sup>ēŋ- / \*<sup>č</sup>enn- ({GS} \*ś-) 'ear of corn' > Tm **ēn**l, Tl **ennu**, **vennu**, Knd **seŋen** (pl. **seŋeku**), Gnd KM **en** id., Gnd **śen** **ś** han id. **ś** san 'head of jowar' **ś** **seŋk** pl. 'corn', Klm, Prj **čen** 'head of paddy', Nkr **śen** 'head of jowar', Gdb **čennu** **ś** **sen** 'ear of corn or paddy', Krx **hessu** **čannu** 'head of rice', Mlt **čanu** 'pod' ¶¶ D #2798.

**2736. \*<sup>ž</sup>E|aŋ** 'to burn' (intr.), 'live coal (embers), fire' > HS: Eg P **znzn.t** 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ EG III 461 || S \*<sup>o</sup>✓znd 'strike fire' > Ar ✓znd **G** 'faire jaillir le feu (à l'aide d'un zand-)', zand- 'briquet consistant en deux morceaux d'une espèce du bois qui frottés l'un contre l'autre donnent le feu' (→ Amh {DRS} **zand** [zənd?] id. [?] [{DRS} 'briquet fait de deux bâtons']) ¶ BK I 1016, DRS 759 || B: Zww {Ds.} **zizən-** 'get warm\heated', Kb {Dl.} **zizəzən** id. (secondary emphatization), Zng {TC} **oʔžuzun**, {MH→Nic.} **o-zzun** 'fire' ¶ Ds. IVB 257, AiM 260, TC D 3, TC Z 306 (oʔžuzun) || ? WCh: Krf **žinžinj** 'charcoal' ¶ JI II 66 ¶¶ Tk. I 128 (Eg, B, Ch) || A ({SDM97} \*<sup>ž</sup>äna, i.e. \*<sup>ž</sup>äna 'burn; ashes, [live] coal'): T \*jan- vi. 'burn, blaze up' > Tk **jan-**, Tkm, Az, Kr, Nog, ET **jan-**, Qq **žan-**, Qrg **žan-** id., Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Ln **jan-**, Uz **jan-**, Qzq **žan-**, Chv L **śun-** vi. 'burn' ¶ Cl. 942, 947-8, Rs. W 184, ET J 112-3, Jeg. 218, Fed. II 136 || Tg \***jač:n-** ({DQA} \***jan-**) 'flame' > Ewk PT/Ald/Z/Np/Uc **janəz-**, Ewk Nr/Skh v. 'blaze', Ud **žana** 'live coal', ? Ewk Sm **yandřa**, ? Ewk Np **yanda** 'ceremoinal fire', ? Nn B **yəngora** v. 'kindle, stoke (a hearth)', WrMc **yanğa**, **yanğan** 'torch' ¶ STM I 249, 341-2, Krm. 231 || pKo {S} \*<sup>č</sup>áĵ 'ashes' > MKo **čáĵ**, NKo **čä**, Ko Δ: Chs **čäL**, PhN/Hm **čä**, Ks **čê**, Chj **čä**, Kw **Lčä** ¶ S QK #2, Nam 418, MLC 1409 || pJ {S} \***dàni** 'tar, pitch' > OJ **yàni**, J: T/Kg **yaní**, K **yànì** ¶ S QJ #186, Mr. 573 ¶¶ S AJ 287, SDM97 (A \*<sup>ž</sup>äna), DQA #2603 (\*<sup>ž</sup>äjnà 'to burn; ashes; tar') || U: FU \***śin|ñe** ({UEW} \***śine**) 'charcoal' > Lp N {N} **čidnâ** / -n- id. || Hg **szén** (accus. **szenet**) 'coal', Hg Δ **szén** 'fire, live coal' ¶ UEW 480, Sm. 549 (FU, Fp \***śiini**, Ugr \***sinĩ** 'charcoal').

**2736a.**  $\text{₂}^* \text{ṣ} \nabla \bar{n} \nabla$  'image, sign' > **HS:** Eg fMKL zrn 'statue, sculptural \ pictorial image; image, figure; likeness', ? fMK zrn 'official document, written list, and sim.' ¶ EG III 460, Fk. 232 || **IE:** Ht sena- ~ sina 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)' ¶ Ts. W 74-5.

**2737.**  $\text{₂}^* \text{ṣ} \text{E} \bar{h} \text{N} \nabla$  'lie down, sleep' > **K:** GZ \*ṣin- 'lie, sleep', \*ṣil- (< \*\*ṣin-l-) n. 'sleep' > OG, G ṣin- v. 'sleep, fall asleep', ṣil-i n. 'sleep', Lz ṣir-i id., o-nṣir-u 'go to bed, fall asleep', o-ṣin-u 'lie down (sich hinlegen)', {Marr} ṣin- 'lie down, lean (ложиться, прислониться)', Mg ṣir-, nṣir- v. 'lie, sleep', v-o-nṣir-u-an-k 'I go to sleep', Lz o-nṣir-e, Mg o-nṣir-al-i 'bed' ¶ K 238, K<sup>2</sup> 287, FS K 434, FS E 489-90, Marr 236-7 || **HS:** WS \*√zħn > Gz √zħn G 'be tranquil \ quiet \ calm, repose', Ar √zħn G 'be slow, dilatory (in doing sth.)' ¶ LG 634, Fr. II 229, BK I 980, Hv. 285, DRS 716 || NrOm: Zl {C} zand-†Wl {C} zin?- 'lie (giacere), sleep', {Bnd.} zln?-, Dc {Bnd.}, Gm {Hw.} zin?-, Drz {Bnd.} zina?- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL #218 (NrOm \*zin-/\*zan- v. 'sleep'), Hw. EG, C SO 36, 45 || Ch: WCh: Pr {ChL} žingénò 'lie down', Dr {J} žówàn 'dream' || CCh: ?? Tr {Nw.} žine n. 'dream' (unless from HS \*s∇n with the reg. Tr voicing of cnss.), Pdl {ChL} žèni v. 'sleep', žina v. 'dream' || BB: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} žírò v. 'dream', žirité n. 'dream', Mln {ChL} zùrîtí n. 'dream' || FIM {ChL} zunuft 'lie down' ¶ JI II 108, ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT ##312, 458 || ?φ EC: Af {PH} dīne 'sleep, spend the night', Sa/Af {R} dīn- ~ dīn- v. 'sleep', Sa {Bnd.} dīne 'sleep', {R} dīn ~ (rare) dīn n. 'sleep' (only if Af/Sa d- may go back to EC \*z-) ¶ PH 92, R A II 839, R S II 126 ◇ Blz. KM 123-4 [#30] (K, EC, Om, Ch), ≠ AD NSAS 167 (adduced HS \*s∇n-, √wsn 'sleep, dream', cp. N ?σ \*s'ū'N∇ [= \*s'ū'η∇?] 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' and N \*sí|üñ'û' 'sleep, dream' [see s.v. N \*sí|üñî(-k∇) 'dark, night'])).

**2738.** \*ṣ|c|ix|yñ∇ '€ ungulate' > **K** \*°c|ç|en- 'horse' > OG, G cχen-i id. ¶ Srj. 254, DCh. 1605-6, Chx. 2041, KEGL VIII 681 || **U:** FU \*°c'ī'ñ∇ > OHg ≥XIII csina 'foal' (? × N \*ṣ'a'ñ<sub>l</sub>∇, g|kU '€ antelope' [q.v.]) ¶ EWU 212-3 || **D** \*c|ij|mk- ({θGS} \*ṣ|z-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N \*ṣ'a'ñ<sub>l</sub>∇, g|kU '€ antelope?') > Kn zırke, Tu zırkæ, Tl zırka 'antelope', Kn Bl žimke 'deer' ¶¶ D #2504 ¶ The element \*-k- ~ \*-mk- is likely to go back to a sx. or to a component of a cd.

**2739.** \*ṣ∇ñh∇ '≈ to acquire, to obtain, to increase' > **K:** GZ \*zen-/\*ṣin- 'add, be added, acquire' (× N \*ṣEηq∇ 'seek, try to obtain') > OG zen-/ṣin- 'acquire, gain', G ṣin-/zen- {Chx.} 'erwerben, anschaffen',



{Kl.} 'add, increase', Mg ʒin- v. id., 'acquire', Lz (n)ʒin- 'add, be added. increase, be increased' ¶ K 235, K<sup>2</sup> 279, FS K 422, FS E 476 (\*ʒen-/ʒin-), Q 374-5, Chik. 389, Chx. 2065 || HS: Eg XXII zrn.ω 'kaufen, an sich bringen' ¶ EG III 461 || IE \*senX- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sarh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' || NaIE \*se|anā-, \*se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (×N \*š̌n̄<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇ 'make, build' ×N \*ʒonX∇ 'want, wish' ×N \*ʒEŋq∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D \*čēna 'much, many' > Knd sēna 'much', Png heni 'many', ? modern Tl {Km.} śāna 'a lot' ¶¶ D #2824 ◇ N \*h is the only Ir. that yields h in Ht and is lost in K (and may be lost in the HS lgs.). If the Ht cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be \*š̌n̄<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>∇. If D \*čēna belongs here, the N nasal is \*n, otherwise we remain with a less specified \*n̄ (sc. N \*n|n̄).

2740. (₂?) \*ʒûw∇N∇ (= \*ʒûw∇'n̄|n̄'∇?) 'to copulate', (?) 'membrum virile' > HS: WS \*√zny v. 'fornicate' > BHb הַנִּי √zny|w G id., JA √zny|w G 'commit fornication, become involved with another man' (of a wife, betrothed girl), Sr √znw|y G (pf. לִּי זֵנֶה 'commit whoredom', SmA √zny G (pf. znh), Ar زنى √zny G 'commit adultery \ fornication', Mh √zny id., Hrs, Jb E/C, Gz {L} √zny 'fornicate', Gz zʒnyat, zʒnēt 'fornication, sperm', BHb prtc. הַנִּי ~ הַנִּי זֵנֶה zō'nā 'whore, fornicatrix', NNEA {Mcl.} zārī tā 'fornicatrix, prostitute', Plm znyṯ? 'whore, harlot'; Mn tδnt 'fornication', and Ug dnt 'lujuria, fornicación' (with WS \*δ-) may be explained (after MiK) by the infl. of WS \*√δmm 'blame, reprove; dispise, disgrace' (< N ?σ \*š̌Em∇ 'way [??]' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 263-4, KBR 275, Tal 234-5, Lv. I 545-6, Lv. T I 225, ≈ Js. 406, JPS 118, Mcl. 88, BK I 1018, Hv. 298, L ESAC 19, L G 642, Jo. M 468, Jo. H 149, Jo. J 149, DRS 760, MiK I #2.84 || K \*ʒuwan-/ʒuwn- v. 'copulate, get pregnant, be in heat' (of animals) > G ʒuwn- 'be in heat' (animals), {Chx.} m-ʒun-a-ob-a 'Läufigkeit, Brunst', {DCh.} 'heat (of animals), mating', MG {SSO}, G {DCh.} m-ʒuwn-ob-a 'copulating' (of dogs and wild beasts of prey), {Chx., DCh.} m-ʒun-av-i adj. 'in heat (läufig, brünstig)', Mg ʒun-, ʒud-/ʒvid-, Lz ʒund- v. 'kiss', Sv {FS} ʒuwān-~ʒwān-/ʒuwn-: li-ʒwān-i / ad-ʒuwn-e v. 'get pregnant' (of an animal), Sv UB {GP} li-ʒwan-āī msd. 'copulate' (of cats, dogs, wolves, bears) ¶ K<sup>2</sup> 291, FS K 437, FS E 493, Chx. 877, DCh. 927, GP 191 || ? D \*čun̄n̄- (/ \*čun̄t̄-?) ({GS} \*c|c-) > Tm,

Ml *cunṇi*, Kn *tunṇi*, *tunṇe*, Krx *ḥòṇḍō* 'membrum virile' ¶¶ D #2666.

**2741.** \*ǰ'a'ń<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>g|kU 'e antelope' > HS: B \*z∇nk∇ḡ- > Ah {Fc.} *tihānkād*, Twl {Pr.} *azānkād* & *ažānkād* & *tašānkāṭ*, Ty {Pr.} *azānkād*, ETwl/Ty {GhA} *ažānkād* (as. \*z...ḡ > ž...ḡ) 'gazelle' ¶ Fc. 679, Pr. H #319, GhA 222 || Ch: WCh: Hs *zānkē* 'duiker antelope' || Ang {Flk.} *zung* 'e antelope' (Hs *kānki*) || Sir *zəṅḡri* 'e a big antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 191 [#418] || ?? C: Ag \*č'a'ng∇n- > Bln {R} *šə'n'gīnā* 'Antilope strepsiceros (female)', Xm {R} *šajə'nā* id. ¶ R WB 326 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 11 (Ang ÷ B \*✓zmm 'Antilope oryx') || A: M: WrM {Kow.} *zāṅgu-tai*, {MED} *zāṅguudai* 'young antelope or elk' ¶ Kow. 2240, MED 1035 || U: FU \*č'óh∇ 'male or young ungulate' > F *sonni* 'bull, bullock', Es *sōnn* 'bull, female foal, ram', Lv *sonn* 'ram' || Prm {LG} *čāñ* 'foal' > Z *чань* *čāñ*, Vt *чуньы* *čuhñ* id. || ?? OHg *zXIII csi na* 'foal' (× N \*ǰ'č'ix|yñ∇ 'e ungulate' [q.v.]) ¶ UEW 614, It. #121, LG 301, EWU 212-3 || D \*č'ij|mk- ({ǰGS} \*ǰ|z-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N \*ǰ'č'ix|yñ∇ '↑') > Kn *ziṅke*, Tu *ziṅkæ*, Tl *ziṅka* 'antelope', Kn Bl *zimke* 'deer' ¶¶ D #2504 ◇ FU \*o for the expected \*a may be due to the infl. of the N word-final \*U (> M \*-u). The absence (loss?) of the FU reflex of N \*-g|k- still needs investigating. D \*i belongs to the heritage of N \*ǰ'č'ix|yñ∇ ◇ Cp. Blz. DA 157 [#54] (B, WCh, D).

**2742.** o \*ǰiṅo 'sing, produce (musical, ritual?) sounds by voice' > K \*o|žēn- > G P *žen-* 'sing' ¶ Chx. 401 || HS: CCh: Msg {Trn.} *zñn∇* ({Trn.} *z'ń*) 'sing' || ? WS (or SS?) \*✓zym (prm. \*-zīm-?) > Gz ✓zym G (pf. *ḥ̣̣ zēmā*) 'produce a tune, sing', *ḥ̣̣ zēmā* 'harmony, melody, song, liturgical chant', Ar Mgr {Cln.} pf. *zām* [zam] 'mugir', 'grogner' (sanglier), 'roucouler' (pigeonneau) (unless an independent o), Ar Sd {DRS} *zīm* 'cris' ¶ The S word belongs here if N \*-ḡ- may yield S \*-m- ¶ LG 638, DRS 725-6 || IE: NaIE \*seng<sup>wh</sup>- 'say, make an incantation, sing' > Gmc \*sing<sup>wan</sup> > Gt *siggwan* 'to sing, to read aloud, to prophesy', Gt Cr *singhen*, ON *syngva* ~ *syngja*, OSx *singan* 'to sing', OHG *singan* 'to sing, to sound', NHG *singen* 'to sing', AS *sinzan* id., 'to sound', NE *sing*; Gmc \*sang<sup>w</sup>-s > Gt *saggwas* 'Gesang, Musik, Vorlesung', ON *sqngr* '(sacred) song(s)', OSx *sang* 'singing, song', OHG *sang* 'song, sound', NHG *π Sang* 'song', AS *sanʒ* 'song, singing, poem; noise', NE *song* || Prkr *samḡhai* 'sagen, belehren', {E} 'say, honour', pIAr {Tu.} \*sang<sup>hati</sup> ~ \*sā<sup>hati</sup> 'tells' || Gk *ῥμφή* (<

\*song<sup>whā</sup>) 'divine voice, prophecy; voice' ||| Clt: MW *de-(h)ongli* 'explain' ¶ × N \*SUŋ<sub>l</sub>g<sub>l</sub>'o' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' (q.v.), the meaning 'sing, song' going back to N \*z'ingō, while the other meanings are likely to be connected with N \*SUŋ<sub>l</sub>g<sub>l</sub>'o' ¶ WP II 246, P 906-7, EI 519 (\*seng<sup>wh-</sup> 'sing, make an incantation'), Dv. #368, AHDI 58, F II 392-3, Fs. 403, 419, Vr. 573, 578, Ho. S 62, 64, Ho. 270, 294, Kb. 828, 855, OsS 743, 766, Tu. 757 (pIAR without specification) ||| A: M o \*z'ingine- > WrM *z'ingine-*, HIM *жингэнэ-, жинхнэ-* vi. 'ring, tinkle' (of bells) ¶ MED 1057.

2743. \*zōŋE (or \*zōñE) 'old' > K \*z'wen- 'become old' > Lz *mžven-* (n. act. o-mžven-u) id.; ⇨ K \*z'wen-l- ~ GZ \*z'wel- 'old' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK, GP} *žwineł-* 'old' (inanimate), Sv UB {GP} *žwinäld* 'formerly', Sv {Ni.} *žwneł-* 'become old'; OG *zueł-*, G *zvel-*, ? Mg *žveš-*, Lz (m) *žve(š)-*, *nžveš-* 'old' (Mg/Lz \*-š- < the gen. ending \*-š-, see Top. NS 238-9) ¶¶ K 238 (\*z<sub>1</sub>wen- 'grow old', \*z<sub>1</sub>wel- 'old'), FS K 432-3, FS E 488 (\*z<sub>1</sub>w- 'alt, altern'), TK 889, GP 313 ||| U: FU \*soŋ<sub>l</sub>k<sub>l</sub>∇ 'old' > pChr {Ber.} \*soŋgъ > Chr: H {Ep.} *шоньы šonъ* 'old' (of animate beings), {UEW} *šonъb* 'old', L *шонго šonъo* 'old, decrepit' (of a person), Uf/B *šonъo*, M *soŋъo* id. ||| OHg *agg* 'old' (of persons/things), Hg *agg* 'very old, aged', OHg *agg-* 'grow old', ? OHg *av-* 'altern, abgenutzt werden', ? OHg *avul-* 'altern', ? Hg *avul-* 'become obsolete \ antiquated', ? OHg XI *ohut*, XII *out*, XVI *awat* '(very) old', ? Hg *ó* 'old, ancient, antique' ¶ Coll. 71 (\*soŋ∇), UEW 448 (\*soŋ<sub>l</sub>k<sub>l</sub>∇), Sm. 548 (FU \*soŋkǎ, FP \*soŋka, Ugr \*θǎŋka), Bk. S 94, Ber. 66 [#345], MRS 719, Ep. 152-3, Ü 268, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 ||| A: T \*o'j'önü- > Tv *čönü-* 'grow decrepit\old', *čönük* 'aged, very old, decrepit' ¶ TvR 543, ≈ Rs. W 213 ◇ To distinguish from the reflexes of N \*s'e'ñ∇ 'long time; old' (q.v.).

2744. \*zEŋq∇ (= \*z'Eŋq∇?) 'seek, try to obtain' > IE \*senX∇ (× N \*š∇ñ<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>∇ 'make, build' × N \*zōŋX∇ 'want, wish' × N \*z'∇ñh∇ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase') > Ht {Ts.} *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' ('suchen, versuchen; erstreben, planen'; fordern, verlangen') ||| NaIE \*se|anə-, \*se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > OI *san-* (prs. *sa'nō-ti*, aor. '*sanat*) 'gain, obtain, procure', Av *han-* 'obtain, achieve' ||| ? Gk Hm *ἀννυμαι* (Mn: < \*san-ju-) 'take, take hold of' (unless \*aj<sub>l</sub>-nu- < IE \*aj<sub>l</sub>- 'seize' [> Ht *ai-* 'give']), Gk *ἄννυμι*, (thematized) *ἄνύω ~ ἄνύω*, Gk Hm *ἄνω* (< *ἄνω*) 'effect, achieve,

accomplish' ||| OIr {P} *con-sní* 'fights (for sth.), wins', {Vn.} 'il se bat (pour), il dispute (qch.), il gagne', *do-seinn* 'pursues, strives', ?σW *cynyddu* 'to overrun, to win', {P} 'erobern, zu gewinnen suchen', {YGM} 'to increase, to grow, to augment' ||| MHG *senen*, NGr Sw *sanen*, *sānen*, NHG *sehnen* 'to long, to yearn', MLG *senentlīken* 'sehnsüchtig' ¶¶ WP II 493-4, P 906, EI 3 (\**sen(h<sub>ǵ</sub>)*- 'seek, accomplish'), Mn. 1111-2, M K III 427-8, Vn. C 200, ≈ LP § 631, YGM-1 149, F I 41, 115, KM 698, Ts. W 70 || HS: mt. Eg fP *zχn* 'look for, seek', *zχn.ω* n.act. 'looking for, seeking' ¶ EG III 468-70 || A: T \**jind-* > OT {CL} *jind-* 'search (smth.), seek (smth.)' ¶ Cl. 946 || K: GZ \**zen-/zīn-* 'acquire, add' (× N \**ζ̣ν̄nhν* '≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Not here (because of \*o)FU \**soŋe* 'wish, want' (< N \**ζ̣oŋχν* id. [q.v. ffd.]). K \**z-* suggests N \**ζ̣-*, but the K √ is ambiguous, so that its ev. is not decisive.

**2745.** \**ζ̣oŋχν* 'want, wish' > HS: S \**o*√ *znḥ* > Ar √ *znḥ* (pf. *zanaḥa*, ip. -*znāḥ-*) v. 'praise' ({BK} 'louer, comblor d'éloges'), Ak *zerū* 'be angry, hate', *zerū* 'angry' ¶ BK I 1016, Hv. 297 || IE: NaIE \**se|anā-*, \**se|anu-* 'try to obtain, obtain' (× N \**ζ̣Eŋqν* 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd. × N \**ζ̣ν̄nhν* '≈ acquire, seize, increase' × N \**ṣ̌ν̄n̄<sub>1</sub>ν<sub>1</sub>ν<sub>1</sub>* 'make, build') || ? Ht *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N \**ζ̣Eŋqν* [= \**ζ̣Eŋqν*?] '↑', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU \**soŋe-* v. 'wish, want' > ObU \**θōŋk-* (~ \**θāŋkā-*?) v. 'want' > pVg \**tāŋk-* id. > Vg: LK/P *taŋk-*, MK *taŋk-* ~ *tāŋk-*, Ss *taŋx-* id.; pOs \**ḫāŋka* / \**ḫoŋk-* ({JHl.} \**ḫāŋka* / \**ḫāŋk-*) > Os: V *lāŋqa-*, Vy *yāŋqa-*, Ty/Y *ḫāŋq-* ~ *ḫāŋq<sup>ω</sup>-*, D *tāŋχ-*, K *tāŋχ(a)-*, Nz *tāŋχa-*, Kz *ḫāŋqa-* id. ||| BF (× FU \**ṣ̌|soŋe* v. 'desire, want' < N \**ṣ̌oŋqν* 'wish' [→ 'love', 'wish evil to so.', 'strive'], q.v.): Es *soo<sub>v</sub>i-* v. 'wish, want', F *soo-* 'not to grudge, allow, wish', Vo *sō<sub>v</sub>i-* v. 'hope, wish' ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. #146, IG 256 ||| An alt. (and less plausible) etymon: N \**ζ̣oŋhν* 'want, wish' > HS: WS \**o*√ *zny* > BHb *נזנ* √ *zny*|ω *G* (3f pf. cons. *נזנזנ* *wattiz'nē*) 'become involved with another, commit fornication' (of a wife, betrothed maiden) (see N \**ζ̣ū<sub>ω</sub>ν<sub>ν</sub>ν* 'copulate') ¶ KB 264, KBR 275 || IE: Ht *sanh-* 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N \**ζ̣Eŋqν* [= \**ζ̣Eŋqν*?] 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.) (without NaIE \**se|anā-*, \**se|anu-*) ◇ Not here WrM *zōŋ*, HIM *zēh* 'will, arbitrariness', it is obviously a sd. from MM *zōŋ*, WrM *zōŋ* 'omen, sign', which is a loan from Chn (F MED 1075, Kow. 2408) ◇ The latter alt. et. presupposes the loss of N \**h* in S. Zero cons. in S and h in Ht can point only to N \**h*.

2746. \*ǰ'ü'ŋka (or \*ǰ'ü'nīka) 'to bend' > K: G znek-/znik- 'bend, curve' (zn- < \*ǰ|ǰn-) ¶ Chx. 411-2, DCh. 526 || ? HS: C: Ag: Aw {E} z3kk-v. 'stoop' || ? Bj {Rop.} ✓ dgy (3m p. i-dgi; di'gīti fantīt 'he is combing [his hair] back'), but acc. to R's data, the ✓ is ✓ tgy ({R} imv. 'tegya, p. 'adgi, plqp. e'tāg, prs. atan'gī) with d by as. (-tg- > -dg-) in the past tense only; but forms with t may have resulted from bf. (based on -dgi interpreted as phonemic -tgi) ¶ E PC #397, R WBd 223-4, Rop. 169 || S: ? Ar {Fr., BK} زكّية zṽnkīyat- (vocalization not attested) / pl. زكّوات zṽnkāwāt- 'stirrup, fulcrum equestre, escabeau', {Bel., Hv.} زَنكَاوَة zankāwat- / pl. زَنكَاوَات zankāwāt- id. (unless the word is a loan from NPrs, as believed by Hv.; cp. Tjk uzangu 'stirrup'), TA {Rt.} zingo id. (← Ar?) ¶ Fr. II 259, BK I 1017, Bel. 299, Hv. 298, Rt. 568, DRS 763 || IE: NaIE \*swe(n)g- ~ \*s(w)enk- '≈ bend' > OI 'svajatē 'embraces, clasps', Vd 'pari-ṣvañjīyas 'fester umfassend', Av pariš-χaxta- 'rings umschlossen', Sgd {Grsh.} 𐭪𐭮𐭬𐭮𐭩 (\*avahvanǰa-?) 'Umfassen' || ?σ OIr seng {Vn.} 'mince' (← \*\*'flexible'), NIr seang 'slim, slender' || MHG, MLG swanc 'biegsam, schwankend, beweglich', NHG schwank 'pliable, flexible, supple; slender', AS swancor 'pliant, supple'; NaIE \*swenk- > Gmc \*sweng- > OHG swingan, NHG schwingen 'to swing', AS swinȝan vi. 'to flutter, to fling oneself', NE swing v. ¶ WP II 526-7, P 1047-8, EI 63 (\*swe(n)g- 'bend, swing'), M K III 558, M E II 788, Vn. S 85-6, IED 92, Kb. 1006, OsS 916-7, Lx. 220, KM 688-9, 694-5, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, 338, ≈ Mn. 1346 || U \*śiṣiṇe n. 'curve, bend, sth. bent' > F sii 'big beam (rafter) under the inner roof' || Prm \*śig > Z сигör śigör 'slope of a roof/haystack', śigorav-n+ 'to roof a house', ZI śig 'Gewölbe', Vt сиг śig 'garret' || pOs \*siṇ > Os: V siṇi, Ty/Y/D siṇ 'bend of a sledge-runner (сгиб полоза нарты)', Kz siṇ id., 'leichte Krümmung (eines Baumes)', Nz siṇ 'bend of the skis' || Sm {Jn.} \*siṇ (~ \*sṽṇ?) 'hind part of a tent (sc. that opposite to the entrance)' > Ne: T си' śiṣ, T O {Lh.} śīṣ, FL {Lh.} sīṇ; Ng {Pop.} saṇ, {Ter.} s+ṇ; En {Hl.} śīṣ, {Ter.} seṣ id. || Kms {KD} s+ṇ id. ¶ UEW 480-1, LG 254, Lt. 182, Stn. D 1348-9, Trj. S 429, Jn. 141, Ter. 554, Xm. 140, Hl. TO 43, KP 189-90 ◇ If the N vw. of the first syll. is \*ū, its delabialization (\*ū > \*i) in U needs explaining.

**2747.**  $\iota$  \***zap**∇ 'hold, seize, catch' > **IE:** NaIE \*sep- 'hold, handle (skillfully)' > Av hap- 'hold', OI 'sapati 'touches, handles, caresses; venerates' ||| Gk ἔπω (mostly with pxs: ἄμυρ-έπω, ἐφέπω, μεθέπω, περι-έπω) 'prepare, elaborate, is busy about' (in the last meaning × ἔπω < IE \*sek<sup>ω</sup>- 'follow') ¶ ≈ P 909, EI 450 (\*sep- 'handle [skillfully], hold [reverently]'), Brtl. 1764, M K III 429-30, F I 548 ||| **A** \***zap**∇ ({SDM97} \***zap**∇) v. 'catch, hold' > Tg \*japa- v. 'catch, seize, take hold' > Ul žapa-, Ork dapa- ~ dappa-, Orc žawa-, Ud žawa- id., 'take', Ewk ja<sup>wā</sup>-, Ewk VI/I/Ucr jabā-, Lm ja<sup>w</sup>-, Sln, Neg ja<sup>wā</sup>- 'catch, seize, take hold', WrMc **zap**a- id., 'take', Mc Sb žafz- ~ žavz- 'catch, seize, take hold, hold', Jrc žafa- 'capture, catch' ¶ STM I 240-1, Y##1522, 1539, Kiy. 118 [##365-6] || pKo {S} \*čap- v. 'catch, take hold' > MKo čap-, NKo čap- ¶ S QK #512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2580 (\*zap'u; incl. Tg, Ko), Rm. EAS I 64, Rm. SKE 23, Pp. VG 28 ||| **K:** GZ \*čap- 'take, seize' > G çap- 'seize' (açapna 'he stole'), 'learn, study' (← \*'take knowledge'), Mg, Lz çop- 'take, seize, hold'; the metaphorical meaning 'learn, study' is attested in OG (mo-çap-e 'pupil') ¶ K 248, ≠: FS K 441, FS E 497-8, K<sup>2</sup> 293 (equating G çap- 'study, learn' with Lz çop-, nçop- id. [which is likely to be an old loan from G] and reconstructing GZ \*čap- 'learn, study') ¶ mte.: N \***zap**- > \*\*čap- (> K \*čap-) ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. братъ \*zap<sup>h</sup>, IS SS #10.33 (in both sources IE, A).

**2748.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***zap**∇ 'to cover' > **HS:** WS \*√zbn > Hrs √zbn G (pf. zzbōn, sbjn. yzzebēn) v. 'protect', Mh √zbn Sh (pf. hzzebūn, sbjn. yz'hazbzn) id., Jb E/C ez'bin v. 'accompany and protect so. apprehensive', šzẓīn 'go with so. for protection', Ar D {Lb.} √zbn D 'défendre, donner asile', zibn 'secours, aide, protecteur', ?σ Ar Mgr {DRS} √zbn D 'soudoyer des mercenaires' ¶ Jo. H 148, Jo. M 463, Jo. J 315, Lb. 1820, DRS 675-6 ||| **A:** NaT \*jap- 'v. 'cover, shut' > OT jap-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, Qzq, Qq žap-, QBlq, Qrg žap-, Alt žap-, Xk čap-, Qzl šap-, Yk sap-, Tf číp- v. id., Tv šip-/šiv- v. 'cover'; ⇨ \*ja<sup>r</sup>ig 'roof' > Tlt {Vrb.} jabu, Sg, Shor čabi<sup>ϕ</sup> ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Tl 530, DTS 235, TvR 585, Ra. 200, ≈ Cl. 870-1 ||| **U:** ?ϕ FU: Mk {Ps.} šopə-, Er čopo- vi. 'hide' (× Mk šopə-, Er čopo- 'enter [a forest], dive, fall [into a hole]') ¶ Ps. sL 105, ERV 755 ◇ Mk and Er 0 (probably from FU \*0) may be explained by assimilating infl. of FU \*-pp- or Mk-Er -p-.

**2749.**  $\iota$  \* $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$  'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > IE: NaIE \*skeip- ~ \*skip- v. 'pinch' > Arm  $\chi it^h$  (< \*skiptis) 'gripes, colic' ||| Sl \*šćьр- / \*šćip- > ChS  $\psi n\psi a\tau i$  štípati 'vellicare', R  $\psi i\psi a\tau$  (prs.  $\psi i\psi a\tau$ ), P  $\psi z\psi y\psi a\psi$ , Cz štípat, SCr štípati (prs. štípām), Slv ščípati 'to pinch', Blg 'шипя v. 'pinch', R  $\psi e\psi o\psi t$ , Cz špetka 'a pinch' | Lt  $\psi k\psi p a\tau a$  'small piece, a crumble', Ltv šķipšana, šķipsta 'a pinch; a lock (of hair)' ¶ Mikl. L 1135, Vs. IV 503, 507, ME IV 42, ZVSZ 434, ≈ P 922, ≈ Glh. 614, ≈ Frn. 805 ¶ IE \*skeip- < pre-IE \*ćip- < \* $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$  (due to the pre-IE root structure law ruling out a voiced cns. and a glottalized one in the same  $\sqrt{\quad}$  [the source of the IE incompatibility of media aspirata and tenuis within a root]) || **U:** FU \*ćēpp(-) v. 'pinch', (?) n. 'finger-tip' (× N \*ćēp(-) 'finger') > Chr: H {MRS}  $\psi i\psi e\psi t a$ , {Ep.}  $\psi i\psi e\psi t a$  -  $\psi e\psi t a$  - v. 'pinch, nip',  $\psi i\psi e\psi t a$  -  $\psi e\psi t a$  n. 'pinch', L  $\psi i\psi e\psi t a$  -  $\psi e\psi t a$  -, U  $\psi i\psi e\psi t e$  -, B  $\psi e\psi t a$  - v. 'pinch' | Prm \*ćer-, \*ćzreí- ({{LG}} \*ćeréí-) n. 'pinch, finger-tip', v. 'pinch' > Z S  $\psi e\psi r z i$  'a pinch', Prmk {UEW}  $\psi e\psi r z i$  'finger-tip', {KPR} n. 'pinch', Z  $\psi e\psi o\psi l y\psi t$  -  $\psi e\psi r z i\psi t$  -, Prmk  $\psi e\psi r z i\psi t$  - v. 'pinch', Vt  $\psi e\psi o\psi l y\psi t$  -  $\psi e\psi r z i\psi t$  - v. 'pinch, jam' (ушипнуть, прищемить), Z  $\psi e\psi o\psi l y\psi a$   $\psi e\psi r z i\psi a$  'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud  $\psi e\psi r z r$  'Zwick, Kniff',  $\psi e\psi r z r$  - v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'ćeríal- 'kneifen, rupfen' ||| OHg, Hg  $\psi e\psi r$  'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F  $\psi y\psi p\psi y$ ,  $\psi y\psi r i$  'finger-tip' and of Lp Kld  $\psi i e\psi r$  'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU \*ć-), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 303, Szin. 28 || **?σ D** \*ćippam ({{θGS}} \*ć|s-) 'bundle, parcel' (← \*'a pinch') > Tm  $\psi i\psi p\psi a\psi$ , Tl  $\psi i\psi p\psi a\psi$  'bundle, parcel', Ml  $\psi i\psi p\psi a\psi$  'bundle' ¶¶ D #2534 || **A:** pKo {S} \*ćip- v. 'pick up, pinch' > MKo  $\psi i\psi r$  -, NKo  $\psi i\psi r$  - id., {Rm.} 'pinch; pick up, take, arrest' ¶ Rm. SKE 34-5, S QK #1018, MLC 1554-5 || Tg: WrMc  $\psi i\psi u$  - v. 'pinch',  $\psi i\psi u$  -  $\psi u$  - 'be pinched' ¶ Z 991 ¶¶ Rm. 1.c. ◇ IS MS 373 s.v. шипать \* $\acute{z}ip\check{\nabla}$  (IE, U, A).

**2750.** \* $\acute{z}or^rU$  'crawl, creep' > K \* $\acute{z}or^rU$  - / \* $\acute{z}or^rU$  - v. 'creep, crawl' > OG  $\psi w r$  -, G  $\psi v r e n$  - /  $\psi v r i n$  - /  $\psi (v) r o m$  - /  $\psi v r$  - /  $\psi v e r$  - 'kriechen, klettern', {DCh.} 'crawl', {Axt} 'лезть', {GL} 'ramper, se traîner' ¶ Chx. 2070-2, DCh 1622-3, KEGL VIII 746, 775, Axt 439, GL 569 || **HS:** B \* $\sqrt{zrrw}$  > Ah {Fc.}  $\psi a r i r u$ ,  $\psi a r i r w$  - 'se traîner, être traîné', Twl {Pr.}  $\psi a r u r w$  (n. act. a- $\psi a r u r u$ ) id. ¶ Fc. 662-3, Pr. H #394 || **D** \* $\acute{z}or^rU$  - ({{θGS}} \*ś-?) 'crawl, creep' > Krx  $\psi o r g$  - 'move forward with one's seat on the ground, crawl on the hands and seat, move on with difficulty', Mlt

ċorge, ċorgre 'creep along stealthily', ċorgtre v. 'drag the feet, trudge', ? Kdg ogg- 'wriggle on belly' (of a child) ¶¶ D #2854.

**2751.** \***ʒ**<sup>o</sup>**r**∇ '∈ bird of prey' > **K**: GZ \***ʒ**er- 'kite' > OG **ʒ**eri (Lev. 11.13), G **ʒ**er-i, **ʒ**er-a 'kite (Milvus)', Lz m**ʒ**a**ʒ**-i, Mg \***ʒ**a**ʒ**- ⇨ G Gr **ʒ**a**ʒ**-a-i id. ¶ FS K 431, DCh. 1615, KEGL VIII 733 || **HS**: Eg fP **ʒ**r.t '∈ bird of prey (falcon, kite, or sim.)' (> Cpt: Sd **tr**e **tr**e, B **tr**e **tr**e 'milan'), Eg fXXII **ʒ**r.ty 'falcon or sim.', Eg {Mks.} **ʒ**r 'Milan'; a semantically less probable cognate: Eg MK **z**wrwt '∈ bird' ¶ EG III 429 and V 596-7, 601, Mks. II #4942, Vc. 220, BnH ÄW s.v. **dr** 'Milan', Hng. 1011 (**ʒ**rω 'Vogel [\*Milan]) ¶ Eg **ʒ**r.t and **ʒ**r suggest that Eg **ʒ**- is a regular representative of N \***ʒ**-. But this is the only etymon with such representation of N \***ʒ**-, as against one semantically weak case of N \***ʒ**-yielding Eg **z**- (N \***ʒ**Uw∇ 'to eat, to taste' > ??? Eg **z**w.t 'wheat') and one ambiguous case of N \***ʒ**- or \***ʒ**- yielding Eg **z**- (N \***ʒ**æm<sub>l</sub>∇ or \***ʒ**æm<sub>l</sub>∇ 'together; to unite, to tie together' > Eg **z**m<sub>3</sub> 'unite; be united with, join'). The problem is open for further research || **A**: NaT \***j**o<sub>l</sub>rI '∈ bird of prey' > Qrg **ʒ**oru 'vulture', SY **j**ori '∈ bird of prey (bigger than sar)' ¶ ET J 29, Jud. 262.

**2752.** (₂?) \***ʒ**|**z**o**R**∇ 'hand (palm of hand and fingers) ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span') > **HS**: WS \***ʒ**ar-at- (unless ⇨ Eg fP **ʒ**r.t 'hand, palm of hand') > BHb **ʒ**erεt 'span (as a measure)', <sub>2</sub> Ug {Grd., Dah.} **dr**.t id. (not mentioned in A and OLS), IA **ʒ**rt, JA [Trg.], JEA **ʒ**ar't-ā, SmA **z**rt, Md **z**irta id., Sr **ʒ**ar't-ā {JPS} id., {Br.} 'spithama', MHb **ʒ**erεt 'little finger (Kleinfinger)', Tgr {LH} **r**eyam **z**era(t) 'middle finger', {d'A} **r**eyam **z**erat 'little finger' (**r**eyam 'long') ¶ KB 272, BDB 284-5, Grd. UT 710, Dah. UH 7ff., HJ 342, Lv. T I 232, Sl. 422-3, Tal 241, Br. 208, JPS 121, DM 168, ≈ DRS 806, LH 161, MiK I #1.298 || NrOm: Ym rl. {C} **z**erum 'hand' (× N \***ʒ**ER∇<sub>1</sub>æ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' [q.v.]) ¶ C SE III 89 || **U**: FU \***ʒ**or∇(-**ś**∇) 'span' > pChr {Ber.} \***ʒ**or, \***ʒ**or**ž** > Chr: YU **š**or, M **š**or**ž**, Uf **ʒ**or**ž** id. || ObU {Ht.} \***θ**ōrās 'span' > pVg {Ht.} \***t**ārās > Vg: T **t**ārās ({Mu.} **t**ārās), LK/MK/UK **t**ōrās, UL **t**ōrās, Ss **t**ōrās id.; pOs {Ht.} \***ʒ**orās, \***ʒ**ort 'span' > Os: O **ʒ**orās, Ty/Y **š**ort, D/K/Nz **s**urt, Kz **s**ūrt id. ¶ UEW 448, Coll. 3, Sm. 548 (FU, **ʒ** \***ʒ**or**ś**i, Ugr \***θ**ārsī 'a unit of length [≈ a quarter of meter]', Ber. 67 [#352], Ht. #165, MF 194 || ? **D** \***ċ**ōt-/\***ċ**ot- (/ \***ċ**ōh-?) (\***ʒ**-?) 'span' (if from \***ċ**or-t-) > MI **c**ōt<sub>1</sub>a-ccān<sub>1</sub>- 'span of the thumb and the forefinger', Kt **ċ**ōt 'breadth of four fingers', Kn **c**ōt<sub>1</sub>u, cu<sub>1</sub>u, Kdg



ču·ti, Tu cōtu, cōttu, cōŋtu 'the small span of the thumb and the forefinger', Tu cutti 'a span', Tl zuttili 'the small span' ¶¶ D #2834 ◇ Qu. (the S word may be a loan from Eg); if the S cognate is rejected, it changes the N rec.

**2753.** ? (₂?) \*žūr∇ 'inside of body, heart' > HS: S \*zawr- > Ar zawr- 'upper part of the breast' ¶ Hv. 3O1, DRS 7O9 || C: Ag {Ap.} \*z3r 'entrails' > Bln ž3r, Xm z3la, Q žir, Aw z3ri ¶ Ap. AV 23, R WB 158-9 || **A** ({S} \*žūr∇k'∇ 'heart') (× N \*dūr∇ – \*dUrE 'entrails, heart') > T \*jür-äk 'heart' > OT jüräk, Tk yürek, Tkm, Ggz, Qmq, Nog jürek, ET jüräk ~ žüräk, Az üräk, Δ jüräk, Ln jüjek, Uz juraq, Qzq žürek, VTt, Bsh jbräk, Qrg žürek, SY (j)örek, Alt žürek, Xk, Tv čürek, Shor čürek, Tf č'ürek, Yk süräχ; Chv čbre (← a NaT lge.) ¶ Cl. 965, Rs. W 213, ET J 270-1, TL 276 (T \*jürek), Ra. 199, Jeg. 324, S AJ 179 [#41] || M \*žülirüken 'heart' (× N \*dūr∇ – \*dUrE '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? Tg: Sln ju'rugu 'heart' (unless ← M) ¶ STM I 278 ¶¶ S AJ 282 [#176], ≈ DQA #2624 (A \*žūr(∇)k'e; incl. T, M) || ??σ **D**: Tm cūru 'anus' ¶ ≈ D #2724 ◇ Qu. (the A cognate is ambiguous).

**2754.** \*ž'U'R∇ (= \*žoR∇?) 'female being' > K \*zurā- 'female' > Lz zura- 'female animal', Mg zura- 'coward', Sv: L {TK} zuray, LB/Ln {TK} zurä, UB zuräy {TK} 'ewe, female goat', {GP} 'female animal', d. UB/L zurāl, Ln zural 'woman' ¶¶ K 89 and K<sup>2</sup> 61, (\*zura-), FS K 137, FS E 149, Q 238, TK 253, GP 105 || **IE** \*sor- 'woman, female' in cds.: **[1]** AnIE: Ht -sara-, sx. for female beings: ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (← isha- 'lord, master'), supessara 'chaste girl, virgin' (← suppi- 'rein'), \*hassussara (SAL.LUGAL-ra) 'queen', HrLw hasusara 'queen', Lw {Mlc.} nāna-sri(ya) gen. 'sister' (← nāni-(ya) gen. 'brother') | **[2]** NaIE \*tri-sr-es / \*tri-sor- 'three' f. (← \*'three women') > OI tisrah, OIr téoir id., NaIE \*k<sup>w</sup>etwor-sres 'four' f. > OI catasrah | **[3]** NaIE \*swe-sor- 'sister, female member of the clan' (← \*[one's] own girl\woman', a cd of \*swe- 'own' + \*sor-) > OI 'svasar- (nom. 'svasā), Av χ<sup>v</sup>arhar- 'sister' || Arm **pnjn** k<sup>h</sup>oyr (< \*swesōr) id., gen. **ptn** k<sup>h</sup>eř (< \*swesr-os) || L soror id. || OIr siur (< \*swesōr), W chwaer, OCm [LC] huir, MCm hoer, hor, OBr guoer ({Flr.}: spelling for huoer), MBr hoar, Br c'hoar 'sister' || Gt swistar, OSx swestar, OHG swester, NHG Schwester, Dt zuster, AS swеostor, s(ω)ustor, ON systir id. (→ NE sister), Sw, NNr syster, Dn søster id. || BSl: Lt sesuō (gen. seseřs), Pru

swestro id. | Sl \*ses'tra, accus. \*ses'trǫ (passed into the \*-ā-declension) id. > OCS сестра sestra, Blg, R, Uk cec'тpa, SCr sèstra, Slv. séstra, Cz, Slk sestra, P siostra id. || Gk Δ [Hs.] ἑορ · θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός 'daughter, cousin' ({EI} 'cousin's daughter', probably emending Hs.'s glossa to θυγάτηρ ἀνεψιού) || pTc {Ad.} \*šäšer > Tc: A šar, B šer 'sister' ¶¶ Kron. EHS I 109-12, Pv. I-II 384, Ts. W 28, Mlc. CL 154-5, WP II 533, P 642, 1051, 1090-2, ≈ EI 521 (\*'swesor / gen. \*swe'sr-os 'sister'; doubts about the element \*sor in \*'swesor), M K I 506, III 565, M E II 796, Renou § 269, F I 530-1, WH II 563-4, Vn. S 123 and T 51-2, Slr. 62-3, Flr. 195, Fs. 469, Vr. 574, Ho. 330, 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 917-8, Schz. 278, Frn. 777-8, En. 260, Glh. 545-6, Vs. III 612, Ad. 661 || HS: CCh: Suk {IL} zër, {Mk.} zür 'woman' ¶¶ JI II 347, Mk. I 318 || ?σ Eg fP zr.t 'ewe' (only if the form is primary, while zr 'buck' is a bf.) ¶¶ EG III 462-3, Fk. 235 || U \*śVr|ða > Sm {Jn.} \*sǝrā 'widow(er)' > Ne: T cəšpa sǝra 'widow(er)', cəšpa he sǝra hé 'widow', T O {Lh.} sǝr·a· 'widow(er)', Ne F N χῆ·rrāā id.; Ng {Cs.} 'seru; En {Cs.} 'siħa ~ sira id.; Slq Kt {KD} sǝrū ne'jūm 'widow'; Kms {KD} seri 'widow(er)', serine 'widow'; the Sm cognate is valid only if the meaning 'widow' is primary, whence a broadened meaning 'widow(er)'. The change of meaning 'woman' → 'old woman' (→ 'widow') may have been induced by the reflexes of U \*serā 'old' (UEW 440) ¶¶ Jn. 138-9, Cs. 31, 65, 91, 189, 304.

**2755. \*žarVrV** 'hedgehog' > K \*žǝrǝrb- id. > MG [KC] gǝrǝrbi, eNG {SSO} zǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog', gǝrǝrbi {SSO} 'big hedgehog' ('ᄃᄃᄃᄃ ᄃᄃᄃᄃ'), G zǝrǝrbi ~ zǝrǝrbi ~ † gǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog', {DCh. RGS} zǝrǝrbi, gǝrǝrbi id.; the word gǝrǝrbi may go back to a cd. (SSO: gǝrǝrbi = didi zǝrǝrbi 'big zǝrǝrbi') ¶¶ Chx. 422, 2092, DCh. 1624 (zǝrǝrbi 'hedgehog'), DCh. RGS 94, SSO I 181, 291, and II 360 || IE \*śXVr- > some AnIE lge. reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] σχῦρ · ἐχῦνος 'hedgehog' ¶¶ Ch. 1257 || U: FU \*śa|brV > pObU \*śā|ōr > Vg: T {Mu.} śār 'badger', P {Mu.} mǝ-sor mǝ-sor 'hedgehog' (mǝ 'earth') ¶¶ MK 552 || A: M \*žariβ|ǝ 'hedgehog' > MM [HI, MA] žari·a, [IsV] žari·a-sun, [NQ] {Pel.} žaria, {Pp.} žarya, WrM zaraga, HIM zarā, Kl zapa, {Rm.} zarā, Brt zapra zaryā, Dg {T} žǝrǝ, MMgl žairā, Mgl {Lg.} žājra & žējra id., M ⇨ Tjk žayra 'porcupine' ¶¶ Ms. H 65, Pp. MA 201, Lg. VMI 37, MED 1037, Kow. 2301, KRS 241, KW 467, Chr. 252, T DgJ 143 ◇

All data (except Vg) suggest a N affricate (\*ʒ-). K \*-b- is likely to go back to the N component \*bA of animal names (q.v. ffd.).

**2756.** <sub>2</sub> \*ʒ'a'hR∇ 'flower, blossom', ? 'unripe berry' > HS: CS \*zah<sub>l</sub>a<sub>r</sub>- > Ar zahr-, zahr-at- ~ zahar-at- 'flower, blossom', ?? JA [Trg.] ✓zhr v. G 'bloom' (× ✓zhr 'shine') ¶ Ln. 1261-2, Js. 382, Lv. T I 212 || EC \*zarār- 'flower' > Bs darāra, Or {Th.} darara (nom. dararri), Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} darārā, Or M/Gj {LLC} darāra, HEC {L} \*zarār- > Kmb/Qbn/Alb zarār-, Sd darār-o, Brj darār-a 'flower' ¶ Ss. B 53-4, 195, Th. 93, Grg. 99, Sr. 285, LLC 77, L Z 120, Hd. 66 || U: FU \*ć'a'r∇ ({UEW} \*ćâr∇) 'flower, blossom; unripe berry' > Lp {Fri.} čuruk 'bacca immatura, cruda', Lp N čuoro / čur'ru- 'unripe cloudberry' || ?? Prm \*ć|žor∇ > pZ {LG} \*ž∇r∇- > StZ дзоридз žoriž 'flower', Z UV/Vm/I/Sk žoriž, Z Le žzriž 'flower of berries', Prmk žor, Yz žoriž 'unripe' (of berries); -ž is a derivational suffix; if the FU vw. is \*a, the Prm vw. \*o (for the expected \*w [{JLG} \*u]) is irreg. || ObU {Ht.} \*ćār- > pVg \*ćārī 'flower' > Vg: K/P/LL śōr, Ss śōri id.; pOs {Ht.} \*ćarak > Os Kz śorax 'blossom', śorxat- 'Blüten bekommen', Nz śorxam- 'Beerenknospen bekommen' ¶ Coll. 76, UEW 47-8 (rejects the Prm cognate), LG 92, Ht. #83.

**2757.** <sub>2</sub> \*ʒ'∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' > HS: WS \*✓zrm > BHb 'zerem 'heavy rain', JA [Trg.] זרמית zar'mīṭ, זרמית זרמית zərāmīṭ id., MHb ✓zrm v. G 'stream', ?σ OSA ✓zrm in š-zrm (an epitheton of the moon-god ʃm) ¶ KBR 281-2, Js. 414, ≈ Lv. T I 231, BK I 984, Mü. AS AHL 308 || IE: NaIE \*sermo- 'flowing' > Vd 'sarma {Bt., WP, P} 'flowing, das Fließen', {MW} 'going, running, flowing' (RV I 80.5) || ? Gk ὄρμη 'a violent movement onwards, assault' || hydronyma: Σέρμιος, Fr la Sermanne (< Gl \*Sermannā), It N Sermenza (< \*Sermentia), Vn n. l. Sirmiō (< \*Sermiō), Pnn n. l. Sirmium, P n. l. Śrem ({P}: < Vn \*Sermo-) ¶ WP II 49-50, P 909-10, Bt. VII 84, MW 1183, F II 419-20, ≠ M K 471 (denies that the OI ✓ means 'flow') ¶ We may try to etymologize the IE word as derived from \*serH- v. 'stream, flow', but in this case the absence of the lr. in \*sermo- will remain unexplained.

**2758.** <sub>2</sub> \*ʒ'∇RT∇ 'pudenda muliebria', 'lewd' > HS: S \*°✓zrd > Ar zirdān- 'pudenda muliebria' ¶ BK I 984 || IE: NaIE \*sert- v. 'practise lewdness' > ON serða / sarð / ps. prtc. sorðinn ~ stroðinn v. 'Unzucht treiben' (↳ AS seorðan 'copulate with a woman'), OSw sarþ 'stupravit', MLG serden, MDt seerden, OHG sertan 𐌺

serten & serden 'to sleep with, to copulate', MHG sërten id., 'stuprare, to torture' || ?σW serth {P, Vr.} 'obscene', {YGM} 'discourteous, unclean, base' ¶ P 911, Vr. 470, Kb. 845, Schz. 249, OsS 757, Lx. 192, Ho. 290, YGM-1 391.

**2759. \*ǰûr'û'** 'to stream' > HS: B \*√zrr 'be liquid, melt' > Tmz {MT}, Izd {MT ← ?} zrir vi. 'être\devenir liquide; fondre' | B \*√wzr 'flow, stream' (× N \*'w∇R3∇ - \*'w∇3∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dl. 952, MT 811 || C: EC: Sa {R} zār- 'fließen, rinnen', zær 'Bach, kleiner Fluß, fließendes Wasser', Af {PH} darēra n. 'pouring out until empty', ?σ dara 'pool, lake, pool left behind in wadi; water which seeps out of the ground' || Ag: Xm {R} zær 'river' ¶ R S II 332, PH 80-1, R Ch II 96 || IE: NaIE \*serH-, \*srey- v. 'stream, flow' (< N \*ša'ri'X∇ 'to stream, to flow' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ But IE \*sermo- (> Vd 'sar ma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N \*ǰ∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.) ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 554-5, M E II 784-5 || A \*ǰu|ûr∇ ({S} \*ǰur∇ ~ \*-û-) > T \*jūr- 'swim' > NaT \*jüz- > OT jüz- 'swim', Tk yūz-, йүз- Tkm jüδ-, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog jüz-, Tlt/QK {Rl.} jüs-, VTt йөз- jüδ-, Bsh йөз- jüδ-, Az, ET üz-, QrB, Qrg žüz-, Qzq, Qq žüz-, Alt дьүс-/дьүз- žüs-/žüz-, Xk čüs- 'swim' ¶ Cl. 984, ET J 281, TatR 194 || ?σ NrTg \*jurku 'rapids in a river' (× ÷ M \*dargil 'rapid current', see MED 233) > Lm jurku 'rapids in a river, rapid current', Neg juyku 'fairway in a river' ¶ STM I 277 ¶¶ S AJ 284 [#207]; DQA #254 (pA \*čúrka - \*-jü- 'swift stream, current' > Tg, M) || D \*čōr̄- ({θGS} \*c|s-?) v. 'tickle, drip' (× N ? \*čōr∇ 'to drip, to trickle', q.v. ffd.).

**2760. ? \*ǰaš∇** 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)' > K \*zeša- 'fire-wood' > OG, G šeša-, Mg diška-, Lz diška-, diška-, ?φ Sv UB/LB/L/Ln zek (dat.: UB/LB zekw ~ zek-s) (zek(w) hpl. from the expected \*zeskw?) ¶¶ K 234, K<sup>2</sup> 280, FS K 424, Chik. 157, TK 252, GP 104 || U: FU \*°caš|sk∇ 'bush (shrub), brushwood' > StChr L čašker 'thicket (чащ а, чащ оба)', Chr L {Ü} čaškar 'shrubs (bushes)', Chr E {Ps.} čaškar 'dichter Gebüsch', Chr H {Rm.} 'caške·r 'das Reis, Reisig', {Ep.} cašker, č+šker, Chr {Coll.} čaška 'small-wood, brushwood, scrub', 'birch' ¶ Coll. 74, Ep. 136, MRS 668, Ü 242, PsS 157, Rm. BT 150 || Gil: Gil: A çes / zes / jes {зеч}, ES çer 'branch, bough' ¶¶ ST 349, Krn. N 485 (ES çer 'bough') || ?σ, φ HS: Eg fp 553 'Art kostbares Holz' (as. from \*z5 with a sx.??) ¶ EG IV 279.

**2761.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*ǰiš∇ 'fire' > U: FP \*ć'ǰiš∇ vt. 'burn, scorch' > Chr L {MRS} чыждыр-аш љъљдыр-аш vt. 'burn, scorch', {Ū} љъљдыра- v. 'scorch' (of the sun) | pPrm \*ćŭš- or \*ćiš- > Z чишкав-ны ćiškav- ~ ćiškai- v. 'burn, scorch; touch with frost (прихватить морозом)', Vt љушка- ćuška- v. 'scorch, burn (one's skin, fingers); pour boiling water on, scold', љуштаськы- ćuštaśki- 'be burnt (esp. of food, so.'s skin)' ¶ Lt. 186, LG 308, MRS 682-3, Ū 250 || HS: Eg fp ɛʒ.t = {Vc.} [\*siʒya.t] 'fire, flame' (mt. of voiced and vl. cnss.: \*\*ziC- > \*siʒ-?) > DEg sty.t > Cpt: Sd сате sate, B сат satī, A сете sete ~ сеете seete id. ¶ EG IV 375-6, Fk. 257, Er. 475, Vc. 197 ¶ The unexpected Eg affricate ʒ (for the fricative ɛ) may be due to dis. (from the expected \*z∇s).

**2762.** \*ǰuω∇ 'to eat, to taste' > K \*ǰuω- v. 'fill one's mouth with food, eat one's fill, graze' > OG ǰuω- (~ ǰuV- ~ ǰu-), G ǰuV- v. 'graze', Lz ǰum-, ǰup-, nǰ-, ǰ-, ǰV- id., Sv ǰūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' (msd. {Fn.} li-ǰūb-e) ¶¶ The origin of Sv -b- (from K \*-ω-?) is still to be established. On an alt. (highly problematic) et. of Sv ǰūb- see s.v. \*ćiP<sub>1</sub>∇, iæ 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' ¶¶ K 240, K<sup>2</sup> 290 (GZ \*ǰuω- 'graze'), Fn. KW-2 44-5, FS K 436, FS E 491-2 (pK \*ǰuω-) || HS: CCh: Ngs zàwé, Mdr {Eg.} zá, Glv {Rp.} z-, Gdf {IL} zú(?)à 'eat (soft things)' | It is not clear whether we should adduce here the √ \*z∇m- 'eat (soft things)' that is represented in most other subgroups of CCh (see JI II) ¶ JI II 120-1, ChC, ChL || ??σ EC: pSml {Hn.} \*zeǰ- v. 'try, test' (if ← 'to taste') > Sml is ku deǰ, Bn kí-déǰ v. 'try, test', Rn {Hn.} yêy id. (= {PG} ye y- 'look at?') ¶ Hn. S 77, 38 (on the particle ku in Sml and kí- in Bn), PG 299 || Perhaps here: Eg P zω.t {EG} 'wheat (Triticum durum)', {Hng.} 'Dinkel' ¶ EG III 426, Hng. 674 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} \*zu 'guinea corn, sorghum' (← 'food?') > {Sk.}: Wrj zū-na, My/Kry zu, Mbr ǰū, Cg zun 'guinea corn, sorghum' ¶ Sk. NB 24, Tk. NB 173 || D (in McTm) \*ću|pV- v. 'taste' > Tm cuvaǰ v. 'taste, eat, chew', cuvaǰ n. 'taste, flavour, sweetness', Ml cуvа n. 'taste, flavour', cуvekka v. 'taste' ¶ D #2396 (b).

**2763.** ?<sub>2</sub> \*ǰiX∇ (or \*ǰ'ǰiX∇) 'come, (?) go (away)' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*ǰ∇ 'enter, come' > Hs zǰ 'come' | NrBc \*ǰa 'enter' > Wrj, Kry zaυ, P', Sir za, Jmb, Mbr, My za- ¶ Stl. ZCh 187 [#382] || CS \*-zīh- > Ar √ zyħ G (ip. -zīh-) 'go away, be far away', as well as (× CS \*√zħh 'remove' < N \*ǰ'U'χU 'to cause so./sth. to move from one place to another'), BHb

✓zɣ|wħ ꝑ ✓zħħ *N* (3m ip. ꝑꝑ' yiz'zah) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓zwħ *G* (ip. ɣə'zū<sup>a</sup>ħ) vi. 'be unsteady, move' ({Lv.} 'weichen, von der Stelle sich fortrücken'), vt. 'remove, turn away' ¶ Ln. 1775, BK I 1030, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, DRS 700 ¶¶ S l.c. || A: Tg \*ji- 'come' > Nn, Ul ži- 'come, approach', WrMc ži-, Mc Sb ži- id. ¶ STM I 255, Y #1172 ¶¶ DQA #2599 (equates the Tg ✓ with T \*jet- 'reach' [Rs. W 199] and with M \*žid-kü- > Kl zütka- 'strive').

**2764.** \*z'U'χU 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' ('to lead, to send') > K \*žeyw-/\*žyw- v. 'lead' > OG žyw-/žeyw-v. 'lead', G žeyv-/žyv-/žy- v. 'lead, march at the head of, accompany', Mg {K} b-žyu-k 'I go in front of', {Q} n-žyver-i 'leader (предводитель)', Sv {TK}: UB mu-žwey ~ mu-žeyw, Ln mužwey ~ mažwey, L mu-žoy 'leader', Sv {K} li-žoyw, Sv UB {GP} li-žwey v. 'lead (so.)' ||| ⇨ K \*žyw-ān- v. 'send' > OG žywan-/žywn- v. 'send, make a present of', žyweni ~ zyweni 'present', G žyvan-/žyvñ-, Mg, Lz žyon- / žyun- v. 'send', Sv {FS} žywān-, žywan-, žoywan- 'take with oneself, send' ¶¶ K FSK 27, K 240-1, K<sup>2</sup> 285, FS K 432, FS E 487-8, TK 576-7, GP 164 || HS: CS \*✓zħħ ~ \*✓zwħ (× N \*z'ixv or \*z'ixv 'come, [?] go [away]', q.v.) > Ar ✓zħħ (3m ip. ɣa-zuħħu) 'ôter (une chose) de sa place', 'faire aller en avant et en arrière, pousser en avant et en arrière', BHb ✓zɣ|wħ ꝑ ✓zħħ *N* (3m ip. ꝑꝑ' yiz'zah) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓zwħ *G* (ipf. ɣə'zū<sup>a</sup>ħ) vi. 'be unsteady, move', vt. 'remove, turn away', Sr ✓zwħ *G* vi. 'move, stir/arise oneself in action, rise', vt. 'put in motion' ¶ BK I 977, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, JPS 112, Br. LS 192 || D \*čō(y)- ({ǰGS} s- or \*ś-?) (× N \*z'Ug'U' 'to move somewhere' [intr., tr.], q.v.?) > Ka sō, sōvñ, sōħñ v. 'drive off, chase away', ? Tm oꝑꝑñ, oꝑꝑñ v. 'drive away', ? Gdb čōy- ꝑ soꝑ- v. 'send' ¶¶ D ##2866, 2878 ◇ IS MsN (N \*z'uḡä 'вести' [?]: K + qu. A \*z'uge- v. 'carry'). S suggests an original vl. word-medial \*-χ-. The voiced \*y in K is due to as.: pre-K \*žχ > K \*žy. Connected with N \*z'Ug'U' '↑'?

**2765.** (₂?) \*z'vχi 'to plait, to bind' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > K: GZ {K} (?) \*zaχ- v. 'spin' > G zaχ- id., Mg tuχ- id. (tuχuns 'he spins'), Lz tχ- v. 'spin' (tχups 'he spins') ¶ K 233 || ? HS: Eg fP zħ 'Zelt aus Matte aus Leinenstoff' ('Zelt aus Matte' interpreted by EG as 'Flechtwerk'), zħ-ñcꝑ 'Leinenstoff' ¶ EG III 464-5 || ? B: Gh ta-zayzay-t

'corde' ¶ Pr. H #450 || ? CCh: Lame {Sa.} zèó 'corde' ¶ Sa. DL 434 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (B, CCh, Mb {E} u-zi 'thread') || IE \*seḡ- ({Pv.} \*seE<sub>2</sub>-) / \*seḡy- v. 'bind' > Ht ishiya-, ishai- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw 3p prs. active gender hishiyanti (≡ Ht prtc. nom. pl. com. ishiyantís) || NaIE: [1] NaIE \*°sē- > Vd 'a-sā-t 'he bound', 'sā-tum v. 'bind', ava-sā-tar 'unbinder' | [2] NaIE \*°se|oy- (< IE \*sḡe|oy-) / \*°sēy- > Vd saya'tvam 'binding', OI sē'tar- 'binder', 'sētū-h 'binding; fetter, bond', Av hāy- v. 'bind' || L saeta 'fishing line; coarse hair, bristle' || ON seiðr 'Band, Gürtel', seil 'cord, rope, fetter', OSx sêl, AS sāl 'rope, fetter' (> NE sole), OHG seil 'rope, string', NHG Seil 'rope, cord'; ?? OHG silo 'belt', {OsS} 'Geschirr für Zugvieh, Riemenwerk des Zugviehs', NHG Siele 'breast-piece (of harness)' || Lt siēti (prs. siejù), Ltv siēt (prs. siēnu, sēju) 'to bind', Lt saĩtas n. 'tie; leash, lead; tether', {Frn} 'Eimer-schnur-kette, Trag-band-bügel, Strick', saĩlas 'Eimerschnur, Tragbügel' | [3] NaIE \*°sy- (< IE \*sḡy-), \*si(:)- (< \*sḡi(:)-) > OI 'syati 'binds, ties, fetters', Vd si'ta- 'bound' (unless from \*sā-to- < \*sḡ-to-), Av hirū- 'bond, fetter' | -d> [3a] NaIE \*si-man- > Gk ἰμάς (gen. ἰμάντος) 'leathern strap/thong, lash of a whip' || OI sī'mā / sī'mān- 'parting of the hair, boundary' || ON sími 'Band, Strick', OSx sīmo 'rope', AS sīma 'string, band, bond', NGr Δ Seime 'rope for drying linen' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 398-403, Ts. E I 384-8, Mlc. CL 70, P 891-2, M K III 501, 549-50, 745, WH II 462, FI 724-5, Vr. 468, 476, Ho. 269, 294, Ho. S 63-4, Kb. 837, 853, OsS 750, 764, Frn. 755-6, 783 ◇ Hardly here IE \*syuḡx- > \*syū- v. 'sew' (because of its sonorants \*y and \*u), FN \*zūh<sub>1</sub>y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair'.

2766. \*zūh<sub>1</sub>y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair' > K {K<sup>2</sup>} \*zua-, {FS} \*zū- 'horsetail hair' > G zua 'horsetail hair, horsehair', Mg žua, Sv {Marr} ža<sub>1</sub>/ ži 'horsetail hair' ¶¶ K<sup>2</sup> 290, FS K 436-7, FS E 492, Chx. 2089, Q 376, 416, Marr JNDR 773 || IE \*syuḡx- v. 'bind, sew' (mt. from \*\*suḡy-?) > NaIE \*syū- / \*sīy- v. 'sew', \*syū-to- 'sewn', \*syū-d<sup>h</sup>lā 'awl' > OI 'sīvyati 'sews, joins (bindet/fügt zusammen)', syū'ta- 'sewn' || Gk κασσύω (< \*kat-súō) 'sew' || L su-ō / -ēre, suī, sūtum v. 'sew', sūbūla (< \*syū-d<sup>h</sup>lā) 'awl' || Gt siujan, ON sýja, AS siow(i)an ~ seowian (> NE sew), OHG siuwen 'to sew'; (NaIE \*syūto- >) MHG siut 'Naht', ON sjóðr, AS séod 'bag, pouch, purse'; (NaIE \*syū-d<sup>h</sup>lā >) OHG siu(ω)ila, NHG Säule 'awl' || Lt siūti (prs. siuvù), Ltv šūt (prs. šuju ~ šuvu ~ šūnu) 'to sew', Pru schutuan 'Zwirn', Lt siuvik-

as ~ -is, siuvéjas, Ltv šuvējs ~ šuvājs 'tailor', Pru schuwikis 'shoemaker' | pSl \*šiti (inf.) 'to sew' > OCS ШИТИ šiti, SCr šiti, Slv šiti, Cz šiti, Slk šit', P szyc, R шить id.; pSl \*šijq 'I sew' > OCS ШИЯ šijq, Blg 'шия, SCr šijēm, Slv šijem, R шью; pSl \*šidlo 'awl' (< NaIE \*syū-dʰlo-m) > P szydlo, Cz šídlo, Blg, R 'шило, SCr šilo, Slv šilo; pSl \*šitъ pp. 'sewn' > OCS ШИТЬ šitъ, R ШИТ(ЫЙ) || Тс А су- 'sew' || Ht {Ts.} suel- (= {Pv.} suwel-) 'Faden, Band', {Ts.} suwarwil- 'Material für Festbinden, Binse(?)' || ↪ IE \*syuh-men- > NaIE \*syū-men- 'band' > Gk ὑμήν 'thin skin, membrane' (ὑμήν ὑπόρρις 'the large dorsal sinew of cartilaginous fish'), Pru schumeno 'Schusterdraht', OI 'syūman- 'band, strap', Ht {Ts.} sum(m)anza(n)- {EI} 'thread', {Ts.} 'Strick, Band' ¶¶ WP II 514, P 915-6, EI 573 (\*syuh<sub>1</sub>- 'sew'), M K III 477-8, M E II 734, MW 1273, F II 964, WH II 631-2, Ho. 290, 296, Fs. 425, Vr. 479, 572, Kb. 860, OsS 769-70, Lx. 196, KM 627, Ho. 290, 296, Frn. 789-90, En. 244, Vs. IV 438, 443-4, Glh. 607, Ts. W 77, 78, 80, Pv. I-II 403 || U \*süye 'fibre' > F сыу 'fibre, filament; annual ring (of a tree)', F † syi 'fibre', † syve (gen. syveen) 'fibre, nerve' | pChr {Ber.} \*šiy 'annual ring of a tree' > StChr L ший šiy, H ши ši, B šöy, U šiya id. | Prm {LG} \*sε > \*se > \*si ({LG} \*sε > \*sε > \*si) > Z ci si 'fibre, Vt cñ si 'layer', Vt Y {Wc.} si 'annual ring' || Sm \*ti ~ \*tü ~ ? \*tiw 'fibre, annual ring of a tree' > Ne T ти, {Lh.} tí, Ne F {Lh.} cí 'annual ring', Ng {Cs.} tí, En X {Cs.} tí, En B {Cs.} tí 'Holzader', Slq: Tm {KD} pod-tü, Nr {Cs.} pōt-tü, B {Cs.} puť-tü, Tz/Kar {Cs.} puot-tü 'Holzader' (pod- [pōt-] means 'of [a] tree') ¶¶ UEW 443, Coll. 59, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP \*suxi, Sm \*ti 'annual ring'), Ber. 62, MRS 705, Ep. 150, LG 257, Jn. 161, Jn. UK 223, Cs. 63, 80, 166, 236.

2767. Ll. o†\*žüžv ~ \*žühžA 'teat, female breast' > HS: S Ll. o†zīz-id. > BHb ṽṽ zīz 'nipple, full breast', ? Ug {A} zd 'female breast' (× N \*čayv<sub>d</sub>v<sub>y</sub>v 'female breast'), Ar AT {Dz.} زيزة zīz-at- 'female breast, teat', Ak NA zīz u 'teat' ¶ KB 268, A #321, BK I 1032, Dz. I 619, Sd. 1532, CAD XXI 149, MiK I #1.295 || Ll. K: GZ {K} \*žuzu 'female breast' > OG, G žuzu-i, Mg žuzu- id. ¶ K 235, K<sup>2</sup> 281; FS K 427 and FS E 481 (\*žu-) || U: FU {Coll.} \*čühčä (< \*čühča) 'female breast' > pLp {Lr.} \*čihčē id. > Lp: S tjiddjie, Ll. tjidjtjē, N čičžžē, Klt čičžž id. | Chr L чызэ čzε 'female breast, nipple, teat' || Hg szügy 'breast of animals'; Ll. csecs 'mamma' (with phonetic transformation due to the



tendencies of Lallwörter) | ObU {Ht.}: Vg (partially in cds.): T šúšaw, LK/MK šós, šōš, P šís, NV šúša, SV/LL šús, UL šís, Ss šís, šús 'nipple, teat'; Os {Ht.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y túť, Nz šúša, Kz šúšī 'nipple' ¶ Db. OS xxxi (FU \*ćīćä), Coll. 75, Coll. CG 402, 410 (FU \*ćünć∇), Lr. #139, Lgc. #568, MRS 683, MF 113-4, LG 311, Ht. #824 || ?φ A: Tg \*jadan (~ \*jajan) 'udder, female breast' > Ewk jadan, Lm jɔjin ɔ jajan 'udder', Neg jɔyan, Ork dadaqta 'female breast' ¶ The vw. \*a of the first syll. is puzzling (as. from \*\*žūža in a Lallwort?) ¶ STM I 242 ◇ The length of \*i in S may be due to the loss of \*ń. The loss of \*ń and other irregularities may be due to the phonetic tendency of nursery words to the □∇□∇-structure (whence K \*žuzu, pre-ObU \*ćUćU, Hg cšëcš, S \*zīz-).

**2768.** ?σ (₂?) \*ž<sub>u</sub>ž<sub>u</sub>∇χU '≈ ∈ leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits (lime-tree, Tilia or sim.)' > K {K, FS} \*žacχw- 'lime-tree, Tilia' > OG caccχu-, G caccχv-, Mg caccχu- ɔ cχaccχu-, Lz ducχu-, Sv {TK}: UB zäsχw, LB zesχ, zesx-ra ¶¶ K 233, K<sup>2</sup> 278, FS K 420-1, FS E 473-4, Q 370, Abul. 514, TK 251 || ?? HS: S: Ar SL zayzafūn- 'lime-tree' ¶ This word is to be distinguished from the homonymous word Ar SL zayzafūn- 'fruitless sorb-tree', which is probably a loan from Gk ζύζυφον 'jujube-tree, Zizyphus' (though these homonyms are likely to have influenced each other) ¶ Bel. 293, Bel. DFA 681, Hv. 291 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} žazixi, žazuri 'dense forest' ¶ It is worth paying attention to Tg \*ju<sub>u</sub>e<sub>u</sub>gdēn 'alder-tree' (< \*-gd- < \*-j-d- < N \*-ć|ž- + a sx.??) (> Ewk jugdɔn, Lm jōdɔn, Neg jugdɔn, Orc jugdɔ(n-), Ud žugdɔ(n-), Ork žuwɔgdɔ ~ žuɔgdɔ 'alder-tree'), which may well belong to A \*zU<sub>u</sub>∇<sub>u</sub>g<sub>u</sub>∇<sub>u</sub>t|d∇ > NaT \*sögüt|d 'willow' (see Rs. W 429) ¶ STM I 242, 269, and II 120, Krm. 235, 288, Z 970, Hr. 514.

**2769.** \*žæ?∇b∇ (= \*že?∇b∇?) '∈ beast of prey (wolf or sim.)' > HS: S \*'δi?ib- 'wolf' > BHb בִּיאַי zə'pēb, pl. בִּיאַי zə'pēbīm, IA [Frh.] דאב dʔb, JPA בִּי דֵּב dēb, JPA, JEA em. אִבֵּי dēbā, SmA בִּי dɔb, Sr بيا, dē<ʔ>bā, Ar بيا δi?ib- (b→ Bj {R} dīb), Ak zīb- 'wolf', Gz חַיָּוִת zəʔb 'hyena' (the posttonic vw. is evidenced by BHb, where pS \*-'i?i- yields -ə'pē-) ¶ AD PSH 41, 98, 121, 139, KB 250, KBR 260, Js. 276, Sl. 326, Br. 137-8, Lv. I 370, HJ 237, Tal 179, CAD XXI 106, LG 630, DRS 324-5 || Eg fP zɔb 'jackal' (either a cognate of or a loan from S) || ?? Eg N iśhb (= [\*ʔ∇sh∇b-]) '∈ wolf or dog' (acc. to EG I 132, a foreign word) (with a prosthetic ʔ∇- and with as. [\*-δʔ- >] \*-sʔ- > śh) ¶ EG I 132 and III 420,

Fk. 209 || C: EC \*z∇Hb- > HEC \*zōbb- 'lion' > Sd dōbb-iččo, pl. dōbb-a, Alb zobe-ččo, Kmb zōbbe-čču, Tmbr zob'be-čču, Qbn zōbbō 'lion' | pSam \*daɣaw- ~ (mt.) \*daɣaɣ- 'jackal' (×N \*d'æ'w∇ɣ|g∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal', q.v. ffd.) || ? SC: Irq duɣuma 'leopard' ¶ AD SF 106, Hd. 92, LZ 120 || Ch: WCh ? \*žīɿ∇ɿb- ({Stl.} \*žīɿ∇b-) > Ngz {Sch.} žīb-dà 'civet cat (Viverra civetta)' || ECh \*žabiy- 'hyena' > Bdy žebay-gi 'striped hyena', Mgm žábíyá 'brown hyena' ¶ Sch. DN 84, ChC s.v. 'hyena' ¶¶ OS #2660 || K: G čiba 'young dog' (K \*č- < \*\*žH-?), G ciba 'small dog', a call-word for dogs, G Kzq ciba 'Hündchen' (c- is still to be explained) ¶ Chx. 1933, 2003, KEGL VIII 501, 614 || A (\*že|äbe-ken): T \*je|äbken 'wolverine, glutton (Gulo gulo)' > Tv čepke ~ čekpe, Qb {Rl.} jäkpä, Qmn {B}, Alt {BT} žēken, Alt {Rl.} jākkän (= žākkän), Shor {Rl.} čäkän, Yk {Pek.} siägän ¶ The long vw. in Alt and the diphthong in Yk are due to compensatory lengthening (the loss of \*b) ¶ Shch. Zh 140, B K 212, BT 51, TvR 526, Pek. 2185, Rl. III 318, 320, 1948 || M \*žeɣek|gen (< \*\*žeɣeken?) 'wolverine' > WrM žegege, {Rm.} žegeke, Brt зээгэн, Kl зеегн zēgän, {Rm.} zēkŋ, HIM зэгээ (< \*žeɣeɣen < mt. \*žeɣegen) ¶ CHR. 275, KRS 246, KW 474, MED 1051 ¶¶ 'wolverine' ← (dim.?) 'wolf'; ≡σ: NE wolverine ← wolf ¶¶ ≠ DQA #2571 (A \*zībe 'a kind of predator' > T + unc. M \*sibor 'panther' and Tg \*sibigē 'ε big beast of prey' [in fact from N \*sib∇ɿ∇ 'beast of prey', q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≠ BK DA 157 [#56] (an unc. equation of the HS root with D \*čiv∇ɿanki 'leopard, lynx, hyena' [in fact from N \*žiw∇m∇,gE 'leopard' ×N \*č'ī'b∇ɿ∇ or \*č'ī'b∇ɿ∇ 'hyena', q.v.]).

2770. \*žūɿɿb∇ 'to pour, to flow' > HS: S \*-δūb- v. 'flow' > BHb בוז ✓zwb G (ip. -zūḥ-) 'flow', 'drip with fluid', Ug mḏb {OLS} 'flood of tide', JA [Trg.] ✓dwb G 'flow, drip', JEA ✓dwb G 'flow out, discharge', Md ✓dwb v. 'flow', SmA ✓dwb G 'melt, have a discharge', Sr ✓dwb G 'flow out, have an issue (menstruation, semen, etc.), melt', Ar ✓δwb v. G 'melt', ✓zwb v. G 'flow' (← some z-lge.?), Ak zābu inf. 'dissolve, ooze' ¶ KB 255, KBR 266, OLS 260, BK I 787, 1024, A #720, Grd. UT #1425, Tal 171, Js. 282, Lv. T I 163, Sl. 315, Br. 144, JPS 84, DRS 329, Sd. 1501-2, CAD XXI 9-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} \*žub|ḥ v. 'pour' > Hs zuba v. 'pour' | Bl žubb-, Dr žòḥé id. | ? Ngz žičḥú v. 'sprinkle' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} -žžḥ- v. 'wetten (the lips, iron)', Dgh {Frk.} žúpà 'be wet', Db {Lnh.} žúp id. ¶ Stl. VZCh #93, Stl. ZCh 194 [#457], Abr. H 975-6, Sch. DN 85, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 136 || Eg fP zḥb 'fließen, rinnen', {Fk.} 'drip'

¶ EG III 420, Fk. 209 ¶¶ OS #2669 (\*žub- 'flow, pour'), ≈ OS #2631 (\*√zub v. 'pour', based on an unc. rec. of pS as \*√zwb), ≈ Sk. HCD 547 || **K** \*°ž▽b|p- > ? Zan \*žg▽p- → G I žger-i 'heavy rain' ¶ Chx. 2436 || **A** \*žub- > M \*°žubag > WrM žubag, HIM зубаг 'irrigation channel, drain' ¶ MED 1077 || Tg \*°jub|p- > Ewk juwāt- v. 'have diarrhoea' ¶ STM I 268 ◇ N \*-?b- is suggested by ḅ in some WCh lgs.

2771. ?o<sub>2</sub> \*ž'ü' ḅ▽, ḅ▽ 'ε insect' > HS: S \*δ'ü'b▽b- ~ δ▽bδ▽b- 'a fly' > BHb זַבּוּב zə'ḇūḇ, JA [Trg.] זַבּוּב דִּי dī ḇə'ḇ-ā, Sr זַבּוּב, dabbā'ḇ-ā ~ זַבּוּב, dəbbā'ḇ-ā id., Ar ḍubāb-, Mh {Jo.} ḍəb'ḇēt (pl. ḍəbēb), Jb E {Jo.} ḍəb'ḇət, Jb C {Jo.} ḍəb'ḇət (pl. 'ḍebēb), Sq {L} ḍbiboh, Ak zubbū ~ zumbū id., Hrs ḍəbbēt (pl. ḍəbḍēb) id., ḍebḍəbēt 'worm' ¶ KB 250, KBR 261, JPS 81, Js. 294, Jo. M 79, Jo. J 45, Jo. H 27-8, DRS 326 || B \*z▽bb- 'fly' > Ah {Fc.} a-həb (pl. i-həbb-in) 'mouche plate', ETwl, Ty e-zəbb (pl. i-zəbb-ən) 'mouche (œstre) du bœuf', Tnsl {ABs.} a-šəbb, Gh {ABs.} azəb 'fly', Izd {Mrc.} i-zib (pl. i-zabb-ən) 'mouche de cheval' ¶ Fc. 505, GhA 208, Pr. H #122, Mrc. 170 || Eg MK z.b.t ≈ vermin (Ungeziefer)', DEg ṣb 'vermin, louse' > Cpt Sd **CIB** ṣib, Cpt B **CIP** sip 'vermine, tique' ¶ EG III 432, Vc. 183 || ?φ C: Bj {R} ḍībāb (pl. ḍībəb) n. 'flea' ¶ R WBd 73 || ? Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} žúwâk, Bd {ChL} žúwān n. 'fly' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} žúwây, pMM {Ro.} \*žīway (> Mada {Ro.} žúwé, Myn {Ro.} ážúwé, Mkt {Ro.} žúwáy, Hrz {Ro.}, Mf {BLB} žúwáy, Mlk/Vm/Mofu {Ro.} žúwáy, Zlg {Ro.} žúwé, MfG {Brr.} žážúwây, Gzg D {ChC} žužuwed, Gzg {Ro.} žìžìwéd, Gzg Mj {Lk.} žìžuwed), Glv {Rp.} nžúwiyà, Gv {ChL} nžuwà, Dgh {ChC} ḡžúwè, {ChL} nzúwè, Nkc {IL} nzúwè, Mdr {Mk., ChL} nžuwə n. 'fly' || Ech: Mu {J} ḍùwó, Jg {J} diwo id. ¶ Nw. 52 (s.v. \*điwa 'fly'), ChC, ChL, Ro. 254 [#282], Lk. G 125, RpB 74, BLB 128, Brr. MG II 137 || **A** {SDM97} \*žūbu 'ε stinging insect' > Tg \*jube-kte, \*jube-n 'wasp, bee' > Ewk juwuktə ɖ juɣuktə 'wasp', Sln jūktə, Lm jəwət ~ jəwət, Neg jəwə-ktə ~ jəɣəktə ~ jəɣəktə, Nn Nh/KU žəwə, žəwəktə, Nn B žəwə(n-) 'wasp, bee' ¶ STM I 268 || ? NaT \*j̣i:;bin ~ \*ç̣ipin ~ \*ç̣i:;min > OT čibin ~ čībin 'fly, gnat', Tk cibin, Az čibin 'fly, mosquito, gnat', Tkm čībin, Uz čibin 'gnat', Qmq žibin 'fly', {Rm.} 'Sandfliege', VTt чєбєн чьбьн, ET čivin, Qrg čimin, Alt, Tb {B} čimin n. 'fly', Qzq šibin id., šibin-širkey 'swarm of midges', ?φ Tv šimil 'larve' ¶ The variations \*j- ~ \*ç- and \*-b- ~ \*-p- ~ \*-m- are due to the ideographic (onomatopoeic) associations of the word ¶ TL 186, Cl. 838,

Rs. W 110, TatR 632, TkR 743, Sht. 235, Nj. 416 𐰽𐰾 ≈ SDM97 (A \*ǰūbu > T, Tg + \*÷ M \*ǰögeu 'bee'), ≠ KW 487 (M, T), Pp. VG 28, 58.

**2772.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \*ǰ' a' ǰ' d ▽ (or \*ǰ a Hd ▽?) 'spread, be flat' > A: NaT \*jāδ- > OT {Cl.} jāδ- v. 'spread out (on the ground, etc.)', XwT/MQp XIV, Chg XV jāy- id., Tk ɟay-, Ggz, Kr jāy-, Uz ёй- jay-, VTt Žāy-, Bsh jāy-, Qzq, Qq žay-, Qrg žay-, Alt {BT} дбай- žay-, Xk čas-, Tv čat-, Tf čat- id., Tkm jāy- v. 'roll out dough', Az, Qmq, ET jāy- id., 'spread out' 𐰽 Cl. 883-4, ET J 76-7, TkR 808, Ra. 195 || M \*ǰada-: WrM {MED} ǰadara-, HIM задра- v. 'spread' (here unless from ǰadara- v. 'unfold, unwrap, loosen'), WrM {Rm.} ǰada-ǰai 'lying open, spread out', ?σ Kl задһа 'open, not closed'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} ǰada-i- 'sich ausbreiten', ǰada-ǰar 'flach ausgebreitet'; if the primary meaning of the M √ is 'to open, to loosen', 'apart' (WrM ǰada 'apart'), the M √ does not belong here (⇔ Rm.) 𐰽 MED 1021, Kow. 2277-8, KRS 236 𐰽𐰽 Rm. EAS I 64 and Rm. SKE 24 (T, M + unc. Ko čak:i [Rm.: < čat-ki-] 'to place with the back down', arbitrarily interpreted by Rm. as 'mit ausgebreiteten Armen auf den Rücken legen'), DQA #2584 (A \*ǰād ▽ '[to] spread, unravel [расстилать, распутывать] > T, M) || D \*čat̥- 'flat(ness)' > Kn caṭṭu, caṭṭa, caṭṭe 'flatness, levelness', Tu caṭṭæ 'flat, level', Knd saṭu, saṭu-ṣaṅku 'flat rock' (ṣaṅku 'stone') 𐰽 D #2308 || ?σ HS: S \*\*°√ δ̥d > (as. in the framework of a rdp. pattern) Ar √ δ̥δ̥ D 'disperse' 𐰽 BK I 772-3 ◇ N \*ǰ and \*ǰ are justified only if the S cognate belongs here. Otherwise the N etymon is less specific: \*ǰ a Hd ▽ ◇ IS SS #3.19 (A, D), IS MS 359 s.v. расстилаться (A, D).

**2773.** \*ǰæwɣ' i' 'bad, ugly', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'left [link]') > IE: NaIE \*seuɣo- 'left (link)' > OI saɰ'ɟa- 'left, left hand/arm', Av haoya-, MPrs hōy- 'left' || SI \*šuyb 'left (link)' > OCS шoуh šui id. ('εὐώνυμος'), шoуhца šuica 'left hand', Slv šūj (f. šūja) 'left', SCr šūvāk (gen. šuváka) 'left-hander', OR šui 'left', R Δ 'шуйца 'left hand', Uk 'шуйбіч 'on the left side' || ? Clt: MW {SEv.} assewɣ / asseu, W aswɣ 'left' (if from \*ad-seuɣo-, as suggested by Ped. and Mn.), ?? Br su (call to a horse to turn left) 𐰽 WP II 472, P 915, EI 349 (\*seu'ɟo-s), M K III 449, Tr. 260 (none of them mentions the Clt cognates), Vs. IV 484, Ped. VG II 16, Mn. 38 (reconstructs \*a|assewɣos ~ \*sewɣos 'left-hand, sinister', adduces the Clt cognate and Arm ահեակ aheak 'left' + \*÷ Tc B saiwai v. 'the right'), Bc. 865-7, SEv. 4, YGM-1 34, Wn. 410-1 (rejects the connection of Tc B saiwai with the IE √ in

question) || **A:** ppM \* $\zeta$ eβün 'left' > MM [L] XIII {Pp.}  $\zeta$ e $\omega$ ün, [HI]  $\zeta$ e $\omega$ ün, [ISV]  $\zeta$ üyün 'left', WrM  $\zeta$ egün, HIM, Brt  $\zeta$ Y $\gamma$ H, Kl  $\zeta$ YH, {Rm., Pp.} zün 'left; east'; M  $\rightarrow$  ? Ork d $\zeta$ wun'ji ~ d $\zeta$ un'j $\zeta$  ~ d $\zeta$ un'ji 'left', Ewk j $\zeta$ in, Neg jixinid $\zeta$ gd $\zeta$ , Orc  $\zeta$ žn'ž $\zeta$ , Ud  $\zeta$ ž $\zeta$ n'ž $\zeta$ , {Krm.}  $\zeta$ ž $\zeta$ n'ž $\zeta$ - 'left', Nn  $\zeta$ žunč'i 'to the left side', WrMc  $\zeta$ un 'at\to the left side' ¶ Pp. L II 1271, Ms. H 67, Lg. VMI 40, MED 1044, STM I 282, Krm. 232, KRS 259-60, KW 485 || **HS:** S \* $\zeta$ o $\zeta$  (rdp.) > Ar  $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ - 'bad, of poor quality' (of palm trees) ¶ BK I 773 || **K:** G  $\zeta$ žuna 'ugly' ('unschön, häßlich'), G K  $\zeta$ žurta 'mißgestalteter, häßlicher Mensch' ¶ Chx. 2457 ◇ IS MS 346 s.v. левый (\* $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ , represented in IE and M; adduction of WrMc  $\zeta$ ebele is to be rejected because the word means 'right side' rather than 'left side' [as in IS l.c.]) ◇ The K and S cognates suggest that the N rec. is \* $\zeta$ æw $\zeta$ 'i' and the meaning of the N word is 'bad, ugly, ( $\rightarrow$ ?) left' ◇ It is possible to find a semantic connection between this N word and N \* $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ 'a $\omega$  or \* $\zeta$ a $\zeta$ 'o $\omega$  \* $\approx$  be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' (q.v.), but the cognates in M suggest that these two etymons have different vowels and hence represent two separate N words ◇ The alternative reconstruction of a pN word ( $\zeta$  \* $\zeta$ æw $\zeta$ 'i' > IE, M) with the original meaning 'left' ('link') is hardly plausible, because we know from the history of languages that the meaning 'left' is (always?) secondary.

2774. \* $\zeta$ U $\zeta$ 'i'  $\approx$  show, advise, get accustomed' > **HS:** Eg fMK z $\zeta$ h 'advice', z $\zeta$ h $\zeta$  'adviser; clever, understanding' ¶ EG III 465-6 || **K** \* $\zeta$ w(e)- v. 'get accustomed, train, school' > OG  $\zeta$ ue-, G  $\zeta$ ve-/\* $\zeta$ vi- id., Mg \*r $\zeta$ k $\zeta$ (a)-, Sv  $\zeta$ k $\zeta$ - 'get accustomed (?)' (msd. UB {TK} li- $\zeta$ k $\zeta$ ne) ¶¶ K 219 (GZ \* $\zeta$ w(e)-), K<sup>2</sup> 256 (K \* $\zeta$ w(e)-); FS K 388 and FS E 436 (\* $\zeta$ w-), TK 471 || **IE:** Ht siya- md. 'sich zeigen' ¶ Ts. W 75 ◇ Does Ht i suggest a N front vw., i.e. N \* $\zeta$ U $\zeta$ 'i'? ◇ K \* $\zeta$ - < \* $\zeta$ h.

2775. \* $\zeta$ 'a'kU 'be low', 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > **K:** G G {Chx., Ghl.}  $\zeta$ agvera(-i) 'a short robust person' ¶ Chx. 2424, Ghl. 772 || **U** \* $\zeta$ oka 'low', 'shallow', 'low water' > Lp: L {LLO} ts $\zeta$ hkē 'shallow' (of a lake), N {N} coakke / -g- 'low water' (of river or sea), Kld цуэгкь, K {Gn.} cu $\zeta$ kk 'shallow'; L {UEW} ts $\zeta$ hkō-, N {N} coakko- / -g- 'fall' (level of water), 'sink' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} t $\zeta$ kkē- vt. 'dry out', t $\zeta$ kk $\zeta$ - vi. 'dry out', Tur {Lh.} t $\zeta$ kk $\zeta$ - id., Ke {Cs.} cakka-, Nr {Cs.}  $\zeta$ aga- 'austrocknen' || YK {Jc.}  $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ ur $\zeta$ - 'be shallow' (of a river), ? YT {Ku.}  $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ une- 'be thin',  $\zeta$ o $\zeta$ u $\zeta$ ay- 'grow thinner' ¶¶ UEW 60-1, LLO

1242-3, SaR 381, KКIH 182, Cs. 133, Ku. 235-6, Ang. 39 || **A:** M \*žagžai- 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > WrM žagžai-, HIM, Brt загзай-, Kl загзи-х žagžī-хә id., Kl Ö {Rm.} zaṽzā-χα 'kurz und dick sein', Ord {Ms.} žagžā- ~ jaḡžā- 'be short' (of a person); M \*žagžai-gar > WrM žagžagar, HIM загзгар ~ загжгар, Kl загзһр žagžəhər, Brt загзагар 'short, stocky' (of a person), 'broad and thick' (of a beard), Kl Ö {Rm.} zaṽzṽṽar 'kurz und dick, von kleinem Wuchs, stämmig', Ord {Ms.} žagžagar ~ jaḡžagar 'short' (of a person); Brt загзүүл žagžūl 'be low\undersized' (of a pine forest) ¶ MED 1025, KRS 235, KW 463, Chr. 243, Ms. O 179 || ?**σ HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓δkw > Ar ✓δkw D 'être gros, corpulent' ¶ BK I 778 ◇ U \*-o- (for \*a) is due to the ass. infl. of the labialized vw. of the next syll. G Gr -g- in žagvera- (for the expected -k-) has not yet found explanation.

**2776. \*žEγL∇** (or \*žELγ∇?) 'ε small carnivore mammal' ('fox', [?] 'jackal', 'weasel' or the like) > **K:** eNG žilγao ({SSO} 'šavi mela', literally 'black fox'), G žilγao ~ žilγo 'silver fox', {DCh.} žilγao id., 'red fox', G {Chx.} žilγao 'schwarzer Fuchs' ¶ Chx. 2448, DCh. 1771, KE VIII 1591 || **HS:** S: Ar {Hv.} δuṽāl-at- 'fox', δaṽl- ~ δiṽl- ~ δuṽl- 'jackal, weasel', {Ln.} δaṽlān- ~ δuṽlān- 'jackal' or 'wolf', δuṽāl-at- 'wolf' (? for the expected γ is due to the infl. of δiṽb- 'wolf' or to derivational processes [like pl. fractus \*\*δuṽγ∇, ṽāl- > δuṽāl-?]) ¶ Hv. 194, BK I 762, Ln. 950 || **A:** Tg \*jele(-kī) 'weasel' > Ewk jɛlɛ-kī, Lm jiliki, Neg jɛlɛxī, Orc žɛlɛki, Ud žɛlɛxi, Ul žiɛli(n-) ~ žɛli ~ žɛliki, Ork jɛlɛzi, Nn žɛli, žɛlikɛ 'weasel', WrMc zelken 'ε small carnivore mammal' (? {Z} 'бурндук [chipmuck, Tamias], колонок [Siberian weasel, Mustela sibirica], жёлтый хорёк') ¶ STM I 28, Z 977, Krm. 236 ◇ 'Fox' and 'weasel' may be semantically connected as names of two fur-bearing animals.

**2777. \*žam∇** 'be dying, perish' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓δmy > Ar ✓δmw|y v. G 'writhe in agony' (of a dying or slaughtered beast) (pf. مَضَّ δamā, ip. -δmiy-, n. act. δamy-) ¶ BK I 783, Hv. 230 || But hardly here Sml ḡimašo 'be dying' (⇔ Blz.), because there is no confirmed etl. identity between Sml ḡ and S \*δ || **D** \*čam- ({ǵGS} \*s-) 'die, be finished', (caus.) 'kill' > Tl samayu 'die, perish, be destroyed', camaru 'kill', Tm camai vi. (p. -v-) 'be consumed \ destroyed', vt. 'finish', camai (p. -pp-) 'kill, destroy', Ml cavati 'consumption', Kt čam- 'be finished \ spent', Kn same, save, savī 'be destroyed \ consumed, wear away',

Gnd  $\text{ʒavv-kānā}$   $\text{⚡ havk-}$  'kill'  $\text{𐤆𐤃 D #2343}$  || **U:** FV  $\text{*yama-}$  'be dying' > pLp {Lr.}  $\text{*yāmē}$  'die' > Lp: S {Hs.}  $\text{jāam'edh}$ , L {LLO}  $\text{jāpmēt}$ , N {N}  $\text{jābmet}$ , K {Gn.}  $\text{yām'mēδ}$  'die, perish' | pMr {Ker.}  $\text{*yūma-}$  > Er  $\text{ēma-yoma-}$  'be missing (get lost, etc.), perish', Mk  $\text{yoma-yu'ma-}$ , Δ  $\text{ima-}$  id. | pChr {Ber.}  $\text{*yom-}$  > Chr: H  $\text{yamaš}$ , L  $\text{yomaš}$ , B/Uf  $\text{yoma-}$ , M  $\text{yoma-}$  'get lost, perish' || ?? Sm: Ne T O {Lh.}  $\text{yāmā}$  'be unable', T Sd {Lh.}  $\text{héwāw yāp'mā}$  'my mother is ill', Ng {Cs.}  $\text{jama-juā}$  'nicht können' || pY {IN}  $\text{*yam-p-}$  'be ill, die' > Y T {Ku.}  $\text{yaba-}$ , {IN}  $\text{yawe-}$  'die',  $\text{yamšī-}$  'be ill',  $\text{yaw}$ , {Jc.}  $\text{jobe}$ , Y K {IN}  $\text{yō}$ , {Jc.}  $\text{jobo}$  'illness', ? Y T {Ku.}  $\text{yaw-}$  'feel pain'  $\text{𐤆𐤃 Coll. 17, UEW 89, Lr. #256, Lgc. #1661, Hs. 753-4, LG 337, Rd. rLG 422, Ker. II 44-5, ERV 182-3, PI 319, Ber. 11, Ep. 25, MRS 147-8, 787, Lh. 97, Cs. 52, Ku. 63-4, Ang. 82, 94-5, IN 224, IN RJ 4}$  ◇ Not here Alt  $\text{ʒobō-}$  'be sick' (BT 55), which is a loan from M (pM  $\text{*ʒoba-}$  'suffer' < N  $\text{*ʒo'ʔaw}$  or  $\text{*ʒa'ʔow}$   $\text{*} \approx$  be of poor quality \ appearance; be weak, be bad' [q.v.]) (see also Cl. 872) ◇ The U cognate is valid if N  $\text{*ʒ-}$  may yield U  $\text{*y-}$  (hyp. formulated by the present author in 1974 [AD NSAS 163-75], but not confirmed later) ◇ Blz. SNE I 239 [#1] ( $\text{*zama}$ ; U, D + [unc.] Alt  $\text{ʒobō-}$ , C + Ko  $\text{samaṅ}$  'death' [in fact a loan from Chn]).

**2778.**  $\text{ʔσ}_2$   $\text{*ʒEm}$  'way (?)' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' > **[11]** (N) 'blame, fault': **HS:** WS  $\text{*} \checkmark \delta mm \sim \text{*} \circ \checkmark \delta ʔm$  > Ar  $\checkmark \delta mm$  v. G (pf.  $\delta amma$ ) 'blame, reprove',  $\delta amm-$  'blame, vice'; ( $\times \checkmark \delta ʔm$  'drive away, repousser'):  $\checkmark \delta ʔm$  G 'blame, dispise, disgrace',  $\delta aʔm-$  'vice, shameful action', BHb  $\text{הַזָּמָה}$   $\text{zim'mā}$  'evil device, wickedness' ( $\times$   $\text{הַזָּמָה}$   $\text{zim'mā}$  'plan, purpose' ←  $\checkmark zmm$  'consider'), 'infamy, shameful behaviour', MHb (← Aram)  $\text{הַזָּמָה}$   $\text{dū'mā}$  'woman of ill repute', {Lv.} id., 'woman suspected of illicit intercourse', Ug  $\text{tdmm}$  {TOu} 'se conduire mal', {OLS} 'trato lascivo \ denigrante',  $\text{tdmmt}$  {TOu} 'inconduite', {OLS} 'lascivia', Mh {Jo.}  $\checkmark \delta mm$  G (pf.  $\delta ʔm$ , sbjn.  $\text{yʒδmʒm}$ ) 'miscall so. behind his back', Jb E/C {Jo.}  $\checkmark \delta mm$  G id., Mh  $\text{aδmēm}$  'put all the blame on so.\sth.', Gz  $\checkmark zmw$  D 'fornicate, commit adultery\whoredom, have illicit intercourse', Tgy  $\checkmark zmw$  D 'fornicate, commit adultery', Amh  $\text{zemma}$  'whore, harlot'  $\text{𐤆 KB 272, Js. 284, Lv. I 383, BK I 762, 781, Hv. 225, 230, BDB 273, TOu I 201, OLS 463, DRS 335, Jo. M 80, LG 639, Bsn. 723, Kane 1612, MiK I #2.14}$  || **A:** M  $\text{*ʒime-}$  ~  $\text{*ʒeme-}$  > WrM  $\text{zimed-}$  v. 'accuse; blame, reprimand',  $\text{zimele-}$  id., v. 'chide, scold', v. 'lecture', WrO  $\text{zēm}$  n. 'blame',  $\text{zem}$  n.

'harm, evil, guilt', *zeme* n. 'blame, fault, reprimand; scolding', *zemele-* v. 'scold, reprove' ¶ MED 1056, Kow. 2348-9, Krg. 667 ||| [2] (N) 'manner of behaviour, natural law': HS: S: Ar *ḡimām-* 'right, due, honour', {BK} 'devoir, obligation', esp. 'l'obligation de protéger les siens' ¶ BK I 781 || A: M \**zime* 'conduct, manner of behaviour' > WrM *zime* ~ *zeme*, HIM *zəm* id., WrO *zēm* 'discipline, natural law', *zeme* 'discipline, sacred instructions' ¶ MED l.c., Kow. 2348, Krg. 667 ||| [3] ? (N) 'way' > HS: Eg L/G *zm̄.ty* 'Weg, Straße' ¶ EG III 452 || A: It is tempting to adduce here the M word that is represented by WrM *zəm*, HIM *zəm*, WrO *zəm* 'road, way, pass', Kl {Rm.} *zam* 'Weg, Landstraße' (MED 1033, Kow. 2290, Krg. 661, KW 466, Kg. AD 328 [#1162]), but this M word is at least influenced by (or contaminated with) (if not identical with) the loanword *zām* 'posting station' (MM [S] {R} *žām* id.) probably of Chn origin (← ItMCn ≈ *čām* < MChn {Starostin, p.c.} *čēm* [> Chn M *žān*] 'to stop; stage of journey') (see Kg. AD 328 [#1162], H 85; on the T word *jam* 'posting station' of the same Chinese origin see Cl. 933). If the M word is a loan from Chn, it does not belong here. If there was contamination, the Chn infl. is responsible for the one-syll. structure and the vw. *a* in the M word ◇ It is not yet clear whether the above semantic entities are connected and, if so, whether our tentative hyp. of the semantic development ('wrong behaviour, vice' ← 'conduct, manner of behaviour' [?] ← 'way') is correct.

2779. ??φ \**žam|ŋ'∇kæ* ~ \**ž'a'k∇'m|ŋ'∇* 'chin, beard' > IE {E} \**smeḱ-*, \**smoḱw̄r̄*: [1] \**smeḱ-* 'chin' > OIr *smech* 'chin' (< \**smeḱā*) ||| possibly L *māla* 'cheek-bone, jaw-bone', 'cheek, jaw', dim. *maxilla* 'jaw-bone, jaw' (*māla* < \**sm̄ḱ-slā*) ||| [2] \**smoḱw̄r̄* 'beard, (?) chin' > Ht {Ts.} *zamankur* ~ *zamakur* 'beard', *samankurwant-* 'bearded' ('bärtig') || NaIE: OI *śmaśru* 'beard' ||| Arm *մաւրուք* *mawruk<sup>h</sup>* ~ *մօրուք* *môruk<sup>h</sup>* id. ||| pAl {O} \**smekrā* > Al *mjekër* 'chin, beard' ||| Lt *smākras*, † *smakrà* 'chin', Ltv *smakrs* 'chin, palate' ||| ?σ AS *smāras* 'lips' ¶ The depalatalized \*-k- (in Al and Blt) is due to its preconsonantal position ¶ Frd. HW 259, Ts. W 69, 108, WP II 689, P 968-9, EI 107, 251, M K III 982, WH II 15, Vn. S 140-1, Sl. 180-1, O 269-70, Frn. 839 ||| HS: [1] HS \*\**ž∇k∇N-* (< N \**ž'a'k∇'m|ŋ'∇*) 'chin, beard' > S \**ḡa'kan-* 'beard' > BHb *ḡā'kān* id., 'side whiskers', Ph *zḡn*, JA [Trg.] *ḡā'kan*, em. JA [Trg.], JEA *ḡā'kan-ā*, Sr *ḡā'kan-ā*, SmA *ḡḡn*, Ak *ziḡn-u* 'beard', Ug *ḡḡn* 'beard, chin', Ar *ḡaq(a)n-* 'chin' | Ak fOB *zuktū* ~ *suktū* 'chin' ¶ KB 267, KBR 278, AD PhSS 2-5, OLS



135-6, HJ 339, Js. 319, Lv. I 420, Sl. 335-6, Tal 192, Br. 164, Sod. 1061, 1530-1, CAD XXI 125-6, DRS 339, MiK I #63 || WCh \*žakam̄ (Stl.) \*žakan|m̄) 'chin' > Su {J}, Kfr M {Hf.} žaʕam, Ang {Flk.} žām, Gmy {Hf.} žōm, {Kr.} žoʔóm, Cp {Kr.} žəkəm 'chin', Kfr {Nt.} žagám 'jaw' || BT: Grm {Gw.} žaŋgumu 'chin' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} zúkúmò ~ zúkímò (pl. zûŋkímàgí) 'chin, beard' ¶ Stl. ZCh 195 [#463], Hf. AGL 22 [#162], Nt. 16, ChL, ChC, J LM 202 ||| [2] ?ϕ C: Bj {R} ša'nak (pl. 'šanaka) 'jaw-bone, chin, beard' ||| Ag ≈ \*<sup>o</sup>č<sup>ʔ</sup> Angabat > Km {CR}, Q {R} šəngabat 'beard, chin' ¶ R WBd 217, R QW 127 ||| A: NaT \*janaq, {ðRs.} \*jaňak ({ADb.} \*jauňak) 'jaw, cheek' > OT janaq, {Cl.} jaňaq 'cheek-bone, cheek', MU, XwT, ET janaq, Chg janaq ~ janaʕ 'cheek', MQp janaq 'cheek, jaw', Bsh, Kr T janaq, QrB žayaq, Qzq, Qq žaq, Alt, Tb žāq, Tf ŋāq, Tv čāq, Yk sɪŋāχ 'jaw, cheek', ? Qzq iyek 'jaw', Qrg žāq, Uz žaʕ 'jaw', Chg janaʕ ~ janaq, Tk ɣanak, Az janag, Tkm, VTt, ET janaq, Qmq jayaq, Slr Ul janaχ, SbT Tb {RL} ŋanaq, Xk nāχ 'cheek', Shor {RL} nāq 'cheek, cheek-bone', Uz janaq 'cheek-bone' ¶ Rs. W 187, Cl. 948, ET J 123, TL 219-20, Tn. SJ 346, Rl. III 627, 636 || Tg \*jegī 'chin' > Ewk jɜɜ ɛ jɜw ɛ jɜy ɛ jɜk 'chin, lower jaw', Sln jɜgī, Orc žɜy, Ud {Krm.} žɜi ~ žɜy 'chin', Nn Nh žɜy|ž 'cap-lace tied under the chin', WrMc zelgin ~ zelgiyen id. ¶ STM I 281, Krm. 235 ◇ Tg \*e is due to regr. as. (\*a...E > \*ä...E > Tg \*e...) ◇ The connection between HS \*\*ž̄∇k̄∇N- and the supposed IE and T cognates is confirmed by Tg \*jegī, but is still not certain. If it does exist, it may be accounted for either by mt. or by a suffixal element \*-∇N (cp. S \*<sup>l</sup>ʔuδ-<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>n 'ear', \*<sup>l</sup>kar-an- 'horn', and \*<sup>l</sup>gur-an- 'throat' with a sx. \*-an- typical of names of body parts). If HS \*\*ž̄∇k̄∇N- does not belong here, in the N rec. the cns. \*ž̄- must be replaced by \*ž̄- (= ž|ž|ž̄). The reflexes of the etymon in question should be distinguished from those of N \*šäm<sub>l</sub>∇<sub>l</sub>g∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair' (q.v.).

**2780.** \*žemûga<sub>l</sub>H<sub>2</sub>ê<sub>l</sub> 'fog, smoke, hot/sultry air' > K: G žanq-i 'dense fog' ¶ Chx. 2430 ||| IE: NaIE \*(s)meukh- ~ \*(s)meug- 'smoke' > Gk σμύχω 'burn in a smouldering fire' ||| Gmc: MHG smouch n. 'smoke, steam', MDt smooch, Dt smook, NHG Schmauch 'dense smoke', AS smoca 'smoke', NE n. smoke; AS smīeć 'smoke, steam', NE Δ smitch 'smoke'; MDt smieken, smuiken, Dt smoken ɛ smuiken, AS smēocan vi. 'to smoke', smocian 'to smoke', NE v. smoke; AS smīećan vi. 'to smoke', vt. 'to fumigate', MLG smōken,

NHG *schmauchen* 'to smoke, to puff at a pipe' || Arm **մխի** *muχ* (gen. **մխոյ** *mχoy*) 'smoke' (< \*<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>muk<sup>h</sup>o-) || Clt: OIr *múch*, Brtt [RE] \**mukos* 'smoke' > W *mwg*, Crn *mōk* id., Br *moged* id., *mog* 'foyer, maison, famille, feu', *moug* n. 'suffocation', adj. 'étouffant' || Lt *smāugti* (prs. *smāugiū*) 'to stifle' (← \*'to stifle by smoke'), 'to strangle' ¶ WP II 688-9, P 971, EI 529 (\*<sub>(s)</sub>m(e)uǵ<sub>1</sub>'*smoke*'), F II 752, Slt. 187-8, Vn. *M* 69-70, RE 131, Hm. 576, 584, Frn. 841, Ho. 301-3, OED IX 275, Vr. N 659-60, OsS 835, Lx. 200, KM 662 || **U**: FU \**čęke* 'current of air, hot air, sultriness' > F *henki* (gen. *hengen*) 'breath, current of air, air, spirit, ghost', Es *hing* (gen. *hingē*) 'breath, current of air, soul' | Prm: Vt *жог* *žog* 'hot air (in a oven, in a sauna)', Sr/M {Wc.} *žog*, Vt Uf {Wc.} *žog* 'very hot, sultry' || ObU {Ht.} \**čĒnk* > pOs {Ht.} \**čęnk* ({Hl.} \**čĭnk*) > Os: Ty/Y/D/K *čęnk*, Nz/Kz *šänk*, O *sänk* 'heat, hot' (of air, weather), D {Stn.} *χотна чәнк* 'it is hot in the room', *mānem čәnk* 'mir ist heiß'; pVg \**sänk* > Vg: Tsäk, LK *sāk*, MK/UK *sāk*, P/NV/SV/LL *sak*, Ss *sänk* 'hot, heat' ¶ Besides, there is a FU √ \**čün* ∇ 'smoke, fog' (either contamination with N \**čün* ∇ 'smoke, smell' [q.v.] or going back entirely to N \**čün* ∇) ¶ UEW 57, 59, Coll. 80, U3S 145, Wc. FUAA 246, Ht. #106, Stn. D 287.

**2780a.** <sub>2</sub> \***žUhn** ∇ 'show; understand, be taught' > HS: WS \**✓δhn* > Ar *✓δhn G* (ip. -*δhan-*) 'understand', *δihn-* 'understanding, sagacity', {BK} 'intelligence', {Fr.} 'ingenium', *δahab-* {Fr.} 'ingenium, intellectus, memoria', {Hv.} 'prudence', Jb C {Jo.} *✓δhn G* (pf. *δε'hen*, sbjn. *υδ'hun*) 'have sense, have acquired intellectual maturity, be clever', *Sh* (pf. *eδ'hin*) 'teach, instruct' ¶ Fr. II 98, BK I 786, Hv. 232, Jo. J 45 || **K** \**°čwen-* > OG *čuen-*, G *čven-* v. 'show' ¶ Ser. 194, DCh. 1576 ¶ K \**č-* < \*\**čh-* < \**žh-* (as.).

**2781.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***žan** ∇ **b** ∇ 'tail, back' > HS: S \**δa'nab-* 'tail' > BHb **בַּנְבֵּ** *zā'nāb*, Ug *δnb*, JA [Trg.] **דַּנְבֵּ** *dan'b-ā* ~ **דַּנְבֵּ** *dun'b-ā*, Md *dinba*, SmA *dnb*, Sr *dun'bā*, *dunbāt-ā*, Ar *δanab-*, Gz *zanab*, Tgy *zēneb*, Mh *δznūb*, Hrs *δznēb*, Jb C 'δu'nub, Sq {L} 'dinob, {Jo.} *denob*, Ak *zibb-ātu* *zimb-ātu*, Eb *šè-na-bù* ({Krb.} *δin<sub>1</sub>a|<sub>2</sub>bu(m)*, {Frnz.} *δinabum*) 'tail' ]? Gz *zabān* 'back, tail' (← C?; see ↓), ??? Ar {Ln.} *δubāb-* 'point, extremity, sharp edge' ¶ KB 263, KBR 374-5, OLS 140, Br. 159, JPS 87, Lv. I 415, Js. 315, Tal 191, Ln. 952, 980-1, L G 640, L LS 130, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 28, Jo. J 47, CAD XXI 100-2, Krb. EG 44, Frnz. EL 154, DRS 336, BK I 763, MiK I #64 || C: EC {Ss.} \**zanb-* ~ \**zinb-* 'tail'

(× N \*d∇mP∇ [= \*d∇mp∇?] 'back, hinder part, tail') > Sa daban 𐎠 zaban 𐎠 ḏaban, Rn {PG} dúb 'tail; buttocks, bakside', Sml {DSI} dambe 'behind, after; hind' ('dietro; dopo; posteriore'), ka dambē (v.) 'essere indietro', Sml N damb-ayn-ayya 'hinten sein', Or {Brl.} daballé 'codino', {Th.} daballe 'tail, tress (of hair)' ({Ss.} < \*daban-lē), Hr sinp-ō 'uncircumcised penis', Arr {Hw.} dúmm 'tail', Dsn {To.} dúm 'tail tip'; Gz zabān 'back, tail' may be a loan from a Cushitic source (unless a mt. from S \*ḏa'nab-) ¶ DSI 130-1, Ss. WKOS 140, PG 103, Brl. 84, Th. 81, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492, ≠ LZ 126 (doubts about EC {Ss.} \*z-), L G 631, MiK I #62 ¶¶ LZ 126 (EC ÷ S) || A: NaT \*jan- vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.}, ET, SY, Ln, Chg jan- id., Uz 𐎠- jḏn- vi. 'return' ¶ Cl. 940-2, ET J 111-4 ¶ This T √ may be an AdS of T \*jān 'side' (mainly from N \*L|žān∇ 'side (of body)' [q. v. ffd.]) || ? IE: NaIE \*°dumb- 'tail, penis' (× N \*d∇mP∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ NaIE \*d- is inherited from N \*d∇mP∇.

**2782.** 𐎠 ≈ \*žUñ'č'U (or \*žUñčU?) 'ant, stinging insect' > K: GZ {FS} \*žinčw-, {K, K<sup>2</sup>} \*žinčwel- 'ant' > OG žinčvel- 'ant', G čiančvela- id. (× \*čia- 'worm'), G Gr žinčvela-i, Mg čķičķ-i-ṭia- ~ žginžg-i-ṭia-, Lz dimčķu- ~ dumčķu- 'ant'; \*÷ Sv maṛšķ- 'ant' (or a merger with a different √?) ¶ K 269, FS K 504, FS E 573-4 || HS: C: EC: Sa dūde, Sml Ji {Lm.} dūdū? 'ant', ? Bs {HL} tunče 'red ant', HEC {AD} \*čunč- ~ \*čuč- 'ant', {Hd.} \*čūča 'small ant' > Sd {Gs.} čunča (coll.) 'big black ants', (snglt.) čunč-iččo 'a big black ant', Kmb tuṭi-ta 'small ant', Brj čūččē id.; EC ↗ EthS: Arg tuč, Grg Sl čūnčē, Grg Wl čunče 'gnat', Har čūč 'small black ant', (× N \*'ś' A'č'∇ 'ε stinging insect'): o:†Gz šāšūt, šāšōt, šāšēt 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr šašot, Tgy šaše 'ant', Amh čžčat 'gnat' || Ag {Ap.} \*čžč- (= {JAp.} \*canc-) 'fly' > Bln, Q šin'sa, Xm {R} šəšə, Aw cāncā id.; Ag ↗ EthS: Gz šənšəña, Tgy šənšəya, Tgr čžčay 'fly' ¶ Hd. 20, 184, 341, 357, Gs. 62, L EDH 50, L G 564-5, LEDG III 183, R WB 308, Ap. AV 19, Hz. AL 11 [fn. 15], Lm. Sh 401-2, HL 144 || NrOm (the data are mainly from {C} and {Lm.}): Kf čučo, Mch {L} čūto, Anf {Lm.} čuččo, Mj čūču, Nao {Lm.} čūčo, Wl čūča, Zs, Dc, Gamu čučče, Bdt čunče, Kcm čuse, Bnc {Wdk.} čúč, Wl čunčalle, Dc čunčalle 'ant' ¶ C SE IV 419, Lm. Sh 401-2, Wdk. BY 100, 163 || U: FU \*čonča ~ \*čońča 'flea' > FΔ sonsar, sonsari 'flea', Krl A, Ld čončoi, Krl A čončoi, Vp sonzar ~ sonzar, Lv {Kt.} sięzar id. || Er чичав čičav, Δ čučav, Mk шичав šičav id. || pChr {Ber.} \*šuršə > Chr L шуршо 'šuršo, Chr H шуршы šuršy id. || pObU \*čūñč 'flea' >

pVg {Ht.} \*šūnš̃ ({AD} \*čūnč) > OVg S Vt чючъ, OVg S SSs tschutsch, OVg N SoO шүһшъ, OVg W Sol шүшъ, Vg: T šoš̃, IK šonš̃, MK sons, UK suns, P/NV/SV/LL šuš̃, UL/Ss sus id.; pOs {Ht.} \*čuñč > V/Vy/Ty čuñč, Y čunč, D/K čünč, Nz šūnš̃, Kz šūš̃, UL/Ss sus id. ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 39, Ht. #104, SK 1071-2, Kt. 363, ERV 751, PI 305 || **D** (in KK) \*<sup>o</sup>tūnt̃∇ 'ant' > Kui dūndu, dūnduri 'large black ant', Ku {Isr.} donḏo'o'ri id., {Fzg.} dondori, {Slz.} donḏodi 'ant', Ku K {Mah.} dundunu orlā 'black ant' ¶ D #2969 || **A**: ?φ pJ {S} \*sunsu-musi (\*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumuśi 'ε cricket' (× N \*č'e'r<sub>l</sub>a<sub>l</sub>∇ 'ε [stinging?] insect' [q.v.]?) ◇ GZ {FS} \*žinčw-, FU \*čonča, FU \*čońča, and other cognate roots with two hushing consonants or two hissing consonants (in the Anlaut- and Inlaut-position) may be explained by assimilation ◇ IS MS 350 (U, K, C: \*žonč<sub>l</sub>∇ 'stinging insect').

**2783.** \*žiq∇ 'shame, humiliation' > **K**: G G žaq- 'in Unehre \ in üblen Ruf bringen', žaq-i 'Unehrenhaftes' ¶ Chx. 2433 || **HS**: S \*<sup>o</sup>✓δyχ > Ar ✓δyχ D (pf. ذَبَّحَ δayyaḥa) vt. 'abase' ({BK} 'humilier, abaisser; soumettre [quelqu'un] à sa volonté') ¶ BK I 790, Fr. II 101, Hv. 233 ¶ S \*χ < \*\*q < [HS de-emphatization] N \*q̃ || **D** \*čikk<sup>o</sup> ({θGS} \*sigg∇) > Tm cikku 'modesty, shame', Kt čig 'shame, self-respect', Td sig 'shame', Kn (← Tl?) siggu 'shame, decency, modesty, bashfulness, disgust', Tl siggu 'shame, disgrace, bashfulness', Knd sigu, Ku siku, sigu 'shame' ¶¶ D #2500 ◇ The vw. a in the G verb and its derivative is probably due to apophony.

**2784.** <sub>2</sub> \*žarE 'be good\favourable\beneficial' > **K**: G žer- 'be satisfied; satisfy; get fed up with sth.' ('sich begnügen; zufriedenstellen; satt kriegen') ¶ Chx. 3442-3, 2459 || **A** {θSDM97} \*žare ({SDM} \*žare) > T \*jara- 'be beneficial\useful\suitable for' > OT jara- id., Tk yara- 'be useful, be of value for', Ggz, Az, VTt, Bsh jara-, Alt žara- id., Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET jara-, Qrg žara- id., 'be liked', Qzq, Qq žara-, Xk čara- v. 'fit, match, suit', Chv L цypač- śuraś/ž- vi. 'reconcile' ¶ Cl. 956, UEW 189, ET J 137-8, Ash. XII 265-6, Jeg. 219, Fed. II 141-2 || Tg \*jari- n 'for, for the sake of' > Ewk jarin, Sln jārĩ, Ud žiž, ? WrMc žalin ¶ STM I 253 || pKo {S} \*čar 'well, favourable' > NKo čal ¶ S QK #750, Nam 416, MLC 1376 || pJ {S} \*dárž 'good, right' > OJ jóró-si-, J: T yòrośi- ~ yorośí, K yóròśi-, Kg yoróśi- ¶ S QJ #664, Mr. 845 ¶¶ DQA #2581 (A \*žāra 'good, favourable').

**2785. \*ǰuR∇** 'stake, pole, long piece of wood' > **HS:** Eg M zɜw, Eg XIX zɜyɜ 'Balken', DEg sɜ, Cpt: Sd/B so i, F sa i, A sa 'poutre' ¶ EG III 419, Vc. 185 || B \*√zrr 'branch, cluster' > Gd {Lf.} ta-zrira 'branchette porte-fleur', {CM} azerar 'poutre', BMn {Bs.} a-zerrur id., Tmz {MT} a-zrur 'grappe', ?σ ta-zra 'collier', ?σ Kb a-zrar id. ¶ MT 811-2, Dl. 954-5, Lf. II #1844, CM 149 ¶¶ Tk. AANM 2 || **K:** GZ \*ǰwar- 'stake, picket' > OG ǰuar-, G ǰvar- 'cross', Mg ǰgunǰg- 'stake (used as a prop for vine), prickle, spike', Lz mǰguǰ-, mǰguǰ- 'stake, post' ¶ K 269, K<sup>2</sup> 343, Chx. 2445, Q 412 || **IE:** NaIE \*swer-/°sur- {E} 'pole, rod' > OI 'svaru-ḥ 'sacrificial post, stake, long piece of wood' || Gk ἔρμα 'prop, support', Gk Hm accus. ἔρμιν-α 'bed-post' || MHG swir 'Uferpfahl', {E} 'mooring post', NGr Sw Schwir(r)en 'pole', AS swīer, swīor 'post, pole (Pfosten), column, prop' || L surus 'twig, shoot, stake' || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} svēre 'Ziehbalken beim Brunnen' (× the √ of Ltv {ME} svēr-t 'mit dem Hebel heben') ¶ P 1050, EI 442, WH II 635, M K III 563, M E II 794-5, ME III 1153-4, F I 561-3, WH II 635, Ho. 337, OsS 917, Lx. 223, Frn. 949, ME III 1153-4 || ? **A:** M: WrM zuruga or zoruga 'arrow with a horn head' (the vw. letter of the first syll. may be read either as u or as o) ¶ MED 1072 (zoruga), ≠ S CNM (the M word \*< A \*ńōra 'blade, edge'; rejects its connection with N \*ǰuR∇) ◇ AD NM 70 [#88].

**2786. \*ǰä?ô'r∇** 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate' > **K:** G ǰor- v. 'gründlich schelten' ¶ Chx. 2453, 2459 || **HS:** S: [1] CS \*√δʔr > Ar δʔr G (pf. δaʔira) 'être en colère; abhorrer qch., éviter/fuir qn. (par peur, par aversion, par méprise)', Sr ǰ̄ dar G pf. (acp. ǰ̄ dāʔar) 'fight', ?σ JA [Trg.] ǰ̄ dar pf., acp. {Lv.} 'schlagen, abprügeln' ¶ BK I 761, JPS 81, 97, Lv. I 370, Lv. T I 158 || [2] S \*°√δrr ~ \*°δw|yr (prm. \*°-δūr-, \*°-δyar-) '≈ be angry, frighten' > Ar δarār- {Ln.} 'anger and aversion' or 'disapprobation', {BK} 'colère violente, fureur', √δyr (pf. ǰ̄ dāra, ip. -δyar-) 'avoir en horreur, avoir de la répugnance pour qu'un', ? √δwr (pf. ǰ̄ dāra, ip. -δūr-) 'effrayer, faire peur à' ¶ BK I 766, 788, 790, Ln. 957, DRS 325-6 || B \*√zwr 'reproach, insult' > Izn {Rn.}, Rf T {Rn.} zaur 'réprimander qu'un, lui faire des reproches', Tmz {MT} azwar (pl. izwarn) 'honte, déshonneur, opprobre, insulte' ¶ MT 819, Rn. 320 || Ch: Su {J} ǰigir 'tadeln, zurechtweisen' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC ∇) ¶ J S 67, ≠ Stl.

VZCh #96 (equates Su žigir with Hs zāgì v. 'abuse') || **A:** NaT \*je<sub>ɛ</sub>r- ~ \*je<sub>ɛ</sub>ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N \*ze<sub>ɛ</sub>r∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N ?σ \*yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') ¶¶ ≈ DQA #2598 (A \*žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted') || **D** (in SD) \*čar-, {ʒGS} \*ž|žar- v. 'rebuke; abuse, jeer at' > Kn jar<sub>e</sub>, jar<sub>i</sub>, jer<sub>e</sub>, jer<sub>i</sub> id., Tu jaripuni, jar(ə)puni 'to insult, to jeer, to despise' ¶ D #2422 ◇ NaT \*e<sub>ɛ</sub> (rather than \*ä) belongs to the heritage of N \*ze<sub>ɛ</sub>r∇.

**2787.** <sub>2</sub> \*žER∇<sub>ɛ</sub> 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' > **HS:** WS \*dirā<sub>ɛ</sub>- 'arm' > BHb 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 zə'rō<sub>ɛ</sub>, Ug δr<sub>ɛ</sub>, BA 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 ʔed'rā<sub>ɛ</sub>, IA dr<sub>ɛ</sub>, JA [Trg.], JEA 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 də'rā<sub>ɛ</sub>-ā, JA [Trg.], JPA 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 ʔed'rā<sub>ɛ</sub>-ā, Md dra 'arm', Sr 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓, də'rā<sub>ɛ</sub>-ā 'arm, shoulder', Ar 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 dirā<sub>ɛ</sub>- {Ln.} 'the fore arm (from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers), cubit'; cubit', OYmn δr<sub>ɛ</sub> ({Slw.} \*dirā<sub>ɛ</sub>) 'hill near a mountain', Mh {Jo.} δarʔ, Hrs {Jo.} δerā, Jb C {Jo.} 'δera<sub>ɛ</sub> 'forearm', Sq {L} di're<sub>ɛ</sub>i du. 'two cubits', Gz d. mazrā<sub>ɛ</sub>t 'arm, shoulder (of an animal) ¶ KB 269, 1662, 1695, HJ 342, OLS 141, Br. 168, JPS 98, Ln. 961-2, Hv. 227, Slw. 93-4, L G 379, L IS 136, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 29, ≈ DRS 341, MiK I #65 || EC \*zir- > Sa dir-o 'hip', Arr {Hw.} yirr 'upper arm', Dsn dír 'rib', Brj {Ss.} 'dirri, {Hw.} 'diri 'backbone' ¶ Ss. B 56, Hw. A 400, To. DL 496 || ?σ Om: Ym rl. {C} zerum 'hand' (× N \*ž|zoR∇ 'hand [palm of hand and fingers], [in descendant lgs.: → 'span']', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 89 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP (Om, S) || **IE** \*srēn-no- > NaIE \*srēno- '≈ loins, hip, thigh' > Av rāna- 'the outer part of a thigh; thigh', MPrs rān, NPrs 𐤁𐤓𐤓 rōn 'thigh (femur)', KhS rranä 'belt (?)', Oss I ron, Oss D ronä 'belt' (← 'that of the thigh') || Lt strénos pl. 'loins, the small of the back' (sg. stréna), Δ sréna 'Lende, Hüfte, Keule', Pru straunay ({Tr., Frn.}: read strannay or strainay, En.: strannay) 'Lenden' ¶ WP II 705, P 1002, EI 260 (\*'srēno/eh<sub>ɛ</sub>- 'hip, thigh'), Brtl. 1523, McK 70, Vl. II 11, Bai. 361, Sg. 564, Ab. II 419-20, Frn. 889, 921, Tr. APS 439, En. 257.

**2787a.** ??φ \*žER<sub>ɛ</sub>U<sub>ɛ</sub>∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' > **U:** FU (in Ugr) \*čär|]ä 'rapid current' > Vg: N {Mu.} sār<sub>l</sub>ä 'abschüssige Stelle im Flusse, wo das Wasser stürzend fließt', T {Kn.} sār<sub>l</sub>ī 'настрёвник (на лугах)', LL {Kn.} sār<sub>l</sub>ə-waŋkə 'ляжина (в болотах)' (= 'low place in a swamp') | Hg sellō 'rapid current' → 'Nixe, Wasserfrau' ¶ The words of Vg T and Vg LL have been quoted in UEW from Kannisto's unpublished papers; unfortunately, the meaning of R Sib настрёвник remains unclear so far (at least, for the present author) ¶ UEW 841, Mu. AKE

537, ESSJ XV 66 (on the meaning of R Sib ляжина), ≈ EWH 1316 (supposes that Hg sellǫ is a substantivized prtc. [with the sx. -ǫ] of sellik [a variant of serlik 'sich zusammendrehen']) || A: Tg \*o<sub>1</sub>ilan > WrMc žilan ~ žulan 'unfrozen rapid current of water (быстрина), unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river (полынья)' ¶ STM I 257 || M {Rm.} \*žila<sub>1</sub>u > Kl жалу, {Rm.} žalū 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' | M \*žilga > WrM žilga, HIM, Brt жалга 'ravine, dell, basin, ditch', Kl {Rm.} žil<sub>1</sub>ǫ 'river bed, dry river bed', žal<sub>1</sub>ǫ 'river-bed', {KRS} жалh 'ravine, depression' ↔ Sln jilga 'ravine' ¶ MED 1055, Chr. 231, KW 107, 109, KRS 224, STM I 257 || T \*ju<sub>1</sub>:<sub>1</sub> 'spring, fountain' (× N \*LiL<sub>1</sub>∇ 'water, sea' × N \*ž'u<sub>1</sub>g<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub> [- \*ž∇g'u<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>?] 'to flow, to pour'?) > OT {Cl.} ju<sub>1</sub>, {DTS, Gbn.} jū<sub>1</sub>, Slr ju<sub>1</sub> ~ ju<sub>1</sub> 'spring, fountain', Qb/Qc {Rl.} ju<sub>1</sub> 'mountain river, brook', Xk ču<sub>1</sub> 'brook', Qz<sub>1</sub> {Jk.} šu<sub>1</sub>, Chv čǎl ś<sub>1</sub>, Δ ś<sub>1</sub>ǫ 'spring'; Qzq (← M?) žilim 'unfrozen patch of water in a river\lake' (× žil<sub>1</sub> 'warm'?) ¶ Cl. 917-8, DTS 277, EF J 244, TL 89, Rl. III 552, 2175, Tn. SJ 365, Jk. K 30, MM 182-3 ¶¶ DQA #2612 (A \*ž<sub>1</sub>iō<sub>1</sub>lu 'river bed, stream') || HS: S \*o<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>δy<sub>1</sub> > Ar mutaδayyal- 'arrosé d'une pluie légère (un champ)' ¶ BK I 792 ◇ N \*-R<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>- > \*-r<sub>1</sub>- > -l- (by as.) in A and S ◇ Qu., because the supposed phonetic transformations are too complicated to be certain.

**2788. \*žaw<sub>1</sub>∇** 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment), to fade, to wither' > K: G m-žav-e 'sour' ¶ DCh. 894 || HS: ? AdS of S \*o<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>δw<sub>1</sub>y > Ar √δw<sub>1</sub>y v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) (< N \*žo<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>∇ or \*ž'a<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>o<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>∇ \*<sub>1</sub>≈ be of poor quality\appearance, be weak, be bad', q.v. ffd.) BK I 789, Ln. 989 || IE: Ht siwai- 'sour (bread)' ¶ Ts. W 77 || A: M \*žaba<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>ara- 'have a bad taste\odour' > WrM {Kow.} žabagara- 'gâter le goût, spoil the taste', {MED} ama žabagara- v. 'have a bad taste in one's mouth, have a dry mouth', Ord ž<sub>1</sub>awāra- 'emit unpleasant odour'; M \*žaba<sub>1</sub>ʔan 'tasteless, emitting an unpleasant odour' > WrM žabaga(n) {Kow.} 'qui a l'odeur des herbes, qui sent l'herbe', {MED} 'rank odour, halitosis; tastelessness', HIM {MED} заваа(н) id., Kl зава 'unpleasant, foul' (of odour, etc.), Brt забаан 'tasteless', Ord aman ž<sub>1</sub>awā 'bad odour in one's mouth', Mnr H {SM} ž<sub>1</sub>āwān 'insipid, fade' ¶ Kow. 2257, MED 1018, KRS 235, Chr. 241, Ms. O 190, SM 85 || ? NaT \*jab- 'bad' (× N \*žo<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>∇ or \*ž'a<sub>1</sub>'<sub>1</sub>o<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ↔ \*jabu<sub>1</sub>' 'bad', \*jab-lak 'bad; extremely', \*jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak'.

**2789. \*žoʔʔaw∇** or **\*žāʔʔow∇** \*≈ be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' > **K**: GZ rdp. \*ž<sub>l</sub>w<sub>l</sub>ižw- '≈ of ugly appearance' > G Kzq žižā 'a clamorous, ugly-dressed woman' ({FS} 'schmutzige, häßlich gekleidete Frau'), Mg žgvižgV-in- 'grob\plump aussehen' ¶ Fn. KW-1 38 [#102], FS K 505, FS E 574 || **HS**: S \*°✓δʔy ~ \*°✓δwy > Ar ✓δʔy G 'fade, wither' (of grass), ✓δwy (pf. δawā ~ δawīya, ip. ya-δwī) v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) ¶ BK I 762, 789, Ln. 989 ¶ cp. N **\*žaw∇** 'to have a changed taste' || NrOm {Blz.} \*žēʔ- 'bad' > Kf {C} ʔeʔō 'bad' ('brutto, cattivo') ¶ Blz. OL #191, C SE IV 517 || CCh: Ms {Vnb.} žoʔo 'evil' ¶ ChL III 169 ¶¶ Blz. l.c. (pHS \*ž∇ʔw|H'∇ 'bad, evil' > Om, CCh + unc. σ Ag - he certainly meant Bln {R} žiʔā, pl. žīʔ ~ žīk 'a poor person' [R WB 178], that cannot belong here because of its -k/-ʔ-) || **A**: T \*\*jab- (× N **\*žaw∇** '↑') -d→ [1] T \*jabu|ír > NaT \*jabu|iz 'bad, evil, wicked' > OT {Cl.} javiz- 'bad', {DTS} jabuz ~ jafuz 'bad, weak', XwT, MQp, Chg jawuz, OOsM javuz id., Osm جاون jawuz, Tk ʔavuz 'stern, inflexible, ferocious' (→ 'good, excellent'), Tkm ěvuz jowuδ 'hard' (as in jowuδ günler 'hard times', lit. 'hard days'), ET javuz 'cruel', Uz ěvuz jowuz, VTt jawъz 'wicked, evil, villainous, cruel', Qzq, Qq žawiz 'villain, scoundrel; malicious, mean', SY ʔus 'wicked', Yk sūōs 'strict(ness), severe, threatening'; [2] T \*jablaq > OT {Cl.} javlaq 'bad, evil', MQp, XwT jawlaq, OOsM javlaq 'extremely', Tk Δ jablaq ʔ javlaq 'coward, miserable'; [3] T \*jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak' -d→ OT jabrit- vt. 'weaken', MQp javrut- 'overstrain (a horse)'; [4] ? VTt jabaʔay, Bsh jabaʔъ 'poor' (in VTt jarlъ jabaʔay, Bsh jarlъ-jabaʔъ 'poor people') ¶ Cl. 876-9, 881-2, DTS 222-3, Rs. W 176, Rh. 2195, TkR 312, UzR 141, Sht. 97, Pek. 2351-2, ET J 46-8, Tl 335 || ?σ M \*žoba- 'suffer', \*žobalaŋ n. 'suffering' > MM [S] {H} žoba ~ žobo-, {MA} {Pp.} žoba-, WrM zobа-, HIM зово-х, Kl зов-х, {Rm.} zow-, Brt зобо- v. 'suffer', MM [S] {H} žobolaŋ 'Beschwer, Belästigung', [HI] {Ms.} žobolaŋ, [MA] {Pp.} žobalaŋ, WrM zobalaŋ, HIM зовлон, Ord žowolŋ, Kl зовлн zowlъŋ, {Rm.} zowlŋ, Mnr H {SM} ž<sub>l</sub>og<sub>l</sub>ŋ 'suffering' ¶ H 91, Ms. H 67, Pp. 207, MED 1065, KRS 249-50, SM 89, KW 476 || Tg \*joʔbʔ- > Ewk joʔor- ~ jowo- ~ joʔo- 'suffer from poverty, be poor', Neg jobo-, Orc žobo-, Ud žō- id., Lm joʔ- id., v. 'suffer', Sln jowo ~ joʔo- v. 'suffer', Ul žobu, Ork jobbu 'a person in need, a poor man', Nn Nh/B/KU žobo- v. 'work; be in need, be poor',



WrMc 30bo- v. 'grieve, suffer', Jrch {Kiy.} žobogun 'hardship' ¶ STM I 26O-1, Krm. 233, Kiy. 145 [#844], Md. ChF 138 (žo-bo-hun) || pJ {S} \*duàwà- 'weak' > OJ yuòwà-, J: T/Kg yowá-, K yówà- id. ¶ S QJ 634, Mr. 845 || pKo {S} \*cubir 'be hungry, be famished' > MKo cū'irì-, NKo cūri- ¶ S QK #573, Nam 434, MLC 1496 ¶¶ DM97 (\*žöb∇ 'weak, bad'), ≈ DQA #263O (A \*žǔjbe 'weak, bad' > M, Tg, Ko, J).

**2790.** <sub>2</sub> \*ž∇χ∇ 'to push, to strike' > K: G da-žax- 'mit etwas oder gegen jem. stoßen', mi-žax- 'mit etw. gegen etw. stoßen' ¶ Chx. 2434 || HS: CS \*✓δħw|y > Ar ✓δħw G 'pousser avec vigueur et faire marcher devant soi', JEA ✓dħy G {Sl.} 'push aside\away, postpone; supersede', {Lv.} 'verstossen', '𐤀𐤍𐤅𐤃 diħūy 'Verstossung, Zurückweisung', BHb (←b-Aram?) ✓dħy|w G 'push, thrust' | ? S \*°✓dħħ > Ar ✓δħħ G 'fendre (du bois), broyer' ¶ BK I 765-6, DRS 33O, Lv. I 388-9, Sl. 323-4, KB 2O9-1O, BDB 19O-1 || C: EC: pSam {Tk.} \*z'ah- > Rn {Hn.} žâh-, {PG} žâh- 'beat' || DhI {To., E} dah- v. 'pound' || ? SC: Irq {E} dah- 'knock over\down' ¶ Hn. R 212, To. D 167, E SC 189, PG 165 || ?φEg OK zħ {EG} '?' (über Stampfenden), {Hng.} 'stampfen, zerstoßen', ? fMK {EG} sħm 'zerstoßen, zerstampfen' ¶ EG III 464, IV 215 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žúwà v. 'pound', Diri {Sk.} žuwa, My {Sk.} iži 'mortar' || Ron: DfB {J} žah ~ žá(hí) v. 'pound (cereals)', Bks {J} nžu 'stampfen, (im Mörser) stoßen' || CCh: ZmB zù? v. 'pound (in mortar)' ¶ Sk. NB 32, 35, J R 143, 2, JI II 268-9 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 8-9.

**2791.** \*žûhd∇ (or \*žûhad∇?) 'sweet' > HS: S \*°š'uh<sub>1</sub>∇<sub>1</sub>d- > OAr 'A, CIAr šuhd-, OAr T šahd- 'honey, unrefined honey (in its wax\comb)' (acc. to Rb., \*u > OAr T a) ¶ Ln. 161O, Rb. AWA 1OO, Fr. II 46O || Eg OK pr išč 'Ort, wo Süßigkeiten hergestellt werden' (pr means 'house'), ?σ Eg P išč {EG} '∈ a fruit-bearing garden tree, ∈ holy tree (on its leaves gods wrote the name of the king)', Eg fOK išč {EG} '∈ sweet fruit' (or ?σ Eg fOK {Fk.} '∈ tree, fruit of the išč-tree') ¶ EG I 136, Fk. 31 || B \*✓zHd (\*-zaHd-/\*-ziHd-) 'be sweet' > Ah izad 'be sweet, savory, have a pleasant scent' ({Fc.} 'être agréable aux sens'), ETwl/Ty izad 'be sweet' (izod 'is sweet'), Ttq {Msq.} izid 'is sweet', Gh {Nh.} izid, Kb {Dl.} zid id., BSn/Mtm {Ds.} zēd 'be sweet' (yizēd 'is sweet'), Shw {Hy.} izid 'is sweet' (pl. ziden), Rf/Izn {Rn.} δ-mizid (misprint for δ-mizid?) 'sweet', Izn {Rn.} θazūdi 'sweetness', Rf A/B θazūdi 'sweetness', Zng {TC} ažuδ 'doux' ¶ Fc. 1931, GhA 219, Msq. 96-7, Dl. 928-9, Ds. B 1O4, Rn. 322, Hy. DFCh 2O6, Nic. 4O9, DCTC 296 ¶ The emphatic \*z is

puzzling (infl. of the adjacent Ir.?) || ? EC: Arr {Hw.} *saddāb* 'honeycomb' (mrf. *saddaʔmé*) ¶ Hw. A 392 || ? NrOm \**šid-* 'honey' > Zs {C} *šidā*, {Si.} 'šida, Bdt {C} *šidā* (not *šidā*, as mentioned by Blz.), {Hw.} *šida*, Kcm/Zrg {Si.} *šida*, Krt {Si.} 'šida, GnJ {Si.} 'šir ¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56, ≈ Blz. OL #73 (Om \**šid|d-*, but the variant with *d* is based on misreading of C SO 63), C SE III 207, C SO 63, Si. ACh 5 ¶¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56 || | **A:** NrTg \**jut-* > Ewk *jutī* 'tasty, sweet', Lm *jut* 'sweet' ¶ STM I 279 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the cnss.) NaT \**sūçī-* (< \*\**sūδ-čī*) 'be sweet', \**sūçig* 'sweet' || | **IE** \**swehd-* > NaIE \**swād-* 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N \**šûřad* ▽ 'good, happy, pleasant', q.v.): **[1]** \**swādu-s* 'sweet' > OI *swād'u-* 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || | Gk ἡδύς, Gk EI *Fādύς*, Gk D ἄδύς id. || | OSx *swōti*, OHG *swuozī* 'sweet, pleasing', NHG *süß*, MDt *soete*, Dt *zoet*, ON *sætr*, NNr *søt*, Sw *söt*, Da *sød*, OFrs, AS *swēte* 'sweet', NE *sweet* || | pTc \**swāre* > Tc: A *swār*, B *swāre* 'sweet' | **[2]** NaIE \**swād-w-i-s* > OI *swād'vī-*, L *swāvī-s* 'sweet, pleasant' | **[3]** NaIE \**swād-o-* 'savoury, pleasant', \**swādos-* 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-*svadas-* 'pleasant' || | Gk ἡδός 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', μελι-ηδής 'honey-sweet' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (\**sweh<sub>h</sub>de/o-* 'be tasty, please'), 560 (\**sweh<sub>h</sub>du-s* 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-2, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6 ◊ The unexpected IE \*-d- goes back to \*-t- < N \**d*, devoiced by the adjacent vl. \**h*. The origin of the Tg cns. \*-t- may be similar.

**2792.** <sub>2</sub> \**žek* ▽ 'be tight\crammed, tighten' > K \**ž|zek<sub>l</sub>w<sub>1</sub>-* > G Kzq {Ghl.} *ga-zekva* vt. 'to pack tight, to cram full; to trample (ժացրած ցածրեմ, ճածրեցքեմ)', G Kx/Kzq {Chx.} *zek(v)-* 'vollfüllen, vollstopfen', G K {Ghl.} *ga-zek-ili* 'stuffed (ցածրեմով, набитый)' ¶ Ghl. 144, Chx. 2064-5 || | **U:** FU \**l|lekk* ▽ 'tight, dense, cramped' ('dicht, eng') > Vt *люкыт* 'luk+t' 'crammed', Vt Sr/Kz 'luk+t' 'eng', Vt G 'luk+t' 'eng' (bes. vom Raume) || | ObU {Ht.} \**lūk-* 'thick' (grass, wood), 'dense' (cloth) > pVg {Ht.} \**lūk* > UL/Ss *lak<sup>w</sup>* id.; pOs {Ht., Stn.} \**lök*, {HL.} \**lūk* > Os: VK {Ht.} *lök*, Ag/UA {Trj.} *lūk*, Ty/Y {Ht.} *čök*, {Trj.} *lūk*, Sl {Trj.} *lūk*, Nz {Ht.} *lūk*, Kz {Ht.} *čūk* id. ¶ UEW 260-1, U3S 270, Ht. #373, Trj. S 226, Stn. WV 279 ◊ Cf. N \**čik* ▽ 'tight, narrow, dense' (q.v.).

**2793.** \**žok* ▽ 'to push' > HS: S \**šok* (× N \**šaka* 'to split, to cleave') > Ar {BK} *šqq* G 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois, etc.)', 'pousser' (se dit

d'un dent) ¶ BK I 1252 || Ch: ? WCh \*ʒik|q- v. 'push' > NrBc: Kry ʒəkʷtə, My a zəkūtísəy | Sbc: Gj žèkkà id. | Ngz žìgžàžìrú v. 'jostle\touch\push (repeatedly)' || ? CCh {ChL}: Gude zəyɡìč, Glv šùgùʂant, šugà, Gv šùgàgàna, Nkc a šiga v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 189 [#399], Sch. DN 82, 214, ChC, ChL || **K** \*ʒ̥∇k̥- > Mg žik̥- v. 'push' -b> G I žik̥a(v)- 'puffen, Puffe verteilen' ¶ Q 413, Chx. 2447 || **IE**: NaIE \*laḱ|k- or \*laḱ|g- v. 'kick' > Gk [Hs.] λάζω v. 'kick', Gk λάξ adv. '(to kick) with the heel/foot', λακτίζω v. 'kick with the heel/foot' | MHG lœcken 'to kick' ¶ Mn. 659; F II 82-3 (no et. of the Gk words); alt. etymologies: P 673, Ch. 619, Lz. 123 || **U**: FU \*λokk∇ v. 'push, butt' > F tokata 'stechen, picken' | Chr H 'loʂ-aš v. 'butt' || ? OHg gʷakik 'stechen, bohren', Hg gʷakik 'coire' (× ÷ pObU \*yolōkkâ 'stechen') ¶ MF 228, an alt. etl. connection: LG 165 || **D** (in GnD) \*čokk- ({GS} \*ʒ-?) v. 'strike' > Gnd žokkânā ɖ hak- ~ hok- ɖ žukânā v. 'strike, kill' ɖ žak- v. 'kill', Kui soka ɖ sōka- v. 'strike at', v. 'bite (snake, dog)' ¶ D #2831 ◇ NaIE \*a still needs explaining.

**2794. \*ǰæ̥∇** '€ tree' > **K**: GZ \*ǰel- 'tree, wood (Holz)' > OG ǰel- id., G {Chx.} ǰel- 'stem of a fallen tree', {K<sup>2</sup>} 'bar', Mg ža (pl. žal-epi), Lz ža, nžā, mžā (pl. (n)žal-epē) 'tree, wood', Mg žal- 'tree-' (first component of a cd.) ¶ K 237, K<sup>2</sup> 285, FS E 486, Chx. 2065 || **U**: FU (att. in FP) \*\*λǰe|l|∇ 'alder' > (as. \*λ...|l| > pChr and pPrm \*l...|l| for the expected \*l...|l|): pChr {Ber.} \*lil-pu > Chr: L нōлпō nōlpō, B lölpō, H лүлпы̆ lülpə 'alder' | pPrm \*lɔl-pu id. > StZ ловпу, Z US lɔpu, Z UV lo|pu, Vt лүлпу, Vt SE lülpu (Chr and Prm \*pu means 'tree') ¶ UEW 688, Ber. 33, Ep. 64, LG 160, It. #300, Coll. 96, SZ 202 || **IE**: NaIE \*sel- 'beam, board (used as bench, bed, trough, etc.)' (× N \*š|śu̥∇ 'trunk, log' [q.v.]) with dissimilative delateralization \*ǰ...|l| > \*ʒ...|l| > IE \*s...|l|: > Lt súolas 'bench', Lt Δ ? sīlè 'trough, pig's trough', silìs 'crib', ? Ltv sile 'trough, manger' || AS selma ~ sealma, OSx selmo (sc. 'wooden bed') || L solium 'a chair of state, royal\official seat, throne; bath-tub; sarcophagus' || pAl {O} d. \*sālā > Al T gjollè (< \*sēlā) 'slab on which salt for livestock is placed' || Gk [Hs.] ἔλματα (pl.) 'planking, decking' || Gk (← Pls?) σελίζ 'plank', σέλματα (pl.) 'logs of building timber', 'rowing-benches', sg. σέλμα / -τος 'the upper planking of a ship, deck; seat, throne' ¶ Gk σ- (for the expected h-) needs explaining (a loan from Pls or another "pre-Gk" \*s-preserving sister-lge.?) ¶ P 898, EI 431 (swel- ~ \*sel- 'plank, board'), Ho. 286, F II 691-2, AlBED 288, Frn. 785, 942-3, O 137, ≠ Mn. AHG 87.

**2795.**  $\text{₂}^* \text{ž} \text{u} \text{ř} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń}$  'to be bright', 'blaze, flame', 'ē a light' ('torch' or sim.?) > **HS:** S  $\text{°} \text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$  v. 'shine',  $\text{°} \text{°} \text{š} \text{u} \text{ř} \text{ĭ} \text{a} \text{ĭ}$ - 'flame' > Ar  $\text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$  (pf. šařila) v. 'have a white spot on the tail or forelock (a horse)',  $\text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{ĭ}$  (pf. šařala) v. 'light' (a fire), šuřĭ-at- (pl. šuřaĭ-) 'flamme; tison, morceau de bois allumé par un bout', šařaĭ- 'blaze on the tail or forelock of a horse' ¶ BK I 1240-1, Hv. 368 || **A** ( $\times$  N  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$  or  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$  'smoulder, burn' [intr.]; 'live coals?'): M  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{ĭ} \text{a}$  'light (lux), torch, lamp' > MM žula [MA] {Pp.} 'a light, torch', [PP, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} 'a light, lantern', [HI] {Ms.} 'lamp', WrM žula, HIM žul 'lamp, candle, light', Ord {Ms.} žuĭa 'lamp (in front of Buddhist statues and images of divinities)', Mnr H {SM} žüĭā 'lamp, lantern', {T} žĭla, Mnr M {T} žula 'lamp, butter-lamp', Dx žula, Ba žĭla 'butter-lamp (лампадка)' ¶ Pp. MA 210, 439, Pp. KP 152, Lg. VMI 39, MED 1078, Gl. III 517-8, Ms. O 217, SM 96, T 333, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, KRS 255, KW 479 || T  $\text{°} \text{j} \text{u} \text{ĭ} \text{a}$  'torch, lamp' > OT jula id., XwT XIV jula 'lamp';  $\rightarrow$  T  $\text{°} \text{j} \text{u} \text{ĭ} \text{t} \text{u} \text{r}$  'star' > OT jultuz, XwT XIII julduz ~ ulduz, MQP XIII, XIV [CC], Chg XV julduz, Tk ĭĭldĭz, Tkm ĭĭldĭδ, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Uz ĭĭldĭz, Tk Δ ĭĭlduz, XT {Dr.} ĭĭlduz  $\approx$  julduz, Brb/Tb/Kü {RL} ĭĭldis, Qb/Qc {RL}, SY ĭĭltis ~ jultis, Slr ĭĭĭtis, Tk Δ, Kr T/G, Qmq, Uz, ET Δ julduz, Xlj julduz ~ julduz, Ln julduz  $\approx$  julduz, VTt ĭĭldĭz, Bsh ĭĭndĭδ, Qzq жҥлдыз žüldĭz, Qq žulduz, Qrg žĭldĭz, Alt žĭldis, Xk čĭltis, Yk sulus, Tv sĭldis, Tf sĭldis 'star' ||| Chv: L řǎltǎř řĭldĭr, H řĭldĭr id. ¶ Acc. to Bang and Br.,  $\text{°} \text{-t} \text{u} \text{r}$  is a sx. (cp. NaT  $\text{°} \text{k} \text{ü} \text{n} \text{d} \text{ü} \text{z}$  'noon'), in the light of comparative ev. it goes back to N  $\approx \text{°} \text{t} \text{°} \text{U} \text{°} \text{r} \text{ĭ}$  'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 919, 922-3, ET J 279-81, Ra. 229, Rl. III 488-92, 553, 559, DT 228, Jeg. 206, Md. 57, 162 (T  $\text{°} \text{i} > \text{u}$  due to the infl. of j-), 162, Br. OTG § 47 ¶¶ KW 479 || **IE:** acc. to reg. sound laws, the IE reflex of this N word must be  $\text{°} \text{s} \text{w} \text{ē} \text{ĭ}$ - (in the presence of  $\text{°} \text{-ĭ}$ - the initial N  $\text{°} \text{ž}$ - yields IE  $\text{°} \text{s}$ -). It practically means that IE  $\text{°} \text{s} \text{w} \text{ē} \text{ĭ} \text{a} \text{ĭ}$ - v. 'smoulder, burn' (P 1045) goes back to a merger of N  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$   $\rightarrow$   $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$  '↑' (q.v. ffd.) and the N word in question (though semantic considerations suggest that N  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ü} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$   $\rightarrow$   $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{u} \text{h} \text{Ń} \text{ĭ} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$  is the main source).

**2796.**  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{°} \text{U} \text{°} \text{h} \text{°}$  'take, take away, pull out' > **HS:** S  $\text{°} \text{°} \text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{h}$  > Ar  $\text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{h}$  G 'undress oneself', Δ 'throw off, reject', Ar  $\text{✓} \text{š} \text{ř} \text{h}$  D 'strip so. of his clothes' ¶ Fr. II 446, Hv. 375 || **K**  $\text{°} \text{ž} \text{ē} \text{ĭ}$ - > Lz žaĭ- ~ žēĭ- in ma-n-žale, ma-n-želonĭ '(a person) able to carry much (сколько угодно) wood or firewood' ¶ Marr 235 || **IE:** NaIE  $\text{°} \text{s} \text{ē} \text{ĭ} (\text{w} \text{°})$ - 'take, seize, lay hold of'

(dissimilative delateralization  $*\text{ʒ} \dots \text{ʃ} > *z \dots \text{ʃ} > \text{IE } *s \dots$ ) ( $\times \text{N } *s̥i\text{ʃ}u'$  'take, take away\off\up' [q.v. ffd.]  $\times \text{N } *s̥e\text{ʃ}i\text{ʃ}$  'take off, destroy, pull off') || **A:** T  $*ju\text{-}$  'pull out, pluck out, take'  $>$  OT  $ju\text{-}$  'take back, redeem (a prisoner); pluck (a bird)', Chg XV  $ju\text{-}$  'pluck out', MQp [CC]  $ju\text{-}$  'redeem', Tk  $ɥo\text{-}$  'pluck; pull out, tear out (hair), depilate; strip', Ggz, Az, Tkm  $jo\text{-}$  'pull out, pluck out', Uz, Ln  $ju\text{-}$ , Qrg  $ʒu\text{-}$ , Qzq  $ʒu\text{-}$ , Qq, ET  $ʒu\text{-}$ , Alt  $ɖy\text{-}$   $ʒu\text{-}$ , Xk, Tv  $ʃu\text{-}$ , Tf  $ʃu\text{-}$  id., Kr Cr, SY  $ju\text{-}$ , Chv  $ʃa\text{-}$   $ʃu\text{-}$  id., 'save (so.), liberate', VTt  $ju\text{-}$  'shave', Bsh  $ju\text{-}$  v. 'pluck' ¶ Cl. 918, ET J 218-9, DTS 277, Rs. W 210, Ra. 198, TvR 546 || **M**  $*ʒu\text{-}$   $\rightarrow$   $*ʒu\text{ʎa-}$ ,  $*ʒu\text{ʎmu-}$ ,  $*ʒu\text{ʎgu\text{-}}$ , ?  $*ʒu\text{ʎbu-}$ : **M**  $*ʒu\text{ʎa-}$   $>$  WrM  $ʒu\text{ʎa-}$  v. 'pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, remove the hair; weed', Kl {Rm.}  $ʒu\text{ʎa-}$   $\chi\alpha$  'ausreißen, ausreißen lassen (Haare, Wolle, Federn)'; **M**  $*ʒu\text{ʎa-}$   $\rightarrow$  HIM  $ʒu\text{ʎaa-}$   $\chi$  'to pull (out), to tear by pulling', Brt  $ʒu\text{ʎaa-}$   $\chi\alpha$  'to pull out, to pluck out (hairs from wool), to tear away, to bark (a tree)', Kl {Rm.}  $ʒu\text{ʎā-}$  'ausziehen, ausreißen lassen', Ord {Ms.}  $ʒu\text{ʎā-}$  'arracher (qch. qui croît)'; **M**  $*ʒu\text{ʎmu-}$   $>$  WrM  $ʒu\text{ʎmu-}$ , HIM  $ʒu\text{ʎma}$  v. 'pluck (a bird); shed skin \ hair \ feathers', Kl Ö {Rm.}  $ʒu\text{ʎma-}$   $\chi\alpha$  'herausziehen (Haare)', Brt  $ʒu\text{ʎma-}$   $\chi\alpha$  'fall out' (of animal's hair), 'cast the coat' (of snakes); **M**  $*ʒu\text{ʎgu\text{-}}$   $>$  WrM  $ʒu\text{ʎgu\text{-}}$ , HIM  $ʒu\text{ʎgala}$  v. 'flay, skin, pull out hair\wool', Kl  $ʒu\text{ʎh\text{-}}$   $ʒu\text{ʎu\text{-}}$  id., Kl D {Rm.}  $ʒu\text{ʎa\text{-}}$  '(die Felle) schlichten, zu lange Haare ausreißen'; ? **M**  $*ʒu\text{ʎbu-}$   $>$  WrM  $ʒu\text{ʎbu-}$ , HIM  $ʒu\text{ʎba}$  'shed skin, lose hair', Kl  $ʒu\text{ʎu-}$   $\chi\alpha$  'ausfallen (von den Haaren)', ? Ord {Ms.}  $ʒu\text{ʎbu-}$  'mettre bas avant terme' ( $<$  \*'throw away', as in R  $выкинуть$ ); Kl {KRS, Rm.}  $ʒu\text{-}$   $ʒu\text{-}$  'pull out, pluck\tear out (hair, feathers)' may be either a loan from T or an inherited word ( $<$  **M**  $*ʒu\text{-}$ ); in any case, Kl  $ʒ-$  (for the expected  $z-$  [Pp. IM 114-8]) may be due to the influence of the T cognate ¶ MED 1078-9, 1217, KRS 233, KW 115-6, Chr. 261-2, Ms. O 217-8 || **D** (in SD)  $*c̥o\text{-}$  ({ʒGS}  $*s-$ )  $>$  Tm  $co\text{li-}$  'strip off, peel off; tear', Kn  $su\text{li}$  'tear\strip off, peel; plunder, rob', Tu  $su\text{lipini}$ ,  $su\text{lipuni}$  'to peel, to flay, to skin, to pare off',  $su\text{ligæ}$  'pillaging, plundering, robbing', Krg  $so\text{lpu}$  v. 'peel'; D  $\rightarrow$  pInA {Tu.}  $*c̥ʰo\text{-}$  ( $>$  Prkr  $cholla\text{-}$  'to skin', etc.) ¶ D #2856, Tu. #5073 ◊ A dubious cognate: WCh: NrBc {Tk.}  $*z\text{-}$  v. 'skin'  $>$  Wrj, Mbr  $nz\text{-}$ , ? Sir  $z\text{-}$   $\nu$  ¶ Skn. 40, Tk. NB 173 ◊  $\neq$  IS MS 364 s.v. сильный  $*z\text{-}$   $\alpha\text{-}$  (?) (K + err. S  $*c̥\text{-}$  [sc.  $*\check{c}\text{-}$ ]).

**2797.**  $*s̥i\text{-}$   $\nabla m \nabla$  (or  $*s̥i\text{-}$   $\hat{c}\hat{c}\hat{c}\text{-}$   $\nabla m \nabla$ )  $\approx$  'to put, to place'  $>$  **HS:** S  $*s̥i\text{-}$  'put, set'  $>$  BHb  $\check{c}\text{-}$   $\hat{c}\text{-}$   $G$  (pf.  $\hat{c}\text{-}$   $\hat{c}\text{-}$   $\hat{c}\text{-}$ , ip.  $-\hat{c}\text{-}$ ) v. 'place, put, lay', Amr

{G} ✓šym (ip. -šīm-) G 'place', Ph, Pun, Yd, OA šm (ip. [-šīm]), IA šm ~ sm G (ip. [-s|šīm]) 'place, put, set up', BA ✓šym (= ✓sym) (pf. **שָׂם** šām, inv. pl. **שָׂמוּ** 'šīm-ū) v. G 'put, set, lay', JA [Trg.] ✓sy|wm (spelled with **שָׂם** ~ **שָׂם**) (ipv. šīm, sīm) 'place, put, appoint', JEA ✓s wm 'put on shoes\sandals', JPA Bz {Sl.} **шом** ✓s wm G v. 'place', Sr ✓sym (pf. **سَمَّ** sām, ip. -sīm) 'put, lay, set', Ar **شيم** ✓šym (ip. -šīm-) v. G 'sheathe (the sword), penetrate into', {Fr.} 'recondidit (rem in aliquid), immisit (telum in pectus), inivit (virginem), inivit (in rem)', Sb mi\_ šym 'set up, erect (sth.), perform (ceremony)', Gz ✓šym (pf. **ሠመ** šēma, js. **ሠመ** ሠ-šīm) 'set, set in order, put, place, appoint', OAk \*✓śym (inf. šīāmum) 'fix, determine', Ak ✓šym G (inf. šīāmu > šāmu) 'establish, assign a role \ an activity; allot power\qualities' ¶ KB 1232-6, 1785, KBR 1321-6, GB 783-5, 926, G A 32, G OA 260, Js. 1535, Sl. 793-4, Sl. P 370, Fr. II 473, Br. 469-70, JPS 366 (Sr ✓s wm for ✓sym), BGMR 136, L G 539-40, Sd. 1225, CAD XVII/1 358-64 || **K** \*°ž|zm- v. 'do' > OG, G zm- id. ¶ Mol. AGG 71, DCh. 525, Chx. 409 || **D** (in CD) \*čum- v. 'catch, lay' > Prj summ- v. 'seize, catch hold of', Klm sum- v. 'catch, seize, buy', Nkr sum- id., v. 'lay', Nk sum- v. 'buy, catch, hold'. The vw. \*-u- for the expected front vw. may be due to the ass. infl. of \*-m- ◇ The semantic change from 'put' to 'do' (as in K) is quite plausible (cp. the origin of NE do and NHG tun (cf. N \*diŕE 'to put, to place' > IE \*dʰeh₂- / \*dʰeh₂h₂- v. 'put, lay, place'). The rec. of the voiced cns. \*ž- is valid if K \*°ž|zm- belongs here. Otherwise the N initial lateral cns. remains less specified (\*š|č|ć|ž-).

**2798.** (UA₂ ?) \*ž|aHEmU (= \*ž|aʔEmU?) '€ berries (bird-cherry?), a (sweet-smelling?) plant with berries(\fruit?)' > U \*λōme 'bird-cherry tree' > F tuomi id., Es toom 'bird-cherry' | pLp \*θōmз ({Lr.} \*δōmε)> Lp: Vfs {Lgc.} 'hipmīē-, -mūore 'bird-cherry tree', N {N} duobmâ / -m- 'bird-cherry', S {Hs.} fuome, Fi {SK} fūom, Nt {TI} tūōmma id. | Mr: Er лѣм ѡм 'bird-cherry tree', d. лѣмзѣр ѡмzор 'bird-cherry', Mk лайме лаумә, Δ {Ps.} лаумă 'bird-cherry tree' | pChr \*lom-pu id. (\*pu 'tree') > Chr: L ломбо, B lombo, H ломбы lombъ 'bird-cherry tree', Uf lombo id., 'bird-cherry' | Prm {LG} \*lōm / \*lōmy- ({JLG} \*lōm) 'bird-cherry' > Z льом ѡм / ѡmy-, Yz 'lūm, Vt льом ѡм id. ||| ObU \*λf̄mψ ({Ht.} \*δf̄mз) id. > pVg {Ht.} \*f̄m∇ > OVg N SoG ljäm, OVg S ChusO léma, OVg S Vt лема, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML íēm, MK/UK íēm, UL/Ss íām; pOs {Ht.} \*yom > V/Vy yom, Ty/Y yom, D/Nz

yum, Kz yŭm || Sm \*ízm (Hl.) \*yzm 'bird-cherry' > pSlq {Hl.} \*t̥zm > Slq Tz {Hl., KKH} čzm, Kms {KD} lem̄ id. ¶ Coll. 64, Db. OS xxiii, UEW 65-6, It. #164 (FU \*đōme), Sm. 536-7 (U \*đ+xm̄, FU \*đ+mi, P \*đoomi, Ugr \*đ+m̄, Sm \*jēθm 'bird-cherry'), Lr. #221, Lgc. ##1119, 8083, Lgc. SL #1389, Hs. 803, Rv. LpFU 33 (on FU \*λ- [= {Rv.} \*đ-] > Lp d- ɖ h- ɖ f-), Ker. II 80-1 (pMr \*lām < \*loam < pre-Mr \*lōmā), ERV 340-1, Ber. #154, MRS 294, Ep. 62, Ü 107, LG 164-5, Ht. #167, Jn. UK 240, Hl. M #693, KKH 104, KD 36 || **A:** M \*<sup>2</sup>zimu<sup>1</sup>u-sun 'bird-cherry, buck-thorn' > WrM {Rm. ← ?} žimugusun, Kl {Rm., RKSA} žimsūn 'bird-cherry', 'buckthorn (Frangula, Wedegorn = Färberbeere)', Kl {KRS} цөмсн cömsn 'bird-cherry, bird-cherry tree' (< \*cö|Emü-sün?) ¶ KW 110, KRS 638, RKSA 68, 125, Pp. IM 42 (WrM žimugusun > Kl žimūsŋ 'buckthorn [a plant]') || T \*jimurt 'bird-cherry tree' > Tk Δ jumurt, Uz šumurt, VTt Δ, Bsh Δ š̆m̆rt ɖ š̆m̆rt, Brb {Rl., Tm.} jumrut, SbTt {Tm.} š̆mr̆t ɖ jom̆rt, Alt, Qmn {B} žimirit, Tlt {Rl.} jimirit, Kü {Rl.} jumurt, Tb {R} h̆m̆irt, QK {Rl.} jurbut, Xk nimirt, Sg {Rl.} imirt, Qzl {Jk.} umurt, Shor {Rl.} nuburt ~ nibirt ~ nimirt id., as well as possibly (with an obscure phonetic transformation) StAlt дьодро žodro and Tv чодроо čodrō id. || Blgh > Chv: L çěměрт š̆m̆rt, H š̆m̆rt; Blgh ⇨ VTt шомырт š̆m̆rt, Uz šumurt 'bird-cherry', Blg смардлъка 'a good spot for bird-cherries, place with many bird-cherries', Qzq š̆m̆irt 'sloe' ¶ Rs. W 211, ETJ 283-4, TL 135-6, Rl. I 406 and III 500, 551, 577, 584, 697, 708, BIG 114, 120, BT 55, B DK 214, Jeg. 211, RKazS 811 || ?? **HS:** S \*<sup>1</sup>šmm > Ar šammām- 'sweet-smelling streaked melon' (semantic infl. of Ar <sup>1</sup>šmm 'smell') ¶ BK I 1265, Hv. 375 ◇ IS II 37-8 (\*λa<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>u 'bird-cherry'). The N final vw. was probably \*u rather than a front vw. (\*ü), as suggested by M \*<sup>2</sup>zimu-(yu-sun) (a N final \*ü would have yielded M \*<sup>2</sup>zimü-). U \*-e may be explained by a series of conditioned changes, possibly N \*<sup>2</sup>o|aHEmU > as. \*<sup>2</sup>o|aHEmü > (contaction) \*<sup>2</sup>ōmü > U \*λōme (delabialization of final vowels) ◇ If the Ar word belongs here, the rec. must be \*<sup>2</sup>o|a<sup>2</sup>EmU.

2799. <sub>2</sub> \*<sup>2</sup>z̆m̆z̆z̆ (or \*<sup>2</sup>z̆m̆z̆z̆?) 'wax' > K: G zumiri 'wax; fragrant resin' ¶ Chx. 420 || **HS:** WS \*<sup>1</sup>šama<sup>1</sup>- ~ ? \*<sup>1</sup>šama<sup>1</sup>- 'wax' > Ar šama<sup>1</sup>- ~ šam<sup>1</sup> 'wax, wax-candle', šammā<sup>1</sup>- 'chandler', Sr šam<sup>1</sup>-ā 'wax' (← Ar?), Gz šam<sup>1</sup>- wax, candle' ¶ Br. 787, Ln. 1598, Fr. II 451-2, LG 530.

**2800.** (<sub>2</sub>?) \***ʕ**<sup>ʕ</sup>ap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > **HS:** S \*<sup>o</sup>✓<sup>r</sup>ʕapp- 'ε vessel' > Ak OB/MA šappu 'ε clay vessel', Ak MA/YB šappatu 'ε clay vessel'; Ak OA (dialectal variant) sappu 'metal vessel' (with a reg. Ak A s?) ⇨ Ug s p id. ('patera'), BHb 𐤑𐤐 sap 'ritual bowl (made of metal)', SmA 𐤑𐤐 s p 'goblet' ¶ Sd. 1027, 1175, KB 720, KBR 762-3, OLS 406, Tal 603 || ?φ **U:** FU \*<sup>o</sup>šawnU 'ε basket' > pObU {JHt.} \*šřwən ({Ht.} \*sṽwən) 'birch-bark basket (тыесок)' > pVg \*šřn id. > Vg: T šā'n, LK šān, MK/UK sēn, P/NV/SV/LL/ML šēn, UL/Ss sān; pOs \*sowən ({JHL.} \*sāwən) id. > Os: V/D/K sonən, Vy sowən, Ty sāw<sup>ω</sup>ən, Y/O sāwən, Nz sunən, Kz sōn ¶ Ht. #584 || **A:** M \*<sup>o</sup>zabi 'small boat' > WrM zabi, HIM завь {MED} id., WrM {Kow.} zabi 'esquif, canot, chaloupe', 'birch-bark boat, small boat'; ⇨ M \*zabiya > WrM {MED} zabiya 'a metal water vessel with a spout used in Lamaistic ritual', HIM {Luv.} завья, Brt {Chr.} забья 'large tea kettle', WrO {Krg.} zabiya 'tea kettle', Kl {Rm.} zāwā 'kettle made of copper, tea kettle' ¶ MED 1119, Kow. 2258, Luv. 257, Chr. 242, Krg. 657, KW 470 || Tg \*japakun 'quiver' > Orc žapku ~ žapu ~ žapuku, Ul žapau(n-), Nn B žafu 'quiver', WrMc žapqu 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251 ¶¶ SDM97 (A \*žapv 'sack') less convincingly equates the Tg √ with pKo \*čār 'sack' (> MKo čār) and with pJ {S} \*tāpāra 'sack' (> OJ tāpāra, J T tawara). If indeed Tg \*japakun 'quiver' goes back to a word for 'sack', it may be equated with FU (in FV only) \*čawa 'Sack, Schale' (UEW 619) and possibly with **D** \*čavali '(any) cloth' (D #2394) (*F* s.v. N \*č<sup>r</sup>aw<sup>u</sup>'ba 'cloth\sack') || ?σ **D** (in SD) \*čav∇<sub>l</sub>n<sub>1</sub>t- ({ǂGS} s-) 'ladle, spoon' > Kn savaṭu, savuṭu, sōṭu id., Tu sauṇṭu, sauṭu id. ¶ D #2388 ◇ The U (ObU) cognate suggests N \***z̥**- rather than \***z̥**-, while the M, Tg, and D cognates point to the affricate \***z̥**-. Unless the conflicting ev. is explained, the ObU cognate remains qu. ◇ An alt. N rec. is \*šap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > S \*<sup>o</sup>✓<sup>r</sup>ʕapp- 'ε vessel', FU \*<sup>o</sup>šawnU 'ε basket', ?σ D \*čav∇<sub>l</sub>n<sub>1</sub>t- 'ladle, spoon' (without including the A words).

**2801.** \***z̥**a<sup>r</sup>p<sup>r</sup>∇ 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > **HS:** S \*šap-at- 'lip', 'edge, shore, riverbank' > BHb 𐤑𐤐𐤕 šā'pā, OAk šap-tum 'lip, edge, shore', Eb sa-ba-tum = {Krb.} šap<sub>l</sub>a<sub>1</sub>tum (sc. šap<sub>l</sub>a<sub>1</sub>tum), Ug špt, OA, IA špt (+ppa.) id., Sr 𐤑𐤕𐤔 sēp-t-ā, Md sipta, NMd {Mc.} seftā 'lip', JA [Trg.] 𐤑𐤕𐤔 (' ) sēp-t-ā 'lip, border, hem', JEA sēp'tā (spelled with 𐤑 s and with 𐤕 ṣ: ṣēp'tā) 'lip, shore, edge', SmA



s f h 'lips', Ar šaf-at-, šif-at-, Ar NY T šifah ¶ GB 790-1, KBR 1346-8, JH 315, HJ 1181, A #2663, OLS 450-1, Br. 489, Lv. III 564, Js. 985, Sl. 1188, Tal 604, DM 509, Mc. HM 509, BK I 1251, Bns. NJ I 186, Sd. 1176, CAD XVII/1 483, Krb. 11, Blz. EP, MiK I #1.265 || Eg fP s p . t 'lip', (× N \*šap ▽ 'riverbank, river'), Eg fMKL/Md s p . t 'edge; bank (of a waterway), shore' ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 ¶ The contamination with N \*šap ▽ is responsible for Eg s- (for the expected š-) || SC: Irq {E} šufi, Brn {Dmw.} šufi, Kz {E} šifito 'lip' ¶ ≈ E SC 212 (s.v. SC \*šūf- v. 'sip'), AD SCLC 202, AD SF 117 || ?? WCh: Hs léḫē, Pr {Kr.} lóvòk 'lip' ¶ Ba. 725, ChL I 109 ¶ ≈ OS #572, ≈ Sk. HCD 187, Tk. SCC 85 [#15.1], Tk. PAA 9 ¶ OS #572 (HS \*čur- > S, SC), MiK I #1.265 || IE: NaIE \*lab-yo-m, -ya, \*lab-uro-m, \*lab-s- 'lip' > NPrs لب lāb 'lip, edge, shore, bank'; Irn > Z Ízb 'lip' || OL labia, L labium, labrum 'lip' || OHG lefs, leffur, NHG † Lefze, Sw läpp, Nr lepe, OFrs lippa, MLG lippe (NLG ⇨ NHG Lippe), AS lippa id., NE lip || ? SI \*lobъzati 'to kiss' > OCS, OR ЛОВЪЗАТИ lobъzati id. (⇨ OCS ЛОВЪЗЪ lobъzъ n. 'kiss'), R π лобзать, SCr Δ lōzbat ~ lōbzat 'to kiss' | ? (⇨) → 'speak': Gk λαβρεύομαι 'talk rashly, brag', {F} 'heftig reden' (× ⇨ λάβρος 'furious' [of wind\water], 'fierce'), the earlier meaning 'speak' is likely to be preserved in the G loanword laparaḳ- 'speak', laparaḳ-i 'speech' || Brtt [RE] \*labaros 'speech' > W llafar, OCm, Crn, Br lavar id., d.: W llefar u 'to speak, to utter', Crn leverel 'to tell, to say, to relate', Br lavared 'dire' ¶ P 651, Mn. 655-6, EI 356 (\*leb- 'lip'), Sg. 1115, Horn 212, LG 164, WH I 738-O, Kb. 597, OsS 540, KM 430-1, 442-3, Zhr. IN 355, Ho. 204, Hlq. 618, ESSJ XV 241-3, Vs. II 507-8, ≈ F II 66, ≈ Ch. 610, RE 125, Chx. 663-4 || A: M \*žabažī(n) 'corner of the mouth' > MM [S] žabažī(n), WrM zabažī, HIM завж id., Ord žawažī 'corners of the mouth, commissure of lips' ¶ H 84, MED 1018, Ms. O 190 || Tg \*japka 'edge, riverbank' > Ewk japka id., Sln jakka 'riverbank', Lm jarpq̄b 'interval, chink, border', Neg japka 'gap', Nn Nh žaqp̄a-s̄t 'nearer to the bank (from the river)', žaqp̄a 'strip of water near the bank' ¶ STM I 250-1 ¶ ≠ DQA #2588 (unc.: Tg < A \*žáp' ▽ 'crack, interstice') ◇ IE \*b points to a N \*p̄, while Hs ḫ and Eg p suggest the presence of a cluster \*p̄?.

2802. \*žerǵû 'vein, sinew' > K \*žarǵw- 'vein, sinew' > OG žarǵv-i 'sinew', G žarǵv-i 'vein', Mg žerǵv-i, Sv UB/LB/Ln žärǵw id. ¶ K 236, K<sup>2</sup> 282-3, DCh. 1612, FS E 483-4, TK 887, GP 313 || ?? AdS of IE: NaIE \*ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string' (< N \*séR ▽ 'row' [q.v.]) || U:

FU **\*šerw** '≈ blood-vessel' > FP **\*šerw** > Es **süüre** (gen. **süürme**) 'Ader (im Holz), Jahresring' (influenced by Es **süü** 'Jahresring') | Prm: Z **вирсер** **vir-šer** 'blood-vessel' (**vir** means 'blood') (to distinguish from the paronymous Prm word **\*vir-ser** 'blood-vessel' > Z UV **vir-sər** id. < N **\*sāR'U** 'sinew, fibre' [q.v.]) ¶ W EDW 1103-4, LG 264 || **HS**: SES **\*šrχ** 'root' (with devoiced **\*χ** from the expected **\*ʃ** < N **\*g**) > Jb C **šir'χ** (pl. **šir'χət**) id. ¶ Jo. J 256 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} **dēšár** 'roots', sg. **dēšar-mō** 'root', {Wh.} **dēšarāmo** 'root, sinew' ¶ MQK 25, Wh. SI ◇ IS MS 341 (followed by S CNM 5) adduced here D **\*šir-** (sc. **\*šir-**) 'root', but it obviously belongs to N **\*širw** - **\*šir'ū** 'root' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM #89, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 5 ◇ FU **\*šs-** for the expected **\*λ-** still needs explaining. Is it due to desaffrication **\*š-** > **\*z-** at a very ancient level (**\*z-** yielding U **\*š-**)?

**2803. \*širw** or **\*šir'ū** 'root' > K: GZ **\*šir-** 'root, bottom' > OG **šir-** 'root', G **šir-**, Mg **šin(š)**- 'root, bottom' @H0@, Lz {Schm.} **šiš-** 'root' ¶ K 238-9, K<sup>2</sup> 288, FS K 434-5, Q 414, Chx. 2075-6, Schm. 152 || **HS**: S **\*šijuraw-** 'sinew, root' > Gz **šarw**, pl. **šaraw** 'sinew, tendon, nerve, root', Tgr, Amh **sər**, Tgy **sər**, sur 'root, vein, sinew', Sr **šārī-t-ā** {JPS} 'joint, articulation' ({Br.} 'articulus, sutura'), d.: Ar **šarīyān-**, pl. **šarayīn-** 'artery', Ak fOB/OA **šerānu** 'sinew, tendon, muscle', JEA **šuryānā** {Sl.} 'sinew, vein, bronchus' ({Sl.}: ← Ak), {Js.} **šuryānē** **dāšēnā** 'muscles of the eye', Md **širiana** 'vein, artery'; ??? **\*šr** (× N **\*šā'U'R** 'the calf of the leg, shank') > Ar **šir-at-** ~ **šar-at-**, d.: **širā-**, **šarā-at-** 'bowstring', **šurū-** 'sinew of gazelle's leg' ¶ ≈ LG 535-6, BK I 1082, 1217, 1224, Js. 1542, Sl. 1124, JPS 598, DM 463, CAD XVII/2 308, Sd. 1216, MiK I #1.239, Br. 808 | S **\*šur'āš-** 'root' (d.?) > Sb **šrš** 'foundation', **hšrš** v. 'extirpate', ? Ar **šaras-**, **širs-** '(ε) thorny plant', BHb **šrš**, pl. **šrš**, Ph, Ug **šrš**, Sr **šerš-ā**, Ak **šurš-u(m)** 'root' (the as. S **\*š...š** > Cn, Aram **\*š...š** is a phonetic law) ¶ GB 864, A #2694, OLS 454, Br. 810, BGMR 134-5 || B **\*šwr** (**\*šūr**, **\*šw**) 'root, vein' > Izn **azwar**, Tmz **ažur** id., Gd **ažur**, Izd, Sll **ažur** 'root', BSn **ažwar**, BMn **azwar** 'vein' ¶ Mrc. 212, 260, MT 826-7, Ds. 239, Lf. II #1840, La. MChB 476 ¶ The forms with **ž** may have been influenced by the B **\*šwr** 'nerf' of different origin || C: Ag **\*šir** 'root' > Bln {R} **šir**, pl. **širil**, Xm {R} **šir**, Q {R}, Km {CR} **šer** ¶ AD SF 98 || Ch: WCh **\*šarwa** ~ **\*šarya** (= {Stl.} **\*šarw|ya**) 'root' > Hs **sáywā** id. |

pBT \*surya > Bl sori-, Krf sōriyó, Gln súryà id. | pNrBc \*šar<sub>L</sub>w<sub>J</sub>a > P šari, Sir šūra, Jmb šera, My šerwa, Mbr šarnani id. | pSBc {Sh.} > Kir šári, Tala šér kí, Wnd šár, Buli šír, Plc šartə, Zar K šòrtú, Zar GL šártà, Sy Zk šártə́, Sy Z šártə̀, Sy B šərgə id. | DfB {J} sūrē id. || CCh: pMM {Ro.} \*širay > {Ro.}: Mada širé, Mlk šay, Myn širí, Mkt ših, Hrz šílikà, Zlg žìžé, Mofu šàšáy 'root', ? Gzg šàlák 'medicine' | ZmB šór, ZmD {KNC} šór 'root' || Ech: Smr sárə́, Nd {J} sírwé, Tmk {Cp.} hərəw id. ¶ JI I 140-1 and II 276-7, Stl. ZCh 200 [#511], Ro. 316-7 [#595], Sh. SB 30, KNC 25, Sk. NB 37, Tk. NB 179 (pNB \*šar-~\*šer-~\*šur-); some of the quoted forms may go back to another HS √ represented by S \*<sup>o</sup>√šrχ 'root' (see N \*žeRgû 'vein, sinew') ¶¶ Tk. PAA 18 (NrBc, S) || | D (in GnD) \*čīr|r- ( {ǵGS} \*s|ś-?) 'root' > Gnd Δ sīr̄, sīr, (h)īr/ṛ, Png čīra, Kui sīru, Ku hīrū, hīru id. ¶ D #2626.

**2804. \*žat̄∇** 'fluid, body of water' > HS: S \*<sup>o</sup>šat̄- > Ar شات̄ šat̄- 'large river' ¶ BK I 1229 || | IE: NaIE \*lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mire, mud' (possibly ×N ?φ \*w∇L<sub>L</sub>∇<sub>J</sub>t̄∇ 'moist; moisture') > L latex n. 'fluid, liquid' (hardly a loan from Gk λάταξ) || | ? Gk λάταγ-εγ pl. (sg. λάταξ) 'drops of wine, remains of wine in a vessel' (if it really means this rather than {Ch.} 'fond de la vase') || | OIr {P} laith 'beer, liquid; swamp', Gl Are-late (name of a town to the east of a swamp), Crn lad, OW llat 'liquid' n., {EI} 'slime', W llaid (< \*latyo-), OIr lathach 'mud', NIr lathach, laitheach 'mud, mire' || | ON {P, KM} leþja (< \*laþyon-) 'loam, dirt', Ic leðja 'silt, slime', OHG letto 'clay, loam', NHG Letten 'potter's clay, loam' || | ? Blt river names: Lt Latupè, Latuvà, Ltv Late ¶ WP II 381-2, P 654-5, EI 639 (\*leh<sub>h</sub>t- 'wet, moist'), WH I 770, SB 238, YGM-1 301, Dnn. 416, 420, Kb. 608, OsS 550, Bv. 400, KM 437, Paul 373, F II 89, ≠ Ch. 122 || | D \*č̌<sub>č̌</sub>at- 'damp, moist, swampy, thin current of water' > Tm cetumpu v. 'become damp and moist; mud, mire; thin current of water as of rivers in summer', cetukku 'mud, mire', catuppu-nilam 'bog, marshy ground', catuval 'swampy ground', Ml catuppu 'marsh', Tl caduku 'mud' ¶¶ D #2326 || | ? A ≈ \*žat̄∇ > NaT \*ja<sub>L</sub>t̄ 'rain magic' > OT ja<sub>L</sub>t̄ id. ¶ Cl. 883, DTS 247, Dr. TM I 157 || | ?φ M \*žadagay 'pond, pool' (unless ← \*žadagay 'open' through some ellipsis) > WrM žadagay 'pond, pool', Ord ž<sub>ad</sub>agā 'mare, flaque d'eau, étang' ¶ MED 1021, Ms. O 178 ¶¶ The M voiced \*-d- and the Altaic \*-t- still defy explanation ◇ If the M word

does belong here, the N initial cns. is \* $\hat{z}$ -. The D reflex points to N \* $\hat{z}$ -, too.

**2805.** ? $\sigma$  (<sub>2</sub>?) \* $\hat{z}\text{æw}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$  (or \* $\hat{z}\text{æ}\text{?w}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}$ ?) 'up, upper point, extremity' > **HS:** Eg P  $\check{\text{z}}\text{w}\text{ɥ}$  'sich erheben' ¶ EG IV 431 || SC: Irq/Brn {E}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw-}$  'get up, awake', Irq {MQK, Wd.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw-}$  'wake up' ¶ E 212, 216, MQK 103, Wd. 326 || Ch: NrBc {Tk.} \* $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw-}$  (> \* $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u-}$  ~ \* $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ɜ-}$ ) 'stand up, rise' > {Sk.}: P', Sir  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u}$ , Dir  $\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ , Jmb, My, Mbr, Kry  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{a-}$ , Cg  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ɜ-}$  id., Wrj  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{aw}$  id., 'grow' || SBc: Kir {Sh.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{ak}$ , Tule {Sh.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{a}$ , Wnd {Sh.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{u}$ , Zar K {Sh.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{i}$  'stand up' || Ngz {Sch.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{á}\text{u}$  id. ||| CCh: Lmn {Lk.}  $\hat{\text{c}}\text{-}$  id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 24, 42, Tk. NB 179-80, Sch. DN 163 ¶¶ Hardly here ( $\Leftrightarrow$  Tk.) BHb  $\text{X}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{š}\bar{\text{r}}$  (+ppa. 3 m  $\text{š}\bar{\text{r}}^{\text{r}}\text{-}\bar{\text{r}}$ ) h.l. 'loftiness' (or 'pride'?) (> NHb  $\text{X}^{\text{r}}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{si}$  'highest point'), which is more plausibly understood as derived from  $\check{\text{r}}\text{n}\hat{\text{s}}\text{?}$  'rise' (GB 782, KB 1228) ||| **K** \* $\hat{z}\text{e}$  'up(wards), upon' > OG, G  $\text{ze}$ , Mg, Lz  $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}(\text{n})$ , Sv  $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}$  id. ¶¶ K<sup>2</sup> 63 ||| **A:** ? $\sigma$  M \* $\hat{z}\text{ebe}$  > WrM  $\text{z}\text{e}\text{b}\text{e}$ , HIM  $\text{z}\text{ə}\text{b}$ , Brt  $\text{z}\text{ə}\text{b}(\text{ə})$  'arrowhead, spearhead', Ord {Ms.}  $\check{\text{z}}\text{i}\text{w}\text{e}$  'arrowhead', MM [HI, S] {Ms., Lew., H}  $\text{z}\text{e}\text{b}\text{e}$ , Kl {Rm.}  $\text{z}\text{e}\text{w}\text{ə}$  'weapon(s)' ¶ MED 1042, Ms. O 206, Ms. H 66, Lew. 29, H 88, KW 474, Chr. 271 ◇ SC \* $\hat{\text{c}}\text{-}$  (and \* $\hat{\text{c}}\text{-}$  in Chadic?) suggest the presence of a lr. (\* $\text{?}$ ?) in the N etymon.